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 IV
MORPHOLOGY, PART III,
VERBS: FORMATION OF THE STEM, AND INFLEXION OR CONJUGATION.
TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN
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THE CHOWKHAMBHA SANSKRIT SERIES OFFICE
VARANASI-1 (India)
1972
TO

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.
AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

When in 1889 I brought out the part of my work containing the account of Noun Morphology, I had in my mind, and partly on paper, a simpler plan for the remainder of the work than that which the reader has before him. I meant it to include the presentation of the forms of declension and conjugation, and little more. In view of the confusion and uncertainty that reigned in this department, where many questions of origin and history seemed utterly unsettled, I then thought it best to restrict the work to these limits; and I only hoped that perhaps after the lapse of years, if a second edition should be called for, the further development of a science which had already made such rapid progress would have put me in a position to give a practical and useful history of Noun and Verb Inflection. But in the course of my work I was gradually converted from this pessimism; the difficulties no longer seemed insurmountable; and I at length decided to attempt a more complete account, not merely exhibiting the results of the different developments, but even now as far as possible tracing their course. Thus the work grew; and thus it comes about that the size of the latter part is so greatly out of proportion to that of the former.

In giving up my first plan, I was influenced not a little by my belief, that from a comprehensive work such as this,
a work in which it is sought to present the facts and problems of language in connected form, more might reasonably be expected than what I had at-first proposed. A student might fairly ask that the many questions which await an answer should not be simply avoided, but that some honest attempt should be made to advance a step towards their answering. It must surely be useful that he should not only read that which can be called certain, not only be taught well established facts, but that he should at the same time find the various problems and puzzles, with which the study of Indo-Germanic inflexion abounds, at-least briefly mentioned and conveniently arranged. So will the scholar guard best against the mistake which not the best scholar is wholly free from, the danger that in trying to bring order and light into his palace of knowledge, he may leave some dark riddle unattempted, and only move it from one corner to another. If amidst these shifting theories I have often taken a decided stand, and declared myself for one or other of them, adding therewithal other and many new views and explanations, I am yet far from believing that I have placed beyond all doubt the view which I have preferred. In these matters to indicate a path for future research or simply to establish a prima facie case is far harder than most people think; and many a theory which seemed to be fixed on the firmest foundation and to offer no point to attack, has been broken-down in the end. I can only hope that the mistakes which these volumes must inevitably contain may help to supply the means for their own correction.

A few of my readers perhaps may wonder why certain new and some very recent theories upon Ablaut, proethnic Accent, formation of Roots and Suffixes, and other such matters, have in these last volumes been either altogether disregarded or only just glanced-at. A good deal of the most recent work I would indeed have included in this last volume
but that it had to be finished in 1891.\(^1\) In other cases I saw before me hypotheses, which attractive as they are, and fruitful as they may prove to be, at the time of their publication were too slightly worked-out by their authors, and had been too little tested to allow of my making them the basis of my own account. In this volume I have practically not touched the newest theories of Ablaut; I confess that I approach the glib and symmetrical systems of Ablaut Series (cp. Bartholomae in Bezzensberger’s Beiträge, xvii 105) with very little confidence, and I must refer to what is said on this matter in Vol. I § 309. Even a question of Verb Morphology so important as the form of proethnic Roots (whether they were monosyllabic or not) I have left on one side; I believe neither the one thing nor the other, but only that in the present state of our knowledge we can know nothing about it. If in spite of this I have used hyphens freely, I would remind the reader that the hyphen means a real point of composition in such words as 
\[\text{Διόσ-κουροι}, \text{τοῖ-το}, \text{ἀνα-βάλλω}, \text{ἐ-γεροῦ}, \text{but in} \]
\[\tilde{∩}_{γ-ο-μεν} \text{or} \text{φερ-ο-μεν} \text{it only shows the etymological and morphological likeness of certain elements. And though I now as ever call -ο- in} \tilde{∩}_{γ-ο-μεν} \text{a suffix, I do not thereby commit myself to the statement that such elements were originally independent words. See I § 14 pp. 16 ff., II § 8 pp. 18 ff.}

Whether in all these things I have been so happy as to hit the golden mean, scholars must decide. Bearing in mind

\(^1\) Since then I have had to do without any systematic examination and use of the new works which keep streaming in, or my book would never have come to an end. Only now and then have even the more important works been used, such as those of Bartholomae, Bechtel, Buck, Johansson, G. Meyer, Per Persson, von Planta, W. Schulze, Streitberg, and others; Streitberg’s work Zur Germanischen Sprachgeschichte first reached me (in proof sheets) after my book was in print as far as the Additions and Corrections; in these I was able to make reference to it. However, I was glad to observe that I am in agreement with many others in matters not a few.
the paramount object of this work, I would rather be blamed for giving too little space to the newest speculations than give any reason for the reproach that I have allowed them too much.

A word is necessary as to the principle on which the labours of my fellow-workers have been cited or not cited in the text. Complaints have not been wanting that in giving various theories and views I have not always given the name of him who first suggested them, or mentioned others who before me had thought of much the same thing. My principle has been as a rule not to mention the originator of each view, or all those who ante me mea scripsere, except in such cases as Verner's Law, which I mention under his name. My book does not in the least aspire to be a compendious history of the new school of philology, or to display the part each of us has taken in the gathering of the spoil. Where reference is made in the text to the works of other scholars, this is done for practical ends and no other.

In these last two volumes I have had from Thurneysen the same generous and ready help as before in all that refers to Keltic. Here, as before, the reference to his advice in a few special paragraphs does not in any degree express my obligation to his aid. If the treatment of Irish questions (for I have rarely touched on the British dialects) is at all on a level with recent research, and sometimes even carried beyond it, this is due to Thurneysen. But I must again beg that he be not held responsible for any errors I may have made in using his communications, or for anything but the paragraphs in which his own words are given. I have also to thank Hübischmann for a number of communications on Armenian.

In the text a number of corrections (mostly in unimportant details) have been silently made, which I have received from
reviews and from private letters of fellow-scholars,\(^1\) among whom I would specially name Messrs. Conway, Holthausen, Leskien, Leumann, Osthoff, and Rouse. More detailed additions which should bring the first parts of the work up to date, I am obliged to forego, since thanks to the rapid progress of our science, whole paragraphs and pages would have to be remodelled. Naturally enough I am now in a position to improve upon many of the views I formerly expressed, particularly in the Phonology (Vol. I) published six years ago. Some of these I have expressly corrected, some tacitly. The reader should therefore consult in each case the explanation which I have given latest.

**LEIPZIG, July 2. 1892.**

**K. BRUGMANN.**

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1) Lith. *gallā* ("I can") and the like forms are not misprints or oversights; see I § 26 p. 29. To avoid misunderstanding, I again call attention to the fact that while *for* (Ger. *aus*) denotes a regular phonetic connexion, *instead of* (Ger. *für*), denotes analogical substitution. Thus "φιλοῦμεν for φιλεῖμεν", but "Att. δαίμων instead of pr. Gr. *δαιμο-ν*".
TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

The list of Additions and Corrections given in the concluding part of the German edition have been here put in their proper place in the text. Some few alterations have also been made, with Prof. Brugmann's sanction, by way of making clear what from its terseness might have been misunderstood. A list of misprints is given, but I fear there must be others; I hope that these will be forgiven, in view of the exceeding difficulty of correcting proof with so many different diacritic marks.

It may be well to point out that the word "Reduplicator" has been used as equivalent to Reduplicating Syllable or Syllable of Reduplication; and that "Phrase" has been extended to apply to a short complete sentence which fuses into a single word, as ferē-bam, dātdsmi (see page 444).

In this volume as before I have to thank Mr. Conway for valuable help.

The Indices are nearly ready, and it is hoped they may be publish with this volume, or at least with small delay thereafter.

Cheltenham, July 17. 1894.

W. H. D. ROUSE.
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CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

VOLUME I.

page 530 line 20 read in cases where the.
24 an acute.

VOLUME II.

page X line 1 read masculine.

XI 3 infra read And instead of But.
23 read Classes instead of Classe.
95 9 infra read Lott; instead of Lat.
98 18 pod-vex-ks instead of pod-vex-ks.
99 8 by dissimilation.
111 14 supra yugan instead of jugam.
114 4 infra place a full stop after 'one-o-yod'.
117 16 read 'tree' instead of 'tree'ly.
118 18 priya-tead-m instead of -tead-m.
119 7 O. IceI. 5 O.C.SI.
133 5 paariya 5 paariya.
164 infra read saya-umna instead of saya-unna.
166 - - um-
168 line 11 read -z instead of ne.
173 2 òdv-g-vo-s instead of òdv-gdo-s.
175 lines 7, 12, 28, 33 read O.Sax. instead of O.S.
187 7, 23
189 line 2 inf.
209 4
179 1 read of instead of o-
2 2 ya-tarad instead of ya-taraf.
188 3 weather wather.
208 5 O.Sax. O.Sax.
210 inf. it should it should.
213 line 6 § 62 § 61.
221 16 my-tl-m my-tl-m.
231 16 prisc-tu-s a nishu instead of prisc-tu-sa nishu.
282 16 dele stop after civitatem.
285 5 inf. put a stop after 221.
240 2 read -rhor instead of rhor.
page 249 line 14 inf. read sonian instead of sonar.

- 253 - 5 read classification.
- 268 - 9 read These.
- 272 - 2 inf. 257.
- 277 - 4 would should.
- 290 - 5 idem.
- 291 - 8 insert stop after above.
- 292 - 11 inf. read neck instead of nock.
- 298 - 3 deft instead of doff.
- 300 - 10 sii-ti si-ti.
- 347 - 17 inf. -er and -er instead of yr.
- 428 - 3 infra read statements.
- 434 - 2 lino.

VOLUME III.

page viii line 8 inf. read be instead of by.
- 57 - 3 read of sound sound of.

VOLUME IV.

page 7 line 9 inf. prefix § 483.
- 10 prefix § 484.
- 17, § 472 Remark, add: Further, it is assumed by Johansson (Besz. Beitr. XIII 125) that aI in Gothic perfects like rat-rat saul-sol is a long (open) e but the change which he assumes seems to me insufficiently supported.
- 28 line 18 infra, add: The e's of the comedians is perhaps better read ess corresponding with the forms terr and ferr (page 501 footnote 1).
- 78 - 5 read -es.
- 81 - 16 read instead of measurest.
- 95 - 2 didst accuse instead of pulleast.
- 96 - 2 inf. read say I say.
- 98 - 8 Skr. dh-thá instead of O.H.O.
- 106 footnote 1 infra read old oman instead of oldi annum.
- 4 I § 404. 2 p. 299.
- 198, title to Class XIX, read -eso- instead of -eso-.
- 235 line 3 infra, in the text, read biih bin.
- 398 - 7 read nu-nar-ti instead of tiv.
MORPHOLOGY OF VERBS.

FORMATION OF THE STEM, AND INFECTION OR
CONJUGATION. 1)

§ 460. Two kinds of words go to make up a verbal
system. On the one hand there are the forms of the Indica-
tive, Conjunctive, Injunctive, Optative (or Prepositive), and
Imperative; those, that is, which belong to what is called the

1) General Works on the Verb in Indo-Germanic.
Schei cher, Compendium 4 pp. 644 ff. Fr. Müller, Grundr. der
Sprachw. iii pp. 580 ff. Bopp, Über das Conjugationssystem der
Sanskritspraich in Vergleich mit dem der griech., lat., pers. und
german. Sprachen, 1816. W. Wackernagel, Über Conjugation und
Wortbildung durch Ablaut im Deutsch, Griech. und Lat., Seebode und
Jahn's Jahrb., Supplementband i (1831) pp. 17 ff. F. Graefe, Das
Sanskrit-Verb und im Vergleich mit dem griech. und lat., aus dem Gesichts-
punkte der class. Philologie, St. Petersburg, 1836. A. Kuhn, De con-
jugatione in linguae Sanscritae ratione habit. Berlin 1837.
C. W.
Boek, Analysis verbi oder Nachweis der Entstehung der Formen des
M. Rapp, Der Verbal-Organismus der indisch-europäischen Sprachen,
und das roman. Verb.; iii. Das gott., das skand., und das sächs. Ver-
bum). Fr. Müller, Der Verbalansdruck im ärvisch-semitischen Sprach-
kreise. Vienna 1858. Stenzler, Über die verschiedenen Conjugationen
etc. (see footnote to p. 52, vol. III). Schei cher, Die Unterscheidung
von Nomen und Verbum in der lautlichen Form, 1865. A. scoi, Studj ärvi-
semitici, Articolo secondo, letto alla Classe di lettere, etc. [del R. Instituto
Lombardo], Milan 1865; treats of the Idg. verb as affecting the question
how the Idg. languages are related to the Semitic. Merguet, Welche
Beweiskraft hat das Verbum praeform für die Entstehung der Verbal-
endungen aus Hilfsverben, Gumbinnen 1860. Idem, Die Ableitung der
Bragmann, Elemente. IV.
Finite Verb. The other class consists of verbal nouns; the forms of the Infinitive (including the Supine), Gerund, and Participle (including the (gerundive). The last class is called the Verb Infinite.


Armenian. Fr. Muller, Beiträge zur Conjugation des armen. Verbums. Vienna 1883 (see the same scholar's Armeniacam II, Vienna 1870, pp. 1 ff.).
§ 461. The forms of the Finite Verb grew out of the connexion of subject and predicate. In the parent language, phrases made-up of a word denoting some condition or action and a personal pronoun, used as a sentence in which the latter was subject and the former predicate, coalesced, and became a


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single word; this is the origin of all the finite verb-forms. The
pronomns which specified the persons of whom the predic-
cation was made (it is these which we call the personal endings
of the verb) always come second in these combinations; as in

A. Hogue, The Irregular Verbs of
Attic Prose, their forms, prominent meanings, and important
compounds, Boston 1889.

Siuex, Lat. Gramm. (I. Müller's Handb. der klas. Altertums-\viss., 1*)
pp. 356 ff. Neue, Formenlehre der lat Spr., ii 529 ff. Mer-\guet,
Die Entwicklung der lat. Formenbildung pp. 167 ff. K. L. Struwe,
Über die lat. Declination und Conjugation, 1823. K. Hagena, Über die
von Bildungen von Verben und der Conjugationsformen in der lat. Sprache,
Seebode und Jahn's Jahrb., iv, Supplementb. (1835), pp. 114 ff. Fuchsi,
Über die sogen. unregelmässigen Zeitwörter in den roman.
Sprachen, 1840. Seemann, De conjugationibus Latinis, Culin 1846. A. Tobler,
Darstellung der lat. Conjugation und ihrer romanischen Gestaltung, Zürich
1857. Westphal, Die Verbalflexion der lat. Spr., 1872. L. C. M. Aubert,
Den latinske Verbalflexion, Christiania 1875. W. Eisenlohr, Das lat.
M. Engelhardt, Die lat. Conjugation, nach den Ergebnissen der Sprach-
vergleichung dargestellt, 1887. — G. Koffmann, Lexicon lateinischer
Wortformen, 1874. Georaxes, Lexikon der lat. Wortformen, 1889 (in
progress).

ir. Auslautgesetze, Paul-Braune's Beitr. iv pp. 204 ff. Losnuer,
Die altir. Verbalklassen, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. ii 322 ff. Stokes,
Bemerkungen über das altir. Verbum, ibid. iii 47 ff., v 459 ff., vii 1 ff.
Idenm, The Old-Irish Verb Substantive. Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxviii 35 ff. Ebel,
Celtische Studien: Aus der Konjugation, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. iii 257 ff., Das
Verbum, ibid. v 1 ff. Zinner, Celtische Studien, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxviii
318 ff. (Das sog. -Futurum); 328 ff. (Das sog. -Präturium); 335 ff. (Das
sogen. -Imperf.); 342 ff. (DepONENTIALE Conjugativformen auf -ta); 348 ff.
(3. sing. prät. pass. auf -v) 352 ff. (3. plur. praet. pass. auf -ge); 363 ff.
(3. sing. praet. auf -ta, -tha); xxx 112 ff. (Die Schicksale des idg. s-Aorists
im Ir. und die Entstehung des kelt. s-Präteritums); 198 ff. (Das sogen.
s-Präteritum der kelt. Sprachen). Loth, Essai sur le verbe néoceltique
en irlandais ancien et dans les dialectes modernes, son caractère,
ses transformations, Paris 1882. Ebel, De verbi Britannici futuro et con-
junctivo, Schneidemühl 1866. Stokes, Die mittelbretonischen unregel-
mässigen Verba, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. v 306 ff. Loth, L'optatif, le
temps secondaires dans les dialectes britanniques, Mém. de la soc. de lingu
§ 461. The Verb: General Remarks.

*ex-mi (= Skr. ē-mi Gr. ei-mi), which consists of √e- 'go' and -mi, a pronoun connected with Skr. ma Gr. με 'me' (it will appear by and by that the -i of -mi originally was no part of


Works dealing specially with the formation of Tense or Mood, or of Persons, and so forth, will be cited below in their proper place.
the first personal pronoun). Personal-endings make the chief difference between Verbs and Nouns or Pronouns.

But it would be a mistake to explain all the Indo-Germanic personal endings which we find actually used as being without exception personal pronouns. Once the Verb was created by aid of real personal pronouns, forms of different origin might be associated with it, and used as though they had a personal pronoun tacked-on to the end. In this way, to take an example, the Latin participial form *legi-mini = Gr. λέγω-μενοι -μεναι was associated with the indicative legor etc. (see II § 71 p. 165); and the Romans felt no difference between -mini and -mun or -ntur. Again, many different languages employ infinitive forms, which are cases of nomina actionis, as imperatives used of a particular person. In the same way it is probable that some of the personal endings which have come-down from the parent language were not really personal pronouns to begin-with.

Another point is to be noticed. There are some forms without any personal ending at-all which have been used like genuine verbal forms from the parent language onwards. The 2nd sing. imperative pr. Idg. *bhere (= Skr. bhāra Gr. βής etc.) is simply the present stem. It must be a survival from the time when tense-stems could be used as independent words. Undoubtedly *bhere had at-first a wider use, which narrowed by degrees to the use which it must have had ever since the end of the prooetonic period. In the end, the form was quite clearly marked-off from all others of its verbal system by the absence of any inflexion, in the same way as the voc. *hēs or the nom. χώια were distinguished from all other of their associated cases (see III § 186 pp. 62, 63).

Remark. Although personal endings were a sine qua non for the use of a verb form as an ordinary sentence (except *bhere and a few others like it), or as a copula in a sentence, still a sentence could exist without them. At all periods, the Indo-Germanic languages have used sentences that had no finite verb at all. See Paul, Principien² pp. 99 ff.
§ 462. The Verb Infinite consisted of noun forms, chiefly *nomina agentis* or *actionis*. The difference between these and nouns in the ordinary sense is that these share in certain verbal peculiarities; they have tense, they distinguish between momentary, continuous, or inceptive actions, they have voice, and can govern nouns. The participles were already a large and ramifying group in the parent language; and time has brought about no important change in them. But most of the forms classed as infinitives have arisen since the proethnict period came to an end.

The distinction between the finite verb and the verb infinite is not always kept; for, as we saw in § 461, forms of the latter kind sometimes came to be used in the same way as forms with genuine personal endings. Nor is a line always drawn between the verb infinite and nouns; this we saw in vol. II § 144 pp. 456 f., and § 156 pp. 470 f.

The forms of the Verb Infinite have been discussed under the head of Stem-Formation and Inflexion, so far at least as concerns their formative and inflexional suffixes. We have now to examine the points which mark them as members of a verbal system, connecting, for example, *λείπων* with *λείπω*, *ληστῶν* with *ἐλίπων*, *λήφρων* with *λείπων*. But for convenience sake verbal nouns will be only cited now and then while we deal with the various groups of the verb infinite, and the whole of them will be afterwards collected and examined in detail.

Verbal Compounds, such as would be formed by joining a real verb-stem to a form of the finite verb, and would answer to O.Pers. *hama-pita* = Gr. ὁμώ-πάτη among noun compounds, never existed as a distinct category, either in the later stages of the parent language, or since. The only exceptions are reduplicated verb forms such as Skr. *dār-darti* 'he bursts, breaks to pieces', so far as these can rightly be called compounds (§ 464). We must, however, not forget that the reduplication of uninflected "roots" was certainly older, on
the whole, than the fusion of roots with personal pronouns into verbal forms.

Whether the tense sign -s- in Gr. ὁδίκ-σω ἤδικ-σα etc. was the verb subst. es-: whether -ah- in Skr. सद-धाति Gr. ἱσω (√ed-) ἵ-αχ-θον O.C.Sl. i-dq etc. is the verb ἅθ- 'καθαλι'; and whether these originally acted as auxiliaries, are questions which must be left alone. Even if this be the truth about them, they must have sunk to the level of inflexions long before the end of the proethnic period, and they could no longer be the type for compounds consisting of verb + verb.

Nor do we find in the periods for which there is direct evidence either noun stems compounded with genuine verb forms, or genuine verbal stems compounded with nouns. We cannot class under the second head words like Gr. ἦρχε-κανος (from ἦχω), ἔπαγρέ-κανος (from ἐπιχάλω), Στης-αγώρης (from ι-στησα), H.G. wetz-stein 'whetstone' melk-fass 'milkpail' (from wetze, melke). These are due merely to a perversion or interpretative corruption, and the imitation of older compounds which had a noun stem for the first member. They are not real compounds of a verbal stem with a noun. See II § 30 pp. 51 ff., § 41 pp. 74 f., § 47 p. 86.1)

Forms of the finite verb are clearly seen in composition only in the following classes of words; and here too one of the two parts has usually sunk to a kind of suffix or prefix.

1. A Verb form is compounded with Adverbial words; as Gr. ἄμ-εμι Lat. ab-eo, Lat. ne-scio, pr. Idg. *έ-δγκομ = Gr. ε-δγκανος (I regard the augment as a temporal particle); Pruss. quoitis-lai 'he may wish, he might wish', pr. Idg. *bhèret-u Skr. bhårat-u, — and also -i in *bhèret-i *bhères-i (beside *bhèret *bhères) was probably a demonstrative particle.

1) There is a new essay by W. Christ, Abhängigkeitskomposita des Griechischen, Berichte der k. bayer. Akad., 1890 pp. 187 ff. I cannot agree with the theory for which Christ takes up the cudgels again (pp. 184 ff.), that ἀγε-λαος arose from the imperative phrase ἄγε λαόν, and that ἀγε-θανας came from ἀγε-θανος by phonetic change of s to s.
2. A Verb form is compounded with a Case, being itself the final member of the compound. The case, at the time of combination, was either a living case, or some kind of infinitive. Examples: Skr. dātāsmi (periphrastic future) for dātā asmi 'dator sum', Lat. possum for potis sum, vēnum-do vēnum-do pessun-do, Lat. ārē-bam āre-faciō O.C.Sl. nesē-achu (III § 275 p. 177); Fr. aimerai (O.Fr. amerai) for amāre habeo, Lith. opt. 1st pl. sūktum-bime, etc.

The line between these two classes is not absolutely fixed, as we see from such words as Skr. astam-ēti 'goes down' (of the sun), which has for its first part āsta-m 'to one's house, home'.

Remark. There is no class of Verbal Compounds answering to Class I of Noun Compounds (svo-ṇārav), which might have been a model for later formations. It seems therefore best not to give a special chapter to Verb Compounds, as was done to Nouns, but to describe the various kinds in the place they most naturally come, along with the Tenses, the Personal Endings, or as it may be.

One point, however, should be touched on here. It is a matter of wider interest, and well illustrates an important principle of word-formation. When a sentence becomes a single word, it may be treated like a simple word, and it may be inflected or otherwise modified just as the simple word can. Lith. dē-k 'give' dē-k 'go' (both imperative), consisting of the 2nd sing. *dē (cp. Lat. ce-do) and *ei + the particle -k, are the foundation for a 2nd pl. dēkite, dēkite etc.; and again dēk 'come here', which itself is dē-k + arē 'here', produced dēkex-te. Pruss. quōlit-lai 'he might wish' (lai = O.C.Sl. li 'vel, aut') suggested the 2nd sing. quōlit-lai-ei and 2nd pl. quōlitlai-ti. Slav. daj-mi and Mod. Gr. dēs-mou 'give me produced the 2nd pl. daj-mi-te and dēs-ou-tye. Of the same kind were Gr. 3rd pl. ayētov-av ayētov-av (2nd sing. dēkτu-t-ε Hesych). Lat. 2nd pl. agūl-te, since Idg. *aγo-tōd was a compound of the imperative *aγo with the adv. (abl.) *tōd 'thence, then'. Also, according to Osthoff and Bugge, Gr. δανίκαντ ό δινκάκτε; they explain δινκάκτε as *διδο = Skr. dādah(u) + the particle ke = Lat. ce in cedo. Analogous forms of nouns or pronouns are: Gr. oντο-ντυ aντυ acc. τούτο-ν Boscot. oντο-ντυ etc., formed from the nom. *oν-τo *aν-τo, whose second part was a particle (cf. O.C.Sl. kī-lo 'who'), see II § 4 p. 9, III § 415 p. 337; Mid. Ir. instr. pl. donafí-b built up on O.Ir. donax{(h)j}, see footnote on page 337; O.H.G. gen. desse dat. deseco following des-se 'this' with the particle se, see III § 414 pp. 335 f., Skr. dat. amad-bhyam Lesh. nom. amad-ε following acc. *am-me (Lesh. ἀμει with the particle sme, see § 436 pp. 367 f., § 443 p. 379); Pol. gen. sing. aztukanię following nom aztukamieza 'a piece of meat'. where mięsa is the gen. of mięsam.
Reduplication, the repetition of a word or other element of speech with the same grammatical force, to express that an action or state is repeated, or to intensify it, is certainly older than the modes of forming cases or parts of the finite verb which we actually see in use. It had at first no special connexion with either verbs or nouns, but was used with both; verb types such as Skr. dár-dar-ti 'it bursts, breaks-up' da-dhyā-ima 'we have ventured' ci-kit-ē 'he knows', and noun-types like Skr. dar-dar-a-s 'broken' da-dhyā-ā-s 'venturesome, bold' ci-kit 'knowing' may have been formed quite independently of each other. Compare II § 6 pp. 12 ff., § 51 ff. pp. 94 ff. 1)

Root-reduplication in verbs came to be very important, and this very early in the history of the parent language, because it was turned to account in the formation of tenses.

§ 465. Reduplicated Verb-forms.

It was used to distinguish various kinds of action, and also the time at which the action took place. For these purposes reduplication was very widely used, not only in the parent language but in most of its offshoots far on into the historical period. The wide use of verbal reduplication gave great impulse to similar reduplication in nouns. Noun-reduplication was at-first a principle not very active or far-reaching; but thus reinforced it lasted much longer than it would have done, and in later times, under the influence of reduplicated forms in the verb infinite, reduplicated noun-forms appeared again where the prothetic reduplicated type had lost all its reproductive power. Examples are Gr. κρά-γ-μ (Eur.) κρά-μ (Aristoph.) 'cry, outcry', κρά-γ-τ (Aristoph.) beside κρά-γ-τ, κρά-γ-τ, πνο-ν-σ 'trust' (Josephus, Philo) beside πν-ν-σ, πν-ν-σ, Mod.H.G. zitterig 'tremulous' beside zittere 'I tremble' = pr. Germ. *ti-trō-mi.

§ 465. The following Idg. types may be distinguished, according to the form of the reduplication:

1. Root-syllable and reduplication-syllable show the same vowel, or two ablaut-grades of the same vowel.

   a. The Root begins and end in a consonant, and the syllable of reduplication, or Reduplicator, ends in a consonant which is taken from the final of the Root (we count as consonants the second part of the diphthongs ai ay and so forth). Of this there are three varieties; the first being a fairly exact reduplication, the second replacing a liquid by a nasal in the reduplicator, and the third inserting ɪ.


   dār-dār-şi 2nd sing. of dār- (v der-) 'split, break', tar-tar-ya-
   nte 3rd pl. of tar- (v ter-) 'pass over', vār-vati 3rd pl. of
   var- (v vort-) 'vertere', mar-mry-yd-te 3rd sing. of mar-
   (v merg-) 'wipe'.
   jan-ghan-ti 3rd sing. of han- (v ghen-) 'strike, kill', nam-nam-ti 3rd sing. of nam-
   (v nem-) 'bend',
   dān-dān-an-s partic. of dān- (v da-an-) 'bite', jan-jabh-yd-te
   3rd sing. of jambh- (v jambh-) 'snap'.
   vē-vē-ti 3rd sing. of vē- 'appetere', vē-vē-ya-te 3rd sing. of vē- 'flutter', nē-nik-te 3rd

Greek ιορ-ψηρ-ω I move restlessly' for *-ψηρ-ω: cp. Skr. jār-bhūr-ti 'moves convulsively, groans, palpitates'. μορ-μέρω 'I roar, murmur' for *-μερ-ω: cp. Lat. murmurāre, O.H.G. murmurōn (§ 595). γαρ-γαῖρ-ω I swarm' for *-γαῖρ-ω (γάργαρ neut. pl. 'swarm'). γαρ-γαινων 'to meta γέλως σφυσ-παιζων Hesych. (Schmidt conjectures γαγγανένων): cp. O.C.Sl. ga-gnajja 'I murmur, growl' (adj. gagnivitā). παι-ψαινω 'I shine clearly' for *-ψαι-νω, Epic partic. παιψανόν; the root was bha-, and the nasal of the verb was therefore a present-suffix, see §§ 601, 611. ἐκτο Homer. ἔδοσω 'rush, run at something i.e. *Fai-Ιή-μω (I § 96 p. 90, § 181 pp. 119 f.) may be connected with Skr. े-विय-याते (vij- 'quicken, burst out') by assuming an Idg. ्मο-िग-YA-IG- (cp. I § 469. 7 p. 346).


Keltic. Mid.Ir. der-drethar 'there is a sound, or a cry', s-pret. derdrestar, cp. II § 52 pp. 94, 95.

Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *glagolya* 'I speak' for "*gol-golja* (gla-
golij 'word'); *mrűmīrija* 'I gnaw, nibble'; *gagnajā* 'I murmur,
growl', cp. above, Gr. *γαγγαίνω*.

§ 466. 2. The reduplying syllable has a Nasal in-
stead of a Liquid; see I § 282 p. 226. Skr. *cau-cau-
yatā* 'moves quickly or repeatedly'. Gr. *γαγγαίνω* 'I round' (γόγγαλος 'round'), *τού-τοτέ* 'I murmur'. Lat. *gyn-ge-re*.

This nasal reduplication passed-on from roots ending in a
nasal (see § 465) or a liquid to a few others: as Skr. *jaśja-
yatā* from *ja-*, 'whisper, say half-aloud', *dandahtī* *dandahtatē*
from *dah-* 'burn' (which seemed natural in Skr. after such
a form as *dān-dās-* from *v-deuk-* 'bite'), Gr. *γογ-γυλό* 'I growl'.

§ 467. 3. In Sanskrit, i or ï is often inserted between
the reduplicating syllable and the root; the Vedic language
has ï before single consonants, i before more than one (com-
pare Wackernagel: Das Dehnungsgesetz, p. 18). E.g. *bhāri-
bhr-ati* 3rd pl. of *bhar-* 'carry', *vār-vat-at* partic. of var-
'turn, twist', *gānī-gḥn-at* partic. of *han-* 'strike, kill', *gan-
g-ti* 3rd sing. *gānī-gm-at* partic. of *gam-* 'go', *kani-krad-
yāmānā* partic. of *krand-* 'bellow', *nāvī-nō-t* 3rd sing. of nu-
'cry out'.

Where -ï- comes after the root syllable, -i- is never
found after the syllable of reduplication; thus we have only
*nāvī-nāvī- and navī-nō-.*

Forms with an aspirate at the beginning of the reduplica-
tor, such as *bhāri-bhr-ati* *gānī-gḥn-at-,* are the older and
are phonetically correct; but those like *dāvī-dhw-at* and *pām-
-pan-at-* have been altered, the former from *dhāvī-dhw-at-
following *dō-dhwī-ti* (cp. I § 480 pp. 354 f.), the latter from
*pām-pan-at-* following *pam-pan-at-* (cp. I § 475 p. 350).
Thus at a later stage we find *bāvī-bhār-ati* instead of *bhārī-
bhār-ati* too.

How to regard this ï is not quite clear. Thus much,
however, seems to me certain, that it is the same as an ï,
also of varying quantity, which characterises Class III of our reduplicated forms; and I shall give in the Remark to § 473 a conjecture as to its origin.

§ 468. 4. Gr. ἐγεν··εων 'I am awake' has the suffix -ε· in the reduplicating syllable after the root (§§ 587 ff.), cp. ἐγεν··εω 'I am awake', beside ἐγεν··ε·το 'awoke', ἐγεν··εω 'I arouse' for *ἐγεν··εω. Perhaps the same -ε· is contained in Skr. cara··cara··s 'going far away', ghana··ghan··a··s 'killing easily' and similar words (cp. sar··spā··s 'creeping, crawling' and the like).

§ 469. b. The Root begins and ends in a consonant, and contains an i· or u·-diphthong. This diphthong is represented in the reduplicator by i and u sonant, sometimes i and u, not followed by any consonant. Skr. bi··bhe··mi 'I fear' 3rd dual bi··bhi··tas partic. bi··bhy··at conj. 3rd sing. bi··bhay··a··t, O.H.G. bi··bhe··m 'I shake'. Skr. di··dhy··e 'I behold', Avest. di··daepit 'beholds'. Skr. pret. a··ci··khip··a··t from khip·· 'throw', a··ri··riš··a··t from riš·· 'be hurt'. Skr. desid. ti··tik··ṣa··tē from tij·· 'be sharp'. Gr. π··πτ··σω 'I give to drink'; cp. Skr. 2nd pl. pi··py··a··ta 2nd sing. pi··pi··hi (π·········· 'make overflow, give plenty to drink'). δεξιομα 'I seek, strive' (orig. gaze at something) for *δε··ξα··ο··μα (on δεξιομα see § 594); cp. Skr. 2nd sing. di··di··hi 3rd pl. di··dy··ati. di·· 'shine, be bright' (άχα di·· 'direct one's mind to'). Goth. rei··rā··p 'shakes, trembles'; cp. Skr. lē··lāya··tī 'moves, trembles' with reduplication of the type of a (1) above (§ 465); the inflexion reira reīrās etc. is explained by the analogy of verbs like baha 'taceo', see §§ 592, 703, 739. Skr. ju··ho··ti 'offers', pret. a··cu··krudh··a··t from krudh·· 'grow angry' a··di··dui··a··t from dui·· 'grow bad, perish', desid. bu··bhut··sa··tī from budh·· 'wake, learn'.

Remark 1. Despite such forms as Skr. śi··śu··a·· a··pi··plā··a··m (Gr. τ··τοκοκαμα περίπλακα) (cp. II § 52 Rem. p. 97), I yet believe that where the i· roots have originally i· in the reduplication, u· roots had u. The palatal consonant in the reduplicator of verbs whose root initial is a velar consonant does not prove that ju··ho··ti is instead of *ji··ho··ti, a··cu··krudh··a··t instead of *a··ci··krudh··a··t, or bu··bhut··sa··tī instead of *bi··bhut··sa··tī (cp. bi··bhar··tī a··pi··spr̩··a··t etc., § 473); for bu·· may have become cu·· on the analogy (say) of a··ci··krad··a··t, and of perfect forms such a cu··kradh·a cu··kralūnna where cu·· is instead of *ca·· = Idg. *qc·· (cp. Rem. 2).
§ 470. c. The Root begins in a sonant and ends in a consonant, and so also the Reduplicator.

1. Roots ending in a single consonant. Skr. ál-ar-ti 'moves', ám-a-n-a-t 'he was hurt'. Armen. ar-ar-i 'I made' (pres. ar-ne-m), beside Gr. áo-ar-íkox 'I join to', ἱπ-αρ-ο-ν áρ-αρ-η-ν; perf. ἵπ-αρ-η-α. Gr. ἵγ-αγ-ο-ν ἵγ-αγ-η-ν from ἵγο 'I lead', ἵρ-ο-ρ-ο-ν ἵρ-ο-ρ-ε-ν from ἵρ-ικιμ 'I arouse', perf. ἵρ-ο-ρ-ο-α 'I have arisen, I move', ἵπ-αρ-η-α 'I have seen, see'.

2. Where roots end in two consonants, only the first appears in the reduplicator (ep. Skr. vár-var-ti from ṛ-yert-etc., § 465). Skr. ál-al-xi 'he warded off'. Skr. perf. ám-a-tha (pres. ás-nó-ti 'attains for *añ-) O.Ir. perf. t-anac 'I came' (c-for -ne-) Gr. aor. év-ste-v 'to bring' (ep. Skr. anva Gr. kar-ήνα § 946), Skr. perf. an-dája (oñ- 'anoint'). On the analogy of these perfects arose in Sanskrit an-arca (arc- 'shine, raise'), see § 951.

§ 471. II. The redupicating syllable ends in e or ë, no matter to what vowel-grade the root belongs. This was the kind of reduplication used for the Perfect and for certain classes of the Present and Aorist, both in the parent language and later. I have by no means convinced myself that ë belonged originally only to forms with ë in the root syllable, and that it was the echo of the root; nor that its use with other roots is due to analogy. See § 973, Remark.

First, forms with e short in the reduplication. Perfect. Skr. ba-bhātva Gr. πε-άδικα, ō-bhēy- 'become, be'. Skr. ta-sthímá Gr. t-ṣtāmew Lat. stetimus, stā 'stand'. Gr. πε-παρ-α πε-πηγα Lat. pe-pigis*Goth. fał-fah, pah-pah 'make fast'. Gr. γε-γένου O.Ir. do-roign for *-ro-gegno (§ 978), ō-geye- 'taste, try, enjoy'. Gr. λέ-λομα, ō-λειγ- 'leave'. O.Lat. pe-pugis. By late re-formation, as has been pointed out (§ 969, Rem. 2), we get Skr. ri-rēcā cu-krēdha i-yāja u-ndā. Lat. sci-cili pu-pugī tu-tudī, O.Ir. ro chualā.
Pr. Ar. *sa-zd- (= Avest. hazd-) became Skr. sēd-, e.g. 1st pl. sēdimā (I § 591 p. 447), and pr. Ar. *ja-it- became Skr. yēt-, as mid. yēt-ē (Avest. 1st pl. act. yaeḥ-ma). ē, which here and in similar examples is regular, spread by analogy, and thus we get pētimā instead of pa-pt-imā (the older form, used along with the later), √pat- 'fly, fall', and nēsimā, from √nas- 'be destroyed'. Then again ē in Irish arose by compensatory lengthening, as perf. ro gēnār 'natus sum' for *ge-gn- (√gen-), see I § 523 p. 380, § 620 p. 467. Lat. sēdimus might be derived from *se-zdimus (I § 594 p. 450), and lēginus vēnimus be explained on the same principle as Skr. pētimā. But of Germ. forms like Goth. sētum (sēt 'I sat') mētum (mēt 'I measured') gēnum (gām 'I came'), and of Lith. forms like part. sēd-ēs (sēdu 'I sit') bēg-ēs (bēgu 'I run') kēl-ēs (kelū i.e. *kēl-jū 'I lift') vēm-ēs (vemiū 'I break wind'), there is none which can be due to compensatory lengthening in these several languages. We must therefore assume that here the unreduplicated root with Idg. ē, the 3rd strong grade of the e-series, acted as the weak stem for the perfect. This form of the root is quite clearly the perfect stem in Skr. sāh-vās- beside pres. sāh-a-ti = Idg. *sēgh-e-ti, and in O.Ir. ro midār 'judicavi' beside Gr. μηδέρ-ta, and others. See § 480 Rem., and § 494. mēl- in Goth. mēlum must therefore be identified with O.Ir. mid- Gr. μηδ-. Weak reduplicated stems often became hard to pronounce; and hence they were often exchanged for this kind of unreduplicated form in the Germanic and Baltic branches, and perhaps in Latin too. See further in §§ 848 and 893.

The discovery of these doublet stems in the Idg. perfect, se-zd- and sēd-, makes it anything but certain that *ēd- was a contraction of reduplicated *e-ed- in Skr. adima Lat. edimus Goth. ētim Lith. ēdēs O.C.Sl. jadī (from √ed- 'eat'). *ēd- may have been a stem like *sēd-; and this to me seems more likely to be true. See § 848. 3.

Present and Aorist. Skr. 3rd pl. sa-śc-ati 3rd sing. sa-śc-ati Gr. ε-σκ-νερο, √seq- 'sequi'. Gr. εἰπ-α (Gort. πο-
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§ 472. e is less frequent than a in the reduplicator. Many perfects in the Vedas have a = Idg. e, as dá-dhára (dhár- 'hold'), ma-mýjúr (marj- 'wipe'), va-váṣur (vaš- 'desire'); an example of this kind in Avestic is Gáthic 3rd sing. vá-ver-zóī (varz- 'work').

The same a is found in Intensives through all periods of Sanskrit; e.g. dá-dhár-ti beside dar-dhár-ti, ba-badh-é beside bad-badh-é (badh- 'press, oppress'), pa-pac-ya-té (pac- 'cook'). A similar agreement between the reduplicators of the perfect and the present intensive is seen in perf. di-dháy-a and pres. intens. di-dhē-ti, from dhā- 'think'. It is obvious that the closely allied in meaning of the completed perfect (or present perfect) and the intensive had some part in the spread of reduplicating a in the Vedic perfect.

Analogous Greek forms are the perfect ἐγγ-γερ-μαυ from ἑγερ- 'awake', which agrees with Skr. ja-gār-a jā-gr-vās-(present jā-gar-ti jā-gr-hī), and the Homeric present ἐγγ-δἰκ-αραι 'they welcome' (§ 560).

Remark. Some have wished to see this redupl. e in other Greek perfects. But the view is unsafe. See the Author, Gr. Gr.2 § 131 p. 164. Nothing much is proved by Cret. ἐπ-ἀστελέει (Cauer, Del.3 no. 132. 5) and ἐ-γείρεται ἐ-γεμμοῦει (J. Baumnack, Berl. Phil. Wochenschr., 1887, ool. 60; Th. Baumnack, Philologus XLIX 594), since it is very doubtful whether they come from *ep-astel- and *ep-gep- (cp. § 476, Rem. 2).

§ 473. III. The Reduplicator ends in i or ī, the Root having a different vocalism. This is the prevailing mode, and has been since proethnic times, with certain classes of aorist and present stems. I am very far from satisfied with the view that this ī originally was used only with roots containing i (as Skr. bi-bhē-ti, type I b. § 469), which it merely echoed, and that it only spread to other roots by analogy.

Remark. The ī of Skr. á-ji-jana-t bi-bhār-ti Gr. γῆ-γη-μαυ, as has been said in § 467 pp. 13 f., I would identify with ī in the Skr. intensives bhārī-bhār-ti bhārī-bhār-ati etc. These and the like reduplicative syllables may once have had a real independence, and -i ī may have been some inflexion, perhaps a case ending. These were doubtless

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sentences of the same kind as Lith. *dektė dėgė 'it burns up clear' (§ 260, p. 161), Umbr. su-bono su-bono 'invoce invocatione, I appeal appealingly'; for similar phrases from other languages, see Pott, Doppelung, 151 f.

If this is correct, the ṛ of āṛī-ṣēna- and similar forms originally came from roots ending in a vowel, such as *ārī-ṛē- (ṛē[m]u), *ārī-ṛē- (ṛē[m]u). When the cohesion between the parts had become so firm that the ā-case was regarded as being simply a "reduplication", — this idea was greatly encouraged by the use of real reduplications of the type of ḍa, as *āḍhī-ḍhūḥi- *āḍhī-ḍhūḥi- — two results might follow: (1) forms like *āṛī-ṛēna- *aḍhī-ṛēhi- came into existence, and (2) with roots beginning in a sonant a simple ṛ was used for reduplicating, e. g. *ṛ + og- becoming *ṛg- (Skr. ṛg- Gr. ἰγ-) even in the parent speech, and such forms as Skr. ṛy-ṛti Gr. .prototype) (see p. 19). Further, (3) in Sanskrit, or perhaps earlier still, the use of (say) tāṛi- and tāṛ- as variant reduplicators (tāṛi-trat- and tāṛi-tōt- tōt-tōt-apā-s) led to the making of mōṛi-mṛi- (instead of *māṛi-mṛi-) beside mōṛi-mṛi-, and the like. Does ṛ in Gr. mōṛi-mōṛi- mōṛi-mōṛi- mōṛi-mōṛi- etc. represent another case ending, and are the words formed on the same principle as we are supposing these with ṛ to be? If so, ṛ in the or of mōṛi-mōṛi- mōṛi-mōṛi- must be ascribed to the influence of mōṛi-mōṛi- mōṛi-mōṛi- γγ- γγ- γγ- etc.; for mōṛi-mōṛi- : mōṛi-mōṛi-.

If this be really the origin of redupl. ṛ, the question arises whether ṛ and ṛ in words like Gr. mōṛi-mōṛi- and ḍṛ-ṛṛ'-mōṛi Skr. ḍṛ-ṛṛ'- (type II, see §§ 471—2) may not be the case-ending of a root noun. As before, we should have to start from roots ending in a vowel, from groups such as ḍṛ + ḍṛ- (Gr. dhr-_ska Skr. ḍa-dhā).

Skr. ti-ṣṭh-a-ti Gr. θ-στη-μι Lat. stūō O.Ir. do-airissid (I § 109 e p. 103, § 516 p. 377) O.H.G se-stωm (pr. Germ. *si-stō-mi, I § 35 p. 35), √stā- 'stand'. Skr. bi-bhar-ti Gr. ḍh-mpa-rānu (§§ 539, 542), ḍh- 'herre'. Skr. ḍt-jan-u-t ḍt-jan-u-t Gr. ḍt-jan-u-t Lat. gi-gn-o O.Ir. gi-gnīd, ḍgent- 'begot'. In Sanskrit thematic aorists the quantity fluctuated; ṛ before more than one consonant, and before a single consonant when a long syllable followed; ṛ before a single consonant followed by a short syllable (cp. Wackernagel, Dehnungs. p. 18); e. g. ḍt-sprš-a-t (sparš- 'touch') and ḍt-dvukš-a-t (dvukā- 'be consacrated'), but ḍt-jan-a-t. Greek has ṛ only in nī-nr- o 'I fall' (cp. Skr. ḍt-pat-a-t); but here ṛ may have been borrowed from ḍt-pat-u, which was connected.

1) Another explanation of this ṛ is given by Per Persson, Stud. zur Lehre von der Wurzelweiterung, p. 216 footnote 1. Per Persson's is really not very different from mine.
with it in meaning; if so, it is no example of the principle we are discussing.


The i-vowel alone is used for the reduplication with roots beginning in a sonant. Skr. ippati (ep. apsanta § 659) beside ap-nō-ti ‘acquires’, īrtsati beside yād-nō-ti ‘thrive’; fut. ardhī>yātē; with īkṣatē ‘sees’ (ep. O.Pers. patīy-axšāy  § 559) is connected Gr. ἰν- in Hom. ὀν-ίν-εἰω ‘I ogle’ (παρδεν-ονίνης), 1) which is an analogical re-formate like ὀν-ωνα instead of *δωνα, ἰδ-γως instead of *γως. Skr. iy-ar-ti beside ēr-ti from ar- ‘set in motion’, Avest. 3rd sing. conj. uz-yarap i. e. -iyar-ap; Skr. iy-e-ti beside ē-ti ‘goes’, the only evidence for which is its 2nd sing. pret. āiy-e-s (R.V., v. 2. 8), Avest. 3rd pl. conj. yeyan = Ar. *iy-ay-an (Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. ii 71 f.); Gr. i-οω ‘I spend the night’, λόγους ὦ γεω (Hesych.) for *i-ay + σω; O.Ir. i-orr fut. of origim I destroy, kill’ (beside O.H.G. aрг ‘that which is bad’). The former group, with the reduplication vowel and with root vowel contracted together, was certainly prothetic: *ip- and *iq- for *i-ōp- *i-ōq, or something of the kind. But it is possible that Skr. iy-arti and others of that type are a re-formation of later date, like Goth. perf. ai-āuk from duka ‘I increase’; -ai-āik from -āika (af-āika ‘I deny, refuse’).

On the difference between Gr. τί-Εημί, with orig. i in the reduplicator, and Skr. dā-dhāṭi Lith. 2nd pl. dē-ste with orig. e, see § 538.

It has been pointed-out (§ 469 Rem. 1, p. 14) that i is found in the reduplicator even where the root contains u-vocalism. But, as I said in that place, I regard Skr.

1) I cannot agree with Kretschmer in deriving ὀνιν pregnancies oqi-oq (Kuhn’s Zeitschr., xxxi 385).
§ 474. IV. A fourth type, of unknown origin, is represented by a considerable number of forms in Sanskrit, and by two in Greek. (Cp. Beesenberger, Bezz. Beitr. iii 310).

Skr. desid. aṣṭiṣa-ti from aṣ- 'eat', the grammarians also cite aniniṣa-ti from an- 'breathe', arjihṣa-ti for *arjihṣiṣa-ti (I p. 480 p. 354) from arh- 'deserve, be worth' and others; aor. arpiṣa-t (unaugmented) beside arpaṣa-ti 'sets in motion, shakes' (§ 797), in grammars also anima-t, arjih-a-t, abhiṣa-t (ubh- 'keep down, squeeze together') and others.

Gr. ἔφησεν-ν from ἔφησο 'I hold back' and ἑφησεν-ν from ἑφησο 'I address'; beside ἑφησο-ν, type I c (§ 470).

§ 475. A few remarks are now needed on the way in which Consonant Initials are treated in Reduplication.

1. There was originally no difference between the beginning of root and reduplicator, when the root began with one consonant, as dō- 'give' Skr. dā-dāti, Gr. ὃ-δομος, Lat. de-dit Osc. de-de-ded, O.C.Sl. 3rd pl. da-dešt. But a great many differences were brought about by phonetic change. For instance, in Greek and Sanskrit the initial of the Reduplicator was affected by the principle of dissimilation of aspirates which held in those languages, e. g. Sanskrit dāḍhāti for *dha-dhati, babhāva for *bha-bhāva (I § 480 p. 354),' Gr. τιθημι for *θι-θημι, περιφασι for *φε-φαντι (I § 496 pp. 364 f.). We were introduced in vol. I p. 483 footnote 1 to a dissimilation peculiar to Irish, -roinasc for *-rō-nenasc, -roichan for *-rō-cechan; compare § 878, below. The Root-initial is changed e. g. in pr. Idg. *si-zd-ī (v. sed- 'sit') = Gr. ζω (I § 590 p. 447, § 593 p. 449). It often happened, however, that a difference brought about by phonetic change was obliterated afterwards; as in Ved. perf. mid. si-sic-ē instead of si-ṣic-ē

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Remark. We may not assume that in Idg. *pi-b-e-ti (Skr. pibati Lat. sidit O.Ir. sid) b is simply for p by dissimilation. It is quite possible that b came from the imperative *pi-b-dhi (for *pi-p-dhi), cp. § 539.

476. 2. Where a root begins in more than one consonant, only the first of them is reduplicated. This rule held in the prothetic language and holds in its branches too. Examples:

Skr. śu-śraṭa Gr. κλη-λένω O.Ir. ro chuala for *cu-clova from √kley- 'hear'. Skr. a-su-srōt from sru- 'flow'. Gr. κλη-κριμαι from κριμαι 'I sentence', διηθί 'be gracious' for *σι-σιλη-θί (I § 565 p. 423). O.Ir. ad-de-grannatar 'persecuti sunt', ro selach 'I struck down' i.e. se-slach (I § 576 pp. 431 f.). Goth. gai-grōt from gēta 'I cry', faiflōk from flōka 'I lament', saislōp saislēp from silēpa 'I sleep'.

Skr. sa-smāra from smar- 'remember', a-śi-sнат from śānath- 'pierce'. Gr. οἴμαται 'it is fated' for *σε-σιμάτω (I § 565 p. 422), πλ-πιγμαι from πίγμαι 'I choke', πομπᾶω 'I pant'. Mid.Ir. ro sennach 'stillavit' i.e. se-snaich (I § 576 p. 431).

Skr. di-dveṣa from dviṣ- 'hate', sa-svāna from svan- 'sound', partic. śā-śvasat- from svas- 'puff, pant, blow'; ta-tyajē from tyaj- 'forsake', sa-syandē from syand- 'move on'. Hom. deivmēn i.e. δε-δειμμεν from √dmej- 'frighten' (I § 166 p. 147). O.Ir. do-sefainn -sephainn from do-seinnim 'I hunt, drive' for *syenn- or *syenn- (I p. 175 p. 154, II § 613).


1) We are not at liberty to explain si-siæ-æ by saying that sa- = Idg. se- was the reduplicator in pr. Aryan (§ 881).
Avest. hi-štaiti O.Pers. a-i-štātā (I § 558 Rem. 1 p. 410),
Gr. ἰ-τημία ἰ-τημία, Lat. si-stō Umbr. se-stu 'sisto', O.Ir. do-
airissid sessam for *si-st—
(I § 109 e p. 109, § 516 p. 377),
from √stā- 'stand'. Avest. partic. hi-spoemna— from √spek-
'conspicere'. O.Ir. se-scaind 'he leapt'.

There are several variations from this type, of which the
chief here follow.

The first is the commonest of them all (it is found
in Sanskrit, Greek, Italic, Germanic), and perhaps began
in the proethic period. When a root began with s + an
Explosive, both were often taken on into the Reduplicator,
instead of simply the s. Thus Goth. stai-stald from staida
'I possess', skai-skāip from skāida 'I divide'. In Sanskrit,
Greek, and Italic dissimilation came in and destroyed the
likelihood of root and reduplicator; s was dropped either in
the reduplicator (so Sanskrit, Greek, Latin) or in the root
(Italic). Skr. ta-sthāā ti-ṣtha-ti from sthāā- 'stand', ca-skāanda,
2nd and 3rd sing. kāni-śkan, cani-śkada-t from skandā- 'leap',
pa-sparāhē from sparāhā- 'vie, strive for', pani-śpadā-s 'qui-
vering' from spandā- 'quiver'. This example of the principle of
dissimilation Greek and Latin show only in a few nouns: xo-σκυλ-
μάνια 'shreds of leather' qui-squillaē, xo-σκύλος 'leek' are examples
(Fritsche, Curt. Stud. vi 319 f.) With s dropt in the root-
syllable: Lat. ste-ti stī-ti Umbr. stiti-stetātios Lat. spo-pondt
sci-cidē. Compare Osthoff, Paul Braune's, Beitr. viii 540 ff.;
I do not think that his hypothesis is overthrown by Meringer

Remark 1. The reason why the present Lat. si-stō kept the old
method, while stētī stītī did not, was that this was the only reduplicated
present with a root beginning in s + explosive. Observe too that all its
perfect forms were once distinguished by the vowel e in the reduplicator
instead of ∗ (§ 471).

Secondly, when a verb stem beginning in two consonants
simplified these to one in its unreduplicated forms, the re-
duplicated forms were treated as though the verb began origi-
nally in one consonant (§ 475). Gr. Dor. πέ-παμαι I possess,
have authority over' instead of ∗ xe-παμαι i.e. ∗ke-κυα— (cp.
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Skr. -ṣi-ṣ̣v-ṣ̣, because in the present and other tenses *kya- became pā- (I § 166 p. 147, § 654. 4 pp. 500 f., 11 §: 117 pp. 370, 371). se-soθμαν for *te-soθρ- (ep. Skr. ta-
-tyā̃) following soθέω 'I scare away' ground-form *ṣoθiθσ (I § 459 p. 337). te-θηράκα Thess. πε-θηράκον[τες beside 
θηρ Thess. φιλό 'wild beast' for Idg. *θυρό- O.C.Sl. σνέρ̄ 
Lith. šéér̄-s (see Buck, Amer. Journ. Phil. xi 211 ff.), so 
that the reduplication would properly have been x̄-. Locr. 
partic. ἐτ-φαδηκότα following Ἁρδάνω (ἀρδάνω) 'I please' from 
χαδ- (ep. Skr. sa-svad̄). ϕε-ομιται (Pindar) following 
ετίπω 'I throw' for *ϕετίπω; and Att. ἐφομιται instead of the 
regular *(f)εφομιται (the Author, Gr. Gr. 2 p. 31). νε-νιχθαι 
from νηχω 'I swim' for *ὁναχθω (Skr. 3rd pl. sa-sa-nω-ur). Lat. me-
mor memoria formed from a perfect *me-mor, which probably 
aroše on the analogy of unreduplicated forms with mer- 
for smer- (ep. merda for *smerda etc., I § 570 p. 427), ep. Skr. sa-
smāra. O.Ir. perf. 3rd sing. rīv 'gave away, sold' from 
νερ- instead of *i-r for *pi-pr-e on the principles laid down in 
I § 339 p. 268, cp. § 878 below.

An exceptional type of reduplication is sometimes seen in 
Greek where verbs beginning in more than one consonant often 
have ζ- for their reduplication, instead of one consonant + ζ, 
even where the known phonetic laws did not demand that the 
consonant should drop. Examples are: ζ-βλάστηκα beside βε-
-βλάστηκα, ζ-γραμμαί (Cret. and elsewhere) beside γέ-γραμμαί, 
ζ-γνωκα, ζ-κτημα beside κέ-κτημα, ζ-συναι (νε-σιμ-). Pro-
bably ζ-φρογα (φηγ-) and ζ-φοιγα (φηίν-) are of this sort, 
since there is no trace of f having been used and dropped in 
these forms. See Curtius' Verb II 2 144 ff. Lastly we must 
mention ζ-οταλκα, ζ-σαρμαί, ζ-φούκα (orig. σα-σμ-) and the 
like, beside άφισταλκα άφισταλκα (inscr.), and ζ-στηκα ζ-σταμεν. 
The last perfect kept its spiritus asper because ζ-στηκ ζ-σταμεν had it.1)

1) In Boeotian or Laconian we must add to the perfect the aorist 
form ζτέμθα for *ζτάθα. Hesychius' gloss ζταθαι ζτέμαν should pro-
baedly be assigned to one or other of these dialects (ep. I § 566 p. 423).
Remark 2. It is an obvious suggestion that in ἰδιόχωμα etc. we have the augment in place of the reduplication; since in verbs with a vowel initial the augmentedpreterite and the perfect came to have the same beginning: e.g. ἱκάζων: ἱκανόν (ἱκανω-) ἱκανόν: ἱκανω- ἱκανω-. But if so we should expect similar forms in verbs which began with one consonant, and such forms as *ἰ-βρεῖν instead of βρεῖν (see § 475). 1)

We cannot suppose that the form ἵ-καγω stands for *ἰ-καγώ, and that it gave the type for ἰδιόχωμα etc., because the dialect of Gortyn a has ἵ-καγώ, and this dialect kept initial ἵ before an e-sound.

The Cretan perfects ἵ-κονικε ἵ-κοττος mentioned in § 472 Rem., page 17 above, with ἵ-, only give a fresh problem to solve.

THE AUGMENT. 2)

§ 477. The Augment (αὐτοφαῖ), as it is called, is a syllable, Idg. *e- = Skr. a- Armen. e- Gr. ἵ-, which prefixed to verbal forms serves to mark past time.

1) ἱδιόχων instead of ἰδιόχως in two late sepulchral inscriptions is probably not a mistake in the graving, but a misformation, due to contamination of the perfect ἱδιόχως or αὐτοφαῖ at a time when this kind of perfect had become unfamiliar. (Thumb, Mitteil. des deutsch. arch. Inst. in Athen, xvi 176).


It was originally an independent word, an adverb, followed by the verb, which then became enclitic; e.g. *é liget 'he left' (Armen. o-lič Gr. ε-λίπει), and it may be compared with the Irish particle re (= Gr. προ) which is used before verbs of the historic tenses. But in all the languages which have kept the Augment, it has become an inflexional prefix (cp. II § 4 page 6). A trace of its original adverbial character remains in the accentuation of Greek forms like παρε-ξεινον ('I offered'), which involves the same principle as that of παρε-ξεν-θέξε ('put in between') and of Skr. sam-ā-cinutē ('he heaps together, collects').

As to the origin of this adverb *e, and of *s, which, as we shall see later, was used in the same way in the parent language, only uncertain conjectures are possible.

Remark. Older explanations are cited by Curtius, Verb I* 109 ff. Sayce's new suggestions do not commend themselves to me (see page 24 footnote). It would be best to regard *e as a locative of the pron. stem o-, with temporal meaning (see III § 409 p. 329); compare *te (Lith. tė O.C.S.l. te) from *to- and the like (III § 424 p. 349). The relation of *e: *s has plenty of parallels, as *te: *tė, *ne: *nė (III p. 349 footnote, § 415 Rem. p. 337). Compare also Per Persson, Studia etymologica, p. 78.

If the verb had other prefixes besides the Augment, this stood immediately in front of the verb. But sometimes a verb compounded with a preposition became to all intents and purposes a simple form, and then the augment came right in front. Skr. a-ḍāya-t 'pressed' for *pi-ṣad- ('sit upon'), Gr. e-νίηζεν for νί(σ)ζε-, see § 795. Skr. epic a-sambhratā 'he trembled'. Gr. Att. ἐ-καθαρόν beside καθ-καινόν 'I slept'. When the structure of verbs was thus forgotten, there could even be a double augment: Skr. epic apraśīt beside prāśīt = pra-āśīt 'he drove out', Gr. ἵππε-έχαμμι 'I endured'. The same thing occurs in reduplicated forms; see § 850.


Kloppe, Dissert. de augmento Herodoteo, op. I. II., Schleitungen 1848. Sorèf, De augmento in trimetria tragico abiecto, praemissa de crasis, elisione, aphaeresi quaestione, Breslau 1851.

All that is left of the augment outside of these three groups are a few obscure Germanic forms: Goth. idđja 'he went' = Skr. ā-yat (I § 142 p. 127), A.S. 3rd pl. eōdun = Goth. idđėdun, cp. §§ 587, 592, 886 Rem. But these are not free from doubt, because we find in Sanskrit epics the unaugmented form iyā-t as well as a-gā-t (with iy- instead of y- like iy-ē, § 493). So idđja too may represent the unaugmented Idg. *iē-t.

In Greek, i- was often obscured by being contracted with the following vowel, after σ or τ which once began the root had dropped (cp. I § 165 p. 146, § 564 p. 421, § 603 pp. 455 f.); e.g. εἰσώμεν for *e-σανυμάν from ἔνομαi 'sequor', εἰςακ for *e-μομόν from ἔσω 'serpo', εἴδων 'I saw' for *e-(F)ίδων (Hom. ἐδῶν, Lesb. εὐδῶν), εἰςακόμη for *e-φαγάκομη (an inscr. of Hermione has ἐφαγάκασα) from ἐφαγάκομι 'I work'. On εἰςακ' 'I was accustomed', orig. *e-ασφακ', εἴλην 'I dragged', orig. *i-ασφαλν, compare I § 563. 7 p. 420, and the Author Gr. 2 § 13 p. 33. The aspirate of εἰςακμέν εἴλην εἰςακν, like that of ἐξακ ἔκα pl. ἐκεύν (for ε-σακ'- ε-σακ,' from θημ/ 'I send forth' for *so-σήμι) is doubtless due to the transference of the internal h (*e-κενομάν etc.) to the beginning; so it was in ἐπό-ς for *lhepό-ς (Skr. ᾖσα-β) and other words, see Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 421.

In Greek, again, the augmented preterites of verbs which have lost their initial consonant are often treated like those of verbs that never had any (§ 480). This is commonest in later times. An example is Att. ωὖχανα instead of *e-(F)ουχανα, from (F)οὐχίω 'I live, dwell', following such forms as ωὔχα (oicaidoi ῖ I swell'. Armen. aitnum 'I swell' O.H.G. eiz 'sore, abscess').
§ 479. In Vedic, some verbs beginning with ə, ỵ, or r have a- for their augment; as d-ṛṇak from ṛṇākti ‘turns round’ (see Delbrück, Ai. Verb., 79). a- is also found as augment with verbs beginning in ā, ī, ṭ; as dānat from undāti ‘wets’ (see § 481). That this a- was original, at least in some of these forms, is made probable by the use of ṛ- instead of ē- not infrequently before Greek verbs with initial ỵ. Examples: Hom. ṛṇldnī ‘he knew’ for *ṛṇ-ṛldnī;1) Att. ṭwọwv ‘I saw’ ālōv ‘I was captured’ for *ṛ-ḥoavgov *ṛ-ḥalōv (I § 611 p. 462); the aspirate in the last two is to be explained like that of ṛnọmv ṛnxn (§ 478). Words like ṛṇaćōmov (beside ṛṇaćōmov) are less certain. It is true this form may be derived from *ṛ-ṛgvo-; but so may it be an ad-formate of verbs which began with e- in the pre-Greek period (cp. ṣṣnxn § 478, above).

On the relation of ṛ- and ṛ- see § 477 with the Remark, page 25.


Another view, which I think not probable, is that certain verbs with initial Ṣ have a prothetic ṛ-, and that from these were made preterites with the temporal augment (ṛldnī being to ṛnlmvov; what ṛnǔavov is to ṛleǔdn vṛṛṃḍh-, cp. I § 626 pp. 470); afterwards, according to this view, other verbs with initial Ṣ but without prothetic ṛ- took ṛ- for augment.

On the other hand, I agree with those who refuse to see the Idg. augment *ṛ- in ṛṣuvlomv ‘I wished’, ṛ-dv قول ‘I could’, and ṛ-mellom ‘I intended, I was to’ do so and so. These forms occur in Attic from 300 B.C. onwards, and ṛ-mellom as early as Hesiod (Thesg. 478, 885, 895). It is a fair conjecture that these were modelled on ṛ-selov ‘I wished’, from selov. In this Verb ṛ- was no augment but a preposition, another ablaut-from of ə- in ṛ-fellō etc., and identical with Skr. d ‘to towards’. The ə- of ṛ-selov is a third ablaut-form of the same prefix, to be compared with ə in Avest. ə-sel- etc.; but the use of ṛ- with selov was confined to its preterite in prehistoric times, because ṛsλov : ṛsλov seemed to be related as were ṛsλov : ṛsλov. Cp. Osthoff, Perf. 129, 604; Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. n 169; above, vol. III § 246 p. 145.

1) Some scholars would write ṛḷd被人 in the Aeolic fashion, for which there is no authority at all. Attic ṛḷv cannot be contracted from ṛḷv- but only from ṛḷv-.
§ 480. In verbs with initial Sonant the augment has everywhere ceased to be a separate syllable. It was contracted with the root-initial in the original language (cp. I § 114 p. 107).

Examples. Pr. Idg. *ēṣmī for *ē ěṣmī or *ē ēṣmī, cp. pres. ęs-mi = Skr. ēṣmi etc.: Skr. ēṣam Avest. 3rd sing. ēs. O.Pers. aham i. e. aham, Gr. Hom. ăng Att. ăng 3rd sing. Dor. ęs; 1) cp. O.C.Sl. -jachū for *ēsom in imperfects like nesēchū (§§ 493, 510, 903). Pr. Idg.: *ēyin from *ēj-mi 'I go': Skr. ąyam 3rd sing. ālt Avest. 3rd sing. āṭh O.Pers. ayam i. e. āyam, Gr. ăng instead of *ăng for *ęłą (§ 502); compare Lith. ėjų 'I went' from the stem *ēj-a- (§ 586). Gr. ępojov from ėpēzəm 'I strive'. O.C.Sl. s-norist jastū = *ēt-so-m, ąed- 'eat'.

It is extremely probable that the same augment is seen in Lithuanian present forms of the substantive verb beginning with ē-, as pl. ēsane ēstate dual ēsavę ēsata beside ēsame etc. and ēsme (ēsme) etc. Like O.C.Sl. -(j)achū -(j)aše etc. (see above), these were originally imperfect. But after all the other preterites of present stems with thematic vowel had fallen into disuse, this imperfect of ēs- was quite isolated; step by step it gave way to āvauδ, while at the same time the forms which ended like those of the present system came to be used as equivalent to them; and later the participle ēsas was formed and used side by side with ēsas, and in some dialects ēsū ēsi beside ēsū ēsi. Perhaps Lat. ēs 'thou art' (also ēs) is also an augmented form, and represents Idg. *ēs-s. 2)

Remark. Osthoff (Perf., 184 ff.) assumes that Lat. ēs ēst ētis from ēdū, and Lith. ēdmi ēdų etc. O.C.Sl. ēdů (ēmū) are forms of the augmented imperfect used as present. I think that their ē- may very well have this origin. But another supposition is quite as good, nay

1) We are certainly tempted to follow Bopp, Lagarde, and Bugge, and add Arm. ēi 'eram' 3rd sing. ēr; 1) Idg. ē seems always to become Arm. ēi. Compare Hübschmann, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxiii 12.

2) So too the augment has crept into the present and future in Modern Greek, as oēs ἐδέλῆμα, șů oōs ēδῶνω (Hatzidakis, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 375); and so the augment of Armén. e-kn 'he came' and e-d 'he placed' has found its way into allied forms, as fut, ekiç and edir (Hübschmann, Arm. Stud. ii 28; Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxiii 38).
better. — that they represent the ablaut-grade Idg. *ōir-. Then *ōdmi: *edmi (Skr. admi) as Skr. imper. mid. sāk-ṣva : sāk-ṣen (√sṛgh-), and as Skr. sākhati : sākhatē (Gr. ἔχειν), dhāvati : dhāvētē (Gr. φαίνει), Gr. μετομένος : μετότης, Lith. ῥωζ: Gr. γράφων, and so forth (§ 471 p. 16); and, if so, the *ō of *ōdmi must be identified with that of the α-aorist Lat. essem O.C.Sl. jsū (ēsī), and probably with that of the perfect forms Lat. ēdi, Lith. ēdės O.C.Sl. jāsū (ēsī); see loc. cit. above. One view only I must distinctly oppose; the view of those who regard this root as not belonging to the recognised e-series, but to an ā-series, and who regard Skr. admi as not original, while the *ōdmi of Latin and Balto-Slavonic is. Compare § 494.

How came this ā-grade (mēd- etc.) to exist in e-roots? It is impossible to say. It is found, in the prothetic stage and later, not only in the present and aorist, but in the perfect too (§ 848. 3), and also in nouns (e. g. Gr. μύδος μύρων Armen. mīl); and we have no right to limit this ā to any single tense. It is certainly remarkable that the perfect forms with ā never had the reduplication (Skr. sāh-rās- etc.). But there are other original unreduplicated perfects, as for example *goiđe 'knows') see loc. cit.).

What was originally the quality of the resultant vowel, when an augment was contracted with the initial ā- or o- of a root, it is hard to say. The Aryan languages of course always have ā-, whether the root began in e, o, or a; as Skr. ājat from ājati 'he drives' Gr. ἀγεῖ, ἀπασyat from ἀπασyati 'is active' Lat. operātur. In Armenian, verbs beginning with a- have apparently no augment in the preterite, as ac 'he led', ar 'he took' auc 'he anointed' anç 'παροιλέτες'; we also find a re-formation with augment ē-anc (with later ē instead of ā). Greek forms like ἀγων Ion. ἀγών (from ἄγω 'I lead'), ὅτος (from ὅτω 'I smell'), ὀδύσα (from ὀδύω 'I swell') are suspicious, because their long vowel might come from analogy, once such forms as *esti (ēstī) : *ēst (ēs) had produced a belief that the lengthening of an initial vowel marked the past tense. Beyond all doubt this is the cause of the long vowel in such words as ἵκερναια (from ἱκενεῖω ἵκερναι 'I beseech') and ἔμεναιον (ἔμεναιω 'I sing the bridal song'); compare what is said is § 643 on ὅρ-νύ-μι : ὅρ-νυ-μερ.

§ 481. In the plural and dual of the pret. of *es-mi 'I am' and *ei-mi 'I go', if Idg. *ē- is allowed to be their augment, we should expect forms like Skr. *ā-sma *ā-san, Gr. *εἷμεν Lesb. *εἷμεν and Skr. *έμα *ά-yan, Gr. *εἰμι,
The Augment. §§ 481, 482.

cp. pres. 1st pl. Skr. s-más, i-más and the unaugmented imperf. Skr. Ved. s-an Avest. h-en and Avest. i-tā Gr. έτωρ. One such form is Avest. āhīna Gathic āhīna = pr. Ar. *a-sma. Otherwise we find only āsma āsan āhīna āyan, Avest. 3rd dual āitem, O.Pers. 3rd pl. aha āya i. e. doubtless aha āya, Gr. ἐπερ ἔσετε, O.C.Sl. 2nd pl. -ŷas-te. If we suppose that the augment here was ē (cp. § 477 and Rem. p. 25, § 479 pp. 26 f.), the sing. and dual-pl. agree in their initial syllable right back as far as the parent speech. However, it is possible, and probably better, to assume that the long vowel came from the singular, the initial of āsma īa as compared with āsni eître being classed in the popular imagination with that of the preterites ďānām ďānam īpōv etc., which had a long initial vowel in all persons.

Remark 1. ē in ēpē ēšte must be a re-formation (cp. I § 611 p. 461). But there is no need to bring in the influence of the sing. īa, since *e + ē-ent may conceivably have been the 3rd plural (cp. § 1020. 1. a).

Remark 2. Osthoff's view (Perf., 151 f.) that Skr. āṣa Gr. ἔσετε came from *e ēstē, and that ēstē was the weak-grade form of ē/ēstē with secondary or bye-accent, is no longer tenable. See Bartholomea, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 105.

In Sanskrit, verbs beginning with ā-, ē-, or ō- have āu-, āi-, and ār- in their augmented preterite. āunāt from unātī 'wets' (ud-). āuhat from ṛhati 'removes, pushes'. āṛchat from ṛchāti wishes'. āśata from ṛtātē 'owns'. āṛchāt from ṛchātī 'reaches, gets'. The augment here was probably ē; see § 479 above, on ē-ṛṇāk etc. Other attempts to explain these are given by Schleicher Comp.4 p. 738 (cp. J. Schmidt, Vocalismus, I 44) and Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 74 f.

§ 482. In Herodotus are a series of apparently unaugmented forms, of which aīters (aītēow 'I ask'), ēkētō (ēkōma 'I pray'), aīkētō (aīkō 'I increase') are examples. These may be quite regular, and come from older forms with initial āī-, ēī-, āī-, as laid down in vol. I § 611 p. 461.

The vowels in the first syllable of such forms as Att. ēʔoun (aītēow), ēʔéamn (ēkōma), ēʔēoun (aīkō), and ēʔētēoun (aṁtāow 'I meet'), ēʔēoun (āρχoow 'I lead'), ēʔōnnoun (ōρνūμo όρνύo
\[ \text{§ 488. The Augment.} \]

'I arouse, set a-going') is due to the analogy of \( \eta \gamma o\nu : \delta \gamma o\), \( \eta \rho o\zeta o\nu : \iota \rho o\zeta o\nu \) etc. \( \eta \mu e\nu \eta \tau e\) are discussed in § 481 with the Remark, just above.

\[ \text{§ 483. The Augment Omitted.} \]  
In the parent language the augment could be dispensed with. The forms with which it was used were not confined to the expression of any particular tense or time, and they could be used for the past without any augment. This was easy enough if past time were unmistakeably indicated by the context, or by some other expression in the sentence, such as Skr. \textit{purd} Gr. \textit{πάρος}. Compare § 909.

The use of both augmented and unaugmented forms (as \*\( \delta \beta e\rho o\) \kappa o\) in the sense of 'I carried') continued in the separate languages, and survivals of it occur right down into the historic period. The facts are as follows.

In Sanskrit of the Vedic period both modes of expression are used together; in the Rig-Veda they are about equally balanced. But even in Vedic we can see a growing preference for forms with the augment. In the Brahmanas and in Epic poetry the augment is rarely omitted. And in later or classical Sanskrit, which was ruled by the native grammarians, augmented forms alone are used. In Avestic the double usage is also found, though the augment occurs rarely in comparison with the number of times it is omitted. But Old Persian seems to know no preterites save those which have an augment (a few forms in this language are doubtful).

In Armenian the augment was kept only before monosyllabic verbal forms which kept their root vowel, or before those which without it would not have been a complete syllable. Thus the 3rd sing. aor. \( e \cdot \lambda i\kappa \) Gr. \( \varepsilon \lambda i\kappa e \) has it, but 1st sing. \( l\kappa i \) has it not.\(^1\) It is found in other persons besides the 3rd sing. with the aorists of the roots \( d\beta e \) - 'place', \( d\varphi \) - 'give', and \( g e m \) - 'come'; thus 1st sing. \( e \cdot d\iota \ e \cdot t\mu \ e \cdot k\iota \) 3rd.

\[ \]  
\(^1\) It is a fair assumption that, in the 1st sing., \*\( \lambda i\kappa i \) beside \*\( l\kappa i \) dropped out of use before \*\( l\kappa i \) became monosyllabic.
sing. e-d e-t e-ku. That the augment was kept or dropt according to the number of syllables in the word is clear from 1st pl. tuak beside sing. 1st pers. e-tu 2nd e-tur 3rd e-t pl. 2nd e-tuk 3rd e-tun, and by comparison with 1st pl. e-dak e-kak (beside e-di e-ki). The augment of edi and eki passed into other parts of the verb, for which see page 28, footnote 2.

In the Greek of Homer and the later epic poets, the use of the augment is artificial. In the later epic, it is less and less omitted as the language approaches more nearly to ordinary prose. In prose, augmented forms predominated from the very first. The only exceptions are the pluperfect, which shows the old variation, e.g. ἐπένδυεν ἐπένδυειν, with ἐ-ἐπένδυεν ἐ-ἐπένδυεσθαι, and the iterative preterite in ἀ-σχον in Herodotus, as ἀφεύσαον, which never has the augment. Perhaps the reason for these exceptions was that the forms of the 2nd plural and dual pluperfect (§ 836) and ἀφεύσαον ἀφεύσακτον could have only one meaning, while τρέψετε τρέπασθαι, τράπετε τράπασθαι, τρέφετε τρέψασθαι could be either indicative or imperative. This made the augment useful to make the sense clear. In Sanskrit and Old-Persian there was the same ambiguity (e.g. Skr. bhārata = abhārata, and also imperative); and there too a desire for clearness may have caused the augmented forms to become by degrees the only mode of expressing past action.

In all other branches of our group unelevated forms gained the day. The scanty and obscure remnants of the augmented class have already been given. Examples of unelevated forms are:

Latin. -dam in planta-bam for *s-ā-m 'I was' (§ 583).

Dixit: Gr. δεῦτε ἐ-δεῦτε (§§ 823, 867. 3). scidit: Skr. chidā-t ā-chidā-t (§§ 523, 528, 867. 5).

Old-Irish. s-aorist ro-char 'he loved' for *-caras-t (§ 840).

Old High German. teta O.Sax. deda 'I did', if it is an imperfect like Greek τεῦν ἤ-τεῦν (§§ 545. 886), and O.H.G. O.Sax. wissan 'they knew', if it be for *wis-t-nst (§ 837). Compare Kluge in Paul's Grundr. i 375.
§ 484. Formation of the Tense Stem.

Lithuanian. buvo 'he was' for *bhuyā-t: cp. Lat. -bat; mėne 'he thought, devised' for *mynē-t: cp. Gr. μνήμη ἡ-μνή (§ 587). Old Church Slavonic. bě 'he was' for *bhuyē-t: cp. Gr. φύη ἡ-φύη (§ 587); aor. věsů I carried, věsi': Skr. vāha-m á-vaha-m (§ 514); s-aorist dēchū 'I laid': Skr. dhāsām á-dhāsām (§ 812).

FORMATION OF THE TENSE STEM.1)

GENERAL REMARKS.

§ 484. In classifying forms of a verbal system the grammars regard meaning rather than form. The result is that forms which are closely connected in structure and in derivation have often to be kept apart, and at the same time

1) Many works on the Present Stem (Imperfect-Present and Aorist-Present) include a more or less general discussion of tense formation, and it is not always easy to choose where to name them. For this reason, works on the Present Stem will here be included along with those on Tense-Formation in general. For works on the sJu-Future, see § 747; for the s-Aorist § 810; for the Perfect, § 843 (the Germanic weak preterite § 907).

others which are in structure and derivation quite distinct must be brought together. Questions of use belong to Syntax. Here we have to examine the structure of the Indo-Germanic verb, and to identify what is morphologically the


same; and we must not be led into classifying forms according to their uses, or describing them by the terms which belong to syntax, except where this is possible without neglect of the forms as such, and without interfering with the terminology and general arrangement of the subject in this book.

§ 485. The first point to realise is that there never was any real difference between the Present stem and the Strong Aorist. There is no difference, for example, between the imperfect Skr. á-bhā-t Gr. ἔ-ρη (v-bhā- 'to


show, disclose, inform') and the aorist Skr. ā-sthā-t Gr. α-στα (ν' sta- 'stand'); between the imperfect Skr. ā-druha-t (ν' dreygh- 'deceive') Gr. ἀ-γλυφεῖ (ν' gleubh- 'split, incise') and the aorist Skr. budhā-nta Gr. ά-πιθε-το (ν' bheubh- 'wake,


notice, learn'). Often the same form is imperfect in one language and aorist in another; the forms *ē-ǵene-t (กำหนด 'gignere') and *ē-dēk-e-t (กำหนด 'deēk- 'bite') are imperfect in Sanskrit (ājanat ādaśat), and aorist in Greek (ἰγνέεκτο ἐκκοτ). Or the same form is both, in one and the same language; Skr. ā-pā-t 'drank' is imperfect of the pres. pā-ti, and aorist of the pres. pā-ba-ti. What the meaning of a given form was, whether imperfect or aorist, depended on its relation to others. See Delbrück, Ai. Verb. p. 16, Ai. Tempuslehre p. 5. For our purpose, then, the stems of the present and the strong aorist go together; and where it is advisable to refer to the difference in the kind of action implied, we shall use the terms imperfect-present and aorist-present.

Some of the forms which in grammars of this or that language are called Future Indicative were originally Conjunctive; for example, Lat. erī-s aģē-s. These will be found under Conjunctive (§§ 910 ff.). In form they belong to the Present. In the same place will be found the Idg. series of forms built-up with the suffix -sio-, as Skr. dā-syāmi Lith. dā-siu 'dabo'. The -sio- stands on the same level as -sosko- and other formative suffixes used in the present tense; it is probably made-up of -s(o)- + -io-, as -nio- is of -n(o)- + -io- (§ 743). Thus these futures are treated under the Present Tense.

With the Present also should, strictly speaking, be classed the s-Aorist. Its characteristic s cannot be separated from the s which is so common in present and regular in future stems; and its whole inflexion follows the same principle as the present. The s-aorist would properly go with Class XIX of Present Stems (cp. §§ 655, 656). A separate chapter is given all the same to this

Aorist (§§ 810 ff.), but merely to assist in getting a general view of this large group of forms.

As to the proethnic Perfect, as *dedorke = Skr. dadárśa Gr. δεόμαι (v' derk-'see'), it is distinguished from present forms by its grade of ablaут in the singular indicative active, by some special personal endings in the indicative, and (if we include the verb infinite) by a peculiar formation in the participle active. The remaining forms of the perfect system, with which we must include the pluperfect, have exact counterparts in the system of the present, and nothing but its use can tell us whether a given one of those forms is perfect, present, or aorist; even the reduplication with e is not confined to the perfect (§ 471 pp. 15 f.). Often the kind of action denoted is so little obvious, that grammarians doubt whether to class certain forms under Perfect or Present Stem (cp. Delbrück, Altind. Verb. 122 f., Whitney's Sanskrit Gram. § 868, Curtius Verb II 2 24 f.). It is clear that, notwithstanding these points of contact between the two classes, a special chapter must be given to the perfect, on account of the peculiarities which it has.

We therefore divide Verb-Forms, from the point-of-view of the Formation of these Tenses, into three groups:

I. Present (including Imperfect- and Aorist-Present).

II. s-Aorist.

III. Perfect.

§ 486. Before we proceed to our subject in detail, two distinctions must be explained which are usually made, and to which some attention must be given in discussing Tense Morphology. These are (1) the distinction between Primitive or Primary verbs, and Derivative or Secondary verbs (Denominative or Deverbative): (2) that between Root-Determinatives, and Tense-Suffixes, or the elements used in forming a tense stem.

§ 487. First — Primitive and Derivative Verbs: Primitives, such as *es-ti 'est' and *aže-ti 'agit', are contrasted with two classes of derived verbs: (1) a class which in the formation of
the stem is wholly verbal, as much as are the primitives; as Sanskrit Desideratives and Intensives (*ni-nil-ša-ti nē-nē-yā-tī from nāya-tī 'leads'), and Inchoatives in Latin (gemēscō from gemō): (2) those which clearly contain a Noun Stem, called Denominatives; as Skr. gātu-yā-ti 'procures access' from gātū-ś 'access', Gr. ποιμανόω 'I tend' from ποιμήν 'herdsman', Lat. planta-t from planta.

(1) The formation of Desideratives, Inchoatives, Intensives, Iteratives, Frequentatives, Causatives and the rest is in principle absolutely the same as that of the so-called Primitive verbs connected with them. There is a distinction, however, in the meaning of the present tense; in these verbs the present had a second special meaning in addition to that of time. This distinguished them from the primitives, which had a simpler meaning in the present, and the formation with some special meaning became a more or less fertile type. But they were not originally derived from their primitives for the express purpose of conveying this new meaning; the new meaning, indeed, does not always date from the proethnic stage at all, but belongs to a later period, and it often has nothing to do with the form, but depends on other circumstances. This is the case with Lat. inchoatives in -scō (§ 674). Thus it is clear that we cannot use this different meaning as a principle of classification; our aim is historical, and we base our classification on the conditions which prevailed in the proethnic stage, and as far as possible on etymology. We must then be content to point out the special meaning where it is of any importance, and, wherever it is possible, to explain how the meaning came in.

(2) It is less easy to classify the second group of forms, and to find out how far indicative stems, which we see combined with personal endings into a word, are purely verbal, and how far they are wholly or partly nominal. If we could only see which were based on noun stems and which derived from verbs, this would of course be the main principle of distinction. There is no manner of doubt that the Idg. languages had
not only denominative verbs with an additional suffix between stem and personal ending — such as Skr. gātuyā-ti apas-yā-ti ('is active', from āpas- 'work') Lith. pāsako-ju ('I recount' from pāsaka 'account'), which have -iō between stem and ending — but also others where the personal suffix was added immediately to the noun stem. Such forms are Lat. plantā-s planta-t etc. from planta, O.H.G. salbō-s 'thou anointest' salbō-t etc. from salba 'ointments', Lith. jūsto 'he girds' jū-sto-me from jūsta 'girdle', Aeol. tiμā-μω 'we honour' from tiμά- 'honour'. Also Skr. mārga-ti 'tracks, traces' from mārga-s 'path, track', phala-ti 'bears fruit' from phāla-m 'fruit', Gr. ἑρμο-εί 'grew warm' from ἑρμο-ς, ἕρμωμε 'was useful' beside ἕρμωμω, Skr. jñā-ti Lat. vī-vā-ti O.C.Sl. žive-ti 'lives' from ji-vā-s vi-vā-s ži-vū 'alive'.

With very good reason, all forms with a thematic vowel, and therefore all presents formed by -o- -no- -to- -iō- etc., have been explained as noun-stems with added personal endings (so, for example, Curtius Verb I 14 f., 161, 239, 296): as specimens take Skr. dā-ta-ti 'drives' Gr. ἀγε Lat. agi-t with Skr. ajā-s 'driver' Gr. ἀγό-ς Lat. prōd-igu-s; Skr. paṇa-tē 'buys' with paṇa-s 'wager, stipulation' Lith. pelna-s 'profit' (I § 259 p. 212), Skr. vēna-ti 'yearns' with vēnā-s 'yearning', Goth. fraithni-p 'asks' with Skr. praśnā-s 'question'; containing -uno- -eno- -ono- (Class XIV): compare Skr. kṛpnā-te 'he acts pitifully, begs' with kṛpanā-s 'pitiful, poor', Gr. ἤγανε 'sharpens' with ἤγανο-ρ 'something to sharpen with, whetstone', Goth. us-lākni-p 'opens itself' with us-lākn-s 'open', Lith. kūpinu I heap up with kūpina-s 'heaped'; Skr. veṣṭa-tē 'turns round' with veṣṭa-s 'bond, noose', Gr. ἐ-βλαστε 'grew, sprouted' with βλαστό-ς 'bud, sprout'; Skr. pūya-ti 'stinks' with pūya-m 'ill smelling discharge, matter'. Even some non-thematic and primitive stems have the same kind of relation to noun-stems. For example take Skr. dhṛṣṇu-mās 'we are brave' and dhṛṣṇu-ś 'brave'. The root-extending suffix -ā-, in *bhuy-ā- *bhū-ā- (Lith. būvo Lat. -bat), *tr-ā- (Skr. trā-sva imper. 'preserve; save', Lat. in-trā-mus trā-ns) it seems necessary to identify with the feminine suffix ā-, compare Skr. ji-jyāū 'he has overcome' (fut. jyā-
Formation of the Tense Stem. § 487.

-ṣya-ṭi etc.) Gr. lóγ-ται (aor. ἴσ-σαι etc.) with fem.
Skr. jya- jiyā- 'power, superiority' Gr. βιά from √γεί- (Skr.
jyā-ṭi jīnā-ṭi and others). So also -es-, which extends the root
in *y-es- 'clothe' (Skr. vās-tē Gr. ἐνέστηκα and other words)
must be the same as the neuter suffix -es-, and the tense-
formative -as- in Skr: ā-jāriṣ-ur 'they have grown old' the
same as -as- the neuter suffix (Gr. γήρας). Many other proofs
will meet us in the course of our enquiry.

It need hardly be said that these denominatives or noun-
verbs did not all appear at the same time. The different
types of formation belong to very different periods; and in the
earliest strata, e. g. in verbs of Class II such as Skr. āja-ti
Lat. agi-t, their noun origin was forgotten even in the procth-
nic language.

But of what verbs, then, can we be certain that when their
stem was fused with a personal pronoun it was a verb and not
a noun? Of none at all. Even where the stem is the bare
root, reduplicated or not, as in *es-ti es-ti, *sta-t stā,
*bhihāj-ā Skr. bībhā-ti, the stem may be regarded as a nome: actionis
or agentis (cp. the Root Nouns, II §§ 159 ff., pp. 478 ff.).

In the formation of those verbs which are traditionally
called Denominative there is nothing to distinguish them from
what are classed as primary verbs. Lat. planta-s is just like
intra-s hiā-s, Aeol. ἵππα-μεν like ἐφρα-μεν ἵλη-μεν, Lith.
įstado like ἵστο ἄναο. Even the present formation with -io-
is nothing peculiar to the denominative class. We see in Skr.
apas-yā-ṭi pytana-yā-ṭi Gr. ἔφυλλῳ etc. the same present
secondary suffix -io- as we see in reduplicated forms such as
Skr. dēdīṣ-yā-tē Gr. γαλατῆ (Class XXVII), in forms such as
Skr. gṛbha-yā-ṭi, pass. tra-yā-tē, Gr. ἔφω for ἐφρα-μοι, ἱσμοι for
*iso-ko- (Class XXVII), and in futures such as Skr. tā-s-yā-tē
vediṣ-yā-ṭi (Class XXX). Lat. plantō (for *planta-jo) Skr.
pytana-ya-ṭi are related to Lat. planta-s Lith. įstado just as
Lat. intrō (for *intra-jo) Skr. tra-yā-tē to Lat. in-tra-s Skr.
tra-ṭi tra-sva, as Skr. dēdīṣ-yā-tē to dēdīṣ-tē, and as Skr. fut.
vediṣ-yā-ṭi to aor. a-vediṣ-ma.
That the term Denominative Verbs cannot be restricted to one special mode of inflexion is clear from many other instances where verbs have been derived from nouns by simply imitating the inflexion of any Primary Verb. Primary verbs in -ētā (Causatives, and Intensives or Iteratives) were the model for Skr. mantrāya-ṭē 'he takes counsel, advises' from māntrā-s, and Goth. fulljan O.C.Sl. plūnī-ti 'to fill' from full-s plūnū. In Gothic, primary verbs like af-lifnan were the model for fullnan 'to become full' from full-s; in Lithuanian, kūpin-ti etc. were the model for such derivatives as linksmēn-ti 'to make cheerful' from linksma-s, and virstū virstī etc. for gelstū gelstī 'to become yellow' from geltsa-s. These and similar re-formations will be discussed in § 793. They were due to the fact that there were nouns from the same root as some of the primary verbs, and from these they were believed to be derived. Then real denominatives were formed and used along with these apparent ones.

Thus in our classification of verbs, which depends first and foremost upon differences of inflexion, no use can be made of the traditional distinction between Primary and Denominative.

Even if the term Denominative were to be restricted to its common application it would be misleading. The feeling of a speaker for his language can give no help here. Often it cannot be made out whether the speaker regarded a given form as Denominative or not; his feeling often changed according to suggested associations; and if feeling of this sort were made the standard, we should often enough be led to class with Denominatives verbs which were only so by false analogy, and to class as Primary some which were undoubtedly derived from a noun. If again we took as our standard not the feeling of the speaker, but the actual formation of the words, we should be no nearer to getting a settled boundary line. It is easy to say, let those verbs be called denominative which contain noun formative suffixes, thus showing their noun origin, words that is like Gr. τιμάω from τιμ-ν, πομαίνω from πομ-ν, or Goth. fullnan from full-s (ground-form *pλ-νo-s). But not
to mention that this criterion excludes verbs derived from root nouns, little is gained by this mode of classification; for the task of historical grammar is not so much to analyse the forms and to describe their etymological structure, as to discover their origin and growth. In numberless instances doubts arise as to the correctness of our terminology. The commonest example is that of two classes of verbs running together, a primary and a denominative; e. g. in Greek, verbs in -σιο and verbs in -εισιο both become -σω; in Germanic, verbs in -iō -εισιο and those in -εισιο -i-ισιο both became (Goth.) -ja; in Lithuanian, verbs in -εισι and verbs in -α-μι (−α-ισιο) both became -au (inf. -y-ti). Here the question whether a given verb is primary or denominative is absurd, because it may quite well have been both. For instance, Lith. bradaǔ bradysti 'to wade about' may be derived both from bradā subst. 'wading' on the analogy of jāstau jāstyti 'to gird', a denominative from jās-ta 'girdle', and from bretū 'I wade' on the analogy of -manaǔ -manysti, the old "primary" σιο -byeform of menu 'I remember'; and Greek τασω may come from τασο-ς on the analogy of νοσω : νόσ-ρο-ς, and from τασω on the analogy of τασω (= Skr. bhārāya-ti): ṣeṣaw.

But however faulty our grammatical terminology may be, we cannot afford to dispense with it altogether in a book like this. I shall keep the term Denominative for verbs derived from nouns in the later periods, when the verb stem was still more or less felt to be originally a noun; for instance, Skr. gati-yā-ti, Gr. τιμάω, and Lat. planta-t.

§ 488. Turn we now to the distinction drawn between Root-Determinatives and Suffixes or other elements used in forming the Tense Stem.

What is usually understood, or may be understood, by the term Root-determinative has been set forth in II § 8 Rem. 2 pp. 20 f. A reference should be added to Curtius, Greek Etymology 2 pp 59 ff., and Fick, Wörterb. IV 3 44 ff. 1

1) Another work, systematic, and valuable in spite of much bold conjecture, is Per Petson's Studier zur Lehre von der Wurzelerweiterung.
These elements may appear in any part of the verb. For instance, from Idg. *rē-dh- 'take counsel' come Skr. á-rādha-t rādhni-tī rādhyā-ti, rārdh-a, á-rāsī-t, rāddhā-s rāddhvā etc.; from Idg. *sr-eu- sr-u- 'flow' come Skr. srāva-ti, sraviṣṭī-ti, suśrāv-a, suṣṭā-s etc. But they are sometimes found only in present or aorist forms, and disappear in the rest; as Lat. per-cellō for *-cel-dō beside perf. -cūlī, Lith. oš-rō 'I boil' beside pret. viriati inf. viš-ti, O.C.Sl. ši-sq 'I live' beside aor. ši-chū inf. ši-ti. 1) Again, present formative-suffixes, to use the stock phrase, spread beyond their own proper area both in the original language and later. These two reasons make it impossible always to keep Root-Determinatives distinct from Present Formative-Suffixes; the origin of both, by the way, is equally obscure. The tense which we call Present was almost always the foundation for the whole structure of the Verb and its associated noun-forms; and the spread of root-determinatives over all the verbal system is due to the same principle which from Skr. pi-nea-ti 'fattens' makes the perfect pininea and the participle pinivi-tī-s, and makes Skr. á-yuuk-ś-mahi Lat. jānx-ī Lith. jûnk-siu from yuuktē jungō jûngiu (v'jeug- 'iungere').

There is something else which shows the impossibility of carrying out the usual distinction between Determinatives and ordinary Inflexions. In discussing the inflexion of the present in primary classes of verbs, it is too common to find the first syllable of a form taken for the unflexed kernel of it. Because in *bhereti 'fert', the syllable bher- is this kernel, that is, the root, therefore in *treseti (Skr. trāsati Gr. ῥητη.VideoCapture[1]) the syllable tres- is called the root; then, because there is not the same syllable in Skr. tar-alē-s 'moving to and fro,

und Wurzelvariation, Upsala 1891. This has reached me too late for anything more than occasional use. With his treatment of the main questions of principle as set forth on pages 202 and following, I agree.

1) In Lat. vi-rō too the ye-suffix was once confined to the present. viēr victum are re-formates, for *viērī *viē-tum. See Osthoff, Paul-Braune's \_Beitr. \_VI 274; Stolz, Lat. Gr. ² n. 383.
trembling: Gr. τρέμω Lat. tr-ēmō Lith. tr-imū ‘I tremble’, -ēs- is called a "determinative", whilst in Skr. rās-tē "clothes himself" Gr. ἐνισταῖ (V-ey-), in Lith. au-nū Lat. ex-ūd) -ēs- is not so called because these verbs are looked upon as parallel to forms like *es-ti. But inasmuch as *tres- and *yēs- run right through the whole system of their verbs, they have become "roots". And there is no more reason for separating Skr. 1st sing. tr-ūsē v-ūsē from 1st sing. yaj-asē yēj-asē than for separating (say) *bhu-ō (Lat. -ō O.C.Sl. 3rd pl. baq) Skr. ā-hv-a-t (Gr. ē-πλ-ς from *bher-ō (Gr. phēr-ω) Skr. ā-vīd-a-t. We always hear of an "s-suffix" in such words as Skr. yaj-asē; but why? Simply because the ending -asē is not the first syllable of the word. The ē of *pl-ē- 'fill' (Skr. prā-si Gr. πλῆ-το Lat. -plē-s) is called part of the Root; but it is the same ē which we have in *mēn-ō-(Gr. μιάν- Lith. mīn-ē), *tak-ē- (Lat. tac-ē-s) (H.G. dag-ō-s), where it is called Inflexion. And the "determinative" -dh- is called inflexional in Gr. ἀκόλυθον νεμέθαμα πνεύμω, but not in ē-θρα-θονv ē-θρα-θονv, or αχ-θο-μου. The question whether a verbal element, which can be analysed no further, is or is not a separate syllable has, it is true, some importance; for it influenced the grouping of the forms in the speaker's memory, and this affected the development of the language in many ways: e.g. the root in Lith. v-ējū O.C.Sl. v-ījq 'I wind, turn' (= Skr. v-āya-ti 'weaves'), since it formed in itself no syllable, did not follow the course taken by the other verbs in -ējō (Class XXXII) in Balto-Slavonic. But this cannot justify the making a distinction, as is so often done, between things which are clearly connected. Dealing as we do with the parent language, and from this point investigating the growth of the Verbal System, we must discuss together Skr. v-ūsē and yaj-asē, Greek πλῆ-το ἐ-βλ-η and ἐ-μάν-η ἐ-βάλ-η.

If, as it seems right to do, a special Present Class is given to *ēs-ti 'is' (Skr. ās-ti, V-es-), another to *yēm-ti 'vomits' (Skr. vāmi-ti, V-ēm-), and a third to *bheś-ti 'chews up, devours' (Skr. pēd-ti, V-bhā-s- seen in bā-bhas-ti), it is only consistent to distinguish each of the following as another class of Present
Stems: -i<sup>2</sup>u<sup>u</sup> u- : ey-class for Skr. sr-ava-ti Gr. φ-ε(φ)ε 'flows' Skr. á-su-srō-t from √ser- seen in Skr. si-sar-ti, for Skr. dr-āva-ti 'runs' á-du-dr-ava-t from √der-, seen in Skr. dr-ā-ti dr-ama-ti 'runs', and others; an m-class for Skr. dr-ama-ti Gr. ε-δυ-μο-ν from the above mentioned der-, for Gr. τρ-εμο Lat. tr-emù Lith. tr-imė 'I tremble' from √ter-, seen in Skr. tar-alā-s 'moving to and fro, trembling' tr-āsa-ti 'trembles', and others; a y-class (probably connected closely with the u- : ey-class) for Skr. jī-va-ti Lat. vi-vi-t O.C.Sl. ši-ve-ti 'lives' from √go-, seen in Avest. gay-a 'life' jy-a-ti- 'life' Gr. ζύ (for *gī-ε-), O.C.Sl. ši-ti 'to live', for Avest. ni-saurvaiti 'defends' Skr. dhārva-ti 'harms' bhārvatī 'chews, destroys' etc. In the same way we come to a p-class, a bh-class, a k-class, and so forth. But this principle will not be consistently carried out, for two reasons. First, in these and many similar classes which might be made, only a few examples occur; and thus, for our period, such formative elements as these can hardly be said to have any real productive power. Secondly, any attempt to make such a classification complete would lead us into labyrinth of root-analysis which would properly be without the scope of a compendium like the present. Roots with this kind of Determinatives, then, which we do not place in any separate class, we shall generally assume to be incapable of further analysis; and thus we place (say) Gr. τρ-εμο in the same division as vi-μo and γέμo.

§ 489. The formation of the Moods, the stems of the Injunctive, Conjunctive, Optative, and Imperative, will follow that of the Tense Stem (§§ 909 ff.). It must however, be here pointed out that the elements which are generally regarded as mood-formative are sometimes etymologically the same as in the indicative. Injunctive and Indicative forms, of course, cannot be separated. And it is beyond all doubt that the short Conjunctive vowel (Gr. -e- -o-), as in *es-e-ti Skr. ásati Lat. erit (indic. *es-ti 'est'), Hom. ἀ-λε-τα (indic. ἀλ-το 'sprang'), is the same as what is called the thematic vowel in the Indicative (as *aṅ-e-ti Skr. ájati Lat. aytī).
Further, I hold that the conjunctive vowel -ā- in Lat. fera-s etc. is the same as -ā- found after weak root-forms in the indicative (Classes X and XI), and also the same as the ā which forms feminine nouns (§ 487 pp. 41 f.); thus Lat. fu-ā-mus belongs to the same class of words as the Indic. Lat. -bā-mus (for *fy-ā-mos) and Lith. būv-o-me (§ 578), and that Lat. poscat for *porscā-t, the indic. O.H.G. forscōt 'demands', and the Skr. fem. pṛchā 'question' (common ground-form *pṛk-ā-sā-) in point of etymology must all go together. So also the Italic conjunctive -ē- is to be identified with the Indicative -ē- (Classes X and XI), and so forth.

In all these cases it were proper to keep together whatever forms are etymologically akin. But if we did so, a student who is used to the practice observed hitherto, of arranging forms according to their function, would hardly be able to find his way. So I prefer to give this up, and simply call attention to etymology and structure where it is convenient to do so.

THE PRESENT STEM.

IMPERFECT PRESENT AND AORIST PRESENT. 1)

§ 490. The classes of the Present Stem are very commonly divided into two groups:

(1) Thematic, or verbs in -ō (Bopp's First Main Conjugation); and

(2) Non-thematic, or verbs in -mi (Bopp's Second Main Conjugation.

The first group has in the Indicative -o- or -e- just before the personal ending; but -ō is the ending of the 1st person singular. These vowels were distributed amongst the persons of the singular and plural (we may leave the dual out for the present) in very much the same way as they are in Greek -e- in the 2nd person of both, and the 3rd singular, -o- in the 1st persons (but 1st sing. pres. act. -ō) and in the 3rd plural:

1) For works bearing on this subject, see footnote to page 33.
§ 490. The Present Stem.

compare 2nd sing. ἔφερε-ς φέρω-ι ἔφερ-ο (for the indic. pres. act. cp. Goth. haitri-s), 2nd pl. φέρε-τε ἔφερε-τε φέρω-σθε ἔφερ-σθε, 3rd sing. ἔφερε φέρε-ται ἔφερ-το (for the indic. pres. act. cp. Goth. haitri-þ); 1st sing. (φέρω) ἔφερο-ν (φέρο-μαι ἔφερό-μην), 1st pl. φέρο-μεν ἔφερο-μεν φέρο-μεθα ἔφερο-μεθα, 3rd pl. φέρο-ντι (φέροντοι) ἔφερο-ν φέρο-νται ἔφερο-ντο. The variation -e- : -o- is the rule in all the present -o-suffixes except -io-, where instead of it there is sometimes -i- -i-; see § 702. The Conjunctive shows a long vowel before the personal endings, as 1st and 2nd pl. Gr. φέρω-μιν φέρω-μεθα φέρη-τε φέρη-σθ; Lat. feram-fera-tis Skr. bhára-ma bhára-mahá bhára-tha bhára-dhvaí. The Optative has the thematic vowel -o-, and between it and the personal ending it, which, when the personal ending began in a consonant, combined with the thematic vowel into a diphthong and a single syllable, as 2nd sing. Gr. φέρο-ς Goth. haitrai-s Skr. bháre-ś.

To the second group belong all present stems which have no thematic vowel before the personal ending in the Indicative. The personal endings were mostly the same as in the first group. There is a strange difference in the first person singular pres. indic., which had in the parent language, as it has in Greek, the ending -mi; Gr. ελ-μι τιθ-μι δάμν-μι στόρ-μι etc., not like φέρω βόσκω τυπ-τω φορέω. In most non-thematic conjugations, the indicative had, and retains, a vowel grading; the syllable just before the personal ending, whether root or suffix, had the strong grade (and accent) in the singular of the active, and the weak grade (no accent) in the active dual and plural: compare Skr. act. sing. 1st pers. dvéṣ-mi ('I hate') ā-dvēṣ-am 2nd dvēk-ṣi ā-dvēṣ 3rd dvēṣ-ṭi ā-dvēṣ, but pl. 1st pers. dvēṣ-mās ā-dvēṣ-ma etc., dual 1st pers. dvēṣ-vās ā-dvēṣ-vā etc., mid. sing. 1st pers. dvēṣ-i ā-dvēṣ-i etc.; act. sing. 1st pers. kṛ-nō-mi ('I make') ā-kṛ-nām-am 2nd kṛ-nō-ṣi ā-kṛ-nō-ṣ 3rd kṛ-nō-ṭi ā-kṛ-nō-t, but pl. 1st pers. kṛ-nō-mās ā-kṛ-nō-ma etc., dual 1st pers. kṛ-nō-vās ā-kṛ-nō-vā etc.; mid. sing. 1st pers. kṛ-nō-i ā-kṛ-nō-i etc. On the whole it may be said that the Conjunctive formed with -e- and -o- had the strong

Brugmann, Elements. IV.
stem in active and middle; as 3rd sing. act. doṣṣ-a-t(i) ky-ṇaḍ-a-t(i) mid. doṣṣ-a-tē ky-ṇaḍ-a-tē. The optative had in the singular active -īō- -īīō-; in the other active forms and in the middle it had -ī- before personal endings beginning in a consonant and -ī- or -ī- before a sonant: always with the weak form of the present stem: e. g. act. 1st sing. doṣṣ-yā-ṃ ky-ṇu-yā-ṃ 1st pl. *dōṣṣ-ī-ṃā *ky-ṇu-ī-ṃā (what we actually find are doṣṣ-yā-ṃa ky-ṇu-yā-ṃa, contrast Lat. sī-ṃns beside s-ī-ṃ), mid. 3rd sing. doṣṣ-i-tā ky-ṇu-ī-tā 1st sing. Avest. tanuya i. e. tā-ne-īg-ā.

§ 491. Great as is the importance of the difference between thematic and non-thematic stems, it seems best not to make it the chief principle of distinction in what follows.

Every class of non-thematic presents with vowel gradation had parallel to it another class, which may be regarded as formed by adding the thematic vowel to the weak stem. Very often the same verb has both. Examples: Skr. vēt-ti (vid-nās): vid-ā-ti, √vēd- 'know, learn'; Gr. i-στρ-α: Skr. tē-γh-a-ti, √stå- 'stand'; Skr. 3rd pl. sā-bc-ati : 2nd sing. sā-bc-a-śi (Gr. i-στρ-α-ro, √σχερ- 'sequi'; Skr. i-bō-ti : i-νo-ā-ti, √e- 'move'; Skr. my-ṇā-ti : my-ṇ-ā-ti 'crushes'; Skr. yunāk-ti : yunāj-a-ti Lat. jung-i-t, √jeug 'iungere'. These two kinds hang closely together, and cannot be treated apart.1) I therefore choose a mode of

1) The closest contact between them is in the 3rd pl. active and the partic. pres. active. I now depart from my previous view set forth in I § 226 p. 193, II § 125 p. 395 (and elsewhere); I now hold with Streitberg (Idg. Forsch. I 82 ff.) that the strong suffix-forms of these parts of non-thematic verbs (3rd pl. act., and pres. act. partic.) were -enti -ent and -aś-, e.g. *e-enti 'sunt' partic. nom. pl. *a-enti-es. It is possible that there were variants, also of the strong grade, -enti -ent and -aś-. Then -enti : -aś- : -aś- as in the gen. abl. sing. -es : -aś : -aś (III § 228 pp. 111 f.). If so, it is very possible that we should class together with the non-thematic conjugation e. g. Lat. sunt sunt, sūnt, O.C.S. spīi (spīi) sy, and analyse them *s-enti- *s-aś-; that is to say, regard them as parallel to forms like es-tī fes-tī (jes-tī). They would belong to both conjugations. This is, however, only a possibility; and I have accordingly treated forms with -aś- like Lat. sunt, in each case as thematic) and thematic only (below, §§ 492 ff.)
classification which takes as its principle some common points of structure or etymology other than the presence or absence of a thematic vowel. Thus one group will comprise presents which have a nasal-formative (as Skr. mṛṇā-ti mṛṇā-ti guṇā-ti mṛṇā-ti yunāk-ti yunāja-ti); it is clear that this element was the same in all of them.

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A. CLASSES I TO VIII:

SIMPLE ROOT, OR ROOT WITH -o, FOR THE PRESENT STEM;
SOMETIMES REDUPLICATED.

Class I: Simple Root used for the Present Stem.

§ 492. This class disappeared in most languages, leaving only a few traces. It is commonest in Aryan, as are all the non-thematic forms.


*ēi-mi I go' 1st pl. *i-mès: Skr. ē-mi i-mās 3rd pl. y-ānti, Gr. ei-μι i-μερ, Lat. 2nd sing. ei-s i-s, Lith. ei-mi; prot. *ēi-yi: Skr. dy-am 3rd sing. at-t 1st pl. at-ma, Gr. ū-α 1st pl. ū-μερ (cp. § 480 p. 28, § 481 p. 30). Conjunctive: Skr. 3rd sing. dy-

1) Instead of *ur-i-ta (cp. partic. ur-āṇr-ā), see I § 157 p. 141. On the other hand, the regular form with e- is seen in Avest. Gath. evair-maids for pr. Ar. *eyr-i.
-a-ti áy-a-t (cp. indic. 3rd sing. mid. áy-a-tē; Lat. eō for *ei-ō, eunt for *ei-o-n(i)). Optative: Skr. i-yā-t. Weak forms also found with ī-, i-t: Skr. 1st pl. mid. i-māhē opt. i-yā-t, 3rd sing. mid. i-yā-tē (Class XXVI), 1) Gr. conj. 1st pl. i-o-μεν (but cp. § 914); Skr. 1st sing. mid. i-yē (cp. Avest. y-ōi), Lat. i-ēns, Gr. perhaps 3rd pl. i-αυ (cp. § 502). — With thematic vowel Gr. opt. i-ο-τ partic. i-ω-ντ pret. Hom. η-ε η-ο-μεν (cp. conj. i-o-μεν), Pelignian afded 'abīt' for *af-je-d (§ 867, 5).


1) A different explanation of these Sanskrit forms may be found in Bartholomae's Ar. Forsch. ii 73 f.

*dhēgh-mi 'I burn': Skr. 2nd sing. dhāk-ṣi Lith. deg-mi. The conjunctive implied by these forms is hidden in the indic. Skr. dāh-a-ti Lith. deg-u. The weak form *d(h)gh- cannot be found; we have evidence for it in Avest. 3rd pl. imper. set-unth beside 1st sing. indic. hax-mi (pr. Ar. *sak-mi) from √Seq-sequi, Skr. 3rd pl. ā-kṣ-an 3rd sing. mid. gāha i. v. *ghaus-i tu (I § 591 p. 449) beside 3rd sing. ā-ghaus from ghaus- 'eat'.


*dē-t *é-dē-t 'he gave' 2nd pl. *dē-tē: Skr. a-dā-t 3rd sing. mid. ā-di-ta, Armen. 1st sing. e-tu 3rd sing. e-t, 1st pl. pres. ta-mk, Gr. 2nd pl. ē-de-re 3rd sing. mid. ē-de-ro (De- instead of δα-, op. on ἔς-, above),2) Lat. da-mus *red-dimus. Optative:

1) Less probably, some scholars take (a-)āhūt to be *dḥhūt = *dha- -dh t, i. e. formed from the weak present stem *dha-āh- (op. a-dha-t-tam).

2) Pauli (Altital. Forsch. III 258) compares Venetian zovo 'dedit' with Gr. doro. Admitting that the explanation is in the main correct.
Avest. d-yā-p. Imperative: Lat. ce-do, Lith. dū-k. — With thematic vowel: Skr. dada-t i.e. a+ a-d-a-t, Lat. red-d-u-nt, Avest. opt. 2nd sing. d-oī-š. 1)


§ 494. As the examples in § 493 shew, roots of the e-series took regularly the e-grade (1st strong grade) in strong forms. But probably in the parent language there were forms with the 3rd strong grade, or ē-grade, also in use.

First we notice Lat. ēs-t Lith. ēs-t O.C.Sl. jas-tū from √ed- 'eat', on which see § 480 Rem. p. 27; the normal form was Skr. ād-mi āt-ti (§ 498). Skr. ās-tē Gr. ἡστ-ραυ 'sits' 3rd pl. ās-atar ἡστ-ραυ are usually connected with *es-ti 'is'. The rough breathing in Greek must then be explained as due to the analogy of the root ἔσ- = *sed- 'sedere' (I § 564 Rem. 3 p. 421 §). But some forms of the Greek word may be derived at once from the root sēd-, which occurs not only in the perfect Goth. sēt-um Lith. sēd-ės, but in the Lith. pres. sēdmī 'I sit' 3rd sing. sēst, side by side with which in the usual fashion we have Skr. 2nd sing. sāt-si. Skr. imper. mid. sāk-śva beside indic. 2nd sing. sāk-śi from sāh- 'overpower'. Skr. tāṣ-ti Avest. injunctive tāṣ-t beside Skr. tākṣa-ti 'shapes, forms'. Skr. dāṣ-ti 'pays homage to' from √dek-; see § 639. Further, the Skr.

(cp. G. Meyer, Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift 1892 col. 312 f., Thurneysen Wochenschr. class. Phil. 1892 col. 290 f.), it is a question whether sōto should not be regarded as *dō-to (cp. the s-aorist sōnasto 'donavit').

1) Probably to the same class belongs Avest., being dād-vē 2nd pl. indic. pres. mid. See Bartholomae, Idg. Forsch. I 495.

2) Fick’s connexion of this verb with Skr. partic. cit-tā-s is worthless (Fick, Gött. Jbb. Anz. 1881 p. 1428, Wth. In 20 f.).

3) In the English translation of this note, 'Spiritus Asper' is a clerical error for 'Spiritus Lenis'.
present forms with ṅu instead of ǔ, as stā́-ti 'praises' (3rd pl. stuv-ānti mid. stu-tā, beside which are found 2nd sing. stō-ṣi conj. stāv-a-t) and snāu-ti 'drips' (cp. Gr. νεῦ ρεῦσθαι, also mārś-ṭi 'wipes' (3rd pl. mṛj-ānti).)

Along with these non-thematic ś-forms stand usually others with the thematic vowel; thus, Lith. śd-u beside ęd-mi, śd-d beside ęd-d-mi, Skr. as-a-tē beside ęs-tē, ddś-a-ti beside ddś-ṭi, sāh-a-ti beside sāk-śva, mārj-a-ti beside mārś-ṭi. Compare Gr. μᾶσθαι etc., § 514.

§ 495. In all languages, as we shall see, it is common for the strong stem to spread into what should be weak-stem forms, but the reverse is rare.

We should especially mention here that the strong-grade a, o, and ś spread from roots ending in them to the weak persons which properly had ə. This re-formation brought about some confusion with Class X, where there is no gradation.

Skr. 1st pl. á-sthā-ma. Gr. ἐ-στη-μεν instead of *a-sthi-ma *b-στα-μεν (cp. § 493 pp. 53 f.). The difference between ἐ-στη-μεν and ἐ-θε-μεν ἐ-δο-μεν was due to the intransitive meaning of στησχ to the powerful attraction of a word closely connected in meaning — ῥηστηρ (Skr. ágam ágama); cp. the Author, Kuhn’s Zeitschr. xxv 220, Osthoff’s Perfect 373 f., and below, § 497 Rem. As regards Lat. stā-mus beside dā-mus, see §§ 505, 584 Rem.

In Sanskrit we find also á-dhā-ma á-dā-ma instead of *a-dhi-ma *a-di-ma (cp. § 493 p. 53), and similarly a instead of i in the plural and dual active of all roots ending in (Aryan) -a. Compare opt. 1st pl. s-yd-ma, instead of *s-t-ma, following s-yd-m, § 940.

Unlike Gr. ἐ-με -I say': qua-μεν, which undoubtedly has original gradation (cp. O.H.G. hannya = *bha-mīdo, Gr. qua-νω *bha-νιο, see §§ 611, 654), all recorded forms of Skr. bhd-ti 'shines' follow Class X, as pl. bhd-nī imper. bha-hi partic.

1) The ablaut of stā́-ti and mārś-ṭi is exactly parallel to that of the-s-korist. See § 811.
bха-ta-s etc. We must therefore assume for this Skr. verb a stem bh-а-, i.e. an extension of the root by the ungraduated suffix -а- (bха-ti : bhd f. = paа-ti : paad f.), which is also possible for Lat. fa-tur for and O.C.Sl. ba-jaq 'fabulous' (§ 706).

§ 496. The strong stem is remarkable in Skr. kе-tе Avest. saа-ta Gr. хе-та 'lies' (op. Skr. perf. si-by-э, -ст-э 'lying') beside Skr. kе-y-a-tа Gr. Hom. хе-o-та opt. хе-o-o-то. Very uncertain explanations are suggested in vol. I § 598 p. 453, and by Meringer in the Zeitschr. оst. Gymn. 1888, p. 134. Perhaps the irregularity was due to a very early change from thematic to non-thematic conjugation, which was suggested by de-tа ḋa-tа 'sits'. I believe that this same change must be assumed for геn-tо ݋n-tо (Hesiod and other poets) beside геn-tо ḋ-gеn-tо (cp. 3rd dual геp-tо), and for оtа (only in Soph. Tr. 645) beside оtа (cp. оtо). It is beyond all doubt seen in ṣmаn-tо = ṣmаn-tо in Nonnus, and other such forms in late Greek poetry (Rzach, Gram. Stud. zu Apoll. Rhod., 164), and in some Lithuanian presents in -м (§ 511).

Remark. 'мs-tаq 'clothes himself' (Skr. mа-tа Gr. εt-tоm tо-tо) is not of this class, as it must be analyzed *у-es-tаq (§ 656).

§ 497. Like i-mаhэ (Gr. ٹо-μев § 493 pp. 51 f., § 914), many other forms show the weak-grade with bye-accent. Thus Skr. ā-bху-mа Gr. ṣ-у-mев Umbr. fa-tu 'esto' Lith. бу-k 'be it' from ṣhе-μев 'become, be'; compare the sing. with the same grade of root Skr. ā-bху-t Gr. ṣ-в (cp. perf. Skr. 2nd sing. ṣa-bху-thа), without question somewhat influenced by preterites of Class X (§§ 597 ff.) such as Skr. ā-dг-а-t ā-dг-а-mе ā-gl-а-t ā-gl-а-mа Gr. ṣ-дг-а ṣ-дг-а-mев ṣ-бl-н ṣ-бl-н-mев

1) ṣhе-μев means 'to show, send forth, make known'. If we connect with it Skr. бхамаt 'souls, calls out' (Osthoff, Perf. 358 Whitney, Skr. Roots 109 f.), this must be taken as an extension *bх-е-mев (§ 619). With the same extension Moulton connects Lat semiutra (Proceed. Camb. Phil. Soc. 1890 May 22, p. 9).

2) The 3rd pl. mid. Ved. d-fаn-аtа beside d-fаn-а-tа may be similarly taken. It is true that the word may quite well be derived from ṣtа-па-па (op. d-фа-аtа).
Also from \(\sqrt{\text{er}}\) - 'set in motion' (\(\text{kr̥}ūda\) - ωμηθη; \(\text{kr̥}η\) - ὁμηθη; Hesych., Skr. ेति aor. mid., ेत- to) we have au' Idg. mid. *\(\text{t}-\)taj: Skr. ेति imper. ेत-\(\text{vā}\) Avest. ar²-\(\text{vā}\) partic. Skr. ेत-\(\text{ā}-\)s, Gr. ὦ-\(\text{s}ο\) partic. ὦ-μενο-\(\text{s}\) inf. ὦ-\(\text{s}α\) (I § 306 pp. 241 f.). The Skr. े- Gr. ὦ- were used before sonants too, instead of *े-\(\text{t}-\) (for *\(\text{tr}\)-), which gives us such forms as Skr. 3rd pl. े-\(\text{at}\)- (ep. Skr. े-\(\text{bhu}\)-\(\text{am}\) instead of े-\(\text{bhu}\)-\(\text{am}\) following े-\(\text{bhū}\)- etc.) 3rd sing. े-\(\text{a}-\)t-, Gr. ὦ-\(\text{o}-\)t- ὦ-\(\text{η}-\)t-; another re-formation is the augment in ὦ-\(\text{η}ο\) (ό-\(\text{o}\) orig. without augment = *\(\text{t}-\)tō). A Germanic form of this kind is A.S. ear-\(\text{t} \) 'thou art,' see § 509. In the same relation as ὦ-\(\text{o}-\)t-\(\text{e}\) bears to ὦ-\(\text{s}ο\), ἑ-\(\text{mol}-\)o-\(\text{r}\) stands to ἑ-\(\text{plo}\) - ἑ-\(\text{plo}\), ἑ-\(\text{xer} \) ἑ-\(\text{t}ο\) Hesych., since ἑ-\(\text{mol} \) represents an Idg. *\(\text{m}l\)- (ep. I § 306 p. 243).

On de Saussure's hypothesis, े\(\text{hū}\)- was the weak grade of े\(\text{h̥w} \) (Skr. fut. ḫə-\(\text{vak} \)-\(\text{t} \) etc.), and े- the weak grade of े\(\text{r̥} \) (Skr. fut. ḫə-\(\text{vak} \)-\(\text{t} \) etc.), and so on.

Remark. To this list of forms I have hitherto added Skr. े-\(\text{g}̥\)-\(\text{n}a\) Gr. े-\(\text{ke}̃\)-\(\text{m}a\), 3rd sing. े-\(\text{g}̥\)-\(\text{t} \) े-\(\text{g}̥ \) (ep. े-\(\text{bhū}\)-\(\text{t} \) े-\(\text{g}̥ \) ), equating े-\(\text{g}̥\)-\(\text{a} \) = *\(\text{g}̥\)-\(\text{a} \) - (I § 233 p. 206). But another hypothesis appears to be preferable from Skr. े-\(\text{m}a\)-\(\text{t} \) Gr. ὦ-\(\text{p}̃\)-\(\text{n} \), Skr. ṣi-\(\text{g}̥\)-\(\text{m}a\)- n. 'step' Gr. ὦ-\(\text{p}̃\)-\(\text{n}\), Skr. perf. mid. ṣi-\(\text{g}̥\), and others of the like nature. This is, that there were original variants *\(\text{g}̥\)- and *\(\text{m}a\)-, like *\(\text{dr̥} \) - and *\(\text{dēm} \) - 'run' (§ 488 p. 47, § 579). It would be easy to decide this point, if only *\(\text{g}̥\)- could be found outside of Aryan and Greek. The derivation of Lett. े\(\text{g}̥\)- I 'want' is doubtful (see Wiedemann, Das lit. Prakt., 141 f.), and it is worse than unsafe to adduce O.H.G. pf\(\text{s} \) 'path' (Fick, Wtb. 113).

\[ \sqrt{\text{der-} \text{split, burst}}: \text{Skr. 2nd sing. \text{d}ār-ṣi 3rd sing. \text{ā}-\text{dar}}; \]
\[ \text{opt. \text{dīr-\text{yā-t}} = \text{*dīr-\text{yē-t}} \text{(cp. pass. \text{dīr-\text{yā-tē} partic. \text{dīr-\text{nā-s}})}}. \]

\[ \sqrt{\text{ghen-} \text{strike, slay}}: \text{3rd sing. Skr. hān-ti Avest. jānti, Skr. 2nd pl. ha-thā 3rd pl. ghn-\-antī, mid. 1st sing. Avest. \text{y}n-\-}\]


Skr. *dhāk-ṣi* and others of the same sort, see § 493 p. 53. Skr. *bhī-ṣok-ti* 'heals' (*bhī-* is a bye-form of *abhi*) was no longer recognised for a compound, hence 3rd sing. *a-bhīṣṇak* R.-V. X, 131.5, following Class XV, and *bhīṣaj-d-s* 'healing'.

\( \sqrt{dhe}- \) *dā-, Skr. *dha- dā-*. Iran. *dā-* (in Iranian the two stems ran into one, and it is no longer possible to distinguish their meaning exactly), see § 493 p. 53. Skr. *ā-dha-t dhā-t* *dha-t* pl. *ā-dha-ma dā-ma*, Avest. *da-π da-ma* O.Pers. *a-dā*; on *a* in the plural, see § 495 p. 55; mid. Skr. *ā-dhi-ta dā-ma-,


√dā- 'separate, divide up' (Gr. dā-μος δὴ-μος): Skr. dā-ti 3rd pl. dā-niti (like ā-dhā-ma, above), mid. 1st pl. ā-di-mahi (op. partic. di-nā-s di-ta-s Gr. ἄ-τικ-μα). Sometimes in place of -i = Idg. -o in roots of the latter kind, Sanskrit has -i: ā-dhi-mahi from √dhē-, mē-mahē from √mē- 'measure' (3rd sing. mē-ti), dī-ṭva from √dā-, ā-di-ṃahi from √dā-. This ī was connected with a very wide-spread Sanskrit re-formation.

There was a certain element used in root-extension, found in the parent language, and appearing in Sanskrit under the forms of -i- and -i-. Whether it be dubbed Root-Determinative or Suffix, matters nothing (see § 488 pp. 44 ff.). Examples of its use are pī- 'swell, give to drink' from √pō- (pi-pī-tē pi-yā-tē pi-tā-s pi-pī-hi pi-nea-tī), rī- 'run, flow' from √er (ri-yā-tē ri-hī-s ri-yā-ti ri-ti), īr-ī-nid-ti 'boils' beside īr-tā-s. Another form of this determinative in Sanskrit, as Bartholomae has pointed out (Stud. zur idg. Spr., II 68 ff.), is āi, seen in the Vedic preterites ā-sar-āi-t 'he broke up' beside a-śar-ṛt śar-ṛtō, and āy-āi-ś 'thou dravest' (unaugmented); and this word is closely connected with Gr. ἀγ-ἄσω ἀγ-ἄρεω (op. § 801). 1) We shall meet the grade -i- in several other categories of Sanskrit forms.

Now this -i-, originally only a variant of Ar. -i- = Idg. -i-, encroached upon Ar. -i- = Idg.* -o-, so that in Aryan

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1) It is probable that another strong grade of the same determinative is contained in the Idg. present in -ēṣ (as Skr. ēs-dya-ti cart-āya-ti Lat. qu-eō mov-eō), to which belonged a participle in -i-to-s and -i-to-s (Class XXXII). And I would now (with Beessenberger, Zur Gesch. der lit. Spr., 195) recognise a form exactly answering to Skr. dhāl-ṣ in Gr. ἀν- ἄν (for *-sī-s *-sī-t); see § 967.1, and § 995.2.
as well as \( i \) was found in the same ablaut series with \( a \).\(^1\) Hence arose the above named forms ādhiṇahi instead of ādhiṃahi beside ādham etc., and hence \( *sī-sī-ḥi \) instead of \( *sī-sī-tē \) (cp. \( sī-tā-s \)) beside \( sī-sā-ti \) (§ 538), \( mṛ-mā-s \) instead of \( *mṛ-mās \) (cp. Gr. -\( rα-με \)) beside \( mṛ-nā-mi \) (§ 597), \( ā-stari-\( ū \) instead of \( *a-stariś \) (§ 839). Last of all, \( -i \) even pushed out \( a = \vartheta \) in the root of forms like pass. \( *dha-ya-tē \) = Avest. \( da-ye-tē \) (I § 109. a. p. 101), and so we have \( dhī-yā-tē \) (§§ 707, 709).

It is true that there are other instances besides these of variation between Idg. \( i \) and \( ċ \); for instance, in the syllable of reduplication, §§ 467, 469, 473. Whether these had anything to do with associating \( i \) with \( i = \vartheta \), and if so, how far, I leave an open question.

§ 499. A few more examples may here be added to those already given of the confusion between weak and strong stem.

Strong Stem instead of Weak. Skr. 2\(^{nd} \) dual \( spar-tam \) beside \( spr-tam \) from \( spar- \) ‘save, win’.\(^2\) Avest. 3\(^{rd} \) sing. mid. \( man-ta \) beside Skr. \( á-ma-ta \) from \( man- \) ‘think’. Skr. 1\(^{st} \) pl. \( á-hē-ma \) (cp. 3\(^{rd} \) pl. \( á-hy-an \)) from \( hi- \) ‘impel’. Skr. 2\(^{nd} \) pl. \( stō-ta \) (cp. 2\(^{nd} \) dual \( stu-tam \)) Avest. 1\(^{st} \) pl. mid. \( stō-maidū \) from \( stō- \) ‘praise’ (cp. Skr. \( stāu-ti \) § 494 p. 54). Skr. 2\(^{nd} \) pl. \( vart-ta \) (cp. 3\(^{rd} \) pl. \( á-vṛt-ran \)) from \( vart- \) ‘vertere’. Avest. 2\(^{nd} \) pl. \( sās-ta \) beside Skr. \( sās-ta \) from \( √kēns- \) ‘foretell’ (§ 493 p. 52). Skr. 1\(^{st} \) pl. \( chēd-ma \) from \( chid- \) ‘cut’. Skr. 2\(^{nd} \) pl. mid. \( vāḍhōmaṃ \) beside \( ādham \) 2\(^{nd} \) dual act. \( vāḍham \) (I § 404. 2 pp. 298 f., § 482 p. 356) compared with 2\(^{nd} \) sing. \( vākṣi, \) \( √vegh- \) ‘vehere’. Skr. 3\(^{rd} \) sing. mid. \( ā-tak-ta \) beside \( tāk-ti \) ‘runs, pushes, shoots’, \( √teq- \), cp. the weak grade \( tq- \) in Avest. partic. perf. \( ta-\text{pk}-uś- \) (I § 473. 2 p. 349).

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1) Bartholomae (loc. cit.) assumes \( āt \) to be an orig. ablaut; he believes \( ū \) came from \( āj \) in Idg., and e.g. Lat. erās (contrasted with Skr. \( deś-\)) is derived by him from \( *esōj- \). I cannot approve this theory.

2) Avestic mid. 3\(^{rd} \) sing. \( var-ta \) 1\(^{st} \) pl. \( var-maiddūs \), compared with Skr. \( á-rṛ-ta \), are not safe examples to cite in proof of this re-formation, because \( var- \) may come from \( *of- \).
Weak Stem instead of Strong: much rarer. Skr. i-mi beside \( \hat{\text{d}}-\text{m}i \) from i- ‘go’ (already cited, § 498 p. 59). Skr. 3rd sing. \( \hat{\text{d}}-\text{vr}k \) beside \( \text{v\text{r}}k \) (mid. \( \hat{\text{d}}-\text{vrk-}\text{t}u \)) from varj- ‘twist’ (but vice versa 2nd dual \( \text{vark-}\text{tam} \) instead of \( \text{vrk-}\text{tam} \)). Avest. 2nd sing. a-per’s instead of *a-fraš ground-form *e-prek-s from \( \check{\text{v}} \text{prek-}\text{ask} \) (vice versa, 3rd sing. mid. fraš-ta instead of *per’s-ta).

§ 500. In Aryan, the ever increasing use of thematic forms was helped on by the like endings -am in the first person singular, and -anti -an in the third plural. Sometimes the desire for clear expression came in too. Thus Skr. 2nd and 3rd sing. \( \hat{\text{d}}\text{da-s dda-t} \) drove out *\( \hat{\text{a}}t \) (both persons) from \( \check{\text{v}}\text{ed-} \text{eat’} \) (1st sing. \( \hat{\text{d}}\text{d-am 3rd pl. dda-an} \), 1) and in Avestic -aiti -ata (= Skr. -atē -ata), endings of the 3rd pl. middle, were almost entirely dropped in favour of the thematic endings -anti -anta, by which the plural was more clearly marked; e. g. \( \hat{\text{d}}\text{roh-antē} \) as contrasted with Skr. \( \hat{\text{d}}\text{s-atē} \ ‘they sit’ (§ 1067.1).

Much the same may be said of the other non-thematic present classes. Compare particularly the Avest. 3rd pl. of Classes III and V, in -anti -enti instead of -aiti (= Skr. -ati), §§ 540, 556, 1018. 1. b.

§ 501. Armenian. e-\( \text{kn} \) ‘he came’: Skr. \( \hat{\text{d}}\text{-gan} \), common ground-form *\( \check{\text{e}}\text{-gem-t} \), see § 493 p. 51; the 1st sing. ek and 3rd pl. eskin are said to be adformates of \( \text{edi} \) edin (see below); Bugge, Kuhn’s Zeitschr. xxxii 75.

em ‘am’: Skr. \( \hat{\text{d}}\text{-mi} \), see § 493 p. 52; 2nd sing. es for *\( \hat{\text{e}}\text{-si} \) (I § 559 p. 416); 3rd sing. \( \hat{\text{e}} \) following berē ‘fert’ for *\( \text{bhere-ti} \) (vice versa, 2nd sing. beres follows es); 3rd pl. en doubtless for Idg. *s-enti (Bugge, Kuhn’s Zeitschr. xxxii 71). cp. § 1019.

e-di ‘I placed’: Skr. \( \hat{\text{d}}\text{-dha-m} \), see § 493 p. 53; 2nd sing. e-di-r 3rd sing. e-d 2nd pl. e-di-k 3rd e-di-n. di = Idg. *dhē-(I § 71 p. 62), and thus the strong stem has here passed into

1) Similarly, the forms with an i-determinative, \( \hat{\text{d}}\text{-i-} \) \( \hat{\text{d}}\text{-i-t} \ ‘eras erat’ establish themselves in place of \( \hat{\text{d}}\text{s} \) (Vedic for both persons); see § 775.
the plural. The same is true of e-tu 'I gave': Skr. á-dá-m, see § 493 p. 53; 2nd sing. e-tu-r 3rd sing. e-t 2nd pl. e-tu-E 3rd pl. e-tu-n; tu- = Idg. *dó- (I § 87 p. 84). But ta- = Idg. *do- is the stem of the present 1st pl. ta-ni is 'damus', whence a appears instead of u in the singular ta-m (I § 109. a. p. 101).

*goü 'I am' is compared by Hübsohn (Arm. Stud. I 25, 61) with Gothic *visa 'I remain, tarry'; and he conjectures that it is derived from *yes-ni; Bugge (as cited, page 7) offers another explanation, but hardly improves upon this.


Remark. The Homeric 1st sing. -ēxtrav and 3rd sing. ēxtra are peculiar. a is certainly short only in O 432 (τάλ, ἱππος ἀντετέρα Κοῦρον ἱερόν). Is it possible that the original forms were ēxtrav ēxra with Aeolic a, which would be re-formates of the same nature as 3rd pl. xtrav? Or is ēxtra a re-formate like Skr. é-r̥ya beside vārk (§ 499 p. 63), and -ēxtra due simply to the analogy of ēxtra?

√bher- 'force': 2nd pl. φιρ-τε instead of *φορ-τε *φορ-τε: Skr. bhá-r-ti 2nd dual bhā-tām, Lat. fer-t (§ 505).

√ger- 'swallow': ē-phō *ēphayt, ἅδας, ἰδίαςας; βρω = *gr-, weak grade like qe- in ē-qe, § 497 p. 56.

ēl-μu 'I will go', Idg. *ēl-wi, see § 493 p. 52, 2nd sing. ēl for *el-(a), 3rd sing. el-w; pl. 1st person ēl-mu 2nd ēl-te; 3rd pl. ēl-am either for *ēl-am (Idg. *ēl-enti) or instead of *ēn (Idg. *ē-enti) with i prefix following ēl-mu ēl-te. Pret. 1st sing. gu instead of *gα for *gk-a (Skr. ḍy-ām) following forms with a personal ending beginning in a consonant, such as ỵ-ṃ (on the augment see § 480 p. 28, § 481 pp. 29 f.); unaugmented 3rd dual ēl-μu. Imperative ē-βi: Skr. i-ḥi. The old conj. and opt., answering to Skr. āy-ā-ti and ī-yā-t, are not found. Partic. fem. Ἐν-μαμα, epithet of Demeter, for *ē-tα-μα Skr.


√λευ- 'loose': mid. 3rd sing. λύ-τε λύ-τε, 3rd pl. λύ-τα (cp. § 1068).

1st pl. ἵ-μεν (Att. ἵαμεν) 2nd pl. ἵ-τε, may be connected with the sing. *νεξδ-μι or ὀδ-α, it matters not which; see § 493 p. 52.

ciμi 'I am', Idg. *ds-mi, see § 493 p. 52. 2nd sing. ἵ- for *ἐ(σ)μ = Skr. ἄς, also elc (eic) and ἵ-σ-ς, see § 987.1. 3rd sing. ἵθ-τι (ἱ-τι): Skr. ἄς-τι. 1st pl. εἰμὲν (Dor. εἰμεῖ) for *ειμέν shows the strong stem for the weak (ep. O.Icel. er-o er-m § 507), like the 2nd pl. ἄς-τε and the 3rd pl. Ion. ἵμαι for *ἵσ-αι; Att. ἵμεν follows ἵμεν in having σ. The 3rd pl. Dor. ἵνι Att. ἵνι instead of *ἔνι = Goth. sind, Idg. *s-enti (§ 1020.1); for the 1-sounding compare ὁν- instead of ὁ-η-τ-; § 493 p. 53. With 3rd pl. Dor. ἵνι goes the participle Dor. ἵν-, nom. pl. ἵν-τι: whose fem. ἵσσα is a transformation of ἵσσα (ep. Skr. s-at-ʃ). Pret. 1st sing. Hom. ἵα Att. ἵ for ἵα-μι, 3rd sing. Dor. ἵς for *δις-τ, 1st pl. ἵμεν for *ἵσ-μεν (I § 565 p. 410), 2nd pl. ἵμεν, 3rd pl. Dor. etc. ἵ for ἵς-στερ = Skr. ἀς-an (§ 1020.1), also Boeot. ἄπ-ειαν for ἵππαν (§ 1021.1); for the augment, see § 480 p. 28, § 481 pp. 29 f. 1st sing. ἵ- 2nd pl. ἵ-τε are re-formates caused by preterites like ἵππαν, Class X, the point of contact being ἵμεν. The 3rd sing. Hom. ἵ-ν Att. ἵ is probably identical with 3rd pl. Dor. ἵ for ἵς-στερ; the Indicative had adopted -α (στ-α) in other forms in place of 3rd pl. -α (§ 1021).

and thus ἵ-ν ceased to be a clear plural, beginning with sentences like ἵα ἵ ἄτιλαμενα ἵν (Σ 4), ἐνθα μάλιστα μάχη

Brugmann, Elementa, IV.
xai ἤπλοιον, ἤν (N 789). In the dialect of Herodotus ἦα became ἦν (I § 611 p. 462), whence by analogy ἦα- ἤστε, cp. § 504. On ἦσθα and Hom. ἡτόθα ἦν ἦν, see §§ 583, and 858. 2. Imper. ἵστε for Idg. *azo-dhi with prothetic vowel (I § 626 p. 470); and Hecataeus has ἵστε with the strong stem introduced. The old conjunctive (Skr. ās-a-ti ās-a-t Lat. er-i-t) was lost in the historic period, and in its place we find ἵν ἵσαμεν ἵν ἵσαμεν like Skr. ās-ā-t. Opt. εἰστε for *εἰσ-κητον or *εἰσ-κητον with the strong tense-stem (cp. § 943). — There is connexion between 1st pl. εἰσάμεν in Callimachus, the Thess. 1st sing. εἰμι, and Hom. inf. εἰσαμεν εἰςαμεν: either on the analogy of εἰσί: τιθέο (Dor. ἐντεί: τιθέοτεί) and of εἰσάμεν: τιθεῖμεν, infinitives were formed to match with τιθεῖμεν and τιθέμεν τιθείμενα (cp. Mess. conj. ἤνταυ and Hom. conj. μέτ-ης (§ 934); or the parallel forms ἦσσι: ἦσσε, ἦσσο: ἦσσο and so forth gave the impression that the two verbs were distinguished by having one ε and the other τ before the same endings, and thus εἰσαμεν and εἰσαμεν(τι) came into existence on the analogy of εἰσαμεν (1st pl.) and εἰσαμεν(τι). In any case, εἰμι was not made until after εἰσαμεν. — The enclisis of εἰμι, as of φημι, is due to the fact that the finite verb was always enclitic in the original language; see I § 669 p. 534, and Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiii 457 ff. — On the thematic forms (*θ-ο- and *θα-σα-), see § 493 p. 53.

ἡ 'said' (with pr. Greek η) for *ῃ-τε (I § 652. 5 p. 496), cp. Skr. ḍh-a Lat. ᾱ. The ablaut in the root needs explaining (cp. Lat. ad-ūgium : prōd-ūgium). In the mould of φήν ἐφήν, φῆμι, φῆσι beside φή ἐφη (pr. Gr. φη-) were cast ἦν, ἦμι, ἦσι.


√dō- 'give': ἦ-θα-εμεν etc., see § 493 p. 53. Similarly from √κό- to be sharp, have one's wits sharpened by
experience' (Gr. καθορι, Lat. cos ca-tus, O.Ir. cathi 'wise').

χάνομαι ἔ ανθομαι, and κόν εἶδος Hesych., cp. partic. δόν.

√βλαθ- 'show, make open, declare': φις-μι Dor. φα-μι 1st. pl. φα-μεν 2nd. pl. mid. φά-σθε, cp. § 495 p. 55.

√σταθ- 'stand': ἤστην ἠστηθ-ἐστερ, 2nd. sing. mid.-past. ἠστάθ-ἐστε (Skr. ἠστιθ-θᾶς, § 503) etc., see § 493 p. 54, § 495 p. 55.


§ 504. Some preterite tenses of this sort form a sub-class apart, in having developed from the -α of the 1st pers. sing. and -α in the 3rd plural, a flexion like the s-aorist (-σα -σαι etc.), in which the strong stem appeared instead of the weak in the active plural and dual and in the middle voice.

√γιθεν- 'pour': ἤχειν(σ)-α, Aeol. (Hom.) ἤχειν-α 3rd. sing. mid. ἤχειν-το χέ-το: Skr. 2nd. sing. ἀδώ-ζι. From this beginning we have ἤχειν ἤχεινας ἤχειν ἤχειν ἤχειν ἤχεινας ἤχεινας and so forth, instead of ε-χειν, ε-χειν, ε-χειν, ε-χειν-ας, and middle ἤχεινας.

√γιθεν- 'set in motion, drive' (Gr. στελ- σε-τε, § 489 p. 360): Aeol. (Hom.) ἤσσια σέβας imper. σύ-τι: ἤσσι

(Hesych.) 3rd. sing. mid. ἤσσι-το σύ-το. Hence ἤσσι-το and so on, also middle σέβας. Similarly ἴδαρ 'videbatur' doubtless is due to ε-δεα = ε-δεϊ-μι: Skr. redupl. α-δεῖ-δεῖ imper. δέ-δεί (δοκάσατο with the root-grade deij- is derived from some noun). Herodotus has ἰδας and ἰδεις from ἰδα, 'eram', see § 502 p. 66.
Of the same sort are the reduplicated ἡν-γυ-α ἡνεγγας etc., and ἐκ-α ἐκας (ἐκέν- = *με-υγ-); see §§ 557, 569. Parallel to ἡνεγγα is the form ἡν-εκα, which is not reduplicated, but is derived from another root and compounded with the preposition ἐκ- (the Author, Idg. Forsch. I 174); ἡνεκα too received the inflexion of the s-aorist.

It is easy to understand how this amalgamation with the s-aorist came about, if we may assume that the first step was to change the 3rd person singular active. This would become *ἐν-ει(κτ), and if in its stead was used a form with the thematic vowel, ἐν-εἰκ (beside σω-εἰκεκεται Hesiod), and similarly ἐχε(θ)α (from ἐχεων) replaced *ἐ-χεν, and ἐσαυς (beside ἵσαυνόμην) replaced *ἐ-σαυν and so forth, the rest followed naturally: for -α in the first and -τ in the third person brought the forms into direct relation with the s-aorist. ἐκα ἐκας are late, and copied straight from ἐχεως ἐχεας.

Remark. According to Fick (Gött. gel. Anz. 1881, pp. 1432 f.) and others, in all these preterites the 2nd sing. (-υ-ς), 2nd pl. (-ρ-ς), etc., contain original dissyllabic roots ending with ζ (Gr. ζ), in which case they will belong to our Class IX. For instance, χεξαι in ἐχες is connected by these scholars with Skr. havi- in havi-. This view seems to me less probable. Even granting it, however, confusion with the s-aorist is not by any means excluded.

§ 505. Italic. A peculiarity of Latin is the combination of thematic and non-thematic forms to make up the persons of the present indicative. A first pers. sing. in Idg. -mi cannot be proved for Italic.

v'ber-'bear': Lat. fer-t: Skr. bhar-ti; 2nd pl. fer-tis imper. fer-te have taken the strong stem, like Gr. φερ-τς (§ 502 p. 64), and like Skr. 2nd dual bhar-tám beside the regular bhr-tám. The 2nd sing. indic. fer-s and the 2nd sing. imper. fer both represent the Idg. injunctive *bher-s: fer is regular (as par for *pars and the like, I § 655 p. 506), but fer-s has had -s added again.1) In the pres. indic., ferō

1) That fer comes from *fero, as Pauli asserts (Alit. Stud., IV 29), I do not believe. If fer in the Song of the Arval Brethren really means 'bring', this, and no other, would represent Idg. *bhere; and *fer would stand to fer as Marruc. 3rd sing. pres. fere-t to Lat. fer-t.
ferimus ferunt have a thematic vowel. Umbr. fertu 'ferto' may be identical with Lat. fer-tō, or it may be the same as the thematic Gr. ὑπερ-τω (see I § 633 p. 474).

1 vel- ‘wish’: Lat. 2nd sing. injunct. vel for *vel-s (I § 655 p. 506), now a particle,1) 2nd pl. voltis for *tyl-tes: Skr. ā-vy-ta etc., see § 493 p. 51. 3rd sing. volt instead of *vel-t. On 2nd sing. veis vīs, see below. Optative: vel-i-m vel-i-mus, like Goth. 1st pl. vil-ei-ma (1st sing. viljan), with strong stem,2) as contrasted with Skr. 3rd sing. mid. vur-ta for *yul-t-to (see p. 51 footnote); in consideration of nōlī nōlite nōlītō (nōlō for ne-volō as malō for *mag(e)-volō malvolō, cf. I § 432 c p. 322 on the word avilla), this irregularity may be easily explained on the supposition that there was an indic. *vel-(i)ō *vel-t-s (Class XXVI), which is represented by O.H.G. 1st sing. willu Goth. inf. viljan partic. viljands O.C.Sl. velja veli-ši etc. (§ 727).3) — With thematic vowel indic. pres. volō, volumus volimus (§ 530), volunt, for *yul-s etc. Umbr. veltu 'eligo' is as ambiguous as ferto, see above.

Lat. 2nd sing. vei-s vī-s (beside in-vitu-s), alien forms absorbed into the conjugation of volō: Skr. vē-ti 'presses on, strives' 3rd pl. vy-anti.

√ ej- ‘go’: 2nd 3rd sing. Lat. ei-s ti-s and i-t ground-forms *ei-s and *ei-iti, see § 493 p. 51. The i- (also written ei-) of the present of the Latin finite verb, i-mus i-tis i-tur i-te etc., should strictly be i-, cp. Skr. i-mās etc. This is doubtless not the (weak grade) i of Skr. ī-mahē Gr. Ἱ-ο-μέν (p. 52), but the strong grade ej-, cp. Pelign. ei-te 'ite'. The rare Lat. 3rd

1) Compare Umbr. heris — heris 'vis' — vis = 'vel — vel
Originally it was no doubt a question: 'will you have this? will you have that?'

2) I do not consider that proof has been shown for deriving velum from *volum by vowel assimilation. vel shows that Latin had the grade yel- in this root.

3) A different account of Lat. nōlī may be seen in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 313 (Wackernagel's), and Stolz, Lat. Gr.2 pp. 378, 379.
pl. int was coined to complement īmus on the strength of sta-nt : stā-mus, ple-nt : plē-mus etc.

Partic. ĕns like prae-s-ĕns (II § 126 p. 396, and IV p. 50, footnote). With thematic vowel ēō for *ēī-ō, ēunt, partic. ēunt-is etc., and the conj. eam: cp. Skr. indic. mid. āy-a-tē. ambiō ambient are doubtless not to be compared with Gr. ina σιά-ιωσω etc. (pp. 52, 65); they must be a re-formation following finio, the compound being treated like a simple word.

√es- 'be': 3rd sing. Lat. es-t, Umbr. est est Osc. est ist: Skr. ds-ti, § 493 p. 52. 2nd sing. es for *es-s, also ēs, the latter perhaps augmented (§ 480 p. 28). Weak stem s- in the 3rd pl. Umbr. s-ent Osc. s-et. The 2nd pl. Lat. es-tis has taken the strong stem, like Gr. ἐσ-τε. Conjunctive: Lat. erō er-i-s etc. with future meaning (§ 910). Optative: 2nd sing. Lat. s-iē-s s-i-s Umbr. sīr si seī, see § 946. To the the thematic stem s-o- belong 1st sing. Lat. s-u-m Osc. sūm sum for *s-o-m, the injunctive form, 1st pl. Lat. sumus sumus (so too possimus possessus, cp. volumus volimus above) for *s-o-mos, 1) 3rd pl. Lat. s-o-nt sunt Falisc. sunt, partic. Lat. sūns sont-is (cp. the Author, Bericht der sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1890, pp. 230 ff.).

Remark 1. Side by side with potiis sum (potiis 'mighty, powerful, able' = Gr. ἀρ-κ-ε), for which a plural potiis sumus was formed instead of *potēs sumus after potis had crystallised (cp. Skr. dātāmās 'we will be giving' instead of dātārāh ēmas, and like phrases), was a variant poti isum. poti is an adverb (acc. sing. neut. for *poti, or loc. in origin. -e, see III § 260 p. 160), cp. bene sum, tātō sum. potisset potisse are for potiis 'estis 'ess', cp. situs sit for situs 'st. But potēs potest poestis come from potē es etc. So also possēm possēm (whence possēm posse by complementary analogy) come from *pōsum *pōtem, pōtē-sum, pōtē-sim. It is doubtful, however, whether -es- disappeared by regular syncope, or whether potest : est suggested *pōsum : sum (I § 501 p. 387).

√ed- 'eat': ēs ēst ēstis ēste, pass. ēstur (on -st- instead of -ss- -s- see I § 501 Rem. 2 p. 368); with thematic vowel edo edimus edunt, also edis edit etc. See § 480 Rem. pp. 28 f., § 494 pp. 54 f., § 498 p. 60. Optative: ed-i-m ed-i-mus instead

1) I § 110 ppe 105 should be corrected by this statement.
of *d-i-, perhaps to distinguish this optative from the old optative of dō- 'give' (see below).

\[\bar{d}vō\] - 'place': Lat. con-\-di-mus con-\-di-tis crēdimus for *fa-mos *fa-te: Gr. ἐ-τα-μεν, see § 493 p. 53. The forms -dō -dis -dit -dunt are thematic.

\[\bar{d}o\] - 'give': Lat. da-mus da-tis red-dimus -ditis: tir. i-do-μεν, see § 493 p. 53.1) Imperative: ce-do (2\textsuperscript{nd} pl. ce-tte for *ce-date *ce-dite, I § 633 p. 474), see § 957. The old optative stem *d-i- (ep. Avest. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sing. d-yā-p) is found in Osc. da-did 'dedat': to this the conj. da-dad Lat. dē-dat is related like Lat. ed-a-mus : ed-i-\-mus (see above). The old singular forms *dō-m *dō-s *dō-t are gone; we have instead dō dās dat. The last two represent the stem used in composition for the conjunctive, d-ā (ep. -dās for *bhā-ā-s indic. beside conj. fu-ā-s, see § 578); and these created dō on the analogy of stō : stās, flō : flās etc. In composition, we see the same inflexion as legō has: vēn-dō red-dō -dis -dit -dimus -ditī -dunt. But undoubtedly -dimus -ditis are what *-dunus *-datis must regularly become, ep. fut. O.Lat. reddiōbō for *red-dabō.

Remark 2. The compounds of \[\bar{d}vō\] and \[\bar{d}o\] were confused in Latin, beginning with the 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} plural; \[\bar{d}i\] - *fa- *di- and = *du- *dā-. Compare Darmesteter, De conj. Lat. verbi dare, Paris 1877; Postgate, Dare, 'to give' and -dare 'to put', Trans. Phil. Soc. 1880—81 pp. 99 ff.; Thielmann, Das verbum dare im Lat., Leipzig 1882; the Author, Liter. Centr. 1882 col. 1889 ff.

Whether the forms stā-s sta-t from \[\bar{v}sta\] - 'stand' are rightly placed here with the rest, as is suggested by Skr. ṣṭa-stā-t and Gr. ἕ-σχη (§ 493 p. 54), is very doubtful because of stā-mus stā-tis. One cannot see why an orig. *stā-mus (ep. dā-mus) should have been altered (ēσχημεν as compared with ἑδεμεν is quite a different thing, see § 495 p. 55); and so it

1) Bréal (Mém. Soc. Ling., vii 326) thinks he may regard as an un augmented preterite dat in Vergil's crātera antiquom quem dat Siboni Didò (Aen. ix 268). Many points in Vergil's manner are in favour of Bréal's assumption (see Ladewig on Aen. i 79, ii 275, Kühner Ausf. Gr. ii 90).
is preferable to refer the whole present of this verb *stō to *stō-ju; see § 584 Rem., § 706. This is supported by Umbr. stahu ‘sto’.

§ 506. Keltic. V es- ‘to be’; 1) 3rd sing. O.Ir. is O.Cymr. iss is for *es-ti. 3rd pl. O.Ir. if O.Cymr. int for *s-senti (II p. 196, footnote). The a- of the Irish proclitic sing. 1st pers. am 2nd at (3rd relat. as), plur. 1st ammi 2nd adib (3rd rel. ata), is from -e. The form am then had no -i at the end; and since it is usually written am with one m, it seems to have had m spirant, like Mid.Cymr. wyf. It must therefore not be derived from *esmi. The 2nd sing. at Mid.Cymr. wyf may contain the pronoun of the 2nd person, and may thus be explained as *es-i+t-. Mid.Cymr. 1st sing. wyf seems to be due to the analogy of the 2nd sing. Is Ir. am the same? Others regard these forms as coming from the root ei- ‘go’. The 1st pl. ammi Mid.Cymr. ym may be *esmesi. In the 2nd pl. adib, -b is certainly an affixed personal pronoun, and -di- the ending of the 2nd pl. = -thi -the (ground-form *tesi, the suffix re-formed on the analogy of the 1st pl., see § 1014). This brings us back to an imaginary ground-form *s-e-tesi + sp-, which would be a re-formate following the 3rd pl. *senti; and so perhaps the 1st pl. should be derived from *s-esmesi, a later contamination.

Again, the Keltic t-preterite, as it is called, is partly of the same kind. In the 3rd sing. of this preterite, the ending -t is said to represent the middle ending *-to (Strachan, Bezz. Beitr. xiii 128 ff., and Zimmer, Kuhn’s Zeitschr. xxx 204 ff.); e.g. O.Ir. as-bert ‘dixit’ Mid.Cymr. kymertoth ‘sumpsit’ for *kymberth from √bher-. When -t ceased to be understood as a personal ending, the other persons which completed the tense were formed on the model of stems ending in -t: O.Ir. sing.

1st pers. -burt 2nd -birt, plur. 1st -bartmar 2nd *-bartid 3rd -bartatur. Compare Lith. "iti 'I go' formed from ū-t 'he goes' = Skr: ē-ti § 686 Rem. 2, Gr. ἵππη from i-δ’-ης = Skr. 6-di-thas § 589. In forms like as-bert Strachan sees root-aorists of this class, Zimmer s-aorists (*ber-s-to). As a matter of fact, both these aorists may have been the source for some preterites such as these. To our Class I belong O.Ir. ro-ét 'he took' for *-em-to, Mid.Cymr. gwan-τ 'percussit, feriit'.


