

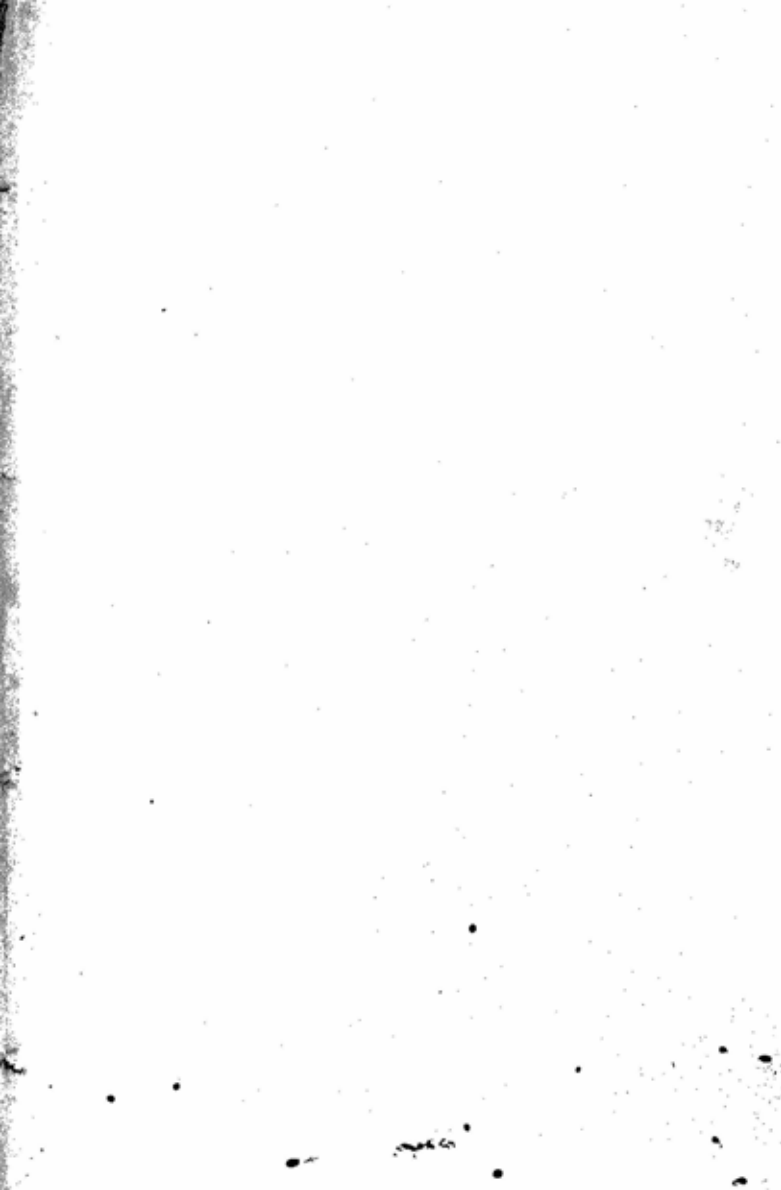
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THE  
CHOWKHAMBA SANSKRIT STUDIES  
VOL. LXXXIV

A  
**COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR**

OF THE  
**INDO-GERMANIC LANGUAGES**

A CONCISE EXPOSITION

OF THE HISTORY

OF SANSKRIT, OLD IRANIAN (AVESTIC AND OLD PERSIAN), OLD  
ARMENIAN, GREEK, LATIN, UMBRO-SAMNITIC, OLD IRISH,  
GOTHIC, OLD HIGH GERMAN, LITHUANIAN AND  
OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC

BY

**KARL BRUGMANN**

PROFESSOR OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY  
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG.

**VOLUME IV**

MORPHOLOGY, PART III.

VERBS : FORMATION OF THE STEM, AND INFLEXION OR CONJUGATION.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY

**R. SEYMOUR CONWAY, M.A. AND W. H. D. ROUSE, M.A.**

LATE FELLOW OF CONVILLE AND CAIUS  
COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AUTHOR OF  
'VERNER'S LAW IN ITALY', PROF.  
ESSOR OF LATIN IN THE UNIV-  
ERSITY COLLEGE, CARDIFF.

SOME TIME FELLOW OF CHRIST'S  
COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, ASSIS-  
TANT MASTER AT CHEL-  
TENHAM COLLEGE.



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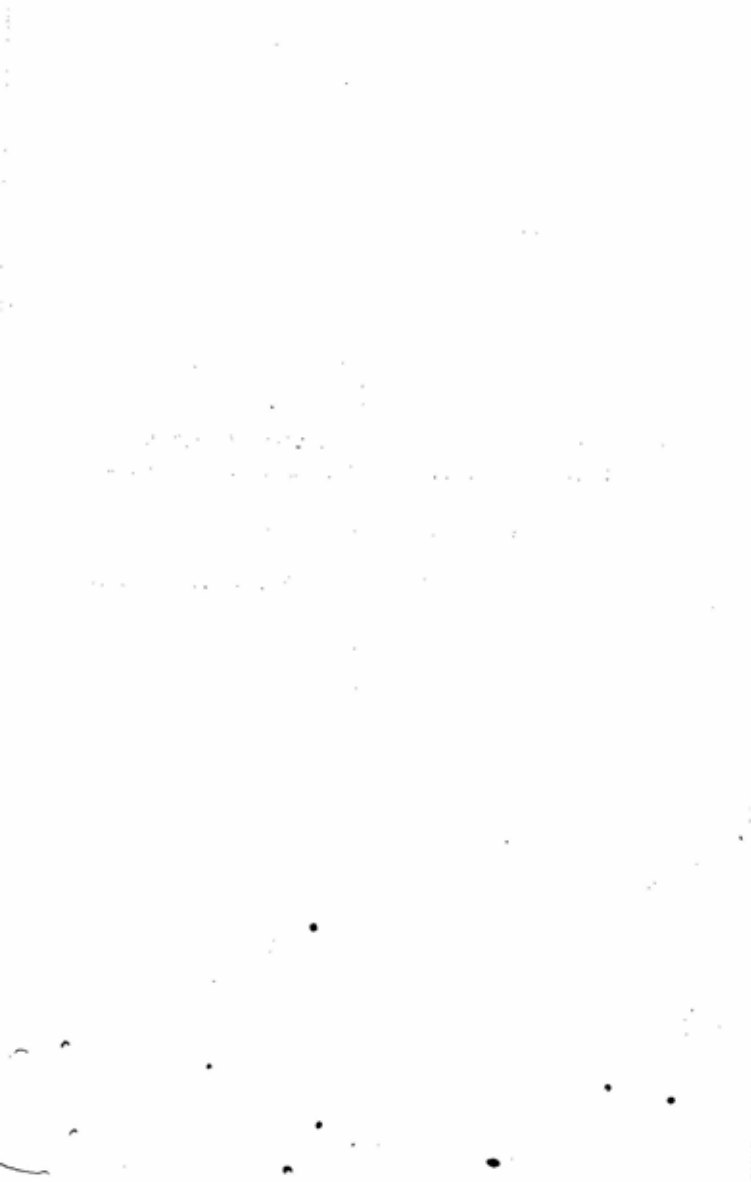
DOCTOR OF LETTERS, MASTER OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, THE FOUNDER  
OF THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY IN CAMBRIDGE

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 developement 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 developements, 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 fixt 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.<sup>1)</sup> 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 Bezzenberger'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 *Διόσ-κουροι*, *τοῦ-το*, *ἀνα-βάλλω*, *ἔ-γερον*, but in *ἄγ-ο-μεν* or *φίλ-ο-μεν* it only shows the etymological and morphological likeness of certain elements. And though I now as ever call *-ο-* in *ἄγ-ο-μεν* 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 Hübschmann 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,<sup>1)</sup> 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. *galù* ('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 "*φιλῶμαι* for *φιλῶμην*", but "*Att. δαίμων* instead of pr. Gr. \**δαίμων-α*".

## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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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*, *dātāsmi* (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 published along with this volume, or at least with small delay thereafter.

CHELTEMHAM, July 17. 1894.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

# CONTENTS OF VOLUME IV.

PREFACE . . . . .	PAGE VII
TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE . . . . .	XII
CORRIGENDA . . . . .	XIX
<b>VERBS: Formation of the Stem, and Inflection or Conjugation.</b>	
General Remarks (§§ 460-463) . . . . .	1
Reduplicated Verb-Forms (§§ 464-476) . . . . .	10
The Augment (§§ 477-483) . . . . .	24
The Tense Stem.	
General Remarks (§§ 484-489) . . . . .	33
The Present Stem ( <i>Imperfect Present and Aorist Present</i> ).	
Introductory Remarks (§§ 490-491) . . . . .	48
(A) Classes I-VIII: Simple Root, or Root with -o-, for the Present Stem; sometimes Reduplicated . . . . .	51
Class I (Skr. <i>ās-ti</i> ): Simple Root used for the Present Stem. Idg. (§§ 493-497). Aryan (§§ 498-500). Armenian (§ 501). Greek (§§ 502-504). Italic (§ 505). Keltic (§ 506). Germanic (§§ 507-509). Balto-Slavonic (§§ 510-512) . . . . .	51
Class II (Skr. <i>bhār-a-ti sphur-ā-ti</i> ): Root + Thematic Vowel forming the Present Stem. General Remarks (§ 513). Class II A: the Root Syllable accented and in the Strong Grade (§§ 514-522). Class II B: the Accent falls upon the Thematic Vowel, and the Root is Weak (§§ 523-535) . . . . .	78
Class III (Skr. <i>bi-bhā-ti</i> ): Reduplication ending in -ī or -ā + simple Root forming the Present Stem (§§ 536-546) . . . . .	97
Class IV (Sks. <i>a-jī-fan-at</i> Gr. <i>γί-γν-ε-ται</i> ): Reduplication ending in -ī or -ā + Root + Thematic Vowel, forming the Present Stem. Preliminary (§ 547). Class IV A: Strong Root Syllable (§ 548). Class IV B: Weak Root Syllable (§§ 549-554) . . . . .	105

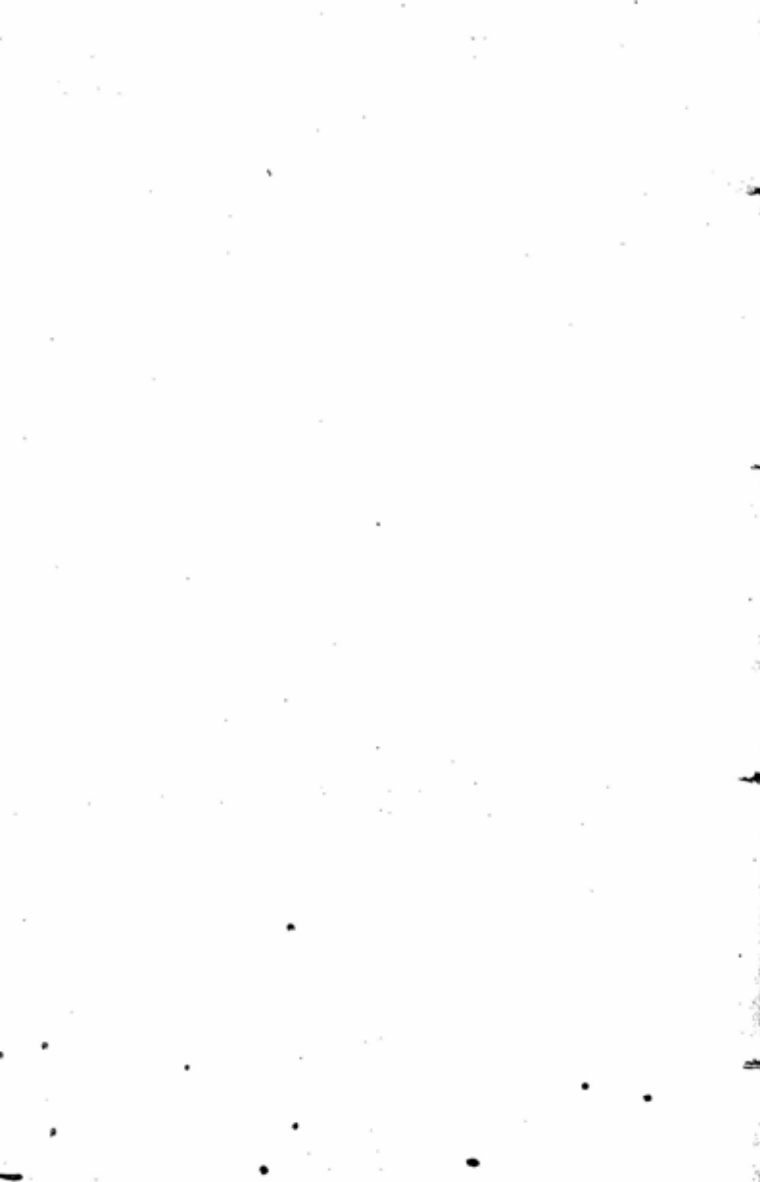
Class V (Skr. <i>dā-dā-ti</i> ): Reduplication ending in -e (-ē) + Simple Root forming the Present Stem (§§ 555-560)	108
Class VI (Skr. <i>śā-śā-ti</i> ): Reduplication in -e (-ē) + Root + Thematic Vowel forming the Present Stem (§§ 561-566)	110
Class VII (Skr. <i>cār-kār-ti</i> ): Complete Reduplication + Root forming the Present Stem (§§ 567-569)	112
Class VIII (Skr. <i>dār-dār-ti</i> ): Complete Reduplication + Root + Thematic Vowel forming the Present Stem (§§ 570-571)	113
(B) Class IX (Skr. <i>vāu-i-ti brāu-i-ti</i> ): Root + -a- or Root + -i-, with or without Reduplication, forming the Present Stem (§§ 572-577)	114
(C) Classes X and XI: Root + -ā-, -ē- or -ō- forming the Present Stem. General Remarks (§ 578)	118
Class X (Skr. <i>śr-śr-ti</i> ): Unreduplicated Root + -ā-, -ē- or -ō- forming the Present Stem. Root + -ā- (§§ 579-586). Root + -ē- -ō- (§§ 587-593)	121
Class XI (Skr. <i>ji-gū-ti</i> ): Reduplicated Root + -ā-, -ē- or -ō- forming the Present Stem. Reduplicator in -i- (§ 594). Complete Reduplication (§ 595)	134
(D) Classes XII to XVIII: Nasal Present Stems. General Remarks (§ 596)	136
Class XII (Skr. <i>my-ṇā-ti</i> ): Root + -nā- -nē- -nō- forming the Present Stem (§§ 597-606)	141
Class XIII (Skr. <i>my-ṇā-ti</i> ): Root + -no- forming the Present Stem (§§ 607-615)	148
Class XIV (Skr. <i>iṣ-ama-ti</i> ): Root + -ṇo- -eno- -ono- forming the Present Stem (§§ 616-624)	154
Class XV (Skr. <i>yunāk-ti</i> ): Root + Nasal Infix forming the Present Stem (§§ 625-628)	162
Class XVI (Skr. <i>yunāj-d-ti</i> ): Root + Nasal Infix + The- matic Vowel forming the Present Stem (§§ 627-637)	163
Class XVII (Skr. <i>ṛ-ṇō-ti</i> ): Root + -ney- -nu- forming the Present Stem (§§ 638-647)	176
Class XVIII (Avest. <i>ker<sup>h</sup>-nav-a-ti</i> Skr. <i>ṛ-ṇō-d-ti</i> ): Root + -ney-o- or -ny <sup>o</sup> - forming the Present Stem (§ 648). Class XVIII A: suffix -ney-o- (§ 649). Class XVIII B: suffix -ny <sup>o</sup> - (§§ 650-654)	184
(E) Classes XIX-XXI: Present Stems with -s-. General Remarks (§ 655)	189
Class XIX (Skr. <i>dvē-ṣ-ti</i> ): Root + -s-, -es- or -as- forming the Present Stem (§ 656)	190
Class XX (Skr. <i>tq-sa-ti tr-dsa-ti</i> ): Root + -so- or -es- forming the Present Stem (§§ 657-665)	191

Class XXI (Skr. <i>ti-stis-ja-tē</i> ): Root + -so- -eso-, with Reduplication ending in <i>ī</i> (or <i>ū</i> ), forming the Present Stem (§§ 666-668) . . . . .	198
(F) Classes XXII and XXIII: Present Stems with -sko-.	
General Remarks (§ 669) . . . . .	200
Class XXII (Skr. <i>gā-cha-ti</i> Avest. <i>iš-asa-itt</i> ): Root + -sko- -esko- forming the Present Stem (§§ 670-677) . . . . .	202
Class XXIII (Gr. <i>ῥα-ῥα(α)-αω</i> ): Reduplicated Root + -sko- forming the Present Stem (§ 678) . . . . .	210
(G) Class XXIV (Skr. <i>cā-ta-ti</i> ): Root + -to- (-t-) forming the Present Stem (§§ 679-687) . . . . .	211
(H) Class XXV (Skr. <i>yā-dha-ti</i> kūr-dā-ti): Root + -dho- -do- forming the Present Stem (§§ 688-701) . . . . .	218
(J) Classes XXVI to XXXI: Present Stems with -jo-.	
General Remarks (§§ 702-704) . . . . .	228
Class XXVI (Skr. <i>hār-ya-ti</i> dyā-yā-tē): Root + -jo- -ijo- forming the Present Stem (§§ 705-727) . . . . .	233
Class XXVII (Skr. <i>dā-dīś-yā-tē</i> ): Reduplicated Root + -jo- -ijo- forming the Present Stem (§§ 728-733) . . . . .	259
Class XXVIII (Skr. <i>tr-ā-yā-tē</i> ): Root + -ā-, -ē-, -ō- + -jo- forming the Present Stems (§§ 734-741) . . . . .	261
Class XXIX (Skr. <i>iṣ-ay-yā-ti</i> ): Nasal Stems + -jo- forming the Present Stem (§§ 742-745) . . . . .	265
Class XXX (Skr. <i>ta-s-yā-tē</i> ): Root + s-suffix + -jo-.	
(A) Forms with Present Meaning (§ 746). (B) With Future Meaning, Stems in -sjo- and -esjo- (-esjo-), Aryan futures with -sja- and -īśja-, Greek futures with -so-, -so- -an- -oo- -wo-, -eso-, Lithuanian futures with -sia- (§§ 747-761) . . . . .	268
Appendix to Classes XXVII-XXX: Extension of Stems in -sko-, -to-, and -dho- -do- by the Suffix -jo- (§§ 762-765) . . . . .	279
Class XXXI (Skr. <i>dāva-yā-ti</i> ): Later Group of Denominatives with Present Suffix -jo-. General Remarks (§ 766).	
Pr. Idg. (§§ 767-773). Aryan (§ 774). Armenian (774*). Greek (§ 775-776). Italic (§§ 777-778). Celtic (§§ 779-780). Germanic (§ 781). Balto-Slavonic (§§ 782-787) . . . . .	281
(K) Class XXXII (Skr. <i>vā-d-āya-ti</i> ): Root + -ējo- forming the Present Stem.	
General Remarks (§§ 788-793) . . . . .	318
Protoethnic Indo-Germanic (§ 794) . . . . .	326
Aryan (§§ 795-799) . . . . .	330
Armenian (§ 800) . . . . .	335
Greek (§ 801) . . . . .	335
Italic (§ 802) . . . . .	338

Keltic (§ 803) . . . . .	339
Germanic (§§ 804—806) . . . . .	339
Balto-Slavonic (§§ 807—809) . . . . .	343
<i>The s-Aorists.</i>	
General Remarks (§ 810) . . . . .	346
(A) Stems in -s- and -so-.	
I. Unthematic s-stems (§§ 811—832) . . . . .	348
II. Thematic s-stems (§ 833) . . . . .	369
(B) Stems in -es-, -so-, and -is-.	
General Remarks (§ 834) . . . . .	371
I. es-stems (Gr. <i>ἔσας</i> , Lat. <i>agerem</i> ) (§§ 835—838) . . . . .	372
II. so-stems (Skr. <i>astarīṣam</i> ) (§§ 839—840) . . . . .	375
III. is-stems (Lat. <i>vidistis</i> , Skr. <i>agrakīṣam</i> ) (§ 841) . . . . .	378
(C) Stems with -s-s- (§ 842) . . . . .	380
<i>The Perfect.</i>	
General Remarks (§§ 843—845) . . . . .	381
Proethnic Indo-Germanic (§§ 846—849) . . . . .	387
Aryan (§§ 849—854) . . . . .	395
Armenian (§ 855) . . . . .	404
Greek (§§ 856—866) . . . . .	404
Italic (§§ 867—875) . . . . .	414
Keltic (§§ 876—881) . . . . .	424
Germanic (§§ 882—893) . . . . .	429
Balto-Slavonic (§ 894) . . . . .	442
<i>Periphrastic Formations</i> (§§ 895—903) . . . . .	444
<i>Unexplained Formations.</i>	
Preliminary (§ 904) . . . . .	452
Aryan 3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. aor. pass. in -i (§ 905) . . . . .	452
Armenian aor. <i>gereci</i> and the like (§ 905*) . . . . .	453
Irish 'Secondary Present' (§ 906) . . . . .	453
Germanic Weak Preterite (§ 907) . . . . .	453
Lithuanian Imperfect in -daveu (§ 908) . . . . .	455
<i>The Mood Stem.</i>	
<i>Infinitive</i> (§ 909) . . . . .	456
<i>Conjunctive.</i>	
General Remarks (§ 910) . . . . .	459
I. Conjunctive where the Indicative Stem ends in a Consonant or has a thematic Vowel.	
(A) The Indic. Stem ends in a Consonant (§§ 911—917) . . . . .	461
(B) The Indic. Stem has a Thematic Vowel (§§ 918—929) . . . . .	465
II. Conjunctive where the Indicative Stem ends in a Long Vowel.	
(A) The Indic. Stem end in -ā-, -ē-, -ō- without Gradation (§ 930) . . . . .	475
(B) The Indic. Stem has a Long Final Vowel, with Gradation (§§ 931—937) . . . . .	476

<i>Optative.</i>	
General Remarks (§ 938) . . . . .	479
I. Optative with -iē- -t- (§§ 939-949) . . . . .	480
II. Optative with -ot- (§§ 950-955) . . . . .	493
<i>Imperative.</i>	
General Remarks (§ 956) . . . . .	496
I. The Proethnic Imperative.	
(A) Bare Tense Stem as 2 <sup>nd</sup> Sing. act. (§ 957-958) . . . . .	497
(B) 2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Singular in -dhi (§§ 959-962) . . . . .	502
(C) The Forms in -tēd (§§ 963-967) . . . . .	505
II. Some Imperative Forms peculiar to certain languages.	
Aryan (§ 968) . . . . .	510
Greek (§ 969) . . . . .	511
Germanic (§ 970) . . . . .	511
Signs of the Persons and of Middle and Passive Voice.	
General Remarks (§§ 971-975) . . . . .	512
<i>Active Endings.</i>	
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Singular (§§ 976-983) . . . . .	517
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Singular (§§ 984-991) . . . . .	523
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Singular (§§ 992-999) . . . . .	528
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Plural (§§ 1000-1008) . . . . .	534
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Plural (§§ 1009-1016) . . . . .	540
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Plural (§§ 1017-1026) . . . . .	543
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Dual (§§ 1027-1030) . . . . .	554
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Dual (§§ 1031-1036) . . . . .	556
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Dual (§§ 1037-1040) . . . . .	557
<i>Middle Endings.</i>	
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Singular (§§ 1041-1046) . . . . .	558
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Singular (§§ 1047-1053) . . . . .	560
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Singular (§§ 1054-1059) . . . . .	563
1 <sup>st</sup> Person Plural (§§ 1060-1062) . . . . .	566
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person Plural (§§ 1063-1065) . . . . .	567
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Plural (§§ 1066-1071) . . . . .	568
The Dual (§§ 1072-1075) . . . . .	571
Aryan, Italic, and Celtic endings with R (§§ 1076-1083) . . . . .	572
Periphrastic Middle (Reflexive) (§§ 1084-1086) . . . . .	579
Tables of the Verb Finite . . . . .	582
The Verb Infinitive (Verbal Nouns).	
Preliminary (§ 1087) . . . . .	594
Verbal substantives (§§ 1088-1098) . . . . .	597
Verbal Adjectives (§§ 1099-1106) . . . . .	605





# CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

## VOLUME I.

page 530 line 20 read in cases where tho.

" " " 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 " " *ποδ-ι-ε-ε-ε-ε* instead of *ποδ-ε-ε-ε-ε*.

" 99 " 8 " " by dissimilation.

" 111 " 14 *supra* " *yugā-u* instead of *jugām*.

" 114 " 4 *infra* place a full stop after 'one-eyed'.

" 117 " 16 read ('iree') instead of ('ire')e.

" " 18 " *priya-ted-m* instead of *-ted-m*.

" 119 " 7 " O.Icel. " O.C.Sh.

" 133 " 5 " *paoriya* " *parriya*.

" 164 *infra* read *sayā-mna-* instead of *sayā-mna*.

" 166 " " *mā-s*.

" 168 line 11 read -s instead of nē.

" 173 " 2 " *δδύε-μδ-ε* instead of *δδύε-μδ-ε*.

" 175 lines 7, 12, 28, 33

" 187 " 7, 23

" 189 line 2 *inf.*

" 209 " 4

" 179 " 1 read of instead of o.

" " 2 " *ya-tard-* instead of *ya-taraf*.

" 188 " 3 " weather " wather.

" 208 " 5 " A.S. " O.Sax.

" 210 *inf.* " it should " itl shoud.

" 213 line 6 " § 62 " § 61.

" 221 " 16 " *mγ-tā-m* " *mγ-tā-m*.

" 231 " 22 " *priā-tu-s* a *nā-tu-s* instead of *priā-tu-sa mā-tu-s*.

" 232 " 16 " *dele* stop after *civitatē*.

" " 5 *inf.* put a stop after 221.

" 240 " 2 read *-rēroc* instead of *rēroc*.

- page 249 line 14 *inf.* read *ḡaūpa* instead of *ḡaūpa*.  
 " 253 " 5 read classification.  
 " 268 " 9 " There " These.  
 " 272 " 2 *inf.* " 257 " 267.  
 " 277 " 4 " " would " whould.  
 " 290 " 5 " " *ḡ-ḡi-ḡ* " *ḡ-ḡi-ḡ*.  
 " 291 " 8 insert stop after above.  
 " 292 " 11 *inf.* read neck instead of neck.  
 " 296 " 3 " *ḡell* instead of *ḡell*.  
 " " 10 " *ḡiū-ti* " *ḡiū-ti*.  
 " 347 " 17 *inf.* " *-er* " *-er-* and *-er* instead of *er*.  
 " 349 " 19 read *ḡeḡy-ur* instead of *ḡeḡy-ur*.  
 " 428 " 3 *infra* read statements.  
 " 434 " 2 " " line.

## VOLUME III.

- page VII line 8 *inf.* read *be* instead of *by*.  
 " 57 " 3 read of sound " sound of.

## VOLUME IV.

- page 7 line 9 *inf.* prefix § 463.  
 " 10 prefix § 464.  
 " 17, § 472 Remark, add: Further, it is assumed by Johansson (Bezz. Beitr. XIII 125) that *ai* in Gothic perfects like *rai-rōþ sai-sō* is a long (open) *ē*. But the change which he assumes seems to me insufficiently supported.  
 " 28 line 13 *infra*, add: The *ze* of the comedians is perhaps better read *es*, corresponding with the forms *terr* and *ferr* (page 501 footnote 1).  
 " 78 " 5 " " *ḡeḡ-o-* instead of *ḡeḡ-ō-*.  
 " 81 " 16 " " *measuredst* instead of *measrest*.  
 " 83 " 3 read *-bō*.  
 " 93 " 2 " *didet accuso* instead of *pullest*.  
 " " 2 *inf.* read *say* " I say.  
 " 96 " 2 " *ḡlet-e-ḡ*, omitting *ḡ*.  
 " 98 " 8 " *Skr. ḡa-thā* instead of *O.H.G.*  
 " 100 footnote 1 *inf.* read *aiḡḡai* " *aiḡḡai*.  
 " 162 line 12 " " vol. I p. 410 footnote.  
 " " 4 " " I § 404.2 p. 299.  
 " 198, title to Class XXI, read *-eso-* instead of *-eso-*.  
 " 235 line 3 *inf.* in the text, read *biū* " *biū*.  
 " 398 " 7 read *nō-nar-i-ti* instead of *-tis*.

## MORPHOLOGY OF VERBS.

### FORMATION OF THE STEM, AND INFLEXION OR CONJUGATION.<sup>1)</sup>

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

1) General Works on the Verb in Indo-Germanic. Bopp, *Vergl. Gram.*, II<sup>e</sup> §§ 426 ff. pp. 255 ff., III §§ 672 ff. pp. 1 ff. Schleicher, *Compendium* pp. 644 ff. Fr. Müller, *Grundr. der Sprachw.*, III pp. 580 ff. Bopp, *Über das Conjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache in Vergleichung mit jenem 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 (1881) pp. 17 ff. F. Graefe, *Das Sanskrit-Verbum im Vergleich mit dem griech. und lat., aus dem Gesichtspunkte der class. Philologie*, St. Petersburg, 1836. A. Kuhn, *De conjugatione in -m lingue Sanscritae ratione habita*, Berlin 1837. C. W. Bock, *Analysis verbi oder Nachweis der Entstehung der Formen des Zeitwortes namentlich im Griech., Sanskr., Lat. und Türk.*, Berlin 1845. M. Rapp, *Der Verbal-Organismus der indisch-europäischen Sprachen*, 3 vols., 1859 (I. Das ind., das pers., und das slaw. Verbum; II. Das griech. und das roman. Verbum; III. Das goth., das skand., und das sächs. Verbum). Fr. Müller, *Der Verbal Ausdruck im Ariesch-semitischen Sprachkreise*, Vienna 1858. Stenzler, *Über die verschiedenen Conjugationen etc.* (see footnote to page 52, vol. III). Schleicher, *Die Unterscheidung von Nomen und Verbum in der lautlichen Form*, 1865. Ascoli, *Studi Ariosemitici*, Articolo secondo, letto alla Classe di lettere, etc. [del R. Istituto 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 possum für die Entstehung der Verbalendungen aus Hilfsverben*, Gumbinnen 1869. *Idem*, *Die Ableitung der* Brugmann, *Elements*. 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 Infinitive.

Verbalendungen aus Hilfsverben, Berlin 1871. *Idem*, Die Hilfsverba als Flexionsendungen, *Fleckensens Jahrb.* 1874 pp. 145 ff. *Idem*, Bemerkungen zur lat. Formenbildung, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* xxii 141 ff. Pauli, Die Ableitung der Verbalendungen aus Hilfsverben, *ibid.* xx 321 ff. Leo Meyer, Über Vocalsteigerung, insbes. in der Verbalflexion, *ibid.* xxi 341 ff. Westphal, Das indogerm. Verbum nebst einer Übersicht der einz. idg. Sprachen und ihrer Lautverhältnisse, 1873. A. Kerber, Gedanken über die Entwicklung der Conjugation; Erstes Heft: Einleitung, Präsens, Rathenow 1873. Grote-Meyer, Üb. die Verwandtschaft der idg. und semit. Sprachen, part 3. Das Verbum, Kempen 1876 (compare part 4, *ibid.* 1877). W. Scherer, Zur Gesch. der deutschen Sprache<sup>2</sup> pp. 212 ff. The Author, Das verbale Suffix *a* im Idg., die griech. Passivparticiple und die sogen. äolische Flexion der verba contracta, *Morphol. Unters.* i 1 ff. J. Schramm, Über die Bedeutung der Formen des Verbum, Heiligenstadt 1884. Moulton, Notes in Verbal Morphology, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* x 290 ff. H. D. Müller, Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des idg. Verbalbaues, 1890.

**Aryan.** Bartholomae, Zur [ar.] Verbalflexion, *Ar. Forsch.* ii 61 ff. *Idem*, Zur [ar.] Verballehre, in 'Beiträge zur Flexionslehre der idg. Sprachen', 1888, pp. 1 ff (= *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* xxiv 271 ff.). Whitney, Sanskrit Gramm. pp. 200 ff. *Idem*, The System of the Sanskrit Verbs, *Proceedings of the Americ. Philol. Assoc.*, 1876, pp. 6 ff. *Idem*, Sanskrit Roots and Verb-forms (Supplement to *Skr. Gr.*) 1885. Delbrück, Das altind. Verbum aus den Hymnen des Rigveda seinem Baue nach dargestellt, 1874. J. Avery, Contributions to the History of Verb-Inflection in Sanskrit, *Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc.* x 217 ff. Neisser, Zur ved. Verballehre, *Bezenberger's Beitr.* vii 211 ff. Bartholomae, Handb. der altiran. Dialekte pp. 113 ff. *Idem*, Das altiran. Verbum in Formenlehre und Syntax dargestellt, 1878. Spiegel, Gramm. der altbaktr. Sprache pp. 205 ff. *Idem*, Die altpers. Keilschr.<sup>2</sup> pp. 184 ff. *Idem*, Der Organismus des neupegs. Verbums, *Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr.* ii 464 ff. H. A. Barb, Der Organismus des pers. Verbums, Vienna 1860. Fr. Müller, Die Conjugation des neupeers. Verbums, sprachvergleichend dargestellt, Vienna 1864. *Idem*, Die Conjugation des avghanischen Verbums, sprachvergleichend dargestellt, Vienna 1867. *Idem*, Die Grundzüge der Conjugation des ossetischen Verbums, Vienna 1864. Salemann, Versuch über die Conjugation im Ossetischen, *Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr.* viii 48 ff.

**Armenian.** Fr. Müller, Beiträge zur Conjugation des armen. Verbums, Vienna 1863 (see the same scholar's *Armeniacs* 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

Greek und Latin. V. Henry, *Précis de grammaire comparée du grec et du latin*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 264 ff. King and Cookson, *The Principles of Sound and Inflection as illustrated in the Greek and Latin Languages*, pp. 373 ff. G. Curtius, *Die Bildung der Tempora und Modi im Griech. und Lat., sprachvergleichend dargestellt*, 1846. Landvoigt, *Die Formen des griech. und lat. Verbums untereinander verglichen*, Mersburg 1847. Birkenstamm, *Über die lat. Conjugation in Vergleichung mit der griech.*, Bielefeld 1869. Fröhde, *Zur griech. und lat. Conjugation*, Bezenberger's Beitr. ix 107 ff.

Greek. Kühner, *Ausführl. Gramm. der griech. Spr.*, i<sup>2</sup> pp. 490 ff. G. Meyer, *Greek Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 402 ff. The Author, *Greek Gramm.* (I. Müller's Handb. der klass. Altertumswiss., II<sup>2</sup>) pp. 144 ff. Pezzi, *La lingua greca antica* pp. 216 ff. Monroe, *A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect* pp. 1 ff. Lobeck, *Rhematicon, sive verborum Graecorum et nominum verbalium technologia*, 1846. Curtius, *Das Verbum der griech. Sprache, seinem Baue nach dargestellt*, i<sup>2</sup> 1877, ii<sup>2</sup> 1880. Ahrens, *Über die Conjugation auf μ im Homerischen Dialekte*, Nordhausen 1838. L. Junius, *On the Evolution of the Greek Verb from Primary Elements*, London 1843. A. Haacke, *Die Flexion des griech. Verbums in der att. und gemeinen Prosa*, Nordhausen 1850. Inama, *Osservazioni sulla teoria della conjugazione greca*, *Rivista di filol.* i 149 ff. Fick, *Zum Aorist- und Perfectsblaut im Griech.*, Bezenberger's Beiträge iv 167 ff. Bloomfield, *The 'Ablaut' of Greek Roots which show variation between e and o*, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* i 281 ff. J. Wackernagel, *Der griech. Vornaclaut*, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* xxiii 457 ff. Vögtlin, *Beiträge zur Formenlehre des griech. Verbums*, 1886. Von der Pfohl, *Die Geschichte der griech. Denominativa*, 1886. Johansson, *De derivatis verbis contractis linguae Graecae*, Upsala, 1886. Lautensach, *Verballexion der att. Inschriften*, Gotha 1887. G. Mekler, *Beiträge zur Bildung des griech. Verbums (I. Verba contracta mit langem Themenvokal, z. die Flexion des activen Plusquamperfects)*, Dorpat 1887. G. Traut, *Lexicon über die Formen der griech. Verba*, 1867. Veitch, *Greek Verbs Irregular and Defective, their forms, meaning, and quantity, embracing all the tenses used by the Greek writers, with references to the passages in which they are found*, new ed., Oxford 1887. A. A. Σακελλάριος, *Ἀρσινὰ καὶ ἑλληνικὰ ῥήματα περὶ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ ποιητῶν τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, 5th ed., Athens 1877. C. Thiemann, *Homerisches Verballexicon*, 1879. Frohwein, *Verbum Homerium, die homer. Verbalformen zusammengestellt*, 1881. Γ. Ζηκ/δης, *Δεῦθ' ἀπάντων τῶν ῥημάτων τῆς Ἀρχαῖς διὰ τὸν μέγιστον καὶ ῥῆματι* 1<sup>2</sup>

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

*Ἀριστὸς ἐπιστομὸν κτλ.*, Athen 1888. A. Hogue, *The Irregular Verbs of Attic Prose*, their forms, prominent meanings, and important compounds, Boston 1889.

Latin. Kühner, *Ausführl. Gramm. der lat. Sprache* 1 pp. 428 ff. S. 1012, *Lat. Gramm.* (I. Müller's Handb. der klass. Altertumswiss., 1<sup>o</sup>) pp. 356 ff. Neue, *Formenlehre der lat. Spr.*, II<sup>o</sup> 529 ff. Merguet, *Die Entwicklung der lat. Formenbildung* pp. 167 ff. K. L. Struve, *Über die lat. Declination und Conjugation*, 1823. K. Hagen, *Über die Einheit der lat. Conjug.* Oldenburg 1833. Heffter, *Über den Ursprung von Bildungen von Verben und der Conjugationsformen in der lat. Sprache*, Seebode und Jahn's Jahrb., iv. Supplementb. (1836), pp. 114 ff. Fuchs, *Über die sogen. unregelmässigen Zeitwörter in den roman. Sprachen*, 1840. Seemann, *De conjugationibus Latinis*, Calm 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 1870. W. Eisenlohr, *Das lat. Verbum*, Heidelberg 1880. Stolz, *Zur lat. Verbal-Flexion*; 1, 1882. A. Probst, *Beiträge zur lat. Gramm.*, 1. *Zur Lehre vom Verbum*, 1883. M. Engelhardt, *Die lat. Conjugation, nach den Ergebnissen der Sprachvergleichung dargestellt*, 1887. — G. Keffmanne, *Lexicon lateinischer Wortformen*, 1874. Georges, *Lexikon der lat. Wortformen*, 1889 (in progress).

Keltic. Zeuss-Ebel, *Gramm. Celt.* pp. 410 ff. Windisch, *Die ir. Auslautgesetze*, Paul-Braune's Beitr. iv pp. 204 ff. Lostner, *Die altir. Verbalclassen*, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. II 322 ff. Stokes, *Bemerkungen über das altir. Verbum*, *ibid.* III 47 ff., v 459 ff., vii 1 ff. *Idem*, *The Old-Irish Verb Substantive*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. LXVIII 55 ff. Ebel, *Celtische Studien: Aus der Konjugation*, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. III 257 ff., *Das Verbum*, *ibid.* v 1 ff. Zimmer, *Keltische Studien*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVIII 313 ff. (Das sog. *t-Futurum*); 328 ff. (Das sog. *b-Präteritum*); 335 ff. (Das sogen. *u-Imperf.*); 342 ff. (Deponentiale Coniunctivformen auf *-a*); 348 ff. (3. sing. prät. pass. auf *-as*); 352 ff. (3. plur. praet. pass. auf *-at*); 363 ff. (3. sing. praet. auf *-ta*, *-the*); cxxx 112 ff. (Die Schicksale des idg. *s-Aorists* im Ir. und die Entstehung des kelt. *s-Präterits*); 198 ff. (Das sogen. *t-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 Britanniei futuro et coniunctivo*, Schneidemühl 1866. Stokes, *Die mittelbretonischen unregelmässigen Verba*, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. v 306 ff. Loth, *L'optatif, les temps secondaires dans les dialectes britanniques*, Mém. de la soc. de lingu.

\**ei-mi* (= Skr. *ē-mi* Gr. *ēl-μi*), which consists of  $\sqrt{ei}$ - 'go' and -*mi*, a pronoun connected with Skr. *mā* Gr. *μā* 'me' (it will appear by and by that the -*i* of -*mi* originally was no part of

v 133 ff. Ernault, *Études bretonnes*, vi: La conjugaison personnelle et le verbe 'avoir', Rev. Celt. ix 245 ff.; vii: Sur l'analogie dans la conjugaison, *ibid.* xi 94 ff. Nettlau, Observations on the Welsh Verbs. Y Cymmrodor ix pp. 56 ff. Rhys, Notes etc., Revue Celt. vi 14 ff.

Germanic. Grimm, Deutsche Gram. I<sup>2</sup> (1870) pp. 754 ff. Kluge, Noreen, Behaghel, J. te Winkel, Siebs, Paul's Grundr. i 369 ff., 509 ff., 592 ff., 663 ff., 749 ff. Braune, Got. Gram. pp. 65 ff. *Idem*, Althochd. Gram. pp. 209 ff. Ch. S. Th. Berndt, Die doppel-form. Zeitwörter d. deutsch. Sprache mit Zuziehung der verwandten Sprachen, Aix and Leipzig 1837. H. Schweizer, Die zwei Hauptklassen der unregelmässigen Verba im Deutschen, Höfer's Zeitschr. für die Wissensch. der Spr. iii 74 ff. Ch. W. M. Grein, Ablaut, Reduplication und secundäre Wurzeln der starken Verba im Deutschen, 1862. Braune, Üb. den grammatischen Wechsel in der deutsch. Verbalflexion, Paul-Braune's Beitr. i 513 ff. Kluge, Beiträge zur Geschichte der germ. Conjugation (Quellen und Forschungen xxxii), 1879. Grein, Das got. Verbum in sprachvergleichender Hinsicht, 1872. C. H. F. Walter, Die starke Conjugation im Talian, 1868. J. Kelle, Otfrid's Verbalflexion ausführlich erläutert, Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Altert. xii 1 ff. *Idem*, Verbum und Nomen in Notker's Boethius, Sitzungsber. der Wiener Ak., cix (1885) pp. 229 ff. *Idem*, Verbum und Nomen in Notker's Aristoteles, Zeitschr. für deutsche Phil., xviii 342 ff. *Idem*, Verbum und Nomen in Notker's Capella, Zeitschr. für deutsch. Altert., xxx 295 ff. C. Günther, Die Verba im Altostfries., 1880.

Balto-Slavonic. A. Ludwig, Der Infinitiv im Veda, mit einer Systematik des lit. und slav. Verbs, 1871. Schleicher, Lit. Gram. pp. 221 ff. Kurschat, Gram. der litau. Spr. pp. 270 ff. Bezzenberger, Beiträge zur Gesch. der lit. Spr. pp. 192 ff. Miklosich, Vergl. Gram. der slav. Spr. iii<sup>2</sup> 62 ff. Leskien, Handbuch der altbulg. Spr.<sup>2</sup> pp. 99 ff. Miklosich, Lehre von der Conjugation im Altslowen., Denkschriften der Wiener Akad., i (1850) pp. 167 ff. P. Pfuhl, De verborum Slavicorum natura et potestate, Dresd. 1837. Miklosich, Beiträge zur altslowen. Gram. (part. praet. act. I; part. praes. det. auf *g* statt auf *y*; Aorist; die Personalsuffixe des Dualis; Imperativ), Vienna 1875. Leskien, Die Präsensbildungen des Slav. und ihr Verhältniss zum Infinitivstamm, Archiv für slav. Philol. v 497 ff. O. Wiedemann, Beiträge zur altbulg. Conjugation, St. Petersburg 1886. A. Kalina, Przyczynek do historyi konjugacyi slowiańskiej, Warsaw 1889.

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. *λεγόμενοι* -μενοι was associated with the indicative *legor* etc. (see II § 71 p. 165); and the Romans felt no difference between -*mini* and -*mur* 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 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. imperative pr. Idg. \**bhere* (= Skr. *bhāra* Gr. *φ'ρς* 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 protothnic 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. *ἦρνε* or the nom. *χώρα* 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, *Principien* 2 pp. 99 ff.

§ 462. The Verb Infinitive 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 proethnic period came to an end.

The distinction between the finite verb and the verb infinitive 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 infinitive and nouns; this we saw in vol. II § 144 pp. 456 f., and § 156 pp. 470 f.

The forms of the Verb Infinitive have been discussed under the head of Stem-Formation and Inflection, 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, *λείπον* with *λείπω*, *λεπών* with *ἐλπιν*, *λείφρων* with *λείφω*. But for convenience sake verbal nouns will be only cited now and then while we deal with the various groups of the verb infinitive, 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-pitā* = Gr. *ὁμο-πάτωρ* 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-darī* '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. *δεῖξ-σθαι* *ē-deix-sa* etc. was the verb subst. *es-*: whether *-dh-* in Skr. *śā-dhati* Gr. *ῥέθω* (*√ed-*) *ῖ-οξε-θω* O.C.Sl. *i-dā* etc. is the verb *dhē-* 'τίθεμαι'; 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 protoethnic 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. *ἀρχέ-ναος* (from *ἀρχω*), *ἐπιχαρτί-ναος* (from *ἐπιχαλῶ*), *Σηρο-γάρος* (from *ἰ-σῆρα*), 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.<sup>1)</sup>

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. *ἀν-εἶμι* Lat. *ab-eo*, Lat. *ne-scio*, pr. Idg. *\*é-dykom* = Gr. *ε-δοξαομ* (I regard the augment as a temporal particle); Pruss. *quitt-lai* 'he may wish, he might wish', pr. Idg. *\*bhéret-u* Skr. *bhārat-u*, — and also *-i* in *\*bhéret-i* *\*bhéres-i* (beside *\*bhéret* *\*bhéres*) 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 *\*Ayé-λαος* arose from the imperative phrase *εἶπε λαός*, and that *ἀγγε-δίδωκε* came from *ἀγγε-δίδωκε* by phonetic change of *ε* to *ι*.

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. *dātdsmi* (periphrastic future) for *dātāsmi* 'dator sum', Lat. *possum* for *potis sum*, *vēnun-do* *vēnum-do* *pessun-do*, Lat. *arē-bam* *arē-facio* O.C.Sl. *nest-achu* (III § 275 p. 177); Fr. *aimerai* (O.Fr. *amerai*) for *amāre habeo*, Lith. opt. 1<sup>st</sup> 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 (*ῥημο-σύνθεσις*), 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. *dū-k* 'give' *ei-k* 'go' (both imperative), consisting of the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *\*dū* (cp. Lat. *ce-do*) and *\*ei* + the particle *-k*, are the foundation for a 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *dūkite*, *eiķite* etc.; and again *eiķez* 'come here', which itself is *ei-k* + *zē* 'here', produced *eiķez-te*. Pruss. *quoist-lai* 'he might wish' (*las* = O.C.Sl. *li* 'vel, aut', suggested the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *quoist-lai-si* and 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *quoist-lai-ti*. Slav. *daj-mi* and Mod. Gr. *dás-mou* 'give me' produced the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *daj-mi-te* and *dás-uou-re*. Of the same kind were Gr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *dyéru-r* *dyéru-ar* (2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *dyéru-wi*; Hesych). Lat. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *agis-te*, since Idg. *\*age-tōd* was a compound of the imperative *\*age* with the adv. (abl.) *\*tōd* 'thence, then'. Also, according to Osthoff and Bugge, Gr. *deúxamēn dedúxate*; they explain *dedúxate* as *\*dedu* = Skr. *dadā(u)* + the particle *te* = Lat. *ce* in *cedo*. Analogous forms of nouns or pronouns are: Gr. *oúro-s* *oúry* acc. *roúra-r* Boeot. *oúra-ŷ* etc., formed from the nom. *\*oú-ro* *\*ad-ro*, whose second part was a particle (cf. O.C.Sl. *kū-to* 'who'), see II § 4 p. 9, III § 415 p. 337; Mid. Ir. instr. pl. *donafi-b* built up on O.Ir. *donaf-(h)*, see footnote on page 337; O.H.G. gen. *deses* dat. *desemo* following *de-se* 'this' with the particle *se*, see III § 414 pp. 335 f., Skr. dat. *asmd-bhyam* Lesb. nom. *ámu-s* following acc. *\*ga-me* (Lesb. *ῥαυι*) with the particle *ame*, see § 436 pp. 367 f., § 443 p. 379; Pol. gen. sing. *szukanięsy* following nom. *szukamięsa* 'a piece of meat', where *mięsa* is the gen. of *mięso*.

## REDUPLICATED VERB-FORMS.

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. *dār-dar-ti* 'it bursts, breaks-up' *da-dhṛṣ-imā* 'we have ventured' *ci-kit-ē* 'he knows', and noun-types like Skr. *dār-dar-a-s* 'broken' *da-dhṛṣ-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.

1) Works on Reduplication in general have been cited in the footnote to vol. II page 12. On Verbal Reduplication see the following. A. Williams, On Verb-Reduplication as a Means of Expressing Completed Action, Transactions of the Amer. Phil. Assoc., 1875 pp. 54 ff. Pauli, Das praeteritum reduplicatum der idg. Sprachen und der deutsche Ablaut, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xii 50 ff. Osthoff, Zur Geschichte des Perfects, pp. 284 ff. and *passim*. — Ernault, Du parfait en grec et en latin, pp. 1 ff. — Ebel, Reduplicierte Aoriste im Griech., Kuhn's Zeitschr. ii 46 ff. — Von der Pfordten, Zur Gesch. des griech. Perf., pp. 42 ff. — Deecke, De reduplicato linguae Latinae praeterito, Lips. 1869. — Stokes, Reduplication im altir. Verbum, Kuhn-Schleierher's Beitr. ii 396 ff. Windisch, Das reduplicierte Perfectum im Ir., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiii 201 ff. — A. Möller, Die reduplicierenden Verba im Deutschen als abgeleitete Verba, eine etymologische Untersuchung, Potsdam 1866. Scherer, Die reduplicierten Praeterita, Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymn. xxiv 295 ff., and Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Altert. xix 154 ff., 390 ff. Sievers, Die reduplicierten Präterita, Paul-Braune's Beitr. i 504 ff. Pokorny, Über die redupl. Praet. der germ. Sprachen und ihre Umwandlung in ablautende, Landskron 1874. Holthausen, Die reduplicierenden Verba im Germ., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 618 ff. Hoffory, Die reduplicierten Praeterita im Altnord., *ibid.* 593 ff. — See also the works cited under the head of Tense-stems.

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 proethnic reduplicated type had lost all its reproductive power. Examples are Gr. *κρηράγ-μός* (Eur.) *κρηράγ-μῦ* (Aristoph.) 'cry, outcry', *κρηράγ-της* 'one who cries aloud' (Aristoph.) beside *κρηράγ-τός* *κρηράγ-α*, *πιστοῖς-της* 'trust' (Josephus, Philo) beside *πιστοῖς-τός* *πιστοῖς-α*, 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:

I. 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 *l*.

1. Aryan. Sanskrit *bad-badhē* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. of *badh-* 'press'. *dār-dar-ī* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. of *dar-* (√*der-*) 'split, break', *tar-tār-ya-ntē* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. of *tar-* (√*ter-*) 'pass over', *vār-vrt-ati* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. of *vart-* (√*vert-*) 'vertēre', *mar-marj-yā-tē* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. of *marj-* (√*merj-*) 'wipe'. *jan-ghan-ti* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. of *han-* (√*ghen-*) 'strike, kill', *nam-nam-ti* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. of *nam-* (√*nem-*) 'bend', *dán-das-āna-s* partic. of *daś-* (√*daś-*) 'bite', *jan-jabh-yā-tē* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. of *jambh-* (√*jembh-*) 'snap'. *vē-vē-ti* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. of *vī-* 'appetere', *vē-vī-ya-tē* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. of *vī-* 'flutter', *nē-nik-tē* 3<sup>rd</sup>

sing. of *nij-* (✓ *neig-*) 'wash'. *nō-nu-mas* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. of *nu-* 'cry out', *cō-škū-yā-tē* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. of *sku-* 'cover', *šō-šuc-āna-s* partic. of *šuc-* 'light, brighten', *a-nō-nud-ya-nta* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. of *nud-* 'push'. Avestic *car'-ker'-mahī* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. of *kar-* 'think of' (Skr. imper. *ca-kr-dhi*). *daē-dōiš-t* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. of *dis-* (✓ *dejē-*) 'show' (Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *dē-diṣ-tē*). *zao-zao-mī* 1<sup>st</sup> sing. of *zu-* 'call', (Skr. *jō-havi-mi*).

Greek *πορ-φύρ-ω* 'I move restlessly' for \**-φυρ-ω*: cp. Skr. *jār-bhūrī-ti* 'moves convulsively, throbs, palpitates'. *μωρ-μύρ-ω* 'I roar, murmur' for \**-μυρ-ω*: cp. Lat. *murmurāre*, O.H.G. *murmurōn* (§ 595). *γαρ-γαίρ-ω* 'I swarm' for \**-γαρ-ω* (*γάργαρα* neut. pl. 'swarm'). *γαγ-γαίρ-ω* τὸ μετὰ γέλωτος πρὸς παλζίν Hesych. (Schmidt conjectures *γαγγανεύειν*): cp. O.C.Sl. *ga-gnaja* 'I murmur, growl' (adj. *gagnivŭ*). *παμ-φαίρ-ω* 'I shine clearly' for \**-φαιρ-ω*, Epic partic. *παμφανόντων*; the root was *bha-*, and the nasal of the verb was therefore a present-suffix, see §§ 601, 611. *ῥίττω* Hom. *ῥίττω* 'rush, run at something' i. e. \**Fai-Fix-ω* (I § 96 p. 90, § 131 pp. 119 f.) may be connected with Skr. *vē-vij-yā-tē* (*vij-* 'quicken, burst out') by assuming an Idg. *ua'ig-ua'ig-* (cp. I § 469. 7 p. 346).

Remark. The origin of *ai* and *oi* is obscure in the reduplicating syllable of the following words: *μαί-μαί-ω*, *ποι-ποί-ω*, *ποι-παί-ω*, *δαι-δίω* (cp. *δίδωμι* Hesych.), *ποι-φίω*, *ποι-πεί-ω* and others. The *i*-diphthong recalls a reduplicative *i* in Skr. *bhāri-bhāri-ati* and in Skr. *bī-bhāri-ti* Gr. *γί-γναι-μι*. See § 473 Rem. p. 17.

Latin. *mur-murāre* (murmur): cp. Gr. *μορμύρ-ω* O.H.G. *murmurōn*. *tin-tinnāre* *tin-tināre*, *tin-tinnire* beside *tinnire*.

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

Germanic. O.H.G. *mur-murōm mur-mulōm* 'I murmur' (Mid.H.G. *murmer murmcl* 'murmur, growl'): cp. Gr. *μορμύρ-ω* Lat. *murmurāre*. O.H.G. *rērēm* 'I bleat, bellow, roar', pr. Germ. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. \**raī-rēiō*, cp. Litt. *rėjū* 'I bellow'. This verb changed its inflexion on the analogy of verbs like pr. Germ. \**pulē-iō* (Goth. *pula* O.H.G. *dolēm*), see §§ 592, 708, 739; hence A.S. *rōrian*, with the same change to the 2<sup>nd</sup> weak conjugation as is seen in *dolian* and some others.

Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *glogoljā* 'I speak' for \**gol-goljā* (*glā-golū* 'word'); *mrūmūrjā* 'I gnaw, nibble'; *gagnajā* 'I murmur, growl', cp. above, Gr. *γαγαίνειν*.

§ 466. 2. The reduplicating syllable has a Nasal instead of a Liquid; see I § 282 p. 226. Skr. *cañ-cāryatē* 'moves quickly or repeatedly'. Gr. *γογ-γύλλω* 'I round' (*γόγγυλο-ς* 'round'), *ρορ-ρορῶ* 'I murmur'. Lat. *gin-grīre*.

This nasal reduplication passed-on from roots ending in a nasal (see § 465) or a liquid to a few others: as Skr. *jañjap-yātē* from *jap-* 'whisper, say half-aloud', *dandahīti dandahyatē* from *dah-* 'burn' (which seemed natural in Skr. after such a form as *dan-daś-* from *√deñk-* 'bite'), Gr. *γογ-γύζω* 'I growl'.

§ 467. 3. In Sanskrit, *i* or *ī* is often inserted between the reduplicating syllable and the root; the Vedic language has *i* before single consonants, *ī* before more than one (compare Wackernagel, *Das Dehnungsgesetz*, p. 18). E. g. *bhāri-bhr-ati* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. of *bhar-* 'carry', *vāri-vrj-at* partic. of *varj-* 'turn, twist', *ghāni-ghn-at* partic. of *han-* 'strike, kill', *gant-gan-ti* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *gāni-gm-at* partic. of *gam-* 'go', *kani-krad-yā-māna* partic. of *krad-* 'bellow', *nāvi-nō-t* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. of *nu-* 'cry out'.

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

Forms with an aspirate at the beginning of the reduplicator, such as *bhāri-bhr-ati ghāni-ghn-at-*, are the older and are phonetically correct; but those like *dāvi-dhv-at* and *pānti-phañ-at-* have been altered, the former from \**dhāvi-dhv-at* following *dō-dhavi-ti* (cp. I § 480 pp. 354 f.), the latter from \**phānti-phañ-at-* following *pam-phañ-at-* (cp. I § 475 p. 350). Thus at a later stage we find *bavī-bhar-ti* instead of *bhāri-bhar-ti* too.

How to regard this *ī* is not quite clear. Thus much, however, seems to me certain, that it is the same as an *ī*.



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. *ἐγρη-voa* 'I am awake' has the suffix *-ē* in the reduplicating syllable after the root (§§ 587 ff.), cp. *ἐγρη-σσω* 'I am awake', beside *ἐγρη-τ-το* 'awoke', *ἐγρη-σω* 'I arouse' for *\*ἐγρη-σω*. Perhaps the same *-ē* is contained in Skr. *carā-carā-s* 'going far away', *ghānā-ghānā-s* 'killing easily' and similar words (cp. *sarī-srīdā-s* 'creeping, crawling' and the like).

§ 469. 6. 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 *ī* and *ū*, not followed by any consonant. Skr. *bi-bhē-mi* 'I fear' 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *bi-bhi-tas* partic. *bi-bhi-at* conj. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *bi-bhay-a-t*, O.H.G. *bi-bē-m* 'I shake', /Skr. *dt-dhy-ē* 'I behold', Avest. *dt-daçiti* 'beholds'. Skr. pret. *a-ci-kṣip-a-t* from *kṣip-* 'throw', *a-ri-riṣ-a-t* from *riṣ-* 'be hurt'. Skr. desid. *tī-tikṣa-tē* from *tij-* 'be sharp'. Gr. *πν-πν-οω* 'I give to drink': cp. Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *pi-py-a-ta* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *pī-pi-hi* (*pī-* 'make overflow, give plenty to drink'). *δι-δομαι* 'I seek, strive' (orig. 'gaze at something') for *\*di-dē-o-mai* (on *δι-δομαι* see § 594): cp. Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *dī-dī-hi* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *dī-dy-ati*. *dī-* 'shine, be bright' (*dāha dī-* 'direct one's mind to'). Goth. *rei-rāi-þ* 'shakes, trembles': cp. Skr. *lē-lāya-ti* 'moves, trembles' with reduplication of the type of a (1) above (§ 465); the inflexion *reira reirāis* etc. is explained by the analogy of verbs like *paha* 'taceo', see §§ 592, 708, 739. Skr. *ju-hō-ti* 'offers', pret. *a-cu-krudh-a-t* from *krudh-* 'grow angry' *a-dā-duṣ-a-t* from *duṣ-* 'grow bad, perish', desid. *bu-bhūt-sa-ti* from *budh-* 'wake, learn'.

Remark 1. Despite such forms as Skr. *ñi-ñi-ṣ a-pi-plāṣ-a-m* Gr. *τι-τράσσομαι πν-πν-οω* (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-hō-ti* is instead of *\*ji-hō-ti*, *a-cu-krudh-a-t* instead of *\*a-ci-krudh-a-t*, or *bu-bhūt-sa-ti* instead of *\*bi-bhut-sa-ti* (cp. *bh-bhar-ti a-pi-sprī-a-t* etc., § 473); for *ku-* may have become *cu-* on the analogy (say) of *a-ci-krad-a-t*, and of perfect forms such a *cu-erōdha cu-krudhar* where *cu-* is instead of *\*cu-* = Idg. *\*q-* (cp. Rem. 2).

Remark 2. *i* or *u* in the reduplicator of perfects like the following is not original: Skr. *ri-rēca cu-krōdha i-yāja u-vēca* Lat. *sci-cidī tu-tudī*, O.Ir. *ro chuala* for \**cu-dosa*, see § 851, 868, 878.

§ 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. *āl-ar-ti* 'moves', *am-am-a-t* 'he was hurt'. Armen. *ar-ar-i* 'I made' (pres. *ar-ne-m*), beside Gr. *ἀρ-αρ-ίσσω* 'I join to', *ἤρ-αρ-ον* *ἀρ-αρ-ειν*; perf. *ἤρ-αρ-α*. Gr. *ἤγ-αγ-ον* *ἀγ-αγ-ειν* from *ἄγω* 'I lead', *ᾤρ-ορ-ον* *ὀρ-ορ-ειν* from *ὀρ-νῦμι* 'I arouse', perf. *ὀρ-ορ-α* 'I have arisen, I move', *ὤπ-ωπ-α* 'I have seen, see'.

2. Where roots end in two consonants, only the first appears in the reduplicator (cp. Skr. *vār-vart-ti* from *√vert* etc., § 465). Gr. *ἄλ-αλκ-ε* 'he warded off'. Skr. perf. *an-āśa* (pres. *aś-nō-ti* 'attains' for \**āś-*) O.Ir. perf. *t-anac* 'I came' (-*c* for *-ne*) Gr. aor. *ἐρ-εγκ-ειν* 'to bring' (cp. Skr. *anaśa* Gr. *καρ-ήρωα* § 846), Skr. perf. *an-āñja* (*añj-* 'anoint'). On the analogy of these perfects arose in Sanskrit *an-arca* (*arc-* 'shine, praise'), see § 851.

§ 471. II. The reduplicating syllable ends in *e* or *ē*, 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 *ē* belonged originally only to forms with *ē* 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 § 473, Remark.

First, forms with *e* short in the reduplication.

Perfect. Skr. *ba-bhūva* Gr. *πε-πίσσι*, *√bhey-* 'become, be'. Skr. *ta-sthimá* Gr. *ἑ-σταμεν* Lat. *ste-timus*, *√sta* 'stand'. Gr. *πέ-παγε* *πέ-πηγα* Lat. *pe-pigi*\* Goth. *fai-fah*, *√pak-* *pag-* 'make fast'. Gr. *γέ-γευμα* O.Ir. *do-roign* for \**rō-gegu* (§ 878), *√gheus-* 'taste, try, enjoy'. Gr. *λέ-λοιπα*, *√leiq-* 'leave'. O.Lat. *pe-pugi*. By late re-formation, as has been pointed out (§ 469, Rem. 2), we get Skr. *ri-rēca cu-krōdha i-yāja u-vēca* Lat. *sci-cidī pu-pugi tu-tudī*, O.Ir. *ro chuala*.\*

Pr. Ar. \**sa-zd-* (= Avest. *hazd-*) became Skr. *sēd-*, e. g. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *sēdimá* (I § 591 p. 447), and pr. Ar. \**ja-jt-* became Skr. *yēt-*, as mid. *yēt-ē* (Avest. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. act. *yaçþ-ma*). *ē*, which here and in similar examples is regular, spread by analogy, and thus we get *pētímá* instead of *pa-pt-imá* (the older form, used along with the later), *√pat-* 'fly, fall', and *nēšimá*, from *√naš-* 'be destroyed'. Then again *ē* in Irish arose by compensatory lengthening, as perf. *ro gēnar* '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 *lēgimus vēnimus* be explained on the same principle as Skr. *pētímá*. But of Germ. forms like Goth. *sētum* (*sat* 'I sat') *mētum* (*mat* 'I measured') *qēmum* (*gam* 'I came'), and of Lith. forms like part. *sēd-ęs* (*sėdu* 'I sit') *bėg-ęs* (*bėgu* 'I run') *kėl-ęs* (*kelù* i. e. \**kel-jù* 'I lift') *vėm-ęs* (*vemiù* '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. *z*, the 3<sup>rd</sup> 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. \**səgh-e-ti*, and in O.Ir. *ro mīdar* 'iudicavi' beside Gr. *μῆδ-ι-ται*, and others. See § 480 Rem., and § 494. *mēt-* in Goth. *mētum* must therefore be identified with O.Ir. *mīd-* Gr. *μῆδ-*. 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. *-etum* Lith. *ėdęs* O.C.Sl. *jadū* (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. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *sa-še-ati* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *sā-še-a-ti* Gr. *ἐ-σθ-α-το*, *√seq-* 'sequi'. Gr. *ἐλ-η-α* (Gort. *ηγο-*

-*faináto*) stem Idg. \**ue-ug-*, Skr. *á-vōc-a-t* (Gr. *ē-εἰπ-ο-ν* stem Idg. \**ue-ug-o-*, √ *ueg-* 'speak' (cp. §§ 557, 561).

§ 472. *ē* is less frequent than *e* in the reduplicator. Many perfects in the Vedas have *a* = Idg. *ē*, as *dā-dhara* (*dhar-* 'hold'), *ma-mj-ur* (*marj-* 'wipe'), *vā-vaś-ur* (*vaś-* 'desire'); an example of this kind in Avestic is Gāthic 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *vā-ver'zōi* (*var'z-* 'work').

The same *a* is found in Intensives through all periods of Sanskrit; e. g. *dā-dhar-ti* beside *dar-dhar-ti*, *bā-badh-ē* beside *bad-badh-ē* (*badh-* 'press, oppress'), *pā-pac-ya-tē* (*pac-* 'cook'). A similar agreement between the reduplicators of the perfect and the present intensive is seen in perf. *dt-dhay-a* and pres. intens. *dt-dhē-ti*, from *dhī-* '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 *ἐγὴ-γερ-μαι* from √ *ger-* 'awake', which agrees with Skr. *jā-gar-a jā-gy-vās-* (present *jā-gar-ti jā-gy-hi*), and the Homeric present *δη-δέχ-αραι* 'they welcome' (§ 560).

Remark. Some have wished to see this redupl. *ē* in other Greek perfects. But the view is unsafe. See the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> § 131 p. 164. Nothing much is proved by Cret. *ἀν-ῥορέκε* (Cauer, Del.<sup>2</sup> no. 132. 5) and *ἐ-γερται ἐ-γεσμενός* (J. Baunack, Berl. Phil. Wochenschr., 1887, col. 60; Th. Baunack, Philologus XLIX 594), since it is very doubtful whether they come from \**aq-orel-* and \**γq-γesp-* (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-bhā-ti*, type I *b*. § 469), which it merely echoed, and that it only spread to other roots by analogy.

Remark. The *ī* of Skr. *ā-jī-jana-ti bi-bhar-ti* Gr. *γί-γρο-μαι*, as has been said in § 467 pp. 13 f., I would identify with *ī* in the Skr. intensives *bhāri-bhar-ti bhāri-bhr-ati* etc. These and the like reduplicative syllables may once have had a real independence, and *-ī ī* may have been some inflexion, perhaps a case ending. These were doubtless

sentences of the same kind as Lith. *dektė degn* 'it burns up clear' (§ 280, p. 161), Umbr. *subvau subvau* 'invoco invocations, I appeal appealingly'; for similar phrases from other languages, see Pott, *Doppelung*, 151 ff.

If this is correct, the *i* of *\*ñi-ñen-* and similar forms originally came from roots ending in a vowel, such as *\*dī-dī-* (*δίειμι*), *\*dhī-dhē-* (*τρήμι*). When the cohesion between the parts had become so firm that the *i*-case was regarded as being simply a "reduplication", — this idea was greatly encouraged by the use of real reduplications of the type of I *b*, as *\*bhi-bhai-* *\*bhi-bhī-* — two results might follow: (1) forms like *\*ñi-ñen-* *\*bhi-bher-* came into existence, and (2) with roots beginning in a sonant a simple *i* was used for reduplicating, e. g. *\*ī + ag-* becoming *\*ig-* (Skr. *ik-* Gr. *ικ-*) even in the parent speech, and such forms as Skr. *iy-arti* Gr. *ι-αῖος* (see p. 19). Further, (3) in Sanskrit, or perhaps earlier still, the use of (say) *tarī-* and *tar-* as variant reduplicators (*tarī-tr-at-* and *tar-(tarī-ti tār-tr-āgo-s)*) led to the making of *marī-mrj-* (instead of *\*marj-mrj-*) beside *mar-mrj-*, and the like. Does *ai* in Gr. *παι-παῖο παι-παῖος παι-πῆλλος* etc. represent another case ending, and are the words formed on the same principle as we are supposing these with *-ī* to be? If so, *o* in the *or* of *παι-πῆλλος παι-πῆλλος* must be ascribed to the influence of *παρ-παῖος παρ-παῖος γογ-γῆλλος* etc.; for *παι-πῆλλος* = *παι-πῆλλος* : *παρ-παῖος*.<sup>1)</sup>

If this be really the origin of redupl. *i*, the question arises whether *e* and *i* in words like Gr. *παι-παῖος* and *ἰγί-γεγεμαι* Skr. *jā-gāra* (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 *dē + dō-* (Gr. *δέ-δωκα* Skr. *da-dāu*).

Skr. *ti-ñth-a-ti* Gr. *τῆσθ-μι* Lat. *si-stō* O.Ir. *do-airissid* (I § 109 e p. 103, § 516 p. 377) O.H.G. *se-stōm* (pr. Germ. *\*si-stō-mi*, I § 35 p. 35), *√stā-* 'stand'. Skr. *bī-bhar-ti* Gr. *ἱσ-μυρῶραι* (§§ 539, 542), *√bher-* 'ferre'. Skr. *jī-jan-a-t ā-jī-jan-a-t* Gr. *γί-γεν-ο-μαι* Lat. *gi-gn-ō* O.Ir. *gi-gnid*, *√gen-* 'beget'. In Sanskrit thematic aorists the quantity fluctuated; *i* before more than one consonant, and before a single consonant when a long syllable followed; *ī* before a single consonant followed by a short syllable (cp. Wackernagel, *Dehnungsg.* p. 18); e. g. *ā-pi-sprś-a-t* (*sprś-* 'touch') and *ā-dī-dikṣ-a-t* (*dikṣ-* 'be \*consecrated'), but *ā-jī-jan-a-t*. Greek has *i* only in *πί-πτω* 'I fall' (cp. Skr. *ā-pī-pat-a-t*); but here *i* may have been borrowed from *πίπτω*, which was connected

1) Another explanation of this *i* is given by Per Persson, *Stud. zur Lehre von der Wurzelexweiterung*, 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.

Presents with *-s-* (§§ 666 ff.). Skr. *ji-jñā-sa-tē* from *jñā-* 'learn, know', *dī-dā-sa-ti dī-tsa-ti* from *dā-* 'give', *mī-mā-sa-tē* from *man-* 'think'. O.Ir. *no-gigius* 'I will pray' for *\*-gigetsō*, beside *no guidiu* 'I pray'.

Presents with *-sk-* (§ 678). Gr. *διδάσκω* 'I teach' (perf. *διδόχα*), Lat. *discō* for *\*di-to-scō* (perf. *di-dict*).

The *i*-vowel alone is used for the reduplication with roots beginning in a sonant. Skr. *īpsati* (cp. *apsanta* § 659) beside *ap-nō-ti* 'acquires', *īrtsati* beside *īdh-nō-ti* 'thrives' fut. *ardhī-yatē*; with *īkṣatē* 'sees' (cp. O.Pers. *patiy-axšaiy* § 559) is connected Gr. *ἴν-* in Hom. *ὄν-ἴν-εῖω* 'I ogle' (*παρθεῖν-ὄνῃης*),<sup>1)</sup> which is an analogical re-formate like *ὄν-ωνα* instead of *\*ὄνα*, *ἰδ-ῆδώς* instead of *\*ῆδώς*. Skr. *īy-ar-ti* beside *ār-ti* from *ar-* 'set in motion', Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. conj. *uṣ-yarāḥ* i. e. *-iyar-āḥ*; Skr. *īy-ē-ti* beside *ē-ti* 'goes', the only evidence for which is its 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. pret. *āiy-ē-ṣ* (R.V., v. 2. 8), Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. conj. *yeyan* = Ar. *\*iy-ay-ān* (Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 71 f.); Gr. *ἰ-αῖω* 'I spend the night', *λάσκειν ἄγειν* (Hesych.) for *\*ἰ-ay + αῖω*; O.Ir. *i-orr* fut. of *orgim* 'I destroy, kill' (beside O.H.G. *arg* 'that which is bad'). The former group, with the reduplication vowel and root vowel contracted together, was certainly proethnic: *\*īp-* and *\*īq-* for *\*ī-ōp-* *\*ī-ōq-*, or something of the kind. But it is possible that Skr. *īy-arti* and others of that type are a re-formation of later date, like Goth. perf. *ai-duk* from *duka* 'I increase', *-ai-dik* from *-dika* (*af-dika* 'I deny, refuse').

On the difference between Gr. *τίθημι*, with orig. *i* in the reduplicator, and Skr. *dā-dhati* Lith. 2<sup>nd</sup> 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.

<sup>1)</sup> I cannot agree with Kretschmer in deriving *δνν-* from *\*oqi-oq-* (Kuhn's Zeitschr., XXXI 385).

*ju-hô-ti*, *a-cu-krudh-a-t*, *bu-bhut-sa-ti* and similar forms as being genuine proethnic types, and not as having changed *i* to *u*.

§ 474. IV. A fourth type, of unknown origin, is represented by a considerable number of forms in Sanskrit, and by two in Greek. (Cp. Bezzenberger, Bezz. Beitr. III 310).

Skr. desid. *asîsiṣa-ti* from *aś-* 'eat', the grammarians also cite *anisiṣa-ti* from *an-* 'breathe', *arjhiṣa-ti* for *\*arjihijhiṣa-ti* (I p. 480 p. 354) from *arh-* 'deserve, be worth' and others; aor. *arpipa-t* (unaugmented) beside *arpáyati* 'sets in motion, shakes' (§ 797), in grammars also *ānina-t*, *ārjiha-t*, *āubjiṣa-t* (*ubj-* 'keep down, squeeze together') and others.

Gr. *ἔρῃαο-ν* from *ἔρῃω* 'I hold back' and *ἐνέπαινο-ν* from *ἐνέπω* 'I address'; beside *ἐνέπαινο-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-dati*, Gr. *δί-δομι*, Lat. *de-dit* Osc. *de-ded*, O.C.Sl. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *da-detŭ*. 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 *dādhati* for *\*dha-dhāti*, *babhūva* for *\*bha-bhāva* (I § 480 p. 354),<sup>1)</sup> Gr. *τίθημι* for *\*θι-θῆμι*, *πείσσει* for *\*φσ-φῆσαι* (I § 496 pp. 364 f.). We were introduced in vol. I p. 483 footnote 1 to a dissimilation peculiar to Irish, *-roinasc* for *\*ró-nenasc*, *-roichan* for *\*ró-cechan*; compare § 878, below. The Root-initial is changed e. g. in pr. Idg. *\*si-zd-ō* (✓ *sed-* 'sit') = Gr. *ἵζω* (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*

1) The perfect *ja-bhāra* is a mixture of *ba-bhāra* and *ja-bhāra*. See von Bradke, Zeitschr. D. Morg. Ges. XL 665 f.

from *sic-* 'pour',<sup>1)</sup> Gr. Gort. *ῥι-ῥεῖῥαι* instead of *\*ῥι-ῥεῖῥαι* Att. *ῥι-ῥεῖῥαι* (I § 496 p. 365, the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> pp. 73 f.), Ion. perf. *ῥέῃα-μεν* instead of *\*ῥε-ῥα-μεν* = Idg. *\*ge-gy-* from *√gem-* 'go' (I § 428 b, p. 316), Umbr. *ῥε-ῥε* 'dedit' instead of *\*te-ῥε* cp. *teΊust dīrsust* 'dederit' (I § 369 Rem. 3 p. 281).

Remark. We may not assume that in Idg. *\*pi-b-e-ti* (Skr. *piḥoti* Lat. *piſcit* O.Ir. *ibid*) *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 protoethnic language and holds in its branches too. Examples:

Skr. *śu-śrāva* Gr. *κί-κλες* O.Ir. *ro chuala* for *\*cu-clova* from *√kley-* 'hear'. Skr. *á-su-srūt* from *srū-* 'flow'. Gr. *κί-κρομαι* from *κρίνω* 'I sentence', *ἐλγθι* 'be gracious' for *\*σi-σλη-θι* (I § 565 p. 423). O.Ir. *ad-ge-grannatar* 'persecuti sunt', *ro selach* 'I struck down' i. e. *se-slach* (I § 576 pp. 431 f.). Goth. *gai-grōt* from *grēta* 'I cry', *fat-flōk* from *flōka* 'I lament', *sai-slēp* *sai-slēp* from *slēpa* 'I sleep'.

Skr. *sa-smdra* from *smar-* 'remember', *a-śi-śnat* from *śnath-* 'pierce'. Gr. *εἴμασται* 'it is fated' for *\*σε-σμασται* (I § 565 p. 422), *πé-πνιγμαι* from *πνίγω* 'I choke', *παινύω* 'I pant'. Mid.Ir. *ro senaich* 'stillavit' i. e. *se-śnaich* (I § 576 p. 431).

Skr. *di-dvṛṣa* from *dviṣ-* 'hate', *sa-svāna* from *svan-* 'sound', partic. *śā-śvasat-* from *śvas-* 'puff, pant, blow'; *ta-tyajē* from *tyaj-* 'forsake', *sa-syandē* from *syand-* 'move on'. Hom. *δειδμεν* i. e. *δέ-δμεν* from *√dyej-* 'frighten' (I § 166 p. 147). O.Ir. *do-sefainn -sephainn* from *do-sennim* 'I hunt, drive' for *\*syend-* or *\*syemn-* (I p. 175 p. 154, II § 613).

Skr. *ci-kṣāya* from *kṣi-* 'possess', *ca-kṣāya* from *kṣan-* 'hurt, wound', Gr. *κέ-κρημαι* from *κράομαι* 'I get, win' (cp. I § 554 pp. 407 f., Kretschmer Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 433).

1) We are not at liberty to explain *si-sic-ē* by saying that *se-* = Idg. *se-* was the reduplicator in pr. Aryan (§ 851).



Avest. *hi-štaiti* O.Pers. *a-i-štata* (I § 558 Rem. 1 p. 410), Gr. *ἵστημι ἱστῆμαι*, Lat. *si-stō* Umbr. *se-stu* 'sisto', O.Ir. *do-airissid sessam* for \**si-st-* (I § 109 p. 103, § 516 p. 377), from  $\sqrt{\text{stā}}$  'stand'. Avest. partic. *hi-spōsemna-* from  $\sqrt{\text{spek}}$  '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 proethnic period. When a root began with *s* + an Explosive, both were often taken on into the Reduplicator, instead of simply the *s*. Thus Goth. *staf-stald* from *stalda* 'I possess', *skat-skáip* from *skáida* 'I divide'. In Sanskrit, Greek, and Italic dissimilation came in and destroyed the likeness of root and reduplicator; *s* was dropped either in the reduplicator (so Sanskrit, Greek, Latin) or in the root (Italic). Skr. *ta-sthāu ti-ṣṭha-ti* from *sthā-* 'stand', *ca-skānda*, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *kāni-ṣkan*, *cani-ṣkada-t* from *skand-* 'leap', *pa-sprdhē* from *spardh-* 'vie, strive for', *pani-ṣpadā-s* 'quivering' from *spand-* 'quiver'. This example of the principle of dissimilation Greek and Latin show only in a few nouns: *κε-σχυλ-μαρια* 'shreds of leather' *qui-squiliae*, *κα-οκάρδιξ* 'leek' are examples (Fritzsche, Curt. Stud. vi 319 f.) With *s* dropt in the root-syllable Lat. *ste-ti sti-ti* Umbr. *stiti-stetcios* Lat. *spo-pondi sci-cidi*. Compare Osthoff, Paul Braune's Beitr. viii 540 ff.; I do not think that his hypothesis is overthrown by Meringer in Zeitschr. öst. Gymn., 1887, pp. 371 f.

Remark 1. The reason why the present Lat. *si-stō* kept the old method, while *steti stiti* 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 *i* (§ 471).

Secondly, when a verb stem beginning in two consonants simplified these to one in its unreduplicated forms, the reduplicated forms were treated as though the verb began originally in one consonant (§ 475). Gr. Dor. *πέ-πᾶμαι* 'I possess, have authority over' instead of \**πε-πᾶμαι* i. e. \**ke-ḱṷa-* (cp.

Skr. *-śi-śvi-ś*), because in the present and other tenses \**kyā-* became *nā-* (I § 166 p. 147, § 654. 4 pp. 500 f., II § 117 pp. 370, 371). *σε-σέβημαι* for \**τε-σοσβ-* (cp. Skr. *ta-tyāja*) following *σοβέω* 'I scare away' ground-form \**tyogéjō* (I § 459 p. 337). *τε-θήρῃκα* Thess. *πε-φαιράκοντες* beside *θήρ* Thess. *φίρ* 'wild beast' for Idg. \**gh̥s̥r-* O.C.Sl. *zvērī* Lith. *žvėrī-s* (see Buck, Amer. Journ. Phil. xi 211 ff.), so that the reduplication would properly have been *τε-*. Locr. partic. *τε-φασήκοντα* following *φασάνω* (*ἀνδάνω*) 'I please' from *√sūd-* (cp. Skr. *sa-svadē*). *έ-ριπται* (Pindar) following *έ-τιπω* 'I throw' for \**φρίπτω*; and Att. *έ-ριπται* instead of the regular \*(*φ*)*ευρίπται* (the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 31). *νι-νιχθαι* from *νιχθω* 'I swim' for \**drāxō* (Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *sa-sni-ur*). Lat. *memoria* formed from a perfect \**me-morī*, which probably arose on the analogy of unreduplicated forms with *mer-* for *smer-* (cp. *merda* for \**smerdā* etc., I § 570 p. 427), cp. Skr. *sa-smāra*. O.Ir. perf. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *rir* 'gave away, sold' from *√per-* 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 *έ-* for their reduplication, instead of one consonant + *ε*, even where the known phonetic laws did not demand that the consonant should drop. Examples are: *έ-βλάστηκα* beside *βε-βλάστηκα*, *έ-γραμμαι* (Cret. and elsewhere) beside *γέ-γραμμαι*, *έ-γινωκα*, *έ-κτημαι* beside *κέ-κτημαι*, *έ-συνμαι* (*√qiem-*). Probably *έ-φρωγα* (*φρηγ-*) and *έ-φριγα* (*φριπ-*) are of this sort, since there is no trace of *φ* having been used and dropped in these forms. See Curtius' Verb II<sup>2</sup> 144 ff. Lastly we must mention *έ-σταλκα*, *έ-σπαρμαι*, *έ-φρόνηκα* (orig. *σι-σφν-*) and the like, beside *άφεσταλκα* *έφεσταλκα* (inscr.), and *έ-στηκα* *έ-σταμεν*. The last perfect kept its *spiritus asper* because *ι-στημι* *ι-σταμεν* had it.<sup>1)</sup>

1) In Boeotian or Laconian we must add to the perfect the aorist form *ιττηκα* for \**ιστακα*. Hesychius' gloss *ιττακα* *ιστακα* should probably be assigned to one or other of these dialects (cp. I § 566 p. 423).

Remark 2. It is an obvious suggestion that in *ἰβλίσθηκα* etc. we have the augment in place of the reduplication, since in verbs with a vowel initial the augmented preterite and the perfect came to have the same beginning: e. g. *ἤπειθιζον: ἤπειθισμαι (ἡπειθίζω), ἤπαρσα: ἤπαρμαι (ἡπάσσω), ἀφείκομαι: ἀφείχμαι*. But if so we should expect similar forms in verbs which began with one consonant, and such forms as *\*ἰ-βηκα* instead of *βη-βηκα* (see § 475).<sup>1)</sup>

We cannot suppose that the form *ἰ-παρσκα* stands for *\*ἰ-παρσκα*, and that it gave the type for *ἰ-βλίσθηκα* etc., because the dialect of Gortyn has *ἰ-παρσμαι*, and this dialect kept initial *f* before an *e*-sound.

The Cretan perfects *ἄν-φάρεικε ἰ-παρσται* mentioned in § 472 Rom., page 17 above, with *ἰ-*, only give a fresh problem to solve.

## THE AUGMENT.<sup>2)</sup>

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

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

2) R. Garnett, On the Origin and Import of the Augment in Sanskrit and Greek, *Proceedings of the Philol. Society* I (1844) p. 285 ff. Fr. Müller, *Einiges über das Augment*, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr., III 250 ff. J. Davies, On the Temporal Augment in Sanskrit and Greek, Hertford 1865. Faust, *Zur idg. Augmentbildung*, Strassb. 1877. A. H. Sayce, The Origin of the Augment, *Transactions of the Philol. Society*, 1885-1887, pp. 632 ff. Bréal, *De l'augment*, *Mém. de la Soc. de lingu.* vi 333 ff.

J. Avery, The Unaugmented Verb-Forms of the Rig- and Atharva-Vedas, *Proceedings of the Amer. Orient. Soc.*, May 1884, pp. xi f., und *Journal of the Amer. Orient. Soc.* xi 326 ff.

Ebel, Die scheinbaren Unregelmässigkeiten des griech. Augments, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* iv 161 ff. La Roche, Das Augment des griech. Verbums, *Linx* 1882. Pöhlmann, *Quomodo poetae epici augmento temporali uti sint*, *Tilsit* 1858. Grashof, *Zur Kritik des homer. Textes in Bezug auf die Abwerfung des Augments*, *Düsseldorf* 1852. K. Koch, *De augmento apud Homerum omisso*, *Brunswick* 1868. Skerle, Über den Gebrauch (die Bedeutung) des Augments bei Homer, *Graudenz* 1874. Melhem, *De augmenti apud Homerum Herodotumque usu*, *Lund* 1876. Bumke, *De augmento verbi Herodotei*, *Braunsberg* 1835. H. Lhardy, *Quaestionum de dialecto Herodoti caput primum: De augmento*, *Berl.* 1844.

It was originally an independent word, an adverb, followed by the verb, which then became enclitic; e. g. \**é liget* 'he left' (Armen. *e-liĕ* Gr. *ἔ-ληπε*), and it may be compared with the Irish particle *ro* (= Gr. *πρὸς*) 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 *παρ-έ-σχεον* ('I offered'), which involves the same principle as that of *παρ-έ-ν-θεν* ('put in between') and of Skr. *sam-ā-cinutē* ('he heaps together, collects').

As to the origin of this adverb \**e*, and of \**ē*, 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<sup>2</sup> 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.Sl. *te*) from \**to-* and the like (III § 424 p. 349). The relation of \**e* : \**ē* has plenty of parallels, as \**te* : \**tē*, \**ne* : \**nē* (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-pīḍaya-t* 'pressed' for \**pi-zd-* ('sit upon'), Gr. *ἐ-πίεζον* for *πi(σ)εδ-*, see § 795. Skr. epic *a-sambhramat* 'he trembled'. Gr. Att. *ἐ-κάθυσθον* beside *καθ-ηῦθον* 'I slept'. When the structure of verbs was thus forgotten, there could even be a double augment: Skr. epic *apraīṣīt* beside *prāīṣīt* = *pra-āīṣīt* 'he drove out', Gr. *ἐν-ερχόμεν* 'I endured'. The same thing occurs in reduplicated forms; see § 850.

§ 478. The augment with verbs beginning in a Consonant. Examples: Pr. Idg. \**é bherom* 'I bore': Skr. *ā-bharam*

Kloppe, Dissert. de augmento Herodoteo, cp. I. II., Schleusingen 1848.  
Sonnf., De augmento in trimetris tragicis abiecto, praemissa de crasi, elisione, sphaeresi quaestione, Breslau 1851.

Avest. *a-berem* O.Pers. *a-baram*, Gr. ἄ-φερον. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Skr. *á-da-dhāt á-dhāt* Armen. *e-d* Gr. ἄ-τίθει 1<sup>st</sup> pl. ἔ-θεμεν, √ *dhē* 'place'. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Skr. *á-būdhat a-buddha a-būbudhat* Gr. ἐ-πέ-θετο ἔ-πέθετο ἐπέπυετο, √ *bheydh-* 'awake, notice'. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Skr. *á-diṣṣa a-dikṣat* Gr. ἔ-δείκνυ ἔ-δειξε, √ *dejk-* 'show, point'. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Skr. *á-gan* Armen. *e-kn*, √ *gem-* 'go, come'. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Armen. *e-tes* Gr. ἐ-δέκυστο, √ *derk-* 'see'.

All that is left of the augment outside of these three groups are a few obscure Germanic forms: Goth. *iddja* 'he went' = Skr. *á-yat* (I § 142 p. 127), A.S. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *eódun* = Goth. *iddjēdun*, 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 *iddja* too may represent the unaugmented Idg. \**ijē-t*.

In Greek, *i-* was often obscured by being contracted with the following vowel, after *σ* or *φ* which once began the root had dropped (cp. I § 165 p. 146, § 564 p. 421, § 603 pp. 455 f.); e. g. *εἰπόμεν* for \**ē-(σ)επομᾶν* from *επομαι* 'sequor', *εἶπον* for \**ē-(σ)ιρπον* from *ιρπω* 'serpo', *εἶδον* 'I saw' for \**ē-(φ)ιδον* (Hom. *ἔιδον*, Lesb. *εἴδον*), *ἐργαζόμεν* for \**ē-(φ)εργάζομεν* (an inser. of Hermione has *ἐφεργάσατο*) from *εργάζομαι* 'I work'. On *εἶθιζον* 'I was accustomed', orig. \**ē-σφιθίζον*, *εἶλκον* 'I dragged', orig. \**ē-σφελκον*, compare I § 563. 7 p. 420, and the Author Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> § 13 p. 33. The aspirate of *εἰπόμεν* *εἶλκον* *εἶπον*, like that of *ἐγκα ἦκα* pl. *εἶμεν* (for *ē-(σ)η- ē-(σ)ε-*, from *ἦμι* 'I send forth' for \**σῑ-σημι*) is doubtless due to the transference of the internal *h* (\**ē-ἡεπόμεν* etc.) to the beginning; so it was in *ιερός* for \**ἡερός* (Skr. *iṣirá-s*) 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. *ᾔκησα* instead of \**ē-(φ)οι-κησα*, from (φ)οικέω 'I live, dwell', following such forms as *οἶδισα* (*οἶδένω* 'I swell': Armen. *aṭnum* 'I swell' O.H.G. *eiz* 'sore, abscess').



§ 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. *\*ēsya* for *\*e esya* or *\*ē esya*, cp. pres. *\*es-mi* = Skr. *āsmi* etc.: Skr. *āsam* Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ās* O.Pers. *aham* i. e. *aham*, Gr. Hom. *ἦα* Att. *ἦ* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Dor. *ἦς*; <sup>1)</sup> cp. O.C.Sl. *-jachŭ* for *\*ēsom* in imperfects like *nesčachŭ* (§§ 493, 510, 903). Pr. Idg.: *\*ējya* from *\*ej-mi* 'I go': Skr. *dyam* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *āit* Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *aip* O.Pers. *ayam* i. e. *ayam*, Gr. *ἦα* instead of *\*ἦα* for *\*ἦα* (§ 502); compare Lith. *ėjaũ* 'I went' from the stem *\*ej-a-* (§ 586). Gr. *ἦρχον* from *\*jērchōn* 'I strive'. O.C.Sl. *s-arist jasŭ* = *\*ēt-so-m*, *✓ed-* 'eat'.

It is extremely probable that the same augment is seen in Lithuanian present forms of the substantive verb beginning with *ē-*, as pl. *ėsame* *ėsate* dual *ėsava* *ėsata* beside *ėsame* etc. and *ėsme* (*ėsune*) etc. Like O.C.Sl. *-(j)achŭ* *-(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 *es-* was quite isolated; step by step it gave way to *buvau*, 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 *ėsąs* was formed and used side by side with *ėsąs*, and in some dialects *ėsũ* *ėsĩ* beside *esũ* *esĩ*. Perhaps Lat. *ēs* 'thou art' (also *ēs*) is also an augmented form, and represents Idg. *\*ēs-s*.<sup>2)</sup>

Remark. Osthoff (Perf., 184 ff.) assumes that Lat. *ēs* *ēsĩ* *ēsĩs* from *edŭ*, and Lith. *ėdmi* *ėdu* etc. O.C.Sl. *jamĩ* (*ēmĩ*) 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. *zi* 'eram' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ēr*; <sup>1</sup> t Idg. *s* seems always to become Arm. *i*. Compare Hübschmann, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIII 12.

2) So too the augment has crept into the present and future in Modern Greek, as *oĩs* *ēlēm̃u*, *oĩs* *ēdōm̃u* (Hatzidakis, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 375); and so the augment of Armen. *e-kn* 'he came' and *e-d* 'he placed' has found its way into allied forms, as *fat*, *ekic* and *edic* (Hübschmann, Arm. Stud. I 28; Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxii 38).

better. — that they represent the ablaut-grade Idg. \**ed-*. Then \**edmi*: \**edmi* (Skr. *ádmi*) as Skr. imper. mid. *sák-ḥa*: *sák-ḥa* (✓ *segh-*), and as Skr. *sáhati*: *sáhatē* (Gr. *ἔχειν*), *dhāoti*: *dhāotē* (Gr. *δίδωμι*), Gr. *μείδωμι*, Lith. *bėgu*: Gr. *φίβωμαι*, and so forth (§ 471 p. 16); and, if so, the *ed-* of \**edmi* must be identified with that of the *e*-aorist Lat. *esse* O.C.Sl. *jesū* (*ěsū*), and probably with that of the perfect forms Lat. *edī*, Lith. *ėdęs* O.C.Sl. *jadū* (*ědū*); 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 *ē*-series, and who regard Skr. *ádmi* as not original, while the \**edmi* of Latin and Balto-Slavonic is. Compare § 494.

How came this *ē*-grade (*wēd-* 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. *μῆδο*; *μῆδορ* Armen. *mīd*); and we have no right to limit this *ē* to any single tense. It is certainly remarkable that the perfect forms with *ē* never had the reduplication (Skr. *sūh-rās* etc.). But there are other original unreduplicated perfects, as for example \**μῆδε* 'knows' see *loc. cit.*).

What was originally the quality of the resultant vowel, when an augment was contracted with the initial *a*- 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. *ājati* 'he drives' Gr. *ἄγει*, *āpasyat* from *apasyāti* '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' *anc* 'παρῆλθε'; we also find a re-formation with augment *ē-anc* (with later *ē* instead of *e*). Greek forms like *ἄγω* Ion. *ἤγω* (from *άγω* 'I lead'), *ὀζον* (from *ὀζω* 'I smell'), *ὠδῶσα* (from *ὠδέω* 'I swell') are suspicious, because their long vowel might come from analogy, once such forms as \**esti* (*ěsti*): \**est* (*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 *ἰκέτεω* (from *ἰκεῖν* 'I beseech') and *ὑμεναῖον* (*ὑμεναῖω* 'I sing the bridal song'); compare what is said in § 643 on *ὄρ-νῦ-μι*: *ὄρ-νῦ-μεν*.

§ 481. In the plural and dual of the pret. of \**es-mi* 'I am' and \**ej-mi* 'I go', if Idg. \**e-* is allowed to be their augment, we should expect forms like Skr. \**á-sma* \**á-san*, Gr. \**ἐσμεν* Lesb. \**ἐμμεν* and Skr. \**éma* \**á-yan*, Gr. \**ἐμν*,



cp. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. Skr. *s-mās*, *i-mās* and the unaugmented imperf. Skr. Ved. *s-an* Avest. *h-en* and Avest. *i-tā* Gr. ἔ-τηρ. One such form is Avest. *ahma* Gathic *ahma* = pr. Ar. \**a-sma*. Otherwise we find only *dsma* *dsan* *ahna* *āyan*, Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *aitem*, O.Pers. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *aha* *aya* i. e. doubtless *aha* *aya*, Gr. ἤμιν ἥρε, O.C.Sl. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. -(j)as-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 *dsan* *ā* as compared with *dsmi* *ē*μi being classed in the popular imagination with that of the preterites *ājam* *ānam* ἤρεν etc., which had a long initial vowel in all persons.

Remark 1. *η* in ἤμιν ἥρε must be a re-formation (cp. I § 611 p. 461). But there is no need to bring in the influence of the sing. ἥε, since \**ē* + *i-ent* may conceivably have been the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural (cp. § 1020. 1. α).

Remark 2. Osthoff's view (Perf., 151 f.) that Skr. *dsā* Gr. ἥρε came from \**ē estē*, and that \**estē* was the weak-grade form of *✓es-* with secondary or bye-accent, is no longer tenable. See Bartholome, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 105.

In Sanskrit, verbs beginning with *ā-*, *ī-*, or *ṛ-* have *au-*, *ai-*, and *ar-* in their augmented preterite. *ānat* from *unātti* 'wets' (*ud-*). *āhat* from *āhati* 'removes, pushes'. *āchat* from *ichāti* 'wishes'. *āśata* from *īśatē* 'owns'. *ārchat* from *ṛchāti* 'reaches, gets'. The augment here was probably *ē*; see § 479 above, on *ā-vṛnak* etc. Other attempts to explain these are given by Schleicher Comp.<sup>4</sup> 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 *αἵτε* (*αἰτέω* 'I ask'), *εὐχετο* (*εὐχομαι* 'I pray'), *αὐξετο* (*αὐξω* 'I increase') are examples. These may be quite regular, and come from older forms with initial *ā-*, *ē-*, *ay-*, as laid down in vol. I § 611 p. 461.

The vowels in the first syllable of such forms as Att. *ἤτρουν* (*αἰτέω*), *ἤξάμην* (*εὐχομαι*), *ἤξον* (*αὐξω*), and *ἤντησα* (*αἵττω* 'I meet'), *ἤεχον* (*αἰχέω* 'I lead'), *ᾤοντο* (*ὀρνύμι* *ὀρνύω*

'I arouse, set a-going') is due to the analogy of ἡγρον : ἄγω, ἡρξον : ἔρχομαι etc. ἡμεν ἦτε are discussed in § 481 with the Remark, just above.

§ 488. 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. *purā* Gr. *πρότερος*. Compare § 909.

The use of both augmented and unaugmented forms (as \**ē-bherom* and \**bhērom* 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 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. aor. *e-liē* = Gr. *ἔλεγε* has it, but 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *liē* has it not.<sup>1)</sup> It is found in other persons besides the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. with the aorists of the roots *dhē-* 'place', *dō-* 'give', and *gem-* 'come'; thus 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *e-di e-tu e-ki* 3<sup>rd</sup>

1) It is a fair assumption that, in the 1<sup>st</sup> sing., \**eliē* beside \**liē* dropt out of use before \**liē* became monosyllabic.

sing. *e-d e-t e-kn*. That the augment was kept or dropt according to the number of syllables in the word is clear from 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *tuaē* beside sing. 1<sup>st</sup> pers. *e-tu* 2<sup>nd</sup> *e-tur* 3<sup>rd</sup> *e-t* pl. 2<sup>nd</sup> *e-tuē* 3<sup>rd</sup> *e-tun*, and by comparison with 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *e-daē e-kaē* (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. *πεπόνθη πεπόνθειν* with *ἰ-πεπόνθη ἰ-πεπόνθειν*, and the iterative preterite in *-ον* in Herodotus, as *φεύσσκον*, which never has the augment. Perhaps the reason for these exceptions was that the forms of the 2<sup>nd</sup> plural and dual pluperfect (§ 836) and *φενύσσετε φενύσσετον* could have only one meaning, while *τρέπετε τρέπετον, τράπετε τράπετον, τρέψατε τρέψατον* 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* = *ābharata*, 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 unaugmented forms gained the day. The scanty and obscure remnants of the augmented class have already been given. Examples of unaugmented forms are:

Latin. *-bam* in *plantā-bam* for *\*fū-ā-m* 'I was' (§ 583). *dixit*: Gr. *ἔειπε* *ἔ-ειπε* (§§ 823, 867. 3). *scidit*: Skr. *chidā-t ā-chida-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 *τίθην ἰ-τίθην* (§§ 545. 886), and O.H.G. O.Sax. *wissun* 'they knew', if it be for *\*uits-ut* (§ 837). Compare Kluge in Paul's Grundr. i 375.

Lithuanian. *būvo* 'he was' for \**bhuyā-t*: cp. Lat. *-bat*; *minė* 'he thought, devised' for \**myñē-t*: cp. Gr. *μᾶν i-μᾶν* (§ 587). Old Church Slavonic. *bě* 'he was' for \**bhyē-t*: cp. Gr. *φῆν i-φῆν* (§ 587); aor. *vezū* 'I carried, vexit': Skr. *vāha-m ā-vaha-m* (§ 514); *s*-aorist *dēchū* 'I laid': Skr. *dhāsam ā-dhāsam* (§ 812).

## FORMATION OF THE TENSE STEM.<sup>1)</sup>

### 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 *sjo*-Future, see § 747; for the *s*-Aorist § 810; for the Perfect, § 848 (the Germanic weak preterite § 907).

Indo-Germanic. L. Tobler, *Übergang zwischen Tempus und Modus, ein Capitel vergleichender Syntax im Zusammenhang mit Formenlehre und Völkerpsychologie*, Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. II 29 ff. S. H. A. Herling, *Vergleich. Darstellung der Lehre vom Tempus und Modus*, Hanover 1840. L. Meyer, *Über Tempusbildung und Perfecta mit Präsensbedeutung*, Benfey's *Orient und Occident* 1201 ff. F. H. Trithem, *On the Formation of the Past Tense in certain of the Indo-European languages*, *Proceed. of the Philol. Soc.* I (1844) pp. 273 ff. G. Gerland, *Intensiva und Iterativa und ihr Verhältnis zu einander*, Leipz. 1869. H. Osthoff, *Über Aoristpräsens und Imperfectpräsens*, *Paul-Braune's Beitr.* VIII 287 ff. F. Hartmann, *De aoristo secundo*, Berl. 1881. O. Hoffmann, *Das Präsens der idg. Grundsprache in seiner Flexion und Stammbildung*, Göttingen 1889. The Author, *Zur Geschichte der präsensstammbildenden Suffixe*, *Sprachwiss. Abhandl. aus G. Curtius' Gramm. Gesellsch.* 1874 pp. 153 ff. Bartholomae, *Altindisch asij* > lateinisch *erās*. *Stud. zur idg. Sprachgesch.* II 61 ff. J. Schmidt, *Die ursprüngl. Flexion des Optativs und der auf ā auslautenden Präsensstämme*, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXIV 303 ff. G. Curtius, *Die Verstärkungsnamen Präsensstämme*, *ibid.* I 259 ff. A. Kuhn, *Über die durch Nasale erweiterten* *Bergmann, Elemente. IV.*

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

Verbalstämme, *ibid.* II 302 ff., 455 ff. H. Osthoff, Über eine bisher nicht erkannte Präsensstambildung des Idg., Vortrag auf der Münchener Philologenvers. 1891 (Zeitschr. für deutsche Philol. XXIV 215 ff., Anzeiger für idg. Sprach- und Altertumsk. I 82 ff.). The Author, Die achte Conjugationsklasse des Altindischen und ihre Entsprechung im Griechischen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIV 255 ff. J. H. Moulton, The -nd-Class of Unthematic Verbs, Amer. Journ. Phil. X 283 ff. A. Ludwig, Die Verba auf [lat.] -erare [germ.] -ison, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XVIII 52 ff. Th. Benfey, Einige ursprüngliche Causalia aus Bildungen durch sanskritisch *payan*, *ibid.* VII 50 ff.

Aryan. The Author, Die siebente Präsensklasse des Arischen, Morph. Untera. III 148 ff. Bartholomae, Zur dritten, achten, neunten Präsensklasse, zur Desiderativbildung [im Arischen], Ar. Forsch. II 69 ff., 86 ff., 89 f., 90 ff. Whitney, Numerical Results from Indexes of Sanskrit Tense- and Conjugation-Stems, Proceed. Amer. Or. Soc., May 1885, pp. XXXII ff. Lanman, On Multiform Presents and on Transfers of Conjugation in the Sanskrit Verb System, *ibid.* pp. xxxvi ff. Whitney, On the Classification of the Forms of the Sanskrit Aorists, *ibid.* 1875-76 pp. xviii f. The Author, Über einige al. Verba der fünften und neunten Conjugationsklasse, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIV 286 ff. A. H. Edgren, On the Verbs of the so-called *tan*-class in Sanskrit, Proceed. Amer. Or. Soc., May 1885, pp. XXXIX f. Van den Gheyn, Note sur la 8<sup>e</sup> classe des verbes sanscrits, Brüssel 1890. *Idem*, Remarques sur quelques racines sanscrites de la 8<sup>e</sup> classe, Brussels 1894. *Idem*, Nouvelles recherches sur la 8<sup>e</sup> classe des verbes sanscrits, Brussels 1886. A. H. Edgren, On the propriety of Retaining the Eighth Verb-Class in Sanskrit, University Studies Published by the Univ. of Nebraska I 1 (1888). S. Goldschmidt, Bildungen aus Passiv-Stämmen im Prākṛit, Zeitschr. der deutsch. morg. Gesellsch. XXIX 491 ff., XXX 779. Jacobi, Über unregelmässige Passiva im Prākṛit, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVIII 249 ff. E. Wilhelm, Zum Übergang von der unthematischen in die thematische Conjugation [im Avest.], Bezzenberger's Beitr. X 814 ff. *Idem*, De verbis denominativis linguae Baetricae, Jena 1878. Bartholomae, Zur fünften und neunten Präsensklasse [im Iran.], Bezzenberger's Beitr. XIII 60 ff.

Greek and Latin. Herm. Schmidt, Doctrinae temporum verbi Graeci et Latini expositio historica, Halle 1896. *Idem*, De verbi Graeci et Latini doctrina temporum, Wittenb. 1842. A. Kerber, Significationes temporum verbi Graeci et Latini in uno conspectu collocantur, Halle 1864. Düntzer, Über die dem Griech. und Latein. eigentümlichen Tempus- und Modusbildungen, Höfer's Zeitschr. f. die Wiss. d. Sprache II 76 ff.

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.

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§ 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-φη* (*√bhā-* 'to

W. Schulze, Zwei verkannte Aoriste (*ἔ-φη* und *ἔ-φην*), Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 290 ff. Ebel, Reduplicierte Aoriste im Griech., *ibid.* II 46 ff. G. Curtius, Der erste Aorist des Passiva, *ibid.* I 25 ff. J. Wackernagel, Der Passivaorist auf *-σεν*, *ibid.* XXX 302 ff. W. Kühne, De aoristi passivi formis atque usu Homericis, Marburg 1877 and Güstrow 1878. Walker, Greek Aorists and Perfects in *-σα*, Class. Review, V 446 ff. Hatzidakis, Zur Präsensbildung des Neugriechischen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 69 ff.

Albanian. G. Meyer, Das Verbum substantivum im Albanesischen, in M. Hertz zum 70. Geburtstag, 1898, pp. 81 ff.

