THE
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VOL. LXXXIV
A
COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
INDO-GERMANIC LANGUAGES
A CONCISE EXPOSITION
OF THE HISTORY
OF SANSKRIT, OLD IRANIAN (AVESTIC AND OLD PERSIAN), OLD
ARMENIAN, GREEK, LATIN, UMBRO-SAMNITIC, OLD IRISH,
GOTHIC, OLD HIGH GERMAN, LITHUANIAN AND
OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC
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VOLUME II
MORPHOLOGY ( STEM-FORMATION AND INFLEXION ), PART I.
- INTRODUCTION. NOUN COMPOUNDS. REPLICATED NOUNS. FORMATIVE
  SUFFIXES. ROOT-NOUNS.
TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN
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JOHN PEILE,

DOCTOR OF LETTERS, MASTER OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, THE FOUNDER
OF THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY IN CAMBRIDGE

THIS TRANSLATION IS DEDICATED

IN TOKEN OF THEIR GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION

BY

HIS OLD PUPILS.
PREFACE TO THE ORIGINAL EDITION.

In consideration of the length to which the Second Volume of this Grammar was likely to extend it seemed desirable to publish it in parts¹). Those which are still to appear will first complete the Morphology of Nouns and Pronouns, including the history of the Case-Endings. The latter section will be comparatively brief, since the ablaut of the inflexional syllables has been discussed in all its most important points in connexion with the Formative Suffixes. Then will follow the Morphology of Verbs (Stem-Formation and Inflexion), and finally a list of Additions and Corrections to the First Volume, [and an Index to both].

A third and last volume of smaller dimensions will contain the Syntax. In this part of Comparative Grammar very little work has been done, at least very little that can be called scientific, and hitherto no one has tried to give any systematic account of the subject as a whole. For a long while, I confess, I could hardly make up my mind to include it in the present work, but I have been greatly encouraged to make the attempt by the appearance of the fifth Volume of Delbrück's Syntaktische Forschungen (Altindische Syntax 1888), which, though it is not directly concerned with Comparative Grammar, has done a great deal to prepare the way for a general history of Indo-

¹) The different parts of the German edition will appear as separate volumes in English.
Germanic Syntax. And in my work for the third volume I hope to have the help of O. Behaghel’s _Grundzüge der germanischen Syntax_ which has been announced for some time.

I have accepted as necessary one or two alterations in the transcription of Avestic; Ṛ instead of Ṛ (before r, see vol. I § 558 p. 415), Š for all three signs Ś, Š and Ģ. As regards these sibilants we ought still, in all probability, to make some distinction between the sounds in such words as _hištaiti_ = Skr. _tiṅhati_ (I § 556 p. 410), _maśya-_ = Skr. _mārtiya-_ (I § 260 p. 212 f., § 474 p. 350), _šyaopna-_ = Proethnic Aryan * _ćjāṭna-_ (I § 448 p. 333, § 473, 4 p. 350). I accepted with other scholars the theory which Bartholomae advanced in _Bezzenberger’s Beiträge_ VII 188 ff. as to the respective value of these three signs in the Zend alphabet, and, so far as I can see, it is not disproved by Geldner’s recent edition of the Avesta. At the same time it is certainly not confirmed by the results of Geldner’s work, and Bartholomae himself, with Hübschmann and others, now follows him in writing Š indifferently in all cases. Thus I had no alternative.

In Celtic Prof. Thurneysen has given me the same generous assistance as in the first volume. My pupil Dr. W. Streitberg has helped me in correcting the proof. To both I may here offer my hearty thanks.

LEIPZIG, Oct. 1. 1888.

Karl Brugmann.
TRANSLATORS' PREFACE.

In the two years that have followed the translation of the First Volume of the *Grundriss der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft* by Dr. (now Professor) Joseph Wright, the difficulty of the task has sensibly diminished. The methods and the nomenclature of the scientific school of Comparative Philology have found their way more and more into the work of English teachers, and it has become far easier to decide what innovations can, and what cannot be reconciled with established usage. Such words, for example, as 'thematic', 'ablaub', 'analogueal', 'contamination', 'proethnic' are completely naturalised. The last we have universally adopted as the clearest equivalent of the German *wr*-prefixed to the name of a group of languages: 'proethnic Greek' is Greek older than the rise of its various dialects; 'proethnic Indo-Germanic', or more simply where there is no ambiguity, 'the proethnic language' is the parent of the various families of Indo-Germanic speech.

On the other hand the new subject-matter of the present volume involves new difficulties. On almost every other page of the original the word *Grundform* is used to denote the original form from which any particular word has been developed by phonetic change, and considering the frequency of its occurrence we could see no alternative but to adopt it bodily into English. Again some such expressions as 'fertile' (*produktiv*) and 'extended' (*erweitert*) were indispensable to describe the history of the different suffixes. The process of deriving a feminine form
from the masculine stem of an adjective (Germ. *Motion*) we have called 'differentiation'. To express the change by which a substantive compound becomes an adjective, or in terms of Sanskrit grammar, by which a *karma-dhāraya*-compound becomes a *bahu-vrthi* German scholars have created a new verb *mutieren*, i.e. the Lat. *mutare*; the word 'epithetised' which is used for the first time in this translation is an attempt to describe the nature of the change a little more explicitly. Thus in English *blackbird* is a simple or 'non-epithetised' compound, *Greatheart, rosy-fingered*, in Latin *magnanimus*, in Greek *δογμάτων* are 'epithetised' (see p. 92). The ambiguity of the word 'formation' which like the German *Bildung* does double-duty, to denote sometimes an abstract process and sometimes its concrete result, is a source of considerable difficulty, which might well be avoided by using such a term as 'formate' to express the second meaning; and the convenience of words like *trans-formate, re-formate afformate* (*Umbildung, Neubildung, Nachbildung*) is at once obvious. But the change is not absolutely necessary and therefore, since this is a book of general reference, it seems fairer to the reader to suggest it in the Preface rather than to introduce it directly into the text; perhaps however we may assume the licence in the following volumes.

A small but perpetually recurring difficulty of which the reader should be warned, has been the translation of the preposition *zu* in its technical sense, for which we have no exact equivalent in English, except such phrases as 'directly related to', 'connected in incidence with' and these would be, to say the least, a little wearisome, if they appeared twenty times on a page. It really covers several shades of meaning; in 'amātr zu amo' 'tult zu fero' it means *used as a tense of*; in 'ansātus' zu ansa', a *derivative of*; in 'modestus zu modus', *used as a derivative of*; in 'Lat. inclitus zu Gr. ἀλιوس', *containing the root of*; and so on. The nearest English equivalent in the first two cases would be the preposition *from*, in which there is a more serious ambiguity, used as it is to denote both historical and logical connexion, 'tult from the root *tel*-', 'tult from *fero*.'
Sometimes of course the two coincide, but only in the case of words of which the first was in use in the form in which we quote it before the second came into existence. *suavior* 'comes from' *suavis* historically as well as logically because it is a special formation in Latin (in place of the Indo-Germanic stem *suād-ījos-*); whereas the genitive *patris* can only be said to 'come from' the nominative *pater* in the logical sense, not the historical, since both are descended from proethnic forms. The rule therefore that we have adopted has been to write *from* in the logical sense only where there can be no possible doubt that that is its meaning; where there would have been any danger that the reader should infer from it a historical, derivative relation that was not implied in the German, we have used *beside*. Thus in the examples given above we should render *tull* from *ferō* but *modestus* beside *modus* (see p. 418). The line is of course hard to draw, but for safety's sake, we have used *beside* in all cases of doubt. To do so universally, i.e. to have written always *'patris* beside *pater*" instead of 'from *pater*" seemed a little pedantic. On the other hand *from* has of course its proper derivative significance in such phrases as *'ansatus from ansa*", where in German *von* and *zu* are used indifferently. The German *aus* connecting a form with its immediate phonetic antecedent, e.g. *Lat. füssus aus *fid-to-s*" we have followed prevailing usage in rendering by *for*, *füssus* for *'fid-to-s*". The reader will find that *for* is used only in this sense of direct phonetic connexion; to describe an analogical substitution (Germ. *fü*r) we have regularly kept to 'instead of*".

In minor matters, such as abbreviations, and details of printing we have followed English rather than German precedent. For obvious reasons however we have retained the order of the original in such phrases as 'Gr. Att. *ṭnuos*’ *Skr. Ved. ṣray-īśṭha*’ (cf. p. 244), where they occur in a list of forms from different languages. But we have ventured to retain the symbol : which occurs on every page, and denotes that the forms that it connects stand in a definite relation to one another, and this, when it is not otherwise explained by the context, is always
one or regular phonetic correspondence; for instance it is invariably
used to connect an Indo-Germanic form with the words which
represent it in the derived languages e. g. Idg. *klů-tő-s: Skr.
šru-tá-s, Gr. κλο-ρό-s etc. A modification of this symbol, for
which it was equally impossible to find a substitute, ': cp.' means
'partly related to' 'in some respects to be compared with'; it is
employed where the forms compared are not completely parallel,
but only to some extent, e. g. on p. 39, § 23 'Skr. án-apta-s: cp.
Lat. in-emptu-s'; here the two words are parallel, but not identical,
as the Latin form is derived from *ap-tő-, the Sanskrit from
*ap-tő-, see Vol. I § 97, 3 p. 91. Similarly on p. 60, § 34
'Lat. sin-plex: cp. Gr. ἁ-πλός' implies that the compounds are
parallel, but identical only in their first member; p. 193, § 75
Gr. ἵμι-τρέπο-; : cp. Lat. nos-ter', that the use of the suffix is
the same in both. It would be difficult to enumerate all the
varieties of positive meaning that may be implied by this
practically colourless symbol; to remove it altogether would be
to re-edit the whole Grammar, not to translate it. The symbol:
is also placed at the end of a general statement which is im-
mediately followed by a list of illustrative examples, but oth-
erwise it is not used as a mark of punctuation. On the other
hand where the scientific brevity of the original made the con-
nexion of the argument a little difficult to follow, so that some-
times the meaning of a whole paragraph turned on the signi-
ficance of a comma or a bracket, we have felt less scruple in
giving it more explicit expression.

In the first hundred pages and in the sections on the Meaning
of the Suffixes, the reader will find a few additions to the text
for which the translators are responsible. With Prof. Brugmann's
permission we have inserted illustrations from Modern English
beside his own from Modern German, where the latter are
given to illustrate some general principle. These interpolations
are all enclosed in square brackets.

At his request we have departed from Dr. Wright's usage
in one important respect by using Old Church Slavonic in-
stead of Old Bulgarian as the name of the language of the
Slavonic apostles Cyril and Methodius. We hesitated for some time between 'Welsh' and 'Cymric', but decided on the whole to keep the latter in conformity with the first volume. The Corrections and Additions of the German edition are embodied in the text, together with several other minor alterations, mainly of misprints, which Prof. Brugmann has sent us. To him we would offer our hearty thanks for his constant help in matters of difficulty. We owe to Dr. Wright's courtesy a list of Corrigenda in Volume I.

The translation is a joint work throughout, but Mr. Conway is everywhere responsible for its final form, as Mr. Rouse will be in the remaining volumes, which we hope will follow the parts of the German edition as they appear, at much shorter intervals than has been possible so far.

The present volume has demanded a year's continuous work and a good deal of anxious consideration from us both. But we shall be more than rewarded if it can do anything to extend the share which English-speaking students can claim in the marvellous increase of exact knowledge which the book itself records. It is the boast of modern discovery to have made the world more thinkable and human life more full of meaning in a thousand ways; and before the century reaches its close, Comparative Philology, that is, the History of Language, will have attained no mean rank in the great sisterhood of sciences whose task is to explore the history of man.

R. Seymour Conway.

W. H. D. Rouse.

Cambridge, Aug. 1. 1890.
CORRIGENDA.

VOLUME I.

P. 112 l. 6 Read the variation instead of the opposite.
P. 350 last line but one. Remove the comma after cases.
P. 529 Rem. 2 l. 2. Read velars palatals and dentals instead of lingual palatals.
See also the footnotes to pp. 118, 167, 274, 367, 432, 434, 441 in Vol. II.

VOLUME II.

P. 153 l. 5 read should perhaps for must ultimately.
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SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS.

* prefixed to a form indicates that it is not on record, but only inferred from other forms in the same or kindred languages. Prefixed to a root it implies that that form of the root does not occur in any word of which we have record.

\sqrt{\text{root.}}

: = 'to be directly compared with'.

: cp. = 'to be in part compared with' (see the Preface, p. XII).

... after a form denotes that its final sounds cannot be exactly determined, (e. g. in *mēn-s-t... p. 186 all that is said of the suffix is that it began with s).

\sigma^* denotes a sound which was either a, e, or o but cannot at present be more closely identified.

A small figure added to the name of a book denotes the edition referred to; e. g. Paul, Princip. 

Hom. A, B, ... Ω = Hom. II. book 1, 2, ... 24.

Hom. α, β, ... ω = Hom. Od. book 1, 2, ... 24.

cp. = compare.

lit. = literally.

orig. = original, or originally.

esp. = especially.

scil. or sc. = scilicet, i. e. the word which follows it is to be supplied in the preceding phrase.

ib. = ibidem.

loc. cit. = in loco citato.

Pr., O., Mid., Mod. prefixed to names of languages denote Proethnic, Old, Middle, and Modern respectively.

poss. = possessive (adjectives).

dimin. = diminutive (adj. or subst.).

denom. = denominative (noun or verb).

There remain the usual abbreviations of Gender (m. f. n.), Number (sg. du. pl.), Case (nom. gen. etc.), Degree (pos. comp. superl.), Mood (ind. imprv. etc.), Voice (act. med. pass.), Tense (pres. impf. etc.) and Part of Speech (subst. adj. parte. sup(ine) gor(ur)j etc.).

It is unnecessary to add a list of the abbreviations for the names of the languages. The latter are fully enumerated in the Introduction to the First Volume (p. 4 ff.). Observe only that A. S. = Anglo-Saxon, O.Sax. = Old Saxon.
MORPHOLOGY: STEM-FORMATION AND INFLEXION.

§ 1. All the developments of language denoted by the terms Stem-formation and Inflexion are based upon one common principle, the juxta-position and more or less intimate fusion of elements which were originally independent. The units of speech produced by this kind of composition became in later ages the types on which new words were made; and many such standard forms, which were in use long before the dissolution of the proto-ethnic Indo-Germanic community, still serve as models for new words. But this process of blending groups of independent words into single forms has been continually repeated all through the centuries; and thus new types have been successively evolved, to be in their turn the means of further development. Yet these new types have never brought about any material change in the general method of forming words which had been adopted by the Indo-Germanic language in its proto-ethnic stage. Certain primitive types, which were characteristic of the morphology of this family of languages, remained in constant use wherever they were spoken; and the forms which have arisen in later times, from the coalescence of words grouped in some syntactic relation, have always been cast in the mould of one or other of these prescribed models.

1) See Vol. I § 18, 14.

BRUGMANN, Elements, I.
It is therefore the business of the grammarian, in this division of his subject, to exhibit these processes of composition, and the new formations to which their analogy gives rise.

In this department of the history of language, the main line of division is that which separates Noun and Pronoun on the one hand from Verb on the other. In dealing with the former class, we have to discuss terminations of Case, and the many different methods by which nouns or pronouns form their stems; in the latter class, we have to consider terminations of Person, and the equally numerous methods by which verbal stems are formed. These two departments, however, constantly overlap. Verbs are formed from noun-stems, as Gr. τίμω 'I honour' from τίμῃ 'honour' Lat. plantō from planta ("Derivative Verbs"); and, on the other hand, nouns often contain verbal stems (for example, the so-called participles, gerunds, infinitives, and supines, e.g. Gr. part. δουσων inf. δουσεν as compared with δοσω 'dabo'). Forms of this double nature are accordingly discussed in both divisions of Morphology.

In either case we shall begin with those words whose structure exhibits most clearly the principle of composition, which is the basis of the whole formative system of the Indo-Germanic languages; we shall begin, that is, with compounds in the common acceptation of the term, such as Gr. ἱππό-驷μο-ς 'horse-taming' ἀπο-βδύλω 'I cast away'. Last of all will be treated those elements of words whose original independence is now least obvious, i.e. the signs of the cases on the one hand and the personal-endings on the other.

Throughout our discussion we shall consider both the forms as such and the meaning attached to them. Here we shall meet with questions of Syntax, which however includes too many heterogeneous elements to be fully treated in connexion with Morphology.

It is necessary first to offer a few remarks on the general principles of formation whose action can be traced in the history of Indo-Germanic. To a certain extent these will merely repeat in greater detail what has been already said in the General
Introduction (I § 13. 14) to explain the use of hyphens, and of a few special terms, which will be found in this work.

§ 2. When a group of words connected in some syntactical relation is fused into a single form, it is called a 'compound'; e. g. Gr. Δόσκωρος 'sons of Zeus' from Δός κόρος, Mod.H.G. hungersnot 'pressure of hunger' from Mid.H.G. hungers not, [Eng. commonewealth from common wealth]. The compound — to restrict the term for the moment to those consisting of two members — becomes a simple word when either its first or its second member has lost its connexion in the mind of the speaker with kindred words which are uncompounded, and consequently the comparative independence which it formerly had. This process may give rise to a word which to the speaker's consciousness is absolutely simple, e. g. Lat. nom. sing. qui for *quoi 1) i. e. *quo 'who' + ι (deictic particle, cp. Umbr. po-ei sing. 'qui' pur-i pl. 'qui'), O.Pers. nom. sing. haun 'this' from *ha = Skr. sā + the particle u = Skr. ə, Lith. bū-k 'be it, as though' which contains the particle -ki -k, Lat. ē-ub no doubt for *(e)x-ub (I § 568 p. 425); or else the element in question loses its full meaning, and being used with the same value in a considerable number of words is reduced to what is called a suffix or a prefix; as -heit, a suffix which forms substantives denoting a quality, found e. g. in schönheit, which originally meant 'beautiful condition' (in O.H.G. and Mid.H.G. heit is still an independent word), [Germ. heit = A.S. hæd Mid. Eng. hød Mod. Eng. -hood in maiden-hood etc.], Lat. -iter, a suffix used in forming adverbs, e. g. brevitér, which originally = breve iter 'short-way' (iter 'way'), O.H.G. ala- ('omni-') an intensive prefix, e. g. in ala-festi 'firmissime', Mod.H.G. stock-, also intensive, e. g. stock-finster 'pitch dark' stock-dumm utterly stupid [cp. Eng. stone-deaf, stone-blind] (see Tobler, Uber die Wortzusammensetzung p. 116 ff.). If a word is compounded with itself the process is called reduplication, e. g. Gr. πάμ-παν en-

1) It is a moot question whether quoi in the Duenos-inscription is qui or cui; see Zvetiaeff, Inscriptiones Italice inferioris, 1888, p. 80 sqq.
tirely’. Here also either of the two parts may be degraded by
a process similar to that which gives rise to a suffix or a prefix;
e.g. on the one hand Mod.H.G. mur-mel ‘murmur’ (Lat. mur-mur),
where the termination -mel has the character of a suffix, and
or the other hand Skr. ci-kit- ‘comprehending, aware’, where
ci- is a kind of prefix.

§ 3. No hard and fast line can be drawn between a phrase
or group of words connected in some syntactical re-
lation, and a compound.

It is no doubt a fair definition of a compound to say that
it is fully formed when the whole becomes in any way isolated
from the parts of which it is composed as used independently
(I § 13 p. 14). Lat. magnōpere, for instance, was isolated from
its component elements wagnō opere by its vowel contraction;
Lat. dēnuō, from dē novō, by the weakening of -ov- to -u-
due to its enclitic position; and Hom. πᾶν-ημακ ‘all day long’ by
the circumstance that the neuter *μὰν (for *ποτὲ) when used
independent took a long a from πᾶς πᾶσα. In Gr. Δίός-κονφος, in
Lat. pībīscitu-m, and in Mod.H.G. gross-vater grandfather’, süß-
holz ‘licorice’ the isolation was caused by the meaning of the
whole being more definite and limited than the meaning con-
voyed by the mere syntactical grouping of the parts [cp. Eng.
best man, blackbird]. Again in Attic Greek ἄνο-βαλω ‘I go away’
ἐκ-βάλω ‘I throw out’ Lat. ab-eō, är-iciō the cause (or rather one
of the causes) was the restriction of each one of the prepositional
adverbs to use within a particular series of combinations. Thus
the causes of isolation, and of the accompanying change of a
phrase into a compound, are very diverse and quite easy to
appreciate. But isolation is a matter of very gradual develop-
ment; and we cannot fix a point at which the phrase passes
into the compound, least of all in ancient languages, where we
cannot appeal for help to the consciousness of any living speaker.
At every stage in the development of language we find com-
pounds in process of formation; and, naturally enough, it is often
impossible to decide whether in any given instance a compound
is completely formed or not. Thus opinions may and do differ whether the spelling to be adopted is δίφωλος or δύ φωλος, καρχυμώντες or κάρη κυμώντες, and so forth, in Homer (see La Roche, Hom. Textkr. 311 ff.), sentūscūlum or se[nu]tūs cūsultum in later Latin, and in Mod.H.G. aus himmelshöhn or aus himmelshöh (in Schiller, compare his phrase an ufe-s rand), möglicherweise or möglicher weise, wenngleich or wem gleich.

Remark. According to a very common view, if a phrase is included under one accent, it is proved to be a compound; but this is incorrect. In that case every syntactical combination of two words where the second word is an enclitic (cp. I § 669 p. 554 § 672 p. 588 and elsewhere) would be a compound, which no one would maintain. Nor can the formation of derivatives from a given phrase by means of secondary suffixes be taken as a certain proof that the group is a true compound (e. g. Gr. Δοκομυζων from Δοξ κομεω). For the need of a derivative often creates a compound where the original is only a phrase; cp. Gr. κολοτρυγία from κολός κύμας, H.H.G. langweilig from lange weile, [Eng. freedraper from Free Trade], Gr. λυχφαλος adj. ‘in the head’ from λυχφαλος, παραλέκτος ‘situated by the sea’ from παρά χελώνας, Skr. सतयाद- the ‘consistent with truth’ from सतयाम (cp. § 15), O.C.Sl. обонё́йпн ‘situated on the further shore’ from оби обн пол (§ 47). Thus a derivative of this kind, itself a true compound, may be formed while the original phrase is only on its way towards becoming one: cp. also Lat. Sacraeënéstes as compared with sacra via; quartadecumäni as compared with quarta decima, O.C.Sl. по́инадесетн ‘fifteenth’ compared with по́ в десете ‘fifteen’; Avest. аспа-вира- ‘striking horses and men down to the earth’ compared with аспа вира (a Dual combination, cp. § 27).

Where a compound consists of parts each of which can be used as an independent word, the following are the surest signs that it is a true compound: 1. If the termination of one member of the phrase is transferred to words which are incapable of taking it when uncombined; e. g. when Gr. Δοκο-στος (δος gen. sing.) gives rise to such a form as τεκο-στος (cp. § 17). 2. If the case-ending or other inflexion of the first member, which was essential to the meaning of the original compound, loses its force in analogical formations; when for instance ἄρης-λεκος (Homm. ἄρης-δέκαρος ‘thirteenth Martian’ (Aeschyl.) are formed in imitation of ἄρης-φατος ἀρρενοτος ‘slain in war’. 3. If the phrase is ‘epithetised’ (§ 50), as ἀρη-λεκος ‘having one’s dwelling in the air’, not ‘a dwelling in the air’.

§ 4. It is equally impossible to draw a hard and fast line between a compound and a simple word. One part of a compound is reduced or degraded to a suffix or prefix, 38
or generally to an inflexionary element, by losing in some way or other its connexion with the simple word in the consciousness of the speaker. This isolation may affect the meaning only; take e.g. the Lat. suffix -iter in breviter longiter and the like, which were originally compounds (for breve iter, longum iter, see p. 3 above), the O.Ir. intensive prefix bith- (originally 'world' cp. bith 'world') in such forms as bith-beo 'semper vivus, immortalis' bid-slan 'semper salus' etc.; or it may affect only the form, e.g. Mod.H.G. -tel in drittel viertel etc. as contrasted with tell; or it may affect both at once, e.g. Mod.H.G. -lich in weiblich (orig. = 'having woman's form') beside leiche leich-dorn [= Eng. -ly in wife-ly A.S. lie, Eng. lych-gate. The suffixes in hat-red, friend-ship bishop-rir etc. were independent words in Old English]. Isolation is most complete when the simple word passes out of use altogether, e.g. Gr. πολέμις; Lat. long-ino-quo s prop-inoquo-s, the second part of which is the Skr. -aṅc- 'directed somewhither' (§ 163), Mod.H.G. schönheit, whose second part was still an independent word in Mid.H.G.; the same thing has happened in the first part of a compound e.g. in Germ. ala-, as in Goth. ala-mans pl. 'all men' O.H.G. ala-wár 'quite true' (the only form used independently is alla-, for *al-no). Thus even in the preethnic Indo-Germanic period the temporal adverb *e, seen in such phrases as *ē bherom 'I bore' *ē eykum 'I saw' (Skr. ābharam āddyānam, Gr. έφημων έδοκαν), had no doubt sunk to the level of an inflexional prefix, because it was no longer used except in these combinations with enclitic preterite forms. Sometimes the conscious connexion with the simple word is lost because one member of the compound chances to resemble some common suffix in sound; the compounded word is then treated as equivalent to this suffix, and the whole becomes a simple word: for instance, Gr. καθ-ίω 'I set down' (Πώ for *sti-zd-ō, vé sed-) was associated with verbs in -ίω, as poleμίω, hence the fut. Att. καθώ Dor. καθίω; O H.G. gom-man (gen. gom-manans) 'married man, man' was associated with simple nouns like eban zeihan, hence such new formations as gen. sing. gommanes noun. acc. pl. gommana.
But in all these cases the change of function is very gradual; in every period we find compounded words in course of becoming simple inflexional elements. Compare further Skr. úd-añe- 'upwards' praty-áñe- 'backwards' práñe- 'forwards' and the like (see § 163, and observe their later association with the suffix go-, § 86); Armen. -a-vor in bus-a-vor 'clear' etc., corresponding to the Gr. -φῶς-ς (§ 28); Gr. εἰδῆς in Θεο-εἰδῆς 'godlike, divine' etc.; Lat. -gn-o- (cp. gen-us) in benígnum-s, malignum-s and similar forms, -ig-a- (cp. agere) in návigare sútigáre flammigáre and so forth (Leo Meyer, Bezzenberger's Beitr. VI 130 ff.); O.Ir. -már (már 'great') in ardd-már 'very high' Mod Ir. buadh-mhar 'victorius' (Glück, Kelt. Namen 77. 80 ff.), O.Ir. -lach (sloğ 'troop') in teg-lach 'household, familia' lucht-lach 'the gens in toto, the district community' etc. (Zimmer, Kelt. Stud. II 25 ff.); Mid.H.G. nít-hart lág-hart, Mod.H.G. aller-hand gewisser-massen and aller-best aller-meist.

Remark. The reverse process does not often occur, i. e. when an element once a suffix or a prefix is raised in the speaker's consciousness to the dignity of a compounded word; but we find it e.g. in Mod.H.G. leu-mund 'repute, character' (popularly connected with mund 'mouth') = Skr. šr̥-mata- (§ 82), br̥-same 'the crumb of the loaf' (influenced by sāme 'seed') from O.H.G. brōisma, Avest. yuvaŋ-ca tātt-, where the latter form was abstracted from yuvaŋ-tāt-, and shows how the suffix -tāt- was regarded in the speaker's mind. (§ 102 Rem.). A further example is Mod.H.G. wahn-sinu wahn-wicte, whose first part was the prefix wahn- pr. Germ. *yuan- 'lacking, without'. [So the suffix in Eng. wed-lock has nothing to do with the verb to lock, nor that in cray-fish (from Fr. crevissee) with fish. Similarly rounde-lay = Fr. rondelet].

It has already been pointed out in § 2 that the transition from a compound to a simple word does not always give rise to an element of the nature of a suffix or prefix. The following conditions are necessary for the production of an element of this kind: 1. the principal member of the compound must be etymologically clear; it must be associated with a kindred word or a kindred group of words: 2. the part so degraded must appear not in isolated words only but in a group of words, and in all of them it must have the same meaning: 3. this meaning must be more or less abstract and general
(Paul Princ.² 294). When these conditions are not fulfilled, the resultant forms may be called obscured compounds. To the speaker's consciousness they may appear absolutely simple words (apart from the endings of declension or conjugation which were ultimately affixed), as Mod.H.G. *welt* for O.H.G. *wer-alt* [Eng. *world*, A.S. *wurld*], Lat. *surqō* for *sub-regō*. Or even if they produce the impression of a word containing a suffix or prefix, it is only because their initial or final part has become associated with real suffixes and prefixes through some phonetic resemblance, e.g. Mod.H.G. *adler* for O.H.G. *adal-ar* ("noble bird of prey"), Mod.H.G. *wimper* 'eye-lash' for O.H.G. *wint-brāva* 'wind-brow', Mod.H.G. *albern* 'foolish' for O.H.G. *ala-wāri*, 'very friendly' whose terminations resemble those of such words as *sattler*, *schneider*, *silbern* and the like [cp. Eng. *righteous* for *right-wise*, as though its formation were the same as that of *duteous* plenteous, window from Icel. *vind-auga* 'wind-eye' compared with meadow *fallow*, scabbard whose second part is identical with *berk* in *hau-berk*, Mod.H.G. *berg-en*, not with the *-ard* of *poniard*, *petard* etc.]. A third group consists of polysyllabic words like Mod.H.G. *brāutigam* (O.H.G. *brūti-gomo* 'bride-man') Lat. *āsūrō* 'I use' for *āsū-rāpō* [cp. Eng. *nightingale* A.S. *nihte-gale* 'singer of the night', *wiseacre* = H.G. *weissager*, watershed whose second part is Mid.E. *scheden* A.S. *sceddan* Mod.H.G. *scheiden*]. Here the second element has not become clearly associated with previously existing suffixes, while on the other hand such words as these are not conceived as absolutely simple. No general definition can express the way in which the instinct of the speaker regards them; each case must be treated by itself.

Obscured compounds undoubtedly existed as early as the proethnic period of Indo-Germanic; and in its later stages they are nowhere rare. The following examples may be assigned to the proethnic vocabulary: *suĥuro*- 'father-in-law' (Skr. *svāhura*- Gr. *şoşo*- Goth. *scahtra*), *sueor*- 'sister' (Skr. *svāsar-
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Lat. soror etc.1), *wékti- 'twenty' (Skr. viśati- Gr. τικτόν εἰκοσι etc.), no doubt also *nizdo- i.e. *ni-zd-o- (v=sed-) 'settling place, nest' (Skr. nīḍā-s Armenian nist etc.), *per-ut(-i) loc. last year', connected with Gr. ἕτερ- (Skr. parut Gr. πέρον etc.), *py-sto- *py-sti- *per-sti- 'prominence, something prominent' beside √sta- 'stand' (Skr. prīthā-m 'prominent ridge, height, peak, top' L.Germ. and Dutch vorst f. O.H.G. first m. A.S. first fyrst f. roof-ridge'), *sou 'this' i.e. *so + the particle u (O.Pers. hauv Gr. οὐ in οὐ-τες), *nei 'not' i.e. *ne + the deictic particle i (Avest. nae-ciś 'no one' Lát. nē Lith. nei, cp. § 15). Even where this obscurcation is found in more than one language it may often have arisen during the individual development of the languages in question: e.g. Skr. पितयम 'I press' (pf. pippitē) for *pi-zd-, Gr. νιλιο 'I press' for *pi-zed-, originally sit upon'; Lat. creō O.Ir. cretim 'I believe' beside Skr. śrād dadhāmi 'I believe, trust' (cp. § 160, 1). Examples peculiar to single groups of languages are: Skr. nēḍ-iyas- Avest. nažd-yah-nearer for *na-zd-, originally either 'ἐρπζων, προσημενος' (v=sed-sit) or 'approaching' (v=sed- 'go, move', Gr. ὄδος. Skr. bhiṣāj-physician', no doubt to be resolved into bhi-ṣāj- 'conjuror, magician', cp. abhi-ṣajati 'he bewitches, curses'. Gr. ἐκατόμπη, cp. Skr. dāta-gu- 'having a cow's'. ḍēa-ntīg- originally 'lord of the house', ḍā-nēdo-v originally 'house-floor', see § 160, 2. wēcavō- originally to be resolved into wē-cavō- 'lying around', and compared with Skr. dūrē, see § 66. ὅπως ὅπως 'how (soever)', ὅτι ὅτι 'what (soever) for *σφόδ όνος, σφόδ τι, cp. H.G. sō hūeo, swie 'howsoever' sō huer, swer 'whosoever'. Lat. sub super for orig. *(e)k-upo *(e)ks-uper', cp. Gr. ἐξ-ἐπερέως. ap-eriō op-eriō beside Skr. ṛ-ṛti 'he moves something, makes away with it', with apa 'he makes away with, removes, opens'. pērō for *per-regō, surpūt for *sub-rāpūt. prōmō for *pro-emō. nomōnum non for *ne-o-inom. superbus for *super-fu-o-s, v=bheu-, cp. Gr. ἐπερ-φιλα-ς I § 163 p. 147. Goth. preterite frēt

1) The -sor- in *spēsor- seems to have been a root-syllable, but the word appears to have attached itself to nouns like *bhrōtor- 'brother' *dātor- 'giver' (§ 119 ff.), just as Gr. καθός was associated with πολεμώ etc. (p. 6).
O.H.G. fraț 'he devoured' from pr. Germ. *fra-eti, O.H.G. hiutu O.Sax. hindu 'to-day' beside O.Sax. hindiga A.S. heòdag for *hiu-du = Goth. hia daga 'on this day' (cp. Kluge, Paul Braune's Beitr. XII 376 f.). Mid.H.G. bange adv. 'anxiously' for *bi-ango. Mid.H.G. gunnen for O.H.G. gi-onnen 'to give freely'. Mid.H.G. niht 'nothing' for O.H.G. niwiht. Goth. ni vahts 'not a whit'. Mod.H.G. unmt. Goth. and-bahti, [Eng. huzzy O.E. hæs-wif.] Obscured compounds of this kind will be treated along with the rest, although no doubt by this method words will often be classed together which were very differently regarded by the speakers of any given period.

Lastly, it should be observed that the terms Suffix and Prefix, particularly the latter, are sometimes used in the science of language with a far wider sense than that which has been here assigned to them. One of the members of a compound may be called suffix or prefix, as the case may be, simply because it appears with the same meaning in each one of a group of words. Thus we meet with such phrases as 'the compound ano-swod with the prefix ano'.

§ 5. When one member of a compound has become a prefix or a suffix, the group of words which contains it generally creates similar forms, and is thus enlarged by analogy. The more general the significance of such an element, the more readily are words of the same type formed; take for example the extent to which -heit -lich (mann-heit männ-lich) have spread in Mod.H.G., and in Latin the future ending -bō (calē-bō), which is derived from Idg. *bhū-dā (√bhēy- 'become').

If a suffix or a prefix at a given epoch can be employed to produce new forms on the analogy of those already in existence, it is called fertile or living, and if not, barren or dead. Suffixes or prefixes which once had great vitality may die out, to be perpetuated only by memory in a certain number of examples, and no longer used for the formation of similar words. Thus the suffix -ti- (§ 99: 100), used in all the Indo-Germanic languages to form nomina actionis, was still fertile in protothnic Germanic, but in the High German period was restricted to a
limited group of nouns, such as *zucht* ‘breeding, discipline’ *an-
kunft* ‘advent’ *geburt* ‘birth’; its place has been taken principally by
-ung (as in *schenkung* ‘donation’), which still maintains its vitality.
[In English it has been largely replaced by *-ness*, e. g. *drought
dryness*, *dearth dearness*, *sloth slowness*]. In like manner the same
suffix was dead in Latin by the beginning of the literary period
(e. g. *messi*s, *mors* stem *morti*), and its place had been taken
by *-tio*- (as *fissio* *natio* *captatio*), which is fertile even in late
Latin. Again, *-o*-, in Homer still a living conjunctive suffix for
verbs in *-mu* (*i-o-mew*, *őle-rai*) came down to Attic Greek only
in a few forms which had a future meaning, such as *ēðomai χέω*;
in its place we find *-m-,* which remained in active use throughout
the classical period.

In a historical account of Indo-Germanic morphology this
point must always be kept in view; and we are further bound
to look for the reasons why one element used in forming words
has died out and another taken its place. Thus for instance
the suffix *-ti-* just mentioned fell out of use because it had
split into several different forms by phonetic change; cp. Goth.
*ansti-* *ga-baurbi- ga-mundi- ga-dēdi-* (pronounced *ga-dēdi*) *us-
stassi-* (cp. § 100 under Germanic); so that the unity of the
group was destroyed. But language always seeks like phonetic
expression for like functions; and thus new suffixes of other
and usually fuller form were preferred, and encroached more
and more upon the old ones.

An adequate consideration of this aspect of Indo-Germanic
Morphology is here impossible. Unfortunately the present
position of the science of language precludes such an attempt,
and, in any case, regard must be had to the due limits of
this work.1)

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1) In monographs on Word-Formation full justice has been done to
it; see e. g. K. von Bahder in his work ‘Die Verbalabstracta in den german.
Sprachen’, 1880. I may record my complete agreement with the principles
laid down in his Introduction (pp. 1–9).
§ 6. In § 2 reduplication was mentioned as one of the factors in the formation of words in Indo-Germanic. This subject also calls for a few preliminary observations.¹)

Here too we start from the juxta-position of two originally independent words. The same word is repeated twice or still oftener, to express repetition or lengthened duration of a process, or such ideas as universality and intensity. At every stage of the development of the Indo-Germanic languages, so far as they can be traced, we find this process going on; and it is undoubtedly as old as human speech itself. Now no hard and fast line can be drawn between the mere repetition of a word independently and the new single word arising from the coalescence of the original with its echo, if only because the aim of the repetition is nearly always such that the resulting form has the nature of a compound. Cp. Skr. pibha-pibha ‘drink!’ (Rgv. II 11, 11 pibha-pibha indra šāra šoma ‘drink, drink the soma, mighty Indra’), divē-divē ‘day by day’, prá-pra ‘on and on’, yāthā-yāthā ‘howsoever’; Gr. πάμε-παν ‘altogether’, πρό-προ-κυλινδόμενος ‘rolling on and on’ (Hom.), μᾶλλον μᾶλλον ‘magis magisque’, πλέον πλέον ‘more and more’; Lat. mane mane, audì (Plaut. Asin. 229);

jan jan, semper semper, quis-quis, ut-ut, Ital. colpo colpo, piccolo piccolo.

In this way repeated words had been fused into single forms even before the inflexional period of the Indo-Germanic parent language; and there is nothing to prevent our referring immediately to this oldest type of reduplication any words in the descendant languages in which the whole root is repeated; e.g. Skr. gär-gar-a-s 'eddy' dár-dar-ti 'he shatters, breaks up', Gr. βαγ-βαγ-ες 'speaking unintelligibly' áγ-άγ-ίν 'lead on', Lat. quir-quir-us mur-mur, O.C.Sl. glagoli 'noise, word' for *gol-gol-ti (I § 281 p. 224).

Where, however, the reduplication is part of the structure of a simple word, full reduplication ('reduplicatio integra') is comparatively rare. As a rule there is hardly more than a suggestion of the repetition, 'reduplicatio mutilla', e.g. in the perfect forms Skr. ri-rēc-a Gr. ἔλ-λου-s 'he has left', Lat. tu-tud-it, Goth. ga-rai-rōþ 'he applied himself', and in Skr. ā-sir-a-s 'cold, frost', O.H.G. fi-faltra 'butterfly'.

It is usually the former of the two syllables which has this abbreviated form. It is then regarded in the speaker's consciousness as a prefix, like the adverb ē, the so-called 'augment' (op. Gr. ἕ-φευγω : πέ-φευγα) and other degraded initial elements of compound words ('reduplicatio praefixa'). This mode of regarding it was supported by the unreduplicated forms which usually existed side by side with it; these the speaker's thought connected into one group (e.g. πέφευγα beside φεύγω φεύξω φεύξω φεύξω etc.). Where the simple form corresponding to a reduplicated form had died out, or if it survived had lost all connexion with it in the mind of the speaker, the reduplication had not so clearly the stamp of a prefix; e.g. Skr. jā-gar-mi 'I watch', Gr. Π-γαρ-, (Π-γαρ-), Lat. mem-or mem-oria, Skr. da-dru- A.S. te-ter Lith. de-dervinė 'pustular eruption'.

Less frequently the second element of the reduplicated form is debased ('reduplicatio suffixa'). The commonest example is what is called 'broken reduplication', e.g. Skr. dar-dā-'eruption on the skin' Lat. derbiōsu-s for der-d-u- (I § 170 p. 150) beside Skr. dar-dar-a 'burst' and the Skr. da-dru- etc. already mentioned,
Gr. μορ-μω 'bogic' beside μόρ-μορ-ος 'fear', πόρ-πη 'needle, clasp' beside περώνη 'clasp' περάω 'I pierce', Lat. bal-bus beside Skr. bal-balaka-rmi 'I speak stammeringly', gur-g-es beside gur-gul-ð, Lith. múr-miu 'I growl' beside Lat. mur-mur. Here nothing of the nature of a suffix could arise because there were no clearly defined groups of words with which these single forms might have become respectively connected, as was the case in the reduplication of the perfect. Only where there was some accidental phonetic resemblance to an already existing suffix did the element of reduplication assume the character of a suffix; e. g. Goth. val-v-ja 'I roll' (resembling ufar-skad-v-ja) op. Gr. ἐς-ςδιςω; and this often occurred in examples of reduplicatio integra and of reduplicatio praefixa as well, if the last element happened to sound like such a suffix: e. g. Mid.H.G. Mod.H.G. murmeln = O.H.G. mormulōn mur-mur-ōn (Lat. mur-mur-āre) like lispe-in schauk-eln hand-eln; Skr. caikrā-m 'circle, wheel' Gr. σκληρ-ος 'circle' A.S. hweowol 'wheel' (Idg. *qe-gi-o-) like Skr. abhārā-m 'cloud' Gr. ἀθ-λος 'contest' A.S. tun-gō-l 'star'; Mod.H.G. zittere zittere (for pr. Germ. *ti-trō-mi) like schnatt-ere schnatt-ere zimm-ere zimm-re; Mod.H.G. thät (for O.H.G. te-ta, reduplicated perfect) like schau-t.

Remark. How are the types de-der- (di-der-) and der-ā- related in their origin to the full form der-der-? First as regards de-der-, Pott and other scholars may be right in assuming that this is not a phonetic corruption of der-der-, but a mere 'suggestion' of the complete syllable, which was felt to be enough. de-der-, they maintain, is equivalent to der-der- in intention though not in fact, and there is no need to assume that such a form as der-der- preceded it. They point to such words in colloquial French as mé-mère 'little mother' bé-bète 'beastie' Ba-barpe 'Bab' (dimin. of 'Barbara') Cha-chole 'Charlie' as examples of the same principle. In single instances, however, phonetic change may have produced this type of formation, such a form as der-ā- becoming de-ā-o by dissimilation. Again, in the process of broken reduplication different agencies may have been at work, and in any case the examples of this kind have not all the same history. Here too dissimilation may sometimes have been the cause; der-ā-o- may stand for der-ā-ō-. And sometimes der-der-o may have been unconsciously resolved into der-d-o-, and thus being associated with words of the same type as Skr. pat-ara- 'flying', may have given rise to new formations in which der-d- was taken as the 'root'.
It should be remembered that we are here discussing only the ultimate origin of these different kinds of reduplication. When for instance such a form a de-dev- had once been evolved it became a creative type, and the later examples (e.g. all extant reduplicated perfect forms) are — directly or indirectly — mere analogical formations, made on the model of those in which the genuine process of development had taken place.

We have still to mention one more resemblance between these forms and compounds in the strict sense. In reduplicated words, as well as compounds, the real nature of the form may be obscured in some way or another, especially by phonetic change, and the result is a word which the speaker supposes to be absolutely simple (disregarding of course derivative suffixes, and any case-endings that may be in existence at the time); e.g. Skr. sēd- (in the perf. indic. 1. pl. sēd-imā opt. 3. sing. sēd-ya-t = Avest. ha-zd-ya-p etc.) Lat. sēd- (in sēd-imus sēd-āre) for Idg. *se-za- i. e. *se-sd- from √sēd- 'sit'; Lat. ser-ō 'I sow' for *si-ō cp. Gr. ἱσὺ for *a-σῆ-μ, √σῆ-; Mod.H.G. beb-t = O.H.G. bibē-t, Skr. bi-bhē- ti 'he fears'; another example which must be as old as the proethnic period is the perfect stem *ēd- (1. pl. Skr. ad-imā Lat. ēd-imus Goth. ēt-um, Lith. part. ęd-ęs) for *e-ēd- from √ėd- 'eat'.

§ 7. Lastly, we must consider Vowel-Gradation (Ablaut, see I § 307 ff. p. 244 ff.) as a factor in the formation of Indo-Germanic words.

This appears in elements of all kinds: in root syllables, e.g. i- eī- 'go' Gr. ἴ-υνυ ἵ-μι; in suffixes used to form noun-stems, e.g. -tr- -ter- Gr. πα-τρ-ός πα-τρε-ς, or verb-stems, e.g. the present suffix -nu- ney- Skr. ci-nu-mās ci-nb-mi; in case-endings, e.g. the genitive ending -s -es -os Skr. sūnū- Ś. O.C.Sl. nebes-e (for *-es) Gr. ἐπέ-ός; in personal endings, e.g. 3. sing. -ti -taž Gr. δίδω-αi δίδο-ται; and in the reduplicatio praefixa, e.g. Skr. pres. imper. act. ci-kiddhi indic. med. (intens.) cē-kītē from cit- 'perceive'.

We saw in vol. I (loc. cit.) that vowel-gradation, a mechanical consequence of shifting accent, has quite as little to do with morphological differences of function as any other phonetic variations which arose within a given group of forms through
the action of what is called phonetic law. For instance, the o-form of ablaut which appears in the root-syllable of perfect forms like *de-dork-e *le-lojq-e (Gr. διόδοσις λίλοις), as distinguished from *derk- *leiq- and *dyk- *liq- in other forms of the verbal system, had originally no more connexion with the meaning of the perfect, nor had the e-form of ablaut, found in the formative suffix in the accusatives *po-tedr-*ma-tedr- (Gr. πατέρα μητέρα) etc., as distinguished from -tr -ty in other cases, originally any more connexion with the notion conveyed by the accusative, than (say) the σ of the second persons ola-θα ῥα-τε, as contrasted with the δ of the 1. and 3. persons ola ἵδε, ὁδε, had to do with the distinction of persons. But the arbitrary phonetic differences produced by ablaut in the various groups of forms often acquired in time a special meaning, the particular phases of ablaut becoming closely attached to the particular idea conveyed by the whole word, and appropriated to this or that function in connexion with it. This is most clearly seen when such formative elements as had served, either solely or primarily, to distinguish the meaning of a particular form from that of other members of the same group, have been lost, thus leaving only the ablaut to indicate the meaning; e. g. Mid.H.G. 1. pl. pres. binden 'we bind' pret. bunden we bound' = Goth. bindam bundum, Idg. present stem *bhendho- preterite stem *bheedhydh-; Goth. acc. aihsan dat. (loc.) aihsin (nom. aihsa 'ox) = Skr. ukṣān-am (ukṣān-am) ukṣāni; Goth. acc. fadar brōbar dat. fadr brōbr cp. Gr. πατέρα πατρί. Thus even in proethnic Indo-Germanic the vowel-grade -tēr- e. g. *petr 'father' (Gr. πατὴρ) had become in the nom. sing. the chief exponent of the special meaning of the case, as opposed to the voc. sing., Gr. πατερ, and differences of ablaut like διόδοσις δεόμενος, λέισον λέπων had become connected with different kinds of action (continuous as opposed to momentary). In the same way other phonetic differences which had arisen accidentally became the exponents of different meanings. For example, in the masculine i-declension in Old High German it so happened that the whole plural had come to have the modified vowel: gesti etc. as opposed
to the sing. gast. The cases of the plural had originally been sufficiently distinguished from the singular by other means. But later on final -e was lost in Upper Germany, and partly so in Central Germany; and hence the modified vowel became, and still is, the sole sign of the distinction of number in the nom. and acc.: sing. gast pl. gest (gäst). Afterwards on this analogy tag was formed as a plural for tag, and arm for arm etc.

In this way a definite phase of vowel-gradation in the Indo-Germanic languages has often become the mark of some definite meaning; so that the relations of Ablaut are of special importance in any account of their morphology.

In accordance with what has been previously said (I § 310) we distinguish 'Strong' and 'Weak' forms in the elements of which words are built up. The weak form shows the vocalism of the Lower or Weak Grade of Ablaut, the strong form that of the Higher or Strong Grade, and in each class again there are differences, which in forms of the strong grade may be very considerable (cp. e. g. I § 311).

The simplest of all the phenomena of vowel-gradation are those which appear in the terminations denoting case and person.

In the formation of stems, especially those of nouns, very complicated relations have sometimes arisen, chiefly because the original differences of gradation have been readjusted in course of the various processes of 'levelling' which the forms have undergone in one direction or another. Some such readjustments must have taken place soon after the differences in gradation had first appeared, i. e. long before the proethnic language had broken up; and since then the process has been continually repeated. In this branch of our enquiry we can scarcely hope for anything like complete success in investigating the original distribution of the different phases of Ablaut.

Yet in a considerable number of groups of forms we have attained to a fair degree of certainty, and can even now reproduce, in all essential points, the vowel-gradation shown by the stem at the period of the first separation of the tribes. In many classes of noun-stems the formative suffix had Strong-Grade vocalism in

Brugmann, Elements. II.
the first division of the language had taken place; c. g. Skr. ṭkacittī-bhaumati 'they become of one mind' Lat. calē-bō for *cale fyō.

Here, unless the contrary is expressly stated, our hyphons always imply the assertion that in the case of the oldest examples of any formation which gave the type for the whole group, each of the parts thus separated was once really an independent word.

Remark 1. Of late years much labour and ingenuity has been spent in the attempt to determine the original form of Indo-Germanic 'roots', especially since the publication of de Saussure's suggestive Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles (Leipz. 1879). This subject, important as it undoubtedly is, I must dismiss with only a reference in passing, because of the grievous uncertainty of the theories hitherto advanced; nor do I wish to suggest to the beginner that he need at the outset give any special attention to the question. I still feel wholly uncertain whether Idg. *ṇya-yō- (Gr. pres. ᾧ-ντι ᾧνο-ν, subst. ᾧν αὐτῶν:) was earlier or later than *nā- (Gr. ἓν-α-ρι-) and Idg. *jen-i- (Skr. jñini-lō-) than *jen-i- (Skr. jï-μ-αν), whether the shorter form came from the fuller or whether the latter was derived from the former by the addition of -e- -o- and -e-. The relation of Idg. *pē- (Lat. pē-ν-ακ-) to *pē- (Goth. ḕi-hu Skr. pē-gar-tī) is also quite obscure. *pē- may be regarded as standing for an older form *pē-, and its -e- as an element not originally belonging to the root. But we may equally well regard *pē- Ons the original simple root-word from which all shorter forms have been derived. The authorities are cited by Hübenschmann, Das indogerm. Vocalsystem p. 181 ff., Johansson, Deutsche verbis contractis linguae Graecae p. 82 sqq. 93 sqq., Bezzenberger, Götting. gel. Anz. 1887 p. 417.

Remark 2. Another question much discussed is that of the so-called 'root determiners'. Certain consonants frequently appear as the final sound of roots in a larger or smaller number of the words which belong to them. E. g. -il- in Skr. rā-dī-ni 'brings about, prepares, satisfies' Goth. gn-rē-d-ian 'to reflect upon something' O.C.Sl. ra-d-iti 'to reflect upon, care for' beside Lat. rē-rī, ra-tīō Goth. ra-þjō 'ratio'; Gr. πῦ-ς-σ-ο 'puts' beside πῦ-σ- 'pus'; O.C.Sl. i-â-q 'go' beside Gr. e-μα 'I go'; further, in the suffixes -il-ro- -il-lo- -il-mo- (see § 77). -i- in *kley-s- 'to hear' Skr. ḍr-i-śi-śi 'courtesy, readiness' part. ś-gi-ti-mānu- only O.Iran. iana 'ear' (I § 516 p. 377) A.S. ilin-s- 'hearing' O.C.Sl. ilu-ch-i 'act of hearing, hearing' beside *kley-Skr. part. ś-hi-ti-s Gr. ἵλη-ε-τ-ε etc., and in *ten-e- 'extend, stretch out' Skr. tpsāyati 'he pulls this way and that' si-tas-ti-ś 'span' O.H.G. dinsan 'to drag, trail' Lāth. tō-sītā 'I stretch' beside ten- Skr. fut. taniśāti Gr. tēnē etc. The use of this -e- became widely extended in the Aorist and Future and also in Desiderative formations; it may also be etymologically connected with the -e- in Gr. ἕ-c- (ἐ- 'I scrape, smooth' nor. ἐ-c-) beside ἐ- (ἐυ-) and ges- (Lith. kas-ū 'I scratch' O.C.Sl. čes-ati 'to comb, curry'); in ἐπ-ε- (ἐπι-με- 'to quench') beside ἐπ- (ἐπ- 'was quenched') and seg- (Lat. scī-end etc.); in μ-ε- (Lat. με-τ-ε-) beside ϛ- (Lat. in- where
FORMATION AND INFLEXION OF NOMINAL (AND PRONOMINAL) STEMS.

§ 9. Our discussion so far has led us to the conclusion, that in the Indo-Germanic languages the first step towards a complete inflexional system is to be seen in the nominal compounds whose first member is an uninflected stem, and reduplicated nouns in which neither of the two members has sunk to the level of an inflexional element; that is, if we consider them apart from their case-suffixes and from any further derivative elements or other particles which may have become attached to them. It seems appropriate, then, to begin our account of the Morphology of Nouns, by treating first of Compound Words and of Reduplicated Forms.

COMPOSITION OF NOUNS (NOUN-COMPOUNDS). 1)

THE COMPOUNDS CONSIDERED IN RESPECT OF THEIR FORM.

§ 10. We may distinguish four classes of compound forms:

I. Compounds whose first part is the stem of an inflected noun, or pronoun, e. g. Gr. µονο-γενής compared with µονο-γ;
II. Compounds whose first part is a word which never admits of inflexion in any period of the history of the Indo-

§ 10, II. Noun Compounds: their Form in Indo-Germanic.

Germanic languages accessible to our investigation, and only appears in compounds, e. g. Gr. ἀ-βαρος:

III. Compounds whose first part is an old adverbial word (with or without case-ending), which was also used uncompound, e. g. Gr. ἐπι-βαρος compared with ἐπι (ἐπί);

IV. Compounds whose first part is either case-form which when it first entered into composition was a living member of some case-system, or an adverb which had only become such during the development of the separate languages, and had the force of an adverb at the time when it was compounded; e. g. Gr. Δυσ-κοναος and παν-αλος.

No differences in principle are implied by this classification. It is chiefly intended as a convenient means of survey. In the course of the development of the different languages, the boundaries of the various classes often wavered considerably, and here and there new formations arose which departed widely from the type: originally proper to their particular class.

Classe I and IV are often contrasted as 'genuine' and 'spurious' compounds. The latter are also called Juxtaposita.

Prothetic Indo-Germanic.

§ 11. Class I. This type of formation was certainly represented by a large number of examples in the Indo-Germanic period, although there are not many compounds which occur simultaneously in different branches of the derived lan-

guages, and therefore may reasonably be cassed here. Several have a numeral for their first member; e.g. Skr. \textit{dvipād-}\textit{Gr. ὑ-νοῦς Lat. bi-pēs A.S. twi-fētē 'two-footed'; Skr. \textit{tri-dant-}\textit{tri-dānt-} Lat. tri-dōns 'three-toothed'; Skr. \textit{tata-pād-} Lat. centi-\textit{pēs 'hundred-footed'. O.Pers. \textit{hama-pitar-} Gr. ὑμο-πάτων ὑμω-\textit{pārōς O.Icel. sam-\textit{fēdr 'having the same father, a common father'; Gr. ὑμό-γνος Goth. sama-\textit{kunja-} see I § 142. ν 128. Avest. \textit{pouru-nar-} Gr. πολυ-άνω 'rich in men'; Skr. \textit{puru-dāśas-} 'rich in wondrous deeds' Gr. πολυ-δένα\textit{polivōulav, polivētin} (Hesych.). Gr. \textit{dvi-νοῦς Lat. acu-pēdīus 'swift-footed'; Skr. \textit{āvū-pātvan-} Gr. ἄκο-νέτης 'swiftly flying' Lat. \textit{acu-pītēr,} which popular etymology changed to \textit{acci-pītēr, as though from \textit{acci-pītō, and even to acceptor. Skr. \textit{ṛy-mānas-} 'having the mind of a man', Gr. \textit{Avrō-μένης. Skr. \textit{nava-jā-} i.e. \textit{nava-ajā- 'driving ships, seaman', Lat. \textit{navigō 'I navigate' from \textit{navigō- 'driving ships. It is to be noticed that these formations scarcely ever correspond exactly; we have usually to suppose that analogy has modified the forms in the separate languages (e.g. Gr. \textit{Avrō-μένης} instead of \textit{avrō-}, see § 29).

§ 12. The termination of the first member.

Stems in \textit{-o-} had \textit{-o-}, cp. Gr. \textit{inno-δαμος 'taming horses', Gall. Đēvo-\textit{gnāta (dēvo- 'god'), Goth. \textit{garda-valdands 'master of the house', Lith. gera-dēfis O.C.Sl. dobro-dēfī 'benefactor'. Whether \textit{-o-} occurred as well as \textit{-o-} (cp. Gr. \textit{Ayē-λακς beside \textit{ayō-ς, see § 29. 30) is doubtful. The final vowel of the stem seems to have remained unchanged even where the second part of the compound began with a vowel: Skr. Ved. \textit{yuktā-āsā- 'who has horses yoked', O.C.Sl. bēlo-okē 'white-eyed' (cp. also Pruss. \textit{dago-augis 'young sprig of a tree' deina-algenika-mans dat. pl. 'to day-labourers'), see I § 600 p. 453.

Stems in \textit{-a-}, in compounds formed in the separate families of language, sometimes end in \textit{-a-}, and sometimes have the same form as the \textit{o-} stems. The former is frequent in Aryan and Greek, rare in Latin and Lithuanian: Skr. \textit{urvarā-jīt-} 'gaining arable land' Avest. \textit{daēnā-vazak-} (proper name) from

dana- 'law, faith', Gr. βουλή-γορός 'giving counsel', Lat. fadō-ginu 'proceeding from beans', Lith. szikšsnų-sparnis 'bat' (properly 'leather-winged creature'). The -o-form is not uncommon in Aryan and Greek; it preponderates in Latin and Lithuanian; and in Keltic, Germanic and Slavonic it is the only form found: Skr. Ved. ukha-chid- 'breaking the pot' from ukhā-, Avest. gada-vāra- 'wielding a club' from gada- (= Skr. gadd-), Gr. ἔλο-τόμος 'felling timber' from ξύλη, Lat. ali-pēs from ala, Gall. Teuto-bōdiacē beside O.Ir. tuath f. 'people' ground-form *teutā, Goth. airpa-kunds 'of earthly origin' from airpa, Lith. galo-rāis ties 'headband' from galvė, O.C.Sl. glavo-bolije 'headache' from glava. From these data I do not venture to draw any definite conclusion for the proethnic period. It seems to me, however, improbable that the transition from -ā- to -o- took place independently in all the different languages. Indeed it is certain that the latter was the regular form in proethnic Indo-Germanic when the compound consisted of an adjective + a feminine substantive: Skr. priya-bhārya 'beloved wife', Gr. ἄξιο-νολίκ 'upper part of a city', O.Ir. sen-mathir 'old mother, grandmother' from *se-no- (cp. however § 39), O.H.G. junc-frouna 'young lady' for *jungo-, Lith. jaunū-martė 'young woman' sen-motė 'old mother, grandmother' for *sena- (cp. O.Ir. sen-mathir), O.C.Sl. plūno-luna 'full moon'.


Stems in -i-, -u-, nasals, liquids, and such of the stems in explosives were declined with vowel-gradation had regularly the weak form of ablaut, from the proethnic period onwards, in compounds as well as in derivatives (e. g. Gr. βασι-καλων like βασι-νης, Skr. pīt-dēva-s like pīt-teu-m).

*Stems in -i- and -u- had -i-, -u- before consonants. Skr. tri-pād Čr. τρι-νυς Lat. tri-pēs A.S. tri-fēto 'three-footed', Gall. tri-garanus 'with three cranes', Lith tri-kōjis 'creature with three
Noun Compounds: their Form in Indo-Germanic.


Stems in -n- may have sometimes had forms in -y-, before consonants, and forms in -n- or -yn-, before sonants. -y- may be inferred from Greek compounds like krai-smerov 'head-band' for *kri(ō)-n-, óromá-xurgo 'with famous name' (I § 224 p. 192). We may set beside them Lat. nomen-clator nomen-culatus and Skr. compounds like śīrṣa-bandhana f. 'head-band' nama-dha-s 'name-giver', and also vīṣu-vasu-ś 'strong as an ox' (cp. vīṣan-vaut- and vīṣan-yati- for *vịṣay- I § 225 p. 192). As examples of -n- before sonants might be given Gr. áor-φόδος 'singing for the prize of a lamb' (late), xero-ānnc 'dog-eyed', Lith. šau-rgbilei pl. 'hawthorn ('dog-apples'), and for -ny- Ved. vīṣaṇ-āspa- 'having stallions for steeds, drawn by stallions' (said of a chariot). Yet it is very uncertain whether those forms are the direct representatives
of original types. What we most commonly find is a substitution of o-stems for the stems in -n-, and this mode of representing the u-stems in composition appears to me undoubtedly prooethnic. Gr. ξῆλο-νῶν 'capital of a column' from ξῆλος, ἄμβολ-όστρον 'anvil-block' from ἄκμων, ἀμφο-ταφίς 'dipped in blood' from ἀμφο, Lat. homi-vula, sanguis-sāga, numi-clatorī (īscr.). Mid. Ir. talam-chumscuynd 'earthquake' from talam gen. talman (§ 37), Goth. gumu-kunds 'of the male sex' from gumu gen. guminis, ásga-daúrō n. 'window' ('eye-door') from ásgō gen. ásgins; Skr. compounds like sirṣa-bandhanā may also be classed here, and all the more confidently because such forms as Skr. ukṣyāna- = ukṣa-annya- 'devouring oxen' (from ukṣan-) Avest. zrvāyu- = zrva-aċu- 'specified time' (from zrcan-) clearly show the type of the o-stems (cp. yuktāsva-). This substitution of o-stems for stems in -n- is obviously connected with a similar change in the final members of compounds, as Skr. tri-pāra-s 'with three edges' from pāvan-, priyā-dhāmas- 'occupying a charming position' from dhāman-, (ir. ἀ-πειρ-: 'boundless' beside ἀ-πειρω (stem *πειρά-) ἀ-αμο-ς 'bloodless' beside ἀ-αμο, Lat. ex-sanguis-s for an older *ex-sangua-s (see § 93, under Italic) from sanguen, sublimu-s, later sublimi-s (properly 'reaching up to the lintel') from limen.)

Stems in -m-. Skr. sa-kṣt 'once' Gr. α-πλάνος 'single' Lat. sim-plex, Idg. *sym-, from *sem- 'unus' Gr. ἕλκ neut. ἐν. Gr. ἄπεδου 'floor in a house', then 'ground' generally, for *dye-, from *dem- 'house', see § 160, 2.

The Indo-Germanic type of formation in r-stems is shown in Skr. pīth-brāvanas- 'gaining glory for one's father' and pītaratham 'for one's father's sake'. Cp. also Gr. τεσφαγ-νας- 'containing four measures of land', from the Idg. stem *getyarn- (τεσφα- = Idg. *geta-, cp. I § 285), Goth. brāþru-lību 'brotherly

1) No inference can be drawn from such Germanic examples as Goth. huins-haurta- 'haughty' beside haurtan- n. 'heart'. For even granting that stems like these had always been n-stems, the o-inflection must in any case have been forced upon them by the analogy of the strong declension of adjectives. Cp. Leo Meyer, Got. Spr. p. 247.
love' (? see § 40) and Gr. πατρ-όνυμο- 'named from the father', ἄνδρ-άγων 'spoils of an enemy'.

Stems in -nt- had -nt-: Skr. bhṛad-rathā- 'having a great cat', Idg. *bhṛghyt-.

Stems in -s-. Gr. μῦς-φόνος 'killing mice', Lat. mūs-cipula 'mouse-trap', Idg. *mūs-. Stems in -es- no doubt had -es-: Gr. σακχ-φόνος 'shield-bearer', Goth. sigis-lain prize of victory', Skr. rajas-tūr- 'hastening through the sky'. -s- no doubt occurred as well, cp. Skr. mardhátar- 'thoughtful, devout person' for *maṇi-ḍhatar-, beside maṇas- Gr. ἰνος. The use of -o-stems in their place, which is found in Greek, Latin, Celtic, and Slavonic (§ 29. 34. 37. 47, cp. also the Germanic, § 40 Rem. 5) may be an independent development of the separate languages.

§ 13. The action of analogy produced many changes in what we must assume to have been the original forms of the initial members of compounds.

On the one hand, we find one kind of stem taking the place of another, e.g. a stem in -o- replacing a stem in -i-, as Slav. gosto- instead of gosti- (§ 47). We have just seen (in § 12) that changes of this kind arose even in protothetic Indo-Germanic. Thus it may well be the case that *dvī- 'two' (beside nom. acc. du. *dvī: Skr. dvāḥ etc.) was formed in this period to correspond with *tri- 'three' (cp. e.g. *dyi-pod- 'two-footed' beside *tri-pod-) just as Gr. δικόνιος was modelled on ῥωμ-κόνιος, πέντε-πονς (for πέντε-πονς) on ῥότα-πονς, and so forth; a different explanation of *dvi-, which does not seem to me convincing, is given by Bartholomae (Ar. Forsch. III 39). In the development of the separate languages the use of -o- as the connecting link in compound words was especially frequent; hence this ending has been called the ‘vowel of composition’ ('Compositionsvocal').

On the other hand, the stem is sometimes replaced by a case-form (the compound thus passing into Class IV). Of this kind are new formations like Skr. agrā-gā-s (loc. sing.) beside
the more archaic *agra-ga-s 'going at the head', Gr. Ἰλογίς (loc. sing.) 'born in Pylos', Mod.H.G. befehlhaber landsmann (gen. sing.) for the older forms befehlhaber landmann. In this class also a few examples may be prothetic, cp. Skr. aśṭa-pada- aśṭa-pada- Gr. ὀκτώ-pous 'eight-footed', Lat. octō-jugis (Goth. ahtau- seen in ahtau-dōgs 'eight-day' (adj.) for *ahtō-, following the uncompounded ahtau) with the form of the nom. acc. du., and similarly, with the form of the nom. acc. sing., Gr. ἕκκαρβον-pous -pous Lat. centum-peda beside the more archaic Skr. satā-pād- Lat. centi-pēs -peda (cp. also 'Goth. handa-faip 'centurio'. Lith. szimtas-tōjis 'hundred-footed').

Remark. Cp. the occurrence of the -o- of the nom. acc. du. in the case-endings Skr. -o-bhyām Lat. -ō-bus (duōbus). Skr. aśtra- (seen in Ved. aśṭara- etc.) and Lat. octō- (seen in octō-pēs etc.) do not represent the Idg. stem *okta-, from which the dual was formed, but they follow the analogy of sapta- and septi-, cp. Gr. ἑκτα- beside ὀκτα- in imitation of ἑκτα-.

The same substitution of case-form for stem is seen in certain derivatives formed by means of suffixes; examples of this are Skr. tad-īya-s 'belonging to that' tad-vant- 'provided with that' (tā-d nom. acc. neut.) ki-yū-ṣ 'desiring what?' (ki-m nom. acc. neut.), Skr. divā-tana-s 'diurnus' (divā instr. sing. 'by day', § 69), Skr. uccās-tārṇa-s 'higher' (uccāsī instr. pl. 'high', § 75), Gr. μνεῖον-ταμο 'furthest back in the corner' (μνεῖοι loc. sing. 'in the corner, within', § 75). Gr. ἱππ-ς 'powerful' (ἱπτο instr. sing. 'with power, with might'), Lat. extrē-mus ('extrē-adv., § 72, 2'), Goth. jāi-n-s 'that' (m.) (*jōi loc. sing., § 66).

§ 14. Class II. Idg. *y- *yn- 'un-', connected with *ne- *nē 'not' (Skr. nānd etc.): Skr. a-mūta-s a-martiya-s 'immortal a-nātā-s 'without horses', Armen. an-gēt 'unknowing', Gr. ἅ-μπορος ἅ-μπωρος-ς (cp. I § 120 p. 111) ἀν-μπικς, Lat. in-somnis (Skr. a-snapnā-s 'sleepless'), O.Ir. s-tromm 'not heavy, light', O.H.G. um-ende n. 'endlessness' (Skr. an-antā-s 'endless'), cp. I § 227 p. 194; and the parallel form *g- 'un-' = Gr. α- νη- etc., see I § 253 p. 207. Idg. *dus- 'mis- ill': Skr. dur-manas- 'illwill, malevolence', Armen. t-gēt 'unknowing', Gr. ἕσσα-μένης 'ill-disposed', O.Ir. do-chthruth 'deformed, ugly' (from cruth 'form', the e being
changed to ch on the analogy of so-chruth 'beautifully formed', see I § 658 p. 510 f.), O.H.G. zur-lust 'wilfulness, illwill'.

These initial members of compound words may once have been independent adverbial words which were restricted even in the proethnic period to use in composition; just as Idg. *su 'well' and *su-mi 'half', which in Aryan still occur as independent words, in the other branches of Indo-Germanic only survived in compounds.

§ 15. Class III. This class may be split up into numerous subdivisions; only a few of them can be noticed here.

Adverbs used in the separate languages as verbal prepositions are compounded with verbal nouns. Idg. *épi-dhóto-s 'added': Skr. ápi-hita-s 'shut, enveloped' Gr. ἄνεπος 'added'. Idg. *ápó-qiti-s 'expiation, punishment': Skr. ápa-citiṣ Gr. ἀπληρ. Idg. *ni-zdo-s 'place for sitting down' (Y sed-): Skr. niḍá-s. Arm. nist, Lat. nádu-s, O.Ir. net, O.H.G. nest, see I § 590 p. 447. Idg. *peri-srýo-s 'a flowing round': Skr. pari-sráva-s, Gr. περιφράσσως. It was not before the period of separate development that adverbs of this kind were closely united with the finite verb, as in Gr. ἐπι-πτήνοι, and it is clear that the older practice of compounding them with nouns gave considerable impulse to this tendency.

Remark. The group of purely verbal compounds then reacted upon the class of nominal compounds. It is true enough to say that e. g. Gr. ἐξεύγεις 'eminent, prominent' is not a compound of εξ and εὔγεις, nor Goth. afflu 'remission, forgiveness' a compound of aff and lu, but that those words are simple derivatives from the verbs ἐξεύγει and afflu (J. Grimm, D. Gr. II [1878] 694, Zacher, Zur griech. Nominalcomp. 8); and there is after all good reason for adopting Zacher's name for them, 'pseudo-compounds'. But it must not be forgotten that in creating such forms the language is merely adding new examples to old classes, whose types have come down from the proethnic period, and that by far the greater number of the so-called compounds in the Idg. languages were certainly not formed by any real process of composition, but merely through analogical imitation of old typical forms; that is to say, they are only 'pseudo-compounds'.

Adverbs, used in the separate languages as prepositions governing a case, are compounded with nouns which are found governed by them; ἱνεπίδιγμα-ν = ἱν μεγάλην ν. In the proethnic
period, when this group of forms began to develop, prepositional phrases like Skr. ánu satyám ‘conformably to truth’ Gr. ἐν προσκυνήσαν ‘in the head’ Lat. ante portam can hardly, as yet, have become a recognised construction. The need of derivatives, however, had already given rise to compounds, exactly in the same way as in Mod.H.G. lang-welting is derived from lange weile, in Lat. Sacraviensis from suera via etc. (cp. § 3 Rem. p. 4 f.). Then, the more firmly the prepositional construction established itself in the separate languages, the easier was it to form corresponding compounds, and the more freely they were coined. Skr. api-karma-m ‘that which is situated by the ear, the region of the ear’. Gr. ἵππ. γαῖας adj. ‘on the earth’. Skr. uparí-marñya-s ‘rising above mortals’, Gr. ἱππ. ἁπλοῦσας ἤπειρ. Ἱθνος (the same). Lat. inter-callum ‘that which is situated between two palisades (inter valles), intermediate space’, Skr. antar-hastá-s adj. ‘in the hand’. Goth. uf-díðeis ‘under an oath, bound by an oath’, Skr. upa-kakśa-s ‘reaching to the armpit’. Lith. pér-guboc f. ‘that which is laid over or around the head, cowl’, Gr. περι-ξφαλῶν περι-ξχαλάδα ‘head-covering’. It is noteworthy that Sanskrit and Greek agree in using as adverbs the acc. sing. neut. of these adjectival compounds, e.g. Skr. praty-ákṣa-m from praty-ákṣa-s ‘lying before the eyes’, ati-mátrá-m from ati-mátrá-s ‘exceeding the proper measure’, Gr. ἐμ. πεδον from ἐμ. πεδος ‘situated on the earth, firm’, ἕπεμ. πορος from ἕπεμ. πορος ‘beyond destiny’.


§ 16. Class IV. Compounds of this kind do not appear in any great numbers until the later periods of the history of the languages. Of these, too, by far the greatest number are due to no real process of composition, but merely to the ana-
logy of already existing types. The following may be regarded as formations which had the character of compounds as early as the proethnic period.

The words for the tens from thirty upwards, as Gr. ῥηδα-κώντα, τεταρτα-κώντα, which have a nom. acc. pl. neut. as their initial member.

Idg. *dvi-dekna *duvi-dekna 'twelve': Skr. dvā-daśa dvādaśa, Avest. daa-dasa (with a instead of ā, following da), Gr. Διά-δεκα Δωδέκα, Lat. duo-decim (with o instead of ā, following du); compare Skr. dvādaśama-s Lat. duodecimus 'twelfth'.

Idg. *treis-dekna 'thirteen': Skr. ṛaśa-daśa, Lat. tredecim (I § 594 p. 450), Mid.H.G. drī-zehen (the sounds at the junction of the two words have been modified on the analogy of the two uncompounded forms, for -zd- would have become -st- in Germanic).

Remark. We may generalise so far as to assume that in proethnic Indo-Germanic there already existed compounds for all the numbers 11—19. Yet it must be noticed that the names of the numbers up to nine are not all genuine case-forms, e.g. Idg. *peneze 'five' seen in Skr. pāṇca-dakṣa, Lat. quindecim Goth. fimmzalhun.

Possibly there were also in the Indo-Germanic period compounds containing case-forms of *diy- 'heaven'; cp. Skr. divō-rūc- 'shining from heaven' Gr. Διώ-δος 'given by Zeus', Skr. divi-jā-s divi-jata-s 'born in heaven'. The Greek compound ἰω-νόρης 'master of the house', whose first member was the Idg. gen. *dem-s (I § 204 p. 171 and § 160 below) may also have been inherited from the parent language.

To this class also belong such forms as Skr. tad-vahā-s 'having a desire for that', Gr. νωθ-ἀνός 'whence coming?' with the form of the nom. acc. sing. neut. See I § 228 p. 195 and § 163 below.

§ 17. The forms of this class, like those of Class I, gave rise to many analogical innovations. The most noteworthy of these is that the case-ending of the first member of the compound ceased to be regarded as a case-ending, and was used in composition with nouns which could not be joined with
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It uncompounded; e.g. Gr. θέσω-δερος (beside θέσ-ς, gen. θέσις) on the analogy of διόσ-δερος, Mod.H.G. hilfstruppen ‘auxiliary force’ (beside die hilfe, gen. der hilfe) on the analogy of forms like hengers-not. See § 24. 32. 44. 47.

§ 18. Compounds of all classes have been used from the earliest period as personal names1), and it must be assumed that even in the parent language this was the commonest method designating of persons.


These compounds had in many respects a peculiar history.

Amongst the Greeks and the Germanic peoples, it was a custom to insert in a child’s name one of the words which were found compounded in the name of the father or the mother:


2) And perhaps the Armenians. On the subject of personal names in Armenian I have received communications from Prof. Hüthachmann, and I am satisfied that in the present state of our knowledge it can neither be affirmed nor denied that this people retained any genuine Indo-Germanic compound names. In the case of geographical names, however, the old principle of nomenclature may be said to be still fully in force.

3) In Lithuanian this mode of forming family names is now obsolete.
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e. g. Δέον-κράτης son of Δέον-κληρον, Βόο-κράτης son of Εύφων-κράτης. 
Iβόνο-τικάς son of Ιβόνο-κληρον; in the 8th century A.D. we have 
Walt-bert son of Walde-ram, Wald-bert and Wolf-bert sons of 
Hram-bert, Wine-gambus son of Wine-burgis (Stark, Dic Kose- 
namen der Germanen, p. 159) 1). This explains the fact that 
words of the most heterogeneous meaning were often combined 
to form one name, as Gr. 'Ιππό-λαζ, 'Ρόδι-πνος, C.H.G. Wolf-dag, 
Fridu-yundis.

One of the two compounded words was sometimes used 
alone as an abbreviation for the whole name (these are called 
'Kurznamen' 'short names'), and suffixes expressing endearment 
were often added at the same time to this single stem. This 
practice of abridgement, which shows the same kind of 
linguistic thrift as we see e. g. in Mod.H.G. bahn = eisenbahn, 
lager = lagerbier, soda = sodawasser, kilo = kilogramm, ein 
viertel neun = ein viertel liter neun weines, in London slang 
phrases such as zoo = zoological garden, pops = popular 
concerts, bus = omnibus, and in Gr. πατρος, ματησια, 
may be regarded as unquestionably belonging to the protoethnic 
period. Skr. dēva-s dēvakā-s dēvika-s dēnuya-s dēvala-s dēvila-s 
= deca-datta-s deca-kṣatra-s deca-śravas- etc. Gr. Ζεωσ Zeṿlač 
= Zeṿl-μος Zeṿl-άμος Zeṿl-θεος etc. Gall. Toutus Toutiu 
Toutillus = Touto-bocio O.Cymr. Tut-ri (cp. Gall. Toutio-rix) etc. 
O.H.G. Wolfo Wolfilo (Goth. Vulšila) Wolfing = Wolf-brand 
Wolf-braht Wolf-gang etc. Pruss. Bute Butil Buteko = Buti- 
labes etc. Serv. Vuk Vukoj Vukel Vukolin = Vuko-voj Vuko- 
mir etc. (vuk = O.C.Sl. vlukē 'wolf'). This shortening was 
also effected by dropping the first member of the compound,

1) In Greek the influence of the father's name may be observed even 
in names consisting of single stems, the formative suffix being taken over to 
the new name, e. g. Βεξο-ωλός son of Βεξο-ωλος, Μανυ-λος son of Φιλ-λος. 
See J. Baumack, Stud. auf dem Gebiete des Griech., I 1, 57.

2) The psychological side of this practice of abbreviation has been 
examined by Behaghel (Die Deutsche Sprache, p. 68 f.). It springs from 
the general tendency to leave unspoken whatever can be understood, 
or is at once suggested by the immediate context.
§ 18,19. Noun Compounds: their Form in Indo-Germanic.

e. g. Gr. Κλήτος = Ἀράκλητος (a bishop in the first century), Vulfsus = Hun-ulfsus, Scirorum primas, sacc. V, Jornandes c. 54.

Where this kind of abbreviation took place the feeling for the etymological structure of the compound was sometimes lost, and so the initial consonant or consonants of the second member remain in the curtailed form. Gr. Νικο-μᾶς = Νικο-μιθῆς, Δημο-σθᾶς = Δημο-σθένης, Εὐ-χοις = Εὐ-χρηστός, Πολυ-ξεῖ = Πολυ-ξένη. O.H.G. Adel-bo = Adel-bero and Adel-boldus, Sibo = Sibold Sigi-bald, Rat-po = Rat-poto, Thiet-mârûs, Ercam-bius = Ercam-bertus.


The student should compare the examples of abbreviated names in other languages collected by R. Mowat, in his essay De la déformation dans les noms propres (Mém. de la Soc. de Ling. I, 171 ff.).

§ 19. Accentuation of Compounds. In languages where the free Indo-Germanic accentuation can still be observed, the position of the accent in compounds varies considerably in many ways, and it is certain that even in the protothic period a complicated system had been developed. Certain principles, however, can be everywhere recognised, and must probably be assumed as holding good for that period.

1. Where the meaning was not 'epithetised' (§ 50) the compounds of Class I (see above) were usually oxytone if the second member was a nomen agentis: Skr. radhra-codâ-s 'driving on the weary' (sodá-s 'driving on') aśva-hayá-s 'driving on the steeds' (hayá-s 'driving on'), Gr. ἱψικο-πομπὸς 'conducting souls' (πομπὸς 'conductor') παῦδο-τρόφος for *παῦδο-τροφος (I § 676 p. 542 f.) 'nourishing children' (τροφός 'nourisher'). On the other hand, where the meaning was 'epithetised', the first member usually
bore the accent, no matter of what parts of speech the word was compounded: Skr. ḍhrī(ṣ)-aśva-s 'having golden-yellow steeds hiranya-kēsa-s 'golden-haired', Avest. stehr-paesah- adorned with stars' = pr. Ar. *ṣṭr-paṣṭas-. (I § 260 p. 212, § 288 p. 229 f. § 674 p. 599), Gr. βαῦξ-κολός 'with deep, full bosom κλυτόπωλος 'having glorious steeds' χαλίκονος 'bronze-footed' (as regards instances like ἔφυρος-εὔτροφος 'with wide stream' for ἔφυρος-εὔτροφος see I § 676, 2 p. 541 and Wheeler, Der griech. Nominalacos. 43 ff.), A.S. fyder-fēte 'four-footed' for pr. Germ. *fipur- (I § 529 p. 384 f.) like Skr. cāṭuḥ-pad-. Thus we find existing side by side forms like Skr. rāja-putrā-s 'king's son' and rāja-putrā-s 'having kings for sons'; Gr. πατριτόρως 'turning all' (cp. τρόπος 'turner, strap by means of which the car is turned') and παλπρόπος 'of many wiles' (cp. τρόπος 'a turn') with many similar examples.

Remark 1. The exceptions to these rules still need careful investigation. Thus for example, Sanskrit compounds of -pati- 'lord', though they belong to the immutative or unepithetised class, accentuate the first member, as gaṇḍa-pati- 'lord of a troop' pār-pati- 'lord of a stronghold', and the d of Goth. -fati- in kunda-fati- 'leader of 100 men' points to the same accentuation. pr. Germ. *xundā-fadi- (I § 530 p. 386 f.). May not this substantive have been originally a nomen actionis meaning 'rule, lordship', (cp. § 149), so that the compounds in question would originally have been mutata (epithetised)?

2. Compounds with *y- *yn- 'un-' accented this prefix they were the same part of speech as their final member. Skr. a-kumāra-s 'non-boy, maturec. youth' (kumārā-s), a-dīrgha-s 'no long' (dīrghā-s), a-kṣita-s 'imperishable' (ksitā-s), ān-andha-s 'no blind' (andhā-s). Gr. a-ιώμα 'gifts that are no gifts' (dōxa), a-δηλος 'not plain' (δηλος), a-γ-ινος = Skr. a-kṣita-s, ān-ulōc 'insatiable'.

Remark 2. If the phonetic law for y, which was laid down in I § 226, is correct, Skr. ān- and Gr. ān- must once have been regular even where the next part of the compound began with a consonant. In that case the unaccented ā- ā- of epithetised compounds like Skr. a-anās- 'without darkness' Gr. a-δική 'fearless', must have passed into more general use, thanks no doubt to the fact that before a sonant every ā- ā- accented and unaccented alike, regularly became an- an- (cp. ān- andhā-s and an-ēndas- 'sinless', ān-ulōc and ān-ādē 'shameless').
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3. Compounds consisting of adverbs + participles in -to-, abstract substantives in -ti-, or similar verbal nouns (Class III), had the accent upon the adverb, just as the corresponding forms of the finite verb in a principal clause threw back their accent upon the adverbs which qualified them (cp. I § 669 p. 534). Skr. prá-tta-s 'given up' Gr. πρά-ττος 'abandoned', Skr. prá-tti-gr. πρά-ττος; A.S. frá-cod Goth. frá-kunþs 'despised'. O.H.G. frá-tal 'transgression'. In Greek the accentuation followed new rules; thus we have ἀπο-τελεύτης instead of *ἀπο-τελεύκατος, ἀπο-τελεύκατος, for *ἀπο-τελεύκατος, ἀπο-τελεύκατος, cp. εἰσί-φειδίος above, 1.

4. Cumulative numerals (Devandva) had the accent on the first number, as Skr. deva-dasa Gr. δώ-δεκα 'twelve'.

Aryan,

§ 20. In the proethnic period of Aryan the existing types of formation underwent no important changes.

In certain forms, as Skr. áśva-magha-s, we find -á- where we should expect -a-. These no doubt arose by analogy in proethnic Aryan, if they are due to the influence of Indo-Germanic stems in -a-, or if they contain the form of the instr. sing. See § 22, with the Remark.

Examples of compounds which accurately represent the Indo-Germanic types are: Skr. vira-hán- Avest. vira-jan- 'slaying men'. Skr. áva-hata- Avest. O.Pers. ava-jata- 'beaten off, struck down, killed': cp. Lat. au-. Skr. dūrē-bruta- proper name, Avest. dūraē-srūta- 'far-famed', containing the loc. sing. of the stem dūra-.

§ 21. In Sanskrit, nominal compounds were freely developed. In the Veda and the Brāhmaṇa compounds containing more than two members appear but rarely; but in the classical language, especially in the artificial style, stem-compounds (Class I) consisting of several members are quite common, e.g. sakalā-niti-śāstra-tattva-jña-s 'knowing (jña-) the essence (tattva-) of all (sakalā-) manuals (śāstra-) of deportment (niti-)'. Later poets created compounds which were ab-
solute monstrocities; see the examples given by Justi, Über die Zusammensetzung der Nomina, p. 17.

§ 22. Class I.

α-stems. αβα-γα- `yoking horses': Gr. ἁπα-γας. Ved. yuktα-αβα- and yuktā-αβα- `for whom horses have been yoked'; in classical Sanskrit only the contracted form occurs. No satisfactory explanation has been given of the -α- in Ved. αβα-μαγα- `rich in horses’ γαή-αν-ο-ς `possessing agreeable things’ and other similar examples.

Remark. Cp. -ά- beside -α- in Iranian (§ 25) Here we may conceivably have either 1. the feminine -α- (cp. Gr. ἁφα-απος; beside ἄφα-απος § 29); 2. Ar. α = ἄν in open syllables (I § 78 p. 69); 3. the effect of some principle of rhythm (cp. Avest. acc. ver-θρα-jaŋ-em beside gen. ver-θρα-γ-ο nom. ver-θρα-ja-.β); or 4. the instrumental in α taking the place of the stem. The origin of the α need not, of course, be the same in every instance. Cp. also Skr. αβα-κον- and the like, § 127.

α-stems. Ved. jiyo-βα-α- `having the speed of the bow-string': Lith. gijα `cord’. Parallel to these are forms with -α-, Ved. ukha-χιδα- `breaking the pot (ukhα-)’ etc., see § 12 p. 24 f.


Nasal stems. nαμα-δα-α- etc., see § 12 p. 26 f. sa-κυτ Gr. σα-πλος, see ibid. p. 27.

r-stems. pιτρ-βρανα-α- `bringing honour to a father’, pιτρ-αρθα- for a father’s sake’. Cp. § 12 p. 27 f.


es-stems. rαja-τις- `hastening through the atmosphere’. The -α- in rαja-μαγα-α- `cloud of dust’ vαcα-νις- `skipped in hymns’ (vαcας: Gr. vας), like the -ο- of the instr. pl. (rαja-βις), is taken from the nom. acc. sing. in -ο (rαjo), see I § 591 p. 447 f and § 24 below.
It is not uncommon to find the types of Classes I and IV confused, a case-form taking the place of a stem. Examples are given in § 24.

§ 23. Class II. ā-gata-s 'not gone, untrodden': Gr. ā-πατος; 'untrodden'; ān-āpta-s 'not reached, not reaching to, unskilful': cp. Lat. in-πτω-μ. duṣ-pāra-s 'hard to make one's way over, hard to pass': Gr. δυσ-νομος, the same. The opposite of the latter form, sū 'well', was not restricted to use in compounds until the post-Vedic period (as in su-brāvas- 'famous'); cp. § 26.

Class III. prā-tata-s 'outspread' prā-tati-ś 'an outspreading': Gr. πρά-τατος 'a stretching forward, assertion'.

ānti-grha-m 'the space over against (before) the house': Gr. ἀντι-χρυσος 'the space over against (before)' the door'. anu-ṣatyā-s 'conformable to truth (ānu satyām)'. pari-hastā-s 'placed round the hand (pāri hāstam)'. ā-dēva-s 'going to the deity (dēvāṃ d)'.

§ 24. Class IV. pītā-mahā-s 'grandfather on the father's side' (gen. pītāmahaśya) from pītā mahā-s 'pater grandis'; from which came the feminine derivative pītāmahi 'grandmother on the father's side'. Cp. Lat. rōs-marīnas gen. rōsmarīna § 36.

dīvō-jd-s 'child of heaven' (gen. of dīv-). dāsyāḥ-putra-s son of a slave-woman' (gen. of dāsī). brāhmaṇas-pāti-ś 'lord of prayer', śubhās-pāti-ś 'lord of adornment' (gen. of brāhmaṇ-, śubh-).

yudhi-śthiro-s proper name, 'firm in battle' (loc. of yūdh-). dīvā-kārtya- 'to be repeated by day' (instr. of dīv-).

This group of forms was considerably enlarged because case-forms were sometimes substituted for stems in compounds of the type of Class I; e. g. dīvī-kīt- 'dwelling in heaven' (loc. of dīv-), apsu-kīt- 'dwelling in the waters' (loc. pl. of ap-), agrē-gā-s 'going at the head' (loc. of agra-, agra-ga-s is also found).

rājam-bharā-s 'carrying off booty' (acc. of rāja-), aṇṇīn-indhā-s 'kindling fire' (acc. of aṇṇi-). In such compounds as these there can have been no transition from a phrase to a compound word, but merely an analogical imitation of compounds already in
existence; for at the time when these were formed, their final members were no longer in use as independent words.

The same holds good of all such 'epithetised' compounds of this class as had that meaning as soon as they came into existence; cp. rāyās-kama-s 'having desire for wealth' (gen.) from kūma-s 'desire', dārē-anlas 'ended, ending in the distance' (loc.) from dūta-s 'end' (compare darē-brutas, a proper name, 'far-famed'), śatām-ūti-s 'furnishing a hundred (acc.) aids' from āti-s 'help' (with the simple stem: śatā-vajā-s 'furnishing hundredfold sustenance').

It often happened that the case-ending of the first member was used in new formations after it had ceased to be recognised as such, so that one part of the new compound shows a case-form which does not appear when the word is independent: thus vānas-pāti-s 'lord of the wood' (stem vāna-, gen. vānasya-) is formed on the analogy of compounds ending in -as-pati-s, whose first member was the genitive of a consonantal stem, as brāhmaṇas-pāti-s; vasun-dhara-s 'concealing treasure' instead of 'vasu-dhara-s (cp. vasu-dhara-s) from vasu n. 'treasure', on the analogy of forms like dhuraṇ-dhara-s 'bearing a yoke' (acc. dhur-um) kulan-dhara-s 'sustaining one's family' (acc. kulā-m).

A further consequence of the dull appreciation of these case-forms was their use in new formations without their proper meaning, i. e. as though they were simple stems. Thus e. g. apsu-, loc. pl. of ap- 'water' (apsu-kṣit-, see above), was used in place of ap- in apsu-yogā-s 'the binding effect of water' (Ath. Vēda X 5, 5 beside sōma-yogā-s 'the binding effect of soma'), cp. the adjective apsavya-s 'situated in the water', which was formed from ap-sū as madhavya-s from mādhu ('sweet draught').

In imitation of old pronominal compounds like tad-vaśā-s, containing the neuter element -d (§ 16), neuter pronominal forms in -m were made to serve as the initial members of compounds, as ida-rūpa-s 'having this form' beside masc. ayām 'this', kīv-kāraṇa-s 'having what cause?' beside masc. kā-s 'who?' (cp. the parallel Vedic form kād-artha-s 'having what purpose?') kād- = Lat. quod).
From the proethnic Aryan period onwards combinations of two dual forms were common; e. g. mitrā vārūna", 'Mitra and Varuṇa', properly 'Mitra and the other (sc. Varuṇa) and Varuṇa and the other (sc. Mitra)'. Each dual form was inflected independently. Side by side with them, however, we find mitrā-vārūnabhyaṁ mitrā-vārūṇayōṣ, which should be compared with such forms as dvā-daśabhiṣ trayō-daśabhiṣ. In these the process of composition is complete, and the same may be said of the new compounds formed on the model of those whose first member is a dual form ending in -a, as agnuviṣṇa 'Agni and Vishnu' (Ath.-Veda) instead of agnuviṣṇa (cp. agnu-śōma in the Rig-Veda); which is shewn also by the substitution of -a- for -a, as the termination of the first member, on the analogy of Class I; as parjānyavātā beside parjānyavātā 'rain-cloud and wind'. Cp. also the derivatives in -vant-, mitrā-vārūna-vant- 'accompanied by Mitra and Varuṇa'.

The compounds pīta-pūtraḥ 'father and son' mātā-pitāraḥ mother and father' hōtā pūtarāḥ 'summoner and purifier' must have been preceded by older phrases such as pīta pūrāñ, mātā pītha, hōtā pōta, which did not receive the dual inflexion until the process of composition was complete. Cp. Ē.C.Sl. brotī- -sestra § 47.

When anyō-nyam and paras-param 'alter alterum' had become compounds, the inflexion of the initial member was dropped and the form of the nom. sing. masc. was applied to all the cases; hence e. g. anyōnyām 'altera alteram' instead of *anyā anyām, tayōḥ... kamō 'bhat... anyōnyām prati (Nala 1, 17) 'eorum (in eis) amor enatus est alterius in alterum' instead of *anyasya anyam prati. Cp. Gr. αἵληλοσ § 82; Mid.H.G. ein-ander § 44 and Lith. kīte kītq § 46.

§ 25. Iranian.

Class I. Stems in -o-. Avest. vérºbra-ja- 'victorious': Skr. eutra-hān-. Avest. yužta-aspa- and yužtasp- 'for whom steeds have been yoked': Skr. yuktā-aspa yuktāsva-. Avest. srtraxšan- (proper name) = srtra + uššan-. O.Pers. xšaša-
Pavan - 'guardian of the land, satrap'. Avest. xšapra- Skr. kṣatrá- 'lordship, kingdom'. O.Pers. xšayaršan- (proper name) = xšaya- + aršan-. Sometimes -a- is found in place of -a-, as Avest. aša-dā 'giving what is pure', acc. veršpra-janem beside nom. vešpra-ja-. O Pers. ariya-rāmna- (proper name), perhaps also ura-maršiyu- 'dying by suicide' (cp. Avest. xwā-daena- 'having one's own faith'); on this point see § 22 Hem. In Avestic -ā-is-often found instead of -a-, the form of the nominative being used instead of the stem (cp. the Author, Curt. Stud. IX 269; Bartholomae, Die Gāthās 81); e. g. daevō-dāta- 'made by the demons' (beside daevā-yāxa- 'demon-worshipper'), even where the o-stem was neuter, as xšaprö-dāh- 'bestowing lordship' (nom. xšapre-m). This -ā-spread still further; see below.

Stems in -a-. Avest. daena-vazah- (proper name), from daena 'faith'. At the same time we have forms with -a-, Avest. gada-vara- 'wielding the club' (yadā-) etc. (see § 12 p. 24 f.) and with -ā-instead of -a-, compounds like daeosō-disa- 'teacher of the law'.

Stems in -i- and u. Avest. aši-cībra- 'sprung from the serpent', pri-ayara- 'space of three days'. Avest. pouru-nar- 'rich in men', urv-apa 'with broad stream', peršpu-ainika- 'with wide front', O.Pers. parū-zana- (read paruzana-) 'rich in people'. Here too we sometimes find in Avestic the form of the nominative in place of the simple stem: e. g. nasuš-pacya- 'burning of corpses' or 'arising in the burning of corpses', basuš-aojah- 'strong-armed', cawhuš-dāta- 'well made'.

Nasal stems. Avest. ašava-frazanti- 'pious offspring' from ašavan-. Forms with -ō- instead of -a- on the analogy of the o-stems: Avest. bar-šmō-zasta- 'holding twigs for offering in the hand' from bar-šman-. Avest. zem-fracah- 'encompassing the earth' from zam-.

Stems in -r-. Avest stehr-paṣah- 'adorned with stars'. ner- bar-sah- 'man's height'. Skr. nṛ-bahū-ṣ 'man's arm'. Compounds in which the strong form of the stem is inserted: har-yar- 'devouring men', altar-carana- 'belonging to fire', with others like them; cp. dat. abl. pl. stehr-byō beside ner-byō. The form
of the nom. sing. has replaced the simple stem in ātārś-cīfro- beside ātārs- cīfro- 'sprung from fire, combustible'.

Stems in -nt-. Avest. raqvas-cīfro- 'of splendid family' (-sc- for -tc-, see I § 473 p. 349) from raqvant-. O.Pers dāraya-vau- (proper name) 'possessing property' (gen. dāraya-vahauś) for *dārayad-vahu-: cp. Skr. dhārayat-kṣitiś 'sustaining the races of mankind'; cp. Hübchmann, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 603 f.

Avest. əs-pati- 'lord of a village': Skr. viś-pāti-ś. zarz-dāh- giving the heart' with -zd- for -d + d- (cp. I § 476 p. 351), from zarz-: Skr. ēyṛ-.

As examples of the nominative used in place of the simple stem we may notice here Avest. vāxš-aesā- 'the desire of the hymn' (stem vāc-), ašš-cīfro- 'sprung from water' avāc-dāta 'resting in water' (stem ap-), kerfš-xwar- 'eating flesh' (stem kehrp-):

Stems in ə-. Avest. vacas-toṣṭi- 'preparation of words, text', temas-cīfro- 'sprung from darkness', aogaz-dastema- 'most helpful'. Compounds with -ə-, which was taken from the nom. sing., are ayō-xaya- 'with iron weapon' ayō-verpra- 'with offensive weapon of iron' ayō-ayra- 'iron arrow' (Skr. ayō'grā- 'pestle') from ayah-: Skr. āyas-. O.Pers. vahyaz-dāta- (proper name), like Avest. vaňhas-dāh- 'giver of the best', beside the comparative Avest. vaňhah- 'better': Skr. vásyas-.

Remark. The student should compare the Avestic use of the nominative form instead of the stem in derivatives made by formative suffixes and even in the simple cases: vṛṣṇi-tara- 'more beautiful' (ṛṣṇa-), spents-toma- 'most holy' (spenta-), like dāpvi-dāta; hūdāniš-toma- 'wisest' (hu-dānu-) like nasuk-pacē-; dat. abl. vṛṣṇi-byō from vṛc- like vāxš-aesā-. Op. § 18 p. 29.

Avest. paiti-biṣi- 'directed against the enemy, conquering the enemy'. antar'-daśyu- adj. 'within the country' pairi-lośyu- 'lying around the country'. upa-pa- 'adj. in the water'.

§ 27. Class IV. The use in Avestic of the form of the nom. sing. instead of the simple stem, as in daŋgō-data, has been spoken of in § 25 p. 42.
The Avestic adjectives awrōmainyava- and spentōmainyava- were no doubt formed from the phrases awrō mainyuś 'the evil spirit', and spentō mainyuś 'the holy spirit': cp. Skr. pūtāmahi § 24, Gr. ἡςανολτρης § 32. O.Pers. awra-mazdā (with acc. awra-mazdām) 'Ormuzd' should be regarded merely as a concretion of two nominative forms, not a compound of two stems (awra- 'lord', mazdāk- 'wise one'): Avest. ahurō mazdā.
Avest. druji-mvanant- 'overcoming the fiend' (acc. of druji-f.). vireṇ-jan- with the acc. sing. beside vira-jan-, see § 20. ahūm-merec- 'life-destroying' with the acc. sing., beside ahu-merc-. vtīspa-hiśant- 'able to do everything' (acc. pl. neut. of vtīspa-). dūrae-frōdāta- 'made in the distance' (loc. of dūra-): raŋgē-śtar- 'standing in the chariot (loc. of raŋgē-), warrior': cp. Skr. savyē-śtar- 'standing on the left', -śtar- for *st-tar-, see I § 316 p. 255. Epithetised compounds: dar-ya-jiṭi- 'having one's life long (acc. sing. neut. of dar-ya- used adverbially), long-lived'; z'mas-ciṁra- 'having an earthly origin' (z'mas- gen. of zam-); ayrae-raŋa- (proper name) 'whose chariot is at the head' (loc. of ayra-).
Avest. āevas-dasa- 'undecimus' from *āevas-dasa- 'undecim'; the first half of the word is no doubt āevas, the form of the neuter and of the masculine alike.

Combinations of two dual forms occur in Avestic as in Sanskrit (§ 24 p. 41), e. g. ahorā miḥra and miḥra-ahura 'Ormuzd and Mithra', āpa urvārē 'water and plants' (ap- 'water', urvāra- 'plant'), pasu vaṛa 'cow and man'. But the fusion of these elements is not by any means so close as it is in Sanskrit,
since the first member always retains its own inflexion, e. g. dat. akuraşibya mipaşibya. Cp. Bartholomae, Bezzenberger's Beitr. X 267 ff., XIII 57 f.

Armenian.

§ 28. Class I. Here the Indo-Germanic differences in the termination of the stem of the first word were largely obliterated. Where the second member begins in a consonant we find an -a-, the so-called 'vowel of composition', whose origin is as yet unexplained.

Compounds in which the second member begins in a sonant: dr-and 'door-post, threshold' from *dur-, pl. durë. hair-anun 'having one's father's name' from hair, gen. haur. skesr-air 'mother-in-law's husband, father-in-law' from skesur, gen. skesri. hing-ameay adj. 'of five years', from hing.

Compounds in which the second member begins in a consonant: dr-a-kic 'door-companion, neighbour'. lsn-a-goin 'whitish' from lusn, pl. lusun-k, 'lukëparë' and goin 'colour'. lus-a-vor 'clear' from lois, gen. lusoy, 'light', -vor being a suffix which corresponds to the Gr. -qophës 'bringing'; a later compound is lus-a-ber 'light-bringing, enlightener' (cp. I § 485 p. 358 for an account of Idg. bh). mns-a-ker 'eating flesh' from mis, gen. msoy, 'flesh', mi-a-cin 'unigenitus', from mi, gen. miof, 'one'. Combined with the termination of stems in -io-, -a- became -e-, e. g. age-vor 'wearing a tail' from agi. This -a- was even introduced into compounds whose first member was the case of a noun; see below, Class IV.

Remark 1. This vowel of composition, -a-, no doubt formed the original ending of some one form or set of forms when used as the first member of a compound, and then became general. Phonetic laws, however, forbid our assuming that this represents the Idg. suffix -o-. I conjecture that it first occurred in words borrowed from the Iranian (e. g. bar-a-pan 'doorkeeper' = O.Iran. *dvara-pasa- or *dvara-pasa-), and thence spread further by analogy. Compare the -o- borrowed from the Greek in Latin compounds like albo-galérus, § 34.

Remark 2. It is not clear whether such compounds as stin-di 'sucking the breast, suckling' (stin, gen. steaw. 'woman's breast') aku-kal 'in one's
eye, visible' belong to Class I, but have never had the composition-vowel -a-, or whether they contain case-forms (Class IV).

Class II. an-ban 'careless ratione et verbo': cp. Gr. ἀ-φονός; an-kin 'without a wife, widower'; cp. Gr. ἀ-γυνα; an-ἀνυ ‘ἀν-όνυμος’; an-arg ‘unhonoured’. t-gēt ‘not knowing’ (beside an-gēt): Skr. dūr-veda- ‘unlearned’; t-xōr ‘not mighty, weak’ (beside an-xōr). Its opposite, h- = Skr. sū ‘well’, is found only in composition; e. g. h-xōr ‘excellent in strength, mighty’.

Class III. Excluding ni-st, which has become a simple word (§ 15 p. 30), I know of no compounds containing prepositional words that are certainly prothetic. I strongly suspect that ham- ‘with, together’ (e. g. han-dart ‘quiet, soft’: cp. Skr. sa-dhṛta-; han-dēs ‘proof’: cp. Skr. sa-dēsa- ‘information’) was borrowed from Iranian (Avest. ham-).

Class IV. haur-ελθαιρ ‘father’s brother’, haur gen. sing. of hair. diuc-axn ‘divine race, he who is of divine race, demi-god, hero’, diuc gen. pl. of dev, which was borrowed from Iranian. The vowel of composition, -a- (see above, Class I), is inserted e. g. in arn-αkin ‘husband’s wife’, arn gen. sing. of air; melis-a-sēr ‘loving sins’, melis acc. pl. of mel.

air-ev-ji ‘man and horse, knight’ sometimes inflected both of its parts, e. g. gen. arn-ev-jiov, sometimes only the final noun, gen. air-ev-jiov; cp. Mod.H.G. der wert deines grund und bodens, ‘the value of your estate’.

Greek.

§ 29. Class I.

Stems in -o-, where the second member began in a consonant, had -o-: ἀγρο-νόμος ‘dwelling in the country’ (ἀγρό-ς). It must be left an open question whether the -e- in such compounds as Ἀγίλαος (from ἀγέ-ς ‘guide’) ἀρχι-νόμος (from ἀρχέ-ς ‘governor’) was derived from Indo-Germanic stem-forms in -e-, or whether it was substituted by the Greeks for an older -o- in consequence of the association of the first member with a verbal stem (for which see § 30).

Where the second member began in a sonant, elision was
the rule (I § 600. 603 p. 457): ἵππο-γὸς 'transporting horses' (ἵππο-ς). This elision dates from the prothetic period of Greek, and the type then established gave rise later to such forms as καχείδια 'ill condition' (καχεῖ in ἱπποκαλέω, I § 564 p. 421) φιλεργός 'loving work' (ἐργον for ἕργον, ! § 164 p. 145), by the side of which we also find phonetically regular forms like ὑπαξούχος 'holding a staff' (for ἱπαξούχος) κακοεργός κακούχογος 'doing evil'. Forms like ἄφαξ-ταίρις 'woven by spiders' (Philo) are obviously new formations of a later date; cp. Lat. multi-angulus § 84, Goth. galiuga-aparistatus § 40.

The stem-final -o-, as we shall soon see, was extended from o-stems to others of the most widely different classes; monosyllabic stems were least affected by the tendency (e.g. χέριν, νυμμάχος; see below).

-α- (Ion. Att. -η-) often appears instead of -o-; e.g. ἱπποκαλέως beside ἱπποκαλέως 'death-bringing' (ἥπαρος-ς), ὑμβρι-γενής 'rain-born' (ὑμβρι-ς).

Remark. This -α- appears side by side with -ο- even where the latter was due to form-association, as ἄμεθ-η-φόρος beside ἄμεθ-ς-φόρος; stem ἄμεθ-, see below.

As regards the origin of this -α-, the wide extent of its usage is certainly due to the action of analogy, and it is conceivable that its origin is to be found 1. in forms like νεκ-γενής (νεκ-γενής) ἑκατερολέων, which contained adverbs like Dor. ἀμα ἀμπεῖ, κεράθ (Westphal, Meth. Gramm. II 8 f., Mahlow, Die laing. Voc. A E O 131 f.); 2. in a number of instances where -α- and -o-stems existed side by side; 3. in such compounds as νεκ-φόρος: βουλη-φόρος; ἀθρό-γενής: μοιρα-γενής; the terminations -φόρος-γενής being regarded as indivisible and thus coming into general use; just as in Attic, compounds like ἱπποδοχός (ἱπποδοχός) and compounds like κακούχος (κακούχος), being virtually analysed ἱπποδοχοῦς κακούχος, gave rise to new formations, πολε-ουχός πολε-ουχογος and the like; and just as feminines from n-stems, such as τέκταντα i.e. *τέκταντα (from τέκτονα), suggested new formations like λεκτ-ίνα (from λέκτο-ς) (§ 110). I feel certain that a great part at least of the instances where -α- is found in place of -ο- are to be explained in this last way. Cp. also -η-ις (-*η-ις) in § 127.

Stems in -α-: followed by those whose nom. sing. ends in -α (§ 109). νεκ-φόρος 'bringing victory' (νεκ-φόρος). ὑφρά-φόρος 'bearing a water-vessel' (ὑφρά-φόρος). Ion. μοιρα-γενής 'born to good fortune' (μοιρα for μοιρά-). By the side of -α- there are a few
instances of -α-; as Ἀλκα-θος, τιμωρός for *τιμα-οις 'guarding a man’s honour, protecting, helping' (Wackernagel, Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXVII 263, XXVIII 132); the historical relation of -α- to -α- is obscure. -ο- frequently appears instead of -α-: Νικω-μαχος; νίκη; πολιτο-φθόρος 'destroying the citizens': πολιτη-ς; Δορ. ἴστιο-πάμων 'house-owner': ἱστια; ἀελλό-πος 'storm-footed'; ἀελλα. The influence of o-stems is seen also in the loss of the final vowel of the stem when the second member begins in a sonant, e. g. Νικ-ππός. Cp. § 12 p. 24 f.

Stems in -ι- and -α-. An original type of formation may be preserved in such compounds as σῦ-αγγος 'choking swine' (σῦ-ς). Cp. § 12 p. 25. Where the second member begins in a consonant we find the vowel short, thanks to the analogy of the preceding group: e. g. σῦ-φορβός 'swineherd'; in the same way we have loc. pl. σῦ-σι for *τῶ-σι following σῦ-ς, σῦ-ῶν etc., see § 160, 4. Some forms insert -ο-: ῤ-ο-μουσία 'swine’s music' ῥ-ο-κτόνος, 'killing swine', ἰχθυ-ο-φάγος 'eating fish' beside ἰχθυ-βόλος 'striking fish': ἰχθυ-ο-.


ναυ-πηγός 'shipbuilder' for *ναυ- (I § 611 p. 461): cp. Skr. ναυ-καρά-s 'going by ship'. From such forms ναυ- came to be used even where the following member began in a sonant, e. g. ναυ-αμχος 'ship’s commander', instead of να(𝑓) (cp. Lat. nav-igō § 11), which is contained in Νέαρχος if this is for Νέαρχος, from *Νη-αμχος (cp. I § 611 ad fin.). Examples of inserted -ο-: νη-ο-σσός 'preserving ships', which may be compared with βο-ό-κληψ 'cattle-thief' (βο-νόμος 'pasturing cattle') beside βο-νόμος; hence the correspondence of νη- βοο- with the Skr. forms πανα- γαυ-, which appear as the initial members of compounds, is an accident.

Stems in -ν-. With α=Ing. θ: ὁνομ-κλυτος 'with famous name'. We should no doubt compare κυνιεύω 'dog-fly'; the regular
form would be *κυα-μυς; the -ν- came from forms like κυν-ός κυνηγός; *κυα- = Skr. शुषा- (instr. pl. शुष-भित) Idg. *κυα-ν. It is questionable whether such compounds as κυν-ός 'dog-eyed' are the immediate representatives of any original type of formation.

With -ο- instead of the *η-suffix: e.g. κτό-ο-ράνον 'capital of a column'. See § 12 p. 27.

Compounds in which we have a strong form of the η-stem are a new formation in Greek. If their second part began in a consonant, -ο- or -α- 'was inserted. φαν-ο-μανής 'mad'. κτό-ο-ράνον beside κτό-ο-ράνον (see above). φην-ο-φορέως 'bearing a sheepskin'. ἀγων-ο-θύτης 'director of a contest'. λεκτήν-ο-χοχα 'closing in the harbour' (op. πολι-ο-χοχα) beside λεκτήν-ο-σκόπος 'watching the harbour'. δικτήν-ο-βολία 'the shooting of rays' beside δικτήν-ο-βολία. Probably the only example without -ο- (-α-) is φαι-μανός 'with impaired understanding'. Hesych. (the correct spelling is due to Lobeck), which appears beside φαν-ο-μανής and the like as μελαν-χροῆς μελαν-χροος beside μελαν-ό-χροος 'with dark skin' (μελάνας gen. μελαν-ος, compar. μελαν-τερος), cp. also χέρ-νυμ beside χερ-ο-νυμπαν p. 50. Where the second member begins in a sonant: φερ-όλης 'distraught in mind'; τεκτόν-αρχα 'presiding over the artificers'; ἀγων-άρχης 'director of the contest'.

άναξ 'once': Skr. sa-κft 'once', Idg. *έμ-. χθον-ο-τερφής 'nourished by the earth', beside Skr. क्षम-, a new formation like κτό-ο-κρανον; as to ο instead of ι see I § 204 p. 172 and below, § 160, 2.

Stems in -τ-. Whilst the Indo-Germanic type was faithfully followed where the second member began in a sonant, e. g. πατρ-ωνύμος ἀδέρ-ἀγρια (§ 12 p. 28), where this began in a consonant it was the rule to insert -ο-, as πατρ-ο-φόνος 'patricide'. This was preceded by a form *πατρα-φόνος; cp. loc. pl. πατρα-οι and Skr. पित्र-प्रसादाः. Thus we still find τετρά-γνυς = Idg. *getvar-, where a was preserved by the parallel compounds with επτα- etc. 1) The strong form of the stem is

1) I no longer compare the first part of the pl. ινδο-νος with Skr. यत- (G. Meyer, Gr. Gr. 1 p. 23), but I regard the word as a new for-
often found instead of the weak, as ἀστερ-ο-εἰδής ‘star-like’ from ἀστήρ ἀστέρος; this is regular in *nomina agentis* such as λαμπτήρ-ο-φόρος ‘bearing lights’ (λαμπτήρ) ἔντερο-διδάσκαλος ‘teacher of rhetoricians’ (ἔντερος); the original type is shown by Skr, ἱδν-δάδανα-m ‘seat of the offerer’ (ḫātarn-); see §120. Monosyllabic ρ-sterms sometimes have and sometimes have not -ο- or -α-: χερ-νυψ ‘water for washing the hands’ and χερ-διπτήρον χερ-ό-διπτήρον wash-hand basin (for the etymology of χερ cp. §182), πυρ-καίη ‘burning-place’ and πυρ-ο-εἰδής ‘fire-like’ πυρ-ντόκος ‘producing fire’.

Stems in -ντ- show here as in their declension (§125, 126) their strong instead of their weak form. ἄρακοντ-ό-μαλλος ‘with snaky locks’, the weak form of the stem being ἄρακτ-.. ἄδωτ-ο-φυς ‘sprung from teeth’. γιγαντ-ο-φόνος ‘killing giants’. ποντ-ο-μικός ‘all-hateful’. Before sonants; πάντ-αρχο-ς ‘all-governing’.

Stems ending in other explosives. πυρ-μάχος ‘pugilist’. ποδ-όξης ‘swift-foot, swift-footed’. These usually have -ο- or -α-: φλογ-ο-εἰδής ‘flame-like’; νιρ-ό-βολος ‘pelted with snow’; ἄσπιδ-ό-στουκός ‘clattering with shields’ ἄσπιδ-η-φόρος ‘shield-bearing’.

Stems in -σ-. μισ-φόνος ‘killing mice’: Lat. mās-cipula.


*Note:* The formation modelled upon τετοδ- (Iw. Müller's Handbuch II 70 Rem. 1). Of course it is conceivable that this form arose at a time when *παρ-φορος* was still spoken and that afterwards the -ο-, in ἄρακτ-ντόδ- remained because it was supported by the -α- of τετοδ-. Op. also Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 298.
§ 29,30. Noun Compounds: their Form in Greek.

Stems in -ας- were treated in much the same way. σταλε-
φόρος 'light-bringing', κεραυ-φόρος 'horn-bearing' (cp. Skr. jyoti-
pakṣa-s 'winged with light', § 134, 2). At the same time we
find forms with -ο- -α- as κερ-φόρος, κρεο-δόχος and κρεν-δόχος
'holding or containing flesh'. There is no example amongst
-ες-stems analogous to Hom. κεραυ-ο-δός 'worker in horn' (with
regard to the apparently similar Hom. ἔλος-θρεπτος beside τὸ
ἔλος see p. 34 ff. of R. Schroeter's treatise cited on p. 22).

§ 30. From the phrase καλός καγαθός was formed the
abstract substantive καλοκαγαθία 'character of a καλός καγαθός'.
Cp. O.C.Sl. omo-na-đesetü § 47 and the use of the bare stem
in Mod.H.G. phrases like freund- und verwandtschaft, gold- und
suberschmid.

In Greek, as in Germanic and Slavonic (§ 41, 47), a large
number of compounds came to be regarded in a new way.
Their first member now appeared to the popular consciousness
to have a verbal instead of a nominal force. This gave rise
to many new formations in which real verbal stems were
employed as the initial members of compound words.

Thus τανύ-γλωσσο-ς, whose meaning originally was 'with
outstretched (adj. *τανύ-ς = Skr. tanu-) tongue', was explained
mean 'stretching out the tongue' (and compared with τανύ-τοι),
φιλό-ξενος 'to whom a stranger or guest is dear (φίλος)' was
explained as 'loving one's guest' (and compared with φίλος),
φυγα-πτόλεμος 'unfriendly (*φυγα-ς: cp. Lat. laci-fuggi-s) to war
as 'fleeing from war' (and compared with ἐφυγω-ν), and so forth.
Hence arose new formations like μισό-ξενος (first modelled upon
the form φιλό-ξενος, cp. μισέω; φιλέω) 'hating a stranger', φαινο-
μεθές 'showing the hips' (φαινω), ἔθελο-πνευς 'willing to work'
(ἔθελο). As to the -ε- of Ἀγι-ληνος, ἀρχέ-κακος etc. see § 12
p. 24, § 29, p. 46. If this is not the ε-form of the suffix,
and so derived from the pre-Greek period, we must assume
that it was borrowed from forms like ἄγι-τ ἄγε-τς when the
first part of such compounds came to be regarded as a verbal
stem.
New formations of all kinds were introduced by compounds like τερψιμ-μβροτος ταυστ-πτερος ἀρχαι-γνος, the initial members of which were abstract nouns formed with the suffix -τι- (§ 100) τέρψις 'delight' ταυστι-ς 'outspreading' ἀρχαι-ς 'help, strengthening', because these were associated with the aorists in -σ- (ἐτέρψα ἡτάνεσα ἀρκεσα), and were consequently regarded as having a verbal force, 'delighting men' 'spreading the wings' 'strengthening the limbs'. The new verbal signification was all the more easily established in these forms because of compounds like φυγο-πτόλεμος, whose first member had been identified as an aorist-stem at an earlier stage of Greek. Thus in the first place, where the abstract noun and the σ-aorist showed different grades of ablaut in the root-vowel, that of the latter was introduced: by the side of στασι-ἀρχος (στάσις) arose Στηρι-χορος 'bringing on the chorus' (on the model of ἕστησα); φησίο-μβροτος 'destroying men' (on the model of ἐφησα) as contrasted with φησι. Next, the connexion of these aoristic compounds in the mind of the speaker with such others as λιπο-πρύγω φυγο-πτόλεμος ἀχρι-κακος φυγ-αλκής led to an imitation of the ending seen in the initial members of these latter forms. Hence compounds like λειψι-θιέξ 'having lost one's hair' περσι-ποιες 'destroying cities' Σηνσι-αγόρες (contrast στασι-ἀρχος from στάσις). But on the other hand the -ι- of compounds in -σι- crept into compounds whose initial member was the stem of a present or a strong aorist. Hence such forms as ἀλέξι-κακος 'keeping off harm' (ἀλέξω) λαθι-κηδής 'forgetting care' (ἐλαθὼν, cp. λησι-μβροτος). This process of mutual assimilation may have been aided by the double type of the σ-aorist, ἐλείξα and ἐξω existing side by side. Many other new formations were caused by the association of these -σι- compounds with those of Class IV whose initial member was a loc. pl. in -σι, as ὀρσι-κροφος 'reared on the mountains': see Osthoff, Verb. i. d. Nominae. 193 ff. Lastly, we must notice certain other new formations: Πρωτεσι-λας (beside Πρωτό-λας, from πρωτος 'first') formed on the model of Ἀρχεσι-λας Ἀρχασι-λας and the like, and Ἐμπησι-λας
§ 30—32. Noun Compounds: their Form in Greek.

Εμμησι-άνως Εμμησ-ανδρός (from 'Εμμης) modelled on such forms as Αγγελ-λαός Ηγγεσ-άνως Αγγή-ανδρός.

§ 31. Class II. ἀ-γνωρος 'unknown': Skr. á-jáñatas Lat. ignótus for *in-gnótus (I § 506 p. 370); ἀ-νδρός 'waterless': Skr. on-uḍá-s. On the analogy of forms like ἀ-υπνός 'sleepless' ἀ-ομός 'wineless', in which the hiatus was due to the loss of some consonant (the older forms were ἀ-σεπνο-ς, ἀ-φύνο-ς, though the latter can hardly have been developed regularly from a pre-Greek form *γ-μοίνο-, see I § 225 p. 193), there were formed several other compounds like ἀ-ομός ἀ-οῖς (with ὀδ- cop. Lat. od-or; ὀδος = Goth. asta) by the side of the forms ἀν-ομός ἀν-οῖς which are also found. ὀδο-φρονος 'hard to bear'; op. Skr. dur-bhara-s 'hard to bear, to nourish'.

Class III. ὑδ-θετός 'placed under' ὑδ-θες 'groundwork, foundation': Skr. úpa-híta-s 'placed under, situated' Lat. sub-dítus sub-dítos (sub- for *x-ub-? see I § 568, 2 p. 424, II § 2 p. 3).

προσ-ἐπιφόρος 'towards evening': Skr. prati-dá- 'towards evening': παρά-θεακρός 'situated near one's staff', παρά-νομος 'contrary to law'. ἀνά-λογος 'corresponding to λόγος'. ἡκ-θέφαλος 'being in the head, brain'. These compounds generally end in the suffix -o-, as ἵπ-ασιθ-ος παρα-θαλάσσio-ς ἐν-αγών-ιο-ς; see § 63.

οὗ-τις 'no one' beside μὴ-τις, no doubt took the place of an Idg. form *ne-qi-s at the time when *ne was driven out of use by ou, a form whose origin is still obscure (cp. § 15 p. 31). Later arose οἷδ-είς 'no one' and the like.

§ 32. Class IV. By the side of δέκα (§ 16) arose ἑν-δεκα 'eleven' (ἐν- nom. acc. neut.), τρεῖς-καλ-δεκα 'thirteen', τετραέσ-καλ-δεκα 'fourteen' (nom. pl. masc. fem.); another word for 'thirteen' is the Att. τριθ-καλ-δεκα (acc. pl.), note also the form τρεισκαλδεκατος 'thirteenth', and others of the same sort.

From Nέα πόλις ('Newtown') were formed gen. Nέας πόλισις and Νεοπόλισις, and further Νεοπολίτης. Similarly τριτημίῳς 'making the third part' was probably based on τρίτη μόρα.

Διόσ-κουρος 'sons of Zeus', hence Διοσκούρειον, διόσ-δοτος 'given of Zeus', properly 'one given belonging to Zeus' (gen.
of Zeus). νεώσ-οικοι 'ship's houses, arsenal' (gen. of ναῦς). νοσσεκέμος 'pigs' bean' (gen. of ἄς). Πελοπόννησος for Πέλοπος νῆσος 'island of Pelops' (cp. I § 565 p. 422 f.). δί-φίλος or δί φίλος 'dear to Zeus' (loc. of Ζεύς). δωρι-χτητος 'won in battle' (loc. of δόρο). ἔρη-δρεπτος 'plucked in spring' (loc. of ἔρη). Ἀλκιμέδων 'ruling in might' (loc. ἄλας). ιπποσει-φόρτος 'driven or impelled by the Kēres' (loc. pl. of κήρ). πάσι-μέλων 'of interest for all' (loc. pl. of πάς). Ἰρι-μέδουσα (proper name) 'ruling with might' (instr. of ἵς Lat. vi-s). παν-ήμαρ 'the whole day' (acc. neut. of πᾶς). νουν-εχόντως 'in an intelligent way' (acc. of νοῦς).

This group of forms was considerably enlarged by the employment of case-forms instead of the first stem of the original stem-compounds (Class I). Among mixed formations of this kind are compounds whose final member has survived only in forms belonging to Class I, and no longer exists as an independent word, as πιλοι-γεννής 'born in Pylos' (loc. of Πύλος), δραμαχός 'fighting with the spear' (loc. of δόρον), Ἰρι-κράτης proper name (cp. Ἰρι-μέδουσα above), νουν-εχύς 'having intelligence, intelligent' (cp. νουν-εχόντως above), ὅμως-πόλος 'administrator of justice' (acc. pl. of ὅμη, cp. I § 204 p. 171).

As these words were formed not by any real process of composition but on the analogy of already existing compounds, so also were those which never had any but an 'epithetised' meaning; e. g. ἀκρό-οικος 'having one's dwelling in the air' (ἀέρ-ι).

When the termination of the first member was a case-ending whose true character was no longer clearly perceived, it often happened that it was applied to stems with which it properly had nothing to do, as Θεόσ-δορος 'god-given' (also Θεό-δορος, from Θεό-ς) on the analogy of δίοσ-δορος; Αντίσωφα a town in Arcadia ('Wolf's-tail', from λύκος) on the analogy of forms like Κυνόσ-ούρα (dog's tail); ποσιρρόφος 'nourishing grass' and ποσίχρος 'grass-coloured' (from πόσι ποτη 'grass, herb') on the analogy of forms like ὄδησ-τρώφος and ἀνθεό-χρος (with loc. pl. of τό ὄρος 'mountain' and τό ἀνθο 'blossom').

A further consequence of the obscuration of the case-ending of the initial member, was the use of this ending in
new formations as though it were only the ending of a simple stem, and therefore with no trace of the function properly belonging to the case; e.g. ἀταλα-φιως ‘with untroubled mind’ (cp. ἀταλα-φοινέων, ἀταλά φοινέων, acc. pl. neut. of ἀταλός), ἀτομ-θίσανος ‘fimbria Martialis’ (cp. ἀφελ-φαγός ‘slain in war’, loc. of Ἀθῆς), πυρή-ήμης ‘with fiery point’ πυρδ-ννους ‘breathing fire’ πυρδ-ναις ‘fire-child’ (cp. πυρδ-καυστός ‘burnt with (in) fire’, loc. of πυρός), Ἀλκι-νοο-ς Ἀλκι-φιων (cp. Ἀλκι-μεδόν), χολοβόρος ‘consuming gall’ or ‘consuming like gall’ (cp. χολοβάφος ‘dipped in gall’ beside χολό-βαφός χολο-βάψις), κρεοφόρος ‘death-bringing’ (cp. κρεοσαφ-φόρης p. 54), ἰχθυοκηριστήρ ‘fish stealer’ (ἰχθυοκηριστήρ) etc.

Remark 1. Compounds containing real stems in -ι-, as μαντι-πόλος, may also have given the appearance of simple stems to initial members of compounds which were locatives ending in -ι-, like πυρις. And in discussing those forms which contain locatives pl. in -ι-, stem-compounds like τερός-μπετός ἀρκετό-γνος τεροπ-περος (see § 30 p. 52) must not be forgotten. Compare also the fact that the abbreviated form Ἡβις-ζ was made from Ἡβι-γένσα Ἡβι-γόνη and the like, whose initial part was the loc. Ἡβις ‘early’, no doubt on the analogy of Ζεῦ-ζες Ζεῦ-δακος; and in the same way the abbreviated form Ἡμι-ζ was made from Ἡμι-ἀνακο and like, which contained the instr. ʔως.

It should be observed, however, that a large proportion of the new formations we are now considering are only found in late poets whose diction contains much that is artificial.

The form παντ-, found in use as well as παντ-(ο-)’, is the neut. παντ which stands for *παντ, and was used originally with the force of an adverb in compounds like παντ-αιόλος ‘all-gleaming’, παντ-σοφός ‘all-wise’ παμ-πρωτός ‘quite the first, the very first’ From these forms it spread to others, with the same meaning as παντ-(ο-), e.g. Παντ-ελλήνες ‘the united Hellenes’ παντ-δημος ‘concerning the whole people’ παμ-μηνος ‘lasting through all the months’ παντ-σφραγος ‘clever in any business’ followed the type of forms like καισαρός i. e. καισο-πηγός.

Remark 2. In some combinations, παντ- may possibly be the regular phonetic representative of the stem παντ- (cp. χερ- beside χερ- and the like). So much may be admitted; but it seems to me improbable that this was generally the origin of the form.

Other examples with adverbs: ἀλα-πείτης ‘flowing quietly’
(acc. pl. neut.), ἀμα-προχιά 'collision of wheels' (instr.), παλαι-φατος 'told from of old, foretold' (loc.).

ἐν-χιολ-θένος 'placed in the hand'; ἔμ-πυρ-βιττής 'standing in the fire' derived from the phrases ἐν χιολὶ θέαλμι, ἐν πυρὶ βιττήμι.

ἀλλήλοιος 'each other', which was used as readily of two single things or persons as of two pairs or two larger contrasted groups, must imply a proethic Greek phrase ἀλλος-ἀλλον, du. ἀλλο-ἀλλο, pl. ἀλλοι-ἀλλονος. ἀλλάλλη arose by contraction in the combinations ἀλλά-ἀλλάν ἀλλα-ἀλλα, and then spread through the other cases. Next the dual and plural inflexion was used even where only two single things were spoken of. Lastly ἀλλ- became ἀλ- Ion. ἀλ- (op. Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 294 f.). A more detailed discussion may be found in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1887, p. 105 ff.

Similarly we have αὐτος-αυτό- (also αὐς-αυτό-) in the Delphic dialect and elsewhere. Originally the phrase αὐτος-αυτοὺς was used only in reference to a nom. sing. masc. in the sense of 'ipse sui', with the parallel forms ἀντα-αντας etc. But when the phrase passed into a single word, the first member became incapable of inflexion, and the form of the nom. sing. masc., as occurring most frequently, was used throughout. Hence e.g. Delph. inscr. κυρεύοντος αὐτοσαντᾶς and κυρεύοντες αὐτοσαντᾶς, Heracl. inscr. μετ' αὐτοσαντᾶν.

The genuine forms ποδ-από-ς ἀλλος-από-ς, whose etymological structure had become obscured (§ 16 p. 32), gave rise to new formations like ἡμεδαπός 'born in our country, countryman

παντοδαπός 'of all sorts or kinds, manifold', as though the second member of the compound were -δαπο-. The same ὁ occurs in ὅτις ὅτι 'who (whoever)' for *σφό-δ τις, *σφό-δ τι, see § 4 p. 9.

τοῦτο = *το ὁ τό, where ὁ is a particle = Skr. ὅ. The forms masc. *ου- and fem. *αυ- = Idg. *sō u, *sā u, date from the pre-Greek period and perhaps these were pronounced as monosyllables *sōu *sāu even in proethic Indo-Germanic: cp. masc. Skr. sō, O.Pers. hauw. Then the neuter τό was added to these with the force of an adverb (cp. O.C.S.I. ku-to 'who?') giving the forms *ουτό *αυτό (for *αδρό, by the regular change,
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I § 611 p. 461) and a new formation τοῦτο (instead of *τοῦδ-υτο). Then these forms, whose ending was invariable, were influenced by other pronominal forms whose endings were inflected, and thus we have finally αὐτὸς αὐτὰ etc. C. Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. IV 139 f., Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 257 f., G. Meyer Gr. Gr. 2 p. 396.

The phrase εἰμηντόν = εἰμὲ αὐτῶν 'me ipsum' gave rise in Attic to the new formations εἰμηντός εἰμηντῷ, while in Ionic εἰμιεντόν = εἰμὲ αὖτον (cp. τοῦτο = τὸ αὐτὸ) produced εἰμεντῷ and εἰμεντόν.

Italic.

§ 33. In the Italic group, especially in Latin, the practice of compounding noun-stems by the method of Class I survived in popular speech, though only to a small extent. Amongst the Romans it received an artificial stimulus and attained a certain degree of importance through the close adherence of Latin poetry to Greek models. But eminent stylists and grammarians of the classical period recognised the spurious character of words coined on Greek types, and protested against encumbering the language with new formations of this kind. The development of the Fourth Class of compounds, however, was by degrees extended all the more widely for this restriction in Class I. As regards Classes II and III, Italic stands in the same position as the other branches of Indo-Germanic.

§ 34. Class I. We may discuss the Latin forms first.

Stems in -o-. Where the stem-final of the first member was not entirely lost before an initial consonant in the second part, it took the the intermediate form of the irrational vowel. Accordingly it usually appears as -i-, e. g. bellii-ger (beside bellem); before labials and before l as the sound intermediate between u and i, e. g. centu-peda centi-peda, magnu-ficus magnificus, omnu-ligus. Where -o- appears instead, as in albo-galērus ūno-mammia sexcento-plagus (Stolz, Die lat. Nominales. 19 ff.), we must assume that it is due to the influence of words 'borrowed from the Greek, or sometimes to the influence of Gallic (cp.
the Armenian -a- in compounds, which — if our conjecture be right — was borrowed from Iranian, § 28 Rem. 1 p. 45). The final of the stem has completely disappeared in prīm-cēps from prīmo-, oin-vorsei (S. C. de Bacch. 19) from oino- uno-, and some other instances; see I § 633 p. 474. Where r, following a consonant, preceded the final vowel of the stem, it sank with the latter to r, perhaps as early as the proethnico-Italic period, whence the er which appears in the historical period of Latin; e. g. sacerdōs, which was directly preceded by the form *sacr-ē(t)-s (see vol. I loc. cit. and Stolz, Wien. Stud. IX 304 f.); such words as sacruc-fex sacri-fex, agrī-colla were formed afresh at later period 2), just as acri-tās took the place of *acertās, which would have been the regular form, and facili-tās arose by the side of the older form fucul-tās. Where the second part began in a sonant, the vowel was elided, as somm-ambulus, rēm-ex, māgn-animus, fex-animus (touched to the heart); such forms as multi-angulus (beside mult-angulus) came into use later on by analogy (like Gr. ἀρχηγο-νομις, § 29 p. 47) see I § 604 p. 458.

Since compounds like albo-galērus cannot count as genuine Latin formations, we are left in doubt whether the -i- (-u-) of historical Latin stands for Idg. -o- or -e-. The probabilities however are in favour of the former. Cp. § 12 p. 24.

Stems in -io- regularly show -i-, as medi-terrāneus from medi-us, offici-perda from offici-um. Cp. capis I § 135 p. 122, also Goth. arbi-numja § 40 and the remarks on the gradation

1) The -o- of ho-dīē must be regarded as of genuine Latin origin, if Danielsson (Stud. gramm., Upsal. 1879, p. 51 sq.) is right in his explanation of the word; he supposes that an old form *hō-dīs (Class IV) was re-modelled on the analogy of Class I (op. multi-modis § 36), and that the o was preserved from being weakened to -i- or -u- by its position in the accented syllable. But perhaps we ought rather to derive ho-dīs from an instr. sing. *hō, with its o shortened on the analogy of modo and similar words (cp. quo-que). A third derivation is suggested by L. Hayet, Mém. de la Soc. de Ligu. IV 229 sq.

2) Sacerdōs was not transformed into *sacridōs, because its component parts had ceased to be clearly recognised.
of the suffix -jo- which will be found in § 63. If this, -i- stands on the same footing as the -r- of *sacr-dōs (see above), the derivative societās (from socius-s) must bear the same relation to the above mentioned compounds as sacri-sex to sacer-dōs. Med-amna 'Medororquia' follows the analogy of magn-animus-s (see above). trit-avo-s then might be referred either to a form *tritīo- (cp. tertius-s, Avest. Pritya- etc.) or to *trito- (cp. Gr. τρότεις).

-i- corresponds in Latin to the -o- which serves in Greek as the 'vowel of composition' after most consonantal stems, cp. e.g. ὅδωρ-ο-γυμνός 'sprung from teeth' and dent-i-frangibulus. It seems probable that the Lat. -i- here sometimes represents the Idg. i of i-stems (cp. igne-fer from ignis-s), especially when we consider how frequently the consonantal stems pass into the i-declension, e.g. nāv-i-s and dent-i-bus dent-i-um § 93 (Italio). Then e.g. nāv-i-fragus (beside the older nau-fragus) will have been formed from nāv-i-s, that is from an i-stem.

Stems in -a-. -a- is hardly to be found except where the second member has sunk to the level of a suffix: fabā-ginus, cp. fabalis fabaceus; oled-ginus -gineus. Elsewhere the forms are treated like the o-stems. tubi- cen : tuba; aquā- ducus : aqua. tubu-lāstrium and tubi- lāstrium : tuba. -o- (a Grecism): viocārus : via; blatto-sēricus : blatta (cp. holo-sēricus). glori- ficus : gloria like offici-perda. The i of tīt-i- cen (:tībia) has not been explained; is it parallel to Skr. ṛcā-vasu-ś?

Stems in -i- and -u-. angui-cornis : anguis-s. tri-dēns : dat. tri-bus. morti-fer : gen. pl. morti-um, Skr. mṛti-ś. The disappearance of the final -i- of the stem in fān-ambulus from fān-i-s is to be explained as due to the analogy of o-stems; fān-i-am- bulus was a later analogical formation like multi-angulus (p. 58); cp. also sēm-ermis sēm-ustus beside sēmi-ermis sēmi-ustus from sēmi- = Skr. sāmi* "incomplete, half". -u- occurs in u-stems only before labial sounds, as in acu-pedius (cp. Gr. ἀκρο-ς 'swift') manus-festus (manu-s), and since in such instances i is sometimes written as well as u (mani-festus) the sound must have
been intermediate between u and i (I § 49 p. 41 f.). Thus the u-stems also were treated in the same way as those in -o-.

*nau-fragus*, like Gr. ναῦ-πηγός, is no doubt a complete, not a syncopated form; *nau-igō* is of the same kind, cp. § 11 p. 24; *nau-i-fragus* and *nau-i-ger* are new formations. Similarly we have *bū-caeda* and *bou-i-cidium*: cp. Gr. βου- and βο- § 29 p. 48; yet we must notice, first, that *bou-* was probably borrowed from Oscan (I § 432 Rem. 1), and secondly that the meaning ‘great’ in *bū-mammus* etc. points to Greek influence.

Nasal stems. *nōmen-clator* like Gr. ὀνομα-κλατος? homi-
cīda (acc. homin-em): Goth. guna-kūnds ‘of the male sex’ (guna, gen. gumins), sanguisūga (sanguen), inscr. numi-clatori. See § 12 p. 27. With the last group we should probably com-
pare nūncupō for *nōmi-cupō*, cp. princeps p. 58. There is a third group, the largest and the latest formed, consisting of words like imagin-i-fēr germīn-i-seca Amīn-i-cola aquīlōn-i-gena, cp. Gr. ἀναρ-ο-μανίς etc. (§ 29 p. 49).

*sim-plex*: cp. Gr. ἁ-πλός, § 12 p. 27. We must also mention here septem-fluos decem-peda nūn-dinae, beside which are found septi-rēmis sept-ennis, dec-ennis (cp. octi-pēs oct-ennīs from octō).

Stems in -r-. frātr-i-cīda sorōr-i-cīda, cp. Gr. παρο-
fōnōs ἐγγο-ο-διδόσκολος (§ 29 p. 50).

Stems in Explosives. dent-i-frangibulus serpent-i-gena.
ped-i-sequos frond-i-fer. voc-i-feror. rēg-i-fugium.