V-es- 'to be', see § 493 p. 52. The indicative forms are Gothic im, is, ist, sijun sium, sijuþ siuþ, sind; O.H.G. bim, (bist bis), ist, birum, birut, sint; O.Icel. em, est, es (Run. is), crom erum, erod erud, ero eru. First it must be mentioned that the O.H.G. 2nd sing. bist bis belongs to a present to be described below in §§ 707 and 722, formed from V-bhey-, namely 1st sing. *bhy-ið 2nd sing. *bhy-i-si etc. (A.S. 1st sing. bō 2nd sing. bis 3rd sing. bid, O.Ir. biu etc.), and that the similarity of bis and *is (= Goth. is) produced b-im b-irum b-irut. 1st sing. Goth. im O.H.G. (b-)im for *immi *ismi = Skr. 6s-mi (1 § 582 Rem. 2 p. 436); O.Icel. em instead of regular *im following the plural forms which begin with e, whence also the e in est and es. Whether the 2nd sing. Goth. is comes from Idg. *esi or *es-si (see § 984.1), cannot be decided; O.Icel. est like O.H.G. bist has -t on the analogy of the preterite (§ 990.3); on the very rare O.Icel. 2nd sing. es, see Noreen in Paul’s Grundr. I 515. The 3rd sing. Goth. O.H.G. ist is for Idg. *es-ti; O.Icel. es (Run. is) A.S. O.Sax. is are doubtless the old injunctive Idg. *es-t; the 3rd pl. O.Icel. er-o is also injunctive (other explanations are suggested by J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 593; von Fierlinger, ibid.
xxvii 440 footnote 2; Noreen, loc. cit.; Osthoff, Perf. 428 f.). In the plural, the weak stem is seen in Goth. s-ind O.H.G. s-int = Idg. *s-enti. ()Icel. evo eru is pr. Germ. *iz-unī (§ 1025. 1 b), an injunctive in which the strong stem has taken the place of the weak (ep. Gr. ἔχων, § 502 p. 66). As the ending of *izunī agreed with the so-called preterite-presents, such as Goth. mun-un (§ 508), on their analogy the 1st pl. O.Icel. eorum O.H.G. (b-)irum ‘and the 2nd pl. O.Icel. erod O.H.G. (b-)irut appeared. These forms then produced O.H.G. Frank. sind-un O.Sax. A.S sind-un. Goth. sijum sijup are probably transformed from *iz-un *iz-unī, caused partly by sind, partly by the feeling that the opt. sijau sijus etc. should contain a stem sij-. — The optative has always a weak root: 1st sing. Goth. s-i jaw O.H.G. s-1 O.Icel. s-jā; on the inflexion, see § 947. — Partic. *s-und- = Idg. *s-yt- in Goth. sunjis ‘true’ for *sund-jā- = Skr. sat-yā- ‘true’; also thematic *s-o-nt- in *sanī-a- ‘true, truthful’ A.S. sód O.Icel. saunr (ep. § 493 p. 53).

O.H.G. tuum ‘I do’ (O.Sax. A.S. dō-m) must be derived from ṛdhā-, along with the pret. te-ta and the subst. ta-t (Goth. ga-dē-ās-) and others, but its vowel makes it impossible to derive the word from *dhē-mi. Perhaps it contains *dh-ā- (Class X, § 585), found in other parts of the verb as a conjunctive stem (Lat. con-da-m -da-mus); ep. Lat. 2nd sing. d-ā-s ‘thou givest’ = conj. (red-)dās (§ 505 p. 71, § 937).

Remark. On O.H.G. stām stem ‘I stand’ and gēna yēn ‘I go’, see § 708. They certainly do not belong to this class of presents.

If this view be right, Goth. mun-un ga-daurs-un vit-un were originally injunctive, like Icel. er-o er-u (§ 507 p. 73). We shall meet again with present forms among the preterite-presents (§§ 646, 887, 893).

§ 509. Connected with Skr. īr-tē imper. Avest. ar²-sna (Gr. ὅσον, which point to an Idg. mid. pres. *j-taŋ (mentioned above, § 497, page 57) are A.S. 2nd sing. ear-d ar-d ear-t 'thou art' pl. ear-un ar-on with ar- = Idg. *ar-*. For the meaning cp. Gr. ὅσον-α, which in late Greek had also the meaning 'I am'. On the 2nd sing., see § 900. 3.

Remark. Germ. ar- was probably not a perfect stem, which would have been ār-. This is said to correct the note in Idg. Forsch. i 51.

Von Fierlinger (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 436 ff.) deduces some other presents with weak stem and secondary accent, from thematic forms with peculiar vocalism. Thus, for Goth. fara 'I fare, go'. V-per- (in Gr. περάω 'I pass through' etc.), he assumes an older present stem *pēr-, 1st pl. *pēr-mēs (cp. Skr. 2nd sing. pāv-śī).

§ 510. Balto-Slavonic. To Idg. *yeizd-mi 'I see' belong Lith. veizd-mi, and imperative Lith. veizdi veizd O.C.Sl. viždi. — the imperative forms have non-original strong stem, and the O.C.Sl. form has ė instead of e, see §§ 493 p. 52, §§ 949, 962. An undoubted re-formate is Lith. pa-vyždmi instead of pa-vyždžiu 'invideo', also used (cp. § 511).

Idg. *es-mi 'I am', see § 493 p. 52. The Lithuanian forms here to be cited are scattered over various dialects. 1st sing. Lith. es-mi O.C.Sl. jes-mī; on the analogy of thematic verbs with -u Lith. esmē (like Lott. esmu .Pruss. asmu), and then a 2nd person esmē was made on the analogy of sukē: sukū. 2nd sing. Lith. es (Pruss. assai assei asse essai) O.C.Sl. ėsē, see § 991. 3rd sing. Lith. ės-ti ėš-t (Pruss. ast est) O.C.Sl. ės-tī. The 1st and 2nd pl. may have taken es- instead of s- in pr. Balto-Slav.: Lith. ės-me ės-te (Pruss. asmai, astai asti estei) O.C.Sl. ės-mū ės-te. Partic. Pruss. -sins dat. -sentismu: cp. -Lat. -sēns and Gr. Dor. ἵππ-ες (p. 50 footnote). —
The present of *ed- ‘eat’ was in pr. Balto-Slav. *ēd-mi; for its ē see § 480 Rem. pp. 28 f., § 494 p. 54. Lith. sing. 1st pers. ēmi ‘I devour’ 3rd sing. ēsti īst pl. 1st ēme 2nd ēste dual 1st ēdvā 2nd ēsta (on ēdni ēdune see I § 547 p. 401); O.C.Sl. sing. 1st pers. īamu 2nd jasi 3rd jastū pl. 1st īamu 2nd jaste 3rd jad-etū (on 1st dual āvē instead of āduvē, see I § 547 Rem. 5, p. 401). — Also thematic Lith. ēdu ēdi etc., Pruss. opt. 2nd pl. īdaiti O.C.Sl. partic. jady jadaštā.

Other presents of this class are found in one only of the two branches, Baltic or Slavonic, not in both:

§ 511. In Lithuanian there is a fine array of present forms of this class, but nearly all are defective and have only one or two persons left, chiefly the first and third. Some of them have come into this class quite late. Compare § 496 p. 56. Lists of mi-forms may be found in Schleicher pp. 250 ff., Kurschat pp. 304 ff., Bezzenger Beitr. lit. Spr. 198 ff. (a few more come from the dialects).

We begin with those which may be regarded as representing Idg. originals.

pa-velmi ‘I will’ 2nd sing. pa-velt, refl. 1st sing. velme-s: Skr. ēti-ta etc., see § 493 p. 51.

ei-mi ‘I go’: Skr. ēmi etc., see § 493 p. 51. 2nd sing. ei-st 3rd sing. ei-ti ei-t. The strong stem passes into the
plural: 1st eī-me 2nd eī-te; but 2nd pl. High Lithuanian eīste on the analogy of ėste: ēme, dūste: dūme. Old injunctives are ei 'let him go' (te ne ei 'let him not go') eimē 'let us go' (dual eivā). Imper. eī-k = Lat. iē (§ 957). Indic. now usually ei-nū, as Class XIII (§ 615). Pruss. 2nd sing. ei-se 3rd sing. ei-t 1st pl. ei-mai. Partic. Lith. ent- 'going' (in old printed books) doubtless stands for *i-ent-, first in compounds with prefix ending in a consonant, such as isz-ent- (I § 147 p. 132), cp. p. 50 footnote; but it is possible that it comes from *i-e-nt-, Class X; see § 593. — *i-o- appears to be contained in Pruss. opt. 2nd sing: feis 2nd pl. feiti.

lēk-mi 'I remain' 3rd sing. lēk-ti lēk-t: Skr. 2nd dual rik-tam 2nd sing. mid. rik-thās, V leig- 'linquere'.


sēdmi 'I sit' 3rd sing. sēst 1st pl. refl. sēdmē-s: Skr. 2nd sing. sāt-si, V sed- 'sedere', see § 494 pp. 54 f.

jūs-mi 'I gird' (beside jū'siu): Avest. 3rd sing. yās-ti, stem jōs-. Compare § 656.

The imperatives dē-k 'lay' (inf. dē-ti, V dē-hē) and dā-k 'give' (inf. dā-ti, V dā-,), of which the latter must be compared with Lat. ce-do, show the same formation as eī-k (= Lat. iē). O.Lith. dū-di dū-d 'give' doubtless = *dō-dhi. See I § 547 Rem. 1 p. 401, IV §§ 546, 957, 982.

Some other presents of the same sort, to which there is nothing which answers outside the Baltic group, may here be named: bar-mi 'I scold' 3rd sing. ap-bart, V bher- (Lat. feriō), bar- for *bhr-; snēk-ti 'it snows', V snegh-; mōg-mi 'I sleep' 3rd sing. mēkt 2nd pl. mēkte; rāug-mi 'I belch', V reyg- (Gr. iepvynur); 1) sērg-mi 'I protect, watch' 3rd sing. sērkti; kōsmi 'I cough' (Skr. kās-a-tē).

1) On account of a form rūvymi, Wiedemann (Lit. Praxt. 188) derived this word from a groundform *rēug-mi (cp. § 494 pp. 54 f.); which is very dubious.
All these verbs have in Lithuanian, beside this present formation, another with the same meaning, which in High Lithuanian is almost the only one. It is certainly no mere chance that in so many presents of the *mi*-class, the bye-form is a verb in *-i* with accentuated root (1st pl. *-ine* Class XXVI § 727), as *sėdžiu*, *sėrįsin*, *kősūn*, *žydžiu* (*žydmi* 'I bloom'), *cziąndežiu* (*cziąndmi* 'I sneeze'), *stòrin* (*stòvmi* 'I stand'), *mérdežiu* (*mérdezi* 'I lie a-dying'), etc. With these verbs in *-i*, the 2nd and 3rd sing. ran together and became indistinguishable in form (2nd sing. *-i* for *-*i; 3rd sing. *i* for *-*i), and it is probable that it was a wish to keep these persons distinct which first produced the non-thematic forms in most of these verbs. Perhaps on the analogy of *sēst(i)* (*sēdmi*) beside *sėdžiu* was formed *sėrkt(i)* etc.

Observe also *tenk-i* instead of *tenki* 'I hast' (pret. *tekaū* inf. *tekti*), and the 2nd pl. *gēlėste* (*gēlposé*), from *gēlówn* 'I help' 3rd sing. *gēlbt(i) gēlpt(i)*, — for its s. compare that of *ei-s-te* § 511 p. 77.

§ 512. Slavonic. The form only without parallel in Lithuanian is *se-ti* 'inquit', explained in § 493 p. 52.

Class II: Root *+ Thematic Vowel forming the Present Stem.

§ 513. This class of present stems, invariably the largest in all Indo-Germanic languages, falls into two divisions, according as the accent falls (A) upon the root syllable or (B) upon the thematic vowel. When the root carried the accent, it was of the strong grade (1st strong grade in the *e*-series), but weak grade if the accent fell upon the thematic vowel: e.g. (A) *bheýdh-o* = Skr. *bódh-a*- Gr. *πεύθ-o* (bódh-a-ṭi *peúth-o-mai* *peúth-e-sa*); (B) *bhudh-á* = Skr. *budh-á*- Gr. *πυθ-ó* (budh-á-nta *e-pyθ-α-το-πυθ-ή-sa*), from *bhéydhy-* ‘wake, notice, learn’. The indicative often gives both forms from the same root, particularly often in Aryan and Greek. This we see in the above example; others are Skr. *tár-a-ti* : *tir-á-ti* ‘oversteps, passes’. 

kārṣ-a-ti: kṛṣ-a-ti ‘draws, ploughs’, sāryp-a-ti ‘crews’; d-arṣp-a-ti:
(ér. At. rṝep-o: Dor. rṝap-o (instead of *rṝap-o)) ‘I turn’,
rṝip-o ‘I leave’ inf. leṇ-siv: e-λaa-p-o-n inf. λaa-siv, eχ-o ‘I have’
inf. eχ-uv: i-αχ-o-n inf. αχ-siv; Lat. ic-o: ic-o, rüd-o (O.H.G.
*yįįč-o: O.Icel. veg ‘I compel’ pr. Germ. *yįič-o, Goth. trud-o
‘I tread’; O.H.G. trut-u; O.C.Sl. dor-o ‘I tear’: Czech dr-u
Serv. -dr-em, O.C.Sl. šid-q ‘I wait’ (Lith. geidzė): šed-o,
Lith. mėt-o ‘I milk’: O.C.Sl. mlaz-q. The two kinds are
often found in different languages with the same root; as
from V/dhruv- ‘hurt, deceive’ Aryan has only *dhruvó-, Skr.
2nd sing. druha-s etc., and Germanic only *dhrūvgo-, O.H.G.
trigu.

To decide the historical relation of these two kinds, two
facts have to be taken into account. First, that in Aryan and
Greek, Type B constantly expressed aorist action, and A
present action. 2) Secondly, that type A is conjunctive to in-
dicative forms of Class I, and B often occurs as a variant
indicative stem along with stems of Class I, no distinction
being drawn between these two present stems in meaning; see
§§ 493 ff. How these facts are to be explained is still obscure.
Only thus much may be called probable, that Type A had
originally both indicative and subjunctive meaning (cp. § 489
pp. 47 f., §§ 578, 910).

Remark. Because of the frequency with which these two types
(Ii A and B) are found in the same verb, many scholars, among them
Fick and Paul, have supposed that from different persons of the same
stem, we have the two stems bhṛydh-o bhṛydh-e and bhṛdh-o bhṛdh-d
by levelling; originally, they assume, the varying accent produced
*bhṛydh-o and *bhṛdh-e (e. g. 1st pl. *bhṛydh-o-mos but 2nd pl. *bhṛdh-
-e-te); then, by levelling, we have 2nd pl. *bhṛydh-e-te beside *bhṛdh-d-te
following *bhṛydh-o-mos, and vice versa we have *bhṛdh-d-mos beside

1) I here assume that ic-o comes from *ejo and rüd-o from *r ragazzo
reyt. But this is not certain; for i und u may represent ldg. i und i.
2) Type B is found distinguishing the aorist sense from other
present stems, and not only those of the A type; as Skr. achida-ti Lat.
seidi-t (§ 523), but pres. Skr. chinát-ti opt. chinđe-ta Lat. scindó.
§ 514. Class II A: the Root Syllable accented and in the strong Grade. Some forms are used as both indicative and conjunctive, as. indic. Skr. áy-a-tē Lat. eō eunt, conj. Skr. áy-a-ti áy-a-t (beside indic. ē-ti); see § 493 ff. Here we confine ourselves to o-forms with indicative meaning.


1) Such levelling as this would not be extraordinary. For instance, the present of Lat. vindicō becomes in O.Fr., regularly, venge vences venché vengons vengiez venchent; from this we have two series derived, (1) venge vengē venget vengons vengiez vengent, and (2) vences vence venché venchous venchiez venchent (Neumann, Zeitschr. Rom. Phil., xiv, 562).

On present forms with Idg. ē in place of e, as Gr. μηθ-ε-μαυ Lith. bēg-u Skr. sdh-āmi mārj-āmi, see § 471 p. 16, § 480 Rem. pp. 28 f., § 494 pp. 54 f. To the same list perhaps belongs the West-Germ. 2nd sing. pret., as O.H.G. māzi AS. mēte measuroc' (Gr. mid. i-μεθε-ε-ου), O.H.G. āzi 'atest' (Lith. ėd-u 'to eat', but cp. the augmented Skr. dd-a-s Gr. ἄθ-ε-ς), see § 893.


Hegmann, Elements. IV.
'wakes, awakes, is observant' Avest. mid. buzdaiti: Gr. πην-τε-
-ται 'learns, discovers', Goth. ana-biuola 'I bid, command', O.C.Sl.
bljut-e-tā 'observes', with secondary (b)j, √bheudh-. Skr.
pāt-ā-ti 'flies' Avest. pāt-e-nti 'they fall; run' O.Pers. ud-āpata
'he raised himself: Gr. πετ-το-το 'flies', Lat. pet-ō. Skr. āj-ā-ti
'leads, drives' Avest. azaiti: Armen. acem etc., see § 514 p. 80.
Skr. ārk-ā-ti 'earns, deserves' Avest. arjuiiti: Gr. pret. ἠληγ-ο-
ν 'I earned', √algh-.

§ 516. Sanskrit had so many presents of Class II A with
ā in the root syllable, that other stems which had originally a
unaccented in the root, accented it on their analogy; e.g.
*dāk-e-ti 'bites' properly becomes *dāśāti, but what we find is
dāšati, cp. also dāk-ā-ti from *deṁk-e-ti. See I § 672 p. 537.
But this retraction of accent is found with other root vowels
as well, not a only; as girāmi beside girāmi (§ 525); cp. hinv-
-ā-ti hi-nv-ānti in contrast with hi-nō-ti hi-nv-ānti § 651.

§ 517. Armenian, berem 'I bring, carry': Skr. bhūrāmi
etc., see § 514 p. 80. celem 'I split', beside Lith. skelū (skel-
-ū) 'I split', e-ker 'he ate': Skr. 3rd sing. gav-ā-t (should be
*java-t, but follows girā-ti and others), √ger-. e-tes 'he saw
(tes- for *ters-, I § 263 p. 214): Skr. ā-dars-ā-t, Gr. δερκ-ι-ται,
O.Ir. con-dercar 'conspicuitur', √derk-. liz-em 'I lick': Gr.
ληξ-ω.

Remark. Whether the i of gitem 'I know' was Idg. e, which
would connect the verb with Skr. vēd-ā-tē Gr. νιδ-ι-ται, or Idg. a, which
would make it a transformation of the perfect (Gr. oichas), is not to be
decided, Bartholomae's efforts notwithstanding (Benz. Beitr. xvi 94 f.).
The meaning does not prove a perfect origin for it.

§ 518. Greek. δεφ-ώ 'I flay'; Goth. ga-taira O.H.G.
zir-n 'I tear to pieces. I destroy', O.C.Sl. der-e-tā 'tears to
pieces'. oter-ω 'I groan, bewail': Skr. stan-a-ti 'thunders,
roars'. ote(f)-e-ti ote 'flows': Skr. srāv-a-ti.  śro(f)-ω 'I run': Skr.
dhav-a-tē 'streams, flows' (on dhāv-a-tē see § 480 Rem. p. 29).
την-ω 'I satisfy, please': Skr. tārp-a-ti. ἅπελφ-ω 'I milk':
O.H.G. milch-u, Lith. melē-u. vēb-o-wn 'I appear, am like':
Skr. vēd-ā-tē. melb-o 'I persuade': Lat. fid-ō, Goth. brid-a

'I await'. sū-to 'I burn' Ion. evō (cp. the Author, Gr. Gr. 2 p. 31): Skr. ḍā-a-ti, Lat. ār-o, √eyes-: evō for *ēnō as einōpara for *ēhenōpara, see § 478 p. 211. ēūv-d-ti 'I redded, made red': O.Icel. rýð (inf. rýða), √reudh-. orv-t-i 'I cover': Skr. athay-a-ti (grammarians' word), Lat. teg-o, ḍē-ō 'I hold, have': Skr. sāh-a-ti 'overcomes' (on sāh-a-ti see § 480 Rem. p. 29). ḍi-ti 'I seethe, boil': Skr. a-yas-a-ti, O.H.G. jis-u yis-u, √jes-: aūd-ti 'I burn', √aïd- (I § 93 p. 87, § 318 p. 237). tēx-ti 'I melt' Dor. ōx-ti, ṛjī-ti 'I cease', √sēg- (I § 565 p. 423).

Since the preterites ēγενόμηρ 'I became', ἐτέκνο 'I struck', ἔλω 'I seized' were used as aorists, their infinitives and participles were accepted like forms of Class II B: γενέσθαι, ἔλω, ἐτέκνο instead of *γενέσθαι, *ἔλω, *ἐτέκνο. As regards the aorists ἐτέκνο 'I bore, begot' and Dor. Lesb. ἐστοι 'I fell' (τεκείν, πεικόν), these may possibly belong by rights to II B, and may have exchanged their ρ for τ (cp. Bartholomae. Brx. Beitr. xvii 109). Compare § 527.


§ 520. Keltic. Irish Presents of the 1st and 3rd conjugations (o- and io-stems) are so often confused that the distinction between them cannot be made of any practical use. This makes it quite uncertain whether the following specimens belonged to Class II originally or not.

O.Ir. -biur ber-im 'I bear, bring': Skr. bháir-a-ti etc., see § 514 p. 80. cel-im 'I hide': O.H.G. hil-u 'I hide' (it is doubtful whether to add Lat. oc-culō, as being for *celō, or to place it in II B). mel-im 'molo', √ mel- (O.C.Sl. mel-jā inf. mlē-ti). con-dercar 'conspicitur: Skr. ád-darš-a-t etc., see § 517 p. 82. reth-im 'I run': cp. Lith. rit-ū 'I roll' (II B). eig (Mid.Ir.) imper. 'raise yourself, rise': Gr. ὧπρι-ω 'I reach', Lat. reg-ō. longim 'I spring' 3rd sing. lingid): Skr. rāh-a-tē etc., see § 514 p. 81. scendim (Mid. Ir.) 'I spring', Mod. Cymr. cy-chwynnaf 'I spring up', pr. Kelt. *skyend-: it appears to be connected with Skr. skánd-a-ti 'springs' Lat. scandō, but the vowels are not clear (cp. Kretschmer in Kuhn’s Zeitschr. xxxi 379, R. Schmidt Idg. Forsch. I 75 f.). tiag-im 'I go': Gr. σείξ-ω 'I go', Goth. steig-a 'I climb', √ steigh-. fed-im 'I lead': Lith. ved-ū 'I lead' O.C.Sl. ved-e-tū, √ yedh-. tech-im 'I flee': Skr. tak-a-ti 'runs, pushes, shoves' (in the grammarians), Lith. tek-ū 'I run, flow' O.C.Sl. tek-e-tū 'runs, flow'. can-im 'I sing': Lat. can-ā.


§ 523. Class II B: the Accent falls upon the thematic Vowel, and the Root is Weak.

This class may have been produced by adding a thematic vowel to forms of Class I with the weak stem; see § 491, page 50.


1) Vol. I § 379 Rgm. p. 286, should be corrected. It can hardly be right to separate *zyq from *deyū, as Miklosich does (Etym. Wörterb. 407).

2) A comparison of un-runandas with forms like kumum = Idg. *kum-nu-ās (§ 646) shows that n and m following q and q as transition-consonants or consonant glides were pronounced more weakly than when they had their ordinary value. Thus it would be better to write *ghūs-ō-, and on the same principle *bhuv-ā-ō ( = Skr. bhūv-a-t), *dau-ū ( = Gr. ἄνω) rather than *bhuv-ō- *bhuv-ō- The difference is seen in pr. Gr. *kektēnē = *φυτέμα an (h)ikyos = *ίππος.

Avest. 3rd sing. be-a-p 3rd pl. buh i.e. bux-e-n, Lat. aor. (perf.) fui-t (compare conj. Osc. fuid = *fu-ë-t and O.Lat. jn-â-s) fut. -bô- bunt for *fy-o- (§ 899) Osc. indic. aor. as-mar-ë-fed 'mandavit' = Avest. be-a-p (§§ 874, 899), O.Ir. no charub for *cara-b(wô) (cara-? § 899), O.C.Sl. 3rd pl. injunct. bu for *by-o-nt (§ 727); it is not certain that (Ir. qêô belongs to this class, as it may be derived from *qê-fô (we have in Acolic qêô § 527 Rem., § 707). *qôt-o- from V qert- 'cut': Skr. á-krt-a-t, O.C.Sl. chit-e-ti. *dyk-o- from V derk- 'sec': Skr. 3rd pl. á-dyô-n-u opt. dyô-ë-t, (Ir. i-dyôx-o-v inf. dyôx-ëv. *melô-o- from V melô 'stroke, milk': Skr. mejô-ti 'strokes off, cleans', Mid. Ir. blegain 'I milk', O.C.Sl. mlâs-e-ti 'milks'. *dák-o- from V deâk- 'bite': Skr. dás-a-ti (for the accent, see § 516 p. 82, § 525), Gr. ê-dax-o-r (I § 224 p. 192). *rud-o- from V reyd- 'lament': Skr. rudô-ti. Lat. rüdô O.H.G. 2nd sing. pret. rügg-i for *rût-i-z (§ 893). *vëd-o- from V yeid-: Skr. á-vid-a-t 'he found' Avest. Gathic vid-a-p, Armen. e-git 'he found', Gr. ë-ôv L e-sb. r-vô-o-v 'I saw' inf. ëô-ëv, inf. Goth. eít-an O.H.G. wigg-an 'know'. *s-o- from V es- 'be': Lat. s-u-m s-u-mus s-u-n, partic. Gr. ôv Lat. sôns O.Icel. samnr Lith. sâs O.C.Sl. sy. see § 493. *dhô- from V dhë- 'vidërai': Skr. dh-a-ti, Lat. con-dô, see § 493 pp. 52 f. Goth. magan 'be able' partic. magunus, O.C.Sl. noga I can', beside Gr. miôs, 'help, remedy' (η = α), ep. § 887.

§ 525. Many forms of this class have in Sanskrit the accent of II A; as ḍāṣ-a-ti 1/deśk-, gīr-āmi beside gīr-āmī (§ 523 p. 86), bhūv-a-t (p. 86). hṛp-a-tē 'laments'. Compare § 516, page 82.

Remark. After what has been said in I § 313 p. 251 and other places, it must seem doubtful whether such a word as Skr. pāc-a-ti 'coquilt' represents original *peṣ-e-ti (II A), or orig. *peṣ-e-ti (II B) with weak grade stem and secondary accent, the word accent having been afterwards retracted. I hold that Bartholomae is right in allowing only ḍ as the weak grade with secondary accent for roots of the form peṣ- (Bezz. Beitr., xvii 109 ff.), which brings presents like pāc-a-ti under II A. Bartholomae, page 117, conjectures that an Ar. *ṣīd-ā = *ṣad-ā- from 1/sad-ā-it' is contained in Avest. bīd-a-iti.
§ 527. Greek. Here the original distinction of accent between II A and II B is seen in the infinitive, but hardly anywhere else; e.g. ἔλθω-σείν : λέχσ-τίν (cp. I § 676 Rem. 1 p. 541). But in Greek this distinction was seized upon and connected with the distinction between present and aorist; so much so, that when verbs of II A were used as aorists, or verbs of II B for the present, their accent was changed: thus we have γεν-ζαθα, not *γεν-ε-ζαθα (see § 518 p. 89), and γράφε-ζαθα γράφα-ζαθα instead of *γράφε-ζαθα and *γράφα-ζαθα (cp. § 775 Rem.). In the finite verb, the original accent of II B remained in a few imperatives like ἵσ-ζ, see § 958. It is difficult to judge whether the old accent remains in words whose root has ceased to form a separate syllable, as 3rd sing. ἀγ-ε-το conj. αἰσ from /ségh/, because the accent must rest on this syllable in any case (cp. I § 676 Rem. 1 p. 543).

Remark 1. The same cause which changed *γραφαίς γράφείς to γραφεῖς and γράφεις, acted upon all other classes of thematic stems where the thematic vowel originally carried the accent, causing a change of accent whenever these stems were used as imperfect-presents. Thus we have ἤνοικοι instead of *ἐνοικοῖσιν cp. Skr. _gateway-λα (§ 611), τιτων instead of *τιτων ἤτοι ep. Skr. ἴπ-τό-τι (§ 652), ἑσσων instead of *ἐσσοῖ ep. Skr. ἑ-τό-τι (§ 673), βιοτων instead of *βιοὶ-τοῖ ep. Skr. ἱ-ε-τό-τι (§ 713), ἀνατων instead of *ἀνατοῖ ep. Skr. ἀ-ε-τό-τι (§ 870), ἑηορτων instead of *ἑηορτοῖ ep. Skr. ἑ-α-τό-τι (§ 743). This applies to all denominative verbs (Class XXXI), as ὁδεῖοι ὁδεῖν ὁδεῖν ὁδεῖτε) κοινοὶ κτένων ὄνοματων ἄγγελλον instead of ἀγγελοί ἀγγέλλοι etc., compare Skr. pytamet-γα-τι vespaa-γά-τι avati-γα-τι σαλη-γα-τι γρα-γα-τι ἀδην-γα-τι. For these denominatives another fact has to be taken into account. In prothetic Greek, verbs in -εῖν like ἔλθων had become indistinguishable from verbs of Class XXXII, in -έδω, as φοινοῖ = Skr. bhārdyaṁi (§ 801); and even before the accent was seized upon to help in distinguishing aorist from present, *γέλων may have become γέλων by analogy of φοινοῖ, and then the verbal nouns of other denominative classes may have been drawn into the same circle of attraction.

1) Observe that the circumflex of these contracted nom. sing. mass
forms, ἐπὶ ἔνωρ ἐπὶ ἐνωρ, supports the theory of a change of accent here set forth. The old accentuation of the thematic vowel would have produced *ἐπίνων ἐπὶ ἐνωρ like ἐπινωρ; for ἐπινωρ.
\( \sqrt{\text{gel}} \). \( i\text{-tamu-o} \) 'I cut' \( \text{tamu-} \text{tir} \) from \( \sqrt{\text{tem}} \). \( i\text{-xpar-o} \) 'I died' \( \text{xpar-} \text{tir} \) instead of \( *\text{par} \), beside \( i\text{-paro-o} \) from \( \sqrt{\text{ghen}} \) (I § 429 Rem. I p. 317): Russ. \( \varepsilon \text{nu} \) 'I cut off' for \( *\varepsilon \text{glin}-q \), see § 534. \( i\text{-xparo-o} \) 'I killed' \( \text{xpar-} \text{tir} \) from \( \text{xpar-} \text{tir} \), beside 1st pl. \( i\text{-xparo} \) Class I § 502 p. 64. \( *\varepsilon\text{-ylo} \) 'I open' for \( *\varepsilon\text{-fryo} \), cp. Hom. \( \varepsilon\text{-fr-ye} \text{-pe} \) and Lesb. inf. \( \varepsilon\text{-ely-yr} \) (§ 648) \( \varepsilon\text{-paro-o} \) 'I drank' \( \pi\text{-eir} \) beside \( *\pi\text{-eir} \) Class I; \( \varepsilon\text{lo}-\text{to} \) 'I hear' beside \( \chi\text{li}-\text{to} \) Class I, § 498 p. 59 (cp. W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx ix 240); it is not certain, I freely admit, that these stems in \(-r\)- and \(-e\)- are rightly classed here; see the Remark. \( \varepsilon\text{par-} \text{tir} \) 'ovnivai (grasp') Hesych.: Skr. \( \nu\text{r-} \text{a-} \text{ti} \) 'touche, grasp'. \( \gamma\text{drp} \text{-o} \) 'I scratch in, incise, write', \( \sqrt{\text{gerph}} \) (A.S. \( \text{coerfan} \) 'cut, carve' Mid.H.G. kerben to notch, indent' kerwe 'a notch'). Dor. \( \varepsilon\text{par-} \text{to} \) 'I turn' (Att. \( \tau\rho\varepsilon\text{-} \text{to} \) II A), Att. \( \varepsilon\text{par-} \text{to} \text{par-} \text{tir} \). \( \varepsilon\text{dphw} \) 'I dry up, wither', beside Lith. skreb-\( \text{t} \) 'I grow dry'. \( i\text{-paxo-o} \) 'sounded, cried, spoke' \( \dot{i}\text{-paxt} \text{-tir} \) Lat. \( \text{log} \text{-to} \) (cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 121). \( i\text{-nax-o-o} \) 'I experienced' \( \pi\varepsilon\text{-} \text{tir} \), beside \( \pi\varepsilon\text{r-} \text{to} \). \( \varepsilon\text{-nax-} \text{-to} \) 'he obeyed, listened to' \( \pi\varepsilon\text{r-} \text{e} \text{-} \text{tir} \), \( \sqrt{\text{bhejdh}} \); on Goth. \( \text{us-bida} \) (Homanus 9, 3), see § 722. \( i\text{-r} \text{-to} \text{a} \text{a} \) 'to arrive' beside pres. \( \text{th} \text{-to} \). \( i\text{-ni} \text{-to} \text{-to} \) 'I climbed, went' \( \sigma\text{gyn-} \text{tir} \), \( \sqrt{\text{steigh}} \). \( \gamma\text{drp} \text{-o} \) 'I dig in, engrave, incise': A.S. \( \text{claf} \text{-e} \) 'I cleave, split' (O.H.G. \( \text{chliumb} \text{-u} \) H A); \( \alpha \) Lat. \( \text{glub-d} \) see § 529. \( i\text{-nax-} \text{-to} \) 'he learnt' \( \pi\varepsilon\text{r-} \text{-tir} \text{-to} \). Skr. 3rd pl. \( \text{budh-} \text{nta} \), \( \sqrt{\text{bhejdh}} \) (§ 513 p. 79). \( \dot{i}\text{-xax-o-o} \) aor. 'I came' beside fut. \( \text{klec} \text{-s} \text{h} \text{ma} \). \( \varepsilon\text{r-} \text{-} \text{to} \) 'he hid' beside \( \text{xe} \text{r-} \text{to} \). \( i\text{-pxo-o} \) 'he held, had' \( \sigma\text{r-} \text{tir} \), beside \( \dot{i}\text{-} \text{xir} \text{-to} \), \( \sqrt{\text{sejkh}} \). \( *\text{pax-} \text{-to} \) 'he flew' \( \pi\text{-r-} \text{e} \text{-tir} \) beside \( \pi\varepsilon\text{r-} \text{-tir} \). Partic. \( \text{wax-} \text{tir} \) 'bleating, crying' beside \( \nu\text{r-} \text{a} \text{ma} \). With the secondary ending of the 2nd sing. middle: \( i\text{-pxe} \text{-tir} \text{-to} \); \( \varepsilon\text{pxe} \text{-tir} \text{-to} \); \( \varepsilon\text{pxe} \text{-tir} \text{-to} \) i.e \( \varepsilon\text{pxe} \text{-tir} \text{-to} \) from \( \varepsilon\text{ger} \text{-} \text{to} \) 'say' (\( \varepsilon\text{ger} \text{-o} \)), see § 589. Whether these very forms were some of the original types which produced the whole series of aorists in \( \varepsilon\text{r} \text{-} \text{to} \), is of course doubtful; \( \varepsilon\text{r} \text{-} \text{to} \) seems originally to have belonged only to non-thematic stems (§ 1047. 2).

Remark 2. It is hard to classify forms in \( \varepsilon\text{r} \text{-} \text{to} \text{-o} \text{-v} \) and \( \varepsilon\text{r} \text{-} \text{to} \text{-e} \text{-tir} \), along with which forms in \( i \) and \( o \) are common. There is nothing a priori
§ 528. Present Stem: Class II — Skr. dhár-ati sphur-á-ti.

against assuming that these have the suffix -īo- (Class XXVI), and that -i- fell-out between vowels; indeed, this must be done for forms like Lesb. swvā (I § 130 p. 118). ।

mūm mūvār beside mūm mūvar may be illustrated by Skr. pṛ-yā-ti, ṛvā beside ṛvā by Skr. dhā-yā-tē, ṛvā beside ṛvā by O.Iccl. ।

īṣa-jā ‘destroy, crush’ (see § 707, and Osthoff, M. U. iv 12 ff.). But r and s may come from forms of Class I, by présent passing from this class into the thematic conjugation, cp. for example ni-i-mr, thematic and ni-sā, non-thematic, ।

śvā thematic and śv-a not (also śv-a, for śvā ep. Lat. lūb so-loub so-lōb), śvā ‘I roar’ (also variant ṛvā, ep. Skr. ṛv-ā-ti) but Skr. opt. ṛv-ā-t (Lat. rū-mor Goth. rū-mā). Then ।

these r- and s-forms would naturally be compared with ṛvā beside śvā, ।

śvā beside śvā, and other such, see § 497 p. 57. Another possibility is that the long vowel came in by analogy of other tenses, ṛvā following śv-a, ṛvā following śv-a, just as we see Att. ṛvā (not *ṛvā) by analogy of ṛv-a (the Author, Gr. Gr. 2 p. 31), and Lesb. ।

śvā (instead of ṛvā) by analogy of ṛv-a (§ 775).

§ 528. Italic. Lat. rol-ō vol-un-t, ṿ ṿ ṿ ẹ l- ̣, see § 493 p. 51. mōl-ō: Armenian mālem etc., see § 523 p. 86. tull-ō O.Iat., ।

ṿ ṿ ẹ l- ̣, bō, future ending, for *bhū-ō, see § 523 pp. 86 f. lū-ō so-lū ṛvā so-lōō: ep. Gr. lū-ō ‘I loose’ § 527 Rem. curvō ।

doubtless for *cors-ō, cp. accesor § 682. nivīt (O.Iat.) for ।

*nīg-īt (with variant nīngu-īt, Class XVI): Gr. vīq-ē ‘it snows ।

(also vīq-ē, II A). O.Ir. snigid ‘it drops, rains’, ṿ ṣ ṇ ẹ g̣ ị ḥ - ̣. ।

1) dū-va (Unbr. vetu ‘dividiro’ II A, see the Author, Ber. sächs. Ges. Wiss., 1890, p. 211), beside Skr. eidh- ‘to become empty ।

of, to lack’ pres. cindha-āti Class XVI. rudō: Skr. rud-āti, see § 523 p. 87. sāg-ō: O.Ir. sāg-im O.I.G. sāg-u A.S. ।

sāg-e sāc-e O.C.Sl. šiša ‘I suck’; we must suppose a root sākg- ।

or sēg-2). Lat. Osc. s-um Lat. s-umus s-un-t, ṿ ẹ ṣ -̣, see ।

§ 523 p. 87. ro-inguō probably for *-in-snuō, beside secōre. ।

par-īt O.Iat. (beside pang-ō Class XVI), ṿ p̣ āḳ -̣ p̣ āg̣ -̣: tag-īt O.Iat. (beside tang-ō Class XVI), cp. te-tigi-ī Gr. tī-tay-āv ।

‘grasping’ Class VI (§ 564).

1) Since only the 3rd sing. nivīt occurs, there is the possibility of its being a denominative nivīve (Thurneysen, Über die Herkunft und Bildung der lat. Verba auf -īo, p. 8).

2) The ṿ ṿ ẹ g̣ -̣, discussed by Osthoff in Paul Brem, Heitr. viii 279 f., must be kept quite distinct.
Then again, it is probable the 3rd sing. and 1st pl. of certain Latin perfects, which were originally thematic aorists, belong to this class of forms. *tuli-t tuli-mus, see *tulō above *fidi-t fidi-mus: Skr. opt. *vidēy-am beside ā-bhēt 'he split'. *scidi-t scidi-mus: Skr. ā-chid-a-t 'he cut off'. Compare § 867.

§ 529. In Italic it is often doubtful whether a verb belongs to Π A or Π B; as in the following instances. Lat. oc-culō, which may represent either *celō (cp. O.Ir. cel-im O.H.G. hil-u § 520 p. 84) or *cīlō. ad-venat Osc. kūm-bonēd 'convēnit', see § 523 p. 86. Lat. glōdō, cp. O.H.G. chliūdā and A.S. clāfe § 527, p. 90 (cp. p. 79 footnote 1, on reō rūdō). This doubt is most common with verbs in -nō, because -nō in unaccented position may come from *-ynō (*-yah) or from *-ynō (I § 172.1 p. 152). Thus clu-ō 'I am called, passer' (Gr. klēō and kli(f)ōnai). 'ru-nō I snatch, tear, carry off, root up' (Gr. ἥρπω 'pull, draw' O.C.Sl. rūv-e-tī 'avellit' and Skr. rūv-a-tī 'he dashes to pieces'), nu-ō (Skr. nāv-a-tē 'moves'), clu-ō 'I purify' (Skr. śrūv-a-tī 'melts'), in-grō (Litt. griārū 'I break down' § 535), plu-i-t (cp. plōv-e-hat § 514 p. 80). Lastly, some verbs may belong to the ūo-class, as snū cp. Goth. sin-ja etc. § 707.

§ 530. The quality of the thematic vowel should be observed in the 1st pl. sumus sīmus (possamuns possīmus). volumus volūmus, quaesumus as contrasted with ferūmus etc. In these u and i are used to represent a sound between the two (as in māgnificus māgnificus, maximus maximus), which was here the regular descendant of Idg. *a- (cp. Gr. οἰκο-μερ). The assumption that -i- in leg-i-mus is due to the analogy of leg-i-tis, and replaced u i, is not supported by ferimus beside fertis as compared with volumus: cultis. sumus must in time have got a distinct u (by analogy of sum and sunt, where u is regular for ō in a closed syllable): for the Romance languages show sometimes a form which must come from sumus (Span. Port. somos etc.), sometimes one which must come from sīmus (Roumanian semu etc.). On the whole subject see L. Havet, Mém. Soc. Ling. vi 26 f.
§ 531. Celtic. Compare the general remarks in the beginning of § 520, on page 84: whence it follows that some of the examples here given may really belong to the jo-class (§ 719).

O.Ir. marim 'I remain' (also conjugated in the a-class), ground-form *smrr-o √smer-. ad-gaur 'convenio' for-con-gur 'I command', ground-form *grr-o, cp. Skr. gür- 'voice'. Mod. Cymr. malaf 'I grind, grind to powder' √mel-. Armen. malem etc., see § 523 p. 86. 1) Mid.Ir. blegain 'I milk': Skr. mṛj-ıti etc., see § 523 p. 87. O.Ir. dliogim 'I earn, have a claim', cp. Goth. dulg-s 'debt, guilt'. ar-fuch 'I fight' for *gikō, cp. O.H.G. upar-wikis § 532. nigim 'I wash' do-bo-ng-nuch 'I wash off', cp. Gr. wάτο 'I wet, wash', Class XXVI, √neig-. snigi-d 'it drops, rains': O.Lat. nivi-t § 525 p. 91.

§ 532. Germanic. In pr. Germanic the accent still lay upon the thematic vowel, which is proved by a number of forms like O.Icel. celg as contrasted with Goth. viehā from √veig- (§ 513 p. 79). Also the West-Germ. ending of the 2nd sing. O.H.G. -is A.S. -es as contrasted with Norse -r (for -z), and the A.S. ending of the 3rd sing. -ed, which point to pr. Germ. *-i-si and *-i-þi, are in some cases to be referred to verbs which in pr. Germ. belonged to Class II B; see § 990. 1. § 998. 1.


1) For Cymric, much the same is true as for Irish (above, § 520 p. 84). Cymric does not enable us to decide whether *malō or some such form as *malītō was original.

2) The latest discussion of forms with s- instead of sk-, as O.H.G. sulen, is by Johansson in Paul-Braune's Beiträge xiv 295.

To this class also belongs the West Germ. 2nd sing. preterite: — O.H.G. *wurti A.S. *wurde 'becamest': Skr. *ā-vat-\( \text{-} \text{a} \)-s.

\(^1\) For these and other Germanic examples I refer to Osthoff, Paul-Braune's Beitr. \( \text{viii} \) 287 ff.; Burghauser, Igd. Präens-Bildung im Germ. pp. 28 ff.; Bremer, Zeitschr. deutsch. Phil. xxii 495 f.

§ 533. As pr. Germ. i may come from either i or e in Indo-Germanic, we cannot tell whether to place in A or B Goth. fra-veita 'I avenge' and O.H.G. wiz-n 'I punish, reprove' (†weid-), with not a few others.

§ 534. Balt-Slavonic. In Slavonic this class is much larger than in Baltic.


§ 535. In Lithuanian, i and u in the root syllable were often lengthened. skylū 'I fall in debt' instead of *skīl-ū, compare Goth. skulan, see § 532 p. 93; kylū 'I raise myself' instead of *kil-ū, V gel-; scyrū 'I get the better' instead of *svir-ū, V syer-. griūvū 'I break down' instead of *griu-ū: Lat. in-gruō, see § 529 p. 92; blāvū 'I break out into bellowing or bleating' klāvū 'I stick fast to anything, hang on to' beside O.C.Sl. blūje-e-tū klīve-e-tū, see § 534 p. 95. See Leskien, Arch. slav. Phil. v 530, and Wiedemann, Lit. Prät. 71 ff., where the pretty conjecture is offered that on the analogy of pairs of forms like pres. gyyjū (gyj-ju): pret. gijau (gij-aū), a present skylū was formed for skilau, a present griūvū for griuvaū, and so forth.

In Slavonic, it is often doubtful whether a verb belongs to A or B. This is the case with pīj-e-tū 'drinks', bīj-e-tū 'strikes', whose -ij- may be orig. -i- or orig. -eij- (I § 68 p. 60); cp. Leskien as above cited, pp. 501 ff.; Skr. pāy-ā-tē supports the derivation of pīj-e-tū from *pej-e-tī (§ 522 p. 85). The same doubt meets us in forms with -e- in the root syllable, since this may be orig. either -e- or -en-, e. g. *bled-e-tū 'wanders' from V bhlendh- (see § 532 p. 94); cp. leč-e-tū 'bends', § 637.
Class III.
Reduplication ending in -ī or -ā; simple Root forming the Present Stem.

§ 536. We begin with words from roots containing i or u, which have the same vowel in the reduplication; see § 469, page 14. Next follow stems which have i in the reduplication, but some other vowel in the root; see § 473 pages 17 ff.

Class IV, non-thematic, bears the same relation to this as Class II to Class I (§ 491 p. 50).

§ 537. Roots with i- and u-vowels. Only in Aryan and Germanic.

Pr. Idg. *bhi-bhāj-mi 'I quake, am afraid' 1st pl. *bhi-bhi-
-mēs 3rd pl. *bhi-bhi-yti: Skr. bi-bhē-mi 3rd dual bi-bhī-tas
bi-bhī-tas 3rd pl. bi-bhāy-ati, and O.H.G. bi-bē-m, which fell
under the influence of verbs in which -ēm was a suffix, and
so lost the gradation of its stem.¹) Conjunctive: Skr. bi-bhay-
3rd sing. bi-bhāy-a-ti.

mid. ci-ki-tām 2nd sing. imper. act. ci-kī-hi; conj. Avest. ci-
kay-a-p. Skr. ā-ā-dhē-t 'he looked' 1st pl. ā-dhi-mas mid.
.pres. ā-dhy-e prot. ā-dhi-ta; conj. ā-dhāy-a-t. Skr. ā-ā-
dē-t 'he appeared' 3rd pl. ā-dy-ati imper. ā-di-hi di-di-hi;
conj. ā-di-day-a-t; — with thematic vowel Gr. ā-ō-ō-mau 'I seek,
strive' (orig. 'look out for something') for *ā-ō-ō-mau (see § 469
p. 14, § 549). Skr. āt- and dhē- both became āt- in Avestic
op. Avest. ātātī = Skr. ātātī and ātāti, § 540): di-dāsi
Skr. vi-viś-ti 'works' 1st pl. vi-viś-mas, conj. 2nd sing. vi-viś-a-s.
v-vā-ti 'goes' only found in the 2nd sing. pret. a-lvē-ē, Avest.

reica.

Brugmann, Elements. IV.

Sometimes a strong stem has got into the place of the weak (cp. § 499 p. 62), as Avest. 2nd sing. mid. _ji-yac-ša_ from _ji_- 'live', Skr. 2nd pl. _ju-hó-tu_ from _hu_- 'offer, sacrifice', 2nd sing. _yu-yó-dhi_ 2nd dual _yu-yó-tam_ from _yu_- 'keep off'.

**Remark.** _k_ in Skr. _ciké-mi_ (✈ _qé_ -), and _γ_ in Avest. _ji-yag-ha_ (✈ _geγ_ -) are taken from the perfect, where they were regular before _o_ in the sing. indic. active (I § 445 ff. pp. 331 ff.). In considering _ji-ghar-ti_ (§ 540), if its root belonged to the _e_-series, we must remember that one of the stems of this verb is _jighar_-, and _gh_ was regular there; so with _ja-gar-ti_ from _✈ _ger_- we must remember the stem _já-gr_ (§ 560).

§ 538. Roots with other Vowels.

In Aryan, roots with a long _a_-vowel have generally in the reduplication _a_ = Idg. _e_ instead of _i_, when the weak stem in the root syllable had not _i_. Examples: Skr. _dá-dá-ti_ mid. _da-té_ from _✈ _dó_- 'give', _já-ha-ti_ pl. _ja-hi-mas_ from Ar. _zhá_- 'leave, give up'. But on the contrary _ši-ša-ti_ imper. _ši-ši-hi_ mid. _ši-ši-té_ from _✈ _šo_- 'whet, sharpen'. In the latter word we see the Idg. root-determinative _i_, which so often forced its way into the place of Ar. _i_ = Idg. _a_ (see § 498 pp. 61 f.); and this _i_ is regularly echoed by _i_ in the reduplicator; compare _ši-ši-hi_ with _di-di-hi_ from _di_- 'appear'. Skr. _ja-hí-tam_ beside regular _ja-hi-tam_ (see Whitney, Sanskrit Roots, p. 204) has been altered by the influence of the mid. _ji-hí-té_ (§ 540), similarly _ra-rí-dhavam_ by that of _ri-ri-hi_ (rå- 'give').

So too the _✈ _dhe_- 'place' in Balto-Slavonic reduplicates with _e_, as Lith. 2nd pl. _dė-stë_ like _O.H.G._ _dá-ttha_.

These forms with _e_ belong to Class V, not like Gr. _né-nu_ _ri-τημ_ etc. It seems to me impossible to decide whether in Idg. the same present stem had both _i_ and _e_ in its reduplicated forms, as _*dhi-dhe-ti_ and _*dhe-dhe-ti_, or whether _e_ only came in by analogy of Class V, and is of later date than the parent language. If the latter, then the influence of perfects with _e_ in the reduplicator must by taken into account (§ 555).
Compare Gr. ἱλασί = *ṣi-ολα-θ and Leab. ἱλασί = *ṣi-ολα-θ § 542.

Under these circumstances, I cite Aryan and Balto-Slavonic forms both in Class III and Class V.


*pi-pel-mi 'I fill': Skr. pl-par-mi pi-py-más, Gr. -ni-πλα-μεν (on the singular -ni-πλη-με, see § 542). — With thematic vowel Skr. 3rd sing. mid. ú-pi-pr-a-ta.

*ni-nes-mi from √nēs- 'go towards' (Gr. νε-ό-μαν Skr. nās-ātē): Skr. 3rd pl. mid. nēs-atē 'they touch their bodies, kiss' partic. nēs-ānā-s. — Gr. νίσσουα I go back, return' for *νρ-σο-χο-μα (the Author, Gr. Gr.² § 45.5 p. 61) contains a stem *νρ-σο- or *νρ-σο- (see § 733).


1) This form may be due to the analogy of dhē-mē(m), cp. τι-θε-μεν.

But it does not follow, as some have said, that the form cannot be original.


Idg. *pi-pō-mi ‘I drink’ is implied by such forms as Skr. mid. 3rd pl. pi-p-ātē partic. pi-p-ānā-s; to this may be referred Falisc. pipาfo ‘bibam’ (§ 594 Rem.). With thematic vowel Skr. pi-b-a-ti Lat. bibō instead of *pi-b-ē O.Ir. 3rd sing. ibid for *pi-b-e-ti, although the -b- of these words is certainly obscure (cp. I § 325 p. 263). Perhaps the 2nd sing. imper. *pi-b-dhi and 2nd pl. mid. *pi-b-dhū-, forms which must have had a place among the original non-thematic persons, caused some confusion in the sound.1) In these -b- was regular, because -p- had been assimilated to the following voiced sound. On the same principle we have explained the variants *dekum- (Skr. daśat-) and dekum- (Gr. δᾶκτ-) as being due to cases which had a bh-suffix, such as the instr. pl. *dekum-bhi(s) (II § 123 p. 392). Then p must have levelled out b in the non-thematic conjugation (Skr. pi-p-ātē), because this was closely associated with *pō-ti (Skr. pā-ti), and was especially exposed to the influence of the reduplicated perfect (Skr. pa-p-ē Gr. πέ-ξα-μα). Similarly, Gr. ῥόσακς ‘I feed, tend’ may be connected with Skr. pā-ti ‘tends’ through the imperative *b-dhi.


1) There is no reason that I know of why we should suppose that our prehistoric ancestors had this imperative very often on their lips. But be it remembered that from the one imperative form dēhi ‘give’ in Pali, the whole of the present tense, dēmi dēsi etc., has sprung into existence (E. Kuhn, Beitr. zur Pali-Gramm., 98).
§§ 540, 541. Present Stem: Class III — bi-dhé-ti. 101


Roots in Ar. -ā reduplicate with i in Sanskrit when the weak forms have i as root-determinative (§ 538 p. 98). √mē- ‘measure’ mid. 3rd sing. mi-mi-te 3rd pl. mi-m-atē; — with thematic vowel opt. mi-m-ē-t. √kō- ‘sharpen, whet’ si-sā-ti imper. si-st-hi; — with thematic vowel 3rd pl. si-s-a-nti. ji-hi-te ‘yields, departs’ 3rd pl. ji-h-atē beside act. já-hā-ti ja-hi-mas (ja-hi-tam and other forms have i by analogy of the middle, see § 538 p. 98).


§ 541. Confusion of Strong and Weak Stem.


Weak instead of Strong: Skr. Ep. da-d-mi Avest. 3rd sing. dazdē (√dhē-) and dasti. These forms are due to the analogy
of ád-mi át-ti and the like, the reduplication having been lost sight of in the (pr. Ar.) forms *dhadh-mas(i) *dad-mas(i) opt. *dhadh-yā- *dad-yā- conj. *dhadh-a- *dad-a-, which were conceived to be simple roots (cp. the end of § 540). This also produced the forms Skr. pass. dad-yā-tā partic. dat-tā-s from √dō-, and Avest. inf. dastī from √dō- and inf. dazdē from √dhē- (cp. Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. iii 48).

§ 542. Greek. From roots ending in -r and -l we have only the weak stem, the strong forms following Class XI. Thus -pi-pla-men 'we fill' -pi-pla-tai: Skr. pi-pry-mās; *pi-yera-men 'we bring': Skr. bi-bhy-mās (§ 539, p. 99). But -pi-plē-mi instead of *pi-pēl-mi from the stem *pl-e-, cp. unreduplicated Skr. prā-si á-prā-t Gr. πλη̣-το Lat. imp-pler-tur. -pi-pra-men 'we kindle', sing. -pi-πρη-μι, √per- (Mod. Slov. perēti 'moulder' O.CSl. para 'steam'). The nasal in πι-πλαμεν πι-πραμεν comes from πιμπλάνω, see § 621. ίλαθη 'be gracious' ίλατε ίλαμαι for *σι-σλα- (I § 565 p. 422), με ίσε-τε, cp. Lesb. ἐλα-θη for *σε-σλα-θη, Class V.

τι-θη-μι 'I place' τι-θε-μεν τι-θε-ται, τι-η-μι 'I send forth' for *σι-σθη-μι τι-μεν τι-ται, δι-δω-μι 'I give' δι-δο-μεν δι-δο-ται, τι-σθη-μι 'I place' τι-στα-μεν τι-στα-ται, see § 559 p. 100. Hom. 3rd sing. δι-δη imper. 3rd sing. δι-δε-των from √dē- 'bind'. In the stems τι-θε- i-e- δι-δη- δι-δο-, ε and o have taken the place of a previous a = Idg. o, as in ε-θε-μεν ε-δο-μεν § 493 p. 53, and in τι-θε-ται δι-δο-ται § 856: cp. Skr. da-dhi-dhāja-hi-mas. The loss of forms without a, answering to the Skr. da-dh-mās etc., is a consequence of the different forms which some of the persons of this tense assumed in due course; we should have by rule *τι-θε-μεν *Θιστε; *κι-δε-μεν *κιστε, *κι-μεν *κιστε. 3rd pl. Dor. τιθεται διδοντι instead of *τι-θε-ατι *δι-δο-ατι, see § 1020. Sometimes the strong stem prevails, or words follow the analogy of Classes X and XI: Hom. partic. τι-θη-μενος instead of τι-θε-μενος, imper. δι-δο-θη. (like Pali da-da-li). On the analogy of verbs in -oω -οω -αω: pres. τιθεί διδοι, imperf. ετιθει ειε διδον, imper. τιθει διδου τισα, inf. τιθείν συν-μεν, partic. Delph. διδονομαι; and then again ετιθείς -ει and
§§ 543—546. Present Stem; Class III — Skr. bi-bhā-ti.

In the present stem, the general and original 1st sing. is 
\( \text{πις-ακ} \) produced the 1st sing. 
\( \text{εδρυσ} \) and 
\( \text{πινυ} \) after the model of 
\( \text{πινυ} \) 'I went' as compared with 
\( \text{πις-ακ} \) 
\( \text{πινυ} \).

As regards 
\( \text{νισομαυ} \) beside Skr. 3rd pl. 
\( \text{νισ-ατε} \), see § 539-p. 99, § 733.

§ 543. Italic. There are no forms at all which can be certainly placed in this class. The conjugation was thematic, that of Class IV; as 1st sing. Lat. 
\( \text{si-stē} \) Umbr. se-st-u. However, as we must regard red-dimus red-ditis, notwithstanding reddunt, as descended from *red-dāmus *red-dātis (§ 505, p. 71), so we may regard serimus seritis, sistimus sistitis as derived regularly from *si-sā-mos *si-sā-tes (Gr. 
\( \text{ι-α-μεν} \ -\tau\)), *si-stā-mos -tes (Gr. 
\( \text{ι-στα-μεν} \ -\tau\)).

§ 544. Keltic. The thematic type is seen in O.Ir. 
\( \text{i-b-i-d} \) (§ 554), and the extension with 
\( \text{io-in} \) -airissiur (§ 733).

\( \text{a-} \) conjunctives are the future Mid. Ir. 
\( \text{gignid} \ 'nascetur for *gi-gen-ā-ti} \), O.Ir. 
\( \text{fo-didmae 'patieris'} \) 3rd pl. 
\( \text{fo-didmat} \) (from pres. 
\( \text{fo-daim 'patitur'} \), see Thurneysen, Kuhn’s Zeitschr. 
\( \text{xxxi} \) 77 ff. They have the look of conjunctives belonging to thematic Class IV A. But probably the conjunctive vowel \( \text{a} \) had here taken the place of older 
\( \text{o- -e-} \) (by association with the unreduplicated conj. imperf., 
\( \text{-genad} \), and the reduplicated conjunctive of Class IV B or Class VI, \( \text{bera} \)); then the forms will originally have been like Skr. 
\( \text{bi-bhar-a-t} \), and gignid must be closely connected with Avest. 
\( \text{ζι-zan-a-t} \ ζι-zan-a-ni} \ Skr. 
\( \text{a-ji-ja-t-a-t} \) (§ 548).

§ 545. Germanic. O.H.G. se-stō-μ 'sisto, I arrange, design', \( \sqrt{\text{sta-}} \), with gradation lost, see § 539 p. 100. Whether O.H.G. 
\( \text{te-ta} \) O.Sax. 
\( \text{de-da 'did'} \) is an imperf. like Gr. 
\( \text{τι-σην} \) or an old perfect, remains doubtful; see § 886.

§ 546. Balto-Slavonic. A few relics are the presents of 
\( \sqrt{\text{dē- 'set, place'}} \) and 
\( \text{dō- 'give'} \), but with \( \text{e} \) in the reduplicator (§ 538 p. 98).

In pr. Balto-Slavonic the forms were *dē-dh-mi and de-ā-mi, which may be compared with Skr. 
\( \text{da-ā-mi} \) and Avest. 
\( \text{dāzdt} \dast} \ (§ 541 pp. 101 f.). But they did not, as these did, arise only by the weak stem spreading into the singular, but from
this and another cause together; the other cause was, that the 2nd sing. middle, which originally had the weak stem, had got an active meaning (see § 991 on Lith. desu-s dasi O.C.Sl. dasi). And since *dhe-dh-mi became *dedmi in pr. Balto-Slav. (I § 549 p. 402), the two verbs were confused in the present, and the same forms served for both (cp. Avest. daćaiti = Skr. dādhati and dādāti, § 540 p. 101).

However, it was only in the meaning of 'I lay' that *dedmi survived for any time. Lith sing. 1st pers. dėmi for *dedmi, 2nd reflex. desu-s for *de-t-sē-s, 3rd dėsti dėst, 2nd pl. dėste. Now the verb is mostly thematic, de-d-u dedi dēda etc. And dėmi 3rd sing. dėsti too took ē from non-present forms dėjau dėsiu and the like, just as Gr. Lesb. ἀπεκτω instead of ἀπεκτω follows ἀπεκτω-σω, and γεέω instead of *γεέω follows γεέω etc. (§ 775). But in Slavonic we have dećdetu = *de-d-je-tu, following the io-class (§ 733).

In the meaning 'I give', *dedmi was changed to *dōdmi in pr. Balto-Slavonic by analogy of non-present forms with *dō-. There is a reason why the vowel of the root got into *dedmi 'I give' and not into *dedmi 'pono'. It is that the difference between the vowel of the first syllable of the present and that of the other tenses was in *dedmi 'pono' only one of quantity, but in the other it was a difference of quality also; *dedmi: aor. *dē-s- was backed up by such verbs as *tekō: aor. *tēk-s- (O.C.Sl. tekā tēchā), but there was no parallel for *dedmi: aor. *dō-s-. Lith. sing. 1st pers. dūmi, 2nd dūsi for *dā-t-si, 3rd dūsti dūst, pl. 1st dūme, 2nd dūste; dūmi dūme for *dūdmi *dūdme. Now generally thematic, dūdu etc. (also Lett. dādu). O.C.Sl. dami dasi dastu damu daste dađetū; dami damu have -m- for -dm-. Partic. thematic dady (da-dāsta) like Lith. dūdās. As regards 1st dual Lith. dūva O.C.Sl. davē, see I § 547 p. 401.

Remark. The forms of the 2nd pl. found in old Lith. books, destiti(s) and dāsteti(s) instead of dēste and dēste, were derived from the 3rd sing. and pl. on the analogy of tūri-t(s): tūri, to distinguish more clearly 2nd plural from 3rd singular and plural.
Class IV.

Reduplication ending in -i or -a + Root + Thematic Vowel, forming the Present Stem.

§ 547. This class, like Class II, falls naturally into two sections, according as the root has the strong or the weak grade. The strong form, as in Class II, is the same as that of the non-thematic Conjunctive. Compare § 513 pp. 78 ff.

§ 548. A. Strong Root Syllable.

In Aryan, this section includes a large class of forms, the Sanskrit Causative Aorist; an aorist formation which generally is found along with the present formed by -áya- (§§ 795 ff.). As to the varying quantity of the reduplicating vowel, see § 473 pp. 17 f.

Skr. 3rd pl. mid. á-bī-bhāya-a-nta beside bi-bhē-ti 'fears'. Imperative: mid. pi-prāy-a-sva beside á-pi-prē-t 'he satisfied, pleased’. á-cu-cyav-a-t beside 3rd pl. á-cu-cyav-ur from cyu- 'to move, stir'.

Skr. á-ti-tar-a-t Avest. ti-tar-a-p from Skr. ti-tar-ti 'gets over or beyond'. Skr. pi-par-a-t from pi-par-ti 'fills’, á-di-dhar-a-t beside 2nd and 3rd sing. á-dhar from dhar- 'hold fast'. Avest. bi-bar-āmi (ep. Skr. conj. 2nd sing. bi-bhar-a-śi) beside Skr. bi-bhar-mī 'I carry'. Skr. a-jī-jan-a-t 'was born' Avest. zī-zan-a-p 3rd pl. zī-zan-a-nti, √ gen-

Skr. á-pī-pat-a-t, √ pet- 'fly’, á-sti-śad-a-t, √ sed- 'sit'.

On the Irish conjunctive, used for the future, of which we have an example in gignid 'nascetur' for *gi-gen-ā-ti, see § 544, page 103.

Germanic. Apparently we have a form of this sort in Goth. rei-rāi-p ‘moves, trembles’, connected with Skr. lē-lāy-a-ti ‘waves, trembles'; it may come from pr. Germ. *rē-rēj-ō (§ 469 p. 14, § 708). But this is not a certainty, because it has not yet been made out to what vowel series the root belongs (in Sanskrit we see a pret. á-lē-lē-t, § 568).
§ 549. B. Weak Root Syllable.


§ 550. Roots with other vowels.


1) Bechtel does not convince me that I am wrong in supposing the Idg. form to be *si-zd-ō (Bechtel, Hauptprobl. der Idg. Lautlehre, 254). That comes form aizō- or aisō is unproven. Compare Idg. Forsch. I 171 f. —

2) This conjecture (cp. Ostroff, Perf. 394 f., and Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch., II 84, Bezz. Beitr. XVIII 116) seems to me more likely than that suggested by others (as Fleck, Wb. I 4 96), namely, that Skr. nind-a-ti was formed from a *niid- on the principle of Class XVI. The Skr. reformation perf. ni-nind-a etc. may be compared with perf. siad-atur fut. siad-īṣya-ti beside siad-a-ti.
§ 551. Aryan. Skr. 3rd pl. á-bi-bhr-a-n partic. bi-bhr-a-
mana-s from bi-bhar-ti 'bears', cp. Avest. bi-bar-amī (§ 548
ji-ghr-a-ti from ji-ghar-ti 'smells'. Skr. ji-ghn-a-tē from han-
'strike', 'slay'. Skr. pi-bd-a-tē 'becomes firm, strong', √pedi-
si-st-ō, § 550. Skr. 3rd pl. mi-ma-nti from mi-mā-ti 'roars'
op. mi-mi-ya-t.

Another group of forms which comes in here is composed of
such Skr. aorists as á-vi-vṛt-a-t from vart- 'verte', á-ct-
-kṛt-a-t from kalp- 'help', á-pi-sprás-a-t from sparś- 'touch',
á-ci-krad-a-t from kranda- 'roar'. A great many others were
cast in the same mould as these; for instance, á-mi-mṛṇa-t
from mṛṇa-ti 'crushes'.

§ 552. Greek. γλ-γρ-ο-μαί, see § 550. μι-μρ-ω beside
μίν-ω 'I remain'. ι-σχ-ω beside ιχ-ω (*σχ-ω) 'I hold, have',
√σεθ-. ι-τε-ω 'I fall'; whether ι was original (cp. Skr.
á-pi-pat-a-t, § 548 p. 105) is very doubtful; see § 473 p. 18.
τικρο 'I beget' for *τι-τε-ω beside ἵ-τε-ο-ν, cp. the Author,
Gr. Gr. 2 § 62 p. 74. ἱκρω 'I cry out, shriek' for *τι-ταχ-ω,
cp. ἵς-ηχης (cp. W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 230 ff.).

On present stems extended by the suffix -jo- see § 733.

§ 553. Italic. Lat. gi-gn-ō, see § 550. Lat. sidō for
*si-zd-ō, the second sibilant of which is kept in Umbr. ander-
situ 'intersidito' for *-sizd(e)tō (cp. ander-sesust 'intersederit')!)
Skr. std-a-ti etc., see § 550. Lat. serō 'I sow' for *si-s-ō,
beside Gr. τ-η-μ, § 539 p. 99. Lat. bibō instead of *pi-b-ō:
Skr. pi-b-a-ti etc., see § 539 p. 100; for the assimilation of p-
to -b-, cp. Umbr. ōre 'dedit' instead of *teře (fut. perf. terūst
dirsust). Vest. di-d-e-t 'dat' (Felign. dida 'det' Umbr. dirsa
dersa teřa 'det' dirsut teřtu 'dato'), beside Gr. δι-δω-μ, § 539

1) For this explanation of the Umbrian form I have to thank a
former pupil, Dr. von Planta. See now his dissertation, Vocalismus der
esk.-Umbr. Dialekte, Strassburg 1892, pp. 214, 277, and his Grammatik.
§ 554. O.Ir. i-b-i-d 'bibil' for *pi-b-e-ti: Skr. pi-b-a-ti etc., see § 539 p. 100. As to -airissim -airissiur 'I stand, remain standing, exist', see § 733.

Futures like do-bēr 'I will give' may be also added; they were originally a-conjunctives of this class. See § 565.

Class V:
Reduplication in -e (-e) + simple Root, used for the Present Stem.

§ 555. This class has a very close connexion with the Perfect. The two are distinguished in the indic. present by different personal endings (cp. Skr. 3rd pl. sā-śc-ati: perf. 3rd pl. sa-śc-ūṛ, from √seq- 'be with, accompany'), and in the vocalisation of the singular, as 3rd sing. Idg. *se-seq-ti (Skr. *sa-sak-ti): perf. *se-seq-e (Skr. *sa-sāc-a). But there was no difference at all between the Preterite of Class V and the Preterite of the Perfect Class (pluperfect), nor between their Conjunctive, Optative, and Imperative moods. Perhaps there was originally only Class VI, which now appears complementary to the fifth class (Skr. sā-śc-a-ti Gr. ἱκόν-ο-ι-ρο), but then had the same relation to the perfect as Class II to I, Class IV to III; and then perhaps the indic. present forms of the fifth class were coined on the analogy of classes I and III.


§ 557. Greek. Lesb. ἐλλαθεί 'be gracious' for σε-όλα-θε, pl. ἐλλατε, beside Ἡλαθεί Class III, § 542 p. 102. ἐλ-κληθεί 'hear', pl. ἐλ-κλητε: but Skr. á-su-brav-ur belong to Class III. ἐπ-α 'I spoke' (Cret. Gort. προ-επιάτω) contains a stem *με-μή- (as regards ἐπί- for *μήμ-, see the Author, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 306, Gr. Gr.² p. 157; Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 151 f.; Meillet, Mém. Soc. Ling. vii-60); this weak stem eventually ran right through (cp. Skr. da-d-mi § 541 p. 101, Lith. dėmī for *de-d-mi § 546 p. 104); the -a- of ἐπ-ας ἐπ-ατε is to be explained as in ἐκείνας, see § 504 p. 67; — with thematic vowel, Skr. á-voc-a-t Gr. ἐ-πι-ων-ν, see § 661.

§ 558. Keltic. Original Conjunctives of this class (cp. Skr. ba-bhas-a-t) are the Irish reduplicated futures, Mid.Ir. ge-gn-a 'vulnerabo' O.Ir. do-gega 'eligam' etc. They originally had the thematic vowel, which they exchanged for a in the same way as did the future of which gignid is an example, Class III § 544. However, the e of the reduplicator is doubtless, as Thurneysen says, a mutation of i (Kuhn's Zeitschr., xxxi 77 f.); then the forms are not different from gignid and others of that kind.

§ 559. Balto-Slavonic. Lith. dėsti 'lays' for *dhe-dh+ti instead of *dhe-dhæ-ti, Lith. dū'stį O.C.Sl. (Russ.) dastį 'gives' for *dō-d+ti instead of *de-dō-ti, see § 546 pp. 103 f.

§ 560. Forms with Idg. e instead of e in the Reduplication (§ 472 p. 17). These are Intensives in Sanskrit; e.g. Skr. dá-dhar-ti beside (dar-dhar-ti) from dhár- 'hold fast', 3rd pl. nd-nad-ati from nas- 'shriek, roar'; cp. Avest. partic. pa-per't-ana- neut. used as a subst. 'fighting'.

Skr. já-gar-mi 'I watch' 3rd pl. já-gr-ati imper. já-gr-hi, and an irregular form with weak stem, já-gr-mi; — thematic
jā-gr-a-ti. Compare perf. jā-gār-a Gr. ἑγ-γερ-μαύ. On the g of jā-gar-mi, see § 537 Rem. p. 98.

Remark. The fut. jāgaṛiṣyati perf. jajāgāra may be compared with laṣṭyati lalāṣa beside laṣṭi for *le-la-e-ti, with jahīṣyati ājahat beside ja-h-a-ti (§ 562), and others like them; see § 752.

A Greek intensive of this sort is Hom. δη-δέχ-αται "they welcome, greet" imperf. δη-δέκ-το (read δη-, not δε-, — so J. Wackernagel), from δέκομαι δέχομαι 'I receive'.

Class VI.
Reduplication in -e (-ē) + Root + Thematic Vowel forming the Present Stem.

§ 561. On the relation of this class to the last, see § 555.


§ 562. Aryan. Skr. partic. ja-ghn-a-nt-, Avest. 3rd pl. ja-yn-e-nti conj. ja-yn-a-∅: Gr. ἐ-πε-ρφ-ν-oν etc., see § 561. Skr. á-vōc-a-t, Avest. vaoc-a-∅ imper. vaoc-a: Gr. ε-πε-ρφ-oν, see § 561. Skr. yēś-a-ti 'boils' for pr.Ar. *ja-jaś-a-ti ground-form *je-jaś-e-ti from √jaś- (Skr. yās-ya-ti Gr. ζεω), cp. with jo-extension Avest. yaoṣyēti § 733; Skr. á-yēś-a-t served as model for á-nēś-a-t from naṣ- 'to be destroyed' (Avestic has nasa-∅, regular), and the perfect nēś-ūr follows sēd-ūr yēm-ūr, unless it is preferable to derive á-nēś-a-t directly from the perfect stem, and regard it as a pluperfect (§ 854). Skr. laṣṭa-ti 'desires' probably for *la-lāś-a-ti (I § 259 p. 212), cp. kā-las-a-s 'covetous' Gr. λιλαομαι 'I desire' for *λα-λως-λο-μαυ (§ 733). Skr. á-pa-ṣt-a-t, √pet- 'shoot through the air, fly'. Skr. sajjatē 'hangs to something, sticks' fo. *ṣa-ṣt-a- (I § 591


§ 563. Greek. \textit{ē-pe-φυ-ν-ν, ē-ειν-ο-ν, ē-σο-ε-το}, see § 561. This type of aorist was fertile in the Homeric dialect, and in the poetic style developed out of it (cp. Curtius, Verb., II 29 ff.). We may add: \textit{ē-κι-κλε-το} from \textit{kēl-ο-μαι} 'I call, summon, ask', \textit{πι-παλ-ων} from \textit{παλλω} 'I swing, brandish' (\textit{vēpel-}), \textit{τε-τάφω-ε-το} from \textit{tēfō-ω} 'I satisfy, refresh, please', \textit{πι-πιθ-ο-ντο} \textit{πε-πιθ-ων} from \textit{πεθ-ω} 'I persuade', \textit{πι-πιθ-ο-ντο} from \textit{πιθ-ο-μαι} 'I learn'. \textit{λε-λαθ-ο-ν} from \textit{ληθ-ω} 'I am hidden'. \textit{τε-ταγ-ων} 'grasping'.

In the later language we find presents in connexion with these aorists, as \textit{φυνω}, \textit{kēlōma}. \textit{Kōma} is one of this sort; for \textit{ē-zē-ο-μαι}, from \textit{vēsed-} 'sit' (§ 556 p. 108), unless the form comes from \textit{*ē-δ-ο-μαι} = O.H.G. \textit{siszu} Class XXVI (§ 721).

§ 564. Italic. Lat. \textit{tendō} Umbr. \textit{ostendī} 'ostendito' (I § 499 p. 366) is often derived from \textit{*te-tn-ō} (\textit{vēten-}),\textsuperscript{1} to which Gr. \textit{tau-λων} would be related in the same way as \textit{λιθωμαι} to Skr. \textit{laṣati} (§ 562), cp. Skr. \textit{ta-tān-a-t}; others analyse \textit{ten-dō}, and refer it to class XXV (cp. II p. 161 footnote 2, IV § 696); and now R. S. Conway identifies it with Gr. \textit{θείων} for \textit{ten-ῐō} (Class. Rev., v 297), as G. Curtius had done before him.

More certain examples may be found among the Latin perfects, as \textit{te-līg-i-t}, \textit{te-līg-i-mūs}: Gr. \textit{τε-ταγ-ων}, \textit{pe-pul-i-t}: Gr. \textit{πε-παλ-ών}. See § 867.

\textsuperscript{1} Bartholomae (Stud. idg. Spr. II 95) assumes that \textit{*te-tnō} by analogy of forms with \textit{ten-} became \textit{*tentnō-}, and hence \textit{tendō}. 
§ 565. Keltic. In this class we may place the Irish á-conjunctive with future meaning. O.Ir. dober 'I will give' 1st pl. do-béram for *bhe-bhr-á-, V bher- 'ferre'. frisğéra 'respondebit' beside pres. 3rd sing. fris-gair. nad-cél 'quod non celabo' beside pres. celim. Mid.Ir. fo-déma 'patietur' beside fo-daim 'patitur'. As regards the compensatory lengthening in these forms, see I §§ 523, 526 pp. 380 f. It is true that the Irish sound-laws do not make it certain that e was the original reduplicating-vowel of this conjunctive. It may have been i, and Thurneysen (Kuhn's Zeitschr., xxxi 81) assumes this in view of gignid etc. (§ 544 p. 103). Since in the reduplicated present both e and i have always been used side by side (cp. Skr. ja-ghn-a-nt- and jé-ghn-a-tē § 561 p. 110), it is hardly possible to draw the line.


Class VII.

Complete Reduplication + Root forming the Present Stem.

§ 567. On the form of reduplication used in this and the following thematic Class see §§ 465—467, 470, 474.


— with thematic vowel dar-dir-a-t. Skr. 3rd sing. mid. sar-sj-tē sar-sr-ē from sar- 'flow'. Skr. jās-ghan-ti conj. jās-ghan-a-t

1) The second syllable of the Avestic form shows irregularly the strong grade, unless *-dṛ-ē-t (I § 306 pp. 241 f.) is to be assumed for the ground-form (cp. Skr. dir-yā-t a-dar-dir-ur dar-dir-a-t).


Sanskrit has also some forms with ī after the reduplication (§ 467 p. 13). bārī-bhar-īti 3rd pl. bhūrī-bhr-ati from bhar- 'ferre'. Partic. ghanī-ghan-at beside jān-ghan-ti (p. 112). nānī-nō-t beside nō-nu-maṣ (see above). vār-vart-ti beside vār-vart-ti (above). kānī-krañti for kāni-krañ-at' from krañ-rōar'.

§ 569. Roots beginning in a Sonant.

Skr. *dār-īti 'raises itself'.

Gr. ḫv-γx-α I brought' partic. mid. ḫv-gx-άμενο-ς, Idg. *en-euk-. With ḫv-gx-ας -aς etc. compare ḫv-γx-άς *euk-. § 504 p. 67. Whether the Skr. 2nd and 3rd sing. ānāt 3rd dual anā-tām conj. 1st pl. anās-a-mahāi, which belong to the same root, are reduplicated or not, is a question. anās- may be derived from *en-γk-, or from *enεk- (ep. Gr. δι-γρεκ-γς).

Class VIII.

Complete Reduplication + Root + Thematic Vowel forming the Present Stem.

§ 570. Roots beginning in a Consonant.

Certain examples only in Aryan (Intensives), compare § 568. Skr. shows injunctives like *dār-dīr-a-t, nō-nu-v-a-nata, jā-hūv-a-t, dē-dīs-a-m, see above. Avest. nas-nīz-a-itī 'washes' beside Skr. nē-nīz-ti mid. nē-nīk-tē: ep. conj. vōi-vīd-a-itē beside Skr. partic. vē-vīd-āna-s from vīd- 'find'.

§ 571. Roots beginning in a Sonant.

Armen. ar-ar-i aor. of ar-ne-m 'I make', Gr. ḫro-ar-o-v inf. āro-ar-āv aor. of āro-ar-āv 'I fit'. Skr. ām-am-a-t aor. of BRAGMANN, ELEMENTS. IV.
B. CLASS IX.

ROOT + -o- OR ROOT + -i-, WITH OR WITHOUT REDUPLICATION, FORMING THE PRESENT STEM.

§ 572. We have here two classes of forms to deal with; examples of which are (1) Skr. vimiti Gr. áya-μαυ, and (2) Skr. amiti.

The first has o after the root. Whether this o was part of the root, as some scholars too confidently assert, or a true suffix (I § 14 p. 17), is doubtful. In Greek along with a are found both e and o. Bartholomae seems to be right in seeing here the Idg. e and o (Bezz. Beitr. xvii 109 ff.).

-o- was never found except before personal endings which begin with a consonant; cp. Skr. rodi-ti pl. rud-anti.

Forms with -i- are only found in Aryan. This vowel, Idg. i, was certainly a suffix of some kind (root-determinative); a general discussion of it has been given above, § 498 pp. 61 f. Used in the same way we find ai in Sanskrit (áj-ái-ś), perhaps the same as ei in (Gr. áyεί-ς áyεί-ς (see p. 61 footnote). But it cannot be made in the least probable that -i- was ever confined to the plural and dual active and the middle of all three numbers, or -ái- to the singular active, like Skr. ky-μu-más etc. as contrasted with ky-νó-mí; -i- is particularly common in the singular active in Sanskrit.

1) Or Benfey's Skr. áj-li-a-t, see Hübschmann, Idg. Vocalsyst., 66; Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 116 f.
The spread of -i- in Sanskrit was due in great part to a confusion with -i- = -a-. We have therefore to compare, say, śami-śva : śami-śva with Skr. ā-dhi-mahi : ā-dhi-mahi.

It is not always possible to say whether -i- was attached to a form in pre-Aryan times, or took the place of i = o in Aryan itself. Thus -a- and -i- may here be comprehended in one class.

§ 573. To forms without Reduplication we cannot point with any confidence except in Aryan and Greek. But Bugge conjectures that some such are contained in the Arm. 2nd aorist mid., e.g. cuay from pres. cnami-m 'pario, gigno, nascor': cu- for *gno- (cp. § 583 p. 125). See Bugge, Indogerm. Forsch., I p. 439.


-i- in these Verbs is not usually confined to the present stem. Compare śami-śva with śami-tā-s ā-śami-ś-ta (Gr. nāmu- -vo-), jāni-śva with jāni-tār- jāni-śyā-ti (Gr. yevi-tōp Lat. geni-tor).

To these I add a few forms which both Indian grammarians and European scholars call parts of the iš- aorist, to wit: 2nd sing. varṭ-thās from varṭ- 'vertere', ā-jay-i-t from ji- 'conquer', ā-tāri-ma from tar- 'move across, place or pass over', and like forms, along with the 2nd pl. mid in -idhvam instead of -idhvam (§ 839) given by the Indian grammarians, e.g. ābodhi-dhvam. It is true the popular feeling associated these with the s-aorist, as it did the forms ā-dhi-thās ā-dhi-ta ā-kṛ-thās ā-kṛ-ta; but neither of the two kinds had any real
connexion in form with it (§ 816).1) Perhaps this apparent connexion was cemented by the original 2nd sing. of the īṣ-aorist, ending in *-iṣ (for *-iṣ-ṣ) which may have been unconsciously analysed into *-iṣ (§ 839): cp. āṇāiṣ following āṇāiṣ for *a-naiṣ-ṣ (§ 816).


The verb brāḥ-ī-ṣī 'says' has -ī- only in those persons which elsewhere have -i-, and obviously follows the i-verbs: thus brāḥ-ī-mi -ī-ṣī -i-ṭi, ā-brāv-ī-ṣ -i-ṭī; but ā-brāv-am brā-mās brāv-ānti. Compare Avest. mraom i.e. mraev-em = ā-brāv-am, mid. mṛevṣ i.e. mrvṣ- (Bartholomae, Handb. § 92 p. 40) = bruvē, mruīṭe mru-ta = Skr. bruvē ā-brū-ta and mrvos mrvos-ḥ as contrasted with ā-brāv-ī-ṣ -i-ṭī, like Skr. 3rd sing. ās contrasted with ās-ī-ṭī; but Avestic itself has a similar i-form in vya-mrvītā (Y. 12. 6.), if Bartholomae rightly takes this as 3rd sing. mid. imperf. (see Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxviii 37, Stud. Idg. Spr. n 127). By levelling we have Skr. imper. bravi-hi instead of brā-hi, and brā-mi instead of brāv-i-mi.

From presents in -ayā-ti: Skr. ānay-ī-ṣ from ānā-ya-ti 'leaves unfulfilled', dhvanay-ī-t from dhvanaya-ti 'envelopes', cp. opt. mid. kānay-ī-ta § 951.

This i- and i-inflexion spread widely in Sanskrit because it often served to renew distinctions which had been worn away by phonetic change: ās ṣ ās are clear; ās for 2nd and 3rd person both, is not.

On the place which preterite form: in -i-ṣ -i-t filled in the s-aorist, see § 839.

1) ā-jāyī-t: 2nd pl. ā-jāyīṣ-ṇta = Gr. ᾃ-ἀγιο-το (ἀγιο-διο): 2nd sing. mid. ā-kām-ṇ (kām-ṇ-ς), see § 840.

Remark. Many other forms seem to be of this group, but their explanation is obscure. See, for example, § 550 p. 106 for ἅρο-ςαι ἅρο-ςτων, Osthoff Perf. 371, 409 for πήρα-μαι, the Author in Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxii 587 ff. for ἐρα-μαι. On ἐ-χε-ς ἐ-χε-μαι and the like, which some scholars place in this category, see § 504 p. 67.


§ 577. Forms with Reduplication only found in Sanskrit; all have -ī-.
-t- in the 2nd and 3rd sing. of some preterites which are usually called pluperfect: as á-ja-grabht-t (1st sing. á-ja-grabht-ám) from grabht- 'seize', á-bu-bhôt-t from bhút- 'bend'.


C. CLASSES X AND XI.

ROOT + -ā-. -i-. OR -o- FORMING THE PRESENT STEM.

§ 578. We have here to examine forms such as Gr. e-ôp-á-v, e-ôp-á-v, e-ôp-á-v, e-ôp-á-v. These vowels1) -ô-, -i-, and -o- never had any gradation, and the long vowel always runs right through all numbers of active and middle in the Indicative. But some modifications have arisen by a certain law affecting the European languages, by which long vowels were shortened before n or i + consonant; as Gr. 3rd pl e-ôn for *e-ôn-n(τ), opt. 1st pl. gô-ôn for *gô-ôn-n (I §§ 611, 612, 614, 615 pp. 461 ff.).

Originally the root had always its weak grade. In the aorists here cited it has ceased to be a syllable. But a syllable it still is in some forms, as *bhuy-ô-: Lat. (conj.) fuá-s Lith. bûs (beside *bhuy-ô- in Lat. -hás); *ii-ô-: Skr. iy-ô-t, cp. perhaps Goth. idôja, whose i- may also be an augment (e-) beside *i-ô- in Skr. y-ô-ti); *môn-ô-: Gr. i-ôvâô- Lith. miné; *liq-ô-: Gr. e-ôvâô- Lat. lice-ô; Gr. e-ôpôô- (beside e-ôpôô-).

These suffixes had properly nothing do do with either aorist or present meaning. This is clear because they never have been confined to one particular stem. We find them in

1) The newest theory on "Root-Forms in ô-" may be seen by referring to Kretschmer, Kuhn’s Ztschr. xxxi 403 ff.
the Perfect, as Skr. *pa-prāu* Gr. πή-πήνην-νραυ; in the Aorist, as Skr. 3rd sing. *d-prā* Gr. δ-πήνη-ν-α; in the Participle, as Skr. *prā-tā* Lat. im-pletu-s; and in the Present, Skr. 2nd sing. *pra-si* Lat. im-pleo-s from stem *pl-e-* fill' √ pel. Often it is just in the present stem that the stems formed with these suffixes do not occur; for instance, we have Skr. fut. hu-ā-sya-ty O.C.Sl. aor. zūv-a-chū Skr. hu-ā-tor- O.C.Sl. zūv-a-tel's 'caller', but pres. Skr. hāv-a-ty O.C.Sl. zov-e-tū 'calls'; Skr. jin-a-ti-ś 'near kinsman' Gr. xasol-γνυτο-ς γν-ω-το-ς 'kinsman, brother' Goth. knōps (Stem kn-ō-di-) 'stock, tribe' from √gen- 'gignere; Gr. εν-σινη-αω I-will say' O.Icel. skald 'poet' for pr. Germ. *skōld-ā-* (Lidén, P.-B. Beitr. xv 507) from √seg- 'say' pres. εν-εινω.

These forms with -ā- in Italic, Keltic, and Slavonic are also used for the Conjunctive. Besides Lat. fuā-s given above we may cite tulā-s (cp. Gr. Dor. ἔ-ταλα-ς). It is no more strange to find these suffixes in two moods than to find -ē- and -o- in both indicative and conjunctive.

So with the -ē- which meets us in Italic future and conjunctive series, as Lat. fut. so-la-ē-s conj. i-r-ē-s Osc. sakraite fusid (§ 926), must be identified with -ē in ē-bl-η-ν i-μαρ-η-ν; compare Lat. ed-e-t with Lith. pret. ėd-ē, Osc. fu-i-d 'sit' (i = ē) with Gr. pret. ἐ-γεν-η.

Greek, in the mood answering to the Latin ē-conjunctive, has a variation, sometimes -η- and sometimes -ω-; as ληπη-τς ληπως. Perhaps there were originally two sets of conjunctive forms, one with -ē- and one with -o-; and from these a mixed paradigm was made, -ē- or -o- being taken according as the corresponding indicative form had -ē- or -o-. If so, the conjunctive ληπη-τς must be really the same as the aorist passive (ē)ληπη-τς, Lat. fuā-s the same as -bas, tulā-s the same as Gr. (ē)ταλα-ς. There was a closer connexion between -ē- and -o- than either of them had with -ā-, as is proved by such forms as *gi-ē* Gr. ζή: *gi-ō* ζω-ω, *bhs-ē* Gr. υή: *bhs-ō* υνω-ρο-ς (other examples in § 587).

It would probably be much easier to thread our way through this labyrinth if we knew which of the three sounds
is represented by the -ά- of Aryan conjunctives. In the indicative forms, non-Aryan languages often give the clue; thus we derive Skr. prā-si from *pē-si because Greek has has παρ-το and Latin -pē-s, but drā-ti we derive from *dē-ā-ti because of Greek ἀ-δο-ν.

Such of these forms which serve for the Conjugative will be left for examination together when we come to the Conjugative, §§ 918 ff. (ep. § 489 pp. 47 f.).

As has already been mentioned (§ 487 p. 41), I believe that this ē-suffix is the same as the feminine suffix -ά-; compare Skr. perf. jī-jyādū jyā-sya-ti Gr. Ion. βέ-βι-τα μεθο-σαρο with the fem. Skr. jyā-, jīyā-, Gr. βία, from γει- subdue, force' (Skr. jā-y-a-ti ji-nā-ti). This is no bolder than to suppose that indic. ᾿αγ-ο-μεν and conj. εἰδ-ο-μεν contain the same -ο- as ᾿αγ-ο-ς. And some verbal stems with -ά- are actually used as nouns, as Gr. χε-γε 'necessity' beside κε-χε-μα τε χε-γε-ο-ς; Hom. ῥο-κλ-ή, 'loud cry or call' beside Cret. partic. ὀρ-κλή-με-να-ς; Lat. qui-ē-s abl. quiē beside perf. quiē-νi; Skr. pa-ā- 'food' beside pa-ā-ti cp. ζῦγ for *ζη-με. The same -ά-nouns are seen in Lat. plē-bam, ticē-bat, arā-bat, ārs faciō, O.C.Sl. be-achī strē-achī and the like (§ 896 Rem., §§ 899, 903).

Verbs made with these suffixes are often extended by -ά-; as beside Skr. sn-ā-ti 'washes, bathes' Lat. nā-s nā-mus we have Skr. sma-ya-tē Lat. nō for *nā-ā-ō O.Ir. 3rd sing. smaidd; and it is impossible to draw a distinct line between the older inflexion and that with -ά-. Thus we must make frequent comparisons with the ιο- conjugation of Class XXVIII.

In one other respect it is difficult, if not impossible, to draw a hard and fast line. The class of verbs to which grammarians mostly restrict the term Denominative are often inseparable from this tenth class and its ιο-extension; as Lat. plantō (for *planta-ā) plantā-s etc. from plantā- 'plant' like nōnās etc., Gr. Leab. ἕ-τιμα-μεν ἕ-τιμα-τε from τιμά- 'honour like ἀ-δο-ς-ιω ἀ-δο-τα-τε', Armen. jana-im jana-mē like mna-m mna-mē. Thus these denominatives had originally only ιο- (or
-ius) in all persons cannot be proven (cp. § 487 p. 42); and in view of the great number of forms like Lat. planta-s plantam-nus without -io- in the Idg. languages, it is very improbable.

Class X.
Unreduplicated Root + -ā- -ē- or -ō- forming the Present Stem.

§ 579. Root + -ā-.

Examples of similar conjugation in later deponent verbs from ā-stems: 1st pl. Armen. jana-mē, Gr. Aeol. τίμα-μεν, Lat. plantam-nus, O.Ir. no chara-m, Lith. įstom-e.

It is naturally often doubtful whether an ā-verb belongs to the Primitive or the Denominative class, to use the terms

1) intrāre extrāre were clearly regarded by the Romans as derived from intrā extrā. But trāns makes it quite as probable that they are compounds of *trāre. F. D. Allen, Am. Journ. Phil. i 148 ff., does not convince me.
in their received sense. For example, Lat. forō forās, O.H.G. borōm borōs 'I bore', common ground-form *bhṝr-ā-, beside O.H.G. bora f. 'bore' (cp. § 769).


We subjoin a few more of the forms with -ā- whose suffix may be either Idg. -ā- or Idg. -ē- or -ō-: ghr-ā-ti 'smells' (perf. ja-ghrāw partic. ghrā-tā-s) beside jī-ghar-ti Class III (§ 540 p. 100); dr-ā-ti 'sleeps' (da-drāu drā-ya-s) beside Gr. dαp-θαι Lat. dor-miō (cp. the Author, M. U., i 48); dhm-ā-nt- 'blowing' (da-dhmāu dhmā-ā-tā-s) beside dhām-ā-ti Class II A; khy-ā-ti 'looks, seems, makes known' (ca-khyaḥ khyā-tā-s beside ḍ-khya-ti Class II B (see footnote).

Remark. Denominatives from -ā-stems of the later stratum in Aryan form the present in -ā-ya-ti, not -ā-ti, see § 768. Forms like mālā-ti 'he is like a wreath' (mālā-) are an artificial product of a late period.

§ 581. Armenian. mna-m 'I remain, await' 1st pl. mna-mē (aor. mna-či), from the root of Gr. μέν-ω 'I remain', and probably connected directly with Skr. mn-ā- Gr. μν-ā- (§ 580). kea-m 'I live' ground-form *gĭā-ā-mi (Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr., ii 134) or *gīya-mi (cp. Skr. jīva-tu-gi 'life', beside Skr. jīva-ti 'lives' Lat. vīvō, which was derived from

1) Fick, Wtb. I 4 32, connects -ā-mi with Skr. khyā-ti, for which see below.
\[\sqrt{\text{gei-}}\] by the suffix -\text{yo-}, but was regarded very early as a verb of Class II; cp. § 488 p. 47). \textit{orca-m} 'I break wind, belch' for *\textit{oruc-a-m}, cp. O.C.Sl. \textit{ryga-yu} 'ruceo'.

Denominatives with -\text{o-} of the newer stratum are inflected just as these are; as \textit{fana-m} 'I take pains, strive' 1\textsuperscript{st} pl. \textit{fana-mek} (\textit{Fan} 'pains, excitement, diligence'), \textit{olba-m} 'I bewail' 1\textsuperscript{st} pl. \textit{olba-mek} (\textit{Old} 'lament'). \textit{xroxta-m} 'I am haughty, defiant' 1\textsuperscript{st} pl. \textit{xroxta-mek} (\textit{xroxt} 'haughty, defiant').


Denominatives with -\text{o-} belonging to the newer stratum were conjugated in this Class in the Aeolic dialect; e. g. pl. \textit{τίμα-μεν} τίμα-τε (but att. \textit{τιμω-μεν} τιμά-τε). The 1\textsuperscript{st} sing. in -\text{o} is a re-formation in place of -\text{o-μι}, and -\text{o} instead of -\text{o-μι}. Cp. §§ 589, 775.

Forms passing from Class I to Class \textit{X}: \textit{ί-σγη-μεν} instead of *\textit{i-σγα-μεν}, \textit{ί-φθη-μεν} instead of *\textit{i-φθα-μεν} (but the middle keeps \textit{φθα-}, as \textit{φθα-μενο}-). See § 495 p. 55.


§ 583. Italic. The 1\textsuperscript{st} sing. pres. in *-\text{o-mi} is lost; in its place Latin had always *-\text{o-jo}, which became -\text{o}. Lat. trans Umbr. \textit{traf trahaf}, Lat. \textit{in-trās} -\textit{trā-mus}: Skr. \textit{trā-ti}; Lat. 1\textsuperscript{st} sing. \textit{in-trō} beside Skr. \textit{trā-yā-tē}, see § 579 p. 121. Lat.
fl-a-s fl-a-mus, cp. O.H.G. bläu 'I blow' for *bhl-e-iō and Gr. qλ-ειω 'I abound'. Lat. n-a-s n-a-mus: Skr. en-d-ti 'washes, bathes', see § 579 p. 121. Ital. *fā- for *fū-a- from vṛ-bheya- 'become, be', pret. *fā:m: Lat. āma-ba-s -ba-mus, Osc. fu-fans 'erant' (§ 899), cp. Lat. conj. fu-a-s: O.Ir. ba ba etc. (§ 579 p. 121). Lat. hi-a-s hi-a-mus, 1st sing. hiō = Lith. žiō-ju 'open the mouth', cp. Lat. hi-seō, O.H.G. gi-nō-m gei-nō-m 'I gape'. Lat. inquam for *en-seg-a-m injunctive, √-seg- 'say', cp. in-qui-t in-qui-nt (Class XXVI § 717) Gr. ἐν-σα-ει (Class II B) ἐν-σα-η-ω.

d-a- from √dō- 'give' is found not only as a conjunctive (Lat. ad-dā-s, Osc. da-dad 'reddat'), but as indicative too, Lat. dās dat. The last two are doubtless injunctive forms (dat instead of *dā-d), and d-a-s: ad-dā-s = -ba-s; fūa-s, tulā-s: Gr. ἐ-τη-α-

era-m era-s is to est what ea-m (used for conj.) is to i-t. The use of the injunctive *fū-a- = Lat. -ba-m for the imperfect certainly had something to do with the use of the injunctive era- as imperfect. Some scholars (the latest is Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr. II 187 f.) connect eram with Ion. ἐνα ἐναθα; ἕνα would be the augmented form; for another possible explanation see § 858. 2.

Other Verbs belonging to this class are: Lat. juva-s (partic. -jētu-s perf. jāvi) for *dīugu-a-s: Lith. dēiu-go-s 'he broke out into rejoicing' (pres. 1st sing. dēiu-gū-s); lav-a-s (beside lav-i-s), cp. perf. lāvi; domi-a-s cub-ā-s mic-a-s s-legans (beside s-ligere) sec-a-s (Umbr. pru-sekatu 'prosecato') and others, cp. perf. domni cubu micu secu. Doubtless we should also place here certain stems which have -a- all through the verb, as arv-a-s perf. arāvi partic. ara-tu-s, cp. Gr. ἀρῶ 'I plough' (Hom. 2nd pl. ἀρῶν; Heracl. ἀρῶντε, Sütterlin, Zur Gesch. der Verba denom. im Altgri., I 22), O.C.Sl. ora-to plough' in the aor. ora-chū partic. pret. act. ora-čū inf. ora-ti.

In Latin, there are a number of verbs which have the a-flexion when compounded, but some other when not. Examples: oc-cupare : capiō, suspicāri : speciō, prōfīgare : figō, com-
-pellare : pellō, aspernāri : spernō. This difference had probably something to do with a difference of meaning; the compound as contrasted with the simple verb often had a perfect (aorist) meaning. The a-formation gave an aoristic meaning, and occupāre stands to capiō, much in the same relation as Gr. μανήναι to μαίνομαι, προφτάγαρε to φτήνας λιπήναι to λείπομαι. The indic. pres. occupa-t is then an aorist formation, like lic-et (Gr. ἔλειν) beside lingū (§§ 590, 708), conj. ad-venās ő-venās (beside Osc. kūm-bēned 'convenit') beside veniō, tag-it beside tangi-t, and the like. This a-aorist seems to be as old as the ṣ-aorist: cp. Gr. Epiēaur. ἰεβά 'he flowed', Lith. pa-srūvo 'he flowed' kilo 'he raised himself'; perhaps to this class belongs the Armenian ḍ-aorist, as cn-a-y 'genui, natus sum' (Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr., II 130, cp. § 573). Compare further § 708 Rem.

In the whole range of Italic dialects, the later group of denominatives with -a- went hand in hand with the present flexion of this tenth Class. Lat. planta-s -a-nus 1st sing. plantō like in-trā-s etc. Umbr. furfant 'februant' imper. portatu 'portato', Osc. faamat 'habitat' sakarater 'sacratur' imper. deivatud 'iurato'. Compare §§ 738, 777.

§ 584. Keltic. Irish has only one monosyllabic present stem of the same kind as Idg. tr-ā-, to wit, *bhū-ā-. This stem is certainly attested in conjunctive and future use (cp. Lat. fu-a-m), as 3rd sing. ba ba = *bhū-ā-t. Whether it acted also as the preterite copula (cp. Lat. -bām), is doubtful, because its 3rd person singular appears after particles as -bu -bo (e.g. robu robo), which looks like original *bhū-t (Gr. ἤ-τ). Most likely the 1st and 3rd sing. ba and 3rd pl. batir', which still have those forms even in Old Irish, should be derived from a preterite *bhū-ā-.

Then there are a few dissyllabic present stems, as O.Ir. scarā- 'sunder, part from' for *skyr-ā- (I § 298. 3 p. 237), scarim scarī scarid scarmmme scarthe scar-it for *scarā-mi-a-si etc., also no scaru for *scarā-jō like Lat. juvō. And
again, the same inflexion is used with the later group of
denominative verbs, as com-ahnaim 'I fill up' (§ 778). Even
more clearly than in Irish we see this ð-flexion in the British
dialects; 3rd sing. O.Brit. -ot (with ᵐ = ᵐ), e.g. O.Bret. cospitiôt
'titubat' crihot 'vibrate'.

Remark. Remarkable forms of the verb -tou -u 'I am' (= Idg.
*stō-i, Class XXVI § 706) are the 3rd sing. at-tā and the plural -tou
-lad -tat, which may correspond to Lat. sta-t and stā-ness stā-tēs sta-nē.
That at-tā comes from *stā-i-e-t can hardly be proved, and the un-
accented -tam -lad -tat need not be shortened bye-forms of accented at-
tam, atātā atamētā, at-tatā, which may be secondary re-formates. Still
I do not believe that we need assume, parallel to stār, an original stem
at-ā, i.e. an extension of the root by the ð-suffix of this tenth class; but
I think that in Italic as in Celtic there was a tendency for verbs to pass
from Class XXVI into this, caused by parallel present stems like tr-ā-
and tr-ā-iō-. Compare § 505 pp. 71 ff., §§ 706, 716, 719.

§ 585. Germanic. No monosyllabic stems of the first
stratum, without -iō-, are found at all; unless indeed it be
represented by O.H.G. tuo-n from √dhē- (see § 507 p. 74).
But the said inflexion has many representatives amongst
disyllabic stems (mostly denominatives of the later stratum),
ep. Goth. milō-s 'thou measurest' salbō-s 'thou anointest',
milō-b salbō-b, -ō-m -ō-p, -ō-ud, O.H.G. borō-m -ō-s and so
forth (cp. §§ 739, 781).

§ 586. Balto-Slavonic. Monosyllabic stems are declined in
Class XXVIII; as Lith. ėi-še-ju 'hio' žio-ji -ji(o) -ja-me
-ja-te, O.Csl. tr-a-ju 'I last, endure' tra-je-ši -je-tū -je-mū
-je-te -ja-tū (cp. § 740). But imperatives like Lith. žio-k =
Lat. hia (§ 957) should be classed here.

Disyllabic stems without -iō- spread very widely in Baltic.
To this class belong a very numerous group ofpreterites in -au,
as Lith. buvau 'I was' buvai buvo buvo-mu buvo-te: Lat. -b-ā-s;
pa-srūvo 'flowed': Gr. Epidaur. ἵππα (§ 582 p. 123); dēing-
-ān-s 'I broke out into rejoicing': Lat. juv-ā-s (§ 583 p. 124);
qij-ān 'I revived' (cp. Avest. jyāiti-š 'life' Gr. ἵππa 'lives' for
'qij-ē-ie-', from √gei-); kil-ān 'I raised myself', vilk-ān
'I dragged', šnig-o 'it snowed'. With augment ėj-ān 'I went'

(§ 480 p. 28): Lat. eā- for *-ei-á- as conjunctive. Also presents; as bij-aǔ-s 'I fear', būd-aǔ 'I am stowed away somewhere'.

These forms had originally secondary personal endings, -ā-m, -ā-s, -ā-t etc., like Lat. -bān bās. But the 1st and 2nd sing. were transformed, the ending of suk-ā suk-i being added to -ā-. See on this point § 901.1.

In verbs like bij-aǔ-s būd-aǔ, -ā- was carried through the whole verb (fut. bijó-siā-s būdo-sin etc.). Thus they were related to the a-preterite (buv-aǔ beside fut. bū-sin, dōing-aǔ-s beside fut. dōiuk-siā-s), as Lat. ar-ā- to juv-ā- (§ 583 pp. 124 f.).

O.C.Sl. has only one present of this sort, im-a-mī 'I have' im-a-ši -a-tī -a-mī -a-te; parallel stem im-ē- in partic. pret. act. imē-vē etc., cp. Lith. pret. 3rd sing. ėm-ē.

Amongst the later Lithuanian denominatives those in -au with inf. -yti, as jā'śtau 'I gird' (jā'śtyti) from jā'śta 'girdle', see § 782.4. Another group of later denominatives from stems in -ā- has -o-ju -o-ṭi; e.g. dovanō-ju 'I present' etc. dovanō-ti, from dovanā, see §§ 769, 783.

§ 587. Root - -ē- or -ō-.

Pr. Idg. *gl-ō-ti from √gel- 'fall' (cp. Gr. βῆλ-ο; 'missile', βολ-η 'throw'): Skr. gl-ā-ti 'falls off, loses strength' (glā-ya-tī), Gr. ἐ-βλη-π - 'I received a blow; I was struck', 1st pl. ἐ-βλη-μεν mid. ἐ-βλη-μο, opt. βλεῖν βλεῖμεν. *pl-ē- *pl-ō- from √pel- 'fall' (Goth. fill-ō 'much' etc.): Skr. 2nd sing. hortative prā-si aor. ἀ-prα-τ, Gr. πλη-ρο πλη-ρο (§ 582 Rem. p. 123), Lat. im-plē-s -plē-mus -plē-tur (1st sing. plēd for *plē-jō); parallel stem *plē-ō- in Lith. plē 'he shed' instead of *pili (§ 593); *pl-ō- in Lat. plōrāre Goth. plō-du-s 'flood', and doubtless in Gr. ἐν-πλων 'I sailed over' pres. πλω-ω partic. πλω-το-ς. *(s)n-ē- *(s)n-ō- 'weave, spin, sew' (sn-ei- in O.C.Sl. nī-tī 'thread'? cp. Per Persson, Stud. Lehr. Wurzelerw., 64): Gr. 3rd sing. ē-νω Heroedian n 507 22 L. (νω from *smē-jō), Lat. nē-s nē-mus (cp. O.H.G. nōu 'I sew' for *smē-jō); *sm-ō- in O.Ir. smu-the 'thread' O.H.G. sμu-o-r 'cord, band'; Skr. smā-van- Avest. smā-vor"
'band, sinew' may be derived from *ṣeṣ- on the strength of Gr. νέος-νε 'sinew' (for *(a)ṃ-ṃ-qq-ν). *ṛṇ-ṛ- *ṛṇ-ṛ- 'learn, know' from √ṛṇ- (Aвест. a-zainti-s 'information' Lith. pa-stintįs 'knowing, knowledge', Skr. 2nd sing. imper. jā-na (Class II B): Skr. opt. jā-li-t and jā-su-t (§ 940), Gr. ἰ-μω-ν ε-μω-μεν opt. γνο-μεν, cp. O.H.G. knāu for *ṛṇē-iō, O.C.Sl. knojeti for *ṛṇē-je-1) *men-ṛ- from √men- 'think' (Gr. μεν-ος 'mind' etc.): Gr. ἰ-μανη ἰ-μανη-μεν, Lith. min-ē min-ē-me, cp. Goth. 3rd sing. mundīpih for *men-ṛ-ji-di (§§ 708, 739); also *mn-ā- § 580 p. 122. ἰ-ε- *ἰ-ὄ- 'go' from √ει- 'go' (Gr. ἑ-πι): Skr. ṣa-ti ya-mās mid. ya-mahē, Goth. 2nd sing. i-ddi-ς (§ 478 p. 26), cp. Goth. jā-r- 'year' and Gr. Ἰ-ος-ς 'year' ὅ-ος 'season' O.C.Sl. ja-rū 'spring'; Lith. jō-ju 'I ride' and Lat. jā-νu-s jāνu-a doubtless from ἰ-ἄ-, from the same √ει- (cp. Lat. conj. e-a-s). *bhū-ṛ- *bhū-ṛ- from √bhū- 'become, be' (Skr. bhāv-ā-ṛi): Gr. ἰ-κιं ἰ-κιν-μεν, O.C.Sl. 2nd and 3rd sing. imperf. ḍė for *bhū-ṛ-s- (beside bēchū bēchomē etc. like ἔκλεσθαι etc. beside ἔελε, ἔελαχε etc. beside ἐδα and the like), the same stem in Lat. fō-tu-s; *bhū-ṛ- perhaps in Gr. φο-λέ-ς O.Icel. bō-l 'resting-place, position'; cp. *bhū-a- *bhū-a- *bhū-a- § 579 p. 121. *y-ṛ- *γ-ό- 'to blow' (cp. the Author, M. U. i 27 ff., Per Persson, op. cit., 91, 225): Skr. ṣā-ti pl. ṣā-ni (ṣā-ya-ti), Gr. δη-ς mid. δη-ς, Lat. ventu-s Goth. vind-σ 'wind' for *γη-νσ̄- like Gr. ἀ-εν- for *δ长老 (I § 612 p. 462, § 614 p. 464), cp. Goth. vau for *γη-ιό O.C.Sl. vē-je-ti; *yō- in Gr. ἀω-ρο-ς 'down, piece of wool' (Goth. perf. sal-vō is doubtless a re-formate following sal-ō from √sē-sē-, see §§ 883, 884). *bhus-ṛ- *bhus-ṛ- (cp. I § 552 p. 403) 'pound small, chew, grind up' beside Skr. bā-ḥās-ṛi Class V (§ 556 p. 108): Skr. ṣad-ṛi, cp. Gr. ψη for *ψη-με; *bhus-ṛ- in Gr. ὄμ-ος ὄμ-χω I grind or rub to powder ὄμ-ος-ς 'scabby'. *liq-ṛ- from √leiq- 'leave' (Gr. λέιν-ῳ etc.): Gr. 1) It is true that O.H.G. knāu is not an unexceptionable example for *ṛṇ-ṛ-. It might be assumed that this present was formed in connexion with a perfect Goth. *kal-knāu and on the analogy of *sē-ṛ (Goth. saita O.H.G. sănu): sal-ō from √sē- (śe-).

i-λίη-ν-ν -η-μεν, Lat. lic-e-t.¹) Lat. tac-ē-s -ē-mus, O.H.G. day-ē-s 'thou art silent'. Lat. scat-ē-s -ē-mus, Lith. su-skat-ē 'he leapt up'.

With dissyllabic stems in -ē-, in which the root remained a separate syllable, the ē-suffix does not appear in so many different parts of the verb as with monosyllabic stems. In a number of verbs, especially intransitive verbs, of the European languages, a firm connexion sprang up between present formations with the suffix -jō- and forms with -ē-, as Gr. μαίνομαι ἴμανην = O.CSl. mínja mínē-ti. See § 708.

§ 588. Aryan. Almost all the Sanskrit forms which can with any kind of certainty be placed in this class have been mentioned in § 587. Beside yā-ti we have Avest. yaiti; beside vā-ti, Avest. vaiti 3rd pl. vā-nti.


¹) Bersu (Die Gutturalen, p. 154) denies that licet and linguō are connected, because licet has c, and quis would be expected. I conjecture that there was once a form *liciō (Skr. rīc-ya-ti Gr. ἱθαμεν § 707), which came regularly from *liciō-jo (as farciō comes from *farcī-jo § 715). Hence licet. Compare § 708.

Bragmann, Elementa. IV.
We must also mention in this place, although it is true they are not all old formations, some forms of the 2nd sing. aor. in -ονης = Skr. -has (see below), as ἐ-βλη-θης beside ἐ-βλη-το, ἐ-νη-θης beside ἐ-νυη, see § 587 p. 127; ἐ-φρη-θης beside φρη-το-ν = Avest. urvate-m 'determination, command' (I § 157 p. 141) from √μεν- (Gr. εἰφο Lat. ver-bu-m);1) ἐ-κλη-θης beside κλη-το-ν 'call' ἀν-κλη-μεν-ν κε-κλη-μαι ὁμο-κλη' (see above).

Of dissyllabic stems we have already mentioned ἐ-μαν-ν, ἐ-μνη-ν, and ἐ-λιπ-ν in § 587. This ἐ-formation, with intransitive meaning, became fertile (this is what the grammars call the "strong aorist"); a few further examples are ἐ-δαρ-ν 'I was flayed' √υρ-ν, ἐ-φορ-η 'flowed' √σρη-, ἐ-ταρ-ν ἐ-τραχ-ν 'I enjoyed myself, was glad' √τηρ-, ἐ-κλαρ-ν 'I let myself be deceived, was deceived' √κληρ-, ἐ-μαγ-ν 'I mixed myself' √μειξ-, ἐ-ζυγ-ν 'had myself yoked, was joined' √ζηγ-, ἐ-εσπα-ν 'rotted' from σπ-ο 'cause to rot', ἐ-επλαγ-ν 'I was frightened' from pres. ἐ-πλησσω cp. Lith. plak-ė 'he struck' (pres. plak-ū). There was a reason why this category should become very large. Medio-passive forms of the 2nd sing. in -ονης, as ἐ-δο-θης = Skr. á-dhi-thás, ἐ-κτά-θης (Class I), ἐ-βλη-θης beside ἐ-βλη-το (Class X), ἐ-σχη-θης beside ἐ-σχη-το (Class II B); and forms from the s-aorists, as ἐφείδων beside ἐφείδω (ἐφείδω 'I support, press against'), ἐμίξοθης = *ἐ-μιξ-ο-θης beside ἐμίξω (ἐμίξω 'I mix');2) — these were all regarded as being on a par with ἐλίπης etc., and then, by analogy of ἐλίπης ἐλίπη etc. we have ἐδοθης ἐδόθη and so forth, that is, from this grew the whole series of the "weak aorist passive". Compare O.Ir. 1st sing. -burt by analogy of 3rd sing. -bert, where -t is the middle personal

1) ἐφείδων εἰφείδων. i. e. *ἐ-μυ-σθάς follows Class II B (§ 527 p. 90), cp. Skr. ḍ-κ्ष्य-त beside क्षय-त, imper. ज्ञ-ा beside ज्ञ-स्या-ती, etc.

2) Compare § 836, on ἐ-φορ-ης and § 840 on ἐ-κατασ-θης.
ending -to (§ 506 pp. 72 f.), and Lith. 1st sing. eitū by analogy of 3rd sing. eit-t = Gr. i-ti (§ 686 Rem. 2).

Dissyllabic stems with -o-, are rare in Attic (op. ι-γηρα-ν § 582 p. 123): έαλω-ν for *η-χαλω-ν (§ 479 p. 27) 'fell a prisoner, was captured' 1st pl. έαλω-μεν partic. άλωντ- ; έ-βιω-ν 'I lived' 1st pl. έ-βιω-μεν.

The Aeolic dialect inflects the whole group of newly formed denominatives in -ω and -ων, and the Causatives in -ων (Class XXXII) as though belonging to Class X; e.g. Leob. φίλη-μι 'I love, am wont' from φίλο-ς, φιλή-μι 'I carry' (Class XXXII), στεφάνω-μι 'I crown' from στέφανος (Att. φιλόω for φιλέω, φοβόω for φοβέω, στεφανόω for στεφανόω), 3rd pl. φίλη-τε στεφάνω-τε, 3rd pl. φίλοισι στεφάνοισι for *-εντι *-οι, (I § 205 p. 172), mid. φίλη-μι μι στεφάνω-μια. This was a new formation entirely, which came naturally because other tenses than the present were alike in the two classes, for instance άλωσται : φιλήσται, γνω-άσται : στεφάνοι-άσται, and because of the old Aeolic inflexion of 6-stems (§ 578 p. 120); for verbs in -ημι, another factor in the change may have been reduplicated stems like χι-χνη-μι Class XI (§ 594), and the singular indic. pres. of verbs in -ημι or -ωμι may have been influenced by τιθη-μι δίω-μι respectively.1) However, it must not be forgotten that φιλέετε στεφάνομεν would regularly become φιλητε στεφάνομεν in Aeolic.

Remark. As regards η ω in forms like άγνωμι, (Leob.) στεφάνωσται, ιμ-πλητο etc., see § 582 Rem. p. 123; and for the 3rd pl. act. pret. ιμιγνω, εγνω etc. see § 1020.2.


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1) Compare especially 2nd 3rd sing. φιλητ; φαλω like τιδητ; τιθητ, variants φιλετ; φιλετ; and στεφάνωσι στεφάνωσι like δίδωσι δίδοω. Similarly, we have γίμωσι γίμοσι like ιστασι ισται. Then the diphthong passes to the 1st sing. giving στεφάνοισι τίμοισι (op. ισταμι).
from sper-uō; qui-ē-scō qui-ē-ē, connected with Avest. syētī-š 'wellbeing, place of delight, home' (II § 100 p. 297) and Gr. τε-ρίη-μα 'I am frightened' (de Saussure, Mém. Soc. Ling., vii 86 f.) beside Goth. hvei-la 'while, time' O.C.Sl. po-koji-ā rest'; (g)n-ō-scō (g)n-ō-ē beside Gr. ἐ-γρ-ω-ν (§ 587 p. 128).

Dissyllabic stems, usually with intransitive meaning (cp. the Greek "passive aorist" in -η-ν § 589 p. 130). lic-e-t, Osc. likitud licitudo 'liceto': Gr. ἔ-λινη, § 587 p. 129. vid-ē-s vidē-s-nius, cp. Lith. pa-vyldē-ti 'invindicere' O.C.Sl. vid-ē-ti 'to see'; video for *vid-ē-ió like Goth. vitid-ī p 'looks towards something, observes'; notice Umbr. virseto 'visum'. sil-ē-s; with sileō cp. Goth. sildā-ī p 'silent'. rub-ē-s, cp. O.C.Sl. rūdē-ti 'redden, blush'. fav-ē-s, cp. O.C.Sl. gov-ē-ti 'religioso vereri, ściulāei-θau, venerari, aéquipeθau' (see Ber. sächs. Ges. Wiss., 1889, p. 47); favēō like gorēō. val-ē-s, cp. Lith. gul-ū-ti to be able' (not so Bezzenberger in his Beitr. XVI 256). tac-ē-s: O.H.G. dag-ē-s 'art silent'; tac-ēō like Goth. pahāi-p; observe Umbr. taāēx tases tasis 'tactitus' pl. tasetur 'tactiti'. hab-ē-s, Umbr. habe 'habet' habetu habitu 'habeto': O.H.G. hab-ē-s (✓ khab- khab- or khabh- khab-). Further, Lat. clu-ē-s ✓kleu-; torp-ē-s for *tyr-ē- (I § 308 p. 241); cand-ē-s doubtless for *quōd-ē- from ✓(s)quend- (Skr. ścami-rā- cami-rā-, cāni-scad-a-t); liqu-ē-s and others; Osc. lousīt 'libet, vel' (Bréař, Mém. Soc. Ling. iv 145 f., 404 f.) beside Lat. lūbet, closely connected with Goth. lūbdīn-s 'hope', and, as we shall see in § 708, with Skr. pres. lūbh-yā-ti; Umbr. trebeit 'versatur' from ✓treb- 'build', which doubtless comes from *treb-ē-ti rather than *treb-ī-ti 1st sing. *treb-iō (in Class XXVI, § 715). With nasal suffix, Lat. langu-ē-s from ✓slēg- (§ 832). On this present in -ēō compare § 708.

In the same way are inflected a late group of denotative verbs in -ēō, and the Causatives in -η (Class XXXII), e. g. albhē albhē-s etc. from albu-s, and monēō monē-s etc. See §§ 777, 802.

§ 591. Keltic. I know nothing that can be classed here. do-gniu 'I do, make, work' 3rd sing. gniith, inflected just like

bhu, which comes from *bhuv-ījō (§ 719), is therefore from *gn-ījō not *gn-ējō.


To this tenth class belong disyllabic stems in -ē- as inflected in Old High German. dag-ē-m 'I am silent' -ē-s -ē-t ēm-ēs ē-t ē-nit-: Lat. tac-ē-s etc., habē-m: Lat. hab-ē-s, see § 590 p. 132. dolē-m 'I suffer, endure', cp. Lith. tyltā 'to be still, silent' (long i not original), common ground-form *tilli- from √ tel-. lebē-m 'I live', cp. O.C.Sl. pribě-ti 'hold or cleave to' Gr. ἅλλος from ἀλλά 'anoint, sincar' (for the derived meaning compare O.Icel. līfa 'be left over, live'). On these O.H.G. verbs in -ēm and their relation to Goth. verbs in -a-ās (as dagēm: paha) see § 708.

§ 593. Balto-Slavonic. O.C.Sl. bē 'eras, erat' for *bhuv-ē-s *bhuv-ē-t, see § 587 p. 128. Lith. ent- 'going' perhaps for *i-ē-nt, beside Goth. iddēj-s Skr. y-d-nt-, see § 511 p. 77.

Then comes the Lith. preterite in -ē (3rd sing.), whose high antiquity in Baltic is vouched for by Pruss. wedē = Lith. vēdē 'he led'. pylē, minē, su-skatē were mentioned in § 587, plakē in § 590. Compare further virē from ver-du 'I cook, boil', minē from mir-sztu 'I die', ginē from gem-ū 'I am born', ginē from gen-ū 'I hunt, drive', tūpē from tamp-ū 'I become' (as to ē in the root-syllable of vēmē from vemītū 'I vomit', ērē from gerītū 'I drink' and the like, see § 894). These forms had originally secondary endings, -ē-m, -ē-s; the 1st and 2nd sing., however, were transformed, the endings of suk-ū suk-l being added to -ē, and then -ē-u -ē-i became regularly -iau -ei, as vedžiau vedēt, viriau virē
(Wiedemann, Lit. Praet., 32, 184).\textsuperscript{1}) Compare § 586 p. 126 on \textit{buwai} \textit{buwai}. and § 991.1.

Lastly should be mentioned imperatives like \textit{mu̱mē-k} 'think of' \textit{pa̱-νυdē-k} 'invide'; these answer to the Greek and Latin imperatives \textit{μᾶνη-θε} \textit{vidē} (§ 708).

Class XI.

Reduplicated Root — \textit{-ā-}, \textit{-e-}, \textit{-o-}, forming the Present Stem.

§ 594. Reduplicator in \textit{-i} (compare Classes III and IV).


Possibly Idg. \textit{-a-} is contained in Germ. *\textit{ti-τ-ο-μι} O.H.G. \textit{zitterōm} 'I tremble' O.Ieol. \textit{tīra} 'I tremble, shake', from \textit{vder-} 'burst' (cp. Skr. \textit{dār-} 'push apart, lose one's head, be frightened').


\textsuperscript{1}) I held Wiedemann's explanation of \textit{-nas} to be correct, notwithstanding Streitberg to the contrary (Idg. Forsch., 1 267). Streitberg has overlooked one fact: to wit, that the diphthong \textit{-ey} in these words first appeared in Baltic, and is not so old as the pre-dialect period of Baltic-Slavonic.
'I kindle', √ per-. ἵλημι 'I am gracious' imper. Hom. ἵληθι for ἵππο-λη-ν-, √ sel-. κι-χρη-τι 'lends, borrows' Dor. κι-χρη-τι, beside χρη-ν and χρη-ν' 'needy, poor'. τι-τηρ-μι 'I bore', √ ter-. τερ-ετρο-ν; cp. O.H.G. drian 'I turn' from the same stem *tr-ē̂- (§ 739). The weak persons of these Greek verbs (and probably of κι-χρη-μι too) usually follow Class III, as -πήλα-μεν = Skr. pi-ṛṛ-मस, ἱλα-μαι τίτρα-μαι etc. (ἱλα-θι beside ἵλη-θι, πιηλάς beside -πιηλας); this was due to present tenses like ἵστημι ἵσταμεν; Sanskrit offers a parallel in forms of the perfect system like pa-pr-ध pa-pr-ḍaḥ : pa-pr-vas- (§ 850). See § 542 p. 102, § 621, where too is given the origin of the nasai in the reduplicator of πίμι-πλημι κι-χρη-μι etc. 

Gr. κι-χρη-μι 'I reach, find, catch up' 1st pl. κι-χρη-μεν partic. κι-χρη-μενο-ς. Origin uncertain.

O.H.G. weiwint 'whirlwind' beside weint (§ 592 p. 183) was perhaps reduplicated first as a substantive.

Remark. Some verbs of Classes III and IV have an -ā-suffix in Italic in non-present tenses. Umbr. an-dīrā-saust a-teřa-fust 'circumtulerit' for *di-ā-ā from √ dā- 'give' pres. Umbr. Osc. 1st sing. *di-ā-ā; Falisc. pībās 'bidam' cp. Skr. 3rd pl. pi-ṛṛ-ate Lat. bi-b-i-t § 539 p. 100, § 558 p. 107; Volsc. siétaitens 'statuerunt' from *siétā-tens (Osthoff, Perf. 244) beside Lat. si-st-ā. These ā-stems are identical with the ō-conjunctives of these verbs (Pelign. di-ā-ā 'det', Lat. bi-b-ā-s, si-st-ā-s) and are proofs of the wide range which the ā-suffix originally had (see § 578 pp. 118 ff.).


1) In Thess. inf. ἵ-κιχρημεν (Collitz, Samml. no. 1557) an aorist form of τισίμεν, or did it come from an indic. *κιχρω (cp. τισίμεν)?
indic. \( \text{ul-ul-ō-ju} \) (cp. § 735). The Lat. 1st sing., murmurō tintinnō ululō tor -ā-īō (cp. Lith. \( \text{ul-ul-ō-ju} \)) in Class XXVIII (§ 741).

D. CLASSES XII TO XVIII.

NASAL PRESENT STEMS.

§ 596. Specimen types of words which belong to this section are Skr. \( \text{mr-nā-ti} \) \( \text{γ-νό-τι} \) \( \text{yundā-ti} \) with the thematic \( \text{mr-nā-ti} \) \( \text{γ-νό-τι} \) \( \text{yundā-ti} \); and Skr. \( \text{kṛp-ānta-tē} \).

A few remarks are necessary on these nasal accretions, which beyond all doubt are closely connected together.

(1) Skr. \( \text{mr-nā-ti} \) : \( \text{my-nā-ti} \) \( \text{mr-n-ánti} \), \( \text{γ-νό-τι} \) \( \text{γ-ν-άnti} \), \( \text{yundā-ti} \) : \( \text{yundā-ti} \) \( \text{yund-ánti} \) \( \text{viddā-ti} \) : \( \text{vēlti vēd-ánti} \); that is, there seems to be a definite relation between thematic and non-thematic forms; the thematic stem may be derived from the other by adding the thematic vowel to its weak form. See § 491 p. 50.

(2) The suffix -\( \text{neu} \) -\( \text{nu} \) is made out of -\( \text{nā} \) -\( \text{no} \) -\( \text{n} \) (Skr. \( \text{mr-nā-mi} \) Gr. \( \text{μαρ-να-μα} \) Skr. \( \text{mr-n-ánti} \)) by adding the suffix or determinative -\( \text{eu} \) -\( \text{u} \). This -\( \text{u} \) has been discussed,

§ 488 pp. 44 ff.

We often find -\( \text{u} \) and -\( \text{nu} \) in the same root: as \*\( \text{str-u} \) (Goth. strāu-ja) and \*\( \text{str-nu} \) (Skr. str-nō-ti Gr. \( \text{στρό-νυ} \) μι), from \( \sqrt{\text{ster}} \) 'sternere': \*\( \text{hl-u} \) (Skr. \( \text{śr-ō-śi} \) \( \text{śr-u-ādhī} \)) and \*\( \text{hl-nu} \) (Skr. \( \text{śr-nō-ti} \)) from a \( \sqrt{\text{kā-n}} \), never found except with one of those extending suffixes: \*\( \text{yel-u} \) (Gr. \( \text{ειλ-υω} \) ελ-υργό-ν Lat. \( \text{vol-υδ} \) in-volūcrum) and \*\( \text{yṛ-nu} \) \*\( \text{yṛ-nu} \) (Skr. \( \text{yṛ-nō-ti} \) \( \text{ār-νo-ν} \)) from \( \sqrt{\text{yel}} \) 'turn, twist, wind'; Skr. \( \text{ā-dbh-u-ta-s} \) adeceitful, pure, genuine' and \( \text{dabh-nō-ti} \) from \( \text{dabh} \) 'deceive'; \( \text{qs-u} \) (Gr. \( \text{κς-υω} \)) and, \*\( \text{qs-nu} \) (Skr. \( \text{qs-nu-ānā-s} \)) from \( \sqrt{\text{qes}} \) (II § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20): \*\( \text{pi-m} \) (Skr. \( \text{pi-vaś} \)) and \*\( \text{pi-nu} \) (Skr. \( \text{pi-nu-ā-ti} \)) from \( \text{pi} \) 'swell, abound in'. The variant stems in Skr. \( \text{śr-ō-śi} \) and \( \text{śr-nō-śi} \) may be compared with those in Gr. \( \text{θρασ-υς} \) and Skr. \( \text{dhṛṣ-nu-ś} \) (1st pl. \( \text{dhṛṣ-nu-māς} \). Probably one of these parallel stems, say \*\( \text{qs-nu} \), is a contamination of the
other two. *gs-u- (Gr. ξ-αίνει ξ-άρ-ησ) and *gs-nu- of *stv-n- (Skr. stv-ṇā-tī Lat. sterv-nō etc.) and *stv-u-; ¹) but this must not be taken to imply that the contaminated suffix -n-u- arose in just these roots and no others.

Non-thematic u-flexion is very rare except in monosyllabic stems like Skr. ṣr-ṝ-ṭi ṣr-ṝ-ṇ-t ṣr-u-dhi, where it was dominated by the analogy of verbs with u in the root proper. Examples of stems other than monosyllabic are Skr. tar-u-tē (cp. tāru-ṣante taru-tar-) beside tār-a-tī, Gr. ἱρ-ν-μα (cp. ἱρ-ν-μα Skr. var-ṛ-tra-m var-ṛ-tār-) beside Skr. vār-a-tē vṛ-ṇā-tī Goth. varja. ²) No proof is forthcoming that present stems of this kind were ever a numerous or productive class. It was not until u was joined to n, that the suffix ran through any large number of forms.

Remark. Some scholars, led by de Saussure, hold that *ṣṭeney- is *ṣteru- with an infix or inserted element -n-. That is all very well on paper, but under what principle of language known to us can it come passes my comprehension. They refer, of course, to yunāk-ti, from युज्य- *yāj-, as a clear instance of inserted sounds. But I cannot admit that the nasal suffix has been inserted here any more than in the stem which I began with. See (5) below, pp. 139 f. ³)

(3) After a root with final consonant ṅu, en, and doubtless on are found as variants for the initial n of -nda- -no- neyu- -nign-.

¹) Compare Lat. pōpulēn-a = pōpulēn-a + pōpulēn-a. A large collection of such mixed forms containing formative suffixes of a similar sort, is given by Per Persson, Wurzelw. pp. 153 f.

²) On Skr. tanāṭi, which the Indians analysed as tān-ḷ-ṭi, see §§ 639, 640. karōṭi I still hold to be a later re-formate, although Per Persson, op. cit. p. 149, opposes this view. See § 640.

³) Fick is keenest about these "infixes". Thus in one place he speaks of the "repetition of infixed s" in Greek aorists in -sasa and Sanskrit aorists in -ṣṣaṃ (Gött. Gel. Anz., 1891, p. 1429). Page 1460: infixion is the "oldest and most powerful agent which causes word to grow out of word". Page 1462: "Almost always, where hitherto scholars have seen suffixes, that is, defining words added to the end of another, it is far better to speak of infixes". One question I should like to ask. Where did these infixed sounds come from, and what were they before they were infixed?
For -nā- -n(ə) take the following: Avest. 1st pl. fṛy-qn-
mahī beside fṛn-nā-iti 'pleases, makes inclined', hu-qn-mahī beside hu-nā-iti 'excites, produces'. For -no-: Skr. iṣ-ana-t 'let him set in motion' ep. iṣ-anyā-ti = Gr. iaivēr for *iṣ-aw-vo (-γνο-), Armen. legate- I leave' (-γνο-), Gr. xēd-āw 'I honour, glorify' (-γνο-), Goth. ga-va-kna 'I awake' (-γνο-, -eno-, or -eno-), Lith. kūp-īnu 'I heap, hoard' (-γνο-), gab-enū 'I bring' (-eno-), O.C.Sl. vriγ-na-ti 'to throw' (probably -ono-, see § 615 Rem.).

For -ney- -nu-: Skr. vānane-at- 'liking' for *vanu-va-
beside indic. vanī-ti for *van-ney-ti from ṣe-ven-: Avest. 2nd pl. debo-naotā for *db-anau-ta (-anau- instead of -anu- from the singular) beside Skr. daḥh-mō-ti 'hurts'; Avest. partic. mid. zar-
anu-mana- beside opt. zar-anas-mā and Skr. hṛ-nil-tē 'growls, grumbles'. For -nyo-: Avest. xw-anva-inti 'they drive on' xw-ēnva-ḥ (pr. Ar. *sy-anu-) beside hu-nao-iti hu-nā-iti: Avest. sp-ēnva-ḥ 'proxiemebat' doubtless the same as O.H.G. sp-imnū 'I spin' for *sp-emyō beside spannu 'I stretch' for *spa-myō and beside spanu 'I lure, attract' for *spa-nū (§ 654); O.H.G. tr-imnū 'I separate myself from' ground-form *dr-emyō beside Skr. dr-
myā-ti. Greek examples are apparently Hom. ix-ānω for *ix-
avfω beside ix-νο-μαι and xiχάνω for *xi-χ-avfω, whose ending doubtless comes from -γνω (see § 652), and ἕνfω-ς ἱναν-ς from the root of Lat. hos-ti-s and Goth. gas-t-s (cp. the Author, Idg. Forsch., 1 172 ff.).

Similar groups of suffixes, fuller and weaker, are found in other present classes. -eno- -no- = - eso- - so- (Class XX).
-γno- -no- -εn- -jo- (Class XXVI).

The only ones of these dissyllabic suffixes which were to any great extent productive were γno- -eno- (-ono-). These we place in a class by themselves (Class XIV).

(4) In classes where the n-suffix comes after the root syllable, it is not always as described in (3), just above. The root often has attached to it some kind of determinative. Thus we see -i- -a- (cp. § 498 pp. 61 f.), as in Skr. r-ι-να-ti Gr. Lōsb.-δο-λνω beside Skr. ṣ-να-ti Gr. oσ-νυ-μ; Gr. πι-νυ-
§ 596. Present Stem: Classes XII to XVIII — Nasal Stems.

-μενο-ς for *πν-ν-νο- beside μν-νο-ς; Skr. pu-νδ-τι; Skr. bhṛ-ι-νδ-τι (Avest. brōi-pra- 'axe' O.C.Sl. bri-τι 'shear, shave') beside Gr. καρ-ο-ς Lat. for-ας; Skr. ṣr-ι-νδ-τι beside ṣr-τα-ς; Gr. Lesb. ṣr-ι-ννο (Lat. dis-crv-men) beside Lith. skir-νδ. -ς- -ες- (cp. §§ 656 ff.), as Skr. i-νδ-τι i-νδ-τε beside i-νδ-τι; Gr. εννυ (εννυ) Armen. x-genum common ground-form *μ-νεν- *μ-νεν- beside Lat. ex-nū Lith. au-νды (§ 639). Other examples will be mentioned anon.

(5) Most obscure of all has hitherto remained the "nasal infix", the nasal element, that is, in such words as Skr. yunāk-τι yunā-j-mis and yunā-j-ά-ti, and its relation to the nasal suffixes in the other Classes.

The strong form, Skr. yunaj- for example, has hitherto been found as a verb stem only in Aryan. Some other languages have been supposed to show traces of it, as Gr. xuvio and Lat. conquiniscō frūniscor, which are said by some to be for *xvios-o and *quenec-sco *frūneg-scor; but this in my opinion, is the merest conjecture.¹ If we must compare something from European languages, the most likely forms are the adjective Goth. manag-s O.C.Sl. mīnogu 'multus' beside Skr. māhya-tē 'is large, generous' maghā-m 'fullness, riches'.

Perhaps these nasal forms are merely a developement of Class XII, by a change in the first instance of, say, *jug-n-mēs *jug-n-tē (-n- the variant of -n-, cp. Avest. ver'-n-tē and the like) to *jug-n-mēs *jugn-tē. Then, by analogy of Skr. anāk-τι and anāj-mās and other present forms with nasal in the root,²) we get the sing. yunāk-ti. It should be remembered, however, that it is a priori impossible to say whether a in


²) With anaj- cp. Goth. anāk-s 'suddenly, at once' (Skr. ॐ-स 'quickly, suddenly'). Skr. 2nd 3rd sing. pret. anot 1st pl. conj. anākamahāti, ov-anāk-i 'penetrate' may be compared with Gr. δ-νεξ-νς (§ 569 p. 119).
Skr. *yunoj- comes from idg. -a-, -e-, or -o-. This assumed change of *jug-n- to *juno- must have come—about in the parent language: and the singular persons may have been made in the same period. If the forms did grow as I suggest from the Class with -nda- -nɔ- -n-, it would at once become clear why of all the forms containing this suffix in any of its three grades, none is taken from a root with final explosive or fricative (§ 598): from these roots the parent language would then show (say) *juno-taŋ = *jug-n-taŋ (Skr. yunok-tē), while others would have the nasal suffix in its proper place, and show the type of *ybr-n-taŋ (Avest. verz-n-te).

Another view is set—forth by Per Persson, Stud. Lehr. Wurz., 152 f. (cp. too Windisch, Kuhn’s Zeitschr. xxi 407). He thinks that in the oldest forms which set the type for the class with Nasal Infixed, the root final was a determinative, and the nasal a suffix which was added to the root before the determinative was added. Then forms with the determinative and forms with the nasal were contaminated. Thus *limpj (Lith. limpi; Skr. limpdoji) is a sort of combination of forms answering to Lat. li-nō and Lith. li-pū. There is nothing which makes this view impossible.

Yet another hypothesis, the latest, is offered by Osthoff, Anz. für idg. Sprach- and Alterthumskunde, i 83. He suggests that Skr. krnako- may have vetica + present suffix -nat- (stronger form of -nt) + personal ending -mi; and by analogy rinca-mās produced rinca-mi. But that there ever was a simple suffix Idg. -net- -nt- is, I hold, quite unproven; see § 685, Rem. 2.

§§ 597,598. Present Stem: Class XII — Skr. mṛ-nd̐-ti.

We shall now discuss the classes of nasal stems one by one. Of these we distinguish seven.

Class XII.

Root + -nā- -nə- -n- forming the Present Stem.

§ 597. The strong suffix was -nā-, the weak form before a sonant was -n-, before a consonant either -nə- (Gr., μάρ-να- -nai) or -n- (Avest. wer*-n-tē).

Sanskrit, with -n- before consonants (e.g. mṛ-nī-mās), stands alone—nī- displaces *-nī- = Idg. -nə- on the same principle as changes *śi-śi-hi to śi-śi-hi, so that we have mṛnī-mās : mṛnd-mi like śiśi-hi : śiśi-mi. See § 498 pp. 61 f.

Remark. Wiedemann’s view (Lit. Pract. 40) that -nī- changed to -nī- by quantitative analogy of -nā- I hold to be mistaken; and so also Bartholomae’s, that mṛ-nd-mi : mṛ-ṇī-mās contain a pr.Idg. ablaut, -nā-being for -nī- (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 75 ff.).

In Avestic, before sonants, not only -n- but -an-, seemingly representing Idg. -en- : frv-an-mahī, see § 596.3 p. 138.

The Root Syllable has always, and always had, the weak form.

§ 598. Pr.Idg. All the forms which can be proved to be Indo-Germanic come from roots with final liquid, nasal, or vowel (cp. § 596.5 p. 193).


Gr. πορ-να-μεν : πολέιν, πορ-να-μεναί : πολούμεναι (Hesych.) are as ambiguous as μορνάμενος; Att. πέρ-νη-μι ‘I sell, transfer’ with changed root-grade (cp. περαιω), O.Ir. re-nim ‘I give away, sell’ (cp. § 604).

Skr. jā-nd-mi ‘I learn, know’ for *gī-nd-; compare perhaps *Lith. žino ‘he knows’ for *gī-na-t (whence žinai žino-me etc.)
by analogy of bij-aus and the like. — With thematic vowel Skr. jā-na-ti Avest. 2nd pl. zā-na-tā, Goth. partic. kunand-s (indio. kann).

Skr. li-nā-mi 'I stick close to, cower, disappear' vi-lināmi 'melt, disintegrate, go to pieces', Gr. ἠ-να-μαι εἰσούσιει Hésych., O.Ir. le-nim 'adliacreo' (cp. § 604), O.Icel. li-na 'I relax, grow soft'. — With thematic vowel Lat. li-nō (cp. Gr. ἀλίνω ἀλιπέρω for *άλινυν § 611).

Skr. kṛ-ṇā-mi 'I buy', O.Ir. cre-nim 'I buy' for *crito-na-mi (cp. O.Ir. crī-thid 'fond of buying'), cp. § 604.

Often a present stem is formed both in this twelfth class and in Class XVII, particularly in Aryan; e.g. Skr. kṣi-ṇā-ti and kṣi-ṇō-ṭi 'destroys'. Cp. § 605 Rem.

The likeness of the endings in the strong singular persons and those of the corresponding stems of Classes X and XI, in -ā-, caused a number of analogical changes. (1) -nā- passes into the weak persons, as O.H.G. gi-nō-mēs beside gi-nō-m, following zittarō-mēs (cp. § 594 p. 134) and salbō-mēs.

(2) An extension with -jo- by analogy of the variation -a-: -ā-jō- in Classes X and XI, as Gr. ἀμβαίοι instead of ἀμβαίοι, A.S. hlinie 'I lean' instead of hli-nō-jo.


1) žino- may also be *gyn-ā- (Class X).

2) One is tempted to identify this form with O.H.G. follow 'I fill'. This is probably at least a derivative from the adj. fōl Goth. full-s, like O.Ir. com-aluino from lēn, see § 760.
§ 600. Present Stem: Class XII — Skr. my-ud-ti. 143


Remark. Skr. mṛṇḍ-ti 'steals' is derived from the noun mṛṇḍ-muṣ- 'mouse' (H II § 160 p. 485). Similar words below in § 793.


There was naturally a close contact between thematic and non-thematic forms in Aryan, which made it easy for words to pass from one to the other. The 1st person singular and the 3rd plural present, with other forms, and the conjunctive mood, had regularly the same form in both: compare Skr. mṛṇḍami mṛṇḍanti from both my-ud-ti and my-ud-ti. Thematic stems are specially common in Avestic; compare 3rd sing. mid. ster'-na-tā opt. ster'-na-ta beside Skr. syr-nā-ti 'strews', and 2nd sing. hu-na-hi beside hu-nā-iti 'begets'.

The Sanskrit 2nd sing. imper. active, besides -nā-hi (-nā-hi), has the ending -ānd, found in classical Sanskrit with all roots ending in a consonant, as gṛh-ānd budh-ānd. Two explanations of these are possible. (1) -āna may = Idg. -one, which may be a thematic imperative of Class XIV, where Slavonic has -on- (see §§ 615, 624). Or (2), -āna may be -a- = -a+ -na, - -a- being a weak form of the na-suffix, and -na the same particle which we see with the 2nd pl. in -ta-na (beside -ta). The second view seems better.

Remark. Bartholomae now supports the view which analyses -āna into -a+ -na, and identifies -na with -no in -ta-na -hna-na (Stud. Idg. Spr. II 123), and cites by way of illustration the Avestic 2nd sing. imper. boro-nā, a variant for the usual bora = Skr. bhāra. But he explains gṛh- as derived from *ghṛghāt, where I cannot follow him.
Exceptionally the root syllable has a strong grade: partic.
mid. ἀρ-η-μα-ς like ἀρ-νά-μι Class XVII, cp. opt. aor. ἀρέγαμ
and ἀρ-α-ς. But ἀρ- may be preposition ἀ + ἀρ-.

A few isolated forms in Sanskrit show a change from this
class to -io-stems: partic. हुमा-या-nt- हुमा-या-मान-स beside
a-हु-मात mid. हु-मी-ते. With forms like Gr. δαυνάω (§ 598
p. 142), हुमा-या-nt- has no very close connexion.

§ 601. Armenian. բարնա-m 'I raise' for *բարջ-նա-մ ground-form քարջնա-մi, cp. aor. բարջ-i. ճարնա-m 'I return'
for *ճարջ-նա-m, cp. aor. ճարջ-այ. բանա-m 'I open' ground-form
քան-նա-մi from քան (p. 56 footnote), cp. aor. բա-ց-i:
Gr. φαίνω for *φα-νοω § 611, O.H.G. ba-mnu § 654. ստա-նա-m
'I possess, have in my power, buy', cp. aor. ստա-ց-այ; Gr. στα-
ŵν 'I place' (G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.² p. 446) Lat. de-stināre,
O.C.Sl. st-a-м 'I place myself'. լու-նա-m 'I wash', cp. aor.
լու-ց-i.

These are inflected like the a-presents մնա-m and ճանա-m
§ 581 p. 122). But the original quantity of the a in -na-
cannot be determined; and -na- may be Idg. -nā- or Idg. -nā-.

§ 602. Greek. μάρ-να-μι μαρ-νά-μεν-ς, πορ-νά-μεν πέρ-
-νη-μ, λί-να-μι see § 598 p. 141. δάε-νη-μ 'I tame' beside
δάμα-σιν; for the root syllable compare κάμ-νο and Skr. ि-
-ते beside κάμα-το-ς ि-म-τά-ς, ोμ-νे-μ beside ोμό-τη-ς.
δέ-να-μι 'I can' possibly connected with Lat. dā-ru-s;
but Gortyn. δν-να-μι 'I can', probably belongs to some other
root.1)

The ἰ of the root-syllabic is strange in the following stems.
χερ-νη-μ 'I mix' beside aor. ἱκέρμιο,  πίλ-να-μι 'I draw near
quickly' beside aor. ἰπέλσσα: cp. Lat. pello for *pel-νό, O.Ir. ad-
ellaim 'I go to, visit' for -(φ)ελ-νά- ξέλμ-νη-μ 'I hang' (wrongly
written κρήπνμ) beside aor. ἱκέρμαα. ὁρέν-να-μι 'I reach or
stretch' beside ὁρένο, πίτ-νη-μ 'I spread' beside aor. ἰπέιαα;
thematic ἵ-πι-ν-νον πί-νον.  ἱδ-να-μι 'I spread or widen,
disperse' beside ἐκόλοθαυ. Various explanations are given: see Osthoff, M. U. ii 20; Wackernagel, Kuhn’s Zeitschr. xxix 126; Moulton, Am. Journ. Phil X 284 f., and Class. Rev. iii 45; Kretschmer, Kuhn’s Zeitschr. xxxi 375 f.

With -jo-flexion: δαμνάω, xυρνάω, ἐργυράω, πναύω. Compare § 598 end, p. 142.

In δέ-να-μαι, the nasal was not confined to the present stem: ἄνυατος ἐδυνάσμεν ἐδυνάσθην ἐδυνάσθην, like ἀγατος ἄγατος ἴτταμα from ἴτμα-μαι. Compare § 643, and ἀνῦναι (from ἀν-νῦ-μαι).

§ 603. Italic. (1) We find in Latin the non-thematic inflexion of Class XIII: ster-nō (contrast Skr. sṛ-ud-ti), lī-nō (contrast Skr. vi-līnā-ti), pellō for *pel-nō (contrast Gr. πελ-να-μαι), sper-nō (contrast O.H.G. spor-nō-m 'I tread, kick'), and no sound-law prevents our putting in this twelfth class ster-ni-mus -ni-tis, deriving them from *-na-mos *-na-tes (cp. § 505 p. 71, on red-dimus, and § 543 p. 103, on se-ri-mus).

(2) But some compounds are inflected as verbs in -āre. cōn-sternāre, beside O.H.G. stornām 'atonitus sum' (§ 605) Gr. πτέρω 'I make shy, put in a fright'. in-clināre: O.Sax. hlī-nō-m 'I lean'. cp. Lett. sli-mu (beside slējī) 'I lean on, support'. de-stināre, cp. Armen. sta-na-m 'I possess' Gr. στά-νω 'I place' and στα-νω (§ 601 p. 144). So too com-pellāre from pellere, asperrnāri from sperrnere. It is assumed that a similarity in the endings -nā-s(i) -nā-t(i), in this class, and -ā-s(i) -ā-t(i) in Classes X and XI caused a current to set in the direction of the last two (cp. end of § 598). But this does not explain why not only compounds were carried by it; and apparently we must not separate pellere : compellāre, sperrnere : asperrnāri from stīgere : prōstīgere, capere : occupāre and others. The -nā- in cōn-ster-nā-s must therefore be kept quite distinct from -nā- in Skr. sṛ-nā-mi Gr. δάμ-νγ-μ. See § 583 pp. 124 f.

§ 604. Keltic. O.Ir. re-nim 'I give away, sell' (perf. -rīr), le-nim 'adhaereo' (perf. ro līl), cre-nim 'I buy' (perf. -ciuir) Mod.Cymr. pryfnaf; see § 598 p. 142. gle-nim 'adhaereo'
(perf. ro gīnīl) Mod.Cymr. glynaf beside O.H.G. chli-nu
‘I cleave, stick, smear’ (Gr. γλυκ-ός ‘sticky dampness’ O.H.G. chleinun ‘plasmare’). O.Ir. be-nim ‘I strike, cut’ O.Brit. el-
-binum ‘lanio’ Mod.Bret. benaff ‘I cut’, beside Lat. perfines
‘porfringas’ (Festus) O.Bret. bi-tat ‘resicaret’ O.C.Sl. bi-ti ‘to
strike’. The inflexion of these presents, as Thurneyson shows
(Kuhn’s Zeitschr. xxxi 87), points to pr. Kelt. *-nā-mi -nā-si
-nā-ti -nā-mesi etc., i.e. the weak suffix -nā = Idg. -nā
had got into the singular.

We must keep these presents distinct from O.Ir. ara-
-chrinim ‘I decay, break up’ (beside Skr. śṝ-yā-ti § 599
p. 142), -guinim ‘I recognise’ (V’γειν-, cp. Skr. ja-nā-ti with
§fō- § 598 p. 141) and ro-chrininur ‘I hear’ (beside Avest. sru-
nāo-iti Class XVII, V’hīvsty-), which have jo-inflexion. Was
there any connexion between the -jo- of this last named present
and the old -nu-inflexion? There may be the same relation
between -chrinim and Skr. śṝ-yā-mi as between Gr. qaiνo
for *q-a-v-tn and Armen. ba-nā-m (§ 611), or between Lat. li-nī
(beside li-nā) and Skr. vi-līnā-ti (§ 598 p. 142, § 743).

§ 605. Germanic. Here, as in Latin, we have
sometimes the thematic conjugation of Class XIII, and
sometimes the conjugation of Classes X and XI; see § 598 end,
p. 142.

O.H.G. spor-nō-m ‘I tread, kick’ O.Icel. spor-nú ‘knock
against’; thematic variant stem O.H.G. spor-nu and -spirnī
conj. -spīrνe (perf. spor-ninum O.Icel. perf. spor-n spor-nom)
like Lat. spor-nē. O.Sax. mor-nō-n ‘I trouble myself, care’,
wolle beside Skr. var-hi-tē ‘chooses’ (Kluge, Paul-Braun’s Beitr.,
viii 515). O.H.G. gi-nō-m (also gei-nō-m) A.S. ginie ‘I gape’;
with -no-, O.Icel. gr-n O.C.Sl. 3rd sing. zi-ne-ti, V’γειν-
O.Sax. hi-nō-n A.S. hlinie ‘I lean, support myself’; Lat. in-
eit-īnā-ti. O.Icel. li-na ‘I soften’. Skr. li-nā-ti etc., see § 598
p. 142. O.Icel. fā-nu ‘I rot, corrupt’ (partic. fā-inn ‘rotten’):
thematic Lith. pā-nu 1.T rot.
We must add a group of West Germanic verbs in which -kk- -pp- -tt- are due to assimilation of the n of -na- to an explosive root-final (I § 530 p. 388, § 534 p. 391, § 541 p. 396); as O.H.G. lechōm 'I lick' ground-form *līgh-nā-mi, zochōm 'I pull hard, tug' ground-form *duk-nā-mi, Mid.H.G. hopfe (Rhone-Frank. hoppe) 'I hop' ground-form *gup-nā-mi.

**Remark.** Some forms of these verbs have not broken u. and i in the root; as O.H.G. zuechōm, Mod.H.G. zuecke beside zochōm, Mid.H.G. rupfe beside ropfe (ground-form *rub-n-), Mid.H.G. stuze 'I push, strike' (ground-form *stūd-n-), Mod.H.G. nicke (ground-form *knīgh-n-). I suggest as a possible explanation that there may once have been bye-forms with the present-suffix -neg- -neg-, as 1st pl. *duk-nu-mes. Compare Goth. kunnum (*gyn-nu-mes) beside ufs-kunna.

A third group of Germanic present stems is that exemplified by Goth. baha -dis. Goth. mauvnai-b O.H.G. mornē beside O.Sax. mornōn A.S. murne. O.H.G. klinem beside O.Sax. klnōn A.S. klinie. O.H.G. sternēm 'atonitus sum, inhio', beside Lat. cōn-sternāre § 603 p. 145. The transformation in these verbs is due to their intransitive meaning, see § 781.3. The case is different with Goth. ufs-kunnaib-b 'recognises', as we shall see in § 646.

**§ 606. Balto-Slavonic.** The thematic type prevails; e.g. Lett. gā-nu 'I snatch' contrasted with Skr. ju-nā-ti 'sets in quick motion, urges', O.C.Sl. zi-ne-ti 'yawns, gapes' contrasted with O.H.G. gi-nō-t.

Traces of -na- are perhaps left in Lith. aino 'he knows' ground-form *gyn-nā-t: Skr. jā-nā-ti, see § 598 p. 141; and in Lith. ly-nō-ja 'it rains slightly' inf. ly-nō-ti (Lett. li-nā-t) beside ly-na 'it rains', kilnō-ju 'I lift this way and that' beside Lat. ex-cellō for *-celō, lasz-nō-ju 'it drizzles, trickles a little'.

**Remark.** kilnōju may also be quite well explained as a derivative from kilna- 'high'; and this makes it doubtful whether the "diminutive frequentatives" in -nōju ought not to be estimated quite differently and classed elsewhere. But here we must bear one point in mind — this I say with a view to Leskien (Ablaut der Wurzels. im Lüt. p. 174) — to wit, that Baltic denominatives often put on the appearance of primary verbs. See § 793. Thus e.g. lynō-ju may quite well be a primary form by analogy of which was formed kilnō-ju from kilna-.
Class XIII.

Root + -no- forming the Present Stem.

§ 607. Stems of this class seem to bear much the same general relation to Class XII as Skr. ti-sth-a-ti; Lat. st-at-ı-t to Gr. θητ-εί; see § 491 p. 50.

But certainly not all the stems of this class are stems of Class XII which have taken to thematic inflexion. Amongst them are many whose stem is found as a noun-stem, and was probably only a noun-stem at the first. Take, for example, Skr. ve-na-ti 'long'; beside ve-na-s 'longing'; pasa-te 'trafficks, barters, buys' beside pasa-s 'wager, bargain, loan'; Lith. pelna-s 'gain, profit' (I § 259 p. 211); Goth. frawina-O.Icel. freyn 'task' beside Skr. praśna-s 'question'. So too Class XIV (mu-no- ento uno), closely connected with this, is denominative in its origin.

Since it is impossible to distinguish verbs like Skr. my-na-ti (beside my-na-ti my-a-nāti) from those like Skr. ve-na-ti (from ve-na-s), we shall treat them together.

Parallel variants such as Gr. θελωμαι θυλωμαι 'I wish' (*θγ-νο-: γελ-νο-) O.H.G. willu 'I have, we-s': willu 'roll, go' (*γελ-νο-: *γελ-νο-) recall similar pairs in Class II, Skr. kṛṣa-ti : kārṣa-ti (§ 513 pp. 78 f.), and in Class XXVI, Goth. wārka-ja : O.H.G. wirk-(u) (§ 705).

§ 608. First we cite no-forms which occur in more than one language.

§ 609. Aryan. To the forms cited in §§ 598 and 600, parallel to forms in Class XII, add the following 2nd pl. gr-nā-ta; beside gr-nā-tum. calls, calls upon; rāna-ti, indulges himself, pleases himself. instead of, ram-nā-ti, [§ 616 n. 82] ground-form, rāna-ti. beside ram-nā-ti, which must be explained like, sam-nā-tē. § 602 p. 144 (cp. ra-tā-s for, rāna-ta-s); am-nā-tā, beside mi-nā-ti, lessens, hurts; math-nā-dhūm, beside math-nā-ti, and māṅch-ā-ti, twirls, moves, shakes.