Italic. Corssen, Zur Bildung der Präsensstämme, in Beitr. zur ital. Sprachkunde pp. 475 ff. Cludius, Über die Bildung des Verbi sum, Günther und Wachsmuth's Athenäum II (Halle 1817) 186 ff. J. Warmstedter, De coniugatione Latini verbi *dare*, Paris 1877. Ph. Thielmann, Das Verbum *dare* im Lateinischen, Leipz. 1882. F. Fröhde, Die lat. Präsens auf *-do*, Bezzenberger's Beitr. III 285 ff. K. F. Johansson, Några ord om de latinska verbalbildningarna med *ni* presensstämmen, Akadem. afhandlingar til prof. S. Bugge, Christiania 1889, pp. 21 ff. Ch. Ploix, Des verbes latins en *-eo*, Mém. d. l. Soc. d. lingu., VI 399 ff. K. Sittl, De linguae Latinae verbis inchoativis, Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. I 465 ff. C. Pascel, I suffissi formatori delle conjugazione latine, Rivista di filol. XIX 49 ff. R. Thurneysen, Über Herkunft und Bildung der lat. Verba auf *-io* der 3. und 4. Conj. und ihr gegenseitiges Verhältnis, Leipz. 1879. C. Peter, Über die schwachen Verba der lat. Sprache, Rhein. Mus. III 95 ff., 360 ff. M. Bréal, Verbes dérivés latins, Mém. d. l. Soc. d. lingu. VI 342 ff. F. de Saussure, Sur une classe de verbes latins en *-eo*, *ibid.* III 279 ff. C. Pauli, Geschichte der lat. Verba auf *uo*, Stettin 1865. O. I. Fehrnborg, De verbis Latinis in *uo* divisas desinentibus, Stockholm 1889. C. Paucker, Die verba denominativa auf *-ore*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVI 261 ff., 415 ff. R. Jonas, De verbis frequentativis et intensivis apud comoediae Latinae scriptores, (i) Posen 1871, (ii) Meseritz 1872. *Idem*, Gebrauch der Verba frequentativa und intensiva in der älteren lat. Prosa (Cato, Varro, Sallust), Posen 1879 und 1884. C. Paucker, Die verba frequentativa, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVI 243 ff., 409 ff. Wölfflin, Die Verba frequentativa und intensiva, Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. IV 197 ff. *Idem*, Die verba desuperlativa, *ibid.* II 355 ff. G. Curtius, Über die Spuren einer lat. *o*-Conjugation, Symbola philol. Bonn. 1884 pp. 271 ff. = Kleine Schriften II 133 ff. Wölfflin, Die verba desiderativa, Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. I 408 ff. G. Curtius, De aoristi Latini reliquiis, Kieler Lectionsverzeichnis. 1857—58 = Curtius'

show, disclose, inform") and the aorist Skr. *á-sthá-t* Gr. *ε-στη* ( $\sqrt{sta}$ - 'stand'); between the imperfect Skr. *á-druha-t* ( $\sqrt{dreygh}$ - 'deceive') Gr. *ἐ-γλυψε* ( $\sqrt{gleybh}$ - 'split, incise') and the aorist Skr. *budhá-nta* Gr. *ἐ-νύθε-ρο* ( $\sqrt{bheydh}$ - 'wake,

Stud. v 429 ff. Corssen, *Kein Aoristus II im Lateinischen*, in Beitr. zur ital. Sprachk. pp. 538 ff. F. G. Fumi, *Sulla formazione latina del preterito e futuro imperfetti*, Progr. del R. Liceo Chiabrera in Savona 1875—76..

Keltic. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Étude sur le présent du verbe irlandais*, Mém. d. l. Soc. d. lingu. v 237 ff. Wh. Stokes, *The Neo-Celtic Verb Substantive*, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1885—87, pp. 202 ff. *Idem*, *The Old-Irish Verb Substantive*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVIII 55 ff. Windisch, *Das ir. praesens secundarium*, *ibid.* XXVII 156 ff. *Idem*, *Das ir. t-Präteritum*, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VIII 442 ff. Thurneysen, *Das sogen. Präsens der Gewohnheit im Irischen*, Idg. Forsch. I 329 ff. Lottner, *Traces of the Italic imperfect in the Keltic languages*, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1859, pp. 31 ff. Thurneysen, *Zu den ir. Verbalformen sigmatischer Bildung*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 62 ff. — Further on page 4, footnote.

Germanic. Amelung, *Die Bildung der Tempusstämme durch Vokalsteigerung im Deutschen*, Berl. 1871. Peterson, *Vom Ablaut mit bes. Rücksicht auf den Ablaut des starken Zeitworts im German.*, Lund 1877. A. Møller, *Die reduplicierenden Verba im Deutschen als abgeleitete Verba*, eine etymol. Untersuchung, Potsd. 1866. H. Lichtenberger, *De verbis quae in vetustissima Germanorum lingua reduplicatum praeteritum exhibent*, Nancy 1891. G. Burghauser, *Idg. Präsensbildung im German.*, Wien 1887. J. von Fierlinger, *Zur deutschen Conjugation (Präsentia der Wurzelklasse, Zur westgerm. Flexion des verb. subst.)*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 432 ff. H. Kern, *Over eenige vormen van 't werkwoord zijn in 't Germaansch*, Taal- en Letterbode v 89 ff. J. Schmidt, *Die german. Flexion des verbum substant. und das hiatusfüllende r im Hoehd.*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXV 592 ff. W. Wilmanns, *Die Flexion der Verba tuon, gān, stān im Ahd.*, Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Alterth. XXXIII 424 ff. Skladny, *Über das gotische Passiv*, Neisse 1873. Egge, *Inchoative or n-Verbs in Gothic*, Amer. Journ. Phil. VII 38 ff. Sievers, *Zur Flexion der schwachen Verba*, Paul-Braune's Beitr. VIII 90 ff. Kögel, *Die schwachen Verba zweiter und dritter Classe*, *ibid.* IX 504 ff. The Author, *Die got. Imperativform hiri und die Denominativa von consonantischen Stämmen*, Morph. Unters. IV 414 ff.

Balto-Slavonic. G. Uljanov, *Značenijs glagolnych osnov v litovsko-slavjanskom jazykě* (meaning of verbal stems in Lithu-Slavonic), Russkij filol. vëstnik XXIV 105 ff., XXV 41 ff. O. Wiedemann, *Das litau. Präteritum*, ein Beitrag zur Verbalflexion der idg. Sprachen, Straassb. 1891. Leskien, *Die Präsensbildungen des Slavischen und ihr Verhältniss zum Infinitivstamm*, Arch. f. slav. Philol. v 497 ff. Miklosich,



notice, learn'). Often the same form is imperfect in one language and aorist in another; the forms *é-gene-t* ( $\sqrt{\text{gen-}}$  'gignere') and *\*é-dēkē-t* ( $\sqrt{\text{denk-}}$  'bite') are imperfect in Sanskrit (*djanat ādaṣat*), and aorist in Greek (*ἔγιγνετο ἔδασκετο*). 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. *pība-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. eris agēs*. 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 *-sjo-*, as Skr. *dā-sydmi* Lith. *dā-siu* 'dabo'. The *-sjo-* stands on the same level as *-so-* *-sko-* and other formative suffixes used in the present tense; it is probably made-up of *-s(o)-* + *-jo-*, as *-njo-* is of *-n(o)-* + *-jo-* (§ 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

Das Imperf. in den slav. Sprachen, Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad. LXXVII 5 ff. O. Wiedemann, Zur Stammbildung der Verben auf *-nqti*, Arch. f. slav. Philol. x 652 ff. W. Burda, Ein Beispiel der Präsensstammbildung mittels *ts* im Slavischen, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. vi 392. Miklosich, Verba intensiva im Altslawischen, *ibid.* I 67 ff. *Idem*, Einfacher Aorist [in Old-Slovanian], Sitzungsber. der Wien. Akad. LXXXI 100 ff.

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. *daddr̥ṣa* Gr. *ἰδορκε* ( $\sqrt{\text{derk-}}$  'sec'), it is distinguished from present forms by its grade of ablaut 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 these 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* 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 *\*age-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 (*nī-nī-ṣa-ti nē-nī-yā-tē* from *nāya-ti* 'leads'), and Inchoatives in Latin (*gemiscō* from *gemō*): (2) those which clearly contain a Noun Stem, called Denominatives; as Skr. *gātu-yā-ti* 'procures access' from *gātū-ṣ* 'access', Gr. *ποιμαίνω* '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 have

not only denominative verbs with an additional suffix between stem and personal ending — such as Skr. *gātu-yá-ti* *apas-yá-ti* ('is active', from *ápas-* 'work') Lith. *pāsako-jū* ('I recount' from *pāsaka* 'account'), which have *-jo-* between stem and ending — but also others where the personal suffix was added immediately to the noun stem. Such forms are Lat. *planta-s* *planta-t* etc. from *planta*, O.H.G. *salbō-s* 'thou anointest' *salbō-t* etc. from *salba* 'ointment', Lith. *jūsto* 'he girds' *jūsto-me* from *jūsta* 'girdle', Aeol. *τιμά-μεν* 'we honour' from *τιμά* 'honour'. Also Skr. *mārga-ti* 'tracks, traces' from *mārga-s* 'path, track', *phala-ti* 'bears fruit' from *phala-m* 'fruit', Gr. *θέρμυ-το* 'grew warm' from *θερμό-ς*, *ἐχρασκε* 'was useful' beside *χρασκέω*, Skr. *jīva-ti* Lat. *vīvi-t* O.C.Sl. *živě-tŭ* 'lives' from *jī-vá-s* *vī-vo-s* *ži-vŭ* 'alive'. With very good reason, all forms with a thematic vowel, and therefore all presents formed by *-o-* *-no-* *-to-* *-jo-* etc., have been explained as noun-stems with added personal endings (so, for example, Curtius Verb I<sup>2</sup> 14 f., 161, 239, 296): as specimens take Skr. *āja-ti* 'drives' Gr. *ἄγει* Lat. *agi-t* with Skr. *ajā-s* 'driver' Gr. *ἀγός* Lat. *prōd-igu-s*; Skr. *paṇa-tē* 'buys' with *paṇa-s* 'wager, stipulation' Lith. *peṇa-s* 'profit' (I § 259 p. 212), Skr. *vēna-ti* 'yearns' with *vēnā-s* 'yearning', Goth. *frathni-þ* 'asks' with Skr. *praśnā-s* 'question'; containing *-yno-* *-eno-* *-ono-* (Class XIV): compare Skr. *kṛpāna-te* 'he acts pitifully, begs' with *kṛpand-s* 'pitiful, poor', Gr. *θηγάει* 'sharpens' with *θήγανον* 'something to sharpen with, whetstone', Goth. *us-lūkni-þ* 'opens itself' with *us-lūkn-s* 'open', Lith. *kūpinu* 'I heap up' with *kūpina-s* 'heaped'; Skr. *vṛṣṭa-tē* 'turns round' with *vṛṣṭā-s* 'bond, noose', Gr. *ἐβλαστε* 'grew, sprouted' with *βλαστό-ς* 'bud, sprout'; Skr. *pāya-ti* 'stinks' with *pāya-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-más* 'we are brave' and *dhṛṣṇú-ṣ* 'brave'. The root-extending suffix *-a-*, in *\*bhuy-a-* *\*bhu-a-* (Lith. *būvo* Lat. *-bat*), *\*tr-a-* (Skr. *trā-sva* imper. 'preserve; save', Lat. *in-trā-mus* *trā-ns*) it seems necessary to identify with the feminine suffix *-a-*, compare Skr. *jī-jyāu* 'he has overcome' (fut. *jya-*

-*syā-ti* etc.) Gr. Ion. *βε-βίη-ται* (aor. *βή-σασθαι* etc.) with fem. Skr. *jyā- jiyā-* 'power, superiority' Gr. *βία* from  $\sqrt{\text{gei-}}$  (Skr. *jāy-a-ti ji-nā-ti* and others). So also -*es-*, which extends the root in \**u-es-* 'clothe' (Skr. *vās-tē* Gr. *ἐνί-σσαι* and other words) must be the same as the neuter suffix -*es-*, and the tense-formative -*es-* in Skr. *ā-jāriṣ-ur* 'they have grown old' the same as -*es-* the neuter suffix (Gr. *γηρας*). 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 prothetic 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* *ēs-ti*, \**stā-t* *στῆ*, \**bhībhaj-ti* Skr. *bībhē-ti*, the stem may be regarded as a *nomen 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. *plantā-s* is just like *intrā-s* *hiā-s*, Aeol. *ἐντρά-μεν* like *ἐδρά-μεν* *ἐκλή-μεν*, Lith. *jā'sto* like *bijōs* *lūdo*. Even the present formation with -*jo-* is nothing peculiar to the denominative class. We see in Skr. *apas-yā-ti* *pṛtanā-yā-ti* Gr. *ἐνομαλῶ* etc. the same present secondary suffix -*jo-* as we see in reduplicated forms such as Skr. *dēdīṣ-yā-tē* Gr. *γαργαλῶ* (Class XXVII), in forms such as Skr. *gr̥bha-yā-ti*, pass. *trā-yā-tē*, Gr. *δρῶ* for \**δρά-τω*, *ἰώμαι* for \**ἰοά-τω* (Class XXVIII), and in futures such as Skr. *tā-s-yā-tē* *vēd-iṣ-yā-ti* (Class XXX). Lat. *plantō* (for \**plantā-jo*) Skr. *pṛtanā-yā-ti* are related to Lat. *plantā-s* Lith. *jā'sto* just as Lat. *intrō* (for \**intrā-jo*) Skr. *trā-yā-tē* to Lat. *in-trā-s* Skr. *trā-ti* *trā-ṣya*, as Skr. *dēdīṣ-yā-tē* to *dēdīṣ-tē*, and as Skr. fut. *vēdīṣ-yā-ti* to aor. *ā-vēdīṣ-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 *-tjō* (Causatives, and Intensives or Iteratives) were the model for Skr. *mantrāya-tē* 'he takes counsel, advises' from *māntra-s*, and Goth. *fulljan* O.C.Sl. *plōni-ti* 'to fill' from *full-s* *plōnū*. 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 *linksminti* 'to make cheerful' from *liūksma-s*, and *virstū viřsti* etc. for *gelsti gēlsti* 'to become yellow' from *gelta-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 *τιμή*, *ποιμαίνω* from *ποιμήν*, or Goth. *fullnan* from *full-s* (ground-form *\*pl-no-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 *-éiō* and verbs in *-e-iō* both become *-éō*; in Germanic, verbs in *-iō* *-éiō* and those in *-e-iō* *-i-iō* both became (Goth.) *-ja*; in Lithuanian, verbs in *-éiō* and verbs in *-a-mi* (*-a-iō*) 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. *bradāu* *bradýti* 'to wade about' may be derived both from *bradà* subst. 'wading' on the analogy of *jū'stau* *jū'styti* 'to gird', a denominative from *jū's-ta* 'girdle', and from *b'edū* 'I wade' on the analogy of *-manāu* *-manýti*, the old "primary" *éiō*-byeform of *menū* 'I remember'; and Greek *ῥοπέω* may come from *ῥόπος* on the analogy of *ῥορέω* : *ῥός-ρός*, and from *ῥέπος* on the analogy of *ῥεπέω* (= Skr. *bhārāya-ti*): *ῥέπω*.

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. *gātu-yā-ti*, Gr. *ῥιπάω*, 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<sup>2</sup> pp 59 ff., and Fick, Wörterb. IV<sup>2</sup> 44 ff.<sup>1</sup>

1) Another work, systematic, and valuable in spite of much bold conjecture, is after Petersen's *Studien zur Lehre von der Wurzelveränderung*.

These elements may appear in any part of the verb. For instance, from Idg. \**rē-dh-* 'take counsel' come Skr. *ā-radha-t rādhnō-ti rādhyā-tē rātsyā-ti, rārdh-a, ā-ratsī-t, rāddhā-s rāddhē* etc.; from Idg. \**sr-ey-* *sr-u-* 'flow' come Skr. *srāva-ti, sraviṣyā-ti, susrāv-a, srutā-s* etc. But they are sometimes found only in present or aorist forms, and disappear in the rest; as Lat. *per-cello* for \**cel-dō* beside perf. *-culi*, Lith. *oṭr-du* 'I boil' beside pret. *viriaū* inf. *viṛ-ti*, O.C.Sl. *ši-ęq* 'I live' beside aor. *ši-chū* inf. *ši-ti*.<sup>1)</sup> 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. *pī-nva-ti* 'fattens' makes the perfect *pinīva* and the participle *pinvi-tā-s*, and makes Skr. *d-yuok-ṣ-mahi* Lat. *jāux-i* Lith. *jūnk-siu* from *yuoktē jungō jūngiu* (✓ *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 uninflected kernel of it. Because in \**bhereti* 'fert', the syllable *bher-* is this kernel, that is, the root, therefore in \**treseti* (Skr. *trāsati* Gr. *ρᾶσι*) the syllable *tres-* is called the root; then, because there is not the same syllable in Skr. *tar-atā-s* 'moving to and fro,

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and *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 *yo-*suffix was once confined to the present. *vixi victum* are re-formates, for \**vi-si* \**vi-tum*. See Osthoff, Paul-Braune's *Beitr.* viii 274; Stolz, *Lat. Gr.* 2 n. 383.



trembling' Gr. *τρ-έμω* Lat. *tr-emō* Lith. *tr-imū* 'I tremble', -es- is called a "determinative", whilst in Skr. *rās-tē* 'clothes himself' Gr. *ἐπί-στειναι* (✓*em-*, in Lith. *au-nū* Lat. *ex-ūō*) -es- is not so called because these verbs are looked upon as parallel to forms like \**es-ti*. But inasmuch as \**tres-* and \**yes-* run right through the whole system of their verbs, they have become "roots". And there is no more reason for separating Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *tr-āsē* *v-āsē* from 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *yaj-āsē* *gāj-āsē* than for separating (say) \**bhū-ō* (Lat. -*bō* O.C.Sl. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *bq*) Skr. *ā-hv-a-t* Gr. *ἐ-πλ-ε* from \**bher-ō* (Gr. *φ/ρ-ω*) Skr. *ā-vid-a-t*. We always hear of an "s-suffix" in such words as Skr. *yaj-āsē*; but why? Simply because the ending -*āsē* 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 \**μῆν-ē* Gr. *ἐ-μάνη* Lith. *mīn-ē*), \**tak-ē* (Lat. *tac-ēs* O.H.G. *dag-ēs*), where it is called *Inflection*. And the "determinative" -*dh-* is called inflexional in Gr. *φλεγίθω νεμέθωμαι πελάθω*, but not in *ἐ-δρα-θo-v* *ἐ-δαρ-θo-v*, or *ἄχ-θo-μαι*. 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 a language in many ways: e.g. the root in Lith. *v-ėjū* O.C.Sl. *v-tyq* '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 -*éjō* (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-āsē* and *yaj-āsē*, 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 \**és-ti* 'is' (Skr. *ās-ti*, ✓*es-*), another to \**memō-ti* 'vomits' (Skr. *vāmi-ti*, ✓*mem-*), and a third to \**bhāsē-ti* 'chews up, devours' (Skr. *psd-ti*, ✓*bha-s-* seen in *bā-bhas-ti*), it is only consistent to distinguish each of the following as another class of Present

Stems: —<sup>u</sup>ā u- : *ey*-class for Skr. *sr-āva-ti* Gr. *ῥέει(F)* 'flows' Skr. *ā-su-srō-t* from  $\sqrt{\text{ser-}}$  seen in Skr. *si-sar-ti*, for Skr. *dr-āva-ti* 'runs' *ā-du-dr-uva-t* from  $\sqrt{\text{der-}}$ , seen in Skr. *dr-ā-ti* *dr-ama-ti* 'runs', and others; an *m*-class for Skr. *dr-ama-ti* Gr. *ῥέει-απο-ν* from the above mentioned *der-*, for Gr. *ρε-ῖμω* Lat. *tr-emō* Lith. *tr-imū* 'I tremble' from  $\sqrt{\text{ter-}}$ , seen in Skr. *tar-ālā-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. *vī-vi-t* O.C.Sl. *žī-ve-tū* 'lives' from  $\sqrt{\text{gej-}}$ , seen in Avest. *gay-a* 'life' *jy-diti* 'life' Gr. *ζῆ* (for \**gi-ē*), O.C.Sl. *žī-ti* 'to live', for Avest. *ni-šaurvaiti* 'defends' Skr. *dhūrva-ti* 'harms' *bhārvati* '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 labyrinths 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. *ρε-ῖμω* in the same division as *νέμω* and *γέμω*.

§ 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. -ε- -ο-), as in \**es-e-ti* Skr. *āsati* Lat. *erit* (indic. \**es-ti* 'est'), Hom. *ἄλ-ε-ται* (indic. *ἄλ-ρο* 'sprang'), is the same as what is called the theme vowel in the Indicative (as \**ag-e-ti* Skr. *ājati* Lat. *agit*).

Further, I hold that the conjunctive vowel *-ā-* in Lat. *ferā-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. *prchā* 'question' (common ground-form *\*prk-skā-*) 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.<sup>1)</sup>

§ 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> person of both, and the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular, *-o-* in the 1<sup>st</sup> persons (but 1<sup>st</sup> sing. pres. act. *-ō*) and in the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural:

1) For works bearing on this subject, see footnote to page 33.

compare 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. ἔφρα-ς φέρε-αι ἐφέρε-ο (for the indic. pres. act. cp. Goth. *bairi-s*), 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. φέρε-τε ἐφέρε-τε φέρε-σθε ἐφέρε-σθε, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. ἔφερε φέρε-ται ἐφέρε-το (for the indic. pres. act. cp. Goth. *bairi-þ*); 1<sup>st</sup> sing. (φέρω) ἔφερο-ν (φέρο-μαι ἐφερό-μην), 1<sup>st</sup> pl. φέρο-μεν ἐφέρο-μεν φερό-μεθα ἐφερό-μεθα, 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. φέρο-ντι (φέρουσι) ἔφερο-ν φέρο-νται ἐφέρο-ντο. The variation -ε- : -ο- is the rule in all the present *o*-suffixes except -ιο-, where instead of it there is sometimes -ι- -ι-; see § 702. The Conjunctive shows a long vowel before the personal endings, as 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. Gr. φέρω-μιν φερώ-μεθα φέρη-τε φέρη-σθε. Lat. *ferā-mas ferā-tis* Skr. *bhārā-ma bhārā-mahāi bhārā-tha bhārā-dhvai*. The Optative has the thematic vowel -ο-, and between it and the personal ending *i*, which, when the personal ending began in a consonant, combined with the thematic vowel into a diphthong and a single syllable, as 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. Gr. φέρο-ς Goth. *bairái-s* Skr. *bhārē-ṣ*.

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. εἰ-μι τίθη-μι δάμνη-μι στέργω-μι etc., not like φέρω βόσχω ῥύπτω πορέω. 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. 1<sup>st</sup> pers. *dvēṣ-mi* ('I hate') *á-dvēṣ-am* 2<sup>nd</sup> *dvēṣ-ṣi á-dvēṣ* 3<sup>rd</sup> *dvēṣ-ti á-dvēṣ*, but pl. 1<sup>st</sup> pers. *dviṣ-más á-dviṣ-ma* etc., dual 1<sup>st</sup> pers. *dviṣ-vás á-dviṣ-va* etc., mid. sing. 1<sup>st</sup> pers. *dviṣ-ē á-dviṣ-i* etc.; act. sing. 1<sup>st</sup> pers. *kr-ṇō-mi* ('I make') *á-kr-ṇav-am* 2<sup>nd</sup> *kr-ṇō-ṣi á-kr-ṇō-ṣ* 3<sup>rd</sup> *kr-ṇō-ti á-kr-ṇō-t*, but pl. 1<sup>st</sup> pers. *kr-ṇu-más á-kr-ṇu-ma* etc., dual 1<sup>st</sup> pers. *kr-ṇu-vás á-kr-ṇu-va* etc.; mid. sing. 1<sup>st</sup> pers. *kr-ṇō-ē á-kr-ṇō-i* etc. On the whole it may be said that the Conjunctive formed with -e- and -o- had the strong

stem in active and middle; as 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. act. *doš-ā-ti* (*ky-ār-ā-ti*) mid. *doš-ā-tē ky-ār-ā-tē*. The optative had in the singular active *-iē- -iē-*; in the other active forms and in the middle it had *-ī-* before personal endings beginning in a consonant and *-i-* or *-ī-* before a sonant; always with the weak form of the present stem: e. g. act. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *doš-yā-m ky-ā-yā-m* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *\*doš-ī-māi \*ky-ā-ī-mā* (what we actually find are *doš-yā-ma ky-ā-yā-ma*, contrast Lat. *s-i-mus* beside *s-i-e-m*), mid. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *doš-ī-tā ky-ā-ī-tā* 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Avest. *tanuya* i. e. *ta-ne-iy-a*.

§ 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-mās*): *vid-ā-ti*, √ *veid-* 'know, learn'; Gr. *ἵστημι*: Skr. *tī-ṣṭh-ā-ti*, √ *stā-* 'stand': Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *sā-śc-ati*: 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *sā-śc-a-si* (Gr. *ἔσθης-το*, √ *seq-* 'sequi': Skr. *ṛ-ṣṭ-ati*: *ṛ-ṣ-ā-ti*, √ *er-* 'move'; Skr. *mṛ-ṣ-ati*: *mṛ-ṣ-ā-ti* 'crushes'; Skr. *yunák-ti*: *yuñj-ā-ti* Lat. *jung-i-t*, √ *jeyg* 'iungere'. These two kinds hang closely together, and cannot be treated apart.) I therefore choose a mode of

1) The closest contact between them is in the 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 (3<sup>rd</sup> pl. act.; and pres. act. partic.) were *-enti -ent* and *-enti-*, e. g. *\*s-enti* 'sunt' partic. nom. pl. *\*s-ent-es*. It is possible that there were variants, also of the strong grade, *-onti -ont* and *-ont-*. Then *-ent-*: *-ont-*: *-ṇ-* as in the gen. abl. sing. *-es*: *-os*: *-s* (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*, *sūus*, O.C.Sl. *sąti* (*sq/ā*) *sy*, and analyse them *\*s-onti* *\*s-ont-s*; that is to say, regard them as parallel to forms like *es-ť jes-ť* (*jes-ti*). They would belong to both Conjugations. This is, however, only a possibility; and I have accordingly treated forms with *-o-*, 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. *mṛd-ti mṛdā-ti ṛṣ-ti ṛṣd-ti yund-ti yundā-ti yuṣja-ti*); it is clear that this element was the same in all of them.

52060

## 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.

§ 493. Idg. \**uel-mi* 'I choose, wish, will' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. \**uē-més*: Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *á-ur-ta* opt. *ur-iyā-t* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *ur-i-ta* 1)), Lat. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *vel* for \**vel-s* (now a particle), 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *vol-tis*, Lith. *pa-velmi* 'I will' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *pa-velt*. — With thematic vowel, Lat. *volō* (\**uēl-o*) 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *vol-u-nt*.

\**gém-ti* 'goes, comes' 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. \**gē-té*: Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *jan-tā* Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *ga-thā* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *á-ga-ta* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *á-gm-an*. Armen. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *e-kn* = Skr. *á-gan*, Gr. 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *πά-ρνv*. Conjunctive: Avest. *jim-a-ḥ* (I § 94 p. 89), cp. indic. Goth. *qim-i-ḥ*. Optative: Skr. *gam-yā-m* A.S. *cyme* (= Goth. \**kumjau*). — With thematic vowel. Avest. *g'm-a-ḥ* *gm-a-ḥ* O.Pers. mid. *a-gm-a-tā* Skr. opt. *gamē-t* i. e. \**gym-ō-i-t* O.H.G. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. indic. *cumu* i. e. \**gym-ō*.

\**ēi-mi* 'I go' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. \**i-més*: Skr. *ē-mi i-mās* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *y-ānti*. Gr. *ἐ-μi ἔ-μεv*, Lat. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *ei-s* *i-s*, Lith. *ei-mi*; pret. \**ēi-ni*: Skr. *āy-am* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *āi-t* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *āi-ma*, Gr. *ἦ-α* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ἦ-μεv* (cp. § 480 p. 28, § 481 p. 30). Conjunctive: Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *āy-*

1) Instead of \**ur-i-ta* (cp. partic. *ur-ānd-s*), see I § 757 p. 741. On the other hand, the regular form with *r-* is seen in Avest. Gath. *rairā-maidi* for pr. Ar. \**ur-i*.

-a-ti *áy-a-t* (cp. indic. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *áy-a-tē*, Lat. *eō* for \**ej-ō*, *eunt* for \**ej-o-nt(ō)*). Optative: Skr. *i-yā-t*. Weak forms also found with *i-*, *ij-*: Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. mid. *t-mahē* opt. *t-yā-t*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *t-ya-tē* (Class XXVI),<sup>1)</sup> Gr. conj. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *t-o-μεν* (but cp. § 914); Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. mid. *i-yē* (cp. Avest. *y-ōi*), Lat. *i-ēns*, Gr. perhaps 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *i-ōai* (cp. § 502). — With thematic vowel Gr. opt. *i-o-i* partic. *i-ō-ντ-* pret. Hom. *ἦ-ε ἦ-ο-μεν* (cp. conj. *ἦ-ο-μεν*), Pelignian *afledē* 'abiit' for \**af-je-d* (§ 867.5).

\**kēns-mi* 'I soothsay, praise, say' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. \**kēs-mēs*: Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *śas-tu* (Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *sqš-tā* with the nasal of the sing.), O.C.Sl. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *seŕŕu* i. e. \**se* = \**kēns-t* + an additional *-tū*, like *pri-jeŕŕu* instead of *pri-je* etc. (§§ 512, 830). Albanian gives us *jom* 'I say', for \**kēns-mi* according to G. Meyer (M. Herz z. 70. Geburtst. 1888, p. 86: Etym. Wtb. der alb. Spr., 91; Alb. Stud. III 13, 63).

\**vid-mi* 'I see, know' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. \**vid-mēs*: Skr. *vēd-mi* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *vid-mās*, Lith. *veizdmi* instead of regular \**vei(d)-mi* (I § 547 Rem. 1 p. 401). Conjunctive: Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *vēd-a-ti* Gr. Hom. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *vīd-o-μεν* (cp. indic. Skr. *vēd-a-tē* Gr. *vīd-e-tai*). Optative: Skr. *vid-yā-m*, Goth. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *vit-ei-ma*. Imperative: Skr. *viddhi* Gr. *ἰοθι*, cp. Lith. *veizdi veizd* (I loc. cit., IV § 962): Also perf. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. \**vid-d-e* 'knows', with which the above named mood-forms were associated (cp. II § 136 Rem. 1 p. 438, IV §§ 846, 912, 939, 959). — With thematic vowel: indic. \**vid-ō-*, Skr. *vid-ā-ti* Armen. *e-git* Gr. *ἰδ-ε εἰδ-ε εἰδ-ε*.

\**es-mi* 'I am' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. \**s-mēs*: Skr. *ds-mi s-mās*, Armen. *em* (I § 561 p. 417), Gr. *εἰμι* Lesb. *εἰμυ* (G. Meyer, in the work just cited, pp. 81 ff., Etym. Wtb. der alb. Spr. 160, Alb. Stud. III 63, 85), Lat. *es-t* Umbr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *s-ent*, O.Ir. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *is* (I § 66 p. 55), Goth. *im* (I § 582 Rem. 2 p. 437) 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *is-t*, Lith. *es-mi* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ēs-ti* *ēs-t* O.C.Sl. *jes-mŕ* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *jes-tŕ*; on the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. Skr. *asi* Gr. *εἶ* see § 984.1. Pret. Skr. *ds-am* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ds* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ds-ma* Gr. *ἦ-α ἦ* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ἦ-ε* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ἦ-μεν* O.C.Sl. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *-jas-te* see § 480 p. 28, § 481

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

pp. 29 f.; Alban. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *iš* for \**es-t* (G. Meyer, in the first work cited above, p. 91). Conjunctive: 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Skr. *ās-a-ti* *ās-a-t* Lat. (fut.) *er-i-t* (cp. indic. Hom. *ē-o-v* opt. *ē-o-i*, also *έἴρω* *έἴω*, Lith. *es-ù* = *esmi* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ēs-a-me* partic. *ēs-ās*. O.C.Sl. pret. *-jach-ū* *-jaš-e* § 480 p. 28). Optative: Skr. *s-yā-m* *s-iyā-m*, Lat. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *s-iē-s* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *s-i-mus*, O.H.G. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *s-i-m*. — With thematic vowel: partic. Gr. *ὄντ-* instead of \**όντ-* \**s-o-nt-* (on the analogy of *εἰμὶ* etc. which begin with a smooth breathing) Lat. *s-o-n-t-* 'he who is the doer, guilty' O.Icel. *sannr* 'true, really guilty' (pr. Germ. \**s-a-nþ-a-*) Lith. *sąs sancio* O.C.Sl. *sy sąsta*, indic. Lat. *s-u-m* *s-u-mus* *s-u-mi* O.C.Sl. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *s-atū*.

\**dhēgh-mi* 'I burn': Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *dhāk-ṣi* Lith. *deg-mi*. The conjunctive implied by these forms is hidden in the indic. Skr. *dāh-a-ti* Lith. *deg-ù*. The weak form \**d(h)gh-* cannot be found; we have evidence for it in Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. imper. *sc-anta* beside 1<sup>st</sup> sing. indic. *hax-mī* (pr. Ar. \**sak-mī*) from ✓ *seq-* 'sequi', Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *á-kṣ-an* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *gdha* i. e. \**ghs-tu* (I § 591 p. 449) beside 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *á-ghas* from *ghas-* 'eat'.

\**dhē-t* \**é-dhē-t* 'he placed' 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. \**dhē-té*: Skr. *dhā-t* *á-dhā-t* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *á-dhi-ta* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. imper. *dhi-ṣvā*, Armen. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *e-di* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *e-d*, Gr. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *έ-θε-τε* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *έ-θε-ρο* (*θε-* instead of \**θα-*, I § 109 c pp. 101 f., the Author Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> pp. 27 f.), Lat. *con-di-mus* (I § 370 p. 282). Optative: Avest. *d-yā-þ*. Imperative: Lith. *dē-k*. — With thematic vowel Skr. *prāti dh-a-t*, *a-dh-a-t*,<sup>1)</sup> Lat. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *con-d-ē* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *-d-u-nt*, Avest. opt. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *d-ōi-š*.

\**dō-t* \**é-dō-t* 'he gave' 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. \**dō-té*: Skr. *á-dā-t* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *á-di-ta*, Armen. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *e-tu* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *e-t*, 1<sup>st</sup> pl. pres. *ta-mē*, Gr. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *έ-δο-τε* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *έ-δο-ρο* (*δο-* instead of *δα-*, cp. on *θε-*, above),<sup>2)</sup> Lat. *da-mus* \**red-dimus*. Optative:

1) Less probably, some scholars take *(a-)dhot* to be \**dhott* = \**dha-dh + t*, i. e. formed from the weak present stem \**dha-dh-* (cp. *a-dha-t-tam*).

2) Pauli (Altital. Forsch. III 258) compares Venetian *zoto* 'dedit' with Gr. *δόρο*. Admitting that the explanation is in the main correct



Avest. *d-yā-ḥ*. Imperative: Lat. *ce-do*, Lith. *dū-k*. — With thematic vowel: Skr. *dda-t* i. e. *a + a-d-a-t*, Lat. *red-d-u-nt*, Avest. opt. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *d-ōi-š*.<sup>1)</sup>

\**stā-t* \**ē-stā-t* 'he placed himself', 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. \**stā-té*: Skr. *ā-sthā-t*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *ā-sthi-ta*, Gr. *ē-σθη*, mid. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ēni-σθ-αι*<sup>2)</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *ē-σθ-θης* = Skr. *ā-sthi-thas* (§ 503). Imperative: Lith. *stō-k*. — With thematic vowel: Skr. *asth-a-t*, Avest. *a-xšt-a-ḥ* mid. *xšt-a-ta* (*xšt-* instead of *št-*, see Bartholomae Handb. § 100 Anm. 3 p. 43, and *št-* instead of *st-* following compounds like *paiti-štā*).

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

First we notice Lat. *ēs-t* Lith. *ės-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. *ds-tē* Gr. *ῥο-ραι* 'sits' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ds-atē ῥ-αυ* are usually connected with \**es-ti* 'is'. The rough breathing in Greek must then be explained as due to the analogy of the root *īḥ-* = \**sed-* 'sedere' (I § 564 Rem. 3 p. 421<sup>3)</sup>). 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-ēs*, but in the Lith. pres. *sėdmi* 'I sit' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *sėst*, side by side with which in the usual fashion we have Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *sāt-si*. Skr. imper. mid. *sāk-ṣva* beside indic. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *sāk-ṣi* from *sah-* 'overpower'. Skr. *taṣ-ṭi* Avest. injunctive *taṣ-t* beside Skr. *tākṣa-ti* 'shapes, forms'. Skr. *dadṣ-ṭi* '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 *zoto* should not be regarded as \**dō-to* (cp. the *s*-aorist *zonasto* 'donavit').

1) Probably to the same class belongs Avest. being *daduyš* 2<sup>nd</sup> 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. gel. Anz. 1881 p. 1426, Wtb.<sup>4</sup> I 20 f.).

3) In the English translation of this note, 'Spiritus Asper' is a clerical error for 'Spiritus Lenis'.

present forms with *āu* instead of *ō*, as *stāu-ti* 'praises' (3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *stuv-ānti* mid. *stu-tē*, beside which are found 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *stō-ṣi* conj. *stāv-a-ti*) and *snāu-ti* 'drips' (cp. Gr. *νέω νεύουαι*), also *mārṣ-ṣi* 'wipes' (3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *mṛj-ānti*).<sup>1)</sup>

Along with these non-thematic *ē*-forms stand usually others with the thematic vowel; thus, Lith. *ēd-u* beside *ēd-mi*, *sēd-u* beside *sēd-mi*, Skr. *ās-a-tē* beside *ās-tē*, *dās-a-ti* beside *dās-ṣi*, *sdh-a-ti* beside *sāk-ṣva*, *mārj-a-ti* beside *mārṣ-ṣi*. Compare Gr. *μῆδουαι* 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*, *ē*, and *ō* spread from roots ending in them to the weak persons which properly had *e*. This re-formation brought about some confusion with Class X, where there is no gradation.

Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ā-sthā-ma* Gr. *ἄσθημεν* instead of \**a-sthi-ma* \**ē-sthā-mēn* (cp. § 493 pp. 53 f.). The difference between *ἄσθημεν* and *ἔσθημεν* *ἔδομεν* was due to the intransitive meaning of *σθῆναι* and to the powerful attraction of a word closely connected in meaning — *ἔσθην ἔσθμεν* (Skr. *āgam āgāma*); 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 *ā-dhā-ma ā-dā-ma* instead of \**a-dhi-ma* \**a-dī-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. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *s-yā-ma*, instead of \**s-i-ma*, following *s-yā-m*, § 940.

Unlike Gr. *φημι* 'I say': *φαμέν*, which undoubtedly has original gradation (cp. O.H.G. *bannu* = \**bho-myō*, Gr. *φαίρω* \**bho-njō*, see §§ 611, 654), all recorded forms of Skr. *bhā-ti* 'shines' follow Class X, as pl. *bhā-nti* imper. *bha-hi* partic.

1) The ablaut of *stāu-ti* and *mārṣ-ṣi* is exactly parallel to that of the *Horist*. See § 811.

*bhā-ta-s* etc. We must therefore assume for this Skr. verb a stem *bh-ā-*, i. e. an extension of the root by the ungraduated suffix *-ā-* (*bhā-ti*: *bhā* f. = *pad-ti*: *pad* f.), which is also possible for Lat. *fa-tur* for and O.C.Sl. *ba-jq* 'fabulor' (§ 706).<sup>1)</sup>

§ 496. The strong stem is remarkable in Skr. *śē-tē* Avest. *saē-tē* Gr. *xei-rai* 'lies' (cp. Skr. perf. *śi-śy-ē*, *-śt-ē* 'lying') beside Skr. *śāy-a-tē* Gr. Hom. *xi-o-rai* opt. *xi-o-i-ro*. Very uncertain explanations are suggested in vol. I § 598 p. 453, and by Meringer in the Zeitschr. öst. Gymn. 1888, p. 134. Perhaps the irregularity was due to a very early change from thematic to non-thematic conjugation, which was suggested by *da-tē* *hō-rai* 'sits'. I believe that this same change must be assumed for *yā-ro* *ē-yen-ro* (Hesiod and other poets) beside *yā-ro* *i-yā-ro* (cp. 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *ye-yā-ten*), and for *se-rai* (only in Soph. Tr. 645) beside *se-e-rai* (cp. *se-ro*).<sup>2)</sup> It is beyond all doubt seen in *āmin-ro* = *āmeiβ-ro* in Nonnus, and other such forms in late Greek poetry (Rzach, Gram. Stud. zu Apoll. Rhod., 164), and in some Lithuanian presents in *-mi* (§ 511).

Remark. *\*yea-tai* 'clothes himself' (Skr. *eda-tē* Gr. *hēl-eotai* *hō-ro*) is not of this class, as it must be analysed *\*ē-es-tai* (§ 686).

§ 497. Like *i-mahē* (Gr. *i-o-men* § 493 pp. 51 f., § 914), many other forms show the weak-grade with bye-accent. Thus Skr. *ā-bhā-ma* Gr. *i-φθ-μεν* Umbr. *fā-tu* 'esto' Lith. *bū-k* 'be it' from *√bhey-* 'become, be'; compare the sing. with the same grade of root Skr. *ā-bhā-t* Gr. *i-φθ* (cp. perf. Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *ā-bhā-tha*), without question somewhat influenced by preterites of Class X (§§ 597 ff.) such as Skr. *ā-dr-ā-t* *ā-dr-ā-mc* *ā-gl-ā-t* *ā-gl-ā-ma* Gr. *ē-dp-ā* *i-dp-ā-men* *ē-βλ-η* *i-βλ-η-μεν*

1) *√bhā-* means 'to show, send forth, make known'. If we connect with it Skr. *bhānati* 'sounds, calls out' (Osthoff, Perf. 353 Whitney, Skr. Roots 109 f.), this must be taken as an extension *\*bh-eno* or *\*bh-eno-* (§ 619). With the same extension Moulton connects Lat. *femestra* (Proceed. Camb. Phil. Soc. 1890 May 22, p. 9).

2) The 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. mid. Ved. *d-jaṇ-ata* beside *d-jaṇ-a-nta* may be similarly taken: It is true that the word may quite well be derived from *\*e-ḡan-ato* (cp. *d-jā-ato*).

Also from  $\sqrt{er}$ - 'set in motion' ( $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\rho\theta$   $\omega\rho\epsilon\eta\theta\eta$ ;  $\epsilon\rho\sigma\eta$   $\sigma\rho\mu\eta\sigma\eta$ ) Hesych., Skr. *dr-ti* aor. mid., *dr-ta* we have ad. Idg. mid. \**r-taj*: Skr. *ir-tē* imper. *ir-šva* Avest. *ar-šva* partic. Skr. *ir-nā-s*, Gr.  $\epsilon\rho\sigma\sigma$  partic.  $\epsilon\rho\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma$  inf.  $\epsilon\rho\theta\alpha$  (I § 306 pp. 241 f.). The Skr. *ir-* Gr.  $\epsilon\rho$ - were used before sonants too, instead of \**ir-*  $\alpha\rho$ - (for \**ir-*), which gives us such forms as Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ir-atē* (cp. Skr. *ā-bhūṣ-am* instead of *ā-bhuv-am* following *ā-bhū-ṣ* etc.) 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ir-a-tē*, Gr.  $\epsilon\rho\sigma\iota\tau\sigma$   $\epsilon\rho\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ ; another re-formation is the augment in  $\omega\rho\sigma\theta$  (\* $\epsilon\rho\sigma\theta$  orig. without augment = \**r-tō*). A Germanic form of this kind is A.S. *ear-ð* 'thou art', see § 509. In the same relation as  $\epsilon\rho\sigma\iota\tau\sigma$  bears to  $\epsilon\rho\sigma\sigma$ ,  $\epsilon\mu\lambda\sigma$  stands to  $\epsilon\beta\lambda\omega$   $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$ ,  $\psi\chi\epsilon\rho\theta$ ,  $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\eta$  Hesych., since  $\beta\lambda\omega$ - represents an Idg. \**m-* (cp. I § 306 p. 243).

On de Saussure's hypothesis, *bhū-* was the weak grade of *bhəu-* (Skr. fut. *bhavi-ṣyā-ti* etc.), and *r-* the weak grade of *er-* (Skr. fut. *ari-ṣyā-ti* etc.), and so on.

Remark. To this list of forms I have hitherto added Skr. *ā-gā-ma* Gr.  $\alpha\gamma\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$ , 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ā-gāt*  $\alpha\gamma\epsilon$  (cp. *ā-bhū-t*  $\epsilon\psi\theta$ ), equating *gā-ḡ-* = \**gā-* (I § 253 p. 206). But another hypothesis appears to be preferable from Skr. *ji-gā-ti* Gr. Hom.  $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota$ , Skr. *vi-gā-man-* n. 'stop' Gr.  $\beta\acute{\eta}\nu\alpha$ , Skr. perf. mid. *ja-gē*, and others of the like nature. This is, that there were original variants \**gā-* and \**gem-*, like \**drā-* and \**drem-* 'run' (§ 488 p. 47, § 579). It would be easy to decide this point, if only \**gā-* could be found outside of Aryan and Greek. The derivation of Lett. *gāju* 'I went' is doubtful (see Wiedemann, Das lit. Pract., 141 f.), and it is worse than unsafe to adduce O.H.G. *pfad* 'path' (Fieck, Wtb. I\* 33).

§ 498. Aryan.  $\sqrt{ger}$ - 'make': Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *kār-ṣi* 2<sup>nd</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ā-kar* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *kṛ-thā* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ā-kṛ-an* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *ā-kṛ-ta*, Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *cor-ḡ* = pr. Ar. \**car-t* (I § 94 p. 89, § 647. 7 pp. 493 f.); on O.Pers. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *a-kā-ma* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *a-kū-ta* see Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 67 f. Imperative: Skr. *kṛ-dhī*, mid. *kṛ-ṣvā* Avest. *ker-šva*. Conjunctive: Skr. *kār-a-ti* Avest. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *carāni* (cp. indic. Skr. *kar-a-ti* *ā-kar-a-t*, imper. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. O.Pers. *pari-korā*). Optative: Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *kr-iyā-ma*. Skr. *kar-* always instead of regular *car-* (kept in Avestic) from the weak stem, but *ā-kar-ma* *kār-ta* have *-ar-* on the analogy of the strong. On the difficult forms Skr. *kur-mās* *kur-vās* (whence sing. *kur-mā*) opt. *kur-yā-m* etc., see I § 289 p. 231,

§ 290 Rem. p. 232, Hübschmann, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 112, von Fierlinger *ibid.* 438, Bartholomae Ar. Forsch. ii 67 f., 86 ff., J. Wackernagel in E. Kuhn's Litteraturbl. iii 55 f., and below in this volume, § 641.

✓*der-* 'aplit, burst': Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *dār-ṣi* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ā-dar*; opt. *dīr-yā-t* = \**dī-jē-t* (cp. pass. *dīr-yā-tē* partic. *dīr-yā-s*).

✓*ghen-* 'strike, slay': 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Skr. *hān-ti* Avest. *jainti*, Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *ha-thā* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ghn-ānti*, mid. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Avest. *γn-ē* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Skr. *ha-tē* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Skr. *ghn-atē*; pret. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Skr. *ā-han-am* O.Pers. *a-ja-n-am* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. Skr. *ā-han* Avest. *a-jēn* (Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xiii 64 f.) 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Skr. *ā-han* O.Pers. *a-ja* i. e. *a-ja-n* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. Skr. *ā-ha-ta* O.Pers. *ja-ta*; imperative Skr. *ja-hi* for \**jha-dhi* (I § 480 p. 355) Avest. *jaidi*. The weak form Ar. \**jha-* (Skr. *ha- ja-* Iran. *ja-*) instead of regular \**gha-* = \**ghy-* on the analogy of \**jhan-* = \**ghen-*, I §§ 453 f. pp. 335 f. Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> dual *hanvas* instead of \**ghan-* = \**ghy-yes* (I § 225 p. 193, § 229 p. 195). -*n-* passes by analogy into other weak persons: Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *han-mas* imper. *han-dhi* (contrast *jahi*). Conjunctive: Skr. *hān-a-ti* Avest. *janaiti* (cp. indic. Skr. *han-a-ti* *a-han-a-t* Avest. *janaiti* Gr. *ἰ-ἡ-ε-ο-ν*). Optative: Skr. *hon-yā-t* Avest. *janyāp* O.Pers. *janiya*, pr. Ar. \**jhan-jā-t* instead of regular \**ghanjāt* for \**ghy-jē-t* (I § 454 Rem. pp. 335 f.); also found, with regular form, mid. Skr. *ghn-īya* *ghn-t-ta*, and, on the analogy of the active, *han-t-ta*. — With thematic vowel: Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *ghn-a-ta* *a-ghn-a-n* *a-ghn-a-nta* partic. *ghn-a-māna-s* (Avest. conj. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *γn-ā-p*).

Pr. Ar. \**jon-ti* Idg. \**gem-ti*, see § 493 p. 51. Imperative: Skr. *ga-dhi* *ga-hi* Avest. *gaidi*. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Skr. *ā-gm-an* *gm-ān* Avest. *g'm-en*. Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> dual *gānvahi* regular for \**gm-u-* (I § 225 p. 193, § 229 p. 195), only with changed accent. -*n-* (for -*m-*) passing by analogy into other weak persons: Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ā-gan-ma* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *gan-tā* *gān-ta* beside *ga-tā*, *g-* instead of *j-* in Skr. *ā-gan* *gān-tu* (Avest. *jantū*), *j-* instead of *g-* in opt. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Avest. *jam-yā-p* O.Pers. *jam-īya* (Skr. *gam-yā-t*), see I § 451 p. 334.

Pr. Ar. \**ai-ti*, Idg. \**ei-ti*, see § 493 p. 51. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Skr. *ē-ti* Avest. *aē-iti* O.Pers. *ai-tiy*, 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Skr. *y-ānti* Avest. *y-ēinti*, imper. Skr. *i-hi* Avest. *i-dī i-dī* O.Pers. *i-dīy*. By re-formation: Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *i-mi* instead of *ē-mi*. Preterite 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Skr. *dy-am* O.Pers. *ayam* i. e. *ay-am*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Skr. *at-t* Avest. *ai-š* 3<sup>rd</sup> dual. Skr. *at-tām* Avest. *ai-tem*. Conjunctive: Skr. *āy-a-ti* *ā-ya-t* Avest. *ay-a-š* (cp. indic. Skr. *āy-a-īš*, Avest. imper. *ay-a* conj. *ay-a-š* opt. *ay-ōi-š*).

Skr. *kṣē-ti* Avest. *šap-iti* 'lingers, dwells', 3<sup>rd</sup> dual. Skr. *kṣi-tās* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Skr. *kṣiy-ānti*, conj. Skr. *kṣāy-a-t*: Gr. Hom. *iv-xi-μero-*, 'well built'. — With thematic vowel Skr. *kṣiy-ā-ti*.

✓ *kleu-* 'hear': Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *śrō-ši*, 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ā-śrav-am* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ā-śrō-t*, 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *śru-ta* and following the singular *śrō-ta* Avest. *srao-ta*, Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. mid. *a-srā-dām*, Skr. imper. *śru-dhi*; conj. Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *śrāv-a-tas*, opt. Avest. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *sraōmā* i. e. *sruv-i-mā*: Gr. imper. *κλῦ-θι κλῦ-τε* (cp. § 497 pp. 56 f.) *Περ-κλύ-μερο-*. — With thematic vowel Skr. *śruv-a-m* Gr. *κλύω* (cp. § 527).

✓ *derk-* 'see': Skr. *ā-darś-am* Avest. *dars-em*, 1<sup>st</sup> pl. Skr. *ā-drś-ma*, and also *ā-darś-ma* following the singular; conj. Skr. *dārś-a-t* Avest. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *dar's-a-ma* (cp. indic. Skr. *ā-darś-a-t*). — With thematic vowel Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ā-drś-a-n* opt. *drś-ē-t*.

Skr. *ā-grabh-am* Avest. *grab-em* 'I grasped', 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Skr. *ā-grbh-ran*.

Skr. *chand-* 'appear': 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *chānt-ti*.

✓ *bhejd-* 'findere': Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ā-bhēd-am* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ā-bhēt*; — with thematic vowel opt. *bhid-ē-t*. Avest. *miš-* (Skr. *mith-*) 'destroy': 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *mōist*, conj. *mōiṣ-a-š* (cp. indic. Skr. *mēth-a-ti*), opt. *miṣ-yā-š*.

✓ *dheugh-* 'milk, give milk' (cp. Fick Wtb. I<sup>4</sup> 73): Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *dōgdhi* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *duh-ānti*, mid. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *dugdhē* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *duh-atē -ātē* conj. *dōh-a-tē*, opt. *duh-i-ta*; — with thematic vowel *ā-duh-a-t* opt. *duh-ē-t*. ✓ *jeug-* 'iungere': Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *ā-yuk-ta* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ā-yuj-mahi*, Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *yāj-ēn* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. mid. *yaoy-maidē* with non-original strong stem; — with thematic vowel, Skr. *ā-yuj-a-t*.

✓ *uek-* 'wish, desire': Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *rás-mi* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *vás-ti* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *uś-mási*, Avest. *vasmī vāsti usmahī*, conj. Skr. *vás-a-t* Avest. *vasaþ* (cp. indic. Skr. *vás-a-ti* imper. *vás-a*). — With thematic yowel Skr. *uś-d-māna-s*.

Pr. Ar. *\*as-ti*, Idg. *\*es-ti*, see § 493 p. 52. Skr. sing. *ás-mi ási ds-ti* pl. *s-más s-thá s-ánti*, Avest. sing. *ahmi ahi asti* pl. *mahi* (I § 558.3 p. 414) *stā henti*, O.Pers. sing. *amty* (I § 558.3 p. 415) *ahy astiy* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *hatiy* i. e. *hantiy*; O.Pers. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *amahy* with *a-* from the singular. Pret. Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ds-am* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ds* O.Pers. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *aham* i. e. *āham* Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ds* (I § 647.7 pp. 493 f., § 649.6 p. 496), pl. Skr. *ds-ma ds-ta ds-an* O.Pers. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *aha* i. e. *āha*, cp. § 481 pp. 29 f., also unaugmented Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *as* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *h-en* Skr. *s-án*; on the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Skr. *ds-i-ṣ ds-i-t*, see § 574. Imperative: Avest. *s-dī*; Skr. *ēdhi* for *\*az-dhi* (I § 591 p. 447) instead of regular *\*dhi* following the analogy of forms with strong root. Conjunctive: Skr. *ds-a-ti ds-a-t* Avest. *aoh-a-iti aoh-a-þ* O.Pers. *ah-a-tiy*. Optative: Skr. *s-yd-t s-iyd-t* Avest. *h-ya-þ*.

✓ *ed-* 'eat': Skr. *ád-mi át-ti*. So in all the weak persons *ad-*, as 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ad-anti* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *at-tá* imper. *ad-dhi*, obviously because such forms as *\*ta \*dhi* were not clear enough (cp. above, Skr. *ēdhi*). Conjunctive: *\*ad-a-ti \*ad-a-t* (cp. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. *ad-a-sva* Gr. *ēd-ω* Lat. *ed-ō* Goth. *it-a*). On the relation between *ád-mi* and Lat. *ēst* Lith. *ēst*, see § 480 Rem. pp. 28 f., § 494 pp. 54 f.

Skr. *dhákṣi* and others of the same sort, see § 493 p. 53. Skr. *bhi-ṣak-ti* 'heals' (*bhi-* is a bye-form of *abhi*) was no longer recognised for a compound, hence 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *a-bhiṣak* R.-V. x, 131.5, following Class XV, and *bhṣajá-s* 'healing'.

✓ *dhe-ds-*, Skr. *dha-da-* Iran. *da-* (in Iranian the two stems ran into one, and it is no longer possible to distinguish their meaning exactly), see § 493 p. 53. Skr. *á-dha-t dhá-t á-da-t* pl. *á-dha-ma á-da-ma*, Avest. *da-þ da-mā* O.Pers. *a-da*; on *a* in the plural, see § 495 p. 55; mid. Skr. *á-dhi-ta á-dhi-ta*,

imper. *dhi-ṣvā*. Conjunctive: Skr. *dhd-ti* pl. mid. *dha-maḥ* Avest. *dā-its* mid *dā-itē* (§ 933). Optative: Avest. *d-ya-ḥ*.

✓*stā-*, see § 493 p. 55. Skr. *ā-sthā-ti* *ā-sthā-ma* (like *ā-dhā-ma*, see above), Avest. *paiti-ṣtā-ḥ*; mid. Skr. *ā-sthi-ta*. Conjunctive: Skr. *sthā-ti* 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *sthā-thas*, Avest. mid. *ṣtā-itē* (§ 933).

✓*dā-* 'separate, divide up' (Gr. *δα-με-ν* *δι-με-ν*): Skr. *dā-ti* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *dā-nti* (like *ā-dhā-ma*, above), mid. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ā-dī-mahi* (ep. partic. *dī-nā-s* *dī-ta-s* Gr. *δα-ν-το-μαί*).

Sometimes in place of *-i* = Idg. *-e* in roots of the latter kind, Sanskrit has *-ī*: *ā-dhī-mahi* from ✓*dhē-*, *mī-maḥ* from ✓*mē-* 'measure' (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *mī-ti*), *dī-ṣva* from ✓*dō-*, *ā-dī-mahi* from ✓*dā-*. This *ī* was connected with a very widespread 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 *-ī-* 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* *pī-yā-tē* *pī-tā-s* *pī-pī-lā* *pi-nea-ti*), *rī-* 'run, flow' from ✓*er* (*rī-ya-tē* *rī-ti-ṣ* *rī-nd-ti* *rī-t-*), *ṣrī-* 'boils' beside *ṣr-tā-s*. Another form of this determinative in Sanskrit, as Bartholomae has pointed out (Stud. zur idg. Spr., II 68 ff.), is *ai* seen in the Vedic preterites *ā-ṣar-ai-t* 'he broke up' beside *a-ṣar-l-t* *ṣar-ī-tōṣ*, and *āj-ai-ṣ* 'thou dravest' (unaugmented); and this word is closely connected with Gr. *ἀγ-ί-νω* *ἀγ-ί-νω* (cp. § 801.<sup>1</sup>) We shall meet the grade *-ī-* in several other categories of Sanskrit forms.

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

1) It is probable that another strong grade of the same determinative is contained in the Idg. present in *-ēiō* (as Skr. *ṣr-āya-ti* *cart-āya-ti* Lat. *qu-eō* *mon-eō*), to which belonged a participle in *-i-to-s* and *-i-to-s* (Class XXXII). And I would now (with Bezzenger, Zur Gesch. der lit. Spr., 195) recognise a form exactly answering to Skr. *dā-ti* in Gr. *δα-ν-το-μαί* (for \**ḍi-s* \**ḍi-t*); see § 967. 1, and § 993. 2.



*i* as well as *i* was found in the same ablaut series with *a*.<sup>1)</sup> Hence arose the above named forms *ádāmahī* instead of *ádhimahī* beside *ádham* etc., and hence *śi-śi-hi* \**śi-śi-tē* instead of \**śi-śi-hi* \**śi-śi-tē* (cp. *śi-tā-s*) beside *śi-śa-ti* (§ 538), *my-pī-mās* instead of \**my-pī-mās* (cp. Gr. *-ρα-μεν*) beside *my-ud-mi* (§ 597), *á-starī-š* instead of \**a-stariš* (§ 839). Last of all, *-i-* even pushed out *a* = *ə* in the root of forms like *pass*. \**dha-ya-tē* = Avest. *da-ye-tē* (I § 109. a. p. 101), and so we have *dhī-yá-tē* (§§ 707, 709).

It is true that there are other instances besides these of variation between Idg. *i* and *ī*; for instance, in the syllable of reduplication, §§ 467, 469, 473. Whether these had anything to do with associating *i* with *i* = *ə*, 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<sup>nd</sup> dual *spar-tam* beside *spr-tam* from *spar-* 'save, win'.<sup>2)</sup> Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *man-ta* beside Skr. *á-ma-ta* from *man-* 'think'. Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *á-hē-ma* (cp. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *á-hy-an*) from *hi-* 'impel'. Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *stō-ta* (cp. 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *stu-tam*) Avest. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. mid. *stao-maidē* from *stu-* 'praise' (cp. Skr. *stāu-ti* § 494 p. 54). Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *vart-ta* (cp. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *á-vrt-ran*) from *vart-* 'vertere'. Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *sas-ta* beside Skr. *śas-ta* from *√kens-* 'foretel' (§ 493 p. 52). Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *chēd-ma* from *chid-* 'cut'. Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. mid. *vōdham* beside *adhvam* 2<sup>nd</sup> dual act. *vōdham* (I § 404. 2 pp. 298 f., § 482 p. 356) compared with 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *rākṣi*, *√uegh-* 'vehere'. Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *á-tak-ta* beside *ták-ti* 'runs, pushes, shoots', *√teq-*, cp. the weak grade *tq-* in Avest. partic. perf. *ta-ḥk-uš-* (I § 473. 2 p. 349).

1) Bartholomae (*loc. cit.*) assumes *āi* to be an orig. ablaut; he believes *ā* came from *āi* in Idg., and e. g. Lat. *erās* (contrasted with Skr. *da-ti*) is derived by him from \**sedā-s*. I cannot approve this theory.

2) Avestio mid. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *car-tā* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *car-maidē*, compared with Skr. *á-vrt-ta*, are not safe examples to cite in proof of this re-formation, because *car-* may come from \**er-*.

Weak Stem instead of Strong: much rarer. Skr. *i-mi* beside *ē-mi* from *i-* 'go' (already cited, § 498 p. 59). Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ā-vyk* beside *vārk* (mid. *ā-vyk-ta*) from *varj-* 'twist' (but *vice versa* 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *vark-tam* instead of *vyk-tam*). Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *a-per's* instead of \**a-fraš* ground-form \**e-prāk-s* from √ *prāk-* 'ask' (*vice versa*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *fraš-tā* instead of \**per's-tā*).

§ 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. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *dda-s dda-t* drove out \**āt* (both persons) from √ *ed-* 'eat' (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ād-am* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ād-an*),<sup>1)</sup> and in Avestic *-aitē -ata* (= Skr. *-atē -ata*), endings of the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. middle, were almost entirely dropped in favour of the thematic endings *-antē -anta*, by which the plural was more clearly marked; e. g. *ānh-antē an* contrasted with Skr. *ds-atē* 'they sit' (§ 1067. 1).

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

§ 501. Armenian. *e-kn* 'he came': Skr. *ā-gan*, common ground-form \**e-gem-t*, see § 493 p. 51; the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *eki* and 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ekin* are said to be adformates of *edi edin* (see below); Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxii 75.

*em* 'am': Skr. *ds-mi*, see § 493 p. 52; 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *es* for \**es-si* (I § 559 p. 416); 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ē* following *berē* 'fert' for \**bhere-ti* (*vice versa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *beres* follows *es*); 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *en* doubtless for Idg. \**s-enti* (Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxii 71). cp. § 1019.

*e-di* 'I placed': Skr. *ā-dha-m*, see § 493 p. 53; 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *e-di-r* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *e-d* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *e-di-ē* 3<sup>rd</sup> *e-di-n*. *dī* = Idg. \**dhē-* (I § 71 p. 62), and thus the strong stem has here passed into

1) Similarly, the forms with an *i*-determinative, *ds-i-ē ds-t-t* 'eras erat' establish themselves in place of *ds* (Vedic for both persons); see § 519.

the plural. The same is true of *e-tu* 'I gave': Skr. *á-dā-m*, see § 493 p. 53; 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *e-tu-r* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *e-t* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *e-tu-ē* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *e-tu-n*; *tu-* = Idg. \**dō-* (I § 87 p. 84). But *ta-* = Idg. \**dā-* is the stem of the present 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ta-mē* 'damus', whence *a* appears instead of *u* in the singular *ta-m* (I § 109. a. p. 101).

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

§ 502. Greek. *κτεν* 'kill' = Skr. *kṣan-*: 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ἔ-κτα-μεν*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ἀν-ί-κτα-το* = Skr. *á-kṣa-ta*, 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *ἔ-κτα-θης* = Skr. *á-kṣa-thas* (§ 503). The Homeric 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ἔκταν*, conj. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *κτεόμεν*, partic. *-κτάς* follow the analogy of roots in *-ā* (*ἔ-φάν* etc.), like *γέγονα* (Pindar) from *✓γεν-* etc. (the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 47). — With thematic vowel *ἔ-κτασ-ο-ν*.

Remark. The Homeric 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *-έκταν* and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ἔκτα* are peculiar. *α* is certainly short only in *Ο* 432 (*ναί*), *ἐνὶ δρόμῳ κακίῳτα* *Κοδρόπου* (*καδρόπου*). Is it possible that the original forms were *ἔκταν ἔκτα* with Aeolic *α*, which would be re-formates of the same nature as 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ἔκταν*? Or is *ἔκτα* a re-formate like Skr. *á-qrā* beside *várk* (§ 499 p. 63), and *-έκταν* due simply to the analogy of *ἔκταν*?

*✓bher-* 'ferre': 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *φερ-τε* instead of \**φρα-τε* \**φαρ-τε*: Skr. *bhár-ti* 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *bhṛ-tām*, Lat. *fer-t* (§ 505).

*✓ger-* 'swallow': *ἔ-φρω* \**εφαγην*, *ἔδανε*, *δέσπασεν*; *βρω* = \**gr-*, weak grade like *φρ-* in *ἔ-φρω*, § 497 p. 56.

*ἔ-μι* 'I will go', Idg. \**éi-mi*, see § 493 p. 52, 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *εἰ* for \**ei-(s)*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *εἰσι*; pl. 1<sup>st</sup> person *ἔ-μεν* 2<sup>nd</sup> *ἔ-τε*; 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ἔασι* either for \**ik-anti* (Idg. \**ik-énti*) or instead of \**áanti* (Idg. \**i-enti*) with *i* prefix following *ἔ-μεν ἔ-τε*. Pret. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ἦα* instead of \**ḡa* for \**ḡh-a* (Skr. *áy-am*) following forms with a personal ending beginning in a consonant, such as *ἦ-μεν* (on the augment see § 480 p. 28, § 481 pp. 29 f.); unaugmented 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *ἔ-την*. Imperative *ἔ-θι*: Skr. *i-hí*. The old conj. and opt., answering to Skr. *áy-a-ti* and *i-yá-t*, are not found. Partic. fem. *Ἐν-ιάσα*, epithet of Demeter, for \**i-ar-ka*: Skr.

*g-at-ī*. — With thematic vowel: indic. pres. *εἰς-ίσουσι* pret. Hom. *ἴ-ε* *ῆ-ε* *ῆ-ομεν* Att. imper. *ἰ-ό-ντων* opt. *ἴ-ο-ι* partic. *ἰ-ό-ντων* (cp. J. Baunack, Curt. Stud. x 96 ff., Rhein. Mu. xxxvii 472), and compare conj. *ἴ-ω* *ἴ-ω-μεν*.

*φθί-ε-* 'destroy' = Skr. *kṣay-*: 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *ἔ-φθι-το*: Skr. imper. *kṣi-dhī*. Conjunctive *φθί-ε-ται*; in Skr. we should expect *\*kṣay-a-tē* on the analogy of *kṣi-dhī* (cp. indic. *kṣay-a-ti*). Partic. *φθί-μενος*. — Whether *φθίω* (*ἔφθιεν*, Σ 446) is *φθί-ω* or *φθι-ίω* is not clear; cp. § 527 Rem.

✓ *λε-υ-* 'loose': mid. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *λύ-το* *λῦ-το*, 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *λύ-ντο* (cp. § 1068).

1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ἴδ-μεν* (Att. *ἴσμεν*) 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *ἴσ-τε* may be connected with the sing. *\*uejd-mi* or *ald-a*, it matters not which; see § 493 p. 52.

*εἰμι* 'I am', Idg. *\*es-mi*, see § 493 p. 52. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *εἶ* for *\*l(σ)ι* = Skr. *āsi*, also *εἷς* (*εἷς*) and *ἴσ-οι*, see § 987. 1. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ἴσ-τι* (*ἴσ-τι*): Skr. *ās-ti*. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *εἰμέν* (Dor. *εἰμῆς*) for *\*lσμεν* shows the strong stem for the weak (cp. O. Icel. *er-o-er-u* § 507), like the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *ἴσ-τε* and the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Ion. *ἴδου* for *\*lσ-αντι*; Att. *ἴσμεν* follows *ἴσσι* in having *σ*. The 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Dor. *ἴντι* Att. *εἰσι* instead of *\*έντι* = Goth. *sind*, Idg. *\*s-enti* (§ 1020. 1); for the 1 bathing compare *όντι* instead of *\*ό-ν-τι* § 493 p. 53. With 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Dor. *έντι* goes the participle Dor. *έντι*, nom. pl. *έντι-ε*, whose fem. *έσσα* is a transformation of *\*άσσα* (cp. Skr. *s-at-f*). Pret. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Hom. *ἦα* Att. *ἦ* for *\*es-η*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Dor. *ἦς* for *\*es-t*, 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ἦμεν* for *\*ἦσ-μεν* (I § 565 p. 410), 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *ἦσ-τε*, 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Dor. etc. *ἦν* for *\*ἦ(σ)-εν* = Skr. *ds-an* (§ 1020. 1), also Boeot. *παρ-εῖαν* for *\*ἦαν* (§ 1021. 1); for the augment, see § 480 p. 28, § 481 pp. 29 f. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ἦν* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *ἦτε* are re-formates caused by preterites like *ἔβλην*, Class X, the point of contact being *ἦμεν*. The 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Hom. *ἦν* Att. *ἦν* is probably identical with 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Dor. *ἦν* for *\*ἦ(σ)-εν*; the Indicative had adopted *-αν* (*-σαν*) in other forms in place of 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *-εν* (§ 1021). and thus *ἦεν* ceased to be a clear plural, beginning with sentences like *ἃ δὲ τετελεσμένα ἦεν* (Σ 4), *ένθα μάλιστα μάχη*

καὶ φύλοντι; ἦν (N 789). In the dialect of Herodotus ἦα became εἰ (I § 611 p. 462), whence by analogy εἰα-εἰα-τε, cp. § 504. On ἦσα and Hom. ἦσαδα ἦν ἦν, see §§ 583, and 858. 2. Imper. ἴσθι for Idg. \*z-dhi with prothetic vowel (I § 626 p. 470); and Hecataeus has ἴσθι with the strong stem introduced. The old conjunctive (Skr. *ás-a-ti ás-a-t* Lat. *er-i-t*) was lost in the historic period, and in its place we find ἴσσι ἴσμεν ὦ ὦμεν like Skr. *as-a-t*. Opt. εἴην for \*ἴσ-κη-ν or \*ἴσ-τη-ν with the strong tense-stem (cp. § 943). — There is connexion between 1<sup>st</sup> pl. ἐμὲν in Callimachus, the Thess. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. ἐμὶ, and Hom. inf. ἴμεν ἐμεναι: either on the analogy of εἰσι: τιθεῖσι (Dor. ἐντὶ: τίθενται) and of εἴην: τιθείην, infinitives were formed to match with τίθειμεν and τιθέμεν τιθέμεναι (cp. Mess. conj. ἦνται and Hom. conj. μετ-ῆσι (§ 934); or the parallel forms εἶσι: ἴσσι, ἴω: ἴω and so forth gave the impression that the two verbs were distinguished by having one ε and the other ι before the same endings, and thus ἐμὲν and ἴμεν(αι) came into existence on the analogy of ἴμεν (1<sup>st</sup> pl.) and ἴμεν(αι). In any case, ἐμὶ was not made until after ἐμὲν. — The enclisis of εἰμὶ, 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 (\*s-o- and \*es-o-), see § 493 p. 53.

ἦ 'said' (with pr. Greek ἦ) for \*ἦκ-τ (I § 652.5 p. 496), cp. Skr. *dh-a* Lat. *ājō*. The ablaut in the root needs explaining (cp. Lat. *ad-āgium: prōd-igium*). In the mould of φῆν φην, φημι, φησι beside φῆ φῆ (pr. Gr. φᾶ-) were cast ἦν, ἦμι, ἦσι.

√*dhē-* 'place': ἔ-θε-μεν etc., see § 493 p. 53. Similarly, from √*sē-* 'send forth, let go, sow': εἴμεν pr. Gr. \*ἔ-(σ)ε-μεν (cp. § 478 p. 26), unaugmented καὶθ-ε-μεν ἀφ-έ-την, ξίρ-ε-το; Fick's comparison (Wtb. I<sup>1</sup> 13 f.) with Skr. *sā-* in *dāsa-sā-* 'let go' (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *dā-sā-t* 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *si-tam*) is unsafe.

√*dō-* 'give': ἔ-δο-μεν etc., see § 493 p. 53. Similarly from √*kō-* 'to be sharp, have one's wits sharpened by

'experience' (Gr. *κατα-ειδέναι*, Lat. *cos ca-tu-s*, O.Ir. *cath* 'wise'):  
*ἐ-κατα-ειδέναι* and *κατα-ειδέναι* Hesych., cp. partic. *ειδώς*.

✓ *bhā-* 'show, make open, declare': *πα-δείξαι* Dor. *πα-δείξαι*  
 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *πα-δείξαι* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. mid. *πα-δείξαι*, cp. § 495 p. 55.

✓ *stā-* 'stare': *ἐ-στην* *ἐ-στημεν*, 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid.-past.  
*ἐ-στά-θης* (: Skr. *á-sthi-thās*, § 503) etc., see § 493 p. 54,  
 § 495 p. 55.

§ 503. A number of forms of the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. pret. mid. with the personal ending *-θης* = Skr. *-thās* were the foundation for the *θην*-aorist, *ἐ-κρά-θης* = Skr. *á-kṣa-thās* beside *ἀν-έκρατο* (§ 502 p. 64), *ἐ-τά-θης* = Skr. *á-ta-thās* from ✓ *ten-* 'stretch', *ἐ-φθί-θης* beside *ἐ-φθι-το* (§ 502 p. 65), *ἐ-πέ-θης* beside *ἐ-περ-το* *ἐ-ερ-το* (§ 504), *ἐ-τί-θης* = Skr. *á-dhi-thās* beside *ἐ-τι-το* from ✓ *dhē-* 'place' (§ 493 p. 53), *ἐ-δό-θης* = Skr. *á-di-thās* beside *ἐ-δο-το* from ✓ *dō-* 'give' (§ 493 p. 53), *ἐ-στά-θης* = Skr. *á-sthi-thās* from ✓ *stā-* 'stand' (§ 493 p. 54). See §§ 589 and 1049. 2.

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

✓ *ghey-* 'pour': *ἐ-χε(ν)-α*, Aeol. (Hom.) *ἔχεν-α* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *ἐ-χυν-το* *χέ-το*: Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *hē-ṣi*. From this beginning we have *ἐχέας ἐχέας ἐχέει ἐχέει ἐχέαιεν ἐχέαιεν* and so forth, instead of \**ἐ-χυνς* \**ἐ-χεν* \**ἐ-χυν-μεν*, and middle *ἐχέαια*. ✓ *gíey-* 'set in motion, drive' (Gr. *οἰστέ-οιστε*, I § 489 p. 360): Aeol. (Hom.) *ἔ-οιστε* *οἰσά*, imper. *οἰ-θι* *ἔλθι* (Hesych.) 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *ἔ-οισεν-το* *οἰ-ρο*. Hence *ἔ-οιστας* and so on, also middle *οἰσάα*. Similarly *δέαο* 'videbatur' doubtless is due to \**ἔ-δεα* = \**e-dei-η*: Skr. redupl. *á-dī-dē-t* imper. *dī-dī-hi* (*δοδάσσο* with the root-grade *doj-* is derived from some noun). Herodotus has *ἔα* and *ἔα* from *ἔα*, 'eram', see § 502 p. 66.

Of the same sort are the reduplicated *ῥῥα-α ῥῥα* etc., and *ῥῥα-α ῥῥα* (*ῥῥα-α* = \**ῥῥα-α*); see §§ 557, 569. Parallel to *ῥῥα* is the form *ῥῥα-α*, which is not reduplicated, but is derived from another root and compounded with the preposition *ῥ* (the Author, Idg. Forsch. i 174); *ῥῥα* 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 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular active. This would become \**ῥῥα-α* (κτ), and if in its stead was used a form with the thematic vowel, *ῥῥα-α* (beside *ῥῥα-α* Hesiod), and similarly *ῥῥα* (from *ῥῥα*) replaced \**ῥῥα*, and *ῥῥα* (beside *ῥῥα*) replaced \**ῥῥα* and so forth, the rest followed naturally: for *-α* in the first and *-ε* in the third person brought the forms into direct relation with the *s*-aorist. *ῥα* *ῥα* are late, and copied straight from *ῥῥα* *ῥῥα*.

Remark. According to Fick (Gött. gel. Anz. 1881, pp. 1432 f) and others, in all these preterites the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. (*-α*), 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. (*-α-α*), etc., contain original dissyllabic roots ending with *α* (= Gr. *α*), in which case they will belong to our Class IX. For instance, *ῥῥα* in *ῥῥα* is connected by these scholars with Skr. *bhar-* in *bhar-*. 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' bher-* 'bear': Lat. *fer-t*: Skr. *bhar-ti*; 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *fer-tis* imper. *fer-te* have taken the strong stem, like Gr. *φέρ-ε* (§ 502 p. 64), and like Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *bhar-tām* beside the regular *bhṛ-tām*. The 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. indic. *fer-s* and the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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.<sup>1)</sup> In the pres. indic., *ferō*

1) That *fer* comes from \**ferē*, as Pauli asserts (Altlt. Stud., IV 29). I do not believe. If *ferē* in the Song of the Arval Brethren really means 'bring', this, and no other, would represent Idg. \**bherē*; and *ferē* would stand to *fer* as Marruo. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. pres. *ferē-t* to Lat. *fer-t*.

*ferimus ferunt* have a thematic vowel. Umbr. *fertu* 'ferro' may be identical with Lat. *fer-tō*, or it may be the same as the thematic Gr. *φερέ-τω* (see I § 633 p. 474).

✓ *uel-* 'wish': Lat. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. injunct. *vel* for \**uel-s* (I § 655 p. 506), now a particle,<sup>1)</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *vultis* for \**ul-tes*: Skr. *ā-vy-ta* etc., see § 493 p. 51. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *vult* instead of \**vel-t*. On 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *veis* *vis*, see below. Optative: *vel-im vel-i-mus*, like (Goth. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *vil-ei-ma* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *viljan*), with strong stem,<sup>2)</sup> as contrasted with Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *eur-i-ta* for \**ul-i-to* (see p. 51 footnote); in consideration of *nōli nōlite nōlītō* (*nōlō* for *ne-volō* as *malō* for \**mag(e)-volō mavolō*, cp. I § 432 c p. 322 on the word *avilla*), this irregularity may be easily explained on the supposition that there was an indic. \**uel-(i)ō* \**uel-i-s* (Class XXVI), which is represented by O.H.G. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *willu* Goth. inf. *viljan* partic. *viljands* O.C.Sl. *velja veli-ši* etc. (§ 727).<sup>3)</sup> — With thematic vowel indic. pres. *volō*, *volumus volumus* (§ 530), *volunt*, for \**ul-ō* etc. Umbr. *veltu* 'eligito' is as ambiguous as *fertu*, see above.

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

✓ *ei-* 'go': 2<sup>nd</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Lat. *ei-s* *i-s* and *i-t* ground-forms \**ei-s* and \**ei-ti*, 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. *i-mahē* Gr. *ἴ-ο-μεν* (p. 52), but the strong grade *ei-*, cp. Pelign. *ei-te* 'ite'. The rare Lat. 3<sup>rd</sup>

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 *celum* from \**colim* by vowel assimilation. *cel* shows that Latin had the grade *uel-* in this root.

3) A different account of Lat. *nōli* may be seen in Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* xxx 313 (Wackernagel's), and Stolz, Lat. Gr.<sup>2</sup> pp. 378, 379.



pl. int was coined to complement *īmus* on the strength of *sta-nt* : *stā-mus*, *ple-nt* : *plē-mus* etc.

Partic. *iēns* like *prae-s-ēns* (II § 126 p. 396, and IV p. 50, footnote). With thematic vowel *eō* for *\*ei-ō*, *eunt*, partic. *eunt-is* etc., and the conj. *eam*: cp. Skr. indic. mid. *āy-a-tē*. *ambiō ambiunt* are doubtless not to be compared with Gr. *ἰού αἰο-ἰούων* etc. (pp. 52, 65); they must be a re-formation following *finio*, the compound being treated like a simple word.

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

Remark 1. Side by side with *potis sum* (*poti-s* 'mighty, powerful, able' = Gr. *πό-τε-ς*), for which a plural *potis sumus* was formed instead of *\*potēs sumus* after *potis* had crystallised (cp. Skr. *dātāmaḥ* 'we will be giving' instead of *dātārah* *smas*, and like phrases), was a variant *pote sum*. *pote* is an adverb (acc. sing. neut. for *\*poti*, or loc. in orig. -ē, see III § 260 p. 160), cp. *bene sum*, *tātō sum*. *potisset potissime* are for *potis 'aeet 'see*, cp. *situst* for *situs 'st*. But *potes potest potestis* come from *pote es* etc. So also *possum possim* (whence *possem posse* by complementary analogy) come from *\*potsum \*potim, pote-sum, pote-sim*. It is doubtful, however, whether -e- disappeared by regular syncope, or whether *potest* : *est* suggested *\*potsum* : *sum* (I § 501 p. 367).

✓ *ed- 'eat'*: *ēs ēst ēstis ēste*, pass. *ēstur* (on -st- instead of -ss- -s- see I § 501 Rem. 2 p. 368); with thematic vowel *edō 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 page 105 should be corrected by this statement.

of \**d-ñ*-, perhaps to distinguish this optative from the old optative of *dō*- 'give' (see below).

✓ *dhē*- 'place': Lat. *con-di-mus con-di-tis crēdimus* for \**-fa-mos* \**-fa-tes*: Gr. *ē-θε-μεν*, see § 493 p. 53. The forms *-dō* *-dis* *-dit* *-dunt* are thematic.

✓ *dō*- 'give': Lat. *da-mus da-tis red-dimus -ditis*: Gr. *ē-de-μεν*, see § 493 p. 53.<sup>1)</sup> Imperative: *ce-do* (2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *ce-tte* for \**ce-date* \**ce-dite*, I § 633 p. 474), see § 957. The old optative stem \**d-ñ*- (cp. Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *d-yā-ñ*) is found in Osc. *da-did* 'ledat'; to this the conj. *da-dad* Lat. *dē-dat* is related like Lat. *ed-a-mus* : *ed-ñ-mus* (see above). The old singular forms \**dō-m* \**dō-s* \**dō-t* are gone; we have instead *dō* *das* *dat*. The last two represent the stem used in composition for the conjunctive, *d-a-* (cp. *-bas* for \**bhay-a-s* indie. beside conj. *fu-a-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* *-diti* *-dunt*. But undoubtedly *-dimus* *-ditis* are what \**-damus* \**-datis* must regularly become, cp. fut. O.Lat. *reddibō* for \**red-dabō*.

Remark 2. The compounds of *dhē*- and *dō*- were confused in Latin, beginning with the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> plural; *-dī* = \**-fa-* \**-dha-* and = \**-de-* \**-da-*. Compare Darmesteter, *De conj. Lat. verbi dare*, Paris 1877; Postgate, *Dare*, 'to give' and *-dere* 'to put', *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1880—81 pp. 99 ff.; Thielmann, *Das verbum dare im Lat.*, Leipzig 1882; the Author, *Liter. Centr.* 1882 col. 1389 ff.

Whether the forms *stā-s* *stā-t* from ✓ *stā*- 'stand' are rightly placed here with the rest, as is suggested by Skr. *ā-sthā-t* and Gr. *ē-στη* (§ 493 p. 54), is very doubtful because of *stā-mus* *stā-tis*. One cannot see why an orig. \**stā-mus* (cp. *dā-mus*) should have been altered (*ē-στημεν* as compared with *ē-δομεν* 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 augmented preterite *dat* in Vergil's *cratera antiquum quum dat Siphonia Dido* (Aen. IX 268). Many points in Vergil's manner are in favour of Bréal's assumption (see Ladewig on Aen. I 79, II 275, Kühnert *Ausf. Gr.* II 90).

is preferable to refer the whole present of this verb *stū* to \**stā-jō*; see § 584 Rem., § 706. This is supported by Umbr. *stahu* 'sto'.

§ 506. Keltic.  $\sqrt{es}$ - 'to be',<sup>1)</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. O.Ir. *is* O.Cymr. *iss* is for \**es-ti*. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. O.Ir. *if* O.Cymr. *int* for \**s-enti* (II p. 196, footnote). The *a-* of the Irish proclitic sing. 1<sup>st</sup> pers. *am* 2<sup>nd</sup> *at* (3<sup>rd</sup> relat. *as*), plur. 1<sup>st</sup> *ammi* 2<sup>nd</sup> *adib* (3<sup>rd</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *at* Mid.Cymr. *ioyt* may contain the pronoun of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person, and may thus be explained as \**esi*+*t-*. Mid.Cymr. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *wyf* seems to be due to the analogy of the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. Is Ir. *am* the same? Others regard these forms as coming from the root *ei-* 'go'. The 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ammi* Mid.Cymr. *ym* may be \**esmesi*. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *adib*, *-b* is certainly an affixed personal pronoun, and *-di-* the ending of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. = *-thi* *-the* (ground-form \**tes-i*, the suffix re-formed on the analogy of the 1<sup>st</sup> pl., see § 1014). This brings us back to an imaginary ground-form \**s-e-tes-i* + *s-*, which would be a re-formate following the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. \**senti*; and so perhaps the 1<sup>st</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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. *kjmerth* 'sumpsit' for \**kymberth* from  $\sqrt{bher-}$ . 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.

1) Compare Zimmer, Kelt. Stud. II 133; Stokes, The Neo-Celtic Verb Subst., 43 ff., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVIII 93 ff.; d'Arbois de Jubainville, Mém. Soc. Ling., v 239 f.; Strachan, Bezz. Beitr. xv 114 ff. In the text I follow chiefly information received from Thurneysen.

1<sup>st</sup> pers. *-burt* 2<sup>nd</sup> *-birt*, plur. 1<sup>st</sup> *-bartmar* 2<sup>nd</sup> *\*-bartid* 3<sup>rd</sup> *-bartatur*. Compare Lith. *ėitù* 'I go' formed from *ėi-t* 'he goes' = Skr. *ē-ti* § 686 Rem. 2, Gr. *ἔδωθην* from *i-ḍō'-ḍḡs* = Skr. *ś-di-thās* § 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-ēt* 'he took' for *\*-em-to*, Mid.Cymr. *gwan-t* 'percussit, feriit'.

§ 507. Germanic. *√vel-* 'wish': opt. Goth. *viljau* pl. *vilei-ma* O.H.G. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *wili* O.Icel. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *vilja*. The strong stem (cp. Skr. *vr-iyā-t vr-i-ta*), like that of Lat. *velim*, is due to a confusion with the indic. *\*vel-(i)jo- \*vel-i-* (O.H.G. *willu* O.C.Sl. *velja*). See § 493 p. 51, § 505 p. 69, § 928.

*√\*gem-* 'go, come': opt. A.S. *cyme* = Goth. *\*kumjan*: Skr. *gam-yā-m*, see § 493 p. 51.

*√es-* 'to be', see § 493 p. 52. The indicative forms are Goth. *im, is, ist, sijum sium, sijub siub, sind*; O.H.G. *bin, (bist bis), ist, birum, birut, sint*; O.Icel. *em, est, es* (Run. *is*), *erom erum, erod erud, ero eru*. First it must be mentioned that the O.H.G. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *bist bis* belongs to a present to be described below in §§ 707 and 722, formed from *√bhey-*, namely 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *\*bhū-ijō* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *\*bhū-i-si* etc. (A.S. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *béo* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *bis* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *bið*, O.Ir. *biu* etc.), and that the similarity of *bis* and *\*is* (= Goth. *is*) produced *b-im b-irum b-irut*. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Goth. *im* O.H.G. (*b-)im* for *\*immi \*ismi* = Skr. *ās-mi* (I § 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 2<sup>nd</sup> 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. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *es*, see Noreen in Paul's Grundr. I 515. The 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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*. O.Icel. *ero eru* is pr. Germ. *\*iz-unþ* (§ 1025.1 b), an injunctive in which the strong stem has taken the place of the weak (cp. Gr. *ἴσται*, § 502 p. 66). As the ending of *\*izunþ* agreed with the so-called preterite-presents, such as Goth. *mun-un* (§ 508), on their analogy the 1<sup>st</sup> pl. O.Icel. *erom* O.H.G. *(b-)irum* and the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 sijub* are probably transformed from *\*iz-un* *\*iz-uþ*, caused partly by *sind*, partly by the feeling that the opt. *sijau sijáis* etc. should contain a stem *sij-*. — The optative has always a weak root: 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Goth. *sijau* O.H.G. *s-i* O.Icel. *s-ja*; on the inflexion, see § 947. — Partic. *\*s-und-* = Idg. *\*s-yt-* in Goth. *sunjis* 'true' for *\*sund-ja-* = Skr. *sat-yá-* 'true'; also thematic *\*s-o-nt-* in *\*sanþ-o-* 'true, truthful' A.S. *sōð* O.Icel. *sannir* (cp. § 493 p. 53).

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

Remark. On O.H.G. *stāu stēm* 'I stand' and *gāu gēm* 'I go', see § 708. They certainly do not belong to this class of presents.

§ 508. Some Preterite-Presents may also be placed in this class. Goth. *mun-un* 'they think', opt. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *mun-ei-ma*: Skr. mid. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ā-ma-ta* partic. *man-aná-s*, *√men-* 'think, mean'. Goth. *ga-daur̥s-un* O.H.G. *gi-turrun* 'they dare', opt. Goth. *ga-daur̥s-ei-ma* O.H.G. *gi-turr-ī-m*: Skr. partic. *dhṛ̥ṣ-aná-s*, *√dhers-* 'dare'. Goth. *vit-un* O.H.G. *wizz-un* 'they know', opt. Goth. *vit-ei-ma* O.H.G. *wigg-l-mēs*: Skr. *vēt-ti* opt. *vid-yá-t* etc., see § 493 p. 52; the weak forms of this verb were present and perfect at the same time.

If this view be right, Goth. *mun-un ga-daurs-un eit-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. *ar<sup>h</sup>-šva* Gr. *ἄρ-σο*, which point to an Idg. mid. pres. *\*p-tai* (mentioned above, § 497, page 57) are A.S. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *ear-ð ar-ð ear-t* 'thou art' pl. *ear-un ar-on* with *ar-* = Idg. *\*p-*. For the meaning cp. Gr. *ἄρ-σο-α*, which in late Greek had also the meaning 'I am'. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing., see § 490. 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 81.

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'. ✓ *per-* (in Gr. *περάω* 'I pass through' etc.), he assumes an older present stem *\*př-*, 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *\*př-mēs* (cp. Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *pār-ṣi*).

§ 510. Balto-Slavonic. To Idg. *\*veid-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 *ž* instead of *z*, see § 493 p. 52, §§ 949, 962. An undoubted re-formate is Lith. *pa-vojzdmi* instead of *pa-vojždiu* '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. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Lith. *es-mi* O.C.Sl. *jes-mŕ*; on the analogy of thematic verbs with *-u* Lith. *esmū* (like Lett. *esmu* Pruss. *asmu*), and then a 2<sup>nd</sup> person *esmi* was made on the analogy of *sukl* : *sukū*. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. Lith. *esi* (Pruss. *assai assei asse essei*) O.C.Sl. *jesi*, see § 991. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Lith. *ēs-ti* *ēs-t* (Pruss. *ast est*) O.C.Sl. *jes-tŕ*. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. may have taken *es-* instead of *s-* in pr. Balto-Slav.: Lith. *ēs-me* *ēs-te* (Pruss. *asmai, astai asti estei*) O.C.Sl. *jes-mŕ* *jes-te*. Partic. Pruss. *-sins* dat. *-sentismu*: cp. -Lat. *-sēns* and Gr. Dor. *ἴρ-εç* (p. 50 footnote). —

\**s-o-* in O.C.Sl. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *sqŭ* partic. Lith. *sąs sančio* O.C.Sl. *sy sasta*. \**es-o-* in Lith. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *esù* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ėsame* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *ėsate* partic. *ėsąs*. It is not clear whether Lith. opt. (permissive) 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *tesē* 'sit' is to be analysed *te-sē* (cp. Pruss. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. opt. *sei-ti*) or as *t-esē*. With augment pr. Balto-Slav. \**es-o-m* etc.: in O.C.Sl. this occurs in the imperfects *nesē-achŭ -aše -aše* pl. *-achomŭ -ašete -acha*, unthematic 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *-as-te* also found (so too the dual has both *-asta -aste* and *-ašeta -ašete*), see § 903; in Lith. the preterite *ē-* passed into the present, *esù esi esa esame esate* partic. *ėsąs*, see § 480 p. 28. — On Lith. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *grà*, which comes from the root of Skr. *īr-tē* Avest. *ar'-šva* (īr. *ōp-wa-a* A.S. *ear-ā*, see J. Schmidt in Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 595 f.

The present of *✓ed-* 'eat' was in pr. Balto-Slav. \**ed-mi*; for its *ē* see § 480 Rem. pp. 28 f., § 494 p. 54. Lith. sing. 1<sup>st</sup> pers. *ėmi* 'I devour' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ėsti* *ėst* pl. 1<sup>st</sup> *ėme* 2<sup>nd</sup> *ėste* dual 1<sup>st</sup> *ėdva* 2<sup>nd</sup> *ėsta* (on *ėdmi* *ėdme* see I § 547 p. 401); O.C.Sl. sing. 1<sup>st</sup> pers. *jamŭ* 2<sup>nd</sup> *jasi* 3<sup>rd</sup> *jastŭ* pl. 1<sup>st</sup> *jamŭ* 2<sup>nd</sup> *jaste* 3<sup>rd</sup> *jad-ętŭ* (on 1<sup>st</sup> dual *javē* instead of \**jadvē*, see I § 547 Rem. §, p. 401). — Also thematic Lith. *ėdu* *ėdi* etc., Pruss. opt. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *idaiti* O.C.Sl. partic. *jady jadašta*.

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., Bezzenberger 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' 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *pa-velt*, refl. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *velmē-s*; Skr. *āv-ya-ta* etc., see § 493 p. 51.

*ei-mi* 'I go'; Skr. *ē-mi* etc., see § 493 p. 51. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *ei-si* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ei-ti* *ei-t*. The strong stem passes into the

plural: 1<sup>st</sup> *ei-me* 2<sup>nd</sup> *ei-te*; but 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. High Lithuanian *eĩte* on the analogy of *ėste*: *ėme*, *dãste*: *dãme*. Old injunctives are *ei* 'let him go' (*te ne ei* 'let him not go') *ei-mè* 'let us go' (dual *ei-và*). Imper. *ei-k* = Lat. *i* (§ 957). Indic. now usually *ei-nà*, as Class XIII (§ 615). Pruss. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *ēi-sei* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ēi-t* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ēi-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 *\*iē-nt-*, Class X; see § 593. — *\*i-o-* appears to be contained in Pruss. opt. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *jeis* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *jeiti*.

*lėk-mi* 'I remain' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *lėk-ti* *lėk-t*: Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *rik-tam* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. *rik-thās*, *√ lej-* 'linquere'.

*rāudmi* 'I lament' (regularly *\*raumi*, I § 547 p. 401): Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *raostā* with irregular strong stem (cp. § 499 p. 62), *√ rey-* 'rudere'; cp. Skr. *rōdi-ti* pl. *rudi-mas* § 574.

*deg-mi* 'I burn': Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *dhákṣi*, see § 493 p. 53.

*sėdmi* 'I sit' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *sėst* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. refl. *sėdmė-s*: Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *sāt-si*, *√ sed* 'sedere', see § 494 pp. 54 f.

*jā's-mi* 'I gird' (beside *jā'siu*): Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *yās-ti*, stem *jōs-*. Compare § 656.

The imperatives *dė-k* 'lay' (inf. *dė-ti*, *√ dhe-*) and *dā-k* 'give' (inf. *dā-ti*, *√ dō-*), of which the latter must be compared with Lat. *ce-do*, show the same formation as *ei-k* (= Lat. *i*). O.Lith. *dā-di* *dā-d* 'give' doubtless = *\*dō-dhi*. See I § 547 Rem. 1 p. 401, IV §§ 546, 957, 962.

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' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ap-bart*, *√ bher-* (Lat. *ferō*), *bar-* for *\*bh̥-*; *snėk-ti* 'it snows', *√ sneigh-*; *mėg-mi* 'I sleep' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *mėkt* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *mėkte*; *rāug-mi* 'I belch', *√ reug-* (Gr. *ῥεῦγομαι*);<sup>1)</sup> *sėrg-mi* 'I protect, watch' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *sėrkti*; *kósmi* 'I cough' (Skr. *kās-a-tē*).

1) On account of a form *riāugmi*, Wiedemann (Lit. Praet. 186) derived this word from a groundform *\*reug-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 *-iu* with accentuated root (1<sup>st</sup> pl. *-i-me* Class XXVI § 727), as *sėdīu*, *sėrgiu*, *kósiu*, *žydīu* (*žydmi* 'I bloom'), *cziaūdīu* (*cziaūdmi* 'I sneeze'), *stóvtu* (*stóvmi* 'I stand'), *mėrdīu* (*mėrdmi* 'I lie a-dying') etc. With these verbs in *-iu*, the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. ran together and became indistinguishable in form (2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *-i* for *\*-ji*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *-i* for *\*-i-t*), 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 *sėst(i)* (*sėdmi*) beside *sėdīu* was formed *sėrkt(i)* etc.

Observe also *tenk-mi* instead of *tenki* 'I last' (pref. *tekaū* inf. *tėkti*), and the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *gėl̃bste* (*gėlp̃ste*), from *gėlbmi* 'I help' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *gėlb̃t(i)* *gėlp̃t(i)*, — for its *s*, compare that of *eĩ-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 (1<sup>st</sup> strong grade in the *e*-series), but weak grade if the accent fell upon the thematic vowel: e. g. (A) *\*bhēydh-o-* = Skr. *bōdh-a-* Gr. *πυθ-ο-* (*bōdh-a-ti* *πυθ-ο-μαι* *πυθ-ε-σθαι*); (B) *\*bhudh-ō-* = Skr. *budh-ā-* Gr. *πυθ-ῶ-* (*budh-ā-nta* *ῶ-πυθ-ι-το* *πυθ-ῶ-σθαι*), from *√bheydh-* '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. *tār-a-ti* : *tir-ā-ti* 'oversteps, passes',

*kārṣ-a-ti*: *kṛṣ-ā-ti* 'draws, ploughs', *sārp-a-ti* 'crawls': *ā-srp-a-ti*: (Ir. Att. *ṛepn-u*: Dor. *ṛepn-u* (instead of *\*ṛepn-u*) 'I turn', *leipn-u* 'I leave' inf. *leipn-eiv*: *ē-lipn-o-v* inf. *lipn-eiv*, *ēχ-u* 'I have' inf. *ēχ-eiv*: *ē-ax-o-v* inf. *ax-eiv*; Lat. *ic-ō*: *ic-ō*, *rūd-ō* (O.H.G. *riugu*): *rud-ō* √ *reyd*.<sup>1)</sup> Goth. *veiha* 'I fight' pr. Germ. *\*uēix-ō*: O.Icel. *veg* 'I compel' pr. Germ. *\*uiz-ō*, Goth. *trud-a* 'I tread': O.H.G. *trit-u*; O.C.Sl. *der-q* 'I tear': Czech *dr-u* Serv. *-dr-en*, O.C.Sl. *tid-q* 'I wait' (Lith. *geiditi*): *tid-q*, Lith. *mālā-u* 'I milk': O.C.Sl. *māz-q*. The two kinds are often found in different languages with the same root; as from √ *dhreygh-* 'hurt, deceive' Aryan has only *\*drughō-*, Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *druh-a-s* etc., and Germanic only *\*dhrēygho-*, O.H.G. *triugu*.

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.<sup>2)</sup> Secondly, that type *A* is conjunctive to indicative 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 *bhēydh-o* *bhēydh-e* and *bhūd-h-ō* *bhūd-h-t* by levelling; originally, they assume, the varying accent produced *\*bhēydh-o* and *\*bhūd-h-t* (e. g. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *\*bhūd-h-o-mos* but 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *\*bhūd-h-t-te*); then, by levelling, we have 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *\*bhēydh-t-te* beside *\*bhūd-h-t-te* following *\*bhēydh-o-mos*, and vice versa we have *\*bhūd-h-ō-mos* beside

1) I here assume that *icō* comes from *\*eicō* and *rūdō* from *\*roydō* *\*reydō*. But this is not certain; for *i* and *u* may represent Idg. *i* and *u*.

2) Type *B* is found distinguishing the aorist sense from other present stems, and not only those of the *A* type; as Skr. *āśīda-t* Lat. *sedī-t* (§ 528), but pres. Skr. *chināt-ti* opt. *chindē-ta* Lat. *scindō*.

\**bhégdho-mos* following \**bhuddh-é-te*, and so on.<sup>1)</sup> This must have happened, if it did happen, in the proethnic language, because even then the type \**bhuddhó-* had become associated with aoristic action, and \**bhégdho-* with the meaning of the conjunctive.

To explain the relation of II *A* and *B*, others call attention to the change of accent in the Balto-Slavonic present indicative, as Lith. *vedù vedi eëda*. But the original accent of the Balto-Slavonic verb, which is the important point, has not yet been made out for certain; the only certain point is that the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. accented its final, Lith. *vedù sukù* = Russ. *vedú skú*. And even if the accentuation varied then in the different persons, how can it be proved that this mode was older than the Sanskrit?

The same double forms are seen in Class XIII (as Gr. *δῆλωμαι* : *βόλωμαι*, § 607), and Class XXVI (as O.H.G. *wirk(i)u* : Goth. *vaírka*, § 705). What may be the cause of the difference is no less dark in these than in the other.

§ 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. *é-ti*); see § 493 ff. Here we confine ourselves to *o*-forms with indicative meaning.

Pr. 1<sup>st</sup> sg. *bhér-ō* 'I bear' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. \**bhér-e-t(i)*: Skr. *bhár-ami bhár-a-ti*, Armen. *ber-em* (§ 978) *berē* for \**ber-e-ti* (I § 483 p. 357), Gr. *φέρ-ω*, Lat. *fer-ō*, O.Ir. *-biur* for \**ber-ō ber-i-d*, Goth. *baír-a baír-i-p*, O.C.Sl. *ber-e-tū*; pret. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. \**b-ber-e-t*: Skr. *á-bhar-a-t*, Armen. *e-ber*, Gr. *ἔ-φερ-ε*; imper. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. \**bhér-e*: Skr. *bhár-a*, Armen. *ber*, Gr. *φέρ-ε*, O.Ir. *beir*, Goth. *baír*; opt. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. \**bher-o-i-s*; Skr. *bhár-ē-ṣ*, Gr. *φέρ-ο-ι-ς*, Goth. *baír-á-i-s*, O.C.Sl. *ber-i*. \**gén-ō* 'I beget': Skr. *ján-ami*, Gr. 'pret. *ἰ-γεν-ό-μεν* (§ 518), O.Lat. *gen-ō*. \**μεί-ō*: Avest. *vay-əmi* 'I drive, scare off', Lith. *vej-ù* 'I pursue'. \**pléu-ō* 'I swim, flow, sail': Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. *pláv-a-tē*, Gr. *πλέ(F)-ω*, Lat. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. \**plov-i-t* (imperf. *plovēbat* Petron., inf. *per-plovēre*

1) Such levelling as this would not be extraordinary. For instance, the present of Lat. *vindicō* becomes in O.Fr., regularly, *venge venches venchet vengons vengiez venchent*; from this we have two series derived, (1) *venge vengē vengēt vengons vengiez vengent*, and (2) *venchez venche venchet vengions venchiez venchent* (Neumann, Zeitschr. Rom. Phil., xiv, 562).

Fest.), O.C.Sl. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *plot-e-tü*. \**uért-ō* 'verto': Skr. *vart-ami*, Lat. *vert-ō*, Goth. *vairþ-a*. \**léogh-ō*: Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *rāh-a-tē* 'hastens, accelerates', O.Ir. *lingid* 'springs up' (R. Schmidt, Idg. Forsch. 1 48 ff., 76), O.H.G. *gi-lingu* 'I have good progress or result'. \**nés-e-taj*: Skr. *nás-a-tē* 'approaches lovingly, joins company with some one', Gr. *vé(σ)-e-rai* 'returns home', Goth. *ga-nis-a* 'I am saved, survive, recover'. \**gēys-ō* 'I taste, try, enjoy': Skr. *jōṣ-āmi* Gr. *γεύ-ω γεύ-ο-μαι* (cp. the Author Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 31), Goth. *kins-a*. \**uéggh-ō* 'veho': Skr. *vāh-ami*, Gr. Pamphyl. imper. *φει-ι-τω* (?), Lat. *veh-ō*, Goth. *ga-viga*, Lith. *vež-ù* O.C.Sl. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *vez-e-tü*. \**seq-e-taj* 'is with, follows': Skr. *sác-a-tē*, Gr. *ἐπ-ε-rai*, Lat. *sequ-i-tur*, O.Ir. *sech-idir* (now a weak verb), Lith. *sek-ù*. \**pég-ō* 'I cook': Skr. *pác-āmi*. Lat. *coqu-ō* for \**quequ-ō* \**pequ-ō* (I § 336 p. 267), O.C.Sl. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *peč-e-tü*. \**ág-ō* 'I drive, lead': Skr. *áj-āmi*, Armen. *ac-em*, Gr. *ἄγ-ω*, Lat. *ag-ō*, O.Ir. *ag-im*, O.Icel. infin. *aka*.

On present forms with Idg. *ē* in place of *e*, as Gr. *μῆδ-ο-μαι* Lith. *bėg-u* Skr. *sādh-āmi mārij-āmi*, see § 471 p. 16, § 480 Rem. pp. 28 f., § 494 pp. 54 f. To the same list perhaps belongs the West-Germ. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. pret., as O.H.G. *māgi AS. mæte measuroc* (Gr. mid. *ἐ-μῆδεο -ov*), O.H.G. *āgi* 'atest' (Lith. *ėd-u* 'to eat', but cp. the augmented Skr. *ād-a-s* Gr. *ἤδ-ε-ς*), see § 893.

§ 515. Aryan. Skr. *bhár-a-ti* 'fert' Avest. *baraiti*, pret. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Skr. *á-bha-ra-n* Avest. *bar-e-n* O.Pers. *a-bar-a*: Armen. *ber-em* etc., see § 514 p. 80. Skr. *nám-a-ti* 'bows' Avest. *nemaiti*, √ *nem*-. Skr. *náy-a-ti* 'leads' Avest. *nayeiti* O.Pers. pret. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *a-nay-a-m*. Skr. *cyáv-a-tē* 'raises itself, stirs' Avest. *šavaitē* O.Pers. pret. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *a-šiyav-a-m*: Gr. Aeol. *σείω*, √ *giew*-. Skr. *párd-a-tē* 'farts': Gr. *πέφ-ε-rai*, O.H.G. *firz-u*, Lett. *perd-u*. Skr. *śás-a-ti* 'utters solemnly, praises' Avest. *sanghaiti* Gathic *sənghaiti* 'speaks, teaches', √ *kens*-. Skr. pret. *á-bandh-a-t* 'he bound' Avest. *bandaiti*: Goth. *bind-a*, √ *bhendh*-. Skr. *bhéd-a-ti* 'splits'. Goth. *beit-a* 'I bite', √ *bheid*-. Avest. *snacē-aiti* 'it snows' (I § 454 p. 335): Gr. *νείψ-ω*, Lith. dial. *snėg-a* Lett. *snig*, √ *eneigh*-. Skr. *bódh-a-ti*

'wakes, awakes, is observant' Avest. mid. *baodaiti*: Gr. *παιδ-ε-ται* 'learns, discovers', Goth. *ana-biuda* 'I bid, command', O.C.Sl. *bljud-e-tŭ* 'observes', with secondary (*lj*),  $\checkmark$  *bheudh-*. Skr. *pāt-a-ti* 'flies' Avest. *pat-e-nti* 'they fall, run' O.Pers. *ud-āpatuta* 'he ruised himself': Gr. *πέρ-ε-ται* 'flies', Lat. *pet-ō*. Skr. *āj-a-ti* 'lead<sup>s</sup>, drives' Avest. *azaiti*: Armen. *acem* etc., see § 514 p. 80. Skr. *ārṇ-a-ti* 'earns, deserves' Avest. *ar<sup>s</sup>jaiti*: Gr. pres. *ἄρῃ-α-ν* 'I earned',  $\checkmark$  *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. \**dāḥ-é-ti* 'bites' properly becomes \**dāśāti*, but what we find is *dāsati*, cp. also *dāṣ-a-ti* from \**deñk-e-ti*. See I § 672 p. 537. But this retraction of accent is found with other root vowels as well, not *ā* only; as *gīrāmī* beside *gīrdmī* (§ 525); cp. *hīnv-a-ti* *hī-nv-a-nti* in contrast with *hī-nō-ti* *hī-nv-ānti* § 651.