Stems in -s-. nas-turtium mūs-cipula. judex for *jou-
dic-s*, jū(s)-stitium, and beside it jūr-i-dicus. Stems in -es-
show -i- and -er-i-: foedi-fragus volni-ficus and foeder-i-fragus mūner-i-gerulus. The forms with -i- only are no doubt due to the similarity of the nominative terminations of the two stems, foedes: haedu-s. Nouns in -ōs -ōris (§ 133): labōr-i-fer odōr-i-
sequos; the form rūmi-ficō by the side of rūmōr, implies, as does also rūmus-culūs, an older word *rūmus -eris or* -oris (cp. decus beside decor), cp. also horri-fer -ficus beside horror. The form cinī-fīō, from cinis -eris, is due to the nominative-ending -is (cp. angui-s), since we could hardly derive
it phonetically from a form like *cinis-flō; op. the new formations cucumīt cucumīnum beside cucumīs -eris, and another word which must also be explained by reference to the form of the nominative, lapi-cūda from lapis -idis.

Remark. We must no doubt assume the loss of -i- through syllabic dissimilation in the following: trucidāre, for *truc[i]-cīdāre, arcuātī ('qui excurabant in arco') for *arc[i]-cūbātī, cordolium for *cord[i]-dolium. See I § 643 p. 482. The monosyllabic stems contained in pelluviae for *ped- lulviae (I § 369 p. 280), sōl-silītium (beside sōl-i-ser) and other such compounds may or may not have dropped an -i- (I § 633 p. 474). With pelluviae compare malluviae for *man-luviae.

In the monuments of the Umbro-Samnritic dialects this class of compounds is very scantily represented. If we disregard compounds containing numerals, and uncertain instances like the Osc. ovfrīkuniss, whose initial part is mutilated (Pauli, Altit. Stud. II 118), there remains only the Osc. med-dīss med-dis, whose first part is the same as the Umbr. meī-s mers 'ius, fas' (§ 132. 163).

du- for Idg. *dui- 'two' is peculiar to the Italic languages: Lat. du-plus du-plex du-centī du-bius (I § 170 p. 150), Umbr. du-pla 'duplas' du-pursus 'bipedibus'. I regard it as a new formation of prothetic Italic, suggested by quadrus-: Lat. quadrus-plus -plex -pēs, and in early Latin *quadrus-centī for quadrin- gentī (Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 283); quinque-plex etc. are formed on the same model. Umbr. petur-pursus 'quadrupedibus' was a new Umbrian formation.

§ 35. Class II. Lat. in-jugis: Skr. a-yuga-s Gr. α-ζύγος 'unyoked'; in-emptus: op. Skr. án-āptā-s 'unattained, unskilled'. Umbro-Samnritic has an- 'un-', which seems to correspond to Gr. νυ- = Idg. *nya- (I § 253 p. 207): Umbr. antakres 'integris' Osc. an-censto fem. 'ineensa, not valued'.

In Italic, Idg. *ne 'not' was also restricted to use in compounds, as Lat. *ne-fās.

Class III. Lat. com-mōtus Umbr. comohota 'commota', Lat. con-ceptus Falisc. cun-capptum 'conceptum', Lat. con-ventīs con-ventus Osc. kūm-benniēs gen. 'conventus'; O.Ir. comē e.g. ro co-scad 'correptus est'. Lat. per-emptus per-versus Umbr.
per-istem ‘peremptum’: Skr. pari-vrtta-s ‘turned about’ Lith. per-versta-s ‘reversed, changed’. Lat. ab-ditus: Gr. ἀνώ-σεσ ‘set aside, secret’, ab-ductio: Mid.H.G. abe-zuht ‘a drawing away’. Lat. por-tentum por-rectum Umbr. pur-ditum ‘proditum’: no doubt to be compared with Gr. νάω (Stolz, Arch. f. lat. Lexicogr. II 498 ff.).

Lat. inter-mē(n)stris inter-mēnstruos Umbr. anter-menzarum ‘intermenstruarum’, cp. Lat. inter mensēs. Lat. amb-urbium, Osc. am-vianud abl. of the stem am-viano- ‘that which lies on both sides of the way’, hence ‘vicus, platea’ (cp. Bücheler in Nissen’s Pomp. Studien 499). Lat. per-nox per-diūs (per noctem, per diem); per-fidus (per fidem fallere). sub-jugu-s (sub jugō). ante-novissium (ante novissimum).

Idg. *ne ‘not’, as has been said above (Class II), was restricted in Italic to use in composition, as Lat. ne-fās.

Lat. ad-modum. in-vicem. of-fatim ‘to satisfaction’. de-nuō for dē novō I § 172 p. 152. ilicō for *in sloco ‘on the spot’. I § 81 p. 73. pro-fectō for *grō facto properly ‘as good as something done’ I § 682 p. 549. Many such phrases were reduced to single words largely through the enolisia of the noun and the isolation caused by phonetic change.

§ 36. Class IV. In Umbrian desen-duuf corresponds to the Lat. duo-decim (§ 16 p. 32), cp. Gr. δέξα δῶ beside δῶ-δέξα. Lat. ān-decim, explained in I § 633 p. 474 as standing for *ānu(s)-decim, may contain other case-forms; according to Wackernagel (Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXV 284) it stands for *ānum-decim, cp. Gr. ἄν-δέξα.

Lat. Jū-piter Juppiter is said (no doubt correctly) to be = Gr. Ζεῦ πάρε, and is therefore a vocative used as nominative (I § 612 p. 463), Umbr. Iu-pater. Lat. Diēs-piter, gen. Diēspitris; an analogous form is Mars-piter, also Maspiter (I § 269 p. 217). The words postrī-diē cotti-diē (cotti- for *quetti-, see I § 419 p. 307, § 431 p. 320, originally meaning ‘on which-soever day of a series’; Wackernagel, Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXIX 147 gives a different explanation), and merī-diē (properly ‘in the clear
day', from meru-s, see Stowasser, Archiv f. lat. Lexicogr. I 273 ff.) contain two locatives. The nom. meridiēs is like the Mod.H.G. die mitternacht 'midnight', which comes from the gen. dat. mitter nacht 'at midnight', and cottiūdianu-s meridiānu-s like mitternächtig.

We have a group of words which did not become compounds until the literary period of Latin: holus atrum, rēs marīnus, fēnum Graecum, jūs jūrandum, rēs pūblica, alter uter etc.: gen. holusātrī beside holēris ātri'), rēsmarīnī beside rōris marīnī, alterutrīnī beside alterīu-s utrīus and so forth (Neue, Formenl. I 2 590 f.).

Sacraviēnsēs from sacra via, quartadecumantī from quarta decuma (legiō).

In some cases the initial member follows the analogy of Class I: Aquiflaviēnsēs from Aque Flaviae; equiferī 'wild horses' ovifer 'wild sheep' instead of equos fērus and ovis fera, influenced no doubt by the type of Greek compounds like aīn-agorōs 'wild goat' aīn-agorōs 'wild boar' (cp. the Author, Rhein. Mus. XLIII 404); multi-modīs, omni-modīs instead of multīs modīs, omnibus modīs (Danielsson, Studia grammatica, Upsal: 1879, p. 51).

In the literary period of Latin, phrases like aquae ductus and aquae ductīō, agrī cultūra, plēbis scītum, fīder commissum, cāpitis cōnsūtus etc. became compounds. Then, by a transition to Class I, aquī-ductus, cp. aquī-dīcōns 'vīgāvāvogos'. pater-familīas, like Mod.H.G. mutter-gōttes, 'mother of God' leib-brōt 'loaf of bread' (O.H.G. leip prōtes) Pol. štuka-mięsa 'piece of meat'.

*quot anni, *quot mēnsēs, originally relative clauses (cp. Gr. ἕνα ἔτος 'daily'), in course of time ceased to be regarded as such, and then the compounds quotannīs, quotmēnsibus were

1) The 1 of the form holēstrā (Apicius) was due to the analogy of compounds of Class I like multi-zōnus; for the formation is too late to admit of the supposition that it was caused by the natural course of phonetic change, as in the second syllable of tīcō for *inclōcō (I § 81 p. 73.)
formed, like his annēs (Wackernagel, Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXIX 146 f.). Cp. Lith. kas-vākarq § 46.

breve iter, longum iter became breviter, longiter, and so forth. Thus arose the adverbial suffix -iter -ter. See Osthoff, Archiv f. lat. Lexiogr. IV 455 ff.

nu-diōs tertius ‘the day before yesterday’, properly equivalent to ‘nunc dies tertius’ (nu = Skr. nū Gr. νῦ etc.). Hence nudius-tertianus ‘belonging to the day before yesterday’.

male-volēns, male-dīcēns (from which were formed malevolentissimus, malevolentissor, cp. Mod.H.G. tieffühlendst, freigelegener). bene-volēns. Derivatives of these are malevolentia benevolentia, and on their analogy were formed malevolus benevolus, maleficus beneficus for the older forms mali-volus beni-volus, mali-icus beni-icus (Class I, cp. benīgnus for *beni-gnu-s, I § 619 p. 466 f.). A compound found in Tertullian, altēgradius = altē gradiēns, shows the same type as male-volus.

In later Latin, as we have already seen (§ 33 p. 57), this class grew more and more extensive. Especially where the inflexional differences of the cases had disappeared, and the first member of the compound consequently lost its proper meaning as a case, compounds of Class IV came more and more into favour. By far the greatest part of the nominal compounds now found in the Romance languages belong to this class. This disuse of Class I, in favour of Class IV is most clearly seen in ‘epithetised’ compounds, as French rouge-gorge ‘red-gullet’ patte-pelue ‘hairy-paw’ i.e. ‘fawner, sneak’. See A. Darmesteter, Traité de la formation des mots composés dans la langue française etc., Paris 1875.

Old Irish.

§ 37. Class I. The final vowels of the stem of the initial members were accurately preserved only in Gallic. In Irish they suffered syncope and disappeared (I § 634).

§ 37. Noun Compounds: their Form in Old Irish. 65

'horse', Skr. dśva- Gr. ἵννο- etc. O.Ir. dag-duine 'bonus homo', from dag 'bonus' 1: Gall. Dago-vassus. O.Ir. Doman-gart: O.Cymr. Dofn-garth, Gall. Dubno-rūx Dumno-rūx, from domun 'world'; doman- for *domno- through the intermediate stage *domyr-, see I § 623 Rem. 1 p. 469. Gall. vergo-bretus name of a magistrate amongst the Aedui, = 'cuius iudicium efficax est', beside O.Cymr. guery 'efficax'; Nerto-mārus from nerto- 'strength, might'. In Irish the change of t, c to ṭ, χ (th, ch) at the beginning of the second member indicates that the first originally ended in a vowel (I § 514 p. 375 f., § 658 p. 510), as fir-threbair 'true wisdom' from trebair, nocht-chenn 'bareheaded' from cenn. The same is true of the ō in such compounds as find-folt 'white hair' from folt, and the ō in compounds like macc-slabrad 'plaything' from slabrad 'chain' (I § 576 p. 431, § 658 p. 510). Where the second member began in a sonant, -o- disappeared in proethnic Keltic: e.g. O.Ir. find-airgit 'white silver' (cp. Gall. Vindo-magus) fir-aingiu 'veros angelos'; so in Gallic we find Art-albinnum beside Arto-briga as compared with O.Ir. art 'stone'; here too should be classed compounds like Mid.Ir. (h)uasal-athair 'patriarch' ('august father'), if the elision of -o- in this position was later than the loss of initial p- (I § 339 p. 268).

Remark. In Gall. -a- is sometimes found instead of -o-, e.g. Virdumár us and Virdo-már us, Adiatu-már u-s and Adiatu-rūx, and sometimes -a-, as Reita-genus (Esser, Beitr. zur gallo-kelt. Namenkunde I 5, 6 f.). These differences are due in part to an inexact representation of unaccented vowels in writing, but in part also to dialectic variation.

O.Ir. aili-thir 'stranger, pilgrim' from alico- and fir 'terra'. nāe-litridi(acc. novos, recentes litteratores): cp. Gall. Novio-dānum 'Newtown'.

Stems in -a-. It may be assumed that -o- was regularly found even in proethnic Keltic (§ 12 p. 24 f.). Gall. Teuto-bōdiæct Teuto-bociō beside O.Ir. tuath f. = Goth. piēda f. 'people', common ground-form *tētā, so that no doubt O.Ir. Tuath-char and

1) With this combination of adjective and substantive, and with those to be mentioned below compare § 39.

Brugmann, Elementa II.
O. Cymr. *Tut-ri* originally had -o-. O. Ir. *dál-tech* 'forum' (house of assembly) *dál-suíde* 'forum' (seat of assembly) from *dál* f. O. Ir. *briathar-chath* 'battle of words' for *breó- through the intermediate stage *breť-, beside *briathar* f. 'word' for *breétr- (I § 623 Rem. 1 p. 469, § 634 p. 475).

Stems in -i-. O. Ir. *muir-bran* 'mergus' (sea-raven) from O. Ir. *muir* n. 'sea' for *morí*: Gall. *Mori-tasgus* Mori-dúnnum. In these and other words the palatalisation of the last consonant of the first member is an obvious trace of the -i- which once stood before it (cp. *bniąد-dia* 'fornix', properly 'triumphalis lapis' from *bniąd* n. 'victory', *sain-chenele* 'proprium genus').

Stems in -u-. O. Ir. *cath-buadach* 'victorious in battle' *cath-lach* 'battle-host, assembled fighting men' *cath-charpat* 'battle-chariot' from *cath* 'battle': Gall. *Catu-slóigus* (= *cath-lach*) Catu-ríghs, O. H. G. *hadu.- bith-beo* 'semper vivus', from O. Ir. *bith* 'world', which when used as the first member of a compound took the meaning 'everlasting, ever' (cp. § 4 p. 6): Gall. *Bitu-rígés* fid-bocc 'ligneus arcus', from *fid* 'wood, tree', O. H. G. *witu* 'wood'.

To determine the chronology of the loss of the final vowel in the first member, we have the evidence of such forms as the nom. pl. *gnímartha* beside sing. *gním-rad* 'act, deed', compared with the u-stem *gním*, cp. *ech-rad* above. Since -ar- came immediately from -r-, and this came from -rē- (I § 634 p. 475), the stem-final of the first member must have already disappeared before the process of *samprasāraṇa* began. Indeed, even in Gallic we find Lágdúnnum for Lugu-dúnnum (Dio Cass. XLVI c. 50 to *Λουγουδόνων*, rūn dē *Λουγουδόνων* kaloúmenon).

Stems in -n-. For these the form in -o- is substituted, as in Gr. *κτό-κράνον* (§ 12 p. 27); e. g. Mid. Ir. *talam-chumscuguid* 'earthquake' from *talam*, gen. *talan*, f. 'earth'.

Stems in -r-. The examples of these stems are not free from difficulty. O. Ir. *athar-gein* 'procreation (of the father)' *máthar-marðbhach* 'matricide' *máthar-lach* 'matrix', the -thar being no doubt for *-tr-o- (cp. Gr. *μηθρο-ο-χενος*). *athu-amil* 'patri similis' *mádr-amil* 'matri similis' beside forms like *sain-
sumail sain-email. Where the final member begins in a sonant: athir-oircníd 'patricide'. seathar-oircníd 'murderer of a sister' is no doubt modelled on forms like máthar-mar-ach, where the gen. sing. determined the type.

Stems in Explosives. All of these must have had -0-, O.Ir. carat-rad 'friendship' from cara, gen. carat; compare Gall. Carent-o-magus. Mid.Ir. oiged-chaire 'friendship between guest and host' from oegi, pl. oegid 'guest'. O.Ir. rig-thech king's house' rig-faith 'royal poet' from rī, gen. rig, 'king', cp. Lat. rég-i-fugium. Cp. also Gall. Cinget-o-rīx beside Cinges gen. -etis O.Ir. cing, acc. cingid, 'vir fortis, heros'; Gall. Brig-oboanne and *Brig-o-gillum (whence the modern Briqueil and Brielles-sur-Bar), beside O.Ir. bri, gen. breg, 'rising ground'.

Stems in -es- show in Irish the same type as Gr. εἰκο-

Xóνος. O.Ir. teg-lach 'household, familia' (O.Cymr. teulu 'familia'), beside tech n. 'house' = Gr. σχένος, tecnate 'domesticus, familiaris' for *tech-gnath (gnath 'consuetus'). O.Ir. leth-cholba 'the pillar by the side, the second pillar', led-marb 'half dead', from leth n. 'side, half'. It is probable that Gallic names like Cartis-mandua Civis-mārus (see Zeuss² 785. 853) represent the same type of compound as Gr. ἐνα-βόλος; yet it is at least possible that a vowel has fallen out after the -s-, cp. e. g. gen. Viscari for *Visu-cari.

§ 38. Class II. Idg. *u- 'un-' appears in Irish in different forms according to its phonetic surroundings. ژ- before t, c: O.Ir. š-tromm 'not heavy, light' š-cain 'indecent'; but in Cymr. an-, as annheilwun 'unworthy': O.Ir. étualng-the 'indignatus', cp. Mod.Cymr. cant: O.Ir. cēt 'hundred', I § 243 p. 201. in- for *en- before d, g (cp. I § 520 p. 378): O.Ir. in-derb 'incertus' in-gnad 'insolitus'. an- before vowels, Idg. *yn- I § 243, 4 p. 202: O.Ir. an-eolas 'inscientia', beside eola 'gnarus', an-se 'heavy' beside asse 'light'. By analogical transference an- came to be used before explosives, even in O.Ir.: an-cretem 'infidelitas', an-dach 'nequitia', an-glan 'immundus'. Further examples of this
kind are an-fiss ‘inscitia’, an-lsud ‘instabilis’ (foss ‘quietude’), Mid.Ir. ain-mine ‘roughness’ and the like.

do- du- in do-chruith ‘deformed’ etc.: Skr. duṣ-, cp. § 14 p. 29. The opposite of this, so-su- = Idg. *su-, is kept in Keltic (as in Armenian, § 28 p. 46) only in composition: O.Ir. so-nirt ‘good in strength, strong’ from nert ‘strength’, su-thain ‘everlasting’ from tan ‘time’.


O.Ir. ess-amin Mod.Cymr. eh-ofyn ‘fearless’ Gall. Ex-ombnus Ex-omnus, from pr. kelt. ex ‘out’ = Lat. ex and (O.Ir.) omin ‘fear’. Gall. Ambi-rēnus (‘around the Rhine’), Ad-lōdus (‘by the iver Lodus’), Are-morica (‘before the sea’).

O.Ir. ro-, an intensive particle, as ro-mōr ‘very great’ ro-chain ‘very beautiful’, stands for pre-Keltic *pro- (I § 339 p. 268): cp. Gr. πρό-καλος ‘very beautiful’ πρό-κακος ‘very bad’. O.Ir. ēr- also an intensive particle, as ēr-chosmil ‘very similar’ ēr-chian ‘very long’, comes from *ex-ro-; for the loss of the -o see I § 634 p. 475.

§ 39. Class IV. Besides compounds in which an adjectival stem was followed by a substantive (Class I), in Irish, as in the other Indo-Germanic languages, inflected adjectives were combined with substantives. Such phrases often developed into compounds, and this process was all the more natural because the adjective lost the characteristic inflexion of many of its cases, and thus the phrase looked like a compound of Class I. Hence the two groups overlapped, and in particular instances it is difficult to decide how the compound arose. In none of these words have we any clear traces of the destructive influence which the accent elsewhere exerts upon the final members of compound words, e.g. drog-scēla ‘nali nuntii’ dag-gnēm ‘good work’ (I § 685 p. 552), and therefore we might in all cases decide in favour of Class IV. But there
is nothing to prevent our assuming that compounds belonging to Class IV influenced the accent of those of Class I. See Zimmer, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIV 224 f., Kelt. Stud. II 19 ff. We shall find a similar confusion of two different types of composition in High German, § 44.

Germanic.

§ 40. Class I.

Stems in -o-. Where the second member began in a consonant the vowel seems always to have survived in proethnic Germanic. In Gothic we find stems sometimes with -o- and sometimes without, but no rule has yet been discovered to account for this difference, although it must be connected with some variation of accent: guða-faurhts 'God fearing' guð-hús 'God's house' from guþ 'God', áina-baér 'innate, native' áin-falþs 'simple' from áins 'one', laúsus-vaðrs 'speaking folly' laú-s-sōrs 'with empty stomach' from laús 'loose, empty, null', akra-na-lau 'fruitless' from akra n. 'fruit', piudan-gaðri f. 'king's house' from piudans 'king'. In West Germanic, where the vowel still appears as o in the oldest monuments (I § 83 Rem. I p. 77), the law of syncope described in I § 635 p. 476 was in operation; but its results were largely obscured by new formations. The following are examples of the regular development. O.H.G. tago-sterno taga-stern 'daystar, morning star', spilo-man spila-man 'player', wego-wiso wega-wiso 'guide'. On the other hand we find boun-garto 'orchard', wēn-rebe 'vine', himi-zungal 'stars of heaven', houbit-band 'head-band'. Parallel to these stand such forms as edan-thh 'aequalis' regan-manôd 'rainy month' atun-zuht 'respiration' accar-bigendo 'agricola' voga-chrit 'chick-weed', which come from prehistoric ground-forms containing *ēno-*regno- *ēdno- *akkro- *fuzlo- (cp. Goth. ibna-leiks, piggra-gulp 'finger-ring' and Austro-valdus, Count of Toulouse, 588 A. D.). However, it has still to be determined (cp. Kaufmann, Paul-

1) See Holtzmann, Altdeutsche Gr. I 2, 55; Kluge, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 81; Kremer, Paul-Braune's Beitr. VIII 381. 438. Kremer's theory is the least satisfactory.
Braune's Beitr. XII 537 ff.) how far the historical form of the first member may have been due merely to the influence of the uncompounded word (eban regan etc.).

Remark 1. In O.H.G. through the partial coincidence of the i- and the o-declension, -i- often intruded in place of -o- -o-, as wegi-rūh beside wego-rūh wega-rūh 'waybread, plantain' (properly 'way-ruler'). Cp. Rem. 3 infr.

The treatment of -o- in proethnic Germanic, where the second member began in a sonant, is uncertain (cp. I § 606 p. 459). It is possible that in some forms the hiatus remained (see above, § 12 p. 25), cp. Goth. galiug-appistalus 'false apostle' (from galiug n. 'lie'), O.H.G. sigo-ērō sigo-ērō beside sigo-ērō 'honour shown for victory'. Elision is by far the most frequent: Goth. hals-agga 'curve of the neck, nape' from halsa- 'neck', all-andjō 'complete' from alla- 'all'; O.H.G. wer-alt O.Sax. wer-old A.S. wer-old O.Icel. ver-ōld 'age of men, period, world' beside Goth. vair (stem vair-) 'man', O.H.G. ein-oggi A.S. ēn-eage O.Icel. ein-eygr 'one-eyed' beside Goth. ēins. O.H.G. eban-alt 'equally old' Mid.H.G. öster-ābent 'Easter-eve, day before Easter' for *ebn- *östr-, show the same analogical change as is seen in O.H.G. ebanon ebanōn (see I § 215 p. 182 f.); the regular type is preserved in Vestr-alpua, an Alemannic chief (Ammian).

Forms containing the suffix -jo-. Goth. alja-kums 'of other origin, strange', fraji-marzeins 'derangement of mind' (frajī n.), and on the other hand, with a long syllable before the suffix, arbi-numja 'receiver of an inheritance, heir' (arbi n.), aglāitī-caurdei 'improper speech' (aglāiti n. 'impropriety'). Cp. the contrast of gen, sing. harjis and hairdeis, I § 120 p. 112 f., § 143 p. 128 f., II § 63. In West Gothic -i-, not -ja-, is found from the sixth or seventh century onwards even in the former class of words. In Old High German -i- is universal, as eli-lenti 'foreign' eli-boro 'alienigena' heri-borga 'camp, shelter' arpi-lōs 'without inheritance'. It is questionable whether we should assume that -i- had appeared after short syllables, as in eli- (cp. O.Sax. eli-lendi O.Fris. illende), before the consonant-strengthening (I § 143 p. 129) and the syncope (I § 635 p. 476) of West Germanic (Sievers, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 488 ff.); see
Kaufmann ibid. 537 ff. -jo- -i jo- are frequently found in proper names belonging to different Germanic stocks in the first centuries A. D., as Χαρό-μηρος Hario-baude, Inguio-mērus.

Stems in -a-. It may be assumed that even in proethnic Germanic -o- was regular (§ 12 p. 25). Goth. aitrə-kunds 'of earthly origin' from aitrə 'earth', hveila-hvarbs 'accommodating oneself to the time, προσωπος' from hveila 'time, while'. O.H.G. beto-man 'one who prays' beta-hās 'house of prayer' from beta 'prayer'; on the other hand erd-rithi 'kingdom of earth' from erda, brach-maṇōt 'month of the first ploughing, June' from brach'a 'land broken up'. O.H.G. aheal-pein 'shoulder-hone' from aheila 'shoulder', like vogal-chrāt. O.H.G. erd-apfi (% earth-apple) 'cucumber, melon' from erda-, scob-tosn 'shaving tool' from scoba 'shaving tool, plane', like wer-alt. Mid.H.G. nādel-aere 'needle's eye' from O.H.G. nāila Goth. nēbla 'needle', like öster-ābent. Compare p. 70.

Words containing the suffix -i-, -ja-: Goth. pāsundī-faps leader of a thousand' from pāsundī f. (nom. pl. pāsundiōs) 'thousand'; O.H.G. sunti-lōs 'sinless' from suntia suntea-sunta 'sin', ređi-haft 'eloquent' from ređia ređa 'speech', like eli-lenti; see above.

Remark 2. In these feminines -o- and -a- often occur as well as -i-, e. g. ređa-haft ređa-haft, hella-flur 'hell-fire' (from hella Goth. haliōn 'hell'). Here analogy has been at work; this new formation spread in the -i- (-ja-) stems, not in those with -jo-, because the sonant -i- which stood at the point of juncture was not supported in the former class of stems as it was in the latter (cp. heri-berga beside nom. acc. heri) by the case-forms of the uncompounded word; the -i- of the compound was especially liable to alteration after the of the original word had been completely assimilated to the preceding group of consonants.

Stems in -i-. In proethnic Germanic -i- was no doubt kept in all compounds whose second member began in a consonant. Goth. -i-, as gasti-fōbs 'hospitalable' from gasts, drauhti-nīōb 'service in war, fight' cp. ga-drauhts (stem ga-drauhti-) 'warrior'; rarely the -i- is lost (cp. the loss of -a- above): brōp-fōbs 'bridegroom' from brōps 'bride', but-haurn 'horn for blowing' from *buti- 'noise, sound' = O.Icel. bytr Midd. H. G. dug. In O. H. G.
the forms are syncopated according to rule. *steti-got* 'genius loci'
*turi-sül* 'doorpost, post', but *tät-rahha* 'narrative of what has
happened' *gast-hüs* 'strangers' shelter' *truh-säzo trut-säzo* (Mid.H.G.
*truht-sæge*) 'lord high steward'.

**Remark 3.** In O.H.G. through the partial coincidence of the *i-* and
the *o-*declension *-o*— *-a*— often took place of *-i-*, as *scritta-mål* beside *scritti-

**Stems in -u-**. In prothetic Germanic -u- always appeared in
compounds whose second member began in a consonant.
Gothic has always -u-, as *fathu-gairns* 'covetous' from *fathu*
cattle, possessions', *filu-fáihs* 'very various' from *filu* 'much, very'.
In O.H.G. the forms were altered by the law of syncope: *filu-wiari*
cattle-pond', *filu-sprähhi filo-sprähhi* 'speaking much', *witu-hoffa
wito-hossa* (wood-hopper') 'hoopoe' from *witi wito' wood', *Hadi-
mär* proper name (*hudo- 'battle': Gall. *catu-'), but on the other hand*töd-lith* 'mortalis, mortiferus' from *töd* = Goth. *dáuþu-s*
death', *hungertag* 'day of fasting' for *hungrú- (cp. *accar-bigengo
p. 69) cp. Goth. *háhrus* 'hunger'.

**Stems in -n-** in prothetic and later Germanic show the
same type as Gr. *xtó-xpáno* (§ 12 p. 27). Goth. *guma-kunds* 'of
the male sex' O.H.G. *gomo-heit goma-heit* 'persona' beside Goth.
guma O.H.G. *gomo* m. 'human being, man', cp. Lat. *homo-cida* p. 60.
O.H.G. *hano-crád hana-crát* 'crowing of a cock' from *hano* Goth.
hana m. 'cock'. O.H.G. *namo-haft nama-haft* 'having a name'
from *namo* m. Goth. *namō* n. 'name'. Goth. *ágá-áýró* n.
('eye-door') 'window' O.H.G. *ong-bráwa* 'eyebrow' from Goth.
*ágō* O.H.G. *ouga* n. 'eye'. O.H.G. *herz-bliði* 'heartily agreeable'
from *herza* Goth. *haírō* n. 'heart'. When the second member
begins in a sonant: O.H.G. *brunn-ádara* 'vein of a spring from
brunno Goth. *bruna* m. 'spring, brook'.

**Remark 4.** It is noteworthy that the type of compound containing
a genitive (Class IV), such as *hanin-yuoz*, *Franchöno-laut* (§ 44), common
enough even in O.H.G., in later times continually encroached upon the
stem-compounds of Class I, particularly in the Modern period. The chief
factor in this developement was the circumstance that -en came ultimately
to be the ending of other cases besides the genitive, and hence lost its
Stems in -r-. In Gothic we have the form brō프ru-lubō 'brotherly love'; it is uncertain whether the first part represents Idg. *bhrāty- (I § 299 p. 287 f.), or whether, like the nom. pl. brō프ryus, it was a new form modelled upon the u-stems. brō프r-a-lubō also occurs, cp. Gr. πατεροφορός etc. O.H.G. prōdar-lith 'brotherly' may be variously explained; fatar-erpi 'patrimonium' is in any case a new form instead of *fator-. We also find pruader-lith fater-lith and the like, where e is due to the influence of the inflected forms of the uncompounded word.

O.H.G. frīt-lith 'hostile' frīunt-lith 'friendly', fuoz-scamīl 'footstool', like Gr. δρακοντ-ό-μαλλης, ποδ-ο-σφινθη. At the same time it must be observed that in O.H.G. many of these consonantal stems have gone over bodily to one of the vowel-declensions, e. g. māνōd 'month' (Goth. still has dat. sing. mēνōf nom. pl. mēνōfhs), with which compare e. g. māνōd-sioh 'lunaticus'.

Stems in -s-. Goth. sigis-lāun 'prize of victory' (cp. Goth. Sigis-meres Burg. Sigis-mundus O.Frank Sigis-bertus etc.) from sigis n. 'victory' (stem sigis-a- or sigis-a-): Skr. sāhos n. O.H.G. egis-lith 'horrible' beside Goth. agis n. 'fear' (stem agis-a-), cp. also O.H.G egis-o m. 'fright' egis-ōn 'frighten' like Gr. σωκό -φάρος. The following may also belong to this group, if they have lost the vowel of the suffix -es: Goth. brēt-fel A.S. drēst-fel (for *drūts-) 'scab' and A.S. Hēns-brēc, name of a place, compare probably O.Icel. hēns (only in pl.) 'fowls'. Rather more frequently we have -es- stems extended by -o-: Goth. dīz-a-smiþa O.H.G. ơr-smið 'copper-smith', O.H.G. Lembir-bah (cp. Kelbiris-bach with the gen. sing., Class IV) Mid.H.G. eier-vel (A.S. āğer-felma) 'skin of an egg', Mid.H.G. rinder-hirte 'cowherd' (A.S. hrīder-heard 'herd of cattle'). After -er- became a sign of the plural (§ 132) the first member of these compounds took a plural meaning (rinder- nirte = 'herdsman of cattle').

Remark 5. The transference of these stems to the o-declension (§ 132), caused by the loss of the final -os in the nom. and acc. sing., gave rise to alterations of the stem in compounds, on the model of the o-class; thus O.H.G. rind-stal. The oldest example of this type is perhaps
the form *requaz - 'darkness' (cp. Goth. *riqa Skr. *rdjas-), seen in *requa-
linehano, which occurs on an inscription of the second or third century
A.D. (found in the District of Cologne), if Holthausen is right in ex-
plaining it as 'living in the darkness'; but perhaps it is better to refer it
to the analogy of nom. *requa : *reolfa-z.

§ 41. In many compounds, in Germanic as in Greek and
in Slavonic (§ 30. 47), the popular conception of the first member
underwent a change, and the latter was regarded as having a
verbal instead of a nominal force.

Thus in O.H.G. first of all nominal stems in -i- (for an
original -i-, -jo-, -ja- or -ja-) came into immediate connexion
with verbs in -ien, e.g. spuri- in spuri-hunt 'hunting-hound'
(Mid.H.G. spür spur f. n. 'trace, track') came into connexion
with spurien spurren 'to trace'; smelzi-gold ('melted gold') 'refined
gold, standard gold' (smelzi n. 'gloss produced by melting, enamel')
with smelzen (Goth. *smaltjan) 'liquefy'; dece (older *decchi-
seen in dece-lachen 'cloth or sheet for covering' (decha, older
*decchia, 'covering') with decchen (O.Icel. þekja) 'to cover';
slengi-stein 'sling-stone' (slenga, older *slengia, sling') with slengen
(O.Icel. slengva) 'to sling, hurl'. Hence numerous new formations
whose initial members were real verbal forms, as deni-lachen 'cloth
for spreading out, tent-cloth' from denen 'to spread out', wezzi-stein
'whetstone' from wezzen 'to whet'. The next step was to give a
new verbal signification to nominal stems ending in original -o-;
thus O.H.G. striit-muot 'eagerness for the fray' striit-loufé 'race'
(striit m. 'strife') was referred to striitan 'strive', scelt-wort 'abusive
word' (scelta f. 'abuse') to sceltan 'to abuse', giving a type which
was followed by large member of new formations like melc-faz
'milk-vessel' from melchan 'to milk'. Then, when the ð and ð in
inflexional syllables had sunk to e, which also represented a
and e, when e.g. beta-hús 'house of prayer' and betén 'to pray' had
become bete-hús beten, and lina-berga 'railing, trellis' and lînên
had become line-berga linen respectively, the numerous forms of
this kind gave a fresh impulse in High German to the verbal
interpretation of the initial members of compounds, and the new
type of formation already established was taken into yet wider use;
e.g. Mid.H.G. lebe-site 'manner of life' from leben 'to live'.
Remark 1. In Mid.H.G. the stems of all classes of verbs had begun to be used in the initial part of compounds, and the number of such verbal compounds has been considerably on the increase down to modern times. There were always a number of words which to the popular consciousness appeared halfway between nominal and verbal compounds; as do even now such words as streit-lust, tanzlust, schlummerstätte, raud-vogel, cp. streit and streiten, tanz and tanzen etc. [Similar uncertainty is felt in English with regard to compounds like show-room, paint-brush, watch-tower, slaughter-house.] But such forms inevitably came to be regarded as verbal when the noun was no longer used uncompounded, e.g. in bethaus, which was formed from O.H.G. bete 'prayer', but, when this noun was lost, was of necessity connected with the verb beten.

Remark 2. The same process of analogical formation arising from a new interpretation of nominal stems is found in the other West Germanic dialects and in those of Scandinavia; whether it also took place in Gothic is doubtful. See Osthoff, Verbum in der Nominalen, p. 10 ff.

Remark 3. Connected with this is another characteristic of High German which may be mentioned here; — the new meaning given to the initial member of adjectival compounds in -bar, -lich, -haft, -sam. E.g. O.H.G. dane-bāri Mid.H.G. dane-bære at first meant exactly 'gratias (re-) ferens' (O.H.G. dane Goth. þaga 'thanks'), O.H.G. sein-bāri Mid.H.G. schinbære literally meant 'bearing an appearance, having an appearance'. Now when the second member had acquired the character of a suffix, the first was referred to the verb to which it was akin (Mid.H.G. danken and schien). Hence further new formations like Mid.H.G. hli-bære 'seeking to hide oneself' Mod.H.G. trink-bär anwend-bär etc., in which the second member is used like a primary suffix. See Osthoff loc. cit. p. 112 ff.


In the course of the separate development of Germanic several particles were restricted to use in composition, e.g. fra- = Gr. νόο in Gothic and in West Germanic.

transgression': cp. Gr. προ-θεῖος 'a setting forth', Lith. pra-dēti 'to begin' prū-dēsia 'beginning'. As regards the accent see § 19, 3 p. 37. Goth. af-stass f. 'separation, defection': cp. Gr. ἀπο-πρακτός 'separation, defection'. O.H.G. in-xiht f. 'accusation': Lat. in-dictio, Gr. ἐν-δικεῖος 'an information'.

Goth. anda-nahti n. 'the time towards night': cp. Lith. ašt-kaktę 'that which one has on one's neck (ašt kāklo), burden', Gr. ἀρεῖα, ἀνεῖ. uf-áipeis 'under an oath, bound by an oath': cp. Gr. ἑν-ἀοινίκος. faura-daúri 'that which is before the door, street': cp. Gr. παρὰ-θαλάσσως.


O.H.G. niwihht Mid.H.G. niht 'nothing' contrasted with Goth. ni vaihts 'nothing' ni vaihtsai 'in nothing, not at all': Goth. vaihts 'thing, something'; we have also O.H.G. neowiht 'nothing' for ni (a) wiht 'no thing at all'. O.H.G. neoman Mid.H.G. nieman 'no one' for ni (a) man, cp. Goth. ni manna and manna ni 'no one'.

§ 44. Class IV. O.H.G. dri-zug A.S. dret-tig 'thirty' = Goth. þreis tigius, acc. þrius tigūns; O.H.G. zwīn-zug A.S. twēn-tig twēn-tig 'twenty' was derived from old phrases containing a dative, cp. Goth. tvām tīgum 'duabus decadibus'. Other instances of this kind do not occur until later periods. Thus Mod.H.G. jung-geselle 'bachelor' neu-jahr 'New Year' oberrock 'overcoat' are from the Mid.H.G. phrases junc geselle 'young comrade' niuwe jār, ober roc, and these forms are therefore stem-compounds (Class I) only in appearance. Mod.H.G. jeder-mann 'every one', gen. jedermanns, from jeder mann 'every man'. From the common phrases in which a preposition (ze, in etc.) was combined with a place-name consisting of adjective and substantive, arose new nominative forms, as Mid.H.G. Hōhen-burg, Hōhen-vils; cp. the nom. sing. Schwaben from zen Sucaben (dat. pl.).

Many compounds in Germanic contain the genitive. In High German these continually grew more numerous; their
development out of mere phrases may often be traced in the literary monuments of the language, e.g. Mod.H.G. hungersnot from Mid.H.G. hungers not, Baierland from O.H.G. Beiero lant.


Goth. baurga-waddjus ‘wall of a fortress or city’ from baurge-‘fortress, city’. Instead of dulgis skula ‘he who has a debt (dulg-s m.) to pay, debtor’ (Luke 7, 41) it is perhaps better to write dulgissekula. Crim.-Goth. kæmis-clep would no doubt in Wulfla’s Gothic appear as *haimis-hlæif ‘house-bread’.

O.H.G. gotes-hus ‘God’s house’, hundes-stiuga (beside hunte-stiuga) ‘dog-fly’, Suðo-lant ‘Swabia’, hanin-fuoç ‘crow-foot’ (name of a plant, lit. ‘hen’s-foot’), hœsin-xunga ‘ox-tongue’ (name of a plant), gerstun-korn ‘barley-corn’, Franchôno-tal ‘Frankenthal’ (valley of the Franks); with these latter forms containing the gen. sing. or pl. of n-stems cp. § 40 Rem. 4 p. 72. In this class (not in Class I, § 40) should no doubt be placed the further examples O.H.G. truhti-gomo ‘follower’ bruti-gomo ‘bridegroom’.

In the Mid.H.G. period first occur compounds with the gen. pl. aller, as aller-best, aller-grögest; in O.H.G. we have the phrase allero bezist. From the beginning of the Modern period substantives are compounded with adjectives in forms like manns-toll (Mid.H.G. mannes tol) ‘arm-own’, geistes-arm (cp. (cp. Mid.H.G. lasters arm) ‘poor in spirit’.

In Mod.H.G. it was often forgotten that -s was a sign of the genitive in such compounds as hunde-fleige. Hence many new formations; on the one hand, forms like hilfstruppen ‘auxiliary troops’, nahrungsmittel ‘means of subsistence, provisions’ from hilfe and nahrung, gen. sing. hilfe, nahrung (Grimm, D. Gr. II 922); on the other hand forms like bauera-mann, reitersmann instead of bauermann ‘countryman’ reitermann ‘cavalry-man’. Similarly in English occurs doomsday: A.S. doom-dagz, herdsman; Mid.Eng. herd-man. Cp. § 17.
Noun Compounds: their Form in Balto-Slavonic. § 44—46.

Remark. Compounds containing a dative or accusative governed by the second member do not seem to occur in Gothic nor in the older periods of High German. In any case we must reject the view (Mahlow, Die langen Vocale p. 100) that Gothic seinai-galkruidi 'πειρόντος' (gloss on 2 Tim. 3, 2) contains a dat.-loc. and means 'desiring for his own, i. e. for himself.' It is a matter of choice whether to regard this, like the reading lâmunenâvâdî beside lâmunenâvâdî 'μαρτυρίον' (Tit. 1, 10), as a mere mistake in writing, or to assume that the scribe wished to represent the sound of a instead of a, following the pronunciation of his day; cp. Sunjai-srînas (Lat. Suniefridus) in the Naples Document (Wulfla ed. Bernhardt p. 649), where ai is certainly to be read as a.

The close connexion between the nom. sing. ein and the oblique cases of ander, which was established in O.H.G., produced the Mid. and Mod.H.G. ein-ander. In O.H.G. we still find such a phrase as sie sind ein andern-ungelig 'they are unlike each other' (lit. 'one to others'). Cp. Skr. anyō-nya-.

§ 46. During the proethnic period of Balto-Slavonic only a few new uses seem to have been developed. Two points may be mentioned.

1. The original Indo-Germanic compounds with *v- 'un-' (Class II) gave way to compounds with *ne- 'not'. Cp. Lith. ne-gâlë 'weakness, sickness, disease' O.C.Sl. ne-mošt 'feebleness, weakness', with Lat. in-valitâtō O.H.G. un-maht. Besides *ne-, another particle, which appears in Lith. as bë, in O.C.Sl. as bezë, and is connected with Skr. bahiś 'outside, without', had no doubt begun to be used as a negative prefix; cp. Lith. be-dëgnis O.C.Sl. bez-dënë 'groundless'; Lith. be-dëvis O.C.Sl. bez-božë 'godless'.

2. The compound adjectival declension came into use, as Lith. gerás-is 'the good (masc.)' = gēras fîs (I § 147 p. 131), O.C.Sl. novî-ystore novy-ystore 'the new (masc.)' (I § 84 p. 80).

§ 46. Lithuanian.

Class I. The nom. sing. of compounds of this group generally ends in -is masc. (gen. -io) and -ë fem. (cp. § 63).

Stems in -o-. Where the second member begins in a consonant, -a- is found less and less frequently in the course
of the literary period; the conditions of its loss still need careful investigation (cp. I § 636 p. 477, § 664, 1. 2 p. 522). The old form veida-mainis is now veid-mainis ('changing the countenance') 'hypocrite' from veida-s 'countenance'. Old form auksa-kasis, modern aukškas 'gold-digger' from auksa-s 'gold'. darbd-vète 'place of work' from dárba-s 'work', svetimą-szaliso 'foreigner, stranger' from svetima-s 'strange', gera-dejiš 'benefactor', vīs-gališ (beside vis-gališ) 'all-powerful, almighty' (or perhaps the last two contain an acc. neut., and belong to Class IV?). szōn-kaulis ('side-bone') 'rib' from szōna-s 'side of the body', vīka-paulis 'wolf's egg' (a kind of malodorous fungus) from vīka-s 'wolf', minkszt-prōlis 'weak in mind, soft-head' from minkszt-s 'soft, tender'. In Prussian -a- is generally kept, e.g. lauca-gerto 'partridge' from lauca-n acc. 'field', labba-segina-n acc. 'benefit' from labba-s 'good'.

Where the second member begins in a vowel, -a- is always dropped, e.g. ven-ākis 'one-eyed man' from vēna-s 'one'. In Prussian on the other hand (as in Slavonic, § 47) the stem-final is kept; dago-augis 'summer shoot or sprout' beside daga-gaydis 'summer wheat' (cp. deina-algenika- below, p. 80).

Forms containing the suffix -jo-. We still find -ja- in the older authorities, e.g. nauja-vedis 'newly married man' from nauja-s 'new'; cp. Pruss. caria-woytis karige-wayte 'review' (g in karige- = j), crauya-wirps 'blood-letter' from crauyo kracia 'blood'. In the modern language -jo- stems are treated as though they were stems in -o- or -i-. The stem-final has been lost e.g. in jaut-vedē 'leading-rop for oxen', jaut-akis 'ox-eye' (a plant) from jautis -cāio 'ox', vėlīge 'cancer' from vėšys-'crayfish', krau-leidys 'blood-letter' from kraujas-s 'blood'; examples with -a- are grébl-a-kotis 'rake-handle' from grébta-s, brol-a-vaikis 'brother's son' from brolis-s. Cp. also nauji-kaulis 'bony excrecence'.

Remark 1. We meet with spellings like nauj-veda beside nau-veda 'newly married man', krau-jysēl 'rein of blood', vēž-matišis 'windmill' (cp. bašnyč-kēmis beside bašnyc-kēmis below). These forms cannot be said to represent the stage preceding the loss of the j. which is only restored in them from the uncompounded word.
Remark 2. This treatment of ū-stems in composition, which is also found in Lettic, reminds us of the treatment of the same stems where they are extended by derivative suffixes: *faut-akis* like *faut-ātis* *faut-ditū* 'little ox'. The form *šem-oblūjs* (from *šemē*), which will be noticed further on, should be compared with *kare-ūše* *kare-ātis* 'little cow' from *kare* 'cow'. In Prussian *kel-laxās* 'spear-shaft' (beside *kelia-n* 'spear') seems to correspond to these Lithuanian compounds.

Stems in -ā-. -ō- is quite rare; the example *sviksnobsparnis* 'bat' was mentioned on p. 25. These stems are usually treated like stems in -o-. *galva-šudys* and *gale-šudys* 'murderer' from *galvā* 'head'. *vasarā-sziltis* 'warmth of summer'. *bargzdskutys* 'beard-shaver, barber' from *bargzdā* 'beard'. *nugai-kaulūis* 'backbone' from *nugarda* 'back'. *bat-ūps* 'moorland stream' from *baltā* 'moor, marsh'. *vasar-augis* 'this year's shoot' from *vasarā* 'summer', like *vēn-akis*; cp. on the other hand Pruss. *deina-algenikamans* dat. 'to day-labourers' from *deina-n* acc. f. 'day (Lith. nom. dēnā).

Feminines in -ia -e -i are treated like the -ū-stems. *girparasis* 'little wild pig' from *giria* *girē* 'wood'. *bašnyt-kēmis* (also *bašnycz-kēmis*, see Rem. 1) 'village with a church' from *bašnycžia* 'church' (borrowed from Slav.). *šem-skirē* 'landmark, field-boundary', *šem-oblūys* 'earth-apple' from *šemē* 'earth'. *marē-formē* 'bridesmaid' from *martē*, gen. *marciēs*, 'bride'. An example with -a- is *kregēd-a-solē* 'swallow-wort' from *kregēde* 'swallow'. In Prussian, the feminines which correspond to the Lith. feminines in -ē show -e- and -i-, the equivalents of Lith. -ē-.

e. g. *ape-witico* 'river-willow, osier' from *ape*, Lith. *ūpē* 'stream', *wosī-grabis* 'spindle-tree' from *wosee* 'goat' (Lith. *ošē*, cp. masc. *ošys*).

Stems in -i-. *tri-rātis* 'three-pronged'. In words of more than one syllable -i- is rare, e. g. *nakti-kovis* 'roving at night'. The forms are usually without -i-, as *ak-mirkis* 'twinkling of an eye, moment' from *aklās* 'eye', *ānt-kiausis* 'duck's egg' from *āntis* 'duck'; cp. Pruss. *perst-tansta-n* 'dust-window, window-shutter' beside O.C.Sl. *prūstī* f. 'dust'. Here and there we have *a*- as *ugn-ā-vētē* 'fireplace' from *ugni-s* 'fire' (cp. *darbā-vētē*).
Remark 3. These stems may have first followed the analogy of stems in -o- (ugn-a-), and then dropped the -a- (ak- ant-), or else the -i-, where it does not occur, may have fallen out by regular phonetic change, leaving the forms to be remodelled by the analogy of compounds like derbė-vėčė. In any case this group of compounds also (see Rem. 2) must be compared with diminutival formations like ak-užė 'little eye' ugn-užis 'little fire' etc.

Remark 4. aky-mojės = akiu mojės 'moment, twinkling of an eye' aky-mojė 'instantaneously' (which we can scarcely suppose to have been influenced by forms like aky-tė aky-la-s etc.) may perhaps contain the nom. acc. du. used as the dual stem, aki for *aki, see I § 684 p. 523. Cp. the retention of the original e in trejie 'thirteen'. Whether je in Bretken's akie-mirkėnis 'moment' (Bexenberger's Beitr. zur Gech. d. lit. Spr. 270) stands for ia is doubtful. — It may be asked in passing how we should regard the y in aby-pušė 'on both sides', which contains the dual abi puši, where abi comes from *abi. Should we compare (in spite of the different accentuation) the relation of apy- to api- apy, of pwy- to pri- pur-?

Stems in -u-. -u- was on the whole rather better preserved than -a- and -i-. alus-daris 'brewer' from alu-s 'beer'. virszu-galvis 'upper part of the head, crown' from virszu-s 'upper (part)'. The loss of -u- (-ju-) and the intrusion of -a- in its stead appear to be connected with the partial transition of u-stems into the o-decl.: pet-valgis 'midday meal' from petus pl. 'midday'. šmog-zudys 'murderer of men' šmog-ėdys 'devourer of men' from šmogu-s 'man', gyr-pelnys 'ambitious person', braggart from gyriu-s 'fame', pig-ą-kalbis beside pig-kalbis 'proficient in speaking' from pigu-s 'easy, cheap'. The form placz-kojis beside plat-kojis 'broad-foot' (platu-s 'broad') is explained by reference to the cases which have -jo-, as dat. sing. placzium, cp. bažnycz-kėmis beside bažyt-kėmis p. 79.

Amongst consonantal stems there is scarcely a single example of a genuine type which has not undergone some destructive change in the course of its development. szuń-obulėi pl. ('dog's-apples') 'hawthorn' from szuń, gen. szuńis, 'dog', like Gr. xyn-omnc, can scarcely be considered a direct representative of an original type; this is shown by the forms szun-musc 'dog-fly' szuń-šudis 'stercus caninum', which by the rules of formation in Indo-Germanic should have been *suzin- (= Skr. bha- Idg. *hun-), inder-balés pl. 'mother-wort'.

Brugmann, Elementa. II.
(from mūtel, gen. mōtešs, 'woman') shows the strong form of the stem, in contrast to the original type.

Class II. Of this class there is no trace in Baltic.

Class III. pra-mištas 'named': Skr. prā-mata-s 'contrived, uttered'. pēr-pintas 'plaited crosswise': O.C.Sl. prē-pētū 'drawn outwards, outspread'; pēr-jūstas 'girt over, girt about': Gr. περιποτορος 'girt about'.

pēr-gale 'that which is laid over or around the head, hood': cp. Gr. περικεφαλα 'head-covering', apē-vakaris 'the time towards evening' (apē vakara). pa-stalē 'drawer under the table (pō stalū).'

āt-laikas āt-lēkas 'remnant': O.C.Sl. otiš-lēki, sān-dōra 'concord', sā-szalov pl. 'sweepings': cp. O.C.Sl. să- Skr. sa-m. ne-kūs 'scarcely any one, hardly any one'. ne-cēna-s 'not only one, not alone', but Pruss. ne-ains ni-ains 'no one', cp. Lat. nōnus-m nōn.

Class IV. dū-szimtu 'two hundred' trū-szimtai 'three hundred' (for *trys-szimtai according to I § 664, 6 p. 524) beside dū szimtū = trū(s) szimtai. trū-lik 'thirteen' keturiō-likā 'fourteen' no doubt contain the nom. acc. pl. neut. Accusative forms: sē-bū 'this year', sē-nakt 'this night', anā-tyuk 'that time' for sē niēt, sē nākti, anā syki. We have no doubt instrumentals in sē-pus 'on this side' anā-pus 'on that side' from pusē 'half'. aby-puseė 'on both sides' is formed from abī pusē 'both sides' (cp. Rem. 4). Du. nom. masc. jū-du fem. jē-dvi, dat. instr. masc. jēm-dvēm fem. jōm-dvēm, from īs 'he' and dū 'two', similarly du. paceiū-du from pātu 'self', with other forms of the same sort.

In some dialects we find kas-vakaras adj. 'every evening' kas-mēts adj. 'every year', originally subordinate relative clauses, i.e. 'which ever evening (year) it may be' (the Author, Lit. Volksl. u. Märzch. 320, and for a similar usage in Slavonic see Miktlosich, Vergl Gr. II 376, IV 87). In other dialects the analogy of accusatives of time like tē (sē) vakara 'in the evening (this evening) gave rise to kasvakara, kasmēta, similarly kasdēna 'daily' and other forms; and, with loss of the
ending, kasmiē kasdēn etc.; and further, derivatives like kasdēnis kasdēninis ‘daily’. Cp. Lat. quotidīnis § 36 p. 63.

Compounds having a dependent genitive for their first member are rare; e. g. szuims-udēgius (‘dog-tailed person’) ‘flatterer, fawner’ from szū, gen. szuins, ‘dog’. There are more examples in Lettic, as fēmes-mūte ‘earth-goddess’ from fēme = Lith. žemė ‘earth’.

**Remark 5.** How are we to regard butas-uoga ‘house-door’ (buta-s ‘house’), and Lettic. gads-kārīa ‘time of year’ (gads ‘year’, stem gada-) which seems to be a form of the same kind? Was there a stem *butēs-? (No great importance perhaps should be attached to the Prussian form butas-tawo beside button-tawo and buttas-tawas ‘house-father’).

Further, what is the origin of the *y* in karsēgmetēs ‘hot time’ (kāraste-s ‘hot’, karsēti-s m. ‘heat’), brangēgmetēs ‘dear time, dearest’ (brangē-s ‘dear’), darbēgmetēs ‘work-time’ (ddārē-s ‘work’), vāsarēgmetēs ‘summer time’ (vāsarē ‘summer’)? Should we start from the nom. pl. karsēti mētai (cp. aby-pusē from abī pusē, Rem. 4) or a form *karsēgmetēs-mētai? For the general use of the ending -gmetēs cp. Gr. -γόμες -γόμης; § 29 Rem. p. 47.

kīts kītq ‘one another’ is now regarded so much as a single word that the first part retains its masculine form even when the subject is feminine. In Bretken (16th century) we still find moteris-kējas gēdēja pēsz kītq kītq ‘the women sang against each other’.

§ 47. Slavonic. Class I. Many of the following examples are not popular combinations, but a scholar’s translations of Greek compounds.


Noun Compounds: their Form in Slavonic. § 47.

Slav. -o- in lator Slavonic, e.g. Serv. konjo-zobica ('equum nutritum') 'bag of fodder'.

Stems in -u- always show the ending of the o-stems. vodo-nositi 'water-vessel' from voda 'water', rako-pisanije ('zna- 
goro-
poayon') 'bill of debt, bond' from raka 'hand'; rako-obucinu 'ac-
customed to the hand, tame'. zemlje-mereje 'land-measurement, 
geometry' from zemlja 'land', zmije-noziti 'snake-footed, with feet 
of or like snakes' from zmija 'snake', duše-gubiti 'destroying 
the soul, annihilating' from duša 'soul', zmije-obrazinu 'having 
the form of a snake', duše-ubijica 'murderer of souls'. Serv. 
zmijo-grad 'snake-headed' for the older and true form zmije-.

Stems in -i-. tru-zatiti 'trident' from tri 'three'. Many 
examples have -o-, following the analogy of o-stems: as gosto-
lijubiti 'hospitable' from gosti 'stranger, guest', zvoro-viditi 
'having the appearance of a wild beast' from svôri 'wild beast', 
sirimito-noziti 'death-singing' from sirmiti 'death', zvoro-
obraziti 'having the form of a wild beast'. We often find -e-
(but this is late), e.g. zvoro-viditi beside zvoro-vititi, zvoro-
imenititi beside zvoro-imenititi 'named after an animal', poto-
voziti 'guide'.

Remark. It is a question whether in the latter examples -e- is 
the e of the stems in -io- ('zej-it- etc.), as Osthoff assumes (Verb. in d. 
Nominales. 213), or the e of forms like potemit for potemiti (I § 36 p. 36, 
Leskien, Handb. p. 20 ff.). Osthoff's view seems to be the true one.

Stems in -u- have -o-. syno-tvorjenije 'vioThey stream', reception 
into the position of a son' from syni 'son'. medo-tociti 'sweet-
streaming' from medû 'honey'. Compare the transference of 
u-stems to the o-declension, which is found in the very 
earliest authorities; such forms as synochii instead of synûtii 
(I § 52 p. 44, and Leskien, Handb. p. 21 ff.), need hardly be 
taken into account; see the last Remark. As regards medočiti: see § 12 p. 26.

kriv-o-politi 'bloodshed' from the stem kriv- 'blood', gen. 
sing. kriv-e, Idg. stem *gruv- *gru-, cp. Gr. iχνo-o-γαγος. Yet 
the forms with -o- may not have sprung up until after some
§ 47. Noun Compounds: their Form in Slavonic.

of the cases of the word had been formed afresh in the i-declension, as nom. krūv-i.

Stems in -n-. kamen-o-vidinī 'having the appearance of a stone' from kamy 'stone'. inen-o-nosinī 'bearing a name' from inę 'name'. The original types of formation seem to have completely disappeared.

Stems in -r-. matere-dosaditeř and matere-ubijica 'matricide' like xvere-vidinī (see p. 84 above). Beside these we have, without -o-, četver-gubī 'quadruplus' for četver-gubī.

Stems in -s-. Generally -o- appears instead of -es-; čudo-točnī 'sending forth wonders, spreading them abroad' from čudo 'wonder', oko-izmelinā 'casting out the eye' (on the other hand Russ. and Serv. have oče-, Russ. oče-vidnyj 'appearing to the eye') from oko 'eye'; compare the transference of forms from the es-declension to that of o-stems, as instr. sing. nebomi beside nebesīmi. More rarely we find -es-o-, as čudes-o-točnī beside čudo-točnī, nebes-o-podražatelnī 'imitating heaven', cp. loc. pl. nebesěchtī instead of nebesěchti.

Of Class II no examples remain in Slavonic.

Class III. pro-strītī 'outstretched': cp. Skr. prā-stirpa-s 'stretched forth, outspread'. u-vestī 'crowned' u-vesti 'to crown': cp. Pruss. au-klipt-s 'hidden' Skr. āva-hata-s 'struck back, driven off; slain'. iz-čēti 'taken out' iz-četi 'to take out': Lith. izs-inta-s izz-intī.

pri-morije 'the region by the sea' (pri mori). na-glavię 'turban' (that which is on the head [na glavę]). Cp. Miklosich, Denkschr. d. Wiener Ak. XIII 19 f.


Class IV. bratī-sestra 'brother and sister'; this was inflected like the nom. du. of an o-stem, hence bratīsestrāma; compare the dimin. bratīsestrica. Jissus-Christosī has gen. Jissus-Christosā. duva-desēti 'twentyth' (beside dvo-desētinā), derived from duva desēti (two decades) 'twenty'. Many similar examples occur in modern Slavonic dialects; e. g. in Polish wielka-noc ('great night') 'Easter' has gen. dat. wielkanoc.
advìla § 30 p. 51. Compare on this subject Baudouin de Courtenay in Kuhn-Schleicher’s Beitr. IV 204 ff.


The -i- appearing in the cases of the i-stems (krüvi-prolitìje) was connected in popular usage with verbs in -iti and treated as having an imperatival force. Such a form, for instance, as Mìsti-drugi (Czech. Metì-drùh) was properly ‘ultionis socius’, mìsti being gen. of mìstì ‘vengeance’; but since mìstì was also 2. sing. impv. of mìstitì ‘to avenge’, the word came to be regarded as meaning ‘uliscere socium’. This change of meaning produced a large number of compounds which were either formed on the new type, or altered to suit it, e. g. Serv. Ljubi-voj (‘love the warrior’, ljubiti ‘to love’) instead of *Ljubo-voj, cp. Ljubo-brat ‘miglòlygos’. See Osthoff, Verbum i. d. Nom. p. 209 ff. Cp. § 30. 41.
Noun Compounds: their Meaning.

§ 48. In Stem-Compounds of the proethnic Indo-Germanic type (e.g. Skr. aśvā-hayā-ś Gr. ἰμπορος) the nature of the relation which the first member of the compound bore to the second was quite undefined to start with. It was implied solely in the particular meaning which happened to be assigned to any one such combination. The logical relation between the two parts must naturally have assumed a different character in different cases. If the parts of a compound meant 'sun' and 'moon' respectively, the logical connexion between them would not be the same as if they meant 'sun' and 'beam': 'sun and moon' in the first case, 'beam of the sun' in the second. If words meaning 'man' and 'slaying' were compounded, they would be related in one way ('slaying a man'); words meaning 'spear' and 'slaying', in another ('slaying with the spear'). A number of compounds whose parts had the same logical connexion would form a group, and many such groups arose in the proethnic Indo-Germanic period. Hence even the proethnic compounds of noun-stems may be arranged in a series of Classes according to their meaning. These Classes, we shall find, need no serious extension to include all the compounds of this kind formed at later times in the separate languages.

The compounds whose initial member was a definite inflexional form have a different history. From the first this inflected form gave to the relation between the parts a perfectly defined meaning, e.g. Skr. divi-jā- 'born in heaven', divērūc- 'shining from heaven'. It must be observed, however, that in later times the special meaning attached to the inflexional ending of the initial member was often forgotten. Cp. § 17 p. 32 f.

The native grammarians of India and modern students of language in Europe have devoted much labour to the task of classifying compounds according to their meaning.

Remark. It must be confessed that in these attempts at classification scholars have almost from first to last allowed too much influence to a
desire for logical symmetry, and too little to the true historical method, which abstains from all criticism that is merely \textit{a priori} and that is not directly suggested by and limited to the nature of the facts to be studied. In particular it is often forgotten that in most compounds the mutual relation of the two parts in the mind of the speaker which the scholar has to reproduce is a conception far too indefinite and variable to be confidently assigned, as too often it is, to this one or that of the numerous classes of meaning. Hence there has often been a needless amount of contention as to whether a compound belongs to one class or the other, whether for example Skr. \textit{sakhi-gana-} (sakhi- 'friend', gana- 'band') is one of the Dependent [Whitney, Skr. Gr. § 1263] or of the Descriptive [Ib. § 1279] compounds (whether it is equivalent to 'amicorum caterva' or 'amica caterva'); or whether \textit{marga-}\textit{marco-} \textit{marci-} 'patricide' is to be regarded as genitive or accusative. But as a rule these precise relations of meaning were simply imported into the words by the grammarians — a mistake natural enough where a paraphrase was needed to render the compounds into other languages — whilst the speakers themselves were content with a general impression of the meaning. If the established canons are to be strictly maintained, we must at least allow a large number of intermediate stages, in which the different classes meet.

§ 49. There are two leading principles by which we can distinguish the different kinds of compounds, which go back to the proethic period and which are of primary importance in any attempt to classify the compounds according to their meanings. First 'coordinating compounds, (called in Sanskrit \textit{dvandva}) are opposed to 'subordinating compounds'; and secondly 'non-epithetised' (nicht mutierte) are opposed to 'epithetised' (mutierte) compounds. But in neither pair were the contrasted classes ever absolutely distinct; there were always various intermediate stages between one class and the other.

In the first of the two contrasted classes, the coordinating compounds, the two members stand side by side on the same level, nothing more being implied than the addition of two items; these may be regarded as joined together by 'and', whence such compounds have been called 'copulative'. In subordinating compounds, on the other hand, one member is defined more closely by the other; the one contains the principal idea, the other is merely an adjunct subordinated to it.
The subordinating compounds certainly formed by far the larger group in the Indo-Germanic period, and so it has remained in nearly all the subsequent developments of the separate languages (Sanskrit is an exception, see p. 90 f.). The way in which one of the two members was defined by the other was shewn in each case by their meaning or grammatical character, and in all periods it has varied between very wide limits. We may instance the following groups of compounds with parallel meanings in the different languages.

1. Skr. rāja-rāsi-ś 'a sage who is a king, royal sage' Gr. ἱερό-μαρτυς 'a seer who is a physician', Lat. anguis-pes 'having a foot which is a serpent, serpent-footed', O.Ir. rig-faith 'a prophet who is a king, royal prophet' ban-chu 'a dog which is a female, bitch', Goth. ūiu-magus 'a boy who is a servant' (translation of naiz) O.H.G. gold-ring 'a ring which is gold, gold ring', Lith. obel-medis 'a tree which is a pyrus malus (obelia), apple-tree', O.C.Sl. konje-dověčku 'a man who is a horse, centaur'.


4. Skr. saptā-rāṣṭry-us pl. 'the seven wise men' (name given to the Great Bear) tri-rādra-ṃ 'space of time including three nights', Armen. kihng-am 'five years, quinquennium', Gr. τρι-νοῦς 'three-legged frame' ἐχθρ-μιν 'team of four horses', Lat. bn-pēs tri-noctium, O.Ir. tre-choste 'tripod' Gall. tri-garanus 'provided
tri-rakis ‘having three prongs’ O.C.Sl. tri-zubiu ‘having three teeth’.


In this way a large number of categories may be distinguished; but the boundary line between any two is never clearly marked.

The coordinating compounds have nowhere been largely developed except in Sanskrit, and there only in the post-
Vedic period. Probably there was a time in proethnic Indo-
Germanic when no compounds of this class existed except those which had a case-form for their initial member, e.g. *dvā-dekm
twelve’ (2 + 10): Skr. dēa-daśa etc., see § 16 p. 32; and dvandva compounds with a stem for the initial member only arose when compounds containing a case were re-modelled on the analogy of the older subordinating class, which had the simple stem. This process of conversion may often be traced with certainty in historical times, e.g. Skr. parjānya-vatā instead of the older form parjānya-vatā ‘raincloud and wind’ (§ 24 p. 41), cp. also Gr. καλο-γλυκά, γλυκο-αμβληπίλικος, O.C.Sl. osmo-nadesēti (§ 30 p. 51), and Skr. pārva-pārvas for pārvas-
pārvas and the like, § 53. The use of the stem instead of a case cemented the combination more firmly; and such a process would be all the more natural because many comp-
ounds of the subordinating class approach very closely to the coordinating compounds in regard to the particular relation subsisting between their parts, and there was never any sharp distinction between the two groups (cp. p. 91).

Whether dvandva compounds were formed with the simple stem in proethnic Aryan is doubtful. Even in the Rig-
Veda, coordinating compounds containing the simple stem
occur only rarely by the side of those containing a case; e. g. 
ajāvāyas (āja-avāyas) pl. 'goats and sheep'. The extension of 
the class is a special development in Sanskrit, spreading 
only by slow degrees, until in the classical language we find 
any number of nouns thus strung together into what was gram-
matically a single word, as mukhabhārūpadatas (mukha-bāhū-
uru-pādatas) 'from countenance, arms, thighs, and feet'. In 
non-Aryan languages, coordinating compounds containing a 
stem are, on the whole, comparatively rare. In Greek no clear 
examples occur until rather late, e. g. ιντροτετιδε 'lyres and 
shields' seen in ῥόπεντο-λεφτεστέρο-κρηγός 'joining together turned 
lyres and shields', νυχθ-ημερον 'diem noctemque', λουτρό 
άνθρο-
γινα 'baths for men and women alike', λευκό-μυλάς 'white and 
black'; in Modern Greek there are many formations of this kind, 
as γυναικο-ναύα 'women and children', μαχαρο-νισσον 'knives and 
forks'. Lat. reci-procu-s, originally 'going backwards and for-
wards (§ 86 a), su-ove-taurilia (the form su-ovi-taurilia is perhaps 
more correct) 'a sacrifice in which a pig, a sheep, and an ox are 
slain'. In Keltic and Germanic I know of no examples except 
those whose initial member may conceivably be a case, as Mid.Ir. 
brat-gaisced 'mantle and weapons' gorm-gel 'blue and white' 
O.H.G. sunu-fatar-ungo Hild. 4 'people of the son and the 
father' (-unga- is a suffix which denotes 'belonging to' something, 
ep. § 88) and O.Sax. gi-sün-fader 'son and father', whose initial 
member may be nom. sing. (ep. O.C.Sl. brati-sestra, where 
it is certainly so). Lith. vyr-moterinis 'concerning man and 
wife, concerning married people', Lett. milch-āvās 'barley 
and oats'; O.C.Sl. mafe-šeni 'having the nature of man and of 
woman, āndrophýgos' (Gregor. Naz.); Russ. belo-vumjanyj 'white 
and red' (of the face).

We have already remarked that there is no fixed boundary 
between coordinating and subordinating compounds. The Greek 
iōtró-μαννις, which was placed in the latter class on p. 89, may

1) This would be a drāndes compound even if the scholiast's ex-
planation were correct; στι-τριπτινων λέον ϵαι δανθης πρινδων.
be also taken to mean ‘one who is physician and seer’, and similarly there are two possible explanations of such compounds as ἰδιω-κλαμος ‘goat-stag’ γλυκ-μελος ‘bitter-sweet’, Lat. dulco-acidus, and many more in all the Indo-Germanic languages.

§ 50. The distinction between the two classes of compounds which we term ‘non-epithetised’ and ‘epithetised’ (other terms widely used are ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’, compounds of ‘lower’ or of ‘higher order’; the second class is called by the Sanskrit grammarians bahuvṛti) depends upon a certain change of meaning in the compounds, developed in proethnic Indo-Germanic, and since that time constantly repeated in new-examples. For instance, *dus-menēs- ‘evil mind’ (immutatum) acquired the meaning ‘an evil-minded person’ (mutatum) (nom. sing. Skr. durmānās Gr. ἰδιωμέλος), and in Modern German dick-kopf ‘thick-head’ means ‘a thick-headed person’ [e. p. Eng. redbreast etc.]. The essential point in this process is the conversion of a substantive into an adjective; the concrete meaning was disregarded, so that the idea remaining in the word was solely that of the quality or qualities which belonged to the concrete person or thing. This development of meaning is one which may often be traced even in uncompounded substantives, and it will often meet us again in the course of our investigation. The substantival origin of these forms is still sometimes shown in the deficient expression of their adjectival function; e. g. in Greek ῥόδοδάκτυλο- ‘rosy-fingered’ was used in spite of its -ο- for the fem. as well as the masc., and χρυσ-κόμη- ‘golden-haired’ in spite of its -η- for the masc. as well as the feminine. But extended formations were very soon developed to give fuller expression to the adjectival character of the compounds; for instance the adjectival -ιο- had come to be used as a convenient affix in the proethnic period: e. p. Skr. dāsa-mās-ya- ‘happening every ten months’ etc., § 63, 2. It is probable, as we saw in § 19 p. 35, that there was even then a difference in accentuation between the mutata and the immutata.

The student must be on his guard against the idea that every epithetised compound in the Indo-Germanic languages
has passed through this course of development for itself. By far the greatest number were formed with the derived sense, on the model of older forms.

Both subordinating and coordinating compounds containing substantives are found with the epithetised meaning; e.g. Gr. πολύ-οίνος 'having much wine' and ἀνδρογυνός 'intended for men and women' (λαύρων). Examples have been given in the preceding section, and to these a few may be added from the group of subordinating compounds. Skr. ἠργοκα-κέας 'golden-haired', Armen. ὁστ-α-βαζκ 'strong-armed', Gr. λευκελευς 'white-armed', Lat. magno-animus, O.Ir. nocht-ehonn 'bare-headed', Goth. hrudina-hairts 'who has a pure heart', Lith. minkeo-galvis 'who has a weak head' = 'soft-headed' O.C.Sl. črino-vlasit 'black-haired'; cp. the non-epithetised compounds Skr. adhara-hanu-s 'lower jawbone', Gr. ἀκρο-πόλις 'upper city' etc. p. 89 Skr. a-putrā-s 'who has not a son, sonless' Armen. an-kin 'who has no wife, widower', Gr. α-παύς 'childless', Lat. in-berbis, Mod.Cymr. an-nwedd 'endless, unending' (from Mid.Cymr. diwed 'end' = O.Ir. dēad); in Germanic and in Balto-Slavonic there is no group of epithetised compounds with *g- 'un-', but cp. Mod.H.G. eine verfolgte unschuld = 'innocent person', lit. 'persecuted innocence', Lith. ne-kalbā 'no-speech' = 'who says nothing'. Parallel to these are the non-epithetised compounds, Skr. a-kumāra-s 'no boy (any longer)', Lat. in-imīōn-s, O.H.G. un-chraft 'weakness', etc.

Finally we must observe that even between mutata and immutata no sharp line can be drawn. Take for example the Greek ἄδωρα ἄρα 'gifts that are no gifts' (Soph. Aj. 665). Here ἄδωρα may be regarded equally well as a substantive or an adjective; so also πόλεις νόμικαλεις (Aesch. Eumen. 690) and similar instances. In these the feeling of the language may be as undecided as it is e.g. in the Mod.H.G. phrases es ist not 'there is need of it, it is needed', er ist schuld 'he is the guilty cause, it is his fault' and the like. Speaking generally, no sharp distinction between substantive and adjective can be drawn in the Indo-Germanic languages (§ 138).
REPLICATED NOUNS.\(^1\))

§ 51. We distinguish three groups:

I. Forms in which the first element of the reduplication is a more or less complete form of the root, e. g. Skr. gár-gar-as ‘eddy’;

II. Forms in which it is a noun-stem, e. g. Skr. sukhā-sukhēna (instr.) ‘very gladly’;

III. Forms in which it is a case-form, e. g. Skr. divē-divē ‘daily, day by day’ (loc.).

With the second group should be compared such compounds as Skr. sukhā-svapo-s ‘pleasant sleep’; with the third, compounds like Skr. divē-jā-s ‘child of heaven’ (§ 10 ff.).

§ 52. Class I. A number of the words belonging to this class may have been either formed directly as nouns, or derived from older reduplicated verbal forms. No certain line of distinction can be drawn; and though we shall here take no account of verbal nouns in the strict sense, i. e. participles etc. (e. g. Gr. και-καιτο-ς), yet we must include many nouns which were certainly formed in connexion with the verbal system (e. g. Gr. και-καιτο-ς).

As regards forms with ‘broken reduplication’ see § 6 p. 13.

1. Many reduplicated forms derived from roots beginning in a consonant stand in more or less clear connexion with intensive verbal formations, as Skr. dár-dar-ti ‘recks asunder, shatters’.


\(^1\) The authorities on this subject are cited on p. 11, footnote 2.
§ 52.  Reduplicated Nouns.


Lat. quer-quer-u-s 'cold, so as to make one shiver'; compare perhaps Goth. faürht-s 'timid' (Bezzenberger in his Beitr. XII 77, and above, I § 444 p. 329). Mar-mar (Song of the Arval Brethren): Gr. μού-μαρ-ος 'gleaming, shining'? (Pauli, Altital. Stud. IV 56 ff.). derbōsus-us 'full of scabs or sores' for *der-d-y-


O.Ir. dor-d 'susurrus' (cp. 3. sing. mid. derdether 'there is a sound, a cry'): Gr. τερ-τερ-αλ 'empty chatter' τον-τον-ς 'murmur'. graig 'drove of horses' for *gra-gi-?: Gr. γαρ-γαρ-α πολλα Hesych., γαρ-γαρ-α 'swarm, heap' (γαρ-γαρω 'I swarm'), Lat. grex stem greg-; cp. § 160-Rem. 1.


guy-vere 'squirrel'. Mod.Slov. Mod.Bulg. pa-prat Pol. pa-proć
Russ. pa-porot and Lith. (borrowed?) pa-parti-s 'fern', cp. O.H.G. eor-n 'fern'.

2. In other nouns from roots beginning in a consonant the form of the reduplication must be compared with that seen in verbal forms with Idg. e, such as Gr. ἰδε-ιδε-α ἥδε-κλ-στε; and there is no doubt that in some cases there is a direct connexion between the verbal and nominal forms.

Skr. ba-bhr-ú-ś adj. 'brown', (when used as a subst. it means a large kind of ichneumon) Avest. ba-vr-i-ś 'beaver', O.H.G. bībar (cp. filu 'much' ground-form *pelu) Lith. bēbru 'beaver', Idg. *bhe-bhr-०; Gall. Bibrāx and Lat. fiber belong to 3 (infr.), so also perhaps Corn. befer 'beaver' (which however may very possibly be a word borrowed from A.S.). Skr. ca-kṛ-ā-m 'circle, wheel' Avest. ca-xr-e-m 'wheel', A.S. ḍhēc-wol hwēbl 'wheel', Idg. *qo-ql-o-; cp. also Gr. κι-κλ-ο-ς vol. I § 427 p. 314 and the unreduplicated O.C.Sl. kolo (stem koles-) n. 'wheel'.

Skr. va-vr-i-ś 'covering' va-vr-ā-s 'hiding oneself' Avest. va-vr-husk' (for *va-vr-i-, I § 160 p. 144), cp. the Skr. perfect stem va-vr- from var-.'cover over'. Skr. ca-kṛ-i-ś 'effecting' ca-kṛ-u-ś 'accomplisher', cp. the perfect stem ca-kṛ-. Skr. da-dh-i-ś 'giving' da-dh-i-ś 'bestowing', cp. the present and perfect stems da-d-, da-dh-. With these compare Ved. sa-sah-i-ś 'victorious', with the perfect stem sa-sah-. Skr. da-dhṛ-ḥ-ś 'bold, courageous'. Avest. va-var-an- 'raging'.

Gr. ἴδ-κνω-'ς 'tension of the limbs', from ἴτ-τε-κράξ probably 'guineahen', beside ἴ-κράξῳ cackle'. κρέβρ-αλο-ς and κρέβρ-αλο-'ς 'net-headdress, hood', beside κι-κράξ-α. βέ-βη-λο-ς 'accessible, profanus', beside βέ-βη-κα. κρᾶγ-μο-ς 'cry', beside κι-κρᾶγ-α. κα-ποιήσας-ς 'trust' (late), beside πο-ποιήσ-α. σε-συρ-ο-ς- πανεθρηγάς Hesych. πέ-πλ-ο-ς 'outside garment, cloak, covering, the peritonaeum', probably to be compared with πέλλα 'skin, leahter' πέλμα 'sole of the foot or shoe'.

Lat. me-mor: cp. Gr. μερ-μορ-ο-ς 'noteworthy, horrible' and Skr. perf. sa-emāra (Osthoff, Paul-Br. Beitr. VIII 549 f.).
fe-br-i-s, compare Skr. bhar-á-ti 'is unquiet, throbs'. sūd-ēs for *se-zd-, √sed-, cp. I § 314 Rem. p. 253.


Lith. tē-tervina-s 'heathcock' O.C.Sl. te-trēvi 'pheasant': Gr. τι-τριγι τέ-τρας τε-τράων a kind of fowl, cp. also Skr. ti-tirī-ti-tirāsa 'partridge'. O.C.Sl. po-pelū (beside po-pelū) 'ashes', cp. Czech. plá-pol 'famo'. Lith. te-tā O.C.Sl. te-ta 'aunt, nurse': Gr. τι-ττα· 'little father, dad', cp. Skr. tā-tā-s, a word used by parents in addressing children and vice versa, Lat. ta-ta, Lith. tē-tī-s 'little father'.

3. In another group of formations from stems beginning in a consonant, the reduplication resembles that of verbal forms with Idg. ī, such as Gr. ἱ-στγ-μ, and there is no doubt that sometimes they stand in direct connexion with them. On the whole, however, such forms are rare.

We have no doubt a genuine Indo-Germanic example in Skr. ści-sir-a-s 'cold, frost; cold (adj.)' (ground-form *Śi-ŚI-lo-), with which Bugge (Arkiv for nord. filol. II 355) connects O.Icel. hela f. 'rim' for pr. Germ. *χi-χl-ōn, and possibly another in Skr. ści-sū-ś 'young creature, child' if it is identical with Gr. xi-xu-ς 'strength' (compared with Skr. śvā 'to swell out', Gr. xuēo)?

Skr. ci-kīt- 'comprehending, aware', cp. pres. cicēti-ti. ści-sāy-ā-s 'driving onwards'. ści-sūthā-s 'grasp'. ci-kur-a-s 'hair of the head', beside Lat. cirrus?

Gr. τι-τρην ι-τρην 'nurse' τι-τρo-ς 'mother's breast', beside γη-λη 'mother's breast'. ści-balos a kind of dance (late), beside ści-balos. ści-balos 'weaver's beam, mast', beside ἵ-στγ-μ. ści-balos 'cry' beside ści-balos for *Śi-ŚI-balos. ści-balos 'instruction' beside ści-balos (for the ū cp. śū-ūthā). yi-γας-ταν 'grape-stone', beside Lat. γράμμα-n-

Remark. In τι-τρυμπ-ς 'wolf's-milk' (a plant), Ti-so-s a giant (cp. Skr. tā-tu-mā-s 'strong') and the like, it is possible that has come from u, as in τι-τρυμπ-ς, see I § 48 p. 41.

Brugmann, Elementa II.


4. Even nouns derived from roots beginning in a sonant stand side by side with parallel reduplicated forms in the verb.


Skr. *ar-ar-ī-ṣ* ar-ar-ā-s 'leaf of a folding-door', no doubt from *वर- to arrive at anything, fit oneself in* Gr. *ῳ-στ-ο-ς* 'he fitted on'. *ā-īs-īṣu-ṣ* 'hungry', beside the desiderative *ās-īs-īṣati* 'he wishes to eat'.


*Lat. up-up-ā* 'hoopoe': Gr. *ἀκ-ακ-ός* and ἐπ-οψ. The vocalism of these words seems to have been influenced by analogy:
§ 53. Class II. This class is scantily represented; and although it is probable *a priori* that such forms should have come into use in the same period of the proethnic language in which stem-compounds like Skr. *dvipa-đā* - Gr. *di-ποδ* - had arisen (§ 10. 11. p. 22 ff.), yet all extant examples seem to have come from compounds consisting of repeated case-forms (Class III), which were afterwards re-modelled. This latter would be the same process as we assumed for *coordinating stem-compounds such as Skr. *parjānaya-vātā* (§ 49 p. 90), which these reduplicated forms approach very closely in usage as well as in form.

Skr. *uttarottāra-s* for *utara-utara-s* 'always increasing' *uttarottāra-m* adv. 'ever higher and higher' *sukha-sukhena* instr. 'very gladly' (Pāṇini). *pṛrva-pṛrva-s* 'he who from time to time is first, precedes', superl. *pṛrvapṛrvatama-s*, instead of which in the Veda we have *pṛrva-s-pṛrva-s*. *ekāika-s* 'one at a time' for *ajka-ajka-s*, comp. *ekākata-s*, instead of which in Vedic we have *eka-eka-s = *ekō-eka-s*, pr. Ar. *ajka-s-ajka-s* (I § 556 p. 411 f., § 647 p. 491).

Armen. *mec-a-mec* 'very great' *čar-a-čar* 'very bad', with the same -a- as e. g. *dr-a-kič* § 28 p. 45, which would not prevent our assuming that the first part was originally a case-form; see p. 46, under Class IV.

Gr. (late) *aïr-αυρο-ς* with the meaning of *αυτόπαρος* and of Lat. *ipsimus* *ipsissimus*, cp. O.H.G. *selb-selbo* § 54.

A Keltic form which should no doubt be mentioned here is O.Ir. *al-aile* 'alius', from which *ar-aile* arose bydis simulation; also Cymr. *ar-all* (Zeuss² 359. 402); further the form *alaaili* with *indala n-ai* in Zeuss, p. 360.

§ 54. Class III. It may be assumed that this type dates from the proethnic period of Indo-Germanic. It is however difficult to say how far the words of this class in the separate Indo-Germanic languages were merely analogical formations modelled upon older forms already existing, and how far they

†
arose from an actual repetition in which the repeated word was still independent (e.g. poor poor child). In all languages and at all periods such doubled forms might very naturally arise. Moreover it must be once more observed that the boundary line between a phrase consisting of a word used twice in succession (as Lat. mé mé, Vergil Aen. IX 427) and a new single word (mémé, tétè, sësë) cannot be regarded as constant.

Skr. teś-tvam 'thou', a strengthening of tvām, Lat. mé-mé te-te se-se, Mid.Cymr. mi-vi for *mi-mi, a strengthening of mi 'I', ti-di for *ti-ti, a strengthening of ti 'thou', ni-ni a strengthening of ni 'we'. Skr. yad-yad 'whatsoever', yātha-yātha 'howsoever', like Lat. quid-quid qua-qua quantus-quantus. Cp. also Skr. prā-pra and Gr. προ-προ (Hom. προπρο-κυλίνδουμι) 'on and on, ever forwards' 1).

In Sanskrit we frequently meet with doubled forms like áhar-áhar 'day by day', padé-padé 'step by step, at every step', dāmē-dāmē 'in every house', priyā-s-priya-s 'very dear'.

Gr. πάκ-πακ 'entirely': cp. Skr. śāśvacchaśvat 'on and on, ever anew' for *śāśvat-śāśvat (I § 352 p. 274); śā-śvant- = Gr. ἱ-ναχ-. sec I 166 p. 147, § 384 p. 289.

In Latin we find only the pronominal forms; such as mé-mé, quis-quis and the adv. jum-jam. ips-ipsus (for *ipse(s) ipse) is uncertain (Wölfflin, Gemin. p. 472). In later times were developed such forms as Fr. bon-bon 'sweetmeat' jou-jou 'toy'; Ital. tututto 'entirely' stands for *tuto-tuto (tutto tutto) through syllabic dissimulation (I § 643 p. 481 ff.).

Mod.Ir. mór-mhór 'great, chief, principal'. Mod.Cymr. mwy- -wyy 'more and more' gueyll-yuell 'better and better'.

O.H.G. selb-selbo 'idem ipse'. Mod.H.G. dial. all-all 'complete, at an end' wé-wë (Rhine-Fr., i.e. welh-welh) n. 'small wound'.

1) The comparison of Skr. aś-aśin 'together' with Mod.Bulg. sū-s Russ. so-s 'with' is certainly not warranted. I regard the latter as a contaminated formation, occasioned by the phonetic changes of pr. Slav. sū, which in certain positions became s. Similarly we have Mod.Bulg. vū-v 'in'. See the Author, Morph. Unters. III 71.
Cp. also O.H.G. sō-so, a strengthening of sō 'so' (possibly instr. of *syo-).

Lith. jī-jī jō-jo from jī 'eum' jō 'eius', and the like.

NOUNS CONTAINING FORMATIVE SUFFIXES.

GENERAL REMARKS.

§ 55. We have already remarked (1 p. 16 ff., II p. 3 ff.) that no sharp line of distinction can be drawn between what is


called the root-portion of a word and the formative suffixes. Some
of the elements which are treated here as formative suffixes may
have originally been the last sound or sounds of a root; that
is, of a word which does not owe its existence to composition;
and this may be true of the whole group of sounds of which
the suffix consists, or it may be only its initial part which
belonged to the root. I must exclude all conjecture as to which
of the particular Indo-Germanic suffixes had this origin.

In the following pages only those suffixes are discussed
which had already become suffixes in the strict sense at the
time when the separate Indo-Germanic languages began to
be developed.

§ 55. Many formative suffixes whose meaning is simple
can be resolved into distinct elements; e. g. *-tro- into *-tr- + *-o-,
cp. Skr. *arj-tr- m. n. *ear* beside arṣ-ṛ- arṣ-ṛ- m. *earsman’
(§ 82), *-ītr- into *-is- + *-to-, cp. Skr. nāv-īṣṭha- ‘novissimus’
beside nāv-yas-‘novior’ (§ 81).

Generally speaking we find that compound suffixes of this
sort in the later periods of the history of language are due to
either one or other of three causes.

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Th. Jacob, Untersuchungen über die Bildung der Nomina in den german.
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abstufenden Declination im Slavischen und Litauischen, Archiv f. slav.
Philol. III 108 ff. C. Pauli, Preussische Formlehre, Kuhn-Schleicher’s
Beitr. VII 155 ff.

Works which treat of a single suffix will be cited below
in the sections devoted to the separate suffixes.

See also the lists of authorities on the history of case-formation.
First, a word or a group of words may have been transferred from one declension to another. The formative suffix is then amplified at the extremity nearest the ending of the word. This enlargement of the stem was usually brought about by the coincidence of two declensions in one or more forms; these similarities gave rise to new analogical formations. Thus e. g. the origin of the Avestic participial suffix -ant- (nom. sing. baranto, gen. barantahe) was that the accusative termination -em (barant-em: cp. Gr. φρόνημα) was placed on a level with that of aspe-m (stem aspa-) and similar forms; the origin of the Gothic suffix for names of kindred, -tr-u- (nom. pl. brōþrjus), was that the dative termination -trum (brōþrjus: cp. Skr. instr. podrty-bhīṣ) was placed on a level with that of sunu-m (stem sunu-). In this way nouns which at first had no formative suffix often came to possess one; as e. g. Goth. fōt-u- was due to such case-forms as the acc. sing. fōt-u = *pōd-m (see § 159).

Secondly: a suffix sometimes coalesces so completely with a part of some word to which it is added that the point of junction can no longer be perceived, and accordingly when it is used afterwards, the suffix appears in new words with part of this preceding word attached, as though it were a single element in the formation. Thus in High German the suffix -(i)nārja-(e. g. O.H.G. sculd-inār 'debtor'), which is found parallel to -ārja- (e. g. O.H.G. mād-ār Med.H.G. madāre 'mower, reaper') and has the same meaning, came from words like gartin-āri 'gardener' (garto gen. gartin 'garden') weidin-āri 'hunter' (weidinōn 'to hunt'), and in Greek the feminine formative suffix -ava in λίκ-ava χάρ-ava and so forth, came from words like γείτων i. e. *γείτων-μα (from γείτων), λέων i. e. *λεόν-μα (from λέων); see § 110.

Thirdly: two elements used in forming derivatives, which are nearly allied in meaning, are combined into one ('contaminated'). An accumulation of suffixes like this often arises simply from the attempt to give fuller or more distinct expression to the characteristic meaning (such as that of comparison, or a diminutival
sense and so forth). Thus we have comparatives and superlatives like Skr. *yajñá-tama-ś from *yajñá-ś, Gr. ἀμεινό-τερος ἐλαχιστό-τερος, compared with ἀμεινόν ἐλαχιστο-ς, Lat. super-ior extrem-isimus from super-u-s extrém-u-s, O.H.G. hinter-óro from hintero, Goth. hindum-ists from *hinduma, the H.G. diminutive-suffix -lina- in kitz-lein kind-lein and the like (O.H.G. chizz-ila and chizz-in), the (rare) Skr. abstract-suffix -tva-tā as in puruṣa-tvātā- ‘mortality, the manner of men’ (parallel forms are puruṣa-tvā- and puruṣā-tā), the Lat. -n-eo- in adjectives of material, such as aēnue-s pōpulneu-s (beside these we have aēnus pōpulnus and aereu-s pōpulneu-s) with other examples.

It may be assumed without hesitation that the second and third processes gave rise to compound suffixes even in the Indo-Germanic period. In the second class should be placed e. g. -nī- beside -i- in *pot-nī- ‘lady’ (Skr. pātī Gr. πώρα), which came from such forms as *teksn-i- (Skr. takṣṇī-Gr. τέκτων), the fem. of *tekon- ‘carpenter’ (Skr. tākṣan- Gr. τέκτων-); see § 110. To the third class belong the superlative-suffix -tymo- (§ 73), the abstract-suffix -tā-ti- (§ 102), and others of the same sort.

§ 57. The original meaning of a suffix used in forming nouns can only be decided in instances where it became a suffix in the course of the development of the separate languages e. g. in the case of Mod.H.G. -lich, Fr. -ment. In the case of the proethnic suffixes, their etymological origin, and therefore their original meaning is altogether obscure. In order to keep within safe limits, we shall confine ourselves to determining where and how these suffixes were employed at the period when the parent language split up into its different branches; beyond this we cannot go with any hope of certainty.

If a suffix becomes fertile (see § 5), the direction in which its meaning develops is often decided not by the idea which it properly and originally contained, but by the meaning of the complete word or group of words on the analogy of which the new words are formed. Specia l stress must be laid
on this point because it is seldom sufficiently recognised in attempts to establish the original meaning of the prothetic suffixes, and because it helps to show the great difficulty of such an undertaking.

In Latin, for example, *juven-td* 'time of youth' (Goth. *junda*, common ground-form) suggested *senec-ta* 'time of old age', and *septentrionalis* 'northern' gave rise to *meridiinalis* 'southern'; in A.S. *œf-en* 'evening' was formed in imitation of *morg-en*, while on the other hand in Mod.H.G. we find a dialectic form *morg-end* like *abend*; in O.H.G. *hiøf-altra* 'hip-tree. wild dog-rose' (from *hiufo*), *mazz-altra* 'maple tree' were formed in imitation of *affal-tra* *aphol-tra* 'apple-tree'; and in Greek *karp-ain* (fem. of *kapsos* 'boar'), *læx-ain* (fem. of *læxos* 'wolf') in imitation of *læwain* 'lioness' (for *λαέα-λα*). Here then we have examples of suffixes denoting time of life (Lat. *-ād*), the points of the compass (Lat. *-ināli-*, time of day (A.S. *-en*) and so forth in course of development. The specialising process has gone further in the case of e.g. *-yo* (§ 64) in Latin and Germanic as a suffix for forming names of colours. Lat. *helvo-s, gilvo-s, fulvo-s, furvo-s, flavo-s* (?), O.H.G. *gelo* 'yellow', *salu* 'black, dirty', *falo* 'fallow, pale', A.S. *baso* 'purple', O.Icel. *hoss* 'gray', O.H.G. *grāo* 'gray' and others (Kluge, Nom. Stammb. 81), which perhaps arose simply from the two forms *gelv-yo* (Lat. *helvo-s* O.H.G. *gelo*) and *pol-yo* O.H.G. *falo* O.C.Sl. *plavit*). Cp. further the Greek *-age* used as a suffix for names of animals, § 78. In all these instances the special meaning of the suffix is imported into it, and not a natural outgrowth of its original meaning; in the same way it is certainly due to a secondary analogical development that *-en*- so often recurs in words denoting parts of the body—which can be traced back to the parent language, as in the words for head (Skr. *śvē-an-, Gr. *ἀυγ-κρας* 'two headed', O.Icel. *hjarð*), for eye (Skr. *akś-ān*- Goth. *āugu-an-, cp. I § 444 Rem. 3 p. 331), for ear (Goth. *āus-an-, Gr. *oια*- for *oιε-ατ*- *oυς-η-τ- and so forth—see § 114).

In the same way many functions of the prothetic suffixes
are no doubt derived (even where it cannot be distinctly proved) from analogical extensions of their use, with which the meaning originally inherent in the suffix had nothing whatever to do.

Remark. Thus I think it probable that the use of the suffix -ā- to denote female sex (e. g. Ind. *ekā- 'mare': Skr. ēkā- Lat. equus Lith. asek) did not spring from the original meaning of the suffix, but that some one or some few words in ā, perhaps *gnā- *gūnā- *gōnā 'woman' (Skr. guṇā- etc., see I § 428 p. 315 f. § 437 p. 325) and *mānā 'mother' (Lat. matrōna O.H.G. mōnā Lith. mendā etc.) — in which the feminine gender was sufficiently implied by the root-part of the word, just as much as in *māter- 'mother' (Skr. mātī etc.) — gave the suffix its special function, the expression of female sex; and that these forms were then followed by new formations like *ekā- beside *ekō-. Many things whose names contain an a-suffix assumed in the popular consciousness the shape of female beings though they have nothing to do with animal sex, e. g. Gr. ekēs 'moon'. In these words we shall generally find that the gender to begin with was purely 'grammatical', and that the a-suffix by which the word was associated with words like *ekā-, was the real cause of the fancy which represented the imaginary personality as a woman and not as a man: conversely, for example, the Greeks imagined ὄνος, as a male being, solely because of connexion of the word in form with male names in -ος, such as ἄνες. The notion that primitive man was endowed with so marvellous a wealth of fancy as to regard the great majority of things devoid of life and things immaterial as persons, may more or less belong to one of two distinct sexes, and that the whole system of gender in nouns sprang from this source, is a one which by this time should surely have been abandoned. Cp. the Author, 'Das Nominalgeschlecht in den indogerman. Sprachen', Teichner's Internation. Ztschr. f. allg. Sprachwiss. IV. p. 100 ff.

§ 58. Following the example of the Sanskrit grammarians, scholars divide the suffixes used in noun-formation into Primary and Secondary. The former are employed in deriving words from roots or verbal stems, the latter in derivatives formed from noun-stems. Thus e. g. -tor- is a primary suffix in nom. pl. Skr. dā-tor-as Gr. δώ-τορ-ες Lat. da-tōr-ēs 'givers', Skr. jani-tor-as Gr. γινέ-τορ-ες Lat. genē-tor-ēs 'begetters', Skr. bōdhayi-tor-as 'awakers' Gr. βοδά-τορ-ες 'leaders' Lat. arb-tor-ēs 'ploughers', but -t is a secondary suffix in Skr. vṛk-t Mid.H.G. wulps 'abe-wolf' (beside Skr. vṛka-s Mid.H.G. wolf 'wolf') and in Skr. viduḥ-t Gr. ἴσων f. 'knowing' (beside the masc. Skr. vidādn Gr. ἴδως perf.
part. from \( \sqrt{\text{yeid}} \) ‘see, know’). Occasionally secondary suffixes are added even to inflected case-forms, e. g. \( -\text{tero} \) in Skr. \( \text{uccais-tara} \) and so forth; see § 13 p. 29 above.

In an historical account of the development of the Indo-Germanic languages, this difference furnishes us with no useful basis of classification. In the first place, it is to say the least very questionable whether every suffix was originally restricted to one of these two functions. In any case the distinction hardly applies at all, even in the earliest times, to many of the most widely used suffixes, e. g. \( -\text{io} \) \( -\text{iio} \); cp. Skr. \( \text{yaj-yad-s} \) ‘venerandus’ Gr. \( \dot{\alpha} \gamma-\omega-\varsigma \) ‘holy’, and Skr. \( \text{pitri-ya-s} \) Gr. \( \pi\alpha\tau\rho-\omega-\varsigma \) Lat. \( \text{patri-ius-s} \) ‘fatherly, father’s’. Again, we often find that suffixes which were at first restricted to the primary or the secondary use change their function in the course of their history (for other instances besides those which will be discussed below see Whitney, Skr. Gramm. § 1139 and Osthoff, Verb. in der Nominalcomposition p. 116 ff.); and this change sometimes seems to have taken place even before the separation of the languages. One example of this is \( -\text{jes} \) \( -\text{ijes} \) \( -\text{is} \), the suffix of the comparative (§ 135), which, originally primary, seems to have become secondary even in proethnic Indo-Germanic, the comparatives formed by its means being regarded as derived from the corresponding ‘positive’ forms (cp. Skr. \( \text{svadd-yan} \) Gr. \( \gamma\delta-\tau\omega\nu \) beside \( \text{svad-\dot{u}-s \gamma\delta-\upsilon-\varsigma} \)). In later formations however found only in the separate languages, such as \( \text{brahm-yan} \) from \( \text{brah-man} \), Lat. \( \text{amicior} \) from \( \text{amicus} \), \( -\text{jes} \) is undoubtedly a secondary suffix.

1. Suffixes in \( -\text{o} \) and \( -\text{a} \).

§ 59. The \( o \)-suffixes uniformly show the ablaut \( o : e \) (e-series, I § 311—314) 1). \( o \) e. g. in the nom. acc. sing., \( -\text{o-s} \),

1) As we are accustomed to cite the suffixes whose vocalism assumes the various forms of the e-series in their e-form (-\( e \)- \(-\text{er}- \) etc.), we ought consistently to speak of the suffixes \( -e \) \( -\text{je} \) \( -\text{ge} \) instead of \( -\text{io} \) \( -\text{iio} \) \( -\text{jo} \) and so forth; but as this point is in itself of little importance, I am unwilling to depart from the usual nomenclature. It will be enough to have drawn attention to the inconsistency.
-o-m. e in the voc. sing. -e, gen. -e-sjō, instr. -ē, loc. -e-i; the last three cases also have o: -o-sjō, -ō, -o- i. Parallel to these must further be assumed an 'unaccented weak-grade form', where the suffix disappears altogether, if we suppose that a case-suffix -ad is contained in the pr. Balt-Slav. gen. (abl.) *yilqad 'of a wolf' (Lith vilkO O.C.Sl. vīika), and a case-suffix -a in the nom. acc. pl. neut. *juga (Ved. yugd) (see I § 113 Rem. p. 107, p. 108 footnote), if secondary formations like *ekyo-iyo- 'equinus' from *ekyo- 'equus' lost the final of the stem by some regular phonetic change (see § 63 Rem. 3), and the -i- of the Lat. Cornēl-i-s Lith. med-i-s etc. was the weak-grade form of -i–jo– (see the beginning of § 63). It is hardly possible from the data at our command to trace the connexion between these phases of vowel gradation and the variation of the accent. But there is nothing to prevent our assuming that e stood originally in the syllable which bore the principal accent, and o in the syllable which followed it, whilst the case-suffixes -ad and -a themselves took the principal accent (cp. I § 311 p. 248 f.). These phonetic relations were afterwards obscured by many different kinds of analogical development.

The a-suffixes show the ablaut a: a (a-series, I § 318): a e. g. in the nom. acc. sing. -a, -a-m; a in the voc. sing. -a, nom. acc. du. -a-ē, cp. also instr. sing. Skr. -aṇa O.C.Sl. -oja. By the side of these the 'unaccented weak-grade form' perhaps occurs in such words as Gr. ῥίμω-νο-ς from ῥίμη pr. Gr. and Dor. ῥη-με (see § 63 Rem. 3). Here also the recorded accentuation shows no variation from which we can reconstruct the original connexion between Ablaut and Accent.

In proethnic Indo-Germanic the o-stems were all masculine or neuter, the a-stems all feminine. And the process of differentiation (technically called Motion) of Masculine stems to express the variation of gender in substantives and adjectives had come into regular use for o-stems in the same period; e. g. *ekyo-s 'horse' fem. *ekya 'mare' (Skr. āvā-s āvā Lat. equo-s equa), masc. *rudo-ro-s fem. *rudhra neut. *rudhra-m 'red' (Skr
§ 59, 60. 1. The Suffix -ο- -α-

rudhirá-s -ir tod-irá-m Gr. ἐρυθρός -οῦ -οῦ ν, Lat. ruber rubra rubru-m O.C.Sl. rüdrů rüdra rüdro 1).

But the original differences in gender did not always remain unchanged in the separate languages. A number of o-stems became feminine in Greek and Italic, that is, they were constructed with feminine forms in attributive or predicative combinations, as Gr. ἡ ἑρυθρή, ἐρυθρόστομος ἤ τοί, Lat. haec fagus, a change of usage which was introduced in different ways (see A. R. Lange, De Substantivis femininis Graecis secundae declinationis, Lips. 1885). On the other hand, in the classical languages and in Slavonic 2 a-stems became masculine; words of abstract meaning formed with α being used to denote male persons; as Gr. νεανία- 'young man' orig. 'youth', ετής- 'kinsman' orig. 'kinship', Lat. agricola 'husbandman' orig. 'husbandry', O.C.Sl. junota 'young man' orig. 'youth'. In Lithuanian, neuter substantival stems in -o assumed in the nom. and acc. the masc. form, e. g.: nom. sing. áér-klá-s 'plough' beside Gr. ἀρ-κρόνον, and so forth.

The o- and a-stems form by far the largest of the Indo-Germanic declensions. Nowhere have these classes suffered any serious loss except in Armenian and in Germanic. In Armenian it would seem that the a-declension wholly died out, and in Germanic many o- and a-stems passed into the n-declension (§ 112 ff.).

§ 60. The Suffix -ο- -α- 3).

From the earliest period, the suffixes -ο- and -α- were used for many different purposes. Besides their use to denote physical sex we way notice in particular the following functions:

1. -ο- is found in certain abstract root-nouns (nomina actionis)

1) See § 57 Rem. p. 106, and the Author's Essay on Gender cited there.

2) Ed. Walter, Rasykanija po voprosu o grammaticeskom rodje, Petersburg 1882 (see the notice of it by M. Haupt, Berlin. philolog. Wochenschr. 1885 p. 812 ff.)

(the root-syllable usually bears the accent), e. g. *gòu-o- 'a be-
getting, coming into being' Skr. jána-m 'birth, origin' Gr. γόγος
'birth', also concrete 'offspring', Gr. χεόμο-ς 'noise, murmur,
neighing' O.C.Sl. grom-ŭ 'thunder', Goth. ga-fah-s m. 'capture'
-ground-form *páŋko-s) dragk n. 'drink'. 2. -o- is found in certain
nomina agentis (the accent falls usually on the suffix), e. g.
*tor-ó- 'he who penetrates' Skr. tārā-s Gr. τρωό-ς, Lat. procu-
s 'suitor' (beside procārī), Goth. þiws, gen. þiubis, 'thief' (ground-
form *teumpó-s). 3. -a- is found in certain abstract root-nouns
(nomina actionis), e. g. Gr. φυγ-η Lat. fug-a 'flight', Gr. φλυγ-η
bleating, cry' O.H.G. chlag-a 'lament', Skr. bhid-ā 'separation',
Goth. bid-a 'request, prayer'.

Differentiation of Adjectives (Motion): e. g. masc. *nēy-o-s
vlo-ς vlo-ν vlo, Lat. novō-s novō-m nova, O.C.Sl. novḗ novo
nova.

In most of the Indo-Germanic languages we find more or
less frequently the transference of stems that do not end in
ο or η, e. g. stems ending in explosives, into the o- or a-
declension, without any modification of meaning. The change
in any particular case may be due to any one of a large number
of causes; indeed, to any association either of sound or of sense.
Analogy of form, for example; produced in Sanskrit a nom.
dánta-s (op. p. 111) beside acc. dánt-am (stem dánt- 'tooth'),
and in Greek ἀγίν κάρηγ (Callim.) beside nom. acc. neut. κάρη
'head' (for *καρό-α, a neuter-subst, like ἀλεγ-α). On the other
hand, the change was due to an association of meaning when in
Latin auró-ra ('dawn') and Fló-ra were substituted for *aurōs
-ōris (§ 133) and fōs-ōris (§ 134); so in O.H.G. pl. tohter-ā
daughters' for the older form tohter, in Lith. dukr-ā 'daughter'
for dukte -ērs, and in Pruss. sesostr-o O.C.Sl. sesstr-ā 'sister' be-
side Lith. sesē -ērs (§ 122). Often both principles may have been
at work together, e. g. when in Prakrit mādā 'mother' and
duhida 'daughter' (Idg. -tē(r)) passed over to the a-declension
(op. § 122 Rem. 1). The attraction to the o- or to the a-
declension often affects only single cases, e. g. Gr. dial. dat. pl,
§ 60. 1. The Suffix -o-ā.

πόδ-ος (like λύκ-ος) for ποστ, acc. pl. πάντα-κός (like πάντα-κς) for πάντα-ας, and there is perhaps an example of such a transference into the o-declension even in the proethnic language, where the genitive ending -ōm, which comes from -o-om, was used with other stems than those in -o-. With regard to all these processes we must remember that the speaker had no clear consciousness of the point of junction between stem and case-ending, least of all where vowel-contraction had taken place (vol. I p. 106 ff.).


In Aryan, transference into the o-declension is common. In many cases no doubt this must have taken place in proethnic Aryan; cp. e. g. Skr. mās-ā- Avest. māḥ-ā- with Skr. mās-month' (cp. § 134), Skr. nār-ā Avest. nar-ā with Skr. nār-
'man' (Gr. ἄνθρωπος), Skr. pāḍ-a- Avest. pād-a- beside Skr. pad- 'foot'. In other cases however, it belongs to the development of the separate dialects: e. g. Skr. Ved. pūṣān-a-s from pūṣān- name of a god. Prākr. part. nom. carant-ō gen. carant-assa etc. instead of Skr. carant- 'going, moving' (and so often in the popular dialects); Avest. loc. sing. vis-ō O.Pers. instr. pl. viṭ- aibis from vis- viṭ- 'village', Avest. gen. sing. star- ahe from star- 'star', dat. sing. aīryaman-āī from aīryaman-, the personified spirit of prayer, part. nom. sing. jaidyant-ō etc. 'beseeching'. The point of contact from which this metaplastic process sprang was the phonetic similarity of the accusative endings -aṃ = Gr. -a and -o-m = Gr. -o- (p. 110).

In Sanskrit there is a large group of denominative adjectives formed with -o- -a-, with the meaning 'related to, or connected with' that which is denoted by the noun from which they are derived, especially with the meaning, 'sprung from'. The first syllable of the word usually has what is called the syddhi grade, that is the second or 'highest' form of the strong or 'high' grade. E. g. mānas-ā-s 'related to the mind (mānas-)', savitrā-ā-s 'sprung from the sun (savitār-)', sāindhav-ā-s 'sprung from the Indus (sāndhu-š'). If the contained stem is itself an o-stem, the adjective is formed without modifying the suffix; e. g. aṁitrā-š 'hostile' from aṁitra-š 'foe'. Similar derivatives are found, though more rarely, in Iranian; as O.Pers. mārgav-ā- 'inhabitant of Margiana' from mārgu-š 'Margiana', Avest. ār-zva (or ārzava) 'good works' from ār-zu- 'just, right', kāvay-a- 'kingly' from kavi-š 'king', temān-ō- 'dark' (-ōh- for -ś-, see I § 558 p. 414) from temah- 'darkness' (cp. Skr. tāmas-ā- from tāma-ś), aīryav-ā- 'offspring of Airyav'. Although the particular forms that furnished the type for this category of nouns in Aryan, and the origin of the vṛiddhi-strengthening, which occurs also in other derivative nouns (cp. § 98), are still undiscovered, yet it is at least probable that the class took its rise in such o-stems as had undergone a modification of meaning similar to that which we find in the epithetised compounds (see § 50), and that o- was then added to other stems in imitation of these. The use of
the suffix was extended by the desire to render easier the Differentiation (or modification to express gender) of adjectives; and we find an unmistakable parallel in the treatment of the final members of compound words; compare -tamas-a- from tāmas- ‘darkness’, -ašman-a- from ašman- ‘stone’, -bhrav-a- from bhrā- ‘eyebrow’, and especially instances like dasāṇgu-lā-m ‘length of ten fingers’ from avogūli-ṣ ‘finger’ (Whitney Skr. Gr. § 1315 b), which are on a level with formations like nāirytā- ‘belonging to nārtyi-’.

Remark 1. Op. von Bradke, Über die Vṛddhi in der secundären Nominalbildung, Ztschr. der deutsch. morgenländ. Gesellsch. XL, 361 ff. — The suggestion that Lat. ṣa- ‘egg’ is related in the same way to avi-s, and means ‘that which proceeds from a bird’, is unsatisfactory. Rather we may compare such instances as Gr. ἀπαιομένος beside ἀπομεν-, ἀφεομένος beside ἀπομένω. Doublets that had arisen with different grades of ablaut in the root-syllable were in Aryan adapted to convey two distinct meanings, while in Greek they subserved a particular principle of rhythm. In either case, our endeavour must be to discover the oldest forms which gave the type for the whole series.


The α-declension, as we have already remarked in § 59 p. 109, was entirely lost.


Observe that lεως ‘people’ stands for lα(θ)-ός (Ἀαθος for is preserved by Priscian); see I § 611 p. 462.

Brugmann, Elements II.
The endings of o-cases are often transferred to other classes of stems; as on in \( \text{ποδ-ο&omicron \ -οιν, -οις} \) in \( \text{πόδ-ος} \) for \( \text{ποσι, -εν} \) in \( \text{πολίν-ου} \).


Here should also be mentioned the Umbr.-Samn. infinitives in -o-m, as Umbr. *erom Osc. esum ‘esse’, Umbr. *a-ferum a-fero* ‘circumferre’, Osc. *deicium ‘dicere’ multaum ‘multare’ (cp. § 156).


§ 60. The Suffix -o- -a-.


Transference into the o-declension is frequent, into the a-declension more rare; e. g. nom. sing. Goth. frijōnds O.H.G. friunt 'friend' gen. sing. frijōndis friuntes and other forms with terminations of the o-declension, contrasted with the nom. pl. Goth. frijōnds O.H.G. friunt etc. which have not modified the original -nt- stem (§ 126), O.H.G. nom. pl. tohtera 'daughters' dat. pl. tohteron beside the older pl. tohter = Gr. θυγατέρ-ες (§ 122).


Adject. Lith. saus-a-s saus-a saus-a-a O.C.Sl. such-ů -o-a 'dry': Skr. sōs-a-s -a-m -a 'drying, parching' (s- for ẓ-, I § 557, 4 p. 413), Gr. Ion. αῦ-ο-ς αῦ-ο-ν ᾿ αῦ-η 'dry'.

8°
Remark 2. It may not be premature to notice here that the Lith. neuter form in -a arose from -o- and not from -o-, and is therefore a pronominal termination. See R. Garbe, Littau. und lett. Drucke des 16. u. 17. Jahrh., IV. p. XLI.

§ 61. The Suffix -ty-o- -ty-a- (-ty-o- -ty-a-). ¹
This is an extension of -tu- -tey- (§ 108).

Originally it was no doubt primary, and used to form adjectives (cp. e.g. Skr. kár-tuva-s kár-tva-s 'facciendus', beside the inf. kár-tu-m) whose neuter and feminine forms were used as abstract substantives, on the analogy of which derivative abstract substantives were also formed from nouns (§ 158).

The accentuation of Sanskrit formations like dēva-tvd-m 'divinity', and the d of the Goth. piva-dv. 'servitude' (see I § 530 p. 388 f.), shew that -tyó-m was the form assumed by the suffix in these secondary abstract substantives in Indo-Germanic.

Compare Ar. -tvana; Gr. - tôn- § 70.

In Aryan, the suffix is frequent. In Skr. it appears in gerundives like kár-tuva-s kár-tva-s 'facciendus' ján-tuva-s jani-tva-s 'procreandus'. The neuters of these gerundives are often used substantivally, as kár-tva-m 'task, work to be done'. Compare also Avest. varš-tve-m 'work, action' (beside verz-yé-mi 'I do'), stao-psc-e-m 'prayer' (beside stao-mi 'I praise, pray').

Secondary formations in -tyó-m: Skr. dēva-tvd-m 'divinity' (dēvd-s 'god'), satru-tvd-m 'enmity' (satru-s 'enemy'), rakšas-tvd-m 'demoniacal nature' (rakṣás- 'monster, demon'), Avest. ašwhu-buc-e-m 'lordship, might' (ašwhu-s 'lord'), fratema-bucem 'a being first, nobility' (fratema- 'first').


In Latin it is rare. We can scarcely count mor-tuo-s (for *my-tuo-s): O.C.Sl. mrí-tuí 'mortuus' as an example, cp. I § 170 p. 150; see § 64 Rem. 3 below. But Fá-tuo-s ('soothsayer') and mít-tuo-s no doubt belong here (with the suffix in the form -tuo-); see I § 170 p. 151.

In Germanic it is not common. Goth. vaırsto n. 'work' for pr. Germ. *yurz-s-tuā-n, whose -s- must be compared with that of -s-tro- (§ 62), -s-lo- (§ 76), -s-ti- (§ 100), -s-tu- (§ 108), -s-men- (§ 117) 1). ahtūd f. 'morning twilight' for *uzy-tuūd-(transferred to the n-inflexion), ground-form *ūg-tu-, compare directly Skr. akṣ-ā 'brightness' for *ūg-tu-ā, and less immediately Skr. aṣā-jā-ā 'ointment, adornment'. vah-tvō or vah-tvā (only the dat. pl. vahtvām is actually found) 'watch, guard', from vakaŋ to watch'. A.S. læs, gen. læswē, f. 'letting blood' for *lēsyō- i.e. *lēt + tyō-, beside Goth. lætan 'to let', rēs, gen. rēswē, f. 'counsel' for *rēsyō- i.e. *rēd + tyō-, beside Goth. rēdan 'to counsel' (cp. I § 527 p. 382). As in all the instances given, so in Goth. frija-þva 'love' and fīja-þva 'enmity' from frijon 'to love' and fijön 'to hate' the suffix is to be regarded as primary; yet frija-þva (in imitation of which fīja-þva was afterwards formed) was originally a secondary formation, from the adj. frija- (fre)'e, which in the prehistoric period had meant 'dear', cp. Skr. priya-tvā-m 'a being beloved' from priyā- 'dear, beloved'. Goth. piu-ādv n. 'servitude' from piu-s 'servant'.

In Slavonic it is frequent. Primary: Masc.: O.C.Sl. mr̩-tvič 'mortuus'? (see above), O.C.Sl. rybi-tvič 'fisher'; Neut. Russ. jas-tvo 'food', Russ. št-tvo 'sewing', O.C.Sl. čuvi-tvo 'organ of sense'; Fem. O.C.Sl. jas-tva 'food' šč-tva 'harvest' moli-tva 'prayer' goni-tva 'pursuit'. Secondary -(t)š-tvo (cp. the suffix -iskī § 90): selštvo 'violence' (selū 'violent'), detštvo 'childhood (dētē 'child'); probably this form of the suffix started from stems in -i-, cp. tatštvo 'theft', from tatī m. 'thief', blēđštvo 'boasting, bluster' from blēđī f. 'deceit, farce' (cp. -bā § 78). In Lithuanian Leskien is probably right in tracing this suffix in the group of names of tools formed with -tva-, such as kosz-tūva-s 'strainer, filter' (kōsziu 'I filter'), rēs-tūva-s 'roller for winding yarn' (rēciū 'I roll, wind'), karsz-tūvai pl. 'woolcarder's comb' (karsziūvulnas

1) Goth. gāiđe n. 'lack' no doubt belongs rather to √-ghejāh- 'desire' (O.H.G. gōt 'eagerness, greed') than to gei-gan, i.e. it should be analysed gāi-ē, not gāi-đe.
'I card wool'), min-tuwači pl. 'a machine for breaking flax, brake' (minus linus 'I tear flax'). Cp. also Pruss. pre-artus 'ploughshare' and ar-twēs 'ship's voyage'.

§ 62. The Suffix -tr-o- -tr-ā-, -tl-o- -tl-ā'. This is an extension of -ter- -tor- (§ 119 ff.), cp. e. g. Skr. ari-tra- 'oar' from ari-tar- 'rower'. Perhaps l arose from r by some process or processes of assimilation or dissimulation (partly in proethnic Indo-Germanic, partly in the separate languages), cp. I § 282 p. 225 f. 2).

The meaning is generally that of the instrument or the place of the action.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. bhār-tra-m 'arm' (that with which one bears), Gr. φέρ-τρο-ν φέρ-τρο-ν 'litter, bier', Lat. praeferi-cula-m 'wide sacrificial dish' (regarded as the instrument for carrying something offered) fer-cula-m 'litter, bier'. Skr. m. n. ari-tra- O.H.G. n. ruo-dar Lith. įr-kla-s 'oar', cp. also Gr. 'Ευλ-τρο-υa 'Oarstown'. Skr. md-tra Gr. μέ-τρο-ν 'measure' (or should we follow de Saussure, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. VI 248, in assuming this to stand for Idg. *metro- i. e. *med -tro-?).

Aryan. Skr. kṣa-tra-m Avest. xša-ḥre-m O.Pers. xša-ṣa-m 'lordship'. Skr. vās-tra-m Avest. vas-tra-m 'garment, vesture'. Skr. dhār-tra-m 'support' Avest. dar-ṛre-m 'an upholding, holding fast'. Skr. vahī-tra-m 'ship': Lat. vehi-cula-m. Skr. hō-tra Avest. sāo-ḥra 'libation, offering': Gr. χα-τοα 'pot' χα-τλο-ν 'libation'.

Armenian. arōr araur, gen. arauro-y, 'plough' for *ara-tro- (I § 360 p. 276, § 483 p. 357): Gr. ἀρε-τρο-ν 'plough', Lat. ara-tru-m, O.Icel. ar-þr m. 'ploughing', Lith. ėr-kla-s 'plough'.


2) In I p. 286 l. 5 instead of 'the nominal suffixes -tro- and -tlo-beside -dhrō- and -dhlö-', read 'the nominal suffixes -tlo- and -dhlö- beside -tro- and -dhrō-.'
alaur-i 'mill' (from alam 'I grind') was a secondary extension of a tro-stem: cp. Gr. ἀλέ-τρο-ω-ς 'belonging to grinding' ἀλε-τρο-εῖω 'I grind to powder' ἀλετρίβανος for *ἀλετρο-τριβανο-ς 'pulverising by grinding, pestle'.


ἀν-τλο-ν ἀν-τλο-ς ἀν-τήν 'bilge-water, dead-water, baling scoop': cp. Skr. áma-tra-m 'vessel, jug, drinking-cup' (Lat. exantlāre ex-anclāre is the Greek ἰξ-αντλάρι borrowed, cp. I § 367 p. 278). ἐχέ-τήν 'plough-tail'.

Italic. Lat. cas-tru-m and fem. castra; in Umbr.-Samn. the word has passed into other declensions, Osc. castrovs gen. 'fundi' castrid abl. 'fundo' Umbr. kastruvuf 'fundos'. Lat. rōs-tru-m (ródō 'I gnaw'), ara-tru-m, fulgō-tru-m fulgō-tra. Umbr. kle-tram 'lecticam': Goth. hlei-fra 'hat, tent', √klei-

-tlo- became -klo- in proethnic Italic, except where s preceded (I § 366 p. 278). Lat. pia-clu-m -culu-m, Umbr. pīha-klu 'piaculorum'. Lat. sæ-clu-m -culu-m: Lith. šė-kla 'seed'. Lat. ind-a-cula sub-ā-cula: Avest. aο-ħre-m 'sandal', Lett. āu-kla a kind of string (in Lith. the declension has changed, au-kle 'bandage for the feet'). Umbr. eh-vel-klu 'edictum, decretem', mantrah-klu 'mantele'. Osc. sakara-klūm 'sacrum'. -tlo-is kept after s in Osc. pes-tlū-m 'secellum, templum': Umbr. pers-clu pes-clu 'supplicatione'. -clo- became -cro- in Latin by dissimilation where an l preceded (I § 269 p. 217): lava-cru-m: Gr. λοε-τρό-ν λουτρό-ν 'bath, water for washing', Gall. lau-tro 'balneo', O.Icel. lau-år 'soap'; lu-cru-m; in-völ-cru-m.

Rarely we find -s-tro-, as móns-tru-m capi-s-tru-ni (cp. the Germanic); whence also nouns in -ąster -aster -astru-m, like formaster, olearster olearstru-m (see Seck, Archiv f. lat. Lexicogr. I 390 ff. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, ibid; 404 ff.).
Old Irish. ló-thor ló-thur n. 'alveus, canalis' Gall. lau-tro 'balneo': Lat. lava-cru-m etc., see above. tara-thar n. 'boring tool, gimlet': Gr. τέκτον-ν 'gimlet'. criathar n. 'sieve': O.H.G. hrü-tara 'sieve'? (see the end of the section, p. 122). ara-thar n. 'aratum': Armen. urör etc., see p. 118. bria-thar f. 'word'. cētal n. 'song' (cēlo- for *can-tlo-). With regard to the development of -thar from *-tro-m and from *-trā, and of -tal from *-tlo-m, see I § 623 Rem. 1 p. 469 and § 634 p. 475.


After spirants, t is kept (thus the original accent cannot be determined): Mid.H.G. wes-ter f. 'baptismal robe' Skr. vāstra-m 'garment'; Goth. gilstr n. 'tribute' from gild 'tribute' √geldh-; O.H.G. bluostar n. 'offering' (Goth. derivative blōstreis 'offerer') beside. Goth. blōtan 'offer'; O.H.G. riostar n. and riostra f. 'ploughshare' beside Mid.H.G. riuten 'root out'; O.H.G. klahtar n. O.Icel. hlātr m. 'laughter'.

1) Germ. *bēlād- like Gr. ἡρσεύ- 'log, piece of wood', which de Saussure similarly derives from bheijd-, might certainly be connected with O.C.Sl. bi-ti 'strike' m-boj-ī 'deathblow'.

The Suffix -tr-o- -tr-ā-, -il-o- -il-ā-. § 62.
Pr. Germ. -dra- -dtla- indicate that this suffix bore the accent (cp. Skr. as-trá-m dā-trá-m etc.), see I § 530 p. 386 f.; yet these pr. Germ. suffixal forms may also represent Idg. -dhro- -dhlo-, see p. 122. Idg. -tro- is probably seen e. g. in Goth. fō-dr 'scabbard' O.H.G. fuo-tar A.S. fō-ddor n. 'case, sheath': Skr. pd-tra-m 'that which contains, vessel'.


Balto-Slavonic. -tro- is found only in a few uncertain examples, as Lith. vė-trą 'storm' O.C.Sl. vě-trů 'air, wind'. The uncertainty is caused by the possibility of a later transference into the o- or a-declension, which has undoubtedly taken place in O.C.Sl. bratrů 'brother' sestr-a 'sister'.

-tlo- occurs only in Baltic, where it appears in Lith. and Lett. as -kla- (I § 377 p. 285 f.). Pruss. *sen-tla- 'token, sign' in the particie. eb-sentliuns 'having betokened, marked' Lith. žén-kla-s 'token, sign': cp. Skr. jñā-tra-m 'ability to recognise' O.H.G. be-cnuodelen 'give a sign of recognition' ir-chnuodilen 'become perceptible'; from which we may deduce a pr. Germ. form *knō-pla-. Pruss. sper-tla-n 'cushion of the toes', beside Lith. spir-ią 'strike with the foot'. Lith. sė-kla Lett. sē-kla 'seed': Lat. sae-culu-m. Lith. ba-kla 'home' bu-kla-s (āp?) 'lair of an animal': Skr. bhavi-tra-m 'world' (this meaning is not certain) A.S. bold (for *bodl) O.Icel. ból 'house' pr. Germ. *bu-pla-. In Slav. -tlo- was replaced by -dhlo-, see below.

In the European branches, -dhro- -dhlo- are found side by side with -tro- -tlo-, and with the same meaning; and the former often displaces the latter. Cp. e. g. Gr. γένι-γιο-ν γενι-γιο 'origin, race, scion, birthplace': Skr. jani-tra-m 'birthplace'. eō-Θο-ν 'seat': Lat. sedi-culu-m. Lett. sēde-kli-s 'seat' (with the addition of the suffix -jo-). Lat. tere-brà: Gr. ἔρη-τη-ν O.Ir. tar-a-thor n. 'borer'. Lat. sta-bulu-m: O.H.G. sta-dal 'barn'.
Pr. Germ. -dara- -dla- is ambiguous (see p. 121): is for example O.H.G. hrīttara 'sieve' connected with O.Ir. crie-thar or with Lat. crē-bru-m? In Slav. only -dhlo- occurs, as Czech rá-dlo O.C.Sl. ra-lo ora-lo 'plough': Lat. ara-tru-m etc. (see p. 119), Czech by-dlo 'dwelling' Pol. by-dło 'cattle, means': Lith. bū-klą 'home'. Cp. § 77.

§ 63. The Suffix -jo- -jā-, -ijo- -iṭā- 1).

With regard to the fluctuation between -ijo- and -jo- see I § 117 p. 110. § 120 p. 111 ff. A parallel form -ijo- is also found (e.g. Skr. qty-ṭya-s Gr. προφυτή), whose relation to the two other forms is obscure; it resembles the Skr. -tyas- Gr. -tov (§ 135), forms of the comparative suffix.

In the nom. sing. we find in different languages -ji- or -i- -i- instead of and parallel to -jo-. Thus Goth. har-ji-s, brūks for *brak-ī-s, haird-ei-s; Umbr. Trutit-i-s 'Truttidius' (also in the acc., Fisim 'Fisium' and neut. tertī 'tertium'), Osc. Vīnikiís 'Vinicius' (f), Pūntiis 'Pontius' (f or -ji-), Heirennis 'Herennius' (also neut. medic-i-m 'magisterium'), O.Lat. Cornēl-i-s (and acc. Cornēl-i-m, cp. also voc. filē); Lith. mēd-i-s and gaid-įs 2).

From the earliest period this suffix was both primary and


2) In I § 84 Remark 1 p. 80, I assumed the existence of -ji- as a form of the Idg. suffix beside -jo-. As my pupil Prof. W. Streitberg has recognised, it is preferable to assume -i- -i- as the original forms (-i-:
secondary, and its neuter and feminine forms are frequently used as substantives (§ 158).

Three chief functions of this suffix may be distinguished.

1. It forms verbal adjectives with the meaning of the so-called fut. pass. participles or participles of necessity, or with a simple participial meaning, active or passive. In Sanskrit, but nowhere else, these adjectives appear as a class of forms in active and extensive use. The neuter and the feminine are often used as abstract substantives (see above).

Idg. Skr. yāj-ya-s Gr. ἄγ-νος 'venerandum', fem. yaj-ya áy-ia, √jaq- 'revere'. Skr. sdā-iya-s 'whom one must help, must value', Gr. ἀδοσιντος 'helper' from *ōsoō- which stands for *sokyan, Lat. soc-iun-, √seq- 'be together with, follow'.

Aryan. In Skr. -jo- appears as a living participial suffix; e.g. ḍīs-ya-s dáṅs-iya-s 'visible, worth seeing' cēt-iya-s 'perceptible'. Examples of substantival usage are: neut. vdc-iya-m vdc-ya-m speech, word'; fem. vid-yā 'knowledge'. For the fluctuation between -ya- and -iya- see Edgren, Journal of the Amer. Orient. Soc. XI 74 ff.

Following a root ending in a short vowel the suffix assumes the form -tjo- instead of -jo-, as krtya-s 'faciendus' krty-am -1- = -jio- : -iyo-), so that this form represents the weak-grade phase of the suffix which we are discussing, in the same way as -i- represents that of -iē- (§ 109). Streitberg is certainly right in laying especial stress on Gothic forms like brūks unw-nuts. The form -ji- arose through the -j- being added from cases which had -jo- -्र-. Just so we have in Lith. ji-s jį for *1-s *į on the model of jō etc. Such forms as Lith. mā-ji-s are of the same kind as O.C.Sl. ladi-ji § 110 and Skr. svadhā-yams- § 115. Beside the Idg. stems formed with -jo- -je- -i- (-iyo- -iye- -i-) there probably existed from the pr. Idg. period onwards invariable -jo- stems which never had -i-. To these however we must not refer nominative forms like Skr. yāj-y-as Gr. ἄγος Lat. exim-iu-s, which were new formations (cp. Goth. brūks), and similarly Skr. yā-s Gr. ἄς (cp. Lith. ji-s).

I do not believe that the late Greek nouns ending -τσ -τς instead of -τος -το should be classed here as containing an original form of their suffix. They were created on the model of personal names belonging to the classical period, such as Αλκάς Zeůs (cp. R. Wagner, Quaestiones de epi-

grammatis Graecis, Lips. 1888, p. 96).
business' *ktyd 'inflection, bewitchment', a new formation based upon such stems as -kty- 'faciens' (§ 123).

In Avest. -ya- is rarer, e.g. *dar's-ya- 'visible', vairiya- 'worth choosing or desiring', isya- 'desired, dear'.

Armenian. Here no doubt should be classed li, gen. lioy, 'full' from *ploj-.

Greek. *atgy-ias 'abominable, odious'. ngy-ias 'established, firm, durable'. ogy-ias 'slaying, killing'. Substantival usage: *peiri-a pl. 'ruins, debris', ogy-ias 'offering, victim for offering'.

Italic. Lat. exim-ius 'eximendus, exceptional, distinguished'. in-serius 'presented, offered': cp. Avest. bairyya- 'presenting'. Substantives: frag-ium 'breach, fracture', stud-ium 'zeal, eagerness, desire', exuv-ias pl. 'clothing, cast-off skin'.

Old Irish. Subst. fem. in-sc-e 'speech' √ seq-, neut. suide 'seat', √ sed-, frecr for *frith-gaire (I § 514 Rem. 2 p. 376) 'answering, answer' √ gar-.

Germanic. Adjectives with the meaning of the fut. partic. pass. are commoner than in other European languages. Goth. brükja- (nom. brüks) O.H.G. prüchi 'useful, serviceable'. Goth. un-nutja- (nom. un-nuts) 'useless' O.H.G. nussi A.S. nyt 'useful'. Goth. un-qepja- (nom. un-qepjs) 'unutterable'. O.H.G. gi-fuori, suitable, useful'. Here perhaps should be classed Goth. havi, 'gen. haujis, O.H.G. hewi n. 'hay' pr. Germ. *xau-ja-n. i.e. 'that which is to be cut'. Abstract nouns: neut. O.H.G. gi-fuori 'suitability, usefulness' compared with the adj. gi-fuori; Fem. A.S. nyt O.Icel. nytr 'use' compared with adj. A.S. nyt, Goth. brak-ja 'fight' (originally 'breach') with brikan 'to break'.

Balto-Slavonic.

In Lithuanian there are only a few adjectives; e.g. sriaus-ja-s 'flowing swiftly', šala-s šale-s (Pruss. acc. saligan with g = j) 'green', properly 'being verdant', from šel-ti 'to be verdant'. The following may be adjectives used substantivaly: vė-ja-s 'wind' ('he who blows'), gaid-ū-s 'cock' ('he who crows'), from ged-ūti 'crow'), etc., all masculine. Forms formerly neuter, used as substantives: šod-i-s 'word' (cp. Skr. vāc-ya-m), kañd-i-s 'bite', kirt-i-s 'cut or blow' with a cutting instrument (Skr. kart-ya-
§ 63. The Suffix -io- -iä-, -iô- -iā-. 125

'to be hewn or cut off') and other such forms; feminine forms used as substantives are pradēṣiā 'beginning' for *pra-d-iā beside pra-dē-ti 'begin' (v. dēṣi-,) śin-iā 'knowledge' and others.

Slavonic. Adjectives which should no doubt be classed here are līćī 'deceitful' for *lug-iā: O.H.G. luggi lukki O.Sax. luggi 'deceitful' pr. Germ. *luz-ja-,; also vēža 'knowing, aware' for *sed-ja and other examples. Substantival usage: līća 'lie' for *lug-iā: O.H.G. lugi 'lie' which implies a form *luz-jō; jāśda 'food, victuals' for *ed-ja: Lat. in-ed-ia Skr. ad-ya-s 'eatable' O.Icel. ætr 'eatable' for *at-ja-z; sta-ja 'position, standing-place, stall'; daśda 'gift' for *dād-ja from the reduplicated form da-d-give'.

Remark 1. There is often room for doubt whether an -io-form should be classed here, or whether it be a secondary formation (2). Thus, for example, Gr. opoγ-io-s may also have been formed from opoγ-γ 'a slaying, offering', O.H.G. luggi lukki from lug. 'lie'. It should further be observed that the popular conception of the meaning of a word was very liable to change; a form which was originally primary might be regarded as a derivative, and vice versa. Thus e. g. Lat. rēgius, which the Romans certainly looked upon as derived from rēx, may very well have been primary to start with: cp. Skr. raj-iyā-s, subst. rāj-iyā-m, beside rāj- 'king' and rāj-ti rāj-a-ti 'shines forth, is conspicuous, rules, governs'; the verbal stem from which rēginus was originally derived died out in Latin, and thus the form was firmly established in the popular conception as a derivative of the noun rēx. Cp. Rem. 3 p. 132.

2. -io- as a secondary suffix, forming adjectives which denote possession, origin, and other ways in which one thing may be connected with another. In these adjectives as well as in the former group the neuter and the feminine were often used as substantives with abstract meaning, and then -io-m and -iā- were taken to form substantives of this kind even where there was no corresponding adjective in -io-

It is specially important to notice that in compounds with epithetised meaning, the so-called bahurthi (§ 50), and also in adjectival compounds containing a governing preposition (§ 15 p. 30 f.), -io- is often the sign of the adjectival character of the word; e. g. Gr. ὀμο-πάτρ-ιος beside ὀμο-πάτρω 'from the same father', Skr. ānv-āntre-ya-s 'situated in the intestines'.

Idg. *pater-ijo-s 'belonging to a father' from *pater- 'father':
Skr. πλιρι-α-s Gr. πάτριος Lat. patrius. When the suffix was added to o- and a-stems, the final vowel of the stem was dropped (cp. Rem. 3 p. 132); examples are *ἐκμ-ιο-ς 'equinus' from *ἐκμ-ιο 'equus': Skr. द्विय-α-s Gr. διμιος; *ἀγ-ιο-ς 'situated in the fields' from *ἀγ-ιο- 'field': Skr. अधिय-α-s Gr. ἀγώνος ('wild').

Substantives: Skr. स्वामिय-α-m Lat. somnius-m O.C.S.l. सुन्न 'sleep' beside Skr. स्वाप्न-α-s Lat. somnus-s O.C.S.l. सुन 'sleep'. *γντ-ια 'a slaying' seems to be an Idg. fem. of this kind; Skr. ḥत्य 'killing' O.Sax. γιδα 'fight' Lith. ginezi 'strife', beside the part. pass. *γντ- το- (Skr. ḥत०) 'struck, slain'.


Aryan. Skr. गव-या- Avest. gao-ya- 'bovinus' from gau-'bos': Armen. kog-i 'butter' (see below). Skr. śravas-iya-'glorious' from śravas- 'glory' Avest. manah-ya- 'spiritual, invisible' from manah- 'spirit': cp. Gr. τέλειος τέλειος 'complete, having reached its end' for *τέλιοι-ος beside τέλος n. 'end, goal'. Skr. márt-iya-Avest. maś-iya- O.Pers. mart-iya- 'mortal, a man' beside Skr. márt-śa-s 'a mortal, man': cp. Gr. α-μηνος-ιος 'immortal' (I § 120 p. 112). Skr. bhēṣaj-ya-1) Avest. baesaz-ya- 'containing healing power, medicinal' from bhēṣaj-ā-m baesaz-e-m 'healing power, medicine'. Skr. grām-iyā- 'belonging to a village' from grāma-s 'village, small community', kṣatr-iya- 'holding lordship, lord' from kṣatrā-m 'lordship', sēn-iya- 'provided with missiles' from sēnā 'missile'.

The group of participles in -tav-ya- was a new formation in Sanskrit, which did not become at all common until the post-

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* 1) For typographical reasons the svarita accent is represented in this volume by the sign of the grave accent, and not as it was in vol. I p. 589.
Vedic period: e.g. kar-tav-yā- 'faciendus' from the nomen actionis kār-tu-.

Substantives. Neut. Skr. kṣatr-īya-m 'lordship, sovereign might', dāt-īya-m 'message, duty of a messenger' (dātā-s 'messenger'), Avest. sāsn-ya- 'announcement, dictate, command' (sāsna- 'word, announcement'). Fem. Skr. pād-ya- 'footstep' (pād-ya- 'relating to the foot')1), sūrav-īya- 'bowshot' (beside sūrav-yā-m 'goal of the arrow', from sāru- 'arrow').

In adjectival compounds the suffix is rare. Skr. su-hāst-īya- (beside su-hāsta-) 'with beautiful hands' mādhu-hast-īya- 'holding sweetness in the hand' ādhi-gart-īya- 'situated on the driver's seat', Avest. dēušmanah-ya- 'cherishing evil sentiments, evil-doer' (cp. Skr. dūr-manas- Gr. δύσ-μυνής).

Armenian. This suffix appears to be contained in the nouns in -i. kog-i 'butter' (coming from the cow') with g for y (I § 162, 2 p. 145) from kov 'cow': Skr. gāv-ya-. To this group no doubt belong the further examples gīn-i 'wine', i.e. 'that which comes from the grape' (cp. Gr. οἶνος; Lat. vīnum; for the suffix cp. Lith. ap-vy-n-y-s 'hops'), orj-i 'not castrated' mi-orj-i 'μόνορχις' from orj 'male', etc.