Skr. ghūrna-ti, waves from ghūrna-s, 'wavering.' rāna-ti, longs, rāna-tum, 'longing.' pana-ta, trades, from pana-s, 'wagen,' phānati, leaps, hops, in motion, phānati, 'snake.' nostril; (perhaps cognate with) sphyra-ti, 'quickens, throbs,' and if so, with Lat. sper-nō, O.H.G. sφir-nō, sφir-nō, see § 608 p. 148. (Compare § 607 p. 148.)

§ 610. Armenian, ar-ne-m, I make, aor. ar-ar-i § 571 p. 113, var-ne-m, I raise myself, get up, cp. Skr. r-nā-mi.

Gr. ὀρ-νο-μ, Class XVII, § 639, d-ne-m, I place, dv-ce-

With the middle, iο-extension (§ 711), li-ni-m, I become, (aor. part. lieal), tani-m, I lead, (aor. tar-ay).


Dor. βελεται Att. βελεται 'I prefer, I wish' ground-form *gl-ne-, Dor. ὅλεται Delph. δελεται (Thess. βέλλετει Boeot. βελύετη) ground-form *gel-ne-, see I § 204 p. 170, § 428 b with the Remark p. 316. Hom. Dor. τάμνω Att. τέμνω 'I cut', cp. aor. ταῦ-είν. Lesb. ἀπ-έλλω Dor. ἐγίλω Hom. εἶλω 'I press' for *fell-νω.


Remark. ψαλῶ shows that xīlōw comes from *kli-ν-υ-ο. Bartholomae's doubts are unfounded (Stud. Idg. Spr., ii 87 f.).

The origin of the Att. ending -τυ-ω is generally uncertain, as it may come from -νω, -μω, or νω (§ 655). In any case, pairs of variantæ such as βίνω βίνω θύνω beside βίω δύω θύνω produced ἴδηνω ἄρτινω beside ἴδενω ἄρτυνω, and then the analogy went further, and we have ἴδενω ῥαξῖνο etc. Compare Lith. keldūnu § 615.

Other verbs with a weak grade of root: tollō ground-form *tλ-nō √ tel. si-nō, origin obscure (cp. Osthoff, M. U. iv 133 f., Perf. 612). dē-gūnō for *gus-nō, √ geys-

Other verbs with strong grade of root. pellō for *pel-nō (Umbr. ař-peltu ‘admoveto’), beside Gr. πίλ-να-μαι, see § 602 p. 144. ex-cellō for *cel-nō, cp. Lith. kilnō-ju § 606 Rem. p. 147.

tem-nō may come from Idg. *tem- or *tem-

Again cer-nō, which is connected with Gr. κρίνω and Lith. skir-iū, may be explained in two ways. If it contains the unextended root, it is on a level with pellō etc. But it may have arisen in composition from *crinō (I § 33 p. 34), in which case it will be analysed *cr-i-nō and be more closely akin to Gr. κρίνω.

Lastly, pandō is doubtful. It is connected with Osc. patensins (Class XIV, § 622). If it comes from *pat-nō (vol. II p. 161 footnote, Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XVII 119), a must be derived from o on account of Gr. περάωσαι, and then the root had a weak grade. But pandō may belong to Class XVI; see § 632.


¹) Forms like O.H.G. 1st pl. spurrānēs infin. spurranan partic. fir-

-spurran A.S. spurranan murran are without a-umlaut, by analogy doubtless

of the 2nd and 3rd sing. pres. and the plural of the pret. O.H.G. spurran;

e.g., cp. O.H.G. inf. durfan beside darf durfum, and others. But A.S.

has spurran as well as spurran. Or had the West Germanic originally

forms of Class XVII beside those with -no-? Compare spurranan with

kunnan-m § 646.

§ 116. 

O.C.Sl. *zi-ne-tū*; yawns: A.S. *gī-ne* (ibid). 
Lett. *sī-nu*; I can upon: support. 
ep. Skr. *sī-nd-ti*; ties, surrounds *vār.* in the two Latin verbs *i* doubtless comes from the infinitive (sēl- *sēl-*) 
Lith. *ry-nu*; I swallow; devour. 
O.C.Sl. *ri-ne-tū*; knocks. 
Lith. *rintu*; ‘starts’ (cp. *na-roj*; ‘impetus’). 
Lith. *si-nu*; I go: a comparison with Lat. *prōd-sum* is unsafe (see § 1022). 
O.C.Sl. *si-ne-tū*; shines, mi-ne-tū; goes by; 

Lith. *pū-nu* (beside *pū-cū*): I make rotten cp. O.Icel. *sū-na* 
Lett. *gā-nu*; I snatch: Lith. *gā-nu* 
rem. (from *gū-ni*; *gū-ni*); *gū-nd-tu*; cp. Skr. *gū-nd-tu*; sets in. 
Lith. *klā-nu* (beside *klā-nd*); 
I hook on to, remain hanging, *grūt-nu* (beside *griūn*). 
I knock down, *siū-nu* (beside *sū-cū*); I come to grief: Lett. 
O.C.Sl. *pli-ne-tū*; ‘spews, 
under *pli-*; *pli-* 
spī- (§ 60 p. 147), and *pli-ne-tū* 
‘put, covering on the foot’ *vēu-. Lith. *rāu-nu* Lett. *rāu-nu* 
‘pull, tear, snatch out’ (beside Lith. Lett. *rāu-ju*). 
*rey-* and 
otherwise (see Bielenstein, Lett. Spr. 1 855). 

The analogy of *rāu-nu*: infin. *rāu-ti* etc. produced. Lith. *denominative re-formations* like *kūlānu* instead of *kūlānu* 
beside *kūlānu*; *kūlānu* instead of *kūlānu* Beside *kūlānu*; *kūlānu* instead of *kūlānu*; *kūlānu* instead of *kūlānu* 
‘king’ (from *kūlā-n* ‘king’). Compare Gr. *ιδρω-§ 611 p. 150*. 

Slavonic gives a large number of ne-presents from verbs with other finals, *vē* and *vē*; *plātē* ‘blazes up; for *pol- 
F-ne-tū, pol-ne-tū* ‘thinks upon’, *vīg-ne-tū* ‘throws’ (cf. *vēg- 
mlik-ne-tī* ‘grows dumb’, *za-klānti* ‘shuts’ for * *klep-ne-tī, 
būlā ‘awakes’ for * *dūd-ne-tū, dūg-ne-tū* ‘moves’, *sīch-ne-tū* 
‘dries’ (intr.). Also from one root in *-ā*: *sta-ne-ti* ‘places 
itself’, akin to Pruss. *stāntēi*; adverb of the pres. participle, 
In Slavonic the no-suffix is not confined to the present stem; it appears elsewhere in the system of the verb, but then in the peculiar shape -nu-. Examples are aor. mi-nu-chu partic. pres. mi-nu-vu infin. mi-nu-tu sup. mi-nu-tu from mi-nu. -nu- is regular only in the infinitive and supine (except sta-tu from sta-nu).

Remark. The following I think is not improbably the history of -nu-. Slavonic once had verbs in *-onu (1st sing. pres.), and their aorist ended in -on-vu -quu and their infinitive in -on-tu -qti, parallel to Lith. gyvenu 'I dwell' (fut. -iu -iu infin. -iu-tu) kūpiu 'I heap' (fut. -iu -iu infin. -iu-tu), see § 624. Now in the present, -no- levelled out -onu-, which was only used with consonantal roots; but -ono- remained everywhere except in the present. Hence a compromise: an infinitive *vīguati, for instance, would be transformed by analogy of vīgnu vīgnati etc., and become vīguati. Afterwards -nu- was extended to verbs from roots ending in a vowel, such as mi-nu, and only sta-nu kept clear of this change (infin. sta-tu). Compare with this § 624 at end, and Wiedemann, Arch. Slav. Phil. x 653 ff.

Lithuanian has no present stems with the suffix -nu- from roots with a final explosive or fricative; instead of these the language has forms of Class XVI, such as bundu as against būnu in Old Church Slavonic. But there are a few in Lettic, all of them however with an interior nasal, which in most cases certainly belongs to the present suffix and not to the root: brinu 'I wade' for *brid-nu *brend-nu beside Lith. brenda and breda (brida brāsti), rūnu 'I find' for *rūd-nu beside rūdu = Lith. randu (rada rāsti), mīš-nu 'mingo' for *menz-nu beside Lett. mēžu (mēžī), līnu 'I crawl' for līd-nu beside līdu = Lett. lendu (lenda līsti). The origin of this kind is obvious; the class with a nasal infix (Class XVI) has been contaminated with the -nu-class, like O.C.Sl. seg-nu from √ seg- etc. (§ 636), and like Gr. λμμάνω from √ leig- etc. (§ 631).

Class XIV.
Root + -ono- -ono- -ono- forming the Present Stem.

§ 618. It is quite clear that this class is derived from nouns; see § 487 p. 41, § 596. 6 p. 140, and below. It is note-
worthy that the u-suffix is often extended by -jo-; as Skr. īṣau-ya-ti beside (Ved.) īṣa-naissance, Gr. ἐλεόσωμα beside ἐλεόσωμα, O.H.G. giweacketsu 'I recount'. See §§ 618 and 743. This is the same formation as Skr. viśthriya-ti from viśthṛś-s 'staggering, shaking', Gr. αἰδόλω from αἰδόλος, see § 770.

§ 617. Along with -yno--eno- we find -ynā--enā-, inflected in the same way as denominatives from ā-stems. To illustrate, take: Skr. pṛtanā-yā-nte- 'fighting' beside Avest. peshana-iti Skr. pṛtanā-yā-ti beside Skr. pṛtana-m pṛtanā- 'fight', Skr. bhanda-ya-ti 'shouts, cheers' beside bhanda-ḥ 'shouting' bhanda- 'shout'; Gr. ἔρωσεν beside ἔρωσα I hold back, bar, stem' (cp. ἐννα 'I sharpen, whet' beside ἐνναν- ἐννα 'whetstone', and ἐνακάμα I spend' beside ἐκαμα- 'extravagant' ἐκάρα 'expense'); Lat. runcināre (cp. runcinā 'plane') coquināre cărināre farcināre; O.Icel. vakna 'I awake' pret. vakna-da, Goth. pret. ga-vaknō-da beside pres. ga-vakna; Lett. stiprinō-ju 'I strengthen' infin. stiprinō-to beside stiprinu (infin. stiprin-ti), gabenō-ju 'I bring together' (infin. gabenō-ti) beside gabenu (infin. gaben-ti); and besides, the Lith. group of preterites, of which examples are 1st pl. stiprinu-me gabénomo-me, must be added.

Seeing how clear is the denominative character of this fourteenth class, no doubt can be felt that all these verbs are derived from feminine stems. The nearest parallel is found in the verbs which will be discussed in § 769, Skr. priya-yā-tē Goth. frijō, O.Ir. com-alnaim O.H.G. follōm, and such like. That is to say, Skr. bhanda-ya-ti 'stands to bhanda- 'shout' and bhanda-s 'shouting' exactly as O.H.G. follōm 'I fill' to folla 'fullness' and fol 'full', or as wuntōm 'I make wounded, I wound' to wunta 'a wound' and wunt* 'wounded'.

Remark. The student must not suppose that I refuse to see the parallelism between ἔρωσεν : ἔρωσα and παρεῖν : πάρεω; O.Icel. vakna: Goth. ga-vaknō and O.H.G. giwō-m: O.Icel. gi; Lith. stiprinēs: stiprinu and yncēs: igna. See the end of § 596, and §§ 602, 605, 606. The origin of the a-flexion is different in the two sorts, but a-flexion in the one may well have influenced the other in different languages inde-
pendently. For instance, Greek verbs of the type of *katakephresein may have been supported by the use of *katakephros, or vice versa.

Skr. *brahmāyā-pūrṇa is not to be classed with *krama-yā-ā, a quite isolated stem; we see this from a variant *brahmāyā-dānas (§ 600 p. 144). Such forms as *brahmāyā-pūrṇa do not exist.

§ 618. I cite first forms which appear in more than one language. Here, as below with forms belonging to one language only (§§ 619 f.), the extension with -jo- must be cited too (§ 743).

Let. cruent-ū-s participle of a present 3rd sing. *crumi-t, Lith. kruvinu 'I make bloody' (partic. kruvin-ū-s = cruent-ū-s) from kru-vo- 'bloody'.


Skr. injunctive *sanda-ū 'let him set in motion, arouse, excite, quicken and *sana-yā-ti, Gr. *kaiw 'quicken, hasten, warm for *jo-ar-ūo.

Goth. *af-hin 'I remain over' (pret. *na-da), Lith. *upina 'I cause to adhere'.

Goth. *ausna 'I increase, grow' (pret. *na-da), Lith. *augina 'I make grow, rear'.


to go quickly' from turbana-s 'hastening' (pres. teor-a-tē 'hastens')
cp. Gr. ὕπατος § 611 p. 150. 'bhūrau-ya-ti he is active' from
bhūrau-s 'active', and others. Compare Skr. prajwa-ya-ti
bhūandya-ya-ti § 617 p. 155.

There is nothing to decide whether this Aryan -ono-
represents *Idg. -ono- or *-ono- (those who believe that Idg. -ono-
becomes * in open syllables in Aryan will, say, for -ono-
either). *Isany-ti as compared with Gr. λαίχω, so far as it
goes, favours -ono-. 

§ 620. Armenian. In this language -oni- is Idg. -ono-
the most common present suffix *k-anem I leave, aor. 3rd
sing. e-kul. *k-anem. I find, 3rd sing. e-guñ, 
V yed-* k-anem I spew, spit, aor. 3rd sing. e-kul, ke-anem
'I swallow', aor. 3rd sing. e-kul. *k-anem
I see, V derk- (I § 263 p. 214), tiz-anem I lick for *tiz-
aner V leig-
-anem, like Greek -awo, is found in some forms which
have another present suffix already. As for instance harpanem
'I ask' beside aor. harci, stem *pr(θ-)sko- (§ 672), like Gr.
aux kata beside aux-awo; and very near akin to harpanem is
Avest. per'anyata asks, if its *ya- is Skr. ca- (cp. Skr.
prachana-m 'an asking') and not Idg. -k (cp. Goth. freihna).
-anem (cp. § 711) a variant of anem as Gr. -awo of
-agw; e.g. mer-am-m I die (aor. mer-ay) like Gr. μακ-άω,
'I make wither, decay', mac-am-m. I cleave to, hang on to,
curdle, zerc-am-m I free or save myself, run away.

§ 621. Greek. In this language too, -ono- is Idg. -ono-
is very common. see obiced (now or formerly not in use)
(000ig-σω I mean) rpd-awo 'I honour' (exalt', sev-awo,
'to hide', D. fil-awo V, whet', -ιλιο-awo 'I escape notice',
...
The suffix is often used to extend other present stems. For example take the following: ἵστ-άνω 'I place' beside ἵστ-μα (Class III). ἱσχ-άνω 'I hold back' beside ἱσχ-ο (Class IV). ἵππ-άνω 'I learn' ἵππ-όνω 'I leave' from *πυνθό = Lith. -bundō √δηγδι- and *μενο = Lat. linguō √leg-, and so too ἱλαγ-άνω 'I cry out' from *κλαγ-ο (cp. κλαζω for *κλαγγ-ια) = Lat. clang-ö beside Gr. perf. κλαίγεια (Class XVI). αὐξ-άνω 'I increase' beside αὐξ-οί αὐξ-σω (Class XX). ἀλυσ-άνω 'I avoid' beside ἀλυ-σω (Class XXII). ἀμαρ-άνω 'I miss' beside ἀμαρ-το-ν (Class XXIV). δαφ-άνω 'I sleep' beside δαφ-θο-ν (Class XXV).

πιπλάνω πιπράνω, as compared with πι-πλή-μι πι-πρη-μι were made on the analogy of λιμπάω, and this served to keep safe the nasal in πιπλήμι πιπρήμι κλήσαμι κλήχρωμι (§ 542 p. 102, § 594 pp. 134 f.). Perhaps there was once a form *πλα-νω, parallel to Skr. pr-ṇ-ṇi, which on the analogy of πι-πλή-μι πι-πλή-μεν was transformed to *πιπλάνω (cp. the reduplicated πτ-τρ-άνω, p. 159), and then came under the influence of verbs like λιμπάω. The Greeks themselves saw a close connexion between the ending -άνω and a nasal in the first syllable of the word which had it, if this syllable contained a short vowel + explosive; we can see this from the transformation of Att. *αχάν (for *αχαφ, Hom. ἀχάν) into κράχαν (§ 652).

With -άνω (see § 617 p. 155): ἐροκάναω beside ἐροκάω 'I hold back, bar, stem', ἐρκάναμω 'I welcome' beside ἐρκάν-μεν (§ 639), ἐχάναω beside ἐχάω, and others.

A large number have -άνοι. ὀλυσθάνω beside ὀλυσθάνω 'I slip'. μελάνω 'I darken' (beside μελάνω? see the commentators on Ilid 12 64), and others (cp. § 776 6 b).

Amongst these verbs in -άνω are those whose root no longer forms a separate syllable, some of which are certainly old (cp. Lett. τι-ν-τι τρ-ν-τι § 624). ξ-άνω 'I scratch, comb' (ξ-άνο-ν 'comb for carding wool') beside ξ-όνω and ξ-έω ξ-έσσαι (Class XX, § 661) from ν-γες- (II § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20). δεφ-άνω 'I bubble up' beside φε-όν Lat. fl-a-s O.H.G. bl-a-ô.

(§ 583 p. 124). ὁφ-αἶνο 'I do, intend to do' (ἄλιγγο-ἀραίων 'faint, weak § 801), beside ὅφ-ῶ ὁφ-ᾶ-μα (§ 737). ἁλῶν 'I besprinkle' for ἀρ-αῦ-ῶν (ἄριστος -ίδος drop) beside ὅ-lict(FL) 'flows' from ὑ σερ- 'run, flow' (§ 488 p. 47) cp. ἱ-αἶνο beside ἱ-ῦ; ἰσῳδ-ἀρα ἱᾶςατε (*ἰς-ἀ-) belong to Class XXV (§ 695).1) χρ-αἶνο 'I touch the surface gently, stroke, soil' beside χρ-ῶν 'I seize, touch' χρ-αῖνο 'touch superficially, scratch' χρ-ῖν 'I anoint'. γραίνειν ἓσθεῖν Hesych., beside γράφω, which seems to be akin to Skr. gr-asa-ti (§ 659). γραίνω 'I make, complete' (V qer- Skr. kṣ-ṇ-ḍ-ṭi); this we should probably place here. The alternative is to analyse it *γρα-ν-ω, from *gr-n-, and place it in § 611 (pp. 149 f.), but χρ-όνο-ς makes this the more likely place (see II § 67 with the Rem., p. 112). τε-τρ-αῖνο 'I bore' (τε-τραῖνο is also found, see Veitch Greek Verbs s. v. τετραῖνω): Lith. tr-inu 'I rub', V ter-.


§ 622. Italic. Lat. cruen-ṭu-s beside Lith. krūvinu, see § 618 p. 156. Osc. patensins 'aperirent' for *patenesēnt cp. Lat. panderent (§§ 632, and 837. 2).

Latin verbs in -inūre (§ 617 p. 155): coquinūre beside coquare, cārinūre beside cārere etc.

§ 623. Germanic. In this class fall Inchoatives formed with an n-suffix (for the term inchoatives as applied to them, 1) By this correct vol. I § 488 p. 360, § 492 p. 363, § 633 p. 479.
see Egge. Amer. Journ. Phil., vii 38 ff.; as Goth. *gāvakan* O.Icel. vākna A.S. wæcnan 'awake.' Since in these and many other words *n* is not assimilated to the preceding consonant, it follows that there must have been a vowel between than which has suffered syncope (ep. I § 214 p. 181, Kaufmann, P.-B. Beitr. xiv 504 ff.). But whether this vowel was *a*, *i*, or *u*, and the suffix accordingly *Idg. *-ono*, *-eno*, or *-uno*, remains a question. Furthermore, amongst forms like Goth. *distaurō* 
I tear to pieces, crush to pieces, there may be forms with *Idg. *-no* (eq. Skr. *dir-nde* O.H.G. *zor-n*, II § 66 p. 141), which would then have to be placed in Class XIII.

The old unextended suffixion was regular Gothic only for the present; e.g. *gāvaka* -is -ip etc. Elsewhere Gothic has *-no*, as *vakaūda*. Old Icelandic carries *-no* all through the verb, as *vakna* -nada. In Old High German, on account of a certain change which will be set forth in § 181.3, most of the words in question are absorbed into the e-conjugation (6th weak conj.), as *wesānēm*.


These inchoatives are sometimes derived from an adjective, in which case they run in parallel lines with the factitive group in (Goth.) -jau; Goth. *fullmān* O.Icel. *fullna* 'get full' beside Goth. *fuljān* O.Icel. *fylla* 'make full, fill' from Goth. *full-s* O.Icel. *full-r* 'full' (ground-form *pl*-no-s), Goth. *ga-giunan* become alive beside *ga-giyan* make alive, quicken' from *giu-s* (gen. *gīvis*) alive, Goth. *miškan* grow big beside *mišiyan* 'make big' from *miš-i* 'big'; ep. Lith. *linkšminu* from *linkšma-s* and similar forms, § 624.


Lith. *krūtinu* 'I make bloody' fut. *krūt-iš* partic. *krūvini-*ta-s = Lat. *cruc-in-su,* *augiinti* 'I make grow,' *saušina* 'I make dry,' see § 618 p. 156. *kūpinu* 'I heap up' from *kūpindu* 'heaped up.' *trūpinu* 'I crumble, break into little bits' from *trūping-s* 'crumb.' *tēkinu* 'I make run (on a grindstone), polish' from *tēkina-s* running' (O.C.Sl. *tečinu*). *buliunu* 'I awake.' *lipinu* 'I make stick.' The form of the root is noticeable in *tr-inū* 'I rub.' infin. *tr-ini-ti* from *vēter-* (Lat. *terg*), with which compare Gr. *te-roinw* 'I bore,' and *to/sti* 'I swell out' instead of *te-iing* infin. *to-in-ti* beside Lat. *tu-mo*; cp. Gr. *ταουω* and its like, § 621 pp. 158 ss.

This extraordinarily fertile suffix was used to derive verbs with a factitive meaning from adjectives too (as in Gothic, *fullnon* etc., § 623); e.g. *linkeminu* 'I make glad, comfort' from *linkena-s* 'joyful;' *sēninu* 'I unite' from *vēna* 'one;' *tvirtinu* 'I make fast' from *tvirt-s* 'fast;' cp. Pruss. *swintina* 'he hallows from swinto* holy.'

From verbs like *pū-d-inu* *več-d-inu* *svil-d-inu* was extracted a suffix *-dinu,* which was largely used. See §§ 700 and 701. Only Lithuania and Prussia have *-ino* (¬-in-) with non-present stems. For Prussian, compare infin. *waidin-t* 'to show' partic. pret. act. *waidinn-ons* from the pres. 3rd sing. *waidinn*; *swintint-s* 'hallowed' from 3rd sing. pres. *swintina.* Lettic has for these parts of the verb *ina* as *audinu* 'I bring up, raise, rear' infin. *audinat* in contrast with Lith. *augiinti* (cp. Goth. *lifna* *lifvoda.* Lith. has also a few words with *inoj-i*ot, as *stiprinōju* 'I strengthen,' *stiprinōti* beside *stiprina* *stiprindt* (Lett. *stiprnu* *stiprinot*); *linkeminōju* 'I make glad,' *linkeminōti* (also accented *linkeminoju*) beside *linkminu.*

Rarer than *ina* is *ena* Lith. *gyvenu* 'I dwell' *gyveni* (cp. Goth. *ga-yvina* § 629 p. 160) and *graudeni* 'I remind, admonish;' *gabenu* 'I bring,' also *gabenujó* *gabenotī.*

Drumman, Elementa IV.
That Slavonic once possessed verbs in *-ona infin. *-oniti *-əti may be assumed, as we have seen in § 615 Rem. p. 154, from such forms as əvəq-na-ti. With this *-oniti compare əvq-onu 'sound' beside əvq-inu 'sound', containing the suffix *-uno- (beside əvq-a əvq-a-ti 'to call', II § 67 p. 154); further, Gr. ἀνομι 'dryness' ἀνομο 'ζύλον' ζυδόν (Hesych., MS. ἀνομο) beside avulm 'I dry up' (beside Lith. svuži-ti O.C.Sl. svužn-a-ti).

Class XV.

Root + Nasal Suffix forming the Present Stem.

§ 625. Here fall such present stems as Skr. yunāj-mi pl. yunāj-mās. This class has hitherto not been certainly proved to belong to any branch but Aryan. Its origin and relation to the other nasal classes has been discussed in § 596. 5 p. 139.

§ 627, 628. Present Stem: Class XVI — Skr. yunā́-á-ti. 163


Remark. On Skr. hinā́-ti 3rd pl. his-anti see § 667.

Strong stem instead of weak: Skr. 2nd pl. yunā́k-ta instead of yunak-tá.

Class XVI.

Root + Nasal Infix + Thematic Vowel forming the Present Stem.

§ 627. This class stands to the preceding in the same relation as Class II B to Class I, etc., see § 491 p. 50.

As the nasal often spreads from the present to the other parts of the verb, and then to nouns, it is often doubtful, where a Root does not contain i, u, a liquid or a nasal, whether the nasal which we see is not really part of the root itself. It is an infix in Lat. pre-hendō -hendi -hēnus-s (ir. χιλοσωμαί ‘I will seize’ (for χινδ-+σ-) ἕ-χακ-α-τ- (χυδ-) χαρδάω Alban. ĝendem ‘I am found’ Lott. ĝidu ‘I understand, conjecture’ (for ĝendu), which is proved by Lat. præda (for *prae-hedā) Goth. ĝita. For Skr. spanda-tē ‘throbs’ spandaya-ti spanda-s ‘a throbbing’, pani-spaddā-s ‘throbbing’ (spad- = *spyd-) Gr. σπεδώνη ‘sling, σπεδωμος’ throbbing, eagerness, impatience (*σπιδ-) 1) the same is proved by Gr. σπαδ-αο-ς ‘hasty, wild’ σπαδ-αο-ς ‘powerful’. But it sometimes happens that there are no kindred words which can decide the matter. And then again, to make the ground more slippery under our feet, roots whose nasal we have a right to say belongs to the root itself, form forms without any nasal by analogy. Thus Skr. mamāth-o māthaya-ti instead of manānth-o manthaya-ti from mathud-ti matha-ti, where math- comes from *myth- (§ 516 p. 82, § 852); Gr. μητζώμαi instead of *δευζώμαi from δακ-ρω ἢ-δακ-α-τ-, where dāk- comes from *dāk- (I § 224 p. 191).


1) Connect Lat. pendō, pependē, pandēs?
\( \sqrt{qert} \) *cut*: Skr. \( kṛnt-ā-tī \) *cuits, splits*, Lith. *krin-\( ū \)* I fall off, drop* (of leaves, fruit and so forth), Idg. *\( gṛnt-\dot{e}-ti \)*, cp. I § 285 Rem. p. 228. O.Ir. *\( in\text{-}grēmmim \)* I pursue* i. e. *\( ghrendō \)* (cp. § 633), O.CSl. *\( gred-\dot{a} \)* I come*, originally *\( ghry\text{-}dhō \)* \( \sqrt{ghredk-} \), cp. Goth. *\( gridi- \)* f. *step, grade* Lat. *\( gradior \)* for *\( ghrdh-jo- \)* (§ 717). \( \sqrt{reg} \) *stretch, extend*; Skr. *\( ṛṇj-ā-ti \)* (beside 3rd pl. mid. *\( ṛṇj-\dot{a}tē \)* Class XV), cp. Lith. partic. *\( ī-si-ričęs \)* having stretched oneself* infin. *\( īsz-si-ręčę̱tē \)* 'to stretch out' *\( ṛnią\dot{a}n \)* I stretch* derived from a stem *\( rinę̱ \)* = Skr. *\( ṛṇj- \)* (from *\( ri- \)* = *\( ṛj- \)* were derived *\( ręčę̱niks \)* I inflate myself* and *\( ręčę̱ną̱-s \)* I stretch myself*, cp. below, (Goth. *\( īslīh \)* *\( īslīh \)*).

Formed from such roots with \( r \) we find in several languages present stems with vocalism of the strong grade. These must be regarded as new formations. Examples are: Skr. *\( śrāmbaka-\dot{a}tē \)* 'entrusts', Gr. *\( ἐμβάζω \)* *I turn myself round*, Mid.Ir. *\( dringim \)* I ascend*, O.H.G. *spring-u \)* I leap*, Lith. *dres-\( ū \)* I am brave*; details will be found under the separate headings.

\( \sqrt{plaγ-} \) *plag*-; Lat. *\( plang-ō \)*, Lett. *\( plākšn \)* I become flat*, fall flat down* for *\( plank-u \)*, cp. Gr. *\( πλακύ \)* 'I strike, knock aside, lead astray' (\( ē\text{-}πλαγγέσιν \) *\( πλαγγέσιν \)*) for *\( πλαγγέσιν \)* § 631. Lat. *\( clāng-ō \)*, cp. Gr. *\( κλαγγύ-\dot{α} \) *and *\( κλαγγύ \)* for *\( κλαγγύ-\dot{α} \) § 631 (pf. *\( κλάγγα \)*, O.Icel. *\( klakku \)* 'I cry out' (\( -k-k- \) for *\( -n-k- \)*) beside Gr. *\( κλαγγύ \) 'I chuck, caw' for *\( κλαγγύ-\dot{α} \).*

Roots ending in a consonant, without liquid, nasal, \( i \), or \( u \) (type *\( peq- \)* *\( ecquire \)) show an e-vowel. Goth. *\( feila \) O.H.G. *\( dei \)* I thrive* for *\( bnax-ō \)*, earlier *\( bēnx-ō \)* (cp. O.Sax. partic. *\( thungan \) and causative *\( thengin \) I complete*), from which we have the re-formates *\( paīh \) dek etc. (I § 67 Rem. 2 p. 57), Lith. *\( šeu-šu̱k \)* I last out, have enough* infin. *\( šek-\dot{ti} \)*, compare O.Ir. *\( tocad \)* Mod.Cymr. *\( tyng\dot{h} \)* 'luck, happiness' (first for *\( tunketo- \)*, cp. the Latinised name *\( Tunce\dot{c}e\dot{t}e\dot{c}e \) *Incecece*, inscr. in Wales), which also point to a nasal present stem. Alban. *\( ýnd\dot{e}m \) I am found*, Lat. *\( pre-\dot{h}endō \)*, Lett. *\( gidu \)* I understand*, conjecture for *\( gend- \) *\( \sqrt{ghed-} \), cp. Gr. *\( χαράμω \) χεῖδομ \) \( \) § 631.*

Several languages give io-inflection to this type (Class XXIX). Examples: Gr. *\( πισσόω \) πιτττ \( \) instead of *\( πιτττο-\dot{ι} \)*, πλαζω for
166 Present Stone: Class XVI — Skr. yāj-ā-ти. § 629.

* tłacy-ίν: Lat. vinc-iō, sanc-iō (cp. sacer); Lith. įuŋ-į, Lett. mīču (beside mī/mu) 'mingo' for *minz-įn. See § 744.

§ 629. Aryan. Skr. vind-ā-ти Avest. vind-a-iti 'finds', V yeiđ-; Skr. sīnc-ā-ти Avest. hinc-a-iti 'pours out', V seig-; Skr. kṛnt-ā-ти Avest. kər'nt-a-iti 'cuts', see § 628 where other examples are given. We may also mention the following: Skr. śiğ-ā-ти 'leaves over' beside śinās-ти; und-ā-ти 'moistens, wets' beside undā-ти; umbh-a-ти 'holds together, holds in custody' beside 2nd sing. umap; tṛmp-ā-ти 'is satisfied' V tērp-; brh-a-ти 'strengthens' V bherigh-; kṛnth-a-ти from krath- 'to become loose or soft'; Avest. mer'ne-a-iti from marc- 'destroy' beside 2nd pl. mid. mer'neq*-duyē (§ 626). Sometimes in Sanskrit the accent is changed to the accent of Class II A, as śumbh-a-ти and śumbh-ā-ти 'adorns' (beside śbhh-a-tē), partic. mid. tāuj-a-māna-s (3rd pl. tuñj-ā-tē Class XV, tuñj-ā-tē 'is struck, knocked'), dhv-a-ти beside dhv-h-ā-ти 'strengthens' (beside dhv-ha-ти), pfnc-a-ти mingles' (beside pruñk-ти and pi-pṣg-dhi). With secondary strong grade vocalism (cp. § 628 p. 165): Skr. kṛnth-a-tē (gramm.) beside kṛnth-a-ти, srambh-a-ти 'entrusts' (cp. ni-sṃbhā-s), ann-rañjati 'cleaves truly to, loves' (cp. rāga-s 'colour, passion, love'. Gr. ἐλεῖν ἑγέρναι ἑγειν'), Avest. 3rd sing. prot. mor'nd-a-b for *mar'nd-a-b (I § 94.3 p. 89) from mard- 'kill' (or does -ar- = *p-?) of the same sort may be Skr. vind-ā-ти 'praises, honours' beside vād-a-ти ud-yā-tē.

Roots of the type peq- (§ 628 p. 165). Skr. spand-a-tē 'throbs', beside Gr. aped-avō-c, § 627 p. 163. srambh-a-tē 'strengthens itself, stands fast, supports itself', beside Lith. steb-ič-s 'I wonder' steb-ič-s 'I keep myself back' stāba-s 'apoplexy'. Sometimes the nasal is only found in non-present forms. Thus from V seig- 'fasten, hang' (Skr. sajjatē for *sa-zi-a- § 562 p. 110, Lith. segū): Skr. perf. sa-saŋj-a aer. a-saŋj-i partic. -sok-tacya-s; from Ar. dabh- or dhabh-1)

1) The desiderative forms dhīpsoti dhīpsoti are late re-formates instead of Vedic. dhīpatsi, certainly not instead of pr. Ar. dhabh. Compare Dīatk, p. 171.
§ 630, 631. Present Stem: Class XVI — Skr. yuṣṭi-d-ti. 167

to hurt, deceive' (ep. Skr. a-dabh-ha-ta-s § 596. 2, p. 136, desid. Skr. dipa-ti Avest. dīvēa-idyāi § 667; Skr. perf. dā-dabh-ā, -dābha-s 'hurting', Avest. caus. dābāye-itī): Skr. perf. dā-dāmih-hu caus. dambhāya-iti dambh-a-s 'deceit'. In such instances, one of two explanations is possible. (1) Either a nasal present which was the origin of these nasal forms has perished. With saṃj-compare O.C.Sl. sceg-na § 636; dambh- may be illustrated by Gr. ἄραμψω 'I hurt, deceive', if the root is dhēbh-, and if this Greek word is a contamination of Θν(μ)β- and τῆ(μ)γ-.. (2) Or the nasal came from other words; thus dāmih-bhau, beside dabhnōti, was formed on the analogy of taṣṭāmbha: stabhnōti, and similar pairs.

§ 630. Armenian. Present stems of this kind I know none; but cp. qint 'profit, gain', which seems akin to *muṇd-ō (§ 628 p. 164).

§ 631. Greek. Only a few examples of the unextended stem can be found. λυθέομαι· αμίλλασθαι beside Λὴσσων Hesych. for *luvo-μω?), connected by Fick with λόδορο-ς and Lat. lido-s lūdus. σφίγγω 'I tie, fasten', compared with Armen. pirk, for *sphig-ro-s, by Bugge (Idg. Forsch. 1 453). With secondary strong-grade vowel (cp. § 628 p. 165): φέρμομαι 'I turn round, revolve' (φομφο-ς 'bull-roarer, wheel') containing Idg. *yrog- from √ yerg-: Skr. eṃḥ-ti 'twists together' infin. veṇā-ādē, Mid.H.G. runke A.S. urvicne 'wrinkle' U.H.G. rench(ō)n 'I turn, pull backwards and forwards in turning'. Root of the type peg- (§ 628 p. 165): στέμθω 'I shake, misuse. handle roughly' beside σφόδρο-ς στοβδάω στοβδαω. Passing over to Class XXIX (§ 628 p. 165). πτίσσω πτίττω 'I crush, bruise' instead of *πτισσ-ω (the Author, Gr. Gr. 2 p. 61): Skr. a-pīṣ-a-t etc., see § 628 p. 164. πλαγω 'I strike, knock down' for *πλαγγ-ω: Lat. plang-ō etc., see § 628 p. 165. κλασω 'I sound, cry out' for *κλαγγ-ω: Lat. clang-ō etc., see ibid. Perhaps also oχιμπω 'I throw hard at something' for *oχιμπ-ω, beside Skr. kṣip-ā-ti 'throws, slings.'
Large numbers pass into Class XIV (§ 621, p. 158). λμμέ-άνω 'I leave': Lat. lingui-ō etc., see § 628 p. 164. φυγ-άνω 'I flee' (Lcisb. partic. πεφύγ-γον): Avest. bunj-a-ti, see § 628 p. 164. πνευ-άνω-μαι 'I learn': Lith. bund-ū, see § 628 p. 164. κλαγγ-άνω beside κλάζω, see above. τρω-άνω 'I touch, feel', cp. ἔδρα-ων. δρω-ένω beside δρεύν-ό-μαι 'I belch'. τύχ-άνω, cp. ἔ-τυχ-ον-ν. λαμμ-άνω beside λή-σ-ω. Dor. λάζ-ω 'I escape notice'. The existence of λαμμάνω beside έλαθον produced δακανόν 'I bite' beside διάκον (V. δεῦκ=), λαγχάνω 'I get by lot' beside έλαχών (perf. λέλογχα), and further. κυνάω 'I hold' beside κυνάθον, which was itself produced by analogy of *κυνάθω (cp. fut. κυνάομαι) from V. γλεθάρ- (cp. § 628 p. 165). I am uncertain about λαμμάνω 'I take' beside aor. έλαθον perf. εἰλήματα Cret. λέλομβα (like εἰλήμα λέλοχα).

Where no present formation has survived: ιμπές- ζήνες. Θεραλαόi Hesych., beside Lat. vinc-īō Skr. vi-ṛyak-ti 'embraces. surrounds' 3rd dual vi-vik-tā-s, cp. γραβίαν: ζένγαν (Hesych.) i. e. Ἔμμβαναι (like τύμπανο-ν).


plág-a: Lett. plákā, see § 628 p. 165. lamb-, beside O.H.G. laffu 'I lick' perf. iuof, Vlab-. Perhaps also pandō beside pateō and beside Osc. patensins 'aperirent', which comes from *patynō or *patenō (§ 622 p. 159); cp. § 612 p. 151;¹ and of-fendō, see § 696.

pre-hendō: Alban. įnd-em etc., Vghed-, see § 628 p. 165.

The fertility of this type in Latin is made clear by fund-ə beside Goth. giuta 'I pour' for *ghey-dō Class XXV § 690. Cp. Goth. standa and the like, § 634 at end.


langu-ō (lanyū-escō) perf. langu-it (beside laxu-s O.H.G. slach 'slack, lazy' and Gr. λάγον 'I cease', Vslág-), following Class X, § 590 p. 132.

§ 633. Keltic. O.Ir. denguim 'I oppress' from *dhiofgō (3rd pl. pass. conj. for-dissatār 3rd sing. perf. dedaig): Lat. fingō, see § 632. O.Ir. sluicim 'I swallow, gulp' (secondary -io-flexion) Mod.Cymr. lyncaf lynegof 'devoro' from *slunkgō, Vslα-γk- sla-γγ-, Gr. λνγαίνω and λνγαγμα 'I sob'.

O.Ir. in-greinnim 'I pursue' with strong-grade vowel in the root: O.C.Sl. grêd-ą, see § 628 p. 165; but compare the Remark. So also Mid.Ir. dringim 'I ascend' = O.Ir. *dreng(a)im (drēimm 'clambering' subst.), akin to Skr. darkh- 'make fast' pres. dhā-τi dhā-ti (cp. Lith. lipu 'I mount up with my feet, climb' beside limpū 'I remain clinging', O.H.G. chlimbu 'I climb' beside chlību 'I cling').

O.Ir. com-boing 'confringit' (perf. 3rd sing. -baig), cp. Skr. bhanāk-ti perf. ba-bhañja Armen. bek-anem. tong(a)im 'I swear' beside co-tāch 'compact'. in-dlung 'I split' beside in-dlach 'split' subst.

¹) Bartholomae (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 96 f.) derives pandō pandō ə-mingō from *pask-nō *pant-nō *munak-nō (cp. O.C.Sl. krv(ī)-nā and the like, § 636). This view seems to me unjustifiable until the general principles which govern the interchange of tenues and medias when root-finals in Indo-Germanic have been made out (I § 469 f p. 346).
O.lR. ro-fiinnadur 'gets to know' is related to Skr. viind-ā-ti § 628 p. 164, and seems to have adopted a-flexion; but compare the Remark, below.

Remark. Thurneysen writes to me: "Grenn- and finna- appear in Old Irish always with nn and never with m. I hesitate between two explanations. (1) Either nn very early became uu before the accent (the prefix which accented is always hu-), is either hu- or in- when pretonic); or (2) the nasal stood originally after the dental: finna= *pidu- or *vi-udu-; grenn= *griiu- (*griiu-n-?) or *griiu-ud-nu-. I am still searching for evidence to decide the matter." With *viindu- *griinnu-compare Lett. bůnn for *brendo, O.CSl. scegni § 615 p. 154, § 636.

§ 634. Germanic. Except standa : stöp, all Germanic stems of this class run the nasal right through the verb.


1) Osthoff compares fra-slinda with Gr. ïav-ro-ç lair-tma (Zeitschr. deutschr. Phil., xxiv 215; Anz. für idg. Spr., 1 82). According to this etymology, we should start with a stem sli-τ (cp. τ in lairma) which took a nasal infix. Compare below, in this section, on standa (p. 172).

Root type *peg- (§ 628 p. 165). Goth. *peiha O.I.H.G. *diku 'I thrive' pr. Germ. *peh-o: Lith. tenk-u *teg-, see § 628 p. 165. Goth. *fihpa O.I.H.G. *find-u 'I find', as we may conjecture, from *pet-* Gr. πινεω (for the meaning cp. ἵμποεῖν). A.S. *ge-tinze 'I hold on to, press' cp. *ge-tenzan 'to make fast, add, join to' O.Icel. tengja 'tie or fasten together', beside Skr. dagh- 'reach up to, touch' *degh- (Skr. 2nd and 3rd sing. dak is an ad-formate of roots which had both initial and final media aspirata): O.C.Sl. *dēgū 'line, string' *nedagū 'weakness, sickness'.


Secondary io-flexion (§ 628 p. 165) must be assumed for O.H.G. *winch(i)u 'I move sideways, fluctuate, nod, beckon' (pret. in Mid.H.G., pret. and part. in Mod.H.G. also strong — wanc, gewunken), if it. along with the Lith. vinč-i-s m. 'deviation, bend' vinč-ū-s 'crooked, bent' (compare *vėngiu 'I avoid, do not want to do something' inf. *vėńkti), is related.


§ 635. Balto-Slavonic. In Baltic, this present formation is very productive.


Roots of the type peg- (§ 628 p. 165). Lith. tenk-ą ‘I suffice in some respect, have enough of something’ (tek-aũ): Goth.

Lett. plāku 'I become flat, fall flat down' for *plank-u: Lat. plang-o, see § 628 p. 165. Lith. kank-ū 'I hold out, suffice' (kak-aĩ).

An indication of the fertility of this type in Lithuanian is the forming of present stems of the kind from nouns (cp. § 793); e. g. rentū 'I get thinner' (retaĩ) from rēta-s 'thin, not close', lempū 'I pamper myself' (lepaĩ) from lepū-s 'pampered'.

Secondary jo-flexion (cp. § 628, p. 165) is found only where the nasal spread beyond the present system. Lith. jūng-iu 'I yoke, put to' (inf. jūnk-ti) beside Skr. yuñ-a-ti Lat. jung-ō, Lett. mif/chu 'mingo' for *minz-ju (inf. mil) beside Lat. ming-ō, § 628 p. 164. Lett. kamp-ju 'I seize, grasp' (inf. kampē), beside Lat. cap-iū.

Under the same conditions we have stems adopting to-conjugation (§ 686), where the meaning is intransitive. Lith. jūnkstu (Lett. jūkstu for *junkstu) 'I grow used' (jūkau jūkkti) beside Lett. jūku for (j)unk-u, akin to O.C.Sl. uņg 'I instruct' Skr. uc-ya-ti 'finds pleasure in' ekas- n. 'pleasure, place of pleasure, home'; cp. O.C.Sl. vyk-naq and Goth. bi-ūhts, which likewise seem to have been nasalised (§ 363). Lith. stinkstu 'I curdle, congeal, grow stiff' (stingau stinkti) beside Gr. aresīp 'I tread something hard' stisfag-o-ς 'firm, pressed, solid' (cp. Lith. stēnaiu § 367). sklįstū 'I flow apart' (sklindai sklīsti) beside sklīd-ina-s 'full to overflowing' sklīdžiū 'I spread'; a pret. 3rd sing. sklīdu (sklīdō) is also found, pointing to a present *sklīnd-ū. Lett. stringstu 'I grow tight, dry up' (stringu stringt) beside Lith. string-u 'I remain hanging' (strigau) and streig-u 'I crystallise, stiffen' (cp. § 628 p. 164). Lith. drįštū 'I grow bold' (drīsau drįstī), vādhers-. linkstū 'I bend' (linkau linktī) beside Gr. lex-avr 'pan. fana' lēkō-ς 'crooked'; also Lat. tanx with nasal (for *Ianq-?). The model for these presents is
seen in bhisti 'it darkens' beside blind-ô V bhendh-, tistû 'I stretch myself out' beside tis-û stem ten-s-, and the like.

§ 636. This formation is much rarer in Slavonic than it is in Baltic. O.CSl. strig-û 'I shear, slaye' for *strivy-*? see § 628 p. 164. greô-û 'I come' (inf. greôti) for ghrendh- or *ghrendh-: Q.Ir. in-yenemim, see § 628 p. 165. sed-ô 'I sit' (inf. seôti), V sed-, cp. Pruss. sinduts syndens 'sitting' beside sidunis sidonis = Lett. sêdas. lêg-û 'I lie' (inf. leôti), V leôh-. trosiq 'I shake, shatter' inf. tros-ti from tros-, unless it comes from *trem-so- (cp. Lith. trimû 'I tremble' Lat. tremô), see § 657. As regards greô-û leôq 'I bend' pred-ô 'I spin' compare § 637.


§ 637. Side by side with Lith. drimbû (ground-form *drumbh-ô) and the like stand forms with e in the root syllable (cp. § 628 p. 165). drës-û 'I am bold' (pref. drës-û) beside drës-tû V dheres- § 635 p. 173. brendû (dialectic brindu for brendu) 'I wade' beside bredû (brid-û) O.CSl. bred-û. lenk-û 'I bend' (lenkiaû lenktû) beside link-stû V leq- § 635 p. 173. trêndû 'I am devoured by moths or worms' inf. trenô-ôti, with trôdê beside Skr. trôatti tard-ô-ôti § 692. We may assume
that *drēs-u in for *drīns-u was coined to supplement drīs-ānā in the analogies of renk-ū : rinkānā, kērtā : kirtānā etc.; lenk-īnū appears beside linkstā in the analogies of grēz-īnā 'I turn, twist' beside grīsztā 'I turn myself' etc. Slavonic verbs with ę, greg-ą, lęk-ą, and *kret-ą, which appears to be implied by krent-ą, may quite well correspond to Lith. drimb-ū or to Lith. drēs-ū. ¹

Baltic or Slav. ę is found in present stems from roots with i-vowels both extended and unextended. Lith. senbū 'I fall, sink' (of water) O.C.Sl. sek-mu 'I sink down' beside Lett. skru for *sink-u Skr. siṅc-ā-tū / seiq- (§ 628 p. 164). Lith. sprędžiūn 'I grasp with the hand' (spręstū) O.C.Sl. prędą 'I spin' (pręstū) beside Lith. sprędzi-s m. 'span' Lett. spraid-s 'place where one stands in a narrow compass' debes-spraiši-s 'vault of heaven' O.H.G. spreiten 'stretch out, separate, part asunder'. Lith. päs-i-gendū 'I miss' O.C.Sl. žežda 'I desire, thirst' for *žeid-įn beside Lith. goidžiū 'I desire' Goth. gāidōn n. 'lack' O.H.G. gēt 'cagerness, greed, avarice'. Lith. stęng-iu 'I apply my strength to something' beside stūkstū 'I congeal, get stiff' Gr. ἁρέξω (§ 635 p. 173). Lith. mėz-ńu) 'mingo' (mźžanū mźšstū) Lett. mīf-nū for *menz-nū beside Lett. mīshu for *minz-į (§ 635 p. 173) Lat. ming-ū Lith. mūš f. 'cumnus' mźš-in-s 'penisa', v/meighe-. O.C.Sl. gležda (inf. gleždēti) and gleždujū (inf. gleždatī) 'I look, gaze' beside Mid.H.G. glinze 'I shine, glitter' (pret. new formation glanz) O.H.G. glīzu O.Sax. glutn 'I glitter' / ghlēgē-. O.C.Sl. věga 'hisco' (ražū 'jest', subst.) beside Lat. ringor vie-in-s. If the Baltic forms stood alone, the explanation would be easy; we might say that the analogies of renk- : rink- etc. produced senk- menz- beside sink- minz-; compare what is said above on drēsin. But this explanation does not suit

1) The fact that we find kret- and not dret-, is not sufficient to prove that the ground-form of kret- is the weak grade *gret-. Such a form must have become Slav. *kriat-, as *dh隽as- becomes Lith. drīnas-, and *gret- becomes Lith. kret- (I § 285 p. 227). There never was a form *kret-, nor yet *gret-, which Bartholomae suggests as the ground-form of kret- (in Idg. Spr., p. 97).

2) Dialectic minžn = *menžn (vol. I § 285 Rem., p. 227, is wrong).
the Slavonic forms, because in Slavonic, before consonants, Idg. in becomes Ἃ, but Idg. ϕ becomes ς (I § 219. 4. p. 186).

Remark. Wiedemann’s view (Arch. Slav. Phil. x 632 f., Lit. Prac. 58, 168 f.) — that Idg. in and in before consonants become slav. ς and ό, except in final syllables — can hardly be maintained in this connexion, because we have ἵστο = Lett. īkstes, īko = Lith. īkus-s Pruss. īkua- and σμρᾶῆ- (see below). Nor is Streitberg’s attempt satisfactory, (Idg. Forsch., 1 233 f.). Perhaps the problem may be solved thus. We may suppose that originally in and in always became Ἃ and ὐ; but that later, when in and in were again produced in any way before consonants, these became ς and ό. We may suppose that sink- first became ἄσικ-, and afterwards, as the principle of Class XVI still remained active, the nasal crept into the stem anew; compare (say) Gr. Στρουμ for *ἀψιρμόν, which took the place of pr. Gr. *Σπρίμον (= Ion. διρίμο) for orig. *Στρο-ρε-μόν (I § 565 p. 422). Similarly βύθη may come from *βῆθ-αδό or *βῆθ-άς, and may have got its nasal only at a late stage of prothetic Slavonic; though it may equally well be derived from *βῆθ-αδό or -άς attracted into the nasal class; or from *βῆθ-αδό or -άς regarded as an extension of a form *βῆθ-οῦ (ep. § 701). Furthermore, for the 3rd pl. σωμιῶ-εῖ a beside σωμιῶ-εῖ etc. we may assume that the old ending -ιν(n) (ep. part, σωμιῶ-εῖ-Lith. σωμιῶ- -ιν-) first lost its nasal, and then recovered it by analogy of ἴμπτα etc.

The etymologies brought up by Wiedemann in his article in the Archiv by way of support to his view are all too uncertain to base any theory upon. O.C.Sl. μαζί 'compulsion, force, necessity' I connect with Skr. मात्थ- =-i the same, in need of help; τρία 'blunt, dull', with τρίπτε- stems in O.H.G. τρίπτε. Lith. σβάστ- 'coarse' stands for *σβαστ- 'stump'; -δες 'force, strength' is to be connected with δεῖ 'cord, strap, bridle' (Miklosich, Et. Wort., p. 49 a), and with O.H.G. γι-ζεσι 'reaching to, touching close' and Skr. δαγ्ध- 'to reach' (§ 634 p. 171).

Class XVII.

The Root = *neis- -nu- forming the Present Stem.

§ 638. *neis- is the strong form of the suffix; *nu-, *nu- and *nu- the weak forms. *neis- follows a root with final consonant, ep. 3rd pl. Skr. दन्व-उ ती (Gr. άνε-τί as contrasted with Skr. दन्व-उ ती, I § 158. p. 138.

Besides *neis- -nu-, Aryan has -आनु-, -आना-. See § 596. 3, pages 137 f.
The Root Syllable had originally the weak grade, except
in Skr. daś-m도-ti Gr. ṣv-a-v-µevο-ς.

§ 639. Pr. Idg. *f-neu- *f-neu-, \(\sqrt{er}:-\) Skr. \(\text{f}-\text{nu}-
\) 'I excite, set moving' 1st pl. \(\text{f}-\text{nu-mās} \) 3rd pl. \(\text{f}-\text{nu-anti} \) mid.
3rd sing. \(\text{f}-\text{nu-té}, \) conj. \(\text{f}-\text{nu-a-t}, \) opt. \(\text{f}-\text{nu-ya-t}; \) Gr. ṣφ-νυ-μυ 'I excite, disturb, startle' 1st pl. ṣφ-νυ-μυν (φυ- = \(\text{f}-\)). — With
thematic vowel: Skr. \(\text{f}-\text{nu-d-tyi}.
\)

*f-neu-: Skr. \(\text{f}-\text{nó-mi} \) 'I fall in with something, reach,
attain', Armen. ar-\(\text{n-nu-m} \) 'I take', Gr. ṣφ-νυ-μυ 'I attain, earn'.
Perhaps identical with the previous verb. ṣφ-νυ-μυν as regards
the grade of its root vowel would stand to ṣφ-νυ-μυ as τν-νυ-
\(\text{mu} \) to τν-νυ-\(\text{tau} \), and Skr. \(\text{stf}-\text{nó-mi} \) to Gr. στφ-νυ-μυ (see
below).

*stf-neu- *stf-neu-, \(\sqrt{ster}:-\) sternere': Skr. \(\text{stf}-\text{nó-mi} \), Gr.
στφ-νυ-μυ.

*psfr-neu-, \(\sqrt{pster}:-\) sneeze': Gr. πταρ-νυ-\(\text{tau} \), cp. Lat:
thematic ster-nu-o (sternūtāre).

*ty-neu-, \(\sqrt{ten}:-\) stretch, lengthen': Skr. ta-nó-mi Gr.
τα-νυ-\(\text{tau} \).

*sy-neu-, \(\sqrt{sen}:-\) reach a goal, attain, end, complete'.
Skr. sa-nó-mi, Gr. α-νυ-μυ \(\chi\)-νυ-\(\text{ro} \) (the regular spir. asp. appears
in \(\alpha\)-νυ-\(\omega \) and elsewhere). — Thematic: Gr. ἄνοι ανοι for
\(\alpha\)-νυ-\(\omega \).

*gi-neu-, \(\sqrt{gei}:-\) pay a penalty' etc.: Skr. ci-nó-mi, Gr. inf.
τι-νυ-μεναυ, also with i mid. τι-νυ-\(\text{tau} \). — Thematic: Skr.
ci-nu-ti, Gr. τινω τινο for \(\tau\)-νυ-\(\omega \).

*mi-neu-, \(\sqrt{mej}:-\) lessen': Skr. mi-nó-mi, cp. Gr. μ-νυ-\(\omega \)
(§ 694), Lat. mi-\(\nu \)-\(\omega \).

Skr. kṣi-nó-mi 'I destroy', cp. Gr. φθρ-νυ-\(\omega \) (§ 694),
thematic φθινο φθινο for φθρ-νυ-\(\omega \).

*ghi-neu-, \(\sqrt{hej}:-\) Skr. hi-nó-mi 'I set in motion, drive
on', cp. thematic Skr. hi-νυ-\(\alpha-ti \), Goth. du-ginna 'I begin'.
This comparison I regard as more likely than Buggle's (F.-B.
Beitr., xii 405 f.). This scholar, followed by several others,
has compared the Germanic verb with O.C.Sl. na-cing (cp. Fick.
Work I 43822).


*dēk-ney-, V dēk- (Skr. daśa-yā-ti 'shows honour, is gracious or pleasant', Gr. ὅς-δέκασσαι δέκα-μαι § 660 p. 110, Lat. decus): Skr. daś-nā-mi 'I pay homage to', Gr. Hom. ὅς-προσέρχεσθαι 'paying homage, greeting' (so read, with J. Wackernagel, in II. 9, 196, Od. 4, 59). The same grade of vowel as in Skr. daś-ti daś-vás-. Hom. ὅς-προσέρχεσθαι, and other words.

*yes-ney-, stem *y-as- 'put on a garment' (§ 656): Armen. z-genam 'I dress', Gr. ώρ-μι (ωρήμα).

We often see the same root forming a present both in this class and in Class XII; as (Goth. 1st pl. kun-mu-mi and Skr. jā-mā-mi) vegen-, Avest. στρ-νο-iti and O.Sax. hi-nō-n, Skr. str-yó-mi and str-yī-mi, mi-nā-mi and mi-nā-mi.


1) For ker-, see 1 § 288, p. 236.
2) For Skr. kerā-iti karu-tha J. Wackernagel offers a very likely conjecture (Kuhn's Literaturblatt, iii 55 f.). He suggests that kṣru-kṣru- became in vulgar speech kṣru- kṣru-, and these became kerā-karma- by analogy of the other forms of the verb, which all had r.

In Skr. kṣ-nau-ti 'whets' partic. kṣ-nuv-anás from √ges-(II § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20), the root has ceased to be a separate syllable; compare perhaps Lat. novā-cula, first for *s-ney-a- (Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 419, 470). au instead of ā arose as in ārynau-ti (beside ār-nō-ti) by analogy of such a present as stāu-ti, see § 464 p. 55. The diphthong was regarded as part of the root proper, hence kṣṇu-tā- (Avest. hu-xinu-ta- 'well sharpened') kṛṇō-tra- and ārṇu-tya- -ārṇavanā- (similar forms in Greek, see § 643 p. 183).


The strong stem occurs along with the weak in thematic conjugation; e. g. Avest. 2nd sing. pret. act. kerṇa-nav-ā. On this matter, refer to §§ 648 and 649.

In the 1st plural and dual, -nu- may drop its -n- before the personal ending, unless the root ends in a consonant; kṛṇu-ṁ kṛṇu-ah kṛṇu-ah beside kṛṇu-ṁs etc. sunu-ṁs beside sunu-ṁs etc. (but only aś-nu-ṁs aś-nu-vaṁ etc.). The first trace of this new development is one example in Veda, kṛṣmāhē. It is possible enough that kṛṣvānti: aśnuvānti suggested kṛṇu (instead of kṛṇu) beside aśnuvās; or that kṛṇu became kṛṇu-ā naturally (cp. Wackernagel, Kuhn's Litteraturbl. iii 56), which
produced *krumás by analogy. If *kruvás did arise by regular change, the variant krucvás must have been restored on the analogy of krumás, as krumas was coined on the analogy of kruvás. However, some influence must have been exerted by the relation of krumás kurvás *kurmähé kurvāhē to kuruthá kuruthás kuruudhvē. krumás is as early as the Rig-Veda, and *kurumás *kuruvás never seem to have existed at all. I would suggest that the forms with kur- are due to the analogy of the opt. aor. kuryd-t mid. *kuri-tā- (cp. vur-ta mury-α); and it would be all the easier to understand how the stems kur- and kuru- = kru- (p. 178 footnote 2) came to be confused, if the imperative kuru represents not only orig. kru, but a form *guru- + the particle u (cp. the particle -na in Avest. 2nd sing. imper. bara-nā § 600 Rem. p. 143). Compare the references given to explain krumás in § 498 p. 57.

Remark. Moulton (Am. Journ. Phil., x 283) thinks that -n- in forms such as sr-n-más is the weak form of -nā- (Class XII), and compares Avest. ser-ν-τά. But if only he could point to a Sanskrit example of -n- instead of -n- in Class XII!

2nd sing. Ved. sr-nu-i-shē (beside sr-nō-ti 'hears') is an ad-formate of 3rd pl. sr-nu-i-re, cp. jajn-i-shē beside jajn-i-re (§ 574 p. 115).

On the strong root of Skr. apr-nō-mi, see § 600 p. 144; for that of Skr. das-nō-mi, § 639 p. 178.


ar-nu-m 'I take' (aor. ar-i): Skr. apr-nō-mi etc., see § 639 p. 177. fer-nu-m 'I warm myself, get warm, glow' (cp. fer-m 'warm' = Gr. ἐλαφῶν): Skr. ghr-nō-mi (gramm.) l-nu-m 'I fill', ground-form *plē-nu-, cp. Lat. plē-nu-s. ait-nu-m 'I swell', cp. Gr. θάλασσα 'I swell'. takt-nu-m 'I hide myself', cp. Gr. πταλαμώ I bow, bend'.
§ 643. Greek. -vē-, which we see in the strong persons of the singular, seems to have pushed out Idg. -neī-, because of the analogy of the forms -vā-: -vē- (Class XII), cp. § 480 p. 29, on ὑπεναυνω beside ὑπενανω. Even if we supposed that -vē- represents Idg. -nā-, a weak grade, used along with -nu-, we should have to assume that the forms had followed -vā-: -vē-; and Avest. -nā- is not sufficient evidence for an Idg. -nā-. In the 3rd pl., -vum (instead of *-vum-anti = Skr. -nū-anti, see § 1021.3) seems to have become regular quite early; once there were in use such forms as *ti-vf-anti *xi-vf-anti = Skr. ci-nu-anti (cp. § 638 p. 177); as to Ion. ἀγωνή Att. ἀγωνία, see §§ 1020.2 and 1065.2.

Besides the forms mentioned in § 639 — ὁρ-νῦ-μι, ὁρ-νυ-μαι, στόρ-νῦ-μι, πτάρ-νυ-μαι, τάρ-νυ-μαι, ἄ-νῦ-μι, τι-νυ-μεναι τι-νυ-νται — there are yet others with weak-grade vowels in the root syllable. Ἑἀρ-νυ-μαι in Hesychius (-αρ- = -α-) and Ἑάρ-νυ-μαι (-αρ- = -α-) 'I leap, cover (of animals)' (I § 306 p. 241). κτ-νυ-μαι 'I move myself'. Cret. 3rd sing. κτ-δικ-νῦ-τι = Att. ἑκ-δικείω (on κτ-, see the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 219) √deik-. ὑγνὺμι 'I open' Hom. ὁτ-(F)νυ-ντο beside Lesb. inf. ὅ-εἰγ-νυ, originally 'I make yield', beside O.H.G. wihku 'I yield, give way'. ὅλυ-νῦ-μι 'I mix' beside fut. ὑμίζω, √meik- meik-. ὅμοργ-νῦ-μι 'I wipe' for *μηγ-, √merg-. ἄχ-νυ-μαι 'I am grieved, troubled', beside Goth. un-agands 'not fearing' ὅγ 'I fear'. An old form with strong root (third strong grade) is Hom. δῷ-νῦ-μενα-γ 'doing honour to, reverencing, greeting', see § 639 p. 178. Greek new formations with a strong root-form are ὁδῆ-νῦ-μι 'I reach, stretch out' √reig-, δεῖκ-νῦ-μι 'I show' beside Cret. δι-δικ-νῦ-τι,  ἕσιγ-νῦ-μι 'I bind' √jesig-, πῆ-νῦ-μι 'I fix' √pak-pagy- and others. Ion. δείκ-νῦ-μι 'I show', coming, as we may conjecture, from a √deik-, but in use finally confused with δικ-νῦ-μι (cp. Fick, Wtb. I¹ 66). ὅμ-νῦ-μι 'I swear' beside ὅμο- (ὁμο-σαώ ὅμο-τη-σ), ὄλλῳ-μι 'I destroy' for *ὁλ-νῦ-μι

The place of (Ion.) εἰνίμι 'I clothe' for *ὑ-σι-νυ-μι = Armen. x-genu-m (§ 639 p. 178) was in Attic taken by a new form ἐννυμι; see I § 565 pp. 422 f. The following are forms of the same kind: ἀνεννυμι 'I quench, stop' for earlier ἐννυμι i.e. σχεννυμι (Hesych.)1 from a stem *ζε-ες- V seg-, cp. aor. Hom. οβέας-αι: δεννυμαι (gramm.) beside βδ-εω 'pedo' aor. βδ-δαι for *βδ-ες-, earlier *βαδ-ες-, V peded- 'pedere' (cp. § 661). Further, ἡδνυμι 'I gird2' beside ἱωσ-τηρ Idg. j-εα- (§ 656). On the model of these were made κοννυμι 'I satisfy', πεταννυμι 'I spread', ὄφνυμι 'I strengthen', σφραννυμι 'I strew, spread' and others; and the analogy of ἕμφι-εμα -αιμι: ἐμπυ-ἐνυμι gave rise to κοννυμι beside κόρεσα κεκόρεσαι, etc.

A present *νι-νυ-μι is represented by πυμνηνην ἑννυμι Hesych., compare πυ-νυ-το-ς 'enlightened, sensible' πυς-σω πυσι-ς. This, along with νη-πυ-νι-ς 'senseless, under age, minor' and νημι-ς (same meaning) for *νη-νι-θο-ς (I § 166 p. 147), is akin to Skr. pu-nd-ti 'purifies, clears up' (for the accent cp. Goth. hug-s 'understanding, reason' beside Skr. śuci-Ś 'pure', § 907). But πυν- does not come from *νυ-νυ- (I § 48 p. 41); the ground-form was *pu-i-mi-, having the same determinative λ as we see in Ital. *πυλ-ι-ο-ς (Osc. piłhiú Lat. pin-s, see Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr. p 185) Skr. paś-λ-ά- and in Gr. πυρ Umbr. pir O.H.G. fur 'fire'. It follows that *νυμίμι: Skr. pu-nd-mi = Skr. ν-ι-νυ-τι Gr. ὄρνω: Skr. y-νυ-τι Gr. ὀ-νυ-μι (cp. § 596. 4 p. 138).

1) Hesychius has ἐννυμιν ἀεννυμιν which is emended to ἐννυμιν. This emendation is not necessary. There may quite well have been parallel forms, one in Class XII and one in Class XVII, as so often happens in Sanskrit. Then the form ἐννυμι in the text should be marked with an asterisk.

2) It is quite possible that Att. ἵνε-μερε[ρ] C.I.A. 1 77. 9 (second half of the 5th cent. B.C.) may represent the regular form (cp. ἰπέτρω, Meisterhans, Gr.5, p. 148).
§§ 643—646. Present Stem: Class XVII — Skr. r-ṛ-ṇ-ṛ-

λάνυμαι beside λάγομαι 'I take, seize,' κτείνομαι beside κτεῖνο 'I slay' (for *κτεῖν-μοι) are due to the analogy of τίνομαι τίνομαι (for *τί-र-φ-ο-μαί): τίνομαι τίνομανα, etc. But καίνυμαι 'I surpass, outdo' was formed from κέκασμαι because δέδασμαι has δα-ν-ν-μαί (§ 707).

On thematic forms in -νφ-ο see § 652. As regards those in -νώ-, as τανών δινών στηρνών, found in the Homeric dialect and in Attic more and more often from the 4th century B.C. onwards, it is doubtful whether they represent pr. Idg. verbs in -νμ-ό, which may have been used side by side with -νμ-ό as in the 3rd pl. Skr. अ-न-वं-दति Gr. ἄγ-νο-άι beside Skr. ci-न-वं-दति. They may equally well be a new formation peculiar to Greek.

From τάνυμαι τάνω γάνυμαι, whose structure was less clear to the consciousness of those who used them than was that of ὕρ-ν-μοι ἄγ-ν-μοι and words of that sort, were formed τανώσαι τετάνωσαι γανώσαι and so forth on the analogy of ἐρώσαι εἰρωσαι ἔρωσαι beside the pres. εἰρύμεναι ἔρω 'I draw, pull.' Compare Skr. partic. कृत-ता-स from कृ-न-दौ-ति, fut. आनुविया-ते from अ-न-न-मि अ-स-जा, उर-न-या-ति (§ 640 p. 179), and Greek itself ὄμα-τό-ς ἔννοσάμην from ὄ-ν-ο-μαι (§ 602 p. 145).

For μ-ν-ῶ-ω φ-०-न-व-ῶ-ω, see § 694.

§ 644. Italic. Only thematic forms occur in this branch; see § 649. An undoubted relic of -न-ह- is nov-a-cula, if it is to be connected with Skr. कृ-न-दौ-ति (§ 640 p. 179).

Remark. Job (Mém. Soc. Lang. vi 353 f.) offers a very dubious suggestion, that in Latin present stems in nov- came directly from those in -no-; he says *tol-nů-mus *tol-nů-tis lead at once to *tolimus *tolinitis (tollinus tollitiss), whence by complementary analogy tollō.

§ 645. Keltic. Not one of the original forms is preserved. On O.Ir. ro-chluinuīur 'I hear' (beside Avest. sr̥maoīiti), see § 604 p. 146.

§ 646. Germanic. The plural of certain verbs is of this class. Goth. O.H.G. kun-nu-m 'we learn, know' from *γ-ν-μ-
-mes (cp. p. 86 footnote 2) as contrasted with Skr. ja-ni-más, ‘Class XII; the parallel weak form Goth. uf-kunna 3rd sing. -kunndi-b is a new formation from kann kunnum on the analogy of vita vitéi-b to vait vitum. Low Germ. dorn ‘I dare’ conj. dürne gives ground for assuming an O.Sax. *durnum Goth. *da úrz-
-nu-m. (I § 582 p. 434) = Skr. dhrȳ-nu-más. O.H.G. unnun ‘we grant’ ground-form *y-nu-mes (cp. O.Icel. of-un-d ‘ill-will’ beside Goth. ans-t-s O.H.G. ans-t uns-t ‘favour, grace’ II § 100 p. 303), from the same root as Gr. προο-νης ‘inclined’ απ-νης ‘disinclined’. As these plurals appeared to be of the same kind as thepreterite-present, they were conjugated in the same way. Thus arose, by analogy of the singular, Goth. kann O.H.G. kan, Low Germ. dorn O.H.G. an. The same principle is neatly used by Kluge (Paul’s Grundr. 1 377) to explain O.H.G. durfum ‘we must’, which he regards as a nu-form for *purpum with -p- for -pp- Idg. *pn- (I § 530 p. 388) = Skr. tṛp-nu-más; the student should compare de Saussure, Mém. Soc. Ling. vii 83 ff. Some further uncertain traces of nu-flexion in Germanic are given in § 605 Rem. p. 147, and p. 151 footnote 1.

Otherwise the Germanic branch prefers thematic conjugation (Class XVIII), as Goth. du-ginna (§ 654).

§ 647. Balto-Slavonic. For the remains of the present suffix -nu- in Slavonic see § 649 p. 185.

Class XVIII.

Root + -ney-o- or -nu-o- forming the Present Stem.


This class, which is based upon Class XVII, falls into two divisions like Class II. O.Pers. a-ku-nav-a-tā stands to Skr. d-kr-uv-a-ta as Gr. δ-νε(μ) to ἀ-νεν-έ. And just as Skr. ay-a- is at once indicative (dy-a-tā, cp. Lat. eo), and conjunctive to an indec. of Class I (dy-a-t dy-a-ti conj. of δ-ti), so Ar. ky-
-nay-a- is also conjunctive to an indic. of Class XVII (Skr. ky-nāv-a-t conj. of ky-nō-ti). Here, as before, there was originally no distinction between the original form of the two moods.

§ 649. Class XVIII A: Suffix -nev-o.


Greek. It has been usual to class here forms like ἤτον 'I move. wildly, storm' beside Skr. dha-nō-ti, xi-nōo 'I move from its place' beside xī-vu-mau, -veo being taken to be for *-veo-F-o. But since in all the verbs in question the future, aorist etc. have never *-ve-, as one might expect from πλέω ἐπιλέω and νέο ἐπινέο, but -e- always, and since Lesbian makes the present of them end in -ημ (imper. xīνη like φίην), this explanation is at least improbable. I derive -veo from εχο in every case. See § 801.

Italic. Lat. minuō and sternuō, which are connected with Skr. mi-nə-mi Gr. μι-νέ-ω and Gr. πτάο-νυ-μω (§ 639 p. 177), can by rule be derived from *-nev-ō (I § 172.1 p. 152). But Osc. menvum 'minuere' makes it at least likely that minuō comes from *minyō as tenuis from *tenyi-s (I § 170 p. 149). The perfect minuī sternuī and the participle minātu-s are ad-formates of statuī statātu-s : statuō.

Slavonic. O.C.Sl. mi-nuq beside mi-nq 'I go past, pass by', and partic. pret. pass kos-noveni 'touched' from pres. kos-nq, point to an older present inflexion -novq -noveši etc. (-nov- for -nev-, I § 68 p. 59). Compare -Wiedemann, Arch. slav. Phil., x 653.
§ 650. Class XVIII B: Suffix -ny-o-.  
Pr. Idg. Skr. ci-nv-a-ti, Gr. Hom. ἔινω Att. ἔινω for *ει-νφ-ω beside Skr. ci-nō-mi Gr. infin. ει-νθ-μεναι 3rd pl. ει-νθ-νται, § 639 p. 177. Skr. hi-nv-a-ti Goth. du-ginna beside Skr. hi-nō-mi, § 639 p. 177. *r-i-ny-e-ti with root determinative -i- (§ 596. 4 p. 138); Skr. ri-nv-a-ti 'makes run, flow', Gr. Hom. ὑγίνω Lesb. ὑγίνω 'I set in motion' for *ὁγι-νφ-ω (the initial has perhaps been influenced by a word from the same root, ὑγ-νθ-μι, ground-form *ὑν-μ, to which it stands related as Hom. ὑγίνω to Cret. ὑγέω, see §§ 652 and 801), Goth. ri-nna 'I overflow' pr. Germ. *ri-nu-d (cp. however for the Germanic word § 654 p. 188).


Sometimes Sanskrit, like Germanic, has a verb which carries the suffix of the present through the whole verbal system; as pinva-ti: pipinva pinvayati, jinvati: jinviṣya-ti jinvi-tā-s.

Observe the different accent of 3rd pl. hīnva-nti, and hinva-anti in Class XVII.

Containing the suffix -eny-o-. Avest. spēnva-p 'proficiebat': O.H.G. spinnu, see § 650; Avest. xwana-inti 'they drive on' xwēnva-p pr. Ar. *xw-anya-, beside hu-nā-iti hu-nā-iti.

§ 652. Greek. On the treatment of -νφ- in the following words, see I § 166 p. 146. ἰμω ἰμω for *ἀ-νφω, ἰμω ἰμω for *ει-νφω, φινω φινω for *φι-νφω, ὑγινω ὑγινω for *ὁγι-νφω, see §§ 639, 650. φεάνω φεάνω 'I anticipate' for

*φθα-νρω, beside φθά-μενο-ς. δίνω Lesb. δίνων 'I oady' for *δι-να-ω, beside Skr. di-yai-ti 'flies' Lett. di-ju di-t 'to dance', cp. διν-ς δίνη Lesb. δίνων for *δι-να-ς δι-να. Hom. ἄγινω 'I lead, bring' beside ἄγω Cret. ἄγινω has the same root-determinative as ἄρτω (on this determinative, which is contained in Skr. ṣj-thi-, see § 498 p. 61); and therefore ἄγινω too must be derived from *-νρω; on the bye-form ἄγινεω, see § 801. With ἄο-λω ἄο-νω ἄοινεω compare the Hesychian glosses ἕλενεν ἐπισβέννεν and ἐλευκοςβέννεν, which point to *εγ-ε- as variant stem to *εγ-εσ- (§ 643 p. 182). Whether Homer's ἔλοω 'I move wildly, storm', represent orig. *δθα-μον or *δθα-νο -ν-ίο, Class XIII (cp. Skr. ḍuḥ-nō-ti ḍuḥ-νο-τ-ि ḍu-να-τ-ि) cannot be decided; in the former case ἔλον- 'fury, impetus' should be compared with ἔνο-ς for *δθα-μο-ς (see above); for ἔλεω δίνει see § 801.

Hom. κιγάνω Att. κιγάνω 'I reach, overtake' for *-ανρω besides κι-χη-υ (§ 594 p. 135). κιγάνω has the first syllable nasalised because, after J had gone, the analogy of verbs like τέγανω could act upon it (§ 621 p. 158, § 631 p. 168). Hom. ικάνω 'I arrive, reach' for *ικανρω, bye-form ικανομαι (§ 801). Both of these present stems may be regarded as ad-formates of *φθανρω (φθάνω φθάνω), because they all had something of the same meaning: on the analogy of φθανμαι to φθάνω, κιγάνω was formed working backwards from κιγάνω, and afterwards ικάνω. But there was another suffix -μο before Greek became a separate language; and this would become regularly pr. Gr. -ανρω (the Author, Gr. Gr. § 21. 3 p. 41), see § 596. 3 p. 138.

The suffix is -ενο- in Corecy. ἕ-ενρω, whence Lesb. ενρ-ς Ion. ενρ-ς Att. ενρ-ς (I § 166 p. 146), since this word seems to have the same root as Lat. hos-ti-s and Goth. gas-t-s; see § 526. 3 and 6, pp. 138 and 140.

§ 653. Italic. Lat. mi-nu-s, Osc. menvum 'minvere', see § 649 p. 185.

'I go away, cease', O.H.G. bi-linnu 'I cease', beside Skr. vi-
lināti 'goes to pieces, dissolves, melts' etc. § 598 p. 142. Goth. vi-mu 'I suffer, feel pain, worry', O.H.G. gi-winnu 'I reach something with trouble, win' (cp. O.H.G. winna 'strife'), beside Skr. vi-ti 'presses on in hostile fashion, conquers, seeks eagerly, tries to win'. All these verbs came under the influence of such others as Goth. binda; hence forms like du-ginna -gain -gunnum -gunnans.


Containing the suffix -enyō- (§ 596. 3 p. 138). O.H.G. sp-innu 'I spin': Avest. spēna-δ, see § 650 p. 186; a variant form is spannu = *spa-nu-δ, for which see just above. O.H.G. tr-innu 'I separate from, part, depart from' ground-form *dr-enyō, √der- 'split' (Skr. dr-ṇd-ti).

The existence of the two variants -nyō- and -enyō- in Germanic raises a question as to how Goth. rinna 'I run' and brinna O.H.G. brinnu are to be disposed of. Instead of deriving rinna from *r-i-nyō, and identifying it with Skr. riṇa-ti (§ 650 p. 186), we may assume *r-enyō for its original form, which would bring it closer to Skr. ṛ-ṇa-ḍ-ti. Brinna may come from *bhr-enyō, as it is akin to Lat. fer-mentum ferment. O.Ir. ber-baim 'I cook, boil'; but it may be for *bhr-i-nyō with an i-determinative, cp. O.Icel. br-i-me 'fire' A.S. br-i-uc O.H.G. br-i-o 'broth'. The first derivation, from *r-enyō *bhr-enyō, is supported by Goth. r-un-s 'a run, course' A.S. br-yne 'fire, conflagration'.

"Present Stem: Class XVIII — Skr. r-ṇu-ḍ-ti.  § 654."
§ 655. A large number of verb classes have an -s- suffixed to the root. These are both thematic and non-thematic.


It cannot be definitely proved that in all these forms s has really the same origin. But the negative cannot even be made probable. The clearest indication of the identity of s in the aorist with s in verbs of Classes XIX and XX is given by Skr. ḍ-kr-ṣ-i as compared with kr-ṣ-ṛ, ḍ-kr-ṣ-i compared with ak-ṣa-tē, ḍ-myṛ-ṣa-t compared with myṛ-ṣa-ti, see §§ 656, 659; compare too Lat. vis-ē beside pres. visī (§ 682), Lat. aux-t Lith. 1st and 2nd pl. injunct. (fut.) áuks-me-te beside Gr. αὕτω (§ 657). It should further be noticed that a close connexion is often formed with the noun suffix -es-, as in Skr. bhī-ās-a-ti

1) Compare Per Person's new work (Wurzelerweiterung, etc.) pp. 77 ff., where the suffix or determinative s is assumed for other forms besides those which will here be cited. Amongst these are some in which we have regarded the s as part of the root itself; e.g. Skr. e’dṛṣa-ti 'it rains', which he derives from the root of Skr. e’dri 'water, wetness'.

We must not forget that no clear line can be drawn between primary s-verbs and verbs derived from s-nouns, any more than between primary verbs with -ā- and nouns having the same suffix: e.g. Gr. ē-σβ-σ-ται ē-ξ-εσ-ται σβ-σ-το-ς ξ-εσ-το-ς stand to τε-τέλεσ-ται ηδεσ-ται αιδ-εσ-το-ς α-κηδεσ-το-ς related in the same way as πε-πλ-η-ται Dor. ē-πλ-α-το-ς to τε-τιλιμ-ται τηιμ-το-ς.

In this section we take count only of present stems with s final, and those which have a thematic vowel after the s. The compound suffix -s-ko- fills Classes XXII and XXIII; and -s-jo- (the future suffix) will be found in the ĵo-class, §§ 747 ff. Stems like *y-εσ-nėi- (εινει) are discussed under the heading -nėi-, in §§ 639, 642, and 643.

Since the s-norist in its common form adds the personal endings directly to s, its proper place is here, in Class XIX. It may, however, if preferred, be treated separately in the traditional way, for the reasons given above in § 485, pp. 38 ff. See §§ 810 ff.

Class XIX.

Root + -s-, -es-, or -as- forming the Present Stem.

§ 656. Very few additional forms belong to this class besides the preterites which will be discussed in §§ 810 ff.; such, I mean, as Skr. ā-ta-s-mahi Gr. ἰδν-α Skr. ā-vēd-īš-am. Some of them carry the s-element right through the verb system.

Skr. dvē-ṣ-itī 'hates' 3rd pl. dvē-ṣ-ānti, Avest. ābīṣ-entī, beside Avest. dvāe-ṭa 'terror' Gr. ἄνε- 'to fear'; — thematic,

Skr. ḍvi-ṣa-ti. Skr. 3rd pl. ḍ-tvi-ṣ-uv ‘they were excited, amazed’ beside Avest. poyant- ‘terrifying’ poyā- ‘terror’; — thematic, Skr. ḍ-tvi-ṣa-ta, Gr. partic. σωσ for *ṣa-ṣow pres. σωμ instead of *σω-σω (cp. σω-σω σεματ etc.), see § 657.


Class XX.

Root — -so- or -eso- forming the Present Stem.

§ 657. The s-suffix mostly runs through all parts of the verb.


From √̄ter- (Skr. tar-ala-s ‘moving to and fro, trembling’ Gr. τρ-ἐμω Lat. tr-emō § 488 p. 45): Skr. tr-āsa-ti ‘trembles’ (also tar-āsa-ti § 659), Gr. τρέ-σ(σ)ω ‘I tremble, flee’, O.C.Sl. tresq ‘I shake, shatter’ perhaps a re-formate instead of *tresq (§ 636 p. 174); with -s-, Lat. terreō for *ter-s- (ep. Gr. ἔπερον’ ἰρόβησεν Heusch). Compare Skr. gr-āsa-hr-āsa-ti bhv-āsa-ti Avest. va-āsha-iti § 659, Gr. ɛ̃s(σ)ω βᾶ-ɛ(σ)ω § 661, Lat. gr-ero-r § 662.

1) According to Bréal’s convincing explanation, Umbr. ocr ose ‘his (donis) maestus’ will fall in this place too. ose = pr. Ital. *auke may be a vocative, which would make it necessary to start from an adj. *auke-s meaning ‘auk tus’; it may also be an imperative like Gr. σε (ep. Lat. aukein). The first view is supported by Lat. maete, a vocative (F. D. Allen, Am. Journ. Phil., 1 125 ff.). Pauli’s explanation of ose (Alt. Stud. v 123) does not seem right to me.

2) On the relation between γε- γεγ- γεγ-, see Per Persson, Worx., 222.
§ 658. In § 655 it was pointed out that these s-suffixes are probably connected with the noun suffixes -es- -as- s- (§ 131 ff.). A few more examples of this may be given:


Skr. bhadra-ti (§ 659): bhās- Lat. fās.


Brugmann, Elements. IV.
śvō-śi), cp. O.Ir. clohas 'ear' (I § 516 p. 377) O.Sax. hlus-t 'hearing' O.C.Sl. sluchū 'hearing, faculty of hearing'. Skr. ghō-śa-ti 'cries out, proclaims aloud' (ghōśa-s 'confused noise, roar of a storm, cry of woe'), beside Goth. gāu-nōn 'to cry for woe'. Skr. bhā-śa-ti 'applies himself to, takes trouble about', √bheu- (Skr. bhātva-ti). Skr. sūrk-śa-ti 'is anxious about something, takes thought for it, or account of it', beside Goth. saur-ga 'care', which must be connected with O.Ir. sērc 'love' or with Lith. sērgiu 'I protect'. Skr. mrak-śa-ti mrk-śa-ti 'rubs, strokes', beside mrkṛ-śi 3rd pl. mrj-ānti. Skr. akṣa-tē ground-form *āk-ṣe-taj beside aś-nō-ti 'reaches' (§ 640 p. 179); from the same root, nāk-śa-ti 'reaches' beside nāṣ-a-ti Lith. nesz-u; with these must also be connected Goth. bi-niuh-sa 'I search out niuhš-einiz 'visitation, affliction', which come from *muň-s = Idg. *ūk-s (cp. *gi-nauhān 'to suffice'). Skr. mōk-śa-tē 'gets free from something' (redupl. mū-muk-śa-ti § 667), beside muk-ō-ti mukc-ātī. Skr. bhak-śa-ti 'enjoys, eats, devours'; Avest. bax-śa-itī 'divides, receives for share', beside Skr. bhāj-a-ti. Skr. dāk-śa-ti 'acts so as to suit or satisfy somebody' mid. 'plunges, dips, ducks, is dexterous' (dakšā-s 'dexterous') beside dāṣas-ya-ti 'is at one's service, shows respect'. Skr. lak-śa-tē 'marks', from lag- 'fasten on'. Skr. sāk-śa-ntī 'overpowering', from sakh- 'to overpower'. Skr. injunct. ap-sa-ntē 'they sought to get', beside ap-nō-ti (§ 600 p. 144), cp. the reduplicated īpa-tē (§ 667). O.Pers. pātiy-axšaītī 'I inspect', beside Skr. dāk-š-i 'eye'. O.C.Sl. oko (gen. očes-e) 'eye', cp. the reduplicated Skr. ik-śa-tē (§ 667) and the Gr. imper. aor. ὤψος. Avest. vax-śa-itī 'speaks', from vax- 'speak'. Avest. tax-śa-iti 'makes run' beside tac-ā-iti 'runs' Skr. tāk-a-ti. Avest. sax-śa-iti 'learns', beside śāvaye-iti 'teaches' Skr. śak-nō-ti 'is able', cp. the reduplicated Sl. śikṣa-tē Avest. a-sīzša-ntī (§ 667).

The preterite type belonging to this class is productive in Sanskrit, where, with roots which made final kṣ when s was added to them, it was used for the aorist; specially frequent when the root had ī, i, or u. Examples: ā-mṛk-śa-t cp. above, mṛk-śa-ti from mṛj-, ā-sṛk-śa-t from sparś- 'touch', ā-ṛk-śa-t
from varh- 'tear, tear out', ā-dik-śa-t from diś- 'show', ā-lik-śa-t from lik- 'lick', ā-dhuk-śat and ā-duk-śat (the latter an ad-formate of the type āduhat, cp. Gr. ἐνεὸς instead of ἐφεῦς following πεἰτω etc., I § 496 p. 364) from duh- 'milk'. The forms dhukśā-n dhukśā-nta, and others like them, are remarkable as having the accent upon the thematic vowel. The aor. ā-myk-śa-t it related to the pres. myk-śa-ti not otherwise than the aor. ā-kr-ś-i to the pres. kr-ś-e (§ 656 p. 191): O.Pers. niy-apišam 'I wrote', with š = hs, √pejk- (I § 401 p. 297), seems to belong to the same class; as no other persons are preserved, it is possible to assume that this is non-thematic, but the root-vowel is in favour of believing it to be thematic. The aorist use in all these forms is due to the weak grade of root syllable, just as with ā-sic-a-t and the like (§ 513 pp. 78 f.). But the imperfect meaning was not excluded either with this type without s or with the s-preterite which we are now dealing with: ādhukśa-t is imperfect as well as aorist (Whitney, Am. Journ. Phil. vi 281). On this aorist type in general see § 833.


§ 660. Armenian. Besides ēpem 'I boil' (see § 657 p. 192) may be named the aor. luci 'I kindled' for *leuk-so- (pres. lucanem), √leug- 'lucere', cp. Skr. ruk-śa-s 'shining', 108

§ 661. Greek. αἰλω, ἀλεῳ, ἀλέῳ αὐξώ, ἤγω see § 657 p. 192. ἀλῶ 'I break, break off for *αλ-σω ground-form *λ-σ, cp. αλ-σα-ται, Skr. ṣr-ṇa-ti 'breaks to pieces'; parallel stems αλ-σ- in partic. ἀλο-κλάς (Class X, § 582 p. 123), and κλα-δ- στερία 'ease' for *γρ-σδ connected with Skr. gr-asa-ti? see § 659 p. 195. ὄδαξο ὀδαξομαι 'I bite, itch, sting', beside ὄξ-ω, ὕδηκ-, cp. ὦδαξ ὦδαμοις. ἄνω beside ἀνω Τ knead, soften' (Lat. depre is a loan word). ὀπάω 'I pull' for *σκα-σω (cp. ἕ-σκα-σαν), possibly = *σκο-σδ, cp. O.H.G. spau- spau-mu § 614 p. 152, § 654 p. 188.

βρι-(ο)ο ρι 'I tremble, fleec': Skr. tr-asa-ti, see § 657 p. 192. ἄ-ε(ο)ω 'I shave, smooth' beside ἄ-νω from ὑ-γει- O.C.Sl. ἄε-στι 'to comb, curry' Lith. kaš-eti 'to scratch' (cp. Π § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20). βδ-ε(ο)ω 'pedo' for *βδε-σω from ὕ-πεδω-Slov. pedeš-ti 'pedere' (I § 594 p. 450).

That some of the trisyllabic presents in -σω making σοριστ in -σοσ etc., such as καλέω (καλέσω) ἄλεω (ἀλέσαιν) στρεῖω (στρηίω), had originally the ending -εσω (cp. Skr. tadasa-ti § 659 p. 195, arcas-ε § 656 p. 191), is not improbable; καλέω : καλέσω = τρεί(ο)ω : τρισεσ. Compare § 842.

In Greek this -ε is not only found with ἔδιπτα and like aorists, but elsewhere too it is a favourite tense suffix. Compare ἐ-σκεῖα-σ-ην, ἐ-σκεῖα-σ-αν, κα-κρα-σ-αι, κα-κρα-σ-α, ὄμ-όμο-σ-αι ὄμο-σ-α, ἦ-σ-το-ς ἦ-σ-το-ς-ην, ἔρω-σ-τα-πι ἔρω-σ-το-ς ἔρω-σ-α. No clear distinction can be made between "Primary" and "Denominative" verbs (cp. τε-τέλε-αι beside τέλος, αλδ-το-ς beside αλδ', ἔ-γκλασ-ην beside γκλος, ἐ-μεθώ-σ-απ beside Skr. madhata'-), because s in these verbal stems is the same as s in the stems of the cognate nouns, as has already once been said (§ 655 pp. 189 f.).

§ 662. Italic. Lat. visō (perf. visī), near kin to Goth. ga-peisō 'I look after some one, I visit', doubtless for *vejd + sō (not *wīd + tō, Class XXIV, as Osthoff will have it, Morph. Unt. iv 77), cp. Skr. vi-vit-sa-ti § 667. quaeso (perf. quaesīvō) for *quaesisō, beside quaerīō. incessō ar-cessō (perf. -cessīvō) from cēdō cessē. ac-cersō for *cers-sō doubtless connected with currō for *cers-sō krs-ō.1)

queror ques-tu-s) for *qu-esō(-r) beside Gr. κω-κῶ 'I bewail, cry, shriek'; Mid.H.G. hiuvelu 'to howl, lament, cry' O.H.G. hāvila hiuvela 'owl'. Compare § 657 p. 192.

§ 663. Keltic. No s-presents seem to occur. The forms which Windisch (Wtb., p. 593 b) assign to a first person gessim 'I beg' are more probably conjunctive of the s-aorist of guidim (§ 826). On seiss 'placed itself, sat' and 'sits', see § 833.


1) If Germ. *grussa- 'horse' (O.Sax. O.Icel. hrosa) is connected with currō, it stands to ac-cersō as Skr. mṛk-śa-s 'comb, currycomb' to mṛak-śa-ti.

The same s is sometimes found also with transformed and derivative verbs, and in nouns; as O.C.Sl. *q-cha-ti* 'to smell' (cp. Lat. *alō* for *an-s-lo*, I § 208 pp. 175 f., § 588 Rem. 2 p. 444), *ja-cha-ti* 'vehi' (cp. *ja-da* 'vehor' § 701), Lith. *bal-sa-s* 'voice, sound, tone' (cp. § 657 p. 192), O.C.Sl. *slu-chū* 'hearing, faculty of hearing' (cp. § 659 p. 194), O.C.Sl. *gla-sū* 'sound, voice' (I § 585 p. 441).

**Class XXI.**

Root + -so- -eso-, with reduplication ending in -I (-ū) forming the Present Stem.

§ 666. This class is represented by the Aryan Desideratives, many of which have little or nothing of the desiderative in their meaning (e. g. Skr. *ikṣa-tē* 'sees' from */og-*, from which a desiderative stem */ikṣ-ika-*/ is made anew), and by an Irish future series. The Homeric future *δεδο-ω* and Attic conjunctive aorist and future *δεδα-ω* can hardly have a direct connexion with these formations.

Very rare indeed are non-thematic forms with reduplication, such as Skr. partic. mid. *dī-dhiś-āna-s* beside *dī-dhiśa-ti* from */dhē-*/ 'set, lay'.

§ 667. Aryan. The Desiderative type is very prolific in Sanskrit.


On the reduplication of Skr. tika-tē (unreduplicated O.Pers. patiy-axsāiy 'I inspect'), ḫpsa-tī 'tries to reach' (unreduplicated apsa-nta), irtsa-tī 'wishes to advance or promote', see § 473 p. 17. Ved. iyakśa-tī 'wishes to honour' may be regarded as regular for *yi-yakṣa-, since yi- doubtless became i- as yu- became u- (I § 157 p. 141); the forms yi-yakṣa-ti yi-yasa-ti are reformates following si-sankṣa-ti etc., just as beside the regular ur-āṇā-s we find the re-formate vur-ī-ta.1) The form in-akṣa-ti 'seeks to gain' is peculiar, cf. perf. an-aś-a.

Roots beginning and ending in a consonant, and containing no i, u, liquid, or nasal, drop the initial consonant after the reduplicator if the root does not form a syllable by itself (cp. Lat. discō for *di-tc-scō § 678). Skr. šikṣatē 'learns' Avest. a-sixṣant- 'not learning' for pr. Ar. *śi-śk-śa- beside Skr. śak-nō-ti 'is able'; for the loss of the sibilant cp. aor. vykṣi for *vykṣ-śi and the fut. vrakṣyānt- for *vṛask-śya-nt (beside vyṛcā-ti 'tears to pieces' pra-vṛask-a-s 'slice, cut' O.C.Sl. vṛaska 'wrinkle'). Similarly ḫpsa-ti ḫpsa-ti Avest. diuṣā-idyāi beside Skr. dābh-a-ti 'injuries', Skr. bhikṣa-tē 'begs' beside Skr. bhāj-a-ti, līpsa-tē līpsa-tē beside labh-a-tē 'seizes, grasps' and others of the same sort. Some of these forms are certainly irregular. Instead of Skr. pītsa-ti, for example (from pat- 'fly, fall') we should expect *pīpsa-ti, to judge from Avest. nafṣu for *nāptsu (I § 471 p. 348).

On the analogy of the forms here mentioned arose Skr.

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1) The i- of *yakṣa-ti is different from that of *yāja, see § 851.
hīsa-ti 'injures, hurts' from han- (ghen-), whose 3rd pl. hīsantī caused the coining of a sing. hīnas-ti following Class XV (the 3rd sing. hīs-tē is perhaps like didhiṣ-aṇa-s § 660), and further perf. ji-hīs-a etc.

Instead of -sa- after roots with final consonant, the Sanskrit has often -iṣa- (-os-s-). √gēl- 'to move' ci-cariṣa-ti (beside cicarṣa-ti). √jēn- 'gignere' ji-janiṣa-tē. √mēl- 'crush' mi-mardiṣa-ti. vi-vidiṣa-ti beside viviṣa-ti (see above). bi-badhiṣa-tē beside bi-bhatṣa-tē (see above).

The productive power of this desiderative type in Sanskrit is especially clear in forms like ti-tarpayiṣa-ti pi-pāyayiṣa-ti from the causals tarpāya-ti (from trp-ṇō-ti 'satisfies itself') pa-yāya-ti (from pa-ti 'drinks').

The desiderative formation was itself often the foundation for a comprehensive verb structure; thus from bhikṣa-tē were formed perf. bi-bhikṣē fut. bhikṣ-īṣya-tē caus. bhikṣ-aya-ti, and from mī-māṇa-tē were formed aor. ā-mīṃqā-iṣṭa pass mīṃqā-yātē.


F. CLASSES XXII AND XXIII.

PRESENT STEMS WITH -sko-.

§ 669. The -s- of -sko- I regard as the same element which we have discussed under Classes XIX—XXI; and *s-ko- I believe to be an extension like *s-jo-. Compare *mej-k-sk- Lat. miscēō and *mej-k-s- Skr. mēkṣaya-ti perf. mī-mikṣē from √mej-k- 'mix'; Lat. dis-pescō for *-pero-scō and Skr. ṭṛk-s- (see Grassmann, Wtb., s. v.); Gr. ὅρο-sthēs 'he taught', and Avest. dax-šā-t 'he taught'; Skr. r-čá-ti 'reaches, hits, attains', and r-śa-ti dr-śa-ti 'moves quickly'
§ 669. Present Stem: Classes XXI and XXII — sko-presents. 201


-k- or -kh- (see below), without -s- preceding, seems often to occur in Greek words. The parallel diminutive suffixes Boeot. -ιχο-ς and Att. -ισκο-ς, and a comparison of πτω-ξός, πτω-χός (πτωσκόω), with πτω-σκ-α-ίζω\(^2\), and of γλί-χο-μω ‘I stick, adhere’ with γλι-σχο-ρό-ς, justifies our assuming -kho- to be the suffix of γλί-χο-μω, of ψη-χω ‘I swim’, of σμη-χω ‘I rub, stroke, wipe off’, and σμω-χω ‘I rub or grind to powder’, for ψη-χω ‘I stroke, curry’ and ψω-χω ‘I grind to powder’, for πω-χω ‘I rub away, wear out’, and for στε-αχω ‘I groan’ (cp. πυλάζω and such like words, § 694). In the

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1) Connected, as it would seem, with Armen. ʃem ‘I hear’ for *kīu-ʃkō-. See Hübsohnmann, Arm. Stud. i 33; Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr., II 41.

2) Compare Bugge, Kuhn’s Zeitschr. XXII 39 f., on Armen. ʃak-ni-m ‘I hide myself’, which is in any case a cognate word.
parallel group come verbs in - σω such as πτή-σω ἔγρη-σω ὀμησώ-σω; see § 763 Rem.

It appears that -sko- and -skho- were used as variants in the parent language. Sanskrit has only -skho- (unless perhaps -sko- is the suffix of τρισκά-τι 'tears to pieces'), but both of them seen to occur in Armenian and Greek. Armenian has -sko- in legate 'I hear' (see p. 201 footnote), -skho- in harčanem; Greek has -sko- in βά-σις, and -skho- perhaps in πάσχω (see § 673), γλίασκο-ς (cp. γλι-χο-μαι etc., above).

The k-sound was sometimes palatal and sometimes velar in the original language. -sk(h)o- is pointed to by Avest. ter'sa-iti, Lith. trissu, Armen. legate; and -sq(h)o- by Skr. marcka-ti (beside marcha-iti) Avest. perska (beside per'sa-iti, cp. Bartholomeae, Stud. idg. Spr. II 49 f.), Armen. alažem, Lith. jėsko-ti O.C.Sl. iska-ti, Lith. treskū O.C.Sl. trėskū troška; cp. Lith. telska 'it lightens' beside Skr. tvś- 'beam, light' Avest. pvis-ra- 'sparkling'. The variation of guttural in -ko- and -go- has already been touched upon in our discussion of Noun Morphology, II § 90 pp. 274 f. Compare however vol. I § 414 pp. 303 f., § 587 Rem. 2 p. 442, and Bartholomeae, op. cit. 48 f.

On the difficult question of the original shape of the sk-suffix we have a new paper by Zubač, in Kuhn's Zeitschr., xxxi 9 ff.

Class XXII.

Root + -sko- -esko- forming the Present Stem.

§ 670. Pr. Idg. In the following sections, I write the original forms always with -sko-, without distinguishing the variants -sko- -sqo- -skho- -sqho- (see § 669).

Roots that are capable of vowel gradation generally have the weak grade before -sko-.

'I tremble, shudder', cp. § 669 p. 201. √gem- 'go' *gni-ske-ti: Skr. gácha-ti, Gr. imper. πᾶσε. √prek- 'precari' *pyk-ske-ti: Skr. prchá-ti, Armen. aor. harči, Lat. poscō for *porco-scō, cp. O.H.G. forsca 'question'. √ajs- 'desire, wish': Skr. ichá-ti, Umbr. eiscur rent 'poposcerint, aecessierint', O.C.Sl. iska 'I seek, try', cp. Skr. ichá 'a desire, wish' Armen. aic 'attempt' O.H.G. eisca 'a demand, request' Lith. jëskó-ti 'seek, try'. √es- 'be': Gr. ἔσω 'was', O.Lat. essē. √bha- 'show, make appear' (p. 56 footnote): Armenian ba-çi 'I opened', Gr. qa'-oxo 'I make known, say, affirm'.


Of -esko- there no example in more than one language.

§ 671. Aryan. Skr. r-chá-ti ar-chá-ti 'hits, reaches, injures' (pluperf. ἀναρχα-τ § 854) V er-. Avest. ter'-sa-iti O.Pers. tarsa-tiy 'is afraid': Lith. triszu, see § 670. Skr. mūrcha-ti 'congeals, stiffens' (perf. mūmūrcha etc.), beside partic. mūrtā-s. Skr. hūr-chá-ti 'slides, glides, falls' (caus. hūrchaya-ti), probably from īvar- 'lead astray, disturb' (2nd sing. mid. ju-hūṛ-thās). Skr. gá-chá-ti Avest. ṣas-iti (j- instead of g-, see I § 451 Rem. p. 334): Gr. βά-oxe, V gem- 'go', see § 670; Skr. yá-chá-ti beside yam-a-ti 'holds, directs', Avest. yasaiti) and yasaitē (the latter for *yis-) (as regards the change of accent in gácha-ti yácha-ti (instead of *gachá-ti *yachá-ti) see I § 672 p. 537, IV § 516 p. 82. Skr. vāncha-ti 'wishes' (pass. vānch-ya-tē etc.), which should regularly be *vā-chá-ti, ground-form *yāš-ske-ti (cp. desid. vi-vā-yā-ti),? V yem- Skr. vān-a-ti, cp. O.H.G. von-sc m. 'wish' (II § 90 p. 276). Skr. yū-chá-ti 'keeps afar, wards off' (with irregular accent, which should be

1) Connected, perhaps, with O.Pers. 9th sing. mid. ayasadā; see Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xiv 246 f.
2) The same analogical intrusive nasal in jū-ga-sa-ti, see § 667 p. 198.

-esko- (§ 669 pp. 200 f.) only in Iranian. O.Pers. a-r-asa-m I came, reached' conj. ni-rasatiy beside Skr. y-chā-ti √ er-. Avest. ış-as-a-itī 'wishes' beside isu-itī Skr. ichā-ti √ aīs-; cp. acc. ışase-m 'a wish'. Avest. hīs-as-a-itī 'has authority over, arranges, understands', √ ar. sajs-.

§ 672. Armenian. Here it seems that Idg. *-skh(o)- has become -ṣ-, -sk(o)- has become -s-, and -sq(o)- or -sqh(o)- has become -s- (cp. § 669 p. 201).

(1.) -ṣ- in aorist and present. both: harṣi 'I asked' pres. harṣane-m (§ 620 p. 157): Skr. prchā-ti etc., see § 670 p. 203; it seems to me questionable whether Bugge is right in connecting anṣi 'I went' (pres. ançane-m) with Skr. gācha-ti (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxvi 33). Again, compounded aorists with -ṣ-, or -ape- -eaps-. ba-ṣi 'I opened' (pers. ba-nu-m § 601 p. 144): Gr. φά-οχω, see § 670 p. 203. mna-ṣi 'remained, awaited' (pres. mna-m § 581 p. 122), stem mnā- from √ men-: cp. Gr. μι-μνή-οχω. l-ṣi 'I filled' 3rd sing. e-li-c (pres. l-nu-m § 642 p. 189), stem li- = *ple- from √pel-; ke-ṣi 'I lived' (pres. kea-m § 581 p. 122) from √ geṣ-; similarly Gr. ἀνα- -ηῦξουμαι 'I revive'. The aorist in -aṣi, as gitaṣi 'I knew',

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(pres. gitem), and -eci (3rd sing. -euc), as lizeci 'I licked' (pres. lizem) seem to be of the same character as Lat. verbs in -escē, -ēscō -ēscō and Greek in -ачу -ачу.

But it must be admitted that an explanation is to seek why this present suffix came to be used with the aorist, and as an aorist suffix became productive. Something of the same sort happened in Greek with the to-suffix; for harcki: harçane-m = ἔπλασ-τον : βλάστ-ανα, see § 682. It would follow that first harcki as compared with harçanem got the aorist use; and afterwards baçi and others like it were used in the same way. But the problem must remain unsolved so long as the history of the Idg. s-aorist in Armenian has not been traced.


(3) -ξ for -sg- or -sgh- in present stems with -aζε-μ, as alaζem 'I beg, pray', and in other compound suffixes (Hübisch-mann, Arm. Stud. i 94).

§ 673. Greek. βά-σκε βά-σκε-τε 'go thou, go ye': Skr. gā-cha-ti, √γεμ-, see § 670 p. 203. προ-βλάσκω 'I come forth' for *μιλ-σκό. ἄνα-βρωσκον 'κατασθών (Hesych.) for *γρ-σκό (cp. брοσкowo § 678); ἔρω-σκω 'I leap' for pr. Gr. τηψ-σκό; cp. Skr. hūrcha-ti mūrcha-ti § 671 p. 203. λάσκω 'I make a sound, cry out' for *λακ-σκω, beside ἔλακ-σε-ν. ἰσκω 'I make like, consider like' for *ϊξ-σκω, also redupl. ι-ισκω § 678, beside ἵσκα, √μεϊκ-. μίσκω 'I mix' instead of *μισκω for *μικ-σκω (γ instead of ξ following μιγτον μιγτον), √μεϊκ-μεϊγ-: cp. Lat. misceo, O.Ir. con-mesccatar 'miscentur'. ιν-ισκω- ἵππιχανω Hesych. for *Θικ-σκω, cp. fut. σιν-Θείς; σιναντίσω Hesych., beside ἰ-ινχ-ο-ν (cp. Osthoff. Perf. 304 f.). El. πάσκω 'I suffer, experience' i.e. *πά(Θ)-σκω beside ἰ-παθ-ο-ν πένθ-ος; Att. etc. πάσκω, which seems to be built up with -σκό- (§ 669 p. 202).

φά-σκω 'I make known, assert, say': Armen. ba-ci, √βια-, see § 670 p. 203. χά-σκω 'I gape, yawn', beside ἐχειν-σε-ν χη-μη, see § 611 p. 150. βά-σκω 'I feed, pasture' beside βι-τωρ.
Epir. γνωσκει (Att. γνωρισκω) 'I get to know, learn': O.Pers. əxəsadətəy etc., see § 670 p. 203. ὅψα-κο-μαι 'I say' stem mρ-, √μερ-. ἦπ-η-κο-μαι, ἦπ-η-κο-μαι ἀναμμένοι Hesych., cp. Curtius Gr. Etym. 5 257. In ἐνή-κο-μαι Dor. ἐνα-κο-μαι 'I die' there is doubtless not really an α-suffix, as it may come from γχεί- by way of *γχη-σκό = *φα-κο-μαι (Osthoff, op. cit. 366 f.).

Att. θυνίσκω, θνίσκω Aeol. θνάλσκω Ion. χρησκόμεθα have altered slightly in form by analogy of -σκω (τύρ-σκω etc.), from which they get i; the same may be said of Att. μεμνήσκω Aeol. μεμναλέω (§ 678).

ἀρέσκω 'I please', ἀρέσκω 'I satisfy', γηράσκω 'I grow old', γενειάσκω 'I grow a beard'. μεθύσκω 'I make drunk'.

Ionic iterative preterite: φεύγεσκον from φεύγω 'I flee', ἀρέσκον from ἀρέζω 'I strive', μεθύσκομαι from μεθύω 'I pasture', εἰπέσκον from εἴπον 'I said', αὐθήσασκον beside αὐθήσα 'I spoke, said', φάνεσκον beside ἡδύνην 'I appeared'. As a possible course of the development I suggest the following. The first step was, on the analogy of φη-μι: φά-σκον φά-σκον to form ἑστασκον from ἑστημι; again ἱσχει: ἀρέσκω ἀρέσκω produced καλεσκόμαι beside καλέσσα; and γενειάζω: γενειάσκω γενειάσκον gave rise to δέπτασκον from δεπτάτω, and so forth. Each of these has its direct analogue; the next step was to form similar iterative preterites from stems which offered no such analogue among forms with -σκο-.

The origin of -σκο in forms like εὐρίσκω 'I find' ἀλλίσκομαι 'I am caught' is not quite clear; compare the reduplicated ἀρ-αρ-ίσκω 'I join'. I now offer a new conjecture, and give up that which was suggested in vol. II § 90 p. 275. My present view is that i is the same in this suffix as in ὑπ-νοω ὑπίνω ὑγίνω (§§ 650, 652 p. 186), that is to say, it is the "root determinative" -i-. Then we analyze ἄρεφλοκω as ἀρ-αρ-ίσκω, and connect it directly with ἀρε-θυ-ο-ς νη-ο-το-ς O.H.G. r-i-m 'row, series, number'. See further in § 841, on ἄνθω 'I breathe', for *ἄ-φο-ς, and others of the same kind.


In pos-tulāre Osc. pes-tlūm 'templum' Umbr. pes-klum 'supplicationem, sacram' (-klo- for -tlo-, I § 867 p. 278), dis-pes-tu-s, mix-tu-s mis-tu-s, and pas-tu-s, the group -st- need not be derived from -sk-t-. Compare O.II.G. lā-s-trē-n as compared with Mid.II.G. lā-sche etc., § 669 p. 201. This guides us in our view of Umbr. persnimnū imper. 'supplicato', derived from an abstract *persnī- (§ 777) made with the suffix -ni- (II § 95 p. 286).


1) dis-pescō was merely coined to express the opposite of com-pescō, as dis-jungō was the merely opposite of con-jungō. Compare the Author, Idg. Forsch. i 175. — Is Osc. parak- for *prak- = *pyk- or for *prak- *pyk-? See a new treatment by Buck, Der Vocalismus der osk. Spr., 140.

2) Umbr.-Osc. perk- is a contamination of pork- and perek- (Lat. po(c)scō and precārit).
rubē-sco beside rubē-s O.C.Sl. rūdē-ti. con-ticē-sco beside tacē-s O.H.G. dagē-s, and others, see § 590 p. 132. hiā-sco beside hiā-s hiā-tu-s Lith. ėį-ō-ju 'I open my mouth', cp. hiā-sco above.

A large number of new forms, the Inchoative or Inceptive Verbs, were produced by the analogy of sci-sco : sciō, rubē-sco : rubēō, hia-sco : hiō and similar parallel stems from one root. Examples of these are obdormīscō from dormīō, flāvēscō from flāvēō, amāscō from amāō. By degrees the endings -ēsco -ēsco -ēscō grew quite independent of the character of the stem to which they were affixed, and we get such forms as conticēscō mīlēscō. The inceptive meaning was probably not due to anything in the suffix -sco-, but arose from the fact that certain verbs which had it, crēscō ad-olēscō to wit, of necessity implied an inceptive meaning. These verbs suggested a distinction, which was carried on into others, and the inceptive type arose; hence caelum rubēscit was distinguished from caelum rubet, and so forth. In late Latin these verbs had a causal meaning, e.g. innotēscō 'I become known', later 'I make known'. On this see Sittl, Arch. Lat. Lexicogr., t 516 ff.

Remark. It is very doubtful whether the Italic branch had forms with Idg. -eskō or forms like Gr. σκόννων. See Sittl, op. cit., pp. 490 ff., Osthoff, Perf. 157, 257 f.


§ 676. Germanic. Only a few present stems have -skō-. O.H.G. ir-lisku 'I am extinguished', originally probably 'I lay
myself down', ground-form *legi̯+skō, beside Goth. līgu 'I lie'.


If we connect priska with Lat. terō (Benfey, Gr. Wurzel-lex., u 263), it might be derived from *tr-eskō and compared with O.Pers. a-r-asa-m Gr. ἀρ-ε-σω etc. (§ 669 p. 201). Lastly, it seems we must place here Goth. ga-triska 'I bear fruit, τελεοφορω', which Diefenbach connects with A.S. wīdan 'to grow' and Skr. varah- 'to grow' (Vergl. Wörterb. der Got. Spr., i 241).


§ 677. Balto-Slavonic. Here too this class of present stems has quite fallen into the background. We find sometimes

1) According to Osthoff (Wiener Stud. x 174) for *les-skō, akin to Mid.H.G. er-leessen 'to grow weak'.

Bjugmann, Element. IV.


In addition, compare Lith. aūszo 'it dawned' (pres. aūsz-ta), beside Skr. uchá-ti, § 671 p. 204; gaiszai 'I loitered, tarried' (pres. gaisz-tā), beside Lat. haereō; driskai 'I am torn in pieces' possibly from the √<der> whence nu-dírta-s 'flayed' Gr. ἔκτοι.

It is impossible to decide whether the sibilant in Lith. su-míssai 'I meddled, mixed myself with, got into confusion' (pres. su-míssztā), maiszý-ti O.C.Sl. mísí-ti 'to mix') from √<meik>- represents Idg. -k- or -s- (cp. Skr. mēkṣaya-ti) or -sk- (cp. Lat. misceō etc.).

Class XXIII.
Reduplicated Root + -sko- forming the Present Stem.

§ 678. This type is demonstrable only in Greek and Italic. Gr. διδάσκω 'I teach' for *di- dak-σκω cp. perf. δίδακ-α de-didáγ-μαι, Lat. discō for *di-te-skō cp. perf. didic-ī, cp. Avest. daš-ša-† 'I taught' § 669 p. 201. In discō the root syllable is treated exactly as it is in Sanskrit desideratives of the type śikṣa-te, see § 667 p. 199. For the a of διδάσκω cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xvii.121.

Lat. discō is isolated in Italic; but Greek gives a number of reduplicated forms besides διδάσκω.


Reduplicated with ε: te-tυόκετo beside τι-τύσκομαι, see above. ἰ-σκω 'I make like' for *fε-fι(κ)-σκω beside ἰσκω § 673 p. 205. de-di-σκομαι 'I fear, am terrified' from √dyeί-(cp. Osthoff, Perf. 388 ff.).

dϕ-αρ-όκω 'I join', like ευρ-ίσκω § 673 p. 206.

G. CLASS XXIV.

ROOT + -to- (-t-) FORMING THE PRESENT STEM.

§ 679. The suffix -to- in verbs is often just as clearly the same as the noun suffix (II §§ 79 ff. pp. 218 ff.) as we found to be the case with -no-, -so-, and -sko-. Compare Gr. ἐ-βλασ-το-ν with βλασ-τό-ς βλάσ-τη.

Non-thematic forms are very rare, and only Aryan, so that I cannot set apart a class for this group alone. Skr. dyu-ṭ-ānā-s beside dyā-ta-tē 'shines', a-cē-t-i cī-t-ānā-s beside cē-ta-ti 'takes notice of, observes', yā-t-ānā-s ya-t-ānā-s beside yā-ta-te 'joins itself, strives'. Compare the nouns dyā-ti cī-ti-yā-t-, which belong to the same kind as rt-t- hrū-t- II § 123 p. 391; the connexion of the noun suffixes -t- and -to- is obvious.

-to- is confined to the present stem only in Greek, Italic, and Baltic, and there not always.

§ 680. Pr. Idg.1) *sp(h)[]tō *sp(h)[]tō from √sp(h)el-'burst, split' (Skr. phāl-ā-ṭi 'bursts, splits in two'): Skr. spūṭa-ṭi (secondary form spūṭa-ṭi) 'bursts' (cp. spūṭita-s partic. 'split, burst'), O.H.G. spaltu 'I split' (cp. Goth. spīlda 'writing tablet'

1) In Per Persson's work on Wurzelerweiterung, pp. 28 ff., the determinative t is assumed for many instances not here given; amongst others, for those in which we have held that t is part of the root proper: e.g. Skr. karta-ṭi 'cuts' Lith. kertę 'I hew, cut', which are derived from the root of Gr. κείσω; and Skr. vārta-ṭi 'vertitur'. Lat. vertō, which are derived from the root of Lat. ver-mi-s.
Mid.H.G. *spelte* 'lance splinter'. From √ *qej*- (Skr. *ci-nō-ti* 'ranges side by side, puts in layers, directs one’s notice towards'): Skr. *cē-ta-ti* 'takes note of, observes', O.C.Sl. *cī-te-ṭī* 'counts, reads, honours', cp. Skr. *cī-tāna-s* § 679. Lat. *plec-tō* 'I twist, twine' beside *plīcō*, O.H.G. *fīh-tu* 'I twist' (cp. Goth. *flōh-ta* 'a braid, twist'), cp. Gr. *πλέκ-το-ς* 'woven, twisted' *πλεκ-τη* 'rope, net'; the stem *plek-* which runs through these is itself an extension of a √ *pə-l-, see below. From √ *pek-* (Gr. *πέκ-ω* 'I comb' Lith. *pesz-ū* 'I pluck—off, tear off, pull out'): Gr. *πέκκω* (and *πεκτέω* § 801) 'I comb, shear, pluck, pull', Lat. *pec-tō* 'I comb, hackle, hack the ground with a mattock', O.H.G. *fīh-tu* 'I fight, do battle' (*feltha* 'a fight').\(^1\) O.H.G. *brīstu* O.Icel. *brest* 'I break, tear, burst' is very nearly akin to the O.Ir. weak verb *bríssim* 'I break' (-se- for -st-, I § 516 p. 376), and both must be connected either with Gr. *πέκθω* or with Goth. *brīka* (cp. Stokes, Mém. Soc. Ling., v 419 ff., Per Persson, Wurzelerweiterung 19, 38, and 45); whether *bríssim* originally belonged to the first conjugation and then passed into the third, or whether it was originally denominative, is a doubtful point.

§ 681. Aryan. Skr. śphuta-ti, cē-ta-ti, see § 680. nāta-ti ‘dances, plays’ Ved. ny-tā-māna-s (compare nītya-ti), beside nar-mā-s nar-man- n. ‘joke, sport’. kūta-ti ‘curls, twists itself’, akin to Lat. cur-vo-s. yā-ta-tē ‘unites with, strives’, beside ya-tā-s part. of. yam-a-ti, cp. yātana-s § 679 p. 211. dyā-ta-tē ‘shines’ ā-dyu-ta-t, from dyu-div-, cp. dyutānā-s § 679 p. 211. veš-ta-tē ‘wraps itself up, clothes or shrouds itself’ (vešṭaya-ti viśṭita-s) beside veṣ-ṭa-s ‘band, cord, covering’, which doubtless has nothing to do with ēiṣ-‘enter’, but is connected with Lith. vys-ta-s ‘woman’s bodice, stays’ vystau ‘I swaddle or swathe’ a child, from veṣ-‘to wind’. cēṣ-ta-ti ‘is in motion’ (perf. cicēṣta) beside cēṣ-ta-m ‘motion’. lōṣ-ta-tē ‘heaps up’ beside lōṣ-ta-s lōṣ-tu-s ‘clod or lump of earth’; if the same root is contained in another -to-form, Lith. lūsz-tu ‘I break’ intr. (pret. lūs-an), — compare Skr. leṣ-tu-s ‘clod’ from rīṣ-līṣ-‘tear, break off’ — lōṣṭate must be a derivative from the noun, or at least must have modified its meaning in association with (cp. § 794, on Skr. māṇyā-ti).

§ 682. Greek. There are numerous forms in -π-τω, and a few which have, -τω preceded by some other sound than π. We begin with the latter. πέκ-τω has been mentioned already, § 680 p. 212. ζυμογεν. οὐπέθανε Hesych., cp. μοφ-τό-ς ‘mortal’. φάρμ-το-μα beside φάσσομαι (= φαν-μο-μα) ‘I shut myself in, fortify myself’. ἐβλασ-το-ν, pres. βλασ-τάνω ‘I spring up, arise’ (βλασ-τό-ς ‘shoot, bud’), orig. probably ‘I get high’ (used
of buds and shoots), beside βλωτ-ρό-ς 'springing high, grown high' (I § 306 p. 242); ἡμαρ-το-ν Lesb. inf. ἰμβρότην (for *ἀμβρατήν, I § 292 p. 233), pres. ἀμαρτάνω 'I miss, err', probably from ἀ-μαρ-το- ἰ-μβρα-το- 'having no share' (from the root of μέρ-ος μορ-ο-ς), cp. ἰμαρεῖν ἰμαρτάνειν Hesych. (Curtius, Verb p. 10 ff., and the Author, Sprachwiss. Abhandl. 160); on the present stems βλαστάνω ἰμαρτάνω see § 621 p. 158. Att. ἀνίτω beside ἰ-νύω ἰ-νυ-μι 'I complete' (§ 639 p. 177) and partic. ἰν-ήν-το-ς 'that cannot be completed', and similarly Att. ἰφέτω beside ἰφέω 'I create'.

Of the numerous Verbs in -π-τω (Curtius mentions 48 of them), as τύπ-τω 'I strike' σκαίν-τω 'I dig' πέπ-τω 'coquo', those whose root originally ended in a velar have the first claim to a place in our group; such stems are πέπτω from √ρεγ-, βλάπτω beside Skr. марк-. However, it is possible to see the suffix -ηο- (Class XXVI) in every single one; and indeed the denominatives χαλέπτω (from χαλεπό-ς) and ἀστράπτω (from ἀστραπη) in all probability come from *χαλεπ-ηο- and *ἀστραπ-ηο- (I § 131 p. 119).

Remark. I see no cogent reason for denying that πλ may become πτ (cp. Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 436 f.). All that can be said against deriving τύπ-τω (cp. τύπ-ο-ς) from *τυπ-ηο- is that it may just as well contain the present suffix -το-. But we cannot avoid forms in -οω those whose root ended in ρ, as κρύπτω, which comes from the root of κρύψα; nor those whose root ended in q or ρ, as πέπτω beside older πέσω (ʃ-ρεγ-), νίπτομαι beside older νίςω (ʃ-νεγ-). Still, such forms as κρύπτω can easily be due to the analogy of τύπτω, the point of contact between the stems being κρύψω τύψω etc. (cp. new forms like κρύπτω instead of κρύςω, following χρύσως, § 714); and thus again, in view of πέψω etc., we have no proof that πέπτω νίπτομαι and all the rest are not simply adformates of τύπτω. It is also quite possible (in spite of Kretschmer's arguments, as cited, p. 437) that Hom. ἵπετω beside ἱππω (ἱππω?), and beside ἱππατον ἱππίστων, was also an adformate of τύπτω, although in this verb there is no ἵπησω (for ἱππως in II. 2 137 etc. is not from this stem), and this as far as it goes is in favour of a stem with orig. ἰτο-.

§ 683. Italic. Lat. plect-tō, pec-tō, me-tō, see § 680 p. 212. oitor útor (cp. Osc. útttiuf 'usio, usus', Pelig. oisa

1) τύπτω does not come in this group; see § 552, page 107.
abl. 'usa, consumpta') perhaps akin to Gr. oǐ-ρος 'fate, lot' from √εῖ- 'go' (Danielsson, Pauli’s Alt. Stud. iii 198 f.). *plec-tō perhaps from the root of *faλx-, *plec-to-r 'I am struck, punished,' either to be set beside *plaga *plangō, in which case we must assume that it came from *plactor when used in compounds, without an accent (cp. *plēcō, I § 66 Rom. 2 p. 53); or akin to Lith. *plešz-iu 'I tear, snatch' (cp. Gr. *diōw 'I flay' and 'cudgel'), in which case it must be pronounced *plector. *nectō belongs to √nedh- 'bind', and in its ending probably imitated plectō; see Ber. sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1800, p. 236 foot-note 2. With *plexu-s i.e. *plect+-to-, and *āsus i.e. *oj-t+-to-, we naturally compare *fassu-s i.e. *fa-t+-to-, from fa-teor Gr. *fa-ρος 'said'. Uncertain: Osc. krustatar conj. 'cruentetur' according to Bücheler, akin to Gr. κρυστ-αίρω, § 664 p. 197.

§ 684. Keltic. It is doubtful whether brissim 'I break' originally belongs to this class, see § 680 p. 212.

Remark. The so-called t-preterite, which came out of the 3rd sing. mid. in -to, does not belong to this class. See § 516, page 82.

cp. O.H.G. al-t 'old', beside Goth. a-la 'I grow up'. The ending of a few onomatopoetic verbs, as Goth. kriusta 'I crunch' (krust-s 'a crunching'), O.Icel. gnest 'I crack', seems to be of the same sort as that of O.H.G. bristü O.Icel. brest (O.H.G. brastön 'to crack, crackle'); compare the Mid.H.G. weak verb kristen 'groan with pain or exertion' beside Jërgen Mid.Dutch criten 'groan, shriek' (-st- is not for -tt-).

Remark 1. O.H.G. weiso 'I shun', which is connected with Lat. eiius, and which Kluge assign to this class (Paul-Braune's Beitr. ix 152), seems more likely to be of the eo-class. See § 664 p. 197.

Extended by an i-suffix: Goth. fauirh-tja O.H.G. furicht(i)u 'I fear' (pret. forah-ta), whence the adj., originally participle, fauirh-t-s O.H.G. forahit 'afeared, afraid'.

The suffixal ending -ntó is common in Germanic: Goth. standa O.H.G. stantü 'I stand' √sta-, Goth. vindu O.H.G. wintu 'I wind or twist' √wei-, O.H.G. swintu 'I disappear' beside O.H.G. swir-nu. The forms pret. stóp and pres. gavida make it probable that the nasal is due to the analogy of Class XVI. For the word swintu, but for no others, we have some ground for assuming that a no-present (Class XIII) has been extended by -to-. See § 634 p. 172, and compare Lith. siunciū § 686, O.C Sl. ob-rušta § 687.

Remark 2. Osthoff's view is that the Idg. had a simple suffix, -net- -nt-, which is preserved in the above named Germanic words and in others. This to my mind carries no conviction with it. (See, for Osthoff's arguments, Zeitschr. deutsch. Phil., xxiv 215 ff., and Anzeiger für idg. Spr. und Altertumskunde, i 88.)

§ 686.1) Balto-Slavonic. In Lithuanian (and Lettic) are numerous present stems in -stu and -sztu with intransitive and inchoative meaning. -stu arose in roots or stems ending in a

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1) The Lithuanian and Lettic verbs in -tu are very neatly explained by Johannis (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxii 507 ff.) as derived from middle forms of the 3rd sing. in -s-to; e.g. 3rd sing. rimeta for *rugs-to, cp. Skr. as-aor. d-rugs-s-ta; perhaps also forms with no s, as vištà = *višt-t+to, cp. Skr. d-vti-ran. When the injunctive rimeta vištà had come to be looked on as parallel to běya suka (see § 999. 2), the forms rimeta vištà were coined on the analogy of běyu-suka, and so forth.
dental explosive or s, and -sztu in roots with final palatal explosive. virs-tu 'I fall down', pret. virt-aù. biša-ta 'evening draws on', pret. blind-o. girs-tu 'I get to hear' pret. gird-aù. ges-tu 'I am quenched, go out', pret. ges-aù.1) tís-tu 'I stretch, lengthen myself', pret. tiš-aù (cp. tiš-s-tu § 657 p. 191, § 665 p. 197). lúsz-tu 'I break' intr., pret. liš-aù. -sztu may also come from -stu by the influence of preceding r, as in mirsztù 'I forget' pret. mirsz-aù, beside Skr. marṣ- (I § 587.1 p. 442).

Verbs in -stu were the starting point for many new formations, as kil-stu 'I raise myself', pret. kil-aù; styr-stu 'I stiffen', pret. styr-aù; pa-ži-stu 'I know', pret. pa-žinaù; rúk-stu 'I grow sour, ferment', pret. rúg-aù; dźiú-stu 'I grow dry, wither', pret. dźiuv-aù inf. dźiú-ti. New forms in -stu; mir-stu 'I die', pret. mir-iaù, cp. Gr. ἵ-μογ-ρευ § 682 p. 213.

Often the stems which serve as groundwork for these words already have present formative suffixes; e. g. tví-stu 'I swell out' (pret. tvin-aù) derived from *tv-inu, see § 624 p. 161; jûnk-stu 'I grow accustomed' (pret. junkau) from *junku akin to Skr. uc-ya-ti, viš-tu 'I increase, grow larger' from *vinsu cp. pret. vis-aù, see § 635 p. 173; aüzsz-ta 'day dawns' from a sko-present *ausza connected with Skr. uchá-ti, see § 677 p. 210.

Denominatives too were formed in this class. gelstù 'I grow yellow' pret. geltaù from gelta-s 'yellow', karstù 'I grow bitter' pret. kart-aù from kart-s 'bitter', brankstù 'I grow dear' pret. brangaù from brangù-s 'dear', źustu 'I fish' pret. źuwaù from źur-i-s 'a fish'. Compare § 793.

Remark 1. Bezzenberger (Beitr. IX 336) and Wiedemann (Lit. Prákt., 60) deny that the Lithuanian to-present series is connected with those of the other 1dag. languages. It certainly is queer that only one Lith. to-present has cognates in other languages, namely mirsztù 'I die', which comes from the same root as Gr. ἑ-μογ-ρευ; and this comparison is a very precarious foundation for any theory.

1) Parallel stem, dial. gístu. The i in this and similar forms (see Wiedemann, Lit. Prákt., 60) I regard as a re-formation on the analogy of Lith. roots such as grie- gib- (beside gíva- gib-) with ri "Ir = r i. Similarly O.C.Sl. tšči etc. following rči, § 534 p. 98.
siuncziù 'I send' (inf. siústi) doubtless instead of *siuntu like jüng-ìu instead of *jung-u etc.; and if this word be connected with Skr. sàv-a-ti suv-á-ti 'sets in motion, drives, sends' (Wiedemann, Lit. Prákt., 84) we should have in *sn-n-tó a present like Goth. vi-n-da § 685 p. 216.

Remark 2. The 3rd sing. cí-(i) 'goes' lèkt-(i) 'remains' mëk-t(i) 'sleeps' sës-t(i) 'sits' (§ 511, pp. 76 f.), gave rise to the dialectic forms Léth. sítù sít sítam sítut, lèktù méktù sëstu, and so forth, and similarly, in Lettic, 1st pl. from follows t-t 'goes' (Bezenberger in his Belts. ix 334 ff.). This re-formation, which has an exact parallel in Celtic (§ 508 p. 72), was in some degree due to the to-present stems: -t(i) and -t(i) were regarded as the same in structure.

§ 687. O.C.Sl. ėt-tı, m-e-t-ta, pl-e-ta, see § 680 p. 212. rasta 'I grow' inf. rasti (rasút 'growth', rasó 'usury, interest') for *rād + ta, cp. rodů 'birth'. Mention should also be made of ob-rētů 'I found', if this is to be connected with réj ī 'I knock'; to this the present -rēštā (§ 636 p. 174) would have just the same kind of relation as Goth. sta-n-da to stōp (§ 685 p. 216).

H. CLASS XXV.

Root + -dho- and -do- forming the Present Stem.

§ 688. Although under certain circumstances dh could become d in the parent language (I § 469. 8 p. ), that is not the reason why I class -dho- and -do- together now. It is not that I regard them as being always variants of the same suffix; but simply because in some languages dh and d ran together and became indistinguishable, which makes it often quite impossible to say which of the two is used with a given form.

The dh-suffix which we see in forms like Gr. βoτ-ίô φλατ-ίô πλυτ-ίô has often been derived from √dhē- place, do' (Skr. dàdха-ti etc.), this being deduced from other compounds of this root, both old and new, about which there can be no doubt, as *sye-dhē- *syē-dhē- *syō-dhē- 'make one's own' in Skr. stā-dhē 'custom, wont' Gr. ε-δων 'consuetus' ε-ο-ος η-

-o, iō-θ-α, Skr. śrād-dadhāmi 'I believe, trust' Lat. crēōdō O.Ir. cretim (II § 4 p. 9, § 160.1 p. 479), Avest. yaoz-dāiti yaoz-dādaíti 'makes something right, purifies' from yaoz = Skr. yōṣ 'weal, luck, happiness'. This may indeed be the real origin of all such stems. The consonant which began the second part of the compound stem became practically the 'root-ending' in βοτσω βθθθα, very much in the same way as the p in go-p-a-ti ju-gōp-a gōp-sya-ti etc. from go-pā- gō-pā-.

Just so the suffix -d- may sometimes be the √dō-, which in addition to its meaning 'give' had other meanings like those of dhā- (Osthoff, Perf. p. 237), cp. I § 404 pp. 298 ff., on Skr. mṛdā-ti pr. Ar. *mṛz-da-ti.

The thematic stems in -o- (-dho-, -do-) were originally not the only ones which contained these additional suffixes. But although not the only stems, thematic stems were commonest of all in this connexion, and without doubt this was generally true in the original language. We shall have occasion to point this out when we find other stems parallel to those in -o-.

§ 689. Pr. Idg. -dho-.1) √vel- 'to wish, rule' (Lat. vel-le O.Ir. flaith 'lordship'): Goth. val-da 'I have power, rule', O.C.Sl. vla-daq 'I have power, rule' (for *vol-da), both for *yf-dh-, cp. Lith. val-d-ai; parallel stem Lith. vel-du 'I rule' pa-veldu I inherit' (Pruss: veldūnai pl. 'heritages'). From *sger-dh-, beside Lith. skēr-ti 'to sever, part': O.H.G. scrintu 'I burst, am shattered' by transfer to Class XVI (§ 634 p. 171), Lith. skerdžiu 'I burst, or blow up', which is derived from a form *sker-du (§ 765). From the root of Skr. yu- 'to mix, stir, disturb': Skr. yō-duḥ-ti 'gets in motion' (yuḥ-dya-tē,

1) Per Persson, in his Worselaerw., pages 35 ff., sees the determinative dh and d in many instances besides those for which they are here assumed. Some of these are words in which dh or d is taken in this book to be part of the root proper; e.g. Skr. gfdh-ya-ti, which he derives from the root of O.H.G. ger 'desiring', and Gr. υδεω Goth. mīto, which he derives from √mē- 'measure'. For a new discussion of forms with determinative d see Johansson, Idg. Forsch. II 42 ff., and 46 ff.

Two other forms, which others with less reason regard as reduplicated, will also come in here: Skr. partic. dōdati ‘shaking, violent, storming’ (dudh-iš ‘violent’) and Gr. ὑσσομαί (for *ψυ-ψo-μω) ‘I shake or stir myself’, both connected with Skr. dhā ‘to shake’.


1) Another, but hardly better explanation of jubeō may be seen in Bezenberger’s Beiträge, xvi 216 (Froehde).
O. Sax. mildi 'mild, gracious, gentle', so that it is impossible to decide whether -dh- or -d- is contained in O.Ir. meldach 'acceptus, gratus', Lith. meldžiu 'I beg', O.C.Sl. mladă 'tender'. Connected with Lat. sal sal-is: Lat. salō for *sal-dō (I § 369 p. 280), Goth. sal-ta 'I salt'. √ghey- 'pour' (Gr. χίω χε-ροθ): Lat. fundō (perf. fūdī) conjugated in Class XVI (§ 632 p. 169),1) Goth. giuta O.H.G. giugu 'I pour'. √pley- 'float, swim' (Gr. πλεῖ(f)ω): O.H.G. fliugu O.Icel. flýt 'I flow', Lith. plaudžiu 'I wash, purify' (inf. plėusti), pludžiu 'I chatter' (inf. plūsti), plūstu 'I begin to swim, get swimming' (pret. plūdau), ep. O.Ir. do-lod-sa 'ivi' 3rd sing. do-luid § 697. √sprey- (Lett. sprau-jū-s 'I rise, spring up', of seed): Mid.H.G. spriuge A.S. spræte 'I sprout' (A.S. spreōt 'stalk, shaft' O.H.G. springa 'prop, pillar' O.H.G. sproggo 'sprout'), Lith. spraudžiu 'I push forcibly into a narrow space, press' (inf. sprūstā) sprūstu 'I push my way out of a holdfast or fix, get out' (pret. sprūdau). With Lat. clās-i-s: clau-dō, compare O.Fris. slāte (for *sklāt-) 'I close' (O.H.G. slurzu is doubtless *slāzu transformed by analogy).

Following the same lines of reasoning, I derive Skr. svadda-tē Gr. ξῦλ-ραυ from *suā-de-taj 'enjoys with gusto', and Skr. svāda-ti Gr. ἡπο-ζ 'suavis' from *sy-e-de-ti (ep. Skr. mṛ-a-da-ti above); these forms are obviously akin, and I can see no other way of bringing them together.


1) For f in fundō, see Buck, Am.-Journ. Phil. xi 215 f.
a-sā-t, Lat. sē-ru-s, O.Ir. sī-r 'lasting long or for ever'; Umbr. seovom Osc. sivom 'omnino' = *se-yo-m.

§ 692. (2) -do-. Skr. kūr-da-ti, mṛ-a-da-ti, svā-da-tō su-a-da-ti, see § 690 p. 220. Skr. tar-da-ti (gramm.) 'pierces, splits, opens' (trūdā-ti), akin to tār-a-ti 'traverses'; cp. Lith. trėndu 'I am eaten of worms or moths' § 637 p. 174 and tridė 'diarrhoea' pra-trįstū 'I fall ill of diarrhoea' (pret. -trįdau). Skr. khā-da-ti 'bites to pieces, chews' beside khān-a-ti 'digs, grubs'. Skr. mṛḍā-ti 'is gracious, pardons' for *mṛṭ-ḍa-, cp. Avest. merzidika- n. 'grace, pardon', either from the root of mṛg- 'wipe off' Skr. mṛjā-ti 'wipes off, purifies of guilt', or from that of Skr. mṛṣ-ya-tē 'forgets' Lith. mīrėz-ti 'to forget' (cp. Lith. už-mirės-dinu -mirzdinu 'I cause to forget'). Skr. ṭa-tē 'honours, praises, prays to' (ṭ-i-tē) for *iṣ-ḍa-tai, either connected with yāj-a-ti 'honours, reverences, offers' partic. iṣ-ṭā-s Gr. ἱγ-τ-ο-ς 'honourable, sacred', or with Lat. ase-tumāre Goth. dis-tan weak verb 'to revere, observe, have regard for' O.H.G. čr-a 'honour'; it should be remarked that the Gothic verb may be derived from Idg. *aix-ḍ- or from Idg. *aix-t-, either one or the other. Avest. xraoḍ-da-iti 'hardens' (xruṣd-ra- 'hard') beside Gr. χρυσ-ταῖνω 'I make to freeze', in which s is itself an extension (§ 664 p. 197); perhaps from the same root, Skr. krūḍaya-ti 'makes thick' krūḍa-s 'breast, boar'. Lastly, we are doubtless right to add Skr. hēda-mana-s hīḍa-mana-s 'being angry with some one, hostile' Avest. zōišda- 'ugly, disagreeable, αλύφας'.

§ 693. 3. -dho- or -do-, uncertain which. To this place belong Avestic verbs. syaz-da-iti 'gives place, disappears', cp.

1) y in -trįstū is not original. By analogy of i-roots were formed trēdėniu 'I have diarrhoea' trōdėniu 'I excite diarrhoea'.

2) More exactly mṛḍā-ti, answering to lūḍha- for *lūḍḥā- (I § 404 pp. 298 f.). The long ū is certain from the metre; see Benfey, Vedea und Verwandte, pp. 1 ff., Oldenberg, Die Hymnen des Rig-Veda, 1 477.

3) The unextended root is not really contained in Lith. pa-žeida 'insult, wound' (cp. Žuhaty, Bezz. Beitr. XVII 327); this is against the known laws, see I § 470 p. 351 f., and Burg in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 368.
siṣṭyey-iti siṣṭyey-iti 'drives away', seems to be akin to Skr. sīṣ- 'to be over, left behind' (śīnās-ti śīṣ-aya-ti). roṣṭ-da-iti 'hurls, throws against something', perhaps connected with O.C.Sl. vich-rū 'whirlwind' Russ. vichati 'shatter, agitate'.

avasūnaḥ-da-iti 'falls asleep', from Ar. suap- 'to sleep' (I § 159 pp. 141 f.). sma-da-iti 'washes', beside Skr. smā-ti.


-α-θω = *-ο-άθω. πελ-ά-θω 'I draw near', beside πελακ-πελά-σαι. διωκ-ά-θω 'I pursue', beside διώκ-ω. ἀμφά-θω 'I ward off', beside ἀμφων. μετα-κι-ά-θω 'I go after, pursue', beside κιω 'I go'. Here perhaps should come γηθωμαι Dor. γάθωμαι (perf. γέγηθα γέγηθα) and γηθω I enjoy, am pleased', for γαφ-και, beside γαλω 'I take pleasure' for *γαφ-ων and γαφ-ρος 'proud': Lat. gaudeo for *gāvideo (I § 612 p. 462), — observe that gāvidus seems to imitate visu-s, which would show

1) Still more uncertain is Bartholomae's comparison of the word with Skr. sīṃ- in sīṃ-pātman- (Bezz. Beitr. XIII 87).
it to have been formed at some time when there was a present *gāvīdeo still in use; as regards the ending -eō, see § 801.


βαρ-νυ-ιω 'I am weighted' beside ἁβρ-νυ-ζ, cp. end of § 611.


-δο- is very common in other formations, both in verbs and nouns. We may mention further κρα-δ-ω φόρ-δ-ε İçin αυ-δο-φό-ζ § 690 p. 220. Other examples: κλα-δ-άσαι σείσαι Hesych., beside ἅπο-κλάζ κλή-φο-ζ 'lot' (a chip or piece of wood, or other substance, broken off): Lat. per-cellō for *-cel-d-o § 696. ἐ-φρά-δ-αται, φάσσετε for *φάδ-σα-ες, beside φάνω 'I sprinkle' § 621 p. 159. κε-χλίδ-ότ-α ανθρόντα Hesych., χλιδή 'softness, luxuriante, wantonness', δια-χελλοῦσες διαφέων ὑπὸ τευφῆς, from χλίω 'I am soft, effeminate'. μετ-δ-άω 'I smile' φιλο-μεινήζ, akin to Skr. smāg-α-τē: cp. Lett. smai-da 'a smile' smī-dinā-t smī-dinā-t 'to make laugh'. κλυν-ιω 'I flood' for *κλυ-ι-ω, κλέ-νων 'wave': Goth. hlā-t-r-s 'pure, clean', connected with O.Lat. clure 'purgare' and cloaca. ἐκ-φλιάζω 'I break out' (of a sore or abscess) for *φλιά-δ-ίω, beside δι-φλίνω.

§ 696. Italic. (1.) -dh- in Lat. jū-δ-ε, see § 689 p. 220, and probably gaudeō for *gāvīdeo, see § 694 p. 223.

(2.) -d- in sallō for *sail-dō, fundō fūdē, clau-dō, see § 690 p. 221. per-cellō for *-cel-dō from the same root as clād-ēs (I § 306 p. 243), and connected with Gr. κλα-δ-, κλά-, see § 695.
cā-dō, once also *cau-dō (Conway, Verner’s Law in Italy, p. 72), connected with Lith. kau-ju ‘I strike; forge, fight’ O.C.Sl. kov-ą ‘I forge’.

(3.) -dho- or -do- (doubtful). fremō beside fremō (cf. Osthoft, M. U. v 94 f.), perhaps for *fremidō. caedō, according to Holthausen, P.-B. Beitr. xi 554 f., connected with Mid.Dutch heie ‘hammering block’ heien ‘to strike, ram, stamp’ Mid.H.G. heie f. ‘mallet, wooden hammer’. Other possible forms are tendō from √ten-, see § 564 p. 111, and dō-fendō of-fendō, which may be connected with Gr. στbegin, and come from √γεθen- (is fēn-u-m ‘hay’ for *fen-sno- or *fend+sno-, meaning ‘something cut?’)


1) If -fendō should be connected with Skr. dāda- ‘compels, oppresses’, the latter must be kept distinct from Skr. vadh- Avest. vād- (Gr. ἀδειω). -fendō, which may have once been *-fandō, would then belong to Class XVI § 632. Yet another explanation is given by Fick, Wbt. 14 463, who compares O.Icel. deta ‘to fall down’. Conway, Class-Review v 297, explains tendō -fendō as being for *ten-ḳō *gheṇ-ḳō = Gr. τείνω στίνω.

Brugmann, Elements. IV.

§ 700. Balto-Slavonic. When Balto-Slavonic -do- comes from Idg. -dh-o, and when from Idg. -do-, can only be made out by help of the cognate languages.

(1.) -dh-o-. Lith. vel-du 'I rule' O.C.Sl. vla-da 'I rule, hold sway', Lith. skeržiu 'I burst' instead of earlier *sker-du, Lith. ju-du 'I move trembling' funder 'I begin to move all a-tremble', O.C.Sl. va-diti 'to meditate or reflect upon', see § 689 p. 219. Lith. giv-d-inu gér-d-inu gir-d-au 'I give to drink', pū-d-inau pū-d-au 'I cause to rot' Lett. pa-pude 'fallow land', see § 694 p. 223. With Lith. tō-stā-d-in-ti 'to give admittance to' Lett. stā-d-i-i 'to set, place, plant' stā-d-s 'a plant' we may compare Gr. στα-στός 'standing firmly' στα-στός 'standing place'. O.C.Sl. i-da 'I go' (inf. i-ti) may be closely connected with Gr. τά-συ 'course, way, step'.

(2.) -do-. Lith. plau-džiu 'I wash, purify' plu-džiu 'I chatter' plūistu 'I begin to swim' plau-d-in-ti 'I cause to be

Some of these distinctions between orig. -dh- and -d-, made by help of other languages, are naturally very little to be trusted. As -d-ina- was a very fertile suffix in both Lettic and Lithuanian, there need be no very real connexion between such endings as those of svil-dinu and Goth. svil-ta.

§ 701. (3.) In many instances it is quite impossible to distinguish between orig. -dho- and -do-.

On the doubtful points in the explanation of Lith. mel-d-šiū ‘I beg’ O.C.Sl. mla-dū ‘tender’, see § 690, p. 220.

Lith. vēr-du ‘I boil’ pret. vir-iav inf. vir-ti. mér-d-šiū and mér-d-mi ‘I lie a-dying’ (inf. mér-d-ē-ti), from mir-ti ‘to die’ (Lat. morbus for *mor-d-ho-s?). Lett. e’r/chu ‘I separate’ for *er-d-ziu (pret. e’rdu inf. e’rst), beside Lith. yr-ū ‘I separate, myself, set myself free’. Lith. skēl-du and skēl-d-šiū ‘I split, burst’ intrans. (inf. skēl-d-t-ti), skēl-d-in-ti ‘to make or cause to be split’, from skelū, i. e. *skel-jiu ‘I split’ (inf. skēl-ti).\(^1\)


From the series containing -dho- and -do- were formed a large class of Lith.-Lett. Causals and Frequentatives, ending in (Lith.) -d-inu inf. -d-inti, and in (Lith.) -d-aу inf. -d-y-ti. Many

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\(^1\) Per Persson (Wurzelerweiterung, 38) connects skēlēti with Gr. ἱλασσω, Lat. per-cellō (§ 695 p. 224). If so, its d would come from Idg. ć.
of these howe been cited already. With -d-inu compare Gr. ἔμ-άρω beside ἐ-μάρ-θε-ν (§ 694 p. 223), ἄλ-δ-άρει beside ἐ-άρ-θε-ν (§ 695 p. 224). The verbs in -d-au -d-y-ti, with frequentative meaning, often show a root syllable of the second strong grade (see § 790), as skál-dyti 'to split again and again' from skél-du 'I split myself' skél-dínú 'I cause to be split'.

To the same dental group belongs the partic. II. pres. act. in -dama-s; here the m-suffix is the same as in věša-ma-s fut. věši-ma-s etc. (II § 72 p. 166), and had the original middle meaning. Therefore the form skél-dama-s, for example, which is now attached to the verb skélů, originally belonged to skél-du skél-d-išu just as skél-dínú did.

O.C.Sl. ja-dq 'I ride, vehor' 1) beside inf. ja-ch-a-ti (§ 665 p. 198). 2) bqdq 'pio' may be derived from vheu-, by assuming *bh-y-ā-dhō *bh-y-a-dō (cp. Lat. -bām for *bh-y-ām) or *bhū-dhō *bhū-dō, which got a nasal in Class XVI (§ 637 Rem., p. 176); or even if we suppose that a present *bonq for *bhū-onō (Class XIV, § 624 p. 162) was extended by -dō or -dō (cp. Lith. kautin-šinu 'to cause to be heated' derived from kauš-inu 'I heat').

I. CLASSES XXVI TO XXXI.

PRESENT STEMS WITH -io.-

§ 702. This suffix appears in the forms -io- -je- or -ijo- -ije-. Examples of -io- are Skr. hár-ya-ti, Gr. χαλφω for *χαρ-λω, Goth. saurk-ja, Lith. spiri-šė-ju O.C.Sl. še-jaq. Of -ijo-: Skr. mr-iyá-tē Gr. ἵο-ίω, Lat. suf-pio (for *bhú-iqo) farc-iō, O.Ir. b-icw (for *bhú-icw), A.S. boó (also for *bhú-iqo). We are reminded of -no- -no- (§ 596 p. 138); and the same double forms reappear in the noun-suffix -io- (I § 117 pp. 109 ff., § 120 pp. 111 ff., II § 63 pp. 122 ff., III § 194 p. 74)

2) The derivation of Ved. yddá-mána-s yddwa-s from vā- 'go' (Grassmann, Würtb., s. v. yūd) is extremely doubtful.
which must be the same suffix as this of the verbs (compare such stems as Skr. pā-ya-ti ‘stinks’ pā-ya-m ‘ill-smelling discharge, matter’, § 487 pp. 41 f.).

Another point in common between the two suffixes is this. In some forms of the verb-system we find a weak grade, -i-, or -i-. Examples are: -i-, Lat. 2nd sing. cap-i-s 1) from cap-iō, O.H.G. 2nd sing. hev-i-s from heffu (= Goth. haf-ja), Lith. 2nd pl. tik-i-te from tik-i-ū; examples of -i-, Lat. 2nd sing. farc-i-s from farc-iō, O.C.Sl. 2nd sing. vel-i-ši from vel-jaq. 2) This -i- is not found in the present system of Aryan or Greek; and it is more than chance that these very languages have discarded the weak forms of the same sort from their declension of noun stems with -iō.

Details as to the Indicative Present will now be given.

Aryan and Greek as a rule have only -iō- and -iē- interchanged, as in the other thematic classes. E. g. Skr. hār-ya-mi hār-ya-si hār-ya-ti etc., like bhār-ā-mi bhār-ā-si bhār-ā-ti; 3) Gr. χαλεω χαλεις χαλεις etc. like φέω φέεις, and so forth.

Latin keeps only -iō- and -i-; e. g. cap-iō -i-s -i-t -i-mus -i-tis -i-u-ni, farc-iō -i-s -i-t (for -i-t); parallel to farcēs is Umbr. heris ‘vis’.

In Keltic the inflexions are not all quite clear. With -iō- we have nothing but the 1st sing. (O.Ir. -lēcniu) for certain; and -i- can be shown in one or two persons (besides the isolated forms Mod.Cymr. imper. bit bint, see § 719); thus no doubt can be felt that there once existed a series of forms with -i- : -i-. We see -i- or -i- in 2nd sing. imper. O.Ir. lec, 3rd pl. O.Cymr. scanmheqint ‘levant’ nertheint ‘they strengthen’ (= O.Ir. *nertaigti), cp. 3rd sing. istlīnniit ‘he makes known’

1) The view that cap-i-t comes from *cap-że-ti (I 125 p. 122) must be given up.

2) Goth. cauærkeis (1st sing. cauërkieja) can hardly be compared with such forms as Lat. farcēs O.C.Sl. velisí; it is formed on the analogy of fra-sar dies = Skr. vara yā-si and the like (§ 761.2).

3) Forms like Avest. īrīštīnti as contrasted with Skr. riḥ-ya-nti prove nothing for Idg. -i- in Avestic. See Bartholomae, Handb. § 95 a Anm. 1 p. 41, and § 290 p. 126.
(O.Ir. sluindid) Mid.Cymr. chwareid 'plays'. Also O.Ir. 3rd pl. -lécet may be *-int- (*-into), and the 1st pl. -lécem may be *-lmo(s); the 3rd sing. -lécí may be derived from *-i-t or *-ui-t. The 1st sing. lécí-im is a re-formate, like O.C.Sl. bimí Serv. hvalim (cp. scaraim caraim).

The same variation, -jo-:-i- (see above), is seen in Germanic. But here not only the 1st sing. and 3rd pl. have -jo-, but the 1st pl. as well (O.H.G. heffe-mès Goth. haffja-m). We should therefore assume as the protothic scheme in this branch, -jó -zi -di -ja-m -dži -ja-náši. The Gothic forms haf-ji-s haf-ji-p are in all probability instead of *haf-i-s *haf-i-p, on the analogy of hafja hafjam haffand on the one hand, and satja satjís etc. on other; this view is supported by liga ligis etc. found instead of *lig-ja *lig-i-s (cp. O.H.G. liggu ligis).¹ Thus it cannot be shown that Germanic once had the same inflexion as Aryan and Greek.

This variation is found again in Balto-Slavonic; Lith. lěž-ı̂ lěž-ia lěž-ia-me lěž-ia-te like sukú suký suká suká-me sukú-te, O.C.Sl. bor-iá bor-je-ší bor-je-tí bor-je-muí bor-je-te bor-jatú like bere-ší bere-tí bere-muí etc. Also the variation í and here Lith. has regularly -i̯ while Slavonic has regularly í; Lith. smird-šiu smird-i smird-i-me smird-i-te O.C.Sl. smřžďa smříd-i-ší smříd-i-tí smříd-i-muí smřid-i-te smřídl-čí (§ 637 Rom. p. 176).

Lastly, in Armenian -i̯ (= Idg. -i̯ or -i̯) runs through all the persons, as xaus-i-m 'loquor' -i-s -i̯ pl. -imk -i̯k -i-n.

In view of these facts it is likely that the parent speech had a twofold inflexion. Some of the jó-presents had -jo-:-i̯- analogous to the variation between -o-:-e-, and others had -jo-:-i̯-. The latter was found, if we may trust the evidence of the Balto-Slavonic group, in such jó-verbs as had an e-stem as well as a jó-stem, as O.C.Sl. mınıň mını-ti; and if this be

¹ The same levelling in late Old High German, ligiu instead of liggu following ligis, bitu instead of bittu (Goth. bidja) following bithe (cp. Goth. us-bida).
so, -io- : -i- must be assumed for Greek stems like μανθ-μαθ (aor. μανθ-μαθ), cp. §§ 708, 727. As regards the question, which persons took -io- and which took -i-, two points may be considered certain. (1) The 1st sing. had -iō or -iō, and the 3rd pl. -io-nt(i) or -iō-nt(i). (2) -i- was used with the 2nd and 3rd sing. and the 2nd pl., as also in the 2nd sing. imperative (Lat. cape for *capī, fancī, O.Ir. lēic, O.H.G. līgi). The 1st plural seems to have had -io-. Further details may be sought below.


1) I consider Lat. fiunt to represent the old inflexion, and not Osc. fīet fī[i]et. The Oscean form took the ending of verbs in -mi, as did censeset. Cp. § 1022.
As a secondary suffix -io- originally bore the chief accent, which is usually kept in Sanskrit; yā-ā-yā-ti tra-yā-tē ṣṝbhā-yā-ti (§ 734, 736); iṣ-an-yā-ti; fut. dā-s-yā-ti. Thus too the intensive Skr. dē-diś-yā-tē is a secondary form as contrasted with dē-diś-tē.

This puts in the right light the present formation of later denominatives, which generally have -io-, and that too with its original chief accent; e. g. Skr. nāmas-yā-ti arāti-yā-ti pṛtanā-yā-ti Gr. ῥελίω for *τελεσ-ιω etc. We thus see that denominatives had originally no special set of inflexions; their present system was the same as that of the Primary classes. Forms like 1st pl. Armen. jana-mē Gr. Aeol. tūμα-μεν Lat. planta-mus O.Ir. no chara-m Goth. salbō-m Lith. įšto-me were originally on the same level as Skr. drā-mas Gr. ἐ-δρα-μεν Lat. in-trā-mus; and presents like Skr. jīva-ti Lat. vivi-t O.C.Sl. žīve-ti (from jī-vā-s etc.) were the same in principle as Skr. ḍja-ti Lat. agi-t. And to these such īo-forms as Skr. pṛtanā-yā-ti dēva-yā-ti Gr. τιμαῖον φιλεῖω bore the same relation as Skr. tra-yā-tē to tra-tē (tra-sva), dēdiś-yā-tē to dēdiś-tē etc.