§ 517. Armenian. *berem* 'I bring, carry': Skr. *bhārāmi* etc., see § 514 p. 80. *celem* 'I split', beside Lith. *skelū* (*skel-jū*) 'I split', *e-ker* 'he ate': Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *gar-a-t* (should be \**gar-a-t*, but follows *gīrā-ti* and others),  $\checkmark$  *ger-*. *e-tes* 'he saw' (*tes-* for \**ters-*, I § 263 p. 214): Skr. *ā-darṣ-a-t*, Gr. *δέξ-α-ται*, O.Ir. *con-dercar* 'conspicitur',  $\checkmark$  *derk-*. *liz-em* 'I lick': Gr. *λίζ-ω*.

Remark. Whether the *i* of *gitem* 'I know' was Idg. *e<sub>i</sub>*, which would connect the verb with Skr. *vēd-a-tē* Gr. *εἶδ-ε-ται*, or Idg. *oi<sub>i</sub>*, which would make it a transformation of the perfect (Gr. *οἶδα*), is not to be decided, Bartholomae's efforts notwithstanding (Bezz. Beitr. xvii 94 f.). The meaning does not prove a perfect origin for it.

§ 518. Greek. *δαί-ω* 'I flay'; Goth. *ga-taira* O.H.G. *zīr-u* 'I tear to pieces, I destroy', O.C.Sl. *der-e-tŭ* 'tears to pieces'. *οἶν-ω* 'I groan, bemoan': Skr. *stan-a-ti* 'thunders, roars'. *ῥέ(f)-ει* *ῥεῖ* 'flows': Skr. *srāv-a-ti*. *ῥί(f)-ω* 'I run': Skr. *dhav-a-tē* 'streams, flows' (on *dhāv-a-ti* see § 480 Rem. p. 29). *τίθ-ω* 'I satisfy, please': Skr. *tārp-a-ti*. *ἀμείλ-ω* 'I milk': O.H.G. *mīlch-u*, Lith. *mīlš-u*. *εἶδ-ο-μαι* 'I appear, am like': Skr. *vēd-a-tē*. *πειθ-ω* 'I persuade': Lat. *fid-ō*, Goth. *beid-a*

'I await'. *ēv-ō* 'I burn' Ion. *ēv-ō* (cp. the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 31): Skr. *dh̥-a-ti*, Lat. *ār-ō*, √ *ays-*: *ēv-ō* for \**ēv̥hō* as *εἰπόμην* for \**dhēpómην*, see § 478 p. 26. *ἐρεῖδ-ω* 'I redden, make red': O. Icel. *rǫð* (inf. *rjōða*), √ *reudh-*. *στέγ-ω* 'I cover': Skr. *sthaḡ-a-ti* (grammarian's word), Lat. *teg-ō*. *ἐχ-ω* 'I hold, have': Skr. *sāh-a-tē* 'overcomes' (on *sāh-a-ti* see § 480 Rem. p. 29). *ζέ-ω* 'I seethe, boil': Skr. *a-yas-a-t*, O.H.G. *jis-u* *gis-u*, √ *jes-*. *αἶθ-ω* 'I burn', √ *aiḡh-* (I § 93 p. 87, § 318 p. 237). *τήκ-ω* 'I melt' Dor. *τάκ-ω*, *λήγ-ω* 'I cease', √ *slēg-* (I § 565 p. 423).

Since the preterites *ἐγενόμην* 'I became' *ἔτενον* 'I struck' *εἶλον* 'I seized' were used as aorists, their infinitives and participles were accented like forms of Class II B: *γενέσθαι*, *ἐλόν*, *τενόν* instead of \**γενέσθαι*, \**ἐλον*, \**τένον*. As regards the aorists *ἔτενον* 'I bore, begot' and Dor. Lesb. *ἐπτενον* 'I fell' (*τεκεῖν*, *πετόν*), these may possibly belong by rights to II B, and may have exchanged their *ə* for *e* (cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 109). Compare § 527.

§ 519. Italic. Lat. *fer-ō*, cp. Umbr. conj. *ferar* 'let him bear' (*fertu* 'ferto' for \**fere-tōd*?): Skr. *bhār-a-ti* etc., see § 514 pp. 80 f.). *col-ō* for \**quel-ō* (I § 172.3 p. 152): Skr. *cār-a-ti* 'moves, goes', Gr. *πέλ-ε-ται* 'is in motion, versatur' (this should really be *rel-*, but follows the analogy of *ἐ-πλ-ε-το* etc., see I § 427 b with Rem. 1, pp. 313 f.). √ *gel-*. Lat. *sonō* (inf. *sonere*) for \**syen-ō* (cp. *colō*): Skr. *svān-a-ti* 'sounds, echoes'. || *trem-ō*: Gr. *τρέμ-ω* 'I tremble' (cp. § 488 p. 47). *ex-uō* for \**oyō* \**eyō* (cp. Umbr. *an-ovihimu* 'induimino' § 716). *serp-ō*: Skr. *sārp-a-ti* Gr. *ἐρπ-ε* 'crawls'. *deic-ō* *dīc-ō*. Umbr. *deitu* *teitu* 'dīcō' (I § 502 p. 368), cp. Osc. *deicans* 'dicant': Goth. *ga-teiha* 'I announce, inform', √ *aiḡh-*. Lat. *mējō* probably for \**mejō* (I § 389 p. 291, § 510 p. 374): Skr. *mēh-a-ti* Avest. *magasiti*, Armen. *miz-em*, A.S. *mīz-e*: | *mejgh-*. | *douōō* *dūcō* for \**deuk-ō*: Goth. *tiuh-a* 'I draw', √ *deuk-*. || *ed-ō*: Gr. *ἐδ-ω* Goth. *it-a* (on Lith. *ēd-u* see § 480 Rem. pp. 28 f.). *ter-ō*: Skr. *tākṣ-a-ti* 'makes', Gr. *τετατον* 'prevents our deriving the

present from *\*tek-se-ti*, and putting it in Class XX; see I § 554 p. 408, Kretschmer. Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 433. Lat. *ag-ō*, Umbr. *aitu* *aitu* Osc. *actud* 'agito' (I § 502 p. 368): Skr. *āj-a-ti* etc., see § 514 p. 81. Lat. *scab-ō*: Goth. *skab-a* 'I scrape, shave' (I § 346 p. 271).

§ 520. Keltic. Irish Presents of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> 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. *bhāṛ-a-ti* etc., see § 514 p. 80. *cel-im* 'I hide': O.H.G. *hīl-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-ja* inf. *mlē-ti*). *con-dercar* 'conspicitur': Skr. *ā-darś-a-t* etc., see § 517 p. 82. *reth-im* 'I run': cp. Lith. *rit-ù* 'I roll' (II B). *ē-rig* (Mid.Ir.) imper. 'raise yourself, rise': Gr. *ὀρίγ-ω* 'I reach', Lat. *reg-ō*. *lengim* 'I spring' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *lingid*): Skr. *rāḥ-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. *skānd-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. *ορεύ-ω* 'I go', Goth. *steig-a* 'I climb', *✓ steigh-*. *fed-im* 'I lead': Lith. *ved-ù* '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-ù* 'I run, flow' O.C.Sl. *tec-e-tū* 'runs, flows'. *can-im* 'I sing': Lat. *can-ō*.

§ 521. Germanic. Goth. *ga-taira* O.H.G. *zir-u* 'I tear, destroy': Gr. *ῥίπ-ω* etc., see § 518 p. 82. O.H.G. *brim-u* 'I growl, roar': Lat. *frēm-ō* (cp. Osthoff, M. U., V 93 ff., Per Persson Stud. zur Lehre der Wurzelerweiterung, 288). Goth. *ga-pairsa* 'I dry up': Gr. *ῥέσ-ε-ται* 'dries'. O.H.G. *wirr-u* 'I mix up, confuse' (instead of *\*wirs-u* by analogy of *gi-worran* and other such, where *-rr-* comes from *-rz-*, cp. I § 582 Rem. 1 p. 435): Lat. *verrō* for *\*vers-ō* (also *vorro*). O.H.G.

*smilz-u* 'I melt': Gr. μέλδ-ε-ται 'melts, liquefies'. Goth. *bind-a* O.H.G. *bint-u* 'I bind': Skr. á-bandh-a-t, √ *bhrendh-*, see § 515 p. 81. Goth. *leihv-a* O.H.G. *lith-u* 'I lend': Gr. λείν-ω Lith. *lėk-ù* 'I leave', √ *leig-*. O.H.G. *sihu* 'I struin, filter': Skr. *sēc-a-tē* 'pours', √ *seig-*. Goth. *vis-a* O.H.G. *wis-u* 'I remain, linger': Skr. *vās-a-ti* 'lingers, dwells'. Goth. *qīþ-a* O.H.G. *quid-u* 'I say, speak'. Goth. *skáid-a* O.H.G. *scēid-u* 'I sever', √ *sčhajit- sčhajd-* scindere.<sup>1)</sup> Goth. *áuk-a* 'I increase (trans. or intr.)', √ *aug-*. Goth. *lēt-u* O.H.G. *lag-u* 'I leave': cp. Gr. ληθεῖν κοπιᾷν, κεντημέναι Hesych. (Sütterlin, Habilitationsthesen p. 3) and Lat. *lassu-s*: the *d* of *lēd-* is perhaps a root-determinative (§ 699).

§ 522. Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *gen-ù* 'I drive', O.C.Sl. *žen-e-tū* 'drives': Skr. *han-a-ti* Avest. *janaiti* 'strikes, kills' (§ 498 p. 58), Gr. ἔ-θerv-ο-ν θerv-εῖν 'strike' (§ 518 p. 83). O.C.Sl. *pīje-tū* *pīje-tū* 'drinks' (inf. *pi-ti*) probably for \**pej-e-ti* (cp. *poji-ti* 'to give to drink'): Skr. *páy-a-tē* 'swills, strains', cp. § 535. O.C.Sl. *slov-e-tū* 'is called' for \**slev-e-tū*: Gr. κλέ(φ)-ε-ται 'celebratur', √ *kley-*. Lith. *kert-ù* 'I hew': Skr. *kartati* 'cuts' (instead of \**cart-a-ti*, following *krt-a- kṛnt-a* etc.), √ *qert-*. O.C.Sl. *brězetū* 'cares for, tends' for \**berg-e-tū* (I § 281 p. 224, § 464 p. 340): Goth. *baīrg-a* 'I keep, preserve' O.H.G. *birg-u* 'I save, hide', √ *bhergh-*. Lith. *brėd-ù* 'I wade', O.C.Sl. *brėd-e-tū* 'wades'. Lith. *velk-ù* 'I drag, pull', O.C.Sl. *věč-ě-tū* 'drags, pulls' (like *brězetū* above): Gr. ἔλκ-ω 'I drag, pull', √ *syelq- yelq-*. Lith. *les-ù* 'I pick': Goth. *lis-a* 'I pick, gather'. Lett. *strig-u* 'I sink in' (= Lith. \**strėg-ù*), O.C.Sl. *striž-e-tū* 'shears, shaves': O.H.G. *strihh-u* 'I strike, stroke', √ *streig-*. Lith. *lėk-ù* 'I leave': Gr. λείν-ω etc., see § 521 p. 85. O.C.Sl. *fid-e-tū* 'waits': cp. Lith. *gėidėti* 'I desire after'. (Class XXVI). O.C.Sl. *bljud-e-tū* 'observes': Skr. *bōdh-a-ti* etc., see § 515 pp. 81 f. Lith. *deg-ù* 'I burn', O.C.Sl. *žef-e-tū* 'burns' for

1) Not *sphajit-*, as assumed in I § 533 p. 406. See Hübschmann, Zeitschr. deutsch. morg. Ges., XXXVIII 424 f., Burg, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 367.



\**geg-e-tū* and this for \**deg-e-tū* (cp. Russ. *iz-gaga* 'heart-burn':<sup>1)</sup> Skr. *dāh-a-ti* 'burns', √ *dhegh-*. Lith. *pesz-ù* 'I pluck': Gr. *πίζω* 'I shear'. Lith. *kós-u* 'I cough': Skr. *kās-a-tē* 'coughs'.

§ 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.

Pr. Idg. \**grr-ō* 'I swallow' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. \**grr-ét(i)*, √ *ger-*: Skr. *gir-āmi gil-āmi*, O.C.Sl. *žir-e-tū*. \**mll-ō-* from √ *mel-* 'grind' (O.Ir. *melim*, II A, § 520 p. 84): Armen. *mal-em* 'I shatter, crush', Lat. *mol-ō*, Mod. Cymr. *mal-of* 'I grind'. \**gym-ō-* \**gm-ō-* from √ *gem-* 'go, come' (Goth. *gim-a*): Skr. opt. *gam-ēt* Avest. *g'm-a-p* *gm-a-p* O.Pers. mid. *a-gm-a-tā*, O.H.G. *cum-u* (I § 227 p. 193); whether Lat. conj. *ad-venat* (properly \**-cem-a-t*, but changed by analogy of *venio -ventu-s*, see I §§ 207, 208 pp. 174 f.) and Osc. indic. *kumbened* 'con-venit' (-n- instead of -m- as in Latin) should be placed here or in Class II A is uncertain; — and a parallel stem, Idg. \**gém-ti* § 493 p. 51. \**uyn-ō-* from √ *uen-* 'win, love': Skr. opt. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *can-ē-ma* (conj. *van-d-ti*), Goth. *un-vunands* 'not rejoicing'.<sup>2)</sup> \**yni-ō-* from √ *nem-* 'take': Lat. *emō*, Lith. *imù* O.C.Sl. *ima*; see I § 219 Rem. 2 p. 187, § 238 p. 199; Solmsen in Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 81; Brückner, Arch. slav. Phil., x 183 (not so Fick, Wtb. I<sup>4</sup> 363, Wiedemann Lit. Praet. 118). \**bhuu-ō-* \**bhu-ō-* from √ *bhey-* 'become, be': Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *á-bhuv-a-t* *bhuv-a-t* (for the accent, see § 525)

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

2) A comparison of *un-vunands* with forms like *kumun* = Idg. \**gyn-u-mēs* (§ 546) shows that *n* and *m* following *y* and *yē* as transition-consonants or consonant glides were pronounced more weakly than when they had their ordinary value. Thus it would be better to write \**uyn-ō-*, and on the same principle \**bhu-ō-* (= Skr. *bhuv-a-t*), \**du-ō* (= Gr. *δύω*) rather than \**bhuu-ō-* \**duu-ō*. The difference is seen in pr. Gr. \**hékētorē* = *ἐκείνου* an (*h*)*ékēnos* = *ἐκκενος*.

Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *be-a-p* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *bāu* i. e. *bu-e-n*, Lat. aor. (perf.) *fui-t* (compare conj. Osc. *fuid* = \**fu-ē-t* and O.Lat. *fu-a-s*) fut. *-bō- bunt* for \**-fu-o-* (§ 899) Osc. indic. aor. *au-māra-ffed* 'mandavit' = Avest. *bo-a-p* (§§ 874, 899), O.Ir. *no charub* for \**cara-b(y)ō* (*cara-?* § 899), O.C.Sl. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. injunct. *ba* for \**by-o-nt* (§ 727); it is not certain that Gr. *qívō* belongs to this class, as it may be derived from \**qr-íō* (we have in Acolic *qívō* § 527 Rem., § 707). \**qrt-ó-* from *√qert-* 'cut': Skr. *á-krt-a-t*, O.C.Sl. *črti-e-tū*. \**dyk-ó-* from *√derk-* 'see': Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *á-dyś-u-n* opt. *dyś-ē-t*, Gr. *ē-dyax-o-v* inf. *dyax-ēiv*. \**mlg-ó-* from *√melg-* 'stroke, milk': Skr. *mj-á-ti* 'strokes off, cleans', Mid. Ir. *blegaim* 'I milk', O.C.Sl. *mlüz-e-tū* 'milks'. \**dāk-ó-* from *√deāk-* 'bite': Skr. *dās-a-ti* (for the accent, see § 516 p. 82, § 525), Gr. *ē-dax-o-v* (I § 224 p. 192). \**rud-ó-* from *√reyd-* 'lament': Skr. *rud-a-ti*. Lat. *rud-ō* O.H.G. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. pret. *rugg-i* for \**rut-i-z* (§ 893). \**vid-ó-* from *√vej-d-*: Skr. *á-vid-a-t* 'he found' Avest. Gathic *vīd-a-p*, Armen. *e-git* 'he found', Gr. *īd-ōv* Lesb. *ē-rō-o-r* 'I saw' inf. *īd-ēiv*, inf. Goth. *vit-an* O.H.G. *wigg-an* 'know'. \**s-ó-* from *√es-* 'be': Lat. *s-u-m s-u-mus s-u-nť*, partic. Gr. *ōiv* Lat. *sōns* O.Icel. *sannr* Lith. *sąs* O.C.Sl. *sy*. see § 493. \**dh-ó-* from *√dhē-* 'raíraí': Skr. *dh-a-t*, Lat. *con-dō*, see § 493 pp. 52 f. Goth. *magan* 'be able' partic. *magandz*, O.C.Sl. *moga* 'I can', beside Gr. *μῆχος* 'help, remedy' (*η = á*), cp. § 887.

§ 524. Aryan. Skr. *sphur-a-ti* 'pushes away; accelerates', *√sper-*; Avest. *sparaiti* may belong either to II A or II B (cp. I § 290 p. 232). Skr. *tir-a-ti tur-a-ti* 'presses or passes through', *√ter-*. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *r-a-nte*, *√er-* 'set in motion'. Imperative: *jā-a*, *√gen-* 'know'. Optative: *san-ē-t*, *√sen-* 'win', cp. I § 231. *kṣiy-á-ti kṣy-á-ti* 'lingers† dwells'. *a-khy-a-t* 'he looked' (in composition), variant stem *khy-ā-* § 736. Optative: 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *huv-ē-ma* pret. *d-hv-a-t* from *hā-* 'call to', *√ghay-*. *dhuv-a-ti* 'shakes': is Gr. *θίω* 'I offer' the same as this, or does it come from \**θr-íō*? see § 527 Rem. *suo-á-ti so-á-ti* 'begets creates'. *scj-á-ti* 'sends forth', Avest. *her'z-aiti*. Skr. *bhijj-á-ti* 'roasts' (perf. *babhrájja* and *babhárja*): Gr. *φρίγ-ω* Lat. *frīg-ō*.

Idg. \**bhr̥g-é-ti* or *bhr̥g-é-ti* (cp. Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 358). *á-vrt-a-t*, √ *yert-*: does Lat. *vortō* (beside *vertō*) come from pre-Italic \**yrt-é*? 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *spūrdh-á-n* beside *spārdh-a-tē* 'strives', *spūrdh-* = \**spārdh-*, cp. partic. *spṛdh-ānā-s*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. (aor.) *bhr̥ś-a-t* 'fell' beside pres. *bhr̥ś-a-tē*. *viś-á-tē* 'enters', Avest. *viś-aitē*. Skr. *á-sic-a-t* 'he poured out': O.H.G. *stg-u* 'I fall down, trickle' pr. Germ. \**sikō*, √ *seig-*. Partic. *diś-á-māna-s*, √ *deik-*: cp. O.Icel. *tega* 'to show' (beside *tja* = Goth. *teihan*, II A). *bhuj-á-ti* 'bends, pushes away', Avest. *bāj-a-p* 'pushed away': Gr. *ἔ-φυ-ο-ν* 'I fled' inf. *φυ-εῖν*, A.S. *būg-e* 'I bow', √ *bheug-* *bheug-*. Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *druh-a-s*, Avest. *dru-šaiti*, √ *dhreygh-* 'deceive, lie'. Skr. *gñh-a-ti* 'hides' (for accent see § 525) 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *guh-a-s*, Avest. mid. *ā-guz-ē*. From √ *dō-* 'give' Skr. *dā-a-t* (*ā + a-d-a-t*), Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. opt. *dōi-š*: Lat. *red-dō*, see § 493 pp. 53 f. From √ *stā-* 'stand' Skr. *astha-t* Avest. *a-xšt-a-p*, see § 493 p. 54. Skr. *-h-a-ti* in *ujha-ti* 'lets go' for \**ud + ihati* beside *jā-hā-ti* 'leaves'.

§ 525. Many forms of this class have in Sanskrit the accent of II A; as *dāś-a-ti* √ *deñk-*, *gñr-āni* beside *gñr-āni* (§ 523 p. 86), *bhāv-a-t* (p. 86). *kṛp-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. *pac-a-ti* 'coquit' represents original \**peq-e-ti* (II A), or orig. \**peq-é-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 *ā* as the weak grade with secondary accent for roots of the form *peq-* (Bezz. Beitr., xvii 109 ff.), which brings presents like *pac-a-ti* under II A. Bartholomae, page 117, conjectures that an Ar. \**pid-é* = \**pid-é-* from √ *pid-* 'sit' is contained in Avest. *hid-a-ti*.

§ 526. Armenian. *mal-em* 'I crush, shatter' √ *mel-*: Lat. *mol-ō* etc., see § 523 p. 86. *barj-i* 'I raised' (pres. *barnam* for \**barj-na-m*): Skr. *bṛh-a-ti* 'strengthens, lifts up', √ *bhergh-*. *e-git* 'he found' (pres. *gt-anem*): Skr. *á-vid-a-t* etc., see § 523 p. 87. *e-liḥ* 'he left' (pres. *lk-anem*): Gr. *ἔ-λη-ο-ν* inf. *λη-εῖν*, √ *leiq-*. *e-tuḥ* 'he spewed' (pres. *tk-anem*).

§ 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. *λείπειν*: *λεπ-ειν* (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 *γέρ-ε-σθαι*, not \**γέρ-ε-σθαι* (see § 518 p. 83), and *γράφ-ε-σθαι* *γλύφ-ε-σθαι* instead of \**γράφ-ε-σθαι* and \**γλύφ-ε-σθαι* (cp. § 775 Rem.). In the finite verb, the original accent of II *B* remained in a few imperatives like *ἰθ-έ*, see § 958. It is difficult to judge whether the old accent remains in words whose root has ceased to form a separate syllable, as 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *σχ-έ-το* conj. *σχ-ῶ* from *√segh-*, 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 \**γραφ-ειν* *γραφ-ειν* to *γράφ-ειν* and *γράφ-ειν*, 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 *δακρ-ειν* instead of \**δακ-ρ-ειν* cp. Skr. *gṛ-ya-ti* (§ 611), *τίσ-ειν* instead of \**τισ-ειν* cp. Skr. *ṭ-ya-ti* (§ 652), *ἰσ-ειν* instead of \**ισ-ειν* cp. Skr. *ṣ-ya-ti* (§ 673), *βούρ-ειν* instead of \**βου-ειν* cp. Skr. *gam-ya-ti* (§ 713), *ἄρ-ειν* instead of \**ἄρ-ειν* cp. Skr. *cē-vij-yā-ti* (§ 730), *ἰσ-ειν* instead of \**ι(σ)-ειν* cp. Skr. *iṣ-ya-ti* (§ 743). This applies to all denominative verbs (Class XXXI), as *δραίν-ειν* *δραίν-ειν* *φιλ-ειν* *φιλ-ειν* *κρίν-ειν* *κρίν-ειν* *ἀγγελλ-ειν* *ἀγγελλ-ειν* instead of \**δραίν-ειν* \**φιλ-ειν* etc., compare Skr. *pṛtanā-yā-ti* *vaśnā-yā-ti* *arāti-yā-ti* *gānu-yā-ti* *vyāṇ-yā-ti* *adhār-yā-ti*. For these denominatives another fact has to be taken into account. In protothnic Greek, verbs in *-ειν* like *φιλ-ειν* had become indistinguishable from verbs of Class XXXII, in *-ειν*, as *φασ-ειν* = Skr. *bhāṛāyāmi* (§ 801); and even before the accent was seized upon to help in distinguishing aorist from present, \**φιλ-ειν* may have become *φιλ-ειν* by analogy of *φασ-ειν*, and then the verbal nouns of other denominative classes may have been drawn into the same circle of attraction.

*ἰ-πταρ-ο-ν* 'I sneezed' *πταρ-ειν* from *√pster-*. *ἔ-βελ-ο-ν* 'I threw' *βελ-ειν* from *√gel-*. *ἔ-πλ-ε-το* *ἔ-πλ-ε-το* 'versalutur' from

1) Observe that the circumflex of these contracted nom. sing. masc. forms, *ἄρ-ειν* *φιλ-ειν*, supports the theory of a change of accent here set forth. The old accentuation of the thematic vowel would have produced \**ἄρ-ειν* \**φιλ-ειν* like *ἴσ-ειν* for *ἴσ-ειν*.

✓*qel-*. *ī-tajē-o-v* 'I cut' *tajē-ēiv* from ✓*tem-*. *ē-ḡar-o-v* 'I died' *ḡar-ēiv* instead of \**qar-*, beside *ē-ḡero-v* from ✓*ghen-* (I § 429 Rem. 1 p. 317): Russ. *žnu* 'I cut off' for \**gñn-q*, see § 534. *ī-xtar-o-v* 'I killed' *xtar-ēiv* from *xter-*, beside 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ē-xra-miv* Class I § 502 p. 64. *ā-v-olōm* 'I open' for \**ā-fij-ai*, cp. Hom. *ō-iy-re-ro* and Lesb. inf. *ō-ēly-ēv* (§ 643) *ē-pi-o-v* 'I drank' *pi-ēiv* beside *pi-ḡe* Class I; *xlō-ai* 'I hear' beside *xlō-ḡe* Class I, § 498 p. 59 (cp. W. Schulz, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 240); it is not certain, I freely admit, that these stems in *-i-o-* and *-v-o-* are rightly classed here; see the Remark. *βραχ-ēiv* *συνίραι* ('grasp') Hesych.: Skr. *mṛś-ā-ti* 'touches, grasps'. *ῥάφ-ai* 'I scratch in, incise, write', ✓*gerph-* (A.S. *ceorfan* 'cut, carve' Mid.H.G. *kerben* 'to notch, indent' *kerre* 'a notch'). Dor. *τραπ-ai* 'I turn' (Att. *τρέπ-ai* II A), Att. *ē-τραπ-o-v* *τραπ-ēiv*. *χάσθ-ai* 'I dry up, wither', beside Lith. *skreb-iū* 'I grow dry'. *ē-lax-o-v* 'sounded, cried, spoke' *lax-ēiv*: Lat. *loqu-or* (cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 121). *ē-paḡ-o-v* 'I experienced' *paḡ-ēiv*, beside *πείθ-ος*. *e-πίθ-ε-ro* 'he obeyed, listened to' *πιθ-έ-σθαι*, ✓*bhejdh-*; on Goth. *us-bida* (Romans 9. 3), see § 722. *ix-é-σθαι* 'to arrive' beside pres. *ἵκ-ai*. *ē-πι-γ-o-v* 'I climbed, went' *σιγ-ēiv*, ✓*steigh-*. *γλύφ-ai* 'I dig in, engrave, incise': A.S. *clāf-e* 'I cleave, split' (O.H.G. *chliub-u*. H A); cf. Lat. *glāb-ō* see § 529. *ē-πύθ-ε-ro* 'he learnt' *πυθ-έ-σθαι*: Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *budh-ā-nta*, ✓*bheydh-* (§ 513 p. 79). *ḡlarḡ-o-v* aor. 'I came' beside fut. *ελεύσομαι*. *xíḡ-ε* 'he hid' beside *κρύθ-ai*. *ē-σχ-o-v* 'he held, had' *σχ-ēiv*, beside *ἔχ-ai*, ✓*sejgh-*. *e-πτε-ε-ro* 'he flew' *πτε-έ-σθαι* beside *πέτε-ε-ται*. Partic. *αιχ-ών* 'bleating, crying' beside *μηκάομαι*.

With the secondary ending of the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. middle: *ē-σχ-ε-ῖς* beside *ī-σχ-ε-το*; *ἐρρίθης* *σιρέθης* i. e. \**e-ur-e-thēs* from ✓*yer-* 'say' (*εἶπω*); see § 589. Whether these very forms were some of the original types which produced the whole series of aorists in *-ῖς*, is of course doubtful; *-thēs* seems originally to have belonged only to non-thematic stems (§ 1047. 2).

Remark 2. It is hard to classify forms in *-αι* *-ι-o-v* and *-αι* *-ι-o-v*, along with which forms in *ῖ* and *ῖ* are common. There is nothing *a priori*

against assuming that these have the suffix *-ja-* (Class XXVI), and that *-i-* fell-out between vowels; indeed, this must be done for forms like Lesb. *quós* (I § 130 p. 118). *πλάμμι πλάμμι* beside *πλάμμι* *lunar* may be illustrated by Skr. *pī-yá-tē*, *ślōm* beside *ślōm* by Skr. *dhā-yá-tē*, *lōm* beside *lōm* by O.Icel. *lǫ-ja* 'destroy, crush' (see § 707, and Osthoff, M. U. iv 12 ff.). But *i* and *o* may come from forms of Class I, by presents passing from this class into the thematic conjugation, cp. for example *πλ-ί-μμι* thematic and *πλ-θ-* non-thematic, *lōm* thematic and *lō-ro* not (also *lō-re*, for *lōm* cp. Lat. *ludō so-ludō so-ludō*), *αἰ-γίω* 'I roar' (also variant *αἰγίω*, cp. Skr. *rur-á-ti*) but Skr. opt. *rū-yā-t* (Lat. *rū-mor* Goth. *rū-nā*). Then these *r-* and *o-* forms would naturally be compared with *ῥοορο* beside *ῥοοο*, *ῥ-μολο-ν* beside *ῥ-βλν*, and other such, see § 497 p. 57. Another possibility is that the long vowel came in by analogy of other tenses, *lōm* following *lō-moi*, *ślōm* following *ślō-moi*, just as we see Att. *γρῖο* (not *\*γίω*) by analogy of *γρῖο-οι* (the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>1</sup> p. 31), and Lesb. *ἄδωρε* (instead of *ἄδωρε*) by analogy of *ἄδωρε-οι* (§ 775).

§ 528. Italic. Lat. *vol-ō vol-u-nt*, *✓uel-*, see § 493 p. 51. *mol-ō*: Armen. *malem* etc., see § 523 p. 86. *tul-ō* O.Lat., *✓tel-*. *-bō*, future ending, for *\*bhy-ō*, see § 523 pp. 86 f. *lu-ō so-ludō so-ludō*: cp. Gr. *λύ-ω* 'I loose' § 527 Rem. *currō* doubtless for *\*corz-ō*, cp. *ac-cersō* § 562. *nivit* (O.Lat.) for *\*nigv-i-t* (with variant *ningu-i-t*, Class XVI): Gr. *ρίγ-ει* 'it snows' (also *ρίγ-ει*, II A). O.Ir. *suigid* 'it drops, rains', *✓sneigh-<sup>1</sup>* *dī-euō* (Umbr. *vetu* 'dividito' II A, see the Author, Ber. sächs. Ges. Wiss., 1890, p. 211), beside Skr. *vidh-* 'to become empty of, to lack' pres. *cindhā-tē* Class XVI. *rudō*: Skr. *rud-á-ti*, see § 523 p. 87. *sāg-ō*: O.Ir. *sāg-im* O.H.G. *sāg-u* A.S. *sāg-e* *sāc-e* O.C.Sl. *sāsā* 'I suck'; we must suppose a root *seyk-* or *seyg-<sup>2</sup>* Lat. Osc. *s-u-m* Lat. *s-u-mus s-u-nt*, *✓es-*, see § 523 p. 87. *co-inquō* probably for *\*in-squō*, beside *secōre*. *pac-i-t* O.Lat. (beside *pang-ō* Class XVI), *✓pak-* *pag-*; *tag-i-t* O.Lat. (beside *tang-ō* Class XVI), cp. *te-tigi-t* (Gr. *τ-ε-ταγ-ειν* 'grasping' Class VI (§ 564).

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

2) The *✓seyg-*, discussed by Osthoff in Paul-Braun Beitr. VIII 279 f., must be kept quite distinct.

Then again, it is probable the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. and 1<sup>st</sup> 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. *vidhēy-am* beside *d-bhēt* 'he split'. *scidi-t scidi-mus*: Skr. *d-chid-a-t* 'he cut off'. Compare § 867.

§ 529. In Italic it is often doubtful whether a verb belongs to II A or II 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 *\*-cillō*. *ad-venat* Osc. *kum-bened* 'convēnit', see § 523 p. 86. Lat. *glāb-ō*, cp. O.H.G. *chliuēn* and A.S. *clafe* § 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 *\*-onō* (*\*-eyō*) or from *\*-anō* (I § 172.1 p. 152). Thus *clu-ō* 'I am called, pass. for' (Gr. *κλέω* and *κλέ(φ)μαι*), *'ru-u* 'I snatch, tear, carry off, root up' (Gr. *ῥέρω* 'pull, draw' O.C.Sl. *rāv-e-tū* 'evellit' and Skr. *rāv-a-ti* 'he dashes to pieces'), *nu-ō* (Skr. *nāv-a-tē* 'moves'), *clu-ō* 'I purify' (Skr. *śrup-a-ti* 'melts'), *in-gruō* (Litt. *griārū* 'I break down' § 535), *plu-i-t* (cp. *pluvē-hat* § 514 p. 80). Lastly, some verbs may belong to the *io*-class, as *suō* cp. Goth. *sin-ja* etc. § 707.

§ 530. The quality of the thematic vowel should be observed in the 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *sumus sūmus* (*possumus possūmus*), *volumus volūmus*, *quaesumus* as contrasted with *ferimus* etc. In these *u* and *i* are used to represent a sound between the two (as in *magnificus magnificus*, *maximus maximus*), which was here the regular descendant of Idg. *-o-* (cp. Gr. *τίσσο-μεν*). 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 *sūmus* (Roumanian *genii* etc.). On the whole subject see L. Havet, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* vi 26 f.

§ 531. Keltic. 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 \**smpr-ō* √ *smer-*. *ad-gaur* 'convenio' *for-con-gur* 'I command', ground-form \**grr-ō*, cp. Skr. *glr-* 'voice'. Mod. Cymr. *malaf* 'I grind, grind to powder' √ *mel-*: Armen. *malem* etc., see § 523 p. 86).<sup>1)</sup> Mid.Ir. *blegaim* 'I milk': Skr. *mṛj-d-ti* etc., see § 523 p. 87. O.Ir. *dligim* 'I earn, have a claim', cp. Goth. *dulǵ-s* 'debt, guilt'. *ar-fuch* 'I fight' for \**gikō*, cp. O.H.G. *upar-wihit* § 532. *nigim* 'I wash' *do-fo-nug -nuch* 'I wash off', cp. Gr. *νίω* '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. *veg* as contrasted with Goth. *veihā* from √ *ueig-* (§ 513 p. 79). Also the West-Germ. ending of the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. O.H.G. *-is* A.S. *-es* as contrasted with Norse *-r* (for *-z*), and the A.S. ending of the 3<sup>rd</sup> 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.

Goth. *skulan* O.H.G. *solan* 'to owe', partic. Goth. *skulands* O.H.G. *solant-i* (indic. *skal*):<sup>2)</sup> Lith. *skylū* 'fall in debt' instead of \**skil-ū* (§ 535), √ *skel-* in Lith. *skelū* (i. e. \**skel-jū* 'I owe something'. Goth. *rulands* 'seething, boiling', cp. O.H.G. *waln* 'heat, glow'. O.H.G. *cum-u* O.Icel. *kom kem* (inf. *koma*) 'I come': Skr. opt. *gam-ē-t*, √ *gem-*, see § 523 p. 86. Goth. A.S. *munan* 'to think' (indic. *man*): Lett. *ūf-minu* 'guess at, hit upon', √ *men-*.

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 \**malijō* 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.



Goth. *un-nunands* 'not pleased': Skr. opt. *can-é-ma*, *√nen-*, § 523 p. 86. O.H.G. *chiur-a* 'I chew': O.C.Sl. *čic-e-tū* 'chews' for \**gjiū-e-tū*, groundform \**gjinu-ō*. Goth. *trud-a* O.Icel. *tréd* (inf. *troða*) 'I step, tread' as contrasted with O.H.G. *trit-u* II A. Goth. *ga-dairsan* 'to dare' (indic. *ga-dars*): Skr. *dhṛṣ-á-nt-* 'daring', *√dhers-*. O.H.G. *scalt-u* 'I thrust, -hit' ground-form \**sklādh-ō* as opposed to O.H.G. *scilt-u* 'I scold' II A. Goth. *gogga* O.H.G. *gangu* 'I go' ground-form. \**ghaggh-ō*. cp. Lith. *ženg-iū* 'I stride'. Goth. *blanda* O.H.G. *blantu* 'I mix' ground-form \**bhlādh-ō*, cp. Goth. *blind-s* 'blind', Lith. *blendžiū-s(i)* 'I darken myself' (of the sun); O.C.Sl. *bled-a* 'I wander' for \**bhlendh-* or \**bhljdh-* (§ 535). O.H.G. *upur-wihit* 'exsuperat' inf. *-wehan*, O.Icel. *reg* 'I conquer, kill' inf. *vega* (pret. *vā*, transferred to the *e*-series): O.Ir. *ar-finch* 'I fight', *√ueiq-*, cp. Goth. *veih-a* 'I fight' II A: the O.H.G. is a contamination of \**uiz-ō* and \**uēiz-ō*. Goth. *vitau* O.H.G. *wizzon* 'to know' partic. *vitands wizzanti*: Skr. *á-vid-a-t* etc., see § 523 p. 87: add 1<sup>st</sup> pl. injunctive A.S. *wenton* for \**weiton* followed by the infinitive = 'let us . . . . cp. *witan* 'to take heed, follow a direction, prepare to start' (O.Sax. *wita* § 1029). Goth. *bi-leiba* O.H.G. *bi-tibu* 'I remain': Skr. *á-lip-a-t* 'he anointed, smeared'. Lith. *li-pū* 'I climb, clamber' O.C.Sl. *pri-tipū* 'adhaesi', *√leip-*. O.Icel. *sef sef* 'I sleep' inf. *sofa*: cp. A.S. *swefan* II A. *√suep-*. Goth. *lūk-a* O.H.G. *lūhh-u* 'I shut': Skr. *ruj-á-ti* 'breaks open, breaks to pieces' O.H.G. *brāhh-u* A.S. *brūc-e* 'I use, enjoy': Lat. *fruo* for \**frugv-ōr*. A.S. *đūt-e* 'I utter a sound': Skr. *tud-á-ti* 'pushes'. A.S. *sōð* O.Icel. *sannr* 'true' pr. Germ. \**s-a-nþ-a-*, beside indic. \**es-ti* 'is', see § 523 p. 87. O.Icel. *tek* 'I take' inf. *taka*, cp. Goth. *tēk-a* II A. O.H.G. *bahh-u* 'I bake', cp. Gr. *qaíy-ai* 'I roast' II A. O.H.G. *wat-u* O.Icel. *veð* (inf. *vaða*) 'I wade', cp. Lat. *vad-ō* II A.<sup>1)</sup>

To this class also belongs the West Germ. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. preterite: — O.H.G. *wurti* A.S. *wurde* 'becamest': Skr. *á-vṛt-a-s*.

1) For these and other Germanic examples I refer to Osthoff, Paul-Braune's Beitr. VIII 287 ff.; Burghauser, Idg. Präsens-Bildung im Germ. pp. 28 ff.; Bremer, Zeitschr. deutsch. Phil. xxii 495 f.

O.H.G. *mulki* 'milkedst': Skr. *á-mrj-a-s*, O.H.G. *biggi* A.S. *bite* 'bitedst': Skr. *á-bhid-a-s*, O.H.G. *zigi* 'pullest': Skr. *á-līś-a-s*, *sigi* 'strainedst': Skr. *á-sic-a-s*, *bi-libi* 'remainedst': Skr. *á-lip-a-s*, *ruggi* 'criedst': Skr. *á-rud-a-s*, *kuri* 'chosest': Skr. *á-juś-a-s*. See § 893.

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

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

O.C.Sl. *štr-e-tū* 'devours': Skr. *gir-a-ti*, see § 523 p. 86; similarly *šretū* 'terit' ✓ *ter-*, *mīretū* 'dies' ✓ *mer-*, *šīretū* 'stretches' ✓ *ster-*, and others. Lith. *piū-ù* 'I shed' ✓ *pel-* 'I fill', cp. Skr. imper. *pār-dhi* Class I. Lith. *im-ù* 'I take' O.C.Sl. *im-e-tū* 'takes', ground-form \**ym-ō*, see § 523 p. 86. O.C.Sl. *šin-e-tū* 'presses', cp. Gr. *γίμω* 'I groan' II *A*. Lith. *gin-ù* 'I keep off, avert', Russ. *šin-e-tū* 'cuts off, reaps' for pr. Slav. \**šin-e-tū* \**gün-e-tū* (I § 36 p. ): Gr. *ἵσθαρων*, see § 527 p. 90. Lith. *pin-ù* 'I plait, twist', O.C.Sl. *pīn-e-tū* 'stretches, hangs', ✓ (s)*pen-*. O.C.Sl. *po-čīnetū* 'begins', ✓ *gen-*, cp. *po-konū* 'beginning'. O.C.Sl. *rāv-e-tū* 'evellit': Gr. *ἵρῳ* etc., see § 529 p. 92. O.C.Sl. *šiv-e-tū* 'chews' for \**giūv-e-tū*: O.H.G. *chiuue-n*, see § 532 p. 94. O.C.Sl. *pljiv-e-tū* 'spews' for \*(s)*piūv-e-tū*: Lat. *spu-ō* (cp. *su-ō* § 529 p. 92); *bljiv-e-tū* 'vomits, breaks wind' for \**bljūv-e-tū*, *kljiv-e-tū* 'pecks, picks' for \**kljūv-e-tū*; on the Lith. *blāu-ù* *klāu-ù*, which answer to the last two, see § 535. O.C.Sl. *vr̥z-e-tū* 'binds, shuts', ✓ *uergh-* (Lith. *verf-iū* 'I fasten, confine'). O.C.Sl. *er̥z-e-tū* 'throws' 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *vr̥g-a*, ✓ *uerg-*, Goth. *vairp-a* 'I throw' II *A*. O.C.Sl. *er̥s-e-tū* 'thrashes, threshes' 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *vr̥ich-a*, ✓ *uers-*, Lat. *cerr-ō* II *A*. O.C.Sl. *ml̥z-e-tū* 'milks': Skr. *mṛj-a-ti* etc., see § 523 p. 87. O.C.Sl. *dl̥b-e-tū* 'sculpts', ✓ *dhebb-*, O.H.G. *bi-tilbu* 'I bury', II *A*. O.C.Sl. *ric-i* 'I say' 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. opt. ground-form \**iq-o-i-s*, beside indic. *reč-e-tū* 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *rek-a* II *A*, in

Czech also indie. *řku* for \**řik-a*; by analogy of *řic-i* were formed *řic-i píc-i řiz-i* from *tek-a* 'I run' *pek-a* 'I bake' *žeg-a* 'I burn' (cp. § 686 on Lith. *gistu* instead of *gestù*). Lith. *suk-ù* Russ. *sk-u* (for \**sük-a*) 'I turn, twist'. Lith. *pis-ù* 'coeo': Skr. *á-piṣ-a-t* 'trod, beat, ground',  $\sqrt{pej}$ -. Lith. *sus-ù* 'I become scabby' Lett. *sus-u* 'I become dry': Skr. *á-śuṣ-a-t* 'dried up, wore away' (I § 557.4 p. 413). O.C.Sl. *řid-e-tū* 'waits' beside *řid-e-tū* II A, § 522 p. 85. O.C.Sl. *sāp-e-tū* 'sheds, strews', inf. *sa(p)-ti*. Lith. *plak-ù* 'I strike, whip',  $\sqrt{plaq}$ - *plag-plangere*, cp. Goth. *flok-a* 'I bewail' II A.

§ 535. In Lithuanian, *i* and *u* in the root syllable were often lengthened. *skylū* 'I fall in debt' instead of \**skil-ù*, compare Goth. *skulan*, see § 532 p. 93; *kylū* 'I raise myself' instead of \**kil-ù*,  $\sqrt{gel}$ -; *seyrū* 'I get the better' instead of \**svir-ù*,  $\sqrt{syer}$ -. *griūvū* 'I break down' instead of \**griuv-ù*: 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. *bljā-e-tū kljā-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. *gyjū* (*gy-jū*): pret. *gijaū* (*gij-aū*), a present *skylū* was formed for *skilaū*, 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 *přj-e-tū* 'drinks', *břj-e-tū* 'strikes', whose *-řj-* may be orig. *-ij-* or orig. *-ej-* (I § 68 p. 60); cp. Leskien as above cited, pp. 501 ff.; Skr. *páy-a-tē* supports the derivation of *přj-e-tū* from \**pej-e-ti* (§ 522 p. 85). The same doubt meets us in forms with *-e-* in the root syllable, since this may be orig. either *-p-* or *-en-*, e. g. \**blēd-e-tū* 'wanders' from  $\sqrt{bhlendh}$ - (see § 532 p. 94); cp. *lēc-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-bhāi-mi* 'I quake, am afraid' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *\*bhi-bhi-més* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *\*bhi-bhē-nti*: Skr. *bi-bhē-mi* 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *bi-bhi-tas* *bi-bhī-tas* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *bi-bhy-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.<sup>1)</sup> Conjunctive: Skr. *bi-bhay-a-t*. Optative: Skr. *bi-bhi-ya-t*. — With thematic vowel Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *bi-bhy-a-ti*.

Aryan. Skr. *ci-kē-mi* 'I observe, notice' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. imper. mid. *ci-ki-tām* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. imper. act. *ci-ki-ki*; conj. Avest. *ci-kay-a-b*. Skr. *ā-dī-dhē-t* 'he looked' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *dī-dhi-mas* mid. pres. *dī-dhy-ē* pret. *ā-dī-dhī-ta*; conj. *dī-dhay-a-t*. Skr. *ā-dī-dē-t* 'he appeared' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *dī-dy-ati* imper. *dī-di-hi* *dī-dī-hi*; conj. *dī-day-a-t*; — with thematic vowel Gr. *ἰ-ζ-ο-μαι* 'I seek, strive' (orig. 'look out for something') for *\*di-dī-o-μαι* (see § 469 p. 14, § 549). Skr. *dī-* and *dhī-* both became *dī-* in Avestic cp. Avest. *dādaiti* = Skr. *dādhati* and *dādati*, § 540): *dī-dāpiti*; — with thematic vowel imper. *dī-dy-a*, cp. conj. *dī-dy-a-b*. Skr. *vi-vēṣ-ṣi* 'works' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *vi-viṣ-mas*, conj. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *vi-vēṣ-a-s*. *iy-ē-ti* 'goes' only found in the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. pret. *āty-ē-ṣ*, Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. conj. *yeyan* = Ar. *\*ij-aj-a-n* (§ 473 p. 19).

1) Cp. § 465 p. 12, § 469 p. 14, § 739 on O.H.G. *rērēq* and Goth. *reira*.

Skr. *ju-hō-mi* 'I offer, sacrifice' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ju-hu-mās* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *jā-hv-ati*, conj. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *ju-hav-a-tha*, opt. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ju-hu-yā-ma*. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ju-hā-māsi* from *hā-* 'call'. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *sū-ṣv-ati* from *su-* 'press'.

Sometimes a strong stem has got into the place of the weak (cp. § 499 p. 62), as Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. *ji-yaç-ša* from *ji-* 'live', Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *ju-hō-tu* from *hu-* 'offer, sacrifice', 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *yu-yō-dhi* 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *yu-yō-tam* from *yu-* 'keep off'.

Remark. *k* in Skr. *ci-kē-mi* (✓*gei-*), and *γ* in Avest. *ji-yaç-ša* (✓*gei-*) are taken from the perfect, where they were regular before *o* in the sing. indie. 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 *jighr-*, and *gh* was regular there; so with *jā-gar-ti* from ✓*ger-* we must remember the stem *jā-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. *dā-da-ti* mid. *dā-t-tē* from ✓*dō-* 'give', *jā-hā-ti* pl. *ja-hi-mas* from Ar. *zhā-* 'leave, give up'. But on the contrary *śi-śa-ti* imper. *śi-ṣṭ-hi* mid. *śi-śi-tē* from ✓*ṣō-* '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. *o* (see § 498 pp. 61 f.); and this *i* is regularly echoed by *i* in the reduplicator; compare *śi-ṣṭ-hi* with *dī-dī-hi* from *dī-* 'appear'. Skr. *ja-hi-tam* beside regular *ja-hi-tam* (see Whitney, Sanskrit Roots, p. 204) has been altered by the influence of the mid. *ji-hi-tē* (§ 540), similarly *ra-rī-dhvam* by that of *ri-rī-hi* (*rā-* 'give').

So too the ✓*dhē-* 'place' in Balto-Slavonic reduplicates with *e*, as Lith. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *dē-ste* like O.H.G. *dā-tthā*.

These forms with *e* belong to Class V, not like Gr. *διδωμι* *ri-θημι* 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-dhē-ti* and *\*dhe-dhē-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 be taken into account (§ 555).

Compare Gr. *ἔλαθι* = \*σι-σλα-θι and Lesb. *ἔλλαθι* = \*σι-σλα-θι § 542.

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

§ 539. Pr. Idg. \**bhi-bhev-mi* 'I bear' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. \**bhi-bhy-més* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. \**bhi-bhr-ṛti*: Skr. *bī-bhar-mi* 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *bī-bhy-thás* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *bī-bhr-ati*, Gr. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. \**πί-φρα-μεν* inferred from inf. *ἐσ-πιφράναι*. Conjunctive: Skr. *bī-bhar-a-t*. Optative: Skr. *bī-bhy-yā-t* (cp. *ca-kr-iyā-t*). — With thematic vowel Skr. partic. mid. *bī-bhr-a-māṇa-s* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. imperf. *á-bī-bhr-a-n*.

\**pi-pel-mi* 'I fill': Skr. *pī-par-mi* *pī-pr-más*, Gr. *πί-πλα-μεν* (on the singular *πί-πλημι*, see § 542). — With thematic vowel Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *á-pi-pr-a-ta*.

\**ni-nes-mi* from *√nes-* 'go towards' (Gr. *νέ-ο-μαι* Skr. *nás-ā-tē*): Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. mid. *nīś-atē* 'they touch their bodies, kiss' partic. *nīś-āna-s*. — Gr. *νίσσομαι* 'I go back, return' for \**νι-νσ-ιο-μαι* (the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> § 45.5 p. 61) contains a stem \**νι-νσ-* or \**νι-νσ-ο-* (see § 733).

\**dhi-dhē-mi* 'I place' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. \**dhi-dh-més* and doubtless \**dhi-dhō-més*<sup>1)</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. \**dhi-dh-ṛti*: Skr. *dā-dhā-mi* *da-dh-más* (cp. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. mid. *da-dhi-dhvē*) *dā-dh-ati*, Gr. *τί-θη-μι* *τί-θε-μεν*, O.H.G. *te-ta* O.Sax. *de-da* perhaps for \**dhi-dhē-* (§§ 545, 886). Lith. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *dēste* i. e. \**de-d+te*. Optative: Skr. *da-dh-yā-t*. — With thematic vowel Skr. *dā-dh-a-ti* Lith. *de-d-ù*.

\**si-sē-mi* 'I send forth, let go, throw, sow' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. \**si-s-més* and doubtless \**si-sō-més*: Gr. *ί-η-μι* *ί-ε-μεν* (Lat. *serimus* for \**si-sa-mos*? § 543). — With thematic vowel Lat. *serō* for \**si-s-ō*.

\**di-dō-mi* 'I give' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. \**di-d-més* and doubtless \**di-dō-més*, 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. \**di-d-ṛti*: Skr. *dā-dā-mi* *da-d-wás* *dā-d-ati*, Gr. *δί-δω-μι* *δί-δο-μεν*, 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. Lith. *dāste* and O.C.Sl. *daste* instead of \**dēste* (§ 546). Optative: Skr. *da-d-yā-t*. — With thematic

1) This form may be due to the analogy of *dho-mé(m)*, cp. *ί-θε-μεν*. But it does not follow, as some have said, that the form cannot be original.

vowel Skr. *dā-d-a-ti* Sabell. (Vest.) *du-d-e-t* 'dat', cp. Lith. Lett. *dādu* and O.C.Sl. partic. *dady* gen. *dadašta* § 546.

\**si-stā-mi* 'I place, sisto': Gr. *ἵστημι ἵστα-μεν*, O.H.G. *se-stō-m*. Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *tī-ṣṭhāmi* may be added, and perhaps Lat. *sistimus* (§ 543). — With thematic vowel Skr. *tī-ṣṭh-a-ti* Lat. *si-st-ō* Umbr. *se-st-u*.

Idg. \**pi-pō-mi* 'I drink' is implied by such forms as Skr. mid. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *pi-p-atē* partic. *pi-p-ānā-s*; to this may be referred Palisc. *pipafo* 'bibam' (§ 594 Rem.). With thematic vowel Skr. *pā-b-a-ti* Lat. *bibō* instead of \**pi-b-ō* O.Ir. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ibid* for \**pi-b-e-ti*, although the *-b-* of these words is certainly obscure (cp. I § 325 p. 263). Perhaps the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. imper. \**pi-b-dhi* and 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. mid. \**pi-b-dhy-*, forms which must have had a place among the original non-thematic persons, caused some confusion in the sound.<sup>1)</sup> In these *-b-* was regular, because *-p-* had been assimilated to the following voiced sound. On the same principle we have explained the variants \**dekmt-* (Skr. *daśat-*) and *dekmd-* (Gr. *δεκάδ-*), as being due to cases which had a *bh*-suffix, such as the instr. pl. \**dekmd-bhi(s)* (II § 123 p. 392). Then *p* must have levelled out *b* in the non-thematic conjugation (Skr. *pi-p-atē*), 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. *πέπο-μαι*). Similarly, Gr. *βόσσω* 'I feed, tend' may be connected with Skr. *pā-ti* 'tends' through the imperative \**b-dhi*.

§ 540. Aryan. Skr. *jī-ghar-ti* 'smells' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *jī-ghr-ati*; with thematic vowel *jī-ghr-a-ti*: on *gh*, see § 537 Rem. p. 98. Skr. *tī-tar-ti* 'gets over', partic. *tī-tr-at-*. Skr. *iy-ar-ti*, for its reduplication see § 473 p. 19. Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *dī-dhar* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *dī-dhy-tā* from *dhar-* 'hold fast'. Skr. imper. *pi-prg-dhi* from *parc-* 'to mix'.

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).

Skr. *si-śak-ti* Avest. *hi-šax-ti*, √*seq-* 'accompany' (cp. Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *sā-śc-ati*, Class V, § 555). Skr. *vi-vak-ti* from √*yeq-* 'speak'. Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. injunct. *nista* = \**nista* i. e. \**ni-nd+ta* from *nad-* 'roar, abuse'; — with thematic vowel Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ni-nd-a-ti* § 550. Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. injunct *di-das* from *das-* 'consecrate, offer up'.

Roots in Ar. *-ā* reduplicate with *i* in Sanskrit when the weak forms have *i* as root-determinative (§ 538 p. 98). √*mē-* 'measure' mid. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *mi-mī-tē* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *mi-m-atē*; — with thematic vowel opt. *mi-m-e-t*. √*kō-* 'sharpen, whet' *śi-śā-ti* imper. *śi-śi-hi*; — with thematic vowel 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *śi-ś-a-nti*. *jī-hi-tē* 'yields, departs' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *jī-h-atē* beside act. *jā-hā-ti* *ja-hi-mas* (*ja-hi-tam* and other forms have *i* by analogy of the middle, see § 538 p. 98).

√*dhē-* 'place' and √*dō-* 'give' (almost indistinguishable in Iranian, because of the change of *dh* to *d*, I § 481 p. 355): Skr. *dā-dhā-ti* *dā-dā-ti* Avest. *da-dā-iti* O.Pers. pret. *a-da-dā*. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. Skr. *da-dh-mās* *da-d-mās* Avest. *da-d-mahi*, in the Gathas *da-d-mahī*; mid. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Skr. *dhattē* Avest. *dazdē* from *dhē-* (I § 482 Rem. 1 p. 356), Skr. *dattē* Avest. *dastē* from *dō-*. Imperative: Skr. *dhēhi* for pr. Ar. \**dha-z-dhi* from *dhē-*, and *dēhi* for pr. Ar. \**da-z-dhi* from *dō-*, Avest. *da-z-di*; Skr. has also the re-formate *daddhi* instead of *dhēhi* and of *dēhi* both (I § 476 p. 351, § 482 Rem. 1. p. 356). In Skr. we also find *da-dhi-* (cp. Gr. *τι-θε-*), e. g. *da-dhi-dhvē* *da-dhi-śvā* beside *dha-d-dhvē* *dha-t-sva*. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Skr. *dā-dh-ati* *dā-dh-atē* *dā-d-ati* *dā-d-atē* (Avest. *da-p-enti* *da-d-entē*, cp. § 500 p. 63, § 1018. 1. b). Optative: Skr. *da-dh-yā-t* *da-d-yā-t* Avest. Gath. *daidyā-p*. — With thematic vowel *dā-dh-a-ti* *dā-dh-a-tē* *dā-d-a-ti* *dā-d-a-tē*, Avest. *da-p-a-iti* *da-p-a-itē*, which forms are also conjunctive (§§ 931 f.)

§ 541. Confusion of Strong and Weak Stem.

Strong instead of Weak: Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *īy-ar-ta*, imper. *śi-śā-dhi*, 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *dā-dhā-ta* *ā-da-dhā-ta* *dā-dā-ta* *ā-da-dā-ta*.

Weak instead of Strong: Skr. Ep. *da-d-mi* Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *dazdē* (√*dhē-*) and *dasti*. These forms are due to the analogy



of *dā-mi dā-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. *dād-yā-tē* partic. *dat-tā-s* from  $\sqrt{d\ddot{o}}$ , and Avest. inf. *dastē* from  $\sqrt{d\ddot{o}}$  and inf. *dazdē* from  $\sqrt{dh\ddot{e}}$  (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 *-πί-πλα-μεν* 'we fill' *-πί-πλα-ται*: Skr. *pi-pr-más*; *\*πί-φρα-μεν* 'we bring': Skr. *bi-bhṣ-más* (§ 539, p. 99). But *-πί-πλη-μι* instead of *\*πι-πλη-μι* from the stem *\*pl-ē*, cp. unreduplicated Skr. *prā-si ā-prā-t* Gr. *πλη-το* Lat. *im-plē-tur*. *-πί-πρα-μεν* 'we kindle', sing. *-πί-πρη-μι*,  $\sqrt{per}$  (Mod. Slov. *perēti* 'moulder' O.C.Sl. *para* 'steam'). The nasal in *πίμ-πλαμεν* *πίμ-πραμεν* comes from *πιμπλάνω*, see § 621. *ἴλαθι* 'be gracious' *ἴλατε* *ἴλαμαι* for *\*σι-σλα-* (I § 565 p. 422),  $\sqrt{sel}$ , cp. Lesb. *ἔλλα-θι* for *\*σε-σλα-θι*, Class V.

*τί-θη-μι* 'I place' *τί-θε-μεν* *τί-θε-ται*, *ἵ-η-μι* 'I send forth' for *\*σι-ση-μι ἵ-ε-μεν ἵ-ε-ται*, *δί-δω-μι* 'I give' *δί-δο-μεν* *δί-δο-ται*, *ἵ-στη-μι* 'I place' *ἵ-στα-μεν* *ἵ-στα-ται*, see § 539 p. 100. Hom. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ἔ-δη* imper. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *δέ-δε-ντων* from  $\sqrt{d\ddot{e}}$  'bind'. In the stems *τι-θε-* *ί-ε-* *δι-δε-* *δι-δο-*, *ε* and *ο* have taken the place of a previous *α* = Idg. *ə*, as in *ἔ-θε-μεν* *ἔ-δο-μεν* § 493 p. 53, and in *τί-θε-ται* *δί-δο-ται* § 856: cp. Skr. *da-dhi-dhveṣ ja-hi-mas*. The loss of forms without *ə*, answering to the Skr. *da-dh-más* 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 *\*τιθμεν \*θιστε*; *\*διθμεν \*διστε*, *\*ἵμεν \*ἵστι*. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Dor. *τίθεντι δίδοντι* instead of *\*τι-θ-ατι \*δι-δ-ατι*, see § 1020. Sometimes the strong stem prevails, or words follow the analogy of Classes X and XI: Hom. partic. *τι-θη-μενο-ς* instead of *τι-θε-μενο-ς*, imper. *δί-δω-θι* (like Pali *da-dā-hi*). On the analogy of verbs in *-ιω -ωω -αω*: pres. *τιθεῖ δίδωσ*, imperf. *ἐτίθει* *ἔει δίδου*, imper. *τίθει δίδου ἴστα*, inf. *τιθεῖν σεν-αῖν*, partic. Delph. *διδίονσαι*; and then again *ἐτίθεις -ει* and

ἦν *-ei* produced the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ἦν* and *ἦν* after the model of ἦν 'I went' as compared with ἦν *-ei*.

As regards *νίσσας* beside Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *nīś-atē*, 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 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Lat. *si-st-ō* 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. *ἴ-ε-μεν -τε*), *\*si-sā-mos -tes* (Gr. *ἴ-σταν-μεν -τε*).

§ 544. *Keltic*. The thematic type is seen in O.Ir. *i-b-i-d* (§ 554), and the extension with *-jo-* in *-airissiu* (§ 733).

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

§ 545. *Germanic*. O.H.G. *se-stō-m* 'sisto, I arrange, design', *√stā-*, with gradation lost, see § 539 p. 100. Whether O.H.G. *te-ta* O.Sax. *de-da* 'did' is an imperf. like Gr. *τί-θη-μι* or an old perfect, remains doubtful; see § 886.

§ 546. *Balto-Slavonic*. A few relics are the presents of *√dhē-* 'set, place' and *dō-* 'give', but with *e* in the reduplicator (§ 538 p. 98).

In pr. Balto-Slavonic the forms were *\*dhe-dh-mi* and *de-ā-mi*, which may be compared with Skr. *da-d-mi* and Avest. *dazd dasti* (§ 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 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. middle, which originally had the weak stem, had got an active meaning (see § 991 on Lith. *desz-s dāsi* 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. *dadāiti* = 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. 1<sup>st</sup> pers. *dēmi* for \**dedmi*, 2<sup>nd</sup> reflex. *desz-s* for \**de-t-sz-s*, 3<sup>rd</sup> *dēsti dēt*, 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *dēste*. Now the verb is mostly thematic, *de-d-ū dedā dēda* etc. And *dēmi* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *dēsti* too took *ē* from non-present forms *dējau dēsiau* and the like, just as Gr. Lesb. *ἀδονω* instead of *ἀδονω* follows *ἀδονω-σθω*, and *γινω* instead of \**γέω* follows *γινωσθω* etc. (§ 775). But in Slavonic we have *deidetŭ* = \**de-d-je-tŭ*, following the *jo*-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 tēchŭ*), but there was no parallel for \**dedmi*: aor. \**dō-s-*. Lith. sing. 1<sup>st</sup> pers. *dūmi*, 2<sup>nd</sup> *dūsi* for \**dū-t-si*, 3<sup>rd</sup> *dūsti dūst*, pl. 1<sup>st</sup> *dūme*, 2<sup>nd</sup> *dūste*; *dūmi dūme* for \**dūdmi* \**dūdme*. Now generally thematic, *dūdu* etc. (also Lett. *dūdu*). O.C.Sl. *damŭ dasi dastŭ damŭ daste dadetŭ*; *damŭ damŭ* have *-m-* for *-dm-*. Partic. thematic *dady* (*da-dašta*) like Lith. *dūdąs*. As regards 1<sup>st</sup> dual Lith. *dūva* O.C.Sl. *davē*, see I § 547 p. 401.

Remark. The forms of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. found in old Lith. books, *dastit(e)* and *dūstit(e)* instead of *dēste* and *dūste*, were derived from the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. and pl. on the analogy of *tūrī-t(e)*: *tūrī*, to distinguish more clearly 2<sup>nd</sup> plural from 3<sup>rd</sup> singular and plural.

## Class IV.

Reduplication ending in -*ī* or -*ā* + 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 -*āya-* (§§ 795 ff.). As to the varying quantity of the reduplicating vowel, see § 473 pp. 17 f.

Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. mid. *ā-bī-bhay-a-nta* beside *bi-bhē-ti* 'fears'. Imperative: mid. *pi-prāy-a-sva* beside *ā-pi-prē-t* 'he satisfied, pleased'. *ā-cu-cyav-a-t* beside 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ā-cu-cyav-ur* from *cyu-* 'to move, stir'.

Skr. *ā-ti-tar-a-t* Avest. *ti-tar-a-þ* from Skr. *ti-tar-ti* 'gets over or beyond'. Skr. *pi-par-a-t* from *pi-par-ti* 'fills', *ā-dī-dhar-a-t* beside 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *di-dhar* from *dhar-* 'hold fast'. Avest. *bi-bar-āmi* (cp. Skr. conj. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *bi-bhar-ā-si*) beside Skr. *bi-bhar-mi* 'I carry'. Skr. *a-jī-jan-a-t* 'was born' Avest. *zi-zan-a-þ* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *zi-zan-a-nti*, √ *gen-*.

Skr. *ā-pī-pat-a-t*, √ *pet-* 'fly', *ā-sī-ṣad-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-rái-þ* 'moves, trembles', connected with Skr. *lē-lāy-a-ti* 'wavers, trembles'; it may come from pr. Germ. \**ri-rēi-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. *ā-lē-lē-t*, § 568).

## § 549. B. Weak Root Syllable.

Roots with *i-* and *u-* vowels. Avest. imper. *di-dy-a* (conj. *di-dy-a-p*), Gr. *διζομαι* for \**di-dz-o-mai* beside Avest. *didaēti*, see § 537 p. 97; *di-ζη-μαι* (Class XI): *di-ζ-o-μαι*: Avest. *didaēti* = *-ni-nān-mu*: Skr. *á-pi-pr-a-ta*: Skr. *pi-par-ti*. Skr. *jī-ghy-a-ti* 'drives on' beside *hi-nō-ti* Class XVII; *gh* instead of *h* (I § 445 p. 331, § 454 p. 335) answers to *k* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ci-ky-ati*, see § 537 Rem. p. 98. Also Skr. aorists such as *á-śi-śriy-a-t* from *śri-* 'lean' (cp. *á-śi-śrē-t*), *á-ci-kṣip-a-t* from *kṣip-* 'throw', *á-rt-riṣ-a-t* from *riṣ-* 'take hurt', *á-śu-śruc-a-t* from *śru-* 'hear', *á-cu-krudh-a-t* from *krudh-* 'grow angry', *á-dā-duṣ-a-t* from *duṣ-* 'grow bad, go to rack and ruin'.

## § 550. Roots with other vowels.

Pr. Idg. \**gi-ǵn-ō*, √ *ǵen-* 'gignere': Gr. *γί-γν-σ-σεν* Lat. *gi-gn-ō*, cp. \**gi-ǵen-o-* § 548. \**si-zd-ō*, √ *sed-* 'sit': Skr. *sīdati* instead of \**sīd-a-ti* (I § 591 p. 447, § 593 p. 449, compare Bartholomae in Bezz. Beitr. xvii 117), Gr. *ἴζω* i. e. *hīzdō* (I § 593 p. 449), Lat. *sīdō* (I § 594 p. 450).<sup>1)</sup> \**ni-nd-ō* 'I scold, blame' beside Skr. *nad-* 'shriek, roar' Gr. *ὀνοεῖ* 'ye blame, scold' for *ōnoē-* (cp. Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *nista* = \**nīsta*, § 540 p. 101): Skr. *nīnd-a-ti* 'scolds, abuses', with which became associated *nīd-* 'reviling, rebuke' *á-nēd-ya-s* 'blameless' and other similar words, Gr. \**nīdō*, whence *ὀνειδος* 'blame'.<sup>2)</sup> \**si-st-ō*, √ *stā-* 'stare': Skr. *tī-ṣṭh-a-ti* Lat. *si-st-i-t*; \**pi-b-e-ti*, √ *pō-* 'drink': Skr. *pī-b-a-ti* Lat. *bi-b-i-t* O. Ir. *i-b-i-d*, see § 539 p. 100.

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 from *alsē-* or *alsē-* is unproven. Compare Idg. Forsch. I 171 f.

2) This conjecture (cp. Osthoff, Perf. 394 f., and Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 84, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 116) seems to me more likely than that suggested by others (as Fick, Wtb. I<sup>4</sup> 96), namely, that Skr. *nīnd-a-ti* was formed from a *√nejd-* on the principle of Class XVI. The Skr. re-formation perf. *ni-nīnd-a* etc. may be compared with perf. *sīd-atur* fut. *sīd-iṣya-ti* beside *sīd-a-ti*.

§ 551. Aryan. Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ā-bi-bhr-a-n* partic. *bi-bhr-a-māna-s* from *bi-bhar-ti* 'bears', cp. Avest. *bi-bar-ami* (§ 548 p. 105). Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ā-pi-pr-a-ta* from *pi-par-ti* 'fills'. Skr. *jī-ghr-a-ti* from *jī-ghar-ti* 'smells'. Skr. *jī-ghn-a-tē* from *han-* 'strike, slay'. Skr. *pi-bd-a-tē* 'becomes firm, strong', √ *ped-*. Skr. *ti-ṣṭh-a-ti*, Avest. *hi-št-a-iti* O.Pers. mid. *a-i-št-a-ta*: Lat. *si-st-ō*, § 550. Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *mi-m-a-nti* from *mi-mā-ti* 'roars' opt. *mi-mi-yā-t*.

Another group of forms which comes in here is composed of such Skr. aorists as *ā-vi-vṛt-a-t* from *vart-* 'vertere', *ā-ct-kṣp-a-t* from *kalp-* 'help', *ā-pi-sprś-a-t* from *spars-* 'touch', *ā-ci-krad-a-t* from *krand-* 'roar'. A great many others were cast in the same mould as these; for instance, *ā-mi-mṛṇa-t* from *mṛ-ṇā-ti* 'crushes'.

§ 552. Greek. *γί-γν-ο-μαι*, see § 550. *μῖ-μν-ω* beside *μῖν-ω* 'I remain'. *ἔ-σῃ-ω* beside *ἔχ-ω* (\**σεχ-ω*) 'I hold, have', √ *segh-*. *πτ-πτ-ω* 'I fall'; whether *τ* was original (cp. Skr. *ā-pī-pat-a-t*, § 548 p. 105) is very doubtful; see § 473 p. 18. *τίκτω* 'I beget' for \**τε-τε-ω* beside *ἔ-τεκ-ο-ν*, cp. the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> § 62 p. 74. *λάχω* 'I cry out, shriek' for \**λε-λεχ-ω*, cp. *δω-νηήν* (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. *sīdō* for \**si-zd-ō*, the second sibilant of which is kept in Umbr. *ander-sistu* 'intersidito' for \**sizd(ē)tō* (cp. *ander-sesust* 'intersederit':<sup>1)</sup>) Skr. *sīd-a-ti* etc., see § 550. Lat. *serō* 'I sow' for \**si-s-ō*, beside Gr. *ἔ-ρη-μι*, § 539 p. 99. Lat. *bīdō* instead of \**pi-b-ō*: Skr. *pi-b-a-ti* etc., see § 539 p. 100; for the assimilation of *p* to *-b-*, cp. Umbr. *řeře* 'dedit' instead of \**teře* (fut. perf. *teřust dīrsust*). Vest. *di-d-e-t* 'dat' (Pelign. *dida* 'det' Umbr. *dīrsa dērsa* *teřa* 'det' *dīrstu teřtu* 'dato'), beside Gr. *δι-δο-μι*, § 539 p. 99. Compare § 871, on Osc. *fi-fik-us*.

1) For this explanation of the Umbrian form I have to thank a former pupil, Dr. von Planta. See now his dissertation, *Vocalismus der osk.-Umbr. Dialekte*, Strassburg 1892, pp. 214, 277, and his *Grammatik*.

§ 554. O.Ir. *i-b-i-d* 'bibit' for \**pi-b-e-ti*: Skr. *pi-b-a-ti* etc., see § 539 p. 100. As to *-airissim -airissur* '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 (-ē) + 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. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *sā-śc-ati*: perf. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *sa-śc-ūr*, from  $\sqrt{\text{seq-}}$  'be with, accompany'), and in the vocalisation of the singular, as 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Idg. \**se-seq-ti* (Skr. \**sa-sak-ti*): perf. \**se-seq-e* (Skr. \**sa-sac-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. *ἴσιν-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.

§ 556. Aryan. Skr. *ja-jān-ti* (grammarians), Avest. *za-zan-ti* 'gignit' (Bartholomae, Ar. F. II 82); cp. *ā-jā-jan-a-t* *st-zan-a-p* § 548 p. 105. Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *sā-śc-ati*, see § 555; cp. *st-śak-ti* § 540 p. 100. *bā-bhas-ti* 'chews, eats' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *bā-ps-ati*, conj. *ba-bhas-a-t*. *ā-ja-kṣ-ur* 'they ate', imper. *jagdhi* for \**ja-gā-dhi*, partic. *ja<sup>2</sup>kṣ-at-* from *ghas-* 'eat' (there is a re-formed 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *jakṣi-ti* on the lines of Class IX); with thematic vowel *ja-kṣ-a-ti*. Partic. *jā-kṣ-at-* from *has-* 'laugh'. Avestic *ni-šānhasti* for \**sa-sasti* Idg. \**se-sed+ti*,  $\sqrt{\text{sed-}}$  'sedere'; — perhaps a parallel thematic by-form is Gr. *ἔζομαι* i. e. *ē-zō-o-mai* (§ 563).

Skr. *dā-dhā-ti* 'places' *dā-dā-ti* 'gives' Avest. *da-dā-iti*, see § 540 p. 99. Skr. *jā-hā-ti* 'leaves, gives up' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ja-hi-mas* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ja-h-ati*, Avest. *za-zā-iti*; — with thematic vowel, Skr. *ja-h-a-ti*.

§ 557. Greek. Lesb. *ἔλλαθι* 'be gracious' for *σε-ολα-θι*, pl. *ἔλλαρε*, beside *ἴλαθι* Class III, § 542 p. 102. *κέ-κλυ-θι* 'hear', pl. *κέ-κλυ-τε*: but Skr. *á-śu-śrav-ur* belong to Class III. *ἔπ-α* 'I spoke' (Cret. Gort. *προ-φειπάτω*) contains a stem \**ue-ug-* (as regards *φειπ-* for \**μῆμ-*, see the Author, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 306, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> 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. *dèmi* for \**de-d-mi* § 546 p. 104); the *-a-* of *ἔπ-α-ς ἔπ-α-τε* is to be explained as in *ἔχενας*, see § 504 p. 67; — with thematic vowel, Skr. *á-vāc-a-t* Gr. *ἔ-ειπ-ο-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. *dèsti* 'lays' for \**dhe-dh-ti* instead of \**dhe-dhē-ti*, Lith. *dū'sti* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *dastī* 'gives' for \**dō-d-ti* instead of \**de-dō-ti*, see § 546 pp. 103 f.

§ 560. Forms with Idg. *ē* instead of *e* in the Reduplication (§ 472 p. 17). These are Intensives in Sanskrit; e. g. Skr. *dā-dhar-ti* beside (*dar-dhar-ti*) from *dhar-* 'hold fast', 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *nā-nad-ati* from *nad-* 'shriek, roar'; cp. Avest. partic. *pā-per't-āna-* neut. used as a subst. 'fighting'.

Skr. *jā-gar-mi* 'I watch' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *jā-gr-ati* imper. *jā-gr-hi*, and an irregular form with weak stem, *jā-gr-mi*; — thematic



*ja-gr-a-ti*. Compare perf. *ja-gār-a* Gr. *ἐγγ-γερ-μαι*. On the *g* of *ja-gar-mi*, see § 537 Rem. p. 98.

Remark. The fut. *jāgarīṣyāti* perf. *jāgāra* may be compared with *laṣīṣyati* *lalāṣa* beside *laṣati* for \**le-ls-e-ti*, with *jahīṣyati* *dījāhat* 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-δεκ-το* (read *δη-*, not *δει-*, — so J. Wackernagel), from *δέχομαι* *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.

Pr. Idg. \**ghe-ghn-o-* from *√ ghen-* 'strike, kill': Skr. partic. *ja-ghn-a-nt-* (cp. *jit-ghn-a-tē* § 551 p. 107), Gr. *ἐ-πι-φν-ο-ν* inf. *πε-φν-έ-μεν*; conj. Avest. *ja-γν-ā-ḥ*. \**me-mg-o-* from *√ meq-* 'speak': Skr. *á-vōc-a-t*, Gr. *ἐ-ειπ-ο-ν* *ειπ-ο-ν* inf. *ειπ-εῖν* (on *ειπ-* for \**me-mg-* see § 557). \**se-sq-o-* from *√ seq-* 'be with, accompany': Skr. *sá-śc-a-ti*, Gr. *ἐ-σπ-ε-το* opt. *ἐ-σπ-ο-ι-το* inf. *ἐ-σπ-έ-οθαι*. Skr. *dá-dh-a-ti* 'places', Lith. *de-d-ù*, *√ dhē-*.

§ 562. Aryan. Skr. partic. *ja-ghn-a-nt-*, Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ja-γν-e-nti* conj. *ja-γν-ā-ḥ*: Gr. *ἐ-πε-φν-ο-ν* etc., see § 561. Skr. *á-vōc-a-t*, Avest. *vaoc-a-ḥ* imper. *vaoc-a*: Gr. *ἐ-ειπ-ο-ν*, see § 561. Skr. *yēṣ-a-ti* 'boils' for pr. Ar. \**ja-ṣ-a-ti* ground-form \**je-je-e-ti* from *√ jes-* (Skr. *yás-ya-ti* Gr. *ζέω*), cp. with *jo*-extension Avest. *yaṣṣyēti* § 733; Skr. *á-yēṣ-a-t* served as model for *á-nēṣ-a-t* from *naṣ-* 'to be destroyed' (Avestic has *nqsa-ḥ*, regular), and the perfect *nēṣ-úr* follows *sēd-úr* *yēm-úr*, unless it is preferable to derive *á-nēṣ-a-t* directly from the perfect stem, and regard it as a pluperfect (§ 854). Skr. *laṣa-ti* 'desires' probably for \**la-lṣ-a-ti* (I § 259 p. 212). cp. *la-las-a-s* 'covetous' Gr. *λilaloumai* 'I desire' for \**le-las-cho-μαι* (§ 733). Skr. *á-pa-pt-a-t*, *√ pet-* 'shoot through the air, fly'. Skr. *sajjate* 'hangs to something, sticks' fo. \**sa-zj-a-* (I § 591

pp. 448 f.), *√ seg-* (Lith. *seg-ù* 'I fasten'). Skr. *dá-dh-a-ti* 'places' *dá-d-a-ti* 'gives' Avest. *da-ḥ-a-iti* from *√ dhē-* and *√ dō-*, see § 540 p. 99, § 561. Skr. *ja-h-a-ti* 'leaves, gives up', see § 556 p. 109. Skr. *rá-r-a-tē* from *rā-* 'pour', cp. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *ra-rē-dhvam* (§ 538 p. 98).

With *a* = Idg. *ē* in the reduplication (cp. § 560) Skr. *jā-gr-a-ti* 'wakes' and Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. conj. *vāuraīte* (for *\*vā-er-*) from *var-* 'choose' (cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XIII 79 f.).

§ 563. Greek. *ē-pe-φν-o-v*, *ē-eπ-o-v*, *ē-σπ-e-to*, 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<sup>2</sup> 29 ff.). We may add: *ē-ké-κλ-e-to* from *κέλ-o-μαι* 'I call, summon, ask', *πe-παλ-ών* from *πάλλω* 'I swing, brandish' (*√ pel-*), *τε-τάρπ-e-to* from *τέρπω* 'I satisfy, refresh, please', *πe-πίθ-o-i-to* *πe-πιθ-ών* from *πιθ-ω* 'I persuade', *πe-πίθ-o-i-to* from *πείθ-o-μαι* 'I learn'. *λέ-λαθ-o-v* from *λήθ-ω* 'I am hidden'. *τε-ταγ-ών* 'grasping'.

In the later language we find presents in connexion with these aorists, as *πέφνω*, *κέλλομαι*. *ἔζομαι* is one of this sort; for *ē-zō-o-μαι*, from *√ sed-* 'sit' (§ 556 p. 108), unless the form comes from *\*ēd-jo-μαι* = O.H.G. *sizzu* Class XXVI (§ 721).

§ 564. Italic. Lat. *tendō* Umbr. *ostendū* 'ostendito' (I § 499 p. 366) is often derived from *\*te-tn-ō* (*√ ten-*),<sup>1</sup> to which Gr. *τε-ταίνω* would be related in the same way as *λαλαίωμαι* to Skr. *laṣati* (§ 562), cp. Skr. *ta-tán-a-t*; others analyse *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. *τείνω* for *\*ten-iō* (Class. Rev., v 297), as G. Curtius had done before him.

More certain examples may be found among the Latin perfects, as *te-tig-i-t*, *te-tig-i-mus*: Gr. *τε-ταγ-ών*, *πε-πυλ-i-t*: Gr. *πε-παλ-ών*. See § 867.

1) Bartholomae (Stud. idg. Spr. II 95) assumes that *\*te-tn-ō* by analogy of forms with *ten-* became *\*teutn-ō*, and hence *tendō*.

§ 565. Keltic. In this class we may place the Irish *a*-conjunctive with future meaning. O.Ir. *dobër* 'I will give' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *do-bëram* for \**bhe-bhr-a-*, *✓bher-* 'ferre'. *fris-gëra* 'respondebit' beside pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *fris-gair*. *nad-cël* 'quod non celabo' beside pres. *celim*. Mid.Ir. *fo-dëma* '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 *ji-ghn-a-tē* § 561 p. 110), it is hardly possible to draw the line.

§ 566. Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *de-d-ù* 'I lay': Skr. *dā-dh-a-ti*; Lith. *dā'd-u* 'I give' O.C.Sl. partic. *dad-y* 'giving'. See § 546 p. 104.

### 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.

§ 568. Roots beginning in a Consonant. Certain examples only in Aryan (Intensive Verbs).

Skr. *car-kar-mi* imper. *car-ky-tād*, Avest. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *car'-ker'-mahī* from *kar-* 'think of, remember'. Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *dār-dar-ṣi* imper. *dār-dṛ-hi*, Avest. Opt. *dar'-dair-yā-p* from *dar-* 'split';<sup>1)</sup> — with thematic vowel *dar-dir-a-t*. Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *sar-sṛ-tē* *sar-sr-ē* from *sar-* 'flow'. Skr. *jās-ghan-ti* conj. *jās-ghān-a-t*

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

from *han-* 'strike, kill'. Skr. *á-lē-lē-t* from *li-* 'oscillate'. Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *nō-nu-mas* from *nu-* 'shriek, cry, call'; — with thematic vowel 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. mid. *nō-nu-a-nta*. Skr. partic. mid. *jō-huv-āna-s* from *hā-* 'call'; — with thematic vowel Skr. *jō-huv-a-t*. Avest. *zao-zao-mī* 'I pour out, consecrate'. Skr. *vār-vart-ti* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *vār-vrt-ati* from *vart-* 'vertere'. Skr. mid. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *dē-diṣ-tē* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *dē-diṣ-atē* Avest. *daē-dōis-t* from Ar. *diṣ-* 'show'; — with thematic vowel Skr. *dē-diṣ-a-m*.

Sanskrit has also some forms with *ī* after the reduplication (§ 467 p. 13). *barī-bhar-ti* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *bhāri-bhr-ati* from *bhar-* 'ferre'. Partic. *ghāni-ghn-at-* beside *jān-ghan-ti* (p. 112). *nāṭi-nō-t* beside *nō-nu-mas* (see above). *vārī-vart-ti* beside *vār-vart-ti* (above). *kāni-kranti* for *kāni-krad-at-* from *krand-* 'roar'.

#### § 569. Roots beginning in a Sonant.

Skr. *āl-ar-ti* 'raises itself'.

Gr. *ἤνευξα* 'I brought' partic. mid. *ἐνευξ-άμενο-ς*, Idg. \**en-eñk-*. With *ἤνευξας* -are etc. compare *ἔχευας* *ἐπας* etc. § 504 p. 67. Whether the Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *anaṣ* 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *anaṣ-tām* conj. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *anaṣ-a-mahāi*, which belong to the same root, are reduplicated or not, is a question. *anaṣ-* may be derived from \**en-ñk-*, or from \**enek-* (cp. Gr. *ἐνευξ-ής*).

### 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 *dar-dir-a-t*, *nō-nu-a-nta*, *jō-huv-a-t*, *dē-diṣ-a-m*, see above. Avest. *naṣ-niṣ-a-iti* 'washes' beside Skr. *nē-nēk-ti* mid. *nē-nik-tē*: cp. conj. *vōi-vid-a-itē* beside Skr. partic. *vē-vid-ana-s* from *vid-* 'find'.

#### § 571. Roots beginning in a Sonant.

Armen. *ar-ar-i* aor. of *aṛ-ne-m* 'I make', Gr. *ἄρ-αρ-ο-ν* inf. *ἄρ-αρ-εῖν* aor. of *ἄρ-αρ-ίσκω* 'I fit'. Skr. *am-am-a-t* aor. of

*am-* 'injure' (pres. *amī-ti*) Gr. ἤγ-αγ-ο-ν ἄγ-αγ-εῖν from ἄγ-ω 'I lead'.<sup>1)</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. ἄκ-άχ-ο-ντο from ἄκ-αχ-ῖ-ομαι 'I am troubled'. ἄλ-αλκ-ε 'I warded off'. ἤν-εγκ-ο-ν 'I brought'. ἐν-εγκ-εῖν beside ἤν-εγκ-α (§ 569). Compare § 470.

Skr. *amīn-a-t* (*prāṇina-t*) from *an-* 'breathe', *arjij-a-t* from *arj-* (*ṛj-*) 'direct, procure', *aubjij-a-t* from *ubj-* 'keep down', and other examples, only found in the grammarians. Gr. ἐρέκακ-ο-ν from ἐρέκ-ω 'I hold back', ἡνέπαπ-ο-ν from ἐνέπ-τω 'I address'. Compare § 474 p.

## 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. *vāmi-ti* Gr. ἄγα-μαι, and (2) Skr. *amī-ti*.

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 *α* are found both *ε* and *ο*. 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. *rōdi-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 (*āj-ai-ṣ*), perhaps the same as *ei* in Gr. ἄγ-ει-ς ἄγ-ει (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 -*ai-* to the singular active, like Skr. *kṛ-ṇu-mās* etc. as contrasted with *kṛ-nō-mi*; -*i-* is particularly common in the singular active in Sanskrit.

1) Or Benfey's Skr. *āj-ij-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-* = *-o-*. We have therefore to compare, say, *śami-śva* : *śamī-śva* with Skr. *ā-dhi-mahi* : *ā-dhī-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 *-o-* 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. 2<sup>nd</sup> aorist mid., e. g. *cnay* from pres. *cnani-m* 'pario, gigno, nascor': *cna-* for \**geno-* (cp. § 583 p. 125). See Bugge, Indogerm. Forsch., I p. 439.

§ 574. Sanskrit. Forms with *-i-*. *vāmi-mi vāmi-ti* (3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *vam-anti*, pret. *ā-vam-i-t*), beside Gr. *ἐμέω*. *āni-ti* 'breathes' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *an-ānti* (pret. *dn-i-t*). Imper. *stani-hi* from *stan-* 'thunder'. Imper. *śami-śva* from *śam-* 'take pains'. *rōdi-ti* 'laments, cries'. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *rudi-mas* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *rud-anti* imper. *rudi-hi* (pret. *ā-rōd-i-t*). *svāpi-ti* 'sleeps'. *śvasi-ti* 'snorts' imper. *śvasi-hi* instead of \**śuṣi-hi* cp. mid. *śuṣ-ē* (pret. *ā-śvas-i-t*). Also *śy-ṇv-i-ṣē* beside *śy-ṇv-i-rē* like *ja-jā-i-ṣē* beside *ja-jā-i-rē*. On *iṣ-i-tē* beside *iṣ-ṣē*, see § 853.

*-i-* in these Verbs is not usually confined to the present stem. Compare *śami-śva* with *śami-tā-s ā-śami-ṣ-ṭa* (Gr. *ῥάμω-ρο-ς*), *jāni-śva* with *jani-tār-jani-ṣyā-ti* (Gr. *γενί-τωρ* Lat. *geni-tor*).

To these I add a few forms which both Indian grammarians and European scholars call parts of the *iṣ-* aorist, to wit: 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *varti-thās* from *vart-* '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 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. mid in *-idhvam* instead of *-idhvam* (§ 839) given by the Indian grammarians, e. g. *ābōdhi-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-kr-thas ā-kr-ta*; but neither of the two kinds had any real

connexion in form with it (§ 816).<sup>1</sup>) Perhaps this apparent connexion was cemented by the original 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. of the *iṣ*-aorist, ending in *\*-iṣ* (for *\*-iṣ-ṣ*) which may have been unconsciously analysed into *\*-i-ṣ* (§ 839): cp. *ānait* following *āndiṣ* for *\*a-naiṣ-ṣ* (§ 816).

-I- is commonest in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. pret. active (cp. the above examples). *am-i-ti* 'injures' (3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *am-anti*) imper. *am-i-ṣva*. Imperative: *ṣam-i-ṣva* -*dhvam* beside *ṣami-ṣva* (p. 115). *taṣ-i-ti* 'thrives, is strong'. 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *ā-grh-i-tām* 'they seized' mid. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *grh-i-thās* *grh-i-ṣva*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ā-grabh-i-t*, cp. *grh-i-tā-s* *grah-i-ṣya-ti* *ā-grabh-i-ṣ-ur*. *ds-i-t* 'erat'.

The verb *brāv-i-ti* 'says' has -i- only in those persons which elsewhere have -i-, and obviously follows the i-verbs: thus *brāv-i-mi* -*i-ṣi* -*i-ti*, *ā-brav-i-ṣ* -*i-t*; but *ā-brav-am* *brā-mās* *bruv-anti*. Compare Avest. *mraom* i. e. *mrao-em* = *ā-brav-am*, mid. *mrūyē* i. e. *mrue-ṣ* (Bartholomae, Handb. § 92 p. 40) = *bruv-ē*. *mrūtiṣ* *mrū-ta* = Skr. *brā-tē* *ā-brā-ta* and *mrāo-ṣ* *mrāo-ḥ* as contrasted with *ā-brav-i-ṣ* -*i-t*, like Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ds* contrasted with *ds-i-t*; but Avestic itself has a similar i-form in *vyā-mrōta* (Y. 12. 6.), if Bartholomae rightly takes this as 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. imperf. (see Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxviii 37, Stud. Idg. Spr. II 127). By levelling we have Skr. imper. *bravi-hi* instead of *brā-hi*, and *brā-mi* instead of *brāo-i-mi*.

From presents in -*ayā-ti*: Skr. *anay-i-ṣ* from *āna-ya-ti* 'leaves unfulfilled', *dhvānay-i-t* from *dhvānaya-ti* 'envelops', cp. opt. mid. *kamay-i-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: *dsr̥* *dsit* are clear; *ds* for 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person both, is not:

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

1) *ā-jayī-t*: 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ā-jayīṣ-nta* = Gr. *ἀ-κατέμω-το* (*κατέμω-θη*): 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. *ἀ-κατέμω-θη*; (*κατέμω-το-ς*), see § 840.

§ 575. Greek. The *ə*-flexion holds ground in the middle voice. *κρέμα-μαι* 'I hang' (cp. fut. *κρεμά-ω*, *κρεμά-θρα* 'hanging basket'). *ἄγα-μαι* 'I revere, honour'; *ἀγα-* doubtless for \**ηγο-*, from the root of *μέγα*; then *ἄγα-μαι*: a possible \**μεγα-μι* as Skr. *rudi-mas*; *rōdi-mi*. Aor. *ἐ-πρά-μην* 'I bought' beside Skr. *kri-ṇā-ti* 'buys' fut. *κρέ-ῖναι-τι* O.Ir. *cre-nim* 'I buy' conj. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *-cria* for \**cri-a-t*.

The active forms perhaps became thematic in prehistoric times: *ἐμέω* 'I spew' instead of \**ψεμε-μι*: Skr. *vāmi-mi*, cp. *ἔμε-σσα*; *δαμάω* 'I subdue' instead of \**δαμα-μι*, cp. *δάμα-σσα παν-δαμά-τωρ*; *ἐλάω* 'I drive' instead of \**ἐλα-μι*, cp. *ἐλα-σσα ἐλα-τήρ*; *ἀρόω* 'I plough' instead of \**άρο-μι*, cp. *ἀρ-ηρο-μένο-ς ἥρο-σα ἄρο-τρο-ν*. On *-ε-* and *-ο-* beside *-α-* see § 572 p. 114. But the *σσ*-aorist makes it possible to regard these forms as originally ending in *-εσ-ω* *-ασ-ω* *-οσ-ω*, and answering to Skr. *tarās-a-ti* *arcas-ḥ*. See §§ 661, 842.

Remark. Many other forms seem to be of this group, but their explanation is obscure. See, for example, § 550 p. 106 for *δρο-σαι* *δρο-νται*, Osthoff *Perf.* 371, 409 for *πίνα-μαι*, the Author in Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* xxiii 587 ff. for *ἱεα-μαι*. On *ἱ-χια-ς* *ἱ-χία-μεν* and the like, which some scholars place in this category, see § 504 p. 67.

§ 576. In Latin, Germanic and Balto-Slavonic *ə-* and Idg. *-o-* (in Latin, Idg. *-e-* as well) must necessarily run together into the same sound. Thus it is always possible that verbs which in these languages belong to Class II originally had *ə-* and belonged properly to the ninth class. Lat. *vomi-t* *vomi-mus* cp. Skr. *vāmi-ti*. Goth. *-anan* 'breathe, blow' cp. Skr. *ani-ti* (1<sup>st</sup> pl. *-ana-m* like *ani-mas*), O.H.G. *riozan* 'cry, weep' cp. Skr. *rōdi-ti*, A.S. *snefan* O.Icel. *sofa* 'sleep' cp. Skr. *svāpi-ti*. Lith. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *raūda* 'cries, weeps' Lett. *rāud*, beside O.H.G. *riozan* and Skr. *rōdi-ti*. Certainty is very far from possible here; indeed, even in Sanskrit these roots can be inflected like Class II: *vam-a-ti*, *ān-a-ti* *an-ā-ti*, *rōd-a-ti* *rud-a-ti*, *svāp-a-ti*.

§ 577. Forms with Reduplication only found in Sanskrit; all have *-i-*.



-ī- in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. of some preterites which are usually called pluperfect: as *ā-ja-grabhī-t* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ā-ja-grabh-am*) from *grabh-* 'seize', *ā-bu-bhājī-ṣ* from *bhuj-* 'bend'.

Intensive: *vā-vadī-ti* from *vad-* 'speak', *pā-patī-ti* from *pat-* 'fly'. Compare § 560 pp. 109 f. Intensive: *dar-darī-ti* from *dār-* 'split' beside *dār-dar-ṣi*, *tar-tarī-ti* (and with irreg. strong stem, 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *tartarī-thas*) from *tar-* 'step over', *nan-namī-ti* from *nam-* to 'bow, bend oneself', *rō-rapī-ti* from *ru-* 'roar, cry', *jā-havī-ti* from *hā-* 'call'. Compare § 568 p. 113. The root syllable is never followed by -ī- when the reduplication ends in ī: cp. § 467 p. 13.

### G. CLASSES X AND XI.

#### ROOT + -ā-, -ē-, OR -ō- FORMING THE PRESENT STEM.

§ 578. We have here to examine forms such as Gr. *ē-δρ-ā-v*, *ē-βλ-η-v*, *ē-σβ-η-v*, *ē-γν-ω-v*. These vowels<sup>1)</sup> -ā-, -ē-, and -ō- 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. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl *ē-γνον* for \**ēγ-νω-ν(τ)*, opt. 1<sup>st</sup> pl *γνοῖμεν* for \**γνωκ-μεν* (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-ā-*: Lat. (conj.) *fuā-s* Lith. *būvo* (beside \**bhuy-ā-* in Lat. *-bā-s*); \**ii-ē-*: Skr. *iy-ā-t*, cp. perhaps Goth. *iddja*, whose *i-* may also be an augment (ē-) (beside \**i-ē-* in Skr. *y-ā-ti*); \**myn-ē-*: Gr. *i-μάνη* Lith. *miné*; \**liq-ē-*: Gr. *ē-λίπη* Lat. *lice-t*; Gr. *ē-βάλ-η* (beside *ē-βλ-η*).

These suffixes had properly nothing to 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 ā-" may be seen by referring to Kretschmer, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXXI 403 ff.

the Perfect, as Skr. *pa-prāśi* Gr. *πῆ-πλή-νται*; in the Aorist, as Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *a-prā-s* Gr. *ἔ-πλη-σ-α*; in the Participle, as Skr. *prā-tā-s* Lat. *im-plētū-s*; and in the Present, Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *prā-si* Lat. *im-plēs* from stem *\*pl-ē-* 'fill'  $\checkmark$  *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. *hv-a-sya-tē* O.C.Sl. aor. *zūv-a-chū* Skr. *hv-a-tar-* O.C.Sl. *zūv-a-telē* 'caller', but pres. Skr. *hāv-a-tē* O.C.Sl. *zov-e-ū* 'calls'; Skr. *jā-a-ti-ṣ* 'near kinsman' Gr. *καὶ-γνη-ρο-ς* *γν-ω-ρό-ς* 'kinsman, brother' Goth. *knōps* (Stem *kn-ō-di-*) 'stock, tribe' from  $\checkmark$  *gen-* 'gignere'; Gr. *ἐν-σπῆ-σω* 'I will say' O.Icel. *skald* 'poet' for pr. Germ. *\*ske-ald-* (Lidén, P.-B. Beitr. xv 507) from  $\checkmark$  *seq-* 'say' pres. *ἐν-έπω*.

These forms with *-a-* 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-τλα-ς*). It is no more strange to find these suffixes in two moods than to find *-e-* and *-o-* in both indicative and conjunctive.

So with the *-ē-* which meets us in Italic future and conjunctive series, as Lat. fut. *so-lv-ēs* conj. *l-r-ēs* Osc. *sakrafter fusid* (§ 926), must be identified with *-ē-* in *ἔ-βλ-η-ν* *ἔ-μάν-η-ν*; compare Lat. *ed-e-t* with Lith. pret. *ėd-ė*, Osc. *fu-i-d* 'sit' (*i = ē*) with Gr. pret. *ἔ-φύ-η*.

Greek, in the mood answering to the Latin *a*-conjunctive, has a variation, sometimes *-η-* and sometimes *-ω-*; as *λίπη-τε* *λίπω-ῃ-τε*. Perhaps there were originally two sets of conjunctive forms, one with *-ē-* and one with *-ō-*; and from these a mixed paradigm was made, *-ē-* or *-ō-* being taken according as the corresponding indicative form had *-e-* or *-o-*. If so, the conjunctive *λίπη-τε* must be really the same as the aorist passive (*ἔ*)*λίπη-τε*, Lat. *fuā-s* the same as *-bas*, *tulā-s* the same as Gr. (*ἔ*)*τλα-ς*. There was a closer connexion between *-ē-* and *-ō-* than either of them had with *-a-*, as is proved by such forms as *\*gī-ē-* Gr. *ζῆ*: *\*gī-ō-* *ζώ-ω*, *\*bhs-ē-* Gr. *ωῆ*: *\*bhs-ō-* *φω-ο-ω* (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 *-ā-* of Aryan conjunctives. In the indicative forms, non-Aryan languages often give the clue; thus we derive Skr. *prā-si* from *\*plē-si* because Greek has *πλήρω* and Latin *-plē-s*, but *drā-ti* we derive from *\*dr-ā-ti* because of Greek *ἰδοά-ν*.

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

As has already been mentioned (§ 487 p. 41), I believe that this *-ā-* suffix is the same as the feminine suffix *-ā-*; compare Skr. perf. *ji-jyāú jyā-sya-ti* Gr. Ion. *βέ-βλή-ται βη-σάο* with the fem. Skr. *jiā-*, *jiyā-*, Gr. *βία*, from *√gei-* 'subdue, force' (Skr. *jāy-a-ti ji-nā-ti*). This is no bolder than to suppose that indic. *ἄγ-ο-μεν* and conj. *εἰδ-ο-μεν* contain the same *-o-* as *ἀγ-ό-ς*. And some verbal stems with *-ē-* are actually used as nouns, as Gr. *χρ-ή* 'necessity' beside *κέ-χρη-μαι χρ-ή-σθαι*; Hom. *έμο-κλ-ή*, 'loud cry or call' beside Cret. partic. *ἀνακλή-μεν-ος*; Lat. *qui-ē-s* abl. *quē* beside perf. *quē-er-*; Skr. *ps-ā* 'food' beside *ps-ā-ti* cp. *ψῆ* for *\*ψη-ει*. The same *-ē-* nouns are seen in Lat. *plē-bam*, *ticē-bat*, *arē-bat*, *are faciō*, O.C.Sl. *bē-achŭ štrē-achŭ* and the like (§ 896 Rem., §§ 899, 903).

Verbs made with these suffixes are often extended by *-jo-*; as beside Skr. *sn-ā-ti* 'washes, bathes' Lat. *nā-s nā-mus* we have Skr. *snā-ya-tē* Lat. *nō* for *\*nā-(i)ō* O.Ir. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *snāid*; and it is impossible to draw a distinct line between the older inflexion and that with *-jo-*. Thus we must make frequent comparisons with the *jo-* 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 *jo-* extension; as Lat. *plantiō* (for *\*planti-(i)ō plantā-s* etc. from *plantā-* 'plant' like *nōnās* etc., Gr. Lesb. *ἰ-τίμα-μεν ἰ-τίμα-τε* from *τίμα-* 'honour' like *ἰ-δοά-ν ἰ-δοά-τε*, Armen. *jana-m jana-mē* like *mna-m mna-mē*. That these denominatives had originally only *-jo-* (or

-*io*) in all persons cannot be proven (cp. § 487 p. 42); and in view of the great number of forms like Lat. *plantā-s plantā-mus* without -*io*- in the Idg. languages, it is very improbable.

### Class X.

Unreduplicated Root + -*a*- -*ē*- or -*ō*- forming the Present Stem.

#### § 579. Root + -*a*-.

Pr. Idg. \**dr-ā-ti* 'runs' (cp. Skr. *dr-āva-ti dr-ama-ti* etc., § 488 p. 47): Skr. *drā-ti* imper. *drā-hi*, Gr. *ἔδρα-ν ἔδρα-μεν*. \**tr-ā-ti* (cp. Skr. *tar-* 'press through, pass over'): Skr. *trā-ti* 'rescues, saves' (orig. 'lets go through, or gets happily out of') mid. *trā-sva trā-dhvam* (*trā-ya-tē*), Lat. *in-trā-s -trā-mus* (1<sup>st</sup> sig. -*trō* for \**-trā-iō*) and *trans* Umbr. *traf trahaf* 'trans' (orig. nom. sing. of the participle, see Thielmann, Arch. Lat. Lex. iv 248 ff., 358 ff.).<sup>1)</sup> \**sn-ā-ti* 'washes, bathes' intr. (cp. Skr. *sn-āu-ti* 'trickles' partic. *sn-u-ta-s*, Gr. *ν-έω fut. ν-έω-σμαι*): Skr. *snā-ti* 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *snā-tas* (*snā-ya-tē*), Lat. *nā-s nā-mus* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *nō*), cp. Gr. *νέω* 'I flow' *νέ-μα*, \**bhy-ā* \**bhuy-ā* from √*bhey-* 'become, be': Lat. -*bā-s -bā-mus*, O.Ir. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *bā ba* (conj. and fut.), Lith. *būvo* 'was' *būvo-me*; variant \**bhy-ē* \**bhuy-ē*, see § 587. \**sruy-ā* from *srēy-* 'flow': Gr. Epidaur. *ἰρρῖα* 'flowed', Lith. *pa-srūvo* 'flowed'; variant \**srue-ē* Gr. *ἰρρῖν* § 589. \**g-ā-t* \**e-g-ā-t* 'went' (cp. \**g-em-*, § 497 Rem. p. 57): Skr. *ā-gā-t ā-gā-ma*, Gr. *ἔ-βη ἔ-βη-μεν*. Sometimes verbs which originally belonged to Class I, and had gradation were absorbed into this class and lost it: see § 495 p. 55

Examples of similar conjugation in later denominative verbs from *a*-stems: 1<sup>st</sup> pl. Armen. *jana-mē*, Gr. Aeol. *ῥῖα-μεν*, Lat. *plantā-mus*, O.Ir. *no chara-m*, Lith. *jūsto-me*.

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 143 ff., does not convince me.

in their received sense. For example, Lat. *forō forās*, O.H.G. *borōm borōs* 'I bore', common ground-form \**bhyr-a-*, beside O.H.G. *bora* f. 'borer' (cp. § 769).

§ 580. Aryan. Besides those mentioned in § 579, there are few Aryan verbs which can fairly be supposed to have original *-ā-*, to judge from the cognate languages. Skr. *śr-ā-ti* (gramm.) beside *śrā-ya-ti* 'cooks, roasts' from √ *ker-* (Gr. *κράσ-αι*, Skr. *śr-tā-s*); cp. Gr. *-μί-κρά-μι* 'I mix' Class XI, perf. *μί-κρά-ται*, *ἄ-κρά-τος* 'unmixed' (= Skr. *śrā-tā-s*). Skr. *ml-a-ti* 'softens, slackens, decays' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ml-a-nti* (beside *mld-ya-ti*) from √ *mel-* 'molere', cp. Gr. Dor. *βλά-ξ βλη-χρό-ς* 'slack, flabby' (O.Ir. *mlaith blaith* 'soft, tender' perhaps with *l*, I § 306 p. 243). Skr. opt. *mna-yā-t* 'commemorate' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *mna-y-ur* from √ *men-* 'think', cp. Gr. Dor. perf. *μί-υνά-ται*. Skr. *dhy-a-ti* beside *dhyā-ya-ti* 'thinks of' (perf. *da-dhyāu*) beside *ā-dī-dhē-t* § 537 p. 97, cp. Gr. *σά-μα σή-μα* = Skr. *dhy-a-man-* II § 117 p. 370.)