Greek. rā-το-ς νή-το-ς 'belonging to a ship', from ναὸς 'ship': Skr. nāv-īya- 'navigable'. ὕφος 'heavenly, glorious' for *δύ-το-ς from ΔΥ-#: Skr. div-ya-ς 'heavenly'. πεζός 'going on foot' for *πεδ-το-ς beside ποδ-ός 'foot': Skr. pād-ya-s 'relating to the foot'. ἡοῖος 'early, eastern' for *αὐτ-το-ς, from ἡός 'rosy dawn': Skr. uśas-ya-s 'dedicated to the dawn'. γούρι-ο-ς 'molar tooth' (orig. an adj. joined with ὄδος) from γόμφος 'plug, peg': cp. Skr. jāmbhya-s 'molar tooth' or 'incisor tooth' from jāmbha-s 'bite'. Lesb. χελλοῖ, Ion. Att. χέλλιοι (χέλλιοι) 'thousand' for *χειλ-τοι from *χειλο- (cp. δεκά-χελλοι): Skr. sa-hāsr-īya-s 'thousandfold' from sa-hāsvra-m 'thousand'; parallel to this is Dor. -κατ-τοι Arcad. -κατ-τοι in δικάκτιοι 'two hundred' from ἕκατον 'hundred'.

2) With this Gr. πέζα 'bottom, extremity, edge, border' is usually compared. Perhaps we should assume the existence of an original subst. *ped-īa.
The Suffix -ιο- -ια-, -ιο- -ια-. § 63.

σωτήρ-ιο-ς 'saving, delivering' from σωτήρ 'saviour'. λευκῶν-ιο-ς 'belonging to the meadows' from λευκῶν 'meadow'. Ion. (and other dial.) βασιλής(το)-ιο-ς 'kingly' from βασιλεύ-ς 'king' and the like (Att. -το-), whence the ending -το-ιο-ς spread to other stems, e. g. ἀνδρ-ήσιο-ς, πολέμ-ήσιο-ς. τιμ-ιο-ς 'held in honour' from τιμή 'honour'.

Remark 2. There remain certain groups of nouns, ending in -μιο-ς -μεϊο-ς -μειο-ς, and retaining the (e. g. δίκαιο-ς, αλλοίο-ς, οίκειο-ς), which occur in several extensive classes of formations; but their origin and development is still in many respects obscure, in spite of many attempts to investigate the subject thoroughly (see p. 122 footnote 1). They cannot be directly connected with Sanskrit forms like hiranyā-ya-ς 'golden' from hirany-ā-m 'gold', gurvā-ya-ς 'bovinum' from gurvā-m 'bovinum', nor with Lith. viesvarū-ji-ą 'field sown with spring-corn' from vaisvarā 'summer' allío-ς etc. may well have been formed on the analogy of νειο-ς νοίο-ς, which probably arose from -νο-ιο-ς. Thus -μιο- -μιο- (the latter only in some words) perhaps, go back to -νι-ιο -νι-ιο-. Have they any connexion with Skr. -yā-?

Substantives. θελχήρ-ιο-ς 'delight, magic charm' from θελχήρ-ιο-ς 'enchanting' θελχήρ 'charmer' αἴδοιο-ν 'pudendum' from αἴδοιο-ς 'he before whom one feels shame', αἴδος 'shame, modesty'. After the time of Homer neuter forms like these often assumed a diminutival meaning, as ὀρνῆ-ιο-ν 'little bird', ξυαρφίδ-ιο-ν 'little mistress', ῥοπηδ-ιο-ν 'little shield' (hence -ιο-ν broke off as an independent suffix: ἄδελη-ιδο-ν 'little brother' ξυρ-ιδο-ν 'little sword'); the intermediate stage between these two meanings was that of belonging to a kind; cp. the suffix -το- in Germanic (§ 68). σωτήρ-λα 'deliverance' from σωτήρ-ιο-ς ξέν-ια 'hospitality' from ξέν-ιο-ς 'hospitalable'. ὠνυχ-λα 'quietude' from ῥπόγχ-ιο-ς 'quiet'. The endings mentioned in Remark 2 were also used in the same way in substantives; e. g. Ion. ἀναγκαίη 'necessity' from ἀναγκαῖο-ς 'necessary' (compare ἄναγκη 'necessity').

Adjectival compounds: ἐνεδ-βο-ιο-ς 'worth nine oxen', παν-ημέρ-ιο-ς (beside παν-ήμερο-ς) 'lasting the whole day', ψευδ-ὁρχ-ιο-ς (and ψευδ-ὁρξ-ιο-ς) 'forsworn'. Where the compound contains a preposition which, in sense, governs the latter part, -ιο- is fairly regular; e. g. ἐπ-ανηδ-ιο-ς 'situated under a shield', παρά-ταλάσσο-ιο-ς 'situated near the sea' (§ 31 p. 53).
§ 63. The Suffix -io- -iō-, -iū- -ius.


Substantives. Lat. augur-iu-m beside augur-iu-s from augur, dēversōr-iu-m beside dēversōr-iu-s from dēversor, hērēd-iu-m from hērēs (stem hērēd-), collēg-iu-m from collēga. nox-iā beside nox-iu-s from noxa, custōd-iā from custōs (stem custōd-), familiā Umbr. famēr-iās nom. 'familiae' beside Lat. famulu-s; Osc. medīkk-iāl loc. of medīkk-iā- 'function of a mediz' (cp. Lat. vindic-ia from vindex).

Adjectival compounds. Lat. acu-ped-iu-s 'swiftfooted', falciped-iu-s: cp. A.S. ōn-fētē 'one-footed' (cp. below under Germanic); falsī-jūr-iu-s; centi-nōd-iu-s; in-vīn-iu-s. Where there was a governing preposition, other adjectival suffixes were generally employed, cp. ante-lōc-anus-, extra-ordin-āriu-s and similar compounds.

Old Irish. Besides the adjectives in -de -te, which shew an extension of the suffix (as dal-te 'forensis' from dal 'forum', daur-de 'quernus' from daur 'quercus'), it can hardly be said that any derived adjectives remain which are formed simply with -io-. But many of the substantives connected with these adjectives have been preserved; e.g. aue ōa 'grandson' = O.C.Sl. u-jē Pruss. aui-s 'uncle', beside Lat. avo-s 'grandfather'. Neut. orbe orpe 'inheritance, heritage' = Goth. arbi 'heritage', common ground-form *orbh-iō-m (I § 139 p. 124 f., § 335 p. 267, § 524 p. 380), beside Armen. orb 'orphan' Lat. orbu-s 'set free, bereft, orphaned' (the original meaning therefore of the Irish and German word was probably 'something, i. e. property, bereft, left behind'), cenēle 'genus' from cenēl 'genus' (cp. Gr. svunai-o svunaiā beside svuṇh 'couch', ἄξωνη beside ἀνάγνη 'necessity', oino-n oixā beside oikos 'house', O.C.Sl. ognisti n. 'fireplace, hearth' for *-isk-je beside Pol. ognisko n., and the like). Fem. lāne 'plenitudo' from lān 'plenus', ōge 'integritas' from ōg 'integer', galarche 'aegritudo' from galrach 'aeger'.

Brugmans, Elementa. II.
Cp. also Gallic proper names like Cintugnät-iun-s beside Cintugnätu-s, Tout-iun-s beside Toutu-s (cp. Gr. ἀνυψέως-το-ς, Τελεμωδ-το-ς).


It is probable that some of the adjectival compounds of West-Germanic (and Norse) like O.H.G. heig-muot-i ‘hot-tempered, passionate’ lang-līb-i ‘longaevus’ are old  jo-stems (cp. Kluge, Nom. Stammb. p. 77. 104). We must certainly class here Goth. uf-diþ-ē-s ‘under an oath, bound by oath’, and the Goth. substantival neuter forms fāura-daúri ‘that which, is before the door, street’ anda-naht-i ‘the time close on night’.

Balto-Slavonic. In Lithuanian the suffix is no longer in use to form adjectives; but it often occurs in groups of compounded suffixes, as -in-i-s (med-in-i-s ‘wooden’).
Masculine forms used as substantives. arki-ý-s 'horse' from árkla-s 'plough'. To this class also belong musú-ji-s 'he who is ours' from gen. musú 'our' (cp. O.C.Sl. naši 'our' for *nás-ź as beside the gen. nasú), Přusaiczii-ji-s 'he who belongs to the family Přusaiczii', and the like.

Some masc. forms are derived from substantival neuters: ilg-i-s 'length' from ilga-s 'long', szált-i-s 'coldness' from szálta-s 'cold' etc. (cp. the Slavonic below).

This -ijo- appears in adjectival and indeed in most other compounds; e. g. tri-ráš-i-s 'three-pronged' from ráša-s 'prong', minksza-gál-i-s 'soft-headed' i.e. 'weak-headed' from galvá 'head', ápý-vaškar-i-s 'the time towards evening' (an adj. used as a subst.). The general practice of forming compounds with -ijo- may have sprung from this group of words.

In Slavonic it is still living as an adjectival formative suffix (-je- = orig. -ijo- and -ije- = orig. -ijo-, I § 36 p. 37), forming adjectives from the names of living beings, e. g. materj 'motherly' from mati, člověč 'human' from človek, ovčí and ovčíj 'ovčíj 'ovium' from ovča, synoví 'filii' (for the l see I § 147 p. 132) from synů (synov-, cp. Skr. išav-yá 'relating to an arrow' from išu-, Gr. áostigo-ς for *fáosteg-go-ς 'town-like' from āostu), bož-ýj 'bož-ýj 'divine' from bogá, dévýj dévýj 'maidenly' from déva.

Neuter forms used as substantives: ostrýže 'sharpness' from ostru 'sharp', lakomýže 'greediness' from lakomí 'covetous, greedy' (cp. Lith. ilgí-s and the like), polýže 'usefulness, use' from politza 'useful', znameníže 'designation, mark; token' from znamě 'mark, token' and (with collective meaning) kaménije 'stone-work, stones' from kamy 'stone', drahýže 'timber-work, beams' from dragá 'beam', and so forth. Feminine forms: suša 'dryness' from suchá 'dry', qrošda 'folly from qrodá 'foolish', bratřija bratřija 'brotherhood, brothers' (cp. Gr. qvárciá). In all these instances the adjectives from which the substantives came have fallen out of use.

Only isolated examples of adjectival compounds have this suffix: e. g. bez-otíč 'without a father, fatherless' (otíč 'father')
bez-unītī 'without sense unintelligent' (unītī 'sense') like Lith. be-tečis be-prōti-s.

Remark 3. The fact that in many cases we cannot tell whether -jo- is primary or secondary (see Rem. 1) naturally suggests the question, whether its use as a secondary suffix may not be wholly due to a relation accidentally established between jo-formations which originally were primary, and nouns containing the same root, as for instance between *rēg-jo- and *rēg- 'ruler, king'. In this case it would be questionable whether the disappearance of the -o- and -a- of the stem was a real phonetic process, or whether, which is far more probable, some originally primary formation, e.g. *juk-jo- (jumg- 'yoke to, unite') was brought into connexion with a noun like *juk-m 'yoke', and that this alone caused the apparent loss of the stem-final wherever it takes place. Such instances as Skr. dhvāma- 'active', Gr. μελίσσω for *μελυ-σσ from μιζα-μ must also, no doubt, be taken into account. I must content myself here with directing attention to these questions, which are still unsettled. — On these points the student may now be referred at to Windisch, Über die Verbalformen mit den Character R, p. 55 ff.

3. There are some adjectives in which -jo- appears to have had a comparative meaning (cp. superl. *medh-ymno-s § 72 beside *medh-jo-s 'medius'), so that -jes- -is- (e.g. in Skr. compar. nāv-yaś- superl. nāv-iś-tha-, § 81. 135) may be regarded as an extension of -jo- by an s-suffix.

*al-jo-s 'alius': Armen. ail, Gr. ἀλλος Lat. ali-us O.Ir. aile Goth. aly-s; cp. Ar. *an-ja- 'alius' (Skr. anyā- Avest. anya-O.Pers. aniyā-), which is derived from another root but is similarly formed. *medh-jo-s 'medius': Skr. mādhyā-s 'medius', Armen. mēj, gen. mifoj, 'midst', Gr. μέσοςμέσος, Lat. medi-us, Gall. Medio-matriici, O.C.Sl. fém. used substantivally medu 'boundary' for *medja (cp. O.Sax. middea O.Icel. midja — a weak fem. — 'midst'). *neu-jo- beside *neu-o-s 'new, young' (cp. Skr. nū, Gr. νυ etc.): Skr. nāya-s, O.Ir. nāo (Gall. Novio-dānu-m), Goth. niuji-s, Lith. naija-s. Skr. sav-yā-s O.C.Sl. šu-ji 'left' (cp. I § 185 p. 161). Gr. deξ-ιός 'night'.

Certain possessive pronouns with -jo- should be placed in this group; e.g. Lat. meu-s for *me-jo-s (I § 134 p. 121) Pruss. mai-s (stem ma-i-ac-) O.C.Sl. mo-ji 'my', Osc. tiium 'tu' Umbr. tiu tiom 'te', properly 'tuum', Pruss. twais
(stem *twa-i-a-) O.C.Sl. *tov-ī-y- 'thy', and further Skr. *mad-i-yā-s 'my' *tad-i-yā-s 'his, euis'. Then e. g. *me-jō- would be related to *mo- (Avest. ma- Gr. ἐμό- as Gr. ἑμ-τρό-ς to ἑμό-ς.


This third function of the suffix -jō- appears also in active use in some of the separate Indo-Germanic languages. E. g. Goth. fairneis O.H.G. firni 'old' and Goth. alþeis 'old' may have been formed on the model of niuji-s.

§ 64. The Suffix -yo- -yu-, -yuo- -yua-. This is both primary and secondary; it is found in substantives and adjectives, but no special meaning can be assigned to it. In Latin and German we must notice its frequent use in forming adjectives to denote colour, a function it acquired simply by analogical extension. In these and in some other languages -yo- appears still as a living suffix.

Idg. *ek-μο- 'horse'; fem. *ek-μα (often referred to Skr. aś-ū-ḍ Gr. ἐκ-μ-ς 'swift' Lat. acu-pediu-s, but it is difficult to reconcile the vocalism): Skr. áśva-s áśvā, Gr. ἐκμος (the fem. perhaps survives in ἐκμηλογοι 'milkers of mares'), Lat. equo-s equa, O.Ir. ech, Goth. aihva- seen in aihva-tundi 'betaς', Lith. asžv. *gl-μo- 'living' (√gei- 'to be astir, to live'): Skr. jīvā-Lat. vīvo-s Mod.Cymr. bynō Goth. giu-s (stem giua-) Lith. gyva-s O.C.Sl. živū. *yidheyo- -eya- beside Skr. vidh- 'become empty, lack': Skr. vidhāva-s 'unmarried' vidhāva 'widow', Gr. ἰθεος-ς 'unmarried' (the explanation of the η- is doubtful; see Wheeler, Der griech. Nominalace. 110), Lat. viduo-s vidua, O.Ir. fédh Med.Cymr. gweddio (I § 174 p. 154) Goth. viđuvō (n-stem) O.C.Sl. vidova 'widow'; the word should no doubt be analysed *yidhe-μo- and compared with words like Skr. yaj-a-tā-s darś-
-a-ta-s Gr. ἀν-τ-τὸν λάχ-ε-σι-ς, containing the -e- of thematic verbal stems (§ 79. 100), cp. Lat. vacuo-s etc. below.


In the form -umo-. Skr. dhr-uvā- 'firm' beside O.C.Sl. sū-dravī xdravī 'sound, healthy' for *-dor-vi.

Aryan. Skr. viś-va- Avest. O.Pers. viśpa- (I § 159)p. 142 'all' (in Skr. it also means 'containing or pervading all'), beside Skr. viś- 'enter, penetrate, take possession of' (orig. 'completely filled' or 'filling', cp. Skr. śaśvanta- Gr. παζ- § 126). Skr. jk-va- 'praising'. Skr. pak-va- 'ripe' (from pac- 'to cook'). We have already noticed that Skr. dhruvā- 'firm' should be classed here, i. e. dhr-uvā-with the dissyllabic form of the suffix, cp. O.C.Sl. sū-dravī- 'sound, healthy' for *-dor-vi.

The suffix is also denominative in some instances; e. g. Skr. kēṣa-vā-s 'long-haired' from kēṣa-s 'hair', rāṣna-vā-s 'provided with a girdle' from rāṣna- 'girdle', aṣṭi-vā-s 'slippery, smooth' from aṣṭi- 'unguent', rāḍi-vā-s 'striped' from rāḍi- 'stripe'.

In some cases it is doubtful whether the suffix is primary or denominative: Skr. pār-va-s 'former, earlier' Avest. pourva- O.Pers. parīva- (read parva-) 'earlier': Gr. *prow-fos- seen in Dor. prov 'formerly' for *prow-fos- and in προπος Dor. prōpos- 'first' for *prow-fo-aro- (I § 306 p. 242), O.C.Sl. pṛu-fy-f 'first'. Similarly Avest. āf-va- O.Pers. af-va- 'unus': Gr. ol-fos- ol-os 'alone', cp. *oî-uno- in Lat. oino-s oino-s etc.

Armenian. ken-, seen in kea-nē (gen. kēn-ac) 'life' and other words, seems to have been developed from *kēva- and accordingly to belong to the stem *gl-umo- (see above). Compare Hübschmann, Armen. St. I 35.

1) Elsewhere -uma- for -xo- in the Rig-Veda is 'a sporadic and doubtful exception'. See Edgrel, Journ. of the Amer. Orient. Soc. XI 32.
Greek. ὀρθό-ς ‘upright’ for *ὁρθ-φο-ς: Skr. ardhvā-s ‘upright’, Lat. arduo-s, O.Ir. ard (ardā art) ‘high, great, noble’; with which we may compare Arduenna sīlva, Idg. *fāh-yō-s, xóφ-φā (in Thessal. ? inscr.), Ion. κούη Dor. κόφα Att. κόφη ‘girl’ (I § 166 p. 146 f.). λαυ-(φ)ό-ς ‘left’: Lat. laevo-s O.C.Sl. левъ ‘left’; compare no doubt Germ. *slai̯-μα-ς ‘weary, weak, dull, slow’ (O.H.G. slēo A.S. slēow O.Icel. slýfr), so that this word for ‘left’ would represent the opposite of the universal Indo-Germanic word for ‘right’, Skr. dākṣiṇa- Gr. δεξιο-ς etc., in as much as the original meaning of the latter involved the notion of strength, ability, or cleverness, as is shewn by the Skr. dākṣa- ‘strong, able, skilful’. *κεν-φό-ς ‘empty’ Lesb. κέννος Ion. κεινό-ς Att. κενό-ς1); the by-form κενε-φό-ς, represented by Cypr. κενεφόν Ion. κενεό-ς, is parallel to ἵ-φό-ς beside ἰ-φό-ς, and similar pairs of forms.

-φο- as a secondary suffix is no doubt to be traced in verbal adjectives ending in -τε-φό-, which stands for *-τε-φο-ς, as διωκτε-φό-ς ‘to be pursued’, and in adjectives in -αλέο-ς, standing for -αλε-φο-ς, as ὄνογαλέο-ς ‘fragmentary, torn’: these are based on stems in -το- and -αλε-.

Remark 1. Hesiod’s γαρευ-ς either represents an extended stem -ευ- with -το-, *-τε-φο-ς, or (which seems to me less likely) is a later corruption of a true Hesiodic form γαρεω-ς.

The Skr. accent in kāṣa-ṛd- etc. (see above) suggests the conjecture that -τε-φό-ς in dactylic words came from *-τε-φό-ς (cp. I § 676 p. 542 f.), and that -αλε-φό-ς afterwards conformed to the same type.

-φο- as a secondary suffix is perhaps also to be recognised in ἴσο-ς Cret. ἱσφο-ς ‘equal’, since the word may be referred to *γιτ-ς-, a weak from of the stem of *γείδ-ες elīδ-ς (cp. § 132); the pr. Gr. form will then have been *φιτο-φο-ς, cp. Umbr. mersuva from *med-(e)s- cited below. ἴσος has already been connected with εἰσομαι by Bechtel, Philolog. Anzeiger 1886 p. 15, who also gives the pr. Gr. form as *φιδάφος, but suggests no satisfactory explanation of the φ.

1) In thé Att. κενότερος κενότατος the use of ο instead of ω (contrast σοφύτερος) is a reminiscence of the older form *κενφο-ς. Op. § 75.
Here too we should no doubt class ξενο-ς 'strange, foreign' Ion. ξῖνο-ς Att. ξένο-ς (I § 166 p. 146); yet it is not clear whether -xo- is primary or secondary.

Italic. Lat. ar-xo-m, Umbr. arvam-en 'in arvum': Mod.Cymr. er-x 'cultivated land' Bret. er-x 'furrow'. Lat. sal-xo-s, Umbr. salvom salvom 'salvum' salvam 'salvam': compare Skr. sār-va-s Gr. σῶλο-ς σῶλο-ς (σῶλο-ς) 'all, whole'. Lat. xī-xo-s Ose. bivus nom. 'vivi': Skr. जी-वाः etc., see p. 133 above. Lat. cal-xo-s: Skr. kul-va-s 'bald'. Lat. scae-xo-s: Gr. σκατ-(f)ο-ς 'left', and add O.Icel. skeika 'go awry, go wrong' (*skaikō- for *skajma-, see S. Bugge, Paul-Br. Beitr. XIII 515). In words denoting colours: hel-xo-s: O.H.G. gelo 'yellow', common ground-form *gēl-yo-s; gil-xo-s, ful-xo-s, فلا-xo-s (for *bāl-yo-s, compare O.H.G. blāo 'blue?'), rā-xo-s, ḫā-xo-s (I § 569 p. 428). Such forms as vacu-xo-s, nocu-xo-s, perspicuo-s, assiduo-s may be of the same kind as viduo-s; vacu-xo-s, for instance, will then have come from *pace-yo-s, the intermediate stage being *vacu-yo-s (I § 65 p. 52).

The suffix is secondary in Minerva for *menes-yā beside Skr. mānas- Gr. μύ̣νο- n. 'mind, sense' (cp. Skr. manas-vin- 'having sense, intelligent'); Umbr. morsuva abl. 'solita' for *meɾs-uā(d), i.e. *med(e)s-yo- from mer-s 'ius'. Also in Lat. annuo-s from annu-s, strēnuo-s beside Gr. στρήνο-ς 'strength', cernuo-s from *cerno- (or *cerna-) for *cers-no- 'head', cp. Gr. κράωνα κράνη (ἀμπλ-κράνο-ς) for *χρασνα-; here too we should probably place the examples of -uo-s from *e-yo-s, cp. Skr. kēdā-vā-s Gr. διακρίτ-ι(f)ο-ς.

Remark 2. Do the adjectives in -xo-s, as capētē-s purītē-s simen-sē-s nocē-s cadē-s, come from feminine forms in -i (cp. Skr. rājī-vā-s), or from derivative verbs in -ir (νοιρε), like Lith. dolī-xo-s from dolī-ti, Slav. chodi-xa from chodi (see below)? In either case there must have been a change of usage, from the primary to the denominative or vice versa.

Old Irish. tar-b Gall. tar-xo-s Mod.Cymr. tar-x 'ox', usually compared with Gr. ραύο-ς, which is said to stand for *rap-fo-ς (I § 639 p. 479). mar-b Mod.Cymr. mar-x 'dead', compared with *mer-. 'die' (cp. Rem. 3).
Remark 3. Osthoff regards marv as modelled on the form of its opposite *gū-µo-s, O.Ir. biù béo Mod.Cymr. byw, whilst Bréal (Mém. de la Soc. de lingü. VI 127) holds that even the Lat.-Slav. *marťo- 'dead' (Lat. morōν-s O.CSl. morītē) was originally *morī- and that it was altered on the same analogy. This seems to me not unlikely; and I would also suggest that possibly the Kelt.-Germ. *dekt-µo- 'dexter' (O.Ir. deos O.Cymr. dehóu, Goth. teithāu) may owe its suffix to one of the two words for the opposite idea, *loj-µo-*skoj-µo- (see pp. 135, 136) (cp. Gr. δεξιός, δεξής on the analogy of δεξιότ-, late Lat. senexter instead of sinister on the analogy of dexter, and many similar examples, Ber. der sächs. Gesellsch. der Wiss., 1888, p. 191 f.)


Balto-Slavonic. Lith. pū-va-s 'beer' O.CSl. pī-vo 'draught, intoxicating drink', compared with pī- 'to drink' (O.CSl. pī-ti 'to drink' Skr. pī-ti- 'draught' Gr. πί-νω 'I drink' etc.); and since this is no doubt identical with pī- 'swell, be fat' (Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 41. 167), the word must be closely related to Skr. pī-va-s Gr. πί-(f)ο-ς 'fat'. Lith. pal-va-s O.CSl. plā-vā 'yellowish white, tawny' (it is possible that the Lith. word was borrowed from the Slav.) O.H.G. falo 'fallow, tawny'. Pruss. sy-vā- O.CSl. si-vā 'gray': related to Skr. syā-vā- 'dark brown'. Pruss. pel-vo O.CSl. plō-va 'chaff', beside Lith. pelai pl. 'chaff'. Lith. pū-va-s 'belly'; kal-vā 'hillock' (from kēl-ti 'to lift'). O.CSl. krava 'cow' for *kor-va (Lith. kárvę, containing a further suffix), compare Lat. cer-vo-s; gri-va 'mane': Skr. grī-vā 'nape, neck'.

In Lithuanian it occurs in adjectives in -y-va-s, connected with verbs in -y-ti, as dalį-va-s 'sharing in' (dalįvo būti 'be a sharer in') from dalį-ti 'to divide', akį-va-s 'provided with eyes, inquisitive' from akįti 'to get eyes, become porous' (cp. akįla-s 'observant'). In Slavonic there are adjectives in -i-vā -a-vā, -
connected with verbs in -i-ti -a-ti, as chodi-vu 'moving' from chodi-ti 'to go', ljubi-vu 'loving' from ljubi-ti 'to love', laska-vu 'coaxing, flattering' from laska-ti 'to flatter', dela-vu 'effective, active' from dela-ti 'to effect, work'. These adjectives in -y-va-s -i-vu are parallel to the Latin adjectives in -īō-s; see Rem. 2.


With regard to the relation of -yno- to -no-, see I § 227 p. 193 f.

It is often maintained that the first vowels of -eno -ono-
are the same as the verbal thematic vowels e and o, so that e. g.
the stem of Skr. bhāra-m 'act of bearing' is to be divided
into bhāra-na-, and compared with the bhāra- of the 3. sing.
bhāra-ni; and that of Goth. bairan 'to bear', into baira-na-
and compared with the baira- of the 1. pl. baira-m. This
analysis cannot be justified by reference to forms like *dōno-m
'act of giving' (Skr. dāna-m, Lat. dōnu-m) beside *bher-
eno-m *bherono-m 'act of bearing', or to such as part. pass.
dēno-s seen in O.H.G. gi-tan 'done' O.C.Sl. o-dēnā 'done round
with, set round with, clothed' beside O.H.G. gi-zog-an 'drawn'
(-ono-) O.C.Sl. nes-enu 'borne' (-eno-). In these forms it is very
far from certain that the suffix is -no- (stem *dōno- = √dō-
+ suffix -no-, and so forth), since there is good reason for
believing that the initial vowel of the suffix was contracted
with the vowel of the root in proethnic Indo-Germanic, in
just the same way as, for instance, the 3. sing. conj. *dōti
(Skr. dāti) from *dō-e-ti (see I § 115 p. 107). Now if we con-
sider that it is just in tenses which have no thematic vowel
that -eno- -ono- has firmly established itself as a participial
suffix (Skr. bībhid-ānā-s Goth. bit-an-s from √bheid- 'split, bite',
Goth. fulg-in-s 'hidden', O.C.Sl. nes-enu 'borne', Skr. dvīṣ-ānā-s
beside the indic. dvīṣ-ṭe, dvīṣ- 'hate', Avest. ṛn-ānā- beside the
indic. ṛn-ṛ, jan- 'slay') it will be seen that for our purpose it

1) Schnorr von Carolsfeld, Das lat. Suffix -āna, Archiv f. lat. Lexicogr.
I 177 ff.
is absolutely necessary to regard -eno- -ono- as a simple indivisible suffix. From its usage it is clear that this suffix is very closely related to -no- -yno-; and there is nothing to prevent our assuming that -no- -yno- are the weak-grade forms corresponding to -eno- -ono-, just as we have side by side -uno- (-mun-2), -méno- -mono- (§ 71) and -tro- -tyro-, -tero- -toro- (§ 75). The assumption of this ablaut-relation, i. e. that -no- arose from -eno- (-ono-), would still hold good even though we regarded -eno- as ultimately divisible into two elements (-e-, -o- -no-), cp. *rudyt- the weak-grade form beside *rudo-nti (§ 125).

This n-suffix formed chiefly verbal nouns, partly adjectives and partly substantives; the latter especially in the neuter and feminine, with abstract meaning (see § 158).

The suffix -eno- is characterised by its fertility as a participial and infinitival suffix in several languages, and some of the groups of adjectives and participles which it formed were very extensive.

As a secondary suffix it did not spread far until the Indo-Germanic languages had begun their separate development, and then only in a few branches.

Remark. Sometimes it is not easy to distinguish whether in any particular word we have the suffix -eno- or an en-stem extended by the suffix -o-, i. e. an example of transference into the o-declension. The latter is undoubtedly the case e. g. in Skr. ̀d₃n-ə-s beside ̀d₃n- m. 'stone', pādhā-s beside pāḍā- name of a deity (§ 60 p. 112), Gr. Ἰλλί. 'young stag' for ̀ɪl₃-ə-s beside O.C.Sl. jelen- 'stag', ̀dživ-ə 'whetstone' beside Skr. ̀d₃mun-, Lat. prāna-s for *prāna-ə-s beside Goth. fulin- 'foal', Lith. jekn-əs pl. 'liver' beside Skr. yekha-. On the other hand it is doubtful whether Lat. régum- contains the suffix -no-, or is an en-stem which has passed over to the o-declension, and is therefore identical with Skr. rājā- 'government, regimen'. Cp. § 71 Rem., § 94 Rem.

§ 66. 1. The Suffix in the form -no- -yno-. The form -no- is found especially in verbal adjectives, which, like those in -to- (§ 79), were made from the verbal stem (not from a particular tense-stem). In Sanskrit these adjectives formed a fairly large class of participles by the side of the to-participles and of similar character. They are chiefly passive in meaning.
Besides these there are numerous substantives, many of which can be shown to have existed in the proothenic language, of different genders and generally abstract in meaning.

The form -yno- has on the whole the same value as -no-. Yet it must be observed that not -no-, but only -yno- appears to occur as the medial participial suffix of non-thematic present forms.

The nouns formed with -no- -yno-, when used as adjectives (participles), have almost always the weak grade of ablaut in the root-syllable (the suffix bearing the accent, e.g. *pl̄-nó- 'filled' ∨ pel-, Skr. pūr-ná-), but as substantives more commonly the strong grade form (e.g. *goi-nā 'requisite', ∨ gei-, Gr. po-nv).

Differences like *sup-no- *syep-no- *syop-no- 'sleep' are indications that the strength of the root-syllable varied within the case-system of the same word.

Idg. *pl̄-nó- *pl̄-nó- 'filled, full', from ∨ pel- 'fill': Skr. pārṇā-s Avest. per'na- Gr. perhaps pōllai 'many' (see I § 306 p. 242), O.Ir. lān, Goth. fullī pr. Germ. *fulna-z, Lith. pilnā-s O.C Sl. plūniü; cp. Skr. pūr-tā-s Lith. pil-ťa-s 'filled'. *pl̄-nó- 'filled' from plē- 'to fill': Skr. pṛāṇā-s Lat. plēnu-s; cp. Skr. pṛā-tā-s Lat. im-plē-tus 'filled'. Skr. ānna-m 'food' for *ad-na- (I § 477, p. 352)-Gr. ῥάων 'cattle' ῥαων 'food' (with -yno-, see below), ∨ ed- 'eat'. Avest. per'na- f. Goth. fullō f. (which has passed over to the n-declension) 'fullness'. *goi-nā- f. 'requisite' from ∨ gei- (Skr. cāy- Gr. κατά): Avest. kaṇṇā- 'punishment', Gr. ποιήμ 'requisite, punishment, reward', O.C Sl. cēnā 'price'. *sup-no- *syep-no- *syop-no- m. 'sleep, dream': Skr. svāpna-s, Arm. (/^

*leuqno- or *loqno- 'shining': Avest. raozāna- 'shining', Lat. luna O.Lat. inscr. lūna for *lōcna-, O.Ir. lu-fr 'moon', Pruss. lauxnos pl. 'stars', compared with leuq-s in Skr. rukštā- 'shining', Lat. illustri-s for *in-loqcs-tri-s, A.S. līxan līxan 'give light' for *liuks-jan, from ∨ leuq-; on the other hand, without -s-, O.Sax. log-na (o probably short) 'flame'. Words
of this kind with -s- gave rise to a form -sno-, regarded as a single suffix, which occurs in a few words; see below. Cp. -s-ni- § 94.


Remark. This view of Ar. -ana- and of Gr. -yno-, so far as they have the same meaning as -māna- -ma- and -mēro-, cannot be called certain. As my pupil Herr H. Hirt reminds me, they may be regarded as having arisen from * singleton, just as the participial Ar. -āna- can be referred to * singleton; see § 67, b. Rem. p. 152.

The meaning of -no- is not clear in *oij-no-s 'unus': Gr. oivō-ς oivj 'ace on a die', Lat. oino-s oeno-s unus O.Ir. oen Goth. āins Lith. vēna-s O.C.Sl. inū.

Aryan. Skr. āndā- 'where something is lacking, defective' Avest. ānā- 'empty' from vē-ey- (Gr. sō-m-ς 'needing, bereft'). Skr. kūndā- 'diminished, vanished, waninig' compare perhaps Gr. ψινό-καρπος 'with fruit vanishing or vanished' (cp. Fick, Wörterb. I 236, Osthoff Morph. Unt. IV 115). Skr. dūndā- 'torn to pieces, scattered, beheaded' Avest. dar-nā- f. 'cleft, ravine': O.H.G. zorn A.S. torn n. 'indignation, anger', properly 'a torn or rent condition of the temper' (ground-form *dy-no-mi). Skr. dūndā- 'bound' (dā- 'bind'), bhug-nā- 'bent' (bhuj- 'bend'), bhinnē- 'split' for *bhid-nā- (bhid- 'split'); thus it frequently appears as a living participial suffix. Skr. uṇ-nā- 'hot', also subst. m. and n. as well as f. (uṇ-nā-) 'heat'. Skr. bradh-nā-s 'pale', O.C.Sl. bronū 'whitish' for *broad-nā-. Skr. tūnā-s 'sheath, quiver', ground-form *ṭū-no-s, vē-tyel- (Gr. τελαμόν etc.) Skr. yaj-ādā- Avest. yas-ā- m. 'worship, sacrifice', vē-jaś- 'to honour' (for the -s- of the Avest. form see I § 403 Rem. p. 298): Gr. ἱερός 'revered, hallowed, pure'. Skr. praś-nā- Avest. fraś-ā- m. 'question', vē-prēk-. Skr. sthānā- 'post, pillar' for *sthr-ā-, Avest. stānā- in hazavaro-stāna- 'with 1000 pillars'; ground-form *stl-ā-: Gr. στήλη, see p. 143.
With -s- between root and suffix: Skr. tik-śnā- 'sharp' (cp. tig-mā- 'sharp'), kṛt-śnā- 'whole, complete', and other examples.

The existence of Aryan -ana- = -ṇa- is hard to verify, because of its coincidence in form with orig. -eno-. Besides examples like Ved. yaj-anā- beside yaj-ṇā- (I § 227 p. 193 ff.) and the above mentioned medio-pāse. pres. part. (cp. also Avest. aoi-ana- beside impf. indic. aox-ta, hu-nv-ana- beside pres. indic. hu-nā-itā and others), we should perhaps add here Sanskrit oxytone adjectives like krōṣ-anā- 'screaming', rōc-anā- 'shining' jar-anā- 'perishable', with the abstract substantives śvēt- and 'the dawning' jarandā 'old age' (cp. Gr. στεγανός and ἄννη), the palatal sound instead of the guttural in rōcanā-sa-canā- and other words was taken from such forms as rōcatē (see I § 448 Rem. p. 333). Cp. -ani- = -ṇi- § 95, and -anu- = -ṇu- § 106.

It is only occasionally used as a secondary suffix. Skr. strāt-na- 'female' from strī- 'woman', pāus-nā- 'male' from pūs- 'man', purā-nā- 'former, old' from purā- adv. 'formerly'. Here also come vadhānas-m 'deadly weapon' beside vadhā-s and vādhar, of similar meaning, and karāsna-s 'forearm' (cp. karā-s 'hand'), if they contain -as-stems, cp. Goth. hlāivasnos pl. f. 'grave' beside neut. hlāiv with similar meaning; the Sanskrit ending is in most cases explained as -a-sna-.

Armenian. Eun 'sleep' from *syp̣-no-, see p. 140 above. gi-n. gen. g-no-y, 'cost' from *yes-no- or *yēs-no-: Skr. vas-nā-s Gr. ἄρος- οὖρι 'sale-price, value' for *fwo-s- -vā-, Lat. vēnum for *yes-no- or *yēs-no-. Perhaps we should add vasn 'on account of' (beside O.Pers. vaš-na- and Avest. vašna- 'will, favour', √yel-; the Avest. form is for *vašna- through the influence of the pres. vaš'mi), and the derivative un-ain 'empty' (beside Skr. a-na-; Armenian. u- for Idg. su-, cp. Gr. σίν-ς).

Greek. στεγ-νός 'hated'. sphor-ός 'scattered, rare, thin', beside aπιέω, σεμυός 'revered' for *sebi-νός, √tjeg- (I § 492 p. 362). στεγ-νός 'covered, covering', σμερδ-νός 'terrible', περικ-νός 'sprinkled, motley, dark': O.H.G. forhana f. 'trout', ground-form *prē-na-, dā-νός n. 'loan' is no doubt based upon -a form

*ανν- = *ηνο-. There are a considerable number of participial words besides those given above on p. 140. στεγ-ανν-; beside στεγ-νό-ς. πιθ-ανν-ς 'easily persuaded, persuasive'. στέγ-ανν-ς-άνη 'wreathing, wreath'. χοδ-ανν-ς 'buttocks' (from χέι-ω). ϕρέαν-νο-ν -άνη 'sickle'. ϕρέαν-ν- -άνη 'shield handle' (from ϕ�新ων). θήγ-ανν-ν -άνη 'whetstone'. axeπ-ανν-ν 'covering' (beside σκεπ-ανν-ς). κόπ-ανν-ν 'pestle, hatchet'. ἔπικ-άνη ἔπικ-άνη 'enclosure'.

As a secondary suffix it is not uncommon:

First should be mentioned the words in *σε-νο- (Lesb. -ένν-, Ion. Att. -ένν-, Dor. -ηνο-) and *ασ-νο- (Lesb. -ένν-, Ion. Att. -ηνο-, Dor. -άνν-). ἀλγεινό-ς 'paining, painful' from ἀλγες n., 'pain'. ϕαινό-ς 'shining' from ϕαιός n., 'light', etc. Homeric (Lesb.) ἔμπανν-ς 'lovely' beside ἔρως (see Solmsen, Kuhn's Ztschr.
The Suffix -νο- -γνό-

XXIX 70. 109). οιλήνη 'moon' (Leseb. σελαννα) from σέλας n. 'brightness'. In the oldest adjectives of this sort, which were participles of denominative verbs, -νο- may have been primary; compare ποδεωνός κοτεινός with ποδέως κωτέως (ποδεωνσι κωτεων-σαι) and ἥραστος beside ἥραννος.

Further, under this head come adjectives of time like εαρινός ἡμερινός (misspelt ειρινός) 'vernus', ἡμερινός 'daily', νυκτερινός 'nocturnus' περινονός 'from last year, a year old'. These appear to have been formed from locatives, ἐαρι, πόρνισ (cp. also ἡμαρ, νυκτερ). Then -νο- broke off and became an independent suffix, hence δελ-νός 'of the evening', and the like. For analogous adjectives in Italic, see below.

With -νο- as a secondary suffix: κόπρο-νο-ν 'stool' (κόπρο-ς), ἔδρο-νο-ν 'seat' (ἔδορα) and others. Was the suffix -νο- taken from ετιδενόσ 'useless' = οὐ-τιδανός (*τιδ = Lat. quid)? Cp. -σ-αινός, taken from ποδ-αινός and the like (§ 16 p. 32).

Italic. Lat. plē-nus Umbr. plener 'plenis': Skr. prā-na-s, see p. 140 above. Lat. cānu-s for *cas-no-s, Osc. Pelign. casnār 'senex' (extended by an -r-suffix). Lat. vī-nus -nus, Umbr. vinum 'vinum' Volsc. vinu abl. 'vino'. Lat. ursa for *urc-nā, Umbr. urnasīr 'urnariis, feriis'. Lat. fānu-m for *fas-no-m, Umbr. fesnaf-e fem. pl. 'in templum', Osc. fisnam fisnam fem. acc. 'templum', Pelign. fesn. (abbreviated) 'templum', beside Lat. fēs-tu-s fē-iae, in the ē-series of Ablaut.

Lat. dēgnus-s as compared with decet, for *dec-no-s (I § 65 p. 58, § 500 p. 366), or with O.Icel. ðignn 'distinguished' ðgn f. 'distinguished rank'; for *dic-no-s (v-dejke- 'show') ðgnus-s: Gr. δινός 'lamb' for *διβ-νο-ς, O.Ir. uan Mod.Cymr. oen 'lamb' (I § 428 p. 315, § 437 p. 325), also O.C.Sl. *jagnǔ, implied by the formation jagnę 'lamb'. pāgnu-s, pāgnare, beside Gr. πυγ-νι 'fist, fight with fists'. grā-nu-m 'grain, kernel', ground-form *ǧ RedirectToAction 'ground, crumbled', Goth. kausr-n n. 'grain', O.C.Sl. zrį-no 'grain, kernel, berry', compare also O.H.G. kerno O.Icel kjarno m. 'kernel', formed from the ē grade of the root (ger-). dēgnus-m is no doubt to be compared with legō; dēgnus-m: cp. Gr. τεχ-νη 'power of production, art, skill'. lana for *ylna-nā, ground-form
§ 66. The Suffix -no- -veno-


With -s-: Lat. annus for *at-sno-s: cp. Goth. apn; penna O.Lat. pesna for *pet-sna, √ pet- ‘fly’), and other examples.

Lat. -ino- unaccented = *ino-. It is of course hard to say what forms are to be classed here, since unaccented -ino- may equally well represent Idg. -ino-, -eno- or -ono-. The words we have to deal with are such as dom-inu-s pāg-inā sarc-inā, probably also verna for *ves-inā (√ ves- ‘live’).

As a secondary suffix it is not uncommon:

Lat. aēnu-s for *aēs-no-, Umbr. ahes-nes ‘aenis’, beside Lat. aes, aevīs, Skr. áyas- n. ‘metal, iron’. Lat. tīgnu-s for ilec-no- from īlex, sāīgnu-s from salīx (the ending was referred by popular etymology to √ gen-, cp. abiēgnu-s, fabāginu-s and so forth), acer-nu-s from acer, edur-nu-s from edur; the final vowel of the stem has been lost in pōpulnu-s from pōpulu-s, quernu-s for *querc-nu-s from quercu-s etc. Besides these we have pater-nu-s, māter-nu-s; alter-nu-s, infer-nu-s, exter-nu-s. Stems in -a seem to have given rise to -anu-s: silvānu-s (silva) insulānu-s (insula) Capuānu-s (Capua); hence in other local adjectives, urbānu-s, cismontānu-s Rhēnānu-s etc.

vernu-s, nocturnu-s, hibēnu-s, vesperna and the like are parallel to Gr. ἐναυό-ς, νυστερό-ς, χειμερό-ς, ἐπερωτό-ς (see

1) Penna must be distinguished from pīnna. The latter, with pōnnus Gr. πῦρ-ς (common ground-form *pō-n-, see I § 253 p. 208 f.) belongs to A.S. fūn Mod.H.G. finne ‘fin’, a Germānic word which Müllenhoff (Altertumskunde II 54) connects in an interesting way with the name of the Fenni, although he is certainly wrong in taking a ground-form *pet-nā as his starting-point. The words most nearly akin to it are O.H.G. spannan ‘to stretch’, Goth. swōn ‘cloth, rag’ (Mod.H.G. wohne), O.C.Sl. pīna ‘tretch, hang’ o-pōna ‘curtain’. On √ span- and pēn-, see I § 589 p. 445 f. The bird’s wing and the fin therefore received their name as being something ‘outstretched’.

Brugmann, Elements. II. 10
p. 144), and perhaps in Latin also -no- was added to the locative in -i, and this vowel afterwards lost 1).

Umbr.-Osc. *kom-no-m ‘rō xerōn’ from kom ‘cum’, Umbr. kumne loc. in comitio’ Osc. comenei loc. ‘in comitio’ comono pl. ‘comitis’ (for the Oscan anaptyxis cp. I § 627, p. 471). Osc. amnus ‘circuitu’ from am- ‘amb-.’ Lat. prōnu-s no doubt for *prōd-no-, compare prōd(d).

Lastly, there are the distributive numerals derived from adverbs, like Lat. bīnī from *bis-no-, trīnī from *tris-no-, ter-nī, quater-nī.

Old Irish: la-n ‘full’: Skr. pūr-nā-s etc., see p. 140. slān ‘whole, sound, complete, full’ may be for *ṣļ-no-, as Lat. sal-vo-s for *ṣļ-yo-. cloe-n ‘awry, unjust, bad’: cp. Goth. hlāi-n-s ‘hill’, ģkleg- ‘to lean’, whence also Gr. κλεν-νή O.H.G. li-na (p. 143).


Pr.Kelt. -ano- = -yno-. Since this, if unaccented, became in Irish identical with orig. -ono-, it is hard to say which of the examples should be classed here. Perhaps lēthan O.Cymr.

1) Does hēbrnus stand for *hēbrino-s, as in-certus for *in-crito-s (I § 28 p. 33 f.)? The word is undoubtedly connected with hiems, but the ő has never been explained.
litan 'broad': cp. Gr. πλαρέω-ς 'plane' (named after its broad leaves, compare πλατέ-ς). Infinitive nouns like blegon m. 'milking' may also perhaps be referred to -yno-.

As a secondary suffix it is found in Gall. Arebrig-nu-s (pagus) 'lying on a hill' compared with Arebrigiu-m, beside O.Ir. bri, gen. breg, 'hill'. Also no doubt in Keltic words in -er-no-ar-no- (Zeuss-Ebel G.C. 774), as Gall. Tigerno-, isar-ino- 'iron', O.Ir. iarn O.Bret. hearn (I § 576 p. 431), whence perhaps were borrowed Goth. eisarn O.H.G. istringstream 'iron' (the suffix in O.H.G. diorna 'wench' Goth. vidwairna 'one bereaved' etc. cannot be held to prove that this is a real Germanic word.)

The Suffix -uno- -yno-.

§ 66.

\( \sqrt{deijk-} \) (Goth. ga-teihan 'point out'). O.H.G. feihhan O.Sax. fekan n. 'deceit' pr. Germ. *faik-na-, from \( \sqrt{peijk-} \) (Goth. fáih n. 'deceit'). O.H.G. loug-na O.Icel. laun f., in O.H.G. also lougan (subst. m.) 'giving the lie, denying': the root has a different grade of ablaut in Goth. liug-n n. 'lie'. O.Sax. log-na (o probably short) 'flame': cp. Lat. lāna for *loycnā etc. p. 140.

Germ. -uno- = -yno- cannot be identified with certainty.

In secondary use the suffix only occurs in Goth. jái-n-s 'that, yonder' from loc. *jōj (beside it stands a pr. Germ. *jī-na- from the locative form *jē in A.S. bē-zen m. 'both' according to Holthausen, Paul Braune's Beitr. XIII 372. 590), unless Goth. klāicasnōs pl. f. 'grave' from klāiv n. 'grave' and arhvēna f. 'arrow' beside A.S. earh n. 'arrow' are to be classed here, as derivatives from es-stems, Skr. vadhāsnā- p. 142.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. plē-na-s O.C.Sl. plē-nū 'full': Skr. pār-nā-s etc., see p. 140 above. A few other adjectives of this kind occur in Baltic, as Lith. kil-na-s 'lofty' beside kēl-tī 'to raise' (kālna-s 'hill' should perhaps be divided kal-n-a, see the Author in Morph. Unt. II 173), sīlp-na-s 'weak, powerless' beside sīlp-tī 'to grow weak'; lūd-na-s 'sad' beside lūsti 'to grow sad', Lett. wi-f-n-s 'glimmering' beside wi-f-ēt 'to glimmer', Lett. tūs-n-s 'straight, right' beside Lith. tūsītī 'to direct'. Lith. dē-na f. adj. of cows 'in calf': Skr. dhē-nū 'milch cow', from \( \sqrt{dhēj-} \) 'suckle' (I § 150 p. 136).

Lith. pel-na-s 'merit' O.C.Sl. plē-nū 'booty': Skr. pāna-s 'wager, stipulated wage' for *par-na (I § 259 p. 211 f.). Lith. var-na-s 'raven' vār-na 'crow' O.C.Sl. vra-nū 'black, raven' vra-na 'crow', possibly to be compared with Skr. vār-na-s 'colour'. There seems to be some connexion between the roots of Lith. sē-na-s O.C.Sl. sē-no 'hay' (the Lith. word was no doubt originally neuter) and Skr. śyā-na-s 'grown dry' śī-na-s 'curdled'. Lith. szał-nā O.C.Sl. sla-na 'rimes', beside Lith. szál-ta-s Skr. śī-sīr-a-s adj. 'cold'. Pruss. spoay-no f. 'foam' or 'scum' O.C.Sl. pē-na 'foam': Skr. phē-na-s 'foam', cp. also Lat. spūna for *spoj-mā (for the initial, see I § 599 p. 445 f.)
With -s-; Lith. ląp-s-na 'flame', varsnà 'length of a furrow' for *vart-sna (cp. varsma-s 'length of a furrow' for *vart-sama-).

Lith. spaž-na-s 'wing': Skr. par-na-m 'wing', √spēr- 'strike away, push off, jerk'. skut-nà 'shaved place'. šar-nà 'intestine': O.Icel. garna pl. 'intestinae'. dain-nà folk-song': Avest. dae-nà- \( \text{f.} \) 'law, teaching, faith'.

O.C.Sl. trê-nî 'thorn': Skr. tf-na-m 'grass-stalk', Germ. with -nu- Goth. haír-nu-s 'thorn'. synûs sunû 'tower' no doubt stands for pr. Slav. *súp-no* - *soup-no* 'that which is piled up', cp. súp 'I pile' súpù 'heap'. člênû 'limb' for *čel-no-. trēs-nû 'fimbria' for trēšk-nû, beside trēšku 'noise' trēšnqti 'to strike'. stîg-no 'shank'. ru-no 'fleece', beside rūw-q 'velvil'. sukno 'woollen garment', beside sukati 'to twist'. vêno 'dowry' for *vōd-no-; Gr. ἐφανα ἐφανα 'bridal gifts', √yedh- yed- 'lead, lead home' (I § 469, 8 p. 346 f.). vîl-nà 'wave': O.H.G. wella 'wave' ground-form *yel-nà, with -ni- Lith. vîl-nî-s 'wave'. sli-na 'spittle', beside Mid.H.G. A.S. slî-m 'slime'. strana 'side, region' for pr. Slav. *stor-nà, i.e. Idg. *stîr-nà (Skr. stîr-nà- 'outspread') or Idg. *stor- nà, √ster- 'spread out'. stē-na 'wall': Goth. stâi-n-s O.H.G. stei-n m. 'stone'.

Lith. -ina- Slav. -ino- = -ño- may perhaps be traced in Lith. kîp-ino-s 'heaped up', tēk-inas 'running', O.C.Sl. do-kos-înî 'that can be touched or held' do-stiš-înî 'that can be reached', etc.

-no- in secondary use. Lith. įau-na-s O.C.Sl. ju-nû 'young from jau ju 'already', just like Skr. náva-s Gr. νέφο- beside Skr. nà nû etc. 'now': from the same adverb come also O.C.Sl. ju-trò u-trò 'morning', see § 75. It is doubtful how far, if at all, the common secondary suffix Lith. -ina- Slav. -ño- represents Idg. -ño-.

§ 67. 2. In the form -eno- -ono-. This is almost entirely primary, and it occurs chiefly in participles and abstract nouns. It is used to form classes of words with special meanings, most commonly in Aryan, Germanic and Slavonic. -eno- is in active use as a participial suffix in A.S., Norse (O.Icel)
and Slavonic, as an abstract nominal suffix in Aryan; -ono- is a participial suffix in Aryan, Gothic and High German, and an abstract nominal suffix (infin.) in Germanic.

The suffix bears the accent where the root-syllable has the weak grade of ablaut; e.g. Skr. vanhit-anā-s O.H.G. gi-wort-an (I § 530 p. 387).

a. -eno- added to stems ending in a consonant:


Armenian. jaune-m ‘I offer, dedicate’ from the noun stem *jau-no-, which must stand for *jau-eno- (Skr. hāv-ana-m ‘offering’), or for *jau-ono-.

Greek. Here perhaps should be classed Aeol. ψευδα ‘dowry’ (ψεφενα, if it be the more correct reading, would at all events imply a form *ψεφενα) beside ψεφ-η: cp. Skr. bhār-anu-.

Remark. -eno- may perhaps be traced also in īswīrin- (with spurious diphthong) Dor. xīro- ‘that’ for *(f)īro- from īswī ‘there’. Similarly Dor. rīro- ‘is iste, ille’ would stand for *(f)rīro- from rī; or it might be analysed rīrī- and derived from the instr. *rī (cp. Goth. jū̃-n= § 66 p. 148). It must be admitted that -eno- is not elsewhere used in this way as a secondary suffix.

Italic. beno- (in bene, benigne-s, bellus for *ben-lo-), the by-form of bona-, dno-, should be classed here, if it stands for *dy-eno- and belongs to the root seen in Skr. dūv-as n. ‘reverence, honour’ and other words, so that the original meaning would be ‘that which is held in honour, enjoys recognition’
§ 67. The Suffix -eno- -ono-

(see Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 370 ff.). dom-ino-s (cp. Skr. dáṃ-ana-s 'horse-tamer') and the like are ambiguous; see § 66 p. 145.

Old Irish. I know of no noun-formations which fall under this head.

Germanic. Goth. fulg-in-s 'hidden' (beside filhan 'to hide'), with the accent on the suffix in pr. Germ. (I § 530 p. 386). O.Icel. týg-enn 'distinguished' (√'dej̄k̄' 'show'). O.H.G. sechf-in 'sheriff', also scoffino, which has passed over to the n-declension; its original sense was no doubt 'arranger, orderer'; compare O.H.G. saffen 'to shape, set in order'. Add such participles as A.S. bund-en O.Icel. bund-enn 'bound'; cp. below, under -ono-. Goth. áig-in O.H.G. eíg-in n. 'property', the original sense being no doubt 'the having for one's own': Skr. és-ana-m 'rule, control'. Goth. rag-in n. 'counsel, decree'; if it belongs to Skr. rac-ana-m 'an arranging, regulating', we must assume, as in the case of Goth. fulg-ins, that the suffix originally bore the accent. O.H.G. lug-ina f. 'lie', O.Sax. drug-ina f. 'treachery' stul-ina f. 'theft' thec-ina f. 'covering, roof'.

Balto-Slavonic. Here should be classed certain Lettish adjectives like glud-en-s 'smooth', (compare glöd-en-s 'blind-worm') beside glaud-ét 'to stroke'; slidd-en-s 'smooth, where one slips', beside slidd-ét 'to slip'; slepp-en-s 'secret' beside slép-t 'to hide'. Were the Lithuanian verbs in -enë, like gab-enë 'I bring', developed from noun-stems of this kind, in the same way as krūv-inë 'I make bloody' from krūv-ina-s 'bloody'?

In Slavonic we have the common past part. pass. in -enë, as -nes-enë 'carried' (from nes-të 'to carry'), za-bëv-enë 'forgotten' (from za-byti; cp. Skr. bhūv-ana-m 'being, thing, world'). The neut. vrët-eno: Skr. várt-ana-m has been already mentioned on p. 150.

b. -ono- added to stems ending in a consonant.


Remark. This view of the Aryan forms -āna- cannot be called certain. As a participial suffix of the middle we may (with Hirt) refer -āna- to *-ōna-, as the analogous -ana- to *-ūna- (see § 66 Rem. p. 141). The same -ūna- may also be concealed in Gr. πτερός- πτερό-ς 'hedge' (cp. Osthoff, zur Gesch. des Perf. 409) and the adjective ἀπό-ς (or is this for ἀπό-ς?). In the Ar. -āna- it is possible that -ūna- and -ōna- have coalesced. The considerations urged by Fröhde (Beessenberger’s Beitr. VII 322 f.) against my comparison of Keōna-ς with krūnā-s are not sound. The different accent of Keōna-ς is explained by the fact of its being a proper name. See what is said below in the Greek section on xλόνα-ς etc.

Aryan. Pres. aor. med. pass. part. Skr. duh-ānā-s duh-ānā-s, also dūgh-ānā-s, the gh being phonetically regular (I § 445 p. 331, § 452. 453 p. 335), beside dōghi 'he milks', jūhv-ānā-s beside jū-hō-ti 'he offers', su-nv-anā-s beside su-nā-ti 'he presses out', and so forth. Similarly Avest. γν-āna- beside jāin-ti 'he slays', and the like. Skr. ḫānā-s ḫā-ānā-s 'having for one’s own, possessing, ruler' Avest. ḫā-āna- 'ruling, mighty' beside Skr. ḫē ḫē-ti 'he possesses, rules': O.H.G. eig-an ‘own’, beside Goth. dhī 'he has', cp. Skr. ḫē-āna-m Goth. dig-in p. 151).<ref>

CERT. med. pass. part. Skr. riric-ānā-s beside riric-a 'he let loose, removed, abandoned': O.H.G. gi-līnc-an, √-lēig-; Avest. vāver-s-ānā- beside indic. med. Gāthic vāver-sō-i from var-s- (y̥erg-) 'work'.

It is an open question whether the denominative Skr. -āna-, as in vāsa-ānā-s 'possessing goods' from vásu n. 'goods', falls under this head (cp. Goth. piud-an-s).

Armenian. Perhaps jaune-m, see above p. 150.

Greek. Besides ἱπ-ός-ς (see above) we should probably class here κλόνα-ς 'stir, turmoil', beside κλα-μα, ἱρ-ός-ς 'seat, throne' from dher- 'hold, support', χρ-ός-ς 'time' orig. 'a limit of time which contains, span', beside χρό-; for the meaning cp. ἐμετό-ς 'a vomiting' beside ἐμετό-ς 'vomited' and the like, § 158.1) Of

1) The accent may have been assimilated to that of γόν-ο-ς ἱπ-ός-ς τρένο-ς-ς and similar words. Fröhde’s assumption (in the article cited in the Remark above) that ἱρ-ός-ς χρόνο-ς stand for *χφον-ο-ς *κλόνο-ς, cannot be justified on phonetic grounds, in spite of Cret. χφονα.
feminine forms we should perhaps class here ἵδ-ovή 'joy', but in περόνη 'clasp, buckle' σφυρόνη 'sling' and others we must recognise -on-ā, an extension of -on- by -ā-, cp. ἄκορ-νη 'whetstone' beside Skr. āśan-'stone'.

Italic. Lat. b-on- must ultimately be classed here; as to beno-, see p. 150. dom-inu-s and the like are ambiguous. see § 66 p. 145.

Old Irish. On account of the coincidence of -yio- and -ono- in Irish there are no examples that can be assigned with certainty to this section.

Germanic. O.H.G. eig-an, see above, p. 152. Goth. r-an-s O.H.G. w-an 'wanting, lacking', ἕν- (Gr. ἐν-ς, Skr. अन-) s. O.H.G. offan A.S. opan 'open'. O.H.G. wes-an 'decayed'. O.Sax. fag-an 'glad', the accent being on the suffix in pr.Germ., cp. Goth. fah-ebs f. 'joy'. Participles like Goth. vairb-an-s (the regular phonetic form would be *vairdans, I § 530 p. 387), O.H.G. gi-vort-an 'having become': Skr. vaivṛt-and-s; Goth. quin-an-s O.H.G. gi-kom-an 'having come': Skr. jاغ-न-; Goth. fra-vitan-s 'avenged': Skr. vid-ānd-s; Goth. ana-budan-s 'commanded, enjoined' O.H.G. gi-botan: Skr. būdh-ānd-s. Instead of this we find in other dialects -ina- = Idg. -eino-. We may conjecture that in Germanic -eno- and -ono- were originally distinguished as in Sanskrit. When the reduplicating syllable in the perfect fell off, the two types were no longer clearly separated, and -eno- drove out -ono- in one part of the Germanic area. We have -ana- in secondary use in Goth. piud-an-s 'king', from piuda 'people' (cp. Skr. vīsvar-āna-s?).

-ono- occurs as an abstract suffix in the Germanic infinitives formed with pr. Germ. *-ana-m, as Goth. aik-an O.H.G. eig-an 'possess, have', Goth. vit-an O.H.G. wīg-an 'know', Goth. bār-an O.H.G. ber-an 'bear, bring, forth'.

Balto-Slavonic.

Lith. ąlk-ana-s (fem. ąlk-ānā) 'rather hungry, fasting from ąlk-ti 'to hunger', ąk-ana-s 'gloomy, overclouded' (ųkanos dēnos 'gloomy days') beside ąk-stītis 'to become gloomy, cloud over'. Lett. plakk-an-s 'flat' from plak-t 'to grow flat' etc. Lith.
dov-anā Lett. dāv-anā 'gift' beside dā-ti dā-t 'to give'; Lith. tik-anā 'mass of cloud, cloudy sky'.

Whether Slavonic forms like Mod. Sloven. jah-on 'fortis equitator', beside jahati 'vehi' (Miklosich, Vergl. Gr. II 140) should also be classified here, is doubtful. We cannot analyse O.C.Sl. xvonū 'sound' as xv-onū (cp. zov-q xv-ati 'to call') and compare it with Skr. kr-āṇā-s etc. (cp. Fick, Wtb. I § 84, Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 373), unless we allow that the whole verbal base xvon- in Slavonic (O.C.Sl. svinēti 'to sound') has been developed out of a noun formed with -eno- -ono-.

c. -eno- -ono- added to stems ending in a vowel. It has been already remarked on p. 198, that the contraction was complete even in proethnic Indo-Germanic.

Skr. sōma-dhāna-s 'containing soma' vasu-dāna-s 'giving good' vi-māna-s 'traversing', like cēt-ana-s. dāna-m 'a giving' (Lat. dōnu-m), sthāna-m 'a standing, standing-place' (Avest. stāna- m. 'position', Gr. ἄστρος 'in a bad position, unhappy', Lith. stōna-s O.C.Sl. stanū 'position'), yāna-m 'a going, moving' like cēt-ana-m. Pres. med. pass. part. yāna-s beside indic. yātii 'he goes', like dúgh-āna-s. Perf. med. pass. part. jajānā-s beside indic. jajānū 'he knew' (Slav. part. po-znanii 'known'), like rīric-ānā-s.

Gr. ἄστρος, see above. *ēō-Θρος 'in good position whence ἄστρον 'am in good position': add also El. ơw-Θρον pl. 'compact' (Collitz) Samml. d. gr. Dial.-Inschr. no. 1168).

Ital. Lat. dōnu-m, Umbr. ūnu Osc. dūnū-m Mars. duno-m 'donum', see above.

Ir. Perhaps băn 'white, pale', from ṣbha-, Skr. bhd-ti 'he appears, shines' bhāna-m 'an appearing or growing visible'.


Balt.-Slav. Lith. stōna-s O.C.Sl. stanū, see above. Lith. klōna-s 'space behind the barn' beside klō-ti 'to spread out. O.C.Sl. perf. part. po-znanū (see above), danū 'given' beside dati, sēnū 'sown' beside sēti, like nes-entū.
In some of these vowel-stems we may conjecture that forms with -no- and forms with -eno- -ono- once existed side by side. It is no longer possible to ascertain exactly how far this was the case.

§ 68. The Suffixes -ino- -ina-, -ino- -ina-, and -a*ino- -a*ina-. These suffixes are found side by side with practically the same meaning. They are used especially to form secondary adjectives, with such meanings as 'made or consisting of', 'springing from', 'belonging to the same kind as' that which is denoted by the noun from which they are derived. They are used very much in the same way as the secondary suffix -jo- (§ 63, 2), compare e. g. Lith. av-ja*na-s with Pruss. aw-i-s O.C.Sl. u-jē 'uncle' beside Lat. avo-s 'grandfather', the meaning of these words being 'he who is descended from the grandfather'. Whether it bears any very close relation to the termination of Gr. ἕκυρος Lat. vērns-s and the like (§ 66 p. 144), and what etymological relation subsists between the initial sounds of the three forms -ino- -ino- -a*ino- (cp. Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 357) I cannot here decide. The connexion in sense (compare e. g. Gr. δέκανος 'of oak' — Goth. triv-ein-s 'wooden' — Avest. dāv-aen-i- 'wooden'), combined with their connexion in point of sound, justifies us in discussing the three suffixes together.

1. -ino-.

Idg. *dēks-ino- 'dexter': Skr. dākṣina-s Avest. dašina- O.C.Sl. desinū, in Lith. extended by a further suffix deszin-ē 'the right hand': cp. Gr. ἀδεξίος Lat. dex-tēr O.Ir. des 'Goth. tials-is 'dexter'; the word is closely allied to Skr. dākṣ-a-s 'able, strong'. Skr. aja-ina-m 'skin' O.C.Sl. az-ino beside Skr. ajā-s 'he-goat' ajā 'she-goat', Lith. ož-s 'he-goat', cp. also Lith. ož-ini-s 'belonging to a he-goat'.

In Aryan -ino- was not fertile. Forms like Skr. malinā- 'spotted' (mala-m 'dirt') Avest. nom. raocah-inū 'shining' (raocah- 'light') can scarcely be classed here: it is most probable that they
only arose in later times through a transference of -in-stems to the o-declension (cp. § 60 p. 111 f.).

In Greek we have many adjectives, denoting material, origin or kind: φηγ-ινο-ς 'beechen' from φηγγό-ς (:Lat. fag-inus), βύξινο-ς 'made of papyrus' from βύξινο-ς, ἀνθ-ινο-ς 'consisting of flowers' from ἄνθος n., λά-ινο-ς 'of stone' from λάθος, χύτε-ινο-ς 'of clay, earthen like a pot' from χύτρο-ς, γη-ινο-ς 'earthen, earthly' from γῆ, δια-ινο-ς 'consisting of air, airy' from διά, ηχε-ινο-ς 'derived from fish' (e.g. ἐλαυρ) from ἄξτρο-ς, ἄνθρωπι-ινο-ς 'human' from ἄνθρωπο-ς, οἰκίνινο-ς 'of that kind, of the same kind as that from ὡκείνο-ς, πεδ-ινο-ς 'found in the level country' beside πεδίνι, ἀληθε-ινο-ς 'true' beside ἀληθής.

In Latin Idg. -ino- can hardly be distinguished from Idg. -yono- -eno- -ono-. (§ 66. 67.) Here should be placed adjectives like fag-inus (see above), laur-inus, junc-inus, lentisc-inus, which are not very numerous.

Keltic. Perhaps Gall. Mor-ini pl., name of a seacoast tribe (cp. Lat. mar-inus), and others to be found in Zeuss-Ebel G. C. 772.

In Germanic the suffix cannot be traced.

Balt.-Slavonic.

In Lithuanian adjectives of material, origin, kind, are only rarely formed with -ina-, usually with -inis, which shows the further suffix -jo: áuksa-ina- 'golden' from áuksa-s 'gold', sidabr-inis 'silver' from sidabr-s 'silver', medinis 'wooden' from medi-s 'tree, wood', žem-inis 'humble-bee' from žene 'earth', rūksstinis óbalas 'a sour kind of apple' from rūksstas óbalas 'some apple'.

Slavonic -ini: želéz-itni 'of iron' from želézo 'iron' (Lith. gelež-inis 'of iron'), medu-žini medov-ini 'of honey, like honey' from medu 'honey', zem-ini 'earthly' from zemlja 'earth'. Further, some of the adjectives in -ini may belong to this section.

2. -ino-. The accentuation of the suffix was original, as shewn by the Sanskrit accent and by O.H.G. magat-in beside magad.

Indo-Germanic. Cp. Lat. fibr-inus, O.H.G. bibir-in 'of
beaver' beside Avest. bauw-agni-s Lith. bebr-ini-s 'of beaver'. Lat. su-inu-s, Goth. sv-ein n. 'swine', O.C.Sl. sv-inű 'suinus'. Lat. haed-inu-s, Goth. gait-ein-s 'of goats, relating to goats'. Skr. nae-iná-s 'new', O.C.Sl. nes-iná f. 'newly ploughed land, fallow'.

Aryan. In Sanskrit it forms adjectives whose meaning implies relation to something, without specifying the nature of the relation. svatsar-iná-s 'yearlong, yearly' from svatsr-rá-s 'year'. práyág-iña-s 'belonging to the rainy season, rainy'. viśnajan-iña-s 'containing all sorts of people, ruling over all people, blessing all the world' from viśna-janá- 'all the world'. sat-iña-s 'genuine' from sánt- 'true' (cp. állh-iwo-ś and O.H.G. wärr-in). kan-iña-s 'young' from kaná f. 'young girl, maiden' (cp. O.H.G. jung-in). nae-iña-s 'new' from násā- 'new'. aṇjas-iña-s 'leading straight on' from aṇjasu- 'direct, immediate'. Extended formations with -iña- from adjectives of direction in -aṇc- are especially common; e.g. apác-iña-s leaning back' from ápáče-, pratic-iña-s and pratic-.iña-s 'turned towards' from pratyáṇc-.

Greek. Here we have adjectives and substantives derived from adjectives, implying more or less clearly the meaning 'possessing the character or attributes denoted by the original noun'. áγχιστ-ino-ś 'very near together' from áγχιστo-ś. lóνθo-ino-ś 'red mullet' (cp. Mod.H.Germ. rötling 'rudd'). νοακ-ino-ś a sea fish black as a raven', also 'young raven', from nórač 'raven'. κεστo-ino-ś a kind of fish, from késorá a kind of hammer, 'pick'. τυφλo-ino-ś a kind of snake, from τυφλo-ś 'blind'. γελασ-ino-ś 'laugher' from γέλασi-ś; élleyg-ino-ś 'blamer' from élleyg-ś (cp. Goth. ga-láub-ein-s 'believing' O.H.G. huor-in 'libidinosus'). πολυποδ-ino-ś a small kind of polypus. βολβ-ino-ś a kind of bulb. δέλφαν-ino-ś from δέλφας 'swine, sucking pig' (cp. O.H.G. swu-in beside sü). χορ-ino-ś, a kind of sea mussel, from χορo-ś 'sucking pig'.

Italic. The suffix is frequently used to indicate material, origin, kind, that to which anything belongs. Lat. capr-inu-s from caper capra, Umbr. cabriner gen. 'caprini'. Lat. equ-iñu-s from equo-s, Umbr. ekvine loc. 'equini' (borrowed from the Lat.? I § 431 p. 320). Lat. bov-inu-s, can-inu-s, vulp-inu-s,

Keltic. Here perhaps may be classed Gall. Tīc-īnu-s name of a river, ground-form *tēg-īno-, v teg- ‘run, flee, flow’ (O.Ir. techim ‘flee’, Lith. tek-mē ‘small river’, O.CSl. tokū ‘stream’).


-īno- was added to adjectives formed with an l-suffix, e.g. luzzil-īn from luzzil ‘little’, whence there arose in O.H.G. an independent suffix -īlin -ālin, as in huor-īlin ‘wanton’ (beside huor-īn), luog-ālin ‘spying, lurking’.

The neuters of adjectives of material, used substantively, gave rise to diminutives in Germanic; from the meaning ‘belonging to another thing in respect of kind’ it is only a short step to that of ‘subordination’ of ‘having its attributes only to a limited extent’ (cp. Gr. -ων § 63 p. 128). So Goth. gāit-ein O.H.G. geiz-īn ‘kid’ from gāit-eins geiz-īn ‘haedinus’, Goth. gum-ein ‘mannikin’ qin-ein ‘little woman’ from guma ‘man’ qinī
woman', O.H.G. magat-in A.S. mægd-en 'little maid, girl' from O.H.G. magad 'maid, girl'. It is doubtful whether the diminu-
tival sense ever existed in Goth. sw-ein O.H.G. sv-in 'swine',
which strictly belongs to this class of neuters: it would seem
that it was isolated in form by the accentuation of the suffix
(which in a monosyllable could not but be regarded as part of
the root), and so separated from the others in point of meaning.

Balto-Slavonic.

Lith. kaim-yna-s 'neighbour' from këna-s 'precinct, court'
(I § 84 Rem. 2 p. 81), cp. Lat. vic-inus-s. Old neuter forms
appear to be represented by sädüm-ynai pl. 'sweetmeats' from
sädüma-s 'sweetness', kartum-ynai pl. 'bitter things' (kartu-s
'bitter'), and also by collectives like aušul-yna-s 'a number of
oaks standing together, oak grove' from aušula-s 'oak', krüm-yna-s
'thick shrubbery' from krūma-s 'bush', akmen-yna-s 'heap of
stones' from aknū 'stone', ang-yna-s 'nest of adders' from angl-s
'adder'. In these latter cases, the special meaning seems to
have been developed through the contrast of the idea of the
species with that of the individual thing.

In Slavonic we find adjectives of kind and connexion, like
mater-inu 'motherly, of the mother', neprijaszn-inu 'devilish, of
the devil', szvér-inu 'bestial'. Also feminine substantives like
szvér-ina 'flesh of wild beasts', bibros-ina 'beaver-flesh' (cp. Lat.
capr-ina, Lith. ož-ënà); vlūč-ina 'wolfskin', ovič-ina 'sheepskin';
medov-ina 'an intoxicating drink' from medú; mšeč-ina 'moon-
light' from mšeč (cp. Lith. mënés-ënà), and others of the same
sort, cp. § 154.

3. -ažino- can be traced with certainty only in Aryan
and Baltic.

In Sanskrit we find only sāṃtiph-ënà-s 'relating to fire-
wood' from samādh- 'firewood'; no doubt, however, it is con-
tained in the suffix snyà- (an extension of it by -jo-): vīr-
-ënà-s 'manly, heroio' from vīr-à-s 'man, hero', prāvṛṣ-ënà-s
'rainy' beside prāvṛṣ-ëna-s (see above, p. 157).

-aṣna- is common in Avestic to denote material, origin and
the like, as ayan-ah-aṣna- 'of metal, iron' from ayan-, zarán-
The Suffix -tno- -tnā- -tūno- -tūnā-.

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-āena- 'golden' from *zurūna- = Skr. hirana- n. 'gold', erzat- -aena- 'silver' from erzata- (cp. Lat. Argent-īnu-s), temanah- -aena- 'dark, murky' from temah- 'darkness'; neut. fravāxš-ąene-m 'woodwork, pieces of wood, beams' from fravāxša- m. 'branch, twig'. Transferred to the i-declension it becomes -ąeni- , as zarań-ąenī-s.

Lithuanian. -ěna- is common in names of inhabitants, to denote their belonging to or springing from a place, as Tilė-ěna-s 'a man from Tilsit (Tilžė)'. Subst. fem.: ož-ěnā 'goatsflesh', jaum- -ěnā 'bocel', žas-ėnā 'gooseflesh' (cp. Lat. capr-īna, O.C.Sl. zver- -ina); avį-ěnā 'oat-field', rug-ėnā 'rye-field', mėž-ėnā 'barley-field' (cp. Lat. cēp-īna); mėnes-ėnā 'moonlight' from mėnā 'moon' (cp. O.C.Sl. mėses-īna), and other examples.

Remark. It is a point for further investigation whether Lat. altēnu-s, terrēnu-s belong to this group. The Slavonic adjectives of material in -ēnu- like drēs-ēnu 'wooden' olos-ēnu 'leaden' must in any case be left out of consideration, since the change of -ē- to -ē-, as in drōšdij-ēnū 'of yeast' for *drōšdij-ēnū proves that their -ē- represents Idg. -ē-, see I § 76, p. 66.

§ 69. The Suffix -tno- -tnā- -tūno- -tūnā-.

1. This appears in Sanskrit, Latin, Lithuanian, (and Greek?) in adjectives formed from adverbs of time, and in Sanskrit also in some cases from stems with similar meaning.

Sanskrit. From adverbs: pra-tnā-s 'former, old' from prā 'before', nā-tna-s nā-tana-s 'present' from nā 'now', sanā-tāna-s 'not transient, constant, lasting' from sāna- 'from the beginning', prātās-tāna- 'in the morning, early' from prātaḥ 'early', divā-tana-s divā-tana-s 'diurnus' from divā 'by day', cirān-tana-s cirān-tana-s 'coming from olden time' from cirā- 'long ago', śvas-tana-s 'of to-morrow' hyas-tana-s 'of yesterday'. Formed from stems: sanā-tna-s beside sanā-tāna-s, cirā-tna-s beside cirān-tana-s.

Greek. ἕνεκ-τάρω-ς 'lasting for ever'? The etymology of the word has not been satisfactorily explained.

Latin. diū-tni-s, prēs-tni-s, crās-tni-s, sērō-tni-s, prīmō-tni-s.

Lithuanian. dabar-tina-s 'present' from dabar 'now'.
2. Further, it is a primary suffix in Aryan, Latin and Balto-Slavonic, in participles and infinitives, being probably an extension of -to- (§ 79) by a secondary suffix -no- (ep. O.C.Sl. -eninū beside -teinū).

Old Persian shows infinitives in -tanaīy, as car-tanaīy from kar- 'do, make', katanaiy (read kantanaīy, see I § 197 Rem. p. 166) from kan- 'dig'; with these Persian infinitives Bartholomae connects Avest. uivešōfē 'for dwelling in'. To these should no doubt be added Skr. cyāu-trā-m 'preparation, undertaking' Avest. sya-ōna- m. 'deed, work' beside Skr. cyāv-a-te 'bestirs itself, moves', perhaps also Skr. pāt-tana-m 'city', orig. 'stronghold', compare pad- in pi-bd-anā- 'standing fast, firm', ep. also Lat. op-pid-u-m 1).

In Italic tno- appears in the form -ndo- after vowels, 2) in the gerund and gerundive, as *pija-tno-, Lat. pianto-, Umbr. pihaner 'piandi' Osc. ύπσανναμ 'operandum' (for the assimilation of -nd- to -nn- n- in Umbr.-Osc. see I § 506 p. 371). Lat. dando; for *da-tno-, im-plendo- for *plē-tno-. So -bundo- in vagābundus treme bundus etc. for *fā-tno = Lith. bū-tina-s, cp. õaga-bor. secundo- for secū-tno-, cp. secū-tu-s (J. Schmidt, apud Bersu, Die Gutturalen und ihre Verbindung mit v im Lat. p. 134), rotundus for *rotō-tno- from a verbal stem rotō- 'to rotate'. Further, we have the group of forms in -cundus, as rubi-cundus, irā-cundus, fā-cundus, fē-cundus for *cō-tno-, derived from adjectives in -co-, such as *rubico- (whence rubicāre, Rubicō) etc. With the forms in -ō-tno- compare aegro-tu-s from aegro-, Gr. xovra-ō-ς and the like. The change to -ndo- was impossible in forms coming from verbal stems which ended in a consonant (e. g.

1) In Greek only a few uncertain examples have survived, e. g. ἰττανα-τος (Ittēnā-tos) (Hesych.), which may perhaps be identified with Lith. ądeações (ądei-gi-ą).

2) Cp. Lat. papādō for *patmō, beside patēdō, and tendō, Umbr. ostendo 'ostendito', for *te-in-ō, ū-'teni-. That the d of tendō is not the 'root-determinative' d (ধ), as in frem-dō cū-dō clau-dō, is shown by ten-tu-s contrasted with fre(ś)tu-s, in-cūn-s clau-s. This 'determinative' was in fact used to form not present stems but verbal stems. tēnsu-s was formed later by analogy.

Brugman, Elements. II.
*rectno- or *recteno- = Lith. vėštinus, beside velū Lith. vežū), and this gave rise to a variation in form, which was removed by a process of levelling; on the analogy of the relation of pianuda- to pianus piantis, of dando- to dāns dantis, of im-plando- to im-plēns -plentis etc., ferūns produced a gerund-stem ferund-, faciens the stem faciendo- and so on. The Umbr. an-feren 'circumferendi' makes it probable that this development was complete in proethnic Italic. The Latin by-forms with -o- (-n-) like ferundo- faciundo- eundo- must be explained as imitations of the variation -ent- -ent- in the present participle, as e.g. in iēns euntis, flexuntēs and the like (§ 126).

Lith. Participia necessitatis in -tina-s, sūk-tina-s 'torquendus' beside inf. sūk-ti. jėskō-tina-s 'querendus' beside jēskō-ti. minē-tina-s 'memorandus' from minē-ti. cēry-tina-s 'credendus' from cēry-ti. Without the implied meaning of necessity we have bū-tina-s 'being, remaining, actual' from būti 'to be': Lat. -bundus.

In Slavonic we have -tīno-, an adjectival suffix, e.g. pri-jëščiū 'pleasant' (we also find -enīno-, as ne-iz-d-reconīni 'inexpressible').

There was therefore in Indo-Germanic a verbal adjective in -tīno- -tīno- whose neuter was used as an abstract substantive (nomen actionis). The adjectival meaning appears in Latin and Lithuanian, the substantival in Old Persian and Latin. Cp. § 158.

Remark. Compare the Author, 'Der Ursprung der lat. Gerundia und Gerundive', American Journal of Philology VIII (1887) p. 441 ff. In his recently published dissertation 'Die Etymologie der sogen. Gerundivformen' (Königsberg 1888), A. Dōhriing connects the Latin -ndo- forms with the Gr. nouns in -ντός- -ντέος- -ντός- -ντός- as ἀντός- ἀντός- κατός- and accordingly argues for an original Idg. -nyh-. But besides the fact that these Gr. words show no connexion in meaning with the Lat. gerund and gerundive, the Umbr.-Osc. forms with -n- (-n-) can hardly be reconciled with this theory. By the phonetic laws hitherto discovered in the Italic dialects the forms in -ndo- can be referred only to pr. Ital. -ndo-, not to *nyh-. The most recent theory is that of J. Havet (Mém. de la Soc. de lingu., VI et f.) who identifies ferundus with Gr. ἑρωνεός- from *ferumeno- by dissimilation he would derive a supposed form *ferumedo- (what of ferumini?), from this *ferumdo- *ferundo ferundo-; which is simply incredible.
§ 70. The Suffix -teṇā- in Sanskrit, -ανεο-, -ανα- in Greek.

These suffixes are no doubt rightly regarded as very closely connected.

Skr. -teṇā- (neut.) is a secondary suffix having the same meaning as -teṇ- (§ 61); as vasu-teṇā-m beside vasu-teṇ-m ‘riches’, pati-teṇā-m ‘married state’, marīya-teṇā-m ‘the manner of men’. In Avestic -piyana- is primary in a-stao-piyane-m ‘praise, guerdon’.

Gr. -ανα- is secondary in adjectives like δοῦλο-ανα-ς ‘serving’, γνήθο-ανα-ς ‘glad, joyful’, θάφο-ανα-ς ‘confident’ for ἂθροι-ανα-ς (I § 643 p. 482), and in substantives like δοῦλο-ανα ‘service’, κλέπτο-ανα ‘thievery’, μνημο-ανα ‘memory’ (op. § 158). The ending -ο-ανα- became general, whence we have μαντεσάνι from μάντις, θησιο-αναν from θησις, ιεροσανα from ιερις, iεροσανα for ιερος(ι)-ο- from ιερις (Wackernagel, Philol. Anzeiger 1886 p. 73 f.).

Remark. It must be confessed that the phonetic relations of the Greek and Sanskrit suffixes are not clear, since -ανα- cannot be regularly derived from *-to- (which would be related to Skr. -teṇ- as ṣau-; Skr. sāpna-s, an Indo-Germanic variation of ablaut). Should we suppose a doublet in Greek, *-fro- beside *-to-, and that the -o-sound which was regularly developed in -fro- (I § 166 p. 147, § 409 p. 361) afterwards invaded *-to-? Cp. Att. οὖ for ὤ because of οὖ, Hom. πόνερε; beside New-Ion. πόνερε (Lith. ketser), G. Meyer Gr. Gr.² p. 258, Osthoff Paul-Br. Beitr. XIII 425. Or may we assume for Skr. -teṇ- and Gr. -ανα- a common ground-form -λυ-μνα-? Cp. Gr. Ion. ὥμος- for *frofrō- and Skr. vārnma-, for which von Fierling (Kuhn’s Zeitschr. XXVII 473) assumes *moryno- as the common ground-form (here, indeed, the relation of the Greek and Sanskrit forms would be exactly the reverse); add Skr. catur-θα- and Lith. keteiža- for *getap- (I § 155 p. 140).

§ 71. The Suffix -mno- -mnā- (-mno- -mnē-?) and -mno- -menē-, -mono- -mond-?).

In prooeic Indo-Germanic, this suffix formed middle (passive) participles from tense-stems containing the thematic

2) Bechstein, Dé nominibus suffixo mno (mno-) instructis, Curtius’ Stud. VIII 378 ff.
vowel, cp. pres. Skr. bódha-mánā-s Gr. πενθεμένος, fut. Skr. bhótsyá-mánā-s Gr. πενθεμένος, from bheydhi, 'be awake, aware'. We find it in Aryan occasionally, but in Greek universally extended to non-thematic stems, which originally had -νο- -νο- -νο-; see § 65—67 and observe the Remarks on pp. 141 and 152.

It is now impossible to trace the original distribution of the forms which differ in their grade of Ablaut.

In the Umbro-Oscan dialects, and in Balto-Slavonic, -mo- appears with a similar function: we are hardly justified in regarding this as a regular phonetic variant of -mno- (§ 72, I p. 166).

Remark. Sometimes it is difficult to decide whether a particular form contains this suffix or a later extension of -men- by means of -e- -e- as must certainly be assumed in e.g. Avest. aýrγa-mánā- beside aýrγa-

Aryan.

In Sanskrit only -mánā- occurs. Pres. bhára-mánā-s beside indic. mid. bhárá-tē (bhar- 'bear') juśa-mánā-s beside indic. mid. juśa-tē (juś- 'taste, enjoy'), kriyá-mánā-s beside indic. pass. kriyá-tē (kar- 'make'). Fut. yákṣyá-mánā-s beside indic. mid. pass. yákṣyá-tē (yaj- 'rever'). The Ved.perf. part. saśy-máḥ-s beside saś-r-ānā-s, from indic. med. pass. saś-r-ē (sar- 'how') is unique.

In Avestic we find -mna- and -mana-; the latter should no doubt be referred rather to -myna- than to -meno-, since the forms vary merely in accordance with the requirements of the metre. Pres. yaza-mna- beside indic. mid. yazaitē (yaz- 'revere, praise'), barze-mna- barze-mana- 'being great or high', ānha-
mana- beside indic. mid. anheitē = Skr. āsyā-tē I § 558 p. 415 (ah- 'throw'), vaidāya-mna- beside indic. mid. (caus.) vaidāyeitē (vid- 'know'. causal 'make to know, show'). Fut. varśyā-mna- beside indic. mid. pass. varśyēitē ground-form *yeṛk-sje-tai I § 401 p. 296 f. (varś- 'work'). Sometimes also in non-thematic stems, as saya-mna beside say-ana-, from indic. mid. sae-tē (say- 'lie').
Greek. As a living participial suffix only -μενο- occurs. Pres. περο-μενο-ς beside indic. mid. pass. περο-ται (περο- 'bear'), πειλο-μενο-ς πειλομενο-ς beside indic. mid. pass. πειλεται πειλεται (πειλετον 'I love'); side-by side with these we find Delph. Locr. καλεμενο-ς Arcad. διθυομενο-ς, and similar forms elsewhere, whose ending presupposes a form *-ε-μενο-ς. Fut. δοσο-μενο-ς beside indic. mid. δωσε-ται (δωσ- 'give'). -μενο- also established itself in all non-thematic tenses; contrast e.g. pres. τιθημενο-ς beside indic. mid. pass. τιθηται with Skr. दाध-ाना-स (√ दाह- 'set, lay'), perf. गेयुमिनो-स for *गीयुमो-μενो-ς beside indic. mid. pass. I. s. ग्येयु-माः with Skr. ज्युम-ञम-स O.H.G. partic. -κοरαν (√ जेय- 'taste'). The accentuation in the perfect- (Att. -μένος) was no doubt originally -μενός, see I § 676 p. 542 f.

The form -μενο- (op. the last Remark) perhaps occurs in certain formations no longer felt to be participial, as βίλα-μενο-ν 'missile' (το βαλλόμενον) beside βίλος, στα-μενο-ς 'crock' beside τονμι 'I place'.

Italie. In Latin we must refer to this suffix the ending of the 2. pl. -minī, as legi-minī (sc. estis) = λέγο-μενο. The omission of estis, which a priori would be somewhat remarkable, is easily explained if (with Wackernagel, Verhandl. der 39. Philologenversammlung p. 281 f.) we compare the imperative form legimīnī with the Greek infinitive λεγέμενον (§ 117); the indic. legimīnī representing both λεγόμενον and λεγόμαι, caused the imperat. legimīnī to be used only as plural and as mid.-pass.; so conversely, when legimīnī representing λεγέμαι had been so established in the imperative system it caused the omission of the copula in the indicative, -minī being regarded as the ending of the 2nd. pers. The suffix occurs also in fā-mina, i. e. 'she who suckles' (op. Gr. θη-λυ-ς 'giving suck, female'). clēmēns according to Osthoff (Wölfflin's Archiv IV 463) came from *clēmenos for *clē-x-meno-ς, cp. -cλεινο: Skr. क्राया-मान-स. It is doubtful whether this old Lat. -meno- was originally -mēno-, -meno-, or -mono-.

-meno- is seen perhaps in Lat. alumnus-ς, Vertumnus-ς, Volumnus-ς and similar forms (op. the last Remark).
Pruss. *po-klausi-manas* (f) part. 'becoming heard' beside Lith. klausy-ti 'to hearken' is the only form of this kind in the Baltic dialects.

§ 72. The Suffix *mo*- *ma*- *mono*- *mmā*.

There are three classes of forms:

1. *mo* occurs as a participial suffix in Umbro-Samnitic and in Balto-Slavonic, with the same meaning as *meno* (§ 71). It may be related to the *mo* in adjectives like Avest. tā-ma- 'strong', Gr. ἐξερ-μός Lat. for-mu-s 'warm' (see below, 3). At the same time it is perhaps a possible alternative to refer it to *meno* (cp. I § 219 p. 187).

In the above-named Italic dialects, the suffix is found in imperative forms like Umbr. persniih-mu 'precamino, supplicato' Osc. cena-mu-r 'censisimo'.

In Balt. - slāv. *mo* is a living suffix in the pres. part. pass., in Lith. in the fut. part. pass. also, though this is now obsolete. In Pruss. we have *mana* instead; see § 71.

Lith. pres. veša-ma-s 'being or capable of being carried', beside the indic. vešu 'veho', jōja-ma-s beside jō-ju 'I ride', jēško-ma-s beside jēškau 'I seek' (1. pl. jēško-me). Fut. vēszi-ma-s jōsi-ma-s jēškosi-ma-s beside indic. vēsziu (ground-form *vešh+išo) jō-siu jēškō-siu.

O.C.Sl. vezomū beside indic. vezq 'veho', znaje-mū beside znaje-jq 'I know', chvali-mū beside chvalijq 'I praise' (1. pl. chvali-mū).

2. *mono*- *mono* is a superlative suffix in words denoting number, rank, order in space and time, and the like. This suffix is the second element in *tymo* (§ 73). The corresponding comparative suffix is generally *ero*, as *tero* beside the superl. *tymo* (§ 75). A possible derivation is suggested in the Remark on p. 167.

Indo-Germanic. *septmō* (*sepdmō* *sedmō*? see I § 469 p. 345) sept- *tymo*- 'septimus': Skr. saptamā-s Gr. δεκτάμος (see under Greek) Lat. septimū-s O.Ir. sechtm-adj Lith. sēkma-s Pruss. septma-s O.C.Sl. sedmijy- fj; similarly *dekmō* 'decimus' (see under Aryan) and *oktēmō* *oktymō* 'octavus' (see under Balto-Slavonic). *up-mō* *u-pymō* 'uppermost, highest': Skr. upamūp-
Lat. summus for *s-up-mo-s (for the s- see I § 568 p. 425), A.S. ufer-est, cp. comparative Skr. úpára- Lat. s-upero-. *medh-
-yanó- 'midmost' beside *medh-jo-s 'medius' (§ 63, 3 p. 132): Avest.
madema- 'midmost', Goth. miduma subst. f. 'middle' (cp. § 158)
O.H.G. métamo metemo 'mediocrius'; beside these are forms which
have been readjusted to suit the parallel *medhjo-, Skr. madh-
-yaná-s 'midmost' and Goth. midjuma- or midjuman- in midjum-
gards 'the globe' for *midjum(a)-gards (cp. § 40 p. 69), O.H.G.
mittamo m. 'middle' (cp. O.H.G. mittil A.S. middel beside the
more archaic O.H.G. metal 'medius' and Gr. relaro-c beside relar-o-
, novissimus, extremus' from * nefd-o * nefo-o-).

Remark. * septqmó- may be related to the cardinal *sep'ý as the
Gr. πενήδ- to πενε, * pedó- (Skr. mārā-s etc.) to eśnum (§ 74). The ordinal
numeral appears to have been formed by the addition of -o-, cp. Lat.
mō-n-s from *neyqmó- from *neyu (I § 232 p. 197, § 233 p. 198, § 249
p. 205). It is possible therefore that the superlative suffix -mo- was taken
bodily from the the ending of the numerals. Cp. the suffix -to-, which
serves in the same way to form both ordinal numerals and superlatives, § 81.

Aryan. Skr. dasamá- Avest, dasema- 'decimus': Lat. decim-
-nus O.Ir. dechm-ad, common ground-form * deśpmó-. Skr. ap-
amá- Avest. ap-ema- 'most distant, last' beside Skr. apá 'from,
away'. Skr. av-amá- 'lowest, next' from áva 'off, down'. adh-
amá- 'undermost' (ground-form * adhymó-) beside adhás 'below':
the relation of this word to Lat. infimus-s and infinus-s is not clear;
see Ascoli, Sprachwissensch. Briefe 83, and above I § 389
Rem. p. 292 1). par-amá- 'furthest, last, best' from para- 'further'.

In Greek it is rare. ἴδδομο-ς 'septimus' and Herac. Delph.
ίδδημήκοντα for * εδμο- with anaptyctic -o- and -e- (see I § 626
p. 470): O.C.Sl. sedmy-jf etc., see p. 166 above. προ-μο-ς 'fore-
most' from προ- 'before': cp. Umbr. promom, Goth. fra-m. Perhaps

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1) In this Remark there is an error in the translation. The second
sentence should read: "we might regard the f as regular in in-fandó con-
fundó and thence substituted for h in the uncompound word, if there
were more evidence for the suggestion that the word infimus infinus arose
from an old phrase *in fumo 'in humo', etc." [i. e. if we could prove that
pr. It. χ in Latin passed through the stage f on its way to h initially,
and that the compounds infundo confundo infimus were formed just at
that period.]
also πόλιστος 'last' (cp. ἔσοδοματος beside ἔσοδομος, τρις-τος beside τρίτος), although its base is certainly obscure (in J. Schmidt's derivation from ἁντε, as though it came from *(a)nυ-μο- (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 24) the ν presents some difficulty).

Italic. Lat. decimus Osc. dekmannios 'decumanis': Skr. dasmanā- and similar ordinals (see p. 167 above). Lat. summus Umbr. summum pr. Ital. *s-up-mo-s: Skr. upamā-s 'uppermost, highest'. Lat. primus Pelign. prīsmu 'primo' or 'primum' beside prīmus. Lat. imus Osc. imād abl. 'ima'; the word no doubt belongs to O.Ir. is 'below' tichtar 'the lower part'). Lat. minimus, plurimus, brūna (beside brevis); formed from adverbs in mē, extrē-mu-s postremu-s. Osc. pos-mo-m postremum, cp. Lat. pōne for *pos-ne. Umbr. prumum promom 'primum': Gr. πρό-μον (Goth. fra-m; simu 'immo 'ad cimitera, retro'. Umbr. nūvime adv. nonum', a later formation like Skr. naumā-s and O.Ir. nōma-d'nonus'. Umbr.-Osc. nesimo-'proximus' for *nesimo-, no doubt connected with Lat. nectō nexus: O.Ir. nessam 'next' beside the comparative nessa.

-μο- is probably also to be traced in Lat. superlatives like pulcerrimus celerrimus facillimus simillimus (Danielsson, Pauli’s Altital. Stud. III 153). *pulcr-ισ-εμο- *faci-ισ-εμο- (-ισ- is the weakest form of the comparative suffix, cp. pulc-ιορ facil-ιορ) became *pulcresimo- *pulcersimo- and *facilesimo- *facilsimo- (I § 683 p. 473 f.) and then pulcerrimo- facilissimo- (I § 571 p. 429).

Old Irish. The ordinals in -μο- appear to be extended by -eto-, as sechtmad 'septimus' for *septymeto-s, dechnad 'decimus' for *dekymeto-s, undoubtedly through the influence of cōiced 'quintus' sessed 'sextus' (§ 81); similarly in the other Keltic languages, e. g. Mid.Cymr. seithuwt 'septimus'. Cp. Gr. ἕσσωματος on the analogy of ἕξωματος, etc. rem- 'ante, prae', which has lost an initial p (I § 339 p. 268): Goth. fruma Lith. prīma-s 'primus', common ground-form *pre-mo-.

1) See Loth, Mém. de la Soc. de lingo. V. 231 ff. and d'Arbois de Jubainville, ib. VI 55 ff. It is better to refer it to *ik-mo- or *g-mo-, than to *eik-mo-, from which we should expect in Osc. eismo-.
In Keltic this suffix was regularly used to form the superlative. In O.Ir. nessam 'next', and some other forms, -am corresponds to Lat. -imo; see above. On the other hand, -em cannot be identified with -am in e.g. dilem 'pleasanitest' (comp. diliu pos. dil) coemon 'fairest' (comp. coimiu pos. coem) toisigem 'first, most excellent' (comp. toisigu pos. toisech) lugem 'smallest' (comp. laigu) b-am for *-o-em 'youngest' (comp. *-o) m-aam for *ma-em 'greatest' (comp. ma-o). Probably Thurneysen is right in comparing these forms with Latin superlatives like pulcerrimu-s (see above); *dilis-ymo- became *dilisamo-*dilìhum(o)-, finally dilem 1). To such superlative forms the same -em was sometimes added a second time, as uaislimem 'highest' beside the comp. uaisliu pos. uasal, cp. Gr. -taro-§ 81.

Germanic. In prethic Germanic this suffix passed over into the n-declension in adjectives; the Gothic feminine ended in ei gen. -eins, as in the comparatives in -e-os (see §§ 110, 135). In Gothic the forms in -uma also acquired a comparative meaning, so that e.g. inn-uma was sometimes equivalent to the O.H.G. inn-eo (cp. de Saussure, Mélanges Renier 383 ff.). Goth. fru-ma 'prior, primus' (whence frum-ists 'primus'), O.H.G. fruma f. 'use, advantage': O.Ir. rem- Lith. pir-ma-s common ground-form *pf-mo-; contrast with these Goth. O.H.G. fra-m adv. 'forwards', further': Gr. πρό-μο-ς. Goth. auk-uma 'higher, highest', compare auk-m-ists and auk-un-ists 'highest', A.S. įnest = Goth. auhmists. Goth. inn-uma 'inner, innermost' A.S. inn-em-est 'innermost'. Goth. spēd-un-ists 'latest, last' beside spēd-ists. Goth. hleid-uma 'left, āriontiròs', compare no doubt O.H.G. (hält-)ta 'slope, declivity' Gr. κλί-τω 'hill'. A.S. sîd-em-est 'latest' beside sîd-est, lae-em-est 'latest'; nord-m-est 'northernmost' sîd-m-est 'southernmost'.

1) "The loss of an's is indicated both by the medial h of O.British hin-ham 'oldest' for *seni-kan-, and later *heni-kan- (= Ir. *esem), and by the retention of the older teunis before this suffix in Cymric, as in the superlative rhetaf for *rov-hum beside the pos. rhad 'cheap' Whether Gall. Belisamus (a goddess) and Triglicamo- (the river 'Treisam') belong to this group is doubtful." Thurneysen.
In Balto-Slavonic the suffix is rare. Lith. ėsžma-s Pruss. acc. asma-n O.C.Sl. ėsmy-jī 'octavus' pr. Balt.Slav. *ōs(t)-mo-: Skr. aṣṭamā- Avest. aṣṭema- O.Ir. ochtn-ad: this word, in spite of the agreement of several languages, can scarcely have been formed until after the separation of the Indo-Germanic families, as was Skr. navamā- Umbr. nuvime. Lith. pir-ma-s Lett. pir-mā-is Pruss. pir-mois 'primus': O.Ir. rem- Goth. fruma.

3. -mo- with other functions. It forms substantives, and adjectives. There are only a few groups of words which by their parallelism in form and meaning constitute a special class, as e.g. the Greek abstract substantives in -μό-ς. The substantives are generally masculine, more rarely feminine, and the neuter very seldom appears.

-mo- is used as a denominative suffix in several languages, but this use is on the whole rare and no doubt a secondary development.

Where the suffix is primary, the root syllable, from the very earliest period, varies between the weak and the strong grade of ablaut; in the latter case, in roots of the e-series, the o-form seems to have been regular in the proethnic and later periods. It is common to find forms of the strong and weak grade in the same word, e.g. Gr. ἀθ-μό-ς: τομ-μό-ς, Skr. dhi-mā-s: O.H.G. tou-m, Gr. ἀθ-μό-ς: Skr. ḍo-ma-s, Skr. idh-má-s: Avest. aṣ-ma-(I § 94 p. 88); this indicates an original variation of ablaut within the same paradigm (cp. Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 127 f.).

In a large number of cases -mo- is closely connected with -men- (§ 117). In e-roots, where both suffixes are found side by side and the root-syllable has e, as in Gr. κυνη-μό-ς beside κυνη-μον 'hiding-place', O.C.Sl. zì-ma 'winter' beside Gr. ἁρ-μον 'storm, winter', the presumption is in favour of the greater antiquity of the men-formation. In many instances there has obviously been a confusion of the two. In compound words, the mo-form was substituted for men- both in the Indo-Germanic period and later (§ 12 p. 27) 1).

1) For the process of substitution in the use of the suffixes a reference may now be added to J. Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 296 ff.
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Idg. *dhū-mō- 'ebullition, smoke': Skr. dhūmā-s, Gr. θῦμος ('spirit, passion'), Lat. fūmum, Lith. pl. dūmai, O.CSl. dūnū, add O.H.G. tū-mōn 'to turn one's self in a circle'; beside this we have *dhōy-mō- in O.H.G. toum 'vapour, fume'. *tu-mō- *tū-mō-from √ tey- 'swell, grow strong': Skr. redupl. tā-tumā- Avest. tāna- 'strong', Mod.Cymr. tu-f 'vigor' (a borrowed word?), O.CSl. tīma f. 'great number' (there are many extended formations from the -mo-stem, as Skr. tām-ra- 'fat, strong'; Lat. tūmus, O.H.G. dümo m. 'thumb'); with these compare *tou-mō- in O.H.G. thauum doum 'vapour', which was confused with toum. *y-mō- 'arm, something bowed or bent': Skr. ārmā-s Avest. ar'ma- Armen. arm-un Lat. arnus O.H.G. aram O.CSl. rami. *ghi-mo- *ghi-mā: Skr. hīmās 'cold' hi-mā 'winter' Avest. zīmā-m. 'winter', Armen. jm-er (gen. jm-eran) 'winter' for jm-er (for the suffix compare amain 'summer'), Gr. ἱδρύμος 'exposed to dangerous storms, fearful', Lat. bīmum-s for *bi-hīmu-s (I § 510 p. 374 § 604 p. 458); the vocalism of Idg. *ghej-men- (Gr. χυμος) appears in Lith. bėmā. O.CSl. zīma 'winter'; and we can trace the form *gheim- *gheim-in Avest. xemā, gen. xim-o 'winter's frost' Gr. χειμ 'snow' Lat. hiems (§ 160, 2). *stt-mō- (ep. Skr. styā- 'curdle, thicken', also connected with Goth. stā-n-s): Skr. stimā- 'lazy, creeping' pra-stimā- 'pressed, heaped', Mid.H.G. stim m. 'bustle, confused mass' O.Icel. stem n. 'wrestling, trouble' (Lith. styimas and styma 'shoeal of moving fish' are no doubt borrowed from Scandinavian, cp. Swed. stim 'tumult, shoeal of tumbling fish'); Mid.H.G. stei-m 'turmoil' shows a stronger form of the root. *ghor-mō-s (√ gher-): Skr. gharinā-s 'heat' Avest. gar'ma- 'warm' gar'me-m 'warmth' (see especially I § 78 p. 69, § 445 p. 331), Lat. fūmus-s, O.H.G. warm 'warm', Pruss. gorm-e 'heat'; beside these, with e, Armen. ferm 'warm', Gr. ἑρωμός 'warm'. ἑρωμ 'warmth'. *oj-mo- 'way' (√ ej-): Skr. es-mā-s 'way, path' Gr. οἶωμα- oē-mη 'path, tract'.

For its use as a secondary suffix there seems to be only one example which we can regard as proethnic: Skr. dru-ma-s 'tree' Gr. δρυ-μα pl. 'wood' δρυ-μος 'woodland', beside Skr. dru-Gr. δρυ- 'wood'.

It is secondary only in Skr. dru-ma- (see above p. 171) and dya-mā- ‘clear, shining’ from dya- die- ‘brightness, day’.

Armenian. arm-ukan ‘elbow’, jm-eru ‘winter’, jerm ‘warm, see above under Idg., p. 171.

Greek. ἄρομα ‘hunger’ λοκ-μό-ς ‘plague, pestilence’: cp. Skr. sri-ma-s ‘nightly spectre’ from √ slei- ‘hurt’. Substantives with the strong-grade of the root-syllable are not uncommon: ὁφ-μη ‘onset’: Skr. sár-ma-s ‘flow, flowing’ perhaps also O.H.G. stur-m ‘storm, fight’ (stur- for sr-, cp. I § 580 p. 433 f.); τοφ-μος- what is bored, a hole’: O.H.G. dar-m O.Icel. par-mor ‘intestine’ (i.e. ‘that which goes right through the body’, or ‘the channel through which the food passes’); φλογ-μος- ‘brand’ (φλέγω); πλοχ-μό-ς ‘lock of hair’ (πλέκω); ὅλ-μος- ‘cylindrical body, mortar’ (ἔλω); ὅφ-μος- ‘cord, necklace’ (cp. ἔρμα); λόχ-μη ‘thicket, bushes’ (λέχος). Further we have examples with weak vocalism: κρημό-ς ‘frost’ (for *κρο-μο-. beside κρυσ-ταλλω), ὅφ-μό-ς ‘drink, drinking-place’, πτερ-μό-ς ‘sneeze’. In forming abstract verbal nouns -μο- was very fertile,
e. g. μυγ-μός-ς μυχ-μός-ς ‘groan’ (beside μύγω μέμικα), ἵγυ-μός-ς ‘shriek’ (beside ἰδεικ), ἄδικ-μός-ς 'lamentation' (beside ὀδόρομαι), ἀρπαγ-μός-ς ‘plundering’ (beside ἀρπαῖος), κραγ-μός-ς ‘calling out’ (beside κράτων — for the γ see I § 486 Rem. p. 359), μερισμός-ς ‘division’ (beside μερίζω — for the -σ- see below). Feminines of the same kind are: πυγ-μη 'fight with fists', τί-μη 'estimation, honour', χάρ-μη 'joy of battle, battle', ἀκ-μη 'edge, sharpness', γνώμη 'intend, opinion', μνήμη 'memory', ἐπιστήμη 'science'.


-ς-μο- according to Morph. Unt. I 81. occurs in δασιμός-ς 'division' beside δασίμαι, οἰσμός-ς 'push' beside οἴσομαι, ἀφλωσμός-ς 'foam' beside πελώσας, ὀσμή beside older ὀδ-μη 'smell', σμαμός-ς 'split' beside σμίως, and in substantives in -ιμός-ς and -αμός-ς connected with derivative verbs in -ίζων, -αζων, as μενισμό-ς ακοντισμό-ς ἐνθοσμό-ς. Yet it may also be assumed (cp. Solmsen Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 123) that in such forms there was originally only -μο- (which would give us *δασμό-ς *οἰσμό-ς ὀδημη); that then, where perfect forms in -αι- -σμενα -σμενο-ς (the σ came from -σκα, δέαςμαι being formed on the model of δέαςα) occurred in the paradigm of the verb, the σ from these forms took the place of the explosive; and that afterwards, on the analogy of such words, the explosive was replaced by σ in other instances (e. g. ὀδημη). The occurrence of -μο- and -σμο- side by side in derivatives of these dental stems led to the substitution of -σ- for σ in several of the forms in -Θμο- mentioned above, as ἔσμονς instead of ἕθη-μος-ς, ἱσμη instead of διη-Θμη, δασιμός-ς for (Lacon. and other dial.) δε-Θμος. Cp. -σμεν- § 117.
-mo- is secondary in ἰβή-μο- (p. 171), and also in the adjectives in ἱμο-, which were derived from i-stems; as φυίζμο-ς 'protecting, whither one can flee' (from φυίζ-τ 'flight'), βάσμο-ς 'that can be traversed, safe' (from βάσις-τ 'a going'), λίμμο-ς 'that can be ransomed' (from λίμνις-σ 'ransom'); on the model of these were formed ἄλκμο-ς 'strong', νόσμο-ς relating to one's return, νόμιμο-ς 'lawful' and others. It occurs also in ἱττ-μο-ς ἱτητ-μο-ς 'true, genuine' (cp. ἱτις for ἱτιτ-μο-ς).

Italic. Lat. lū-mu-s 'crooked' lū-mi- 'crossway, dividing line, boundary', Osc. liμίtū[m] 'limitum': the Oscan word cannot have arisen from *lixmo- (cp. lizula) which would have become *limmo- in Oscan, and if this derivation is correct, it must have been borrowed from Latin. Osc. eg-mo 'res, stem eg-ma-.


Lat. dānu-s (dusmo in loco Paul. Fest.), rānu-s no doubt for *rād-mo- ground-form *yfd-mo-, beside rādi-x, with other examples. The neuter is rare: pō-mu-m, ar-ma. There are a fairly large number of feminines: lī-ma, rā-ma (beside rā-men), rī-ma, gem-ma etc.

-ma- is secondary in lācrē-ma lācri-ma: cp. Gr. δάκρυ 'tear'.

Old Irish. le-m m. 'elm' ground-form *el-mo-): Lat. il-mu-s, O.H.G. il-m O.Icel al-m-r 'elm'. lū-m f. 'hand': Gr. παλά-μη Lat. pal-ma O.H.G. fol-mu 'hand, flat hand'. rī-m f. 'number', ὀραμ f. 'number, counting' for *ad-rīm (cp. I § 623 Rem. 1 p. 469, § 634 p. 474 f.): cp. O.H.G. rī-m Gr. ὀρ-μό-ς p. 173. O.Ir. gōr-m. 'blue' Mod.Cymr. guir-m 'dusky': Skr. ghr-μ-ν- 'I shine'? (see Curtius Grdz. a 494). O.Ir. hua-m 'celox': cp. Lith. plaž-s-μa-s 'raft'.

Infinitival nomina actionis are formed with -mā-; as cretem 'faith, believing', sechem 'a following'.

Germanic. O.H.G. bodam m. 'bottom': cp. Gr. νυθ-μηρ
'ground,' bottom,' (cp. Kauffmann, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 537). Goth. hāi-mōs pl. fem. 'villages, market-towns,' O.H.G. hei-m 'dwelling': Lith. kē-ma-s 'village, farm' kaim-yна-s 'neighbour'. O.Icel. strau-m-r O.H.G. strō-m 'stream': we should doubtless add (with orig. oy) Lett. strām-m-e f. 'stream,' and (with a) Thrac. Σρφ-μη a town on the Lissos; compare with these *srey-men- (§ 117). A.S. far-m 'n' going, pressing forward' O.H.G. far-m 'boat': cp. Gr. νοη-θ-μοκ 'ferry'. O.H.G. halm 'stalk' O.Icel. hál-m-r 'straw': Gr. κικα-μο-ς 'reed, stalk,' Lat. cul-mu-s, Lett. sal-m-s O.C.Sl. sla-ma f. 'stalk'; pr. Germ. *χalmo- may represent either *kol-mo- or *kλ-μο- (I § 306 p. 242 f.). O.H.G. fadam m. 'fathom, ulna' A.S. fathmōs pl. 'both outstretched arms' O.Icel. fadmr 'cord, fathom, embrace': cp. O.Cymr. etem 'fathom'. Goth. dō-m-s O.H.G. tuo-m 'sentence, trial, standing, worth': Gr. ευ-μο-ς 'stack,' from ἕνα dhē- 'set, place'; beside it we have *dhē-men- (§ 117).

Goth. rā-m-s 'room, roomy' O.H.G. rā-m m. 'room': cp. Avest. rāv-aḥ- 'road, free way.' O.H.G. slā-m m. O.Icel. skā-m n. 'foam.' Forms with the 'high' grade of ablaut (o-grade in -a-roots) are far commoner. We may add O.H.G. bar-m O.Icel. bar-m-r 'womb' ('that which bears,' ἕνα bher-); O.H.G. zau-m O.Icel. tau-m-r 'bridle, rein' pr. Germ. *tauzy-mā- 'that which pulls or is pulled,' ἕνα deyκ- 'ducere').

A smaller number of forms have e in the root syllable; von Bahder (Verbalablstr. 136 f.) assumes that these were originally me- stems; as O.H.G. melm m. 'dust' beside O.Icel. maɪmr 'metal' and Lith. melmō, gen. melmeĩš, 'nephritic stone.' Cp. further O.H.G. atum A.S. athom 'breath' pr. Germ. *éb-ma- (for the history of the original tenuis in Germanic see Kögel, Literaturbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil. 1887 no. 3) beside O.Fris. erhna 'breath,' Skr. at-mān- 'breath, soul.'

Several instances of -t-mo- occur (cp. Gr. -τ-μο p. 173), as Goth. mōt-jm-s A.S. mē-thom 'present, jewel' beside Gr. μο-θο-ς 'thanks, payment,' Lat. mō-tuo-s, Lith. mā-ta-s 'barter'; O.Sax. braht-tum 'noise' beside O.Sax. O.H.G. braht 'noise'; O.H.G. brā-dam 'vapour, steam, exhalation' beside A.S. brād
f. 'vapour' (cp. Bremer, Paul-Br. Beitr. XI 279); O.H.G. krän-
dam 'shriek' beside O.H.G. hano-krät 'cock-crow' (cp. Bremer
loc. cit.); Mid.H.G. bladem 'wind' beside O.H.G. blæt 'breath,
fulness'.

Remark. The different explanation of the latter forms given by von
Bahder, Verbalabstr. 144 does not convince me.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. pl. dū-mai O.C.Sl. dy-mu 'smoke':
Skr. dhū-mā-s etc., see p. 170 above. Pruss. īrno 'arm' (perhaps
nom. sing. of an n-stem, like Lith. -mā) O.C.Sl. ramo beside
rāmę 'shoulder': Skr. ār-mā-s etc., see p. 171 above. Lith. szál-
ma-s 'helmet' (Pruss. salni-s): Goth. hilm-s O.H.G. helm 'helmet',
Skr. sār-man n. 'shelter, protection, armour'; may we therefore
assume *Idg. *kōl-mo- and *kel-men-? O.C.Sl. sramu 'shame':
O.H.G. haram O.S. hurm 'insult, outrage'.

Lithuanian. Masculines are rare; szār-ma-s 'potash', at-
szlai-ma-s 'fore-court' (√kėj- 'clinare'). Feminines are more
common, as tar-ma (also tarmē) 'statement', szar-ma 'rim, frozen
dew', važ-ma 'payment of fare'. On the other hand, there are
many masculines formed with -s-ma-s, as garsma-s 'call' from
*gard + sna- beside garša-s 'noise' from *gard + sa-s (gird-mi
gird-ziu 'I hear'), varšma-s 'the length of a furrow' for *vart-sma-
laŋk-sma-s 'bending', valk-sma-s 'pull, draught', kaŋk-sma-s 'howl',
rek-sma-s 'roar', cp. also -s-mē in drausmē 'training', Lett. drusma
'threat' beside Lith. draudziu 'I protect, forbid', bausmē 'punish-
ment' beside buandziu 'I punish', gēsmē Lett. dēsma 'song' be-
side Lith. gēd-mi 'I sing', etc. Adj. szir-ma-s Lett. sīr-m-s 'grey'.

-īma-s -yma-s form abstract verbal substantives from
any given verb, as sukima-s 'a turning' from sūk-ti 'to turn',
sākyma-s 'saying' from sakē-ti 'to say'. How (i.e. from what
model) this group of forms took its rise is doubtful; cp. also
jaunima-s 'the dance of youth, company of young folks' from
jauna-s 'young', minkštima-s 'soft part of bread' from minksta-s
'soft'.

Secondary: tōli-ma-s 'distant' from tōli adv. 'afar', ārty-ma-s
'near' from ārti adv. 'near'.

The secondary suffix -ūma-s forms abstract substantives.
This arose in forms like *grāṣu-ma-s 'beauty' from grāṣu-s 'beautiful', on the model of which were formed such words as sausūma-s 'dryness' from sausā-s 'dry'. By the side of this we find -umā used to denote some part of the land, as lygu-mā 'a level place' (beside lygu-ma-s 'levelness, the being level') from lygu-s 'even, level', sausumā 'dry place'.

O.C.Sl. kos-mū and kos-ma 'hair'. u-mū 'thought, understanding', no doubt connected with Skr. av- Lat. aevère and therefore similar in formation to Skr. o-ma-s 'helper' (p. 172). glu-mū 'sport, scene' glu-ma 'licentiousness'. -s-mo- is the suffix in usmū uisma 'indumentum, corium', if the word is connected with ob-u-ti 'to cover the feet'.

§ 73. The Suffix -tṝmo- tṝma-, forming superlatives. We may analyse it as -tṝmo-, and the second element -tṝmo- is itself a superlative suffix (§ 72, 2 p. 166 ff.). As a single indivisible suffix, -tṝmo- must have been rare in the Indo-Germanic period.

-tṝmo- is linked with the comparative -tero- (§ 75) in the same way as -yamo- with -ero-, cp. Goth. af-tuma: O.H.G. afero aftero and Skr. ap-amā-s: Skr. āp-ara-s Goth. afer; further Skr. ut-tamā-s: Skr. ut-tara-s Gr. ἐν-τέρο-ς and A.S. ǣt-emest (an extension of an original *at-ema): Skr. ud-arā- ād-arā- ('belly') O.H.G. ãg-ro. -tero- however had become an independent suffix earlier than -tṝmo- and it appears from the evidence of the different languages that it was widely used even in the proto-ethnic period.

Indo-Germanic. *tṝkṣit-tṝmo- or *tṝkṣit-tṝmo- 'tri-cesimus': Skr. tṛṣat-tamā-s (i for ī is hysterogenous) Lat. tricēnisimus tricēsimus- (s- for -ss-, see I § 501 p. 367 f.): compare (and contrast) Gr. τρίκσωστός i.e. τρικσωντ- -τος. Similarly Avest. viṣāṣtama- (Skr. viṣat-tamā-s) 'vicēsimus' Lat. vicēnisimus vičēsimus-s: compare and contrast Gr. ἱκώστος Boeot. ἱκώτος (I § 238 p. 199 f., § 501 p. 367 f.).

Skr. án-tama-s 'innermost, nearest, intimate', Lat. in-timu-s: cp. the comparative Skr. án-tara-s 'inner' Gr. ἐν-τέρο-ν 'entrails', Lat. inter-iōr, besides Gr. ἐν and Lat. in; besides these we
have Gr. ἵ-ρός Lat. in-tus, so that we may fairly compare the relations of Skr. adhānā-s : adh-ara-s : adh-ās and *pr-мо-

Skr. ka-tamā-s 'which (of several)?', Lat. quo-tumus beside quo-tus-: cp. compar. Skr. ka-tārā-s Gr. πό-τερος.

Aryan. Skr. pra-thamā-s Avest. fra-tema- O.Pers. fra-
tama- 'primus' (the th of the Skr. form follows cathur-thā-
and the like) beside the compar. Skr. pra-tarā-m Avest. fra-
tara-; Gr. πρό-μος Umbr. pro-mo-m Goth. fra-m § 72, 2 p. 167 show a more ancient formation. Skr. sahasra-tamā-s Avest. həxa-xo-tema- 'millesimus', Skr. sata-tamā-s 'centesimus', ahi-ta-
tamā-s 'octogesimus' etc. The feminines of these numerals have in Sanskrit -tam-i instead of -tamā.

Skr. ut-tamā-s 'highest, uppermost, best' Avest. us-tema-
'outermost', beside Skr. úd 'up, out' compar. úttara-: cp. Gr. ὀστερος 'latest' compar. ὀστερο-

Even in proto-ethnic Aryan -tama- was the regular superlative ending for adjectives whose comparative was formed with -tara-. Where it was added to a-stems, their final -a- was in Avestic almost entirely replaced by -s-; cp. the same phenomenon in compounds, as dāevō-dāta-, § 25 p. 42. Skr. yajñiya-tama-
Avest. āesnyō-tema- 'most honourable', Skr. ugra-tama- Avest. urō-tema- 'strongest, mightiest'. Some words however have -a-
in Avestic, e.g. ainoyāma-tema- 'most helpful'. Skr. vāhni-tama-
'carrying best', Avest. hūbaodi-tema- 'with sweetest scent or perfume'. Skr. ama-vat-tama- Avest. ama-vas-tema- 'most violent, strongest, mightiest'. Skr. mīdh-uṣ-tama- 'most gracious', Avest. jaymuṣ-tema- 'most helpful'. Skr. ṣṛṣau-tama- 'manliest, strongest'.

-tama- is sometimes added as an intensive suffix to superlative forms in (Ar.) -iśtha-, as Skr. śrēṣṭha-tama- from śrēṣṭha-
'brightest, most glorious', Avest. vaḥišṭō-tema- from vaḥišta-
'best'.

It was affixed to substantival stems, as Skr. maṭy-tama-
most motherly', Avest. daevō-tema- 'most devilish'.

The Suffix -t̄a-ma-

§ 73.
Skr. ka-tamā- 'which (of several) beside kā-tara- 'which (of two)', interrogative. ya-tamā- 'which (of many) beside ya-tarāf 'which (of two)', relative.

Italic. vičēsimu-s trīcēsimu-s, see p. 177 above. Later analogical forms are cent-ēsimu-s mill-ēsimu-s mult-ēsimu-s.

in-timu-s, ex-timu-s, ci-timu-s, ul-timu-s. dex-timu-s, sinis-timu-s. mari-timu-s, fini-timu-s, lēgi-timu-s, originally meaning 'most closely connected with the sea, with a boundary, with law'. op-timu-s, in inscr. also opi-timu-s (differently regarded by von Fierlinger in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 478, who derives it from a verbal stem ṣ-pet- 'strive after, wish'). sollis-timu-s. Umbr. hon-domu 'infimo' beside compar. hon-dra 'infra' Osc. hu[n]truis 'inferis', beside Lat. humu-s, see I § 207 p. 174.

-simo- occurs as well as -timo-, but its -s- cannot be derived from -t- merely by phonetic change. maximu-s, archaic ōximē (beside ōcissimē), medioximē-s (cp. medioc-rī-s). The most common ending is -is-simu-s (cp. sollis-timu-s), which no doubt drove out an older -is-to-s (§ 81), as pot-issimu-s, alt-issimu-s. -issimo- was also added to superlatives with intensive force, especially in later times, e. g. postrem-issimu-s, minim-issimu-s. It is added to the stems of substantives in the language of the comedians, as patru-issimu-s. But it is doubtful whether the formation with -simo- -issimo- is in any way connected with tymo-.

Remark. In Morph. Unt. III 135 I explained these forms as modelled upon the -ens(s)imo- of the numerals. We might also with Osthoff (Zur Gesch. d. Perf. 542) regard pessimu-s beside pējor as another form that served as a type for the new development in -issimo-, since the s in this word as well as in the numerals arose by a regular phonetic process, whether we accept Cörsen's or W. Schulze's derivation (see Osthoff loc. cit., Schulze, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 428, Stolz Lat. Gr. p. 230). On the other hand, Stolz (loc. cit.) holds that -simo- was taken from *plūsimo- (plūrimo-) before the law of rhetacism came into operation. According to § 72 p. 168 we could also regard forms like *pulcr-is-emo *pulcrismo- as prototypes of the formation. Danielesson on the other hand (Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 168. 92) starts from the two words maximus, oxīme, which he analyses macer-imo- őc-imē, regarding the first elements as comparative stems for *mahīs-, *ōcīa- (cp. plūr-umē plūr-ima-s and the like § 72 p. 168), and supposing that it was these forms which led to the analogical
change of -istimo- to -īshino-. Danielsson compares with these forms Umbr. Osc. nesimo- O.Ir. nesseam 'next' (beside the compar. O.Ir. nesêa). But the assumption of syncope, which is required by the supposed forms in -is-ymo- ("mah-ēs-ymo-, *ōō-is-ymo-“) cannot be allowed without considerable hesitation (see p. 168); hence it is very doubtful whether Danielsson's explanation of maximus etc. can be allowed. Can *neks- and Lat. *max- contain the weak form of an old es-stem (cp. Skr. mahās- 'greatness' mahās- 'great')? The whole question needs further investigation.

Germanic. What was said of -uma- (§ 72, 2 p. 169) also applies to the inflexion of -tuma- and its meaning in Gothic. Goth. af-tuma 'hinder, hindmost, latter, last', A.S. af-tem-est 'hindmost'. Goth. hin-dum-ists 'outermost' A.S. hin-dema 'hindmost, last'. Goth. if-tuma 'next': Gr. ēnī 'on, to'. A.S. neodem-est, see p. 178 above.

§ 74. The Suffix -ro- -rā-, -pro- -γρα-.

On the variation between -pro- and -ro- see I § 287 p. 229.

This suffix was both primary and secondary from the earliest period; but the latter use is comparatively rare.

In its primary use the root syllable has generally the weak grade of ablaut; as we should therefore expect, the accent falls on the suffix, e. g. *spo-rō-. Sometimes we have a variation of ablaut in the root, as Skr. chid-rā-s 'perforated': Lith. skéd-rā 'splinter'; Gr. ἱδρός 'clear, bright': aiθ-ρα 'bright weather'; Gr. ἔρο-ς: Lett. suol-dī pl. 'sweat'; O.H.G. bitt-ar: Goth. baidd-rē 'bitter'; O.H.G. munt-år 'cheerful': O.C.Sl. maq-rū 'wise'.

In some words -ro- seems to be connected with the γ-[f] ending of the nom. acc. neut. (§ 118); cp. e. g. Idg. *ud-ro-: Gr. ιδ-ωρ O.H.G. wagg-ar; Gr. πις-ρός πις-ρός 'fat': πις-ρό 'fat' (subst.); ἡμ-ρα: ἡμαρ 'day' (cp. also Armen. aur, gen. aur, 'day'); Gr. ἔρ-ς Goth. ē-ra- 'year': Avest. ṣya- 'year' (for further examples see Morph. Unt. II 232). It is also connected with -er- (§ 119), cp. e. g. Idg. *us-ro-: Skr. uṣ-ār- 'early light' Gr. ἔρ-ι 'in the early time' from *dus-er; Gr. aiθ-ρα: aiθ-ηρ

the pure light of heaven'; further with the comparative -(t)ero-
(§ 75).

This suffix formed adjectives and substantives both in the
proethnic and in later periods of Indo-Germanic; the substan-
tives were chiefly concrete. In the separate languages -ro- was
rarely fertile to any great extent; Gr. -η-ρο- in πορηχος etc.
is an exception.

Indo-Germanic. *rudh-ró- (in Skr. ṭṛó-) 'red': Skr. rudh-
irá-s, Gr. ἐρυθρός, Lat. ruber rub-ra, O.Icel. roð-ra f. 'blood',
O.C.Sl. rüd-rá. *sk(h)id-ró- and ṭṛó-: Skr. chid-rá-s 'perforated'
chid-rá-m 'hole, interruption, break' chid-irá-s 'axe, sword', Gr.
σκόπως 'thin, weak, breakable', O.H.G. scet-ar 'thin, defectible',
Lith. (with a different grade of ablaut) skiod-rá 'splinter'. *spa-ró-
from √spē- 'to expand' (Lat. spēs spatum &c.): Skr. sphi-rá-
fat, great, rich', Lat. pro-sper -spera (for *-spa-ro-, like réd-
dere: dáre, see I § 97 p. 91), O.C.Sl. spo-rá 'rich'. Skr. iš-
irá-s 'quick, lively, fresh', Gr. ἴσχυς Lesb. ἴσχυς for
*is-ρο- (Lesb. ἴσχυς beside ἴσχυς, like gen. μυρός beside μυρός;
and the like) and Coreyr. ἰσχύς Boeot. ἰσχύς for *is-ρο- 'lively,
fresh, strong, healthy'; for Att. ἵσχυς, see below. Skr. us-rá-s
'belonging to the morning' beside us-r-ītā 'brightness', Gr. ἀγγε-
λευγός 'near morning' (adj.) ἀγγελο-ν 'on the morrow' for *av-o-ko-
(*avus- or *avus-) ; ep. also Lith. aus-rá 'red of the morning',
whose ss no doubt was borrowed from aitos 'it drowned' (ep.
I § 414 Rem. p. 303 f.). *ud-ro- (in Gr. also -ρο-) beside Skr.
ud-án- 'water': Skr. an-udrá-s 'waterless' sam-udrá-s 'billowy,
the sea', Gr. ὑδατός 'watery' ἀρ-υδατός 'waterless'; and meaning
a 'water-creature', Skr. ud-rá-s 'a creature that lives in water',
Gr. ὕδατος ὕδατι 'watersnake' O.H.G. ott-ār O.Icel. otr- 'otter',
Lith. ūd-rá O.C.Sl. eyd-ra 'otter'. Skr. vi-rá-s 'man, hero', Lat.
vī-r, O.Ir. fe-r Goth. vai-r Lith. vī-rā-s 'man'. *ag-ro-s 'pasture,
level meadow, field' from √ag- 'drive': Skr. āg-rā-s Gr. ἀγρός-
Lat. ager (gen. aghost) Goth. ak-r-s.

-ro- in secondary use. *tems-ro- 'dark' (the neut. or
fem. can be used as an abstract subst., see § 158) beside Skr.
tām-as- n. Lith. tam-s-ás f. 'darkness': Skr. tamis-ṛa-m tāmis-ṛa
49
'darkness, dark night' Avest. tāb-ra- for *tams-ra- *tansra- 'dark')], Lat. teneb-rae pl. (cp. I § 570 p. 429), Mid.Dutch deenster (-es-ro) O.H.G. dinstar (-s-ro-) 'dark' with parasitic -t- (I § 580 p. 433 f.), Lith. tams-ra-s 'light bay coloured' of a horse (the root has the weak grade of ablaut).

Beside Skr. pī-van- Gr. πί-(f)ων 'fat' (adj.) and Skr. pī-vas-n. 'fat' (noun) we must recognise Idg. *pī-ye-ro- 'fat' (adj.): Skr. pīva-rā- Gr. πίσ-ός (fem. pīva-rī, pīva-θα for *πίσθο-θα), cp. also Gr. πίσ-θει πίσ-τευο-ς; for πίσθο-ς see below. Similarly Gr. ἡ-με-να 'day' compared with the stem ἡ-μεν- implied in the pl. ἡ-με-να-τα. For the -e- of these compound suffixes -ye-ro- -me-ro- cp. Gr. φοβε-φό-ς 'fearful', from φόβο-ς, etc. (Skr. phēna-la-s 'foamy' from phēna-ς 'foam'). But -ro- can hardly be secondary in Gr., πτ-ε-ρό-ν 'feather, wing' Skr. pat-a-rā- 'flying' Avest. pat-a-ra-, which is implied in hu-patar'ata- 'well winged', (contrast *petra- 'feather' in O.Icel. fjöðr O.H.G. fedara); it is far more likely that here, as in Skr. pát-a-tra-m 'wing', -e- is the 'thematic vowel' (cp. Gr. πτ-ε-σθα, πτερ-ε-σθα); cp. also Gr. σχε-φό-ς 'continuous' beside σχε-φό-ς σκε-φό-ς σχ-δ-ς. It is quite possible that originally -e-ro- was always a primary suffix, and only became secondary when it was popularly connected with nominal e- : o-stems.

Aryan. Since Idg. r and l are indistinguishable in the Aryan languages (I § 254 p. 207 f.), it is often difficult to separate -ro- and -lo-. In some cases the meaning vouches for -lo-, e. g. vyā-la-s 'mannikin, small man' (see § 76). Often the other languages give us a criterion, since in them Idg. l and r remained distinct.

Skr. sā-ra- Avest. sā-ra- 'strong, grand': Gr. α-κρό-ς 'weak, ineffective'. Skr. jī-rā- 'lively, quick, active' Avest. pāravi-jīra- 'very active' daema-jīra- 'quick of eye, with quick

1) If this explanation of the Avestic word is correct, we might compare the p with the same sound in aiwei-jīra- from sū-ra-, (see Bartholomae Hdb. § 144). No other example of -un- -an- appears to occur, and thus there can be little serious objection to our assuming that it was just in this group of consonants that p was regularly developed.
§ 74. The Suffix -ro- -rā-, -tro- -tū-. 183


Skr. śīk-irā śīth-ūlā- 'loose, unsteady': Gr. xaγ-aro- ć 'open, free, pure'. Skr. man-d-irā-m 'lodging, dwelling, room, house' Gr. μάνδ-γα 'fold, pen, stall'; Skr. mand-urd 'stable' either has -urd- for -frā- (cp. however I § 290 p. 231 f.) or may be an extension of a stem *mandu-.

With Skr. pata-rā- 'flying' (see p. 182) compare drava-rā- 'running', ny-ōca-rā- 'suited to, belonging to a place'.

-ro- in secondary use: Skr. tamis-ra-, pitvarā-, see above, p. 181 f. vy-ad-varā- 'gnawing, rodent' beside ad-van- 'eating': cp. Hom. ẑōr ńa (ẑōn'a), gen. ẑōrano, 'food'.

Examples of Aryan words with -ra- -lā-, which, so far as we can tell, may represent either -ro- or -lo-, are given in § 76 Rem. 1.


The -aro- of adjectives in -ar, which no doubt comes from -tro-, appears to be sometimes primary, sometimes secondary. It is primary e. g. in dal-ar 'green, fresh' (cp. Gr. ἁλε-qo-ć), and secondary e. g. in ard-ar 'just' (cp. Skr. ṣ-tā-). mecar-em
'I exalt, praise' a denominative verb like Gr. μεγαλω 'I rate highly, admire' (from *μεγαρ-, cp. μεγαρο-ν 'large space, chamber').


Adjectives were formed in proethnic Greek in -νθ-φο-ς (a fertile suffix) from verbs in -έω, as πονθ-φο-ς 'toilsome' from πονέω, ὀξν-φο-ς 'slack' from ὀξνώ, ὀλισθν-φο-ς 'slippery' from the fut. ὀλισθήσω (pres. ὀλισθάω).

-γφο-: ιαρό-ς beside ἱρό-ς see p. 181 above. λιμ-αρό-ς 'fat': cp. Skr. rip-rā-m 'smear, stain, impurity'. σν-αρό-ς beside σν-δφο-ς (for the δ, see I § 204 p. 170) 'harmful', and other examples.

-ρο- is secondary in Att. (Aristoph.) οξτ-φο-ς 'woeful' from οξις, gen. οξίως 'woe', and similarly in λιγυ-φο-ς beside λιγυς 'clear, ringing' and μωλυν-φο-ς beside μωλυς 'enfeebled', unless these are derived from *λιγυλο-ς *μωλυλο-ς (cp. παχυ-λό-ς § 76) by dissimilation (I § 266 p. 215). Further, in many adjectives in -φο-ς; e. g. φοσφ-φο-ς 'terrible' from φοσφο-ς, ὀφροφ-φο-ς 'dewy' from ὀφρος, whose termination -φο-ς was regarded as an independent suffix, and added to other than σ-stems, as ομεφ-φο-ς 'shady' from σκιά, κρατεφό-ς 'strong' from κράτος n.; cp. p. 182.

-φο- can be considered either a secondary or a primary suffix in adjectives in -αφο-, as ὀδυνφ-φο-ς Dor. ὀδυναφ-φο-ς 'painful'
beside ὠδήν Dor. ὠδε'να and ὠδυνών, ὀσφρό-ς Lesb. ὀσφρό-ς 'causing disgust, disagreeable' beside ὀση Lesbian. ὀσαὶ and ὀσῶν, and in those in -υρ-ο-, as Hom. ὀζη-ο-ς 'woeful' beside ὀζης and ὀζηω (Att. ἀζη-ερ-ο-ς, see p. 184 above), ἰωχί-ο-ς 'strong' beside ἰωχ-ς and ἰωχ-ω.

Remark. The relations of -ερο- and -ερο- are not quite clear in such instances as ἰωχ-ς: ἵωχ-ς (Skr. ḷ-ṝ-ha); ὀσφρ-ο-ς (from οσαί) ὀσφρ-ο-ς; πτερ-ο-ς (Skr. ṁ-ṝa-ha): πτερ-ο-ς (see Morph. Unt. Π 241 ff.). I should compare πτερ-ο-ς (and also πταλ-ο-ς) with πταλὸν for *πταλ-ο-ς, exactly as μας-ο-ς 'defiled' is to be derived from μαςαμν., so that the relation is the same as that of σαμμ-ο-ς (i.e. *σαμμ-ο-ς): σαμμαλν. Then new formations arose, ἵωχ-ς (modelled upon πτερ-ο-ς ὀσφρ-ο-ς) on the one hand, ὀσφρ-ο-ς (modelled upon μας-ο-ς πταλ-ο-ς) on the other.

Italic. Lat. rub-er rub-ra. Umbr. rufru 'rubros' rufra 'rubras': Gr. ἰφρ-ο-ς etc., see p. 181 above. Lat. vi-r gen. vi-ř, Umbr. vei-ro 'viros': O.Ir. fe-ř Skr. vi-ra-s etc., see p. 181 above. Lat. cap-er cap-ra, Umbr. kaprum 'caprum': Gr. θάλ-ο-ς etc., see p. 184 above. Lat. ag-er gen. ag-ř, Umbr. agre gen. 'agri': Skr. áj-ra-s etc., see p. 181 above. Lat. sac-er sac-ra, Falisc. sacru 'sacrum', Umbr. sakra 'sacras', Osc. sax-φφo 'sacrum' sak-arater 'sacratur' (I § 627 p. 471). Lat. mac-er mac-ra: Gr. μακρ-ο-ς 'long, lean, far', O.H.G. mag-ar O.Icel. mag-r 'lean' pr. Germ. mag-rā-. Lat. ob-scūr-u-s 'dark', properly 'covered over': O.H.G. skū-r 'shelter, covered place, lodging'. Lat. plē-ru-s plēr-que: Gr. πλερ-ο-ς 'full', which is a modification of an older form *πληρ-ο-ς (cp. πληρός), but its accent, in contrast to the analogous ὀδηρ-ο-ς: ὀδηρ-ο-ς, followed that of compounds in -η-ο-ς like ὀδης. Lat. pā-ru-s. dā-ru-s. clā-ru-s. qnā-ru-s (ep. I § 253 p. 207). in-teger (cp. intactus). nig-er. glab-er (we may conjecture that the original form of the stem was *gladh-ro- or *gladh-ro-, cp. O.C.Sl. gladěků 'smooth'). scab-er. stup-ru-m. lab-ru-m 'lip'. scalp-er and scalp-ru-m. flag-ru-m. At the same time in words where an Ṽ occurs before the suffix -ro-, it must be remembered that the latter may have come from -lo-, cp. lu-crūm for *lu-clum I § 269 p. 217. Sabin. cuprum 'bonum' Cupra 'bona deae', Umbr. Cubrār gen. 'Bonae deae', beside Lat. cup-iō.
The Suffix -ro- -rū-, -yro- -yrū-.