§ 704. So involved and so intricate are these questions, that it is practically impossible to present the history of the verbal ḱo-suffix in such a way that it shall be clear in every point, and all the needs of the student be met at once. Such an attempt would make it necessary to treat the same material again and again from different sides; and for this we have not the space. Be it then expressly understood that the classification here given has been made with a view to giving a general grip of the subject; and many important principles have not been made so prominent as might be wished.

We classify Prēsēnt Stems + secondary suffix -io- (§ 703) according to the original stems; and we count as separate Present Classes (viz. nos. XXVII to XXX) those in which the īo-suffix, together with the particular kind of stem it may be attached to, has become a type for forms of some particular
kind. This is not the case with the -io- extension of present stems in -sko-, -to-, or -dho- -do-; wherefore the said stems are only mentioned in an excursus (§§ 762 ff.).

Class XXVI.

Root + -io- -iio- forming the Present Stem.

§ 705. This Class falls into two divisions, in one of which the root-syllable, and in the other the thematic vowel carries the word accent. The root-syllable when accented has a strong grade of vowel (1st strong grade in the e-series), when unaccented is weak. (A) Accent on Root-Syllable: *ghér-jo- (Skr. hár-ya-ti Umbr. fut. heriest); (B) Accent on Thematic Vowel: *ghy-jo- (Gr. χαίρω). Further examples of (A) are Skr. tán-ya-ti = Gr. σεέλω, πάκ-ya-tē, mdd-ya-ti (also Goth. hafija O.H.G. heifun 'I lift' pr. Germ. *χάφ-jo = Lat. capiō?); and of (B), Skr. mr-iyā-tē ḍrā-ya-tē tud-ya-tē b-yā-ti (on the obliteration of this orig. difference of accent in Sanskrit, see § 710). A similar double series is seen in Class II, as Skr. kårś-ati and kṛś-ā-ti, and in Class XIII, as O.H.G. willu and wallu (§ 513 pp. 78 f., § 607 p. 148).

§ 706. Proethnic Idg. -- Type A., *ghér-jo-.

√ghēr-: Skr. hár-ya-ti 'takes pleasure in, desires', Umbr. heris 'vis' heriest fut. 'volet' Osc. heriiad 'velit' (like fakiiad 'faciat'); cp. Gr. χαίρω 'I rejoice', type B. √yer- 'hide, cover': Lat. op-(e)eriō ap-(e)eriō (v dropt after the labial as in pius for *pu-ειο-s, suf-fio -bō -bam, see I § 170 pp. 149 f.),1) Lith. uš-veriu 'I close, shut' at-veriu 'I open' (cp. Osc. veru 'portam' Umbr. verof-e 'in portam' and Lith. var-tai pl. 'door'). √sten-ten-: Gr. σεέλω (beside σείω) 'I groan' Ael. revvei σέννει, βούνευρα Hesych., Ὀ.C.Sl. sten-ja 'I groan, lament' (inf. stenta-ći); the Skr. tán-ya-ti 'groans, roars' (cp. stānayitnū- beside tanayitnū- 'roaring, thundering') may come from *sten-jo- or

1) Another but less probable derivation of these Latin verbs is given in vol. I § 499 p. 336.
*ty-jo-. √ yerē- 'work': Gr. ἔργον for *fery-jo- (the Author, Gr. Gr.² § 59 p. 71), O.H.G. wirik-(i)u; parallel stem Idg. *yṛg-yo-, see § 707. √ leyy- 'lucere': Gr. λευκός 'I see' for *λευκω-, Lith. ĭuk-ii 'I wait, wait for'. √ reg- 'colour, dye': Skr. raj-ya-ti 'grows coloured, reddens'. Gr. βέλος 'I colour' for *phγ-yo-. √ gheuhl-: Avest. jaiâyiti 'prays' O.Pers. jatiyāniyi 'I pray', Gr. παῦσασθώ 'aiteiν, iereiν (Hesych.) for ἔπιξε (I § 429 b p. 317). √ pēq- 'cook': Skr. pāc-yā-tē intr. 'cooks, ripens' pass. pacc-yā-tē (see § 710), Gr. πιτσό 'I cook, soften' for *pēk-yo-. √ spek- 'spy, see': Skr. pās-ya-ti Avest. spasa-yē-iti, Lat. spec-iō cōn-spiciō. √ jāq- 'honour': Avest. pass. part. yezimna- (= Skr. *yajyaman-), Gr. mid. αἰσθάω for *āγ-yo-; cp. Skr. pass. ij-ya-tē, type B. √ plaq-: Gr. πλήζω 'I strike, smite', O.C.Sl. plačq 'I cry, lament' for *plāk-ju. Gr. xreũq 'I am' for *xroγ-yo-, Lat. crāc-iō, Lith. krokk-ii 'rattle in the throat, grunt' Lett. krasu 'I sneeze, croak, groan' (for *krāk-ju.1) √ spē- (spō-, Lat. spatio-m): Skr. spā-yā-tē 'grows, increases' (not actually found), Lith. spē-ju 'I have leisure, room, space' O.C.Sl. spē-jaq 'I have successful issue'. √ sē- (se-, Lat. sa-tu-s): Goth. saia O.H.G. sau 'I sow' pr. Germ. *sē-iō (I § 142 p. 126), Lith. sē-ju O.C.Sl. sē-jaq 'I sow'. √ dō- (do-, Lat. du-tu-s) 'give': Skr. mid, a-daya-māna-s, O.C.Sl. da-jaq; variant stem Skr. pass. dē-yā-tē, type B. √ stā- (stō-, Lat. sta-tiō) 'stare': Avest. ā-stāyā 'I place myself' O.Pers. niy-astāya 'he commanded', Lat. stō for *stā-iō Umbr. stahu 'sto', O.Ir. -tōu-tō 'I am' 2nd sing. -tai, Lith. stō-jā-s 'I place myself, take my place' O.C.Sl. sta-jaq 'I place myself'; following type B we have the parallel stems Skr. pass. sthā-ya-tē, O.C.Sl. sta-jaq 'I stand', and probably O.H.G. stēt (§ 708); cp. § 505 p. 71, § 584 Rem. p. 126. √ bha- (bhō-, Gr. ἵκεμι) 'cause to appear, make public, make known': Lat. for for *fā-(i)ō-r, Lith. bō-ju 'I ask after, consider' O.C.Sl. ba-jaq 'fabulor'; still, these verbs may he derived from *bhā-jo

1) Why, Idg. ā in Lith.-Lett. becomes sometimes ā and sometimes ė (Lith. ā) is unknown
(cp. Skr. pass. bhū-ya-tē; not found in our texts), and their structure be the same as *tr-a-jō (§ 735); compare § 495 p. 55.

§ 707. Type B: *ṛgh-jō.

$\sqrt{mer}$: 'die' *mr-iō- and *my-iō-: Skr. mr-iyā-tē Avest. mer-yē-iti, Lat. mor-ior (I § 120 p. 112), cp. below *bhū-iō-*bhū-jō-. $\sqrt{der}$: 'tear, flay: Skr. dīr-yā-tē for *dy-je-, Lith. lir-iū; type A, Gr. δεικω Lesb. δηκω. $\sqrt{sper}$: Gr. σηκω 'I pant, struggle', Lith. spir-iū 'I strike with my foot, kick'. $\sqrt{sgel}$: Gr. σκάλλω 'I scrape, hack' for *σαλ-ιω, Lith. skilū (for *skil-iū) 'I strike a light, kindle'. $\sqrt{men}$: 'think of, meditate': Gr. μενωμαι 'I am wild, enraged, mad', O.Ir. do muinir 'I think or believe' (for *mēn-jo- *my-jo-), O.C_sl. mēn-ja 'I think'; to either (A) or (B) may belong Skr. mān-ya-tē 'thinks' Avest. 1st sing. mān-ya O.Pers. 2nd sing. conj. maniyāh (I § 125 p. 116). $\sqrt{ghan}$: Skr. han-yā-tē 'is struck' instead of *ghan-yā-tē (I § 454 Rem. p. 335), O.C_sl. ūn-ja 'I cut off, reap'; of type A from this root we have Gr. ἀλω. $\sqrt{gem}$: 'go': Skr. -gam-yā-tē, Gr. σαλω, Lat. ven-iō (I § 204 p. 170, § 208 p. 174); veniō might also if we wished be classed as an example of type A. $\sqrt{bhēv}$: 'become, be' *bhū-iō- and *bhū-jō- (so above we had *mr-iō- and *my-iō-): Gr. *q(ē)-iō implied by qā-rr (§ 713), Lat. fīō instead of *f(ē)-iō with i following fis etc. (§ 717), O.Ir. b-iu, A.S. b-eō (cp. § 722),) Skr. pass. -bhū-ya-tē, Gr. Lesb. qēwō (on Ion. Att. qēw qēw see § 523 p. 87, § 527 Rem. 2 pp. 90 f.); from the same root come Lat. fē-liu-s and Alban. bin 'I bud' (see G. Meyer, Alban. Stud. iii 33, who however, as I think wrongly, assumes bhē- as a variant 'root' as well as bhū-). $\sqrt{dheu}$: 'shake, stir

1) A different explanation of these verbs is given by Bartholomae, Stud. idg. Spr., II 189 ff., where we see *bhū-iō *bhū-iēi *bhēi 3rd pl. *bhutiōnti given as the prothetic forms. This does not agree either with the i of A.S. and O.H.G. biē (§ 722), nor with the i of Lith. bi-tē -bi-me etc. (§ 727); obviously the relation of Lith. -bi-me and O.C_sl. bi-mū is the same as that of sūr-dī-me and sūr-dī-mū.

Gr. κασσων 'I patch' for *xατ-σξύ-λω, Goth. sīu-ja 'I sew', Lott. schu-ja O.C.Sl. sijq for *sig-ja 'I sew' (I § 60 p. 47, § 131 p. 118, § 143 p. 128, § 147 p. 132), Skr. stū-ya-ti 'sews' (part. syū-tā-s). Gr. πηθω 'I spit, spew' for *(ε)πηθο-jo (I § 131 p. 119), O.Icel. spyg 'I spit, spew' (inf. spyg-ja) for *spa-jo, Skr. śtīv-ya-ti 'spits, spews', not actually found (partic. śhyā-tā-s), instead of *sthīv-ya-ti (ś came from forms like tiṣṭhēva abhi-śhyā-ta-s, and then spread all over the verb; Bartholomae,

Ar. Forsch. iii 34); 1) of type A, Lith. spidau-ju O.C.Sl. plju-ja (I § 147 p. 192); Goth. speiva is either for *spīyo parallel to Skr. ṣṭhīv-a-ti, or for *spīyo-ā parallel to Lith. spidau-ju (so Streitberg, Idg. Forsch. i 513 f.).

Remark. On these roots with the variants ī and ē, see Bartholomae loc. cit., Kretschmer in Kuhn's Ztschr. xxxi 386, Per Persson’s Wurzelerweiterung 154 ff. As regards the variants *ṣiu-į and *sū-į, *spiu-į and *spī-yō, it seems most likely that the ending -į is due to the analogy of those forms where -į preceded some sonant; to take an example, Skr. ṣṭhiya-ti being modelled after the fashion of ṣṭhīvita-ā, and sthīya-ti following sīvayu-ti sūrana-m; so also dīya-ti (beside dyā-tā-s) follows -deian- divana-m etc. (Op. Osthoft, M. U. iv 817); vice versa, Lith. sūs-ū instead of *sū-į is due to the analogy of sū-ti etc.


With some roots ending in a vowel, the ī of the present stem, being regarded as the root-final, was allowed to spread through other tenses. Side by side with Skr. d-yā-ti ‘divides’ (fut. dā-sya-ti etc.) is the bye-form dā-ya-tē, i. e. *dē-je-(I § 109 a. p. 101), whence by analogy dayi-tā-s daya-ya-ti; so too we notice cha-ya-ti chari-twā chāy-a-ta beside ch-yā-ti ‘cuts up’ (partic. chā-ta-s). The pr. Greek form which answered to dā-ya-tē, to wit, *δα-ιω, regarded as made up thus *δα-ιω, served as the starting point for δα-ω δα-ιω-ς δα-ιω-μι, and from these again we get δα-ιω-μι, which became associated in

1) Why Sanskrit has -t-., and not -p- like the rest, is unknown. This may be one of those pairs of doublets, such as Skr. akramah- and stāmbh- ‘support’, which cannot be regularly derived from a single original form.
one group with Ἰἀσωμῖνα δᾶσσωνται. ἰα-λα-μαυ may be compared
with the Lith. gu-i-jū 'I hunt': from gu-jū (gujaič) = Lett.
gu-ju (bye-forms Lantt. gû-nû Lith. gînu-nū, § 615 p. 153)
sprung gul-siu gul-ti; from these again come the presents
gui-jū and gui-nū. Similarly we find Lith. part. pret. sēj-gs
jój-gs from sē-ju jō-ju (sējau jōjau). The principle here
exemplified throws light on such forms as Skr. dhē-nū-š
'milking' beside Skr. dhā-yā-tī O.H.G. tau. Compare Per
Persson's further remarks on this matter, Wurzelweiterung
pp. 115 ff.

Pairs of forms like Skr. ḍ-ya-tī : ḍā-yā-tē recall the two.
forms of the ḍ-ə-optative, seen for example in Idg. *dh-iē-t and
*dhē-iē-t, § 939.

§ 708. A special class of verbs comprises those which
have -ē- as parallel suffix to -iō-. Sometimes the -ē-
is found
only outside the present stem; sometimes both -ē- and -iō-
are found in the present, in which case -ē-iō- occasionally takes
the place of -ē-. The -iō- in Balto-Slavonic has regularly the
ablaut -i-; and I have already conjectured (§ 702 p. 230) that
this ablaut is proethnic in this very class.

-iō- in the present with -ē- outside the present stem is
seen in Greek and Balto-Slavonic. Take as examples: Gr.
μανομαι, ἐ-μαν-ν μεμαν-ώς μεμαν-μαι μαν-σωμαι, O.C.Sl.
imija, mīnē mîn-ē-vi mînē-chi, (Lith. mînė mîn-ē-siu, on the
pres. menû see below). xalēw, ἐ-χάρ-ν κεχαρ-ώς κεχαρ-σω.
xalū (*xaf-μα) ἐ-χάρ-ν. Lith. smirđsiu smirdé-ti O.C.Sl. smyršdą
smirđé-ti 'to stink'. In Slavonic, beside govijja govij-ti 'venerari,
vereri' (: Lat. favēre) we see also govēja, a later re-formate.

In Germanic we have the much discussed class of which
one is Gothic haban 'to have' (the 3rd Weak Conjugation).1)

Besides these, we find in Germanic other forms which an impartial critic cannot but regard as forms of our Class II; such, for example, are Goth. 1st sing. *haba* 1st pl. *habam* 3rd pl. *habana*, O.H.G. *habu A.S. hafu.*۱ It is true that the West-Germanic forms could easily be explained as due to the analogy of other verbal forms; but the Gothic ones are incomprehensible if so regarded.۲ Now in Balto-Slavonic and Greek, forms of Class II are found associated with é-forms, as Lith. *menu mineti* as contrasted with O.C.Sl. *minju mineti*, O.C.Sl. part. *vidomi* beside *vidimi* from *videti*, Gr. *εδέλινον* *εδηνω* (§ 727) — compare Umbr. *neirhabas* ‘ne adhibeant’ beside habe ‘habet’ habetu ‘habeto’. Another explanation is therefore possible, and to my mind more likely to be true. It is possible that in Germanic as well, some of the verbs in question had this form of the present stem, and that this o-type was made the rule for all verbs in Gothic. In that case, the relation of Goth. *haba* (O.H.G. *habu*) and O.Sax

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1) The 2nd and 3rd sing. O.H.G. *hebis hebit* may be examples either of é-flexion or of *jo*-flexion. It is quite certain that *hebita* and *ge-hebit* are the latter.

2) O.H.G. *habu A.S. hafu* may be instead of (O.Sax.) *hebbi*, as O.H.G. *ligu* instead of *lig(i)u* following *ligis* etc. On the other hand, we have no right at all to put Goth. *haba* on the same level as *liga* instead of *ligja* following *ligis* etc.
hebbiu might be compared with O.C.Sl. vidomů and vidimů, or with Lith. 3rd sing. smirda and smirdi. There is yet another possibility. With Streitberg, we may derive hab-and from *-endi,1) and assume that haba habam were formed on the analogy of baira bairam: bairand. There is nothing at all to be said for Hirt’s conjecture that 1st sing. haba comes from *-ē-m, with secondary personal ending.

That pr. Germanic also knew the inflexion with -ē-+ -io- seems to follow from O.H.G. rēřem ‘I bellow, bleat, roar’; this word is akin to Lith. ré-ju, and points to pr. Germ. *rai-rē-į (§ 741). Compare further § 548 p. 105, on Goth. rei-ra ‘I tremble, quake’ 2nd sing. rei-rāi-s, which is connected with Skr. lē-lāy-a-ti.

In this group falls also O.H.G. stēm stām ‘I stand’, which varies between ā and ē in all its persons. This must be due to an original series in which some persons had only ē and others only ā. ā comes from pr. Germ. ā, but ē, as the A.S. and O.Fris. ā shows, comes from pr. Germ. ai. The verb is intimately connected with O.C.Sl. stojq stojqa-ti (for *stojē-ti), in whose present stem stoji- (2nd sing. stoji-ši etc.) = Idg. stoj-i-, the i is as regular as in ladi-ji Lith. mō-ji-s and the like (vol. II p. 122 footnote 2); compare Skr. pass. sthī-ya-tē instead of *sthā-ya-tē (§ 707 p. 237, § 709). The *stojē- of the infinitive stem cannot be original, because this suffix -ē- which we are now treating was added to the Root (in its weak grade), not to the present stem. *stojē- is then doubtless a contamination of *st-ē- and *sto-jī- (similarly la-jā la-ja-ti ‘to bark, give tongue’ as contrasted with orig. Lith. lō-ju lō-ti, and Gr. καιροσ ἡκαῖρος as contrasted with καιρω, instead of *χαρ-ιο, ἐχαίρη, χαρησιμμει, and κχαρημμαι). The two stems, *sto-jo- and *st-ē-, are combined in the West Germanic present scheme, which before levelling ran something like stām stēs stēt stāmēs stēt stānt (see BREMER, as cited, p. 43), i. e. *st-ē-mi

1) In view of ēnd-ē for *mię-ṇto-ę, Streitberg assumes that ē becomes a only in syllables not bearing the chief accent (p. 18).
\[\text{§ 708. Present Stem: Class XXVI — Skr. hár-ya-ti dṛ-ya-te.} \]

*sta-ji-zi etc. stam stamēs stant run parallel to habēm habēmēs habēnt, and stēs stēt to hevis hevit (1st sing. heffu).

The verb gām gēm 'I go' is the exact counterpart of stam stēm in every respect. As to the origin of this verb many different theories have been set forth. If our explanation of stam stēm is right, it is advisable to link gām gēm with Skr. ja-hā-ti 'deserts, gives up' pl. ja-hi-mas aor. a-hā-t, ji-hi-tē 'goes, yields', in which case we must assume the stems *gho-jo- *gho-ji- and *gho-ē-. The latter stem reappears in Gr. xi-χ-η-μ xi-χ-η-μω, if this verb belongs to the same root (§ 594 p. 135).

In Latin, the whole present scheme has ē-, and the 1st sing., but this person only, has -ī- in addition: videō for *-ē-jo-, 2nd sing. videōs etc.: Lith. pa-vydėiu -vydē-ti Goth. vita vitāi-þ. Compare further rubeō: O.C.Sl. rūžda rūzē-ti, and valeō: Lith. galū galēti, and so forth, § 590 p. 132. Italic likewise had at one time forms with -ī- (and without -ē-) in this group of verbs; this we see from Osc. stāt 'stat' stahint 'stant' Umbr. stahitu 'stato'. These imply a stem *sta-ē-'), which must be regarded as for *sta-ē- and compared with O.C.Sl. sta-ja-ti; that is, it is a contamination of *sta-jo- and *st-ē-. Again, the c of licet beside linquō may perhaps justify our assuming an earlier *liciō for *licu-jo- (Skr. ricya-tē Gr. λισσωμερ'); see p. 129 footnote. The o-present Umbr. -habas 'habeas' beside habē 'habet' has been spoken of already (pages 239 f.).

What conclusion is to be drawn from a comparison of the Greek and Balto-Slavonic with Germanic and Italic? It is natural to suppose that the two former divide -īo- and -ē- amongst their forms more nearly as the original language did: and that the latter came to have ē-forms in their present on account of their final confusion of Imperfect-Present with Aorist-Present, and the loss of the augmented preterite as an independent tense. Lat. videōs videō-tis may be called injunctive.

1) For the proof that Osc. ē must be orig. ē, and not orig. i, I have to thank my pupil G. Bronisch.
and compared immediately with Lith. minė mini-te Gr. (i)μαρρή; (i)μάρει-ς, the imperative vidē may be compared immediately with minē-k, which stood to mine just as dū-k to Skr. á-dā-t; and the only difference between O.H.G. habēm habēs etc., or Lat. videt vident, and these Lithuanian and Greek preterites is that they have the primary personal endings. Compare too Lat. tagit beside tangit, and others of the kind (§ 583 p. 125); compare too dat with preterite sense (Veg. Acn. 1 79, ix 266, xi 172) like -bat (§ 505 p. 71 with footnote 2). His state of things was partly due to the analogy of e-verbs with non-syllabic root; these carried the e-suffix right through the verb; for example, Lat. -ploē for *pl-e-iē -ploēs (Skr. prā-si ā-prā-t Gr. πλῆ-το), Goth. vaiai for *u-e-iō (O.C.Sl. vē-jā. Skr. rā-ti Gr. ἀν-μ). If in these the present and preterite both had originally e, the connexion of the two would be very close when the preterite ceased to form a distinct category; it would then be quite natural for e-verbs with syllabic root to run the e right through the present, and, given Lat. vidērem (ep. O.C.Sl. vidēchū Lith. pa-vidēšiu Gr. Dor. idrēwō, § 813) and Lat. vidē-bam vidē-bō, to form a present videō vidēs etc. on the analogy of -ploē beside -plērem plē-bam -bō; or suppose we say, quite natural for existing injunctive forms such as vidēs vidētis to be treated as if they were the same in character as -ploēs -plētis, and used for the present, soon to be followed up by videō videt etc. which filled the gaps in the system. This levelling and filling up of the gaps was completed in Latin by the beginning of the historical period; but in Germanic it never was completed at all. In Germanic all monosyllabic e-stems, except two which crystallised, were absorbed by the iōe-conjugation (§ 592); so the action of this principle can be clearly seen only with forms which contain -e- + -iō-, as Goth. vitāis vitāip. The reason why Gothic chose to replace *vaitaio *vitiāam *vitiand by vita vitam vitan d to complete the tense lay in the number of syllables in these words.

Thus O.Sax. libbiu libda is a verb like Goth. vatrjia
vaúrtha (§ 722). The reason why we find in parallel use O.H.G. lebēt and Goth. libáþ etc. is simply that in these languages there once was a non-present stem *lip-e-, but no such e-stem was ever connected with vaúrkjan.

We need not be surprised that it was jo-stems that became joined with e-stems in one verbal system. Both these suffixes have at all periods been used by preference in making forms with intransitive meaning. Observe how jo is so used in the Aryan ya-passive (§ 710), and e in the Greek aorist passive with η (§ 589 p. 130).

Lastly, I must foreguard against a misconception. In contrasting jo as a present suffix with e in non-present stems, I must not be understood to mean that all non-present forms originally had -e-. We have in Greek κάτωμαι κατώ- beside καύω: ἡμέραν καθόμαι, μακρόμαι μέρηνa beside μαίνωμαι: ἡμέραν μεμάνται; so in Latin, vidi visu-s beside videò, habui habitu-s beside habeo, in Germanic pret. O.Sax. habda O.H.G. hapta O.Icel. hafða partic. hafdr beside O.Sax. hebbiu: O.H.G. habēm etc. How this e managed to spread in non-present stems (as καθόμαι beside καύω, μεμάντως beside μεμέρη, O.H.G. habēta beside hapta), is a question which need not concern us here.

Remark. In § 583, page 125, we assumed an e-aorist beside the e-aorist, and explained -e- in Lat. occupāre on the same principle as -e- in vidēre. It is particularly easy to see resemblance between vidēre and arāre. arē arās, arārem: O.CSl. arēq orāchū = videō vidēs, vidērem: O.CSl. vidēg videchū.

-ye-iti 'goes, gets somewhere' √ ped-. Skr. mādd-ya-ti 'enjoys itself, carouses' beside 2nd sing. māt-si Class I.


Passive. Skr. kṛ-iyā-tē Avest. ker*-ye-tē 'is made'. Skr. str-iyā-tē stīr-ya-tē 'sternitur', Avest. stry-a-mna- i. e. strīya-mna-. Skr. str-ya-tē 'is broken to pieces', O.Pers. asariyata 'was killed', common ground-form *kṛ-je-. Skr. bhr-iyā-tē Avest. bairyētē 'fertur', the Avestic form being for *bhṛ-je-. Skr. yam-ya-tē 'is held or inclined'. Skr. ṣrā-ya-tē 'is heard', Avest. sru-ye-tē 'is heard, heard of': cp. O.C.Sl. po-slu-ja, type A. Skr. ni-ya-tē 'is led, brought'. Skr. dyō-ya-tē 'is seen'. Skr. ṣas-ya-tē 'is praised', O.Pers. 1st pl. pāh-ya-mahy 'we are mentioned', √ kens-. Skr. yuj-ya-tē 'is yoked or harnessed'. uc-ya-tē 'is spoken', √ yeq-. bhid-ya-tē 'is split' (bhid-ya-tē 'splits, goes in two'). idh-ya-tē 'is kindled', √ ajih-. aṣ/j-ya-tē 'is anointed' from -aṇj-. Avest. da-ya-tē 'is set, placed' ground-form *dha-je-taī, √ dhē-; Skr. dhī-ya-tē like sthī-ya-tē (§ 707 p. 237) with the determinative -tē.
§ 710. A general rule, passive forms in Sanskrit accent
-jo-, and non-passive forms the root. But this difference in
accent had originally nothing to do with active or passive. It
depended upon the grade of the root, strong or weak as the
case might be. A few forms which are not passive still accent
the suffix, as ś-yá-ti mr-iyá-tē, which is a relic of the former
state of things. The retraction of accent in dhá-ya-ti (earlier
*dhó-jé-ti) dá-ya-tē (instead of *do-jé-taś, § 707 p. 237) grdh-
-ya-ti ric-ya-tē etc., which seems proved for protoethnic Aryan
by the evidence of Avest. pešyênti, § 709 (I § 260 pp. 212 f.),
may be compared with the retraction in dáś-ya-ti gir-a-ti
hi-nva-ti gá-cha-ti and the like (§ 516 p. 82).

The reason why the Middle of this particular present class
became a Passive system in Aryan, is that the greater number
of the verbs in it were intransitive; so in Greek a passive
system grew out of an intransitive, I mean the passive aorist
in -ην, § 589 pp. 129 f. But not all the forms of the group
can be called passive. To mr-iyá-tē 'dies', for instance, the
term cannot be applied; nor can it to all aorists in -ην,
ζέγγη 'flowed' for example.

So constant a mark of the passive did an accentuated -yá-
become, that the intransitive pác-ya-tē ric-ya-tē were turned
into passives by accenting them pác-yá-tē ric-yá-tē, and the
language even tolerated smar-yá-tē, despite its strong root
(ep. hár-ya-ti).

In Sanskrit, as in the two Iranian languages, passive forms
occur with active personal endings, as well as middle; e. g.
Skr. epic dr ś-ya-ti 'is seen' (Holtzmann, Gramm. aus dem
MBh., 25 f.), Avest. xwar-ye-iti 'is eaten'. It is impossible to
understand the forms till we know their accentuation.

Remark. It is sometimes said that the intr. active dáhyati 'burns
up' as compared with the pass. dáhyàś 'is burnt', since both practically
mean the same thing, was the origin of the active forms with passive
meaning, dr̥hyati and the like. This we could only venture to say if we
knew for certain that the word was accented dr̥hyati.
§ 711. Armenian. Verbs in -im, which originally had middle or passive meaning: xaustim 'loquor', erewim 'I appear'. This i-suffix was put to the same use as -ya- in Sanskrit, for making the passive conjugation. Each active verb in -em became middle or passive by the simple change of e to i. This often resulted in i being added to stems which had already some other present sign: e. g. arni-m 'I am made, I become' from ar-ne-m 'I make'. The endings -anim and -anem are used side by side, as in Greek -aino beside -anw; thus mer-anii-m 'I die' (aor. mer-ay) like Gr. μαραίνω 'I wear away, destroy'.


Remark. πειώ χείο and the like, found in the text of Homer and Hesiod (Curtius, Verb 1: 304 f.), can be explained *πειξ-ω (Lith. pšiu-ju) and so forth. But there is practically no objection to regarding them, as many scholars do, as corruptions for Aeolic forms of Class II, πείω = *πειξ-ω.

§ 713. Type B. χαλω, οπαλω, σκάλλω, μαλλομαι, βαίνω, θάνω, τίλω, φαλω, ἔβαλω 'I do', φράζω, λύσσομαι, σγείω, πηρυτείς, κασοῦν, πτίλω, δείω, σαίω 'I divide', see §§ 706 f. p. 233 f. φθαλω, αἰρω, κταίνω, see § 712. βάλλω 'I throw' for *βαλ-κω *gl-ίσ, υγείω 'I kill' probably for *καμ-κω, compare κμόντες 'the dead' (then ἵκανον got ν from the present): Skr.
śām-ya-tī 'becomes still, is extinguished' for *kṛñ-je-tī (kāntv differently explained by Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 428, 432; Fick, i 43). ἐντός 'I make shy', cp. Lat. con-
stér-nā-re, σῶρο 'I drag' cp. σαῖρο 'I sweep' (with ἐ), σῶλλω 'I tear to pieces, towse, worry' cp. Lith. skelū (*skel-į) 'I split'; the ν of this form needs explanation. ἐνό 'I beseech, fly, fear' doubtless for *δύ-κω: Skr. dī-ya-tī 'flies'; of type A, Lett. déi-jū 'I dance' (inf. dé-t̄); the forms déir déir and such like were associated with ἀτε ἐταί, and this caused the formation of ἅρ-δισκαρ δίσκαι and others by analogy of the parts of ἕνει. φράσσω 'I enclose' for *φρακ-κω: Lat. farc-iō with ar = r, connected with frequ-ēns. μάςω 'I press, knead' ground-form *mēq-iō √meng-, cp. the forms, belonging to Class XXXII, O.C.Sl. meća (2nd sing. meći-ši) 'I soften' (inf. meći-tī) Lith. minkau 'I knead' inf. minkty-ti). σακίω 'I limp' ground-form *sakq-q-jō, akin to Skr. khāñj-a-tī 'limps'. νίζω 'I wash' ground-
form *nig-jō: Skr. pass. nīj-ya-tē. στίζω 'I prick, pierce' for
*stig-λω: O.H.G. stich(ō)u 'I stitch' (§ 722). λύσσω 'I pray
for λυτ-λο-μαί, cp. λυτ-λ-σθαί, Class II B. κελίω 'I scratch,
prick, stir up' for *kvel-λω, beside O.Icel. knút 'I knock against,
hurt with a knock' Class II A. ὅρν-σω 'I dig' for *hron-λω: Lith. rauk-iū 'I wrinkle', (A). ἀπο-μάντω 'I blow my nose' for
*μαν-λω: Skr. pass. munc-ya-tē 'is set free'; Lith. maulk-iū 'I
scratch slightly, touch softly', type A.

The theory that διω 'I swell', for *dī-λω, does not belong to type A; is doubtful, in spite of an appeal to
Lith. dūd-šiū 'I smell'; it is also uncertain to which section belongs ὀσσομαί 'I see', for *oq-jo- (cp. I § 319 p. 258). It is
risky to connect ὀσσομαί with Goth. ah-ja 'I believe, surmise'.

Forms with Idg. -iō-. ἰδ-λω 'I sweat' is usually connected
directly with Skr. svīd-ya-tī O.H.G. swižzu. If that is so, ἰδ-λίω is due to the analogy of denominatives in -iō- and
idō (Aristoph.) is a reformate like xonīo (§ 775). idā-λω be-
side ἵθα 'case' for *ed + dhō, cp. § 694 p. 223, § 765. A form *qīo = Idg. *bhy-iō follows from qū-rv 'sprout, shoot,
scion' qū-rv-g 'begetter', which must have been derived from it
as though the verbal stem were φ- (§ 707 p. 235); a similar origin must be supposed for Lat. *fī-tu-*m cupī-tu-s and others (§§ 715 ff.).

§ 714. The identity of ending in ὑφαίω ὑφαίξα (ὑφαί- 'slay') and forms like φραίξω ὑφραίξα (ὑφραί- 'enclose') produced ὑφάττω as a bye-form to ὑφαίξω, by analogy with φραίτω. *Vice versa* we have βραίξω in late Greek instead of βράττω (βραί- 'seethe, bluster, roar') by analogy of such words as φραίξω (φραί- 'give to understand'), because almost all the forms of verbs in *-r-, -θ-, and -ἄ- are alike except in the present stem, ἐφρασά(α) like ἐφρασά(α), and so forth. See Mucke, De Consonarum in Greca lingua geminatione, 1 (1883) pp. 17 ff.; Ostroff, Perfect 296 ff. and 322 f.

As regards the relation of μανόμαι to ἱμάνγη μεμάνημαι μεμάνημα, or of χαίρω to ἵχαρην κεχαρίς κεχαρίσω, see § 708 pp. 238 ff.

§ 715. Italic. In Latin, post-consonantal -iō became -io, just as *mediu-s became mediu-s (I § 135 p. 122); thus morior for *morīō(r) *myō. In Oscan, -iō- is seen in heriiad 'velit', and other words.

Lat. in-ciēns for *-cu-je- (as sociu-s for *socy-jo-s, vol. I loc. cit.) beside qu-eō = Skr. śv-āyāmi (§ 790). So also farciō for *farci-jo beside frequēns.

Why we have now -i- and now -i-, as in cap-i-s farc-i-s, no rule has so far been discovered to show. Often enough the same verb has both quantities, as mortī-mur and mortī-mur; so that we find in Latin both the peculiarities which we saw divided between Baltic and Slavonic (Lith. smirdi-me O.CSl. smirk-i-mi). In Umbrian and Oscan all the recorded forms have -i-—doubtless an accident: Umbr. heris herēitu heritu beside heriest 'volet' op. Skr. hār-ya-ti, an-ovihimu 'induimino' (ihi = i) beside Lith. avii 'I wear something on my feet' (1st pl. āvi-ume).

As the present stems of which Lat. farciō is one were inflected just like denominatives in -i-jo- (§ 777), it cannot be
wondered that the analogy of these denominatives caused non-present forms with -i- to be coined, such as farci-tus beside farci-s from farci-o; cp. § 713 on Gr. ἐξ-ιοῦ and qē-tu.

In the lists which follow below, i or ū is added in brackets to show the quantity of the weak-grade vowel in the 2nd singular etc.; and it is stated whether ū is ever found outside the present stem.


To the same group must belong Lat. nōlī nōlste, from a lost verb *velīo; cp. O.C.Sl. velja velē-ti 'to command', O.H.G. 1st sing. willu 'I wish' Goth. viljan viljands, see § 505 p. 69.

stō (Idg. *sta-jō) came under the influence of presents like in-tro for *-tr-a-iō; hence stās etc. See § 584 Rem. p. 126. A similar explanation may be given of for ēatur, see § 495 p. 56 and § 706 p. 234.

§ 717. Type B. Lat. mor-ior (ɪ or ū, mor-tu-o-s mori-tūru-s), Avest. mer*-ye-iti, see § 707 p. 235. or-ior (ɪ or ū, or-tu-o-s orī-tūrus), ground-form *r-jo-, akin to Skr. r-ud-mi § 639 p. 177. par-iō (ɪ, pepērī par-tu-o-s pari-tūru-s, partaret) for *pēr-iō (I § 306 p. 242), re-periō 'I bring to light again, find'
§ 718. It is often doubtful to which type (A) or (B), a word belongs. ven-iô (i, vēn in-ventu-s), beside Skr. -gam-
yā-tē etc., see § 707 p. 235. cap-iô (i, cēpī cap-tu-s): Goth. haf-ja O.H.G. heff(i)t u 'I lift up'. sap-iô (i, sap-iō sap-i-ti): O.H.G. int-seff(i)t u 'I mark'. ap-iô cœpio (i, aptu-s): cp. § 600 p. 144 on Skr. ap-nō-mi. sal-iô (i, sal-uī salit): Gr. ἄλλομι 'I leap' for ἄλ-μι-. fod-iô (i, fossu-s, fodī-rī).

§ 719. Keltic. It is difficult to understand the Keltic inflexions, because the Third Conjugation in Irish has absorbed all Denominatives in -iô -e-ôn and -i-ô, and all Causals in -eôn. General remarks on the io-conjugations in § 702 pp. 229 f.
An account of the confusion in Irish between the First and Third Conjugations is given in § 520 p. 84.

Type A. O.Ir. -lēciu 'I leave, let' for *leiky-iō (I § 436 Rem. p. 325): Skr. ric-ya-tē etc., type B, see § 707 p. 236. midiuir 'I give judgement or opinion', beside Gr. μείνωμαι 'I meditate upon'. -ciu 'I see' for *ce-iō.

tau -tō 'I am' for *sta-iō: Avest. a-sta-yā etc., see § 706 p. 234. For the inflexion of this present stem see § 584 Rem. p. 126.

Type B. O.Ir. do muiniur 'I think, believe' for *man-jo-Idg. *my-jo:- Gr. μανόμαι etc., see § 707 p. 235. -gainedar 'is born' from √gen-: cp. Gr. γενομαι, type A. biu 'I am' for *bhuy-iō: Lat. fito etc., see § 707 p. 235; the stem *bhuy- must be contained in Mid.Cymr. imper. 3rd sing. bit 3rd pl. bint (but Mod.Cymr. bydd- for *biy-), while -iē- -iō- is the suffix in Ir. 3rd sing. biid bīth bīd 3rd pl. biit bit and 1st pl. -biam 3rd pl. -biat. -gniú 'I make for *gn-iō √gen- 'gignere', goes like biu.

Belonging to either (A) or (B): Mid.Ir. airim 'I plough': Goth. ar-ja Lith. ar-iū.

§ 720. Germanic. On the -jo-suffix here, see § 702 p. 230. There was a confusion between some persons of the present in this class and those of Denominatives in -e-iō or -i-įō, and Causals in -ejō. This caused a general commingling of the forms, reaching to non-present stems; the course of which it is very difficult to trace.

Verner's Law (I § 529 pp. 384 ff.) proves that some verbs were accented on the root in preethnic Germanic: Goth. haf-ja O.H.G. heff(i)u Goth. skap-ja (pret. skōp), beside O.H.G. int-seff(i)u. See § 705 p. 233. In skap-ja the accent seems to have been shifted, as in Skr. fj-ya-tī etc. (§ 710 p. 245); for Gr. α-oxŋŋθy's scatheless, which must be connected with skap-ja (pret. skōp), points to a √skath-. That Germanic inherited forms with an accented suffix, type B (cp. mr-iyā-tē tud-yā-tē) seems to follow from O.Sax. thiggian A.S. diczean
'to receive, assume' from V teg- (Lith. tēk- ti 'to reach') and A.S. friczean 'to experience' from V prek- (Lat. precinct). On present stems with -iu- as bye-forms of the ē-present, such as O.Sax. hebbiu beside O.H.G. habē-m (Goth. haba habai-s), see § 708 pp. 238 ff.


§ 723. We are often in doubt whether forms belong to (A) or (B). Goth. haf-ja O.H.G. heff(i)u 'I lift up' (pret. hof, huvob): Lat. cap-iō. O.H.G. int-seff(i)u 'I mark' (pret. -suab): Lat. sap-iō. Goth. ar-ja O.H.G. er-iu 'I plough' (pret. O.H.G. iar ier): Mid.Ir. airim Lith. ar-iui O.C.Sl. or-ja 'I plough'. O.H.G. swear-iu 'I swear' (pret. sumvor).

In quite a large number of the above named verbs with weak preterites it is doubtful whether the original ending of the present ought not rather to be assumed as -éjo (Class XXXII). Thus, for example, Goth. hulja may be derived from *kli̯-éjo, with the same weak root-syllable as is found in Skr. turáya-ti and elsewhere (§ 790).
§ 724. Balto-Slavonic. We first deal with forms of which the type is seen in Lith. lėž-iu lėž-ia-me O.C.Sl. bor-ja bor-je-mū. Next, the type Lith. smird-šiū smird-i-me O.C.Sl. smūdžių smūd-i-mū (see § 702 pp. 230 f.). These are combined with a different formation in the infinitive stem, for which reason we add the infinitive in each case.

§ 725. 1. Forms with -jo- -ie- running right through.


Lett. lēi-ju (lē-t) Lith. lē-ju (lē-ti) ‘I pour’ for *leij-jo, compare perhaps with O.C.Sl. li-jaq ‘I pour’. Lett. sēi-ju (sēi-t) Lith. szēi-ju (szēi-t) ‘I lean against, support’, cp. Lith. szēi-vi-s szēi-pa-s ‘bandy-legged’, √klei-. Lett. smēi-ju ‘I laugh’ (smē-t), √smēi-. Lith. lē-ju szēi-ju, possibly for the regular *seij-ju *szēi-ju by analogy of lé-ti lē-tu etc., cp. I § 68 Rem. 2 p. 61.1) O.C.Sl. li-jaq may be placed under Type B (§ 726) along with Lith. ly-ju ‘I rain’ pa-szīju ‘stumble’. Parallel are ūjaq and lējaq, also smējaq = ‘I laugh’ zējaq ‘hio’. These latter forms, analysed as leji-č smēj-a zēj-a, belong with sek-aq ‘I hew, cut’ to Class II. A (cp. Gr. μήδεμαι etc. § 514 p. 81), and

1) Unsatisfactory as this hypothesis seems, I think it better than the one set forth by Hirt in Idg. Forsch. 1 38 ff.
we must connect with them the Lettic preterites lēj-u smēj-u slēj-u.\(^1\)

Lith. verčziūt 'I turn' (verčs-ti). verk-iū 'I cry' (verk-ti).

szelp-iū 'I help; support' (szelp-ti).

sreb-iū 'I sip, lap' sreb-ti; also srēb-iū (by levelling with srēbiai srēpti) and sreb-iū (srēp-ti).

O.CSl. ėrēpljaq 'I make, create' for *kerp-jaq (crépa-ti).

plēsa 'I crawl' for *pelz-jaq (plēza-ti).

Lith. blend-iū-s 'I grow dark', said of the sun (pret. blendčiau-s).

Lith. lāuk-iū 'I wait for, expect' (lāuk-ti): Gr. λεικον, see § 706 p. 234.

rauk-iū 'I wrinkle' rauk-ti √reug-, cp. Gr. ἄφωσω (B) § 713 p. 247.

mauk-iū 'I rub smooth' (mau̯k-ti) √meug-, cp. Skr. muci-yā-tē etc., see § 713 p. 247.

praus-iū 'I wash my face' (praus-ti), cp. Skr. vi-pruṣya-ti 'spurts out, trickles'.

Lith. lēž-iū (lēž-ti) O.CSl. lišq (liša-ti) 'I lick', ground-form *leįgė-jō, cp. Skr. par. līh-ya-tē, (B).

Lith. pēž-iū (pēž-ti) O.CSl. pišq (piša-ti piša-ti) 'I write', ground-form *peik-jō, cp. Skr. piś-yā-tē 'is made ready, fitted up', (B).

Lith. šėd-šiu 'I form, shape' (šėsti), O.CSl. zėdąq 'I form, build' (zėda-ti).

Lett. dešfu 'I burn' trans. for *deg-ju (deg-t): Skr. dahi-ya-ti, pass. dahi-yā-tē, √dhegh-. O.CSl. čėsąq 'I strip off, comb' (česa-ti), √qes-.

Lith. rěs-iū 'I cut, tear' (rēs-ti), O.CSl. rēsq 'I cut' (rēza-ti). Lith. jēg-iū 'I have power, I can' (jēk-ti), beside Gr. ἑγοῦ.

Lith. uč-čiu 'I smell' (ūsti), cp. Gr. ὁζω, § 713 p. 247.

O.CSl. plačq 'I cry, lament' (plača-ti): Gr. πλέοω, see § 706 p. 234.

Lith. kroč-iū kroč-iū 'I give the death rattle, grunt' (kroč-ti): Gr. κραξω etc., see § 706 p. 234.

Lith. spě-ju 'I have-leisure or space' (spě-ti), O.CSl. spē-jaq 'I succeed' (spē-ti): Skr. spēh-ya-tē, see § 706 p. 234.

Lith. sě-ju (sě-ti) O.CSl. sē-jaq (sē-ti) 'I sow': Goth. sau, see § 706 p. 234.

Lett. dé-ju 'I lay eggs' (dé-t), O.CSl. dé-jaq 'I lay,'

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\(^1\) Zubatš's derivation of zėq from *zič-jaq (Lith. žiō-ju) is wild in the extreme (Archiv slav. Phil. xiii 623).
set, place' (dē-ti): Skr. 3rd sing. mid. a-dhā-ya-ta 'he placed for himself'. Lith. stō-jūs 'I place myself, take my stand' (stō-ti-s), O.C.Sl. sta-jāq 'I place myself' (inf. sta-ja-ti): Avest. a-stā-yā etc., see § 706 p. 234.

Lith. spiūn-ju (spiūn-ti) O.C.Sl. plju-jaq (plītvā-ti) 'I vomit', cp. Gr. ναῦν etc., (B); see § 707 p. 236. O.C.Sl. šu-jaq 'I chew', a bye-form of šte-č, Class II B, § 534 p. 95.

§ 726. Type B. Lith. dir-iū 'I flap' (dir-ti): Skr. dir-yā-tē, see § 707 p. 235. spir-iū 'I kick' (spir-ti): Gr. σναίεω, see ibid. skir-iū 'I part, cut' (skir-ti) ≈ σχισ-... gir-iū 'I praise' (gir-ti), beside gor-as 'good'. Lith. bar-iū 'I scold' beside bar-ū (bār-ti), O.C.Sl. bor-jāq 'I fight' (brati for *bor-tti), ground-form *bhr-jā: O.Icel. ber 'I strike' (inf. berja) for pr. Germ. *bar-jā, which probably comes from a form *bhr-jā; on the other hand, we have Lat. fer-iō following type A (§ 716 p. 249). Lith. skilū (*skil-ju) 'I strike fire, kindle' (skil-ti): Gr. σβάλλω, see § 707 p. 235. Lith. kalū (*kal-ju) 'I strike, forge' beside kal-ū (kāl-ti), O.C.Sl. kol-jāq 'I slaughter' (klati for *kol-tti), ground-form *ql-ju.


Lett. schu-juq for *snu-juq (pret. schuo-u inf. schu-t), O.C.Sl. šijq for *sig-jaq (ši-ti) 'I sew': Gr. κατασκευά etc., see § 707 p. 236.
§ 727. (2) Forms with -io- : -s-. There is no evidence that -io- was originally dissyllabic. This cannot be inferred from the Lithuanian av-iū srau-iū (1st pl. dū-i-me srau-i-me) as contrasted with plau-ju (1st pl. plau-ja-me); these may have been influenced by persons with the stem av-i- srau-i-. The weak grade is regularly -i- in Lithuanian (compare future with -s-i-, § 761) and in Slavonic regularly -i-. It appears also in the 3rd plural and the participle, Lith. smirdint- O.C.Sl. smirdět-, while here the original form was most likely -io-; on O.C.Sl. smirdět- for -int-, see § 637 Rem. p. 176.

Idg. *bhū-ījo- *bhū-ī- from √bhēu- 'become, be' (§ 707 p. 235) has many descendants in Balto-Slavonic. Lith. 3rd sing. bi-ti bi-t ‘erat’ (erant), which is irregular in having a primary personal ending; plural 1st pers. sūktun-biune 2nd -bi-te dual 1st -biva 2nd -bita, old injunctives, first used with preterite meaning, now in clauses expressing a wish.1) With the pr. Lith. present *bijū is closely parallel the Lettic preterite biju ‘eram’ biji bija pl. bijām bijāt, which is related to Lat. fiam (instead of *fiam) as Lith. būvau to Lat. fiam. Along with these goes the Slavonic conditional (impossible condition), originally a preterite injunctive formation, made up with bi-mi bi bi mi-mi; 2) the 1st sing. has got a primary personal ending, like Lith. 3rd sing. biti. For the 2nd pl. they used biste, a form of the s-aorist; to fill up gaps, the 1st pl. bichomī and 3rd pl. bišė were coined by analogy (cp. O.C.Sl. bichomī from bē § 587 p. 128, and Lat. fitum Gr. φῆσαι). For 3rd pl. was used bą (beside bišė), also injunctive in origin, Class II B (§ 528 p. 87).

Remark. The view of these forms set forth by Wiedemann, Lit. Prak. 136 ff., is untenable. O.C.Sl. bi-mī cannot be separated from Lith. -bi-me; and to regard this Lith. form as an optative with orig. -i- is

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1) The 2nd sing. -bei admits of several explanations. It probably is akin to O.C.Sl. 2nd and 3rd sing. bē Gr. ἔδει - ἔδει (§ 587 pp. 127 ff.).

2) In the same way were used the aorist forms bychū by bychomī etc.
opposed to phonetic law as completely as the assumption that Lith. 
*dūsim(e)* 'dabimus' is optative of the *-n* aorist (op. § 761).

With the remaining Balto-Slavonic verbs of this class we 
find regularly an infinitive stem in *-e*, as Lith. smirdė-ti 
O.C.Sl. smirdė-ti beside smirdžiu smirdėda (ep. O.C.Sl. bē bēchū 
bēchū beside bi-mū, like smirdē smirdēchažū beside 
smirdi-mū). This, as we saw in § 708 pp. 238 ff., has a parallel 
in Greek; for instance, μαίνω: ἄιαννεν μαίνως; μινεάντα 
μαίνωσαν = O.C.Sl. mėnjaq: mėnė mėnėvū mėnėčū (Lith. mėnė 
mėnėmūn). In Italic and Germanic, there are only some parallel 
*to*-presents, as Lat. nōlī O.H.G. willu Goth. věljan: O.C.Sl. 
reljaq; O.Sax. pl. libbiad partic. libbiandī: O.C.Sl. -kpljāq. Here 
we usually find presents in *e*, as Lat. valeō: Lith. galū, 

Lith. tylū (i. e. *tyl-iū) tylė-ti 'to be still' (long *i*-sound not 
original): O.H.G. dolē-m 'I suffer, endure', √tel- 'carry, bear'. 
O.C.Sl. mėnjaq mėnė-ti 'to think': Skr. mān-ya-tē, Gr. μαίνω, 
O.lr. do maunur (toth. muna 'I bothink me, think of, wish' 
2nd sing. munais, see § 707 p. 235. Lith. girdžiu girdė-ti 
I apprehend, hear': Gr. ἡράζω, see § 707 p. 236. O.C.Sl. drēšq 
drēš-ti 'contain, possess': Skr. ḍṛḥ-ya-tē 'makes fast'. O.C.Sl. 
-kpljāq -lēp-ti 'to cling to': Skr. pass. līp-ya-tē 'is smeared or 
anointed', O.Sax. libbiu O.H.G. lebē-m 'I live' (the O.Icel. tīfa 
'to be over, remain, live' helps to make clear how one meaning 
came out of the other). Lith. pa-vydiu -vydēti 'invidere' 
O.C.Sl. viđēq vidē-ti 'to see': Skr. vid-yā-tē 'is known, 
recognised, found', Lat. videō, Goth. vita 'to look at a thing, 
observe' 2nd sing. vitāi-s. O.C.Sl. būdzu būdē-ti 'to wake, 
watch': Skr. būdh-ya-tē 'awakes, perceives' pass. būdh-ya-tē. 
O.C.Sl. rūsdq rūdē-ti 'to blush': Lat. rubēō. O.C.Sl. kypējā 
kypē-ti 'to boil, seetho': Skr. kup-ya-ti, Lat. cupiō, see § 707 
p. 236. O.C.Sl. stojā stojā-ti 'to stand': Skr. pass. sthā-ya-tē 
instead of *sthā-ya-tē, O.H.G. 2nd sing. stēs for *sta-ji-zī, see 

O.C.Sl. golvā golve-ti 'venerari, vereri', pres. also golvējā:
Lat. faveō. Lith. galū (i. e. *gal-ju) galē-ti 'to be able': Lat. valeō (otherwise Bezzenerberger, in his Beitrit. xvi 256).

O.C.Sl. veljq velē-ti 'to command': Lat. nōli, O.H.G. willu 'I wish' Goth. viljan 'to wish', see § 505 p. 69, § 716 p. 249. Lith. aviu avē-ti 'to be shod': Umbr. an-orvihimu √ey-, see § 716 p. 249.

Lastly it should be mentioned that in Balto-Slavonic the non-present ū-forms are found along with other than īo-present stems: e. g. Lith. menū minēti 'to think of', gēlbu gēldēti 'to help', gedū gedēti 'to lament, mourn', bundū budēti 'to watch', sēdimi sēdēti 'to sit', O.C.Sl. part. pres. gorat- beside gorat- 'burning' from inf. gorēti, partic. vidomū 'ōrōmēvo' beside vidimū from inf. vidēti. The same thing is seen in Greek, as ἐθέλω: ἐθελήσω, νίμω: νείμημαι etc. (Curt. Verb. I ۳ 384 ff.), and doubtless in Germanic, as Goth. haba habam haband may well belong to Class II (§ 708 pp. 239 f.).

Class XXVII.

Reduplicated Root + -īo- -iēo- forming the Present Stem.

§ 728. (A). Pr. Idg. There was a īo-Class with complete reduplication, closely connected with Classes VII and VIII. As regards the type of the reduplicating syllable see §§ 465—467, 470, and 474. Compare, for instance, Skr. dē-diś-yā-tē beside dē-diś-te, varī-vyr-yā-tē beside varī-vart-ti. Probably the mode of conjunction with īo- was occasioned by that of Class VII; cp. § 708 pp. 231 f.


§ 729. Aryan. Only a few examples in Vedic, but later this type of Intensive spread very widely. car-cūr-yā-tē from car- 'to move'. nan-nam-yā-tē from nam- 'to bow, incline'.

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§ 731. Italic. Lat. tin-tinnio (t) beside tinniō. gin-griō (t) beside garriō (cp. § 466 p. 13).

Of Keltic forms may be placed here the isolated Mid.Ir. der-drethar ‘sounds, cries out’ with the s-preterite derdrestur (§ 465 p. 12).


§ 733. (B) It is rare in the Idg. languages to find the -jo-suffix with presents reduplicated in any other way; and in no language has this class become a large one. All the examples appear to be new formations. Skr. pass. dad-ya-tē ‘datur’ (beside dt-ya-tē) by analogy of dādā-mi dād-mās, ep. partic. dut-ta-s, § 541 p. 102. Skr. pass. nind-ya-tē ‘is scolded or blamed’, if nindu-ti is to be analysed *ni-nul-e-ti, see § 550 p. 106. Avest. yaē-ye-iti ‘seethes, boils’, which looks like a contamination of Skr. yēśa-ti i. e. *ia-śati (§ 562 p. 110) and yēs-ya-tē. Gr. Att. δειδίκται Hom. δειδώνιαι i. e. δειδύο-νιαι ‘I frighten, or am frightened’ for *de-dīkto-mai, beside
§§ 733—735. Present Stem: Class XXVIII — Skr. tr-ā-yā-tē. 261

A peculiar reduplication is shown by certain Greek verbs. πα-φλάζω 'I bubble' beside φλεῖν 'gossip', κα-χλάζω 'I gurgle', βα-βράζω 'I chirp'. They are Intensives or Iteratives to the verbs named in § 730.

Class XXVIII.

Root + -ā-, -e-, -o-, + -io- forming the Present Stem.

§ 734. The forms now to be noticed are closely connected with Classes X and XI (§§ 578 ff.), under which heads much has already been said of the io-stems.

I believe that the original accentuation of this class is preserved in those Sanskrit verbs which have disyllabic stems before -ya-, such as grbhā-ya-ti, and by Sanskrit passives like trā-ya-tē (§ 703 p. 232). trā-ya-tē has followed the lead of pāc-ya-tē etc., and trā-ya-tē : trā-ya-tē = ric-ya-tē : ric-ya-tē (§ 710 p. 245).

§ 735. Unreduplicated Forms.

Pr. Idg. *trā-jo-: Skr. trā-ya-tē 'protects, saves' pass. trā-ya-tē, Lat. in-trō for *trā-jo-, with which is doubtless connected O.C.Sl. tra-ja 'I last, endure' (inf. traja-ti). Skr. sn-ā-ya-tē 'bathes himself', Lat. nō for *sn-ā-jo. Lat. hiō for


Also verbs in -ā-ya-ti in which the root formed a complete syllable. The speaker imagined these to be parallel with pratā-ya-ti mana-ya-ti and the like (§§ 617, 769) — there really was no difference in character, if we are right in identifying the verb-suffix -ā- with the feminine suffix — and therefore kept the old accent without changing it as in trāya-tē. Skr. grbha-ya-ti ‘seizes’ O.Pers. a-yarbāya-m, Skr. damā-ya-ti ‘over-
powers' (cp. Lat. domare), Skr. tudā-yā-ti 'pushes', pruḍā-yā-ti 'sprouts out'.


*χυρ-ιλο 'I give an oracle' χυρ δο, partic. χυρέων Od. 8. 79. Dor. *ψλ-ιλο 'I wish, desire' (beside Lat. vel-le) Iω λη F' opt. ληνταν; the Gort. λημ (a.e. 3rd pl. conj. ληνοντι) for *ψε ιεω is formed like χυρέων: was this derived from το χυρεος, or was it a formation like Skr. causal pya-y-ṣya-ti? (cp. § 801). *χν-ιλο 'I rub, scratch' (cp. xk-εω) κνω κνη. ου-ιλο 'I live' for *gi-ιο (V' gi-) τεδ τεδ; the forms τετεν ιετι are later and follow Class X (cp. § 496 p. 56); with -ο-, ιετο- Gort. δοιο (δωμ δωνοντι etc.), like O.C.Sl. znajq beside O.H.G. knau (§ 785). *υρ-ιλο 'I grind or crush to pieces' (Skr. ṣa-ṭi § 587 p. 128) υσο υιη.

§ 738. Italic. In Latin only the 1st sing. pres. has the io-suffix, the other persons being formed after Class X. This was perhaps due in part to the early loss of the personal ending -mi in Italic, whence it became possible for volo to take its place in the same scheme as vult, eō beside it.

-α-ιο. in-τρο nō hiō see §§ 735, 736. -το, pl. -τα-mus. Also juv-ο lavo and suchlike. See § 583 p. 124.

-ε-ιο. pleō neō fleo vieō, also tacēd scateō video sileō faveō vaeō habeō etc. See §§ 587, 590, 708.

§ 739. Germanic. Monosyllabic stems in -e- and -o-almost wholly gave up the un thematic inflexion, and took that with -io- (§ 592 p. 133). O.H.G. nau 'I sew' knau 'I know' Goth. naia O.H.G. no 'I blow', see § 735. O.H.G. drāu 'I turn, twist', *tr-e- from V' ter-, ep. Gr. ἔπη-μα 'hole' ἐπε-πε-ν 'borer'. There may be Ἰdg. -ο-
in O.H.G. *bluowun O.Sax. *blōiu 'I bloom', cp. Lat. blō-s (gen. blō-r-is); it must remain uncertain whether we have -ō-ō or -a-ō as the ending in O.H.G. *bluowun 'I glow' (√gēl-).

Dissyllabic stems in -ā- and -a- have both non-thematic and io-flexion.

Dissyllabic ā-stems in Gothic show io-flexion in forms containing āi, such as bāðaih bādaih (the 1st sing. is bāha 'I am silent') for *-ā-ii-zi -ā-ii-di: Lat. taceō. Compare also Goth. vitáiþ 'looks at, regards': Lat. videō, sīlāiþ 'is silent': Lat. sīleō; habáiþ 'has': Lat. habeō. Compare § 592 p. 133, § 708 pp. 238 ff. On the spread of this ā-flexion to nasal present stems, see § 605 pp. 146 ff., § 623 p. 160; on the formation of ā-verbs from nouns, § 781.3.

Dissyllabic a-stems were inflected just like the later stratum of a-denominatives (as Goth. farinōn from fairīnō). The io-extension is clearly seen only in Anglo-Frisian, as A.S. 1st sing. -īe pl. -iād for pr. Germ. -ā-ia- see § 781.1. Examples of "primary" verbs are: Goth. miito 'I mete, measure' O.H.G. mēggōn 'I moderate', Goth. bi-lāigō 'I lick all over' (cp. Lith. laišāu 'I lick' inf. laišỹ-ti), O.H.G. fehōm 'I adorn' O.H.G. māhhōm 'I make'. Compare § 579 p. 121, § 585 p. 126.


-ā-īo-. Lith. šiō-ju O.C.Sl. tra-ja see § 735. Lith. jō-ju 'I ride' (jō-ti), see § 587 p. 128. Probably also Lith. grō-ju (grō-ti) O.C.Sl. gra-ja (graia-ti) 'I croak', Lith. klō-ju 'spread out' (klō-ti), and others. Some of the Lithuanian "Iteratives" are in place here, as lindo-ju beside lindau 'I put in' (lindo-ti), rýmo-ju beside rýmau 'I sit supported on something' (rýmo-ti), syyrō-ju 'I move to and fio' (syyrō-ti), etc. So in O.C.Sl., Iteratives such as sūn-ēdajq 'comedo' (-ēda-ti), raz-vēsaq 'I open' (-vēsa-ti), sū-birajj 'I gather' (-bira-ti). Compare §§ 586, 783.

-ē-ō-. O.C.Sl. blē-ja vē-ja see § 735. grē-jaq 'I warm'
§§ 740—748. Present Stem: Class XXIX — Skr. iṣ-ous-ya-ti. 265

(gravja-ti). govę-ja 'veneror, vereor' (govę-ti): Lat. favęd, see § 735. Lithuanian "Diminutives" (Iteratives), as byrę-ju 'I scatter a little' or 'I am a little scattered' (byrę-ti), kylę-ju 'I lift a little' (kylę-ti), lukę-ju 'I wait a little' (lukę-ti). Compare §§ 593, 784.

-ā-jo- possibly in O.C.Sl. zna-ja, § 735, and perhaps in a few, none can say which, of O.C.Sl. verbs in -a-ja (Idg. -a- and ā- ran together in Slavonic).

§ 741. Reduplicated Forms.

The Reduplicated forms with ā-suffix mentioned in § 595 have some of them the io-extension. Lat. 1st sing. uulud, Lith. uuló-ju 'I call, shout for joy' (cp. uló-ju Gr. úlαω § 735 p. 262). Lat. 1st sing. murmurō, cp. O.H.G. murmurmōm murmulōm. Lat. 1st sing. tintinnō tintinō, beside tintinn-ıd (Class XXVII).

A later Greek form is κυ-ξρα, κυρκα (Hesych.) beside κυ-ξρα-μυ, see § 594 p. 135.

O.H.G. rērm A.S. rārōe, connected with Lith. rē-ju rē-ti 'I cry out loud', comes from a pr. Germ. *rai-rē-jo, see § 708 p. 240. ē in rē- was a suffix, as may be seen from Lett. rā-ju 'I scold' and other words (Per Persson, Wurzelerw pp. 91, 196).

Class XXIX.

Nasal Stems + -io- for the Present Stem.

§ 742. The formations here to be treated are connected with Classes XII to XVIII, and fall into three groups: those connected with (A) Classes XII to XIV, (B) Classes XV and XVI, and (C) Classes XVII and XVIII.

§ 743. (A) -n-jo- is fairly common only in Greek. Lesb. κλίνω Hom. Att. κλίνω 'I bend' for *klin-μο, beside O.Sax. hlinō-n etc. κρίνω 'I separate, choose-out, distinguish' for κρίν-μο. στρομμ 'I plunder' for στρομμ (grōra)


§ 744. (B) Present Stems with ‘Nasal Infix’ become very common in Greek and Baltic. In explanation of the examples given below see §§ 628, 629, 631, 632, 634—637, pp. 164 ff.


Skr. pass. υαν-γ-ατε beside vanda-tē ‘praises, honours’ compare vāda-ti ud-γ-ατε; not a very old form.

Gr. λὰκωνι: πελζων probably for *λυνδ-μω; σκλη-νω ‘I throw violently at’ perhaps for *σκλη-μω, beside Skr. kṣip-. λυζω ‘I sob’ for *λυγ-μω, op. λυγε λυγάνεμα λυγκαῖνω, √s’a-γ-κ-σια-μγ-. πλαζω ‘I strike, knock away’ for *πλαγγ-μω. κλαζω ‘I shout, cry’ for *κλαγγ-μω.

Lat. vinc-iō (i) beside Skr. vi-yok-ti ‘embraces, surrounds’ 3rd dual.-vi-viś-τάς. sauc-iō (i) beside saucer.

§ 745. (C) Rare forms, undoubtedly late, are all that meet us in this section. O.CSl. mi-nu-ja 'I go over' beside mi-naq, see § 649 p. 185.

Class XXX.

Root + s-Suffix + -io- (the -s-jo- Future).

§ 746. Two groups of forms, with Present and Future meaning respectively.

(A) With Present meaning: fairly common nowhere but in Sanskrit, and for the most part clearly later extensions of the s-Present. As regards the examples here following, see §§ 656 and 657, pp. 190 ff.


Lith. tēs-š-tu 'I stretch' beside Skr. ti-ša-ti etc.
§ 747. (B) With Future Meaning. Even as early as the prothetic period -s-jo- (or -as-jo-) must have already become a simple suffix for expressing the future. This group of forms grew out of Classes XIX and XX, particularly forms with the strong-grade of root syllable; compare Skr. tasyātē and tā-sa-tī (Goth. -bin-si-f) ā-tā-s-mahi, brōṣyā-ti Gr. xīs-sōmeθa in Hesychius) and brō-ṣa-mānas, vakṣyā-ti and Avest. vax-ṣa-ītē (v-yeq- 'speak'), sakṣyā-ti (Gr. έξω) and sīk-ṣa-nt- v-ṣegh- (§ 657 ff.); very rarely from forms with root-syllables in a weak grade, as Avest. bāṣya-iti (pr. Ar. doubtless *bhāṣia-ti, cp. Skr. bāṣya-nt- § 748) Lith. bū-siu (Gr. ἄθω) beside Skr. bhāṣa-ti (§ 659 p. 194). Sanskrit forms with -iṣya- were derived from the īṣ-aorist, compare vediṣyā-ti with the aorist stem vediṣ- in ā-vediṣ-am.

The oldest meaning of the sīo- future was probably that of Wish, which weakened to a mere future. Compare the desiderative meaning of Skr. forms like ti-stīr-ṣa-tē (§ 667 pp. 198 ff.), and the future meaning of such others as O.Ir. no-gigius § 668 p. 200.

Only in Aryan and in Balto-Slavonic is the sjo-future certain. In such forms as Gr. διέξω it cannot be proved that after s an i has been lost, and they may be regarded as conjunctives of the s-aorist, διέξω fut. being the same as διέξω conj. of είδεξα, and as Lat. dixi beside opt. dixim. Special attention should be given to Epic forms like imper. ὠλε ὠλεσε beside fut. ὠλεσσω imper. ὠλεοθε beside fut. ὠλεοθαι, which make strongly for this view (see § 833). On the other hand, I know of nothing to prevent fut. διέξω being derived from *διέξ-σίμω (Skr. dikesāmī). The same doubt is suggested by futures of the type τερέω τερεῖ (cp. Skr. taniṣṭyāmī), which as conj. aor. may be compared with ἰδίεω ἰδίο from ἰδέω (§ 836).

We may conjecture that in Greek the Idg. forms with -sjo- and the conj. aorist had run together; as, in Lithuanian, beside dūsiamе dūsime dūsiatе dūsite, the future answering to Skr. dūsāmās dūsātha, we find used in the same way the Aorist Injunctive forms dūsime dūste. Compare the Author, M. U. iii 58 ff.; G. Meyer, Gr. Gr. 2 473 f.; Johansson, Deriv. Verb. Contr. 203 ff.

Spite of this uncertainty, the Greek future may be treated here along with the Aryan and Balto-Slavonic sjo-future.

Remark. I know of no evidence to support Ascoli's assumption (Sprachw. Briefe, 65 ff.), that -sjo- in the Doric future comes regularly from *-sjo- = Skr. -syāmi Lith. -sju.

§ 748. Pr. Idg. We have two endings to distinguish, -sjo- and -esjo- (-esjo-).

(A) -sjo. The regular form of the root, as has been said in the preceding section, was strong grade (with e in the e-series). Thus the matter remained in Aryan; cp. dikesāti beside pres. dišā-ti diš-ya-ti. Thus it often is in Lithuanian, as reṁ-siu from vrem-, versiu from vvert-. But in Lithuanian the form fell under the influence of the infinitive

1) It is striking that Homer uses no such form as τερέω διέλθω parallel to τερέω for *τερέσ-σω, ἰδέομεν for *ἰδέσ-σα-μον.
stem, and we have ἥκειν following ἄκτι, instead of *ἐλείκειν (pres. ἥκει, ἥκετα), and beside ῥεῖν-σιν (ῥεῖ-τι) a variant ῥίμ-σιν, inf. ῥίμ-τι (pres. ῥιματὰ), beside ϑεῖσσιν (ϑεῖστι) a variant ϑεῖσιν, inf. ϑεῖστι (pres. ϑεῖστα). In Greek, the vocalism of the future always agrees with the s-aorist, and this was mostly regulated by the present: τίργουν like ἔθεργα from τίραν, γράφω like εὐγραφα from γράφω, γλύφω like εὐγλύφα from γλώσσω, ὀμόρφω like ὀμόρφα from ὀμόρφῳ-μ. Exceptions: ςεῖσω like ςεῖνα, but pres. τίμω (for *τι-νο); μακάω like ἀμακά, but pres. μακά-μ.  

§ 748—750. Present Stem: Class XXX — Skr. ṭa-śyā-tē.

dry': Skr. śokṣya-ti (pres. sūs-ya-ti, see I § 557.4 p. 413), Lith. saūsinu (saūs-ti).  
V dhē- 'place, lay': Skr. dhā-ya-ti, Gr. θη-σων, Lith. dē-siu (dē-ti).  


§ 749. (B) -ośio- (-ośio-). Skr. -iśya- for -ośio-. But Gr. -eo- comes from -ośio-, unless (more probably) -eo- is for -eso-, and belongs to the conjunctive aorist (see § 747).1) The Sanskrit -iśya- could be added to any root ending in a consonant; but Gr. -eo- was the regular future suffix only with roots in a liquid or a nasal. So we have Skr. kṣariśya-ti 'it will flow, dissolve' (gramm.) answering to Greek φερέω φέρω 'I shall destroy' (Hom. φέρων), Skr. haniśya-ti 'he will strike, kill' to Gr. ἔρνω -ο 'I shall strike' (V ghen-), Skr. taniśya-ti (gramm.) 'he will stretch' to Gr. ἔρνω -ο 'I shall stretch', Skr. kṣaniśya-ti 'he will hurt' (gramm.) to Gr. ἔρνω -ο 'I shall kill'. A few Greek examples have -ao- with -α- = -o-; as ἔρμαιν -ο 'I shall hang', ep. κρέμαμαι, κρέματο 'hanging basket'. Compare §§ 834 ff.

§ 750. Futures with -ośio- have also been formed, from the proethnic period onwards, from stems consisting of V + Determinative. We may mention:


1) I now follow Bartholomae (Bess. Beitr. xvii 109 ff.) in holding that -o- which follows the root in ἔρνω ἔρντε and like words in Idg. -o-, not - (I § 110 pp. 108 ff.).
(2) Stems with s-elements (Class XIX and XX). *tr-es-
'tremble': Skr. tras-iṣya-iti, Gr. τρήσω, Lith. trėsiu for *trės-
-siu (pres. tresi). Skr. eṣ−iṣya-iti beside eṣa-iti 'seeks, desires';
edekṣya-ti beside ed-kṣya-iti 'clings to' ed-kṣya-ta; dakṣ-iṣya-ta beside
dakṣa-iti 'suits, accommodates'; akṣ-iṣya-ti beside akṣa-ta
'reaches'. With Skr. akṣiṣya-iti, dhaiśya-ta (gramm.) compare
the aorist forms ḍhāṣitūr ḍhaiśita § 889. Gr. σκιῶ for σκιῶ-
(perf. σκιεῖσα) from σκίω (*tei-s-) 'I shake'; *xei(ə) from *xei
(*ke-e-)'I scrape, smooth', Lith. tėsiu for *teš-siu beside
tės-tau 'I stretch'. Compare §§ 655 ff.

(3) Stems with dh- and d-elements (Class XXV). Skr. yot-
sya-iti beside yō-dha-iti 'gets into motion', Lith. jūšiu beside
jūnau 'I begin to tremble', *jeu-dh-. Skr. rāt-sya-ti beside
rā-dh-ya-tē 'carries out successfully'; mrad-iṣya-ti beside vi-
-mrada-ti 'softens' (mr-ada-). Gr. ἀλάσ(ω) from ἀλα-δε 'break
off'. But it is doubtful whether πληθό 'I will fill' is *πλήθ-
(ο) (cp. πληθ-ω πληθοῦσαι πληθεύο-ς) or πληθ-σω (cp. πληθοῦ πληθεύοται),
whether ἐλέοσμαι 'I will come' is *ἐλευθ-σμαί (cp. ἔλήθ-
θον ελευθερού-ς) or ἐλεὺσμαι (cp. ἐλεύ-τε προηγήστερο-ς), whether
πόσο 'I will make rot' is *πόθ-σω (cp. πόθον) or πό-σω (cp. Lith.
pūs-u). There is the same doubt in Lith. futures like plausiu
from plau-d-siu 'I wash' (Idg. *pley-d-), sprausiu from sprau-d-
siu 'I subdue' (Idg. *sprey-d-) ĝešiu from ġe-du 'I sing'. As we
know not in what period of Lithuanian these verbal classes
arose, we are not compelled to assume that plausiu, say,
comes from a supposed form *plautsiō. The fact may be that
plau-siu is really future to plau-ju; and then, on the analogy
of geidšiū gešiū geı̂sti, and others of this kind, plausiu was
involuntarily associated with plaudšiu plautsi as its future.
Compare §§ 688 ff.
Forms with other present-signs sometimes make a sjo-future in different languages; as Skr. *indhiṣyatī* Gr. ἐκλάγω Lith. *jūkšiu*. See below, §§ 752 ff.

§ 751. The indicative with -sjo- seems to have had in preethnic speech a participle attached, but no more (Skr. da-syānt-, Gr. δό-ων, Lith. dial. dāsien for *dāsiq̆s, O.C.Sl. byšašt-eje*). In Sanskrit grew up a conj. with Ar. -a-, and an augmented preterite; and Greek developed an opt. with -i-. See §§ 753, 759.

§ 752. Aryan. -sjo- and -osjo-, but the latter is only to be found in Sanskrit (-iṣyu-). There is no example of a future in Old Persian; this is probably due to chance. In Sanskrit and Avestic this future was a living and productive type. It is used, true enough, less often in Vedic than later; but then in Vedic injunctive and conjunctive forms were used with future meaning.


Bruugmann, Elements, IV.
Rather commoner in the later language is the future of denominatives in -yā-ti, Class XXXI, as gṛpāyīṣyā-ti from gṛpā-yā-ti 'guards' (gṛpā-s 'guardian'); and of present stems in -āya-ti (Causatives), Class XXXII, such as vyāyīṣya-tē from vy-āya-ti 'enwraps, covers', dharāyīṣyā-ti from dhar-āya-ti 'holds'.

§ 753. Sanskrit has an augmented preterite from the future stem, meaning on the point of; as abhāriṣyā-t he was just going to take away, wished to take'. But this form usually stands as a conditional; and so Conditional it is called.

There are a few scattered instances (in the Mahā-Bharata) of Injunctive forms, implying wish; as 2nd pl. mid. bhāviṣyā-dheam.

Similarly there are scattered Conjunctives; as Ved. 2nd sing. kariṣyād-s.

§ 754. Greek. It is not quite certain that the Greek σ-future has any immediate connexion with the Aryan and Balto-Slavonic σio-type, as we have seen already (§ 747 p. 269).

With -σo- (§ 748) and -σo- -σo- (§ 749), we find a third suffix, -σo-.

§ 755. (I) -σo-, a productive suffix in Ionic-Attic and elsewhere. Examples in §§ 748 and 750.

There is an apparent anomaly in keeping σ after sonants in the future στγ-σω, as in the aorist φτγσα. This is most simply explained as being due to the analogy of δεξω ἰδεξα etc., consonantal stems. Compare I § 564 p. 421.

Stems in Liquid or Nasal generally conform to Type II (§ 757); but roots in φ have -σω as well in the language of Homer and poets of the epic school: φθίσω (pres. φθίσω 'I destroy') beside φθισω -σω.

Remark. Why is it that beside a fut. φθισω there is no fut. *φθισω, as might be expected from finding ἰσεωσ side by side with ἰσεωσ? This is explained without difficulty if we suppose ἰσεωσ to be analogical, and due to ἰσεωσ-ισεωσ and the like (I § 563 Rem. 2 p. 419); for there were no such futures as *κθισω for *κθισω. Wackernagel's view of ἰσεοσ (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 127 ff.) is not convincing, to my mind.
Wackernagel would anyhow have to meet the question whether, if ϕοίκις really comes from *ϕοίκις, it must not have kept -ς- under all circumstances, wherever the accent lay; cp. τισκόμι for *τισκόμι contrasting with τιστοινθ for *τιστοινθ (The Author, Gr. Gr. p. 61).

§ 756. -σο- forms futures from all sorts and kinds of stems, present, aorist, and perfect. Often there are parallel σ-aorists.

1. Hom. τιδω-σω (beside δω-σω) from δι-δω-μι 'I give', Class III. τιδαξω from δι-δισω, Class XXIII (aor. τιδάξα). Hom. τιξω Att. τίξω from τίσω I rush', ποι-ϕιξω from ποι-ϕύσω 'I pant, puff', ποι-πνύσω from ποι-πνύω 'I short, pant, puff', Class XXVII (aor. τίξα τίξα etc.).


3. From the Denominative presents κρήξω I announce'άσπαξω 'I carry off' σαιπέξω 'I trumpet' μελίμω 'I soothe, pacify' τελέω -ώ 'I complete' we have the futures κρηξων, άσπαξων, σαιπέξων, μελίμων, τελέων(σ)ω (aor. εκρήξα etc.), on the analogy of πράξω: πράσσω, σφάξω: σφάξω and the like (cp. θανάμνησσα διεγέρω § 751). What made it all the easier for these futures to arise, was that there existed in pre-Greek times denominative participles like κρήξικτο-ς (άκρήξικτο-ς), which seemed parallel to πράξικτο-ς σφαξικτό-ς (II § 79 pp. 224 f.).

4. The combination -η-ςο- was an especial favourite (§ 750. 1 p. 271). First, a class of futures from the stem of the aor. pass. in -η-ςο-, μαν-η-ςομαι beside μαν-μαν-η-ν 'I grew mad' (V mem-), like Lith. min-δεςσυ beside min-εσ. οψ-η-ςομαι beside ω-ψη-η-ν 'I was quenched' (V seg-). ϕη-ςομαι beside ϕη-ϕω-η-ν 'I flowed' (seg-). μαγ-η-ςομαι beside μαγ-μαγ-η-ν 'I mixed myself' (V meije- meij-). With the same type, ϕη-ςομαι beside ϕη-θη-ςομαι etc., the set of forms due to the analogy of ϕη-δε-ης = ϕη-δι-θας. See § 589 pp. 129 f. In Doric, this intr.-pass. future has an active ending: φανησείν ςαιπητηρεύτει (α-ςο- instead of -σο-, § 758). Further: -η-ςο- occurs in forms like ςαι-η-ςον (beside
(5) The original identity of flexion in the groups typified by *τιμᾶ-ιο (from τίμα 'honour') and *βρά-ιο (oμο 'I do') — compare Aeol. ἀκτῆ-ιον like ἔδρα-ιον 'we run' — made the later set of denominatives run parallel to verbs of Classes X and XXVIII in other tenses besides the present. Hence τιμᾶσιν, καλῶσιν, ἀκτῆσιν like βρᾶσιν, νήσωσιν γυνώσιον; similarly Lith. dovano-šiu from dovano-ju 'I present' (dovano 'gift') like eido-su from eido-ju, and jūkš-siu (jūkš-ju 'I jest' from jūkš-s 'jest'), in correspondence with (i.e. mūsē-šo). Following out the analogy further we get xorē-šo from xorē 'I make dusty' (xorē- 'dust') daskri-šo from daskri 'I cry' (dasko 'a tear'); so also Lith. dalš-siu from dalš-ju 'I share, divide' (dalš-s 'a part'). Compare § 773.

(6) Futures in -šio from perfect forms. ἔστησιν from ἔστη 'I stood', ἐλείψατο from ἑλπίσατα 'is left over'. μεμνημένω from μέμνηται 'remembers'. Hom. ἴχαρήσω from ἴχαρήσας 'glad'. § 757. (II) ἰη- -ω- -ω- -ιν- 

-σι (becomes -σι in Dor., I § 64 p. 51) is the ordinary future suffix in liquid or nasal stems, as φθερέω -σι (beside Hom. φθέρω), τενέω -σι, see § 749 p. 271.

Hence -σι- spread to the future of stems which had a nasal formative suffix in the present; as φανέω -σι from φαύνω
The analogy of κριμάω : κριμαίος(σι)ας, όλειν : όλεσ(σι)ας, and the like, produced from the norists δικάσ(σι)α to judge, investigate (δικαίω) δουμάσ(σι)α 'prove' (δοκομάζω) the futures δικάω δουμάω -ῶ, and similarly we have ἀμφώς -ῶ beside ἀμφώς(σι)α 'to put on', 1) μαχόμαι -μαι beside μαχέσσα(σι)α 'to fight', τελέω -ῶ beside τελέσσα(σι)α 'to complete', τανῦσι beside τανεός(σι)α, and many others.

An exceptional group contains the Attic and Ionic future in -έω -έῳ from a present in -έω, as κομίω from κομίζω 'I bring'; for which *κομίζω might be looked for, to judge from δικάω. We may conjecture that the type was once actually *κομίω; and that -έω became -έω -έῳ as the effect of the constant use of -έω -έῳ. -έω is an intruder also in ὑμέτειτι Dor. ομισώμεθα instead of ὑμίσσωμεν.

Remark. There is some doubt whether -έω instead of *-έῳ be as old as Homer; no argument can be based on the traditional accent of κομίω ἐκκομίῳ κεφαλά, and ἀγλάσσεθα may be a mistake for ἀγλάσσω. These are the only Homeric specimens of the type.

§ 758. (III) -σεω- (Doric Future). 2) Whether -σεω-...
Skr. -ṣya-, or whether it is the conj. of the s-aorist, -ṣe- is -ṣo- transformed under the influence of -ṣo-.

-ṣe- is the ordinary Doric suffix answering to Attic -σο-; as πρακτεῖν -τω σοϊερεῖν -τα, but Att. πραξεῖ βοηθόσω. A few instances of it occur in Ion.-Att., as σακετομαί beside σαετομαί (cp. the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 170 footnote 1).

§ 759. Greek, besides the indic., partic., and inf. future, (δελέω δελεών δελέαρ) had only the optative, as δελεωμί, which is quite a new formation (see the Author, Gr. Gr. ³ p. 188).

§ 760. Balto-Slavonic. Only -ṣo-, and nothing which answers to Skr. -iṣya- and Gr. -ηο- -ṣο-, and so forth. In Lithuanian the future in -siu lived on, and still lives and forms a type; but in Slavonic it died before historic times began, all but the sole form O.C Sl. byšašteje (§ 748 p. 271).

§ 761. The Lith. fut. -siu is differently inflected in different dialects. The 1st pl. is sometimes dū-sia-m(e) like veřksia-m(e) § 725 pp. 254 ff. (cp. partic. dial. dū'sius = *dūsias, and O.C Sl. byšašteje); sometimes it is dū-si-m(e) — in High Lithuanian, for instance — like āvi-m(e) § 727 pp. 257. ¹) The other forms which occur, pl. dū'sme dū'še dual dū'sva dū'sta, like the 3rd sing. būs gais, are injunctives of the s-aorist (§ 828). The partic. dū'sės (ep. O.C Sl. byšašteje) admits of more than one explanation; see J. Schmidt, as cited in footnote.

Examples of Lith. fut. are given in § 748 pp. 269 f.

Where marks of the present are retained in the future, they are retained in the other forms from the Infinitive Stem.

Future from Present Stem with inserted nasal: jūnksiu from jūng-iu 'I put in the yoke', skūsiu from skūndšiu 'I weep, bewail myself', lenksiu from lenkiū 'I bend', § 744 p. 287. Compare Gr. αλάγα etc. § 756. 2 p. 275.


¹) J. Schmidt's assumption (Neutra, pp. 423 ff.) that dū'sišnis is an optative, is wrong. Idg. *i- would remain long in Lithuanian.
The combination -ė-siu. minė-siu from mėnū. 'I think of' pret. minė, cp. Gr. μνημ-, δεμας δ-μάνν-, drebė-siu from drebū 'I tremble'. stenė-siu from stenū 'I groan'. penė-siu from penė 'I nourish, fatten'. avė-siu from avūi 'I have something on my feet'. Compare § 756. 4 p. 275.

Later Stratum of Denominatives. dovano-siu from dovanō-ju 'I give' (dovanā 'a gift'), pāsako-siu from pāsako-ju 'I recount, tell' (pā-sakā 'tale'), like šia-siu from šiō-ju 'I open my mouth' (§ 740 p. 264), cp. Gr. ῥῆμα-σω. jākū-siu from jākū-ju 'I sport, jest' (jāka-s 'jest'), jūdē-siu from jūdē-ju 'I have a black sheen', analogous to Gr. μαθω-σω. dalī-su from daly-ju 'I share, divide' (dali-s 'a share, part'), szirdy-siū-s from szirdy-jā-s 'I take to heart' (szirdā-s 'heart'), like Gr. συν-σω. Compare § 756. 5 p. 276, § 773. kėlān-siu from kėlān-ju 'I travel' (kėla-s kėle-s 'way').

Appendix to Classes XXVII—XXX.

Extension of Present Stems in -sko-, -to-, and -dho-, -do- by the Suffix -jo-.

§ 762. The reason why this extension of the -sko-class (XXII), the -to-class (XXIV) and the -dho- and -do-class (XXV) is relegated to an Appendix, and they are not allowed a class each to themselves, has been explained in § 704 p. 239.

§ 763. Jo-extension of sko-stems (§§ 669 ff.)

Sanskrit can show only a few passive forms with -yu- (cp. §§ 709 and 710, pp. 243 ff.), in stems where -sko- has lost its character as a present-forming suffix: pych-ya-tē from pychā-ṭi 'asks', vānch-ya-tē from vāncha-ṭi 'wishes' (§ 671 p. 203). Possibly pyr-ya-tē. from vṛcā-ṭi 'tears to pieces', is another; see § 669 p. 202.


Remark. Gr. πτοσων 'I cower, cringe', in view of πτοσας -μον, may be derived from *πτοσα-μον. However, πτερ-ς -κός- and πτερ-ς-κός- make it more natural to suppose that it comes from *πτερ-ς-κός or *πτερ-ς-κός.
§ 764. -to-stems extended by -io- (§§ 679 ff.).

Skr. nyt-ya-śī 'dances, plays' past. nṛt-ya-śī beside nṛt-śā-
ma-na-s; pass. yat-ya-śī beside yā-ta-śī 'joins itself, strives'
(§ 681 p. 213)

Lith. siunque 'I send', perhaps from *su-n-to- (§ 686 p. 218). O.C.Sl. ob-reštq 'I find' perhaps from *rē-to- (§ 687 p. 218)

Remark. Gr. ἀφέω (only Hdt. vi 119) seems to be not an extension of Att. ἀφέω-το 'I pour, I draw water' (§ 682 p. 214), but an analogical form, suggested by ἀφέω, on the type of ἀφέω: ἀφέω 'I pour, draw water'.

§ 765. -dh- and -do- stems extended by -io-
(§§ 688 ff.).

(1) -dh-jo-. Skr. yā-dh-ya-śī 'gets in motion, fights',
rdh-ya-śī 'carries to a successful end' pass. rdh-ya-śī (§ 689 p. 220), krū-dh-ya-śī 'scorns', sā-dh-ya-śī 'comes to its goal'
(§ 691 p. 221).

Gr. ἱ νόσσαμ 'I shake or quiver, am frantic' for *θν-θ-λ-μα (§ 689 p. 220), ἵ κό 'I eat' (§ 694 p. 223, § 713 p. 247).

Lith. skér-d-śīu 'I burst, blow up' (§ 689 p. 219).

(2) -d-jo-. Only passives in Sanskrit; as mrd-ya-śī from mrd-ṇa-mi 'I grind to pieces, crush' vi-mrdatī 'softens' (§ 690 p. 220), ḫad-ya-śī from ḫad-da-tī 'bites up, chews', ṭd-ya-śī from ṭda-tī 'honours, praises' (§ 692 p 222).

Gr. χλύζω 'I flood' for *χλυ-δ-λω, ἐκ-φλύζω 'I spurt out' for θφυ-δ-λω (§ 695 p. 224).


(3) Doubtful: -dh-jo- or -d-jo-. Avest. siš-d-ye-itī 'drives away' (§ 693 p. 223). Lith. mēr-d-śīu 'I lie a dying', skēl-d-
śīu 'I split or burst', sru-d-śīu 'I make bloody', Lett. e'rčhu
' I separate' for *erd-ı-u (§ 701 p. 227).
Class XXXI.

Later Group of Denominatives with Present-Suffix -io-.

§ 766. We here discuss present stems like Skr. ṅeva-yá-ti 'he worships the gods' from ṅeva- 'god', Gr. ψιλό-(ω) 'I treat as a friend' from ψιλός (ψιλῆς) 'friend', Skr. nāmas-yá-ti 'he offers worship or respect' from nāmas- 'respect', Gr. τιλέω-κ (τιλέω-) 'I end' from τέλος 'end' (τέλεω-). This is a productive type in almost all languages of our group, and beyond all doubt is as old as the parent language.

As I have pointed out (§ 487 p. 43, § 703 p. 232), no hard and fast line can be drawn between the verbs which grammars usually call Denominative and what they call Primary Verbs. When denominative verbs were formed in the parent language, no new and peculiar mode of conjugation was invented for them. They ran in old grooves; the present stem preferring as its type stems with the secondary suffix -io-. It was only by degrees that inflexional peculiarities sprang up; chiefly because -io- coalesced with the final of the preceding noun-stem, and thus made new suffixes. But the peculiar denominative endings often came again to be the same as those of primary verbs by the action of the laws of language.

§ 767. The proethnic language possesses -io-presents from all kinds of consonant stems, from stems in -a- (-a-ijō-), in -o- (-e-ijō-), in -i- (-i-ijō-), and in -u- (-u-ijō-).

So great are the changes worked by analogy, that it is rather rare to find a denominative agreeing with the Idg. type in more than one or two languages. Thus, Lat. operā-rī (Umbr. osatu 'operate' Osc. ūpeannam 'operandum') and nōminā-rē do not correspond with Skr. apas-yā-ti and Gr. ὁρομαίνω, which do represent the Idg. inflexion; because, in Latin, denominatives of s- and n-stems had been attracted into the a-class in prehistoric times.
§ 788. (1) Consonant Stems.


(II § 134 p. 425).


Skr. vadhār-yá-ti ‘shoots, lets off a missile’ from vādhar n. ‘shot’. Gr. τεκμαίω ‘I mark, fix’ from τέκμαρ n. ‘mark, boundary’. We may perhaps assign to this section Latin desideratives like scripturio from scriptor, ēsuriō from ēsor; -turio for *-t̄or-iô *-ty-jô.1)

1) This explanation follows Thurneysen, Über Herkunft und Bildung der lat. Verba, p. 66. A different view is that of Kretschmer, Kuhn's
Gr. βλέπω 'I cut the honey-combs' (fut. βλέπω) from μέλιν- 'honey'. Lat. dent-iō from dēns. Goth. veitvōd-ja 'I certify' from veitvōd- 'witness'. Skr. iṣudh-ya-ti 'begs, prays' Avest. iṣud-ye-itī 'confesses guilt' from Avest. iṣud- 'a cry by which one acknowledges sin'. Gr. κορυφω 'I helm, arm' for *κορυφω-μο from κόρυφ- -υρ-ος 'helmet'. Lat. custōd-iō from custōs -ōd-is.

Gr. λιθάζω 'I stone' from λιθός -άς 'stone', μυγαζομαι I mingle with' from μυγάς -άς-ος 'mixed, motley'. In Germanic, 'verbs in -atjan answer to this Greek denominative group; but the noun stems from which they came had disappeared before the historic period: Goth. lauhátja O.H.G. lougazzu lohazzu 'I shine' (cp. Gr. λυγάς), Goth. svōgatija 'I sigh' kaupatja 'I box the ears' (prot. kaupasta), O.H.G. blecchezzu 'I lighten' (cp. II § 128 p. 409).

To the denominatives formed from cons. stems have always belonged to-participles, as Gr. ἀκοε-τός Lat. seclus-tu-s, Gr. νιώμα-τός (Skr. śroma-ta-m O.H.G. hiisum-t Lat. cōgnōmentu-m), Skr. án-ap-ta-s etc. See II § 79 pp. 224 f., § 82 p. 249.

§ 769. (2) a-stems: Idg. -ā-īō.

In a great many languages there are found other forms without -io-, as 1st pl. Armen. jana-mē Gr. άπολομ μεν Lat. plantā-mus O.Ir. no chara-m Goth. salbō-m Lith. įsto-mi. These kept close with the old primary a-verbs of Class X. In principle, the two groups are really the same.

Gr. ὄφαω -ῶ 'I see', O.H.G. bi-warōm 'I observe, am ware' beside Gr. *fopō in qpeqōpō 'outlook, protection' O.H.G. wara 'care, protection'. Lat. forō -ā-s etc., O.H.G. borōm 'I bore' from O.H.G. bora 'bore' (ground-form *bhōr-ā-), but cp. § 579 p. 122. Skr. pṛtana-ya-ti 'fights' from pṛtana 'fight', mana-ya-ti 'is attached' from mana 'attachment'. Gr. τιμῶ -ῶ 'I honour' from τιμά (-η) 'honour', ἤμαω -ῶ 'palbeso' from ἤμα (-η) 'ripeness': ὄμαω -ῶ 'I drive or urge' from ὄμα (-η) 'movement'. Lat. plantō -ā-s etc. from planta, cūrō from cūra,

lacrimō from lacrima. O.Ir. rannaim 'I divide' from rann f. 'part', iveraim 'I heal' from iver f. 'health'. Goth. salbō O.H.G. salbom A.S. scæftie 'I salve, anoint' from O.H.G. salba A.S. seulf 'salve, ointment'; Goth. karō 'I take trouble, care about O.H.G. churōm 'I bewail, lament' A.S. cearie 'I care' from Goth. kara 'care' O.H.G. chara 'woe, sorrow, lament' A.S. cearu cearu 'care'; O.H.G. klogōm 'I lament' from kloga 'lament'. Lith. rankō-ju 'I bend to and fro, try to make malleable' beside ranka 'valley' ĭ-lanka 'a dip or bend', O.C.Sl. ląka-ja I trick, deceive' from ląka 'bending, bosom, rascality, deceit'; Lith. dovunō-ju 'I give' from dovunā 'gift', bylō-ju 'I speak' from byla 'speech' pásaka-ju 'I recount' from pā-saka 'tale'; O.C.Sl. kotora-ja sē 'I fight' from kotora 'fight', vonja-ja 'I smell' from vonja 'a smell'.

Very common are a-verbs derived from o-sterms, principally with transitive meaning; — 'to show oneself so and so, to make so and so'. Skr. priya-ya-tē 'he makes friends with' Goth. frijō 'I treat kindly' O.C.Sl. prija-ja I am kind to, stand by some one' from Skr. priyā-s dear, friend Goth. *frija-in prija-hva love'. Lat. novō (-ā-s) O.H.G. niwōm 'I renew' beside Lat. novō-s. 1) O.Ir. com-alnaim O.H.G. fŏlōm 'I fill' from O.Ir. lūn (Idg. *p̣ḷ-no-s) O.H.G. fol (Idg. *p̣ḷ-no-s) 'full'. Lat. gustō, O.H.G. costōm A.S. costē 'I try, taste' beside Skr. juś-ta-s 'beloved etc., vējēys-. Skr. tilvīlayā-tē 'shows himself rich' from titāna-s rich', rathirāyā-ti 'hurries up' from rathirā-s 'hasty', rtāyā-ti 'keeps the rule' from rtā-m 'order', sumnāyā-ti 'shows goodwill' from sumnā-s well-wishing' sumnā-m 'goodwill'; Avest. vādāyē-iti 'strikes' from vādā-m. 'blow'. Gr. gōpāw 'I cleanse' from gōpō-ç 'clean', ăntiāw 'I treat as dishonoured' from āntiā-ç 'dishonoured' μουμάωm I scorn' from μωμω-ç 'scorn', bōvā-ōm I portion' from ἀπο- 'dower'. Lat. cāvō from cavo-s, firmō from firmus-s, sānō from sānus-s, armō from pl. arma; cumulo from cumulus-s, damnō from damnus-m. O.Ir. marbaim 'I kill' from marb

1) Gr. reîy 'I turn up fallow land' probably has its place elsewhere. See Sütterlin, Zur Gesch. der verba denom. im Altgr., i 21 f.
'dead', derbaim 'I prove' from derb 'certain', forcennaim 'I end' from cenn for-cenn 'end', biathaim 'I nourish' from biath 'nourishment', cp. Gall. Tawdati pl. pilati beside Gall.-Lat. gaesu-m 'spear'. Goth. vairþō O.H.G. verdōm 'I value, treasure' from vairþ-s vērd adj. 'worth', Goth. ga-vundō O.H.G. wuntōm 'I make wounded, wound' from vund-s wuunt 'wound'. Goth. ga-leikt 'I compare, make like' from ga-leik-s 'like', O.H.G. ebanōn 'I make even' from eban 'even', Goth. bi-rāubō 'I rob, plunder', O.H.G. roubōm 'I rob' from O.H.G. roub 'robbery', O.H.G. zeihhonōm 'I mark, draw' from zeihhon 'mark'. Lith. kilnō-ju 'I lift to and fro' from kilnā-s 'high' (unless it be preferred to class this verb in § 606 p. 147), mirksnio-ju 'I wink, twinkle' from mirksni-s (gen. mirksnio) 'glance, a single movement of the eyelid', Lett. at-jāunāju 'I make young, renew' from jāun-s 'young', gūdā-ju 'I honour', from gūd-s 'honour' apschūgāju 'I enclose' from schūg-s 'hedge, fence'; O.C Sl. délā-ja 'I do, make' from délō 'work', pri-vesloja 'advexo' from veslo 'oar, rudder'. The beginnings of this series of derivatives from ā-verbs from noun stems in -ā- goes back to the proethinic stage; at that time there were often subst. abstr. with -ā- alongside of o-adjectives and o-substantives. Thus the O.H.G. follōm may be derived, if we please, not from fol but from Germ. *fullō- = Avest. var-na- 'fulness', which appears in Goth. fullō O.H.G. folā 'fulness'; or Lat. offensāre may be derived from subst. offensā and not from offensus-s (cp. II § 158 pp. 473 ff.). These and like verbs were from the first closely associated with the o-stems belonging to these ā-nouns; and thus it became possible afterwards to derive verbs in -ā-jō straight from o-stems. The ending -ājō found favour for another reason too: namely, that there was from the earliest period another group of verbs in -ājō, originally denominative too, but with this character long since lost: I mean verbs of Classes X and XXVIII, like Lat. bi-ō Lith. ši-ō-ju, Gr. ūl-āō Lith. ul-ō-ju (Lat. ulūlo), Lat. juv-ō mic-ō, O.Ir. scaraim, Goth. mit-ō O.H.G. meggōm, Lith. ėnd-ō-ju O.C Sl. rāz-vrīz-ā-ja (§§ 579 ff. pp. 121 ff., §§ 734 ff. pp. 261 ff.).
As well as these present stems in -a-ja, most languages have non-present stems with -a- just like those formed from a-verbs in Classes X and XXVIII. The latter are the type, the former copied from them. The commonest are verbal nouns, always more or less closely connected with the verb system, with the suffixes -to--, -ti--, -no- and so forth; e.g. Gr. τιμη-το-ς, τιμη-σι-ς from τιμω-, Lat. planta-tu-s planta-tio-from plantō, O.Ir. carthe 'loved' from caraim, cēsad 'suffering' from cēssain, Goth. lafō-þ-s 'invited' lafō-n 'to invite' lafō-n-s 'invitation' from lafō, Lith. dovano-ta-s 'given' dovano-ti 'to give' from dovano-jt-, O.C.Sl. laka-nū 'conceived' laka-ti 'to deceive' from laka-ją. Then we have certain tenses, as Gr. τιμη-μω, Lat. planta-rem, Lith. dovano-siu O.C.Sl. laka-chi. Compare § 756.5, p. 276, § 761 p. 279, § 822.6.

§ 770. (3) From o-stems there were two ways of deriving the present stem. One of them, doubtless the older, suppresses the final vowel of the noun stem. This we have already seen in Classes XIV and XXIX, exemplified by Skr. turau-yá-ti from turána-s, Gr. ὀλυσίωμο from ὀλυσίων-ς (§§ 616 ff. pp. 154 ff., § 743 pp. 265 f.). This is just how io-adjectives are generally derived from noun stems in -o-, as Skr. áśv-ya-s Gr. ἤπν-ο-ς from áśva-ς ἤπνο-ς (II § 63 p. 126, and Rem. 3 p. 132). The second, and commoner, formation ends in -e-jo- (cp. voc. in -e, loc. in -e-i and so forth, II § 59 p. 108). his recalls Skr. hiranyá-ya-s 'golden' from hirany-a-m gold', and Lat. aureus (aurum-m), if it is to be explained in auro- (cp. II § 68 p. 128). 1)

(a) With Aryan present stems in -an-ja-ti are associated but few from other o-stems: Skr. adhvar-yá-ti 'performs an offering' from adhvará-s 'offering', vihuryá-ti 'staggers, reels' from vihurá-s 'tottering, reeling', rathakāmya-ti 'asks for a car' from ratha-kāmu- 'desirous of having a car', Avest. vāstryē-iti 'feeds' from vāstrye-m 'meadow, field, fodder', vāstrye-iti.

1) It is noteworthy how well the isolated Ved. sarvāt-ti 'he woos' (sarvā-s 'wooer') agrees with the above mentioned adj. in -ya-, pāṭrūṣya-s from pāruṣa-s and the like.
§ 770. Present Stem: Class XXXI — Skr. dēva-yā-ti. 237

'is idle' from avāstra- 'idle'. In Greek -aivio was a fertile type (see § 776.6 b); and many other nouns in -a- took this formation in the present, as ēkdrāyino 'I hate' from ēkdrāyō-; hostile' (I § 293 p. 234), aγγελλω 'I announce' from aγγελω- 'messenger', aδίδλω 'I move quickly backwards and forwards' from aδίδλω- 'quickly moving', kαμπύλω 'I crease, bend' from kαμπύλο- 'bent', aπενθέσσω 'I am unintelligent' from aπ-πε-νθέσσω (πε-νθέσσω 'intelligent'), μιλύ-σσω 'I soften, mollify' from μιλυ-σσω 'soft', χαλόπτω 'I crush, overpower' (cp. § 682 with the Rem. p. 214). The same kind of denominatives occurs in Slavonic. First those which contain abstract nouns in -et- and the like (II § 79 p. 286), as trepetstā 'I tremble' 2nd sing. trepetstēstiti inf. trepetatiti from trepettā 'a trembling', bleksto- 'I bite' inf. blekotati beside Czech blekot 'a yelping or barking', rūprūtstā 'I growl' inf. rūprūtati from rūprūtā 'a growling', skrubstā 'I rattle, gnash the teeth' inf. skrubstati from skrubstā 'a gnashing with the teeth', and others of this sort (the noun may also be a tā-stem, as klevēstā 'I calumniate' inf. klevetati from kleveta 'calumny'). Besides these I place here the present in -uṣq for *-om-ja, as bēsuja 'I am mad' 2nd sing. -uṇēstiti inf. -oviti from bēsovā 'mad, devilish', and that from bēsū 'demon'; for further details see § 782.3. We cannot tell whether Idg. presents like Skr. turan-yā-ti and Gr. ὀδυνάνω, to which trepestā and bēsuja are parallel, survived down to Slavonic. At all events these present forms have nothing exceptional about them, as the Slavonic had a great number of primitive verbs in -ja with inf. -a-ti, such as lija lizati 'to lick' gybija ygbati 'to destroy, lose', and some of these put on the look of denominatives, as glagolija glagolati 'to speak' (cp. § 732 p. 260) did because of the kindred noun-stem glagolā 'word', and duša duchati 'to breathe, blow' because of the noun dučhā 'breath'. So it would be possible to believe that it is only on this analogy that trepestā was formed from trepettī, and bēsuja from bēsovā.

Whether the other Idg. languages had such denominatives is doubtful. In Armenian we meet with denominatives in -iu, as tāram-i-m 'I fade' beside an-tāram 'unsading'. * This group
is a new formation, on the lines of Class XXVI, § 711 p. 246, as Lat. custōdi-s fini-s follow verbs primitive like furc-i-s (§ 777). But the contained stems in -iō need not be compared with Skr. furan-yā-ti; they may have arisen out of denominatives from i-stems. Similarly Lat. catuliō (beside catulu-s) blandior (beside blandu-s) insāniō (beside in-sānu-s) may be ad-formates of presents in -iō; and Germanic presents such as Goth. hrainja 'I cleanse' (hrain-s 'clean') láusja 'I loose' (láus 'loose') may be either this or derived from -eijō (see b, below).

(b) -eijō-. Skr. vasa-yā-ti 'haggles' Gr. ἀολομαί 'I buy' from vasa- -m ἀνο-ς 'price' (for *fωσ-νο-, cp. Solmsen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 81 f.; for O.C.Sl. věnο, see II § 66 p. 149). Lat. seneo, Lith. senė-ju 'I grow old' (-ėju instead of *-ėju, see below) beside Lith. sēna-s 'old'. Skr. amitra-yā-ti 'is hostile' from ā-mitra-s 'fue', kudāya-yā-ti 'wraps itself up' from kudāya-m 'covering'; Avest. cāsa-yē-iti 'draws the chariot' from cāsa- m. 'chariot', cās-ye-iti 'is pious' from cās- 'pious' (cp. Skr. rtāya-ti with different accent, see §§ 793, 798), O.Pers. a-śaraya-m 'I protected, watched' from *śā-ra- (Skr. tr-ā-), not actually found. Gr. χαλεό -ω 'I treat as a friend' from φίλο-ς 'dear, friend', xoρανέω 'I rule' from xoρανο-ς 'ruler', νοστέω 'I return home' from νόστο-ς 'homeward way', εὔφημω 'I use words of good omen' from εὔ-φημο-ς 'of good omen'. Lat. claudēō from claudu-s, albeō from albu-s, flæcéō from flavo-s, nigreō from niger. Irish: perhaps scorim scuirim 'I unharress' from scovenclosure for unharnessed animals'. Probably forms in -eijō = pr. Germ. -ijō are at the bottom of Germanic stems like Goth. rigneīp 'it rains' from rign 'rain', háurnja 'I blow on the horn' from hauru 'horn', Goth. lāusja O.H.G. lōs(i)u 'I loose' from láus lōs 'loose'; the last verb, like all transitive denominatives taken from adjectives in Germanic, can be counted to Class XXXI; see § 806. Balto-Slavonic has -žo- instead of -ejo- (§ 782. 2): Lith. gūdė-ju-s 'I am greedy' from gūda-s greed', kerė-ju 'I grow in stalks, like a bush' from kēra-s stalk', kūtė-ju 'I get hard' from kēta-s hard'; 1) O.C.Sl. razume-

1) Kursekat, apparently with less correctness, kūtēju.

-jā 'I understand' from raz-unū 'understanding, reason', cēlō-jā 'I get well' from cēlū 'well, whole', o-ēstocajā 'I harden myself' for *o-ēstokējā (1 § 76 p. 66), from ēstokū 'hard'.

Remark. Greek verbs in -ōw have their parallel in Lith. verbs with -ų I conjecture that these endings are special upgrowths in these languages (§§ 773, 776.4, 782.2). Of course if Idg. o in open syllables became Aryan ā, there is a possibility that Ar. -āju-ti in some words comes from *-o-je-ṭi.

§ 771. (4.) i-stems, Idg. -iō-. Gr. μηρίο-μαι 'I devise, contrive' Lat. mētior 'I measure, sentence',) from μη-ri-ς 'counsel, resolve, cleverness' Skr. mā-ti-ś 'measure, correct perception'. Skr. arati-ṭi 'brews mischief for some one' from ārati-ś 'ill luck', jānī-yā-ṭi 'asks for a wife' from jānī-ś 'wife', kavi-yā-ṭi 'acts like a wise man, is wise' from kavi-ś 'wise man, seer' (on -iyāti, see § 774). Gr. xónto 'I make dusty' from xon-ς 'dust', δηνομαί 'I strive' from δην-ς 'contention', μηρνό 'I grow angry' from μη-ν-ς 'wrath'. Lat. fēniō from fēni-s, febrō from fēbrī-s, crēniō from crēni-s, grandio from grandī-s, lēniō from lēni-s. O.Ir. fo-dālim 'I divide up' (3rd sing. fo-dāli) from dāil 'part'. Goth. dāilja O.H.G. teil(ī)u 'I divide' from tiōth. dāi-l-s stem dāili- 'part'; Goth. cēnja O.H.G. wēn(ī)u 'I imagine, hope' beside Goth. wēn-s (stem wēn-) 'delusion, hope'; Goth. dulphi 'I observe a feast' from dulī-s (stem dulī-) 'feast, anamahja 'I offer force to' from anah-mäh-s (stem -mahiti-) 'force'. Lith. daly-ju 'I divide' from dalī-s 'part', sziřdай-ja-s 'I take to heart' (szirdī-s 'heart'); as regards -y-ju, instead of -i-ju, see § 782. 2.

§ 772. (5.) From u-stems, Idg. -u-jō-. Skr. gātu-yā-ti 'goes an errand' from gātū-ś 'errand', vasū-yā-ti 'desires goods' from vāsū 'goods', ṣatru-yā-ti 'appears as a foe' from śatru-ś 'foe', rā-jū-yā-ti 'is straight' from rājū-ś 'straight' (on -ā-yā-ti see § 774); Avest. avohu-yē-īti 'makes oneself master of' from avohu-ś 'lord, master'. Gr. τινώ 'I beget, produce' from τίμω

1) A different amount of mētior is given by Johanson, Beitr. zur Gr. Spr., 129.

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present stem: class XXXI — skr. dēva-yā-śi. §§ 772, 773.

'sprout, offspring', qīv-ś 'begetter, producer', γνησὼ 'I make a sound' from qīw-ś 'voice', oίζων 'I lament' from oίζω-ς 'lament', δακρύω 'I weep' from δάκρυ 'tear', ἵνω 'I go straight towards' from ἵνο-ς 'straight'. Lat. statuō from statu-s, tribuō from tribu-s, metuō from metu-s.

§ 773. We have now given the main lines of this denotative formation in Indo-Germanic.

Now we have seen in § 769 p. 286, that α-verbs of this formation very early yield to the analogy of α-verbs of Classes X and XXVIII so far as to make such forms as Gr. τίμη-τό-ς τίμη-ν. Next, corresponding non-present stems with -ε-, -η-, or -α- associated themselves with the presents in -ε-ικ -ι-ικ and -α-ικ; to which were soon added verbs with -ε- outside the present and with -ο-ικ- or -δ-ικ- in the present, formed from o-nouns. In the case of Denominatives with -ε- and -η-, the type was aided by ε- and η- verbs of Classes X and XXVIII as well. These non-present formations are all found in several branches of Indo-Germanic. As far as our knowledge of the relations of the languages to one another now goes, it is hardly possible to say how many such forms are proethmic and how many are later.


ε- is commonest within the verb infinite; as Gr. μοσθω-
§ 778. Present Stem: Class XXXI. — Skr. aegr-īd-tī. 291

-īd-tī from μυῦτ-ός, Lat. aegrō-tu-s from aeger (stem aegrō-), Lith. ragū-ta-s O.C.Sl. roga-tū 'horned' from rāga-s rogu 'horn', being forms like Gr. τειμ-το-ς from τειμή, ‘barba-tu-s from barba. Perhaps it was just verbal nouns of this kind which in Greek were the starting point for ἵματ-ων-α μυῦτ-ώς μυῦτω, cp. ἵματ-σα τειμή-σω τειμάω; so in Lithuanian, jūkč-siu jūkč-ju like dovano-siu dovano-ju. Compare, § 770 Rem. p. 289.

The shapes taken by present io-stems in different languages will concern us in §§ 774 ff.

The meaning originally conveyed by this denominative group was that the subject of the verb stood in some kind of relation to the noun it came from. What this relation was had to be gathered from the meaning of the noun and of the context. But it often happens that we find in historical periods some special sense attaching itself to a special denominative ending (-aĪd -eīd etc.). In Sanskrit, for example, -iyā-ti implied desire; in Latin, -o -a-s -a-t were factitive, and -eo -e-s -e-t intransitive. This special meaning always started with some particular verbs, where it came from the essential meaning of the noun these verbs were derived from. Then other verbs followed the same pattern. To conform to the pattern, the stem of the ground-noun is often quite neglected; thus we have Skr. putriyā-ti from putrā-s on the model of janiyā-ti (from jāni-ś). As we saw in § 769 pp. 284 f., it is the ending -a-īd which seems first to have trespassed beyond its own domain.

As a result of this specialising of endings to some particular sense, the same noun often served as base for several denominatives with different meanings; as Gr. ἱστῶν 'I receive at the hearth, entertain' and ἵστρων 'I make into a hearth, found a house' both from ἵστρα, ἱστρῶν 'I am weak' and ἵστρῶν 'I make weak', from ἵστρης, Lat. clarēo 'I am clear' and clarō (-a-s) 'I make clear' from clarō-s.

Remark. Considering how close was the tie between noun and derivative verb, it is not to be wondered at that such verbs often caused the creation of nouns which looked as though the verbs were derived from them ("nomen postverbae"). So, on the analogy of latrēna: latrīna, rixāri: rixa we have Lat. pāguna coined to match pāgnare, which was
derived from pūgmu-e; in Greek, similarly, we have ῥιξίω 'victory' growing out of νικέω 'I bring down, conquer' (II § 86 p. 256). There are many certain examples of this retrospective tendency in modern languages, as Ital. and Span. liga Fr. ligute from līgāre, Mod.H.G. wech from wechek. See Bréal, Mém. Soc. Ling. iv 82 f.; Osthoff, M. U. iv 224.

§ 774. Aryan. The original forms leave the old groove but rarely.

We shall treat below (§ 793) of the shifting of denominatives in -ā-yā-tī to the track of Class XXXII, which gives rise to such a form as Skr. mantra-ya-tē

Instead of Idg. -i-jo- and -u-jo-, we find in Vedie -i-yā- u-yā- and -r-yā- a-yā-; see §§ 771, 772. It is not clear whether the analogy of primary verbs like ni-yā-tē śrū-ya-tē is at work (§ 709 pp. 243 f.), or if the i and ā came from feminine stems in -ī- and -ā- (II § 109 pp. 383 f.); it might be held that jani-yā-ti belongs to jāni-ś, janī-yā-ti to the by-form jāni, kandā-ya-ti 'scratches' to the fem. kanda- and not to the masc. kandu-. Perhaps both these forces acting together caused the vowel to become long.

The wider use of -ā-yā-ti, which began in pre-Aryan times (§ 769 pp. 284 f.), went further; and in later Sanskrit it took a special turn, and the middle voice was used to mean that the subject represented the noun which the form came from; as śukracapāya-tē 'represents a rainbow, is like it' from śukracapa-m 'rainbow'. Note for the typical form of the contained noun, Ved. dhiy-aya-tē 'is pious' dhiy-ayā-nt- 'attentive' from dhi- f. 'devotion, piety'; similarly jm-ayā-nt- 'struggling earthwards' from kṣām- f. 'earth' (II § 160 p. 482), unless it be from jmān- āima- 'a way' ('way-making, carving a path').

-I-yā-ti also was productive. On the model of durgothi-ya-tē 'is hard to grasp' (dur-goṭhi-ś 'hard to grasp'), kavi-yā-tē 'is wise (kavi-ś 'wise'), tāviṣṭa-yā-tē 'is strong' (tāviṣṭa f. 'strength') sprang up others, as adhvariyā-ti 'is present at the offering' from adhvaru-s 'offering', pitriya-ti 'is fatherly' (gramm.) from pūtār- 'father'. On the model of janj-yā-ti 'asks for a wife' (jāni-ś 'wife') we have putriya-ti 'wishes for a son' from putrā-s 'son', māşiyā-ti 'desires meat' from māsā-m 'meat'.

Thirsty, -s-yā- (from s-stems) once or twice leaves its proper sphere. mānavasyā-ti 'acts after the manner of men' from mānavā-s 'human' follows the type svapas-yā-tē 'acts nicely' from sv-apas- 'acting nicely'. uruṣyā-ti 'seeks the distance' from uru n. 'the distance' follows such verbs as taruṣ-yā-ti 'fights' (from tāruṣ- n. 'fight').

Lastly, the ending -arya-ti grew into a type; beginning with vadharyā-ti 'lets fly a shot or missile', beside vādhā- and vadhā-s 'missile', it spread to rātha-s 'a chariot', and formed ratharyā-ti 'he drives in a chariot'.

Remark. I may mention here another word, Skr. śrūḍhiyā-ti 'obeys'. This is derived from the imper. śru-dhi 'listen', which must have crystallized into something hardly more than a particle; the form is then like Gr. οἴ-ος from οἴ, Mod.H.G. bejahe I say yes' verneine 'I say no' from ja and nein, Lat. negū from some form like *ne-gi = Lith. ne-gi ne-gu, contained also in neg-dīum neg-līgū.


Without io-suffix: jana-m and the like, see § 551 p. 128.

Still unexplained are denom. in e-m, as gorce-m 'I work' from gorc 'work', sire-m 'I love' from sēr 'love', ĕue-m 'I break up, depart' from ĕu 'a breaking up, departure'. As jana-m answers to Aeol. rīmū-m, one would be inclined to place gorce-m parallel to φίλη-m. But i would be expected as representing Idg. ē.

§ 775. Greek. The original ending -ēō = Idg. -ā-iō became -āō, not by rule, but by analogy of -ēō -iō -iō.

In several dialects we see -γω -ω-ω -ω-ω instead of the other quantity; as Leab. ἀδηκήει, Boeot. δαμωστέες Delph. στεμαννέτω Hom. ὑπωστέες, Hom. κοινντόες ῥητόντω. Similarly -āō, as Hom. μενονήμα and ἡσπάσμι or (with Ion. ἡ) ἡκάσμι, which seems to have been the form originally used where the text has ἡβάσμι. This ē is certainly not long because

1) Hübsoehmann points out to me the possibility that the analogy of, say, ber ('poés, latio' etc.): berem (= Gr. φεῖω) may have produced gorcea in connexion with gorc. Op. the denom. Skr. māroga-ti Gr. σικερ-το etc., § 487 p. 41.
the vowel was long originally (see above), nor did the other endings lengthen their first vowel by analogy of an η so preserved; the long vowel in all of them came from the future, aorist, and other parts which had η, so that ἤπειρον follows ἤπειρ-α-ω, ἀδυκηῖον follows ἀδυκη-ι-α-ω. At the same time, some power must be ascribed to the influence of present stems such as χρηστός (§ 737 p. 263) and Ἕρω (§ 707 p. 236); for the other parts of these had the same endings as the denominatives which now concern as (χρη-σομαι like φιλη-σω, Ἕρ-ω like δακρυ-σω etc.). To hastily reject this element in the matter would be all the more foolish, because it is clear as day that Primitive verbs have had influence over Denominatives in the futures ὅμοιαν-ω -ω beside ὅμοιαί-ω, and ἱκλάω instead of ἰκλάσω (§ 757 p. 277). As regards verbs in -ης and -εω, we have also to consider that the contained nouns often had -η-ς and -ε-ς (ep. ἵππος from ἵππος-ς); this may have had something to do with it, and analogy may have finished the work. How far this influence acted must remain unsettled while we have no exact statistics of -ηω -εω and -ης -ες.

Remark. γελάω, ἑραίω, ἱσαίω are to be kept distinct from δαμιδόντως etc., because they come from -εις-α-ω. γελάω from γελεω (nom. γέλω), the strong form of γελεω, whence γελάω (§ 768 p. 282). ἑραίω from ἑρέα-εις, ἱσαίω from a word parallel to Lat. rigor. These verbs in -εις-α-ω are in all probability upgrowths of the separate period, when the languages were developing singly; in this they resemble the Latin group exemplified by fulgur-īō from fulgur (O.Lat. fulgus), and stand in contrast to the really old forms Gr. τελόω τελώ for *τελθα-εις (§ 768 p. 282).


On the non-thematic present inflexion -ṭη-μι (-αμι) -η-μι -αμι-μι following Class X (instead of -αω -εω -ωω) in Aeolic and Arcadian, see § 582 p. 123, § 589 p. 131. The type -αμι in our η-denominatives came from the pre-Greek stage; and in Greek itself its analogy produced -η-μι and -αμι-μι.

1) Cp. γειω instead of γειω following γει-αω and the rest; the Author, Gr. Gr.9 p. 31. Lithuanian: cp. pres. dėmė 3rd sing. dėmus instead of dėmė dėmė following dė-αω dė-τι etc. (§ 546 p. 104).
§ 776. Before turning to trace the way by which the various denominative endings became general types in Greek, we would quote some words of Sütterlin's. He says, "In the every-day language of inscriptions, analogy did not run riot as it did amongst the poets and orators, who were often forced to adopt new words and terms, and depended partly on these for effect". (Zur Gesch. der Verba denom. im Altgr., 15).

(1) The type -αω, which could be made from σ-nouns even in pre-Greek times (§ 769 pp. 284 f.), did not spread so far as it might in forming factitives, because it was met by a counter-current, the -οω class (4). Thus νεοω 'I renew' may have caused νεφα-λω = Lat. novō O.H.G. niewōn to drop out of use (cp. p. 284 footnote). But in other directions -αω was fertile; it served to denote disease or diseased appetite, the production of sounds, mechanical operations, and the like. Examples: λεραώ 'I have an eruption on the skin' (from λερασ 'eruption') and similar words give rise to ὑδεραω 'I have dropsy' from ὑδερας 'dropsy'; ὕφθαλμαω 'I have diseased eyes' (from ὕφθαλμα 'disease of the eyes') gives ὑδεραιω from ὕδερας (beside ὑδεραω), ὑδονταω 'I cut teeth' from ὑδός 'a tooth'; βοαιω 'I call, cry' from βοι 'cry' produces γοαιω from γός 'lament'; whilst κοραω 'I twist like a top' from κόνω-ς 'top', στιχάωνται 'they arrange themselves in rows' from στιχοι and στίχος 'rows', ἰπραγαναω 'I wrap in swaddling clothes' from ἰπραγαναν- 'swaddling clothes' follow τεχναω 'I work skillfully' from τέχνη 'skill', μηχαναω 'I set to work' from μηχανή 'tool, means', and so forth. -αιω became another kind of desiderative suffix: στρατηγαώ 'I strive to become a general' (στρατηγία) and others like it gave rise to such forms as ἀρχονταω 'I strive to become archon' from ἄρχων, μαθηταω 'I wish to be a pupil' from μαθητή-ς; and the last-named verb served as a model for βιναιταιω 'volo coire' from βιναω 'coeo'.

Remark. In certain Greek dialects -αιω is often found where we expect -αω; it is not always possible to suppose that these are due to the analogy of verbs in -αιω from σ-stems. Such are ἵδιω beside ἱδιω, δαμαυω beside δαμαω. I. Schmidt, in his work on the Neuters (pp. 926 ff.), puts forward a view that in pr. Greek co αω became regularly se σω; that
thus so οὐ and οὐ stood side by side in sets of verb-forms, ἤδειος ἤδεικτος etc.; and that there was levelling in two directions, (1) ἰδέων ἰδέομεν etc. following ἰδέως ἵνα, (2) ἰδεῖος ἵδεσι following ἰδεῖον ἵδεσι.

(2) Many are the meanings given by verbs in -εἰω which are formed from uncompounded o-stems; they stand in all sorts of different relations to the contained stem. Here are a few: κοιρανήω 'I am ruler' from κοἰρανος 'ruler', οἰκέω 'I dwell' from οἶκος 'dwelling, house', αἰσχρευώ 'I count' from ἁρυμαύς 'number, μοιχέω 'I toil' from μοιχήθος 'labour'. This type was not very fertile in analogical imitations, though we have ἕγεμονειο 'I lead' (ἕγεμον) modelled upon κοιρανέω. But when these verbs were taken from compound stems, the case was different. These meant mostly to be or to act as something; and the type spread to an extraordinary extent. Examples of strictly correct forms: νοστολήω 'I am wine-pourer' from νοστο-γόνος, δημοσιογράφεω 'I am a craftsman, artisan' from δημοσιογράφος, ἀναγκάζομαι 'I am unable, weak' from ἀ-ἀναγκάζος; by analogy — μεσοδοτεύω 'I am wage-giver' from μεσοδότης, ἱσφονείω 'I am senseless' from ἱσφον. It is true some of these verbs have meanings both transitive and intransitive, but this depends on the meaning of the ground-word; this ταλαμαρθέω means 'I plague' or 'I am plagued' because ταλαι-πορος-γε means either suffering misery or inflicting it.

(3) With -εἰω-verbs derived from o-stems, another group originally ending in -εσ-ειω ran together. Only in Homer is there a difference in form; there we have -ειω, from -εσμο, and the intermediate -ειω, side by side: τελειω and τελέω (I § 131 p. 118). The coincidence of these two classes in the present caused analogy to act in other parts of the verb system. Even in Homer are found such forms as ἀνθέαμαι from ἀνθέω 'I bloom' for ἀνθέων ἰω (ἀνθέος n. 'bloom') on the analogy of φιλήσαι from φιλέω, and τιτευξένθαι 'to be armed' from τιτέχνα pl. 'arms'. Then came a number of verbs in -ειω fut. -ησαι from compound εσ-stems, as ἀπειθέω 'I am disobedient' from ἀ-πείθης 'disobedient', εὐθαρσέω 'I am of good courage' from εὐ-θαρσής 'courageous'; a step due partly to the fondness
which the Greeks showed for verbal derivatives in -εω from compound o-stems (for which see above, 2).

(4) The group of verbs in -οω, also from o-stems, is probably a purely Greek development, on parallel lines to -εω = ἱδ. -ε-ις (see § 773 pp. 290 f.). At first probably there were forms of the verb infinite only, as those with the ending -ω-το-ς; these soon produced all the rest. -αιω, -σαιω, etc. may have been the type for -οω, -ωσω: there is a likeness between θρυγκω 'I furnish with battlements or eaves' (θρυγκω-ς) στερανω 'I provide with a wreath' (στερανω-ς) and πιδαιω 'I furnish with a fetter' (πέδη) πειμαω 'I provide with honour' τειμη; compare particularly στερανω (στερανως) στερανω and τειμη (τειμαις) τειμαι.

A favourite meaning for -οω is factitive; as σφλω 'I make a cripple' (σφλω-ς), νεω 'I make new' (νεω-ς), ἵσω 'I make equal' (ἵσω-ς). This function it seems to have taken from pre-Greek -αιο, compare νεω with Lat. novare O.H.G. niwōn (p. 295); and in this sense -οω became enormously productive: σα βαξω 'I make into rags, tear to rags' from βάξω, n. 'rag', ϝγιω 'I make well' from ϝγις 'well', ὀρνιθω 'I turn into a bird' from ὀρνις 'bird', πλατω 'I make broad' from πλατυ-ς 'broad', γεφυρω 'I make into a bridge' from γέφυρα 'bridge'.

(5) Beside verbs in -νω (§ 772) sprang up a class in -νω as νομεω 'I am a herdsman' (νομεω-ς), ἡμοχενω 'I am a driver' (ἡμοχενω-ς). If, as we assumed in III § 261 p. 162, -νω comes from *εν-ς, then -νω = *εν-λω, -ενω = *εν-σω are quite regular, and do not differ in principle from -ν-ς, -σ-ω (δακρυω -δω).

The ending -νω soon became a type for expressing one's usual calling or occupation: as ὀινοχενω 'I am cup-bearer' from ὀινοχω-ς, μαντεύμω 'I am a seer' from μάντες-ς, ἔρημων 'I am a hunter' from ἔρημω 'hunt', βουλέω 'I am a counsellor, advise' from βουλη 'counsel'. Thus -νω is partly synonymous with -εω; we have ὀινοχεω and -χεω, and καυσωνεω bears the same kind of sense (see 2., p. 296).

1) One dare hardly derive this from *δανω-ς-αιω, although this would have an analogue in Lat. fulgur-ις (see § 775 p. 294).
(6) Amongst the many endings of verbs derived from substantives with consonantal stems, three are particularly fertile — -αῖω, -εῖω, and -αινω.

(a) -αῖω, for -ω-λω, answers sometimes to a Germanic class in (Goth.) -atja (§ 768 p. 283), and sometimes -αίω comes from -ομᾶίο, as in πεμπάζομαι 'I count by fives' from πεμπάς (Π § 123 p. 390, ΠΙΙ § 169 pp. 13 f.). Following μεγάζω 'I mix', intr. in middle (μιγὰς 'mixt') were coined ἧσωκάζω 'I pacify, keep quiet' from ἧσωκος 'quiet', δόκεμαζω 'I test' from δόκωμος 'tested, genuine, correct'. Following ἀφροδιάζω 'I give myself up to sensuality' (ἀφροδισιάς), γενεώζω 'I grow a beard' (γενεας) were formed στρατάζω 'I am in tumult' from στρατῶς 'tumult', ἀναίζω 'I feel pain or trouble' from ἀνία 'pain, trouble', ἐπιχώριαζω 'I am at home' from ἐπιχώρως 'at home'.

-ἰω for -ιῶ; as ἐλπίζω 'I hope' from ἐλπίς -ιῶς 'hope', φροντίζω 'I think' from φρόνις 'care', ληφθομαι 'I rob, barry, carry off' from ληφῆς 'booty', ἐρίζω 'I strive' from ἐρίς 'strife'. On this model, αἰμίζω 'I praise' from αἰνος 'praise', δεπνίζω 'I entertain' from δεπνὸν 'meal', ναυχίζω 'I roar, rush' from ναυχῆς 'rush, roar', ἀναίδιζω 'I abuse, blame' from ἀναίδις n. 'disgrace', ἀκοντίζω 'I cast a javelin' from ἄκω 'javelin', αἰματίζω 'I stain with blood' from αἷμα 'blood', μαστίζω 'I bless' from μάσῃ 'blest', ἀθνίζω 'I insult, torment' from ἀθνῆς 'shameful'.

In a few words -αίω and -αῖω come from -αγ-ω and -ιγ-ω; as ἀρπαίω 'I seize, carry off' (fut. ἀρπάζω) from ἀρπαξ 'greedy, piratical'; and μαστίζω 'I whip' from μάστιξ 'a whip'. This concidence of -γ-ω and -ιγ-ω in the present caused analogy to act in two directions. (1) ἀρπάζω ἡγοπάσα beside ἀρπάζω ἡγοπάσα following the dental stems; and (2) Dor. δοκιμαίζω ἡγοπίζω instead of δοκιμαίζω ἡγοπίζω following guttural stems. The latter kind were very common in Doric.

(b) Verbs in -αινω come from two sources. Some are derived from nominal -n-stems; as τεκταίνω 'I carpenter' from τεκτῶν 'carpenter'. ἐπιφαινώ 'I make glad' from εὐφρων 'glad', πομαίνω 'I tend' from πομήν 'herdsman', σπερμαίνω 'I give
forth seed’ from σπόρα ‘seed’, κυμαίνω ‘I undulate’ from κύμα ‘billow’ (§ 768 p. 282). The others are extended no-stems; as ιαίνω ‘I quicken, make live’ beside Skr. ἠζα-ντ, αἷαινω ‘I dry’ beside Lith. sausinu (§ 621 pp. 158 f., § 743 p. 266). As the -αινω group spread, either of the two kinds might serve as a type-form. Thus in making factitives from adj. o-stems, a large class, like Θρομαίνω ‘I warm’ from θηρομέ-ζ ‘warm’, λέαινω ‘I smooth’, from λεί-ζ ‘smooth’, λευκαίνω ‘I whiten’ from λευκό-ζ ‘white’, the model might be either αейчас, which was popularly derived from αἵ-ζ ‘dry’, or εὐφραίνω ‘I gladden’ (εὐφρα-νω) and ἀtaire ‘I fatten’ (πινω).

§ 777. Italic. Denominatives from consonantal noun-stems, as Lat. cantur-iō, dent-iō, comped-iō, custōd-iō, fulgur-iō, in the present ran on parallel lines with primitives such as farc-iō -i-s (§ 702 p. 229, § 715 p. 248), and with denominatives from i-stems like finīō (-i-s) for -i-ō; with the latter this is true of the non-present stem, as custōdiēt -i-tus like finītē -ītus. The association seems to have gone thus far in proethnico Italic; for we have Osc. xambrum, i.e. kapid-i-to-m ‘ollarium’ (same stem as Lat. capis -id-is); compare Umbr. statita ‘statuta’ from *stati- Gr. στάμα-ζ. Old participials such as Lat. sceles-tus liber-tus (II § 79 pp. 231 f., IV § 768 p. 283) had fallen out of the verbal system, thus becoming adjectives, before the beginnings of Latin.

The whole class of denominatives from consonantal noun-stems was dying out in Latin. Only those which ended in -turiō were a group of any size (see § 778. 1).

Of the forms used for the present in scriptur-iō -i-s etc., the only ones which are a regular outgrowth of the Indo-Germanic are the 1st sing. -iō and the 3rd pl. -iunt. The others cannot be derived either from -ie-s -ie-ti -io-mos -io-tes nor from -ije-s etc.: to judge from the voc. filie (beside fil, III § 201 p. 83), we should expect as an imper. *scripturie. As a fact, these denominatives dropt their -iō -ie-s and so forth simply because in Italic primary verbs conjugating -iō -ie-s
-ie-ti exchanged it for -iō -Is -I-ti (§ 702 pp. 228 ff.) So scriptur-iō took its type from suff-fiō furc-iō etc. (§§ 716 f. pp. 249 ff.), in the same way as Greek moulded the future ἣμνυμεν αὕτη upon the primary class (§ 757 p. 277).

What is seen in scriptur-iō, is seen in other verbs with -iō. as finiō from finis-s. Here, as before, only -iō and -iunt are regular. Here too the new forms sprung up in proethnic Italic; evidence for which is found in Umbr. persnihi-mu persnii-mu persni-mu ‘precator’ from a noun-stem *persni- (§ 674 p. 207).

Again: verbs in -ā-iō, -e-iō, and -u-iō run parallel to the primary classes:

plantō, for *-ā-iō. has the ċo-suffix only in the 1st sing.; elsewhere un thematic -a-s -a-t etc., like no na-s etc., and iuvō -a-s etc. This agrees with Umbr. surfant furfa-t ‘februant’ anstipltu ‘instipulator’ Osc. faamat ‘habitat’ and others, beside 1st sing. Umbr. subocau ‘adoro’ for -a(ī)ō (cp. stahu ‘sto,’ and § 980); so the Latin type may be regarded as proethnic in Italy. See § 583 pp. 123 ff., § 738 p. 263.

So also with cludeō, for *-e-iō, the ċo-suffix is found only in the 1st sing. cludeō -es es etc. like pleō pl-es etc., videō -ē-s etc. (§ 590 pp. 131 f., § 738 p. 263). And the same is true of Causals, moneō -ē-s and so forth (§ 788). Two remarks may be made. First, cludeō and moneō orig. had -ēō, while pleō videō had -orig. -ēō (cp. I § 612 p. 402). Secondly, cludeō mones -et -ētis may be derived without violence from -e(i)es -e(i)eti -e(i)etes, as easily as Lesb. χρητε may be derived from χαλέωτε (§ 589 p. 131). To judge from Lat. trēs, pontēs Umbr. puntes for -e(i)es (I § 134 p. 121), ee became ē in pre-Italic times. It is possible that this contraction in persons containing the suffix -ē- may have paved the way for the confluence of verbs in -e-iō and -ē-iō with those in -ē-. It must also be carefully remembered that Latin had no ē-forms answering to plantāvī plantātus finīvī finītus-s, as it had no similar ē-forms even in verbs with -ē-iō, such as videō.
Remark. An exception is *dēna* 'I thicken', which has *dēna*-s, a bye-form of *dēnāre* (same meaning). It would appear that there was once nothing but this participle *dēnātu*-s, and that the whole system *dēna*-mus etc., sprang up by analogy of *dēnā-mus* to *dēnā-tu*-s. This would explain why *dēna*-ō, unlike *ālīō* claudrō etc., had a factitive meaning.

statō -suis -suit etc. may be directly compared with Skr. *gātu-yāmī* -yā-si etc., (ir. *qītīnī* -mī etc.; on the other hand the inflexion is the same as in suō suis suit etc. (§ 717 p. 250).

§ 778. Particular endings becoming a type in Italic:

(1) The ending -turiō, occurring words like scriptur-īō from scriptor (§ 768 p. 282), was made by the usual misunderstanding into a type. Hence came a number of new forms, with the sense of will, wish, intention, often where there was no connected noun in -tor; as parturiō tacituriō, sullaturiō (from Sulla). In late Latin these words lost their distinctive meaning, and parturiō, for example, meant the same as parīō.1)

(2) The ending -iō = -i-īō, found in many Latin verbs from both subst. and adj. stems, gained no such distinctive meaning as did -ā (-āre) and -ēō. Add to the exx. given in § 771 p. 289 the following: partīō and -iōr 'I divide, snare from pars (stem parti-), circumvītīō 'I ensnare' from rētle, inaniō 'I empty' from ināni-s, mollīō 'I soften' from mollī-s. None the less did -iō spread by analogy: catuliō from catulus-s, equīō from equus-s, which with nuptuāre remind us in form and sense of the Skr. desiderative class putrīyā-tī (§ 774 p. 292); blandior from blandus-s, raucīō from raucus-s, saevīō from saevus-s, largīō from largus-s, ānīō fromānu-s; poeniō pānīō from poena; abortīō from abortus-s, singultīō from singultus-s. It is possible that some of the verbs like catuliō blandior are the same formation as Skr. adhvarya-ti Gr. ἀγγέλλω; see § 770 pp. 286 f.

(3) Verbs in -a-īō (Lat. -ā), some of which, from o-stems, belong to pre-Italic times (§ 769 pp. 284 f.), became very numerous in Italic.

Many such, derived from a-substantives, meant 'to

1) Johansson (P.-B. Beltr. x 223) thinks that Goth. *aīhro* 'to beg for' is a desiderative like these. He connects it with *āh* 'I possess', and thinks the orig. meaning was 'I want to possess.'
occupy oneself with, to practise, use, produce' that which the original stem denoted: Lat. cūro Umbr. kurain 'cure' Pelign. voisatens 'curaverunt' (Lat. cūra), Lat. multō Osc. multaum 'multare' (Lat. multa), Lat. insidior (insidiae), praedor (praeda), lacrimō (lacrima), maculō (macula), fortānō (fortūna). Then verbs in -aīō were made from other substantive stems. Examples: Lat. terminō from terminus termen, Umbr. terminas 'terminatu-s' Osc. temennattens 'terminaverunt': Lat. locō from locu-s, Pelign. locatin(s) 'locaverunt': Lat. dōno from dōnu-m, Osc. d]unated 'donavit'; Lat. vinculō from vinculū-m, Umbr. previsīlatu imper. 'praevinculato, praeepidito vinculis'; Lat. numerō from numeru-s, pāgnō from pāgnus-s (cp. § 773 Rem. p. 291), spoliōr from spoliu-m, cōnsilior from cōnsiliu-m, rēgnō from rēgnu-m, fluctuō from fluctū-s, tumultuō from tumultu-s, cōntinōr from cōntīō, nōminō from nōmen, exāminō from exāmen, colorō from color, fulgūro from fulgūr, onerō from onus, scelerō from scelus, puterō from pulvi-s, laudō from laus, hiemō from hiems; Osc. deivaids 'iuret' deicest 'iurabit' from deivo- 'deus'.

A few more exx. may be given of verbs in -aīō derived from adjectival stems, like Lat. novō (pp. 284 f.): Lat. priō from prīvo-s, Osc. prēivatud 'privato, reo' (for the meaning, cp. Bréal, Dict. etym. Lat. 2 281, Mém. Soc. Ling. iv 394 f.); Lat. plō from pliu-s, Umbr. pihatū 'piato' prupēhast 'ante piabit'; Lat. probō from produ-s, Osc. prūsattens 'probaverunt'. Hence by analogy Lat. gravō from gravi-s, levō from levi-s. cicurō from cīcur. Lat. sacrō from sacru-s sacri-s, Os sakarater 'sacratur, sacrificatur' from auxō (sacrum) sacri-

A mass of Lat. verbs in -aīō are based upon to- Participles; usually they have an intensive or frequentative meaning. The following seem to have existed in pre-Italic times: Lat. gustō = O.H.G. costōn from Idg. *gus-tō-, see § 769 p. 284; Lat. iūō Umbr. etāians 'itent' etato 'itate' - Gr. ἰη-τέω El. part. perf. act. ἐπι-α-τικός; Lat. putō 'I deck, prune, clean, reckon, think' beside O.C.Sl. pytajq 'scrutor, quaero, indago' (Osthoff, M. U. iv 86 f.). Formed in Latin on the same
principle: hortor occultō adjite cantō versō tractō dicitō geatō petō, domiō crepitō habitō. The ending -itō was abstracted from words which happened to have it, and became a type; hence vocitō from vocō (vocātus-s), volitō from volō (volātus-m), agitō from agō, scititō from scī-tō, visītō from visō (Class XX, § 662 p. 197); and, by a combination of -itō with -tō, arose intensives or frequentatives to the second power, as ititō from i-tō, dictitō from dic-tō, cursitō from cursō.

The reason why this class derived from the to-participle increased to such a size, was that from the pre-Italic stage onwards, the neuter or the feminine of these participles was used as an abstract noun: as commentum ‘idea’ (hence commentor), repulsa ‘defeat’ (hence repulsō), offensa ‘blow’ (hence offensō). See II § 158 pp. 473 ff., IV § 769 p. 285.


(4) The -eō = -e-iō, of intrans. verbs like claudēō (§ 770 p. 288), hardly touched any but o-stems; but an example of it elsewhere is molēō from molli-s.

Observe that the same distinction of transitive and intransitive, which we see in the denominatives clarāre and clarēre, is seen in primary verbs with those endings, as liquāre and liquēre.

Remark. fato r seems to be another denominative in eō. Of this verb, Oscan has the inf. fatīsum (f = z). The contained stem is *fa-tō-s, answering to Gr. φατός-'said' (φας-tō-s), and meaning ‘having declared something, open, confessing’; and the word doubtless borrowed its deponent inflexion from fātī (§ 495 p. 59). At first its construction was fatōr de aliquā vē, and the accusative constr. came later. The partic. fesu-s follows suū-ne from suūdeō, and the like.

§ 779. Keltic. The only distinct class of this kind in Irish contains the a-denominatives, as rannain from the a-stem rann (§ 769 p. 284) and marbaim from the o-stem marb (p. 284). Somewhat as in Latin, the 1st sing. only is extended by -io-, and all the rest lacks it: 1st sing. no charfa for *card-jo
(conjunct inflexion) like Lat. *plantō; 3rd sing. no chara O.Bret. *cospitio-t like Lat. *planta-t. Compare § 584 p. 125.

io-presents from consonantal stems (like Skr. apas-yā-ti) there are none. Mid.Ir. *ath-rīgaim ‘I dethrone’ is an a-verb (inf. aith-rīgad) from rī ‘king’ (stem rīg-).

There are none either of the type of Skr. gātu-yā-ti (§ 772 p. 289).

In the Keltic 3rd conjugation, Idg. denominatives in -e-iō (say scorim scuirim, § 770 p. 288), those in -i-iō (say fo-dalin § 771 p. 289), and causals in -eiō (§ 803) have all run together. Then this new composite denominative-type spreads by analogy: 3rd sing. ad-rīmi ‘counts’ from rīm f. ‘number’ (stem *rīma-), bāgim ar-bāgim ‘I strive, brag’ from bāg f. ‘strive’ (stem *baga-).

§ 780. A denominative ending with -ag- became widespread in Irish and British dialects: e.g. O.Ir. sāraigim or -sāraigir Mod. Cymr. sarhāf (= O.Cymr. *sarhagam) ‘I injure, offend’ from sār ‘offence’, O.Ir. suidigim ‘I place’ from suide ‘place’, Mid.Ir. intamlaigim ‘I compare’ from intamail ‘likeness, imitation’, O.Cymr. scammhegirt ‘levant’. Some have wished to connect this suffix with the nominal suffix -aco- (II § 89 p. 273), led to this view by cunachtaigim ‘I make myself master of’ from cunachtach ‘powerful’; but nothing clear is known about its origin.

Remark. “The British dialects point to -āg-, and before the ā Cymr. has an h. which I believe to indicate that the orig. sound was s (i.e. -sāgi-). But of this s there is no trace at all in Irish. Leaving this out of count, we might imagine some formation like Lat. rēmīgāre pāga-r, only with i-flexion in Keltic.” Thurneysen.

§ 781. Germanic. (1) Here, as in Keltic, the most prominent group consists of a-verbs, with inf. Goth. O.H.G. -ōn O.Icel. -a A.S. -ian, called in Germanic grammars the Second Weak Conjugation. -ā-jo-, with -jo-extension, is clear only in Anglo-Frisian, A.S. 1st sing. in -ie, pl. in -iad, as sealfē sealfiād, where i must originally have been a long and also dull vowel, so that Germ. -ō-ia- is quite out of the question. Without -io-:

O.H.G. salbhōm -ōs -ōt -ōmēs -ōt - int Goth. salbōs -ōp -ōm -ōp
§ 781. Present Stem: Class XXXI — Skr. ācava-yā-ti. 305

-ōnd. The 1st sing. Goth. salbō is doubtless not for *-ā-m
with secondary personal ending (neither is hab-a for *-ē-m,
see § 708 p. 239), but a new formation following bātra beside
bātram and haba beside habam. Compare § 739 p. 264.

Examples of ā-verbs derived from ā-nouns are given in
§ 769 p. 284. Others are Goth. farinō ‘I accuse, blame’
O.H.G. firinōm ‘scelero’ A.S. firenie ‘I sin’ from Goth. farina
‘accusation’ O.H.G. firina ‘scelus’ A.S. firen ‘sin’, Goth. idreigo
‘I repent’ from idreiga ‘repentance’, O.H.G. ahtōm (A.S. eahtrīe)
am gloomy’ from gremizza ‘dark look, gloom, despondency’.
The ending -inō-(ja-), beginning in West Germ. verbs like
O.H.G. firinōm, redinōm (‘I set forth, recount’, from redinc
‘account, description’) became an independent suffix and went
further: e.g. O.H.G. wiz-inōm ‘I punish’ A.S. wītnie, O.H.G
fest-inōm ‘I affirm, make fast, promise’ A.S. faestnie, O.H.G
heb-inōm ‘I entertain as a guest’, and others.

For ā-verbs from o-nouns, such as Goth. vaipō O.H.G.
erōdō, see § 769 p. 284.

ā-verbs from s-stems (these joined the o-declension very
early in Germanic, see II § 132 pp. 419 f.): Goth. hatiō ‘I hate’
sigis ‘victory’, O.H.G. egisōm ‘I am terrified’ beside Goth. agis
‘fear’, like Lat. onerāre scelerāre (§ 778 p. 302). -isō-(ja-)
became a new independent suffix: Goth. volv-īsō ‘I roll, revolve’,
O.H.G. rich-isōm ‘I rule’ A.S. ricsie, O.H.G. lich-isōm ‘com-
pare, simulo’ hör-isōm ‘I rule’ (also hōrisōm by analogy of
hōrro ‘lord, ruler’, which was originally a comparative), A.S.
bledsie ‘I bless’ and others.

ā-verbs from n-stems: Goth. frāṉjīnō ‘I am lord. I rule’
from frāṉja (gen. frāṉjins) ‘lord’, gudjinō ‘I am a priest, fill
priestly office’ from gudja ‘priest’, which gave the type for
reik-inō ‘I rule over’ (reik-‘ruler’) skalk-inō ‘I am a servant,
am useful’ (skalk-s ‘servant’) hōr-inō ‘I commit adultery’ (hōr-
s ‘adulterer’).

Many more new endings with the ā-suffix, like these just
mentioned, are found in West Germanic. The favourites are
-ær-, -al-, and -ak-.

(2) Even in the prehistoric stages of Germanic three
classes of verbs, with endings originally different, came to have
the same ending; those with consonantal stems, with the ending
-ið (ið); those from o-stems, with the ending -e-ið (whence
pr. Germ. -ið), and those ending in -ið. Compare Goth.
rigisja glitmunja veitůdja lauhatja O.H.G. lounazzu lohazzu
and others § 768 p. 283, Goth. rigneþ etc. § 770 p. 288,
and Goth. dáilja O.H.G. teiðu, Goth. venja O.H.G. van(i)u
etc. § 771 p. 289.1) Besides, the causals in -bij (pr. Germ.
-iið), as Goth. fra-vardja = Idg. *wortið, fell into this con-
jugation, which is called the First Weak Conjugation in Ger-
manic grammar. It should be mentioned that in Germanic, as
in other Idg. languages, many verbs derived from nouns are
properly classed among Causals; for example, Goth. háilja
O.Sax. héliu O.H.G. heil(i)u 'I heal' from háil-s hēl heil 'whole'
(§§ 793, 806).

But the confluence of the various pre-Germanic conjugations
was not always due to regular sound-change. For instance,
Goth. glitmuneþ lauhaiteþ (both only inferred) took the place
of *glitmun-jīþ *lauhat-jīþ on the analogy of such forms as
rigniþ for *rigni-jī-d(i). Goth. vaurkeþ (1st sing. vaurka
Idg. *wgr-ið) is a new form, instead of *vaurkiþ, following
fra-vardeþ etc. (p. 229 footnote). On the other hand, O.H.G.
denit beigiti (1st sing. denn(i)u beizz(i)u ground-form *tonēið
*bhojēið) follow hevit = Lat. capit.

There is often wavering between the first weak conjugation
and the second, the a-verbs. Sometimes there were originally
variant forms with different structure; e.g. O.H.G. fóllom
'I fall' was a 'pre-Germ. verb in -a-ið (§ 769 p. 284), whilst
full(i)u Goth. fullja 'I fall' is a-causal; similarly we have O.H.G.
tarom I hurt, injure' from terna 'hurt, injury' beside the causal

1) Whether *-e-ið loads regularly to Goth. -ið, and say tagrijja 'I cry'
comes from pr. Germ. *tagrij-ið, usurasja 'I exist in abundance' for
*usurasza-ið, is doubtful.
teriu (same meaning). How far these verbs altered their inflexion in later times, and for what reasons, are questions which need further investigation (cp. for instance O.Sax. *fullan* beside *fulliu*).

(3) Verbs in Goth. -a (2nd sing. -ãis) O.H.G. -ãm, as Goth. paha O.H.G. *dagãm* 'taceo' (Third Weak Conj.), as we have seen in § 587 p. 129, § 592 p. 133, § 708 pp. 238 ff., did not originally belong to what we have called the later stratum of denominatives. However, we do find in Germanic quite a number of later denominatives in this conjugation; as Goth. arma 'I feel pity' fasta O.H.G. *fastãm* 'I fast'; and one is tempted to class those verbs along with Latin denominatives such as cladeō, which were just in the same way associated in conjugation with taceō videō and the like (§ 777 p. 300). Howbeit, this is inadmissible. Because by far the greater number of the verbs in this class were intransitive (as are *paha dagãm*), it happened that their ending became a sign of intransitive meaning; and as the orig. inceptive verbs with an *n*-suffix (as Goth. ga-vakna 'to awake') suggested inceptive *n*-verbs formed from nouns (as Goth. *fullna* 'I get full' *mikilna* 'I grow large', § 623 p. 160), just so *paha dagãm* were the model for fasta *fastãm* and many others. Since there was a primary verb Goth. sairga O.H.G. *sorgãm* 'I care' side by side with the subst. Goth. *saírga* O.H.G. *sorga* 'care', which seemed to be derived from that substantive (§ 659 pp. 193 f.), so the subst. (O.H.G.) *fasta* 'a fast' suggested the above named verb Goth. *fastã* O.H.G. *fastãm*; and furthermore the verb wernãm 'I perplex or torment myself' was made to complement werna 'perplexity, pang', wartãm 'I watch, wait' was formed from the subst. warta 'watch, spying, waiting', waltãm 'I keep watch' from wahta 'watch'. In O.H.G. the process goes a step further, and verbs like these are derived from adjectives; e.g. O.H.G. fulãm 'I cause to rot' from *ful* 'rotten', altãm 'I grow old' from alt 'old'. Compare some other verbs, belonging to Class XIV, such as O.H.G. *wezanãm* 'I dry up, wither away' (O.Icel. visna), *trunkanãm* 'I get drunk' (A.S. *druncnic*), which, by adopting *ã*-flexion, gained a second sign of their intransitive-
inceptive meaning (§ 623 p. 160); and further Goth. maúrna O.H.G. mornóm instead of *maúrno *mornóm (§ 605 p. 147).

There are many and various waverings between -s- and -ā-flexion, as O.H.G. ärēm and ärōm ‘I honour’, which need further investigation.

§ 782. Balto-Slavonic.

(1) Here it is no longer possible to distinguish beyond a doubt verbs derived from consonantal noun-stems and containing the suffix -jo-, of the type of Skr. rajas-yā-ti (§ 768 p. 282). Instead of these, we find in cases where the forms are clear, verbs conjugated in other denominative classes; as Lith. akmenyjūs ‘I turn to stone’ from akmū ‘stone’ (stem akmen-), O.C.Sl. znamenają ‘I mark, term’ from znamę ‘mark’ (stem znamen-).

Remark. Perhaps the Lith.-Lettic verbs Kurschat calls “Punctiva” — those ending in (Lith.) -terėti -telėti, as kūšterēti ‘I rough-hew a little’ — are to be connected with Slavonic nomina agentis in -tel- (Idg. -ter-), as ėrūtel-‘offerer’ (II § 122 p. 389). Then comes the question whether the Lith. present formation kūšter-iu esvilptelu (i.e. -el-ju) represents or not the type of Skr. rajas-yā-ti. The conjugation in the dialects is sometimes -terėjau -telējau, -terēti -telēti, and sometimes -teriau -teliau, -teriu -teliai (Leskien-Brugmann, Lit. Volksl. und Märchen, 313 f.), the latter like lākurliu lākurit or beside lākurinu ‘I wait quietly’.

(2) Beside the endings Lith. -o-ju O.C.Sl. -a-ja = Idg. -a-jo, as Lith. lankō-ju O.C.Sl. lāka-ja (§ 769 p. 284), we meet with Lith. -e-ju. O.C.Sl. -e-ja instead of Idg. -e-jo, e.g. Lith. gudē-ju’s O.C.Sl. razumę-ja (§ 770 p. 288), and Lith. -y-ja instead of Idg. -i-jo, as daly-ju (§ 771 p. 289). In these formations the long -e- and -i- are to be explained on the same principle as the long vowels in the Greek dialectic forms ādvēto xovto and so forth (§ 775 p. 293): they have been imported from the non-present stems; thus gudē-ju’s follows -e-siu -e-ti-s, razumę-ja follows -e-chū -e-ti, and daly-ju follows -y-siu -y-ti, and so forth. At the same time, something is due to such present forms as Lith. byrē-ju O.C.Sl. govē-ja, in which verbs the non-present forms had the same endings as have the present stems now in question (e.g. byrē-ti like gudē-ti’s, govē-ti like razumę-ti); see § 735 p. 262, § 740 pp. 264 f.
Similarly sprang up the present in -ā-ju, as jākā'-ju, by analogy of -ā-ta-s (§ 773 p. 291), due to the same principle as the Boeotian ἁμνονές (§ 775 p. 293). This happened first in Baltic, or at any rate in the protoethic stage of Balto-Slavonic. The preterite of these verbs is odd; it ends in -avau (jākavon), while we should expect *-ā-jaun; the latter ending appears in Lettic as -āju, the shape it would naturally take there. I assume, with Wiedemann (Lit. Prät., 198), that -avau is due to the analogy of verbs in -au-ti (pres. -au-ju pret. -avau, see below, 3).

In Slavonic, where Idg. ō and ā ran together, verbs of the same kind as Lith. jākā'ju ’may be buried in the class which has the termination -ajā. This is all the more likely because such forms as rogati and ragā'ta-s cannot be well separated (§ 773 p. 291).

(3) The denominative type exemplified by such forms as Skr. adhvar-yā'-ti (from adhva-rā-s) and Gr. ἀγγέλλω (from ἀγγελό-s) is represented, firstly, by Slavonic presents like trepešṭa 2nd sing. -ešeši (from trepeti). See § 770 p. 287.