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-ghrāu* partic. *ghrā-tā-s*) beside *jī-ghar-ti* Class III (§ 540 p. 100); *dr-a-ti* 'sleeps' (*da-drāu drā-na-s*) beside Gr. *δω-δάτω* Lat. *dor-miō* (cp. the Author, M. U., 1 43); *dhn-ā-nt-* 'blowing' (*da-dhmāu dhmā-i-t-s*) beside *dhām-a-ti* Class II A; *khy-ā-ti* 'looks, seems, makes known' (*ca-khyāu khyā-tā-s* beside *ā-khy-a-t* 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 § 766. 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' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *mna-mē* (aor. *mna-çi*), from the root of Gr. *μέν-ω* 'I remain', and probably connected directly with Skr. *mn-a-* Gr. *μν-ā-* (§ 580). *kea-m* 'I live' ground-form \**giā-mi* (Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr., II 134) or \**ghyā-mi* (cp. Skr. *jīva-tu-s* 'life', beside Skr. *jīva-ti* 'lives' Lat. *vivō*, which was derived from

1) Fick, Wtb. I<sup>4</sup> 32, connects *μν-α* with Skr. *khyā-ti*, for which see below.

✓ *gei-* by the suffix *-uo-*, but was regarded very early as a verb of Class II; cp. § 488 p. 47). *orca-m* 'I break wind, belch' for \**oruc-a-m*, cp. O.C.Sl. *rygu-jū* 'ructo'.

Denominatives with *-ā-* of the newer stratum are inflected just as these are; as *jana-m* 'I take pains, strive' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *jana-mē* (*jan* 'pains, excitement, diligence'), *olba-m* 'I bewail' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *olba-mē* (*olb* 'lament'). *xroxta-m* 'I am haughty, defiant' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *xroxta-mē* (*xroxt* 'haughty, defiant').

§ 582. Greek. *ἔδρα-ν* 'I ran' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ἔδρα-μεν* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ἔδρα-ν*: *Skr. drā-ti*, see § 579 p. 121. *ἔτελε-ν* *Dor. ἔτελα-ν* 'I endured' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ἔτελε-μεν* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ἔτελε-ν*, imper. *τελε-θι*, from ✓ *tel-* (*τολ-μή*, *τελάσσαι*). *Hom. πλη-το* 'drew near' (cp. *Dor. ἄπλα-το-ς* *πλά-τιο-ν*), beside *πλάζω* 'I bring near'. *ἔβη-ν* *Dor. ἔβα-ν* 'I went': *Skr. á-gā-t*, see § 579 p. 121. *Att. ἐγήρα-ν* 'I grew old' inf. *γηράναι* from pres. *γηράσκω*. *Epidaur. ἱξερρά*: *Lith. pa-srūvo* 'I flowed'. *Hezych. ἐφθιά*: *ἀπέθανεν* (cod. *ἐφθιά*). Other forms of the same kind collected by Fick in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* for 1881, pp. 1430 ff., and Bartholomae, *Stud. Idg. Spr.*, II 128 f.

Denominatives with *-ā-* belonging to the newer stratum were conjugated in this Class in the Aeolic dialect; e. g. pl. *τίμα-μεν* *τίμα-τε* (but att. *τιμῶμεν* *τιμᾶτε*). The 1<sup>st</sup> sing. in *-αιμι* is a re-formation in place of *-ā-μι*, and *-οιμι* instead of *-ω-μι*. Cp. §§ 589, 775.

Forms passing from Class I to Class X: *ἔ-στη-μεν* instead of \**ἔ-στᾶ-μεν*, *ἔ-φθῆ-μεν* instead of \**ἔ-φθᾶ-μεν* (but the middle keeps *φθᾶ-*, as *φθᾶ-μενος*). See § 495 p. 55.

Remark. *Hom. πλη-το* instead of \**πλᾶντο* following *πλάμην* etc., so *ἀρνται* *ἱμηνοντο* instead of \**ἀρνται* \**πλιντο*. Similarly opt. *ἔμ-πλη-το* and *μεμνήμεν* *κεκλήμεν*, see § 944. But some are regular, act. *ἀλσεν* *ἄρνται*: *δράνται* (on *ἔδραν* *ἔγνον* see § 1020. 2). Compare I § 611 Rem. p. 462.

§ 583. Italic. The 1<sup>st</sup> sing. pres. in \**-ā-mi* is lost; in its place Latin had always \**-ā-jō*, which became *-ō*. Lat. *trans* *Ůmbr. traf* *trahaf*, Lat. *in-trā-s* *-trā-mus*: *Skr. trā-ti*; Lat. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *in-trō* beside *Skr. trā-ya-tē*, see § 579 p. 121. Lat.

*fl-ā-s fl-ā-mus*, cp. O.H.G. *blāu* 'I blow' for \**bhl-ē-jō* and Gr. *πλ-είω* 'I abound'. Lat. *n-ā-s n-ā-mus*: Skr. *sn-d-ti* 'washes, bathes', see § 579 p. 121. Ital. \**fā-* for \**fy-ā-* from √*bhey-* 'become, be', pret. \**fā-m*: Lat. *amā-bā-s -ba-mus*, Osc. *fu-fans* 'erant' (§ 899), cp. Lat. conj. *fu-ā-s*: O.Ir. *ba ba* etc. (§ 579 p. 121). Lat. *hi-ā-s hi-ā-mus*, 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *hiō* = Lith. *žiō-jū* 'open the mouth', cp. Lat. *hi-scō*, O.H.G. *gi-nō-m gei-nō-m* 'I gape'. Lat. *inquam* for \**en-sq-ā-m* injunctive, √*seq-* 'say', cp. *in-qui-t in-qui-nū-t* (Class XXVI § 717) Gr. *ἰν-σπ-ε* (Class II B) *ἰν-σπ-η-σθ*.

*d-ā-* 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-ā-s*: *ad-dā-s* = *-bā-s*: *fuā-s*, *tulā-s*: Gr. *ἐ-χλ-α-ς*.

*erā-m erā-s* is to *es-t* what *ea-m* (used for conj.) is to *i-t*. The use of the injunctive \**fy-ā-* = Lat. *-ba-m* for the imperfect certainly had something to do with the use of the injunctive *erā-* as imperfect. Some scholars (the latest is Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr. II 187 f.) connect *eram* with Ion. *ἐῖν ἐησθα*; *ἦν* would be the augmented form; for another possible explanation see § 858. 2.

Other Verbs belonging to this class are: Lat. *juvā-s* (partic. *-jātū-s* perf. *jāvī*) for \**djugy-ā-s*: Lith. *džiūgo-s* 'he broke out into rejoicing' (pres. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *džiungū-s*); *lav-ā-s* (beside *lav-i-s*), cp. perf. *lavī*; *dom-ā-s cub-ā-s mic-ā-s ē-legāns* (beside *ē-ligere*) *sec-ā-s* (Umbr. *pru-sekatu* 'prosecuto') and others, cp. perf. *domuī cubuī micuī secuī*. Doubtless we should also place here certain stems which have *-ā-* all through the verb, as *arā-s* perf. *arāvī* partic. *arātu-s*, cp. Gr. *ἀράω* 'I plough' (Hom. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ἀράσσει* Heracl. *ἀράσσειν*, Sütterlin, Zur Gesch. der Verba denom. im Altgr., I 22), O.C.Sl. *orā-* 'to plough' in the aor. *ora-čū* partic. pret. act. *ora-vū* inf. *ora-ti*.

In Latin, there are a number of verbs which have the *-ā-* flexion when compounded, but some other when not. Examples: *oc-cupā-re*: *capiō*, *suspiciā-re*: *speciō*, *prōstigiā-re*: *stigiō*, *com-*

*-pellāre* : *pellō*, *aspernārī* : *spērñō*. 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 *ā*-formation gave an aoristic meaning, and *occupāre* stands to *capiō*, much in the same relation as Gr. *μαρῆναι* to *μαίνομαι*, *πρόσfigāre* to *figō* as *ληπῆναι* to *λείπομαι*. The indic. pres. *occupa-t* is then an aorist formation, like *lic-et* (Gr. *ἐλίπη*) beside *linguō* (§§ 590, 708), conj. *ad-venās ē-venās* (beside Osc. *kúm-bēned* 'convenit') beside *veniō*, *tag-i-t* beside *tangi-t*, and the like. This *ā*-aorist seems to be as old as the *ē*-aorist: cp. Gr. Epidaur. *ἰρρῶα* 'he flowed', Lith. *pa-srūvo* 'he flowed' *kūlo* 'he raised himself'; perhaps to this class belongs the Armenian *ā*-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 *-ā-* went hand in hand with the present flexion of this tenth Class. Lat. *planta-s -ā-mus* 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *plantiō* like *in-trā-s* etc. Umbr. *furfant* 'februant' imper. *portatu* 'portato', Osc. *faamat* 'habitat' *sakarater* 'saceratur' imper. *deivatud* 'iurato'. Compare §§ 798, 777.

§ 584. Keltic. Irish has only one monosyllabic present stem of the same kind as Idg. *tr-ā-*, to wit, *\*bhŷ-ā-*. This stem is certainly attested in conjunctive and future use (cp. Lat. *fu-a-m*), as 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *bā ba* = *\*bhŷ-ā-t*. Whether it acted also as the preterite copula (cp. Lat. *-bam*), is doubtful, because its 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular appears after particles as *-bu -bo* (e. g. *robu robo*), which looks like original *\*bhā-t* (Gr. *ἔ-τε*). Most likely the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ba* and 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *báir*, which still have those forms even in Old Irish, should be derived from a preterite *\*bhŷ-ā-*.

Then there are a few dissyllabic present stems, as O.Ir. *scarā-* 'sunder, part from' for *\*skŷr-ā-* (I § 298. 3 p. 237), *scar'im scar'i scar'id scarmme scarthe scar'it* for *\*scarā-mi -a-si* etc., also *no scaru* for *\*scarā-jo* 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 *a*-flexion in the British dialects; 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. O.Brit. *-at* (with *o* = *a*), e. g. O.Bret. *cospitiot* 'titubat' *crihot* 'vibrat'.

**Remark.** Remarkable forms of the verb *-tau -tō* 'I am' (= Idg. \**stā-iō*, Class XXVI § 706) are the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *at-tā* and the plural *-taun -tad -tat*, which may correspond to Lat. *sta-t* and *stā-mus stā-tis sta-nt*. That *at-tā* comes from \**stā(i)e-t* can hardly be proved, and the unaccented *-taun -tad -tat* need not be shortened by-forms of accented *at-taun, atād ataiith, at-taāt*, which may be secondary re-formates. Still I do not believe that we need assume, parallel to *stā-*, an original stem *st-ā*, i. e. an extension of the root by the *ā*-suffix of this tenth class; but I think that in Italic as in Keltic there was a tendency for verbs to pass from Class XXVI into this, caused by parallel present stems like *tr-ō-* and *tr-ā-iō-*. Compare § 503 pp. 71 f., §§ 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-m* from  $\sqrt{d\bar{h}\bar{e}-}$  (see § 507 p. 74). But the said inflexion has many representatives amongst disyllabic stems (mostly denominatives of the later stratum), cp. Goth. *mitō-s* 'thou measurest' *salbō-s* 'thou anointest', *mitō-p* *salbō-p*, *-ō-m -ō-p*, *-ō-nd*, 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. *ši-b-ju* 'hio' *šiō-ji -j(a) -ja-me -ja-te*, O.C.Sl. *tr-a-ja* 'I last, endure' *tra-je-ši -je-tū -je-mū -je-te -jatū* (cp. § 740). But imperatives like Lith. *šiō-k* = Lat. *hiā* (§ 937) should be classed here.

Dissyllabic stems without *-iō-* spread very widely in Baltic. To this class belong a very numerous group of preterites in *-au*, as Lith. *buvai* 'I was' *buvai buvo buvo-me buvo-te*; Lat. *-b-a-s*; *pa-srāvo* 'flowed': Gr. Epidaur. *ἔρρα* (§ 582 p. 123); *dāing-aū-s* 'I broke out into rejoicing': Lat. *jue-a-s* (§ 583 p. 124); *gij-aū* 'I revived' (cp. Avest. *jyāiti-s* 'life' Gr. *ζῆ* 'lives' for \**gi-ē-iō-*, from  $\sqrt{gej-}$ ); *kil-aū* 'I raised myself', *vilk-aū* 'I dragged', *snig-o* 'it snowed'. With augment *ej-aū* 'I went'

(§ 480 p. 28): Lat. *eñ-* for *\*-ej-ñ-* as conjunctive. Also presents; as *bij-añ-s* 'I fear', *ñud-au* 'I am stowed away somewhere'.

These forms had originally secondary personal endings, *-ñ-m -a-s -ñ-t* etc., like Lat. *-bam bās*. But the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. were transformed, the ending of *suk-ñ* *suk-t* being added to *-ñ-*. See on this point § 991. 1.

In verbs like *bij-añ-s ñud-au*, *-a-* was carried through the whole verb (fut. *bijó-siñ-s ñudo-sin* etc.). Thus they were related to the *a*-preterite (*buv-añ* beside fut. *bú-sin*, *dñing-añ-s* beside fut. *dñiñk-siñ-s*), as Lat. *ar-a-* to *juv-a-* (§ 583 pp. 124 f.).

O.C.Sl. has only one present of this sort, *im-a-mñ* 'I have' *im-a-si -a-tñ -a-mñ -a-te*; parallel stem *im-ě-* in partic. pret. act. *imě-otñ* etc., cp. Lith. pret. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ėm-ė*.

Amongst the later Lithuanian denominatives those in *-au* with inf. *-yti*, as *jā'stau* 'I gird' (*jā'styti*) from *jā'sta* 'girdle', see § 782. 4. Another group of later denominatives from stems in *-ā-* has *-o-ju -o-ti*; e. g. *dovanó-ju* 'I present', inf. *dovanó-ti*, from *dovanā*, see §§ 769, 783.

§ 587. Root + *-ē-* or *-ō-*.

Pr. Idg. *\*gl-ē-ti* from  $\sqrt{\text{gel-}}$  'fall' (cp. Gr. *βέλ-ο-* 'missile' *βολ-ή* 'throw'): Skr. *gl-a-ti* 'falls off, loses strength' (*glā-ya-ti*), Gr. *ἐβλή-ν* 'I received a blow, I was struck', 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ἐβλή-μεν* mid. *ἐβλή-το*, opt. *βλέην βλέιμεν*. *\*pl-ē-* *\*pl-ō-* from  $\sqrt{\text{pel-}}$  'fill' (Goth. *fil-u* 'much' etc.): Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. hortative *prā-si* aor. *ā-prā-t*, Gr. *πλή-το* *πλή-ντο* (§ 582 Rem. p. 123), Lat. *im-plē-s -plē-mus -plē-tur* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *plēō* for *\*plē-īō*); parallel stem *\*pl-ē-* in Lith. *plyti* 'he shed' instead of *\*pile* (§ 593); *\*pl-ō-* in Lat. *plōvare* Goth. *flō-du-s* 'flood', and doubtless in Gr. *ἐπ-έπλων* 'I sailed over' pres. *πλώ-ω* partic. *πλω-τό-ς*. *\*(s)n-ē-* *\*(s)n-ō-* 'weave, spin, sew' (*\*(s)n-ej-* in O.C.Sl. *ni-ti* 'thread'? cp. Per Persson, Stud. Lehr. Wurzelerw., 64): Gr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ἐ-ννε* Herodian II 507 22 L. (*νέω* from *\*snē-īō*), Lat. *nē-s nē-mus* (cp. O.H.G. *nāu* 'I sew' for *\*(s)nē-īō*); *\*sn-ō-* in O.Ir. *snā-the* 'thread' O.H.G. *smuo-r* 'cord, band'; Skr. *snā-van* Avest. *snā-var*

'band, sinew' may be derived from \**sn-ē-* on the strength of Gr. *νεῦρον* 'sinew' (for \*(*σ*)*νη-φ-ρο-ν*). \**gn-ē-* \**gn-ō-* 'learn, know' from √ *gn-* (Avest. *a-zainti-š* 'information' Lith. *pa-zinti-s* 'knowing, knowledge', Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. imper. *jā-a* (Class II B): Skr. opt. *jāā-yā-t* and *jāyā-t* (§ 940), Gr. *ἵ-γνω-ν* *ε-γνω-μεν* opt. *γνοῖ-μεν*, cp. O.H.G. *knāu* for \**gnē-iō*, O.C.Sl. *znajetŭ* for \**gnō-je*.<sup>1</sup>) \**myn-ē-* from √ *men-* 'think' (Gr. *μῆν-ος* 'mind' etc.): Gr. *ἐ-μάνη* *ἐ-μάνη-μεν*, Lith. *min-ē* *min-ē-me*, cp. Goth. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *mundiþ* for \**mun-ē-iī-di* (§§ 708, 739); also \**mn-a-* § 580 p. 122. \**i-ē-* \**i-ō-* 'go' from √ *ei-* 'go' (Gr. *ἰ-μι*): Skr. *yā-ti* *yā-mās* mid. *yā-mahē*, Goth. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *iddjē-s* (§ 478 p. 26), cp. Goth. *j-ēr* 'year' and Gr. *ὦ-ρο-ς* 'year' *ὦ-ρα* 'season' O.C.Sl. *ja-rŭ* 'spring'; Lith. *jó-ju* 'I ride' and Lat. *ja-nu-s* *janua* doubtless from \**i-ā-*, from the same √ *ei-* (cp. Lat. conj. *e-a-s*). \**bhy-ē-* \**bhuy-ē-* from √ *bhey-* 'become, be' (Skr. *bhāv-a-ti*): Gr. *ἐ-φύη* *ἐ-φύη-μεν*, O.C.Sl. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. imperf. *bě* for \**bhyē-s-t* (beside *běchŭ* *běchomŭ* etc. like *želěchŭ* etc. beside *želē*, *dělachŭ* etc. beside *děla* and the like), the same stem in Lat. *fē-tū-s*; \**bhy-ō-* perhaps in Gr. *φω-λεό-ς* O.Icel. *bō-l* 'resting-place, position'; cp. \**bhy-a-* \**bhuy-a-* § 579 p. 121. \**y-ē-* \**y-ō-* 'to blow' (cp. the Author, M. U. i 27 ff., Per Persson, *op. cit.*, 91, 225): Skr. *vā-ti* pl. *vā-nti* (*vā-ya-ti*), Gr. *ἄη-σι* mid. *ἄη-ραι*, Lat. *ventu-s* Goth. *vind-s* 'wind' for \**yē-nt-o-* like Gr. *ἄ-εω-ν* for \**āfē-ν-* (I § 612 p. 462, § 614 p. 464), cp. Goth. *vaia* for \**yē-iō* O.C.Sl. *vě-je-tŭ*; \**yō-* in Gr. *ἄω-ρο-ς* 'down, piece of wool' (Goth. perf. *sai-vō* is doubtless a re-formate following *sai-sō* from √ *sē-* *sō-*, see §§ 883, 884). \**bhs-ē-* \**bhs-ō-* (cp. I § 552 p. 408) 'pound small, chew, grind up' beside Skr. *bā-bhas-ti* Class V (§ 556 p. 108): Skr. *ṛsā-ti*, cp. Gr. *ψῆ* for \**ψη-χαι*; \**bhs-ō-* in Gr. *πρό-ω* *πρό-χω* 'I grind or rub to powder' *πρω-ρό-ς* 'scabby'. \**liq-ē-* from √ *leiq-* 'leave' (Gr. *λείπ-ω* etc.): Gr.

1) It is true that O.H.G. *knāu* is not an unexceptionable example for \**gn-ē-*. It might be assumed that this present was formed in connexion with a perfect Goth. \**kaī-knō* and on the analogy of \**sē-iō* (Goth. *sais* O.H.G. *sāu*): *sai-sō* from √ *sē-* (*sō-*).

*i-λίπ-η-ν -η-μεν*, Lat. *lic-e-t*.<sup>1)</sup> Lat. *tac-ē-s -ē-mus*, O.H.G. *dag-ē-s* 'thou art silent'. Lat. *scat-ē-s -ē-mus*, Lith. *su-skāt-ė* '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 *-jo-* and forms with *-ē-*, as Gr. *μαίρομαι μινῆν* = O.C.Sl. *mīnjā mīnē-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* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *vā-nti*.

In this class was conjugated Ar. *pā-* 'protect', whose *-ā-*, in view of Gr. *πῶν* 'herd' (II § 104 p. 315, § 105 Rem. p. 318) seems to look like Idg. *-ō-*: 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. Skr. *pā-si*, Avest. *pā-hi*, imper. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Skr. *pā-tu* Avest. *pā-tā* O.Pers. *pā-tāv* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. Skr. *pā-hi* O.Pers. *pā-dīy* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. Skr. *pā-tā* Avest. *pā-ta*, opt. Avest. *pā-ya-ō*. On *πῶν ποι-μήν*, compare now Per Persson, in the work so often cited, 118.

§ 589. Greek. Of monosyllabic stems may be further mentioned (cp. § 587): *φο-η-* 'bring' from  $\sqrt{\text{bher-}}$  (*φό-ω*): *ἐκ-φο-η-ται* 'is let out' partic. *ἐκ-εισ-φο-ρεῖς* infin. *εἰσ-φο-ρῆναι* (forms like imper. *φο-ρεῖς* come by analogy of *ἴημι* and the like, see the Author, Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1880, 217 ff.). *χο-η-* 'wish, desire' beside Skr. *hár-ya-ti* 'desires': 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *χο-η-ο-θα*, cp. *χρῆ* for *\*χο-η-μι* (Mekler, Beitr. zur Bildung des gr. Verb., pp. 23 f.). *κλ-η-* 'call' beside *καλέω*: Cret. part. *ἀν-κλ-η-μεν-ος* beside *ἀνα-καλέω* (Th. Baunack, Philologus XLIX 593 f.), cp. *ομο-κλή*

1) Bersu (Die Gutturalen, p. 154) denies that *licet* and *linguē* are connected, because *licet* has *e*, and *gu* would be expected. I conjecture that there was once a form *\*liciō* (Skr. *ric-ya-ti* Gr. *λίσσμεν* § 707), which came regularly from *\*lici-jo* (as *farciō* comes from *\*farcy-jo* § 715). Hence *licet*. Compare § 708.

(Hom. ὁμοκλίσσμεν). σβ-τ- 'quench' beside σβ-εσ- (§ 643) ✓ *seg-*: *ε-σβ-η-ν* *ε-σβ-η-μεν*. We must also mention in this place, although it is true they are not all old formations, some forms of the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. aor. in -θης = Skr. -*thās* (see below), as *ε-βλῆ-θης* beside *ε-βλῆ-το*, *ε-νῆ-θης* beside *ε-νῆ-ν*, see § 587 p. 127; *ε-ρρῆ-θης* beside *ρρ-η-* 'speak' *ε-η-ρό-ν* = Avest. *urvate-m* 'determination, command' (I § 157 p. 141) from ✓ *uer-* (Gr. εἶρω Lat. *ver-bu-m*);<sup>1)</sup> *ε-κλή-θης* beside *κλ-η-* 'call' *ἀν-κλή-μενο-ς* *κλέ-κλη-μαι* ὁμο-κλή (see above).

Of dissyllabic stems we have already mentioned *ε-μάν-η-ν*, *ε-μνῆ-η-ν*, and *ε-λίπ-η-ν* in § 587. This *ε*-formation, with intransitive meaning, became fertile (this is what the grammars call the "strong aorist"); a few further examples are *ε-δαρ-η-ν* 'I was flayed' ✓ *der-*, *ε-ρρῆ-η* 'flowed' ✓ *srey-*, *ε-τάρπ-η-ν* *ε-τράπ-η-ν* 'I enjoyed myself, was glad' ✓ *terp-*, *ε-κλάπ-η-ν* 'I let myself be deceived, was deceived' ✓ *qlep-*, *ε-μίγ-η-ν* 'I mixed myself' ✓ *mejē-*, *ε-ζύγ-η-ν* 'had myself yoked, was joined' ✓ *jeug-*, *ε-σάπ-η* 'rotted' from *σήπ-ω* 'cause to rot', *ε-επλάγ-η-ν* 'I was frightened' from pres. *ἐκ-πλήττω* cp. Lith. *plāk-ē* 'he struck' (pres. *plāk-ū*). There was a reason why this category should become very large. Medio-passive forms of the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. in -θης, as *ε-δό-θης* = Skr. *á-di-thās*, *ε-κτά-θης* = Skr. *á-kṣa-thās* (Class I), *ε-βλῆ-θης* beside *ε-βλῆ-το* (Class X), *ε-σχ-έ-θης* beside *ε-σχ-ε-το* (Class II B); and forms from the *s*-aorists, as *ερείσθης* beside *ερείσατο* (*ερείδ-ω* 'I support, press against'), *εμίχθης* = \**ε-μεικ-σ-θης* beside *εμεικτο* = \**ε-μεικ-σ-το* *μίγ-νε-μι* 'I mix');<sup>2)</sup> — these were all regarded as being on a par with *ἐλίπη-ς* etc., and then, by analogy of *ἐλίπη-ν* *ἐλίπη* etc. we have *εδόθην* *εδόθη* and so forth, that is, from this grew the whole series of the "weak aorist passive". Compare O.Ir. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. -*burt* by analogy of 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. -*bert*, where -*t* is the middle personal

1) *ερείθης* *ερείθης* i. e. \**ε-μν-ε-θης* follows Class II B (§ 527 p. 90), cp. Skr. *á-khy-a-t* beside *khy-ā-ti*, imper. *jñ-a* beside *jñ-ā-ya-ti*, etc.

2) Compare § 836, on *ε-κορέσ-θης* and § 840 on *ε-κρεμάσ-θης*.

ending *-to* (§ 506 pp. 72 f.), and Lith. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *eitū* by analogy of 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *eĩ-t* = Gr. *el-si* (§ 686 Rem. 2).

Dissyllabic stems with *-ō-*, are rare in Attic (cp. *ē-γῆρα-v* § 582 p. 123): *ἑάλω-v* for *\*ē-halō-v* (§ 479 p. 27) 'fell a prisoner, was captured' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ἑάλω-μεν* partic. *ἑλόντ-ε*; *ἐβίω-v* 'I lived' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ἐβίω-μεν*.

The Aeolic dialect inflects the whole group of newly formed denominatives in *-έω* and *-όω*, and the Causatives in *-ίω* (Class XXXII) as though belonging to Class X; e. g. Lesb. *φίλη-μι* 'I love, am wont' from *φίλο-ς*, *φορῶ-μι* 'I carry' (Class XXXII), *στεφανῶ-μι* 'I crown' from *στέφανω-ς* (Att. *φιλῶ* for *φιλέω*, *φορῶ* for *φορέω*, *στεφανῶ* for *στεφανόω*); 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *φίλη-τε* *στεφανῶ-τε*, 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *φίλωσι* *στεφανόωσι* for *\*ενσι* *\*ονσι* (I § 205 p. 172), mid. *φίλη-μαι* *στεφανῶ-μαι*. This was a new formation entirely, which came naturally because other tenses than the present were alike in the two classes, for instance *ἀήσεται* : *φιλήσεται*, *γνώσεται* : *στεφανώσεται*, and because of the old Aeolic inflexion of *σ*-stems (§ 578 p. 120); for verbs in *-ημι*, another factor in the change may have been reduplicated stems like *κί-χῆ-μι* Class XI (§ 594), and the singular indic. pres. of verbs in *-ημι* or *-ωμι* may have been influenced by *τίθη-μι* *δίδω-μι* respectively.<sup>1)</sup> However, it must not be forgotten that *φιλέετε* *στεφανόομεν* would regularly become *φίλητε* *στεφανόμεν* in Aeolic.

Remark. As regards *η ω* in forms like *ἄρνται*, (Lesb.) *στεφανῶνται*, *ἰμ-πίστω* etc., see § 582 Rem. p. 123; and for the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. act. pret. *ἔμεγε* *ἔγγε* etc. see § 1020. 2.

590. Italic. Of stems originally monosyllabic I mention a few others (cp. § 587): *fl-ē-s* *fl-ē-nus*, connected with O.H.G. *blāu* 'I blow' Gr. *φλ-έω* *φλ-ύω* 'I overflow, trickle' and doubtless with *fl-ō-s*. Compare also *spr-ē-vi* *spr-ē-tu-s*

1) Compare especially 2<sup>nd</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *φίλει*; *φίλη* like *τίθει*; *τίθη*, variants *φίλει*; *φίλει*; and *στεφανέω* *στεφάνω* like *δίδω*; *δίδω*. Similarly, we have *τίμαι*; *τίμαι* like *ἵσται*; *ἵσται*. Then the diphthong passes to the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. giving *στεφανόομαι* *τίσσομαι* (cp. *ἵσσομαι*).

from *sper-uō*; *qui-ē-scō* *qui-ē-ōt*, connected with Avest. *šyēiti-š* 'wellbeing, place of delight, home' (II § 100 p. 297) and Gr. *τε-ριγ-μαι* 'I am frightened' (de Saussure, *Mém. Soc. Ling.*, VII 86 f.) beside Goth. *hwei-la* 'while, time' O.C.Sl. *po-koj-ŕ* 'rest'; (*g)n-ō-scō* (*g)n-ō-ōt* beside Gr. *ἐ-γ-ω-ν* (§ 587 p. 128).

Dissyllabic stems, usually with intransitive meaning (cp. the Greek "passive aorist" in *-η-ν* § 589 p. 180). *lic-e-t*, Osc. *likítud licítud* 'liceto': Gr. *ἐ-λάτῃ*, § 587 p. 129. *vid-ē-s* *vid-ē-mus*, cp. Lith. *pa-vyde-ti* 'invidere' O.C.Sl. *vid-ē-ti* 'to see'; *videō* for \**vid-ē-iō* like Goth. *vitái-þ* 'looks towards something, observes'; notice Umbr. *virseto* 'visum'. *sil-ē-s*; with *sileō* cp. Goth. *sildai-þ* 'silet'. *rub-ē-s*, cp. O.C.Sl. *rūd-ē-ti* 'redden, blush'. *fav-ē-s*, cp. O.C.Sl. *gov-ē-ti* 'religiose vereri, *ἐλάφει-θαι*, venerari, *αἰδέσθαι*' (see Ber. *sächs. Ges. Wiss.*, 1889, p. 47); *faveō* like *govejā*. *val-ē-s*, cp. Lith. *gal-ē-ti* 'to be able' (not so Bezzenberger in his *Beitr.* XVI 256). *tac-ē-s*: O.H.G. *dag-ē-s* 'art silent'; *tac-eō* like Goth. *þahái-þ*; observe Umbr. *tāez tases tasis* 'tacitus' pl. *tasetur* 'taciti'. *hab-ē-s*, Umbr. *habe* 'habet' *habetu habitu* 'habeto': O.H.G. *hab-ē-s* (✓ *khap- khab-* or *khah- khab-*). Further, Lat. *clu-ē-s* ✓ *cluey*; *torp-ē-s* for \**typ-ē-* (I § 308 p. 241); *cand-ē-s* doubtless for \**qūd-ē-* from ✓ (*s*)*gend-* (Skr. *ścaud-rá- canī-rá-*, *cāni-ścad-a-t*); *liqu-ē-s* and others; Osc. *loufit* 'libet, vel' (Bréal, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* IV 145 f., 404 f.) beside Lat. *libet*, closely connected with Goth. *lubái-s* 'hope', and, as we shall see in § 708, with Skr. pres. *lúbh-ya-ti*; Umbr. *trebeit* 'versatur' from ✓ *treb-* 'build', which doubtless comes from \**treb-ē-ti* rather than \**treb-i-ti* 1<sup>st</sup> sing. \**treb-iō* (in Class XXVI, § 715). With nasal suffix, Lat. *langu-ē-s* from ✓ *slēg-* (§ 632). On this present in *-eō* compare § 708.

In the same way are inflected a late group of denominative verbs in *-eō*, and the Causatives in *-ān* (Class XXXII), e. g. *albēō albē-s* etc. from *albu-s*, and *monēō monē-s* etc. See §§ 777, 802.

§ 591. Keltic. I know nothing that can be classed here. *do-gniū* 'I do, make, work' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *gniūth*, inflected just like

*biu*, which comes from \**bhy-ijō* (§ 719), is therefore from \**gn-ijō* not \**gn-ē-ijō*.

§ 592. Germanic. Goth. *iddja* 'I went' *iddjā-s* (pl. *iddjedum* following *nasidēdum*): Skr. *ā-yā-m*, see § 478 p. 26, § 587 p. 128, § 886 Rem. Goth. *vind-s* O.H.G. *wint* O.Icel. *vindr* 'wind': Lat. *ventu-s* contains the participle \**yē-nt-* 'blowing', see § 587 p. 128. Elsewhere, monosyllabic stems only have the *jo*-suffix (Class XXVIII), as Goth. *vaia* O.H.G. *wetu* 'I blow' for \**yē-ijō*.

To this tenth class belong dissyllabic stems in *-ē-* as inflected in Old High German. *dag-ē-m* 'I am silent' *-ē-s* *-ē-t* *-ēm-ēs* *-ē-t* *-ē-nt-*: Lat. *tac-ē-s* etc., *habē-m*: Lat. *hab-ē-s*, see § 590 p. 132. *dol-ē-m* 'I suffer, endure', cp. Lith. *tylė-ti* 'to be still, silent' (long *i* not original), common ground-form \**ǵl-ē-* from √ *tel-*. *leb-ē-m* 'I live', cp. O.C.Sl. *pri-ŕpě-ti* 'hold or cleave to' Gr. *ἀναρῆναι* from *ἀλείω* 'anoint, smear' (for the derived meaning compare O.Icel. *lifa* 'be left over, live'). On these O.H.G. verbs in *-ēm* and their relation to Goth. verbs in *-a-* *-āis* (as *dagēm*: *þaha*) see § 708.

§ 593. Balto-Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *bē* 'cras, erat' for \**bhy-ē-s* \**bhy-ē-t*, see § 587 p. 128. Lith. *ent-* 'going' perhaps for \**i-ē-nt*, beside Goth. *iddj-ē-s* Skr. *y-ā-nt-*, see § 511 p. 77.

Then comes the Lith. preterite in *-ė* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing.), whose high antiquity in Baltic is vouched for by Pruss. *weddē* = Lith. *vėdė* 'he led'. *pglė*, *minė*, *su-skatė* were mentioned in § 587, *plakė* in § 590. Compare further *virė* from *vēr-du* 'I cook, boil', *mirė* from *mir-sztu* 'I die', *gimė* from *gem-ū* 'I am born', *ginė* from *gen-ū* 'I hunt, drive', *tāpė* from *tamp-ū* 'I become' (as to *ė* in the root-syllable of *vėmė* from *vemiū* 'I vomit', *gėrė* from *geriū* 'I drink' and the like, see § 894). These forms had originally secondary endings, \**-ē-w* \**-ē-s*; the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> sing., however, were transformed, the endings of *suk-ū* *suk-i* being added to *-ē-*, and then *-ē-u* *-ē-i* became regularly *-iau* *-ei*, as *redžiaū* *vedėi*, *viriaū* *virė*



(Wiedemann, Lit. Praet., 32, 184).<sup>1)</sup> Compare § 586 p. 126 on *duvāi duvāi*. and § 991. 1.

Lastly should be mentioned imperatives like *miṇṇē-k* 'think of' *pa-vyḍē-k* 'invid'; these answer to the Greek and Latin imperatives *μάνη-θι* *vidē* (§ 708).

### Class XI.

Reduplicated Root + -ā-, -ē-, -ō-, forming the Present Stem.

§ 594. Reduplicator in -i (compare Classes III and IV).

Reduplicated Root + -ā-. Pr. Idg. *\*gi-g-ā-ti* 'goes' (cp. § 497 Rem. p. 57, § 579 p. 121): Skr. *jīgā-ti* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *jīgā-ta* (partic. *jīg-at-* in Class III), Gr. *βίβη-αι* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Dor. *βίβα-νι* (cp. G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 431), partic. *βίβέας*.

Gr. *μίγ-κρά-μι* 'I mix' imper. *ίγ-κρά*, beside Skr. *śr-ā-ti* Class X (§ 580 p. 122); cp. below, on *πίμ-πλη-μι*. Gr. *δί-ζη-μα*. 'I seek, strive' for *\*δι-δι-α-μαι* beside *δι-ζ-ο-μαι*, Class IV B (§ 549 p. 106) and beside Skr. *á-dī-dv-t* Class III (§ 537 p. 97); *\*δι-α-* we infer from Aeol. *ζάτρημι* (Att. *ζητέω*) and Dor. *ζάρσώω* from the partic. *\*δι-α-το-*.

Possibly Idg. -ā- is contained in Germ. *\*ti-tr-ō-mi* O.H.G. *zittarōm* 'I tremble' O.Icel. *títtra* 'I tremble, shake', from *√der-* 'burst' (cp. Skr. *dar-* 'push apart, lose one's head, be frightened').

Reduplicated Root + -ē-. Gr. *-πί-πλη-μι* *πίμ-πλη-μι* imper. Hom. *έμ-πίπληθι* partic. *-πιπλής* (Hesiod, Hippocrates) beside *πλ-ᾶ-ρο* Class X § 587 p. 127. *-πί-πρη-μι* *πίμ-πρη-μι*

1) I hold Wiedemann's explanation of -ias to be correct, notwithstanding Streitberg to the contrary (Idg. Forsch., I 267). Streitberg has overlooked one fact: to wit, that the diphthong -ys in these words first appeared in Baltic, and is not so old as the pre-dialect period of Balto-Slavonic.

'I kindle', *√ per-*. Ἰλημι 'I am gracious' imper. Hom. Ἰληθι, for \*σι-σλη-, *√ sel-*. κί-χρη-αι 'lends, borrows' Dor. κίγ-χρη-τι, beside χρο-ή and χρο-νής 'needy, poor'. τί-τρον-μι 'I bore', *√ ter-* τίρ-ε-τρο-ν; cp. O.H.G. *drāu* 'I turn' from the same stem *tr-ē-* (§ 739). The weak persons of these Greek verbs (and probably of κίγ-κρά-μι too) usually follow Class III, as -πίπλω-μεν = Skr. *pi-pṛ-mās*, ἵλα-μαι τίτρα-μαι etc. (ἵλα-θι beside Ἰλη-θι, πιπλάς beside -πιπλείς); this was due to present tenses like ἴστημι ἵσταμεν; Sanskrit offers a parallel in forms of the perfect system like *pa-pr-ā pa-pr-āu*: *pa-pṛ-vās-* (§ 850). See § 542 p. 102, § 621, where too is given the origin of the *nasai* in the reduplicator of *πίμ-πλημι κίγ-κράμι* etc.<sup>1)</sup>

Gr. κί-χ-η-μι 'I reach, find, catch up' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. κί-χ-η-μεν partic. κί-χ-η-μενο-ς. Origin uncertain.

O.H.G. *wi-wint* 'whirlwind' beside *wint* (§ 592 p. 133) 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-dīsa-fust a-teŕa-fust* 'circum-tulerit' for \**dī-d-ā-* from *√ dō-* 'give' pres. Umbr. Ose. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. \**dī-d-ō*; Falisc. *pipafo* 'bibam' cp. Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *pi-p-aṭ* Lat. *bī-b-i-t* § 539 p. 100, § 558 p. 107; Volsc. *sistatiens* 'statuerunt' from \**sistā-tens* (Osthoff, Perf. 244) beside Lat. *si-st-ō*. These ā-stems are identical with the ā-conjunctives of these verbs (Palign. *dī-d-a* 'det', Lat. *bī-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.).

§ 595. Fuller Reduplication (cp. Class VII). Skr. *dāri-drā-ti* beside *dr-d-ti* 'runs', *yayā-varā-s* 'walking or moving about' from a presumed \**yā-yā-ti* connected with *y-d-ti* 'goes'. Armen. *mṛ-mṛ-a-m mṛ-mṛ-a-m* 'murmuro, fremo, rugio', Lat. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *mur-mur-ā-s*, O.H.G. *mur-mur-ō-s murmulō-s* 'murmurest', beside Gr. μορμύρω for \*μορ-μυρ-ω Class XXVII (§ 730). Lat. *tin-tinn-ā-s tin-tin-ā-s* beside *tin-tinn-ō* Class XXVII (§ 731). Lat. *ul-ul-ā-s*, Lith. imper. *ul-ul-ō-k*

1) Is Thess. inf. *ἰσ-κίχμεν* (Collitz, Samml. no. 1557) an adformate of *τιθίμην*, or did it come from an indic. \**κίχρω* (cp. *τιθίσαιμην*)?

indic. *ul-ul-ó-ju* (cp. § 735). The Lat. 1<sup>st</sup> sing., *murmurō tintinnō ululō* tor *-ā-jō* (cp. Lith. *ul-ul-ó-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. *mṛ-nā-ti ṛ-nō-ti yunák-ti* with the thematic *mṛ-nā-ti ṛ-nō-ti yunājá-ti*; and Skr. *kṛp-āṇa-tē*.

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

(1) Skr. *mṛ-nā-ti* : *mṛ-nā-ti mṛ-n-ánti*, *ṛ-nō-ti* : *ṛ-nō-ti ṛ-nē-ánti*, *yunājá-ti* : *yunák-ti yunāj-ánti* = *vidá-ti* : *vēt-ti vid-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 *-ney- -nu-* is made out of *-nā- -no- -n-* (Skr. *mṛ-nā-mi* Gr. *μαρ-ρα-μαι* Skr. *mṛ-n-anti*) by adding the suffix or determinative *-ey- -n-*. This *-n-* has been discussed, § 488 pp. 44 ff.

We often find *-n-* and *-nu-* in the same root: as *\*str-n-* (Goth. *stráu-ja*) and *\*str-nu-* (Skr. *str-nō-ti* Gr. *στρο-νέ-μι*), from  $\sqrt{\text{ster-}}$  'sternere': *\*kl-n-* (Skr. *śr-ō-ṣi śr-u-dhí*) and *\*kl-nu-* (Skr. *śr-nō-ti*) from a  $\sqrt{\text{kā-l-}}$ , never found except with one of those extending suffixes: *\*vel-n-* (Gr. *ἐλ-ύω ἐλ-ν-τρο-ν* Lat. *vol-vō in-volūcrum*) and *\*ul-nu- \*ul-nu-* (Skr. *vr-nō-ti ar-no-n*) from  $\sqrt{\text{vel-}}$  'turn, twist, wind'; Skr. *á-dbh-u-ta-s* 'wadeceitful, pure, genuine' and *dabh-nō-ti* from *dabh-* 'deceive'; *qs-u-* (Gr. *ξ-ύω*) and *\*qs-nu-* (Skr. *kṣ-nuv-āná-s*) from  $\sqrt{\text{qes-}}$  (II § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20): *\*pī-n-* (Skr. *pī-vas-*) and *\*pi-nu-* (Skr. *pī-nv-a-ti*) from *pī-* 'swell, abound in'. The variant stems in Skr. *śr-ō-ṣi* and *śr-nō-ṣi* may be compared with those in Gr. *στρο-νέ-ω* and Skr. *dhṛṣ-ṇi-ṣ* (1<sup>st</sup> pl. *dhṛṣ-ṇu-más*). Probably one of these parallel stems, say *\*qs-nu-*, is a contamination of the

other two. \**qs-u-* (Gr. *ξ-αίρω ξ-αίρ-ω-ν*) and \**qs-u-*, and \**sty-nu-* of \**sty-n-* (Skr. *stṛ-ṇā-ti* Lat. *ster-nō* etc.) and \**str-u-*;<sup>1)</sup> 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. *śr-ṣ-ṣi ā-śr-ṣ-t śr-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-ṣantē taru-tar-*) beside *tār-a-ti*, Gr. *ῥο-ν-μαι* (cp. *ῥο-ν-μα* Skr. *var-ū-tra-m var-ū-tār-*) beside Skr. *vār-a-tē vṛ-ṇō-ti* Goth. *varja*.<sup>2)</sup> 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 \**stṛney-* is \**stern-* with an *infix* or inserted element *-n-*. That is all very well on paper, but under what principle of language known to us it can come passes my comprehension. They refer, of course, to *yundā-ti*, from *√jung-* \**jug-*, 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.<sup>3)</sup>

(3) After a root with final consonant *yn*, *en*, and doubtless *on* are found as variants for the initial *n* of *-nā-* *-no-* *-ney-* *-nyo-*.

1) Compare Lat. *pōpulus-n-s* = *pōpulu-n-s* + *pōpuleu-s*. A large collection of such mixed forms containing formative suffixes of a similar sort, is given by Per Persson, *Wurzelerw.* pp. 153 f.

2) On Skr. *tanōti*, which the Indians analysed as *tan-ō-ti*, see §§ 639, 640. *karōti* 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 *-asa* and Sanskrit norists in *-sifans* (Gött. Gel. Anz., 1891, p. 1429). Page 1460: inflexion 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. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *fry-an-mahī* beside *fri-nā-iti* 'pleases, makes inclined', *hə-an-mahī* beside *hu-nā-iti* 'excites, produces'. For *-no-*: Skr. *iṣ-ana-t* 'let him set in motion' cp. *iṣ-anya-ti* = Gr. *iaíros* for *\*ia-ar-wo* (*-yno-*), Armen. *lk-ane-m* 'I leave' (*-yno-*), Gr. *xeō-áros* 'I honour, glorify' (*-yno-*), Goth. *ga-vakna* 'I awake' (*-yno-*, *-eno-*, or *-ono-*), Lith. *kūp-inu* 'I heap, hoard' (*-yno-*), *gab-enū* 'I bring' (*-eno-*), O.C.Sl. *vrīg-na-ti* 'to throw' (probably *-ono-*, see § 615 Rem.)

For *-ney- nu-*: Skr. *vānane-at-* 'liking' for *\*yūn-yu-* beside indic. *vanō-ti* for *\*yū-ney-ti* from  $\sqrt{\text{yen-}}$ : Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *debe-naotā* for *\*dē-anaui-ta* (*-anaui-* instead of *-anu-* from the singular) beside Skr. *dadh-nō-ti* 'hurts'; Avest. partic. mid. *zar-annu-mana-* beside opt. *zar-anaē-mā* and Skr. *hṛ-nī-tē* 'growls, grumbles'. For *-nyo-*: Avest. *xw-anva-inti* 'they drive on' *xw-ēnva-ḥ* (pr. Ar. *\*sy-anya-*) beside *hu-nao-iti hu-nā-iti*: Avest. *sp-ēnva-ḥ* 'proficiebat' doubtless the same as O.H.G. *sp-innu* 'I spin' for *\*sp-enyō* beside *spannu* 'I stretch' for *\*spō-nyō* and beside *spanu* 'I lure, attract' for *\*spō-nō* (§ 654); O.H.G. *tr-innu* 'I separate myself from' ground-form *\*dr-enyō* beside Skr. *dy-nyā-ti*. Greek examples are apparently Hom. *ix-áros* for *\*ix-arfo* beside *ix-río-mai* and *xixáros* for *\*xi-x-arfo*, whose ending doubtless comes from *-nyō* (see § 652), and *ξ-ίρφο-ς* *ξίρφο-ς* from the root of Lat. *hos-tis* and Goth. *gas-t-s* (cp. the Author, Idg. Forsch. i 172 ff.).

Similar groups of suffixes, fuller and weaker, are found in other present classes. *-eno-*: *-no-* = *-eso-*: *-eo-* (Class XX). *-yno-*: *-no-* *iio-*: *-jo-* (Class XXVI).

The only ones of these dissyllabic suffixes which were to any great extent productive were *yno-* *-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- i-* (cp. § 498 pp. 81 f.), as in Skr. *r-i-nva-ti* Gr. Lesb. *ōp-i-vw* beside Skr. *ṛ-nā-ti* Gr. *ōp-vō-μi*; Gr. *πi-vv-*

-*uvō-s* for \**uf-i-vv-* beside *vr-uv-iō-s*; Skr. *pu-ud-ti*; Skr. *blv-i-ud-ti* (Avest. *brōi-pṛa-* 'axe' O.C.Sl. *bri-ti* 'shear, shave') beside Gr. *qāq-o-s* Lat. *for-are*; Skr. *śr-i-ud-ti* beside *śy-tā-s*; Gr. Lesb. *xp-i-vvō* (Lat. *dis-crē-men*) beside Lith. *skir-iñ. -s -es-* (cp. §§ 656 ff.), as Skr. *i-ṣ-ud-ti i-ṣd-tē* beside *i-nō-ti*; Gr. *ἐνδομ* (*ēndōm*) Armen. *x-genum* common ground-form \**u-es-neu-* \**u-es-nu-* beside Lat. *ex-uo* Lith. *au-nū* (§ 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-ti yunāj-mās* and *yunāj-ā-ti*, and its relation to the nasal suffixes in the other Classes.

The strong form, Skr. *yunāj-* 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. *κενέω* and Lat. *conquiniscō frāniscor*, which are said by some to be for \**xuvēs-ω* and \**quenec-scō* \**frāneg-scōr*; but this in my opinion, is the merest conjecture.<sup>1)</sup> If we must compare something from European languages, the most likely forms are the adjective Goth. *manag-s* O.C.Sl. *mānogŭ* 'multus' beside Skr. *māha-tē* 'is large, generous' *maghā-m* 'fullness, riches'.

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

1) See Johansson, *Deriv. Verb. Contr.* 108 f., *Akademiske afhandlinger* til prof. Bugge, 24 ff.; W. Schulze, *Quaest. Hom.* 15, 42; Fick, *Vergl. Wb.* I<sup>4</sup> 381; Kretschmer *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* xxxi 470. In discussing *κενέω* *κενέω* no use can be made of O.Corn. *cussin* and Mid.Cymr. *cussan* 'kiss', which are loan-words from the Germanic.

2) With *anāj-* cp. Goth. *anak-s* 'suddenly, at once' (Skr. *āñjas* 'quickly, suddenly'). Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. pret. *anot* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. conj. *anaññamahāi*, *vy-anak-i* 'penetrate' may be compared with Gr. *δι-πρεσ-ής* (§ 569 p. 118).

Skr. *yunoj-* comes from Idg. *-a-*, *-e-*, or *-o-*. This assumed change of *\*jug-n-* to *\*junog-* 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 *-na-* *-na-* *-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) *\*junog-tai* = *\*jug-n-tai* (Skr. *yunok-tē*), while others would have the nasal suffix in its proper place, and show the type of *\*yn-n-tai* (Avest. *ver<sup>n</sup>-n-tē*).

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 Infix, 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 *\*limpē* (Lith. *linpū* Skr. *linpāmī*) 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- und Alterthumskunde, I 83. He suggests that Skr. *kyātmī-* may be  $\checkmark$  *ky-* + present suffix *-nat-* (stronger form of *-nt*) + personal ending *-mī*; and by analogy *riñc-mās* produced *riñc-mī*. But that there ever was a simple suffix Idg. *-net-* *-nt-* is, I hold, quite unproven; see § 685, Rem. 2.

(6) Nasal Present-Stems are often found as bases for Nouns. Examples are: Skr. *vē-na-ti* 'longs' *vē-ná-s* 'longing', Avest. *peš-ana-iti* 'fights' beside Skr. *pft-ana-m* 'battle', Gr. *θη-αρω* 'I sharpen' beside *θη-αρω-ν* 'whetstone', Skr. *dhṛṣ-ñā-ti* 'is bold' *dhṛṣ-ñu-mā-s* beside *dhṛṣ-ñū-š* 'bold'. Skr. *pt-nva-ti* 'makes to swell' beside *pi-nva-s* 'making to swell', O.H.G. *bannu* 'regions under ban, forbidden places' for *\*bha-nuō* beside *ban*, gen. *bannes*, 'command enforced by pains and penalties', cp. Gr. *ἐνφο-* p. 138. Compare § 487 pp. 40 f.

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-ναι* -*ναι*) or -*n*- (Avest. *ver'-n-tē*).

Sanskrit, with -*n*- before consonants (e. g. *ग्र-ण-मस*), stands alone: -*n*- displaces \**ni*- = Idg. -*nə*- on the same principle as changes \**śi-śi-hi* to *śi-śt-hi*, so that we have *ग्र-ण-मस* : *ग्र-ण-मि* like *śi-śt-hi* : *śi-śā-mi*. See § 498 pp. 61 f.

Remark. Wiedemann's view (Lit. Praet. 49) that -*ni*- changed to -*n*- by quantitative analogy of -*nā*- I hold to be mistaken; and so also Bartholomae's, that *ग्र-ण-मि* : *ग्र-ण-मस* contain a pr. Idg. ablaut, -*nā*- being for -*nāi*- (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 75 ff.).

In Avestic, before sonants, not only -*n*- but -*an*-, seemingly representing Idg. -*en*- : *ग्र-ण-महि*, 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. 139).

Skr. *ग्र-ण-मि* 'I grind, crush' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ग्र-ण-ति* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ग्र-ण-मस* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ग्र-ण-न्ति*, Gr. *μάρ-ναι* 'I fight', partic. Corcyr. and Att. *βαρ-νά-μενος* for \**βρα-να*- (I § 292 p. 233); *μάρ-νά-μενος* in Hesych. is either Aeolic for *μαρ-να*- (I § 292 p. 234) or all dialects of Greek for Idg. \**ग्र-ण-* (cp. Skr. *मार्-ण-स*). — With thematic vowel Skr. *ग्र-ण-ति*.

Gr. *πορ-νά-μεν* 'πωλείν, *πορ-νά-μεναι* 'πωλούμεναι (Hesych.) are as ambiguous as *μορνάμενος*; Att. *πέρ-νη-μι* 'I sell, transfer' with changed root-grade (cp. *πράω*), O. Ir. *re-nim* 'I give away, sell' (cp. § 604).

Skr. *ज्ञ-ण-मि* 'I learn, know' for \**ग्र-ण-*; compare perhaps Lith. *žino* 'he knows' for \**ग्र-ण-* (whence *žināti žino-me* etc.



by analogy of *bij-añ-s* and the like.<sup>1)</sup> — With thematic vowel Skr. *ja-na-ti* Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *zā-na-tā*, Goth. partic. *kunmand-s* (indic. *kann*).

Skr. *li-nā-mi* 'I stick close to, cower, disappear' *ri-lindāmi* 'melt, disintegrate, go to pieces', Gr. *λί-να-μαι* *ερέπομαι* Hesych., O.Ir. *le-nim* 'adhaereo' (cp. § 604), O.Icel. *li-na* 'I relax, grow soft'. — With thematic vowel Lat. *li-nō* (cp. Gr. *ἀλίνω* 'ἀλίσκος' for \**ἀλι-νω* § 611).

Skr. *kri-ṇā-mi* 'I buy', O.Ir. *cre-nim* 'I buy' for \**cri-na-mi* (cp. O.Ir. *cri-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-ti* '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) *-ā-* passes into the weak persons, as O.H.G. *gi-nō-mēs* beside *gi-nō-m*, following *sittarō-mēs* (cp. § 594 p. 134) and *salbō-mēs*. (2) An extension with *-jo-* by analogy of the variation *-ā-* : *-ā-jō-* in Classes X and XI, as Gr. *δαυνάω* instead of *δάμνημι*, A.S. *hlinie* 'I lean' instead of *hli-nō-jō*.

§ 599. Aryan. Skr. *vy-ṇā-ti* 'chooses' mid. *vy-ṇt-tē*, Avest. mid. *ver'-n-tē*; — with thematic vowel Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. pret. mid. *fraor'nata* = pr. Ar. \**pra-vy-na-ta*. Skr. *ṣṛ-ṇā-ti* 'fills';<sup>2)</sup> — with thematic vowel *ṣṛ-ṇā-ti* Avest. imper. *per'-nā*. Skr. *śy-ṇā-ti* 'breaks up, crushes, grinds, splits up'; — with thematic vowel imper. *śy-ṇa*; cp. O.Ir. *ara-chrinim* 'difficiliscor, I decay, break up' § 604. Ar. \**šā-nā-* 'to know' for \**gṇ-nā-*, √ *gñ-* 'know': Skr. *ja-nā-ti*, O.Pers. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. pret. *a-dā-nā*: Lith. *šino*, see § 598 p. 141. Skr. *prī-ṇā-ti* 'makes glad,

1) *śinō-* may also be \**gṇ-nā-* (Class X).

2) One is tempted to identify this form with O.H.G. *folldm* 'I fill'. This is probably at least a derivative from the adj. *fol* Goth. *full-s*, like O.Ir. *com-āluaim* from *lān*, see § 160.

makes inclined', Avest. *frī-nā-p*. Skr. *ji-nā-ti* 'conquers, compels', √ *gei-*. Avest. injunct. *zi-nā-p* 'draws away' O.Pers. *a-dī-nā*; — with thematic vowel O.Pers. *a-dī-na-m*. Skr. *pu-nā-ti* 'purifies, clears', cp. Ir. *u-nā-d* 'to cleanse' (Fick, Wtb. I<sup>4</sup> 483, according to Stokes). Skr. *dhu-nā-ti* moves to and fro, shakes' beside *dhu-nō-ti* *dhā-nō-ti*. Skr. *grbh-ṇā-ti* *grh-ṇā-ti* 'grasps', Avest. *ger'w-nā-iti*; — thematic Skr. *grh-ṇā-ti*. Skr. *badh-nā-ti* 'binds' for \**bhydh-*, √ *bhendh-*.

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

§ 600. Strong stem instead of weak. Skr. imper. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *grbh-ṇā-hi* instead of *grbh-ṇī-hi*, 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *pu-nā-ta* instead of *pu-nī-tā*. Compare Skr. *kṛ-ṇō-ta* instead of *kṛ-ṇu-tā* and the like, § 641.

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 1<sup>st</sup> person singular and the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural present, with other forms, and the conjunctive mood, had regularly the same form in both: compare Skr. *mṛṇāmi* *mṛṇānti* from both *mṛ-ṇā-ti* and *mṛ-ṇā-ti*. Thematic stems are specially common in Avestic; compare 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *ster'-na-tā* opt. *ster'-naē-ta* beside Skr. *str-ṇā-ti* 'strews', and 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *hu-na-hi* beside *hu-nā-iti* 'begets'.

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

Remark. Bartholomae now supports the view which analyses *-āna* into *-ā* + *na*, and identifies *-na* with *-na* in *-ta-na* *-tha-na* (Stud. Idg. Spr. II 123), and cites by way of illustration the Avestic 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. imper. *bara-nā*, a variant for the usual *bara* = Skr. *bhāra*. But he explains *grhē-* as derived from \**grhōhāi-*, where I cannot follow him.

Exceptionally the root syllable has a strong grade: partic. mid. *ḍp-n-āna-s* like *āp-nō-mi* Class XVII, cp. opt. aor. *apēyam* and *āpas- oxis-*. But *ḍp-* may be preposition *a* + *ap-*.

A few isolated forms in Sanskrit show a change from this class to *-jo-*stems: partic. *hṛṇā-yā-nt-* *hṛṇā-yā-māna-s* beside *a-hṛ-ṇā-t* mid. *hṛ-ṇi-tē*. With forms like Gr. *δαμνάω* (§ 598 p. 142), *hṛṇi-yā-nt-* has no very close connexion.

§ 601. Armenian. *baṛna-m* 'I raise' for \**barj-na-m* ground-form \**bhygh-nā-mi*, cp. aor. *barj-i*. *darṇa-m* 'I return' for \**darj-na-m*, cp. aor. *darj-ay*. *bana-m* 'I open' ground-form \**bha-nā-mi* from *√bha-* (p. 56 footnote), cp. aor. *ba-ḥ-i*: Gr. *γαίνομαι* for \**ga-vi-ṇō* § 611, O.H.G. *ba-nnu* § 654. *sta-na-m* 'I possess, have in my power, buy', cp. aor. *sta-ḥ-ay*: Gr. *στά-νω* 'I place' (G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 446) Lat. *dō-stināre*, O.C.Sl. *sta-nā* 'I place myself'. *lua-na-m* 'I wash', cp. aor. *lua-ḥ-i*.

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

§ 602. Greek. *μάρ-νυ-μαι μαρ-νά-μενος*, *πορ-νά-μεν πέρ-νη-μι*, *λί-να-μαι* see § 598 p. 141. *δάμ-νῃ-μι* 'I tame' beside *δάμα-σσειν*; for the root syllable compare *κάμ-νω* and Skr. *śam-nī-tē* beside *κάμα-το-ς śami-tā-s*, *ὄμ-νῃ-μι* beside *ὀμό-τῃ-ς*. *δέ-ξα-μαι* 'I can' possibly connected with Lat. *dū-ru-s*; but Gortyn. *ρύ-να-μαι* 'I can', probably belongs to some other root.<sup>1)</sup>

The *i* of the root-syllable is strange in the following stems. *μί-γ-νῃ-μι* 'I mix' beside aor. *ἐκέρασα*. *πῖλ-να-μαι* 'I draw near quickly' beside aor. *ἐπέλασα*; cp. Lat. *pellō* for \**pel-nō*, O.Ir. *ad-ellaim* 'I go to, visit' for *-(p)el-nā-*, *κρίμ-νῃ-μι* 'I hang' (wrongly written *κρήμνῃ-μι*) beside aor. *ἐκρέμασα*. *ὀρύγ-να-μαι* 'I reach or stretch' beside *ὀρέγω*. *πίτ-νῃ-μι* 'I spread' beside aor. *ἐπέτασα*; thematic *ἐ-πίτ-το-ν πίτ-τω*. *σείδ-να-μαι* 'I spread or widen,

\* 1.) Can this be connected with *ρεύω* → 'sinew, tension, strength'?

disperse' beside *ἐκείδασα*. 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 *-io*-flexion: *δαμνάω*, *κυρνάω*, *ὀργυράομαι*, *πιρνάω*. Compare § 598 end, p. 142.

In *δύ-να-μαι*, the nasal was not confined to the present stem: *δυνάτος* *ἐδυνήσαμην* *ἐδυνήθην* *ἐδυνάσθην*, like *ἀγᾶτος* *ἀγῆτος* *ἠγάσθην* from *ἄγα-μαι*. Compare § 643, and *ταυόσσαι* (from *τα-νύ-μαι*).

§ 603. Italic. (1) We find in Latin the non-thematic inflexion of Class XIII: *ster-nō* (contrast Skr. *ṣṭ-ud-ti*), *li-nō* (contrast Skr. *vi-linā-ti*), *pellō* for *\*pel-nō* (contrast Gr. *πῖλ-ρα-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 *-are*. *cōn-ster-nāre*, beside O.H.G. *stornēm* 'attonitus sum' (§ 605) Gr. *πρίσω* 'I make shy, put in a fright'. *in-clināre*: O.Sax. *hli-nō-n* 'I lean'. cp. Lett. *slī-nu* (beside *slēiju*) 'I lean on, support'. *dē-stināre*, cp. Armen. *sta-na-m* 'I possess' Gr. *στά-νω* 'I place' and *ερα-νέω* (§ 601 p. 144). So too *com-pellare* from *pellere*, *aspernāri* from *spernere*. 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 only compounds were carried by it; and apparently we must not separate *pellere*: *compellare*, *spernere*: *aspernāri* from *fligere*: *profligare*, *capere*: *occupare* and others. The *-nā-* in *cōn-ster-nā-s* must therefore be kept quite distinct from *-nā-* in Skr. *ṣṭ-ud-mi* Gr. *δάμ-νῃ-μι*. See § 583 pp. 124 f.

§ 604. Keltic. O.Ir. *re-nim* 'I give away, sell' (perf. *-rír*), *le-nim* 'adhaereo' (perf. *ro líl*), *cre-nim* 'I buy' (perf. *-ciuir*) Mod.Cymr. *prynaf*, see § 598 p. 142. *gle-nim* 'adhaereo'

(perf. *ro gini*) Mod.Cymr. *glynaf* beside O.H.G. *chli-nu* 'I cleave, stick, smear' (Gr. *γλοι-ός* 'sticky dampness' O.H.G. *chleimen* 'plasmare'). O.Ir. *be-nim* 'I strike, cut' O.Brit. *el-binam* 'lanio' Mod.Bret. *benaff* 'I cut', beside Lat. *perfringis* 'porfringis' (Festus) O.Bret. *bi-tat* 'resicaro' O.C.Sl. *bi-ti* 'to strike'. The inflexion of these presents, as Thurneysen 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. -*nə*- had got into the singular.

We must keep these presents distinct from O.Ir. *ara-chrinim* 'I decay, break up' (beside Skr. *śṛ-ṣṛ-ti* § 599 p. 142), -*gwinim* 'I recognise' (✓ *gen-*, cp. Skr. *ja-nā-ti* with \**gā*- § 598 p. 141) and *ro-chluiniur* 'I hear' (beside Avest. *sru-nao-iti* Class XVII, ✓ *kley-*), which have *io*-inflexion. Was there any connexion between the -*io*- of this last named present and the old -*au*-inflexion? There may be the same relation between -*chrimim* and Skr. *śṛ-ṣṛ-mi* as between Gr. *γαίρω* for \**ga-r-ω* and Armen. *ba-na-m* (§ 611), or between Lat. *li-n-iō* (beside *li-nō*) 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-na* 'knock against'; thematic variant stem O.H.G. *spor-nu* and -*spiruit* conj. -*spiruo* (perf. *spor-num* O.Icel. perf. *spar-n* *spor-nom*) like Lat. *sper-nō*. O.Sax. *mor-nō-n* 'I trouble myself, care', A.S. thematic *micne*. Explanation uncertain: O.H.G. conj. *wolle* beside Skr. *vy-ṣṛ-tē* 'chooses' (Kluge, Paul-Braune's Beitr., viii 515). O.H.G. *gi-nō-m* (also *gei-nō-m*) A.S. *gini* 'I gape'; with -*no-*, O.Icel. *gr-u* O.C.Sl. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *zi-ne-tū*, ✓ *ghej-*. O.Sax. *hli-nō-n* A.S. *hlūe* 'I lean, support myself': Lat. *in-clī-na-t*. O.Icel. *li-na* 'I soften': Skr. *li-nā-ti* etc., see § 598 p. 142. O.Icel. *fā-na* 'I rot, corrupt' (partic. *fā-inn* 'rotten'): thematic Lith. *pū-nu* 'I rot'.

We must add a group of West Germanic verbs in which *-kk-* *-pp-* *-tt-* are due to assimilation of the *n* of *-nā-* to 'an explosive root-final' (I § 530 p. 388, § 534 p. 391, § 541 p. 396); as O.H.G. *lecchōm* 'I lick' ground-form *\*ligh-nā-mi*, *zocchōm* 'I pull hard, tug' ground-form *\*duk-nā-mi*, Mid.H.G. *hopfe* (Rhine-Frank. *hoppe*) 'I hop' ground-form *\*qup-nā-mi*.

Remark. Some forms of these verbs have not broken *u* and *i* in the root; as O.H.G. *zucchōm*, Mod.H.G. *zucke* beside *zocchōm*, Mid.H.G. *rupfe* beside *ropfe* (ground-form *\*rub-n-*), Mid.H.G. *stutze* 'I push, strike' (ground-form *\*stud-n-*), Mod.H.G. *nicke* (ground-form *\*knigh-n-*). I suggest as a possible explanation that there may once have been by-forms with the present-suffix *-ney-* *-nu-*, as 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *\*duk-nu-mes*. Compare Goth. *kunnum* (*\*gū-nu-mes*) beside *uf-kunna*.

A third group of Germanic present stems is that exemplified by Goth. *þaha -dis*. Goth. *maurnái-þ* O.H.G. *mornēt* beside O.Sax. *mornōn* A.S. *murne*. O.H.G. *hlinēm* beside O.Sax. *hlinōn* A.S. *hlinie*. O.H.G. *stornēm* 'attonitus sum, inhiō', 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. *uf-kunnaí-þ* '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-tŭ* 'yawns, gapes' contrasted with O.H.G. *gi-nō-t*.

Traces of *-nā-* are perhaps left in Lith. *žino* 'he knows' ground-form *\*gā-nā-t*: Skr. *jā-nā-ti*, see § 598 p. 141; and in Lith. *ly-nó-ja* 'it rains slightly' inf. *ly-nó-ti* (Lett. *lī-nā-t*) beside *lŷ-na* 'it rains', *kilnó-ju* 'I lift this way and that' beside Lat. *ex-cellō* for *\*celnō*, *lašz-nó-ja* 'it drizzles, trickles a little'.

Remark. *kilnó-ju* may also be quite well explained as a derivative from *kilna-s* 'high'; and this makes it doubtful whether the "diminutive frequentatives" in *-nó-ju* 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 Lät., p. 174) — to wit, that Baltic denominatives often put on the appearance of primary verbs. See § 793. Thus e. g. *lynó-ja* may quite well be a primary form by analogy of which was formed *kilnó-ju* from *kilna-s*.

## 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-śh-a-ti* Lat. *ti-st-t* to Gr. *τ-στη-σι*; 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. *vē-na-ti* 'longs' beside *vē-nā-s* 'longing'; *pāṇa-ti* 'trafficks, barter, buys' beside *pāṇa-s* 'wager, bargain, loan' Lith. *pelna-s* 'gain, profit' (I § 259 p. 211); Goth. *frastna* O.Icel. *fregn* 'I ask' beside Skr. *praśnā-s* 'question'. So too Class XIV (-*no- -no- -no-*), closely connected with this, is denominative in its origin.

Since it is impossible to distinguish verbs like Skr. *my-nā-ti* (beside *my-nā-ti my-n-anti*) from those like Skr. *vē-na-ti* (from *vē-nā-s*), we shall treat them together.

Parallel variants such as Gr. *βούλωμαι βήλωμαι* 'I wish' (\**gel-no- : \*gel-no-*), O.H.G. *wallu* 'I heave, *wers*': *willu* 'roll, wallow' (\**yl-no- : \*yel-no-*) recall similar pairs in Class II, Skr. *kṛṣ-ā-ti : kārṣ-ā-ti* (§ 513 pp. 78 f.), and in Class XXVI, Goth. *vairk-ja*: O.H.G. *wirk-(i)u* (§ 705).

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

\**stj-no-* from *√ster- 'sternere'*: Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *ster'-na-tā*, Lat. *ster-nō* (with the root-syllable in the strong grade), beside Skr. *stj-nā-ti* (§ 600 p. 143). Lat. *spēr-no*, O.H.G. *spür-nu* 'I tread, step, kick', *fir-spirn-i-t* conj. *-spirne* (see § 614), beside Skr. *sphur-ā-ti* 'quickens, throbs'. Lat. *li-nō*, Lith. *ly-na* 'it rains' (cp. Gr. *αὐνω* for \**ai-vi-w* § 611), beside Skr. *li-nā-ti* O.Icel. *li-na* § 598 p. 142, § 603 p. 145. A.S. *ȝi-ne* O.Icel. *gi-n* 'I gape, yawn' O.O.Sl. *zi-ne-ti* 'gapes, yawns' beside

O.H.G. *gi-nō-m*; see § 605 p. 146. Goth. *kei-nu* O.H.G. *chī-nu* 'I bud', Lith. *gy-nu* (beside *gyn*) 'I revive, recover'. Lat. *fallō*, O.H.G. *fallu*, both with *-ll-* for *-ln-*, possibly connected with Lith. *pā-tu* 'I fall' ground-form *\*phōtō*; according to another derivation, *fallō* is akin to Gr. *Φάσγος* 'troubled, impure' (Goth. *đwal-s* 'foolish' A.S. *diwellan* 'check, wander'; if so, the ground-form of *fallō* must be *\*dhyl-nō*).

§ 609. **Aryan.** To the forms cited in §§ 598 and 599, parallel to forms in Class XII, add the following: 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *gr-nā-tu* beside *gr-nā-ti* 'calls, calls upon'; *rāna-ti* 'indulges himself, pleases himself' instead of *\*rānā-ti* (cp. § 516 n. 82) ground-form *\*rñ-nā-ti* beside *ram-nā-ti*, which must be explained like *śam-nā-ti* § 602 p. 144 (cp. *ra-tā-s* for *\*rñ-tā-s*); *d-mi-nā-ntā* beside *mi-nā-ti* 'lessens, hurts'; *math-nā-dhīvan* beside *math-nā-ti* and *mānthā-ti* 'twirls, moves, shakes'; Skr. *ghāṭnā-ti* 'wavers' from *ghāt-nā-s* 'waving'; *cānā-ti* 'longs' from *vānā-s* 'longing'; *pānā-ti* 'trades' from *pānā-s* 'wager'; *phānāti* 'leaps, hops, is in motion' from *phand-s* 'snake's hood, nostril' (perhaps cognate with *sphurā-ti* 'quickens, throbs'; and if so, with Lat. *spēr-nō* O.H.G. *spīr-nit*, see § 608 p. 148). Compare § 607 p. 148.

§ 610. **Armenian.** *ar-ne-m* 'I make', aor. *ar-ar-i* § 571 p. 113. *yar-ne-m* 'I raise myself, get up', cp. Skr. *r-nō-mi* Gr. *or-rō-mi* Class XVII § 639. *d-ne-m* 'I place', *√ dhē-*. With the middle *io*-extension (§ 711), *li-ni-m* 'I become' (aor. part. *leal*), *tani-m* 'I lead' (aor. *tar-ay*).

§ 611. **Greek.** *πράο-ρο-μαι* 'I sneeze' (Aristotle) beside *πράο-ρο-μαι*. *πί-ρω* 'I drink', beside imper. *πί-θι* Aeol. *πι-ρω* (cp. § 498 p. 61). *δάκ-ρω* 'I bite' ground-form *\*dāk-nō*, *√ denk-* (I § 224 p. 192). *τίτ-ρω* beside *τίτ-ρω-μι*, § 602 p. 144. *ορά-ρω* 'I place', cp. Armen. *sta-nq-m* Lat. *de-stinare* O.C.Sl. *sta-nq* and *ora-vo* § 601 p. 144, § 603 p. 145.

*λάβ-ρω* 'I take pains, labour', cp. Skr. *śam-nā-ti* § 602 p. 144.



Dor. *βούλεται* Att. *βούλεται* 'I prefer, I wish' ground-form \**gl-ne-*, Dor. *δῆλνται* Delph. *δεῖλεται* (Thess. *δέλλεται* Boeot. *δεῖλεται*) 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. *ταμ-ειν*. Lesb. *ἀπ-έλλω* Dor. *ἐπῆλω* Hom. *εἶλω* 'I press' for \**fel-no-*.

As we find *-η-ιο-* (Gr. *-αινω*) parallel to *-ηνο-* (Gr. *-ανω*) — Class XIV, §§ 616 and 621, Class XXIX § 743 — so we have in Greek *-η-ιο-* instead of *-ηνο-*. Lesb. *κλίννω* Hom. Att. *κλίνω* 'I bend, incline', for \**kle-n-ηω*: Lat. *in-clī-nā-re* O.Sax. *hli-nō-n* Lett. *slī-nu* § 603 p. 145. *κρίνω* *κρίνω* 'I separate, choose out, decide' *σίννομαι* *σίννομαι* 'I rob' (cp. Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 420). *ἀλίνω* 'ἀλείφω' (aor. *ἀλίναι*), beside Lat. *li-nō* etc., see § 598 p. 142, § 608 p. 148. *ἐτρέφω* 'I drive on' for \**ō-tre-u-ηω* from *√ tye-* *tur-* (Skr. *tvár-a-tē* 'hastens' O.H.G. *dwir-u* 'I turn quickly round, move', Skr. *tvárā-s* 'hastening'); with *tru-*: *tur-* compare Skr. *hru-nā-ti*: *ju-hur-a-s* beside *hár-a-tē*, Avest. *caḥru-* Skr. *catur-* beside *catvar-* and the like. *φαίνω* 'I make appear, make visible, show' for \**fa-n-ηω*: Armen. *ba-na-m* O.H.G. *ba-nnu*, see § 601 p. 144. *χαίνω* 'I gape' for \**cha-n-ηω* with the aor. *ἔχα-νο-ν*, beside *χά-σκω* *χῆ-μη* *χῶ-ρα*. cp. Skr. *hī-ná-s* 'deserted, lacking' *jī-hī-tē* 'yields, departs' (§ 540 p. 101). By analogy of \**κτεν-ηω* (*κτείνω*) beside aor. *ἐκτεν-σα* (*ἐκτεῖνα*) fut. \**κτενε(σ)ω* (*κτενῶ*), there were made in pr. Greek the aorist \**ἐκλινσα* \**ἐφανσα* (*ἐκλῖνα* *ἐφῆνα*) and the future \**κλινε(σ)ω* \**φανε(σ)ω* (*κλινῶ* *φανῶ*) from \**κλιν-ηω* and \**φαν-ηω*, and others in the same way.

Remark. *φαίνω* shows that *κλίνω* comes from \**κλι-n-ηω*. Bartholomae's doubts are unfounded (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 87 f.).

The origin of the Att. ending *-ενω* is generally uncertain, as it may come from *-νω*, *-νῃω*, or *νῶω* (§ 655). In any case, pairs of variants such as *βένω* *δένω* *θένω* beside *βίω* *δίω* *θίω* produced *ἰσένω* *ἀρτένω* beside *ἰσύνω* *ἀρτύω*, and then the analogy went further, and we have *ἡδένω* *ταχένω* etc. Compare Lith. *keldáunu* § 615.

§ 612. Italic. *ster-nē* *sper-nō* *li-nō* *fallō* see § 608 pp. 148 f.

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

Other verbs with strong grade of root. *pellō* for \**pel-nō* (Umbr. *ai-peltu* 'admoveto'), beside Gr. *πιλ-α-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 \**tju-*.

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 *ə* on account of Gr. *πανάσσειν*, and then the root had a weak grade. But *pandō* may belong to Class XVI; see § 632.

§ 613. Keltic. O.Ir. *ser-nim* 'sero' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *-sernat* (cp. Windisch, Ir. Wörterb., p. 770 b). Perhaps *sennim* (*sennaim*) 'I drive, hunt' beside O.H.G. *swimmu* for \**syem-nō* (§ 614 p. 152), cp. Mod. Cymr. *chwyyfaf* 'I move, quiver' for \**syem-* (Thurneysen).

§ 614. Germanic. O.H.G. *spur-nu* 'I step, kick', and with strong-grade root syllable *fir-spirni-t* conj. *-spirne*: Lat. *sper-nō*, see § 608 p. 148. A.S. *mur-ne* 'I trouble, grieve', cp. O.Sax. *mor-nō-n*, see § 605 p. 146.<sup>1)</sup> O.H.G. *wall*

1) Forms like O.H.G. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *spurnamē* infin. *spurnan* partic. *fir-spurnan* A.S. *spurnan* *murnan* are without *a*-umlaut, by analogy doubtless of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. pres. and the plural of the pret. O.H.G. *spurnum* etc., cp. O.H.G. inf. *durfan* beside *darf durfum*, and others. But A.S. has *spornan* as well as *spurnan*. Or had the West Germanic originally forms of Class XVII beside those with *-no*? Compare *spurnum* with *knunnu-m* § 646.



Lith. *gy-nu* 'I revive, recover'; Goth. *kei-na*, see § 608 p. 149. Lith. *lg-na* 'it rains': Lat. *li-nō* (*ibid.*). O.C.Sl. *zi-ne-tū* 'gapes, yawns': A.S. *gi-ne* (*ibid.*). Lett. *āl-nu* 'I lean upon, support': cp. Gr. Lesb. *xl-vw* O.Sax. *hli-nō-n* Lat. *in-clinare* (§ 603 p. 145, § 611 p. 150); Lett. *st-nu* 'I bind': cp. Skr. *si-nd-ti* 'binds, surrounds' √ *sa-*; in the two Lett. verbs *i* doubtless comes from the infinitive (*āl-t*, *st-t*). Lith. *ry-nū* 'I swallow, devour'; O.C.Sl. *ri-ne-tū* 'knocks, rinetū se' 'starts' (cp. *na-rojī* 'impetus'). Lith. *ei-nū* 'I go': a comparison with Lat. *prōd-inant* is unsafe (see § 1022). O.C.Sl. *si-ne-tu* 'shines', *mi-ne-tū* 'goes by'. Lith. *pū-nu* (beside *pū-ū*) 'I make rotten' cp. O.Icel. *fā-na* 'I rot', § 605 p. 146. Lett. *gā-nu* 'I snatch' Lith. *gāu-nu* 'I get' (*-āu-* from *gāu-ti*, no doubt); cp. Skr. *ju-nd-ti* 'sets in quick motion, drives on, presacs'. Lith. *kla-nu* (beside *kla-ū*) 'I hook on to, remain hanging', *griū-nū* (beside *griū-ū*) 'I knock down', *šā-nū* (beside *šā-u*) 'I come to grief', Lett. *schā-nu* (beside Lith. *šiā-ū*) 'I sew'. O.C.Sl. *plū-ne-tū* 'spews, for', \**plji*, \**plij*, \**spju* (I § 60 p. 47), and *plju-ne-tū* like Lith. *spiau-nu* Lett. *splau-nu*, Lith. *au-nū* Lett. *āu-nu* 'put, covering on the feet' √ *au-*, Lith. *rāu-nu* Lett. *rāu-nu* 'pull, tear, snatch out' (beside Lith. Lett. *rāu-jū*) √ *rey-*, and others (see Bielenstein, Lett. Spr. I 355). The analogy of *rāu-nu*: infin. *rāu-ti* etc. produced Lith. denominative re-formations like *keldūnu* instead of *keldūju* beside the inf. *keldūti* 'to travel' (from *kēla-s* *kēle-s* 'way'), *karalūnu* instead of *karalūju* beside infin. *karalūti* 'to be king' (from *karāla-s* 'king'). Compare Gr. *idōw* § 611 p. 150. Slavonic gives a large number of *no*-presents from verbs with other finals (than *-i* and *-u*): *planetū* 'blazes up' for \**pol-ne-tū*, *po-me-ne-tū* 'thinks upon', *orīg-nē-tū* 'throws' (√ *perg-*), *mlūk-ne-tū* 'grows dumb', *za-klenetū* 'shuts' for \**klep-ne-tū*, *būnetū* 'awakes' for \**būd-ne-tū*, *dvīg-ne-tū* 'moves', *sūch-ne-tū* 'dries' (intr.). Also from one root in *-ā-*: *sta-ne-tū* 'places itself', akin to Pruss. *stānintei*, adverb of the pres. participle, cp. Arm. *sta-na-m* Gr. *sta-ra* Lat. *de-stinare* § 611 p. 149.

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 *-nq-*. Examples are aor. *mi-nq-chū* partic. pres. *mi-nq-vū* infin. *mi-nq-ti* sup. *mi-nq-tū* from *mi-nq-*. *-nq-* is regular only in the infinitive and supine (except *sta-ti* from *sta-nq*).

Remark. The following I think is not improbably the history of *-nq-*. Slavonic once had verbs in *\*-onq* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. pres.), and their aorist ended in *-on-sū -qū* and their infinitive in *-on-ti -qū*, parallel to Lith. *gyvenū* 'I dwell' (fut. *-sū* infin. *-ti*) *kūpinu* 'I heap' (fut. *-sū* infin. *-ti*), see § 624. Now in the present, *-no-* levelled out *-ono-*, which was only used with consonantal roots; but *-ono-* remained everywhere except in the present. Hence a compromise: an infinitive *\*erignqti*, for instance, would be transformed by analogy of *erignū erignēti* etc., and become *erignqti*. Afterwards *-nq-* was extended to verbs from roots ending in a vowel, such as *mi-nq*, and only *sta-nq* kept clear of this change (infin. *sta-ti*). Compare with this § 624 at end, and Wiedemann, Arch. Slav. Phil. x 653 ff.

Lithuanian has no present stems with the suffix *-no-* from roots with a final explosive or fricative; instead of these the language has forms of Class XVI, such as *bundū* as against *btūnq* 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: *brīnu* 'I wade' for *\*brīd-nu* *\*brend-nu* beside Lith. *brendū* and *brēdū* (*bridaū bristī*), *rānu* 'I find' for *\*rūd-nu* beside *rādu* = Lith. *randū* (*radaū rāstī*), *mīf-nu* 'mingo' for *\*menz-nu* beside Lett. *mēzū* (*√ meigh-*), *līnu* 'I crawl' for *līd-nu* beside *līdu* = Lett. *lendū* (*līdaū līstī*). The origin of this kind is obvious; the class with a nasal infix (Class XVI) has been contaminated with the *-no*-class, like O.C.Sl. *seg-nq* from *√ seg-* etc. (§ 636), and like Gr. *ληνάρω* from *√ leiq-* etc. (§ 631).

#### Class XIV.

Root + *-pno-* *-eno-* *-ono-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 616. 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 *n*-suffix is often extended by *-jo-*; as Skr. *iṣan-yā-ti* beside (Ved.) *iṣana-t*, Gr. *ἰσθαίνω* beside *ἰσθάνω*, O.H.G. *gincahann(i)u* 'I recount'. See §§ 618 and 743. This is the same formation as Skr. *vithuryā-ti* from *vithurd-s* 'staggering, shaking', Gr. *αἰόλλω* from *αἰόλο-s*, see § 770.

§ 617. Along with *-yno-* *-eno-* we find *-yna-* *-ena-*, inflected in the same way as denominatives from *ā*-stems. To illustrate, take: Skr. *pytana-yā-nt-* 'fighting' beside Avest. *pešana-iti* Skr. *pytan-yā-ti* beside Skr. *pftana-m* *pftana-* 'fight', Skr. *bhandana-yā-ti* 'shouts, cheers' beside *bhandāna-s* 'shouting' *bhandāna-* 'shout'; Gr. *ἔρεχανάω* beside *ἔρεχάνω* 'I hold back, bar, stem' (cp. *θηγάνω* 'I sharpen, whet' beside *θήγανον* *θηγάνη* 'whetstone', and *δαπανάω* 'I spend' beside *δαπανον-* 'extravagant' *δαπάνη* 'expense'); Lat. *runcināre* (cp. *runcina* 'plane') *coquināre* *cārināre* *farcināre*; O.Icel. *vakna* 'I awake' pret. *vakna-ða*, Goth. pret. *ga-vaknō-da* beside pres. *ga-vakna*; Lett. *stiprinō-ju* 'I strengthen' infin. *stiprinō-ti* beside *stiprinu* (infin. *stiprin-ti*), *gabēnō-ju* 'I bring together' (infin. *gabēnō-ti*) beside *gabēnū* (infin. *gabēn-ti*); and besides, the Lith. group of preterites, of which examples are 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *stiprino-me* *gabēno-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. *priyā-yā-ti* Goth. *frijō*, O.Ir. *com-alnaim* O.H.G. *folldm*, and such like. That is to say, Skr. *bhandana-yā-ti* 'stands to *bhandāna* 'shout' and *bhandāna-s* 'shouting' exactly as O.H.G. *folld-m* '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 *ἔρεχανάω* : *ἔρεχάνω* and *πιτνάω* : *πίνω*; O.Icel. *vakna* : Goth. *ga-vakna* and O.H.G. *gind-m* : O.Icel. *gín*; Lith. *stiprinō-ju* : *stiprinu* and *lynēja* : *lyna*. See the end of § 598, and §§ 602, 605, 606. The origin of the *ā*-flexion is different in the two sorts, but *ā*-flexion in the one may well have influenced the other in different languages inde-

pendently. For instance, Greek verbs of the type of *ἐκκένω* may have been supported by the use of *παρρη*, or *vice versa*.

Skr. *bandhana-yd-iti* is not to be classed with *hṛd-yd-iti*, a quite isolated stem; we see this from a variant *hṛd-yd-māna-s* (§ 600 p. 144). Such forms as *\*bandhana-yd-iti* 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 ff.), the extension with *-to-* must be cited too (§ 743).

Lat. *cruentu-s* partic. of a present 3rd sing. *\*crui-nt*, Lith. *kruvinu* 'I make bloody' (partic. *kruvinu-s* = *cruentu-s*) from *kru-vina-s* bloody.

Armen. *arogannem* 'I sprinkle', Lith. *srādinu* 'I make flow', common ground-form *\*srouy-nō*, / *srey-* (cp. Bugge, Idg. Forsch. I 451).

Skr. injunctive *isana-t* 'let him set in motion, arouse, excite, quicken' and *isān-yd-iti*, Gr. *isān* 'quicken, hasten, warm for' *\*is-av-ia-*.

Goth. *af-hyna* 'I remain over' (pret. *-nō-da*), Lith. *lipinti* 'I cause to adhere'.

Goth. *aukna* 'I increase, grow' (pret. *-nō-da*), Lith. *auginti* 'I make grow, rear'.

Gr. *avairo* 'I make dry, wither' for *\*avai-av-ia-*, Lett. *saušinu* 'I make dry'. Compare Alban. *jan* 'I dry, wither', for *\*saus-nō* according to G. Meyer (Alb. Wort 85, Alb. Stud. III 13).

Gr. *repairo* 'I make dry, dry up', Goth. *ga-pausna* 'I grow dry, wither' (pret. *-nō-dd*).

of §§ 619-621. Aryan I. O. Avest. *arap-iti* *saranama* and *saranay-iti* (partic. *saraninna-*) 'to frōm' *sak* 'I grow hungry, ill', cp. partic. *saranusana-* Skr. *hṛd-yd-iti* § 596. B. p. 138. Avest. *pešana-iti* 'fights' beside Skr. *pftana-m* pftana- Avest. *pešana* 'fight battle' (cp. § 617 p. 155). Skr. *kṛpāna-te* 'he behaves pitifully, prays' beside *kṛpāna-s* 'pitiful, miserable, kṛpāna-m' 'misery'. *isana-t* 'let him set in motion' and *isān-yd-iti*: Gr. *isān*, see § 618. Only with *-to-* *isān-yd-iti* hastens goes or makes

to go quickly' from *turāna-s* 'hastening' (pres. *tadr-ā-tē* 'hastens')  
cp. Gr. *ὀρῶν* § 611 p. 150; *bhuraṇ-yā-ti* 'he is active' from  
*bhūraṇa-s* 'active'; and others. Compare Skr. *prāṇa-yā-ti*  
*bhūdana-yā-ti* § 617 p. 155. There is nothing to decide whether this Aryan *-ana-*  
represents Idg. *-ano-* or *-eno-* (those who believe that Idg. *-o-*  
becomes *-a-* in open syllables in Aryan will say, for *-ono-*  
either) (*iṣanyā-ti-as*) compared with Gr. *αἰνῶ*, as far as it  
goes, favours *-ano-* (H. Z. 1883) which should then be  
*-cho-* must be the suffix in Skr. *bhāna-ti* 'sounds, calls  
out', if this be derived from *√bha-*, and analysed *bh-anati*;  
see p. 56 footnote. Perhaps the same suffix is used in some of  
those forms which are cited by Per Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung*  
pp. 70 ff., such as *dhrana-ti* 'sounds'.

§ 620. Armenian. In this language *-ano-* = Idg. *-ano-*  
is a very common present suffix. *lk-anem* 'I leave', aor. 3<sup>rd</sup>  
sing. *e-lik*, *√leig-*. *gt-anem* 'I find', aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *e-git*,  
*√yeid-*. *tk-anem* 'I spew, spit', aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *e-tuk*. *kl-anem*  
'I swallow', aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *e-kul*. *hal-anem* 'I cut off'. *tes-anem*  
'I see', *√derk-* (§ 263 p. 214). *liz-anem* 'I lick for' *liz-*  
*anem*, *√leig-*.

*-anem*, like Greek *-aw-*, is found in some forms which  
have another present suffix already. As for instance *harçanem*  
'I ask' beside aor. *harçi*, stem *\*pr(k)-sko-* (§ 672), like Gr.  
*αἰσχαῖω* beside aor. *αἰσχω*; and very near akin to *harçanem* is  
Avest. *per sanyenti* 'asks', if its *-s-* = Skr. *-en-* (cp. Skr.  
*prachana-m* 'an asking' and not Idg. *-k-* (cp. Goth. *frathnā-*)  
*-anim* (cp. § 711) is a variant of *-anem* as Gr. *-aw-* of  
*-aw-*; e. g. *mer-ani-m* 'I die' (aor. *mer-ay*) like Gr. *μάραιω*.  
'I make wither, decay', *mac-ani-m* 'I cleave to, hang on to',  
curdle, *zerç-ani-m* 'I free or save myself, run away'.

§ 621. Greek. In this language too, *-aw-* = Idg. *-ano-*  
is very common. *ἀκούω* 'I hear', *ἰσχύω* 'I honour, exalt',  
'I hide', *ἐκφεύγω* 'I escape, notice'.



The suffix is often used to extend other present stems. For example take the following. *ἵσθ-άνω* 'I place' beside *ἵσθη-μι* (Class III). *ἰσθ-άνω* 'I hold back' beside *ἵσθ-ω* (Class IV). *πενθ-άνομαι* 'I learn' *λιμπ-άνω* 'I leave' from \**πενθω* = Lith. *-bundū* √ *bheudh-* and \**λιμπω* = Lat. *linguō* √ *leiq-*, and so too *κλαγγ-άνω* 'I cry out' from \**κλαγγ-ω* (cp. *κλάζω* for \**κλαγγ-ω*) = Lat. *clang-ō* beside Gr. perf. *κέκληγα* (Class XVI). *αὐξ-άνω* 'I increase' beside *αὐξω* *αὐκ-σσω* (Class XX). *ἀλυσκ-άνω* 'I avoid' beside *ἀλύ-σκω* (Class XXII). *ἀμαρτ-άνω* 'I miss' beside *ἤμαρ-το-ν* (Class XXIV). *δαρθ-άνω* 'I sleep' beside *ἔ-δαρ-θo-ν* (Class XXV).

*πιμπλάνω* *πιμπράνω*, as compared with *πί-πλη-μι* *πί-πρη-μι* were made on the analogy of *λιμπάνω*, and this served to keep safe the nasal in *πίμπλημι* *πίμπρημι* *κίγκραμι* *κίγκρημι* (§ 542 p. 102, § 594 pp. 134 f.). Perhaps there was once a form \**πλα-νω*, parallel to Skr. *ṃṣ-ṛd-ti*, which on the analogy of *πί-πλη-μι* *πί-πλα-μεν* was transformed to \**πιπλανω* (cp. the reduplicated *τε-τε-αίνω*, p. 159), and then came under the influence of verbs like *λιμπάνω*. 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. \**κχάνω* (for \**κ-χαν-ω*, Hom. *κχάνω*) into *κιγχάνω* (§ 652).

With *-ανάω* (see § 617 p. 155): *ἐρύκανάω* beside *ἐρυκάνω* 'I hold back, bar, stem', *δηκανάομαι* 'I welcome' beside *δηνύ-μενος* (§ 639), *ισχάναω* beside *ισχάνω*, and others.

A large number have *-αίνω*. *ὀλισθαίνω* beside *ὀλισθάνω* 'I slip'. *μελαίνω* 'I darken' (beside *μελάνω*? see the commentators on Iliad 12 64), and others (cp. § 776.6 b).

Amongst these verbs in *-αίνω* are those whose root no longer forms a separate syllable, some of which are certainly old (cp. Lett. *tr-in-ti* *tr-in-ti* § 624). *ξ-αίνω* 'I scratch, comb' (*ξ-άνιο-ν* 'comb for carding wool') beside *ξ-ύω* and *ξ-έω* *ξ-έω-σαι* (Class XX, § 661) from √ *qes-* (II § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20). *βελ-αίνω* 'I bubble up' beside *βελ-ύω* Lat. *fl-ās* O.H.G. *bl-ā-u*

(§ 583 p. 124). *δο-αίνω* 'I do, intend to do' (*ὀλιγο-δραστῶν* 'faint, weak' § 801), beside *δο-ω* *δο-α-μα* (§ 737). *ῥαίνω* 'I besprinkle' for \**σρ-αν-ιω* (*ῥαίς* -*ίδος* drop) beside *ῥ-έ(φ)ει* 'flows' from *√ ser-* 'run, flow' (§ 488 p. 47) cp. *ξ-αίνω* beside *ξ-ύω*; *ἐρράδ-αται* *ῥάσσετε* (\**ṛ-d-*) belong to Class XXV (§ 695).<sup>1)</sup> *χρ-αίνω* 'I touch the surface gently, stroke, soil' beside *χρ-αίω* 'I seize, touch' *χρ-αίω* 'touch superficially, scratch' *χρ-ίω* 'I anoint'. *γραίνεν* *ἑσθίεν* Hesych., beside *γραίω*, which seems to be akin to Skr. *gr-asa-ti* (§ 659). *κραίνω* 'I make, complete' (*√ qer-* Skr. *kṛ-ṛd-ti*); this we should probably place here. The alternative is to analyse it \**κρα-ν-ιω*, from \**qr-n-*, and place it in § 611 (pp. 149 f.), but *κρ-όνο-ς* makes this the more likely place (see II § 67 with the Rem., p. 112). *τε-τρ-αίνω* 'I bore' (*τε-τραίνω* is also found, see Veitch Greek Verbs s. v. *τετραίνω*): Lith. *tr-inū* 'I rub', *√ ter-*.

Connected with noun stems in *-ανο-* (§ 487 pp. 40 f., § 596.6 p. 140). *ὀλισθαίνω* *ὀλισθαίνω*: *ὀλισθανο-ς* 'slippery, smooth'. *θηγάνω*: *θηγανο-ν* *θηγάνη* 'whetstone'. *μελάνω* *μελαίνω*: *μελανο-* (*μελαν-*) 'black'. *φασγάνετα* *ξίφει ἀναιρείται* Hesych.: *φάσγανο-ν* 'cutting instrument, or sword'. *κναίνω*: *ἔγκνος ὢν* Hesych.: Samian *κ-ινο-* in *Κνανοψίων* (the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 32 footnote 1). Compare *λευκαίνω* with Skr. *rōcaná-s* 'light, shining', *ἀλφάνω* with Skr. *arhāna-m* *arhānā* 'tribute of respect'

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

Latin verbs in *-ināre* (§ 617 p. 155): *coquināre* beside *coquere*, *cārināre* 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, § 639 p. 479.

see Egge, *Amer. Jour. Phil.*, vii 38 ff.); as Goth. *ga-vaknan* O.Icel. *vakna* 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 (cp. I § 214 p. 181, Kaufmann, P.-B. Beitr. xii 504 ff.). But whether this vowel was *a*, *i*, or *u*, and the suffix accordingly Idg. *-on-*, *-eno-*, or *-yno-*, remains a question. Furthermore, amongst forms like Goth. *dis-taurna* 'I tear to pieces, crush to pieces', there may be forms with Idg. *-no-* (cp. Skr. *dir-ud-s* O.H.G. *zor-n*, II § 66 p. 141), which would then have to be placed in Class XIII.

The old unextended inflexion was regular Gothic only for the present; e. g. *ga-vakna -is -ip* etc. Elsewhere Gothic has *-nō*, as *-vaknōda*. Old Icelandic carries *-nō* all through the verb, as *vakna -nada*. In Old High German, on account of a certain change which will be set forth in § 781.3, most of the words in question are absorbed into the 2-conjugation (3<sup>rd</sup> weak conj.), as *wecanēm*.

In addition to the words already mentioned — Goth. *af-lyna*, *auk-na* (O.Icel. *aukna*), *ga-paurna* (O.Icel. *þorna*) — the following may be named: Goth. *ga-staurkna* 'I become stiff, dry up' O.Icel. *storkna* O.H.G. *gi-storchanēm* (beside Lith. *streg-u* 'I stiffen'). Goth. *brukna* intr. 'I break, break to pieces' (beside *brikan* 'I break'). Goth. *ga-batna* O.Icel. *batna* 'I improve myself', O.H.G. *trunkanēm* 'I get drunk'. Beside Goth. *us-lakna* 'I open' (intr.) appears *us-lakan-s* 'open' (adj.).

These inchoatives are sometimes derived from an adjective, in which case they run in parallel lines with the factitive group in (Goth.) *-fan*; Goth. *fullnan* O.Icel. *fullna* 'get full' beside Goth. *fulljan* O.Icel. *fylla* 'make full, fill' from Goth. *full-s* O.Icel. *full-r* 'full' (ground-form *\*pl-no-s*), Goth. *ga-giujan* 'become alive' beside *ga-giujan* 'make alive, quicken' from *giu-s* (gen. *giwis*) 'alive'; Goth. *mikilnan* 'grow big' beside *mikiljan* 'make big' from *mikil-s* 'big'; cp. Lith. *linksminti* from *linksmas* and similar forms, § 624.

O.H.G. *gi-wahannen* 'mention' pret. *gi-teuog*, A.S. *wæcnan* 'awaken' pret. *wæc*, like Gr. *ἀλτρίσθαι* (aor. *ἤλτρεν*).

§ 624. Balto-Slavonic. Baltic has *-ina* = Idg. *-eno-*, and *-ena-* = Idg. *-eno-*.

Lith. *krūvinu* 'I make bloody' fut. *krūsiu* partic. *krūvin-ta-s* = Lat. *cruen-tu-s*, *auginu* 'I make grow', *sausinu* 'I make dry', see § 618 p. 156. *kūpinu* 'I heap up' from *kūpina-s* 'heaped up'. *trūpinu* 'I crumble, break into little bits' from *truping-s* 'crumb'. *tėkinu* 'I make run (on a grindstone), polish' from *tėkina-s* 'running' (O.C.Sl. *tečnu*). *būdinu* 'I awake'. *lipinu* 'I make stick'. The form of the root is noticeable in *tr-inu* 'I rub' infin. *tr-in-ti* from *√ter-* (Lat. *terō*), with which compare Gr. *τε-ραίνω* 'I bore', and *τείστω* 'I swell out' instead of *\*te-ins*, infin. *te-in-ti*, beside Lat. *tu-meo*; cp. Gr. *ζαίρω*, and its like, § 621 pp. 158 f.

This extraordinarily fertile suffix was used to derive verbs with a factitive meaning from adjectives too (as in Gothic, *fullnan* etc., § 623); e. g. *lūkminu* 'I make glad, comfort' from *lūksma-s* 'joyful', *vėninu* 'I unite' from *vėnas* 'one', *teirtinu* 'I make fast' from *teirta-s* 'fast'; cp. Pruss. *swintina* 'he hallows' from *swints* 'holy'.

From verbs like *pū-d-inu* *vė-d-inu* *sėl-d-inu* was extracted a suffix *-dinu*, which was largely used. See §§ 700 and 701.

Only Lithuania and Prussia have *-ina-* (*-in-*) with non-present stems. For Prussian, compare infin. *waidin-t* 'to show' partic. pret. act. *waidinn-ons* from the pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *waidinna*; *swintin-t-s* 'hallowed' from 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. pres. *swintina*. Lettish has for these parts of the verb *-ina-*, as *aud/inu* 'I bring up, raise, rear' infin. *aud/ināt* in contrast with Lith. *auginu* *auginti* (cp. Goth. *lifna* *lifnōda*). Lith. has also a few words with *-inoju* *-inoti*, as *stiprinōju* 'I strengthen' *stiprinōti* beside *stiprinu* *stiprinti* (Lett. *stiprinu* *stiprindt*), *lūkminōju* 'I make glad' *lūkminōti* (also accented *lūksminoju*) beside *lūkminu*.

Rarer than *-ina-* is *-ena-*: Lith. *gyvenu* 'I dwell' *gyventi* (cp. Goth. *ga-giuna*, § 623 p. 160) and *grāudenu* 'I remind, admonish'; *gabenu* 'I bring', also *gabenōju* *gabendti*.

That Slavonic once possessed verbs in *\*-onā* infin. *\*-on-ti* *\*-ati* may be assumed, as we have seen in § 615 Rem. p. 154, from such forms as *vrīg-nā-ti*. With this *-ono-* compare *zv-onū* 'sound' beside *zv-īnēti* 'sound', containing the suffix *-yno-* (beside *zov-ā* *zv-a-ti* 'to call', II § 67 p. 154); further, Gr. *αὐροή* 'dryness' *αὐρορ* *ἔϋλον* *ξηρόν* (Heaych., MS. *αὐρορ*) beside *αὐαίρω* 'I dry up' (beside Lith. *sausin-ti* O.C.Sl. *sūchnā-ti*).

### Class XV.

Root + Nasal Suffix forming the Present Stem.

§ 625. Here fall such present stems as Skr. *yundāj-mi* pl. *yundj-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.

§ 626. Aryan. *√leig-* 'linquere': Skr. *riṇāk-ti* Avest. *irinaxti* (I § 260 p. 212), Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *riñc-mās* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *riñc-ānti* pret. 1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing. *ā-riṇac-am* 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ā-riṇak*, conj. *riṇac-a-t*, opt. *riñc-yā-t*; — thematic Lat. *lingu-ō* Pruss. *po-linka* 'remains'. Skr. *bhinād-*: 'I split', imper. *bhin(d)dhi*, *√bhejd-*; — thematic Prakrit *bhind-a-dī* Lat. *find-ō*. *pindāj-mi* 'I pound, crush' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *piś-ānti* (cp. I footnote), injunctive 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *pindā*, *√peis-*; — thematic Skr. *a-piś-a-t* Lat. *pīns-ō*. Avest. *cinah-mi* 'I give information', cp. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *cōiš-t* 'he informed'. Avest. *cinas-ti* 'he instructs' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. mid. conj. *cināp-ā-maidē*. Skr. *runyādh-mi* 'I stop, stem' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. act. *runyāddhi* mid. *run(d)dhe*; — thematic *rundh-a-ti*. *vrūāj-mi* 'I twist together' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *vrūk-tē*, *√uerg-*, cp. Gr. *ἐκβουαι* § 631. *trūēdhi* 'shatters' instead of *\*trūōdhi* (for *\*trūāḥ-dhi*), 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *trh-ānti* (seq I § 404.2 p. 298); — thematic *trh-a-ti*. Avest. weak form *mer'wak-* *mer'nc-* from *marc-* 'destroy'. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. act. *mer'nc-inti* mid. *mer'nc-aitē* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. mid. *mer'wōf-dūyē*, opt. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *merqš-yā-p*, cp. I § 448 pp. 332 f.,

§ 473. 4 p. 350, II p. viii, I § 200 Rem. p. 168, Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 483; — thematic Avest. *mer'no-a-itē*.

Remark. On Skr. *hinās-ti* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *hiṣ-anti* see § 667.

Strong stem instead of weak: Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *yunāk-ta* instead of *yunḥ-tā*.

### 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* -*hendī* -*hēnsu-s* (Gr. *χρῆσμαι* 'I will seize' (for *χρῖδ+σ-*) *ἔ-χρῖδ-ο-ν* (*χρῖδ-*) *χρῖδάρω* Alban. *gëndem* 'I am found' Lott. *gidu* 'I understand, conjecture' (for *\*gendu*), which is proved by Lat. *praeda* (for *\*prae-heda*) Goth. -*gita*. For Skr. *spanda-tē* 'throbs' *spandaya-ti* *spanda-s* 'a throbbing' *pani-ṣpadā-s* 'throbbing' (*spad-* = *\*spyd-*) Gr. *σπερδόνη* <sup>spandō</sup> *κling* *σπαδασμός* 'throbbing, eagerness, impatience' (*\*σπεδ-*)<sup>1)</sup> the same is proved by Gr. *σπεδ-αρός* 'hasty, wild' *σποδ-ρός* '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, make forms without any nasal by analogy. Thus Skr. *mamāth-a* *māthaya-ti* instead of *mamanth-a* *manthaya-ti* from *mathnā-ti* *mātha-ti*, where *math-* comes from *\*myth-* (§ 516 p. 82, § 852); Gr. *δηῖσμαι* instead of *\*δευῖσμαι* from *δαῖν-ω* *ἔ-δαῖν-ο-ν*, where *δαῖν-* comes from *\*dāik-* (I § 224 p. 191).

§ 628. ✓ *leip-*: Skr. *limp-ā-ti* 'smears', Lith. *limp-i* 'I cling, hold'. ✓ *peik-*: Skr. *piṣ-ā-ti* 'adorns, decks, arms'.

1) Connect Lat. *pendō* *pendit*, *pondus*?