No certain examples of -yro- can be found; perhaps it may be traced in Lat. cumur cumura, cp. Gr. καυμάρα ‘vault’.
-ero- occurs in Lat. liber libera O.Lat. loebæ-tatem, which is usually compared with Gr. ἱλασθ-σο-ς (see I § 49 p. 42, § 65 p. 52), puer gen. puert, gener gen. generit.

The relation of Lat. amā-ru-s: Skr. am-lā- ‘sour’ is obscure.

-ero- is secondary in O.Ir. mēr, see above.


-ros- pr. Germ. -ura- occurs perhaps in O.H.G. ebur A.S. efor O.Icel. jotfr (pl. jotfrar) 'boar': cp. Lat. ap-er gen. ap-rē, O.C.Sl. ep-rē (stem ep-r-je-) 'boar'. -ro- is even more difficult to identify in Germanic.


Balto-Slavonic. Lith. asāt-rū-s asā-ru-s, instead of *-ra-s. O.C.Sl. osā-t-ru 'sharp' (for the -t- see I § 544 p. 398 f., § 545 p. 400); Gr. ἀ-χρό-ς etc., see p. 183 f. above. Lith. pur-rai pl. 'wheat' O.C.Sl. py-ro n. 'spelt': Gr. πῦ-χρο-ς 'wheat'. Lith. denomin. sēit-r-inēti

Lith. bud-rū-s instead of *-ra-s O.C.Sl. būd-rū 'watchful'. -ra-s is seldom kept in adjectives in Lithuanian (e. g. tik-ra-s 'suitable'); they generally passed over into the u-declension; cp. § 107. In O.C.Sl. we have only a few adjectives, cp. besides those quoted above, pįstrū 'gay' for *pīs-rū (like os-t-rū) from √pej-k-


-ro- in secondary use: Lith. tims-ra-s 'light bay coloured' (of a horse): Skr. tamis-ra- etc., see p. 181 f. above. Lith. vidūrī-s 'middle', no doubt = vidu-r-ja- a derivative of vidū-s 'the inside', similarly dubūrī-s 'depth' from dubū-s 'deep and hollow'.

It seems to me doubtful whether we should compare with these the -ro- of Lith. nas-rai pl. 'throat' O.C.Sl. noz-dri pl. 'nostril'. (beside Low Germ. nuster 'nose') and Idg. *nas- 'nose'), and of O.C.Sl. meź-dra 'fine skin on a recent wound, the fleshy part of anything' (beside męso 'flesh'), ep. I § 585 p. 439.

§ 75. The Suffixes -ero- -erā- and -tero- -terā-, forming Comparatives.

These are closely parallel to the superlative -mo- -muno- (§ 72, 2 p. 166 ff.) and -tymo- (§ 73 p. 177 ff.).

-ðero- shows a close etymological relation to the adverbs in -ðer and (loc.) -ðer-i, e. g. *ufero- beside Gr. ἐνερ Skr. upārī, *en-teto- beside Lat. in-ter Skr. antā-ī-kśa-'. On the other hand -ðero- is often connected with -ro- (see § 74). Per Persson's suggestions for its etymology (Studia Etymologica, Upsala 1886,
§ 75. The Suffixes -ero-, -erü-, and -terö-, -terū-.

p. 94 ff.) are more extensive, but for the most part exceedingly bold.

Beside -(t)ero- is found -(t)oro-, e. g. Avest. ka-tāra- Goth. kwa-par O.C.Sl. ko-tory-jī, -(t)oro-, e. g. Skr. an-trā-m Gr. ἀλλό-
-τερός Lat. in-trō O.C.Sl. je-tro-, and -(t)yro-, e. g. Gr. νε(τ)-
-αρός A.S. eufora 1) The original distribution of these different grades of ablaut can no longer be traced; the difference of accent however should be noticed, e. g. Skr. án-tara- an-trā-
an-tāri-kṣa-.

-tero- shows the greatest fertility in Aryan and Greek, where it was a regular comparative suffix for adjectives.

Indo-Germanic. *uero-, beside Skr. upāri 'above' Gr. ἐνω, ἐπι (i. e. *uṇa, see I § 645, 2 p. 489) Lat. super O.H.G. ubir 'over' (compare further Skr. ups 'towards' Gr. ὑπο 'under' etc.): Skr. upara- 'nearer, behind, under' Avest. upara-
'upper', Gr. ἐπιος ἐπός 'pestle' ὑπό 'upper rope', Lat. superus-s supera superans-s, A.S. ufer-ra 'upper' (ra =
Goth. -iza); cp. superl. Skr. upamā-s Lat. summu-s. *ydero-
'lower' beside Avest. adairi 'under' and Skr. adhās 'below':
Skr. ádhara- 'lower', Goth. undarā adv. 'underneath' O.H.G.
undaro undo redo 'lower'; cp. superl. Skr. adhamā-s.

*en-tero- 'inner', subst. n. 'intestines', beside Lat. in-ter Skr.
antāri-kṣa- 'that which lies in between heaven and earth, sky':
Skr. antara-s 'inner, dearer, more intimate' antrām antā-ṃ intesine', Armen. ēnder-ē pl. 'intestines' (possibly borrowed
from the Greek), Gr. ἐνετό-v 'intestine', Lat. interic intra-
intrō, O.Ir. eter etir 'between', O.C.Sl. je-trō n. 'liver'; cp. superl.
Skr. antama-s Lat. intimus-s. *ni-tero- 'lower': Skr. nitārām
nama- A.S. noedem-est. Avest. fra-tara- Gr. προ-τερός 'former,

1) -τγ (cp. -ter beside -tero-) seems to occur in Skr. sani-tār 'beside, except, without' Gr. ἄγιος 'sed' O.H.G. sun-tar 'by itself, especially, but, however' beside Skr. samu-tār 'away, aside' Gr. ἀγιός 'without' (is the ir-
regular spiritus lenis in ἀγιός and ἀμφι due to the influence of ἀνάς and
ἀντό) A.S. sun-tar 'except, without'; cp. also Goth. sun-drō 'separated,
alone'. The root-syllable of the Greek and Germanic words is *ep-. Cp.
Bugge, Beesenberger's Skr. III 120 f.
earlier', beside Osc. prūter-pam 'prefixer ū, prinsquam'; compare further Avest. fra Gr. πρό 'before'; cp. superl. Avest. fra-tenu-.  

It can hardly be an accidental coincidence that several Indo-Germanic languages have a word for 'left' which shows the suffix -tero- added to a stem formed with the comparative suffix -es -is- (§ 135), and contains the idea of 'goodness' (cp. Gr. εὖφρεο-ς 'left'). Avest. nairyas-tāra-, beside vara- 'desirable, excellent' compar. Skr. vārīyas-. Gr. ἄφεω-τερο-ς, beside ἄφο-ρο-ς 'best' ἄφελω 'better' (not connected with Ar. vara-). O.H.G. winis-tar, beside wini 'beloved' wunsc 'wish, desire'; cp. also, from the same root, Skr. vāma-s 'left', identical with vāmā-s 'worthy, dear, good', from a ground-form *yū-mo-s, √yen-. Lat. sinis-ter, which should surely be compared with Skr. sān-īyas- 'gaining more' √sen- 'to reach a goal (which is striven after or longed for), to succeed' (see Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIV 271 f.), and not with senior seniu-m (when the intermediate stage of meaning would be 'weak, incapable'); for the i of the first syllable cp. simili-s. One at least therefore of these formations must date from proethnic Indo-Germanic, and at the time of the separation of the peoples must have still retained its original meaning as well as the secondary one of 'left', and so become the model for the rest. Cp. the Author, Rhein. Mus. XLIII p. 399 ff.

Aryan. Skr. ādh-ara- Avest. ad-ara- 'lower', see p. 189 above. Skr. áp-ara- 'more distant, later, smaller, other', ap-arā-m adv. 'later' Avest. ap-ara- 'the other' O.Pers. ap-ara-m adv. 'afterwards', beside Skr. áp 'from, away': A.S. af-era sahora O.Sax. aðaro m. 'successor, offspring' (Goth. afar 'after' O.H.G. abur avar 'again, anew; on the other hand, however');

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1) The quantity of the a in the syllable ka-, if the law given in I § 78 p. 69 is correct, might be explained by reference to a by-form *kotra- in proethnic Aryan (cp. the Ital. and Lith. forms).
with which compare O.Pers. apa-tara-m ‘further’ and Goth. af-
tara adv. ‘backwards’ after adv. ‘back, anew, further’ O.H.G.
aftaro m. ‘hinder part’ A.S. veftra adj. ‘hinder’. Skr. áv-ara-s
‘lower’ Avest. aora adv. ‘down, off’ (cp. Avest. naotara- = Skr.
nawatara- compar. from Skr. náva- ‘new’), cp. Skr. áva ‘off,
downwards’.

Skr. án-tara- Avest. an-tara- ‘inner’ Skr. an-trá-m án-trá-m
‘intestine’: Gr. ἐν-τέρτον etc., see p. 189 above. Skr. út-tara-
‘higher, upper’ from úd ‘up, out’: Gr. ὄστρω-ς ‘later’ ὄστρω-ς
‘belly’; beside this we have Skr. ud-ará- úd-ará- ‘belly,
swelling’. Gr. ὄστρω-ς ‘belly’ Hesych. (probably Cyprian, with ο = ν
as in μοστά = μοστά and other words), O.H.G. ſgro ‘outer’.
tara-m is especially frequent in Aryan as an adverbial termi-
nation. Skr. vi-tará-m Avest. ví-tare-m ‘further’ (in Avestic also
an adj.) beside Skr. vi ‘away, apart’: Goth. vi-þra adv. ‘against,
with’ (in composition); compare also Lat. vi-tr-iuc-s ‘stepfather’,
the termination being like that of O.H.G. ent(i)rigr ‘strange’ =
*antrigá-s from anuer ‘other’. Skr. part-tará-m paras-tará-m
‘further away’ from pára pars-d ‘away, forth’. Instead of this
later Sanskrit has generally -tárá-m, as uccáis-tárám ‘higher’
from uccáś ‘high’, śanáis-tárdm ‘more softly, more gradually’,
from śanáś ‘softly, gradually’.

Skr. ka-tará- Avest. ka-tára- ‘which of two?’: Gr. πο-τέτος
etc., see p. 190 above. Skr. ya-tará- Avest. ya-tára- ‘which
(of two)’ (rel.), beside Skr. yá-s ‘qui’. Avest. a-tára- from the
stem α- ‘that’.

tara- was also the regular comparative ending of adjectives
in Aryan where -tama- formed the superlative. The same rules
of formation hold as for -tama-, see § 73 p. 178. Skr. ámá-tara-s
‘more raw’ from āmá-s: Gr. ῥύο-τέτος ‘more raw, more rude’;
Skr. yajñiya-tara- ‘more deserving of reverence’; Avest. aka-tara-
‘worse’ from aka-, srír-tara- ‘nobler’ from sríra-. Skr. śrēṣṭha-
tara- ‘more excellent’ from superl. śrēṣṭha-, garīyas-tara- ‘heavier,
weightier’ beside compar. gāṛyas-, Avest. vaivṛya-tara- ‘left’ see
p. 190 above; cp. also Avest. fratarō-tara- from fratara- ‘more
prominent’. Skr. duḥkha-tara- ‘more painful, more unpleasant’,
and as subst. n. 'greater pain', from duhhā-m 'pain'. Avest. ušas-tara- 'easterly' from ušaš- 'red of the morning', dacoša-tara-westerly' from dacoša- 'evening'.

Armenian. nor, gen. noroy, 'new': cp. Gr. νεάφό-ς 'young, youthful' ground-form *nez-fro-ς, see p. 189 above; it is doubtful whether *nez-fro- was also the ground-form of the Armenian word. Gen. mer 'our' jer 'your' (nom. me-ε 'we' du-ε 'ye'): cp. O.Ir. possess. or n- 'our' far n- 'your', Goth. unsar 'our' izvar 'your'; and further Gr. ἵνερ-τερο-ς ἵνερ-τερο-ς, Lat. nos-ter ves-ter.

ender-ε pl. 'intestines' cannot be quoted without suspicion, as it may perhaps have been borrowed from the Greek (ἐν-τερα), cp. p. 189.

Greek. ἐν-τερο-ς 'pessis': Skr. úpara- etc., see p. 189 above. ὅφρο-ς 'belly': Skr. udarā- etc., see p. 191 above. ἐν-τερο 'inferi' (properly those within, those dwelling within the earth) from ἐν 'in', cp. also ἐνέρ-τερο-ς νέρ-τερο-ς 'deeper' beside ἐνερ-θε 'upud inferos' and ἐν-τερο-ν 'intestine'. νεάρο-ς 'young, youthful': cp. Armen. nor (see above) and Lat. nosterca meaning *ή neraquī.

ἐν-τερο-ν 'intestine', see p. 189 above. ὅστερο-ς 'later'. ὅστερο-ς 'belly': Skr. úttara-, see p. 191 above. πρό-τερο-ς 'earlier': Avest. fra-tara-, see p. 190 above. Greek has many new formations modelled upon old comparatives derived, like these, from adverbs. ὑπέρ-τερο-ς 'higher' from ὑπέρ. κατώ-τερο-ς 'lower' from κάτω. ἑνι-τερο-ς 'higher' from ἑνί. παροι-τερο-ς 'more prominent' beside παρόφο-ς 'before'. μυχολ-τερο-ς 'further back in the corner' (only μυχολ-τατο-ς is actually found) from μυχοὶ 'in the corner, inside'. παλαι-τερο-ς 'older' from παλαι. παλαι-τερο-ς was referred to παλαιό-ς and hence arose the forms γεραύ-τερο-ς 'older' from γεραύ-ς, σχολαι-τερο-ς 'more idle' from σχολαισ-ς, and when -ατερο-ς further came to be regarded as an independent suffix, it produced the forms ἑναχ-ατερο-ς 'quieter' from ἑναχ-ς, ἑν-ατερο-ς 'more especially one's own' from ἑδο-ς, and many more. With the adverbial termination -τερω: ἀνω-τερω from ἀνω 'up', προσώ-τερω from προσώ 'forwards', ἑγγυ-τερω from ἑγγύς 'near', and many more.
§ 75. The Noun Suffixes -ero- -eru- and -ero- -eru-.

περόςς 'which of two?': Skr. ka-tara-s etc., see p. 191 above. Dor. Boccot. etc. ἕτεροςς 'one of two, the other' ground-form *sym-téro- from *sem- (Gr. εἶς 'unus' (ep. ἢ-πατζ etc.) ; the Attic form ἕτεροςς no doubt arose through an assimilation to the vowel of ἵς, just as ἵκον 'a hundred' replaced *ā-karov for the same reason. 1) ἵκον-περόςς 'each of two' beside ἵκος, cp. Wackernagel in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 150 f.

ὁμό-περόςς 'our' ὡμό-περόςς 'your': cp. Lat. nos-ter vesp-ter.

The form -tero- occurs in ἀλλά-τερον- 'belonging to another, strange': its extension by the suffix -ὁς- is no doubt due to the form of its antithesis ἵδος-ς.

-tero- was also the regular comparative termination in adjectives whose superlative was formed in -τατο- (§ 81). ὁμό-περόςς 'more raw, more rude' from ὁμόςς: Skr. anā-tara-s. xoγό-περόςς 'lighter' from xoιφος-ς. γλυκό-περόςς 'sweeter' from γλυκις-ς. πιά-περόςς 'fatter' from πίνων -αος, ἔπιλημμό-τερο-ς 'more forgetful' from ἔπιλημμον -αος, cp. πιό-της and ἄκιό-θετον (cp. § 12 p. 27, § 29 p. 40). μελάν-περόςς 'blacker', from μέλας -αος. χαριστερόςς 'more charming, more gracious', i.e. *χαρισ-тельного 1. -περός, from χαριτως -περός; -περός took the place of the regular phonetic -φερ- = 1dg. -μφή (§ 127). ἄγαθοστερόςς 'more ungraceful' i.e. *ἄγαθόστερο-ς, from ἄγαθος -πος. ἄληθεσ-τερόςς 'truer' from ἄληθης neut. -ής.

Comparatives with ὣ like σοφό-περόςς 'wiser', from σοφόςς, were formed from adverbs in -ω (cp. the Germanic comparatives in -sxn- formed from the instr. sing. in -ō § 81, and the Slavonic comparatives in -oʃ- which came from the instr. sing. in -e § 135), and their use became gradually restricted to words in which the ὣ followed a short syllable. A few remaining examples of the freer use occur in literature, as ἐξέφερότερος (Hom.), δεύσμεστερος (Eur.) and several others. The -ο- of κρύστερος στενότερος in later Attic is a reminiscence of the early Attic forms *κυρίφο-ς *κυρίφο-ς, see p. 135 footnote.

1) A different explanation of ἕτεροςς ἕτεροςς is given by Per Pernst, Studia etymol. p. 102; but his arguments do not convince me.

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was sometimes grafted upon other classes of stems, e.g. ἐνχαριτ-ότερο-ς 'more charming' from ἐνχαρίας.

The termination -στερο-ς (ἀληθίσ-τερο-ς) was very largely extended in use as an independent suffix, e.g. εὐθαυμο-ν-έστερο-ς 'happier' from εὐθαυμόν, ἀφράτ-στερο-ς 'more unmixed' from ἀφρώτος, ἑορμομεν-έστερο-ς 'stronger' from ἑορμομενός.

Comparative suffixes were often combined. Parallel to ἀρ-ιστό-ς (see p. 190) arose λαλ-ίστερο-ς 'more talkative' from λάλο-ς, κλεπ-λίστερο-ς 'more thievish' from κλέπτη-ς, βλάχ-ιστερο-ς 'lazier', from βλάχας, etc.; the spread of these double suffixes was furthered by the similar sound of the termination of ἀχαρίστερο-ς = ἀχαριστ-τερο-ς, ἀμενό-τερο-ς from ἀμενόν 'better', ἀρισ-τερο-ς from ἀριστόν 'better' etc. κυν-τερο-ς from κυν-τερό-ς 'more like a dog, more impudent', ὑπερ-τερο-ς from ὑπέρ-τερο-ς 'upper', πρωτο-τερο-ς from πρῶτο-τερο-ς 'earlier' (cp. Avest. f. atardē-tara- p. 191), with other examples.

Comparatives are frequently formed from substantives. κυν-τερο-ς from κυνων 'dog'. βασιλε-τερο-ς 'more royal' from βασιλε-ς 'king'. ἄημο-τερο-ς 'belonging to the people' from ἄημος 'people', ὁρα-τερο-ς 'of the mountains' from ὁρος 'mountain' and the like, where the comparative suffix, just as in ἦμι-τερο-ς Avest. uba-ś-tara O.H.G. ni-daro, only served to contrast the words with their opposites (cp. § 139).

Italic. Lat. s-uperu-s s-upra s-upre-nu-s Umbr. subra 'supra' Osc. supruiis 'superis', beside Lat. s-upper, with the by-form s-sup-ter (written subter), like O.H.G. aftar beside Goth. afar (for the s- of s-sub see I § 568 p. 425): Skr. úparya-s etc., see p. 189 above. For Lat. in-superu-s in-fra, which are usually connected with Skr. ádhar- Goth. undara, see § 72 p. 167, under Aryan.

Lat. in-ter-iör in-frō in-trō, Osc. entrāf dat. fem. 'intestinae, úmvaloq': Skr. ád-tara- etc., see p. 189 above. Lat. i-teru-m, the stem of which is contained in Lat. mātertera (‘quasi mater altera’) for *māter-iterā, Umbr. etram-a ‘ad alteram’: Skr. t-tara-s 'other', perhaps also Goth. idre-eiga 'repentance' O.Icel. idra-ek 'repent'. Lat. ex-ter ex-trā Osc. eh-trad 'extra', beside Lat. ex:
(Ir. echtr-ann 'foreign, stranger'. Lat. ci-ter ci-trā ci-trō: Goth. hi-drē 'hither'. Lat. pos-ter-n-s postrī-diē postrē-ns Umbr. postra acc. fem. 'posteriores' Osc. pūstiris 'posterius', from Ital. pos pos-t; it is perhaps better to analyse the word post-er-n-s. Lat. con-trā contrō-ersia Osc. contrud 'contra', beside Lat. cum Osc. con. Umbr. hon-dra 'infra' Osc. hu[n]-truis 'inferius'; cp. Lat. humu-s, and Umbr. superl. hon-domu § 73 p. 179. Umbr. pretra acc. fem. 'priors', beside Lat. prae-ter.


Lat. nos-ter nostra, ves-ter vestra, Umbr. vestra abl. 'vestra', Osc. nistrus 'nostros' (according to Bugge; 'propiores' according to Bücheler): cp. Gr. ἕωτερ-ερ-ς ἕωτερ-ερ-ς.

Lat. dext-er dextera and dextra, Umbr. destram-s 'in dextram': cp. O.Ir. Dechter a woman's name (Zimmer, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 214) and Gr. δεχτέρο-ς 'dexter' (formed like ἕωτερ-ερ-ς). Umbr. nertru abl. 'sinistro': Gr. νίφτερ-ερ-ς νίφτερ-ερ-ς 'deeper' beside ἕωτερ-ς (cp. p. 192); as to the meaning 'left', see Bücheler Umbria p. 76 f.

Here perhaps should also be classed palās-ter, from palād-, Nemus-tr-imus, from nemus, Volsc. Veles-tron 'Veliternorum', beside Gr. ἅλος 'low ground'; so also Lat. campester terrestre silvester and the like, which are to be compared with the Gr. ἔδαμον-εστερος (p. 194).

Combinations of comparative suffixes. -is-tero: Lat. sin-is-ter -tra see p. 190, Lat. magister magistrī Umbr. mestru fem. 'maior', beside Lat. magis Osc. mais 'magis'; Lat. minister ministrī Osc. ministris 'minoris', beside Lat. minus; cp. § 135. Lat. inter-ior dexter-ior and the like, Osc. pūstir-īs. Lat. suprē-mus extrē-mus and the like (cp. § 72 p. 168) and postrē-missimus (cp. § 73 p. 179).

Old Irish. ar n-far n- poss. 'our, your', orig. gen. pl.
like Lat. nostrum vestrum: cp. Armen. mer jer (Goth. unosar izvar.)

in-a-thar Corn. cunderen 'intestines' O.Ir. eter etir 'between': cp. Skr. an-tra-m etc., see above p. 189. ochtar nachtar n. 'that which is above, the upper part', beside os nas 'above'. echtrann 'a stranger' from ech-tur 'extra' (-tur for *-trâ): Lat. extero-extrâ. air-ther 'former, the east', from ar air 'ante'.

ech-tur 'each of two' from ech adj. 'each', nech-tar 'one of two' from nech 'one'.

-thar is also found side by side with -in (§ 135) in adjectival comparative forms, yet it is comparatively much rarer than in Aryan and Greek: luathi-ther from luath 'quick', libri-ther 'from lebor 'long' and so forth. It occurs also in comparatives formed from substantives: Mid.Ir. mëlither 'larger' from mèlt f. 'size'.

-is-tero-. siner 'older, oldest', ground-form *sen-is-tero-, cp. sin-in 'older' Lat. sen-iór. öser 'younger, youngest' ground-form *ja'y-is-tero-, cp. öa 'younger' Skr. yâv-tyas- yâv-is-tha-.


Goth. uns-ar 'our' fem. unsara, izê-ar 'your' fem. izvara, O.H.G. unsêr imeêr; unsro (nom. pl. fem.) unsrei (dat. pl.) and the like, show the West-Germanic syncope: cp. Armen. mer jir, O.Ir. ar n-, far n-.

Goth. vi-jra O.H.G. wi-dar 'against, with' (in composition):

1) "ar n- and far n- no doubt stand for *(e)varom *(e)yvarom, since a disappears before a vowel which precedes the eocent (ep. it = *senti). We find in Mid.Ir. sar, accented, in Ps. 2, but nar in Ps. 1. I suppose *saron *eyaron to have arisen in proclitic positions, from forms like the Goth. unosar izvar, by loss of the initial sonant (uns- for as-), just as Romance te came from illu(m), loro from il(m)orum." Thurneysen.
Skr. vi-tará-m. O.H.G. ni-daro A.S. ni-ðer-ra 'lower' (adj):
Skr. ni-tárám. O.H.G. for-dró fordaró fordero A.S. furá-
'former' ground-form *py-tero-, beside Goth. faur faúra 'before'.
verbial terminations derived from -tero- show considerable fertility,
e. g. Goth. hi-dré 'hither' (Lat. ci-tró ci-trá) jún-dré 'thither',
jún-pró 'thence', alja-pró 'from some other place' dala-pró 'from
beneath'. With regard to several adverbs in -ar-, like Goth.
af-ar hin-dar, we cannot tell whether they are acc. sing. neut.
(cp. Skr. pratarádn Gr. πορευον Lat. iterum) or are parallel to
forms like Gr. únép Skr. upári.

Goth. hvaþar O.H.G. hvaedar wedar (wederemo wederan)
'which of two?': Skr. ka-tará-s etc., see p. 190 above. Goth.
auþar O.H.G. andar (andremo andran with West Germanic
syncope) 'other': Lith. aš-tará-s 'other'.

Combination of comparative suffixes. O.H.G. win-is-tar
'left', see p. 190 above. -(t)ero-+-jes- -is-: O.H.G. unt-arórd
beside unt-aro, for-dróro beside for-dro and the like, A.S. üt-
er-ra beside üt-ra, æfter-ra beside æft-ra, etc. O.H.G. superl.
unt-arósto from unt-aro, for-darósto from for-dro fordaró, af-tristo
from af-tro and the like.

Remark. O.Icel. aus-tr 'east' O.H.G. õs-tra õs-tara l. 'Easter' õstar
'eastwards' (õstar : óstana = hintar : hintana), A.S. õstra õster 'more
easterly', also Goth. õstro-gotha: cp. Lat. õstur ausstäră-s, and further
Avest. ušas-tara- 'easterly'. Should we consider the Germanic and the
Latin word as the extension of a noun-stem *aós-to- by -ero-, or as
derivatives in -tero- from an adverb *aós, or as the regular phonetic
representatives of a form *aós-(e)st(e)ro-? In Germanic the names for the
other quarters of the heavens are exactly parallel to the word for east,
so far as their inflexional part is concerned, cp. e. g. O.Icel. westr norðr
sudr, A.S. compar. westera norðera súðera. norðr appears to be con-
nected with Gr. νωστερα- Umbr. nestr-. In proper names we find also
Ausi- Aurí- beside Austria- Austar-, and Wesi- Wisi- (Wese-gothae Wesi-
gothae) beside Westa-.

Balto-Slavonic. -ero- cannot be identified with certainty.
Perhaps in O.C.Sl. sëv-eò Lith. sziu-r-y-s 'north wind'?
O.C.Sl. jë-tro 'liver' from Idg. *en 'in', and beside it q-tro-ba
The Suffix *-lo-* -la-, *-ilo-* *lā-.* § 75,76.


Lith. ka-trù-s ‘which of two, which, who?’ O.C.Sl. ko-tory-jį ko-tory-jį ‘who?’: Skr. ka-tarā- etc., see p. 190 above. Lith. an-tras ‘other, second’ fem. antrā: Goth. an-far; in O.C.Sl. vi-torū, which corresponds in meaning, the form of the root is unexplained. O.C.Sl. je-terū ‘any one’, from the pronominal stem je-: Skr. ya-tarā-, relat. ‘which of two’.

§ 76. The Suffix *-lo-* -la-, *-ilo-* *lā-.*

For the variation between *-ilo-* and *-lo-* see I § 287 p. 229.

In the proethnic and later periods it is both primary and secondary, forming adjectives and substantives. In its primary use *-lo-* serves especially to form nouns of the agent and instrument; as a secondary suffix it is used especially to form diminutives: in the latter use *-lo-* was exceedingly fertile in Latin, Germanic and Lithuanian.


Gr. Hom. ὀμήχ-λη Lith. mig-là myg-là (also myg-là with the suffix -là) O.C.Sl. mig-la 'mist'. Skr. aj-irā- 'mobile, quick', compare Lat. ag-ili-s (transferred from the o- to the i- declension), which may represent either *ag-ilo- or *ag-lo-.

In Italic, Germanic and Balto-Slavonic we frequently find -s-lo-, which was taken from forms where -s- was the so-called root-determinative, like Lat. aila for *axila (cp. axilla) O.Sax. aksla O.H.G. ahsala 'shoulder' beside Skr. dēṣa-s O.H.G. ahsa Lat. aksi-s Lith. asili-s 'axle' for *aḡ+s- from *aḡ- 'drive, set in motion'; O.H.G. dehsalā O.C.Sl. tesla 'axe' beside Avest. taśa ,axe' Gr. τοξο-ν 'bow' O.H.G. dehsa 'hatchet, trowel' from *tek-+-s-.

In the same way were formed e. g. Lat. vēlu-m 'sail' (cp. vexillum-m) O.C.Sl. veslo 'oar' from *veauh-tilo- (means of moving), vēugh- 'vehere'.

-lo- as a secondary suffix. Skr. nabhila-m 'pudenda, navel', Gr. ἀμφιλό-ς 'navel, boss of a shield', Lat. umbil-icus, O.Ir. inbliu 'navel', O.H.G. nabolo O.Icel. násle m. 'navel', beside Skr. nābhī-ś 'nave, navel', Lat. umbō 'boss of a shield', O.H.G. nabo 'nave', Pruss. nabi-s 'nave, navel' Lett. nėba 'nave'. Skr. tūm-ra- 'swelling, fat, strong', Lat. tumulus, O.Icel. þumall m. 'thumb', beside Skr. tā-tu-mā- Avest. tā-ma- 'strong, powerful' etc., see § 72 p. 171. Skr. bahu-lā- 'thick' Gr. παχυ-λός 'rather thick', beside Skr. bahū-ś Gr. παχύς 'thick'. Skr. anku-rā-s 'a swelling, tumour'; Gr. ἄγκυ-λο-ς 'swollen, proud' (whence ἄγκυλος, ἄγκυλος-ς, see I § 676, 4 p. 542 f.); we should perhaps also compare O.H.G. angul O.Icel. engull m. 'fishhook, angle', pr. Germ. *angulā-, cp. Skr. anku-la-s 'hook'. The diminutival sense is clearly marked e. g. in Lat. porcilius porcil-ia O.H.G farhel-i n. Lith.
parszēl-i-s 'little pig, sucking pig’ compared with porcu-s farah pārśza-s ‘pig’, Lat. rotula Lith. ratēl-i-s ‘little wheel’ beside rota rāta-s ‘wheel’ (the diminutival sense of the l-derivative in Lithuanian is certainly older than the addition of the further suffix -jo-, although the latter is also a diminutival suffix, see § 63, 2). Here belong also pet-names like Skr. bḥānu-la- Gr. ἰχνοῦ-λο-ς O.Ir. Tuath-al Goth. Vulfi-la Pruss. Builtin, for which see below.

The termination -a-lo- is exceedingly common and certainly dates from the protoethic period of Indo-Germanic; but in many cases we cannot tell whether the stem to which it is added is verbal or nominal.


-ilo-. Skr. ajirā-s; see above. suś-irā-s suś-irā-s (see I § 557, 4 p. 413) ‘hollow, a reed’, n. ‘hole, wind instrument; Gr. αὐλ-ός ‘reed, pipe, flute’ for *suo-ς-λο-ς. Skr. ángirā-, name of divine beings who were regarded as mediators between men and gods: Gr. ἀγγελό-ς ‘messenger’: the g of the Skr. form implies that the original form was not *ánggo-λo- (op. Skr. áni-la-s ‘wind’ Gr. ἀε-μο-ς for *anós-, beside Skr. áni-mi), but *áng-ilo-, see I § 445 p. 331, § 450 p. 333 f. We should no doubt add tum-u-ra- tum-ul-a- ‘loud, noisy’ beside tum-ala-, with the same meaning (op. ypā-la beside yp-rā- ‘restless, anxious’; Lat. tumul-tu-s: the word is usually connected, and perhaps rightly, with Skr. tūm-ra- ‘swelling puffed up’ (see p. 198 above).
-lo- in secondary use. Skr. nabhīta-m, tūm-ra- (ultimately also tum-ura-), bahu-lā-, asoku-rā-s; see above. Further, with diminutive sense, vyā-lā-s 'man-nikin, small man' (vīṣan- 'man'), śīlā-la-s 'little child' (śīru- 'child'), śalaka-lā 'small splinter' (śalāka 'splinter'). Add pet names like bhanu-la- cp bhanu-datta-, pīṭa-la- cp. pīṭ-datta-, dēvi-la- cp. dēva-datta-.

Remark 1. We may add here a number of forms from Aryan, in which it is doubtful whether the suffix is Idg. -lo- or -lo-, cp. §74 p. 182.


-ye-lo- (beside dāvas-yā-) 'scattering', mad-irā- 'gladdening', sar-irā-sal-īla- 'flowing, undulating', n- 'wave, flood', ērd-īlā- 'perforated, porous'. In Iranian the regular phonetic development reduced -ye-lo- and -e- to one form -ara-, and they are thus indistinguishable.

-ru- -lo- in secondary use; Skr. dēn-ṛa- Avest. dhun-ra- O.Pers. an-ru- (in aura-mazāh-) meaning perhaps 'lord', epithet of divinities, compared with Skr. dēn- 'vital spirit'; for the etymology of the word see von Bradke, Ztschr. der deutsch. morg. Ges. XL, 347 ff. Skr. pāṣu-ṛa- 'dusty' (pāṣu- 'dust'), madhu-ṛa- madhu- 'sweet' (madhu- 'sweetness, honey'). mūkṣa-ṛa- 'having testicles' (mūkṣa- 'testicle'). phēnā-lā- 'foamy' (phēna- 'foam'). In the following words the primary stem has no final -o-: dhūn-ṛa- 'gray' (dhūm-a 'smoke'), vār-irā- 'travelling in a chariot' (vātho-s 'chariot'), phēn-īla- beside phēnā-lā- 'foamy'.

The addition of -ara- -la- to stems in -ara- is particularly common. The combination -ara- -vāla- (op. p. 182 for Skr. pītra- Gr. πτηζ- = Idg. *pi-tve-ṛ-) was taken into common use as an independent suffix. Skr. aṅkarā-s 'festal gathering' (aṅkar- 'way') it-vārd- 'going' (itvān- 'going'), and further vid-vāld- 'clever' (vid- 'know'), κψā-vāld- 'husbandman' (kψί- 'husbandry') and other words. -ara- is a common fem. termination from adjectives in -ara-; e.g. yāj-va-rā from yāj-ara- 'pious'; pīvārī Avest. aṅvārī from pīvdān- aṅvedān- 'plaus'. In Avestio, certain nom.-acc. neut. end in -ara-, e.g. mīp-va-rār from mīpa-va-n 'pair', karvā-rār from karvān- 'arc', the name for the seven divisions of the earth: op. Gr. πτηζ(τηζ)- 'fat' beside πτηζ- πτηζ-.
Armenian dai-l da-l 'beestings': Gr. ἡγ-λη etc., see above p. 198.

Here too no doubt belong infinitives in -l, as ta-l 'to give (indic. ta-m), bere-l 'to carry' (bere-m), me-rani-l 'to die' (me-rani-m).

Greek. στῆ-λο-ς 'pillar': Skr. sthā-rā- sthā-lā-, see above p. 200. ζι-λο-ς 'felt': Lat. pi-lu-s 'hair' and the derivative pīleus 'felt' (also written pilleus, see I § 612 p. 463 1). καυ-λό-ς 'stalk': Lat. cau-lae pl. 'cavities' (cp. also Lat. cau-li-s 'stalk'), Lith. kau-la-s 'bone'. γεύ-λη 'yoke-ring, thong': cp. Lat. jugulae pl. 'Orion's girdle of stars'. ῥυσ-λό-ς 'blind'. στρεβ-λό-ς 'twisted'. ἕκ-παγλ-ο-ς 'awful, terrible' for ἕκ-πλαγ-λο-ς, from ἕκ-πλαγ-ήμω, see I § 266 p. 215. φυ-λό-ν 'stem, race' φυ-λή 'community' ἀτ-θ-λο-ς ἀθ-λο-ς 'contest' ἀθ-λ-ν ἀθ-λ-ν 'prize'. στρεβ-λη 'roll, roller'.

By the side of the adjectives in pr. Gr. -η-θο-ς (§ 74 p. 184) there were others in -η-λο-ς, like Hom. κατα-φυγλό-ς 'making one shudder, terrible' (κατα-φυγλο), μιθυλό-ς 'imitative, imitated' (μιθυλομαι), including such substantival nomina agentis as κάηλο-ς 'huckster', Lac. διηκλ-ο-ς (and the extended form διηκλικτα-ς) 'actor'. Cp. Lat. cicindela (below, Remark 2) and Lith. tekė-la-s beside tekė-lt (see below).

πιαλό-ς 'fat', like πιαρό-ς, from πιαλω (see § 74 Rem. p. 185), extended πιαλό-ς 'fat' (see § 64 p. 135); like the latter are formed ἱκμαλό-ς 'damp', from ἱκμαλω, ἱκμαλό-ς 'frosty', from ἱκμαλων, δικμαλο-ς 'timid, terrible' from δικμαλων, and many other similar words.

-λω. χερ-αλή beside κιβ-λη 'head': Goth. gib-la m. 'spire' O.H.G. gebal m. 'skull, head', √gebabh-. περ-αλο-ς 'outspread' πέρ-αλ-ν 'leaf'. αἰθ-αλο-ς 'soot'. χρεμβ-αλο-ν 'rattle'.

-λο. -λο- in secondary use. παν-λο-ς, ὀγκ-λο-ς, see p. 199. ἱδυ-λο-ς 'sweetish' (ἡδυ-ς 'sweet'), δριμ-λο-ς 'somewhat sharp' (δριμα-ς 'sharp'), both with shifted accent like ὀγκυλ-ο-ς (see I § 676, 4, p. 542 f.). ιαυλ-ο-ς 'thickly overgrown' for ἱαυλ-λο-ς, from διαυ-ς 'thickly grown', τριαυ-ο-ς 'lisping, snarling, stuttering'

1) In the first sentence of this section of the English edition (p. 462) instead of 'nasal liquid explosives or sonant', read 'nasal liquid explosives or spirant' (Geräuschlaut).
for *τρανύ-λος beside Skr. त्र्यु- ‘brisk, impetuous’ (Wheeler, Der griech. Nominalaccent 63). ὀ-ισ- ισ- ‘smooth, even’, from ὀιο-, Lat. simili-s, for older *sem-λο- or *sem-λο-. χθομ-ισ- ‘low’, beside χθον- ‘earth’ for *χθομ- (I § 204 p. 172, II § 160, 2): Lat. hum-ilis-s. Words like παχυ-λός-ς, where -λο- acts as a diminutive suffix, gave rise to a number of new formations, most of which however appear only in later Greek; as μικρ-υλο-ς ‘small’, from μικρό-ς, ἀγκυ-λο-ς ‘young bear’, from ἀγκυρο-ς; and to extended formations with -ιο- like χαθαρ-υλο-ς ‘cleanly’ (χαθαρο-ς ‘clean’), to which again a further diminutive suffix was added, e. g. ἀνθ-υλλ-ιο-ν ‘floweret’ (ἀνθος), ἠπ-υλλ-ιο-ν ‘small poem’ (ἠπος). Pet names with -λο- are common. ὃνρα-λο-ς cp. ὁνρό-κράτης, Ταξι-λο-ς cp. Ταξι-κλής; hence -λο-ς became an independent ending, e. g. Σω-ιλο-ς cp. Σω-κράτης. Further, we have names of this kind extended by -ιο- as Τρίπν-ιλο-ς, cp. Τρίφνι-κλής; then -ιλο-ς also became an independent ending, as Ἀρ-ιλλο-ς cp. Αρφύ-λας, Θαρνί-λο-ς cp. Θαρνί-μαχο-ς, Βασ-ιλο-ς cp. Βασι-λάς, hence such forms as Ἀγ-υλο-ς Ἡγ-υλο-ς cp. Ἀγρ-στράτοςς, Ἡγ-στράτος, with the -ιο- extension we have e. g. Βασι-λο-ς beside Βασι-λο-ς, hence forms like Νίκ-υλο-ς cp. Νίκο-μηδής.

We may regard either as primary or as denominative formations adjectives in -δ-λο-, such as στιγλό-ς (Pind. στιγλό-ς) ‘silent, quiet’ beside στιγμ ‘I am silent’ and στιγ ‘silence’, ἀπαθ-λό-ς ‘deceitful’ beside ἀπαθώ ‘I deceive’ and ἀπαν ‘deceit’, cp. -δ-λο- § 74 p. 184 f. The same is generally true of forms in -ε-λο- = Idg. -e-lo-, e. g. *τραμ-ε-λο-ς ‘turning’ in ετράνελο-ς ‘turning easily’: Lat. torculus-s for *torque-λο- (I § 431 c p. 320 f.); στιγ-ε-λό-ς beside στιγ-λο-ς ‘solid, compact, firm, hard’; εἰκ-ε-λό-ς ‘like, similar’; με-ε-λό-ς ‘marrow’; σκόπε-ε-λό-ς ‘rock’; νεφε-λή ‘cloud’: Lat. nebula, O.Ir. nēl ‘cloud’ for *nēb-λο-, O.H.G. neb-ult m. ‘cloud’; ἄγ-ε-λή ‘herd’: cp. O.Lat. agolo- n. ‘pastorale baculum, quo pecudes aguntur’ (Paul. Fest). The - ε-λο- can be more certainly identified as a secondary suffix in πιμε- λή ‘fat’ and θυμε-λή ‘place of offering’, to be compared with ὑ-με-ρά and similar words, but in no other examples.
italic. Ital. *fē-lo- in Lat. fēl-āre fēli-ū-s, Umbr. feliūf filiu acc. 'lactantes'. fēl. (abbreviation) 'filius': Gr. ἠγ-λή 'mother’s breast', Lett. dē-l-s 'son' etc., see above p. 198. Lat. sella for *sed-la: Gr. ἱλλά etc., see above, p. 198 f. *grallae 'stilts', compared with gradior. rallu-m (Adam) 'ploughshare' beside rādula 'scraper' (is this for orig. *rad-ūla, or a new formation of later date?) from rādō; also rallu-s (Adam) 'close shorn'. caelum 'chisel' from caedō. pīlum 'pestle' for *pīns-lo-m (I § 208 p. 175 f.). exemplum (from eximī, 'something taken out', hence) 'specimen, type', tem-p-lu-m (cp. Gr. τέμπεμ, 'something cut off', hence) 'holy precinct, temple', with -p- as a glide sound (I § 208 p. 175). assecla, from assequor.

ulo- ula- are very frequent in Latin. In the forms assecula beside assecla, vinculu-m beside vinculu-m, torculu-s (torquēs), coculu-m (coquō), as in trāgula (tragō), -ulo- ula- were developed from -lo- -la- during the Latin period, see I § 269 p. 218, § 431 c p. 320 f., § 509 p. 373. Elsewhere it is doubtful, whether Idg. -lo- or *-lo- or -e-lo- was the original suffix; e.g. in the nomina instrumenti, like capulu-s capulu-m ex-cipulu-m (cp. O.H.G. hev-īlo 'yeast', the means of making something rise), cingulu-m cingula, tēgulu-m tēgula, cópula, rēgula. Further, in substantival nomina agentis, as figulu-s 'potter' legulu-s 'gatherer', and adjective nomina agentis, which usually imply a culpable tendency to some action, as bibulu-s, crēdulu-s, gemulu-s, tremulu-s, pendulu-s: cp. Goth. sakul-s 'quarrelsome' and the like; see below. In a few cases also it is conceivable that the suffix may represent Idg. -u-lo-. Where there has been a transference from the o- to the i- declension, -ili- appears, instead of -ulo-. Thus we have agili-s: Skr. ajirā-s, see above, p. 199. Similarly bibili-s, fragili-s, facili-s, docili-s, habili-s etc., and by an extension to the to-participle coctili-s, fissili-s, flexili-s, versatili-s, volatili-s etc.

-lo- is of common occurrence. aλa, vēlu-m, see p. 199 above. alu-m 'wild garlic' for *an-s-lo-m, cp. O.C.Sl. qch-ati 'to give forth smell' for *on-s-ati, beside Skr. āni-ti. preslu-m for *prem-s-lo-m, from premo. palu-s palu-m for *pac-slo- or *pac-slo-,
from pac-īsīor, √pāk- 'fasten': cp. Gr. πάσσωνο-ς 'peg, nail' as though from a present *πάσσω, for *πακέω (cp. πῆσσω), and hence to be compared in point of formation with O.H.G. deckel from decken = O.Icel. beka. scala for *scantslā, from scondō. For the phonetic changes in these words see I §208 p. 175 f., §570 p. 428.

Remark 2. Osthoff (Paul-Braune’s Beltr. III 346) would also derive from -s-lo- -s-lā- the feminine substantives like fugēla sequēla querēla, and candēla vitēla, referring, -ēla in the former group to *-c-slā (cp. fug-e-re), in the latter to *-c-slā (cp. cand-e-re), and he compares such Germ. forms as O.H.G. wuomi-sola f. huwomi-sol'n 'boasting' (see below). This is possible. Still there is nothing to prevent our deriving them from Idg. -ē-lā-, and I rather prefer this explanation on account of cicindēla 'glow-worm'. This was the feminine of an adjective *cicindēlo-ı-, which may be compared with Gr. μυγή-lō-ı-. Accordingly we should regard candēla and the other parallel forms as having been originally adjectival.

-lo- -ľo- is secondary in simili-s, humili-s (with change of declension, see p. 203 above); similarly parili-s from pār, pestili-s from pesti-s, herbili-s from herba. nūbilu-s from nūbēs. angulus, Umbr. anglon-e 'in angulum' for *anc-lo-, compared with Lat. anc-u-s; similarly O.Lat. unguulus compared with uncu-s; see I §499 p. 366. Whether -lo- is also secondary in Lat. famul falsus Osc. famel 'servus' famelo f. 'familia' (compare Lat. famil-ia Umb. famel-ias pl. 'familiae') may be left an open question; see Dahlénsson in Pauli’s Altital. Stud. III 178.

This suffix was very fertile in forming diminutives. Lat. catulus-s. Umb. katel ‘catulus’ katlu ‘catulum’. Lat. porculus-s. porcil-ia beside porcus: O.H.G. farke-l-i n. Lith. parsžel-i-s 'sucking pig'. rotula beside rota: Lith. ratel-i-s. Other substantives are: regulus, adulescentulus-s, viculus-s, scītulus-m, glandula, nātrīcula, animula, mēnsula; servolus-s, clācola; fīliolu-s, ģlōriola; lineo-la. Adjectives: lognaculus-s, valentulus-s, frīgidelu-s, barbatulus-s; helcolum-s, ģōriolu-s, aureolu-s. Umbr. fondōliculus (fondi-l-e ‘in fontioulis’) for *font-lo-, cp. adro- I §499 p. 366. Osc. Nūvlā- ‘Nola’ in Nūvlānu-s pl. ‘Nolani’ corresponds to a Lat. form *novola (beside novo-s). We should notice also as examples of different phonetic changes; Lat. stella for *stel-lā (Gr. dērη-ı- star’), puella for *gēr-lā, agellus for *ager-lo-s,
nigellu-s for *niger-lo-s, satullu-s for *satur-lo-s, paulu-s paulu-s for *paur-lo-s (Gr. ναύς, 'small, little'), see I § 269 p. 216, § 633 p. 473 f.; further asellu-s for *asen-lo-s, fêmella for *fémen-la, bellu-s for *ben-lo-s (bene), gemellu-s for *yemen-lo-s, suullu-s for *suín-lo-s, coróllo for *corón-la, see I § 208 p. 175; lastly lapillu-s for *lupid-lo-s, see I § 369 p. 280.

In Latin -lo- was often added to these diminutives as a further diminutive suffix, e.g. catellu-s from catulus, cistella from cistula, (catello-: orig. *cat-lo- = *ager-lo- agello-: agro-), agellu-s from agellu-s, paulu-la, paulu-lu-s, tenellu-s, bellu-s.

Another suffix in which the diminutive sense was doubly expressed, but which in the historical period of Latin was regarded merely as a single diminutive suffix, arose in proenochic Italic through the addition of -lo- to the suffix -ko- (§ 88): Lat. diē-cula, Osc. zi-coloiis 'diebus' zi-culud 'die' (see I § 73 p. 63 f., § 135 p. 123). Other examples from Latin are: mūsl-ulu-s 'little mouse, muscle' (ep. Skr. mūš-ka- 'testicle' mūš-akā 'rat, mouse', Armen. mukn 'mouse, muscle'), jūs-culu-m, corculu-m i.e. *cord-culu-m, māter-cula, latrānculu-s, corpus-culu-m, melius-culu-s, igni-culu-s, resti-cula, Levi-culu-s.

Old Irish. O.Ir. de-l 'teat': O.H.G. ti-la etc., see above p. 198. cē-l O.Cymr. coi-l 'augurium': Goth. hái-l-s 'sound, healthy', O.H.G. hei-l 'sound, whole', A.S. hēl O.Icel. heil n. (for *hailiz-) 'lück, favourable omen', Pruss. kai-lūstika-ν acc. 'health' O.C.Sl. cē-lu 'whole, complete'. nēl 'cloud' for *nēb-lo-, Cymr. niul 'cloud': Gr. νπελιν etc., see p. 203 above. coll m. 'hazel' for *cos-lo-: Lat. cor-culu-s (corulu-s) for *cos-, O.H.G. hasai O.Icel. hasl 'hazel'. temel 'darkness': Skr. tam-rā- 'darkening', st-l n. 'seed', √sē-. gabul gobul Mod. Cymr. gafl 'forked branch or twig, of the thighs'.

-s + lo-. nall f. 'exaltation, haughtiness' yasal 'high, exalted, noble' Mod.Cymr. uchel 'high' Gall. Ûxello-dūnu-m 'High-town', compared with O.Ir. ēs uas Mod.Cymr. uch 'above' for *aug-s- (ep. Lith. deksz-tos 'high') from √aug- 'increase'; nall there-
fore = *aug-s-la, on the other hand uosal must be compared
with Lat. auxiliu-m, which represents a form *auxulo-, cp.
famil-ia: famulu-s, Caecil-iu-s: Caeculu-s. ciall Mod.Cymr. puyll
‘wit understanding’ orig. *gej-slā-, cp. Skr. ci-kē-ti ci-nō-ti ‘ob-
serves, finds out’. Perhaps we should add giall ‘hostage’ pr. Kelt.
*ɡēslo-: O.H.G. gisal O.Icel. gisl m. ‘prisoner of war, prisoner
hold as a surety’, common ground-form *gheislo-; the etymology
of the word has not been explained; the vocalism of the Keltic
word is against its connexion with Lat. haeareō, which Osthoff
considered certain (Z. Gesch. d. Perf. 630).

-lo- occurs with diminutival force in pet names, such as
Tuathal cp. Tuath-char; ep. also Gall. Tentalu-s, Camulu-s,
Toutiillu-s, Catullu-s.

siū-la-s ‘thread for stitching’ siū-l-č ‘seam’, perhaps also Gr. β-λ-λα
pl. ‘pieces of leather for shoe soles’ (Hesych.). O.I.G. O.Icel.
sei-l n. ‘rope’ O.H.G. si-lo m. ‘straps for draught cattle, harness’:
Lith. ąt-sei-l-i-s ‘the iron which joins the connecting rod to the
axle, the crank’, ąt-sai-l-č ‘connecting pole between the splinter-bar
pa-stō-la-s ‘stand’, pl. ‘carpenter’s scaffolding’, Goth. stīk-l-s O.H.G.
stechal m. ‘drinking vessel, goblet’ (properly used of drinking
horns that run to a point, then of other drinking vessels): Avest.
tiṛ-ra- ‘point’. O.H.G. hag-at m. O.Icel. hag-l n. ‘hail’ is pre-
sumably to be compared with Gr. κάλκη ‘small stone, pebble’.
O.H.G. stah-al m. O.Icel. stāl n. ‘steel’: Avest. stax-ra- ‘strong,
firm’, Pruss. pahu-staćla-n acc. ‘steel for kindling fire’.

Goth. ag-l-s ‘terrible’, beside ąg ‘I am afraid’. Mid.H.G. krol,
gen. krolles ‘in ringlets, curled’ pr. Germ. *kruz-lā-, see I § 582
‘time’. Goth. fug-l-s O.H.G. fog-al m. ‘bird’, for *fug-ja-?, see
stage play’. O.H.G. ścue-ala Á.S. seeof-l f. Dutch schoff-l
‘shovel’, beside O.H.G. ciehan ‘shove, push’.

The following examples probably contain -ilo-: Goth. hakul-s
O.Icel. hokull m. 'mantle' beside O.Icel. hek-la 'mantle'. O.Icel. squll O.H.G. satul m. 'saddle'. O.H.G. snabul m. 'snout'. Adjectival nomina agentis generally imply an inclination to something: Goth. sakul-s 'quarrelsome', slaful-s (beside slaful-s) 'apt to strike', O.Icel. hugull (beside hugall) 'careful, thoughtful', O.Sax. slapol 'lethargic' flugol 'fleeting' (in O.H.G. -al, as eggal 'ravenous', sprungal 'saliens'); forms like A.S. hlaz-ol 'inclined to laughing' (beside hliehhan 'to laugh') indicate that the suffix was originally accented. Also in secondary use, as Goth. vein-ul-s 'bibulous' from vein n. 'wine' (O.H.G. wort-al 'talkative' from wort n. 'word').

-slo- is frequent; it is nowhere so fertile as in Germanic. O.H.G. ahsala, dehsala, see p. 199. Goth. parsekl n. 'distress', from parsekla 'I press' for pr.-Germ. *prenovó (I § 214 p. 181). Goth. skóh-si n. 'evil spirit'. Goth. hunis A.S. hásel O.Icel. hásal n. 'offering' for *χwunt-sla-, compared with Avest. spent-a- O.C.Sl. svti 'holy', cp. I § 180 p. 158 (where *χwunt-sla-m should be read for *χwunt-tla-m) and § 418 p. 303. O.H.G. wehsal m. O.Icel. víxl n. 'change', compared with O.H.G. wihwan. O.H.G. knuosal A.S. cuðel n. 'family', cp. Gr. γνω-ρι-ς 'a relative'. O.Icel. beisl n. 'bit, curb' ground-form *bhójol + slo-, beside Goth. beita 'I bite'. In particular many nouns were formed in -isla- in connexion with verbs in -jan, as Goth. svartisal n. 'blackness, ink' beside *svartjan O.Icel. sveta 'to blacken', O.H.G. irrisal 'error' beside irren, truobisal 'affliction' beside truoban 'to trouble', ruomisal and hruomisala 'ostentation, boasting' beside hruomen 'to boast'. Later the suffix was added to noun stems, as in Mid.H.G. twanc-sal 'restriction' from twanc 'force', fluht-sal 'a fleeing, escape' from fluht 'flight'. From the Middle High German period onwards it was regarded as a distinct word in composition. Cp. -s-tyo- § 61, -s-trie- § 62, -s-ti- § 100, -s-tis- § 108, -s-men- § 117.

Pr. Germ. -ila- is very frequent, and difficult to explain with certainty. If Paul (in his Beitr. IV 235) is right in holding that pre-Germanic -ilo- in the protoethic Germanic period passed sometimes into -ula-, sometimes into -ela- later -ila-,
according to the varying intensity of the accent, then some of the forms in -ila- must be added to the examples given above of Idg. -ilo- (with pr. Germ. -ula-), and we could derive Goth. mikil-s A.S. mikil O.H.G. mikkil O.Icel. mikill 'great', with Gr. μεγάλο-, from a ground-form *meg-ilo-. But this law does not seem to me clearly established. In any case some of the forms with pr. Germ. -ila- are to be referred to Idg. -e-lo-.

A certain number may represent an Idg. -i-lo-. If we exclude more or less isolated formations, like the already mentioned mikil-s, Goth. ubil-s O.H.G. ubil 'evil, bad' (perhaps the meaning is 'going beyond bounds, transgressing rules', so that we should compare O.H.G. ubir 'over' Gr. ὑπέρ), and Goth. in-ilu f. 'excuse, motive' (beside fafr-inu f. 'charge, ground of complaint'), pr. Germ. -ila- is found especially in substantival nomina agentis and in ddiminutives. Hence these two classes may be placed here:


-ila- occurs also as a secondary suffix: O.H.G. reitil wagan-reitil 'charioteer' from reita 'car, carriage'. We have also examples of nomina agentis without an i preceding the il-suffix: O.H.G. tēhkil beside tēhkil, staphul 'grasshopper', scūvala 'shovel'.

Diminutives. O.H.G. bendil O.Icel. bendell m. 'small band, redimicula' Mod.H.G. dial. (Rh.-Frank.) bendel, which has lost its diminutive meaning. O.H.G. stengil 'stalk' (no longer regarded as a diminutive), from stanga 'pole'. The forms have for the most part passed over to the n-declension: O.H.G. scalchilo m. 'servulus' from scalch m. 'servus', līhhamilo m. 'corpusculum' from
The Suffix -lo, -la, -fle, -fla.


The diminutival l-suffix was extended by other diminutival elements. O.H.G. turīlt (turīln) Mid.H.G. tūrlīn from turīla, chindīlt (chindīln) ‘little child’; for the origin of this extension see Kluge, Stammbild. p. 29. O.H.G. jungal-ing O.Icel. ungla-ingr ‘a youth’, O.Icel. miyslingr from miysla ‘little mouse’, which itself is derived from mūs ‘mouse’.


-flo- may perhaps be traced in the following instances. Pruss. sīrs-il-i-s O.C.Sl. strē-tiū beside Lith. sīrsz-l-ūs ‘hornet’: Dutch horzel. Lith. sprāg-il-a-s ‘flight’, beside sprag-ėti ‘to rustle’. O.C.Sl. koz-tiū (kozīū) ‘he-goat’, from koza ‘goat’. orltū ‘eagle’, beside Lith. erel-i-s O.H.G. aro m. ‘eagle’. * O.C.Sl. sedlo n. ‘saddle’ for *sedilo (are O.H.G. satul A.S. sadol ‘saddle’ borrowed from some Slavonic language?). svēltū ‘luminous’ for *svēltū, from svētū ‘light’. In considering the last two words it shou
be noted that pr. Slav. *sedlo, *světlů would necessarily have appeared in O.C.Sl. as *selo, *světů (I § 545 p. 399, § 548 p. 402). Cp. also Pruss. names like Butil (buta- 'house'), Cantil (canta- 'endurance').

-s-lo- is not uncommon (cp. -s-li- § 98). O.C.Sl. teslo veslo, see p. 199 above. Pruss. san-insl-e f. 'girdle' O.C.Sl. sūn-vēsto n. 'band, fetter' u-veslo n. 'diadem' for *gēgh+s-lo-, √ açēgh- 'tie, press tight', cp. O.C.Sl. ac-lū 'knot'. Lith. mōk-sla- 'teaching'; krisla-s Lett. krist-s 'refuse, fragment' for *krit-sla-; mēsla-s Lett. mēs-l, both usually in pl., 'dung, sweepings' beside Lith. mēs-iu Lett. mēfchu 'I cleanse out' (I § 414 p. 303); gū-sla 'vein, sinew', cp. O.C.Sl. ẑi-la 'vein'; āst-g-s 'one who scents out' āst-l ē nostril for *āstl- beside ūdžin 'I smell': mī-st-lō 'riddle'. O.C.Sl. āslo 'number' for *čē-slo (cp. čīsmę § 117), prešlo 'gradus' for *prešt-slo from Slav. prend- or prent- (see Miklosich, Etym. Wörb. 262), maslo 'oil, salve' beside maž-ati 'to smear' (I loc. cit.).

-o-lo-. In Baltic this is preserved in -e-l-jo-, as Lith. did-eli-s 'great' (beside didi-s 'great' like Gr. μεγάλο- beside μιγάζ), er-eli-s 'eagle' (cp. O.C.Sl. orīlū); usually with diminutive meaning, as in Lith. parszelis 'little pig' galvelė 'little head'. Cp. also Pruss. names like Dargelo Dargels (darga- 'dear'). In Slavonic the simple -elo- also occurs, though rarely: e. g. dreselū (beside dresūkū) 'sorrowful, peevish', cviteliū 'flower', plėveliū 'weed' beside plėva Pruss. pelvo 'chaff'.

-o-lo-, -a-lo- or -o-lo-. In Baltic -ala- is fairly common, as in Lith. mišala pl. Lett. misals 'urine', Lith. uš-valkašas 'bed-cover' (cp. O.C.Sl. oblēklo 'clothing' for *ob-nelk-lo, āvalaš 'foot-covering' (cp. aūlaš p. 210), veikalaš 'business', smaigala 'snowflake'. In Slavonic it is rarer; O.C.Sl. sokolū 'falcon'.

Remark 8. For the combinations -o-lo-, -a-lo-, -o-lo- I can find no sufficiently certain parallels in the other languages to prove that they are genuine pre-Slavonic suffixes. In the case of -o-lo-, Gr. ophelēs and the like must be disregarded; on the other hand Skr. karmāra- 'smith' ekačha- 'talkative' and Goth. slakol-s might be regarded as positive evidence. -o-lo- appears in Skr. ani-lo-s 'wind' (beside ani-m).
Balt. -ė-la- -ė-lja-. This is derived from a verb in -ė-ti in Lith. tekėla-s tekė-l-i-s 'grindstone, running on an axle' (Lett. tezzel-i-s, usually fem. tezzele), from tekėti 'to run'; and is also found in the numerous nomina agentis, which often imply contempt, e.g. paklėdėli-s 'rover, gad-about' from klydėti 'to wander about', netkėli-s 'ne'er-do-weel' (tikti 'to suit'), padūkėli-s 'raving madman' (pa-đūkti 'to go mad') nudėgėli-s 'one ruined by a fire' (nu-dėgės 'burnt out'). Cp. O.C.Sl. part. želė-lū beside želėti 'to wish', vidēlū beside vidēti 'to see'; see below. Examples of -ė-l-ja- as a secondary suffix are kirmēlė 'worm' from O.Lith. kirmi-s, gen. kirmio 'worm', musēlē 'fly' from musē 'fly'; further, diminutives formed from words of more than two syllables, like avinēlī-s 'little ram' from āvina-s 'ram', kepurēlē 'little hat' from kepurē 'hat', kirmēlēlē 'little worm' from kirmēlē. The origin of this secondary -ēlja- is not clear.

-ī-lo-. Lith. akį-ša-s 'observant' (beside akį-ša-s 'furnished with eyes' and akį-ša-s 'furnished with eyes, inquisitive'), beside akį-ti 'to get eyes, become porous'. Cp. O.C.Sl. part. chvali-lū beside chvali-ti 'to praise'.

In Slavonic the suffix -lo-, which formed nomina agentis, was used very freely, and hence was developed the so-called part. pract. act. II; as bi-lū beside bi-ti 'to strike', with jesmi práctically equivalent to a perfect, 'I have struck'. Other examples are nes-lū beside nes-ti 'to carry', by-lū beside by-ti 'to be' (cp. Gr. qū-lo-v, qū-λη), zna-lū beside zna-ti 'to know', dėla-lū beside dėla-ti 'to do, make', želė-lū beside želė-ti 'to wish', chvali-lū beside chvali-ti 'to praise'. Cp. Lat. legulu-s 'one who picks (fruit)' O.H.G. ezzal 'ravenous' (O.C.Sl. jaiū for *éd-lū), tregil 'bearer', Gr. στύαλός 'silent', μιμηλός 'imitative', Lith. tekėla-s (runner) 'grindstone', akįla-s 'observant'.

Diminutives. Lith. -ė-l-i-s and -ė-l-i-s have been mentioned; with paresēli-s compare Lat. porculu-s porcil-ia O.H.G. farhel-i n. 'sucking pig', with ratēli-s, Lat. rotula. ragēli-s 'little horn' may be directly connected with O.C.Sl. rog-l-ə Mod.Sloven. rogəj beside rogů 'horn', though in the Slavonic languages the diminutival sense is lost. The pet names, however, in Slavonic belong
to this class; e.g. Serv. Bōšilo beside Bōso Bogo-Ijub, Bratilo Brajilo beside Brato Brato-Ijub; cp. Pruss. Butil Dargelo p. 211.


In Greek, Italic, Slavonic, and perhaps also in Germanic, these suffixes are found beside -tro- -ilo- (§ 61) and -ro- -lo- (§ 74, 76) with similar meaning. They are used in substantives mainly to denote the means, or a tool, or a locality. They sprang from the coalescence of the so-called ‘determinative’ dh (Skr. rā-dh-āmi, Gr. πλη-θ-ω, Lat. pā-b-ēs, O.C.Sl. i-d-ā, cp. § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20) with a following -ro- -lo-, and are therefore paralle to such combined forms as Gr. -θ-μο- (§ 72) and to -s-lo- (§ 76) and others. Cp. Gr. ἀρ-θ-ρο-ν ‘joint, limb’: ἀρ-θ-μό-ς ‘joining, connexion’; βα-θ-ρο-ν ‘step, threshold, seat, foundation’: βα-θ-μό-ς ‘step’; σκι-θ-ρό-ς ‘exact, precise, careful’: σκι-θ-ἔ-μεν ‘to hold, have’ (σκι-θ- for the normal σκι-θ- is due to association with ἕ-σκι-ν and similar forms, cp. I § 496 p. 364 f.); κηλη-θ-ρο-ν ‘magic drug’: κηλη-θ-μό-ς ‘enchantment’; κηλη-θ-ρο-ν ‘winnowing fan’: κηλη-θ-μό-ς ‘movement’; Lat. sta-b-ulo-m, Czech. sta-dlo Lower Sorb. sta-dlo ‘herd, drove’: Gr. στα-θ-μό-ς ‘standing place’, O.C.Sl. Pol. sta-dio Czech stádo ‘herd’; Lat. fa-b-o: Gr. τε-θ-μό-ς θε-θ-μό-ς ‘statute’ (for the initial τ- θ- cp. σκεθρό-ς σκεθρεμεν); Italian (Tusc.) pēvera ‘a wooden funnel’ = Lat. *ple-b-ra (beside Lat. *ple-tra implied in Milanese πίδρεa ‘wooden funnel’ and other forms, cp. Lat. palpe-bra beside palpe-tra): Gr. πλή-θ-ω ‘I am full’2) and many similar examples. With the forms having ε, a Lat. e after the root syllable, as Gr. σκεθρό-ς, ἐδ-ε-θλο-ν, μίλ-α-θρο-ν, κρεμ-ά-θρα, Lat. illoc-e-bra mandi-bulo-m condie-i-bili-s should be compared (besides σκεθρεμεν mentioned above) γηθίω for *γαθ-ε-θίω = Lat. gaudē for *gαθ-ε-δεῖ, qλέγ-ι-θω, νεμ-ι-θομαί, ἐγ-ά-θω, διακ-δ-θω etc.


2) Add here Gr. πλήθρο-ν τίδος μέτευν in Hesychius, if the reading is right.
The great majority of the nouns that belong to this class are certainly later formations which arose independently in the course of the separate growth of the various families of language. Isolated examples may date from older times, cp. Lat. stā-bula, in-sūbula-m, Czech ši-dlo Pol. szy-dlo O.C.Sl. ši-lo 'punch, awl', common ground-form *sjū-dhlo- -dhla-; Gr. Hom. λυ-θρο- 'contamination', Lat. dé-lā-bru-m pol-lā-bru-m, common ground-form *läuft-dhro-; Lat. sta-bulu-m (*sta-), Czech stá-dlo (*stā-).

In consequence of their equivalent functions and similar sound -dhro, -dhlo- were in many cases confused with -tro-, -tlo-. On this point see § 62 p. 121 f. In Slavonic the older t-suffix was completely ousted by the dh-suffix; the substitution of the dh for t is especially clear in the word for 'plough' O.C.Sl. ralo oralо Czech. rádlo Pol. radlo, where all the other languages, even Lithuanian, show -tro- -tlo-.

Remark. Some have wished to derive this suffix from -thro-, -thlo-. To this hypothesis, it must be confessed, no phonetic objections can be raised (I p. 407 footnote). But its only object is to re-establish the theory of the original identity of this suffix with -tro-, -tlo-, and I do not see how any probable ground can be given for assuming that the latter had split into double forms at so early a period. In other forms the aspirated tenuis appears for the tenuis in Aryan only (cp. I § 475 p. 350 f., § 558 p. 405 ff.), and hence we may at least demand evidence for the existence of an Aryan suffix -thra- == -t-ra-.

To the examples given above a few may be added from the separate groups of languages.


Lat. crī-bru-m, flā-bru-m, ventila-bru-m. dolā-bra, verte-bra, tere-bra and ē-lece-bra ('enticer', fem.). crē-ber (from crē-sco), candēla-ber (beside candēla-bru-m), Mulci-ber (gen. -berī, a new formation instead of *-brī); occasionally the forms have been transferred to the i-declension, as ancla-bri-s, ale-bri-s (beside ali-bili-s). tri-bulu-m, pā-bulu-m, voca-bulu-m, medica-bulu-m, lati-bulu-m, mandi-bulu-m and mandi-bula, fa-bula. Once or twice we find -i-bulu-m as a secondary suffix; for example sessibulu-m (sessu-s sessili-s), tūribulum (tās). From this suffix are formed a large number of adjectives which have passed into the i-declension, as sta-bili-s, nō-bili-s, mō-bili-s, flē-bili-s, de-lē-bili-s, sānā-bili-s, ad-mūrā-bili-s, sepeli-bili-s, vołā-bili-s, intel-ligli-bili-s, in-vendi-bili-s. In a few cases -i-bili-s is a secondary suffix; e. g. odibili-s (odiu-m), illūtibili-s (il-lūtu-s), flexibili-s (flexu-s), persuasibili-s (pers-suasu-m).

Just as -clo- became -cro- by dissimilation in lucru-m (for *lu-clo-m) and in other words (I § 269 p. 217), so it may sometimes have happened that after a preceding ī, -blo-, -bli- became -bro-, -bri-.

Germanic. The proethnic Germanic forms -dra-, -dla-, e. g. in O.H.G. hri-ttara f. 'riddle, sieve', may represent Idg. -tro-, -dle- quite as well as Idg. -dhero-, -dhlo-; cp. § 62 p. 121. O.H.G. hri-ttara may be compared equally well with Lat. crī-bru-m 'sieve' (which contains Idg. -dhero-) or with O.Ir. criathar 'sieve' (Idg. *-tro-). I know of no case where the dh-suffix could be identified with any degree of certainty.

The Suffix -bhō- -bhā-. § 78.

'sounding-board (of an instrument), bell' Pol. klepa-dło. O.C.Sl. cědīlo 'strainer, filter' Pol. cedzi-dło. O.C.Sl. bělīlo 'means for whitening, white paint'.

§ 78. The Suffix -bhō- -bhā-.

This suffix was confined to a small area, and it is only in Balto-Slavonic (and possibly Germanic) that it shows any degree of fertility. As a secondary suffix it was no doubt used even in the prehistoric period of Indo-Germanic, to form names of animals. To judge from Sanskrit, in this usage it was generally or always accented.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. ṛṣa-bhā-s 'bull' points to an Idg. *ṛṣy-bhō-s (*ṛṣy-bhō-s) 'bull' beside Avest. aršan- 'male, man' Gr. ἄρσων ἀρσόν 'male'), and we could at once accept the form as really proethnic, if the suggested connexion of Gr. Εἰραμπ-ούτη-ς Lesb. Έραμποδάτα-ς, a title of Dionysus, with Skr. ṛṣabhā-s is correct. It does not seem to me, however, that Wackernagel (followed by Solmsen, see Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXIX 126 ff. 352 ff.) has satisfactorily removed the difficulty of assuming an assimilation of ṛs to φφ in proethic Greek.

Aryan. Here the suffix is almost confined to names of animals. In Sanskrit besides ṛṣa-bhā-s we have with similar meaning ṛṛṣa-bhā-s, beside ṛṛṣan- 'male, man, bull'. svarabhā-s a fabulous creature with eight legs, enemy of the lion and elephant, suggests Gr. κισάφο-ς 'fox', κόραφο-ς a bird, in Hesych. (compare no doubt κοροντί-ς, so that the bird must have belonged to the raven family), κάλαφο-ς κόκαλαφο-ς a kind of owl. svarabha-name of a snake. rāsabhā-s 'ass' (the only Skr. form with the accent upon the root), from rās- 'shriek, roar, bray'.

sthāla-bhā- beside sthālā- 'large, massive'.

Greek. Εἰραμμόπης-ς, κισάφο-ς, κάλαφο-ς κόκαλαφο-ς, see above. ἱλαφο-ς 'stag' ground-form *el-gho-s, beside λλό-ς for *λλο-ς, O.C.Sl. jelen- (gen. jelen-e) 'stag'. Lith. ęlni-s 'stag, elk' (cp. § 114). Thus κόραφο-ς too (see above) no doubt stands for *kory-bho-, cp. Lat. cornix, κόκαρη κοκάρη 'fox'. κόραφο-ς 'kid', with which Stokes would connect O.Ir. heipr erp (pl. herbind) 'capra, damma'; this word however cannot have lost
a vowel between r and b (p) (for the p cp. I § 524 p. 380). 

κόσμης-ς Att. κόσμις-ς 'thrush'.

κόλασ-ς 'blow with the fist, box on the ear'. κρόταρ-ς 'temple' (of the forehead) beside κρότως κροτίω, (named from the pulsation?). Denomin. ψηλαφάω 'I grope'. χίαρ-ς σκέφαρ-ς 'abuse, calumny'. ϕιλήμαρ-ς 'chattering', subst. 'chatter'. 

ίδαφος n. 'base upon which a thing rests', no doubt transferred to the es-stems by assimilation to ἔδος n. κορυφή 'peak', cp. κόρυ-θ- 'helmet' κορυ-δο-ς 'tufted lark'. ἄρωμα-ς 'gleaming like silver'.

Other examples of this kind are given in Lobeck Proleg. p. 291 ff.

Italic. Perhaps we should class here Lat. mor-bu-s, beside mor-ior, cp. Lith. dár-ba-s and the like (see below).

Old Irish. Perhaps heirp erb 'capra, damma'; see above.

Germanic. From this suffix are no doubt derived the Gothic adverbs in -ba, as ubilaba 'badly, wickedly' báitraba 'bitterly', agluba 'hardly, scarcely', ana-láugniba 'secretly'.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. anksztý-ba-s 'of an early kind, appearing early', beside anksztí adv. 'early', and, modelled on this word, vélýba-s 'of a late kind' beside velaí adv. 'late'. Further, numerous abstract substantives in -y-b-é, derived from adjectives, as anksztýbė 'height, highness' from anksztá-s 'high', jaunybė 'youth' from jáuna-s 'young', bailybė 'timorousness' from bailiú-s 'timorous', kantrybė 'patience' from kantrú-s 'patient'; Lettish has preserved the older unextended -iba, as ãugštiba, jáuniba. Again we have primary nomina actionis in -yba -ybė, as dalýbos pl. 'division of an inheritance' beside dalýti, 'to divide', tikyba tikybė 'faith' beside tikėti 'to believe'; cp. Lett. tizzíba 'faith', màziba 'teaching, instruction' (màzit 'to teach'). Lastly there are a few substantives in which we have the suffix added immediately to the root; dár-ba-s 'work', hence darbús-s 'diligent' and dirbu 'I work', beside darýti 'to do'; gar-ba (Szyrwid) and garbė 'honour', hence garbús-s 'honourable' and gérbiú 'I honour', beside giriú 'I praise'; similarly Lett. schkir-ba 'a split, rift', beside schkir-t (Lith. skir-ti) 'to split, part, divide'. 
In Slavonic the suffix appears in substantives in -ba. O.C.Sl. qtro-ba ‘intestines, belly’ beside jıtro ‘liver’, see § 75 p. 189. 197 f. zulu-ba ‘wickedness’ from zulil ‘wicked’. Serv. rugo-ba ‘disgraceful character’ beside rug O.C.Sl. ragu ‘disgrace’, grdo-ba ‘indecency’ beside O.C.Sl. gridu ‘proud, arrogant’. O.C.Sl. tati-ba ‘thievery, theft’ from tat ‘thief’, gosti-ba ‘entertainment, cheer’ from gost ‘guest’. Starting from forms like these -iba became an independent ending, e.g. drušiba ‘companionship, friendship’, from druš ‘companion, friend’, suliba ‘embassy’ from sulil ‘ambassador’. Cp. tati-stvo, giving rise to suli-stvo § 61 p. 117. The use of -iba was extended by the fact that the form became associated with verbs in -iti (like gostiti drušiti); after this connexion had been established, abstract substantives in -iba were made directly from these verbs (cp. Miklosisch, Vergl. Gr. II 213 ff.). A few nouns in -iba were formed from the participle in -iti (-to-), as ženit-iba ‘wooing, marriage, wedding’ (also ženit-istvo), gostiti-iba ‘hospitality’, orati-iba ‘tillage’, set-iba ‘sowing’; this group of forms arose during the time when the part. pass. was still formed with -to- in these verbs.

§ 79. The Suffix -to- -ta-.

This suffix was both primary and secondary in the proethnic and later periods. We may classify its usage under four headings.

1. -to- -ta- as a primary suffix in participial adjectives and substantives connected with them 1).

The suffix was used to form a participial noun immediately from the root, e.g. *klu-to- ‘heard’ from klei- ‘hear’. This formation must have been very common in the Indo-Germanic period.

The root (in the strict sense, cp. § 8 Rem. i. p. 20) might, generally speaking, be replaced by any element or combination of elements which acted as a verbal stem; hence forms like *yema-to ‘vomited’ Skr. vami-ta- Gr. μεστός (mes-to-ς) Lat.

omī-tu-s, or like *dor̂ki-to- 'brought to sight', Skr. darśi-tā-Goth. ga-tarhi-p-s, partic. of *dorkejō, causal of āderk- 'see', and those developed in the separate languages like āγανν-τό-ς (ἀγαννῶ) Lat. piscā-tu-s (piscāri) Goth. fiskō-p-s (fiskō-n).

The addition of -to- to thematic present stems was no doubt a later process, even though it may have begun in the proethic period; cp. e.g. Skr. darś-a-tā-s 'visible, worth seeing' Gr. ἱππ-ε-τό-ν 'creeping thing', Gall. nem-e-to-n O.Ir. nemed n. 'sanctuary' (properly 'what is revered'). Cp. e-ti-
§ 100. -e-tō- also may be a proethic form: Gr. βιο-το-ς βιοτή 'life, livelihood', O.Ir. biad n. 'livelihood', Lith. gyva-tā 'life, livelihood' O.C.Sl. šīvo-tā 'life, living thing'.

The meaning of these participial forms was generally passive, and with the exception of the last group (darśa-tā-s etc.), that of a perfect participle passive. But the passive sense can hardly have been originally attached to the suffix itself. Numerous forms occur with an active-intransitive sense which dates from the earliest period, such as *bhiṭ-tō- 'become, grown', *sto-tō- 'having a position, standing', *sru-tō- 'having a flow, flowing'. The idea of completion or being complete, and hence of being in a particular condition seems to have been the essential element in the meaning of the forms derived from the verbal stem. Hence we have also active to-participles from active verbs, such as O.H.G. wēs 'skilful, wise' Gr. ἀ-υιτο-ς 'unskilful', Gr. ἡλιτο-ς 'enduring' ὅν-οπό-ς 'entertaining suspicion', Lat. cōnsiderātu-s 'considerate, thoughtful' cēnātu-s 'who has dined' (cp. Mod.H.G. ein gelernter schlosser 'a trained locksmith' lit. 'who has learnt', ein erfahrener mann 'an experienced man', ein ehrvorgessener mensch 'a dishonourable fellow', lit. 'one who has forgotten honour' etc.1)

1) It need hardly be assumed that this sense was first introduced into the participles when they were compounded with other words and the meaning of the compound was epithetised (mittatun, § 50); e.g. Gr. ἀ-υιτο-ς 'being without anything known, without knowledge', Lat. in-cōnsiderātu-s 'being without anything considered, without consideration'; and that it was only on the model of this group of words that the signification was extended to some of the participles when uncompounded.
At the same time, I do not suppose that the use of the to-participle is original in Latin deponents, where they share all the constructions of the present nt- participle and the finite verb, e.g. omnia confessus like omnia confessus and omnia confiteor. This usage arose only after compound tenses like confessus sum had become part of the system of the finite verb.

The idea of completion and of being brought to an end is often replaced by one of capacity or possibility, as in Gr. λυ-τός 'capable of being freed'. This change of meaning is no doubt proethnic in Idg. *morto-s 'mortal' (Skr. mártta- Gr. βορώς). But we find that in the separate languages this usage is seldom or never found except in participles compounded with the privative particle, or in some other form of negative expression. Compare, for examples of the first kind, Skr. á-martaa-s a-mita-s Gr. ἀ-μοῦρος 'immortal', Skr. a-tártta-s 'unsurpassable', a-jita-s 'unsiding', a-dabdha-s 'inviolable, infallible', a-partita-s 'unconquerable', Gr. ἀ-λυτός 'indissoluble', ἀ-μεμπτος 'blameless', ἀ-ἐπιλυτος 'not to be confounded, or terrified', Lat. in-victus 'invincible' in-fectus 'not to be done, impossible', in-numeratus 'innumerable', Goth. un-saht-s 'incontestable', un-atgáht-s 'unapproachable', cp. also O.Ir. di-bríthe 'importabilis'; and of the second, oix ánektóς 'not to be borne', oix ὀνομαστός 'not to be named' in Homer. Hence we may infer that this meaning first arose in negative expressions. It spread most widely in Greek; further examples are ῥοητός 'comprehensible', ἡρμηστός 'wonderful', βαρός 'passable, practicable (of roads).

In every language we meet with a number of forms in -to- which stand in no actual connexion with any verbal system, and are therefore simply adjectives, as Skr. śi-tá- 'cold', Lat. al-tu-s 'high', Goth. raht-s 'right'. Some of these may date from a period of the proethnic language in which the adjectives formed with -to- had not yet been associated with the verb, and thus may never have been participles at all.

Even in the Indo-Germanic period these to-formations were often used as substantives, partly to denote living beings (masc.,
fem. and concrete material things (neut.), partly as abstract substantives (§ 158). In the latter usage this suffix, like -o-, is often found in the masculine. The feminine -tō-, forming abstract substantives, had even then become secondary. This point will be further discussed in the next section.

The to-stems formed immediately from the root usually have the weak grade of ablaut in the root-syllable, e.g. *klātō- *klā-tō-. Beside this, however, we often find the forms of the strong grade, especially in substantival uses. With this is generally united a difference of accent. Cp. e.g. *klety-to-m 'hearing' beside *klātō-s 'heard', mór-to-s 'mortal' beside *myr-tō-s 'dead'). Here too it is not clear how the different grades were originally distributed. Compare the relations of the different grades in ti-stems, § 99.

Remark 1. Analogy often gave rise to mixed forms. For example, Germ. *mär-ða-n n. 'murder' beside Skr. myr-tō-m has the accent of *mēr-to- or *mēr-to- (Skr. már-ta-), Germ. *göl-ða-n n. 'gold' that of *gūhē-to- (Lett. fe'l-ta-s) or *gūhē-to- (O.C.Sl. zlato), and vice versa, Gr. μοιρ-τός (Hesych. — if the word is rightly accented) beside Skr. már-ta-s has the accent of myr-tō- (Skr. myr-tā-s); Gr. βεστός is a confusion of *βεστός (= *myr-tō-s) and *μοετ-τός. There are many other instances.

So far as I can see, we are not warranted in referring forms like Gr. μοετ-τός μοετ-τός, O.H.G. hal-ð = pr. Germ. *χολ-ða-z, O.C.Sl. zlato = pr. Slav. *xol-to, to ground-forms with the, i.e. *myr-tō-s etc., though it would be phonetically possible (see I § 306 p. 241 ff.). Cp. Gr. xoi-το-ς xoi-τη beside xoi-ta, xoi-to-ς beside eί-μι, νόο-το-ς beside νιώμαι, βεστο-τη beside βεστωμαι Lith. brus-tā beside brūdā, and so forth.

Where participles of this kind have strong-grade vocalism, we can hardly help suspecting in many cases that it is due to the analogy of other forms of the verbal system; e.g. Gr. δεστο-ς beside δεστα- etc. contrasted with Skr. diṣṭa-s (from √deṣ-).

Indo-Germanic. *klātō- 'heard, famous', √klety-: Skr. śrutā-s (Avest. srūta-), Gr. κλητός, Lat. in-clūtus-s, O.Ir. cloth (O.Bret. clot 'glory'; perhaps f.), O.H.G. Hlot-hari Lothair (*Klētōs-tōres would have the same meaning) hlēt (loud);
*kléy-to-m 'hearing': Avest. srao-te-m, Goth. hliuþ, and no doubt Mod.Slov. slu-t 'suspicion' Serv. slu-ta 'who surmises'.

*sru-tó 'flowing', √sreú-: Skr. sru-tá-s, Gr. ὑὸ-ρῶ·; Skr. sru-tá-m 'a flowing, flood' Lith. sru-tà f. 'filthy liquid'; Lith. srau-ta-s 'stream, torrent'; compare Skr. svótas- n. 'stream', extended by -es-. *ūš-tó- 'burnt', √eyes-: Skr. uṣ-ṭá-s, Lat. uš-tu-s. *i-tó- 'gone', √eí-: Skr. atita- from ati+ita- 'disappeared, fled away', Gr. αὐταῖ·-ρῶ· f. (scil. ὀδό-ς) 'road passable for waggons', Lat. i-tu-m (est), ad-itu-s; Skr. ē-ta-s 'hastening', Gr. ωλ-τα-ζ 'fate'.

*gi-tó-, √gei- 'piling, range, count, pay': Skr. ci-tá-s 'arranged, piled' Gr. τι-ρό·-ζ 'required' (in Homer also with ἣ, ἁ-τρο-ζ); Skr. ci-ta 'layer' O.C.Sl. ch-ti 'number' po-chti 'enumeration'. *yítílo-, √yeyd- 'see, observe, know': Skr. vittá-s 'found, perceived, known' (Avest. vīsta- 'found'), Gr. ἢ-ιόρ-ζ 'unknown, unskilful', O.Ir. ro fess 'seatum est', Goth. un-vis (stem un-viss-ai-) 'unelegant'; Lat. visu-s, Goth. unveis 'unwise, unskilful' O.H.G. wís 'wise' for Idg. *yit/to- or *yey/to- (O.C.Sl. věstů 'known, clear' is for *yel/to-); and also O.H.G. wisa f. 'way, kind'. *my-tó- *mor-tó-, √mer- 'die': Skr. my-tá- 'having died, dead' a-myta- 'immortal' már-ta- 'mortal, man', Armen. mar-d 'man' (= *my-tó-, see I § 291 p. 232 f.), Gr. μοο-τα-ζ βρο-τα-ζ 'mortal, man' ἀ-μβορο-ζ 'immortal', Lat. Mor-ta goddess of death, one of the Parcae; Skr. mṛtā-m 'death' O.H.G. mord n. 'murder': cp. Rem. I p. 221.

*stř-tó- *stig-tó- 'spread out, stretched out': Skr. stř-tá- Avest. star'-ta-, Gr. στήω-τα-ζ, Lat. stra-tu-s, O.C.Sl. -strí-tů; Gr. στρα-το-ζ 'camp, host'. *yirtó- 'versus', √yert-: Skr. vṛttá-s, Lat. versu-s versu-s; Skr. vṛttā-m n. O.C.Sl. vṛṣṭa f. 'condition, state, position, stage', Lith. varsta-s 'a furrow-length'. *mélk-tó- 'milked', √melg-: Lat. mule-tu-s, Lith. melsz-ta-s: Mid.Ir. mlichtenicht m. 'milk'. *gml-tó-, √gem- 'go': Skr. ga-tá- 'gone, gone out, come' á-gata-s 'underneath', Gr. βα-τα-ζ 'trodden, passable', ἀ-βαρο-ζ 'untrodden, impassable' δοό-βαρο-ζ 'hard to pass over', Lat. circum-ventu-s, and no doubt Lith. pri-gimta-s 'inborn' (cp. I § 249 p. 204). *my-tó- 'thought, meant', √men-: Skr. ma-tá-, Lat. commen-tu-s, Goth. mun-d-s, Lith. miū-ta-s O.C.Sl. mš-tů; Skr. ma-tá-m 'meaning, opinion, purpose' Gr. ἀναρο-ζ 'of one's
The Suffix -to- -tā-.

§ 79.

γεν-τό 'birth, origin', 'made masculine γενε-τη-ς 'begetter, offspring' (cp. under Greek p. 229). With respect to the vowel-gradation of the stem these forms stand on a level with such others as Gr. γεφ-τό-ς, while such forms as Gr. μη-τό-ς (beside κλαμε-το-ς) no doubt correspond to the Skr. bhṛ-tā-.

Causative and Denominative formations: *dorki-tó- from *dorkéjō 'I bring to sight, show', √derek- 'sec': Skr. darsi-tā- 'shown' (darsīyāmi), Goth. ga-tarhi-p-s 'blameworthy, notorious' (ga-tarhja 'I point out, blame'). *yosi-tó-, from *yosējō 'to make put on, clothe', √yes 'put on something': Skr. vasi-tā- 'clothed' (vasāyāmi), Goth. vasi-p-s 'clothed' (vasja). *moni-tó-, from *monējō, √men- 'think, intend': Skr. mānita- 'honoured' (māndāyāmi), Lat. moni-tu-s 'made aware, reminded, taught' (moneō); Skr. māntita-m 'a showing honour to'. The character of the formations in the several languages is so different, that it is somewhat doubtful whether to-participles were formed from true denominatives in Indo-Germanic; cp. e. g. Skr. maṇtri-ta- 'advised, discussed' (maṇtrāyāmi, maṇtra-s), Gr. δορθ-τό-ς 'presented with, given' (δωρίω, δωρο-).

In the separate languages these participles served as the model for a number of adjectives in -to- derived immediately from substantives or adjectives, and meaning 'furnished with, made into' and the like; e. g. Skr. anukurita- 'with young shoots' from ankurata- 'young shoot', aruṇita- 'reddened' from arunī- 'red', Gr. ἀρνωτό-ς 'tasselled' from ἀρνόω- 'tassel', Lat. cordātus-s from cor (cord-), atrātus-s from ater, Goth. un-gēnīp-s 'unmarried', from gēn-s 'woman', Lith. kalnētā-s 'mountainous' from kālina-s 'mountain', brada-ta 'bearded' from brada 'beard'.

In Aryan, Greek and Italic -to- is used also as a secondary suffix, and added immediately to the noun-stem, just as if this were a verb-stem. In Aryan this only occurs in compounds, so that here -to- has the same function as -jo- in adjectival compounds (see § 63 p. 126); e. g. Skr. án-ap-ta- 'not watery' from ap- 'water' Avest. hu-patar-ta- 'well-winged' from a form *patara- 'wing' (§ 74 p. 182); cp. Lat. aurō-clāvātus-s,
Eng. hare-hearted, lily-livered, and the like (see under Germ. p. 234). Similarly Gr. ἄ-γέρως-το-ς 'unhonoured by gifts, unrewarded' from γέρως 'gift of honour', ἄ-Χειμαρ-το-ς 'without storms, without cold' from χεῖμα μαχα 'storm, winter's cold'; but along with these we have γελασ-το-ς from γελάω, a denom. verb from *γελάς- 'laugh' (Solmsen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 109), ἀεσ-το-ς from ἀξίωμα, denom. from ἀξος n. 'remedy', and the like. Lat. liber-tu-s (Falisc. lofer-ta 'liberta'), from Lat. liber, scele-tu-s from scelus -er-is. We may conjecture that the participial -to- was added immediately to noun-stems in the class of Indo-Germanic substantives in -my-to- and -μυ-, which will be discussed separately in § 82 p. 249. This group of words undoubtedly belongs to the preethnic period.

Examples of -e-to- -o-to- are given above, p. 219, and under the separate languages below.


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In Sanskrit the use of -to- was restricted by that of the parallel suffix -no-, which had a similar meaning; see § 66, 1 p. 139 ff.

Skr. -i-ta- = -o-to- occurs not only in vami-ta- (p. 223) but also e.g. in vani-ta- 'loved' (nor. vani-śiś-ta), dhāmi-tā- 'kindled' (fut. dhāmi-śya-ti), cari-tā-m 'course' (inf. cári-tum).

-i-ta- in Causatives and Denominatives. Skr. vēditā- 'informed', beside vēdāyati 'gives to understand, informs'. Avest. raoidita- 'great', from rud- 'grow'. Formed directly from the noun: Skr. anokusita- 'stung' from anokusā- 'sting, hook', karṇakita- 'having side-branches' from kāṛukaka-s 'side-branch', karburita- 'speckled' from karburā- 'speckled', Avest. masita- 'great' from masah- mas-an- n. 'size' (the connexion of āsita- 'quick' with ās-u- 'quick' is uncertain); perhaps also Skr. hārita- Avest. zaïrita- 'yellowish' Skr. paitā- 'gray' rōhita- lōhita- 'red' and so forth. Like Skr. án-āp-ta- (see above p. 224) we have also á-manyu-ta- 'harbouring no enmity', from manyu-ś 'enmity'.

Many -to- participles have quite the character of adjectives. A few examples may be given. Skr. dydhā- 'firm' (Lat. forcti-s forti-s, transferred to the i-decl., √dhergh-), śyátá- 'white', śī-tá- 'cold', sūr-ta- 'clear', trytí- 'rough', tig-itá- 'sharp', redupl. vār-vá-ta- 'dear'. Avest. sar-ta- 'cold, cool': Lith. sūd-ta-s 'cold'.

Further examples of the substantival value in these forms are: Skr. dū-tá- Avest. dú-ta- m. 'messenger' ('one gone into the distance'); Skr. su-ta-s 'soma-juice' ('that which has been pressed out'); Skr. ghāta-s 'blow, killing'; Skr. gār-ta-s 'high chair'; Avest. ka-ta- m. 'grave'; Skr. khā-ta-m 'grave'. Skr. bhak-ta-m 'food, nourishment' ('that which has been allotted'); Skr. ghr-ta-m 'fat'; Skr. y-ta-m 'right'; Skr. ās-ta-m 'home'; Skr. jīvi-ta-m 'life'; Skr. ur-a-ta-m 'will'; Avest. taš-te-m 'the implements of sacrifice'; Avest. fra-dāte-m 'help, prosperity'. Skr. sī-ta 'furrow': O.H.G. sī-ta O.Icel. sī-da f. 'side' ('bounding line, boundary'); Skr. ak-ta 'night' (oŋ- 'anoint, adorn'); Avest. cistā 'wisdom': Skr. cittā-m 'thought, spirit'; Avest. dī-ta- 'look': Skr. dhī-ta-m 'thought'.

Armenian. mar-d 'man' ground-form *mu-tó-. Skr. mf-tá- etc., see above p. 222. has-t 'firm': O.Sax. fas-t 'firm', root-form Idg. pas- or pas-. A doubtful form is dr-and 'door-post, threshold': Skr. d-ta- 'setting, framework of a door' Lat. an-ta four-cornered door-pillar, pilaster' (cf. I § 253 p. 206 f.).

In extended formations: arī-ar 'upright': Skr. y-tá- 'right, properly made'. erd-nu-m 'I swear': O.Sset. ar-d ar-t 'oath', O.C.Sl. ro-ta f. 'oath'.

Greek. Here the to- participles were less closely connected with the other forms of the verbal system than in Aryan, Italic and elsewhere. They were restricted to the attributive use.

λυτος 'that can be loosed' βουλευτος 'time when the oxen are unyoked': Lat. so-lūtus, O.Icel. lū-d-r 'crushed to powder, exhausted'. ἄνωτος 'unknown, ignorant': Skr. buddhā- 'awakened, enlightened, made acquainted, known', √bheyd-. ἐνεκτος 'yoked, put to': Skr. yuk-ta- 'yoked'. Lat. jūnc-tus


άγαν-τό-ς Dor. αγανά-τό-ς 'beloved' from αγαπάω. κοσμη-τό-ς 'set in order' κοσμή-της 'orderer' from κοσμέω. χωλ-τό-ς


'seraged' from χολόω. μηδί-της 'wrathful man' from μηδέω. ἀφετό-
tό-ς 'prepared, seasoned' (of meats) from ἀφετόω. πορευτό-ς
'wandering' from πορευόω. ἀκε-τό-ς 'curable' from ἀκέομαι for
*ἀκε-σο-μαί. ἱμερ-τό-ς 'longed after, lovely' from ἱμελώω. ὑφαντό-ς
'woven' ὑφάν-της 'weaver' from ὑφαίνω. ληστό-ς 'captured' from
ληστομαί. ὄνοματό-ς 'that can be named' from ὄνομαζω.
Examples of words formed directly from nouns are: κορτωτό-ς
'furnished with hunting poles' (κορτό-ς) καρυωτό-ς 'shaped like
a nut (κάρυον-ν)'; words like these gave the type from which
σαλπιγγ-ετό-ς 'shaped like a trumpet' (σάλπιγγ-) and others;
the same kind were formed; further, ἀ-γέφαστο-ς 'without gifts
of honour' (γέφας), ἀπράβαστο-ς 'not worn, unharmed' (beside
ἀπράβης), and other words.

Idg. -e-to- (cp. -e-ti- § 100). ἐλε-τό-ς 'that can be grasped'.
ἐφε-τό-ς 'to be found', εἰρη-τή-ς 'inventor'. Denominative forms:
ναι-τῶ 'dwell', ἀρι-δεικτό-ς 'worth seeing, remarkable'. ἀκε-
tό-ν 'biting creature'. Cp. also ἀν-ήπνοο-ς 'that cannot be com-
pleted' beside ἀ-νύ-ω (Skr. sa-nō-mi), πν-νό-το-ς 'wise' for *
πν-
νό-το- I § 48 p. 41 (cp. Skr. pu-nā-mi 'I purify, clear up');
these words therefore contain the -νευ- -νυ- which is used in
forming the present stem. With -o-to-: βλε-το-ς βιο-τη 'life,
livelihood': O.Ir. biaid etc., see above, p. 219.

Further examples of substantive formed with this suffix
are: νόσ-το-ς 'return home': Skr. ās-ta-m Avest. as-te-m 'home'
for *gs-to-m (Bartholomae, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 483), O.H.G.
nech n. 'provision for the way, support'. βλασ-τό-ς βλάσ-τη 'bud,
shoot', κοσ-το-ς κολ-τη 'couch', ἀμη-το-ς 'mowing, harvest', ἀυ-το-ς
'wool, flock (of wool)', ἀλεκτρ-τό-ς 'battle-cry', κοκε-τό-ς 'wall',
ἐμι-το-ς 'vomiting', ες-τό-ς 'rain'. φυ-τό-ν 'growth', σπάρ-το-ν σπάρ-
τη 'rope', νο-τό-ν 'drink'. κία-τη 'chest, box', ἔξωθη ἔρχεθ ἐγώ
'cage, prison', βρων-τη 'thunder', ἔστι 'brooch', ἄλ-τη 'rugged coast', ἀγ-τη
'blast, wind', ἀτ-τη 'shout', τελε-τη 'ending', ἄρε-τη 'virtue', γαμ-τη
'wife', πνιγ-τη 'understanding'. Abstract ta- stems were employed
to denote persons of the masculine gender (§ 149, 157); hence
came the large class of masculines in -το-ς, like γεν-της act.
'begetter', pass. 'he that is begotten' beside γενε-τη 'origin, birth',

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and ἔργης 'judge', δέω-γης 'receiver', προ-γητής 'interpreter of oracles, soothsayer', ποιη-γης 'maker, poet', ἐδωρ-γης 'bride's father', ἱκλ-γης 'suppliant'; cp. § 80 p. 239 f.

Italic. In this group of languages the to-participles filled a larger and more important place than in any other.

Lat. i-tu-m i-tāre, Umbr. etato 'itâte': Skr. -i-ta- etc., see p. 222 above. Lat. scrip-tu-s, Umbr. scṛehtor pl. 'scripti' Osc. scriptas pl. 'scriptae'. Lat. fisu-s, cp. Umbr. Fissiu Fissiu (a derivativa in -jo-) abl. 'Fisio': Gr. πορέ-ς, ἀκεβόδης. Lat. mulso-s part., molta multa 'punishment', Umb. motar gen. 'multae', Osc. moltam 'multam' pr. Ital. *molk-tā:- Skr. myś-tā- part. of myśdmi 'I take hold of, touch'. Lat. or-tu-s, Umbr. ortom 'ortum' ground-form *r-to-: Gr νέ(μ)ορό-ς 'newly arisen' xon-ορό-ς 'raising of dust, cloud of dust', ground-form *r-tā-, cp. Skr. vrā-na.

Lat. cēnsus, Osc. an-censto fem. 'incensa': Skr. bha-tā-, p. 223 above. Lat. ὕμπ-tus, Umbr. emps 'emptus' da-etom 'demptum', for the p see I § 207 p. 174. Lith. iss-iūta-s 'taken out'. Lat. neu-s, Pelign. oiso abl. 'nea, consumpta', beside tē: pres. Lat. otor utor. Lat. san-tu-s, Umbr. sahts sahatam 'sanctam', Osc. asahtūm 'sanctum'. Lat. sta-tu-s praes-tatu-s, Umbr. Prestotar (o = a, see I § 105 p. 98) gen. 'Praestatae' Osc. statūm 'statum, statum' Staatiis 'Statius': Skr. sthi-tā- Avest. stā-ṭ-, etc., see p. 226 above. Lat. pīdu-s, Umbr. pīhaz pīhōs 'piatus'. Lat. lēqa-tu-s, Osc. ligatūs 'legatis'. Lat. fin-tu-s; Umbr. stati-ta pl. 'statuta'; Osc. xamdrου i. e. kapid-t-i-tom 'ollarium' (beside Lat. capis -idis). Lat. geni-tu-s, Osc. Genetai 'Genetici': Gr. γεν-ετη 'origin, birth'. Lat. taki-tu-s, Umbr. taēz 'tacitus' tasetur pl. 'taciti'.

Lat. ex-ūtu-s: Lith. iss-aūta-s 'stripped' aū-ta-s 'rags for the feet', ci-tu-s Skr. bi-tās 'excited, put in motion'. incertus: Gr. ἄ-αμορ-ας 'undistinguished' (cp. I § 33 p. 33 f.). re-licitu-s: Skr. rik-tās rik-ta-s 'cleared, empty', Gr. α-διά-λίμπτα-ς 'uninterrupted'. Lith. pri-liktu-s 'allowed by fate, allotted'. tortu-s for *torc-tu-s: Gr. ἔρκε-το-ς 'that can be turned, moved round'. pulsus from pellū. tinctu-s: Gr. τεχ-το-ς 'wetted, softened'. lēc-tu-s: Gr. lex-rō-ς 'collected, that can be spoken'. cēsu-s: O.H.G.

Remark 2. The ending -so-s, which had a regular phonetic origin in sciusu-s visu-s su-s moreu-s percu-su-s and similar forms, spread beyond its proper sphere, e.g. lašiu-s, fīxiu-s, sparau-s, musau-s (beside musu-s), čenau-s, hašau-s (beside haštu-s). This was furthered by the analogy of the e-perfect. The parallelism of con-ciusu-s: con-ciesi, lašiu-s: laši, čenau-s: čenau gave rise to fīxiu-s beside fīxi, sparau-s beside sparsi, etc. On the analogy of pendō: pānsa-s, we find in-tensu-s formed beside ten-tu-s (pres. tendō), cp. p. 161 footnote 2. Conversely we have con-četu-s instead of con-čau-s on the analogy of haš-tu-s geś-tu-s.

In Latin the terminations -o-to- -i-to- -e-to- became indistinguishable. molī-tu-s (molere), ali-tu-s beside al-tu-s (alère), pī(n)si-tu-s beside pī(n)su-s (pīnere), O.Lat. ad-gresu-s for *-gred(i)-to-s (I § 501 Rem. 2 p. 368) beside ad-gressu-s (ad-gredī); monī-tu-s (monēre); habī-tu-s (habēre); domī-tu-s (domāre), vestī-tu-s beside vetā-tu-s (vetāre), im-plicī-tu-s beside im-plicātu-s (im-plicāre). Cp. the abstract nouns in -itō § 100.

privā-tu-s mā-tu-s etc. olē-tu-m 'ordure', monē-ta. vestī-tu-s, finī-tu-s etc. statū-tu-s, tribū-tu-s etc. Participles were formed directly from nouns more frequently in Italic than in the other groups of languages: ansa-tu-s from ansa, barba-tu-s from barba, atrā-tu-s from āter, aurī-tu-s from aurī-s, cinctā-tu-s from cinctu-s (gen. cinctūs) and, by a further transference of ending, e.g. gradātu-s from gradu-s (gen. gradūs), arcuātu-s from arcu-s (gen. arcūs), dentātu-s from dēns (gen. dent-is), galēritu-s from galēru-s, patritu-s from pater, nasātu-s from nāsu-s. An isolated example has -őtu-s: aegrotu-s from aeger (stem aegro-). -to- is also added immediately to the stem as a secondary suffix; e.g. liber-tu-s Falisc. lofera 'liberta', jas-tu-s, sceles-tu-s, Umbr. merstō 'iustum' = *mers-(e)s-to- *med-(e)s-to-from meř-s mers 'ius', Lat. omus-tu-s, vetus-tu-s, āber-tu-s, semec-tu-s; often to denote places which contain anything, as arbus-tu-m, cārec-tu-m, virgul-tu-m. Hence come also the
adjectives in -ōnsu-s -ōsu-s, as formō(n)su-s virōsu-s, for -oṃenko-
i. e. -o-yeṣṭ- + to- (see I § 288 p. 199 f., § 501 p. 368, II § 127): cp. Avest. aśavasta- 'pure, upright' (m. 'purity, uprightness' from aśa-van- 'possessed of purity, pure, upright'.

Adjectives. Lat. sanctu-s Umbr. sahta Osc. saahtum, see p. 230 above. Lat. citu-s, catu-s, curtus, stlātu-s làtu-s 'outspread, wide' (for *slf-to-, cp. O.C.Sl. steljaq 'sterno'), ex-celsu-s, pōnsu-s, at-tentu-s, altu-s, beātu-s argātu-s, and other examples.

Substantives. Lat. legātu-s Osc. ligatūs ‘legatis’; Lat. hortu-s Osc. hūrtum: Gr. χόρ-ος ‘grass, place for grazing, courtyard’, O.Ir. gor-t ‘seges’ lub-gort ‘vegetable garden’ (cp. I § 389 p. 291); Lat. lectu-s lectum- ‘lying-place’, lutu-s lutum-, cubitu-s, palātu-s palatum-. Lat. dictu-m, jussu-m, strātu-m, tēctu-m, in-cestu-m, olētu-m. Lat. multa Umb. notar Osc. molta, see p. 230 above, Lat. Vesta, of-fensa, in-pensa, re-pulsa, sub-sessa, secta, fossa; Umbr. totam ‘civitatem’. Osc. tooo toofro ‘civitas’ pr. Ital. touta-: O.Ir. tuath f. ‘people’, Goth. piuda ‘people’, ground-form touta-, v̆ tuv- ‘tumere’.

Old Irish. The participial -to- still survives as a verbal suffix, in the preterite passive, a periphrastic formation which is only found in the 3. sing. and 3 pl. (the verb substantive has been dropped). ro alt ‘educatus est’ (alim ‘educo’): Lat. allu-s. ro chēt ‘cantus est’ (canim ‘cano’): Lat. canit-s. do-breth Mid.Ir. ‘datum est’ (do-biur ‘I bring, give’): Skr. bhya-
tā- etc. ro fess ‘scitum est’: Skr. vittā- etc. ro both ‘one was’: Gr. γερ-όν ‘growth’ Lith. būtā-s ‘dwelling, house’ Skr. bhā-tā-
‘become’. ro chlōs ‘auditum est’, v̆ kley-s-. ro erbad ‘commissum, creditum est’ beside pres. 3. sing. erbaid ‘credit’. This group of forms no doubt sprang from the impersonal use of the neuter.

In some words the old participial form has a purely adjectival value. necht ‘pure’: Skr. nik-tā- ‘washed’, Gr. ἀ-πιτε-ζ ‘unwashed’, cloth ‘famed’: Skr. bru-tā- etc., see p. 221 nocht ‘naked’: Goth. nuqap-s. gnath ‘known, accustomed’: Skr. jnā-
tā- etc., see p. 221. Generally the participles which were used as adjectives were not also used as the pret. pass., cp. cloth beside ro chlōs.
The participial meaning still survives in *-the*, an extension of the suffix by *-jo* (cp. Gr. ἀμφότερος-ς: ἀμφότος, Skr. mārtiya-. mārta., O.H.G. wīsī 'wise' Mid.H.G. sīhte 'shallow'). *brithe* brethes 'brought': Skr. bhṛ-tā-. cēte 'cantus'. er-ite 'susceptus' beside 3. sing. pres. conj. -air-šena 'suscipiat': Lat. ēm-p-tus-. tuicse 'electus' beside to-gu 'choice', from -gus-t-iyo,: Skr. juṣ-tā-. juṣ-ta- 'beloved, desired', Gr. γενε-τός 'tasted, to be tasted'. A.S. ge-cost 'valuable' yeus-. Sometimes the idea of capacity, possibility is implied, as in *rithe* 'vendible' (also 'sold, given up') beside re-nim 'I give up, sell', di-brithe 'importabilis'. There is certainly a connexion between the use of *-the*-forms as participles, and the conversion of the predicative *to*-participle into a preterite passive. Preference was given to the existing *-tio*-forms in order to make a distinction in form answering to the distinction in sense; and then new *-tio*-forms were made at will and used as participles. The same thing happened in Cymric; only the suffix employed there for the participles was *-t-jo*, but *-totic* which came from *-t-ico* (Zeuss-Ebel, Gr. C. p. 582).

On the other hand, we have the simple *-to* - *tā* in partee used as substantives. gor-t m. seges': Gr. γόρος-ς, see p. 232 above. mlicht blicht m. (Mid.Ir.) 'milk': Lat. mūlcto- etc., see above p. 222. der-met n. 'a forgetting': Skr. ma-tād-m., see p. 222 above. nemed (Gall. neme-to-n) n. 'sacred thing' ('something honoured'), nem-. adigit n. 'law'. biad n. 'means of livelihood': Gr. βιο-ρος βιο-ρη 'life, livelihood' etc., see p. 219 above. both f. 'dwelling-place, hut'; cp. above ro both. loth f. filth': Lat. lu-tu-s lu-tu-m. breth f. 'judgement, sentence', im-thecht f. 'going round, change'. ed-bart ed-part f. 'oblatio'.

Cp. Gall. amb-actu-s 'bondman, servant' orig. 'one sent about, messenger' (see p. 228), Celtu-s Cestu-s Ate-gnatu-s Ate-gnata, Tavaro. pl. ('pilati'), Senatu-s Cirata, and many similar forms.

Germanic. *-to* was a living participial suffix in derivative verbs (Causative and Denominative), e.g. Goth. nasip-s O.H.G. gi-nerit 'saved' from nasjan nerien 'to save'; Goth. ga-tarhip-s 'blame-worthy, notorious' from ga-tarhjan 'to mark out, blame': Skr. darbhā- 'shown'; paùrsip-s 'thirsty' from paùrseip mık 'I am
thirsty", lit. "it thirsts me": Skr. ṭṛṣitā- 'thirsty'; Goth. salbōp-s O.H.G. gi-salbōt 'anointed' from salbōn 'to anoint'; Goth. habāp-s O.H.G. gi-habōt 'had' from haban habēn 'to have'. Further in Gothic, we have such particles attached to the preterite-presents, e. g. mund-s 'meant, thought' beside man 'I think, mean'. Skr. matā- etc., skuld-s 'owed' beside skal 'I ought, maht-s 'able, possible', beside mag 'I can'. Lastly they occur in certain strong verbs which have preterites in -ta, e. g. Goth. vaúrht-s O.H.G. gi-worht -woraht beside Goth. vaúrkjan O.H.G. wurchen 'work': Avest. varštā- 'worked, done' Gr. ἀ-πέκρο-ς 'undone' √ yer-γ-, Goth. * pháht-s O.H.G. gi-dah (pr. Germ. * pũẉx-ta-, I § 214 p. 181) beside pūkjan dunkhen 'to seem', Goth. * braht-s O.H.G. brāht (pr. Germ. * braẉx-ta-) beside briggan bringan 'to bring'. In all other cases -eno- -ono- was the particiapl suffix in use (§ 67 p. 149 ff.), and in O.H.G. it appears also in preterite-presents (gi-wiggen from weig 'I know', gi-torran from gi-tar 'I dare', and occasionally in the strong verbs with t-preterites (brugman, side by side with brāht).

The suffix also formed participles directly from nouns. Goth. un-gēniḥ-s 'not having a wife', from gēn-s 'woman'. O.H.G. gestīrnoṭ 'having a brow or front' from gistīrni gestīrne n. 'brow'; Mid.H.G. ge-jāret 'aged' lit. 'be-yeared'. O.Icel. hārd-r 'covered with hair'. In the development of Anglo-Saxon and Norse there appears a special group of adjectival compounds derived in this way, e. g. Engl. bare-hearted, bare-lipped, bare-footed, bare-headed, O.Icel. bjart-litad-r 'bright-coloured', sex-hofdād-r 'six-headed', gull-bitlād-r 'with golden bridle': cp. Skr. ān-aptā- 'not watery' Lat. auro-clāvātus-s p. 224.

Idg. -eto- is no doubt to be traced in O.H.G. hulīd n. 'velamentum', egīda f. 'harrow' (: Mod.Cymr. oged O.Corn. ocat 'harrow') and other words. -eto- in Goth. naqāp-s beside O.Icel. nokkved-r nokkvid-r O.Ir. nocht 'naked' (cp. Skr. nag-na- with the participial suffix -no-), Goth. niuhāp n., side by side with O.H.G. licht n. 'light'.

It is common in adjectives. Further examples are: Goth. sun-d-s O.H.G. wunt 'wounded': Gr. Favo- in Fafāla; of lāi
(Hesych.). Goth. bi-ākt-s 'acustomed': Lith. j-ünkta-s 'ac-
zorak-t O.Sax. torht toroht 'clear, bright': Skr. dyštā-s 'seen', 
common ground-form *dyḵ-tō-. Goth. faurh-t-s O.Sax. forht 
'timid'. O.H.G. zar-t 'dear, fine, beautiful' beside Skr. ṛa-dyta-s 
'considerate, treated with consideration, honoured'. Goth. kal-d-s 
O.H.G. kalt 'cold': cp. Lat. gelu, O.CSl. goł-off 'ice'). Goth. 
raik-t-s O.H.G. reht 'right': O.Pers. rāsta 'upright, just' (for 
*rāṣta- 'on the analogy of forms with ra-'), Gr. ὀστρώ-ς 'ex-
 tended, outstretched', Lat. rēctu-s, ground-form *rēk-t-, ἱφτ-. 
Goth. bairh-t-s O.H.G. berahht 'bright'. O.H.G. lich-t 'beaming'. 
Goth. dāu-p-s O.H.G. tō-t 'dead', from O.H.G. twussion 'to die'. 
Goth. haf-t-s O.H.G. haft 'captured, fettered': Lat. cap-tu-s.

Substantives. Goth. mō-p-s (stem mō-da-) 'anger' O.H.G. 
mut m. 'spirit, mind, courage', beside O.CSl. sū-mē-ti 'to dare'. 
A.S. drōh-t m. 'work' O.Icel. þrōtt-r 'strength', cp. O.H.G. drucchen 
'to press'. O.H.G. haf-t m. n. A.S. hæft m. O.Icel. hapt n. 
'bond, fetter', cp. Goth. haf-t-s 'captus'. O.H.G. O.Sax. frost-t 
A.S. fœst m. O.Icel. frost n. 'frost', beside O.H.G. frisian 'to 
freeze'. O.H.G. gi-waht m. 'mention, fame', beside gi-wuog 'he 
made mention of': Skr. uk-tā- 'spoken', ṛ̣vēg-. O.H.G. mor-d 
O. Icel. mord n. 'murder, killing': Skr. mr-tā-ṃ- 'death. Goth. 
gul-p O.H.G. gold n. 'gold': Lett. sēl-t-s O.CSl. zla-to 'gold', 
ghel- 'to shine with a yellow gleam'. O.H.G. pro-d n. O.Icel. 
brod n. 'broth': Lat. dō-frum-tum -frātiu-m. Goth. piu-p O.Icel. 
þjōd n. 'good' (subst.). Goth. hliu-p 'listening to, attention, 
silence' O.Icel. lýjöd n. 'hearing, sound': Avest. srao-te-m, see 
p. 221 f. O.H.G. ferid n. 'navigium' zimbrid n. 'building'. 
Goth. skanda O.H.G. scanta f. 'shame' beside the adj. O.H.G. 
scan-t 'ashamed' (cp. O.H.G. scama 'shame'). O.H.G. wun-ta 
'wound', beside wunt 'wounded', scar-ta 'notch, wound', beside 
scar-t 'injured, mutilated', forah-ta 'fear', beside Goth. faurh-t-s

1) Do the last two words, scat and kall, come from Idg. *cf-to-
*gi-to- or *gor-to- *got-to-? There is the same doubt as to O.H.G. scar-
t 'injured, mutilated'.

'fearful, timid'. Goth. ras-ta 'a length of road' O.H.G. rasta
'rest, repose, a length of road'. O.H.G. slah-ta 'killing, slaughter'.
us-fartō f. (n-decl) 'a going out' (usfarpoon gatāujan us skipa
i.e. 'to suffer shipwreck'). Goth. piu-da O.H.G. diota 'people':
Osc. tōto etc., see p. 232 above.

Balto-Slavonic.

In Lithuanian the to-participle is still in regular use
with a passive sense in verbs of all classes. gūr-ta-s 'famed':
Skr. gūr-ta-s 'approved, welcome, pleasant', ground-form *gr-to-
and *gr-to-. pīl-ta-s 'poured, shed': Skr. pūr-tā- 'filled', ground-
form *pl-to- and *pl-to-. kirsta-s 'hewn' (pres. kert-ū): Skr.
kyttā-s 'cut off, split', ground-form *qrt-to-, qwert-. sūk-ta-s
'turned' (pres. sūk-ū). at-sēkta-s 'traced out, found out': Lat.
sec-tā sectāri. dē-ta-s 'laid' (pres. dedī): Skr. -dhi-ta- etc., see
p. 229 above. jēskō-ta-s 'sought' (pres. jēskau). pa-veizdēta-s
'examined, revised' (pres. pa-veizdu). tāiky-ta-s ('properly united'
(pres. táiku). āuksin-ta-s 'gilded' (pres. āuksumu). baumā-ta-s
'saddled' (pres. baumāju). Also act.-intrans., but only rarely, as
bū-ta neutr. 'been', e.g. cxion yrā būta 'people have been here': Skr.
bhū-tā- 'become': vaśiū-ta-s 'riding (in a carriage)' (pres.
vaśiūju 'I ride').

Partic. in -ā-ta-s and -ā-ta-s are often formed directly from
nouns. dūkēta-s 'dusty' from dūkēs pl. 'dust'. skylēta-s 'per-
forated' from skylē 'hole'. kalnāta-s 'mountainous, full of moun-
tains' from kalna-s 'mountain', gaurīta-s 'with delicate hair'
from gaurāi pl. 'delicate hair'. qsēta-s 'with a handle' from qsd
'handle', lūpāta-s 'lipped' from lūpa 'lip'.

In Old Church Slavonic to- was but little used as
a participial suffix. It occurs regularly in forms from roots
ending in a nasal, e.g. qę-tū 'hewn', mownl: Lith. gūt-ta-s
'hunted, driven' (used of cattle), Skr. hā-ta-r etc., see p. 225
above; pę-tū 'stretched, hung': Lith. pūn-ta-s 'twisted'; ję-tū 'taken':

1) Jis rādo svākimo būta 'he found that there was a stranger' properly
'the existing of a stranger', with the same nominal construction as the
passive participles have.
§ 79. 

The Suffix -to- -tâ-.

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Lith. im-ta-s 'taken'. Besides these, it occurs in certain roots with r̥i, i, e before the suffix, e. g. pro-strâti 'outstretched'; Skr. sth-tā-s etc., see p. 222 above; vi-ti 'wounded': Lith. vy-ta-s 'twisted' (of cords); pē-ti 'sung'. Elsewhere -eno- (-no-) was the usual form, see § 67 p. 151 and p. 154 f.

Partee. in -a-ti, from nouns, are common. branda 'beard' from brada 'beard': Lat. barbatu-s, cp. also Lith. barzdûta-s. rogata 'horned' from rogū 'horn': cp. Lith. rûgûta-s. ženata 'having a wife' from žena 'woman'. maštata 'maritata' from mašt 'man'.

-e-to- -o-to- in Balto-Slavonic. The former is sometimes found in Slavonic, as O.C.Sl. trep-eti 'tremor' Little-Russ. trep-eta 'aspen'; O.C.Sl. kreč-eti 'cicala'. -o-to-: Lith. gyvatû 'life, livelihood'. O.C.Sl. šivoti 'life, living being': Gr. φλο-ρο-ς etc., see p. 219 above; Lett. luppata-s 'patch, shred' (lup-t Lith. lûp-ti 'to pare, fray'); Lith. sūkata 'giddy sickness (of sheep)' sūk-ti 'to turn'), adatû Lett. addata 'needle' (Lith. ad-yti 'to stitch'); O.C.Sl. klukotû 'bubbling' (subst.), klopotû 'noise' Pol. klopot 'unrest', Czech blekot 'yelping' (subst.) (O.C.Sl. blekotati 'to bleat' Russ. blekotał 'to stammer'), dûsot 'roar', sikot 'hiss', lakota 'eager desire'.

In Adjectives it is common. Lith. spista-s 'pressed, thick' (beside spintû spisti 'to fly out in swarms', of bees): Lat. spissus-s. Lith. skûs-ta-s 'with a thin stream', dialectically also 'pure, clear' of liquids, skûs-ta-s 'clear, shining', O.C.Sl. ĉis-ti 'pure, holy', beside Lith. skëdšiû 'I part, separate, rarefy'. Lith. gel-ta-s O.C.Sl. šlû-ti (pr. slav. *gû-ti) 'yellowish'. Lith. szûl-ta-s 'cold': Avest. sar-ta- 'cold'. tvûr-ta-s 'firm'. drûd-ta-s 'firm, lasting', cp. no doubt O.H.G. trû-t 'beloved, dear' and trûen 'to trust, believe'. pk-ta-s 'angry'. bdû-ta-s 'white'. rûks-ta-s 'sour'. kûrsz-ta-s 'hot'. dûksz-ta-s 'high'. O.C.Sl. tûs-ti 'fat'. šestû šestokû 'hard', no doubt *brig. 'burnt', for *gêk-s-to- beside šegû 'I burn' (cp. I § 545 p. 400). is-ti 'certain, true'. lyû-ti 'violent, grim, terrible'. čes-ti 'thick': Lith. part. kûmsz-ta-s 'stuffed', (kemsû 'I stuff'). otû-brisû 'opened, open' (otû-brîszû 'I let loose, open'). u-nûs-ti 'wreathed, crowned' (û-nûszû 'I wreathe, crown').

§ 80. 3. -tā- as a secondary suffix, forming abstract substantives 1).

The suffix -tā- which, as we have seen, formed primary abstract substantives in the proethnic and later periods, has Avest. cīs-tā- 'wisdom', Gr. ἁγ-τή 'virtue', Lat. multā 'punishment', O.Ir. ed-bart f. 'oblation', Goth. skan-da 'shame', Lith. gel-ta 'yellowness', O.C.Sl. vris-ta 'position, stage', (see § 79), had also begun to

be used in the proethnic period as a secondary suffix, and formed abstract substantives from substantives and adjectives alike. It seems to have been even then extended to -tati- (§ 102), and in some languages it was partly or wholly superseded by this suffix or by -tati- (see loc. cit.).

-ta- was fertile in Aryan, Greek, Germanic, and Slavonic.


Greek. Here these abstract substantives were used of persons (cp. Skr. deva-ta- ‘divinity’ then ‘deity, god’, O.C.Sl. juno-ta ‘young man’, orig. ‘youthfulness’); and they were altered to look like masculines by a change of form in the nom. and gen. sing., just as γενή became γενής (see § 79 p. 229 f.). It is now impossible to distinguish the forms in which this change first took place and which then served as models for the rest. The feminines in -tā in their abstract meaning fell out of use in prehistoric times, replaced no doubt by forms in -tata-, compare e. g. baρ mónc -tac-oç ‘weight’ with Skr. guru-ta-
'weight', Goth. kau̱ri̱ja 'burden', broadly-rης -της-ας (also -γης της-ος) 'slowness' with Skr. nydun-τά- 'softness'. The following are examples of this change to the masculine gender:

άγρο-ρης-'dweller in the country' from αγρό-ς, δημό-ρης 'fellow demesman' from δήμο-ς, ἵππο-ρα 'charioteer' (-τα is the vocative form, which was also used as nominative, see the Author Morph. Unt. II 199 f. Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 1880 p. 660, G. Meyer Gr. Gr.² 318) from ἵππο-ς. οἰκέ-ρης 'member of one's household' from οἰκό-ς, which served as the type for εὐνό-ρης 'sharer of one's bed, husband', beside εὐνόο and the like. πολι-βου̱ντης-ς 'one rich in cattle' from βοὐ-ς. ναὐ̱-της-ς 'sailor' from ναῦ-ς.

The primary and secondary formations had two points of contact. First, e. g. οἰκέ-της-ς and γενέ-της-ς had the same ending -έτης-ς; and secondly certain of them could be regarded equally well as denominative or as participial formations, e. g. καρίνος-της-ς 'helmed, armed man, warrior' κεφάλας-της-ς 'horned creature, ram' αἰχμαλ-της-ς 'javelin-thrower'.

Italic. Examples are rare. juven-ta (see above, p. 239) and its opposite senec-ta, Majes-ta Vulcan's consort. It is clear that -τα(-) and -τα(-) have spread at the expense of -τά-.

Latin perhaps, as well as Greek, may have had masculines in -τά-: eques equitis like ἵππο-ρα and the like. See on this point § 123 Rem. 1.

Germanic. All the forms excepting Goth. jun-da (see above, p. 239) had -iβó- or -idó-. (the latter is rare, e. g. Goth. duβida 'wilderness' from duβ-s 'waste, desolate'). -i- represents the Idg. -e- of the o-stems; but here and there Idg. -i- may have been the original sound, as in O.H.G. gi-meini-da 'community' beside Goth. ga-máini- 'common, communis'. Even in proethnic Germanic -iβó- (-idó-) was transferred to other classes of stems, e. g. to those in -u-; the word Jun-da escaped this change merely because the stem from which it was derived (= Skr. gádev-) had fallen out of independent use.

These abstract substantives were far more frequently derived from adjectives than from substantives.
Goth. *vargiða* 'damnation' from *varga*- m. O.I.H.G. *warg* m. 'outlawed criminal, banished evildoer'. Goth. *veitvōdiða* 'evidence' from *veitoð-*s 'witless'. A.S. *gūf* O.Icel. *gūf* 'thief' from Æðof *þjōf-*r 'thief'. Goth. *hauhīða* O.H.G. *hōhida* 'height' from *hāuh-*s hōn 'high'. O.H.G. *heilīda* O.Icel. *heild* 'health' from O.H.G. *heil* O.Icel. *heilt* 'healthy'. Goth. *niuijīða* 'newness' from *niuji-*s 'new'. *faŭriða* 'ago' from *fańri-*s 'old'. *tulgiða* 'safety, fortification', from *tulgu-*s 'firm'.

In West-Germanic and Norse -iðō- was associated with the verbs in -jan, since verbs of this kind were often connected with the nouns from which the -iðō- forms were derived and -i- was a characteristic mark of their conjugation, cp. e.g. O.H.G. *hōhida* beside *hōhen* (Goth. *hauhjan*) 'to exalt'. Hence arose analogical primary formations, which were most common in High German, as O.H.G. *gi-hōrida* 'hearing' formed from *gi-hōren* (Goth. *ga-hāusjan*) 'to hear', *ir-lōsida* 'release' (subst.) from *ir-lōsen* (Goth. *us-lāusjan*) 'to release'. Later on these were formed from other verbs than those in -jan; as O.H.G. *far-manīda* 'contempt' from *far-manōn*, *gi-habīda* 'bearing, behaviour' from *gi-habēn*, *ant-findīda* 'feeling' from *ant-findīan*.

Balto-Slavonic.

In Lithuanian -tā- is quite rare in this use, e.g. *sveika-tā* 'health' from *sveika-s* 'healthy'. Possibly -tā was not pure Lithuanian, but borrowed from Slavonic; cp. *nogatā* (nēgatā) 'nakedness' from Pol. *nagota*, *siratā* 'orphan' from Pol. *sierota* Little-Russ. *syrota*.

Old Church Slavonic. *rabota* 'servitude' from *rābui* 'servant', *gnusota* 'dirtiness' from *gnusu* 'dirt', *sramota* 'shame' from *sramu* 'shame', *dobrota* 'goodness' from *dobru* 'good', *pistrotā* 'motley colouring' from *pistrī* 'motley', *bēlota* 'whiteness' from *bēlu* 'white', *kestota* 'hardness' from *kestu* 'hard'. Some have become 'concrete' *sirota* f. *orphan*, orig. 'bereavement', from *siru* 'bereaved, orbus' and *junota* m. 'young man', orig. 'youth' from *junu* 'young'. Cp. above, p. 289, Gr. *ἀγέρ-ης* etc., and § 157.
§ 81. 3. -to- as a Suffix of Comparison. This class includes the -to- of the ordinal numerals, and the superlative -is-to- which is an extension of the primary comparative-suffix -jes- (§ 135).

An extension of -to- by -mo- forms the superlative-suffix -tymo-, which was discussed in § 73 p. 177 ff.

Indo-Germanic. The numerals in this period had sometimes -mo- (§ 72, 2 p. 166 ff.), sometimes -to-, sometimes perhaps both forms, e. g. *dekmom- and *dekmto- 'tenth'. The latter form was the original of Gr. δέκα-ρος, Goth. taðum-da, Lith. deszi-m-tas O.C.Sl. deset-tu. Skr. catur-thá-s, Gr. τέρατο-ς tērata-re-ς, Lat. quar-tu-s for *ctvar-to-s, O.H.G. fior-do (n-stem), Lith. ketvir-tas O.C.Sl. četviri-tu 'fourth'. Skr. śaś-thá-s, Gr. εκ- re-ς, Lat. ex-tu-s, Goth. saiks-ta (n-stem), Lith. szēsz-tas O.C.Sl. šes-tu 'sixth', cp. I § 589 Rem. 2 p. 446. Gr. ἕξος-τός Boeot. Fīxas-tó-ς 'twentieth' contrasted with Avest. viśas-tama- Lat. viēsensim-su, see above, p. 177.

Remark 1. *dekp 'ten' has the parallel form *dekpt (Skr. dañt- f. 'decade', Goth. taðum, Lith. dëxzimt, pl. dëxzimt-ę, O.C.Sl. pl. deset-ę, see I § 244 p. 202, § 634, 2 p. 522, II § 123); this naturally suggests the comparison, *dekmto-s: *dekpnt = *dekmomo-s : dekp. Cp. p. 167 Rem. And it can hardly be denied that this -to- and the -to- of the cardinal numeral *kaptō-m 'hundred' (Skr. satā-m etc.) are identical. I should have more confidence in suggesting this view of *dekmto-, but that the -to- of the ordinal numerals may also be the participial suffix; the tenth might be, so to speak, the be-ten-re (cp. Skr. dū-sp-ta- etc. p. 224), i. e. 'he to whom the number ten has been assigned in an enumeration'.

With the numerals proper is connected Skr. kati-thá-s 'which (in a series)'; beside káti Avest. caiti 'how many?'; Lat. cōt-tiē for *cyst(ī)-tej- (loc.) 'on a day of whatsoever number, on which day soever, every day' beside quo-t for *quò-ti (I § 655, 1 p. 501). Cp. I § 501 Rem. 2 p. 368 § 633 p. 474. It is formed in the same way as Skr. viśati-tamā-s 'twentieth'.

-is-to-, in the proethnic language, was the usual superlative ending where the comparative was formed in-jes-. *loghīsto-s: Skr. dāghīṣtha-s 'nimblest, smallest', Gr. ἑλάκ-ιτο-ς 'smallest'. Skr. svād-iṣṭha-s Gr. ἑ-ιτο-ς Goth. suit-ist-s 'suavissimus'. *plējsto-s 'plurimus' i. e. *plē+isto-: Gr. πλεῖστο-ς; as regards Avest. fraēšta-
O. Icel. *flestr* see p. 244. 247 f. The root-syllable had originally the weak form of Ablaut, and -*to*- was accented; this is shown on the one hand by Gr. κρατ-στο-ς beside κράτος, ἀλλ-στο-ς beside ἀλλος, and the like, on the other hand by Skr. jyeṣṭha-ś kaniṣṭha-ś and O.Fries. lērest, with *r* for pr. Germ. *z*, beside lēssa and the like (see Kluge, Paul-Braune’s Beitr. VIII 519 ff., Wheeler, Der griech. Nominalacc. 40 f.); cp. also the accentuation of -*to*- in numerals like Skr. catur-thā-ś Gr. εἴκοσ-τό-ς O.H.G. sibun-to (pr. Germ. -*dō*). In the separate branches of language, both the vocalism and the accentuation of these superlatives were influenced more or less strongly by the comparative forms, themselves at the same time reacting upon the latter.

The new suffix -*isto*- was primary to start with, like the comparative -*ies*- . But in all the different branches in which it was fertile, i.e. in Aryan, Greek and Germanic, it was very soon used along with -*ies*- as a denominative (cp. § 58 p. 106 f.).


Remarck 2. I cannot follow those who would infer from this another protoethnic suffix -*tho*- , so long as no undoubted example of the aspirate has been found in the European branch. Whence comes the aspirate in Gr. ἱερά-ς ‘last’? — The question of the Indo-Germanic Tennes Aspirates is not decided even by Moulton’s essay, ingenious as it is, in the American Journal of Philology VIII 207 ff., since he is only concerned with the evidence in Greek. What, for instance, do we gain by deriving Gr. τετρα-ς from *τετερα-ς* and thus reconciling it with Skr. catur-thā-ś, if all the while Lat. quor-in-s is left out of consideration? (Moulton p. 208.) Why is not the Latin word *quaritus*, with *b* for pr. Ital. *p*?

-ta- occurs e.g. in Skr. ty-t-ya- Avest. pṛt-t-ya- O.Pers. śi-t-ya- ‘third’; beside which we have also Skr. tri-tā-ś (on which ty-t-ya- is based), the name of a divinity to which another, devid-ā, was created as a contrast (cp. the Italic forms), Skr. ṛṣ-ṭā- ‘sixtieth’, sapat-ṭā- ‘seventieth’ and the like; cp. also Skr. paścāt- f. ‘a group of five’ daśāt- f. ‘a group of ten’.
With Skr. kati-thá- (see above, p. 242) are connected tavathita- 'such and such a one (in a series)' bakutithá- 'manifold'.  
-isto-. Skr. māh-iṣṭha- Avest. maz-iṣṭa- 'greatest': Gr. μῦχ-ορο-ς. Skr. dē-iṣṭha- Avest. as-iṣṭa- 'quickest': Gr. ἀρ-ορο-ς. O.Pers. ἀφ-ιστα- 'greatest', beside Avest. mas-yav- 'greater': Gr. μῦχ-ορο-ς 'longest, greatest'. Skr. vās-iṣṭha- Avest. vah-iṣṭa- 'best'. Skr. yāv-iṣṭha- 'youngest', compar. yāv-īyas-, pos. yāv-an. gar-iṣṭha- 'highest', compar. gār-īyas-, pos. gur-ā. sthēṣṭha- 'most constant', beside sthi-rā- (O.H.G. stara-blynt 'stone-blind'), for pr. Ar. *sthājṣhta- Idg. *stο-īṣ-to- (just as the optative stem Skr. sthē- is for *stο-ī-, see I § 116 p. 108); similarly sphēṣṭha- 'richest, fattest' beside spīh-rā- (O.CSl. sporū 'rich'), for *spē-īsto-; the ē spread to the comparative, and sthēyas- and sphēyas- took the place of *sthā-īyas- and *spha-īyas- (we can hardly assume a form *sthā-īyas- or *sthā-īyas-). On the other hand the analogy of brē-īyas- and prē-īyas- gave rise to the superlative forms brōṣṭha- 'fairest' prōṣṭha- 'dearest' (which Avest. sraṣṭa- shows to be as old as preethic Aryan): in the Veda occur the regular brāy-īṣṭha- or brīy-īṣṭha- (pos. brā-rā- Avest. sri-rā-) and pray-īṣṭha- or priy-īṣṭha- (pos. priy-āi-) 1) It is also possible that Skr. jyēṣṭha- 'mightiest' (comp. jyā-īyas-) and Avest. fraṣṭa- 'plurimus' (comp. frā-yā. Skr. prā-īyas-) was formed on the analogy of sthēṣṭha-; for the Gr. πλεο-ρο-ς points to an Idg. *pē-īsto-, and the character of these stems, as we know it, in other words justifies us in restoring this form.2) It cannot be shewn that pr. Ar. aj ("jjaṣṭhta-" *prāṣṭha-) became aj by any regular phonetic change. The words dhēṣṭha- 'most generous' and yeṣṭha- 'swiftest', to be read in Veda as trisyllables, I should perhaps regard as written for dhāyiṣṭha yāyiṣṭha- (or perhaps dhēyiṣṭha- yeyiṣṭha-, the original ā being replaced by ē), cp. bhāyiṣṭha-.

1) One of the two forms must be inferred for metrical reasons. In the passages of the Rigveda which concern us the forms of the later language, brēṣṭha- and prēṣṭha-, are the traditional reading.

2) Osthoff now takes a different view (Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 448); however, he supposes an Idg. *plē-īsto-ς. On O.Icel. Æsir see below, p. 247 f.
A few noun stems form superlatives in the same way, with -iṣṭha- in place of -tama-. Skr. brāhm-iṣṭha- 'a Brahmap in the highest degree' from brāhm-man- (similarly compar. brāhm-īyas-). drāḍh-iṣṭha- 'firmest' (instead of dārhiṣṭha-) from drāḍh-ground-form *dhr̥iḥ+to- (similarly compar. drāḍh-īyas-); this formation was modelled on such forms as kṛsas-īṭha-: kṛṣā- 'lean', bhraśiṣṭha-: bhṛṣa- 'strong, violent'.

Greek. ἑνα-το-ς 'ninth' for *ἔνα-το-ς: Goth. niun-da, Lith. deviš-ta-s O.C.Sl. devę-tiš- (cp. I § 152 p. 138). The analogy of ἑκασ-το-ς 'twentieth', τριακοσ-το-ς 'thirtieth' gave rise to such forms as ἑκατοσ-το-ς 'hundredth', δικασσισ-το-ς 'two-hundredth', χίλιοσ-το-ς 'thousandth'; and also, πῶσο-το-ς 'which (in a series)?', πολλοσ-το-ς 'one of many, multesimus' ὀλγουσ-το-ς 'one of few'.