Secondly, Lithuanian denominatives in -auju (inf. -au-ti, pret. -avau), and those in Slavonic ending in -u-ja (inf. -ova-ti), have to be examined; e. g. Lith. rēkaun-ju ’I make a noise’ O.C.Sl. dūgu-jaq ’I owe’. They come from the most diverse noun-stems, but it is impossible to tell offhand with what stems the class began. If they are derived from u-stems (dūgɔvati from dūgū ’debt’ gen. dūgu, sladovati ’to be sweet’ beside sladu-ka Lith. saldu-s), they must be connected with Idg. verbs in *-u-jo (§ 772 p. 289). But if so, one cannot understand why the stem-final -u- should have been exchanged in the verb for the strong grade -eu- or -ou- (pr. Balto-Slav. -ou- may be either, see I § 68 p. 59). I therefore think it far more likely that the contained nouns had stems in -e-uo- -e-uā- (cp. Skr. kēṣa-rā-s ’longhaired’ from kēṣa-s ’hair’, etc., see II § 64 pp. 133 ff.). This view is supported by Slav. bēsovati ‘to be frenzied’ beside bēsovūi ’devilish, mad’ from bēšūi ’demon’.
kraljevati 'to be king' beside kraljev' 'royal' from kralji 'king', vračevasi 'to be a physician, to heal' beside vračevas 'pertaining to a physician' from vračy 'physician', vinovati 'to accuse' beside vinovat 'guilty of something' from vina 'cause, guilt' (vinovat presupposes *vinovati), and many more; Lith. substantives in -ava -java are collected by Leskien, Die Bildung der Nomina im Lit., 199 ff. In Lettic (and Prussian too) the verbs in -auti do not appear at all; and partly for that reason, partly because the large majority of Lith. verbs in -auti are Slavonic in origin, it is at least not improbable that this au-conjugation has been borrowed bodily from the Slavonic. However, the borrowing must have taken place very early, when Slav. a was still ou.

Genuine Baltic examples of the type of Skr. adhvar-yá-ti would therefore be impossible to find.

(4) Side by side with the ending -o-ju, Baltic has another present inflexion with -a- and without -jo-. This occurs, firstly, in the 2nd sing. imper. always without exception; e.g. dovanó-k, which is to be compared with Lat. planta etc. (§ 957). Secondly, in Frequentatives and Causals with -au (inf. -y-ti), some of which were certainly derived from nouns; e.g. Lith. jūstau 'I gird (frequently) from jūsta 'girdle', pelnaù 'I earn' from pelna-s 'earnings', vētāu 'I fan, winnow' beside Skr. vd-ta-s Gr. ἀφ-η (II § 79 p. 223). The forms jūsto jūsto-me jūsto-te answer to Lat. planta-t -a-mas -a-tis Lesb. rūtā-mēr 0.Ir. no chara-m Goth. salbō-m etc., but the 1st and 2nd sing. jūstau jūstai show the same analogical change as do the primary forms bijau-s 'I fear' buvaù 'I was', see § 586 p. 127. This Lith. present class, as the non-present forms show (inf. jūsty-ti pret. jūscx̂iau), stands in very close connexion with the Idg. verbs in -ējô (Class XXXII), and we must discuss it again in §§ 789 and 807.

The orig. a-flexion without -jo- is also seen in Pruss. waitia 'he speaks' 1st pl. waitia-mai (inf. waitia-t) beside O.C.Sl. věšta-ja 'I speak, advise' (inf. věšta-ti), beside Pruss. caria-woyt-s karige-wayte 'address to the army, review' O.C.Sl. věšte n. advice.'
(5) Slavonic has no distinct present class to correspond to the Lith. present class -y-ju (daly-ju, no. 2, p. 308) which represents the Idg. verbs in -i-jë. These verbs in -i-jë in this branch of Idg. were merged in the class of Causals etc. with -i-ti (Class XXXII); e. g. gostaq 'I entertain, receive hospitably' 2nd sing. gosti-ši inf. gosti-ti from gosti 'guest', čistaq 'I honour' from čisti 'honour', wištq 'I take vengeance' from wišt 'vengeance', branjaq 'I strive' from branť 'strife', myšļjaq 'I think' from mysti 'thought'. The Idg. endings -iš and -i-jë in Slavonic were sure to run together after -eį- became -i- (I § 68 p. 60), and in both classes the endings -ja -iši -ittu etc. have undoubtedly taken -i- from the infinitive. We shall see in § 789 p. 322 how very probable it is that -i- first got into the Causals, and afterwards spread to i-denominatives.

§ 783. Certain endings of the denominative verbs became types.

(1) Verbs in (Lith.) -o-ju (O.C.Sl.) -o-ja from o- and from o-stems; as Lith. lankó-ju O.C.Sl. ląka-ja from lanką ląka and Lith. kilnos-ju from kilna-s, mirksnio-ju from mirksni-s. O.C.Sl. prija-ja beside Skr. priya-s, are cited in § 769 pp. 284 f.

Other Baltic examples are: Lith. klápo-ju 'I continue kneeling' from klápa 'kneeling, curtesy', dárgano-ja 'it is rainy weather', from dárgana 'rainy weather', Lett. juudá-ju 'I have power, I can' from juuda 'power', sukka-ju 'I comb' from sukkaž pl. 'comb', scháulá-ju 'I flutter', from schául-s 'fluttering', wájá-ju 'I weaken' from wáj-sch 'weak', joká-ju 'I jest' from jok-s 'jest', Lith. való-ju (i. e. *valjó-ju) 'I compel' from vala (i. e. *valja) 'will' vadšio-ju 'I lead about' from vädžios pl. 'leading-string, leash', gylló-ju 'I prick repeatedly' from gyll-s 'sting', vyniš-ju 'I wrap up' beside kakla-vynš-s 'necktie'; also derived from -iš-stems, as Lith. pánio-ju 'I confuse, entangle' from pané 'a confusion, entanglement, hindrance', ránkio-ju 'I keep picking up' (berries, for example) from ranké 'a gleaning or gathering'. The predominant meaning of Lith. verbs in -oju is 'to do, to
be occupied with' the thing denoted by the noun whence the verb comes, as dovánō-ju 'I make a present to some one'; and it is easy to see that where there was any verb of this sort and a primary verb containing the same stem, the former might get some kind of frequentative meaning by way of distinction. Thus lanko-ju 'I busy myself with bending' means practically 'I bend to and fro' to make pliant or supple, whilst lenkō means simply 'I bend'. We shall soon meet this same Frequentative class in Slavonic; and we may therefore with some probability infer that it belongs to the protoethnic period of Balto-Slavonic. But I would suggest that the type is still older, and was not produced at that time out of the later stratum of denominatives; for there is no objection to comparing forms like Lith. lindo-ju O.C.Sl. sūn-đājā with Lat. juvāre Goth. mitōn etc., and placing them in the older denominative stratum. See §§ 734 ff. pp. 261 ff.

The ending -joju, both with and without some part of the foregoing stem adhering to it, became an independent suffix. Alone: lankioju beside lanko-ju, brádšio-ju 'I wade about' from bradā 'a wading' (but Lett. has braddāju) lándšioju 'I crawl about' beside i-landa 'place to crawl into' (but Lett. has lødāju), lakšioju 'I fly about' from lakō 'place to fly in and out of, entrance to a beehive', sakšioju 'I follow, sagojou 'I attach, fix, sew on'. -joju (i. e. *-žoju): pirsšoju 'I woo, am a suitor on behalf of some one' from pirsš-s 'suitor, wooer' (persši pišši 'to woo, to be suitor'), mirškoju 'I blink' from miršš-s 'blinker' (mėrkš mėrkti 'I close my eyelids') and others; by analogy of these širg-štju 'I go straddling about' (šergiš 'I step, stride'), tepštju 'I smear or grease over' (tepš 'I smear'), mėtštju 'I throw about' (mėtš 'I throw' mėtau 'I throw about'). -czioju -szcioju: badmirszxioju 'I almost starve, suffer hunger' from bodmirtē 'starvation', and others; which set the type for such forms as misk-czoju mirk-szczoju 'I blink', trūk-czoju trük-szczoju 'I throb repeatedly', ráiszczioju 'I keep tying'. -urioju -ulju (with parallel endings -uřiřu -ulůju by § 785) for frequentatives: výburioju 'I wag my tail, fawn upon' from
§ 783. Present Stem: Class XXXI — Skr. dēva-yā-ti. 313

vyburū-s 'one who wags the tail', krūtulōju 'I stir myself a little' from krūtulī-s 'a sturring of oneself, levy, militia', grōnulōju 'I chew the cud' from gromulū-s 'cud', etc.; by this analogy kāb-urioju 'I kick or struggle a little', vāb-uloju 'I chew something tough'. -aloju is used in the same way; in this ending -ioju interchanges with āju far oftener than in the endings -urioju -uloju (§ 785): 1) sārgalōju 'I am sickly' cp. sargal-inga-s 'sickly', darbalōju 'I keep on working, I work vigorously', isz-vartalōju 'I tumble down' and many more, Lett. pirkalāju 'I buy by retail' beside Lith. pirkala-s 'wares', cp. Lith. svamblājū 'I dangle' from svambala-s 'that which dangles, plummet'.

Other Slavonic examples (observe that some of the Slav. verbs in -a-ti may possibly answer to Lith. verbs in -ā-ti, see § 782. 2 p. 309): O.CSl. igra-jaq 'I play' from igra 'game', sū-traska-jaq 'I am wrinkled' from traska 'wrinkle', klevata-jaq 'I calumniate' (beside klevēstāq, see § 770 p. 287) from klevata 'slander', gnēva-jaq sē 'I am angry' from gnovē 'anger', kashlīja-jaq 'I cough' from kashlī 'cough'. As in Baltic, these verbs were distinguished by a secondary frequentative meaning from parallel primary verbs. They were associated with the group of frequentatives derived from verbs, whose beginnings go back to the older denominative a-series; thus ėda-jaq was associated with ja(d)-mi 'esse', ėripa-jaq with ėripq 'I make', ėgneta-jaq with ėnetā 'I press', cīta-jaq 'I read' with cīta 'I count, reckon'; some of these could also be conjugated in the present like glagolāq (glogola-ti) trepeštāq (trepeta-ti), etc. (§ 770 p. 287), as na-ricoq 'I name' (inf. na-rico-ti) beside na-rekoq. As some of these frequentatives had... originally a strong grade of root-vowel, it became a rule for new forms of the same model, that if the primary verb had the vowels e, o, y, or ā, the frequentative had ē, a, i, or y (see the comparisons in Leskien's Handbuch, pp. 14 f.).

1) The distinction between o and ô is in many Lith. writings so incompletely kept, that it is often impossible to say whether an ending be -oju or -ůju.
In vowel-stems, -vaja is found as a frequentative suffix; e. g. o-ba-vają ‘incanto’ beside ba-ją ‘fabulous’, o-dė-vają ‘I clothe’ beside dė-Ją dešdą ‘I lay’, pi-vają ‘I drink’ beside pi-Ją ‘I drink’; o-kleveta-vają beside kleveta-ją klevėštą ‘I slander’, razumė-vają beside razumė-ją ‘I understand’. The origin of -vają was the noun-suffix -y-o- -y-a-: piva-Ją from pi-eo ‘a draught’, vū-liva-Ją ‘I pour in’ (beside bi-ja ‘I pour’) from *li-vū Mod.Slov. liv ‘funnel’ na-liv ‘shower of rain’ Russ. na-liv ‘the time when the corn grows full’ pro-livů ‘strait, channel’, na-sėva-ja ‘I sow’ a field (beside sė-ja ‘I sow’) from Russ. sē-vū ‘sowing, seed time’. Other similar nouns having v-suffixes may be regarded as derivatives with the suffixes -ųkū -ųka: cp. O.C.Sl. pri-dė-v-ųkū ‘cognomen’ Mod.Slav. o-dė-v-ka ‘dress’ beside -dęvają. Russ. do-bi-v-ka ‘a complete driving in’ (of stakes) beside raz-bivają ‘I knock to bits, destroy’ (bi-ja ‘I strike’), Mod.Slov. po-mi-v-ek ‘rinsing pail’ beside u-myvają ‘I wash’ (my-ja ‘I wash’). But the v of davają ‘I give’ and of stavają ‘consisto’ may be taken as original, even if it is not to be put in just the same category as the u-suffix of the aforementioned forms; cp. Lith. dovā, Skr. dāvānē and O.C.Sl. stava stavū po-stavū stavļja = Goth. stōja, Lith. stovā. Since piva-ti dava-ti were regarded as intimately connected with pi-ti and da-ti, the ending -vati became itself a type, and hence we have -zavā-ti beside zna-ti ‘knows’, -klevetava-ti beside klevata-ti, and so on. The endings -vają -vati were very convenient for making frequentatives from verbs with a vowel stem-final; hence their frequency.

Remark. Frequentatives of derivative verbs, as o-klevetavoti razumėvati veličavati, must be regarded, because of their meaning, as an imitation of primary Frequentatives, and must not be derived from nouns in -vū and -ėrū (such as veličavū ‘grandiloquent’).

§ 784. (2) Verbs from o-nouns in (Lith.) -ė-ju (O.C.Sl.) -ė-ja, as Lith. gūdė-ju-s from gūdu-s, O.C.Sl. razumė-ja from razamū, arq cited in § 770 pp. 288 f.

Other Baltic examples are: Lith. szyksztė-ju ‘I am covetous’ from szykssta-s ‘covetous’, Lett. labbē-ju ‘I better
myself' from lab-s 'good', práté-ju 'I subtilize, play the wiscacre' from prát-s 'reason', galé-ju 'I finish' from gal-s 'end', mistré-ju 'I mix, mingle' from mistr-s 'hotch-potch'. In Lithuanian these verbs mean 'to be or practise' anything. They are formed from other stems besides those in -o-, as Lith. šygé-ju 'I go an errand' from šygí-s 'errand, course', malonéju 'I much wish to have' from malonù-s 'gracious', seiléju 'I slaver, drive' from séilé 'slaver', Lett. brídéju 'I delay' from brídi-s 'while, period', auréju 'I blow the hunting horn' from aure 'hunting horn'. They are linked with the older group of Verbs in -éju, as kylé-ju (§ 740 p. 265), in the same way as verbs like dovanóju are linked with those like ĭndoju (§ 783 p. 312).

In Lithuanian the ending -inéju was converted into a new type for Frequentatives. First came verbs like tekiné-ju 'I run about a little' from têkina-s 'running', dilbiné-ju 'I glover, glare from beneath my brows' from dilbina-s 'one who glowers'. The next step was smil-inéju 'I keep eating dainties, picking and tasting', lind-inéju 'I crawl about', vag-inéju 'I filch' and others. Verbs already frequentative often add -inéju, and thus form a frequentative of the second power, so to say; thus we have laist-inéju from laistau laistyti 'to pour repeatedly', itself frequentative of lê-ti 'to pour', šarg-inéju from šargau šargyti 'to straddle or stretch the legs repeatedly', freq. of šerk-ti 'to spread the legs'; cp. pilst-aloju 'to pour, shed or drop repeatedly' from pilstau pilstyti freq. of pil-ti 'to pour, shed' (§ 783 p. 313).

Other examples from Slavonic, where almost all verbs in -ëq are intransitive and most of them mean to get into some condition: o-slabé-ja 'I get weak' from slabù 'weak', o-malé-ja 'to get little' from malù 'little', buja-ja, 'I get daft' from buý 'daft', obù-ništa-ja 'I get poor' from nišù 'poor', o-krilé-ja 'I wing myself' from krilo 'wing'; vûz-ma-žajà 'I make a man of myself, take courage' from mašù 'man'. These too can be formed from other besides o-stems, as ëlēq 'I wish' from ëlja 'wish, longing'.

-ëq as an independent suffix. On the analogy of
o-mūdūlē-ja o-mūdūlē-ja 'I am slow, linger', from mūdūlē mūdūlē 'slow, lingering', and like forms, we find prokazūlējā 'I make evil plots' from prokāza 'evil plot', māsūlējā 'I become a man' from māsēl 'man', pečūlējā pečūlējā 'I seal' from pečati 'seal'.

§ 785. (3.) The Lith. suffix -u-ju (§ 773 p. 291, § 782.2 p. 309), which began with o-stems, has the same function as o-ju. For further examples take the following: Lith. melū-ju Lett. melu-ju 'I lie' from Lith. melū Lett. melī pl. 'lies', Lith. žalū-ju Lett. salū-ju 'I grow green' from Lith. žāla-s žale-s Lett. sa’-sch 'green', Lith. balnū-ju 'I saddle' from balnū-s 'a saddle', dagū-ju 'I harvest' from dāga-s 'harvest', pūlū-ju 'I fester' from pūlei (pūl-ja'i) 'matter, pus'. Derived from other than o-stems: ėssarāju Lett. assarāju 'I pour out tears' from ėssarā ėssara 'tear', Lith. vagū-ju Lett. waggūju 'I draw furrows' from vagū wagga 'furrow', Lith. dejā-ju 'I lament' from dejā 'a lament', prāvardžiuju 'I furnish with a surname' from pravardē 'surname'.

In the Lith. frequentative endings -urioju uloju and -aloju (§ 783 p. 312), particularly in the last, there are variants jāju and -joju: here -joju must be regarded in general as the older ending. Examples are: šiburiuju 'I flare, flicker' from šibury-s 'light, torch', skliduriuju 'I slide, swim', tyvulju 'I spread widely'; svambalaju 'I dangle' from svambala-s 'that which dangles, plummet', maugatju 'I shine with varied hues', svaigalaju 'I reel'.

We have already remarked (§ 782.2 p. 309), that the Lith. verbs in ūju may possibly have their counterparts in Slavonic, where the class -ajā may contain some of then.

§ 786. (4) Lith. verbs in -yju from i-stems have been cited in § 771 p. 289; to Lith. szirīdy-ju-s answers Lett. stirījā-ju-s 'I take to heart'. Here are some further examples: Lith. rūdy-ju 'I rust' from rūdā-s 'rust', kirmy-ju 'I am eaten of worms' from kirmī-s 'a worm', which was orig. an i-stem although inflected as a stem in -jo- (II § 97 p. 289), Lett. ausī-ju-s 'I listen' from ausī-s (Lith. ausī-s) 'ear'. From
other stems: Lith. rómyju Lett. rámīju 'I castrate' (properly 'I tame') from roma-s romū-s rūm-s 'calm, tame, gentle', Lith. vaidyjū-s 'I quarrel' from vaida-s 'a quarrel', gūcžyjū-s 'I strive' from giūcižia-s 'strife', gūdrųje-s 'clears up' (of the weather) from gādru-s 'cloudless, bright', krūvyju 'I heap' from krūva 'a heap', Lett. gūdiļu 'I make myself decorous or agreeable' from gād-s 'demeanour, honour' (stem gūda-), skūstųju 'I tighten, wedge tight' from skūst-s 'wedge' (stem skūsta-), meddįju 'I hunt something' from inesč (Lith. medį-s -dēio) 'forest'.

Remark. Since there were Lith. denominatives in -imu, as naks- suimu (§ 624 p. 161), whose future -jeimu became identical with that of the verbs we are now discussing, verbs in -imu and verbs in -jų were mixed up together. Compare Leskien-Brugmann, Lit. Volksli. und Märchen, pp. 314 f. No special examination has been made to find out the local distribution of this confusion, or how far it went.

On Slavonic verbs in -jə from i-stems, see § 782. 5 p. 311, § 789 p. 322.

§ 787. (5) The Slavonic ending -ujə (inf. -ovati) we have already traced to its beginning with the stems in -ovû (§ 782. 3 p. 309). As an independent suffix it became very common, especially to denote condition, possession of a dignity, and the like. Examples: mirinujə 'I am peaceful, keep the peace' from mirinû 'peaceful', prinujə 'I am first' from prinû 'first', vojəu 'I am a warrior, I make war' (inf. vojevati) from vojî 'warrior', sūvēdētuju 'I am witness' from sūvēdētē 'witness', sūvēdētuštuju 'I give evidence' from sūvēdētuštuvo 'evidence', obēdu 'I take a meal' from obēdû 'meal', imenuju 'I name' from inę 'name'.

Remark. In the same way this ending was fertile in Lithuanians, where it took the shape of -auju (see § 782. 3 p. 306). On the model of karalauju = O.C.Sl. krāļju 'I am king' we have rēspatajju 'I rule', karajju 'I make war', and others.
K. CLASS XXXII.

ROOT + -tio- FORMING THE PRESENT STEM.

§ 788. The Verbs which here come under our consideration are those which are called Causal in Sanskrit grammars, because in Sanskrit their prevailing meaning is causal. The Skr. accentuation -áya- must be regarded as original. Germanic also shows evidence that the accent lay after the root syllable; compare Goth. *fra-vardja with d, but vairña with p (I § 530 p. 383), and Goth. *marzja 'I vex' O.Sax. merriu 'I stop, hinder, disturb' with pr. Germ. z for s (I §§ 581 f. p. 434).

In all languages except Sanskrit, -tio- ran together with other present suffixes without possibility of distinction. But in Sanskrit this ending was differentiated by its accent from that of derivatives from o-nouns: védáya-ti 'gives to understand, informs' is contrasted with vasna-yá-ti from vasná-s (§ 770 p. 288); on the later confusion of these two classes, see § 793. In Greek both are alike, and ἥρω-ω 'I carry about with me, I wear' looks just the same as φιλ-ω 'I treat as a friend' from φιλ-ο-ς (§ 770 p. 288, § 776.2 p. 296); how it came to pass that the two classes agreed in the verb infinite as 'well, where we should expect *φιλοντος in contrast to φιλοντες, has been explained in § 527 Rem. 1 p. 89. In Latin there is no distinction either, but mon-ēd (-ē-s) is just like claud-ēs (-ē-s) from claudus-s, and like videō for *vidē-īō 2nd sing. vidē-s (§ 738 p. 263, § 777 p. 300). In Irish, there was a confluence of -iō (ad-suidim 'I prolong, postpone'), -e-īō (scorim scuirim 'I unharness' § 770 p. 288), -i-īō (fo-dalim 'I divide up § 771 p. 289), and -iō (-íō-iu 'I let, allow', § 719 p. 251). The same is true of Germanic: Goth. fra-vardja 'I bring to nothing, destroy' = Skr. varīt-áyāmi like haúrnja 'I blow the horn' (-e-īd) from haúrna-, like dulēja 'I keep a feast' (-i-īd) from dulē-ja, like glitmun-ja 'I shine' from *glitmun- (§ 768 p. 282), and like vaúrk-ja 'I work' (§§ 720 ff. pp. 251 ff.), compare § 781.2 pp. 306 f. Slavonic examples: bušdā 'I wake' budi-ši (Skr.
bōdhasya-tī) like goṣṭā. 'I entertain' gosti-śi from the i-stem gosti (§ 782.5 p. 311) and like būḍā 'I am awake, watch' būḍi-śi = Skr. būdh-yāmi (§ 702 p. 230, § 727 pp. 257 ff.).

Lith. has -au, a wide departure from the original form: vartau 'I turn, keep on turning about', 3rd sing. vartā, contrasted with O.C.Sl. vraštq vratī-tī Skr. vart-āyāmi Goth. fravard-ja, ep. bījan-s § 586 p. 217 and įl̄stau § 782.4 p. 310.

To the same class, as we shall see in § 790, belong some verbs with a weak grade of root, and one of these is Idg. *u-ējō: Skr. o-āyāmi 'I weave', Lith. v-ējū O.C.Sl. v-ējā 'I wind or twist'. In this verb, and in this only, the original Idg. inflexion has been kept in Balto-Slavonic.

I therefore regard as original the inflexion -ējō -ēje-śi -ēje-tī etc., with -ējo- and -ēje- interchanging, as may be clearly seen in Aryan and Greek. What we see in Germanic may also be the same, with for the most part only regular changes; only we must regard such forms as O.H.G. 2nd sing. denis legis (1st sing. dennu 'I stretch' leggu 'I lay' = Goth. ānja lagja) as being ad-formates of hevis ligis etc. (§ 781.2 p. 306). In Latin, the only form directly representing the Idg. is the 1st person singular in -ēu; but perhaps the persons with -ēje-, which must have become -ē in proethic Italic, are also preserved in monēs etc. But monēmus moment, like claudēmus claudent, must be ad-formates of tacē-mus tacent. See on this matter § 777 p. 300. Lith. vartau and O.C.Sl. vraštq will be explained in the next few paragraphs.

§ 769. The distinction between the ĵo-verbs which we have placed in Classes XXVI—XXXI, and verbs with -ějo-, is that in the former the ĵo-element was confined to the present from the proethic stage onwards; whilst in the latter the perf. part. pass. and the forms closely connected with it show after the root a certain element which seems to be etymologically akin to the present formative suffix. This element is -i- or -e-. Sanskrit and Germanic as a rule have -i--; e.g. Skr. varti-tā-s Goth. fra-vardi-p-s, and so in the Lat. moñì-tu-s qu-i-tum.
-i is regular in Balto-Slavonic, as Lith. vartė-ti (vartė-siu) O.C.Sl. varati-ti (varati-riū). -i is also seen in the following. Gr. (F)-i-tiā 'willow' (beside (F)-i-ry-σ 'felloe'), Lat. v-i-ta-s, O.H.G. w-i-da 'willow' (beside w-i-d 'cord of twisted withes'), Lith. v-y-š-ti 'cane, switch' O.C.Sl. v-i-ti 'res in modum funis torta', which along with inf. Lith. v-y-ti O.C.Sl. v-i-ti are connected with Indg. *y-ḗjo (see § 788 p. 319). Skr. grbh-i-ta-s (a-grah-i-š-ja grah-i-šya-ti) beside grbh-āya-nti, hāv-i-tavē beside hu-āya-ti, mṛd-i-kā-m 'pity, compassion' beside mṛd-āya-ti. Lat. noc-i-vo-ti is doubtless related to nocēd as O.C.Sl. chodivū is to chodi-ti, or ljubivū to ljubi-ti (cp. II § 64 Rem. 2 p. 136, and pp. 137 f.).

From these facts it follows that we have in this verbal class what may be called a Root-Determinative -i-, parallel to the determinative -u-; thus Skr. v-āya-ti: Gr. (F)-i-ry-σ O.H.G. w-i-d = Skr. sr-āvá-ti: sr-u-ta-s (see § 488 pp. 46 f.). The only difference is that whilst -u- was restricted to some few examples (compare however § 596.2 pp. 136 f. for what is said on the present suffix -mu-), the -i- was fertile even in proethnic Indg. itself. If this view of the -ējo- class is correct, the class must be very closely connected with present forms like Skr. am-i-ti (§§ 572 ff. pp. 114 ff.). Skr. v-āya-ti: am-i-ti = sr-āvá-ti: tar-u-tē (§ 596.2 pp. 136 f.).

Now are -ējo- and -i- connected in any way with the -io-suffix of Classes XXVI—XXXI? It is an obvious conjecture that there may be the same relation between -ējo- and -io- as between -ejo- and -yo- (v-āya-ti: hār-ya-ti = sr-āvá-ti: bhār-va-ti, see § 488 p. 47), or -eno- and -no-, or between -eso- and -so- (esko- and -isko-). I do not venture either to assert or to deny this; but seeing how uncertain the matter is, I think it best not to group the -ējo-class with the -io-classes.

1) Cp. Skr. d-mi-ča 'pain' beside amti-ti beside which we have Avest. amāvahā- 'pain', which form Bartholomae uses to postulate an Avest. pres. amāye-ti (Stud. Idg. Spr., p. 178).
We now return to the Balto-Slavonic present exemplified by vartaū vroštaq.

The simplest explanation of the Slavonic present inflexion is that -tū has come in from the infinitive stem: vratī-ši vratī-†ū then follow vratī-tī, a process which has an exact parallel in the change of *gostījaq -iyeši etc. to gošta gosti-ši by analogy of gosti-tī gosti-chū (§ 782.5 p. 311).

Remark. Another explanation of the origin of this Slavonic present type is possible. Sanskrit has a mid. optative e.g. vēday-i-ta beside vēdaya-ta, injunctive dhvānay-i-t (sp. ā-brav-i-t), and participle vēdaya-ana-s. See § 574 pp. 115 f., § 951. The indicative to vēday-i-ta would be *(a-)vēdē-ta, and Bartholomae conjectures that certain forms usually regarded as oj-optative may be this very indicative (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 127). This would make it possible to derive 3rd sing. vratī-tū from *yortej-t(ī). I should give more weight to this explanation were it not for a very strong suspicion that these Aryan forms are due to analogy, and are not prothetic at all.

The Lith. inflexion -au -yti is found in Lettic too (-u -lt) and also in Prussian (billa ‘speaks’ inf. billt-t billt-tvei); it therefore is prothetic in Baltic. Its origin is a confusion of the old inflexion of our class with both the earlier and the later group of ā-denominatives, that is to say, with verbs like bijaū-s (§ 586 p. 127) and verbs like jā’stau (§ 782.4 p. 310). But why was it this confusion went so far that the ā-flexion drove the ejo-flexion quite out of the present, but yet -ā did not drive -tū out of the infinitive? (contrast bijaū-s bijo-ti-s.) I explain this by supposing that Baltic once possest verbs like Lat. cubāre sonāre, which had the ā-suffix in the present only. O.C.Sl. ima-mi ‘I have’ likewise shows ā-flexion only in the present (inf. imě-ti). The Lith. present stems containing Idg. -o- in the root syllable, such as varto- = *yorlat- (Ô yert-), seem to have a parallel in Lat. doma- (domō domās) O.H.G. zamō- (zamōm zamōs) = Idg. *domā- from Ô dom-, since this is best explained as a contamination of *domma- (Skr. dama-yā-ti) and *domējo- (Goth. tamja O.H.G. temm(i)u). laišą ‘I lick’ (lašy-ti) is the equivalent of Goth. bi-līdīgō ‘I lick over’.

Brugmann, Elemente. IV
The question next arises when -ā- got the better of -ejo-, as the Baltic shows it did at some time or other. I am inclined to place the change in the protoethinic period of Balto-Slavonic. What inflexion came just before the type actually found in Slavonic, *vratiṣi and so forth, is not at all clear. It may very well have been one answering to the Lith., that is 3rd sing. *vortā-ti 1st pl. *vortā-mū, cp. ina-tū ina-mū, and on this supposition it is easier to explain the actually found *i-forms, than if we suppose the Slavonic to have passed direct from *vortiṣe-ti to *vorti-ši. But then we must also assume that *gostiṣu *tijēsti = Idg. *i-jo *i-je-si (§ 782. 5 p. 311) changed to goṣṭu gostiṣi only on the analogy of vratiṣu vratiṣi. For the Baltic *i-deponentives like Lith. dalj-ja szirbj-ja-s prove that these forms sprung up within the Slavonic area.

A complete levelling of the Causal conjugation with the *i-Denominative is not unknown in Baltic. Here the *i-denominative takes the lead. I find only a few examples in Lith., as paisju -yti instead of paisau -yti ‘to knock the beard off the barley, thresh’ (cp. Skr. pēṣāya-ti). There are more in Lettic; e. g. raśiņu rašt ‘to stretch’ instead of Lith. ražau rašti, pe'lniņu pe'lnit ‘to earn instead of Lith. pelnau pelnyti.

§ 790. In ejo-verbs with roots of the s-series, the root-syllable has and originally had generally the 2nd strong grade, o; as Gr. gośce beside qėpomau, Lat. moneb from √men-, Goth. satja beside sita, Lith. vortiši O.C.Sl. vratiši for *vortiš from √wert-. This is why Aryan has ā in open syllables, as Skr. bhārya-ti Avest. bāraycīti from √bher-, if the hypothesis set forth in vol. I § 78 p. 69 is correct.1)

The European languages make it improbable that there were in the very oldest times any forms with the root-grade e. Aryan forms with -a-, as Skr. jāra-yu-ti from √ger-, jāṇa-yu-ti from √jēn-, may be explained by the admixture

1) No explanation of ā in bhārya-ti which is in the least degree satisfactory has hitherto been put forward by those who deny this. The European forms adduced as parallel by Bechtel (Die Hauptprobleme der idg. Lautl., 169 f.) prove nothing at all. Compare § 843, Rem.
with denominatives derived from o-stems which will be described in § 793; on this supposition, jára-tyi and janáya-tyi would belong to the nouns jára- and jána- just as much as mantráya-tyi belongs to the noun máṇtra-. Or they may be explained in another way: In Aryan, the éjó-formation was often made from the connected primary verb instead of being built up on the root (see § 796), so that pátáya-tyi would stand to pátáya-tyi (beside páta-tyi) as kartáya-tyi to kṛntáya-tyi (beside kṛntá-tyi).

On the other hand, éjó-verbs with a weak grade of root have been found from the proethnic period onwards. They are commonest in Aryan, e. g. Skr. gṛbháya-tyi. The following are proethnic Idg.: Skr. v-áya-tyi 'weaves' Lith. v-ėjė O.C.Sl. v-ėjė v-ėjė 'I wind, turn, wrap', beside Gr. ἰ-τία Lat. v-ė-ty-s O.H.G. ἰ-τία Lith. v-ė-ty-s v-ė-ty O.C.Sl. v-ė-ty and Gr. ἰ-τείσ O.H.G. w-ė-d (§ 789 p. 320); root without determinative in Skr. ṣ-ṭu-m u-tá-s perf. 3rd pl. ṣ-ṭv-ur pass. ṣ-ya-ṭe, extended by ṣv in ṣ-ṭa-va and others (Whitney, Skr. Roots, pp. 157 f.).

1) Skr. ṣv-áya-tyi 'swells, thrives, is strong' beside Gr. κ-τω 'I am pregnant', Lat. qu-eo, with supine qu-e-tum (the resemblance of eo : itum made the conjugation of queo run like eo — quies, quēbō etc.); the same root in Skr. 3rd pl. ṣav-ṣur ṣu-ná-s á-sv-a-t šāv-as Gr. κ-κβ-ρος xī-μα Lat. in-ciōns for *-cx-γεν for *γενζένς (§ 715 p. 248, § 717 p. 250), and with a-extension in Skr. sv-ṣv-ṭrā-s Gr. ἐ-ν-ἐ-πηρ and others (§ 737 p. 263). Skr. dhun-aya-ṭe 'roars' (beside dhvam-ā-tyi 'makes a sound') O.Sax. duniu Mid.H.G. dūne O.Icel. dýn 'I roar, rumble, groan'. Of the same kind are: Skr. ḫv-áya-tyi 'calls' Avest. ḫv-aya-tyi zv-aya-tyi beside Skr. ḫv-ā-ṭe perf. ju-ḥav-a aor. ḫv-ā-t ḫuv-ā-t, Lat. ci-eō beside ac-ciō ci-tu-s Gr. κ-τω κ-τε-μω; O.H.G. zunt(m) 'I kindle' with Goth. tandia 'I kindle' beside Mid.H.G. zinden (strong verb) 'to burn, glow'.

Uncertain: Gr. qu-e-ω 'I overflow' beside ἐν-ϕαινεν Lat. fi-re.

1) From this yēj- yē- yē-, which had become a root again before the end of proethnic Idg., a present was again formed by means of -ēj-; Skr. yē-āya-tyi 'winds up, wraps up, covers, hides', Lat. nī-eō.
Goth. *ga-nesja 'I cause' from √nes-, originally 'I make to come forward'; O.C.Sl. *brjaj (brjaja) *bri-ti 'to shear, shave' beside Skr. *bhur-īj- Gr. qáv-o-ç, and others.

§ 791. In all branches of our group, the verbal class now being discussed has two distinct meanings, both of which must be regarded as holding for the original language. Each of them serves to contrast a verb with a simple verb from the same stem.

First there is the Causal sense; the subject of the ēgo-verb sets some one in motion, impels him to do something; in fact, makes him do the action of the simple allied verb. Skr. bodhāya-ti O.C.Sl. budi-ti 'wakes up, makes wake' beside bodha-ti budi-ti 'is awake'. Skr. tarṣāya-ti 'makes languish, thirst' beside tfṣya-ti 'languishes, thirsts', Lat. torreo 'I dry up, make dry', O.H.G. derrīh (same meaning) beside Goth. *þaurseih mīh 'I am athirst'. Gr. qošiō 'I make to flee, scare away beside qesϕouμεν 'I flee'. Lat. monēō 'I make some one think, remind' beside memini. Goth. satja 'I make sit, I place' (Skr. sādāya-ti) beside sita 'I sit'.

Secondly, they express a meaning which may be called Intensive, Iterative, or Frequentative. This is often weak and elusive, and in many cases was certainly extinct at the time when we find the verb actually used. Skr. vi-vāhayati beside vi-vahati 'leads away (a bride), leads her home' Avest. vādaye-ti 'leads home', O.C.Sl. vošdqa vodi-ti freq. of vedqa 'I lead', √yeḏh-. Gr. (f)oxeouμεν 'pass. 'I am taken backwards and forwards, I am carried', Goth. saqja 'I move' beside ga-viga 'I move', O.C.Sl. vošqa voziti freq. of vezqa 'I carry, convey', √yeḏh-. Skr. mar-daya-ti beside mydnā-ti marda-ti 'presses, crushes', Lat. mordaō beside perf. momordī = Skr. mamarda. Skr. a-tañayati 'stretches, makes stiff' beside a-tanōti 'stretches pulls up' a piece

1) Sometimes these verbs are causal to the Passive of the simple verb; as Goth. *ga-tarhja 'I cause to be seen' fra-atja 'I divide for food, cause to be eaten' O.H.G. essu 'I cause to be grazed upon, use for pasture' (also 'I let eat, give a taste').
of weaving, Goth. -*janja 'I lengthen, stretch'. Skr. pēṣaya-ti beside pinda-ś-ti 'treads or crushes to atoms' Lith. paisį-ti 'to knock (barley, in order to free it from the beard)'. O.Ir. for-tugim 'I cover, hide', O.H.G. decchōu 'I cover' beside Lat. tegō. Skr. dhārāya-ti, beside dharati (very rare), 'holds fast, keeps', nōdaya-ti 'drives on' beside mūdā-ti 'knocks, strikes away', pulls', rājya kārayati and karotī 'is king, uses lordship'. Gr. ἐφέω 'I carry about with me, wear' beside σφέω 'I carry', πτέμω 'I fly about, flutter' beside πτέμω 'I fly', στρεφέω 'I turn round and round excitedly' beside στρέφω 'I twist, turn', τρόπω beside τρέπω 'I turn', οἶχεω 'I hold fast' beside ἐχω 'I hold, have'. Lat. luceō (in O.Lat. also causal 'to make shine'), haerēō, tondoēō, and others. Goth. us-rakja 'I reach up' beside Gr. ἐφέω 'I reach out', Goth. þragjo 'I run' beside Gr. τρέξω 'I run', O.Sax. kenniu 'I beget' beside Skr. jāna-ti 'begets'. The Intensive or Frequentative meaning is clearest in Balto-Slavonic: cp. further Lith. ganį-ti 'to keep (animals), pasture them' O.C.Sl. goni-ti 'to drive' freq. of ženą gna-ti to drive, hunt', √ghen- 'strike, kill', Lith. gręšį-ti freq. of gręšiu gręšti 'to turn, twist, bore', O.C.Sl. vláči-ti freq. to vlēką vlěšti 'to pull, drag along'.

I shall not go into the question of the relation between these two original uses. An attempt to explain it is made by Gaedicke, Der Acc. im Veda, pp. 276 f.

§ 792. Considering the very real and living connexion which existed between the ējo-present and the primary present stems, e. g. Skr. bódhāya-ti and bōdha-ti, vārāya-ti and ṣṛṇō-ti, it is easy to understand why ējo-forms were often built up on a complete present stem, not on the root. Thus Skr. jīvāya-ti O.C.Sl. živi-ti beside jī-vāmi ži-vā (inf. žī-ti) 'I live' (§ 488 p. 47), Skr. dhūnaya-ti beside dhūnā-ti dhū-nā-ti 'shakes, shatters' (cp. Gr. ἰππεύο "§ 801) kryntaya-ti with kartya-ti beside kṛnta-ti 'cuts', Lat. miscēō beside a form *miscē for *mīc-scē √meik-, O.H.G. sceinōu beside scī-nu 'I shine'. Other examples will be given below.
§ 793. There are often nouns which most closely resemble these verbs both in form and meaning. The result of this was that ējo-verbs were formed from nouns direct. If, for instance, people derived Skr. vāj-āya-ti 'hastens, conquers, spurs on, makes something use its power' (= Goth. us-vakja 'I wake up') from udja-s 'speed, power' — which was really inevitable, as there was no such parallel stem as *rāja-ti — it was easy to form mantrāya-tē 'advises' from mān-tra-s 'advice'. It was, as has been observed in § 487 p. 43, the action of the same principle which produced in Gothic fullnan from full-s 'full' by analogy of af-lifnan āuknan, in Lithuanian lūksmin-ti from lūksma-s 'glad' by analogy of krūvin-ti kūpin-ti, rentū from rēta-s 'thin' following tektū tēkti, gelstū gelsti from gēta-s 'yellow' following virstū vi-rsti mīrsztū mīrsztī (§ 623 p. 160, § 624 p. 161, § 685 p. 173, § 686 p. 217). Compare further Skr. muś-ūd-ti 'steals' from mūś- 'a mouse' § 599 Rem. p. 143.

These ējo-denominatives are commonest in Germanic and Balto-Slavonic, and one or two of these new formations occur in both branches: Goth. fulljan O.C.Sl. plūni-ti 'to fill' from full-s plūnū 'full' (*pl-nos), Goth. hāiljan O.C.Sl. cēli-ti 'to heal' from hāil-s cēlū 'whole, healthy'. But it is quite possible that these two developments are independent.

§ 794. Pr. Idg. Examples with monosyllabic root, as Skr. v-āya-ti Lith. v-ėjū O.C.Sl. v-ėja, Skr. sv-āya-ti Lat. qu-as, have already been cited in § 790 p. 323.

As regards the following examples, which show a strong grade of root, it is to be remembered that this formation was always an active living type in Aryan, Germanic, and Balto-Slavonic; so that it is not unlikely that all these languages hit upon the particular forms independently. I therefore give by preference such examples as are found in Greek or Italic as well, where the type was less prolific.

*bhor-ējō √bher-: Skr. sam-bhāraya-ti 'causes to be gathered', Gr. ἡρέω 'I carry about, wear'. *tor-ējō √ter-: Skr. tārāya-ti 'gets carried over, transports, furthers', Gr. ἀρέω
§ 794. Present Stem: Class XXXII — Skr. rēl-dyon-tī. 327

'I make to pierce, shout loudly'.  
*vaṇ-ējō √yel-: Skr. pra-
vaṇ-yān-tī 'appeases, offers, offers for sale', Goth. valja 'I choose',  
O.C.Sl. vōl-tī 'to wish, to prefer'.  
*mun-ējō √mew-: Skr. 
māṇāya-tī 'honours, shows honour'  
Avest. mānyāya-iti 'causes to believe, regards' (for q cp. I § 200 pp. 168 f.), Lat. moneō  
(O.H.G. manē manē 'I imagine' with different inflexion),  
Lith. isz-menk-tī 'to understand'.  
*tōn-ējō √ten-: Skr. 
ā-tānaya-tī 'stretches, stiffens' sa-tānaya-tī 'gets carried out, brings to conclusion', Goth. uf-hanja 'I stretch, lengthen out'.  
*qiṃ-ējō √qey- (Hom. è-aene): Skr. cyadhāya-tī 'sets in motion, moves from its place', Gr. no(f)ēno in ἰδομεν' ἱδομεν, ὀψιμεν Hesych. (I § 489 p. 360).  
*pōi-ējō √pēj- (Skr. 
pāya-a-tī): Skr. pāyāya-tī 'gives to drink', O.C.Sl. poji-tī 'to give to drink' (1st sing. poja).  
*tors-ējō √ters- 'to be dry, thirsty':  
Skr. tarṇāya-tī 'makes to thirst or pine'  
Lat. torred, O.H.G. derr(i)u (pr. Germ. *dorzi(i)ō) 'I make dry, cause to wither'.  
*mord-ējō √merd-: Skr. mardāya-tī 'presses, oppresses, crushes',  
Lat. mordeō.  
*gort-ējō √yert-: Skr., cartaya-tī 'sets circling, rolls, causes to take a certain bent or direction', Goth. fra-
vardja 'I bring to nought, destroy, make away with', Lith. 
varč-tī O.C.Sl. prati-tī freq. 'to turn, twist'.  
*kroth-ējō  
√kreti-: Skr. śrāthaya-tī (śrāthaya-tī) loosens, frees', O.H.G. 
retti(i)u (Goth. *hradja) 'I tear away, rescue'.  
*bhlož-ējō √bhlož-: Skr. bhrājaya-tī 'causes to gleam or shine',  
O.I.L.G. blech(i)u (Goth. *blakja) 'I make visible, show'.  
*logh-ējō √legh-: Goth. lagja 'I lay', O.C.Sl. lož-tī 'to lay'.  
*mouth-ējō √menth-: Skr. manthaya-tī 'causes to be stirred

1) The meaning of this verb was influenced by the subst. māna-s māna-m 'opinion, high opinion, esteem, honour' in the same way as  
H.G. blenden (O.H.G. bletten 'to daze, darken, blind' = O.C.Sl. bliditi 'to wander' Mod.Slov. bluditi 'lead astray, deceive') by the adj. blind, whose  
facitive the verb is now used for, though originally the factitive was  

2) Parallel verb ānūṣma = anūṣaṃ, a denominative, see W. Schulze  
in Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 264 f.

3) This may also be formed from the pres. bhraja-tē = lāg. *bhleži-
tāj (§ 494 p. 55), by analogy.
up', O.C.Sl. *mati-ti 'to bring into perplexity'.


2) *tong-ējō √ *teŋg-: Skr. rōcāya-ti 'causes to shine, lights up', Lat. *lucēō 'I shine, am bright' and O.Lat. 'I make shine'. *lūybē-ējō √ *lūyb-: Skr. lōbāya-ti 'excites some one's desire, attracts' Goth. *us-lāunja 'I allow', O.C.Sl. *ljūbi-ti 'to love'. *gōys-ējō √ *gēys-: Skr. jōdāya-ti 'likes, takes pleasure in, approves', Goth. kāunja 'I taste, try'. *suop-ējō √ *suep-: Skr. svāpāya-ti 'sends to sleep', O.H.G. int-seubhīnu 'I send to sleep' O.Icel. svef 'I pacify, quiet'. *nuoḥ-ējō √ *nuēgh-: Skr. vāhāya-ti 'conveys, makes (a carriage or horses) go, drives', Gr. *oxēo 'I convey, make ride' pass. 'I am carried about, am carried, I ride on', Goth. *ga-vajja 'I move', O.C.Sl. vodi-ti 'to carry (in a vehicle), vehere'. *goyd-ējō √ *goyd-: Skr. vēdāya-ti 'gives to know, informs', O.H.G. weiz(i)nu 'I give to know, I show'. *bhojīd-ējō √ *bhejīd-: Skr. bhōdāya-ti 'splits, divides', O.H.G. beiz(i)nu 'I make to bite, I bait'. *pot-ējō √ *pet-: Skr. pātāya-ti 'makes to fly or fall', Gr. πότους 'I fly, flutter'. *dhojīg-ējō √ *dhegh-: Skr. dāhāya-ti 'causes to be burnt', Lat. foveō 'I warm, keep warm, cherish, take care of'.  

3) *bhog-ējō √ *bhēg-: Skr. bhājāya-ti 'drives away', Gr. ἐγκαταλθεῖν 'I make to flee, scare or hunt away' *tjoj-ējō √ *tjeg-: Skr. tyājaya-ti 'bids leave alone', Gr. *koθoptimized 'I drive off quickly, scare away'. *sod-ējō √ *sed-: Skr. sādāya-ti 'gets seated, sits', O.Ir. ad-suidim 'I prolong, postpone' (Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx: 97), Goth. *satja 'I seat, place'. *od-ējō √ *ed-: Skr. ādāya-ti 'causes to eat, feeds, fattens', Goth fra-atja 'I divide up for a meal' O.H.G. *ezō(i)nu 'to make eat, give to eat, feed'. *pak-ējō  

1) The construction nocēre aliqui is doubtless due to the analogy of obscene officere etc.

2) Compare fūmes 'kindling, tinder' (for *fovinus) with Latt. dagh-i 'tinder'.

3) Skr. bhag- is contaminated of two distinct roots, that of *gherh (ñik, Wtb. I 4 87) and that of *ghāmūm Lith. bēgn (id. id. 490).

\(\sqrt{\text{pak}}\): Skr. pásáya-ti 'binds', O.H.G. huo(f)u O.Sax. fógu 'I make fit, join, bind together'. Skr. hrádāya-ti 'causes to make a sound' (hráda-té 'sounds'), O.H.G. gruow(m)u O.Sax. grötium 'I address, speak to'; if another, Goth. grēṭa 'I wail out', is of this kin, then we must assume Ídg. *ghrōṅk̑jō. Goth. af-daui-jus 'exhausted' pres. *dōja for *dōṅjō in the first instance (I § 179 p. 156), O.C.Sl. daui-ti 'to strangle'.

In the following, -ējō was not added immediately to the root; see § 792 p. 325.


*rōdh-ējō stem rō-dh-: Skr. rādhaya-ti 'brings about', O.Ir. no rādīnu 'I speak', Goth. rōdlja 'I speak'. O.C.Sl. radī-ti 'to consider, care for'; cp. Skr. áradha-t Goth. ur-rēda § 689 p. 220. *joudh-ējō *jūdh-ējō stem jēv-dh- 'to stir, set in motion': Skr. yōdhāya-ti 'involves some one in war, fights against', Lat. jubeō properly 'I set in motion' (cp. Lith. jūdiuin 'I move, cheer up, exhort'); cp. Skr. yōdha-ti etc., loc. cit.; the O.Lat. joubeō is only once found (S C. de Bacch., 27), and ou- was perhaps only caused by the spelling of *jousi pet which precedes.1)

Goth. stōja 'I direct' for *stōğiō (I § 179 p. 156), O.C.Sl. stavļja 'I place, stay, stem' with Goth. staua 'court of law' (see ibid.) O.C.Sl. stavu 'compages' po-stavu 'loom-frame, or web' stava 'joint, limb' Lith. stoviu 'place' from \(\sqrt{\text{sta}}\) 'stand'; to argue from Gr. στῶα στρε-λος Skr. sthū-lā-s, we had best assume stā- stāy- (cp. § 488 pp. 44 ff.).

The causal Skr. jivāya-ti 'makes living, lets live' O.C.Sl. živļja 'I make alive' is probably derived from the present

1) If joubeō is a genuine form, it may be a variant of jūbeō like Skr. jocāya-ti beside jucāya-ti.
jī-va-ti Śī-ve-tī ‘lives’ (§ 792 p. 325), whilst Goth. ga-quipa ‘I make alive’ is a denominative causal from qiin-s ‘living’ (§ 793 p. 326, § 806).

§ 795. Aryan. A pass. part. in -i-tā- formed from all verbs with strong grade of root syllable; see § 789 pp 319 f.


Many Skr. forms are proved by their root syllable to be re-formates. E.g. arjaya-ti (as also ārja-ti and suchlike) from √rej- ‘to stretch oneself’ (rájihā-s, Gr. ἀρεύω), is a transformate of ḥiya-ti following ardhaṇya-ti : ṛṛḥyate ṛdhno-eti etc. tōlaya-ti ‘lifts, weighs’ formed from tu- (tulaya-ti etc.) = Idg. tyl- (I § 287 p. 229, § 290 p. 232), follows bōdhaya-ti : budh- and the like.

Forms with weak grade of root. Skr. v-āya-ti ‘weaves’: Lith. v-ekū, see § 790 p. 323. śv-āya-ti ‘swells, thrives, is
strong': Gr. κυ-έω Lat. qu-eō, see ibid. Skr. hū-āya-ti Avest. ṣa-aye-iti sūc-aye-iti 'calls'. Skr. dhum-āya-tē 'roars': O.Sax. duniu, see ibid. tul-āya-ti beside tōl-āya-ti, see just above. gṛbh-āya-ti 'grasps'. sūc-āya-ti 'shines, beams'. pīd-āya-ti 'presses' for *pi-zd-eje-ti (makes sit down) from V sed-, see I § 591 p. 447. Avest. urāpaye-iti 'does harm'. Add doubtless Skr. chad-āya-ti beside chandaya-ti from the pres. chant-ti 'appears'.

§ 796. Many new forms from Primary Present Stems (see § 792 p. 325):


A group of fairly common forms, such as Skr. patāya-ti Avest. putaye-iti beside Skr. patāya-ti, have been derived from forms of Class II A, as has been already said (§ 790 pp. 322 f.). The following may be connected with stems of Class II B: Skr. gūhaya-ti Avest. guzaye-iti (but not O.Pers. gaudayāhy 2nd sing. conj.), cp. Skr. gūha-ti 'hides' Avest. mid. guza-tē; Skr. turāya-ti 1) (beside tārāya-ti), cp. turā-ti 'gets through, makes oneself master of'. But this view is not the only one possible, since the ēṣa-verbs themselves could have a weak grade of root syllable (§ 790 p. 323, § 795 p. 330).

Avest. titāraye-iti 'seeks to overcome, or strike down' beside Skr. ti-tar-ti Avest. ti-tar-a-ḥ Classes III, IV, § 540 p. 100, § 548 p. 105.

Skr. sajjaya-ti 'fastens on' beside sajja-tē for *sa-zj-a-

Class VI § 562 p. 110.

Causal of the Intensive class. Skr. dādharaya-ti 'causes to hold fast' from dā-dhar-ti, jāgarāya-ti 'awakes, enlivens' from jā-gar-ti, Class V § 560 p. 109. Skr. dandasayi-teā gerund 'having caused to be severely bitten' beside dān-daś-āna-s partic., from daś- 'to bite', varīvarjāya-nt- 'turning

1) O.Pers. atarayāma may be the same formation (I § 290 p. 282).
backwards and forwards' beside vārī-ṛj-at- partic., from varī-to turn, twist' Class VII § 568 p. 113.

Skr. prīnaya-ti 'gladdens, delights, makes inclined' from prī-nā-ti, dhūnaya-ti 'moves to and fro, shakes' from dhū-na-ti, Class XII § 599 pp. 142 f.: dhūnaya-ti is perhaps identical with Gr. ὑπερέµ, § 801.

Skr. iṣānaya-nta from iṣāna-t Class XIV, and iṣānyā-ti Class XIX (§ 619 pp. 156 f., § 743 p. 266), cp. Gr. ὀλυῆς-ἀραῖς beside ἄπων§ 801.


Skr. pinvaya-ti 'makes swell or abound' from pi-nva-ti, Class XVIII § 651 p. 186.


prachaya-ti" (gramm.) from prchā-ti 'asks' ground-form
§ 797. Near kin to the ṭh-forms cited in the preceding paragraphs, are the Skr. groups ending in -payati and -apayati, as sthā-payati and snā-apāya-ti.

In these endings, as in glej-p- and lej-p- (§ 634 pp.-170 f.), -p- must be counted one of the Root-Determinatives which have been discussed in § 488 pp. 44 ff.1) In principle, these do not differ from ordinary present suffixes.

(1) -payati. The following may be considered as the forms which originated this type in Sanskrit. sthāpayati causal of ti-ṛṣṭa-ṛti 'stands', cp. Lith. stapy-ti-s 'to stand still' O.H.G. stat 'staff' stabım 'I get stiff', √ṣa-ṣt-. dāpayatē causal of dd-ti d-yā-ti 'divides, gives a share', cp. Gr. δὰν-ῶ 'I divide up, tear in pieces' δαν-ἀν 'expenditure' Lat. daps, √da-do- dīpaya-ti causal of dī-dī-dē-t 'shone' imper. dī-dī-hī, cp. dīp-ya-tē perf. dīdipē part. dīp-ṭa-s. On the analogy of such as these arose forms like dhāpaya-ti from dhā- 'to set, place', snā-pāya-ti from snā- 'to wash', kṣē-payatī (beside kṣay-āya-ti) from kṣi- 'to stay, dwell', ar-pāya-ti from ar- 'to raise oneself'.

Then again snāpaya-ti beside smāy-aya-ti from smin- 'to smile', māpaya-ti instead of *māy-aya-ti from mī- 'minuere', adhy-ayata-ti beside praty-ayata-ti 'from i- to go'. There were two causes for this set of forms. Firstly, the participles came in contact, smin-ta-s smin-tva seeming to be parallel with e. g. sthi-tē-s sthi-tvā; secondly, pāy-aya-ti 'gives to drink'

1) Compare now Per Persson's Wurzelerweiterung pp. 49 ff. In this work p is taken to be a root determinative in many words where we have regarded it as part of the root proper, as in Skr. sārpa-ti Lat. sērō, which the writer derives from the root of Skr. sār-a-ti 'moves, flows'.


mṛdāya-ti 'is gracious' from mṛd-ṛti for *mṛk-ṛti

Class XXV § 692 p. 222.


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(1) -payati. The following may be considered as the forms which originated this type in Sanskrit. sthāpayati causal of ti-ṛṣṭa-ṛti 'stands', cp. Lith. stapy-ti-s 'to stand still' O.H.G. stat 'staff' stabım 'I get stiff', √ṣa-ṣt-. dāpayatē causal of dd-ti d-yā-ti 'divides, gives a share', cp. Gr. δὰν-ῶ 'I divide up, tear in pieces' δαν-ἀν 'expenditure' Lat. daps, √da-do- dīpaya-ti causal of dī-dī-dē-t 'shone' imper. dī-dī-hī, cp. dīp-ya-tē perf. dīdipē part. dīp-ṭa-s. On the analogy of such as these arose forms like dhāpaya-ti from dhā- 'to set, place', snā-pāya-ti from snā- 'to wash', kṣē-payatī (beside kṣay-āya-ti) from kṣi- 'to stay, dwell', ar-pāya-ti from ar- 'to raise oneself'.

Then again snāpaya-ti beside smāy-aya-ti from smin- 'to smile', māpaya-ti instead of *māy-aya-ti from mī- 'minuere', adhy-ayata-ti beside praty-ayata-ti 'from i- to go'. There were two causes for this set of forms. Firstly, the participles came in contact, smin-ta-s smin-tva seeming to be parallel with e. g. sthi-tē-s sthi-tvā; secondly, pāy-aya-ti 'gives to drink'
(beside pi-ti- pāya-tē) was compared with pā-paya-ti 'gives to drink' (from pi-ti), and gāy-ayt-ti 'makes sing' (beside gi-tā- gē-ṣya-) compared with gā-paya-ti 'makes sing' (beside gā-ti gā-sya-ti). Then a further step was taken, and the resemblance of sthi-tā-s to cardhi-tā-s dikhş-tā-s produced cardhāpaya-ti from vardhāya-ti 'helps, arouses, causes a pleasant excitement', dīkhş-paya-ti from dīkṣaya-ti 'consecrates'; and again we have have on the analogy of these bhumājaya-ti from bhōjaya-ti 'gives to eat' (pres. bhūnak-ti), and others.

(2) gi-apaya-ti 'brings to decay, ruins, exhausts' (beside glā-paya-ti glā-ti glāya-ti) beside opt. glapē-t (Whitney, Skr. Roots p. 41), (tr. fi-šu 'I look, see' (cp. yālēv ोमात or ोसे ैङ्ग ती or πρό.),) V gel- sn-apaya-ti 'washes, bathes' (beside snā-paya-ti snā-ti snāya-tē) compared with Lat. Nep- tinus. śr-apaya-ti 'boils, roasts, burns' (beside śrā-ya-ti śrā-tā-s) is connected with snā-pāya-s 'easy to cook'; jh-apaya-ti 'instructs' (beside jhā-paya-ti jhā-sya-ti) beside jñāp-tā-s 'instructed' jñāp-ti-ṣ 'attainment of knowledge'. ml-apaya-ti beside mlā-pāya-ti 'makes languid, takes away the elasticity'.

Remark. Other forms with -ep- are: tr. xl-ēn-tō Lat. el-epō Goth. hi-ifa 'I steal' beside O.Ir. cellin O.H.G. hiln 'I hide'; Gr. δε-έμω 'I break-off, cut-off, pluck' δέμω-ti 'sickle' beside δι-ε- 'I flay'; Lat. tr-ep-iēn-s, O.C.Sl. tr-ep-tu 'to tremble' beside Skr. tar-nāds 'trembling'. Compare the Author, Morph. Unt. 1 40, 48, 49; Per Persson, Wurzelerw. 50 ff.

§ 798. A Denominative ēja-formation like Skr. mantrāyā- tē (§ 793 p. 328) can only be definitely maintained for Sanskrit; we know nothing of the Old Iranian accent, and therefore cannot say whether Avest. frayrāuye-īti 'wakes up' would answer to a Skr. *grārāyā-ti or *grārayā-ti. Other examples from Sanskrit are: gtāga-nt- 'behaving in due form and order' from y-tā-m 'order, rite', urthāya-tē 'allows oneself to be persuaded' from ār-tha-m 'goal, business'; pālāya-ti 'watches, protects' from pa-lā-s 'guardian' is used in Sanskrit as causal

1) 8lēmpesor seems to be a transformate of 8lēmpesor, which comes from another root, on the analogy of 8lēmpor.
of pudo-ti, and ghatayu-ti 'causes to be killed, kills' (aor. a-jighatu-t) from gha-ta-s 'blow, killing' as causal of hain-ti.

It may be mentioned that when a root-final k-sound is not changed to c before -aya-, this proves the form to be denominative; for we have seen in vol. I § 445 p. 331 that a k-sound must become c before -eio- in proetnic Aryan, as it does in rōcaya-ti. We know therefore that mygāya-tē 'sets on the trail of a quarry' is derived from mygā-s 'wild animal, game', tarkāya-ti 'conjectures' from tarka-s 'guess', and so with others.

§ 799. In Sanskrit, the present in -āya-ti served as the foundation for a desiderative formation in -ayiṣa-ti, as lu-labhayiṣa-ti from labhāya-ti.

The passive is formed with -ya-tē, -aya- being dropped; e.g. bhāj-ya-tē from bhājaya-ti. How this passive originated is not at all clear. It may be supposed that it had no special connexion properly with the ēio-present, any more than had the aorist of Class IV (§ 548 p. 105).

§ 800. Armenian. There are no clear traces of this ēio-group, which appears to have been absorbed into the class of verbs ending with -em. For instance, lezem 'I lick' may answer equally well to Skr. lōhāya-ti or to tir. λείχω. Compare § 774* p. 293, on gorcem etc.

§ 801. Greek. Here this ēio-class ran into one group with the denominative present in -e-ιό, such as ϕιλέω from ϕίλος. Hence arose φορήσω ἐφόρησα etc., following ϕιλήσω ἐφιλήσα (§ 773 p. 290). Hence again, in the present itself, Lesb. ποθέω like ἀθικήμι (§ 775 p. 293), and φόρημι like πάλημ (§ 589 p. 131).

I arrange the forms about to be cited according as they had one or other of the two original functions of this class (§ 791 p. 324).

Causal (or Factive). τορέω, (F)οχέω, φορέω, σοβεώ, see § 794 pp. 326 ff.

Intensive (or Iterative). φορέω. σοίω (λυσομεἴν Hesych.), ποτίσω, see ibid. ὀχέω 'I hold fast, hold out, hold for *οχεώ
beside ἐξω: Skr. ut-sahaya-ti 'helps some one to endure, strengthens, gives heart'. ποθέω 'I desire' beside ἡσσεσοϑα Avest. jvidye-iti √ghedh- (§ 706 p. 234): O.Ir. no guidiu 'I pray' first for *godiun. στροφέω 'I turn round and round' beside στρεψω. τροπέω 'I turn, twist' beside τρέπω. ἐσπεύω 'I swallow' beside Lith. sreb-iū √srebh-; Lat. sorbeō seems to be an ējo-form with weak grade of root, like jubeō Skr. yybhäya- ti, and others (§ 790 p. 323). βοσμέω 'I hum, buzz' beside βρέμω. σκοπεω 'I watch, look at, ponder' beside σκέπτομαι. So perhaps ὅρχεων 'I hop, spring, jump, tremble, quake' beside ὅχομαι 'I go'; in that case the word will be akin to Skr. ῥηγहया-ti 'quakes, throbs'. ὅρθεω 'I push': cp. Skr. vadhaya-ti 'strikes down' Avest. vādāye-iti 'knocks back'; ὅρθεω will be equivalent to Skr. bādhaya-ti 'subdues', if in this word b is for v- (cp. p. 225 footnote 1).

Looking at these verbs in -εω from the Greek point of view only, it must be admitted that they mostly look like derivatives from substantives; cp. ρομέω ρόσο-ς, ποθέω πόθο-ς, στροφέω στροφή and so forth. However, it can hardly be doubted that they had their origin rather in this ējo-class, in as much as the earliest verbs of the kind ended in -έιο. After the Greek verb had lost the original Idg. accent (cp. § 527 with the Rem., p. 89), present stems in -έιο and denominatives in -ε-ιο were bound to run together.

However, another possibility must not be forgotten: to wit, that before the time in question some few denominative causals, of the type of Skr. mantrāya-ti (§ 793 p. 326, § 798 pp. 334 f.) may have been formed.

-εω is not uncommon after present formative suffixes (cp. § 792 p. 325). So far as one can see, the new verb meant much the same as the old unextended verb.

eἰλέω 'I press' beside εἰλω for ἡγελ-νω (§ 611 p. 150). Ion. inscr. conj. βουλέωνται beside βούλομαι 'I wish' for ἡβολ-νο- (§ 611 p. 150). πια-νέω 'I fall' beside πιά-νω, whose preterite ἐπνέω became aorist by contrast with πιννέω (see Curtius, Verb2: 268, n 12); i in the root syllable instead of ε (√pet-)
as in κιν-νη-μι etc., § 602 p. 144. δινεῖ· δημαίζει (Hesych.) beside δαμ-νη-μι. ικνέομαι 'I arrive' beside Hom. ιανέω for *ικε-ενέω § 652 p. 187. οίκ-νέω 'I go, go away, I am off'. Cret. αγ-νέω 'I lead, bring'.


With Skr. पिनप्त-ाय-ति § 796 p. 332 may be compared the following. δνεάω, beside δαίνω 'I lead, bring' for *δη-νέω. εδηνε, beside εδηνε-ν for *εζη-νῦ. See § 652 p. 187. Perhaps also δηνέω 'I eddy' beside δνεω, and ὑνίεω 'I move wildly, storm' beside ὑνεω, see loc. cit.; but still these may be denominatives, derived later from δνε-ς and ὑνε-ς; ὑνιεω moreover may be identified with Skr. धु-न-ाय-ति (§ 796 p. 332). We are still quite in the dark whether -μι-ν-α or -ν-ν-α (-ν-ιδ) is to be assumed for κινεω 'I move from its place' beside κιν-ν-μαι, βνεω 'I stop up' beside βνεω and βνω fut. βνω, βνεω 'cooe' beside Skr. जि-दात-ि 'overpowers, oppresses' partic. जि-ता-स.

πεικτεω beside πεικτω 'I comb', § 680 p. 212.

γηθέω beside γηθόμαι 'I am glad' seems to fall here along with Lat. gaudēō for *gāvideō, § 694 p. 223. μιμθέω (Hippocr.) beside μιμ-ν-ω 'minuo'.

μνιεω (Hippocr.) beside μνιεω 'I suck'. χρησμεω (Chalc. χρησμεω Boeot. χρησμεῳ) and Gort. ληω (for *ληεω) beside χρησμεω *ληεω perhaps like Skr. प्याय-ाय-ति beside प्याय-यात् 'swells', see § 737 p. 263.

These forms in -εω are also found in association with present stems which have no special characteristic, as ιλεω beside ιλεω 'I pull'.

Now comes the question — are all these forms with -εω to be brought into close connexion with the Idg. -ειδ, and did they originally have an Intensive or Frequentative meaning? We saw in § 578 p. 119, § 756. 4 p. 275, that from the very earliest period non-present forms with an ε-suffix occur side by side with present forms which have no ε-suffix; as μελεσε,
§ 802. *Italic.* On the Latin present inflexion see § 788 pp. 318 f. The part. pass. ends sometimes in -i-tus, see § 789 p. 319.

We have already mentioned moneō, torreō, mordeō, tongeō, noceō, lūceō, foceō, and jubēō jōubeō, see § 794 pp. 326 ff.

Besides these there are but few words which can with any certainty be called ējō-formations. spondeō, beside Gr. πιέων 'I pour a libation, offer it', mid. 'I make a solemn compact'. dōveō, beside discō for *di-te-scō* (§ 678 p. 210), perhaps from the same root as decēt, and identical with Gr. δόκεω (cp. Pick, Wtb. 1466, 452). noveō, although there are doubts as to its origin (cp. 1 § 428 c p. 316; Pick, Wtb. 14408; Osthoff, Morph. Unt. v 82). tondēō, beside Gr. τινόω 'I bite' for *τεν-δω* (§ 695 p. 224). haereō: Goth. us-gāisja 'I frighten' properly 'I make stiff, or congeal'. Umbrian has tursitu tusetutu 'terreto' tursiantu 'terreantur' from a pres. *torsēgō* beside Lat. terreō Gr. ἑτεραν - ἑγορεῖν (Hesych.), all from √ter-s-, see § 657 p. 192.

The root syllable has a weak grade in: Lat. qu-eō, identical with Skr. śv-āya-ti, ci-eō, see § 790 p. 323; sorbeō beside Gr. φογέω, see § 801 p. 336; jubeō, parallel stem jōubeō once found, see § 794 p. 329.

We should also add, it seems, the following: miscēō, see § 792 p. 325; augēō, cp. Lith. áugu 'I grow'; suadeō 'I make a thing acceptable to some one', cp. Gr. ἱδομαι § 690 p. 221.

Remark. It is hardly possible to prove that the ējō-formation became denominative in Latin as it did in Germanic and Balto-Slavonic, dāneō 'I make thick' beside dāmus-s is certainly not to be explained like Goth. fulljan beside full-s, and other such; tempting though it be to draw this parallel. See § 777 Rem. p. 301.
§ 803. Keltic. Only a few examples which are anything like certain.


§ 804. Germanic. On the confusion of this type with other present classes see § 781. 2 p. 306. The present inflexion in Gothic may be regarded as regularly growing out of the original one (I § 142 p. 125 f.); but in O.H.G. such forms as 2nd sing. denis (1st sing. denn(i)n = Goth. pānja) beigis (1st sing. beiz(i)n = Goth. *baitja) are a re-formation following hevis and suchlike (1st sing. heff(i)n = Goth. hafja). Class XXVI. The partic. pass. in pr. Germanic ended in -ild-, as Goth. fra-wardiŋs stem -vardida-, nasidiŋs stem nasida- O.H.G. gi-nerit, see § 789 p. 319.

The class was productive, from proethnic Germanic onwards, in the Causal or Factitive use, where the primary verb has some simple meaning. Only a few examples, as O.H.G. decch(i)n ‘I hide’, still keep the Idg. Intensive or Frequentative meaning (§ 791 p. 324); but this meaning very early became so weak, that soon no difference was felt between the original verb and the secondary verb in -ēō-, for which reason the former was generally dropt altogether out of use.

Goth. *uf-*bänjaja 'I stretch out' O.H.G. denn(i)u 'I stretch': Skr. ā-tānaya-ti, see § 794 p. 327. O.H.G. wënn(i)u O.Icel. ven (inf. venja) 'I accustom': Skr. sa-vānaya-ti 'makes inclined, accustoms to', V yen- 'to like'. O.H.G. flouw(i)u 'I rinse' (2nd sing. flewis, ep. Braune O.H.G. Gr.² pp. 84, 253): Skr. pāvaya-ti 'floods, pours over', Serv. plovi-ti 'to make flooded', V pleug- 'flow, swim'. Goth. fra-vardja 'I bring to nought, destroy, disfigure', O.H.G. wert(i)u 'I destroy': Skr. vartaya-ti etc., see § 794 p. 327. Goth. marzja 'I hurt, vex', O.H.G. merr(i)u 'I hold back, hinder, disturb, mislead' (orig. 'cause any one to make an oversight'): Skr. muraṣaya-ti 'looks after, carries off, lets alone' (mṛṣya-ti 'forgets, neglects, bears patiently'), V mers- 'forget, take no notice of'. O.H.G. derr(i)u 'I make dry, wither up': Skr. tarṣaya-ti etc., see § 794 p. 327. Goth. ga-turhja 'I mark out, blame': Skr. dārsaya-ti 'shows', V derk- 'see'. Goth. uf-rakja 'I reach up', O.H.G. recch(i)u 'I reach, stretch out' from V regj- (Gr. ῥέγω) O.H.G. (h)rett(i)u 'I tear away, rescue': Skr. śrāthaya-ti, see § 794 p. 327. Goth. bragja 'I run', beside Gr. ῥέχω 'I run' (fut. ῥέξωμαι) from V threkh.-¹) O.H.G. blecch(i)u 'I make visible, show': Skr. bhrajaya-ti, see § 794 p. 327. Goth. lagja O.H.G. legg(i)u 'I lay': O.C.Sl. loži-ti, see § 794 p. 327. Goth. ḫagkjja O.H.G. dench(i)u 'I ponder, think': Lat. tungen, see § 794 p. 328; the irregular pret. ḫahtu dahta partic. *ḥaht-s gi-daht (variant gi-dentit) — for aw becoming ā see I § 214 p. 181 — arose on the analogy of the corresponding preterite of ḫugkja dunch(i)u (Goth. ḫuhta etc.), which verb we have placed in Class XXVI (§ 722 p. 252); it is true ḫagkja may also be placed in this class, as it may come from *tēg-jō, which would have a grade of root shown apparently in Osc. tangin-om 'sententiam' (not so Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 128). O.H.G. blent(i)u 'I darken, blind': O.C.Sl. bladi-ti 'to go astray', orig. transitive like

¹) We must believe that the root is threkh-, not thregh- (I § 538 p. 406), because of O.Icel. þrælli for *þráy-ilia-. Then the Gothic verb, like fra-vardja and marzja, shows in its root-final the regular voiced consonant.

Mod. Sloven. bluditi 'to lead astray; deceive' (Miklosich, Vgl. Gr. π 437), V bhléndh-; cp. p. 327 footnote (1). Goth. us-láubja O.H.G. ir-loub(i)u 'I allow': Skr. lóbháya-ti etc., see § 794 p. 328. Goth. káusja 'I taste, try': Skr. jóśáya-tē, see § 794 p. 328. Goth. ráupja O.H.G. rouf(i)u 'I pick, pluck, tear out': Skr. rópaya-ti 'makes a tear, breaks off', √reyp-reub- (I § 343 p. 270, § 469. 7 p. 345). Goth. dráusja 'I make fall, throw', O.H.G. trër(i)u 'I make trickle, shed', beside Goth. dríusna 'I fall'. O.H.G. int-sweb(i)u 'I lull to sleep': Skr. svápáyatí, see § 794 p. 328. Goth. ga-vagja O.H.G. wegg(i)u 'I move': Skr. vāháya-ti etc., see § 794 p. 328. Goth. us-vakja 'I wake up', O.H.G. wecc(i)u 'I wake': Skr. vájáya-ti 'excites, drives on', √wege-. O.H.G. weiez(i)u weiz(i)u 'I give to know, show': Skr. védáya-ti, see § 794 p. 328; O.H.G. beiz(i)u beiz(i)u 'I cause to bite, corrode, bait': Skr. bhědáyá-tí, see § 794 p. 328; originally weiez(i)u weigis etc., beizi(i)u beigis etc., whence by levelling in both directions weiez(i)u weigeis and weig(i)u weigis, beizi(i)u beegis and beig(i)u beigis etc. (cp. flóx(i)u flózi(i)u § 805). Goth. láisja O.H.G. lór(i)u 'I teach', √les- 'learn'. Goth. satja O.H.G. sezz(i)u 'I set, place': Skr. sádáya-ti, see § 794 p. 328. O.H.G. hung(i)u 'I cause to hang', hang' beside O.H.G. háhu 'I hang' for *hawhu (hiang gi-hangain). Goth. uf-hlohja 'I make some one laugh', O.Icel. inf. hloðja, beside Goth. hlahja 'I laugh' (pret. hloh). O.H.G. fuog(i)u O.Sax. fágiiu 'I make fit, join, tie up'. Skr. paśáya-ti, see § 794 p 329. O.H.G. gruoz(i)u gruog(i) O.Sax. grótiiu 'I address, speak to': Skr. hrádaya-ti, see § 76 p. 329.

§ 805. Where the éjo-verb, and the primary verb from which it was formed, had come to have a different articulation in the final consonant of the root, through the action of Verner's Law (I §§ 529 f. p. 384 f. § 581 p. 434), the final of the éjo-verb was very often in Gothic levelled back to match that of the other. Of the examples cited in § 804, the following show this change: Goth. -tárhja instead of *-targja following a lost *tárha, káusja instead of *káuzja following kiusa, dráusja instead of *dráuzja
O.H.G. tvōriu following driousa, lāiṣja instead of *lāiṣja = O.H.G. lēr(i)u following lāis 'knows', -hloja instead of *-hlōja = O.Icel hlōge following hlakja.

The following -gio-forms arose from present stems with some characteristic suffix (see § 792 p. 325).

O.H.G. klean(i)u 'I cause to lean' trans. of hli-nē-n. O.Sax. hli-nē-n, Class XII, § 605 p. 146.

O.H.G. schein(i)u 'I make visible, show' beside scīnu; scwein(i)u 'I make disappear, diminish' beside swi-nu 'I disappear'; bi-swell(i)u 'I make swell, dam up' beside swieltu; scell(i)u 'I cause to sound, dash in pieces' beside scilū: Class XIII, § 614 pp. 151 ff.

Goth. saggja O.H.G. senc(i)u 'I make sink, push under' beside sigga; O.Sax. thengiu 'I complete' beside thīnu 'I thrive' for pr. Germ. *bevaوخ; O.H.G. meng(i)u O.Sax. mengiu 'I mingle, mix' beside a pr. Germ. *mingō; O.H.G. spreng(i)u 'I make burst, I burst' beside springu: Class XVI § 628 pp. 164 ff., § 634 pp. 170 ff. With these were associated -gio-formations made from presents with a t-suffix and a nasal infix. Goth. vandja O.H.G. wēnt(i)u 'I turn' from vinda √ yēj-; O.H.G. swent(i)u 'I make disappear, I annihilate' from scintu beside swi-nu, see § 634 p. 172, § 685 p. 216.

Goth. kannja 'I make know, inform', O.H.G. ir-chenn(i)u 'I make know, understand', beside kann kun-nu-m, Class XVII § 646 p. 183.

Goth. ur-rannja 'I make arise' O.H.G. renn(i)u 'I make run, or make run quickly', beside Goth. rinna; Goth. ga-brannja 'I cause to be burnt up, I burn up', O.H.G. brenn(i)u 'I make burn, I burn' beside brinna: Class XVIII, § 654 pp. 187 ff.


O.H.G. frōr(i)u 'I make freeze' beside friu-nu, Class XX § 664 p. 197.
§§ 806,807. Present Stem: Class XXXII — Skr. eśد-áyu-ti. 343

O.H.G. ir-lesk(i)u 'I cause to be quenched, I quench' beside ir-tisku, Class XXII, § 676 p. 208.

Goth. rōdja 'I speak, say' beside -re-da: Skr. rādhaya-ti etc., see § 794 p. 329; O.H.G. flōst(i)u flog(i)u Mid.H.G. volctze viæge 'I make flow, cause to swim off, to float (trans.)' (op. weis(i)u weig(i)u § 804 p. 341) beside fliu-gu; Class XXV § 699 p. 225.

§ 806. Denominative ējo-verbs (see § 793 p. 326) are common. We have already given some examples found both in Germanic and in Balto-Slavonic (loc. cit.), to wit, (ti)th fullja O.H.G. full(i)u 'I fill' from full-s 'full' and Goth. hālja O.H.G. heil(i)u 'I heal' from hāls heil 'whole, healthy'. Other examples are: Goth. hāuhja O.H.G. hōh(i)u 'I make high, raise aloft' from hāuh-s hōh 'high'; (ti)th. ga-blindja 'I make blind' Engl. to blind (distinguish this from O.H.G. blent(i)u, see § 804 p. 340); Goth. ga-giuja 'I make living' from giu-s (op. § 794 p. 330); O.H.G. storch(i)u 'I make strong, strengthen' from starr 'strong'; fest(i)u 'I make fast, fortify' from festi 'fast'.

If Germanic did not inherit ējo-denominatives from pre-Germanic times, we have to turn for an explanation of their existence in this branch to those instances, where, connected with an old primary causal, there is some adjective having the same grade of root-syllable, as Goth. gramja O.H.G. gremm(i)u 'to provoke, make angry': O.H.G. gram O.Icel. græm-r 'angry, provoked'; Goth. hndieja 'I lower, degrade' O.H.G. (h)neig(i)u 'I bend, incline, sink' tr.: (goth. hndie-s 'low, humble'; O.H.G. ga-fuog(i)u 'I make to fit, I join': ga-fuogi 'fitting, suiting'. Once these verbs came to be regarded as derived from the adjectives in question, it is easy enough, at once to explain new forms like fullja.

§ 807. Balto-Slavonic. The original present system, -ējo -ejsi and so forth, is still represented by the Lith. c-ējū O.C.Sl. c-ūja c-ūja 'I wind, turn, twist', as we have already seen in § 788 p. 319. How the place of this series was usurped by Lith. -au -ai ......, O.C.Sl. -ju -ishi ...... has been explained in § 789 pp. 321 f.
This type was very fertile in Balto-Slavonic; and we meet with both the original meanings, — the Causal, and the Intensive or Frequentative (§ 791 p. 324).

We may mention as further examples Lith. vartaï̱ vartį̱-ti O.C.Sl. vraštą̱ vrati-ti, O.C.Sl. volją̱ voli-ti, poją̱ poji-ti, lošą̱ lości-ti, maštą̱ maći-ti, ljublja̱ ljubi-ti, vošą̱ vozi-ti, davi̱ṯi, Lith. iss-manaui̱ -manį̱-ti § 794 pp. 326 ff., Serv. plovi̱m plovi-ti, O.C.Sl. blašdą̱ blaš-d-ti § 804 pp. 339 f. Others are: O.C.Sl. morją̱ mori-ti 'to kill' (causal): Skr. māra-y-a-ti 'makes die, kills', √mer-. Lith. daraũ̱ dary-ti 'to make' beside deriũ̱ 'I bargain, hire, am of use' (cp. Leskien, Der Ablaut der Wurzels. im Lit., 99), √der-. Lith. ganaũ̱ gany-ti 'to tend (cattle), to pasture' O.C.Sl. gonją̱ goni-ti 'to drive' (freq.), √ghen- 'strike. Lith. ramaũ̱ ramį̱-ti 'to soften, calm' (causal): Skr. rāmaya-ti 'brings to a standstill', √rem-. Lith. žargau-s žargy-ti-s 'to stretch the legs apart' (freq.) beside žergiũ̱ 'I stretch my legs. Lith. prasau̱ prasų̱-ti 'I ask, pray', O.C.Sl. prośą̱ prosi-ti 'to ask, pray', √prek-. Lith. lūćau-lūsci-ti 'to break' trans. (freq.) beside lūusztį̱ 'to break' trans.: O.C.Sl. bušdą̱ budi-ti 'to wake' (causal): Skr. bōdhaya-ti 'causes to awaken, wakes, makes aware', √bhejdh-. Lith. snaį̱yo snaigį̱-ti 'to snow' (freq.) beside snik-ti 'to snow', √sneigh-. Lith. szvaĩ̱a szvaitį̱-ti O.C.Sl. svęșťą̱ svęštį-ti 'to make clear, light up' (causal), √kvięjt-. O.C.Sl. bęždą̱ będi-ti 'to compel': Goth. bűidja 'I compel', √bhejdh-. Lith. maiszau̱ maiszų̱-ti O.C.Sl. męșą̱ mętį-ti 'to mix', √mej-. the verb may just as well be derived from *mojkĭ-jā̱, *mojk-s-kējā̱ (Skr. mēkṣaya-ti cp. Classes XIX and XX, §§ 656 ff. pp. 190 ff.), or *moik-s-kējā̱ (cp. Lat. miscēō, see § 792 p. 325). Lith. sakau̱ sakį̱-ti 'to say', O.C.Sl. sočą̱ soći-ti 'to point out': O.H.G. seggi̱ðu 'I say', √seq- (Gr. ėw-one Lat. in-seco). Lith. kasaũ̱ kasų̱-ti 'to scratch' (freq.), √qese- (O.C.Sl. ėces-ti). O.C.Sl. topļa̱ topļ-ti 'to warm, heat' (causal): Skr. tāpāya-ti 'warms', √tep-. O.C.Sl. toḏe̱ todi-ti 'to make run, make flow, pour' (causal): Avest. tācayę̱-ti 'makes flow', √teq-.
§ 808. New formation from Primary presents, in which a present root-extension of the ējo-form has been handed down (§ 792 pp. 325 f.):


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(freq.) beside spir-iù, gy-dua 'I heal' (causal) beside gy-ju 'I get well' (cp. Leskien, Der Ablaut der Wurzels. im Lit., 182 ff.).

Lastly, we may mention once again O.C.Sl. šivlja šivi-ti 'to make alive' (causal), beside ši-sq 'I live', see § 794 p. 329.

§ 809. Denominative verbs in Lith. -y-ti O.C.Sl. -i-ti (see § 795 p. 326) are common. Examples found in both Germanic and Slavonic are O.C.Sl. plūni-ti 'to fill' and cēli-ti 'to heal', mentioned above (loc. cit.).

Lith. denominatives such as jāstau jāsty-ti, a class which is mixed up with the ź-denominatives, have been cited already § 782.4 p. 310. Some more Slavonic exxs. may be mentioned: praljja pravi-ti 'to make right, direct' beside pravu 'right', ostrijā ostrī-ti 'to point, sharpen' beside ostru 'pointed, sharp', divlja divi-ti sq 'to wonder' beside divo 'wonder', děljā děli-ti 'to divide' beside dělů 'part', darjā dari-ti 'to present' beside darů 'a present', měrijā měri-ti 'to measure' beside měra 'measure', kromoljja 'I disturb, confuse' beside kromola 'disquiet, noise, uproar'. It must also be mentioned that the Idg. denominatives from i-stems, ending in -i-š, have run into this Class; see § 782.5 p. 311.

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§ 810. We saw in § 485 p. 38 ff., and § 655 p. 190, that thematic and non-thematic s-Preterites belonged to our Present


Greek. Inama, Degli aoristi greci, Rivista di filol. ii 249 ff.


Leskien, Die Formen des Futurus und zusammengesetzten Aorists mit
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§ 310. Classes XIX and XX. The reason why I treat these stems again by themselves has been given in the first of those two places.

Before -s- we have (1) either the bare Root, as Skr. á-dik-ši á-dik-ša-t Gr. ἔ-δικ-σ-α Lat. dic-s-it, Skr. á-dhā-s-ām O.C.Sl. dé-chū, or (2) Root + Suffix of some kind (Root-Determinative, or what not), as Skr. á-ḥv-ā-s-ta O.C.Sl. žīv-ačhū, Skr. á-vēd-i-š-ām Gr. (f)υδ-σ-κ-α Lat. vid-i-s-tis, Skr. á-yō-t-s-ām Lat. jussit for *ju-t-s-e-t (pres. yō-dha-ti ju-b-eō). Under the second heading, a special class is composed of forms like Skr. āvādīš-am Gr. (f)υδ-σ-α Lat. vidis-tis, and others


associated closely with these, such as Skr. á-yá-s-iš-am Gr. δεικον for *δεικνυαν Lat. dic-is-tis. Another subdivision includes the forms with -s-s-, as (Gr. ἐφικασα ἐβαλεσα Lat. odiissem capessi amassō O.l.r. ro-charus for *carass-.

A. STEMS IN -s- AND -so-.

I. Non-Thematic s-stems.

§ 811. Roots of the s-series appear in three vowel grades; and the original Idg. division of these grades was as follows.

The Indie. Act. Sing. had the e-grade: as O.C.Sl. věs-á 1) Skr. á-váks-am from √ yeğh-; whether ē in Lat. věx-i-t is this ē unchanged, ie doubtfull. The Indie. Act. Plural and Dual, and the whole of the Indie. Middle, had the weak root: as Skr. á-vit-s-i Gr. ἐσ-αρ from √ yeğd-. The Conjunctive had the e-grade: as Skr. pāks-a-t Gr. παγ-ω from √ peg-, Avest. varš-a-it Gr. ἐγξ-ω from √ yeç-. The Optative had the weak root; as Skr. mas-nya from √ men-. With this ablaut compare Skr. indic. stā-ti stu-māsi stu-tē mārš-īti myj-ānti, conj. stāv-a-t mārj-a-t, opt. stuw-t-tā (§ 494 p. 55).

The Conjunctive stem of this s-aorist is identical with the Indicative stem of the XXth Present Class; e. g. Skr. taṣa-t(i) and indic. taṣa-ti = Goth. þinsa, Lat. (fut.) dixō and indic. pret. dixi-t dixi-mus. so too the conj. Skr. áy-a-t and indic. áy-a-tē = Lat. ēō (§ 489 p. 47, § 498 pp. 51 f.).


1) In the Imperative system of several languages forms of some other inflexion were associated with the non-thematic forms. This will be examined under the Headings of the languages in question.
á-yaukš-am (gramm.), Gr. ε-σεὐκ-, op. Skr. á-yonkš-mahi
Lat. jānūz-, Lith. injunct. jūnks-me -te § 813. / meuy- 
meuy- 'strip off, let go': Skr. á-maukš-am 2nd and 3rd sing. 
á-mauk mid. á-maukš-i (Gr. ἀν-ἀμοῦκα, Lith. injunct. mauks-me 
-te: Lat. e-manxī. / bheydh- 'awake, notice': Skr. mid. 
á-bhuts-i, Lith. injunct. būs-me -te O.C.Sl. bļūs-ū. / veugh- 
'vehere': Skr. á-vākš-am 2nd and 3rd sing. á-vāt conj. vākš-a-t, 
Lat. vēx-ī, Lith. injunct. vēsz-me -te O.C.Sl. vēs-ū. / vedh- 
'to lead': O.Ir. don-fe 'let him lead us' for *vet-t, Lith. injunct. 
vēs-me -te O.C.Sl. vēs-ū. / dhegh- 'burn': Skr. á-dhakš-am 
á-dhak conj. dhāks-u-t(i) Lith. injunct. déks-me -te O.C.Sl. 
sach-ū for *dēk-ū (I § 76 p. 66) beside žega for *deja (§ 522 
pp. 85 f.). / sed- 'sedere': Skr. conj. sāts-a-t, Gr. ἁς-a, 
Lith. injunct. sēs-me -te. / peq- 'coquire': Skr. conj. páks-a-t, 
Gr. ε-πεκ-, Lat. coquit for *quex-ī. / seq- 'to be with, follow': 
Skr. mid. á-sakš-i conj. sākš-a-t, Lith. sēks-me -te. / regh- 
'regere': Gr. ὀπέκ-, Lat. rēx-ī, O.Ir. 2nd sing. comēr for 
*con-ex-rex-s. / leg- 'legere': Gr. ἔλεκ-, Lat. -lex-ī. / plek- 'fold': Gr. ἓ-πλεκ-, Lat. plēx-ī. / ed- 'eat': Lat. conj. 
ēs-e-m, Lith. injunct. ēs-me -te O.C.Sl. jas-ū. / dhē- 'set, 
place, lay': Skr. á-dhās-am mid. á-dhiš-i, Lat. conj. con-derem, 
Lith. injunct. dēs-me -te O.C.Sl. dēch-ū. / spē- 'help onwards, 
farther': Avest. conj. spāsh-a-iti, Lith. injunct. spēs-me -te 
O.C.Sl. spēch-ū. / dō- 'give': Skr. mid. á-diš-i conj. dās-a-t, 
Lat. conj. dar-e-m, Lith. injunct. dās-me -te O.C.Sl. dach-ū; 
compare also Alban. jasē 'I gave' (G. Meyer, Kurzgefl. alb. Gr., 
38). / sta- 'stand': Skr. mid. á-sthīš-i Avest. conj. stāsh-a-p, 
Gr. i-στάσο-α 3rd pl. Hom. ἀ-στατ-αυ, Lat. conj. star-e-m, Lith. 
injunct. stās-me -te O.C.Sl. stach-ū.

The following examples are a group themselves, having 
peculiar vocalism in the root (a, i, y). / bhey- 'be, become': 
Gr. ε-πω-α, conj. (fut.) Umbr. fust fust Osc. fust 'erit', 
Osc. conj. fusi/d 'foret', Lith. injunct. būs-me -te O.C.Sl. bych-ū; 
ep. fut. Avest. bāṣyēitī etc. § 748 p. 271. / dhey- 'shake': 
Skr. mid. á-dhīs-ā, Gr. ε-θώ-α. / gei- 'live': Lith. injunct. 
gēs-me -te (inf. ģy-ti pres. ģy-ji) O.C.Sl. šīch-ū (inf. ši-ti
pres. ści-vaq). Skr. 3rd pl. á-kirṣ-ata from kar- 'scatter'. (Gr. ἀ-κριβεῖα from ἄκριβε- 'sternere'.


As this s-formation must be regarded as original for stems with the suffixes -a-, -e-, -i-, so too for certain roots with a dental suffix. From gei-t- 'to observe' (§ 680 p. 212): Skr. 3rd sing. á-cait, O.C Sl. ēis-ū. From jey-ah- 'disturb, set moving, drive' (§ 689 p. 219 f.): Skr. á-yūts-am yūts-mahi, Lat. jūs-t O.Lat. jus-t.

Of the remaining s-forms with roots having some extra suffix, those which are associated with Classes XV and XVI deserve particular mention. Skr. 1st pl. mid. á-yuṣkē-mahi Lat. jūnx-t Lith. jûns-me beside Skr. yuṣk-tē Lat. jungo
Lith. jūngiu, from V jēug- ‘yoke, join’: op. the associated forms Skr. á-yōka̞-am Gr. ε-κυκλοῦ § 812 p. 349. Gr. ε-πλαγ- Lat. planē- beside Gr. πλά- for *πλαγ- Lat. plango, from V plag- plag- ‘strike’: op. Gr. ε-πλακ- Lith. plūks-me. Of course these examples, with many more from Greek, Latin, or Baltic, may all be regarded as new analogical formations in the separate languages.

Avest. 2nd pl. sad-dām. Skr. ha-'go, yield' (jā-ha-ti ja-hi-mas): 
ā-hās-am 3rd sing. ā-hās 1st pl. ā-hās-ma.

§ 815. There are many deviations in Sanskrit and Avestic 1) from the original distribution of these three vowel grades, as set forth in § 811.

The weak stem (as Skr. ta-s- from V ten-) is hardly found outside its original sphere; but no longer in the plural and dual indic. act., only in the Indic. Middle and the Optative: e. g. Skr. ā-dhiś-i dhiś-īya ā-gas-mahi mas-īya, Avest. a-mēh-maidā diś-ya-p. Irregular: Skr. 2nd sing. conj. mid. ḍaṅś-a-sē instead of ḍrakṣ-a-sē.

In Sanskrit the ā-grade (as tā-s-) spread from the Sing. indic. act. to the Plural and Dual; e. g. āchāntsur ājāiśma ābhārṣam following the sing. āchāntsam etc.; cp. ādhama instead of *ā-dhi-ma following ā-dha-m (§ 495 p. 55), spar-tam instead of spy-tam (§ 499 p. 62), and the like. But beyond this line Sanskrit has very few other examples of ā; one is mid. ā-yās-i. In the Gatha dialect a is quite restricted to its original sphere. But in later Avestic it has crept into nās-t-īma, if this be the optative to an indic.*naṣ-om (O.C.Sl. něs-ū); cp. Bartholomae, Stud. idg. Spr., II 166.

The a-grade (as Skr. ta-s-) spread from the Conjunctive, where it is still the usual form in Sanskrit and Avestic, through the whole Indicative and Optative moods; and in particular it occurs with the weak stem; e. g. indic. 3rd sing. Skr. ā-mās-ta Avest. mās-tā opt. Skr. mās-t-īmā (variant, Avest. Gath. a-mēh-maidā Skr. mas-īya) following the conj. Skr. mās-ātē, Skr. 1st pl. jēś-ma (beside ā-jāiś-ma), Avest. Gath. 2nd pl. prāosh-ta, 3rd pl. vēogh-en; within the orig. sphere of the a-grade, Skr. ā-rāṣ-am ā-yōkṣ-am.

§ 816. In Sanskrit, the 2nd and 3rd sing. indic. act. became identical by regular change (ājāiś = *a-jāiś-ś and *a-jāiś-ṭ); and if a consonant preceded the aorist sign, the aorist sign was dropt as well as the personal ending (ārāk = *a-raikṣ-ś and

1) Here we have to disregard Old Persian, from lack of material.

Brugmann. Elements. IV.
*a-vaiśāś-t), and sometimes this was done even to the root-final 
(*a-chan = *a-chants-s and *a-chants-t). The inconvenience 
thus caused served to root the forms with -s-tś -s-t firmly 
in later Vedic, and these are the only ones used in classical 
Sanskrit (except bhāś in the phrase ma bhāś ‘fear not’); 
e.g. á-jāś-tś -t. These endings were borrowed from the 
siś-aorist (§ 839). For instance, áyāsīś-áyāsī-t belonged 
originally to the series áyāsīś-am áyāsīś-ma etc., next 
displaced 2nd and 3rd sing. áyās (which belonged to the 
1st sing. áyās-am); and the relation between áyāsīś-á and 
áyās-am produced ájāśī-á beside ájāś-am, abharśi-á beside 
ásabhār-am, and so forth.

A few times the 2nd sing. in -āś (for -āś-ś) produced a 
3rd sing. in -āt, as únāat by complementary analogy from únāś 
(mñ- ‘to lead’).1) As this formation touched only roots with an 
i-vowel, it may be that the type was set by preterites like 
áj-āi-t beside áj-āi-ś from aj- ‘agore’ (§ 572 p. 114).

The Sanskrit grammars class under the s-aorist some forms 
of the 2nd and 3rd sing. which more properly belong to our 
Present Class I; such are á-kṛthas and á-kṛta, which by their 
structure belong not to á-kṛ-śi á-kṛ-mahi but to á-kṛ-i á-kṛ-ata. 
The reason of this confusion was that in a certain number of 
 consonantal roots the 2nd and 3rd sing. of both these series had 
become indistinguishable; e.g. áchithās áchitun in the systems 
of á-chid-i (á-chēd-i) and á-chūs-i both (cp. 2nd pl. ačhānta 
for *a-chants-ta, I § 557.3 p. 413). Compare also the 2nd pl. 
ámugdheam from muc- ‘to let go’, which may belong equally 
well to the aorist stem muc- (preceptive muc-śīta) or to the 
aorist stem mukś- (3rd pl. mukś-ata).

§ 817. s-aorists from Roots with characteristic, or from 
Present Stems.

Forms with the suffixes -a-, -e- -o- have been cited in

1) Analogous formations outside the s-aorist are collected by Joh. 
Schmidt in Kuhn’s Zeitsschr. xxvi 403. Compare further 1st sing. ačhīnam 
(Maha-Bh.) beside 3rd sing. a-chinat = *a-chinat-t from chid- ‘to cut off’.
§ 813 p. 351; add to those Skr. á-yáś-am conj. yáś-a-t(i) from yá- 'to go', á-dhyáś-am from dhyá- 'to think'.

With the suffix -á- -ái- (§ 498 pp. 61 f); Skr. á-grabh-i-á-am á-grabh-ái-á-am beside á-grabh-i-t á-grh-á-tam from grabh- 'to seize' (§ 574 p. 116).

Skr. á-yuvala-mahí from yuval-, see § 813 p. 351. Skr. á-stamps-am beside stambha-tē 'fortifies or strengthens itself', /stebh-, see § 629 p. 166.

O.Pers. 3rd sing. a-kú-nau-s 'he made' a-darš-nau-s 'he durst' come from nu- presents (§ 640 p. 178). And so doubtless 3rd sing. -áis 'he went' 3rd pl. -áisa arose in Persian itself in association with the present stem aí-(imperf. -ay-am), and is therefore not an orig. s-aorist as might be supposed from Skr. 3rd sing. mid. adhy-áisa (gramm.). The origin of these new forms lies perhaps in certain pairs of imperfect forms; 2nd sing. *áiš 3rd sing. *ái, 2nd sing. *akúnaš 3rd sing. *akúnaš running parallel to 2nd sing. *abara 3rd sing. abara, 2nd sing. *adada 3rd sing. adada, and the like. If there were connected aorist forms such as 2nd and 3rd sing. *a-náis = Skr. á-náš, the above 2nd sing. in -á might easily be looked upon as an s-preterite, which its use for both 2nd and 3rd sing. suggested. After that, -áis would be complemented by 3rd pl. -áisa.

§ 818. Armenian. So far no s-preterites have been found. Compare the remarks on the s-aorist, § 672 p. 204.

§ 819. Greek. First, a few examples shall be added to those given in §§ 812 and 813. Hom é-xeíma Att. é-xeíma from xeiα 'I shave' fut. xepê. Hom. é-xeíma from xeiλω 'I move, drive'. é-stelê (éstēlēn in Heasch.) from stēlō 'I order, arrange'. é-nēlê for *é-palos mid. palto from pallo 'I shake, brandish'. On the relation of Leob. éφεσα Att. éφεφεσα Dor. éφεφεσα to Hom. éxeíma, and of Leob. éstēlē Att. éstēlē Dor. étēlē to Hom. étēlē, and such like, see I § 563.3 p. 419, Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 127 ff., the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 63. émeîma Leob. émēîma Dor. ēmēpē for *é-meîma from méînō 'I remain'. So éxeíma from xei̱mō.
I kill', ἐνεμα from νίμω 'I divide'. ἐ-νεὺσ-α from νι(ϐ)-ω 'I swim': Skr. mid. द-नध-त (gramm.). ἐ-πεῖν-α from πεῖ(ϐ)-ω 'I blow, breathe'. ἐ-πεῖσ-α from πέρω 'I sack, destroy'. ἐ-τρίσ-α from τρίπω 'I turn': Lat. torxi for *torc-ι from τορχε-εδ. ἐ-γραψ-α from γράψ-ω 'I write', V gerph-. ἐ-φαιν-α from φαίνω 'I give to understand, show' for *φανδ-μιν: Lith. 1st and 2nd pl. injunct. (fut.) gūs-me -te from girsti 'I apprehend', V gherd-. βραχθαννικλαβίν (Hesych.) beside aer. βραχθανιν: Skr. द-मरक्ष-ि-t द-मारक-ि-t from मरक्ष-ि 'touche, grasps' (§ 527 p. 90). ἐ-σπεισ-α Cret. ἐ-σπείν-α from σπέινω 'I offer, pour'. ἐ-πεῖσ-α from πεῖδω 'I persuade', V bheidh-. ἐπείσαi instead of ἐφείσα like Skr. द-दुक्ष-ि-t instead of द-धुक्ष-ि-t, which is also found (§ 659 p. 195). ἐ-γενεί-α from γενεί-ω 'I give to taste', V ēμες-. ἐν-α from εύω 'I burn': Lat. uesst from ē-ρ-δ, V ēμες-. ἐ-γλυφ-α from γλύφω 'I incise, engrave'. ἐ-ζε-α-σα ἐ-ζεα from τε-σι-ω 'I boil, bubble'. ξίσσατο for *θίσσο- from θίσσεσθαι 'to beseech', V gheδh- (§ 706 p. 234). ἐ-δέξ-αμιν δέκτο for *δεκτο- from δέχομαι 'I receive'. ἐ-κλαυα-α from κλαιω 'I weep' for *κλαυε-μιν. ἐ-δέξ-αμιν ἀπε-μενο-ς from ἀπομακ Ι rejoice': Lat. suas-ι from suad-ēd. ἐ-πηδ-α πηδκτο for *πηδα-το from πηδνυμι 'I fix' V pak- pak-. ἐ-δη-α from δη-ημι 'I bind', V đē-.

§ 820. The a which is seen after σ came from the 1st sing. in -σ-α and the 3rd pl. in -σ-αν (whence, by complementary analogy, -σα-ς -σα-ες -σα-ο etc.). According to Osthoff, Perf. 407, a is regular also in -σαμεν -σαμεθα -σαμιν, which endings he derives from *-s-μενεν and so forth. The 3rd sing. in -σε properly belongs to the thematic conjugation; ἐ-δεκ-ε is like Skr. द-दिक्ष-ि Lat. đeκ-η-t (see § 833). The 2nd and 3rd sing. *ἰδης = *ἰ-δεκ-ο-ς and *ἰ-δεκ-ο-κ were dropt for clearness; and it was the perfect forms (ἴλαονικα: ἱλαονικα) that caused a thematic form to take root in the 3rd singular and nowhere else.

The Conjunctive in Homer and elsewhere still shows the thematic vowel, as τείνο-μεν, instead of which we have later τείνω-μεν (§§ 814, 923). We have already seen (§ 747 p. 269)
that the indic. fut. in -σω was in all probability partly the conjunctive of the s-aorist; compare further in § 883.

The optative in -σαμι is a re-formation on the analogy of the optative in -σμι; see § 944. On forms like δισεμι, see § 886.

The Participle Active shows in all its cases -σαντ-; see II § 126 pp. 399 f., and IV § 1099.6.

Even before α had spread by analogy in the system of the σ-aorist, σ had droped between a root-final consonant (explosive, liquid, or spirant) and a personal ending with consonant initial (I § 566 p. 423). Some forms of this kind lasted into the historical period: Hom. λέκτο 'laid itself' for *λεκτο-το, imper. λέξο for *λεκτο-σο, partic. -λέγμενο-ς for *λεκ(θ)-

-μενο-ς, beside ἔλεξα ἔλεξα; ἢμεκτο 'mixed itself' for *ἐ-μεικτο-

-το, ἐμιέχθης for *ἐ-μεικτο-σ-θης (§ 589 p. 130), beside ἐμιέξα; παλτο for *παλτο-το, beside ἔπηλα; ἀρμενο-ς for *ἀρσ-μενο-ς, beside ἥρσα.

In forms like ἵστησα ἔδησι έκκινησά ἕκτιμησα ἐμίσθωσα (§§ 819, 822), σ seems to have been due to the analogy of consonantal stems, as ἐπερνεα ἐκηρίζα (op. I § 564 p. 420), just as στῆμω τιμήσω got their σ by analogy of τέρξου κηρέξω (§ 755 p. 274). But σ drops, as it should, in ἐδέα for *ἐ-ειδεα-α (§ 836).

Remark. Ele. ἑπολθα has not kept unaltered the Idg. sounds. It is far more likely that it disappeared in Elean itself; in the same way the change of σ to τ in Lyc. ἱνασά and Argive ἱπολθα belonged to these dialects separately.

The question might be asked whether the σ of ἱστησα ἵνησασα may not have returned to them unweakened at some time when the forms *ἰ-μεσα(-τ) *ἰ-μεσα-το *ἰ-μεσα-τον existed; just as ἔσαν (beside Bocc. παρ-εισα) got back its σ by analogy of ἵστε ἰστον ἵστρον. I put the counter question, why we have ἔδεα, not ἔδεα. It cannot be made probable that this es-formation was found in the singular only — if so, the state of things would differ widely from the s-aorist.

§ 821. The pr. Idg. differences in root-gradation (§ 811 p. 348) were largely levelled out in Greek.

Often the vocalism of the whole aorist was decided by the Present; and we saw in § 748 p. 270, that where this
dependence upon the present stem is seen, the σ-future always goes along with the aorist. Compare ἔγραψα ἔγλωσσα ὀμορφὰ ἔστειλα ἔσχοσα ἔπελα (for *ἰπαλσα) with γράψω γλώσσα ὀμορφὰ στέλω σχέσω πάλλω, but ἔτερνα ἔδεισα (for *ἐδεισα) ἔστειλα ἔφθειρα (ἐφθείρα) ἔστειλα (ἔστειλα) beside τέρτων δέρω στέλω φθείρω στέλλω. Thus there is no ground for believing that, say, ἔνθεσάμην inherited from the parent language its grade σχισ- (cp. Skr. anicisti), or that the conj. δύρω inherited *διρο- (cp Skr. ἄργα-τ)

The vocalism is independent of the present in ἔτεσα beside τίνω, or ἔδειξα beside Cret. ἔδεικτηi (Att. ἔδεικτον), amongst other examples. The σ of these forms was carried right through the aorist system. However, it need not come exclusively from the Conjugative; η may have been shortened to ς in the indic. ἔδειξα ἔτεσα, and in ἐξεύξα ἔπληνοσ ἔκεροσ etc., by the rule laid down in vol. I § 611 p. 461. In this case ἐξεύξα would be equivalent to Skr. अगुण्डाम. This shortening cannot have taken place in the 1st sing. ἔμενα ἐνιμμα for pr. Gr. *ἐ-μεν-α *ἐ-μεσ-α, as is proved by Lesb. μην-ος Att. μπρ-ός (see loc. cit.). But it may have come about in the 2nd and 3rd sing., at a time when these took the forms *ἐ-μεν(-ς) and *ἐ-μεν(-τ), etc. On this view, the old vowel gradation must have been kept, or undergone nothing but regular change, in the conj. act. and mid. ἔδειξω ἔδεισα and in the sing. indic. act. ἔδειξα; while there has been analogical influence in the plural and dual indic. act., and in the whole of the indic. middle, ἔδειχμεν etc., ἔδειχɑμεν etc.

Survivals of the original weak grade are ἔσαν, ἔσαν for *ἡρισαν1) beside ἐσωάμην, Hom. ἐστασαν beside ἐσχοσα, ἕσμενο-ς beside ἔσαμην ἔσαμην (Lat. suést).

1) On ἔσαν Dor. 1st sing. ἔσαμ, etc., which are due to the analogy of ἔσατ, see § 863.
§ 822. Many σ-aorists come from roots with characteristic, or from present stems of different kinds (usually these have a similar σ-future associated with them).

(1) Forms with Reduplication. ἵδεᾳξα from ἴδεᾳξω 'I teach' for *δι-δακ-σω Class XXIII (fut. διδαξω). ἐτέξηα from τιταίνω 'I stretch' for *τι-ταν-τω Class XXVII B. Hom. τέρψηα from τι-τραίνω 'I bore', ep. τέρψηα under (2). Hom. ἤξα Att. ἤξα from ἄξω 'I rush wildly' for *τα-τακ-τω, ἐποίηξα from ποι-φύσω 'I blow, snort', ἐποίηξα from ποι-φύσω 'I puff, pant' Class XXVII A (fut. δίξω δίξω etc.).

(2) With a Nasal Suffix. ἐκλίνα, ἐρηνα for *ἐ-κλίν-α, ἐρηνα for *ἐ-φαν-ο-α, from κλίνω 'I bind' for κλί-ν-ω, φανω 'I cause to appear' for *φα-ν-μω. ἐφηα for *ἐ-φάν-α from φάνω 'I scratch, comb' for *ἐ-φάν-μω. ἐρηνα from ἐφ-άνω 'I weave' (on the σ of σφηνα see the Author, Gr. Gr. 2 58 p. 71. Solmsen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 66 f.). For these presents in -ν-ω and -αρ-νo sec. under Class XXIX § 743 pp. 265 f. The aorists were formed on the analogy of ἔκτεινα from κτείνω, ἐπηλα from πάλλω, and so forth (§ 611 p. 150). The futures of these are κλίνω φανω ἐφηνο, § 757 p. 276 f.

Remark. σφηα for *σφα-σφα-σφα should be compared with the Lith. 1st and 2nd pl. injunct. (fut.) σφε-σφε-σφε. But these forms are not equivalent. For *σαμα-σα-σα, which may be the ground-form of the Lith. aorist stem, would become *σαμ-σα-σα in Greek. The Greek aorist was built upon the present, at a time when -ν-ω had become -αρ-ν-ω (αρω).

(3) With Nasal in the root (cp. § 813 p. 351 f.). ἐπλαγα from πλάξω 'I strike, beat' for *πλαγγ-μω Class XXIX: Lat. plānx-ι/ἐπλαγα (fut. κλαγιζω) from κλαζω 'I make a sound, cry' for *πλαγγ-μω Class XXIX and beside κλαγγ-ίνω Class XIV. ἐφρογα (fut. αφρογω) from σφρογω 'I bind, tie' Class XVI. See § 821 p. 158, § 628 p. 166, § 631 p. 167, § 744 p. 266.

(4) Later group of Denominatives. Following εκτείνα: κτείνα, ἐπηλα: πάλλω, ἐστελα: στέλλω, ἐπήλα: πλήσω, ἐσφηα: αφάρω were formed αφόμηνα from ἀφομάω 'I name', ἐκτείνατε from τικταίνω 'I carpenter' (ἐσφηανα beside ἐσφηανα like ἐναν. see above): ἔγγελα from ἀγγέλλω 'I announce', ἐφηνα from
ἀρκοσω Ἰ proclaim, ἰπαξα from ἀρπαξ 'I seize', ἐσαλπυγα from σαλπυμ 'I sound the trumpet' (for ἐσαλπιγγω), ἐτέλισσα Att. ἐτέλεσα from τελέω -ω 'I finish' (for τελεω-ω). The futures are ὅνουμαι τεκτανοθεῖται ἄγγελο like κτενω etc., but κηρόξω ἀρπαξσα σαλπυγα τελέσσω like πληξω etc. Compare § 756.3 p. 275.

Many analogical changes took place in the aorist forms from presents in -ω, because these represent both - donna and -γ-ω; e. g. ἰμφασα instead of ἰμπαξα following ἰδικασα (δικαξω for ἰδικασω), and ἰδικασα instead of ἰδικασα following ἰμπαξα. The ending -ξα became very common for δ-verbs in Doric and the N.-W. Greek dialects. The σ-future followed suit.

(5) σ-aorists from stems having the suffixes -α-, -ε- or ὅ go back to the pre-Greek period. To those cited in § 813 p. 351, add the following: ἵμμηφα Dor. ἵμμῆσα from μην-υν 'think, mean'; ἱππήσα Dor. ἱππάσα from γ-α- 'to go' (§ 497 Rem. p. 57); ἱππασα ἱππασα from ἱπ-ε- ἱπ-ε- 'to give an oracle'. Amongst dissyllabic aorist stems with these suffixes, those in -η-σ- take a prominent place; as ἰνέκησα from μελε 'it is a care', ἱππηλησα from ἱπέλω 'I wish', ἱδέρα Hom. Αεολ. ἱδέρασα from δέω Hom. Αεολ. δεύω 'I lack; need', with which were associated forms made from present stems with some characteristic, as ναθνησας from θω 'I place' for *σι-σλ-δ, ἱκτυπησα from τυπ-τω 'I strike', ἱκτυρησα from χαλμω 'I rejoice' for *χαρ-λω, ἱκησα from δω-ω 'I smell' for *ἴω-ὁω. With these go similar futures, as μηνησα βησσαν μιλησα, see § 750.1 p. 271, § 756.1 p. 275.

(6) Along with the forms mentioned under (5) go the aorists of later denominatives, as ἐτιμασ I on. ἐτιμησα, ἐφηλησα, ἐμπηθονα, ἐδικρησα, ἐκνησα. See § 756.5 p. 276, § 773 p. 290, § 813 p. 351.

§ 823. Italic. Three Italic categories fall here.

(1) Forms of the perf. indici ending in -s- (to the building up of which a great many things have gone, see § 367). We have already mentioned dēmpst prōmpst serpet
torsi multis visi dixi ussi vexi caxi -rèxi -lèxi plèxi suasti joust justi, jünxi ð-münxi plänxi; §§ 812, 813. Other examples are: mänst from maneō. tempst from tempō. mixt (mīxt?) and minxt from mingō ∨ meighh 'to stale': Gr. ἔνυθα (ἐνδήνυθα) Lib. 1st and 2nd pl. injunct. (fut.) mischen -te. scripsi from scribō. di-visi from di-vido. frīxi from frīgō: cp. Skr. á-bhärkṣ-ām á-bhärkṣ-am (gramm.) from bhṛjjā-ti (cp. § 524 p. 87). daxt from ducō. clepsī from clepō: Gr. ἐκλεψα from ἔκλεψα 'I steal'. pēxi from pec-tō: Gr. ἰνῴανπηρ from ἱκχρω 'I comb'. cōn-spēxi from -spiciō. gesst from gero for *gesū. auxi from augeō: Lib. 1st and 2nd pl. injunct. (fut.) āuks-ne-te from āugu 'I increase'. haessi for *haeEssi from haereō. With internal nasal (cp. jünxt etc., above): O.Lat. mënxt-t from mungi-t ∨ 'sneighh 'snow': cp. Gr. ἑνώπευς (ἐνώπευς). distinct from distinguō: cp. Gr. éōsn̄a from στίζω 'I prick, pierce'. sānxi from sanctō beside sacer.

In the paradigm of dixt there is not one form which can be held with any safety to be regularly derived from one of the unthematic forms of the pr. Idg. s-aorist. We cannot connect the 1st sing. with Skr. mid. kṛ-ṣ-c beside á-kṛ-ṣ-i (§ 658 p. 191), because of its past meaning. It is as impossible to prove that -imus in dix-usus represents a proethnic *-imunos, as it is to prove that -amur in l-xāl-xamur represents *-amun (§ 820 p. 356). The short forms of the 2nd pl., e.g. dixtis accessitis exclūstis, may, it is true, be regarded one and all as s-aorist forms (cp. Stolz, Lat. Gr. p. 372 footnote 3); but on the other hand there is nothing against the traditional view, namely, that they are contractions of dixtistis accessistis exclūstis (cp. Osthoff, Perf. 216 ff.).

I would suggest that before the s-aorist had been drawn into any close connexion with perfect forms like tu-tud-i and with aorists like fīd-i-t, some thematic forms had intermingled themselves amongst the non-thematic forms of the s-aorist, just as happened in other branches of Indo-Germanic (§ 833). I regard as thematic aorist forms, originally with secondary personal ending, dixt-i and dixt-imus (cp. Skr. á-dikṣo-t
§ 824. (2) The Conjunctive with -ε- -o-, and the Optative with -τ-.

Lat. dixō dixim: Gr. δείξω. axim: cp. Gr. ἀξίζες § 833. empsim, in-ενείς, capsō capsim, ob-εξίμω, faxō faxitūr faxim, oc-είς, ausim. Conj. dixō beside indic. pres. visō indic. pret. dixi-t dixi-mus, like Skr. conj. tāśa-t(i) beside indic. pres. tāśa-ti pret. (ā-)tāśa-t, see § 833.

The Umbr.-Osc. s-future is also a similar conjunctive (on the disappearance of the conj. vowel, see I § 633 p. 474, § 655.5 p. 503 and the remarks on the ending -e-d of the 3rd sing. perf. in § 867.7 below). Umbr. fust fust Osc. fust 'erit' Umbr. 3rd pl. furent: cp. Gr. ἔγινε etc., § 812 p. 350. Umbr. pru-pehast 'ante piabit'. Osc. deivast 'iurabit', censazet 'censebunt'. Compare the future with -es-, Umbr. ferest Osc. pert-emest § 837. The ending of the 3rd pl. Umbr. -ent(i) stands for *-onti, see § 1022 at the end.

§§ 824—826. The *-Aorists: Stems in -es- and -ee-.

Compare the forms with *-es- Lat. agerēm vēverēm, Osc. patenseīns for *patenesēnt § 837.

This ō-conjunctive from the s- and es-aorist was very closely connected in Latin with the Infinitive in -se for *-s-i (loc. sing.); e. g. esse ferre in-trēre -pēre plantāre claudēre finire. The same sort of thing occurs in Aryan and Greek; as Skr. inf. ājā-ē beside indic. ā-jaiś-am (mid. ā-jaiś-), inf. ājā-dē beside indic. ājā-as-ē part. ājās-anā-s, Avest. inf. ā naš-ē 'to make away with' beside naš-i-ma (§ 815), Gr. dešai µνῆσαι πτήσαι κοινάσαι beside ἔδειξα etc. The infinitives belong to nominal s-stems (II § 132 pp. 414, 416, 418, § 162 pp. 489 f.), and are a proof of the etymological sameness of the s-suffix in the verb and in the noun; see § 655 p. 189, § 834.

§ 825. As regards the relation of the vocalism in the root-syllable of the Italic s-forms to that of the parent language (§ 811 p. 348), all is obscure.

The vocalism has been influenced by non-aorist forms in many words; e. g. mulē beside mulgeō multum, torsē beside torqueō tortum, compared with torsē beside tergeō (tergo) tereum. Sometimes the aorist goes along with the to-participle, and is different from the present; ustē : ustu-s, but ūrō; di-vēši : di-vēsu-s, but -vido; howbeit, misī is different from missu-s.

Whether ō in -ōxī ēxī vēxī rēxī in the Idg. ō of O.C.Sl. tēchī Skr. ardhaṃ, is doubtful in the extreme. It appears to have been imported from forms like Idg-ī beside partic. lec-ītu-s, and suchlike. coxī (for *quezī) like Gr. inēsā, cp. partic. cocītu-s (for *quesctu-s).

As regards forms like serpeī δékō (for deīx-) it must be remembered that e may have been shortened to e as set forth in vol. I § 612 p. 462, serpe- for *serpy- and so on.

§ 826. Keltic. In Irish the only indic. forms we have are the 2nd and 3rd sing., but without augment, and therefore really injunctive. The 2nd sing. is only used as a conjunctive (or hortative), the 3rd sing. both as conj. and future. Examples: 2nd sing. comeir 'raise thyself' for *cóm-es-rece-s beside
con-érgim 'I raise myself': (ir. égéža. 2nd sing. tair 'veni' for *tó-air-ince-s, 3rd sing. tair 'veniat' for *-ince-t, co-te 'donce veniat' for *-t(ô)-ince-t beside -icim: cp. Skr. pret. mid. ákṣi beside pres. ákṣa-tē from oś-nō-ti 'reaches' (§ 659 p. 194). for-tē 'subveniat, iuvet' for *steics-t beside tiagin 'I step, go' (for-tiagin 'I come to the help'), √steigh-: (ir. ē-oṣ-ež-a; perhaps by contamination of -tē with the conjunctive tēis (see below) arose -tē, which is used as equivalent to -tē. do-n-sē 'let him lead us' for *-vets-t) beside fedim 'I bring, lead': Lith. vēsme etc., see § 812 p. 350.

In all persons the Conjunctive is used with conj. meaning, and more rarely as a future. Examples: — from tiagim: sing. 1st pres. -tias 2nd -tēis 3rd (abs.) tēis tēis, pl. 1st -tiasam 2nd -tēsid 3rd -tiasat. On account of the relation between absolute and conjunct inflexion in the present, arose the new forms sing. 1st tiasu 2nd tēisi, pl. 1st tēisme 2nd tēsit. Other instances: no tes 'effugiam' from techim 'I flee': O.C.Sl. tēchů from tekq 'I run, flee': at-resat 'surgent' from at-reig 'raises itself', cp. coměir above; co n-dārbais 'ut demonstras' from du-ad-bat 'demonstrat' (pass. -badar); ma fris-tōssam 'si abjuraverimus' from tongaim 'iuro'.

Again, the so-called t-preterite comes in here, as far as it was derived from the 3rd sing. mid. of the s-aorist in *-s-to; say do-bért 'he brought' for *-ber-s-to, celt 'celavit' for *cel-s-to, ro-anacht 'he protected' for *anek-s-to. See § 506 p. 72 f.

§ 827. Germanic. A survival of the s-aorist is conjectured in O.H.G. scri-r-un 'they cried' opt. scri-r-i (part. pret. gi-scrintan) beside pret. sing. srei 'he cried' pres. inf. scrintan 'to cry'; -r- = pr. Germ. -z-, see I § 581 p. 434. Later on, this r- formation got into the verb spīcan 'to spew', the participle being changed from ge-spīcen to ge-spīren (but, vice versa, O.H.G. 3rd pl. er-scricnum follows scricnum). See

1) The long vowel in -sz is not due to Compensatory Lengthening, but to the fact that monosyllables bearing the chief accent, and ending in a vowel, were all lengthened in Irish (III § 440: 2 p. 373).
Joh. Schmidt, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 599 f.; Kluge, Paul's Grundr. i 375. But this view of *scrirum* is very questionable; see G. Holz, Urgerm. geschloss. š, pp. 47 f.; and Zarncke in P.-B. Beitr. XV 350 ff.

A few *s*-aorist forms have perhaps contributed to the system of the weak preterite, as Goth. *wissa* O.H.G. *wissa* 'he knew', whose plurals *wissum* *wissut* *wissun* may be compared with Gr. *ἰσαυ*. Compare § 907.


In Lithuanian, we find the 1st and 2nd plural and the 1st and 2nd dual injunctive used with future meaning. They have run into one paradigm with the future in *-siu* (§ 761 p. 278), and in certain dialects appear side by side with the future in *-sime* *-site* and *-siva* *-sita*. As the Lith. future could be used hortatively in the 1st and 2nd persons, there is the less reason for surprise at this commixture of the injunctive with the future in *-sio*-. In addition, the 3rd sing. in *s* appears to belong to our *s*-aorist, at least partly. If, for example, we assume that *s* comes from *-st*, it is easy to understand the vowel shortening in *būs* (1st sing. *būsiu*) *ris* (1st sing. *rūsiu*) *gauš* (1st sing. *gaušiu*) and the like, of which more is said in I § 664. 3 p. 523. Then we may compare the use of the future in general statements as *kūs vōks nepralōps* 'the thief never grows rich' with the similar use of the injunctive in Greek (§ 909. 1). And further, this view of the 3rd singular is favoured by the Prussian forms, used exclusively as conjunctive, *bušai* (*bušei* *bušė*) 'be he, be they', and the like, which cannot be separated from Lith. *su-gausai* beside *su-gauš* etc., whose *-ai* moreover is the same affix as we see in *tasai* beside *tūs* 'the, that' (§ 999). This would be making *būs* for *bū-s-t* proethnic Baltic.

O.C.Sl. *s*-aorist forms of this group are the 2nd and 3rd sing., plur., and dual; as sing. *je jē*, pl. *ješte jesė*, dual *ješta ješte*; but the 1st persons are thematic (jesū *jesomū* *jesovė*); see § 833.

Of *s*-forms preserved in both branches we have mentioned in § 812 *gīš-me-te* from *genū* 'I hunt, drive' O.C.Sl. *po-žė* from
štū-ja 'I cut, harvest', Lith. iūns-me from imū 'I take' O.C.Sl. jēs-ū from imq 'I take', Lith. plūns-me from plūn-ju 'I rinse' O.C.Sl. plūch-ū from plūv-q 'I swim, sail', Lith. pa-būšme from pa-bunū 'I awake' O.C.Sl. blūnū from blūduq 'I guard, protect, take care', Lith. vēs-ū me from vēdu 'I drive' (trans.) O.C.Sl. vēs-ū from režq 'I drive' (trans.), Lith. vēs-me from vēdu 'I lead' O.C.Sl. vēs-ū from vēd-q 'I lead', Lith. dēk-ū me from deg-ū 'I burn' (trans. and intr.) O.C.Sl. zāchū from zēg-ū 'I burn' (trans.), Lith. ės-me from ėd-mi ėd-u 'I eat' O.C.Sl. jās-ū from jamē 'esse', Lith. dēs-me from de-d-ū 'I lay' O.C.Sl. dēch-ū from dē-ja 'I lay', Lith. spēs-me from spē-ju 'I have leisure' O.C.Sl. spēch-ū from spē-jaq 'I get on, have success', Lith. dū's-me from dūduq 'I give' O.C.Sl. dach-ū from dāmē 'I give', Lith. stōs-me from stō-ju 'I tread' O.C.Sl. stach-ū from sta-nū 'I place myself', Lith. būs-me from bū-ti 'to be' O.C.Sl. bīch-ū from bī-ti 'to be', Lith. gūs-me from gūj-ū 'I revive, get well' O.C.Sl. zīch-ū from zī-vq 'I live'. Forms with -ā-, -ē-, and denominative forms in § 813: Lith. pa-vidēsme from pa-vād-šiu 'invideo' O.C.Sl. vidēchū from viēdq 'I see', Lith. lankūs-me from lank-ju 'I try to make soft or malleable' O.C.Sl. lākach-ū from lāka-jaq 'I cheat, deceive'.

§ 829. Lithuanian. Besides the examples given in § 828 others were given in §§ 812 and 813, as nilūs-me from melē-u 'I milk', sēs-me from sēd-u 'I place myself, sit', šiōs-me from šīō-ju 'I open my mouth', gūdēs-me-s from gūdē-ju-s 'I am greedy', jūkūs-me from jūkū-ju 'I play, sport'.

The vocalisation of the root in the forms under § 812 is always that of the stō-tuature. There is no trace left of the Idg. vowel gradation (§ 311 p. 348).

From present stems with internal Nasal: jūns-me from jūng-ju 'I put in the yoke', skūs-me from skūnd-šiu 'I lament' (cp. § 761 p. 278), to be compared with Skr. s-yaun-kṣ-mahi Lat. jānx-t. From presents in -īnu -enu: sāus-s-me from saus-īnu 'I make dry', gabēs-me from gabe-ū 'I push something
§§ 829,830. The a-Aorists: Stems in -s- and -so-

forward, help it on' (cp. § 761 p. 278), to be compared with Gr. αἰνεῖα for *(d-)σαυε-av-σαι (§ 822. 2 p. 359), and again with O.C.Sl. врігнач-ũ, granting the correctness of the hypothesis offered in § 615 Rem. p. 154.

§ 830. Slavonic. Some examples were given in § 828, and more in §§ 812 and 813; as po-sluchũ from -slu-juq 'I hear', orach-ũ from or-jaq 'I plough', rūděč-ũ from rūšdu 'rubeo', cěléč-ũ from cělě-jaq 'I get well'. On the aorist in -nach-ũ, as врігначũ from вріг-nq 'I throw', see § 615 p. 154 and § 829.

The general question of the a-aorist inflexion has been discussed in § 829 p. 366. In the 2nd and 3rd sing. -s-s and -s-t dropt entirely by rule, which gave forms like je the look of a preterite of our Ist Present Class, those like za-ora rūđe the look of preterites of Present Class X, and denominatives like лača the look of preterites without -jo- such as Gr. Lesb. ἔτια (for *-a-t). Probably, however, some of these forms really are what they look like; for instance bě 'eras, erat' may come from Idg. *bhui-ė-s -t as well, and da 'thou gavest, he gave' may also come from Idg. *dū-s -t.

With roots in a consonant, the 2nd and 3rd sing. are found only when this root-final was a nasal, r, or l: as je(jěstũ), šrě and šrě (šrěchũ for *šerchũ and šrčũ from šer-qa 'I devour, offer'), kla (klachũ for *kolchũ from kol-jaq 'I slay'); otherwise the thematic aorist without s was used, as 2nd and 3rd sing. teče beside těču těčomũ etc. The reason is that these roots were the only ones which according to the laws of Slavonic did not drop their final consonant.

The 2nd and 3rd sing. often add -tũ, the ending of the 3rd sing. pres.; as pri-jětũ instead of -je, bitũ instead of bi (bišq 'I strike'), u-mrětũ instead of -mrě (u-mirq 'I die'); dastũ instead of da following dastũ 'dat'. This addition came up first in the 3rd sing. aorist, and then went on to the 2nd sing. because the two persons had the same form. Compare imper. jatũ both 2nd and 3rd sing. § 949, and again Skr. 2nd and 3rd dual cakr-áthuhr -ádur § 1038.
§ 831. From what was said in § 811 p. 348 on the Idg. gradation of the root syllable, it follows that ē is original in such forms as nēsū nēsū tečū tečū (rekā 'I say'), and the ā = Idg. ā in basā (bōdā 'I pierce', cp. Lat. fodiō fōdē); the long vowel was originally confined to the singular. Since a long vowel before ĭ, ū, liquid, or Nasal + Consonant was shortened, as laid down in vol. I § 615 p. 465, the same vowel-grade may be assumed for forms like bichū (*bhēq-s-), cīsū (cītā 'I count, reckon, honour', cp. Skr. cāits-), po-sluchū (Skr. srāni-), mrēchū for *merchū (marā 'I die', *mer-s-), orēsū for *versū (vrēz-q 'I tie', cp. Lith. 1st and 2nd pl. injunct. orēsz-me -te from rerē-iū 'I tie', √yerg-, mēsū (mētā 'I stir up').

Where the root syllable has a weak grade, this is always seen in the infinitive stem as well, so that we are not justified in assuming that it comes from the Idg weak form of the plural and dual active. E. g. ūrīchū (also ūrēchū) beside ūrē-ti (also ūrē-ti), klachū for *kolchū beside kla-ti for *kol-ti from qf- like Lith. kāls-me -te (§ 726 p. 256), krychū beside kry-ti 'to cover' as contrasted with Lith. krāus-me krāu-ti.

§ 832. Roots ending in a consonant also make aorists with the ending -ochū in O.C.Sl.; e. g. beside nēsū: sing. nesochū, pl. nesochomū nesoste nesoqe, dual nesochovē nesosta nesoste. The W.-Slav. languages have -ech etc. instead of S.-E.-Slav. -ochū etc. The conjecture as to this inflexion offered in vol. I § 110 p. 105, and supported now by Jagić, is untenable (Arch. slav. Phil., x 175, 191). It is far more likely that this is some peculiar Slavonic growth; probably a transformation of the aorist without s (nesū) on the analogy of the s-aorist. The relation of the 2nd and 3rd sing. dēla to the 2nd pl. dēlaste 2nd dual -asta 3rd dual -aste first caused the 2nd and 3rd sing. nēse to change its forms nese -eta -ete into neseste -esta -este, as the former were the same as those of the present. Next, nesochomū nesochovē may have arisen beside nesomū nesovē, and by and by the 1st sing. nesochū completed the group. Then
§832,833. The $s$-Aorists: Stems in $s$- and $so$-.

Differences were levelled out, the West-Slavonic in all consistency putting $e$- in all persons (nesech etc.), while the other branch took $o$-, and changed nesezete to nesoste etc. A different view is taken by Wiedemann, Beitr. zur altbulg. Conj., 109 f.

II. Thematic $s$-stems.

§ 633. The forms which fall under this heading belong to our XXth Present Class. They have been partly given in §§ 657 ff., and the only reason for reverting to them here is that they are very intimately connected with the non-thematic $s$-aorist.

(1) Indicative. In Sanskrit, as we saw in § 659 p. 194, the use of the thematic vowel with the $s$-aorist was conditioned by the form of the Root, as á-mpkṣa-t; but non-thematic inflexion is also found, as á-diks- beside á-dikṣa-t from dikṣ- 'to show, point', á-drakṣ-am beside á-dyksa-t from dyks- to see', á-srakṣ-am á-syks- beside sṛj- 'to free'. O.Pers. niy-apšam 'I wrote' seems to be similar to á-diks-a-m, see loc. cit. above. An Avestic thematic form is a-sasa-b from sasah- (kens-) 'speak', with strong root.

In Greek, the 3rd sing. act. was thematic from the pro-ethnic stage; e.g. ἔ-δειξ, see § 820 p. 356. In the Epic dialect this is true of other persons, as ἔξις- ἔξον beside ἔξω- μαι 'I will come', ἔ-φησι- το beside ἔ-φησ- α fut. φησ- μα from γ-α- 'go' (see Curtius, Verb II₂ pp. 307 f.). Perhaps these latter forms arose partly by analogy of the 3rd sing. in $-$, and partly by that of thematic forms of the imperative (see below).

Remark. The Att. ἠπινον 'I fell' ἠχεῖν 'ascend' do not come in here. They got their $s$ from the fut. πεποίηκα, πεποίηκα. See F. Hartmann, De aor. sec., 66; Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 313 ff.: the Author, Gr. Gr. ² p. 169.

Latin. Aorists of this sort are forms like dixi-t dixi-mus, see § 823 p. 361. These forms were related to the conj. (fut.) dixit and to the opt. dixit just as Skr. d-bhakṣa-t to conj. bhakṣa-t, and Gr. ἐ-φησε to conj. φησ- μεν.

Brugmann, Elements IV.
Irish. Mid.Ir. seiss 'has seated himself, sat' and 'sits' for *setse-t from √ sed-, cp. Skr. conj. sáts-a-t Gr. indic. ἔσσε-α. From seiss as used for the present upsprang a redupl. pret. siassair 'he sat' for *se-(s)ess- (Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 99), to be compared with Skr. na-nákṣ-ūr from nák-ṣa-ti 'reaches' and others (§ 659 p. 194).

In O.C.Slav. the 1st persons are thematic, as jesiši jeso-mu jeso-vo. On the ch of dachů trichů etc., see I § 588.1 and 2, pp. 442 f.; on the Idg. sound-groups ks and gs in něšů (nesq) and réchů (reka), see ibid., and § 414 p. 303. The s-type spread into the ch-series, and thus we have forms like jachů jachomu instead of jasů jasomu (ground-form *etso-, √ ed- 'to eat'), as also in the 3rd pl. jase instead of jaseq.

(2) Imperative. Aryan and Greek forms come in here. Ved. 2nd sing. něša, cp. conj. něš-a-t(i) from nī- 'to lead'; parša, cp. conj. pārš-a-t(i) from par- 'to come together, transfer'; mid. 3rd sing. rāsa-lam 3rd pl. rāsa-nlam, cp. conj. rās-a-t(i) from rā- 'to give'. Avest. 3rd pl. jaše-ntyu, cp. conj. Gath. jēmgha-īti from jam- (jem-) 'to go'. Gr. οἴσω οἴστω, cp. fut. οἴσω 'I will carry, or bring'; ὁφεις (sing. ὁφε in Hesych.), cp. fut. ὁφομαι 'I shall see'; ἀξερ ἀξεῖς, cp. fut. ἀκω 'I will lead'; ἐπι-βησθω, ληξεω and others. These Greek imperative forms were adduced in § 747 p. 269 to support the theory that the s-future, at least in part, has grown out of the conjunctive of the s-aorist. I admit that the parallel o-conjunctives of Aryan and Greek, with which the imperative forms went very closely, belong to the non-thematic indicative with s. But I must remind my readers of the formal identity of the Skr. conj. tás-a-t(i) and the indic. tā-sa-ti Goth. -pinesa. Imperative forms with a genuine personal ending are really Injunctive, and these have been used in the parent language and ever since both for the Indicative and for the Conjunctive (wish, futurity); see § 909. Compare § 854, on the imperf. perf. Skr. munbc-a-ta Gr. κενθά-ε-ε.”

§ 834. The s-Aorists: Stems in -ες-, -ος-, and -ές-

§ 834. Between -ες- and what is usually called the Root there often appears -ε-, -ο-, or -έ-. We have -ες- in Aryan, Greek, 1) Italic, perhaps Keltic; -ος- in Aryan, Greek, perhaps Keltic; -ές- in Latin (-ές- in Sanskrit). In view of the connexion of verbal forms with -ε- and noun-stems with -ος- (§ 655 pp. 189 f., § 824 p. 363), we may identify Gr. *φείδες- in σίδες-α γίδες-α with *φείδος- in gen. σίδος-ος, 2nd sing. mid. δ-νείδα-θης with adv. πελας, Skr. mid. δ-ροίς-τα with neut. ροίς-, 3rd pl. δ-φαρίς-τα with Gr. γηκος, and Lat. vidis-tis may be compared with cinis Gr. θίμω- (II § 134 pp. 425 f.). The same intermediate vowels occur in the s-future: Gr. τενω τενω, πελών πελώ, Skr. rοίςya-tē, see § 749 ff. pp. 271 ff.

Special vowel-grades for the root-syllable, as in the s-aorist (§ 811), cannot be made out for the parent language; and regard being had to the variants -ες-, -ος-, -ές-, which undoubtedly must often have been interchanged by form-transference, we might expect without further argument an intricate ablaut in the root syllable. The commonest grade in historical times is the e-grade (1st Strong Grade), as γείδ- in Skr. vēdiś- Gr. είδες). Lat. vēdis-, gem- in Skr. gamiś-Umbr.-Osc. bēnes-; cp. the s-future Skr. haniśya-tī Gr. ἱνέω etc.

As regards the tense, or kind of action denoted, we must observe that whilst the s-stems described under (A) are prevalingly aorist, so that we must regard this as fairly representing the proethnic use, these -ες-, -ος- and -ές-stems do not have the aoristic use anything like so often in proportion; for instance, Skr. arcas-ς Gr. ἰδέα never had it. The verb-

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1) I no longer regard e in Gr. γείδας as representing Idg. ə. See p. 271 footnote 1.
suffixed -s- therefore, in all its forms, had originally nothing at all to do with tense. This explains the mass of instances in all sorts of languages where s runs right through the verb (cp. the s-verbs, in §§ 656 ff.). Hence it happens that even where s does not go through a verb, s-forms often enough have no aorist meaning, as in Gr. εἰδ-εσ- (ἡδία εἰδὼν εἰδειν). It certainly cannot be proven that here the meaning conveyed was originally aorist. Here again we see how useful it would be if we could keep Verb Morphology quite free from terms borrowed from Syntax (cp. § 484 pp. 33 ff.).

I. es-stems.

§ 835. There are no es-preterites in Aryan. But we may refer once more to the presents cited in § 656 pp. 190 f., Skr. v-ās-te (Gr. ἐν-στα) arc-as-ē Avest. rāsh-āsh-ē etc.

§ 838. Greek. ἤδεια εἰδέα 'I knew', served for a preterite to ἤδα 'I know', cp. O.Ir. ro-fetar 'I know' with -es- or -es- (§ 838), Skr. ṣ-vedīs-am with -es-, Lat. vīdis-tīs with -ēs-; conj. Ion.-Att. vīdēō vīdō (2nd sing. vīdēs vīdēs 3rd pl. vīdēmēnu vīdēmēna by transfer to the 2: d- conj.) 1) and (Hom.) ἔδω, cp. Skr. vēdiś-a-t Lat. vider-ō, opt. viderēmēnu for *frēd-ēa-t-mēnu sing. viderēs, cp. Lat. vider-t-mus vider-i-m.

Hom. ἔσα (unless it be properly ἔσα — see below —, the form in our texts is ἔσα) Att. ἔσα 'I went', imperfect and aor. preterite to ἔσα, ground-form *eis-es-ṃ, cp. Umbr. conj. (fut.) eest est 'ibit' for *eis-es-e-t(id), Skr. mid. dy-ūs-ṭa (gramm.), Lat. iis- (i. e. *eis- is-) in iis-tis ier-ō ier-i-m. As in pr. Greek i dropped between sonants, ἔσα (which should be *éṣa) must have got its iota subscript from ἔσα etc. (§ 502 p. 64); and it becomes a question whether the Homeric form should not be read ἔσα. If Hom. ἔσα is to be recognised for an

1) On the forms ἤδια vēdiś in the text of Homer, see W. Schulze, Kahn’s Zeitschr. xix 251.
optative of ἑµεῖ (see Curtius, Verb II² p. 99), it is natural to
derive it from *ἕ(µ)·µ(σ)-µ-ν.

Remark. G. Meckler's theory (Beitr. zur Bild. des Gr. Verb.,
69 ff.), that γάρ comes from *ἕγαρεµο, an aorist of the verb ἑµεῖ, is
untenable. See Wackernagel, Phil. Anzeiger 1887 pp. 240 f.

ἐ-κορέω-ς ἦς (stem κορέω- 'to satisfy') ἐ-σορέω-ς ἦς (stem
σορέω- 'sternere') come in here as the 2nd sing. mid., if we
may venture to assume that they helped to form the ἔτ-µ-atist (§ 589 pp. 129 f.). On ἐκόρεω(σ)α ἐσορέω(σ)α, see § 842.

Furthermore, the future in -ἔω, as κορέω ἔτεω, if it be a
conj. of the ἐσ-µ-atist and not for -εσµ-ω (§ 747 p. 269). The
difference in the use of this future and ἕτεω is explained
because ἑτεῖω was bound fast to the indic. ἔταιαι.

ἐ-σ- in Greek has been borrowed by perfect stems, as
πεποίθεα πεποίθειαν beside πέποιθα 'I believe', ἰστήκειν beside
ιστήκα 'I stand', ἐπετίμηκεν beside τιμήκα 'I have honoured'
(side by side with the old perf. preterites like ἐπεπίθευεν ἐστάµεν
γεγάτην); the same with -is- in Latin, as totondis-tis totonder-š
totonder-i-m. I incline to think that this transfer is independent
in Greek and Latin, πεποίθεα following ιστεῖα and totondistis
following ισιστις; but some hold that it took place before the
original language broke up. The matter is discussed by
Mahlow, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvi 583; the Author, Ber. d. kgl.
viii 274; and others. How obvious this re-formation was
can be seen from Irish, where in later times the perfect was
very largely transformed on the analogy of the ἐ-preterite, as
tānacuς 'I came' instead of tānac.

In the Indicative, -ς -ς -ς(ς) became in Ion.-Att. -η -ηη
-ς(ς). Then -ς(ς) by complementary analogy produces Att. ἔσµ
-ς, op. ἔτν 'eram' instead of ἔταια § 502 p. 65. The 3rd pl.
was -ςαν in older Attic; this followed *-ςας-ς *-ςας-ςν *-ςας-ςν
as ηςαν followed ἕστε etc. (§ 1021). -ςαν similarly caused the
forming of -ςαυν -ςας, which are the endings of old Attic. The
endings -ςαυν -ςας -ςας are first found at a late period, so
it can scarcely be allowable to derive -ςαυν from *-ςαυς, which
has to be postulated for proethnic Greek. Probably -m- came in from the singular.

A Greek new formation is doubtless the opt. delxen, for *-o-es-xen, which, on the analogy of the indicative, produced delxen -en; similarly Skr. á-yd-s-iṣ-am (§ 839) and Lat. dix-is-tis dix-er-o dix-er-i-m (§ 841). Compare §§ 944 and 1021.1.

§ 837. Italic has nothing but Conjunctive forms.

(1) o-Conjunctive used as future in Umbr.-Osc. (cp. just § 824 p. 362). Umbr. eest est 'ibit' for *ej-es-e(ti): Gr. ἤν (§ 836; ferest 'feret', an-penes 'impendes'. Osc. pert-emest 'perimet'. The same future could be made from present stems with some characteristic, as Osc. didest 'dabit' beside Vestin. di-d-e-t 'dat' (§ 553 p. 107), to be compared with Skr. mid. á-dad-iṣ-ta beside dá-dá-ti dá-d-a-ti; Umbr. heries 'voles' herièst 'volet' beside heris 'vis' Osc. heriiad 'velit' (§ 706 p. 233, § 716 p. 249).

(2) e-Conjunctive in Latin and Umbr.-Oscan (cp. Lat. es-s-e-m Osc. fu-s-i-d, § 824 p. 362).


learnt', hence its present meaning 'I know', cp. seis § 833 p. 370. The phonetic rules however permit of another derivation, from *wid-is-, in which case it would come near to Lat. vidis-tis.

II. *s-stems.

§ 839. Aryan *iš- in Sanskrit and in the Gatha dialect of the Avesta.

In the Gathas we find three forms. 1st sing. conj. xšnu- *iš-ə from xšnu- 'to attach oneself' (cp. xšnua-še-mna- § 833 p. 371), indic. mid. cie-tš-i ciś-is-ta from ku- 'to look away to something, to hope'; ə is probably to be read z, as often.

The formation is common in Sanskrit. As regards the 2nd pl. mid. in -iśvam, as ājaniśvam, it is to be noted that -iś- is due to the analogy of the other persons which have -iš- instead of *iš- (I § 591 pp. 447 f.).

Usually with e-grade (1st Strong Grade) in the root. á-star-iš-am from star- 'to strew'. 2nd sing. mid. kšan-iš-thás from kšan- 'to wound'. 3rd sing. mid. yám-iš-ťa from yam- 'cohiber'. 2nd dual cay-iš-tam from ci- 'to put in layers, collect'. 3rd sing. mid. á-nav-iš-ťa from nu- 'to praise'. á-dharś-iš-ur from dharś- 'to be brave, dare'. Conj. jambh-iš-a-t from jambh- 'to snap at'. á-sás-iš-am from sás- 'to praise'. 3rd pl. mid. á-bődh-iš-a-ta, conj. bődh-iš-a-t from budh- 'to awake, notice'. 3rd sing. mid. á-sah-iš-ťa opt. sah-iš-t-mahi from sah- 'to subdue' 3rd pl. áj-iš-ur from aj- 'agere'.

Other grades of root. á-bhar-iš-am from bhar- 'to carry'. á-tar-iš-am conj. tārš-a-t opt. tārš-t-mahi from tar- 'to carry across, pass through'. 3rd pl. mid. (pass.) á-nay-iš-a-ta from mī- 'to lead'. Opt. iḍh-iš-t-mahi from iḍh- 'set afire'. Opt. gm-iš-nya from gam- 'to go'.

As the root of 2nd sing. mid. pür-iš-thás (por- 'to fill') shows it to have been based upon verbal forms like pūr-dhi, so also the iš-aorist is often made from a characterised present stem. 3rd sing. mid. á-dad-iš-ťa beside dá-dā-ti da-ḏ-a-ti from
The s-Aorist: Stems in -ṣa-, -ṣ-, and -ṣ-. § 889.

dā- 'to give' (cp. Osc. didest, § 837.1 p. 374). 3rd sing. mid. 
dāṅh-ṛṣṭa opt. indh-ṛṣṭya (also idh-ṛṣ-) beside in(d)dhē 
pl. indh-ātē from idh-, á-dṛṣṭaṁ beside dhā-ṛṣ-ti from darh- 
'to make firm' (cp. Lat. junger-e-m § 837.2 p. 374). 
aḷusa-iṣ- 
-ām beside ṣp-sa-ti from ṣp- āp- 'to attain', 1st sing. mid. 
iṣṭā sa-ti beside ji-ṛṇa-satē from jṛṇa- 'to learn'. 3rd pl. mid. 
ā-hlada-ṛṣ-taṁ beside hlād-ṛya-ti causal of hlād- 
'to refresh, 
give life to', 2nd sing. mid. ṭyāy ay-ṛṣ-thāṁ beside ṭyāy ṭa-ti 
pres. mid. gāya-ṛṣ beside gā-ṛya-ti 'sings' (§ 656 p. 191).

The origin of the siṣ- aorist is like that of the latter group of 
forms. 3rd pl. ṭkṣiṣ-ur beside pres. ṭk-ṛṣa-tē (§ 659 p. 194) and 
beside aor. ṭk-ṛṣ (§ 655 p. 189) from qṣ- ṛṣ- 'to attain'. ṭhāṣ- 
-ām beside pres. ṭhā-sa-tē (§ 659 p. 195) and beside aor. ā-hā-s 
-ām (§ 814 p. 353) from ṭhā- 'to go, yield'. 3rd sing. mid. ā-bhāṣ 
-ṭa (gramm.) beside pres. bhā-sa-ti (aor. ā-bhās-t-t, gramm.) from 
bhā- 'to shine'. Compare the fut. akṣiṣṭya-ti bhāṣṭya-tē 
§ 750.2 p. 272. So again ā-jṛṇa-ṛṣ-ām beside ā-jṛṇa-s 
(cop. Lat. gnorī-tur), ā-gā-siṣ-ur conj. gā-siṣ-ā-t beside 1st 
sing. mid. gā-s-ṛṣ from gā- 'to sing', ṭr-siṣ-ām beside 3rd sing. mid. 
ā-rā-ṛṣ-ta from ram- 'to be quiet'. Compare with these siṣ- 
aorists, which had not become common in Vedie, Gr. ḍelhi 
§ 836 p. 374, and Lat. dīxis-tis dīxes-o dīxe-i-m, § 841.

Remark. In Mss. of the Veda occur forms with -ṣiṣ- instead of 
-siṣ-, as pryā-ṛṣiṣ-t-mahi. This shows the same phonetic change as āṇī-ta- 
s for *suṣe-k-s I § 587.4 p. 413. Compare Whitney, Am. Journ. Phil. vi 277; 
Bloomfield and Spieker, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. xiii 118.

The 2nd and 3rd sing. of the aorists with -iṣ- and -siṣ- ended 
regularly in -ṣ and -ṣ- t, as ā-sītaṁ -ṣ beside ā-sītaṁ, 
ā-yāṣt-ṣ t beside ā-yāṣiṣ-ām. The original endings must have 
been *-iṣ(-ṣ) and *siṣ(-ṣ). That of the 3rd sing. is still seen 
in injunctive forms like aviṣ-t-u (§ 909), and the influence of the 
2nd sing. can be made out in aorist forms such as ā-jay-i-t 
(§ 574 p. 115). -ṣ t cannot be got out of *iṣ-ṣ and *siṣ-ṣ. 
They rather belonged in origin to our IXth Present Class, and 
were not sigmatic aorist at all; ā-sīta-m is like ā-rōd-ṣ t
§§ 839, 840. The s-aorists: Stems in -er-, -ar-, and -ir-

á-brav-í-t (§ 574 p. 116). As á-star-í-t is to stará-ti, so is á-hás-í-t to há-sa-tí, and á-bhás-í-t to bhá-sa-tí.1) These forms in -í-t took the place of *astariš *ahásiš (2nd and 3rd sing.) because it then became possible to distinguish the persons; then -í-t and -it drove -iš *-it out of the field altogether. Compare i instead of i in á-dhí-mahi, my-ní-máś and the like § 498 p. 62. How -síš -sít passed afterwards from the síš-aorist to the s-aorist, see in § 816 p. 354.

§ 840. Greek. Here -os- = -as- is found only in such crbs as use the s-suffix outside of the aorist stem. Attention should be called to the future in -aw, if it was conj. of the aorist (§ 747 p. 269, § 757 pp. 276 f.), and the indic. 2nd sing. in -os-θγς, if it had a share in originating the θγν-aorist (§ 589 pp. 129 ff.). E. g. κρεμάω ἐκρεμάσθης from κρεμάω 'to hang' (κρεμαστό-ς) beside κρεμά- (κρέμα-μι κρεμά-θα), κρέμω ικρεμάθης from κρεμά- 'to mix' (κρεμαστό-ς κρέμασται), κρέμω ισκεδάσθης from κρέμασ- 'to scatter' (κρέμαστό-ς ισκέδασται). On the os-aorists ἐκρέμαισθα ἐκρέμασθά ισκέδασθαι, see § 842.

In Keltic, -as- may be looked for in the s-preterite of the 1st and 2nd Conjugations, as O.lr. ro-charus Mid.Cymr. cereis 'I loved'. For the Britannic dialects only -ás(s)- and not -as(s)- may be assumed. 3rd sing. O.lr. ro-char for *-caras-t, 2nd sing. depon. -asser for *-as-thēs + r (Thurneysen, Idg. Forsch. 1 463). Also found, pl. ro-charsum -charsid -charsat for *carassomo(s) *carasse *carassont(o). Thurneysen, who sends me this explanation of ro-char, throws out the question whether as did not come from forms in which st originally was: the 2nd pl. *caras-te became *carasse, this was enlarged to *carassete by adding the usual ending of the 2nd pl., and then by analogy *carassomo(s) etc. May we venture to suggest a parallel with the relation of Gr. ἔ-κρεμάσ-θγς (see above) and ἐ-κρέμαισα (§ 842)?

1) Jackson believes that he has found an Avestic 2nd sing. of this kind in frás-dāhī Yt. 3. 2, from 1/ dā- (Proceed. Am. Or. Soc., Oct. 1889, p. clixv).
III. ïs-stems.

§ 841. In Latin, -is- appears in the inflexion of the perfect stem. Indicative only -is-tis -is-ti and -erunt, if the last is for *is-ont(i) (§ 1023); Conjunctive (fut. perf.): erō -erimus for *i-s-ō *is-i-mus: Optative (conj. perf.) -erim -erimus for *is-i-, and in the late-born pluperf. with -eram = *is-a-m. vidis-tis: cp. Skr. vediś- Gr. εἶδος(α); iis-tis for *eis- *eį-is-: cp. Skr. ayiś- Gr. ἐε(α). légis-tis, fdis-tis vdis-tis. And doubtless fūgis-tis rūpis-tis jūpis-tis (jucr. for *diugy-, beside Lith. dēiaugt- 'I am glad') with a = Idg. ey. vertis-tis scandis-tis. Also scābis-tis cāvis-tis, fōdis-tis and légis-tis vēnis-tis may come in here, the last two to be compared with Gr. γῆρας (§ 834 p. 371).

Remark. Since so many kinds of forms have contributed to the Latin perfect (§ 867), it is impossible to restore with any certainty the proper vowel grades of the root. As regards e, for instance, in the system of légis; (1) this may have come from légis-tis as suggested, (2) légimus may follow the analogy of sedimus for *se-xā-, as Skr. pātimā follows sādimā (§ 471 p. 16), (3) lég-i vēn-i may be non-thematic, like Goth. gēm-u Skr. sāh-vēs- (loc. cit.), or (4) lég-i-t may = pr. It. *lēg-e-d, and be a thematic pretérite form related to légi-t as Gr. μυθ-ε-τε to μεθ-ε-τε, Skr. sāha-ti to sāhā-tī (§ 480 Rem. p. 28, § 514 p. 81).

Phonetic law forbids us supposing that -es- has been weakened to -is- in vidis-tis (vidis-sem § 842); cp. scelestus capess and the like. It is not a sufficient explanation to say that -es- became -i- because of -imus, or that the relation of amāmus : amāssen produced vertissem beside vertimus (Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 112). Nothing is left but to hark back to Idg. -i-s-.1) In § 834 p. 371 we compared civis-Ggr. θῖμος. Compare further af-i-s- in ἔγως-τε-ς ἔσο-ς(α) from

1) I will here give a possible way of identifying Lat. -is- with Idg. -es- or -es-; but I do not believe that any one will adopt it. *steti-tis *steti-ti-st or -ði (Gr. ἰστ-α Skr. ta-ṣṭhi-tha), *tu-tudi-tis *tu-tūdi-fi (Gr. τοῦτος-α Skr. tu-tūḍi-tha), *scidi-tis (Skr. ̣ā-chīda-ta) become stetis-tis stetīs-tis, tutudītīs tutūdi-ti. scidīs-tis on the analogy of *vidis-tis *vidīs-ti; and then by reciprocal analogy, these became vidis-tis -tis.
§ 841. The a-Aorists: Stems in -eo-, -er-, and -es-.

ἀω 'I hear' for ἀφισ-ω and in αἰσ-ἧρ-ας beside Skr. ἀφ-ατι 'regards, favours',1) ἀφ-να- in ἀς-ὦω 'I breathe out' beside ἀω-ν (doubtless for ἀφισ-σ-ν) beside ἀ(fclose)-η-μι 'I blow, breathe', variant stem ἀφ-εσ- in ἀς-μα (ἀισ-ὦω : ἀς-ἧρα = Lat. vidiss-: Gr. εἴδε(σ)-). Further, ἀλ-ἰσμα-μα ἁρ-ἀρ-ἰσκω beside ἁρ-ἰσ-κω (§ 673 p. 206). Lastly, Skr. ἁ-γρακ-ι-σ-αμ, where I hold -ι- to be merely an ablaut variant of the -ι- now under discussion. If, as we must assume, it was in proethnic Latin that -er- spread from the verbs to which it properly belongs to all others, then according to I § 33 p. 33, -er- in videro etc. must be derived in all instances from -is-. Thus e.g. vertero will be for *vertisō (but verterem for *verteś-m).

videra-m shows the same a-suffix as -dam eram (§ 583 p. 124), and probably it is due to analogy, being made to complement videro like eram : erō. Observe that dixō dixim have no *dixam.