Lat. *ping-ō*. *√ yejd-*: Skr. *vind-á-ti* 'finds', O.Ir. *ro-finnadar* 'gets to know' (see § 633), cp. Armen. *giut* 'gain, profit' for *\*vind-* (Hübschmann, Arm. Stud. i 26, 63, 75; Bugge, Idg. Forsch. i 443), Gr. *ἐνδ-άλλομαι* 'I show myself, appear'. *√ seig-seig-* 'trickle down': Skr. *sñc-á-ti* 'pours out, wets', Goth. *sigg-a* 'I sink' (part. *saqq* following *band* etc., I § 67 Rem. i p. 57), Lett. *sīku* 'I become exhausted, dry up, fall' (of water) for *\*sink-u*, cp. Mid.H.G. *sñhte* 'shallow' from *\*sing-to-*. *√ kyej-kyejd-* 'shine' (Skr. *śvit-āná-s* Goth. *hveit-s*): Skr. *ścind-a-tē* 'is clear, or white' (gramm.), Lith. *szvint-ū* 'I become clear'. Skr. *a-pīṣ-a-t* 'I crushed' (beside *pi-nāṣ-ṭi*, § 626), Lat. *pīns-ō*, cp. Gr. *πρίσσω πρίσσω* instead of prehistoric *\*πρίσσω* (§ 631). Skr. opt. *chind-ē-ta* beside *chi-nād-mi* 'I cut off, tear to pieces' (Class XV), Lat. *scind-ō*, cp. Gr. *σχορδ-αλμó-ς* 'piece of wood split off, splinter'. Prakr. *bhind-a-di* beside Skr. *bhīndāt-mi* 'I split' (§ 626), Lat. *find-ō*. *√ sneigh-*: Lat. *ningu-i-t*, Lith. *snieg-a* 'it snows'. *√ leig-*: Lat. *lingu-ō*, Pruss. *po-linka* 'remains' (Skr. *ṛiṇák-ti* § 626), cp. Gr. *λην-άω* § 631. Lat. *string-ō*, Lith. *string-u* 'I remain hanging' (pret. *strig-au*), beside Lat. *striga*, Goth. *striks* 'stroke, line' O.H.G. *strikhu* 'I draw a line, pass along'; O.C.Sl. *strig-q* 'I shave, shear' for *\*strinog-* (I § 229. 4 p. 195) or for *\*streig-?* Lat. *dī-stingu-ō*, Goth. *stigg-a* 'I strike, push' O.Icel. *stökk* 'I leap, push', beside Lat. *in-stīgō* Skr. *tējatō* 'is sharp, goads on', cp. Lith. *stėngiu* § 637. Lat. *mingō* *√ meigh-*, cp. Lett. *mīschu* for *\*minziā* § 635. Skr. *himp-á-ti* 'breaks to pieces', Lat. *rimp-ō*, *√ reyp-*. Skr. *luñc-a-ti* 'pulls, plucks' (gramm.: perf. *lu-luñc-ur* is found), Lith. *runk-ū* 'I grow wrinkled', *√ reyg-reyg-* (Skr. *luk-* 'a falling off, disappearance', Lat. *rūg-a*, Lith. *raūka-s* 'wrinkle'), cp. Lat. *runc-āre*. Skr. *mñc-á-ti* 'lets go, frees, gets free, runs away', Lat. *ē-mungō*, Lett. *māku* 'I make off, flee' for *\*munk-u*, *√ meyg-meig-*. Skr. *gñij-a-ti* (beside *gñiák-ti* § 625), Lat. *jung-ō* *√ jeug-*, cp. Lith. *jėng-iu* 'I yoke to'. Skr. *bhñij-a-ti* 'makes to eat or enjoy' (beside *bhñiák-ti* Class XV), Lat. *fung-or*. Avest. *hunj-a-ti* 'lays down, frees, saves itself', cp. Gr. *πενύττω πενύττω* § 631. Lith. *bund-ū* 'I wake up', cp. Gr. *πενδ-άωμαι* § 631.

✓ *qert-* 'cut': Skr. *kñt-á-ti* 'cuts, splits', Lith. *krint-ù* 'I fall off, drop' (of leaves, fruit and so forth), Idg. \**qñt-é-ti*, cp. I § 285 Rem. p. 228. O.Ir. *in-grennim* 'I pursue' i. c. \**ghrendō?* (cp. § 633), O.C.Sl. *gred-a* 'I come', originally \**ghry-dh-ō* ✓ *ghredh-*, cp. Goth. *gridi-* f. 'step, grade' Lat. *gradior* for \**ghrdh-io-* (§ 717). ✓ *rej-* 'stretch, extend': Skr. *ṛñj-á-ti* (beside 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. mid. *ṛñj-atē* Class XV), cp. Lith. partic. *ĩ-si-rėĩšs* 'having stretched oneself' infin. *is-z-si-rėszti* 'to stretch out' *rñjau* 'I stretch' derived from a stem \**rinā-* = Skr. *ṛñj-* (from *riž-* = *rj-* were derived *rėĩšiās* 'I inflate myself' and *rñjau-s* 'I stretch myself', cp. below, Goth. *ṛeiha ṛáih*).

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. *śrambh-a-tē* 'entrusts', Gr. *ἐμψ-ο-μαι* 'I turn myself round', Mid.Ir. *dringim* 'I ascend', O.H.G. *spring-u* 'I leap', Lith. *drėš-ù* 'I am brave'; details will be found under the separate headings.

✓ *plāq-* *plāg-*: Lat. *plang-ō*, Lett. *plūk-u* 'I become flat. fall flat down' for \**plank-u*, cp. Gr. *πλάζω* 'I strike, knock aside, lead astray' (*ἐπ'αγξω πλαγκτό-*) for \**πλαγγ-ιω* § 631. Lat. *clang-ō*, cp. Gr. *κλαγγ-άτω* and *χλάζω* for \**κλαγγ-ιω* § 631 (pf. *κέκλαγγα*), O.Icel. *hlakka* 'I cry out' (-*kk-* for -*nk-*), beside Gr. *χλωζω* 'I cluck, caw' for \**χλωγγ-ιω*.

Roots ending in a consonant, without liquid, nasal, *i*, or *u* (type *peq-* 'coquere') show an *e*-vowel. Goth. *ṛeiha* O.H.G. *dih-u* 'I thrive' for \**ṛhioχ-ō*, earlier \**ṛhioχ-ō* (cp. O.Sax. partic. *thungqu* and causative *thengiu* 'I complete'), from which we have the re-formates *ṛáih dēh* etc. (I § 67 Rem. 2 p. 57), Lith. *tenkù* 'I last out, have enough' infin. *tēk-ti*, compare O.Ir. *to cad* Mod.Cymr. *tyngned* 'luck, happiness' (first for \**tonketo-*, cp. the Latinised name *Tunccetace*, inser. in Wales), which also point to a nasal present stem. Alban. *ḡend-em* 'I am found', Lat. *pre-hendō*, Lett. *gīdu* 'I understand, conjecture' for \**ḡend-u* ✓ *ghed-*, cp. Gr. *χαράσσω χάσσωμαι* § 631.

Several languages give *io*-inflection to this type (Class XXIX). Examples: Gr. *πρίσσω πρίττω* instead of \**πρινσ-ιω*, *πλάζω* for



\**πλῆγ-ιω*; Lat. *vinc-iō*, *sanc-iō* (cp. *sacer*); Lith. *jūng-iu*, Lett. *mišchu* (beside *mišnu*) 'mingo' for \**minz-iu*. See § 744.

§ 629. Aryan. Skr. *vind-á-ti* Avest. *vind-a-iti* 'finds', *√**veid-*; Skr. *sinc-á-ti* Avest. *hinc-a-iti* 'pours out', *√**seig-*; Skr. *kynt-á-ti* Avest. *ker'nt-a-iti* 'cuts', see § 628 where other examples are given. We may also mention the following: Skr. *śiṣ-a-ti* 'leaves over' beside *śinás-ti*; *und-a-ti* 'moistens, wets' beside *unát-ti*; *umbh-a-ti* 'holds together, holds in custody' beside 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *unap*; *tṛmp-á-ti* 'is satisfied' *√**tērp-*; *bṛh-a-ti* 'strengthens' *√**bhergh-*; *śynth-a-ti* from *śrath-* 'to become loose or soft'; Avest. *mer'ne-a-itē* from *marc-* 'destroy' beside 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. mid. *mer'neg'-duyē* (§ 626). Sometimes in Sanskrit the accent is changed to the accent of Class II *A*, as *śumbh-a-ti* and *śumbh-á-ti* 'adorns' (beside *śbbh-a-tē*), partic. mid. *táñj-a-māna-s* (3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *tuñj-átē* Class XV, *tuj-yá-tē* 'is struck, knocked'), *dṛh-a-ti* beside *dṛh-á-ti* 'strengthens' (beside *dṛh-ya-ti*), *pfñc-a-ti* 'mingles' (beside *prñák-ti* and *pi-prg-dhi*). With secondary strong grade vocalism (cp. § 628 p. 165): Skr. *śranth-a-tē* (gramm.) beside *śynth-a-ti*, *śrambh-a-tē* 'entrusts' (cp. *ni-śymbhá-s*), *anu-rañjati* 'cleaves truly to, loves' (cp. *rāga-s* 'colour, passion, love', Gr. *ῥέζω ῥέγμαι ῥογέω*), Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. pret. *mor'nd-a-ḥ* for \**mar'nd-a-ḥ* (I § 94.3 p. 89) from *marid-* 'kill' (or does *-ar-* = *-ḥ-*?); of the same sort may be Skr. *vind-a-tē* 'praises, honours' beside *vád-a-ti* *ud-yá-tē*.

Roots of the type *peq-* (§ 628 p. 165). Skr. *spand-a-tē* 'throbs', beside Gr. *σπεῖδ-αρό-ς*, § 627 p. 163. *stambh-a-tē* 'strengthens itself, stands fast, supports itself', beside Lith. *steb-iù-s* 'I wonder' *stéb-iù-s* 'I keep myself back' *stāba-s* 'apoplexy'. Sometimes the nasal is only found in non-present forms. Thus from *√**seq-* 'fasten, hang' (Skr. *sajjate* for \**sa-zj-a-* § 562 p. 110, Lith. *segù*): Skr. perf. *sa-sañj-a* aor. *a-sañj-i* partic. *-sank-tavya-s*; from Ar. *dabh-* or *dhabh-*<sup>1)</sup>

1) The desiderative forms *dhīpsati dhīpsati* are late re-formations instead of Ved. *dīpsati*, certainly not instead of pr. Ar. *dhabh*. Compare *dhak*, p. 171.

'to hurt, deceive' (cp. Skr. *ā-dbh-u-ta-s* § 596. 2, p. 136, desid. Skr. *dīpsu-ti* Avest. *diuša-idyāi* § 667, Skr. perf. *da-dābh-a*, *-dābha-s* 'hurting', Avest. caus. *dābaya-itī*): Skr. perf. *da-dāmbh-a* caus. *dambhāya-ti* *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 *sañj-* compare O.C.Sl. *sej-na* § 636; *dambh-* may be illustrated by Gr. *ἀνέμβω* 'I hurt, deceive', if the root is *duebh-*, and if this Greek word is a contamination of *θι(υ)β-* and *τε(μ)γ-*. (2) Or the nasal came from other words; thus *dauāmbha*, beside *dabhnōti*, was formed on the analogy of *ta-stāmbha*: *stabhnōti*, and similar pairs.

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

§ 631. Greek. Only a few examples of the unextended stem can be found. *λινδίσθαι* *αμικλᾶσθαι* beside *λινδόναι* *παλζονών* Hesych. for \**λινδ-ιω?*), connected by Fick with *λοιδόρο-* and Lat. *loido-s* *lūdu-s*. *σφιγγ-ω* 'I tie, fasten', compared with Armen. *pirk*, for \**sphig-ro-s*, by Bugge (Idg. Forsch. I 453). With secondary strong-grade vowel (cp. § 628 p. 165): *ῥέμβομαι* 'I turn round, revolve' (*ῥόμβος* 'bull-roarer, wheel') containing Idg. \**mr̥og-* from *✓merg-*: Skr. *cyṁdk-ti* 'twists together' infin. *vr̥ñj-āsē*, Mid.H.G. *runke* A.S. *werincle* 'wrinkle' O.H.G. *rench(ou)* 'I turn, pull backwards and forwards in turning'. Root of the type *peq-* (§ 628 p. 165): *στέμβω* 'I shake, misuse, handle roughly' beside *στόβος* *στοβέω* *στοβάζω*.

Passing over to Class XXIX (§ 628 p. 165). *πίσσω* *πιτίτω* 'I crush, bruise' instead of \**πισ-ιω* (the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 61): Skr. *a-piṣ-a-t* etc., see § 628 p. 164. *πλάζω* 'I strike, knock down' for \**πλαγγ-ιω*: Lat. *plang-ō* etc., see § 628 p. 165. *κλάζω* 'I sound, cry out' for \**κλαγγ-ιω*: Lat. *clang-ō* etc., see *ibid*. Perhaps also *σζίπτω* 'I throw hard at something' for \**σκιμπ-ιω*, beside Skr. *kṣip-d-ti* 'throws, slings'.

Large numbers pass into Class XIV (§ 624, p. 158).  
*λεμπάνω* 'I leave': Lat. *linquē-ō* etc., see § 628 p. 164. *φρυγγάνω* 'I flee' (Lesb. partic. *πεφύγγων*): Avest. *bunh-a-ti*, see § 628 p. 164. *πυνθάνομαι* 'I learn': Lith. *bund-ū*, see § 628 p. 164. *κλαγγάνω* beside *κλάζω*, see above. *θιγγάνω* 'I touch, feel', cp. *ἔ-θιγ-ο-ν*. *ἔθρυγγάνω* beside *ἔθρεύ-ο-μαι* 'I belch'. *τυγχάνω*, cp. *ἔ-τυχ-ο-ν*. *λανθάνω* beside *λήθ-ω* Dor. *λάθ-ω* 'I escape' notice'. The existence of *λανθάνω* beside *ἐλαθον* produced *δαγκάνω* 'I bite' beside *ἔδακον* (*√ denk-*), *λαγχάνω* 'I get by lot' beside *ἐλαχον* (perf. *λέλογχα*), and further. *χαρδάνω* 'I hold' beside *ἔχαδον*, which was itself produced by analogy of *\*χενδ-ω* (cp. fut. *χίσομαι*) from *√ ghed-* (cp. § 628 p. 165). I am uncertain about *λαμβάνω* 'I take' beside aor. *ἔλαβον* perf. *ἐλήφα* Cret. *λέλομβα* (like *ἐλήφα* *λίλοχα*).

Where no present formation has survived: *ἔμψας* · *ζεύξας*. *Θερταλοί* Hesych., beside Lat. *vinc-iō* Skr. *vi-vyāh-ti* 'embraces, surrounds' 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *vi-vik-tá-s*, cp. *γυμβάναι* · *ζεύγανα* (Hesych.) i. e. *Γυμβάναι* (like *ρύμπατο-ν*).

§ 632. Italic. Lat. *ningu-i-t* Umbr. *ninctu* 'ninguito', Lat. *dī-stinguō* Umbr. *an-stintu* 'distinguito', Lat. *ping-ō*, *pīns-ō*, *scind-ō*, *find-ō*, *lingu-ō*, *string-ō*, *ming-ō*, *rump-ō*. *ἔ-mungō*, *jung-ō*, *fung-ōr*, see § 628 p. 164. Lat. *vinc-ō* perf. *vinc-t*, Osc. *vinciter* 'convincitur', cp. Goth. *veih-a* 'I fight' Class II A O.H.G. *upar-wihit* Class II B, *√ weiq-* § 532 p. 94. Lat. *ping-ō* beside *fic-tu-s* *fia-ulu-s*, *√ dheigh-*: O.Ir. *dengaim* 'I oppress' (so Thurneysen). *ling-ō* beside *ling-urriō*, *√ leigh-*. *tund-ō* beside *tu-tud-t*. *pung-ō* beside *pu-pug-t*. *ac-cumbō* beside *-cubut cubāre*.

Lat. *frang-ō* for *\*bhṛag-ō* beside *frag-ili-s*, Goth. *brika* 'I break', *√ bhreg-* (cp. Osthoff, M.U. v p. 111).

Lat. *pang-ō* beside *pe-pig-t* Gr. *πήγ-νῶ-μι* 'I fix', *√ pak-* *pāg-*; akin are doubtless Goth. *faha* O.H.G. *fahu* 'I grasp, seize' (cp. Skr. *pāśa-* 'cord, line') for pr. Germ. *\*fanoχ-ō*, with partic. O.H.G. *gi-fangan*. *tang-ō* beside *te-tig-t* *in-teger* (Umbr. *antakres* 'integris'), *con-tāgiu-m*. *plang-ō* beside

*plāg-a*: Lett. *plāku*, see § 628 p. 165. *lamb-ō*, beside O.H.G. *laffu* 'I lick' perf. *luof*, √ *lab-*. 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. *gnd-em* etc., √ *ghed-*, see § 628 p. 165.

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

Passing into Class XXIX (§ 628 p. 165). *vinc-iō*, beside Skr. *vi-vyak-ti vi-vik-tās*, see § 631 p. 168. *sanc-iō* beside *sac-er*.

*langu-eō* (*langu-ēscō*) perf. *langu-ī* (beside *lazu-s* O.H.G. *slach* 'slack, lazy' and Gr. *λήγω* 'I cease', √ *slēg-*), following Class X, § 590 p. 132.

§ 633. Keltic. O.Ir. *dengaim* 'I oppress' from \**dhisoghō* (3<sup>rd</sup> pl. pass. conj. *for-diassatar* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. perf. *dedaig*): Lat. *finḡō*, see § 632. O.Ir. *slucim* 'I swallow, gulp' (secondary -*io*-flexion) Mod.Cymr. *llyncaf llyngaf* 'devoro' from \**sluukō*, √ *sla-uk-* *sla-ug-*, Gr. *λυχαίνω* and *λυγάρωμαi* 'I sob'.

O.Ir. *in-grennim* 'I pursue' with strong-grade vowel in the root: O.C.Sl. *gręd-a*, see § 628 p. 165; but compare the Remark. So also Mid.Ir. *dringim* 'I ascend' = O.Ir. \**dreng(a)im* (*držimm* 'clambering' subst.), akin to Skr. *dark-* 'make fast' pres. *dṛh-ā-ti dṛh-a-ti* (cp. Lith. *lipù* 'I mount up with my feet, climb' beside *limpù* 'I remain clinging', O.H.G. *chlimbu* 'I climb' beside *chlitbu* 'I cling').

O.Ir. *com-boing* 'confringit' (perf. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *-baig*), cp. Skr. *bhandk-ti* perf. *ba-bhañj-a* Armen. *bek-anem*. *tong(a)im* 'I swear' beside *co-tach* 'compact'. *in-dlung* 'I split' beside *in-dlach* 'split' subst.

1) Bartholomae (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 96 f.) derives *pangō pandō z-mungō* from \**pank-nō* \**pant-nō* \**munuk-nō* (cp. O.C.Sl. *krę(1)-nq* and the like, § 636). This view seems to me unjustifiable until the general principles which govern the interchange of *tenues* and *mediae* when root-finals in Indo-Germanic have been made out (I § 469. I p. 346).

O.Ir. *ro-finnadar* 'gets to know' is related to Skr. *vind-ā-ti* § 628 p. 164, and seems to have adopted *ā*-flexion; but compare the Remark, below.

Remark. Thurneysen writes to me: "*Greun-* and *finna-* appear in Old Irish always with *nn* and never with *nd*. I hesitate between two explanations. (1) Either *nd* very early became *nn* before the accent (the prefix which accented is always *ind-*, is either *inn-* or *in-* when pretonic); or (2) the nasal stood originally after the dental: *finna-* = *\*vid-nā-* or *\*ci-n-d-nā-*, *greun-* = *\*gred-n-* (*\*grid-n-?*) or *\*gre-n-d-n-*. I am still searching for evidence to decide the matter." With *\*vindnā-* *\*grendn-* compare Lett. *brīnu* for *\*brendnu*, O.CSL *ægynū* § 615 p. 154, § 636.

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

Goth. *sigg-a* O.H.G. *sink-u* 'I sink', Goth. *stigg-u* 'I striko', see § 628 p. 164. Goth. *fra-slinda* O.H.G. *slint-u* 'I swallow' (re-formed, O.H.G. *slunt* 'throat'): cp. Mid.H.G. *slite* A.S. *slide* 'I slide, slip', Lith. *slid-ū-s* 'slippery, smooth' Lett. *slaid-s* 'steep'.<sup>1)</sup> O.Icel. *slæpp* 'I make slide' pr. Germ. *\*slimpō* (pret. *slapp*): cp. O.H.G. *slifu* 'I slide, sink', *√ sleib-*. O.H.G. *climbu* 'I climb, clamber, ascend': cp. O.Icel. *klif* 'I climb' pret. *kleif*, O.H.G. *chlību* 'I cling, hold'. *√ gleip-* (*gleip-* and *leip-* are *p*-extensions of *√ glei-* and *lei-*, cp. § 797). Mod.H.G. *blinke* 'I glitter' a weak verb, but originally doubtless strong (re-formate O.H.G. *blanch* 'bright'): cp. O.H.G. *blīhu* 'I gleam', Lith. *blyksztū* 'I turn pale' *blaiksztyti-s* 'to clear up'. From O.Sax. *mengian* (Goth. *\*maggjan*) 'to mingle' we must apparently infer *\*mingan* 'to mingle' akin to Skr. *miś-rā-* 'mixt'; see § 805. (Kluge in his Etym. Diet. explains differently).

Roots with *-er-* *-el-* show strong-grade vowels (cp. § 628 p. 165). O.H.G. *spring-u* 'I leap' instead of pr. Germ. *\*sprunag-ō* ground-form *\*sprungh-ō*: cp. Gr. *ἀντρέχουαι* 'I hasten' *ἀντρέχ-ρός* 'hasty'. O.H.G. *ring-u* 'I move to and fro, writhe violently'

1) Osthoff compares *fra-slinda* with Gr. *λαν-μός-ς* *λαί-τρυα* (Zeitschr. deutsch. Phil., xxiv 215; Anz. für idg. Spr., i 82). According to this etymology, we should start with a stem *slī-t-* (cp. *r* in *λαίτρυα*) which took a nasal infix. Compare below, in this section, on *standa* (p. 172).

A.S. *wringe* 'I turn, press' (cp. Goth. *wruggō* f. 'knot, nouse'): cp. O.H.G. *wurg(i)u* 'I throttle, choke' Lith. *verž-iū* 'I tie together, enclose', *✓wergħ-* (I § 285 Rem. p. 228). O.H.G. *scrunt-u* 'I burst, blow up, split, rend' (O.H.G. *scrunta* 'split, tear, rent'): cp. Lith. *skėrdžiu* 'I burst, blow up, split', partic. *su-skirdęs* 'blown up, burst open', *✓sgerdħ-* (i. e. *sger-t-dħ-*, § 689). Mid.H.G. *schrumpfe* 'I become wrinkled, shrivel': Pruss. *sen-skremipāsanan* acc. 'wrinkle, fold' (p, as elsewhere, wrongly written for b), cp. O.Icel. *skorp-r* 'shrivelled, dry' *skorp-na* 'I dry up' intr. Russ. *skorblyj* 'shrivelled', *✓sgerb-*. Mid.H.G. *sprinza* O.Icel. *spret* 'I leap, burst, blow up' doubtless akin to O.C.Sl. *pręd-aję* 'I leap, tremble', *✓(s)perd-* (i. e. *(s)per-t-d-* § 700). O.H.G. *sling-u* 'I move, twist, swing to and fro, crawl' (cp. *slango* 'snake'), doubtless with Lith. *slenk-i* 'I crawl' akin to Lat. *sulcu-s* 'furrow, snake's trail'.

Root type *peq-* (§ 628 p. 165). Goth. *þeiha* O.H.G. *dihū* 'I thrive' pr. Germ. *\*þeoχ-ō*: Lith. *tenk-iū* *✓teq-*, see § 628 p. 165. Goth. *finþa* O.H.G. *find-u* 'I find', as we may conjecture, from *✓pet-* Gr. *πίνρω* (for the meaning cp. *ἐμπεσθῆναι*). A.S. *ge-tinge* 'I hold on to, press' cp. *ge-tenzan* 'to make fast, add, join to' O.Icel. *tengja* 'tie or fasten together', beside Skr. *dagħ-* 'reach up to, touch' *✓degħ-* (Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *dhak* is an ad-formate of roots which had both initial and final *media aspirata*): O.C.Sl. *degū* 'line, string' *ne-dagū* 'weakness, sickness'.

Goth. *fah-u* O.H.G. *fah-u* 'I seize' pr. Germ. *\*fanoχ-ō*, connected possibly with Lat. *pang-ō*, *✓pak- pāg-*, see § 632 p. 165. Compare O.Icel. *þanga* weak verb 'I strike, knock' Mod.H.G. Swiss *bang(e)* 'I give a knock' (Mid.H.G. *bengel* 'cudgel'), beside O.H.G. *bagu* 'I fight, strive', O.Ir. *bagim* 'I strive', *✓bhēgh- bhōgh-*.

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 — *woanc*, *gewunken*), if it, along with the Lith. *ving-i-s* m. 'deviation, bend' *ving-i-s* 'crooked, bent' (compare *vėngiu* 'I avoid, do not want to do something' inf. *vėnkti*), is related

to O.H.G. *seihhan* 'I shrink, yield' Gr. *οἰστρεῖν* for \**ō-fry-* 'I open' (make yield'). But these comparisons are doubtful (cp. Fick, Wtb., 1<sup>a</sup> 541. 547 f.; G. Meyer, Et. Wört. der alb. Spr., 463; Per Persson, Stud. Lehr. Wurzelcrw., 174 f.).

Nasal present stems from roots extended by *-t-*; see § 685. Goth. *standa* 'I stand' pret. *stōþ* O.H.G. *stantu* pret. *-stuot* (generally with intrusive nasal, *stuont*) for \**standō* ground-form \**sto-n-tō* from *√sta-*. Goth. *vinda* O.H.G. *wintu* 'I wind, turn, wrap, unfold' (pret. *vand want*), beside Goth. *ga-vida* 'I tie up' O.H.G. *weitu* 'I tie, bind' from *wej-* Skr. *vī-tā-s* 'folded, enclosed' Lith. *vej-ū* 'I twist a cord' (cp. § 790). O.H.G. *swintu* 'I vanish, disappear' A.S. *swinde* beside O.H.G. *swī-nu* § 614 p. 152. Compare above, O.H.G. *scrintu* from *sqr+dh-* p. 171. Mid.H.G. *sprinze* from *sper+d-* (*ibid.*), Lat. *fundō* from *ghes+d-* § 632 p. 169, and again O.H.G. *chlimbu* from *glej+p-* (above, p. 170), O.C.Sl. *tręsā* 'I shake, shatter' from *tr+es-* and Skr. *dhwāsa-ti* 'disperses, disappears' intr. from *dhu+es-* (Classes XIX and XX, cp. Per Persson, Wurzelcrweiterung, p. 83).

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

Lith. *limp-ū* 'I cling, hold' (pret. *lip-aū*), Lett. *sīk-u* 'I sink down, fall', Lith. *savint-ū* 'I grow clear', *sniūg-a* 'it snows', Pruss. *po-linka* 'remains', Lith. *string-u* 'I remain hanging', *runk-ū* 'I grow wrinkled', Lett. *mūk-u* 'I make off, flee', Lith. *bund-ū* 'I wake up' see § 628 p. 164. Lith. *stimp-ū* 'I grow stiff' (pret. *slip-aū*), *tunk-ū* 'I grow fat' (*tuk-aū*), *džiung-ū* 'I become glad' (*džiug-aū*).

Lith. *krint-ū* 'I fall off' (*krit-aū*): Skr. *kynt-ā-ti*, *√qert-*, see § 628 p. 165. *drimb-ū* 'I drop in thick drops' (*drib-aū*), beside *dreb-ū* 'I let fall in thick drops' Gr. *τρώγ-ε-ραι* 'curdles' *√dhrēbh-*. *trink-ū* 'I go wrong, do not come off' (*trik-aū*), beside *trāk-a-s* 'foolish fellow' *trāk-ū-s* 'foolish, mad' Gr. *ἀ-ρρωγς* 'uninjured, exact, true'. *splint-ū* 'I spread' intr. (*split-aū*), beside *splecziū* 'I spread', trans.

Roots of the type *peq-* (§ 628 p. 165). Lith. *tenk-ū* 'I suffice in some respect, have enough of something' (*tek-aū*): Goth.

*peiha* for pr. Germ. \**penx-ō*, see § 628 p. 165. Lett. *gida* 'I take in, conjecture', see § 628 p. 165. Lith. *gendi-ù* 'I become damaged, split in two' (*ged-aũ*).

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

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. *rentù* 'I get thinner' (*retāũ*) from *rēta-s* 'thin, not close', *lempù* 'I pamper myself' (*lepaũ*) from *lepù-s* 'pampered'.

Secondary *jō*-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. *yuj-a-ti* Lat. *jung-ō*, Lett. *mi/chu* 'mingo' for \**minz-iu* (inf. *mi/t*) beside Lat. *ming-ō*, § 628 p. 164. Lett. *kamp-ju* 'I seize, grasp' (inf. *kampf*), beside Lat. *cap-iō*.

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' (*jūnkau jūnkti*) beside Lett. *jūku* for (*j*)*unk-u*, akin to O.C.Sl. *učq* 'I instruct' Skr. *uc-ya-ti* 'finds pleasure in' *śkas-n* 'pleasure, place of pleasure, home'; cp. O.C.Sl. *vijk-nq* and Goth. *bi-āhts*, which likewise seem to have been nasalised (§ 636). Lith. *stinkstu* 'I curdle, congeal, grow stiff' (*stingau stinkti*) beside Gr. *στυφω* 'I tread something hard' *στυβαρός* 'firm, pressed, solid' (cp. Lith. *stėngiu* § 637). *sklīstù* 'I flow apart' (*sklindau sklīsti*) beside *sklīd-ina-s* 'full to overflowing' *skleidziù* 'I spread'; a pret. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *sklīdu* (*sklīdō*) is also found, pointing to a present \**sklind-ù*. Lett. *stringstu* 'I grow tight, dry up' (*stringu stringt*) beside Lith. *string-u* 'I remain hanging' (*stringau*) and *streg-iu* 'I crystallise, stiffen' (cp. § 628 p. 164). Lith. *drįstù* 'I grow bold' (*drįsau drįsti*), ✓ *diers-*. *linkstù* 'I bend' (*linkau linkti*) beside Gr. *λεκ-άνη* 'pan, fan' *λαός* 'crooked'; also Lat. *tanx* with nasal (for \**tsog-?*). The model for these presents is



seen in *blīsta* 'it darkens' beside *blind-ō* ✓ *bhlēndh-*, *tīstā* 'I stretch myself out' beside *tīs-aū* stem *ten-s-*, and the like.

§ 636. This formation is much rarer in Slavonic than it is in Baltic. O.C.Sl. *strig-a* 'I shear, shave' for \**strīg-*? see § 628 p. 164. *gręd-a* 'I come' (inf. *gręsti*) for *ghrūd-* or \**ghrendh-*: Q.l.r. *in-grenim*, see § 628 p. 165. *sed-a* 'I sit' (inf. *sesti*), ✓ *sed-*, cp. Pruss. *sindats syndens* 'sitting' beside *sidans sidons* = Lett. *sēdās*. *leg-a* 'I lie' (inf. *lešti*), ✓ *leg-*. *tręs-a* 'I shake, shatter' inf. *tręs-ti* from *tr-es-*, unless it comes from \**trem-so-* (cp. Lith. *trimti* 'I tremble' Lat. *tremō*), see § 657. As regards *gręd-a* *lęk-a* 'I bend' *pręd-a* 'I spin' compare § 637.

Sometimes extended by *-jo-* (§ 628 p. 165). *žęd-a* 'I desire, thirst' for \**žęd-ja* (inf. *žędati*) beside Lith. *pa-si-gendū* 'I miss' and *geidšiu* 'I long for'. *ględ-a* 'I look, gaze' for \**ględ-ja* (inf. *ględėti*) beside Mid.H.G. *glinze* 'I shine' O.H.G. *glizu* 'I glitter'. See § 637. With nasal confined to the present system: *ob-ręst-a* 'I find' for \**-ręt-ja*, inf. *-rešti* aor. *-rėti* (for the etymology of this verb see § 687).

There is another extension, with *-no-*. *vyk-na* 'I grow used' doubtless derived from \**vyka* = Lett. *jūku* for \*(*j*)*unk-u*, beside *uč-a* 'I teach' (§ 635 p. 173). *sey-na* 'I long for' beside Lith. *seg-u* 'I fasten', cp. Skr. *sa-sañj-a* § 629 p. 166. *kreņ-a* 'deflecto' for \**kręd-na* (cp. *kratiti* 'to twist, turn'), beside Skr. *kṛnāt-ti* 'turns the thread, spins' *kārtana-m*. *sęk-na* 'I sink' beside Lett. *siku* 'I sink, fall' for \**sink-u*, ✓ *sej-* (§ 628 p. 164). *reņ-na* 'hisco' beside Lat. *ringor* (inf. *ring-i*) *ric-tu-s*. Compare § 637.

§ 637. Side by side with Lith. *drimbū* (ground-form \**dhrimbh-ō*) and the like stand forms with *e* in the root syllable (cp. § 628 p. 165). *dręs-u* 'I am bold' (pref. *drīs-aū*) beside *dręs-tū* ✓ *dher-* § 635 p. 173. *brendū* (dialectic *brindu* for *brendū*) 'I wade' beside *brėdū* (*brid-aū*) O.C.Sl. *bręd-a*. *lenk-iū* 'I bend' (*lenkiaū lenkti*) beside *link-stū* ✓ *leg-* § 635 p. 173. *trėndū* 'I am devoured by moths or worms' inf. *trendė-ti*, with *tride* beside Skr. *tyñatti tard-a-ti* § 692. We may assume

that *drēs-ñ* for *\*drins-ñ* was coined to supplement *dris-añ* on the analogy of *renk-ñ* : *rinkañ*, *kertñ* : *kirtañ* etc.; *lenk-iñ* appears beside *linkstñ* on the analogy of *grēš-iñ* 'I turn, twist' beside *grēštñ* 'I turn myself' etc. Slavonic verbs with *č*, *grēd-a* *lēk-a*, and *\*krēf-a* which appears to be implied by *krē-na*, may quite well correspond to Lith. *drimb-ñ* or to Lith. *drēs-ñ*.<sup>1)</sup>

Baltic *en* Slav. *č* is found in present stems from roots with *i*-vowels both extended and unextended. Lith. *senk-ñ* 'I fall, sink' (of water) O.C.Sl. *sek-na* 'I sink down' beside Lett. *sīku* for *\*sink-u* Skr. *siñc-ā-ti* / *sejg-* (§ 628 p. 164). Lith. *sprēndžiu* 'I grasp with the hand' (*sprēstñ*) O.C.Sl. *prēda* 'I spin' (*prēstñ*) beside Lith. *sprindis* m. 'span' Lett. *spraidis* 'place where one stands in a narrow compass' *debes-spraislis* 'vault of heaven' O.H.G. *spreiten* 'stretch out, separate, part asunder'. Lith. *pa-si-gendū* 'I miss' O.C.Sl. *žēžda* 'I desire, thirst' for *\*žēd-iñ* beside Lith. *gaidžiu* 'I desire' Goth. *gáido* n. 'lack' O.H.G. *gīt* 'eagerness, greed, avarice'. Lith. *stėng-iu* 'I apply my strength to something' beside *stūkstū* 'I congeal, get stiff' Gr. *στέγω* (§ 635 p. 173). Lith. *mėz-ñ*<sup>2)</sup> 'mingo' (*mžėñ* *mžstñ*) Lett. *mīf-nu* for *\*menz-nū* beside Lett. *mīschu* for *\*mīnz-iñ* (§ 635 p. 173) Lat. *ming-ō* Lith. *mžė* f. 'cunnus' *mžė-iu-s* 'penis', / *meigñ*. O.C.Sl. *glēžda* (inf. *glēdēti*) and *glēdaju* (inf. *glēdati*) 'I look, gaze' beside Mid.H.G. *glinze* 'I shine, glitter' (prot. new formation *glanz*) O.H.G. *glīzu* O.Sax. *glītu* 'I glitter' / *ghlejd-*. O.C.Sl. *reḡna* 'hisco' (*raḡñ* 'jest', subst.) beside Lat. *ringor ric-tu-s*. If the Baltic forms stood alone, the explanation would be easy; we might say that the analogy of *renk-* : *rink-* etc. produced *senk-* *menz-* beside *sink-* *minz-*; compare what is said above on *drēs-ñ*. But this explanation does not suit

1) The fact that we find *krēf-* and not *črēf-* is not sufficient to prove that the ground-form of *krēf-* is the weak grade *\*grut-*. Such a form must have become Slav. *\*krīat-*, as *\*dhḡus-* becomes Lith. *drins-*, and *\*grut-* becomes Lith. *krūt-* (I § 285 p. 227). There never was a form *\*krūt-*, nor yet *\*grūt-*, which Bartholomae suggests as the ground-form of *krēf-* (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 97).

2) Dialectic *minėu* = *\*menžu* (vol. I § 285 Rem., p. 227, is wrong).

the Slavonic forms, because in Slavonic, before consonants, Idg. *in* becomes *i*, but Idg. *u* becomes *u* (I § 219. 4 p. 186).

Remark. Wiedemann's view (Arch. Slav. Phil. x 652 f., Lit. Praes. 58, 168 f.) — that Idg. *in* and *un* before consonants become slav. *i* and *u*, except in final syllables — can hardly be maintained in this connexion, because we have *isto* = Lett. *istots*, *lyko* = Lith. *lūka-s* Pruss. *lunka-u* and *smrūd-ṛ* (see below). Nor is Streitberg's attempt satisfactory (Idg. Forsch., i 283 f.). Perhaps the problem may be solved thus. We may suppose that originally *in* and *un* always became *i* and *u*; but that later, when *in* and *un* were again produced in any way before consonants, the *e* became *ṛ* and *ṛ*. We may suppose that *sink-* first became *\*silk-*, and afterwards, as the principle of Class XVI still remained active, the nasal crept into the stem anew; compare (say) Gr. Att. *ῥέρεμι* for *\*ferēmi*, which took the place of pr. Gr. *\*ferēmi* (= Ion. *ῥέρεμι*) for orig. *\*fer-rē-mi* (I § 565 p. 422). Similarly *budṛ* may come from *\*bhū-dhō* or *\*bhū-dō*, and may have got its nasal only at a late stage of protoethic Slavonic; though it may equally well be derived from *\*bhū-ā-dhō* or *-dō* attracted into the nasal class, or from *\*bhūon-dhō* or *-dō* regarded as an extension of a form *\*bhū-onō* (cp. § 701). Furthermore, for the 3rd pl. *smrūd-ṛā* beside *smrūd-i-nā*, etc. we may assume that the old ending *\*-inf(i)* (cp. part. *smrūd-ṛi* Lith. *smrūd- -inf-*) first lost its nasal, and then recovered it by analogy of *imāṭā* 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. *nažda* 'compulsion, force, necessity' I connect with Skr. *nāth- nāth-* 'to be oppress, in need of help'; *tapā* 'blunt, dull', with *stump- stamb-* in O.H.G. *stumpf*, Lith. *stambūs* 'coarse' *stamba-s* 'stump'; *deyā* 'force, strength' is to be connected with *deyā* 'cord, strap, bridle' (Miklosich, Et. Wort., p. 49 a), and with O.H.G. *gi-zengi* 'reaching to, touching close' and Skr. *dayh-* 'to reach' (§ 634 p. 171).

### Class XVII.

The Root *-ney-* *-nn-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 638. *-ney-* is the strong form of the suffix; *-nn-*, *-ny-* and *-nuy-* the weak forms. *-nuy-* follows a root with final consonant, cp. 3rd pl. Skr. *as-nue-anti* Gr. *ar-rī-dai* as contrasted with Skr. *ei-ne-anti*, I § 153 p. 138.

Beside *-ney-* *-nn-*, Aryan has *-anan-* *-anu-*. See § 596. 3, pages 137 f.

The Root Syllable had originally the weak grade, except in Skr. *daś-ṇō-ti* Gr. *δεκα-ῥύ-μετρο-ς*.

§ 639. Pr. Idg. \**ṛ-ney-* \**ṛ-ney-*, √ *er-*: Skr. *ṛ-ṇō-mi* 'I excite, set moving' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ṛ-ṇu-mās* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ṛ-ṇv-ānti* mid. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ṛ-ṇu-tē*, conj. *ṛ-ṇāc-a-t*, opt. *ṛ-ṇu-yā-t*; Gr. *ὀρ-ῥύ-μι* 'I excite, disturb, startle' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ὀρ-ῥύ-μεν* (*ὀρ* = *ṛ*). — With thematic vowel: Skr. *ṛ-ṇv-ā-ti*.

\**ṛ-ney-*: Skr. *ṛ-ṇō-mi* 'I fall in with something, reach, attain', Armen. *ar-nu-m* 'I take', Gr. *ἀρ-ῥύ-μαι* 'I attain, earn'. Perhaps identical with the previous verb. *ἀρ-ῥύ-μαι* as regards the grade of its root vowel would stand to *ὀρ-ῥύ-μι* as *τε-ῥύ-μεναι* to *τί-ῥύ-νται*, and Skr. *stṛ-ṇō-mi* to Gr. *στρόφ-ῥύ-μι* (see below).

\**stṛ-ney-* \**stṛ-ney-*, √ *ster-* 'sternere': Skr. *stṛ-ṇō-mi*, Gr. *στρόφ-ῥύ-μι*.

\**pstṛ-ney-*, √ *pster-* 'sneeze': Gr. *πύρ-ῥύ-ται*, cp. Lat. thematic *ster-nu-ō* (*sternūtāre*).

\**ty-ney-*, √ *ten-* 'stretch, lengthen': Skr. *ta-ṇō-mi* Gr. *τά-ῥύ-ται*.

\**sy-ney-*, √ *sen-* 'reach a goal, attain, end, complete'. Skr. *sa-ṇō-mi*, Gr. *ἀ-ῥύ-μι* *ῥ-ῥύ-το* (the regular spir. asp. appears in *ἀ-ῥύ-ω* and elsewhere). — Thematic: Gr. *ἄρω* *ἄρω* for \**ἄ-ῥύ-ω*.

\**gi-ney-*, √ *gej-* 'pay a penalty' etc.: Skr. *ci-ṇō-mi*, Gr. inf. *τε-ῥύ-μεναι*, also with *i* mid. *τί-ῥύ-νται*. — Thematic: Skr. *ci-ṇv-a-ti*, Gr. *τίρω* *τίρω* for \**τε-ῥύ-ω*.

\**mi-ney-*, √ *mej-* 'lessen': Skr. *mi-ṇō-mi*, cp. Gr. *μ-ῥύ-θω* (§ 694), Lat. *mi-nu-ō*.

Skr. *kṣi-ṇō-mi* 'I destroy', cp. Gr. *φθι-ῥύ-θω* (§ 694), thematic *φθίρω* *φθίρω* for \**φθι-ῥύ-ω*.

\**ghi-ney-*, √ *ghej-*: Skr. *hi-ṇō-mi* 'I set in motion, drive on', cp. thematic Skr. *hi-ṇv-a-ti*, Goth. *du-ginna* 'I begin'. This comparison I regard as more likely than Bugge's (P.-B. Beitr., xii 405 f.). This scholar, followed by several others, has compared the Germanic verb with O.C.Sl. *na-čīna-* (cp. Rick. Work, I<sup>4</sup> 382).

\**dhu-ney-*, \**dhā-ney-*, √ *dhey-*: Skr. *dhu-nō-mi dhā-nō-mi* 'I shake, shatter', cp. Gr. *θέω* and *θρίω* 'I move wildly, storm' (§ 652).

\**dhys-ney-*, √ *dhyes-* 'be bold, dare': Skr. *dhys-ṛā-mi* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *dhys-ṛā-anti*, O.Sax. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. \**durnum* (inferred from the later sing. *darn* conj. *dārne*) = (Goth. \**daúr-z-nu-m* (§ 646).

\**dāḥ-ney-*, √ *dek-* (Skr. *daśas-yā-ti* 'shows honour, is gracious or pleasant', Gr. Hom. *δέξ-αί-αίω δέξ-α-μαι* § 560 p. 110, Lat. *decus*): Skr. *dāś-nō-mi* 'I pay homage to', Gr. Hom. *δέκ-ει-μενός* 'paying homage, greeting' (so read, with J. Wackernagel, in Il. 9. 196, Od. 4. 59). The same grade of vowel as in Skr. *dāś-ti dāś-vās-* Hom. *δέκαστορος*, and other words.

\**yes-ney-*, stem \**y-es-* 'put on a garment' (§ 656): Armen. *z-genū-m* 'I dress', Gr. *ἔρι-μι* (*ἔριμι*).

We often see the same root forming a present both in this class and in Class XII; as Goth. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *kun-nu-m* and Skr. *jā-nā-mi* √ *ḡen-*, Avest. *sri-nao-iti* and O.Sax. *hli-nō-n*, Skr. *stf-ṛā-mi* and *stf-ṛā-mi*, *mī-nō-mi* and *mī-nā-mi*.

§ 640. Aryan. √ *ger-* 'make': Skr. *kṛ-ṛā-mi* Avest. *ker'-nao-mi* Skr. *kṛ-ṛ-anti* Avest. *ker'-no-anti*, pret. Skr. *á-kṛ-ṇac-am* O.Pers. *a-kā-ṇav-am*<sup>1)</sup> Skr. *á-kṛ-ṛā-t* Avest. *ker'-nao-p*, conj. Skr. *kṛ-ṛā-āni* Avest. *ker'-nao-āni*, opt. Skr. *kṛ-ṛu-yā-t* Avest. *ker'-nu-yā-p*; — thematic Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *á-kṛ-ṛ-ā-ta*<sup>2)</sup> Skr. *ṛ-ṛā-mi* 'I hide, cover, enfold' imper. *ṛ-ṛu-hi* Avest. *re'-nā-iti*; also Skr. *ār-ṛā-mi* for \**eār-ṛā-mi* pr. Ar. \**ṛ-nay-mi* (f. § 157 p. 141, § 306 pp. 241 ff.), like Gr. *σείω-ει-μι* beside Skr. *stf-ṛā-mi*, Skr. *dhā-nō-mi* beside *dhu-nō-mi*: — thematic Avest. *re'-no-a-iti*. Skr. *ta-nō-mi* 'I stretch, lengthen' (§ 659 p. 177), conj. Ved. *ta-nāp-a* Avest. *ta-nac-a*, opt. mid. Skr. *ta-nv-īy-ā* Avest. *tannya* i. e. *ta-ne-īy-a*

1) For *ker-*, see I § 288, p. 230.

2) For Skr. *ker-ā-ti keru-tha* J. Wackernagel offers a very likely conjecture (Kuhn's *Jahrbuchblatt*, III 55 f.). He suggests that *kṛ-ṛ-ā-ti* became in vulgar speech *kay-ā- kape-*, and these became *ker-ā-ker-* by analogy of the other forms of the verb, which all had *r*.

(§ 940). Skr. *i-ñō-ti* 'subdues, forces' Avest. *i-nao-iti*, doubtless akin to Gr. *αἰ-ρῶ-μαι* 'I grasp, take'; — thematic Skr. *i-nv-a-ti*. Avest. *sri-nao-iti* 'bends, directs somewhere', √ *klej-*. Skr. *su-ñō-ti* 'presses out', 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *á-su-nu-ta* Avest. *hu-nā-ta*; — thematic Avest. imper. mid. *hu-nv-a-rouha* (= Skr. *\*su-nv-a-sva*). Skr. *dhṛṣ-ñō-ti* 'dares', √ *dhers-*, § 639 p. 178. Skr. *aś-ñō-ti* 'reaches' Avest. *aś-nao-iti*, ground-form *\*ñk-ney-ti*, opt. Skr. *aś-nu-yā-t* Avest. *aś-nu-yā-ō*. Skr. *śak-ñō-mi* 'I can'.

In Skr. *kṣ-ñāu-ti* 'whets' partic. *kṣ-ñuv-ānā-s* from √ *qes-* (II § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20), the root has ceased to be a separate syllable; compare perhaps Lat. *novā-cula*, first for *\*s-ney-ā-* (Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 419, 470). *au* instead of *ō* arose as in *ārñāu-ti* (beside *ār-ñō-ti*) by analogy of such a present as *stāu-ti*, see § 484 p. 55. The diphthong was regarded as part of the root proper, hence *kṣñu-tā-* (Avest. *hu-xñnu-ta-* 'well sharpened') *kṣñō-tra-* and *ārñu-tya-* *-ārñatana-* (similar forms in Greek, see § 643 p. 183).

§ 641. Strong suffix instead of weak; Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *á-kṛñō-ta* *kṛñō-ta* instead of *á-kṛñu-ta* *kṛñu-tā*, *hinō-ta* *hinō-tam* instead of *hinu-tā* *hinu-tām*, Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *srinao-ta* (O.Pers. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *a-kūnav-a* *á-kūnav-atā* I regard as thematic, see § 649). Compare Skr. *grbhñā-hi* instead of *grbhñt-hi*, and like forms § 600 p. 143. Vice versa, Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *ker'nāi-ši* contrasted with Skr. *kṛñō-ši*.

The strong stem occurs along with the weak in thematic conjugation; e. g. Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. pret. act. *ker'-nav-ō*. On this matter, refer to §§ 648 and 649.

In the 1<sup>st</sup> plural and dual, *-nu-* may drop its *-u-* before the personal ending, unless the root ends in a consonant; *kṛñmās* *kṛñōs* *kṛñmāhē* *kṛñvāhē* beside *kṛñu-mās* etc. *sintmās* beside *sunu-mās* etc. (but only *aś-nu-mās* *aś-nu-vās* etc.). The first trace of this new development is one example in Veda, *kṛñmahē*. It is possible enough that *kṛñvānti* : *áśnuvānti* suggested *kṛñvās* (instead of *kṛñuvas*) beside *áśnuvas*; or that *kṛñuvas* became *kṛñvās* naturally (cp. Wackernagel, Kuhn's Litteraturbl. III 56), which

produced *kṛmās* by analogy. If *kṛnōs* did arise by regular change, the variant *kṛnōs* must have been restored on the analogy of *kṛnūnās*, as *kṛnmas* was coined on the analogy of *kṛnōs*. However, some influence must have been exerted by the relation of *kurmās kurvās kurmāhē kurvāhē* to *kuruthā kuruthās kurudhvē*. *kurmās* is as early as the Rig-Veda, and \**kurumās* \**kuruvas* never seem to have existed at all. I would suggest that the forms with *kur-* are due to the analogy of the opt. aor. *kuryā-t* mid. \**kurī-tā-* (cp. *vurī-ta murīy-a*); and it would be all the easier to understand how the stems *kur-* and *kuru-* = *kṛnu-* (p. 178 footnote 2) came to be confused, if the imperative *kuru* represents not only orig. *kṛnu*, but a form \**qrr-* + the particle *u* (cp. the particle *-na* in Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. imper. *bara-nā* § 600 Rem. p. 143). Compare the references given to explain *kurmās* in § 498 p. 57.

Remark. Moulton (Am. Journ. Phil., x 288) thinks that *-n-* in forms such as *kṛ-ṇ-mā* is the weak form of *-nā-* (Class XII), and compares Avest. *ser-n-tē*. But if only he could point to a Sanskrit example of *-n-* instead of *-ni-* in Class XII!

2<sup>nd</sup> sing. Ved. *śṛ-ṇv-i-ṣē* (beside *śṛ-ṇō-ti* 'hears') is an ad-formate of 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *śṛ-ṇv-i-re*, cp. *jajā-i-ṣē* beside *jajā-i-rē* (§ 574 p. 115).

On the strong root of Skr. *ap-ṇō-mi*, see § 600 p. 144; for that of Skr. *daś-ṇō-mi*, § 639 p. 178.

Reduplicated: Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *as-aš-nu-tā* beside *aš-nao-iti* § 640 (Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 309).

§ 642. Armenian. Verbs in *-nu-m* (sing. *-nu-m -nu-s -nu* pl. *-nu-mē -nuē -nu-n*).

*ar-nu-m* 'I take' (aor. *ar-i*): Skr. *ṛ-ṇō-mi* etc., see § 639 p. 177. *fer-nu-m* 'I warm myself, get warm, glow' (cp. *fer-m* 'warm' = Gr. *θέρμω-ς*): Skr. *ghṛ-ṇō-mi* (gramm.). *l-nu-m* 'I fill', ground-form \**plē-nu-*, cp. Lat. *plē-nu-s*. *ait-nu-m* 'I swell', cp. Gr. *οἰδάω* 'I swell'. *tañ-nu-m* 'I hide myself', cp. Gr. *πρῆσσω* 'I bow, bend'.

*z-genum* 'I dress myself' (*z-* is a prefix) for *\*ges-nu-* (I § 561 p. 417): Gr. *ἐννύμι* (*ἐννύμι*), see § 639 p. 178.

§ 643. Greek. *-vū-*, which we see in the strong persons of the singular, seems to have pushed out Idg. *-nem-*, because of the analogy of the forms *-vā-*: *-vā-* (Class XII), cp. § 480 p. 29, on *ὑμεναίον* beside *ὑμεναῖω*. Even if we supposed that *-vū-* represents Idg. *-nā-*, a weak grade, used along with *-nu-*, we should have to assume that the forms had followed *-vā-*: *-vā-*; and Avest. *-nā-* is not sufficient evidence for an Idg. *-nā-*. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl., *-vū-anti* (instead of *\*-vū-enti* = Skr. *-nuv-anti*, see § 1021.3) seems to have become regular quite early; once there were in use such forms as *\*ti-vf-anti* *\*ti-vf-enti* = Skr. *ci-nv-ánti* (cp. § 638 p. 177); as to Ion. *ἀγνῶσι* Att. *ἀγνῶνται*, see §§ 1020.2 and 1065.2.

Besides the forms mentioned in § 639 — *ῥο-νῦ-μι*, *ἄρ-νῦ-μαι*, *σφόρ-νῦ-μι*, *πτάρ-νῦ-μαι*, *τά-νῦ-μαι*, *ἄ-νῦ-μι*, *τι-νῦ-μεναι* *τί-νῦ-νται* — there are yet others with weak-grade vowels in the root syllable. *θάρ-νῦ-μαι* in Hesychius (*-αρ-* = *-j-*) and *θόρ-νῦ-μαι* (*-ορ-* = *-j-*) 'I leap, cover (of animals)' (I § 306 p. 241). *κί-νῦ-μαι* 'I move myself'. Cret. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *πι-δix-νῦ-τι* = Att. *ἐπι-δείκνυται* (on *πι-*, see the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 219) *✓deik-*. *οἶγνῦμι* 'I open' Hom. *ὠ-(f)ίγ-νῦ-ντο* beside Lesb. inf. *ὀ-είγ-ην*, originally 'I make yield', beside O.H.G. *withku* 'I yield, give way'. *μίγ-νῦ-μι* 'I mix' beside fut. *μείξω*, *✓meik-* *meig-*. *ὀμόργ-νῦ-μι* 'I wipe' for *\*mǝrg-*, *✓merg-*. *ἄχ-νῦ-μαι* 'I am grieved, troubled', beside Goth. *un-agands* 'not fearing' *ǝg* 'I fear'. An old form with strong root (third strong grade) is Hom. *δῆκ-νῦ-μενος* 'doing honour to, reverencing, greeting', see § 639 p. 178. Greek new formations with a strong root-form are *ῥέγ-νῦ-μι* 'I reach, stretch out' *✓reg-*, *δείκ-νῦ-μι* 'I show' beside Cret. *πι-δix-νῦ-τι*, *ζεύγ-νῦ-μι* 'I bind' *✓jeug-*, *πήγ-νῦ-μι* 'I fix' *✓pak-* *pag-* and others. Ion. *δέκ-νῦ-μι* 'I show', coming, as we may conjecture, from a *✓dek-*, but in use finally confused with *δείκ-νῦ-μι* (cp. Fick, Wtb. I<sup>4</sup> 66). *ὀμνῦ-μι* 'I swear' beside *ὄμο-* (*ὀμώ-σσα* *ὀμώ-της*), *ὀλλῦ-μι* 'I destroy' for *\*ὀλ-νῦ-μι*



(I § 204 p. 170) beside *ὀλε-* (*ὀλέ-σαι*), like *δάμ-νῃ-μι* beside *δαμα-*, *κάμ-νω* beside *καμα-* (§ 602 p. 144).

The place of (Ion.) *ἐννῦμι* 'I clothe' for \**ἑ-σσ-νῦ-μι* = Armen. *z-gennu-m* (§ 639 p. 178) was in Attic taken by a new form *ἐννῦμι*; see I § 565 pp. 422 f. The following are forms of the same kind: *σβέννῦμι* 'I quench, stop' for earlier *ζεινῦμι* i. e. *ζεδέννῦμι* (Hesych.)<sup>1)</sup> from a stem \**zg-es-* √ *seg-*, cp. aor. Hom. *οβέσ-σαι*: *βδέννῦμαι* (gramm.) beside *βδ-έω* 'pedo' aor. *βδ-έσαι* for \**βδ-εσ-*, earlier \**βεδ-εσ-*, √ *ped-* 'pedere' (cp. § 661). Further, *ζώνῦμι* 'I gird'<sup>2)</sup> beside *ζωσ-τήρ* Idg. *j-ḡs-* (§ 656). On the model of these were made *κορέννῦμι* 'I satisfy', *περάννῦμι* 'I spread', *ρεώνῦμι* 'I strengthen', *στρώννῦμι* 'I strew, spread' and others; and the analogy of *ἡμφί-εσα -εσμαι*: *ἀμφι-έννῦμι* gave rise to *κορέννῦμι* beside *ἐκόρεσα* *κεκόρεσμαι*, etc.

A present \**πí-νῦ-μι* is represented by *πινυμένην* *συνετήν* Hesych., compare *πι-νυ-τό-ς* 'enlightened, sensible' *πινύσσω* *πίνυσ-ς*. This, along with *νη-πέ-τιο-ν* 'senseless, under age, minor' and *νήπιος* (same meaning) for \**νη-πí-τιο-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-ḥ* 'pure', § 907). But *πινυ-* does not come from \**πυ-νυ-* (I § 48 p. 41); the ground-form was \**py-i-nu-*, having the same determinative *y* as we see in Ital. \**py-i-jo-s* (Osc. *piſhiúſ* Lat. *pin-s*, see Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr. II 185) Skr. *pav-I-tár-*, and in Gr. *πίρ* Umbr. *pir* O.H.G. *fuir* 'fire'. It follows that \**πίνῦμι*: Skr. *pu-nd-mi* = Skr. *r-i-nṛa-ti* Gr. *ῥέπρω*: Skr. *γ-ηδ-τι* Gr. *ῥε-νῦ-μι* (cp. § 596. 4 p. 138).

1) Hesychius has *ζεινόμεν* *σβέννόμεν* which is emended to *ζεινόμεν*. 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 *ζεινόμεν* in the text should be marked with an asterisk.

2) It is quite possible that Att. *ἑπο-ζώνερα* [.] C.I.A. I 77. 9 (second half of the 5th cent. B.C.) may represent the regular form (cp. *ἑζόμενοι*, Meisterhans, Gr.<sup>2</sup>, p. 148).

*λάττωμαι* beside *λάττωμαι* 'I take, seize, *κτείνω* beside *κτείνω* 'I slay' (for *\*κτεν-ω*) are due to the analogy of *τίνωμαι* *τίνωμαι* (for *\*τι-νῶ-ο-μαι*): *τίνονται* *τινόμεναι*, etc. But *καίνωμαι* 'I surpass, outdo' was formed from *κέκασμαι* because *δέδασμαι* has *δαλ-νῶ-μαι* (§ 707).

On thematic forms in *-νῶ* see § 652. As regards those in *-νῶ*, as *τανύω* *δυνύω* *στρωνύω*, found in the Homeric dialect and in Attic more and more often from the 4<sup>th</sup> century B. C. onwards, it is doubtful whether they represent pr. Idg. verbs in *-nuṃ-ō*, which may have been used side by side with *-nu-ō* as in the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Skr. *aś-nu-ánti* Gr. *ἄγ-νῶ-σαι* beside Skr. *ci-nu-ánti*. They may equally well be a new formation peculiar to Greek.

From *τάνυμαι* *τανύω* *γάνυμαι*, whose structure was less clear to the consciousness of those who used them than was that of *ὄρνυμι* *ἄγ-νῶ-μι* and words of that sort, were formed *τανύσσαι* *τιτάννσται* *γανύσσειται* and so forth on the analogy of *ἐρύσσαι* *εἰρύνσται* *ἐρύσσειται* beside the pres. *ἐρύμηναι* *ἐρύω* 'I draw, pull'. Compare Skr. partic. *kṣpu-tá-s* from *kṣ-ṇá-ti*, fut. *aśnuviṣya-tē* from *aś-nó-mi* *áṣ-ja*, *arṇu-tya* from *ar-ṇá-ti* (§ 640 p. 179), and Greek itself *δινα-τό-ς* *ἰδενησάμεν* from *δύ-να-μαι* (§ 602 p. 145).

For *μινύθω* *φθινύθω*, see § 694.

§ 644. Italic. Only thematic forms occur in this branch; see § 649. An undoubted relic of *-ney-* is *nov-a-cula*, if it is to be connected with Skr. *kṣ-ṇá-ti* (§ 640 p. 179).

Remark. Job (Mém. Soc. Ling. VI 353 f.) offers a very dubious suggestion, that in Latin present stems in *nu-* came directly from those in *-no-*: he says *\*tol-nu-nus* *\*tol-nu-tis* lead at once to *\*tolnimus* *\*tolnitis* (*tollimus* *tollitis*), whence by complementary analogy *tollō*.

§ 645. Keltic. Not one of the original forms is preserved. On O.Ir. *ro-chluiniur* 'I hear' (beside Avest. *srnaoiti*), 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 *\*ḡn-nu-*

*-mes* (cp. p. 86 footnote 2) as contrasted with Skr. *jā-ni-mās*, Class XII; the parallel weak form Goth. *uf-kunna* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *-kunndi-þ* is a new formation from *kann kunnum* on the analogy of *vita vitdi-þ* to *vāt vitum*. Low Germ. *darn* 'I dare' conj. *dārne* gives ground for assuming an O.Sax. *\*durnum* Goth. *\*dairz-nu-m* (I § 582 p. 434) = Skr. *dhṛṣ-ṇu-mās*. O.H.G. *unnum* 'we grant' ground-form *\*ṇ-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. *προς-ηνής* 'inclined' *ἀπ-ηνής* 'disinclined'. As these plurals appeared to be of the same kind as the preterite-present, they were conjugated in the same way. Thus arose, by analogy of the singular, Goth. *kann* O.H.G. *kan*, Low Germ. *darn* O.H.G. *an*. The same principle is neatly used by Kluge (Paul's Grundr. I 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. *tyṛ-ṇu-mās*; 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.

§ 648. Side by side with *-nuo-* we meet with *-enyo-* and *-ṇyo-*; see § 596 pp. 137 f.

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. *ā-ky-ṇv-a-ta* as Gr. *δ-νε(ν)-ε* to *ἄ-νvv-ε*. And just as Skr. *ay-a-* is at once indicative (*āy-a-tē*, cp. Lat. *es*), and conjunctive to an indie. of Class I (*āy-a-t āy-a-ti* conj. of *ē-ti*), so Ar. *ky-*

-*nav-a-* is also conjunctive to an indic. of Class XVII (Skr. *kṛ-nāv-a-t* conj. of *kṛ-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-*.

Aryan. Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. pret. act. *ker'-nav-ō* imper. *ker'-nav-a-*, O.Pers. pret. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. act. *a-kā-nav-a* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. mid. *a-kā-nav-atā* (i. e. -*a-ntā*), cp. indic. Skr. *kṛ-nō-mi* 'I make'; conj. Skr. *kṛ-nāv-a-t* *kṛ-nāv-a-tha* Avest. *ker'-nav-a-ō* O.Pers. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *kā-nav-a-hy*. O.Pers. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. imper. *var-nav-a-tām* conj. *var-nar-a-tiy* beside Avest. *ver'-nv-a-itē* 'believes' (B). Compare the conj. Skr. *aś-nav-a-tha* Avest. *aś-nav-a-ō* beside Skr. *aś-nō-mi* 'I reach', Avest. *sri-nav-a-hi* beside *sri-nao-mi* 'I bend, guide in some direction'.

Greek. It has been usual to class here forms like *θῆ-νίω* 'I move wildly, storm' beside Skr. *dḥā-nō-ti*, *κί-νέω* 'I move from its place' beside *κί-νν-μαι*, -*νέω* being taken to be for \*-*nef-ω*. But since in all the verbs in question the future, aorist etc. have never -*νευ-*, as one might expect from *πλέω* *ἐπλευσα* and *νέω* *ἐνευσα*, but -*νη-* always, and since Lesbian makes the present of them end in -*νημι* (imper. *κίνη* like *φλη*), this explanation is at least improbable. I derive -*εω* from *εγω* in every case. See § 801.

Italic. Lat. *minuō* and *sternuō*, which are connected with Skr. *mi-nō-mi* Gr. *μινύ-θω* and Gr. *πτάρ-νν-μαι* (§ 639 p. 177), can by rule be derived from \*-*nev-ō* (I § 172.1 p. 152). But Osc. *menyum* '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 *minūtū-s* are ad-formates of *statuī* *statūtū-s*: *statuō*.

Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *mi-nujā* beside *mi-nā* 'I go past, pass by, flow by', and partic. pret. pass *kos-novenū* 'touched' from pres. *kos-nā*, point to an older present inflexion -*novā* -*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. *τίνω* Att. *τίνω* for \**ti-vf-ω* beside Skr. *ci-nō-mi* Gr. infin. *τι-νί-μεναι* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *τί-νυνται*, § 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. *ῥίνω* Lesb. *ῥίρνω* 'I set in motion' for \**ῥi-vf-ω* (the initial has perhaps been influenced by a word from the same root, *ῥρ-νῶ-μι*, ground-form \**ṛ-nu-*, to which it stands related as Hom. *ῥίνω* to Cret. *ῥύρω*, see §§ 652 and 801), Goth. *ri-nna* 'I overflow' pr. Germ. \**ri-ny-ō* (cp. however for the Germanic word § 654 p. 188).

With *-eny-o-* for the suffix (§ 596.3 pp. 137 f.), \**sp-eny-e-ti* from √ *spē-* *spō-* 'bring onwards, stretch' (Lat. *spēs spatium* etc.): Avest. *spēnva-ḥ* 'proficiebat' = pr. Ar. \**spanya-t*, O.H.G. *spinnu* 'I spin' (cp. O.H.G. *spannu* = \**spō-ny-ō* § 654).

§ 651. Aryan. Skr. *ṛ-nvā-ti ci-nva-ti hi-nva-ti ā-kr-nva-ta i-nvā-ṣi ri-nva-ti*, Avest. *ver'-nva-iti hu-nva-rouha* see §§ 639, 640, 641, and 650. Skr. *pi-nva-ti* 'swells, makes abound' beside partic. mid. *pi-nv-ānā-s* Avest. *fra-pinao-iti* 'swells, spreads' (intr.). Skr. *ji-nva-ti* 'sets in motion, pushes on, hastens' beside *ji-nō-mi*. Skr. imper. mid. *du-nva-sva* beside *du-nō-mi* 'I burn'.

Sometimes Sanskrit, like Germanic, has a verb which carries the suffix of the present through the whole verbal system; as *pīnva-ti*: *pīpīnva pīnvayati*, *jīnvati*: *jīnvīṣya-ti jīnvi-tā-s*.

Observe the different accent of 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *hīnva-nti*, and *hinv-ānti* in Class XVII.

Containing the suffix *-enyo-*. Avest. *spēnva-ḥ* 'proficiebat': O.H.G. *spinnu*, see § 650; Avest. *xwanva-inti* 'they drive on' *xwēnva-ḥ* pr. Ar. \**xy-anya-*, beside *hu-nao-iti hu-na-iti*.

§ 652. Greek. On the treatment of *-vf-* in the following words, see I § 186 p. 146. *ἄνω ἄνω* for \**ā-vf-ω*, *τίνω τίνω* for \**ti-vf-ω*, *ῥίνω ῥίνω* for \**ṛi-vf-ω*, *ῥίρνω ῥίρνω* for \**ṛi-vf-ω*, *ῥίρνω ῥίρνω* for \**ṛi-vf-ω*, see §§ 639, 650. *ῥιάνω ῥιάνω* 'I anticipate' for

\**qḡa-vfω*, beside *qḡá-mvo-ς*. *ῥίνω* Lesb. *ῥίνω* 'I eddy' for \**ῥί-vfω*, beside Skr. *ḍī-ya-ti* 'flies' Lett. *ḍī-ju di-t* 'to dance', cp. *ῥίvo-ς ῥίτη* Lesb. *ῥίτω* for \**ῥί-vfo-ς ῥί-vfá*. Hom. *ἄῤίρω* 'I lead, bring' beside *ἄγω* Cret. *ἄγνέω* has the same root-determinative as *ῥῥίνω* (on this determinative, which is contained in Skr. *āj-āi-ṣ*, see § 498 p. 61); and therefore *ἄῤίρω* too must be derived from \*-*vfω*; on the bye-form *ἄῤνέω*, see § 801. With *ῥῥίρω ἄῤίρω ἄῤνέω* compare the Hesychian glosses *ῥῥίω* ἐπεσβέννυεν and *ῥῥίω* ἐπεσβέννυεν, which point to \**zg-ī-* as variant stem to \**zg-es-* (§ 643 p. 182). Whether Homer's *ῥύνω* 'I move wildly, storm', represent orig. \**dḡā-myō* or \**dḡā-nō -n-īō*, Class XIII (cp. Skr. *dḡā-nō-ti dḡu-nō-ti dḡu-nā-ti*) cannot be decided; in the former case *ῥύvo-ς* 'fury, impetus' should be compared with *ῥίvo-ς* for \**di-myō-s* (see above); for *ῥύνέω ῥίνέω* see § 801.

Hom. *κίχάνω* Att. *κίχάνω* 'I reach, overtake' for \*-*avfω* beside *κί-χη-μι* (§ 594 p. 135). *κίχάνω* has the first syllable nasalised because, after *f* had gone, the analogy of verbs like *θίγγάνω* could act upon it (§ 621 p. 158, § 631 p. 168). Hom. *ίχάνω* 'I arrive, reach' for \**ixavfω*, bye-form *ίχνέομαι* (§ 801). Both of these present stems may be regarded as ad-formates of \**qḡavfω* (*qḡάνω qḡάνω*), because they all had something of the same meaning: on the analogy of *qḡήσομαι* to *qḡάνω*, *κίχάνω* was formed working backwards from *κίχίσομαι*, and afterwards *ίχάνω*. But there was another suffix -*myō* before Greek became a separate language; and this would become regularly pr. Gr. -*avfω* (the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> § 21. 3 p. 41), see § 596. 3 p. 138.

The suffix is -*enyo-* in Corcyr. *ξίνοfo-ς*, whence Lesb. *ξίνοfo-ς* Ion. *ξίνοfo-ς* Att. *ξίνοfo-ς* (I § 166 p. 146), since this word seems to have the same root as Lat. *hos-tis* and Goth. *gas-t-s*; see § 596. 3 and 6, pp. 138 and 140.

§ 653. Italic. Lat. *mī-nu-ō*, Osc. *menvum* 'minvere', see § 649 p. 185.

§ 654. Germanic. Goth. *du-ginna* O.H.G. *bi-ginnu* 'I begin', see § 639 p. 177, § 650 p. 186. Goth. *af-kinna*

'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-nua* 'I suffer, feel pain, worry', O.H.G. *gi-winnu* 'I reach something with trouble, win' (cp. O.H.G. *winna* 'strife'), beside Skr. *vā-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 -gann -gunnum -gunnans*.

O.H.G. *ba-nnu* 'I order, command on pain and penalty, summon' (cp. O.H.G. *ban*, gen. *bannes* 'command enforced by pains and penalties' A.S. *bann* 'ban, banns, proclamation', ground-form \**bha-nyō*, √ *bha- bha-*, cp. Armen. *ba-na-m* § 601 p. 144, Gr. *gairō* for \**γα-viō* § 611 p. 150. O.H.G. *spa-nnu* 'I stretch, widen, spread, I am anxious and excited', ground-form \**spō-nyō*, √ *spō- spō-*, cp. O.H.G. *spa-nu* 'I entice, charm' (§ 614 p. 152) and O.H.G. *sp-innu* (see below). The preterites *bian spian* follow *hialt : haltu* and such like forms.

Containing the suffix *-enyo-* (§ 596. 3 p. 138). O.H.G. *sp-innu* 'I spin': Avest. *spēnva-ō*, see § 650 p. 186; a variant form is *spannu* = \**spō-nyō*, for which see just above. O.H.G. *tr-innu* 'I separate from, part, depart from' ground-form \**dr-enyō*, √ *der-* 'split' (Skr. *dy-nd-ti*).

The existence of the two variants *-nyō-* and *-enyo-* 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. *rinva-ti* (§ 650 p. 186), we may assume \**r-enyō* for its original form, which would bring it closer to Skr. *r-nv-d-ti*. *brinna* may come from \**bhr-enyō*, as it is akin to Lat. *fer-mentu-m ferreō* O.Ir. *ber-bain* '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-u* 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'.

## E. CLASSES XIX TO XXI.

PRESENT STEMS WITH *-s-*.)

§ 655. A large number of verb classes have an *s* suffixed to the root. These are both thematic and non-thematic.

(1) Non-Thematic Stems: Skr. *dvē-ṣ-ti* 'hates' (cp. Avest. *dvaeṣ-pa* 'terror' Gr. Hom. *δέ-δδι-μεν* or *δέ-δτι-μεν* 'we fear'), Skr. aor. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *á-tq-s-mahi* (✓ *ten-* 'stretch'), Skr. *v-ds-tē* 'dresses' (✓ *ey-*, Lat. *ex-uo*), Gr. *ῥέει* i. e. *ῥ-φειδ-ισ-α* Idg. \**es-ny*, Skr. *á-vēd-iṣ-am*. (2) Thematic Stems: O.H.G. *diu-su* 'I pull, tear', Skr. *á-ta-tq-sa-t* 'he tore, set in motion by force' (✓ *ten-*), Skr. desid. *ji-gā-sa-ti* (✓ *gem-* 'go'), Skr. *tr-dsa-ti* 'trembles' (cp. *tar-alá-s* 'trembling, moving to and fro' Lat. *tr-emō*), Skr. desid. *ji-gam-iṣa-ti* (✓ *gem-*). From these develop extensions of the *-s-* suffix, which themselves run through large groups: *-s-jo-* *-es-jo-*, fut. Skr. *tq-syd-tē gam-iṣyd-ti*; *-s-ko-*, Lat. *(g)nō-scō* Gr. *γ-γνώ-σκω* (cp. Skr. desid. *ji-jñā-sa-tē*); and others more isolated, as Armen. *z-genum* Gr. *ἐννυμι* (*ἐννυμι*) for \**u-es-ney-* (§ 639 p. 178, § 645 p. 182).

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. *á-ky-ṣ-i* as compared with *ky-ṣ-ē*, *ák-ṣ-i* compared with *ak-ṣa-tē*, *á-myk-ṣa-t* compared with *myk-ṣa-ti*, see §§ 656, 659; compare too Lat. *vīs-t* beside pres. *vīsō* (§ 662); Lat. *aux-t* Lith. 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. injunct. (fut.) *áuks-me -te* beside Gr. *αὐξω* (§ 657). It should further be noticed that a close connexion is often formed with the noun suffix *-es-*, as in Skr. *bhāy-dsa-ti*

1) Compare Per Persson'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. *edriṣa-ti* 'it rains', which he derives from the root of Skr. *edri* 'water, wetness'.



'is afraid' and *bhī-ṣ-aya-tē*, used as causal of *bi-bhē-ti*, beside *bhy-ās- bhiy-ās-* 'fear' instr. *bhīṣ-ā* (§ 658), in Skr. *ūk-ṣa-ti* 'grows strong' (tr. *arjuna* beside Skr. *ōj-as-* 'strength' (§ 657), and in Skr. indic. *ā-jai-ṣ-am* beside inf. *ji-ṣ-ē*, indic. *ṛāj-as-ē* beside infin. *ṛāj-ās-ē*, Gr. *ἰδεῖσθαι* beside infin. *θεῖσθαι*, conj. *ferrem* beside inf. *ferre*, conj. *agerem* beside inf. *agere* (§ 824). 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: o. g. Gr. *ἔ-αβ-εσ-ται ἔ-ξ-εσ-ται αβ-εσ-τό-ς ξ-εσ-τό-ς* stand to *τε-τέλεσ-ται ἡδίσ-ται αἰδ-εσ-τό-ς ἀ-κῆδεσ-τό-ς* related in the same way as *πέ-πλ-η-ται* Dor. *ᾤ-πλ-ᾤ-το-ς* to *τε-τέλε-ται τελε-τό-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 *jo*-class, §§ 747 ff. Stems like *\*y-es-neu-* (*ἔλνευμι*) are discussed under the heading *-neu-*, in §§ 639, 642, and 643.

Since the *s*-aorist 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 f. See §§ 810 ff.

### Class XIX.

Root + *-s-*, *-es-*, or *-es-* 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-tq-s-mahi* Gr. *ἤδ-ε-α* Skr. *ā-vēd-iṣ-am*. Some of them carry the *s*-element right through the verb system.

Skr. *dhē-ṣ-ṣi* 'hates' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *dvi-ṣ-ānti*, Avest. *d'biṣ-enti*, beside Avest. *dvaē-pa* 'terror' Gr. *δfeu-* 'to fear'; — thematic,

Skr. *āvi-ṣa-ti*. Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ā-tvi-ṣ-ur* 'they were excited, amazed' beside Avest. *ḥuyant-* 'terrifying' *ḥuyd-* 'terror'; — thematic, Skr. *ā-tvi-ṣa-ta*, Gr. partic. *αῶν* for \**ai-aw* pres. *aiōn* instead of \**ai-aw* (cp. *ai-aw-rai* etc.), see § 657.

Skr. *v-ds-tē* 'dresses, clothes himself' Avest. *vas-tē*, Gr. *ἐνι-εσ-ται* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *ἐσ-σαι* from *√ey-* Lat. *ex-uo* Lith. *au-nū*.

Avest. *y-ās-ti* 'girds' Lith. *j-ā's-mi* 'I gird' (Att. *ζώνωμι* instead of \**ζωσ-νέ-μι*, § 643 p. 182), Idg. \**j-ōs-ti*, beside Skr. *y-āu-ti* *y-uṇā-ti* 'binds up', like Skr. *r-āsa-ti* 'bellows, howls' beside *r-āu-ti* *r-uṇā-ti*.

Here come a certain number of Vedic middle forms with *-s-* in the present, those which Grassmann has called "double stems": 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *-s-ē* partic. *-s-āna-*. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *kṛ-ṣ-ē* from *kār-ti* 'makes'. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *hi-ṣ-ē* from *hi-nō-ti* 'drives on' partic. *hiy-ānā-s*. 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *stu-ṣ-ē* from *stāu-ti* 'praises' mid. *stu-tē*. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *arcas-ē* from *ārca-ti* 'praises'. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *yajas-ē* from *yāja-ti* 'honours, offers'. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ṛñjas-ē* partic. *ṛñjas-ānā-s* from *ṛñjā-ti*, *√reg-* 'stretch, reach' (Class XVI § 628 p. 165). 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *pu-nī-ṣ-ē* from *pu-nā-ti* 'purifies' mid. *pu-nī-tē*. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *gā-yi-ṣ-ē* from *gā-ya-ti* 'sings'. A similar Avestic form is 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *rānhaṣh-ōi* from *rās-* 'to grant'.

## Class XX.

Root + *-so-* or *-eso-* forming the Present Stem.

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

Pr. Idg. From *√ten-* 'stretch, lengthen out': Skr. *ta-sa-ti* 'tears, sets moving by force' (not actually found), aor. *ā-ta-sa-t* for \**ty-se-* (redupl. *ā-ta-ta-sa-t*), Goth. *at-þinsa* 'I draw towards me', cp. Lith. *tęs-ti* 'I lengthen, stretch' (inf. *tęs-ti*), *uš-tęsa-s* 'a shroud', Lat. *tōn-sa*; cp. aor. Skr. *ā-tā-s-am* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ā-tān*, Gr. *ἔτινα* for \**ti-ter-aa*. From *√bhel-* 'shriek, cry, bellow, bleat, low' (O.C.Sl. *blě-ja*): Skr. *bhāṣa-ti* 'bellows' (I § 259 p. 211), O.H.G. *billu* 'I bellow' (*-ll-* = *-lz-*, I § 582 p. 436),

cp. Lith. *bal-sa-s* 'voice, tone'. From  $\sqrt{tuej-}$  (Avest. *puoyant-*): Skr. *teṣ-ṣa-ti* 'is in violent motion, is amazed' (not actually found), pret. *á-tvi-ṣ-ata*, Gr. *αἶω* 'I shake, shatter, agitate, molest' for *\*αι-σω* (cp. Solmsen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 98), *αιών* for *\*αι-αιών*; cp. Skr. *á-tvi-ṣ-ur* § 656. From  $\sqrt{preu-}$  (Lat. *pruina*): Skr. *plṣ-ṣa-ti* 'burns, sings', O.H.G. *friu-su* 'I freeze, am cold', cp. Lat. *prār-iō*. From  $\sqrt{laq-}$  (Gr. *ἀλ-αλκ-ειν* 'ward off'): Skr. *rak-ṣa-ti* 'guards, saves', Gr. *ἀλέξω* 'I ward off, help'. Connected with Skr. *vajáya-ti* 'strengthens' *bjas-* 'strength, power, might' Lat. *augeō*: Skr. *úk-ṣa-ti* 'grows strong, increases' partic. *uk-ṣá-māya-s* (perf. *vavákṣa*) Avest. *vax-ṣa-iti* 'makes grow', Gr. *ἰ(φ)ίζω* *αὔξω* 'I make grow, increase', cp. Lat. *aux-iliu-m*,<sup>1)</sup> Gall. *Uxello-dānu-m* 'High-town' O.Ir. *os nas* 'above' (I § 517 p. 377), O.H.G. *icah-su* Goth. *vah-s-ja* 'I grow' (pret. *vōhs*), Lith. *áuksz-ta-s* 'high'.<sup>2)</sup> Gr. *ἔπω* 'I boil', which, along with Armen. *epem* 'I boil' (I § 561 p. 417), we may assign to the root of *ἔπω* 'I see about, make right, arrange' (Il. 11. 776 *ἀμφὶ βοός ἐπιτρον κεία*) Skr. *sáp-a-ti* 'makes a fuss about, carries on, sees about something'.

From  $\sqrt{ter-}$  (Skr. *tar-alá-s* 'moving to and fro, trembling' Gr. *τρε-έμω* Lat. *tr-emō* § 488 p. 45): Skr. *tr-ṣa-ti* 'trembles' (also *tar-ṣa-ti* § 659), Gr. *τρε-ί(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-* (cp. Gr. *ερεσεν* *ἐρεσεν* Hesych.). Compare Skr. *gr-asa-ti* *hr-asa-ti* *bhy-ṣa-ti* Avest. *v-anha-itē* § 659, Gr. *ξ-έ(σ)ω* *βδ-έ(σ)ω* § 661, Lat. *qu-ero-r* § 662.

1) According to Bréal's convincing explanation, Umbr. *over ose* 'his (donis) mactō' will fall in this place too. *ose* = pr. Ital. *\*auke* may be a vocative, which would make it necessary to start from an adj. *\*aukeo-s* meaning 'auctus'; it may also be an imperative like Gr. *αὔξε* (cp. Lat. *auxiō*). The first view is supported by Lat. *mactō*, a vocative (F. D. Allen, Am. Journ. Phil., 1 185 ff.). Pauli's explanation of *ose* (Alt. Stud. v 129) does not seem right to me.

2) On the relation between *μεγ- αμα- αμεγ-*, see Per Persson, *Wurz.*

§ 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. *tq-sa-ti*: Skr. *tānas* Lat. *tenor*. Skr. *āk-ṣa-ti* Gr. *αἴων*: Skr. *ōjas*. Skr. *śrō-ṣa-māṇa-s* O.C.Sl. *slu-chū* (§ 659): Skr. *śrāvas* Gr. *κλέ(φ)ος* Skt. *bhā-ṣa-ti* (§ 659): Skr. *bhavas* *bhāvas*. Skr. *dāk-ṣa-ti* (§ 659): Skr. *dāśas-ya-ti* Lat. *decus*. Skr. *sāk-ṣa-nt-* (§ 659): Skr. *sāhas*. O.Pers. *patiy-aršaiy* (§ 659), Skr. *ik-ṣa-tē* (§ 667): O.C.Sl. *oko* gen. *očes-e*. Avest. *vax-ša-itē* (§ 659): Skr. *vācas*. Armen. *luçi* (§ 660): Skr. *-rōcas* *rōciṣ* *ruciṣ-ya-s*. Lat. *visō* (§ 662): Skr. *vēlas* Gr. *εἶδος* *φίλοφος* *ἴσος* for *φίρο-φο-ς* (p. XIII). O.Icel. inf. *hrfōsa* (§ 664): Skr. *kraviṣ* Gr. *κρί(φ)ας*. Compare also Skr. *bhartsa-ti* (beside *bhartsa-ya-ti*) 'attacks sharply, rates, scolds', akin to Lat. *fer-iō*, Lith. *bar-iū* 'I scold', and so doubtless derived from some such stem as \**bhar-tas* (cp. *śrō-tas* 'stream') or \**bhar-dhas* (cp. *rā-dhas* 'grace, gift'). The nouns *-tāsa-dakṣā* *sakṣa* *vax-ṣa* which are connected with *tāsa-ti* *dākṣa-ti* *sākṣa-nt-* *vaxṣa-itē* were therefore related to *tānas* \**dāśas* (*dāśas-ya-ti*) *sāhas* *vācas* in the same way as *vat-sā* to Gr. *φίρος*, Skr. *śir-ṣā* to *śiras*, *hō-ṣā* to *haviṣ*, and so forth (II § 132 p. 190).

Skr. *bhāsa-ti* (§ 659): *bhās* Lat. *fas*.

Skr. *hr-asa-ti* (§ 659): *hāras*. Skr. *yaj-as-e* (§ 658): Skr. *yajās*. These are like *bhy-āsa-ti* beside *bhyās* *bhiyās* (already mentioned in § 655, page 190).

§ 659. Aryan. Skr. *tq-sa-ti* *ā-ta-sa-t*, *bhāṣa-ti*, *tvē-ṣa-ti* *ā-tvi-ṣa-ta* (*tvē-ṣā-s* 'boisterous' Avest. *puṇaṣ-ṣa* 'terror'), *plō-ṣa-ti*, *rāk-ṣa-ti*, *āk-ṣa-ti* *uk-ṣā-māṇa-s*, Avest. *vax-ṣa-itē* see § 657. Skr. *ār-ṣa-ti* *ṛ-ṣā-ti* 'moves quickly, flows quickly', from *ar-* 'begin to move' (*ṛ-nō-ti*). Skr. *i-ṣa-tē* 'sets in motion, sends forth' Avest. *aṣemna* *iṣaiti*, from *i-* 'to send' (*i-nō-ti*). Skr. *śrē-ṣa-ti* 'hangs to something, clasps' *ā-ṣti-ṣa-t*, Avest. *sraṣemna*, *√klej* 'lean' (Lat. *-clt-nō*). Skr. *śrō-ṣa-ti* 'hears' (redupl. *śū-śrū-ṣa-tē* § 667) Avest. *sraṣemna*, *√klej* (2<sup>nd</sup> sing.

*śrō-ṣi*), cp. O.Ir. *cluas* 'ear' (I § 516 p. 377) O.Sax. *hlus-t* 'hearing' O.C.Sl. *sluchū* 'hearing, faculty of hearing'. Skr. *ghō-ṣa-ti* 'cries out, proclaims aloud' (*ghōṣa-s* 'confused noise, roar of a storm, cry of woe'), beside Goth. *gáu-nōn* 'to cry for woe'. Skr. *bhū-ṣa-ti* 'applies himself to, takes trouble about', ✓ *bhey-* (Skr. *bhāva-ti*). Skr. *sūk-ṣa-ti* 'is anxious about something, takes thought for it, or account of it', beside Goth. *sairg-a* 'care', which must be connected with O.Ir. *serc* 'love' or with Lith. *sér-g-iu* 'I protect'. Skr. *mrak-ṣa-ti* *mṛk-ṣa-ti* 'rubs, strokes', beside *mṛṣ-ṣi* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *mṛj-ānti*. Skr. *akṣa-tē* ground-form \**ḡk-se-taj* beside *aś-nō-ti* 'reaches' (§ 640 p. 179); from the same root, *nák-ṣa-ti* 'reaches' beside *nás-a-ti* Lith. *nesz-ū*; with these must also be connected Goth. *bi-niuh-s-ja* 'I search out' *niuh-s-ein-s* 'visitation, affliction', which come from \**nux-s-* = Idg. \**ḡk-s-* (cp. *gi-naiuhan* 'to suffice'). Skr. *mōk-ṣa-tē* 'gets free from something' (redupl. *mū-muk-ṣa-ti* § 667), beside *muc-ā-ti* *muc-ā-ti*. Skr. *bhak-ṣa-ti* 'enjoys, eats, devours'; Avest. *bax-ṣa-iti* 'divides, receives for share', beside Skr. *bhāj-a-ti*. Skr. *dāk-ṣa-ti* 'acts so as to suit or satisfy somebody' mid. 'plunges, dips, ducks, is dexterous' (*dakṣā-s* 'dexterous') beside *daśas-ya-ti* 'is at one's service, shows respect'. Skr. *lak-ṣa-tē* 'marks', from *lag-* 'fasten on'. Skr. *sāk-ṣa-nt-* 'overpowering', from *sah-* 'to overpower'. Skr. injunct. *ap-sa-nta* 'they sought to get', beside *ap-nō-ti* (§ 600 p. 144), cp. the reduplicated *īpsa-ti* (§ 667). O.Pers. *pātiy-axšaiy* 'I inspect', beside Skr. *āk-ṣ-i* 'eye' O.C.Sl. *oko* (gen. *očes-e*) 'eye', cp. the reduplicated Skr. *īk-ṣa-tē* (§ 667) and the Gr. imper. aor. *ὀψεσθε*. Avest. *rax-ṣa-iti* 'speaks', from *rac-* 'speak'. Avest. *tax-ṣa-iti* 'makes run' beside *tac-a-iti* 'runs' Skr. *tāk-a-ti*. Avest. *sax-ṣa-iti* 'learns', beside *sācayē-iti* 'teaches' Skr. *śak-nō-ti* 'is able', cp. the reduplicated Sl. *šikṣa-tē* Avest. *a-sizša-nt-* (§ 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 *r*, *i*, or *u*. Examples: *ā-mṛk-ṣa-t* cp. above, *mṛk-ṣa-ti* from *marj-*, *ā-sṛk-ṣa-t* from *spars-* 'touch', *ā-vṛk-ṣa-t*

from *varh-* 'tear, tear out', *á-dik-ša-t* from *diš-* 'show', *á-lik-ša-t* from *lih-* 'lick', *á-dhuk-šat* and *á-duk-šat* (the latter an ad-formate of the type *áduhat*, cp. Gr. *ἐσθια* instead of \**ἐσθια* following *πιδω* etc., I § 496 p. 364) from *duh-* 'milk'. The forms *dhukšá-n* *dhukšá-nta*, and others like them, are remarkable as having the accent upon the thematic vowel. The aor. *á-mrk-ša-t* it related to the pres. *mrk-ša-ti* not otherwise than the aor. *á-ky-š-i* to the pres. *ky-š-e* (§ 656 p. 191). O.Pers. *niy-apišam* 'I wrote', with *š* = *ks*, ✓ *pejšk-* (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 *á-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: *ádhukša-t* is imperfect as well as aorist (Whitney, Am. Journ. Phil. vi 281). On this aorist type in general see § 833.

Skr. *bhāsa-ti* 'appears, shines', beside *bhā-ti*. Skr. *rāsa-tē* 'bestows, affords', Avest. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *rānhē* beside Skr. *rā-tē*. Skr. *hāsa-tē* 'runs in a match', from *hā-* 'go' *ud hā-* 'to start up'. *rāsa-ti* 'roars, bellows' beside *rāya-ti*; as regards *rāsa-ti* compare further § 656 p. 191.

Skr. *tr-āsa-ti* 'trembles', also *tar-āsa-ti* (partic. *tarāsantī* Rig-V.): Gr. *τρ-έ(σ)ω*, see § 657 p. 192. Skr. *gr-āsa-ti* 'swallows, devours', beside *gir-ā-ti* (Class II, § 523 p. 86) ✓ *ger-*; akin to Gr. *γρᾶν* 'esse', perhaps for \**gr-sō*? Skr. *hr-āsa-ti* 'takes away, diminishes, grows less', beside *hār-a-ti* 'takes, takes away'. Skr. *bhy-āsa-ti* 'fears' (caus. *bhī-šaya-tē*) beside *bi-bhē-ti*, cp. § 655 p. 190. Avest. *v-anha-itē* beside *v-as-tē* 'dresses' § 656 p. 191. We should doubtless add *vasa-ti* 'bellows' beside *rāsa-ti* and *rāu-ti*, see § 656 p. 191.

§ 660. Armenian. Besides *epem* 'I boil' (see § 657 p. 192) may be named the aor. *luçi* 'I kindled' for \**leyk-so* (pres. *lučanem*), ✓ *leyq-* 'lucere', cp. Skr. *ruk-šá-s* 'shining',

Lat. *illāstri-s* for \**in-louc-s-tri-*, A.S. *līxan līxan* 'shine' = Goth. \**liuhs-ja-n* (cp. II § 66 p. 140).

§ 661. Greek. αἶω, ἀλέξω αἶξω αὔξω, ἔψω see § 657 p. 192. κλάω 'I break, break off' for \**κλα-σω* ground-form \**kl-sō*, cp. κί-κλασ-ται, Skr. *kr-ṇā-ti* 'breaks to pieces'; parallel stems κλ-α- in partic. ἀπο-κλάς (Class X, § 582 p. 123), and κλα-δ-. γράω 'esse' for \**gr-sō* connected with Skr. *gr-asa-ti*? see § 659 p. 195. ὀδᾶίω ὀδᾶίσμαι 'I bite, itch, sting', beside δάκ-νω, √ *dāṇ-*, cp. ὀδᾶίω ὀδαγμός-ς. δέψω beside δέφω 'I knead, soften' (Lat. *depeō* is a loan word). σπᾶω 'I pull' for \**spa-σω* (cp. ἔ-σπασ-ται), possibly = \**spa-sō*, cp. O.H.G. *spa-nu spa-nnu* § 614 p. 152, § 654 p. 188.

τρέ-ι(σ)ω 'I tremble, flee': Skr. *tr-āsa-ti*, see § 657 p. 192. ξ-ί(σ)ω 'I shave, smooth' beside ξ-ίω from √ *qes-* O.C.Sl. *čes-ati* 'to comb, curry' Lith. *kas-ėti* 'to scratch' (cp. II § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20). βῆ-ί(σ)ω 'pedo' for \**βzd-ισω* from √ *pezd-* Slov. *pezdě-ti* 'pedere' (I § 594 p. 450).

That some of the trisyllabic presents in *-σω* making *sorist* in *-σσα* etc., such as καλέω (καλίσσω) αἰλέω (αἰλίσσω) στερέω (στερίσσω), had originally the ending *-εσω* (cp. Skr. *tarāsa-ti* § 659 p. 195, *arcas-ṣ* § 656 p. 191), is not improbable; καλέ(σ)ω : κάλίσσω = τρέ(σ)ω : τρέσσα. Compare § 842.

In Greek this *-s-* is not only found with *ἐδεῖξα* and like *sorists*, but elsewhere too it is a favourite tense suffix. Compare ἑ-σμεδα-σ-θην ἑ-σμέδα-σ-σα, κί-κίρα-σ-ται ἑ-κέρα-σ-σα, ὁμ-ώμο-σ-ται ὠμο-σ-σα, ξυ-σ-τό-ς ἑ-ξύ-σ-θην, εἶρου-σ-ται ἑ-ρυ-σ-τό-ς ἑ-ρυσ-σα. No clear distinction can be made between "Primary" and "Denominative" verbs (cp. τε-τίλισ-ται beside τέλος, αἰδεσ-τό-ς beside αἰδ-, ἑ-γίλασ-θην beside γελως, ἑ-μεθύσ-θην beside Skr. *mādhuf-*), 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.).

Compare further the use of the suffixes *-εσ-* and *-η-* in stems of the same group, σβ-εσ-τό-ς ἑ-σβ-εσ-σα : ἑ-σβ-η-ν ἑ-σβ-η-κα, ἑ-κάλ-εσ-σα : καλ-ή-τωρ κί-κλ-η-κυ, κει-κόρ-εσ-ται ἑ-κόρ-εσ-σα : κει-κόρ-η-μαι ἑ-κόρ-η-το-ς.

§ 662. Italic. Lat. *vīsō* (perf. *vīsī*), near kin to Goth. *ga-veisō* 'I look after some one, I visit', doubtless for \**uejd + sō* (not \**uit + tō*, Class XXIV, as Osthoff will have it, Morph. Unt. iv 77), cp. Skr. *vi-vit-sa-ti* § 667. *quaesō* (perf. *quaesitō*) for \**quajs-sō*, beside *quaerō*. *in-cessō ar-cessō* (perf. *-cessitō*) from *cēd-ō cessī*. *ac-cersō* for \**-cers-sō* doubtless connected with *currō* for \**cors-ō krs-ō*.<sup>1)</sup>

*queror ques-tu-s*) for \**qu-esō(-r)* beside Gr. *κω-ξέω* 'I bewail, cry, shriek' Mid.H.G. *hiuoceln* 'to howl, lament, cry' O.H.G. *hūwila hūwila* '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.

§ 664. Germanic. O.H.G. *billu* 'I bellow', Goth. *at-þinsa* 'I draw towards me' O.H.G. *dinsu* 'I pull, tear', O.H.G. *friusu* 'I freeze', see § 657 p. 191. Goth. *fra-liusa* O.H.G. *vir-liusu* 'I lose' (*vir-lus-t* 'loss'), beside Goth. *la-n-s* f. 'ransom' Gr. *λύ-ω* Lat. *so-lvō* etc. O.Icel. *hrgs* 'I shudder' inf. *hrjōsa*, from *✓grem-* Skr. *krū-rā-s* 'coarse, horrible, gruesome, bloody', cp. Gr. *κρυ-σ-ραίνω* 'I cause to freeze' Lat. *cru-s-ta* and Osc. *krustatar* ('*cruentetur*' according to Bücheler). O.H.G. *iclsu* 'I avoid, eschew, shun' beside Lat. *evitō*, doubtless for \**ueit-sō* (\**uit-sō*), not for \**ueit + tō* (\**uit + tō*) Class XXIV.

Goth. *uf-blēsa* 'I inflate, blow out' O.H.G. *blasu* 'I blow', beside O.H.G. *blau* i. e. \**bhlō-jō*, cp. Mid.H.G. *bluo-s-t* A.S. *blō-s-tma* beside Germ. \**blō-jō* 'I bloom' and Lat. *flōs flōreō*.

§ 665. Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *tēs-iū* 'I lengthen' containing \**tēs-u* = Skr. *tq-sa-ti* etc., see § 657 p. 191. Lith. *tres-iū* 'I am in heat', said of bitches, derived from \**tr-es-e-ti* = Skr. *tr-āsa-ti* 'trembles' etc., see § 657 p. 192;

1) If Germ. \**hrusa-* 'horse' (O.Sax. O.Icel. *hross*) is connected with *currō*, it stands to *ac-cersō* as Skr. *mrk-ṣā-s* 'comb, currycomb' to *mrak-ṣā-ti*.



add Slav. *tręsetŭ* 'shakes, shatters' with a nasal infix, unless it is really \**trem* + *sō-* (cp. Lith. *trimu* Lat. *tremō*), see § 636 p. 174.

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. *(h)alō* for \**an-s-lo-*, I § 208 pp. 175 f., § 588 Rem. 2 p. 444), *ja-cha-ti* 'vehī' (cp. *ja-da* 'vehor' § 701), Lith. *bal-sa-s* 'voice, sound, tone' (cp. § 657 p. 192), O.C.Sl. *slu-chŭ* 'hearing, faculty of hearing' (cp. § 659 p. 194), O.C.Sl. *gla-sŭ* 'sound, voice' (I § 585 p. 441).

### Class XXI.

Root + *-so-* *-eso-*, with reduplication ending in *-ī* (*-ā*) 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 *√oq-*, from which a desiderative stem *ic-ikṣ-iṣa-* is made anew), and by an Irish future series. The Homeric future *ιδω-σω* and Attic conjunctive aorist and future *ιδάξω* can hardly have a direct connexion with these formations.

Very rare indeed are non-thematic forms with reduplication, such as Skr. partic. mid. *dī-dhiṣ-āṇa-s* beside *dī-dhiṣa-ti* from *√dhē-* 'act, lay'.

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

*√ster-* 'sternere' Skr. *ti-stir-ṣa-tē*. *√yen-* 'win, like' Skr. *vī-vā-sa-ti*, where *-vā-* = \**vē-*; in *jī-ghā-sa-ti* (*√ghen-* 'strike') *mī-mā-sa-tē* (*√men-* 'to think') and some other words the nasal came in afterwards by analogy, as it did in *vācha-ti* instead of \**vācha-ti* § 671. *√gej-* 'compel, subdue' Skr. *jī-gī-ka-ti*. *√kley-* 'hear' *kū-kṛā-ṣa-tē*. cp. *krō-ṣa-ti* § 659 p. 193. *√ghey-* 'pour, offer' Skr. *ju-hā-ṣa-ti*. *√derk-* 'see'

Skr. *dī-dṛk-ṣa-tē*. √ *yej-* 'see, know' Skr. *vi-vit-sa-ti*, cp. Lat. *visō* § 662 p. 197. √ *may-* 'loose, set free' Skr. *mā-muk-ṣa-ti*, cp. *mōk-ṣa-tē* § 659 p. 194. √ *dhegh-* 'burn' Skr. *dī-dhak-ṣa-ti*. *bādh-* 'press' Skr. *bī-bhat-sa-tē*. √ *dō-* 'give' Skr. *dī-t-sa-ti dī-dā-sa-nt-*. √ *dhē-* 'place, lay' Skr. *dhi-t-sa-ti dī-dhi-ṣa-ti*. From *gnē- gnō-* 'noscere' √ *gen-* (§ 587 p. 128) Skr. *jī-jñā-sa-te* Avest. *zi-šnānōhemna-* (as regards *-šn-* see I § 403 p. 298).

On the reduplication of Skr. *ikṣa-tē* (unreduplicated O.Pers. *patiy-axšaiy* 'I inspect'), *īpsa-ti* 'tries to reach' (unreduplicated *apsa-nta*), *īrtsa-ti* 'wishes to advance or promote', see § 473 p. 17. Ved. *tyakṣa-ti* 'wishes to honour' may be regarded as regular for \**yi-yakṣa-*, since *yi-* doubtless became *i-* as *yū-* became *u-* (I § 157 p. 141); the forms *yi-yakṣa-ti yi-yāsa-ti* are reformates following *si-saṅkṣa-ti* etc., just as beside the regular *ur-ānā-s* we find the re-formate *eur-i-ta*.<sup>1)</sup> The form *in-akṣa-ti* 'seeks to gain' is peculiar, cf. perf. *an-āṣ-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-te-scō* § 678). Skr. *śikṣatē* 'learns' Avest. *a-sixšant-* 'not learning' for pr. Ar. \**ši-ṣk-ṣa-* beside Skr. *śak-nō-ti* 'is able'; for the loss of the sibilant cp. aor. *ṛkṣi* for \**ṛṣk-ṣi* and the fut. *vrakṣyā-nt-* for \**vrask-ṣya-nt-* (beside *ṛṣcā-ti* 'tears to pieces' *pra-vrask-a-s* 'slice, cut' O.C.Sl. *vraska* 'wrinkle'). Similarly *dīpsa-ti dhīpsa-ti* Avest. *diuēša-idyāi* beside Skr. *dābh-a-ti* 'injures', Skr. *bhikṣa-tē* 'begs' beside Skr. *bhāja-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. *pitsa-ti*, for example (from *pat-* 'fly, fall') we should expect \**pipsa-ti*, to judge from Avest. *naṣū* for \**naptsu* (I § 471 p. 348).

On the analogy of the forms here mentioned arose Skr.

1) The *i-* of *i-yakṣa-ti* is different from that of *i-yāja*, see § 851.

*h[sa-ti* 'injures, hurts' from *han-* (*ghen-*), whose 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *h[saṃti* caused the coining of a sing. *h[sa-ti* following Class XV (the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *h[sa-tē* is perhaps like *didhiṣ-āṇa-s* § 660), and further perf. *ji-h[sa-a* etc.

Instead of *-sa-* after roots with final consonant, the Sanskrit has often *-iṣa-* (*-ṣo-*). *√ qel-* 'to move' *ci-cariṣa-ti* (beside *cicarṣa-ti*). *√ gen-* 'gignere' *ji-janiṣa-tē*. *√ mel-* 'crush' *mi-mardiṣa-ti*. *vi-vidiṣa-ti* beside *viṣṭa-ti* (see above). *bi-badhiṣa-tē* beside *bī-bhatṣa-tē* (see above).

The productive power of this desiderative type in Sanskrit is especially clear in forms like *ti-tarpayīṣa-ti* *pi-pāyayīṣa-ti* from the causals *tarpāya-ti* (from *ṭṛp-ṇō-ti* 'satisfies itself') *pā-yāya-ti* (from *pā-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-iṣya-tē* caus. *bhikṣ-aya-ti*, and from *mī-mā-sa-tē* were formed aor. *ā-mīmāṣ-iṣṭa* pass *mīmāṣ-yā-tē*.

§ 668. Keltic. O.Ir. *nō-gigius* 'I will pray or ask' for \**gi-get-sō* beside *gess-* from *-guidiu*, § 663 p. 197. *fo-lilus-[s]a* from *fo-long-* 'bear, endure'. Compare Zimmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 128.

## 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 \**mejṣ-sk-* Lat. *misceō* and \**mejṣ-s-* Skr. *mēkṣaya-ti* perf. *mī-mikṣē* from *√ mejṣ-* 'mix'; Lat. *dis-pescō* for \**-perc-scō* and Skr. *ṛk-ṣ-* (see Grassmann, Wtb., s. v.); Gr. *δρ-δά(ν)-αω* 'I teach' and Avest. *dax-ša-t* 'he taught'; Skr. *ṛ-cha-ti* 'reaches, hits, attains', and *ṛ-ṣā-ti* *ār-ṣa-ti* 'moves quickly'

Avest. *yā-sa-iti* 'goes, goes on' and O.C.Sl. *ja-cha-ti* 'vehī'; Mid.H.G. *lū-sche* 'I lurk, watch for' (O.H.G. \**hlū-skē-n*)<sup>1</sup>) and O.H.G. *lū-s-trē-n* 'I listen, obey' *hlo-sē-n* 'I attend, listen to' Skr. *śrō-ṣa-ti śū-śrā-ṣa-tē* from √*kleṣ-* 'hear'; Armen. *ba-çi* 'I opened' Gr. *φά-σκω* 'I make known, say' and Skr. *bhāsa-ti*; Gr. *γνώ-σκω γι-γνώ-σκω* Lat. (*g*)*nō-scō* and Lat. *gnō-ri-tur* 'cognitum sive compertum est' (Stolz, Lat. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 375) Skr. *jī-jñā-sa-tē* from *gnō- gnō-* 'learn', and others. In view of these, we may derive Lat. *mix-tu-s mis-tu-s* beside *misceō*, *dis-pes-tu-s* beside *dis-pescō*, *pos-tulō* Osc. *pes-tlū-m* 'templum' beside *poscō poposcī* and doubtless Skr. *prṣ-tā-s prāṣ-tum* beside *prchā-ti pāpracha* from stems with no other extending suffix but *-s*, \**mejē-s* and so forth; and we need not regard Avest. *ter'sa-iti* 'is afraid' Lith. *trīseu* 'I tremble, shudder' as being \**ty-s* + *sko-* (cp. Skr. *tr-āsa-ti* etc., § 657 p. 192), but must regard it as \**ty-s-ko-*. The compound suffix *-esko-* in O.Pers. *a-r-asa-m* 'I came, arrived at' beside Skr. *r-chā-ti*, in Avest. *iś-asa-iti* 'wishes' beside Skr. *ichā-ti*, in Gr. *ἀράσκω* 'I please' *φεύγεσθαι* 'I fled' corresponds to *-eso-* in Skr. *tr-āsa-ti tar-āsa-ti* and others (§ 655 p. 189, § 657 p. 192, § 659 p. 195).