The -ato-ς of ἑκατο-ς ἕκατο-ς spread considerably by analogy: *πρωθ-ατο-ς (Att. etc. πρῶτο-ς Dor. πρᾶτο-ς) 'first' instead of *πρωθ-ο-ς (I § 306 p. 242 II § 64 p. 184), τρι-το-ς 'third', ἕβδομο-το-ς 'seventh', ὑγδό-ατο-ς 'eighth': ὑπ-ατο-ς 'uppermost', ἑσυχ-ατο-ς 'outermost', μέσο-ατο-ς 'midmost', νῦν-ατο-ς 'novisimus'; βέλτ-ατο-ς 'best' (for its etymology see Wackernagel Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 301 f.), φρότ-ατο-ς 'most eminent'. The -tato- of τριτατο-ς βέλτιτατο-ς etc. was regarded as a simple suffix and taken into general use as the common superlative suffix for stems whose comparative was formed in -τερο- (cp. § 75 p. 193); e. g. ὀμό-τατο-ς, σωφρ-τατο-ς, πολαβ-τατο-ς, εὐδαμον-στατο-ς, κῦν-τατο-ς. A further accumulation of superlative elements is seen e. g. in ἑσυχ-ατοτατο-ς, κυνντατοτατο-ς, which looks like an attempt at *κυνν-τατοτατο-ς (cp. κυνν-τατοτ-τερο-ς) καλλιστατοτατο-ς, κυνντατοτατατο-ς, and conversely πρωτ-ιστο-ς. Cp. Ascoli Curtius' Stud. IX 339 ff.

Remark 3. Bexzenberger (Beltr. V 94 ff.) attempts a different explanation of -τατο-; but I am convinced that it is untenable (see Morph. Untk III 68 f.).

-isto-: ὀκ-ιστο-ς 'quickest': Skr. ṅś-iṣṭha-s, bāḥd-iṣṭo-ς Ṛṣi-d-isto-ς 'slowest': Skr. mrad-iṣṭha-s (a later formation for *myrd-िṣṭha-s). τάχ-ιστο-ς 'quickest. μάλιστα 'most' (adv.) πλέοντο-ς
ground-form *ple-isto-s; see pp. 242, 244 above. Later on, analogical formations were made from noun stems: ἀλλ-ιστο-ς 'fairest' from τὸ κάλλος, ἄλλω-ιστο-ς 'loveliest, most agreeable' beside ἑπ-αλπο-ς, τέρπο-ιστο-ς 'most delightful' from τερπ-νό-ς, πρεσβ-ιστο-ς 'oldest, most honourable' from πρέσβυ-ς. Here -ιστο- took the place of -τατο-, as was also the case in ἕγγι-στα beside ἕγγυ-τατα 'nearest', πέρσο-ιστα beside πορεω-πάτω πορσώ-πατα 'furthest forward'.

Italic. Lat. sex-tu-s, Umbr. sextentasiarum sextentariarum' Osc. xétoic 'sexthius': Skr. ḍa-sthā-s etc., see p. 242 above. Lat. quintu-s Quinctiu-s, Osc. Poumiuc 'Quinctius': Avest. pux-da- (the u is remarkable), Gr. πέμπ-το-ς Goth. fimbta- (in our records found only in composition), Lith. peink-ta-s O.C.Sl. pe-tu. Lat. ter-tiu-s, Umbr. tertiam-a 'ad tertiam', by the side of which stands Lat. trit-avo-s (if this and not strit-avo-s was the true form of the word), for the first part of which either *trito-s or *tritio-s may be assumed as the earliest form (see § 34 p. 59): Skr. tri-ta-s tṛtya-s (p. 243), Gr. τρι-το-ς Lesb. tēr-το-ς, Goth. þri-dja Lith. trēcia-s O.C.Sl. treižā. In any case the forms *ter-to- *ty-to-, which are connected by ablaut are older than *tr-i-to-, which was derived directly from the cardinal (tr-i-tr-ej-), though there would be nothing in the least irregular in its formation, if the -to- of the ordinals is really the participial suffix, as was suggested in Rem. 1 (p. 242). We have it extended by -jo- in ter-tiu-s etc. as in Skr. deit-tiya- 'second' and tūr-ya- tur-tya- 'fourth' (§ 63 p. 133). Side by side with cott-tiṣ (see above, p. 242), we have quò-tu-s to-tu-s quo-tumu-s (§ 73 p. 178). In Latin the superlative suffix -isto- gave place to the new formation -issimo-; contrast e. g. δο-issim-us-s (comp. δο-ior) with Skr. dā-īṣṭha- (dā-ṛyas-) Gr. ἂς-ιστο-ς (νί-ιον). It is not clear in what way this substitution took place, see § 73 Rem. p. 179.

Remark 4. It must be left an open question whether -isto- is still preserved in proper names, whether e. g. Noṣtiu-s stands for *Noei-stu-s and is to be compared with Skr. nāv-īṣṭha-s, as Pauli (Altital. Stud. II 140 f.)
Old Irish. coiced. O.Cymr. pimpfet 'fifth': cp. Skr. pancatá-s. Similarly sessed Mod.Cymr. cheecoed 'sixth'; as to the cause of this new formation see Zimmer, Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXX 214. We frequently find the termination -mad, which arose from an extension of older forms in -mono-; as sechtmad Mod.-Cymr. seithuet 'seventh' (cp. Lat. septim-us), dechmad Mod.Cymr. decuet 'tenth' (cp. Lat. decimus), eftmad Bret. kandved ‘hundredth’, see § 72, 2 p. 168. In proethnic Celtic -eto-s was the termination of all these words, and the difference of vocalism between O.Ir. coided (with e) and *sechtmad (with a) depends upon the kind of sound in the preceding syllable: sechtmad is due to the older form *sechtamet(os). tress- 'third' in comp. no doubt stands for *tris-to-, i. e. *tris (= Skr. tri-s Gr. τρι-ς) + -to- (beside it in Mod.Cymr. we find the form trydyyd from *tri-tiyo-s) cp. Lat. trīs for *tris-no- § 66 p. 146 and O.H.G. dris-kí 'ternsus' wīris-kí 'twofold'.

-isto- in Keltic gave place to -mo- (-is-mo), see § 72, 2 p. 169, cp. e. g. O.Ir. lugem 'smallest' (compar. laigiu) as contrasted with Skr. lāgh-iṣṭha-s Gr. ἡλάχ-ιστο-ς.


isto-. In the oldest West-Germanic the inflexion of the superlative was almost exclusively weak (n-declension); in Gothic and Norse it was both strong and weak. Goth. sut-ist-s O.H.G. suaz-isto 'sweetest': Skr. svad-iṣṭha-. Goth. nāuh-ist-s O.H.G. hōh-isto 'highest'. Goth. máist-s O.H.G. meisto 'most' (compar. máisa mēro), ep. Umbr. mestru fem. 'maior', common ground-form *ma-isto- beside the pos. O.Ir. mā-r Goth. -mēr-s 'great'. The O.Icel. flest-r 'plurimus', together with the compar. fleira, which cannot be referred to *pleis- (Osthoff, Paul-Braune’s Beitr. XIII 444), I suppose to have been altered on the analogy of
mest-r meire; cp. pp. 242 f. 244 and § 135. We often find new formations from noun-stems: Goth. *jäh-ist-s (inferred from jähiza) O.H.G. jung-isto O.Icel. örst-r (for *öst-r, r being inserted from the compar. öre) and yngst-r 'youngest', from Goth. jügg-s etc. = pr. Germ. *jämµo-ga- Skr. yuva-ša-; this new form took the place of another which answered to the Skr. yāv-iśṭha-s; this must have been before Verner's law came into operation, as the word has -h- instead of -g-, which shews that in the noun from which it was formed (*jähça-*) the breathed spirant had not yet become voiced (I § 530 p. 386 f.). Goth. *alβ-ist-s (inferred from alβiza) O.H.G. altisto 'oldest' beside Goth. al-pei-s O.H.G. al-t 'old'. Accumulated endings of comparison are seen in e.g. Goth. af-tum-ist-s A.S. aef-ten-est 'hindmost, last' beside Goth. af-tuma, O.H.G. af-tr-isto 'last' beside af-tr-o- af-tero.

Since -ista- and -iz-en- became denominative so early in proethnic Germanic, it is not surprising that before that period ended they were added to σ-, the adverbial termination of the o-stems, just as was the Gr. -raro- -τρό- in σοφω-τρό-ς άνω-τρό-ς etc. (§ 75). Thus arose forms like Goth. sniumundōs 'more hastily', from sniumundō 'hastily', frōdōza 'more shrewd' frōdōst-s 'most shrewd', from frōβ-s 'prudent', O.H.G. blintōro blintōst from blint 'blind' (aftr-östo beside aftr-isto (see above) and the like), O.Icel. spakare spakast-r from spak-r 'intelligent'. In Gothic this formation was always strictly confined to o-stems; in Old High German was occasionally extended to other adjectival stems. Pr. Germ. -ō-izō- -ō-ista-z became -ōβō. -ōsta-z, cp. I § 142 p. 127. Slavonic has a similar group of comparatives, the forms in -ē-ý; see § 135.

Remark 5. This explanation of the comparative suffix in Germanic has not been universally accepted. (Johannsen, De derivatis contractis, p. 183). But it is certainly not disproved by the forms máia- die-s (for *māia- aymo-). It is quite possible that di had here become di (see I § 614 p. 484) before this new method of forming comparatives had been adopted in proethnic Germanic. Each period has its own phonetic laws.


-isto- in Lithuanian gave place to -jus-ja- which (in spite of
J. Schmidt's objections, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI. 378) is no doubt connected with Slav. -uchů -iuchů (Miklosich Vergl. Gramm. II 289 ff.); whilst in Slavonic the comparative displaced the superlative formation.

§ 82. 4. The Suffixes -my-to-, -y̱p-to-. 1)

In proetnic Indo-Germanic there were a certain number of formations in -to- which were extensions of stems in -men- and -yen-. *kley-my-to-: Skr. śrō-mata-m 'renew'; O.H.G. hlium-unt m. 'report, reputation' beside Avest. srao-man- n. Goth. hliu-ma m. 'hearing', √kley- 'to hear'. Gr. ὀνό-ματα pl. 'names' Lat. cōgnō-mentu-m, beside Skr. nā-man- n. 'name' Lat. nō-men n. etc. Gr. xas-πι-ματα pl. 'something stitched together, soles; contrivances, plots' (prep. xάτ), Lat. as-su-mentu-m 'patch put on', Skr. beside suy-(man- n. 'band, strip, row', Gr. ὀ-μήν 'in-ος 'skin, sinew'. *per-y̱p-to-. Skr. pār-vata-s 'mountain, rock' Gr. τηγάρα Lesb. πέραρα pl. 'extremes, boundaries', for *per-s̱ata (I § 166 p. 146 f.), beside Skr. pār-van- n. 'knot, joint, break, section'. Gr. ὀ-πέρων 'boundless' for *ō-per-fων.

Probably this use of -to- is to be connected with that discussed p. 224, where we saw that the participial -to- could be added directly to noun-stems. From *kley-men- was first formed *kley-my-tō- (hliumunt indicates that -to- was accented) 'called, famed' (cp. Gr. ἰαυματό-ς beside ἰαυμα, orig. stem *iayau-mer-); the neuter, used substantivally, had the meaning 'a being called, renown', and then in High German the gender of the word was altered to match that of ruow, ruom. Gr. *ōνο-ματο-ρ original 'the being named, having a name'; Lat. cōgnōmentu-m 'the having a surname', beside cōgnōminātu-s, like sceles-tu-s beside scelerātu-s, liber-tu-s beside liberātu-s. Skr. pār-vata-s is easily explained as an epithet of girī-š 'mountain'.

Remark. The following formations are akin to those just discussed: Skr. si-mān-ta-s 'crown of the head, boundary' beside si-mān- m. 'parting of the hair, crown of the head' f. 'boundary', Gr. i-μάρτ- (祎) 'strap' beside i-μαρ- 'rope of a draw-well', O.Sax. si-mo 'band, rope' (i-μάρτ- instead of *i-μαρ- see p. 250 f.); Skr. hē-man-id-s 'winter' beside hē-man loc. 'in

winter'; ad-mon-ta-m 'fire place' beside ad-mon-m 'stone'. In the first word the Idg. ending was perhaps -men-; see I § 230 p. 196; the accent was shifted from -to- to -my- doubtless through the influence of *si-men-, the stem from which the word was formed, just as in Sanskrit the accent of *sro-man- n. changed *srotam-ta-m to srotam-tam. On the other hand, hemantás and aśvamata-m may be later analogical forms dating from the period after the separation of the languages and based on the strong form of the parent stem, as in ef-fan-to-s and the like. Or has hemantá-s any immediate connexion with the Gr. d-μαρτο-ς mentioned on p. 225?

In most languages these combined suffixes, even when they did not die out, survived only in a few old forms and were no longer in living use; in Germanic besides hliumunt the only other example is Goth. sniu-mundō 'hastily' (from *sneu-men-'haste') which presupposes an adj. *sniu-munda- cp. Gr. έυμμετ-ς. But in Italic -my-to-, and in Greek -my-to- and -my-to- became exceedingly fertile.

Greek. Forms like ὄνοματα are: el-ματα 'clothes' (cp. eu-ελμων 'well clothed' Skr. cās-man- n. 'covering'), δέρματα 'hides, skins', νο-δήματα 'sandals', μυ-ματα 'memorials', καλύμ-ματα 'veils', νο-ματα 'thoughts', ὁμήρ-ματα 'longings'. Like περ-ματα we have ἐδάρα 'food' in Hom., i. e. ἐδ-ματα or (with assimilation) ἐδάμα (cp. I § 166 p. 147), φρατά φρατά 'wells' (for *φρα-ματα), στάρα 'lumps of fat' (for *στα-ματα, √στα- 'to stand'). Stems in -men- and -men- were regularly extended in this way; and -to- also attached itself to neuter stems in -en-: e. g. ἑκ-ματα 'livers' (Skr. yakṣ- Lat. jacin-), οὖθ-ματα 'udder' (Skr. udh-an-), κρῶτα κάρητα 'heads' for *κρόα-ματα *κραφο-ματα (Skr. śirṣ-ān-); to which kρηγή Lesb. κράννα and κάρηγον (for *καρσ-νο- *καρας-ν-ο-) are related in the same way as νόμημα-ς to ὄνοματα. The nom. and acc. sing., e. g. ὄνο-μα, and the loc. pl., e. g. ὄνο-ματα, must be forms of the original n-declension without -to-. But along with these there were in use such case-forms as ὄνομα-τα, ὄνομα-των, and ὄνομα-τος (= Skr. adverbial ablative nāma-tas); and as though these were really to be divided ὄνοματ-α ὄνοματ-ων ὄνοματ-ος, a new form was made for the locative, ὄνοματα. Thus the to-stem passed over to the τ-declension. In the same way i-ματ- (see
The Suffix -ko- -ka-. This is shewn to be proto-ethnic by the word *jugg-kó-s or *jugg-kó-s 'youthful, young', beside Skr. yúv-ān- Lat. juven- (for the initial sound see I § 117 p. 109 f. § 598 p. 452 f.): Skr. yuvā-sā-s, Lat. juven-cu-s, O.Ir. òac òc, Goth. jügg-s*). Compare also lòpā-sā-s 'fox, jackal', Armen. aluēs 'fox', Gr. ἄλογη-ς -αλ-ός and (in the Iambic writer Ananios) -γός 'fox', with -x for -xo-, with the same change of inflexion as in μειγα-ς: Skr. maryā-kā-s etc. (§ 84. 129), beside Skr. lòpā-kā-s 'fox' (-kā- had originally a diminutive force), Gr. ἀλοντο-χρος 'fox-coloured' ἄλοντο-ς 'aly', Lith. lūpė 'fox'; in some of the languages, no doubt, the word may have been borrowed and naturalised, nor can we be certain that the suffix of Gr. ἄλοντης is not -go-, and so identical with the -ka- of Skr. lòpā-kā-.

Beyond these words a few examples from Aryan are all that can be ascribed with certainty to the suffix -ko-.

Aryan. In Skr. ārva-sā-s ārva-sā-s 'hasty, travelling quickly' from ārvan- (same meaning); ēta-sa-s 'hasty', from ēta-s (the same); babhrusā-s babhlu-sā-s 'brownish' from babhrū-§

1) Here perhaps īx-ėyō- also should be classed (for the diminutival force of -ėyō- see A. Döhring, Programm des Friedrichs-Collegiums, Königsberg 1885 p. 15). The youth Hyacinthus and his early death represent the life of the physical world, where maturity is at once followed by decay. If this etymology is correct, it proves the existence of an Indo-Germanic stem *jugg- with an initial ī (not ī), see I § 598 p. 452.
'brown'; ῥομα-σᾶ-s ῥομα-σᾶ-s 'hairy', from ῥόμαν- ῥομα- n. 'hair of the head'; ἀνκυ-σᾶ-s 'hook' beside ἀνκυ-ρά-s (p. 199).

Armenian. անձ `fox', see above.

Greek. ἀλωπης 'fox', see above.

Italic. Lat. juven-cu-s, Umbr. ivengar pl. 'juvenca', see above.

Old Irish. óac dc 'young', Mod.Cymr. ieuanc O.Corn. iouanc Bret. iaouank, see above.


Balto-Slavonic. We can scarcely place in this group Lith. palšsa-s 'tawny' O.C.Sl. pelesē 'dark grey' beside Lith. pel-va-s O.C.Sl. pla-vē 'tawny'. These forms no doubt arose (as we may infer from the Russ. pelesëj 'variegated' polosë 'stripe, streak') through a confusion of √pel- with √perk- (Gr. πεγκ- πινκός).

§ 84. The Suffixes -go- -ga-, -i̯go- -i̯ga-, -i̯go- -i̯ga, -aqo- -aqā-, and -aqo- -aqā- 1).

The velar character of the k sound in the suffixes which we are now to discuss appears regularly and unmistakeably in Aryan, Armenian and Balto-Slavonic (see I § 417 ff. p. 305 ff.). In Greek, Italian, Keltic and Germanic it can be identified with certainty only in the comparatively rare cases where we find the k sound labialised (ky), as in Lat. ant-quo-s, Mod.Cymr. kys-p 'dry'. The remaining examples in this group of languages have only k without any following y; yet it is clear that these forms, except of course such as we have already seen reason

to refer to the suffix -ko- (§ 83), did originally contain q not k, because a large number of them correspond exactly to forms in the Eastern group which vouch for -go-; thus examples like Lat. mus- sutu-s: Skr. mus-kā- Armen. mukn prove that the Latin diminutival suffix -culo- is derived from -go-. It must be confessed, however, that no real difference of meaning can be found between the suffixes -ko- and -go-, and it is therefore quite possible that amongst the examples of -ko- in the Western languages which are given in this section, there may be some few forms which are really derived from -ko-.

-go- is used both as a primary and as a denominative suffix. No general definition can be given of its original function in its primary use. In derivatives -go- and -iço- were used to form adjectives (and substantives based upon adjectives) meaning 'related, or belonging to' the thing or person denoted by the original word, which was generally either an adverb or some case of a noun. Further, -go- was added to substantives, without altering their substantival or adjectival character, but to give a slight modification of meaning; the derivative signified 'a thing tantamount to' or 'that which merely resembles' the original. Hence it was often used to form diminutives. This modification of meaning again, was often lost, so that the derivative was simply equivalent to the original word. As to the functions of -iço-, -fço- and -aço-, see below.

Analogical changes of many kinds, affecting the final sound of the stem to which -go- was added, arose even in proethnic Indo-Germanic, and still more freely after the separation of the languages, but we can seldom trace the course of their development in early times. The facts are exceedingly confused, and the classification which follows must be regarded simply as an attempt to reduce them to some kind of order.

In Greek, Italic and Celtic -go- was often transferred to the consonantal declension, e. g. Gr. μείως: Skr. murya-kā-s. Op. Gr. ἀλατηξ § 83 p. 251 and § 129.
§ 85. 1. -go- as an original primary suffix. On the whole it is not common.

Indo-Germanic. None of the forms to be mentioned here are found in more than a few languages. Skr. dhā-kā-s 'receptacle', Gr. θετή 'receptacle', \(\sqrt{dhē} - τεθετει}\. Skr. pśvā-sphākā-s 'swelling with fat', Lett. spē-k-s 'strength', (beside spē-t 'to be able'), \(\sqrt{spē} - extend, become rich}'\). It is no doubt also primary in Lat. siccu-s O.Ir. ses-c 'unfruitful' Mod.Cymr. hys-p 'dry' pr. Kelt. *sisko-s, common ground-form *sit-go-s, cp. Lat. sit-i-s (I § 419 p. 307).


Armenian. bōk 'barefoot' ground-form *bhos-go- (I § 561 p. 417), cp. O.H.G. bar 'naked, bare' O.C.Sl. bosū 'barefoot'. Or is -go- here a secondary suffix?

Greek. θετή 'receptacle': Skr. dhā-kā-s, see above.

Italic. Lat. siccu-s, see above. Beside it we have also tesquo-s, for *ters-quo- (I § 269 p. 217), \(\sqrt{ters-}\) 'to become dry, arid'. cas-cu-s beside cānu-s for *cas-no-s (cp. Osc. casnar 'senex'); for the function of the suffix cp. prīs-cu-s § 88. A stem *fa-co- is implied in -fex (arti-fex etc.), hence fa-c-iō. facundus and fēcundus imply *fā-co-, *fē-co-, see § 69 p. 161. tru-č-s beside truāre is no doubt another example, see O. Ribbeck Archiv f. lat. Lexieogr. II 122 f.

Old Irish. see-c, Mod.Cymr. hys-p, see above. bris-c Bret. bres-k 'brittle' no doubt from \(\sqrt{bherdh-}\) (Gr. \(\piο\sigma\omega\)); the ground-form will then be *bhrdh-+go-, see I § 298 p. 236. For Celt. -sk- coming from -tk- see I § 516 p. 376.

'clever', Goth. and-hruskāp 'he investigates'; ground-form probably *kyl-quo-, cp. Goth. hard-u-s 'hard' Gr. κορ-ιγ 'strong'; cp. also Mid.Eng. and Dan. harsk 'rough, hard' with another grade of vocalism. O.Icel. beis-k-r 'sharp', beside Goth. báit-r-s 'biting, bitter', √ bheid-. For -sk- from -tk- see I § 527 p. 383. Here should also be classed O.Icel. prosk-r- 'bold' vask-r- 'bold' O.H.G. frisc 'brisk, lively, alert' and other similar words (Kluge Nom. Stammb. p. 89), though only, perhaps, as later formations with a suffix -sk(y)o- abstracted from the older forms with sk = tk (cp. p. 18 f.).

O.Icel. lau-g f. 'bath' from pr. Germ. *laus-gō-, cp. O.Icel. laud-r 'soap' Lat. lav-ere.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. pil-ka-s 'grey' beside pelēti 'to grow mouldy' pelē 'mouse', cp. also pelēka-s 'mouse-grey'. Lith. plū-ki-s 'one that has ruined himself, spendthrift'. Lett. plus-ka slovenly vagabond, scamp' plūs-kaš f. pl. 'sluice', beside Lith. plūsti 'to begin to swim, run over'. Lett. rusch-ka 'filthy fellow' pelnu-ruschē-i-s 'Cinderella'. properly 'ash-stirrer' (Lith. pelen-rūsā and -rūsi-s), beside Lith. rūsinti 'to rummage, stir'. Lett. lischē-i-s 'flatterer' properly 'licker' krēina-lischē-i-s'creamlicker', a name of the fore-finger. Lett. spē-k-s 'strength': Skr. śvā-sphakā-s; see above, p. 254. O.C.Sl. žna-kū 'token'. bra-kū 'marriage, wedding', which we may perhaps derive from berq bīrati √ bher.

§ 85. 2. -quo- as a secondary suffix forming adjectives (and substantives based upon adjectives) from adverbs and inflected nouns with the meaning 'related, or belonging to' what is denoted by the original word, where the nature of the relationship or connexion may vary very widely.

a. From Adverbs.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. anti-kā-s 'coming to an end with or at something, near' (ānti 'over against, in sight of, near'), Lat. anti-quo-s anti-cu-s 'preceeding in space or time or order, more important, earlier, old' (ante for *anti). Skr. ānti-ka-m 'that which is turned towards one, the side turned to one, front, face, point' Avest. ainika- m. 'front', Gr. ἐνι-η 'attack,
rebuke' (Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 223). Skr. ni-ca- low, going downwards', Gr. νισσιος ('bring low, fight down') 'conquer' (hence νι-κη with the meaning 'victory', like Lat. pugna from pugnare, H.G. handel m. from handeln, opfer n. from opfern), Lith. denom. ny-k-stiú 'I disappear, pass away' (auksztų-naika adv. 'backwards' and others, with non-original ablaut) O.C.Sl. ni-cǐ 'pronus' for *ni-k-ji.

Aryan. Skr. ucca-s Avest. uṣka- adj. 'on high, high' Skr. áṭka-s 'longing for something' ground-form *ud+go- *ud+ge-, beside Skr. ád 'up'. Skr. abhi-ka-s ábhi-ka-s 'coming after a thing, lustful' beside abhi abhi. Skr. ánu-ka-s 'coming after a thing, desirous, dependent' ána-ka-m 'backbone', beside ánu.

Such forms as these in -īka- -āka- were in Sanskrit associated with compounds in -y-aṭc- -c-aṭc- (-aṭc- 'directed towards something', cp. § 163), and this led to a number of new formations. See Osthoff loc. cit. 249 ff.

Greek. πέρι-ξ adv. 'around', πέριοσός-ς περιπτό-ς 'superfluous, extraordinary, superabundant' for *περι-κο-ς, beside πέρι. As in the case of the adverbs μονάς and ὄνας from *μονα-κο-, *ὀδαρ-κο- (§ 88), a nom. in -κο- instead of -κο-ς was first formed, πέρις instead of *περι-κο-ς (cp. μερίς-ς § 84 p. 253, § 88 pp. 263, 265), and then on the analogy of adverbs like παρ-ες ἵπ-τες ἄψ etc. it came to be regarded and used as an adverb.

From a stem *πρό-κο- (cp. πέρι 'beyond' πέρα-ν 'on that side') arose πρόςω, the oldest meaning of which was 'press through, go through' (Hom. ἄλα πρήσοσοντες), see Leo Meyer, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXII 61 ff.

Italic. Lat. reci-procu-s orig. 'directed backwards and forwards' from *re-co- and *pro-co-, cp. O.C.Sl. pro-ki. procul is an extension of the stem *proco- by -lo- cp. simul'.

Germanic. O.H.G. abu-h aba-h O.Sax. abhu-h 'turned away, perverse, wicked', (the neut. is used substantively, 'per-
verseness, wickedness) O.Icel. ofu-g-r 'turned away, perverse', beside at 'from, away': cp. O.C.Sl. opako opaky opače-adv. retrorsum, contrarium' pače 'contra, potius' paky 'iterum' (opače: pače = Gr. ἀπε: O.H.G. fo-na, a regular example of prothetic ablaut); cp. also Skr. ápaka-s 'lying behind, remote', which need not necessarily be regarded as a compound of -aṇc- (cp. p. 256 under Aryan).

Baltic-Slavonic. O.C.Sl. pro-ků 'remaining over', from pro. prě-ků 'transversus' for *per-ků, from prě.

b. From Nouns. The terminations -o-go- -e-go- which arose when the suffix was added to o-stems were in Aryan and Slavonic also used as primary suffixes.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. dvi-ka- 'consisting of two' (beside this dva-ká- 'two by two, joined in pairs'), A.S. twi- g O.H.G. zwī-g and zwī gen. zwīes, pr. Germ. *tivī-zwā- 'twig' (cp. O.C.Sl. rox-ga 'twig' from rostī raostī 'dis-'), O.H.G. zwīho zwīfo 'doubt', pr. Germ. *tivī-zwo- n- *tivī-zyo- n- (I § 444 p. 329); to which no doubt we should refer Gr. δίοδός δίπτερός 'twofold', for *dī-r-ka-γ-. Similarly Skr. tri-ká- 'three by three, threefold' and Gr. τρισόδος τριστός 'threefold'. The Ion. ὄξως τρισώς are perhaps to be explained as standing for *dī-r-x-γ- *τρι-κ-γ-. Lat. ūni-cu-s, Goth. úna-h-s O.H.G. eina-g 'single', O.C.Sl. iso-ků 'solus'.

Aryan. Skr. sūci-ka-s adj., 'stinging', subst. 'stinging vermin', from sūci- f. 'needle', ánta-ka-s 'making an end, he that makes an end', from ánta-s 'end'. urvāru-ká-m 'that which belongs to the gourd-plant (urvāru-), or comes from it, fruit of the gourd'. sindhu-ka-s 'coming from the Indus (sindhu-). rāpa-ka-s 'in (an assumed) form', from rāpā-m 'form'. Avest. kav-vi-ka- 'rather small, rather poor', from kavvi-š 'smallness, dwarfish stature'. Skr. máma-ka-s 'my', amāka-s Avest. ahmāka-our' (is the termination of this word Idg. -o-go- or the suffix -ago-?). Hence Ar. -ka-, so frequent in Sanskrit in adjectival (epithetised) compounds as Skr. vigata-ḥri-ka-s 'whose beauty is past' (cp. Avest. dūraṣ-ṣri-ka- 'beautiful at a distance') a-ḥrātṛy-ka-s 'brotherless', a-rēlās-ka-s 'without seed', sa-pañc-ka-s 'with one's wife'; cp. also Avest. hu-mañy-ka- 'possessing good wisdom'
(hu-maya-). These compounds however may also be classed under § 88 p. 264.

From ántu-ku-s and similar forms arose a primary suffix -aka-, as Skr. sáyaka-s 'meant for throwing' neut. 'missile', náyaka-s 'guide', pácaka-s 'cooking, cook', pychaka-s 'who asks'. Cp. Slav. -okǔ, p. 260.

To these no doubt should be added vartaka-s várтика 'quail': Gr. ὅρνες (gen. ὕρνευς and ὕρνευς, cp. Osthoff, Zur Gesch. d. Perf. 620) 'quail', with v on the analogy of ἱζες, ἱς and the like.

Greek. ὁμοῦ-ς ὑπο-ς p. 257 above. ἄμφε-κός 'Landyan', from ἀμβλ-ς; ἤλν-κός 'feminine', from ἤλν-, as the opposite of ἀλων-κός; in ἀλκό-ς adj. 'salt' from ἀλ-ς (ἀλ- ἀλο-) the -ς is surprising. φυσι-κός 'natural', from φύσις-ς, μαντ-κός 'belonging to a seer', from μάντις-ς; cp. Idg. -īgo- in inn-ko-ς etc., § 87. ὠστ-κό-ς 'lobster' no doubt for *ōstgy-ko-s, cp. Skr. asthán- 'bone'. The termination -ως-ς in ἤλως-ς 'belonging to the sun' (ὅλος-ς), έκως-ς 'shady' (σόω) and the like has not been explained: are the forms based on -en- stems (such as, say, ἥλιος-), or should we compare Umbr. curn-aco 'cornicem'? 1)

Italic. Lat. anni-ca-s, from amni-s, cvi-cu-s, from cvi-s, aedili-cau-s, from aedili-s. Cp. Idg. -īgo- in bell-icu-s, patr-icu-s, patric-ius and the like, § 87.

The following forms appear to be connected with the same suffix: Umbr. Kastrušiī 'Castricii (beside kastruvuf 'fundus' Osc. castruos gen. 'fundi') and Osc. Iúvkiúiī 'Joviciio', beside Osc. Viínikívs 'Vinicius'.

Old Irish. súille-ch 'oculus' for *súll-co-s, from súll n. 'oculus', O.Kelt. are-mori-cī 'those who dwell before the sea' (O.Ir. mur n., Lat. mare for *marī). Cp. Idg. -īgo- in cuimn-ech 'mindful of' and the like, § 87.

Germanic. Goth. stáina-hs (stem stáina-ha-) O.H.G. steina-g 'stony', from Goth. stáina- m. 'stone', Goth. vazuða-hs

1) Mahlow, Die langen Vocale 102, assumes that *ως-ς with Lat. -icus Goth. -eig-ς represents an Idg. -āko-, an inference which I cannot accept.
'verbal' from *vaúrda- n. 'word', módá-g-s (stem módá-ga-) 'wrathful' O.Sax. módá-g 'excited, spirited', from Goth. módá- m. 'courage, wrath'. The forms -a-ha- a-za- alternate according to the place of the accent, by the rule given in § 530 p. 386, cp. Skr. asmāka-āndīka- on the one hand, and ēkakā-urvārukā- on the other. The termination -a-za- was transferred to other classes of stems, e.g. O.H.G. nōtag beside Germanic nauði- nauði- 'need', O.Sax. craftag beside krafti- 'strength'.

Goth. handu-g-s 'wise' (O.H.G. hantag 'sharp') from handu-s 'hand', though it is quite possible that the two words are not connected historically but merely by popular etymology (see Kluge, Nom. Stammb, 86, Kauffmann, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 202) 1).

Chēruscē is explained by Bremer (Paul-Braune's Beitr. XI 3) as coming from *xērus-ka- 'hairy', cp. O.H.G. här pl. härir 'hair'. For -us- cp. O.H.G. angus-t § 101.

In proethnic and later Germanic we find adjectives in -i₃a- regularly corresponding to -i-stems, as Goth. mahsteig-s O.H.G. mahtīg 'mighty' from mahti-; O.H.G. craftīg 'strong' from kraftī-. But the same termination appears also in adjectives derived from other classes of stems and equally dating from the oldest period of Germanic, as Goth. vāurstveig-s 'active' from vāurstva- n. 'work, activity', O.H.G. jārīg 'yearly' from jāra- n. 'year'; and it must therefore be referred to the Idg. suffix -i₃o- (§ 89); there is no need to suppose an original -ei₃o- (*maxti- *maxteī-), nor can any argument for such a form be based on the obscure Gothic word āhtiug 'seasonable'. We conclude then that in proethnic Germanic -i₃a- from i-stems was replaced by -i₃a-, just as in Gothic we have also the older form gabig-s altered to gabēig-s (§ 87). The influence of other derivatives with ī in actual use (e.g. Goth. vāurstvei f.) was a factor in the change.

Balto-Slavonic. In the Baltic languages the suffix hardly occurs at all in this use; Lith. pelēka-s Lett. pelēk-s 'mouse-grey' (Lith. pelē Lett. pele 'mouse') was no doubt formed on the analogy 

1) Osthoff's last suggestion as to hannu-ga (Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 419) does not commend itself to me.
of adjectives like jāćdokā-s (from jāćda-s 'black', § 89 c). In Slavonic we have -okti as a primary suffix, e. g. O.C.Sl. sūćdokti 'privy to something, witness', Russ. chodok 'goer, foot-messenger', ėdok 'eater'; it probably began in derivatives from noun-stems in o (cp. Russ. chod 'way, path' beside chodok), cp. Skr. -aka- p. 258.

§ 87. 3. -igo-, a by-form of the Suffix -go- (§ 86). This suffix forms adjectives from nouns in Aryan, Greek, Italic and Keltic, and it is so common that it can hardly have arisen independently in the separate languages from the ending of such forms as Gr. φυσικός (φυσι-κός). Further in Germanic and Balto-Slavonic, as well as in Sanskrit and Latin, -igo- is a primary suffix, and this usage must have been derived from its denominative use; so that clearly it had become a single independent suffix in proethnic Indo-Germanic. But of course there is nothing to prevent our supposing that it did originally spring from noun-stems in -i.

Aryan. Skr. paryāy-ikā-s 'strophic' from paryāyā-s 'rotation, strophe'. It occurs most frequently after the vriddhi-strengthening, which serves also to form adjectives without the addition of any suffix (see § 60 p. 112 f.; cp. māma-ka-s, 'my' beside māma-ka-s, § 86 b p. 257), as vāsanat-ika- 'belonging to spring' (vāsanatā-s), vādī-ika-s 'belonging to the rainy season' (vādī-m), āhā-ika-s 'daily' from āhān- n. 'day'. But -ika- was not adopted in general use as an adjectival suffix, cp. rūpa-ka-
vāryā-ga- etc., § 86 b p. 257.

It is primary in Skr. vṝc-ika-s 'scorpion, tarantula', from vṝc-dmi 'I split, cut asunder'.

Greek. ἵππο-ικός 'belonging to horses' from ἵππο-ς, παρθεν-ικός 'maidenly' from παρθένο-ς, νυμφ-ικός 'bridal' from νύμφη. ἄστρικός 'of the city' from ἄστρυ, ἕθνικός 'national' from ἕθνος n., ἀγώνικός 'belonging to contests' from ἀγών, ἀνδρικός 'manly' from ἀνδρία gen. ἀνδρ-ός. From participial stems in -το- there arose a new suffix -τικό-; e. g. κρατικός, μαθητικός, cp. Lat. -tico- p. 261.

By the side of -τικό- we find, though only rarely, -κό- as ἄδικο-ς; see § 86 b.
§ 87. -igo-, a by-form of the Suffix -ico.- 261

Italic. Lat. mod-icu-s from modu-s, bell-icu-s from bellu-m, fabr-ica from faber (stem fabro-), gent-icu-s from gens (stem gent-), histriōn-icu-s from histrio (stem histriōn-), patr-icu-s from pater (stem patr-); participial stems in -to- gave rise to -tico- as an independent suffix, e. g. cēnāticu-s, herbāticu-s, volāticu-s, rūsticu-s, domesticu-s, cp. Gr. -tike- above. Similarly -ic-icu-s in caement-icu-s, sūtōr-icu-s, patr-icu-s etc.

The Umbro-Samnite dialects shew that -ico- was proethic in Italic, so that (say) modicu-s was not developed in Latin out of *modo-co-s: Osc. tūtviks 'publicus' tovtico nom. fem. 'publica', Volsc. toticus abl. 'publico', Umb. totcor pl. 'urbici' from *tōtico-, a derivative of toula- 'civitas, urbs'; Umb. fratreks fratrexs 'fratricus, fratrum magister' fratreca 'fratrica' (ε from i, see I § 33 p. 34). Cp. also Osc. Viśnikiása 'Vinicius' and múfnikad abl. fem. 'communi', múltasikad abl. fem. 'multaticia'. But we also find Umbr. Kastēsìiie and Osc. Iuvkìiú (§ 86b p. 258), which are hard to explain with certainty.

-igo- is a primary suffix in Lat. mord-icu-s mord-ex, med-icu-s, vert-ex; and no doubt also in pōdex for *pɔzd-ex √pəzd- 'pedere' (I § 594 p. 450). Compare the root-vowel of this word with Goth. gabig-s (pōdex: pōdere = gabigs: giban).

Old Irish. As in Latin, -ico- is a general derivative suffix, i. e. it forms derivatives from all manner of stems. cuinn-ech 'mindful of' from cuinan 'thought, remembrance', creim-ech 'fidelis' from cretem 'fides'; feminines in -iche = Lat. -ic-ia, as tairismiche 'immobility' from tairism-ech 'immovable' (tairissem 'a standing fast'). It is possible however that some of the words in -ech -iche (Zeuss 2 810 sq.) contain -ia-co- or -a-co-.

Germanic. The fertility of -iga- was limited on the one hand by the use of -a-χa- -a-ʒa- (§ 86), on the other by that of -iga- (§ 89 a). In Gothic it does not occur as a secondary suffix, but it does in Old High German; e. g. wot-ig beside wōtota-g 'furious'. It is primary e. g. in Goth. gāb-ig-s 'rich' beside giban gōf 'to give', cp. Lat. pōd-ex), O.H.G. heβ-ig 'at which one must strain or heave, heavy' (beside Goth. hafjan).
But here too other suffixes encroached upon its use, cp. Goth. gabeig-s beside gabig-s, O.Icel. gafug-r hafug-r.

On the other hand, -izu- is sometimes found where -go- must no doubt have been original (§ 88); O.H.G. entvig ‘strange’ (pr. Germ. *andr-izā-) from under ‘other’; possibly however -izu- may here represent Idg. -ego- (§ 88 p. 268).

Balto-Slavonic. Here it is not uncommon as a primary suffix. In Lithuanian the root has the vowel of the preterite (cp. Lat. pōdēx, Goth. gabigs). Lith. szer-ika-s ‘one who gives fodder’ from szeriū ‘I give fodder’ pret. szerian, kirt-ika-s ‘hewer’ from kertiū ‘I hew’ pret. kirtaū, skund-ika-s ‘who loves to lament’, tūp-ika-s ‘squatter’. Lott. jun-ik-i-s ‘tile-setter’ from jūm ‘to cover’, glūn-ik-i-s ‘spy’ from glūnēt ‘to lurk’, u’rb-ik-i-s ‘borer’ from u’rbē ‘to bore’. O.C.Sl. ščez-ikū ‘burning’ from šēq ‘I burn’ (trans.), tēž-ikū ‘burdensome, heavy’ from tēžiū ‘to burden’, skač-ikū ‘grasshopper’ (springer), meč-ikū ‘bear’ (growler), snyč-ikū ‘fiddler’; more frequently we have -ici, as yad-ici ‘eater’ pis-ici ‘writer’ šev-icy ‘cobbler’, šur-ici ‘offerer, priest’.

There is a class of substantives derived from adjectives which may contain this Idg. -igo-, though I do not feel certain that it is so, such as Lith. įunnik-i-s ‘betrothed husband’ (jūnai-s ‘young’), Lott. mēlnik-i-s ‘black horse’ (mēlu-s ‘black’), O.C.Sl. rošanici ‘bow’ (rošanii ‘of horn’) bradatiči ‘bearded man’ (bradati ‘bearded’) įunici ‘young bull’ (jūnii ‘young’).

§ 88. 4. -go- is added to substantives and adjectives without altering their substantival or adjectival character; the meaning of the new word bears to the old much the same relation as Mod.H.G. schwärzlich to schwwarz, [Eng. blackish to black], i. e. it denotes something ‘tantamount to’ or something which is merely ‘like’ the original. From this a diminutival sense was often developed, and hence -go- was used in forming familiar and pet names. Yet this modification of meaning frequently died out, so that the new word meant simply the same as the old.

The boundary between this class of words and those given under 2 b and 3 (§ 86 and 87) fluctuates considerably. It is
often doubtful whether any particular word belongs to one or the other category.

The diminutival -go- is often combined with other diminutival elements, e. g. Lat. -culo- = -go- + -lo-.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. mūṣ-kā-s 'testicle' mūṣaka-s mūṣika 'mouse, rat' (mūṣ- mūṣa-s mūṣā 'mouse'), Armen. mu-k-n, gen. mkan, 'mouse, muscle', Lat. mus-culū-s (mūs), O.C Sl. mūṣica 'arm'. *sū-go- from *sū- 'sow': Skr. sū-kara-s 'pig, boar' (popularly derived from kār- 'to make' as 'that which makes the noise sū'), Lat. su-culū-s su-cula, O.Cymr. hu-ce 'sow' Corn. ho-ch 'porcus', A.S. su-gu f. 'sow' (unless we accept Bugge's derivation of this A.S. word from Idg. *sŷu-č, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 509 f.). Lat. ba-cula, Mid.Cymr. hu-ch 'cow'. Armen. ju-k-n, gen. jkan, 'fish', Pruss. sukkans i. e. su-k-ans acc. 'fishes', Lith. šū-k-mistra-s 'fish-master', beside Gr. ἵχος-ς Lith. šūv-s 'fish' (for the initial sound cp. I § 554 Rem. I p. 407 and Bartholomae Ar. Forsch. II 56). Skr. ajokā ajikā 'little goat' (ajā-s 'he-goat' ajā 'she-goat'), Lith. oszkā (ožū-s 'he-goat'). Skr. avi-kā- avi-kā 'sheep' (āvi-ś 'sheep'), Lat. ovi-cula, Lith. avi-kūnė 'sheepen' (avi-s 'sheep') O.C Sl. ovi-ca 'sheep'. Skr. marya-kā-s 'manakin' (mārya-s 'man, young man'), Gr. μῦρα 'girl', later also 'boy' μῦρα-νο-'boy'. Skr. pūs-ka- m. pl. 'dust' (pūsū- 'dust'), O.C Sl. pēsū-kū 'sand'.

In names of persons: Skr. dēvaka-s dēvika-s beside dēva-s dēva-datta-s, Gall. Divico Divicia beside Divō Dēvo-gnātu; Skr. sunaka-s beside ūnas-karṇa-s, Gr. xvnax beside Kvr-ayo-o; Skr. sana-ka-s beside sana-bruta-s, Gall. Senicco Seneca beside Bret. Hen-car, O.H.G. Sinigus (Latinised) beside Sino Sin-hart. *sence-go- ('sence-go-') meaning probably 'oldish', from *seno-'old' (Skr. sana-s &c.): Skr. sana-kā-s 'former, old', Lat. senex senica, (Gall. Senicco, Senecu; O.Ir. senchas 'antiquity', see § 108), pr. Norse singoðēs nom. pl. masc. 'oldest' from *sinig- (cp. F. Burg, Die älteren nord. Runeneinschr. 1885, p. 180 f.). Frankish Sinigu-s (Goth. sineig-s 'old' see § 89 a), Lott. senz-i-s (z for k) 'old inhabitant, a man of olden time'. Armen. ancu-k anju-k O.C Sl. qūš-kū 'narrow', beside Skr. qhū-š 'narrow'.
Aryan. Skr. āsva-kā-s 'little horse' from āsva-s 'horse', śiśu-kā-s 'little child' from śiśu-ś 'child', rāja-kā-s 'petty king' from rājan- 'king'. Avest. drafsa-ka- m. 'little banner' from drafsu- m. 'banner', orperRaYu-ka- m. 'little child' from a-per- RaYu- m. 'child' (orig. 'not of full age'), kainim-kā- 'little girl' beside kainim- f. 'maid, maiden'.


No difference of meaning can be detected in the following examples. Skr. vādha-ka-s and vadhā-s 'murderer', āsta-ka-m and āsta-m 'home', īṣu-kā- and īṣu-ś f. 'arrow', udā-kā-m and udān- n. 'water', Avest. maṣyāka- and maṣyā- m. 'mortal, man', pasu-ka- and pasu-ś m. 'cow' (ep. Skr. pāṣa-ka- a small animal), O.Pers. ṣmava (Herodotus) and Avest. span- 'dog'.

Similarly there is no serious difference in meaning between Skr. arbha-kā-s and ārbha-s 'small', nāgna-ka-s and nagnā-s 'naked', ējāt-kā-s and ējant- 'trembling, quivering', anīyas-kā-s and anīyas- thinner, finer' (ep. Lat. melius-cniu-s). Thus adjectival compounds like vigata-śrī-ka-, which we noticed in § 86 p. 257, may also be classed here. In Sanskrit, forms like šīkṣu-ka-s 'impairing, generous' (šīkṣu-ś the same), pramāyu-ka-s 'falling into ruin, perishing' (pramāyu-ś, the same) and the like gave rise to an independent primary suffix -uka-, e.g. dāśuka-s 'biting', vi-kāsuka-s vi-kasuka-s 'bursting'.

For feminine substantives the usual suffix is -ika- (corresponding to masc. -aka-), as nāsika- du. beside nāsā- du. 'nose', iyattikā- fem. of iyattakā- 'so small'. Whilst the forms in -aka- express the fem. by simple differentiation (Motion) of the masc.-neut. stem -aka-, -i-kā- was originally derived from fem. i-stems (ep. also Avest. nairikā- beside nairi- nairi- 'wife', caraRīka- 'girl, wife' beside caraiti- caraRīti- 'wife').

Armenian. A further suffix -en- was added to the stems of the substantives formed with -go-. We have already noticed muku 'mouse, musch' from *mus-go- or *mūs-go- (1 § 561 p. 417) and ūn-k-u 'fish'. To those should be added armuku, gen.
armkan 'elbow, head' (beside Lat. ormu-s Goth. orm-s); perhaps its resemblance to mukn is more than accidental.

ancu-k anju-k 'narrow' see p. 263 above.

Greek. With a diminutival or contemptuous sense, more or less obscured: μεῖρας 'girl' (p. 263), δέλφιας 'pig, sucking pig', βοῖμαξ 'small altar', λιθας 'stone', λειμαξ 'meadow'. Attached to these are unmistakable diminutives like μεγάλαειοιον 'little boy' οπινθιονιοιον 'little spark' (cp. ωσπιοιοιον 'little shield' § 63 p. 128). Add also pet names like Ἰππακος beside Ἰππος Ἰπποσχος Ἀρχος Ἰππος, Πυρρακος beside Πυρρος, Λυσσαξ beside Λυσσος, Φαυναξ beside Φαυνος, Μυλικος Μυλιξ beside Μυλος Μυλοχος Άγγελος.

The α which precedes the -θ(λ)- in -κο-ς -ας points to -ς-γο- as the earlier form (cp. ὀσκακος § 86 p. 258 and Skr. rājaka- for *rājka-ka-, Germ. -μο-γα-). Thus Ἰππακος (Ἰππος), λειμαξ (ϰειμον) and the like may have set the type for this group of forms; Ἰππακος Ἰππος = O.H.G. Berhtung: Berhto (see below, p. 267). μεῖρας for μεῖρας (Skr. murya-kā-s) may perhaps be an extended form from a stem *meiyo-.

ὁδας 'with the teeth, mordicus' was derived from a stem *ὡδας- ποδας(o) 'tooth': Skr. a-daka- 'toothless', A.S. tus or tūsc O.Fris. tūsk O.Icel. tōsk-r 'tooth' pr. Germ. *tusn-kar- common ground-form *dpt-γο-, beside ὀδος; Goth. tunb-us 'tooth' (cp. I § 527 p. 383). But δακων obviously influenced its meaning and perhaps its form also. In the same way we have γυν- with bended knees' from γυν- 'knee'. As to their use as adverbs see § 86 p. 256.

πηλικος 'how great? how old?' τηλικος 'so great, so old' from *nali- *tali- = Lat. quali-e talis: similarly O.H.G. Almann. wē-lēr 'how produced?' so-lēr 'thus produced' pr. Germ. *-λ-γα-, cp. also O.C.Sl. kolikū tolitkū § 89 a. Beside Att. ἰλίκος ἱλις stands βαλλωτης (more correctly -τας) συνέφηβος. Κρητις in Hezychius, which points to a form *syali-.

Italic. Lat. homun-ə-ıō 'mankinin' from homē. *albi-co- *nigrice- 'whitish' *negrice- 'blackish'. in albicāre negricāre prisc-us beside
prius. *pauco- for *pavi-co-s (cp. pauper for *pavi-per). senex
seni-ca: Skr. *sana-ká-s see above, p. 263.

The usual suffix is -culo-, i.e. -go- + -lo-, the second of
which is itself diminutival (§ 76 p. 205 f.). This extension of
the suffix dates from proethnic Italic, and in many words was
no doubt intended to revive the diminutival force which at the
time was disappearing or had quite disappeared. Lat. ovicula:
*ovica (Skr. avi-ká) = lupula : lupa; similarly paculu-s : pacu-s
 = frígidulu-s : frígidu-s.

’sow’, Lat. dic-cula, Osc. zi-colom ‘diem’ (the diminutival sense
of -colo- has disappeared). Lat. fāni-culu-s, classi-culu, spē-cula,
nuš-cula, frater-culu-s, amatōr-culu-s, homun-culu-s, aedificatio-
cula, mus-culu-s, corpus-culu-m, arbus-cula, corculu-m (i.e.
*cord + culum).

Remark 1. The i in crāticula, fēbrīcula, apīcula and similar words
may be variously explained. The first analysis must certainly be crātic-u-
not crāti-cula. Cp. § 89 a p. 271.

seniculu-s: senex, nigriculu-s: nigricāre, leviculu-s, dulciculu-s.
paupeculu-s, melius-culu-s, tardīus-culu-s, (cp. prīs-cu-s and
Skr. aṇīyas-ká-s).

Keltic. O.Cymr. hu-ce ‘sus’ Corn. ho-ch ‘porcus’: Skr. sū-
-karā-s see p. 263 above; we must no doubt add O.Ir. socc ‘plough-
share’, properly ‘pig’s snout’, see Thurneysen, Keltorum. 112 f. 1).
Mid.Cymr. bu-ch ‘cow’: Lat. bā-cula. aire (gen. airech) ‘princeps’
for *ariak-s, Skr. ārya-ka-s ‘honourable man’, from āryā- ‘devoted,
pious’. Proper names: Gall. Divico Divicia, see above, p. 263.

Remark 2. Here may also be mentioned O.Ir. menic Mod.Cymr.
mynych ‘frequens’, though their relation to Goth. menag-s ‘much’, and O.Cs.
minogā ‘much’ is not clear. Does the Slav. word contain Idg. -go- (§ 91)?
Or should we regard it as a word borrowed from Germanic? Cp. Schleicher
in his and Kahn’s Beitr. V 112 f.

Germanic. A.S. tūsc or tūsc ‘tooth’ ground-form *dyt-go-,
see above, p. 265.

1) Cp. Gr. ὅρ燧- ὅρ燧 ‘ploughshare’, which is usually connected with
ὁσσ (cp. Solmsen, Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXIX. 81).
§ 88. The Suffix -qo- in a special class of Derivatives. 267

-qo- was added to -eu-, which formed substantives denoting a thing or person standing in some characteristic relation to the idea of the original word; hence arose in proethnic Germanic the suffix -i̯o̯̯a- (and beside it -i̯o̯̯a-, with no difference in meaning). The suffix -qo- in this use in historical times is merely an amplification of the suffix to which it is added, and has no special meaning of its own; at most we may credit it with some part of the idea of pity or contempt implied in words like O.H.G. arming 'homo pauper, miser' abanusting 'homo invidus', which are common enough. We may compare the relation of O.H.G. Berhtung Berhting: Berhto (gen. Berhtin), arming: armo (gen. armin) 'poor' with that of Gr. Ιλυγιονο-ς: Ηέρων. This compound suffix was soon added to stems with l-suffixes, e.g. O.H.G. sidil-ing 'settler' from sedal 'seat', edil-ing 'man of noble blood' from edili 'noble'. Thus there arose an independent suffix -(o)i̯o̯̯a- -o)li̯o̯̯a-, which was fertile in North and West Germanic.

Remark 3. It is difficult to determine the relation between -i̯o̯̯a- and -i̯e̯a-. The latter form appears to be older, e.g. in tribe names like Græuthungi (Amm. Marc.), The most natural assumption is that at the time when the connexion between -i̯o̯̯a- and the eu-stems was still recognised, e (later i) was introduced through the influence of the cases which had the strong form -en- (later -in-). Yet it is quite conceivable that -i̯o̯̯a- and -i̯e̯a- were contaminated (§ 87 p. 261), or that -i̯o̯̯a- started from stems in -in-, which existed in the pre-Germanic period (see § 115); -i̯o̯̯a- -i̯e̯a- would come from -i̯o̯̯a- -i̯e̯a- just as *j̯o̯̯a- j̯o̯̯a- 'young' from *j̯o̯̯a-, see § 83 and I § 179 p. 156; cp. Berhting, O.Icel. Birting-r 'a brilliant, famous man' by the side of Goth. balrhtes O.H.G. perahht f. 'brightness'; O.Icel. spekting-r 'wise man' beside spekt -i f. 'wisdom'. There is a good deal of evidence for the last explanation, which seems to me the best; if it be correct, then the -i̯o̯̯a- forms must have been originally adjectival (§ 86 b p. 259); Rem. 4. p. 268.

The Suffix -go- in a special class of Derivatives. § 88.

fingrund-r 'finger-ring', Mid.H.G. bertinc 'lay brother' from bart 'beard', O.H.G. wihseling 'changeling', zwinseling 'twin', O.Icel. vetrung-r 'a beast one winter old', hofding-r 'chieftain, captain'; names of families and tribes like A.S. Skyldungas O.Icel. Skjoldungr; A.S. Hrödeling 'son of Hrödel'; O.Icel. Ætting-r 'kinsman' from Ætt 'race', O.H.G. chunniling 'kinsman' from chunni 'race', O.Icel. systrung-r 'mother's sister's son' O.Fris. susterling 'sister's child', O.H.G. swuufatarungo pl. 'the people of the son and the father'. These is but one example in Gothic, gadiligg-s 'cousin': O.I.H.G. gatiling gatuling O.S. gaduling.

The use of these forms in the feminine as abstract substantives in Norse and West-Germanic was no doubt established by the same process as in e. g. O.H.G. foraht 'fear' contrasted with forahit Goth. faërht-s 'full of fear' (§ 79 p. 235 f.); similarly Lat. fabrica 'formation, manufacture', (from faber); cp. also § 158. O.Icel. haldung 'an insulting' from hald 'insult, scoff', launung 'secret' from laun (the same), with which primary formations like kvisting 'murdering' (from kvista 'to murder') became associated. O.H.G. woredunga 'dignitas' from werd; primary in e. g. hantalunga 'handling', from hantalón 'to handle'. In O.Icel. we have also side by side birting-r 'bright one' and birting 'brightness', ginnung-r 'deceiver, impostor' and ginning 'deceit', and the like.

Remark 4. If -iæg- -iægō-, were derived from the suffix -in- which is itself used to form abstract substantives (see Rem. 3), we should further have to consider whether the fem. -in-gō-, as in O.Icel. birting, was not formed immediately from the in-stem by the addition of -go- merely as an amplification.

Adjectival stems were extended by -go-, e. g. O.H.G. gōra-g 'pitiful' beside Goth. gdur-s 'sorrowful', O.Icel. qrdug-r 'steep' beside Gr. ὑπόθετος Lat. arduo-s (I § 306 p. 241). Here must be classed also O.H.G. entrig 'strange' (from-ander 'other'), if the termination is Idg. *-tre-gō-, not *-tr-iqē- (§ 87 p. 262). -iæ- was generally substituted for the original ending as in Goth. sineig-s 'old' (contrast Skr. sana-kū-s p. 263), see § 89 a p. 271.

Remark 5. The origin of this word is therefore distinct from that of O.H.G. \textit{wie-lih} Goth. \textit{au-t-lik-s} 'what sort of', a compound of Germ. \textit{-lika} 'body, form'. But the termination \textit{-i-gö} was associated with this by popular etymology, just as in Skr. \textit{-i-ku- -i-kau- -i-kau-} were associated with \textit{-aue-} (see p. 256).

Balto-Slavonic. \textit{-i-gö} is common to Baltic and Slavonic as a diminutive suffix. There can be no doubt that it first appeared in \textit{u-stems}, cp. O.CSl. \textit{synüků 'little son': synū, gen. synú 'son'}. So Lith. \textit{parziuka-s} 'little sucking pig' beside \textit{parziu-}, \textit{mėdžiuka-s} 'little tree' beside \textit{mėdzi-s}, O.CSl. \textit{čiūtikū 'howcrest} beside \textit{čiūtā} gen. \textit{čiūtā}. In Slavonic the same suffix was also used for the extension of adjective stems, yet with the loss of what was originally its special sense: \textit{qzųkū 'narrow'}: Armen. \textit{ančuk anjuk 'narrow'} (Skr. \textit{qhū-ś}), \textit{sladžikē 'sweet'} (Lith. \textit{saldūė-s}); others are not derived from \textit{u-stems} e.g. \textit{brūdūkū 'bitter', lēpūkū 'ornament'}. Cp. further Pruss. names like \textit{Bauduke (banda-'useful) Wyrucke (vīra- 'man')}.

Similarly the diminutival \textit{-i-gö-}, which first appeared in \textit{i-stems}, was extended beyond its original sphere in both Baltic and Slavonic. Yet \textit{-i-gö-} itself is not used with this function, but only \textit{-i-gō- -i-gā-}, which contains the additional suffix \textit{-i-gō-}. Proethnic examples are: O.CSl. \textit{ožka 'sheep'}, cp. Lith. \textit{avi-k-įnė 'sheep-pen': Skr. avī-ka etc., see p. 263 above; O.CSl. \textit{myška 'arm} orig. 'little mouse, muscle': Skr. \textit{mūṣika 'mouse, rat', cp. loc. cit. In both these words the original diminutival sense was lost. Other examples are: Lith. \textit{rankikė 'little hand', kumëlėkė 'little (bad) mare', mamkē 'little mother' (in Lith. only feminines), O.CSl. \textit{kamenikō 'little stone', korabčik 'little ship', dětica collective 'little children' (dětī 'children'), dĕřica 'little door' (dĕřī 'door'). Compare also Prussian names like \textit{Teviko (tevō- tawu- 'father').

Here should also be classed Lith. \textit{-i-na-ka- -i-nak- -i-ika-} (\textit{t} comes from \textit{en}), combinations of suffixes which denote any kind of relation to the original word, e.g. Lith. \textit{darb-iänka-s (Lett. da'rbıńk-s) 'worker' from dárbas 'work', dafš-iänka-s (Lett. da'rfınk-s) 'gardener' from dařsas 'garden', pus-iänka-s}
owner of half a measure of land, small proprietor', *tauk-ininka-s* 'dweller in the fields, countryman', *Lētuv-ininka-s* 'a Lithuanian' from *Lētuvė* 'Lithuania', Lett. *gudrinik-s* 'wiseacre' from *gudr-s* 'wise', *sveschinik-s* 'stranger' from *svesch* 'strange', *Ridsinsk-s* 'man of Riga' from *Rīga* 'Riga', *uppelnik-s* 'dweller by a river' from *uppe* 'river'. By this side of this suffix, with a similar meaning, stands Lith. -*in-yka-* Pruss. -*n-ik-i-* O.C.Sl. -*n-iko-*, which I refer to Idg. -*qo-*, see § 89 a. The second part of Lith. -*in-inka-*, should no doubt be identified with Germ. -*uqo-* (cp. I § 249 p. 204 f.), and it must be assumed that in Baltic there once existed forms like *dvarkinka-s* *dvarenka-s* 'courtier' (should we add here the forms *mesči* 'month' *zajęc* 'hare', which are quite isolated in Slavonic?) and that their suffix was confused with -(ɔ)n-*ika-* (*dvarinika-s* O.C.Sl. dvörinikū) producing Lith. -*in-inka-* (*dvarininka-s*) Lett. (*-n-enka-*) -*n-ika-*.  

Remark 6. I prefer this view to that proposed in I § 219, 4 p. 186, which I have now abandoned, that Slav. -*ikā* is the phonetic equivalent of Lith. -*inka-s*. I have to thank Leskien for suggesting the above explanation.

§ 89. 5. -*qo-* -*qa-*, -*qo-* -*qa-* and -*qo-* -*qa-*. The long vowels preceding the *q* may, like the *i* of -*qo-* (§ 87), represent the final of a noun-stem; but it is not clear in what particular words these forms of the suffix first appeared. No general definition of their functions can be given.


Aryan. It is rarely denominative: Skr. *ānd-īka-s* 'bearing eggs', from *āndā-m* 'egg'. More frequently it is primary: Skr. *dfś-īka-s* 'conspicuous' *dfś-īka-m* 'aspect' *dfś-īkā* 'appearance', *vṛdh-īkā-s* 'augmenter', *mṛd-īkā-m* 'pity, grace'.

In Greek it is rare. *πέρδ-ῖς* 'partridge' (properly 'peditor', though its resemblance to *πέρδω* may perhaps be due merely to a freak of popular etymology), *βέυθ-ῖς* 'top'.

Italic. Denominative forms: *umbil-īcu-s* (cp. Gr. *δυμπάλο-ς*). *rubr-īcu-s* rubr-*īca*, *lect-īca* and others. Primary forms: *am-īcu-s*, *mend-īcu-s*, *pud-īcu-s*, and others; add also *pēdīcāre* from
a stem *pōd-īco- with the same meaning as pōdex (§ 87 p. 261). -īc-io- and -t-īc-io- (cp. -t-īco- § 87 p. 261) are derived suffixes e. g. novīciu-s, ad-ventīciu-s. Some nouns in -īqo- have passed into the consonantal declension: fēlīx, perrīx.

Perhaps we should also class here crāticula and the like, see § 88 Rem. 1 p. 266.

In Germanic. -īqa- appears with various functions. It forms adjectives from nouns, e. g. Goth. mahtīg-s 'mighty' from mahti- 'might', O.H.G. spenstig 'alluring' from spanst f. 'allurement, enticing'; here -īqa- has taken the place of an older -qa- (-i-qa- -a-qa- etc.), see § 86 p. 259. It extends adjectival stems without altering their adjectival character, e. g. Goth. andanēmeig-s: onda-nōm-s 'pleasant', O.H.G. wīrdīg: werd 'worthy', rihtīg: reht 'right'; -qa- has the same function, e. g. in O.H.G. gorā-g: Goth. gāur-s 'troubled', see § 88 p. 268; there can be no doubt that in this use also -īqa- has spread beyond its original sphere, cp. Goth. sineig-s instead of orig. *senō-qo- or *seno-qo- (p. 263). Finally it occurs 'as a primary suffix, e. g. in Goth. gabeig-s beside the older gabīg-s, see § 87 p. 261.

Baltic-Slavonic. Both branches have -īqo- as a secondary suffix, in substantives which are generally derived from adjectives, and express any kind of relation to the original word. In Baltic (Lith. and Pruss.) these forms are nearly always derived from nouns with an n-suffix, Lith. -in-inka-s Pruss. -n-ik-i-s, in Slavonic from others also. In Lithuanian -ininka-s is exactly equivalent to -inka-s, but the two suffixes are distributed amongst the various dialects; in some the first, and in others the second was alone in use; in many of the districts bordering on Slavonian territory the Slav. -inikū- may have helped to establish the form -inka-s (there are a large number of such words borrowed from Slavonic, e. g. metelinka-s 'impostor' = Pol. mietelnik). Lith. darbinya-s beside darbinika-s, etc., see § 88 p. 269 f. Pruss. laukink-i-s 'vassal, feudal dependant' (Lith. laukinka-s laukinka-s), siidenik-i-s 'leading hound', stubonik-i-s 'booth-owner' hence) 'cupper, surgeon'. O.C.S.I. slatikū a gold coin (slattī 'golden'), sīrebrinikū sīrebrinika 'silver coin' (sīrebrinī
silver), kr̄eṣṭiṣṇuḥ 'muderer' (kr̄eṣṭiṣṇuḥ 'bloody'), gṝśṭiṣṇuḥ 'sinner' (gṝśṭiṣṇuḥ 'sinful'), olas̄eṣṭiṣṇuḥ 'who has a hairy (olas̄eṣṭiṣṇu) garment'; from participles, e. g. ućeṣṭiṣṇuḥ 'scholar, disciple', (ućeṣṭiṣṇu 'becoming learned') izbraṇiṣṭiṣṇuḥ 'one elected, chosen' (iz-braṇiṣṭiṣṇu 'elected'); from subst. e. g. Russ. babiṣ 'top, ladies' man' (babiṣ 'woman'), sēveš̄iṣṭ 'north wind' (sēveš̄iṣṭ 'north'). In Lithuanian we have only isolated examples of derivatives without the u-suffix, as dalį̄ka-s 'piece, part' from dalį-s 'part'.

O.C.Sl. sikā 'talis' (also sici, cp. ljubimici beside ljubimikā and the like) from sī 'hic', tolīkā 'tantus' kolīkā 'quantus'; compare also velīkā 'great' beside velīkā 'great': cp. Gr. πλῆς-ç O.I.L.G. veleç § 88 p. 265.

Further -ikā forms diminutives and pet names in Slavonic, as Russ. domik 'little house' mjāčik 'little ball', Lower Sorb. gašīk 'little pond', gjaršyk 'little pot'; Czech Volik beside Vol, Vladik beside Vlad, Mod.Slov. Nanika 'Annie'.


Aryan. In Sanskrit, it is found primary adjectives containing reduplicated verbal forms, as dan-daṣṭ-āka-s 'biting' (cp. dēṣṭaka-s 'biting' § 88 p. 264), ja-jar-āka-s 'watchful', va-vad-āka-s 'talkative'.

Greek. It is found in isolated words as a primary suffix: xhpēς (Dor. etc. xāpēς) 'herald', cp. Skr. ca-kar-ti 'he extols' kār-ta 'praiser'.

Italic. In Latin it occurs a few times in primary use e. g. cad-ācu-s, fidāc-ia, and not more often as secondary, e. g. aerāca (beside aerāgo) from aes, lactāca from lac (lact-is).

In Slavonic it is a primary suffix in a few words, e. g. O.C.Sl. jēz-ykā 'tongue, speech' (Pruss. ins-ue-i-s 'tongue'), vlad-tyka 'ruler, lord', Russ. kī-yk 'hewer', pol. bed-yk 'peditor'. c. -aço-.

Aryan. Here -aka- is ambiguous, so that no forms can be said with certainty to be derived from -aço-. Besides Skr. asmāka-s etc. (§ 86b p. 267) the following may be examples: pavāka-s Ved. 'clear, pure' (to be read, as the metre indicates,
for the pācakā-s of the Mss.), jālpaka-s beside jatlpakās 'tal- katvā', bhīkṣaka-s 'beggar'.

Greek. ríâz 'youth': O.C.Sl. novákũ 'novice'. ὀφράξ ion. ὀφραῖς 'breastplate'. ὀφρνῆς Lesb. ὀφρᾶς 'little sprout or shoot'. ἀφρίς 'helmet'. ἀφῆς 'wasp', which no doubt is for αφ-άξ- i.e. 'a creature that lives in swarm', compare Skr. sukh-ā 'assemblage' Goth. sib-ja 'kinsman' (Bammack, Stud. auf dem Geb. des Grieche. I 25).

Italian. In denominative formations: meðen-s from meðen-s. lingulača from lingula-s, verbenāca from verbenā; oparč-s is no doubt to be compared with op- ob. -ār is common both in primary and secondary use: bibār, loquār, persogār, mordār, anār, pāgnār, vērār.

Old Irish. -ako- is common to all Celtic languages, forming adjectives from substantives, as in marach Mid.Cymr. marachare 'equester' from mare- 'horse', cumachtach Mid.Cymr. kyfoetharí Corn. chefnido 'mighty' from cumachta 'might'. It is also found in proper names, as Gall. Dumnāch-s Mid.Cymr. Dyfnauic, Gall. Tento-hōdiēt (pl.) Mid Ir. Bradaig, Gall. Benācā-s; its originally adjectival character appears clearly in place-names in -ācum like Gall. Arūtācum i.e. 'praedium Aviti' (Zeus² 806).

Germanic. Goth. áinōhō Luke 8, 42, fem. of áinaka 'unicus', which is usually added here, is most probably nothing but a scribe's mistake (perhaps caused by áinōhun?).

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. tū-s gen. tū-io O.C.Sl. takū 'talis'; similarly kūk-s kakū 'qualis'; jok-s 'any one' jakū 'qualis', anok-s 'of that kind' onako adv. 'so', dvejoka-s dovakū 'twofold' trojokā-s trojakū 'threefold'. There are only one or two examples to add from Slavonic: e.g. O.C.Sl. jedinakũ 'aequalis' dru-gako adv. 'otherwise' (cf. Lith. věnoka-s věnok-s 'of one kind' kitok-s 'of another kind'), but in Baltic this suffix was very fertile in forming new adjectives from those already in use to express an approach to the meaning of the original: Lith. jūdokā-s 'blackish' (jūda-s 'black'), silnokā-s 'weakish, rather weak'
The Suffix -ško- -ška- and -isko- -iskā-. § 90.

(šljuna-s 'weak'), saldoka-s 'sweetish, rather sweet' (sulđū-s 'sweet'), didokā-s 'rather large' (didī-s 'large'); in Lettish it became the ordinary comparative suffix, as in saldokā-s 'sweeter' (sal’dā-s), labbokā-s 'better' (lab-s).

-ško- was further employed in Balto-Slavonic to form substantives from adjectives to denote something characterised by the quality which the adjective expressed. So Lith. naujoka-s O.C.Sl. novkū 'novice' (Serv. novak 'new moon') from nauje-s novū 'new': Gr. ναύς; Lith. trečioka-s 'threepenny-bit' (strictly a coin worth three copper groschen) szeštoku-s (twice as much), O.C.Sl. trėtijakū 'a three-year-old'; O.C.Sl. juvaku 'a youth'; O.C.Sl. bujakū 'fool, blockhead'; finally personal names in -akū, as Russ. Gojak, Czech Lstak, Modiak.

The difference in accentuation between trejokā-s and trečioška-s should be noticed. The Gliding (1) (geschliffen) accent in tōks replaced the Incisive (gestossen) in consequence of the loss of the final syllable, cp. tōkio.

§ 90. The Suffix -ško- -ška and (in Germanic and Balto-Slavonic) -isko- -iskā-. We have to consider chiefly the primary noun-suffix -ško-, which is identical with the verbal suffix -ško- forming present stems. Occasionally we meet with forms which point to an original -ško-. I must leave it an open question whether to regard these as two entirely distinct forms, or to suppose that the velar was substituted for the palatal in the original suffix by some secondary process, cp. I § 467 p. 342 f. I confess however that the latter view seems to me more probable.

Indo-Germanic. *pyrk-skā- 'question, investigation, enquiry' (cp. Skr. pyrkāmi Lact. posco, √pyr̥k-): Skr. pyrka-, Armen. harč (gen. harči, transferred to the i-declension), O.H.G. forscia. *is-skā-*aís-skā- (cp. Skr. ichāmi 'I long for, desire', √iás-): Skr. ichā-

1) I am very sorry to depart from Dr. Wright's translation of these terms in Vol. I (p. 338 f.) but the rendering 'slurred' for geschliffen and 'broken' for gestossen seem to me a little misleading.
'longing, wish', Armen. aic 'enquiry' (only found in the accusative and then only in certain phrases), O.H.G. eiscas 'an asking, demanding'. Skr. rāncha 'wish' O.H.G. wunse m. 'wish, desire', beside Skr. rānchami 'I wish', √gen- 'find pleasure in something'; in Sanskrit, the nasal is due to the analogy of kindred forms (Bartholomae Ar. Forsch. II 91), *cā-ch is for *ṛṛ-śk-, and wunse for *ṛṛ-śko-.

Aryan. There are but few examples to be added from Sanskrit. märchā- 'weakness' beside märchami 'I freeze, grow torpid' (compare märkha- 'stupid, dull, unintelligent' which may be classed with sargā- and the like, I § 467, 1 p. 342 f.), beside mär-tā-s 'curdled'; if Goth. mn-tila-malek-s 'thoughtless' and O.Sax. malec 'haughty' come from the same word, its form in pr. Idg. would be *mṛḷ-śko-. mlēchā-s 'foreigner, barbarian', beside mlēchami 'I jabber'; the Pāli form milakkha- is still obscure, in spite of E. Kuhn's attempt to explain it in his Ztschr. XXV 327.

Armenian. See above. Perhaps also p'nhk 'breath, flatus' beside ḫēm 'I breathe, blow', cp. Gr. χύσκα 'blister, weal' qvósya 'intestine, sausage' beside qvōsa 'blowing, blast', √phu- or sphu- (the weak form).

Greek. ἔκκος-γ 'quit' for *δék-kōs-γ, beside ἔκκιν 'to throw'. βό-κο 'fodder, pasture', beside βόκω 'I feed'.

Here apparently we must class the diminutives1) in -kko- (which do not occur in Homer), as παιδόκο-ς 'little boy' παιδίακη 'little girl', oίκισκος, oίκισκη 'little house', χωρίσκος-ς 'little pig', ύδρισκη 'little pitcher'. These may be connected with presents in -akko (like ἔγκισκο), and the (primary) forms on which the rest were modelled (cp. ἐρέσκο-γ 'pleasing' beside ἐρέσκο) may have arisen when such presents still had the sense of becoming, of gradual realisation, compare -kvâko-ς with Lat. aduléscens.

Italic. Lat. ēsca for *čd-śca and its opposite ēsca. Also rescu-s properly 'eaten away'), beside rescor, if this group of

1) Janson, De Graeci sermonis diminutivis in ēskο-ς, Thorn 1856.
words contains -sko- (cp. Osthoff, Zur Gesch. d. Perf. 606; Bammack, Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXVII 561 ff.).


Here must be classed the secondary adjectival suffix, Germ. -isku-, Lith. -iszkau-, Slav. -isko-. It denotes origin and connexions, or fitness and quality.


The history of this suffix involves considerable difficulty.

Remark. It may be suspected that the Balto-Slavonic suffix was borrowed from Germanic (see I § 537 Rem. 2 p. 442): in Romance indeed -isko- (Ital. grecisco, doumeco) was borrowed from Germanic and Slav. -isk Lith. -orisk came from Germ. -arisk-. It is quite possible that it is a compound suffix -is+ko- (compare § 86) (ep. Skr. arvītaṃ-ka- maṣṭika-); and if so it would be a question whether O.H.G. altisc and other forms derived from adjectives did not contain the comparative stem (ep. Skr. aṃgga-ka- p. 264). Finally it is conceivable that it is an analogical modification of Indo-Germanic.

§ 91. The Suffix -go- -gū-. The following forms may be quoted towards proving the existence of a suffix -go- in protoliterate Indo-Germanic.

Skr. ārba-ya-š ‘youthful’ beside ārba-s ārba-kā-s ‘small, young’. śṛṣṭya-m ‘horn’ may be regarded as derived from a form *śṛṣṭya- = Goth. haün, just as O.H.G. sinchau f. ‘hollow

Armen. *krun-* 'crane': O.H.G. *chramu-h* A.S. *cornu-c* 'crane' beside A.S. *cran* Gr. *γέραλος* 'crane'. Also *srn-kun-* (gen. *sruni-ç*) pl. 'shinbones, calves'? Armen. -*k* however also represents Idg. *q*.

In Germanic *-ka-* is a common suffix. With *chramu-h* we may compare certain other names of birds, such as Goth. *ahak-*s 'dove' O.H.G. *habuh* A.S. *hafoc* 'hawk', which resemble Greek bird-names in *-γ*, like *νόκκυρος* (see Bugge, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 424 f.). In other words it has generally more or less of a diminutival force, as O.H.G. *armihha* 'paupercula', *fulihha* 'she-foal', *snurihha* 'little daughter-in-law', and adjectives like O.H.G. *altih* 'old' O.Sax. *luttic* O.Fries. *litik* 'small' (cp. Skr. *ārbha-ga-s*). By the side of the O.H.G. *scincha* mentioned on p. 276 should no doubt be placed O.H.G. *zinko* 'tooth, prong', which is connected with Mid.H.G. *zint* O.Icel. *tind-r*, ground-form *dend-go-, from the stem *dent-* 'tooth'.

In Balto-Slavonic also *-go* is fairly frequent; but this may equally well represent Idg. *-gho-. Lith. *isz-ėj-gā* or *isz-ėi-ga* 'exit' beside *isz-ėiti* 'to go out', O.C.Sl. *slo-ga* 'servant' from *kley-* 'hear' (sliu-tje, slovo etc.), *stru-ga* 'current, ship' from *sreų-* 'flow' (stru-ja, o-strovū etc.). Lith. *meląg-i-s-m.* *meląg-ė* f. 'liar', compare *-in-ga-s* in such words as *vargina-s* 'pitiful, miserable' from *varg-e-s* 'misery' (and *-in-ka-s* § 68 p. 271). O.C.Sl. *roz-ga* 'twig' beside *roz-ė* 'dis-'. O.C.Sl. *mę-š* 'man' for *-g-je*, cp. Skr. *mānu-* Goth. *mann-* 'human being, man'. Lith. *ketvor-g-i-s* adj. 'of four years', *trei-g-ė-s* 'of three years' and the like, O.C.Sl. *četvir-gi* Russ. *četver-g* 'Thursday'.

Remark. We must remember that the suffix *-go-* may have been developed from *-go-* in the pre-sciad period. See I § 469, 7 p. 346. By the side of *-go-* we may perhaps recognize a similar suffix *-gu-*. Lat. *prētēs* *prētē-s* *prētē-s* 'old' and in Lith. *tin-gi-s* 'human being'. *prētē-γ* 'should stand beside' Lat. *prētis-co-* (cp. § 135) as Skr. *ārīhā-ga-* beside *ārīhā-kā-* and as O.H.G. *zinko* beside A.S. *tūc* or *tūk* § 88 p. 266. A different explanation of *γυ- v-β* is given by Bezzenberger in his Beitr. IV 345.
II. Suffixes in -i.

§ 92. In the i-suffixes we have a triple Ablaut: i, e_i, o_i (e-series, I § 311—314). i e. g. in nom. and acc. sing. masc. fem. -i-s -i-m; e_i e. g. in nom. pl. masc. fem. -e_i-es; o_i in gen. sing. -o_i-s. We have not enough evidence to determine exactly the connexion between these grades of Ablaut and the varying conditions of Accent in the original declension.

In the proethnic period the i-stems were masculine, feminine and neuter. The first two had originally the same declension. Differences only arose after the separation of the languages, e. g. Skr. acc. pl. ávīn m. áviś f. *oves'.

i-stems often pass into the inflexion of the -ī-: -iē-stems (§ 100), and into that of the monosyllabic -ī-: -iē-stems (§ 109 Remark 2).

§ 93. The Suffix -ī-. This was always a primary suffix. It is secondary only in nouns originally belonging to other declensions which have been transferred to the inflexion of the i-stems. The change of declension is due sometimes to a mere association of similar forms which leaves the meaning unaltered, as in Lat. nāv-i-s nāv-i-um nāv-i-bus 1) (contrast Skr. nāu-ī nāu-ī-ṃ nāu-bhyās); sometimes it denotes a change of meaning, the new signification being taken from that of other i-suffixes (as -ti- -ni-), as in O.C.Sl. ěstoc-ī 'hardness' from ěstokū 'hard'.

-i- as a primary suffix is found in substantives and adjectives. The substantives are most commonly masculine and feminine, and they may be either abstract or concrete.

Indo-Germanic. Substantives.

Masculine and Feminine *o_i-s 'sheep': Skr. āvi-ī m. f. (instead of *āvi-ī on the analogy of the cases which began with ary-? see I § 78 p. 69 f.), Gr. ār-ī ol-ī m. f., Lat. avi-s m. f., O.H.G. ou f., Lith. avi-s f. (O.C.Sl. ovi-ca § 88 p. 269). Skr. āhi-ī m. Avest. ašīš m. 'snake, dragon', Armen. iš (gen. iš-ī) 'viper', Lat.

1) For the transference of -i-stems into the i-declension, see § 109 Rem. 1.
angu-i-s m. f. (O.Ir. esc-ung ‘eel’, a compound with esc ‘swamp’), Lith. ang-l-s f. ‘adder’; cp. also Gr. ὀχυ-ς m. f. ‘adder, viper’ ὁχυ-ς m. ‘snake, dragon’. Avest. erz-iš Gr. ὀχυ-ς m. ‘testicle’.

*ns-l-s m. ‘sword’; Skr. asli-ś Lat. ēnsi-s. Skr. jān-i-ś jān-i-ś Avest. jaini-ś f. ‘woman’, Goth. qēns (stem qēn-i-) f. ‘woman’, beside Skr. gn-ā- etc., see § 60 p. 111.

Neut. *ogi- ‘eye’; Armen. ac-ē (gen. aĉac) pl., Gr. ὄος for *okb-i-e du. n. (Att. ὀξ-ορι-ς must have arisen through a fusion of ὀρι- = *ogi- and ὀτρ- = *ogi-), in Gothic in and-āugi-ba adv. ‘coming into sight, openly’ (for the du cp. I § 444 Rem. 3 p. 331), Lith. aki-s f., O.C.Sl. ochi du.; add Skr. ḍkṣi n. There were a few other proethic neuters, taken as O.C.Sl. uš-i ‘ears’ But only a part of the cases were originally taken from these stems, the rest were formed from stems in -en- (cp. e. g. Skr. akṣṇ-ā (instr.) beside ḍkṣ-ī etc., § 114). In several languages, however, the i-declension was carried through all the cases and the gender was changed. In others however the i-inflexion remained defective. Cp. § 114 and Joh. Schmidt, Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXVI 16 ff.

There appears to be no one adjectival stem which is found simultaneously in more than one language. Here however we must notice *tr-i- ‘three’ (cp. Skr. ty-tyla- ‘tertius’ etc.): Skr. trāya-as loc. tri-śā, Armen. erek instr. eri-v-ē (I § 263 p. 214), Gr. τρεῖς τρι-αί, Lat. trēs tri-bus O.Ir. trī dat. tri-b, Goth. þrei dat. þrī-m, Lith. trīs loc. tri-sa O.C.Sl. trīj-e triji-e loc. trī-chā.

Aryan. Substantives.

Masculine and Feminine. The suffix is especially used to form nomina agentis (m.) and abstract verbal substantives (far more commonly f. than m.). Skr. v-i-ś Avest. v-i-š m. ‘bird’: Lat. av-i-s (the loss of the root-syllable in Sanskrit is a trace of the Ablaut of the original declension). Skr. kav-i-ś ‘sage’. Avest. kav-i-š m. ‘king’. Skr. gir-i-ś Avest. gai-ri-ś m. ‘mountain’ (should we connect it with gurū- ‘heavy’?) Skr. va-er-i-ś m. ‘husk, covering’ Avest. vaoiri- (cp. I § 160 p. 144) in us-vaoiri-ś ‘shelled, without shell’. Skr. ṛṣ-i-ś m. ‘singer, sage’, kṛt-i-ś m. ‘singer of praises, arc-i-ś m. ‘beam’, dhan-i-ś m. ‘tone, sound’, niḍh-i-ś m. ‘establish-
ment, store, treasure' (ni-dhā-); rūc-i-ṣ f. 'gleam, light', kṣa-ṣ-i-ṣ f. 'ploughing', rūp-i-ṣ f. 'violent pain', grāh-i-ṣ f. 'seizure', nādh-i-ṣ f. 'middle'. Avest. vaṣid-i-ṣ m. 'announcer', vair-i-ṣ m. 'canal, pond'; baoid-i-ṣ f. 'smell, perfume' vaid-i-ṣ 'flowing, stream'.

The dative of the nomina actionis is used as an infinitive in Vedic and Avestic, e.g. Ved. dṛśāyē 'for seeing', yuḍhāyē 'for fighting', Avest. savayōi 'to use' (op. Bartholomae, Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXVIII 20).


We find a class of words transferred to the i-declension in order to denote relation of any kind to the original word. In Sanskrit they generally imply origin. The initial syllable has the vriddhi strengthening regularly in Sanskrit, and often in Iranian. Skr. sārath-i-ṣ 'charioteer' from sa-rātha-s 'riding in the same chariot', pāṭṛukutiṣi-ṣ 'descendant. of purukūtsa-s'. Avest. māzdayasni-ṣ 'belonging to the worshippers of Mazda', from mazda-yasna- 'one who worships Mazda' vārpraynī-ṣ 'victorious' from vərprajān- 'victor', dāstāyāni-ṣ 'son of dāstāyana-'; O.Pers. pātisvariṣ- 'a man from Patishuvar'. It is difficult to say on what model this class of forms was made, cp. Lat. decemjugi-s and the like (p. 281). Compare the vriddhi-formations in -a- § 60 p. 112 f.

Armenian. iš (gen. iš-i) 'viper': Skr. āh-i-ṣ etc., see p. 278 above. aic- (gen. aic-i) 'goat': Gr. aly- in aly-fore-ṣ 'pasturing goats'. From old neuter forms are derived ac-ṣ pl. 'eyes' (see p. 279 above) and sirt- (gen. sirt-i) 'heart': Lith. seird-1-s 'heart' beside Goth. haitī.
Greek. Here it is not common. Substantives. Masculine and Feminine. ὀ-τος m. f., ἐχ-ντος m. f. ὄ-τος m., see above p. 278 f. τρόχ-ντος m. 'runner', στρόφ-ντος 'adroit, sly fellow', κόρ-ντος m. 'cimex', ἔχ-ντος f. 'strife: Skr. अर-ि-श 'enemy'; πό-ντος 'heifer, maiden', δάχ-ντος f. 'backbone, back', τρόη-ντος f. 'ship's keel', μυ-ντος f. 'wrath'. There remains one original neuter, ὀσος, see p. 279 above, whilst all the other proethnic neutrals of this class were driven out of use by new formations.

The Adjective τρόγ-ντος 'thick, fat, strong' was no doubt originally a substantive, 'thick, strong appearance'.

Italic. Substantives. Masculine and Feminine. Lat. ov-is m. f., Umbr. ovī acc. 'oves': Skr. āv-i-ṣ etc., see p 279 above. Lat. av-is f., Umbr. avī acc. 'aves': Skr. v-i-ṣ 'bird'. Lat. ax-is m. : Lith. asis f. O.C.Sl. os-ř 'axle'; torris m. (०ters-), orbi s m., corbi-s m. f., crat-i-s f.; ap-i-s f., trud-i-s f., scob-i-s f., sit-i-s f., rāv-i-s f. Osc. slāg-im 'regionem'.

Neuters. Lat. mar-e: O.Ir. muir n. O.H.G. méri n. (perhaps however the Idg. form is *mu-ri, cp. Gr. ἦσ-ἀς); sal-e (stem sal-i-, also m.): Armen. ալ (gen. ալ-ի) 'salt', Gr. ἁλ- in ἁλ-πόρφυρος 'sca-purple', O.C.Sl. sol-i f. 'salt'; conclāv-e, praesaept-e (also praesaĕpt-i-s f.). aur-i-s too was originally neut.: Mid.Ir. au ős, dat. pl. auib, O.C.Sl. uš-i du., Lith. aus-i-s. Adjectives: rud-i-s, jug-i-s, dulc-i-s, grand-i-s, turp-i-s.

In Latin the i-declension was invaded by a large number of words which did not belong to it originally, as ped-i-bus, nāv-i-bus, nāv-i-um, nāv-i-s, juven-i-s. This is especially note-worthy in adjectives, and particularly in compound words. In these the -i- often seems to be merely a sign of their adjectival character, simili-s 'like': Gr. ὑμαλο-ς 'even', humi-li-s: Gr. χθαμαλο-ς 'low', see § 76 p. 202 ff. in-ermi-s (also in-ermus-s) from arma, ex-somni-s from somnu-s, im-belli-s from bellu-m, im-berbi-s (also im-berbu-s) from barba, multi-formi-s from forma, bi-corni-s from cornu. We have examples of a similar transference in other languages; with the change in inermi-s etc. compare especially the parallel change in Irish.

The proethnic variation between -tāl- and -tāti- (civitāl-um
and *civitati-*um), *nocti-* and *nocti-* and the like must have been an important factor in enlarging the *i*-declension.

Old Irish. *aired* m. or f. 'point at the corner or end': Gr. *aig* m. or f. 'arrow-point, sting'. *aig* f. 'ice'. *muir* n. 'sea' (Gall. *Morí-taasgu-s*): Lat. *mare* n. O.H.G. *meri* n. (though the Idg. form was perhaps *mor-ri*); *gein* n. 'birth', *guin* n. 'wound', *buaid* n. 'victory'.

*aír-dirc* 'famed' *c-cendirc* 'absent': cp. Skr. *dṛṣṭ-ī-ṣ* 'a seeing'; *maith* 'good' (Gall. *Matí-donnu-s*), *tais* 'soft, gentle' (Gall. *Taximagulu-s*), *tin* 'tender' (Gall. *Teni-genonia*.)

Adjectives, especially compound adjectives, frequently passed over to the *i*-declension; as *énirt* 'strengthless, weak' from *nert* 'strength', *so-choisch* 'docibilis' from *cosc* 'an instructing', *ess-āmin* 'fearless' from *omun* 'fear' (cp. Gall. *Ex-obnu-s Ex-omnu-s*). Also substantives, as *samail* 'likeness, picture' and therefore also its derivative *co-smil* 'like'. The same may be seen in Latin (p. 281).


Adjectival *i*-stems were confused with *j- stems in proto-Germanic.


Adjectives in *i- are not found in the historical period of Lithuanian, so that Lith. dilde-s ‘large’ loc. didimė cannot be classed here. The word was no doubt a substantive originally, like Gr. τρόπος (see above p. 281). In Slavonic too the adjectives in *i- have died out. Possibly however they are represented by indeclinable forms in -i, such as O.C.Sl. is-plūni beside plūni ‘full’ sugubi beside sugubī ‘doubled’, svobodī ‘free’, which Mahlow, (Die langen Vokale, p. 121) compares with Lat. in-ermi-s O.Ir. ë-nīrt (p. 281 f.); see however Leskien, Handbuch ² p. 72 f. 94 f.

In Balto-Slavonic, as in Latin, the forms of the i-declension invaded other classes of stems. E.g. dat. pl. Lith. akmen-i-mū O.C.Sl. kamen-Č-mū (nom. sing. Lith. ak-mū O.C.Sl. kamy ‘stone’) like Lat. homin-i-bus, Lith. moter-i-mis O.C.Sl. mater-Č-mū (nom. sing. Lith. mōtē ‘woman’ O.C.Sl. mati ‘mother’) like Lat. mater-i-bus, Lith. debes-i-mū O.C.Sl. nebes-Č-mū (nom. sing. Lith. debes-i-s m. f. ‘cloud’ O.C.Sl. nebo n. ‘heaven’) like Lat. gener-i-bus. Many words were thus transferred entirely, or almost entirely, to this declension, as Lith. dant-i-s f. ‘tooth’ (gen. pl. dant-ū), šqs-i-s
f. 'goose' (gen. pl. žas-ů), debės-i-s; O.C.Sl. krűv-ī f. 'blood' (gen. sing. krűv-e), kamen-ī beside kamy, viš-ī 'village' (Skr. viś-).

In Slavonic -i- is a secondary suffix in feminine abstract nouns like žestoki 'hardness', from žestoků 'hard', zeleni 'viriditas', from zelenů 'viridis', zůlů 'wickedness', from zůlů 'wicked', toplů 'warmth', from toplů 'warm' (cp. § 98). The type for these new formations was set by such pairs of forms as da-nī 'gift' and da-ni 'given', bra-nī 'fight' and bra-ni 'fought', peč-tů 'fivefold character, five' and peč-tū 'fifth'.

§ 94. The Suffixes -ni- (-yni-) and -eni- (-oni-). 1)

The two forms are related in the same way as -no- and -eno-. Hence we analyse e. g. *dōni-s (Lith. dūni-s O.C.Sl. danī 'gift') as *dū-+eni-. See § 65 p. 138.

These suffixes appear to have been always primary.

Amongst the substantives formed with -ni- -eni-, the verbal abstract nouns are a prominent class, widely represented in Aryan, Germanic and Balto-Slavonic. These stand in the same relation to the participial suffixes -no- -eno- (-ono-) as the noun suffix -ti-, which also forms verbal abstract nouns (§ 100), to the participial suffix -to- (§ 79 p. 218): e. g. Skr. lū-ni-ś 'a tearing away': lū-na-s 'torn away' = hū-ṭi-ś 'call': hū-ṭa-s 'called'. And it is certainly not an accident that these nouns in -ni- are most common in the languages in which the no-stems occupy a prominent place among the forms of the infinitive.

In Germanic and Balto-Slavonic we often find -sni- instead of -ni-. The origin of the -s- is not quite clear. Possibly it should be sought in forms like *leuqs-ni-s 'gleam' (Avest. raosxnī-s), op. -s-no- § 66 p. 140 f. With Lith. deksnī-s 'burnt patch of ground' op. O.C.Sl. žestū for *gek-s-to- p. 79 p. 237.

Remark. Sometimes it is not easy to decide whether in any particular word we have this suffix or an en-stem extended by -i- (i. e. transferred to the i-declension). The latter is certainly the case e. g. in Skr. ūn-i-ś Avest. fūn-i-ś Lith. suun-i-s Pruss. am-i-s 'dog' beside Skr. ūcō gen. ūn-os.

§ 94,95. The Suffix -ni- (ṣṇi-).

Lat. carn-i-s beside carnī, O.C.Sl. dīn-i 'day' jelen-i 'stag' beside gen. sing. dīn-e jelen-e, svēkun-i beside Lith. szīrežū, gen. szīrežēs, 'hornet, gadfly'. Perhaps also in Skr. vṛṣṇi-ṣ male, strong, mighty, vṛṣṇī m. 'ram' Avest. varṇi-ṣ 'ram' beside Skr. vṛṣṇin- 'male', Skr. pṛṇi-ṣ 'full of love' beside instr. pṛṇā-ā 'through love, through affection'; Gr. ἐγνή (pl. ἐγνης) 'fowl' O.H.G. arn (pl. arni) 'eagle' beside Goth. arius 'eagle'. Cp. § 65 Rom. p. 139.

§ 95. 1. -ni- (ṣṇi-).

Indo-Germanic. Skr. ag-ni-ṣ m. Lat. iγ-ni-s m. Lith. ug-ni-s f. O.C.Sl. og-ni m. 'fire'; the relation of the different root-vowels is obscure. Skr. śrō-ni-ṣ m. f. 'hinder parts, hip', Lat. clā-ni-s m. f., O.Icel. hlau-n f. 'hip-bone, hinder-part', Lith. szlaun-ni-s f. 'hip, upper part of the thigh, shaft-bar (of a carriage)'; how is this related to Gr. κλών-ς 'os sacrum'? (cp. the Author, Zum heut. Stand der Sprachwiss. 1885, p. 70 ff., Holthausen, Paul-Br. Beitr. XIII 590). *lā-ni-s f. 'a loosening, tearing loose': Skr. lā-ni-ṣ 'a tearing loose, cutting off', Goth. lā-ni-s 'means of loosening, ransom' (von Bahder, Verbalablstr. 81, Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 121). Avest. raśni-s 'truth' pr. Ar. *raž-niš (1 § 403 p. 298), Goth. ga-rēn-su-s f. 'intent, plan', √reg- (Avest. rašyaeti 'he arranges'). Skr. śrēnī- 'light, pure' (in śrēni-dant- 'with bright teeth'), Goth. hrō-ni-s 'pure'; cp. also O.C.Sl. srē-ni 'white' (Kluge gives a different explanation, Paul-Br. Beitr. VIII 525).

Aryan. Skr. śrō-ni-ṣ m. f. Avest. srao-ni-ṣ f. 'hinder parts'. Lat. clā-ni-s etc.; see above. Skr. vāh-ni-ṣ m. 'beast of draught', yō-ni-ṣ m. 'lap, womb', ghṛn-ni-ṣ m. 'heat, sunshine'. Skr. jār-ni-ṣ 'glow',ṣṇi-ṣṣni-ṣ 'sickle', mē-ni-ṣ f. 'offensive weapon, missile', śrē-ni-ṣ f. 'row, line', gīr-ni-ṣ f. 'a swallowing'. Avest. raox-ni-ṣ f. 'gleam, brightness', fśao-ni-ṣ f. probably 'riches, food, nourishment'.


The Aryan suffix -ani- may in some words be referred to -yui-; perhaps in kṣip-ani-ṣ f. 'blow' and other words in -ani-.

Armenian. srun-ē (gen. sruni-ē) pl. 'shinbones, calves', compared with Lat. crās.

Greek. Here the suffix is extremely rare. For xlon- see p. 285. ev-er-ζ 'bereft, mulcted' is a certain example, cp. Skr. ā-nā-s 'deficient in something' Goth. v-an-s 'absent, lacking'. But ev-η, évre-ζ 'ploughshare' (cp. Solmsen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 81), επάνι-ζ 'rarity, want' and one or two others are very doubtful.

Italic. Lat. Fōnēs 'dei silvestres' (Gloss.) beside Faunus, Umbr. fons (pl. foner) 'propitius, favens', cp. fav-ēō; the word seems to have been originally a substantive, meaning 'favour'. Lat. ig-ni-s m.: Skr. ag-ni-ζ etc. see p. 285. pēni-s m. f. for *pes-ni-s beside Skr. pás-as Gr. πέος n. 'penis' (I § 570 p. 427). annis m. f. for *ab-ni-s, compared with O.Ir. abann 'stream' (I § 511 p. 375). fūnī-s m. f., fīnī-s m. f., crīnī-s m. f.

It is not clear how far the Adjectives in -ni- were brought into this class of stems merely through a secondary change of declension, cp. § 93 p. 281. com-mōnī-s com-mānī-s (Osc. mūnīkād abl. 'communi' see § 87 p. 261) corresponds to Goth. ga-manis 'common' pr. Germ. *ga-manī-z, omnis for *op-ni-s, beside op-s (cp. Goth. all-s § 66 p. 147), sēg-ni-s, lēni-s, mānī-s, im-mānī-s, in-clīnī-s and others. It must not be forgotten that the uncompounded words may have been originally substantives.

Old Irish. tain 'a harrying, raid' for *tu-ag-ni- or *tul-ag-ni-, similarly immain 'a driving, riding' (passing into the analogy of the i-stems, see Stokes, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 290), from √a-g- 'agere', cp. I § 523 p. 380. buain 'harvesting' for *bong-ni-1, beside bongain 'I gather; make harvest'. cluain 'meadow, mead'. -yni- may be contained in O.Ir. colinn (gen. colnō) f. 'corpus, caro' Mid.Cymr. celin Mod.Cymr. celain celan, which point to *colani- (or *colannī-1, cp. § 117 Rem. 3).

Germanic. The Substantives in -ni- and -śni- are femi-
nine and mostly abstract. O.Icel. hlau-n 'hip-bone': Skr. śṛō- 
-yi-ṣ etc.; see above, p. 285. Goth. sium-s 'looking, power of 
sight, visage, appearance' pr. Germ. *si̯(g)mu-ni-s, beside Goth. 
sailnoan 'to sec', √seg-; see I § 441 p. 327 f., § 444 c p. 330. 
Goth. anda-viz-n-s 'sustenance, support' váila-viz-n-s 'welfare, 
good condition' from visan. sōk-n-s 'disputed question', tāik-n-s 
'notice, token' √dej̄- dej̄-; déau-n-s 'vapour, smell'. Goth. ana-
busn-s 'bidding, charge, command' for *-butsnī-, beside ana-
bindan, us-beisn-s 'expectation, patience' for *-butsnī-, beside 
us-beidau (I § 552 p. 404), gu-rōh-su-s 'intent, plan' (cf. Avest. 
raś-ni- p. 285), rōh-su-s 'court, courtyard'.

The adjectival -ni- corresponds to the adjectival -i- (§ 93 
p. 283), and, like -i-, was confused with the jo-declension. 
Goth. hrāin-s O.Sax. hrēni 'pure': Skr. śṛēni- 'bright, pure'; see 
p. 285 above. Goth. ga-māin-s 'common': Lat. con-mōni-s com-
māni-s, see p. 286. Goth. ana-sium-s 'visible', skām-s 'beautiful' 
('noticeable, worth looking at' beside O.H.G. scoure̩n), or-ni-ba 
adv. 'safely, heedfully'.

In Balto-Slavonic we find only substantives, which in 
both branches are almost exclusively feminine, often with s or 
in (Slav.) z prefixed (-snī-, -znī-).

Lith. ug-nī-s f. O.C.Sl. og-nī m. (the only masc.) 'fire': 
Skr. ag-nī-ṣ etc., see above p. 285. Lith. bar-ni-s f. 'quarrel' 
O.C.Sl. bra-nī f. 'battle'. Lith. kul-ni-s f. 'heel', vil-ni-s f. 'wave', 
szak-ni-s f. 'root', pus-ni-s f. 'snow-drift', krōs-ni-s 'stove, oven', 
dek-snī-s f. 'burnt patch of ground' lup-snī-s (and lupznī-s f. 'shell 
peeled off', žink-snu-s f. 'step'; the forms are frequently transferred 
to the jo-declension (masc.), as žinksnī-s gen. žinksnio = žinksmī-s. 
O.C.Sl. strī-nī 'stem' stīg-nī 'way, road', po-juhnī 'girth', pri-
kaz-nī 'tale, history, example', sē-nī 'shade' (no doubt to be com-
pared with Skr. chāy-d 'shade', I § 393 p. 293 f., § 414 Rem. 
p. 303 f.), pē-snī 'song', kū-znī 'deceit', ži-znī 'life'.

§ 96. 2. -oni- (-oni-).

Indo-Germanic. *bhāni-s: Armen. ban (gen. bani) 
'yogas', A.S. bōn O.Icel. bōn bōn f. 'prayer' pr. Germ. *bōnī-z, 
O.C.Sl. bāsnī f. 'table; spell' (the s is a later insertion). We
may place here, but with more hesitation, Goth. as-an-s f. 'harvest, summer' (cp. asnei-s O.H.G. esni 'day-labourer'), Pruss. ass-ani-s 'autumn' O.C.Sl. jes-eni f. 'autumn'.


Armenian. bān 'lōγoς': A.S. bōn etc., see above.

Italic. Lat. pānī-s m., also pāne n., beside pā-bulu-m.

Germanic. Goth. as-an-s f. 'harvest, summer'? see above. A.S. bōn O.Icel. bon bōn f. 'prayer': Armen. bān etc., see above.

The comparison of Goth. vēn-s 'hope' with O.H.G. wēr (Bremer, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XI 274) is still uncertain; see § 93 p. 282

The suffix was fertile in forming feminine abstracts connected with weak verbs and derived from the present stem; these words end in -nī- -oṇi- -āni-, as Goth. lāisein-s 'instruction' from lāisjan 'to instruct', laŋōn-s 'invitation' from laŋōn 'to invite', pulāin-s 'patience, endurance' from pulan 'to endure'. The form of the suffix was -enī- (as opposed to -ono- in the infinitive, which appears in lāisjan and pulan): lāisain-s = ground-form *loṣi-eṇi-s, pr. Germ. -i̯-i-ni-, cp. 3. sing. Goth. lāiseip, pulāin-s = ground-form *iḷi̯i̯eṇi-s pr. Germ. -i̯-i-ni, cp. 3. sing. pulāip, laŋōn-s like 3. sing. laŋōp; see I § 142 p. 127. These abstract forms were very numerous even in proethnic Germanic; but the separate Germanic languages differ in the extent to which they made use of the established types. In Gothic the three methods of formation were in full use together: the form in -eṇ-s was the most, that in -ōn-s the least common; further examples are uf-lagein-s 'remission', ga-hráinein-s 'purification', f riʒōn-s 'caress, kiss', pakāin-s 'silence'. But in High German the only forms which appear are those in -mi-, and these are 'very numerous; but they were phonetically modified by confusion with secondary abstract nouns in -in- (§ 115), as O.H.G. toufīn and toufī
'baptism' = Goth. dāuþein-s, mendin mendī 'joy', resīn resīf 'rest, repose'.

Balto-Slavonic. Pruss. ass-anis O.C.Sl. jesenī f. 'autumn'?; see p. 288 above. Words in which the suffix was contracted with the vowel ending of the stem to which it was added, often show an inserted s (z). Lith. dāni-s dāsnis f. O.C.Sl. danī f. 'gift'. O.C.Sl. bāsnī f. 'fable, spell': Armen. ban etc., see p. 287 above, prē-stanī f. 'omission' from prē-stati 'to omit, cease'; na-dēnī 'hope' from dēti 'ponere'. These nouns are also formed from derivative verbs, and are based upon the stem of the infinitive; as bojaznī f. 'fear' (bojati se), kajaznī f. 'repentance' (kajati se), prijaznī prijaznī f. 'love, friendship' (prijati prijati), bolēnī f. 'pain, sickness' (bolēti). Compare Pruss. bāsma-n acc. 'fear' beside bā-twei 'to fear', eb-signāsna-n acc. 'blessing' beside be-signāt-s part. 'blessed'.

§ 97. The Suffix -mi-. There are a few original substantives in which -mi- is primary, but the suffix never became fertile. Nearly all apparent examples from later periods are obviously nothing but -mo- -ma- forms which have passed into the i-declension.

No general definition can be given of the function of this suffix.

Indo-Germanic. *gy-mi-s 'worm' (compare Lat. curvo-s?): Skr. ky-mi-s m., O.Ir. cruim f. Mod.Cymr. pryf pr. Kelt. kyrmi-mi-, Lith. kirmis, gen. kirmio, transferred to the jo-declension (and now obsolete) from which was formed kirmī-ellē (§ 76 p. 212). With the same suffix, and formed in imitation of the word *gy-mi-s, but from other roots, we have Lat. ver-mi-s m. O.H.G. wurm (pl. wurmi) m. 'worm' and Gr. ἔλευς f. 'intestinal worm'. *ul-mi-s: Skr. ūr-mi-s m. 'wave', A.S. wielm wydem m. 'welling up, wave' pr. Germ. *val-mi-z (I § 306 p. 243). Avest. da-mi-š 'creation, creature' (dami-data- 'gracious to created beings')?, Gr.* ἔλευς f. (with secondary formations which have invaded its declension) 'ordinance, right', ḍhē set, establish'.

Aryan. Skr. ky-mi-s, ār-mi-s, Avest. dā-mi-s, see above. Skr. bhū-mi-s f. (also bhūmī-, see § 109 Rem.) Avest. hū-mi-s f. O.Pers. hūmi- f. 'earth'. Skr. raś-mi-s m. 'rein, strap', cūr-mi-
action, performance’ in *tuvi-kārmī-s, ‘mighty in action’, sūr-mi-s f. ‘light, shining flame’. Avest. dā-mi-s (daq-mi-s, see I § 200 p. 169) f. ‘wisdom, insight’, from dā- ‘know, understand’.

Greek. ἡλι-μυ-, ἔλι-μυ-, see above. qη-μυ-ς ‘speech, talk, report’ beside qη-μη.

Italic. Lat. ver-mi-s, see above. A change from the o-to the i-declension produced in-ermi-s, sub-limi-s and the like; see § 93 p. 281 and § 95 p. 286.


Germanic. O.H.G. wur-m, A.S. wiel-m, see above. By a change from the o- to the i-declension, Goth. hái-m-s f. village, beside pl. hái-mō-s, ar-mi-ns m. acc. pl. ‘arms’ beside the old o-stem O.H.G. aram O.Icel. ar-m-r (§ 72, 3 p. 171).

O.C.Sl. sedmë f. ‘the number seven’, osmë f. ‘the number eight’ were formed from the ordinals sedmë, osmë on the analogy of petë: pëtë and so forth.

§ 98. The Suffixes -ri- (-γρι-) and -li- (-ιλι-) 1).

There are a few original nouns in which these suffixes are primary. -li- is very fertile in Italic. A large number of the examples of -ri- -li- which date from later periods, just as those of -mi-, arise simply from the transference of other stems into the i-declension.

No general definition can be given of their function.


1) C. von Pucker, Die [lat.] nominal derivata auf -olis (-arís) und -arius, Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXVII 113 ff.
The Suffixes -RI- (-ṛi-) and -LI- (-ḍi-).

-li-. Lat. tali-s quali-s, O.C.Sl. töli adv. 'so much, tantum' kolī adv. 'how much, quantum', and (derived from -li-stems) Gr. ἀπλοῖ-ς ἀπλοῖ-ς, O.H.G. alemann. selīr, solēr, O.C.Sl. tolīkū tolīkū; see § 88 p. 265, § 89 p. 272.

Aryan. Only the evidence of the kindred languages can determine whether in any particular word we have Idg. -ri- or -li-.

-ri-. Skr. úś-ṛi-ś see above jī-ṛi-ś 'flowing water', beside jī-rā-s 'lively, rough': Lat. vi-reō O.C.Sl. ši-rū, see § 74 p. 182 f. subj-ṛi-ś with the same meaning as subj-rā-s 'gleaming, beautiful': Armen. surb 'pure', see § 74 p. 183. ús-ṛi-ś with the same meaning as us-rā-s 'of the morning' (adj.): Gr. αὐ-ο-ν-ο-ν, see § 74 p. 181.


In the following examples it is not clear whether the suffix originally had r or l. Skr. bhā-ṛi-ś 'abundant, great, many', neut. bhā-ṛi Avest. bāiri. Skr. áṅgṛi-ś m. 'foot', vāsok-ṛi-ś m. f. 'rib'. āb-hri-ś f. 'hoe, spatula'. Avest. māoiri-ś m. 'ant' for pr. Ar. *maiy-ṛi-ś (I § 160 p. 144), cp. Skr. vam-rā-s m. vam-ṛ f. 'ant'. - Skr. anagū-ṛi-ś anagū-lī-ś f. 'finger' beside anagūṣṭha- Avest. anagūsta- m. 'toe'. There are also a few adjectives in -uri-ś, where we can hardly assume either -ṛi- or -li-, as sāhuri-ś 'mighty', jāsuri-ś 'exhausted, weary'.

Greek. Here it is very rare. ἀκ-ρι-ς ἀκ-ρι-ς, ἰδ-ρι-ς, see above. No doubt we should add ἀβε-ς.

Italic. Lat. oc-ṛi-s m., Umbr. ukri-per ocri-per 'pro ocre': Gr. ὀκ-ρι-ς, see above. Lat. ut-ṛi-s m., to be compared perhaps with utere-s. secūri-s, cp. figūra and similar forms. Lat. sac-ṛi- (e. g. sacrem porcum) beside sac-ro-, Umbr. sakre m. 'sacrum, hostia' beside sakra 'sacras'. Lat. acer acri-s, beside Gr. ἄκ-ρι-ς; Ose. akrīd 'acri' or 'raptim' might also be referred to a stem akro- (cp. amprufid 'improve'). Lat. put-
The Suffixes \(-ri\) \((\text{pri})\) and \(-li\) \((\text{-li}-)\). § 98.

-\(ri\)-s. Umbr. \(\text{parcer}\) pl. 'pacati, propitii', cp. Goth. \(\text{fag-r-s} \) 'suitable' pr. Germ. \(\text{fag-ri-s}\) § 74 p. 187. Cp. \(-\text{br}i\)- beside \(-\text{bro-}\) in \(\text{anclabri-s}\) etc., § 77 p. 215.

In Italic \(\text{tali}-\)s \(\text{quali}-\)s (p. 291) served as the types for a large group of adjectives; as Lat. \(\text{aequali-s}, \text{liberali-s}, \text{natali-s}, \text{vendali-s}, \text{vitali-s}, \text{dotali-s}\); Umbr. \(\text{verfale} \) 'verbale, templum', \(\text{sorsalem} \) 'poreliarem', \(\text{Tefrali} \) abl. 'Tefri proprio'; the change of \(l\) to \(r\) by dissimilation seems to have taken place in proto-Italian when there was already an \(l\) in the word (cp. I § 269 p. 217): Lat. \(\text{alari-s}, \text{palmari-s}, \text{militari-s}, \text{larnari-s}, \text{luminari-s}, \text{Umbr. staflarem} \) 'stabularem'. The analogy of \(\text{vita}:-\text{vitali-s} \) gave rise in Latin to the forms \(\text{fideli-s} \) (\(\text{fid-s}\)), \(\text{fameli\text{"cu-s}} \) (\(\text{fam-s}\)); \(\text{ovili-s} \) (\(\text{ovi-s}\)), \(\text{hostili-s} \) (\(\text{hosti-s}\)), and then further, to \(\text{viri-s} \) (\(\text{vir}\)), \(\text{puerili-s} \) (\(\text{puer}\)), \(\text{hostili-s} \) (\(\text{hasta}\)); \(\text{tribali-s} \) (\(\text{tribus}\)), \(\text{redis-l (redis)} \) pl.), whence \(\text{pedali-s} \) (\(\text{pes}\)). Cp. Gr. \(\text{tado-\text{"c}, na\text{"o-\text{"c}, all\text{"o-\text{"c}} \) § 63 Rem. 2 p. 128 and O.C.Sl. \(\text{takut kabu} \) : \(\text{jedinkut drugako} \) § 89 c. p. 273.

-\(li\)- in Latin adjectives frequently arises from the transference of \(\text{o-stems} \) into the \(\text{i-declension} \), and the group of original forms in \(\text{ali-s} \) (\(\text{ali-s} \) \(-\text{ili-s} \) \(-\text{ali-s}\)) may have helped to effect the change. \(\text{simili-s}\): cp. Gr. \(\text{\dot{\epsilon}mal-\text{"c}} \) (in Celtic also an \(\text{i-stem} \), O.Ir. \(\text{samail}, \) see below), \(\text{humili-s}\): cp. Gr. \(\text{\varepsilon\\dot{\epsilon}mal-\text{"c}} \), \(\text{pestili-s} \) etc., see § 76 p. 202 f. 205. Further \(\text{ague-s}\): Skr. \(\text{ajir\text{"e-s}, bibili-s}, \text{coctili-s} \) etc., p. 204. Cp. also \(\text{stabili-s nobile-s} \) etc., § 77 p. 215.

There is one substantive in \(-\text{li-}\), Lat. \(\text{toli-s} \) pl. m. 'wen on the neck', for \(\text{tons-\text{"li-}, from tons-} \) 'stretch' (Goth. \(\text{at-pinsan} \) 'to draw towards one', Lith. \(\text{t\~{n}\text{"t} \) 'to stretch by pulling'); \(\text{t\~{n}usillae} \) 'tensils' points to an older form \(\text{tons-lo-} \) or \(\text{tons-la-} \).

Old-Irish. All the apparent examples of this suffix known to me may have originally been \(\text{ro-} \) -stems (cp. § 93 p. 282). \(\text{teir} \) 'diligent'. \(\text{d\~{a}il f.} \) 'creature, element' (beside \(\text{d\~{a}l}\)). \(\text{biail, gen.} \text{bela, f.} \) 'axe'. \(\text{samail} \) 'likeness, picture' with the adjectives derived from it, as \(\text{co-smil} \) 'similar'; cp. Lat. \(\text{simili-s} \).

In Germanic the suffix is extremely rare, and forms only adjectives, in which as in other \(\text{i-stems} \), there is a confusion with the \(\text{io-declension} \). O.Icel. \(\text{vit-r} \) 'wise': Gr. \(\text{iod-\text{"r-\text{"c}} \), see
above p. 290. Goth. riuv-r-s 'fleeting-, perishable' O.Iecl. rýr-r 'thin'.


In -s-lí- (cp. -ö-lo- § 76 p. 211): jasľí pl. f. 'crib' for *št-s-lí-beside jasťa 'he eats', gásľí pl. f. 'zither' beside gadťa 'I play on the zither', mysľí f. 'thought' beside Goth. ga-máud-jan 'to remind', otš-rasľí f. 'sprig' beside rastťa 'I grow'. Some of these forms with -lí- must no doubt be explained in the same way as žes-toč (§ 93 p. 278. 284); topľí (beside topľu) has already been mentioned in that section.

§ 99. The Suffix -ti-. In Indo-Germanic this was a common primary suffix, and formed feminine nomina actionis. In Aryan, Balto-Slavonic, (and Keltic, cp. § 156) regular infinitives were developed from these abstract verbal nouns; e. g. Skr. pitéy-ë O.CSl. pi-ti 'to drink'.

Here and there we find nomina agentis also formed with -ti-, and some of these occur in more than one language; as Lat. hos-tí-s Goth. gas-t-s O.CSl. gos-tí, O.Ir. taid O.CSl. ta-tí. All these forms may originally have been nomina actionis, the word which denoted a state or capacity being applied to the person in whom it was realised; thus Skr. cíti-ś f. 'understanding, state of being intelligent' also means in the Rig-Veda 'he who is intelligent'. And even adjetival stems, like Skr. pát-ti-ś, 'stinking', were developed from these abstract nouns. Cp. § 80 p. 238 f., § 108. 149. 155.*

In denominative abstract nouns, -ti- is rare; examples are numerals like *penog-ti-s 'fivefold character'. The -ti in Skr. ká-ti seems to be connected with this use of the suffix.

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§ 100. 1. *ti- in primary abstract nouns (nominative actionis).

The root-syllable nearly always has the vowel in its weak grade. The accent is sometimes on the suffix, sometimes on the root, and in Sanskrit and Germanic the same word often shows both, as Skr. mati-ś and mati-ḥ, O.H.G. gi-burt (pr. Germ. *burdi-) and Goth. ga-bauri-ṇa (pr. Germ. *burpi-). It is therefore probable that originally the accentuation varied in the different cases and corresponded to the different grades of the root; say nom. sing. *mén-ti-s nom. pl. *mýtēi-es. In the process of levelling, the weak form of the root-syllable generally prevailed, and as the same readjustment happened also in the toparticiples (§ 79 p. 221), the two are no doubt connected. In the Slavonic infinitive, *mén-ti- was the type usually followed; which is due to the influence of the supine in -tā (§ 108).

These ti-stems were extended by the suffix -en-, and hence were formed a large class of abstract nouns in Italic and Keltic such as Lat. menstruē beside mens (1), Q.Ir. er-mitiu 'honour'; these were not unknown even in Germanic and Greek, cp. Goth. ra-þiō = Lat. ra-tiō, and Gr. σορτινή. Cp. § 115. In Italic and Keltic a large proportion of the ti-abstracts were replaced by this newer formation.

These nouns could be derived from any form which served as a verbal stem, not merely from the root (in the strict sense of the word); hence words like Skr. údi-ti-ś f. 'speech' (beside part. udi-tā-s), Lat. moni-tiō (beside moni-tu-s), and 'Gr. ὕπαντιος f. 'seeing', Lat. satiās occupātiō. O.Ir. saigid 'a searching', Lith. sēdēti O.C.Sl. sēdēti 'to sit'.

The addition of -ti- to the stem of the thematic present or aorist as in Skr. romā-ṭi-ś Gr. λάγεσις was no doubt a secondary development, although perhaps it may have begun even in the prehistoric period; cp. -e-to- § 79 p. 218 f.

Indo-Germanic. *sru-ti-s f. 'a flowing, streaming' from

1) Leo Meyer, Die lateinische Abstractbildung durch das Suffix tiōn, Benfey's Orient und Occident II 586 ff.

Examples of -eti- are given under the separate languages.

parture': Gr. ἐβγια- f. 'creeping'. Skr. ṣa-ṭiḥ f. 'a going'. Avest. aiwi-gaitiḥ f. 'arrival'. Gr. ἅρ-ας, etc., √γema-, see above p. 295. Skr. rā-ṭiḥ rā-ṭiḥ f. 'a pleasant tarrying, pleasure, delight': Gr. δοκενμλν- 'taking pleasure in song', Lith. inf. rūn- to 'be calm in spirit', √rem-. Skr. ha-ṭiḥ f. 'blow, killing' d-hatiḥ d-hantiḥ f. 'inviability' Avest. jaitiḥ jaintiḥ f. 'striking, killing': Lith. ap-gintiḥ f. 'vindication' inf. gišt-ti 'to drive (cattle)'. O.C.Sl. inf. ę-ṭiḥ 'to hew, mow', √gwen-. Skr. das-ṭiḥ f. 'praise, glory' Avest. sas-ṭiḥ f. 'instruction': Lat. ēnsio, see above p. 295. Skr. ni-ṭaṭiḥ rest, inactivity': Lat. sessio Lith. nės-ti O.C.Sl. sėsti 'to sit', √sed- 'sit'. Avest. an-spaštīḥ f. 'espying': Gr. εκενμς- 'inspection, examination' (instead of *oṃṣr-,), Lat. in-spectī. Skr. sth-ṭiḥ f. Avest. stātīḥ f. 'standing': Gr. στάτ-, 'position, place, uprising', Lat. statīō, O.H.G. sta-t (pl. steti) f. 'place, stead', O.C.Sl. po-stati inf. Lith. stō-ti 'to tread' O.C.Sl. sta-ti 'to place oneself'; a form *st-ṭi-, to be compared with Skr. -tī- 'gift' (p. 293 f.), may be concealed in Germ. *mir-sti- 'roof-ridge' (cp. § 4 p. 9), which would then be parallel to Skr. saṃy- śhat- i.e., *st-tar- (§ 122). Skr. mi-ṭiḥ f. 'measure, worth, right judgement': A.S. mād f. 'measure, relation', √mē. Skr. bhr-ṭiḥ Avest. bax-ṭiḥ f. 'distribution', √bhu-. Skr. iṣ-ṭiḥ Avest. iṣ-tiḥ iṣ-tiḥ f. 'wish', √aj-. Skr. kṣ-tiḥ f. 'offering', √jaḥ-. Skr. ghr-ṭiḥ f. 'smell' beside partic. ghr-ṭa-ṃ-s. Avest.  śro-tiḥ (gen. šatōs) f. 'well-being, place of delight, home' O.Pers. šitā-ṭiḥ f. 'place of delight, dwelling-place pr. Ar. *ṣuṭi-: Lat. quiēs, gen. quītīs, Idg. qiē- 'be at ease'. Avest. jyātīḥ f. 'life': cp. Gr. ᾱν he lives'. Avest. upa-ṣātīḥ f. 'a washing', beside Skr. mā-ta-s 'washed'. We may add a few more examples of the variation of the accent in Sanskrit (there are more words with the accent on the root-syllable in classical Sanskrit than in Veda): ṭhp-tiḥ tftp-tiḥ, kīr-tiḥ kīrtiḥ, bhū-tiḥ bhū-tiḥ, hē-tiḥ hē-tiḥ. Masculine and Adjectival forms are rare; besides those given under Indo-Germanic cp. Skr. dhā-tiḥ m. 'shaker' (f. 'shaking', Gr. ἄδων- f. 'raging, roaring'), ṭaṣ-ṭiḥ, 'desirous', Avest. rā-tiḥ m. 'distributor' (f. 'distribution, alms', Skr. rā-tiḥ 'alms, gift').
With reduplication we have e. g. Skr. ca-kr-ti-ś f. 'laudatory mention, praise', dt-dhi-ti-ś f. 'devotion', Avest. za-zādī-ś f. 'throwing away'. Cp. the Greek forms p. 299.


In Aryan the dative of the -ti- abstracts served as an infinitive, e. g. Ved. pṛ-tāyē 'to drink' Av. kera-tēē 'to fulfil' (cp. Bartholomae, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 20 f.).

Armenian. z-gest, gen. z-gesti, 'garment': Lat. ves-ti-s. sas-t, gen. sasti, 'abuse, reproach, threat, anger, sternness': Skr. ṣaṣ-ph-ś ṣaṣ-ph-ś f. 'punishment'.

§ 100. -ti- in Primary Abstract Nouns. 209

f. 'story, news' φά-σις f. 'assertion': Skr. bha-ti-ṣ f. 'gleam', ṛbha- 
'shine, cause to appear, show'. κατ-σις f. 'burning'; from κατω 
κατ-σις f. 'fixing, setting in': Lat. pac-tiō, ṛbā- 
pā-tiō f. 'sight, countenance'. ṛ-μν-σις f. 'ebb': Lat. ṛb-tiō, cp. 
also Skr. ṛb-ti-ṣ f. 'drinking' O.C Sl. ṛb-ti 'to drink'. ṛb- 
σις f. 'blowing'. νῆ-σις f. 'spinning': O.H.G. nā-t f. 'seam', 
φῆ-σις f. 'speaking, word' for *fō-σις: Avest. ursati-ṣ f. 'law' 
(cp. I § 157 p. 141). From derivative verbs: ṛ-σις 'seeing' 
(ῥαώ), αἰτίας- 'prayer, demand', (αἰτίω), ἀδικίας- 'thinking 
worthy' (ἀξίω), καθαρίας- 'purifying' (καθαρίω), ἀφανίς- 'weaving' 
(ἀφαίνω), κηδείας- 'proclamation, announcing' (κηδέσω). 

With reduplication: e. g. ἀπόφως- 'a shorting' from πο- 
φάς. Cp. the Aryan forms p. 298.

With -e-ti- we have e. g. ἀγ-ε-σις 'holding, condition', λαῖ- 
ε-σις 'lot, fate', εὖ-ε-σις 'finding'. Cp. also ἀ-ν-ε-σις 'completing'. In correspondence with these nouns we find the parts. 

-ti- was so widely used in Greek and formed so many 
new words that it is often impossible to tell whether a given 
word arose in Greek or is really Indo-Germanic. It is not 
probable that forms like φεύ-γες φέως-το-ς Ἑκατ. ἐκτός- 
(beside φυ-γες φέως- τός), in which the root-syllable is in the 
strong grade, are to be referred simply and immediately to the 
ablaut variation of the stem in Indo-Germanic (see p. 294).

As to the association of the -ti-stems in compounds like 
τερψί-μορφο-ς with the σ-aorist, see § 30 p. 52.

In Italic, -ti- was no longer a living suffix. But its 
extension -tīn- (-ti-) was very fertile.

a. -tī. Lat. cur-ti-s f.: O.H.G. hā-t O.Icel. hā-d f. 'skin' 
pr. Germ. *χα-δί-: tussi-s f., no doubt to be connected with 
tundō. fūs-tis m. vī-ti-s f.: Avest. voc-ti-ṣ etc., see p. 295 
above... fors f.: Ocs. fertis adv. 'forte' Pelgin. forte gen. 'fortu- 
nae': Skr. bhr-ti-ṣ etc., see p. 295 above. mors f.: Skr. my-ti-ṣ 
f. 'death', O.Lith. mū-ti-s f. O.C Sl. sī-mūth f. 'death', common 
ground-form *my-ti-s. sore, also sor-ti-s f., beside serv. ars f.: 
Skr. p-ti-ṣ f. 'method, kind, way'. pars f., beside por-tiō, see
I § 306 p. 242. grä-tès pl. f., beside grä-tu-s. mēns, beside men-tiō, see p. 295 above. gēns, beside nā-tiō, see p. 295 above. messi-s f., beside metō. rēs-ti-s f.: Armen. x-gest, gen. x-gesti, 'garment'. Umbr. ahtim-em 'in actionem' beside ahtu 'actu', Lat. aqō. Lat. hos-ti-s m. 'foreigner, enemy': Goth. gas-t-s m. 'stranger, guest', O.C.Sl. gos-ti m. 'guest, companion, friend' (the root meaning is perhaps 'injury, harm', compare Skr. ghas- 'to consume'; see the Author, in Curtius' Stud. V. 228 ff.). nox f.: Skr. nāk-ti-ṣ f. Goth. nak-t-s f. Lith. nak-ti-s f. O.C.Sl. nos-ti f. 'night'; yet this word *noq-ti- may not belong to the oldest stratum of ti-nouns, but be only an extension of *noq-t- (§ 123). cōs, gen. cōtis, f., cp. Skr. śa-tu-s 'whetted, sharpened', Gr. κοινο-νο-ζ 'conc'. quēs, gen. quēlis, f.: Avest. yēṣi-ṣ, see above, p. 297. From sātāre: sātās, gen. sātātis, f. 'sufficiency, repletion'.

forti-s O.Lat. forci-s originally followed the o-declension: Skr. dāghā-s 'established, firm', √dhergh-.

b. -tiōn-. Lat. junc-tiō: Skr. yuk-ti-ṣ f. 'a yoking, setting going', Gr. τεύχ-ς f. 'a yoking, putting to', Lith. inf. jūnk-ti 'to yoke'; the nasal of the Lat. and the Lith. form came from the present stem (Lat. jungō Lith. jūngiu). circum-litio: Lith. inf. lē-ti 'to pour'. fissio: Skr. bhitti-ṣ f. 'a breaking'. por-tiō beside pars, see p. 299 above. cul-tiō, from colō for *cyelō (I § 427 a p. 313, § 431 a p. 320). ēm-p-tiō (the regular form would have been, *en-tiō, see I § 207 p. 174): O.Ir. inf. airc-i-tiō 'acceipere', O.C.Sl. rako-jeťi f. 'manipulus, sheaf' inf. Lith. iṁ-ti O.C.Sl. jē-ti 'to take'. men-tiō beside mēns, see above, p. 295. nā-tiō cōg-nā-tiō Umbr. natinē 'natione, gente', beside gēns, see above p. 295. of-fensiō, from of-fendo. coctio: Skr. pak-ti-ṣ etc., see p. 295 above. gestio, beside gero. messiō (cp. messi-s) see above. lec-tiō: Gr. λέξ-ι-ς f. 'speaking, expression'. sta-tiō; the stem from which this is derived, *sta-ti-, may be contained in Umbr. statitta 'statuta': Skr. sthit-ti-ṣ etc., see p. 297 above. ra-tiō: Goth. ra-hjō f. 'reckoning, account', beside Lat. rē-rē ra-tu-s. ac-tiō beside Umb. ahtim-em 'in actionem'. cap-tiō: Goth. anda-haft-s f. 'rejoinder, answer'. Mid.H.G. haf-t f. 'a holding, hold'. cantiō Skr. 1-kā-ti-ṣ f.
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'intention'. anctio: Lith. inf. ánk-ti 'to grow', √ang. anctio, beside scando. nó-tiō: Skr. prá-jñati-ś etc., see above p. 296. con-cré-tiō. From derivative verbs: Lat. occupātiō dominātiō captātiō Osc. medicatinom 'judicacionem' fruktatiuf 'usus, fructus', Lat. largiūtiō sortiūtiō, tribūtiō. It should be observed however that the great fertility of *-tiō- often makes it doubtful whether any given word really represents an original ti-stem, e. g. fissiō auctiō.


Old Irish. fēith f. 'sinew': Avest. aev-ti-ś etc., see above p. 295. taid m. 'thief': O.C.Sl. ta-ti m. 'thief'.

-ti- was a living suffix, and formed abstract verbal nouns which were feminine (for the infinitives see § 156). bruith 'being': Skr. bhū-ti-ś bhū-ti-ś f. 'good condition, well-being', Gr. qē-m-ς f. 'nature', O.C.Sl. zu-buť f. 'forgetting, forgetfulness', inf. Lith. bu-ti Slav by-ti 'to be'. bruith 'carrying': Skr. bhū-ti-ś etc., see above p. 295. bruith 'grinding, molten', beside melim 'I grind' (I § 212 p. 179). rieith (Mid.Ir.) 'concealment, hiding', beside celim 'I conceal'. saigidx 'seeking out', beside satiin 'I seek out, compared with Lat. sāgiō. iar-figid 'questioning', cp. Lat. vocātiō.

Adjectives in -ti-, like bruith 'soft, gentle' (ground-form *mf-ti-s, I § 306 p. 243), é-cm-aít 'insolens', may have originally belonged to the o-declension. Cp. § 93 p. 282.

Some of the feminine abstract substantives in -tīa are also used to form infinitives (§ 156). er-miitiiu 'honour' toin-tiin 'meaning, intent': Lat. mentiū, see above p. 295. air-tiīu 'accept': Lat. ēmptiō, see above p. 300. oīsi(u) 'hearing': Skr. śrūṣ-ti-ś f. 'a gratifying, courtesy', O.Sax. O.Icel. hús-t f. 'hearing', Lith. inf. kēius-ti 'to ask' (I § 467, 2 p. 343). opeltēn 'death', sinking', beside at-bail 'he dies, perishes'. aicoin 'seeing' from *-cas-tiō, beside ad-chess 'visum est'. aigithiu 'fearing', for *-agithiin. Sometimes we find this extended form side by side
with the shorter form în-*ti*—e. g. dat. do saichtin and do saigthin (both Mid.Ir.) = do saigil 'to seek out'.

Germanic. In prothetic Germanic -*ti* was fertile; but later on it passed almost, if not entirely out of use. This was due to two causes; to the variation caused by phonetic change (e. g. Goth. anda-hafti-, ga-mundi-, ga-dedi- (pronounced -dedi-), ga-qumfi-, ga-vissi-), and to the almost complete loss of the to-participles, which broke down its formal connexion with the verb.


1) The forms which follow are feminine unless it is otherwise stated.
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sahvan 'to see': cp. Lith. sik-ti 'to follow'? (cp. I § 410 p. 397), Goth. fjórf-s 'bestowing' O.IHG. gif-t 'gift', beside Goth. gífan 'to give'. Goth. ga-giss 'agreement', beside ga-gífan (prét. ga-qañ). O.IHG. sta-t O.Sax. ste-di 'place, stead': Skr. sthi-ti-ṣ etc., see above p. 297. Goth. ga-děµ-s (st. -dědi-) O.IHG. ta-t 'decid': Avest. ni-dāitī-ṣ etc., see above, p. 296. Goth. andu-haft-s 'rejoinder, answer' Mid.H.G. haft 'hold': Lat. cap-tiō. Goth. ga-skaf-t-s O.IHG. gi-scaf 'creation, creature', beside Goth. ga-skapjan 'to make'. Goth. mah-t-s O.IHG. mah-t 'might': O.CSl. mošši f. 'might' inf. mošši 'to be able or capable'. Goth. gas-t-s m. O.IHG. gas-t m. 'guest': Lat. hos-ti-s, see above p. 300. Goth. slauh-t-s 'slaughter' O.IHG. slah-t 'striking, slaying': Gr. λεύκ-νίγ 'pestle for pounding, pounding' (λευκ'ω, Lat. lacerō)? Goth. dih-t-s O.IHG. šh-t 'property, possession': Av. ūk-ti-s f. 'goods, riches' (Skr. īk-). O.IHG. ur-chnat 'aginitio': Skr. prā-jāti-ṣ etc., see p. 296 above. O.IHG. na-t 'seam': Gr. νῆν-ας f. 'spinning'. O.IHG. hanu-crāt 'cock-crow' (A.S. orawan 'to crow'): Lith. inf. grō-ti 'to croak'. O.IHG. bluo-t 'blooming, bloom', beside Lat. flō-s. Mid.H.G. gruo-t 'a being green', beside Gr. χλω-ος-γ 'light green, yellow'. The following no doubt come from weak verbs: Goth. fahep-s (st. fahēdi-) 'joy' (see Bremer, Paul-Br. Beitr. XI 32), Goth. ar-bōp-s (st. arbōdis-) O.IHG. arabēt 'work, need'.

Now and then we find -s-ti- instead of -ti-, as Goth. an-st-s O.IHG. an-st 'favour, grace' (compare O.Ieel. of-un-st 'ill-will'); beside O.IHG. unnan 'to bestow', O.IHG. spon-st 'enticement', beside spanan 'to entice', Goth. hāip-st-s A.S. hēst beside O.Ieel. heip-t 'strife', O.IHG. truus-t for 'truus-t beside truh-t O.Ieel. drōtt 'troop, following'. This s came originally from forms like O.Sax. O.Ieel. klu-s-t 'hearing' = Skr. truj-ti-ṣ (p. 301), Mid.H.G. bluo-st (cp. A.S. blōst and Lat. flōre) beside bluo-t 'bloom': in West-Germanic, forms like kunst must also have had some influence, if the conjecture given in I § 529 Rem. p. 286 is correct. Cp. -s-tu- § 61, -s-tr- § 62, -s-lo- § 76, -s-tu- § 108, -s-men- § 117.

In the Germanic dialects many of these words became
masculine without any change of meaning; this must be distinguished from the change of gender in such words as gasti 'guest'. Cp. von Bahder, Verbalstr. 76 f.

Goth. ra-fiō 'reckoning, account': Lat. ra-tiō, see abo p. 300.

Balto-Slavonic. Here -ti- was very fertile, forming all the infinitives of Lithuanian, Lettic, and Slavonic. And it should be noticed that in this group of languages the phonetic changes which the suffix underwent were very slight (O.C.Sl. nošti for pr. Slav. *notži, I § 462 p. 338).

Lith. plu-ti 'to become flooded, overflow' O.C.Sl. plu-ti; Russ. ply-t 'to flow, swim': Skr. plu-ti-ś f. 'overflowing, flood', Gr. πλυ-με-ς f. 'washing', √plev-. Lith. iss-aūti O.C.Sl. iz-uți 'to uncover the feet'; Lat. ex-uīō (late). Lith. įau-ti 'aquam servidam super infundere' Lett. įau-t 'to make dough, mix' įu-tis pl. 'joint where two bones are connected'; Skr. īu-ti-ś f. meeting together īti-ś f. 'bond' Avest. gao-jaoti-ś f. 'meadow-land, cattle-pasture'. Lith. mūk-ti 'to slip away' maiuk-ti 'to graze': Skr. mūk-ti-ś f. 'loosing, freeing, giving up', Gr. ἀνάμυκας f. 'blowing the nose', Lat. e-mūnctio (the nose comes from the present). Lith. pri-eitl-s f. 'suburb' inf. eit-ti O.C.Sl. i-ti 'to go': Skr. i-ti-ś f., etc., see p. 296 above. Lith. szli-ti-s f. 'heap of sheaves' inf. szlē-ti 'to make one thing lean on another: Gr. κλέως f. 'bending, inclining, lying', √kle-ji-. O.C.Sl. ši-ti f. 'life' inf. ši-ti 'to live' Lith. gū-ti 'to revive, get well': Avest. ji-ti-ś f. 'life'. Lith. nūj-ti-ś f. 'weaver's instrument, slaito': Skr. nū-ti-ś f. 'leading, guiding'. Lith. lik-ti 'to leave': Gr. ἐκ-λειπε-ς f. 'ceasing, failing', Lat. re-lictio. O.C.Sl. čit-ti 'honour' inf. čiti Russ. čest (i. e. *citsti) 'to count, reckon, honour': Skr. cit-ti-ś f. 'thought, intent, intelligence'. Lith. dir-ti 'to skin' Little-Russ. derty (i. e. *dit-ti) Slov. dreti (i. e. *der-ti) 'to tear, skin': Skr. dy-ti-ś etc., see p. 298 above. Lith. giv-ti-ś f. 'feast' gēr-ti 'to drink' O.Croat. po-žrti Little-Russ. żerty (i. e. *žīu-ti) O.C.Sl. žrēti (i. e. *žērti) 'to swallow': Gr. φασ-σε-ς f. 'food, victuals' (ground-form *gē-ti-s). Lith. pir-ti-s f. 'bath-room' ūr-ti 'to batho' (trans.), pres. periūt. Lith. kiršti 'to strike sharply, strike
hard': Skr. kṛtti-ś f. 'hide, skin' (hart- 'cut off, loosened'). O.C.Sl. vištati f. 'condition, state, situation' Lith. vištstį 'to upset, be upset'.

veštiti 'to turn': Skr. vyṛti-ś f. 'rolling, proceeding, conduct', Lat. in-versō. Lith. pāl-śi-s f. 'side of bacon' O.C.Sl. plū-ti f. 'meat'.