The endings of vīdistis -isti viderō viderim videram vídissem were transferred both to forms like totonē tetigi and to those like dixē, so that we have totonēstis totonderō and dīxistis dīxerō etc. The former may be compared with Gr. πενοίηθα (§ 836 p. 373), the latter with Skr. āyāsiṣam (§ 839 p. 376). The efficient cause of these new formations may have been that in the Indicative many of the original forms of the 2nd sing. and pl. had become rather awkward, as 2nd sing. *totonئ(s) 2nd pl. *totonئ(s)is (or *totonṣi *totonstis with t restored from estis) and 2nd sing. *dīx(s) 2nd pl. *dīxistis.

We proceed to mention the is-aorists of Latin and Irish belonging to io-present stems (Class XXVI):

In Latin, those verbs whose 2nd sing. ind. pres. ended in -is, had the ō-conjunctive in -īrem, as farcīrem from farciō. The only exception is fierem like agērem, § 837.2 p. 374. But from verbs like capiō -is the conj. was -ērem, caperem; and it remain surncertain whether this be for -is-ē-m or *-es-ē-m, cp. capis-sō and capes-sō § 842.

1) To assume a 'Root' asis- for ἀω and a present *ἀφ-νων I hold to be wrong (Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 249 ff.).
It must be remembered, in considering Lat. farcīrem and
the like, that these went hand in hand with the original
denominatives in -i-ō, as finīō, whose s-aorist, finīrem, is to be
compared with (ir. εἰκόνισα O.C.Sl. gostichū (§ 813 p. 351). Hence
the question presents itself — whether farcīrem is really like
Skr. ā-grahīt-ām, whether it was not rather produced simply
by the analogy of the ęs-formation. In this case it might be
compared with O.C.Sl. bichomě (§ 727 p. 257), which was
modelled upon gostichomē.

In the s-aorist of the āo-present (3rd Conjugation) in Irish,
the 3rd sing. ended with *-i-ā-s-t, as -lēic for *leikysis-t. A short
i is seen also in Mid.Cymr., which in this aorist had -yss-, e. g. eistedyssent 'they sat'. Compare § 840 on ro-char for
*caras-t. The question which there had to be answered
on behalf of ro-charsam, now crops up again for -lēcem.
Hand in hand with these āo-verbs went those in *-i-ō and
those in *-ēō, as 1st sing. do-ro-dalīus from -dalīm 'I divide',
1st pl. ro-moit-sem from moidim 'I extol'.

C. STEMS WITH -s-s-.

§ 842. As the s-suffix was in no sense a special aorist
suffix, but was used in the parent language with other tenses
of a certain number of verbs, it need not surprise us to see
that verbal s-stems often make an aorist with a second s.
Analogous formations with -as- have been brought before us in
§ 839, the Sanskrit aorist series of which one is ḍk-ēś-ur.

Greek. Hom. è-σπασ-σα Att. ἰπασά from σπάω 'I pull'
for *σπα-σω, è-σπασ-ται. è-κλασ-σα from κλαω 'I break off' for
*κλα-σω, κί-κλασ-ται. è-xrēmas-(o)a 'I hung' è-xēfias-(o)a 'I mixed'
è-xēkouda-(o)a 'I scattered' beside xρημασ-το-ς κλ-κηρασ-ται è-σκίδασ-
ται. (I)x-Τ-(o)a 'I clothed' beside 2nd sing. ἐσ-τω. è-σβ-τ-(o)a 'I quenched' beside σβ-σ-το-ς è-σβισ-ται. è-xōres-(o)a 'I satisfied'
beside κλ-κόρεσ-ται. èρ-εσ-(o)asθαι 'to come to an understanding'
beside ἀρεσ-τό-ς. ἢ-κάλεσ-(σ)α 'I called' ἀλ-εσ-(σ)α 'I ground'
κε-σα-σ(σ)α 'I spewed' from the presents καλέω ἀλέω ἐμέω,
perhaps for *καλέσω *ἀλέσω *ἐμεσω. εἴρυσ-(σ)α ἢρυσ-(σ)α
'I pulled' beside εἴρυσ-tam. Compare § 575 p. 117, § 656

Remark. There is too little support for the theory that these
Greek *-aorists stand in a direct historical connexion with the Sanskrit
aś-aorist — that originally the singular active had -ses- (-ses-)
and the plural -ses-, and that Sanskrit kept only the singular form, Greek the
form of the plural (W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 286 ff.).

Italic. With Lat. viso for *mešt-sō, quaesō for *quais-sō
(§ 962 p. 197), compare petes-sō O.Lat. ad-petis-si-s, capes-sō
O.Lat. capis-sa-m, loces-sō, faces-sō. And to the same group
as faxā faxitur faxim (§ 824 p. 362) belong amás-sō amāssim,
turbās-sitūr, infin. averruncās-serē; habēs-sō pro-hibeōssim, liēssīt;
amb-issim; -ss- after a long vowel, which should be -s-, is due to
the analogy of forms with -ss- following a short vowel, cp. ēssem
instead of *ēsēm (edō) on the analogy of ēssem (from sum).
With petissis capessam are associated forms like vidis-sēs-m,
s-conjunctives, whose analogy produced (1) totondissem and
(2) dixissem etc. The forms with -is-s- have their nearest
parallels in Gr. τεσας(σ)α from ἀδ-ια- (§ 841 p. 378 f.).

THE PERFECT. 1)

§ 843. The chief marks which keep the Idg. Perfect
distinct from Present and Aorist are two. (1) Firstly some
peculiar personal endings in the Indicative; as from
√mešd-

1) On the Indo-Germanic Perfect in general. H. Ost-
hoff, Zur Geschichte des Perfekts im Idg. mit besonderer Rücksicht auf
Grisch. und Latein., Straßb. 1884. C. Pauly, Das praeteritum reduplicat-un
der idg. Sprachen und der deutsche Ablaut., Kuhn's Zeitschr.
xii 50 ff. Pott, Verschiedene Bezeichnung des Perfects in einigen
Sprachen und Lautsymbolik, Zeitschr. für Völkerpsych. xv 287 ff.,
xxi 117 ff.
The Perfect: General Remarks.

\[ \text{to know, soc}: 1^\text{st} \text{ sing. Skr. } \text{vēd-}a \text{ Gr. } \text{olē-}a \text{ Goth. } \text{wāt}, 2^\text{nd} \text{ sing. } \text{vētha } \text{olēa } \text{vāist}, 3^\text{rd} \text{ sing. } \text{vēd-}a \text{ olē-e } \text{vāit. (2) Secondly, the participle active formed with the suffix } -\text{yes}-, \text{ as Skr. } \text{vid-vās-} \]


\textit{The Perfect: General Remarks.}

Gr. \textit{aið-ως} O.C.Sl. \textit{sta-vi} from \(\sqrt{sta} \) 'stand' (II § 136 pp. 438 ff.).

Except in Armenian and Balto-Slavonic, the pr. Idg. Perfect remained in all branches of the language a large and comprehensive group. It was least changed in Aryan, Celtic, and Germanic. In Greek it was mixt up with a \(\chi\)-formation, and in Italic with a whole series of non-perfect tense forms.

The proethnic perfect forms may be divided into two groups according to the stem.


Keltic. Windisch, Das reduplierte Perfectum im Irischen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiii 201 ff.


(2) Unreduplicated Stem. Sometimes the ablaut is the same as in (1), as *wojd- *vid- from √wejd-: Gr. old-e ἡδ-μεν, Skr. vēd-a vid-ām. Sometimes different, as with ē in roots of the e-series; e.g. *mēd- from √med- 'measure': OIr. ro mēd-ar Goth. mēt-um; *sēd- from √sed- 'sit': Goth. sēt-um Lith. sēd-ē; *sēgh- from √segh- 'conquer, hold': Skr. sāh-vās.

In perfect stems like *ge-gon- or *wojd- the o-grade prevailed in the 2nd and 3rd sing. Indic. Active (old-ā odiṇa), and, in the opinion of most scholars, the 1st sing. as well (old-ā); the e-grade in the Conjunctive (eit-o-mēn) Skr. ta-tān-a-n, and, according to some scholars, in the 1st sing. Indic. Active too (πεθευ-α); the weak grade in the plural and dual Active, and right through the Indicative Middle (γέ-γα-μεν ἕ-ν-ταν τε-τραπ- τα Skr. ni-ny-ůr ni-ny-ē), and in the Optative (Skr. va-vi-t-yā-t Goth. vaúp-ē-ma). To o in *ge-gon-e answers ō in *se-sō-(Gr. de-śōnse Goth. sat-so) from √sō- 'send forth, sower'.

Remark. Considering that the ending of the 1st sing. indic. act. was Idg. -ō, while that of the 3rd sing. was Idg. -e, there is a difficulty in the difference between Skr. 1st sing. ja-jdn-a and 3rd sing. ja-jdn-a. I have identified jajdna with γεγόνα (I § 76 p. 69). De Saussure (Mém. sur le syst. prim. T2 ff) and Osthoff (Perfect, 61) equate jajdna = Idg. *geγena, on which view γεγόνα would be due to levelling and should be γεγόνα; and as a matter of fact no difficulty worth mentioning faces this view. From the standpoint of those scholars who deny that Idg. o becomes Ar. ō in open syllables, no explanation of Skr. jajdna has been found which is in the smallest degree satisfactory (see the last attempt in Bechtel, Die Hauptprobleme der idg. Lautlehre, 57, 165); op. § 790 p. 322 on the ō of bāra-yā-ṛ. It may be observed in passing that the means lately used by J. Schmidt to combat my theory of this Aryan ō are very little calculated to help in solving the point (see Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 472 footnote). A long list of authorities and ex cathedra statements will never decide the matter; this can only be done by constant and scrupulous examination of the facts. Perhaps the question may be helped to a conclusion by the study of Indo-Germanic accent which has lately been taken up.
§ 844. When the root ends in a consonant, some part at least, large or small, of the indicative forms in all the different languages have a short vowel before those personal endings which begin with a consonant.

Sanskrit. -i- in 2nd sing. act. de-i-tha ru-rōj-i-tha (but vēt-tha ta-tān-tha), 1st pl. act. pa-pt-i-mā (but yu-yuj-mā vid-mā), 2nd sing. indic. mid. ac-i-śē ja-jā-i-śē (but da-dyē-śē), 3rd pl. mid. ja-jā-i-rē, to which answers Avest. vaoz-i-rem, cp. Skr. partic. act. pa-pt-i-vās- (but da-dyē-vās- vid-vās-). 1) In Vedic this i is found only when the preceding syllable is long. In Avestic, -ama in daidy-ama beside pass. di-daē-iti (§ 537 p. 97).

Greek shows -α- in the 1st and 2nd pl. τε-γράφ-α-μεν τε-γράφ-α-τε (but ἑ-μεν εἰλῇονθ-μεν ἵτε). Compare partic. πεπτοῦσ, for *πε-πτ-α-φως, answering to Skr. pa-pt-i-vās- (but vid-(f)ως), and the mid. πέ-πτ-α-μαι beside πέ-πτ-α-σα. On -ας beside -α in the 2nd sing., see p. 386.

Latin. 1st pl. tu-tud-i-mus śēd-i-mus.

Old Irish. 1st pl. ce-chn-ammar 2nd pl. ce-chn-ad.

Gothic. 1st pl. vit-um sēt-um skaht-skaid-um 2nd pl. vit-u-þ sēt-u-þ skaht-skaid-u-þ.

It is hard to decide when or how this intermediate vowel was to be found in the various perfect schemes of the parent language (for the same scheme did not do duty for all perfects). Perhaps then, as in the Veda, the quantity of the preceding syllable had something to do with it.

What complicates the problem greatly is the suspicion that so many forms may have been changed by analogy. In Aryan, Greek, and Italic the question arises whether forms with the intermediate vowel were not influenced by forms from a root ending in a long a-vowel, as Skr. ta-sthi-mā Gr. ἐ-στα-μεν Lat. ste-ti-mus (for stetimus cp. however § 869). In Greek, Italic, Keltic, and Germanic the 3rd pl. has an nt-suffix, Gr.

1) I do not here consider the 3 of the 2nd and 3rd dual active viddikur viddēk, because it may have been identical with that of the 2nd and 3rd pl. vēd-ā and 3rd sing. vēd-ō (§ 1086).

Krugmann, Elements. IV.
The Perfect: — General Remarks.

§§ 844, 845.

-ατα: -ατι (mid. -ατα), Umbr.-Osc. -ens, O.Ir. -atar and Goth. -un; and it is quite possible that the vowel of these endings passed on to other persons. In Greek, there was mutual attraction between the perfect and s-aorist, because one or two personal endings were the same, τέρπον-α-ν having the same suffixes as ἔδειξ-α-ν (beyond doubt τέρπον-ασ follows ἔδειξ-ας, and in later Doric γέγον-αν follows ἔδειξ-αν); ther which came first, τεραφ-α-μεν -ατι or ἔδειξ-αμεν -ατι? In Italic, again, as early as the proethic stage, the old perfect had got mixt up with thematic aorist. If, for instance, i was the thematic vowel in fur-i-nus tētig-i-mus dix-i-mus as well as with fu-i-t tētig-i-t dix-i-t (cp. pres. ag-i-mus), yet it is uncertain whether the -i- of Lat. -i-mus, when used with consonantal roots, was ever anything else but Idg. -o-. Even in Keltic the question meets us whether the plural forms had not the thematic vowel.

Since Avest. dāidy-ama cannot be kept apart from optative forms like jum-y-ama (see § 1001), to assume an Idg. suffix -yama as variant of -me in the perfect seems almost inevitable; and therefore I am inclined to refer to this the Gr. -αμεν in τεραφ-αμεν etc., and the Goth. -um in skalskāid-um etc.; Lat. -imus and O.Ir. -annar may also in some cases represent the same. But again the conjecture offers itself that the difference between Skr. papt-i-mā and yuuyj-mā, between Gr. τεραφ-αμεν and eilηλουν-μεν, represents a difference of structure like that which exists in Skr. rud-i-mās (Class IX §§ 572 ff.) and uδ-μαs (Class I §§ 492 ff.). It may be that once *papt-amā *saaz-amā (like Avest. dāidy-ama) and tashthi-mā (= ἐστα-μεν) dadhi-mā existed side by side, and that the former were transformed to match the latter and became paptimā sēdimā. But proved this cannot be, not even by the Vedic law of quantity. There is always the possibility that the parent language itself possessed perfect stems like *pe-pto- (and thus 1st pl. *pe-pto-me).

§ 845. The preterite connected with the Idg. perfect — pluperfect as it is called — which is only found with certainty
in Aryan and Greek, shows the same personal endings as other augmented preterites. Like the conjunctive and optative of the perfect, this cannot be distinguished from the corresponding forms of our Vi̱th Present Class; see § 485 p. 39, § 555 p. 108.

In the same languages the pluperfect sometimes has thematic inflexion. These forms are to be compared with the corresponding forms of Present Class VI (§§ 561 ff.).

Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

§ 846. (A) Reduplicated Perfect.

With roots beginning in a consonant, the syllable of reduplication originally ended in -e, no matter what ablaut series the root might belong to. Examples: *ge-γon- *ge-γn- Gr. γέ-γωρ- O.Ir. ro gēnar (for *ge-γn-) Skr. ja-jān-a from √γen-, *se-stā- *se-stå- Gr. ἕστα-μεν Lat. stē-timus Skr. ta-štād from √sta-. But even then there were not lacking perfect forms with ē in the reduplicator, which one may call the Intensive Perfect: Gr. ἵγι-γεθ-μαι Skr. ja-gār-a from √ger-. See §§ 471, 472 pp. 15 and 17. The treatment of the initial root-consonants in the reduplicator has been already described, §§ 475 and 476, pp. 20 ff.

It cannot be proved for the parent language, that in roots beginning with a vowel, an e (or some other short vowel), serving for the reduplicator, contracted with the root-initial (as some have inferred from Lat. ēd-i Goth. fr-ēt Skr. ād-a from √ed-, Gr. ἤχα O.Icel. āk Skr. āj-a from √aġ-). It is very likely indeed that all these forms belong to the unreduplicated perfect type. See § 848.

√dr̥er- 'split, tear, flay', act. 3rd sing. *de-dr̥or-e 1st pl. *de-dr̥or-e mid. 1st sing. *de-dr̥or-a (conj. *de-dr̥er-e-i(i) opt. *de-dr̥or-i(e)-t or *de-dr̥or-i(e)-t): Skr. dadāra mid. dadrē partic. da-dr̥or-vās-, Gr. δαδρορα (Goth. ga-tar). √smer- ‘remember’: Skr. sa-smār-a, Lat. adj. memor derived from a perf. *me-mor-i (§ 476 p. 23). Skr. kṣar- Gr. φυγ- to cause to run off or 120
√ tel- 'carry bear': Gr. τε-τλα-μεν, Lat. te-tul-ī. √ ge-gignere': Skr. ja-jān-ā ja-jā-ūr ja-jā-ē, Gr. γι-γω-σ γι-γα-μεν, O.Ir. mid. ro gēnār (gēn- for *gēgn-).
√ men- 'think, mean, regard': Skr. 3rd dual mid. ma-mn-ātē (this may be from stem mn-ā- as said in § 850), opt. ma-ma-ya t, Gr. μι-μον- mi-ma-mεν, Lat. me-min- imper. me-men-tō (= Gr. με-μά-τω). O.Ir. mid. do-mēnār instead of pr. Kelt. *me-mn- (Goth. man mun-un, Lith. part. min-ės).


§ 847. Perfect forms from Extended Roots.

§§ 847,848. The Perfect: — Prothetic Indo-Germanic.

Goth. vaf-vô from y-e- V aye- 'blow'. Skr. ja-jñā, Gr. ἐγνω-σ-ταυ with σ added later (ἐγνωσ), O.Ir. ad-γην (§ 877) from ἐγν-σ-V γην- 'know'. On the Sanskrit conjugation of these perfects, see § 850.


In the same way, the present sk-suffix in seen in Skr. pa-prach-a pa-prach-ur and Lat. po-pose-ś for *poporcset from V-prek- 'ask'; beside these we have Umbr. pepurkurent 'rogaverint', Mid.Ir. mid. im-chom-arc-air, Goth. frah (§ 670 p. 208). Probably perfect forms with sk are not so old as the parent language.

§ 848. (B) Unreuplicated Perfect.

(1) First comes a group in which the vowel gradation was the same as in the Reduplicated Perfect. No perfect of this kind can now be recognised in particular forms of Italic, Celtic, or Balto-Slavonic; and in Germanic, only with those roots which do not belong to the e-series.

Skr. vēd-a vid-mā Avest. Gath. vaed-ā, (Gr. αἴ-τι-μέν from V yeid- 'know'.) Skr. t ś-ē (and t ś-ē) Avest. ists- 'has got something into one's power, has power over', Goth. ǣh 'has' pl. āy-um (cp. § 888). Skr. sarpa 'he crept' (upa-sarpa) beside sa-sarpa, viśi-vās- beside vi-vēk-a vi-viṣ-ē from viś- 'to enter', ni-gidhur beside ni-giṣedha 'he warded off, forbade' -giṣidhur. Gr. Lesb. Ion. oix-e 'is like', oix-a-μέν beside oik for *Fe-Fox-e, Hom. dμε-ι(ο)γύα beside lαγν 'I cry out' for *Fe-Faxio (§ 552 p. 107).

1) Skr. vīnēda 'he found out' does not ask for consideration here, although it comes from the same root. It probably first arose when the root had become differentiated into two — vīd- 'know' and vīd- 'find' (pres. vindā-ti vittē).
(2) Next these I place a number of forms which perhaps had ε for the root vowel in the parent language itself. Gr. Hom. ἔχω-αται ἔχω-ατο from (f)ἔχω 'I shut up, shut off.'

Gort. κατα-Φελμένος 'collected' from *Fελ-νυο Lesb. αν-έλλο etc., see § 611 p. 150; parallel reduplicated stem Hom. κέλμεθα, Pind. plpf. κέλει. ἐπι-τευχαται εν ἐπιτύχα ἦστι (Ms. ἦστο) Hesych. beside ἐπι-τυχάω but redupl. τε-τευχ-α. Hom. δέχαται from δέχομαι 'I receive;' but redupl. ὁ-δεχ-ται. Compare further Curtius, Verb ii 163 ff.; G. Meyer, Gr. Gr. 2 pp. 480 f. Skr. yam-ur yam-ātur beside ya-yam-a yam-ūr from yam- 'cohibere'. darś-i-vas- beside da-dārś-a da-dṛś-ūr da-dṛś-i-vas- from darś- 'to see.' ok-i-vas- beside u-vóc-a uc-ūr from uc-(V eyg-) 'to take pleasure in.' skambh-ur skambh-āthur beside ca-skambh-a ca-skabh-ānā-s from skambh- 'to support.' ʂas-ur ʂas-irə beside ʂa-ʂas-a ʂa-ʂas-ur (instead of *ʂa-ʂas-ur) from ʂas- (kens-) 'to prophesy, praise.' takš-ur takš-ātur beside ta-takš-a ta-takš-ūr from takš- 'to fashion'. sah-vas- (Rig-V., Pada text) beside sa-sāh-a səh-i-ma sa-sah-ə from sah- 'to subdue' (ep. sah-vās- under 3). In forms like darś-i-vas-, the strong grade in the root may be explained as due to the analogy of the sing. indic. active, as in reduplicated forms like ʂa-ʂas-ur. But an argument for the formation of the whole group from a stem which is not really perfect to begin with is found in the partic. vi-jān-ūṣ-as Rig-V. x 271, which must be derived from jrdā- 'to know' and was modelled upon the present jān-ti (§ 598 p. 141 f.), and in the perfects belonging to reduplicated present stems, such as sid-ātur (from sid-a-ti), vivak-vās- (from vi-nak-ti), didās-i-tha (from di-dāsa-ti), nōṇāv-a (from nōνāv-i-ti), see § 850; compare viś-i-vas-, cited under (1), beside pres. viś-ā-ti and dhī-śe dhīrə beside aor. i-dhi-ta, also Gr. āγ-ιμα 'way, road' (sc. ὁδὸς) beside ἡχα ἡχμα and pres. āyμω.

1) Whether ēξμα is augmented or reduplicated is doubtful.
2) Wrongly read -fελμ-νος by Baunack.
Remark 1. Skr. sa-sah-ë (beside eëh-) may have been formed from the stem seen in sah-räs-, just as sa-såh-ë was from that of eëh-rês- (see below). Again, there is no need to ascribe the re-formation sa-las-ur instead of *sa-las-ur to the influence of the singular alone (sa-sås-a), cp. § 852. For Greek, too, we should have one more point in favour of the explanation of the secondary vocalism of the root in forms like \( \text{ī}sāl-um \) (instead of \(*f\text{-föl-}-um\) ), cp. § 859.

(3) Forms with \( \text{ī} \) in the root-syllable, from roots of the \( \text{ē} \)-series ending in a single consonant; the connexion with present stems having similar vocalism is obvious (§ 480 Rem. p. 28 f., § 494 p. 28). O.Ir. mid. \( \text{ro méd-ur} \) ‘iudicavi’; Goth. pl. méd-un opt. 1\( \text{st} \) pl. méd-ei-ma from \( \text{mēd-} \) ‘measure’, cp. Gr. pres. méd-e-rau. Goth. pl. sēd-un. Lith. partic. sēd-gās from \( \text{vēd-} \) ‘sit’ (cp. § 494 p. 54, § 859 on Gr. \( \text{̄} \)sō-rō, whose initial is perhaps to be explained by supposing that \( *sēd- \) was represented in Greek), cp. Lith. pres. sēd-mi. Skr. sah-rās- from \( * \text{segh-} \) ‘to subdue’, cp. sāk-gās sāh-a-ti sādhi-s (= \( * \text{segh}+tā \)); daš-rās- daš-i-rās- from \( \text{dēk-} \) ‘honour, prize’ (dašas-yā-ti Lat. dec-us), cp. daš-ti Gr. \( \text{δηξ-νύμερος} \); δηξ-ανάμμε (§ 621 p. 158, § 639 p. 178); I regard sa-sā-hē da-daš-i-ma as new forms in place of \( * \text{sah-ë} * \text{daš-i-ma} \).

Since Latin sēd- in sēd-i sēd-i-mus can be regularly derived from \( * \text{sezd-} \) (cp. sēdō for \( * \text{si-zd-ō} \) I § 594 p. 450), it is reasonable to assume that lēg-ī vēn-ī are simply cast in the same mould by analogy: just as in Sanskrit pēt-ūr sēc-ē and others must really be looked upon as coined on the analogy of sēd- yēm- (§ 852). On the other hand, sēd-ī can also be connected with Goth. sēt-un Lith. sēd-gās, and vēn-ī with Goth. gēm-un; and this theory has the advantage that it becomes unnecessary to suppose that all \( \text{ē} \)-perfect forms from roots of the \( \text{ē} \)-series with initial consonant are due to the analogy of the single form sēd-ī.1) However compare § 841 Rem., p. 378.

1) After what has been said on Umbr. ander-sistu in § 553 p. 107, the question would be at once decided if one such \( \text{ē} \)-perfect could be found in Umbrian or Samnite. For Umbr.-Osc. sēd- is probably not derived from sēzd-.
Furthermore, Idg. perfect forms of roots beginning with e and ending in a single consonant may also be brought under this e-type. Gr. ἔδ-ηδο-ώς instead of ἐδ-ο-ώς (§ 858), Lat. źd-i źd-i-mus, Goth. fr-êt -êt-un, Lith. źd-ęs O.C.Sl. źd-ū jad-ū, Skr. ād-a ād-ur from / ed- ‘eat’. Gr. 2nd sing. ἦσ-βα (came to be used for the imperf., see § 858), Skr. ās-a ās-ür from / es- ‘be’. Lith. ęį-ęs fem. ęį-ųs-į from / ei- ‘go’. That ē is due to a contraction of e-e cannot be made probable.

(4) Roots with initial a-vowel, and ending in a single consonant, seem to have made this perfect in all forms with a in the parent language: *āg-e ‘eget’ from / aģ-/: Skr. āj-a (gramm.), Gr. ἅγ-ε ἅγ-μαυ (γ for a), O.Icel. ák 3rd pl. ák-o -u; *ān-e from / an- ‘breathe’: Skr. ān-a Goth. an on ーン-un; Goth. āg ‘I fear’ beside agis Gr. αχος (Lat. āg-ī co-ępī — Skr. āp-a āp-ūr- — are Italian re-formates as much as ēpī, see § 870). Similarly with ē- the perf. *ōd-e from / od- ‘smell’: Gr. ὀδ-ωδ-ς instead of *ōd-e (§ 858), Lith. źd-ęs. āg- ođ- from aģ- od- seem to be formed on the same principle as ed- from ed-; and if there is no reduplication in ēd-, there was none in aģ- or ēd-. Then again, some forms which never had reduplication are no doubt to be found amongst the perfects of Germanic and Latin from roots with initial Consonant, as Goth. skōf skōb-un Lat. scab-i scab-imus (skōb-un : sēt-un = on-un : fr-êt-un).

Remark 2. In II § 136 p. 438 I have offered a conjecture on the origin of the originally unreduplicated perfect; namely, that the participle with the suffix -yes- never had any reduplication. When these yes-participles became associated with the Perfect system in the parent language, two results followed: (1) either the participle itself was reduplicated, or (2) the finite verb with which it went sometimes lost its own reduplication. That the perfect participle once stood independent of the reduplicated perfect type, such as Gr. γε-γεν-ε γε-γε-νεν, can be argued on the strength of the root-vocalism in Gr. τάδε τάδειμa beside ođe ἔκειμε etc. (II p. 439).1) Sanskrit shows sāh- and dāś- as perfect stems only in sāh-vas- and dāś-vas-. Again, it may be mentioned that in Balto-Slavonic, which only shows participles of the above type with the sole exception of indic. Slav.

1) The Conjunctive with similar root-vocalism (ețd-o-ōev Skr. ta-țdn-ant, § 843 p. 384), also did not belong originally to the proper perfect forms, being thematic.
The Perfect: — Aryan.

§ 849. We begin with a few additional examples (cp. §§ 846—848).


\( \sqrt{\text{kley}}- \) 'hear': Avest. su-sru-ma su-sruyē i. o. su-sruv-ē (Bartholomae, Handb. § 90 p. 40), Skr. su-sṛdv-a etc., see § 846 p. 388.


\( \sqrt{\text{leyq}}- \) 'shine': Skr. ru-rōc-a ru-ruc-ūr ru-ruc-vās-. Avest. rud- 'to grow' (Skr. rudh-): 1st sing. "ru-ruod-a part. "ru-rud-uṣ-.

Skr. yam- 'cohibere': ya-yām-a ya-yān-tha yēm-i-mā yēm-ūr yēm-ē; yēm-for *ja-im-. \( \sqrt{\text{jaq}}- \) 'offer': Skr. i-yaj-a yēj-ē and yēj-ē; yēj- for *ja-įj-. \( \sqrt{\text{seq}}- \) 'speak' (pr. Ar. weak stem *ya-yk- yā-yēc-): Skr. va-vāc-a and u-vāc-a u-vāc-tha uē-ūr uē-ē, Avest. 3rd sing. va-vāc-a Gath. vāo\(^s\)-mā mid. 3rd sing. vaoc- part. vaok-uṣ-.
§ 850. Perfect Forms derived from an Extended Root, or from a Present Stem with some characteristic attacth (Suffix or Determinative). Compare § 847.

From Roots  -ār-, -ēr- or -ār-, only in Sanskrit. These Skr. perfects, of which ji-jyāu ma-mnau ja-glau va-vāu ja-jhāu are represented in the European languages (see loc. cit.), have the ā only in the strong stem; being in this unlike the Present, where ā runs through all the persons (e. g. dr-ā-ti dr-ā-ni §§ 578 ff. pp. 118 ff.). The reason why in their weak forms they followed Perfects with root gradation was that so many of the perfect endings began in a sonant. As we have ja-jhā-ē (beside ja-jhāu), ya-yā ya-yur (beside ya-yāu ya-yā-tha, y-a- ‘to go’), da-drur (dr-ā- ‘to run’), ta-tr-ē (tr-ā- ‘to protect’), so also ja-jhā-i-vās- instead of *ja-jhā-i-vās-, ya-yā-i-vās- instead of *ya-yā-i-vās-, pa-prā-vās- instead of *pa-prā-vās- (beside pa-prā pa-prāu pa-prā-tha, pr-ā- ‘to fill’). jojnyāvās- and paṇyāvās- belonged properly to the Indicatives *ja-jān-a and pa-pār-a (gramm.); and it is possible that there has been contamination of the extended root (jān-ē jān-ē-, pl-ē-) and the unextended (jēn-, pel-); 1) compare Gr. tk-thu-μυ- and

1) Parallel to paprāu: papārā we have papyē (pres. pyē-ya-ī) and pipāy (pres. pāy-α-ī); so that it is naturally doubtful with which of the two perfects Ved. pipyē is to be connected. The ī in the reduplicator decides nothing, cp. ji-jyāu.
The Perfect: Aryan.

§ 830.

 τι-κλ-η-ῶς τέ-κλ-η-κα), πίμ-πλα-μευ and πίμ-πλ-η-μι (§ 594 p. 135. However, yapivás- at any rate is a new form, following some such analogy as ta-sthi-vás-.


From a reduplicated Present is often formed a Perfect having no further reduplication besides what the present had. *sīd-a-tur (beside sa-sād-u sād-ur) from sīd-a-ti Idg. *sūd-e-ti from sa-sād- 'sit', vind-i-ma from ni-nu-di-ti 'abuses, reviles', see § 550 p. 106. vinak-vās from vi-vak-ti 'speaks'. didās-i-tha from di-dāsa-ti desid. of dā-dā-ti 'gives'. nōnū-n ur from nō-nav-ti nō-nu-mas intens. of nau-ti 'praises', davidhava beside part. dāvi-dhv-at- intens. of dhū-nō-ti 'shakes'. 1) We may also if we choose place here jagār-a (cp. Gr. ἰγηγ-γηγ-μαι) beside ja-gar-ti 'wakes, watches', since the present may be regarded as an intensive (§ 560 p. 109). ā instead of ā in the reduplicating syllable is found elsewhere in Aryan too; and we have noticed in § 472 p. 17 that the spread of this ā in the reduplication is certainly not unconnected with the similarity in meaning of the Perfect-present and the Intensive. In later times another perfect ja-jagār-a was made from jagār-ti. That a perfect bi-bhikṣ-e was formed for bhikṣa-tē (desid. of bhāj-a-ti 'divides, distributes, assigns', § 667 p. 200), and for sajja-tē 'hangs on to' (for *saz-ja-, § 562 p. 110) a perfect sa-sajj-ur Mahabh. (beside sa-sajj-ur saj-ur and sa-soj-j-a p. 397), is not surprising in view of the complete obscuration of the reduplication in the present.

As regards the above named perfects without special perfect reduplication, compare § 848 p. 392.

Lastly, two more Skr. perfects shall be cited, which have arisen from a root which has been completely fused into unity with a prefix. pi-pāt-e beside pāt-aya-ti 'presses' for *pi-zd-(lit. 'to sit upon'), see § 795 p. 381; cp. Gr. ἡμίπουρα from πη-ερω. ni-niyj-a (Ait. Brāhm.) from ni-yuj- 'to fasten on'. So Gr. ἡμικοπρα from ἡμύγα-(F)eσ- 'to clothe, draw on'. The same principle is exemplified in the Augment, see § 477 p. 25.

1) We should expect dāvidhāv-a by § 467 p. 18. The ā seems to me to be more simply explained by supposing that the perfect is a comparatively late analogical form from dāvidhe- than by adopting Wackernagel's conjecture, Dehnungsgesetz der gr. Compp. p. 18.
§ 851. The syllable of reduplication had originally a = Idg. e with Roots beginning in a Consonant; the variant a = Idg. ē is also found (cp. § 850, p. 398).

This was changed in Aryan where a root had i- or u-vocalism.


One important factor in this development we may conjecture to have been the influence of reduplicated present with i and u in the reduplicator. If the stems of Skr. dī-dhay-a dī-dhi-ma, dī-dāy-a dī-di-vās-pī-ṭē-tha pī-pī-vās, bī-bhay-a are really and truly the same which are contained in the present forms dī-dhy-ē dī-di-hē-t, dī-dy-atī dī-di-hi dī-di-dē-t, pī-pi-hī pī-pāy-a-t, bī-bhay-a-t (§ 537 pp. 97 f.) — compare ja-gār-a : ja-gar-ti, nō-nāv-a : nō-nāv-i-ti § 850 p. 398. — then we shall have to connect e. g. bī-bhay-a bī-bhy-ūr, iy-di-ā iy-ūr, ju-hāv-a ju-hūv-ur ju-hā-ē directly with bī-bhē-ti bī-bhi-ati, iy-ē-ti (§ 537 p. 97), ju-hō-ti ju-hō-ati. Beginning then with perfects like these, the reduplication with i and u could easily spread to other perfects from i- and u-roots to which there was no corresponding reduplicated present.
(2) Roots beginning with ī- and u-, of the form of Ar. īat-join on, strive' and yak- yac- speak', still had īa- and ya- for reduplication right through the Perfect in proethnic Aryan: Skr. yēt-ī Avest. ya-yut-a yaēh-ma, Skr. ya-yām-a yēm-ūr, Skr. yēj-ē, Skr. va-vāc-a Avest. va-vac-a vaox-ī-ma, Skr. va-vaḥ-a Avest. vaox-ī-rem, Skr. va-vām-a; with the weak stems compare pres. Skr. yēṣa-ti = *i-ja-ṣ-a-ti and aor. ā-vōca-t Avest. vuoca-ḥ = *ya-uc-a- § 562 p. 110. These forms stood on the same level as those like Skr. va-vart-a va-vat-ur vi-vēs-a vi-viṣ-ūr and with (Ir. ī-ēl-ē) (§ 848 p. 392) ī-opē-t (§ 846 p. 389) ī-ek-t (§ 848 p. 392) and (Ioth. vii-valād. Next, in Sanskrit, those verbs which had amongst their non-perfect forms some in which the root, being of the weak grade, began with ī- or u-. substituted i- and u- for ya- and va- as the reduplicator; and thus we get i-yāj-a ij-ūr (i. e. *i-ij-ur) beside ij-yū-te iṣ-ṭā-s etc., u-vāc-u uēc-ū (i. e. *u-uc-ur) beside uc-yāt-a ukt-tā-s etc., on the analogy of iy-ay-a iy-ūr beside iy-e iē-tās etc., vi-vyādh-a vi-vidh-ur beside vidh-yu-ti viddha-s etc., su-śdpa-su-śup-ūr beside sup-ya-tē sup-tā-s etc. On the other hand, ya-yām-a yēm-ūr va-vas-ē (from vas- 'to clothe'), and other such remained simply because none of their forms had such beginnings as īm- or uṣ-. Only here and there did u- transgress these prescribed limits: as in u-vām-a (Satap.-Brāhm.) instead of va-vām-a from vam-vomere'.

With this Sanskrit development compare Lat. sci-cid-t from scindō as contrasted with ce-cid-t from cadō, § 868.

Remark. The reason why we have in Sanskrit eev-ūr and not *eōrūr, and saev-ūṣ- not *sōṃuṣ- (cp. Avest. soṣuṣ-), as might have been expected from maghō-, the weak form of the stem maghōvan- 'giver, offerer', was the analogical influence of forms whose ending began with a consonant, such as va-vat-a and va-vat-ma va-vat-ta-, perhaps also that of bye-forms with a weak grade root syllable which still remained.

1) I hold accordingly that the favourite theory which sees pr. Idg. reduplications i- u- or ī- u- in ī-yāj-a u-vēc-a is incorrect. Observe further, that the evidence offered by i-yāj-a ij-ē and the like for the view that the ī-yōj- began in Idg. with ī- and not with the spirant j is only indirect (I § 598 p. 453).
a syllable by itself (cp. ta-tan-e i.e. *ta-nau beside ta-tam-e, ti-tir-e i.e. *ti-nau). Thus va-sen- in this way depended upon va-sen-; and, by a contrary application of the principle, yem-i-nu yem-i-nu instead of *ya-yam-ma *ya-yam-vas- (cp. ja-gan-ma ja-gan-vas- from gama- 'to go') depended upon yem-ur yem-ur- (cp. jagm-i-enas- instead of jagan-vas-following jagm-əs-).

Whilst Roots beginning with an a-vowel had in Aryan a- through all forms of the Perfect, if they ended in a single consonant, as Skr. ās-a Avest. āxh-a (§ 848 p. 394, § 949 p. 396), they have an- (or an-) for the reduplicating syllable if the root ends in a double consonant. Of these forms, the following were inherited from the parent language: Skr. an-ās-a with the weak stem an-as- (-as- = ā-s-) in ānas-ur ānas-yā-t (pres. as-nō-ti 'attains'); O.Ir. t-an-aic, see § 846 p. 390; parallel Skr. ānas-a Avest. Gath. plpf. ēnasēta for *anās-ta, which are similar to Gr. ἀνα-ήνω ona (see loc. cit.), and Skr. ās-a ās-atur, which was formed for aš-nō-ti aor. ās-yāt aš-ē-ma on the analogy of ās-a ād-a. Also an-anj-a ān-anj-e opt. Ved. an-anj-yā-t from anj- 'to anoint, smear' seems to have formed part of the parent stock.

Hence afterwards arose an-are-a an-ye-ur from are- 'to shine, praise', an-ydh-ur from ardh- 'to thrive', an-yh-ur from arh- 'to earn'.

§ 852. Form of the Root Syllable.

The pr. Aryan distinction between Skr. 1st sing. ja-jān-a with ā, and 3rd sing. ja-jān-ā with a (§ 843 p. 384), was lost. Thus we have in later Sanskrit the 3rd sing. form used for the 1st as well as 3rd (still, jajāna was not dropped altogether), and in Avestic the 1st singular form was used for both (e.g. va-vac-a beside the regular hi-sāy-a).1)

In imitation of such forms as sa-sād-a : sēd-ur (for *sa-səd-ur) and ya-yām-a : yēm-ur (for *ja-im-ur), arose the Skr. forms sēh-ur (sah- 'to subdue'), sēj-ur (saj- 'to hang, fasten'), pēc-ur (pač- 'to cook'), sēc-e (sac- 'to be with, accompany', but also sa-śc-ə), pēt-ur (pat- 'to fly, fall', but also

1) The Avestic change was natural enough because tatośa (Skr. tadēśa) had got in amongst roots with single final consonant.

Brugmann, Elementa. IV.
pa-πτ-उर), nēm-ur (nam- 'to bow, bend'), tēn-ē (tan- 'to stretch'), but also ta-tań-ē). This type recommended itself because it avoided certain awkward sounds which had developed in some roots, as was the case in Germanic with the type gēm- (§ 893). mēthur beside ma-mānth-a (mānth- 'to shake, knead'), and bēdūr beside ba-bāndh-a (bāndh- 'to bind'), arose because the weak roots math- and bādh- in mātha-ti bādh-nā-ti etc. (-a = -y-) were conceived as being parallel to roots like sad- or yaj-; which also explains mamāth-a beside mamānth-a, mathīṣya-ti beside manthīṣya-ti and the like. That a Perfect stem such as sēd- or yēm- was to the consciousness of the speaker nothing more than an ablaut-form of the unreduplicate root is shewn by forms with initial media aspirata like bhēj-ur (beside ba-bhāj-a from bhāj- 'to distribute'), and those which begin with a double consonant, as trēs-ur trēs-ur (beside ta-trās-a from tras- 'to tremble').

The strong singular stem seems often to have invaded forms proper to the weak stem. Skr. tāstambhur (but also ta-stabhur) following tāstambha, cp. § 850 p. 397. ba-bāndhar following ba-bāndha. yuvāpimā following yuvāpa from yup- 'to obstruct'. vivēsur (but also vivēśe) following vivēśa from vīś- 'to enter'. bibhēdur (but bibhidur also) following bibhēda from bhid- 'to split'. vāvahāt (but āvahāt) following vāvadhā from vah- 'vehere'. nandmīrē (but nēm-ur) following nānāma. ṣaṣāsur following ṣaṣāsa (cp. aor. ā-ṣiṣ-a-t) from ṣās- 'to order': cp. pres. 3rd pl. ṣās-ati beside opt. ṣiṣ-yā-t. dādāvās- (but dadvās-dadvās-) following dādā from da- 'to give'. Avest. 3rd pl. cikōiter-s (but cikīved) following *cikōita from cit- 'to observe' (§ 850 p. 397). 2nd pl. ha-hānā following 3rd sing. *ha-hānā from han- 'to give, earn'. But we may see, from what has been said in § 848 pp. 392 f. on sa-sah-ē sa-saś-sur and sa-sah-ē da-daś-i-ma, that it is possible to hold that the germ of those consists of unreduplicated forms with a strong root (such as Skr. *stambh-ur) which received reduplication in Aryan.

In Skr. 1st and 3rd sing. ta-stāu da-dhāu pa-prāu etc., the origin of -aū is obscure. Now and then we meet with variants
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3rd sing. pa-prā and Avest. 3rd sing. da-da. 1) Some regard -u as a particle affixed to the perfect with final -ā, as pa-prā + u = pa-prāu; and others compare ta-sthau with sthāv-irā-sthāv-arā-sthāv-rā-, or pa-prāu with Lat. plēv-ī, ja-jānu with Lat. nōv-i. All these are thoroughly uncertain conjectures.

§ 853. As regards the -ī- which precedes the personal ending in -i-tha -i-ma -i-va -i-śē -i-mahē -i-vahē, which is much commoner in the later language than it is in the Veda, the most essential facts have been pointed out in § 844, pages 385 f.

The same i is seen in the unrepeated tiśe (§ 848 p. 391): tiś-i-śē (beside tk-śē) tiś-i-dhevē like ja-jā-i-śē ja-jā-i-dhevē. After what was said in § 574 p. 115, it is not strange that beside tiś-ē we find tiś-i-ē. Compare however the pres. sṛ-nē-i-śē beside sṛ-nē-i-rē (like tiś-i-rē ja-jā-i-rē).

§ 854. The so-called Pluperfect, and Themtic Forms of the Perfect Stem (cp. § 555 p. 108, § 845 p. 387 f.).


We find in Sanskrit also the 2nd and 3rd sing. with -r-, an ā-ja-grabh-t beside 1st sing. ā-ja-grabh-am, see § 577 p. 118.


1) On the assumed Avest. dañā = Skr. daćhā, see Bartholomae, Beitr. Beitr. IX 301.

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Skr. ta-tākṣ-ā from takṣ- ‘to shape, form’. Compare Gr. ἔ-με-
-μηχ-ο-ν § 855.

The Thematic Imperative, as Skr. 2nd dual mu-mōc-a-tam
2nd pl. mu-mōc-a-ta (muc- ‘to loose’) 2nd sing. mid. vā-vydh-
da-sva (vardh- ‘to grow’), stood beside the Un thematic mu-
muk-tam mu-mug-dhi, as in Greek e. g. xe-xoγ-ε-τε xe-χή-ν-ε-τε
beside xi-xραγ-θτ; and they were related to the Thematic
Conjunctive Skr. mu-mōc-a-t(i) Gr. ἔδ-ο-μεν as, in the s-aorist,
Skr. 2nd sing. imper. nē-ś-a to the conj. nē-ś-a-ti, Gr. 2nd pl.

The forms Skr. ἀ-δ-α-τι Avest. is-a-itṛ beside ἓσ-ε ἑσ-ε ‘has
brought into his power’ doubtless first arose because the latter
had ceased to be looked upon as belonging to the Perfect.
Thus they are classed along with Presents like Skr. han-a-ti
Avest. janaiti beside hān-ti jainiti (§ 498 p. 58). Compare
§ 888 on Goth. āihan āihands.

Armenian.

§ 855. The old Perfect inflexion seems to be wholly lost.
gitem ‘I know’ may have been transformed from *μοιδ-α in
the same way as Lesb. οἶδμι from ολ; but it may also be
regarded as a present of Class Π A (§ 517 Rem. p. 82). For
another even more uncertain trace of the Perfect in Armenian,
see Meillet, Mém. Soc. Ling. vii 164.

Greek.

§ 856. We begin with a few examples in addition to
those given in § 846.

i-σατ-τι from σαϊν ‘I saw’. ἐ-ολ-ε ἐ-θλ-ται from εἶλα
from στείλα ‘I place, ordain’. ἔ-δρομ-ε beside ἔ-δραμ-ο-ν
‘I ran’. Hom. δείδω i. e. *δέκω ‘I fear’ for ἔ-δε-δρο-α, δείδω
i. e. *δέ-δρα-α, δείδων i. e. *δέ-δρα-εν, δειδότ-εγ i. e. *δέ-δρα-
§§ 556, 557. The Perfect: — Greek.


Forms with so-called Attic Reduplication. Hom. ἐλιθλοῦθα εἰλιθλοῦθαν Att. ἐλιθλοῦθα εἰλιθλοῦθαν beside ἐλιθλοῦθα I will come' aor. ἡλιθλοῦ, ἐλιθλοῦ-. Ion. ἄρ-η-τε ἄρη-τοίς ἄρ-αρ-ο-ν beside ἄρ-αρ-ο-ν 'I joined'.

§ 557. Numerous Perfect forms based upon Roots extended in some way, and upon Presents of all sorts and kinds. Compare § 847 pp. 391 f.

(1) δέ-δρα-ται from ἄρ-σι 'to do'. κέ-κρα-ται from κρ-ά- 'to mix'. τε-τλα-ως from τλ-ά- 'to bear'. κέ-κυρ-ως from κυ-ά- 'to weary'. τε-τμη-ται from τμ-ά- 'to cut'. τε-τρη-ται from τρ-ν- 'to wear away, pierce'. κέ-κλη-ται from κλ-ν- 'to call'. κέ-κρη-ται from χρ-ν- 'to lend, borrow'. τε-τιρ-ως τε-τίρ-ται from τηρ- 'to be still, overawed' Idg. giḫ-EMENT, see § 590 p. 132. κέ-χαρ-ος κέ-χαρ-ται from χάρω 'I rejoice'. κέ-καρ-ως 'breathing hard'. δέ-δέν-ται from δέω Hom. Ἀεol. δένω 'I need'. κέ-νερ-ται
from νέμω 'I distribute'. βι-βούλη-ται from βοελομαί 'I wish' for *βοινο-μαί. τε-τύπτη-ται from τύπτω 'I strike'. Compare § 750. 1 p. 271, § 756. 4 pp. 275 f., § 822. 5 p. 360.

(2) Along with these go Perfects from later denominatives, as Hom. κε-κοση-ωίς, Boeot. gen. pl. ἐ-ἐκόσημενίτων (Att. ὁκοςμηκότων, cp. § 866), τε-τύπτη-ται (-η- = -ή-), πε-φίλη-ται, με-μίσθω-ται, κε-κόντη-ται, δε-δάκφυ-ται. Compare § 756. 5 p. 276, § 773 pp. 290 f., § 813 p. 351, § 822. 6 p. 360.


(4) πε-φην-ε (Dor. πε-φαν-ε) πε-φαν-ται from φαινω 'I make appear, show' for *φα-νι-ω. κε-χην-ε (Dor. κε-χαν-ε) from χαίνω 'I gape' for *χα-νι-ω. εξανταί εξαμμαι from εξ-αινω 'I scratch, comb'. On the forms πέφασμαι εξασμαι (≈ εξαμμαι), see § 862. προ-βέβονε beside βοελομαί (see under 1). Compare § 822. 2 p. 359.

(5) Nasal Infix. κε-κλαγγ-ε, also κε-κλη-ε, beside κλαγγάω and κλαίω (for *κλαγγ-ιω) 'I make a sound, cry out'. The verb κανδάω 'I have room for' (§ 631 p. 168) perhaps had both κε-κανδ-ες and κε-κονδ-ες (like λέγοντες from λαγγάω) for its perfect; see Meckler, Beitr. zur Bildung des griech. Verbums, 60 f.; Wackernagel, Berl. Phil. Wochenschr. 1891, col. 1475 f. Aeol. part. πε-φίγγ-ων (Att. πε-φανγ-ώς) from φαιγανω 'I flee'. ε-σφυγ-ται 1st sing. εσφυγμαι (-γμ- for -σμ-, I § 492 p. 363) from σφίγγω 'I tie'. Compare § 822. 3 p. 359.


(9) Hom. περικυστεῖς from *φύζω for *φυγ-ιο (§ 707 p. 236).


§ 858. The Reduplication with t in roots with initial consonant has been more faithfully kept in Greek than in any other language. The vitality of this type can be best seen in its use with denominative forms like πε-φυλακ-ται δε-δυστύχησι, τε-θαλάσσωσκάττησι, Boeot. φε-φευρομείονται.

Remark. On the analogy of compounds like ἑρ-πενδόνης were made others such as ἑρ-δείχνης ἑπ-δείχνης instead of ἡρ-δέχομαι ἡπ-δέχομαι from ἑρ-δέχομαι ἑπ-δέχομαι. The group was further enlarged by ἰπ-πενδόνης ἰπ-πενδόνται ἰπ-πενδόνται and many other like them.

On the treatment of the initial consonant or consonants of the reduplicator, see §§ 475 f. pp. 20 ff.

Verbs with initial vowel were treated in two ways, as in Sanskrit:

(1) By lengthening the initial vowel. 2nd sing. ἱσ-θα from √es- 'to be' (op. Skr. ḍs-i-tha), which form came afterwards to be used as imperfect because ἱα ἱμεν ἱστε ἱστον belonged to both; ἱρίκε from ἱρίζω 'I strive'. ἱχ- ἱγ-μαι (γ = α) from ἱγω 'I lead': Skr. ḍj-α O.Icel. ḍk- (here comes ἱν-ωγ- from ἱν-ἀγω according to Danielsson, Nord. tidskr. f. filol. ny rekke, vii 138 ff.); ἵσκη-ται from ἵσκω 'I practice': ἱχ- ἱγ-μαι from ἱγω 'I begin'; ἱμφέος-ται from ἱμφε-έω-σαι 'to draw on, clothe'. ὑγκο-ται from ὑγκω 'I grow big, swell up'. This perfect formation has been treated in
§ 848 p. 393 f.; it is very doubtful whether it ever had any reduplication.

(2) By the “Attic Reduplication”, which corresponds to the structure of Skr. ān-āś-ā (§ 851 p. 401). This flourished considerably at the expense of the last named (1). ēd-ēdōς: Skr. ād-ā; ēd-ōρ-ε: Skr. āρ-α; ēd-ōδ-ε: Lith. ād-ēs. Att. ēμ-ωμο-ται (and ēμ-ωμο-σ-ται) from ēμ-vω-mi ‘I swear’. Hesiod has ἔρ-ηρισται from ἔριζω ‘I strive’; but ἔρισκε above. Perhaps Hom. ἔρασθα ‘eras’ and ἔπα ηπ, as contrasted with ηράε ηπ ην (§ 502 p. 65 f.), was based upon a form *δσ-σα; cp. § 583 p. 124, and the Author, Gr. Gr. 2 p. 164, Bartholomae, Stud. z. idg. Spr. 118 p. Ion. āν-αρ-αιρ-ται and āν-αρ-ερ-ται from āν-αριώ ‘I raise up on high’; but āν-ηρ-ται. Hom. ἔρ-ωρεχ-ται from ἔρεγμ I stretch out’, but ἔρεγ-μαι, from Βεργ- (O.Ir. perf. re-raig ‘porrexit’). On the analogy of ἰλ-ηλυθ-ε: ἰλυθεῖν, the form ἐν-γγεκ-εῖν ‘to bring’, which already had the Attic reduplication (cp. Skr. ān-āś-ā), formed a perfect ἐν-γγεκ-ται, which next called into being the act. ἐν-γγεχε beside κατ-γγεκε (§ 846 p. 390); ἐν- in ἐν-γγεκ-ται and ἐν-γγεχε must then be the preposition ἐν, which I see in the aorist ἐν-εσκα (§ 504 p. 68); if so, ἐν-γγεκ-ται must be compared directly with Skr. ān-āś-ā. Ion. ὧρ-ῶρης-ε (Herodas) beside ὧράκα ὧρακε from ὧραω ‘I see’ for *Φορά-, late Attic ἐλ-ηλυγ-μένο-ς beside ἐλικ-ται from ἑλίσσω ‘I wind’ for *Φελικ-.

§ 859. The original differences of root-gradation in the group of Perfect forms transmitted from the parent language were very largely wiped out by analogy.

First, the vowel-grade of the indic. active invaded other forms; as γεγόν-α-μεν γεγον-ώς, ἐφθόρ-α-μεν ἐφθόρ-ος, πεπόθ-α-μεν, τετρόφ-α-μεν, ἑού-μεν ἑοίκ-α-μεν, πεποῖθ-α-μεν conj. Hom. πεποῖθ-ο-μεν Att. πεποῖθ-ω-μεν, εἰληλοῦθ-μεν εἰληλοῦθ-ός, ἐρρωγ-α-μεν, ἀπ-ἐνω-ται.

Next, the weak form sometimes became the type; as ἰδέ-α, τέτραπ-α, ἐλήλυθ-α.

Thirdly, ε is often found where it originally was not, as

πέφευγ-ε περεύγ-α-μεν, πέ-πλεξ-ε, λέ-λεγ-ε; particularly often in the Middle, as πέρπλεξ-ται πέπέλεσ-ται. The original place of this ablaut-grade was in the perfect Conjunctive, sometimes in the Participle active (Π § 136 p. 438 f.), and also, according to the hypothesis of De Saussure and Osthoff, the 1st sing. Indic. active (§ 843 Rem. p. 384). Again, ἔκλε-ται and like forms may be based upon the unreduplicated (κατα-)κελέυσ-ση; see § 848. 2 with Rem. 1, pages 392 and 393. Lastly, non-perfect verbal forms with ε may have had a hand in it; thus θεύνω may have influenced πέφευγι, or πεβαμαι πέπελεσαι.

Sometimes the change which took place was that weak perfect forms with a from roots of the e-series caused the production of other forms on the analogy of α-roots. Thus μέμηλε (Dor. μέμαλε) took the place of *μεμολε (from μέλε 'it is a care to'), because forms with με-μαλ- (cp. Skr. ti-stir- from √ ster- 'sternere') were associated with such others as τι-ταλ-νια beside τεθηλε (Dor. τεθαλε). Similar considerations account for μέμηρι (V μεν- 'think') and δεδηχως δεδηγμαι (V dekh- 'bite') by analogy with με-μαν- = *me-μην- and δι-δικ- = *de-dék-(cp. Skr. dadaš-vās- beside dadaqś-a). But undoubtedly with both these perfects other non-perfect forms, such as μαύνια, ἐμάνηρ and δέκκω δέκκων, helped to change them over to the new vowel-series.

The ε-grade seen in O.Ir. mid-ur Goth. sēt-num Lith. sēd-ės etc. (§ 848. 3 p. 393), has been conjectured for Gr. ζηταο 'sits', whose aspirate is odd as contrasted with Skr. ds-tē. It is quite possible that, in Greek, middle forms of *sēd- were confused with the verb *ēs-. Compare pres. Lith. sēd-mi § 494 p. 54.

§ 860. On the -α- of τέρτου-α-ς -α-μεν -α-τε, on Dor. γύγον-αν and part. πειρως, see § 844 pp. 385 f.

The 3rd pl. ζητάσου 'they stand' is contracted for *ζη-σα-σσ, which had taken the place of a previous *ζατασ. So also Ἐπ. γεγάσαι μεμίσαο βεβιάσα Αττ. βεβιάσαι. See § 1021. 4.

§ 861. Aspirated Perfects like δέδειξε (V δεκ-) πε-πλεξα (πλεκ-) κεκήρξε (κηρικ-) τέρτους τεῖράραται (τρεπ-) κέκλευξ
§ 862. Perfects from verbal stems in s generally show in the middle the endings -σαι, -σηθα -σμενος, as ἔγωγαι ἔγωγαι ἤκουσαν πέντεσαι ἤσβησαν τετέλεσαι ἤσπασμα ηεκέραμαι, thus traversing the law laid down in vol. I 565 § p. 422, by which we should expect forms without σ, and with a lengthening of the preceding vowel when this was short. There are some of these regular forms, as ἕλπισι (ἡ-γαία-) γένεσαι (ἡ-θεμν-) ἡ-κυμίνος (ἡ-μα-). But the other set are a re-formation on the model of those with -στ-, as ἕλπισι instead of *ἐλπίσαι following ἔσται, ἕλπισι following ἔσται. On the contrary, ἕλπισι and γένεσι suggested ἔσται instead of ἔσται, ἡ-γαίνω instead of ἡ-γαίνω(ν) -σται.

Similarly, in the Middle Voice of Perfects from Verbal-stems in θ and δ, the σ of -σαι spread into the forms in -μαι -μεθα -μενος, as λέλαμαι following λέλασται (act. λέθημεν), πένθομαι following πένθοσται (pres. πενθοῦμαι) πένθοσαι following πένθοσται (pres. πενθῶ), κεκάμεθα following κέκασται (κατ-), πέφασμαι following πέφασται (συν. πέφασον). Forms like ἴσαμι (ἤ-θομος), πεφάσμενος Pind. πεφασμένος are regular. Similarly, Att. ἵσαμι (Hom. ἱ-μεν) may be regarded as a re-formate following ἵστε; but it may also follow the pret. ἵμεν i. e. ἴ-με-μεν just as ἵσαν follows ἵσαι ἵσαν (§ 863 p. 411).
§§ 862,863.  The Perfect: — Greek.  411

The agreement of forms like σείσω ἔσεισα (for *σας-σω *ς-σείσ-σα) ἔρεισσο ἔρεισσα (for *ἐρειδ-σω *ἐρείδ-σα) with such forms as τεί-σω ἐ-τει-σα ( yeast-) had this result, that the endings -σαι -σαμι etc. spread from σέσαςται -σαι ἐρήμαται -σαι to the Perfect of verbal stems which ended in a vowel: τέτει-σαι -σαι, κέκλαυ-σαι instead of κέκλαυται, ἔγνω-σαι, ἴσκέλευ-σαι. The same cause gave rise to ἀπο-τειστέν-ς ἔπεισθην, κλαυστό-ς instead of κλαυτός, ἔγνωσθην etc. Or the σ of these forms from verb stems with final vowel may have originated from the 2nd sing. mid. in -σ-θς, as ἔγνωσθης (= ἀόμασθας) ἐμνήσθης (Wackernagel, Kuhn’s Zeitschr. xxx 312, Henry, Précis de gramm. comp. § 102); cp. § 589 p. 129 f., § 820 p. 357, § 836 p. 373, § 840 p. 377.

Lastly, we must place here forms from ν-stems such as πέφασμαι beside πέφαν-ται (φαίνω 'I show'), σεσήμασμαι beside σεσήμαι-νται (πήμαν 'I make a signal'); but we also find ἐξάμαμι for *ἐ-ἐκα-μαι (ἐκαίνω 'I scratch, comb'), ἤχυμαι for ἤχυν-μαι (ὕπαχω 'I disgrace'), and others. We may conjecture that first *πεφαν-σθς *πεσάμαν-σθς became regularly *πέφασθε *πεσάμασθε, and then, since these looked like ἔσπασθε κεκέρασθε, the forms πέφασμαι σεσήμασμαι were made to match ἔσπασμαι κεκέρασμαι; on the other hand, πέφανται produced the form πέφαντε.

§ 863.  The 3rd pl. of οἶμαι ἵσασθι was in Homer ἵσασθι (Att. ἵσασθι Dor. ἵσαντι by vol. I § 563. 2 p. 419), an ad-formate of the s-aorist *ἵσασαν ἵσαν, augmented ἔσαν (§ 812 p. 349, § 821 p. 358). The formation of ἵσασθι was due to ἵσις ἵσαν beside ἵσε ἕσαν. Compare § 862, on Att. ἵσαν.

ἵσαντι, associated with ἵσαντι 'they place', caused the Doric dialect to make the further forms ἵσμι ἵσαμεν ἵσαμεναι etc. following ἵσαμι and the rest.

In Heraclean, this σ went on to the middle of the perfect: γεγράψατο. Then, on the strength of the relation of γεγράψατο to ἔγραψαντο, we get *μεμοσθώσαται beside ἡμῶσάντο — the conj. μεμοσθώσανται is found.
§ 864. There can be no doubt that the x-perfect, as ἔστηκε, existed in all its important features as early as proethnic Greek, although it only became a large group in Greek itself. As to the origin of the formation, very diverse theories have been set-forth; they are collected and criticised by Johansson, Beitr. zur gr. Sprachkunde, pp. 56 ff. (compare Per Persson, Wurzelerw., 209 f.).

Remark. The explanation which has most in its favour is the following. x is called a Root-Determinative, which came from the parent language into Greek in a few verbs; and then it became a fertile perfect suffix in pr. Greek just as s became a fertile aorist suffix in the original language. It was not confined to the perfect any more than s was confined to the aorist: we have for instance aor. ἔθηκα as well as perf. τέθηκα, aor. ἔδωκα ἔδωκα as will as perf. δέδωκα, ἔδωκα as well as δεδέκα, δέθ(τ)ομαι for τέθ(τ)ομαι as well as δεθ(τ)ομαι.

The favourite sphere of the x-formation lay from the proethnic period of Greek in stems with e-, o- and a-vowels, as τέ-θη-κέ ε-ώ-κε δέ-δω-κέ ε-στά-κε, βέ-βλ-η-κέ ἤ-γω-κέ βά-δρι-κέ. Forms like *τε-θη *ε-ω (Avest. da-da) without -a and -ε in the 1st and 3rd sing. may have seemed too unnatural and unlike the rest of the system; this may have brought in some x-form, which afterwards spread rapidly by analogy.

Beside the above named perfect forms with the root-suffixes -α- and -ε- -δ-, were formed others, such as κεχαρμενε γεγομενε κεςιθηκε δεδεινηκε μεμεθωκε τετειμακε δεδακρυκε. Compare κεκαρμος κεκοτος κενεμηται περφηται etc., § 857. 1 and 2, p. 405 f.

Again, the relation of ἔστηκα to στήσω ἔστησα, of δέδωκα to δράσω δέδωσα, produced perfects like πέπεικα beside πέλςσον ἔπεια (πείσω 'I advise'), πέφρακα beside φράσω ἔφρασα (φράζω 'I give to understand, show' for φραζ-ω), γεγομαικε beside γεγομαινε γεγομαινα (γεμίζω 'I exercise'), ἡμοικα beside ἡμίσω ἡμοια (ἀμοιζω 'I fit, join'), ἑπεικα beside ἑπεικα ἑπεικα for ἑπιστ-σ- (σπένδω 'I pour'), ἑπεικα beside ἑπεικα ἑπεικα (σπάω 'I pull' for ἑσπα-σ-ω).

By analogy of the perfect middle (cp. δέδωκα : δέδωκα) arose e. g. Phoc. τέθηκα (instead of τέθηκα) following τέθηκα,
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Att. εἶκα (*έκει) following εἶται (*έσται), ἔδειξα following ἔδεισαι,

εἰρθαρκα following ἐκραταται, κὼλκα following καλται, ἡγεῖλκα

following ἡγεῖται. Vice versa, mid Dor. ἄφ-λογα follows ἐκα

(§ 858. p. 408).

Following εἶκα εἶται, the forms τέθηκα τέθημαι were changed

in late Attic to τέθεικα τέθηται.

Following δοκάκα: δοκαμεν we get γέγακα (Pind.) beside

γέγαμεν (*ghan-ghan); vice versa ἡρισταμεν (Comedy) beside

ἡρίστηκα (ἀριστάω 'I breakfast').

§ 865. For the Pluperfect Greek, like Sanskrit, at first

had two formations, thematic and unthematic (cp. § 555


(1) The Unthematic type is found in the Active only

for Plural and Dual, e. g. ἐ-πέ-πιθ-μεν γι-γ首席-νε το-ε-στα-μεν; the

3rd pl. ends in -σαν, e. g. ἐ-στα-σαν με-μα-σαν ἰδέαδισαν i. e.

*ἀ-δε-δίσαν (§ 1021. 2). Far oftener, and found in all three

numbers, this occurs in the Middle; as τε-τύγ-μεν ἐ-τέ-τακ-το


(2) Thematic Forms are e. g. ἐ-με-μηκ-ο-ν (but με-μηκ-ο-ς),

ἐ-πέ-πληγ-ο-ν (but πέ-πληγ-α), ἀν-ωγ-ο-ν (but ἄν-ωγ-α), δειδε i. e.

*δε-δίσι-ε (but perf. δε-δί-μεν); with κ, ἐ-κε-κφκ-ο-ν (but πέ-φκ-κα).

Compare Skr. ἁ-κα-κρ-α-τ. Sometimes it is doubtful whether a

form comes here or in the VIth Present Class (§ 563 p. 111); as

κλ-κάκ-ο-ντο (cp. λέληκα λελακονδ and ἐ-κακ-ο-ν).

(3) To these formations are added all which are based

upon an original s-aorist. (a) On the one hand, the forms

ῥ đia and ἵσαν ὤσαν (ὅσαν ὤσα) (b) on the other, those in

which the Aorist ending was affixed to the Perfect stem, as

ἐ-πολ-θ-εν ἐ-πολ-θ-εν ἐ-πολ-θ-εν beside ἐ-πολ-θ-α, and ἐ-στίρ-


§ 866. Like the thematic pluperfect ἐ-με-μηκ-ο-ν etc.,

mentioned in § 865. 2, the thematic imperative ἔ-κραγ-ε-τε and

so forth belong to the parent speech; cp. Skr. μι-μθε-α-τα,

§ 844 p. 404.

But thematic forms occur more or less in all other

formations of the Greek perfect system. Indicative Hom.
μέ-μβλ-ταυ 'it is dear' beside μέλ-ει (which may also belong to Present Class VI, § 563 p. 111), ὀφ-ἀφ-ταυ 'is aroused' beside ὀφ-Ἀφ-α, ἀν-ἀγω beside ἀν-Ἀγα, Syrac. ὀλωλ-ω beside Att. ὀλ-ωλ-α. And again, ἣκω 'I am here' may have taken the place of a perfect ἣκα; the last essay to explain the etymology of this verb is by Johansson, Beitr. gr. Sprachk., 62 f., who would connect it with a root ἣ- 'to go'. Conj. Hom. ὀφ-Ἀφ-ῃ Att. βε-βλήξῃ beside Hom. εἶδ-ο-μεν. Opt. Att. βε-βλήξ-ο-ι beside ε-στα-ι-μεν. Inf. Rhod. γεγόνει, in Pindar κεχλάδειν. Part. Lesb. πελπηρόκων, Hom. (Ἀεόλ.) κεκλήγοντες, Boeot. Ἐφικτονομεῖοντων.

Italic.

§ 867. The "Perfect" of Latin and Umbro-Samnitic is a mixture of elements very widely different. Ten distinct types contribute to make it up.

(1) Genuine Reduplicated Perfects like Lat. tu-tud-i = Skr. tu-tud-ē, de-d-ē = Skr. da-d-ē (§ 1044). In § 846 we have compared with perfect forms of other Idg. languages these others: peperti, tetult, mormitt, memint, memordi, memorde, crēdidi, bīd, stell, scicidi, cecint; to which add Umbr. dersicust.

(2) Probable Unreduplicated Perfect forms. First leg-i vēn-i and the like, with possibly ēd-i, cp. § 848.3 p. 393. Next scand-i, vort-i vert-i Umbr. co-vortus 'converterit', scab-i, ēd-i, cp. § 848.1, 2 and 4, pp. 391, 392, 394.

(3) Forms of the s-Aorist, both thematic and non-thematic, as dīx-i dīx-i-t dīx-i-mus, cp. Gr. ἵ-dai-a Skr. ā-dikṣ-a-t. See § 823 p. 360 f.

(4) Forms of the non-thematic is-Aorist, as vīdis-tis (vīdis-i-tis) vīder-ō vīder-i-m, cp. Skr. ā-vēdiṣ-am Gr. νἀκα. See § 841 pp. 378 ff.

(5) Thematic Aorists of Class II. Lat. fu-i-t fu-i-mus, Osc. fuid 'fuerit': Skr. ā-bhūv-a-t. Lat. scid-i-t: Skr. ā-chid-a-t. fid-i-t: Skr. ā-bhid-a-t. ex-uit for *-uę-e-t (Class II B) or
§ 867. The Perfect: — Italic. 415

*-ey-e-t (Class II A). Osc. dic-ust 'dixerit' beside *dic-e-d 'dixit': Skr. imperf. á-diś-a-t. Osc. kúm-bēned 'convēnit' ce-bnust 'huc venerit'). Skr. á-gam-a-t Avest. γ-m-a-ū, V gem. From Osc. pert-emust 'peremerit' the ind. *ēme-d is to be inferred. Osc. ana-saked or ana-zaked 'consecravit' (Bréal and Duvau, Mém. Soc. ling., vi 51, 227) beside Lat. sanctō. Pelign. afded 'abiit' for *af-je-d (Thurneysen, Rhein. Mus., xliv 348), cp. Gr. opt. i-o-t. So also Lat. vort-i-t vort-i-mus (cp. 2) may be connected with Skr. á-vṛt-a-t. See § 483 p. 32, § 523 pp. 86 ff., § 528 p. 91.

(6) Possibly amongst forms like lēg-i-t lēg-i-mus (V leg.) were some like Gr. ἵ-μι-σα-το (V med-) Skr. á-sāh-a-t (V segh.). See § 841 Rem. p. 378.


To these must be added (8) the Latin perfect in -e-t and -e-t, (9) the Umbr.-Sann. perfect with f, and (10) the t-perfect of Oscan, Pelignian, and Volscian; see §§ 873 ff.

This fusion of the forms of Aorist and Perfect implies that the Idg. Perfect had become a historic tense as early as proethnic Italic.

1) Conway (Amer. Journ. Phil. vi 308) defends the old view of ce-bnust as a reduplicated form.

2) The Umbr.-Osc. ending -e-d is odd as compared with forms like f-nst, where the short vowel of the last syllable is syncopated (I § 633 p. 474). Whether the law of syncopation allowed certain exceptions in the case of a final dental (say, depending on what the preceding syllable was, or the accent), or whether -e- in this -e-d is due to some analogy, I do not here discuss.
Of the endings of the perfect indicative, these belonged to the perfect in Idg.: Lat. -e in the 1st sing. = Skr. -ś; -ēt which fused with the aorist element -is- made the 2nd sing. (Skr. -tha § 988. 3); and -imus in tutud-imus vēn-imus may be equated with Skr. -i-mā, Avest. -ama Gr. -auev Goth. -um (steti-mus = Gr. i-στη-μα Skr. ta-sīhi-mā?). To the is-aorist belongs Lat. 2nd pl. -ist-is, also -is-tē in 2nd sing. (see above), and possibly -ērunt in the 3rd plural. To the thematic aorist belong Lat. 3rd sing. -i-t, earlier -e-d (vhehaked), whose agreement with Umbr.-Samm. -e-d is most important (the -e of the 3rd sing. perf. Idg. must doubtless have given place to -e-d = Idg. -e-t completely in pr. Italic), and partly -i-mus in the 1st plural. The 3rd pl. Umbr.-Samm. -ens and Lat. -ērunt are ambiguous.

The precise way by which this fusion of different endings came about is not clear; nor will it be made clear so long as the 3rd singular and 3rd plural are the only endings we know in Umbro-Samnitic dialects (as to Osc. manafum, see § 874). Thus much only seems certain, that as early as proto-Italic some thematic forms had joined on to the old perfect system; cf. Lat. de-d-i-t Osc. de-d-e-d beside Lat. de-d-i, pe-pig-i-t beside pe-pig-i-

Beside -e-d = Idg. -e-t, Latin has also -ēd -ēt, on inscriptions -eit, as fuueit redieit. Since interieisti also occurs on inscriptions, the simplest explanation is that the ἳ came from the 1st sing. which had -i.

Remark. Bartholomae (Stud. idg. Spr., II 195) derives fuit from Idg. *bheuy-i-t or *bhau-i-t, which seems to me very far-fetched. I identify fuit with Skr. ā-bhūv-a-t (Osc. conj. fuit for *bhau-i-t § 872), and I regard fāt (Ennius has fāimus) as a re-formate like plāt (cf. Osthoff, Perf. 254 f.).

§ 868. The Idg. e of the reduplicating syllable seems to have been kept without change in prothetic Italic. Compare O.Lat. vhe-haked 'feci' Osc. fe-facid 'fecerit', Lat. de-dē Osc. de-dēd Umbr. fe-re, Lat. me-mordē pe-pugi ste-tē, Umbr. de-ricust 'dixerit' pe-purkurent 'poposcerint, rogaverint'.
But Latin, if the vowel of the syllable which followed the reduplicator was the same as that of its present stem, assimilated this e to it; as mo-mordē : mordeō, cu-currē : currō, pu-purgā : pungō, sci-cidē : scindō, di-dicē : discō, sti-tī : sistō; whilst in Old Latin we still find the regular forms me-mordē pe-purgā etc. (see above). Compare Skr. u-vāc-a instead of va-vāc-a following uc-yā-te uktā-s and the like, § 851 p. 400. However, e remained if the vowel of the next syllable, and the present vowel, were of the e-kind; as pendī : pendō pendēō, pe-pēdī : pēdō; and the same if it differed from the present vowel, as ce-cinī : canō, ce-cidē : cadō, pepulī : pellō, pe-perī : parīō, ste-tī : stō stūs etc.

In compounds four syllables long (in the 1st and 3rd singular), the reduplicator underwent syncope in proethnic Latin, as a consequence of the accentuation then given to the first member; as reppulī rettulī reccidī for *re-pepulī *re-tetulī *re-cecidī, dēcidī attīgī incurrī for *dē-cecidī *dī-tetigī *in-cecurrī (I § 633 p. 474).

That both reduplicated and unreuplicated forms occurred in pr. Italic within the perfect system of the same verb is shown by O.Lat. vhe-vhaked Osc. fe-facust as compared with Lat. fēcī Umbr. fakust. Compare further Lat. sci-cidē and scidē, te-tulī and tultī, Umbr. de-rsicust and Osc. dicust, Lat. ce-cinī and Umbr. pro-canurent. Thus we have no right to assume that Lat. tultī was abstracted from compounds in which the reduplicator had suffered syncope, as in rettulī attulī. When a form has only survived in compounds, as -culī (per-culī), it is impossible to say whether it never was reduplicated or whether syncope has hidden the reduplication.

This loss of reduplication in Latin compounds helped to link reduplicated and unreuplicated forms all the closer.

Beside Lat. abs-condītī (from abs-condō) the form abs-condī sprang up on the analogy of scandīt : scandō, since condō in this word joined with abs had ceased to be regarded as a compound; op. abscōnsum beside absconditum. On the contrary, condītī:
condō, crēdī : crēdō and the like gave rise to perf. descendit
beside descendē.

As regards verbs with initial vowel, such forms as Skr. 
ān-ās-a (§ 851 p. 401) and Gr. ὄψ-ως-α (§ 858 p. 408) were
foreign to Italic. Lat. ēd-i ēm-i (from ed-ō em-ō), as well as
sēd-i sēn-i, ēg-i co-ēpt coept (from ag-ō ap-iō), as well as cēp-i
cēg-i, ōd-i (od-iō), as well as fōd-i, may be regarded as forms
which never had any reduplication at all. See § 848 p. 393 f.,
§ 870.

§ 869. Of the old Ablaut in the Root Syllable of the
Perfect little trace is left.

The reason for the variants tutūdī and tutūdē is doubtless
a difference of ablaut, such as we see in Skr. tu-tōd-ā tu-tūd-ūr
(op. also Goth. stāl-stāut); then tu-tūd- will come from *tu-taud-,
as in-claudō for *in-claudō.

The o-grade of the sing. indic. appears in spoondō totondī,
which had run into one verbal system with the ējo-presents
spondeō tondeō (§ 802 p. 338). spoond-imus instead of *spe-
pend- like Gr. πεννθ-αμεν instead of πε-παθ- (part. πεπαθνία).
momord- in momordī momordimus (pres. mordeō like spondeō)
may be both Idg. *me-mord- and *me-myd- (Skr. ma-mard-ā
ma-myd-ur). Similarly, we have cu-curri from currō for *corsī
*kṣrō (§ 662 p. 197). Umbr. pepurkurent from √prek- may
like des-ric-ust contain the weak stem (*pe-pret-), although
persklum persnīmū, which have changed the position of r
(§ 674 p. 207), suggest some doubt.

Strong and Weak forms may be found, again, in memini
tetini pepuli tetuli (memin-i-mus tetul-i-mus: Gr. μεμα-μεν
tίτλα-μεν, as Skr. jagm-i-ma : jagan-ma Gr. βέβλα-μεν, and as
Skr. jagm-i-vaś- : jagan-vaś-); only the weak form in pepigi
for *pepaggi (but Gr. πέττης) tētī ēcūlī. But it is doubtful
how far we are to look for the origin of these perfects in old
reduplicated aorists (§ 867. 7 p. 415).

Doubtless it is the weak stem in Osc. fēfacust beside Lat.
fētī from √dhē-. The a of Lat. vherhaked is difficult.
Remark. If it is short, this seems to prove that at the time of the Manios inscription (attributed to the 2nd century B.C.) the weakening of *pépɔɣi to *pépɔɣi and the like (I § 680 p. 547) had not yet been completed. But hear what Bücheler says (Rhein. Mus. xlii 317): “After the second ά the carver first put ī, which he afterwards erased, though not so completely but that the intent is clear”. Again, p. 318: “The quantity of the ā is not known. What we know of the reduplicated perfects which are preserved in Latin, makes it likely that the ā was short. Possibly this is the reason of the ī which was first engraved (como cecini, infacetus infectus). If this ī is rightly so explained, and if the ā put in on second thoughts was short, it must be a reversion to the old type on the analogy of faciō etc. (as with in-facētus); but such a reversion in the perfect is hardly credible. If ā was meant, it must be assumed that *fēfāk- was made in connexion with *fēfāk- *fēfāk- on the analogy of some such form as *pēpāy- (beside weak *pēpāy- *pēpāy-). — We may now refer to Buck, Der Vocalismus der oks. Spr., 26 f.

The weak stem (regular) in Lat. de-d-i = Skr. da-d-ē (cp. tu-tud-i = Skr. tu-tud-ē) and in Umbr. te-ī-ust ‘dederit’ = Skr. da-d-uś- (cp. de-rsic-uṣt = Skr. di-dīś-uś-), also Lat. ste-t-i = Skr. ta-sth-ē. The form *de-d-e-d, common to all Italic dialects, and Lat. ste-t-i-t, correspond exactly to the present forms Vestin. di-d-e-t ‘dat’ Lat. si-st-ō Umbr. setstu § 543 p. 103, § 553 p. 107. Uncertain it is whether Lat. sistimus is *si-sta-mos answering to Gr. ἵ-στα-μεν, and it is equally uncertain whether ste-ti-mus de-di-mus are *ste-ta-mos *de-da-mos precisely like Skr. ta-sthi-mā Gr. ἵ-στα-μεν Skr. da-di-mā.

§ 870. A word of explanation is needed on those reduplicated perfects which have ē where the present has an a-sound. Lat. fēcī (beside vhenkadek): faciō, capiō: capiō (cp. Goth. hōf), jēcī: jaciō, pēgī (beside pepīt Gr. Dur. πιναγε): pangō, frēgī: frangō; Osc. conj. hipid ‘habuerit’ fut. perf. hipust ‘habuerit’: hāfīest ‘habebi’, sipus ‘sciens’: Lat. capīō (cp. O.H.G. int-suab). With initial vowel Lat. ẹ̄gī: agō (cp. O.Icel. ǫk), co-ĕpī coepī: capiō. ē is certainly original in fēcī,1) compare Gr. ἵ-στα-μα (§ 864 Rem. p. 412), and doubtless

in *frēgī, compare Goth. brēkum from *bhreg- (on frango see § 632 p. 168), and perhaps *feči (Johansson, Beitr. gr. Spr. 61). Beginning with these forms, ē spread to those which originally had ā; in the causing of which not only the present with ā, but also the to-participle had some effect, captu-s for example being like factu-s; the reason why scabī (= Goth. skōþ) remained, from scabō, whilst *cāpī (= Goth. hōþ) changed to cēpī, was perhaps the lack of any participle *scaptu-s. It was natural, too, to make pēgī like frēgī, simply because the verbs had opposite meanings.


Lat. pre-hendī from -hendō from vē-ghed-, lambō beside O.H.G. laffu, pandī from pandō beside pateō (§ 632 p. 168 f.). cūdī from cū-dō (§ 696 p. 225). Osc. comparascuster 'consultus erit' beside Lat. -pescō for *perc-scō or *parc-scō (§ 674 p. 207). Umbr. eiscurent 'poposcerint, arcessierint' beside pres. Skr. ichā-ti etc. (§ 670 p. 203). If Bugge's explanation of the Osc. fut. perf. fifikus as 'feceris' is right (Altital. Stud. 31), we must allow Oscan a present stem *fi-fēk-(o-), showing the same reduplication as Gr. vi-θη-μ, and to be compared with Vestin. di-d-e-t 'dat' Lat. si-stī etc. (§ 553 p. 107); cp. Skr. part. vivak-vās- from pres. vi-vak-ti (§ 850 p. 398).

minuī sternuī (pres. mi-nuō ster-nuō § 649 p. 185) keep the present stem in the perfect; this being due to imitation of ex-uit : ex-uitō, pluī : pluō and the like. The same is true of perf. statuī from the denominative statuō.

§ 872. The Moōds of the Idg. perfect, and its preterite the Pluperfect, died out in Latin owing to the influx of sigmatic aorist forms into the perfect system. Still, mementō = Gr. μεμινθω remains, because memini was used as as a perfect present.
Umbro-Samnite has an ē-conjunctive (§ 926 c). Osc. *fesacid 'fecerit' *hipid 'habuerit' *fuid 'fuereit', Umbr. *stili-steteiens 'stiterint'. From the f-Perfect Osc. sakrafr 'sacaverint', Umbr. *piafai = *piahafēr 'piaverint', from the t-Perfect, Osc. *tribarakattins 'aedificaverint'. This Conjunctive may be derived from either conj. of the Idg. perfect (cp. Gr. παράβαινειν, Skr. parrēśa) or conj. of the thematic aorist (Osc. *fuid = Skr. bhuv-a-t).

In the same area, the Idg. yēs-participle held its own. Osc. sipus 'sapiens' probably like nom. sing. Skr. vidūs Avest. vīduś (II § 136 p. 439 f., III § 193 p. 73). From this form was built up the future perfect (cp. W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 272 f., the Author, Ber. sächs. Ges. Wiss., 1890, pp. 223 ff.), by combining it with injunctives, used for future, of the stem s-o- (from es- 'esse'). 2nd sing. -us = *-us-sēs, 3rd sing. -ust = *-us-set (*-us-seṇ): Umbr. kuvurtuṣ 'converteris' dersicust 'dixerit', Osc. *fesacust 'fecerit'. Osc. *fust 'fuereit' (beside *fu 'erit') for *fu-ust from conj. *fuid. If this *fu-ust *fust existed in Umbrian too, this explains the form amprefuus 'circumieris' (beside apr-etu 'circumito')1), which will be due to analogy of it. On the analogy of the 1st future, where -xent is the ending of the 3rd pl., — as Osc. censawet 'censebunt' Umbr. furent 'erunt', — arose the plurals Osc. *tribarakattuset 'aedificaverint' Umbr. pepurkurent 'poposcerint'. But we also find Umbr. covortuso 'conversum erit, converterint' for *covortus so(r), benuso 'ventum erit, venerint' for *benus so(r).

§ 873. The *us-formation mentioned in the last section was used with other preterite participles besides those described.

1) The *us is doubtless long in Osc. *tribarakattuset too; if it had been short, we should expect *tribarakattiuset (I § 49 p. 41). I assume the same analogy here. — G. Bronsche, in his new work on the Osc. i- and e-vowels, regards the nominative ending -us as earlier *-os for *-uōs, and supports his view by amprefuus and *tribarakattuset.

Umbr. *sesust* ‘sederit’ from *sesso-s s ‘seated, sitting’ (Skr. sattā-s). So too the Osc. t-preterite, which we must follow Danielsson in connecting with the to-participles, is derived from the fut. perf. in -t-us-. First arose forms like tribarakattuset from partic. trībarakato-. On the analogy of *aamanafust* to ind. aamanaffed etc. arose such Indicatives as prūfattet ‘probavit’ and Conjunctives like trībarakkattīns. The same new formation is seen in Pelign. coisatens ‘curaverunt’ and in Volsk. sistatiens ‘statuerunt’ = *sistatēns*. The frequent spelling with double t in Oscan is the same in principle as ũ in the f-perfect; it is possible that it is entirely due to the analogy of the f-perfect, which was the model for the whole t-perfect system (§ 874).

Remark. In Umbr.-Oscan, as we shall see in § 874, the ë-denominatives can make a strong perfect. It may therefore be held that as the perfect prūffet was made for the present stem profāt- ‘probare’, so the perfect prūfattet was made for *profātā- ‘probatare’. But I prefer the explanation given above, so long as no forms are found from a stem *profātē or anything like it.

An origin similar to that of these future perfects must be postulated for Umbr. combifianšiust beside combifiatu ‘nuntiato’, purdinšiust ‘perrexerit’ beside pur-ditom porrectum, which presuppose noun-stems *combifiankio- *purdinkio- (see Johansson, Beitr. z. gr. Sprachk., 84 ff., 147 ff.).

§ 874. We pause a moment here to explain the origin of the f-perfect in this Umbro-Samnitic. Examples are: indic. Osc. aamanaffed ‘mandavit’ aifkafed *aequidavit*, Osc. manafum, which may be 1st sing. (‘mandavi’) or 1st pl. (‘mandavimus’), it is uncertain which; conj. Umbr. pihafei(r) ‘piaverint’ Osc. sakrafir ‘sacraverint’; fut. perf. Umbr. aterafust andirsafust circumtulerit ambrefurent ‘circumierint’.

This formation belongs to the Italic imperfect compounded with *bhū-a-m ‘I was’ (Lat. amā-bam Osc. fu-fans ‘erant’) and
the Latin future compounded with *bh₃-∅ 'I shall be' (ama-∅∅), found also in Keltic (§ 809); the Umbr.-Sann. -fed is indic. aor. = Idg. *bh₃-e-t (Avest. bœ-∅), cp. Lat. fuit Osc. conj. fuid, to be connected with Skr. a-bhuv-a-t (§ 867.5 p. 414). If Osc. mana-fum is 1st sing., its second part must be = Idg. *bh₃-o-m. In the ff of Oscan, as aamanafft, we should perhaps recognise another effect of the y which once followed f. But it is possible to explain the sharpening of the consonant if we take as our starting point f (for fy); see Danielsson, Pauli's Altit. Stud. iv 139 ff. For the Umbr.-Sann. conjunctive stem -fē- = *fy-e- may be equated with O.C.Sl. bē (§ 578 p. 119, § 587 p. 128).

The attraction of these forms into the Perfect called up a future perfect with -us-. Umbr. ampl-e-fuus shows that the u was long; and this may be explained as due to the analogy of the fut. perf. *fast = Osc. fust for *fu-usṭ (§ 872 p. 420 f.).

No complete explanation has been given for the forms Umbr. portust 'portaverit' beside portatu 'portato', Osc. uṣesed 'operatus est' 3rd pl. uṣensens ouṇaṇm 'operandam', pruﬄed 'probavit' pruľtū-set 'probata sunt' beside pruﬄatted 'probavit', urust 'oraverit'. They look as though formed after the fashion of primary a-verbs with strong perfect. Umbro-Sannitic perhaps had, as Latin had, primary a-verbs with strong perfect (ep. āvāre āvēr § 583 p. 124); and thus the a-denominatives may have followed their inflexion in some particulars, as in late Latin we meet forms like part. probitus or imper. produntō from prodāre (see Georges, Lex. Lat. Wortf., 556).

§ 876. We now return to Latin, in order to finish with the perfect in -vē and -uē, as i-vē sae-vē sē-vē ple-vē nō-vē fid-vē fini-vē amā-vē and genui texit crepuit monuī salui.

Of the attempts hitherto made to explain these, which are summarised by Stolz, Lat. Gr.² 370 f., and more fully by Per Persson, Wurzelerw. 210 (Ernault, Du Parfait, 63 and 92 f. should also be consulted), the simplest and most credible is the
following. The analogy of mō-tu-s (Umbr. comoho-ta abl. 'commota') jū-tu-s: mōv-ī jūv-ī, and the like, suggested (1) plevī nōvī amāvī beside plevī-s nōtu-s amātu-s etc., to which were added sēvī sīvī etc.; and (2) e.g. *gene-ūī beside *gene-to-s (genitus), which became genuī. 1) Between genuī and flāvī, then, there would be the same relation as between Gr. ὁμογενες and ἐνδραχα.

The reason why mōvī jūvī had this influence, in spite of their present moved jūvō, is the specially close connexion between the to-participle and the perfect active; mōtus sun being the passive of mōvī. The Gr. τηθυκα δέονκα etc., it will be remembered, caused the x-type of perfect to spread (as βέβηκα ἐγνωκα), in spite of their connexion with the aorist ἔθηκα ἔδωκα, which themselves were not fertile.

Remark. We must assume that nōv-ī goes along with Skr. ju-fūdū, nāv-ī with Skr. snāv-tī, and sēv-ī with Goth. snēv-um. The old part. perf. active has also been brought in evidence, and sēvistis derived from *sē-vo ste, sēvimus from *sēve smos (though *sēve-smos could regularly only become *sēve-emus); and others have connected genuī with in-genuo-s, sēvī with dē-sivāre, and so forth.

The forms in -vī and -uī, like all perfect forms not based upon the is-aorist, were attracted to take the endings of this tense in the other persons: nōvistī nōvistis genuistī genuistis nōverū genuerū nōverim genuerim nōveram genuēram nōvissēm genuissem.

A few original s-perfects were transformed to match genuī: pēxuī nēxuī instead of pēxī nēxī (§ 823 p. 361) from pectō nectō (§ 683 p. 214 f.), messuī instead of *messī from metō.

Keltic.

§ 876. Outside of Irish, few survivals remain of the Idg. perfect. Gall. dede 'dedit' or 'posuit', Mid.Cymr. cigleif 'audivi' = O.Ir. ro chual.  

1) Beside pōnū for *po-s(i)nū stood po-sīvī and since po-sītu-s was incorrectly analysed po-sītu-s, there arose the other Perfect form posuī. See Osthoff, Perf., 261 and 611 f.
Of Irish examples, we have already cited, and compared with perfect forms from other Idg. languages in § 846, the following: do-ro-chair 'cecidit, periit', ro gēnar 'natus sum', do-mēnar 'putavi', ro gegan 'interfeci', ro lii 'adhaesit' 3rd pl. ro leddar, ro chual 'audivi', ro bói 'fuit', ad-con-dairc 'consipexit', do-roigu 'elegit', ro cechan 'cecini'; in § 847 in-chom-arc-air 'interrogavit', in § 849 ro tabch 'fugit' 3rd pl. ro tabcharar.

To these examples a few more may be added which show the reduplication either retained, or changed only in accordance with the phonetic rules. ro reraig 'porrexit' for *re-rog-e, pres. rigim, √reg-: cp. O.Icel. rak. ro memaid 'he broke' (intr.) 3rd pl. ro me-md-atur, pres. moidim. ro de-daig 'oppressit' 3rd pl. ro de-dg-atar, pres. for-deng 'opprimunt'. fris-racacha 'speravi', pres. ad-chiu 'I see'. ro selag 'he struck down' i.e. se-slaig, pres. sligim: cp. Goth. slōh § 888. ro cechiadar 'suffoderunt', pres. -cladar 'he is buried'. ro sscaind 'he sprang', pres. Mid.Ir. scinnim: Skr. ca-skänd-a 'he sprang'; on the vocalism of this root see § 520 p. 84. ro sscain 'he leapt out', pres. Mid.Ir. scingim. Mid.Ir. ro leblaiing 'he leapt' instead of *lelaing beside pres. lingim, O.Ir. lengaim (R. Schmidt, Idg. Forsch. 1 48 f.). ro cchain 'he stepped', pres. cengaim.

The perfects fo nenaig 'he cleansed' and ro senaich 'it dropped, trickled' beside pres. nigim √neig- and snigid √sneigh-, may be derived from *-nenoige *-sesnoige, as nothing certain is known of the treatment of oi in internal syllables. But perhaps they are modelled after perfects like reraig, cp. Goth. baג from bidja § 722 p. 253.

Mid.Ir. ro-fiu 'he slept', not from √syep-, but, as Thurneysen holds, from √yes- (Skr. vas- 'to pass the night' perf. u-vas-a), therefore for *ye-yo(ε)-e, which became first *fi-ui, 3rd pl. -feotor for *ye-yo(ε)-atar; cp. feiss 'sleep'. Observe the analogical e of the reduplicator, for by I § 66 p. 54 f. *neyos- must have become *nios-.

§ 877. Perfects based upon presents with stem-characteristic (cp. § 847). in-roigrann 'I pursued' beside

ad-gēn ‘cognovi’ 3rd sing. -genin 1st pl. -gēnamin 3rd pl. -gēnatar comes from the Idg. perfect *ge-gn-ō- (Skr. jajñāū Gr. ἰγνωκα ἰγνωσκω, also perhaps Goth. *kaš-kno, see p. 128 footnote 1), from √gen-. The plural may be derived at once from this ground-form. The 1st and 3rd sing., which point to *ge-gn-a and *ge-gn-e, are later re-formates. Compare in Sanskrit the forms jajñimā jajñivās- beside jajñāū etc. (§ 850 p. 396).

§ 878. The syllable of reduplication usually has the vowel e quite clear; e. g. ro ge-gon ge-guin like Gr. ηέ-κςκα, ro ce-chan ce-chuin like Lat. ce-cinē.

By dissimilation, the initial consonant of the unaccented reduplicating syllable was dropt after ro, after which the e-vowel of this syllable was contracted with ro into the genuine diphthong oi (I p. 483 footnote 1). Of the examples already given do-roigu for *-rō-gegu, and in-roigrann, come in here. Others are for-roichan beside ro cechan, fo-roiblang beside ro leblang, arōb-roinasc beside ro nenasc, fo-roichlaid beside ro cechladatar.

By a process of re-formation which cannot now be traced exactly we have u in the reduplicator of ro chualā, for *cu- -clau-a; the Mid.Cymr. ci-gleif (3rd sing. ci-gley) gives no help in determining the age of Ir. cu-, because its ci- admits of more than one explanation. In Irish, i seems also to have been used in reduplicating i-roots: ro il ‘adhaesit’ pres. lenim √lei-, ro giuil adhaesit’ pres. glenim √glei-, do-rad-chiuir ‘redemit’ 1st sing. -chēr pres. crenim √grei- (§ 598 p. 142, § 604 p. 145). The last attempts to deal with this difficult group of perfect forms are those of Thurneysen, Kuhn’s Zeitschr. xxxi 89, and R. Schmidt, Idg. Forsch. i 62 f.1) The forms which must be

1) Thurneysen informs me that he does not back his explanation against R. Schmidt’s, which he recognises as being right in all essentials.
postulated as those which just preceded show the personal ending affixed immediately to the root-final consonant: 3rd sing. *li-le *gi-gl-e *ki-kr-e, 1st sing. *ki-kr-a (-cher) 3rd pl. *li-lontor (leldar). And again the perfect of renim 'I sell' (for *pr-na-mi from √per-, § 598 p. 141) shows this perfect formation, 3rd sing. ro rir = *pi-pr-e (this first becomes *ir, instead of which we get rir by § 476 p. 23), whilst what one would expect is *reir = *pe-pr-e (with strong stem *pe-por-e). R. Schmidt conjectures that this *pe-pr-e and *li-lo(i)-e etc., the present formation being the same for both, became *pi-pre and *li-le by mutual analogy. Is it not better to suppose that -rir is based upon a reduplicated preterite *pi-pr-e-t, in Class IV? In Thurneysen's opinion the Conjunctive of this present class is represented in futures like do-bër (§ 565 p. 112), and we shall see anon (in § 879) that some of the Keltic perfects probably come from a thematic preterite (aorist or imperfect). -ciuir too may be derived from *qi-gr-e-t, as the "root" grei-, it may be conjectured, is possibly an extension of ger- 'make'. 1) If this be the origin of -rir (and -ciuir), the difficulty of -lid and the rest at once vanishes.

t-anac 'I came' 3rd sing. t-anaic beside Skr. anáSa, also to be compared with Gr. ἐν ἑνεκαίρει, if ἐν- is the preposition and not a reduplicator. See § 846 p. 390, § 858 p. 408.

§ 879. Beside the reduplicated forms appear unreduplicated not a few. To those already cited, do-ro-chair, ro böi, ad-con-daire, im-chom-arc-air, ro tach, we may add 3rd sing. ro scaich beside scuchim 'I yield', ro gaid beside gudim 'I beg', 1st sing. fo-ro-damar for -damar beside fo-daim 'patitur', 3rd sing. du-fu-tharcair 'wishes'.

There is no proof that these forms have lost a reduplicating syllable in Keltic itself. Like ro-mudar (§ 848.3 p. 393), they

1) See Per Persson, Wurzelerweiterung p. 108 (where Ir. taid-chur 'redemptio' must be struck out; as I learn from Thurneysen, the word rather means 'return').
are forms which never had reduplication; -dairc may be compared with Skr. *daṁś-i-vas- (§ 848.2 p. 392)."

Unfortunately there is nothing to decide whether in the plural of the Irish perfect, in such forms as *ro cechnammar cechnait ear, the vowel preceding the personal ending was the thematic vowel, or Idg. æ (= pr.Kelt. a); in the 1st plural another question offers, whether a does not come from the initial sonant of the personal ending (-um-). If, as is most probable, these are thematic, there may have been thematic preterites amongst the above unreduplicated forms, and -dairc, for instance, may be identical with Gr. ἰδώκας, ὄι with Skr. abhāvat; do-cer 'cecidit' too, beside do-ro-chair, gives the impression of such a preterite. Compare the aorist forms which have obtained a footing in the Latin Perfect, e.g. scidit = Skr. áchidat (§ 867.5 p. 414). In § 878 p. 427. I conjectured that -vir was a reduplicated thematic aorist. In the 3rd singular, the original endings *-e (perf.) and *-e-t (thematic pret.) must have run together in Irish; so in the 1st plural with -e-m- (Skr. -i-ma), -um- (Goth. -um), and -o-m-; and this may have brought about commingling of the different tenses.

§ 880. Of the Idg. vowel gradation in the Root Syllable little now remains. Within the indic. active, the differences of gradation between singular and plural were all levelled away in Old Irish; e.g. 3rd sing. *ro gequim 'vulneravit, trucidavit' for *gegon-ε (Skr. jaghān-ā) 2nd pl. *ro gegnaid for *gegon- (Skr. jaghn-ā). But the original middle shows in some forms the weak stem proper to it; e.g. *ro gēnār 'natus sum' for *ge-gn-, like Skr. ja-jā-ē.

The vocalism of some forms is exceptional: *ro taích beside techim 'I flee', *ro rāith beside retim 'I run', op. *ro scāich beside scuchim, *ro gāid beside gudim. Except *ro mīdar, all unreduplicated preterites with roots having a single initial consonant show -a-.
§ 881. One thing yet remains to say of the personal endings. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> plural have a deponent formation (-ammər and -atər).

Germanic.


Whether the ending of the 1<sup>st</sup> pl. indic. -un represents Idg. -un, or is due to the analogy of 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. -un and was originally Idg. -um or -əum, is doubtful; see § 844 p. 385 f.

Besides the indic. perf., the Optative is seen in Germanic; e.g. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. Goth. vit-ei-ma O.H.G. wigg-i-mēs, Goth. skai-skaiθ-
Then there is one isolated Conjunctive form, used as an imperative, Goth. ōg 'fear thou' (beside indic. ōg 'he fears'), and a few substantives based upon the Participle, as Goth. bër-us-jös 'parents' and A.S. ēgesa ēgesa O.Sax. ēsca 'owner' (II § 136 p. 445, Johanss. Beitr. zur griech. Sprachkunde, 134).

The Germanic Perfect falls into two divisions, (I) Reduplicated and (II) Unreuplicated.

§ 583. (I) The reduplicating syllable of the Idg. reduplicated perfect is kept clear and true in Gothic; but this only by roots which as far as Germanic is concerned do not belong to the e-series.\(^1\)

All Gothic reduplicating syllables have at, which is regular for i = Idg. e before h and r.; e. g. hat-hait rai-ripast (I § 67 p. 58). Beginning with those cases where it was regular, at spread to the rest by analogy; hence skai-skai̯pa; which regularly would be *ski-skai̯pa. As regards Johansson's view that Goth. at is to be read as a long vowel, see Addendum to page 17.

The fact that the analogy of at really did so act is clear from the new forms at-duk (= O.Icel. jök § 885) beside áuka 'I increase', and af-aláik beside af-dika 'I deny, refuse' (§ 473 p. 19).

The root syllable of these reduplicated forms is always the same in the plural as in the singular; the strong grade of the singular has become general. skai-skai̯pa skai-skai̯pa: Skr. ci-chëda ci-chëdur, √skhai̯t- skhajd-. staï-staïnt staï-staïntun: Skr. tu-tëda tu-etuđar, √(s)taïd-. faï-fëok 'he lamented' faï-fëokun: Gr. Dor. ën-plajë, pres. ëoka Class II A in contrast with Lith. plakû Class II B, √plaj- plaj- (§ 534 p. 96). sai-sō 'sowed' sai-sëun: Gr. Dor. ëpëna, pres. saia for *së-ì̯o, cp. Gr. ë-të, √së- së-; saisëun, like laïlonn 'they abused',

\(^1\) "As far as Germanic is concerned", because the analogy of these attracted into the same group some others which in the parent language did have e-vocalism; for instance, Goth. valsetd beside valda 'I rule' for *wïdþo from √yel-.
also shows itself not to be in its original form by the ending -un, taken over from the stems which had initial consonant. lai-löt 'let' lai-lötun, pres. löt, V löt- (§ 521 p. 85).

§ 884. This Gothic reduplicated Perfect was also formed from extended roots, or from presents with some stem-characteristic (cp. §§ 847, 889, 891).

vai-vō 'blew': Skr. va-vāu from y-ē- 'to blow', pres. vaia = yē-tō (§ 587 p. 128, § 735 p. 262).


§ 885. In West Germanic and Norse there are only a few distinct traces of the reduplicated type. The most important forms for our purpose are the following.

First some Anglo-Saxon forms, as reo-rd = Goth. ræt-rōþ, (leo-rd = læt-lōt), leo-lc 'he leapt' = læt-lāik with long vowel lost in the find syllable, as it is in hwylc 'which'? swylyc 'such' = Goth. hwyleiks sveleiks.

More uncertain are some forms which Bopp regarded as reduplicated. O.H.G. Alemann. 3rd pl. ind. pleruggun 3rd sing. opt. ca-pleruggi beside pres. binozu 'I offer', 3rd sing. ind. ki-skrorot beside pres. scrōtu 'I cut' (= Goth. *skrōda), 3rd sing. ind. sterug beside pres. stōzu 'I knock, push'. According to Holz (Urgermanisches geschlossenes 2, p. 28) *skro-skroð- became *skru-skroð-, *skre-skroð-, *be-bloþ- became *be-bloþ- *be-lōt- *blorot-; this, he says, produced a perfect type with r, whence *steroð- instead of *ste-stōð-. A different view is taken by Zarncke, P.-B. Beitr. xv 350 ff.; but his is more dubious even than that of Holz.
O. Icel. *sera* 'I sowed' for *se-zó-* = Goth. *saí-zó*; *sera* is inflected as a weak preterite in the singular (as is Goth. 2\textsuperscript{nd} sing. *saisóst* perhaps from *saisós*); in the plural, *serom*. O. Icel. *jök* 'I increased' (pl. *jökóm*) for *eauka* = Goth. *ai-áuk* (§ 883 p. 430).

In these dialects we usually find, parallel to the Gothic reduplicated perfect, forms whose structure is apparently different; on which works have been brought out of late by Ljungstedt, Ottmann and Holz, whose titles are given in the footnote to page 383.\(^1\) The facts about O.H.G. are as follows:

1. Verbs with *ou* or *ó* = Goth. *óu* in the present, and verbs with present *uo* = Goth. *ó*, have, instead of the Gothic dissyllabic reduplicated stem, a monosyllabic stem with *ó*, whence *io ia ie*. *leof* *liof* *liaf* *lief* 'I ran' *leofun* *liofun* from pres. *loufu*: Goth. *hai-hláup* *hai-hláupun*. *stig* 'I pushed, knocked' *stigun* from pres. *stogu*: Goth. *stai-stáut* *stai-stáutun*. (b) *riof* 'I called' (h) *riofun* from *hrufu*.

2. The others, instead of the Gothic dissyllabic reduplicated stem, show a monosyllabic stem with *ó*, which becomes *ea ia ie* (I § 75 Rem. 2 p. 65):

(a) *hiog* 'I was called' *hiogun* from pres. *heigu*: Goth. *hai-háit* *hai-háitun*. *sciad* 'separated' from *sceidu*: Goth. *skai-skáip*.

(b) *fióld* 'folded' *fióldun* from pres. *fáldu*: Goth. *faí-falp* *fai-falpun*. *hialt* 'held' from *haltu*: Goth. *hai-hald*. *wialt* 'rules' from *waltu*: Goth. *wai-vald*. *sialz* 'salted' from *salz*: Goth. *sai-salt*. *fiang* 'seized' *fiangun* from *fáhu*: Goth. *fai-fáh* *fai-fáhun*; the difference between the Gothic and Old High German, *h* : *g*, is explained by remembering that in accordance with the old difference in accent, the singular came to have *k* and the plural *g* (op. § 882 p. 429). *fial* 'fell' from *fallu* for *fai-nó*, *wial* 'bubbled, boiled'

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\(^1\) On Holz' attempt, see Holthausen, Anzeig. deutsch. Altert., 1891, p. 187; and Sievers, Paul-Braune-Sievers Beitr., xvi 252 ff. Ljungstedt's work is not accessible to me; his views are only known to me by reviews and citations.
wialun from wallu for *yal-nō, see § 614 p. 151; i for ll because a long vowel precedes. spian 'I stretched' spiamun from spā-nnu, see § 654 p. 188; n for nn has the same reason. iar 'ploughed' iarun (part. gi-aran) from er-iu 'I plough' (the perf. of Goth. arja is not found), see § 723 p. 253.

c (c) liag 'I let' liagun from lažu: Goth. lai-lōt lai-lōtun. riat 'I advised' from rātu: Goth. rai-rōp. sliaf 'slept' from slāfu contrasted with Goth. sai-zlēp sai-zlēp pres. slēpa.

Remark. sæu 'I sow' passed over to the weak conjugation; hence pret. sæa (part. gi-sāi'i), not like Goth. sai-sō. See Braune, Ahd. Gr.* § 351 Anm. 3 p. 249, § 359 Anm. 3 p. 254.

There can hardly be a shadow of doubt that some at least of these perfect formations, which are repeated to a great extent in the other West Germanic dialects and in Norse, have come from reduplicated forms such as we see in Gothic. But how this happened has not yet been clearly made out. The eo-preterite has been best explained, if explained be the word. It is probable that the type of this group arose from verbs which began with au-: 1st sing. *ē-auka (Goth. aďük) became *ēoka *eoka (O. Icel. jōk); then on the analogy of *eoka beside pres. *aũkō was formed beside *hlaupō the perf. *hleoša 'I run' (O.H.G. leof O. Icel. hljōp); and so forth.

Ljungstedt regards this whole perfect class as being composed partly of Idg. reduplicated perfects, and partly of aorists and imperfects; for instance, he calls O. Icel. kom 'I came' (beside kvam Goth. qam) an original aorist.

§ 886. Perhaps the West-Germ. preterite of V dēhē 'to place, do' is a reduplicated perfect: O.H.G. indic. 1st and 3rd sing. tēta (2nd sing. tātī) pl. tātum tātut tātun opt. 1st and 3rd sing. tātī; O.Sax. 1st and 3rd sing. deda 2nd sing. dedōs pl. dedun and dadun opt. dedi and dādi; A.S. dyde dydes(t) etc. like nerede, but pl. also dōdun.

It is not clear whether this preterite is to be connected with the Idg. perfect (Skr. dadhāti), or the Idg. imperfect (Skr. ādadhāt Gr. ἁδηθή, see § 539 p. 99, § 545 p. 103), or both. In any case, however, there can be no comparing of the

The *y of A.S. *dyde is difficult. Sievers deduces an opt. *du-d-y- (Paul-Braune-Sievers’ Beitr., xvi 236). This would bring us to a weak preterite from a stem *du-, as to which consult Wilmanns, Zeitschr. für d. Alt., xxxiii 425.

*ded- in the weak forms seems to be connected with -dedum in the Gothic weak preterite. To explain how it got there, the following theory is less strained than others. We may suppose that Germanic once had a present answering to the Skr. *dā-dh-a-ti Lith. *de-d-ū (§ 540 p. 101, § 561 p. 110); then tātum was an ad-formate of *gābīm etc. The suggestions of Johansson (Kuhn’s Ztschr. xxx 550) and Holz (as cited, 44) are unsatisfactory.


§ 587. (II) We now turn to the Second chief class of Germanic Perfects, those which show no reduplication in any Germanic dialect. This class falls into two sections; (A) those which have no vowel variation within their own perfect system, as Goth. skōf *skōbun opt. 1st pl. skōbeima; and (B) those which have, as Goth. man munun muneima, gam qēmūn qēmeima.

A part of these forms, what are called the Preterite-Presents, kept hold of the preethnic function of the perfect to express the present perfect, and did not become a historic tense; as Goth. *og ‘I fear’ *āih ‘I have’ *vāit ‘I know’ man ‘I think’. In this they are like Lat. memini and *ādī. As they were isolated in use, so they were exceptional in form. (1) In the Indicative, roots of the s-series, ending in a single consonant, lacked the ē-form; cp. Goth. man munun or *skal skulun as contrasted with gam ‘I came’ qēmūn, stal ‘I stolc’ stēlun. (2) The present meaning demanded an infinitive and participle. The place of these was filled by thematic forms of present Class II, which in verbs that retained ablaut were taken from Class II B, e.g. *āihan *āihands
beside áih 'I have', vitan vitands beside vīt. Of the forms taken from Class II B, some few had come down from pre-Germanic times; as vitan munan skulan ga-dauðsan (§ 532 p. 93 f.). The adj. un-agands 'fearless' is related to ðag 'I fear' as us-anands 'exhaling' to us-ðon 'I exhaled'. (3) A past tense was needed for them. For this the 'Weak Preterite' was used, as Goth. vissa O.H.G. wissa wessa beside vīt weig, Goth. ga-daúrsta O.H.G. gi-torsta beside ga-dars gi-tar. If, as has been assumed, O.H.G. wiss-un -ut -un belong to the s-aorist, they must be related to weig just as yðorn yða on yðar lōan to áða (§ 821 p. 358, § 827 p. 365, § 863 p. 411).

With the Preterite-Presents based upon the Idg. Perfect were associated a variety of Present stems:

Three or four ney-classes: Goth. kun-nu-m O.H.G. un-nu-m O.Sax. *dur-nu-m, to which were added, by analogy of the Perfect singular, the forms kann an darn; see § 646 p. 183 f.

Then Goth. O.H.G. mag 'I can, am able' pl. magun is probably a transformation of a present of Class II B *mazō = O.C.Sl. moga 'I can' (§ 528 p. 87); it belongs to the root of *maz, and must have been an orig. perfect *mog *mogun. Its transformation into a perfect is easily understood from its meaning. Beside magan magands were formed mag magun following áih áignon beside áihan áihaps, and ga-mót -mótun beside -mótan -mótnands.\(^1\) The form myz-, found in West-Germ. beside maż-, e.g. O.H.G. nužun beside magun, is due to later re-formation, as Osthoff shows (P.-B. Beitr. xv 213 ff.).

Remark. Osthoff (op. cit. pp. 217 f.) holds nuż to be a genuine perfect, and assumes that *mogy magun levelled out the strong stem. This view is contradicted by ðag ðaun (beside un-agands) áih áignon (beside Skr. iā-) skoヴァ skobun (beside skobun) and so forth, which all show levelling in favour of the singular stem.\(^1\)

\(^{1}\) Similarly, in the Rhine-Frankish dialect of Mod.H.G. the identity of inflexion in ich brach(es) wir branche(n) inf. brache(n) pret. brachte(r) and ich miss wir müsse(n) inf. müsse(n) pret. muss(e) led to the coining of a 3rd sing. vor brach(e) instead of vor brachte, parallel to vor muss.
§ 888. Group II A. The unreduplicated perfects which had no gradation, with the single exception of mag (for which see above), show ai or ọ in the root.

ai only in Goth. dīh 'has' pl. dīgn (by levelling also dīg and dīhun) O.H.G. pl. eigun (from the participial stem *aiug-us- comes A.S. ægesa Ægesa O.Sax. æsae, see § 882 p. 430): Skr. mid ðē-周转, see § 848 p. 391. As this Sanskrit form shows, Germanic has levelled in favour of the singular vocalism, ðīgn instead of *īgun or *īgun. That dīh has no reduplication (as af-alāik stai-skāīp etc. have, §§ 883 ff.) shows that this was lacking in pre-Germanic times, and makes the immediate connexion with the Aryan verb certain. Inf. dīhan part. dīhands are Germanic re-formates (cp. the thematic Skr. īs-ā-ītē Avest. īs-ē-ītē, § 854 p. 404).

All other examples have ọ, which is the vowel of the singular. These perfects, if we look at Germanic alone, all belong to roots of an a- or o-series. Goth. skōf 'scraped' skōbun O.H.G. scuob scuobun O.Icel. skōf skofo from pres. skaba scalu skēf: Lat. scabē from scabē. Goth. hōf 'raised' hōfun (instead of *hōbun) O.H.G. huob (instead of *huof) huobun from pres. hafja hef(i)ū: Lat. sapiō. O.H.G. int-suab 'I marked' -suabun from pres. int-sef(i)ū: Lat. sapiō. Goth. skōp 'I hurt' skōbun from pres. skaðja: cp. Gr. ἄνερθός 'scatheless' (ŋ = ọ). Goth. us-ōn 'exhaled' -ōnum from pres. us-ana: Skr. āna, cp. Gr. ἄνεμος 'wind' ἄνεμος 'windy' (ŋ for ọ). O. Icel. ðk 'drove' ðko beside pres. ek: Gr. ἕχει ἣμαυ (ŋ for ọ) Skr. āja. O.H.G. buoh 'baked' buohhun from pres. bahhu (Class II B) beside backu (for *bak-nō Class XIII § 614 p. 152): Gr. πέφυμαι pres. φύω (Class II A). Pret.-pres. Goth. õg 'fears' õgun (2nd sing. conj. õgs § 882 p. 430) beside un-agands 'fearless': O.Ir. -águr 'fear' may also have been originally perfect.

A certain number of perfects of this group come from roots of the e-series. Goth. för 'drove' forun O.H.G. fuor fuorun from fara faru, √per- Gr. περάω 'I pass through'. Goth. mōl 'I ground' O.H.G. muol from mala malu, √mel- O.Ir. melim
O.C.Sl. méja beside Armen. malem Lat. molō Cymr. malaf (§ 523 p. 86). Goth. grōf 'dug' O.H.G. gruodb from grabu grabu, √ghredh- O.C.Sl. greba. Goth. slōh 'struck' slōnum (instead of *slōgun) O.H.G. sluoh (also sluog) sluogun from slaha slahu, √slekh- sleq- O.Ir. sligim. O.H.G. gi-snuog 'mentioned' from gi-wahann(i)u (§ 623 p. 161), √yeq- Gr. ἴνος 'word'. In most, if not all, of the Verbs of this sort, the first step must have been for the present to get an a, and the next to form a perfect with ð on the analogy of skōf skōbun from skaba. See § 509, page 75. There is no need to suppose that för and mōl were formed thus in connexion with some present, if we suppose that they date from a period when this whole class of perfects still had the weak stem in the plural of the indicative, and so forth. At such a period, *far- and *mal- √pē- and *mē- may have been the weak perfect stem. If so, then the sing. för and mōl were formed beside them just as in Greek μέμαλε took the place of *μεμάλε on the analogy of forms with με-μαλ- (§ 859 p. 403); a step further, and we have förun and mōlum following the singular.


§ 890. Group II B. Perfects which ever since proothenie Germanic have had vowel gradation in their root, but no reduplication, were formed from roots of the e-series. We divide them into two classes, (1) those in which the ablaut of the preterite present agrees with that in other tenses, (2) those
in which it does not. Most of the following examples have come down from the parent language, as we have seen above.


Goth. brak ‘I broke’ brœkun O.H.G. bræk bræhrun. Goth. frah ‘asked’ fræhun O.Icel. fræ frægo (frægu). There are reformates following this class; one is Goth. bæp ‘I bade’ bœdir O.H.G. bat bœtun from pres. bidij bitt(ð)u, bœjij-(§ 722 p. 253).


§ 891. Numerous perfects of this class are made from roots already extended, or from characterised present stems (cp. §§ 847, 884, 889).


1) Of the same sort is Goth. brask ‘I threshed’ fruskun O.H.G. drask drusken, which probably contains the present suffix -skon. Cp. § 676 p. 209, and § 891.
-ne Goth. frath-na. Goth. skain 'appeared' skinun O.H.G. scein seinun from skei-na sei-nu; so too O.H.G. swein 'disappeared' from swi-nu etc. O.H.G. qual(l) 'welled up' quallun from quillu for *quel-nō; so also hal(l) 'sounded, rang out' hullun from hiltu for *hel-nō, and other like forms.

With Nasal Infix (§ 634 pp. 170 ff.). Goth. sagg 'sank' suggun O.H.G. sank sunkun from sigga sinku, √seig- seig.-goth. stagg 'struck, knocked' stuggun from stigga, √steig.-O.H.G. chlimb 'climbed' chlumbun from chlimbu, from glei-p-. O.H.G. sprang 'sprang' sprungun from springu, √ spergh-. O.H.G. scrant 'burst' scruntun from scruntu, sger-đh-. — Goth. fanp 'found' funpun O.H.G. fand funtun from finpa findu, as I conjecture from √pet-. — Goth. vand 'turned' vundun O.H.G. want wuntun from vinda wintu, from yei-t-. The Goth. peiha O.H.G. dīnu 'I thrive', for *peroxō, which is connected with Lith. tenkū inf. tēk-ti (√teg-), had originally a perf. *pærōx *purnxun, which is now represented only by A.S. dunon (cp. part. ze-duzn men O.Sax. gi-thungan); the regular phonetic change of the present led to the formation of the perf. forms Goth. dēh O.H.G. dēh following stāig beside steiga etc. (I § 67 Rem. 2 p. 57).


From the sk-Present O.H.G. ir-lisku 'I quench', the perf. ir-lask *-luskun (§ 676 p. 208).

Root with t-extension (§ 685 p. 215 f.). O.H.G. flaht
'plaited' fLuxtun from flih-tu; faht 'fought' fLuxtun from flih-tu').
Goth. ga-vap 'bound' -vedun O.H.G. wAt wAtun from ga-vida witu, ground-form doubtless *wi-ti. Compare the perf. Goth. wand, which belongs to a t-present with nasal infix, p. 439.


§ 892. Levelling between perfect singular and plural as we see it in Mod.H.G. biss 'I bit' following bissen, quoll 'well ed up' following quollen, bonden following band 'I bound', which is also seen here and there in Middle H.G., is comparatively rare in the old Germanic dialects; examples are A.S. nōm nōmon contrasted with O.H.G. nam namun 2), O.Icel. óf ófo instead of vaf ófo = O.H.G. wab wabun (O.Icel. veþa O.H.G. wepan 'to weave').

§ 898. We now have to examine in Group II (A) and (B) those forms which lack the reduplicating syllable.

The following perfects were always unreduplicated.

(1) Weak forms like Goth. sētun méluq qēmun; see § 848. 3 p. 398. The reason why they dropped out of the field forms of the same type as Skr. pa-puí-sūdūr = *sa-zd-ur, was that in course of phonetic change the unity of the tense-system had been considerably destroyed; thus the reduplicated 3rd pl. of the Goth. mitan must needs become *mițun (sing. mat), from Goth. saithwan the form must be *sisk(y)un (sing. sahv), from Goth. qītan it must be *qaihtun (sing. qaþ), from O.H.G. jesan

1) Mid.H.G. pl. vāhten vāhten, and even in O.H.G. brāstun, beside an earlier form brustun from brītun 'I break'. For the change in the perf. plural see Osthoft, Perf. 119.
2) nōmon is regular, and drew the singular under the influence of for fōron.
it must be *jirun (sing. jas), and from O.H.G. *lesen it would be *lilun (sing. las). Thus the same difficulty had to be met here as was met in Sanskrit by the spread of the type sēdyem- (§ 852 p. 401).

(2) The pret.-pres. Goth. ãih and probably also vāit which answers to Skr. vēda and Gr. oðr, see § 848 p. 391, § 888 p. 436.

Further, the following may be regarded as perfect forms originally unreduplicate:

(3) Goth. fr-êt -ētun O.H.G. æg O.Icel. ët. and

(4) O.Icel. ëk ëko, Goth. ôn and ëg; see § 848. 3 and 4, pp. 393 f.

As regards the Preterite-Presents in particular, we must remember that the 3rd pl. Goth. munun and ga-daursan were in all probability injunctive, as we may regard vitun (§ 508 p. 74 f.). The two former may not have been associated in one tense with man and ga-dars until the reduplication was quite lost in the singular.

If, again, we remember that among forms like skōf (Lat. scabri) there may very well be some which were unreduplicate when they became part of the Germanic stock, it cannot seem strange that Germanic has lost its reduplication to such a great extent. Such forms as the perfect of hāitan or valdan were exempted from the change, and kept their reduplication, simply because their present and perfect had the same root-vowels, and without the reduplication there would be no sufficient difference between them.

As in the Italic perfect system we find preterite forms of our Present Class II B (e.g. Lat. fid-i-t, § 867. 5 p. 414), so we do in West Germanic. From this group we cite the 2nd sing. like O.H.G. biggi A.S. bite ‘thou didst bite’ (Skr. á-bhid- -a-s Lat. fid-i-t), O.H.G. ziggi A.S. tige ‘thou didst draw’ (Skr. á-diš-a-s), see § 532 p. 928; further perhaps those like O.H.G. māgi A.S. mēte ‘thou measuredst’ (Gr. ellenioi), see § 514 p. 81. Such forms as these were at first quite rare. In proethnic W.Germ, they had become identical with the 2nd sing.
optative, whose ending *-iz became -i, e. g. A.S. bite opt. for *bitiz. And by analogy of these forms, which legitimately had both optative and indicative meanings, a large number of others, which originally were optative only and nothing more, took the indicative meaning too. An example is O.H.G. flangij A.S. fenge. But in O.H.G. and O.Sax. the 2nd sing. opt. and indic. were differentiated afresh, -i being restricted to the indicative, and in the optative the ending -is (-ist), used since proethnic Germanic beside *-iz, being made proper ending: O.H.G. indic. biggi opt. biggis(t), but A.S. bite opt. and indic. both. The reason why the old forms in -t (-d) preserved in Gothic and Norse, such as Goth. baidst 'didst bite' gazt 'gavest', were driven out of the West Germanic speech, is doubtless chiefly this, — that the stem-final consonant which preceded the personal ending was so often changed, the form thus becoming isolated (cp. Gr. πένθος ἀς etc. with -as instead of -a).

This West-Germ. 2nd sing. pret. seems to belong entirely to unreduplicated present stems. (It seems impossible to prove that any old reduplicated forms like Lat. te-tig-i-t Gr. ἡμαῖς-ο-ντο are included amongst O.H.G. flangij hiazi and that type.) But since they were absorbed into the Perfect system in West-Germanic, not before, we have no right to assume that they have at all aided in the tendency to drop the reduplicating syllable.

By analogy of the thematic present we have O.H.G. Alemann. eigamēs, wāramēs (cp. piramēs instead of pirum).

Balto-Slavonic.

§ 894. The inroads into the Idg. Perfect system here took a direction opposite to their course in Keltic and Germanic. The Participle survived, while the Finite Verb disappeared.

One vestige of this has been left in Slavonic; the O.C.Sl. vědě 'I know', answering to Skr. vēda Gr. ἢδα Goth. vait, with the middle ending, which here as in Lat. (tutudá) drove
out the active. This perfect was transformed into a present, giving \textit{vēmī} 'I know' 3\textsuperscript{rd} sing. \textit{vēstū}; the 2\textsuperscript{nd} pl. \textit{vēste} opt. 1\textsuperscript{st} pl. \textit{vōdimū} imper. \textit{vēsdī} (which keep \textit{ē} instead of \textit{i} by levelling out all but the strong stem) may be real perfect forms; if so their present inflexion is due to the attraction of the other forms into the present system.


How the first-named participles, \textit{kišt-ēs} \textit{črūtū} and the like, lost their reduplication, cannot be made out; the losses which the Perfect System of this group of languages had undergone before the historical period begins are too great to admit of this being done. But anyhow the reason was not regular phonetic change, any more than it was in Germanic.

The agreement of the initial syllable in Lith. \textit{ēj-ęs} \textit{kišt-ęs} etc. and the connected present stems \textit{ēj-o} \textit{kišt-o} (§ 586 p. 126 f.) caused the coining beside \textit{dē-jo} \textit{stō-jo} of the part. \textit{dējēs} \textit{stōjēs}. Just so the agreement between \textit{mir-ęs} \textit{gim-ęs} etc. and \textit{mir-e} \textit{gim-e} (§ 593 p. 133) caused the coining beside \textit{ēm-ę} of the partic. \textit{ēm-ęs} instead of *\textit{ium-ęs} (Pruss. \textit{immus-} O.C.Sl. \textit{imū}). Vice versa, by analogy of participles similar to \textit{sēd-ęs}, as \textit{vēm-ęs} (from \textit{vemiū 'I vomit'}) \textit{gēr-ęs} (from \textit{geriū 'I drink'}) were formed the preterites \textit{vēmē gērē} with \textit{ē} in the root syllable.
PERIPHERASTIC FORMATIONS.

§ 895. We may notice here a number of periphrastic formations which were more or less intimately connected with the Verbal System. Some of them undoubtedly existed in the parent language, though at that time not one had become fused into a single word.

In the historical period, these syntactical groups, which for convenience we shall call phrases, are sometimes found in the shape of single words, as Lat. ferē-bam O.C.Sl. nesē-achū; sometimes they seem to be changing from phrase to word before our very eyes, as Skr. datdsmi instead of datā asmi; 1) sometimes they were still phrases, as Lat. factus sum, O.H.G. ward ginoman. Where the position of the auxiliary is not fixed as regards the verbal noun, coming either before or after it, the phrase could not fuse into one word.

The use of a Participle for the predicate, particularly the part. pret. middle or passive, with or without the auxiliary is- or a synonym of it, is a usage which occurs all over the Indo-Germanic area; examples of this are Skr. iṣṭā dēvāṭah 'honoured are the gods' iṣṭā dēvāṭa āsan 'honoured were the gods' (see Delbrück, Altind. Synt. 392 ff.; Spiegel, Altpers. Keilinschr. 2 § 68 p. 189). This predicative use of the participle was found in the parent language, especially when it was wished to lay stress on the duration of an action more than could be done by the simple forms of the finite verb. In several languages periphrases of this kind were permanent parts of some tense, where they were combined with simple forms, as Att. γεγομενοι εἰσὶ instead of γεγομαςαν, Lat. actus est (cp. Gr. ἔκται), Goth. gemēlīp ist 'γέγομεναι'.

§ 896. Sanskrit.

Beginning with the Brahmanas, we find a periphrastic future, consisting of a nomen agentis with the suffix -ter- (as datār-).

1) Compare Ital. cantērē Fr. chantērai for Lat. cantāre habeō, Serv. ubiēus (I will kill) = O.C.Sl. ubiē chōšq, Pol. dzia̧lala̧em -ałę etc. 'I have built') = dzia̧lal jeźm. — jeź etc.
'dator') and the verb 'to be', but only in the 1st and 2nd persons. There is a difference in usage between this and the sjō-future (§ 752 p. 273 f.), the latter being used only for something about to take place at a certain particular point of future time, without any reference to the intention or hope of the speaker. On the analogy of dādāsni instead of dād āsni we have 1st pl. dādāsmas instead of dādārās smas etc. (cp. Lat. potis sumus, not *potēs sumus), a certain token that the phrase has become a word. Middle forms are found as well, e.g. dādāshāhē. Compare II § 122 p. 385.

Again, it is not until the historical period that we see a productive type arising out of the Periphrastic Perfet, the union of a case ending in -dm with cakāra, dsā, or babhāva, as viddā cakāra 'I knew', gamayā cakāra 'I caused to go'. The outspread of this type was due to a lack which it supplied; for there was need of a historic preterite to perfects which had a present meaning, as vēda 'I know' bibhāya 'fears'. Such a preterite was also wanted by Causals and Denominatives, which originally had no simple perfect. Lastly, they were most desirable when present and perfect were not clearly distinguish in form, as in as- 'to sit'. Following viddām āsdām and the like, forms like gamayām and bibhāyām were derived from the present stem (pres. gamā-ya-tī bi-bhē-tī).

Remark. Since in such formations cakāra is almost exclusively used in the older language, and babhāva never, Delbrück (Altind. Synt. 426 f.) infers that -dm is the ending of the acc. sing. of an abstract noun in -ā (cp. bhīdā 'split'). The accusative must have crystallised, much as the infinitive did, before dsā and babhāva could be used with it. But there is such a striking parallel in Lat. āre faciō and āre fīō (Deecke, Facere und fieri in ihrer Composition mit andern Verbis, Strassburg 1878), arē-bam, fī-ī-bam, anā-bam and O.C.Sl. neē-achā ēlē-achā, that we can hardly separate the -dm of Sanskrit from the cases in -ē or -ā preserved in these forms. -ē and -ā must surely be instrumental; be it observed that the forms in -ē can often be connected with s-stems (cp. III § 275 p. 178), and often with s-stems like Lat. quiēs Gr. ἰάς ἵππο-κίν (§ 578 p. 120), e.g. plē- in plē-bam. It may be that viddām when used with cakāra is accusative; but when used with as- or bhē- it may be instrumental. That viddām might be instr. is shown by O.C.Sl. rākā (III § 276 p. 179) and Skr. protarām (Hirt, Idg. Forsch. 120) and the like. Compare too the 3rd sing. imper mid. viddām § 988.2.
§ 897. Armenian has several periphrastic formations; as the part. aer. (active or passive) in -eal coupled with em 'I am', e. g. gereal ε 'cepit, captus est' gereal er 'ceperat, captus erat' from gereal 'capere, to take prisoner'.

§ 898. Greek. Here we find as far back as we can go variants γεγομέναι and γεγομένου εστί with little or no difference in meaning; and in Attic, beginning about 400 B.C., the periphrastic form became obligatory, and that in -αται and -ατο dropped out of use altogether: γεγομένοι είσιν and ἐσται. In the other tenses and moods -αται and -ατο had dropped in Attic long before, giving place to -νται and -ντο.

A future perfect, to express what will be completed in the future and will have enduring effects, could be formed only in the Middle and only from a few verbs; e. g. λειτούργοι διέβολος (§ 756. 6 p. 276). For the Active, and for such verbs as could not form this tense, a participle + εσται had to be used; as κατακεκόμης έσται 'he will have killed, he will be a murderer', τετελεσμένον εσται 'it will be accomplished'.

The periphrasis of the perfect by using ἔχω with a participle, as κρυψάς ἔχω 'I keep hidden' (Lat. abditum habeo), gained currency largely because certain verbs were without the simple perfect form; e. g. ἔφαγες ἔχω (Plato) from ἔφαω 'I love', στηθάς ἔχω (Soph.) from ἔστημι 'I place' (because ἔστημι is intransitive).

Desideratives in -αται at first used only the participle active, as ὕπειρον 'wishing to see'. This form, as Wackernagel makes very probable, comes from ὕπειρ ίαν 'going out for to see' (Kuhn's Zeitschr., xxviii 141 ff.); similarly ἔφερον 'wishing to make a bargain' from ἔφερας, ἀπαλλάσσων 'wishing to get rid of' from ἀπαλλασσέως. When the phrase had become a single word, the Attic added Indicative, Conjunctive, and the other parts of the conjugation. Compare Lat. eō with the supine, as datum eō (the same in Umbrian, aseriatoe eest 'observatum ibit'), from which type of sentences sprang the so-called fut. inf. passive datum iri (Kühner, Ausf. Gr. der lat. Spr., II 534 f.).
§ 899. Italic and Keltic. In both we see the present of bheu- 'to become' joined with a preceding infinitival word to express the future. Lat. are-bō vide-bō albē-bō, cubā-bō flā-bō plantā-bō, (O.Lat.) sce-bō audiō-bō, i-bo da-bō, Falisc. carē-fō pipā-fō. O.Ir. no charub 'I will I re' for *-bhu-o, elsewhere stem *-bhu-a-, as in 3rd sing. -carfa carfiad; dolēcιub 'I will relinquish' -lēicēa léicēad.

The Umbr.-Samnn. Perfects like Osc. aa-mana-ffed 'mandavit' contain the Idg. thematic aorist *(e-)bhy-e-t, see § 874 p. 422 f. The pret. of Class X *(e-)bhy-a-m (§ 583 p. 123 f.) from the time of pr. Ital. made Imperfects, e.g. Lat. are-bam vide-bam albē-bam plē-bam nē-bam dicē-bam (in O.Lat. also a future like dicē-bō), capiē-bam farciē-bam finiē-bam, cubā-bam flā-bam plantā-bam, (O.Lat.) sce-bam finiē-bam, i-bam da-bam, Osc. fu-fans 'erant'.

There is unquestionably some connexion between the first word in Latin phrases like are faciō and the case-forms in -ē and -ā (instr. sing.) in the first part of the O.C.Sl. imperfect, vide-achū délā-achū; there is probably a connexion with such a form as Skr. viddha in vidā carati. See § 896 Rem., § 903. Following the lead of Lat. plantā-bō, we may derive O.Ir. no charub from *cara-bō (carfiad from *cara-bāī(i), etc.). But there is no proof that a was long; and as the s-aorist ro-char comes from *carā-t (§ 840 p. 377), it is possible that *carā-bō was the pr. Keltic form. Still, that the first member was originally a nomen actionis need not be doubted whichever theory we adhere to.

§ 900. In Italic the Idg. perf. mid. passive gave place to a periphrasis with sum and the to-participle: Lat. ortus sum, captus sum, plantātus sum, finitus sum, Umbri. scerēto est 'scriptum est' scerētor sent 'scripti sunt', Osc. prūstāset 'probata sunt'. How firmly rooted in the verbal system this periphrasis became is clear from two facts. (Whether the same holds for Umbro-Samnitic we cannot say; there is too great a dearth of material.) (1) As the act. finiēt meant both 'he has
ended and done with’, and in narrative ‘he put an end to’, so *\text{finitum est*}, which properly meant ‘it is ended and done with’, got in addition the meaning ‘it was ended’; and *\text{finitum erat*} meant not only ‘it was’ but ‘it had been ended’. Beside *\text{praeeptum est*} ‘it is prescribed’ we get *\text{praeeptum fuit*} ‘it was prescribed’. (2) The other fact is the use of this periphrasis with deponents, where we see e. g. *\text{confessus sum*} made the perfect of *\text{cônteor*} for all purposes, and taking the same construction (II § 79 p. 219).

Just as in Attic the 3rd pl. *\text{γεγραμμενοι*} sîl; so in Latin — perhaps even in proethnicItalic — the old 2nd pl. middle (cp. Skr. *\text{bháradhava*} Gr. *\text{φέρεσις*}, § 1063) was superseded by a periphrasis with a participle: *\text{feriminist*} estis = Gr. *\text{φέρομενοι*} ërës, which in the historical period dropt its copula, and then the participial character of *\text{feriminist*} fell out of sight; see II § 71 p. 165. We may conjecture that *\text{feriminist erâtis, feriminist essëtis*} were also used. By and by this form buried itself in the present system, which it became part of; then its ending -minì became recognised for a personal suffix; and lastly we have *\text{feriminî ferëminî ferëminî ferëdiminî*} ferëðaminî on the analogy of *\text{ferâmûr ferêmur*} etc. to *\text{ferimur*}.

Old Latin had an indeclinable inf. fut. in -tûrum, as *\text{credî inimicos meós dictûrum*} (C. Gracchus), which Postgate (Class Review, v 301) neatly explains as compounded of *\text{dictâ*} and erum = Umbr. erom Osc. exûm ‘esse’. To this crystallised infinitive esse was superadded; as *\text{dixérunt omnia ... prôcessûrum esse*}; and then, the apparent analogy of hoc prôcessûrum (esse) with hoc factum (esse) caused the form to be inflected as an adjective (o-stem), e. g. hanc rem prôcessûram (esse) etc. Similarly, as beside Gr. *\text{ôpsiôn*} an indic. *\text{ôpsiô*} was formed (§ 898 p. 446), so beside mè datûrum (esse) we have e. g. datûrus sum.

Remark. The traditional interpretation, that *\text{datûrus*} is an extension of *\text{dator*} (cp. II § 122 p. 387), has been recognised for wrong by Kretschmer too (Kuhn’s Zeitschr., xxxi 483 f.). He also connects the form with the supines in -a and -um, but assumes the suffix to be -ro-, comparing Gr. *\text{loæô-ô*} from *\text{loæô-ô*}. Postgate’s explanation I think the likelier.
In formation, as in meaning, there is no connexion between the verbal adj. in -turus and the abstract noun in -tura; the latter has nothing future in it, and contains a secondary suffix -vīr. As regards Desideratives like parturīō canturīō, see § 768 p. 282, § 778.1 p. 301.

Further, Latin has the periphrastic inf. fut. passive, datum vīr, mentioned above in § 898 p. 446. The complete fusion of these two words is shown by the spelling -tuirom instead of -tum vīr (see Brandt, Arch. Lat. Lexicogr. II 349 ff.; Schmalz, Fleckeisen's Jahrb., 1892, pp. 79 f.).

In Umbro-Samnitic, we have the part. perf. active (suffix -yes-) combined with an injunctive from es- 'esse' to make a future perfect, as Umbr. dersicust 'dixerit' Osc. fefacust 'fecerit'. See § 872 p. 421.

§ 901. Germanic. The Idg. perf. passive in its original meaning, that of a present perfect, used to describe what has been completed in the past and is now a finished result, has been superseded all through Germanic by the phrase made up of the part. pret. pass. + the auxiliary bin; e. g. Goth. gamēlip ist 'γέγραπται, it is written', O.H.G. ginoman ist 'it is taken'; similarly pret. Goth. ana āmmei sō baūrgs ise gatimrida vas 'ἐγ' oδ η πόλης αὐτῶν φανδόμητο, was built, stood builted', O.H.G. ginoman was 'it had been taken, was in that condition'. Op. Lat. scriptum est 'it is written' scriptum erat 'it was written' § 900 p. 447 f.

The same Idg. form in its later function of a historic perfect was superseded by the same participle with the auxiliary ward (wurde), e. g. Goth. fralusans vas jaq bigitans varp 'ἀπολολοχὸς ἦν καὶ νερέθη, was lost and has been found again', O.H.G. ginoman ward 'it was taken'.

Everywhere but in Gothic the present passive too had to be superseded by a periphrasis: O.H.G. ginoman wirdit or ist 'is being taken' (Goth. nimada).

In the Active, the preterite present meaning could no longer be clearly put by the old perfect, Goth. skaiskāip 'parted, divided' nam 'took' for example, as this had become a historic tense. Nor could it be put any better by the "weak" Preterite, as
Goth. vaúrhta 'worked' nasida 'saved'. This led to a periphrasis (not found in Gothic) of bin and habe with the preterite participle, as O.H.G. queman ist 'he has come, and is here', pret. queman was 'he had come and was here', funtan habet 'he has found and possesses', pret. funtan habeta 'he had found and possessed'. The participle with habem was a true passive and belonged predicatively to the accusative object, cp. Lat. cognitum han: rem habet and gr. κρύστον ἔχω 'abditum habeo' beside κρύστας ἔχω (see Thielmann, Abhandlungen W. v. Christ dargebracht, München 1891, p. 298). The participle with the presents bin and habe was used later, in Upper and Middle German, as a simple narrative tense without any reference to the present (cp. Lat. finitum est 'it was ended' on the analogy of finivit 'ended'), whilst with the preterites war and hatte it had always served to express the pluperfect (cp. Lat. finitum erat 'it had been ended').

In Germanic the Idg. sio-future was lost; nor did this branch, as others did, use certain conjunctive forms with future meaning only (as Lat. eró). For future events were used either perfect Present forms (see Streitberg, P.-B. Beitr. xv 119 ff.); or the living conjunctive, i.e. the Idg. optative (as Got. jah sijáina bó toa du leika samin 'nal ésvata oí déo eic sávna miur'); or thirdly, periphrases with auxiliaries which naturally pointed to the future. But the use of these last with dependent infinitive (Goth. haban, duginnan, skulan, O.H.G. scolan, muogan, wellen wollen) did not lead to any fixed type in the old Germanic dialects, and each auxiliary bore its own proper meaning. Only phrases with sollen and wollen gained by degrees a simple future sense. Besides these periphrastic turns there was an idiom made up by werden (Goth. vairbun O.H.G. werdan) with the present participle, which is found a few times, in Gothic, as jōs saurjandans vairbip 'ūmeiz: laurjóṣamōz, you shall be grieved'. This idiom in O.H.G. little by little won its way till all others had disappeared; but in Mid.H.G. the participle was exchanged for the infinitive.
§ 902. Baltic. In Lithuanian all the old middle forms which were used passively dropped out of use, and the reflexive with -si only partially did for the passive, as teip kalba-si instead of teip kalbamà ‘so it is said’; hence a periphrasis was used for the passive in all tenses. To express habit or duration the pres. part. in -ama-s is used, as tai (yrà) sàkoma ‘that is being said, that is usually said’, jis prakeikiams bus nû visû ‘he is constantly curst by all’. For completed action the participle in -ta-s is used; as jis (yrà) prakteiktas ‘he is accurst’, dùrys ueddarytos bûvo ‘the door was shut’. But it is usual to avoid passive constructions and so to express the idea as to make the active do for it.

Active Preterites like vilkaû (§ 586 p. 126) and siriaû (§ 593 p. 133) combine the meanings of historic perfect and present perfect; as isz-dugo ‘he grew up’ and ‘he is grown up’. If it is needful to make the latter meaning clear beyond a doubt, the part. pres. act. with esû may be used; as âszi (esû) iszàngès ‘I am grown up’, âszi (esû) iszmôkès ‘I have learnt’, jis bûvo pavaûgès ‘he was impoverished’. This participle with buvaû also serves for a more exact expression of pluperfect-time, cp. O.H.G. german was ‘he had come’ § 901 p. 450.

Wish is expressed by the Injunctive forms 1. pl. -bine 2. pl. -bite from Vhèyu- preceded by the Supine in -tum, as suktum-bine. See § 727 p. 257. The 3rd sg. pl. and dual suktû is without the auxiliary; for the 1st sing. we have suksesiau sukcze. There are a great many bye-forms of this mood in the dialects (see Schleicher, Lit. Gramm. 228 f.; Kurschat, Gramm. d. litt. Spr. 300 f.; Bezzenerberger, Beitr. z. Gesch. d. lit. Spr. 212 ff.; Leskien-Brugmann, Lit. Volksl. u. March. 315 f.; for Lettic, see Bielenstein, Die lett. Spr. II 158 ff.); we cannot here enter into the history of these, which is sometimes very obscure.

§ 903. Slavonic. The Slavonic Imperfect is the imperf. *jachû ‘cram’ for *es-o-m (§ 510 p. 76) added to the Instrumental case of nomina actionis in -ř and -a. To the first members of these compounds there are parallels in Italic.
and Keltic, and doubtless in Sanskrit, as we have seen in § 896 Rem. p. 445, § 899 p. 447. O.C.Sl. vidě-achũ 'I saw' like Lat. vidē-bam, oslabě-achũ 'I became weak' like albě-bam, nesě-achũ 'I carried' pečaachũ 'I backed' for *peke-achũ (I § 76 p. 65) like ferē-bam, borja-achũ 'I fought' for *borje-achũ (see as cited) like capiē-bam, lāka-achũ like plantā-bam.

For Present Perfect was used the pres. part. in -lů (II § 76 p. 212) with jesmī, as prišlů jesmī 'I am come, I am here'. The same participle and běachũ or běchũ formed the Pluperfect, if need were to express this point of time exactly; as posūlalů běaše 'he had sent'.

As in Germanic, when the old sjō- future was lost (cp. § 760 p. 278), future time was expressed either by the present of perfect verbs, or by a periphrasis consisting of Auxiliaries + dependent Infinitive. Such auxiliaries were in O.C.Sl. imamī ('I have'), choštq ('I wish'), nactq ('I will begin'), all of which with others (Miklosich, Vergl. Gr. iv 862 ff.), including bādq ('I will', will be'), occur in other dialects. In some of the modern dialects, one or other of these verbs is used exclusively, just as werde with the infinitive in High German.

UNEXPLAINED FORMATIONS.

§ 904. A number of fertile tense types have now, with certain reservations, been compared with those of other languages, or explained as due to some analogy which has been pointed out within the same language; for instance the Greek x-perfect (§ 864 Rem. p. 412), or the Latin preterite in -vī and -vī (§ 875 p. 423). But there are many such types, characteristic enough in their own language, whose origin is still so dark that they cannot be brought in place amongst those already given. These may now be mentioned.

§ 905. Aryan. The 3rd sing. aor. pass. (also mid.) in -t, mostly with a in the root-syllable, in Vedic and Avestic, with or without augment like the other augmented tenses (as

It has often been assumed that -i is identical with the ending of the 1st sing. mid. -i (as in a-kṛ-i), just as -ē in the perfect did for both 1st and 3rd singular. The difference of vowel grade in the root syllable is generally compared with that in the 3rd sing. u-vác-a : 1st sing. u-vác-a. Compare § 1054. 3.

§ 905. The Armenian verb is permeated with analogical formations, which have largely destroyed the original structure of it. Specially difficult are the Conjunctive, Aorist, and Future forms characterised by -c-, such, for instance, as conj. pres. gericem (for *gerēcem) aor. gerci (for *gereaci, 3rd sing. gereaç) fet. gercicic from gercem 'capio', where not only does c need further explanation (cp. § 672 pp. 204 f.), but also the vowels that go with it.

§ 906. In Irish, no explanation has been found for what is called the Secondary Present (indic. and conj. impf.), as no berinn 2nd sing. no bertha etc. The 3rd sing. no bered is perhaps for *bhere-to = Gr. ψερε-το.

§ 907. In Germanic, explanation is still to seek for the much discussed Weak Preterite, whose chief mark is a t-sound.

1) Windisch, Das ir. præs. secundarium, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 156 ff.
This is found alongside of the so-called primitive Presents, as often as their part. pret. pass. is formed with the suffix -to-, as Goth. vaetjha O.H.G. worhta from vaetjka wurk(i)u 'I work', Goth. ṣuhta O.H.G. dahta from Goth. ṣugkja O.H.G. dunk(i)u 'I think', Goth. O.H.G. brāhta from brigga bringu 'I bring'. Next, the Preterite Present has also this preterite, as Goth. gu-dasirsta O.H.G. gi-torsta from ga-dars qi-tar 'I dare', Goth. skulda O.H.G. scolta from skal scal 'I shall', Goth. munda from man 'I think', kunja from kann 'I know, learn'. Lastly, it is found with all weak verbs, as Goth. nasida O.H.G. nerita from nasja neriu 'I save', Goth. salboda O.H.G. salbota from salbō salbōm 'I smear, anoint', Goth. habāida O.H.G. hapta habēta from haba habēni 'I have'.

In the Indicative, the dental was followed by e sometimes and sometimes ơ, as Goth. 2nd sing. nasidēs contrasted with O.H.G. neritēs (but also chi-minnerōdēs like O.Sax. habdes); 1st and 3rd sing. Goth. -da O.H.G. -ta; Norse Run. 1st sing. vorahito 'I made' 3rd sing. wurte urte 'he made'; in the plural O Ṭ.G. -tum -tut -tun (Alemann. -tōm -tōt -tōn), Goth. -dēs; -dēhp -dēsun. Opt. Goth. -dēsaj -dēsēs etc., O.H.G. -ti -tēs etc.

The connexion with the to-participle is unmistakable, if the treatment of the participial t under Verner's Law be borne in mind; e.g. (Goth. kunja like partic. kunja-, munda like partic. munda-.) But is does not follow that the dental of the weak preterite was always Idg. t. Not so; but forms with Idg. dh, d, or th may be included in this group, and the relation to the participle may be secondary. Indeed, there must be some


1) For O.H.G. forah-ta 'feared', whose old participle is the adj. forah-t Got. feiker-tu 'timid', the present t must be taken into account furih(i)u Got. fourihya). See § 685 p. 216.
such forms in the group; for example, O.Sax. *lēba 'lived' from √*leip-* cannot have had Idg. t in the ending, and the particie. ge-lēba must be instead of *-lift and due to the analogy of the preterite. 1) Just as the Latin Perfect included a variety of quite different tense forms, to which similar use has given the same inflexions, so the Weak Preterite in Germanic may have absorbed alien elements. That Goth. iđda (pl. iđdēdun) is the Sanskrit á-yā-m or perhaps its byeforn iya-m we have seen in § 478 p. 26, § 587 p. 128 (compare § 886 Rem p. 434). Preterites of our Present Class I. may be included in the weak preterite, since e. g. Goth. mun-dēs 2) vil dēs may be equated with Skr. 2nd sing. mid. ma-thās (á-ma-thās) or-thās (á-yr-thās), compare Gr. ἱ-τα-γες = Skr. á-ta-thās § 503 p. 67. Again, O.H.G. wissun as an s-norist may be compared with Gr. ιόω (§ 827 p. 365), and forms like salbō-ta may be compounds of the same kind as Lat. uma-bum O.C.Sl. dešo-achū (§ 899 p. 447, § 903 p. 451 f.), having for the second member the preterite of dhē- 'do' *dhē-m, or the preterite ā-injunctive *dhā-m (§ 507 p. 74, § 937).

§ 908. In Lithuanian, the growth of the Imperfect of habit in -dau is obscure; examples are piau-dau 'I used to cut' 3rd sing. piau-davo part. piau-davęs (fem. -davusī), sak-dau 'I used to twist', maty-dau 'I used to see'. The ending -dau recals baltau pret. of baltāju 'I gleam white', and recals d in the present endings -d- in and -d-an, treated in §§ 700 f. pp. 226 ff.

1) Nothing prevents our putting this re-formation of the participle back to prothetic Germanic; and so Goth. ge-hud-s O.Sax. gi-hugd 'thought, reason, understanding' beside pret. O.Sax. haga hugda O.H.G. hehto part. O.Sax. gi-hugd O.H.G. ge-huet does not weigh against the connexion of Germ. hug- with Skr. śuc- (I § 439 p. 327, § 447 p. 332).
2) For Goth. mun-dēs = Skr. ma-thās compare some recent remarks by Streitberg, Zur Germ. Sprachgesch., 79.
FORMATION OF THE MOOD STEM.¹)

INJUNCTIVE.²)

§ 909. Injunctive (or Spurious Conjunctive) is a name given to forms which look like unaugmented indicative forms belonging to a tense which is properly augmented; thus *bhere-t = Skr. bhārat Gr. θέος, cp. imperf. ā-bhāra-t ἐ-πεστ. Injunctive forms therefore have the secondary personal endings.

In the parent language they had a very wide scope; perhaps these are really the oldest forms of the verb finite, which do not yet show in their form either distinction of time, or distinction of the ideas conveyed by the words indicative and conjunctive (wish, futurity). In historical times we find these used in three different ways:


R. Kohlmann, Über die Modi des griech. und des lat. Verbums in ihrem Verhältnis zu einander, Eisleben 1883.


(1) Indicative Present. Skr. Ved. cādaya-t 'he sets afire' and others. (Delbrück, Altind. Syntax 354 f.). Gr. Dor. and Cypr. qēs-q 'thou bearest', Att. τιθη-ς 'thou placest'; cp. also the Author, Gr. Gr. 2 § 160 Anm. p. 185 on the present (timeless) use of the ind. aor., as in κάθαν όμως ὁ τ’ ἄργῳ, ἀνήρ ὁ τε πολλὰ ἄργῳς.1) Lat. vēhi-s im-plē-s i-s s-u-m (§ 528 p. 91). O.Ir. 2nd sing. -bér 'fers' for *bhēre-s 3rd sing. -bēir for *bhēre-t. O.Icel. éro éru 'arc' for *iz-unp (§ 507 pp. 73 f., § 508 p. 74). Lith. biį-o-sti 'he fears' for *bhīū-a-t, jūsto 'he girds' for *jōstā-t, Pruss. waitā 'he speaks' (§ 782. 4 p. 310); O.C.Sl. bereță 'fert' 3rd pl. berețu for *bhere-t *bhero-nt with the particle u (§§ 999 and 1026).

The only difference between these and the indic. forms in -ti -nti is that the latter have the particle i affixed; and this is apparently just what marked the new forms clearly out as present indicative (§ 973).

(2) Indicative Preterite. Skr. Ved. bhāra-t 'he bore'. Gr. Hom. qēs 'he bore'; special mention must be made of the Ionic frequentatives qēvγεσκον etc. (§ 673 p. 206), which regularly lack the augment. Lat. -bā-s Osc. 3rd pl. -fans, Lat. erā-s (§ 583 p. 124), Osc. kūm-bened 'convenit' (§ 867. 5 p. 415). O.Ir. do bert 'he brought' for some middle form in -to (§ 506 p. 72 f., § 826 p. 364). O.H.G. biggi 'thou didst bite' = Skr. (á-)bhīd-a-s (§ 893 p. 441). Lith. būvo 'he was'; O.C.Sl. tekū 'I ran'. Cp. § 483 p. 31 sf.

(3) Conjuective.

(a) Conj. = Wish. The 2nd pl. and 2nd and 3rd dual were firmly rooted among the imperative forms as early as the parent language: Skr. bhāra-ta 'ferte' bhāra-tam bhāra-tām, Gr. qēs-te qēs-tov, Lat. agi-te; O.Ir. 2nd pl. beri-d; Goth. 2nd pl. bairi-p (2nd dual bairu-ts with primary ending); beside *es-ti 'is' Skr. s-tā s-tām s-tām, Gr. ἐσ-τε ἕσ-το, Lat. es-te;

1) The use of the augmented forms in the same way may be compared with the use of Skr. agāt instead of gat after mā in the Mahā-Bhārata (Holtzmann, Gramm. aus dem Mahābh., 28).
s-Aorists Skr. aviṣṭa-na (-na is a particle, see § 1010) aviṣṭaṁ aviṣṭaṁ from āvo-a-ti 'he desires', Gr. διέξα-ει διέξα-ειν from διεί-ει 'shows'. In the other persons the proethic imperative has other formations.

But in some of the derived languages these other persons also are found with the sense of Wish; and here and there one of them does duty for some part of the imperative.

Skr. Ved. pra vōcam 'I will praise', dās 'give', juśatu 'let him be pleased' 3rd pl. juśanta, and many more. Then we have as part of the Aryan imperative such forms as 3rd sing. Skr. bhārat-u Avest. burat-u 'ferto' 3rd pl. Skr. bhārant-u Avest. barun-tu 'ferunto', Injunctives particle u (§§ 992.2 and 1017).

Gr. 2nd sing. mid. φιέγω φιέγων for *φιέγω-νο (ep. imperf. ἐ-ἀφίησο), ἐκλῆ for *πυλέ-νο (on the accent of this form see § 958), φῶς from φη-μι 'I say', aer. ἑεἷς ἑεῖ behind ἐ-ἀφίησο 'I placed for myself', used as regular imperative forms. Rarely also the corresponding 2nd sing. act. as ἵνι-αν-ε-ζ beside ἵνι-αν-ε 'insece', ἵνι-ας-ζ beside ἵνι-ας-ζ 'stop', ἅγι-ε-ζ ἅγι, ἅγι (Hesych.); cp. also § 932 on ἑς ἕ δές.

Lat. sequere = gr. ἱπτε, as regular imperative.