*-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 *πρω-ξ-ός*, *πρω-χό-ς* (*πρωίσσω*), with *πρω-σх-αίζω*<sup>2</sup>), and of *γλι-χο-μαι* 'I stick, adhere' with *γλι-σх-ρο-ς*, justifies our assuming *-kho-* to be the suffix of *γλι-χο-μαι*, of *νή-χω* 'I swim', of *σμή-χω* 'I rub, stroke, wipe off', and *σμύ-χω* 'I rub or grind to powder', for *ψή-χω* 'I stroke, curry' and *ψύ-χω* 'I grind to powder', for *ρῦ-χω* 'I rub away, wear out', and for *στεν-δχω* 'I groan' (cp. *πλάθω* and such like words, § 694). In the

1) Connected, as it would seem, with Armen. *isem* 'I hear' for \**klū-sko-*. See Hübischmann, Arm. Stud. I 33; Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr., II 41.

2) Compare Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXII 39 f., on Armen. *sal-nu-m* 'I hide myself, which is in any case a cognate word.

parallel group come verbs in *-sow* such as *πρή-σω λυρή-σω ἐνιρῶ-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 *वृक्ष-ति* 'tears to pieces'), but both of them seem to occur in Armenian and Greek. Armenian has *-sko-* in *lsem* 'I hear' (see p. 201 footnote), *-skho-* in *harcanem*; Greek has *-sko-* in *βά-σκε*, and *-skho-* perhaps in *πάσχω* (see § 673), *γλίχ-ρο-ς* (cp. *γλί-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. *triszū*, Armen. *lsem harcanem*; and *-sq(h)o-* by Skr. *mārkhā-s* (beside *mārcha-ti*) Avest. *per'ska* (beside *per'sa-iti*, cp. Bartholomae, Stud. idg. Spr. II 49 f.), Armen. *alačem*, Lith. *jėšskó-ti* O.C.Sl. *iska-ti*, Lith. *treskū* O.C.Sl. *trěskū troška*; cp. Lith. *twiska* 'it lightens' beside Skr. *twiṣ-* 'beam, light' Avest. *hwis-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 Bartholomae, *op. cit.* 48 f.

On the difficult question of the original shape of the *sk*-suffix we have a new paper by Zubatý, 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-*.

✓ter- 'move to and fro, tremble' (§ 657 p. 192). \*tr-ske-ti: Avest. *ter'sa-iti* O.Pers. *tarsa-tiy* 'is frightened', Lith. *triszū*

'I tremble, shudder', cp. § 669 p. 201.  $\sqrt{gem-}$  'go' \**gyn-ske-ti*: Skr. *gá-cha-ti*, Gr. imper. *πάσσε*.  $\sqrt{prek-}$  'precari' \**pyk-ske-ti*: Skr. *prchá-ti*, Armen. aor. *harçi*, Lat. *poscō* for \**porc-scō*, cp. O.H.G. *forsca* 'question'.  $\sqrt{ajs-}$  'desire, wish': Skr. *ichá-ti*, Umbr. *eiscurent* 'poposcerint, arcessierint', O.C.Sl. *iskā* 'I seek, try', cp. Skr. *ichá* 'a desire, wish' Armen. *aic* 'attempt' O.H.G. *eisca* 'a demand, request' Lith. *jėszkó-ti* 'seek, try'.  $\sqrt{es-}$  'be': Gr. *ἔσσε* 'was', O.Lat. *escō*.  $\sqrt{bha-}$  'show, make appear' (p. 56 footnote): Armen. *ba-çi* 'I opened', Gr. *γαί-σσω* 'I make known, say, affirm'.

From \**gn-ē- gn-ō-* 'noscere'  $\sqrt{gen-}$  (§ 587 p. 128): O.Pers. *xšnā-sā-tiy* conj. 'noscat' (I § 403 p. 298), Gr. Epir. *γνώσσω* (cp. Att. *γινώσκω*), Lat. *gnōscō nōscō*.

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

§ 671. Aryan. Skr. *r-chá-ti ar-cha-ti* 'hits, reaches, injures' (pluperf. *anarcha-t* § 854)  $\sqrt{er-}$ . Avest. *ter'-sa-iti* O.Pers. *tarsa-tiy* 'is afraid': Lith. *trīszu*, see § 670. Skr. *mārcha-ti* 'congeals, stiffens' (perf. *mumārcha* etc.), beside partic. *martá-s*. Skr. *hār-cha-ti* 'slides, glides, falls' (caus. *hārchaya-ti*), probably from *hvar-* 'lead astray, disturb' (2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. *ju-hār-thas*). Skr. *gá-cha-ti* Avest. *jasā-iti* (*j-* instead of *g-*, see I § 451 Rem. p. 334): Gr. *πά-σσε*,  $\sqrt{gem-}$  'go', see § 670; Skr. *yá-cha-ti* beside *yam-a-ti* 'holds, directs', Avest. *yasaiti*<sup>1)</sup> and *yāsaitē* (the latter for \**iñ-*); as regards the change of accent in *gá-cha-ti yá-cha-ti* (instead of \**gachá-ti \*yachá-ti*) see I § 672 p. 537, IV § 516 p. 82. Skr. *vāñcha-ti* 'wishes' (pass. *vāñch-ya-tē* etc.), which should regularly be \**vā-cha-ti*, ground-form \**yñ-ske-ti* (cp. desid. *vī-vā-ya-ti*),<sup>2)</sup>  $\sqrt{yen-}$  Skr. *vān-a-ti*, cp. O.H.G. *wun-sc m.* 'wish' (II § 90 p. 276). Skr. *yú-cha-ti* 'keeps afar, wards off' (with irregular accent, which should be

1) Connected perhaps with O.Pers. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *ayasaīā*, see Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XIV 246 f.

2) The same analogical intrusive nasal in *ji-ghā-sa-ti*, see § 667 p. 198.

compared with that of *gírāmi* beside *girdmi*, and its like, § 516 p. 82) beside *yu-yō-ti*. Avest. *šu-sa-iti šū-sa-iti* 'goes, hastens, rushes' ground-form \**qiā-ske-ti* beside Skr. *cyāv-a-tē* (cp. I § 448 p. 333, § 473.4 p. 350). Skr. *prchá-ti* (perf. *papracha* and so forth) Avest. *per'saiti* 'asks' O.Pers. imper. *parsā*: Lat. *poscō*, see § 670. Avest. *ner'f-sa-iti* 'waned, decreases' (of the moon). Skr. *ichá-ti* Avest. *isaiti* 'desires, wishes', √ *ais-*, see § 670. Skr. *uchá-ti* Avest. *usaiti* 'shines, flashes up' from Ar. *yas-* 'shine', cp. Lith. *aũszo* 'it dawned' where *sz* = *sk*. Avest. *xwafsa-iti*; √ *syep-* *sup-* 'sleep'; *tafsa-iti* √ *tēp-* 'to warm', cp. Lat. *tepescō*; for the *fs* in these two present stems cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XIII 74 f. Avest. *yāsa-iti* 'goes, begins' beside Skr. *yā-ti*. O.Pers. *xšndsa-tiy* conj. 'noscat': Gr. *γνώστω* etc., see § 670. Avest. *xwtsaiti* 'sweats' for \**xwtsa-* (I § 473.2 p. 349) from √ *syeid-* may be one of the same class of forms, or it may contain *-so-* like *vax-ša-iti*, § 659, p. 194.

*-esko-* (§ 669 pp. 200 f.) only in Iranian. O.Pers. *a-r-asa-m* 'I came, reached' conj. *ni-rasatiy* beside Skr. *r-chá-ti* √ *er-*. Avest. *iš-asa-iti* 'wishes' beside *isu-iti* Skr. *ichá-ti* √ *ais-*; cp. acc. *išasc-m* 'a wish'. Avest. *hš-asa-iti* 'has authority over, arranges, understands', √ ar. *sajš-*.

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

(1.) *-č-* in aorist and present both: *harçi* 'I asked' pres. *harçane-m* (§ 620 p. 157): Skr. *prchá-ti* etc., see § 670 p. 203; it seems to me questionable whether Bugge is right in connecting *aŋçi* 'I went' (pres. *aŋçane-m*) with Skr. *gácha-ti* (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxij 33). Again, compounded aorists with *-č-*, or *-ač-* *-eač-*. *ba-çi* 'I opened' (pers. *ba-na-m* § 601 p. 144): Gr. *γάσσω*, see § 670 p. 203. *mna-çi* 'remained, awaited' (pres. *mna-m* § 581 p. 122), stem *mnā-* from √ *men-*: cp. Gr. *μνῆσσω*. *l-çi* 'I filled' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *e-li-č* (pres. *l-nu-m* § 642 p. 189), stem *li-* = \**plē-* from √ *pel-*. *ke-çi* 'I lived' (pres. *kea-m* § 581 p. 122) from √ *gei-*: similarly Gr. *ἀνα-βιωσκειν* 'I revive'. The aorist in *-açi*, as *gitaçi* 'I knew'

(pres. *gitem*), and *-eci* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *-eac*), as *lizeci* 'I licked' (pres. *lizem*) seem to be of the same character as Lat. verbs in *-ascō* -*ēscō* and Greek in *-ασκω* -*εσκω*.

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 *harçi*: *harçane-m* = *ἡ-βλασ-το-ν*: *βλαστ-άνω*, see § 682. It would follow that first *harçi* 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.

(2). *lsēm* 'I hear' doubtless for \**hlu-sko-* cp. Mid.H.G. *lūsche* 'I lurk, listen, play eavesdropper', § 669 p. 201.

(3) *-č-* for *-sq-* or *-sqh-* in present stems with *-ačē-m*, as *alačēm* 'I beg, pray', and in other compound suffixes (Hübischmann, *Arm. Stud.* I 94).

§ 673. Greek. *βά-σκε βά-σκε-τε* 'go thou, go ye': Skr. *gá-cha-ti*, √ *gem-*, see § 670 p. 203. *προ-βλώσκω* 'I come forth' for \**m̥f-skō*. *ἀνα-βρώσκων* *κατεσθίων* (Hesych.) for \**gr-skō* (cp. *βιβρώσκω* § 678); *θρῶ-σκω* 'I leap' for pr. Gr. \**thf-skō*; cp. Skr. *hārcha-ti mārcha-ti* § 671 p. 203. *λάσκω* 'I make a sound, cry out' for \**lak-skō*, beside *ἔ-λακ-ο-ν*. *ἴσκω* 'I make like, consider like' for \**fix-skō*, also redupl. *ἱ-ίσκω* § 678, beside *ἴσκη*, √ *meik-*. *μίσγω* 'I mix' instead of \**misκω* for \**μικ-σκω* (γ instead of x following *μίνυμι ἐμίνην*), √ *meik-* *meig-*: cp. Lat. *miscēō*, O.Ir. *con-mescatar* 'miscetur'. *ἐν-θύσκω* *ἐντυγχάνω* Hesych. for \**θuk-skō*, cp. fut. *συν-θύξει* *συναντήσῃ* Hesych., beside *ἔ-τυχ-ο-ν* (cp. Osthoff. *Perf.* 304 f.). El. *πάσκω* 'I suffer, experience' i. e. \**pa(θ)-σκω* beside *ἔ-παθ-ο-ν* *πένθ-ος*; Att. etc. *πάσχω*, which seems to be built-up with *-skho-* (§ 669 p. 202).

*φά-σκω* 'I make known, assert, say': Armen. *ba-çi*, √ *dhā-*, see § 670 p. 203. *χά-σκω* 'I gape, yawn', beside *ἔ-χαν-ο-ν* *χῆ-μη*, see § 611 p. 150. *βό-σκω* 'I feed, pasture' beside *βῶ-τωρ*.



Epir. *γνῶ-σκω* (Att. *γινῶ-σκω*) 'I get to know, learn': O.Pers. *zānā-sā-tiy* etc., see § 670 p. 203. *ῥή-σκο-μαι* 'I say' stem *grē-*, *✓gr-*. *θρῆ-σκω* 'rou', *θρά-σκειν* 'ἀναμνησκειν' Hesych., cp. Curtius Gr. Etym.<sup>5</sup> 257. In *θνή-σκω* Dor. *θνά-σκω* 'I die' there is doubtless not really an *ā*-suffix, as it may come from *✓ghen-* by way of \**ghē-skō* = \**φά-σκω* (Osthoff, *op. cit.* 366 f.).

Att. *θρέ-σκω*, *θρή-σκω* Aeol. *θναί-σκω* Ion. *χρηῖ-σκομαι* have altered slightly in form by analogy of *-ίσκω* (*εύθ-ίσκω* etc.), from which they get *ι*; the same may be said of Att. *μμενῆ-σκω* Aeol. *μμεναί-σκω* (§ 678).

*ἀρέ-σκω* 'I please'. *κορέ-σκω* 'I satisfy'. *γηρά-σκω* 'I grow old'. *γενειά-σκω* 'I grow a beard'. *μεθύ-σκω* 'I make drunk'.

Ionian iterative preterite: *φεύγεσκον* from *φεύγω* 'I flee', *ἐρζέσκον* from *ἐρζέω* 'I strive', *βοσκεισκόμην* from *βοσκω* 'I pasture', *εἶπεσκον* from *εἶπον* 'I said', *αἰδήσασκον* beside *αἶδησα* 'I spoke, said', *φάνεσκον* beside *εἰφάνην* 'I appeared'. As a possible course of the development I suggest the following. The first step was, on the analogy of *φη-μι*: *φά-σκω φά-σκον* to form *ἴστασκον* from *ἴστημι*; again *ἦρεσα*: *ἀρέ-σκω ἀρεσκον* produced *καλεσκόμην* beside *ἐκάλεσα*; and *γενειάω*: *γενειά-σκω γενειάσκον* gave rise to *ῥέπτασκον* from *ῥέπτω*, 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 *-ίσκω* in forms like *εύρί-σκω* 'I find' *ἀλί-σκομαι* '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 *ι* is the same in this suffix as in *ὀρί-νω ὀρίνω* (§§ 650, 652 p. 186), that is to say, it is the "root determinative" *-i-*. Then we analyse *ἀραρί-σκω* as *ἀρ-αρί-σκω*, and connect it directly with *ἀρ-θμύ-ς νή-ρι-τος* O.H.G. *r-l-m* 'row, series, number'. See further in § 841, on *ἀίσθω* 'I breathe', for \**áf-i-s-θω*, and others of the same kind.

§ 674. Italic. Lat. *hi-scō* (beside *hia-scō*), beside *hi-a-re* O.H.G. *gi-nō-m* O.Icel. *gi-n* (§ 605 p. 146, § 608 p. 147). *gti-scō*, beside Skr. *jrāy-a-ti* (I § 402 p. 297). *sci-scō*, beside *sciō*. *nāscor* for *\*gnā-scō(r)*, ground-form *\*gñ-scō*, √ *gñ* (I § 253 p. 206). *poscō* for *\*porc-scō*: Skr. *prchā-ti* etc., see § 670 p. 203. *com-pescō dis-pescō* for *\*perc-scō* or *\*parc-scō*, Osc. *com-parascuster* 'consultus erit' beside O.Lat. *comperce* 'compesce' (Paul. D.) Osc. *kú]m-parakineis* 'consilii' or 'convocatne contionis', doubtless connected with Skr. *parc-* 'mix, blend, unito, give in fullness' (*sam-parc-* 'communicare quid cum quo').<sup>1)</sup> *misceō* is doubtless derived from *\*miscō* (§ 802) Gr. *μίσγω*, see § 673 p. 205. Umbr. *eiscurent* 'poposcerint, arcessierint': Skr. *ichā-ti* etc., see § 670 p. 203. || *nescōr* for *\*vē-ēscōr* i. e. *ēd+scō(r)*, √ *ed-*, cp. *vēscu-s* and *ēscā* (II § 90 pp. 275 f., G. Meyer in the Lit. Centralbl. 1890, col. 1513). *pō-scō* 'I drink' Cic. Verr. II 1. 66 (Stowasser, Wiener Stud. XII 326 f.), cp. *pō-sca*. *pā-scō*, perf. *pā-vī*.

In *pos-tulāre* Osc. *pes-tlām* 'templum' Umbr. *pes-klum* 'supplicationem, sacrum' (*-klo-* for *-tlo-*, I § 367 p. 278),<sup>2)</sup> *dis-pes-tu-s*, *mix-tu-s* *mis-tu-s*, and *pās-tu-s*, the group *-st-* need not be derived from *-sk-t-*. Compare O.H.G. *lā-s-trē-n* as compared with Mid.H.G. *la-sche* etc., § 669 p. 201. This guides us in our view of Umbr. *persnimu imper.* 'supplicato', derived from an abstract *\*persni-* (§ 777) made with the suffix *-ni-* (II § 95 p. 286).

*gn-ō-scō nō-scō*, pf. *(g)nō-vī*: O.Pers. *xñā-sā-tiy* etc., see § 670 p. 203. *cr-ē-scō*, pf. *crē-vī*. *qui-ē-scō*, pf. *quiō-vī*, cp. Avest. *šyē-iti-š* O.Pers. *šiya-ti-š* II § 100 p. 297. *vi-ē-scō*, part. *viō-tu-s*, cp. Skr. *jyā-nī-š* 'frailty, frailness, weakness of old age' (not so Per Persson, Stud. Lehr. Wurzelw., 79).

1) *dis-pescō* was merely coined to express the opposite of *com-pescō*, as *dis-jungō* as the opposite of *con-jungō*. Compare the Author, Idg. Forsch. I 175. — Is Osc. *parak-* for *\*prak-* = *\*přk-* or for *\*prāk-* *\*přk-*? See a new treatment by Buck, Der Vocalismus der osk. Spr., 140.

2) Umbr.-Osc. *perk-* is a contamination of *pork-* and *prek-* (Lat. *po(r)scō* and *precarī*).

*rub-ē-scō* beside *rub-ē-s* O.C.Sl. *rad-ē-ti*. *con-tic-ē-scō* beside *tac-ē-s* O.H.G. *aag-ē-s*, and others, see § 590 p. 132. *hi-ā-scō* beside *hi-ā-s* *hi-ā-tu-s* Lith. *ži-ó-ju* 'I open my mouth', cp. *hi-scō* above.

A large number of new forms, the Inchoative or Inceptive Verbs, were produced by the analogy of *scī-scō*: *sciō*, *rubē-scō*: *rubēō*, *hiā-scō*: *hiō* and similar parallel stems from one root. Examples of these are *obdormiscō* from *dormiō*, *flavescō* from *flavēō*, *amāscō* from *amō*. By degrees the endings *-iscō* *-ēscō* *-āscō* grew quite independent of the character of the stem to which they were affixed, and we get such forms as *conticiscō* *mitiscō*. The inceptive meaning was probably not due to anything in the suffix *-scō-*, 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 rubescit* 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.* i 516 ff.

Remark. It is very doubtful whether the Italic branch had forms with Idg. *-sakō* or forms like Gr. *εἰπώνω*. See Sittl, *op. cit.*, pp. 490 ff., Osthoff, *Perf.* 157, 257 f.

§ 675. Keltic. Only a few present stems have *-sko-*. O.Ir. *nascim* 'I bind' perf. *ro nenasc-sa*, beside *nasc* 'ring' O.H.G. *nuscia* 'clasp, buckle, brooch', ✓ *nedh-*, ground-form \**ndh+sko-* (see Osthoff, *M. U.* v p. vi). *fascim* (which has adopted *io*-flexion) Mod.Cymr. *gwasgaf* 'I press, squeeze', possibly akin to Skr. *vah-u-tē* 'presses, squeezes'. With *ā*-flexion *con-mescatur* 'miscetur' (inf. *do mescad*), beside Gr. *μύω* ✓ *meik-*, § 673 p. 205.

§ 676. Germanic. Only a few present stems have *-sko-*. O.H.G. *ir-lisku* 'I am extinguished', originally probably 'I lay

myself down', ground-form \**legli+skō*, beside Goth. *ligu* 'I lie'.<sup>1)</sup> Mid.H.G. *krische* 'I shriek' pr. Germ. \**krit-skō*, beside Mid.H.G. *krize* 'I shriek'. O.H.G. *wascu* 'I wash' probably pr. Germ. \**wat-skō*, beside Skr. *unád-mi* 'I wet' Goth. *vatō* O.Ir. *usce* 'water'. Less certain is Goth. *þriska* O.H.G. *driscu* 'I thresh, thrash', which is compared sometimes with Lith. *treszkti* 'I crackle, crack, crash' O.C.Sl. *trěskŭ* 'noise, crash' *troška* 'thunder-clap', and sometimes with Gr. *ῥιῖβω* 'I rub' (Idg. \**trggō* according to Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 352). If we connect *þriska* with Lat. *terō* (Benfey, Gr. Wurzel-lex., II 263), it might be derived from \**tr-eskō* and compared with O.Pers. *a-r-asa-m* Gr. *ἀρ-ί-αω* etc. (§ 669 p. 201). Lastly, it seems we must place here Goth. *ga-þrisga* 'I bear fruit, *relicōþōw*', which Diefenbach connects with A.S. *werðan* 'to grow' and Skr. *varah-* 'to grow' (Vergl. Wörterb. der Got. Spr., I 241).

Many present stems with *-sko-* have weak inflexion, and apparently were derived from *sko-nouns*. O.H.G. *wunsc(i)u* 'I wish' from *wunsc* 'a wish': Skr. *vācha-ti*, see § 671 p. 203. O.H.G. *zusc(i)u* Mid.H.G. *züsche* 'exuro, oburo', beside Skr. *du-nō-ti* 'burns'. Mid.H.G. *lūsche* 'I lurk, play eavesdropper' beside O.H.G. *lā-s-trē-n* 'I listen, obey', ✓ *kley-* 'hear' (cp. § 669 p. 201). O.H.G. *forscō-n* 'I ask' beside *forsca* 'enquiry, question': Skr. *prchá-ti* etc., see § 670 p. 203. O.H.G. *eiscō-n* 'I ask, demand' beside *eisca* 'request, demand': Skr. *ichá-ti* etc., see § 670 p. 203. Mid.H.G. *rüsche* 'I rush, roar', beside A.S. *hrūte* 'I rush, roar, snore'. Mod.H.G. *haschen* 'to snatch' = Goth. \**haf-skōn* from *haf-* 'capere'. Very uncertain is the comparison of Goth. *and-hruska* 'I investigate, attempt, essay' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *-hruskái-p* with Lat. *scrūtārī*; see I § 527 p. 383, and Fick, Bezz. Beitr. VII 95 (Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 352 f.).

§ 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-lessen* 'to grow weak'.

Lith. -sz- O.C.Sl. -s- = Idg. -sk-, and sometimes Lith. -sk- (-szk-) O.C.Sl. -sk- = Idg. -sq-, see § 669 pp. 201 f.

Lith. *telska* 'flickers, lightens', cp. Avest. *hvisra-* 'gleaming, shining'. Lith. *treszkù* 'I crackle', cp. § 676. O.C.Sl. *iskā* 'I try': Skr. *ichā-ti* etc., see § 670 p. 203, cp. Lith. *jėszkaũ* 'I try' inf. *jėszkó-ti* (like O.H.G. *eiscōn*) and O.C.Sl. *istā* 'I try' for \**isk-ia* (I § 147 pp. 133 f.).

In addition, compare Lith. *aũszo* 'it dawned' (pres. *aũsz-ta*), beside Skr. *uchā-ti*, § 671 p. 204; *gaiszaũ* 'I loitered, tarried' (pres. *gaisz-tũ*), beside Lat. *haereō*; *driskaũ* 'I am torn in pieces' possibly from the  $\sqrt{\text{der-}}$  whence *nu-dirta-s* 'flayed' Gr. *Nēro*.

It is impossible to decide whether the sibilant in Lith. *su-miszaũ* 'I meddled, mixed myself with, got into confusion' (pres. *su-miszti*), *maiszy-ti* O.C.Sl. *měsi-ti* 'to mix' from  $\sqrt{\text{mej-}}$  represents Idg. -k- or -k-s- (cp. Skr. *mēkṣaya-ti*) or -k-sk- (cp. Lat. *miscēō* 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-dax-skw* cp. perf. *δε-δίδαχ-α* *δε-δίδαχ-μαι*, Lat. *discō* for \**di-te-scō* cp. perf. *didic-ī*, cp. Avest. *dax-sa-t* 'I taught' § 669 p. 201. In *discō* the root syllable is treated exactly as it is in Sanskrit desideratives of the type *śikṣatē*, see § 667 p. 199. For the α of *διδάσκω* cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 121.

Lat. *discō* is isolated in Italic; but Greek gives a number of reduplicated forms besides *διδάσκω*.

With i as the reduplicating vowel: *τι-τύσσομαι* 'I make, prepare' (*te-tύsso* Hesych.) for \**ti-tux-sko-*, beside *τύχ-ο-ς* 'hammer, pick' Skr. *tāḥ-man-* 'shoot, sprout'. *βι-βρώ-σκω* 'I eat, swallow', cp. *βρώ-σκω* for \**gṛ-scō* § 673 p. 205. *γι-γνώ-σκω* 'I know', cp. Epir. *γνώ-σκω* § 673 p. 206. *μι-μνή-σκω* 'I remind,

mention' beside Armen. *mna-ci* § 672 p. 204. *δι-δρά-σκω* Ion., *δι-δρή-σκω* 'I run'. On the iota of Att. *μιμνήσκω* Aeol. *μιμναίσκω* see § 673 p. 206.

Reduplicated with *ε*: *τε-τέ-σκετο* beside *τε-τέ-σκομαι*, see above. *ἑ-ίσκω* 'I make like' for \**Fe-Fi(x)-σκω* beside *ἴσκω* § 673 p. 205. *δε-δέ-σκομαι* 'I fear, am terrified' from *√dyei-* (cp. Osthoff, Perf. 388 ff.).

*ἀρ-αρ-ίσκω* 'I join', like *εὐρ-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. *ἑ-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-t-ānā-s* beside *dyō-ta-tē* 'shines', *ā-cē-t-i* *ci-t-āna-s* beside *cē-ta-ti* 'takes notice of, observes', *yā-t-āna-s* *ya-t-ānā-s* beside *yā-ta-te* 'joins itself, strives'. Compare the nouns *dyā-t- ci-t-ya-t-*, which belong to the same kind as *rt-t- hrú-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.<sup>1)</sup> \**sp(h)l-tō* \**sp(h)l-tō* from *√sp(h)el-* 'burst, split' (Skr. *phāl-a-ti* 'bursts, splits in two'): Skr. *sphuṭa-ti* (secondary form *sphōṭa-ti*) 'bursts' (cp. *sphāṭita-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-ti* 'cuts' Lith. *kertù* 'I hew, cut', which are derived from the root of Gr. *καίρω*; and Skr. *vārta-tē* 'vertitur' Lat. *verto*, which are derived from the root of Lat. *ver-mi-s*.

Mid.H.G. *spelle* 'lance splinter'. From  $\sqrt{qei-}$  (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. *čl-te-tŭ* 'counts, reads, honours', cp. Skr. *ci-t-āna-s* § 679. Lat. *plec-tō* 'I twist, twine' beside *plicō*, O.H.G. *fih-tu* 'I twist' (cp. Goth. *flah-ta* 'a braid, twist'), cp. Gr. *πλεκ-ρό-ς* 'woven, twisted' *πλεκ-τή* 'rope, net'; the stem *plek-* which runs through these is itself an extension of a  $\sqrt{parl-}$ , see below. From  $\sqrt{pek-}$  (Gr. *πέκ-ω* 'I comb' Lith. *pesz-ū* 'I pluck-off, tear off, pull out'): Gr. *πέκρω* (and *πεκρέω* § 801) 'I comb, shear, pluck, pull', Lat. *pec-tō* 'I comb, hackle, hack the ground with a mattock', O.H.G. *fih-tu* 'I fight, do battle' (*feh-ta* 'a fight').<sup>1</sup> O.H.G. *bristu* O.Icel. *brist* 'I break, tear, burst' is very nearly akin to the O.Ir. weak verb *brissim* 'I break' (-ss- for -st-, I § 516 p. 376), and both must be connected either with Gr. *πέρθω* or with Goth. *brika* (cp. Stokes, *Mém. Soc. Ling.*, v 419 ff., Per Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung* 19, 38, and 45); whether *brissim* originally belonged to the first conjugation and then passed into the third, or whether it was originally denominative, is a doubtful point.

In a few words, -e- is interposed between the root and -to-; cp. Gr. *-οχ-ε-ρο-ς* *ἐρη-ε-ρό-ν* Skr. *darś-a-tá-s* and the like, II § 79 p. 199; further, Gr. *ἄ(F)-ε-ρ-μα* *ἄ(F)-ε-ρ-μό-ν* from \**μ-ε-* \**μ-ε-* 'blow'. \**m-e-tō* (beside Gr. *ἀμάω* 'I mow, gather' *ἀν-ῥο-ν* 'bilge-water', O.H.G. *mā-t* 'math, mowing', Skr. *ām-a-tra-m* 'vessel, jug'): Lat. *metō* (*messuī messum*), O.C.Sl. *mete-tŭ* 'turns, verrit' (inf. *mesti*, *sŭ-metŭ* 'dung, manure, ordure'), cp. Mod.Cymr. Mod.Bret. *medi* 'to reap' Mid.Ir. *methel* 'a party of reapers' O.Corn. *midil* 'messor'. O.C.Sl. *pl-e-te-tŭ* 'twines,

1) For the meaning 'fight' compare O.H.G. *roufen* 'pull, pluck', reflex. 'wrestle, fight, cut one's way'. Kluge's view, given in his Dictionary, that *fih-tu* is connected with Lat. *pug-nus pug-nāre*, that from the pl. pret. *fuh-tum*, which was regarded as a similar form to *fuh-tum*, \**fuh-tu* was changed to *fih-tu* by analogy of *fih-tu*, does not convince my judgement. On the contrary, I regard *fuh-tum* as an adformate of *fuh-tum*. On O.H.G. *fūet*, cited by Kluge, see II § 101 p. 306, III § 104 p. 3.

plaits, braids' (inf. *plesti*) beside Goth. *fal-pa* 'I fold' ground-form *\*p<sub>l</sub>-tō*, beside Gr. *δ-πάλ-ρο-ς* Skr. *puṣa-m* 'a fold' and Gr. *ἀ-πλό-ς* (III § 182 p. 50), from the same root as *plek*-Lat. *plicō plectō* (see above). If this view of *pletā* is not accepted we must take refuge in the explanation suggested in vol. I § 545 p. 399. For it is impossible, in my opinion, to derive *pletā* from *\*plektā*, notwithstanding the arguments of Jagić and Miklosich to the contrary (Jagić, Arch. slav. Phil. x 196, and Miklosich, Festgruss an Böhtlingk, 88); compare Kluge, Etym. Wört. s. v. *fallen*, and Wiedemann, Lit. Prät. 193.

§ 681. Aryan. Skr. *sphuṭa-ti*, *cē-ta-ti*, see § 680. *naṭa-ti* 'dances, plays' Ved. *ny-tā-māna-s* (compare *nṛtya-ti*), beside *nar-mā-s nar-man-* n. 'joke, sport'. *kuṭa-ti* 'curls, twists itself', akin to Lat. *cur-ro-s*. *yā-ta-tē* 'unites with, strives', beside *ya-tā-s* part. of. *yam-a-ti*, cp. *yātana-s* § 679 p. 211. *dyō-ta-tē* 'shines' *d-dyu-ta-t*, from *dyu-* div-, cp. *dyutana-s* § 679 p. 211. *veṣ-ṭa-tē* 'wraps itself up, clothes or shrouds itself' (*veṣṭaya-ti viṣṭā-s*) beside *veṣ-ṭa-s* 'band, cord, covering', which doubtless has nothing to do with *ēiṣ-* 'enter', but is connected with Lith. *výs-ta-s* 'woman's bodice, stays' *výstau* 'I swaddle or swathe' a child, from *vei-* 'to wind'. *cēṣ-ṭa-ti* 'is in motion' (perf. *cicēṣṭa*) beside *cēṣ-ṭa-m* 'motion'. *lōṣ-ṭa-tē* 'heaps up' beside *lōṣ-ṭā-s lōṣ-ṭu-ṣ* 'clod or lump of earth'; if the same root is contained in another *-to*-form, Lith. *lūsz-tu* 'I break' intr. (pret. *lūš-an*), — compare Skr. *lōṣ-ṭu-ṣ* 'clod' from *riṣ-* *liṣ-* 'tear, break off' — *lōṣṭatē* must be a derivative from the noun, or at least must have modified its meaning in association with (cp. § 794, on Skr. *māndya-ti*).

§ 682. Greek. There are numerous forms in *-π-τω*, and a few which have *-ρω* preceded by some other sound than *π*. We begin with the latter. *πέκ-τω* has been mentioned already, § 680 p. 212. *ἐμορπεν ἀπέθανε* Hesych., cp. *μορ-τό-ς* 'mortal'. *φάρο-το-μαι* beside *φράσσομαι* (= *\*φρακ-το-μαι*) 'I shut myself in, fortify myself'. *ἐ-βλασ-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 βλωθ-ρός-ς 'springing high, grown high' (I § 306 p. 242); ἡμαρ-το-ν Lesb. inf. ἀμβρότην (for \*ἀμβρατην, I § 292 p. 233), pres. ἀμαρτάνω 'I miss, err', probably from ἀ-μαρ-το- ἀ-μβρα-το- 'having no share' (from the root of μέρ-ος- μόρ-ο-ς), cp. ἀμαρεῖν 'ἀμαρτάνειν Hesych. (Curtius, Verb II<sup>2</sup> 10 ff., and the Author, Sprachwiss. Abhandl. 160); on the present stems βλαστάνω ἀμαρτάνω see § 621 p. 158. Att. ἀνύτω beside ἀ-νύω ἄ-νύ-μι 'I complete' (§ 639 p. 177) and partic. ἀν-ήνυ-το-ς 'that cannot be completed', and similarly Att. ἀρίτω beside ἀρέω 'I create'.<sup>1)</sup>

Of the numerous Verbs in -π-τω (Curtius mentions 48 of them), as τύπ-τω 'I strike' σκάπ-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 √peq-, βλάπτω beside Skr. *marc-*. However, it is possible to see the suffix -ιο- (Class XXVI) in every single one; and indeed the denominatives χαλέπτω (from χαλεπό-ς) and ἀστράπτω (from ἀστραπή) in all probability come from \*χαλεπ-χω and \*ἀστραπ-χω (I § 131 p. 119).

Remark. I see no cogent reason for denying that πλ may become πν (cp. Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 436 f.). All that can be said against deriving τύπ-τω (cp. τύπ-ο-ς) from \*τυπ-χω is that it may just as well contain the present suffix -το-. But we cannot derive from forms in -ιω those whose root ended in φ, as κρύπτω, which comes from the root of κρύφα; nor those whose root ended in q or g, as πέπτω beside older πέπω (√peq-), νύπτομαι beside older νύω (√neig-). Still, such forms as κρύπτω can easily be due to the analogy of τύπτω, the point of contact between the stems being κρίνω τύπω etc. (cp. new forms like σφύπτω instead of σφάζω, following φράπτω, § 714); and thus again, in view of πέπω etc., we have no proof that πέπτω νύπτομαι 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. ἐνύπτω beside ἐνύπω (ἐνύσω?), and beside ἡνέπαπον ἐνένιπον, was also an adformate of τύπτω, although in this verb there is no ἐνέπω (for ἐνέπω in Il. 2 137 etc. is not from this stem), and this as far as it goes is in favour of a stem with orig. -το-.

§ 683. Italic. Lat. *plec-tō*, *pec-tō*, *me-tō*, see § 680 p. 212. *oitor ātor* (cp. Osc. *ūittiuf* 'usio, usus', Pelig. *oisa*

1) *τύπτω* does not come in this group; see § 552, page 107.

abl. 'usa, consumpta') perhaps akin to Gr. *ol-ro-s* 'fate, lot' from  $\sqrt{ej}$ - 'go' (Danielsson, Pauli's Alt. Stud. III 198 f.). *flec-tō* perhaps from the root of *falz*,  $\sqrt{plec-to-r}$  '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. *pližō*, I § 65 Rem. 2 p. 53); or akin to Lith. *plėsz-iu* 'I tear, snatch' (cp. Gr. *đēpw* 'I flay' and 'cudgel'), in which case it must be pronounced *plēctor*. *nectō* belongs to  $\sqrt{nedh}$ - 'bind', and in its ending probably imitated *plectō*; see Ber. sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1890, p. 236 foot-note 2. With *plexu-s* i. e. \**plect+to-*, and *ūsus* i. e. \**oj-t+to-*, we naturally compare *fassu-s* i. e. \**fa-t+to-*, from *fa-teor* Gr. *-pa-ro-s* 'said'. Uncertain: Osc. *krustatar* conj. 'cruentetur' according to Bücheler, akin to Gr. *κρουσ-τα-αίω*, § 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 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. in *-to*, does not belong to this class. See § 516. page 82.

§ 685. Germanic. O.H.G. *spal-tu*, *flīh-tu*, *flīh-tu*, *bris-tu*, Goth. *falpa* O.H.G. *faltu* see § 680 pp. 212 f. Goth. *ga-vida* 'I bind up' O.H.G. *uitu* 'I bind' doubtless for \**ui-tō*, cp. O.H.G. *wi-d* 'line, cord' *wī-da* 'withe, willow' [Eng. *withy*] Skr. *vt-tā-s* 'enfolded, enveloped' Lith. *vej-ū* 'I twist a string'; as the present got into the company of *giba-gita* and suchlike, there were formed Goth. *ga-vap* O.H.G. *wat*; cp. below, Goth. *vinda*. O.H.G. *lidu* 'I suffer' (O.H.G. *leid* O.Icel. *leid-r* 'painful, paining, hated') probably orig. (pr. Germ.) \**li-pō* and connected with O.H.G. *līwes* 'alas' (stem \**lai-wa-*). Goth. *hal-da* 'I protect, guard' O.H.G. *haltu* 'I hold, guard' ground-form \**kī-tō*, cp. Gr. *βου-κόλο-s* 'cowherd'. Goth. *fra-gilda* 'I repay' O.H.G. *giltu* 'I pay back, give equivalent, offer', pr. Germ. \**zel-pō* (if we follow the indications given by O.Swed. *gialla* as compared with O.Icel. *gjalda*, we must accent the root), akin to Gr. *ω-φειλο-ν* *ὀ-φλειν*,  $\sqrt{ghel}$ . Goth. *us-alpan-s* 'obscure' and O.Icel. *aldenn* 'grown old' point to *al-pa-* as the verbal stem.

cp. O.H.G. *al-t* 'old', beside Goth. *a-la* 'I grow up'. The ending of a few onomatopoeic 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. *bristu* O.Icel. *brest* (O.H.G. *brastōn* 'to crack, crackle'); compare the Mid.H.G. weak verb *kristen* 'groan with pain or exertion' beside *krīzen* Mid.Dutch *cristen* 'groan, shriek' (*-st-* is not for *-tt-*).

Remark 1. O.H.G. *scisu* 'I shun', which is connected with Lat. *evā*, and which Kluge assign to this class (Paul-Braune's Beitr. IX 152), seems more likely to be of the *so*-class. See § 664 p. 197.

Extended by an *i*-suffix: Goth. *faúrh-tja* O.H.G. *furiht(iu)* 'I fear' (pret. *forah-ta*), whence the adj., originally participle, *faúrh-t-s* O.H.G. *forah-t* 'afraid, afraid'.

The suffixal ending *-ntō* is common in Germanic: Goth. *standa* O.H.G. *stantu* 'I stand' ✓ *stā-*, Goth. *vinda* O.H.G. *wintu* 'I wind or twist' ✓ *wei-*, O.H.G. *swintu* 'I disappear' beside O.H.G. *swī-nu*. The forms pret. *stōþ* 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. *siuncsiu* § 686, O.C.Sl. *ob-ręstā* § 687.

Remark 2. Osthoff's view is that the Idg. had a *simple* suffix *-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 83.)

§ 686.<sup>1)</sup> 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

1) The Lithuanian and Lettic verbs in *-tu* are very neatly explained by Johansson (Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXII 507 ff.) as derived from middle forms of the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. in *-s-to*; e. g. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *rimsta* for *\*rmt-s-to*, cp. Skr. *s-aor. d-rq-s-ta*; perhaps also forms with no *s*, as *viřta* = *\*vrt-t-to*, cp. Skr. *d-rti-ran*. When the injunctive *rimsta viřta* had come to be looked on as parallel to *bęga sęka* (see § 999. 2), the forms *rimstu viřtu* were coined on the analogy of *bęgu sęku*, and so forth.

dental explosive or *s*, and *-sztu* in roots with final palatal explosive. *virs-tù* 'I fall down', pret. *virt-au*. *blis-ta* 'evening draws on', pret. *blind-o*. *girs-tù* 'I get to hear' pret. *gird-au*. *ges-tù* 'I am quenched, go out', pret. *ges-au*.<sup>1)</sup> *tis-tù* 'I stretch, lengthen myself', pret. *tis-au* (cp. *tis-s-iù* § 657 p. 191, § 665 p. 197). *lusz-tu* 'I break' intr., pret. *lud-au*. *-sztu* may also come from *-stu* by the influence of preceding *r*, as in *mirsz-tù* 'I forget' pret. *mirsz-au*, 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-au*; *styr-stù* 'I stiffen', pret. *styr-au*; *pa-ši-stu* 'I know', pret. *pa-šinau*; *rúk-stu* 'I grow sour, ferment', pret. *rúg-au*; *dšiu-stu* 'I grow dry, wither', pret. *dšiu-au* inf. *dšiu-ti*. New forms in *-sztu*; *mir-sztu* 'I die', pret. *mir-iaù*, cp. Gr. *ἐμφορεῖν* § 682 p. 213.

Often the stems which serve as groundwork for these words already have present formative suffixes; e. g. *tvī-stu* 'I swell out' (pret. *tvīn-au*) derived from *\*tv-inu*, see § 624 p. 161; *jūnk-stu* 'I grow accustomed' (pret. *jūnkau*) from *\*junku* akin to Skr. *uc-ya-ti*, *vīs-tù* 'I increase, grow larger' from *\*vinsu* cp. pret. *vis-au*, see § 635 p. 173; *ašsz-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. *geltau* from *gelta-s* 'yellow', *karstù* 'I grow bitter' pret. *kartau* from *kartù-s* 'bitter', *brankstù* 'I grow dear' pret. *brangaù* from *brangù-s* 'dear', *šūstu* 'I fish' pret. *šuvaù* from *šuv-i-s* 'a fish'. Compare § 793.

Remark 1. Bezenberger (Beitr. ix 336) and Wiedemann (Lit. Prät., 60) deny that the Lithuanian *to*-present series is connected with those of the other Idg. languages. It certainly is queer that only one Lith. *to*-present has cognates in other languages, namely *mirsztu* 'I die', which comes from the same root as Gr. *ἐμφορεῖν*; and this comparison is a very precarious foundation for any theory.

1) Parallel stem, dial. *gistu*. The *i* in this and similar forms (see Wiedemann, Lit. Prät., 8) I regard as a re-formation on the analogy of Lith. roots such as *gris- glib-* (beside *grīs- glib-*) with *ri<sup>1</sup>li = rī*. Similarly O.C.Sl. *řici* etc. following *řici*, § 534 p. 96.

*siuncziū* 'I send' (inf. *siŋsti*) doubtless instead of \**siuntu* like *jūng-iu* instead of \**jung-u* etc.; and if this word be connected with Skr. *sāv-a-ti suv-d-ti* 'sets in motion, drives, sends' (Wiedemann, Lit. Prät., 84) we should have in \**su-n-tō* a present like Goth. *vi-n-da* § 685 p. 216.

Remark 2. The 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ei-t(i)* 'goes' *lēt-(i)* 'remains' *mēk-t(i)* 'sleeps' *sēs-t(i)* 'sits' (§ 511, pp. 76 f.), gave rise to the dialectic forms Lith. *eiti eiti eitami eitai, lėkti mēkti sėsti*, and so forth, and similarly, in Lett. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ītam* follows *ī-t* 'goes' (Bezzenberger in his Beitr. ix 334 ff.). This re-formation, which has an exact parallel in Celtic (§ 506 p. 72), was in some degree due to the *to*-present stems: *-t(i)* and *-t(u)* were regarded as the same in structure.

§ 687. O.C.Sl. *ĕ-tq*, *m-e-tq*, *pl-e-tq*, see § 680 p. 212. *rastq* 'I grow' inf. *rasti* (*rastū* 'growth', *rastī* 'usury, interest') for \**rād + tq*, cp. *rodū* 'birth'. Mention should also be made of *ob-rētū* 'I found', if this is to be connected with *rējq* 'I knock'; to this the present *-rēštq* (§ 636 p. 174) would have just the same kind of relation as Goth. *sta-n-da* to *stōþ* (§ 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. *βρῆ-θω πῶ-θω* *πλῆ-θω* *πλεῖ-θω* has often been derived from  $\sqrt{dhē}$  'place, do' (Skr. *dādha-ti* etc.), this being deduced from other compounds of this root, both old and new, about which there can be no doubt, as \**syē-dhē* \**syū-dhē* \**syō-dhē* 'make one's own' in Skr. *stā-dhā* 'custom, wont' Gr. *ἔ-θ-ων* 'consuetus' *ἔ-θ-ος* *ἥ-θ-*

-o<sub>2</sub> *iōo-ḍ-a*, Skr. *śrād-dadhāmi* 'I believe, trust' Lat. *crēdō* O.Ir. *cretim* (II § 4 p. 9, § 160.1 p. 479), Avest. *yaoš-dāiti yaoš-dadāiti* 'makes something right, purifies' from *yaoš* = Skr. *yōš* '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 *βῆλθω βῆβλθᾶ*, very much in the same way as the *p* in *gōp-a-ti ju-gōp-a gōp-sya-ti* etc. from *gō-pā- gō-p-ā-*.

Just so the suffix *-d-* may sometimes be the  $\sqrt{dō}$ , which in addition to its meaning 'give' had other meanings like those of *dhē-* (Osthoff, *Perf.* p. 237), cp. I § 404 pp. 298 f., on Skr. *myḍā-ti* pr. Ar. *\*myḍ-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-<sup>1)</sup>*  $\sqrt{yel-}$  'to wish, rule' (Lat. *vel-le* O.Ir. *flaith* 'lordship'): Goth. *val-da* 'I have power, rule', O.C.Sl. *vla-da* 'I have power, rule' (for *\*vol-da*), both for  $\sqrt{yē-dh-}$ , cp. Lith. *val-d-au*; parallel stem Lith. *vel-du* 'I rule' *pa-vėldu* 'I inherit' (Pruss. *weldūnai* pl. 'heritages'). From *\*sger-dh-*, beside Lith. *skir-ti* 'to sever, part': O.H.G. *scrintu* 'I burst, am shattered' by transfer to Class XVI (§ 634 p. 171), Lith. *skėrdėiu* '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-dha-ti* 'gets in motion' (*yūdha-ya-tē*,

1) Per Persson, in his *Wurzelerw.*, 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. *gṛdh-ya-ti*, which he derives from the root of O.H.G. *ger* 'desiring', and Gr. *μέω* Goth. *mits*, which he derives from  $\sqrt{mē-}$  'measure'. For a new discussion of forms with determinative *d* see Johansson, *Idg. Forsch.* II 42 ff., and 46 ff.

2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *yāt-si*), Lith. *ju-dū* 'I move trembling', *jundū* 'I get into a trembling movement, into uproar' (pret. *judaũ* inf. *jūsti*) by transfer to Class XVI (§ 635 p. 172), compare Gr. *ύσμιν-η* 'battle' i. e. \**ύθ+σμιν-* (II § 115 p. 359), Lat. *juba jubeō* (Bugge, Bezz. Beitr. xiv 58 f.).<sup>1)</sup> From *rē-* (Lat. *reor re-rī*): Skr. *ā-rā-dha-t* 'brought to a happy conclusion, set right' (*vādh-ya-tē vādh-nō-ti*), Goth. *ga-rēda* 'I consider, I bestir myself' *ur-rēda* 'I give judgement, decide' O.H.G. *ratu* 'I advise, think of, conjecture, prepare carefully', cp. O.C.Sl. *raditi* 'to consider, care for'. From the same root as Lith. *klō-ju* 'I spread abroad': A.S. *hla-de* 'I load, cover with portable things' (ground-form \**qlō-dhō*), O.C.Sl. *kla-dq* 'I invite, lay down' (cp. Kluge, Etym. Wört. s. v. *laden*).

Two other forms, which others with less reason regard as reduplicated, will also come in here: Skr. partic. *dōdhat-* 'shaking, violent, storming' (*dūdhi-i-š* 'violent') and Gr. *θύσσομαι* (for \**θύθ-λο-μαι*) 'I shake or stir myself', both connected with Skr. *dhā-* 'to shake'.

§ 690. Pr. Idg. *-dō-*. *√(s)ger-* (Gr. *οκείρω* 'I leap, jump, dance'): Skr. *kūr-da-ti* 'jumps, leaps', cp. Gr. *κραδ-άω* 'I swing, brandish' *κόρδ-αξ* a kind of dance, Mid.H.G. *scherze schirze* (weak verb) 'I jump in a lively way'. *√mel-* (Lat. *molō*, Skr. *mlā-ti* 'grows soft, slackens' O.Ir. *mlaith* 'soft, slack', see § 580 p. 122): Skr. *vi-mrāda-ti* 'softens', A.S. *mel-te* 'I melt, grow soft' (Goth. *ga-maltein-s* 'loosening, solution'), cp. Skr. *mṛdū-š* 'soft' compar. *mṛādīyas-*, Gr. *μαλδένω* 'I soften, weaken' *πλαδ-αρό-ς* 'slack, loose, loosened', Lat. *molli-s* for \**mold-u-i-s*; Skr. *mrad-* = \**ml-e-d-* (with the same intermediate vowel *e* which is seen in Gr. *ῥ-σχ-ι-θο-ν* § 694 Lat. *m-e-tō* § 680 p. 212;) from the same root we have a stem \**mel-dh-* Skr. *mārdha-ti* 'slackens, gets lazy or sluggish' Gr. *μαλθακό-ς* 'soft, tender' (beside *μαλυκό-ς*) *μάλθων* (gen. *-ων-ος*) 'weakling'

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. *meldšiu* 'I beg', O.C.Sl. *mladū* 'tender'. Connected with Lat. *sal sal-is*: Lat. *sallō* for \**sal-dō* (I § 369 p. 280), Goth. *sal-ta* 'I salt'. √ *ghēy-* 'pour' (Gr. *χίω χέ-ρεθ*): Lat. *fundō* (perf. *fādī*) conjugated in Class XVI (§ 632 p. 169),<sup>1)</sup> Goth. *giuta* O.H.G. *giuzu* 'I pour'. √ *pley-* 'float, swim' (Gr. *πλίσ(F)ω*): O.H.G. *fliuzu* O.Icel. *flgt* 'I flow', Lith. *plaudšiu* 'I wash, purify' (inf. *plāusti*), *pludšiu* 'I chatter' (inf. *plūsti*), *plūstu* 'I begin to swim, get swimming' (pret. *plūdan*), cp. O.Ir. *do-lod-sa* 'ivi' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *do-luid* § 697. √ *sprey-* (Lett. *sprau-jā-s* 'I rise, spring up', of seed): Mid.H.G. *spruize* A.S. *sprāte* 'I sprout' (A.S. *spreōt* 'stalk, shaft' O.H.G. *spruza* 'prop, pillar' O.H.G. *sprozzo* 'sprout'), Lith. *sprāudšiu* 'I push forcibly into a narrow space, press' (inf. *sprāusti*) *sprūstu* 'I push my way out of a holdfast or fix, get out' (pret. *sprūdan*). With Lat. *clāv-i-s*: *clau-dō*, compare O.Fris. *slāte* (for \**sklāt-*) 'I close' (O.H.G. *sliuzu* is doubtless \**slāzu* transformed by analogy).

Following the same lines of reasoning, I derive Skr. *svāda-tē* Gr. *ἡδῆ-ραι* from \**syā-de-taj* 'enjoys with gusto', and Skr. *svāda-ti* Gr. *ἰδανό-ς* 'suavis' from \**sy-e-de-ti* (cp. Skr. *mr-a-da-ti* above); these forms are obviously akin, and I can see no other way of bringing them together.

§ 691. Aryan. (1.) *-dho-*. Skr. *yō-dha-ti*, *ā-rā-dha-t*, *dō-dhat-*, see § 689. Skr. *ā-kru-dha-t* 'got angry' (*krúdh-ya-ti*), Avest. *xrao-da-itī* 'is anxious', √ *grey-* Skr. *krū-rá-s* 'coarse, rough, terrible, gruesome'. Avest. *a-rao-da-p* 'flowed' (*raodāyē-itī*) from *srey-* Skr. *srāv-a-ti* (*r-* = \**sr-*, cp. O.Pers. *rauta-* I § 558.3 p. 414), cp. Skr. *vi-srūh-* 'stream, body of water' (*-h-* = *-dh-*, I § 480 p. 354), Gr. *ἐνδ-μó-ς*. Skr. *srē-dha-ti* 'he goes wrong', beside *a-srēmān-* 'without error, faultless'. Skr. *sādh-a-ti* 'gets to the goal, puts in order' may be derived from √ *sā-* (Skr. *sā-* 'to bring to an end, conclude' *vy-ava-sāmi*

1) For *f* in *fundō*, see Buck, Am. Journ. Phil. xi 215 f.



*a-sâ-t*, Lat. *sê-ru-s*, O.Ir. *sî-r* 'lasting long or for ever' Umbr. *sevom* Osc. *sivom* 'omnino' = \**sê-yo-m*).

§ 692. (2.) *-do-*. Skr. *kûr-da-ti*, *mr-a-da-ti*, *svd-da-ti* *sv-â-da-ti*, see § 690 p. 220. Skr. *tar-da-ti* (gramm.) 'pierces, splits, opens' (*tyñât-ti*), akin to *târ-a-ti* 'traverses', cp. Lith. *trëndu* 'I am eaten of worms or moths' § 637 p. 174 and *tridë* 'diarrhoea' *pra-trýstu* 'I fall ill of diarrhoea' (pret. *-trýdau*).<sup>1)</sup> Skr. *khâ-da-ti* 'bites to pieces, chews' beside *khân-a-ti* 'digs, grubs'. Skr. *mṛḍá-ti* 'is gracious, pardons' for \**mṛḥ-da-*,<sup>2)</sup> cp. Avest. *mer'ēdika-* n. 'grace, pardon', either from the root of *merḡ-* 'wipe off' Skr. *mṛjá-ti* 'wipes off, purifies of guilt', or from that of Skr. *mṛḥ-ya-të* 'forgets' Lith. *mirsz-ti* 'to forget' (cp. Lith. *už-mirsz-dinu -mirėdinu* 'I cause to forget'). Skr. *īḍa-të* 'honours, praises, prays to' (*īḥ-īḥ*) for \**īḥ-da-tai*, either connected with *yāj-a-ti* 'honours, reverences, offers' partic. *īḥ-já-s* Gr. *ἄγ-ιος* 'honourable, sacred', or with Lat. *aes-tumare* Goth. *dis-tan* weak verb 'to revere, observe, have regard for' O.H.G. *ēr-a* 'honour'; it should be remarked that the Gothic verb may be derived from Idg. \**aiḥ-d-* or from Idg. \**aiḥ-s-t-*, either one or the other. Avest. *xraoḥ-da-iti* 'hardens' (*xrušd-ra-* 'hard') beside Gr. *χρυσ-αινω* 'I make to freeze', in which *s* is itself an extension (§ 664 p. 197); perhaps from the same root, Skr. *krāḍaya-ti* 'makes thick' *krōḍá-s* 'breast, boar'. Lastly, we are doubtless right to add Skr. *hṛḍa-māna-s* *hiḍa-māna-s* 'being angry with some one, hostile' Avest. *zōišda-* 'ugly, disagreeable, αἰσχροίς'.<sup>3)</sup>

§ 693. 3. *-dho-* or *-do-*, uncertain which. To this place belong Avestic verbs. *syaz-da-iti* 'gives place, disappears', cp.

1) *y* in *-trýstu* is not \*original. By analogy of *i*-roots were formed *trēdīnu* 'I have diarrhoea' *traidīnu* 'I excite diarrhoea'.

2) More exactly *mṛḍá-ti*, answering to *liḍhā-* for \**liḥḍhā-* (I § 404 pp. 298 f.). The long *r* is certain from the metre; see Benfey, *Vedica und Verwandtes*, pp. 1 ff., Oldenberg, *Die Hymnen des Rig-Veda*, I 477.

3) The unextended root is not really contained in Lith. *pa-žēida* 'insult, wound' (cp. Zúbatý, *Bezz. Beitr.* XVII 327); this is against the known laws, see I § 470 p. 351 f., and Burg' in Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* XXI 363.

*sīdyo-iti sīdyo-iti* 'drives away', seems to be akin to Skr. *śiṣ-* 'to be over, left behind' (*śināis-ti śiṣ-aya-ti*). *rōiḥ-da-iti* 'hurls, throws against something', perhaps connected with O.C.Sl. *vich-rŭ* 'whirlwind' Russ. *vichati* 'shatter, agitate'.<sup>1)</sup> *avanuḥaḥ-da-itī* 'falls asleep', from Ar. *shap-* 'to sleep' (I § 159 pp. 141 f.). *snā-da-iti* 'washes', beside Skr. *snā-ti*.

§ 694. Greek. (1.) *-dho-*. *ἵ-δρα-θo-ν ἑ-δαρ-θo-ν* 'I slopt' (pres. *δαρ-θ-άτω* § 621 p. 158), beside Lat. *dor-miō* Skr. *dr-a-ti*. Hom. opt. *βε-βρώ-θαι-ς* 'comedas' (Od. A. 35) from *βε-βρώ-σσω* ✓ *ger-*: cp. Lith. *glr-d-inu gér-d-inu* 'I give to drink' (*ger-iū* 'I drink'). *ἦλν-θo-ν* 'I came', beside *προσ-ἦλν-το-ς* perf. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *ἔλῃλν-τε*. *ἐρέχ-θω* 'I pull to and fro, tear, hurl', doubtless akin to O.H.G. *ruc* 'jerk, jolt, sudden change of place'. *ἔσθω* 'esse' (*ἔσθ-τω* §§ 713, 765) beside *ἔδ-ω*. *ἄχ-θo-μαι* 'I am galled or wearied by burdens', beside *ἄχ-νυ-μαι*. *πλή-θω* 'I am full', beside *πίμ-πλη-μι*. *κνή-θω* 'I shave, rub, scratch', beside *κνή* (§ 737). *πῶ-θω* 'I make rot' (perf. *πέπῃθα*), beside *πύo-ν* 'pus': Lith. *pú-d-inu pú-d-au* 'I make rot' Lett. *pa-pú-d-e* 'fallow field' beside *pāv-ū* 'I make rotten'. *βρέ-θω* 'I weigh, press hard upon' (perf. *βέβρεῖθα*), beside *βριαρό-ς βαρ-ύ-ς*.

*ἔσχ-ε-θo-ν* 'I held', beside *ἔσχ-ε-ς* ✓ *segh-*. *κατα-βλ-έ-θει* *καταπίνει* Hesych., beside O.Ir. *gelid* 'consumit' O.H.G. *chela* 'throat'. *φλεγ-έ-θω* 'I burn', beside *φλέγ-ω*. *νέμ-έ-θo-μαι* 'I pasture', beside *νέμ-o-μαι*. *τελ-έ-θω* 'I am', beside *τέλλω*.

*-α-θω* = \**-a-dhō*. *πελ-ά-θω* 'I draw near', beside *πέλα-ς* *πελά-σσαι*. *διωκ-ά-θω* 'I pursue', beside *διώκ-ω*. *ἀμυνά-θω* 'I ward off', beside *ἀμύνω*. *μετα-κι-ά-θω* 'I go after, pursue', beside *κίω* 'I go' Here perhaps should come *γῆθoμαι* Dor. *γάθoμαι* (perf. *γέγηθα γέγαθα*) and *γηθίω* 'I enjoy, am pleased', for \**γᾱf-a-θ-*, beside *γαίω* 'I take pleasure' for \**γᾱf-μo* and *γαῦ-ρο-ς* 'proud': Lat. *gaudeō* for \**gāvideō* (I § 612 p. 462), — observe that *gāvisus* seems to imitate *vīsu-s*, which would show

1) Still more uncertain is Bartholomae's comparison of the word with Skr. *vidu-* in *vidu-pātman-* (Bezz. Beitr. xiii 87).

it to have been formed at some time when there was a present \**gāvideō* still in use; as regards the ending -ειν -eō, see § 801.

*μινύ-θω* 'minuo' beside Skr. *mi-nō-mi*, *μθι-νυ-θω* 'I destroy' beside *μθίνω* *μθίνω* for \**μθι-νφ-ω* Skr. *kṣi-nō-mi*, see § 639 p. 177, § 652 p. 186.

*βαρύ-θω* 'I am weighted' beside *βαρένω* *βαρέ-ς*, cp. end of § 611.

§ 695. (2.) -δο-. *ἐλ-δο-μαι* Hom. *ἐέλδομαι* 'I wish, desire' for \**φελ-δο-*, beside Lat. *vel-le*; cp. Goth. *val-da* O.C.Sl. *vla-da* Lith. *vel-du* with -*dho-* § 689 p. 219. *ἐφλα-δον* 'I popped, burst', beside Skr. *phal-a-ti* 'bursts' or beside *φλ-αίνω* § 621 p. 158. *ἐφλι-δε-ν* *διέρρεεν* Hesych. (*γλιδ-άνει* Hesych., *φλιδη* 'superfluity, abundance') beside *Φλίās* (Curtius, Gr. Etym.<sup>3</sup> 301). *τένδω* 'I gnaw', doubtless for \**τεμ-δω* and connected with *τέμ-νω*; cp. Lat. *tondeō*.

-δ- is very common in other formations, both in verbs and nouns. We may mention further *κρα-δ-αῶ* *κόρ-δ-αῖ* and *ἀμαλ-δ-ένω* *βλα-δ-αρό-ς* § 690 p. 220. Other examples: *κλα-δ-άσαι* *σεῖσαι* Hesych., beside *ἀπο-κλάς* *κλή-ρο-ς* 'lot' (a chip or piece of wood, or other substance, broken off): Lat. *per-cellō* for \**cel-d-ō* § 696. *ἐρρά-δ-αται*, *ράσσετε* for \**ράδ-+σα-τε*, beside *φαίνω* 'I sprinkle' § 621 p. 159. *κε-χλιδ-ότ-α* *ἀνθοῦντα* Hesych., *χλιδή* 'softness, luxuriance, wantonness', *δια-κεχλουδής* *διαρρέων* *ἐπὶ τρυφῆς*, from *χλίω* 'I am soft, effeminate'. *μει-δ-άω* 'I smile' *φιλο-μειδής*, akin to Skr. *smāy-a-tē*: cp. Lett. *smāi-da* 'a smile' *smi-dinā-t* *smi-dinā-t* 'to make laugh'. *κλύζω* 'I flood' for \**κλυ-δ-ιω*, *κλύ-δ-ων* 'wave': Goth. *hlā-t-r-s* 'pure, clean', connected with O.Lat. *cluere* 'purgare' and *cloāca*. *ἐκ-φλύζω* 'I break out' (of a sore or abscess) for \**φλυ-δ-ίω*, beside *ἐκ-φλύω*.

§ 696. Italic. (1.) -dh- in Lat. *ju-b-eō*, see § 689 p. 220, and probably *gaudeō* for \**gāvideō*, see § 694 p. 223.

(2.) -d- in *sallo* for \**sal-dō*, *fundō* *fūdi*, *clau-dō*, see § 690 p. 221. *per-cellō* for \**cel-dō* from the same root as *clad-ēs* (I § 306 p. 249), and connected with Gr. *κλα-δ-* *κλα-*, see § 695.

*cā-dō*, once also *\*cau-dō* (Conway, Verner's Law in Italy, p. 72), connected with Lith. *káu-ju* 'I strike, forge, fight' O.C.Sl. *kov-a* 'I forge'.

(3.) *-dho-* or *-do-* (doubtful). *frendō* beside *fremō* (cf. Osthoff, 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  $\sqrt{\text{ten-}}$ , see § 564 p. 111, and *dē-fendō* *of-fendō*, which may be connected with Gr. *θεῖρω*, and come from  $\sqrt{\text{ghen-}}$  (is *fēnu-m* 'hay' for *\*fen-sno-* or *\*fend+sno-*, meaning 'something cut'?)<sup>1)</sup>

§ 697. Keltic. *-d-* is perhaps the suffix of *do-lod-sa* 'ivi' beside *lwath luad* 'quick, fleeting', beside O.H.G. *fling-u* § 690 p. 221 (so Zimmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 215 f.).

§ 698. Germanic. (1.) *-dho-*. Goth. *val-da* O.H.G. *waltu* 'I rule, hold sway', O.H.G. *scrintu* 'I burst, blow up', Goth. *ga-rēda* 'I reflect upon, meditate' O.H.G. *rā-tu* 'I advise', A.S. *hlā-de* 'I load', see § 689 p. 220. O.Icel. *bregð* 'I set moving quickly, I swing' A.S. *bregde* 'I swing, throb' O.H.G. *brittu* 'I swing, throb' (for *-tt-* see Braune, Ahd. Gr.<sup>2</sup> § 164 Anm. 2 p. 135) doubtless for *\*bhreg-* *-dhō*, beside O.C.Sl. *brъz-ъ* 'quick' *brъz-ati* 'to run quickly'; in Kluge's view of the treatment of pr. Idg. med. asp. + tenuis (Paul-Braune's Beitr. ix 152 f., Paul's Grundr. i 327), another possible ground-form would be *\*bhregh+to* (Class XXIV).

§ 699. (2.) *-do-*. Mid.H.G. *scherze* 'I jump quickly about', A.S. *mel-te* 'I grow soft', Goth. *sal-ta* O.H.G. *salzu* 'I salt', Goth. *giu-ta* O.H.G. *giuzu* 'I pour', O.H.G. *flu-zu* 'I flow', Mid.H.G. *spru-ze* A.S. *sprū-te* 'I sprout', O.Fris. *slū-te* O.H.G.

1) If *-fendō* should be connected with Skr. *bādha-ti* 'compels, oppresses', the latter must be kept distinct from Skr. *vaḍh-* Avest. *vaḍ-* (Gr. *ῥέω*). *-fendō*, which may have once been *\*sandō*, would then belong to Class XVI § 632. Yet another explanation is given by Fick, Wtb. i<sup>4</sup> 463, who compares O.Icel. *detta* 'to fall down'. Conway, Class-Review v 297, explains *tendo* *-fendō* as being for *\*ten-ijō* *\*ghen-ijō* = Gr. *τεῖνω* *θεῖνω*.

*slivzu* 'I shut', see § 690 pp. 220 f. O.Sax. *wrītu* O.H.G. *rīgn* 'I tear, wound, write', cp. Gr. *ῥι-ρη* 'file, rasp' *ῥι-ρό-ς* 'hide still on the body' (but *δέγμα* from *δέγω*). O.Icel. *vel-t* 'I roll' trans. O.H.G. *walzu* 'I roll, turn myself', the latter for \**yf-dō*, beside Lith. *vel-ti* 'to full, mill' Lett. *we'l-t* 'to roll, full, mill', compare Lith. *vel-d-inu* 'I have something full or milled'. Goth. *svil-ta* 'I die slowly away', O.H.G. *swilzu* 'I am devoured by fire, I spend myself in coitu, pine away', O.Icel. *svelt* 'I hunger', beside A.S. *swelan* 'to smoulder, burn slowly and glow': cp. Lith. *svil-d-inu* 'I get something singed'. O.H.G. *sciuzu* O.Icel. *skyt* 'I shoot': Lith. *szgu-d-y-klė* 'shuttle' *szdu-d-au* 'I shoot or move again and again' *szdu-d-inu* (causal of the last) Lett. *schau-d-e-kli-s* 'spool or bobbin' *schau-d-r-s* 'hasty, hot', beside Lith. *szdu-ju* 'I shoot'. O.H.G. *gli-zu* O.Sax. *glitu* 'I gleam, shine', akin to O.Sax. *gli-mo* 'a gleam or sheen, a brightness'. O.H.G. *wā-zu* 'I blow' ground-form \**yō-dō*, connected with O.H.G. *wā-u* 'I blow' Skr. *vā-ti*: cp. Lith. *vē-d-inu* 'I expose to the air, I air'. According Fick Wtb. 1<sup>4</sup> 539 f., O.H.G. *lāzu* Goth. *lēta* 'I let', with which we have connected Gr. *ληθεῖν* (§ 521 p. 85), would come from *√lō-*.

§ 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.) *-dho-*. Lith. *vel-du* 'I rule' O.C.Sl. *ela-dq* 'I rule, hold sway', Lith. *skėrdžiu* 'I burst' instead of earlier \**sker-du*, Lith. *ju-dū* 'I move trembling' *jundū* 'I begin to move all a-tremble', O.C.Sl. *ra-d-iti* 'to meditate or reflect upon', see § 689 p. 219. Lith. *gir-d-inu* *gēr-d-inu* *gir-d-au* 'I give to drink', *pū-d-inu* *pū-d-au* 'I cause to rot' Lett. *pa-pūde* 'fallow land', see § 694 p. 223. With Lith. *į-stō-d-in-ti* 'to give admittance to' Lett. *stā-d-i-t* 'to set, place, plant' *stā-d-s* 'a plant' we may compare Gr. *στα-θ-ερό-ς* 'standing firmly' *στα-θ-μó-ς* 'standing place'. O.C.Sl. *i-dq* 'I go' (inf. *i-ti*) may be closely connected with Gr. *ἰ-θ-μα* 'course, way, step'.

(2.) *-do-*. Lith. *plau-d-žiu* 'I wash, purify' *plu-d-žiu* 'I chatter' *plūstu* 'I begin to swim' *plāu-d-in-ti* 'I cause to be

rinsed' Lett. *plū-d-inā-t* 'I make overflow', Lith. *sprāu-d-šiu* 'I compel' *sprāstu* 'I rush out of a narrow place', see § 690 p. 221. Lett. *smāi-da* 'a smile' *smī-d-inā-t* 'to make laugh', see § 695 p. 224. Lith. *vėl-d-inu* 'I cause to be milled or fulled', *svil-dinu* 'I cause to be singed', *szau-d-š-klė* 'shuttle' Lett. *schau-d-r-s* 'hot, hasty', Lith. *vė-d-inū* 'I air', see § 699 p. 226.

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-šiu* 'I beg' O.C.Sl. *mā-dū* 'tender', see § 690, p. 220.

Lith. *vēr-du* 'I boil' pret. *vir-iaū* inf. *vir-ti*. *mēr-d-šiu* and *mēr-d-mi* 'I lie a-dying' (inf. *mēr-d-ē-ti*), from *mir-ti* 'to die' (Lat. *morbu-s* for *\*mor-dho-s*?). Lett. *ēr/schu* 'I separate' for *\*er-d-ju* (pret. *e'rdū* inf. *e'rst*), beside Lith. *gr-ū* 'I separate, myself, set myself free'. Lith. *skėl-du* and *skėl-d-šiu* 'I split, burst' intrans. (inf. *skėl-d-ē-ti*), *skėl-d-in-ti* 'to make or cause to be split', from *skelū*, i. e. *\*skel-ju* 'I split' (inf. *skėl-ti*).<sup>1)</sup> Lith. *grimstū* 'I sink' pret. *grimzdaū* inf. *grimsti*, beside Lett. *grī'mstu grīmu grīmt*, points to a pres. *\*grem-du* or *\*grim-du*; and Lett. *gi'nstu* 'I perish' pret. *gi'ndū* inf. *gi'n-t* to a present *\*gin-du*. Lith. *srū-d-šiu* 'I make bloody' (inf. *srusti*) beside *pa-srūo-o* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. 'flowed'. Lith. *gė-du* 'I sing' and *gė-d-mi* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *gėsti*), cp. *gaīda-s* 'singer' *gaišys* 'cock', akin to Skr. *gāya-ti* 'sings' *gē-ṣṇú-ṣ* *gē-ṣṇa-s* 'singer' (cp. Per Persson, *op. cit.*, 117, 197).

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-au* inf. *-d-y-ti*. Many

1) Per Persson (Wurzelerweiterung, 38) connects *skeldati* with Gr. *κλάδω*, Lat. *per-cello* (§ 695 p. 224). If so, its *d* would come from Idg. *d*.

of these have been cited already. With *-d-inu* compare Gr. *δαρ-θ-άρω* beside *ἑ-δαρ-θ-ο-ν* (§ 694 p. 223), *φλτ-δ-άρευ* beside *ἑ-φλτ-δ-ε-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-dinu* '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 *vēša-ma-s* fut. *vēši-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 *skelù*, originally belonged to *skél-du skél-d-inu* just as *skél-dinu* did.

O.C.Sl. *ja-dā* 'I ride, vehor' <sup>1)</sup> beside inf. *ja-ch-a-ti* (§ 665 p. 198).<sup>2)</sup> *bādq* 'fio' may be derived from  $\sqrt{bhey-}$ , by assuming *\*bhy-a-dhō* *\*bhy-a-dō* (cp. Lat. *-bam* for *\*bhy-a-m*) or *\*bhā-dhō* *\*bhā-dō*, which got a nasal in Class XVI (§ 637 Rem., p. 176); or even if we suppose that a present *\*bonā* for *\*bhy-onō* (Class XIV, § 624 p. 162) was extended by *-dhō* or *-dō* (cp. Lith. *kāstin-drinu* 'to cause to be heated' derived from *kāl-inu* 'I heat').

## I. CLASSES XXVI TO XXXI.

### PRESENT STEMS WITH *-jo-*.

§ 702. This suffix appears in the forms *-jo-* *-je-* or *-ijo-* *-ije-*. Examples of *-jo-* are Skr. *hár-ya-ti*, Gr. *χαίρω* for *\*χαρ-ιω*, Goth. *vaúr-k-ja*, Lith. *spir-iù sė-ju* O.C.Sl. *sě-ja*. Of *-ijo-*: Skr. *mr-iyá-tē* Gr. *ἰσθ-ίω*, Lat. *suf-fio* (for *\*dhy-ijō*) *farc-iō*, O.Ir. *b-ic* (for *\*bhy-ijō*), A.S. *beo* (also for *\*bhy-ijō*). We are reminded of *-no-* : *-nyo-* (§ 596 p. 138); and the same double forms reappear in the noun-suffix *-jo-* (I § 117 pp. 109 f., § 120 pp. 111 ff., II § 63 pp. 122 ff., III § 194 p. 74).

1) For the initial, cp. Zubatý, Archiv für slav. Phil., xiii 623.

2) The derivation of Ved. *yāda-māna-s yādura-s* from *ya-* 'go' (Grassmann, Wörtb., s. v. *yād*) is extremely doubtful.

which must be the same suffix as this of the verbs (compare such stems as Skr. *pá-ya-ti* 'stinks' *pá-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. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *cap-i-s*<sup>1)</sup> from *cap-iō*, O.H.G. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *hev-i-s* from *heffu* (= Goth. *haf-ja*), Lith. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *tik-i-te* from *tik-iū*; examples of *-i-*, Lat. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *farc-i-s* from *farc-iō*, O.C.Sl. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *vel-i-si* from *vel-ja*.<sup>2)</sup> 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 *-jo-*.

Details as to the Indicative Present will now be given.

Aryan and Greek as a rule have only *-jo-* and *-je-* interchanged, as in the other thematic classes. E. g. Skr. *hár-ya-mi* *hár-ya-si* *hár-ya-ti* etc., like *bhár-a-mi* *bhár-a-si* *bhár-a-ti*;<sup>3)</sup> Gr. *χαλῶ χαλῶς χαλῶσι* etc. like *πέφω πέφεις*, and so forth.

Latin keeps only *-jo-* and *-i-*; e. g. *cap-iō -i-s -i-t -i-mus -i-tis -i-u-nt*, *farc-iō -i-s -i-t* (for *-i-t*); parallel to *farcis* is Umbr. *heris* 'vis'.

In Keltic the inflexions are not all quite clear. With *-jo-* we have nothing but the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. (O.Ir. *-lēciu*) for certain; and *-i-* can be shown in one or two persons (besides the isolated forms Mod.Cymr. imper. *bít bint*, see § 719); thus no doubt can be felt that there once existed a series of forms with *-jo-* : *-i-*. We see *-i-* or *-i-* in 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. imper. O.Ir. *léc*, 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. O.Cymr. *scamnehgint* 'levant' *nertheint* 'they strengthen' (= O.Ir. *\*nertaigit*), cp. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *istlinnit* 'he makes known'

1) The view that *cap-i-t* comes from *\*cap-je-ti* (I § 135 p. 122) must be given up.

2) Goth. *vaúrkeis* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *vaúrkeja*) can hardly be compared with such forms as Lat. *farcis* O.C.Sl. *veliti*; it is formed on the analogy of *fra-vaudeis* = Skr. *vartaya-si* and the like (§ 781. 2).

3) Forms like Avest. *iriliñti* as contrasted with Skr. *riṣ-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. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *-lēcet* may be *\*-lēt-* (*\*-lento*), and the 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *-lēcem* may be *\*-lēm(s)*; the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *-lēci* may be derived from *\*-lēt* or *\*-lēt-t*. The 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *lēcim* is a re-formate, like O.C.Sl. *bimŭ* Serv. *hvalim* (cp. *scaraim caraim*).

The same variation, *-jo-* : *-i-* (see above), is seen in Germanic. But here not only the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. and 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. have *-jo-*, but the 1<sup>st</sup> pl. as well (O.H.G. *heffe-mēs* Goth. *hafja-m*). We should therefore assume as the proethnic scheme in this branch, *-jō -i-zi -i-di -ja-m -i-di -ja-ndi*. The Gothic forms *haf-ji-s haf-ji-þ* are in all probability instead of *\*haf-i-s \*haf-i-þ*, on the analogy of *hafja hafjam hafjand* on the one hand, and *satja satjis* 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*).<sup>1)</sup> Thus it cannot be shewn that Germanic once had the same inflexion as Aryan and Greek.

This variation is found again in Balto-Slavonic; Lith. *lėž-iū lėž-i lėž-ia lėž-ia-me lėž-ia-te* like *sukū suki sūka sūka-me sūka-te*, O.C.Sl. *bor-ja bor-je-ši bor-je-tŭ bor-je-mŭ bor-je-te bor-ja-tŭ* like *bera bere-ši bere-tŭ bere-mŭ* etc. Also the variation *ī*, and here Lith. has regularly *-i-* while Slavonic has regularly *ī*; Lith. *smird-ėiu smird-i smird-(i) smird-i-me smird-i-te* O.C.Sl. *smrĭdā smrĭd-i-ši smrĭd-i-tŭ smrĭd-i-mŭ smrĭd-i-te smrĭd-ctŭ* (§ 637 Rem. p. 176).

Lastly, in Armenian *-i-* (= Idg. *-i-* or *-ī-*) runs through all the persons, as *xaus-i-m* 'loquor' *-i-s -i* pl. *-i-nkē -ikē -i-n*.

In view of these facts it is likely that the parent speech had a twofold inflexion. Some of the *jo*-presents had *-jo-* : *-ie-* analogous to the variation between *-o-* : *-e-*, and others had *-jo-* : *-ī-*. The latter was found, if we may trust the evidence of the Balto-Slavonic group, in such *jo*-verbs as had an *ē*-stem as well as a *jo*-stem, as O.C.Sl. *mĭnja mĭnē-ti*; and if this be

1) The same levelling in late Old High German, *ligu* instead of *ligyn* following *ligis*, *bitu* instead of *bittu* (Goth. *bidja*) following *bitis* (cp. Goth. *uz-bida*).

so, *-jo* : *-l-* must be assumed for Greek stems like *μαίρομαι* (aor. *ἐμαίρην*), cp. §§ 708, 727. As regards the question, which persons took *-jo*- and which took *-l-*, two points may be considered certain. (1) The 1<sup>st</sup> sing. had *-jō* or *-ijō*, and the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *-jo-nt(i)* or *-ijo-nt(i)*.<sup>1)</sup> (2) *-l-* was used with the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. and the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl., as also in the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. imperative (Lat. *cape* for *\*capi*, *farcti*, O.Ir. *lōic*, O.H.G. *ligi*). The 1<sup>st</sup> plural seems to have had *-jo*-. Further details may be sought below.

§ 703. There is none of the formative suffixes of the present stem which is added so often as *-jo*- to stems which have some other suffix already. Compare Skr. *sn-ā-ya-tē* Lat. *nō* (for *\*snā-(j)ō*) beside Skr. *sn-ā-ti* Lat. *n-ā-s*, Skr. *jñ-ā-yā-tē* O.H.G. *kn-āu* (ground-form *\*jñ-ē-jō*) O.C.Sl. *zn-a-je-tū* (ground-form *\*jñ-ē-je-t(u)*) beside Gr. *ἐ-γν-ω-ν*, Lat. *taceō* (for *\*tac-ē-jō*) Goth. *pahai-p* (for *\*tak-ē-je-ti*) beside Lat. *tac-ē-s* O.H.G. *dag-ē-s* (Class X §§ 578 ff.); Lesb. *χλίνω* (for *\*χλ-ν-ω*) beside O.Sax. *hlī-nō-n* etc. (Classes XII, XIII § 611); Skr. *iṣ-aṇ-yā-ti*, Gr. *ἰάω* (for *\*i(σ)-αυ-ω*) beside Skr. *iṣ-aya-t*, Gr. *ἰασθ-άω* beside *ἰλσθ-άω*, O.H.G. *gi-wah-annu* beside Goth. *af-lif-na* (Class XIV §§ 616 ff.); Greek *πρίσσω* (instead of *\*πρινσ-ω*) Lat. *pīns-iō* beside Lat. *pīns-ō*, Lith. *jūng-iu* beside Lat. *jung-ō* (Class XVI §§ 627 ff.); Skr. *i-ṣa-ti* beside *i-ṣa-ti*, Goth. *vah-s-ja* beside Avest. *vaz-ša-iti*, Lith. *tę-s-iū* beside Skr. *ta-sa-ti* Goth. *-pin-sa*, Skr. *tr-as-ya-ti* Lith. *tr-es-iū* beside Skr. *tr-āsa-ti* Gr. *τρ-ί(σ)ω* (Class XX §§ 657 ff.), with which is associated the future of which we have examples in Skr. *dā-s-yā-ti* and Lith. *dū'-s-iu* (§§ 747 ff.); O.C.Sl. *istq* (for *\*isk-ja*) beside *iskq* (Class XXIII § 677), O.C.Sl. *ob-reṣtq* beside *-rē-tū?* (Class XXIV § 687); Skr. *yú-dh-ya-tē* beside *yō-dha-ti* Lith. *ju-dū*, Skr. *rā-dh-ya-tē* beside *ā-rā-dha-t*, Gr. *ἰσθ-άω* beside *ἰσθ-ω*, *χλ-ί-ζω* for *\*χλν-δ-ω* as contrasted with *ἐ-φλ-δο-ν*, Lith. *sprāu-d-žiu* beside Mid.H.G. *sprie-ze*, Lith. *skel-d-žiu* beside *skel-du* (Class XXV §§ 688 ff.).

1) I consider Lat. *fūnt* to represent the old inflexion, and not Osc. *fi[ī]et* *fi[i]et*. The Oscan form took the ending of verbs in *-nt*, as did *causazet*. Op. § 1022.

As a secondary suffix *-jo-* originally bore the chief accent, which is usually kept in Sanskrit; *jā-ā-yá-ti trā-yá-tē gṛhā-yá-ti* (§§ 734, 736); *iṣ-aṇ-yá-ti*; fut. *dā-s-yá-ti*. Thus too the intensive Skr. *dē-diṣ-yá-tē* is a secondary form as contrasted with *dē-diṣ-tē*.

This puts in the right light the present formation of later denominatives, which generally have *-jo-*, and that too with its original chief accent; e. g. Skr. *namas-yá-ti arāti-yá-ti pṛtanā-yá-ti gṛhā-yá-ti* Gr. *τελίσω* 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 1<sup>st</sup> pl. Armen. *jana-mē* Gr. Aeol. *τῆμα-μεν* Lat. *plantā-mus* O.Ir. *no chara-m* Goth. *salbō-m* Lith. *jū'sto-me* were originally on the same level as Skr. *dr-ā-mas* Gr. *ῥ-δρ-α-μεν* Lat. *in-trā-mus*; and presents like Skr. *jīva-ti* Lat. *vīvi-t* O.C.Sl. *živě-tū* (from *jī-vá-s* etc.) were the same in principle as Skr. *āja-ti* Lat. *agi-t*. And to these such *jo*-forms as Skr. *pṛtanā-yá-ti dēva-yá-ti* Gr. *τῆμαίω φιλέω* bore the same relation as Skr. *trā-yá-tē* to *trā-tē* (*trā-sva*), *dēdiṣ-yá-tē* to *dēdiṣ-tē* etc.

§ 704. So involved and so intricate are these questions, that it is practically impossible to present the history of the verbal *jo*-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 Present Stems + secondary suffix *-jo-* (§ 703) according to the original stems; and we count as separate Present Classes (viz. nos. XXVII to XXX) those in which the *jo*-suffix, together with the particular kind of stem it may be attacht to, has become a type for forms of some particular

kind. This is not the case with the *-jo-* 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 + *-jo-* *-jio-* 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 (1<sup>st</sup> 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: *\*ghér-jó-* (Gr. *χαίρω*). Further examples of (A) are Skr. *tán-ya-ti* = Gr. *στέλω*, *pác-ya-tē*, *mád-ya-ti* (also Goth. *hafja* O.H.G. *heffu* 'I lift' pr. Germ. *\*háf-jō* = Lat. *cap-iō*?); and of (B), Skr. *mr-iyá-tē áṛṣ-yá-tē tud-yá-tē ś-yá-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. *kárṣ-a-ti* and *kṛṣ-d-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-*.

✓ *gher-*: Skr. *hár-ya-ti* 'takes pleasure in, desires', Umbr. *heris* 'vis' *heriest* fut. 'volet' Osc. *heriad* '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 *piu-s* for *\*pu-ŋi-s*, *suf-fto -bō -bam*, see I § 170 pp. 149 f.),<sup>1)</sup> Lith. *už-veriu* 'I close, shut' *at-veriu* 'I open' (cp. Osc. *veru* 'portam' Umbr. *verof-e* 'in portam' and Lith. *var̃-tai* pl. 'door'). ✓ *sten-*: Gr. *στέλω* (beside *στένω*) 'I groan' Aeol. *sténui* *sténei*, *στένωμαι* Hesych., O.C.Sl. *sten-jā* 'I groan, lament' (inf. *stenu-ti*); the Skr. *tán-ya-ti* 'groans, roars' (cp. *stānayitnú-* beside *tanayitnú-* 'roaring, thundering') may come from *\*ten-jo-* or

1) Another but less probable derivation of these Latin verbs is given in vol. I § 499 p. 386.

\**ty-jō-*. √ *yerg-* 'work': Gr. *ἔργω* for \**Ferg-wo* (the Author, Gr. Gr. 2 § 59 p. 71), O.H.G. *work-(i)u*; parallel stem Idg. \**yrg-**jō-*, see § 707. √ *leug-* 'lucere': Gr. *λέω* 'I see' for \**leuk-**wo*, Lith. *lauk-iu* 'I wait, wait for'. √ *reg-* 'colour, dye': Skr. *raj-ya-ti* 'grows coloured, reddens'. Gr. *ῥέω* 'I colour' for \**rey-wo*. √ *ghedh-*: Avest. *jaidyēiti* 'prays' O.Pers. *jadyānti* 'I pray', Gr. *θίσσασθαι αἰεῖν, ἰκτερεύειν* (Hesych.) for *θισθ-ye* (I § 429 b p. 317). √ *peg-* 'cook': Skr. *pác-ya-tē* intr. 'cooks, ripens' pass. *pac-yá-tē* (see § 710). Gr. *πίσσω* 'I cook, soften' for \**pek'-wo*. √ *spek-* 'spy, see': Skr. *pás-ya-ti* Avest. *spas-yē-iti*, Lat. *spec-iō cōn-spiciō*. √ *iağ-* 'honour': Avest. pass. part. *yezimna-* (= Skr. \**yajyamāna-*), Gr. mid. *ἄζομαι* for \**áy-wo-*; cp. Skr. pass. *ij-ya-tē*, type *B*. √ *plāq-*: Gr. *πλίσσω* 'I strike, smite', O.C.Sl. *pláčq* 'I cry, lament' for \**plāk-jq*. Gr. *κρωζω* 'I caw' for \**xrow-wo*, Lat. *crōc-iō*, Lith. *krak-iū krog-iū* 'I rattle in the throat, grunt' Lett. *krāzu* 'I snore, croak, groan' (for \**krāk-jū*).<sup>1)</sup> √ *spē-* (*spo-*, Lat. *spa-tiu-m*): Skr. *sphā-ya-tē* 'grows, increases' (not actually found), Lith. *spē-jū* 'I have leisure, room, space' O.C.Sl. *spē-jq* 'I have successful issue'. √ *sē-* (*so-*, Lat. *sa-tu-s*): Goth. *saiā* O.H.G. *sau* 'I sow' pr. Germ. \**sē-iō* (I § 142 p. 126), Lith. *sē-jū* O.C.Sl. *sē-jq* 'I sow'. √ *dō-* (*dō-*, Lat. *da-tu-s*) 'give': Skr. mid. *a-dāya-māna-s*, O.C.Sl. *da-jq*; variant stem Skr. pass. *dī-yá-tē*, type *B*. √ *stā-* (*stō-*, Lat. *sta-tiō*) 'stare': Avest. *a-stāya* 'I place myself' O.Pers. *niy-aštaya* 'he commanded', Lat. *stō* for \**stā-iō* Umbr. *stahu* 'sto', O.Ir. *-tau -tō* 'I am' 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *-tai*, Lith. *stō-jū-s* 'I place myself, take my place' O.C.Sl. *sta-jq* 'I place myself'; following type *B* we have the parallel stems Skr. pass. *sthī-ya-tē*, O.C.Sl. *sto-jq* 'I stand', and probably O.H.G. *stēt* (§ 708); cp. § 505 p. 71, § 584 Rem. p. 126. √ *bha-* (*bha-*, Gr. *φα-μειν*) 'cause to appear, make public, make known': Lat. *for* for \**fā-(i)ō-r*, Lith. *bō-jū* 'I ask after, consider' O.C.Sl. *ba-jq* 'fabulor'; still, these verbs may be derived from \**bh-a-iō*

1) Why, Idg. *ō* in Lith.-Lett. becomes sometimes *ū* and sometimes *ā* (Lith. *ō*) is unknown

(cp. Skr. pass. *bhā-ya-tē*, not found in our texts), and their structure be the same as \**tr-ā-iō* (§ 735); compare § 495 p. 55.

§ 707. Type B: \**ghr-iō*.

✓ *mer-* 'die' \**mr-iō*- and \**my-iō*-: Skr. *mr-iyā-tē* Avest. *mer<sup>2</sup>-ye-iti*, Lat. *mor-ior* (I § 120 p. 112), cp. below \**bhy-iō*- \**bhu-iō*-. ✓ *der-* 'tear, flay': Skr. *dūr-yā-tē* for \**dṛ-je*-, Lith. *lir-iū*; type A, Gr. *δέρω* Lesb. *δέρω*. ✓ *sper-*: Gr. *σπαράω* 'I pant, struggle', Lith. *spir-iū* 'I strike with my foot, kick'. ✓ *sqel-*: Gr. *σκάλλω* 'I scrape, hack' for \**σκαλ-ιω*, Lith. *skilū* (for \**skil-iū*) 'I strike a light, kindle'. ✓ *men-* 'think of, meditate': Gr. *μαίνομαι* 'I am wild, enraptured, mad', O.Ir. *do muiniur* 'I think or believe' (for \**man-iō*- \**my-iō*-), O.C.Sl. *mǫn-ja* 'I think'; to either (A) or (B) may belong Skr. *mān-ya-tē* 'thinks' Avest. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *man-ya* O.Pers. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. conj. *maniyāhy* (I § 125 p. 116). ✓ *ghen-*: Skr. *han-yā-tē* 'is struck' instead of \**ghan-yā-tē* (I § 454 Rem. p. 335), O.C.Sl. *žin-ja* 'I cut off, reap'; of type A from this root we have Gr. *θέρω*. ✓ *gem-* 'go': Skr. *-gam-yā-tē*, Gr. *βαίω*, Lat. *ven-iō* (I § 204 p. 170, § 208 p. 174); *veniō* might also if we wished be classed as an example of type A. ✓ *bhey-* 'become, be' \**bhy-iō*- and \**bhū-iō*- (so above we had \**mr-iō*- and \**my-iō*-): Gr. \**q(F)-iō* implied by *qā-rv* (§ 713), Lat. *fīō* instead of \**f(i)-iō* with *i* following *fīs* etc. (§ 717), O.Ir. *b-iu*, A.S. *b-eō* (cp. § 722),<sup>1)</sup> Skr. pass. *-bhū-ya-tē*, Gr. Lesb. *qviō* (on Ion. Att. *qēō qēō* see § 523 p. 87, § 527 Rem. 2 pp. 90 f.); from the same root come Lat. *fī-liu-s* and Alban. *bīn* 'I bud' (see G. Meyer, Alban. Stud. III 33, who however, as I think wrongly, assumes *bhī-* as a variant 'root' as well as *bhū-*). ✓ *dhey-* 'shake, stir

1) A different explanation of these verbs is given by Bartholomae, Stud. idg. Spr., II 189 ff., where we see \**bhūyāiō* \**bhūyāi* \**bhūyāi* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. \**bhūyāonti* given as the proethnic forms. This does not agree either with the *i* of A.S. and O.H.G. *biz* (§ 722), nor with the *i* of Lith. *bī-ti* *-bi-me* etc. (§ 727); obviously the relation of Lith. *-bi-me* and O.C.Sl. *bī-mū* is the same as that of *amīdī-me* and *amīdī-mū*.

up': Lat. *suf-fiō* for \**fy-iō*, Skr. pass. *dh̥á-yá-tē* 'is shaken', Gr. Lesb. *θvíω* 'I storm, roar' (*θέω θέω* like *φέω φέω*, see above), O.Icel. *dg* 'I shake' (inf. *dg-ja*). *✓ qeī-*: Skr. *cī-ya-tē* 'is tried, respected', connected probably with Gr. *τίω* 'I pay' (parallel form *τίω*, cp. § 527 Rem. 2 pp. 90 f.); Arcad. *τείω* either for \**te-iō* (A), or more probably an ad-formate of *τείσω* *ἐρεῖσα*. Skr. *kṣī-yá-tē* 'is destroyed' *kṣī-ya-tē* 'exhausts itself, disappears'; from the same root is probably Gr. Hom. *φθίω* 'I am destroyed'. Skr. *pī-ya-ti* 'abuses, thinks little of, partic. Goth. *fjands* O.H.G. *fient* (foe). *✓ uerǵ-* 'work': Avest. *ver-z-yē-iti*, Gr. *ῥέζω* instead of \**φράζω* \**φράγ-ιω* (I § 299 p. 238), Goth. *vaúrkr-ja*; Gr. *ῥέδω* O.H.G. *wirk(i)u* are of type A, § 706 p. 234. *✓ gherd-* (Lith. *gerda-s* 'cry, message, news', Pruss. *po-gerdaut* 'to say'): Gr. *φράζω* 'I give to understand, announce', Lith. *gird-tiū* 'I apprehend, hear', ground-form \**ghyd-iō*. *✓ ghredh-* (Goth. *gridi-* 'step, grade'): Skr. *gr̥dh-ya-ti* 'steps swiftly towards something', Lat. *grad-io-r* (cp. Osthoff, *M. U.* v p. III). *✓ leiq-* 'linquere': Skr. *ric-ya-tē* and pass. *ric-yá-tē*, Gr. *λίσσωμεν* *λάσσωμεν* Hesych.; cp. p. 129 with the footnote about Latin *licet*. Skr. *chid-yá-tē* 'is cut off', Gr. *σχίζω* 'I split' for \**σχιδ-ιω*. Skr. *kup-ya-ti* 'gets in motion, gets excited', Lat. *cup-iō*, O.C.Sl. *kypļa* 'I flow in waves, boil' for \**kyp-ja*. Gr. \**φύζω* 'I flee', implied by Hom. *πεφύζορας* (Curt. Verb i<sup>2</sup> 327). Lat. *fug-iō*. Skr. *śūṣ-ya-ti* 'dries up, withers' (tr.), O.C.Sl. *sūšq* 'I dry' (intr.) for \**sūch-ia* (inf. *sūcha-ti*); of type A we have Lith. *saus-iū* 'I dry' (intr.).

Gr. *κασσέω* 'I patch' for \**κατ-σιῦ-ιω*, Goth. *siu-ja* 'I sew', Lott. *schu-ja* O.C.Sl. *šijq* for \**siǵ-ja* 'I sew' (I § 60 p. 47, § 131 p. 118, § 143 p. 128, § 147 p. 132), Skr. *śv-ya-ti* 'sews' (part. *syā-tá-s*). Gr. *πρώω* 'I spit, spew' for \*(s)*pīa-iō* (I § 131 p. 119), O.Icel. *spǵ* 'I spit, spew' (inf. *spǵ-ja*) for \**spā-iō*, Skr. *śphṛ-ya-ti* 'spits, spews', not actually found (partic. *śphya-tá-s*), instead of \**sthṛ-ya-ti* (§ came from forms like *tīṣṭhēva abhi-śṣhyā-ta-s*, and then spread all over the verb; Bartholomae,

Ar. Forsch. III 34);<sup>1)</sup> of type *A*, Lith. *spíáu-ju* O.C.Sl. *plju-ja* (I § 147 p. 132); Goth. *speiva* is either for *\*spīu-ō* parallel to Skr. *ṣpīu-a-ti*, or for *\*spīu-ō* parallel to Lith. *spíáu-ju* (so Streitberg, Idg. Forsch. I 513 f.).

Remark. On these roots with the variants *iā* and *iṣ*, see Bartholomae loc. cit., Kretschmer in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXXI 386, Per Persson's Wurzelerweiterung 154 ff. As regards the variants *\*sīā-iō* and *\*sīu-iō*, *\*spīā-iō* and *\*spīu-iō*, it seems most likely that the ending *-iṣ-iō* is due to the analogy of those forms where *-iṣ-* preceded some sonant; to take an example, Skr. *ṣpīyā-ti* being modelled after the fashion of *ṣpīyā-ti* *ṣpīyā-ti*, and *stīyā-ti* following *stīyā-ti* *stīyā-ti* etc. (op. Osthoff, M. U. IV 317); vice versa, Lith. *siū-ti* instead of *\*sīu-ō* is due to the analogy of *siū-ti* etc.

✓ *dhē-* (*dhō-*, cp. Lat. *ad-fa-tim*) 'suck' *\*dhō-iō*: Skr. *dhā-ya-ti* 'sucks' (I § 109 p. 161), Goth. *da-dāja* 'I suckle' (I § 142 p. 127), O.C.Sl. *dō-ja* 'I suckle'; parallel forms of type *A* are O.H.G. *tāu* 'I suckle' Lett. *dē-ju* 'I suck' common ground-form *\*dhē-iō*, cp. Skr. *dhā-yū-ṣ* 'thirsty'. ✓ *dē-* (*dō-*) 'bind': Skr. *d-ya-ti*, Gr. *dēw* for *\*dē-iw* instead of *\*dā-iw*, as *dē-rō-ς* for *\*dā-rō-ς* = Skr. *dī-tā-s*. ✓ *stā-* (*stō-*) 'stare': Skr. pass. *sthī-ya-tē* instead of *\*sthā-ya-tē* (§ 498 p. 61), O.C.Sl. *sto-ja* 'I stand', probably also O.H.G. *stēt* (§ 708 p. 240); parallel *A*-forms, Avest. *ā-stā-ya* etc., § 706 p. 234.

With some roots ending in a vowel, the *i* 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. *\*dō-je-* (I § 109 a. p. 101), whence by analogy *dayi-ta-s* *day-aya-ti*; so too we notice *cha-ya-ti* *chayī-tvā* *chāy-aya-ti* beside *ch-ya-ti* 'outs up' (partic. *chā-ta-s*). The pr. Greek form which answered to *dā-ya-tē*, to wit, *\*dā-iw*, regarded as made up thus *\*dā-iw*, served as the starting point for *dāi-ow* *dai-rō-ς* *dai-rō-mi*, and from these again we get *dai-omai*, 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. *akambh-* and *stambh-* 'support', which cannot be regularly derived from a single original form.



one group with *ḍāṣṣamai ḍāṣṣasṭai*. *ḍa-i-o-mai* may be compared with the Lith. *gu-i-jū* 'I hunt': from *gu-jū* (*gujañ*) = Lett. *gu-jū* (bye-forms Lett. *gū-nu* Lith. *gū-nu*, § 615 p. 153) sprang *gū-siu gū-ti*; from these again come the presents *gui-jū* and *gui-nū*. Similarly we find Lith. part. pret. *sėj-ės* *jój-ės* from *sē-ju jō-ju* (*sējau jójau*). The principle here exemplified throws light on such forms as Skr. *dhē-nā-ṣ* 'milking' beside Skr. *dhā-ya-ti* O.H.G. *tau*. Compare Per Persson's further remarks on this matter, *Wurzelerweiterung* pp. 115 ff.

Pairs of forms like Skr. *d-yā-ti: dā-ya-tē* recal the two forms of the *iē*-optative, seen for example in Idg. \**dh-iē-t* and \**dhō-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 *-ī-*; and I have already conjectured (§ 702 p. 230) that this ablaut is præthnic 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. *μαίνομαι, ἐ-μάνη-ν μεμάνη-ώς μεμάνη-μαι μανή-σομαι*, O.C.Sl. *mīnja, mīnē mīnē-vī mīnē-chū* (Lith. *mīnē mīnē-siu*, on the pres. *menū* see below). *χαίρω, ἐ-χάρη-ν κεχαρη-ώς κεχαρή-σω*. *xalw* (\**xaf-īw*) *ē-xārē-v*. Lith. *smirdsiu smirdē-ti* O.C.Sl. *smrīdā smrīdē-ti* 'to stink'. In Slavonic, beside *govĭja govē-ti* 'venerari, vereri' (: Lat. *favēre*) we see also *govĕja*, a later re-formate.

In Germanic we have the much discussed class of which one is Gothic *haban* 'to have' (the 3<sup>rd</sup> Weak Conjugation).<sup>1)</sup>

1) See Sievers, *P.-B. Beitr.* VIII 90 ff.; Mahlow, *Lang. Voc. A, E, O*, pp. 12 f., 19 ff., and 148 f.; Kōgel in *P.-B. B.* IX 504 ff.; Bremer, *ibid.* XI 46 ff.; Kluge, in Paul's *Grundriss* I 379 f.; Streitberg, *Germ. Comp. auf -ō-*, in the University Calendar of Freiburg in Switzerland. 1890.

Its connexion with the Balt.-Slav. *io* : *ē*-class is shown by such forms as O.H.G. *dolēm* : Lith. *tylėti*, O.H.G. *lebēm* : O.C.Sl. *-lǫpěti* (Gr. *ἀλιφῆ-ναι*), Goth. *muna munāis* : Lith. *minėti* O.C.Sl. *mǫněti* (Gr. *μυνῆ-ναι*), Goth. *vita vītāis* : Lith. *pa-vydti* O.C.Sl. *viděti*. *io*-structure is seen in forms like O.Sax. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *hebbiu libbiu* pl. *hebbiad libbiad* A.S. *hæbbe libbe*; *libbiu* = O.C.Sl. *-lǫplja*. Then we find *-ē-* in such as O.H.G. *habē-m habē-s* etc., and *-ē-* + *-io-* in Goth. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *habāi-s* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *-di-p* (I § 142 p. 126).

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. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *haba* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *habam* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *habana*, O.H.G. *habu* A.S. *hafu*.<sup>1)</sup> 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.<sup>2)</sup> Now in Balto-Slavonic and Greek, forms of Class II are found associated with *ē*-forms, as Lith. *menù minėti* as contrasted with O.C.Sl. *mǫnję mǫněti*, O.C.Sl. part. *vidomŭ* beside *vidimŭ* from *viděti*, Gr. *ἔδελω ἐδελέσω* (§ 727) — compare Umbr. *neiřhabas* '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.

pp. 15 f., 18 ff., and 32; Sievers, in Paul Braune and Sievers' Beitr. xvi 257 ff.; Bartholomae, Stud. idg. Spr. ii 143 ff.<sup>3)</sup> Hirt, Idg. Forsch. i 204; Streitberg, Zur Germ. Sprachgeschichte, pp. 73 ff.

1) The 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. O.H.G. *hebis* *hebit* may be examples either of *o*-flexion or of *io*-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.) *hebbiu*, as O.H.G. *ligu* instead of *lugg(i)u* following *ligis* etc. On the other hand, we have no right at all to put Goth. *habs* on the same level as *liga* instead of *\*ligja* following *ligis* etc.

*hebbin* might be compared with O.C.Sl. *vidomŭ* and *vidimŭ*, or with Lith. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *smirda* and *smirdi*. There is yet another possibility. With Streitberg, we may derive *hab-and* from \**-ēndi*,<sup>1)</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *haba* comes from \**-ē-m*, with secondary personal ending.

That pr. Germanic also knew the inflexion with *-ē- + -jo-* seems to follow from O.H.G. *rērēm* 'I bellow, bleat, roar'; this word is akin to Lith. *rė-ju*, and points to pr. Germ. \**rai-rē-jō* (§ 741). Compare further § 548 p. 105, on Goth. *rei-ra* 'I tremble, quake' 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *rei-rái-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 *a* and *ē* in all its persons. This must be due to an original series in which some persons had only *ē* and others only *a*. *a* comes from pr. Germ. *ē*, but *ē*, as the A.S. and O.Fris. *a* shows, comes from pr. Germ. *aj*. The verb is intimately connected with O.C.Sl. *stojā stoji-ti* (for \**stojē-ti*), in whose present stem *stoji-* (2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *stoji-ši* etc.) = Idg. *stā-jī-*, 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. *sthi-ya-tē* instead of \**stha-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. *χαίρω* *ἐχαίρω* as contrasted with *χαίρω*, instead of \**χαρ-ιω*, *ἐχαίρω*, *χαίρωνμαι*, and *ἐχαίρωνμαι*). The two stems, \**stā-jō-* 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-s* for \**uē-nto-s*, Streitberg assumes that *ē* becomes *a* only in syllables not bearing the chief accent (p. 18).

\**sta-ji-zi* etc. *stām stāmēs stant* run parallel to *habēm habēmēs habēt*, and *stēs stēt* to *hevis hevit* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *heffu*).

The verb *gām gēm* 'I go' is the exact counterpart of *stām stēm* in every respect. As to the origin of this verb many different theories have been set forth. If our explanation of *stām stēm* is right, it is advisable to link *gām gēm* with Skr. *ja-hā-ti* 'deserts, gives up' pl. *ja-hi-mas* aor. *á-hā-t, ji-hi-tē* 'goes, yields', in which case we must assume the stems \**gha-jo-* \**gha-ī-* and \**gh-ē-*. The latter stem reappears in Gr. *κί-χ-η-μι κί-χ-η-μιν*, if this verb belongs to the same root (§ 594 p. 135).