Lith. pāl-ti 'to pour, shed': Skr. pūr-ti-ś 'filling, fulfilment', √pēl-. Lith. kēl-šis f. 'race, stock' kēl-ti 'to lift, transport, help forward'. Lith. mīlež-ti Slovak. molšti (i. e. *mils-ti) O.C.Sl. mlēšti (i. e. *mels-ti) 'to milk': Gr. άμλεσ-ς f. 'milking', √melγ.-

Lith. skūšti-ti f. 'cloven foot of an ox' (skūš- and skūššiu I crash, break myself in two'): Gr. κλάφο-ς f. 'breaking' beside κλαστ-ς κλάδ-αρ-ς (cp. I § 369 p. 280). Lith. at-mintin-ta f. 'memory' O.C.Sl. pa-mēšti f. 'remembrance' Lith. miš-ti 'to remember': Skr. ma-ti-ś etc., see p. 295 above. Lith. lënk-ti 'to bend' (intr.) lenk-ti 'to bend' (trans.) O.C.Sl. lěšti 'to bend' (trans.), √leog-.

Lith. blištį to grow dark blištį 'to darken' (intr.) (pres. blendžiš-š) O.C.Sl. blēšti 'to go astray' (pres. blēd-ą), √blendh-.

Lith. uγna-ākštš-s f. 'piercing cold' dēk-ti 'to burn' (trans. and intrans.), O.C.Sl. šēšti 'to burn' (trans.), beside pres. deg-ą šeg-ą (pr. Slav. *gęg-ą for *deg-ą), √dēgh-. Lith. ēstį 'to devour' O.C.Sl. jasti 'to eat': Gr. νυστ-ς 'fasting', Lat. com-ēstī (instead of the regular *-ēstō, cp. I § 501, Rem. 2 p. 368), √ed-.


Lith. nakš-ta-s f. O.C.Sl. nosštā f. 'night': Skr. nāk-śi-ś etc., see p. 300 above. Lith. prē-šasti-ta-s f. 'cause', beside sad-ā 'I promise'. O.C.Sl. na-pastši f. 'danger', beside podq 'I fall'. O.C.Sl. se-ši f. 'cord', Lett. šī-t 'to bind', √saγ-.

Lith. jō-ti 'to ride': Avest. vass-yaity-š f. 'free course, progress after one's desire'. Lith. šio-si-s f. 'cleft, ravine' -šio-ti 'to open the mouth wide': Lat. hiā-tio. O.C.Sl. po-zaňti f. 'cognitio' zna-ti 'to know': Skr. pra-jaśšti-ś etc., see p. 296 above. O.C.Sl. grē-ti 'to warm', beside pres. grē-jaq. Infinitives in Baltic and Slavonic were closely connected with the finite verb; hence the action of ana-

In Lithuanian we sometimes find -ti-, as upaten-deksti-s beside upaten-dekti-s (p. 305), ep. dek-s-sti-s § 95 p. 287. -ti- stems frequently passed into the analogy of -ju- and -ė- stems, e.g. kry-ti-s gen. -tės f. and kry-ti-s gen. -cizio m. 'purse-net, hoop-net', szli-ti-s and szli-tė f. 'heap of sheaves'.

Infinitives of derivative verbs; Lith. jėszkė-ti O.C.Sl. iska-ti 'to see', Lith. sėdė-ti O.C.Sl. sėdė-ti 'to sit'; Lith. gauj-ti O.C.Sl. goni-ti 'to protect, tend'.

§ 101. 2. -ti- is used to form secondary abstract substantives. This use is exactly parallel to that of the participial suffix -tė- and the abstract nominal suffix -tė- -tė- (which were originally identical); both of these, as we have seen, could be added directly to noun stems in the prethoenic and later periods (§ 79 p. 224 f. § 80 p. 238 ff. § 82 p. 249 ff.).

The forms which can be most confidently referred to the prethoenic language are a group of abstract nouns connected with the ordinals in -tė- (§ 81 p. 242 ff.) *penq-tė-s f. 'fivetake character, the number five, a group of five': Skr. pəṇkti-ḥ, O.Icel. jint, O.C.Sl. peni: with these should no doubt be compared O.H.G. fast f. 'fist' pr. Germ. *fungsti-z and O.C.Sl. pešti f. 'fist' (st- for -kst- as in tėste, see I § 545 p. 399 f.), common ground-form *pəŋ-sti-s'). Skr. saṅ-ti-ḥ f. 'sixty' (a six-fold quantity, i.e. of tens), O.C.Sl. šes-ti f. 'a group of six'. Skr. nava-ti-ḥ 'ninety' (a nine-fold quantity i.e. of tens) Avest. navaiti-ḥ f. 'a group of nine' and 'ninety', O.Icel. niun-d f. O.C.Sl. devč-ti f. 'a group of nine'. Skr. daśa-ti-ḥ a group of ten' and 'a hundred', O.Icel. tūn-d f. 'a group of ten', Lith. dėszi-ti-s f. O.C.Sl. dese-ti f. 'a group of ten': These numeral forms naturally suggest

1) Cp. *ppq- in O.H.G. fun(at)and elsewhere (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 193 f., Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 512) and for meaning, Goth. aggr-s 'finger', which is doubtless connected with this numeral. — Vol. I § 249 p. 205 should be corrected accordingly.
§ 101. -ti- in Primary Abstract Nouns.

the conjecture, that we have the same suffix in Skr. tā- ti (nom. acc.) 'so many' kī- ti (nom. acc.) 'how many?', Lat. tot. toti-dem, quot; these words may have been originally neuter.

Remark: In Greek we find numerals in -to- in place of such forms as *yeg- ti-s (see § 108). In protohistoric Indo-Germanic there were forms in -t- parallel to these in -ti- (see § 123).

Beside Idg. *iuny-td 'youth' (§ 80 p. 239) there seems to have been a second form *iuny-ti-s f. with the same meaning: Skr. yuvati-ś 'maiden, young woman' (the abstract is used for the concrete, § 155), O.H.G. jungnud A.S. gezod 'youth' (Engl. youth both as the period and the person), prehist. Germ. *ingůni- for *iunynpi- (Bugge, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 504), Lat. semen-ti-s f. 'seed, seed-corn, seed time', originally 'the being sown'.

Further it is possible that stems in -es-ti- -os-ti- (ep. Lat. sceles-tu-s onus-tu-s and the like) date from the protohistoric period. In the words in which they occur, the termination -esti- -osti- is used as a simple and indivisible suffix. Skr. gāhasti-ś f. m. 'a thing separated into different parts, hand, fork, shaft (of a carriage)', pulasti-ś 'hair of the head, wearing smooth hair', palasti-ś 'gray with old age' (dubious). Lat. agresti-s, orig. 'a belonging to the country, rusticity?' O.H.G. anugst f. 'anxiety O.C.Sl. qzost 'strait, narrowing', ep. also Lat. angustu-s angustiae. In Lithuanian we have -esti-s, which passed over to the -io- declension: kalbesti-s f. speech, beside kalbesni-s m. 'talk' and kalbesi-s m. 'dialect' kalbesi f. speech; mūkesti-s m. (gen. -escio), beside mūkesni-s m. 'payment'; lūkesti-s f. 'awaiting, hope'; rūpesti-s f. m. 'care'. In Slavonic there are a large number of feminine abstract nouns in -osti (but -f-est ; sec I § 84 p. 80) formed from adjectives, and, more rarely, from substantives: besides O.C.Sl. qzost (cp. qašiit 'narrow'), which has been mentioned, other examples are dlūgosti 'length' from dlūgiit 'long', dobiljesti 'bravery' from dobli 'brave', zvěrosti 'wildness' from zvěř 'wild animal', boljesti 'illness' from bolt 'one who is ill'.

Other forms are more isolated, e. g. Skr. addhā-ti-ś (concrete) 'one who has learnt the truth, sage' beside addhā 'in
truth', Goth. gamdins- s.f. 'community' beside gamdin-s 'common, joint' (cp. gamdin-dūp-s § 102 below, and p. 311).

For -ti- in -tāti- and -tāti-, see the following section.

§ 102. The Suffixes -tāti (-tāt-) and -tāti-(tāt-). The former occurs in Aryan, Greek, and Italic; the latter in Italic, Celtic and Germanic. They formed feminine abstract nouns from adjectives and substantives. -tāti- appears to have arisen through the addition of -ti- (§ 101) to -tā- (§ 80 p. 238 ff.), cp. Skr. dēvā-tā- and dēvā-tāti-, Skr. guru-tā- and Gr. ἐγκυρός, Lat. juven-tā- and juven-tāti-. The accumulation of suffixes would be like that in Skr. tvā-tā-, cp. § 56 p. 103 f. Lat. juven-tāti-: juven-tā-: Skr. yuva-ti- = puruṣa-tvāta- = puruṣa-tvā-: puruṣīā-ta-. -tāti- may have come from -tu-stems (§ 108) rather later. The parallel forms -tāt- and -tāti- beside -tāti- and -tāti- resemble doublets like Idg. *nog-ti-: *nog-ti- 'night', *deku-ti-: *deku-ti- 'ten-fold character', Skr. sam-i-ti- f. beside sām-i-ti- f. (§ 123), and the shorter forms no doubt contain the suffix -ti-.

Most of the words which occur in more than one language have -tāti(-): Skr. sarvā-tāti- s sarvā-tāti- 'perfection'. Avest. haurvā-tāt- 'safety', Gr. ὅλω-νς 'totality, entirety', beside Skr. sārvas Gr. ὅλος 'whole'; Gr. νεό-νς 'youth', Lat. novi-tās; beside Gr. νό-ς Lat. novo-s. With -tāti(-): Lat. juven-tās, O.Ir. vitius 'youth' (dat. vidit) for *(j)ovētās (-iu for -u is due to the palatal character of the preceding syllable). A form with -tāti(-) in one group of languages sometimes corresponds to a form with -tāt(-) in another, as O.Cymr. duiu-tit 'deitas': Skr. dēvā-tāt-; O.Ir. beo-thu 'life': Gr. με-νς; O.Ir. oen-tu 'unitas': Lat. ãni-tās; Goth. gamdins-dūp-s: Lat. communi-tās. In many words -tāti(-) may have ousted -tāt(-), which on the whole is certainly older.

For the loss of a syllable in forms like Avest. ameṛtāt- beside ameṛta-tāt- 'immortality', Gr. νοξιρ- 'drink' for *noro-
-ń-a-, Lat. acc. láculentátēm beside láculentí-tātem, see I § 643 p. 481 f.


Remark. From the last word we once find the phrase yuvā-ca āñā `for ever’ (usually the word is āñātātī). Thus -ń- was regarded as a compounded word (this appears also in other ways); and it seems to have been popularly connected with tan- `stretch out’. Cp. Mod.H.G. brōsne (O.H.G. bresma), which has no etymological connexion with śāme(n), but has been associated with it; furthermore we find even in Greek παρ-ό-ττς like παρ-ό-μερο-ς and Goth. mikil-dūp-s = *mikile-
dūp-s like gud-bās = *guda-bās p. 311.

Greek. Here we find only -ń-a-, which was substituted for the -ń-a- used in forming abstracts (§ 80 p. 239 f.), and appears only in the combinations -o-ń-a- and -w-ń-a-. ὀρθό-ττς `straight-forwardness, rightness’ from ὀρθό-ς: Lat. arduitás. σκαδό-ττς `awkwardness’ from σκαδό-ς `awkward’. Lat. scαιδί-ττς. ἁσχό-ττς, `wickedness’ from ἁσχό-ς. ἀγνό-ττς `purity, chastity’ from ἁγνό-ς. βίο-ττς `life’ from βίο-ς. ἔθο-ττς `godhead’ from ἔθο-ς. ἐνό-ττς `unity’ from εἰς `one’. πνε-ττό-ττς `totality’ from πάες. Hom. ἀνδρ-ό-ττς-α acc. `manhood’ (more correctly no doubt ἄρσιτα; see I § 204 p. 170) from ἄνγε ἀνδρ-ό-ς. In the last three examples -o- appears as it does in compounds, e. g. παρ-ό-
The Suffixes -tāt- (-tā-) and -tāti- (-tāt-).

§ 102.

μορφο-ς; cp. also Lat. libidin-i-tās. βασι-τῆς 'gravitas' from βασι-ς; cp. Skr. guru-tā- (§ 80 p. 239 f.). γλυκι-τῆς 'sweetness' from γλυκι-ς. βαδι-τῆς (βαδιντῆς) 'slowness' from βαδι-ς. ταχυ-τῆς 'swiftness' from ταχυ-ς.

Italic. In Latin we cannot distinguish -tāt- from -tā-, -tāti- from -tāt-, since in very many points the consonantal declension was assimilated to that of the i-stems. It may have been these very suffixes, with their double forms taken along with such doublets as noct- nocti- etc., that helped to establish the confusion. The variation in the gen. pl. (civitātum and civitātum) is of special importance (§ 93 p. 281).

boni-tās from bonu-s. dāri-tās from dāru-s. anxii-tās from anxii-s. quali-tās from quali-s. civit-tās from civi-s. liber-tās from līber-s. aber-tās from aber (in imitation of which was formed viduertās from viduo-s; notice the parallelism in meaning). facul-tās from facili-s, with the later by-form facili-tās, volup-tās from volupe volup. majes-tās from major (cp. § 135 Rem. 1). hones-tās from honōs. tempes-tās from tempus. vetus-tās from vetus, or for *vetusti-tās from vetus-tu-s. voluntās for *volunti-tās from volēns. libidin-i-tās from libidō, cp. Gr. ἱερ-τῆς (see above). Pelign. Herentas 'Venus' Osc. Herentateis 'Veneris, Volupiae', from herest 'volet', formed from the part. pres., like Lat. voluntās.

-tāti- -tāt- is very much rarer. Lat. juven-tās (: O.Ir. cittiu), senec-tās beside juven-tās juven-ta, senec-ta, from juven-i-s, senex. virtās from vir. servi-tās from servo-s. There can be no doubt that -tādō (gen. -tā-din-s), e. g. in servi-tādō alti-tādō, is closely related to this suffix.

In Old Irish we have -tā-, which we may ascribe to proto-Celtic. cittiu 'youth': Lat. juven-tās; see above, p. 308. oen-tu 'unites' for *oen-thu (th (b) after n was replaced by the tenuis by a comparatively late change). beo-thu (gen. boe-thath) 'life'. The suffixes -atu -etu, in derivatives from adjectives in -e (io-stems), are especially frequent; as torbatu 'utilitas' from tor-be 'utilis', dommetu 'paupertas' from domme 'inops', oendatu 'unity' from oen-de 'single', ildatu 'pluralitas
§ 102, 103. Suffixes in -u.

from il-de 'pluralis', friuchaidatu 'humiditas' from friuchaidhe 'humidus'; the origin of this -atu -etu is doubtful').

Germanic. It occurs only in Gothic, in certain substantives in -dāpi-, derived from adjectives; as mikil-dāp-s 'greatness from mikil-s (mikila-) 'great', gamáin-dāp-s 'community' from ga-máin-s (ga-máini-) 'common'. The loss of the vowel before the suffix is like that in ga-máin-p-s (§ 101 p. 307 f.) and in compounds, e.g. guδ-kűs brāp-fāp-s (§ 40 pp. 69, 71 f).

III. Suffixes in -u.

§ 103. The u-suffixes have a triple ablaut: u, eu, oy (e-series, I § 311—314). u e. g. in nom. and acc. sing. masc. fem. u-s u-m. eu e. g. in nom. pl. masc. fem. -eu-es. oy in gen. sing. -og-s. The connexion of this ablaut with the original conditions of accent in the different cases cannot be exactly determined from the evidence now at our disposal. No clear explanation has been given of Gr. ταυα(f)-o-ς compared with ταυ-ί-, Lat. grav-i-s compared with Skr. a-gr-u-, Skr. pythiv-t compared with pyth-v-ī, which seem to imply -oy- as one of the proethnic forms of the suffix. The best analysis of the words is ταυα-fó-ς, gra-vi-s, pythi-vi, i. e. to suppose that the root-syllable was extended by o, as in ɖvya-sto and the like (I § 110 p. 103 ff.).

From the proethnic period downwards we find u-stems in all three genders. The masculine and feminine stems had originally the same inflexion; differences only arose during the development of the separate languages, as in Skr. acc. pl. sūnān m. 'sons', hānuṣ f. 'jawbones'.

Remark. For u-stems like Skr. ṣvārā-§ O.CSl. sكري Gr. ᾲνα-ί, see § 109 Rem. 2.

1) "It is hard to decide whether -atu came from -antu, or from the union of two dental suffixes (perhaps -ato-tū-). Zimmer (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 461) regards the acc. corpštadid as a true phonetic spelling (cp. I § 212 Rem. p. 179); yet, as he himself remarks, it may be merely a mistake of the scribe's. Mid.Ir. sochn attu 'possibility' perhaps supports t rather than d. Unfortunately the modern Celtic languages have lost the suffix. Personally I incline towards the second assumption; compare e.g. no-erladaigtis 'they obeyed' beside aurlati 'obedience'." Thurneysen.
§ 104. The suffix -u-). This is always primary, and most common in adjectives. The evidence of Sanskrit, Greek, Germanic and Lithuanian proves that in Indo-Germanic these adjectives were nearly always oxytone and had the root-syllable in the weak grade. But the strong grade must have been at one time regular in a certain number of the cases. It is true that such forms as Skr. prathú-ś Lith. platū-s beside Skr. pythú-ś, Skr. spadcū-ś Gr. ἡθυ-ς O.H.G. suosì beside Goth. sut-s, cannot be taken to prove this, since a certain amount of assimilation between the forms of the three degrees of comparison (positive, comparative, and superlative) may be assumed in all these cases, and must be assumed in some; but it is fairly shewn by the variation between e. g. Goth. filu and Skr. puru-ś. Notice also the variation of form within the weak grade itself, e. g. *gru-u- and *gr-u- 'heavy' (I § 313 p. 250 f.). The feminine of these adjectives was differentiated by -je- -e- in the proethical and later periods; e. g. Skr. tans-ś beside the masc. tan-ū-ś (see § 110).

The substantives were masculine, feminine, or neuter. The variations of ablaut differed in different words. Note *gon-u-*gen-u- *jen-u- 'knee' and the like, and *pek-u- and *pk-u- 'cow' (vol. I loc. cit.).


Substantives. *pek-ú-s -pk-u-s m. and *pék-u n. 'cattle': Skr. pāṣu-ś Avest. pusu-ś 'cattle' Avest. haurva-fšu- 'all the cattle' (I § 398 p. 296), Lat. pecu-s, with its oblique cases reformed by analogy, on the one hand gen. pecudī-s etc. (§ 128), on the other (when pecus was regarded as neuter) gen. pecoris etc.; Skr. pāṣu, Lat. pecu, Goth. faihu ('money'). Skr. kāṇu-ś f. 'jawbone', Gr. γάδος- f. 'jaw, jawbone', Lat. genu-īnus- 'belonging to the cheek', O.Ir. giun m. 'mouth', Goth. kinnu-s f. 'cheek, jowl' instead of *kīnu- through the influence of kīnu-, which stands for *kīnu-, cp. I § 469, 8 p. 346 f. Skr. kēl-ū-ś m. 'phenomenon caused by light, picture, form', Goth. háid-u-s m. 'kind, way'. *bhag-ū-s m.: Skr. bā-hū-ś 'arm', Gr. πάχυς πάχυς- 'fore-arm, something bent' O.Icel. bógr 'something bent'. *medh-u n.: Skr. māḍu-hu 'sweetness, honey' (the Skr. adj. māḍhu- was derived from this subst.), Gr. μέθυ 'intoxicating drink, wine', O.Ir. mid (gen. meda) O.H.G. meto m. 'mead', Lith. medū-s m. O.C.Sl. medū m. 'honey'. *gon-u- *gen-u- *gn-ū- n. 'knee': Skr. jānu-ū 'knee' j'nū-đadh- 'bending the knees' Avest. zana-ā. pl. 'knees' fra-śnu 'knee bent forward' (I § 403 p. 298), Gr. γόνον, γόνων γονατον Hesych. (Cp. I § 639 p. 479), γρε-νεκτίν 'to sink
on one’s knees, become helpless’, Lat. genu, Goth. kniu (st. kniū-a-) ‘knee’ knussjan ‘to kneel’.


Slav. *der-*o) dr-juv-o (usually in pl. dr-juv-a) 'wood', Idg. *dor-*u- *der-*u- *dr-*u-. We have a corresponding variation of ablaut in another neuter word, Skr. śan-*u- sn-*u- n. m. 'peak'. Skr. bāndh-*u-ś m. 'relationship, relation', qāś-*u-ś m. 'stem', cī- *kit-*u-ś f. 'insight, understanding', pārś-*u-ś f. 'rib': Avest. pers-*u-ś m. 'rib', tāl-*u n. 'palate', trāp-*u n. 'chin'. Avest. sēdh-*u- sēndh-*u- f. 'instruction'.

Armenian. barj-*r-, gen. barju 'high', ground-form *bhyugh-*u-. anju-k ancu-k 'narrow', (extended by -go-, see above p. 313). bāzu-k 'arm' has the same addition, compare Skr. bāhū-*ś (see above, p. 313), but the word may have been borrowed from Persian. Other derivatives from n-stems: cn-*aut 'jawbone, cheek', beside Skr. hān-*u-ś etc. (see above, p. 313), cun-*r (pl. cunk-*k) 'knee', beside Skr. jdn-*u etc. (see above, p. 313), and other words.

Greek. ἰθασ-υ-ς 'bold': Mid.H.G. tārr-*e 'bold' Lith. dras-*u-s 'bold' (this word like dras-*u- 'boldness' which is closely akin, was modified through the influence of drij-; see I § 285 Rem. p. 228), √ dher-*e. ἰθασ-υ-ς 'slow': Skr. myd-*u-ś 'tender'. παχ-υ-ς 'thick': Skr. bāhū-*ś 'thick, much', common ground-form *bhyugh-*u-s; we can compare Lith. bing-*u-s 'stately, stiff, proud' in spite of the palatal ḱh (cp. Avest. bāzah- n. 'size, strength)? see I § 467, 2 p. 343. λυγ-υ-ς 'clear-sounding', γλυκ-υ-ς 'sweet', τυγρ-υ-ς 'thick' βαθ-υ-ς 'deep', ἰασ-υ-ς 'thickly overgrown', ἰμις ἱς-ς 'stout, good', ῥοξ-υ-ς ῥοξ-ις-ς 'rough, uneven, rugged', δριθ-υ-ς 'heavy', δις-υ-ς 'sharp, piercing'.

πηχ-υ-ς m. 'fore-arm, something bent': Skr. bāhū-*ś m. etc., see above p. 313. πιέκ-υ-ς m. 'axe': Skr. parās-*u-ś parś-*u-ś m. 'axe'. σαχ-υ-ς σοκσαχ-υ-ς m. 'ear of corn'. γηρ-υ-ς m. 'voice'. γνυ-υ-ς f. 'chin, jawbone': Skr. hān-*u-ś etc., see above p. 313. ἀσκ-υ-ς f. 'hunter's net'. μεθ-υ-ς, γον-υ-ς, δοφ-υ n., see above pp. 313, 314. πον n. 'herd' for *pau-υ: cp. Skr. pāy-*u-ś 'guardian', beside Gr. pο*υ-ν Lith. pē-mū 'herdsman' (cp. § 105 Rem. p. 318). γλάφ-υ n. 'grotto, cave'.

Italica. We seem to have a trace of the old adjectival i-stems in Lat. idās pl. fem. sc. noctēs, 'the bright (nights)'.

§ 104. The Suffix -u-.
from \(\sqrt{\text{aikh}}\) 'burn, be clear'. Compare also acu-pediu-s beside Skr. \(\text{aś-ū-ś}\) Gr. \(\text{ax-v-cı}\) 'swift'. The other Latin forms of this class have gone over to the i-declension: grav-i-s, ten-u-i-s, suavi-s for *syad-u-i-s, see above pp. 312, 313; and no doubt levi-s, pingu-i-s. The form of the feminine (cp. Skr. tana-i) must have had something to do with this change of declension.

Masc. lac-u-s: O.Ir. loch 'lake' n.; compare Gr. λάκκος 'hole, pit', which according to the rule given in m vol. I § 166 p. 147 implies a stem *λακο-. im-petu-s, alg-u-s, grad-u-s. Fem. trib-u-s Umbr. trifo 'tribun', which can scarcely come from tri- 'three' + \(\sqrt{\text{bhu}}\); dom-u-s: O.C.Sl. dom-ū 'house'; ac-u-s, col-u-s (also m.). Neut. pec-u- Umbr. pequo 'pecua' beside Lat. pec-u-s, see p. 313 above; gen-u see p. 313 f.; oeru Umbr. boerva 'verus' beraus 'verbus': O.Ir. bir 'sting, spear', common ground-form *ger-u-s; spec-u (beside spec-u-s in m. f.); gel-u.

Old Irish. tiug (gen. tig) 'thick': O.H.G. dicchi 'thick, dense' (Goth. *pik-u-s or *piq-u-s). il 'much': Skr. pur-ū-ś etc.; see p. 312 above. fin 'suitable, worthy' or 'suitability' Mod.Cymr. gnew 'proper, fitting, worthy' Gall. Visu-rīx pr. kelt. *yes-u-: Skr. vās-u-ś vās-u (p. 314), see Thurneysen in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 148 f. dub 'black'. flinch 'wet'. From an Indo-Germanic u-stem come also tana Corn. tanow Bret. tanav 'thin', cp. Gr. tar-u- taru-(f)o- etc., p. 312 f., and § 103 p. 311.

Masculine. ginn O.Cymr. genou Corn. genau 'mouth': Skr. hān-u-ś f. etc., see above p. 313. mug 'slave, servant' for *mog-u-s: Goth. mag-u-s 'boy, servant'; fid 'tree': O.H.G. witu 'wood'. Féminine. muce 'sow', deug 'drink'. Neuter. mid 'mead': Skr. māduh etc., see above p. 313; loch 'lake': Lat. lac-u-s m.

Germanic. The adjectival u-stems were partly absorbed into the io-declension; the point of connexion being the original feminine formation with -iē- -i-. Goth. kair-u-s 'heavy': Skr. gur-ū-ś etc., see above p. 312. Goth. ūdr-i 'dry, arid': Skr. tiṣṭ-ū-ś etc., see above, p. 312. Goth. aggu-s 'narrow' instead of *aggu-s through the influence of the weak form aggu- = Skr. qhe-, O.H.G. eng-i O.Icel. eng-r: Skr. qh-ū-ś etc., see above p. 313. Goth. O.H.G. fil-u (A.S. fealo
§ 104. The Suffix -u.-


Goth. mag-u-s O.S. may-u m. 'boy': O.Ir. mug 'slave, servant'. Goth. hair-u-s m. 'sword': Skr. var-u-ṣ m. f. 'missile'. Goth. haid-u-s m. 'kind, way' O.H.G. heit m.f. 'persona, sexus, rank, position' A.S. hæd m. 'family, position, nature': Skr. kú-ù-ṣ m. 'phenomenon due to light, picture, form'. A.S. ælf Mid.I.G. alp (alb-) m. 'goblin, elf' was originally, no doubt, an u-stem: Skr. ṛbh-ù-ṣ 'artistic, a sculptor'. Goth. kinnu-s f. 'check' instead of *kinu-s, A.S. cin f. 'chin': Skr. hám-u-ṣ etc., see above p. 313. Goth. hand-u-s f. O.H.G. hant (dat. pl. hantum) f. 'hand'. Goth. fallhu n. 'money' O.H.G. fih-u n. 'cattle': Skr. pāh-u etc.; see p. 313 above.

In Germanic the u-inflexion of consonantal stems largely increased the number of the substantives in -u-; the point of contact is seen in forms like (Goth.) acc. sing. føt-u acc. pl. føt-u-s. Cp. § 56 p. 103, § 100, 1, § 161.

Balto-Slavonic. Adjectives in u-have survived only in Lithuanian, but there they are very common; and their number was considerably increased by the fact that a parallel form in -u-s could be made to any adjective in -a-s; e.g. asstrù-s § 74 p. 187 f., gailli-s § 76 p. 210, gědrù-s beside gědra-s, drungnù-s beside druigna-s. Most of the cases passed into the -io- inflection; cp. the Germanic section, p. 316. platù-s 'broad': Skr. phth-ù-ṣ etc.; see above, p. 313. drásù-s 'bold': Gr. ἑρικ-υ-ς; see above, p. 315. sáld-ù-s 'sweet': O.C.Sl. slád-iu 'sweet'; dub-ù-s 'hollow', dyg-ù-s 'prickly', bung-ù-s 'timorous', staig-ù-s 'hot-temperated', smag-ù-s 'malleable'. It is only rarely that the root has the accent, as in tánk-u-s 'thick'. The existence of pairs like drásù-s 'bold' and drąšù 'boldness' led to the use of -u- as a denominative suffix; e.g. tamsi-u-s 'dark' from
tam-s-à ‘darkness’, czëšù-s ‘timely’ from cseàša-s ‘time’ (a borrowed word). In Slavonic adjectival u-stems are found in derivatives with -qo-; besides sladù-kù we have e. g. tînù-kù qzù-kù (p. 313).

In Balto-Slavonic the substantives in -u- are all masculine. Lith. medù-s O.C.Sl. med-ù ‘honey’: Skr. mádh-u n. etc.; see above, p. 313. Lith. virsz-ù-s ‘the upper, outer part’ O.C.Sl. vrīch-u adv. ‘above’. Lith dang-ù-s ‘heaven’ beside dengaù ‘I cover’, vid-ù-s ‘the inner part’, až-ù-s a drink like beer. O.C.Sl. dom-u ‘house’: Lat. dom-u-s (\(\sqrt{dēm}\) ‘build’), vol-ù ‘ox’, pol-ù ‘side’. In Slavonic all u-stems were inflected as o-stems.

§ 105. The Suffix -iù-. This must be regarded as proethnic, even though we cannot point with certainty to any one example which dates from the Indo-Germanic period. It should be noticed how frequently we find -iju- and -io- side by side, as Skr. vā-ýša-s ‘wind’, Gr. v-iù- and v-iō-s ‘son’. Skr. yāj-yu-š ‘revered as divine’ and ‘revering, pious’ and yaj-ya-s ‘venerandus’.

Remark. The explanation of Skr. pāy-ù-š pr.Gr. *p∅k-u (§ 104 p. 315) as containing the suffix -u-, not -iù- (similarly Skr. stāy-ù-š tāy-ù-š Avest. tāy-u-š ‘thief’ cp. Skr. stē-nd-u, Skr. dhāy-ù-š ‘thirsty’ cp. dhē-nù-) is based on the hypothesis mentioned in vol. I § 150 p. 136, which would allow us to assume such a root as e. g. *p∅j-u-, not *p∅-u-. If this hypothesis be correct, it is natural to conjecture that the suffix -iù- may have sprung from these nouns, *p∅j-u- being analysed as *p∅-iù- etc. On this model then were formed e. g. Skr. vā-ýša-s (Idg. yē-) ēhā-ýu-š ‘generous’ (Idg. dhē-), and later on -ju- was added to consonant stems, as Skr. dē-ya-š. So far as I can see there is nothing to prevent our assuming that this process took place in proethnic Indo-Germanic.

Armen. ū-stem marh-mah (gen. marhu mahu) ‘death’, see I § 360 p. 276; it is based on a stem my-t-, see § 123.


Armenian. Perhaps we should class here marh ‘death’; see above, under Aryan.

Greek. Lac. Arcad. v-iv-ς ‘son’, Cret. vié-ς, Att. év-ς (inscr.), Hom. gen. vié-ς etc., beside vió-ς vé-ς, which can scarcely have come from the former by dissimulation: cp. Skr. svu-ta-ς ‘begotten, son’ (cp. W. Schulze, De reconditoribus quibusdam nominum in -YΣ exuentium formis, Commentationes philologae Gryphiswaldenses, Berol. 1887, p. 17 ff.).

According to Wackernagel (Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXIV 295 ff., XXVII 84 ff.) substantives in -ev-ς like rōmuv-ς ‘herdsman’ (nom. pl. Cypr. -eŋ-f-ς) also belong here, and should be compared immediately with the Sanskrit nouns in -ayu-ṇ. Yet some difficulties still remain; should we, for instance, assume Idg. -eṣu-s or -eṣu-s for the nom. sing.? The latest discussion of these stems is by Johansson (De derivatis verbis contractis linguae Graecae, 1886, p. 73 ff.).

Germanic. Goth. drun-ju-s m. ‘noise’, stub-ju-s m. ‘dust’, (ep. O.H.G. stuppi ‘dust’); perhaps also -addju-s f. ‘partition, wall, rampart’ (O.Icel. vegg-r, O.Sax. acc. pl. vegos i.e. weijos), where ddj came from i (I § 142 p. 127).

There a large number of nomina agentis, as *pīrdējus- ‘pediator’ (sākancius- ‘trickster’, audējnus- ‘weaver’, rāčius- ‘wheelwright’, bezdālus- ‘who sends forth many blasts’, and other appellations of living beings to denote a particular characteristic, as skarnmāla- ‘rags torn off’ bēdējus- ‘poor creature’ (bēdū ‘need’), kytrūla- ‘wiseacre, coxcomb’ (kyytrūa- ‘clever’), ragančius- ‘horned thing’ (ragnāta- ‘horned’). In Lithuanian -jūs- was far more fertile than in the other European languages. Brückner assumes that the whole group of nouns in -jus- is a purely Lithuanian formation (Archiv f. slav. Phil. III 254 f.), but this is improbable.

§ 106. The suffix -nu- (-ynu-). This is rare in most of the languages. It usually forms substantives.


In Sanskrit we find also -anu-, as krand-anus- m. ‘bellowing’ nad-anus- m. ‘din’, vi-bhājanus- ‘breaking to pieces’. This -anus- is parallel to -ani-, as is shown by kṣip-anus- ‘missile’ kṣip-anus- ‘a cut with a whip’. Hence no doubt it should be derived from -yunus-. See § 95 p. 285.


The adjectival suffix -smus- was no doubt derived from more than one typical form. kramus- ‘greedy of raw flesh’ (kram- ‘raw flesh’), rōcjīnus- ‘shining’ (rōcī- ‘light’); carīsīnus-
'wandering', gamiṃṇā-ṣ 'going', cyāvaiyinā-ṣ 'setting in motion', jiṃṇā-ṣ 'victorious', ni-ṣatsinnā-ṣ 'setting down'. vadhāsinā-ṣ 'carrying a murderous weapon' beside vadhāsinī-ṃ 'murderous weapon' (see § 66 p. 142), as Avest. zaenm-ṣ 'equipped, beside zaenm-ṃ 'equipment, weapon'.

Greek. Here -ν- is very rare. Hom. ἵππ-ν-ζ 'footstool' beside Att. ἴππ-ν-ζ 'seat, bench'. λύ-ν-ζ 'smoke, vapour'.

Italic. The suffix is rare. Lat. ma-nu-s f., Umb. manu-s e 'in manu', no doubt standing for *ma-nu-, from √mē- 'measure'. Lat. cor-nu n. and cor-nu-s besides the rare cor-nu- n.: Gall. nār-ν-ζ (schol. Iliad, Σ 219, Eustath. 1139, 57) beside nār-ν-ζ acc. 'trumpet' (Hesych.), Goth. haur-n n. 'horn' (§ 66 p. 147); cp. Danielsson, Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 188. pī-nu-s f., also pī-no- f., cp. Gr. πί-ν-ζ. The dative vēnu beside vēnō vēnu-m from *vēs-no- or *vēs-no- (§ 66 p. 142 under Armenian) is certainly a late change of declension.

Old Irish. tīn 'number' ground-form *pīlē-nu-. Cp. also orgum orcum f. 'killing, to kill' for *orgunu *orgunu according to Stokes, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 291; but *orgunu- might equally be assumed as its original form.

Germanic. Goth. su-nu-s O.H.G. sunu O.Icel. sun-r m. 'son': Skr. su-nu-ṣ etc., see p. 319 above. Goth. pawi-r-nu-s m. 'thorn' beside the -o-stems O.H.G. dorn O.Icel. ðorn; there is, however, no reason why we should not assume that *pur-nu- was the pr. Germ. form; O.CSl. trī-nil may also be an original u-stem, but note Skr. tī-ṇa-m 'stem of grass'. Goth. asilu-gairnus f. 'μύλος ὑπεκός, millstone' (its suffix may he compared with that of O.CSl. ērī-ny f. 'mill') beside O.H.G. chwar-na 'millstone, mill' O.Icel. kver-n 'mill', Lith. gir-nos pl. 'millstones, mill'.

Balto Slavonic. Lith. sū-nu-s O.CSl. sy-ni m. 'son': Skr. sū-nu-ṣ, see above p. 319. O.CSl. či-ni m. 'rank, order', beside Skr. ci-tā- 'ranged, trooped'. In Lithuanian there are a few adjectives, which however may be simply modifications of forms in -na- (see p. 317): e. g. drung-nu-s 'lukewarm' (beside druṅg-na-s), gad-nu-s 'useful', szvel-nu-s 'tender, soft to touch'; with -s-, dū-snu-s do-snu-s 'generous'.

Brugmann, Elementa. II.
§ 107. The Suffixes *-ru- and *-lu-. These are original in a few nouns. They are more or less fertile in Baltic as adjectival suffixes.

Indo-Germanic. *-ru-. *dak-ru n. 'tear': Gr. δάκος, Lat. dacru-ma lacru-ma lacri-ma (I § 369 p. 279 f.), Corn. dagr pl. dagrou; hence no doubt Germ. *tāhra- (O.H.G. zahhar O.Icel. tār) and *tāhrā- (Goth. tagr A.S. teazor) originally had *-ru-; another word which no doubt was formed in imitation of this, though from a different root, is Skr. अश-ru n. 'tear', cp. Skr. क्ष-मिः: cp. Lat. ver-mi-s: cp. Gr. ἐπέ-μες § 97 p. 289. Skr. śmāśru n. 'beard, moustache' for *smāś-ru (I § 557, 4 p. 413), Armen. moruk (moruk-e muru-k) 'beard' (though this comparison is not quite certain); compare Lith. smak-rą 'chin' (I § 467 p. 343).


Aryan. Only the evidence of the cognate languages can decide whether the suffix is Idg. *-ru- or Idg. *-lu-. Idg. *-ru- may be assumed in: Skr. अश-ru Av. as-ru n. 'tear' beside Skr. ah-raw-m 'tear' (see above), and Skr. śmāś-ru n. 'beard' (parallel to this we find hāri-śmāśāru-s 'with light coloured beard'); see above.

In the following instances it is doubtful whether we have Idg. r or l. Skr. pē-ru-ś no doubt meaning 'making to bubble, swell'. Avest. duē-vandru-ś 'desiring evil'. Skr. patā-ru-ś 'flying', like pata-rā-s § 74 p. 182. Skr. vandā-ru-ś 'praising, glorifying', phyā-ru-ś 'despising, scorning', pataya-lā-ś 'flying'. Is sát-ru-ś 'foe' = sāt-ru- or sāt-tru-?

Greek. δάκ-ον n., see above. φάγχος n. φάχον φάχον (φάγχον) n. 'roasted barley' and φέρον-ς m. 'bunch of grapes' may be classed here provisionally.

Italic. Extended by -mā-: Lat. dacru-ma (see above). Perhaps we should class here tonitu-s m. tonitru n., whose formation seems to resemble that of Skr. stanayi-tmu-ś (compare § 106 p. 320) and tanyatā-ś 'thunder' (§ 108).

Germanic. Goth. ái-ru-s O.Icel. æ-r-r a-r-r m. 'messenger.'
\( \sqrt{ei} \) 'go'; also A.S. '\( \ddot{a}r \) 'messenger', which is no longer recognisable as an \( u \)-stem. Goth. \( \text{h} \dddot{u}h-ru-s \) m. and O.H.G. 'hungar m. (of which the same may be said) 'hunger', pr. Germ. *\( \text{rh} \dddot{u}x-ru-z \) and *\( \text{r}n \ddot{u}z \)-ru-s. Pr. Germ. *\( \text{f} \ddot{o}-ru- \) Mid.H.G. 'luor m. f. 'cornfield, ground' A.S. 'flor m. f. 'house-floor, barn-floor': O.Ir. 'la-r 'flooring, floor'.

Balto-Slavonic. In Lithuanian there are a considerable number of adjectives in \(-r \ddot{u}-s\) and \(-l \ddot{u}-s\): \( \text{bud}-r \ddot{u}-s \) 'watchful', \( \text{suk}-r \ddot{u}-s \) 'active', \( \text{kant}-r \ddot{u}-s \) 'patient', \( \text{\textit{\u0160}d}-r \ddot{u}-s \) 'ravenous' (\( \text{\textit{\u0160}d}-r \ddot{u} \) 'fodder') \( \text{isz-matr} \ddot{u}-s \) 'sharp-sighted' (cp. O.C.Sl. mot-\( r-\)iti 'to look'), \( \text{buk}-l \ddot{u}-s \) 'crafty, sly' \( \text{isz-tek}l \ddot{u}-s \) 'sufficing'. Parallel to these we sometimes have forms in \(-r a-s\) -la-s, as \( \text{g\ddot{e}d}-r \ddot{u}-s \) and \( \text{g\ddot{e}d}-r a-s \) 'bright, clear', and \( \text{gai}-l \ddot{u}-s \) gai-la-s 'ill-tempered, snappish' (of dogs). The \( \alpha \)-form. appears in most cases to be older than the other, and it must sometimes be pre-supposed, even where it does not occur, e. g. in \( \text{asx\ddot{e}r} \ddot{u}-s \) 'sharp' beside O.C.Sl. ostr\( \ddot{u} \) Skr. catur-asra-s Gr. \( \ddot{a}kpo-\ddot{g} \) (§ 76 p. 184 and p. 187).

§ 108. The Suffix \(-tu-\). This was a common primary suffix used in forming abstract substantives (verbal nouns, nomina actionis) even in the proethnic period. These were masculine; but through the influence of the gender of other abstract nouns, they became feminine universally in Greek, and sometimes in Aryan and Germanic. In Aryan, Latin, Balto-Slavonic (and Celtic, see § 156) they are found attached to the verbal system as infinitives (gerunds, supines); and it is possible that this association with the verb, which gave rise to a large number of new formations, began at least in part before the end of the proethnic period. And in this connexion it is especially important to observe that we find the acc. \(-tu-m\) used after verbs of motion in precisely the same way in Sanskrit, Latin, and Balto-Slavonic; e. g. Skr. \( h \ddot{u}tum \ddot{\ddot{a}}ti \) 'he goes make sacrifice',

1) Th. Benfey, Die Suffixe \( tu \), \( tu- \)sammt \( \ddot{a}tu \), Kuhn's \( Ztschr. \) II 215 ff.
Lat. cubitum it, Lith. eilės vėlgytė 'come and eat', O.C.Sl. česoo izidoste vidētā? 'quid existiis visum?'

Only a few masculine and feminine substantives formed with this suffix are other than nomina actionis, and their uses can easily be derived from the meaning of an abstract verbal noun. The nomina agentis (as Skr. mán-tu-ṛ m. 'counsellor' beside mántu-ṛ m. 'counsel, advice', Goth. hliftus m. 'thief', O.Icel. vórd-r m. 'watcher, waiter' beside vórð-r m. 'watch') show the same change of meaning as Lat. hostis O.Ir. taíd; and the few adjectives that occur (as Skr. tapya-tú-ṛ 'hot, glowing') are parallel to such forms as Skr. púti-ṛ 'stinking'. Cp. § 99 p. 293, §§ 149, 155.

There are a few neuter substantives as Skr. viś-tu Gr. ἀνήρ.

Originally the accent varied in the different cases in connexion with differences in ablaut, e. g. *bī-tu- *i-tu- (from *ei- 'go'); such a distinction is preserved in Skr. *bī-tu-m: i-te-ð. In Sanskrit the variation survived in these cases, which had been incorporated into the verbal system, because, through the difference in their use, their connexion in form was forgotten, but in the complete declension of any one noun the differences were levelled; in some cases the type *ei-tu- was adopted (e. g. mída-tu-ṛ), in others *itu- (e. g. ṭā-tu-ṛ). Other survivals of the old gradation are seen in (e. g.) Gr. xλης-τυ-ς and κληρυ-ς, Lith. lė-tu-s and ly-tu-s. In Latin and Lithuanian the supine was influenced by the to-participles and the abstract nouns in -ti-, so that the type *itu- prevailed: e. g. Lat. da-tu-m da-tā like da-tu-s (da-to-s) da-tī, Lith. milsz-tū like milsz-ta-s milsz-ti (√mēlē-). On the other hand, the corresponding form in Slavonic generally shows the type *eitu- and itself influenced the ti-infinitive (e. g. O.C.Sl. mlēs-tū and mlēs-ti); this is certainly connected with the comparative disuse of the -to- participle in this group of languages (§ 79 p. 336).

These nouns could be based upon any form which served as a verbal stem, not merely on the root (in the strict sense); hence forms like Skr. vāmi-tu-m inf. 'to vomit'. Lat. vomi-tu-s m., Skr. jīvā-tu-ṛ f. 'life' (cp. Av. jyā-tu-ṛ f. 'life'), Gr. ἐννυ-ρύ-ς
f. 'cry', Lat. appa-r-tu-s m. and-tu-s m., O.Ir. scárad 'a severing' Goth. vratō-du-s m. 'journey', Lith. jēska-tū O.C.Sl. iska-tū 'to seek'.

e-tu- is found like e-to- § 79 p. 219 and e-ti- § 100 p. 294), e. g. Skr. kr-ā-tu-ś 'power, strength' vah-a-tū-ś m. 'bridal procession', Gr. ἔρω-μο-ς 'truthful' from *ē-ru- instead of *h-ru- 'existence' (v. es-).

Indo-Germanic: Skr. inf. bhāvi-tu-m gerund bhā-tv-ād from bhāva-ti 'he becomes, is', Lat. fu-tu-ī, sup. Lith. bū-tū O.C.Sl. by-tū 'to be'; we may add, with hesitation, Gr. γί-ru-ς 'begetter' qū-ru 'shoot, scion' (see I § 56 p. 46). Skr. juś-ṭv-ā gerund of jōṣa-ti 'has pleasure in something', Lat. gūs-tu-s m., Goth. hūs-tu-s m. 'trial, proof'. Skr. pi-tū-ś m. 'sap, drink, food' nourishment' pītu-dāru- m. 'pine tree' n. the resin of this tree, Gr. νί-ρυ-ς 'pine', Lat. pītu-tītā, O.Ir. i-th m. 'corn', Lith. pė-tūs pl. 'midday meal, midday'. Skr. inf. vētu-m vētav-ē ger. vīto-ād from vindō-ti 'finds, becomes possessed of', vēdi-tu-m vīdi-ṭv-ād from vētti 'perceives, knows' (the root is the same), Lat. visu-s m., O.Ir. fēss m. 'knowledge'. Avest. peśu-ē m. 'ford' (from Art. fer- see I § 288 p. 229 f.), Lat. por-tus m., O.H.G. fur-t m. 'ford' (it has lost its character as a u-stem) O.Icel. fjǫrd-r m. 'firth, gulf'. Skr. gān-ṭu-ś gā-tu-ś m. 'course, way', inf. gān-tu-m gān-tu-ād ger. gā-tv-ē, Lat. ad-ven-tus m., sup. ven-tu-m ven-tū, Lith. sup. giūni-tū 'to be born' (cp. I § 249 p. 204), v. gem.-Sk. mān-tu-ś m. 'counsel, counsellor' inf. mān-tav-ē ger. ma-tv-ād, Lith. sup. miū-tū 'to think of', v. men-. Skr. inf. śāsi-tu-m ger. śa-tv-ād from śāsa-ti 'he recites', Lat. cēnsu-s m. instead of cēn-su-s (cp. § 100 p. 295), v. kens-. Skr. inf. pāk-tu-m pāk-tav-ē ger. pak-tv-ā from pācā-ti 'cooks', Lat. coc-tu-m coc-tā, O.C.Sl. sup. peśta 'to bake' for *pektā (I § 462 p. 338). Lat. sup. rēc-tu-m rēc-tā, O.Ir. reich-t n. 'right', O.Icel. rētt-r n. 'right'. Skr. dhā-tu-ś m. 'constituent part, element', inf. dhā-tu-m ger. dhī-te-ā hi-tv-ā, Lat. con-dītus m. sup. con-dītus -dītā, sup. Lith. dē-tū O.C.Sl. dē-tū 'positum'. Skr. aktv-ā m. 'salve, light, night' ground-form *āktv-ās, Lat. ānc-tu-m ānc-tā. Skr. inf. āp-tu-m ger. āp-tv-ā from āp-nd-ti 'attains, gains', Lat. ad-ep-tu-s m. Skr.
vās-tu n. 'dwelling-place, house', Gr. ἕσσα-ρο ἕσσα-ν. 'city'. Skr. yā-tu-ṣ m. 'traveller, time' (no doubt identical with yātū-ṣ 'ghost', see below), Lith. jė-tū-'to ride'. Lat. sup. nō-tu-m nō-tū (ignō-tu-m ignōtū), O.CSl. sup. xna-tū 'to know'.

Aryan. Skr. pī-tū-ṣ m. 'sap, drink, food, nourishment' Avest. pi-tu-ṣ m. 'food': Gr. πι-το-ς etc., see above p. 325. Skr. inf. car-tu-m cari-tu-m ger. cār-tu-ā car-te-ā cari-tu-ā from cāra-ti 'goes, travels', Avest. car-tu-ṣ m. 'horse's course, distance a horse can gallop'. Skr. gātu-ṣ gā-tu-ṣ m. 'course, way', Avest. gā-tu-ṣ 'place, room, throne' O.Pers. gā-pu-'place, room, throne' (po arose regularly in the cases which had gā-pu-— see I § 473 p. 348 f. — and from these it spread to the rest): Lat. adven-tu-s etc., see above p. 325. Skr. jan-tu-ṣ m. 'creature, being, child, people, family, stock', Avest. xan-tu-ṣ m. 'alliance, stock', Skr. inf. jāni-tō, adv. jā-tu 'generally': Lat. geni-tu-s m., sup. geni-tu-m geni-tā, nā-tu-s m., ṣtāν- ‘generation’ Avest. vi-datu-ṇ m. 'breaking up of the body, dissolution, death', beside Skr. dd-ti dyē-ti 'cuts off': cp. Gr. ὃρν-το-ς 'meal' (orig. 'portion') ἄρω-νίν 'guest'. Skr. sā-tu-ṣ m. 'connexion, bond, chain, bridge; binding' (adj.), Avest. hav-tu-ṣ m. 'ford, bridge': Lett. sup. st-tu 'to bind', ṣtāν- ‘saik-. Skr. yā-tu-ṣ Avest. yā-tu-ṣ m. 'ghost, demon, no doubt (like yā- above) from yā- 'go, full upon something' (cp. yā-tār- 'pursuer'). Skr. yā-tu-ṣ m. 'fixed time', tān-tu-ṣ m. 'cord' (was O.Ir. tēt Mod.Cymr. tant 'string' an u-stem?) ṣtu-ṣ m. 'woof'; sā-tu-ṣ f. 'pregnancy' inf. sā-tāv- ē ger. sā-tu-ā: O.Ir. sū-th n. 'fetus'. Avest. mer-tu-ṣ m. 'thought'; jyā-tu-ṣ f. 'life'. Skr. jīvā-tu-ṣ f. 'life' (no doubt with the same ā as Avest. jyā-tu-ṣ; though we might also regard it as ā = İdg. o, cp. Lith. gya-tā O.CSl. hīvo-tā Gr. βίο-τής, inf. a-śred-sayi-tu-m 'to cause to breathe again, console' from a-śrāv-aya-ṭi 'makes to breathe again, consoles'.

With -e-tu-: Skr. kr-ā-tu-ṣ m. 'power, strength, power of mind', Avest. xra-ā-tu-ṣ m. 'understanding, insight', from kar- 'set at work'. Skr. vah-ā-tu-ṣ 'bridal procession', tan-ya-tu-ṣ m. 'thunder', tap-ya-tu-ṣ 'hot, glowing'. Avest. r-a-tu-ṣ 'fixed time' beside Skr. r-tu-ṣ.
In classical Sanskrit the accusative, in Veda also the dative and genitive-ablative served as infinitives; e.g. śṛṣṭu-um, śṛṣṭa-vi, śṛṣṭa-dī. The formation of compounds like śṛṣṭu-kāma-‘desire to hear’ shows that even in later times the feeling that the form in -tum was a case had not quite died out. The instrumental (śru-vi, orig. ‘with hearing’) was used as the (so-called) gerund, logically connected with some noun in the sentence to denote an action accompanying or (generally) preceding the action of the verb, e.g. śrutva cābruva (ca abruva) ‘and hearing (or having heard) they spoke’. All such forms could be used in this way, except those derived from thematic stems (kr-
ū-tu- etc.).

Armenian. Amongst the tu-stems (e.g. zar-d, gen. zar-du adornment) there seem to be none which can be ascribed with certainty to proethnic Indo-Germanic. Hübschmann (Arm. Stud. I 46) with some hesitation connects ort, gen. ortu, ‘calf’ with Skr. pṛthu-ka-s ‘the young of an animal, child, boy’ (Gr. πορτογάλ-νης ‘calf’).


Neuters: only φίνερς and ἀγρεσκεύς, see above pp. 325, 326.

In the other Indo-Germanic languages, we find numerals in -ti-s, as *peros-ti-s f. ‘fivefold character, the number five’
The Suffix -tu-. § 108.

(§ 101 p. 306 f.). The corresponding forms in Greek are feminines in -τε-ς; as πεντακτής, εκατοκτής τρικτής (τριτής is due to the influence of τριτός) also τρικτής τετρακτής, cp. Baunack, Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXV 249 ff.

ἔτυ-μο-ς ‘truthful’ from *ἔτυ- ‘existence’ (instead of *τυ-τυ-, cp. Dor. ἔντες, Lesb. ἔναυ) ground-form *s-e-tu-, from √ es- ‘esse’.

Italj. The Substantives in -tu-s are masculine. Lat. ac-tu-s, Umbr. ahtu ‘actui’. Lat. adi-tu-s: Skr. svāltu-ś (svā-δτu-γ) ‘having its own course’ inf. ἐ-tu-m ger. i-tu-d, Lith. eitė O.C.Sl. i-tu ‘to go’. rūc-tu-s: Lith. rūk-ta ‘to belch’, √ recl. duc-tu-s. or-tu-s. moršu-s beside morđu. e-ven-tu-s: Skr. gān-tu-ś etc., see above p. 325. senšu-s beside sentio. con-spectu-s. tex-tu-s: ‘Lett. testu ‘to how with an axe’. ėsu-s: Skr. ḍtu-m ‘to eat’, Lith. ėštė ‘to devour’, O.C.Sl. jastū ‘to eat’, √ ed-. sta-tu-s, sup. sta-tu-m sta-ta, prae-stitu-m and praestātu-m: Skr. inf. sthd-tu-m ger. shī-te-d from tištā-ti ‘he stands’, Lith. pa-stōtā to become’ O.C.Sl. sta-ta ‘to place oneself’. sa-tu-s: Lith. sē-ta to sow’. fē-tu-s. cap-tu-s. rap-tu-s. can-tu-s. quaes-tu-s. auctu-s: Lith. ēuk-ta ‘to grow’, √ aug. haus-tu-s. flā-tu-s. flē-tu-s. gemi-tu-s. fremi-tu-s. strepi-tu-s. crepi-tu-s. domi-tu-s. habi-tu-s. exerci-tu-s. conā-tu-s. ap-parātu-s. audi-tu-s. vesti-tu-s. Words like jūdicātus (judicare judex) gave rise to an independent suffix -ātu- for denoting an office or an official organisation, as principātus, ducātus, pontificātus, senātus (cp. German. -ōpu- -ōdu-).

The tu-stems (i. e. the so-called supines) form a very large group in Latin. -tu-m was orig. acc., -ā tu loc. or instr. Most of the substantives in -tu-s were also used as supines, e. g. ēsu-s ‘eating’ and ēsu-m ēsā; on the other hand, it is only a small proportion of the supines beside which we find independent declinable substantives. The freedom with which supines were formed was practically unlimited.

The gender of the neut. subet. artu- beside masc. ar-tu-s was no doubt fixed by that of membru-m, and testu- n. (*ters-tu-, √ ters- ‘dry’) by that of testu-m (stem testo-).


Like fiss and mess, the numerous masculines in -ad (for -a-tu-) formed from verbs of the 2. conj. are used as infinitives (ep. § 156), as nertad ‘strengthening’ from nertain denom. verb from nert ‘strength’ (ep. Gr. αὐροπηνί-ς, Lat. connatu-)s, and similarly those in (i)ud (for -(i)e-tu-) formed from verbs of the 3. conj., as derchoiniud ‘despair, despairing’ from der-choinim ‘I despair’, foillsigud ‘showing’ from foillsigim ‘I show’ (ep. Skr. vōha-tū-ś anya-tū-ś).

-tu- is a secondary suffix in the termination -es-tu- (-os-tu-). ais aes ois (gen. aiso aisa aesa) m. ‘age’ ground-form *ajyes-tu-s, ep. Gr. αἶ(F)ς ‘always’; yet Mod.Cymr. oes, since y is not usually lost in Cymric, perhaps indicates that the word is to be derived from a stem corresponding to the Skr. dyuṣ-, which afterwards, we must assume, was confused with the es-stem. senchas m. ‘antiquity (O.Cymr. hencass, pl. hencassou ‘old tale’) may be an extension of *seno-go- (ep. Skr. sama-ka-ś etc., § 88 p. 263), the ground-form being *seno-g-os-tu-, or a compound *seno-cassu- dorus n. ‘door’ (ep. Mod.Cymr. drus Corn. doras), dat. pl. doirsib for *doressaib, and therefore from a stem *duores-tu- in proethnic Keltic. follus ‘clear’.

Germanic. In West Germanic most of the tu-stems (which were common in proethnic Germanic) lost their distinctive character; there was a confusion between the (masc.) tu- and the (fem.) ti-stems, e.g. O.H.G. luf-t m. and f., A.S. lyf-t m. and f. The original form of the tu-stems is best preserved in Gothic.

kos-t-r (acc. pl. kosto kostu) m. 'condition', O.H.G. kos-t A.S. cys-t: Skr. jutṣ-ye-a etc. see above p. 325. Goth. luf-tu-s m, O.H.G. luf-t m. 'breeze, air'. O.H.G. fur-t m. 'ford' O.Icel. fjör-ð-r 'firth, gulf': Avest. pešu-s etc., see p. 325 above. O.H.G. durs-t A.S. durs-t (dyrs-t) m. 'thirst', √ters-. Goth. vul-pu-s m. 'glory'. Goth. lus-tu-s O.H.G. lus-t m. 'desire', for *fs-tu-s, if it is connected with Skr. lā-las-a-s (I § 299 p. 238, II § 100 p. 302). Goth. pāu-tu-s m. 'thought', from pugkjan 'to think'. O.Icel. rēt-r m. right: Lat. rēc-tu-m etc., see above p. 325. O.Icel. hätt-r hätt-r m. 'way, sort, kind', beside haga 'to arrange'. Goth. vaus-tu-s O.Icel. voxt-r m. 'growth'. Goth. ādu-pu-s O.H.G. tö-d m. 'death'. O.H.G. blas-t O.Icel. blōst-r blōst-r n. 'blast'. Goth. flo-du-s O.H.G. fluo-t m. 'flood'. With the meaning changed to that of a nomen agentis we have e. g. Goth. hlif-tu-s 'thief', O.Icel. vord-r 'watchman'.

-s-tu- is rare (cp. -s-ti- § 100 p. 303 and -s-tuo- -s-tro- etc., see § 61 p. 117). Goth. mahl-s-tu-s O.H.G. mist m. 'ordure', beside O.Icel. miyla 'mingere'. O.Icel. lōst-r m. 'mistake' for *lax-s-tu-, beside O.H.G. lostar n. 'crime, vice' (suffix -s-tro-, § 62 p. 121), cp. O.H.G. lahan 'to blame'.

The termination -o-pu- (also -o-du- through the original variation of accent), which appears in derivatives of the weak verbs in -ōn, became an independent suffix (cp. Lat. -ātu-p. 328). Goth. gāunōpu-s m. 'sorrow' from gāunōn 'to sorrow', vrōdu-s 'journey' from vrōton 'to travel'; O.H.G. wegōd m. 'help' from wegōn 'to help', klagōd m. 'lament' from klagōn 'to lament'; O.Icel. ladd-r m. 'invitation' from ladda 'to invite'. The following are examples of nouns beside which there is no corresponding verb in -ōn: Goth. gabaūrjōpu-s 'desire' mannis-kōdu-s 'humanity', O.H.G. strītōd 'strife' leichōd 'hymenaeus, concubitus', O.Icel. umōd-r 'delight'. In O.H.G. the formations in -isōd inūd -ilōd -alōd are especially common, as richisōd 'lordship' from richisōn 'to govern', ellinōd 'zeal, emulation' from ellinōn 'to be zealous', swintilōd 'giddiness' from swintilōn 'to become giddy', hantalōd 'laying on of hands' from hantalōn 'lay hands on handle'. On the other hand in Anglo-Saxon and
Norse we find the termination -óðu-, which came from verbs in -nōn -nan (e. g. A.S. haftōnōd ‘hold’ beside haftinian, O.Icel. bufnad-r ‘improvement’ from bunna); this became fertile and usurped the place of the older -ōðu-; e. g. A.S. fuselōd instead of, and parallel to, fuzelōd ‘fowling’, from fuselian, O.Icel. dūgnad-r ‘strength, help’, from duga.

The weak verbs in -atjan (Gr. -ατίνω) gave rise to the suffix -assu- (Gr. ἀσσάτω- from ἀσάτωσα, p. 327), which was very fertile in all branches of Germanic except Norse, especially in the extended form resulting from its addition to n-stems, -u-assu- (Goth. -in-assu-). In West Germanic we have also (-n)-iss(u)- and (-n)-uss(u)-, whose i and u are variously explained (von Bahder, Verbalabstr. 119 ff.); and further various modifications of the final -u-, due to the analogy of feminine and neuter abstract substantives: fem. (-n)-issō- (-n)-ussō-, (-n)-issō- (-n)-ussō-, (-n)-ass-í- (-n)-iss-í- (-n)-uss-í-, neut. (-n)-ass-ja- (-n)-iss-ja- (-n)-uss-ja-. Examples are Goth. *ibnassu-s ‘equality, fairness’ (A.S. emness), beside A.S. emnettan ‘adequare’ = Goth. *ibnatjan; usfarrassu-s ‘overflow, abundance’ from usfar. These forms are especially frequent in connexion with verbs in -inōn; as hörin-assu-s ‘adultery’ beside hörinōn, which gave the type for words like blōt-inassu-s ‘divine service’ (from blotan). O.H.G. rat-ussa f. ‘riddle’ offan-ussi f. ‘opening’; ir-suuchnissa f. ‘experimentum’ gi-miscisst f. ‘mixture’ gi-hörnisst f. ‘hearing’. -nissa-nissa had often the appearance of a denominative suffix, and hence it gave rise to a large number of formations like O.H.G. gotnissa f. ‘godhead’ rein-nissa f. ‘purity’ churt-nass st. ‘shortness’.

In Upper Germany these suffixes were extended by -ipō- (§ 80 p. 240), hence -nissidā-nussida, as in (O.H.G.) fir-loranissida ‘loes’. fālnussida ‘idleness’.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. ly-tu-s lē-tu-s m. ‘rain’ (supine ly-tu ‘to rain’ lē-tu ‘to pour’): Lat. sup. li-tu-m li-ta, Goth. acc. sing. lei-þu O.H.G. li-g, m. n. ‘fruit-wine’. Lith. pē-tu-s pl. ‘midday meal, midday’: Skr. pī-tu-ś etc., see p. 325 above. I is a moot point whether the adjectives in -tū-s, as sta-tu-s ‘blunt, impolite’, drūms-tu-s ‘dark, troubled’ (of water), were
originally abstract substantives (p. 324), or whether they were modifications of old adjectives in -ta-s (see p. 317). O.C.S.L kra-tū 'a time, occasion' (dūvā kraty 'twice'); Skr. acc. pl. ky-tv-as 'so many times'; Lith. karča-s may have also been originally a u-stem, from which we could then directly derive the form in dū kartū 'twice' seszis kartūs 'six times' and the like.

The largest group of tu-stems are the infinitives (supines), which were formed at will from any verb. The Lithuanian supines in -tu -tu (the quantity differs in different dialects), which should properly be written -tu (their final nasal is still kept in the compound form of the optative, e. g. 1. pl. sūktum-bime), and the Slavonic forms in -tū, are acc. sing.; cp. Lat. -tu-m. Lith. dū-tū O.C.S.L. da-tū 'to give', bū-tū by-tū 'to be', ėstū 'to devour jaštū 'to eat', jėsčkū-tū iska-tū 'to seek', sedē-tū sedė-tū 'to sit', ganij-tū goni-tū 'to tend, pasture'; cp. also Pruss. da-tun dā-ton 'to give' maila-tun 'to nourish' with other examples. In Old Church Slavonic there is a rare parallel form in -tu, (as by-tū), which may be regarded as gen. or loc., and Prussian has dative forms in -tvei, as dā-tvei.

IV. The Suffix -i- (-iē-).

§ 109. This suffix was used to form feminines in the proethnic and later periods. It served to differentiate the gender in the same way as ā beside o (§ 59 ff.). In this function it was a secondary suffix, since these feminines were derived from the masculine and neuter stem. When a feminine of this kind was formed from o-stems, the stem-final -o was dropped in exactly the same way as before the suffix -io-; e. g. Skr. eyk-ī 'she-wolf' the feminine of vfka-s 'wolf' (cp. § 63 p. 126, Rem. 8 p. 132). More rarely -ī has the appearance of a primary suffix.

as in Skr. śām-ī 'work' Gr. qe'ξa 'flight' (for *qrγ-īα); it cannot be shown with certainty that such primary feminine forms existed in the proethnic language.

It is difficult to determine what was the strong form of the suffix -ī- in the Indo-Saxonian paradigm. For though as a rule the classes of feminine nouns which contain the suffix are easily distinguished in the different languages, yet they show important differences in form which cannot have arisen simply and solely through the operation of phonetic laws. Indeed it is obvious that its declension has been influenced in very many ways by that of other stems. To me it seems most probable that -īē- (sometimes -īē-) was the form of the strong-grade in Indo-Semitic. Cp. -īē- -īē- -ī- in the optative, as in Lat. s-iē-s: s-iē-mus, and the masculine suffix -īe- -īo- -īe- -īo- -ī- -ī- (§ 63 p. 122 f.).

Remark 1. The following conclusions seem to me fairly probable. In proethnic Indo-Saxonian the nom. sing. ended in *-i; Gr. -ē was formed on the analogy of -ū; Lat. -ē-s Lith. -ė (beside -i) come from the extension of the form -ē- (-ē-) to all the cases. The acc. sing. ended sometimes in *-i-m (Skr. -i-m) sometimes in *-i-yas cp. the opt. pl. Lat. a-i-enti for *a-i-yā-s, I § 226 p. 198), from the latter we have Lat. -īem (māter-īem), Skr. -īym (str-īyam), Gr. -ē (nōr-ē), the Skr. and the Gr. form having -m -ā added on the analogy of the terminations -ā-m -ā-m etc. Similarly the acc. pl. generally, perhaps always ended in *-i-yas Skr. -īyas (str-īyas), Lat. -īs (māter-īs): in Gr. -i-yas is perhaps represented by -ēt, the by-form of -arēt -āt: before consonants the so-called Weak Cases with a case-suffix beginning in a consonant had -ī-, as loc. pl. *-i-nu (Skr. -i-nu). Elsewhere the form was -ē- or -ē-, e.g. gen. sing. *-(i)yās. This form of the suffix is regularly represented in Latin, Balto-Slavonic, and Aryan, Lat. māter-ē-, Lith. ėm-ē- for *ēm-ē- (I § 147 p. 121), O.C.Sl. ėm(ē)-i-; cp. ėm(ē)-i-ē for *ēm-ē-īs, I § 76 p. 66), Skr. viđīyā. The Ablaut is thus precisely parallel to that of the optative -ī-; e.g. Lat. rob-ē-s (gen. sing.): rob-ī-em: datr-ī-x = s-ī-s: s-ī-enti: s-ī-mus. In several languages confusion with the ē- stems led to the substitution of -(i)yās for -(i)yā: e.g. gen. sing. Gr. nōrēt-īs: nōrēt (this change was probably due in part to the influence of the heavier form of the acc., sing. and pl. -ē-ēt -ēt). O.Ir. Bhrōte (cp. Skr. bhātīya), Goth. madjōs beside nom. sing. nōmōn lūsēn, Bhrēt (Skr. bhōtā), mōt; so also Lith. marciūs beside mārti. Different views as to the form of the strong grade in this suffix have been maintained by Kliege, Paul-Ravenne's Beitr. VI 391 f., and by Osthoff, Zur Gesch. d. Pers. 338 f. -ī- was the regular form of the suffix when other suffixes were
added to it: e. g. Skr. pātī-ṛaut- 'accompanied by one's wife', Gr. πατ- 
φί- beside Dor. παντ-ηρ-; Ion. παντ-ηρ- 'citizen', Lat. victor-ix.

There was a confusion with the i-stems (§ 92 ff.) as well as with the ē-stems. Compare e. g. Skr. nār-i- and nār-i- 'woman' (see Benfey, Nachr. von der güt. Ges. d. Wiss. 1876 p. 644 ff., Lamman, Noun-Inflection p. 370), Gr. ἡγερί- (gen. ἡγερίς) 'female robber' beside γυτρε-ίσι 'girl who plays the guitar', Lat. uēpt-i-s beside O.H.G. uif (= Goth. *uif-t) Skr. nāpt-i-, snāde-i-s for *sγατ-μ-ι-ι-s beside Skr. snāde-i-, Skr. āti for Lith. duēt-s beside Gr. γυτικαί 'duck' for *sαρ-t. In these cases the i-declension was the older, but the converse change occurs in Sanskrit, stems in -i being inflected in the same way as these in -ī in order to mark their feminine gender, e. g. gen. sing. gātyās beside gātēs from nom. gāti-ι, nom. sing. bhūmi gen. sing. bhūmyās beside nom. bhūmi-ι (§ 97 p. 289), yuvāt beside yuvati-ι (§ 101 p. 307).

Finally these stems were confused with the inflexion of monosyllabic stems, such as Skr. dē- Gr. ι- in, which -i and -ī-alternated (nom. dēl-ι gen. dīhū-ι, Gr. ι-ιι- (ιι-ι)). Hence e. g. Skr. nom. nāpt-i-ι gen. nāpe-ιγ-αρ, Gr. ναπτ-ι γαρ-ις.

Remark 2. To this last remark I must add a corollary, lest it should be taken to imply the existence of a third i-suffix, -ī for -ii- in Indo-Germanic (-i- in all cases whose case-suffix began with a consonant, -ii- where it began with a sonant) in addition to -i (e.g.) and -i (e.g.). There would be just as much and just as little reason for supposing a parallel suffix -ii- on the strength of such forms as Skr. śvādū-ι śvādū-ις O.C.Sl. svēkry svēkrě-s Gr. σφύ-ις σφυ-ις. As a matter of fact it seems to me very probable that all these polysyllabic -i-ii-stems and -ii-ii-stems have simply abandoned their original inflexion in order to conform to the type of such monosyllabic stems as Skr. dē- Gr. ι-, Skr. dērū- Gr. τριτ-ι, in which -i and -ii- are part of the 'root' (cp. § 8 Rem. 1 and 2 p. 20 f.). This change of inflexion will call for further notice when we come to the formation of the cases.

§ 110. Differentiation (Motion or Feminine-formation) of u-stems (§ 108 ff.). Originally the no doubt nom. sing. was -us-i gen. sing. -us-ις (yet notice also Avest. vahhu-yd), loc. pl. -y-i-su. Skr. svāde-i Gr. ηδεία for *sδάδε-ια Lat. svāde-i-s, beside masc. Skr. svādū-ι Gr. ηδο-ις 'sweet'. Skr. gurū-i Gr. bapei 'gravis'. Skr. pṛthu-i Avest., pṛṣba-i Gr. πλατάεα 'broad, wide'. Skr. tanu-i Lat. tenu-i-s. In Germanic and Baltic post- 
caronantal ु was dropped before -i- (jī-): Goth. kauš-jō- 
'gravis' (acc. sing. kauřja nom. pl. kauřja) for *buro-jo- (cp. O.Icel. ylo-r I § 444 p. 329); Lith. saldiō- (gen. sing. saldiōs) for *saldy-jo-; on the analogy of which was formed the nom. 

saldi instead of *salde-i; Goth. hard-jō- 'hard' Lith. karcziō-
'bitter' (nom. karti) from masc. hard-us kart-ū-s. In this class of adjectives, the unextended form, without -ī, could also be used for the feminine; e.g. Skr. tanā-ś, Gr. ἡδως ἡδος (in Homer and elsewhere), Goth. kaiss-s (only -u-s is ever found in the nom. sing.). The nom. in -ī is found in Gothic in the subst. maivi 'girl' for *maguī-ī, beside the masc. magu-s; the analogy of the cases with this form of the stem, *ma(ŋ)u-ī gave rise to the gen. mawūs instead of *magīs.

Differentiation of n-stems (§ 112 ff.). Skr. takṣu-ī Gr. τέκνων (for *teknav-īa); Skr. takṣan- Gr. τέκνων 'worker in wood, carpenter'. Skr. rājī-ī from rājau- 'king'. O.Ir. rígann 'queen', whose ground-form was *regīn-ī. Skr. yūnī-ī from yūvan- 'young, young man' Lat. jūnī-x. We may probably infer from Skr. pātī Gr. πότης 'lady' and Gr. δέσποινα 'mistress' for *-nīnka (I § 488 p. 360), as compared with the masc. Skr. pātī-ī Gr. πόρος-ς, that -nī could be used as an independent suffix even in the protohistoric period.

Skr. sunī-ī from śvān- śūn- 'dog'. pañca-dāṁnī-ī from pañca-daman-. maghūn-ī from maghāvan- maghūn- 'giving bountifully, dispenser'. Avest. aśaon-ī from aśavan- aśaon- 'pure' (Skr. yṛdvaṃ- 'holy, pious'). With Skr. pātī-ī we should no doubt compare Skr. pālik-ī hárik-ī, beside pālīta- 'gray, hoary' hárita- 'tawny'(as to k for t, see the Author, Morph. Unt. Il. 198), pāruṣ-ī beside paruṣ-ā- 'knotty'.

Gr. yrthana from γείτων 'neighbour'. ἥρανταν, beside ἥραν-ν-ν, both from ἥρανων 'servant'; lévan from λέον 'lion' (these masculines were originally n-stems; see § 114, under Greek). -aun was taken into general use as an independent suffix, denoting female creatures: léva, kápra, ἀμφοτέρα, etc. Notice further φάγων 'voracity, ravenousness' beside φαγόν 'devourer'. ἀγκόν (Att.) beside ἀγῶν 'bend of the arm'; we should no doubt compare Hom. ἰπ-ἰγκον-ο-ς 'side-planks of a ship'.

Lat. jūnī-x, see above. cornī-x beside Gr. κορῶν-ν 'crow', ep. also Umbr. curn-ac-o 'cornicem'.

O.Ir. rígain 'queen': see above.

The Slavonic feminines in -ynji no doubt belong originally to this class (j has come in from the other cases, as acc. -ynja): bogynji ‘goddess’ blagynji ‘kindness’. They appear to have arisen through an analogical extension of the use of -n-i- (cp. the Author, Morph. Unt. II 200).

The original inflexion of these feminines was perhaps nom. sing. -en-i, gen. sing. -n-ies and -yn-ies loc. pl. -n-i-su.

perē-kle 'brood-hen' (see Kluge, Nom. Stammb. p. 24 and J. Schmidt, Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXV 29). They can also be explained as extensions of stems with the suffix -tro- -tlo- (§ 62 p. 118 ff.).

Differentiation of nt-stems (§ 125 ff.). It is certain that the feminine participles of non-thematic tenses which end in a consonant had -yat- in all their cases, e.g. *s-yat-ī f. 'being'; similarly the feminines of -uent-stems had -uyt-ī. On the other hand, we find -nt- throughout the paradigm in forms like Gr. ἁσσα γνώσα (from ἄμμι 'I blow' ἔγνων 'I perceived') ground-forms *φυ-nt-ī *γνό-nt-ī (for Skr. vātī, which seems to contradict this, see below). It is not clear how far there was any variation of ablaut in the elements immediately preceding the -t-suffix in the -o-nt- participles; but it is certain that -yat- sometimes appeared even here.

Skr. sat-ī Avest. hait-ī- Gr. Dor. ἁσσα Att. ὁδα O.C.Sl. saštī, beside masc. Skr. s-ānt- etc. 'being', indie. s. sing. Skr. ās-ī 'is'. Skr. ḫat-ī Avest. ber'zaitī-, O.Ir. Brígīt (O.Celt. Brigantiae dat. sing. with Latinised ending), from masc. Skr. ḫat-ānt- 'being great, exalted'. Skr. vānt-ī (vāt-ī Avest. vātī- is no doubt a re-formation following the analogy of sat-ī: sānt-am; see V. Henry, Revue Crit., 1887, p. 100), Gr. ἁσσα, beside masc. Skr. vā-nt- Gr. ἁσσα ἀναρ- 'blowing'. Skr. tu-dā-nt-ī and tudā-ī beside tudā-nt- 'tundens', Gr. ἁδὶσα beside ἀδον ἀδον- 'beholding'. Skr. bhāra-nt-ī Avest. bare-nt-ī Gr. χρονον O.C.Sl. berqští, beside bhāra-nt- Gr. χρονον χρον- O.C.Sl. bery 'ferens'. Goth. hullund-ī 'cave' ('covering, hiding'), frijōnd-ī 'female friend'; the participles which were in actual use as such had passed over to the in-declension, as bairandei gen. bairandeins. Lith. sukant-ī gen. sukanciūs from masc. sukās 'turning'. O.C.Sl. berqští, instead of *berqti, where š has forced its way in from the other cases, as gen. berqštic; in these -š- came regularly from -t- (I § 147 p. 132 f.).

-uyt-ī. Skr. ápavatī from ápavant- 'rich in water', Gr. ὀποιοσα from ὀποιο-υς ὀποιο-εχ- 'rich in sap'; in Greek -fer- appears
-i- (iē-) as a Suffix of Differentiation. § 110.

for ēra-, see § 127. Skr. sāras-vat-ī 'rich in water' f. Avest. harrāxvait- O.Pers. harrāvait-.

Differentiation of s-stems (§ 131 ff.).

-es-ī. Sk. rōdas-ī from rōdas- 'world', savas-ī f. 'the strong one' from sācas- 'strength'. Gr. Att. āvalidna 'shamelessness' ālēθidna 'truth' from ār-avēθi; ālēθidn. Lat. temper-īs from tempus.

The original forms of the part. perf. act. were doubtless nom. sing. -yes-ī gen. sing. -us-īes loc. pl. -us-ī-su. Skr. vīd-viṣ-ī Avest. vīd-viṣ-ī Gr. iō-vía, beside masc. Skr. vīd-vān Avest. vīd-vā Gr. iō-vō; 'knowing'. Similarly Lith. vilk-us-i O.C.Sl. vīlk-ūsi 'having drawn'. A feminine of this kind is implied in Goth. bēr-us-jōs 'parents' (those who have borne): on the model of the feminine (*usī -usjōs) was formed a masculine with -ja. It is natural to infer a nom. sing. -yes-ī from the Gr. (Dor. Att.) by-forms in -(f)ēa, as γεγον-ēa, ἔρησ-ēa: γεγον-ēa *γεγον-ν-ēa was levelled on the hand to γεγον-ēa -ες, on the other to γεγον-乙烯a γεγον-ν-ēa: (cp. § 136 Rem. 2).


§ 111. Of the words in which -i- appears to be a primary suffix, none show it in more than one language simultaneously. Examples are: Skr. śām-i 'work'. śac-i 'strength'.

Gr. φύτα 'flight' for *φυγ-λα. σχίτα 'wood split small, billet' for *σχύ-λα.

Lat. ac-iēs. scab-iē-s. spec-iē-s. prō-geniēs. di-luvā-s.

Lith. šinė 'knowledge'. srož-č 'stream'. rēk-č 'slice of bread'.

dšō-č 'hollow, pit'.

Many examples are doubtful, as Gr. ὀσσα 'rumour, prophecy'
The Suffixes in -\( \text{\textdollar}_\text{\textmu} \).

§ 111, 112. (beside \( \text{\textdollar}_\text{\textmu} \) 'voice, speech'), \( \text{o\textdollar}_\text{\textmu} \text{\textae} \) 'appropriate share, fate' (beside \( \text{o\textdollar}_\text{\textmu} \text{\texten} \) 'lot, fate'), Goth. \( \text{\textb\textdollar}_\text{\textmu} \text{\textae} \) 'bond, chain' (beside O.H.G. O.Sax. \( \text{\textb\textb\textmu} \) \( \text{\textmu} \) \( \text{\textmu} \) \( \text{\textmu} \) \text{\textmu} \) \text{\textmu} \) n. 'bond').

V. Suffixes in -\( \text{\textmu} \).

§ 112. The parent language had four suffixes ending in a nasal: -\( \text{\texten} \), -\( \text{\textian} \), -\( \text{\texten} \), -\( \text{\textmen} \). They have a good deal in common with -\( \text{o} \), -\( \text{\textian} \), -\( \text{\texten} \), -\( \text{\textmen} \), and it is not improbable that the forms -\( \text{\textian} \), -\( \text{\texten} \) and -\( \text{\textmen} \)--were formed in the proethic period merely by the addition of -\( \text{(e)}\text{\textmu} \) to such older suffixes.

This process of extension can be seen at work in the separate languages as well; and we must there regard it as a continuation, or renewal, of a tendency which first appeared in proethic times. Compare, for instance, the development of the \( \text{\textmu} \)-declension in Germanic.

The oldest point of contact between the four \( \text{\textmu} \)-suffixes and the corresponding \( \text{o} \)-suffixes is found in the representation of \( \text{\textmu} \)-stems by \( \text{o} \)-stems in compound words, which began in the proethic period;--e.g. Gr. \( \text{\textdollar}_\text{\textian} \text{\textmu\texten} \) and \( \text{\texten} \) \( \text{\textmu} \) \( \text{\textmu} \) \( \text{\textmu} \) \( \text{\textmu} \) \text{\textmu} \) \text{\textmu} \) \text{\textmu} \) beside \( \text{\texten} \)(\( \text{\texten} \) \( \text{\textmu} \) \( \text{\textmu} \) \( \text{\textmu} \) \text{\textmu} \) \text{\textmu} \) \text{\textmu} \) \text{\textmu} \); further examples are given in § 12 p. 26 f. This shows that there were even then many parallel stems in -\( \text{\textmu} \) and -\( \text{o} \) with no difference of meaning; for some reason or other the \( \text{o} \)-form of these words was preferred in composition, and by degrees this established a general rule for compounds


2) One form with \( \text{\textmu} \) is quite unique: *\( \text{\textdollar}_\text{\textmu} \text{\texten} \) - *\( \text{\texten} \) (Avest. \( \text{\texten} \) Lat. \( \text{\texten} \)), which, having due regard to Skr. \( \text{\texten} \) Gr. \( \text{\textmu} \) \( \text{\textmu} \), we ought apparently to divide *\( \text{\textdollar}_\text{\textmu} \text{\textmu} \) - *\( \text{\texten} \). I have attempted to explain this rare word in § 160, 2.
of -u-stems. Another principle of formation, exemplified in most of the languages in forms like Skr. aṣṭa-va-s beside aṣṭa-man-, Gr. xeμ-η beside xeμ-μον xeμ-μοιν, seems to have arisen in the proethnic period. Further in almost all the languages, in some of them very frequently, we find parallel forms in -a- and -o- each of which is completely declined, some of them indeed having a slight difference of meaning (to this point we shall return later on); e. g. Skr. vāk-riṇ- and vāk-riṇ- 'turning, rolling' (intr.), dhār-riṇ- and dhār-riṇ- 'law, ordinance', Gr. σφαζ-ευ 'squinting' and σφαζ-ος 'squinting', oφαυ-νον 'heavenly' and oφαυ-νος 'heavenly', ἐθελ-μον and ἐθελ-μον 'willing', Lat. in-cub-o and in-cub-us, lan-in-o and lan-in-us, alluvio and alluvium, Goth. sā rāunda 'the red one' and rāupa-s 'red', in-gard-ba 'member of a household' and in-gard-ba- 'in a house' (adj.), O.Fris. ëth-ma beside O.S. ëthom 'breath', O.C.Sl. ra-mc beside ra-mo 'shoulder'. And it often happens that the two forms do not appear in the same branches of the Indo-Germanic family; e. g. Goth. ga-juk-go 'companion' beside Lat. con-jug-um, Skr. dy-un- 'life, time of life' Gr. ai-(f)ωρ 'space of time, eternity' and Lat. ae-co-m, Gr. πωθ-μην 'ground, earth' and O.H.G. bodam 'ground'.

In Aryan, single cases of the -a-, -a-, -i-, -u-, -r- and -r- stems were transferred into the inflexion of the n-declension; e. g. Skr. nom. acc. neut. yugāni (from sing. yug-m 'yoke', on the analogy of nāman-i), gen. pl. Skr. dēvānām Avest. daevanām (Skr. dēdā-s 'god'). See J. Hanusz, Über das allmähliche Um-schreifen der n-Decension im Altindischen (Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad. d. Wiss. CX.), 1885. Similarly in West Germanic we have O.H.G. gen. pl. gehōno (from nom. sing. gebo f. 'gift').

The words formed with these suffixes are generally masculine or neuter, as Skr. tākṣa-m. 'carpenter' yāk-ān- n. liver.

A large group of feminines appears in Italic, Keltic, and Germanic consisting of abstract substantives formed with -jēn- (-iōn-); as Lat. cap-io men-tio, O.Ir. er-mitius 'honour', Goth. ga-rūn-jō 'flood of water' ra-bjō 'ratio'. It may be assumed that these n-stems, which represent a comparatively modern stratum of
formation, owe their feminine gender to their character of abstract nouns. And all the other feminine n-stems which appear in Germanic, are as such undoubtedly modern; they are due to a connexion which grew up between the Indo-Germanic suffixes -ōn- -jōn- -ān- and the Germanic feminine forms in -ō- -jō- (= lāg. -ā- -jā-) and -ār-, through the analogy of the relation between Germ. -on- -ān- on the one hand and Germ. -a- on the other. In many words, where the languages vary between masculine and feminine, the masculine is clearly the older; this is true of Skr. stāmān- 'boundary' (cp. § 117), Gr. κλών 'pillar', Lat. marīnī. In Skr. yōṣan- f. 'virgin' (beside yōṣa yōṣana) the gender was determined by the sex. In Skr. vṛṣāṇaḥ tṛāṣaṇa acc. 'streaming, raining cloud', Gr. ἀργιην ἀνεδίῳ 'aduntrix dea' ἐνίγγευν πέλαν 'timid dove', as in the case of Skr. tanāḥ Gr. ἡδονēς, we see the masculine form used unaltered in connexion with feminine words (§ 110 p. 335). And in other examples there are similar reasons for regarding the feminine gender as a modern development so that we may fairly assume that nouns formed with n-suffixes were originally only masculine and neuter. For the feminine there was the special form with -ār-, as Skr. tākā-ṇ-ār Gr. τάξα-ν-να, § 110 p. 335.

§ 113. From the earliest times the n-suffixes show a very complex variation of Ablaut. What are called the strong cases hād -en- -on- -ōn-, -jen- -jon- -jēn- -jōn- (-ijen- -ijon- etc.) and so forth; the weak cases -n- -y-, -in- (-in-) -iy- (-iyy-), -un- (-an-) -yy- (-yyyy-), -mun- -my-.

In the weak cases, the form of the suffix ending in a consonant preceded the case- endings beginning with a sonant, e. g. Skr. gen. sing. tākā-ṇ-as 'of the carpenter' nā-mu-as 'of the name'; and conversely the form ending in a sonant preceded the case- endings beginning with a consonant, e. g. loc. pl. tāksā-ṣa nd-ma-ṣu (-a- -ma- for -u- -my-). Originally also the weak form of the suffix was regular in all extensions of the stem, e. g. tākā-ṇ-ār fem. of tākṣoṇ- (§ 110 p. 335), yuva-ṣā-ṣ 'youthful' from yuva-ṇ- 'young' (§ 83 p. 251), ūrā-ma-ta-m 'hearing' beside Avest. uṣa-ma-ṇ- 'hearing' (§ 82 p. 249). This deserves especial
notice, because in several languages the weak forms of the suffix were banished from the actual declension by lovelling and other kinds of re-formation, so that it is only in derivatives that we have any evidence to show that such forms over existed in the paradigm. Thus we have e.g. Gr. γείων-ια 'neighbourhood' beside γιώ-ων -χ-ως, πτ-(F)αλμο χο 'I make fat' for *-χμ-ιά- beside πτ-(F)αλ (F)ον-ος, ποι-μ-η ποι-μ-ον-ον 'herd' ποι-μαινιον 'I pasture' beside ποι-μ-ν-ρ -μ-ν-ος, Lat. jā-n-ī-x beside jāv-en- (jāv-en-is jāv-en-un-um etc.), colu-ma beside colu-men -min-is, O.H.G. -birn 'she-bear' beside ber-o-in 'bear', hliu-mun-t 'call' beside Goth. hliu-ma -min-s 'hearing', Lith. ėl-n-i-s 'stag, elk' beside O.C.Sl. jelen- (gen. sing. jelen-e) 'stag'.

It is more difficult to determine how the strong forms of the suffix were originally distributed. The following points may be regarded as certain.

1. The nom. sing. masc. (fem.) ended sometimes in -ō(n), and sometimes in -ē(n), cp. Armen. սուŋ Gr. νί-ων πτ-(F)ον աx-μար, Lat. ed-ī men-tiō ter-mō O.Ir. ca er-mi-tiu brithem Gall. casa-mo, O.H.G. egg-o skē-mo, Lith. szū for *szukā ak-muā O.C.Sl. ka-my and Gr. αυχ-ηρ ποι-μ-ν-ν, Lat. li-en, O.Icel. õx-e uk-e (Skr. ukṣ-d) ski-me.

2. The nom. acc. neut. had -ō(n) and -ē(n) beside -p -p, cp. Goth. vat-ō na-mō hare-ēn-ā, Lith. vand-ā (originally neut.) and O.C.Sl. ë-me (cp. Avest. na-man Skr. nd-mān-ī).


Further the following assumptions seem to me probable.

1. A certain proportion of the masculine stems had -ōn-in acc. sing. and nom. du. pl., cp. Gr. τέξ-σ-ον-α πτ-(F)ον-α աx-μον-α, Gall. Ling-ōn-es (nom. pl.), Goth. ak-ān ak-man, Skr. tākṣ-ām-ām ās-man-am. The variation between e and o in these
cases, like that between ṣ and ṣ in the nom. sing., depended upon the different position of the accent in the word; we have e. g. nom. pl. -en-es and -on-es like nom. sing. -ṇ(n) and - ṣṇ(n), cp. Gr. ṣο-ι-ρ-ς; ṣο-ί-ρ as contrasted with ṣ-σο-ο-ρ-ς; ṣ-σο-ο-ων. Cp. I § 311 p. 248 f.

2. The loc. sing. always ended in -en or -en-ι, even where the strong cases had -on-. Notice especially the Goth. loc. ah-in ah-min contrasted with acc. ah-an ah-man, as Skr. rāj-an-ι: rāj-an-am. Compare also Gr. αἰ(f)ον αἰ(f)οιρ.

In certain instances, the ṣ (and ṣ?) which appear in the European languages in other cases than the nom. sing. masc. and the nom. acc. sing. and pl. neut., had perhaps encroached upon the province of the other forms of ablaut before the end of the preethnic period (should we regard this as a dialectic variation in the parent language?); cp. e. g. acc. sing. (Gr. ἁρπαρ-τον-α, Lat. libell-ιον-em rat-ιον-em, Goth. gu-rum-fón ra-þjón, O.C.Sl. nom. pl. graždan-e for *gord-jan-e(s). Yet this form of the stem cannot have spread through the whole case-system, as we see from such forms as Umbr. abl. tribris-in-e nα-tin-e, O.Ir. dat. er-mil-in.

We should compare with this the ablaut of the -er- and -ter-stems, which is on the whole parallel; see § 120.

Remark. For different views as to the strong forms see Collitz, Beeskenberger’s Beitr. X 1 ff., and the authorities there cited. It is perhaps not superfluous to insist here that even if Collitz should be right in supposing the existence of Indo-Germanic locatives in -ον(-ι) (cp. Gr. ἰον), this would not be an argument against the hypothesis that in open syllables ἱδ. Ị became ṣ in Aryan. For the ἱ-stems had originally locatives without ἱ, and e. g. Skr. loc. kar-man can be derived as regularly from original *-mon as from original *-men.

§ 114. The Suffix -en-. This was used from the earliest period to form primary nomina agentis, as Skr. tukṣ-an- Gr. τικτ-ον ‘carpenter, worker in wood, architect’. The root-syllable is usually in the weak grade, but the accent varies between the suffix and the root; cp. Skr. ukṣ-ān- beside ὑψ-αν-, Gr. ἡπ-ὴν (πολύ-φην) gen. ἄρ-ν-ς and φην-οίρ ‘jawbone’ beside ἵπ-ην and στραβ-ον, Germ. *tusk-en- beside *tűx-en- (O.H.G.
heri-zogo and heri-zoho), *rub-én- (O.Icel. eit-rofe) beside *ris-
en- (O.H.G. betti-riso). Cp. Kauffmann, Paul-Braune’s Beitr. XII 544. The -en-stems were substantives when there were adjectives in -o- parallel to them, and hence in some groups of languages, particularly in Germanic, this suffix acquired the function of forming substantives from any given adjective: it had the effect of specialising the idea conveyed by the adjective, by applying it to some one person or thing that possessed the particular quality in an exceptional degree. Hence it is often found in personal names, whether they were formed from a noun consisting of a single stem, or obtained by abbreviation from a compound consisting of two stems (cp. § 18 p. 34 and Osthoff, Forsch. auf dem Geb. der Idg. Nominalstammbildung, II 50 f.). Thus Gr. αράφ-ös 'squinting': αράφ-ow 'squinter', Σραφ-ow proper name, Lat. multi-bib-ú-s : bibú, ruf-
u-s : Räf-ö, Goth. rág-ös 'red': rúad-a 'the red one', Lith. rūd-a-s 'reddish brown': rūd-ú m. 'autumn'. Thus -en- came to be used as a secondary suffix, as Avest. mar²-tam- 'mortal' (subst.) beside mar²-ta- 'mortal', Gr. τρίγ-ων- πέλμα beside Τρίγ-ό-ς 'timorous, shy', Lat. Ca-t-ö beside ca-tu-s. Cp. further Lat. hom-ö Goth. gum-a O.Lith. žm-ū 'human being, man', properly 'the earthly one', beside Skr. क्षण- jm- Avest. z'm- Gr. χόωr Lat. hum-ú-s, Gr. yárg-ow 'glutton' from ναύς-η 'belly', Lat. cachinn-ö from cachinnus-s, capít-ö Capit-ö 'from caput. Goth. váirsto-a 'worker' from váirste 'work'.

Almost all the neuter forms containing -en- denoted some part of the body (cp. § 57 p. 105). In some of them, as we shall see -en- was a secondary suffix.

makes to stream, rains'. *ķu-en-*kuy-en- (*ku-n-*kyu-y-*kuy-y-) 'dog' (according to Benfey 'that which produces young often and in great numbers' compared with Gr. xi-os 'fetus' Skr. ši-sū-ś 'young creature'): Skr. sva-án- svu-án- (acc. sing. svu-án-am gen. sing. sva-na-ś loc. pl. svu-a-su), Armen. šun gen. šan (I § 405 p. 301), Gr. xi-on (voc. xi-on gen. xw-óç), O.Ir. cē (gen. con), Lith. szū (gen. szu-ū-s). Avest. spas-an- 'watchman' O.I.G. speho 'spy', √spek-. Lat. ed-o (-ōn-is), O.I.G. eg-o 'devourer', √edere. Lat. as-sedo conc-sedo (-ōn-is), O.I.G. ana-segeo 'assessor' O.Icel. drætt-sete 'lord high steward', √sed-. Denominatives. hom-ō (-ōn-is -in-is) Goth. gum-a O.Lith. ūm-a1) 'human being, man', see above. Gr. ζυγ-ων-ς (= Att. *ζυγ-ων-ς) bowl ζυγάκι. Αλκυων Hesych., Goth. ga-juka 'comparison', beside ζυγόν juk 'yoke'. In some Indo-Germanic words in which -en- is primary there is no trace of any original use as nomen agentis. *jum-en- *jum-a- *jum-s- 'young, young man': Skr. yuv-am- (acc. sing. yuva-am-am gen. sing. yud-n-as loc. pl. yuv-a-su), Lat. juv-am- (-en-is), ep. also the form *jum-s- which is more widely used, § 83 p. 251; the word is no doubt connected with the Lith. jau O.C.Sl. ju 'already' see § 66 ad fin. p. 1492). Skr. ās-an- 'stone, sling-stone', Gr. ἄκ-ων (-ον-ς, by a change of declension, see p. 350) 'javelin', ep. also Gr. ἄκ-ων-η 'whetstone' and ἄκ-ών-ν 'point, thorn'. Skr. mardh-ān- m. A.S. mold-a m. 'head' (ground-form *maldh-en- *maldh-en-, ep. also I § 306 p. 243). Skr. plih-ān- phih-an- phih-an- Lat. li-en (-ēnīs) 'spleen' are among the neuter words which denote parts of the body.

Neuter, Skr. ud-ān-, Goth. vat-ō, Lith. vand-ā and uad-ā (which have become masc.), Gr. δυ-τo- with a = υ (nom. δυ-το), 'water'. Skr. adh-an- (nom. adh-av) Gr. οἰθ-α-το- (nom. oith-av) 'udder'. Skr. yāk-ān- (nom. yāk-av) Lat. jec-in- (in

1) ūm-ō is 'wife' and ūm-ūnīs 'human beings' are not parallel to this but contain the suffix of the Latin hom-inus (cp. § 160).

2) I see little probability in Danielsson's assumption (Gramm. and etymol. Stud. I 49) that the word is merely an ablaut-variant of Gr. o(f)όρ Skr. āgān-.
The Suffix -au-

jecin-or-is etc., the -or- having forced its way in from the nom. jec-ur, cp. also I § 431 c. p. 321) Lith. jeku- os f. pl. 'liver'. -en- was secondary in the word for head: Skr. śrī-au- n. Gr. xáqā n. for *xaqū-a (-ē = -y), āmqī-xqēvo-ς 'two-headed' for *xaqō-ω, xáqēvo-ν 'head' for *xaqū-ω-ν (cp. the Author, Morph. Unt. II 173 f. 227 ff., Solmsen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 69, Danielsson, Gramm. und etymolog. Stud. I. 1888, p. 40 ff.) Lat. cernuo-s for *cers-n-u-o-s, O.Icel. hjars-e m. 'head'; the words contain a neuter stem *kērs-es- (*kēr-es- *kēr-es-), cp. Skr. śrīsa-Av. sar-aḥ- 'head' Lat. cerebrum-m for *ccres-v- (I § 570 p. 428) and below § 134. In like manner, Gr. očaro- n. for *oys-ω-to-Goth. āus-ō n. 'ear' no doubt implies a neuter -es-stem, which appears in Greek in the nom. oč Dor. oč, if this represents *oys-os and not *oys-ōs (O.CSl. ouch-o) (J. Waackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 141, Solmsen ibid. 92). Skr. akś-du- Armen. ak-n Goth. āng-ō (cp. I § 444 Rem. 3, p. 331) 'eye', O.CSl. ok-n-o n. 'window'. For the use of -i-stems to supplement these neutrals in -en- as Skr. akś-i gen. akś-u-ās, see § 93 p. 279. For the nominatives in r, like Skr. adh-ār, see § 118.

If the Greek infinitives in -ai- (Dor. Iasb. yr), like qēsnw 'to bear, are to be derived from *-esnv (which is more in accordance with known phonetic laws than to assume they came from *-es-fev), we may infer an Indo-Germanic inf. in *-ai *s-en-i, which was loc. sing. Compare the Skr. inf. in *-s-an-i, as nē-ēs-dīp-i from nē- 'head', gi-ṣi-ēs-dīp-i beside gīr- (pres. gi-ūd-mi) 'praise'.

Aryan. Masculines (and the few Feminines that occur are rare in Aryan as compared with the classical languages. Celtic and Germanic. Skr. tākś-ān- 'carpenter' Avest. tuš-ān-

1) The ś of Skr. nīkś-ān- presents certain difficulties. It has been assumed that this is also an extension of an -ai-stem (cp. O.CSl. očo gen. očes-e); but this theory is not supported by Avest. awi- = Skr. əkśi- (cp. I § 401 with Rem. 1 p. 298 f., § 556, 1 p. 411: it must be admitted however that š is sometimes written for awi, see Bartholomae, Handbuch § 100 Rem. 2 p. 48) nor by Gr. Boeot. atrallo-ς 'eye' (cp. I § 554 p. 405). Compare also I § 427 Rem. 2 p. 314.
The Suffix -en.


In Avestic there are a few examples of -en- in secondary use: mar't-an- beside mar'ta- 'mortalis'. puḥr-an- 'father of a family' beside puḥra- 'son'. viš-an- 'member of a clan' beside viš- 'clan'. hazanah-an- 'robber' beside hazah- 'deed of violence'. Forms like these originally existed in Sanskrit, but they were driven out by the forms in -in-, see § 115.

Remark 1. In Sanskrit, the nom. sing. in -ā sometimes led to a transference to the -ā-declension; e.g. pūḥ-ā f. beside pūḥ-an-. Cp. -mā § 117 Rem. 2, -tā § 122 Rem. 1, and Gr. Ion. xóγ, which in the oldest period was neuter (see p. 347 above), but appears later as feminine (gen. xág; etc.).

Neuters. Skr. ud-an- ádh-an- and other words; see above, p. 346. Skr. mah-an- 'size': compare no doubt Gr. μέγ-α 'magnum', which must be a substantive used adjectivally (μέγας μέγας are later forms). dádh-an- 'sour milk' (nom. dádhi): cp. Pruss. dadan 'milk' (an a-stem?). asth-an- 'bone' (ástiti), sakth-an- 'thigh' (sákthi), ás-an- 'mouth', dōg-an- 'fore-arm', cákšan-eye (cp. akš-an-). áh-an- 'day' (nom. dhar), gumbh-an- 'depth'. Avest. ay-an- 'day' (beside ay-ar), násh-an- 'nose'.

For the Sanskrit infinitives in -s-an-i, see p. 347 above. Armenian. ար of the man' (Avest. ar∂-n), see p. 345 above. śun, gen. šan, 'dog', see p. 346 above. akan, gen. aken,

1) The assumption of a nom. sing. kr̥ṣā in Vedic (stems kr̥ṣ-h-an-), from kr̥ṣa- 'working, active', is based upon a wrong view of the particular passages where the word occurs.
'eye', see p. 347 above. *ga-rn, gen. *ga-rin, 'Lamb' for *glyr-en-. Skr. ár-um-a-s 'ram' (transferred to the o-declension), Gr. Ἰρ-ην in πολι-ρην 'rich in sheep' nom. áρην gen. áρ-ος etc. 'ram' (I § 200 p. 232, § 201 p. 233). *el-in, gen. *el-in, 'stag'; O.C.Sl. jel-en- (gen. jelen-e) 'stag'; it is also found in the extended forms Gr. ιλ-α-γαν- 'stag' ἤλλοι- young stag for *ιλ-α-ος- (I § 204 p. 170 f., II § 78 p. 216), Mod.Cymr. elain 'hind', Lith. él-ų-i-s, gen. élnio, 'stag, elk'.

Greek. The masculine (rarely feminine) -en-stems are numerous. Through the generalisation of certain forms of the suffix five types of inflexion arose: áρ-ν- 'ram' (acc. áρ-ν-α gen. áρ-ν-ος) 1); áó-ν- 'gland' áóο-ν- 'male' (áó-ν-α -άν-ος, áóο-συ- -συ-ν-ος); áνδ-άν- 'nightingale' τέκτ-ον- 'carpenter' (άνδ-άν-α -άν-ος, τέκτ-ον-α -όν-ος); πένθ-ήν- 'inquirer' (πένθ-ήν-α -ήν-ος); áγ-όν- 'struggle' κλέδ-ον- 'wave' (άγ-όν- α -όν-ος, κλέδ-ον- α -όν-ος). No difference of function however was attached to these different forms of the suffix.

Nomina agentis. τέκτ-ον, ἀρσ-ν-ν, κλέδ-ν, see above p. 345 f. áρηγ-ν-ν (-άν-) 'helping, helper'. τυβιδ-ν-ν (-όν-) 'liar, slanderer'. φυγ-ν-ν (-όν-) 'jawbone' (φυγ-έν to eat'). τρυγ-ν-ν (-όν-) f. 'turtle-dove' (τρυγίνν 'to coo'). κραγγ-ν-ν (-όν-) f. 'jay' (κράγειν 'I cry'). αὔθ-ν-ν (άν-ν and -όν-) 'burning'. στράβ-ν-ν (άν-ν) 'squinter'. γνφ-ν-ν (άν-ν) 'niggard'. στιμίν-ν or στικίν-ν (άν-ν) 'staff' (στικίν-ν 'I support'). κραγγ-ν-ν (-όν-) 'cryer, wood-pecker'. πέθ-ήν (-ήν) 'inquirer'. Often it is used as a denominative suffix, denoting one who stands in some special relation to what is denoted by the original word. τογήνων (-όν-) epithet of the dove, 'little trembler' beside τογ-ε-ν- 'timorous'. πόρδ-ν-ν (άν-ν) 'pêdiloe', besides πορδ-ν- 'pêdilium'. κλίδων (άν-) 'workman who purifies metals from the dross', beside κλίδοι 'dross'. δρόμ-ν-ν (άν-) 'runner', term applied to a light kind of ship and a kind of lobster, besides δρομ-ν- 'course'. γάτεν-ν (άν-) 'glutton', besides γατέν 'paunch'. γνάθ-ν-ν (άν-) 'thick-cheek, puff-cheek', beside

1) The nom. áρησ occurs in an Att. inscr. earlier than 450 B. C., C.I.A. I 4, 22.
γυάδος-ς 'check'. qύσκ-ων (-ων-) 'fat-paunch, pot-belly', beside qύσκη 'stomach, great-gut'. We should add a number of personal names, such as Στραβ-ον (στραβόν, στραβό-ς), Χρέμ-ον (cp. O.H.G. Grimo), Ἀγάθ-ον (ἀγαθός), Φίλ-ον (φίλος), Δράμ-ον (δράμων, δράμος), Λέκ-ον (cp. O.I.L.i. Wolfo).

Other -en-stems are more isolated, and it is not clear how they are to be connected with the different uses of the suffix which we can trace in the parent language. Acc. πῦκ-ν-α gen. πῦκ-ν-ός (nom. πῦς is a new formation) a place of public assembly in Athens (cp. the Author, Morph. Unt. II 169). τέφ-ην (τέν-) 'tender'. αἰχ-ην (-ην) 'neck'. εἰκ-ων (-ων) 'image'. σταγ-ν-όν (-όν) f. 'drop'. πυγ-ων (όν-) f. 'length of an ell'. ἀγ-ίον (-ϊω-) 'contest'. κλῦδ-ων (-ων) 'wave, billow'. λειχ-ην (-ην) 'scar, eruption'.

In consequence of the similar termination of the nom. -ων, stems of this kind sometimes followed the inflexion of stems in -ον-, πῦκ-ων, see above, p. 346. Ἑράπ-ον (-ον-) 'servant beside Ἑράπ-ν-η Ἑράπ-ανα 'maid-servant'. λέων (-ον-) 'lion' beside λεό-παρδος-ς 'leopard' (like αἰμο-βαφῆς αἰμο-θετο-ν § 112 p. 340), λέονα 'lionsess' and Lat. leōs (-όν-). Cp. the Author, Morph. Unt. II 168 f. 197.

The neuters were associated with the neuter stems in -μεν- and -μεν- and all alike underwent a change of inflexion due originally to their extension by the suffix -το-. See § 82 p. 250. κάρα 'head' for *καρά-α gen. κρα-τός, κρή-δεμνο-ν 'head-band'; ὕδ-α-τος, nom. ὕδωρ 'water'; οὐ-θ-α-τος, nom. οὐθ-αρ 'udder'; ῥη-α-τος, nom. ῥη-αρ 'liver'; οὖ-α-τος οὖ-τός, nom. οἱς 'ear'; see p. 347 above. ἀλειφ-α (also ἀλειφ-αρ), gen. -α-τος, 'oil for anointing', like Lat. ungū-en.

Infinitives in -εν for -εν-; for these forms see above, p. 347. It is possible, but it can hardly be proved, that the Doric infinitives like φέρεν are the locatives of an abstract root-noun in -εν- (ἀγ-εν for instance, beside ἀγ-όν, as ai-(f)ίν beside ai-(f)όν, § 116).

Italic. Masculine (rarely feminine) -en-stems are numerous. Lat car-ū car-ν-ις f., Umbr. kar-υ 'pars' kar-n-e 'carne
The Suffix -en-

carni' Osc. car-n-eis 'partis', beside Umbr. car-tu 'dividito, distribuito': O.Ir. car-n-a 'flesh'. Lat. hom-n -ōn-is and -in-is, Umbr. hom-on-us (ā) 'hominibus' Osc. humuns (ā) nom. 'homines'; Goth. gum-a etc., see p. 346. Umbr. abr-un-u (ā) 'aprum' (like Lat. burnō beside burnu-s and the like); ep. Lat. aprun-
culn-s. Osc. svorrun-či (ā) dat. sing. the title of a magistrate.

If we except carō 1), the different forms of the suffix were levelled in Latin in such a way that all the cases but the nom. sing. had either -en- -in- or -ōn-. -en- is found only in juven-, but there it is not phonetically regular, see I § 65 Rem. 3 p. 53.

We cannot determine how far Lat. -in- represents Idg. -en- or Idg. -on- respectively.

In Latin it forms primary nomina agentis, all with -ōn-
ed-ō ed-ōn-is, as-sedō, see p. 346 above. in-cub-ō: O.I.I.G. hūf-ō 'heap'. ger-ō. vol-ō. bib-ō. rap-ō. mand-ō. err-ō. -ōn- is also found in denominatives, some of which are also nomina agentis, while some denote persons or things which stand in some other special relation to the thing denoted by the original word; such formations were suggested by groups of words like cachinnō beside cachinnāre cachinnu-s, fabulō beside fabulāri fabula and others. Examples are: gerr-ō from gerrae. simpul-ō from simpulu-m. mer-ō from meru-m. lintu-ō from linteu-m. nebulō from nebula. bucc-ō from bucca. cox-ō from coxa. petr-ō from petru. strig-ō from striga. The same -ōn- forms many personal names, as Capit-ō from cáput, Nās-ō from nāsu-s, Cat-ō from catu-s, Rāf-ō from rāfu-s. The following nouns denoting inanimate objects are nearly related to these appellatives: pīsō (-ōn- in oblique cases and so in all these words) 'mortar' (pīsēsere), runc-ō 'hoe' (runcāre), sabul-ō 'coarse sand' from sabulu-m, pēr-ō 'a boot rather too loose at the top' from pēra (cp. O.I.I.G. gēro from ġer and the like p. 354); and no doubt pont-ō 'pontoon' from pōnes. — In hom-ō -ōn- gave way to -in-, when the consciousness of its original meaning (see p. 346) had died out.

1) Cp. also cor-n- in cor-n-īx beside Umbr. cwr-n-ac-ō 'cornicem' Gr. nōr-ōr-ν 'crow'.
Other -en-stems are more isolated in point of meaning. jw-en- (nom. jw-en-i-s, see § 93 p. 281), cp. jw-en-cu-s Umbr. iweygar pl. iuwegalac' § 83 p. 251, jw-en-tu § 80 p. 239, jw-ni-x § 110 p. 335: Skr. yjw-un- etc., see p. 346. pect-en (-in-), li-en (-ên-) (Skr. plth-un-, p. 346), perhaps the Idg. nom. ended in *-ên; cp. also sanguen, the older nom. of sangu-in-is etc., afterwards replaced by *sanguin-s, whence sanguis. turbô (-in-), ordô (-in-). Some few were feminine, as uspersgô (-in-), com-pâgô (-in-), grandô (-in-, also m.), margo (-in-, also m.), tarbô (-in-).

Lastly, there are some masculines formed with -ôn-, which may or may not be connected with the class of -ôn- forms just discussed, as cûdô, carbô, truô.

Neuters. ungu-en (-in-) Umbr. um-en 'unguen' (umen is otherwise explained by Pauli, Alttal. Stud. V 102 f.): O.Ir. imb imm, gen. imne (stem imb-en-) n., O.H.G. anch-o m. (no doubt originally neuter) 'butter'. ingu-en (-in-): Gr. âd-ýv gen. âdýv-ôc 'gland', common ground-form *pg-en-, cp. also O.Icel. okk-r 'swelling'. pollen (-in-), originally *pol-en *pol-n-is; see I § 208 p. 175. jecur *jecin-is produced the form jecin-or-is; see above, p. 346 f.

Old Irish. The masculines (and the rarer feminines) have partly -on- (Gall. Lingon-es, Senon-es and the like), partly -ôn-. We do not find any thing like a large group of nomina agentis.


The following have pr. Celt. -ôn-, nom. sing. in *-ôn-s (cp. Osc. -ief -if, § 115 Rem. p. 360). ar-u (pl. arain) 'kidney' is no doubt to be compared with Lat. Praenest. nfrôn-es Lanuv. nebr-un-din-ès, O.H.G. nior-o (pr. Germ. *njôr-en-) 'kidney', even though the form of the root-syllable in Celtic (Mod.Cymr. eirin) is difficult to explain. lecc-o 'cheek', id-u 'pangs of travail'.
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†iad-n 'witness'. lach-n 'duck'. An-n 'mater deorum Hibernensis'. Many of the substantives of this group were feminine; but I do not know how far the gender has been ascertained in particular instances.

It is not probable that ing-e 'nail' (gen. ingen) is a formation of the same sort as men-me 'men' (gen. menman) for *men-s (§ 117).

Remark 2. "It can scarcely be maintained that the word for 'nail' in O.Ir. was an n-stem. In any case Stokes' paradigm [Bezzenb. Beitr. XI 92] does not agree with the facts in Old Irish. The following is much more likely; — Insular Celt. *ingisnāb Cymr. ein f., O.Ir. nom. ingen, a gloss to 'ungula' (hitherto taken as gen. sing.), dat. igin, dat. pl. inginīb for *inginaid. In Mid.Ir. the word was declined, though not entirely, as an n-stem. The nom. sing. was inga inge just as pern = O.Ir. pernas (personae). For the nom. pl. we still have ingen, which is regularly developed from *ingina, but cannot be satisfactorily explained as any * of the n-inflection". Thurneysen.

Neut. imb 'butter': Lat. ungu-en etc., see above p. 352.

Germanic. Here the -en-suffix attained its widest use in a mass of new formations. Its fertility is especially remarkable in the class of nomina agentis and the nouns connected with them, in which -en- appears as a secondary suffix with what may be called an 'individualising' function, i.e. that of converting adjectives into substantives. Any adjective could be so converted by adding -en- to its stem. These derived forms were brought into close syntactical connexion with the definite article (demonstrative-stem *to-), and so arose what is known as the 'weak' declension of adjectives. Further Idg. and Germ. -on- was associated with Germ. -ō- (Idg. -ā-) on the analogy of the relation between Germ. -an- and -ā-, and so a weak declension was developed for the adjectival a-stems parallel to that of the o-stems.


The following are substantives formed from adjectives: (Goth. liuta 'hypocrite' from liut-s 'hypocritical', veiha 'priest' from veih-s 'holy', O.H.G. wizago 'soothsayer' from wîzag 'marking, surmising', and others.

Through the popularity of the -en-declension substantival o-stems denoting persons were sometimes made into -en-stems without any alteration of meaning, e.g. Goth. sveithra beside O.H.G. sveithur Skr. svâsura-s Gr. ἵφιος 'father-in-law'.

We find another class of denominatives, akin to those already discussed, denoting objects of the same shape or form as the thing described by the original substantive (cp. Lat. sabulô, pêrô' p. 351). O.H.G. ger-o O.Icel. geir-e 'wedge-shaped piece, instrument, or territory', from ger 'spear'. A.S. mæð-a

The most numerous of the remaining substantives are the abstract nouns and the names for parts of the body. Abstract nouns: Goth. ah-a 'thought, understanding', ga-tair-a 'cleft', O. H. G. scad-o O. Icel. skad-e 'harm', O. H. G. nuerz-o 'pain', gi-seho 'joy'; add also some words in -ón- (f.), as Goth. lnb-ó 'love', brunn-ó 'fever', O. Icel. tak-ó 'taking in, assumption'. One or two of the names for parts of the body are prothetic: A. S. mold-ó 'head' see p. 346, O. Icel. hjars-e 'head' see p. 347, O. H. G. nieor-o (O. Icel. nyr-a n.) 'kidney'; see p. 352. With these, others were associated: Goth. lóf-a 'flat of the hand', O. H. G. nabol-o O. Icel. naf-e 'navel', O. H. G. dún-o (cp. § 72 p. 171). Also feminine forms in -ón- as O. H. G. gall-á 'gall' (on the other hand A. S. gealla is m.), Goth. tugg-ó O. H. G. zung-a O. Icel. tung-a 'tongue', O. H. G. zkh-a 'toe'.

Feminine. The original stems in -ón- were associated in Germanic with those in -a-, not so intimately indeed as were the -iôn-stems, but closely enough to be attracted into the feminine gender, though we must observe that some of the abstract nouns in -ón-, like those in -iôn-, may have been feminine before they passed into Germanic. On their analogy feminines in -ón- were formed at will from the masculine -en-stems which denoted living beings. O. H. G. waga-zo-ba 'nutrix' from -zo-ho -zogo. O. Icel. kveld-rida 'noctivaga, strix' from -ride. Goth. ga-raemó 'neighbour (f.)' from ga-reyna. O. H. G. gi-makha 'wife' from gi-makhho. O. H. G. híca 'wife' from híco. O. H. G. wízaga 'soothsayer (f.)' from wízagó. Goth. svaithró 'mother-in-law' from svaithra. Goth. qinó O. Icel. kona 'woman' contrasted with Gr. γυνή, Goth. viduó 'widow' contrasted with Lat. vidua. As an example of the weak adjectives we may take Goth. blind-ó beside masc. blind-a 'caecus'.

23*
Neuters, in the genitive and other cases always with -en-. Goth. eatō 'water', Goth. āusō O.H.G. Ȝr-a 'car', Goth. ūugō O.H.G. ūng-a 'eye', see above p. 347. Goth. haurtō O.H.G. herz-a 'heart'. O.H.G. wangi-a 'cheek', O.Icel. nyr-a 'kidney' beside O.H.G. m. niro-o (on the other hand O.Icel. hjars-e m. beside Skr. y, śirś-ān-, cp. also O.H.G. anchō-o m. 'butter' beside Lat. ungu-en n. O.Ir. imb u.). Along with these names for parts of the body we find a few other substantives, as Goth. þairkō 'hole', ángu-duárō 'window' and kaużnō 'corn' (a derivative of kaurn, parallel to masculines like O.H.G. gēr-o and to feminines like O.H.G. bart-a p. 354 f.). In the weak adjectives: Goth. blindō beside masc. blind-a.

Balto-Slavonic. Here the -en-stems are rare; a large part of them have fallen out of the n-declension through various processes of re-formation. Generally the suffix appears in the form -en- in all cases except the nom. sing.

Lith. el-n- in ėl-n-s 'stag, elk' O.CSl. jelen- m. (nom. jelen-i) 'stag': Armen. eln etc., see p. 349 above. Lith. sűrš-ā m. O.CSl. ssūs-ėn-ā m. 'horse-fly, hornet', common ground-form *sūs-en-: cp. O.H.G. horng 'hornet' pr. Germ. *zurz-nataz (I § 303 p. 240). From an original *dei-en- (*diē-en- *dī-en-) *dī-n- (*dei-n-) 'day' were developed Lith. f. dē-n-ā Pruss. acc. dei-n-a-n O.CSl. gen. dē-n-e (nom. dē-nē m.): cp. Skr. dīn-a-m Lat. nūn-dinae (J. Schmidt, Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXV 23).

Lith. sza (aus *sya-ā, I § 184 p. 160), gen. szu-n-s acc. szu-n-i, m. 'dog', also szu-n-s m.: Skr. šv-ā etc., see p. 346 above. rūd-ā m. 'autumn' beside rūd-ā-s 'reddish-brown': cp. Lat. Rūf-ō Goth. rauđ-a, see p. 345 above. We have an old neuter in vand-ā m. 'water' (Lett. ūd-eń-s): Skr. ud-ā́n- etc., see above p. 346.

O.CSl. stepp-en- m. 'step', kor-en- m. 'root', nom. steπen-ā koren-i. vod-ā f. 'water' (inflected as an a-stem) perhaps comes from an Indo-Germanic nominative in -ō.
§ 115. The Suffix -jen-. This Suffix, which appears in the forms -jen- -jon- -jen- -jön-, -ijen- -ijon- -ijön- and -in- -in- (-ip- -iyp-) arose in derivatives from the stems in -jo- -i- and -r-. We must distinguish two strata in this class of nasal stems.

1. Forms corresponding to denominatives like Lat. hom-s Lith. rud-u Av. mar't-an- (§ 114), as Skr. abhimati- 'plotting' (abhi-mati-ś 'plot'), ojaver 'the heavenly one' (cp. evate-s), Lat. vulpio (vulpēs), Goth. arbi 'heir' (arbi n. 'heritage').

2. Abstract Substantives like those mentioned on p. 341 f. e. g. cap-tō, which, if we may judge from dorki-y and other examples, once existed in Greek as well as elsewhere.

The custom of extending all kinds of stems by an -n-suffix remained in full force through most of the stages in the history of the separate languages, and hence the class of stems which we are now considering was continually enlarged. But we are justified in referring all such nouns as Goth. arbi to the suffix -jen- rather than to -en- (§ 114) — although a priori the word might he analysed either arbi-an- or arbi-n quite as naturally as arb-yan- (cp. e. g. vaúrstv-an- or vaúrst va-n-) — simply because they created no new variety of suffix, that is, none which was not in existence in the prothetic period, but merely reproduced the original -jen- type in one or other of its forms.

On the other hand it must be admitted that this suffix had only just begun to be used independently before the separation of the languages. Indeed there appear to be no examples of particular words that contain it which are certainly prothetic; notice however such parallels as Skr. pruś-īn- 'questioner' A.S. fricsea 'herald' and abstract nouns like Lat. ratiōn- = Goth. rafjōn-, Let. mentiō = O.Ir. er-miūiu, which are mostly derived from Indo-Germanic stems in -ti-, see § 100 p. 294.

Aryan. Here we find only denominatives with the suffix

in the form -in-), which spread through all the cases in the proethnic period of Aryan; e. g. nom. pl. -in-as instead of *-i₂dn₂s-, loc. sing. -in-i instead of *-i₂n-i. During the same period -i replaced -ja- (= -i₂g-) in the 'middle' cases (e. g. Skr. arci-bhayas Avest. kaini-bjē) and -i replaced -ja in the nom. sing. (Skr. arci Avest. kaini) on the analogy of the -en-stems (Skr. dat. abl. pl. -a-bhayas, nom. sing. -a).

Skr. arci- 'beaming from arci-ś 'beam', citti-ś 'intelligent' from citti-ś 'understanding', urmin- 'billowy' from urmi-ś 'billow', atithi-ś 'wandering' from átithi-ś 'guest'. Avest. kaini- f. 'girl' from kanyā- Skr. kanyā 'girl'. Gr. καινός 'new' (*καιν-ο-ς); for the meaning of the suffix compare Lat. pūs-īō 'little boy'. But we find that the use of -in- as a derivative suffix has spread by analogy to other than -o-stems, almost exclusively however to those in -o- (cp. Gr. μαλακ-ων from μαλακό-ς, Lat. libell-ō from libellu-s, Goth. caurste-jā from caurste); it ousted -an-, which remained only in Avestic (see § 114 p. 348). Skr. parṇ-in- Avest. perṇ-in- 'winged', beside Skr. parṇ-ā- 'wing'. Skr. yava-in- 'rich in corn'. Avest. yēv-m- m. 'fields', beside Skr. yāva-s 'corn'. Skr. svan-in- 'leading dogs', from svan- 'dog'. O.Pers. vēp-in- 'belonging to a clan' (Avestic shows the older form vis-an-), from vēp- 'clan'. Skr. -yin- after vowels, e. g. svadhā-yin- 'he to whom the svadhā belongs' is like -ji- (Lith. mō-ji-s) p. 122 footnote 2, and -ā-. § 110 p. 336.

In Sanskrit forms like mad-in- 'intoxicating, rejoicing' (from madā-s 'intoxication, joyous excitement') were referred to kindred verbs (madā-ti), and hence -in- acquired the character of a primary suffix. See Whitney, Skr. Gram. § 1183.

-min-, and -vin- were no doubt special formations in Sanskrit; examples are gṛ-min- 'singing, jubilating' (beside gṛ-miṣa- 'worthy of praise'), nāmas-vin- 'paying reverence.' Cp. below Gr. ῥα-μίν-.

1) Prof. W. Streitberg was the first scholar who clearly recognised that Ar. -in- was derived from the original -i₂n-. I have followed him also in regarding -i- as the weak form of -jo-, in § 116.
Greek. -iōn- -iων- appear beside -ιο-, as in οὐραν-ιων (-ιων-) 'the heavenly one, dweller in heaven' beside οὐραν-ιος 'heavenly', Κρόν-ιων (-ιων- and ιων-) 'the descendant of Kronos' beside Κρόν-ιος 'belonging to Kronos'. Generally however -iων- is an independent suffix. 'Ἀργε-ιων 'son of Atreus', from 'Ἀργε-ις, μαλακ-ιων 'weakling', from μαλακός 'weak'. δειλάκη-ιων 'wretch, miserable creature', from δειλάκης 'very wretched'.

-iω- appears in Ἀδρεστ-ίω-ν-η 'daughter of Adrestos' Εὐερ-ίω-ν-η daughter of Euenos' beside 'Ἀκρισ-ιων-η 'daughter of Akrisios'. Further, in δωτιω-η 'gift' beside δω-τις 'gift', cp. Lat. datiō beside dōs. This form justifies us in classing here the words δελφιω- m. 'belly-fish, dolphin' (cp. Skr. garbh-īn- 'pregnant'), ἀκρ-ίω- f. 'beam, of light', πηρ-ίω- f. 'scrotum', ὀδ-ίω- f. 'travail', γλωχ-ίω- f. 'point, end' (cp. γλωσσα for *γλωσσα). The weak form of the suffix was adopted in all the cases, as -in- in Aryan. Closely parallel to these are words in -μίν-: στα-μίν- and στα-μίν- m. 'wood that stands upright', ὀγ-μίν- f. 'surge, breaker' (beside ὀγ-μια 'a breaking'), υσμίν- f. and υσμιν-η 'flight' (for the -σ- cp. § 72 p. 173.). The nom. sing. ends in -ις for *-ιν-ς-, for which -ιν- was substituted in later Greek.

Italic. -iōn- in the masculine is seen in Lat. vulpiō from vulpes, pellio from pelli-s, restiō from resti-s, cūriō 'head of curia', from cūria, centuriō from centuria, laniō from lantii-s; and it is common as an independent suffix, e. g. libellus, cūr-iō 'one wasted by sorrow' from cūra, tenebr-iō from tenebrae, mir-iō from miri-s, and the substantives formed from the numerals, ün-iō dīn-iō tern-iō and so forth. Some of these masculines had a diminutival sense, as homunc-iō senec-iō pās-iō pāmil-iō, cp. Avest. kainin- p. 358. The Umbr. Vuf-ioni-s Vof-ione should be mentioned here.

Secondly we have the feminine abstract nouns in -iōn-, and -iun- (-iun-) in Umbro-Samnite; this establishes a variation in the form of the suffix in different cases for the proto-Italic period. Lat. com-māniō beside com-māni-s; Goth. ga-māinei 'community' beside ga-māini- 'communis'; al-luv-iō beside al-luv-iun-um, al-luv-iē-s, con-tāg-iō beside con-tāg-iun-um ob-
-sid-iō beside ob-sid-iu-m, cp. Goth. ga-riud-jō beside ga-riud-i. The following examples show -iōn- in independent use, so that it appears as a primary suffix: Lat. leg-iō re-ligio Osc. leg-in-ei 'legioni, cohorti' leg-in-um 'legionem, cohortem', Lat. cōn-spic-iō, reg-iō, cap-iō usū-capīō, opīn-iō; Umbr. fer-in-e perhaps 'foretro', tribīriō 'ternio' abl. tribīris-in-e, Osc. tang-in-om 'sententiam' gen. tang-in-eis, tribarākki-iuf 'aedificatio'.

The form -tiōn- -tin- (-tīn-?) is especially frequent and largely superseded Idg. -ti-: Lat. men-tiō (O.Ir. er-mitiū 'honour'), ra-tiō (Goth. ra-jō 'ratio'), du-tiō (cp. Gr. do-to-η 'gift'), jūnctiō, occupā-tiō, tribū-tiō; Umbr. na-tin-e 'nationale, gente', Osc. medica-tin-om 'indicationem', út-tiuf 'usio, usus', fruktā-tiuf 'usus, fructus', statīf 'statio, statua'. Op. § 100 p. 300. With Lat. exerci-tiō compare exerci-tiū-m, with dic-tiō the Osc. medizud 'iuris dictione', which no doubt comes from *med-dihtio- as Bansae from *Bantija- (I § 502 p. 368 f.); see § 163 under Italic.

Remark. The Umbrian nominative termination -iu stands for pr. Ital. and pr. Idg. -iō. On the other hand, Osc. -iuf and -if stand for *iōs *-ins (-ins?). The latter were later dialectic formations (cp. Lat. sanguis Gr. λυκί and other similar forms, and see § 114 p. 352, § 117 under Old Irish). The late origin of the ending -ns explains the special treatment of this group of sounds in these words see I § 209 p. 177, § 653 p. 508.

In the Sabine dialect we find also the form -iōn- ner-iōn-em 'fortitudinem', nom. ner-iō, gen. also Nηοίν-ης (Lybus de mens. IV 42), parallel to ner-ō 'brave' Nerō (cp. Gr. Ἄρδο-ων) from Idg. *ner- 'man'. An-iō gen. -iēn-is (amongst the Romans declined after the Latin fashion, -iōn-is). Should such forms be regarded as derivatives from words with the suffix -iē- (§ 109) (cp. Ner-iu), which would explain the ē?

Old Irish. Besides Eriu 'Ireland,' (gen. Erēn; for the m. cp. § 117 Rem. 3) the only certain examples are the forms which correspond to the Latin feminine abstract nouns in -tiō: air-itīu f. 'accipere': Lat. emptīō, aig-thīu f. 'fear' and others. All the cases, except the nom. sing., have -tin-; there is only the dat. (loc.) sing. with its by-form in -te to vouch for *-tīōn in early Irish. See § 100 p. 301.
In Gallic -jôn- is common: we have names of towns like Brigantio (compared with the participial stem brîgant- 'projecting', O.Ir. Brîgit = Skr. byhátī § 110 p. 387), Divio, Cabellio; names of tribes like Suessiones, Kovjoviz.


The form -jôn- became incapable of denoting male persons (notice that masculines like Gr. nêria-; Lat. agricola O.C.Sl. sluga are foreign to Germanic). It was preserved on the other hand in names of things which in form are parallel to Goth. arþja etc. (also in a few names of animals), which then became feminine. Goth. snörjô 'basket woven out of string', beside O.H.G. snuori- f. 'string'. O.H.G. bulga 'leathern sack', beside balgi- m. 'bag'. O.H.G. harrâ 'hair garment', beside hâr 'hair'. Goth. ga-timrjô O.H.G. zimbirra 'building', beside O.H.G. zimbôr 'timber'. O.Icel. birkja 'birch-sap', beside bjork 'birch'. O.Icel. gedda 'pike', beside gadd-r 'thorn, spine' (cp. Lat. stellîō m. 'star-lizard, newt' from stella).

Feminine abstract-nouns in -jôn-, whose gender dates from the pre-Germanic period. Goth. gariudjô 'modesty', side by side with ga-riud-i n. (same meaning) (cp. Lat. alluvium and alluvium-m), beside ga-riuβ-s 'modest, decent'. O.Icel. citra 'sagacity' beside
vit-r 'sagacious'; sælu 'luck', beside sæll 'lucky'. The suffix has the character of a primary suffix in Goth. ga-runjō 'inundation', sakjō 'strife', A.S. æsce 'question', O.Icel. þykkja 'love'. We also find -tjōn-, but this was not fertile in Germanic, which contrasts with its history in Italic and Irish: Goth. ra-hjō 'reckoning' (Lat. ra-tiō), O.Icel. þrētta 'strife'. Parallel to ra-fjō is O.H.G. reðia, a strong feminine, cp. Lat. exercitium beside exercitium. Side by side with -jōn- is the form -in-, found in abstract denominatives, especially in those derived from adjectival stems: Goth. aglaítei 'rudeness' side by side with agláiti n. (the same), magābi 'maidenhood' beside magāpi- 'maiden', Goth. gamājini O.H.G. gimeini 'community' beside Goth. ga-máini- 'communis' (Lat. commāniō f. beside com-mānī-s), Goth. gölei O.H.G. guott 'goodness, excellence' beside Goth. gōp-s 'good', Goth. managei O.H.G. menigt 'crowd' beside Goth. manag-s 'many, much'. We have seen reason for believing that the same -in- is contained in the suffix -in-ga-, as in O.H.G. Berhting, § 88 Rem. 3 p. 267.

Slavonic. We find -jōn- in the plural of denominative names of inhabitants and classes, as zemljan-e 'countrymen' from zemlja 'land', graždan-e 'citizens' for *gord-jan-e from gradu 'city', seljan-e 'country folk' from selo 'cultivated land', mir-jan-e 'laici' from miru 'world'. See I § 555, 3 p. 440.

§ 116. The Suffix -yen-. This appears in the forms -yen- -yin- (-yen-) -ydn- and -un- -yṇ-, and appears to be derived from the u- and yo-stems, just as -ien- from those in -i- and -jo-.

The meaning of the suffix cannot be reduced to any general definition. Amongst the substantives it forms are nomina actionis, which were used as infinitives in Aryan and Greek.

Indo-Germanic. Skr. ay-un- (o. g. instr. ayun-ā) n. 'life', Gr. ai-(f)ōν (-ων-) m. 'space of time, eternity' ai-(f)ēν (loc. sing.) 'always', common ground-form *aį-ųen- (cp. I § 611 p. 461): compare Lat. ae-vo-m, Goth. ai-ō-s m. 'time, eternity' ground-form *aį-ųo- (cp. I § 612 p. 462, § 614 p. 464). Skr. āt-voir, Gr. ãt-(f)ōν (-ων-) 'fat': compare *pī-ųe-ro- Skr. pīva-rā-s Gr. πι-φύσ 'fat' Skr. pī-vas- n. Gr. πυ-τής etc., see § 74 p. 182.
Skr. pár-van- n. 'knob, joint, pause, break', Gr. ἀ-πείρως (σέ) 'boundless' for *πεή-φων, πείραινος 'I bring to an end' for *πεή-φαυ-μο, Skr. párvata-s Gr. πέρατα πείρατα (see § 82 p. 249): beside these we have Gr. ἀ-πείρω-ς. Skr. agrādvān- 'eating first'. Gr. Hom. ἐδ-φαύ- or ἐδδαύ- n. 'food' (ἐδαύ- is a wrong spelling, cp. I § 166 p. 147 on ἐδωκεῖν). Skr. gṛd-van- m. 'soma-stone' O.Ir. broo brō, gen. broon brōn, 'millstone'.

Datives in -yen-ā are used as infinitives (this appears to have been a modification of the original -yn-āt -yn-āj introduced in the proethnic period on the analogy of the loc. in -men-i); cp. -men-āj § 117). Skr. da-van-ē 'to give', Gr. Cypr. ὁδ-φαύ- Att. δοῦναι. Avest. vid-van-ōi 'to know', Gr. ξίδεναι for *feid-φαύ- (cp. § 136 Remark 1).

Aryan. The original relations of ablaut are preserved most nearly in Skr. sing. nom. maghā-vā (generous) acc. -van-am loc. -van-i instr. maghōn-ā, Avest. sing. nom. asa-va (pure) acc. -van-em gen. asaon-ō. In Sanskrit, levelling took place in two different directions. On the one hand the form with -van-spread into the weakest cases: e.g. áthar-va -rām-am -van-i produced -van-ā -van-as instead of *un-ā etc. (cp. the form apanurun-ē dat. preserved in Avestic), a change which was supported by the parallelism of the man-stems (ás-man-ā etc.). And the v of forms like γτδ-ν-ā (we should expect *γτων-ā) came from the other forms with -van- -van- (cp. I § 160 p. 144), while such a form as pt-ν-, and (here also) the type of the man-stems (arya-man-ā) may have influenced the re-formation. 'On the other hand, in some neter words (e.g. dy-un-) a new paradigm was formed by a confusion with u-stems which were parallel to them, (from which came e.g. the nom. acc. ávu, cp. Goth. aju-ka- in ajuk-duh-s 'eternity'). An interesting survival of un-on Indian ground appears also in mith-un-ā 'paired' beside Avest. mīd-ν-ān- n. 'pair'. Cp. the Author, Morph. Unt. II 187 ff.

ready'. dhán-van n. beside dhán-u- f. 'dune, sandy land'. Avest. er'd-van- 'raiser, helper' beside er'd-va- 'uplifted, raised up'.

Skr. ádh-van- m. Avest. ad-van- m. 'way'. Skr. yd-van- 'going, traveller' Avest. yaon-a- m. 'path, way'. Skr. pát-van- 'flying', sák-van- 'able', rā-van- 'bestowing'. Avest. is-van- 'able', der'ž-van- m. 'fetter'. Skr. sná-van- n. 'bond, sinew', túg-van-n. 'rapid stream', Avest. karš-van- n. (nom. acc. karš-var') name of the seven divisions of the earth.

-t-van-: Skr. kīt-van- 'effecting' Avest. ker'-p-van- 'one who brings about', Skr. sút-van- 'pressing', sa-ji-t-van 'victorious'. These are based on t-stems like -kīt- 'effecting', see § 123.