O.ir. forms of the s-aorist, as coneb 'get up' for *-rec-s-s, tair 'let him come' for *-inc-s-t (§ 363). Also the 2nd sing. imper. mid. in -the, as cluenti 'exaudi' beside indic. rochluinethar, aigde 'fear' beside -āgur, fealsigthe 'revela', since -the is the Skr. secondary ending -thās (§ 1051).

O.H.G. ni curi 'noli' for *kuz-i-z *gwis-s-s beside 2nd pl. ni cur-e-t; Goth. visa-m saila 'ēppanāwāmer', O.H.G. fara-m (fara-mēs) 'transeamus'.

Lith. te ne ci 'let him not go' for *eit-t, tē-sukā 'let him turn' te-māto 'let him see', 1) 1st pl. ei-mē 1st dual ei-vā 'let us go' (§ 511 p. 77); O.Csl. ba-lat 'sunto' (also found bađati 'erunt'), veli-te 'command ye' (also indic. veli-te 'ye command'), see § 955 Rem.

1) Since forms like sūka māto were also used for pres. indic., it came about that indicative forms with primary endings, as eit(i), could be used with a "permissive" meaning; e.g. t'eit(i).
(b) Conj. = Future. Skr. Ved. viṃ (=
na ṣm) aṁha ṣata
him no mischief will reach' (cp. Delbrück, Altind. Syntax 353). In Lithuanian, some dialects have forms of the s-aorist like
de-va-mā 'we will lay' désta déva dásta (§§ 828 f. pp. 365 f.).

CONJUNCTIVE.1)

§ 910. It has been pointed out (§ 489 pp. 47 f.) that in all the languages the same formative elements which mark what from its use is called the Conjunctive are also found in the Indicative. In this way we find used both -e- and -o-, the "Thematic Vowel", and also -a- and -e- (-o-). It follows that these forms had originally a much wider use than they came to have afterwards; and it was only by degrees that some of them were appropriated to the Indicative and others for the Conjunctive. Even in the parent language the rule held good that forms with a thematic vowel were Conjunctive, where the Indicative was distinguished by having none; whilst if the Indicative had a thematic vowel, the Conjunctive had the suffixes -a- or -e- (-o-). If the Indicative itself had -a- or -e- -o- (Classes X and XI, §§ 578 ff. pp. 118 ff.), then Injunctive forms commonly served for the Conjunctive mood (§ 930).

Remark. As stems with -e- -o- and stems with -a- -e- (-o-) originally did for both Indicative and Conjunctive, we may suppose that


Joh. Paech, De vetere conjunctivo Graeci formatione, Breslau 1861.

H. Stier, Bildung des Conjunctivs bei Homer, Curtius' Stud. ii 125 ff.

Stolz, Zum Conj. des griech. sigm. Aor., Idg. Forsch. ii 153 ff.

Thurneysen, Der italokeltische Conjunctiv mit a, Bezenberger's Beitr. viii 269 ff.

Bréal, Un mot sur les subjunctifs latins en an, Mém. Soc. ling., vi 409 ff.

L. Job, Le subjunctif latin en -am, ibid. vi 347 ff.

V. Henry Esquisses morphologiques III: Le subjunctif latin, Douai 1885.

G. Curtius, Der lat. Conjunctiv des Imperfects, in his Stud. viii 460 ff.

tense-stems of other kinds had the same double use. As a matter of fact this was so in the fullest sense wherever these stems had the secondary personal endings, that is, were Injunctive (§ 909). But even some forms with the primary endings and without these conjunctive suffixes are so used: Skr. 2nd sing. rē-ṣī 'thou comest near' and 'come near' (3rd sing. rē-ti 'he comes near'), kē-ṣī 'thou abidest' and 'abide thou' (3rd sing. kē-ti 'he abides') are two examples out of many (Delbrück, Altind. Verb. 31 and 34 f.), Avest. Gath. dōišī 'perceive thou', Gr. imper. 2nd sing. lēzēi 'lay thyself' for *lek-α-αν (§ 969.2). Compare § 974 Rem. On the use of the Att. indic. forms μεσοτίς μεσοὶ for the conjunctive see § 923.

The Conjunctive has a simple Future meaning in addition to that of wish (in which I include deliberative and dubitative). Often these forms drop their other meanings in the separate languages, and have that of Future only, or chiefly. Then they are called future in the grammars, as are for instance Lat. erō viderō.

In Armenian the Conjunctive formation appears to be entirely lost.

In Germanic and Balto-Slavonic it is lost all but a few scantly survivals, which will be given below. In both these branches the Optative took its place. First both these groups were used together (as in the Latin conjunctive, edā-mus ogā-mus true conj. and edā-mus st-mus optative); then the Optative won the day. Examples of Opt. forms used as Conj. in these languages are: Goth. pairhaggōima 'dīlθomun, let us go through', ni mauρrjāis 'μη γονινηγε'; te-sukē 'let him turn' (imperative) 1), O.C.Sl. ne vūvedi nasū tī iskušenije 'ne nos inducas in tentationem, μη εισεβενηχε τημας' etc.

We now come to details. The Conjunctive formations may be divided into two groups, according as the Indicative stem (I) ended in a consonant, as *es-ti *ei-ti *rneγ-ti, and contained the thematic vowel, as *bhere-ti, or (II) ended in a long vowel, as *es-tat-ti *ple-ti.

1) May also mean 'he may turn, he is to be allowed to turn'.
I. CONJUNCTIVE WHERE THE INDICATIVE STEM ENDS IN A CONSONANT OR HAS A THEMATIC VOWEL.

A. Indicative Stem ends in a Consonant.

§ 911. The Conjunction from these stems had in the parent language, and continued to have, the Thematic Vowel, as *ei-o-t(i) (Skr. 'ayati ayat) beside Indic. *ei-ti 'goes'. The stem had its strong form, the ablaut-syllable the 1st strong grade (e-grade in the e-o-series): pres. conj. *ei-o-t(i) beside indic. ei-i-, *i-ney-o-t(i) (Skr. i-yadyo-a-t(i)) beside indic. *i-neyo- *i-nu-, *steo-o-t(i) (Skr. stavo-a-t(i)) beside indic. *steo- *stu- (§ 494 p. 54 f.); s-aor. conj. *qi-o-s-o-t(i) (Skr. cii-sii-a-t(i) Gr. 2nd pl. nii-o-s-e-t) beside indic. (e-)qu-s- *(e-)qi-s- (§ 811 p. 348); perf. conj. *te-ten-o-t(i) (Skr. ta-tan-a-ti) beside indic. *te-tie- *te-ten- *te-ty- (§ 843 p. 384).

§ 912. Pr. Idg. Conjunctives of this group have been touched upon frequently in our discussion of the Tense Stem. I therefore confine myself here to a few examples.

Present. Class I (§§ 492 ff.): *ds-o-t(i) beside *ds-ti 'is': Skr. 'dsat(i), Gr. 1st sing. -o (but ḫos, ḫs etc. belong to B), Lat. (fut.) er-i-t. Class III (§§ 536 ff.): Skr. bi-bhar-a-t beside bi-bhār-ti 'bears', bi-bhay-a-t beside bi-bhā-ti 'fears'. Class V (§§ 555 ff.): Skr. ba-bhas-a-t beside bā-bhas-ti 'cats, devours'. Class VII (§§ 567 ff.): Skr. jau-ghan-a-t beside jāv-ghan-ti intens. 'strikes, kills'. Class XV (§§ 625 f.): Skr. riñac-a-t beside riñāc-ti 'lets go, makes empty'. Class XVII (§§ 638 ff.): Skr. γ-ναο-α-t beside ἔπο-τι 'excites, sets in motion'. Class XIX (§§ 650): do-s-a-t beside do-s-ti 'hates'.

s-Aorist (§§ 810 ff.). Skr. nē-s-o-āt(i) beside d-nai-s-am 'I feared', Gr. τιν-τ-e-μεν beside τ-τιη-σ-α 'I paid', Lat. (fut.) dix-t beside dix-r, O.Ir. for-tias 'subveniam' beside injunct. for-tē subveniat' (§§ 826 p. 363 f.). Gr. siδ-π-ω siδῶ (but siδῶ etc. belong to B) beside Ἰδία 'I knew' for Ἐδίω-α-α,

Perfect (§§ 843 ff.). Skr. ta-tān-a-t(i) beside ind. tu-tān-a from √ten- 'stretch'. Gr. πενοίγοιμεν instead of *πε-ποιεθ-ο-μέν beside πι-ποιθ-τ 'he trusts', ποιθ-ο-μεν beside old-e; but it can be grouped with the pres. *meijd-mi Skr. vēd-mi (§ 493 p. 52). Goth. ḍōs 'fear thou' for *agh-es beside ḍō 'fears' (§ 882 p. 430).

§ 913. Aryan. The Thematic formation is fertile in Vedic, Avestic, and Old Persian. In later Sanskrit nothing remains but the 1st persons, which are now called 1st person Imperative.

The personal endings here as in the ā-conjunctive (§ 921) were in Sanskrit and Avestic sometimes primary and sometimes secondary; the Middle had the primary almost always (details may be seen in Delbrück, Altind. Verb. 191 ff.; Whitney, Skr. Gr. §§ 560 ff.; Bartholomae, Altiran. Verb. 130 f.). The few Old Persian forms which occur all show a primary ending. As to Skr. middle forms like kṛṇāvatamahāi instead of kṛṇāvatamahō, see § 922.


1) Compare for this Conj. W. Schulze, Kuḥn's Zeitschr. xxix 251.

Rarely we find a divergence in the Present from the rule of gradation which holds for this Conjunctive formation (§ 911 p. 461), as Skr. 3rd dual anāj-a-tas beside 3rd pl. anāj-an (indic, anāk-ti 'anoint, adorns') formed as though the indic. were *āxk-ti. On the numerous analogical forms in the s-aorist, such as Skr. ṭāk-ṣ-a-sē tār-iṣ-a-t, see § 815 p. 353 and § 839 p. 375.

For the ā-Conjunctive with an unthematic Indicative see § 921.

§ 914. Greek. The 1st sing. act. in -oμεν is regular in all dialects and periods. With this exception, the Conjunctive with a long vowel proved a formidable rival to the thematic formation. The latter held its ground most tenaciously in the s-aorist.

Very little trace is left in the stem of the proethnic law of gradation (§ 911 p. 461).

Present. This Conjunctive is fertile only in the oldest poetical language. Hom. iōmuν instead of *ἰ(τ)-ο-μεν and ι-ο-μεν from ἐ-μο 'I will go'; iōmuν is to be compared with Skr. t-maḥē (see § 493 p. 52, § 497 p. 56), or else it is due to the analogy of ἑν-ο-μεν and the like (ep. § 934 on Messen. ἵπτω Hom. μετ-ὔοι). Hom. q.ḥi-t-tai (instead of *q.ḥe(τ)-e-tai) beside q.ḥi-tο 'was destroyed', ἀλ-ται beside ἀλ-το 'he leapt'. On the analogy of these were made similar Conjunctives for indic. stems in -ā -ē or -ō, as ἄτ-ο-μεν ἑτ-ο-μεν σβλ-ε-ται (§ 934).
Some such conjunctives survived elsewhere, for instance in Attic, crystallized and used only for the Future; ἔδο-μαι 'I will eat' (cp. inf. ἔδο-μεναι, Skr. indic. ἔ-τ-θ), πι-ω-μαι 'I will drink' (beside imper. πι-γι), χρ(φ)-ω 'I will pour' (beside indic. ἔ-χε(φ)-α ἔ-χυ-γο).

Remark 1. In an Aeolic inscr. (discussed by Meister, Anzeiger für idg. Spr.- und Altertumsk., i 203 f.) we have the 3rd pl. τίςςων with the meaning of Att. τίςςων. If the reading is true, we must grant it to be an instance of the ω-conj. invading the domain of the long vowel. If so, we should have a right to question whether Homeric conjunctives like προφέρει (in subord. clause after ἡρ’ ἡρ) ought really to be denied. These are collected by Stier in Curtius' Stud. II 138 f.; Curtius himself regards them as mythical (Verb, 112 87 ff.).

s-Aorist. There are many examples in Homer and other Homeric poets; as τέω-μεν τίςςτε, βρηγο-μαι, ἀμελη-μεται. So there are in inscriptions of the 5th cent. B.C., from Ephesus, Teos, and Chios; as 3rd sing. in -ε-τ, ἄνωχυ-με, and 3rd pl. προφέρων (Att. προφίςων) with -ου- instead of -ου- by Lesbian influence (I § 205 p. 172). In Cretan we find such forms as 3rd sing. δείξει. Then there are Epic imperatives such a ἔξε-ε-τε 'bring ye' ἔξε-ε-σε ὑπε-ε-σε 'see ye' (§ 833 p. 370), and the futures ἔξω ὑπομα, which must not be separated from the imperatives; indeed the whole Greek s-Future may perhaps come from the Conj. of the s-aorist (§ 747 p. 269). Lastly, the 1st sing. τιδέω τιδο- (2nd sing. τιδο- etc. goes under B) beside indic. ἦδεα 'I knew' for ἦ-ε-τε-ε-α (§ 836 pp. 372 ff.).


Remark 2. It is strange that while Homer has τελαμερ etc. he has no complementary conj. forms in -ε-τε -ε-τεν. We may conjecture that he really had, but that the symbols of the old alphabet, -ΕΙΣ -ΕΙ -ΟΣΙ, which had more than one value, were here misunderstood, and the forms disappeared, -ε-ε -εν being written instead.

Those conjunctives which are not used exclusively for future or imperative, are being attracted even in Homer to follow the
lead of those with long vowels, as ἵῳν, ἀληθ, πενελθοῦν. See § 923.


Present. Lat. erō er-i-s: Skr. ās-ā-ni Gr. ἔ-ω, see § 912 p. 461.

s-Aorist. Lat. dix-ō dix-i-s, fax-ō fax-i-tur, cap-s-ō and the like, Umbr. Osc. fust 'erit', Umbr. furent 'erunt' prupelahst 'ante piabit', Osc. deivast 'iurabit' (§ 824 p. 362). Umbr. eest eest 'ibit' ferest 'feret', Osc. pert-emest 'perimet' (§ 837 p. 374). Lat. viderō liquerō, then by analogy sciderō tolerō dixerō etc. (§ 841 pp. 378 f.). In the 3rd pl. of these future perfects, the ending *-erunt, which was also the ending of the 3rd pl. indic. perfect, gave place to the optative ending -erint (beside 1st sing. viderōm, just as we find viderimus instead of viderimus, videritis instead of videritis). Lastly, Lat. amāssō turbāssitur habēssō, for which infinitives were coined, as impetrāssere, on the analogy of capessere to capessō (§ 842 p. 381).

In the Conjunctive use (Wish), only the ā- and ē-forms (B) remained fertile; these also spread into the thematic conjunctive, as Lat. ē-ā-s beside indic. ē-s, plē-rē-s beside indic. Skr. ā-prā-s-am.

§ 916. Keltic. s-aorist with meaning of Wish and more rarely of the Future; as from tiāgim 'I step, go' the 1st sing. -tias, 3rd sing. tēs tēis, see § 826 p. 364.


B. Conjunctive to a Thematic Indicative.

§ 918. These Conjunctives have for the Suffix long vowels, not subject to gradation, -ā- or -ē- (-ō-). These are the same

1) With this contamination compare the use of sim edim as conj. On the analogy of the fut. perf. viderint itself we have erint poterint instead of erunt poterunt.

Brugmann, Alemna. IV. 80
as in the Indicative. Gr. ἐ-ἀ-ων Lat. pl-ē-s, which also have no gradation; this has been pointed out in § 578 p. 119.

-ἀ- is a Conj. vowel in Italic, Keltic, Slavonic, Germanic (?); -ε- in Greek and Italic: -έ- in Greek. -α- and -ο- (φιλ-ητος φιλ-ων-μεν) are connected closely (cp. Gr. indic. ζ-η and ζ-ω-μι, ψ-η and ψ-ω-νε-ξα); but their distribution in the Greek system can hardly be original, through it is the same as -e- and -o- in the Indicative. It is likely that they just imitated the Indicative, differing only in length, for symmetry (cp. Arc. conj. τ-πατ-ρι beside indic. τ-πατ-μι τ-πατ-μεν, Mess. conj. τι-θη-νι beside indic. τι-θη-μι τι-θη-μεν § 934). What was the quality of sound which became Aryan -α- cannot now be seen. And as long as this remains dark, so long it will be unknown how the α- and ε- (-o-) formations were distributed in the parent language. No inference can be drawn from the different use in Latin of ag-ā-s and ag-ē-s.

**Remark.** From the form of the 1st sing. act. Ved. áva (3rd sing. árc-ā-t) Avest. per-sā (3rd sing. per-ā-tī) we may perhaps assume some direct connexion with the Greek formation (φε-ω beside 3. sing. φε-ν) ; compare Lat. ag-n-um O.Ir. do-bēr for *ber-ā-m O.C.Sl. berq for *ber-ā-m. The O.Lat. 1st sing. age may be for *agō by qualitative assimilation with aghē etc.: *agō beside erō like Skr. árā beside brāvā.

§ 919. Pr.Idg. Class II (§§ 513 ff.): Skr. bhūr-ā-t(i), Gr. φιλ-ων-μεν φιλ-ητος Lat. (conj.) fer-ās (fut.) fer-ē-s, O.Ir. dō-ber for *ber-ā-m, beside indic. Skr. bhūr-a-ti etc. from √bher- 'bear': Skr. vid-d-t(i) Gr. id-ω-μεν beside indic. Skr. á-vid-a-t 'found' (gr. ἢδις ἀδ' 'saw' from √yeid-; Skr. bhuv-a-ni Lat. fu-a-s Oec. fuid'-fuerit' (for *fu-ē-d) beside indic. Skr. á-bhuv-a-t Lat. (perf.) fu-i-t from √bhuv- 'be, become.

Lat. *li-n-a-s* *li-n-e-s* from indic. *ni-nē* (cp. § 935). Class XVI (
§ 627 ff.): Skr. *siṅc-a-s* beside *siṅc-a-ti* 'sprinkles' from \* *seiga-,*
Gr. *σιγγω-μεν* from *σιγγω* 'I tie, bind', Lat. *jung-a-s* -ē-s
from *jungō*. Class XVIII (§§ 648 ff.): Skr. *inv-a-t* from
*i-nva-ti* 'subdues, oppresses', O.Pers. *kā-nava-hy* from *a-kā-
*nav-a* 'he made', Gr. Att. *τιν-ω-μεν* from *τίνω* 'I pay' for
*τιν-ω-μεν* from *τιν-ω-μεν* 'I increase', *τρε-ω-μεν* from *τρέω* (μέν) 'I tremble, flee', Lat. *vīs-a-s* -ē-s
from *vīsō* for *vīs-so*. Class XXII (§§ 670 ff.): Skr. *pych-ā-t*
Lat. *posc-a-s* -ē-s beside *pychā-ti* *posc-ti* from \* *preh-,*
'ask, demand', Gr. *πράσω-μεν* from *πράσω* 'I inform, say' O.Ir.
1st pl. *nasc-a-m* beside *nascim* 'bind' from \* *nedh-*. Class XXIII
(§ 678): Gr. *διασ-ω-μεν* from *διάσκω* 'I teach', Lat. *disc-a-s* -ē-s from *discō* for *dī-te-sco*. Class XXIV (§§ 679 ff.):
Gr. *νέκω-ω-μεν* from *νεκ-ω* 'I comb', Lat. *pect-a-s* -ē-s from
*pectō*. Class XXV (§§ 688 ff.): Gr. *πληθω-ω-μεν* from *πληθ-ω* *I am full*, *ἐλθ-η-tai* from *ἐλθ-ω-μεν* 'I wish, desire', Lat. *cūd-a-s
-ē-s from *cūdō*. Class XXVI (§§ 705 ff.): Skr. *har-y-a-s*
Gr. *χαίρω-ω-μεν* Osc. *heriiad* 'velit' beside Skr. *hār-ya-ti* *χαίρω*
from \* *gēr-,* 'take pleasure in'; Skr. *pādy-ā-ti* Lat. *con-
*spici-a-s* -ē-s beside *pās-ya-ti* *spic-iō* from \* *spek-,* 'see';
O.Ir. 3rd sing. *do-lēce* beside *lēc-ī* 'I let'. Class XXVII
(§§ 728 ff.) Gr. *γαγγαίω-ω-μεν* beside *γαρ-γαίω* I swarm with',
Lat. *tin-tinni-a-s* -ē-s beside *tīn-tinnō* Class XXVIII
(§§ 734 ff.): Skr. 2nd sing. mid. *pyāyā-sē* beside *py-ā-ya-tē*
'swell', Gr. *ζω-ω-μεν* (Gort. 3rd pl. *ζω-ω-μεν*) beside *ζω-ω* 'I live',
Lat. *plea-s* for *ple(ī)-a-s* beside *pleō* for *ple(ī)-a-s* beside *pleō* for
*vidē(ī)-a-s* beside *videō* for *vidē(ī)-a-s* beside *videō* for *hidē(ī)-a-s* beside *hidē* for *hiū(ī)-a-s*.
Class XXIX (§§ 742 ff.): Skr. *pytān-y-a-t* from *pytān-yā-ti* 'fights',
Gr. *ινω-ω-μεν* from *ινω* for *i(ī)anω* 'I quicken, make alive'. Class XXX (§§ 766 ff.): Skr. *apasy-a-t* from *apasy-ā-ti* 'is active', *vāsāy-a-t* from *vāsā-yā-ti* 'desires wealth', Gr. *tektauω-ω-μεν* from *tektauω* 'I fashion' for *tektauω-ω-μεν*. *Σίδημεν* *τίμα-ν-τι* *τιμάτε*
from τιμῶ 'I honour', ὕπηλέ-ω-μεν ϕιλῶμεν ϕιλή-η-τε ϕιλῆτε from φιλί-ω 'I treat as a friend', Lat. custōdi-ā-s -ē-s from custōd-iō, finī-ā-s -ē-s from fini-ō, claudē-ā-s from claudō, statu-ā-s -ē-s from statu-ō (plantē-s for *plantā(j)-ē-s? from plantō for *plantā-(j)ō). Class XXXII (§§ 788 ff.): Skr. yōdhāy-ā-s Lat. jube-ā-s from yōdhāy-a-ti 'involves in a fight'; jube-ō (§ 794 p. 329), Gr. φορέω-μεν φορίομεν from φορέω 'I wear'.

§ 920. In all the languages which have this Conjunctive, forms of the type are found in connexion with an unthematic Indicative; and it may be assumed that in the parent language itself both types of Conjunctive were sometimes used with the same verb, just as many verbs had thematic and unthematic inflexion in the Indicative and elsewhere. Skr. 3rd pl. ād-ā-n Gr. ἐδ-ω-μεν Lat. ed-ā-s beside indic. Skr. āt-ti Lat. ēst, cp. ind. Skr. ād-a-t (imper. 2nd sing. mid. ad-a-sva) Gr. ἔδω Lat. ed-ō Goth. it-a from √ed- 'eat'. Skr. ās-ā-t 2nd pl. as-ā-tha Gr. ε-ω-μεν beside Skr. ās-ti Gr. ἢσ-τι, cp. Hom. ἢ-ο-ν ἢ-ο-ν ἢ-ι-ν Lat. s-un-t O.C Sl. (O.Russ.) s-qīt from √es- 'to be'. Skr. ay-ā-s ay-ā-t Lat. e-ō-s beside indic. ē-ti i-t, cp. ēy-ā-tē Lat. e-ō e-un-t from √ē-x ‘go’. For the long-vowel Conjunctive from the s-aorist, as Skr. mā-s-a-tāi Gr. ἑιε-ω-μεν ἔθι-ω-μεν Lat. es-s-ē-s ager-ē-s, thematic Indicatives like Skr. ā-dik-ś-a-t Gr. ἕ-πε-ε ἦ-ε-ν Lat. dēx-i-t must be compared (§ 833 p. 369). So for Perfect forms like Skr. va-ṛdh-a-ti Gr. ἔληκτη Osc. fēcācit ‘fecerit’ we compare the thematic indic. Skr. ā-ca-kr-a-t Gr. ἐ-με-μπρα-ν νέ-μβλ-σ-ν Lat. te-tig-i-t vhe-νhak-ε-δ ‘feci’ (§ 854 p. 403 § 865. 2 p. 413, § 866. 413 f., § 867. 5, 6, and 7 p. 414 f., §§ 872 f. pp. 420 ff.).


§ 921. The Mood Stem: — Conju nctive. 469


§ 922. In Sanskrit an extra mark was added to the Middle of the a-conjunctive; the final -ā of those persons that ended therewith was changed to -āi, as -mahi to -mahāi. This came from the 1st sing., as bharai which was all that had it in pr. Idg. (§ 1042. 1).

First were formed 1st pl. bhārāmahai 1st dual bhāravahāi instead of *bhārāmahē *bhāravahē, to distinguish conjunctive from indicative: so that bhārāmahai answered to indic. bhārāmahē as bhārāi to indic. bhārē.

Next -mahāi and -vahāi took their place in other conjunctives which had no confusing indicative of the same form, both in a- and a-conjunctives: e.g. aor. voca-vahāi beside indic. a-voca-vahi (voca-vahi) 3rd sing. a-voc-a-ta from vac- ‘to speak’, pres. kṛṇāv-a-mahāi beside indic. kṛ-ṇu-mahē. Amongst these we find also the older -mahē used, as in kār-a-mahē beside indic. ā-kr-ta from kar- ‘to make’, saniṣ-a-mahē beside indic. ā-san-iṣ-ṭa from san- ‘to get, gain’.

From the 1st pl. and dual -āi next went on to the other persons of the a-conjunctive: 2nd sing. -a-sai beside -a-se, 3rd sing. -a-tai beside -a-tē, 2nd pl. -a-dhvai beside -a-dhvē, 3rd pl. -a-ntai. In the Rig-Veda two such new forms, but only two, occur: yaj-a-tai from yaj- ‘to honour with an offering’ and māday-a-dhvai from mad- ‘to enjoy’.

In the 2nd and 3rd dual the ending -āi is not found. Here the endings were -aithē -aītē, in which -aī- on account of the 2nd dual trāsāthē (indic. ā-trā-s-ṭa from trā- ‘to protect’) must doubtless be regarded as also coming from the 1st sing. in -āi: following bhārāi beside indic. bhārē were coined the conj. bhārāithē and bhārāītē beside bhārēthē and bhārētē. See Bartholomaei, Kuhn’s Zeitschr. xxvii 214 f.

Some few instances occur of a 3rd pl. in -antāi beside a thematic indicative; as varṭantai beside indic. várt-a-nte ‘vertuntur’. The origin of this form is clear: bhārāi bhārāmahai bhāravahāi are distinguished from bhārē bhārāmahē bhāravahē only by the ending, which suggested a symmetrical relation and caused -antāi to arise in place of -ante.
§ 923. Greek. Examples in § 919.

The Personal endings are nearly all primary. But in the 3rd singular many dialects (amongst others Arcadian and Cyprian) have -η for -τη, as ἐχη, instead of -τη (-η).

In the 3rd pl. φέρωντι (Att. φέρωνι) φέρωντα, οι is not regular: there is the same analogical change as in ἀντα instead of *ἀντα ep. act. ἄντα (I § 611 Rem. p. 462, IV § 582 p. 123).

In Attic the ending -ης -η (§ 987.1, § 995) ran together with the indic. -ης -η, that is φέρης and φέρες had the same pronunciation; so too τιμής (for τιμής) and τιμής (for τιμήν). And since after contraction τιμάς τιμής became the same as τιμάς τιμίας, namely τιμᾶς and τιμᾶ, and since the 1st sing. in all verbs of this form was the same for both indic. and conj.; - φέρων φηλίῳ τιμῶν μοθί — the result was that the indic. μοθί ποτις μοθί came to be used as conjunctive too.

By degrees, the η-ω-inflexion drove out that with ε and ο from the Conjunctive Mood; as εἰμίνερ instead of είμεν (§ 914 p. 463 f.); the latter only held its own where any form was used exclusively in the sense of a future or imperative. This tendency, which, as we saw in § 920 p. 468, may have begun in the parent language, was made easier because the 1st sing. act. in both these conjunctive systems ended in -ω; as ἔσω (ὁ) beside indic. ἔσ-τι (Lat. er-ē 3rd sing. er-i-t), φέρω beside indic. φέρει (ep. Skr. árcā beside indic. árc-a-ti).

It remains for the present a question whether the reverse be true, and the thematic conjunctive ever took the place of a long-vowel form; see § 914 Rem. 1 p. 464.

§ 924. Italic. The long-vowel Conjunctive drove out the Optative in thematic tenses (e.g. ag-ā-s is used as equivalent to both āγής and āγως), whilst in Germanic and Balto-Slavonic the Optative won the day (§ 910 p. 460). The short-vowel Conjunctive had a different fate. It remained only as the Future (§ 915 p. 465), and its conjunctive use (Wish, Deliberation, Doubt) passed either to the long-vowel series, for which see below, or to the Optative (as Lat. s-iē-s s-i-s beside es-t).
The suffixes -a- and -ë- are both found, and the personal endings are secondary: Lat. ag-a-m (like injunct. — pret. — b-a-m), 3rd sing. Osc. pútiiad fuiid, 3rd pl. Osc. putians herrins (but Osc. has also 3rd sing. tadait = *-a(i̯)-ë-ti, § 996).

On the spread of long-vowel forms in place of those with a short vowel, as in Lat. e-ä-s es-së-s Osc. féfacid, see § 920 p. 468.

§ 925. The a-suffix appears in the Present only. To the forms cited in § 919 add the following. Lat. fu-ä-s beside indic. fu-i-t. Lat. dic-ä-s Osc. deicans 'dicant' beside indic. Lat. dic-i-t. Umbr. emantur 'emantur'. Lat. faci-ä-s Umbr. fašia 'faciat' beside indic. fac-iō. Lat. fini-ä-s beside indic. fīni-ō i. e. fīni-jō, clau-de-ä-s beside indic. clauđe for *clauđe-jō, mone-ä-s beside indic. moneō for *mon-eiō.

In Umbrian -iä- spread from fašia and like forms to the a-denominatives; hence kuraia 'curet' etaians 'itent'.

Lat. e-ä-s beside indic. i-t (like Skr. ay-ä-t), whilst in the verbs est vult est the Optative (s-ië-s s-i-s, vel-i-s, ed-i-s beside ed-ä-s) added the conjunctive function to their own. The opt. of i-t may have been lost by the plural *i-i-mos becoming *i-mos, and thus being identical with the indicative.

Remark. The only example of -ä- outside the Present would be Lat. dum-taxat, if Bréal be right in taking -taxat as the conj. of the a-orist of tangō (cp. opt. tax-i-s): 'donec tetigerit, jusqu'à ce qu'il ait atteint', then 'jusqu'à (et non plus loin)' (Mém. Soc. Ling. v 35 f., Dict. étymol. 1 p. 385). As in the whole area of Italic the a-orist has only the ő-conjunctive (§ 926), it would be better to take -taxat as conj. of an indic. *taxō, Class XX (§ 662 p. 197).

§ 926. The î-suffix appears in all tense Stems.

1 Present. Lat. (fut.) fer-ë-s capi-ë-s farci-ës fīni-ë-s.1) Umbr. heriiie 'velit' or 'volet' (cp. Osc. heriiaid 'velit' § 919 p. 467).

The following may also be examples: Osc. deivaid 'iuret' for *deivàd(i)-ë-t, tadaid 'conceat' for *tadâ(i)-ë-ti, sakâhîter 'secretur' for *sakâ(i)-ë-ter; Lat. nēs plantēs for *nâ(i)-ë-s *plantâ(i)-ë-s (indic. 1st sing. nā plantō for *-a-(i̯)ō); similarly

1) These forms are wrongly explained in vol. I § 81 Rem. 3 p. 74 f.
stōs for *sta(j)-ē-s (indic. 1st sing. stō for *sta-(j)ō), by analogy of which would come dēs (cp. § 946). The difference between plantēs and claudeas finiās — the conj. suffix being in the one group ē and in the other a — may be explained by remembering that *planta(j)-ā-s must become *plantās, and a confusion with the indicative would result (compare § 930 sub fin.); the loss of *claude(j)-ē-s (cp. fini-ē-s plantēs), because it too would become *claudeās like the indicative. But all these ē-forms may be optative: *deiva-jē-t *plantā-jē-s, *da-jē-s. If, as is possible, the origin of these forms is double, the intermingling of Conjunctive and Optative would be due to formal analogy as well as syntax. See § 946.


(3) Perfect Forms (cp. Skr. va-vṛdh-a-ti Gr. lē-kā-η § 920 p. 468) occur only in Umbro-Sannite, as in Latin the s-Aorist had intruded in place of the perfect forms. Osc. fefacid 'fecerit' hipid 'habuerit' fluid 'fuerit'; Osc. sakraffir 'sacraverint' Umbr. pihafei 'piaverint'; Osc. trībarakattēs 'aedificaverint'. See §§ 872 f. pp. 420 f. Most of these forms may be regarded as belonging originally to a thematic aorist, as fluid to indic. Lat. fu-i-t = Skr. á-bhuv-a-t (see loc. cit.); if so they belong to (1).\[1\]

§ 927. Keltic. For Irish examples see § 919. Only -a- is proved as the Conjunctive suffix. Conjunct flexion, e.g. sing. do-ber, -berae -ber, -bera, pl. -berum -berid -berat basal

1) In regarding the Umbro-Sannite forms in this section as a-conj. I follow my pupil G. Bronisch. Meanwhile Bartholomae likewise explains sakahστερ as a conj. like Gr. δεῦ-η-ει (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 154, 185).
upon *ber-ā-m -ā-si -ā-t, -ā-m- -ā-te -ā-nt(o); with primary endings, the “absolute” 1st sing. bera (certainly a new form), 3rd sing. berid, pl. bermme berthe berit. Similarly 3rd sing. dolēca for *leikyā-ā-t etc.

With the conj. -bera harmonised fully in inflexion -cara, beside indic. no charu for *carā-īō, cp. Cymr. conj. 3rd sing. caro pl. carom caroch caront with o for ā. The conj. caro may be for *carāk-ā-, but may also be for orig. carā- (§ 930).

To the Present in -enim (Class XII, § 604 pp. 145 f.) the conjunctive was a series of forms without the nasal suffix. E. g. with crenim ‘I buy’ (from √ qwe-) and benim ‘I strike, cut’ (beside O.C.Sl. bi-ti ‘to strike’) the conjunctives are 3rd sing. (ni-)cra for *griā-ā-t (cp. Gr. p̣ṛ-o-μαι p̣ṛ-η-ραυ) and (fom-)bia for *bhriā-ā-t. Compare Thurneysen in Kuhn’s Zeitschr. xxxi 87 f. On the analogy of these, renim ‘I sell’ for *py-na-(√ per-) had the conj. ni-ria made for it; levelling seems to have taken place between these two verbs in the indic. perfect too, though in the reverse direction (§ 878 p. 426 f.).

§ 928. Germanic. Only one form, and that very dubious; the 1st sing. bastrau = O.Icel. bera beside the clear optatives Goth. bastrā-s bastrāi etc.; this has hitherto been derived from *berēj-u 1dg. *bherōj-ys (cp. I § 142 p. 126), which is called the “only tenable hypothesis” by Kluge, Paul’s Grundr. i 381.1) According to Hirt (Idg. Forsch. i 206) the form comes from *berō-ā-m = Lat. feram, and -au must be pronounced -au, that is as a single sound; similarly Goth. vilyau O.H.G. wilu would be derived from *yel-ī-ā-m, pr. Germ. *wiljōn. Compare § 947.

§ 929. Slavonic. 1st sing. indic. berq for *berām is a conj. form used as future, which displaced the old form in -ā

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1) I cannot agree to a recent criticism of this explanation, that it violates well established laws of sound. I would drop between vowels in unaccented syllables, and u may have been contracted with the preceding ā, before acc. *frījōnd-u became frījōnd, if this form really so arose (see III § 219 p. 96). Others see the particle u in bastrau (cp. Wiedemann, Lit. Präz. 159).
first in perfect verbs whose present served for the future. Compare § 955 on imperative pîja-te and the like.

II. CONJUNCTIVE WHERE THE INDICATIVE STEM ENDS IN A LONG VOWEL.

A. Indicative Stem ends in -ā-, -ē- -ō- without gradation.

§ 930. We have here the Conjunctive to our Present Classes X and XI (§§ 578 ff. pp. 118 ff.), that is, stems such as *dr-ā- 'to run' (Skr. drā-iti Gr. ἑ-δρα-ν), *pl-ē- 'fill' (Skr. á-prā-ti Gr. πλΗ-το Lat. im-plē-s), *myn-ō- 'to think' (Gr. ε-μυνη Lith. minė), *tak-ō- 'to be silent' (Lat. tacē-s O.H.G. dagē-s), with which are grouped denominative stems without -io- like Lat. plantā- (plantā-mus) O.Ir. carā- (no chara-m) Goth. salbō- (salbō-m) Lith. jūstā- (jūstā-me) Gr. Aeol. τιμα- (τιμα-μεν) (§ 769 pp. 283 ff.) and Perfects like Skr. ji-jyā Gr. βε-βλη-ταυ βλ-βλη-ταυ τε-τιμα-τα (§ 847 pp. 390 ff.).

The long vowels of these stems we have already identified with the conjunctive suffixes -ā- and -ō- (-ō-), in § 578 p. 119 f. Thus the Conjunctive and Indicative had here originally the same stem.

In Aryan we get Injunctive forms with Conjunctive use; as Ved. pr-ā-s from pr-ā- 'to fill'. Forms with primary ending in conj. meaning do not occur, except prā-si 'let him fill', which however belongs to the group vē-ṣi kē-ṣi etc. (§ 910 Rem. pp. 459 f.).

Greek. Messen. -γράφ-η-ντι conj. of -γράφ-η 'it was written' 1st pl. ἐ-γράφ-η-μεν, -σκυλάνθη-ντι beside ἐ-σκυλάνθη 'was prepared'. Perf. Gortyn. πέ-πα-ταπ beside indic. πέ-πα-ταπ 'he has gained, he possesses' from ἐπ-α- (II § 117 p. 370 f.), Ther. πέ-πα-ταπ beside indic. πέ-πα-ταπ 'is sold', also conj. Heracl. οἰκοδομή-ταπ from οἰκοδομέω 'I build', Gortyn. ἐ-τετέκτω- ταπ beside (Att.) ἐ-τεκτόνω 'I beget children'. For clearer distinction between conj. and indic. these forms followed the
analogy of our 1st conjunctive class: hence we have on the one hand forms with short conj. vowel, as Hom. βλη-ται τραπη-κε μεν γνω-σε-κε μεν κι-χη-κε μεν (cp. κι-χη-κε μεν § 594 p. 135), and on the other hand forms with long vowel, as Hom. δαμη-κε γνω-σα,1) contracted Att. τραπης τραπηκε γνωκε γνωκε, μεμνηται Hom. μμωμοπεθα, Heracl. ἵπ-βη for *-βαθ or *-βαθη.

From Keltic we may cite the conj. of ã-verbs, as O.Ir. -cara for *carath (cp. § 927 p. 474), and from Germanic the corresponding conjunctives, such as Goth. salbô -ôs -ô -ô-ma -ô-p -ô-na O.I.H.G. salbo -ôs -ô -ô-m -ô-t -ô-n; also O.H.G. conj. habe -ê-s -ê -ê-m -ê-t -ê-n beside indic. habem -ês etc., and Gr. conj. γαγη-η-ναι beside ἐ-γαγη-η-μεν.2) Similar Latin forms, *plantä-m -ä-s etc., may have been the predecessors of plantem -ês etc.; cp. § 926 p. 473.

B. Indicative Stem has a Long Final Vowel, with Gradation.

§ 931. We have now to deal with the Conjunctive of Indicative Stems like *dhē- *dh(e)- (Skr. दाहा-t दाधिता), *dhì-dhē- *dhì-dh(e)- and *dhe-dhē- *dhe-dh(e)- (Gr. τι-τη-α τη-τε-ται, Skr. dá-dhäti da-dhâs da-dhâti da-dhâi, *my-nä- *my-n(e)- (Skr. my-nä-ti my-m-ânti Gr. μαρ-να-ται).

Two conjunctive types appear to be proethic; one with the thematic vowel, which we may call the regular type, as Skr. du-dhäa-tē beside indic. dá-dhäti, and one with long

1) It is true there is nothing to prove that the forms Homer really used were not δαμι-ες γνω-σαν; compare § 934, on conj. like αγις ασόμε. The absence of such forms as δαμιομεν δαμιετε ασόμεν ασότε in Homer is in favour of the short-vowel conjunctive.

2) But how are we to explain Goth. habau -ôis -ôi? That habēs in Gothic became habais (ôi = long ai) by simple action of regular change is to my mind as little proven as the identity of Goth. sitais and Lat. nisi. The student may now refer to Streitberg, Zur Germ. Sprachgeschichte 73 f., who regards habais habai as optative with the suffix -și.
vowel, as Skr. da-dh-a-tāi, (Ir. ēnl-sr-ω-μαυ ēnl-sr-γ-ραυ beside indic. ēnl-sr-α-ραυ, Lat. si-st-ā-s. The latter are not independent of the fact that the Indicative so often has a thematic side by side with the unthematic series, thus Skr. da-dh-a-tē beside indic. dá-dha-ti, da-dh-a-tai beside indic. dá-dha-ti (§ 562 p. 110 f.). Cp. conj. ay-a-t and ay-a-t and the like (§ 920 p. 468).

§ 932. (1) Thematic Conjunctive Type.

Skr. da-dh-a-t 2nd dual dá-dh-a-thas mid. da-dh-a-tō beside indic. dá-dha-ti 'places'. 2nd dual mid. dh-ēthē 3rd sing. act. prāti-dhat beside indic. d-dhā-t. mi-n-a-t beside indic. mi-nā-ti 'lessens, injures'. The forms with secondary personal ending, da-dh-a-t mi-n-a-t, may be regarded as injunctive to the thematic indic. dá-dh-a-ti ā-mi-n-a-nta; -dh-a-t as injunctive is to be compared with āda-t (§ 524 p. 88). Avest. 1st sing. xšt-a (ep. indic. 3rd sing. paiti-štā-ḥ Skr. ā-sthā-t from /stā-‘stare’) may come in here as easily as under (2); cp. § 933.

Greek perhaps has specimens of this type of conjunctive in the imperative 2nd sing. ἱσ (from τιθημί) and ἐκ (ἐπιμέ). If so, their ε is not the same as ε in ἐ-ἔσχε, which has displaced u = Idg. o (§ 493 p. 53); they would be on the same plane as σχ-ε-ς. On the model of ἵ-ε-ς (*dh-ε-ς): ἱέ-τε (Idg. *dhe-te) dōc beside dōx would then be coined. Or are ἱές ἐκ dōc transformates of χθύς *πής *δύς (which would be injunctive like Skr. dhās dās) by levelling with στίμ dēs etc. (§ 909 p. 458).

§ 933. (2) Long-Vowel Conjunctive Type.

beside indic. ger'cow-na-itit 'grasps, comprehends', cp. indic. Skr. ṃṛ-ṇa-śi (§ 598 p. 141, § 609 p. 149).

On the ending -a-tai see § 922 p. 470.

§ 934. Greek. ἵναι-νῳ-μαι ἵναι-νῃ-ται beside indic. ἵναι-στα-ται 'understands'. δί-νῳ-μαι beside indic. δί-να-ται 'can', μαχ-νό-μεσθά (Hesiod) beside indic. μαχ-να-ται 'fights', cp. opt. μαχ-νο-ι-μετά (Od. 11. 513) and indic. like πταγ-νο-μαι (§ 611 p. 149). Whether the Attic accent be τιθαμαι or τιδίμαι (for *τιθιμαι) cannot be decided; the grammarians contradict each other, and the MS. tradition is uncommonly inconsistent; τι-νῳ-μαι τι-νῃ-ται would answer to Skr. da-dha-tai.

A second type is represented by forms like Messen. τιθατεί beside τιθημα 'I place', Arcad. τιτα-τον Cret. τιθατεί beside τιτα-μαι 'I place, set up', Cret. δί-τα-μαι beside δί-να-μαι 'I can', φηγ-νη-ται (Hipponax) beside φηγ-νου-μαι 'I break, tear'. I assume that this type is due to imitation of such a conjunctive as -γραφ-η-τεί (§ 930 p. 475). — Observe that in both series the optative formation had become the same in proethnic Greek, as γραφήν and τιθαίν, see § 943; — τιθατεί: τιθημα δειθημά = γραφητεί: δειγραφήν; φηγνηται like διμελαύν § 480 p. 29. Cp. Hom. τιθήμενο-ς instead of τιθέμενο-ς like με-χη-μενό-ς βλή-μενό-ς, indic. ἵναι-στηται (II. 16. 243, from ἵ-στη-ν) like πλη-το 'drew near' (for *πλά-το). If Greek once had the conj. a-suffix, τιτα-τον might be compared with Lat. si-st-a-s.

In the same way, and at the same time, with the forms γεραφητεί etc., Conjunctives like τιθημα came under the influence of o- and o-conjunctives. Hom. στη-ο-μαι στη-ετον, θη-ο-μαι -θη-ο-μαι, δοῖ-ο-μαι and Hom. στη-γει στη-ωσαι, φη-γοι,2)

1) The forms here treated have been wrongly explained in vol. I §§ 113 ff. pp. 106 ff.
2) Perhaps in Homeric times the forms used were στης στηνος: φης. See p. 476 footnote 1.
§§ 934—938. The Mood Stem: — Optative.


The relation of τιθαυ to indic. τιθαυ produced in Messenian a conj. ἱθαψ beside indic. ἱψι. With this must be grouped Hom. μετ-σιο (II. 23. 47), for which read μετ-νόω and place it parallel to ἰθ-νο ἵψ-νο. Compare also § 502 p. 66 on ἵψεν and ἵψε ῎εμεναι and § 914 p. 463 on Hom. ἵψεν.

§ 935. Italic. Lat. si-st-a-s cp. indic. si-st-i-t ἱνο-; seras for *si-s-a-s cp. indic. se-r-i-t  ἱνο-; red-d-a-s Osc. da-dad 'dedat' (da- prefix) cp. indic. Lat. red-d-i-t (the indic. forms das dat may contain the same stem d-a- whcl with injunctive Flexion could also be indic. pres., cp. § 505 p. 71, § 909 p. 456 f.), Pelign. di-d-a 'det' Umbr. di-rs-a 'det' cp. indic. Vest. di-d-e-t 'det' ἱνο-. Compare § 493 p. 53, § 524 p. 88, § 550 p. 106, § 553 p. 107.

Lat. ster-n-a-s li-n-a-s cp. indic. ster-n-i-t li-n-i-t. Compare § 603 p. 145.

§ 936. From Irish we may cite the Mid.Ir. 2nd sing. eba 'bibas', cp. indic. ibid for *pi-b-e-ti ἱνο-. Compare § 589 p. 100, § 554 p. 108.

§ 937. Germanic. In § 507 p. 74 it was pointed out as possible that O.Sax. do-m O.H.G. tuo-m 'I do' may represent the stem dh-a- of Lat. conda-s and be compared with Lat. indic. d-a-s (§ 935). The same stem as Conj. is seen in O.Sax. 1st 2nd and 3rd pl. dua-m O.H.G. 2nd pl. tuo-t 3rd pl. tuo-n.

OPTATIVE 1)

§ 938. The Optative of the Unthematic Indicative has for suffix in the Singular Active -ίν- -ίσ- (Strong form), in the Plural and Dual Active and in the Middle of all numbers -ί-.

before consonants and -i- -i₂- before sonants (Weak forms). The Tense Stem had its Weak form. Thus from *es-ti 'is': *s-iē- *s-īē- 2rd sing. Skr. s-yād-ā s-iyād-ā O.Lat. s-iē-s, *s-ī- *s-i- *s-ī- 1st pl. Lat. s-i-mus 3rd pl. Skr. s-y-ūr s-iy-ūr O.Lat. s-i-ent. But the Optative of Thematic tense stems had in all persons of the Active and Middle -oi- before the personal ending; as *bheroi- (Gr. ἡρο-ς ἡρω-τε) beside indic. *bhere-ti 'bears' from √bher-. Probably -oi- is for -o- and this -i- identical with that of *s-ī-; 2nd pl. *bhero-ī-te: *s-ī-te = loc. *μοῖκο-ι (Gr. oἰκοι) : *kun-i (Gr. κυν-ί Skr. śūn-ī).

The Personal endings of the Optative are Secondary. Compare § 942 Rem.

In Armenian and Irish 1) the Optative seems completely dead; in Italic the -oi-type can no longer be traced. The commingling of optative and conjunctive has been described in § 910 p. 460.

I. OPTATIVE WITH -iē- -i₂-

§ 939. Pr.Idg.


ursprüngl. Flexion des Optatifs und der auf a auslautenden Präsensstämme, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiv 303 ff.

G. H. Müller, De Graecorum modo optativo, Philologus 98 548 ff.
Fr. A. Börsch, Hat die lat. Sprache einen Optativus? Marburg 1820.
Loth, L'optatif, les temps secondaires dans les dialectes britanniques, Mém. Soc. Ling., v 133 ff.
F. Bech, Der umgelautete Conjunctivus praeteriti rückumlautender Zeitwörter, Germania xv 129 ff.

1) "What the British conjunctive, in which i seems to be mixed up with ā (for ā), really is, has not yet been made out. It may be partly derived from an optative of the s-aorist." (Thurneysen.) Compare also Loth, Mém. Soc. Ling., v 183 ff.
1st pl. Skr. :])-bhā-ma Gr. ἐ-φε-μεν from  ε-βηγ- 'be, become':
  -kr. bhā-yā-t. O.Pers. b-iyā, Gr. Cypr. φύκη, 1st pl. Avest. buyānā
    i.e. bviyana for *bhā-yā-qmn- (§ 942).  *yid-jē- *yid-t- beside
    Skr. vēd-mi from  veyid- 'see, know' (see § 493 p. 52): Skr.
    vēd-yā-t Goth. 1st pl. vit-ei-ma.  *s-(j)jē- *s-t-: Skr.
    s-yā-t s-iyā-t, O.Lat. s-e-t 1st pl. O.Lat. and class.
    ad-mi 'esse': Skr. ad-yā-t Lat. ed-t-mus O.C.Sl. jad-i-mi; in all
    three branches a strong root-form has taken the place of the weak.

   Indicatives like *d-dhē-t 'he placed' had two optative types,
   one having the "unaccented weak grade" of root (dē-)
   and the other the "weak grade with secondary accent" (dho-);
   compare the two forms of the root in Skr. d-yā-ti and dā-yā-tē,
   da-did 'dedal' (-t- from the plural), cp. redup. Avest.
   daidyā-p mid. daidy-ta.  (2) *dho- *dho-t (cp. bheroj- and
   Skr. superl. sthēṣṭha-s 'the steadiest, most stable' for
   *stā-is-to- II § 81 p. 244).  Gr. pl. θεῖ-μεν δοῖ-μεν σταῖ-μεν
   (θεῖ- do- instead of
   1) The 2nd pl. Ved. dhētana, R.V. viii. 58. 5, x. 37. 12 (-tana as
   often instead of -ta, see § 1010), probably does not belong to this
   place; it is either a thematic form like Avest. 2nd sing. dēi-ś
   Gr. ἰἹ-ἀρο
   -τομέω or a new form coined beside dhēti on the analogy of attana
   ottā beside addhi, itana iṭā beside i-hi, yatāna yāṭā beside yāṭi,
   and the like. The latter view is supported by Pali pres. dhēmi
dhēsi etc. and dhēni dēsi etc., which undoubtedly are new forms
   complementary to the imperative dhēti and dēhi.

  Brugmann. Elements. IV.
the presumptive form *dhe-na stands to that of 3rd sing. mid. da-dh-i-ta just as the indic. 3rd sing. mid. pret. a-dhi-ta to the 3rd sing. mid. pres. dha-t-te. It is uncertain whether Lat. désc comes from *da-(i)ē-s (§ 946), and whether O.H.G. 1st pl. stēn is to be equated with Gr. στάμων (§ 947).

Remark. Others assume that Skr. dhēyā-t Gr. ζαγι come from *dhe-īje-ī. With this view, attractive enough at first sight, I cannot agree. The explanation, now put forward again by Jellinek (Beitr. zur Erkärung der Germ. Flexion, p. 95), that dhārṇyam comes from Idg. *abhē-tī-ū, is proved by the evidence of Iranian to be wrong.

Class III (§§ 536 ff.). Skr. da-dh-yā-t da-d-yā-t mid. da-dh-i-ta da-d-i-ta, O.Sax. pl. ded-i-n 'we did' (beside dād-i-n), unless this form is to be put with the perfect (§ 886 p. 433), O.C.Sl. da-d-i-mū da-d-i-te (indic. da-d-ē-tā 'dant'); Gr. τι-θε-ι-μεν ὅ-δο-θ-μεν i-στα-θ-μεν like ὅι-θ-μεν etc., see above Skr. bi-bhi-ya-t bi-bhī-y-āt beside bi-bhē-ti 'fears', bi-bhr-yā-t beside bi-bhar-ti 'bears'.

Class VII (§§ 567 f.). Skr. vē-vē-ti 'works, is active'.

Classes X and XI (§§ 579 ff.). Skr. jād-yā-t (gramm.) Gr. γρομέν for *γνο-μεν from ḫn-ē- ḫn-ō- 'to learn'. Skr. mnd-yā-t 'commemoret' 3rd pl. mnd-ur. Gr. δραμέν for *δρα-μεν beside ὅ-δρ-α-ρ 'I ran'. Lat. nēs for *sn-ā-ī-s? (a. § 946). — Gr. κυκέμεν beside χι-θ-μεν 'we reach, find'.

Class XII (§§ 597 ff.). Skr. 3rd sing. mid. ḫy-n-ī-ta beside ḫy-nd-ti 'shatters'. Gr. ἄφωνε (beside ἄφ-νη-ταυ 'is able') for *du-su-ī-to stands to Skr. ḫy-n-ī-ta as rīsē (on the accent see § 944) to dādhitā.

Class XV (§§ 625 f.). Skr. yuṣi-yā-t mid. yuṣi-i-ta beside yunā-ti 'yokes'.


Class XIX (§ 656). Skr. ἄφων-τι beside ἄφων-τι 'hates'.

The Mood Stem: — Optative. § 999.
§§ 999,940. The Mood Stem: — Optative.

s-Aorist (§§ 811 ff.). Skr. mid. dikṣ-ṇ-ta beside 1st sing. ā-dikṣ-ṇ-i, Lat. dix-re-mus beside dix-r, V deikṣ- 'show'; Skr. mid. mu-s-i-ta Idg. *mī-s-i-ta, V mien- 'think'; O.H.G. wis-s-ī-mēs 'we knew' must be named here, if wisserun 'they knew' is to be compared with Gr. ĵēn (§ 827 p. 365). es-Aorist: Gr. eideīmen 'we should like to know' for *fēd-er-i-men (ep. Lat. vid-er-i-mus), edeīmen for -a-er-i-ar or -a-er-i-ar see § 944. es-Aorist: Skr. 1st pl. mid. jan-īs-i-mahi beside indic. ā-jan-īs-ta from jan-’gignere’, pyā-s-īs-i-mahi from pyā- ’swell’. is-Aorist: Lat. vid-er-i-mus for *yejd-ii-s-i- beside conj. vider-ī (ep. ir. ædeīmer).


Often both types, -ē- and -oē-, occur together, just as in the Indicative thematic and unthematic forms are found side by side, and as in the Conjunctive we see both long-vowel type and thematic. Examples are: (ir. īm Lith. tēs beside īmī es-mi 'I am', Avest. dē-ē (ir. īm-i-noro beside indic. dē-p ē-thero from V dheh- 'place', Pruss. dais 'give' from V dō-, Gr. μαρτυρεῖα beside μᾶρτυρον 'fights', περιβολή beside περιβολῆ-α 'I have experienced'.

§ 940. Aryan. In Sanskrit, the -yā- of the sing active is invariably for active plural and dual forms that have a personal ending with initial consonant; as s-yā-ta instead of *s-ī-ta (Lat. s-i-tis), jhā-yā-ta instead of *jūni-ta (Gr. jōi-tēs): in the Middle it is invariably absent. The same relation may be seen in Indicative stems like dhūt- (Idg. *dhē-): as rā-er-yā-ē-t ra-er-yā-ta mid. rā-er-i-ta, so ā-da-t ā-dā-ta mid. dā-di-ta (§ 495 p. 55). In Avestic -yā- preponderates for the plural active, as Gath. āyā-ta = Skr. ayā-ta; but -ē- seems to occur, as in arrīma i.e. arrūt-ī-ma beside imper. srao-tā = Skr. sṛṛ-tu from V hṛs- 'heark'.

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Instead of the Skr. ending -iṣa of the 1st sing., as va-ṛt-
-īy-a, we should expect -ya or -iṣa following the -y-uṛ -iṣ-y-uṛ
of the 3rd pl. active; indeed, the MS. Ṣ of the Veda must often
be read short for metrical reasons, as in ṛṣiṣa and ṛāṣiṣa
Rig.-V. vii. 32. 18, and Avestic regularly has tanuṣa i.e.
tan-īṣ-ya (Bartholomae, Handb. § 91 b p. 40). This -iṣ-
came from the other middle forms; similarly we have bhāraviṣa
following bhārē-ṣ etc., instead of *bharay-ṣa or *bharay-ṣa
(§ 951).

More examples to add to those given in § 939:

Class I. Skr. kr-īṣa-t beside ā-kar 'he made', dār-yā-t
= *dv-ṣ-iṣ-t beside ā-dar 'he split, burst' (cp. below, Class VII
Avest. dar'-dairyā-ḥ), mid. vur-ī-ta beside ā-vṛ-ṣa 'he chose'.
Avest. jam-yā-ḥ O.Pers. jam-iiṣa with jam- instead of gam-
which is preserved in Skr. gam-yā-t (mid. gm-ṣa) (I § 451
O.Pers. jan-īṣa beside Skr. hān-ṭi 'strikes, kills' from V ghan-
pr. Ar. *jhan-ṣa-t instead of *ghan- = *ghaṣ-, with which we
have the reg. mid. Skr. gḥaṇ-ṭa Avest. gṇ-ṭa, but in Skr.
following the active also han-ṭa (I § 454 Rem. p. 335, II
§ 498 p. 57 f.). Skr. stu-ṇa-t mid. stuv-ṭ-tā Avest. stu-yā-ḥ
beside indic. Skr. stāu-ṭi (stu-māsi) Avest. stao-ṭi 'he praises'.
Skr. i-yā-t beside ē-ti 'goes'. Skr. vṛy-ṣa-t beside ā-vark 'he
twisted together' (pres. vṛṇa-k-ṭi). Skr. uṣ-ṇa-t Avest. us-yā-ḥ
beside Skr. vṛṣ-ṭi Avest. vas-ṭi 'wishes' (us-māsi us-mahī). On
Skr. dēy-ṣa-t Avest. d-yā-ḥ and the like, see § 939 p. 481;
on Avest. 2nd sing. da-yā, below, Class X.

Skr. brā-ṇa-t mid. bruo-ṭ-tā (Avest. mru-yā-ḥ) beside
brav-ṭ-ti 'he speaks' Class IX (§ 574 p. 116).

Class III. Skr. ju-hu-yā-t mid. 1st pl. jānu-ṭ-mahī beside
ju-hō-ṭti 'offers'. Avest. daidyā-ḥ daiṭyā-ḥ mid. daiṭ-ta daiṭ-
ta like Skr. da-an-yā-t da-d-yā-t da-dh-ṭ-ta da-d-d-ta, § 939
p. 481.

Class VII. Avest. dar'-dairyā-ḥ beside indic. Skr.

1) On the active singular forms with -ṛ, like sāḥṛṣa, which used to be
wrongly taken as optative, see Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Sprachg. II 157, 169.
dár-dar-ti intens. of dar- 'to split'; the ground-form may be *-d̞-iḥ-t, see § 568 p. 112.

Class X. Skr. ya-ya-t beside y-ā-ti 'goes'. Avest. pā-ya-ḥ from pa- 'protect' (§ 588 p. 129). The forms Skr. mnēya-t jnośćt beside the regular mnā-ya-t jña-ya-t (§ 393 p. 482) are adformates of such as dhēya-t sthēya-t (Class I), just as Skr. jyēṣṭha-s 'the mightiest' beside comp. jyā-yas- is an adformate of sthēṣṭha-s (II § 81 p. 244); compare the preceptive jāćśam, § 942. Levelling in the reverse direction is shown by Avest. da-ya-ḥ beside d-ya-ḥ.

Class XII. Skr. mid. ṭṛ-ṇā-yā-t beside ṭṛ-ṇād-ti 'fills'; act. ṭṛ-ṇā-yā-t with the same -i- as indic. ṭṛ-ṇi-mās, see § 597 p. 141.


s-Aorist. Skr. 1st pl. mid. dhuk-ṣ-ि-māḥi from dhu- 'to milk', 1st sing. mid. diṣṭ-iy-ा from dā- 'divide, share'; Avest. diṣṭya-ḥ from √deṣk- 'to show, point' from a ground-form *deṣ-s-įḥ-t, cp. Skr. mid. diṣṭ-ii-ta. On the intrusion of the strong root in Skr., as maṣ-s-t-māḥi beside maṣ-ii-y-ा, see § 815 p. 353. The īṣ- and siṣ-aorist in Sanskrit: ruc-īṣ-īy-ा and rōc-īṣ-īy-ā from ruc- 'to shine', sah-īṣ-t-māḥi and sah-īṣ-t-māḥi from sah- 'to overcome', vaṣ-siṣ-īy-ा from van- 'to gain'. Optatives from sigmatic aorist are in Sanskrit only found in the middle voice, and the 2nd and 3rd sing. show regularly the preceptive form, as maṣ-s-t-ṣṭās maṣ-s-t-sta van-īṣ-t-ṣṭa ya-siṣt-ṣṭās (§ 942).

Perfect. Skr. ja-gam-ya-t Avest. jārmϑuṃ i. e. ja-yin-iyuṃ beside indic. Skr. ja-gām-a from √gem- 'go'. Skr. ri-ric-ya-t beside ri-rēc-ā from rēc- 'let loose'. Avest. caunyu-ḥ beside
indic. 3rd pl. vaon-arś from van- 'to gain', O.Pers. 3rd sing. ca-xr-iyā from kar- 'to make'.

§ 941. According to Bartholomae, Avestic has in the 1st pl. active forms with -ama for -yane: jam-yama (the 3rd sing. is jam-yā-ḥ, § 940 p. 484), byumā i.e. be-iy-ama (cp. tannyā § 940 p. 434) beside O.Pers. biyā for *b(e)-iyā-t-(Avest. 2nd sing. byūd 3rd sing. byuā-ḥ may also be derived from be-iyā-, because of the Avestic mode of spelling). Following byuman we have 2nd pl. buya-ta: perhaps 2nd pl. ādaya-ta springs from 3rd sing. ādaya-ḥ in the same way. A similar explanation is given of Skr. duhiyā-t beside 3rd pl. duhiyān; perhaps the t of this 3rd pl. may be accepted as evidence that -i-ma and -i-ta once existed in the Sanskrit language (cp. middle -iy-a following -i-thas etc.). See Benfey, Abh. Göttingen Gesellsch. Wiss. XVI 182 f., 197; J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIV 318; Barrholomae, ibid. XXIX 274 f.

§ 942. The "Precative", as it is called, is a mood peculiar to Sanskrit. This is an optative with -s- between mood-suffix and personal ending;¹) in the middle, the 1st persons and the 3rd pl. could not take this form. Examples are act. sing. 1st bhū-yd-s-am 2nd and 3rd -yd-s (2nd *-ya-s-s 3rd *-ya-s-t) pl. -yd-s-ma -yā-s-ta -yā-s-ur, mid. sing. 2nd muc-i-ḥ-thās maq-s-i-ḥ-thās 3rd muc-i-ḥ-ta etc.

Beside ā-dā-t 'gave', 1st pl. dēśma i.e. *dv-ḥ-s-me (confirming the assumed *dē-ma = Gr. doī-me, see § 939 p. 481); 3rd pl. sthē-ḥ-ur beside sthā-ta. To this the 1st sing. is dēšam sthēsam. jnēyam (from jnā-ā- 'know'): dēśam = jnēyāt : ādaya-t, see § 940 p. 485.

The history and origin of the Precative are as yet unknown. But there must doubtless be a connexion between its s and the aorist s.

Remark. If the optative suffix is the same as the Root-determinative s, described in § 498 p. 61 and § 572 p. 114, it would be obvious to

¹) Avest. tātuyā is not a precative; see Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 561. On Skr. forms assumed to be precative, which do not have s just before the personal ending, see the same, p. 587.
assume the same connexion between Skr. dé-yé-ma (*da-yé-ma) and Gr. ἰο-μα as between Skr. dārak-ṛ-ṛ-sa and dārak-ṛt; Skr. ḍjā-ś 'thou didst drive' could be analysed *ṣi-ṛ-ṛ-ś, as the opt. ḍjē-ś into *ṣi-ṛ-ś. Then the optative would be an Injunctive to the indicative with -ṛ.

§ 943. Greek. Here we see -jē- -r always and only after sonant vowels, with which -r- is contracted.

The fact that Skr. forms like vid-yāt gam-yāt bi-bhṛ-yāt da-dh-yāt ri-rīc-yāt are missing in Greek as we have it, is easy to explain. The ฤ of -jē-m -r-ent etc. in proethnic Greek, together with the consonant preceding, formed sound-groups which disguised certain parts of the paradigm, and obscured their connexion with the rest. Thus *iṣyṇ (ιςςν) *iḍινεν beside ṯa iḍ-μεν, *κτανήν *κτανιμεν beside ἦ-κτα-μεν, *γιςςν *γιςςμεν beside ἵ-θη-μ, *κλεπςςν *κλεπτιμεν (κλεπτιςν) beside ἕ-λοπ-κ, the regular forms, would be unrecognisable for the same kin.

§ 944. Class I. Hom. ἔγν 'sim' for *iθα-μυ-ν or trisyllabic *iθα-πς-ν, 3rd pl. ἔλεν for *iθα-μυ-ν or οθα-μν (cp. Skr. s-iyā-m s-yy-ur beside s-yā-m s-y-ur), 1st pl. ἐμεν for *εσι-μεν with intrusion of strong root (cp. § 502 p. 65). El. iā for *η 3rd pl. ον-εν possibly for -εν answering to the Ion. ελεν (cp. I § 64 p. 51, § 72 p. 63, where εα must be read and not εια, and IV §§ 952, 1020.1 a). ελ- in Att. ἔγν ελεν is either to be explained by the fact that the Greek ground-forms *ίςιν *ίςιν were trisyllabic, or else if these were really *ίςιν *ίςιν it must have come from ελεν, as θείν follows θείνεν and φέρων follows φέρουεν (I § 131 p. 118, IV § 939 p. 481).

On θείν δοήν σταίνεν see § 939 p. 481. Of the same sort are θαινον φαινεν mid. 2nd sing. qād from η-μι 'I say'.

Cypr. φυίκ, see I § 130 p. 118: Skr. bhā-yā-t, see § 939 p. 481. Hom. ἐκ-δόμεν (beside ἐ-δι 'went in' ἐ-δῶ-μεν) for *δοκ-μεν (like σταίμεν γράφειν) stands for ἰδι(π-)μεν or ἰδι-μεν, 3rd sing. δην = *δνη like σταίν beside σταιμεν. Cp. ἀνείπο δοκεῖνo Class XVII p. 488. Whether Hom. φθίτο (beside ἐ-φθι-τo 'was destroyed' is regularly descended from *γθι-το, which must be assumed as original, is a question; it may have been coined beside ἐγθίτο on the analogy of ὀτί to φθιτο.
Class III. \( τιθητ' \) διδοιν \( εσταϊν \) like \( \thetaεγ' \) etc., cp. § 939 p. 481. \( τιθεσα \) : Skr. \( dādhitā = τιθεμεν : \) dadhmās. If the Gr. Indicative with \( ε \) need not be regarded as a new formation in Greek (cp. Skr. \( dādhi-dhe \) ja-\( hi-mas \)), neither need \( τιθηεμεν \) \( τιθεσα \) be such; we should then postulate Idg. \( *dhi-dhō-iz- \) = \( *dhi-dhō-ir- \). But in that case the accentuation \( τιθηεμεν \) \( διδοιμεν \) etc. (not certain before the Alexandrian period) must be new, and the original accent \( *τιθηεμεν \) \( *διδοιμεν \) etc., as \( δουναιρο \) shows (see below); the influences at work in the change may have been the accent of \( ειδειμεν \) for \( *φευδέ(σ)-ι-μεν \) (beside \( ειδειην \)), \( παρ-είμεν \) for \( *-εσι-μεν \) (beside \( \piαρ-ειην \)), and \( φιλοιμεν \) for \( φιλειμεν \) (beside \( φιλην \), see § 952), and again that of \( τιθηεμεν \) (§ 945). Similarly the accent of \( εκ-\)\( θιημεν \) \( εκ-\)\( δοιμεν \) and \( δουντο \) is not original.

Classes X and XI. \( δραμεν \) for \( *δρα-κ-μεν \) by I § 611 p. 461, hence \( δρατην \) instead of \( *δρα-(κ)η-ν \) like \( σταιην \) following \( σταιμεν \). Similarly, \( γνοατην \) beside \( ε-γηρα-ν \) 'I grew old', \( βλειν \) \( βλειμεν \) \( βαλειν \) \( βαλειμεν \) beside \( \varepsilon-βλην \) \( \varepsilon-βαλην \) 'I received a missile, was struck', \( δοειν \) beside \( εδοθην \) 'I was given', \( κιχειν \) beside \( κι-\chi-μι \) 'I attain, reach', \( γνοην \) \( γνοιμεν \) beside \( ε-\gammaνω-ν \) 'I learnt', \( αλων \) beside \( ε\( \lambda\)λω-ν \) 'I was caught'. Again Lesb. \( ϕιλη\) \( ϕημεν \) beside \( ϕιλη-μ \) 'I treat as a friend', El. \( συλαιη \) beside \( συλαμμ \) 'I rob', and on the same principle we explain \( στεφασιον \) etc.

The Middle formation \( εμ-πλητο \) (beside \( πλη-το \) 'filled itself') is to be compared with the 3rd pl. indic. \( εμ-πληντο \) : as this is a transformate of \( *-πλετο \) on the analogy of \( πλητο \), so \( -πλητο \) is instead of \( *-πλετο \) (§ 582 Rem. p. 123). The same is true of \( μεμυημεν \) \( νεκτημεν \), p. 489. \( -πλητο μεμυμην \) \( βλειμεν δραειν \) \( =-πληντο μεμυθητο \) \( : \) \( εβλεν τ) \) \( εδραν τ) \).

Class XII. Apparently the only form found is \( δουναιρο \) from \( δουναιμ \) 'I am able'; \( εποηαιν \) from \( κερ-νη-μ \) 'I mix' and the like may be left out of count. \( δου-ναιρο \) beside Skr. \( δρ-η-τ-τ \) like \( *τιθη-θειρου τε \) (\( τιθητ \)) beside \( da-\)\( dh-τ \).tā.

Class XVII. Hom. \( δαυρο \) (beside \( δαι-νυ-ται \) 'eats') for \( -νυ-το \), like \( \varepsilon-\)\( δοιμεν \); instead of \( *-ρυ(\varepsilon)-το \) or \( *-vF-το \), cp. Skr. \( a\)\( χ-νυ-τ-τā \) \( κυ-νυ-τ-τā \) § 940 p. 485. 3rd pl. \( δαυραιρο \) = \( -vυ-το \), like \( \dot{\sigma}η \) (p. 487).
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s-Aorist. \( \epsilon i \delta i \eta \nu \epsilon i \delta e i \nu e \nu \) (beside \( \eta \delta e a \) 'I knew') for *\( \epsilon i \eta \delta -\eta -\sigma -\epsilon \eta -\nu \) or -\( \sigma -\epsilon \nu -\nu \) and -\( \epsilon \sigma -\iota -\mu e v \), cp. Lat. \( \epsilon i d e r -\iota -\nu m u s \); Att. \( \epsilon i \delta i \nu \eta \) is to be explained in the same way as \( \epsilon i \eta \nu \), page 487.

On the optative of \( \eta i \mu i \) 'I go' see § 836 p. 372 f.; the form \( \epsilon i \delta i \nu \eta \) II. 19. 209 may, like Plato's \( \delta e d i \epsilon i \nu \eta \), be an adformate of \( \epsilon i \delta i \nu \eta \), cp. \( \iota \nu m a i \) \( \delta e d i \nu m a i \) : \( \epsilon i \delta e i \nu m a i \).

\( \delta e d i \epsilon i a -\mu i -\omega -\varsigma \) etc. is a new formation following the optative -\( \sigma -\mu i -\omega -\varsigma \) etc., which sprang up when \( \alpha \) in the \( \sigma \)-aorist had spread beyond its proper sphere; cp. § 820 p. 357.

It is likely that the forms Hom. Att. \( \delta e d i \epsilon e a -\iota -\epsilon i a v \) Arcad. \( \delta i a k o l \delta o e i \) and \( \tau \nu \mu e i \mu e n \) (only preserved by Choeroboscus Dict. 565. 2, and by him called Aeolic) contain the endings -\( \sigma -\epsilon a -\eta -\nu \) or -\( \sigma e o -\epsilon \eta -\nu \) and -\( \sigma e o -\iota -\), see § 836 p. 374. The 3rd pl. -\( \iota a v \) stands to the ordinary -\( \iota e n \) (\( \iota e n \) \( \theta e \iota e n \)) as indic. Booet. \( \pi a r -\epsilon i a n \) to Dor. \( \eta \nu \) for *\( \eta \)\((\sigma)\)\( -\epsilon e n \); 1st pl. -\( \sigma e m e n \) for *\( \sigma -\sigma e o -\iota -\mu e n \).

On the one hand, -\( \sigma e m e n \) occasioned a 3rd sing. -\( \sigma e i \) on the analogy of -\( \sigma i : \sigma a m e n \) and -\( \omega : \omega i m e n \); on the other, -\( \sigma e i a v \) produced complementary 2nd and 3rd sing. -\( \sigma e i a -\sigma e i e \) following indic. -\( \sigma a \)\( \varsigma -\sigma e -\sigma a \)\( \nu \), just as Avest. \( b u y a -\tau a \) follows \( b u y a m a \) and Skr. \( d u h i \gamma a -t \) follows \( d u h i \gamma a n \) (§ 941 p. 486).

Remark. For the latter development (-\( \sigma a i a -\sigma o \)) there would be a second motive if there ever was a 1st pl. in *\( \sigma -\sigma a m e n \), answering to the Avest. \( \ddot{a}m\iota -\gamma a m a \) (§ 941 p. 486); -\( \sigma a m e n \) : -\( \sigma a m e n \) as \( \ddot{a}m\iota -\gamma a m a -\gamma a m a \). And -\( \sigma a m e n \) would make it easier to understand the 3rd pl. -\( \iota a v \) beside the usual form -\( \epsilon i a v \).

Perfect. \( \delta i \tau a i \nu \) \( \delta i \tau a i m e n \) beside \( \delta i \tau a m e n \) 'we stand' like \( \iota \tau a i \nu \) \( \iota \tau a i m e n \) beside \( \iota \tau a m e n \). Mid. \( \mu e \nu \gamma i \mu e n \) (beside \( \mu e \nu \gamma -\mu i \) Dor. \( \mu e \nu \gamma -\iota -\mu i \) 'I remember') \( \kappa e t e i \gamma e n \) (beside \( \kappa e t e -\mu i \) 'I have gained') instead of regular *\( \mu e \nu \gamma a m a \) *\( \kappa e t e i m e n \), like indic. 3rd pl. \( \mu e \nu \gamma a m e n \) \( \kappa e t e i t a i \) instead of *\( \mu e \nu \gamma a m e n \) *\( \kappa e t e i t a i \), see p. 488.

With perfect stems having a final consonant the thematic optative is always found; as \( \pi e \rho o \nu \theta o \).

§ 945. In the Active of the Optative -\( \eta -\) constantly passed into the Plural and Dual, as \( \epsilon i \mu e n \) beside \( \epsilon i m e n \), \( \sigma a m e n \) beside \( \sigma a \mu e n \), \( \iota \delta e i \mu e n \) beside \( \iota \delta e i m e n \), \( \iota \tau a i \mu e n \) beside \( \iota \tau a i m e n \);
Homer has only one example of this sort, σαῦταρ II. 17. 733. Compare Skr. sydama instead of *s-i-ma following s-yad-t § 940 p. 483.

§ 946. Italic. O.Lat. s-ie-m siēs sie t s-i-mus sitis s-i-ent beside indie. es-t; in classical Latin the weak stem only is found, and we have sim sīs etc. The same levelling is seen in the sister dialects: Umbr. sir si sei 'sis' si 'sit' sinus sīs 'sint', Marruc. pacr-si 'propitius sis' or 'sit'. Lat. vel-i-m vel-i-mus beside vel-t, with irregular strong root (cp. Skr. mid. vur-t-ta), see § 505 p. 69. Similarly ed-i-m ed-t-mus beside ēs-t from /ed- 'eat', see § 505 p. 70, § 939 p. 481. The reason why stem is the only optative with strong opt. suffix which survives in historical Latin is probably that its i carried the word-accent.

On the reason for the loss of the optative of i-t see § 925 p. 472.

Osc. da-did 'dedat' beside Avest. d-yā-p, cp. Marruc. -si 'sit'.

Lat. dem may be derived from *da-(i)ē-m, and stem from *stu-(i)ē-m; démus stēmus for *da-(i)ē-mos *stu-(i)ē-mos should be compared with Gr. σαῦταρ σαῦταρ (§ 945). Lat. nem plantem may come from *sna-(i)ē-m *planta-(i)ē-m, Osc. deivaid from *deiyyā-(i)ē-t, cp. § 939 p. 482. But all these forms, as we saw in § 926 p. 472, may be Conjunctive.

s-Aorist. Lat. dīxim axim, see § 824 p. 362. viderim lēquerim totonderim dixerim, see § 841 p. 378. umāssim prohibēssim ambēssim, see § 842 p. 381. On the intrusion of such optative forms into the Future Perfect system, i. e. their Conjunctive, see § 915 p. 465.

§ 947. Germanic. The suffix forms -i- had got into the singular in prothetic Germanic, cp. e. g. 3rd sing. Goth. vaūrbi O.H.G. wurt-i Norse Run. wrb-i 'would be' for -i- as contrasted with Skr. va-vṛt-yā-t, 2nd sing. O.H.G. s-i-s O.fcel. sēr (= pr. Germ. *sēz) 'mayst thou be' as against Skr. s-yā-s; so in the 3rd pl., Goth. vaūrbi-ei-na O.H.G. wurt-i-n
'they would become' Norse Run. vakin 'they would be'. The history of the 1st sing. (Goth. -jau O.H.G. -i O.Icel. -a) is still obscure (cp. § 953 on Goth. nimau); in explaining (Goth. -jau let it be remembered that j in viljau and j in viljau seem to be different (see below).

Present. A.S. cyne pl. cynen (from cuman 'to come') would be Goth. *kunjau *kunema: Skr. gam-yd-t, see § 939 p. 480. Goth. viljau vilti-s etc., cp. Lat. vel-i-m § 505 p. 69; the 1st sing. viljau may with O.H.G. wille have been originally 1st sing. conj. to indic. O.H.G. willu 'I will' = O.C.Sl. velja, whose tense stem is also represented by Gothic viljan and viljands (§ 505 p. 69, § 716 p. 249, § 727 p. 259), cp. § 928 p. 474. O.H.G. si 'I should be' pl. 1st si-mès si-m 2nd si-t 3rd si-n beside is-t 'is': Skr. s-yd-m etc., see § 939 p. 481; Goth. sijau sijáis etc. (like bairau bairais) is perhaps a transformation of the dissyllabic Idg. *s-ijé-m etc. It is possible, that O.H.G. 1st pl. stén gön (sing. 1st and 3rd gë stë 2nd gës stës) are optative like Gr. στηρίζω.

The following may be counted amongst those parts of the Preterite-Present system which are not really perfect. 1st pl. Goth. vit-ei-ma O.H.G. weiz-t-mès (Skr. vid-yd-t), Goth. mun-ei-ma, ga-daúrseima O.H.G. gi-turrmès see § 508 p. 74. Goth. kunneima O.H.G. kunnimënès (beside Goth. O.H.G. kun-nu-m 'we learn, know' Class XVII) for *ŷn-mu- like Skr. yn-y-tá, see § 939 p. 482; similarly O.H.G. unni-mès beside indic. an 'I grant', N.-Ger. dårne beside indic. dårn 'I dare', see § 646 p. 184.


The intermingling of 2nd sing. opt. and 2nd sing. indic. preterite of strong verbs has been discussed in § 893 p. 441 f.
§ 948. Balto-Slavonic.

In Baltic this optative cannot be traced. Pruss. dais 'give, let' imper. 2nd pl. daiti (read daiti) doubtless do not go with Gr. deo — dais would have to be an adformate of the plural — but are thematic like jeis ieiti idaiti, §§ 510 f. pp. 75 f., § 954.

§ 949. Slavonic offers but a few specimens, all with hortative force. O.C.Sl. 1st and 2nd pl. jad-i-mu i-ta 1st and 2nd dual -i-ve -i-to beside indic. jad-eti 'they eat' (§ 510 p. 76): Skr. ad-yd-t Lat. ed-i-mus, see § 939 p. 481. dad-i-mu etc. beside dad-eti 'they give' (§ 546 p. 103 f.): Skr. mid. da-dh-i-ta etc., see § 939 p. 482. véd-i-mu beside věštů 'he knows' 3rd pl. věd-eti with the perfect stem yoid-, originally confined to the singular indicative, see § 894 p. 442 f. Side by side with this, from the same root, imperative vidi-mu 'videamus' etc.; the 2nd sing. višči = Lith. veizdi, which must be explained with vidimů, proves it to be old and to belong to the Idg. present *yeid-mi (§ 493 p. 52, § 510 p. 75); here e = Slav. ę became the only suffix, as oj = Slav. ę did in věstů.

The 2nd and 3rd sing. to these imperatives are jašči dašči vešči and the already mentioned višči. The ending -č makes it probable that these should be derived from genuine imperative forms in *-dhi. Their original shape was *čadči (cp. Skr. addhi), *dašči (cp. Skr. děhi daddhi Avest. dašdi) or *dači (= O.Lith. dādi), *vešči and *vešči (= O.Lith. veizdi, cp. Skr. viddhi Gr. ἰοθί). Side by side with these stood the 2nd and 3rd sing. opt. *čidča *dadča etc. (= orig. *čd-šč *čd-šč-t, *dod-šč-s etc.). By levelling arose *čd-šč *dadšč etc., which became the forms actually found, jašči etc. 1) Compare I § 547 p. 401, 2) II § 962. The use of jašči etc. for the 3rd singular has a parallel in 3rd sing. pri-jetů for the 2nd singular; see § 830 p. 367.

1) That e.g. čadči jašči are not simply contaminations of *čadči and *čadča is shown by the other Slavonic languages, which imply an older ending -dhi. E.g. Pol. wiez: O.C.Sl. vešči = Pol. miedza: O.C.Sl. měščo.
2) Here "*vešči = O.Lith. veiz(d)" is a misprint for "*vežči = ..."
II. OPTATIVE WITH -oij-.

§ 950. The ending in the 1st sing. act. is -oij-ya (§ 976. 3), in the 3rd pl. -oij-yt (1017. 1. b).

In all languages which have this optative at all it is a living and creative type.


§ 951. Aryan. For examples see § 950. No examples of this optative occur in Old Persian, certainly a mere accident.

In Skr. 1st sing. act. bhāreyam 3rd pl. act. bhāreyur 1st sing. mid. bhāreya 2nd and 3rd dual mid. bhāreyatham bhāreyatam, ē has taken the place of a (*bharay-am etc.), coming from the other optative forms (bhāre-) etc.; in Avest. we still see 3rd pl. act. baray-en mid. 1st sing. Gath. vārur-ā 3rd pl. baray-anta.) Compare Skr. vavrrt-ty-a instead of *vavṛṛt-y-a § 940 p. 484, and possibly duhīyān instead of *duḥ-y-an § 941 p. 486; also abhūv-am instead of ā-bhūv-am following ā-bhā-ś § 497 p. 57.

In the Brahmana and Sutra period verbs in -aya-ti sometimes show an opt. middle of the 1st type, as vēday-ta beside vēdāya-tē 'gives to know', kāmay-ta beside kāmaya-tē 'wishes'. These must be connected with participles like vēdayāna-s beside

1) If ā in open syllables represents Idg. a (I § 78 p. 68), we must assume pr. Ar. *bharāj-am *bharāj-an. In Avestic, ā will have been exchanged for a following the lead of these persons in which oj was tautosyllabic. Compare § 939 Rem. p. 482.

§ 952. Greek. Examples given in § 950.

On the endings of the 1st sing. -or-μι -or-ν see § 979, 3; of the 3rd pl. -ομήν El. -ομῆν Delph. -ον, § 1020, 1. b.

Because of the formal agreement between σκοης (indic. ἐ-σχ-ο-μεν) φιλοής (indic. φιλοηής for φιλόης) μυσθόης (indic. μυσθόης for μυσθοηής) on the one hand, and on the other δοής διδοής (indic. ἐ-δο-μεν δε-δο-μεν), there arose in Ionic-Attic, and in Doric here and there, a new formation for the singular following Type I, σκοῆς φιλοής μυσθοής by analogy of δοῆς διδοής; but the old singular forms were not discarded (παρά-σκοης φιλοηής μυσθοηής); similarly τιμώης beside τιμωής (indic. τιμωηής for τιμώης). A further consequence of this was the plural series φιλοηής etc., cp. σταληής complementary to σταΊης, § 945 p. 489.

§ 953. Germanic. Goth. nimāi-s nimāi etc. O.H.G. nemēs neme etc., Goth. mid.-pass. 2nd sing. nimāi-zau 3rd sing. nimāi-dau with the indic. nima nimu 'I take': Gr. νέμω-ς etc. The A.S. seal-sie pl. seal-sien may be compared directly with Skr. pranāyā-t O.C.Sl. lqkaji (cp. § 781. 1 p. 304), but O.H.G. salbōe -ēst(t) -ēm etc. beside salbo -ēst(t) -ēm etc. is a new formation (cp. Lith. pa-darai § 954), and so is habēs -ēst(t) -ēm beside habe -ēst(t) -ēm etc., see § 930 p. 476.

§ 954. Balto-Slavonic.

Lithuanian retains the 3rd sing. act. (used also for 3rd pl. and dual) and calls it a Permissive; e. g. te-sukē 'he may turn' beside indic. sukū, te-atteinē 'he may come' beside indic. ei-nū 'I go', te-vertē 'he may turn' for *vertē (like 2nd sing. indic. pres. reflex. vertē-s for *vertē-s, I § 147 p. 131) beside indic. vorcūiū. te-dūlē 'he may give' beside indic. dū(d)-mi and dū-du (§ 546 p. 104) like tese 'he may be' beside indic. es-mi and es-ū (§ 510 p. 76, § 939 p. 483). The Permissive to the Indic. in -au has the ending -ai in the old books, as te-darai beside daraiū
'I make'. *te-darai : te-sukë = 2nd sing. indic. *daraţi-s(i) : sukë-s(i) (§ 991), i.e. the optative suffix *e (ai) is added to indic. stems in -i (-ii) just in the same way as O.H.G. salbëie is formed on the analogy of bere (§ 953). We also find 1st pl. *pa-praszaiz (pa-praszaiz 'I beg for, win over') and 2nd pl. *zinait (zinait 'I know'); Bezzenerberger, Zur Gesch. der lit. Spr., 223. Furthermore, the oistoptative is a living type in Prussian, where it is used for the Imperative; e.g. imais imneis 'take thou' 2nd pl. imaiti, en-gauzai -gauzai 'let him receive'; to compare with Lith. tesë we have 2nd pl. seiti 'be ye', and again jeis 'go thou' pl. jeiti like Gr. ἵοις (§ 511 p. 77), idaiti ideiti 'eset' beside Lith. édu (§ 510 p. 76), dais 'give thou' 2nd pl. daiti like Avest. dōi-š (§ 948 p. 492). Similarly in Lettie 2nd pl. metz-t 'throw ye' welz-t 'pull ye' masgavü-t 'wash ye' luküjü-t 'look ye'.

§ 955. The same optative type, like the other (§ 949 p. 492), is used for the Hortative (Imperative) in Old Church Slavonic. Sing. 2nd and 3rd beri (I § 84 p. 82) pl. 1st berë-mi 2nd -ë-te dual 1st -ë-ë 2nd -ë-ta from berë 'I carry, bear', deji -ji-mi -ji-te etc. (I § 84 p. 82) from deji 'I lay'. On the root syllable in rici tici pici čizi see § 534 p. 95 f.

Along with forms having -ji- = -i-oi- we get in the Old Bulgarian literature forms with -ja- for -fë- (cp. sto-fati for *stoješi I § 76 p. 66); as pijate beside pijite from pijat 'I drink', glagoljate beside glagoljite from glagoljà 'I speak' (see Leskien Handb.² p. 138, Wiedemann Beitr. zur abulg. Conj. 27 ff.) So long as no such forms as *ńćate instead of ńćate are found, it is likely that e comes from forms like berëte, ¹) and the group je thus made, along with jë = Idg. ě, became ja; more likely than Oblak's view (Arch. slav. Phil. x 143 ff.), that we have here orig. ě, i.e. a conjunctive like Lat. capiēs (§ 926. 1 p. 472), pijate standing to pijat in the same relation as Lat. capiē-tis to capia-m (cp. § 929 p. 475).

¹) Similarly in O.H.G., after ě in final syllables had become ě and then e, -an was replaced in the infinitive of the First Weak Conj. on the analogy of verbs without -f, e.g. nuerian instead of older nerien following neman and similar infinitives.
Remark. Present Stems of Class XXVI, as veljq veliši inf. velēti 'to command' (§ 727 pp. 257 ff.); of Class XXXI, as gosīq gostiši inf. gostiti 'to entertain as a guest' (§ 782 pp. 308 f.); and of Class XXXII, as vrāṣṭrq vratiši inf. vratiši 'to turn' (§ 807 pp. 343 f.) all have throughout their imperative -i-: veli veliniū gosti gostiniū vruti vratiniū; from the Idg. optative forms which it is necessary to assume we should expect *veli *veliniū *gosti *gostiiniū *vrati *vratiniū. The forms are then dubious not optative at all, but Injunctive; and veliniū velite are related to indic. veliniū velite as bādq 'sunto' (§ 909 p. 458) to indic. bādqī (bādqī). Some might wish to take 2nd sing. veli for orig. *veli, i. e. 2nd sing. imperative (cp. Lat. farcī § 958). Against this may be urged that chōhit 'wish thou' is sometimes used in sentences which are not imperative (Leskien, Handb. 3 p. 143).

IMPERATIVE.1)

§ 956. The forms classed as Imperative in the various Indo-Germanic languages have all kinds of different origins. (1) Some of them are Injunctive, as 2nd pl. dual Skr. bhāra-ta bhāra-tam Gr. ἑπέ-τε ἑπε-το, which were already well established in the imperative system of the parent language; Skr. 3rd sing. bhāra-ti 3rd pl. bhārant-i (with the particle -i), Gr. 2nd sing. mid. ἑπέο ἑπεύ, O.Ir. 2nd sing. mid. cluinste 'exaudi' (§ 909 p. 458). (2) Conjunctive forms: Skr. 1st sing. pl. and dual, as 1st pl. act. bhārama mid. bhāramahai; the 2nd and 3rd persons of the conj. are dropt in classical Sanskrit, and the 1st persons, which are kept, go with the Imperative system. (3) Optative forms: O.C.Sl. beri berēte (§ 955 p. 495). (4) Indicative forms: Skr. 2nd sing. vē-ṣi 'come


Kern, Eine Imperativform im Got., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xvi 451 ff.
here', Gr. ἀπέθανεν 'lay thyself' (§ 910 Rem. p. 459 f.). (5) Forms of the Verb Infinite: as Lat. 2nd pl. sequi-minut (II § 71 p. 165). Lastly (6) some are forms which, so far as we can trace them, were never used for anything but the Imperative.

It is the last group, which I call the Genuine Imperative, that will concern us in the following pages. But along with them we shall include some others from the different languages whose origin has not been clearly made out, amongst which may be a few which properly belong to one of the other five groups.

I. THE PROETHNIC IMPERATIVE.

A. Bare Tense Stem as 2nd sing. act.

§ 957. The forms which come in this section are such as Gr. ἤστενε 'place thou' ἐρέσε 'bear thou', which like the voc. ἐφη ἵππει do without any personal suffix whatever. I regard the Idg. forms in -dhi (§ 959) and -tūd (§ 963) and the Skr. forms in -sōa (§ 968) as being nothing but extensions of these.

(1) Unthematic.

Pr.Idg. Class I. *ei beside *ei-ti 'goes': Gr. ἕκεν, Lat. ei i ex-i, Lith. eik-, *dō beside *dō-ti 'he gave': Lat. ce-do (2nd pl. cete for *ce-d(i)te § 505 p. 71),1) Lith. dū-k, cp. Gr. διδόω (Class III). — Class X. Lat. hīa Lith. šiō-k 'open thy mouth' beside indic. Lat. hīa-mus; on the same principle Lat. planta O.Ir. car Goth. salbō Lith. dovanō-k (see below). Lat. vidē Lith. pa-vydē-k 'invide' beside indic. Lat. vide-mus. Compare Gr. ἵπταμαι πετάω 'fight' beside indic. Lat. pete-mus. Compare Skr. stṛ-nu Gr. στροφ-νο 'beside indic. stṛ-ṇū-ti (stṛ-nu-mās) στροφ-νυ-το 'sternit'.

Aryan. This formation is clear only in the XVIIth Class in Sanskrit, where however -dhi or -hi is usually affixed, ṣṭ-ṇu

1) Others, not so well, take ce-do as a combination of two particles, 'here-wards, hither'. cete then is explained as derived from ceto as Slav. na-te from no. See Per Persson Studia Etymol., p. 71.
and ὑ-嘧-धि 'hear thou' (§ 960); in the later language it was the rule to use -ḫi only where the root ended in a consonant.

In § 600 p. 143 I conjectured that ὑράνα is *ὑρά + the particle na, and that *ὑρά-α comes from *-ᾲ: cp. Att. κρύνη.

Compare further what is said in § 641 p. 180 about kurn.

Greek. Class I. Att. ἐ-mitter, see above. - Epir. Aeol. ποῦ 'drink thou' beside ποῦ-μι. — Class III. δί-μο (gramm.) 'give thou'. ἵ-στῃ Dor. ἵ-στα Lesb. ἴ-στα 'place thou'. — Classes X and XI. Dor. ἵγ-κρασ, from ἵγ-κρατ-μι 'I mix'; Att. πιμ-πρή, from πιμ-πρη-μι 'I kindle' (cp. § 594 p. 135); Lesb. κίνη from κίνη-μι 'I move', Lesb. κιλη from κιλη-μι 'I treat as a friend', μῷον from μῷο-μι 'I anoint': cp. Lith. ketō-k balsn̄-k. — Class XII. Att. κρύνη from κρυ-νη-μι 'I hang, let hang' Lesb. καμ-κα from καμ-να-μι 'I tame, subdue'. — Class XVII. ὑς-ντε from ὑς-ντ-μι 'I arouse': Skr. γ-ными.

Latin. ἐ cē-do, see above.1) The forms fer es es can hardly belong to this group; it is more likely they are injunctive like vel = *vel-s (§ 505 p. 69). — Class X. Besides hīa plantā we have flā nā domā portā etc., and by analogy stā da, unless we must take stā to be another form of Class I like ce-do (cp. Lith. stō-k). Others like vidē (above) are implē nē tacē (on albē, see § 958).

Irish. car 'love thou' for carā, see above.

Germanic. Goth. salbō O.H.G. salbo 'anoint thou' doubtless from pr. Germ. *salbō, like Latin plantā (above). But the forms actually used are not regular; ὑ has been restored from the other imperative forms which had it, as 2ndpl. Goth. salbō-þ O.H.G. salbō-t (cp. 1st sing. indic. pres. Goth. salbō, § 982.1). Similarly, O.H.G. habe 'have thou' (indic. habē-m), with its final vowel assimilated to ὑ in pl. habē-t.

Baltic. In Lithuanian, a particle -ki -k (-kē) is always affixed to these imperatives. Whether the ū-vowel represents the original ending of the particle is very questionable. It is usual to compare Lat. ce (ce-do st-c), which is plausible.

1) fn in the Arval Song will be another if it means 'be thou', which is doubtful. Compare Pauli, Altital. Stud. iv 29 ff.
Class I. eī-k indic. eī-tī 'he goes'; Gr. ἑῖ-ι Lat. i. dā-k 'give thou' beside Skr. ā-dā-t (§ 493 p. 53): Lat. ce-do. dē-k 'lay thou' beside Skr. ā-dhā-t (see loc. cit.). bū-k 'be thou' beside Skr. ā-bhū-ma (§ 497 p. 56). — Class X. no-bijōki-s 'fear thou not' beside bijo-s 'he fears'. šī̄c-k beside šī̄c-ju 'I open my mouth': Lat. hiā beside hiā-mus. jō-k beside jō-ju 'I ride'. klō-k beside klō-ju 'I spread out', minē-k beside minē 'he remembered'. lukē-k beside lukē-ju 'I wait a bit'. dovano-k beside dovano-ju 'I present', pāsako-k beside pāsako-ju 'I relate': cp. Lat. plantā. kētē-k beside kētē-ju 'I grow hard': cp. Lesb. φίλη. bānā-k beside bānā-ju 'I saddle': cp. Lesb. μυρό.

It is the rule that this whole Imperative formation takes its stem from the Infinitive. The reason is that some of the forms belonged to the aorist, whose stem differed from the present stem and agreed with the s-future etc., that is, the infinitive stem; the others then conformed to the same type. Hence we have vartē-k beside vartaū 'I turn', jā'stīy-k beside jā'stāu 'I gird'. And similar imperatives are made for all thematic present stems: thus the relation between dā'-k and dā'-ti suggested an imper. vēsk from vēstī 'to lead' (pres. vedō), sūk(k) from sūk-ti 'to turn' (pres. sukū), and so forth.

As the original meaning of these singular forms with -k(i) was forgotten, a plural and dual was made from them thus: dā'kime dākite dā'kīva dā'kita from dā'ki dā'k, on which see § 463 Rem. p. 9. dā'ki-te : dā'k(i) as Lett. weddi-t : weddi(i) 'lead thou' (cp. § 958).

§ 956. (2) Thematic.

The Mood Stem: — Imperative. § 958.

of *sed- 'sit'; Gr. φάεις -ει, indic. φάει -οι, 'scare thou off'.

s-Aorist: Skr. नेः-a beside conj. नेः-a-(त) from नेः 'to lead',
Gr. ὁω-ε beside conj. (fut.) ὁω 'I will bear or bring' (§ 833
p. 370).

Wherever Ḉo-presents of Class XXVI show -ī- and -ū-
in the indic. pres. beside Ḉo-, these weaker grades are naturally
found in the imperative too: Lat. cape for *capi cp. indic.
capi-s, facēt ep. indic. facēt-s, O.H.G. bittī ep. indic. bitis 'thou
prayest'; perhaps we may venture to add O.Lith. girdi,
ep. ind. girdi-te 'ye hear'.

'lives'; Avest. ja-sa (Skr. gā-cha) beside indic. ja-sa-iti 'goes'
(§ 671 p. 208).

Armenian. ber 'bring thou' beside bere-m aor. ber-i,
ac 'lead thou' beside aces-m aor. ac-i, ker 'eat thou' beside aor.
ker-i, tes 'see thou' beside aor. tes-i, arb 'drink thou' beside aor.
arb-i.

Greek. ἄγ-ε 'age' from ἄγω 'ago'. κατ-αχε beside
ἐ-α-κ-ο-ν pres. ἐχ-ω 'I have'. τίμαι τίμα from τίμαω -ω
'I honour', σωλε κ-ο from σωλεω -ο 'I enslave' (cp. Lesb.
μυρω § 957 p. 498). There are a great many bye-forms of
this class used as variants to others of the first class (§ 957),
when the tense stem ends in -a -ό or -ό; as Att. καθ-ίσι Dor.
ση for *σισαί, Att. τίθω ἔδωκ., Att. πιμ-πλα Dor.
πιμ-πλή, Att. ἐσ-βά Dor. ἐμ-βή for *βαε; similarly ὑμν-ε.
Perf. γέγονε from γέ-γο-να γεγονό 'I announce, say'.

The five words ἴδε λαβέ εἰπί εἴθε εἴρε have kept the
accent which they had in pr. Idg. at the beginning of a
sentence; līne and the others with the same accent were
originally enclitic (I § 669 p. 532, § 676 Rem. 1 p. 541).
The corresponding middle imperatives ἰδοῦ λιποῦ for -ς-ος
(§ 909 p. 458) have always the accent which they bore as first
in a sentence, even when compounded, προσ-λαβοῦ (but active
προσλαβε). έ-θί (contrast Skr. i-ḥī, § 959) is accented on
the same principle as līne, and so too ἵθι πιθ-θί and others; but
φα-θί is like ἴδε, and also has a variant φά-θί.
§ 958. The Mood Stem: — Imperative. 501

Italic. Lat. 'age. Whether albē monē are for *albe(i)e mone(i)e is as doubtful as the derivation of albēs monēs from *-e-s (§ 788 p. 319).

Lat. cape for *capi,1) farci, see above.

Keltic. OIr. isb Mod.Cymr. ytf 'bibe' for *(p)ħi-be. lēic for *lēci or -i, see § 702. p. 229, § 719 p. 251.

Germanic. Goth. bafr; in O.H.G. forms like hilf 'help thou' for *hiflī are regular, but e.g. biri stands for *biri (I § 662. 2 p. 520). O.H.G. neri 'make thou whole' for pr. Germ. *nasiṣi, see loc. cit.; Goth. nasei seems to prove that *nasiṣi had not yet become *nasi in pr. Germ. (cp. nom. frijōndi I § 660. 2 p. 515).

With Idg. -i O.H.G. heri from heff(i)u 'I lift', biti from bitt(i)u 'I beseech', like Lat. cape for *capi, see p. 500. But Goth. hafœi instead of *hafœi *haf follows nasei etc.

Balto-Slavonic. In O.Lith. and Lett. -i is found with presents like Lith. vedū 'I lead', as O.Lith. vedi ved Lett. weddi wedd, gaužėjī 'I exult, shout for joy'. By the sound laws it is impossible to explain this as the 2nd sing. opt. (cp. Pruss. weddeis), or to assume that -i is -e weakened; and therefore

1) The forms fac and dic dūc may have elided -e as hœce for hœce has. But the injunctive fer at the same time must have helped to make the short forms current (§ 505 p. 68). [It is true Skutsch has lately derived fer from *fere, denying most distinctly that it comes from *fere-s (Forschungen zu lat. Gramm. 55 ff.). But his reasons will not hold water. That fere was originally a thematic present, and that forms like ferc come by consope of the thematic vowel, is bare assumption and nothing more. And since the scansion of ter as long by Plautus (Bacch. 1127) is taken as evidence of the older pronunciation *terr (for *ters, cp. Bücheler, Rhein. Mus. XLVI 236 ff.), and since the same poet has fer twice short and once long (Mil. 1343 * fér aequo ánimo), any candid enquirer will see in this a confirmation of my view rather than his. Why the MS. should be corrupt in fér aequo ánimo, and genuine in the two examples of ferc short, as Skutsch says, there is nothing to show. If in Plautus' day people spoke -rr = -rs before a vowel, it is in the first degree probable that this was not done always, but that the form with r, which was right before consonants and at the end of a sentence, was sometimes used too. In any case Skutsch ought to prove the contrary before unconditionally supporting the transposition fér ánimo aequo. To transpose is simple; it does not follow that it is necessary.]
I conjecture that -i is due to the analogy of forms like girdi, which answer to the Lat. cape (for *capi) farci etc., and are identical with the 2\textsuperscript{nd} sing. indic. (vedi beside indic. ved-i follows girdi beside indic. girdi); and that veizdi 'see thou, i.e. *veijd+ahi, helped to make the type current, — perhaps we should add dā-di (§ 962).\textsuperscript{1)}

In O.C.Sl. the 2\textsuperscript{nd} sing. veli (indic. velja veli-ši inf. veli-ti 'to command') may possibly be a form like Lat. farci. But it is no doubt better to regard it as injunctive, for *-i-s; see § 955 Rem. p. 496.

\textbf{B. 2\textsuperscript{nd} Person Singular in -dhi.}

§ 959. Forms with this suffix occur in Aryan, Greek and Balto-Slavonic; they occur in Unthematic tense stems. Thurneysen (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 180) compares Skr. ādhi 'up!' (like Ger. auf! geh! 'up! go!'), with its variant dhi, like abhi with variant bhī; others again compare the infinitive endings -dhyāti Gr. -tā, which is less credible. In both cases we may assume that the imperative type described in § 957 lies at the foundation of this.

-dhi is added to the Weak Stem.


1) With the change of *vede to vedi following girdi etc. should be compared the change of O.C.Sl. 1\textsuperscript{st} pl. prea. *nesemū to nesemá following znaměmá § 1008 sub. fn.; with the effect of veizdi which possibly helped, compare the change of O.C.Sl. imperative. chošti 'wish thou' to chošť following višči.
§ 960. Aryan. Sanskrit has both -dhi and -hi. Of these -hi is used only after sonants, -dhi in Vedic after both sonants and consonants, in the later language after consonants only. See I § 480 p. 354, and von Bradke, Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesell. XL 658 ff., where the variants -dhi and -hi (ṣṛṇdhī and ṛṇūhi for instance) are convincingly explained as dialectic bye-forms.


Class XII. Skr. sky-nī-hi from sky-nā-ti 'breaks to bits, crushes' (§ 597 p. 141); sometimes the strong stem appears, as sky-nā-hi. — Class XV. bhindhi from bhinād-mi 'I split',

s-Aorist. aviddhī instead of regular *avidhī (cp. I § 591 Rem. 1 p. 448), with indic. avīḍ-am from av- 'to favour, help'.

Perfect. Skr. pi-priḥi, beside indic. pi-priy-ē pret. ā-pi-prē-t from pri- 'to enjoy'; śu-śug-dhī beside indic. śu-dōc-a from śuc- 'to shine'.

§ 961. Greek. Class I. ἵσθι 'be thou' : Avest. zdī, see I § 593 p. 450, § 626 p. 470; also ἵστι like pl. ἵστε, see § 502 p. 66. qa-ṯi and qa-ṯi (on this double accentuation see § 958 p. 500) from γη-μι 'I say': cp. Skr. bha-hi § 495 p. 55. κλω-ṯi: Skr. śru-dhi, cp. ἵστη-κλομενος § 498 p. 59. πι-ṯi 'drink thou' beside conj. (fut.) πιομαι § 914 p. 464. — Class III. ἵλα-ṯi 'be thou gracious' for *σι-σλα-ṯi, also ἵληϑι on the type of Class XI; like the latter we find another, Hom. ἰδω-ϑι.

Class X. γνῶ-ϑi 'learn thou, know'. τλῆ-ϑi 'endure thou'. βῆ-ϑi 'go thou' Lac. κα-βας (I § 495 p. 364). φάγη-ϑi 'appear thou', πορεύϑη-ϑi 'start off' (I § 496 p. 364). Of this class we have further στῆ-ϑi Lac. τη-τας (I § 566 p. 423), see § 495 p. 55. — Class XI. ἵλη-ϑι, see above, ἵμ-πιληϑι 'imply'.

Class XVII. ὅρηϑι from ὅρν-ϑi 'arouses'.


§ 962. Balto-Slavonic. O.Lith. veždī vežd 'see thou' (by this analogy veždmi instead of *veid-mi) O.CSl. věžd instead of *veždī: cp. Skr. viddhi Gr. ἴσθι. O.Lith. dědī děd 'give thou' may be Idg. *dō-dhi, in which case it stands to dā-∈ as Gr. no-ϑi to no; O.CSl. děžt instead of *da-dī = dā-ди Class I, or instead of *dazā like Avest. dazā, Class V. O.CSl. jažt 'eat thou' instead of *ēžtī: cp. Skr. addhi. O.CSl. věžt instead of *vežtī beside indic. vědē 'knows'. See I § 547 p. 400, IV § 949 p. 492.
C. The Forms with \textit{-tōd}.

§ 963. These forms, for instance \textit{*mīt-tōd} from \textit{∨yejīd-} ‘see, know’, \textit{*bhēr-tōd} from \textit{∨bhēr-} ‘ferre’, served originally for the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} persons of all numbers, as their use in Sanskrit indicates. Thus \textit{-tōd} was properly not a personal suffix at all; probably it was an affixa particle, the abl. sing. of the pronoun stem \textit{*to-} ‘this, that’ (Skr. \textit{tōd}), used in the sense of ‘from there, then’ (III § 424 p. 348). This theory suits the use of the forms in Sanskrit and Latin, where they are chiettly employed when the command is not to be straightway carried out, but only after a particular point of time, or under certain circumstances. Take, for example, \textit{vānasāpātir adhi teō sthāsyati tāsya vittāt} (Tāintirīya-Samhitā) ‘the tree will fall on thee; beware of it’; \textit{tu velim saepe ad nos scribas; si rem nullam habebis, quod in buccam venerit scribito} (Cic.). Greek also has often this manner of using it; but its use was much restricted by preference for the infinitival imperative.

The basis of this \textit{tōd}-series is the imperative type described under (A), §§ 957 f., of which it may safely be assumed that it was not originally restricted to the 2\textsuperscript{nd} singular, which it is most commonly used for: cp. Skr. \textit{ky-ṃu-tād} Gr. \textit{σηρ-νυ-τω} with \textit{ky-ṃu σηρ-νυ}, Lat. \textit{im-plē-tō} with \textit{imple}, Gr. \textit{lιη-τω} Lat. \textit{licētō} with \textit{vidē}, Skr. \textit{bhāra-tād} Gr. \textit{φερ-τω} Lat. \textit{vehi-tō} with \textit{bhāra qēpo vehe}.

\textbf{Remark.} The arguments urged against this view by Windisch do not convince me (Ber. sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1889 pp. 21 ff.).

§ 964. Pr.Idg.

from $\sqrt[dhē]{}$ 'place', Skr. da-t-tad Gr. δ-δό-τω from $\sqrt[dos]{}$ 'give'. — Class X. Gr. ἀφ-τω beside ε-δοσ-ν 'I ran', ἀφ-τω beside ε-σφη-ν 'I quenched', γνω-τω beside ε-γνω-ν 'I learnt'. Lat. flō-tō beside flō-s, im-plētō beside im-plēs. — Class XII. Skr. pu-nī-tad beside pu-na-ti 'purifies'. Gr. κορ-νά-tω beside κόρη-μι 'I mix'. — Class XVII. κρ-νυ-τατ beside κρ-νυ-τι 'makes'. Gr. ὄμ-νη-tω beside ὄμα-σι 'sweats'. — Perfect. Gr. με-μά-τω, Lat. me-men-tō beside Gr. με-μου-α μέ-μα-μεν Lat. me-min-t from $\sqrt[men]{}$ 'think, devise'.

(2) Thematic Forms. Skr. vaha-tād Lat. vēhi-tō beside Skr. vāha-ti 'vehit'. Skr. vōca-tad Gr. ειπ-ει τω beside α-νδοα-τ Gr. ε-ειπ-ει ($§$ 561 p. 110). Skr. rākṣa-tad beside rākṣa-ti 'protects'. Skr. pataya-tad beside patāya-ti 'makes fly'; cp. Gr. mid. νορσισω $§$ 966; Gr. φορε-τω φορετω from μοσω 'I carry about with me, wear'.

$§$ 965. Aryan. No examples occur in Iranian. Sanskrit examples are given in $§$ 964.

The forms in Sanskrit are most commonly used for the 2nd person singular, but are also found as 3rd sing. and as 2nd plural.

Since vaha-tad as 2nd pl. was associated with vāha-ta 'vehite', a middle form vana-dhvać was coined to complement vāha-dhvaṃ (vārayadhva in the Brah. is the only form actually found). Compare Gr. φορε-σω $§$ 966, Lat. fruimīnō $§$ 967.

$§$ 966. Greek. Further examples (see $§$ 964). φα-τω from φη-μι 'I say'; ε-τω from ελ-μι 'I will go'. ἰστω from 7-η-μι 'I send forth'. βλη-τω from ε-βλη-ν 'I received a missile, was struck', Lesb. τιμά-τω from τιμά-μι 'I honour'. ὀβη-τω from ὀβη-μι I press, oppress'. βαμ-να-τω from βαμ-νη-μι 'I tame'. δεκ-να-τω from δεκ-νη-μι 'I show'. δεκ-α-τω from δεκ-α-μι 'I showed'. ε-να-τω from ε-ναι-μεν 'we stand'. αγη-τω from αγω 'ago', τιματω τιμάτω from τιμάω -αω 'I honour'.

On the analogy of act. φέρετε: mid. φεροσθε a middle φεροσθω was coined to complement φερετω; this happened in
proethnic Greek. Compare Skr. vārayadhyād § 965, Lat. fruimīnō § 967.

In Greek, the forms with -τω and -σθω are regularly used for the 3rd singular. The active form is used as 2nd sing., with the additional suffix -σ to make the person clear, in the word ἐλθετοῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐλθέ. Σαλαμίνω, a gloss given by Hesychius; cp. § 987.1. The Corecyrean qeré̄tqno, 3rd plural, may be taken as evidence that once qerḗtq could be used for the plural. But another explanation is possible; that the coincidence of δδόσθω 3rd sing. and δδόσθω = *δδόντι* 3rd pl. caused the 3rd sing. qerē̄sθω to be used for the plural too.

For the 3rd plural, different dialects made new forms on the basis of -τω and -σθω: qerḗτων qerḗτω̃ των qerōntω (cp. Lat. feruntō) qerōntων qerōntωνq and qerḗσθων qerḗσθωνq qerōσθων qerōσθωνq (for *-οντω *-οντων, cp. I § 204 p. 171); see the collections of G. Meyer Gr. Gr. 2 pp. 498 ff. Two remarks must be made here. (1) The origin of qerḗτων qerōntωνq qerḗτω̃ των qerōntω̃ των is later than the change of *-τωδ to -τω (I § 652.5 p. 498).1) (2) The forms with -ντων (-οντων -οντω-ν -οντων), it may be conjectured, were not based directly upon the indicative *bheronti *bheront (Att. qerontai ἐφεσ), but on the imperative-injunctive form *bheront (cp. χί-ς κεφ-ς κεφ-τον κεφ-ε- and 3rd pl. Skr. bhārant-ṇ O.C.Si. bdqā § 909 pp. 457 f.).

The active and middle endings of the 3rd plural did not always correspond; thus Arcadian has act. -ντω mid. -(ψ)σθω (ζημίντω ἐπαλασάσθων). In this and similar cases the explanation is that it was attempted to distinguish the 3rd plural from the 3rd singular middle.

No certain explanation has been given for Lesb. 3rd pl. qerōntον qerē̄sθον; see the Author, Gr. Gr. 2 173, Windisch Ber. sächs. Ges. der Wiss. 1889 p. 20, O. Hoffmann Das Präsens der idg. Grundspr. 21. The medio-passive forms iστάνθω and

1) So the identification of Goth. bairandus with Gr. qerōntω (Hirt, Idg. Forsch. 1 206) is wrong.
$\text{iσράντων,}$ found in a late Boeotian and a late Phocian inscription, are re-formates instead of $\text{iσράςω}$ and $\text{iσράνςων}$ by analogy of the active forms, made in order to clearly mark the 3rd plural.

§ 967. Italic. The forms in $-töd$ (Lat. $-tød$ $-tō$ Umbr. $-tu$ Osc. $-tud$) were used for the 2nd or 3rd singular.

Class I. Lat. fertō instead of *for-tō like 2nd pl. fer-te instead of *for-te; on Umbr., fertu ferte 'ferto' see § 505 p. 69. Lat. ei-tō Utō Umbr. etu etu estu instead of *i-tōd: Gr. i-το; cp. Lat. ei-te i-te Pelign. ei-te instead of *i-te $= i$-te. Umbr. futu futu 'esto': Gr. ἐστώ. Lat. es-töd estō Osc. estud estud Volsc. estu: Gr. σώ-σι, see § 964.1 p. 505.


With Idg. i, Lat. faci-tō Osc. factud.

These forms with $-töd$ were made the basis of new formations like the Greek. Here, as in Greek, we find forms with a plural characteristic, and medio-passive forms parallel to the active.

(1) A 2nd plural was made in Latin by adding $-te$ (fer-te), as fertō-te agitō-te, which should be compared with Gr. 3rd pl. ἐγέρω-ν ἐγέρω-σαι: first arose *fertōtē (cp. egeta for *se-dite), and the double consonant was then thinned because of the preceding long vowel. Again, a 3rd pl. with $-nt$—makes its appearance, e.g. feruntō, suntōd suntō; probably this form has a similar history to Gr. ἐγέρυω; the Umbrian formation does not correspond, which makes it very unsafe to suppose that the type originated at a time when Greek and Italic were still united.

In Umbrian the 2nd and 3rd plural are made by affixing $-tu$ $-tō$ $-ta$ (for $-ta$ I § 105 p. 98) to $-tu = *-töd$ : futu-to 'estote' etu-tu etu-to etu-ta 'eunto' fertu-ta 'ferunto'
habitutu-tu habitu-to 'habento'. This -tā may be either Lat. -te + some interjection (cp. ἵσσον σῷ Ar. Lysistr. 350, καρολ-λυγαρ' σῷ Aesch. Ag. 1118, dringā drinc Parsifal 220. 28), or an ending of the 2nd dual (cp. Lith. and O.C.Sl. -ta) which, like the dual ending -tis in Latin (§ 1013), got into the plural. First futu 'esto' had the 2nd pl. futu-to made for it, like Lat. agitō-te from agitō, and then since futu could be used for 3rd singular too, futu-to came to be used for the 3rd person (cp. O.C.Sl. 2nd sing. jačti used also for 3rd sing. § 949 p. 492). Still, -tā, if it was a dual ending, may have been originally the ending of the 3rd person too (cp. O.C.Sl. -ta as 3rd dual, § 1040); in that case futu-to was originally a 3rd person form as well a 2nd.

Remark. The ending -tā seems to all appearance to be used in its proper and original way in VI b 63 (= I b 21. 22) eītō Iovinur 'itate Iguvini', and this -tā medialised into -mā (cp. -mū(d) following -tu(d), below) might be seen in arnahuamo catarahamo Iovinur 'ordinamini centuriamini Iguvini' VI b 56 = I b 19. But I fear that it is only appearance. For in the first place this medialising would be very remarkable in itself; and secondly, it is natural to suppose that eītō arnahuamo are shortened by dissimilation from *ītātā (‘itātē’) *arnāmūmū-mō, and that the latter has caused by analogy the shortening of *caterūmū-mō which follows it.

(2) Complementary to datā dātā dantō there were formed in Latin dator dantor, like damur beside damus. There also arose a 3rd sing. in -minō for the 2nd pl. in -mini (II § 71 p. 165), as fruiminō fāminō profiteiminō beside fruimini etc.

Corresponding to the latter formation Umbr. has persnimimu persnimimu 'precamino, supplicate', and the relation of pl. habituto habitu 'habento' and habitu 'habeto' suggested a plural persnimimu 'pecantor, supplicante'. On the 2nd pl. arnahuamamo catarahamo, see the last Remark. Osc. cenuamur 'censemino, censeror' shows the mid.-pass. -r added to the mid.-pass. m-suffix. As regards the relation of the Umbr.-Osc. suffix -mo- to Lat. -mino-, see II § 72 p. 166.
II. SOME IMPERATIVE FORMS PECULIAR TO CERTAIN LANGUAGES.

§ 968. Aryan.


It can hardly be doubted that this middle form is an extension of the Imperative discussed in §§ 957 f. by means of the reflexive pronoun (III § 438 p. 370 ff.). -svā is the form which in Greek is the accusative, ἥτε.


The ending of these forms is connected with that of the Skr. 3rd sing. imper. mid. duḥ-ām vid-ām say-ām and the 3rd pl. imper. mid. duḥr-ām, which again can hardly be treated apart from the form vidām which is contained in vidē cakāra (§ 896 p. 445); thus we are drawn to see in them verbal nouns

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1) -ām is also seen in Avest. ącqum 'should be proclaimed'. Since in Skr. -ām is found only with verbs whose 3rd sing. indic. shows the ending -e beside -r, it is natural to assume (as my pupil Mr. E. Kleinhaus has pointed out to me) that, say, duḥām beside duḥē is due to the analogy of ṣvādham beside ṣvādē. duhrē would then have suggested the 3rd pl. duhrām (§ 1078.)
used with the imperative meaning. Then e.g. bhāratām
bhārantam may be a transformation of the injunctive bhārata
bhāranta, completed in proethnie Aryan, on the analogy of
dhām etc. And, as we have seen already (§ 909 p. 458), the
corresponding active forms bhārat-u bhārant-u are also based
upon the Injunctive.

In Avestic -tam passed over to the Optative, as d-yā-tam
from dhāta. 'to place' (Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. ii 63 ff.).

§ 969. Greek.

(1) The 2nd sing. act. of the s-aorist in -sov, as ἐδεικὼν from
ἐδεικά 'I showed'. The Syracusan dialect has -ov in the
thematic aorist as well: λάβον (not as Attic, λαβέ). Its origin
is obscure.

(2) Among the possible explanations of the 2nd sing. mid.
of the s-aorist, as δέξω λήξω, two in particular deserve attention.
(a) λέξω ('lay thyself') may be the 2nd sing. mid. *λεκ-σ-σω,
connected with λέξω for *λεκ-σ-ρο (§ 820 p. 357), and its
primary personal ending may be compared with Ved. 2nd sing.
act. νε-ςι 'come here' and like forms (§ 910 Rem. p. 459 f.).
λέξω would be to the injunctive λέξω, i.e. *λεκ-σ-σο (also used
for imperative), as Skr. prā-ςi 'fill thou' to the imper. injunct.
prā-s. But since in the speaker's thought λέξω was associated
with the system λέξω λέχω etc., λέξω because of its α was
supposed to go with the a-forms ελέξαμν ελέξω etc. (b) The
other possibility is that this imperative was a Present form,
timat e.g. ἔσων (V sed- 'sedere') was the middle to the Skr.
imper. sāt-ςι 'place thyself, sit', and ὕμοεξων the 2nd sing. to
Skr. mṛṣ-ς. Association of these with the s-aorist was easy
when they were so completely isolated. Perhaps — there is
nothing to prevent this either — forms of both kinds have
been united to form our Aorist Imperative.

§ 970. Germanic. Unexplained forms: Goth. at-stegadau
'kataβάει', láusjadau 'ἔνοσάω', and lingandau 'γυμνόσάων'.
The explanations offered for these may be seen collected by
Jellinek, Beitr. zur Erklärung der germ. Flexion, pp. 98 ff.; see further p. 507 footnote, and compare the medio-passive optative forms baírði-zau -dan -ndaun in § 1052.

SIGNS OF THE PERSONS, AND OF MIDDLE AND PASSIVE VOICE. 1)

§ 971. The Personal endings served in the original language a double purpose: to distinguish Persons, and to distinguish the Active from the Middle or Passive Voice.

What the meaning of each particular personal suffix may have been we are not in a position to decide. Some of them may originally have been a personal pronoun affixed to the


verb. Thus a connexion with ancient personal pronouns is in fact possible for the followings endings: in the 1st sing. -m -mi, cp. Skr. ma (Ir. μά (III § 434.2 p. 365); in the 1st dual Skr. vas -va, cp. Skr. vām Goth. vi-t Lith. vē-du (III § 436.1 p. 367, § 457 p. 396); in the 3rd sing. -t -ti, cp. Skr. tá-m Gr. τó-r (III § 409 p. 327).

It is not necessary that given forms shall originally have had the meaning which they actually convey in any language. Just as the Lat. -mini in sequimini even in preethnic Italic was anything but a personal ending (see II § 71 p. 165), so many others which now do duty for personal endings may have had very different meanings originally. There is the highest probability in favour of what has been said in § 956 p. 496 f. regarding certain imperative suffixes. And again, it is hardly


possible to deny a connexion between the endings -nt -nti -nto etc. of the 3rd plural and the participial suffix -nt- (II § 125 pp. 394 ff., and IV p. 50 footnote 1).

§ 972. The etymological connexion of Middle and Active ending is quite obscure. What, for instance, is the connexion between 3rd sing. mid. Gr. -tau and 3rd sing. act. -t?

Remark. It is probable a priori that the Active endings as a class are the oldest. For these characterise an action simply, without the secondary meanings which the Middle Forms convey over and above those of the Active. On this principle we may regard the *-medhawj or *-medhawj of the 1st plural as an extension of the act. *-so *-to *-nto are doubtless extensions of the active *-s *-t *-nti, and if a particle i were added to these, the former would become *-soi *-toj *-ntowi or *-soi *-tij *-ntowi, the latter *-si *-ti *-nti. But in the 2nd pl. the middle Skr. dhré -dham are obviously to be kept quite apart from the active -the -te. And who is to prove that *-soi *-toj did not become *-si *-ti by loss of accent, and *-so *-to become *-s *-t in the same way? This explanation is actually suggested by Begemann, Zur Bedeutung des schwachen Präteritums der german. Sprachen, p. 188, and Osthoff, Morph. Unt. iv 282.

For the Passive Voice there were originally no special and characteristic endings in the Indo-Germanic languages. All so-called passive forms in the verb finite are either middle or active.

§ 973. Each person, both Active and Middle, had in the parent language at least two endings.

Sometimes there is no possibility of tracing any connexion between these different endings, as between -ti and -e in the 3rd sing. active (Skr. pres. dás-ti and perf. dás-e). In particular there were a number of special endings in the Perfect Indicative, whose origin, it would appear, was quite distinct from that of the endings in the other tenses and moods.

But the rest are obviously variant forms of the same thing. This is true of -mi and -m in the 1st sing. active, of -tāj or -tāj and -to in the 3rd sing. middle. The -i which distinguishes the active endings 1st sing. -ni 2nd sing. -si 3rd sing. -ti 3rd pl. -nti from -m -s -t -nt in the same persons, may, I suggest, be an affixt particle (perhaps implying present time). The same -i, forming a diphthong with a preceding -a-vowel, is seen in the middle endings 1st sing. -ai or -oi (Skr. perf. tutud-ê) and
-oḥ (Skr. conj. ky-nau-āi), 2nd sing. -saḥ or -sa, 3rd sing. -taḥ or -taḥ, 1st pl. -medhāḥ or -medhāj, 3rd pl. -nataḥ or -ntoḥ beside 1st sing. -oḥ (Skr. pret. ā-deviṣ-t) and -oḥ (Skr. opt. deviṣy-āḥ), 2nd sing. -soḥ, 3rd sing. -toḥ, 1st pl. -medhāḥ (Skr. maha Gr. -muθa), 3rd pl. -ntoḥ. Other differences distinguish the endings of the 1st pl. act. Skr. -mas (-masti) and -maḥ, the endings of the 2nd and 3rd dual act. Skr. -thas -tas and -tam -tām, and so forth.

§ 974. Leaving aside the endings peculiar to the Indic. Perf. Act., the other personal endings are divided into Primary and Secondary; the 3rd sing. for instance has primary endings -ti active and -taḥ (-taḥ) middle, and secondary -t active and -to middle.

The Primary endings belong to the Indic. Pres. Active and Middle (Skr. dādā-ti dat-tē), and include the sāo-future (Skr. dāsyā-ti -tē), and the Indic. Perf. Middle (Skr. dād-tē). But forms with a secondary ending (Injunctive) could also serve as indic. present, see § 909 p. 457.

The Secondary endings belong to the augmented Indic. Active and Middle (Skr. ā-dā-t ā-di-ta, ā-dadā-t ā-dat-ta etc.), to the series which has such wide and varied use, the Injunctive Active and Middle (Skr. dā-t di-tā etc.), and to the Optative Active and Middle (Skr. dadyā-t dadi-tā etc.)

The Conjugative varies, and takes both kinds.

Remark. Some light may be had from Irish syntax to explain why the Augment required secondary endings. The augment was an independent adverb (§ 477 pp. 24 f.); and we find in Irish double forms, one for Conjunct and one for Absolute use, e. g. 3rd sing. do-beir for *bheirt (secondary ending), and berid for *bheri-ti (primary). Probably the Irish usage in some degree reflects that of proethnico times, and we should suppose that in the parent language, while bhērē-ti would be used alone, such a form as *prō bherē-ti would be used when the verb was coupled with a prefix. On this supposition, Skr. prō bhārati is due to the analogy of independent bhārati; and vice versa Lat. vēhīs to that of the compounds, as dā-vehīs. But this kind of variation cannot be assumed for all tenses and moods in the parent language (of course the perfect indicative active ia is always excepted). It certainly was not found in the optative, which in the existing languages always shows secondary personal endings. And notwithstanding Skr. 2nd sing. imper. vē-ṣi and Gr. λέγει (§ 910 Rem. p. 459 f.), we must not venture to allow it for imperative expressions.
§ 975. Amongst the suffixes of persons, r has a place to itself. It is found sometimes alone as a personal ending (as Skr. 3rd pl. cakr-ūr), sometimes in conjunction with others (as Skr. 3rd pl. pres. duh-r-atē Lat. 3rd pl. sequo-ntu-r). As Italic and Keltic have it in almost all persons, and as the forms which contain it must be treated together, a special chapter will be given to it after the other endings have been discussed (§§ 1076 ff.).

ACTIVE ENDINGS.

1ST PERSON SINGULAR.

§ 976. Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) -mi, Primary Ending for Unthematic Stems. *ēs-mi 'I am': Skr. ēsmi Arm. emi Gr. ēmi Alban. ēm (for *em *esmi, § 493 p. 52) Goth. im Lith. esm O.C.Sl. jesmi. Skr. ḍādā-mi Gr. ḍhō-mu 'I give'. Skr. ḍṛ-ṇā-mi 'I break to pieces' Armen. bair-na-m 'I lift' Gr. dāμ-rr-μ 'I tame' O.Ir. gēnīm 'I remain hanging' (for *gēn-na-mi) O.H.G. gi-nō-m 'I gape'. Most languages came indepently to use this ending with Thematic stems: Skr. bhārāmi Armen. berem O.Ir. berim 'fero' O.H.G. wirdon 'I become' Serv. nesem 'I bear'.

(2) -o, the Primary Ending for Thematic Stems. *bherō 'fero': Avest. Gath. uṣya 'I weave, extol' Gr. φέω Lat. ferō O.Ir. as-biur 'effero, dico' Goth. baira Lith. vešu 'veho'. Future Avest. Gath. vax-ṣya 'I will speak' Lith. dā'-sin 'dabo'. Conjunctive *es-o from indic. *es-mi: Avest. Gath. anoh Skr. brāv-a dicam' Gr. ēw o Lat. (fut.) erō. -o also in the Greek long-vowel Conjunctive, as φέω (pl. φέω-μεν φέω-τε), and the Aryan -a seems to be identical in the forms Skr. ārā (3rd sing. ār-ā-t) Avest. Gath. per'sā (3rd sing. per's-a-iti), see § 918 Rem. p. 466.

(3) -m (after sonants) and -n (after consonants) Secondary Ending for any Stem. *bhero-m: Skr. ē-bhara-m Gr. i-φέω-r Lat. su-m O.C.Sl. nesū 'bore'. Conj. Lat. fero-m O.Ir. do-ber
The Personal Endings: — 1st Sing. Act. §§ 976, 977


(4) -a in the indic. perf. *vajd-a 'I know': Skr. vēd-a Gr. ἐδ-α O.Ir. ro cechan 'cecin' Goth. váit.


(2) The ending -ā = Idg. -ō is regular in the Gatha dialect of Avestic for the indic. present, as spasyā 'conspicio, I watch' (Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 271 ff.). Independently both Sanskrit and later Avestic adopted the re-formation with -mi (§ 976. 1); as Skr. bhārāmi dāsyāmi late Avest. baramī O.Pers. dārayāmī (Skr. dhārayāmī). The reason for this innovation was that there were often parallel forms, one thematic and the other unthematic, as Skr. dá-dhā-ti and dá-dh-a-ti, Avest. da-dā-iti and da-p-a-iti, and it was a recommendation for -mi with the thematic stem that by this the number of syllables became the same in all persons of the singular. Another thing which may have had some influence is that in the 1st sing. mid. indic. pres. of both classes the same ending (-ā) was used from the proethnic Aryan period.

(3) The short-vowel (or thematic) conjugation and the long-vowel both show the endings -ā and -āni side by side; the former was proethnic Idg. (§ 976. 2 p. 517): Skr. Ved. bravā Ved. and class. brāvāni (3rd sing. brav-a-t) Avest. mrava mravāni (3rd sing. Gath. mrav-a-iti) beside indic. Skr. brav-1-ti 'speaks'. 1st pl. brā-mās; Skr. Ved. vōcā (Gr. (f)ίνω) Ved. and class. vōcāni (3rd sing. vōc-a-ti), beside indic. á-vōc-a-t (Gr. ἀ-(f)ίνω) from vac- 'to speak', Avest. per'sā (3rd sing. per's-a-iti) beside indic. per's-a-iti 'asks', azāni beside indic. az-a-iti 'agit'.

The origin of -mi is obscure. Perhaps we should connect
it with the Ar. -na of Avest. 2nd sing. bara-na and the ending of the 2nd pl. -than-a -ta-na (§ 600 p. 143, § 1010).


(5) -η appears in Aryan regularly as -am, which we may consider the ante-sonant form (-ηm). See I § 231 Rem. p. 196. -am seems to have been helped in beating *-a = Gr. -a out of the field by various causes: in Skr. á-han-am and other such by the existence of thematic and unthematic variants together (cp. á-han-a-t § 498 p. 58); in ás-am ád-am by a wish to distinguish these from the perfect (á-s ád-a); in the optative bhárey-am, by a wish to distinguish active and middle (bhárey-a). Skr. á-brav-am Avest. mraom i.e. mraw-em 'I spoke'; Skr. ás-am O.Pers. ah-am 'eram'. Avest. didaem i.e. diday-em beside di-daε-iti 'sees'. Skr. á-kśār-s-am (Gr. ε-φθαν-α) from kšar- 'to flow, pass away'. Optative Skr. bhárey-am (not found in Iranian).


§ 978. Armenian. Perfect -a not found.

(1) -m = Idg. -mi. em 'I am' for *es-mi § 501 p. 63. mna-m 'I remain, wait for' jana-m 'I take pains' § 581 p. 122. ba-na-m 'I open' § 601 p. 144. fε-ναι-m 'I warm myself' § 642 p. 180.

This -m spread to the Thematic stems (§ 976.1), as berem 'fero'; e before the -m comes from the 2nd and 3rd singular (as in Serv. nesem, § 983), partly from the analogy of em. The same innovation is seen in the 3rd pl. beren, § 1019.

(2) The history of Idg. -m and -η is not clear. The ending -m is believed to occur in e.g. etu 'I gave' edi 'I placed' beri 'I bore'. Compare Bartholomae, Stud.-Idg. Spr. n 36 f.; Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxii 75.

§ 979. Greek.


(3) -ν for -m. ἴγο-ν: Skr. ḍja-m. ἴ-ἰδη-ν: Skr. ἀ-ḍadhā-m. Optative ἰδη-ν ἰδη-ν: Skr. ἀ-ḍadh-γo-m.

-α for -η. Aorist ἐ-χε(μ)-α 'I poured', ἐ-δει-α 'I showed'. The opt. form *φερο(μ)-α which Skr. bhārāya-m leads as to expect, is lacking. In its stead we find φέρο-μι, which is undoubtedly a re-formation (-ομι : -ωι like ἰδη-μι : ἰδη-ς), and one or two cases in Attic of φέρον, which stands to Skr. bhārāya-m as ἐ-φο-το to ἀ-βχω-αμ.

(4) -α = Idg. -a in the Perfect. ἰδηοκ-α 'I have seen': Skr. ἰδηα-κα.

§ 980. Italic. -mi and -a (Perfect) are not found.

(1) -o. Lat. agrō: Gr. ἄγω; Umbr. seestu 'sisto'. Lat. plantō for -a-(j)ō, Umbr. subocauu sobocau 'adoro' (-uu and -u = -o). Conj. (fut.) Lat. er-ō: Avest. Gath. aṣk-ā; cp. § 918 Rem. p. 466.

(2) -m. Lat. Osc. s-m-m § 528 p. 91; add Osc. manafum; if it means 'mandavi', see § 874 p. 423. Lat. ama-bam: O.Ir. ba. Conj. Lat. ag-a-m. Opt. Lat. s-ie-m sim. -η seems to be lost.

§ 981. Keltic.

(1) -m aus -mi. O.Ir. cre-nim 'I buy' Mod.Cymr. pry-na-f for *-na-mi § 604 p. 145. scaraim 'I separate, separate myself for *scarā-mi, caraim 'I love' for *carā-mi § 584 p. 125.

1) As the Umbr. inf. stiplo(m) 'stipulari' etc. shows the group āo contracted in unaccented syllables (§ 1094. 7), it apparently follows that sobocau is a new form instead of *subocō by analogy of stahku 'sto' and the like.
Forms like lēcim (beside -lēciu) and berim (beside -biur) are re-formed on the model of the verbs in -mi above mentioned. Compare § 976. 1.

Why is -m constantly doubled in Irish, thus shewing that the nasal was not spirant (mh) as in Cymric? This is no effect of the analogy of the Irish representative of Idg. *es-mi 'I am' (with nm for sm); because am (never written amm) has no claim to be considered such (see § 506 p. 72). "Can it be true after all that Irish -ám- when following the accent became -amm-?" (Thurneysen.)

(2) Idg. -s. biu 'I am': Lat. fīō. no guidiu 'I beg'; -biur 'I bear': Lat. fērō. no charub 'I will love': cp. Lat. amā-bō. See I § 90 p. 85.

(3) Idg. -m. ba 'fui' for *bhū-ā-m: Lat. amā-bam (§ 584 p. 125). Conj. -ber 'feram' for *berā-m; the absolute form bera is analogical, and no ground-form can be inferred for it.

Idg. -y seems to be quite lost.

(4) Idg. -a in the Perfect. ro sešlach 'I struck down' for *se-stāg-a: cp. Goth. sloh.

§ 982. Germanic.

(1) Idg. -mi is common in West Germanic. Goth. im O.H.G. b-im b-in 'I am' for *es-mi (§ 507 p. 73). O.H.G. sestō-m 'sisto, I arrange' (§ 545 p. 103), salbō-m 'I anoint' (§ 585 p. 126), habē-m 'I have' (§ 592 p. 133), stā-m 'I stand' (§ 708 p. 240), ginō-m gei-nō-m 'I gape' (§ 605 p. 146).

Goth. salbō doubtless has not the secondary Idg. -m, but gets its ending from salbō-m -nd by analogy of baira : baira-m -nd. On Goth. haba see § 708 p. 238 f.

(2) Idg. -s. Goth. baira O.H.G. biru 'fero' O.Icel. heito-mu-k 'I call myself', Goth. nasja O.H.G. neriu nerru 'I save'; on forms like O.H.G. hilfō see I § 661. 2 p. 517. In High German dialects, especially Rhine Frankish, the -n of verbs in -mi has been spreading to the thematic class since the 11th century: e.g. wirðon gihun instead of wirdo gihu, and so too O.Low Fr. wirthon (cp. § 976. 1).
(3) Idg. -m. Goth. i-udja 'I went': Skr. á-yām; Goth. nasida O.H.G. nerita 'I rescued' Norse Run. tawido 'I made'. No trace is left of *-un = -ni; it must have been once used in the opt. Goth. bairan; the origin of this form (O.Icel. beru) is very uncertain, see § 928 p. 474.


§ 983. Balto-Slavonic. -a (Perfect) is wanting.

(1) -mi. Lith. es-mi O.CSl. jes-mi 'I am': on Lith. es-mu see § 510 p. 75. O.CSl. ima-mi 'I have' (§ 586 p. 127); reformation with -mė, bi-mė etc., see § 727 p. 257.

It is true the Lith. reflexive ending -mė-si (dūmė-si, veilmė-s § 511 p. 76) contains the middle ending -mė = Gr. -mu (cp. Pruss. asmai), 1) and by I § 664.3 p. 523 it follows that -mė becomes -mi. Still it does not follow that -mi must always come from -mė; active and middle endings must have existed side by side, and only in the si-reflexive was -mė made regular on the strength of 1st sing. -ũ-s : -u, 1st pl. -mė-s : -me. Compare § 991 on dūsi : dūsė-s.

In Servian -m(1) runs through all conjugations: first, beginning with the 13th century, -a-m, as ūwa-m 'I protect' (ep. O.CSl. ima-mė); then -i-m, as hvatli-m 'I praise' (ep. O.CSl. bi-mė); lastly -e-m, as nese-m 'I bear', which should be compared with Armen. bere-m (§ 978 p. 519), only mogu 'I can' and hocu 'I wish' kept fast to the old ending. The same is true of Slovenian.

(2) Idg. -a only in Baltic; Lith. sukū 'I turn' sukū'-si(i) 'I turn myself' (I § 664.3 p. 523), dūsium 'dabo'. On the spread of -u to stems in orig. -a and ē, as landau, see § 586 p. 127, § 593 p. 133 f., § 991.1.

(3) Idg. -m only in Slavonic. O.CSl. vezū 'I transported' for -o-m: Skr. vāha-m, da-ch-ū 'I gave' (§ 833 p. 370). Con-

1) No help can be got from O.CSl. -mi instead of -mė, which some might be inclined to regard as another instance of middle ending. Miklosich cites it as a very rare variant (Vergl. Gr. III § 63).
junctive vezq = Lat. veha-m as indic. pres., see § 929 p. 474. Idg. -ṣ is quite gone.

2nd PERSON SINGULAR.

§ 984. Proethnic Indo-Germanic. On the imperative -dhi, and imperatives without any personal ending like Skr. bhára, which we here disregard, see §§ 957 ff. pp. 497 ff.

(1) -si, Primary ending. *ṣi-si 'is': Skr. ̣ṣi Gr.  ἵ for *ṣi-(o). Skr. bhára-si O.Ir. bérí for *bêr-(o)s; Goth. bairi-s 'fear'. Conj. Skr. bhár-á-si. O.Ir. cari 'amas' for *cara-(o)s, Goth. salbó-s 'thou anointest'.


(2) -s, Secondary ending. *sta-s from √sta- 'stare': Skr. á-sthá-s Gr. ἑ-στη-; Skr. á-ya-s Goth. i-ddjē-s 'wentest'. *bhēr-s: Skr. á-bhāra-s Gr. ρέο-ς ἐ-ρεό-ς Lat. ag-i-s O.Ir. do-bir O.CSl. vezē; Goth. õg-s 'fear thou'. Opt. *bhēr-j-s: Skr. bhárē-ς Gr. ρέο-ς; Goth. bairi-s Pruss. imai-s 'take thou' O.CSl. beri; *s-(i)jē-s: Skr. syd-s Gr. ἑ-στης Lat. sē-s sē-s Goth. vitéi-s 'scias'.

(3) -tha in the ind. perf.: Skr. vēt-tha Gr. ὧδαν 'knowest', O.H.G. gi-tars-t 'darest'.

§ 985. Aryan.


Skr. ási Avest. ahi Goth. ahy 'thou art', see § 984.1.

(2) -s. Skr. dhā-s á-dhā-s Avest. dā from √dhes- 'to place', Skr. ákar for *a-kar-ṣ 'maidest', Avest. varšt 'didst work' ground-form *yerk-s, sas 'didst say' ground-form *kens-s (§ 493...


Remark. The ending -r found in many tenses and moods Huggett thinks he can explain as -s + particle *ra = Gr. ἔσ, e.g. aor. ar-ar-er (pres. ar-ne-m ‘I make’) = Gr. ἐσ-σε-ί-ς ἔσ (Beitr. zur etym. Erläut. der arm. Spr., Christiania 1889 pp. 44 ff.). This particle he sees in the ending of the 3rd sing. imperf., as berēr alair foloir. However, it is not found elsewhere in Armenian.

§ 987. Greek.

(1) -si. Only left in Hom. and Syrac. ἐσ-τι ‘thou art’, with a variant el for *ēi(σ)i, and in cl ‘wilt go’ for *ei(σ)i. When the secondary ending -ς was added to these forms on the analogy of ϕη-ς ‘sayest’ and the like, arose the Hom. and Herod. el-ς or ei-ς ‘thou art’ and Hesiod’s ei-ς ‘thou wilt go’; in the same way was produced 2nd sing. ἐλησε-ς, § 966 p. 507. ϕέρε-ς ‘fers’ either for *ϕερο-τι = Skr. bhāra-si with secondary -ς added (see the Author’s Gr. Gr.² p. 145, and Fay in the Amer. Journ. Phil. xi 219 f.); or for Idg. *bherē-si (by I § 611 p. 461), a form like Skr. āj-ai-ś (see footnote to page 61). The latter view, on which ϕέρε-ς is really injunctive, is to my mind likelier, because it explains at the same time the 3rd sing. ϕέρε-ς in the simplest way (§ 995). The conjunctive ϕέρε-ς sprang up by the side of ϕέρε-ς because of the existence of ϕέρη-ς beside ϕέρε-ς.

§ 987—989. The Personal Endings: — 2nd Sing. Act. 525

(3) -tha in the Perfect. Only two original forms are left: — oðsða: Skr. vēthā 'knowest' and ṣaṅ-ṣa from iṣ- 'to be'. The latter, which was afterwards used as imperfect (§ 858 p. 407), was the origin of many analogical forms, for instance ēṣuṣa ṣuṣa tīṣuṣa conj. ṣāḷuṣa opt. bāluṣa ēṣuṣa. oðsða-ς ṣa-ς are of very doubtful authority before the Alexandrian age; oðsða-ς occurs in Herodas Η 55. In the indic. perf. -a-ς was usual instead of -u-, e. g. tiṃuṣ-a-ς, also oδa-ς beside oδa; this ending came from the aorist, and was recommended by the ease with which it could be added to consonant stems (§ 844 p. 386).

§ 988. Italic.

(1) -si cannot be traced. But since in the 3rd sing. *-ti seems very early to have become -ti (§ 996), nothing prevents our deriving Lat. es 'art' and ēs 'eatest' from *essi and *ētsi.

(2) -s. Lat. vē-s (§ 505 p. 69), vel for *vel-s (loc. cit.); but in fer-s the -s is due to analogy. nā-s nē-s plantā-s vidē-s, amā-bās. agi-s farct-s, Umbr. heris heri heri 'vis, vel' (p. 68 footnote, and § 715 p. 248). Conjunctive Lat. er-e-s eider-e-s, ag-e-s ag-e-s. Optative Lat. sis-s eī-s. Umbr. sir eī 'sis'.

(3) Idg. -tha in the Perfect. Lat. vidis-si (inscr. also -s) got its -s either from the 1st sing. with the middle suffix -v; or else the middle ending existed in Italic in the 2nd person too (*-s for pr. Lat. *-saj) and -si got its -s from this, in the same way as -si in O.C.Sl. bereši is a mixture of active Idg. *-si and middle Idg. *-saj or *-saj (§ 991).

§ 989. Keltic. -tha (Perfect) is lost. The ending of cechan 'cecinisti' is obscure.

(1) -si. O.Ir. beri 'fers' for *bere-si (I § 576 p. 431).

(2) -s. Injunct. comē-sir 'get up' for *kōm-ecs-rec-s-s (§ 826 p. 363) -bir 'fers' for *bere-s (I § 576 p. 431, § 657. 5 p. 508).

In the a-conjunctive, bereae bere and do-berea -e for a supposed berasi; remember that even in the indicative the primary -i kept on intruding more and more into the conjunct flexion: only a few verbs, as -bir, kept clear of it.
§ 990. Germanic.

(1) -si. O.Icel. ber-r = pr. Germ. *biri-zi, O.H.G. biris = pr. Germ. *biri-si; similarly O.Icel. tem-r 'tamest' kalla-r 'callest' pr. Germ. *-zi, O.H.G. zemi-s salbō-s pr. Germ. *-si. Whether Goth. biri-s gatamji-s salbō-s have *-si or *-si cannot be made out, as both pr. Goth. -z(i) and -s(i) must needs become -s (1 § 660.5 p. 516). The breathed -s in West Germanic is thus explained: — in O.H.G. tuo-s gā-s, in O.H.G. and A.S. bis (ground-form *bhū-i-si, with i dropt on the analogy of forms like tuos biris, ep. I § 661 pp. 516 ff.), and in the present of Class II B (§ 532 p. 93), the vowel before s had the word-accent. Still the breathed s would probably not have become general even so, but that the pronoun *pā ‘thou’ so often adhered to the verb form, as in O.H.G. biristu, see I § 661 Rem. p. 519. Compare pr. Germ. -pī and -dī in the 3rd singular, § 998.

Whether Goth. is ‘thou art’ be Idg. *esi or *essi is not clear (§ 984.1).


The O.H.G. compounds biris-tu tuo-tu (see under 1.) zemitōs-tu sīs-tu biggi-tu were misunderstood, and in the 9th century people began to regard them as birist + du (thu) and so forth. This was due to kanst beside kanstu. Some part of this mistake is due to bist, which got its t earlier from the preterite-presents. In the same way we explain A.S. birest beside bires, and the like.

(3) Idg. -tha in the Perfect. Goth. las-t ‘thou didst pick’ (pres. līsa) slōk-t ‘didst strike’ (pres. slaha) O.H.G. gi-tarst

In West-Germanic and Norse -t spread from the preterite present to the Present: O.H.G. bis-t O.Icel. es-t 'thou art', wil-t 'wilt, wishest'.

In West-Germanic, the Perfect as an historic tense exchanged the form with -tha for that of the thematic aorist, as O.H.G. zigi = Skr. á-dis-a-s, whence followed intermixture with the optative perfect; see § 893 pp. 441 f.

§ 991. Balto-Slavonic. -tha (Perfect) is wanting.

(1) Idg. -si. Lith. ei-sl 'goest', dūsi 'givest' for *dū-t-si. Whether Lith. esi is to be compared with Skr. āsī or Gr. ἐσ-σι (§ 984 p. 523) is still uncertain.

Starting from Īst, -i spread to the other verbs. dūdi instead of dūsi beside dū́(d)-mi dū́d-u, degli beside degmī degū, suki beside sukā, vertī for *vertīj beside vercziū, fut. dū-si for *dūsīj beside dū-siu. Further, *lindo-i, which became lindai, beside 3rd sing. lindo which drew after it the 1st sing. lindau = lindo-u; this adoption of i and ü by a-stems took place first in the present, whence it passed to the preterite a-stems because both had the same ending in the 3rd sing. and in the plural and dual (e. g. būvo 'he was' like lindo); from the a-preterite, -i and -ā then proceeded to the preterite with ę. See § 586 p. 127, § 593 p. 133, § 983. 2 p. 522. Another thing may have aided the change of dūsi to dūdi; — dūsi was also the 2nd sing. future,1) and thus also the present *lindo-si (cp. O.C.Sl. ima-si) may have been exchanged for *lindo-i, because the former agreed with the 2nd sing. future.

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1) Ėsi 'is' and Ėsi 'ibis' are distinguised by accent.
The Reflexive in Lithuanian has always the middle endings -sē-ě, as desē-s (1st sing. dē(d)-mi § 546 pp. 103 f.), sukē-s vertē-s (for *vertē-s, cp. te-vertē § 954 p. 494); similarly the old books have essē-gu i. e. esē-gu (-gu is a particle). In the same way we have Pruss. assai asseī essei ‘thou art’ segē-sai ‘thou doest’. Still, although -ě had to become -i anyhow by rule, we must not assume that all instances of -i in the 2nd singular come from -ě. The truth is no doubt that both active and middle endings were in use together, and it was only in the si-reflexive, as we saw was the case with the 1st sing. -mi, that the middle ending became the rule; cp. § 983.1 p. 522.


(2) Idg. -s can no longer be traced in Lithuanian, but in Old Prussian it can, — opt. imai-s ‘take thou’. O.C.Sl. aor. veze: Skr. vāha-s, opt. vēxi: Skr. vāhe-š. As regards da ‘gavest’ for *dō-s-s see p. 830 p. 367, where also the origin of the 2nd sing. dastē instead of da is treated.

3rd PERSON SINGULAR.

§ 992. Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

(2) -t Secondary ending. *ēs-t 'erat': Skr. ās Gr. Dor. ἦς;
*e-gem-t 'he went': Skr. á-gan Arm. e-tn; *e-dhē-t 'he placed':
Skr. á-dhā-t Armen. e-d. Skr. á-dādhā-t Gr. ἔλθη 'he placed'.
Skr. á-yāt Goth. i-adja 'he went'. *s-Aor. Skr. á-jāt-ī 'he
conquered' for *s-ī-t, O.Ir. for-tē 'he must help' for *steigh+s+t,
O.CSl. da 'gave for *dō-s-t. *bhēre-t: Skr. bhāra-t á-bhara-t,
Gr. ἑρέ φησσε, Osc. kūmbe ned 'convenit', O.Ir. pres. -beir
O.CSl. vertex 'veixit'. Conj. of s-Aor. Skr. jē-ś-a-t O.Ir. tēs
tēis; long-vowel Conj. Skr. bhār-ā-t, Arcad.-Cypr. φηρ-η, Osc.
deiva-i-d 'iret' heriiia-d 'velit', O.Ir. do-bera. Opt. Skr. s-ya-t
Gr. sē O.Lat. sied O.H.G. sē wiggi; Skr. bhārē-t Gr. ϕηρὲν
Goth. baǐri Lith. te-sukē 'turn' O.CSl. beri.

A combination of -t with the particle u produced the
personal ending -tu. Skr. āṣ-tu 'esto' O.CSl. (Bulg.) jestū 'est',
Skr. bhāra-tu 'ferto' O.CSl. (Bulg.) beretū 'fert' (§ 909 p. 458).
Cp. -ntu in the 3rd pl., § 1017.

(3) -e in the Perfect. Skr. věd-a Gr. oik-e. Goth. vēi
'he knows'. Skr. ja-ghān-a 'he struck, killed' O.CSl. ro ge-
guin 'vulneravit, trucidavit'.

§ 993. Aryan.

(1) -ti. Skr. ās-ti Avest. asti O.Pers. astiy. Skr. dādha-ti
Avest. dāda-iti. Skr. bhāra-ti Avest. bara-iti, O.Pers. tarsa-
tiy 'he fears'.

(2) -t. Skr. á-dhā-t Avest. ṝa-p O.Pers. a-dā. Skr. ās
Avest. as 'erat' pr. Ar. *as-t. Skr. á-kar Avest. cor-p 'made',
Avest. cōs-t 'announced' from cīs. Skr. á-trāt = *a-trāt-t
beside pres. trāt-ti from tard- 'to pierce', Avest. cinas 'beside
pres. cinas-ti 'teaches' (§ 626 p. 162). s-Aor. Skr. á-jāis 'he
conquered' = *a-jāis-t, ábhār 'he brought' = *a-bhār-ī-t.
barōī-p.'

For the laws which apply where a word ends in two or
more consonants, see I §§ 647 ff. pp. 491 ff. When combined
with -u (§§ 992.2) the -t is 'always kept, cp. Skr. ās-t-u

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§ 994. Armenian. -e (Perfect) is wanting.

(1) The t of -ti becomes j after vowels (Hübsschmann, Arm. St. 1 74, above I § 360. p. 276).1) bere 'fort' for *bere-ţ *bere-ti, bār-ṇa-y 'lifts' for *bārna-ti, aļay 'grinds' for *ala-ti, xausi 'loquitur' for *xausi-ţ -ti.

(2) e-d 'he placed': Skr. á-dhā-t. e-kl 'he came': Skr. á-gan, Idg. *e-gom-t.

The -r of the 3rd sing. imperf., as berōr, is obscure; see § 986 Rem. p. 524.

§ 995. Greek.

(1) -ti. ἕ-τι, ἕ-τι, Dor. δίδω-τι Att. δίδω-σι.


The explanation of φέσσ, which cannot be derived from *qγε-ς-τι, depends on that of the 2nd sing. qγε-ς. If φέσσ, = *qγε-ς(τι)+ς, φέσσ has been coined as complementary on the model of φέσσ : φέσσ, ἑ-φέσ : ἑ-φέσ. But if φέσσ, is a form like Skr. ájāi-ς, which I have preferred as more probable, φέσσ must go parallel to Skr. á-śarāt-t 'he broke to bits'; then *bhērēj-i-t was the ground-form. In any case it follows that φέσσ had the secondary ending. Conj. φέσσ is an ad-formate of φέσσ, as qγε-ς of qγε-ς. Compare § 987.1 p. 524. In Epic dialect -a spreads from the unthematic indicative to the

1) Not so Bartholomae (Stud. Idg. Spr. ii 27 f.), who holds that t just simply disappears between vowels.
last named conjunctive form, e.g. ἐθέλησι instead of ἐθέλη, cp. ἐθέλω-μι § 979. 2 p. 520, ἐθέλησον § 987. 3 p. 525.

(3) -e in the Perfect. αἰ-ε- γε-γον-ε.

§ 996. Italic. e (Perfect) is wanting.

The endings -ti and -t are nowhere left unchanged. It is assumed that in all Italic dialects they became -t and -d: these remain in Oscan; in Umbrian -t remains (but the spelling varies, and we sometimes find -t and sometimes nothing, just as happens with other final consonants), while -d is dropt; in Latin, -t became the only ending, although instances of -d are found in old inscriptions. But an explanation has yet to be found why the -i of -ti (as of -nti in the 3rd plural) has disappeared without leaving a single trace. Compare I § 655. 7 p. 504.

(1) -t representing Idg. -ti. Lat. est-t Umbr. est Osc. est ist. Lat. agi-t ama-t. Umbr. tiśit 'deceit' trebes-t 'versatur' habe habe 'habet'; Osc. faama-t 'habitabat' stat-t 'stat', Marruc. fere-t 'fert', Vestin. di-de-t 'dat'.


In Latin -t early becomes the sole ending, fui-t amā-bat sie-t si-t, like -nt in the 3rd pl. Something may be ascribed to sentence-position, which would sometimes cause a change of -d to -t (e.g. fuit tum for fluid tum).