In Latin, the whole present scheme has *ē-*, and the 1<sup>st</sup> sing., but this person only, has *-jo-* in addition: *videō* for \**ē-īō*, 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *vidēs* etc.: Lith. *pa-výdēiu -vydē-ti* Goth. *vita vitái-þ*. Compare further *rubeō*: O.C.Sl. *rūždā rūždē-ti*, and *valeō*: Lith. *galū galēti*, and so forth, § 590 p. 132. Italic likewise had at one time forms with *-jo-* (and without *-ē-*) in this group of verbs; this we see from Osc. *staít* 'stat' stahint 'stant' Umbr. *stahitu* 'stato'. These imply a stem \**sta-ē-*), which must be regarded as for \**staj-ē-* and compared with O.C.Sl. *stojā-ti*; that is, it is a contamination of \**sto-jo-* and \**st-ē-*. Again, the *c* of *licet* beside *linquō* may perhaps justify our assuming an earlier \**liciō* for \**licy-īō* (Skr. *ricya-tē* Gr. *λίσσωμεν*); see p. 129 footnote. The *o*-present Umbr. *-habas* 'habeas' beside *habe* '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 *-jo-* 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. *vidēs -vidē-tis* may be called injunctive,

1) For the proof that Osc. *i* must be orig. *ē*, and not orig. *i*, I have to thank my pupil G. Bronisch.

and compared immediately with Lith. *minē minē-te* Gr. (i)μάρ- (i)μάρ-τε, the imperative *vidē* may be compared immediately with *minē-k*, which stood to *minē* 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. Aen. i 79, IX 266, XI 172) like *-bat* (§ 505 p. 71 with footnote 2). his state of things was partly due to the analogy of *ē*-verbs with non-syllabic root; these carried the *ē*-suffix right through the verb; for example, Lat. *-plēō* for *\*pl-ē-jē -plēs* (Skr. *prā-si á-prā-t* Gr. πλῆ-ρο), Goth. *vaia* for *\*ū-ē-jō* (O.C.Sl. *vě-jā*, Skr. *rā-ti* Gr. ἄρ-αι). If in these the present and preterite both had originally *ē*, 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 *ē*-verbs with syllabic root to run the *ē* right through the present, and, given Lat. *vidērem* (cp. O.C.Sl. *viděchū* Lith. *pa-vidėsiu* Gr. Dor. ἰδῆσῶ, § 813) and Lat. *vidē-bam vidē-bō*, to form a present *videō vidēs* etc. on the analogy of *-plēō* 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 *-plēs -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 *ē*-stems, except two which crystallised, were absorbed by the *io*-conjugation (§ 592); so the action of this principle can be clearly seen only with forms which contain *-ē + -io-*, as Goth. *vitāis vitāip*. The reason why Gothic chose to replace *\*vitaia \*vitaiaim \*vitaiaind* by *vita vitam vitand* to complete the tense lay in the number of syllables in these words.

Thus O.Sax. *libbiu libda* is a verb like Goth. *vaúrkie*

*vaśrhta* (§ 722). The reason why we find in parallel use O.H.G. *lobet* and Goth. *libáiþ* etc. is simply that in these languages there once was a non-present stem \**lip-ē*, but no such *ē*-stem was ever connected with *vaśrkjan*.

We need not be surprised that it was *jo*-stems that became joined with *ē*-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 *ē* 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 *ē* in non-present stems, I must not be understood to mean that all non-present forms originally had *-ē*. We have in Greek *λέγωμαι κατό-γ* beside *καίω*: *ἐκάνη καήσομαι, μαρούμαι μέμνηα* beside *μαίνομαι*: *ἐμάνην μεμάρημαι*; so in Latin, *vidē vīsu-s* beside *videō*, *habui habitu-s* beside *habēō*, 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 *ē* managed to spread in non-present stems (as *καήσομαι* beside *καίω*, *μεμάρηαι* beside *μέμνηα*, O.H.G. *habēta* beside *hapta*), is a question which need not concern us here.

Remark. In § 583, page 125, we assumed an *ā*-aorist beside the *ē*-aorist, and explained *-ā* in Lat. *occupāre* on the same principle as *-ē* in *vidēre*. It is particularly easy to see resemblance between *vidēre* and *arāre*. *arō arās, arārem*: O.C.Sl. *orjā orachū* = *videō vidēs, vidērem*: O.C.Sl. *vidjā viděchū*.

§ 709. Aryan. Type A. Skr. *hár-ya-ti, raj-ya-ti pác-ya-tē, sphā-ya-tē, ā-dāya-māna-s*, Avest. *jaidyē-iti* O.Pers. *jadyā-mīy*, Avest. *yezimna-*, Avest. *ā-staya* O.Pers. *niy-āstaya*, Skr. *pās-ya-ti* Avest. *spas-ye-iti*, see § 706 pp. 233 f. Avest. *urtaes-ye-iti* 'moves, proceeds' (*urv-* for *vr-*, I § 157 p. 141), parallel *B*-stem *urvis-ye-iti*. Skr. *nāh-ya-ti* 'binds' ✓ *nedh-* (part. *naddhá-s*). Skr. *nās-ya-ti* Avest. *nas-ye-iti* 'disappears, is destroyed' ✓ *nek-*. Skr. *pád-ya-tē* 'goes, falls', Avest. *pod-*

-*yē-iti* 'goes, gets somewhere' ✓ *ped-*. Skr. *māḍ-ya-ti* 'enjoys itself, carouses' beside 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *māt-si* Class I.

Type B. Skr. *mr-iyā-tē* Avest. *mer'-yē-iti* (it is uncertain how we should read the O.Pers. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. pret., whether as *amariyātā* = Idg. \**e-mr-je-to* or as *amriyātā* = Idg. \**e-mr-ije-to*, see I § 289 p. 231), Skr. *ḍṛ-yā-tē*, *han-yā-tē*, *-gam-yā-tē*, *-bha-ya-tē*, *dhū-yā-tē*, *ci-ya-tē*, *kṣṭ-yā-tē* *kṣṭ-ya-tē*, *pī-ya-ti*, Avest. *ver'-z-yē-iti*, Skr. *gṛdh-ya-ti*, *ric-yā-tē* *ric-ya-tē*, *chid-yā-tē*, *kup-ya-ti*, *śūṣ-ya-ti*, *śiv-ya-ti*, *ṣṭhṛ-ya-ti*, *dhā-ya-ti*, *d-ya-ti* 'hinds', *sthī-ya-tē*, *d-yā-ti* 'divides' *dā-ya-tē*, see § 707 pp. 235 ff.

Other, forms which have not the passive meaning. Skr. *jīr-ya-ti* *jār-ya-ti* 'falls into decay' beside *jār-a-ti* Class II A and *jur-ā-ti* Class II B. *dām-ya-ti* 'tames, conquers' for \**dām-je-ti*. *tām-ya-ti* 'grows stupefied, faint' for \**tām-je-ti*. *mī-ya-tē* 'grows less'. *pā-ya-ti* 'stinks'. *tj-ya-ti* 'rushes on'. *hṛṣ-ya-ti* 'is excited, or happy'. Avest. *pešyēinti* 'they fight' pr. Ar. \**pft-ja-nti* (I § 260 p. 212). Skr. *drūh-ya-ti* 'tries to hurt', Avest. part. *drujint-* 'lying, deceiving' O.Pers. *adārūjīya* (read *adurujīya*) 'lied'. Skr. *pra-diśya-ti* 'points to', Avest. *dis-yē-iti* 'shows, teaches'. Skr. *ś-yā-ti* 'whets', Avest. *s-yē-iti* 'cuts', ✓ *kō-*.

Passive. Skr. *kr-iyā-tē* Avest. *ker'-yē-tē* 'is made'. Skr. *str-iyā-tē* *stīr-ya-tē* 'sternitur', Avest. *strya-mna-* i. e. *striya-mna-*. Skr. *śtr-ya-tē* 'is broken to pieces', O.Pers. *asariyātā* 'was killed', common ground-form \**kṛ-je-*. Skr. *bhr-ya-tē* Avest. *bairyētē* 'fertur', the Avestic form being for \**bhṛ-je-*. Skr. *yam-yā-tē* 'is held or inclined'. Skr. *śrū-yā-tē* 'is heard', Avest. *sru-yē-tē* 'is heard, heard of': cp. O.C.Sl. *po-slu-ja*, type A. Skr. *nī-yā-tē* 'is led, brought'. Skr. *dyā-yā-tē* 'is seen'. Skr. *śas-yā-tē* 'is praised', O.Pers. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *paḥ-yā-mahy* 'we are mentioned', ✓ *kens-*. Skr. *yuj-yā-tē* 'is yoked or harnessed'. *uc-yā-tē* 'is spoken', ✓ *ueq-*. *bhid-yā-tē* 'is split' (*bhid-ya-tē* 'splits, goes in two'). *idh-yā-tē* 'is kindled', ✓ *ajdh-*. *aj-yā-tē* 'is anointed' from *-añj-*. Avest. *da-yē-tē* 'is set, placed' ground-form \**dha-je-tai*, ✓ *dhē-*; Skr. *dhī-yā-tē* like *sthī-ya-tē* (§ 707 p. 237) with the determinative *-ī-*.

§ 710. As 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 \**dhá-jé-ti*) *dá-ya-tē* (instead of \**dá-jé-taj*, § 707 p. 237) *gṛdh-ya-ti ric-ya-tē* etc., which seems proved for proethnic Aryan by the evidence of Avest. *pešycinti*, § 709 (I § 260 pp. 212 f.), may be compared with the retraction in *dás-ya-ti gir-a-ti hí-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*, *ῥεῖν* '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 *pac-yá-tē ric-yá-tē*, and the language even tolerated *smar-yá-tē*, despite its strong root (cp. *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 *dr̥ś-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 *dákhyati* 'burns up' as compared with the pass. *dahyáte* 'is burnt', since both practically mean the same thing, was the origin of the active forms with passive meaning, *dr̥śyati* and the like. This we could only venture to say if we knew for certain that the word was accented *dr̥śyati*.



§ 711. Armenian. Verbs in *-im*, which originally had middle or passive meaning: *xausim* 'loquor', *erevim* 'I appear'. This *i*-suffix was put to the same use as *-yd-* 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. *arṇi-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 *-ainw* beside *-anw*; thus *mer-ani-m* 'I die' (aor. *mer-ay*) like Gr. *μαραινω* 'I wear away, destroy'.

§ 712. Greek. Type A. *στεινω*, *ἔρδω*, *λεύσσω*, *ῥέζω* 'I colour', *θόσσεσθαι*, *πέσσω*, *ᾄζομαι*, *πλήσσω*, *κρώζω*, see § 706 pp. 233 f., *δείρω*, *τείω*, see § 707 p. 236. Att. *φθείρω* Arcad. *φθῆρω* Lesb. *φθίρω* 'I destroy', pr. Gr. *\*φθιρ-ω* (akin to Skr. *kṣár-a-ti* 'flows, dissolves'); parallel B-stem, Dor. *φθαίρω*. Ion. *αἰρω* Lesb. *ἀέρω* (*ἀνέρω*?) 'I raise' for *\*ἀ-φερ-ω*; parallel B-stem Hom. Att. *αἶρω*. *πείρω* 'I pierce'; cp. O.C.Sl. *porjetŭ* 'cuts to pieces' (inf. *prati*) for *\*př-je-*, type B. *στέλλω* 'I arrange, equip' for *\*στελ-ω*. *σκέλλω* 'I dry'. *κτείνω* Lesb. *κτείνω* 'I slay'; parallel in type B, Lesb. *κταίνω*. *χεζω* 'caco' for *\*χεθ-ω* (perf. *κέθοδα*). *δαίω* 'I kindle' for *\*δαφ-ω* (perf. *δέδηγε*): cp. Skr. pass. *dā-ya-tē*, type B. Of the same sort as *δαίω* are doubtless *καίω καῶ* 'I burn' and *κλαίω κλάω* 'I weep'; see I § 131 pp. 118 f.

Remark. *πείνω χείω* and the like, found in the text of Homer and Hesiod (Curtius, Verb I\* 304 f.), can be explained *\*πλεφ-ω* (Lith. *plėw-jū*) and so forth. But there is practically no objection to regarding them, as many scholars do, as corruptions for Aeolic forms of Class II, *πλεῖω* = *\*πλεφ-ω*.

§ 713. Type B. *χαίρω*, *σπαίρω*, *σκάλλω*, *μαίνομαι*, *βαίνω*, *θνέω*, *τίω*, *φθίω*, *\*ράζω* 'I do', *φράζω*, *λίσσωμεν*, *σχίζω*, *πιφνύσθεις*, *καπσῶω*, *πτῶω*, *δέω*, *δαίω* 'I divide', see §§ 706 f. pp. 233 ff. *φθαίρω*, *αἶρω*, *κταίνω*, see § 712. *βάλλω* 'I throw' for *\*βαλ-ω* *\*gl-īθ*, *✓ gel-*. *καίνω* 'I kill' probably for *\*καμ-ω*, compare *καμόντες* 'the dead' (then *ἐκνον* got *ν* from the present): Skr.

*śám-ya-ti* 'becomes still, is extinguish't for \**hár-ye-ti* (*καίνω* differently explained by Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 428, 432; Fick, I<sup>4</sup> 43). *πρόρω* 'I make shy', cp. Lat. *cōn-ster-nā-re*, *σέρω* 'I drag' cp. *σαίρω* 'I sweep' (with *ῥί*), *σύνλλω* 'I tear to pieces, towse, worry' cp. Lith. *skelù* (\**skel-iù*) 'I split'; the *v* of this form needs explanation. *δέω* 'I beseech, fly, fear' doubtless for \**di-ew*: Skr. *dāt-ya-ti* 'flies'; of type A, Lett. *dēi-ju* 'I dance' (inf. *dēi-t*); the forms *diere dietai* and such like were associated with *iere ietai*, and this caused the formation of *ēr-diesar diemai* and others by analogy of the parts of *ἔημι*. *φράσσω* 'I enclose' for \**φραx-ew*: Lat. *farc-iō* with *ar* = *r*, connected with *frequ-ēns*. *μάσσω* 'I press, knead' ground-form \**māg-iō* ✓ *meng-*, cp. the forms, belonging to Class XXXII, O.C.Sl. *męcā* (2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *męci-si*) 'I soften' (inf. *męci-ti*) Lith. *minkau* 'I knead' inf. *minky-ti*). *σκάζω* 'I limp' ground-form \**sqag-iō*, akin to Skr. *kāṇj-a-ti* 'limps'. *νίζω* 'I wash' ground-form \**nig-iō*: Skr. pass. *nij-ya-tē*. *στίζω* 'I prick, pierce' for \**stir-ew*: O.H.G. *sticch(i)u* 'I stitch' (§ 722). *λίσσομαι* 'I pray' for *λετ-ιο-μαι*, cp. *λετ-έ-σθαι*, Class II B. *χνίζω* 'I scratch, prick, stir up' for \**xnē-ew*, beside O.Icel. *knit* 'I knock against, hurt with a knock' Class II A. *ὀρύσσω* 'I dig' for \**ōryx-ew*: Lith. *rauk-iù* 'I wrinkle', (A). *ἀπο-μύπτω* 'I blow my nose' for \**μyx-ew*: Skr. pass. *muc-yá-tē* 'is set free'; Lith. *mauk-iù* 'I scratch slightly, touch softly', type A.

The theory that *ὄζω* 'I swell', for \**ōd-ew*, does not belong to type A, is doubtful, in spite of an appeal to Lith. *ūd-ēiu* 'I smell'; it is also uncertain to which section belongs *ὄσσομαι* 'I see', for \**og-iō* (cp. I § 319 p. 258). It is risky to connect *ὄσσομαι* with Goth. *ah-ja* 'I believe, surmise'.

Forms with Idg. *-ijo-*. *ἵδ-ω* 'I sweat' is usually connected directly with Skr. *svid-ya-ti* O.H.G. *swizzu*. If that is so, *ἱδ-ῖδισι* is due to the analogy of denominatives in *-i-iō* and *ἵδτω* (Aristoph.) is a reformaté like *χρίτω* (§ 775). *ἑσθ-ίω* beside *ἑσθω* 'esse' for \**ed + dhō*, cp. § 694 p. 223, § 763. A form \**qíw* = Idg. \**bhy-ijō* follows from *φῑ-rv* 'sprout, shoot, scion' *φῑ-rv-ς* 'begetter', which must have been derived from it

as though the verbal stem were *qr-* (§ 707 p. 235); a similar origin must be supposed for Lat. *fr-tu-m cupr-tu-s* and others (§§ 715 ff.).

§ 714. The identity of ending in *σφαζω ἔσφαξα* (*σφαγ-* 'slay') and forms like *σφράζω ἔσφραξα* (*σφραξ-* 'enclose') produced *σφάρρω* as a bye-form to *σφάζω*, by analogy with *σφάττω*. Vice versa, we have *βράζω* in late Greek instead of *βράττω* (*βραρ-* 'seethe, bluster, roar') by analogy of such words as *φράζω* (*φραδ-* 'give to understand'), because almost all the forms of verbs in *-τ-*, *-θ-*, and *-δ-* are alike except in the present stem, *ἔβρασ(α)* like *ἔφρασ(α)*, and so forth. See Mucke, *De Consonarum in Greca lingua geminatione*, I (1883) pp. 17 ff.; Osthoff, *Perfect* 296 ff. and 322 f.

As regards the relation of *μυλνομαι* to *ἐμάνην μεμάνημαι μεμάνηώς μανήσομαι*, or of *χαίρω* to *ἐχάρεν κίχαρηώς κίχαρήσω*, see § 708 pp. 238 ff.

§ 715. Italic. In Latin, post-consonantal *-jō* became *-iō*, just as *\*medju-s* became *mediu-s* (I § 135 p. 122); thus *morior* for *\*moriō(r)* *\*mrjō*. In Oscan, *-iō-* is seen in *heriad* 'velit', and other words.

Lat. *in-ciēns* for *\*-cy-je-* (as *sociu-s* for *\*socu-jo-s*, vol. I loc. cit.) beside *qu-eō* = Skr. *śv-āyāmi* (§ 790). So also *farcio* for *\*farcy-jo* beside *frequ-ēns*.

Why we have now *-i-* and now *-ī-*, as in *cap-i-s* *farc-ī-s*, no rule has so far been discovered to show. Often enough the same verb has both quantities, as *morī-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.C.Sl. *smrīdi-mŭ*). In Umbrian and Oscan all the recorded forms have *-i-* — doubtless an accident: Umbr. *heris hereitu heritu* beside *heriest* 'volet' cp. Skr. *hár-ya-ti*, *an-ovihimu* 'induimino' (*ihī* = *i*) beside Lith. *aviū* 'I wear something on my feet' (1<sup>st</sup> pl. *āvi-me*).

As the present stems of which Lat. *farcio* is one were inflected just like denominatives in *-i-jo-* (§ 777), it cannot be

wondered-at that the analogy of these denominatives caused non-present forms with *-i-* to be coined, such as *farci-tus* beside *fartu-s* from *farciō*; cp. § 713 on Gr. *ἔ-ἴδου* and *φ-ῖ-ρυ*.

In the lists which follow below, *i* or *ī* is added in brackets to show the quantity of the weak-grade vowel in the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular etc.; and it is stated whether *ī* is ever found outside the present stem.

§ 716. Type A. Lat. *ap-(e)eriō op-(e)eriō* (*ī*, *aper-ut aper-tu-s operī-mentu-m*): Lith. *ûž-periu*, see § 706 p. 233. *fer-iō* (*ī*, *feriū feri-tāru-s*): Lith. *bar-iū* 'I scold' O.C.Sl. *bor-ja* 'I fight' and probably O.Icel. *ber* 'I strike' (inf. *berja*) from the ground-form *\*bāf-iō*, type B. Ital. *her-jo- her-ijo- her-i-* in Umbr. *heris heriest hereitu* Osc. *heriad*, see § 706 p. 233, § 715. Lat. *spec-iō* (*ī*, *spec-tu-s*): Skr. *pāś-ya-ti*, see § 706 p. 234. Umbr. *an-ovihimu* 'induimino': Lith. *av-iū* 'I wear something on my feet' (1<sup>st</sup> pl. *āv-i-me* inf. *avē-ti*) and Lett. *āu-ju* 'I put something on my feet' (1<sup>st</sup> pl. *āu-ja-m* inf. *āu-t*) O.C.Sl. *(ob-)u-ja*, same meaning (1<sup>st</sup> pl. *-u-je-mū* inf. *-u-ti*) Lat. *par-iō* (*ī*, *pari-ēt pari-tus*): Lith. *piāu-ju* 'I cut, mow, slay' (*piā-ti-s* 'slice, harvest'). *haur-iō* (*ī*, *haus-tu-s hauri-tu-s*). *jac-iō* (*ī*, *jac-tu-s*). *crōc-iō* (*ī*, subst. *crōci-tu-s*), see § 706 p. 234.

To the same group must belong Lat. *nōlī nōlīte*, from a lost verb *\*velīō*; cp. O.C.Sl. *veljā velē-ti* 'to command', O.H.G. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *willu* 'I wish' Goth. *vīljan vīljands*, see § 505 p. 69.

*stō* (Idg. *\*stā-iō*) came under the influence of presents like *in-trō* for *\*tr-ā-iō*; hence *stās* etc. See § 584 Rem. p. 126. A similar explanation may be given of *for fatur*, see § 495 p. 56 and § 706 p. 234

§ 717. Type B. Lat. *mor-ior* (*i* or *ī*, *mor-tuo-s mori-tāru-s*), Avest. *mer'-ye-iti*, see § 707 p. 235. *or-ior* (*i* or *ī*, *or-tu-s ori-tāru-s*), ground-form *\*r-jo-*, akin to Skr. *r-ṇō-mi* § 639 p. 177. *par-iō* (*ī*, *peperi par-tu-s pari-tāru-s*, *pariret*) for *\*pā-iō* (I § 306 p. 242), *re-periō* 'I bring to light again, find'

(i, -pertu-s); Lith. *per-iù* (1<sup>st</sup> pl. *pēr-i-me*) type *A*. *fiō fi-s fiere fieri* (*fi-tu-m*, cp. Gr. *φῖ-rv* § 713 p. 247): O.Ir. *b-iu* etc., Idg. \**bhy-ijō*, see § 707 p. 235; *f-iō f-iunt* (instead of \**f-iō* \**f-iunt*) took *i* from *fis* etc., a peculiarity which is explained by the unique character of this verb — it is the only one in which the suffix *-iō* carried the chief accent; Osc. *fiiet* 'fiunt' with the ending *-ent* instead of *-ont* (p. 231 footnote). *suf-fiō* (i, -*fi-vī* -*fi-tu-s*) ground-form \**-dhy-ijō*: cp. Skr. *dhā-yā-tē* etc., see § 707 p. 236. *in-ciēns* for \**-cy-je-*, cp. Gr. *ἐγ-κίω* 'I am pregnant' and Lat. *qu-eō* (§ 715 p. 248); probably *-ciēns*; *-κίω* = *fiō* (pr. Ital. \**fy-ijō*): *γίω* Lesb. *γίωω*. *cliēns*, from *√ klej-* 'clinare' (Leo Meyer, Bezz. Beitr. v 182 f.), probably for \**cli-je-*: cp. Skr. pass. *śrī-ya-tē*. *grad-iōr* (i, *gressu-s*; *ag-gredior* with *i* or *i*): Skr. *gṛdh-ya-ti*, see § 707 p. 236. *lac-iō* (i, -*lectu-s*) for \**lk-*, beside O.H.G. *locchōn* 'to entice' (Osthoff, M. U. v p. III). *farc-iō* (i, *fartu-s* *farc-tu-s*). *cup-iō* (i, *cuperet cupiret cupī-vī cupī-tu-s*): Skr. *kup-ya-ti* etc., see § 707 p. 236. *fug-iō* (i, *fūgī fugi-tūru-s*): Gr. *πιδυζότες*, see § 707 p. 236. *in-quiō in-quiunt* (i) for \**sq-ijō*, cp. *in-qu-a-m* (Class X § 583 p. 124) Gr. *ἐν-σπ-ε* 'said', *√ seq-*.

*suō* (*sū-tu-s*) and *spuō* (*spū-tu-s*) probably for \**sū-(j)ō* \**spū-(j)ō* as *neō* for \**nē-(j)ō*: Gr. *καοσέω πρέω* etc., see § 707 p. 236.

§ 718. It is often doubtful to which type. (A) or (B), a word belongs. *ven-iō* (i, *vēnī in-ventu-s*), beside Skr. *-gam-yā-tē* etc., see § 707 p. 235. *cap-iō* (i, *cēpī cap-tu-s*): Goth. *haf-ja* O.H.G. *heff(i)u* 'I lift up'. *sap-iō* (i, *sap-uī sapī-vī*): O.H.G. *int-seff(i)u* 'I mark'. *ap-iō* *coeipiō* (i, *aptu-s*); cp. § 600 p. 144 on Skr. *ap-nō-mi*. *sal-iō* (i, *sal-uī salīr*): Gr. *ἀλλομαι* 'I leap' for *ἀλ-ιο-*. *fod-iō* (i, *fossu-s*, *fodī-rē*).

§ 719. Keltic. It is difficult to understand the Keltic inflexions, because the Third Conjugation in Irish has absorbed all Denominatives in *-iō* *-e-iō* and *-i-iō*, and all Causals in *-e-iō*. 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. *-lēcín* 'I leave, let' for \**leiky-iō* (I § 436 Rem. p. 325): Skr. *ric-ya-tē* etc., type B, see § 707 p. 236. *midniur* 'I give judgement or opinion', beside Gr. *μειδομαι* 'I meditate upon'. *-ciu* 'I see' for \**ces-iō*.

*-tau -tō* 'I am' for \**stā-iō*: Avost. *a-stā-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-iō*. Idg. \**my-iō*: Gr. *μαίρομαι* etc., see § 707 p. 235. *-gainedar* 'is born' from  $\sqrt{\text{gen}}$ : cp. Gr. *γελωμαι*, type A. *biu* 'I am' for \**bhy-iō*: Lat. *fiō* etc., see § 707 p. 235; the stem \**bhy-* must be contained in Mid.Cymr. imper. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *bit* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *bint* (but Mod.Cymr. *bydd-* for \**bij-*), while *-ije-* *-ijo-* is the suffix in Ir. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *biid bith bíd* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *biit bit* and 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *-biam* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *-biat*. *-gniu* 'I make' for \**gn-iō*  $\sqrt{\text{gen}}$  'gignere', goes like *biu*.

Belonging to either (A) or (B): Mid.Ir. *airim* 'I plough': Goth. *ar-ja* Lith. *ar-iù*.

§ 720. Germanic. On the *iō*-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-iō*, and Causals in *-eiō*. 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 protoethnic Germanic: Goth. *haf-ja* O.H.G. *heff(i)u* Goth. *skap-ja* (pret. *skōþ*), 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-tic* etc. (§ 710 p. 245); for Gr. *ἀσκητής* 'scatheless', which must be connected with *skap-ja* (pret. *skōþ*), points to a  $\sqrt{\text{skath-}}$ . That Germanic inherited forms with an accented suffix, type B (cp. *mr-iyá-tē tud-yá-tē*) seems to follow from O.Sax. *thiggian* A.S. *dicgean*.

'to receive, assume' from *√teq-* (Lith. *tėk-ti* 'to reach') and A.S. *friczean* 'to experience' from *√prek-* (Lat. *precari*).

On present stems with *-iō-* as bye-forms of the *ē*-present, such as O.Sax. *hebbiu* beside O.H.G. *habē-m* (Goth. *haba habdi-s*), see § 708 pp. 238 ff.

§ 721. Type A. O.H.G. *wirk(i)u* 'I work' (pret. *worhta worakta*): Gr. *ἔργω*, see § 706 p. 234; parallel B-stems O.H.G. *wurk(i)u* Goth. *vaúrkja*. O.H.G. *liggh(i)u* 'I lie' (pret. *lag*), O.Icel. *ligg* (inf. *liggja*) from *√leg-*; Goth. *liga* instead of \**ligja* follows *ligis* etc., as in later O.H.G. we get *ligu* instead of *ligg(i)u* following *ligis* etc. (§ 702 p. 230). O.H.G. *sizzu* 'I sit' (pret. *saz*), O.Icel. *sit* (inf. *sitja*): compare probably *niðζω* 'I press' (lit. 'I sit upon') for \**ni-sed-ζω* (cp. Skr. pass. *pīḍyatē* for \**pi-zd-je-*), perhaps also *ἕζομαι* (see § 563 p. 111); Goth. *sita* like *liga*. Goth. *ga-hvatja* 'I incite' (part. *hvassa* 'whetted, sharp') O.H.G. *wezzu* 'I whet, sharpen' (pret. *weata*), beside Skr. *cud-* (pres. *cōda-ti*) 'to inflame, incite'. Goth. *hlah-ja* 'I laugh' (prep. *hlōh*). Goth. *saiu* O.H.G. *sāu* 'I sow', pr. Germ. \**sē-jō*: Lith. *sė-ju*, see § 706 p. 234. O.H.G. *tāu* 'I suckle' ground-form \**dhe-jō* beside Goth. *da-dja* (B), see § 707 p. 237.

§ 722. Type B. O.Icel. *ber* 'I strike' (inf. *berja*, pret. *barða*) pr. Germ. \**bar-jō* ground-form \**bh̥-jō*: Lith. *bar-iù*, see § 716 p. 249. Goth. *hul-ja* (pret. *hulida*) O.H.G. *hull(i)u* (pret. *hulta*) 'I cover, hide' ground-form \**kl-jō*, beside O.H.G. *hilu* 'I conceal'. O.Icel. *symja* 'to swim' beside *svima*, pret. *svam*, pr. Germ. \**s(y)um-ja-*. A.S. *beo* 'I am' ground-form \**bh̥(y)-ijō*, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *bis bið* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *beoð* (part. *beónde*), O.H.G. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *bis bist* (for its 1<sup>st</sup> sing. we have *bim*, see § 507 pp. 73 f.): Lat. *fiō* etc., see § 707 p. 235. O.Icel. *dg* 'I shake' (inf. *dg-ja*, pret. *dā-ða*): Skr. *dha-yā-tē* etc., see § 707 p. 236. O.Icel. *lg* 'I destroy, shatter, crush' (inf. *lg-ja*, pret. *lā-ða*): Gr. *λέω* (cp. § 527 Rem. 2 pp. 90 f.). Goth. *vaúrk-ja* (pret. *vaúrkta*) O.H.G. *wurk(i)u* (pret. *worhta*) 'I work' beside O.H.G. *wirk(i)u*, type A: Avest. *ver-z-yē-iti* etc., see § 707 p. 238.

§ 721. Goth. *þourseiþ mik* 'I thirst', lit. 'it thirsts me' (pret. *þaursida*): Skr. *tṣ̥-ya-ti* 'thirsts'. O.H.G. *gurt-(i)u* 'I gird' (pret. *gurta*), beside Goth. *gairda* Class II A. O.H.G. *wurg(i)u* 'I throttle' (pret. *wurcta*): Lett. *wir/chu* 'I jerk' (inf. *wir/si*): parallel we have Lett. *werschu* (*wē'r/chu* and *wērschu*) 'I turn, twist' Lith. *verž-iù* 'I tie', type A. Goth. *þugk-ja* 'I think' (pret. *þūh-ta*); parallel *þagk-ja*, which may answer to Lat. *tongeō*, see § 894. Goth. *bug-ja* 'I buy' (pret. *baūhta*). Goth. *bidja* O.H.G. *bitt(i)u* 'I beg, pray', ground-form \**bhidh-ið* ✓ *bhejdh-*, whose pret. is *baþ bat* following words like *sat* (I § 67 Rem. 3 p. 57); Goth. *us-bida* O.H.G. *bitu* a re-formate like *liga*, see § 702 p. 230. O.H.G. *int-rihhit* 'revelat', later *-rihhit* (part. *int-rigan*). O.H.G. *sticch(i)u* 'I embroider, stitch' (part. *ki-stickit*): Gr. *σιζω*, see § 713 p. 247. O.H.G. *swizzu* 'I sweat' (pret. *swizta*): Skr. *svid-ya-ti* 'sweats': the suffix *-ijo-* is perhaps seen in Gr. *ῥδ-ω* (§ 713 p. 247). Goth. *skap-ja* 'I hurt' (pret. *skōþ*), cp. Gr. *ἀ-σκηθῆς* 'unscathed', § 720 p. 251. O.H.G. *ita-ruch(i)u* 'rumino': Lith. *rūg-iu* 'I gulp, belch'. O.H.G. *scutt(i)u* 'I shake, shatter' (pret. *scutta*): cp. Lat. *quat-iō -cutiō*.

Goth. *siu-ja* 'I sew': Gr. *ῥασάω* etc., O.Icel. *spý* 'I spew' (pret. *spjō* and *spūda*): Gr. *ῥρῶω* etc. See § 707 p. 236. Goth. *da-ddja* 'I give suck': Skr. *dhā-ya-ti* etc., see § 707 p. 237.

§ 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. *hōf, huob*): 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-iù* O.C.Sl. *or-jq* 'I plough'. O.H.G. *swer-iu* 'I swear' (pret. *swuor*).

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 \**kʷl-éjō*, with the same weak root-syllable as is found in Skr. *turāya-ti* and elsewhere (§ 790).



§ 724. Balto-Slavonic. We first deal with forms of which the type is seen in Lith. *lė̃-iù lė̃-ia-me* O.C.Sl. *bor-jā bor-je-mū*. Next, the type Lith. *smird-iù smird-i-me* O.C.Sl. *smrĩdā smrĩd-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 *-iō -iē* running right though.

Type A. Lith. *u̇s-veriu* 'I close, shut' (*-ver-ti*): Lat. *op-(v)eriō*, see § 706 p. 233. *ger-iù* 'I drink' (*gér-ti*). *kelù* (*\*kel-iù*) 'I lift, raise' (*kél-ti*). *želù* (*\*žel-iù*) 'I grow green' (*žél-ti*). O.C.Sl. *mel-jā* 'I grind' (*mlēti* for *\*mel-ti*). *stel-jā* 'I stretch out, spread' (*stīla-ti*). *sten-jā* 'I sigh' (*stena-ti*): Gr. *στεινω*, see § 706 p. 233. *ven-iù* 'I vomit' (*vém-ti*).

Lith. *pláu-ju* 'I wash, lave, rinse' (*pláu-ti*), O.C.Sl. *plu-jā* 'I swim, sail on board ship' (*plu-ti*, parallel *plovā plu-ti*), ground-form *\*pleu-iō*. Lett. *áu-ju* (*áu-t*) O.C.Sl. (*ob-*)*u-jā* (*-u-ti*) 'put on covering to the feet' (Lith. *aunù* instead of older *\*au-ju*), ground-form *\*ey-iō*, cp. Lith. intrans. *av-iù av-ē-ti* § 727. Lith. *száu-ja* 'I shoot' (*száu-ti*), O.C.Sl. *su-jā* 'I throw, sling' (*soo-a-ti*), ground-form *\*skeu-iō*.

Lett. *lēi-ju* (*lē-t*) Lith. *lē-ju* (*lē-ti*) 'I pour' for *\*lei-iō*, compare perhaps with O.C.Sl. *li-jā* 'I pour'. Lett. *slēi-ju* (*slē-t*) Lith. *szlē-jù* (*szlē-ti*) 'I lean against, support', cp. Lith. *szlei-vi-s szlei-pa-s* 'bandy-legged', *✓klej-*. Lett. *smēi-ju* 'I laugh' (*smē-t*), *✓smej-*. Lith. *lē-ju szlē-jù*, possibly for the regular *\*lei-ju \*szlei-ju* by analogy of *lē-ti lē-tu* etc., cp. I § 68 Rem. 2 p. 61.<sup>1)</sup> O.C.Sl. *li-jā* may be placed under Type B (§ 726) along with Lith. *ly-jù* 'I rain' *pa-szly-ju* 'stumble'. Parallel are *āijā* and *lējā*, also *smējā sē* 'I laugh' *zējā* 'hio'. These latter forms, analysed as *lēj-ā smēj-ā zēj-ā*, belong with *sēk-ā* 'I hew, cut' to Class II. A (cp. Gr. *μῆδοναι* 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*.<sup>1)</sup>

Lith. *vercziù* 'I turn' (*verš-ti*). *verk-iù* 'I cry' (*veřk-ti*). *szelp-iù* 'I help; support' (*szelġp-ti*). *sreb-iù* 'I sip, lap' *srēp-ti*; also *srėb-iù* (by levelling with *srėbiaũ srėpti*) and *srob-iù* (*srōp-ti*). O.C.Sl. *črēpljā* 'I make, create' for \**kerp-jā* (*črēpa-ti*). *plēšā* 'I crawl' for \**pelz-jā* (*plēza-ti*).

Lith. *blend-šiũ-s* 'I grow dark', said of the sun (prot. *blendšiaũ-s*).

Lith. *lauk-iu* 'I wait for, expect' (*lauk-ti*): Gr. *λείσσω*, see § 706 p. 234. *rauk-iù* 'I wrinkle' *raiũk-ti* ✓ *reyg-*, cp. Gr. *ῥέγσσω* (B) § 713 p. 247. *mauk-iù* 'I rub smooth' (*maũk-ti*) ✓ *meug-*, cp. Skr. *muc-yá-tē* etc., see § 713 p. 247. *praus-iù* 'I wash my face' (*praiũs-ti*), cp. Skr. *vi-pruṣya-ti* 'spurta out, trickles'.

Lith. *lėš-iù* (*lėsz-ti*) O.C.Sl. *lišā* (*liša-ti*) 'I lick', ground-form \**leigh-iō*, cp. Skr. par. *lih-ya-tē*, (B). Lith. *pėsz-iu* (*pėsz-ti*) O.C.Sl. *pišā* (*pīsa-ti* *pīsa-ti*) 'I write', ground-form \**pejšk-iō*, cp. Skr. *piś-yá-tē* 'is made ready, fitted up', (B). Lith. *šėd-šiu* 'I form, shape' (*šėšt-i*), O.C.Sl. *sišdā* 'I form, build' (*sišda-ti*).

Lett. *dedfu* 'I burn' trans. for \**deg-ju* (*deg-t*): Skr. *dah-ya-ti*, pass. *dah-yá-tē*, ✓ *dhegh-*. O.C.Sl. *česaq* 'I strip off, comb' (*česa-ti*), ✓ *qes-*.

Lith. *rėš-iu* 'I cut, tear' (*rėsz-ti*), O.C.Sl. *rěšā* 'I cut' (*rěza-ti*). Lith. *jėg-iù* 'I have power, I can' (*jėk-ti*), beside Gr. *ἔργη*. Lith. *ũd-šiu* 'I smell' (*ũsti*), cp. Gr. *ὤζω* § 713 p. 247. O.C.Sl. *plačā* 'I cry, lament' (*plaka-ti*): Gr. *πλήσσω*, see § 706 p. 234. Lith. *krok-iù* *krog-iù* 'I give the death rattle, grunt' (*krōk-ti*): Gr. *κρωζω* etc., see § 706 p. 234.

Lith. *spė-ju* 'I have leisure or space' (*spė-ti*), O.C.Sl. *spě-jā* 'I succeed' (*spě-ti*): Skr. *sphā-ya-tē*, see § 706 p. 234. Lith. *sė-ju* (*sė-ti*) O.C.Sl. *sě-jā* (*sě-ti*) 'I sow': Goth. *saiu*, see § 706 p. 234. Lett. *dė-ju* 'I lay eggs' (*dė-t*), O.C.Sl. *dě-jā* 'I lay,

1) Zubatŭ's derivation of *sėjā* from \**zjā-jā* (Lith. *šiō-ju*) is wild in the extreme (Archiv slav. Phil. xiii 623).

set, place' (*dē-ti*): Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *a-dhā-ya-ta* 'he placed for himself'. Lith. *stó-jũ-s* 'I place myself, take my stand' (*stó-ti-s*), O.C.Sl. *sta-jq* 'I place myself' (inf. *sta-ja-ti*): Avest. *a-stā-yā* etc., see § 706 p. 234.

Lith. *spiáu-ju* (*spiáu-ti*) O.C.Sl. *plju-jq* (*pljva-ti*) 'I vomit', cp. Gr. *πρώω* etc., (*B*); see § 707 p. 236. O.C.Sl. *tu-jq* 'I chew', a bye-form of *stē-q*, Class II *B*, § 534 p. 95.

§ 726. Type *B*. Lith. *dir-iũ* 'I flay' (*dir-ti*): Skr. *dīr-yá-tē*, see § 707 p. 235. *spir-iũ* 'I kick' (*spir-ti*): Gr. *σπαιρώ*, see *ibid.* *skir-iũ* 'I part, cut' (*skir-ti*) ✓ *sqr-*. *gir-iũ* 'I praise' (*gir-ti*), beside *gēr-as* 'good'. Lith. *bar-iũ* 'I scold' beside *bar-iũ* (*bār-ti*), O.C.Sl. *bor-jq* 'I fight' (*brati* for *\*bor-ti*), ground-form *\*bhr-jō*: O.Icel. *ber* 'I strike' (inf. *berja*) for pr. Germ. *\*bar-jō*, which probably comes from a form *\*bhr-jō*; on the other hand, we have Lat. *fer-iō* following type *A* (§ 716 p. 249). Lith. *skilũ* (*\*skil-jũ*) 'I strike fire, kindle' (*skil-ti*): Gr. *σκάλλω*, see § 707 p. 235. Lith. *kalũ* (*\*kal-jũ*) 'I strike, forge' beside *kal-iũ* (*kāl-ti*), O.C.Sl. *kol-jq* 'I slaughter' (*klati* for *\*kol-ti*), ground-form *\*ql-jō*.

O.C.Sl. *šn-jq* 'I cut off, reap' (*šē-ti*): Skr. *han-yá-tē*, see § 707 p. 235.

O.C.Sl. *ry-jq* 'I grub up, dig' (*ry-ti*) beside *rũv-q* 'I tear out', Class II *B*, O.H.G. *riu-ti* 'land made fruitful by digging'; Lith. *ráu-ju* 'I pull out of the earth, pull up' (*ráu-ti*), (*A*). Lith. *ly-jũ* 'I rain' (*ly-ti*) with which O.C.Sl. *li-jq* is perhaps connected; parallel Lith. *lẽ-ju*, (*A*), § 725 p. 254. Lith. *gy-jũ* 'I get well, revive' (*gy-ti*).

Lith. *rũg-iu* 'I gulp, belch' (*rũk-ti*): O.H.G. *ita-ruch(iu)* 'rumino'. *grũd-ju* 'I stamp' (*grũs-ti*). O.C.Sl. *sũšq* 'I dry' for *\*such-jq* (*sũcha-ti*): Skr. *śūṣ-ya-ti*, see § 707 p. 236. *lũšq* 'I lie' for *\*lũg-ja* (*lũga-ti*). *pũšq* 'I strike, rub' (*pũcha-ti*): Skr. *piṣ-yá-tē* 'is broken or crushed to bits'.

Lett. *schu-ju* for *\*šju-ju* (pret. *schuo-u* inf. *schũ-t*), O.C.Sl. *šijq* for *\*šig-jq* (*šĩ-ti*) 'I sew': Gr. *κασσέω* etc., see § 707 p. 236.

§ 727. (2) Forms with *-io-* : *-ī-*. There is no evidence that *-io-* was originally dissyllabic. This cannot be inferred from the Lithuanian *av-iū srav-iū* (1<sup>st</sup> pl. *āv-i-me srāv-i-me*) as contrasted with *plāu-jū* (1<sup>st</sup> pl. *plāu-ja-me*); these may have been influenced by persons with the stem *av-i- srav-i-*. The weak grade is regularly *-ī-* in Lithuanian (compare future with *-s-i-*, § 761) and in Slavonic regularly *-ī-*. It appears also in the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural and the participle, Lith. *smirdint-* O.C.Sl. *smirdet-*, while here the original form was most likely *-io-*; on O.C.Sl. *smird-et-* for *-int-*, see § 637 Rem. p. 176.

Idg. *\*bhy-ijo-* *\*bhy-ī-* from  $\sqrt{bhey-}$  'become, be' (§ 707 p. 235) has many descendants in Balto-Slavonic. Lith. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *bi-ti bi-t* 'erat' (erant), which is irregular in having a primary personal ending; plural 1<sup>st</sup> pers. *siktum-bime* 2<sup>nd</sup> *-bite* dual 1<sup>st</sup> *-biva* 2<sup>nd</sup> *-bita*, old injunctives, first used with preterite meaning, now in clauses expressing a wish.<sup>1)</sup> 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. *buvau* to Lat. *fuam*. Along with these goes the Slavonic conditional (impossible condition), originally a preterite injunctive formation, made up with *bi-mi bi bi bi-mū*;<sup>2)</sup> the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. has got a primary personal ending, like Lith. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *būti*. For the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. they used *biste*, a form of the *s*-aorist; to fill up gaps, the 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *bichomū* and 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *biše* were coined by analogy (cp. O.C.Sl. *bēchomū* from *bē* § 587 p. 128, and Lat. *fitum* Gr. *φίτν*). For 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. was used *bq* (beside *biše*), also injunctive in origin, Class II B (§ 523 p. 87).

Remark. The view of these forms set forth by Wiedemann, Lit. Prät. 136 ff., is untenable. O.C.Sl. *bi-mū* cannot be separated from Lith. *-bi-me*; and to regard this Lith. form as an optative with orig. *-i-* is

1) The 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *-bei* admits of several explanations. It probably is akin to O.C.Sl. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *bē* Gr. *ἔπος-; ἔπος* (§ 587 pp. 127 ff.).

2) In the same way were used the aorist forms *bichū by by bychomū* etc.

opposed to phonetic law as completely as the assumption that Lith. *dūsim(e)* 'dabimus' is optative of the *z*-aorist (cp. § 761).

With the remaining Balto-Slavonic verbs of this class we find regularly an infinitive stem in *-ē*, as Lith. *smirdē-ti* O.C.Sl. *smirdē-ti* beside *smirdšiu smirdšā* (cp. O.C.Sl. *bē bēchū bēachū* beside *bi-mī*, like *smirdē smirdēchū smirdēachū* beside *smirdi-mī*). This, as we saw in § 708 pp. 238 ff., has a parallel in Greek; for instance, *μαίρωμαι: μαίρων μεμαρμένος μεμαρμένος μαριδομαι* = O.C.Sl. *mīnjā: mīnē mīnēvū mīnēchū* (Lith. *mīnē mīnēsū*). In Italic and Germanic, there are only some parallel *īu*-presents, as Lat. *nōtī* O.H.G. *willu* Goth. *vīljan*: O.C.Sl. *reljā*; O.Sax. pl. *libbiad* partic. *libbiandi*: O.C.Sl. *-līpljā*. Here we usually find presents in *ē*, as Lat. *valeō*: Lith. *galū*, O.H.G. *lebēm*: O.C.Sl. *-līpljā*.

Lith. *tylū* (i. e. *\*tyl-jū*) *tylē-ti* 'to be still' (long *ī*-sound not original): O.H.G. *dolē-m* 'I suffer, endure', *√tel-* 'carry, bear'. O.C.Sl. *mīnjā mīnē-ti* 'to think': Skr. *mān-ya-tē*, Gr. *μαίρωμαι*, O.Ir. *do muiniur* (Goth. *muna* 'I bethink me, think of, wish' 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *mundaī*, see § 707 p. 235. Lith. *girdšiu girdē-ti* 'I apprehend, hear': Gr. *γράζω*, see § 707 p. 236. O.C.Sl. *drīšā drīša-ti* 'contain, possess': Skr. *dyh-ya-ti* 'makes fast'. O.C.Sl. *-līpljā -līpē-ti* 'to cling to': Skr. pass. *lip-ya-tē* 'is smeared or anointed', O.Sax. *libbiu* O.I.L.G. *lebē-m* 'I live' (the O.Icel. *lifa* 'to be over, remain, live' helps to make clear how one meaning came out of the other). Lith. *pa-vėdšiu -vydēti* 'invadere' O.C.Sl. *vīdā vidē-ti* 'to see': Skr. *vid-yā-tē* 'is known, recognised, found', Lat. *videō*, Goth. *vīta* 'to look at a thing, observe' 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *vitai-s*. O.C.Sl. *būšdu būdē-ti* 'to wake, watch': Skr. *būd-ya-tē* 'awakes, perceives' pass. *budh-yā-tē*. O.C.Sl. *rūdā rūdē-ti* 'to blush': Lat. *rubeō*. O.C.Sl. *kypljā kypē-ti* 'to boil, seethe': Skr. *kup-ya-ti*, Lat. *cupiō*, see § 707 p. 236. O.C.Sl. *stojā stoji-ti* 'to stand': Skr. pass. *sthī-ya-tē* instead of *\*stha-ya-tē*, O.H.G. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *stēs* for *\*sta-īi-zi*, see § 708 p. 234, § 708 p. 240.

O.C.Sl. *govlījā govē-ti* 'venerari, vereri', pres. also *govējā*:

Lat. *faveō*. Lith. *galù* (i. e. \**gal-ju*) *galē-ti* 'to be able': Lat. *valeō* (otherwise Bezzenberger, in his Beitr. xvi 256).

O.C.Sl. *velja* *velē-ti* 'to command': Lat. *nōlt*, O.H.G. *willu* 'I wish' Goth. *viljan* 'to wish', see § 505 p. 69, § 716 p. 249. Lith. *aviù* *avē-ti* 'to be shod': Umbr. *an-ovihimu* ✓ *ey-*, see § 716 p. 249.

Lastly it should be mentioned that in Balto-Slavonic the non-present *ē*-forms are found along with other than *jo*-present stems: e. g. Lith. *menù* *minēti* 'to think of', *gėlbu* *gėlbėti* 'to help', *gedù* *gedėti* 'to lament, mourn', *bundù* *budėti* 'to watch', *sėdmi* *sėdėti* 'to sit', O.C.Sl. part. pres. *gorat-* beside *gorēt-* 'burning' from inf. *gorēti*, partic. *vidomū* 'ὁρῶμενος' beside *vidimū* from inf. *vidēti*. The same thing is seen in Greek, as *ἰδέλω* : *ἰδελέω*, *νίμω* : *νινέμηναι* etc. (Curt. Verb. I<sup>2</sup> 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 + -*jo*- -*ijō*- forming the Present Stem.

§ 728. (A). Pr. Idg. There was a *jo*-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. *dā-dīḥ-yā-tē* beside *dā-dīḥ-je*, *vart-vrt-yā-tē* beside *vart-vart-ti*. Probably the mode of conjugation with -*jo*- was occasioned by that of Class VII; cp. § 703 pp. 231 f.

Skr. *vā-vij-yā-tē* 'makes for, rushes against anything' and Gr. ἄρρω Hom. *ἄρρω* 'I rush towards' for \**Fai-Fix-ia*, apparently from ✓ *ua<sup>a</sup>iq- ua<sup>a</sup>ig-* (§ 465 p. 12).

§ 729. Aryan. Only a few examples in Vedic, but later this type of Intensive spread very widely. *car-cār-yā-tē* from *car-* 'to move'. *nan-nam-yā-tē* from *nam-* 'to bow, incline'.

*nē-nī-yá-tē* from *nī-* 'to lead'. *cō-škū-yá-tē* from *sku-* 'to cover'. *mar-mṛj-yá-tē* *marī-mṛj-ya-tē* from *marj-* 'to sweep off, wipe away'. *kani-kraḍ-yá-tē* from *kraṇd-* 'to roar'. *rē-viṣ-ya-tē* from *viṣ-* 'to be active'. *nō-nuḍ-ya-tē* from *nuḍ-* 'to knock away'. *cā-kaś-ya-tē* from *kāś-* 'to appear'. In Avestic there seems to be only one example, *rā-rīš-ye-iti* 'hurts, wounds', cp. Skr. *rīṣ-ya-ti* 'injures'.

§ 730. Greek. ἄρρω for *\*fai-fra-χω*; see § 728 p. 259. γαρ-γαίρω (for *\*-γαρ-χω*) 'I swarm'; μαρ-μαίρω 'I shimmer, glitter'. With πορ-πόρω 'I well up, heave, change colour' μωρ-μύρω 'I roar, murmur' cp. πτόρω § 713 p. 247. παμ-γαίρω (✓ *bha-*) shows a nasal suffix like *gaίρω* for *\*ga-r-χω*; parallel Hom. παμγαρόσσα. On παρ-πάσσω, παρ-πάλλω, παρ-πάσσει and the like, see § 465 Rem. p. 12.

§ 731. Italic. Lat. *tin-tinnio* (t) beside *tinniō*. *gīn-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 *derrestar* (§ 465 p. 12).

§ 732. Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *glagoljā* 'I speak' for *\*gol-gol-jā*, 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *-je-ši* etc. (*glagola-ti*), with the same reduplication as *glagolū* 'word'. *mrū-mūr-jā* 'I gnaw', 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *-je-ši* etc. (*mrū-mūra-ti*).

§ 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-yá-tē* 'datur' (beside *dī-yá-tē*) by analogy of *dāda-mi dad-mās*, cp. partic. *dat-ti-s*, § 541 p. 102. Skr. pass. *nind-ya-tē* 'is scolded or blamed', if *ninda-ti* is to be analysed *\*ni-nū-e-ti*, see § 550 p. 106. Avest. *yaṣš-ye-iti* 'seethes, boils', which looks like a contamination of Skr. *yēṣa-ti* i. e. *\*ṣa-ṣa-ti* (§ 562 p. 110) and *yās-ya-ti*. Gr. Att. *δειδύσσομαι* Hom. *δειδύσσομαι* i. e. *δειδύσσομαι* 'I frighten, or am frightened' for *\*de-dfai-cho-mai*, beside

*δύ-δοκα* (cp. Johansson, Beitr. gr. Spr., 80 f.). *νίσσμαι* 'I go back, return' for \**ni-s-mi* from  $\sqrt{\text{nes}}$  seems to presuppose \**ni-nes-mi*, which is represented by the Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. mid. *niṣ-atē* (§ 539 p. 99). *λiláσμαι* 'I desire, long for' for \**li-las-mi*, cp. Skr. *laśati* for \**la-lā-ti* § 562 p. 110. *τιράνω* 'I put to, yoke' ground-form \**ti-tṛ-ijō*, cp. Lat. *tendō*, if this is for \**te-tn-ō* (§ 564 p. 111). O.Ir. *-airissiuir* 'I remain standing' for \*(*pari*)-*sistijō(r)* (I § 109 e p. 103, § 516 p. 377), beside Gr. *ἵ-στη-μι* Skr. *tī-ṣṭh-a-ti* Lat. *si-st-ō* § 539 p. 100. O.C.Sl. *deždq* 'I lay' for \**de-d-jā* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *deždeši* etc. (inf. *dě-ti*) beside Lith. *dē(d)-mi* *ded-ū* § 546 pp. 103 f.

A peculiar reduplication is shown by certain Greek verbs. *πα-φλάζω* 'I bubble' beside *φλίδων* 'gossip', *κα-χλάζω* 'I gurgle', *πα-βράζω* 'I chirp'. They are Intensives or Iteratives to the verbs named in § 730.

### Class XXVIII.

Root + -ā-, -ē-, -ō-, + -iō- 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 *iō*-stems.

I believe that the original accentuation of this class is preserved in those Sanskrit verbs which have dissyllabic stems before -ya-, such as *grbhā-yā-ti*, and by Sanskrit passives like *trā-yā-tē* (§ 703 p. 232). *trā-yā-tē* has followed the lead of *pāc-yā-tē* etc., and *trā-yā-tē* : *trā-yā-tē* = *ric-yā-tē* : *ric-yā-tē* (§ 710 p. 245).

### § 735. Unreduplicated Forms.

Pr. Idg. \**trā-iō-*: Skr. *trā-yā-tē* 'protects, saves' pass. *trā-yā-tē*, Lat. *in-trō* for \**trā-iō*, with which is doubtless connected O.C.Sl. *tra-jā* 'I last, endure' (inf. *traja-ti*). Skr. *sn-ā-yā-tē* 'bathes himself', Lat. *nō* for \**sn-ā-iō*. Lat. *hiō* for



\**hiā-jō*, Lith. *hió-ju* 'I open my mouth' (inf. *hió-ti*), cp. Lat. *hi-scō* O.H.G. *gi-nō-m* *gei-nō-m* 'I gape'. Compare § 579. Lat. *arō* for \**arā-jō*, Gr. *ἀράω* 'I plough' pr. Gr. \**ἀρα-(t)ω* (§ 583 p. 124, § 775). With these primary verbs should be classed several very wide-spread onomatopoeic or imitative verbs, as Gr. *εἰάω -ω* 'I roar' Lith. *uló-ju* 'I call, shout for joy, cheer' (also reduplicated *ululó-ju* = Lat. *ululō*): Gr. *ὄχάωμαι -άμαι* 'I bray, hee-haw' Lat. *uncō*; Gr. *μυῖάωμαι -άμαι* 'mugio' Umbr. *mugatu* 'mugito, muttito'.

\**sn-ē-jo-*: Gr. *σπῆ* 'spins' for \**σπη-ις* (Mekler, Beitr. zur Bild. des gr. Verb., p. 18), Lat. *neō*, O.H.G. *nāu* 'I sew'. \**gn-ē-jo-* \**gn-ō-jo-*: Skr. pass. *jñāyá-tē* 'noscitur' (-ē- or -ō-?), O.H.G. *knāu* 'I know' (-ē-, but cp. p. 128 footnote), O.C.Sl. *zna-jā* 'I know' (-ō-, inf. *zna-ti*). Lat. *fl-eō*, O.H.G. *blāu* 'I blow' pr. Germ. \**bl-ē-jō*, perhaps too O.C.Sl. *bl-ē-jā* 'I bleat' (inf. *blēja-ti*). Skr. *v-ā-ya-ti* 'blows', Goth. *v-aia* O.H.G. *w-au* 'I blow', O.C.Sl. *v-ē-jā* 'I blow' (inf. *vēja-ti*). Lat. *taceō* for \**tac-ē-jō*, Goth. *þahdīþ* for \**þahē-ji-di*. Lat. *fav-eō*, O.C.Sl. *gov-ēja* 'vencror, vercor' (§ 590 p. 132). Compare §§ 587, 708.

§ 736. Aryan. Skr. *tr-ā-ya-tē* 'protects' pass. *trā-yá-tē*, Avest. *brā-yē-iti* 'protects': Lat. *-trō*, see § 735. Skr. *śr-ā-ya-ti* 'boils, cooks', cp. Gr. *σι-σῶ-ται*. Pass. *mñ-ā-ya-tē* 'commemoratur', cp. Gr. Dor. *μν-μν-ται*. Pass. *ml-ā-ya-ti* 'grows soft', cp. Gr. Dor. *βλ-ά-ξ*. *py-ā-ya-tē* 'swells' beside *páy-a-tē* *pi-páy-a* *pi-py-ā-ná-s*. *y-ā-ya-tē* pass. 'itur', cp. Goth. *jē-r* and Lith. *jó-ju*. *khy-ā-ya-tē* pass. 'is seen', cp. aor. *á-khy-a-t*. *śy-ā-ya-ti* 'curdles, congeals', cp. part. *śi-tá-s*. Compare §§ 580 and 588.

Also verbs in *-ā-yá-ti* in which the root formed a complete syllable. The speaker imagined these to be parallel with *prtānā-yá-ti* *manā-yá-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. *grbhā-yá-ti* 'seizes' O.Pers. *a-garbāya-m*, Skr. *damā-yá-ti* 'over-

powers' (cp. Lat. *domare*), Skr. *tudā-yā-ti* 'pushes', *pruṣā-yā-ti* 'sprouts out'.

§ 737. Greek. \**δρά-μι* 'I do' *δράω* *δράω*, beside Lith. *darau* 'I do', cp. *δρά-μι* § 621 p. 159. \**πρά-μι* 'I bring into effect, carry out' for \**ῥα-ιῶ* (II § 117 p. 371): El. imper. *ἰν-ε-πῆμι*, cp. Skr. *śv-ā-* in *śv-āvayin-* 'swelling' etc. *ἰάομαι* *ἰώμαι* 'I heal' for \**is-ā-jo-*, is related to *ἰάω* (§ 743) as *δράω* to *δραίω*. *ἀράω* 'I plough', *ὄλῳ*, *ὄγκασμαι*, *μὲκάσμαι*, see § 735 p. 262.

\**χρ-η-μι* 'I give an oracle' *χρῶ* *χρηῖ*, partic. *χρήων* Od. 8. 79. Dor. \**Fl-η-μι* 'I wish, desire' (beside Lat. *vel-le*) *λῶ* *λῆ* E opt. *ληοίτῃν*; the Gort. *ληῖω* (e. g. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. conj. *ληῖοντι*) for \**λῆω* is formed like *χρηόμαι*: was this derived from *τὸ χρῆος*, or was it a formation like Skr. causal *pyā-y-āya-ti?* (cp. § 801). \**κν-η-μι* 'I rub, scratch' (cp. *κν-έω*) *κνῶ* *κνή*. \**ζη-μι* 'I live' for \**gi-ē-iō* (✓ *gei-*) *ζῶ* *ζῆ*; the forms *ἔζην* *ζῆθι* are later and follow Class X (cp. § 496 p. 56); with *-θ-*, *ζώ-ω* Gort. *δῶω* (*δῶω* *δῶοντι* etc.), like O.C.Sl. *znajā* beside O.H.G. *knāu* (§ 735). \**ψ-η-μι* 'I grind or crush to pieces' (Skr. *ps-d-ti* § 587 p. 128) *ψῶ* *ψῆ*.

§ 738. Italic. In Latin only the 1<sup>st</sup> 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 *volō* to take its place in the same scheme as *vult*, *eō* beside *it*.

*-ā-iō*. *in-trō* *nō* *hiō* see §§ 735, 736. *fl-ō*, pl. *fl-ā-mus*. Also *iuv-ō* *laō-ō* and suchlike. See § 583 p. 124.

*-ē-iō*. *plēō* *neō* *flēō* *vieō*, also *taceō* *scateō* *videō* *sileō* *faceō* *valeō* *habeō* etc. See §§ 587, 590, 708.

§ 739. Germanic. Monosyllabic stems in *-ē-* and *-ō-* almost wholly gave up the unthematic inflexion, and took that with *-io-* (§ 592 p. 133). O.H.G. *nāu* 'I sew' *knāu* 'I know' Goth. *vaisa* O.H.G. *uāu* 'I blow', see § 735. O.H.G. *drāu* 'I turn, twist', \**tr-ē-* from ✓ *ter-*, cp. Gr. *τρ-η-μα* 'hole' *τίρ-ε-τρο-ν* 'borer'. There may be Idg. *-ō-iō*

in O.H.G. *bluoīu bluowu* O.Sax. *blōiu* 'I bloom', cp. Lat. *fl-ō-s* (gen. *fl-ō-r-is*); it must remain uncertain whether we have *-ō-iō* or *-ā-iō* as the ending in O.H.G. *gluoīu gluowu* 'I glow' (✓ *ghel*-).

Dissyllabic *-stems* in *-ē* and *-ā* have both non-thematic and *iō*-flexion.

Dissyllabic *ē*-stems in Gothic show *iō*-flexion in forms containing *ai*, such as *pahāis pahāip* (the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. is *paha* 'I am silent') for \**-ē-ji-zi -ē-ji-di*: Lat. *taceō*. Compare also Goth. *vitāip* 'looks at, regards': Lat. *videō*, *sildāip* 'is silent': Lat. *sileō*; *habāip* 'has': Lat. *habeō*. Compare § 592 p. 133, § 708 pp. 238 ff. On the spread of this *ē*-flexion to nasal present stems, see § 605 pp. 146 f., § 623 p. 160; on the formation of *ē*-verbs from nouns, § 781.3.

Dissyllabic *ā*-stems were inflected just like the later stratum of *ā*-denominatives (as Goth. *fairinōu* from *fairina*). The *iō*-extension is clearly seen only in Anglo-Frisian, as A.S. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *-ie* pl. *-iað* for pr. Germ. *-ō-ja* see § 781.1. Examples of "primary" verbs are: Goth. *mitō* 'I mete, measure' O.H.G. *mezzōm* 'I moderate', (Goth. *bi-lāigō* 'I lick all over' (cp. Lith. *laiskū* 'I lick' inf. *laisgy-ti*), O.H.G. *fehōm* 'I adorn' O.H.G. *mahhōm* 'I make'. Compare § 579 p. 121, § 585 p. 126.

#### § 740. Balto-Slavonic.

*-ā-iō-*. Lith. *žiō-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* (*graja-ti*) 'I croak', Lith. *klō-ju* 'spread out' (*klō-ti*), and others. Some of the Lithuanian "Iteratives" are in place here, as *lūdo-ju* beside *lūdau* 'I put in' (*lūdo-ti*), *rýmo-ju* beside *rýmau* 'I sit supported on something' (*rýmo-ti*), *svyrō-yu* 'I move to and fro' (*svyrō-ti*), etc. So in O.C.Sl., Iteratives such as *sūn-ēdaja* 'comedy' (*-ēda-ti*), *raz-vrīzaja* 'I open' (*-vrīza-ti*), *sū-biraja* 'I gather' (*-bira-ti*). Compare §§ 586, 783.

*-ē-ja-*. O.C.Sl. *blē-ja* *vē-ja* see § 735. *grē-ja* 'I warm'

(*grēja-ti*). *gové-jā* 'veneror, vereor' (*gové-ti*): Lat. *faceō*, see § 735. Lithuanian "Diminutives" (Iteratives), as *byrė-jū* 'I scatter a little' or 'I am a little scattered' (*byrė-ti*), *kylė-jū* 'I lift a little' (*kylė-ti*), *lukė-jū* 'I wait a little' (*lukė-ti*). Compare §§ 593, 784.

-*ō-jo-* possibly in O.C.Sl. *zna-jā*, § 735, and perhaps in a few, none can say which, of O.C.Sl. verbs in -*a-jā* (Idg. -*ā*- and -*ō*- ran together in Slavonic).

### § 741. Reduplicated Forms.

The Reduplicated forms with *a*-suffix mentioned in § 595 have some of them the *jo*-extension. Lat. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ululō*, Lith. *ululō-jū* 'I call, shout for joy' (cp. *ulō-jū* Gr. *ὕλαω* § 735 p. 262). Lat. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *murmurō*, cp. O.H.G. *murmurōm murmulōm*. Lat. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *tintinnō tintinō*, beside *tintinn-iō* (Class XXVII).

A later Greek form is *κνγ-κρῆ* 'κινῆ' (Hesych.) beside *κνγ-κρῆ-μι*, see § 594 p. 135.

O.H.G. *rērēm* A.S. *rārie*, connected with Lith. *rė-jū rė-ti* 'I cry out loud', comes from a pr. Germ. \**rai-rē-jō*, see § 708 p. 240. *ē* in *rē-* was a suffix, as may be seen from Lett. *rā-jū* 'I scold' and other words (Per Persson, Wurzelwörter pp. 91, 196).

## Class XXIX.

Nasal Stems + -*jo-* 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 \**κλιν-χ-ω*, beside O.Sax. *hlīnō-n* etc. *χωίνω* 'I separate, choose-out, distinguish' for \**χωι-ν-χ-ω*. *στρομέω* 'I plunder' for \**στρ-ν-χ-ο-μαι*. *δ-τροβήω*

'I urge on' for \**ō-ṛṇ-v-ṛ-ḥw*. *φαίνω* 'I show, make visible' for \**q-a-r-ḥw*, beside Armen. *ba-na-m* 'I open' (\**bha-na-mi*), √ *bha-*. *χαίρω* 'I gape' for \**ḥa-r-ḥw*. See § 601 p. 144, § 611 p. 150. Lat. *li-n-iō* (*li-n-i-mus*) beside *li-nō*, Skr. *vi-līnāmi* 'I dissolve, disintegrate' (intr.), see § 598 p. 142. O.Ir. *ara-chri-nim* 'difficisor, I go to pieces' beside Skr. *ḥṛ-ṇā-ti*, see § 604 p. 146. O.H.G. *spennu* (= Goth. \**spanja*) 'I attract, charm' beside *spa-nu* i. e. \**spō-nō* √ *spē-*, see § 614 p. 152.

-*ṇ-jo-* was used even in pr. Idg., and is especially common in Sanskrit and Greek. Idg. \**is-ṇ-īō*: Skr. *īṣ-ṇ-yā-ti* 'sets in motion, excites' Gr. *λαίνω* 'I quicken' beside Skr. *īṣ-ṇā-ti*, Skr. *tur-ṇ-yā-ti* 'hastens', *bhur-ṇ-yā-ti* 'is brisk'. Gr. *αἰαίνω* 'I make dry' beside Lith. *saus-inu*, *ὀλισθαίνω* 'I slip' beside *ὀλισθαίνω*, *τερο-αίνω* 'I make dry', *κναινω* 'ἐγχευὸς ὄν', *ἐκ-φλ-αίνω* 'I bubble or gush out', *δο-αίνω* 'I do', *κρ-αίνω* 'I complete', *ξ-αίνω* 'I scratch' and many more; -*αίνω* became a very productive suffix. Armen. -*anim*, as *mer-ani-m* 'I die', like Gr. *μυρ-αίνω*. O.H.G. *gi-wahannen* 'to recount' (pret. *gi-wuog*), A.S. *wæcnan* 'awake' (pret. *wōc*). See §§ 618—621, § 623 pp. 156 ff., § 711 p. 246.

§ 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.

Gr. *πρίσσω πρίττω* 'I bray, pound' instead of older \**πτινω-ḥw*, Lat. *pīns-iō* (*pīns-i-mus*), beside Skr. *pināṣ-ti ā-pīṣ-a-ti*.

Skr. pass. *vand-ya-tē* beside *vanda-tē* 'praises, honours' compare *vāda-ti ud-yā-tē*; not a very old form.

Gr. *αἰζέει παίζουσι* probably for \**λινθ-ḥw*; *σάμπ-τω* 'I throw violently at' perhaps for \**σκμπ-ḥw*, beside Skr. *kṣip-*. *λύζω* 'I sob' for \**λυγγ-ḥw*, cp. *λύξ* *λυγγάνομαι* *λυγκαίνω*, √ *s'ā'yk-siā'yg-*. *πλάζω* 'I striko, knock away' for \**πλαγγ-ḥw*. *κλάζω* 'I shout, cry' for \**κλαγγ-ḥw*.

Lat. *vinc-iō* (i) beside Skr. *vi-vyak-ti* 'embraces, surrounds' 3<sup>rd</sup> dual. *vi-vik-tās*. *sanc-iō* (i) beside *sacer*.

Lett. *mī/chu* 'mingo' for \**minz-ju*. Lith. *jūng-iu* 'I yoke, put to'. *skūnd-žiū* 'I weep, bewail myself' beside *pra-skundū* (pret. *-skudaū*) 'I begin to smart'. *sunk-iū* 'I strain, filter, let something run through' beside Lett. *snak-s* 'resin'. Lett. *kamp-ju* 'I grasp, grip' beside Lat. *cap-iō*. Lith. *lenk-iū* 'I bend' ✓ *leq-*. *stėng-iu* 'I put my strength to' beside Gr. *σνίψω*. O.C.Sl. *žędā* 'I covet' (inf. *žę-da-ti*) beside Lith. *geid-žiū*. *ględā* 'I look' (*ględē-ti*) beside O.H.G. *glizu*. *ob-ręstā* 'I find' (*-rešti*).

§ 745. (C) Rare forms, undoubtedly late, are all that meet us in this section. O.C.Sl. *mi-nu-jā* 'I go over' beside *mi-nā*, see § 649 p. 185.

### Class XXX.

Root + *s*-Suffix + *-iō-* (the *-s-iō-* 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.

Skr. *tras-ya-ti* beside *tr-āsa-ti* 'trembles', Lith. *tres-iū* 'I am in rut' used of bitches (inf. *tręsti*). Skr. *pluṣ-ya-tē* pass. of *plō-ṣa-ti* 'burns, singes', Lat. *prūr-iō* (*prūrīre*). Avest. *uṣ-yē-iti* beside *vax-ṣa-iti* 'makes grow', Goth. *vaks-ja* 'I grow' (pret. *vōhs*).

Skr. *śliṣ-ya-ti* 'hangs on to, sticks to' pass. *śliṣ-yā-tē*, Avest. *sraṣ-yē-iti* (same meaning) beside Skr. *śrē-ṣa-ti* (*ś-śli-ṣa-t*). Skr. *iṣ-ya-ti* Avest. *iṣ-yē-iti* 'sets in motion' beside Skr. *i-ṣa-tē*. Skr. *toiṣ-ya-ti* 'is excited, distracted' beside 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ā-toi-ṣ-ur*. *ghuṣ-ya-ti* 'cries out, announces loudly' pass. *ghuṣ-yā-tē* beside *ghō-ṣa-ti*. Pass. *rakṣ-ya-tē* beside *rāk-ṣa-ti* 'guards, saves'. Pass. *gras-ya-tē* beside *gr-asa-ti* 'devours'.

Lith. *tęs-iū* 'I stretch' beside Skr. *tq-sa-ti* etc.

§ 747. (B) With Future Meaning.<sup>1)</sup> Even as early as the proethnic period *-s-īo-* (or *-as-īo-*) 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. *taṣyā-tē* and *ta-sa-ti* (Goth. *-þin-si-þ*) *á-ta-s-mahi*, *śrōṣyā-ti* Gr. *ἰσμεθα* in Hesychius) and *śrōṣā-māna-s*, *vakṣyā-ti* and Avest. *vax-ša-itē* (✓ *ueq-* 'speak'), *sakṣya-ti* (Gr. *ἴξω*) and *sik-ša-nt-* ✓ *segh-* (§§ 657 ff.); very rarely from forms with root-syllables in a weak grade, as Avest. *bašyē-iti* (pr. Ar. doubtless *\*bhāṣīa-ti*, cp. Skr. *sā-ṣya-nt-* § 748) Lith. *bū-siu* (Gr. *qō-ow*) beside Skr. *bhāṣā-ti* (§ 659 p. 194). Sanskrit forms with *-iṣya-* were derived from the *iṣ-*aorist, compare *vedīṣyā-ti* with the aorist stem *vedīṣ-* in *á-vedīṣ-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 *tī-stīr-ṣa-tē* (§ 667 pp. 198 ff.), and the future meaning of such others as O.Ir. *no-gigius* § 668 p. 200.

1) Hadley, On the formation of Indo-European Futures, 1859, in his Essays, pp. 184 ff. [G. Meyer]. Th. Benfey, Über die Entstehung und die Formen des idg. Optativ (Potential) sowie über das Futurum auf sanskritisch *syāmi* u. s. w., Abhandl. d. Göttinger Ges. d. Wissensch., xvi 135 ff. L. Hirzel, Zum Futurum im Idg., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xiii 215 ff. J. Schmidt, La formation des futurs dans les langues indo-germ., Revue de linguistique iii 365 ff. — Bezzenberger, Conditionalformen im Avesta, in his Beitr. ii 160 f. — A. Franke, Das Futurum im Griech., ein sprachgeschichtlicher Versuch, Göttingen 1861. T. H. Key, On the Formation of Greek Futures and First Aorists, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1861, pp. 1 ff. Leskien, Die Formen des Futurums und zusammengesetzten Aorists mit *ss* in den homer. Gedichten, Curtius' Stud. ii 65 ff. P. Cauer, Die dor. Futur- und Aoristbildungen der abgeleiteten Verba auf *-ῶ*, Sprachwiss. Abhandl. aus G. Curtius' Gramm. Gesellsch. pp. 126 ff. J. Wackernagel Griech. *ὑπερθεωρεῖν*, Idg. Forsch. II 151 ff. (In the explanation of *ὑπερθεωρεῖν* and the similar Homeric future forms I concur with Wackernagel, see § 757 Rem. p. 277). Janson, De Graeci sermonis paulopost-futuri forma atque, *ὑψή*, Rastenburg 1844. — J. Schmidt, Über das Futurum im Akel., Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. iv 239 ff.

Only in Aryan and in Balto-Slavonic is the *sjo*-future certain. In such forms as Gr. *δεῖξαι* it cannot be proved that after *s* an *i* has been lost, and they may be regarded as conjunctives of the *s*-aorist, *δεῖξαι* fut. being the same as *δεῖξω* conj. of *ἐδείξα*, and as Lat. *dēxō* beside opt. *dixim*. Special attention should be given to Epic forms like imper. *οἶσε* *οἶσσε* beside fut. *οἶσω*, imper. *ᾔψαισε* beside fut. *ᾔψομαι*, which make strongly for this view (see § 833). On the other hand, I know of nothing to prevent fut. *δεῖξω* being derived from \**δεικ-σζω* (Skr. *dekṣyāmi*). The same doubt is suggested by futures of the type of *τερέω* *τερέω* (cp. Skr. *taniṣyāmi*), which as conj. aor. may be compared with *σιδέω* *σιδέω* from *ἵδευ* (§ 836).<sup>1</sup> We may conjecture that in Greek the Idg. forms with *-sjo-* and the conj. aorist had run together; as, in Lithuanian, beside *dā'siame* *dā'sime* *dā'siate* *dā'site*, the future answering to Skr. *dāsyāmas* *dāsyātha*, we find used in the same way the Aorist Injunctive forms *dā'sme* *dā'ste*. Compare the Author, *M. U.* iii 58 ff.; G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> 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. *-syāci* Lith. *-siu*.

§ 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. *dekṣya-ti* beside pres. *diśá-ti* *diś-ya-ti*. Thus it often is in Lithuanian, as *reñ-siu* from *✓rem-*, *vērsiu* from *✓vert-*. But in Lithuanian the form fell under the influence of the infinitive

1) It is striking that Homer uses no such form as *τερέω* *τερέω* parallel to *σιδέω* for \**τελε-σζω*, *λελεισμεν* for \**λελε-σζω-μεν*.



stem, and we have *āksiu* following *ākti*, instead of \**leiksiu* (pres. *lēknuā*, *lēkū*), and beside *reñi-siu* (*reñ-ti*) a variant *rim-siu*, inf. *rim-ti* (pres. *rimistū*), beside *veřsiu* (*veřsti*) a variant *viřsiu*, inf. *viřsti* (pres. *viřstū*). In Greek, the vocalism of the future always agrees with the *s*-aorist, and this was mostly regulated by the present: *τίρω* like *ἔτερον* from *τίρω*, *γράφω* like *εγγραφα* from *γράφω*, *γλύφω* like *ἐγλυψα* from *γλύφω*, *ὁμόρξω* like *ὁμορξαι* from *ὁμόρξω-μι*. Exceptions: *τείσω* like *ἔτασα*, but pres. *τίρω* (for \**τι-σ-ω*); *μαίξω* like *ἔμειξα*, but pres. *μαίρω-μι*.

✓*rem-* 'rest': Skr. *ra-sya-tē* 'he will rest', Lith. *reñi-siu* 'I will support' (*reñ-ti*) *rim-siu* 'I will grow calm (in mind)' (*rim-ti*). ✓*men-* 'think': Skr. *ma-sya-tē*, Lith. *mī-siu* (*mī-ti*, pres. *mien-ū*). ✓*gei-* 'pay a penalty' etc.: Skr. *cē-śyá-ti* Gr. *τεί-σω* (*τεῖσαι*, pres. *τίρω*). ✓*pley-* 'swim, rinse, wash': Skr. *plū-śya-ti*, Gr. *πλεύ-σο-μαι* (*πλεῦσαι*), Lith. *pláu-siu* (*pláu-ti*). ✓*uert-* 'vertere': Skr. *vart-syá-ti*, Lith. *veřsiu* 'I shall turn' (*veřsti*) *viřsiu* 'I shall fall down' (*viřsti*). ✓*uerg-* 'to work, be active': Avest. part. mid. *var-śya-mna-*, Gr. *ἐργ-ω* (*ἐργαι*). ✓*serp-* 'crawl': Skr. *srap-sya-ti* *sarp-sya-ti* Gr. *ἐρπω* (*ἐρπωαι*). ✓*terp-* 'give joy': Skr. *trap-sya-ti* *tarp-sya-ti* (the latter in the Grammarians), Gr. *τέρπω* (*τέρπωαι*). ✓*derk-* 'see': Skr. *drak-śyá-ti*, Gr. *δέρξομαι* (*ἰδερξάμην*). ✓*qert-* 'cut, strike sharply': Skr. *kart-sya-ti* (instead of \**cart-*, cp. *karta-ti* § 522 p. 85), Lith. *kiřsiu* (*kiřsti*, pres. *keřtū*). ✓*leiq-* 'leave': Skr. *rāk-śya-tē*, Gr. *λείπω* (*λείπωαι*), Lith. *āk-siu* (*āk-ti*, pres. *lēkū*). ✓*mejd-* 'know, see': Skr. *vel-sya-ti*, Gr. *εἶσομαι* (*εἰσασθαι*), Lith. *isz-vįsiu* (*-vįsti*). ✓*deik-* 'show': Skr. *dēk-śya-ti*, Gr. *δείξω* (*δείξαι*). ✓*bhoydh-* 'awake, observe': Skr. *bhōt-sya-ti*, Gr. *πείσομαι*, Lith. *būsiu* (*būsti*). ✓*jeug-* 'iungere': Skr. *yōk-śya-ti*, Gr. *ζεύξω* (*ζεύξαι*), Lith. *jūnk-siu* like *jūnk-ti* following the present *jūngiu*. ✓*peq-* 'coquere': Skr. *pak-śya-ti*, Gr. *πέπω*. ✓*dhegh-* 'burn': Skr. *dhak-śyá-ti*, Lith. *dēk-siu* (*dēk-ti*). ✓*seq-* 'to be with, follow': Avest. *hax-śye-iti*, Gr. *ἔψομαι*, Lith. *sēk-siu* (*sēk-ti*). ✓*ed-* 'eat': Skr. *at-sya-ti*, Lith. *ēsiu* (*ēsti*). ✓*says-* 'grow

dry': Skr. *śākṣya-ti* (pres. *śāṣ-ya-ti*, see I § 557.4 p. 413), Lith. *saūsiu* (*saūsi-ti*).  $\sqrt{dhē}$ - 'place, lay': Skr. *dha-sya-ti*, Gr. *θῆ-σω*, Lith. *dē-siu* (*dē-ti*).  $\sqrt{dā}$ - 'give': Skr. *dā-syá-ti*, (Gr. *δα-σω*, Lith. *dā'-siu* (*dā'-ti*)).  $\sqrt{stā}$ - 'stand': Skr. *stha-sya-ti*, Gr. *στᾶ-σω* *στή-σω* (*στήσαι*), Lith. *stó-siu* (*stó-ti*).

$\sqrt{bhay}$ - 'become': Avest. *bā-šyē-iti*, Gr. *φῶ-σω* (*φῶσαι*), Lith. *bū-siu* O.C.Sl. \**bysq* (only in partic. *bysqšteje* *bysqšteje* 'rò μέλλον'). Analogously, Skr. *sā-šya-nt-* beside *sō-šyá-ti* Avest. *hao-šyē-iti* from  $\sqrt{sey}$ - 'drive on, quicken, enliven' (cp. perf. Skr. *sasṭva* like *babḥāva*). Compare § 747 pp. 268 f.

§ 749. (B) *-esjo-* (*-esjo-*). Skr. *-iṣya-* for *-esjo-*. But Gr. *-eo-* comes from *-esjo-*, unless (more probably) *-eo-* is for *-eso-*, and belongs to the conjunctive aorist (see § 747).<sup>1</sup> The Sanskrit *-iṣya-* 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. *kṣariṣya-ti* 'it will flow, dissolve' (gramm.) answering to Greek *φθερῶ φθερῶ* 'I shall destroy' (Hom. *φθίρω*), Skr. *haniṣya-ti* 'he will strike, kill' to Gr. *θεριῶ -ω* 'I shall strike' ( $\sqrt{ghen-}$ ), Skr. *taniṣya-ti* (gramm.) 'he will stretch' to Gr. *τεριῶ -ω* 'I shall stretch', Skr. *kṣaniṣya-ti* 'he will hurt' (gramm.) to Gr. *κτεριῶ -ω* 'I shall kill'. A few Greek examples have *-eo-* with *-a-* = *-ē-*, as *κρεμάω -ω* 'I shall hang', cp. *κρέμαμαι*, *κρεμάσθαι* 'hanging basket'. Compare §§ 834 ff.

§ 750. Futures with *-sjo-* have also been formed, from the proethnic period onwards, from stems consisting of  $\sqrt{\quad}$  + Determinative. We may mention:

(1) Stems with *-ā-*, *-z-*, or *-ō-* (Class X). \**dr-ā*- 'run': Skr. *drā-sya-ti* (gramm.), Gr. *δρά-σο-μαι*. \**mn-ā*- 'think of, remember': Skr. *mnā-sya-ti* (gramm.), Gr. *μνά-σω* *μνή-σω*. \**gā-*- 'go': Skr. *gā-sya-tē* (gramm.), Gr. *βά-σο-μαι* *βή-σο-μαι*.

<sup>1</sup> I now follow Bartholomae (Bezz. Beitr. xvii 109 ff.) in holding that *-eo-* which follows the root in *τεριῶ γινώσκω* and like words is Idg. *-ē-*, not *-ō-* (I § 110 pp. 108 ff.).

\**y-ē* 'blow': Skr. *vā-sya-ti*, Gr. *ἀν-σο-μαι*. \**gn-ō* 'noscere': Skr. *jñā-sya-ti*, Gr. *γνῶ-σο-μαι*. \**mid-ē* \**meid-ē* 'see, know': Gr. Dor. *ιδῆ-σῶ* Lith. *pa-tydēsiu* ('invidēbo'), Gr. *εἰδῆ-σῶ* Lith. *veizdē-siu*. \**mñn-ē* 'think': Gr. *μνῆ-σο-μαι*, Lith. *minē-siu*. Compare §§ 578 ff.

(2) Stems with *s*-elements (Class XIX and XX). *tr-es* 'tremble': Skr. *tras-iṣyā-ti*, Gr. *τρίσ(α)ω*, Lith. *trēsiau* for \**trēs-siu* (pres. *trēsū*). Skr. *ṛṣ-iṣya-ti* beside *ṛ-ṣa-ti* 'seeks, desires'; *ślēkṣya-ti* beside *śli-ṣya-ti* 'clings to' *á-śli-ṣa-t*; *dakṣ-iṣya-tē* beside *dák-ṣa-ti* 'suits, accommodates'; *akṣ-iṣya-ti* beside *ak-ṣa-tē* 'reaches'. With Skr. *akṣiṣya-ti*, *bhāsiṣya-tē* (gramm.) compare the aorist forms *dkṣiṣur* *ábhāsiṣta* § 839. Gr. *σειώω* for \**σεισ-ω* (perf. *σει-ουσμαι*) from *σειώ* (\**tuei-s-*) 'I shake'; *ξέσ(α)ω* from *ξέω* (\**qs-es-*) 'I scrape, smooth', Lith. *tēsiu* for \**tēs-siu* beside *tē-s-iū* 'I stretch'. Compare §§ 655 ff.

(3) Stems with *dh-* and *d-*elements (Class XXV). Skr. *yōt-sya-ti* beside *yō-dha-ti* 'gets into motion', Lith. *jūsiu* beside *jundū* 'I begin to tremble', \**jeu-dh-*. Skr. *rāt-sya-ti* beside *rā-dh-ya-tē* 'carries out successfully'; *mrād-iṣya-ti* beside *vi-mrada-ti* 'softens' (*mr-ada-*). Gr. *κλάσ(α)ω* from *κλα-δ-* 'break off'. But it is doubtful whether *πλήσῶ* 'I will fill' is \**πλήθ-σω* (cp. *πλήθ-θω* *πέπληται* *πληστέος*) or *πλήθ-σω* (cp. *πλήθω* *πέπληται*), whether *ἐλεύσομαι* 'I will come' is \**ἐλευθ-σομαι* (cp. *ἤλυθ-ον* *ἐλυστέος*) or *ἐλεύ-σομαι* (cp. *ἐλήλυτε* *προσ-ἤλυτο*), whether *πρόσῶ* 'I will make rot' is \**πρόθ-σω* (cp. *πρόθω*) or *πρό-σω* (cp. Lith. *pūv-ū*). There is the same doubt in Lith. futures like *plausiu* from *plau-d-ēiu* 'I wash' (Idg. \**pleu-d-*), *sprāusiu* from *sprāu-d-ēiu* 'I subdue' (Idg. \**spreu-d-*) *gēsiau* from *gē-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 *geidtiū* *gēsiau* *geisti*, and others of this kind, *plausiu* was involuntarily associated with *plaudžiū* *plautsi* as its future. Compare §§ 688 ff.

Forms with other present-signs sometimes make a *sjo*-future in different languages; as Skr. *indhiṣyati* Gr. *κλίσσω* Lith. *jũnksiu*. See below, §§ 752 ff.

§ 751. The indicative with *-sjo-* seems to have had in protoethnic speech a participle attached, but no more (Skr. *dā-syá-nt-*, Gr. *δαί-ων*, Lith. dial. *dū'sius* for \**dū'siā's*, O.C.Sl. *byśqšteje*). In Sanskrit grew up a conj. with Ar. *-ā-*, and an augmented preterite; and Greek developed an opt. with *-j-*. See §§ 753, 759.

§ 752. Aryan. *-sjo-* and *-əsjo-*, but the latter is only to be found in Sanskrit (*-iṣy-*). 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.

To the exx. cited in §§ 748—750 may be added: Skr. *vakṣyá-ti* Avest. *varṣye-itē* beside Avest. *vāk-ti* 'speaks'; Skr. *janiṣyá-ti* Avest. partic. *zāhya-mna-* beside Skr. *jān-a-ti* 'begets'; Skr. *bhantsya-ti* *bandhiṣya-ti* beside *badh-nā-ti* 'binds'; *rōciṣya-tē* beside *rōc-a-tē* 'shines'.

In Sanskrit we meet with specimens of this future made from presents of any kind (cp. § 750). *mārkṣya-tē* (beside *mrakṣya-tē*) from *mārṣ-ṭi* Class I and *mārja-ti* Class II 'wipes' (cp. § 494 p. 55, § 514 p. 81). *sidiṣya-ti* (beside *satsya-ti*) from *sīda-ti* Class IV 'sits' (§ 550 p. 106). *dadiṣya-tē* (beside *dā-syá-ti*) from *dā-dā-ti* Class V *dā-d-a-ti* Class VI 'gives'; *jahiṣya-ti* (beside *hā-sya-ti*) from *jā-hā-ti* *ja-h-a-ti* 'leaves, deserts'. *jāgariṣyá-ti* from *jā-gar-ti* Class V 'wakes' (§ 560 pp. 109 f.). *indhiṣya-ti* from *inddhē* Class XV 'burns' ✓ *ajdh-*. *aśnuviṣya-ti* from *aś-nō-ti* Class XVII 'attains'; *jinvīṣya-ti* from *ji-nō-ti* Class XVII *ji-nva-ti* Class XVIII 'sets in motion, propels'. *titikṣiṣya-tē* from the desid. *tī-tik-ṣa-tē* Class XXI from *tij-* 'to be sharp'. *khyāyīṣya-tē* from pass. *khy-ā-ya-tē* Class XXVIII 'is seen'.

Rather commoner in the later language is the future of denominatives in *-gā-ti*, Class XXXI, as *gōpayiṣyā-ti* from *gōpā-yā-ti* 'guards' (*gōpā-s* 'guardian'); and of present stems in *-āya-ti* (Causatives), Class XXXII, such as *vyayiṣya-tē* from *vy-āya-ti* 'enwraps, covers', *dhārayiṣyū-ti* from *dhār-āya-ti* 'holds'.

§ 753. Sanskrit has an augmented preterite from the future stem, meaning *on the point of*; as *ābhariṣya-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 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. mid. *bhaviṣya-dheam*.

Similarly there are scattered Conjunctives; as Ved. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *kariṣyd-s*.

§ 754. Greek. It is not quite certain that the Greek  $\sigma$ -future has any immediate connexion with the Aryan and Balto-Slavonic *sjō*-type, as we have seen already (§ 747 p. 269).

With *-so-* (§ 748) and *-eo- -ao-* (§ 749), we find a third suffix, *-seo-*.

§ 755. (I) *-so-*, a productive suffix in Ionic-Attic and elsewhere. Examples in §§ 748 and 750.

There is an apparent anomaly in keeping  $\sigma$  after sonants in the future *στῆ-σω*, as in the aorist *ἔστησα*. This is most simply explained as being due to the analogy of *ἔστηξω ἔστηξα* etc., consonantal stems. Compare I § 564 p. 421.

Stems in Liquid or Nasal generally conform to Type II (§ 757); but roots in  $\rho$  have *-σω* as well in the language of Homer and poets of the epic school: *φθίρῃσω* (pres. *φθίρῃω* 'I destroy') beside *φθίρεω -ῶ*.

Remark. Why is it that beside a fut. *φθίρεω* there is no fut. *\*φθίρεω*, as might be expected from finding *ἔστω* side by side with *ἔσσεια*? This is explained without difficulty if we suppose *ἔσσεια* to be analogical, and due to *ἔσσεια -ἔσσεια* and the like (I § 563 Rem. 2 p. 419); for there were no such futures as *\*κτελέω* for *\*κτερέω*. Wackernagel's view of *ἔσσεια* (Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* xxix 127 ff.) is not convincing, to my mind.

Wackernagel would anyhow have to meet the question whether, if *φθίρεω* really comes from \**φθερεω*, it must not have kept *-es-* under all circumstances, wherever the accent lay; cp. *τίσσομαι* for \**τινισσομαι* contrasted with *ἐκτείνω* for \**ἐκτεινω* (The Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 61).

§ 756. *-so-* forms futures from all sorts and kinds of stems, present, aorist, and perfect. Often there are parallel *σ*-aorists.

(1) Hom. *διδώ-σω* (beside *δώ-σω*) from *δί-δω-μι* 'I give', Class III. *διδάξω* from *δι-δάσχω*, Class XXIII (aor. *ἰδίδαξα*). Hom. *ἀίξω* Att. *ῥέξω* from *ἀίσσω* 'I rush', *ποι-φύξω* from *ποι-φύσσω* 'I pant, puff', *ποι-πνέσω* from *ποι-πνέω* 'I snort, pant, puff', Class XXVII (aor. *ῥῆξα ῥῆξα* etc.).

(2) *κλάγξω* (*ἐκλαγξα*) beside *κλάζω* 'I cry, shout' for \**κλαγγ-ω*, Class XXIX, and *κλαγγάω*, Class XIV (§ 621 p. 158, § 628 p. 165, § 744 p. 266). Ion. *λαμβάνω* beside Att. *λήννωμαι* from *λαμβάνω* 'I take', Class XIV (§ 821 p. 158). *σφίγγω* (*εσφιγγέω*) from *σφίγγω* 'I tie, bind', Class XVI (§ 631 p. 167).

(3) From the Denominative presents *κηρύσσω* 'I announce' *ἀρπάζω* 'I carry off' *σαλπίζω* 'I trumpet' *μειλίσσω* 'I soothe, pacify' *τελέω -ω* 'I complete' we have the futures *κηρύξω* *ἀρπάξω* *σαλπίξω* *μειλίξω* *τελέσ(σ)ω* (aor. *ἐκήρυξα* etc.), on the analogy of *πράξει* : *πράσσω*, *σφάξω* : *σφάζω* and the like (cp. *θανυμάνω ἀγγελάω* § 757). What made it all the easier for these futures to arise, was that there existed in pre-Greek times denominative participles like *κηρεκ-τό-ς* (*ἀ-κήρεκτο-ς*), which seemed parallel to *πρεκ-τό-ς* *σφακ-τό-ς* (II § 79 pp. 224 f.).

(4) The combination *-ησο-* was an especial favourite (§ 750.1 p. 271). First, a class of futures from the stem of the aor. pass. in *-η-ν*. *μειν-ή-σομαι* beside *ἐ-μάν-η-ν* 'I grew mad' (✓ *men-*), like Lith. *min-ē-siu* beside *min-ē*. *σβ-ή-σομαι* beside *ε-σβ-η-ν* 'I was quenched' (✓ *seg-*). *φρ-ή-σομαι* beside *ἐ-ρρῦ-η-ν* 'I flowed' (*srey-*). *μειγ-ή-σομαι* beside *ἐ-μύγ-η-ν* 'I mixed myself' (✓ *meijk- meijg-*). With the same type, *δεθ-ή-σομαι* beside *ἰδέθ-ην* etc., the set of forms due to the analogy of *ἐ-δέ-θης* = *á-di-thas*. See § 589 pp. 129 f. In Doric, this intr.-pass. future has an active ending: *φανησεῖν σπναχθησοῦντι* (*-σο-* instead of *-σο-*, § 758). Further: *-ησο-* occurs in forms like *σχ-ή-σω* (beside

ἔξω) from stem of ἔσχα-ν 'I held' (cp. ἐσχῆκα), μελ-ή-σει from μέλει 'it is a care' (cp. ἐμέλησε μεμέληκε), ἐθέλ-ή-σω from ἐθέλω 'I wish' (ἐθέλωσα ἡθέληκα), εὕδ-ή-σω from εὕδω 'I sleep' (cp. καθ-εὐδῆσαι); of the same kind are Lith. *drebd-siu* from *drebu* 'I tremble', *tekē-siu* from *tekū* 'I run, flow'. The same type of future is seen in stems marked as present or aorist, where it retains the special tense mark, as καθ-ι-ζήσομαι from ἵζω 'I set' for \*σι-zd-ō (cp. -ι-ζῆσαι ἵζηκα), βουλί-σομαι from βούλωμαι 'I wish' ground-form \*qf-no- § 611 p. 150 (cp. βεβούλημαι) βοσκή-σω from βό-σκω 'I pasture, feed', τυπεί-σω from τύπ-τω 'I strike' (cp. ἐτύπησα), χαίρ-ή-σω from χαίρω 'I rejoice' for \*χαρ-κω (cp. ἐχαίρησα), ὀζή-σω from ὀζω 'I smell' for \*ὀδ-κω (cp. ὠζήσα), πεπιθ-ή-σω from πι-πιθ-ειν 'to persuade', πεφιθ-ή-σομαι from πε-φιθ-εί-σθαι 'to spare'.

(5) The original identity of flexion in the groups typified by \*τιμά-κω (from τιμά 'honour') and \*δοθ-κω (δοῶ 'I do') — compare Aeol. ἐτιμά-μεν like ἰδοῦ-μεν 'we run' — made the later set of denominatives run parallel to verbs of Classes X and XXVIII in other tenses besides the present. Hence τιμά-σω φιλή-σω μισθώ-σω like δοῶ-σω νή-σω γνώ-σομαι; similarly Lith. *dovanó-siu* from *dovanó-ju* 'I present' (*dovanà* 'gift') like *židó-siu* from *židó-ju*, and *jũkũ-siu* (*jũkũ-ju* 'I jest' from *jũka-s* 'jest'), in correspondence with Gr. μισθώ-σω. Following out the analogy further we get κοῦτ-σω from κοῦτός 'I make dusty' (κοῦν-ς 'dust') δακρύ-σω from δακρύνω 'I cry' (δάκρυ 'a tear'); so also Lith. *daly-siu* from *daly-jũ* 'I share, divide' (*dalỹ-s* 'a part'). Compare § 773.

(6) Futures in -ωω from perfect forms. ἵστη-ξω from ἕστηκα 'I stand'. λείψεται from ἔλειπται 'is left over'. μεμνήσεται from μέμνηται 'remembers'. Hom. κεχαρή-σω from κεχαρήνεις 'glad'.

§ 757. (II) -ω- -ω- -ω- -ω-.

-ω- (becomes -ω- in Dor., I § 64 p. 51) is the ordinary future suffix in liquid or nasal stems, as φθέρω -ω (beside Hom. φθέρω), τρέω -ω, see § 749 p. 271.

Hence -ω- spread to the future of stems which had a nasal formative suffix in the present; as φανέω -ω from φαίρω

'I show, make appear' for \**φα-ν-ιω*, *κλινίω* -*ω* from *κλίνω* 'I bend' for \**κλι-ν-ιω*, see § 611 p. 150, *ξανέω* -*ω* from *ξανω* 'I scratch, comb' for \**ξ-αι-ιω*, *αὔανέω* -*ω* from *αὔανω* 'I make dry' for \**σανσ-αν-ιω* (cp. Lith. *sausĩ-siũ*); see § 618 p. 156, § 621 p. 158. It also spread to Denominatives with liquid and nasal stems, as *θαυμαίνω* 'I wonder' *ἀγγέλλω* 'I announce': *θαυμανέω* *ἀγγελέω* -*ω*, not like *κηρύττω* from *κηρύσσω* (§ 756.3 p. 275).

Where -*αο-* and -*σο-* appear, the first vowel belongs to other forms besides the future; and so too once or twice -*ε-* in -*εο-*. *κρεμαίω* -*ω* from *κρέμα-μαι* 'I hang' *κρεμά-σσαι* *κρεμά-θρα*, *δαμάω* -*ω* from *δαμά-σσαι* *παν-δαμά-τωρ*. *ὁμῶμαι* *ὁμῶμαι* from *ὁμῶ-σσαι* 'swear' *ὁμῶμο-ται* *ἀπ-ώμο-το-ς*. *ὀλέω* *ὀλώ* from *ὀλέ-σσαι* 'to destroy' *ὀλώλε-κα* *ὀλε-τήρ*.

The analogy of *κριμάω* : *κριμάσ(σ)αι*, *ολέω* : *ολέσ(σ)αι*, and the like, produced from the aorists *δικάσ(σ)αι* 'to judge, investigate' (*δικάζω*) *δοκιμάσ(σ)αι* 'probare' (*δοκιμάζω*) the futures *δικάω* *δοκιμάω* -*ω*, and similarly we have *ἀμφίω* -*ω* beside *ἀμφι-έσ(σ)αι* 'to put on',<sup>1)</sup> *μαχέομαι* -*οῦμαι* beside *μαχέσ(σ)ασθαι* 'to fight', *τελέω* -*ω* beside *τελέσ(σ)αι* 'to complete', *τανύω* beside *τανύσ(σ)αι*, and many others.

An exceptional group contains the Attic and Ionic future in -*έω* -*εῶ* from a present in -*ίζω*, as *κομιέω* from *κομιζέω* 'I bring'; for which \**κομιέω* might be looked for, to judge from *δικάω*. We may conjecture that the type was once actually \**κομιέω*; and that \*-*έω* became -*έω* -*εῶ* as the effect of the constant use of -*έω* -*ω*. -*έω* is an intruder also in *ὁμέομαι* *ὁμῶμαι* Dor. *ὁμῶμεθα* instead of *ὁμῶ-ομαι*.

Remark. There is some doubt whether -*έω* instead of \*-*έω* be as old as Homer; no argument can be based on the traditional accent of *κομιέω* *ἀνικέω* *πετροέω*, and *ἀγλαέωσθαι* may be a mistake for *ἀγλαίσθαι*. These are the only Homeric specimens of the type.

§ 758. (II) -*σο-* (Doric Future).<sup>2)</sup> Whether -*σο-* is

1) We can hardly regard *ἀμφι-έω* as being \*-*φισ-ω*, and a conj. to Skr. *nīś-tā* Gr. *ἡνι-εσται*.

2) For the Doric Future, see now Solmsen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxii 546 ff.



Skr. *-sya-*, or whether it is the conj. of the *s*-aorist, *-seo-* is *-so-* transformed under the influence of *-so-*.

*-seo-* is the ordinary Doric suffix answering to Attic *-so-*; as *παρῆναι* *-τω* *βοάθησέναι* *-ια*, but Att. *παρῆνα βοήθησεν*. A few instances of it occur in Ion.-Att., as *γενέσθαι* beside *γενέσμαι* (cp. the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 170 footnote 1).

§ 759. Greek, besides the indic., partic., and inf. future, (*δέσειω δέσειων δέσειεν*) had only the optative, as *δέσειμι*, which is quite a new formation (see the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>7</sup> p. 188).

§ 760. Balto-Slavonic. Only *-sjo-*, and nothing which answers to Skr. *-iṣya-* and Gr. *-eo-* *-ao-*, 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. *byśašteje* (§ 748 p. 271).

§ 761. The Lith. fut. *-siu* is inflected differently in different dialects. The 1<sup>st</sup> pl. is sometimes *dū-sia-m(e)* like *veřezia-m(e)* § 725 pp. 254 ff. (cp. partic. dial. *dūsius* = \**dūsiqs*, and O.C.Sl. *byśašteje*); sometimes it is *dū-si-m(e)* — in High Lithuanian, for instance — like *āvi-m(e)* § 727 pp. 257 ff.<sup>1)</sup> The other forms which occur, pl. *dū'sme dū'ste* dual *dū'sva dū'sta*, like the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *būs gaūs*, are injunctives of the *s*-aorist (§ 828). The partic. *dū'sqs* (cp. O.C.Sl. *byśašteje*) 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 *skūndsiu* 'I weep, bewail myself', *lėnksiu* from *lenkiū* 'I bend', § 744 p. 267. Compare Gr. *κλύξω* etc. § 756.2 p. 275.

From Present in *-inu* *-enu*: *sausī-siu* from *sausinu* 'I make dry', *gyvė-siu* from *gyvenū* 'I dwell', see § 624 p. 161. Compare Gr. *αἰνᾶν* § 757 p. 277.

1) J. Schmidt's assumption (Neutra, pp. 423 ff.) that *dū'sme* is an optative, is wrong. Idg. *-t* would remain long in Lithuanian.

The combination -é-siu. *miné-siu* from *menù* 'I think of' pret. *miné*, cp. Gr. *μαρτ-ομαι ε-μαρτ-ν*. *drebé-siu* from *drebù* 'I tremble'. *stené-siu* from *stenù* 'I groan'. *pené-siu* from *penù* 'I nourish, fatten'. *avé-siu* from *aviù* 'I have something on my feet'. Compare § 756. 4 p. 275.

Later Stratum of Denominatives. *dovanó-siu* from *dovanó-ju* 'I give' (*dovanà* 'a gift'), *pāsako-siu* from *pāsako-ju* 'I recount, tell' (*pā-saka* 'tale'), like *šió-siu* from *šió-ju* 'I open my mouth' (§ 740 p. 264), cp. Gr. *ῥιμά-σω*. *jākū-siu* from *jākū-ju* 'I sport, jest' (*jāka-s* 'jest'), *jādū-siu* from *jādū-ju* 'I have a black sheen', analogous to Gr. *μωθώ-σω*. *daly-su* from *daly-jù* 'I share, divide' (*dalš-s* 'a share, part'), *szirdy-siā-s* from *szirdy-jā-s* 'I take to heart' (*szirdš-s* 'heart'), like Gr. *ζωτ-σω*. Compare § 756. 5 p. 276, § 773. *kelán-siu* from *kelán-ju* 'I travel' (*kēla-s* *kēle-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-yá-tē* from *pychā-ti* 'asks', *vāñch-ya-tē* from *vāñcha-ti* 'wishes' (§ 671 p. 203). Possibly *vyś-yá-tē* from *vyścā-ti* 'tears to pieces', is another; see § 669 p. 202.

Lith. *dresk-iù* 'I tear' trans., beside *driskau*, O.C.Sl. *istq* for *\*isk-ia* beside *iskq* 'I seek' (§ 677 p. 210).

Remark. Gr. *πτο-σκω* 'I cower, cringe', in view of *πτο-σκω*, may be derived from *\*πτοσκ-jo*. However, *πτο-ξ* and *πτο-χ* make it more natural to suppose that it comes from *\*πτο-κ-jo* or *\*πτο-χ-jo*.

Op.  $\pi\tau\acute{o}\sigma\alpha\iota$  'I frighten' for \* $\pi\tau\alpha-x-\acute{\iota}\omega$ ,  $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$  'I wake' for \* $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\eta-x-\acute{\iota}\omega$  or  $-x-\acute{\iota}\omega$ , and verbs in  $-\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota$  such as  $\delta\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota$  ( $\delta\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota$ )  $\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota$ . The  $\kappa$ - and  $\chi$ -suffixes in these words were probably the same as  $-ko-$  in  $-x-\acute{\iota}\omega$ ; see § 669 p. 201.