Skr. rūd-van- 'holy, pious' Avest. aša-van- 'pure', Skr. dhihr-van- Avest. ašra-van- (ašaur-un-) 'fire-priest', Skr. dhītd-van- 'rich in gifts', amsīt-van- 'suffering without', samád-van- 'eager for the fray'.

Infinitives. Skr. dā-van-ē 'to give', Avest. vid-van-ōi 'to know', see above p. 363.

Armenian. sīun gen. sean, 'pillar' for early Armen. *šī-van- or *šē-van-: Gr. xīon m. f. (-or-) 'pillar' for *kt-fov., n. cases were no doubt originally formed from ailbou̇r', gen. alber, 'spring' (I § 263 p. 214): cp. Gr. φελάρ φελάρος (p. 365).

Greek. al-(F)ōn al-(F)ēn, nīt-(F)ōn, ānulōn̄ for *nīp-fov, see p. 362 f.

kīn̄a-(F)ōn (-or-) m. 'hollow space' from kīn̄a-fo-γ 'empty' (§ 64 p. 135), with which we must certainly class the masculine names of places as oivōn oivōn 'wine-bin', parašenwv parašenwv 'maidens' apartment', ánōwv 'man's apartment', innōv 'horse stall', laosōn 'place with thick bushes' (rā laosia 'thicket').

The form -un- is no doubt to be seen in sēbūra f. 'legal procedure, punishment' for *sebūr-ā, sebūrō I guide straight for *un-āo; cp. Avest. ašaon-i fem. of aša-van-. Cp. also Hom. ἰθώρ-rara 'in the straightest, truest way' beside ἰφύ-γ. See Osthoff, Forsch. auf dem Geb. der Idg. Nominalstammbildung II 24 ff., and the Author, Morph. Unt. II 190, 201 ff. 205 f.

The neuters show the same course of development as those belonging to the -men- and -en-stems (like osē-ar -aros § 114
The Suffix -men-

§ 116,117. The suffix -men-. This was used from the in the proethnic and later periods to form nomina actionis, which often varied between the meaning of the thing, and the action (as Gr. δεομα 'a streaming' and 'that which streams'); more rarely to form nomina agentis. The nomina actionis were used in Aryan and Greek as infinitives. The gender varied between neuter and masculine; sometimes even in the same word, as Gr. χειμα : χειμων.

The roots-syllable had generally the strong grade (the e-form in the e-series). Originally, no doubt, both this and the weak grade stood side by side in each paradigm (cp. Gr. λατιμων : λατις, ἀπίμα : ἀπίς, O.Icel. lýs-me : Goth. laš-mun-i), but a process of levelling ensued, generally in favour of the strong form.
There is difficulty in ascertaining what was the weak form of the suffix in the ground-forms of certain cases of the noun, as Skr. vārī-man-ā vārī-n.man-ās (beside nā-man-ā ary-a-mu-ā).

Remark 1. From the analogy of Skr. arc-īn-ā (-jen-) and Avest. āfāw-un-ē (-yen-) — see § 115, 116 we should expect *gri-yan-, and therefore St. *vārī-an-ā. This is supported by Goth. vund-uōn-i f. 'wound' vit-uōn-i n. 'knowledge' (-fn- -bu- for -mun-, I § 215 p. 182) beside laukh-mun-i f. 'lash'. The original paradigm of the latter would have been nom. *lauk-uōn-i gen. laukh-mun-fōs, as in Skr. *vārī-an-ā (-yan-) edri-mun-bhiō (-my-) See the Author, Morph. Unt. II 201. 209. 217 ff. We might therefore suppose that vārī-man-ā was a re-formation in Aryan due to the analogy of the other cases, vārī-man-i vārī-ma-bhiō etc. But although it must be allowed that the weak stem had both these forms in derivatives, yet even in the prothemic period the post-consonantal form -yan- may have been displaced by -men-. There is at least a very strong probability that some such levelling process had taken place in prothemic Indo-Germanic in such infinitives as Skr. sid-mān-ā Gr. is-μερ-α (cp. also Lat. imper. legi-mān-i below). The form of the stem represented by Skr. vārī-man-ā would then be yārī-men-. I should give my judgement with greater confidence, if there were a satisfactory explanation, of the absence of m in Skr. bhiōn prēṇḍ and the like (Lamman, Noun-Inflection p. 583).

$\text{§ 117.}$ The Suffix -men-

\text{dhd-man- n.} 'statute, action, seat, dwelling', Gr. ἄριστη-μένα n. 'erection, something set up, offering' εἰ-θρίμων 'keeping something in good order' θη-μενον (-μεν-) m. 'heap' Θέ-μα 'something set up, deposit, pledge', ς\text{--}dhd-. Skr. ḍā-man- n. 'gift' ḍā-मन- m. 'gift, giver', Gr. δό-μα n. 'gift' inf. δό-μεναι, ς\text{--}dō-. Skr. sthd-

\text{man- n.} 'standing-place, strength', Gr. ἐνι-στημα n. 'what is set up upon something else' στη-μον (-μον-) 'warp in the upright loom', Lat. stā-men n., Goth. stō-ma m. 'constituent part, element', Lith. stū-mă m. 'stature, height of body', ς\text{--}stā-. Skr. ḍā-man- m. 'stone, heaven' Gr. ἀκ-μον 'anvil, thunderbolt'. Skr. ḍj-mon- n. 'road, train', Lat. agmen n. for *ag-men (the vowel owes its length to the following -gm-) and ex-amen n. for *ag-

\text{men (I § 506 p. 371 1). Skr. ḍj-man- in. 'strength', Lat. aug-

\text{men n., Lith. aug-mă m.} 'excrusion upon bodies or trees'. Skr. si-măn- m. 'parting of the hair, crown of the head' f. 'boundary, mark' (as to the fem. gender see Rem. 2 below), O.Sax. st-mo m. 'bond, cord, rope', cp. also Gr. ἱ-ματ- (ti) 'strap' ἰ-μορ-λα 'well-rope' (§ 82 Rem. p. 249 f.); Gr. αἰμαλόδ 'enclosing wall, hedge' seems to be derived from a stem *saj-men-. Skr. sya-mon- n. 'bond, stripe, row' Gr. ν-μην (νη-) m. 'hide, sinew', κασσάμετα n. pl. 'patchwork, soles; plots' (prep. κα), Lat. as-

\text{simen-tu m} 'patch sewn on'. Skr. ṇā-ma n. Armen. amun Gr. ὅν-μα n. Lat. nō-men n. O.Ir. ain-n m. Goth. na-mō n. Fruss. e-mm-a- O.C.Sl. i-mę n. (I § 219 Rem. 2 p. 187 f.) 'name'. Gr. γνό-μα n. 'token' γνώ-μον (-μον-) 'one who knows or shows, sundial, measuring-rod', Lat. agnōmen n. for *ad-gnō-men (con-

\text{nected by popular etymology with nōmen), O.C.Sl. zna-mę n.} 'token'.

Skr. jāni-man- n. 'birth' Lat. geni-men (late) beside Skr.

\text{jān-man-}. Of the same sort are Gr. ῥελα-μὸν 'shoulder-belt', O.Ir. men-mę 'mind' and other examples. See I § 110 p. 104.

Datives in -men-aį used as infinitives (cp. -men-ai § 116 p. 363). Skr. vid-

\text{mānē 'to learn, experience' (side by side with}

1) In the English translation, l. 6. of this paragraph, instead of 'before originally long vowels', read 'after etc.'
which we also find other cases of *vid-mán-, Gr. ὑδ-μενά to know.' Skr. ṅáṃ-máṇ ὑd-μενά 'to give' (cp. p. 367); Gr. ὑδ-μενά 'to give'. Lat. imper. legimín-i, in form identical with Gr. λεγέμεν-αι (see below).

-men- seems further to have been used even in the parent language as a secondary suffix: Skr. ary-a-máñ- m. 'comrade, friend', Mid.Ir. Airem, gen. Areman Erémon, beside Skr. aryá- 'devoted, attached' O.Ir. aire (gen. airech) 'princeps, primus'.

-men- and -mo-, are often interchanged from the proethnie period onwards (see § 112 p. 340 f.); and this led to a certain confusion, which can be sometimes traced in the separate languages, between the -men- forms and the substantives in -mo-which have the o-grade in the root-syllable (see § 72 p. 170), Gr. ὁλ-μα n. 'assault' instead of *r-μα (Skr. ὑ-μα- n. 'course') through the influence of ὁλ-μο-ς ὁλ-μη. O.H.G. lei-mo m. 'loam' instead of *r-μο (Gr. λει-μον) through the influence of the form lei-m m.

In all the Indo-Germanic languages -men- was a fertile suffix, most of all in Aryan, Greek, and Latin.

Aryan. Skr. tāk-máñ- 'young blade of corn' Avest. taox-


In secondary use: Skr. ary-a-máñ- m. 'comrade, friend'Avest. aírya-máñ- 'obedient' beside Skr. áryá-, see above.

Sanskrit. dhár-máñ- n. 'support' dhār-máñ m. 'bearer', brāh-

-man- n. 'devotion' brāh-máñ- m. 'one who prays', svadd-máñ- n. svād-máñ- m. 'sweetness, loveliness'; vārī-máñ n. vari-máñ- m. 'extent'. ōd-máñ- n. 'undulation', ē-man- n. 'course', vārī-man- n. 'height, surface', sād-máñ- n. 'seat, abode', sād-máñ- n. 'hymn', trā-máñ- n. 'protection', yā-máñ- n. 'course'; jāni-máñ- n. 'birth', bhārī-máñ- n. 'a carrying'. hāvī-máñ- n. 'a calling upon'. ūṣ-
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-mán- uś-man- m. 'heat', ū-man- m. 'favour, help', jē-man- m. 'superiority'; prathī-mán- m. 'breadth'. dā-man- m. 'giver', sū-

-mán- m. 'presser, preparer of the soma'. Forms like prathī-

-mán- were popularly connected with the parallel adjectives such as prthū- prāthīyas-, and hence i-man- became a secondary suffix, as in draḍh-imān- m. 'firmness' from draḍhd- 'firm' compar. draḍh-īyas-, dhūmr-imān- m. 'dark colour, gloom' from dhūmrā- 'dark'.

Avestic. a-piśman- 'without art, without skill'. mār-

-man- n. 'urine', daq-man- n. 'eye', paes-man- n. 'milk, mother's milk', dān-man- n. 'cloud, vapour' no doubt = dū-man- (cp. dā-man above), beside Skr. dhū-mās 'smoke', stao-man- n. 'song of praise, laudation', bar's-man- n. 'bundle of consecrated twigs for offering', caš-man- n. 'eye'. ras-man- m. 'army in line, line of battle': Gr. ἄραγ-μα n. 'a stretching out, stretch'. uvdas-

-man- 'one who makes others glad, joy-giver'.

Infinitival datives. Skr. vid-mānē, dā-manē, see p. 367 f. above. Skr. dhār-manē 'to support', trād-manē 'to protect'. Avest. stao-mainē 'to praise', xēna-mainē 'to content'. In Avestic the locative also appears as an infinitive, e. g. caš-man caš-mān 'to behold' beside dat. caš-mainē.

Remark 2. The nominative termination -mā (m. and n.) appears sometimes to have led to a transference to the feminine a-declension; this process may have been aided by the close connexion between the -man- and -mo-stems, which dates from before the Aryan period. Thus e. g. Skr. si-mā- = si-mān- 'boundary' (si-mā- in its turn influenced si-mān- so far as to give it the fem. gender), dā-nd- beside dā-man- n. 'bond' (also f., according to the grammarians; the change of gender came about in the same way as in si-mān- f.), O.Pers. taw-mā- 'family' = Avest. taw-man-. Cp. § 114 Rem. 1 p. 348, § 122 Rem. p. 383.

Armenian. jium 'snow', annu 'name', see above, p. 366 f.; for the phonetic changes see I § 202 p. 169. yel-man-, gen. yel-man, 'wool, fleece': to be compared either with Skr. yār-man-

-defensive armour' Gr. ἀφ- ο-ρ 'wool' (v-yer-) or with Lat. vellus, (gothic. vulla 'wool' (v-yel-). marmin (−min- for -men-, I § 68 p. 50), gen. mar-man-o-y, 'body, flesh' (which is extended by the suffix -o-): Skr. már-man- n. 'membrum, joint, open part of the body which is especially exposed to mortal wounds'.

Brugmann, Elements. II.
Greek. The history of the neuter forms is the same as in the case of the -en- and -yen-stems; see § 114 p. 350.

γνο-μα χνο-μα χυ-μα, ξιν-μα χυ-μον, φρη-μα, τηρ-μα τερ-μον and others; see above, p. 366 f.

πνευ-μα n. 'breath', πνευ-μον (-μον) m. 'lung'. ἄετ-μα n. (φλοξ', beside ἄετιο-ν 'πνεύμα' Hesych.), οὐρ-μην (-μεν-) m. 'breath, exhalation, vapour' (ἄετ-μα? cp. p. 372). ἦ-μα n. 'missile', ἦ-μον (-μον-) m. 'thrower, slinger': Lat. sē-men n. O.H.G. sā-mo m. O.C.Sl. sē-mē n. 'seed', √ sē-. μνη-μα n. 'memorial', μνη-μον (-μον-) 'mindful', νοη-μα n. 'thought', νοη-μον (-μον-) 'thoughtful'.

ζέγγ-μα n. 'bond, bridge of boats': Lat. jāmentu-m for *jäg-men-to-, common ground-form *jeung-men-. ἄεί-μα 'feed'. λείμμα for *λεισ-μα 'remnant'. κλῆμα κλῆ-μα 'inclination'. μύγ-μα 'mixture'. δέρ-μα 'skin torn off, hide': Skr. dar-mān- m. 'shatterer'. ἰρ-μα 'ear-ringed'. στροφ-μα 'something strown, bed, covering': Lat. strā-men n., common ground-form *stē-men; cp. Skr. stār-man- n. 'a spreading out, strewning abroad', stari-mān- m. 'bed'. πτόλ-μα 'sole of the foot': op. A.S. fil-men 'membrana' O.Fris. fil-men-s i. 'skin'. φλέγ-μα 'brand'. γέννα f. 'race, family' probably was neuter originally, and stands for *γεν-μα: Skr. jān-man- n. πείσμα 'cable, rope' for *πεῖσμα from √ bhedhā- 'bind'; as to σ for ι see p. 372: cp. Lat. of-fendi-mentu-m. βῆ-μα 'step, grade, platform': Skr. vt-gāman- n. 'step', common ground-form *gē-men-, √ gem-. πείμα 'pastry' for *πεῖμα. ὑπό-δημα 'something fastened beneath sole' δείμα δε-σμα 'bond': Skr. dd-man- n. 'bond'. αἷ-μα 'blood', beside O.H.G. sei-m m. 'virgin honey'. οὐδ-μα 'swell of the sea'. ὑμα 'eye, visage' for *ὅν-μα. νᾶ-μα (Dor. form) 'stream', √ smā-. βῆ-μα 'missile, shot'. φη-μα 'utterance' for *φρη-μα. oā-μα oā-μα 'token', to be compared no doubt with Skr. dhya-man- m. 'measure' n. 'thought', beside dhya- 'think of' dhī- 'appear, resemble, observe, think'. Dor. πᾶ-μα 'that of which one has the disposal, over which one has power, possession', for *ζέγγ-men-, compared with El. ἰμ-πῶ 'bring to effect, accom-
plish' and with κύμας (cp. πάμωκας, ὁ κύρωκος Hezch.) 1). όξει-μα 'demeanour, form'. ὀρά-μα 'sight'. ὄρμη-μα 'solicitude'. μίσθω-μα 'stipulated payment'.

The nom. acc. sing. neut. of one or two -men-stems ends in ρ, as in some of the neuter stems in -en- and -men-: ἦμαρ, gen. ἦματος, 'day', μυμαρ μυμαρ 'blame', λύμαρ beside λύμα 'pollution', τέκμαρ and τέκμαρ 'proof' (-μαρ for -μη, cp. ἡδωρ I § 306 p. 243). Cp. § 118.

κενθ-μον (-μον-) m. 'hiding-place'. πυθ-μη ( -μεν-) m. 'depth, ground'. λευ-μον (-μον-) m. 'damp place' and λιμη ( -μεν-) m. 'harbour'. ἵδ-μον (-μον-) 'having knowledge of' (ἵδο-σωθη). ἐπι-λήμμον (-μον-) 'forgetful' (ο instead of ο, p. 372). ποιμη ( -μεν-) m. 'herdsman': Lith. rė-mū m. 'herd-boy'. τελ-μον (-μον-) 'stead fast, enduring'. ἀλη-μον (-μον-) 'wandering about' (ἀλάσθαι). ἐλη-μον (-μον-) 'pitiful'. τελα-μον (-μον-) m. 'shoulder-belt, baldric' properly 'bearer', τελ-μον (-μον-) 'that becomes soft by boiling'. ἥγε-μον (-μον-) m. 'guide'. κερε-μον (-μον-) m. 'one who cares for' a person. -μον acquired the character of a secondary suffix, just as Skr. -i-mān-: ὀξριμον (-μον-) m. 'end fo a branch, top' from ὀκρο-ς, διστ-μον (-μον-) m. 'he who sits at meat, guest' from διστυ-ς.

The dative, in -μεναι, and the locative, in -μεν, served as infinitives. -μεναι occurs in Ionic (epic) and Lesbian. ἰδ-μεναι, δό-μεναι; see above, p. 367 f. ἰδ-μεναι 'to eat' (Skr. ἀδ-μαν-, p. 386), ἑδ-μεναι 'to place' (-Θημα ἑ-μα, p. 367), ἀθ-μεναι 'to blow', βύ-μεναι 'to go' (βυ-μα, p. 370), δό-μεναι 'to press in, enter' (ἐκ-δεμα 'garment taken off'), βλη-μεναι 'to strike' (βλη-μα, p. 370), δακ-μεναι 'to be versed' (δακ-μον 'versed'). On the model of these were formed: φανή-μεναι τελα-μεναι, ξεινυ-μεναι, αειδέ-μεναι, εἰπέ-μεναι ἄδε-μεναι. -μεν is found in Ionic (epic), Doric, N.W. Greek, Elean, Thessalian, and Boeotian. ἰδ-μεν, δό-μεν, Θέ-μεν, ζέ-μεν, ἐι-μεν (ἐιμεν ἦμεν), τελα-μεν, ὀρφι-μεν, φερε-μεν, εἰπέ-μεν, ἄδε-μεν.

1) The nearest cognates of πυθμον are collected by J. Baunack in his Stud. I 73 f.
Corresponding to -τ-μο -Θ-μο -Σ-μο - (§ 72, 3 p. 173) we find -τ-μεν -Θ-μεν -Σμεν - τ-μεν - occurs in λαʔ-μα 'gulf of the sea', no doubt to be compared with λαʔ-μο-ς 'throat, gullet', and perhaps in ἄτμα ἄτμην. -Θ-μεν: ἦ-Θμα 'course'. -σμεν: πλάσμα 'image, figure' from πλάσσω, κλώσμα 'something spun' from κλώς, πτέρα 'cable' for *πενθ-μα (o had not displaced θ in the earliest period of Greek, sec I § 204 Rem. 2 p. 171), ἐμ-λήσμαν 'forgetful' from λήςω, ἐρεσμα 'support' from ἐρείδω, οχίσμα 'split' from οχίςω, and the neuter forms in -σμα and -αμα compared with derivative verbs in -ιω -άιω, as νόμσμα 'usage, institution, from νομίζω, ἀσσάμα 'caress' from ἀσσά-ζομαι; also ἄρμσμα 'joined work' from ἀρμόζω.

Italic. The neuter forms were often extended by -το-; see § 82 p. 249 ff.


Lat. nā-men, n.: Gr. νεό-μα 'nod'; lā-men for *λακ-μεν, later *lāgmen (I § 500 p. 367, § 506 p. 371), or for *lāc-s-men (cp. illāstri-s and lāna I § 503 p. 369): Goth. laith-mun-i f. 'flash' O.Sax. li-o-mo O.Icel. ljō-me m. 'brightness, light, gleam': the ō in nā-men lā-men may be either Idg. ō or Idg. eu. cre-men: Gr. κρί-μα κρί-μα 'decision, sentence', ger-men. sarmen for *sār-p-men, sar-mentu-m. cul-men. sēg-men for *sec-men, sēgmentu-m. tēgmen tēgmentu-m. āgmen: Skr. āj-man- etc., see above, p. 367. caementu-m for *caed-mentu-m. nē-men: Gr. νεό-μα 'something spun, yarn', ἕ-ζε- com-plēmentu-m: cp. Gr. πλήσμα 'filling, what fills'. fla-men fla-mentu-m. certa-men. mōl-men mōl-mentu-m. vōl-men, stata-men, hence were formed leg-āmen leg-āmentu-m, alb-āmen and other similar derivatives.

1) See footnote to p. 367 above.
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Masculine forms are rarer. *ter-mō (-mōn-)* beside *ter-men n.*: *Gr. τέρ-μον* etc., see above p. 368. *ser-mō (-mōn-).* *pul-mō (-mōn-).*

The dat. sing. in -*min-st was used in Latin as the 2. pl. imp. med.-pass., e.g. *legimini* (= *Gr. λεγόμενοι*), *sequimini.* The restriction to the plural, and to the medio-passive meaning was caused by the indicative *legimini* = *Gr. λεγόμενοι* and = *λεγό-μενά.* See § 71 p. 165.

Old Irish. Neuters. *suraim, aínum*; see above, p. 368 f. *deilim* 'noise'. *cuirim* 'call, cry'. *druiin* 'back' for *dros-men*, compared with Lat. *dorsum.* *cēimn* cēim 'stepping, step', beside *cingim* 'I step', *léimn* léim- 'spring' beside *lingim* 'I spring', *gréimm* grēim 'progressus' beside *in-grēnnim* 'I pursue' (grend-)., see I § 523 p. 380. *bēim* 'striking, blow' beside *benim* 'I strike': did this come regularly from *ben-men*- or was it influenced by the form of these other nouns? With *s-men*: *feid-m* 'strain', *fo-naidm* 'bond, compact'.

Remark 3. The origin of *nn* in forms like nom. pl. *aun-manna*, dat. pl. *aun-manama*, is still quite obscure. The latest discussion of this difficult question is by Stokes (Beazenberg's Beitr. XI 93) and Windisch (Über die Verbalformen mit dem Character R p. 40 f.).


Masculine and Feminine forms with pr. Celt. *-mō* in the nom. sing. (op. Gall. *caos-mo*, *Sego-mo*), gen. Ir. *-sion-men* dat. *-máin.* The masculine forms appear to be all denominatives: *Aires-m:* Skr. *arya-mán- m.*, see above p. 368, *orbe-m* 'heir' from *orbe n.* (which represents a ground-form *orbē-ē-o-um*) 'inheritance', *flati-the-m* 'ruler' from *flaith* 'rule', *dúle-m* 'creator' from *dúil* 'element', *brítie-m* 'judge' from *breith* 'sentence', *olla-m*, gen. *olla-man*, 'princeps poetae-rum' no doubt connected with *olla* 'great, mighty'. *tala-m* (gen. *talaman*), f. 'earth' no doubt for *tīl-mō*, √ *tel-*
anim f. 'soul' (dat. an-min) may have been originally a -mā-stem (cp. Lat. animā-) and have been transferred to this declension through the influence of menme.

Germanic. The old variation between neuter and masculine was almost entirely obliterated in favour of the masculine. The neuter survives only in Gothic and Norse in a few examples: Goth. na-wō n. 'name' (O.Icel. na-fn n. by a transference to the o-declension, O.H.G. na-mo m.): Skr. nd-man- n. etc., see p. 367 above; O.Icel. st-ma beside st-me m. 'rope' (O.Sax. si-mo m.): Skr. st-mān- etc., see p. 367 above.

Masculine. Goth. hlīu-ma 'hearing' O.H.G. hlīu-mun-t 'call', Goth. stō-ma 'constituent part', see p. 366 above. O.H.G. sa-mo 'seed', see p. 370 above. O.Sax. bli-mo 'brightness', see p. 372 above. Goth. hiuh-ma 'heap'. Goth. skēi-ma 'light', O.H.G. scī-mo 'brightness, sheen'. O.H.G. kī-mo 'the bursting bud'. O.H.G. glīzemo 'brightness', Goth. glīt-mun-fan 'to gleam'. Goth. mīlh-ma 'cloud'. Goth. ak-ma 'spirit'. Goth. blō-ma O.H.G. bluo-mo 'bloom'. This masculine suffix was fertile only in Old Frisian and there only to a limited extent; it became denominative as in Sanskrit etc., e.g. werth-ma 'taxation' from werth 'value'.

-s-men-, like -s-tro- -s-lo- etc. (see § 61 p. 117). O.H.G. rosamo 'aerugo' for *rots-mō beside O.Sax. rotōn 'to rust', cp. O.H.G. rotamo 'redness'. O.H.G. dihsamo 'prosperity' fram-dehsmo 'increasing prosperity', besides dihan 'to wax great'. O.Sax. blīcsmo 'flash' beside blīcan to 'gleam'. The s came from forms like O.H.G. wahs-amō was-mo 'growth' (wahs-an 'to wax') and O.Sax. brōsmo 'soft part of bread, crumb' (A.S. brīs-an 'to break in pieces').


The feminine -mōn- is rare and certainly a late formation: e.g. O.H.G. bluo-ma beside the masc. bluo-mo.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. ak-mā m. O.C.Sl. ka-my m. 'stone'. Lith. szel-mā m. 'gable' O.C.Sl. stō-mq n. 'beam': cp. Lith. szal-ma
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'long beam'. Lith. sė-men-s pl. m. 'seed', especially linseed, O.C.Sl. sė-menę n. 'seed'; Gr. ἱ-μα, etc., see p. 370 above.

In Lithuanian only masculines appear (nom. -mū gen. -mēns etc.); the neuter has died out in the same way as in other classes of stems. sto-mū 'stature, tallness', aug-mū 'excruciation', see p. 367 above. pē-mū 'herb-boy', see p. 371 above. rau-mū 'flesh of the muscles', no doubt to be compared with O.H.G. riu-mo 'strap, band', common ground-form *reymen- (cp. Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 142). rū-mū 'heart-burn'. lē-mū 'trunk, stature'. sēf-men-s pl. 'funeral meal' (no doubt from sēf-ti 'to feed'). šel-mū 'sprout, plant'. tēs-mū 'udder'. āss-mēns pl. 'cutting edge'.


plamy m. 'flame' for *pol-my, beside pol-čtī 'to burn, urs' pla-naqti sę 'to blaze out'. In a few other examples the only form of the nom. sing. which occurs is one which shows a transference to the i-declension; e.g. pra-men-ę 'thread' (gen. premenu-e, like plamen-e); in others we have both forms, plamen-ę beside plamy, kamen-ę beside kamy.

Remark 4. The original weak form of this suffix perhaps appears in such examples as kamunja kameni, which Leskien has collected in his Handb. § 48 p. 58.

VI. Suffixes in -r.

§ 118. Nom. acc. neut. in -r (r-f). We may fairly class among the elements from which noun stems were formed the -r of neuter words like Skr. ādhara Gr. αὐθήρ Lat. über (O.H.G. ātav-m., but there can be no doubt that it was originally neuter) 'udder' — for further examples see § 114 pp. 347, 350, § 116 p. 364, § 117 p. 371; etymologically it must be connected in most cases with the suffix -ro-, in some words perhaps with -er- and the comparative suffix -ero-. See
§ 74 p. 180. How these forms in -r came to be included in the paradigm of n-stems (e. g. Skr. ūdhar gen. abl. ūdh-ān-as loc. ūdh-ān-ī) is a question we cannot answer. The difference in meaning, which (to judge from the variation of the stem) must once have existed between the nom. acc. and the other cases, had probably disappeared before the dissolution of the proethnic community. With this we may naturally compare the loss of the distinction in meaning, which once existed over and above the difference in gender, between the stems of the masc. Skr. pl-va-an- Gr. πη-(f)or- and the fem. Skr. pl-va-r- i Gr. πη-(f)ηρα f. ‘fat’.

In Aryan this nom. acc. form was also used for the pl., just as (e. g.) Skr.  udma ‘ōma’ and purū ‘polu’ were plural as well as singular; it also served as loc. sing., cp. loc. kārmon. This plurality of function may be regarded as proethnic. In Avestic however we have a still freer use; the forms in -ar appear indifferently for cases of the most widely different meaning; e. g. karšvar ‘division of the earth’ is used for the gen. sing., dasvar ‘strength, health’ for the dat. sing., as well as for the nominative.

In several branches of language the form in -r was made the basis of a new paradigm, though the change never affected any very large number of words. Thus in Avestic we have dat. sing. zafr-ē nom. pl. zafr-ā gen. pl. -zafr-ām from zafr ‘throat, mouth’ beside gen. sing. zafan-ō; instr. pl. baēvar-ōhīs from baēvar ‘myriad’, Gr. ἱδ ‘blood’ gen. ἱδ-ος beside Skr. axān- n. ‘blood’; Lat. āber gen. āber-is beside Skr. ādhāun-; femur gen. femor-ēs beside femin-is, jecur gen. jecor-ōs and jecnor-ū beside Skr. yak-ān; O.H.G. wazgar gen. wazzares beside Goth. vatō gen. vatius ‘water’.

§ 119. The Suffixes -er- and -ter-). The two forms of the suffix are found side by side without difference of meaning

like the comparative suffixes -ero- and -tero- (§ 75 p. 188 ff.). It is probable that the form -ter- arose through the addition of -er to a stem formed with a t-suffix.

The nouns in which these suffixes occur are, with comparatively few exceptions, nomina agentis or names of kindred. The former class has -ter- throughout, e.g. *jeγq-ter- 'harnesser', the latter both -er- and -ter-, e.g. *daγy-er- 'levir' and *po-ter- 'father'. -er- is also found in a few substantives which belong to neither of the two groups, as *n-er- 'man' and *us-er- 'dawn'.

The nomina agentis are masculine, and even in the proethnic period feminines were formed for them by means of -ε- -ίς-, e.g. Skr. jāni-tr-ī Gr. γεβε-τείς Lat. gene-tr-īx 'she that produces, mother', see § 110 p. 336. The names of kindred were masculine or feminine according to the sex they denoted, as *po-te-r 'father', *ma-ter- 'mother'. It was not till later periods that special grammatical signs were added to mark this, and then only in a few words; e.g. Lat. jāni-tr-ī-c-īs beside Skr. yd-tar- 'husband's brother's wife' Gr. σίρα-τετ-ες 'women married to brothers'.

§ 120. The forms assumed by the suffix -(t)er- in its different grades were very numerous both in the proethnic and later periods. The so-called strong cases had -(t)er- -(t)or- -(t)or- -(t)or-, the weak cases -(t)r- -(t)γ-.

First as regards the weak cases: -(t)r- appears before the case endings which begin in a sonant, e.g. Skr. dat. sing. pi-tr-ē dd-tr-ē, (t)γ- before those which begin in a consonant, e.g. loc. pl. pi-ty-ṣu dd-ty-ṣu. The same forms of the suffix were originally regular in derivatives; e.g. Skr. datr-ī-ṣu loc. pl. fem. beside dd-tar- da-tar- 'dator', bhrātr-tevā-m 'brotherhood' beside bhṛd-tar- 'brother'. In several languages the weak forms of the suffix were soon driven out by the strong in the declension of the -(t)er- stems; especially in nomina agentis; and all that remain to show that weak forms had ever existed in the case-system are derivatives which contain the weak stem. Compare e.g. Gr. ῥησ-το-ίς 'female robber' ῥησ-το-αξί-ς 'inclined to robbery' beside ῥησ-το-ρ (="to") and ῥησ-τηρ (="tr") 'robbber', Lat. da-tr-t-īx
beside da-tor (-tór-), mole-trīna beside mollītor (-tör-), Umbr. uh-tr-etie 'auctoritate' beside uh-tur 'auctor', Lith. dukr-ėtė 'little daughter', pó-dukr-a pó-dukr-ė 'step-daughter' (Pruss. po-ducr-e) beside duk-tė (-ter-) 'daughter', Pruss. swestr-o O.C.Sl. sestr-a beside Lith. ses-ū (-er-) 'sister'.

With regard to the original distribution of the strong forms of the suffix the following points may be considered certain.

1. The nom. sing. ended sometimes in -(t)ė(r), sometimes in -(t)ē(r), cp. on the one hand Gr. να-τηρ ὁ-τηρ Lat. pa-ter (I § 655, 4 p. 503), O.Ir. a-thir (I § 657, 6 p. 509), O.Icel. fa-ðer fa-ðir, Lith. duk-tė O.C.Sl. dūsti (Skr. pi-ta dā-tā) and on the other Gr. ϕο-τωρ μυχρο-πάτωρ δο-τωρ, Lat. sor-or da-tor (I § 655, 4 p. 503), O.Ir. siur for syes-ōr (I § 657, 6 p. 509), Lith. ses-ū (Skr. bhṛd-ta dā-ta).

2. A certain number of these stems had in the acc. sing. and nom. du. pl. -(t)er-, cp. Gr. να-τερ-α, O.H.G. fa-ter, Lith. duk-ter-i (Skr. pi-tār-am).

3. There was a loc. sing. in (-er) -eri, cp. Gr. να-τερ-ι (Skr. pi-tār-i dā-tār-i).

Further conclusions which I think probable are as follows. All the -(t)er-stems had originally the same inflexion; the difference between -ē-:-ē- and '-o-:'-ū- was caused solely by difference of accent. Gr. νατηρ νατέρν : μυχρο-πάτωρ-, πάτορ, ἀνέρ : ἀνέρα : ἀγ-ήρωρ -ήρωρ and so forth, just as ϕον ϕόνα : ϕονῳ-ϕόνῳ. Moreover the same variation appears where the words are uncompounded; Gr. δο-τήρ δο-τήρ beside δο-τωρ, ἑγ-ήρῳ beside ἑκ-τωρ and the like, and Skr. nom. dā-tā beside dā-tā, pātā beside pā-tā, Avest. acc. bar*-tār-em = Skr. bhātār-am beside baśar-em = Skr. bhātār-am (I § 260 p. 212 f.). In Greek there is no trace of a difference in meaning between these latter pairs of forms; in Sanskrit, on the other hand, the nomen agentis as a rule has the character of a participle when the root-syllable bears the accent (the governed nouns being usually in the acc., vāsūni dātā 'bona dans'), whereas, when the suffix is accented, it is a noun pure and simple (usually governing the gen., vāsūnā datā boonorum dator'). This distinction may be original, and
at one time have prevailed in Greek; indeed, the Lat. *da-tār-un* vouches for the fact that these *nomina agentis* had a participial character in the parent language, as they actually have in Iranian. It follows that the difference of accent in this class of words may have been originally based on a difference of accent in the sentence. Hence it is probable that

1. The acc. sing. nom. acc. du. had *-(t)or*- under some conditions, parallel to *-(t)er*- under others; cp. Gr. *dio-rop-a* *kō-ó-s* (§ 122), Mid.Ir. *siair*, Goth. *brō-bar* *svist-ar* O.H.G. *bruω-dar*, Skr. *dd-tār-am* *svās-ar-am*.

2. The loc. sing. always ended in *-(t)er-i*, even where *-(t)or*- occurred in the strong cases of the same paradigm, cp. Skr. *dd-tār-i* (with *-ai* as much as *dā-tār-i*); *svās-ar-i* beside *dd-tār-am* *svās-ar-am*; cp. Goth. loc. *dō-min*: acc. *ah-mān*. Similarly in all the feminine derivatives in *-r*- *-je*- (§ 110 p. 336 f.) *-ter-i* was no doubt the original form in the nom. sing.; cp. Gr. *eν-páteira* *paim-mēteira* (from *eν-πάτηρ* *paim-mētron*) as well as *dūne-tīra* (beside *dūne-riη*).

 Remark. The assumption that all *-ter-stems* had originally the same inflexion is further supported by the Gr. voc. *eν-τη* from *eν-τη* (just as *πα-τη* from *πα-τη*).

Considerable readjustment took place in Aryan and Greek in the inflexion of *nomina agentis* which accentuated the suffix. In Sanskrit we have *dā-ldr-am* instead of *dā-tār-am* through the influence of *dd-tār-am*; similarly in the other strong cases. In Greek, the form *-τη* of the nom. sing. spread through all the cases: *dō-τη*-a instead of *dō-τη*-a; *dō-τη*-a; instead of *dō-τη*-a and so forth; only a few vocatives singular are excepted, as *aω-τη* above. On the other hand, the *-τηr* of the *nomina agentis* is preserved in the Slavonic *tei*—(§ 122): nom. pl. *le-čel*-e ‘cutters, reapers’ = Idg. *grin-tēr-s*.

Amongst the names of kindred, *bhrō-tor* (Gr. *ei̯-toe*-a, Goth. *brō-ν-por*) seems to have been associated even in the parent language with forms that had *-tēr*, such as *po-tēr*; e. g. an acc. *bhrō-ter-m* was formed beside *bhrō-tor-m*. Hence in Greek we find the by-forms *ei̯-toe* *ei̯-tor*-a, in Sanskrit *bhrō-tar-am*, in Latin *frō-ter*; hence perhaps O.H.G. acc. *bruω-dar* as well as *brωω-dar*; Yat while *bhrō-ter-m* arose by the side of *bhrō-tor-m*, no such form as *erdoer-m* came into use beside *erdoer-m* (Skr. *svās-ar-am*, Lat. *sor-or*), the reason perhaps being that the absence of *t* in the word prevented its association with forms like *po-tēr* *mō-tēr*. But Avestic, West-Germanic and Lithuanian ultimately brought the word ‘sister’
into close connexion with the other names of kindred; thus acc. Avest. avasaññay-ah, O.H.G. salester, Lith. ëseer-ë (see below).

In Latin the nominative termination -e-ur spread through all the cases: da-tor-um da-tor-is etc., son-ur-em son-ur-is etc.

In Greek -tob- is only found in the nom. sing. except in an isolated example: Hom. μηθ-τοβ-α μηθ-τοβ-ες.

In Gothic fađar (contrast farța-ë) was formed in imitation of brođar (gebrid-er) swistar (cp. toē-er); in Old High German the forms with e, such as later minuter, had prevailed over brodar etc. before the date of the earliest monuments of the language.

In Lithuanian we have sēsa, but acc. sēser-ë gen. sēsēr-ë and so forth with -er-: here the analogy of dukter-ë (sēsēr-er) dukter-ë etc. has influenced the forms, aided perhaps by the original loc. sing. in *er-ë (Skr. avesār-ë).

Compare the relations of Ablaut in the n-stems, which are on the whole similar, § 113 p. 342 ff. and what is said in the Remark there.

§ 121. Ablaut within the root-syllable varied pari passu with the variation in the suffix. *po-tër- ‘father’ Skr. duhitār- etc. ‘daughter’ have the weak-grade-vocalism; on the other hand *mā-tēr- ‘mother’ has that of the strong grade. Cp. I § 670 p. 535. Skr. uṣṭār- ‘dawn’ beside Gr. ἑω loc. ‘early’ for *aē(o)-sp- and ἑωσμεν- for *aē(o)-sp- (see § 122 p. 381).

In nomina agentis, the strong form of the root generally prevailed in Aryan, and that with either accentuation (dd-tar- and da-tar-); a few variations from this type seem to have survived from the period before varying forms were levelled; as Skr. sayaś-ṣṭhar- ‘the warrior who stands to the left of the charioteer’ (-ṣṭhar- = *-ṣt-tor-) beside ṣṭha-tar- sthā-tar-, Avest. a-fratar- ‘magician’ beside Skr. prē-tar- ‘benefactor, lover’, Avest. yāk-tar- beside Skr. yāk-tar- ‘yoker’, Avest. kēr-tar- beside Skr. kar-tar- ‘doer’. In Greek we have δω-τηρ: δω-τορ, βο-τηρ: βω-τορ, cp. also νο-τηρ: νετηρ, βα-τηρ and ἄφ-ήτωρ; but we also find δω-τηρ: δων-τηρ and ἵσ-τωρ (ηστωρ) with exactly the converse accentuation. In Latin, where -tēr was displaced by -tōr (-tor), we have sta-tōr and sta-tor, da-tor, sa-tor, condi-tor and pō-tor, Umbr. fertur (Skr. bhārtar- bhar-tar-). In the case of in-vėntor cēnsor and the like it is impossible to say whether we have the weak or the strong grade. The Latin participles
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da-tāru-s etc. follow the perf. part. (da-tu-s). In Slavonic we find both the strong (da-tell, sit-dětel, bljus-tell) and the weak grade (ěřě-tell).

§ 122. Indo-Germanic. *dājyér- *dājyερ- and no doubt also *dajur- (I § 155 Rem. p. 140') 'husband's brother, brother-in-law': Skr. děvār-, Armen. taigor gen. taiger (g for y, I § 162 p. 145), Gr. ἰαῖρο for *ίαυρε (I § 96 p. 90), Lat. lēvir (gen. lēvrī) for lēver through popular association with vīr (cp. also I § 369 p. 279 f.), A.S. tācor O.H.G. zeihrur (for the c and h see Bugge, Paul-Br. Beitr. XIII 575), Lith. gen. sing. dėver-s (nom, sing. dėver-i-s whence the by-form of the gen. dėver-ės; the word is also declined as an įo-stem; the true nom. *dėvė = Skr. dēvād Gr. δεῖρξ no doubt dropped out of use owing to its gender and to avoid confusion with dēvė 'goddess') O.C.Sl. děver-t-. Skr. n-ār-, Gr. ἀν-ήρ, gen. ἀνδρ-ος, 'man', ἀν-ωρ 'human being' (Hesych.) for *νο- (I § 204 p. 170), Umbr. ner-f acc. 'proceres' ner-us 'proceribus'. Skr. uṣ-ār- 'early light, dawn' Gr. ὄρη adv. loc. 'early' for *ορεντί *ορεν-ερί (ὄρε-νος 'early'), beside which we have ὄρ-ορ-ν doubtful for *ορε-ερ- (I § 312 p. 249 f.), cp. also ἄγγ-άνσος 'close on morning' ἀν-ον-ν 'morrow, morning' (for *αγγε- or *αγγε-) and Lith. ausrā 'red of the morning' (§ 74 p. 180). *sufsor- *sufses- *sufser- 'sister' (cp. p. 9 footnote, and § 120 Rem. p. 379 f.): Skr. svāsar- Armen. Eor gen. Eor (I § 560. 561 p. 416 f.), Lat. sor-or and sobr-ũn-s (i § 570 p. 428), O.Ir. sirn Cymr. chaeer (for *chaeer-), Goth. svistar instead of *svasar through the influence of svistr-s etc. (I § 580 p. 433 f.), Lith. sesū gen. sesēs, O.C.Sl. seestr-a (I § 585 p. 439); we must no doubt class here Gr. ἱο (vocat.): ἱνυτηρ, ἱνειδο; and ἱο-εγ. προσηκουτες, ἱνγειν; Hesych. (է for է I § 564 p. 421), where the meaning has changed.

*po-ter- 'father': Skr. pitār-, Armen. hair gen. hasr, Gr. πα-τήρ (note its form in compounds, e. g. μητρό-ναρ), Lat. pater, O.Ir. athir, Goth. fadar. *ma-ter- 'mother': Skr. màtār-

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1) In this Remark a full stop should be inserted after the word 'formation'; and in the preceding paragraph (§ 155) l. 4 read 'prim. Ar. *atharum- ('fire-priest') not *atharaus-', instead of 'for atharwm-'.

Armen. mair gen. mair ; Gr. μαύρος gen. μαύρος-ος (the accent of μαύρο no doubt follows that of the voc. μαύρο) (προ-μαύρο), Lat. māter, O.Ir. māthir, Goth. muoter, Lith. motė and motė ('woman, wife') O.C.Sl. mati. Skr. duhi-tār- Gr. θεύα-τηρ (like Skr. damī-tār- Gr. παν-θεματ-ηρ, p. 383) Armen. dustr (the st is obscure) Goth. dužh-tar (early Norse nom. pl. doh-tr-ir like Gr. Hom. θέω-ερ-ης) Lith. duk-tē O.C.Sl. dūšti 'daughter'.


Nomina agentis (in Sanskrit the acc. always has -tār-, in Gr. -tēr- excepting μαύρο-, and -tēr-, in Lat. all cases have -tēr-). Skr. pura-tār- 'he who precedes, guide', Lat. praetor, √joj-. Skr. vēttar- 'knower', Gr. ξενωρ ἴτωρ 'knower, witness', Lat. visor in-visor, O.C.Sl. sū-pěstěti 'conscius, witness' (ē in place of Idg. oj is not original), √yeid-. Skr. yōk-tār- Avest. yāx-tar- 'yoker', Gr. ζευχ-τηρ 'yoke-strap' ζευχ-τευχ 'binder (f.)', Lat. iunct-tor, √jeng-. Skr. bōdhar- 'he who knows, or understands something', Gr. πενωπο-νος 'questioning, inquiring', O.C.Sl. bljustel-ǔ 'watchman', √bheuđ-. Skr. bhar-tār- bhar-tar- 'bearer, supporter, nourisher', Lat. in-fertor Umb. ar-fertur 'infertor, flamen'. Skr. gān-tār- 'he who goes, comes', Gr. βα-γηρ βαλκων, βαδιστοκός (Hesych.), šen-bětwar 'mounter, coverer', Lat. in-ventor, √ven-. Skr. han-tār- 'he who strikes, kills, murderer', O.C.Sl. šč-tel-ǚ 'cutter', √ghen-. Skr. śāq-tār- 'he who recites', Ose. cens-tur 'censor', √kens-. Skr. pak-tār-, 'he who cooks, broils, bakes', Gr. πα-τα-α 'cook (f.)' (late), Lat. coc-tor, √peq-. Skr. sāttar- 'he who sits', Lat. ad-sessor, √sed-. Skr. dhā-tār-dhā-tar- 'he who places, creator', Gr. ἄσε-τηρ 'placer' (late), Lat. con-ditor, O.C.Sl. sū-detel-ǐ 'conditor', √dhē-. Skr. shtā-tār- 'standing, not moving' shtā-tar- 'charioteer' savyē-śhar- savya-śhār- 'the warrior who stands to the left of the charioteer' i.e. ∗st-+tār- (ep. Germ. *für-sti- § 100 p. 297), Gr. στα-τήρ a
weight and a coin ἀνα-σταρη̣ζον 'apostate', Lat. Juppiter Stā-tor, sta-tor ob-stetr-i-x, √ṣṭā-. Skr. pā-tār- pā-tar- 'drinker', Gr. νεο-τηρον 'drinking vessel, goblet' εἰνο-νερη̣ζον 'wine-drinker', Lat. pō-tor. Gr. αἰ-τωρ 'leader' ἐξ-αξτη̣ζον 'he who goes out for prey, hunter', Lat. dē-tor dē-tr-i-x, √ag-. Avest. šba-tar- 'panegyrist' O.CSl. sva-tel-i. Skr. jnā-tār- 'knower, acquaintance', Gr. γνωστη̣ζον 'witness for the truth of a statement' (σ- is an analogical insertion as in γνωσια-ζον beside γνωςια-ζον), Lat. nō-tor, O.CSl. zna-tel-i 'knower'.

Skr. dami-tār- 'tamer', Gr. παρ-δαιμωρον 'vanquisher of all', Lat. domi-tor. Skr. jani-tār- Gr. γενετη̣ζον γενετη̣ζον Lat. geni-tor 'begetter', Lat. genet-tr-i-x.

Aryan. Skr. dēc-ār-, Skr. n-ā. Avest. n-ār- 'man', Skr. uṣ-ār-, Skr. svās-ār- Avest. xvaṣh-ar- 'sister' (§ 120 p. 379); see above, p. 381. Skr. nānānd-ar- 'husband's sister' is an analogical formation, cp. nand-int- the same. Here should perhaps be classed Avest. ātar- (acc. ātar-em, nom. (a re-formation) ātar) m. 'fire'; t is in place of pr. Ar. th, as is shewn by Skr. āthavan- and Avest. āpravan-.


In proethic Aryan napāt- napt- 'offspring, descendant', (§ 123) was associated with the names of kindred, first in the weak cases: Skr. nāptar- Avest. naptar- (cp. Czech neti below); yet the acc. sing. is Skr. nāptaram Avest. naptarem, like svā-sāram. Skr. gen. pātyur 'mariti' like pītūr (see Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 290).

Remark. In § 114 Rem. 1 p. 348 and § 117 Rem. 2 p. 389 mention was made of the transference of nominatives in -a and -mō to the a-declension; we see the same thing in Prākrit, where dhākidā 'daughter' and mādā 'mother' were inflected like ā-stems. Similarly, in Lithuanian in-tū 'brother's wife', and in some dialects also asū 'sister', which is found side by side with sesū, were declined as ā-stems.

Towards the end of the Vedic period of Sanskrit, the nom.

sing. du. pl. masc. of these *nomina agentis* began to be used with

the present of as-essé as a periphrastic future (cp. Lat. datūrus sum), which became a favourite construction in the classical period. In the third person the copula was usually omitted, and the form of the nom. sing. which had become fused with

the verb, was generally kept even in the first and second persons of the plural and dual. Sing. datāsmi I will give datāsi
dā, du. datāsas datāthas datārāu, pl. datāsmas datāthā

datāras. Rarely 3 sing. datāsti, 1. du. datārāu seas and the like.

The adjectival character of the *nomina agentis* created a neuter form for them in Sanskrit; thus nom. acc. sing. da-śf

(in Veda also -tār, see I § 285 p. 228), pl. -śfsi etc. Cp.


Armenian. Here are found only names of kindred, all

of which have been already mentioned: taigr 'brother-in-law',

koiś 'sister', hair 'father', mair 'mother', dusdr 'daughter', elbair

'brother'; see above, p. 381 f.

Greek. Δαῖρ 'brother-in-law', ἀνήρ 'man', ἀρχ 'early', ἐφ-ε-ες

προορίστοντες, see above, p. 381. δήρ, gen. δήρ-ες, f. m. 'air',

Læs. ἄφορ, compare ἀφόρ 'air'. αἰθηρ, αἰθέρος, f. m. 'aether',

compare ἀθρόα.

πα-τρό 'father', μη-τρό 'mother', ἄγα-τρό 'daughter', ἀρδ-τρό

'member of αρδόλα'; see above, p. 381 f. εἰνα-τερ-ες 'women

married to brothers': Skr. yd-tar- (acc. -tar-am) 'husband's

brother's wife' (probably for *ig-ter-*, see I § 253 p. 207), Lat.

jani-tr-i-ōs (§ 119 p. 377), Lith. in-tē (gen. in-tēs, cp. the

Remark on p. 383) 'brother's wife'; it is still doubtful what we

should assume as the original form of the root-syllable; there seem

to have been both a form with a following the root-syllable,
and a form without, as in Skr. duhi-tār-: Goth. daük-tar. γασ-τηρ 'belly'.


Παν-δαμά-τωρ, γενε-τηρ γενε-τωρ, see above p. 383. ἄλ-τητ-τες 'miller (f.)': ἄλ- for γηλ-? cp. Lat. mol-i-tor.

With -τωρ- we find only μήσ-τωρ, Homer. acc. -τωρ-ν, 'counsellor' (but as a proper name Μῆστωρ-ν), beside μῆσ-ομαί.

Italic. Lat. lēvir modified in form by popular etymology; see above, p. 381. Umb. ner-ī 'procures'; see above, p. 381. Lat. sōr for òsīsōr. see above, p. 381.

Lat. paτεr Umbr. Iu-pater 'Juppiter' Iuve patre 'Jovi patri' Osc. patir 'pater' paterei 'patri' (I § 627 p. 471) Marruc. patres 'patris', Lat. máter Umbr. matrer 'matri' Osc. maatreis
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'matris', Lat. frater Umbr. frater 'fratre' fratrum 'fratrum'; see above, p. 382. Lat. ven-ter.

In the group of nomina agentis we may assume that -ör- had prevailed in all cases even in proethnic Italic; only the derivatives show -tr-. The formation seems to have been in active use in all dialects.

Lat. in-terror, Umbr. afer-terror, flamen a.c. aves-terroro dat. -fertere: Skr. biar-tar-; see above, p. 382. Lat. ò-versor, Osc. ò-veros (o to be read long) *Yersori, ὑεραλός, yert- censor (ep. § 79 Rem. 2 p. 231), Osc. cenetur keen szatur (for the zs see I § 209 p. 176), 'censor': Skr. dés-tar-, see p. 382 above. Lat. in-spector, Umbr. speture 'spectori' speturie dat. 'spectoriae': Avest. spas-tar- 'watchman'. √ spek-. Lat. auc-tor, Umbr. uhur 'autror' uhutru 'autorem' uh tr etie 'auctoritate'. Osc. embratur 'imperator', regatur e 'rector'.


Lat. domi-tor, geni-tor; see above, p. 383. meri-tor-in-s mere-tr-i-x. dèbi-tor. moli-tor. moni-tor.

The connexion of the Latin participles in -tār-us, such as da-tār-us, with these nomina agentis can not be denied, but the ò is obscure (I § 89 p. 85).

In Old Irish only the names of kindred remain.

siur, acc. Mid.Ir. siair, 'sister'; see above, p. 381; through the influence of names of kindred in -ter- arose the forms gen. sethar acc. sethir dat. pl. sethraib.

athir 'father', mithir 'mother', brathir 'brother', see above p. 381 f. To these the word for 'uncle' was assimilated, Mod.Cymr. ewi-thir O.Corn. ewi-ter, ep. Lat. aunn-cul-uns.
Germanic. *swist-er* O.H.G. *sveist-er* 'sister', see above p. 381.

Goth. *fa-daer* daúh-tar bróþur O.H.G. *fater muoter tohter bruoder*; see above, p. 381 f. In O.H.G. another word seems to have been associated with these: *swiger*, gen. *swiger*, 'mother-in-law' (Skr. śvatařā-).

In Gothic, *-tr-u* (for *-tr-ús*) in the dat. pl. and *-tr-uns* (for *-tr-ús*) in the acc. pl. gave rise to the nom. pl. in *-trjus*, as bróþrjus, after the analogy of the u-declension. In Old High German the names of kindred were also declined as o-stems and as a-stems (according to their gender), but the feminine forms occur only in the pl., and not until a late period. Thus we have gen. sing. *fateres* beside *fater*, gen. pl. only *faterā*, gen. pl. tohterā beside tohter.

Of the *nomina agentis* we have only doubtful traces. A.S. *bæcestre* f. 'baker (f.)' and the like; see § 110 p. 336. A.S. *bealdor* O.Icel. *bldr* 'chief', O.H.G. *smeidar* 'artifex', see Kluge, Nominale Stammbildungsli. § 30. O.H.G. *friu-dił* fri-duol m. 'beloved' O.Icel. *fri-duil* 'concubinus': O.C.Sl. *prija-tel-i* 'friend' Avest. *a-fratar-* 'one who pronounces a blessing' Skr. *pr̥-tar-* 'benefactor, lover': I must have arisen in Germanic, as in Slavonic, *-tel-i* through dissimilation, cp. *murmulon* etc. I § 277 p. 221; but there is difficulty in explaining the relation of the vowels in the root-syllable (cp. Brate in Bezztenb. Beitr. XI 187).


Lith. mo-tē and mōtē 'woman, wife' O.C.Sl. *mati* 'mother', Lith. duk-tē O.C.Sl. *dušti* 'daughter', Lith. bro-ter-ēli-s 'little brother'. O.C.Sl. *bra-trū* bra-tū 'brother', see p. 382 above. Lith. in-tē (gen. intés) 'brother's wife' (O.C.Sl. *je-tr-y* like *sekry*): Skr. yā-tar- etc., see p. 385 above; 'a confusion with genti-s 'a relative' (m. f.) gave rise to the form gent-ē gen. gentēri-s or gentēs 'husband's brother's wife'. In Czech the inflexion of *neti* f. 'niece' (= Skr. *napt-i*) was assimilated to that of the
names of kindred, partly in consequence of the similar ending of the nom. sing.: thus gen. mater-, like mater-; cp. Skr. nadāpter- p. 383.

The class of nomina agentis is found only in Slavonic, where it was fertile. In Lithuanian these forms were displaced by those in -tājī-s = O.C.Sl. tajī, as ar-tōjī-s = O.C.Sl. ra-tājī ora-tājī 'arator'; as to Lith. -klē see I § 281 Rem. 1 p. 224. Slav. -tel- arose from -ter- by dissimilation; see I § 281 p. 224. -tel- without any additional suffix is still found in nom. gen. instr. pl., -tel-e, -tel-i, -tel-y although the two latter forms may also be regarded as belonging to the o-decl.); elsewhere we have -tel-je-. süvēstelī 'conscius, witness', bljestelī 'watchman', še-telī 'reaper', sū-dētelī 'conditor', xva-telī 'caller', sna-telī 'knower'; see above, p. 382 f. da-telī 'giver', see above, p. 384. prija-telī 'friend', see above p. 388. šri-telī 'offerer, priest'. vlas-telī 'commander' (vładą 'I command, rule'), zi-telī 'inhabitant', dēla-telī 'worker'. sū-biratelī 'collector'. umē-telī 'one who understands'. sū-vēdetelī 'conscius, witness'. prosi-telī 'beggar'. goni-telī 'follower'. -itelī was also used as an independent suffix: e. g. po-dad-itelī 'lender, bail, security', po-greb-itelī 'burier'.

VII. Suffixes in -t.

§ 123. The Suffix -t-1). In the proethnic language this was a primary suffix; and it was most frequently found, as its use in Sanskrit, Greek and Latin shews, in the final members of compound words. These had the force of a participle, which was generally active and could be either an adjective or substantive. But -t- is used in this way only with roots which end in vowels, liquids, or nasals, such as ej-, dhē-, bher-, ghen-. Skr. arithē- (artha-t-) 'busy, in haste', Lat. comes stem com-i- (properly 'one who goes with'), √ej-. Avest. frstema-da-t- 'one set first, set in front, chief', Gr. θης, gen. θη-τος, 'hired labourer', √dhē-. Avest. praotē-stā-t- adj. 'in the rivers', Lat. anti-sti-, √stā-.

1) De Saussure, Le suffixe -t-, Mémoires de la Soc. de Ling. III 197 ff.
Here must be classed *nepōt- *nept- (Skr. nāpāt ‘offspring, descendant’ instr. nādbhiś for *nabād-bhiś, Lat. nepōs, Mid.Ir. niae, gen. niath, ‘sister’s son’, O.H.G. nefo ‘nephew, relative’ Goth. niþ-ji-s ‘cousin, relative’, O.Icel. nið-r ‘offspring’, O.C.Sl. net-iju ‘nephew, cousin’, see I § 527 Rem. 1 p. 382, § 545 p. 399), if it belongs to the root of *po-ter- ‘father’ and if its original meaning was ‘not having (a father’s) protection, belonging to the family of uncle or grandfather’, and hence ‘nephew’ or grandson; see E. Leumann, Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk 1888 p. 77 f.

Next should be mentioned noq-t- ‘night’ (beside *noq-ti-, cp. the suffix -tati- beside -tat- § 102 p. 308): Skr. nāk-t- (Gadeticke, Der Acc. im Veda 177, B. Kahle, Zur Entwicklung der Consonant. Decl. im Germ. 32 f.), Gr. νύξ νυστατ-ς, Lat. nox (which also forms i-cases), O.Ir. i-nocht ‘hac nocte’, Goth. gen. nakt-s dat. nak-t, O.Lith. gen. pl. nak-t-u.

We also find a few substantive numerals (with by-forms in -ti-, see § 101 p. 306 f.): *dekyt-t- ‘decade’: Skr. daśat-, Gr. ἑνάκας gen. ἑκάδ-ος (for the ἕ see p. 392), Lith. pl. dėzint-s O.C.Sl. pl. deseč-e. In this way were formed Skr. pañcat- Gr. πεντάς πέντας ‘a group of five’ (I § 427 a p. 312) beside Skr. pāca Gr. πέντε ‘five’, and other examples.

Lastly we find a certain number of nouns in different languages with a short vowel between the root and -t-; as Skr. sravat- f. ‘river’, Lat. teges, gen. teget-is, f. ‘covering’, Goth. mitāp-s, stem mitad- f. ‘measure’, Skr. vāghat- ‘praying’, Gr. ἀγάθ- ‘gleaming’, Lat. teres, gen. teret-is, ‘turned, round, long’. Not one of these nouns appears in more than one language. Nevertheless it is natural to derive them from a common source.

In several branches of Indo-Germanic, particularly in Aryan, this suffix -t- was taken widely into use in combination with others by which it was extended. The new compound suffixes were used independently and became fertile, e. g. Skr. -t-nu-.

'praising the gods', Avest. ahüm-stu-t 'praising the world'. Skr. dēva-śrū-t- 'heard of the gods, audible to them'. Skr. cajravabhīt-t- 'bearing the thunderbolt', Avest. aš-ber-št- 'enduring much' a-ber-št- 'pursuer' (appellation of a priest's assistant). Skr. su-ky-t- 'behaving well', Avest. yāś-ker-št- 'transacting business'. Avest. taxmār-št- (taxma-ar-št-) 'pressing on hard'. Skr. adheva-gāt-t- 'on the way, traveller', √gem-. Less often in uncompounded words: Skr. ri-t- 'running', hrū-t- 'injurer, foe', Avest. stū-t- 'praiser'. Moreover these -t-stems are found in Aryan as feminine abstract substantives: Skr. sam-i-t- 'hostile meeting', ni-yūt-t- 'team', stū-t- 'praise, song', vy-t- 'company, following, troop, band', Avest. xhsūt-t- 'wisdom'. For the Skr. nāpāt- nāpt- 'offspring, descendant' Avest. napāt- nāpt- (sem. Skr. nāpt-t- Avest. nāpt-t-) see above p. 390, and for Skr. nāptar- Avest. naptar- § 122 p. 383.

Extensions of this suffix gave rise to the suffixes -iya-, e. g. Skr. kṛtya-s 'facing/ing' § 63 p. 123 f., -tnu-, e. g. Skr. kṛtnu-s 'active' § 106 p. 320, -tyan-, e. g. Skr. kṛtyan- 'effecting' § 116 p. 364. Compare Skr. mṛtyu-s 'death' § 105 p. 318 f.

Skr. nāk-t- 'night', see above p. 390. Skr. daśată- 'a group of ten' paścāt- 'a group of five', see above, p. 390.

A few Sanskrit nouns have -at- -it- -śvetat- f. river'. vaḥat- f. 'stream'. saścāt- f. 'stopping, check'. vēhāt- f. 'a cow which yeans prematurely, casts'. vaghāt- 'praying, one who prays'. sarit- f. 'river, brook'. yuśit- f. 'girl, maiden'. harit- 'tawny'. There is one word in -ut-: marut- name of the storm-gods.


vūk, gen. vuk-τ-ός, 'night', see p. 390 above.

dekhīs, πενθαίς πενναίς, see p. 390 above. Se also πράς 'a group of seven' ground-form *septum-t-, ἅννας 'a group of nine',
duos τρώς (this word cannot be compared with Lat. triēns, gen. trient-is), ἔσας etc. In I § 298 p. 199, § 469, p. 346 something has been said of the -δ- in these forms. In the Indo-Germanic case-system (dekunt-*septunt- and so forth) there was a variation between t and c, e.g. dat. *dekunt-oj, instr. *dekund-bhi(s). The only question is whether the Gr. -δ- arose from an assimilation of the cases with t to this latter form either in Greek or earlier, or whether the δ was a special Greek development, due to the terminations -ας -αν, which also belonged to the original d-stems (§ 128). The latter explanation now seems to me the more probable. Cp. λάργαυ- § 130 Rem.

ἀνγέρ- and ἀγγέρ- 'gleaming' the nom. was perhaps originally -έτ, gen. -et-os and so forth (cp. below A.S. hael 'hero' for pr. Germ. *xalēp). κλέγης, gen. -ης-os, m. 'runner, courser', ἐκχής m. 'possessor', λέβης m. 'cauldron, bowl'.

Italic. Lat. com-es, anti-stes, nepōs (gen. nepōt-is etc.; the weak form of the stem appears in nep-ī-s), see p. 390 above. suerdōs, gen. -dōt-is, for *sācro-dō-t- I § 633 p. 473 f.; where it must be remembered that -dō-t- can be derived not only from √dō-, but also from √dhē (cp. Gr. ἵππο-ς etc. I § 315 p. 254). locu-ples, gen. -ples-t-īs, whose original meaning has not been clearly determined (see Corssen, Krit. Nachtr. 253). man-suēs, gen. -suē-t-is (beside mān-suē-tu-s). Add in-gen-t-, if it originally meant 'unknown, unheard of', and then 'extraordinary, huge', and so comes from √gen- 'know' (Danielsson, Pauli's Altital. Stud. IV 149 f.).

Lat. nox, see above p. 390.

With -ēt-: teges (gen. teget-is) f., seges f., merges f.; teres, hebes. An isolated form is caput, gen. capit-is.

Remark 1. With -īt-: eques (gen. equit-īs) m. (equo-ς), pedes m. (pēs), vexēs m. (vēn-um), mīles m., circēs m. (cirecu-s), palmae m. (palm-α), ăles subst. m. and adj. (ăla). K. Walter (Kuhn's Ztschr. X 194 f.) holds that these correspond to such Greek denominatives as ἰττί-τον (eques) ἱγο-το-ς § 80 p. 240). There seems to me to have been a confusion in Latin between tā-stems and compounds with -i-t- 'going' (see com-i-t-above), after the vowels preceding the -t- had become indistinguishable through phonetic change. The compounds attracted the tā-stems into their
own consonantal declension, a process which was assisted by popular etymology. But it is doubtful whether all these forms (eques etc.) were tā- stems to start with. It may certainly be assumed of a few examples such as ped-i-t-, that (like com-es) they were real compounds of -i-t- 'going'.

Old Irish. *niae, gen. niath, (Mid.Ir.) 'sister's son', in-nocht 'hac nocte', see p. 390 above.

With -et-: cing-, gen. cinged, 'hero, warrior' Gall. Cinges- etis Cinge-t-o-rīz, traig 'foot', cin 'debt', luch 'mouse'. Compare Gall. acc. pl. Namnet-as, and further (with ñ) Atrebūl-es (beside O.Ir. atreba i.e. ad-treba 'possidet, habitat') as well as Ir. ascad- (nom. ascaes) 'rival, enemy' arad- 'charioteer'; in these words it is difficult to determine the original form of the suffix.

Germanic. O.H.G. nefo 'nephew' for *nefō(d) has been attracted into the n-declension: Skr. nāpāt etc., see p. 390 above. O.H.G. nift 'neptis, privigna' = Skr. nāpt-i.


Remark 2. Consonantal cases are found in the declension of the feminine nouns Goth. vailt-s 'thing' brus-t-s 'breast' as from pohst-s; and also from spaerē-s (spaér-ē-) 'race-course' dulf-s (dulf-ē-) 'feast'. The two latter should be compared with such Sanskrit fem. forms as nj-t-s stā-t- (see p. 391), if their consonantal inflexion is original.

There is a class of nouns which show a vowel before the -t- (pr. Germ. -ē- or -ē-, following always the position of the accent), which have abandoned their old consonantal inflexion more or less completely. Goth. mitāp-s (st. mitad-) f. 'measure', beside O.Sax. metod O.Icel. mjóttad-r m. 'measurer, orderer, artist, creator'. O.H.G. helid A.S. hæled (also hæle, an old nom. without s, for *kalēp) O.Icel. höld-r 'hero'. O.H.G. hehit 'pike, seoedd 'creator', leitid 'leader'. In Norse this class (nomina agentis) was fertile: e.g. hatu-ār hötad-r 'hater', skapadr 'creator', framīd-r 'gestor, tributor, dator'.

Goth. mēnōp-s (dat. mēnōp, pl. nom. acc. mēnōp-s) O.H.G. mānōd O.Icel. mánad-r (pl. mánad-r m. 'month'. The nominative form *mēnōp(b) gave rise to Goth. mēna O.H.G. māno, which
then developed n-cases like *nēfo. In this word -n- was a secondary suffix, and so also in Goth. veitvōp-s (veitvōd-) m. 'witness'; this form will be discussed below in § 176.

Balto-Slavonic. The Lith. nom. sing. mėnū (gen. mėnesio) may, with O.H.G. mano, be referred to *męnōt.

Lith. pl. dėszimt-s O.C.Sl. deset-e; see p. 390 above.

Remark 3. The Slav. masc. lakūtt 'elbow, el', nagūtt 'unguis', pėcut 'seal' form cases according to the consonantal declension; e. g. gen. pl. lakūtū nom. pl. pėcat-e. Have we here a secondary transference to this declension?

§ 124. The Suffixes -tāt- and -tāt- formed feminine abstract substantives from Adjectives and Substantives, and had in the proethnic and later periods the parallel forms -tāti- and -tāti-. They have been discussed in § 102 p. 308 ff.

§ 125. The Suffix -nt-1). In all periods this suffix formed all the active participles excepting that of the Perfect (§ 136). In most of the separate groups of languages it has remained in living use down to the present day.

nt- participles became simple nouns in all the languages, though more rarely in some than in others. They became partly adjectives -pure und simple (with comparative and superlative), such as Mod.H.G. reizend 'charming' and partly substantives, such as Mod.H.G. freund 'friend'. This change from one part of speech to another has taken place at every stage in the development of the Indo-Germanic languages. Thus for example Mod.H.G. zahn (Lat. dēns) had become a substantive in the proethnic period, freund (Goth. friōnd-s) in

1) H. Ebel, Das Suffix -ant und Verwandtes, Kuhn's Ztschr. IV 321 ff. M. Bréal, Origine du suffixe participial ant, Mém. de la Soc. de lingui. II 188 ff. F. Baudry, Le t du suffixe participial ant, ibid. 393 ff. O. Bechstein, De nominibus Latinis suffixorum ant et mince, opes formatas, Curtius' Stud. VIII 385 sqq. (I have not been able to work through Ch. Bartholomae's essay, Die ar. Flexion der Adjectiva und Participia auf -nt-, which has just appeared in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 487 ff., so as to make use of it for the following sections, but a cursory survey has shown me, to my great satisfaction, that we have arrived at the same conclusions on certain main points).
prothetic Germanic, *heilalnd (A.S. *heiλend) in prothetic West-Germanic, and *der vorsitzende (O.H.G. *furisizendo) 'president' in High German. Compare § 144.

-nt- is sometimes added immediately to the root-syllable, e.g. *s-nt- 'being' (√ es-) (Skr. s-ānt- s-at-), sometimes to stems having a tense-determinant, e.g. pres. *q̄-nt- (√ q̄ei-) (Skr. ci-nt- ci-at-), *rud-nt- (√ reyd-) (Skr. rud-nt-), *bhēydht- (Skr. bōdh-at-nt-), fut. *dō-nt- (√ dō-) (Skr. dā-nt-).

Remark 1. It is a plausible hypothesis that the 3. pl. in -nti and -nt (*rudō-nti = Skr. rudā-nti *ūrūdō-nti = Skr. ā-rudan, cp. Lat. rudam-nt) is simply the bare stem of this participial formation, to which -i was sometimes added on the analogy of the 3. sing. in -ti beside -t etc. If so, the 3. pl. perf. (Gr. ἡβοᾶν-ων, -ων; Goth. rīs-ow) was doubtless formed originally with some other suffix; and as a matter of fact the n- suffix is not used in that tense in Aryan.

The original variation of ablaut is on the whole clear:


With thematic stems, on the other hand, the suffix assumed the forms -ōnt- and -nt-; as Skr. rudā-nt-am rudat-ās rudat-su (instead of *rudat-sū) (Gr. Fōdr-ετα *Feđar-ός; *Fēdar-ou (replaced by Fōdr-ετα and Fōda-μ Fōd-εις). It is certain that -ōnt- and -nt- were original; but it is still a little doubtful whether the paradigm also contained -nt-. The nom. sing. ended partly in -o-nt-s (and under certain conditions perhaps in -o-nt-s), partly in -ōn (Gr. qēon O.C.Sl. bery; there was no loss of -t, contrast ëγνον for Ἐγνον I § 611 p. 461).

Remark 2. Special evidence for a form -o-nt- beside -o-nt- and -nt- is given by Mid.H.G. sint O.Icel. sinnd-r 'tooth', prons = *d-en-t- beside *d-en-t- (O.H.G. zan, Gr. ἦδων- etc.) and *d-nt- (Goth. van). It is possible to assume (with B. Kähler, Zur Erw. der Conson. Decl, 13) that the loc. sing. was originally *dēnt-(), ep. loc. sing. -en(-i) -emon(-i) § 115 p. 344 and -en(-i) § 120 p. 379. Another view is also possible. *rud-nt-may once have existed beside *bhēydht-nt-, *d-nt- beside *d-o-nt- as ἐ-nt-; beside ἐ-nt-; § 113 p. 343 f. and πa-τηρ-; beside πα-τηρ-;
§ 126. Indo-Germanic, Participles. *bhēr-o-nt-*bhēr-yn-, beside *bhēr-e-ti 'fert': Skr. bhārant- bhārat-, Gr. γήωρ (-oωρ-), Lat. ferōns (-ent-), Goth. bairand-s (-and-), O.C.Sl. bery (*-aѣ-). *dorķējo-nt-, from the causative *dorķēji-e-ti 'causes to see', √derk-: Skr. daksāyant- 'causing to see' Goth. ga-tarhjand-s 'distinguishing'; Skr. tyajāyant- 'bidding one abandon something' Gr. σκαίονdr 'driving away quickly, scaring off'; Skr. naśāyant- 'causing to disappear, destroying' Lat. nocēns from *nocejent- (Indic. nocēd). *rul-o-nt-,! *rul-yn- from *rul-e-ti 'laments, howls': Skr. rulānt- rudat- Lat. rudēns (-ent-); Skr. vidānt- 'finding' Gr. ἴδωρ 'seeing' Goth. vitand-s 'knowing'; Skr. girānt- O.C.Sl. žīry 'swallowing' common ground-form* gyr-o-nt-, √ger-; Skr. kruṇānt- 'cutting off' Lith. krintas (-ant-) 'falling off'. *dō-sjē-nt-, from *dō-sjē-ti fut. 'he will give': Skr. dasyānt- Lith. dūsēs (-ent-). *yē-nt- (the stem doubtless had this form in all the cases; for Aryan rāt- in the weak cases see § 110 p. 337), from *yē-ti 'blows' (without vowel-gradation): Skr. vānt-, Gr. ἀεικ α(ξ)ερ- for ᾰ(ξ)ερ-; add Lat. vent-u-s Goth. vind-s 'wind', which have been extended by -o-.

*sthd-nt- *stent-, from *stā-t(i). (Lat. sta-t, Skr. ā-sthā-t Gr. ἱ-στη): Skr. stā-nt-, Gr. στάζ (σταρ' may regularly represent either form of the stem), Lat. stāns (stānt-, as in Greek); *dō-nt- *dē-nt-, from dō-t(i) (Lat. da-t instead of *dō-t, Skr. ā-dā-t): Gr. ἱστος (dor- for *dor-r- or instead of *dor-r-; see I § 109 p. 102), Lat. dans (da-nt- = *dē-nt-). In the following examples the tense-stem ends in a consonant. *s-nt- *s-yn-, beside *ēs-ti 'is': Skr. sānt- s-a-t; in Greek the only trace of the orig. stem is *s-yn- in the fem. Dor. θাসαι i. e. ἰ(ξ)ερ-ακ-τα § 110 p. 337

1) Or *rulā-t-nt-, under other (more primitive) conditions, see § 125 Rem. 2. So also in the cases which follow.
The Suffix -ντ-

(Elsewhere we find new formations, such as Dor. εττ-τς Ion. εὔτες Att. ὀντ-τς), Lat. praecipuum (-sent-), Pruss. empréki-sins 'present' (dat. -sentismu). *dic-il-ut*-dhē-dh-ut- (-ut- no doubt in all the cases), from *dic-il-ti 'gives', √dē-, *dhē-dhē-ti 'ponit', √dhē-: Skr. ḍādat- ḍādhat- (acc. ḍādat-aṃ ḍādhat-aṃ), Gr. ᾱδωτ- ᾱδωτ- new formations in place of *δίδακ- *τιθα- (J. Schmidt, Kühn's Ztschr. XXVII 394 f.). *qi-my-ut*-qi-ni-my-ut-, from *qi-mi-ti-√gei-: Skr. cine-ant- cine-at- 'gathering, arranging', sūk-nue-ant- 'being able': in Greek we have a re-formation ἀγ-ντ-ττ- 'breaking'. taking the place of ἀγ-ντ-ττ-1) *ἀγ-ντ-ττ- which would correspond to the 3. pl. ἀγ-ντ-ττ-. *my-nt- *my-n-ut-, from *my-nd-ti, √mer-: Skr. my-µ-ant- my-µ-at- 'grinding'; Gr. ἑαυ-ντ- (nom. ἑαυτάς) 'taming', where this strong form of the stem is carried through the paradigm.

A number of participles of this kind became simple nouns even in the parent language. Skr. jāva-nτ- 'frail, old,

1) In this section, as in Vol. I § 225 p. 198 f., I have regarded -ατ as the regular phonetic representative of original -ντ-. This view has been recently attacked by Kögel in the Literar. Centrallbl. 1885 Sp. 1880, in his criticism of Burghauser, who maintained (as I do) that ἵατ (for *iho-ta) was the normal form of the 3. pl. of the root ευτ-; the comparison Skr. sānti = Gr. τιότ (for *tomin) = H.G. sind 'is', says our critic, 'almost universally (?) accepted'. In view of this, I am bound to call attention to the evidence of the word π-ατ- = Idg. *ɛy-ατ- which is shortly to be mentioned in the text; a form which is of especial importance from its isolation, and which in my opinion decides the question of the representation of Idg. ατ in Greek distinctly in favour of ατ. Can any one maintain the alternative that in the prehistoric period of Greek *π-ευτ- became π-ατ- through the influence of the weak form *π-ατ- = *ɛy-ατ-? This form disappeared in that very period, and in other instances of levelling between different cases it is the reverse process and only that has been established — e. g. -ferr- for -ferr- on the analogy of -τέρ-, φε-ντ- for φε-ντ- on the analogy of φεντ-. Nor are the objections urged by Meringen (Ztschr. f. Altert. Gymn. 1888 p. 149 f.) against my theory at all more serious. I hope to find an opportunity elsewhere of dealing with his argument in detail; suffice it here to say, that in maintaining as he does (p. 150) that the s of the Indo-Germanic sound 'n', which he and J. Schmidt assume in place of s, 'naturally' became s in Aryan, he has completely overlooked the fact that before this s the Aryan k-sounds would necessarily appear as c-sounds, which no more happens here than it does before s = Idg. pr.
hoary', Gr. γόνυ (-o-ν-) 'old man'. Skr. śā-śvant- śā-śvat- 'complete, whole, every' for *śā-śvant- (I § 557 p. 413), Gr. πάντες (πᾶς) ἀ-πάντες (ἄ-πᾶς) 'all, every', Idg. *hy-net- *hy-net- originally perhaps 'coming to fullness', compare Skr. śvā- 'swell out Gr. κύος 'am pregnant' κύος 'fetus' (to the same root belongs Dor. πά-μα § 117 p. 370 f.); cp. Goth. all-s § 66 p. 147 and Lat. omnis § 95 p. 286. Skr. bhānt- bhāt- 'exalted, high, great' fem. bhātī, O.Ir. Brigit f. ('she who is exalted'), see § 110 p. 337. *d-ōn-t- *d-yt- 'tooth' (cp. § 125 Rem. 2 p. 395 f.) from √ed- 'eat': Skr. dānt- dat- (dat-ās dat-bhiṣ), Gr. ὀδὼν- nom. ὀδοῦς and ὀδός; *dār- appears in ὀδας § 86 p. 256, § 88 p. 265, Lat. dent- nom. dens (Osc. dunt- = dont- is uncertain, see Danielsson, Paul's Althist. Stud. III 184), O.Ir. dēt (Mod.Cymr. dant) dat. dēit, Goth. tunh-u-s O.H.G. zan (see p. 402 f.), Lith. dant-i-s (we still find gen. pl.' dant-ū beside danciu) 1); it seems more probable that Gr. Lesb. ὀδωρες was a re-formation, the original word being altered on the analogy of ὀδωρ, than that a by-form *ōd-o-n-t- 'tooth' should have existed side by side with *d-ōn-t- in Indo-Germanic; the 0- of ὀδωρες however has yet to be explained; the theory of J. Schmidt (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 51) and G. Meyer, (Gr. Gr. 2 p. 306) does not satisfy me.

Aryan. Skr. vāh-a-n-t- Avest. vax-a-n-t- (nom. vāhan vasaς) 'vehens': Lat. vehens, Goth. ga-vigand-s, Lith. vežas O.C.Sl. vesy, common ground-form *yēgh-o-n-t-, beside indic. *yēgh-e-ti 'vehit'. Skr. dhārāya-n-t- Avest. dārāya-n-t- 'holding', beside indic. dhārāya-ti- dārāyiti; Skr. vāhāya-n-t- 'causing to ride, causing to run': Gr. ὕκτων 'causing to drive, ride', Goth. vagjand-s 'setting in motion'. Skr. nās-ya-n-t- Avest. nas-ya-n-t- 'becoming lost', beside indic. nās-ya-ti nas-yetit. Skr. pryḥā-n-t- Avest. per-sa-n-t- 'asking': Lat. poscēns for *por(c)-scent-, beside indic. pryḥā-ti per sāitī poscit ground-form *pr(k)-skē-ti, √prek. Skr. vindā-n-t- Avest. vinda-n-t- 'finding', beside indic. vindā-ti vindaiti, √yējd-.

1) I see no sufficient reason for doubting that in dantā we still have the old -nt-stem (Brückner, Archiv für slav. Phil. III 247). grindā beside grindātā from grind-s 'deal board', only shows that the word has been influenced by the analogy of such forms as dantā.
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In proethnic Aryan, participles like vá-n-t- 'blowing' lost their nasal in the weak cases on the analogy of sánt-am: sat-ás etc. Compare § 110 p. 337. Beside Skr. mahat- Avest. mázat- (mahat-d mahád-bhiś, mazañ) 'great' we have a remarkable form Skr. mahánt- Avest. mazánt- (mahánt-am, mazánt-em). Compare with it the Vedic acc. mahá-n and such compounds as mahá- grámá-s 'great host'. mahánt- is doubtless a contamination of mahan- (mahán-) and mahat-; compare § 135.

On the whole Sanskrit has preserved faithfully the vowel-gradation of proethnic Aryan; e.g. sing. acc. prchá-nt-am su-nu-ánt-am instr. prchát-á su-nu-at-á pl. instr. prchád-bhiś su-nu-dá-dhiś. On the other hand, we find in Avestic the strong form of the stem constantly transferred to the weak cases, as gen. pl. jasent-am contrasted with Skr. gáchet-am, dat. pl. berzenbyó contrasted with Skr. bhrád-bhyas.

Participles used simply as nouns. Pre-Aryan: Skr. járánt-, Skr. bá-svant-, Skr. bhránt-, Avest. ber'zant- 'exalted, high, great', Skr. dánt- 'tooth' (Avest. dant-an- has the -en- which is so common in names of parts of the body, cp. § 114 p. 345 ff.); see above; p. 397 f. Aryan: Skr. mahnt- Avest. mazánt- 'great', see above, Skr. pñánt- 'spotted, dappled', dhryánt- 'courageous, bold', phánt- 'small, little' (the opposite of bhánt-), Avest. sao-ñya-ní- fut. part. 'who will help; saviour, preserver'.

Greek. Participles. δόνω (-σ-rr-) 'flowing', beside indic.
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In Greek only a few traces remain of the different forms due to the original vowel gradation. Beside ṣvíc-nt- a form *καρ- = Skr. bhárat- is implied in Heracl. loc. pl. *καρονσφ- *ταισσ and the like: such a form as *φορασσ for *φορασσ- (Skr. bhárat-su) would be altered to ṣvíc-nt- *ταισσ through the influence of *καρ-. In the other cases. Dor. ṣvíc-nt- (Cret. dat. lārqa) = Skr. s-at-ī has been already mentioned on p. 396. If we may trust a few corrupt glosses in Hesychius, a form ṣvíc-nt-, fem. ṣvíc-nt- once existed beside ṣvíc-nt- *σαν *σαν ‘willing’. See R. Kögel, Beitr. VIII 116, J. Schmidt, Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXV 590 ff.

Remark. It is very questionable whether ṣvíc-nt- ‘furnace, stove’ comes directly from the partic. ṣvíc-nt- ‘warming’, as some maintain. It is important to notice that we have the parallel form ṣvíc-nt-. Cp. ṣvíc-nt- beside ṣvíc-nt-.

Participles used simply as nouns. Pre-Greek: ṣvíc-nt-, *άγ, *όντ-ς, see p. 398. Greek: ṣvíc-nt- ‘dragon’ (ḍrākōn part. aor.),
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ἀγων ‘ruler’, χριστων ‘ruler’ (ἐγραφ-χριστων ‘ruling over wide realms’), μειδων ‘counsellor, lord’ (ἐγραφ-μειδων): Goth. mitand-s ‘measuring’,
όμεδων ‘the bounding line, horizon’; ἑξων ‘willing’, ψαζον ‘shining, bright’, μελλων ‘future’.

Italic. Participles. Lat. sedēns (-ent-), Umbr. zeřeʃ-
serse ‘sedens’. Lat. prae-sēns, Osc. praesentid ‘praesente’. Lat.
dūcēns: Goth. tīn-h-and-s ‘drawing’, √deuk-. aģēns: Skr. āj-
-a-n-t- Gr. ἄγων, √aģ- ‘agere’. monēns for *monejent-, beside
moneō (I § 134 p. 121): Skr. māṇyant- ‘honouring’, √men-
‘remember, think’. cōn-spiciēns: Skr. paś-ya-n-t- ‘seeing’, √spek-
rudēns: Skr. rud-ā-n-t- ‘lamenting’, √reyd-. voreūns (verēns):
O.C.Sl. vričy ‘threshing’, √yers-. rumpēns: Skr. lumpā-n-t-
‘breaking’. im-pleūns, beside im-plē-t (ple-). flāns, beside flā-
t (fla-). alēns, beside alē-t. plantāns, beside planta-t. stāns,
dāns, sec p. 396 above. mi-nu-ēns ster-nu-ēns may represent
immediately the original forms in -my-êt- -miy-êt-; and similarly
li-nēns ster-nēns (li-n-ent- ster-n-ent-), may be directly com-
pared with Skr. mr-n-ānt- Gr. δαυ-ν-άντ-; see above, p. 397.

Few traces can be found of vowel gradation in the stem.
If the form -e-nt- did not ever occur beside -o-nt- -y̯t- in the
original paradigm of the participles from thematic stems (see
§ 125 Rem. 2 p. 395 f.), then in all the examples of participles of
this class in Latin, -ent- must be due to an assimilation of
all the cases to those with Idg. -y̯t- (e. g. gen. rudent-is =
Skr. rudat-ās). The grade -o-nt- is still seen in eunnt-is etc.
beside iēns, flexu-nt-ēs beside flexentēs, Roman knights on active
service, voluntās for *volont-i-tās beside volēns, and other exam-
pies; see Bechstein in Curtius’ Stud. VIII 344. 348. 352; the
forms feruند-ुs faciundu-s also are indirect evidence for o-nt-
in the partic.; see § 69 p. 162. In the participles from non-
thetic stems, such as prae-s-ent-, -ent- regularly represents both
-y̯t- and -y̯t- (I § 240 p. 200); and this form, which appeared
in all the cases, may have helped to establish -ent- in the
former class to the exclusion of -o-nt-.

The purely nominal use of the suffix is here more common
than in Aryan and Greek. Pre-Italic: Lat. dēns, see p. 398.

Brugmann, Elements. II.
Lat. praesēns, Osc. prae-seutid. Lat. serpēns, parēns, ad-ulēscēns, cliēns, oriēns (se. sōl); ē-loquēns, con-gruēns, in-nocēns, sapiēns, abundāns, in-tolerāns. In its adjectival function the participial suffix was fertile even beyond its original sphere; thus such forms as bene-volenter -volentior -volentissimu-s which were attached to bene-volū-s etc., produced māgni-ficenter -ficentior -ficentissimu-s (from -ficu-s).

In Old Irish it is only used as a purely nominal suffix. 


The original vowel-gradation has disappeared. But an example of original -nt- survives in Goth. hulund-i ‘cave, hole’ § 110 p. 337.

The participles in actual use were declined in Gothic as weak n-stems; except that in the nom. sing. we have -nds i.e. *-nd-a-z besides the usual form from n-stems: thus, nom. kiusa-nds and -nda, gen. -ndins and so forth. In Old High German this participle was an -io-stem; -nti is the so-called uninflected form. Parallel to it is the inflected form: ‘strong’ -ntēr, ‘weak’ -nto.

See the sections on the cases.

Participles becoming Substantives:

Pre-Germanic. Goth. tunb-u-s O.H.G. zan ‘tooth’, see
above p. 398. This variation arose from the original doublet, pr. Germ. *tānþ = *d-þnt- and *tund- = *d-nt-. Such cases as acc. sing. Goth. tānþ-u (instead of *tānþ-u = *dōnt-u) gave rise to the u-inflection; see Kahle as already quoted, 12 ff.

Examples common to all branches of Germanic are:
Goth. frijónd-s O.H.G. friuunt 'friend' ('who loves'), Goth. fijund-s O.H.G. friant 'enemy' ('who hates'), no doubt also Goth. ałl-waldand-s O.Sax. alo-waldand 'All-ruler, Almighty' O.H.G. waltant 'ruler, director', and a few similar words. Other examples are found only in single dialects or groups of dialects, as Goth. gīband-s 'giver', mērjand-s 'proclaimer', O.H.G. wīgant A.S. wīgand 'fighter', O.H.G. hīelfant 'helper'. These participles, which became substantives only in Germanic, still show an unextended nt-inflection, though it is nowhere found in all the cases: e.g. nom. pl. Goth. frijónd-s O.H.G. friuunt O.Icel. frænd-r = *nt-es (Gr. -ντ-ες), loc. (dat.) sg. Goth. frijónd O.H.G. friuunt = *nt-i- (Gr. -ντ-ι-); whereas other cases in Gothic and West-Germanic follow the o-declension, as nom. sing. Goth. frijónd-s O.H.G. friuunt (thus in O.H.G. we have nom. pl. friunta as well as friuunt), and in Norse follow the n-declension, as nom. sing. frænd frændi.

A still younger stratum is formed by substantives like O.H.G. waltanto 'he who rules', furi-sizzando 'architectius', nerrendeo 'preserver, saviour'. Their substantival use was based upon the n-inflection, to which as participles they were transferred; compare Mod.H.G. der reisende and the like.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. vežąs O.C.Sl. vězy 'vohens': Skr. vāh-a-nt- etc., see p. 398 above. Lith. velkąs O.C.Sl. vešky 'dragging, drawing': Gr. ἔλαχων, ὕελξ. Lith. pīnas 'plaiting' O.C.Sl. pīny 'stretching, hanging', ground-form *pīn-ô-nt-, V (s)pēn-. Lith. melįs 'milking': Gr. αὔμελΓν 'milking'; O.C.Sl. mětęs 'milking': cp. Skr. mṛj-a-nt- 'wiping off, rubbing off'. Lith. limpiąs 'cleaving, clinging': Skr. limpā-nt- 'smearing', V leip-. Lith. bēsės O.C.Sl. bēsė fut. 'about to be' (bykāsto-jē 'rō mollo', the only relic of the future participle in Slav.): Avest. bā-sya-nt-, common ground-form *bēhā-sjā-nt-, V bheu-. Lith. jėsėkąs 'seek-
The Suffix -uent-. § 126,127.


The old vowel-gradation has disappeared. Participles belonging to non-thematic vowel stems followed the analogy of stems in -o-nt-, e.g. Lith. čsus and čsus O.C.Sl. sy ‘being’, beside indic. čs-ti jės-tū. In Prussian however there is a form -sins = Idg. *s-yt- or *s-ųt- (p. 396 f.).

Remark 2. I cannot believe that Lith. daugūžias ‘heavenly’ = danguje loc. + sja ‘being’ (J. Schmidt, Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXVII 393). Nor can I believe that O.C.Sl. dodč beside doddy ‘dans’ represents another non-thematic form corresponding to the 3. pl. dađ-ač (Skr. dūd-att); as to dodč and other forms in -č beside -y see O. Wiedemann, Beltr. zur altbulg. Conjug. 128 f., Leskien Handb. p. 76 f.

In Baltic and Slavonic most of the cases of the -nt- participles were attracted into the jo-declension owing to the suffix of the feminine; e.g. gen. Lith. vėžanceio O.C.Sl. vezqsta. The acc. sing. Lith. vėžant-i still belongs to the unaltered consonantal inflexion.

Lith. dant-i-s ‘tooth’: Skr. dānt- etc., see p. 398 above. Pruss. dilant-s ‘worker’.

§ 127. The Suffix -uent-1. This Suffix appears in Aryan, Greek and Italic in denominative adjectives; it usually denotes the possession of something, more rarely a resemblance to something.

In the strong cases -uent- = Skr. -vant- Gr. -fentar-, and in the weak cases -ynt- = Skr. -vat- Gr. *-far-. The latter was displaced by -fentar- (loc. pl. χαρίσατ = *χαρι-fer-ai, fem. χαρίσσα = *χαρι-fer-ing). e being taken from the cases which had -(F)ewr-. Lat. ὄνσu-s ǭsu-s for -o-ynt + to-, a derivative form which also appears in Avestic, see § 79 p. 231 f.

In the proethnic language this suffix seems to have been displaced by -vēs- -vōs- in a certain number of the cases. We have evidence of this in the proethnic Aryan nom. sing. masc. in *-vās (Avest. -vā, altered in Skr. to -vēs -vān, see § 136 Rem. 2), voc. sing. masc. in *-vās (Skr. -vās, Avest. -vē) and the Greek *rā-fōc Hom. vēγός compared with Skr. tā-vanta- (see Rem. 1). Observe the similar phenomena in the Aryan -anta-stems (Whitney, Skr. Gr. § 1235): nom. sing. Skr. -mās -mān Avest. -mā, voc. Skr. -mās (Avest. *-mā), and notice the Homeric forms πιν-μος and ἱ-μος (Dor. ἱμος ἱμος) which are probably to be compared with the Aryan stems in -anta-, beside which we have rā-muν in Thessalian; Solmsen (Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXIX 77) and Kozlovskij (Archiv f. slav. Phil. X 657 f.) are no doubt right in comparing O.CSl. ta-mo ‘thither’ ja-mo ‘whither’.


Remark 1. Further examples of the meaning ‘like something’ are acēstōsu-s caēserōsu-s mōncrōsu-s etc. (Archiv für lat. Lexikogr. V 216 ff.); examples from Aryan are Skr. epōν-vanta- ‘like a epōn’, indravanta- ‘like Indra’ (the s is due to the analogy of stems in -as), Avest. draŋkā-vanta- ‘like a small flag, fluttering, undulating’ (K. Geldner, Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXV 401). This meaning is specially frequent in the Sanskrit adverbs in -āt (ace. neut.), such as angiras-āt ‘like angiras’ pūrva-āt ‘after the ancient fashion, as of yore’, and in the adjectives formed from pronouns such as Skr. teḍ-vanta- Avest. ḫvā-vanta- ‘who is of thy nature, like thee’, Skr. tā-vanta- utā-vanta- Avest. ənta-vanta- ‘tantalus’ Skr. yā-vanta- Avest. ya-vanta- ‘quantus’, from which we cannot separate Hom. ὑγος ὁς Dor. ᾽ς for pr. Gr. *rā-fōc- *d-fōc.

from agni-ṣ 'fire'. Skr. dhi-vant- 'devout' from dhi-ṣ f. 'devotion', udan-vánt- 'rich in water' from udán- n. 'water', bráhman-vant- 'accompanied with prayer' from bráhman- n. 'prayer' (I § 229 p. 195), ny-vánt- 'rich in men' from nár- m. 'man', marút-vant- 'accompanied by the Maruts' (marút-), pad-vánt- 'having feet', from pād- m. 'foot', támas-vant 'dark' from támas- n. 'darkness', nas-vánt- 'with a nose' from nás- f. 'nose'. Avest. gaoma-vant- 'provided with flesh' from gaoma- m. 'flesh', aši-vant- 'holy' from aši-ṣ f. 'holiness', astvant- i. e. astu-vant- (cp. I § 159 p. 143) 'having a body, corporeal' from astu-ṣ m. 'body', d'biṣ-vant- 'hostile, hating' from *d'biṣ- Skr. dłiṣ- f. 'hate, enmity'. In Old Persian the suffix occurs in the feminine proper name harauvat-i = Avest. harauwait-i Skr. sáras-vat-i (sáras-vant- 'rich in water'); cp. I § 159 p. 143.

We have no certain explanation of the length of the final vowel of the contained stem in Skr. áśva-vant- beside áśva-vant- 'possessing horses' from áśva-, sutd-vant- 'provided with pressed soma' from sutá-, šákti-vant- 'mighty' from šákti-, viṣa-vant- 'which has or wears different sides, which is in the middle' from viṣu and the like. Cp. nd-vant-, yuṣmd-vant-, tá-vant- in Rem. 1. p. 405 and áśva-magha-s etc. § 22 p. 38, and also Gr. -o-ες -ο-υς in the Greek section.

This suffix was frequently added in Sanskrit to the passive participle in -tá- (§ 79 p. 225 f.), as kytá-vant- 'factum habens, having done'. In the course of the Vedic period this was developed into a perf. part. act., which is very common in classical Sanskrit, where it is almost always used as a predicate; e. g. mā na kaścid dṛṣṭavān 'no one has seen me'.

Greek. The f of -fínv- appears e. g. in Coreyr. inscr. στονός-εσαν= Homer. στονός-εσαν. ἄμελλε-ες 'rich in wines' from ἀμηλός. τίμη-ες 'treasured, honoured' (Pamphyl. inscr. τιμά- φθα) from τίμη. χαρι-ες 'graceful' from χάρις acc. χάρι-ν. υγί-ες 'having growth, blooming' (cp. Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV. 180 ff.). Hom. εὔροψ-ες no doubt meaning 'mouldy, musty' from εὔρως (post-Homerie gen. εὔρω-τ-ος etc.) 'mould'. τελές beside τελής (see below) 'having fulfilment, fulfilling itself', no doubt
for * telos- - feov-, from telos n. κεφαίς 'horned' (late) from κύρας, -ος-ες, proper to the derivatives from o-stems, became an independent suffix: μηκεί-ες 'rich in wisdom' from μέκος-ς, ἴχθυ-ν-εις 'full of fish' from ἴχθυ-ς, ἤρπ-ο-εις 'cloudy' from ἤρπ, νησ-δεις 'snowy' from acc. νησ-α-, κλωμακ-ο-εις 'rocky' from κλωμακ, θυνοίς from θυς n.; this is found even where the word is derived from an a-stem: σκάβες 'shady' from σκάδ, μηκανάες 'fertile in resource' from μηκαν. On the other hand from o-stems we find -η-ες as well as -ο-ες: μεσό-ες 'moderate' from μέσο-ν, μακεί-ες 'bloody' from μακεί-ς 'bloody'. The same -η-ες occurs also in θυν-ες beside θυν-ες, τελεί-ες 'having fulfilment, fulfilling itself' beside τελεί-ες, ελκη-ες 'full of wounds', from ελκυ n., φωτη-ες 'overgrown with underwood' from φώτη, etc. -ο-ες is found in other words besides εφω-εις; e.g. Hom. κητοίς 'full of hollows' (cp. κητώδης p. 409), ωνοί-ες 'eared' (ωτ-) and in late authors πηλώ-εις 'loamy, muddy' (πηλό-ς), δενδροί-ες 'wooded' (δένδρον-ν).

Remark 2. It cannot be established that φιλείων-ες contains the ά of the -far- (see p. 404) which we must assume as the weak form of the suffix (J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 591). See Wackernagel ibid. XXVIII 180 f.

Italic. It is found only in the Latin compound suffix -ōnus-s- ōn-s, where the termination of forms containing o-stems became regular in all words. The suffix of Avest. asanasta- from aš-yanast- is exactly parallel; see p. 404 above. verbōn-s from verbo-m, officiōn-s from offici-um; famōn-s from fama, silvōn-s from silva; piscōn-s from pisci-s; aestuōn-s from aestū-s; criminōn-s from crimen; nivōn-s from nix, like Gr. νύξ-ες.

VIII. The Suffix -ā- (-ad-).

§ 128. In Sanskrit -ad- occurs a few times, in Greek -ώ- and -ά- are found more frequently, in Latin there are a certain number of examples of -ā- with a preceding vowel, and in Germanic we have denominative verbs in -at-jan, which seem to correspond to the Greek verbs in -ακεῖν (ξ- = -ά-). Side by side with these forms in Greek, Italic, Germanic and Balto-
Slavonic we find other suffixes having d for their distinguishing
c consonant which appear to be connected with them (-do- may
be related to -d- as -to- to -t-). Thus we may be justified in
regarding this suffix as proethnic, although there are perhaps
only two examples in which -d- appears in more than one
branch of language: O.H.G. *gramisson* A.S. *gremettan*: Gr.

Remark. We must not disregard the possibility that the -d- of this
suffix may have come from -t- in the proethnic period, and that not only
in the cases with ħ-suffixes, such as Skr. *drśād-ḥīś*. See I § 459, 7 p. 346,
and cp. U § 130 Remark.

Aryan. There are only three certain instances, all in
Sanskrit. *drśād-* f. 'rock, great stone, millstone', *bhasād-* f. 'back
parts, pudenda muliebra', *śārād-* f. 'autumn'. Add *vanād-*, a
doubtful word found in the Rig-Veda, meaning perhaps 'desire'.

Greek. Adjectives and (feminine) Substantives in *-ad-:
*φυγας* 'fleeing', *μηγας* 'mixed', *μαινας* 'raving', *μηρας* 'bleating',
*τομας* 'bearing, bringing forth', *νημας* 'pasturing', *γυμνας* 'naked,
stripped for gymnastics, practised', *τεράς* 'ash-coloured', *χοιρας* 'rising up, jutting out'; *νεφας* 'snow-flake', *σπλας* 'reef', *λιλας* 'cord, rope', *χολάδ-ες* 'entrails, intestines', *λαμπας* 'torch', *πηγας*
'rim, frozen earth', *γενειας* 'beard, hair of the beard', *πελειας* 'wild dove'. Stems ending in -iδ- (fem.), the i of which in
many words certainly comes from the i-stems: *ἔρωτας* (ἔρω-ιας
etc.) 'strife' beside acc. *ἔρων*, *καλπίδ-ιας* etc.) beside acc. *καλπίνι-ν, ἱππ-* 'rainbow', *αὐλις* 'place for
passing the night', *αἰγίς* 'stormcloud, shield of the gods', *ἄσπις* 'shield', *γλυφίς* 'notch in the shaft of an arrow', *κερίς* 'weaver's
comb', *ἄκρας* 'locust', *ἐπιγνώφις* 'upper part of the thigh'. Con-
nected with these δ-formations, and undoubtedly in great part
derived from them, are a variety of elements of the nature of
suffixes containing -ί-. Examples are *χρομαθως* (mentioned
above), to which *κλάδως* 'noise, tumult' is parallel; *κόρυθως* 'tufted lark', which in its formation comes very close to the
cognate Germ. word *χερυλ-* 'stag' (Danielsson, Gramm. und
etymol. Stud. I 31); patronymics like *Ἀκταρίδης* m. from
The Suffix -δ- (−ad−).

Adjectives in -άδης such as κηρώδης 'like a sea-monster' (for the ω cp. κηρώεις), which have been incorrectly classed with the adjectives in -είδης, and the numerous verbs in -άξω and -ίξω with a characteristic dental which were derived from these δ-nouns, such as ἵξαίξω, νομίξω.

Italic. There are a few examples in -ίδ-, no doubt with Idg. i: Lat. capis (−id-is) f., Umbr. kāpiro 'capide', Oec. κάπικτου i.e. capid-ē-to-m ‘ollarium’; Lat. cassis f., cuspis f., lapis m. Add pecus (−ud-is) f., herēs (−ōd-is) m. f., merces f., palus (−ōd-is) f. Here too are found a variety of formative elements connected with this ᾰ-suffix: as in ὁρ-άδ-διν-is (beside ἄρ-άδ-ιορ), cp. Gr. μελέδων μελέδυνω, καρέδο frigéδο rubéδο, cp. Gr. ἄρεδον, χαϊρόδων. The ἄ- of such adjectives as imbridu-s lūcidu-s however cannot be classed here, if they were originally compounds with δό- 'give' (as Skr. jala-da-s 'giving water' artha-da-s 'bringing benefit, generous') (Corssen, Krit. Beitr. 97 ff., Osthoff, Verb. in der Nominalcomp. 121 ff.; see also the evidence given by Thurneysen in his essay, Über die Herkunft und Bildung der lat. Verba auf -io, 1879, p. 13).

Old Irish. On account of the coincidence of ȃ and d in unaccented syllables it is hard to say what Irish forms belong to this section. Yet it is clearly established that the adjectival suffix -de = *-dio-, e.g. conde 'caninus' talmande 'terrestrial', contains an original -d-, not -t-.

Germanic. The verbs in -at-jan should be first mentioned, as Goth. lauhatjan O.H.G. lohazzen 'to shine like lightning' lougazzen 'to burn like fire', Goth. kāuptjan 'to box the ears, cuff' (pret. kāupasta), svōgatjan 'to sigh', O.H.G. blecchezan 'to flash', roffezen 'crustare', snopeezzen 'to sob'. The following words may also be referred to old d-stems: O.H.G. gremizzi 'provoked' beside gramizzōn gremizzēn, einazzi, dat. pl. einazzēm 'singulatim'; O.H.G. albīg m. O.Icel. ályt f. 'swan' (the Icelandic

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1) The complete similarity between the usage of -άδις and -ίδις only shows that even in antiquity the two terminations had been connected by popular etymology. I reserve a fuller discussion for another opportunity.

Balto-Slavonic. There are no examples with -d-, only -do- -di- and the like; and it must be remembered that Balto-Slavonic d may also be referred to Idg. dh. Lith. pa-klodė 'cloth for spreading underneath' from pa-kloti 'to spread out', and other examples. O.C.Sl. vrašīda 'enmity', kvitīda 'wrong', and other examples. d = pre-Balt.Slav. d seems to be certain only in lebedi 'swan' (see above).

IX. The Suffix -k- and -q-.

§ 129. In § 83—89 we assumed that a certain number of Greek, Italic, and Old Irish words in -k- had formerly been -ko- or -qo- stems, e.g. Gr. ἄλωπής (Skr. lopāsā-s), ὦρις (Skr. vartaka-s), μεῖμις (Skr. maryakā-s) vēsā (O.C.Sl. novakū), Lat. senex (Skr. sanakā-s), vertex, filix, bibax, O.Ir. aire (Skr. āryaka-s). In these cases it is sometimes certain and sometimes very probable that there has been an attraction from the o-declension to the consonantal; but we find in the same languages other similar stems in -k- which cannot be explained with any degree of probability as derived from an original -ko- or -qo-.

For Greek and Italic the reader may be referred to Leo Meyer's Vergl. Gramm. II 409 ff., 508 ff. In Old Irish, examples of this kind are nathir, gen. nathrach, 'water-snake', lair 'mare', fal 'hedge' (Zeuss-Ebel Gr. C. 805 ff., Wh. Stokes, Bezzenberger's Beitr. XI 84 ff. 155). In Aryan there is only one doubtful relic of these forms: vipāṣ- f. beside vipāsā- f. name of a river, which is referred to vēpate 'is in trembling, whirling motion'.

This being the case, it may be assumed that -k- -q- once existed as suffixes parallel to -ko- -qo-, bearing much the same relation to them as -t- to -to-. And further the transition of such classes of forms as ἄλωπής, ὦρις, senex, aire to the con-
sonantal inflexion may have been aided by the influence of such original k-stems.

X. The Suffix -g- (and -g-?)

§ 130. We find suffixes in -g in Aryan and Greek; but not one of the words containing them appears in both simultaneously. Thus it is not safe to assume this suffix for the parent language.

Remark. We must not overlook the possibility that -g- may have come from -k- in the protholetic period, and that not only in the cases with bh-suffixes such as Skr. uṣṭig-bhṛṣṭ. See I § 469, 7 p. 346. In the case of Gr. λαύγος (lāvynos) 'drop, drops'; Lat. latīsc- (latēsc) it may be assumed that the Greek word originally had k, and passed over to the ordinary inflexion of g-stems simply through the influence of the form of the nom. sing. and of the loc. pl. (-aς -a) (cp. gen. δεμού-ας § 86 p. 258, and gen. δεκάδ-ας § 123 p. 392); and many other instances are doubtful for the same reason. Cp. § 252 Rem. p. 408.

Aryan. Skr. sanaj- 'old' (beside sanakā-s); dhr̥ṣaj- 'bold', tr̥ṇaj- 'thirsty' (beside tr̥ṇā- 'thirst'), uṣṭij- 'longing, desirous', saṇṭij- 'merchant', dhurtij- 'arm'. Forms like instr. pl. uṣṭig-bhṛṣṭ point to -g- = lāg. -g-.

Greek. ἀρπαξ, gen. ἀρπαγω-ας 'robbing, rapacious', whence ᾱρπάξω (the η of Lat. rāpāc- shews that it is quite a different word). qāρως (-γ-) 'throat, gullet'. πτερως (-ν-) 'wing, pinion'. μασμίς (-γ-) 'scourge, lash'. The parallel forms -αγγύς-γύς-γύς- are more frequent; these may possibly have arisen from an original formation in which a nasal followed the γ-suffix (cp. I § 221 p. 188 ff.), e. g. qάλυγγ- αχαν- 'palanx', γάραγγ- 'steep rock, gorge', λάρνγ- 'larynx' (similarly qάργγ- is found later for γάρηγ), στράγγ- 'tooth, prong, point', κάλιγγ- 'trumpet', κεμαγγ- 'weal, swelling'.

XI. Suffixes in -s1).

§ 131. The Suffix -es- 2). The nouns formed with this suffix in the parent language were partly neuter substantives (generally


2) Th. Aufrecht, Bildungen auf μέ, νε: μη, Kuhn's Ztschr. II 147 ff. A. Goebel, Das Suffix σε: in seinem Verhältnisse zum Suffix
abstract), with which were associated adjectives like Skr. *yaśas-
‘glorious, majestic’ Gr. *μεθάνα ‘deceitful’, and partly masculine
or feminine substantives, e. g. nom. Skr. *uṇḍas Gr. *γόγ ‘dawn’.
These two groups bear very much the same relation to one
another as the group of neuter and the group of masculine and
feminine -men-stems, e. g. Gr. χιῖ-major : χί ν-μόν § 117 p. 365 ff.;
we sometimes find -es-stems, as we found -men-stems, which
seem to have had both forms of inflexion from the earliest times;
E. g. Skr. tāpas- n. ‘warmth’: Lat. tepor m., Lat. tenus n. Gr.
τερῶς n. ‘bond’: Lat. tenor m. At the time of the separation of
the languages the neuter forms greatly preponderated. We may
begin with these, and the vowel-gradation of the stems will be
separately discussed under each of the two classes.

§ 132. 1. Neuter Substantives in -es- and the ad-
jectives connected with them.

From the proethnic period onwards -es- is regular in all
cases of the substantives except the nom. sing., which had -os,
and in the adjectives also except in the nom. sing., whose ending
in the masc. was -ēs, in the neut. -es. The vocalism of the
root-syllable is almost without exception that of the strong
grade (the e-grade in the e-series), and takes the accent in
substantives, while in adjectives it falls on the formative suffix.
E. g. Gr. *γεωδής gen. γεωδές etc. *μένος gen. *μενός etc. beside
*μεθάνα γεωδής gen. γεωδές etc. δυο-μενίς -μενίς gen. -μενός etc.

This double system of declension in the substantives and
adjectives was no doubt developed out of a single one. The
abstract substantive, denoting a quality, when it was used simply
for the owner of that quality, formed a nom. sing. with the
mark of masculine or feminine gender in the same way as nouns
like Gr. ποι-μήν πα-ρή; so also, with a similar indication of
gender, an acc. sing. -ēs-η, nom. pl. -ēs-ēs; and the different
accent connected with the new meaning caused a differentiation
of accent in the other cases corresponding to the new function of the word. There is evidence however that amongst the cases of the neuter substantive there once were also forms with -ές; this is shewn by the datives like Skr. dōhás-ē ‘to milk’, which are used as infinitives. There must also have been cases where the suffix was simply -s- (the weak-grade form), namely, those in which the case-suffix bore the accent: compare Skr. śirā-ā-m ‘head’ Gr. κόρη ‘temple, forehead’ beside Skr. śiras ‘head’ (I § 306 p. 242), Skr. ā-s-a-s ā-s-a-m Gr. ἄμοι-ς for *ωυ-σ-ος Goth. am-s-a m. ‘shoulder’ beside Lat. am-er-u-s, Skr. vats-dā-s ‘year, calf’ beside Gr. Φέρος n. ‘year’, Skr. ḍa-ḍhī- f. ‘medicinal herb’ for *ay-s-a- beside ḍvas ‘help, comfort’, man-dhatār-‘thoughtful, devout person’ for *manz-dhatār- beside mánas ‘thought’, Lith. tams-ā beside Skr. tāmas ‘darkness’, Lat. farri for *fars- beside Goth. bariz-ein-s ‘of barley’ (I § 571 p. 429) and many similar examples (The Author, Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXIV 10 f., ‘J. Schmidt, ibid. XXV 26, Danielsson, Pauli’s Altital. Stud. III 192)\(^1\)). Finally we must observe the frequency of the instances in which the root-syllable shows the weak grade; e. g. Skr. śir-as beside Lat. cerebrum for *ceres-rom Gr. ἄμοις ‘fat’ beside Skr. ṛpas ‘spot, stain’, Gr. ναθός beside nīrāc, Gr. ἀγος ‘guilt’ beside Skr. ḍgas ‘sin’, Goth. ga-digis ‘structure, work’ beside Gr. ταχος ‘wall’, Gr. πνευς ‘puf’, Skr. ἀν-ᾶς- ‘eagerly striving’ and the like (Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 182 f.). We may then reconstruct the paradigm of these neuters as follows: nom. acc. *kēr-os ‘head’, gen. kē-s-ēs (or -ōs), dat. *kē-s-āj, loc. *kēr-ēs -ēs-i; nom. acc. *a-gos ‘sin, guilt’ (Skr. ḍgas), gen. *aṅ-s-ēs (or -ōs), dat. *aṅ-s-āj, loc. *aṅ-ēs -ēs-i (cp. Gr. ἀγος ἀγος). The dat. -ēs-āj (cp. Skr. inf. bhiy-ās-ē jiv-ās-ē etc.) was then formed on the model of the loc. -ēs -ēs-i. In most instances however, and even in the parent language, the nom. acc. (*kēros) gave the type for the position of the accent and the form of the root in all the cases. With regard to the adjectives we must further observe that the accentuation of the

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final syllable of the stem was original in compounds also: Gr. ἄν-ἀγάς ‘innocent, pure’ ὀδο-μένης ‘ill-disposed’, Skr. an-āgās ‘sinless’ (beside an-āgās) ἀ-ῥέπδς ‘spotless’ su-pūḍās ‘very fat’ etc. Along with these there are other words which have the later accentuation, Gr. οὐρανο-μήκης ‘heaven-high’ μεγα-χήτης ‘monstrously great’ Skr. su-mānās ‘well-disposed’ dur-vāsās ‘ill dressed’, with other examples.


The dative and the locative of nomina actionis served also as infinitives, a usage which is doubtless proetnic. In Vedic infinitives in -as-ē the formative suffix usually bore the accent; this must be due to an early isolation of meaning. Skr. jīvās-ē (dat.) ‘to live’ Lat. vēver-e (loc.).

In several languages -es- sometimes appears in close connexion with other formative elements, which precede it; as in Lat. pī-g-nus. These formations existed in the parent language; indeed they were so well established that the compound suffix had the appearance of a primary formation (op. Skr. kī-t-ya-
and the like, § 123 p. 301). Skr. pīṣ- as Gr. πί-(ʃ)-e, n. 'fat'. In the word *mē-n-os n. (or nom. *mē-n-ōs m., § 133) dat. *mē-n-es -ēs-i from √ mē 'measure', the *mē-n-s-form of the stem prevailed through all the cases, producing the masc. Gr. μῆν gen. μῆνος Lesb. μῆν-ος, Lat. mēns-i-s gen. pl. mēns-um, O.Ir. mē gen. mēs 'month'; in Lithuanian *mē-n-es-still survives in the gen. mēnes-io etc. 1) The Aryan mās- and the Old Church Slavonic mē-s-č, which J. Schmidt explains as coming from an Idg. nom. sing. *mēs for *mēns (see I § 220 p. 188), may have been formed directly from the root; see § 134, 1. *loj-g-nós 'remainder, what is left over' from √ lejg- 'leave': Skr. rék-ṇas 'riches' (bequest), O.H.G. lēhan n. O.Icel. lán n. 'loan'.

Of the simple adjectives no example is found in more than one language simultaneously in its adjectival function; e.g. Skr. mahās- 'great' beside māhas- n. 'greatness', yādās- 'glorious' beside yādās- n. 'glory', Gr. ἡμιός, ὥσπερ. On the other hand several adjectives are so found in composition. Skr. dura-mānas- 'ill-humoured' Gr. ἄνω-μενής 'ill-disposed', Skr. ny-mānas- 'having a man's mind' Gr. ἂνδρο-μένης, from *mēn-ōs n. Avest. dēuś-r-sāvah- Gr. ἄνω-κλέος 'of ill report', from *kλέ-oς n. Skr. puru-dāsas- 'rich in wondrous deeds', Gr. πολυ-δῆνεα- πολυβουλον, πολυμητίν (Hesych.), from *dān-ōs n.


1) Another and less probable explanation of this word has been mentioned in vol. I § 221 p. 189 f.

Examples of the dative used as an inative; pr. Ar. १-ās-āj. Skr. Ved. dōhāsē 'to milk' (dōh-ās n. milking'), bhārasē 'to bear', spārasē 'to obtain'. Avest. avanēhē 'to help' (av-ō n. 'help, protection') and by an extended analogy vaoc-anēhē inf. to the inelic. aor. vaoc-ū-pto from voc- 'to speak', srāvyanēhē inf. to the inelic. srav-anētē caus. 'causes to hear, announces'.


proper name, ground-form *yedh + tes-, √yedh- 'lead', Skr. su-mādhās- 'intelligent', ground-form *mydh + tes-, see I § 482 p. 356.

Armenian. Here the es-stems have been lost. A part of them became o-stems, as sar, gen. saroy, 'height, peak, declivity': Skr. širas- 'Avest. sarah- 'head', common ground-form *kṛṣ-es-


πιος 'fat' for *πι-λ-ος: Skr. pīvas, see above, p. 415. ἱπος 'wool' for *Fερ-ος, cp. Lat. cerēx ('laniger'). ἱρ-ος 'sprout, twig'. ἱθ-ος 'multitude, race'. γλη-ος 'show, marvel'. δά-ος 'gift, loan', ᾶδ-ος (cp. § 66 p. 142 f.). τέμενος 'piece of land'. πάχετος 'thickness'. ἐδαφος 'ground, foundation'. καλλος 'beauty'.

ψενός 'deceitful, lying' beside ψενδος. σαφής 'clear, plain'. ἀ-σθενής 'weak' beside σθένος. κατανένυς 'well-disposed' beside μένος. ἀ-πενθής 'unaware, uninvestigated': Avest. baadah-n. 'consciousness, knowledge'. ἀ-κρηθής 'unconcealed, true' beside Dor. λαθά 'forgetfulness'. ἀμ-χερής 'hard to deal with': Skr. ἀκρα 'grip'; we should also add χείρ 'hand' if Wackernagel is right in referring χείρ- to *χερα- (Kühn's Zeitschr. XXIX 181 ff.); the gen. *χερ-ος would then be explained in the same way as Lat. farr- p. 413. — πλη-φος 'full' side by side with πλη-φέω 'I fill'

Lat. plē-rus.
Italic. Lat. op-os op-us op-er-is, op-er-a, Umbr. ose 'opere' *osatu 'operate', Osc. úpsannam 'operandum' (I § 633 p. 474): Skr. dp-as dp-as, see above p. 414. Lat. vet-us vet-er-is (agedness, or being stricken in years; old creature', hence as an adj.) old, vet-us-tu-s, Osc. Vezkof dat., name of a god, *'Vetusco' (cp. vetusculus-s): Gr. Féor-ς. Pr. Ital. *med-os 'measure' (Gr. μεδ-υνος, Goth. mit-an): Lat. modes-tu-s moder-ārī (the o instead of e is due to mod-u-s), Umbr. meš-s mēr 'ius, fas' for *med(o)s, the o being lost by syncope, see I § 633 p. 474. Umbr. vas 'vitium' for *vēk(os), beside Lat. vacäre. Lat. aes, gen. aer-is, which can hardly stand for *ai-es-, but for *aiges-, the weak form of the stem 1) (the nom. acc. aes instead of orig. *a(i)-os was formed on the analogy of the other cases), aēnis Umbr. ahesnes 'aēnis' for *aiges-no- (I § 134 p. 121): Skr. āy-as 'metal, iron', Goth. āis (gen. āizis) 'ore, money'.

Lat. nem-us (-or-): Gr. νεμ-ος 'place of pasture': dec-us (-or-): Skr. daśas-ya-ti 'he honours, is at the service of, is obliging'. Ven-us (-er-), originally n. 'love's enticement': Skr. cān-as- 'charm, sweetness': scel-us (-er-). temp-us (-or-). terg-us (-or-): Gr. στέργ-ος τέργ-ος 'leather, skin', esp. 'the hard hide on an animal's back', corp-us (-or-). pondus and foedus, like modes-tu-s, have exchanged their e for o (*pēnd-os *feid-os, the latter still appearing in fidus-tu-s), through the influence of parallel stems in -o- (abl. pondō), cp. Gr. ὀξός above, p. 417, O.H.G. fahs p. 420.

Lat. infin. in -er-e for *es-i (loc.), as vivere (Skr. jīvās-), agere, minuere; ferre velle esse are discussed in § 162. fierē is a new formation for (O.Lat.) fierē, modelled on aği, sequē, see ib. vol-nus, mú-nus, fā-nus, pīgnus, facinus; mi-nus must also be classed here; see § 135. pectus.

The vowel-gradation which belonged to the -es-suffix in the pre-Itallic period (preserved e. g. in gen-us -er-is) was superseded in many words in favour of the form -os- which prevailed over the other forms. This is seen in tempus -oris etc.; yet

1) See Osthoff in Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 405.
we have also -es- in the adverb tempér-t, tempes-tus, and temper-are. Similarly we have penes -oris etc., whilst the loc. sing. penes (cp. aíc), which had become a preposition (or postposition), retained the form -es-. -os- is also found in derivatives, e.g. rōbus-tus (gen. rōbor-is) onus-tus (gen. oner-is), corpus-culn-m (gen. corpor-is) opus-culin-m (gen. oper-is) cp. O.C.Sl. -os-li p. 422.

Adj. pūbes and pūber, gen. pūberis. Further dé-gener, bi-corpor, both of them probably fairly modern formations having no direct connexion with the original Indo-Germanic type. Similarly the use of vetus (also vēter) as an adjective was of recent date; cp. vetus-tu-s like onus-tu-s, vēter-ānu-s like sceler-ānu-s. Here we have a repetition of the process by which adjectives of this kind were formed in the original language.

Old Irish. tech teg, gen. tige, 'house': Gr. στίγ-ος τιγ-ος 'roof, house'. nem 'heaven', which we may either compare at once with Skr. nām-as 'obeisance, reverence', so that the original sense was 'object of reverence', or suppose to stand for *nēb-os = Skr. nābh-as O.C.Sl. nēbo, its form having been influenced by words containing the /n/ like Gall. vēnēn̥r̥ov Ir. nēmed 'sacred thing or place'. leth 'side': Skr. prāthas etc., see above p. 415. au ɜ (Mid.Ir.), gen. aue, 'ear': O.C.Sl. uho 'ear'; should we add Gr. oţ Dor. oć 'ear'? (see § 114 p. 347). mag 'level tract of country', Gall. ōuvō-drāyōsz = O.Ir. Find-mag. lōg luach 'price, hire'.

With -nes-: dā-n 'stronghold'; even as early as in Gallic we have Auuvou-bourov beside Auuvoun-bourov. glā-n 'knee'.

In Germanic the old inflexion suffered great changes.

The transference of these nouns to the 0-declension, which appears so frequently in Gothic and Norse, seems to have taken place in proethnic Germanic, and to have been partly due to the analogy of forms like Skr. vats-ā- (beside Gr. ἀτρός), p. 413. Goth. ās (gen. āzis) O.H.G. ēr n. 'ore' pr. Germ. *āż-a- (Goth. āza-smīpa O.H.G. ēr-smid, § 40 p. 73): Skr. ḍy-as etc., see p. 418 above. O.H.G. lefs m. 'lip' beside A.S. lippa m. 'lip' (cp. I § 337 p. 267 f.) for pre-Germ. *lebēs- *leps-. Goth. ahiz
(gen. ahsis) O.Icel. ax n. O.H.G. ahir, ehir n. 'ear of corn'. Lat. ac-us. O.H.G. fahs O.Icel. fax m. 'hair', no doubt due to contamination of a form *peh-os n. with *pok-o-s m. (Gr. nōko-ς) (ep. Gr. ἀχος p. 417, Lat. modestus- s p. 418). Goth. veils (gen. veilsis) n. 'borough, vicus'. ep. Skr. vēśā- m. 'neighbour, vassal'. Goth. veils (gen. veilsis) n. 'time' beside veihan 'to thrive, grow', √tego- (I § 214 p. 181); it is usual to compare Lat. tempus, but I cannot think it proved that Lat. p is ever = Idg. q. Goth. plahs-jan 'to fear', a denominative: Lat. locusta for *lucus-tā (Osthoff, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 412 f.). Goth. rinis (gen. -isis) n. 'rest', √rem-. Goth. agis (gen. -isis) n. 'fear', O.H.G. egis-lih 'terrible' egis-o m. (A.S. eges-a m.) 'fear' egisōn 'to terrify': Gr. ἀχος 'pain at heart, grief'. Goth. sigis n. O.Icel. sigr (gen. sigrs) m. A.S. sīxor m. 'victory' O.H.G. sigir-ōn 'to conquer', Goth. sigis-laum § 40 p. 73: Skr. sākus; see above, p. 415. Goth. hatis (gen. -isis) n. O.Icel. hatr n. 'hate', Goth. hatizōn 'to hate'. Goth. riqis (gen. -isis) n. O.Icel. rēkr n. 'darkness': Skr. rājas etc., see above p. 414. Goth. ga-digis n. 'building, work': Gr. τέχνη-ος 'wall', with vowelgradation in the root-syllable (p. 413). Goth. bariz-ein-s adj. 'of barley' O.Icel. barr n. 'barley': Lat. farr- for *far-s-; see above, p. 413. Goth. skāpis n. 'harm', O.Icel. setr (gen. setrs) n. 'seat': Skr. sād-as etc., see p. 414 above.

No satisfactory explanation has been given of the variation between -s- and -z-, as Goth. gen. agis-is beside riqiz-is, Goth. valois-ōn 'to roll oneself, wallow' O.H.G. egis-ōn beside Goth. hatiz-ōn O.H.G. sigir-ōn.

Remark 1. Possibly it may be connected with the fact that in certain isolated uses of some of the cases retained -ēs-, e. g. in the Skr. inf. in -ēs- (p. 413). Furthermore side by side with the neuter substantives there may have been adjectives with the accent upon the formative suffix, say *aēs- 'fearing' beside *aēs- 'fear', like Gr. υεξείς; beside υεξεῖς, and the -s- may have been taken from them; compare further § 133 Rem. p. 424. Lastly in certain instances where the word was used as the first member of compound, -s- may have remained, regularly voiceless even when the suffix -es- was unaccented. See von Bahder, Verbalabstr. 55.

In West-Germanic we find beside this another entirely different modification of the original declension, due to the
syncope in final syllables. After a long root-syllable, the nom. acc. -ox was dropped (I § 661, 2 p. 517). This loss coupled with the influence of the o-declension, first established a paradigm such as O.H.G. sing. nom. acc. kalb (‘caif’) gen. kalbies dat. kalbire, pl. nom. acc. kalbir gen. kalbiro dat. kalbirum. Then in the gen. dat. sing. -ir- was dropped, kalbes kalbe being formed on the analogy of wortes worte from nom. wort; hence -ir- naturally became the mark of the plural, especially in the nom. and acc. which had no other distinguishing sign. (A more remote consequence was that -ir-, Mid.H.G. Mod.H.G. -er-, was used for the sign of the plural in a multitude of words with which it had originally no connexion whatever). In the oldest period of West-Germanic this style of inflexion (kalb gen. kalbes, pl. kalbir) is commonest in animal names; cp. besides kalb e. g. O.H.G. lamb (A.S. lomb) ‘lamb’, and outside of this category ei ‘egg’ pl. eigir (A.S. æg pl. ægru), rīs ‘sprout, twig’, and other forms. Compare the use of these words as the initial members of compounds, § 40 p. 73. Other words however, through the same phonetic change in the form of the nom. acc. sing., entirely lost their ir-inflexion, e. g. O.H.G. mast n. ‘mast, food, fattening’: Skr. méd-as n. ‘fat’ (I § 591 p. 447 f.).

Remark 2. Certain substantives which follow the i- and the u-declension have also been regarded as representing original -es-stems; as O.H.G. sigi A.S. sige m. ‘victory’, O.Sax. heti A.S. hete m. ‘hate’ A.S. ege m. ‘fear’, A.S. afe n. ‘sieve’ and O.H.G. sigu sigo m. = sigi, situ sito m. ‘custom’ (Gr. ἱος). The nom. sigi is said to stand for *sigiez, -es -ox having been replaced by -es -iz because of the other cases, and the analogy of the m. f. i-stems having then come into play. This transference must have been complete before the beginning of the Christian era; for the i-stem appears in Strabo’s Συρί-μαχος (cp. Segi-mērū-s Segi-mundu-s in Tacitus, O.H.G. sigi-nomo). But I can see no satisfactory reason for the displacement of -ax by -iz in these words and these only, and it seems more reasonable to assume that they are original i-stems; in fact we have such parallel forms as Skr. van-īś beside vānu-as. It is perhaps less improbable that -es under certain conditions should have become -uz in preethnic German, whence the form sigu (cp. O.H.G. august § 101 p. 307); see Paul in his and Braune’s Beitr. VI 187, and Bremer ibid. XI 8, who remarks: ‘I see in -uz the representative of an Idg. sonant s (z), a subject which I hope to discuss in a systematic form at some future time’.

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-nes-, -tes-: O.H.G. lēhan n. 'loan', see above p. 415; A.S. hrō-dor n. beside hrē-d (m.?) 'glory'. Cp. also A.S. hēl O.Icel. heill n. 'favourable omen, happiness' for *hailiz- beside the adj. Goth. hāi-l-s 'healthy' (§ 76 p. 206), A.S. hlēw n. 'grave-mound' for *hlainiz- beside Goth. hlāi-o 'grave-mound' ground-form *hloj-uo- (§ 64 p. 137) and the like.

Adjectives like Gr. ψευδής δια-μενής do not seem to occur. It is a question whether they can be inferred from the appearance of -s- side by side with -z- in the oblique cases of the substantives and in derivatives. See Rem. 1 p. 420 above. O.H.G. mast 'mast, food' has also a secondary use as adj. 'fattened'.

Balto-Slavonic. Here we find only Substantives. In Lithuanian they have become masc. or fem. i- or io-stems: -es-i- and -es-ia-.

Lith. debes-i-s m. and f. 'cloud' (but we have the consonantal stem preserved in the gen. pl. debes-ui) O.CSl. nebo 'heaven': Skr. nābh-as etc.; see above, p. 414.

Lith. ėdes-i-s, gen. -io, m. 'food (for animals)': cp. Lat. eder-e. kalbes-i-s, gen. -io, m. 'phrase, proverb', beside which we have kalbes-e f. 'speech'. Gen. mēnes-io and mēnes-ės 'of a month'; see above, p. 415. The original -es- is also seen in kalbes-ni-s 'talk', mōkes-ti-s 'payment' and the like: see § 101 p. 307.

O.CSl. slov-o 'word': Skr. srav-as etc., see above p. 414. uch-o 'ear': Mid.Ir. au; see above, p. 419. ok-o 'eye'. tēlo 'body'. Gen. ličes-e 'of the face'; the nom. sing. *liko, is wanting, its place being taken by liče. In consequence of their similar termination in the nom. acc. sing. es-stems were often inflected like neuter o-stems; e. g. gen. slova instead of sloves-e. On the other hand some of the Slavonic es-stems were perhaps o-stems originally, and became es-stems only because of this same similarity of form, e. g. drēv-o 'tree', dēlo 'work'. The suffix -os-is no doubt also to be traced in abstract nouns like qzos-ti 'strait', cp. Lat. angus-tu-s; see § 101 p. 307.
§ 133. 2. Substantives, masculine and feminine, with the suffix in the form -os-. Side by side with the neuters in -es- there existed in the original language a certain number of masculine and feminine substantives with -os- in the strong cases, -ōs in the nom. sing., -es -es-i in the loc. sing., and -s- in the weakest cases. It is only in Italic that this formation is at all fertile; and there the ō of the nom. sing. was carried through all the cases. The masculine or feminine form and the neuter form often appeared side by side, as Lat. decor: decus (cp. p. 411 f.).

Skr. uṣ-ās- f. Gr. ἰός f. (for *aYLES-ōs)1) Lat. aur-ōr-a

dawn'. The acc. sing. was originally *os-yp: Skr. uṣās-am

Avest, uṣahw-em, Gr. ἵόρ for *hṓa; Skr. uṣās-am and uṣām were

re-formations, the latter modelled on the nom. uṣās. Loc. -esi:

Skr. uṣās-i; Gr. ἵότ was a re-formation. Gen. Skr. Ved. uṣās

instead of *uṣ-Ś-ās, instead of which we find later uṣās-os, and a

similar re-formation in Greek, ἱός i.e. *hṓoς. Does the accent

of the Att. ἱός (acc. ἱό) indicate that the original accent was

*AILSOS?


Gr. acc. αἰό, a by-form of αἰώνα, for *aiłóa, loc. αἰό adv. 'always' ;

the weakest form of the stem is found in Sanskrit only as a

neuter noun, aiyus- 'life'. Cp. also Ir. aís aës m. 'age' Mod.Cymr.

oes § 108 p. 329.

Gr. αἰῶς f. 'shame, modesty', acc. αἰῶ, and parallel to it

αιῶς-, in aἰῶμαι fut. aἰῶσ-αιωναι and aί-αινύς.

Latin. Masculines. decor beside decus Skr. daśas-yá-ti

'honours, is at the service of'; tenor beside tenus Skr. tánas 'off-

spring' Gr. τένος 'sinew, bond'; angor beside angus-tu-s ãnx-iu-s

Skr. áhas 'distress'; tepor beside Skr. tápas 'heat' and many

other similar words. honos honor (hones-tu-s), sódor, ador,

amor etc. Compare also rämi-ficó beside rämor § 34 p. 60. In the

nom. sing. -ōr (-gr) took the place of -ōs on the analogy of the

other cases, where -r- regularly represented -s- between vowels

1) ἰός proves that the law of vowel-shortening discussed in I § 611

p. 461 did not come into operation until after the loss of intervocalic -
(If § 569 Rem. 2 p. 426 f.) aurōr-a (see above), like Flōr-a beside flōs, cp. § 60 p. 110.

Remark. It is possible that all these nouns, excepting the word for 'dawn', were originally masculine; if so they kept their original gender in Latin, whilst Gr. ἁλάς became feminine, in the same way as the -ā-stems (§ 108 p. 323, 327).

It is uncertain how we ought to regard the Sanskrit masculine abstract substantives jardes- 'weakness of age' dhīyēs- 'fear' tavās- 'strength'. They belong to this section if their acc. in -āsām is a re-formation like uōsam. Further: were such Latin substantives as sēdes mótes plēbes pūbes really, as is usually assumed, originally s-stems? Possibly we should assume a double class of masculine and feminine substantives in the parent language, corresponding to the two classes appearing, e.g. in Greek, ἀθροῦ with ἀροῦ, δί-τιο with δο-τίο, distinguished by a difference of accent and of vocalism in the suffix. The accent of ἅλας ἁλάς would then have been shifted just as that of the forms in -ōv -μνή. Adjectives like Gr. ἀθροῦς (§ 132 p. 412 f.) would then bear a nearer relation to these m. and f. substantives in -ēs than to the neuters in -os.

§ 134. The Suffix -s- (-o-s-, -i-s-, -u-s-).

Side by side with the nouns formed with -es- (-os-), which have been discussed in §§ 131—133, we find nouns which have the same s-sound in the suffix, but which cannot be shewn with certainty to have ever had an e (o) before the s. And we must remember that although -es- was certainly used as a single and independent suffix at the time of the dissolution of the prothetic community, it may nevertheless have arisen from the fusion of two distinct elements (-e-s-, or rather perhaps as in *gene-s-, see p. 20).

The nouns here to be discussed may be arranged in four groups.

head' (for ὁκρασ-ις- ἅκρασις-ις-, cp. § 114 p. 347) ? There is nothing to prevent our comparing with these words Skr. mās- 'moon, month' O.C.Sl. mēs-ect 'month' from √ mē- 'measure', see § 132 p. 415.

In these words it is possible that the e of -es- has been contracted with the preceding vowel, so that *dōs-: *bheres- = *dōno-m: ἃ bherenom-m, see § 65 p. 138. In this case we might regard the Sanskrit stems dravīṃ-ḍās- 'giving riches' voyō-ḍhās- 'bestowing life-power' candrā-mas- 'moon' (see Lanman, Noun-Inf. p. 555 f.) as the direct representatives of an original formation, and analysing them as *-d-es- *-dh-es- *m-es- *-d-es-

*dōs- = Gr. ἥμισ- Gr. ἥρπας ἕρπας and the like; see § 192 p. 415. Lat. vi-r-e-s beside er-e s vi-m cannot have suffered this contraction; but it is perfectly easy to assume that the s-inflexion in this word may be due merely to the analogy of older types.

2. -s-s-. Skr. kranti- n. 'raw flesh', Gr. κράτας n. 'flesh', cp. Lat. crūor. Gr. κέρας 'horn' beside Skr. śīras- 'head' (originally 'prominent point'); Lat. core-brum may contain either *kera- or *kera-, γήρας 'old age', γέρας 'gift of honour', ὑμας 'bodily frame'. Skr. tāmīs-rā tamis-rā-m 'darkness' beside tāmas; Lat. tenebrae instead of *tenebrae (I § 570 p. 428 f.) and Mid.Dutch deemerter 'dark' may contain either *temes- or *temes-. Skr. vōci- n. 'light' beside swa-vōcas- and Avest. raocah- n. 'light, clearness', O.Pers. raucah- 'day'. Avest. hadiš- O.Pers. hadiš- n. 'seat' beside Skr. sādas-. As regards the Aryan forms, however, it must be borne in mind that -iš- may represent Indo-Germanic -i-s-.

To this class perhaps also belong Gr. masc. ἤρως 'love' and γέλως 'laughter'. According to Solmsen (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 109), there was the same ablaut-relation between these nominatives and the stems ἤρως- γελας- seen in Hom. ἤρων-νός ἤρων-άτο Pindar. γελάννας Hom. γελάννας, as between ὅω- *dō- and ὅω-

do- 'give' (I § 317 p. 255 f.): γέλως- *γελας-ος *γελαςι etc., thence by qualitative assimilation of the vowel *γέλω(α)-ος *γέλω(α)-ν; later on they passed into the o-declension: acc. γέλω-ν ἤρων and so forth.

3. -i-s-. Lat. cinis, pulvis, gen. cineris for *cinesis cp. cinis-culūs (I § 33 p. 33). Danielsson (Gramm. u. etym. Stud. I
51) compares, perhaps rightly, *cinis* with Gr. κόνις-ς. The same scholar assumes a stem ἰέμο- ‘ordinance, right’ in ἰέμος-κρόων ἰέμος-τ- and so forth. Here might also be classed some of the Aryan neuters in -iṣ- (see under 2); I will add only Skr. arcīṣ- ‘beam’ jyōtiṣ- ‘light’.