§ 997. Keltic.

(1) Idg. -ti, whose vowel disappeared by 1 § 657. 1

p. 506 f. O.Ir. is 'is' for *es-ti (I § 516 p. 377). berid 'fert' for *bere-ti. car-id 'amat' O.Bret. crihot 'vibrat' for -a-ti.

(2) Idg. *t dropt (I § 657. 9 p. 509). co-ti 'donec veniat' for *t(o)-incs-t (§ 826 p. 364). no beir 'fert' for *bere-t, no chara 'loves' for *carā-t, hin-glen for *-gli-na-t (cp. absol. glenaid 'remains hanging' for *gli-na-ti). Conj. tās tēs 'eat' for *steiks-e-t, -air-ema 'suscipiat' for *-ema-t, ro-chara 'amet' for *carā-t.

(3) Idg. *e: ro cecuin 'cecinit' for *ce-can-e (I § 657. 1 p. 505 f.

§ 998. Germanic.

(1) *-ti. Goth. O.H.G. is-t. After sonants, liquids and nasals pr. Germ. -pi or -di according to the position of the word accent (I § 530 p. 386). Gothic has only -p, which may represent both -p(6) and -a(6) (I § 660. 5 p. 516), e.g. trudi-p 'steps' Class II B like Skr. tudā-ti, bairi-p 'fert' = Skr. bhārati. West Germanic has both forms, O.H.G. using -t = pr. Germ. -di always, whilst A.S. has usually -a = pr. Germ. -pi; O.H.G. biri-t hevi-t and the like (§ 720 p. 251) are regular and tuo-t analogical, A.S. dǣd dīge-a (loc. cit.) regular and bire-a analogical.


(3) *e, pr. Germ. *i in the Perfect. Goth. skai-skāi♭ O.H.G. sciad 'he separated': Skr. ci-chēḍa. In Gothic -i disappeared by universal rule. O.H.G. was nam and the like follow the lead of bant etc. (I § 661. 2 p. 517). That the lost vowel had *-quality is still indicated, according to W. van Helten (P.-B. Beitr. xiv 2f 2 f.), in the e of words like O.Fris. wēt 'he knows' = Goth. vāt, which is due to mutation.

§ 999. Balto-Slavonic. *e (Perfect) is wanting.

(1) *-ti in Baltic occurs only with a few un thematic stems;
in Old Russian both with these and with the thematic. Lith. čė-ti čėst Pruss. ast (astīts = astī tas 'est hic') O.C.Sl. (Russ.) jes-ti 'is'. Lith. ė-ti ėt Lett. īt 'goes' Pruss. ėit. Lith. dūstī reflex. dūstī-s O.C.Sl. (Russ.) dāstī 'dat'. O.C.Sl. (Russ.) bere-tī: Skr. bhāra-ti.

(2) -t dropt in both branches (I § 663. 3 p. 521). O.C.Sl. aor. veze: Skr. vāha-t, s-aorist -ē 'ate' for *ētīs-t (1st sing. -ētū). Lith. injunctive used for indic. pres. and preterite: sāko 'says būvo 'was'; tūri has'. Optative Lith. te-večē O.C.Sl. vezi: Skr. vāhē-t. Another example is Lith. vėša 'vehit' for *veša-t. The a of this form, and of the 2nd pl. vėša-te and the 2nd dual vėša-ta, came in from the 1st pl. vėša-me and displaced e; this levelling was helped by present stems which had ī all through, and those which had o in the plural, dual, and 3rd singular (tūri-me etc., sāko-me etc.); cp. O.H.G. Alemann. 2nd pl. bera-t, § 1015.

In Baltic the 3rd singular of all verbs served also for 3rd plural and 3rd dual. According to J. Schmidt (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 595), the form yrā 'est' (from the V of Skr. īr-tā, § 497 p. 57) was originally a substantive used predicatively ('existential'), which did for all numbers; when this idiom became familiar, the 3rd singular of real verbs got to be used for all numbers alike. To my mind it seems likelier that the idiom is derived from that idiom of proethic speech which allowed a neutral plural or dual subject to have a verb in the singular (ep. Homer's ὄφρα σίστης and ὀφρὸς ὕστης): this rule held in proethic Baltic, and led by and by to using of the masculine or feminine plural in the same way.

In Lithuanian and Prussian, another ending besides these is found, namely -ai. Present Lith. pa-vystai 'withers' = pa-vyst(a) and conjunctive (see § 909. 3 a p. 457); te-lystai 'let him grow haggard' = te-lįst(a), Pruss. swini:tai 'he sanctifies' = swintina (also -ei -e instead of -ai) turrei 'has' = turri. s-Future Lith. su-gausai 'he will or must get' = su-gaunas, turėsai 'he will or must have', in Prussian always used as conjunctive, as bōusai 'be he' dāsai 'let him give' (also -ei, or
-e instead of -ai). All these forms with -ai can be used for the plural. I regard -ai as something originally independent which has attached itself to the verb, the same which appears in the nom. sing. tasā as compared with tās (III § 414 p. 336). Perhaps, however, it was not -ai but -sai (see loc. cit.). In this case we must assume that it was first added to the future, which seems to have ended with -s = -st in proetic Baltic (injunctive of the s-aorist), cp. § 828 p. 365 f.; and after the double s was thinned (*būs-sai becoming *būs-sai), -ai was mentally abstracted and then added to the present.

In Old Bulgarian we find instead of -ți the ending -ți i.e. -t + particle u (§ 909 p. 457), e.g. O.Bulg. jesti beretă, cp. 3rd pl. sət̥i beretę. Perhaps proetic Slavonic had jesti and beret(ă) corresponding to Lith. ėsti and veša. and levelling took different directions in the dialects.

In Old Bulgarian -tu, spread from the present to the aorist, and thus we have pri-jesti instead of -je; these aorist forms then came to be used for the 2nd singular. See § 830 p. 367.

1st PERSON PLURAL.

§ 1000. Proetic Indo-Germanic. The different languages show a vast number of endings, the original distribution of which can only be partly made out. Judging from Sanskrit; with its primary -māsi -mas, and secondary and perfect -mā; from Old Irish, with -mí -me in absolute flexion, -m in conjunct; and from Old High German, whose -mās properly belonged to the indic. present (with -m in indic. preterite and the optative), we should regard the forms with a characteristic s as being the primary of proetic speech. Whether the vocalic suffixes and those ending in a nasal

1) This -sai may be identified with the Goth. sāi O.H.G. sæ, which Osthoff connects with Skr. sēd = ad id 'that same' (P.-B. Beitr. vIII 311).
(such as Lith. -me and Gr. -μεν) represent Idg. secondary and perfect suffixes respectively, is not clear.

(1) Primary Forms.

(a) -mēs -mos. Perhaps originally -mēs e.g. *i-mēs 'imus', but -mos e.g. *bhēro-mos 'ferimus', cp. III § 228 p. 111 f. on the endings of the gen.-abl. sing. -es and -os. Skr. i-mās bhārā-mas, Gr. Dor. i-μεν q̱e̱q̱o-μεν, Lat. i-mus fer-i-mus, O.H.G. tūo-mēs bēra-mēs. Perhaps we should add O.Ir. do-bēra-m (for *-mos), Czech js-me nese-me (for *-mes) Serv. ies-mo plete-mo (for *-mos).

(b) -mesi -mosi, possibly for -mes -mos extended on the analogy of the other primary endings in -i. Skr. Ved. s-māsi bhārā-masi. O.Ir. ammi 'sumus' for *esmesi or *s-es-mesi, berme for *beromi *beromesi; but phonetic law would permit us to assume for this language *mēsi (cp. above O.H.G. -mēs).

(2) Secondary or Perfect forms.

(a) -mē -mō. Skr. a-bhārā-ma bhārē-ma perf. vid-mā; Ved. also -mā. Ose manafu-m comes in too, if it is 1st pl. ('mandavimus'), see § 874 p. 422. Goth. *vitum O.H.G. wiggun, opt. Goth. balrāi-ma bietēna (for *-mē or *-mō). Lith. reflex. sūko-mē-s, with variant sūko-mē. Perhaps also O.Ir. do-bēra-m (for *-mo), Czech js-me nese-me Serv. ies-mo plete-mo.

(b) -mem -mom or -men -mon.1) Gr. k-φερω-ην q̱e̱ρo-lier Ḗδ-μεν, O.C.Sl. aor. neso-mi. Perhaps also O.Ir. do-bēra-m (for *-mom *-mon); but there is no trace of a final nasal. O.C.Sl. neso-my may be derived from -mōn -mōn.

§ 1001. It is a difficult question how far the -m- of our ending, and likewise that of the middle ending Skr. -māhē Gr. -μεθ, had a sonant pronunciation (-mē-) in the parent language.

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1) -mem -mom appear to deserve the preference to judge from Skr. -tām beside Lith. -tā O.C.Sl. -ta in the 2nd dual (§ 1031), and Skr. -tām beside O.C.Sl. -te -ta in the 3rd dual (§§ 1038 and 1040).
The following are cited from Avestic by Bartholomae (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 273 ff.): 1st pl. aor. jim-ama from √gem- 'go', 1st pl. pres. hišc-amaīdī beside 3rd sing. act. hi-šax-ti (§ 540 p. 101), opt. jam-y-ama (§ 941 p. 486). For the Perf. examples are Avest. -ama in dāidy-ama, Gr. -αμεν Goth. -amn Lat. -imus O.Ir. -ammar, see § 844 p. 386. Lastly, for the Sigmatic aorist, Gr. -σαμεν -σαμενα Lat. -imus, see § 820 p. 356, § 823 p. 361.

§ 1002. Aryan.

(1) Primary -mas and -māsi. Both are kept in Sanskrit, but in Iranian only the latter is found. Skr. s-mās s-māsi Avest. mahī O.Pers. a-mahy 'sumus'. Skr. bhārā-mas -māsi Avest. barā-mahī O.Pers. pāhā-mahī ('dicimur')


As in other languages; so in Sanskrit, the difference of primary and secondary endings was not strictly kept in the later language; thus we have in the Mahā-Bhārata imperf. a-poṣyāmas 'we saw' and pres. paṣyāma 'we see', and similarly 1st dual syāvas instead of syāva 'we both would be'.

§ 1003. Armenian. The ending of the indic. present suffix -mē is not clear; examples are ta-mē 'damus' berē-mē 'ferimus'; Bugge (Beitr. zur etym. Erl. der arm. Spr., Christiania 1889, p. 44) derives -mē from -mes+v (the particle u), cp. III § 318 p. 212 on the case-suffix -ē in dsterē mek etc. Still more obscure is the -ē of other tenses, as of aor. tualē 'they gave'. 
Remark. In explaining the endings of the 1st and 2nd plural (§ 1011) we must not forget the possibility of a personal pronoun being affixed, op. Mod.Cymr. 1st pl. carwenn Alban. 1st pl. fen Šu § 1006. 2, O.Ir. 2nd pl. adid (§ 506 p. 72 f.). In considering the -iE of the 2nd plural, where i seems to come from t for -te, we must also remember that the 2nd pl. may have imitated the ending of the 1st plural, op. O.Ir. beiríi Lith. sūkot-e §§ 1014, 1016. Compare Hübsehmann, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIII 12.

§ 1004. Greek. In Doric, -μες (primary) becomes universal. E.g. φέρο-μες ἵω-μες ἱ-στάσαμες ἀπ-εστάλκαμες. Elsewhere -μεν (secondary), as φέρο-μεν etc.

§ 1005. Italic. Latin has always -mus for *-mos (primary), as t-mus agi-mus st-mus momordimus. Examples of this person in the other Italic dialects are wanting, unless indeed Osc. manafum is 1st plural (see § 1000.2 a p. 535).

§ 1006. Keltic.

(1) Primary. O.Ir. -mi for *-mesi (or -mēsi): ammi 'sumus' for *esmesi or *s-esmesi (§ 506 p. 72 f.), guidmi 'we beg' (1st sing. -guidiu). -mi became -me when the preceding syllable had no palatal vowel (1st and 2nd conjugations); thus berme for *bero-mi *bero-mesi, carme for *cara-mi *cara-mesi. Then comes confusion of various kinds; guidme beside guidmi, and tiagmi beside tiagme.

(2) Secondary. O.Ir. -m for *-mo or *-mos, hardly for *-mom *-mon (§ 1000.1. a, 2. a and b., p. 535). Indic. pres. do-beram, no charam, do-lécem, and so in the á-conjunctive, -beram -caram.

The primary ending -mi, as the frequent spelling -mmi -mme shows, had a hard, not a spirant m. This was irregular in forms with orig. vowel before the personal ending, and is due to the analogy of ammi, where mm = sám. But Cymric shows -wen in the pres. indicative, as carwen ('we will love'),

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1) On the same principle, we find in Pali daṇḍaḥa following aṁha for asaṁa 'sumus', Prakrit cīphamha -who following aṁha -who; and in Prakrit there is a 1st sing. gacchamhi instead of gacchāmi. As regards the 1st plural something may be put down to the influence of the s-aorist ending (Skr. -r-mā), op. Pali apacanhā beside apacimbā (E. Kuhn, Beitr. zur Pali-Gramm., 109; Terp, Die Flexion des Pāli, 47).
i.e. -ωφ + the personal pronoun ὅν-,1) and therefore had the regular spirant ὅν; however, ὅν 'sumus' has hard ὅν, for ὅν.

Of the secondary ending -m the reverse is true. -m in O.Ir. do-beram and the like is never written -mm, and therefore was spirant. Cymric however has -m, not -f, except in the indic. present; as conj. carom. As regards this Cymric -m Thurneysen writes: "It is possible that other forms with -sm- (s-aorist and injunctive) may have had something to do with the matter. There are many traces of s-forms in British dialects, which have not yet been properly explained".

§ 1007. Germanic.

(1) O.H.G. -mēs = Idg. *-mēs must, as the breathed -s shews, have originally belonged to the pr. Germ. unthematic present stems (cp. gā-mēs). It very soon spread to the hortative injunctive, as bera-mēs (with variant bera-m like Goth. bairam, see § 909 p. 458), and then to the Indic. preterite, bārumēs, and then to the Optative, bārīmēs. Compare Braune, Ahd. Gramm.2 pp. 223 f., and the works there cited.

(2) Goth. -m = Idg. -me or -mo in viiun bārum bairam. (Goth. -ma = Idg. -mē or -mō in the optative: bairāi-ma bērei-ma. The West-Germ. -m, O.H.G. wizgun bārum bera-m herē-m bārē-m, may be equivalent either to -m or to -ma in Gothic (I § 661.2 pp. 517 ff.).

§ 1008. Balto-Slavonic.

Lith. -mé = Idg. -mē (§ 1002. 2. a) before the reflexive -si and -s: suko-mēs suka-mē-s. The -me of suko-mē suka-mē ei-mē eamus' ei-me 'imus' may come from -mé by I § 664.3. p. 523. Perhaps however Idg. *-me and *-mē have run together into -me. The suffixes -ma -mo-s found in a few instances as variants of -me and -mē-s (Bezzenberger, in his Beiträge, n 268), and Lett. ei-ma 'we go' and 'let us go', are a re-formation in agreement with the dual -na -vo-s (§ 1030);

1) The personal pronoun is added in this way in the Albanian dialect of Škodra; e.g. jena 'sumus' instead of jemi. See G. Meyer, M. Hertz zum 70. Geburtstag, 1888, p. 89.
so too in the 2nd plural there is contamination with dual forms (§ 1016). Lett. -na(-s) is to be connected with Pruss. -mai (as-mai ‘we are’ turri-mai ‘we owe, should’), as also 2nd pl. -tai(-s) with Pruss. -tai -tei -ti (as-tai es-tei as-ti ‘ye are’ drūve-tai ‘ye believe’ turri-ti ‘ye should’): the diphthong comes from the 1st and 2nd singular (§ 983 p. 522, § 991 p. 528).

The following endings may be regarded as proethnic Slavonic.

1 -me = Idg. -mes or -me. Mod.Bulg. sime ‘sumus’ aor. nesoh-me. Little-Russ. dial. (in the Carpathians) sydy-me. Czech js-me ‘sumus’ jime ‘edimus’ nese-me opt. nesme.

2 -mo = Idg. -mos or -mo. Little-Russ. with the ind. present in -mi, jes-mo jimo. Serv. and Mod.Sloven. also in other stems: Serv. jes-mo jemo Mod.Slov. s-mo jemo, Serv. and Mod.Slov. plete-mo opt. pleti-mo.

3 -mi = Idg. -mom or -mon. In O.C.Sl. this is the usual ending: jes-mi dami nese-mi aor. neso-mi opt. nesē-mi dadi-mi. So in Great-Russ.: nese-m dadi-m ‘damus’; Little-Russ. nese-m opt. nēti-m; Pol. niesie-m (see below); Czech aor. nesecho-m imperf. nesjēcho-m.

4 -my either from -mam or -môn (I § 92 p. 86 f.), or else modelled after my ‘we’ (cp. 1st dual -vē, as jes-vē, with vē ‘we both’, § 1030). O.Bulg. e. g. vėmy beside vēmi, vidi-my beside vidi-mi. Pol. wiemy, niesiemy beside niesie-m. East-Sorb. and Mod.Sorb. vémy.

It is uncertain how these endings were distributed in proethnic Slavonic. As regards -mo it should be observed that the accents justify an inference that it at first belonged, as it still does in Little-Russian, only to the indic. Present of verbs in -mi, and that it is only their analogy which produced Serv. plete-mo etc. The forms we find in modern dialects have been often affected by the fact that -mi ran into one with the -mi of the 1st singular; hence in Polish while niesiem exists beside niesiemy (1st sing. niose), we have only wiemy (1st sing. wiem) and dzialamy (1st sing. dzialam).
Thematic. O.C.Sl. pres. nese-mū nese-vē as against aor. neso-mū neso-vē. The former follow the analogy of ĵo-stems such as znajē-mū -vē, where e is regular for o (I § 84 p. 80). In the aorist o remains, because there were no ĵo-stems in the aorist.

2nd PERSON PLURAL.

§ 1009. Proethnic Indo-Germanic. Only in Aryan do we see a pair of endings, one primary and the other secondary, Skr. -tha and -ta (cp. 2nd dual -thas and -tam). All the forms of European languages can be derived from the single one Idg. -te. Still it must be admitted that much darkness still hangs over the tenues aspiratae in European languages (cp. I § 553 pp. 405 ff., II § 81 Rem. 2 p. 243, Bartholomae Stud. Idg. Spr. i 44).

Again Aryan, and Aryan alone, shows a special perfect ending, -a, which may be related to the Gr. -tē as Skr. -ē to Gr. -rā in the 3rd sing. perf. middle, and may possibly be identical with the a of the Sanskrit endings 2nd dual -ā-thur 3rd dual -ā-tūr (§ 1038).


(3) Perfect Skr. -a Gr. -tē etc. Skr. vid-ā Gr. ār-te O.Ir. gerneid Goth. vītē-þ.

§ 1010. Aryan.


In Vedic we also meet with -thana and -tana, the latter very common with hortative forms: e. g. s-thána váda-thana i-tana punt-tána. -na is a particle, which, if my conjecture be right, is contained in other forms, namely 2nd sing. imper. Avest. barana and Skr. ghrána (§ 600 p. 143), and which may be akin to the -ni of the Aryan 1st sing. conj. in -ani (§ 977. 3 p. 518).

(3) Pr. Ar. -a in the Perfect. Skr. ca-kr-á (3rd sing. ca-kár-a 'he made'), Avest. hanohán-a from han- 'to present, earn' (§ 852 p. 402).

§ 1011. Armenian. All tenses and moods have -k final; e. g. berék 'fertis' for *bere-ìk, alaik 'molitis', aor. edik 'ye placed'. The ì of -ìk appears to be the same as t in -te; for further discussion refer to the Remark to § 1003, on page 536.


Remark. The -te of the Perfect forms Hom. ind. πένωσε (Aristarchus πένωσθο) imper. ἔγγυωσθε ἔνωκε is not the Skr. -tha, but a middle ending.

§ 1013. Italic. In Latin -te only in the hortative Imjunctive (Imper.): fer-te agi-te.

Elsewhere -tis: es-tis agi-tis aga-tís st-tis vidis-tis. That the relation of agite to ane produced agitis beside agis (Osthoft, Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymn., 1880, p. 70), is less probable than that -tis (earlier *-tes) is really a dual ending (Skr. -thas Goth. -te). Outside the imperative the forms with -te, which often elided their vowel, became too much like those of the 3rd singular; and so by the time that dual and plural had got confused and the feeling for the special dual sense of the endings in question was dulled, -tis was preferred to -te because it was clearer. Of course the relation of agite to age may have made it easier to use agitis as a plural of agis. In Lettic also, where as in Latin the dual number was discarded, the 2nd dual ei-ta remained in use as a plural form: 'ye go' and imper. 'go ye'. Compare further under § 967 p. 509, § 1034 on Umbr. futu-to 'estote', and § 1015 on O.H.G. beret 'fertis'.
On Pelign. lexé, which is apparently 2nd plural, see Thurneysen Rhein. Mus. xliii 352.


The absolute forms have -thi for their ending (-the for -thi in the 2nd conjugation, as in 1st pl. -me for -mi. see § 1006 p. 537); e. g. ber-thi for *berethi, lēcthi for *lēct-thi, carthe for *carā-thi; by levelling, berthe (with a glance at berme too) lēcthe. This ending -thi is an imitation of -mi, as in Lithuanian sūka-té-s imitates sūka-mé-s (§ 1016). 1) On adib estis’, see § 506 p. 72 f.

§ 1015. As far as the Germanic sound-laws go, either -the or -te may be taken as the form to start from. The consonant fared precisely like that of the 3rd sing. ending -ti, see § 998.1 p. 532. Goth. indic. pres. bairi-p perf. bēru-p opt. bairui-p bērei-p like the 3rd sing. pres. bairi-p. O.H.G. ga-sihí-t ‘ye behold’ (Monsee or Mondsee “Fragments”, see Braune Ahd. Gr. 2 p. 1) perf. bāru-t opt. berē-t bārt-t like 3rd sing. pres. biri-t.

In the indic. present O.H.G. originally had -i- for its thematic vowel; and this remains in ga-sihit and a few other forms from the authority just cited. Alemannic bera-t with -a- following the 1st and 3rd plural (ep. Lith. vēža-te § 999. 2 p. 538), which served to distinguish 2nd plural from 3rd singular.

The commonest in O.H.G. is the form beret. With Kögel (P.-B. Beitr. viii 138) we may regard this as a dual form, either *bhere-thos (Skr. bhāra-thas Goth. bātra-ts), or *bhere-tom (Gr. qíte-tov), or *bhere-ta (O.C.Sl. bere-ta); ep. §§ 1031 ff.

§ 1016. Balto-Slavonic.

Lith. -te and -t, as ės-te věža-te (on -a- instead of -e-, see § 999. 2 p. 533) pret. věžė-te. The ending -tė-s in the reflexive

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1) Just in the same way *faiz *diz became faites dites in Old French by analogy of faîmes and dîmes (Neumann, Zeitschr. für rom. Phil., xiv 551, 584).
follows -mé-s beside -me in the 1st pl. (cp. § 1014). The endings -to-s, sometimes found in place of -te-s, and -ta in Lett. ei-ta 'ye go' or 'go ye', are dual; just as -ma and -mo-s in the 1st plural of Lith., which sometimes take the place of -me and -mé-s, and in Lett. ei-ma, have the dual vowel (§ 1008 p. 538 f.). On Lett. -ti-s and Pruss. -tai -tei -ti, see the same place.


3rd PERSON PLURAL.

§ 1017. Proethnic Indo-Germanic. We here deal with the nt-suffix only. On Skr. perf. vid-úr and like forms see §§ 1076 f. and 1079.

(1) After Consonants -énti -ént and -éti -éyt, which appear to be related in the same way as -és and -s of the genitive singular. Compare footnote to page 50.

(a) -énti and -ént.


(b) -éti and -éyt.

Primary -éti. *de-d-éti 'from √đo- 'give': Skr. dād-ati O.C.Sl. (Russ.) dād-éti. In Greek -άω for the Perfect, as ἔσ-λόγχ-άω.

Secondary -éyt. The type *de-d-éyt is preserved in Aryan only as embodied along with the particle u in the Skr. dā-d-ät-u.
In other cases *-at in Sanskrit is replaced by -ur (á-da-d-ur), in Avestic by -an (da-d-en). Another form which comes in place here is the O.Bulg. dad-ět-ů ‘dant’ (but cp. § 1026), and another is O.Sax. ded-un ‘they did’ from V dhē-, if it be a reduplicated imperfect (§ 545 p. 103, § 886 p. 433, § 1025). Then again some forms of the thematic aorist appear to have had -yat originally, as we are led to believe by Skr. part. nom. sing. dhākṣat; 1) and so perhaps O.C.Sl. -s-ć, as dašć, belongs to the same group, and O.H.G. wissun if it is rightly compared with Gr. ἐσῶ (§ 827 p. 365, § 907 p. 455). Lastly, our suffix should be claimed for the oǐ-optative: *bhēroj-yt, instead of which we have in Skr. bhāray-yr Avest. bāray-en Gr. χέω-εν Gotl. baivāi-na.

(2) After Sonants, -nți and -nt.


(1) After Cousonants Idg. -ěnti -ęnt and -ęti -ęt.

(a) -ęnti and -ęnt.


1) For the 3rd plural of the s-Aorist with vowel gradation (§ 811 p. 348 f.), it is necessary to assume the ending *-s-ęnt.

\( \text{á-gm-an} \) Avest. \( g^m-en \); with á-stems of our Classes I and X Sanskrit adopted the ending -ur, as \( \text{ás-th-ur} \) \( á-g-ur \) from \( sthā- \) and \( gā- \); but in Vedic there remain a few examples of -an, as \( vy-āsthān \) (Bartholomae, Stud. zur idg. Sprachg. 1 32 ff., II 64 ff.). Skr. \( á-sr-n-an \) \( á-yuñj-an \) \( á-kṣ-va-an \). An Optative form of this kind is apparently Skr. \( duhūy-án \); otherwise we have Skr. \( s-y-úr \) and Avest. \( h-yān \) = *s-yā-nt, no. (2).

(\( b \)) -\( yti \) and -\( yt \).

Primary -\( yti \) = pr. Ar. -\( ati \). Skr. \( dá-dh-ati \) Avest. Gath. \( da-d-aṭi \), Skr. \( sa-śc-ati \) bi-bhr-\( ati \) dávi-\( dyut-ati \). Cp. part. nom. pl. \( dá-dh-at-as \) II § 126 p. 400. In the Avesta, -\( ati \) is usually exchanged for -\( anti \), which showed the plural mark more clearly, as \( da-p-enti \) (similarly in the part. \( da-d-ant- \) instead of *\( da-d- \) -\( at- \)); cp. mid. -\( antē \) instead of -\( aṭi \) § 1067. 1.

Secondary -\( yt \) = pr. Ar. -\( at \), which remains in -\( at-u \) as Skr. \( dá-d-atu \) 'danto', and also seems to be represented in its unextended shape by four Avestic examples from the Gathas, viz. \( da-d-āp \) za-z-āp \( ji-gerz-āp \) daidy-\( ap \) (Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 280 ff., 291 f.), but elsewhere it is lost. It should be remembered that whilst -\( ati \) corresponds to -\( anti \) and -\( nti \), -\( at \) stood in sharp contrast to -\( an \) and -\( n \); and therefore -\( at \) did not suit the general types of 3rd pl. in the Aryan verb. In Sanskrit this is replaced by -\( ur \), as \( á-da-dh-ur \) \( á-bi-bhar-ur \),\(^1\) s-aorist \( á-mats-ur \) \( á-tāriś-ur \) \( á-yāśiś-ur \) (op. § 1017. 1. \( b \)), opt. \( bhāry-ur \). But in Avestic we have -\( an \), in the same way as we have -\( anti \) instead of -\( ati \) : \( da-p-en \) (cp. \( da-p-enti \)) opt. \( baray-en \).

(2) After Souants, Idg. -\( nti \) and -\( nt \).

Primary -\( nti \). Skr. \( vā-nti \) Avest. \( vā-nti \). Skr. \( bhāra-nti \) Avest. \( bara-inti \) O.Pers. \( baratiy \), Skr. \( bhārāya-nti \) Avest. \( barāye-sinti \). The long-vowel Conjunctive in Avestic has -\( nti \) and -\( n \), as \( potā-nti \) and \( potān \), but only -\( n \) in Sanskrit — \( pātā-n \).

Secondary -\( nt \). This form retains its -\( t \) before the particle

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\(^1\) Ved. \( abhāra \) I regard as \( a-bi-bhr-\( a \)-\( n \), i. e. as a thematic form (§ 559 p. 29).

Brugmann, Elements. IV.
u: Skr. bhāra-ntu Avest. bara-ntu 'ferunto' (§ 909 p. 458).
The short-vowel conjunctive always has this ending: Skr. ās-a-n
Avest. anšan. In place of *a-gā-n (= Gr. ε-βά-ρ, beside
3rd sing. á-gā-t ε-βή) Sanskrit has á-g-ur, and similarly á-y-ur
instead of *a-yā-n (3rd sing. á-yā-t), answering to the form
makes us infer such forms as *gān = βά-ρ (Idg. *gā-nt) —
dan : dā-ma following *gān : gā-ma — as in the optative,
beside 1st pl. Gath. x-yā-mā was coined 3rd pl. x-yē-n = late
Avestic h-yān (compare with this h-yā-r², also with strong form
of optative suffix).

As regards the 3rd pl. with -r (Skr. -nr Avest. -ar² -ar²'s),
see §§ 1076 f.

§ 1019. Armenian. The 3rd plural has -n always; this
seems to represent a coincidence of -nti and -nt.
ala-n 'they grind for *ala-nti: cp. Lat. juva-nt. en 'sunt'
for *s-enti, but this must have been influenced by other forms
of the paradigm (em es etc.), for by I § 63 p. 50 *in was to be
expected (cp. Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxii 71). beren
'ferunt' follows en like 1st sing. berem : em § 978. 1 p. 519.

ešn 'they gave', edin 'they placed', cp. Avest. daq § 1018. 2
above. But why not *etn *edn by I § 651. 1 p. 497?

§ 1020. Greek.
(1) After Consonants Idg. -énti -ent and -vti -vt.
(a) -vti and -vt.

Primary -vti. Dor. énti. Att. évsi instead of *i-vti =
Idg. *s-énti with smooth breathing following évsi etc. 1)

Secondary -énti. Doric and other dialects ἔνν 'erant' for
*énν(α)-σιν: Skr. s-ān ās-ānu; cp. § 502 p. 65 on the 3rd sing.
ἐνν ἔνν. ἔν-Optative ἐν-εν ἐνε-εν ἐνε-εν; O.Lat. si-ent; on
El. áv-éν refer to § 944 p. 487.
(b) -vτι and -ντι.

Primary -vτι = Gr. -avτι. Instead of *i-avτι *vτι-avτι

1) ἐνν 'sunt' in Theognis 716 is too uncertain to make it a ground
*διδ-ατι (Skr. bīdh-ātī dādh-ātī) we find (Dor.) ἵστα-ντι τίθε-ντι, διδε-ντι, as in (2). But -ατι is preserved in the perfect, as Dor. ἒφοικ-ατι (Hesych.), Phoc. ἑρπητεύ-ατι Hom. ἔσ-λογγ-ασι, and I may suggest that this ending was taken from reduplicated present stems (cp. § 555 p. 108).

Secondary -ντ = Gr. -α is lost; all examples of secondary 3rd pl. took -ντ. ἔ-τι-θε-ντ ἂ-δι-δο-ντ like τί-θε-ντι. Similarly *ϝεῖν-α(τ) 'they said' = *ὑέ-μφ-ντ gave way to ἡμᾶν, thus following no. 2 (§ 557 p. 109). Again, -αν got into the ἁ-αοριστ, where originally either ἐ-ντ (with roots that had gradation), or -ντ, seems to have been the ending; e.g. ἰσ-αι ἀ-δεικ-αν (instead of *ὑοσ-εν *ἀ-δεικ-εν;) *ϝείδε-αν (instead of *ϝείδε-ατα;) on the last see § 1021. The ὁ-ὀπτατικ took over the ending of the ἕ-ὀπτατι: φέρο-ντι instead of *φέρο-κα following ἑλεν' (El. -οιαν, e.g. παρ-βαλοναν, seems to have arisen by regular change from -οιαν as ὁν-εαν ἐπ-θειαν from *-εῖν -θειν;) side by side with which Delphic has φέρο-ντι, analogical like mid. φέρο-ντο (§ 1068).

(2) After Sonants Idg. -nti and -nt.


The vowel before the personal ending is sometimes long instead of short. The reason is undecided. Examples are Hom. μμαίνῃν Cret. διλέγγῃν Hom. ἐγὼν.

Remark. In Morph. Unt. 172 ff., I assumed in agreement with G. Meyer and others that the long vowel was taken from other forms of the paradigm, as for instance it must be explained in πλένῃν ἄργυρῳ and other like them. Solmsen now tries to make out a case for believing that -ντ -νττ etc. arose at the sentence-end, and that ἱλεύερ replaced the regular in-sentence form *ἰλεύερτι on the analogy of ἱλεύερ (Bezz. Beitr. xvii 329 ff.).

These endings -ντι and -ντ το α all stems with
gradation that ended in -α, -ε, or δ. τί-θεν-ειτι ἐ-θε-θε-ν ἐ-θε-ν')
δύμναι (δύμναι) for *δαμ-να-ντι instead of *δαμ-νε-ντι. By
analogy θηγνο (θηγνο) for *θηγγ-νυ-ντι instead of *θηγγ-
νυ-ντι.

§ 1021. The ending -αν, which developed first in Greek
(§ 1020. 1. b), spread widely and was the model for many
innovations.

(1) -αν instead of -εν and instead of -α became usual in
the Indicative of stems which did not end in -α, -ε, -δ. Some
have been already mentioned: εἰδο-αν, ἐ-αν ἐ-δεικ-αν *φείδε-καν
(by analogy, the ind. perf. γε-γεν-αν § 844 p. 386). So Boeot.
παρ-ελαν for *-η(ο)-αν (I § 72 p. 63) from √'εσ- 'to be', Hom.
Aeol. ἔχε-ναν (§ 504 p. 67 f.) and others. Also opt. δεῖξαι
instead of *δεῖξε-να as we should expect (§ 944 p. 489).

In the tendency which exchanged -εν for -αν the middle
ending -ατο may have had some influence, e. g. in ἔχε-ναν
(instead of *ἔ-χε-αν), besides which there once was a 3rd pl.
middle *ἔ-χε-ατο (cp. 3rd sing. ἔ-χε-το).

That -εν remains in the Opt., as τίθε-να, must be put
down to the strong stem τίθε-ν (cp. ἔμεγ-ν : ἔ-μεγ-, ἔτιθεν :
ἔ-τιθ-ν). Then τίθε-να propped up φέροι-εν despite the mid.
φέρο- ατο.

(2) *η-αν 'erant' (Boeot. παρ-τιαν) under the influence of
η-α-τον η-α-τον η-α-τον became η-α-αν, which may be compared
with δο-μεν (§ 502 p. 65). Similarly Φείδεσαν Φέδεσαν depend
upon a lost *φείδεσ-ε (§ 836 p. 372); the form was once
*φείδει-αν (cp. § 1020. 1. b). Then the ending -αν became
familiar, and was detached as a type, beginning partly with
these, and partly with σ-aorists of the form ἐπηκαν (to whose
system once belonged *ἐπακανα, *ἐπακατε, see § 820 p. 357);
examples are ἐ-φα-αν ἐ-τίθε-αν ἐ-θε-αν ἐ-γεν-αν ἐ-μεγ-αν
ἔ-δεικ-αν (Hellenistic also ἔλαβον, ἔπαν, and the like),

1) Although we must assume Idg. *dh-ent *dh-ent, we can hardly
venture to say that the Greek form is derived straight from this ground-
form.
plpf. ἐ-στα-σαν, opt. εἴη-σαν, imper. ἐστα-σαν. The wider use of -σαν was assisted by a wish to make the number of syllables the same in 1st 2nd and 3rd plural (ἐσαν = ἐσάμεν ἔσατε).

3) On the analogy of ἵστα-ν to ἵστα-ντι, ἵ-τίθη-ε-ν to τίθη-ε-ντι, ἵ-δε-ν to ὄλο-ντι, a primary -αντι sprang up as complement to -αν. Beside *ήνταν 'orant' then stands the pres. Ion. ἵσαν; we also have ἰάσον 'eunt', φηγνύ-άσι. Beside ἵσαν, the pres. (perf.) ἵσασσι ἱάσσι 'sciunt' Dor. ἵσαντι (§ 863 p. 411). Also perf. ἰε-δέ-άσι τε-τράφ-άσι Dor. τε-θέκ-άντι.

Doubtless something is due to the analogy of the middle -αται, as φηγνύ-άσι: φηγνύ-ατε (like: εἰρύ-αται § 1068.1.a), τετράφ-άσι: τετράφ-αται. For the Perfect cp. also the ending -ατι, § 1020.1.b.

4) Following ἰ-σοί beside ἰ-μεν, φηγνύ-άσι beside φηγνυ-μεν, ἰδέα-ασι beside ἰδέ-μεν sprang up τεθέ-ασι ἰδό-άσι *ἰστά-άσι ἰστασι as 3rd pl. to τίθε-μεν ὄλο-μεν ἵστα-μεν, Hom. βεβα-άσι Hom. Att. *ἰστά-άσι) ἰστάοι to βεβα-μεν ἰστα-μεν, Bocot. ἰδέα-ντι (on the ι see § 1068). Similarly Bocot. ἰν-ἰθιαν (ἰθιαν ἰθιαν), by which form the number of syllables in the 3rd plural was made to agree with the 1st and 2nd plural (as with -σαν, see no. 2. above).

Remark. These imperfect ἰν-επεριέοντι σοο. ἰδούντι ἰν-εθιάντι ἰταγόντι are not yet properly explained. If their -εν -εν = pr. Gr. -εν, their model must have been *ἰ-εν 'orant' (§ 1020.1.a) εἰ-εν φεδο-εν; if again -εν (-εν) is regular in Thessalian for -αν (Prellwitz, De dial. Thess., 9), they fall into line with Bocot. ἰθε-αν mentioned above. Solmsen conjectures that the endings -αν -αν were pronounced -αν -αν, to get an equal number of syllables with the 1st and 2nd plural, and that -αν -αν -αν are various attempts to write these sounds (Bezz. Beitr. xvii 336).

Late Greek new forms in the 3rd pl. are treated by Buresch in the Rhein. Mus., xlvi 193 ff.

§ 1022. Italic. In Umbro-Samnitic the endings *-nti and *-nt become -nt and -ns respectively, and are thus kept distinct. But in Latin the primary ending -nt was made universal in

1) This uncontracted form is wanting in Epic, because it did not suit the dactylic metre.
prehistoric times in the same way, though earlier, as the primary -t can be seen before our eyes usurping the place of the secondary -d (§ 996 p. 531). The form quotiens: Skr. kiyāt (III § 225 p. 106) makes it probable that Latin once had Umbr.-Samm. -ns = Idg. *-nt.

The complete disappearance of -i from -nti in Italic is remarkable; the same thing in seen with the ending -ti (§ 996 p. 531).

Along with -ns Latin must once have had a sentence doublet -n, if Johansson is right in saying that O.Lat. danunt is really *dan + the ending of legunt which it took by analogy (Akadem. afhandl. til Prof. S. Bugge, pp. 29 ff.); compare § 1023 on sōder-unt, and the O.H.G. and A.S. sind-un instead of sind, § 1025. Similarly ex-plēnunt prōd-munt would stand for *plēn *in (cp. the form int beside sunt, formed complementary to īmus ītis as sint was to sīmus ātis, instead of sient). The same -n may perhaps be the ending of Umbr. staheren 'stabunt'.

Remark. I will not pass unmentioned Danielsson's conjecture (in Pauli's Altital. Stud. iii 148) that -ns originally belonged to the indic. perfect only, and that -s is the same as we see in Avest. -sarz (§ 1077). Compare further Johansson, Bezz. Beitr. xviii 49.

(1) The post-consonantal Idg. -enti -ent and -yti -yt run together into -ent(i) -ens in Italic.

(a) -enti and -ent.
Primary -enti = Ital. -ent(i). Umbr. s-ent Osc. set set 'sunt'.
(b) -yti and -yt.
Primary -yti = Ital. -ent(i). Since in Umbr.-Samm. the orig. -o-nt(i) has disappeared and given place to -ent(i) (see below), we may assume as 3rd pl. to di-d-e-t 'dat' (§ 553 p. 107) the form *dident, which would be a parallel to Skr. dá-d-ati.
Secondary -yt = Ital. -ens seems to be lost.
(2) After Sonants -nti or -nt.


Secondary -nt = Ital. -ns, instead of which Latin has the primary -nt. Osc. fu-fa-ns 'erant' Lat. amā-ba-nt. Conj. Umbr. dirs-a-ns dirsas 'dent' Osc. deica-ns 'dicant', Lat. dic-a-nt; Osc. herri-ns 'caperen' trībara-katt-i-ns 'aedificaverint', Lat. age-nt agere-nt. Also, with -n for -nt, Lat. ex-plēn-unt etc. according to Johansson's explanation, for which see above p. 550.

In Umbr.-Samn. often -ent, where -ont is expected. Osc. fiīet 'fiunt'. Thematic Conjunct. of the s-Aor.: Umbr. furent 'erunt' Osc. censaxet 'censebunt' (§ 824 p. 362), and these served as the model for fut. pf. Umbr. benurent 'venerint' Osc. trībara-kattus-ēt 'aedificaverint' (§ 872 p. 421). Of the same kind are perhaps Umbr. eitipes 'decreverunt' Osc. prūsattens 'probaverunt', cp. the thematic 3rd sing. prăfattēd (§ 867 p. 416, §§ 872 f. pp. 420 ff.). The spread of -ent (-ens) was probably not due to the solitary form sent; probably there also existed *ed-ent 'they eat' O.Russ. jād-ět, forms of the XIIth Present Class in -n-ent = Skr. -n-ánti, of the XVIIth in -ny-ent = Skr. -nō-ánti (-nū-ánti), and again the form *did-ent = Skr. dăd-ati (see above, 1. b).

§ 1023. The Perfect in Latin shows the endings -erunt -ērunt and -er; to which we must add from insscr. ded-rot ded-ro C. I. L. 1 173, 177, and some other forms which have been gathered by Deecke (De redupl. Lat. lingu. praeterito, pp. 17 f.). Though it is natural enough to derive -erunt, beside -is-tis -is-ti, from *-is-ont(i) (§ §41 p. 378), still the r of these 3rd.pl. endings is doubtless connected in some part at least with the Skr. -ur, Avest. -ar, Skr. mid. -re, and others of like nature (§§ 1076 ff.). With the extension of the -r-form by -ont compare Skr. -r-anta -r-ate -r-ata (on the form -r-an,
which looks as though it were most closely connected, refer to § 1078.8). That there is no doubt of its being a middle -r-form extended by the active nt-suffix is shown by the 1st sing. tutud-t (§ 1044), which has the middle ending. For further conjectures I refer to Osthoff, Perfect 210 ff., 609 f.; Windisch, Über die Verbalformen mit dem Charakter R, pp. 47 f.; Henry, Mém. Soc. Ling. vi 373 ff.; Zimmer, Kuhn’s Zeitschr. xxx 281 ff.; Schweizer-Sidler and Surber Lat. Gramm. 139; Stolz, Lat. Gr. 372 f.; Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr. II 195 ff.

§ 1024. Keltic.


Side by side runs the Conject inflexion· indic. do-berat, in the oldest glosses -ot is still found, as tu-thegot = later do-thiagat ‘they go away’; no charat ‘aman’t; conj. do-berat. Whether these are descended straight from forms in Idg. -nt (*bero-nt *caran-nt *bera-nt), or are middle forms with the Idg. ending -nto, has not been made out (see I § 657.1 p. 506, and § 82.1 p. 76); the second alternative however seems better. Zimmer, who identifies -berat with Gr. φιέρο-ντι, explains the active function of this form by supposing that berit represents a confluence of two, *bero-nti and *bero-ntai (Kuhn’s Zeitschr. xxx 236).

§ 1025. Germanic.

(1) After Consonants, -enti -ent and -ŋti -ŋt.

(a) Primary -enti = pr. Germ. -inōi. Goth. sind O.H.G. sint ‘they are’ for pr. Germ. *sindi, which is either the unaccented form of the word (cp. I § 669 p. 534) or has taken the place of the regular *sinōi = Goth. *sinō O.H.G.
*sind on the analogy of batrand berant; O.H.G. also siut-un 
sind-un (O.Sax. and A.S. sind-un) with an additional ending 
following 1st pl. birun 2nd pl. birut. Secondary -ent is quite lost.

(b) Primary -ysi is lost. Secondary -yt = Germ. -un is 
perhaps original in O.Sax. ded-un 'they did' O.H.G. wissun 
'they knew' (§ 1017. 1. b p. 544). -un is always found in the 
3rd pl. of both strong and weak Perfect, and also sometimes in 
the Present: e.g. Goth. skalskaid-un bér-un O.H.G. sciad-un 
bär-un, Goth. nasidēd-un O.H.G. nerit-un, Goth. vit-un O.H.G. 
weissun (§ 508 p. 74), O.Icel. er-o er-u 'they are'. Perhaps 
these endings have been under the influence of the middle 
*undo* *unda = Idg. -yta -yto, which we may assume to 
have lasted down to proethnic Germanic.

(2) After Sonants -nti and -nt.

Primary -nti. Goth. salbōnd O.H.G. salbōnt, O.H.G. 
habēnt. Goth. batra-nd O.H.G. bera-nt; instead of the latter, 
Frank. berent, formed doubtless like the 1st pl. beremēs (instead 
of beramēs) under the combined influence of the 2nd plural beret 
(§ 1035) and present stems with -jo- (sucohe-mēs -nt).

Secondary -nt. Perhaps it is old in O.H.G. conj. salbōn 
like O.Ir. -carat 'ament' (§ 930 p. 476). Further, *-nt, but not 
original, in all optatives, as O.H.G. s-i-nt bār-i-n, which are to 
be compared with Lat. s-i-nt instead of s-i-ent (it is hardly 
likely that sin is for *s-i-inb = Idg. *s-i-ent), and O.H.G. 
berēnt (instead of Idg. *bherēj-ęt), which falls in line with Gr. 
salbōna bērei-na bairai-na; and the -n of Old Swedish must 
come from -na (cp. Kock, P.-B. Beitr. xv 244 ff.), while the 
W.-Germ. -n may possibly have once been followed by a vowel, 
now lost. This -na displaced -n = Idg. *-nt on the analogy 
of the 1st plural -ma (§ 1007. 2 p. 538). I suggest that in the 
1st plural of these forms there were first two parallel suffixes 
-ma and -m, and that this fact produced -na beside -n; then 
the fuller form won the day in all persons.

§ 1026. Slavonic1). The variation of (O.Russ.) -nff

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1) In Baltic, the 3rd singular did for 3rd plural too; see § 999 p. 533.
and (O.Bulg.) -ntů (= nt + particle u) ran parallel to that of -t̂ and -t-ǔ in the 3rd sing., see § 999 p. 532 f.

1. After consonants, -enti -ent and -yti -yt, both running into -ęť -ę.


(b) Primary -yti = -ęť. O.C.Sl. (Russ.) dad-ęť: Skr. dād-atī. Secondary -yt in O.Bulg. dad-ę-ť like Skr. dād-at-u (but cp. below) and perhaps in the -ę of s-Aorists, as O.C.Sl. dašę (§ 1017.1.b p. 543 f.

2. After sonants. -nti and -nt.

Primary -nti. O.C.Sl. (Russ.) imašę beside 3rd sing. ima-t, berąť sať ąznašę.

Secondary -nt. Aor. O.C.Sl. nesq, conjunct. bq for *bhy-o-nt (§ 523 p. 87), baq (§ 909 p. 458). With the particle u, O.Bulg. imašę berąšę sať ąznašę.

On smridęť -ęť for *-inti *-int-u, see § 637 Rem. p. 176.

If in proethnic Slavonic the mi-presents had -ntę, the rest -ntū (jadęęš — berąšə), and if levelling took place in different directions in the several dialects (cp. § 999 p. 534 on -t̂ and -tū in the 3rd singular), O.Bulg. jadęšə could not be brought in evidence for Idg. -ent (1.a), nor O.Bulg. dadešə for Idg. -ęt (1.b).

1ST PERSON DUAL.

§ 1027. Proethnic Indo-Germanic. The suffix began with y- and shows in its ending some kinship with the 1st plural suffixes beginning with m-. It can only be traced in Aryan, Germanic, and Balto-Slavonic.


2. Secondary or Perfect forms -ȳ -ȳd. Skr. á-bhāra-vo.. Goth. opt. bairāi-va; perf. bēru for *bēru-ı̄(i) or -y(a), possibly for *bēr-ųyi or -ųya with a form of suffix that makes a parallel to -ynę -yņmo (= Goth. -um?); cp. § 1001 p. 535. Lith. pret. sūko-va refl. -vo-s, O.C.Sl. aor. vezó-vę (but cp. § 1030).
§ 1028. Aryan. In Sanskrit only -vas and -va, in Avestic only -vahi and -va are found. That Sanskrit has no -vasti, Avestic no -voh, may be considered an accident. For examples see § 1027; I add Avest. injunct. jhvāna i.e. jhva-va from Ar. jhv- 'to live' (Bartholomae Handb. § 91 a Anm. 4, p. 40).

§ 1029. Germanic.

The primary form appears to occur in Goth. baivrōs (3rd sing. baivi-þ) salbōs (3rd sing. salbō-þ), cp. 1st pl. O.H.G. -mōs. salbōs perhaps for *salbō-ys (cp. Streitberg, Die germ. Compar. auf -ōs-, p. 9 as against I § 181 Rem. p. 150). Instead of baivrōs we should expect *baivrāus. To assume an Idg. ground-form *berōyes on the strength of Goth. baivrōs, as Streitberg does (Zur germ. Spr., 108) seems to me to be open to criticism.

Secondary forms. Opt. Goth. baivrāi-va like 1st pl. baivrāi-ma. Perf. bēru see § 1027; similarly Norse Run. voritu for *vorti-u 'we both scratched, or wrote'.

A neat conjecture is that of van Helten (P.-B. Beitr. xv 472), who sees a 1st dual injunct. aorist in O.Sax. wita 'come along, very well' orig. 'tendamus', for *wita-v-. Compare 1st pl. A.S. wuton 'come along' § 532 p. 94.

§ 1030. Balto-Slavonic.

Lith. ės-va sūka-va reflex. sūka-vos-s, cp. 2nd dual sūka-ťa sūka-to-s. -vō is a secondary ending like -mé (-mē-s -me) in the 1st plural. But -vō is doubtless not = Idg. *-yō (for which we ought rather to have -vō), but a transformation of the Idg. secondary endings on the analogy of the 2nd dual (cp. Slav. -va below).

O.C.Sl. -vě: jes-ve veze-vě aor. vezo-vě opt. vezē-vě. As representing Idg. *-yē we expect -vī (cp. matī 'mother' I § 76 p. 66). There seems therefore to have been an imitation of vě 'we two' (cp. § 1008 p. 539 on 1st pl. -my). The ending -va, rare in O.C.Sl., more common in Mod.Slov. and Czech, I prefer to regard as an imitation of -ta (2nd dual) than as representing Idg. *-yō (cp. above Lith. -va). In Mod.Slovenian, which has -vē and -va both, a difference of gender has developed between them, because it so happened that there were feminine words
like ῥαρέ (III § 286 p. 194) and masculines like ἀλακα (III § 285 p. 193), and ῥε and ῥα were grouped accordingly (op. what is said of -τέ in § 1036).

2nd PERSON DUAL.

§ 1031. Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) Primary ending something like *-thes *-thos; observe that the aspirate rests on the authority of Aryan only; the same is true of the 2nd plural (§ 1009 p. 540). Skr. s-thás bhára-thas. Lat. es-tis agi-tis (op. § 1034). Goth. baira-tis (op. § 1035).

(2) Secondary or Perfect forms.

(a) -ta. Lith. pret. sūko-ta reflex. -to-s, O.C.Sl. aor. veze-ta. And, no doubt, Umbr. futu-to 'estate' (§ 1084).

(b) -tom (also -tem?). Skr. á-bhara-tam. Gr. ἐ-φέσ-rov.

§ 1032. Aryan. Skr. primary -thas: s-thás bhára-thas; secondary -tam: ás-tam á-bhara-tam. The Avestic forms in -põe and -tem, which answer to these, are used for the 3rd dual. On Skr. -áthu- in the Perfect, see § 1038.

§ 1033. Greek. The secondary ending -rov drove out the primary in prehistoric times (op. the levelling out of all but μεν in the 1st plural, § 1004 p. 537): pret. ἦσ-rov ἐ-φέσ-rov, pres. ἤσ-τον φέσ-τον.

A consequence of the use of -rov for both 2nd and 3rd dual in primary tenses was that the same was done in historic tenses, where -rov belonged properly to the 2nd dual and -τον (Ion.-Att. -τον) to the third. Thus we get ἐφέσ-τον for both persons, and by similar reasoning ἐφέσ-τον for both also.

§ 1034. Italic. Lat. es-tis agi-tis agē-bātis st-tis are probably dual forms; see § 1013 p. 541.

The secondary ending -ta may have taken plural use in Umbrian forms like futu-to 'estate', for which see § 967 p. 509, and § 1040.

§ 1035. Germanic. The primary ending is represented by Goth. -ts, which at the same time acted as secondary:


The O.H.G. 2nd pl. bere-t ‘fertis’, which cannot be explained as being for Idg. *bera-t(h)e, may be a dual form. As far as sound-laws go, it may be compared with any of these three, Skr. bhára-thas bhára-tam or O.C.Sl. bere-ta, see § 1015 p. 542.

§ 1036. Balto-Slavonic.

Lithuanian has the secondary ending -ta (reflexive -t̥s-s) = Idg. -ta as its only form: súko-ta, súka-ta (instead of *súke-ta, see § 999.2 p. 533), ęs-ta.

So also Slavonic: aor. veze-ta opt. vezé-ta pres. veze-ta jes-ta. A few instances of -t̥ are found, as also in the 3rd dual, probably in imitation of -vě in the 1st dual; so by reverse attraction -va is found instead of -vě (§ 1030 p. 555). -t̥ in the 2nd and 3rd dual is used where the subject is feminine, as we saw in the case of -vě (loc. cit.).

3rd Person Dual.

§ 1037. Proethnic Indo-Germanic. This person is only preserved in Aryan, Greek, and Slavonic (as regards Lithuanian see § 999 p. 532 f.), which makes it difficult to determine what suffixes were used in the parent language. The only thing certain is that -t̥m is nothing but secondary: Skr. ás-tám Gr. νον τoν.

§ 1038. Aryan.

Primary ending pr. Ar. -tas: Skr. bhára-tas Avest. bara-tó. Avest. yáidya-pó ‘they both fight’ shows the 2nd dual ending.

Secondary; pr. Ar. -t̥m. Skr. á-bhára-tám. In Avestic always -tem, the ending of the 2nd dual, as aí-tem ‘they both went’, just as in Greek we see -t̥m in place of -t̥m (§ 1059).

In the Perfect pr. Ar. -afr, Skr. -átur Avest. -ator: Skr. ca-kr-átur séd-átur da-á-dur; Avest. yást-atar (from yat- ‘to stretch, strive to reach’), beside this Gath. vaocátar (from va-
‘to speak’), where  ἀ, we may conjecture, comes from the middle suffix -āitñ (maman-āitñ). The r-ending is undoubtedly borrowed from the 3rd pl. in -ṝ (Skr. -ur Avest. -ar¹, § 1077), and the Skr. -āthur of the 2nd du., e.g. cakr-āthur, is due to the use of both -thas and -tas (cp. O.C.Sl. pri-ječi as 2nd and 3rd Person § 830 p. 367). The α of -atur appears to be that of the 3rd sing. and 2nd plural perfect.


§ 1040. Slavonic. -te and -ta are variants without any distinction: O.C.Sl. pres. and aor. veze-te and -ta, opt. veše-te and -ta. -te may be derived from *-tes, cp. Skr. -tas. Whether -ta originally belonged to the 3rd dual or was the ending of the 2nd dual is not clear. Perhaps -ta must be identified with Umbr. -tā in etu-tā ‘euntō’, see § 967 p. 508. As regards a third form -tē (used with a fem. subject), see § 1036 p. 557.

MIDDLE ENDINGS.

1st PERSON SINGULAR.

§ 1041. Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) Primary endings there appear to be two:
(a) -māj or -māj in unthematic stems: Gr. ἦ-σα-μαί ἧ-δο-μαύ, Lith.-reflex. vel-mē-s(i) Pruss. as-māj ‘sum’.


(2) The Secondary endings are quite obscure:


(3) -āj or -āj in the Perfect, is doubtless connected with

§ 1042. Aryan.


Instead of -āi in the conj. Avestic has sometimes -ānē, a new formation based upon the active -āni and its termination imitating the middle -t as compared with act. -ti etc., e. g. varśanē beside 3rd sing. varś-a-itē (s-aorist of varś- 'to work'), yazānē (beside yazāi) with 3rd sing. yazā-itē (from yaz- 'to offer').

Aryan -aj in the non-thematic indic. present: Skr. bruv-ē Avest. mruvē i. e. mruv-ē beside 3rd sing. brā-īte mru-ītē, Skr. duh-ē, Avest. yn-ē (v'ghen- 'strike, slay'). This -aj I regard as borrowed from the perfect in place of orig. *-maj (vice versa we have in Greek perf. βή-μαι following pres. βή-μαι), just as in the 3rd sing. Skr. -ē (§ 1055), and in the 3rd pl. Skr. -rē (§ 1078.1), came from the perfect to the non-thematic present.

(2) Secondary ending. Thematic Skr. ā-bharē Avest. a-barē O.Pers. a-taksāiy (from taks- 'to shape, make all right').

vairay-a (from var- 'to choose'), Avest. mainva for *manyay-a (1 § 643 p. 482) = Skr. mányē-y-a.

(3) Pr. Ar. -aq in the perfect: Skr. su-śrū-ē Avest. susruγ (i.e. su-śru-ē from śkṛ- 'hear'.

§ 1043. Greek. Primary -μαι; on the analogy of διδο-μαι ἂρτω-μαι we get φέρω-μαι φέρω-μαι and perfect δεδο-μαι εἰτω-μαι, etc.

Secondary (Dor.) -μαι: ἐδὸ-μην ἐδείκνυ-μην ἐκείνην τετω-μην τιθή-μην φερό-μην.

§ 1044. Italic. Only the perfect Idg. -aṣ or -aṣ remains, but it loses its middle meaning: Lat. tutud-ē: Skr. tutud-ē, ded-ē: Skr. dad-ē (§ 867 p. 414). Perhaps we should explain revertē beside revertor, assēnsē beside assentior as due to the originally middle force of -ē.


Remark. I cannot agree with Jellinek's conjectures in his Beitr. zur Erklärung der germ. Flexion, 1891, pp. 70 ff.

In Gothic the 3rd sing. hāiltu in does duty for the 1st sing. too; so also A.S. hālte is 3rd and 1st sing., cp. Goth. 3rd and 1st pl. hāitanda. On this use of the 3rd person for the 1st see Jellinek in the work just cited, pp. 103 ff.

§ 1046. Balto-Slavonic.

In Baltic Idg. -maj or -mai remains: Lith. reflex. valmē-s(i) (§ 511 p. 76), Pruss. as-mai 'I am'. Cp. § 983 p. 522.

The perfect -aṣ or -aṣ occurs in the single form O.C.Sl. pōd-ē 'I know'.

2nd PERSON SINGULAR.

§ 1047. Proethnic Indo-Germanic.


The same ending in the Perfect: Skr. da-dī-ṣē ri-rīk-ṣē, Gr. δι-ο-σαι λι-λιψαι.
(2) Secondary endings -so and -thēs, the latter connected with perf. act. -tha (§ 984. 3 p. 523), and recalling Gr. -μαν (§ 1041. 2 p. 528). Originally it would seem that -so belonged only to thematic and -thēs only to unthematic stems.

(a) -so. Avest. bara-soha, Gr. γέφων γέφων ἐ-γέφω ἐ-γέφων, Lat. sequere. Possibly also Idg. -sc, see § 1082. 1.

(b) -thēs. Skr. ē-di-thās, Gr. ἐ-θε-θης. s-Aor. Skr. ē-drāmī-thās from dram- 'to grow tired' Gr. ἐ-κρυμμαθης from κρύμα-μαι 'I hang'. O.Ir. cluin-te 'exaudi'.

§ 1048. Aryan. On -ṣā in the imperative see § 968 p. 510.


§ 1049. Greek.

(1) Primary ending -sou. ἴσω 'thou sittest' for *ἴσο-σω (§ 494 p. 54), δίδω-σω δαμ-να-σω. φέρων φέρν,1) conj. φέρων φέρν. Perf. γέγραψαι δέδω-σω μέμνῃ-σαι. That the 2nd sing. imper. of the s-Aorist, as λέξαι, comes in here, we saw in § 910 Rem. p. 460, § 969. 2 p. 511.


1) On the supposed middle forms in -sai, see Meisterhans Gramm. d. att. Insehr.* 131, the Author, Gr. Gr.* p. 147.

Bragmann, Elements. IV.
The Personal Endings: — 2nd Sing. Middle. §§ 1049, 1050.

(3rd sing. ἐ-θη-το), ἐ-μικη-το (3rd sing. ἐ-μικηκο for *ἐ-μικη-σ-το. On these forms is founded the whole "Weak" passive aorist ἐ-δῆ-θη-ν etc. See § 589 pp. 130 f.

The only suffix which remained in living use was -σο; and this, as in Avestic, spread to unthematic stems. ἐ-φέρε-ο ἐ-φέρου, injunct. imper. φέρε-ο φέρου. ἐ-θε-ο ἔθου (beside ἐ-τε-θης), injunct. imper. θέ-ο θεύ, ἦσο for *ἡ-σο-σο, ἐ-δεδο-σο, ἐ-γερασμο ἐ-δεδο-σο, ἐ-δεξα-ο (ὅδεξα Dor. ἑδεξά), opt. ἑπ-ο φέρον-ο.

The σ of -σω and -σο of course dropt in pr. Greek after vowels (I § 564 p. 420 f.). In Attic on the analogy of forms such as γέγοραμαι ἐγίγοραμαι, the σ was restored in the perfect, pluperfect, and unthematic present and imperfect, with a very few exceptions of which one is ἐδόνω: ἐδόσαμι ἐδόσαμι ἐδέδοσο ἐδίδοο ἑπτασα ἐτασα ὁσμο. Homer has still the unrestored forms, ἰδέλθη πλπ. ἐσοῦ ἰδέη ἐκάρπασο imper. παρ-ισταο, side by side with ἐνας ἐπαρ-ἰστασα imper. ἑπτασο. The aorist everywhere kept clear of this tendency: Att. ἐθοῦ ἐδεξαμ.

In later times, the vulgar dialect used -σω with thematic stems as well, e. g. in the N.Test. πλεσα.


Side by side with -re there is a variant -ris, found everywhere except in the imperative; e. g. sequeris. The reason for this formation, which is analogical, is that agis and age were associated as being both second person. In the older language, -re is still commoner than the other.

As regards sequere sequeris the student may further compare the remarks in § 1082 on Osc. vincet.

Inscriptions also have -rus, as spatiarius útārus. I offer the following conjecture as to this ending. We may suppose that at the time when *spatia-so was the form, a suffix *-so-r arose answering to *-lo-r -tur in the 3rd singular,1) and that

1) *-so-r *-rur beside *-so -re like O.Ir. -the-r beside -the (§ 1051).
*-ruṇ changed to -rus following -ris. This I think more probable than supposing that -ris changed to -rus on the analogy of -ur and -tur. Compare further p. 577 footnote.


-the for *-thēs in the injunctive with imperative function, as ctuin-te 'exaudi': this is found almost exclusively with verbs which are altogether or mostly deponent in flexion. See § 909 p. 458.

-ther, made up of -the + the deponent suffix -r, appears in the conjugation of deponents; e. g. pres. Indic. -sechther 'sequeris' conj. -sechther 'sequeris'. In the s-aorist *-s-thēs became -sse, and with -r -sser; as ro-sudiger from sudigim 'pono', like Skr. janiṣṭhās.


The ending -zau in opt. baird-i-zau is, like -dau in the 3rd sing. and -ndau in 3rd plural, obscure. Compare imper. at-steigadau liugandau, § 970 p. 511.

§ 1053. Balto-Slavonic. Here also the only suffix is -saį, with active meaning.

In Lithuanian, it occurs with untheme verbs, as desē(-s) for *det-sē: Skr. dhatsē; Pruss. sēgēs-sai 'thou doest'. See § 991 p. 528.

In Old Church Slavonic, also with verbs in -mi, as dasi 'givest' for *dē-t-sai: Skr. datsē. See ibid.

3rd PERSON SINGULAR.

§ 1054. Proethnic Indo-Germanic.


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-to also in Venetian: zo-to 'đore', zonar-to 'đorež̄oare, donavit'. See p. 53 footnote 2. In Armenian Bugge (Idg. Forsch. 1 440) sees -to in the -v of the 3rd sing. aor. II mid., as cnaw ‘natuv est’ for *gęa-to, cp. 3rd pl. cnna § 1066. I also conjecture -to in such forms as Lith. rims-ta, see footnote to p. 216.

On the strength of Osc. -tēr beside Lat. -tur = -to+r, e.g. vincētr ‘vincitūr’, we should perhaps assume another Idg. form -te beside -to (and similarly in the 3rd pl. -nte beside -nte), see § 1082.

(3) -aģ or -eģ in the Perfect: Skr. ca-kṛ-ē da-dh-ē.

In § 1041. 3 p. 560 I said that -ē in Skr. 1st sing. di-diviģ-ē is doubtless connected with -i = -o in the 1st sing. á-diviģ-i. If so, we must connect -ē in 3rd sing. didiviģ-ē with -i in 3rd sing. aor. mid. pass., as ai. d-vāc-i; all the more because the root-vowel so strikingly recalls the Skr. 3rd sing. perf. act. (u-vāc-a). Compare § 905 p. 453.

§ 1055. Aryan. As regards -ām and -ām in the Imperative, see § 968. 2 p. 510.


It is not uncommon to find Ar. -tai and -aį interchanging, in consequence of the close connexion between Present and Perfect. Thus on the one hand we have Skr. *tīs-ē* instead of *tēs* (Avest. *is-ē*, Goth. act. *āih*, § 848. 1 p. 391). 1) On the other hand, Skr. *bruv-ē* Avest. *mravyē* i.e. *mravyē* instead of *mrav-ē* *mravī-ē*, Skr. *ṛṇu-ē* instead of *ṛṇu-ē*. There is the same confusion in the 3rd pl. (§ 1078. 1). Compare also act. *nā-narā* beside *nā-narki* § 850 p. 398. There is nothing to prevent forms like Skr. *bruv-ē* from being called an unreduplicated perfect.


§ 1057. Italic. Here we have -to with -r. Lat. *da-tu-r*:
Gr. δο-το. sequi-tu-r: Gr. *ēne-ta*o. As to Osc. -ter see § 1054. 2 p. 564, § 1082.

§ 1058.²) Keltic. Probably only -to.

First in the 3rd sing. of the t-preterite, as O.Ir. *as-bert*

1) Compare the change of Upper-Germ. *er weiss* to *er weīst* and of O.Fris. *ōch 'he has' (= got. *dīh*) to *ōcht.*

2) Whoever assumes with Zimmer that the 3rd pl. act. *berit* represents both *beronti* and mid. *berontaj* (see § 1024 p. 552) may also regard 3rd sing. *sechidir* and 3rd pl. *sechitir* as representing *tāgi+r* and *ntāgi+r*.
dixit', which is followed by 1st sing. -burt etc. after -t became part of the stem; see § 506 pp. 72 f.

Next, in the middle ending -thar for -to+r, as conj. doberthar: Lat. ferā-tur.


The ending -dau in Goth. opt. batrāi-dau (also used as 1st sing.) is obscure. Compare batrāi-zau, loc. cit.

1st PERSON PLURAL.

§ 1060. Proethnic Indo-Germanic. We may suppose that -medhai or -medhai = Skr. -mahē is the Primary, and medha = Skr. -mahi Gr. -μαθα the Secondary ending, e.g. pres. Skr. bhārā-mahē pret. Skr. ā-bhārā-mahi Gr. ἤ-μαθα-μεθα. Compare § 973 p. 515 f.

Goth. batranda is doubtless 3rd pl. and not for *bira-mdau *-midai (§ 1071).

As to -yumedhai (Avest. hisc-amaidē), answering to act. -yomes, see § 1061 p. 535 f.

§ 1061. Aryan. Skr. -māhe -mahi with h = dh is to be explained like the imper. ending -hi beside -dhi, see § 960 p. 503.


The same ending in the Perfect: Skr. mumuc-mahē.


In late Avestic -maidē is also used as secondary (just the opposite in Greek, § 1062), e.g. opt. barōi-maidē.
§ 1062. Greek. Only -μεθα, the secondary ending, is kept, and used for both primary and perfect suffix as well as secondary. ἰν-τυ-μεθα φερό-μεθα, ἐ-φερό-μεθα, φεροι-μεθα, perf. πινινιμεθα. Homer. μεθα with σ by analogy of σθε -σθον -σθην.

Remark. V. Henry (Mém. Soc. Ling. vi 73 f.) thinks that Greek once had in the active φέρομεν: *φέρεμεν, and at this period the type φέρομεν-θα was produced on the analogy of λέγομεν-θα; after that -μεθα was employed as secondary as well as primary.

Aeol. μεθεν, only known through the grammarians, appears to be modeled upon μεν (-μεθεν: -μεν = -σθε : -τε). Compare 3rd pl. Thess. -θεν-ν § 1068.

2ND PERSON PLURAL.

§ 1063. Proethnic Indo-Germanic. All that can be fairly inferred from Ar. -dhyaj (primary) -dhyam (secondary) and Gr. -σθε (both) is that the original ending contained dh. It is phonetically possible to derive Gr. -σθε from *σεθε. The original ending of the suffix may perhaps be that shown by Aryan. It is possible that Gr. -σθον was orig. 2nd plural (-σθον = Skr. -dhyam), and turned into a dual because of the dual meaning of φέρομεν; after which -σθε was made for the plural to match -τε.

Remark. The σ of -σθε is the most obscure part of this suffix. Three explanations are possible.

(1) The suffix originally began with -zdθ-, which became Gr. -σθ-. In Aryan ι dropt between consonants, and the type thus produced became general.

(2) It orig. began with -dl-. Then Gr. ήσ-σθ μήνω-θε come straight from it. In mentally analyzing these forms, σ was conceived to be part of the suffix; whence φέρε-σθε etc. On this supposition it remains doubtful whether such forms as λονγο-θέ δυνα-θε περολεκθέ still have the orig. suffix, without the intrusive ι, or whether they once had σ and it disappeared as it regularly would.

(3) There was a double suffix, with initial -zdθ- or -dl-; and each of the two types was preferred by certain languages.

Compare Bartholomae, Rhein. Mus. xlv 153.


(1) Primary ending Ar. -dhyaj -dhyaj: Skr. -dhe, also -dhuθ in Vedic. Avest. -duθī i.e. -duθ. Skr. άναγ-dhve
(from anāk-ti 'he smears, anoints') Avest. Gath. mer'vog'-duye (from marc- 'to destroy', § 626 p. 162). Conjunctive Skr. kāmāyā-dhve; as regards -dhvai in the conj. see § 922 p. 470.

The same ending in the Perfect: budhudi-dhve.


Perf. πέρας beside 1st sing. πέρασμαι 3rd sing. πέρασται is doubtless a transformation of *πέρασες on the lines of ἔσορθε beside ἔσορθοι; see § 862 p. 411.

3rd PERSON PLURAL.

§ 1066. Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) After consonants -ται or -τοι and -το.

(a) Primary ending -ται or -τοι. Skr. ḍs-ate Gr. Hom. ἠ-ται, Skr. dá-dh-ate pu-n-ate ta-nv-ate.


(2) After sonants -νται or -ντοι and -ντο.


-ντο is conjectured by Bugge (Idg. Forsch. 1 440) in the -n of the Armen. 3rd pl. aor. II mid., as cna-n 'nati sunt' for *gnes-nto.

On account of Oscan forms of the 3rd plural like karanter 'pascuntur' beside Lat. -ntur = -nto+r, we should perhaps
assume an Idg. form -nte -nte beside -uto -uto (similarly in the 3rd sing. -te beside -to), see § 1082.

(3) Perfect. What connexion there is between the Aryan forms, as Skr. du-duh-rē ja-gm-i-rē, and O.Ir. do-mēn-atar (Gr. τετράτην-αται) is still a riddle. See §§ 1076 ff.


(1) After sonants Ar. -ataj -ata.
(a) Primary ending -ataj. Skr. vās-atē, indh-atē indh-ātē, Avest. mer'nc-aitē.

In Avestic -aitē -ata as a rule gave way to -anta, which mark the plural number better; cp. act. dop'enti as contrasted with Skr. dādh-ati § 1018.1 b p. 545. E.g. āshohantē dadentē ver'nvaintē (Skr. ās-atē dādh-atē vṛṇv-ātē), mrao-ti (3rd sing. mrao-tā mru-ta), opt. barayantu.

As regards O.Pers. ahātā ‘erant’ it is impossible to say whether it ought to be spelt with a nasal or not (I § 197 Rem. p. 166).

(2) After sonants Ar. -ntai -nta.

(3) In the Perfect we have an r-ending, Skr. -rē Avest. -rē, see § 1078.1. Observe that in Sanskrit this ending crept into the Present like the -ē of the 3rd sing. (§ 1055.3 p. 565.) e.g. duh-rē sunv-i-rē.


(1) After consonants -ata -aro.
(a) Primary ending -ata. Hom. ἤ-αται for *ṣo-αται,
The Personal Endings: — 3rd Plur. Middle.

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xé-atai for *xei-atai (variant xeíatai with xeí- following xeí-mai etc., see I § 130 p. 117 f.), elw-atai.


-atai -ato are special favourites in the Perfect system, where they occur even in Attic prose; e. g. τεθνό-αται γεγραφ-αταί ἢ-τετάχ-ατο (cp. § 898 p. 446).

Instead of *τιθ-αται *διδ-αται (Skr. dá-dh-ate) we have τίθε-νται δίδο-νται (2), as act. τίθε-ντι instead of *τιθ-ατι (§ 1020.1.6 p. 547).

(2) After sonants -νται -ντο.

(a) Primary ending -νται. φέρο-νται. Conj. φέρω-νται. διζη-νται Leeb. προ-νη-νται.

(b) Secondary ending -ντο. ἢ-φέρο-ντο. πλῆ-ντο = *πλάθ-το pres. πλαθεῖον, ἢμπλή-ντο from πλέ- 'fill'.

Of the same kind are perf. μέμνη-νται δεδούλω-νται ἢ-μέμνη-ντο.

Wherever a long vowel precedes -νται -ντο it was previously short, as it should be (I § 611 p. 461). Compare opt. -πλή-τε μεμνήμην § 944 p. 488. With φέρονται cp. act. φέρω-ντι § 923 p. 471.

Both -αται -ατο and -νται -ντο overstep their proper boundaries in one or more dialects. In Ionic the former pair are applied to stems in ἄ, ἐ, or ὦ; as Hom. βεβλή-αται βεβλή-ατο instead of βέβλη-νται βέβλη-ντο, late Ion. πεπονέσκαι (for -νται) and τιθέ-αται διδό-αται, cp. act. τιθέ-άτι (§ 1021.4 p. 549). On the other hand, -νται -ντο are added to stems in ἴ and ἴ in Attic and elsewhere, sometimes in Ionic itself; e. g. xeí-νται ἵκερ-ντο λύ-ντο ἅγνυ-νται (should be *ἄγνυ-ατω, cp. Skr. ǎśnuv-āte) eĩ̊νυ-ντο, opt. γίνοι-ντο τιθεῖ-ντο, with which compare 1st sing. ἕφυ-ν (§ 979.3 p. 520) and opt. 1st sing. φέροι-ν (ibid.) and 3rd pl. φέροι-ν (§ 1020.1.6 p. 547). Further, ἦνται ἦντο beside ἦναι ἦρο, since ἦμαι ἦμεθα (for *ήσ-μαι *ήσ-μεθα) were regarded as similar in structure to ἄγνυ-μαι etc.
Boeotian and Thessalian have ṣ in place of r in the 3rd plural endings, as Boeot. ἐστρονταῖσθη (= Ion. ἐστραγεναῖα) ἐβάλλοντο Thess. ἐγινόντο; and Boeotian has ṣ in the active endings too, καλέοντι διδόοντι. It may be suggested that ṣ came in from the middle endings -μεθα and -σφε, and in Boeotian had spread from the 3rd pl. middle to the 3rd pl. active.

In Thessalian we get -ντα-ν as a primary ending, in which -ν probably came from the active; cp. § 1062 p. 567 on -μεθεν. Example: ἐφανγενήθησιν.

§ 1069. Italic. Here we have - nto + -r. Lat. fer-nutur ama-ntur, Umbr. ema-n tur 'emantur'. On Osc. kara-nter see § 1066. 2. b p. 568.

§ 1070. 1) Keltic. Here too we have - nto + r, as O.Ir. do-bertar 'dantur': Lat. fer-ntur. Beside this - nto without - r is possibly contained in do-berat 'dant', see § 1024 p. 552.

§ 1071. Germanic. -ntāj or -ntā in Goth. bairna-nda salbō-naa, used for both 1st and 2nd plural (cp. § 1060 p. 566). An obscure form is - ndau in the opt. baira-ndau (also used for both 1st and 2nd plural); cp. § 1052 p. 566.

PERSONS OF THE DUAL MIDDLE.

§ 1072. 1st Person. Aryan alone has any special suffix; Skr. prim. -vahi sec. -vahi, which if we judge by -mahē -mahī will be derived from *-vedhaj or *-vedhaj and *-vedhe. E.g. bhārā-vahē opt. bhārē-vahi; on -vahī in Conjunctive forms like sacāvahāi see § 922 p. 470.

Greek. -μεθορ, only found in rare instances and questionable at that, is doubtless a transformation of -μεθα made to match the ending of -σφε.

§ 1073. 2nd and 3rd Person. Here there is hardly anything to do but to present the facts. Aryan alone shows suffixes that can have any claim to be regarded as original.

§ 1074. Aryan. Skr. primary 2nd dual -atha 3rd dual -ate,

1) See footnote 2 to § 1058 p. 565, abov.
secondary 2\textsuperscript{nd} dual -\textit{ātham} 3\textsuperscript{rd} dual -\textit{ātām} in un thematic stems. Indic. pres. \textit{dvīṣ-āthē} -\textit{āte}, imperf. \textit{ā-dvīṣ-āthām} \textit{ā-dvīṣ-ātām}. It has the primary endings in the Perfect, \textit{cakr-āthē} -\textit{ātē}. In Avestic the same stems have the secondary 3\textsuperscript{rd} dual -\textit{ātēm} = pr. Ar. \textit{*-ātām}: a-srv-ātem von sru- 'hear'. In Vedic are other secondary endings, -\textit{ithām} -\textit{ītām}: 2\textsuperscript{nd} dual injunct. aor. trā-s -\textit{ithām} 3\textsuperscript{rd} dual indic. aor. \textit{ā-dh-ītām}.

Skr. primary 2\textsuperscript{nd} dual -\textit{āthē} 3\textsuperscript{rd} dual -\textit{ētē}, secondary 2\textsuperscript{nd} dual -\textit{ēthām} 3\textsuperscript{rd} dual -\textit{ētām} in thematic stems. Indic. pres. \textit{bharethē} bhārētē, imperf. \textit{ā-bharethām} \textit{ā-bharetām}. On the Conjunctives \textit{bhāraithē} bhāraītē see § 922 p. 470. In Avestic there is a 3\textsuperscript{rd} dual indic. pres. vaṇāīpē, answering to the form of the Skr. 2\textsuperscript{nd} dual; but injunct. 3\textsuperscript{rd} dual \textit{jaśaētam}.

Rarely Skr. -\textit{thē} etc. without any preceding vowel in the ending itself. Skr. 2\textsuperscript{nd} dual indic. perf. \textit{ci-kē-thē}, 3\textsuperscript{rd} dual indic. pres. \textit{patya-tē} conj. aor. \textit{yam-a-tē}, 2\textsuperscript{nd} dual injunct. \textit{dē-dhē-thām}. Similarly Avest. 3\textsuperscript{rd} dual indic. perf. \textit{dāzdē} = \textit{*dha-dh+taḥ}.


§ 1075. Greek. Indic. pres. 2\textsuperscript{nd} dual \textit{φέρε-σθων} 3\textsuperscript{rd} dual \textit{φέρε-σθων}, imperf. 2\textsuperscript{nd} dual \textit{ἐ-φέρε-σθων} (\textit{ἐ-φέρε-σθην}) 3\textsuperscript{rd} dual \textit{ἐ-φέρε-σθην} (\textit{ἐ-φέρε-σθων}) answering to the active \textit{γέρε-τον} etc., see § 1033 p. 556, § 1039 p. 558. Possibly \textit{φέρε-σθων} was originally 2\textsuperscript{nd} plural (§ 1063 p. 567), and caused -\textit{σθων} to be made on the model of -\textit{τὰν}.

ARYAN, ITALIC, AND KELTIC ENDINGS WITH \textit{R.}\textsuperscript{1)}

§ 1076. In this section we discuss those endings of the Aryan, Italic, and Keltic branches which consist of, or contain, the suffix -\textit{r}.

Remark. It is not impossible, but certainly it is unlikely, that the -\textit{r} which we noticed in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} singular in Armenian has the same origin (§ 996 Rem. p. 524).

1) These have been more fully treated by Windisch and Zimmer in their essays cited on pages 512 and 513.
Italic and Keltic are very much alike in these endings. Aryan is quite different; and it has not yet been shewn which best represents the parent language, or how the present variation came about. Perhaps \( r \) was originally a perfect suffix; for the perfect has peculiar endings in other of its persons. But whether \( r \) properly belonged to the 3\textsuperscript{rd} plural, or denoted an indefinite subject or subjects, such as \textit{one says}, \textit{one comes}, or what, it is at present quite impossible to say. Certain \( r \)-forms in both Italic and Keltic appear to belong to the separate history of those branches.

I shall not indulge in any speculations as to the earliest value of this \( r \). The latest discussion may be seen in Johansson's paper, Bezz. Beitr. xviii 49.

§ 1077. Aryan shows it almost exclusively in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} plural (exceptions are the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} dual perf. act. in \textit{-athur} \textit{-at\(ur\) in Sanskrit}).

The Active voice has it in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. perfect, aorist, and optative, with exception of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} dual perfect.

First as regards the usage in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} plural. Here \(-r \) sometimes is the only personal suffix and sometimes it is combined with \( s \). Tracing the forms back to protoethnic Aryan, we get four:

1. \(-r = \text{Avest. } -r': \text{opt. } \textit{hyā}-r' \text{ 'sint', a later re-formate with the strong opt. suffix } -\textit{ya}-\) (§ 1018.2 p. 546).

2. \(-fr \) (the form taken by \( r \) before sonants) = Skr. \(-ur \) Avest. \(-ar\) (I § 290 p. 233): perf. Skr. \( ës-ur \) Avest. \( ë\(h\)ar\), aor. Skr. \( ë-dh-ur \) Avest. Gath. \( d-ar\), opt. Skr. \( s\(y\)-\(úr \) bhārēy-\(ur \). But Skr. \(-ur \) may be equated with Avest. \(-er\(s \) (4).

3. \(-r\(s \) = \text{Avest. } -r\(s \): \text{opt. } \textit{daip\(y\(ā\)-r\(s \), a new form like } hyā-r\(s \) (1).

4. \(-r\(s \) = \text{Avest. } -er\(s \): \text{perf. } cikō\(i\)t-er\(s \) (§ 850 p. 397, § 852 p. 402). This form may also be the origin of Skr. \(-ur \), compare gen. abl. Skr. \( m\(ā\)t\(ūr \) with Avest. \( n\(e\)r\(s \) III § 235 pp. 125 f.

Exceptionally Skr. \(-ur \) appears in the indic. present as well, as \( duh-ur \) 'they milk'. But this formation, 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. mid. \textit{duh-r\(ē \) and
3rd sing. mid. *duh-ī*, may if you will be called an unreduplicated perfect. In any case *duh-ūr* does not justify our assuming that *r* originally belonged to the indic. present.

The combinations Skr. *-atur* Avest. *-atar* in the 3rd dual, and Skr. *-athur* in the 2nd dual, are without doubt peculiar to Aryan; see § 1038 p. 557 f.

§ 1078. In the Middle and Passive *r* is found only with the 3rd plural, and only combined with other elements, added after it, which usually appear as middle and passive suffixes in other conjunctions.


In Sanskrit *-rē* is generally preceded by *-i- = Idg. *-e*, regularly so in Vedic with a long stem-syllable (cp. § 844 p. 385); as *īs-i-rē ja-jā-i-rē* (cp. Avest. *vaoz-i-rem* under 2.); so also pres. *śṛṇu-i-rē* (cp. 2nd sing. *śṛṇu-i-ē* § 853 p. 403).

*-rē* became a new suffix and in classical Sanskrit was the only one used for the Perfect, as *duduh-rē cikriy-irē* (pres. *sāy-irē* beside *śē-rātē*). By analogy of forms like *duduh-rē* and like *jajā-irē* we have in Vedic *duduh-rīrē jagṛḥ-rirē*, and others.

In Avestic *-rē* passed into the a-Conjunctive: *āwha-rē* beside indic. *ās-tē* 'sits'.

Ar. *-raj* seems to have the same relation to act. *-r* (*ṛ*) as *ntaj* to *nt*, 3rd sing. *-taj* to *-t* and the like.

2) Further, *-ram* in the augmented preterite is pr. Aryan, as *ā-dār-ram a-sṛṣ-ram*, Avest. *vaoz-i-rem* (§ 844 p. 385, § 854 p. 403). *-ram* is usually compared with the middle ending of 2nd pl. *-dhvam*.

The following *r-* suffixes appear in Sanskrit only.


5) Isolated: *-ranta* in *ā-vṣ-rηnt-raṇa*. 

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(6) -râm and (7) -ratâm in the Imperative: duh-râm and duh-ratâm. Cp. duh-átam § 968.2 p. 510. Lastly

(8) -ran in the augmented preterite, as a-va-ryň-ran á-ca-kr-i-ran á-dĕr-răn á-ďe-ran, and in the Optative, as da-dĕ-ran bhărĕ-ran. That the ending -an is the same as -an in the active (for *-ant) I cannot regard as proved at all. It may be some element not found elsewhere as a personal suffix, of like character with -s in the Avestic active ending -rš.

§ 1079. As regards the r-suffixes in Italic and Keltic, the first remark to be made is that not one of them can be confidently held to have originally had an active meaning. All of them may be explained as originally deponent or passive (cp. § 1081 sub fin.).

The Latin suffixes of the 3rd pl. indic. perf. -erunt -erunt -ĕr (with dedrot etc.) are at least in some degree akin to the Aryan r-forms. This has been already pointed out as likely in § 1023 p. 551. But there is no need to believe that the Latin forms have any such basis as the Aryan active forms of the 3rd plural perfect. Since the 1st sing. tŭtud-ĕ was properly middle, the 3rd plural may be derived from a middle type like that of Skr. -rē -ra.

The remaining r-forms in Italic and Keltic fall into two groups.

§ 1080. (I) Forms in Umbro-Samnitic and in Keltic where r appears to be the only personal suffix.

The Umbro-Samnitic forms seem best translated by aid of the indefinite one or they. Umbr. phafei(r) ’let them have appeased’, Osc. sakrāfr (with últiumam for object) ’let them have consecrated’ (§ 874 p. 422, § 926.3 p. 473). Umbr. ferar ’let one carry’, ier. ’one will go’ possibly for *ier-er i.e. *er(i)-es-er (§ 837 p. 374), benusor(r) ’one will have come’ (§ 872 p. 421). With Zimmer and Conway, I formerly regarded these as 3rd plural active (Ber. sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1890, pp. 214 ff.). But, as we infer from a comparison of sakrāfr with sakrim fakiiadon the other Oscan inscr. of the same kind (Rhein. Mus. xliii 557 f.), they may be 3rd singular
deponent. Compare the active and deponent imperatives with -tu and -mu, used with indefinite subject in the ritual rules of the Iguvine Tables; and the Avest. 3rd sing. zasan-ti 'one trains, breeds' and others like it (Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 82); and a great deal of illustrative matter may be found in Miklosich's essay on Sentences without a Subject (Subjectlose Sätze, 2nd ed. 1883). There is a third possibility. They may be 3rd singular passive answering to Latin impersonal constructions (legitur 'one reads, they read'); Osc. sakrafir ultiumam would exactly correspond to Lat legitur Vergilium, legendum est Vergilium (see Weisweiler, Lat. part. fut. pass., pp. 70 ff.). The last view is best; it is best supported by Keltic, as will now be shewn.

These Umbro-Samnitic forms run on parallel lines with the Keltic 3rd sing. passive; e.g. O.Ir. do-berar 'datur (also -berr because of the two r's, but this syncope is not otherwise found — we only have -canar, for example; Zimmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 252 takes a different view), whose absolute bye-form berir, like the 3rd pl. bertir beside do-bertir (§ 1082), I believe to be a new Keltic development; imper. berar 'should be brought', Mod.Bret. queumerer (i.e. *com-berer) 'is taken', Mod.Cymr. ni chenir 'there will be no singing'. Zimmer's view that these Keltic r-forms, like the Umbrían and Oścan, are 3rd plural active, has not enough to support it.

Remark 1. Zimmer's attempts to prove that the active indefinite idiom with one is kept in Britannia (loc. cit., pp. 287 ff.) fail, according to Thurneysen. "They are proved to fail by the single fact that in expressions like 'he is killed' or 'one kills him' the pronoun which is the object can be left out, even in Cymric, thus shewing that the person is regarded as the subject. Furthermore, Zimmer forgets that the passive preterite to the r-forms in Britannia, as in Irish (and in Italic), is represented by the part. passive with -to-. This indicates that the r-form was regarded as a real passive, possibly in prothetic Keltic (or, if you will, in Italo-Keltic)."

Remark 2. If we assume these Italo-Keltic r-forms to be 3rd sing. deponent or passive, the question arises whether their -r came from *-ro, a form which may have stood to the middle ending *-to in much the same relation as Pali 3rd pl. socaré 'they trouble themselves' to Skr. ścante.

§ 1081. (II) r in combination with other personal endings,
active and middle, which always precede it (cp. Skr. 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} dual -\textit{athur} \textit{-atur} § 1077 p. 574).

These forms may be either deponent or middle in Latin. In Keltic, however, these two moods were distinguished in form; for in the deponent conjugation, \textit{r} runs through all persons except the 2\textsuperscript{nd} plural, but the passive forms only the 3\textsuperscript{rd} singular and plural with such suffixes.

It is possible that once, in proethnic Italo-Keltic, \textit{r} was used only with middle endings; that in this use it came to be a medio-passive sign; and that it was afterwards added to middle or active endings with the effect of making them middle or passive.

§ 1082. (A) \textit{r} added to Middle endings.

(1) Italic and Celtic 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. -\textit{nto+r}. Lat. depon. \textit{sequit}-\textit{ur sequī-tur sequa-ntur} etc., pass. \textit{agī-tur agu-ntur} etc. Umbr. e. g. \textit{emantur} 'emantur'. O.Ir. depon. -\textit{sechētar} 'sequitur' -\textit{sechētar} 'sequontur' perf. \textit{do mēnatur} 'putaverunt', pass. \textit{do-ber-tar} 'dantur, dentur'; in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} sing. indic. pass. this ending is shown only in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} Conjugations in Irish, as \textit{no charthar} 'amatur' \textit{do-leicther} 'linquitur' (1\textsuperscript{st} Conjug. \textit{doberar}, conjunct. -\textit{berar} and -\textit{berthar}).\textsuperscript{1}) The absolute forms \textit{sechīdīr} 'sequitur' \textit{sechitir} 'sequontur' \textit{bertir} 'feruntur, ferantur' \textit{carthir} 'amatur' \textit{leicthir} 'linquitur' etc. are analogical like \textit{beriv} 'fertur' (§ 1080 p. 576).

No satisfactory explanation has been given of the Umbr.-Samm. endings with \textit{e}-vowels, which answer to Lat. -\textit{tur} -\textit{ntur}. Osc. \textit{vincter} 'vincitur' sakarater 'sacratur' sakahifter 'sanciatur' comparascuster 'consultus erit' karanter 'pascuntur', Pelign. upsaeseter 'operacetur' or 'operarentur', Marruc. \textit{forenter} 'ferantur'. Umbr. herter herhte \textit{herti hertei} 'oporet' ostensendi 'ostendarentur'; for the form \textit{emantur}, see above. The Oscan forms had undoubtedly a short \textit{e}; and I venture to conjecture that parallel to -\textit{to} -\textit{nto} there were 1dg. forms -\textit{te} -\textit{nre} (op. 1\textsuperscript{st} pl. -\textit{mo(s)} -\textit{moc(s)}, -\textit{mom} -\textit{mem}, § 1000 p. 535).\textsuperscript{2}) Umbr. \textit{hertei} points

\textsuperscript{1}) See footnote 2 to § 1058, page 565.

\textsuperscript{2}) If this be correct, there would be no need to derive the -\textit{re} of Lat. \textit{aguerre} (cp. Gr. \textit{γεωρ-}) from 1dg. -\textit{se}; it might be derived from
to ε. Very well — we may suppose that there were variants -tē -nte beside -te -nte, as we saw -mēs beside -mes in the 1st plural (loc. cit.). But herter is used in such a way that we may believe it to be conjunctive; and then we are led to ask whether its ε, and that of ostensendi (-i for ε), be not the conjunctive suffix -ē-, which could easily creep into the personal ending when there was such a form as *ferē-r (cp. ferar).

Remark. On Zimmer’s view of these Umbro-Sannite forms (Kuhn’s Zeitschr. xxx 277), which I regard as wrong, see Buck, Der Vocalismus der oek. Sprache pp. 79 f.

(2) Latin forms of the 2nd singular, like spatīārus possibly contain *-ru-r = *-so+r. See § 1050 p. 562.

(3) In Oscan censamur ‘censemino, censetor’ r is seen combined with the Umbr.-Sann. mid.-pass. suffix *-mōd. -d was exchanged for -r. See § 967 pp. 508 f.

(4) O.Ir. -ther in the 2nd sing. of deponent verbs, e. g. -sechθes ‘sequiris’, is derived from -the = Idg. *-thēs, which is preserved without -r in the imperative type cluin-te. See § 1051 p. 563.

§ 1083. (B) r added to Active endings.

(1) Italic and Keltic 1st sing. *-ɔr, in Keltic only deponent. Lat. sequor O.Ir. -sechur ‘sequor’, Lat. gradior O.Ir. -midiur ‘leudico’, pass. Lat. feror capior. Lat. ferar beside Act. feram, ferrer beside act. ferrem; -r takes the place of -m.

Remark 1. It is of course not certain that *-ɔr is the active -ɔ+r. It may be that Italo-Keltic had the 1st sing. mid. *seqō (§ 1041. 1. b p. 558), and that this was transformed to *seqɔr, as in Oscan *-mōd *-mud became -mur (§ 1082. 3).

(2) Italic and Keltic 1st pl. *-mor, in Keltic only deponent. Lat. sequimur sequānur sequāmur ferimur etc., O.Ir. -sechθemmar ‘sequimur, sequamur’ perf. do-mēnammmar ‘putavitimus’. Whether *-mor was transformed to *-mos by exchanging -s for -r, or whether it was an extension of *-mo (cp. § 1000. 2. a p. 535), is doubtful. nn instead of m in Irish is due to the active forms ammi bermmi etc. (see § 1006 pp. 537 f.).

Idg *-se. ǣlāris would be related to ǣlārus as Ose. vincia to Lat. vincitur. Compare § 1050, page 562.
(3) In the Irish deponent perfect we have 1st sing. do-
menar 2nd sing. do-menar beside the active forms 1st sing.
cechan for *ce-cam-a 2nd sing. cechan (§ 981. 4 p. 521, § 989 p. 525). In 3rd sing. do-menair beside act. cechuin the non-
palatal pronunciation of the n is c difficulty. Is this to
the analogy of other persons of the perfect, or because -génair
comes from *ge-gnà-?

Remark 2. Neither Italic nor Keltic have an r-form in the 2nd
plural. Latin has seuquimint ferimint (sec II § 71 p. 165). The Irish
deponents have the active ending, as -midid beside -midier, do-menaid
beside do-menar.

PERIPHRACTIC MIDDLE IDIOMS (REFLEXIVE).

§ 1084. In several languages, where the Idg. Middle
(Skr. bhára-tê Gr. φέρω-τα) either dwindled or quite died out,
its place was filled by the combination of the Active (or some
Middle form degraded until it could not be distinguished from
the active) and an Oblique Case of the pronoun which
answered to the active form in question, and which referred
to it.

From a comparison of Sanskrit and Greek we may
believe that this roundabout idiom was general at the time
when the Idg. Middle was still in living use. For in Greek
and Sanskrit both periphrastic reflexive and middle are used
side by side; and this is true, both when the contrast between
the subject and object is important, that is, when there is a
contrast with some other person, which makes it necessary to lay
stress on the person implied by the middle form; and also when
the cases are not clearly shown by the middle, or where this
could be understood as a passive, so that there was every need to
make the expression as clear as possible. Thus we have Skr.
yād yajamanabhagyā prāṇāty atmdnām evā priṃats (Taitt. Sah. I
7. 5. 2) 'when he eats his share of the offering, he gets new
life in himself' (otherwise it is his task to quicken others),
ndr atmdnā va prthivī va hindśāni (Satap.-Brāhm. I 2. 4. 7)
'that I may not destroy either myself or the earth'. Gr. ἐμοὶ δὲ δεῖ ἐξελὼν σιώ (Od. 9. 160) 'but for myself alone I chose ten (goats)', ἀποκρύπτω ἐμαυτὸν 'I hide myself' beside ἀποκρύπτομαι 'I hide for myself' or 'I am hidden'. Often enough we find the middle used with the reflexive pronouns, as tābhīr vai sā atmānām ἀπρήπτα (Ṭaḥīt.-Sāḥ. v 1. 8. 3) 'therewith he enjoyed himself', sā γαϊδύμ atmānā. evagdhatta (Māitr.-Sāḥ. i 9, 3) 'he changed himself into the offering', ἦ κακώσω ἡμᾶς ἦ σφᾶς αὐτοῦς βεβαιῶσομαι (Thuc. i. 33. 3), ὦτι ἕνωσίν βούλεται ηλικῶν ὁμοί καὶ δέκαυν περιπατήσομαι (Xen. An. v 6, 17). Cp. Lith. būnaq sāu prausiiš-š(?) § 1086.

§ 1085. The next step is represented in Italic and Keltic. Here the original Middle had got mixt up very much with the r-deponent (§§ 1081 ff.). E. g. Lat. sequitur O.Ir. -sechethar 'sequitur' = Skr. sācatē Gr. ἐπερε, Lat. re-miniscor O.Ir. do-muinir 'I think' = Skr. mānyatē. But it partly gave place to the periphrastic reflexive, Lat. dedecore se abstinebat (ἀπελέγετο), gloriam sibi peperit (ἐπορίσατο, ἐκτύχατο), mecum repent (σκοπούμαι, λογεῖομαι), O.Ir. no-m-moidim 'glorior' (Wb. 14°), lit. 'I pride myself', act r-an-glana 'si emundaverit se' (Wb. 30°). In Latin this idiom is often hardly distinguishable from the deponent, as immiscemus nos rei and immiscemur, castris se effundunt et effunduntur, relaxat se and. relaxatur.

§ 1086. Next come Germanic and Balto-Slavonic, where the Idg. Middle with middle meaning had died out in prehistoric times. — In Gothic the forms remain but have passive meaning; in Balto-Slavonic there are forms of the 1st and 2nd sing. middle in the place of active forms, see § 1046 p. 560, § 1053 p. 563, and footnote to page 216 above. — Here then the Periphrastic Reflexive is regularly used in place of the Idg. Middle.

Remark. Regularly so-used, but not always. Sometimes the Active form alone does duty for the Idg. middle, as Goth. ga-nisif 'he gets happily through, finds protection or health' as against Skr. ndsatē Gr. νίσεω, Lith. sekū 'I follow' against Skr. sdepatē Gr. ἔπεμε (Lat. sequitur O.Ir. -sechethar), O.C.Sl. něsif 'I think' as against Skr. mānyatē (O.Ir. do-muinir). In Gothic, verbs in -nan may represent the old Middle, as
and-boundinōṃ 'he lets himself go, gets free, sets off beside pass. and-
bindada 'he is released' act. and-bindip 'he sets free'. There are more
of the kind.

Gothic gavandja mik O.H.G. gi-ventoju mīh 'I turn myself towards, converto me, convetur, -return'. Goth. skamn
mik O.H.G. scamēm mīh 'I am ashamed'. Goth. ōg mis 'I fear'
(for myself). O.H.G. furht(i)u mir, the same. Goth. gaqimand
sik 'they gather together', reflex. In Norse, about the 8th century, the pronoun affix itself firmly to the verb in a
contracted shape (-sk for sik, dat. -ss for -sex). Then -sk and
-ss were used for the 1st and 2nd persons as well as the third.
However, in the oldest period we do find a 1st sing. -mik (for
mik), as heito-mik 'I call myself' (where the ending -ō is kept,
though it drops with heit 'I call'). This Norse type, much
altered and obscured by sound-change and analogy, was also
pp. 185 ff.; Paul's Grundriss i 518 ff.; Specht, Das Verbum
Reflexivum und die Superlative im Westnord. (Acta Germ. iii 1),
Berlin 1891.

In Lithuanian -si (for *sē) became a universal reflexive,
and coalesced with the verb, being used for all persons. It
was originally only locative or dative, but afterwards came to
be used for the accusative (III § 447 p. 385). -si at the end of
words has now generally become -s. kelū-s(ī) 'I raise myself,
get up' 2nd sing. kelē-ν(ī), and so forth. bijaus-s(ī) 'I fear'.
diaugiu-s(ī) 'I enjoy myself'. būrnq prausiū-s(ī) 'I wash
my face'. Also būrnq suī prausiū-s(ī), like Gr. πειρονουκαιατ
τι καυρω (§ 1084 p. 580). mūsza-s(ī) 'they struck each other'.
When a verb has a prefix, si stands between prefix and verb,
as pa-si-kelu 'I raise myself, rise' (dial. also pa-si-kelū). Compare
Lett. bistō-s 'I fear' (in folk-poetry -si sometimes
survives, and has not yet become -s); Pruss. griiki-si 'they fall
into sin' (III § 447 p. 385), with a variant -sīn, obviously the
accusative case, as etlāiku-sīn 'let him abstain, forbear'. In
O.C.Sl. we see the acc. sē answering to Pruss. -sū as a
(Continued on p. 594.)

[Here follow Tables of the Verb Finite pp. 582—593.]
### Tables of the

#### 1. Ind. pres. and imperf. act. of Present Class. I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pr. Idg.</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Avestic</th>
<th>Armenian</th>
<th>Greek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1</td>
<td>*de-mi: 'I am'</td>
<td>ds-mi</td>
<td>ah-mi</td>
<td>em</td>
<td>elµi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. * déi:</td>
<td>déi</td>
<td>ahi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ẹl, ẹi- (el-i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. * dé-ti:</td>
<td>dé-ti</td>
<td>aš-ti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ẹš, ṣad-i ṣa-ti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Plur. 1 | * s-mēs(i) (*s-mos(i)): | s-mās s-māsi mahi | | | ẹmē Dōr. ẹdou, Ion. ẹdou, Att. ẹdou
| 3. * s-enti: | s-ánti | h-enti | | | ẹn ẹlo, ẹam |
| Dual. 1 | * s-yeś(i) (*s-yos(i)): | s-vās | *xw-ahi | | [Dōr. ẹdou etc.]
| 2. * s-tē (*s-thē). | s-thās | | | | ẹs-tov |
| 3. ? | s-tās | s-tō | | | ẹs-tov |
| Sing. 1 | *de-mu(*de-mm): 'I was' | ds-am | O. Pers. aḥam | ẹi | ẹa, ẹv |
| 2. * dé-s: | ds, ds-i | *as | ẹir | ẹdoa |
| 3. * dé-t: | ds, dt-t | ds (as) | ẹt | Dōr. ẹt [et]
| Plur. 1 | *ds-mē(m) *ds-mē(m) (-mō(m)): | ds-ma | a-h-ma | ẹm | ẹmu v
| 2. * s-te *s-te: | ds-ta | | | | ẹs-te, ẹte |
| Dual. 1 | *ds-uē *ds-uē(-uē): | ds-ēa | | | |
| 2. *ds-tom *ds-tom | ds-tam | | | | ẹs-tov, ẹtov [et]
| 3. *ds-tom *ds-tom: | ds-tam | | | | ẹs-ẹtov, ẹtov [et] |

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1) When any of the forms here given under a certain heading belong to the place assigned them in meaning alone, while their ending belongs to a different person, they are enclosed in square brackets [ ].
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>Gothic</th>
<th>O.H.G.</th>
<th>Lith.</th>
<th>O.C.Sl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sum</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>im</td>
<td>b-im</td>
<td>es-mi</td>
<td>jes-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es, te</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>ia ($§ 990. 1)</td>
<td>(bicdist)</td>
<td>eal (991. 1)</td>
<td>jesl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es-t</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>ia-t</td>
<td>ia-t</td>
<td>za-ti za-t</td>
<td>O.Rus. jes-ti O.Bulg. jesil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>summe</td>
<td>ammi</td>
<td>asjum</td>
<td>b-irum b-iru-mes</td>
<td>za-me</td>
<td>jes-mil -my, Mod.Bulg.z-me, Serb. jen-mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[es-tis]</td>
<td>api-b</td>
<td>asjub</td>
<td>b-irut</td>
<td>za-te</td>
<td>jes-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sunt, Umbr.</td>
<td>it</td>
<td>s-ind</td>
<td>s-int</td>
<td>[esti za]</td>
<td>O.Rus. aqf, O.Bulg. aqfu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pl. es-tis</td>
<td>asjus</td>
<td>za-ia</td>
<td>jes-la</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[s-ind]</td>
<td>[za-ti za-ti]</td>
<td>jes-te, jes-la</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
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*Spaced Type implies that the inflexion of any given form may be regarded as derived straight from that of the parent language.*
### Tables of the

#### 2. Ind. pres. and injunct. (pret.) act. of Present Class X.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pr. Idg.</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Avestic</th>
<th>Armenian</th>
<th>Greek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1</td>
<td><em>yē-mi</em> 'I blow'</td>
<td>vā-mi</td>
<td>vā-mi</td>
<td>mna-m</td>
<td>ḍη-μι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>yē-si:</em></td>
<td>vā-si</td>
<td>vā-hi</td>
<td>mna-s</td>
<td>ḍη-ς</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>yē-ti:</em></td>
<td>vā-ti</td>
<td>vā-iti</td>
<td>mna-y</td>
<td>ḍη-ς-ι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1</td>
<td>*yē-mēs(i) (-mos(i)): vā-mēs -mēsī vā-mēhi</td>
<td>mna-mē</td>
<td>Dor. ḍη-μεσ, Att. ḍη-μεν</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>*yē-te (-the):</td>
<td>vā-thā</td>
<td>mna-yē</td>
<td>ḍη-τέ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>yē-nti:</em></td>
<td>vā-nti</td>
<td>vā-nti</td>
<td>mna-n</td>
<td>ḍη-τι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual. 1</td>
<td>*yē-nes(i) (-nes(i)): vā-nes vā-nesi</td>
<td>[Dor. ḍη-μεσ, Att. ḍη-μεν]</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>*yē-tes (-thes):</td>
<td>vā-thēs</td>
<td>ḍη-τον</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>vā-tēs</td>
<td>ḍη-τον</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sing. 1</td>
<td><em>(e) yē-m:</em></td>
<td>ṅā-vā-m</td>
<td>vēm</td>
<td>ḍη-ν, ḍ-;yē-ν</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>(e) yē-s:</em></td>
<td>ṅā-vā-s</td>
<td>vē</td>
<td>ḍη-ς, ḍ-;yē-ς</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>(e) yē-t:</em></td>
<td>ṅā-vā-t</td>
<td>vē-ḥ</td>
<td>ḍη, ḍ-ḥ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plur. 1</td>
<td>*(e) yē-mēd(m) (-med(m)):</td>
<td>ṅā-vā-ma vē-ma</td>
<td>ḍη-μεν, ḍ-;yē-μεν</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>*(e) yē-te:</td>
<td>ṅā-vā-ta vē-ta</td>
<td>ḍη-τέ, ḍ-;yē-τέ</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>*(e) yē-nt:</td>
<td>ṅā-nte vēn</td>
<td>ḍē-ν, ḍ-;yē-ν(ār, ḍ-;yē-ν</td>
<td>ḍ-;yē-ν)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual. 1</td>
<td>*(e) yē-nt (-nt):</td>
<td>ṅā-vē-nt</td>
<td>[ār-μεν, ḍ-;yē-μεν]</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>*(e) yē-tom (-tem):</td>
<td>ṅā-vē-tom</td>
<td>ḍē-τον, ḍ-;yē-τον</td>
<td>[ār-τον, ḍ-;yē-τον]</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>*(e) yē-tam:</td>
<td>ṅā-vē-tam</td>
<td>ḍē-τον, ḍ-;yē-τον</td>
<td>[ār-τον, ḍ-;yē-τον]</td>
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<td>Latin</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>Gothic</td>
<td>O.H.G.</td>
<td>Lith.</td>
<td>O.C.Sl.</td>
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<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pleō, nō</td>
<td>scaviumns</td>
<td>'I separate'</td>
<td>mezzō-m</td>
<td>Lindau 'I put something'</td>
<td>ima-mī 'I have'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plē-ns, nds</td>
<td>scarī</td>
<td>mitō-s</td>
<td>mezzō-s</td>
<td>Lindai</td>
<td>ima-il</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plē-t, na-t</td>
<td>scarid</td>
<td>mitō-p</td>
<td>mezzō-t</td>
<td>Lindo</td>
<td>O.Russ. ima-ti, O.Bulg. ima-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plē-mus, nāmus</td>
<td>scarīme, -scāram (?</td>
<td>mitō-m</td>
<td>mezzō-mē, lindo-me</td>
<td>ima-mē</td>
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<tr>
<td>[plē-tis, nā-tis]</td>
<td>scarid, scarch</td>
<td>mitō-p</td>
<td>mezzō-t</td>
<td>lindo-te</td>
<td>ima-te</td>
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<tr>
<td>plo-nt, na-ntscarīt</td>
<td>mitō-nā</td>
<td>mezzō-nt</td>
<td>[lindo]</td>
<td>O.Russ. ima-ti, O.Bulg. ima-ti</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mitōs (?)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>lindo-vu</td>
<td>ima-vē</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. pl. plē-tis, nā-tis</td>
<td>mitō-is</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lindo-ta</td>
<td>ima-ta</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[mitō-nā]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[lindo]</td>
<td>ima-te, ima-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bā-m</td>
<td>bā 'ful'</td>
<td>idāja 'I went'</td>
<td>minēnā 'I remembered', būvo 'I was'</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-bā-s</td>
<td>idētas</td>
<td>minēl, būola</td>
<td>bē 'eras'</td>
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<tr>
<td>-bā-t</td>
<td>bā</td>
<td>idēja</td>
<td>minē, būvo</td>
<td>bē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bā-mus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>minē-me, būro-me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-bā-tis]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>minē-te, būro-te</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-bānt, umbr. -fā-nis</td>
<td></td>
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<td>[minē, būvo]</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>minē-va, būro-va</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. pl. -bā-tis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>minē-ta, būro-ta</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>[minē, būvo]</td>
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### 3. Ind. praes and inj. (pret.) of Present Class II.

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<th>Pr. Lg.</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Avestic</th>
<th>Armenian</th>
<th>Greek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>bhēro</em> 'I bear':</td>
<td>bhārāmi</td>
<td>barā, barāmi</td>
<td>berem</td>
<td>φέγω</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>bhēra-si</em></td>
<td>bhāra-si</td>
<td>bara-hi</td>
<td>beres</td>
<td>φέγεις</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>bhēra-ti</em></td>
<td>bhāra-ti</td>
<td>bara-ti</td>
<td>ber?</td>
<td>φέγεις</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plur.</th>
<th>*bhēro-ma(s) (mēs(i))</th>
<th>bhārā-mas</th>
<th>barā-mahi</th>
<th>beremē</th>
<th>Dor. φέρο-με, Att. φέρω-μεν</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>bhēre-te (the)</em></td>
<td>bhāra-tha</td>
<td>bara-ṇa</td>
<td>berēn</td>
<td>φέγε-τα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>bhēro-ni</em></td>
<td>bhāra-ni</td>
<td>bara-ṇi</td>
<td>beren</td>
<td>φέγονα</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual.</th>
<th>*bhēro-yo(s) (yor(i))</th>
<th>bhārā-va</th>
<th>barā-vahti</th>
<th></th>
<th>[Dor. φέρο-με, Att. φέρω-μεν]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>2</td>
<td><em>bhēre-te (thes)</em></td>
<td>bhāra-thas</td>
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<td>φέγετον</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>bhāra-tas</td>
<td>bara-tō [baraπ]</td>
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<td>φέγετον</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th><em>(ē-)bhēro-m</em></th>
<th>d-hārā-m</th>
<th>barē-m</th>
<th>beri</th>
<th>l-σερ-ν</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>(ē-)bhēra-s</em></td>
<td>d-hāra-s</td>
<td>barō</td>
<td>berer</td>
<td>l-φές-ε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>(ē-)bhēra-t</em></td>
<td>d-hāra-t</td>
<td>bara-ḥ</td>
<td>e-bar</td>
<td>l-φές</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plur.</th>
<th>*(ē-)bhēro-mā(m) (mē(m))</th>
<th>d-bharā-ma</th>
<th>barā-ma</th>
<th>berēl</th>
<th>l-φέρο-μεν, Dor. l-φέρο-με</th>
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<td><em>(ē-)bhēra-te</em></td>
<td>d-bhāra-ta</td>
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<td>l-φέρο-ν</td>
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<th>Dual.</th>
<th>*(ē-)bhēro-ya (-yā)</th>
<th>d-bhārā-va</th>
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<td>l-φές-τον [l-φές-τν]</td>
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<td>agō</td>
<td>-diur</td>
<td>baira</td>
<td>biru</td>
<td>vēšā 'voeho'</td>
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<td>biri-s</td>
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<td>bairi-p</td>
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<td>ber-mme, ber-baira-m</td>
<td>beramze</td>
<td>vēšā-me -me-s(i)</td>
<td>beram-mi etc. § 1008</td>
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<td>(agi-tis)</td>
<td>berid, berthi</td>
<td>bairi-p</td>
<td>biri-t, beram-t</td>
<td>vēšā-te -te-s(i)</td>
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<td>baira-nd</td>
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<td>2. pl. berē-t</td>
<td>vēšā-ta -tō-s(i)</td>
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<td>[baira-nd]</td>
<td>[vēšā]</td>
<td>berēte, berē-ta</td>
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<td>pres. -bir</td>
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4. Indic. perf. act.

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<th>Sing. 1</th>
<th>Pr. Idg.</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Avestic</th>
<th>Greek</th>
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<tr>
<td>*ge-gôn-ai</td>
<td>*ge-gên-ai</td>
<td>*ge-gêd-ai</td>
<td>*ge-gêd-ai</td>
<td>'I know:'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ge-gôn-a</td>
<td>*ge-gên-a</td>
<td>*ge-gêd-a</td>
<td>*ge-gêd-a</td>
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<tr>
<td>ja-jân-a</td>
<td>ja-jân-a</td>
<td>da-dar-a</td>
<td>yé-yov-a</td>
<td>oíd-a</td>
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<th>*ge-gôn-mê(m), *gid-mê(m), (mê(m))</th>
<th>*ge-gôn-mê(m), *gid-mê(m), (mê(m))</th>
<th>*ge-gôn-mê(m), *gid-mê(m), (mê(m))</th>
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<td>ja-jân-tha, vêd-tha</td>
<td>da-dar-a, vêd-a</td>
<td>yé-yov-a, oíd-a</td>
<td>yé-yov-a, oíd-a</td>
<td>yé-yov-a, oíd-a</td>
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<th>*ge-gôn-yé, *ge-gê(mê(m))</th>
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<th>*ge-gôn-yé, *ge-gê(mê(m))</th>
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5. Imper. praes. act.

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<th>Armenian</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*di 'go';</td>
<td>*i-dhi 'go';</td>
<td>*bhêre 'carry';</td>
<td>*i-tôd, *bhêre-tôd;</td>
<td>*i-tôd, *bhêre-tôd;</td>
<td>*i-tôd, *bhêre-tôd;</td>
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<td>i-dî</td>
<td>i-dî</td>
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<td>i-tôd, bhêre-tôd;</td>
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<th>*i-tôd, *bhêre-tôd;</th>
<th>*i-tôd, *bhêre-tôd;</th>
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<th>*i-tâm (tâm?)</th>
<th>*i-tâm (tâm?)</th>
<th>*i-tâm (tâm?)</th>
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<tr>
<td>me-min-ì, scăb-ì</td>
<td>ro ce-chan 'cecini', ro găd 'I begged'</td>
<td>hai-hăit 'I called', văit</td>
<td>hiag 'I called', weig</td>
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<tr>
<td>me-min-isti, scăb-isti</td>
<td>ro ce-chan, ro găd</td>
<td>hai-hăist, văist</td>
<td>hiag, weist</td>
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<td>hiag, weig</td>
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<td>hiag-un, wigg-un (-umēs)</td>
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<td>hiag-un, wigg-un</td>
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<td>age</td>
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<td>bair</td>
<td>bir</td>
<td>eī-k velis velid</td>
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<td>bairi-p</td>
<td>beru-t [beret]</td>
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<td>elkite, vėskite</td>
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[leira-ndau]
### Tables of the Optative pres. act.

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<tr>
<th>Slag. 1.</th>
<th><strong>Pr. Idg.</strong></th>
<th><strong>Sanskrit</strong></th>
<th><strong>Avestic</strong></th>
<th><strong>Greek</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>*s-jej-m *s-jej-m 'sim'</td>
<td>s-yā-m s-iyā-m</td>
<td>zyēm</td>
<td>ēn-ē</td>
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<td>ēn-s</td>
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<td>zyāt</td>
<td>ēn-ē</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plur. 1.</td>
<td>*s-jej-m(m) (mē(m)): *bhur-jej-m(m)</td>
<td>s-yā-ma s-iyā-ma</td>
<td>lāyā-ma i. e. bh-iy-amā</td>
<td>lē-mēr, lē-mēr</td>
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</table>
| 3. | *s-jej-ēnt *s-jej-ēnt: | s-yā-ur s-iyā-ur | hyān hyār | ēt-ēn, lē-n-
| Dual 1. | *s-i-ē (-ū): | s-yā-va s-iyā-va | | |
| 2. | *s-i-tām (-tām?): | s-yā-tām s-iyā-tām | ēl-τόν, lē-tον | |
| 3. | *s-i-tām: | s-yā-tām s-iyā-tām | ēl-τόν, lē-τον | |
| Slag. 1. | *bhēroj-μ(μ) 'fear'm | bhārēy-am | | |
| 2. | *bhēroj-s: | bhārē-s | barōi-s | φεός-ησ |
| 3. | bhēroj-s: | bhārē-t | barōi-ē | φεός |
| Plur. 1. | *bhēroj-mō(m) (-mē(m)): | bhārē-ma | barāq-ma | φεός-μες, Dor. φεός-μας |
| 2. | *bhēroj-ē: | bhārē-ē | barāq-ē | φεός-ς |
| 3. | *bhēroj-γ: | bhārē-γ | barā-γ | φεός-γ |
| Dual 1. | *bhēroj-μ (-μ): | bhārē-νa | [φεός-μες, Dor. φεός-μας] | |
| 2. | *bhēroj-tam (-tem?): | bhārē-tam | | φεός-τόν |
| 3. | *bhēroj-tām: | bhārē-ta | | φεός-τα
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<th>O.II.G.</th>
<th>Lith.</th>
<th>O.C.E.I.</th>
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<tr>
<td>a-i-e-m, eim</td>
<td>sijau, vitjau 'I would know'</td>
<td>[a-i, viggi 'I would know']</td>
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<td>a-i-a, eis</td>
<td>sijau-a, viti-e</td>
<td>a-i-a-st, viggi-e-st</td>
<td>fasdi 'eat the'</td>
<td>(§ 949)</td>
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<td>a-i, viggi</td>
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<td>a-i-t, viggi-t</td>
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<td>sijäi-te, viti-e-ta</td>
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<td>bere-s</td>
<td>Preuss. imai-s beri</td>
<td>take thou</td>
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<tr>
<td>baïrâi</td>
<td>bere</td>
<td>te-suké 'let him beri'</td>
<td>turn</td>
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<td>baïrâi-ma</td>
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<td>berë-mä</td>
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<td>baïrâi-va</td>
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<td>berë-re</td>
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<td>berë-la-te</td>
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<td>[te-suké]</td>
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7. Indic. pres. und injunct. (pret.) mid. of Present Classes I and II.

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<tr>
<th>Pr. Idg.</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Avestio</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1.</td>
<td>*əs-moj 'I sit' (-moj; *bherōj 'I bring me' etc.:</td>
<td>ās-z; bhrē</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>*əs-soj (-soj); *bhere-soj (-soj):</td>
<td>ās-s; bhrē-r-s</td>
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| 3. | *əs-taj (-taj); *bhere-taj (-taj): | ās-t; bhrē-ta | ās-t; bar-d-a-t |}

| Plur. 1. | *əs-medhaj (-medhaj); *bhero-medhaj (-medhaj): | ās-mahē; bhrē-r-mahē | ciē-maidē; barē-maidē |
| 2. | ?; ? | ādhe; bhrē-r-dhe | op. mer'oro-dyuē; bar-dyuē |
| 3. | *əs-qoaj (-qoaj); *bhero-ntaj (-ntaj): | ās-anē; bhrē-r-ntē | ās-anē; op. mer'ne-a-itē; bar-d-a-t |

| Dual 1. | *əs-yedhaj (-yedhaj); *bhero-yedhaj (-yedhaj): | ās-vahē; bhrē-r-vahē | |
| 2. | ?; ? | ās-ahtē; bhrē-thē | |
| 3. | ?; ? | ās-atē; bhrē-ta | [barōpē] |

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<td>3.</td>
<td>*əs-to (-te?): *(e-)bhere-to (-te?):</td>
<td>ās-ta; ā-bherē-ta</td>
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| Plur. 1. | *əs-medhē; *(e-)bhero-medhē | ās-mahi ā-bharē-mahē | var'ē-maidē |
| 2. | ?; ? | ādheam; ā-bherē-dhēm | i-dūm; a-bara-dvēm |
| 3. | *əs-qo a (-qo?): *(e-)bhero-nto (-nto?): | ās-ntē; ā-bherē-ntē | dārē-s-atē, mrra-ntē; a-bare-ntē |

<p>| Dual 1. | *əs-yedhē; *(e-)bhero-yedhē | ās-vahē; ā-bharē-vahē | |
| 2. | ?; ? | ās-āthēm; ā-bherēthēm | |
| 3. | ?; ? | ās-ātēm; ā-bherēm | a-erva-ēm; a-bara-em |</p>
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<td>—; batri-da</td>
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<td>—; φερ-αθον</td>
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*Breugmann, Elementa IV.*
general reflexive pronoun; e.g. priveda se 'I take myself somewhere, turn towards', boja se 'I fear', smaja se 'I laugh'. This se-reflexive also got a passive meaning, as ljubljasaše se gospođini 'he was loved of the Lord'.

THE VERB INFINITE (VERBAL NOUNS). 1)

§ 1087. Our description of the Verb in the strict sense of the word is now at an end. But in its wider sense the Verb includes several classes of nouns, substantive and

1) For the sake of completeness some works are given here which have been mentioned before.

§ 1087. The Verb Infinitive (Verbal Nouns).

adjective; these are the Infinitive, Supine, Absolutive, Gerund, Participle, and Gerundive.


The Verb Infinitive (Verbal Nouns).

Of these, which hold a place halfway between the Noun and the Verb, some general account has been given in vol. II

§ 144 pp. 456 f., and § 156 pp. 470 ff. Their Suffixes, both formative and case-suffixes, have been described each in its proper place. It remains to pass them in general review, and to point out certain peculiarities which have not yet been touched upon, or others on which I have had reason to change my view.

I. VERBAL SUBSTANTIVES.

§ 1088. Nomina Actionis, which appear in more than one language as Infinitive, Supine, or Gerund.

(1) Root-Nouns. Dat. Skr. nir-ásé ‘to drive out’, Lat. ág-ī; in Greek this type may be represented by infinitives such as κατ-αί ἐνεγκ-αί (§ 504 p. 67 f.). See II § 162 pp. 489 f.


(4) Suffix -yen-. Dat. Skr. dd-vān-ē Gr. Cypr. ἔδω-γεν-αί


Att. ðēvau 'to give'; Avest. vid-van-di Gr. elēvai for *Feið-
-Fev-va 'to know'. Loc. Avest. rōiβ-uan 'to make run together',
with which perhaps should be compared Greek Infinitives like
as ðōv = *do-Fev (§ 1093. 4).

(5) -sen- i. e. s+en (cp. 2). Skr. loc. -san-i, e. g. sak-šān-i
'to be with'. With this probably goes the Gr. infin. type
Ion. Att. qēpev Dor. Lesb. El. qēpν for *qēpe-εv. See
Π. § 114 p. 347.

(6) Suffix -ti-. Dat. Skr. pī-tāy-ē 'to drink', see Π § 100
p. 298, Π Π § 249 p. 149, § 251 p. 153. The explanation of
Avest. mṛūtē is uncertain, see Π Π § 249 p. 150, § 260 Rem.
p. 161. Loc. Lith. dektē 'to burn', see Π Π § 260 p. 161, Hirt,
Idg. Forsch. 1 27. The Lith. infinitive in -ti, as dū-ťi 'to give',
and the O.C.Sl. inf. in -ti as da-ťi 'to give', are probably
locative, standing for *-tēj or *-tej. But Lith. -ti may be
derived from *-tē-uj (dative); this would become *-tēj, then
*-tē, and lastly, because of the accent (cp. dat. ðō-μεναι), -ti
(cp. 2nd sing. verti for *ver-tēj § 991 p. 528) and would be
related to Skr. -tav-ē (see above) as Pruss. -tw-ei to Skr.
-tav-ē (7). And O.C.Sl. -ti may also be the Idg. locative -z
Forsch. 1 28, Streitberg, ibid. 271 und 289. It is wholly
doubtful how we are to explain such Lith. infinitive forms as
dū-ťē; see Π Π § 260 p. 161., Hirt, as cited pp. 27 f., Streitberg
ibid. 271.

(7) Suffix -tu-. Dative Skr. dhā-tav-ē 'to place', Pruss.
dā-ta-śi 'to give'. Locative supine Lat. da-tā O.C.Sl. da-śi
'to give', ground-form -tēj or -tej. Accusative Skr. dhā-tu-ṁ
Lat. sup. con-ditum Lith. sup. dē-tu (dē-tā, cp. opt. 1st pl. dētum-
-bume) O.C.Sl. sup. dō-tu from √dē- 'place'. See Π Π § 108

(8) Suffix -o-. Accusative Skr. adverbial gerund
abhī-dā-krāmam 'approaching', Umbr. or-om Osc. ex-unm
'esce'; Greek similar forms perhaps are aor. 2nd sing.
imper. Syrac. lāβor 'take' Att. dēgōv 'show' etc. (lāβor;
§ 1089. The Verb Infinitive: — Verbal Substantives.

\( \text{ airlines } = \text{ Skr. } -\text{a}-\text{Gr. } \text{ in- } -\text{Gr. } \text{ airlines } = \text{ Skr. } \text{bhuja-ayi } = \text{ a-vairh-i'th-ayi}. \) See II § 60 p. 114.

(9) There is a close connexion between the Aryan dative infinitive in *-dhja\i*, as Skr. *vaha-dhyai* 'to convey' (other suffixes with the same value are used, *-dh\o\i*, *-dhai* and *-dhi*), and the Greek dative infinitive in *-o\i*, as *kre-o\i* 'to follow'. See § 1089. 12, § 1093. 8, Bartholomae in Rhein. Mus. xlv 151 ff.

§ 1089. Aryan. Alongside of complete Infinitives we meet many other forms which stand on the line between infinitives and nomina actionis. Thus it is impossible to define sharply the infinitive in this branch. In what follows no attempt has been made to give complete lists, at least of what may be called Infinitives in posse.

But it is only in the older dialect that Sanskrit shows this rich variety of infinitive forms. The classical language knows only that in *-tom* (9).

(1) Root-Nouns, see § 1088. 1. Dative Skr. *dr\o*- Avest. *dar\o*- *to see*. Locative Skr. *dr\o*- *to see*. Gen.-Abl. Skr. *a-tfd-as* 'to pierce'. Accus. Skr. *s\o\i*- *to shine, be magnificent*, Avest. *d\o*- *to place*.

(2) *-es*—between Root and Case-Suffix; see § 1088. 2. Dat. Skr. *ji*- *to conquer* *doh-\o*- *to milk*, Avest. *av-anh*- *to help*. Gen.-Abl. Avest. *a\o\i*- *to force*.

(3) Suffix -*men*-, see § 1088. 3. Dative Skr. *dd-man*- *to give*, Avest. *st\o*-*main*- *to praise*. Locative Skr. *dh\o*-*man* *to hold up*; Loc. Skr. *s\o\i*- *to uplift*, Avest. *ca\o*- *main* *to behold* (so the new recension, in place of the form *ca\o*- *main* (given in II § 117 p. 369).

Remark. The Avestic loc. forms *ca\o*- *main* etc., which we classed as infinitive in II § 117 p. 369 and III § 257 p. 158, comparing them with Cret. inf. *bo-r\o*, are now denied to be infinitive at all by Bartholomae (Idg. Forsch. i 495 f.).

(4) Suffix -*men*-, see § 1088. 4. Dative Skr. *da-van*- *to give*, Avest. *vid-van*- *to know*. Locative Avest *ro\o*-*wan* *to cause to flow together*. 
(5) -sen-, see § 1088.5. Dative Avest. srao-šan-ē 'to hear'. Locative Skr. sak-śad-i 'to be with'.
(6) Suffix -ter-, cp. Avest. dahr-þrai, no. 11. Locative Skr. vi-dhartar-i 'to divide up, distribute'.
(7) Suffix -i-. Dative Skr. d̕ṛ̣-d̕ṛ̣-ē 'to see'. See II § 93 p. 280, III § 249 p. 149, Bartholomae, Beitr. xv 238.
(8) Suffix -ti-, see § 1088.6. Dative Skr. pū-tāy-ē 'to drink', Avest. kehr-tee 'to complete'. Locative Skr. satau 'to attain' (III § 260 p. 159 f.). Instrumental Skr. at-ē 'to help', Avest. fra-mrāitī 'to recite', see III § 249 p. 150, Bartholomae as cited 245 f. Gen.-Abl. Avest. darštovi-ē 'to see'. Accusative Avest. astīm (= *a-stī-tī-m) 'to stand by'.
(9) Suffix -tu-, see § 1088.7. Dative Skr. d̕hā-tav-ē 'to place' (cp. dātavāt no. 16). Gen.-Abl. Skr. d̕hā-tā-ē 'to place'. Accusative d̕hā-tu-m 'to place', which, as has been said, is the only classical type of infinitive.
(10) Suffix -tuno- -tyuno-. Locative Avest. aiwi-šōi-þnē 'to inhabit', O.Pers. car-tanaiy 'to do'. See II § 69 p. 161. But these may be regarded as the dative from stems containing the suffix -ten-.
(11) Suffix -tro-. Dat. Avest. darš-þrai 'to hold fast' (cp. 6).
(12) Suffix -jo- (cp. -jo- as participial suffix § 1099.3). Dat. Skr. bhuj-yai 'to enjoy', also yaj-yd 'to honour' like sakhyē, and yājyāya 'to honour' like yēkāya (III § 246 p. 145), Avest. vāḍ-yai 'to recognise'. Skr. a-vyāth-iš-yai beside the s-Aorist 2nd sing. mid. vyath-iš-thas from vyath- 'to wave' (Bartholomae as cited, 229 f.). Loc. Avest. vereidya 'to help on' (Bartholomae, as cited, 240). Acc. Skr. vēdya-m 'to find'.

The same suffix occurs in the Aryan inf. in *-dhjaē (dative), as Skr. vāha-dhjaē Avest. vasaidyai 'to convey, carry'. This form is a combination of the two noun-stems vāha- and dh-ya- (vēdhē-), compare these other forms, also used

1) The connexion there assumed between the Latin gerund in -ände and the Lithuanian participia necessitatis in -tina now seems to me very dubious. See Remark to § 1103.
as infinitive, varṣ-dhēyāya varṣ-dhāl for giving of strength' and śrad-dhē for cherishing of trust'. When vāhadhyāi had got associated with vāha-ti 'conveys, carries', Sanskrit formed iṣayā-dhyāi beside iṣayā-ti 'is strong'; pruṣ-dhyāi beside pruṇā-ti 'fills', Avest. srdāvayēidyāi beside srdāvayēiti 'causes to hear', ver'n-dyāi beside ver'n-tē 'chooses' (§ 599 p. 142), mer'n-ery'-dyāi beside mer'n-erynti 'they destroy' (§ 626 p. 162) and the like. See § 1088.9.

(13) Suffix -jā-. Acc. Avest. xwairyam 'to devour'.
(14) Suffix -t-jo- (cp. -t-jo- as a participial suffix § 1100, 4). Dat. Skr. i-tyāi 'to go'.
(15) Suffix -yo-. Loc. Avest. dā-vōi 'to place, to give'.
(16) Suffix -tuyo- (cp. Gr. δωξ-ρεο-ς § 1099, 4). Dat. Skr. dd-tavāi 'to give', also sār-tavā 'to stream' like sakhyā (III § 246 p. 145). See Bartholomae as cited 224 ff., where conjecture a is offered by way of explaining the double accent.

§ 1090. The Sanskrit Gerund (II § 108 p. 327) in -y-ā -ty-ā, as a-gam-ya a-ga-tya lit. 'with a coming' (III § 278 p. 182), and that in -tvā as śru-tvā lit. 'with a hearing' (II § 108 p. 327, III § 279 p. 183), are Instrumental. There is another group in -tvī, as bhū-tvī, which Bartholomae explains as locative (Bezz. Beitr. xv 227, 240, 241); a group in -tvāya, which is dative, e. g. ṣrī-ṭvāya (see Bartholomae, pp. 239 f.); and an accusative "adverbial gerund" as abhy-ā-krāma-m 'approaching'.

§ 1091. Another class of verbal substantives in Sanskrit consists of the forms which are found in the well-known periphrasis with cakāra daśa bakhāra, the accusative in -ām, as viddām. See § 896, p. 445.

§ 1092. In Armenian, the Inf. has an i-suffix, as ta-l 'to give' from indic. ta-m. See II § 76 p. 202, Bugge, Etruskisch and Armenisch i 15.

§ 1093. Greek Infinitive.
(1) It is doubtful whether χεὺ-αι εὐχεὐ-αι and the like
are the dative of Root-Nouns, to be placed with Sanskrit and Latin infinitives such as -άγ- and αγ-τ. See § 1088.1.

(2) Dative in -σ-αι, belonging to the σ-aorist, e.g. δεί&xi. See § 1088.2. Thess. aor. ὄν-γραφειν (Att. ἀνα-γραφεῖ) with ει = αι (I § 96 p. 90), and -ν added on the analogy of other infinitives.

(3) Suffix -men-. Dative -μεν-αι, loc. -μεν, e.g. δο-μεναί δό-μεν. See § 1088.3. By contamination of -μεν and -εν (φένειν) arose Rhod. -μεν, e.g. Ἐμεν. Cret. δό-μεν is probably, like δό-μεν, Locative, with a strong-grade formative suffix; cp. Avest. loc. caš-maṇ, see III § 257 p. 158, IV § 1089 Rem. p. 599.

(4) Suffix -μον-. Dative Cypr. δο-μον-αι Att. δοῖναι ‘to give’, Att. αἴ&nacute;α ‘to blow’ for *αἶ&nacute;α-(μ)οναί (III § 251 p. 153). Forms like δοῦν (Theognis), ἐξ-εύν (Orpom), Ἀσβ. μεθύσ&omicron;νιν may perhaps be locative in -μον like Avest. roīp-vaṇ. See § 1088.4.

(5) A Locative in *-s-αν may perhaps explain Att. φένειν for *φερέ-εν. See § 1088.5.

(6) Doric and Arcadian infinitives in -ν, such as ἀρχεν ἀγανν, are obscure. See the Author’s Gr. Gr.² § 146.5 p. 175.

(7) Perhaps the imperative in -ον (2nd sing.), as Syrac. λάβον (Att. λαβ&omicron;) Att. διέ&omicron;ν, are infinitive; see § 1088.8.

(8) The medio-passive Infinitive in -σ&omicron;αι is connected with the Skr. inf. in -धय&acute;ि -धय&acute;य -धस -ध, see § 1088.9, and § 1089.12, eido&sigma;&omicron;αι for instance is the dative of a compound consisting of the noun stem ἰεδ&omicron;σο- (eido&sigma;) + *dh&sigma;- dh- √dh&sigma; ‘place, do’; cp. ἰπ&omicron;σο-βόλες and the like, II § 29 p. 50; the Skr. śrad-dh-&epsilon; corresponds exactly. After the second member of such compounds had sunk into a mere suffix, eido&sigma;&omicron;α was mentally analysed eido-σ&omicron;αι because such was the structure of the forms associated with it, eido-ταί and the rest. Then this supposed suffix -σ&omicron;αι was added to other tense-stems, and became a type. It received its medio-passive
meaning because this was the meaning of -μεθα -σθε and similar personal endings with η.

§ 1094. Italic Infinitive.

(1) Dat. of Root-Nouns, Lat. depon. pass. sequēt ag-ī, see § 1088.1.

(2) Dat. in -s-i -r-i = *-s-ai, Lat. depon. pass. da-ri (O.Lat. dasi) fer-ri. Loc. in -s-e -r-e -er-e = *-s-i *-es-i, Lat. act. da-re es-se ag-ere. See § 1088.2.

(3) In Old Latin, and later in poetic style, we meet with deponent or passive forms with the ending -ier -rier, having the same value as -i -ri; e.g. ag-ier da-rier. In II § 162 Rem. 2 p. 490 f. an attempt is made to explain this type; and my attempt has been followed by others, those of Henry, Miodoński, and Miles (see footnote, page 505); compare further Stolz, Lat. Gr. ² pp. 380 f. The origin of these forms is still not quite cleared up.

Remark. If we agree with Fr. Müller (Grundr. der Sprachwiss. iii 2 p. 651) that -cr is the exponent of the deponent and passive, and that this was added to forms in -i, we must suppose that it has been abstracted from forms like Osc. vinicet 'vinctur' karantor 'pascuntur'. As pointed out in § 1082.1, it is possible that the Latin language once had likewise these indicative forms in -cr.

(4) An infinitive with formative suffix -men- is probably to be seen in the Lat. 2nd pl. imper. in -mint, as da-mint sequi-mint. See II § 71 p. 165, § 117 p. 373, IV § 1088.3.

(5) On the Lat. inf. fut. in -tūrum, as da-tūrum, see § 900 p. 448 and no. 17 below.

(6) An Infinitive type is also to be seen in forms like are in āre faciō, see § 578 p. 120, § 896 Rem. p. 445, § 899 p. 447.

Postgate holds that the Latin inf. fut. in -tärum represents the same type, and that its ending is *-tā+erom; see § 900 p. 448.

§ 1095. In Latin there are two Supines, in -tu-m (acc.) and in -tā (loc.), e.g. da-tum da-tā. The former occurs in Umbr., aseriatio 'observatum' (-o(m) for -u(m), I § 49 p. 42). See § 1088. 7.

On the Latin Gerund with -ndo- see § 1103. 3.

§ 1096. Where other languages use the Infinitive, Irish has instead a group of nomina actionis which do not lose their noun character, and when an object is express, it is put in the dependent genitive (II § 156 p. 471). As a rule, each verb has some noun from the same root ready to be used as the infinitive; the strong verbs having nouns with the suffixes -men-, -ti-, -tu- and others (Zeuss-Ebel, Gr. Celt. 483 ff., Windisch, Bezz. Beitr. II 75, Ir. Gr. pp. 97 ff.), and the weak verbs usually nouns with -tu-, e.g. nertad 'a strengthening', beside nertiam 'I strengthen' (II § 108 p. 329). Most commonly these are used in the dative with do 'to', as Mid.Ir. do blith 'to grind, for grinding' (pres. melim) do nertad 'for strengthening'. This is as near as Irish ever comes to the infinitive of the other European languages.

For the infinitive in Britanich dialects, which differs from Irish only in unimportant particulars, see Zeuss-Ebel, Gr. Celt. 534 ff.

§ 1097. In Germanic there used to be in prehistoric times a noun with the suffix -ono- used in the accusative case as an infinitive; e.g. Goth. iatan O.H.G. eγgan 'to eat' = *ed-onon-m, Goth. áihan O.H.G. eigan 'to possess, own'. These come very near the Skr. ádana-m neut. 'an eating', and Irish infinitive-nouns such as Mid.Ir. blegon 'a milking'. See II § 67 p. 153.

§ 1098. Balto-Slavonic. (1) -ti- forms the infin. stem in Lithuanian, where the infinitive ends with -ti or -tė, and in Old Church Slavonic, which has -ti; e.g. Lith. dė-ti dė-tė, O.C.Sl. dē-ti 'to place, lay'. There are also Lith. inff. in -tė
(loc.), as *dektē dāya ‘it burns fiercely’ (cp. Leksien, Bildung der Nomina im Lit., 404). See § 1088.6.

(2) The Suffix -tu- occurs in the Supines Lith. dėta i.e. dē-tu (ep. opt. 1st pl. dētum-bime) O.C.Sl. dō-tū (acc.) and O.C.Sl. dētu (loc.), beside which observe Pruss. acc. dā-tun dā-toun and dat. dā-twei ‘to give’ used in the ordinary infinitive way (the more usual ending for this meaning is -t, as dā-t). See § 1088.7.


2. VERBAL ADJECTIVES.

§ 1099. As already explained, no clear line can be drawn between Verbal Adjectives (Participle, Gerundive) and other Adjectives. I mention first such suffixes as are found in more than one language with verbal adjectives.


(4) -tejo-, -tjo- -tjo-, part. fut. pass. (Gerundive). Gr. ἰω-τεδ-ζ ‘to be followed’ for *-tēfo-ζ (Hesiod ἀτετεόζ for


§ 1100. Aryan.


(2) -no-, in Sanskrit, beside -to-, as par-ya-s = par-tá-s 'filled', bhinná-s 'split'. See § 1099.2.

(3) -yo-, part. fut. pass. (Gerundive), Skr. dāś-ya-s dārś- -iya-s Avest. darś-ya- 'consipiciendus, visible'. See § 1099.3.

(4) Skr. -t-ya- instead of -ya- (3) when the root ends in a short vowel, as kṛ-tya-s 'faciendus'. See II § 63 p. 123. Cp. infin. i-t-ya beside bhuj-yaī § 1089.12, 14 pp. 601 f.

(5) Skr. -ay-ya -ay-iya-, part. fut. pass., based upon the
Infinitive in -ay, as śravdy-iya-s ‘laudandus, praiseworthy’; next we have stuṣṭy-iya-s ‘celebrandus, praedicandus’ based upon the Infin. stu-ṣ-ē (§ 1089.2 p. 599). Cp. Mod.H.G. der zu lobende, ein zu lobender from zu loben.


(7) Skr. -aniya-, part. fut. pass., derived from nomina actionis in -ana-m (II § 67 p. 150), as karaṇiya-s ‘facciendus’ from karaṇa-m ‘a making’, cp. garhamēḍh-īya-s adj. of garhamēḍhā-s ‘house offering’, ṭṛī-ya-s ‘tertius’ (II § 63 p. 122). These gerunds did not grow common until the later period.

(8) Skr. -ūnya- -ūniya-, part. fut. pass., as dyēṣēniya-s ‘conspiciendus’, from an s-aorist yās-ēniya-s ‘cohibendus’. A suggestion may be offered that this form comes from the infin. with -ē; compare the remarks on -na- as a secondary suffix in Sanskrit, vol. II § 66 p. 142.


(11) Skr. -u-, part. pres. active of s-Desideratives (§ 667 pp. 198 ff.), as dīpsā-ṣ ‘wishing to hurt’ beside indic. dīpsa-ti, and from verbs in -āy-ti (§ 794 pp. 326 ff., § 795 pp. 330 f.), as bhājāyā-ṣ from indic. bhājāya-ti. See II § 104 p. 314. With the latter participles compare those from denominative verbs, such as aśvayā-ṣ. II § 105 p. 319.


(14) Skr. -tevant-, part. perf. active, formed from -ta- (1)
with -vant-, as kyōd-vant- 'factum habens, πενορχώς' (cp. the unique Avestic (v-)-cer'zēdu-vant- = ai. vṛddhā-vant- from vartih- 'to help, exalt'). See II § 127 p. 406, Bartholomae, Stud. zur idg. Sprachg. 1 14 ff.


§ 1101. Armenian.

(1) -lo-, part. aor., e. g. gereul 'capiens, captus', from the ε-Aorist gereceal (§ 905** p. 459). See § 1099. 5.

(2) -aul, (later -ολ -ολ) forming nomina agentis and part. pres. act., e. g. geraul 'captor, capiens'. Bugge, Idg. Forsch. 1. 437 derives -aul from Idg. -s-tro- (II § 62 pp. 118 ff., § 119 pp. 376 ff.).

(3) Two part. fut., both with active and passive meaning, are made from the infinitive in -l + -i and -ov, as gereloc and gereloc.

§ 1102. Greek.

(1) -to-, part. perf., mostly passive (but generally used as adj.) and gerundival (expressing capacity, possibility, or the like, II § 79 p. 220); e. g. ḫω-το-ς 'skinned', λυ-το-ς 'capable of being set free'. See § 1099. 1.

(2) -temo-, part. fut. passive, as διωκ-τεο-ς 'fit to be pursued'. See § 1099. 4.

(3) -ent- -nt-, part. pres., aor., and fut. active, as λεινων λεινων λειψας λειφων from λεινω 'I leave'. See § 1099. 6.

(4) -nes- (-net), part. perf. active, as λε-λομ-ος. See § 1099. 7.
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§ 1103. Italic.

(1) -to-, part. perf., mostly passive (for the use of this participle with deponents see II § 79 p. 219 f.). Lat. scrip-tu-s, Umbr. scriehtor pl. 'scripti' Osc. scrif-tas pl. 'scriptae'. See § 1099.1.

(2) Lat. -taro-, part. fut. active, as datūru-s. Possibly developed out of the inf. in -tārum. See § 900 p. 448.

(3) Ital. -endo-, part. fut. passive (Gerundive.) Lat. ferun-du-s ferendu-s fāciendu-s faciendu-s, juvandu-s, videndu-s, Umbr. an-ferener gen. 'circumferenti' pihaner gen. 'piandi', Osc. ṳ̄psannam 'operandam'. In the explanation suggested in vol. II § 69 p. 161 f. (cp. Bartholomae, Stud. idg. Spr. ii 96) I went far astray, chiefly because the Lith. participles in -tina-s, which I compared, are probably analogical and belong only to Balto-Slavonic (§ 1106.3). Of the explanations which I have met with in the meantime, those of Thurneysen, Conway, and Dunn (for references see footnote to page 506) in my opinion none will do.

Remark. Weisweiler's investigation (for which see same page) make it extremely probable that 'something to be done' is really the original meaning of this Gerundive; and that the Gerund (which is not found in our records of Umbrian or Samnite) is a mere outgrowth of the gerundive, such a phrase as virtus coleenda est suggesting coelendum est (similarly patriae defendendae causa suggested debellandī causa) as an impersonal construction with similar meaning (collitur = cultīō sit, cultum est = cultīō facta est, hence coelendum est = cultīō fācienda est). And since the other Idg. languages, so far as we know, have nothing which we can compare with the suffix of the Italic gerundive, it becomes probable a priori that the gerundive grew up in Italy, and was based upon the infinitive of purpose, just as Mod.H.G. der zu lobende, ein zu lobende comes from zu loben, and Skr. śravā-yas-s 'laudandus' from inf. *śravā (§ 1100.5 p. 102). On this I base the following conjecture.¹

¹) This was written before I learnt that Pott (Et. Forsch. ii¹ 239 and ii² 517) and Schröder (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xiv 354) had already analysed ferendus into feren-do-, and that in the main part of it, -do-, they saw the Mod.H.G. zu (Engl. to). But their view of the first part of feren-do- is untenable.

Brugmann, Elements. IV. 39
In pr. Ital. it was customary to combine the accus. infinitive in -m, such as Umbr. fero(m) faši(m), with the postposition *dō or *de 'to' (e.g. Lat. en-do indu, dō-nicium dō- nec, Avest. navem-an-da 'to the house', Gr. ἄνεγγειλ τε ἄνεγγειλ τε, O.Ir. do 'to' A.S. to O.H.G. zuo and xi 'to', see III § 223 Rem. § 102, Fick, Wtb. 457), the combination meaning the same as our to with the infinitive. -md- must have become -nd- in pr. Ital. (e.g. O.Lat. quaen-dae Umbr. quane and the like, I § 207 p. 174); this isolated the inf. + postposition from the ordinary inf. in -m. Then these forms ending with dō or de were made the foundation for derivative adjectives in the -o-declension, on the same principle as subjugo-s, antenovissimu-s, perfidu-s come from sub jugō, ante novissimum, per fidum (II § 10 p. 81, § 35 p. 62).

The explanation of the forms plendu-s videndu-s flandu-s arandu-s depends upon our view of the Umbr.-Samm. infinitive (Osc. fatūm 'fari' Censusum 'censere' Umbr. stiplo(m) 'stipulare' — o(m) contracted from -ā-om). Firstly, these may be transformations of -ā-m and -ā-n on the lines of the thematic conjugation. In view of all that has been said in § 457 p. 41 ff. §§ 573 ff. pp. 118 ff., and of inf. forms like Avest. dāw 'to place, give' (§ 1089.1 p. 599), *pī-m *vidē-m *flā-m *ārā-m in the same sense as pēre, vidēre etc. would seem nothing strange. In Lat. plendu-s arandu-s Osc. āpaśānamm, then, we should see these older infinitive forms unchanged. For Lat. rotundu-s (beside rota) rubicondu-s (beside rubicāre Rubico from *rubico-) it would be needful to assume inf. *rotō-m *rubicō-m (e.g. aegrotu-s); rotundu-s for *rotōndo-s like latruncu-lu-s for *latrōn-cu-lu-s. And the agreement in form between arandu-s videndu-s and part pres. avanti-vident-, whilst in *ferondo-s (ferundu-s) the vowel did not agree with ferent-, produced very soon, indeed in pr. Ital., the re-formate ferendo-s. Secondly: it is possible that even in pr. Ital. the Oscan forms fatūm censusum existed, in the shape *z-jom *ā-jom (op. 1st sing. pres. in *z-jom *ā-jom),1 and so there were also in use -z-jom-dō- -ā-jom-dō- (e.g. Lat. faciundu-s beside Umbr. faši(m) 'faere'). Then the relation of *ferondo- to the participial stem *feront- (op. semt- II § 128 p. 401) produced not only ferendo- following ferent- but also arando- videndo- following avanti-vident-. In this case a simple explanation is possible for rotundu-s rubicondu-s.1 They would go with rotōre rubicāre, and would come regularly from *rotōndo- *rubicōndo- through the intermediate stage of *rotōndo-

1) This would allow a simple explanation for Umbr. subocu in the formula sobocu subocu I entreat entreatingly'. It would be inf. like Lith. dekšet in dekšet dēgā 'it burns up bright' (op. § 478 Rem. p. 17 f.). But it would be perhaps not acc., for *-ā-jom-m, but instr., for *-ā-jōm ('with weeping'). For the ending of the 1st sing. subocu see § 380 p. 520.

2) What is gained by connecting the group in -undu-s with the Greek x-perfect I cannot see (op. Weisweiler, p. 41; Johansson, Beltr. Gr. Spr., 91 f.).
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§ 1103, 1104.

"rubicon-ndo" (op. 1st sing. *rotā for *rotā-(1)) = rotundus would mean "that which goes rolling, rollable". These then will have kept the older form of the infinitive more exactly than rota-ndo-s rubicandu-s, because they so soon became simple adjectives.

Of these two explanations I prefer the second.

The Lat. adj. in -bundu-s cannot be directly connected with the d-futuro, as is shown by furibundu-s (beside furere) puribundu-s (beside parere) and like forms. If we are not to start from nouns with the suffix -bhā- -bhā- (II § 78 pp. 218 ff.), the best thing is to suppose that they are compounds containing bhā-ā- (from /bhē/ -to be come, be, op. Skr. d-bhā-ā-m). We then compare the Skr. vāha-dhyāt and similar compounds (§ 1099. 12 p. 400).

(4) -ent- -nt-, part. pres. active. Lat. praesens Osc. praesentid 'praesentio', Lat. sedens Umbr. zerēf serse 'sedens'. See § 1099. 0.

(5) The part. perf. active with -yes- must have been living in Umbro-Samnite, because it was used to make the future perfect, as Umbr. dersicust 'dixerit'; op. also Osc. sipus 'sciens'. See II § 136 p. 445, IV § 872 p. 421, § 1099. 7. p. 606.

§ 1104. Keltic.

(1) The -to- of the part. perf. (passive), which is contained in the pret. passive, e. g. Mid.Ir. do-breth 'datum est', was exchanged for -te- the, which consist of -to- + -io-; e. g. O.Ir. breith breth 'brought'. Cymric had in place of -to- the ending -otic i.e. -t-otic. See II § 79 p. 232 f., IV § 1099. 1.

(2) O.Ir. -ti -thi, part. fut. passive ("participle of necessity"); e. g. messi 'judicandus' earthi earthi 'amandus'.

Mod.Cymr. cara-duwy Cornish cara-dow.

Remark. The last who has discussed this participle is Ascoli (Sprachwiss. Briefe, 76 ff.); but he comes to no definite conclusion. Thurneysen writes: "I know no plausible explanation. Ir. -thi admits of no ending with orig. -os or -ā. British has for final the diphthong which has developed in stem-syllables from ei- (or from z in borrowed words), e. g. O.Bret. in-aotoe, a glosae, 'ineundum' (1/ag-1) Mod.Cymr. caradwy 'amanandus'. The suffix perhaps originally had a before the dental even in primary verbs, op. Brit. *aga-toi, Ir. bethi for *bhati 'to cut' beside part. passive bēthe (this word bēthi I have wrongly explained in Kuhn's Zeitscrb. XXXI 92), for-cantii 'to teach' for *canathii. Its

1) The supposed ending -A -thi is due to a scribe's blunder, dēnti 'faciendum' being written dēnti.
connexion with the stem of the part. passive, which came about in Irish with primary verbs, must then be secondary; it is not carried out in Old Irish. We should arrive at something like *-nteivis as the original ending."

§ 1105. Germanic.


(3) -io-, part. fut. passive, seems establisht for the earlier periods of Germanic as a participial suffix, e.g. Goth. un-geī-s 'inexpressible', O.Sax. un-fōdi 'insatiate'. See § 1099. 3.


§ 1106. Balto-Slavonic.

(1) -to- part. perf., mostly passive. Living in all classes of verbs in Lithuanian, as sūk-ta-s 'turned'. In O.C.Sl. however its use is circumscribed; an example of it is že-tū 'chopped, hewn, mown' (II § 70 p. 236). See § 1099. 1.

(2) -no- -eno-, with the same function as -to- (1), and in O.C.Sl. much the commoner; e.g. danū 'given' nes-entū 'borne, carried' (II § 67 p. 151, 154). See § 1099: 2.

(3) A part. fut. passive is formed in Lithuanian and Slavonic from the part. in -to- (1), and in Slavonic from that in -no- -eno-, the further suffix used for this purpose being -uno-. Lith. -ina- O.C.Sl. -ino-; e.g. Lith. sūk-tina-s 'fit to be turned' O.C.Sl. pri-jēčūn 'acceptable, peasant', O.C.Sl. ne-iz-d- -reč-entū 'inexpressible'. "On consideration of what Leskien says in his Bildung der Nomina im Lit., 255 f., I now believe that the comparison of Lith. -tina- with the O.Pers. infin. in -tanaiv and the Lat. gerundive in -ndo- (II § 69. 2 pp. 161 f.) must be given up."
(4) O.C.Sl. -lo-, so-called part. pret. active II, e.g. nes-lū in neslū jesmī 'I have borne' (§ 903 p. 452). See § 1099.5.

(5) O.Preuss. -mana-, part. pres. passive: madlās poklausimanās ast 'the prayers are heard'. See § 1099.8.

(6) -mo-, part. pres. passive in Baltic and Slavonic; also part. fut. passive in Baltic. Lith. vėža-ma-s O.C.Sl. vėzo-mū 'being carried', Lith. fut. vėzsi-ma-s. Add the so-called Lith. part. pres. active II in -da-ma-s, as sūk-dama-s 'turning', which is closely connected with the imperf. -davaus (§ 908 p. 455) and must originally have been middle (deponent). Compare Umbr. persnīh-mu 'precamino', II § 72.1 p. 166.

(7) -ent- -ei-, part. pres. and fut. active. Lith. vėžis O.C.Sl. vėzy 'vehens', Lith. fut. dialectic vėzius for *vessius, High-Lith. vėzės (O.C.Sl. byšqsteje byšqstejo 'futurum, te melior'). See § 1099.6.

(8) -yes-, part. perf. active. Lith. milē-ės. O.C.Sl. milūs-ē 'having milked'. In Lith. also in the so-called part. imperf. act. in -daveš, belonging to the indic. in -davaus (§ 908 p. 455). See § 1099.7.
Grammar - Sanskrit
Sanskrit - Grammar