Was this -iṣ- ever the weak form of an earlier -iṣes-?

4. -u-s-. Skr. dhānuṣ- n. ‘bow’ beside dhanā-ṣ m. dhānvan- n.; pāruṣ- n. ‘knot’ beside pārvan- n.; mādhuṣ- n. ‘sweetness’ beside mādhū- n.; mānuṣ- m. ‘human being’ beside mānuṣ m. Goth. namn- for *many-. Lat. pecus n. beside pecu, genus m. n. ‘knee’ beside genu can hardly be deemed parallel examples; see § 104 p. 313.

In a few instances we find the ablaut -us-: -yes- (-yos-). Mention has already been made of Skr. āyuṣ- n. ‘life’ compared with Gr. aἰες aἰῶ § 133 p. 423. Another example is Skr. āruṣ- n. ‘wound’ beside O.Icel. orc n. ‘scar’ for *aryiz-.

135. The Suffix -iṣes- -iṣes-1).

This is a primary comparative suffix, side by side with the secondary -ero- -tero- (§ 75 p. 188 ff.). The fact that it is contained in the superlative suffix -is-to- (§ 81 p. 242 ff.) indicates that its comparative meaning was wider then that of the sister suffix -ero- -tero-, which from the earliest period to which we can trace it was used only in comparing two things (e. g. Gr. νο-τερος ‘which of two?’). So that originally the combination -is-+tero- in Gr. ἀγωνιζό-ς Lat. sin-ister and the like (§ 75 p. 190 ff.) was probably not a mere pleonasm.

Even in the preethnic language the comparatives and superlatives containing this suffix had been brought into connexion with ‘Positives’ formed with all manner of suffixes (-u-, -o-, -ro- etc.), and were regarded as being derived from them, e. g. Skr. sād-īyas- Gr. ἰδίων ‘suavior’ beside sād-ū-ṣ ἰς- ‘suavis’. Thus -yes- (-is-to-) acquired the character of a secondary suffix, which appears very clearly in the new formations which are so

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1) J. Schmidt, Das primäre Comparativsuffix, Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXVI 377 ff.
common in the separate languages, such as Skr. brāhm-īyas-Lat. amīc-īor. Compare § 58 p. 107, § 81 p. 249.

As regards the ablaut of the root-syllable, the general rule seems to have been that the comparative had the strong grade (e in the e-series), and the superlative the weak grade. Parallel to this there was always a difference of accent. The corresponding positive was generally a form in which the weak-grade was regular in the root-syllable. Thus *léngh-ītes-:*lęgh-ītō-:

*lęgh-ū- 'brisk, small, little' = Avest. renj-yah- Gr. ἔλαιον for *ἔλαγχ-ιον (I § 459 p. 360, § 497 p. 365, § 61§ p. 466) instead of *ἔλαγχ-ιον through the influence of the form ἔλαγχ-:

Skr. lāgh-īṣha-s Gr. ἔλαγχ-ιστό-ς (both with the accent shifted, see § 81 p. 243): Skr. lāgh-ū-ς Gr. ἔλαγχ-ῦ-ς; Skr. prāth-īyas-:

pyth-ū-ς; Gr. χρύσων: χράτ-ιστό-ς instead of *χράτ-ιστό-ς: χράτ-

-ῦ-ς; ὀλίγων: ὀλίγ-ιστό-ς instead of *ὀλίγ-ιστό-ς: ὀλίγ-ο-ς; O.H.G. suog-iro: Goth. süt-īsta. These distinctions of ablaut were to a large extent lost through the influence of analogy; particularly as between the comparative and superlative. E. g. Skr. lāghīyas- instead of *lānghīyas- or the true phonetic form *lāgh-

-īyas (I § 454 p. 335 f.); and conversely prāthiṣṭha- instead of *prathiṣṭhd-, bāhiṣṭha- instead of *bahiṣṭhā- (compar. bāḥ-īyas-

posit.: bāḥ-ū-); Gr. τάχ-ιον instead of ἑάσον (τάχοντα, ταχύ-ς), and conversely ἔλαγχ-ιστο-ς instead of ἔλαγχ-ιστο-ς; in μάσσων and μήστο-ς (μακό-ς) the vowel-grades have exactly changed places; Goth. süt-īsa instead of *svōt-īsa (O.H.G. suog-iro), but conversely O.H.G. suōg-isto instead of *sug-isto (Goth. süt-īsta).

In considering all such cases however it must be remembered that in the original paradigm of the comparative besides -īes- and -īos- the stem also appeared in the form -īs-, before which the root-syllable must have had the weak-grade; e. g. dat. sing. *lęgh-īs-āj like the superlative *lęgh-īs-tō-; and this form of the root may also have appeared before -īes- (see below). We have perfect right to assume if we choose that even in the proethnic language the strong form of the root (*léngh-īos-) had prevailed in all cases of the paradigm of the Comparative, so that, e. g. *lęghhisāj had dropped out of use in favour of *lęngh-
isā; but it is quite as easily conceivable that forms like *hɔgh-
isā descended into the separate languages, and there assisted in levelling the forms of the Comparative and the Superlative. The latter assumption would also make it easier to understand such instances as μᾶσσαν: μῆκστο-ς (Avest. mas-yah- O.Pers. māh-īsta-).

There are some examples without vowel-gradation in the root: *plē-jos- *plē-is- *plē-is-tō- *plē-ro- = Skr. prā-yaś Gr. πλῆ-ς for *πληγια- Gr. πλησσ-το-ς: Lat. plē-rus Gr. πλῆ-ρο-ς.

As regards the different forms assumed by the comparative suffix itself in different languages many points are still obscure. The history of -ies- is in many ways parallel to that of the participial suffix -yes- (§ 136).

Remark 1. It is absolutely impossible to maintain that -iēns- was the original form of this suffix. I attacked this view in Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXIV 54 ff., and J. Schmidt in the same periodical XXVI 237 ff. has again undertaken its defence. Schmidt imagines that -iēns (-iēns) in the nom. sing. masc. became -iōs (-iōς) in the proethnic language by a regular phonetic change (cp. I § 220 p. 188) and that the nasal was dropped in other cases by analogy. To say nothing of the fact that no certain examples of this proethnic phonetic law (-iōs coming from -iēns) have been adduced (cp. also p. 415) 1), the results which Schmidt’s hypothesis involves are altogether incredible and inadmissible: see the Author in Iw. Mül러’s Hdb. II 55 and Solmsen, Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXIX 83 (Collitz too declares against Schmidt, Bezzeln. Beitr. X 65). I therefore still believe in -īs-

-and in -yes- also; see p. 439.

-ies- and -ītēs- stand side by side, just as -iē- and -iō-; and the form -iēs- which is represented by Skr. -iyes- Gr. Att. -iō(s)- may be compared with -iō-, see § 63 p. 122.

The following conclusions may be conserved as adequately established for the parent language (in what follows the parallel forms -iēs- -iēs- are disregarded).

1. -iōs in the nom. sing. masc., -iē in the nom. acc. sing. neut.: Avest. vaḥ-yā vaḥ-yō, Skr. vās-yaś (n.), Lat. ma-jör instead of -jōs (I § 569 Rem. 2

1) R. Meringer (Ztschr. f. österr. Gymn. 1888 p. 134) derives the acc. pl. *gōūs (Skr. gās Gr. βας) through *gōsas from *gōmns. On p. 188, however, he assents to my view that the acc. sing. was *gōm(y)m before a sonant, but *gōmns before a consonant. I confess I do not see how to reconcile these statements. I must still regard Meringer’s *gōmns as a monstrosity, and the view that gās βās are re-formations on the analogy of the acc. sing. as perfectly admissible.

2. -jōs in the voc. masc.: Skr. vās-yus.

3. -jēs- in the loc. sing.: Skr. vās-yus-i (the accent has been shifted). Also in the fem. nom. -jēs-, gen. -i-s-jēs etc.; levelling in different directions produced on the one hand Skr. vās-yust vās-yusyūs, on the other Goth. suit-izai suit-izaius, and O.CSl. bol-jūi bol-jūij (instead of *boljēgī *boljēg). The suffix has also the -ies-form in Lith. sold-ūs-nū-s 'sweeter' with -es-for -ies- (I § 147 p. 131), in the unique Pruss. gen. pl. minī-s-ies-on 'mai- orum' and perhaps in Lat. māju-ies-tās beside mā-jōr (this may also be a new formation modelled on homēs-tās; honor and the like) and pē-jor-āre beside pē-jōr (cf. Osthoff, Zur Gesch. d. Perf. 115).

4. -īs- in the weak cases, e.g. dat. sing. -i-s-ē loc. pl. -i-s-ē. This form of the suffix has spread through the paradigm, wholly or in part, in Gr. πλες πλες neut. πλε (πλέκει-), Goth. suit-iz-na gen. suit-iz-ins, mādis-a gen. mādis-ins, O.CSl. gen. boljēsa 'maioris' for *boljēs-īt instead of *boljēs-īt (see below). There were moreover adverbs in -īs-: *μό-ισ- = Osc. mais 'magis' Goth. māis 'more', Lat. mag-is, Goth. vāirs for *vēr-īx, Gr. πέρα- = Lat. prīs- in πείρα-ευ-ς πείρα-βυ-ς prīs-ευ-ς. Further -īs- occurred in the fem., gen. -i-s-ēs etc., see 3. Cp. superl. -īs-tō-, § 81 p. 242 ff.

Finally I regard it as probable.

5. That the strong cases of the masc. (except the nom. sing.) had -jōs-: acc. Avest. vah-yās-h-em Gr. ἱασ-ων for -jō(s)-a. The fact that in Greek -jos- is confined to the strong cases (there is no such form as *πλάσσο-ες in the gen., for example) may be regarded as an additional proof that in the other cases another form of the suffix prevailed; for if all the cases had originally had -jōs-, they would surely have all been treated in the same way.

In Aryan, -īs- was displaced by -yās- in the weak cases: dat. sing. Skr. vās-yās-ē Avest. vah-yās-h-, gen. sing. Skr. vās-yās-as Avest. vah- yās-h-ō. Where -yās- is also found in the strong cases in the same group of languages, as Skr. kaniyās-aṃ 'iniorem' Avest. vahhāsh-em 'meliorem' (-hh- = -hy-, I § 558 p. 415), it is not original, but due to a secondary change. Instead of -jās- in the voc. sing. masc. -yān appears in the postvedic language; this form is doubtless due to the analogy of -son (§ 136 p. 441).

In Latin the -jōs of the nom. sing. was carried through the whole case-system; later it became -ōr following the other cases, where -s- regularly became -r-; mā-jōr -jōr-em -jōr-is etc.; cp. hon-ōr -ōr-em and so forth, § 138 p. 428.

The Old Church Slavonic nom. sing. masc. boljē boljē beside neut. bolje is probably not a compound word (boljē + ľē), but a modification of *boljē which had the suffix in the form -ijes-; beside it we find novē-jē with -jes-. boljē owes its form to the influence of the neuter bolje, or of masculines like dobliyē, or of both together. The masc. terminations -ē and -ē (instead of *-ēja *-ēa = Idg. *-ēsēs *-ēsē) are due to the influence of the -ē- stems, such as dobliyē; novē-jē bears to neut. novē-je the same
relation as δοβίς: δοβίδε. From the nom. acc. sing. neut. and nom. sing. masc. -i- passed on to the other cases which had -ίς = -ι-ίς: gen. bolýsin instead of *bolýsα etc. See 3. above, fem. bolýsε instead of *bolýsε.

But what is the origin of the nasal in Skr. vás-yáś (nom. vás-yáṁ acc. vás-yáś-án) and of the Greek paradigm ἵδανας -νας-νας etc.? In § 132 we regarded -ίς as an extension of the comparative -ιο- by -εις; compare Skr. nás-yás- Lat. nás-īō beside Skr. nás-yā- Goth. ná-īže, Lat. ním-īs beside ním-ίς-α. Now in some instances there may have been a form -ίς- parallel to -ιο- and having the same force. The stems formed with this stood in Greek side-by-side with those which had -ίς-, and were taken into more extended use because they had an easier and clearer inflexion than that of the -ίς- comparatives, which had broken up into very dissimilar groups through the operation of phonetic laws within the case-system; thus arose ἤδιν -νας-νας like προ-νας -νας-νας (§ 115 p. 359), and χερ-ερ-ερ-ερ-ερ-ερ-ερ (§ 116 p. 359). In Sanskrit however -γάς- and -γάν- were contaminated, forming the form -γάς-, just as mahānt- (beside mahāt-) seems to have arisen from the fusion of an n-stem and a t-stem. (§ 126 p. 399.) Cp. Danielsson, Gramm. and etym. Stud. I 49. Thus we should have side by side e. g. (1) *plέ-ιο- (Gr. πλέως- πλης- Cret. πλῆν, Armen. h, gen. ἰόю, 'full', Skr. prāyāna prāya-śaḥ 'for the most part, usually, mostly'), (2) *plē-ίς- *plē-ίς- (Skr. prā-yās, Gr. πλεον πλέον-ετο-ετο-ετο-) and (3) *plē-έν- *plē-έν- (πλήλον -νας-νας, neut. Att. πλήν, cp. with the latter Cret. πέλιν Hom. πελὶν Att. πελὶν beside πελίς-; πληλίν: πλήλον πλήλον = Goth mēs: mēlaus). Compare further (1) Skr. kan-yā 'maiden' Gr. κανοῦς- 'newer' (2) Skr. kān-īyas- 'younger' kān-īsīhā- 'youngest'; (3) Avest. kain-in- f. 'girl'; Gr. (1) ἔας- 'easiest' (ἐας-ἐας- ἔας-ἐας-): (2) ἔας- ἀς- ἔας- ἔας-: (3) ἔας- ἀς- ἔας- (etymology doubtful, see Osthoff, Zur Gesch. d. Perf. 446 f.)². Compare the parallel forms *sī-ιο- (Lat. sēvōm Goth. sēva) *sī-ες- (Gr. αἰσ αἰσ Skr. dāyus-) *sī-ες- (Gr. αἰσ αἰσ Skr. dāyus-) § 116 p. 382, § 133 p. 423, Skr. ἦβ-εα- ἦβ-εα- ἦβ-εα- 'artistic' and other examples.

Indo-Germanic. loug-(o)jōs- beside *louh-ūː-: Skr. lāgh-
-īyas- Avest. renj-yah- Gr. acc. ἱλᾶσσω, cp. p. 247 above. *sydd-
-(o)jōs- beside Skr. svadū- Gr. ἵδι- Cret. svad-īyas-, Gr. ἴδ-ιω -ιω, Lat. suavior instead of *syad-ior through the influence of svdi-s, O.H.G. swug-ivo. Goth. svut-īca. *ōk-(o)jōs- beside Skr. dā-ū- Gr. ὅκ-ό- Cret. acu-pektu-s: Skr. dā-īyas-, Gr. ὅκ-λων (this is not actually found, but may be

1) We find also μαλοῦς-τερό-ς (Solon) βελτεύ-τετε-τε-ς (Telesilla) compared with μαλοῦς βελτίων formed on the same principle as σοροῦ-τερο-ς § 75 p. 193.

2) In view of this it may not be rash to see a further group of old -io- forms in the Att. gen. sing. of the compar. in -νος (άνδρον τοῦ μικόν, ἤγοτον, Meisterhaus, Gramm. d. Att. Inschr. p. 67).
§ 135. **The Suffix -iex- -iex-**

inferred from ὀδ-ιερ-ζ), Lat. ὀε-ιορ. *plē-jos- (*plējs- by a pro-ethnic contraction from *plē-is-; see I § 116 p. 108) beside Lat. plē-ru-s Gr. πλή-ο-γες: Skr. adv. pra-yas Avest. fra-yah-, Gr. πλειων πλες, Lat. pleor-ες or plēθ-r-ες and plis-ima Carm. Arv., (O.Ir. lia, see p. 435), O.Icel. fleir-e (re-formed to correspond with meir-e). *mō-jo- *mo-ja- beside O.Ir. mā-r Gall. -mā-r-is (in proper names) 'great' Goth. -mār-s 'great' (cp. § 81 p. 247): Osc. mais 'magis', O.Ir. māo mō, Goth. māiz-u adv. māis 1); perhaps Gr. Moiov should also be classed here.


Avest. maz-yah- 'greater' beside O.Pers. māp-iṣṭa- 'the greatest': Gr. μᾶςων beside μᾶς-ο-ζ 'long'. Avest. taṣ-yah- 'more warlike, stronger' ground-form *teṣog-īes- (I § 200 p. 168, § 478 p. 350), beside superl. tanc-iṣṭa- . In Avestic the metre often shows that the reading should be -iṣṭa-, as renjiyah-, nazdiyah-, masiyah- (beside mah-) sya

In Sanskrit we find occasionally new formations from noun-

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1) In the light of this paragraph what is said about this Gothic word in I § 635 p. 475 should be corrected.
stems, as tikṣṇ-iyas- from tikṣṇ-ā- 'sharp', brāhm-iyas- like brāhm-iṣṭha-, drāḍh-iyas- like drāḍh-iṣṭha-; see § 81 p. 245.

Greek. *-io(σ)- *-io(σ)- occurs only in the acc. sing. masc. and the nom. acc. plur. masc. and neut. By its side we find through all the cases -ioν- -ioν- (-io in πλέν, πρείν πρείν πρείν); in Rem. I p. 430 I have stated my conjecture that this form represents Idg. -ion- and never contained s. -io(σ)- -ioν- occur in Attic.

The examples are given in the form of the acc. sing. masc. in -ioν- -ioν for *-io(σ)- α- *-io(σ)- α.

πάσσω and παχ-ιω beside παχ-υ-ς 'fat, thick'. θάσσω for *θαγγ-λον- α beside ταχ-υ-ς 'swift' (we must compare Pol. δαγγε 'to press forward, aspire, hasten', see Bezzenerger in his Beitr. XII 241; the favourite comparison of this with Αvest. ταɣγαh- has not been reconciled with phonetic law), cp. ἐλάσσων p. 427. βραδ-ιω beside βραδ-υ-ς 'slow': Skr. mṛad-iaśas-. γλυκ-ιω beside γλυκ-υ-ς 'sweet'. ὀλεξ-ιω beside ὀλυγ-ο-ς 'little' ὀλυγ-ιστο-ς, from which ὀλεξ-ιω was afterwards formed. κακ-ιω beside κακ-ο-ς 'bad'. ἤχθ-ιω beside ἤχθ-ρο-ς 'hostile'. ἕσσω 'inferioria' beside ἕσ-α; ἕττασθαι instead of ἕττασθαι follows νικάσθαι, and from the verb ἕττασθαι the substantive ἕττα was itself formed (Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 299 f.). ἀμέλων for *ἀμελ-ιω 'meliorem'. A form *ἀγγ-λον- 'nearer' may be inferred from the adv. ἄνσων for ἀγγ-λον (beside ἀγγ-λ): Skr. ā-daśas- O.H.G. eng-s- o- 'narrower'. μεῖω 'minorem' for *με-λο(σ)- α beside *μινο*-μιν-, Lat. mi-nus Goth. minniza for *μι-νύ-ις-, see below; the superl. μεῖστο-ς stands for *με(λύ)-ιστο-ς (for the vowel-grade of the root cp. ἐλέγχ-ιστα-ς and the like p. 427) or else is a new formation in imitation of its opposite πλείστο-ς. πλεῖω πλέω 'more' instead of *πληγ-(λο)ο(σ)-α has been affected by the form of πλείστο-ς (like Skr. sthē-yaś- instead of *sthd-yas- through the influence of sthēṣṭha-, § 81 p. 244), and perhaps also to some extent by μεῖω; by the side of it we find a form* πλισ- for *πλεῖσ-, belonging properly to the weak cases of the comparative, in Hom. πλέ-ες πλέ-ες Cret. πλέ-ες neut. πλί-α (i for ε, I § 64 p. 51 1): Skr. vra-yaś etc.; see p. 431 above. χρῶσσω κρέιττω

1) Here for 'in the Doric dialects' read 'in some Doric dialects'.

§ 195.

In rare instances we find nominal suffixes preceding the comparative -μο-, as καλ-ίω 'palcriorem' beside καλλος n., βελ-τ-ω 'meliorem'. Compare the superlatives, § 81 p. 245.

In Cretan (Gortyn) we find πρείγω (πρείγονα) beside πρείγυν-ς πρείσγυν-ς and κάρτω (καρτόνακς) instead of *κρέτω = Ion. κρήσων, beside καρην'ς. It remains doubtful whether these forms are regular phonetic representatives of *πρείγυ-ς, *καρτ-ς (cp. Dor. κάρρων for *καρσων), or new formations with -α instead of -μο on the model of some one or more forms where the γ had regularly disappeared.

One example of an adverb in -is is πρείσα- ('before') found in the compound Cret. πείεσ-γν-ς (whence πρείγυν-ς by assimilation). Thessal. πρείσα-βν-ς (cp. I § 428 p. 316), which corresponds to the prís- of the Lat. prís-cu-s (beside prior prīmus), cp. Rem. 1 p. 429 and for -γν- -βν-, § 91 Rem. p. 277. Obviously *πρεις is related to Cret. πρείν (Hom. πρίν Att. πρίν) as πλεισ- (in πλέες πλέϊσ-το-ς) to Att. πλείν and as πλείους (i.e. *πλεισσ-ες) to πλείουν-ες, cp. Rem. 1 p. 430. If we start from an original *πρεί-ις- *pri(i)-is- (by analogy *pri-ιός- and *priξ-ις-), Lat. prís- may represent not only *πρεις but also *priξ-ις (cp. πρίξν). It must be admitted that the forms πρείσγυν-ς πρείσβυν-ς are still obscure 1).

Italic. O.Lat. minerimus-s for *minis-imo-s (cp. plūr-imus etc.), minis-ter, Osc. minstres misstres 'minoris': cp. Goth. minniza

1) Thé student who believes that the doctrine of 'hymeneasia' (κύλεω = *κύλεσ-τες, σπέω = *σπεσ-σον) is not a mere midsummer madness, may find comfort in supposing that *πρεις- stands for an older form *πρειες(ς)το-ς, an analogical modification of an original loc. *priξ-δές. It is simpler however to analyse *πρεις into πε + -ς (the genitive ending), and to regard it as a by-form of πείες-ς Skr. pur-ās (I § 294 p. 234): Prellwitz, De dial. Thessalica 1885 p. 11 takes a very similar view, but a different explanation may be found in Per Persson's Studia etymologica, Upsala 1886, p. 95.
The Suffix *-ies-*

§ 135.

'minor' for *mi-my-is- O.C.Sl. ménjýtí 'minor' and the archaic Gr. μέλος 'minorum' for *μει-τοσ-α (p. 432); minus was a neuter like vol-nus Gr. δύ-νος (see § 132 p. 415 and p. 418); it originally meant 'minority', and then like vetus came to be used as an adjective; when it had thus become the opposite of majus, majóris maior etc. gave rise to the analogous formations minor-is minor etc. 1). Umbr. mes-tru f. 'maior' (cp. § 75 p. 195), Osc. mais 'magis': O.Ir. náó etc., see p. 431 above. Osc. pústir-is 'posterius'.

Lat. oc-ior beside accu-pedin-s: Skr. ddi-yas- etc., see p. 430 f. above. nov-ior beside novo-s: Skr. náv-yas- etc., see p. 431 above. sen-ior beside senex: Skr. sán-yas- beside sán-a-s 'old', O.Ir. sin-iu 'older' sinser 'the elder, eldest' for *senis-tero-s beside sen, Lith. senés-nis 'older' beside sén-a-s, cp. also Goth. sinista 'eldest'. mel-ior. pê-jor. major majus with magis beside magnu-s: Skr. māh-iyas- etc., see p. 431 above; the evidence of the Gr. μεγας and the Goth. mikil-s shews that the root originally had e and hence it seems necessary to assume that the Latin word has been influenced by the pr. Ital. *majs- = Idg. *más- (cp. Osc. mais beside Lat. magis, Umbr. mes-tru beside Lat. magister), which belongs to a different root.

pleórës and plísima; see p. 431 above. It has not yet been clearly shewn what relation the forms plous plús, plár-ës, ploer-a and ploirumne (C. I. L. I 32) bear to *plë-jos- which we must assume as the ground-form of the comparative stem.

Remark 2. For a discussion of these latter forms see Stolz (Iw. Müller's Handb. II p. 164), Danielsson (Pauli's Alttal. Stud. IV p. 164 and Osthoff (Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 445 f.). Danielsson's proposal to assume a form *plô-jos- parallel to *plë-jos- is the simplest from the phonetic standpoint. We should start from a stem *plôs-, whence we should arrive at *plois- (according to I § 612 p. 462) 1), and then at plûs-. In plous- ou would be merely a graphic representative of the sound ò.

1) It seems to me less probable that even at the time when minus was still a substantive, there was also a masc. form minor, like decor beside decus and the like (§ 133 p. 423).

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Adverbs in -is-. Lat. mag-is beside major. nimis. suis. prīs in prīs-cu-s beside prior, see p. 433 above; is it also contained in prīdem? 
1). Osc. mais 'magis': Goth. más.

There was in Latin a very great deal of levelling between the form of the comparative and that of the positive, which converted -ies- into a secondary suffix. suāvior instead of *suād-
ior follows suāv-i-s for *suād-v-i-s, cp. Skr. sudd-īyas-. tenuior instead of *ten-i-or follows ten-u-i-s, cp. Skr. tan-īyas-. levior instead of *leg-i-or follows levi-s for *legy-i-s. sūr-i-or instead of *sū-(i)ōs follows sūr-u-s; in the same way, in old Irish, side by side with the regular sia there arose a form stīn nīre on the analogy of the positive stī-r 'long'. jūn-i-or juven-i-or, cp. Skr. yān-īyas-. audac-i-or. facil-i-or. asper-i-or. doct-i-or. sapient-i-or.

Lat. super-i-or inter-i-or dexter-i-or Osc. pūstir-is; see § 75 p. 195. Late formations are plūriōrēs proximior and the like.

Old Irish. Only the nom. sing. has been kept.

māo mō for *mō-īōs, beside mā-r 'great': Osc. mais etc.,
see p. 431. sin-iu beside sen 'old': Skr. sūn-gyas- etc., see p. 434.
laig-iu 'smaller'.

It is often a secondary suffix, as in stīr-iu (see above),
foils-iu from follus 'manifest', uaisl-iu from uasal 'high'.

Sometimes we find -u instead of -iu after consonants, as
lug-u beside laigiu. This is perhaps a new formation modelled
upon those forms in which i had been dropped between vowels,
such as māo (*māu).

The forms in -a have not been explained: examples are with
māa mā side by side māo; lia beside il 'mucl.': Skr. prā-gyas etc.,
see p. 431 above; sia beside stī-r 'long'; őa beside őac őc 'young': Skr. yāv-īyas-; nessa 'nearer'.

-is-tero-: sinser őser, see § 75 p. 196.

Germanic. As a rule, the suffix is extended by n-suffixes.

1) prīdī can only be regarded as *prīs-diē if it is assumed that
postrīdī stands for *postrīs-diē (cp. Osc. pūstir-is) (Havot's explanation,
in Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. IV 229, seems to me untenable). But postrī may also be loc. sing. of postro-, and prīdī may have been formed later in imitation of postrīdī.
These are absent only in such adverbs as Goth. hāuh-is 'higher' nēho-is 'nearer', hald-is 'more gladly, potius, rather' fram-is 'further on'; the termination -is seems to be the original neuter termination -jos (Rem. p. 428 f.), while such adverbs as Goth. vaics O.H.G. wicus 'worse', for Pr. Germ. *wirs-iz, Goth. mēns O.H.G. min 'less', for *minu-iz represent Idg. -is (see loc. cit.).


-öz- -öz-en- appeared in proto-ethnic Germanic side by side with -iz- -iz-en-; see § 81 p. 248. It is used only in the comparatives of o-stems in Gothic and (with rare exceptions) in Old High German. Adv. Goth. sniümundōs 'more hastily', aljaleikōs 'otherwise'. Goth. frōðāza from frōþ-s 'wise', svinþōza from svinþ-s 'strong, powerful', O.H.G. liobōro from liob 'beloved', liōhtōro from liōht 'bright', gilwanōro from gi-legen 'apt, suitable': hōhōro (also hōhiro) from hōh 'high', hērōro (also hēhiro) from hēr 'grand, glorious'; this variation is frequent; tiurōro (and tiuriero) from tiuri 'dear, valuable'.

O.H.G. obarōro (obarōsto) from ob-aro 'upper', aftrōro (aftrōsto) from af-tro 'later', fordrōro fordarōrq (fordarōsto) from for-dro for-daro 'former'. mēr-iro and mērōro from mēro.

Balto-Slavonic. In Lithuanian the only form of the suffix is -ies-, in the combination -ė-ė-n-ės -ė-ė-n-ė; the origin of
the second part (-n-įo-) is difficult to explain (an attempt may be found in Schmidt's paper in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 399 f.). In Slavonic in the nom. acc. sing. neut. -je = Idg. -i̯es; as regards -įše- instead of -īše- = Idg. -is-įo- and nom. sing. masc. -įji (later -įjį, no doubt by the rule in I § 86 p. 37) -įj, see p. 429 f.

Remark 3. For the Lithuanian comparative adverbs in -iaus, such as soldę̈nas 'more, sweetly', whose suffix has nothing to do with -i̯es-, see § 81 p. 248 f.

Lith. soldę̈ni-s O.C.Sl. slaždįjį, neut. slažde, beside sold-ų-s slad-ų-kų 'sweet'.

Lith. gerę̈ni-s beside gęra-s 'good', didę̈ni-s beside didi-s 'great'. It is clearly denominative in e.g. balę̈ni-s from bę̈l-ta-s 'white' jaunę̈ni-s from jau-na-s 'young'.

In Prussian a solitary example with -i̯es- is preserved (-i̯es-no doubt = Idg. -i̯es-): muis-i̯es-on 'maiorum'.

O.C.Sl. bolę̈jį̯ bolę̈jį̯ neut. bolje 'greater': Skr. bę̈l-i̯yas-'stronger, more powerful'. gorę̈jį̯ 'worse': Skr. gę̈r-i̯yas- 'gravior', mę̈nę̈jį̯ 'smaller': O.Lat. minę̈-imu-s minis-ter, see pp. 433 f. 436 above. krę̈plę̈jį̯ beside krę̈pę̈kų̯ 'strong'. chú̈dę̈jį̯ beside chú̈du̯ 'bad'. vyšę̈jį̯ beside vyso̯kų̯ 'high'. As to the effects produced by the first j of -jį̯j upon preceding consonants, see I § 147 p. 132 ff.

This formation however is not so frequent in Slavonic as that in -i̯e̯-: nom. sing. masc. -ę̯jį̯ nom. acc. sing. neut. -ę̯je̯ gen. -ę̯jį̯a and so forth. novę̯jį̯ from novę̯ 'new'. silińę̯jį̯ from silių̯ 'strong'. mę̯no̯čajį̯ from mę̯nogą̯ 'multus', for *mę̯no̯gę̯jį̯ according to the rule given in I § 76 p. 66. As the last example shows, the ė of -ę̯jį̯ was Idg. ė, and it can scarcely be doubted that this comparative formation arose from the addition of the suffix -i̯es- to the instr. sing. in ė of the o-stems; compare the Germ. comparative in -ōz-(en-), formed from the instr. sing. in ė. From the nom. sing. in -ę̯jį̯ -ę̯je̯, j passed into the other cases; hence the gen. -ę̯jį̯a instead of -ę̯i̯a and so forth. The Prussian comparatives with -ais- seem to be of the same kind; e.g. maldais-in acc. sing. masc., from maldę̯- 'young', cp. O.C.Sl.
§ 136. The Suffix -yes- 1). This served to form the Perfect Participle Active.

In this participle as elsewhere the perfect stem was reduplicated; cp. Skr. ba-bhā-vās- Gr. πτ-πή-ως from ἐβηγ- 'become'. Even such forms as Goth. pl. masc. bēr-us-jús 'parents' Lith. fem. sēd-us-i (beside sēd-au 'I sit') contained reduplication, as we shall see when we come to discuss the verb.

Remark 1. It may be assumed that the syllable of reduplication had not come to be regarded as an integral element in the formation of the -yes- participle, until the latter had been associated with the perfect system (single forms with -yes- may very well have had the reduplicating syllable before that time, see § 52, 2 p. 93 f., and these very forms may have been the chief factors in cementing the connexion of this participle with the perfect-system). It is therefore a question whether the partic. Skr. vid-vās- Gr. εἰς-ως εἰςως has not descended as an unreduplicated form from a period older than the date at which this association had taken place; it is certain that the infinitive Avest. vid-van-ōi Gr. εἰς-εἰρ-άι (§ 116 p. 363), whose connexion with the verb belongs to a comparatively late period, never had the reduplication. I conjecture that this participle of yeōd- was always unreduplicated, and being a word very frequently used banished the reduplication even in the forms of the finite verb (Skr. cēda Gr. ρίδε etc.). Other participles without reduplication must be explained in the same way, e.g. Skr. anā-vās- vēk-vās-, Gr. ἀκ-ως, ἀγως (sc. ἀγός) μήδεν (sc. δέν) 2), Lith. dėg-čė O.C.Sl. žēg-ū, Lith. vėž-čė O.C.Sl. vez-ū.

The root-syllable has generally the weak-grade of Ablaut; this is regular in Aryan, as Skr. ri-rık-vās- beside ri-rēc-ā he

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2) Cp. E. Wörner, Die Substantiva auf μος, in Sprachwissensch. Abh. aus G. Curtius' gramm. Gesellsch. 1874 p. 111 ff. On p. 114 the author writes of participles like δέν, that 'either they have lost their reduplication, or else — more probably — they never had any'.

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set free, made empty', *ca-kr-vás- beside ca-kár-a 'he made', Gr. ἵδος f. 'knowing' beside ὁδός, Lith. vilk-ės O.C.Sl. vělku- beside the pres. vělk-ū vělk-a 'I trail'. Certain forms, however, seem to have originally had the strong grade, that is e in the e-series. ę in the e-series and so forth. This is indicated by Gr. ɛίδως (: ɛίδα, ॖδे), ἐκκλείος Messen. (: ἐκλέγομαι), ἀφηγείν Heracl. (: ἀφρωγι), ἀληφιώς (: ἀληθεύω), ἀφηγείς (: ἀφρωγία), ἐστη-νώς (: ἐστά-ως) and the like; also by Goth. veitoþ- 'witness', if, as is probable, its ei = Idg. eĩ (see below). 1) It may be assumed, that originally this form of the root was proper to the strong cases of the masc. and neut., where the participial suffix appears in its -o- form (-yōs- not -yēs-): nom. sing. masc. *yēid-yōs acc. *yēid-yōs-ṃ. Further explanation of the forms assumed by the root-syllable (e.g. Goth. bēr-us-yōs Lith. sēd-ės) must be reserved for the section dealing with the formation of the perfect-stem.

With respect to the phonetic variation in the character of the participial suffix, our enquiry into its original form or forms is met by the same difficulties as we encountered in dealing with the primary comparative suffix (§ 135). Much has still to be explained.

Rem. 2. In Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXIV 69 ff. I have attacked the view (which J. Schmidt, ibid. XXVI 837 ff., has again undertaken to defend) that this suffix originally contained a nasal (-yena-). My criticism (§ 135 Rem. 1 p. 428) of the old view of the comparative suffix, applies equally well to this. It is absolutely untenable. The arguments on either side are on the whole the same, see loc. cit. I therefore still regard -yēs- as the original form.

There is no record of a form -yēs- parallel to -yēs- (op. -iēs- beside -iēs-). Osthoff, Zur Gesch. d. Perf. 401 ff., endeavours to show that in Skr. forms like bīkēns- pā śi kēns- the termination -ēns- took the place of -yēns-.

If we disregard this question as to the initial part of the suffix and regard it simply as -yēs-, the following assumptions may be considered as adequately established for proto-Indo-Germanic.

1. The nom. sing. masc. ended sometimes in -yōs, Gr. ɛίδ-ā, sometimes in -yēs, Lith. dā-žės instead of *da-žės (see below). The pr. Ar.-yōs, Avest. ɛίd-ād, may represent either termination; here we must notice the

1) O.C.Sl. ɛίdūi and břegů prove nothing. See O. Wiedemann, Beitr. zur altbaut. Conjugation, 1886. p. 132 f.
Skr. compounds with -dasi-, as -davidas- svi-davidas- beside vid-das-, as favouring the view that -yo{s} and -yus existed side by side in Aryan.

2. -yos in nom. acc. sing. neut.: Gr. ιδ-ός. There was probably a parallel form -yus, compare the masc. -yus. It remains uncertain whether the Lat. neuter forms cadaver and poper became, by levelling, on the one hand γενοεία: γενοειας, on the other γενοποια: γενοποιος; cp. also Lac. διβος beside διβος δεινος δειος name of an official ("inspectors").

3. -yos, or (under other conditions) -yes, in the voc. sing. m.: Skr. vid-vos.

4. -yus- in the loc. sing.: Skr. *-vas-i (there is unfortunately not a single example of this case in our text of the Veda). We may again directly compare with this the feminine formation (cp. § 135 p. 429): nom. -yus-śi gen. -us-śē: Gr. ιιβεία beside -ιιν; an original γενοεία: γενοειας became, by levelling, on the one hand γενοεία: γενοειας, on the other γενοποια: γενοποιος; cp. also Lac. δεινος beside δεινος δεινος δειος name of an official ("inspectors").


Lastly, I regard it as probable

6. That the strong cases of the masc. (except the nom. sing.) had -yo{s}-, where the tense-stem bore the accent: acc. sing. Avest. vid-dvāh-em.

It will be remembered that we have regarded -yes- as an extension of -io-, and assumed the existence, side by side with -yes-, of a form -jen- with the force of a comparative suffix (§ 135 p. 430). In the same way, I regard -yes- as an extension of -yo- (cp. Skr. pak-vā- Lat. or-ro-s pas-cuo-s perspicuo-s residuo-s and the like, see G. Curtius, Ber. d. Sachs. Ges. der Wiss., 1885, p. 432 1), and I assume the existence of a parallel form -yet-, made by the addition of the -t- (-et- -et-) discussed in § 123 p. 389 ff. This -yet- appears in Greek and Gothic: Gr. acc. sing. sīd-ōt-a gen. sing. sīd-ōt-o etc., Hom. τεντ-ότ-α, Goth. veit-vōd- 'witness'; veit-vōd-: *sīd-ye- Gath. mē-nēh- mē-nēs- (Lith. gen. mānere-io), see § 123 p. 393 f. The form -yōṣ- was originally proper to the nom. sing. masc., and the phonetic coincidence of -yos and -yot-s in Greek produced there the contaminated declension. I doubt, however, whether this ēs also the origin of the Skr. -vot- in loc. pl. vid-vāt-su instr. pl. vid-vāt-bhīṣ nom. acc. neut. vid-vāt. We saw in § 127 n. 405 that in prooecin Aryan these participles

1) We have the two side by side in *āj-yes- *āj-yo- § 116 p. 382 f. § 133 p. 423.
coincided with the cant-stems in the formation of the nom. and voc. sing. masc.: -yās and -yās. Now pr. Ar. *-us-ā no loc. pl. and *-us-bhīṣ instr. pl. (Avest. vid-ūd-bīṣ) must have regularly become in Sanskrit *-uṣṇa and *-uḍbhīṣ, and similarly, *-yās-su and *-yās-bhīṣ (if -yās- had taken the place of -uṣ- before the phonetic change of ū and ē came into operation) must have become -vatsu and -vādbhīṣ (I § 557 p. 412, § 591 p. 448). In either case, especially in the latter, a new and closer phonetic relation to the cant-stems was established. If *-uṣṇa *-uḍbhīṣ arose first, then it must have been just the association with the cant-stems that superseded these terminations by -vats-su -vādbhīṣ"). The neuter form vid-vāt and the post-Vedic vidvattara 'wiser' vidvattā- vidvattae-m 'erudition' were further results of this connexion.

Now whence comes the nasal in Skr. -ṛṇa-? To explain this as we explained the nasal in Skr. -ṛṇa- (p. 481) as being derived from a form ṣ-n- parallel to *-yṇ-, is hardly probable, because there are no participial forms corresponding to the Greek comparative μεζων -ονος; and the like. I conjecture that in early Sanskrit the nasal passed from -vant-ṃs -vant-ṃ to the nom. sing. in *-ṛṇs (see § 127 p. 405), *agni-ṛṇs becoming agni-ṛṇs (-ṛṇu), and thence passed on to the participles, first vid-ṛṇs, then vid-ṛṇs-ṃs and so forth; it is possible also that -vant-ṃs had a direct influence upon *-ṛṇs-ṃs.

And lastly, the cant-stems may have given rise to the later formation of the voc. sing. in -ṛṇs instead of -ṛṇs, having first exchanged -ṛṇs for -ṛṇs in their own system.

In Lithuanian we find vīk-גרbes beside dā-ṛṇ, Pruss. laipinn-ṃs beside klanii-wuns, O.C.Sl. vīk-ा beside da-ṛṇ, similarly gen. vīk-us-io beside dā-ṛṇs-io, vīk-ṛṇs beside da-ṛṇas. In the nom. sing. the consistent absence of ṣ after the consonant may have been caused by the fact that this sound regularly disappeared after certain consonants (cp. I § 184 p. 160 f.)

§ 186. The Suffix *-yes-.

1) This association prevented the developement of forms parallel to the loc. pl. mahīyasaśu and the instr. pl. mahīyādbhīṣ (see I § 557 Rem. p. 412, § 591 Rem. 2 p. 448).

2) In l. 18 of this page read 'after initial s-' (ṣx-)’ instead of 'before'.
form here was *-yēs, whose e-vowel, after the insertion of the nasal, became o (u) because of the preceding y-sound, or whether we should take Igd. *-yēs as our starting-point. In Slavonic we have masc. -ēu -ū and neut. -ēu -ū, just as in the present -y serves for both genders: as here -y passed from the masc. to the neut., so probably did -ēu -ū in the preterite, the old neuter form falling out of use. If now -ū = Igd. *-us, it is a very natural suggestion that -ēu arose from a contamination of *-us and *-yēs or *-yēs. But -ēu may have arisen in the same way as -jī (p. 429 f.): if so, there once existed side by side masc. -ēu = Igd. *-yēs and neut. *-vo = Igd. *-yōs; *-vo produced the masc. -ēu and was itself afterwards driven out of the field by -ēu. Gen. Lith. dā-vus-ō i O.C.Sl. da-viša owe their v to the nom. (we should expect *d-ūs-ō i *d-ūša); Lith. būvusio O.C.Sl. byviša (beside bū-viš by-viš) are to be analysed as būv-usio by-viša (instead of *būs-viša), and thus these forms may have helped to give currency to the formations dūvusio etc. O.C.Sl. čevaljū čevališa for *čevaljū *čevaljūša (later čevališ čevališa) follow the type of the non-derivative verbs, op. part. pret. pass. čevaljūši like sēdeniū (Wiedemann, Beltr. zur altbulg. Conjg. 134).

It is to be hoped that the explanations advanced here and on p. 429 ff. will not meet with the fate which has befallen J. Schmidt's attempt to elucidate the same difficult theme, and be regarded as 'final'. We are still, I think, some distance, perhaps a very considerable distance, from a final conclusion.


The Suffix -xes-

§ 136

ε-γέν-ε-το 'arose, became'; the parallel form γε-γα-ώς γεγονός
γε-γα-νία, like με-μα-ώς (V men-) and βε-βα-ώς (V gem-),
was a new formation suggested by γε-γα-μεν (με-μα-μεν βε-βα-μεν) etc.
and modelled upon ἐ-στα-ώς: ἐ-στα-μεν, βε-βα-ώς beside βε-βα-μεν
'we feared' 1. sing. δείδω i. e. δείδω for *δε-βε-ω(ι)-α, V ἰδ-ἰδ-ι
-πε-φυ-ώς: Skr. Ἰα-ἰδ-ιν-άς etc., see p. 442 above. τε-τοκ-ώς
beside ἐ-τεκ-ε 'he begat'. ἐ-στα-ώς βε-βε-ώς and ἐ-στη-ώς βε-βε-ώς
beside ἐ-στα-μεν 'we stand': Skr. τα-στη-νάς etc., see p. 442
above. πι-πη-ώς beside πι-πη-ε 'is fitted, fixed', V πακ-παγ-.
στε-ση-ώς σε-σαρ-νία beside σαρ-ν 'I sweep'.

The suffix is sometimes found in derivative verbs, as Hom. χειροφ-ώς beside χειρόφ-μαι (aor. χε-χαρ-η, pres. χαίρω 'I rejoice'),
βεβαρχ-ώς 'gravatus' beside pres. βαρέω, Boeot. inscr. Φε-Φινο-
μείντων = Att. ψινομηκτόν beside οἰκονομίω 'I govern' (for
-όντων instead of -όνων see below), all following the formation

It was further extended to the x-perfect: δεδωξ-ώς beside δέ-δωξ-ε 'has given', δ-στρ-ώς beside δ-στρ-ε 'stands', τετμηκ-ώς
beside τε-τιμ-ε 'has honoured' and so forth.

The feminine forms in -εία -είας (see p. 440) appear in Doric
dialects and in Attic: e. g. Heracl. ἀφθηγ-εία Ther. ἡστακ-εία,
Att. γεγον-εία.

It occurs in Homeric forms with -(F)ωρ- instead of -(F)οτς,
whose ω was taken from the nom. sing. masc., e. g. πε-γον-ωτ-α,
με-μα-ωτ-ες -ωτ-ος, τε-θηρ-ωτ-α. Cp. μή-τωρ-α formed on the

These perfect participles, like the other forms of the per-
fect stem, were remodelled on the analogy of the presents in
-ω in different dialects, especially in those of the Aeolic group:
e. g. Lesb. πελετράκωντα εὐεργετήκουσαν, Thess. ἦν-οικο-δομεικ-
tέσσα, Boeot. Φε-Φικομεμιντών (see above), Hom. κελιγγοντες,
Hesiod. ἐρέγγοντι, Pind. περετόκκοντας, Delph. τετελευκάκουσας.
Here it was a purely syntactic consideration, viz. the similarity of
meaning (the Greek Perfect being a Present in point of time)
that suggested this transfer to the system of the present-inflection;
the new feminine formations, on the other hand, such as Hom. -
Att. βεβώσα, Att. ἵστασα τεθυώσα, Herod. ἵστασα, with precisely the same endings as the pres. part. τιμῶσα and the like, were in part also determined by the contracted forms in -ωρ- (ἵστωρ- for ἵστωρ-, τεθυώρ- for τεθυνήρ-) of the corresponding masc. and neut.; the -ω- of these feminines in -ῶσα was taken from the corresponding masc. and neut., the -σα from the pres. part. fem. I do not believe that ἵστασα is derived from a hypothetical ἵστανσα.

Italic. An attempt has been made to trace this suffix in Lat. cadaver and papaver, the former being regarded as 'that which has fallen' (cado cada-bundus, cp. πτωμα 'corpse') or 'that which has been destroyed' (cadamitas cassus Skr. kud-, see Bersu Die Gutturalen und ihre Verbindung mit v im Lat. p. 170), the latter as 'that which is inflated' (papula pampinu-) and both compared with participles like Gr. κεκεφρησε (Curtius, Das Verb der gr. Spr. II 250). The suffix has also been traced in Lat. perfects like sē-vē strā-vē amā-vē, which have been regarded as examples of a crystallised periphrastic formation of the same kind as the Skr. fut. datāsmi 'I will give' (dator sum, daturus sum) (Curtius, Ber. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., 1855, p. 421 ff., Schulze, Kuhn’s Ztschr. XXVIII 266 ff.). Lastly, the same suggestion has been made for Osc. sipus 'sciens' (1), as compared with a Lat. perf. *sēp-3 equivalent to sapit (J. Schmidt, XXVI 372 ff.); its termination might have come from either ibid. Idg. *-us or *-yōs (cp. p. 440).

This suggestion is most plausible as applied to sip-us, least as applied to sē-vē.

In Germanic only a few isolated examples have survived. Goth. bēr-us-jōs pl. m. ‘parents’ (‘they that have brought forth’), Vōher-, cp. indic. 1. pl. bērum 1. sing. bar. A.S. ēgesa ēgesa O.Sax. ēeso m. ‘owner’ = Goth. *āig-us-ja m., beside Goth. āigan ‘to have, possess’. The suffix is -us-jō- as in the Gr. pl. idwōi, gen. sing. Lith. vilkusio O.C.Sl. vilikuša (p. 440).


Just as the Lithuanian participles dējēs and stōjēs follow the preterite in -jau, so do the forms mātēs māciusio (preet. māciiāū pres. mataū inf. maty-ū to see), välgeś válgiusio (preet. válgiu pres. válgu inf. valgy-ū to eat); where it should be observed, that mātēs válgeś, earlier mātens válgens, according to the regular phonetic laws must be referred to *matiens *valgijens...
§ 136, 137. Meaning of the Suffixes.

(I § 147 p. 131). Further examples of the same sort are peněžes beside penějau 'I nourished, 'fattened', jěškóžes beside jěškójau 'I sought'. On the other hand we find ę in the Pruss. klant- nouns 'having condemned' (klant-t 'to condemn'), less correctly written klantũns; and similarly signauns (signa-t 'to bless'), teikũns (teiku-t 'to form, make') as well as the form postũns quoted above must have had the termination ŭuns.

O.C.Sl. buždė for *bud-jů beside pres. bužda inf. buditi 'to wake' chvaljů beside pres. chvalja inf. chvaliti 'to praise' etc., are like Lith. mātes māčiusio; later we have -ivū, as budivū chvalivū. Cp. p. 442. dél-uū beside dél-ja déliti 'to work'. želė-uū beside želėja želėti 'wish'.

MEANING CONVEYED BY THE SUFFIXES: NOUNS CLASSIFIED FROM THIS POINT OF VIEW.

§ 137. In the foregoing account of the formation of noun-stems (§ 59—136) our classification has been based upon the phonetic character of the formative suffixes. It will be useful to re-arrange the facts of this chapter in the history of noun-formation from the point of view of their meaning.

Considered in this respect the different suffixes have many points in common and are connected in many ways; all of which can be exhibited more clearly and studied more directly by a fresh survey.

The original meaning of the proethnic Indo-Germanic formative suffixes is unknown; accordingly the method by which we are to consider them must be based upon the logical categories which they generally serve to denote. We need not concern ourselves with the question whether any given suffix in its very oldest usage was, or was not, capable of fully expressing the idea which it helps to represent in those periods of the history of language which we are able to observe.

It is only a small proportion of the formative suffixes in which we can trace from the beginning a simple and clearly
defined function; as, for example, in the comparative -tero-. Most of them serve several purposes, and it is often impossible to reconcile the meanings of a particular suffix. It must be admitted, however, that it is far from certain whether in such cases we have really to recognise only one formative element. The same group of sounds may have more than one etymological origin, e.g. -mo- as a suffix of comparison (Lat. summus for *sup*mo-) may have a different origin from -mo- in substantives like Lat. fē-mu-s ani-mu-s (§ 72 p. 170 ff.).

In the following sections there is no need to do more than emphasise the most important points. I have not attempted to make the survey absolutely comprehensive from any point of view.

**Adjectives.**

§ 188. Variation according to gender (masc. neut. fem.), and the formation of derivatives to denote comparison (degrees of comparison), are usually assigned as the chief characteristics of adjectives as such in the Indo-Germanic languages. However these types of inflexion are all found in substantives also, so that no hard and fast line can be drawn between the two groups.

The suffixes which appear in adjectives in the protohistoric and later periods are all found in substantives as well. The question then arises, whether the substantival or the adjectival use is the older. In some cases the latter is undoubtedly earlier, e.g. Lat. caprīna in pellis caprīna and the like, compared with caprīna ‘goat’s flesh’ (§ 154). In another group of forms, however, the substantival meaning seems to have been the older e.g. Skr. māhas- ‘greatness’ compared with mahās- ‘great’, Gr. ψευδό- ‘deceit’ compared with ψευδό- ‘deceitful’ (§ 155). In other instances again, no distinction is possible a priori, e.g. in Avest. per*nā- f. ‘plena’ and ‘plenitude, plenitas’ (§ 158).

Many Indo-Germanic adjectival suffixes have no definite meaning to distinguish their own class of adjectives from others. The most sharply defined are those with a comparative meaning. These we will consider first.
§ 139. Adjectives with Comparative meaning. The elements of meaning which are really distinctive of this class are first the idea of contrast by comparison, and secondly the idea that what is predicated by the adjective is only true in a relative and limited sense.

-jo- in *al-jo-s ‘alius’, *medh-jo-s ‘medius’ *me-jo-s ‘meus’ and the like simply helps to express the idea of contrast by comparison, which is given by the root itself. See § 63, 3 p. 132 f. It may be conjectured that -jo- had etymologically nothing to do with the notion of comparison, but that in the earliest or some of the earliest of these adjectives the suffix came to participate in this idea, which was really expressed by the root of the word (cp. § 57 p. 104 f.); and that it was then used independently in other words with the same force.

-jes- (-jen-) which is probably an extension of -jo-, expresses primarily contrast by comparison in the widest sense. The adjectives formed with this suffix came into close connexion with other adjectives of the same root and the same root-meaning, where the idea of relativity was wanting; hence they were applied to express not so much absolute contrast (as that of 'new': 'old') as limited contrast ('new in comparison with something else which must also be called new') A further limitation of meaning appeared with the to derivative -is-to- (§ 81 p. 242 ff.). A distinction in usage sprang up between -jes- (-is-) and -is-to-, which is analogous to that between -ero- -tero- and -mo- (-mono-) -tumo-: whilst -is-to- denotes comparison with several other objects, -jes- (-is-) is confined to comparison with one other. E. g. comparative Skr. lāgh-iyas- Avest. renj-yah- Gr. ἵλασσων and superlative Skr. lāgh-iš tha-s 'Gr. ἵλαχ-ισ το σ beside Skr. lāgh-ū-ś Gr. ἵλαχ-ις ('agile, small, little'). In formations like Gr. ἀρ-σ τερός-ς 'left', as contrasted with 'right' (§ 75 p. 190 ff.), the notion of contrast with a single other thing is still further expressed by the addition of -tero-; for this suffix, as we shall see, was especially used in the Indo-Germanic period and later to express ideas which are contrasted absolutely. See § 135 p. 427 ff.
-éro- and -tero- seem to have been first used only in words expressing conceptions of space and time, and in certain pronouns of a different meaning. In these the comparison contains only one notion, that of strong contrast, like 'below': 'above'. *γαθ-éro- 'lower': Skr. ádhara-, O.H.G. undaro; *en-tero- 'inner': Skr. ántara-, Armen. ęnder-€, Gr. éntero-v, Lat. inter-ior, O.C.Sl. jëtro. *qo-tero- 'which (of two)?': Skr. katará-Gr. πότερο-ς, Umbr. podruh-pei, Goth. hvaþar, Lith. kutrás-s. Add certain examples found in single languages, as Armen. mer O.Ir. ar n- Goth. unsar 'our', Gr. ημε-τερο-ς Lat. nos-ter 'our' (contrasted with 'your'), Gr. αγρό-τερο-ς 'dwelling in the open fields, wild', thus having the sense of αγριο-ς, but originally distinguished from it by the reference to its opposite ἀγρό. In Aryan and Greek -tero- then became a common comparative suffix for adjectives of any formation and meaning, like Skr. amá-tara- Gr. ἀμι-τερο-ς compared with amá- oμι-ς 'raw', and here there was comparison no longer with the absolutely opposite idea, but with the notion expressed by the so-called positive; probably this process was completed partly through association with the other group of comparatives formed with -ies-, such as Skr. sved-tivas- Gr. ἱδ-ιω (acc. sing.). In the older stratum of comparatives, like *en-tero- *ni-tero-, it is seldom that the idea of relative contrast appears, as in Gr. πότερον ἤ 'before that' Osc. pruter-pan 'prius quam'. See § 75 p. 188 ff.

-to- -is-to- -mo- (-ημο-)- -t-ημο-. -to- and -mo- are found first in numerals, where they were used to express position in a numerical series, e.g. *dektīto- 'decimus': Gr. δέκατο-ς Goth. tathunda Lith. desziniuš-s O.C.Sl. desč̄tī, *septmo- *septīmo- 'septimus': Skr. saptamā- Gr. ἑβδόμο-ς Lat. septimus-s O.Ir. sechtm-ad Lith. sēkma-s O.C.Sl. sedmy-ji. Thus these suffixes were suited to set one particular idea in comparison with several others separately. Hence -is-to- was formed beside -ies- -is-, to express comparison with a number of objects, e.g. Gr. μεγατος ἡν υμῶν 'I am greater than any one of you' (μελιζων ἡν υμῶν 'I am greater than you', ύμεξς being regarded as a single notion), πολεμον αξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγυμένων
more remarkable than any one of the preceding wars' (Thucyd. 11). *mo- passed from the numerals to those stems which expressed ideas of space and time and contained the suffix of contrast *ero-, forming either (in contrast to -ero-) the true superlative, as *up-mo- *up-ημο- 'uppermost, highest' (Skr. upamā- Lat. summus) beside *upero-, or, as in Gothic, a general expression of comparison, e.g. Phil. 2, 3 sis aūhuman 'se suprior' (from which was derived the normal superlative aūhum-ist-s). In the same way, -νυμο- ranged itself beside -tero-, and in Aryan it proved quite as fertile a suffix. See § 72 p. 166 ff., § 73 p. 177 ff., § 81 p. 242 ff.

In Lettish -aka- became the usual suffix of comparison; sa'ld-dk-s 'sweeter'. See § 89 p. 273 f.

§ 140. Verbal Adjectives. Under this head I include all such adjectives as have a more or less participial character, cp. § 144. Here we may make several subdivisions.

1. Forms with Active Meaning.


*yes-, with the implied idea of a completed action (cp. 3 below). Skr. ririk-vās- Gr. λειτόν-ας Lith. ḍik-ės 'having let free, left'. Goth. bēr-us-jōs 'parents' ('those who have brought us into the world'). See § 136 p. 438 ff.


2. Forms with Medial and Passive Meaning.

-mno- -meno- -mono- had from the earliest period the same meaning as the medial personal-endings. Skr. yāja-mān- Avest. yaza-mna- Gr. à Özō-men-ζ partic. of yāja-tē yazai-tη àζεραι 'he honours'. See § 71 p. 163 ff.

-mo- has the same meaning as -mno- in Umbro-Samnitic and Balto-Slavonic. Umbr. persnīh-mu 'precamino' Osc. censa-mu-r 'censemino', Lith. vėža-ma-s 'being carried, fit to be carried'. See § 72 p. 166.

Ar. -ana- is used as a medio-passive suffix, as in Skr.
Verbal Adjectives.

§ 140.

dúk-ana-s dúgh-ana-s, beside the act. indic. dāgdhi 'he milks'. See § 67 p. 151 f.

3. Forms expressing completed action and hence a state, chiefly passive.

-tó-: *klē-tó- 'heard, famed': Skr. śrutá- Gr. κλη- Lat. in-clutus O.Ir. cloth O.H.G. Hlot-hari ('Lothair') klut (loud').

*Cq-tó-: Skr. gatá- 'gone, gone forth, come' á-gata- 'untrodden', Gr. βαρό-ς 'trodden, passable', Lat. circum-ventu-s. See § 79 p. 218 ff.

-nō- -ṇo- and in some of the languages also -eno- ono-. *pl-nō- *pl-ṇo- 'filled, full': Skr. pāṇḍa- Avest. per-na- O.Ir. lán Goth. full-s Lith. pilna-s O.C.Sl. plēnū; Gr. συγ-νό-ς 'hated'; Lith. kil-ua-s 'exalted'. Goth. fulg-in-s 'hidden'; O.C.Sl. vez-eně 'carried'. Goth. sauŋh-an-s O.H.G. gi-wort-an 'become'. See § 65 p. 138 ff.

-yes-, with active sense, see 1 p. 451.

4. Forms expressing the feasibility, possibility, or necessity of the action; passive.


-tno- -tno-. Lat. danū-s 'who is to be given'. Lith. sūk-tina-s 'torquendus'. See § 69, 2 p. 161 ff.

Further the words formed with -to- (3) seem to have sometimes implied this secondary meaning even in Indo-Germanic, primarily however in negative usages. It is found especially in Greek, as λίρο-ς 'that may be freed or loosed'. See § 79, 1 p. 220.

Forms peculiar to single groups of languages: Skr. -tva-, kár-tva-s 'faciendus', see § 61 p. 116. Skr. -tav-ya-, kār-tavyā-s 'faciendus' see § 63 p. 126 f. Gr. -τεο- clearly for -τε-fo-, δοκ-τε-ς 'who is to be pursued', see § 64 p. 135 with Rem. 1. Occasionally this meaning can be seen in the no- adjectives (3), as Gr. ἄγω-ς 'venerandus, deserving of honour, holy', σμηό-νο-ς.
Denominative Adjectives.

§ 140, 141. ‘timendus, terrible’, ἐδανὸς ‘eatable’; similarly in Lith. -ma- (2), as veža-ma-s ‘fit to be carried, transportable’, sūka-ma-s ‘capable of being twisted’.

§ 141. Denominative Adjectives. The relation to the noun from which they are derived may be any one of many different kinds: the word may mean ‘made of the same material’, ‘belonging to the same species’, ‘derived from’, possessing’, ‘being provided with’ etc.

-ino- -ino- -αINO-. This is especially used with the meaning ‘made or consisting of’, ‘arising from’, ‘belonging to the same kind as’ that which the original noun expresses. Gr. γωνίω-ς ‘beechen’ (γωνίω-ς). Lith. áuks-inas ‘golden’ (áuksa-s). Avest. bawr-aṇṇi-s Lith. bebr-in-i-s Lat. fibr-inus ‘coming from the beaver’ (e.g. fur). Skr. sat-iná-s (sánt-) Gr. ἀληθ-νο-ς (ἀληθ-νο-ς) O.H.G. wär-in (wär) ‘truthful’. See § 68 p. 155 ff.

-vent-. The chief meaning is ‘provided with’ that which the original word denotes; more rarely it means, ‘of the same kind’. Skr. viśā-vaṇi- ‘poisoned, poisonous’ Lat. virūsus-s ‘poisonous’ (viśā-m virūs-s ‘poison’). Gr. oivō-ες ‘made from or with wine’, Lat. vinōsus-s ‘full of wine, like wine’ (oivō-ς vinu-m ‘wine’). Skr. putrā-vaṇi- ‘having a son or sons’ (putrā-s ‘son’). Gr. χαρ-ες ‘graceful, gracious’ (χαρ-ες ‘grace’). Lat. verbōsus-s ‘full of words, diffuse’ (verbu-m ‘word’). See § 127 p. 404 ff.

-tno- -tyno-. This is found in adjectives formed from temporal adverbs. Skr. pra-iná-s ‘ancient, old’, nā-inas nā-tana-s ‘present’. Lat. diā-tinus-s, crās-tinus-s, Lith. dabar-tina-s ‘present’. See § 69, 1 p. 160.

-qo- occurs in adjectives derived from adverbs, which chiefly express ideas of space. Skr. nī-ca- ‘low, going downwards’, O.C.Sl. ni-c-y ‘pronus’. Lat. reci-procu-s orig. ‘turned backwards and forwards’. Besides these, -qo- and also -iqa- are found in adjectives formed from substantives; the relation to the original word varies very widely. Skr. sūcī-ka-s ‘pricking’ (sūcī ‘needle’), sīndhu-ka-s ‘arising from the Indus (sīndhu-ś), Lat. annī-ci-s (amnī-s), O.Ir. sūile-ch ‘oculesus’ (sūil n. ‘oculus’), Goth. stāina-h-s O.H.G. stēina-g ‘stony’ (Goth. stāin-s O.H.G. stein ‘stone’). Skr.
Denominative Adjectives. § 141.

parýgy-ıká-s 'strophic' (parýgyá-s 'strophic'), Gr. νυμφ-ικός 'bridal' (νυμφή 'bride'), Lat. bell-icus (bellum), O.Ir. cuimn-ech 'mindful' (cuman 'remembrance, memory'), O.H.G. wurtr-ig 'furious' (wurth 'fury'). See § 86 p. 255 ff., § 87 p. 260 ff.

The following examples of the prothetic methods of forming adjectives will further serve to show how widely the relation of the derived to the original word may vary in different cases.

-jo- -ijo- *potr-ijo-s 'relating to one's father', fatherly' (*potēr- 'father'): Skr. pitriya-s Gr. πατριους Lat. patrius-s. Skr. uṣas-yā-s 'dedicated to the dawn' Gr. ἀοιδ- 'early, eastern' (uśás-ṣās 'early light, dawn'). Skr. nāv-iya-s 'navigable', Gr. νηειος 'belonging to a ship, consisting of ships' (nāv- νη(ς)- 'ship'). The adjectival usage is seen with special clearness in compounds like Gr. ὁμο-λάρ-ος O.Icel. sam-fellr 'having the same father' compared with the Gr. ὁμο-πάτος O.Pers. hama-pitar-, with the same meaning. See § 63, 2 p. 125 ff.

-nο- Skr. strāi-na-s 'feminine' (strā- 'woman'). Gr. ἀλγεν-νος 'paining, painful' (άλγες 'pain'), Hom. ἀερνν-νος 'lovely' (ἐρως 'love'). Lat. aēnus (æs), ilignus (īlex), paternus (pater). Skr. purā-ṇā- 'ancient' (purā 'earlier, before'): Umbr. Ose. *kom-noonā-n 'to know' (kom 'cum'); Lith. jau-na-s O.C.Sl. ju-nū 'young' (jaū ju 'already, by this time'). See § 66 p. 139 ff.


Particular uses in the separate groups of languages: Ar. -a-is especially frequent with the meaning of origin, as Skr. savitr-ā-s 'sprung from savitar', but also denoting every kind of relation, e.g. Skr. mānas-ā-s 'mental' (mānas- n. 'mind'), see § 60 p. 112 f. Ar. -in-: Skr. cīttir- 'intelligent' (cītī-ś 'intelligence'), parṇ- Avest. per'nin- 'winged'. (Skr. parṇ-ā-m 'wing'), O.Pers. vīhin-'belonging to a clan (vīh-)', see § 115 p. 357 f. Skr. -nu-: rōciś-nu-s 'shining' (rōcśiś- 'light'), kravīś-nuś 'greedy of raw flesh' (kravīś-), see § 106 p. 320 f. Gr. -ιμο-, especially with the
§ 141—143. Denominative Adjectives.

meaning 'proportioned, suited to' that which the original word denotes; as νόμο-μους 'suited to law, legal' (νόμο-ς 'law'), see § 72, 3 p. 174. Gr. -σενο-: δουλε-σενο-ς 'subject, in service' (δοῦλο-ς 'servant'), see § 70 p. 163. Lat. -āli- -ēli- -īli- -āli: vītāli-s, fīdēli-s, hostīli-s, īdāli-s, see § 98 p. 292. Kelt. -āko-, as O.Ir. marc-ach 'equester' (marc 'horse'), see § 89 p. 273. Germ. -isk-Lith. -isk-o-: O.C.Sl. -isko-: Goth. jūdīv-isk-s 'Jewish' (Jūdīus-s 'Jew') gud-isk-s 'divine' (gūd 'god') O.H.G. ird-isc 'earthly' (erda 'earth'). Lith. prūs-isk-s 'Prussian' (Prūsa-s 'a Prussian), dēv-isk-s 'divine' (dēva-s 'God'), O.C.Sl. kūnge-iskū 'princely' (kūnegū 'prince'), dēt-iskū 'childish' (dēti f. pl. 'children'), see § 90 p. 276.

§ 142. Amongst denominative adjectives, those with a diminutival meaning form a special group: they denote what merely approximates to the description given by the original adjective, what is only similar to it. This meaning has often disappeared, so that the derived adjective has acquired the meaning of the word from which it was formed.


With this must perhaps be classed -go-, Skr. ārbha-ga-'youthful' beside ārbha- 'small, young', O.H.G. alti-h 'old' O.Sax. luttī-c 'small'. See § 91 p. 276 f.

Compare the substantival diminutives, § 153.

§ 143. Adjectives formed with primary suffixes whose original function cannot be clearly defined.

-ο- *neu-o-s 'new': Skr. nāva-s, Gr. νέο-ς, Lat. novo-s, O.C.Sl.
adjetives. § 143,144.


*syaad-u-s (*sud-u-s) 'sweet, pleasant': Skr. svadhś Gra. ἱδως Lat. suāv-i-s Goth. sut-s. See § 104 p. 312 ff.


-mo−, excluding its participial function. (§ 140, 2). Avest. gar-ma- Lat. for-mu-s O.H.G. war-m 'warm', Armen. jerm Gr. 

mo-: *gī-mo-s 'living': Skr. ḍhā-d Lat. viuo-s Mod.Cymr. byw Goth. qiū-s Lith. gyvā-s O.C.Sl. šivū. *pīh-mo-s: Skr. ārdhvā-s Gr. ἀρθός 'upright', Lat. arduo-s 'steep', O.Ir. ard 'high, great, noble'. Skr. pār-va-s 'former, earlier', Gr. *pōo-fo- in Dor. pōár 'of yore', and other words, O.C.Sl. prī-vy-jī 'primus'. See § 64 p. 133 ff. In Latin and Germanic this suffix is used in a considerable number of adjectives denoting colour; which must be explained as due to the influence of a few examples (as *ğhel-mo−: Lat. helvo-s O.H.G. gelo), cp. § 57 p. 104 f.

The Relation of Adjectives to Participles.

§ 144. An adjective can be used to denote not only a quality inherent in the nature of a thing, but a transitory attribute, defined in regard to time according to the standpoint of the speaker; thus it comes to have somewhat of a verbal character, in other words it becomes a participle (metaxi). Its verbal nature may include the power of governing a case, and of distinguishing different epochs of time, different kinds of action (momentary, continuous, inceptive), and Voice (diathesis, genus verbi). See § 140 p. 451 f.
In general the existence of adjectives as a class must necessarily precede that of participles. Where however we find purely nominal and purely participial values side by side in any one word, it would be incorrect to regard the former as in every case the older; for the participle may be again gradually reduced to a simple noun.

In many cases it is impossible to determine whether the nominal character of any given form dates from a time before the corresponding adjectival form had developed verbal uses, or whether a participle has been re-converted into a noun; e.g. in the case of Skr. śā-ṣvant- Gr. ἀ-πᾶς 'complete, whole, every' Skr. bhānt- 'exalted, high, great' (§ 126 p. 397 f.), Skr. vid-vās- 'heedful, full of knowledge' compar. vidūṣṭara- vidvattara- (§ 136 p. 438), and in the Skr. and Lith. -to-participles constructed with an adnominal genitive, as Skr. āṃṣpaṭhō ḍhavaty ḍhō asya 'conspectus est ille ab eo' (lit. 'eius'), Lith. arklīs suēstas vilko 'equus devoratus a lupo' (lit. 'lupi'), cp. also Δίος-δοτος (§ 79 p. 218 ff.).

The former transition, from a purely nominal to a participial use, may be assumed with certainty in a few instances in the separate languages; e.g. in the Sanskrit participles with -vant-, like kṛtá-vant- 'having done' (§ 127 p. 406), and in the Slavonic participles in -lo-, as bi-lū 'having smitten' (§ 76 p. 212). The connexion with the verbal system was established by the influence exerted on the meaning and usage of the adjectival forms in question by verbal forms derived from the same root, either those of the finite verb, or, sometimes, other participles previously formed. The process of transition was complete when analogous forms of the same kind could be made at will from other verbs in actual use.

Undoubted examples of the change from a participial to a purely nominal character are of frequent occurrence in later periods. Such are e. g. Gr. ἕκατων 'willing' μέλλων 'future' Lat. s-locuēns sapientis Mod.H.G. reizend 'charming' (§ 126 p. 396 ff.), and the Gr. compar. ἀμεσ-λόγγος-ς 'more glad' ἑρωμεν-ἐστερο-ς 'stouter, stronger' (§ 71 p. 163 ff., § 75 p. 194).
Substantives denoting material things or persons (Concrete Substantives).

§ 145. Distinction of Sex. The o-suffixes served to indicate male creatures, e. g. *ekyo- 'horse, stallion': Skr. âśvâ-s Gr. ἄγος Lat. equus O.Ir. ech. Female creatures were distinguished by the a-suffixes and by -iē- -ie-, e. g. *ekva- 'female horse, mare': Skr. āśvā Lat. equa Lith. asžva; *ylq-iē- *ylq-iē- 'she-wolf': Skr. yṛkt O.Icel. ylg-r O.H.G. wulpa. See § 59 ff. p. 107 ff., § 109 ff. p. 332 ff. It must, I think, be assumed, as I have already observed (in § 57 Rem. p. 104, cp. my essay on Gender there cited), that originally neither the o- and a-suffixes nor even -iē- (-i-) had any connexion with animal sex; it is far more probable that in one or two words, perhaps in *genā- 'woman' *madā- 'mother' *s-tr-iē- *s-tr-iē- 'woman', the idea of female nature contained in the root of the word was imparted to the suffix, and that this led to the creation of such forms as *ekva- beside *ekyo-, *ylqie- beside *ylqo-, to describe the female as distinct from the male animal. It was only through being contrasted with -a- and -iē- that the o-formation afterwards came to denote male sex. And it was still constantly and indeed primarily used to denote any given creature without reference to gender, e. g. ἄγος 'horse'. See § 158.

§ 146. Names of kindred. The suffix most frequently used is -er- -ter-, as in *dājuér- 'husband's brother-in-law' (Skr. dēvār- etc.), *svēsor- 'sister' (Skr. svāsar- etc.), *pē-tēr- 'father' (Skr. pitār- etc.). See § 119 ff. p. 376 ff. This suffix in its origin had certainly nothing to do with the notion of kinship. From its accidental use in one or other of these nouns it was taken to form a series of words in which its function was to denote that idea. *pē-tēr- seems to have been originally a nomen agentis: 'protector'.

§ 147. Names of Animals. The use of -bhō- in one or other of the words denoting animals, which had come down from the earliest times, led the Indians and the Greeks to employ
§ 147—149. Concrete Substantives.

this suffix in other instances to form animal-names; e. g. Skr. śarabhā-s a fabulous eight-legged creature, Gr. ἕλαφος 'stag'. See § 78 p. 216 f.


§ 148. Names of parts of the body. -en- is found in a large number of proethnic names for parts of the body, though to begin with the suffix had no such meaning. It follows however that this use of it must have developed in the proethnic period, although we cannot tell which of the words containing it, e. g. Skr. udh-an- Gr. υδή-α-(ρο-) ‘udder’ Skr. yak-án- Gr. ἱφ-α-(ρο-) ‘liver’, formed the type for the rest. It was still a living suffix with the same sense in the separate languages, e. g. Skr. dōṣ-án- ‘forearm’, Avest. nāwh-an- ‘nose’. See § 114 p. 344 ff.

§ 149. Nomina agentis.


We have an example of a suffix of this meaning occurring only in one group of languages in the Lith. -ika-, as szėrīka-s ‘feeder’ tupīka-s ‘sheaf-binder’, see § 87 p. 262.

Many nomina agentis in the Indo-Germanic languages arose

The *nomina agentis* may be used to denote an activity limited in point of time as well as one constantly repeated. It is especially in the former use that, like the participles, they have developed verbal constructions; for example those in *-ter-*, as Skr. *vāsūni dāta* 'bona dator' beside *vāsūni dāta* 'bonorum dator' (cp. p. 378 f.), Lat. (rarely) *dator divitiās, jāsta ōrātor* beside *dator divitiārum, jāstōrum ōrātor*, Gr. (Aesch. Prom. 612) *περός βροτοῖς δοτὴρ ὦρῇς Προμηθέα 'thou seest Prometheus, the bestower of fire upon men*. If the connexion between the substantive and the verbal meaning is relaxed, the former may by degrees lose the character of a *nomen agentis* altogether: there then remains only the notion of a concrete thing or person, Thus *po-ter-* at the time of the separation of the Indo-Germanic races had ceased to mean 'protector', which seems to have been its original signification, and meant simply 'father' (cp. § 146). *uksen-* (Skr. *ukṣān*- Mod.Cymr. *ych* Goth. *auhsa*) did not mean 'sower, begetter', but 'bull'. Gr. *τυμων* 'turtle dove' orig. 'cooer' (*τυνγω* 'I coo'), Lat. *praetor* orig. 'qui praetit', O.H.G. *heri-zo* 'duke' orig. 'leader of a host'.

§ 150. *Nomina instrumenti.*


Gr. -τηριο- Lat. -tōrio- in neuter nouns. Gr. θελ-τηριο-ν 'means of enchantment or delight' κρ-τηριο-ν 'means or ground of decision' κάλλιν-τήριο-ν 'means of adornment, ornament' κανον-τηριο-ν 'branding iron' σμιαν-τήριο-ν 'seal, stamp', Lat. liquātōrium 'filtering vessel, strainer' scalp-tōrin-um 'instrument for scratching' circum-cīsōrium 'lancet'. See § 63 p. 128 f.

Lith. -tvau-: kosz-tvau-s 'strainer, sieve', min-tvauą 'tool for tearing flax' and other examples see § 61 p. 117.

Nomina agentis (§ 149) are often used to denote an instrument, this being regarded as if it were a living performer of the action: cp. Mod.H.G. träger used both for the person who carries and for the means of carrying (beams and the like), feld-messer 'surveyor's instrument' and gas-messer 'gasometer' [Eng. shutter, fender etc.] and the like. Thus 'Skr. sē-tār- 'fetter, bonds' (sē- 'enchain, bind'), Gr. δωσις-η 'hammer' (δῶτω 'I shatter, crush') ζεν-τήρ 'yoke-strap' (ζέννεμι 'I yoke') ἀρβαν-τῆρ 'ladle, spoon, scoop' (ἀρβῶ 'I draw water, ladle') just like ὅ-τηρ 'giver'; Lat. runcō, -ōn-is 'hoe' like edō -ōn-is; O.H.G. meigion 'chisel' (Goth. máitā 'I how') sluggil 'key' (lit. 'he who closes') slegil 'mallet' (beater) just like putil 'beadle'.

We find also nomina actionis becoming names of instruments, see § 155.

§ 151. Nomina loci. The suffixes chiefly used to form the names of places were those which also formed nomina instrumenti (§ 150). A locality may often be regarded as the means for the performance of an action, e.g. a hiding-place is a means of concealment. When a suffix has so acquired this function in a few words, it may then be used directly in other words as a suffix denoting locality.

-tro- -tlo-. Skr. kṣē-tra-m 'place of settlement, field' Avest. śōī-bre-m 'place of settlement, dwelling-place'. Skr. sthā-trā-m
'standing-place, position', janí-tra-m 'birthplace, home'. Gr. ἱσ-τρόω-'lying-place, bed', ἰστά-τρο-ν 'place of exhibition, theatre'. Lat. cubí-cúlu-m, spectá-cúlu-m, hospíta-cúlu-m, ambulá-cru-m. Lith. bū-kla 'home'. bu-kla-s (ū?) 'lair of an animal'. See § 62 p. 118 ff.

-ro- -lo-. Skr. mand-irá-m 'housing, chamber, house', Gr. μάν-φα 'fold, pen, stall'. Skr. aj-irá-m 'arena, courtyard'. Gr. ἵδ-φα O.Icel. set-ν n. 'seat'. Gr.Lac. ἦλια for *ἰ-δ-λα Lat. sella for *sed-lā Goth. sít-l'seat', O.C.Sl. seło 'fundus, habitaculum' Upper Sorb. sy-dło 'dwelling-place'. Here no doubt should be classed Idg. *ag-ro-s 'common, meadow, field' (Skr. áj-ra-s, Gr. ἀγ-ρό-ς Lat. ag-er Goth. ak-r-s) as denoting 'a place for driving cattle', √ ag- 'agere', cp. Skr. ajirá-m; the word acquired the meaning 'arable land' only when pasturing gave way to tillage, and the greater part of the land was cultivated by the plough. See § 74 p. 180 ff., § 76 p. 198.

-dhro- -dhol-. Gr. ἀδρό-θρα 'wallowing-place', γιηρ-θλ 'birthplace' ἵδ-θλο-ν 'seat, site'. Lat. volatū-bru-m 'wallowing-place for swine', sta-bulu-m, natā-bulu-m, concilia-bulu-m, lati-bulu-m, lati-stra. Czech by-dlo 'dwelling'. See § 77 p. 213 ff.

Gr. τηρω- Lat. -tōrio-. Gr. ἀγω-νθίο-ν 'place of battle', ἀκροφ-θίο-ν 'hall of audience', ἱγμο-θίο-ν 'place of work', βουλι-θίο-ν 'council hall'. Lat. audī-tōriu-m déversōriu-m condi-tōriu-m.

Other suffixes came in other ways to denote locality. Thus -μεν- in Greek, as ὀίνον ὀίνων 'wine-bin', παρθένων παρθένων 'maidens' apartment', ἰππῶν 'stable', λασῶν 'place thick with bushes', see § 116 p. 364. -to- in Lat., as arbus-tu-m 'plantation' (something provided with trees), filio-tu-m 'place full of ferns', cárec-tu-m 'place full of reeds', see § 79 p. 291 f. and cp. § 152. Cp. further the nomina actionis which have become names of place, § 155.

§ 152. Collective Nouns. Under this head there is little to notice. The chief means which the Indo-Germanic languages possess of denoting groups of things collectively in the singular
is the use of the neuter (e. g. Gr. ἄδεια 'dependencies' compared with ἄδεια-ς 'subject, dependent') which cannot be properly considered in this section, although indeed the view of the distinctively neuter case-suffixes as having been originally used to form the stem of the noun to which they were added is one which has nothing against it and a good deal in its favour. Nor are we here concerned with the collective use of the singular in names of peoples and the like (e. g. Gr. ὅς Ἡράκλης = 'the Persians' O.Pers. māda = 'the Medes collectively, Media'), or with the later use of compounds in which the final member had become a kind of suffix, (e. g. O.H.G. luit-scaft 'nation' Mid.H.G. heiden-schaft 'heathendom, the Saracens and their country').

Notice first that denominative adjectives, denoting connexion with the word from which they are derived, are a very common means of representing the collective idea. It will be found, I believe, that the neuter is regular in all the cases which occur frequently, and this was a factor of importance in expressing the collective meaning. E. g. Gr. -ιξο-ν: ἄπιξον-ν 'body of horsemen'; ὁλοτρικό-ν 'body of heavyarmed troops'; συμμαχό-ν 'alliance, host of allies', see § 87 p. 260. The Lithuanian collectives in -jna-s also, such as ausčų-jna-s 'a number of oaks standing together, grove of oaks', krūm-jna-s 'thick underwood', akmen-jna-s 'heap of stones', appear to have been originally neuter, see § 68 p. 159.

We must further observe that sometimes suffixes used in substantives denoting a quality are also used collectively; e. g. Skr. janā-tā 'company of people, community', Little-Russ. bidota 'proletariate' temnota 'ignorant people' (§ 80 p. 238 ff.), Gr. φαρίκα O.C.Sl. bratřija 'brotherhood' (§ 63 p. 125 ff.).

The collective nouns cannot always be clearly distinguished from the nomina loci (§ 151). A few of the group of Latin neuters in -tu-m mentioned in the previous section may be repeated here; e. g. arbus-tu-m 'plantation', virgul-tu-m 'bushes', salic-tu-m 'willow plantation, undergrowth of willows'.

§ 153. Diminutives and Pet Names. The sense of diminution (deprecation, detraction, endearment and so forth)
often disappeared, partly even in prehistoric periods. Compare the diminutive adjectives in § 142.


Usages confined to single groups of languages: Gr. neuters in -io-ν: ὁρνίθ-ν-ν 'small bird', ἵκαριδ-ν-ν 'little mistress', ἀσπίδ-ν-ν 'small shield', ἀδελφ-ί-ν-ν 'little brother', see § 63 p. 128. Germanic neuters with -ina:- Goth. gait-ein O.H.G. geig-in 'little goat', Goth. gum-ein 'little man', see § 68 p. 158. In both these instances the intermediate stage was the idea of belonging to a species, which suggested that of incompleteness and inferiority. The development was perhaps the same in the case of the suffix -jen- in Avest. kain-in- f. 'girl', Lat. pūs-iō 'little boy' pāmīl-iō 'dwarf' seneq-iō 'little old man' homunc-iō and others of the same sort, see § 115 p. 358. 359. Mention should also be made of the Germanic diminutives with Idg. -go-, such as O.H.G. armi-hha 'paupercula' smurikha 'little daughter-in-law', see § 91 p. 277.

Diminutive suffixes were often combined, as Gr. -x-ο-, Lat. -c-ulo- -lulo-, Germ. -lina-, Lith. -le-la- (nom. -lē-l-i-s) This was done partly to give a fuller and more emphatic expression to the idea of diminution, e. g. Lat. agellulu-s beside agellus, from ager 'field', Lith. mergeliše beside mergėlé, from mergà 'girl', partly in consequence of a complete loss of the diminutival sense in the first suffix, e. g. Lat. mus-c-ulo-s, Mod.H.G. ferl-el-chen.
-lo- and -go- were frequently employed in the proethnic and later periods in names of persons, especially to form 'pet names'. How far indeed the suffix retained its proper sense, is often hard to determine in any particular instance. Skr. bhānu-
ła-s, Gr. ὃχαϊα-λο-ς, O.Ir. Tuathal, Goth. Vulsī-laz, Pruss. Butil-
Skr. déva-ka-s dēvika-s Gall. Dvivico Dwic-ia, Skr. śuna-ka-s
Gr. Κάνας, Skr. sana-ka-s Gall. Senicco Seneca O.H.G. Sinigu-
s (the termination is Latin), O.H.G. Berhtung Berhting, Pruss.
Teviko Banduke.

Relation of Adjectives to Concrete Substantives.

§ 154. No distinction in form has ever been made in the
Indo-Germanic languages between the adjective or participle on
the one hand and the concrete substantive on the other.

Adjectives were used without change as substantives, just
as substantives were often used without change as adjectives.
Thanks to this usage the original adjectival or substantival
character was often completely lost; thus Idg. *dont- 'tooth'
(Skr. dént- etc.), originally a verbal adjective meaning 'eating',
became a simple substantive, perhaps even in the proethnic
period (§ 126 p. 394. 398). The original character of a particular
word however often appears side by side with the new sense,
e.g. Lat. nāv-i 'born' and 'son', ūber 'udder, exuberant fulness,
abundance' and 'fertile, rich'.

The process of the change from adjective to substantive
was frequently that the meaning of the adjective came to
include the idea of some substantive to which the adjective
was especially often applied. Thus παύς 'ship' was often left
unexpressed Greek, as in the phrases ἦ τροχής, ἦ ποὺμνη.
In many instances the different languages show a remarkable
agreement, and there the usages in question may date from
the Indo-Germanic period. Thus we have fem. Gr. δεῖμα
(sc. χεῖος) Lat. dextra (sc. manus) 'the right hand', O.Ir. for
deus (sc. laim) 'on the right', Goth. thalsva (sc. handu-s),
Lith. dėszinė (sc. ranką) 'the right hand', but on the contrary
masc. Skr. dākṣīna-s (sc. hāsta-s) 'right hand'. Lat. caprīna

Brugmann, Elements. II.

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'goat's flesh' Lith. ož-ĕnā 'flesh of a he-goat' O.C.Sl. bibrov-ina 'beaver's flesh'; Lat. rāp-ina 'turnip-field' Lith. avis-ĕnā 'oat-field' O.C.Sl. nov-ina 'newly ploughed land, fallow land', see § 68 p. 156 ff.

But some formative suffixes acquired the special function of converting adjectives into substantives, being used as denominative suffixes to form names of persons or things possessing the attribute or quality which was expressed by the original word. -en- is very commonly so used, especially in Germanic; e. g. Avest. marƯ-t-an- 'a mortal' beside martrtu- 'mortal', Gr. σφάσ-ν-ν 'squinting' beside σφασ-ς 'spitting'; Lat. Rāf-ŭ beside rāũ-s Goth. rōud-a 'red one' beside rāuũ-s 'red', Lith. rud-ŭ 'autumn' beside rūda-s 'reddish-brown'. See § 114 p. 344 ff. Other suffixes of this kind are found only in single groups of languages, as -ago- in Baltic-Slav., e. g. Lith. naujŏka-s O.C.Sl. novakū 'novice' beside nauje-s novū 'new' (§ 89 p. 274), and Germ. -inga-, e. g. O.H.G. arming 'poor man, poor fellow' beside urm 'poor' (§ 88 p. 267).

Substantives denoting an activity or state (nomina actionis, verbal abstract nouns).

§ 155. To denote an activity or a state is in general the function of the verb. Substantives which express an action or a state owe their existence to a metaphor, as do those which denote a quality (§ 157), — action and state being regarded as belonging to the category of material objects.

It often happens that the nomen actionis does not express its own idea simply, but represents also, by a confusion, the notion of a person or thing that is in some way connected with the action; thus such substantives come to denote material objects. The designation of the action may be applied to its (grammatical) subject: e. g. Mod.H.Germ. rat (properly 'advice') = 'adviser, counsellor', strom strömmung (properly 'a streaming') = 'streaming water', verzierung (properly 'an adorning') = 'something which adorns'. [Cp. Eng. counsel (in e. g. Queen's Counsel), a grief = 'something which grieves', a hindrance = 'something

which hinders'. Or it may be further extended to denote the external (direct) object of the action, that which is in any way affected by the action, e.g. Mod.II.Germ. saut (properly 'a sowing') = 'what is sown', wohnung (properly 'the act of inhabiting') = 'the house a man inhabits' [cp. Eng. contrivance = 'what is contrived', belief = 'what is believed']. Or to the internal (cognate) object, thus giving rise to a term for the result of the action, e.g. Mod.II.Germ. riss (properly 'a rending') = 'a rent', wuchs (properly 'a growing') = 'the result of growing, growth, figure', vereinigung (properly 'a uniting') = 'the result of uniting, a united body' [cp. Eng. growth, union, a spelling = 'the method or result of spelling a word']. In the same way we have such words used as nomina instrumenti, e.g. Mod.II.Germ. verzierung = 'means of adornment', lö sung (properly 'a setting free') = 'means of setting free, redemption-money' [cp. Eng. distinction = 'means of distinguishing', influence ('he will use his influence for me') = 'means of influencing', relief = 'means of relieving']; or as nomina loci e.g. Mod.II.Germ. wohnung = 'a dwelling-place', trift (properly 'a driving') = 'pasture-land' [cp. Eng. dwelling, pasture] etc. Cp. Paul Prine.² p. 81 f.

These various developments are generally difficult to separate clearly, and hence in what follows we shall not confine our attention to the nomina actionis in the strict sense but consider along with them those which show the secondary variations of meaning that have just been enumerated.

We will begin with the suffix which seems to retain the simple meaning of an action or state most regularly.

-ti-: *sru-ti-s 'a flowing, stream': Skr. srut- ś Gr. òios-.

-ni-.. Skr. lāni-s 'a tearing loose, severance'. Goth. lān-s 'means of deliverance, ransom money'. Skr. ēr-ni-s 'a swallowing', jār-ni-s 'heat'. O.Ir. tāin 'a driving forth, booty', buain 'harvesting, harvest'. Goth. ana-busn-s 'bidding, injunction, order', ga-rēhn-s 'intention, plan', sinn-s 'a seeing, power of sight, countenance, appearance'. Lith. bar-ni-s 'quarrel' O.C.Sl. bra-nī 'battle'. Lith. šinksn-i 'step'. O.C.Sl. slīg-nī 'way, road'. See § 95 p. 285 ff.

-tu-. Skr. gān-tu-ς 'course, way', Lat. ad-ventu-s. Avest. vi-dātu-ς 'decomposition of the body, dissolution, death'. Gr. κυντής 'a founding', ἀκούντής 'javelin-throwing, fight with javelins'. Lat. ad-itu-s, or-tu-s, gemi-tu-s. O.Ir. mess 'deciding, sentence'. Goth. kus-tu-s 'trial, proof', vaus-tu-s 'growth'. Lith. lytus lētu-s 'rain'. See § 108 p. 323 ff.


-men-. Skr. dhā-man- 'statute, operation, seat, dwelling-


Other suffixes used in the formation of nomina actionis will be discussed in §§ 156 and 158.

When the nomina actionis had come to denote material objects, they were liable a still further extension of meaning, namely to be used as adjectives (cp. § 154). Here perhaps should
be classed e. g. Skr. pú-ti-ṣ 'stinking' and tapya-tú-ṣ 'hot, glowing', originally 'stench' and 'heat, glow'.

Relation of the nomina actionis to the Infinitive (Supine)\(^1\).

\(\S\) 155. Since the nomina actionis denote not merely a continuous activity but also one which may be defined in point of time, they sometimes come to be used in verbal constructions. Here, as in the case of the adjective (\(\S\) 144), the connexion with the verb may include the power of governing a case, and of distinguishing differences of time, different kinds of action (such as momentary, continuous, inceptive) and Voice (diathesis, genus verbi).

This kind of assimilation to the character and construction of the verb appears e. g. in Gr. τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ δόσιν ὑμῖν (Plat.) 'the gift of God to you', περὶ δὲ αφίς καταδουλώσας (Thuc.) = περὶ δὲ τοῦ εαυτοῦ καταδουλωθῆναι (τοὺς Ἑλλήνας), Lat. reditus Römann. But a still more complete identification is seen in what are called infinitives (and supines), which are crystallised cases (generally acc., dat., loc.) of nomina actionis. An infinitive may be said to be completely formed when the noun is no longer regarded as a case-form belonging to its own system, and its construction no longer follows the analogy of its original use as a noun; this is true, for example, of Gr. δοίηναι δοῦναι Lat. dare, at the earliest period of which we have record. Before, however, such forms were completely isolated from the nominal system,

they passed through a number of intermediate stages, and hence it is often hard to ascertain whether any particular form should be called an infinitive in the strict sense of the word. The infinitives that least deserve the name are the Irish, because the nomina actionis used in Irish where other languages use the infinitive retained the construction of nouns, e. g. ar-dot-chuibhdis fri secham na m-bria-thar sin 'pledge thyself to obey these words' (literally 'to the obeying of these words'). In this latter respect (the power of governing an acc.) even the language of the Veda shews a further degree of development; e. g. we find not only andhasah pitayē 'for the drinking of the soma-juice', but also andhasi pitayē; the same double construction is found in the Avesta (cp. Bartholomae, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 12 f.). The infinitive reached its most characteristic development in Greek and Latin, the only languages in which we find a special expression for differences of voice.


As the participle might again become a simple noun (§ 144), so also could the infinitive. In this case, however, the process was more difficult because it was not inflected. The approximation to the noun was easiest where there was least necessity for expressing its relations by means of inflexion, that is, in its use as subject or object; e. g. Gr. πάντεσον ἐπὶ ξύπνου ἵσταται ακμῆς ἡ μιλα λυγρὸς ὀλέθρος Ἀρχαὶς ἦ δι βιῶναι (Hom. K 178), πνηφόσω ἀλαλκέω* (Id. T. 30), Lat. habère dēripītur, habuisset nun-

1) Hence e. g. the objection urged by Brunnhefer against Ludwig and Wilhelm, that they had adduced as infinitives Vedic forms which were nothing but nomina actionis (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 330).
Substantives denoting a Quality. § 156, 157.

quam (Sen.), hic verēt (= verēcundiam) perdidit (Plaut.). This led on to such constructions as Gr. τὸ λέγειν, Lat. tuum amāre (Plaut.), nostrum istud vivere triste (Pers.), nihil praeter plorare (Hor.), quis hāius vivere est? (Sen.)¹ and so forth. See Paul Princ.² 311 f.

Substantives denoting a quality (Abstract Substantives in the strict sense).

§ 157. Substantives which denote a quality, owe their existence to a metaphor just as do the nomina actionis: an attribute or natural quality was regarded as belonging to the class of material objects.

Substantives denoting a quality often come to designate the person to whom the quality belongs, e.g. Mod.H.G. Jugend = ‘youthful persons, young folk (collectively)’ or ‘a single youthful person’, [Eng. youth]. But it is difficult to maintain any sharp distinction between the separate uses, and therefore the words which show this secondary development of meaning will be treated along with the rest. It is important also to recognise the fact that no hard and fast line can be drawn between this class of nouns and the nomina actionis with their secondary shades of meaning. It is natural enough that the two divisions should often overlap.

The suffixes that most frequently appear in these abstract nouns are the following.


¹) Cp. Wölflin, Der substantivierte Infinitiv [im Latein], Archiv für lat. Lexikogr. III 70 ff.
Lat. juvenōs and juvenās. O.Ir. oentu 'unitas'. Goth. gamain-
dāp-s 'communitas'. See § 102 p. 308 ff.

-nā-. Avest. porˈnā- Goth. fullō 'fulness'. Skr. jarand
'decrepitude, age'. See § 65 ff. p. 138 ff.

-io- -iā-. Skr. pālitya-m 'greyness, śrāliḥhya-m 'excellence'.
O.H.G. gi-fuori 'fitness, usefulness'. Lith. iļgi-s 'length', O.C.Sl.
ostīje 'sharpness'. Gr. ἄγνοια 'manliness', ἀναρχία 'anarchy'.
Lat. audācia 'boldness', modestia 'moderation', sapientia 'wisdom'
See § 63 p. 122 ff.

-tuo- -tya-. Skr. dēvatvā-m 'divinity', śucitvā-m 'purity',
sātmātvā-m 'inspiration, possession by a deity'. Goth. ḫivadv
'servitude', ḵiṣāvela 'enmity'. O.C.Sl. zelīstvo 'violence'. See § 61
p. 116 f.

-ti-. *pwoqti-s 'fivefold character; pentad, the number
five': Skr. pāṣkśi-Ś O.Icel. fimm O.C.Sl. pećī. Skr. yuvatii-ś 'maiden'
(orig. 'youth' (abstr.) O.H.G. jugund 'youth'. O.C.Sl. dliugostī

-es- -os-. *reges- 'gloom, darkness': Skr. rājas (Armen.
erek) Gr. ἐρήμος Goth. riqis. Skr. māhas- 'greatness, size', yudhas-
'glory', Gr. εὐρος 'breadth', μῦχος 'length', βῆθος 'depth', μῆχος
'size, greatness'. Lat. Venus 'charm of love', languor 'weariness',

In single groups of languages: e. g. Lat. -tūdin-, fortitū-
dō 'fearlessness', lassitudō 'weariness' (cp. § 128 p. 409), Lith.
-ybē-, aukstytēbē 'height, highness', O.C.Sl. -ba-, zūloba 'wicked-
ness' (§ 78 p. 217 f.).

The Relation of Adjectives to Abstract Substan-
tives (nomina actionis and substantives denoting a
quality) formed with the same suffixes.

§ 158. In conclusion we have to discuss another question
which bears upon the origin of the substantives denoting an
action or a quality and the general relation between adjectives
and substantives in Indo-Germanic.

Many nouns formed with o-suffixes act both as adjectives
and as abstract substantives; as a rule it happens that the
feminine or neuter form, more rarely that the masculine form is the one which is used substantively. If the adjective is a nomen agentis, we have a corresponding nomen actionis, e.g. Skr. srutā-s ‘flowing’: srutā-m n. ‘a flowing, flood’. Or if it predicates an attribute, then the corresponding substantive denotes the attribute, e.g. Lith. gelta-s ‘yellow’: geltā f. ‘yellow-ness’.

The following are examples.

-to- -tā-.  


The secondary Idg. suffix -tā- in Lat. juventa Skr. pūṃnātā etc. should be added here, see p. 238 ff.

§ 158. Adjectives Parallel to Abstract Substantives. 475

fra-dáte-m 'help, success': fra-dáta- 'helped, made'. O.H.G. ferúl 'navigium'. O.C.Sl. pajo 'fetter': partic. peťši. Here we must also class Idg. -my-to-, as in Skr. śrmata-m 'a listening to' O.H.G. hlimumunt 'repute, character', Lat. cognómentu-m, see p. 249.

Masculine. Skr. ghat-ta-s 'blow, slaying'. Avest. stuto 'laudation, prayer', cp. Skr. n. stutá-m. Gr. xon-ơro-ς 'raising of the dust, cloud of dust': νε-ορο-ζ 'newly arisen' Lat. ortus; ἐμερ-ς 'vomiting': ἐμερ-ς Skr. vamita-s 'vomited'; στραβ-ς 'encamped host': Skr. stytá-s Gr. στρω-ς 'outspread, outstretched'; ὀρ-ς 'fate': Skr. ἑς-s 'hasting' Lat. ītu-s; qāno-ς 'burden': ῥαστ-ς 'bearable' Skr. bhṛta-s 'borne'; ῥάντ-ς 'death': ῥαντ-ς 'mortal'; ἀκρό-ς 'wailing', ἀντ-ς 'couch' (with κρέτην) and other exx. Lat. lectu-s (and lectu-m) 'couch', luču-s (and luču-m 'mad', cp. O.Ir. loth f. above. A.S. O.Icel. sess 'seat' (cp. Lat. sub-sessus f. 'ambush'): Skr. sattá-s 'sitting' Lat. ob-sessu-s; O.H.G. giscaht 'mention, fame': Skr. uktá-s 'spoken'; Goth. mēp-s 'wrath' O.H.G. muot 'spirit, temper, courage' beside O.C.Sl. mé-ti 'to dare'; O.H.G. frost (and O.Icel. frost n.) 'frost' beside friosan 'to freeze'. Lith. būta-s 'dwelling, house': Skr. bhūta-s 'become, been', cp. O.Ir. both f. 'dwelling-place, hut' Skr. bhūta-m 'existence with power, welfare, prosperity'; maēṣta-s (and maēsta) 'uproar': Gr. μαῖας-ς 'mixed'; tvārta-s 'enclosure': tvārta-s 'grasped, enclosed'; of course these Lithuanian masculine forms may once have been neuter. O.C.Sl. citā 'number' po-citā 'enumeration': Skr. citā-s 'arranged in rows or layers', cp. Skr. citā 'layer'; podū-jētā 'grasp, support' podū-jētā 'grasped, undertaken'.

Remark. With regard to the relation of the forms with vocalism of the strong grade to those with that of the weak grade (e.g. O.C.Sl. pajo pojō) see p. 221 above.

-no- -nā-, -eno- -endā-, -ono- -ondā-.

Fem. Avest. per'na- Goth. fullō 'fulness': Avest. per'na-Goth. full-s 'full'. Skr. jaranā 'old age': Skr. jaranā- 'deerepit'. O.H.G. stučina 'theft': O.Icel. stóleinn 'stolen'.

Neut. O.H.G. zorn A.S. torn 'anger, wrath', orig. a torn or rent condition of the temper': Skr. dīrṇā-s 'torn to pieces';
O.H.G. mein 'falsehood, mischief': mein 'false, deceitful'. Skr. vāhana-m 'a carrying'; vāhana-s 'carrying'; O.C.S.I. vezēnī 'carried'; vārtana-m 'turning, motion'; vārtana-s 'setting in motion'; māna-m 'measuring, measurement'; vi-māna-s 'measuring out'. Goth. bairan inf. 'bear': bairan-s 'borne'.

Masc. Skr. uṣṇa-s (also uṣṇa-m uṣṇa) 'heat': uṣṇa-s 'hot'. Skr. yajñā-s 'reverence': Gr. ὑγιείς 'worthy of reverence, sacred, pure'. Gr. ὀὖός 'onset, fight': Skr. dhāna-s 'violent, agitated'. O.H.G. scīn 'visibility, brightness, gleam': scīn 'visible'.

-jo- -jō-.


Neut. Skr. vācyā-m 'speaking, word, blame': vācyā-s 'dicendus'; kṣatriya-m 'lordship, supremacy': kṣatriya-s 'possessing lordship, ruler'. Gr. ὑγίειον- 'offering, beast of offering': ὑγιείος 'striking, killing'; ἑλεκρηστίου- 'delight, enchantment': ἑλεκρηστίος 'delighting, enchanting'. Lat. augurium-m 'act of divination, prophecy': augurīus-s 'prophetic'. O.H.G. gi-fuori 'suitability, usefulness': gi-fuori 'suitable, useful'. Furthermore forms like Lith. kištis 'cut, blow' (Skr. kartya-s 'to be hewn or cut off') etc. no doubt represent original neuters; see p. 124 ff.

-tno- -tno-. Examples of neuter forms are O.Pers. cartana- 'action', loc. cartanaipy used as infinitive, Lat. gen. dandi 'of giving': Lat. dandi-s 'to be given', Lith. sūktina-s 'torquendus'. See p. 161 ff.

-tyo- -tya-. Neut.: Skr. kārtva-m 'task': kārtva-s 'faciendus'. Fem.: O.C.S.I. šṭṛva 'harvest': Skr. kāntva-s 'feriendus'.

-mo- -ma-. Fem.: Gr. θέμη 'warmth': θέμιο- Armen. ērm 'warm'. Goth. miduma 'midst': O.H.G. metamo metemo
'mediocris' Avest. madema- 'medioximus', cp. p. 167. O.C.Sl. 
tāma 'great number', orig. 'strength': Avest. tāma- Skr. tā-tumā-
'strong', cp. p. 171. Neut.: Avest. gār'me-m 'warmth': gār'ma-
'warm'. Masc.: Skr. gharmā-s 'warmth, heat': Avest. gār'ma-
-Lat. formu-s O.H.G. wārm 'warm'. Goth. rāms O.H.G. rām
'room': Goth. rām-s 'roomy'; Mid.H.G. stīm 'tumour, confused
masses': Skr. stīma-s 'lazy, crawling' pra-stīma-s 'thronged,
heaped'.

-ro- -rā-. Fem. Skr. tāmīrā- Lat. tenebras 'darkness':
Mid.Dutch deemster O.H.G. dinstar 'dark'. Gr. ἀχρα 'point,
peak': ἀχρα-s 'pointed' O.C.Sl. ostru 'sharp'. Neut. Skr. ta-
mīrā-m beside tāmīrā-, Gr. ἄχρα- beside ἀχρα. Skr. chidrā-m
'poration, hole, interruption': chidrā-s 'poreated'. O.C.Sl.
edro 'good weather': vedrā 'clear, bright'.

This brief list of examples is enough to justify the con-
clusion that the fluctuation between the adjectival and sub-
stantival value in the o-nouns dates from the proethn period). 
Now in the case of the double usage of the es-stems (such as
Skr. māhas- 'greatness': mahās- 'great', Gr. ψείδος 'lie': ψεύδος
'lying, false'), which is also proethnic, it can scarcely be doubted
that the substantival value is the older, and it would be natural
to adopt the same view in the present instance. But no decision
is possible until the original meaning of the a-suffixes as opposed
to the o-suffixes has been established. In discussing these
(p. 106, 458) we were led to the conclusion that except in a
comparatively small group of words (e.g. Lat. equo-s equa),
they had no connexion whatever with the distinction of animal
sex. A further consideration may now perhaps be suggested.
Is it not precisely in the variation of meaning we have just
noticed that we must look for light on the original function of
the o-and a- suffixes?

1) It is still a question for investigation how far this use has been
extended in the separate families of languages apart from the direct in-
fluence of the original variation of meaning in similar cases which came
down from Indo-Germanic (op. c. g. B. H. Balsor, De linguae Graecae
participis in neutro genere substantive posito, Lips. 1878, p. 29 ff.).
NOUNS WITHOUT FORMATIVE SUFFIXES (ROOT-NOUNS). 1)

§ 159. The term Root-nouns is applied to those nouns which do not admit of analysis into root and formative suffix, in the termination of whose stem no element can be recognised which is similarly used elsewhere to form noun stems. Whether, however, all the nouns that fall under this definition were from the beginning absolutely simple forms, must be left an open question. Many of them, e.g. Skr. div- 'heaven' and Lat. hiem- (see below), may have been originally compound forms.

Root-nouns are found in all divisions of Indo-Germanic; they have been preserved most frequently in Aryan and the classical languages. In many instances they lost the special character of their formation and passed into the analogy of some vowel declension (op. § 56 p. 102 f.), and we may regard this change of declension as the chief cause of their comparatively rare appearance in Armenian and in Germanic 2), and of their almost complete disappearance in Balto-Slavonic. Here however we are bound to discuss all the nouns of this kind which occur in the separate languages, when the change of declension has made no difference in their meaning.

The Root-nouns have no simple, clearly marked function (such as that of denoting material things, actions or any other special idea). Even those which are demonstrably proethnic have meanings of different kinds. The uncompounded examples are mostly substantives, and amongst these the nouns denoting an action (fem.) and those denoting the agent preponderate; and in the former group we must include those that are used as


2) As far as the Germanic is concerned, this exchange of declension has been thoroughly discussed by B. Kahle, Zur Entwicklung der consonantischen Declination im Germanischen, Berlin 1887.
infinitives in Aryan, Greek and Latin. When they are the second members of compounds these nouns usually denote an agent.

This method of forming noun-stems was still in active use in the separate development of Aryan, Greek and Italic.

§ 160. Root-nouns uncompound.

We will begin with such examples as appear simultaneously in more than one group of languages.

1. Forms showing vowel-gradation.

\*µo[i]-\*µi[- (\*µi- 'enter'): Skr. viṣ- f. 'settlement, house, community, stock', Avest. viṣ- O Pers. viš- f. 'village community, clan'; Gr. οἰκας, better written, οἰκας-δε, 'homewards' (compare Hom. τροχα-ις-τις?); O.C.Sl. viš- 'village', which follows the i-declension. With Skr. acc. viṣ-am cp. div-am Gr. Αἰα beside δ'άμ Zίν (see p. 481).

\*dor[i]-\*dri (\*deri- 'see'): Skr. dṛś- f. 'seeing, perception, eye'; adj. 'seeing, beholding', inf. dṛś- to 'see' (§ 162); Gr. Ἰερξ Ἰέκ- Ἰοκ-ός f. 'roe, gazelle' (named from its eye).

Avest. barz- berz- f. 'height', adj. 'high'. O.Ir. bri, gen. breg, 'mountain' (I § 288 p. 230, § 298 p. 236). Goth. bairg-, gen. bairg-s, 'fortress, city'. Avest. barz- may stand for \*bhīgh-\*bhīrh- or \*bhīrīh-; all the other forms represent \*bhīrīh-.

\*sem-, sm- sm-. Gr. ες Cret. ἐς, gen. ἑς-ές, 'unus', ἑν- 'unum' (ἐς-ές substituted for \*ἐς-ός, see I § 204 p. 170); μονης 'with undivided hoof' for \*συ-ωνες, fem. μια for \*συ-ια; ὡμ-α 'simul' instr. sing., see I § 236 p. 199. Lat. sem-per 'in one unbroken sequence, always'; for -per see I § 658, p. 504.

\*kred- (*kerd-) and \*kre[- 'heart'. Skr. śrād dadhami 'I believe, trust' Lat. crēdō for \*crezdō (I § 507 Rem. p. 372) O.Ir. cretim 'credō' (I § 521 p. 379), from the pr. Idg. phrase \*kred dhē-. Lat. cor cord-is O.Lith. gen. pl. szird-u (now szirsdī) from \*kurd-, cp. Gr. κρατ-ία Ion. κραδ-ιγ etc., where the root has the same vowel-grade (I § 292 p. 234). Gr. κηρο no doubt for \*kηρο ('1) This shows that the law of vowel shortening discussed in I § 611 p. 461 f was later than the loss of the ō. Cp. p. 423 footnote.
Remark 1. Armen. *sirt and Goth. haūrīō 'heart' represent *kārd-or *kārd- (the é being shortened, cp. I § 614 p. 464 f.). What relation does this form bear to kārd-? In view of this difference and of others, such as Lat. grēx: Gr. γίγνεται (§ 52 p. 94), Gr. βεβεβος: O.C.Sl. ёрёбъ for *žerh, Gr. ἐφύμενον O.H.G. blechen Skr. bhūrjáte: Skr. bhāṛgās (cp. also Skr. drakţyāmi and the like I § 259 p. 212), we may perhaps suppose that the metathesis — under certain conditions — occurred in preethnic Indo-Germanic.


Skr. bhrāj- f. 'brightness, gleam' instr. bhrāj-ā (cp. pres. bhrāj-a-tē). Gr. ἡλιός ἡλιογ-ός f. 'flame' (cp. pres. ἡλιο-ω). The root is bhleg- (bhelg-), cp. Rem. 1 above; the original paradigm of the noun is not clear.

cannot regard as certain the often repeated conjecture that the
-s- in Lat. nās-u-s O.C.Sl. nos-its is explained by supposing
*nās(e) to be the original form of the nominative, cp. I § 569
Rem. 3 p. 427.

2. Forms showing vowel-gradation, and the loss of the final consonant of the root before the -m which appears in the acc.
sing. when a sonant follows. (Cp. I § 188 p. 162, § 192
p. 164).

*dīṣu-*dīṣav m. ‘heaven, bright day’. Skr. dyau-ṣ dyau-ṣ
acc. sing. dyam dyādīm div-am nom. pl. dyav-as dyādiv-as div-as
Zeī-ς for *Zηu-ς (I § 611 p. 461) voc. Zeu acc. Zηu (whence
sprang the forms Zηuva Zηνος Zην) ΑΙ(Φ)-α gen. ΑΙ(Φ)-ς loc.
p. 371) and Di(ō)v-: Lat. Jov-em Jov-is, Jupiter Juppiter voc.
= Zeu paitē (I § 612 p. 463), dat. O.Lat. Dioev-ei Dioev-e, Umbr.
Iuv-ei Jovi Osc. Dīuv-evi Iovi; the Ital.
-ov- may in all the cases = Idg. ev (I § 65 p. 52)!
; to these
add Lat. diem for *dīem. Germ. gen. sing. in O.H.G. (Alemannic)
Zios-tac A.S. Túes-daez O.Icel. Týs-dag-ær (Goth. "Tūs-dag-er"

Remark 2. The analysis of *dīu- into *dī-u- is no doubt right.
*dīu- seems to bear the same relation to *dī- *dīe- as srū- (Skr.
\textit{srū-tad-} ‘flowing’) bears to \textit{sr-} *ser- (Skr. \textit{sr-} *go, flow), see § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20 f.
Then as we speak of a ‘root’ \textit{sr̂û}-, we may certainly add *dīe- to the
root-nouns. However, if any scholar, in view of Avest. bāzū-ś O.Pers.

1) There is nothing to prevent our claiming for Italic the same double
forms *dīe- and *dīe- as we find in Sanskrit; op. also I § 120 p. 111
and § 158 p. 158 f., § 170 p. 150 (bī-dēns : dui-dēns). I am therefore
unable to agree with Danielson, who would separate etymologically Jov-
and Djov- (Gramm. und etym. Stud. I. 49).

\textit{Brugmann, Elements. II.}
*gōy-s m. f. 'ox, cow'. Skr. gāu-ṛ acc. sing. gdm and gāv-am nom. pl. gāv-as loc. sing. gāv-i dat. sing. gāv-e instr. pl. gā-bhīś. Avest. gāu-ṛ gao-ṛ acc. gqm gāum (i. e. gāv-em) gɑm (i. e. gav-em) instr. gav-a gāv-a. Armen. kōv, gen. kovu (n-decl.). Gr. βοῦς for *βωῦς (I § 611 p. 461) acc. Hom. Dor. βοῦ, gen. βο(φ)-ος; the acc. βοῦ is a new formation following βοῦ. Lat. bōs bōv-is (is this borrowed from some Umbr.-Sann. dialect? see I § 432 Rem. 1 p. 322), Umbr. bum 'boven' buf 'boves' bue 'bove'; Ital. bōv- may be Idg. *goy- or *gmy- (I § 65 p. 52). O.Ir. bō gen. bō, cp. I § 174 p. 153; kelt. *bov- may be either Idg. *goy- or *gmy- (I § 66 p. 56). O.H.G. chuo O.Sax. kō, A.S. cū O.Icel. kū-r; the relation of the vowels presents a difficulty; *kō- (O.H.G. O.Sax.) may perhaps have been developed out of the acc. pr. Germ. *kōn = Gr. βοῦ, and *kā- (A.S. O.Icel.) may perhaps come from an Idg. stem of the form *gā- (cp. Skr. śata-ṛg- 'having a hundred cows' Gr. ἱκαρόμ-βη = *-gā-ά). The original paradigm may be conjecturally given as follows: nom. sing. *gōy-s (also possibly a parallel form *gō-s like *dīs-s, cp. Gr. βοῦ beside βοῦ) acc. sing. *gōm nom. pl. *gōy-es loc. sing. *gōy-i dat. sing. *guy-āj *guy-āj loc. pl. *gū-sū.


Skr. kām- f. 'earth': nom. kāms acc. kāmam nom. pl. kām-as loc. sing. kām-i gen. abl. sing. kām-ās gm-ās jm-ās instr. sing. kām-ā jm-ā. Avest. 2ā acc. 2am gen. 2m-ā instr. 2m-ā. Gr. χνόν f., χνο-ός instead of *χνο-ός (I § 204 p. 172), χναμ- -αλ-ος χαμ-ατ (Maia for *Xn-aiā *Xn-aiā)? Cp. further Lat. humus, hom-ō O.Lat. hem-ō, hūm-ānus (probably not for *hūmin-ānus, but formed immediately from *hōm- and only at a later
§ 160. Root-nouns uncompounded. 488


Avest. zyd m. 'winter' acc. zyam gen. zim-d. Gr. χιόν f. 'snow', gen. χιόν-ος instead of *χιοῦ-ος, like χιόν-ος (see p. 482). Lat. hiem-s hiem-is. O Ir. gam 'winter' instead of *gi(j)am- O.Cymr. gaem for *giam- *gi(j)am-, see I § 383 p. 288, § 392 p. 293. We may conjecture that the orig. paradigm was acc. *gžim *gžím nom. pl. *gžim-es *gžím-es loc. sing. *gžím-i *gžím-i dat. sing. *gžím-aḏ loc. pl. *gžím-sû *gžím-sû. The word may be mentioned here, although it is certainly not a root-noun in the strict sense of the word, cp. Skr. hó-man Gr. χεν-μοῦν. But we find nowhere else an Idg. suffix -em-²).

*dem- 'house', √vem- 'build'. Gen. Skr. dán Avest. dēg = pr. Ar. *dam-s, Avest. loc. dám = pr. Ar. *dam-. Gr. gen. *dês = Skr. dán in δια-νόμα 'lord of the house' (I § 204 p. 171); δὲ = *dén- in δαπεδο-ν 'house-floor', then 'ground' in general; here probably must be classed δαμαφτ- 'wife', which should be analysed into δαμ-αφτ- = Igd. *dám- (I § 236 p. 199); remarks

1) As regards the initial part of the word I assume the correctness of Bartholomae's hypothesis, see I § 554 Rem. 1. p. 407.

2) In view of the fact that words of contrasted meaning often influence each other in form (on this point cp. amongst others the Author, Ber. der kgl. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft. 1883 p. 191 ff., W. Meyer, Die Schicksale des lat. Neutrumim im Romanischen 1888 p. 12, Holthausen in Paul-Brauno's Beitr. XIII 590, Wheeler, Analogy and the scope of its application in language, Ithaca N. Y. 1887, p. 19 sq.), it is not a very bold conjecture that there once existed in proto-Aryan Indo-Germanic a form *gm(i)en-, whose ű gave place to ū under the influence of the word *sem- 'summer' so often joined with it (Avest. šam- Armen. am-ûn O.Ir. ûn O.H.G. sam-ôr, cp. Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 111 f.). Even during the period of separate development the words for these two ideas have sometimes influenced one another; cp. e. g. O.Ir. gam : sam (see I § 392 p. 293), O.H.G. wintar: sumar (see Kähle, Zur Entwickl. der consonant. Decl. im Germ., 1887, p. 20).
on further examples from Greek may be found in R. Meringer's
dpaper in the Ztschr. f. österr. Gymn. 1888 p. 152. Cp. also
Avest. *dān- and Armen. *tan gen. tan for *tm-an-.
We may conjecture therefore that the following was the original paradigm:
*dim-i
dat. sing. *dim-āi *dimu-āi loc. pl. *
*dim-su.

As to the forms *dīm *gōm *rēm see I § 160 p. 136, § 188
p. 162. I may now also refer the reader to Johansson, De
derivatis verbis contractis (Upsala 1886) p. 117 ff., R. Meringer,

Obs. 3. Meringer's welcome 'Hints' show very clearly that in the
question he discusses there is much that still needs explanation. Here
I can only add a few remarks (cp. p. 428 footnote). I regard the
accusatives also (*gōhōm *gōhōm *dōm) as regular phonetic developments.
What Meringer (in footnote 6 p. 139) offers as 'another possible solution'
is distinctly preferable to that which is given in the text itself; for if there
had ever been a nom. sing. *dīz *gōs without ṣ, it is certain that the ṣ
would never have been again inserted in these forms (Skr. *dūṣait) without
being at the same time restored to the precisely parallel acc. sing. (such
a form as *diyāṃs is unheard of). Moreover, I do not feel convinced
that ṣ and ṡ ever disappeared before consonants and at the end of a sen-
tence in the nom. sing. as well as the acc. (Gr. Ζές Lat. diēs, Gr. ἰής,
Skr. *rās Lat. rēs); in all these we must allow the possibility of a re-formation
on the model of the acc. sing. With regard to ḫēs I must here emphati-
cally repeat what I have said elsewhere. Meringer's assertion (p. 182,
187), that J. Schmidt has 'demonstrated' the loss of *h after di in
before final s in pro-ethnic Indo-Germanic, does not agree with the facts (cp.
§ 135 Rem. 1 p. 428). Lastly, I would add that we are not justified in
assuming the same Indo-Germanic inflexion for all monosyllabic stems of
this kind, so as to construct e. g. an acc. *nūm 'navem' simply on the
model of *gōm. It is not necessary to suppose that all these monosyllables
arose at the same period of the parent language. For example, *nūm 'ship'
may have been formed at a later stage, and so have been dealt with otherwise
than the older stems were at the time when they came into existence.

3. Forms in which vowel-gradation cannot be proved.

*ṛg- 'ruler, king'. Skr. *ṛj- 'prince, king', usually found
as the second member of compound words. Lat. rēx ṛg-is.
O.Ir. ṛ ṛg, Gall. Catu-ṛg-es ('battle-lords'). Goth. reik- nom.
pl. reik-s; the ṛ is remarkable (I § 74 p. 64).
§ 160.  Root-nouns uncompounded.

Skr. ṣds- (instr. ṣas-d) Avest. ṣh- (n.?) 'month'. Lat. ōs n., ōr-is. Cp. also O.Icel. œ̄s-s 'river-mouth'.

Gr. ϕογ Lat. für 'thief'. ϕθερ- 'carry'.
Gr. χῆφ 'hedgehog', Lat. ǣr her.


*mūs- 'mouse'. Skr. mūs-, nom. pl. mūs-as. Gr. μῦς loc. pl. μοί; μον μονος instead of μου(ης)-α μου(ης)-ος follow ὀφρῦν -ός and the like; μονος then produced μονο beside μοι. Lat. mūs- mūr-is Germ. mūs- is kept e.g. in nom. acc. sing. O.H.G. mus, nom. pl. A.S. mūs O.Icel. mūs-s; beside which we find new formations following the vowel declension. O.C.Sl. mys follows the i-declension. A by-form Idg. *mūs- (the accentless form of the weak grade) is seen in Skr. mūส-kā-s Lat. mus-cul-us (should we assume a parallel form mūscul-ūs?) § 88 p. 262 f.

Skr. dīś- f. 'direction, region of the sky', Lat. gen. dic-is in dicis causa 'only in appearance, for form's sake', ϕθερ- 'point out, show'.

Gr. νῦια-ι acc. 'snow', Lat. nīx nīr-is, go back to a common ground-form *snēigh- (I § 423 p. 309, § 433 p. 322 f.), ϕθερ- 'snēigh-'.

Gr. χῆν χῆν-ος Dor. χῆν χῆν-ος 'goose' for *χανο--; the nom. χῆν is a new formation which has replaced *χας as μῆν replaced μεῖς (stem pr. Gr. *μηνο-). In Germanic the same stem occurs in a few forms, as in A.S. loc. sing. ǣs = Gr. χῆν-ι, and also in the Lith. gen. pl. ǣs-ū, which elsewhere conforms to the vowel-declension. The -s- of the word however, may perhaps be an element of the nature of a suffix, cp. O.H.G. ganaggo 'gangster'.

Gr. ἄλ-ς ἄλ-ος m. Lat. sāl sāl-is m. n. 'salt', Umbr. salu 'salem'; Lat. sāl instead of *sal follows forms like pēs. Armen. BorderColor.gen. al-ē and O.C.Sl. sol-ē are i-stems.

4. There is a special group of forms in which are found -ā -ā -ā -ā -ā before case-endings which begin with a con-
sonant, and -um- -i- -an- -yr- -ul- before those which begin with a vowel. See I § 253 p. 207, § 306 p. 243, § 312 p. 250.


Gr. ἵκτυ-ς ἵκτυ ἵκτυ-ος m. ‘fish’. Lith. gen. pl. dial. ęuv-ą; elsewhere it follows the i-decl., ęuv-į-s. Cp. Armen. ju-k-n etc. § 88 p. 263.

Gr. ι-ς f. ‘power, might’ instr. l-qi. Lat. vi-s viv for *vi-m (I § 612 p. 463, § 655, 4 p. 503). .override- before sonants seems to have disappeared.

The other instances belong only to single groups of languages: e. g. Skr. gō-ṣa-s gen. -ṣan-as ‘gaining cattle’ (-y-r), pūr gen. pur-ās ‘fortress’ (-f-).


§ 161. Examples from single groups of languages. The largest numbers are found in Aryan, Greek, and Italic.

Aryan. When they denote an action these root-nouns are always feminine.

both from pr. Ar. *khū-s *khū-m, beside Ar. khan- 'dig'. Skr. spās- Avest. spas- m. 'spy, inspector', cp. Lat. au-spec, Gr. σκύψ 'owl'. Skr. ḍīd- n. Avest. zard- n. 'heart'. Skr. māh- Avest. māz- 'great'.


Avest. varz- verz- 'work'. mas- 'great, wide', cp. Gr. μαξ-ρό-ς.

Armenian. The old root-nouns have passed into other declensions. See the examples in § 160. It is however possible that certain case-forms, such as ot-ē 'pedes' sirt-ē 'corda', still belong to the old consonantal inflexion.

Greek. στρε στρν-ός f. 'hatred, awe', cp. μενοι-στρε 'hating lies'. πρωξ πρωξ-ός f. 'drop, dew', ground-form *prōξ-, see I § 306 p. 242. ἄλεξ-loc. sing. beside ἄλεξ-η 'strength of body'. χρόκ-α acc. sing. beside χρόκ-η 'woof', compared with χρέκα, which was also used of the noise caused by the striking of the web. ϕρηκξ ϕρηκξ-ός f. beside ϕρηκξ-η 'the shiver of the surface of the water'. Thus no doubt ἄλεξ-η has replaced an older *ṭλ̣η = Skr. ṭḷ- λνγλγγ-ός f. 'hiccup' beside λνγγάομαι λνξο λνγ-θν (O.H.G. slucchno n. 'devourer'); for the nasal in the root-syllable cp. I § 221 p. 187 and Skr. yūṇ- beside yūj- (acc. yūṇ-əm and yūj-əm) Lat. con-jus- beside -jus. ἀλξ ἀλξ-ός f. 'hair' (cp. I § 496 p. 364 f.). ἀνλαξ f. 'furrow' for *ἄ-flαξ-, with the by-forms ἄξ ἅλξ ᾑλαξ, seems to have sprung from an old doublet *flaξ-: *folkan- with ablaut, from (За)νλξ- 'draw, pull' (cp. *Darbishire, Notes on the spir. asper in Greek, Cambridge 1888,
Root-nouns uncompounded. § 161.

p. 29). ὁδὸς ὁδού-ός f. 'rift, cleft, split', beside ὤνι-νῦ-μ. ὀψ 'countenance' acc. ὀπ-α; compare νῦν-ων ἑλκ-ων-ις and ὀλ-ους αἰθ-ους, which probably show an old gradation ὀψ ὀπ-α ὀπ-ός etc. κοε n. 'barley' no doubt for *κοῖθ, cp. κοῖτη. ἰώς, gen. ἰωός, 'jackal' beside ἰη- 'run'. χρη 'necessity' (cp. also ὀμολή 'joint cry, loud cry', μεσο-δυν 'intermediate structure, cross-beam'), like βία § 160, 5 (Morph. Unt. I 49. 64). κοῖς κρεκ-ός m. a bird, and also 'braggart', beside κρίκω, cp. κρόκ-α above. τρωφ τρωγ-ός m. 'gnawer, worm' beside τρωγω. κυς κυ-ός m. 'a worm in the corn', like Skr. dhī-क dhīy-स. κλώψ m. 'thief' beside κλέν-κω. Further examples are given by Bloomfield, Amer. Journ. of Phil. IX 7 ff.

Italic. Lat. lex lŏg-is f. 'law', Osc. ligud 'leges' ligis 'legibus' Marruc. līxs 'lex' or 'leges' Pelign. lex-ε in leges'. Lat. vās vās-is n. 'vessel', Umbr. vās-us 'vasis' (the preservation of the voiceless s in all the cases is perhaps due to the analogy of the nom. acc. sing.). man- 'hand', Umbr. manf acc. pl., Lat. man-ceps malluiae for *man-luviae, with other exx. (Danielsson, Pauli's Altit. Stud. III 189 f., Duvau, Mem. de la Soc. de lingu. VI 226 f.). The connexion between Lat. frūx frūg-is f. 'produce' and Umbr. frīf acc. 'fruges, frumenta' (I § 57 p. 46) is doubtful, see Pauli Altit. Stud. V 114 f.

Lat. lūx lūc-is f. 'light'. nux nuc-is f. 'nut'. pix pic-is f. 'pitch'. vic- gen. vic-is f. 'change' (beside vincō, see Osthoff, Paul-Br. Beitr. VIII 272). nec nec-is f. 'death'. prex prec-is f. 'prayer'. op-s op-is f. 'might, means, power'. pāx pāc-is f. 'peace'. dap-s dap-is f. 'feast', beside Gr. ἀν-άνη 'expenditure'. arx arc-is f. 'citadel'. faex faex-is f. 'dregs'. faux fauc-is f. 'throat'. spē-s, acc. spe-m, f. 'hope'. re-quiē-s, gen. -quito, f. like Skr. jyā- § 160, 5 (Morph. Unt. I 10). strix strīg-is f. 'horned owl'. dux duc-is m. 'leader'. vas vad-is m. 'sentry'.

Osc. far n. 'far' and Umbr. far n. 'far' farer 'fāris' appears to be a root-noun; far-: Lat. farr-: (for *far(es)-, see § 132 p. 413 and p. 420) = Skr. kīp-: Lat. corpus.

Old Irish. bri 'mountain', rī 'king', bō 'cow', see § 160. This method of forming noun-stems seems to have died out in

Germanic. The original root-nouns (§ 160) were all more or less completely transferred to the vowel declensions; e.g. out of the Goth. paradigm, sing. nom. *baürgs* gen. *baürgs* dat. (loc.) *baürg* acc. *baürg* pl. nom. *baürgs* gen. *baürgë* dat. *baürgim* acc. *baürgs* only the gen. dat. sing. and the nom.-acc. pl. belong to the original consonantal declension.

Even amongst the few root-nouns which do not recur in other languages there are none in which the simple root is used for the stem in all the cases. Examples of forms whose stems contain no suffix are: O.H.G. dat. sing. *gi-nög* nom. pl. *gi-nög* beside nom. sing. *gi-nög* ‘companion’ (i.e. ‘one who enjoys (geniesst) with another’), A.S. dat. (loc.) sing. *böc* beside nom. sing. *böc* ‘book’, O.Icel. nom. pl. *hend-r* beside nom. sing. *hönd* (Goth. *handu-s*) ‘hand’; see Kahle’s essay cited on p. 478 footnote 2. As regards some of these nouns it is probable that they had at first a vocalic formative suffix, and that it was a secondary process, affecting even then only a certain number of their cases, which put them on a level with the root-nouns.

Balto-Slavonic. The root-nouns as a class have almost entirely disappeared, giving place to new formations on the model of the vocalic declensions; e.g. Lith. *nös-i-s* f. ‘nose’, O.C.Sl. *vis-î* f. ‘village’, see § 160. Besides these there are only a few traces preserved in the forms of the gen. pl. in Lithuanian: O.Lith. *sëird-u*, Mod.Lith. *žas-û* *žuv-û*; we should add Slav. *krûv-* f. ‘blood’ gen. sing. *krûv-e*, beside which we have nom. sing. *krûv-î* instead of *kry*.


This usage is found in Aryan, Greek and Italic. In all three the dative is used as an infinitive; in Sanskrit other cases are used as well.
In Sanskrit the case-suffix had the accent, if the verb had no prefix; otherwise the accent fell on the root-syllable. ḍṛṣṭे 'to see' bhujे 'to enjoy', nir-ḍējे 'to drive forth' (Lat. agi-t) ni-ṇāmē 'to bend down'. Avest. sav-ōi 'to use' dar-s-ōi 'to see'.

Lat. agi- (: Skr. -ḍējे), dic-, sequi āt-, hence also tund-i pose-i mi-nu-i etc. in imitation of these forms. A difference in meaning was established between these and the locative forms agere etc. (§ 132 p. 418), the latter being distinguished as active, the former as deponent or passive forms; the origin of this process was probably an accidental preponderance of the use of the dative of root-nouns to serve as infinitives in deponent verbs.

-s- sometimes appears between the root-syllable and the dative termination. This is rare in Aryan: Skr. ji-ṣā- 'to conquer' -prāk-ṣē 'to fill, satisfy', Avest. a naṣē 'to bring near', root Avest. nas- Gr. ēnēyx-. Gr. γράφω 'to write' ἀνεῖγα 'to show'. The -s- is identical with the element which is frequently found in the verb finite after the root-syllable, particularly in the sigmatic aorist, to which it gave its name (it is very possible that it is etymologically identical with the -s- which is used in the formation of noun-stems, § 134 p. 424 ff.; cp. Morph. Unt. III 42 f.); hence in Greek this kind of infinitive was confined to the sigmatic aorist. In Latin we may compare such forms as da-rē fer-ri.

Remark 1. There are difficulties in determining the relation of the Latin forms in -se -re to those in -sī -ri; several different views are almost equally tenable. If we start by assuming that Latin inherited from an earlier period only forms in *es-i (sicere amāre) *aī (agi) *s-aī (dari), we must suppose that the following are new formations: dare ferre on the model of sicere amāre, and on the other hand amāri following dari, fieri also instead of fier. But perhaps even in the pre-Italic period there were parallel forms in *e-s-i (da-re), cp. dīxe scriptae and Skr. infinitives like ṣṛ-ti (see below). Lastly it is also possible that on the analogy of indic. *aget: infin. *aesi (agīt: agere) the infinitives *es-si *fer-si (esse and ferre respectively) were first formed to correspond to es-are and that then and not before ferri was formed on the model of agī.

Remark 2. In Old Latin and even later in poetic diction beside the forms in -s and -rī we find equivalent forms in -ier and -rier, as agier darier. It has often been assumed that agier should be analysed into agie-r, -r being the sign of the passive as in agitu-r, and *agie being the
ground-form of agi. This every one would admit if *agīe could be explained as an infinitive form 1), and if the change from -ie to -i could be shown to be regular (it is not shewn by the voc. nisi, for the -š of this form may be the original weak-grade of *-še- *-še-, cp. § 63 p. 122). Other explanations of -ier -rīer are equally unsatisfactory; see e. g. J. Stadelmann, De quantitate vocalium Latinas voces terminantium, Lucerne 1884, p. 73, V. Henry Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. VI 62 ff. I conjecture that -er represents the preposition or (ar-bīte ar-sōra), which appears to be of dialectic origin (I § 369 Rem. 1 p. 280). For the change of -ar to -er see I § 97, 3 p. 91, cp. in-ers arī-t-fex in-perītō; and for the position of the word cp. quem ad beside ad quem and Umbr. asam-ař 'ad aram'. It need not surprise us to find at so early a stage of Latin the combination of the infinitive with a preposition which is established in the Romance languages (cp. ad before the infinitive, as Ital. ho a scrivere, Dicz. Gramm III 4 231 ff.), since even in Latin the infinitive had again approximated to the noun, and at least inter and praefer were used with it (see p. 471 ff.). Nor is there any difficulty in the assumption that agī-er, after the origin of the -er had been forgotten, had the same meaning as agī: the assimilation in usage was caused by the association of the final r of agīer with the r of agīer agītūr etc. This entire class of infinitive formations, being like ar of dialectic origin, were allowed to drop out of use in classical prose, like so many other idioms that came from the same source.

In Sanskrit we find, besides the dative, the acc. in -am, the loc. in -i and the gen.-abl. in -as used as infinitives, e. g. ā-nām-am (ā-nām- incline or bend towards one'), dyś-i sa-dyś-i (cp. dyś-a p. 490), abhi-brīś-as (abhi-brīś- 'make fast to').

§ 163. Root-nouns appearing as the second member of compound words.

In the Indo-Germanic and later periods we find compounds in which a root is the second member, and serves as a noun to denote the agent, as in the Skr. puru-drūḥ- 'injuring many'. There is no need to assume that the root was first used in the compound as a nomen actionis and that the whole word was subsequently epithetised (i. e. converted into an adjective, see § 50 p. 92), since in proethic Indo-Germanic the root could be used alone to denote the agent; cp. Skr. rāj- p. 484, Skr. drūḥ- Avest. druji- etc. p. 486 ff. More rarely the compound has a passive sense, as Skr. sa-yuj 'joined by bonds of friend-

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1) Thurneysen's explanation seems to me improbable (Über die Herkunft und Bildung der lat. Verba auf -io, p. 46).
ship or kinship', cp. *yuj-‘yoked with, companion'. Compound words of this type were formed in Aryan, Greek and Italic.


I may add a few examples taken from the separate groups of languages.


In Sanskrit, compounds of this kind are very common. Any root could be used in this way. We may add as further examples su-dīs- ‘seeing well', sahō-vfēdh- ‘increasing strength', purō-yūdh- ‘fighting before', purō-hūd- ‘being in front, surpassing'. In Iranian too this kind of formation remained in active use, cp. vohu-varz- ‘working good', ahūm-merc- ‘slaying, injuring the world' (also -merc-, cp. Skr. yuj- Gr. λυγ̃ p. 487).
Greek. ψευδό-στρεφείον 'hating deceit'. οὐρα-φλαγί 'drunken with wine, wine-bibbing' (cp. I § 427 p. 314, § 428 p. 316). χείρ-μυα 'water for the hands' originally 'washing the hands', ἐνδο-σκα for *ἐνδοκα neut. adv. 'looking from below upwards', cp. Skr. द्वस- f. 'sight, aspect'. Here perhaps we may class ἐνδο (which hitherto has never been satisfactorily explained) if it stands for *ἐνδο-κατ 'inclined hither', compare ἐκπω 'I incline' ἐκπη 'inclination, sinking, direction'; ν is regular, as in καλλ-ωροσι; ἐνδοω Hom. Ἡ 240 may be for *ἐνδο-κατ; more probably ν is only a reformation on the model of ἄνω πρόςω and the like.

Italic. Lat. jūdex 'declarer of the law, judge' for *jouz-dic-s (I § 33 Rem. 1 p. 33, § 594 p. 450), Osc. med-diss med-dis 'meddix' (I § 501 p. 368); in spite of its abbreviated form metd. which occurs once, I should prefer not to separate the first part of the Oscan word from Umbr. me-s mers 'ius, fas' (§ 132 p. 418). Lat. praes-ses -sid-is. tubi-cen -cin-is. libri-pens -pend-is. redux -duc-is.

Remark. For arti-fex opis-fex see § 85 p. 254.

Germanic. O.H.G. ort O.Icel. odd-r 'point', may have been a compound of this kind, standing for *ud+dhē- 'upraise, lift on high' (I § 536 Rem. p. 392); it is however quite conceivable that the original form was *ud-dh-o-, with the suffix -o-, which in this position would date from a very early period.