§ 764. -to-stems extended by -jo- (§§ 679 ff.).

Skr.  $n\ddot{r}t\text{-}ya\text{-}ti$  'dances, plays' pass.  $n\ddot{r}t\text{-}ya\text{-}t\ddot{e}$  beside  $n\ddot{r}\text{-}t\acute{a}\text{-}m\acute{a}\text{-}na\text{-}s$ , pass.  $yat\text{-}ya\text{-}t\ddot{e}$  beside  $y\acute{a}\text{-}t\acute{a}\text{-}t\ddot{e}$  'joins itself, strives' (§ 681 p. 213).

Lith.  $siunczi\ddot{u}$  'I send', perhaps from \* $su\text{-}n\text{-}to-$  (§ 686 p. 218). O.C.Sl.  $ob\text{-}r\acute{e}\acute{s}t\acute{a}$  'I find' perhaps from \* $r\acute{e}\text{-}to-$  (§ 687 p. 218).

Remark. Gr.  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota$  (only Hdt. vi 119) seems to be not an extension of Att.  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\iota}\text{-}\tau\omega$  'I pour, I draw water' (§ 682 p. 214), but an analogical form, suggested by  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$ , on the type of  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota$ :  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$  'I pour, draw water'.

§ 765. -dho- and -do- stems extended by -jo- (§§ 688 ff.).

(1) -dh-jo-. Skr.  $y\acute{u}\text{-}dh\text{-}ya\text{-}t\ddot{e}$  'gets in motion, fights',  $r\acute{a}\text{-}dh\text{-}ya\text{-}t\ddot{e}$  'carries to a successful end' pass.  $r\acute{a}\text{-}dh\text{-}ya\text{-}t\ddot{e}$  (§ 689 p. 220),  $kr\acute{u}\text{-}dh\text{-}ya\text{-}ti$  'scorns',  $s\acute{a}\text{-}dh\text{-}ya\text{-}ti$  'comes to its goal' (§ 691 p. 221).

(Gr.  $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  'I shake or quiver, am frantic' for \* $\theta\upsilon\text{-}\delta\text{-}\chi\omicron\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$  (§ 689 p. 220),  $\epsilon\sigma\theta\text{-}\iota\omega$  'I eat' (§ 694 p. 223, § 713 p. 247).

Lith.  $sk\acute{e}r\text{-}d\text{-}\acute{z}iu$  'I burst, blow up' (§ 689 p. 219).

(2) -d-jo-. Only passives in Sanskrit; as  $m\ddot{r}\text{-}d\text{-}y\acute{a}\text{-}t\ddot{e}$  from  $m\ddot{r}\text{-}d\text{-}n\acute{a}\text{-}mi$  'I grind to pieces, crush'  $vi\text{-}m\ddot{r}\text{-}adati$  'softens' (§ 690 p. 220),  $kh\acute{a}\text{-}d\text{-}ya\text{-}t\ddot{e}$  from  $kh\acute{a}\text{-}da\text{-}ti$  'bites up, chews',  $\acute{\iota}\acute{d}\text{-}ya\text{-}t\ddot{e}$  from  $\acute{\iota}\acute{d}\text{-}a\text{-}t\ddot{e}$  'honours, praises' (§ 692 p. 222).

Gr.  $\chi\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\zeta\omega$  'I flood' for \* $\chi\lambda\upsilon\text{-}\delta\text{-}\chi\omega$ ,  $\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\phi\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\zeta\omega$  'I spurt out' for \* $\phi\lambda\upsilon\text{-}\delta\text{-}\chi\omega$  (§ 695 p. 224).

Lith.  $pl\acute{a}\text{-}n\text{-}d\text{-}\acute{z}iu$  'I wash, cleanse',  $spr\acute{a}\text{-}u\text{-}d\text{-}\acute{z}iu$  'I compel, press down' (§ 690 p. 221, § 700 p. 227).

(3) Doubtful: -dh-jo- or -d-jo-. Avest.  $si\acute{z}\text{-}d\text{-}ye\text{-}iti$  'drives away' (§ 693 p. 223). Lith.  $m\acute{e}r\text{-}d\text{-}\acute{z}iu$  'I lie a dying',  $sk\acute{e}l\text{-}d\text{-}\acute{z}iu$  'I split or burst',  $sru\text{-}d\text{-}\acute{z}iu$  'I make bloody', Lett.  $\acute{e}r\text{-}f\acute{s}chu$  'I separate' for \* $er\text{-}d\text{-}i\text{-}u$  (§ 701 p. 227).

## Class XXXI.

Later Group of Denominatives with Present-Suffix *-jo-*.

§ 766. We here discuss present stems like Skr. *dēva-yā-ti* 'he worships the gods' from *dēvā-* 'god', Gr. *φιλῶ* (*φίλε-*) 'I treat as a friend' from *φίλος* (*φίλε-*) 'friend', Skr. *namas-yā-ti* 'he offers worship or respect' from *nāmas-* 'respect', Gr. *τελέω* (*τελε-*) 'I end' from *τέλος* 'end' (*τέλεσ-*). 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 *-jo-*. It was only by degrees that inflexional peculiarities sprang up; chiefly because *-jo-* 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 possessed *jo*-presents from all kinds of consonant stems, from stems in *-ā-* (*-ā-jo-*), in *-o-* (*-o-jo-*), in *-i-* (*-i-jo-*), and in *-u-* (*-u-jo-*).

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. *oper-ā-rē* (Umbr. *osatu* 'operato' Osc. *úpsannam* 'operandam') and *nōmin-ā-re* do not correspond with Skr. *apas-yā-ti* and Gr. *ὀνομαίω*, which do represent the Idg. inflexion; because, in Latin, denominatives of *s-* and *n-* stems had been attracted into the *ā*-class in pre-historic times.

## § 768. (1) Consonant Stems.

Skr. *rajas-yá-ti* 'turns to dust' (in older Sanskrit only *rajas-yá-s* 'dusty'), Goth. *riqiz-ja* 'I darken myself', common ground-form *\*reges-jé-ti*, from *rájas* n. 'dust' *rigis* n. (gen. *rigisis*, see II § 182 p. 420) 'darkness'. Skr. *apas-yá-ti* 'is active' from *ápas* n. 'work' *apás-* 'active'; *namas-yá-ti* Avest. *nemaš-yē-iti* 'bows, reveres, worships' from *námas* *nemō* n. 'reverence'; Skr. *avas-yá-ti* 'seeks help' from *avas* n. 'help'. (Gr. Hom. *τελείω* *τελίσω* Att. *-ō* 'I end' for *\*τελεισ-ω* (aor. *τελίσσ-ω*) from *τέλος* n. 'end': Hom. *ἀλείομαι* *ἀλέομαι* 'I heal' (aor. *ἰκέσ-ασθαι* from *ἄκος* n. 'healing'. Lat. *fulgur-it* from *fulgur*. O.H.G. *refs(i)u* 'I blame, scold, chasten', cp. Skr. *rapás-* 'bodily hurt'. — Avest. *xrušš-yē-iti* i. e. *xrušš-yē-iti* 'sheds blood' from a stem *\*xr(u)viš-*, ground-form *\*gruuiš-*, closely akin to Skr. *kratš-* 'raw, bloody flesh'. Gr. *γελῶ* 'I laugh' for *\*γελασ-ω* from stem *γελαν-* (nom. *γέλως*) 'laughter' ground-form *\*gelas-* (II § 184 p. 425).

Gr. *ὀνομαίνω* Goth. *namn-ja* 'I name' from *ὄνομα* *namō* n. 'name', the former for *\*-mṇ-ijō*, the latter for *\*-mṇ-ijō* (cp. Idg. *\*mṇ-ijō* and *\*mr-ijō*, *\*bhu-ijō* and *\*bhu-ijō* § 707 p. 235). All the following have Idg. *-ṇ-ijō*. Skr. *vṛṣan-yá-ti* 'is in heat or passion' from *vṛṣan-* 'male', *brahman-yá-ti* 'is pious' from *brihman-* n. 'piety' *brahmán-* 'pious person, one who prays'; Avest. *vyāxmainyē-iti* 'deliberates, thinks over' from *vyāxman* n. 'assembly, consultation'. Gr. *τεκταίνω* 'I carpenter, make' from *τέκτων* 'carpenter, workman'; *σπέρμαινω* 'I give forth seed' from *σπέρμα* 'seed'. Goth. *glitmun-ja* 'I shine' from *\*glitmin-* (cp. O.H.G. *glizemo*) 'brightness'.

Skr. *vadhar-yá-ti* 'shoots, lets off a missile' from *vádhar* n. 'shot'. Gr. *τεκμαίρω* 'I mark, fix' from *τέκμαρ* n. 'mark, boundary'. We may perhaps assign to this section Latin desideratives like *scripturiō* from *scriptor*, *esuriō* from *esor*; *-turiō* for *\*-tor-iō* *\*-tr-ijō*.<sup>1)</sup>

1) This explanation follows Thurneysen, *Über Herkunft und Bildung der lat. Verba*, p. 66. A different view is that of Kretschmer, Kuhn's

Gr. *βλίττω* 'I cut the honey-combs' (fut. *βλίσσω*) from *μῆλιξ*-n. 'honey'. Lat. *dent-iō* from *dēns*. Goth. *veitvōd-ja* 'I certify' from *veitvōd*- 'witness'. Skr. *iśudh-yā-ti* 'begs, prays' Avest. *iśud-ye-iti* 'confesses guilt' from Avest. *iśud*- 'a cry by which one acknowledges sin'. Gr. *κορυssa* 'I helm, arm' for \**κορυθ-χτω* from *κόρυς* -υθ-ος 'helmet'. Lat. *custōd-iō* from *custōs* -ōd-is.

Gr. *λιθαίνω* 'I stone' from *λιθάς* -άδ-ος 'stone', *μυγάζομαι* 'I mingle with' from *μυγός* -άδ-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. *lauhatja* O.H.G. *lougazzu lohazzu* 'I shine' (cp. Gr. *λευκάς*), Goth. *svōgatja* 'I sigh' *kāupatja* 'I box the ears' (pret. *kāupasta*), 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. *ἀκαιο-τό-ς* Lat. *scoles-tu-s*, Gr. *σπουμα-τό-ς* (Skr. *śrōma-ta-m* O.H.G. *hlīumun-t* Lat. *cōgnōmen-tu-m*), Skr. *ān-ap-ta-s* etc. See II § 79 pp. 224 f., § 82 p. 249.

### § 769. (2) *a*-stems: Idg. -*a-iō*-.

In a great many languages there are found other forms without -*iō*-, as 1<sup>st</sup> pl. Armen. *jana-mē* Gr. Acol. *τίμα-μεν* Lat. *planta-mus* O.Ir. *no chara-ni* Goth. *salbō-m* Lith. *jā'sto-mė*. These kept close with the old primary *a*-verbs of Class X. In principle, the two groups are really the same.

Gr. *ὁράω* -ω 'I see', O.H.G. *bi-scarōm* 'I observe, am ware' beside Gr. \**φορά* in *φρουρά* 'outlook, protection' O.H.G. *scara* 'care, protection'. Lat. *forō* -*a-s* etc., O.H.G. *borōm* 'I bore' from O.H.G. *bora* 'borer' (ground-form \**bhr-a-*), but cp. § 579 p. 122. Skr. *pṛtana-yā-ti* 'fights' from *pṛtana* 'fight', *mana-yā-ti* 'is attached' from *mand* 'attachment'. Gr. *τιμάω* -ω 'I honour' from *τιμά* (-η) 'honour', *ῥιβάω* -ω 'pubesco' from *ῥιβα* (-η) 'ripeness': *ὀρμάω* -ω 'I drive or urge' from *ὀρμά* (-η) 'movement'. Lat. *plantiō* -*a-s* etc. from *planta*, *cūrō* from *cūra*,

*lacrimō* from *lacrima*. O.Ir. *rannaim* 'I divide' from *rann* f. 'part', *īecaim* 'I heal' from *īec* f. 'health'. Goth. *salbō* O.H.G. *salbōm* A.S. *sealfie* 'I salve, anoint' from O.H.G. *salba* A.S. *sealf* 'salve, ointment'; Goth. *kard* 'I take trouble, care about' O.H.G. *charōm* 'I bewail, lament' A.S. *cearie* 'I care' from Goth. *kara* 'care' O.H.G. *chara* 'woe, sorrow, lament' A.S. *cearu* *carn* 'care'; O.H.G. *klagōm* 'I lament' from *klaga* 'lament'. Lith. *lankó-jū* 'I bend to and fro, try to make malleable' beside *lankà* 'valley' (← *lanka* 'a dip or bend', O.C.Sl. *laka-jā* 'I trick, deceive' from *laka* 'bending, bosom, rascality, deceit'; Lith. *dovunó-jū* 'I give' from *dovanà* 'gift', *byló-jū* 'I speak' from *bylù* 'speech' *pāsako-jū* 'I recount' from *pā-saka* 'tale'; O.C.Sl. *kotora-jā se* 'I fight' from *kotora* 'fight', *vonja-jā* 'I smell' from *vonja* 'a smell'.

Very common are *ā*-verbs derived from *o*-stems, principally with transitive meaning, — 'to show oneself so and so, to make so and so'. Skr. *priyā-yā-tē* 'he makes friends with' Goth. *frijō* 'I treat kindly' O.C.Sl. *prija-jā* 'I am kind to, stand by some one' from Skr. *priyā-s* dear, friend Goth. \**frija*-in *frija-þva* love'. Lat. *novō* (-*ā-s*) O.H.G. *niuōm* 'I renew' beside Lat. *novō-s*.) O.Ir. *com-ainaim* O.H.G. *follōm* 'I fill' from O.Ir. *lan* (Idg. \**p<sub>l</sub>-no-s*) O.H.G. *fol* (Idg. \**p<sub>l</sub>-no-s*) 'full'. Lat. *gustō*, O.H.G. *costōm* A.S. *costie* 'I try, taste' beside Skr. *juṣ-ṭa-s* 'beloved' etc., ✓ *ḡeys-*. Skr. *titvāyā-tē* 'shows himself rich' from *titvā-s* rich', *rathirāyā-ti* hurries up' from *rathirā-s* 'hasty', *ṛtāyā-ti* 'keeps the rule' from *ṛtā-m* 'order', *sumnāyā-ti* 'shows goodwill' from *sumnā-s* well-wishing' *sumnā-m* 'goodwill'; Avest. *vādāyē-iti* 'strikes' from *vādā-m* 'blow'. Gr. *qoṣpāo* 'I cleanse' from *qoṣpō-s* 'clean', *aitimāo* 'I treat as dishonoured' from *ā-rīmo-s* 'dishonoured' *μωμάομαι* 'I scorn' from *μωμο-s* 'scorn', *ἐδνάομαι* 'I portion' from *ἐδνō-r* 'dower'. Lat. *cavō* from *cavo-s*, *firmō* from *firnu-s*, *sānō* from *sānu-s*, *armō* from pl. *arma*; *cumulō* from *cumulu-s*, *damnō* from *damnu-m*. O.Ir. *marbaim* 'I kill' from *marb*

1) Gr. *resipō* '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', ep. Gall. *Γασάροι* pl. 'pilati' beside Gall.-Lat. *gaesu-m* 'spear'. Goth. *vairþō* O.H.G. *werdōm* 'I value, treasure' from *vairþ-s* *werd* adj. 'worth', Goth. *ga-vundō* O.H.G. *weuntōm* 'I make wounded, wound' from *vund-s* *weunt* 'wound', Goth. *ga-leikō* 'I compare, make like' from *ga-leik-s* 'like', O.H.G. *ebanōn* 'I make even' from *eban* 'even', Goth. *bi-ráubō* 'I rob, plunder' O.H.G. *roubōm* 'I rob' from O.H.G. *roub* 'robbery', O.H.G. *zeihhonōm* 'I mark, draw' from *zeihhan* 'mark'. Lith. *kilnó-ju* 'I lift to and fro' from *kilna-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-jáundá-ju* 'I make young, renew' from *jáun-s* 'young', *gūdá-ju* 'I honour', from *gūd-s* 'honour' *apschūgá-ju* 'I enclose' from *schūg-s* 'hedge, fence'; O.C.Sl. *děla-jā* 'I do, make' from *dělo* 'work', *pri-veslojā* 'adveho' from *veslo* 'oar, rudder'. The beginnings of this series of derivatives from *a*-verbs from noun stems in *-a-* goes back to the protoethnic stage; at that time there were often subst. abstr. with *-a-* alongside of *o*-adjectives and *o*-substantives. Thus the O.H.G. *fullōm* may be derived, if we please, not from *fol* but from Germ. \**fullō* = Avest. *per'na-* 'fulness', which appears in Goth. *fullō* O.H.G. *folla* 'fulness'; or Lat. *offensāre* may be derived from subst. *offensa* and not from *offensu-s* (cp. II § 158 pp. 473 ff.). These and like verbs were from the first closely associated with the *o*-stems belonging to these *a*-nouns; and thus it became possible afterwards to derive verbs in *-a-jō* straight from *o*-stems. The ending *-a-jō* found favour for another reason too: namely, that there was from the earliest period another group of verbs in *-a-jō*, originally denominative too, but with this character long since lost: I mean verbs of Classes X and XXVIII, like Lat. *hi-ō* Lith. *ši-ō-ju*, Gr. *ὕλ-αιω* Lith. *ul-ō-ju* (Lat. *ululō*), Lat. *juv-ō* Lith. *mic-ō*, O.Ir. *scaraim*, Goth. *mit-ō* O.H.G. *mezzōm*, Lith. *lind-ō-ju* O.C.Sl. *raz-vrěz-a-jā* (§§ 579 ff. pp. 121 ff., §§ 734 ff. pp. 261 ff.).



As well as these present stems in *-ā-jō*, 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. *ῥιμῆ-ρέ-ς ῥιμῆ-αι-ς* from *ῥιμάω*, Lat. *plantā-tu-s plantā-tiō* from *plantō*, O.Ir. *carthe* 'loved' from *caraim*, *cēssad* 'suffering' from *cēssaim*, Goth. *laþō-þ-s* 'invited' *laþō-n* 'to invite' *laþō-n-s* 'invitation' from *laþō*, Lith. *dovanó-ta-s* 'given' *dovanó-ti* 'to give' from *dovanó-jū*, O.C.Sl. *laka-nū* 'deceived' *laka-ti* 'to deceive' from *laka-jā*. Then we have certain tenses, as Gr. *ῥιμῆ-αι*, Lat. *plantā-rem*, Lith. *dovanó-siu* O.C.Sl. *laka-chū*. 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. *turaṇ-yā-ti* from *turāṇa-s*, Gr. *ὀλιόθαινω* from *ὀλιόθων-ς* (§§ 616 ff. pp. 154 ff., § 743 pp. 265 f.). This is just how *jō*-adjectives are generally derived from noun stems in *-o-*, as Skr. *áśv-īya-s* Gr. *ἵππ-ιο-ς* from *áśva-s ἵππο-ς* (II § 63 p. 126, and Rem. 3 p. 132). The second, and commoner, formation ends in *-e-jō-* (cp. voc. in *-e*, loc. in *-e-ġ* and so forth, II § 59 p. 108). This recalls Skr. *hiranyā-ya-s* 'golden' from *hiranya-m* 'gold', *auru-* Lat. *aureu-s* (*auru-m*), if it is to be explained \**aure-jō-* (cp. II § 63 p. 128).<sup>1)</sup>

(a) With Aryan present stems in *-an-ja-ti* are associated but few from other *o*-stems: Skr. *adhvar-yā-ti* 'performs an offering' from *adhvárā-s* 'offering', *vithuryā-ti* 'staggers, reels' from *vithurā-s* 'tottering, reeling', *rathakāmya-ti* 'asks for a car' from *ratha-kāma-* 'desirous of having a car', Avest. *vāstrye-iti* 'feeds' from *vāstre-m* 'meadow, field, folder', *avāstrye-itē*

1) It is noteworthy how well the isolated Ved. *varṣyā-ti* 'he woos' (*varṣā-s* 'wooer') agrees with the above mentioned adj. in *-īya-*, *pārurītya-s* from *pārurā-s* and the like.

'is idle' from *avāstra-* 'idle'. In Greek *-airo* was a fertile type (see § 776.6 b); and many other nouns in *-o-* took this formation in the present, as *ἐχθαίρω* 'I hate' from *ἐχθρό-* 'hated, hostile' (I § 293 p. 234), *ἀγγέλλω* 'I announce' from *ἄγγελος* 'messenger', *αἰώλλω* 'I move quickly backwards and forwards' from *αἰόλος* 'quickly moving', *καμπύλλω* 'I crease, bend' from *καμπύλος* 'bent', *ἀπινέσσω* 'I am unintelligent' from \**ἀ-πίνυτο-* (*πινυτό-* 'intelligent'), *μυλίσσω* 'I soften, mollify' from *μύλαχος* 'soft', *χαλέπνω* '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 *-e-to-* and the like (II § 79 p. 236), as *trepeštq* 'I tremble' 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *trepešteši* inf. *trepetati* from *trepetŭ* 'a trembling', *blekoštq* 'I bleat' inf. *blekotati* beside Czech *blekot* 'a yelping or barking', *rŭpištq* 'I growl' inf. *rŭpŭtati* from *rŭpŭtŭ* 'a growling', *skrŭšŭštq* 'I rattle, gnash the teeth' inf. *skrŭšŭtati* from *skrŭšŭtŭ* 'a gnashing with the teeth', and others of this sort (the noun may also be a *tā*-stem, as *klevestq* 'I calumniate' inf. *klevetati* from *kleveta* 'calumny'). Besides these I place here the present in *-ujq* for \**-ou-jq*, as *běsuja* 'I am mad' 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *-ufeši* inf. *-ovati* from *běsovŭ* 'mad, devilish', and that from *běsŭ* 'demon'; for further details see § 782.3. We cannot tell whether Idg. presents like Skr. *turaṇ-yā-ti* and Gr. *ὀλισθαίρω*, to which *trepeštq* and *běsuja* 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 *ližq* *lizati* 'to lick' *gybŭja* *gybati* 'to destroy, lose', and some of these put on the look of denominatives, as *glagolŭja* *glagolaŭti* 'to speak' (cp. § 732 p. 260) did because of the kindred noun-stem *glagolŭ* 'word', and *dušq* *dučati* 'to breathe, blow' because of the noun *duchŭ* 'breath'. So it would be possible to believe that it is only on this analogy that *trepeštq* was formed from *trepetŭ*, and *běsuja* from *běsovŭ*.

Whether the other Idg. languages had such denominatives is doubtful. In Armenian we meet with denominatives in *-iur*, as *taram-i-m* 'I fade' beside *an-taram* 'unfading'. \* This group

is a new formation, on the lines of Class XXVI, § 711 p. 246, as Lat. *custōdī-s finī-s* follow verbs primitive like *furc-i-s* (§ 777). But the contained stems in *-iō* need not be compared with Skr. *śuraṇ-yā-ti*; they may have arisen out of denominatives from *i*-stems. Similarly Lat. *catulīō* (beside *catulu-s*) *blandior* (beside *blāndu-s*) *insānīō* (beside *in-sānu-s*) may be ad-formates of presents in *-i-iō*; and Germanic presents such as Goth. *hráinja* 'I cleanse' (*hráin-s* 'clean') *láusja* 'I loose' (*lāus* 'loose') may be either this or derived from *-ejō* (see *b*, below).

(*b*) *-e-iō*. Skr. *vasna-yā-ti* 'haggles' Gr. *ἀνέμαι* 'I buy' from *vasnā-s* *-m* *ἀνός* 'price' (for *\*fωσ-vo-*, cp. Solmsen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 81 f.; for O.C.Sl. *věno*, see II § 66 p. 149). Lat. *seneō*, Lith. *senē-ju* 'I grow old' (*-ēju* instead of *\*-eju*, see below) beside Lith. *sēna-s* 'old'. Skr. *amitra-yā-ti* 'is hostile' from *ā-mitra-s* 'foe', *kulāya-yā-ti* 'wraps itself up' from *kulāya-m* 'covering'; Avest. *caša-ye-iti* 'draws the chariot' from *vaša-m* 'chariot', *aša-ye-iti* 'is pious' from *aša-* 'pious' (cp. Skr. *rtāya-ti* with different accent, see §§ 793, 798), O.Pers. *a-šaraya-m* 'I protected, watched' from *\*śā-ra-* (Skr. *tr-ā-*), not actually found. Gr. *γαλέω* *-ō* 'I treat as a friend' from *γαίλος* 'dear, friend', *κοιράναι* 'I rule' from *κοίραρος* 'ruler', *νοστήω* 'I return home' from *νόστος* 'homeward way', *εὐφημῶ* 'I use words of good omen' from *εὐ-φημος* 'of good omen'. Lat. *claudē* from *claudu-s*, *albeō* from *albu-s*, *flāveō* from *flavo-s*, *nigreō* from *niger*. Irish: perhaps *scorim scuirim* 'I unharness' from *scor* 'enclosure for unharnessed animals'. Probably forms in *-e-iō* = pr. Germ. *-ijō* are at the bottom of Germanic stems like Goth. *rigneip* 'it rains' from *riḡn* 'rain', *háurnja* 'I blow on the horn' from *hauru* 'horn', Goth. *láusja* O.H.G. *lōs(i)u* 'I loose' from *lāus lōs* 'loose'; the last verb, like all transitive denominatives taken from adjectives in Germanic, can be counted to Class XXXII; see § 806. Balto-Slavonic has *-ē-jo-* instead of *-e-jo-* (§ 782. 2): Lith. *gūdē-jā-s* 'I am greedy' from *gūda-s* 'greed', *kerē-ju* 'I grow in stalks, like a bush' from *kēra-s* 'stalk', *kētē-ju* 'I get hard' from *kēta-s* 'hard';<sup>1)</sup> O.C.Sl. *razume-*

1) Kursokat, apparently with less correctness, *kētēju*.

-jā 'I understand' from *raz-unū* 'understanding, reason', *cēlē-jā* 'I get well' from *cēlū* 'well, whole', *o-žestokājā* 'I harden myself' for \**o-žestokējā* (I § 76 p. 66), from *žestokū* 'hard'.

Remark. Greek verbs in -*ōw* have their parallel in Lith. verbs with -*ūju*. 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. -*āya-ti* in some words comes from \*-*o-je-ti*.

§ 771. (4.) *i*-stems, Idg. -*iō-*. Gr. *μηρίομαι* 'I devise, contrive' Lat. *mētor* 'I measure, sentence',<sup>1)</sup> from *μη-ρι-ς* 'counsel, resolve, cleverness' Skr. *mā-ti-š* 'measure, correct perception'.<sup>1</sup> Skr. *arāṭi-yā-ti* 'brews mischief for some one' from *arāti-š* 'ill luck', *janī-yā-ti* 'asks for a wife' from *jāni-š* 'wife', *kavī-yā-tē* 'acts like a wise man, is wise' from *kavi-š* 'wise man, seer' (on -*yāti*, see § 774). Gr. *κοίτω* 'I make dusty' from *κοίν-ς* 'dust', *ἀγρομαι* 'I strive' from *ἀγρ-ς* 'contention', *μηνίω* 'I grow angry' from *μηνι-ς* 'wrath'. Lat. *finiō* from *fīni-s*, *febrīō* from *febri-s*, *crīniō* from *crīni-s*, *grandiō* from *grandi-s*, *lēniō* from *lēni-s*. O.Ir. *fo-dālim* 'I divide up' (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *fo-dālī*) from *dāl* 'part'. Goth. *dāilja* O.H.G. *teil(u)* 'I divide' from (Goth. *dāil-s* stem *dāili-* 'part'; Goth. *cēnja* O.H.G. *weñ(u)* 'I imagine, hope' beside Goth. *vēn-s* (stem *vēni-*) 'delusion, hope'; Goth. *dulþja* 'I observe a feast' from *dulþ-s* (stem *dulþi-*) 'feast', *anamahþja* 'I offer force to' from *aha-mahþ-s* (stem *-mahþi-*) 'force'. Lith. *daly-jū* 'I divide' from *dāl-s* 'part', *szirdy-jū-s* 'I take to heart' (*szirdi-s* 'heart'); as regards -*y-ju*, instead of -*i-ju*, see § 782.2.

§ 772. (5.) From *u*-stems, Idg. -*uō-*. Skr. *gātu-yā-ti* 'goes an errand' from *gātū-š* 'errand', *vasū-yā-ti* 'desires goods' from *vāsu* 'goods', *śatrū-yā-ti* 'appears as a foe' from *śātru-š* 'foe', *ṛjū-yā-ti* 'is straight' from *ṛjū-š* 'straight' (on -*ā-yā-ti* see § 774); Avest. *asōhu-yē-iti* 'makes oneself master of' from *asōhu-š* 'lord, master'. Gr. *γίγνω* 'I beget, produce' from *γίγνω*

1) A different account of *mētor* is given by Johansson, Beitr. zur Gr. Spr., 129.

'sprout, offspring', *qīru-* 'begetter, producer', *γηρέω* 'I make a sound' from *γηρύς* 'voice', *οἷζέω* 'I lament' from *οἷζέ-ς* 'lament', *δακρέω* 'I weep' from *δάκρυον* 'tear', *ἵθύνω* 'I go straight towards' from *ἵθύν-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 denominative formation in Indo-Germanic.

Now we have seen in § 769 p. 286, that *ā*-verbs of this formation very early yield to the analogy of *ā*-verbs of Classes X and XXVIII so far as to make such forms as Gr. *εἰμυ-τό-ς* *εἰμυ-σα*. Next, corresponding non-present stems with *-ē-*, *-ī-*, or *-ū-* associated themselves with the presents in *-e-īō* *-i-īō* and *-u-īō*; to which were soon added verbs with *-ō-* outside the present and with *-o-īo-* or *-ō-īo-* in the present, formed from *o*-nouns. In the case of Denominatives with *-ē-* and *-ō-*, the type was aided by *ē-* and *ō-* 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 proethnic and how many are later.

Gr. *φιλῆ-τό-ς* *φιλῆ-σα* *φιλῆ-σω* from *φιλέω* (*φίλο-ς*), compare *νή-τό-ς* *νή-σα* *νή-σω*, *μιλῆ-τό-ν* *μιλῆ-σι* *μιλῆ-σει* etc. (cp. § 581 pp. 127 f., § 589 pp. 129 ff., §§ 735 and 737 pp. 261 ff., § 756. 4 p. 275). Lat. *claudē-rem* (conj. of *s*-aorist) from *claudēō* (*claudu-s*), compare *nē-rem* *plē-rem*, *vidē-rem* *tacē-rem* (§ 587 pp. 127 f., § 590 p. 132, § 708 pp. 238 ff., §§ 735 and 738 pp. 261 ff.). Lith. *gūdē-ti-s* *gūdē-siū-s* from *gūdē-jū-s* (*gūda-s*). O.C.Sl. *celē-ti* *celē-chū* from *celē-ja* (*celū*), compare Lith. *byrē-ti* *byrē-siu* (§ 740 p. 265). Gr. *ἀ-δήρῃ-το-ς* *ἀκόντῃ-σα* *κονί-σθαι* from *κονίω* (*κόνι-ς*). Lat. *finī-tu-s* *finī-rem* from *finiō* (*fini-s*). Lith. *daly-ti* *daly-siu* from *daly-jū* (*dali-s*). O.C.Sl. *gosti-ti* *gosti-chū* from *gostā* for \**gostī-ja* (*gostū*), § 782. 5. Gr. *ἀ-δάκρυ-το-ς* *ἐδάκρυ-σα* *δακρυ-σθαι* from *δακρέω* (*δάκρυον*). Lat. *statū-tu-s* from *statuō* (*statu-s*).

*-ō-* is commonest within the verb infinitive; as Gr. *μισθω-*

-ró-ς from *μᾶρό-ς*, Lat. *aegrō-tu-s* from *aeger* (stem *aegrō-*), Lith. *ragū-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *roga-tū* 'horned' from *rāga-s* *rogū* 'horn', being forms like Gr. *τῆμ-ρό-ς* from *τῆμῆ*, Lat. *barba-tu-s* from *barba*. Perhaps it was just verbal nouns of this kind which in Greek were the starting point for *ἐμῶ-σσι μᾶρό-σσι μᾶρό-σσι*, cp. *ἐτῆμ-σα τῆμ-σσι τῆμᾶ*; so in Lithuanian, *jākū-siu jākū-jū* like *dovanó-siu dovanó-jū*. Compare § 770 Rem. p. 289.

The shapes taken by present *jo*-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 (*-ā-jo -e-jo* etc.). In Sanskrit, for example, *-īdā-ti* implied desire; in Latin, *-ō -ā-s -ā-t* were factitive, and *-eō -ē-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 *-ā-jo* 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. *ἐσθίων* 'I receive at the hearth, entertain' and *ἐστίων* 'I make into a hearth, found a house' both from *ἐστία*, *ἀσθενέω* 'I am weak' and *ἀσθενώω* 'I make weak', from *ἀσθενής*, Lat. *clāreō* 'I am clear' and *clārō (-ā-s)* 'I make clear' from *clārū-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 ("nouns postverbaux"). So, on the analogy of *lečimāre: lečrima, rixāri: riza* we have Lat. *pūgna* coined to match *pūgnare*, which was

derived from *pānu-s*; in Greek, similarly, we have *νικῶ* 'victory' growing out of *νείω* '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. *ligue* from *ligüre*, Mod.H.G. *wach* from *wachēn*. 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 *-a-yā-ti* to the track of Class XXXII, which gives rise to such a form as Skr. *mantrā-ya-tē*

Instead of Idg. *-i-jō-* and *-u-jō-*, we find in Vedic *-i-yā-* *-u-yā-* and *-ī-yā-* *-ā-yā-*; see §§ 771, 772. It is not clear whether the analogy of primary verbs like *nī-yā-tē śrū-yā-tē* is at work (§ 709 pp. 243 f.), or if the *ī* and *ā* came from feminine stems in *-ī-* and *-ā-* (II § 109 pp. 333 f.); it might be held that *jani-yā-ti* belongs to *jāni-š*, *jantī-yā-ti* to the byeform *jānī*, *kaṇḍā-ya-ti* 'scratches' to the fem. *kaṇḍā-* and not to the masc. *kaṇḍu-*. 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 *śakracāpā-ya-tē* 'represents a rainbow, is like it' from *śakracāpa-m* 'rainbow'. Note for the typical form of the contained noun, Ved. *dhiy-āya-tē* 'is pious' *dhiy-āyā-nt-* 'attentive' from *dhi-* f. 'devotion, piety'; similarly *jm-āyā-nt-* 'struggling earthwards' from *kṣām-* f. 'earth' (II § 160 p. 482), unless it be from *jmān-* *āima-* 'a way' (way-making, carving a path).

*-ī-yā-ti* also was productive. On the model of *durgbhī-ya-tē* 'is hard to grasp' (*dur-gbhī-š* 'hard to grasp'), *kavi-yā-tē* 'is wise' (*kavi-š* 'wise'), *taviṣṭ-yā-tē* 'is strong' (*tāviṣṭ* f. 'strength') sprang up others, as *adhvarīyā-ti* 'is present at the offering' from *adhvarā-s* 'offering', *pitṛyā-ti* 'is fatherly' (gramm.) from *pitār-* 'father'. On the model of *jantī-yā-ti* 'asks for a wife' (*jāni-š* 'wife') we have *putrīyā-ti* 'wishes for a son' from *putrā-s* 'son', *māṣīyā-ti* 'desires meat' from *māṣā-m* 'meat'.

Thirdly, *-s-yá-* (from *s-*stems) once or twice leaves its proper sphere. *mānavasyá-ti* 'acts after the manner of men' from *mānavá-s* 'human' follows the type *svapas-yá-tē* 'acts nicely' from *sv-apas-* 'acting nicely'. *urušyá-ti* 'seeks the distance' from *urú* n. 'the distance' follows such verbs as *taruṣ-yá-ti* 'fights' (from *táruṣ-* n. 'fight').

Lastly, the ending *-arya-ti* grew into a type; beginning with *vadharyá-ti* 'lets fly a shot or missile', beside *vádhar-* and *vadhá-s* 'missile', it spread to *rátha-s* 'a chariot', and formed *ratharyá-ti* 'he drives in a chariot'.

Remark. I may mention here another word, Skr. *śrudhīyá-ti* 'obeys'. This is derived from the imper. *śru-dhi* 'listen', which must have crystallised into something hardly more than a particle; the form is then like Gr. *αἰ-δέω* from *αἰ*, Mod.H.G. *bejahe* 'I say yes' *verneine* 'I say no' from *ja* and *nein*, Lat. *negō* from some form like \**ne-gi* = Lith. *ne-gi ne-gu*, contained also in *neg-otium neg-ligō*.

§ 774\*. Armenian. With *jo*-suffix only denominatives like *čaram-i-m*, § 770 pp. 288 f.

Without *jo*-suffix: *jana-m* and the like, see § 551 p. 123.

Still unexplained are denom. in *-m*, as *gorce-m* 'I work' from *gorc* 'work', *sire-m* 'I love' from *sēr* 'love', *čue-m* 'I break up, depart' from *ču* 'a breaking up, departure'. As *jana-m* answers to Aeol. *ρίμα-μι*, one would be inclined to place *gorce-m* parallel to *φιλη-μι*. But *i* would be expected as representing Idg. *ǵ*.<sup>1)</sup>

§ 775. Greek. The original ending *-αω* = Idg. *-a-ǵō* became *-ᾶω*, not by rule, but by analogy of *-εω -ιω -ωω*.

In several dialects we see *-ηω -ωω -ιω -ρω* instead of the other quantity; as Lesb. *ἀδικῆει*, Boeot. *δαμῶντες* Delph. *στειμανόετιω* Hom. *ὑπνῶντες*, Hom. *κονίοντες ἰρηγύοντο*. Similarly *-ᾶω*, as Hom. *μειναιήηαι* and *ἡβᾶοιμι* or (with Ion. *η*) *ἡβῆοιμι*, which seems to have been the form originally used where the text has *ἡβᾶοιμι*. This *α* is certainly not long because

1) Hübschmann points out to me the possibility that the analogy of, say, *ber* (բեր, *latio* etc.): *berem* (= Gr. *πέρω*) may have produced *gorcem* in connexion with *gorc*. Cp. the denom. Skr. *mārga-ti* Gr. *στέρω* etc., § 487 p. 41.



the vowel was long originally (see above), nor did the other endings lengthen their first vowel by analogy of an *a* so preserved; the long vowel in all of them came from the future, aorist, and other parts which had it, so that ἡβάν follows ἡβάν-σω, ἀδικήω follows ἀδική-σω.<sup>1)</sup> At the same time, some power must be ascribed to the influence of present stems such as *χρήων* (§ 737 p. 263) and *θάω* (§ 707 p. 236); for the other parts of these had the same endings as the denominatives which now concern us (*χρή-σομαι* like *φιλή-σω*, *θά-σω* like *δακρύ-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 *ἀνομιανέω* -ω beside *ἀνομιάνω*, and *τελλέω* instead of *τελλέσσω* (§ 757 p. 277). As regards verbs in -ίω and -ύω, we have also to consider that the contained nouns often had -ί-ς and -ύ-ς (cp. *ισχύω* from *ισχύ-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 -ίω -ύω and -ίω -έω.

Remark. *γέλω* *ιδρύω* *έργω* are to be kept distinct from *δαμιόω* etc. because they come from -ωσ-μαι. *γέλω* from *γέλω-* (nom. *γέλω*), the strong form of *γέλω-*, whence *γέλω* (§ 768 p. 282). *ιδρύω* from *ιδρύ-*. *έργω* from a word parallel to Lat. *rigor*. These verbs in -ωσ-μαι 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-iō* from *fulgur* (O.Lat. *fulguris*), and stand in contrast to the really old forms Gr. *τελλέω* *τελλέω* for *\*τελλέω-μαι* (§ 768 p. 282).

The origin of the ending in *δωξέναι* for -ειν is not clear; cp. Hom. *δωξέων*, Ion. (Archil.) *δωξέων*, Pind. *δωξέ*. Compare Wackernagel, Philol. Anz. 1887, p. 238; W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 269 f.

On the non-thematic present inflexion -α-μι (-αιμι) -η-μι -ω-μι following Class X (instead of -αω -εω -οω) in Aeolic and Arcadian, see § 582 p. 123, § 589 p. 131. The type -α-μι in our *a*-denominatives came from the pre-Greek stage; and in Greek itself its analogy produced -η-μι and -ω-μι.

1) Cp. *γέω* instead of *\*γέω* following *γέω-σω* and the rest; the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 31. Lithuanian: cp. pres. *dēmi* 3rd sing. *dēsi* instead of *dēmi dēsi* following *dē-sia dē-ti* 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., 1 5).

(1) The type *-αω*, which could be made from *o*-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 *ρεόω* 'I renew' may have caused \**ρεφα-λω* = Lat. *novō* O.H.G. *nimēōm* 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: *λεπράω* 'I have an eruption on the skin' (from *λέπρᾱ* 'eruption') and similar words give rise to *ίδερᾱω* 'I have dropsy' from *ίδερo-ς* 'dropsy'; *όφθαλμιάω* 'I have diseased eyes' (from *όφθαλμία* 'disease of the eyes') gives *ίδερμάω* from *ίδερo-ς* (beside *ίδερᾱω*), *όδοντιάω* 'I cut teeth' from *όδούς* 'a tooth'; *βοάω* 'I call, cry' from *βοή* 'cry' produces *γοάω* from *γός* 'lament'; whilst *κωρύαω* 'I twist like a top' from *κῶρυo-ς* 'top', *συχάονται* 'they arrange themselves in rows' from *σίχοι* and *σίχες* 'rows', *σπαργανάω* 'I wrap in swaddling clothes' from *σπάργανo-ν* 'swaddling clothes' follow *τεχνάω* 'I work skilfully' from *τέχνη* 'skill', *μηχανάω* 'I set to work' from *μηχανή* 'tool, means', and so forth. *-ιάω* became another kind of desiderative suffix: *στρατηγιάω* 'I strive to become a general' (*στρατηγία*) and others like it gave rise to such forms as *άρχοντιάω* 'I strive to become archon' from *άρχων*, *μαθητιάω* 'I wish to be a pupil' from *μαθητής*; and the last-named verb served as a model for *βιτηγιάω* 'volo coire' from *βίτης* 'coeo'.

Remark. In certain Greek dialects *-εω* is often found where we expect *-αω*; it is not always possible to suppose that these are due to the analogy of verbs in *-εω* from *o*-stems. Such are *ῥέβιω* beside *ῥέβιαω*, *δαπυνίω* beside *δαπανάω*. I. Schmidt, in his work on the Neuters (pp. 326 ff.), puts forward a view that in pr. Greek *so αω* became regularly *so εω*; that

thus *το* and *αε* stood side by side in sets of verb-forms, *ἡβῶ* *ἡβῶς* etc.; and that there was levelling in two directions, (1) *ἡβῶ* *ἡβῶμεν* etc. following *ἡβῶς* *-αί*, (2) *ἡβῶς*, *-αί* following *ἡβῶ* *-ομεν*.

(2) Many are the meanings given by verbs in *-εω* which are formed from uncompounded *o*-stems; they stand in all sorts of different relations to the contained stem. Here are a few: *κοιρανέω* 'I am ruler' from *κοίρανος* 'ruler', *οἰκέω* 'I dwell' from *οἶκος* 'dwelling, house', *ἀριθμέω* 'I count' from *ἀριθμός* 'number', *μοχθέω* 'I toil' from *μόχθος* 'labour'. This type was not very fertile in analogical imitations, though we have *ἡγεμονέω* 'I lead' (*ἡγεμών*) 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: *οἰνοχοέω* 'I am wine-pourer' from *οἶνο-χόος*, *δημιουργέω* 'I am a craftsman, artisan' from *δημιουργός*, *ἀδυνατεω* 'I am unable, weak' from *ἀ-δυνατός*; by analogy — *μισθοδοτέω* 'I am wage-giver' from *μισθο-δότης*, *ἄφρονέω* 'I am senseless' from *ἄφρων*. It is true some of these verbs have meanings both transitive and intransitive, but this depends on the meaning of the ground-word; this *ταλαιπωρέω* means 'I plague' or 'I am plagued' because *ταλαι-πώρος* means either suffering misery or inflicting it.

(3) With *-εω*-verbs derived from *o*-stems, another group originally ending in *-εσ-εω* ran together. Only in Homer is there a difference in form; there we have *-εω*, from *-εσχω*, and the intermediate *-εω*, side by side: *τελείω* 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 *ἀνθῆσαι* from *ἀνθέω* 'I bloom' for *\*ἀνθισ-εω* (*ἄνθος* n. 'bloom') on the analogy of *φιλῆσαι* from *φιλέω*, and *τετευχῆσθαι* 'to be armed' from *τεύχεα* pl. 'arms'. Then came a number of verbs in *-εω* fut. *-ησω* from compound *εσ*-stems, as *ἀπειθέω* 'I am disobedient' from *ἀ-πειθής* 'disobedient', *εὐθαρσέω* 'I am of good courage' from *εὐ-θαρής* 'courageous'; a step due partly to the fondness

which the Greeks showed for verbal derivatives in *-ew* from compound *o*-stems (for which see above, 2).

(4) The group of verbs in *-ow*, also from *o*-stems, is probably a purely Greek development, on parallel lines to *-ew* = Idg. *-e-χδ* (see § 773 pp. 290 f.). At first probably there were forms of the verb infinite only, as those with the ending *-ω-τε-ς*; these soon produced all the rest. *-αιω* *-αστω* etc. may have been the type for *-ow* *-ωσω*: there is a likeness between *θρηγκώω* 'I furnish with battlements or eaves' (*θρηγκό-ς*) *στεφανώω* 'I provide with a wreath' (*στέφανο-ς*) and *πιδάω* 'I furnish with a fetter' (*πέδη*) *ετιμάω* 'I provide with honour' *τιμή*; compare particularly *στεφάνω* (*στεφάνοις*) *στεφανός* and *τιμά* (*τιμάς*) *τιμάω*.

A favourite meaning for *-ow* is factitive; as *σιφλόω* 'I make a cripple' (*σιφλό-ς*), *νιόω* 'I make new' (*νίω-ς*), *ίσοω* 'I make equal' (*ίσο-ς*). This function it seems to have taken from pre-Greek *-αῖδ*; compare *νέωω* with Lat. *novāre* O.H.G. *niemōn* (p. 295); and in this sense *-ow* became enormously productive: *σαρκάω* 'I make into rags, tear to rags' from *ράκος* n. 'rag',<sup>1)</sup> *ύγιώω* 'I make well' from *ύγις* 'well', *ορνιθόω* 'I turn into a bird' from *ορνίς* 'bird', *πλατύω* 'I make broad' from *πλάτυ-ς* 'broad', *γεφυρώω* 'I make into a bridge' from *γέφυρα* 'bridge'.

(5) Beside verbs in *-νω* (§ 772) sprang up a class in *-εωω*, as *νομεύω* 'I am a herdsman' (*νομεύ-ς*), *ήμιοχεύω* 'I am a driver' (*ήμιοχεύ-ς*). If, as we assumed in III § 261 p. 162, *-εως* comes from *\*-ελυ-ς*, then *-νωω* = *\*-ελυ-λω*, *-εωω* = *\*-ελυ-δω* are quite regular, and do not differ in principle from *-υ(λ)ω-σω* (*δακρύω* *-ύσω*).

The ending *-νωω* soon became a type for expressing one's usual calling or occupation: as *οινοχόεω* 'I am cup-bearer' from *οινοχό-ς*, *μαντεύομαι* 'I am a seer' from *μάντι-ς*, *θηρεύω* 'I am a hunter' from *θήρ* 'hunt', *βουλεύω* 'I am a counsellor, advise' from *βουλή* 'counsel'. Thus *-εωω* is partially synonymous with *-τωω*; we have *οινοχασέω* and *-χασέω*, and *καιρανέω* bears the same kind of sense (see 2., p. 296).

1) One dare hardly derive this from *\*ζακος-λω*, although this would have an analogue in Lat. *fulgur-īd* (see § 775 p. 294).

(6) Amongst the many endings of verbs derived from substantives with consonantal stems, three are particularly fertile — *-αῖω*, *-ιῖω*, and *-αινω*.

(a) *-αῖω*, for *-αδ-χω*, answers sometimes to a Germanic class in (Goth.) *-atja* (§ 768 p. 283), and sometimes *-αῖω* comes from *\*ǵd̥h₂*, as in *πεμπάζομαι* 'I count by fives' from *πεμπάς* (II § 123 p. 390, III § 169 pp. 13 f.).

Following *μυγάζω* 'I mix', intr. in middle (*μυγᾶς* 'mixt') were coined *ἡσυχάζω* 'I pacify, keep quiet' from *ἡσυχος* 'quiet', *δοκιμάζω* 'I test' from *δόκιμος* 'tested, genuine, correct'. Following *ἀφροδισιάζω* 'I give myself up to sensuality' (*ἀφροδισιάς*), *γενειάζω* 'I grow a beard' (*γενειάς*) were formed *σασιάζω* 'I am in tumult' from *σάσις* 'tumult', *ἀνιάζω* 'I feel pain or trouble' from *ἀνία* 'pain, trouble', *ἐπιχωρεύω* 'I am at home' from *ἐπιχωρίου* 'at home'.

*-ιῖω* for *-ιδ-χω*; as *ἐλπίζω* 'I hope' from *ἐλπίς* *-ιδ-ος* 'hope', *φροντίζω* 'I think' from *φροντίς* 'care', *ληϊζομαι* 'I rob, harry, carry off' from *ληΐς* 'booty', *ἐρῶζω* 'I strive' from *ἔρις* 'strife'. On this model, *αἰνίζομαι* 'I praise' from *αἶνος* 'praise', *δειπνίζω* 'I entertain' from *δειπνον* 'meal', *καταχίζω* 'I roar, rush' from *καταχή* 'rush, roar', *ὀνειδίζω* 'I abuse, blame' from *ὀνειδος* n. 'disgrace', *ἀκοντίζω* 'I cast a javelin' from *ἄκων* 'javelin', *αἵματιζω* 'I stain with blood' from *αἷμα* 'blood', *μακαρίζω* 'I bless' from *μάκαρ* 'blest', *αἰμᾶζω* 'I insult, torment' from *αἰκῆς* 'shameful'.

In a few words *-αῖω* and *-ιῖω* come from *-αγ-χω* and *-ιγ-χω*; as *ἀρπάζω* 'I seize, carry off' (fut. *ἀρπάξω*) from *ἄρπαξ* 'greedy, piratical'; and *μαστιάζω* 'I whip' from *μάστιξ* 'a whip'. This coincidence of *-γ-χω* and *-δ-χω* in the present caused analogy to act in two directions. (1) *ἀρπάσω ἤρπασα* beside *ἀρπάξω ἤρπαξα* following the dental stems; and (2) Dor. *δοκιμαῖζω ἤριζα* instead of *\*δοκιμασέω ἤρισα* 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 *τέκτων* 'carpenter', *εὐφραίνω* 'I make glad' from *εὐφρων* 'glad', *ποιμαίνω* 'I tend' from *ποιμήν* 'herdsman', *σπερμαίνω* 'I give

forth seed' from *σπέρμα* 'seed', *κῦμαίνω* 'I undulate' from *κῦμα* 'billow' (§ 768 p. 282). The others are extended *no*-stems; as *λαίνω* 'I quicken, make live' beside Skr. *iṣaṇa-t*, *αἰαίνω* 'I dry' beside Lith. *sausinu* (§ 621 pp. 158 f., § 743 p. 266). As the *-aίνω* 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 *θερμαίνω* 'I warm' from *θερμός* 'warm', *λεκαίνω* 'I smooth', from *λεῖος* 'smooth', *λευκαίνω* 'I whiten' from *λευκός* 'white', the model might be either *αἰαίνω*, which was popularly derived from *αἶος* 'dry', or *εὐφραίνω* 'I gladden' (*εὐφρων*) and *παινίω* 'I fatten' (*πίων*).

§ 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 *finiō* (*-i-s*) for *-i-īō*; with the latter this is true of the non-present stem, as *custōdītei* *-i-tus* like *finītei* *-ītu-s*. The association seems to have gone thus far in proethnic *Italic*; for we have Osc. *kapidīdrom*, i. e. *kapid-i-to-m* 'ollarium' (same stem as Lat. *capis* *-id-is*); compare Umbr. *statita* 'statuta' from \**stati-* Gr. *στάσις*. Old participials such as Lat. *sceles-tu-s* *liber-tu-s* (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 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *-iō* and the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *-iunt*. The others cannot be derived either from *-je-s* *-je-ti* *-jo-mos* *-je-tes* nor from *-ije-s* etc.: to judge from the voc. *filie* (beside *filii*, III § 201 p. 83), we should expect as an imper. \**scripturie*. As a fact, these denominatives dropt their *-iō* *-je-s* and so forth simply because in *Italic* primary verbs conjugating *-iō* *-je-s*

*-je-ti* exchanged it for *-jō -l-s -l-ti* (§ 702 pp. 228 ff.) So *scriptur-iō* took its type from *suf-fiō furc-iō* etc. (§§ 716 f. pp. 249 f.), in the same way as Greek moulded the future *διφμαρῶ ἀγγελῶ* upon the primary class (§ 757 p. 277).

What is seen in *scriptur-iō*, is seen in other verbs with *-iō*, as *finiō* from *fini-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 persnih-mu persni-mu* 'precator' from a noun-stem *\*persni-* (§ 674 p. 207).

Again: verbs in *-ā-jō*, *-e-jō*, and *-u-jō* run parallel to the primary classes:

*plantō*, for *\*-ā-jō*, has the *jō*-suffix only in the 1<sup>st</sup> sing.; elsewhere unthematic *-ā-s -ā-t* etc., like *nō nā-s* etc., and *juvō -ā-s* etc. This agrees with Umbr. *furfant furfaθ* 'februant' *anstiplatu* 'instipulator' Osc. *faamat* 'habitat' and others, beside 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Umbr. *subocau* 'adoro' for *-ā(j)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 *claudēō*, for *\*-e-jō*, the *jō*-suffix is found only in the 1<sup>st</sup> sing.: *claudēō -ē-s* etc. like *pleō pl-ē-s* 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, *claudēō* and *moneō* orig. had *-ējō*, while *pleō videō* had orig. *-ējō* (cp. I § 612 p. 402). Secondly, *claudēs moneō -et -ētis* may be derived without violence from *-e(i)es -e(i)eti -e(i)etes*, as easily as Lesb. *φιλῆτε* may be derived from *φιλῆ(ι)τε* (§ 589 p. 131). To judge from Lat. *trēs*, *pontēs* Umbr. *puntes* for *-e(i)es* (I § 134 p. 121), *es* became *ē* in pre-Italic times. It is possible that this contraction in persons containing the suffix *-je-* may have paved the way for the confluence of verbs in *-e-jō* and *-ē-jō* with those in *-ē-*. It must also be carefully remembered that Latin had no *ē*-forms answering to *plantāv plantātu-s finitō finitū-s*, as it had no similar *ē*-forms even in verbs with *-ē-jō*, such as *videō*.

Remark. An exception is *dēsaēō* 'I thicken', which has *dēsaētu-s*, a bye-form of *dēsaēre* (same meaning). It would appear that there was once nothing but this participle *dēsaētu-s*, and that the whole system *dēsaē-mus* etc., sprang up by analogy of *dēsaē-mus* to *dēsaē-tu-s*. This would explain why *dēsaēō*, unlike *albeō claudrō* etc., had a factitive meaning.

*statuō -uis -uit* etc. may be directly compared with Skr. *gātu-yāmi -yā-si* etc., (Ir. *gātrím -uic* etc.; on the other hand the inflexion is the same as in *suo suis suit* etc. (§ 717 p. 250).

§ 778. Particular endings becoming a type in Italic:

(1) The ending *-turiō*, occurring words like *scriptur-iō* 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 *pariō*.)

(2) The ending *-iō = -i-jō*, found in many Latin verbs from both subst. and adj. stems, gained no such distinctive meaning as did *-ō (-āre)* and *-eō*. Add to the exx. given in § 771 p. 289 the following: *partiō* and *-ior* 'I divide, share' from *pars* (stem *parti-*), *circumrētiō* 'I ensnare' from *rēte*, *ināniō* 'I empty' from *ināni-s*, *molliō* 'I soften' from *molli-s*. None the less did *-iō* spread by analogy: *catuliō* from *catulu-s*, *equiō* from *equo-s*, which with *nuptūre* remind us in form and sense of the Skr. desiderative class *putrīyā-ti* (§ 774 p. 292); *blandior* from *blandu-s*, *rauciō* from *raucu-s*, *saeviō* from *saevo-s*, *largior* from *largu-s*, *āniō* from *ānu-s*; *poeniō pāniō* from *poena*; *abortiō* from *abortu-s*, *singultiō* from *singultu-s*. It is possible that some of the verbs like *catuliō blandior* are the same formation as Skr. *adhvaryā-ti* Gr. *ἀγγύλλω*; see § 770 pp. 286 f.

(3) Verbs in *-ā-jō* (Lat. *-ō*), 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. Beitr. x 223) thinks that Goth. *aīlēron* 'to beg for' is a desiderative like these. He connects it with *dēh* '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. *cārō* Umbr. *kuraia* 'curet' Pelign. *coisatens* 'curaverunt' (Lat. *cūra*), Lat. *multō* Osc. *moltaum* 'multare' (Lat. *multa*), Lat. *insidiōr* (*insidiae*), *praedor* (*praeda*), *lacrimō* (*lacrima*), *maculō* (*macula*), *fortūnō* (*fortūna*). Then verbs in *-āiō* were made from other substantive stems. Examples: Lat. *terminō* from *terminu-s* *termin*, Umbr. *termnas* 'terminatu-s' (Osc. *teremnattens* 'terminaverunt': Lat. *locō* from *locu-s*, Pelign. *locatin(s)* 'locaverunt': Lat. *dōnō* from *dōnu-m*, Osc. *d]uunated* 'donavit'; Lat. *vinculō* from *vinculu-m*, Umbr. *previslatu* imper. 'praevinculato, praepedito vinculis'; Lat. *numerō* from *numeru-s*, *pāgnō* from *pāgnu-s* (cp. § 773 Rem. p. 291), *spolior* from *spoliu-m*, *cōnsiliōr* from *cōnsiliu-m*, *rēgnō* from *rēgnu-m*, *fluctuō* from *fluctu-s*, *tumultuō* from *tumultu-s*, *cōntiōnōr* from *cōntiō*, *nōminō* from *nōmen*, *exāminō* from *exāmen*, *colōrō* from *color*, *fulgurō* from *fulgur*, *onerō* from *onus*, *scelerō* from *scelus*, *puverō* from *pulvi-s*, *laudō* from *laus*, *hiemō* from *hiems*; Osc. *deivaid* 'iuret' *deivast* 'iurabit' from *deivo-* 'deus'.

A few more exx. may be given of verbs in *-āiō* derived from adjectival stems, like Lat. *novō* (pp. 284 f.): Lat. *privō* from *privu-s*, Osc. *preivatud* 'privato, reo' (for the meaning, cp. Bréal, Dict. etym. Lat.<sup>2</sup> 281, Mém. Soc. Ling. iv 394 f.); Lat. *piō* from *piu-s*, Umbr. *pihatu* 'piato' prupēhast 'ante piabit'; Lat. *probō* from *probu-s*, Osc. *prufattens* 'probaverunt'. Hence by analogy Lat. *gravō* from *gravi-s*, *levō* from *levi-s*, *cicurō* from *cicur*. Lat. *sacrō* from *sacro-* *sacri-*, Os. *sakarater* 'sacratur, sacrificatur' from *σάκρο* ('sacrum') *sacri-*.

A mass of Lat. verbs in *-tāiō* 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. *costōm* from Idg. \**ǵus-tó-*, see § 769 p. 284; Lat. *utō* Umbr. *etians* 'itent' *etato* 'itate' — Gr. *ἰττ-ρίορ* El. part. perf. act. *ἰττ-ρίορ*; Lat. *putō* 'I deck, prune, clean, reckon, think' beside O.C.Sl. *pytajā* 'scrutor, quaeŕō, indago' (Osthoff, M. U. iv 86 f.). Formed in Latin on the same

principle: *hortor occultō adjūtō cantō versō tractō dictō gestō pōtō, domitō crepitō habitō*. The ending *-itō* was abstracted from words which happened to have it, and became a type; hence *vocitō* from *vocō* (*vocātu-s*), *volitō* from *volō* (*volātu-m*), *agito* from *agō*, *sciscitō* from *sci-scō*, *vīsitō* from *vīsō* (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 *commentu-m* 'idea' (hence *commentor*), *repulsa* 'defeat' (hence *repulsō*), *offēnsa* 'blow' (hence *offēnsō*). See II § 158 pp. 473 ff., IV § 769 p. 285.

*-igāre* also became a fertile denominative suffix in Latin; *navigō remigō jarigō jūrigō mīrigō*. Cp. Leo Meyer, *Bezz. Beitr.* vi 130 ff.

(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 *molleō* from *mollī-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. *fateor* seems to be another denominative in *eō*. Of this verb, Oscan has the inf. *fatium* (*i = ē*). The contained stem is *\*fa-tō-s*, answering to Gr. *φωρέω* 'said' (*ἔ-φωρε-ι*), and meaning 'having declared something, open, confessing'; and the word doubtless borrowed its deponent inflexion from *fārē* (§ 495 p. 58). At first its construction was *fateor dē aliquā re*, and the accusative constr. came later. The partic. *fessu-s* follows *suādu-s* from *suādeō*, and the like.

§ 779. Keltic. The only distinct class of this kind in Irish contains the *a*-denominatives, as *rannaim* from the *a*-stem *rann* (§ 769 p. 284) and *marboim* from the *o*-stem *marb* (p. 284). Somewhat as in Latin, the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. only is extended by *-iō*, and all the rest lacks it: 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *nó chara* for *\*carā-iō*

(conjunct inflexion) like Lat. *plantō*; 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *no chara* O.Bret. *cospitio-t* like Lat. *planta-t*. Compare § 584 p. 125.

*jo*-presents from consonantal stems (like Skr. *apas-yá-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. *gatu-yá-ti* (§ 772 p. 289).

In the Keltic 3<sup>rd</sup> conjugation, Idg. denominatives in *-e-jo* (say *scorim scuirim*, § 770 p. 288), those in *-i-jo* (say *fo-dalim* § 771 p. 289), and causals in *-ejō* (§ 803) have all run together. Then this new composite denominative-type spreads by analogy: 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ad-rīni* 'counts' from *rīm* f. 'number' (stem *\*rīmā-*), *bāgin ar-bāgin* 'I strive, brag' from *bāg* f. 'strife' (stem *\*baga-*).

§ 780. A denominative ending with *-ag-* became widespread in Irish and British dialects: e. g. O.Ir. *sāraigim* or *-sāraigim* 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. *scamnehgirt* 'levant'. Some have wished to connect this suffix with the nominal suffix *-aco-* (II § 89 p. 273), led to this view by *cumachtaigim* 'I make myself master of' from *cumachtach* 'powerful'; but nothing clear is known about its origin.

Remark. "The British dialects point to *-ag-*, and before the *a* 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. *rēmigāre pārgāre*, 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. *-a-jo-*, with *-jo*-extension, is clear only in Anglo-Frisian, A.S. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. in *-ie*, pl. in *-iað*, as *sealfie sealfiað*, where *i* must originally have been a long and also dull vowel, so that Germ. *-ō-ia-* is quite out of the question. Without *-jo-*: O.H.G. *salbōm -ōs -ōt -ōmēs -ōt -unt* Goth. *salbōs -ōþ -ōm -ōþ*

-ōnd. The 1<sup>st</sup> 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 *batra* beside *batram* 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. *fairinō* 'I accuse, blame' O.H.G. *firinōm* 'scelero' A.S. *firenie* 'I sin' from Goth. *fairina* 'accusation' O.H.G. *firina* 'scelus' A.S. *firen* 'sin', Goth. *idreigō* 'I repent' from *idreiga* 'repentance', O.H.G. *ahtōm* (A.S. *eahtie*) 'I notice' from *ahta* 'notice', O.H.G. *gremizzōm* 'I look grim, 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. *wētnie*, O.H.G. *fest-inōm* 'I affirm, make fast, promise' A.S. *fæstnie*, O.H.G. *heb-inōm* 'I entertain as a guest', and others.

For ā-verbs from o-nouns, such as Goth. *waitrþō* O.H.G. *werdōm*, 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. *hatizō* 'I hate' from *hatis* 'hatred', O.H.G. *sigirōm* 'I conquer' beside Goth. *sigis* 'victory', C.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. *valō-isō* 'I roll, revolve', O.H.G. *rieh-isōm* 'I rule' A.S. *ricsie*, O.H.G. *litch-isōm* 'compare, simulo' *hēr-isōm* 'I rule' (also *hērrisōm* by analogy of *hērro* 'lord, ruler', which was originally a comparative), A.S. *bledsie* 'I bless' and others.

ā-verbs from n-stems: Goth. *fráūjinō* 'I am lord. I rule' from *fráuja* (gen. *fráujins*) 'lord', *gudjinō* 'I am a priest, fill priestly office' from *gudja* 'priest', which gave the type for *reik-inō* 'I rule over' (*reik-s* '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 *-arō-*, *-alō-*, and *-akō-*.

(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 *-iō* (*-iō*); those from *o*-stems, with the ending *-e-iō* (whence pr. Germ. *-i-iō*), and those ending in *-i-iō*. Compare Goth. *riqizja glitmunja veitōdja lauhatja* O.H.G. *lougazzu lohazzu* and others § 768 p. 283, Goth. *rigneiþ* etc. § 770 p. 288, and Goth. *dailja* O.H.G. *teil(i)u*, Goth. *vēnja* O.H.G. *wān(i)u* etc. § 771 p. 289.<sup>1)</sup> Besides, the causals in *-ēiō* (pr. Germ. *-i-iō*), as Goth. *fra-wardja* = Idg. *\*uortēiō*, fell into this conjugation, which is called the First Weak Conjugation in Germanic 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. *hailja* O.Sax. *hēliu* O.H.G. *heil(i)u* 'I heal' from *hail-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. *glitmunēiþ lauhateiþ* (both only inferred) took the place of *\*glitmun-ji-þ* *\*lauhat-ji-þ* on the analogy of such forms as *rigneiþ* for *\*rigni-ji-ā(i)*. Goth. *vaúrkeiþ* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *vaúrkiþ* Idg. *\*uŕg-iō*) is a new form, instead of *\*vaúrkiþ*, following *fra-vardeiþ* etc. (p. 229 footnote). On the other hand, O.H.G. *denit beizit* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *denn(i)u beizz(i)u* ground-form *\*tonēiō* *\*bhojēiō*) 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. *fullōm* 'I fill' was a pre-Germ. verb in *-a-iō* (§ 760 p. 284), whilst *full(i)u* Goth. *fullja* 'I fill' is a causal; similarly we have O.H.G. *tarōm* 'I hurt, injure' from *tara* 'hurt, injury' beside the causal

<sup>1)</sup> Whether *\*-u-iō* loads regularly to Goth. *-ja*, and say *tagrja* 'I cry' comes from pr. Germ. *\*tagr-u-iō*, *\*ufarassja* 'I exist in abundance' for *\*ufarassu-iō*, 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. *fullōn* beside *fulliu*).

(3) Verbs in Goth. -a (2<sup>nd</sup> sing. -*dis*) O.H.G. -*ēm*, as Goth. *þaha* O.H.G. *dagēm* '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. *fastēm* 'I fast'; and one is tempted to class those verbs along with Latin denominatives such as *claudēō*, 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 *þaha dagēm*), it happened that their ending became a sign of intransitive meaning; and as the orig. inceptive verbs with *an*-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 *þaha dagēm* were the model for *fasta fastēm* and many others. Since there was a primary verb Goth. *sairga* O.H.G. *sorgēm* 'I care' side by side with the subst. Goth. *sairga* 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. *fasta* O.H.G. *fastēm*; and furthermore the verb *icernēm* 'I perplex or torment myself' was made to complement *icernā* 'perplexity, pang', *wartēm* 'I watch, wait' was formed from the subst. *warta* 'watch, spying, waiting', *wahtēm* '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. *falēm* 'I cause to rot' from *fāl* 'rotten', *altēm* 'I grow old' from *alt* 'old'. Compare some other verbs, belonging to Class XIV, such as O.H.G. *icesanēm* 'I dry up, wither away' (O.Icel. *visna*), *trunkanēm* 'I get drunk' (A.S. *druncnie*), which, by adopting *ē*-flexion, gained a second sign of their intransitive-

inceptive meaning (§ 623 p. 160); and further Goth. *maúrna* O.H.G. *mornēm* instead of \**maúrnō* \**mornōm* (§ 605 p. 147).

There are many and various waverings between -ē- and -ā-flexion, as O.H.G. *ērēm* and *ērōm* '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-yá-ti* (§ 768 p. 282). Instead of these, we find in cases where the forms are clear, verbs conjugated in other denominative classes; as Lith. *akmenyjū-s* 'I turn to stone' from *akmū* 'stone' (stem *akmen-*), O.C.Sl. *znamenujaq* 'I mark, term' from *znamę* 'mark' (stem *znamen-*).

Remark. Perhaps the Lith.-Lettic verbs Kurschat calls "Punctiva" — those ending in (Lith.) -*terėti* -*telėti*, as *kipaterė-ti* 'I rough-hew a little' — are to be connected with Slavonic *nomina agentis* in -*tel-* (Idg. -*ter-*), as *brūtel-i* 'offerer' (II § 122 p. 389). Then comes the question whether the Lith. present formation *kipater-iu* *swilpteliu* (i. e. -*el-iu*) represents or not the type of Skr. *rajas-yá-ti*. The conjugation in the dialects is sometimes -*terėjau* -*teldjau*, -*terėti* -*telėti*, and sometimes -*teriau* -*telau*, -*terti* -*telti* (Leskien-Brugmann, Lit. Volksl. und Märchen, 313 f.), the latter like *lūkuriu* *lūkurti* beside *lūkuris* 'I wait quietly'.

(2) Beside the endings Lith. -*o-jū* O.C.Sl. -*a-ja* = Idg. -*a-jō*, as Lith. *lankó-jū* O.C.Sl. *laka-ja* (§ 769 p. 284), we meet with Lith. -*ė-ju* O.C.Sl. -*ě-ja* instead of Idg. -*e-jō*, e. g. Lith. *gūdė-jū-s* O.C.Sl. *razumě-ja* (§ 770 p. 288), and Lith. -*y-ja* instead of Idg. -*i-jō*, as *daly-jū* (§ 771 p. 289). In these formations the long -ē- and -ī- are to be explained on the same principle as the long vowels in the Greek dialectic forms *ἀδελφῶν* *κοιτῶν* and so forth (§ 775 p. 293): they have been imported from the non-present stems; thus *gūdė-jū-s* follows -*ė-siu* -*ė-ti-s*, *razumě-ja* follows -*ě-chū* -*ě-ti*, and *daly-jū* follows -*ý-siu* -*ý-ti*, and so forth. At the same time, something is due to such present forms as Lith. *byrė-ju* O.C.Sl. *gově-ja*, in which verbs the non-present forms had the same endings as have the present stems now in question (e. g. *byrė-ti* like *gūdė-ti-s*, *gově-ti* like *razumě-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 *δαμῶντες* (§ 775 p. 293). This happened first in Baltic, or at any rate in the protoethnic stage of Balto-Slavonic. The preterite of these verbs is odd; it ends in *-avau* (*jākavau*), while we should expect *\*-ā-jau*; 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. *-avan*, 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 *-ajū*. This is all the more likely because such forms as *rogatū* and *ragūtā-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 *ἄγγελος*) is represented, firstly, by Slavonic presents like *trepēštā* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *-ešteši* (from *trepetī*). See § 770 p. 287.

Secondly, Lithuanian denominatives in *-auju* (inf. *-au-ti*, pret. *-avau*), and those in Slavonic ending in *-u-jā* (inf. *-ova-ti*), have to be examined; e. g. Lith. *rėkau-ju* 'I make a noise' O.C.Sl. *dlūgu-jā* '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 (*dlūgovati* from *dlūgū* 'debt' gen. *dlūgu*, *sladovati* 'to be sweet' beside *sladū-kū* Lith. *salda-s*), they must be connected with Idg. verbs in *\*-u-ǵō* (§ 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 *-ey-* or *-oy-* (pr. Balto-Slav. *-oy-* 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-vā-s* 'longhaired' from *kēṣa-s* 'hair', etc., see II § 64 pp. 133 ff.). This view is supported by Slav. *běsovati* 'to be frenzied' beside *běsovī* 'devilish, mad' from *běsū* 'demon'.



*kraljevati* 'to be king' beside *kraljevū* 'royal' from *kraljī* 'king', *vračevati* 'to be a physician, to heal' beside *vračevū* 'pertaining to a physician' from *vračī* 'physician', *vinovati* 'to accuse' beside *vinovīnū* 'guilty of something' from *vīna* 'cause, guilt' (*vinovīnū* presupposes \**vinovū*), 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. *ā* was still *ou*.

Genuine Baltic examples of the type of Skr. *adhvar-yā-ti* would therefore be impossible to find.

(4) Side by side with the ending *-ō-ju*, Baltic has another present inflexion with *-a-* and without *-jo-*. This occurs, firstly, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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', *pelnaū* 'I earn' from *pelna-s* 'earnings', *vėtau* 'I fan, winnow' beside Skr. *vā-ta-s* Gr. *ἀν-τῆ* (II § 79 p. 223). The forms *jūsto jūsto-me jūsto-te* answer to Lat. *planta-t -ā-mas -ā-tis* Lesb. *ῥῖψ-μεν* O. Ir. *no chara-m* Goth. *salbō-m* etc., but the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *jūstau jūstai* show the same analogical change as do the primary forms *bijaū-s* 'I fear' *buvaū* 'I was', see § 586 p. 127. This Lith. present class, as the non-present forms show (inf. *jūsty-ti* pret. *jūscziau*), stands in very close connexion with the Idg. verbs in *-éjō* (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' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *waitia-mai* (inf. *waitia-t*) beside O.C.Sl. *věsta-ja* 'I speak, advise' (inf. *věsta-ti*), beside Pruss. *caria-woyti-s* *karige-woyte* 'address to the army, review' O.C.Sl. *věste* n. 'advice'.

(5) Slavonic has no distinct present class to correspond to the Lith. present class *-y-ju* (*daly-jū*, no. 2, p. 308) which represents the Idg. verbs in *-i-iō*. These verbs in *-i-iō* in this branch of Idg. were merged in the class of Causals etc. with *-i-ti* (Class XXXII); e. g. *gostā* 'I entertain, receive hospitably' 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *gosti-ši* inf. *gosti-ti* from *gostī* 'guest', *čīstā* 'I honour' from *čīstī* 'honour', *wīstā* 'I take vengeance' from *wīstī* 'vengeance', *branjā* 'I strive' from *branī* 'strife', *mysljā* 'I think' from *mystī* 'thought'. The Idg. endings *-éiō* and *-i-iō* in Slavonic were sure to run together after *-ei-* became *-ij-* (I § 68 p. 60), and in both classes the endings *-ja* *-iši* *-itū* 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 become types.

(1) Verbs in (Lith.) *-ō-ju* (O.C.Sl.) *-a-ja* from *a-* and from *o*-stems; as Lith. *lanko-ju* O.C.Sl. *laka-ja* from *lankū* *laka* and Lith. *kilnō-ju* from *kilna-s*, *mirksnio-ju* from *mirksni-s*. O.C.Sl. *prija-ja* beside Skr. *priyā-s*, are cited in § 769 pp. 284 f.

Other Baltic examples are: Lith. *klūpo-ju* 'I continue kneeling' from *klūpa* 'kneeling, curtsey', *dārgano-ja* 'it is rainy weather', from *dārgana* 'rainy weather', Lett. *jaudā-ju* 'I have power, I can' from *jauda* 'power', *sukkā-ju* 'I comb' from *sukkas* pl. 'comb', *schāulā-ju* 'I flutter', from *schāul-s* 'fluttering', *wājū-ju* 'I weaken' from *wāj-sch* 'weak', *jōkā-ju* 'I jest' from *jōk-s* 'jest', Lith. *valō-ju* (i. e. *\*valjō-ju*) 'I compel' from *valū* (i. e. *\*valjū*) 'will', *vadžiō-ju* 'I lead about' from *vadžios* pl. 'leading-string, leash', *gylō-ju* 'I prick repeatedly' from *gylj-s* 'sting', *vytiō-ju* 'I wrap up' beside *kakla-vynj-s* 'necktie'; also derived from *-iō*-stems, as Lith. *pāinio-ju* 'I confuse, entangle' from *painē* 'a confusion, entanglement, hindrance', *rankio-ju* 'I keep picking up' (berries, for example) from *rankē* 'a gleanings 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 *dovanó-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 *lenkà* 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-ēdajā* with Lat. *juvare* 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*, *bráddio-ju* 'I wade about' from *bradà* 'a wading' (but Lett. has *braddāju*) *lándšioju* 'I crawl about' beside *l-landa* 'place to crawl into' (but Lett. has *lōdāju*), *lakioju* 'I fly about' from *lakà* 'place to fly in and out of, entrance to a beehive', *sakioju* 'I follow', *sagioju* 'I attach, fix, sew on'. *-joju* (i. e. *\*-lijoju*): *pirszloju* 'I woo, am a suitor on behalf of some one' from *pirslj-s* 'suitor, wooer' (*perszū pirsti* 'to woo, to be suitor'), *mirkloju* 'I blink' from *mirklj-s* 'blinker' (*mérkiu mérti* 'I close my eyelids') and others; by analogy of these *širg-lóju* 'I go straddling about' (*šergiū* 'I step, stride'); *tep-lóju* 'I smear or grease over' (*tepū* 'I smear'), *mét-lóju* 'I throw about' (*metū* 'I throw' *métau* 'I throw about'). *-czioju* *-szczioju*: *badmirszczioju* 'I almost starve, suffer hunger' from *bodmirtē* 'starvation', and others; which set the type for such forms as *mirk-czioju* *mirk-szczioju* 'I blink', *trūk-czioju* *trūk-szczioju* 'I throb repeatedly', *ráis-czioju* 'I keep tying'. *-urioju* *-uloju* (with parallel endings *-uriāju* *-ulāju* by § 785) for frequentatives: *vjburioju* 'I wag my tail, fawn upon' from

*vyburŷ-s* 'one who wags the tail', *krātuloju* 'I stir myself a little' from *krātuli-s* 'a stirring of oneself, levy, militia', *grōmuloju* 'I chew the cud' from *grōmulŷ-s* 'cud', etc.; by this analogy *kŷb-urioju* 'I kick or struggle a little', *vōb-uloju* 'I chew something tough'. *-aloju* is used in the same way; in this ending *-ioju* interchanges with *-iūju* far oftener than in the endings *-urioju -uloju* (§ 785):<sup>1)</sup> *sārgaioju* 'I am sickly' cp. *sargal-inga-s* 'sickly', *darbaloju* 'I keep on working, I work vigorously', *isz-vartaloju* 'I tumble down' and many more, Lett. *pirkalāju* 'I buy by retail' beside Lith. *pirkala-s* 'wares', cp. Lith. *svambalāju* '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 *-ū-ti*, see § 782. 2 p. 309): O.C.Sl. *igra-jā* 'I play' from *igra* 'game', *sū-vraska-jā* 'I am wrinkled' from *vraska* 'wrinkle', *klevata-jā* 'I calumniate' (beside *kleveštā*, see § 770 p. 287) from *kleveta* 'slander', *gněva-jā* *sę* 'I am angry' from *gněvŷ* 'anger', *kašlŷja-jā* 'I cough' from *kašlŷtŷ* '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 *-ēda-jā* was associated with *ja(d)-mŷ* 'esse', *-črŷpa-jā* with *črŷpa* 'I make', *-gněta-jā* with *gneta* 'I press', *čŷta-jā* 'I read' with *čŷta* 'I count, reckon'; some of these could also be conjugated in the present like *glagolŷja* (*glagola-ti*) *trepēštā* (*trepeta-ti*), etc. (§ 770 p. 287), as *na-ričā* 'I name' (inf. *na-rica-ti*) beside *na-rekā*. 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, ŷ*, or *ū*, the frequentative had *ē, a, i*, or *y* (see the comparisons in Leskien's Handbuch, pp. 14 f.).

1) The distinction between *o* and *ū* is in many Lith. writings so incompletely kept, that it is often impossible to say whether an ending be *-oju* or *-ūju*.

In vowel-stems, *-vaja* is found as a frequentative suffix; e. g. *o-ba-vaja* 'incanto' beside *ba-ja* 'fabulor', *o-dē-vaja* 'I clothe' beside *dē-ja* *dēda* 'I lay', *pi-vaja* 'I drink' beside *pi-ja* 'I drink'; *o-kleveta-vaja* beside *kleveta-ja* *klevešta* 'I slander', *razumē-vaja* beside *razumē-ja* 'I understand'. The origin of *-vaja* was the noun-suffix *-yo -yā-*: *piva-ja* from *pi-vo* 'a draught', *vū-liva-ja* 'I pour in' (beside *bi-ja* 'I pour') from \**li-vū* Mod.Slov. *liv* 'funnel' *na-liv* 'shower of rain' Russ. *na-livū* 'the time when the corn grows full' *pro-livū* 'strait, channel', *na-sēva-ja* 'I sow' a field (beside *sē-ja* 'I sow') from Russ. *sē-vū* 'sowing, seed time'. Other similar nouns having *v*-suffixes may be regarded as derivatives with the suffixes *-ūkū -ūka*: ep. O.C.Sl. *pri-dē-r-ūkū* 'cognomen' Mod.Slav. *o-dē-v-ka* 'dress' beside *-dēvaja*, Russ. *dō-bi-v-ka* 'a complete driving in' (of stakes) beside *raz-bivaja* 'I knock to bits, destroy' (*bi-ja* 'I strike'), Mod.Slov. *po-mi-v-ek* 'rinsing pail' beside *u-myvaja* 'I wash' (*my-ja* 'I wash'). But the *v* of *davaja* 'I give' and of *stavaja* '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; ep. Lith. *dovanā*, Skr. *dāvanē* and O.C.Sl. *stava stavū po-stavū stavljā* = 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 *-znava-ti* beside *zna-ti* 'knows', *-klevetava-ti* beside *klevata-ti*, and so on. The endings *-vaja -vati* were very convenient for making frequentatives from verbs with a vowel stem-final; hence their frequency.

Remark. Frequentatives of derivative verbs, as *o-klevetavati razumēvati veličavati*, must be regarded, because of their meaning, as an imitation of primary Frequentatives, and must not be derived from nouns in *-vū* and *-vū* (such as *veličavū* 'grandiloquent').

§ 784. (2) Verbs from *o*-nouns in (Lith.) *-ē-ju* (O.C.Sl.) *-ē-ja*, as Lith. *gūdē-jū-s* from *gūdu-s*, O.C.Sl. *razumē-ja* from *razumū*, are cited in § 770 pp. 288 f.

Other Baltic examples are: Lith. *szyksztē-ju* 'I am covetous' from *szykszta-s* 'covetous', Lett. *labbē-ju* 'I better

myself' from *lab-s* 'good', *prátē-ju* 'I subtilize, play the wisecracker' from *prát-s* 'reason', *galē-ju* 'I finish' from *gal-s* 'end', *mistrē-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. *šygtē-ju* 'I go an errand' from *šygti-s* 'errand, course', *malonēju* 'I much wish to have' from *malonù-s* 'gracious', *seilēju* 'I slaver, drive' from *seilē* 'slaver', Lett. *brīdēju* 'I delay' from *brīdi-s* 'while, period', *aureju* 'I blow the hunting horn' from *aure* 'hunting horn'. They are linked with the older group of Verbs in *-ēju*, as *kylē-ju* (§ 740 p. 265), in the same way as verbs like *dovanōju* are linked with those like *lindōju* (§ 783 p. 312).

In Lithuanian the ending *-inēju* was converted into a new type for Frequentatives. First came verbs like *tekīnē-ju* 'I run about a little' from *tēkina-s* 'running', *dilbīnē-ju* 'I glower, glare from beneath my brows' from *dilbina-s* 'one who glowers'. The next step was *smil-inēju* 'I keep eating dainties, picking and tasting', *lind-inēju* 'I crawl about', *vag-inēju* 'I filch' and others. Verbs already frequentative often add *-inēju*, and thus form a frequentative of the second power, so to say; thus we have *laist-inēju* from *laistau laistyti* 'to pour repeatedly', itself frequentative of *lēt-i* 'to pour', *šarg-inēju* from *šargaũ 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 *pilti* 'to pour, shed' (§ 783 p. 313).

Other examples from Slavonic, where almost all verbs in *-ěja* are intransitive and most of them mean to get into some condition: *o-slabě-ja* 'I get weak' from *slabŭ* 'weak', *o-malě-ja* 'to get little' from *malŭ* 'little', *buja-ja*, 'I get daft' from *bujŭ* 'daft', *obŭ-ništ-ja* 'I get poor' from *ništŭ* 'poor', *o-krilě-ja* 'I wing myself' from *krilo* 'wing'; *vŭz-m-žaj-ja* 'I make a man of myself, take courage' from *mqšŭ* 'man'. These too can be formed from other besides *o*-stems, as *želěja* 'I wish' from *želja* 'wish, longing'.

*-lěja* as an independent suffix. On the analogy of

*o-mūdīlē-jā o-mūdīlē-jā* 'I am slow, linger', from *mūdīlū mūdīlū* 'slow, lingering', and like forms, we find *prokazīlējā* 'I make evil plots' from *prokaza* 'evil plot', *maqāīlējā* 'I become a man' from *maqāī* 'man', *pečatīlējā pečatīlējā* 'I seal' from *pečatī* 'seal'.

§ 785. (3). The Lith. suffix *-ā-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. *melā-ju* Lett. *melā-ju* 'I lie' from Lith. *melai* Lett. *meli* pl. 'lies', Lith. *šalā-ju* Lett. *šalā-ju* 'I grow green' from Lith. *šāla-s šāle-s* Lett. *ša'l-sch* 'green', Lith. *bañā-ju* 'I saddle' from *bañna-s* 'a saddle', *dagā-ju* 'I harvest' from *dāga-s* 'harvest', *pūlā-ju* 'I fester' from *pūlei (pūl-jai)* 'matter, pus'. Derived from other than *o*-stems: *āzarāju* Lett. *assarāju* 'I pour out tears' from *azara* *assara* 'tear', Lith. *vagā-ju* Lett. *waggāju* 'I draw furrows' from *vagā* *wagga* 'furrow', Lith. *dejā-ju* 'I lament' from *dejā* 'a lament', *prāvordžiāju* 'I furnish with a surname' from *pravardē* 'surname'.

In the Lith. frequentative endings *-urioju ulojū* and *-aloju* (§ 783 p. 312), particularly in the last, there are variants *-iāju* and *-joju*: here *-joju* must be regarded in general as the older ending. Examples are: *šiburiā-ju* 'I flare, flicker' from *šiburys* 'light, torch', *skliduriāju* 'I slide, swim', *tyvulāju* 'I spread widely', *svambalāju* 'I dangle' from *svambala-s* 'that which dangles, plummet', *mafgalāju* 'I shine with varied hues', *svaigalāju* 'I reel'.

We have already remarked (§ 782.2 p. 309), that the Lith. verbs in *-āju* may possibly have their counterparts in Slavonic, where the class *-aja* may contain some of them.

§ 786. (4) Lith. verbs in *-yju* from *i*-stems have been cited in § 771 p. 289; to Lith. *szirdy-jū-s* answers Lett. *si'rdi-jū-s* 'I take to heart'. Here are some further examples: Lith. *rūdy-jū* 'I rust' from *radī-s* 'rust', *kirmy-jū* 'I am eaten of worms' from *kirmi-s* 'a worm', which was orig. an *i*-stem although inflected as a stem in *-jo-* (II § 97 p. 289), Lett. *āust-jū-s* 'I listen' from *āus-s* (Lith. *ausl-s*) 'ear'. From

other stems: Lith. *rómyju* Lett. *rāmiju* 'I castrate' (properly 'I tame') from *roma-s romù-s rām-s* 'calm, tame, gentle', Lith. *vaĩdyjũ-s* 'I quarrel' from *vaĩda-s* 'a quarrel', *giĩnczyjũ-s* 'I strive' from *giĩnczia-s* 'strife', *gaidryje-s* 'clears up' (of the weather) from *gaidrũ-s* 'cloudless, bright', *krũvyju* 'I heap' from *kravũ* 'a heap', Lett. *gũdiju* 'I make myself decorous or agreeable' from *gũd-s* 'demeanour, honour' (stem *gũda-*), *skũstiju* 'I tighten, wedge tight' from *skũst-s* 'wedge' (stem *skũsta-*), *meddiju* 'I hunt something' from *ĩnesh* (Lith. *mĩdi-s -džio*) 'forest'.

Remark. Since there were Lith. denominatives in *-ĩnu*, as *ũaks-mĩnu* (§ 624 p. 161), whose future *-ĩnu* became identical with that of the verbs we are now discussing, verbs in *-ĩnu* and verbs in *-yju* were mixed up together. Compare Leskien-Brugmann, Lit. Volksl. und Mũrchen, 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 *-ja* from *i*-stems, see § 782. 5 p. 311, § 789 p. 322.

§ 787. (5) The Slavonic ending *-uju* (inf. *-ovati*) we have already traced to its beginning with the stems in *-ovũ* (§ 782. 3 p. 309). As an independent suffix it became very common, especially to denote condition, possession of a dignity, and the like. Examples: *mirĩnuja* 'I am peaceful, keep the peace' from *mirĩnũ* 'peaceful', *prĩvuja* 'I am first' from *prĩvũ* 'first', *vojũja* 'I am a warrior, I make war' (inf. *vojevati*) from *vojũ* 'warrior', *sũvĩdĩteljuja* 'I am witness' from *sũvĩdĩtelĩ* 'witness', *sũvĩdĩtelĩstjuja* 'I give evidence' from *sũvĩdĩtelĩstvo* 'evidence', *obĩduja* 'I take a meal' from *obĩdũ* 'meal', *ĩnenjuja* 'I name' from *ĩnũ* 'name'.

Remark. In the same way this ending was fertile in Lithuanian, where it took the shape of *-auju* (see § 782. 3 p. 309). On the model of *karalũju* = O.C.Sl. *kraljuja* 'I am king' we have *ĩszpatũju* 'I rule', *karũju* 'I make war', and others.



## K. CLASS XXXII.

ROOT + *-ēio-* 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 *-āya-* must be regarded as original. Germanic also shows evidence that the accent lay after the root syllable; compare Goth. *fra-vardja* with *d*, but *vairþa* with *þ* (I § 530 p. 383), and Goth. *marþja* '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, *-ēio-* 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: *vēd-āya-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 *φορέω* 'I carry about with me, I wear' looks just the same as *φιλέω* 'I treat as a friend' from *φίλος* (§ 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 \**φιλέοντες* in contrast to *φορέοντες*, has been explained in § 527 Rem. 1 p. 89. In Latin there is no distinction either, but *mon-eō* (*-ē-s*) is just like *claud-eō* (*-ē-s*) from *claudu-s*, and like *videō* for \**vidē-īō* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *vidē-s* (§ 738 p. 263, § 777 p. 300). In Irish, there was a confluence of *-ēiō* (*ad-suidim* 'I prolong, postpone'), *-e-īō* (*scuirim* 'I unharness' § 770 p. 288), *-i-īō* (*fo-dálim* 'I divide up' § 771 p. 289), and *-iō* (*lēc-iu* 'I let, allow', § 719 p. 251). The same is true of Germanic: Goth. *fra-vardja* 'I bring to nothing, destroy' = Skr. *vart-āyāmi* like *haúrña* 'I blow the horn' (*-e-īō*) from *haúrna-*, like *dulþja* 'I keep a feast' (*-i-īō*) from *dulþi-*, like *glitmun-ja* 'I shine' from \**glitmun-* (§ 768 p. 282), and like *vatürk-ja* 'I work' (§§ 720 ff. pp. 251 ff.), compare § 781.2 pp. 306 f. Slavonic examples: *buǔda* 'I wake' *budi-ši* (Skr.

*bōdhāya-ti*) like *goṣṭa* 'I entertain' *gosti-ṣi* from the *i*-stem *gostī* (§ 782.5 p. 311) and like *būṣṭa* 'I am awake, watch' *būdi-ṣi* = Skr. *būdhi-yāmi* (§ 702 p. 230, § 727 pp. 257 ff.).

Lith. has *-au*, a wide departure from the original form: *vartaũ* 'I turn, keep on turning about', 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *var̃to*, contrasted with O.C.Sl. *vrastq vrati-tũ* Skr. *var̃t-āyāmi* Goth. *fravard-ja*, cp. *bijañ-s* § 586 p. 217 and *jāstau* § 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-éjō*: Skr. *v-āyāmi* 'I weave', Lith. *v-ejũ* O.C.Sl. *v-ījā* '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 *-ejō -ejo-si -ejo-ti* etc., with *-ejo-* and *-ejo-* 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. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *denis legis* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *dennu* 'I stretch' *leggu* 'I lay' = Goth. *panja lagja*) as being ad-formates of *hevis ligis* etc. (§ 781.2 p. 306). In Latin, the only form directly representing the Idg. is the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular in *-eō*; but perhaps the persons with *-ejo-*, which must have become *-ē-* in proethnic Italic, are also preserved in *monēs* etc. But *monēmus monent*, like *claudēmus cludent*, must be ad-formates of *tacē-mus tacent*. See on this matter § 777 p. 300. Lith. *vartaũ* and O.C.Sl. *vrastq* will be explained in the next few paragraphs.

§ 789. The distinction between the *jō*-verbs which we have placed in Classes XXVI—XXXI, and verbs with *-éjō-*, is that in the former the *jō*-element was confined to the present from the proethnic 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 *-ī-*. Sanskrit and Germanic as a rule have *-i-*; e. g. Skr. *varti-tā-s* Goth. *fra-vardi-p-s*, and so in the Lat. *mōni-tu-s qu-i-tum*.

-ī- is regular in Balto-Slavonic, as Lith. *vartý-ti* (*vartý-siu*) O.C.Sl. *vrati-ti* (*vrati-čiti*). -ī- is also seen in the following. Gr. (F)-*ī-réa* 'willow' (beside (F)-*ī-rv-s* 'felloe'), Lat. *v-ī-ti-s*, O.H.G. *w-i-da* 'willow' (beside *w-i-d* 'cord of twisted withes'), Lith. *v-ý-ti-s* 'cane, switch' O.C.Sl. *v-i-ti* 'res in modum funis torta', which along with inf. Lith. *v-ý-ti* O.C.Sl. *v-i-ti* are connected with Idg. \**y-éjō* (see § 788 p. 319). Skr. *gr̥bh-ī-tá-s* (*a-grah-ī-ṣ-ṭa* *grah-ī-ṣya-ti*) beside *gr̥bh-āya-nt-*, *hár-ī-tavē* beside *hó-āya-ti*, *mṛḍ-ī-ká-m* 'pity, compassion' beside *mṛḍ-āya-ti*. Lat. *noc-ī-vo-s* is doubtless related to *noceō* as O.C.Sl. *chodivū* is to *chodī-ti*, or *ljubivū* to *ljubī-ti* (cp. II § 64 Rem. 2 p. 136, and pp. 137 f.).<sup>1)</sup>

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)-*ī-rv-s* O.H.G. *w-i-d* = Skr. *sr-āya-ti*: *sr-u-tá-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 -nu-), the -i- was fertile even in proethnic Idg. itself. If this view of the -éjō- class is correct, the class must be very closely connected with present forms like Skr. *am-ī-ti* (§§ 572 ff. pp. 114 ff.). Skr. *v-āya-ti*: *am-ī-ti* = *sr-āya-ti*: *tar-u-tē* (§ 596.2 pp. 136 f.).

Now are -éjō- and -ī- connected in any way with the -jō- suffix of Classes XXVI—XXXI? It is an obvious conjecture that there may be the same relation between -éjō- and -jō- as between -eyō- and -yo- (*v-āya-ti*: *hár-ya-ti* = *sr-āya-ti*: *bhár-va-ti*, see § 488 p. 47), or -eno- and -no-, or between -eso- and -so- (-esko- and -sko-). 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 -éjō- class with the -jō- classes.

1) Cp. Skr. *d-mī-rā* 'pain' beside *ami-ti* beside which we have Avest. *amayrēā* 'pain', which form Bartholomae uses to postulate an Avest. pres. \**amāyē-iti* (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 178).

We now return to the Balto-Slavonic present exemplified by *vartaū vartaq*.

The simplest explanation of the Slavonic present inflexion is that -i- has come in from the infinitive stem: *vrati-ši vrati-tū* then follow *vrati-ti*, a process which has an exact parallel in the change of \**gostījā -ijēši* etc. to *goštā gosti-ši* by analogy of *gosti-ti 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-tā*, injunctive *dhranay-i-t* (cp. *ā-brav-i-t*), and participle *vēday-āna-s*. See § 574 pp. 115 f., § 951. The indicative to *vēday-i-ta* would be \*(a-)vēd-i-ta, and Bartholomae conjectures that certain forms usually regarded as optative may be this very indicative (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 127). This would make it possible to derive 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *vrati-tū* from \**uortē-i-t* (?). 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 proethnic at all.

The Lith. inflexion -au -yti is found in Lettic too (-u -it) and also in Prussian (*billā* 'speaks' inf. *billt-t billt-tues*); it therefore is proethnic 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 -i- out of the infinitive? (contrast *bijaū-s bijō-ti-s*.) I explain this by supposing that Baltic once possess verbs like Lat. *cubare sonāre*, which had the *ā*-suffix in the present only. O.C.Sl. *ima-mī* 'I have' likewise shows *ā*-flexion only in the present (inf. *imē-ti*). The Lith. present stems containing Idg. -o- in the root syllable, such as *vartō* = \**uortā* (✓*uert-*), seem to have a parallel in Lat. *domā-* (*domō domās*) O.H.G. *zamō-* (*zamōm zamōs*) = Idg. \**doma-* from ✓*dem-*, since this is best explained as a contamination of \**dymā-* (Skr. *dama-yā-ti*) and \**domējo-* (Goth. *tanja* O.H.G. *emm(i)u*). *laižau* 'I lick' (*laižj-ti*) is the equivalent of Goth. *bi-lāigō* 'I lick over'.

The question next arises when *-ā-* got the better of *-ejo-*, as the Baltic shews it did at some time or other. I am inclined to place the change in the proethnic period of Balto-Slavonic. What inflexion came just before the type actually found in Slavonic, *crastā vratīši* and so forth, is not at all clear. It may very well have been one answering to the Lith., that is 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *\*vortā-tī* 1<sup>st</sup> 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 *\*vortije-tī* to *\*vortī-tī*. But then we must also assume that *\*gostīja \*i-ješi* = Idg. *\*i-jō \*i-jē-si* (§ 782.5 p. 311) changed to *goštā gostīši* only on the analogy of *crastā vratīši*. For the Baltic *i*-denominatives like Lith. *daly-jū sziřdy-jū-s* prove that these forms sprang 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 *paisyju -yti* instead of *paisau -yti* 'to knock the beard off the barley, thresh' (cp. Skr. *pṣāya-ti*). There are more in Lettic; e. g. *rāstju rāst* 'to stretch' instead of Lith. *rāšau rāstyti*, *pe'lnju pe'lnit* 'to earn' instead of Lith. *pelnaū pelnyti*.

§ 790. In *éjo*-verbs with roots of the *e*-series, the root-syllable has and originally had generally the 2<sup>nd</sup> strong grade, *o*; as Gr. *qořeo* beside *qéponai*, Lat. *moneō* from  $\sqrt{\text{men-}}$ , Goth. *satja* beside *sita*, Lith. *vartýti* O.C.Sl. *vratiti* for *\*vortiti* from  $\sqrt{\text{uert-}}$ . This is why Aryan has *ā* in open syllables, as Skr. *bhāraya-ti* Avest. *bārayēiti* from  $\sqrt{\text{bher-}}$ , if the hypothesis set forth in vol. I § 78 p. 69 is correct.<sup>1)</sup>

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. *jarāya-ti* from  $\sqrt{\text{ger-}}$ , *janāya-ti* from  $\sqrt{\text{gen-}}$ , may be explained by the admixture

1) No explanation of *ā* in *bhāraya-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, *jarāya-ti* and *janāya-ti* would belong to the nouns *jāra-* and *jāna-* just as much as *mantrāya-ti* belongs to the noun *mántra-*. Or they may be explained in another way: In Aryan, the *éjo-* formation was often made from the connected primary verb instead of being built up on the root (see § 796), so that *pātāya-ti* would stand to *patāya-ti* (beside *pāta-ti*) as *kartaya-ti* to *kṛtaya-ti* (beside *kṛtā-ti*).

On the other hand, *éjo*-verbs with a weak grade of root have been found from the proethnic period onwards. They are commonest in Aryan, e. g. Skr. *gybhāya-ti*. The following are proethnic Idg.: Skr. *v-āya-ti* 'weaves' Lith. *v-ejù* O.C.Sl. *v-ŕja v-ŕja* 'I wind, turn, wrap', beside Gr. *ἵ-τρία* Lat. *v-ŕ-ti-s* O.H.G. *w-i-da* Lith. *v-y-ti-s v-y-ti* O.C.Sl. *v-i-tŕ v-i-ti* and Gr. *ἵ-τρυ-ς* O.H.G. *w-i-d* (§ 789 p. 320); root without determinative in Skr. *ḍ-tu-m u-tā-s* perf. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ḍv-úr* pass. *a-ya-tē*, extended by *ā* in *v-ā-tavē* and others (Whitney, Skr. Roots, pp. 157 f.).<sup>1)</sup> Skr. *śv-āya-ti* 'swells, thrives, is strong' beside Gr. *κν-έω* 'I am pregnant', Lat. *qu-eō*, with supine *qu-i-tum* (the resemblance of *eō* : *itum* made the conjugation of *queō* run like *eō* — *quīmus quibō* etc.); the same root in Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *śū-śuv-ur śū-nā-s ā-śv-a-t śāv-as* Gr. *ἄ-κν-ρος κν-μα* Lat. *in-ciēns* for *\*-cū-ŕens* (§ 715 p. 248, § 717 p. 250), and with *ā*-extension in Skr. *śv-ā-trā-s* Gr. El. *ἐπ-εν-πήνω* and others (§ 737 p. 263). Skr. *dhun-aya-tē* 'roars' (beside *dhvan-a-ti* 'makes a sound') O.Sax. *duniu* Mid.H.G. *dūne* O.Icel. *dyn* 'I roar, rumble, groan'. Of the same kind are: Skr. *hv-āya-ti* 'calls' Avest. *zb-aye-iti zuv-aye-iti* beside Skr. *hāv-a-tē* perf. *ju-hāv-a* aor. *ā-hv-a-t ā-huv-a-t*, Lat. *ci-eō* beside *ac-ciō ci-tu-s* Gr. *κί-ω κί-νν-μαι*; O.H.G. *zunt(ō)n* 'I kindle' with Goth. *tandja* 'I kindle' beside Mid.H.G. *zinden* (strong verb) 'to burn, glow'. Uncertain: Gr. *qλ-έω* 'I overflow' beside *ἐκ-φλαίνω* Lat. *fl-ē-re*;

1) From this *uei- ut- vi-*, which had become a root again before the end of proethnic Idg., a present was again formed by means of *-éjo-*; Skr. *vy-āya-ti* 'winds up, wraps up, covers, hides', Lat. *vi-eō*.

Goth. *ga-naja* 'I cause' from  $\sqrt{\text{nes-}}$ , originally 'I make to come forward'; O.C.Sl. *brija* (*brĭja*) *bri-ti* 'to shear, shave' beside Skr. *bhur-tj-* Gr. *qáq-o-ς*, 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 *éjo*-verb sets some one in motion, impels him to do something; in fact, makes him do the action of the simple allied verb. Skr. *bōdhāya-ti* O.C.Sl. *budi-tū* 'wakes up, makes wake' beside *bōdha-ti* *būdi-tū* 'is awake'. Skr. *tarṣāya-ti* 'makes languish, thirst' beside *tṛṣya-ti* 'languishes, thirsts', Lat. *torreo* 'I dry up, make dry', O.H.G. *derr(i)u* (same meaning) beside Goth. *þaúrseiþ mik* 'I am athirst'. Gr. *qoþiō* 'I make to flee, scare away' beside *qéþomai* 'I flee'. Lat. *moneō* 'I make some one think, remind' beside *memini*. Goth. *satja* 'I make sit, I place' (Skr. *sādāya-ti*) beside *sita* 'I sit'.<sup>1)</sup>

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-iti* 'leads home', O.C.Sl. *vožda vodi-ti* freq. of *veda* 'I lead',  $\sqrt{\text{vedh-}}$ . Gr. (*Þ*)*exiōmai* 'pass. 'I am taken backwards and forwards, I am carried', Goth. *vagja* 'I move' beside *ga-viga* 'I move', O.C.Sl. *vožq voriti* freq. of *veza* 'I carry, convey',  $\sqrt{\text{vegh-}}$ . Skr. *mar-daya-ti* beside *mṛdṇa-ti* *marda-ti* 'presses, crushes', Lat. *mordeō* beside perf. *momordi* = Skr. *mamarda*. Skr. *a-tānayati* '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. *erzu* 'I cause to be grazed upon, use for pasture' (also 'I let eat, give a taste').

of weaving, Goth. *-panja* 'I lengthen, stretch'. Skr. *pāṣaya-ti* beside *pināś-ti* 'treads or crushes to atoms' Lith. *paisij-ti* 'to knock (barley, in order to free it from the beard)'. O.Ir. *for-tugim* 'I cover, hide', O.H.G. *decch(iu)* 'I cover' beside Lat. *tegō*. Skr. *dharāya-ti*, beside *dharati* (very rare), 'holds fast, keeps', *nōdaya-ti* 'drives on' beside *nudd-ti* 'knocks, strikes away, pulls', *rājya karayati* and *karōti* 'is king, uses lordship'. Gr. *φορέω* 'I carry about with me, wear' beside *φέρω* 'I carry', *πορεύομαι* 'I fly about, flutter' beside *πύρομαι* 'I fly', *στροφέω* 'I turn round and round excitedly' beside *στρέφω* 'I twist, turn', *τροπίζω* beside *τρέπω* 'I turn', *ἔχέω* 'I hold fast' beside *ἔχω* 'I hold, have'. Lat. *lūceō* (in O.Lat. also causal 'to make shine'), *haereō*, *tondeō*, and others. Goth. *uf-rakja* 'I reach up' beside Gr. *ὀρέγω* 'I reach out', Goth. *þragjo* 'I run' beside Gr. *τρέχω* '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. *gany-ti* 'to keep (animals), pasture them' O.C.Sl. *goni-ti* 'to drive' freq. of *ženā gna-ti* to drive, hunt', ✓ *ghen-* 'strike, kill', Lith. *grāšy-ti* freq. of *grēšiū grēšzi* 'to turn, twist, bore', O.C.Sl. *vlaci-ti* freq. to *vlēkq vlēšti* '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 *éjo*-present and the primary present stems, e. g. Skr. *bōdhāya-ti* and *bōdha-ti*, *vārāya-ti* and *vārō-ti*, it is easy to understand why *éjo*-forms were often built up on a complete present stem, not on the root. Thus Skr. *jivāya-ti* O.C.Sl. *živiti* beside *jt-vāmi ži-vq* (inf. *ži-ti*) 'I live' (§ 488 p. 47), Skr. *dhūnāya-ti* beside *dhū-nā-ti dhū-nō-ti* 'shakes, shatters' (cp. Gr. *θύνέω* § 801), *kyntaya-ti* with *kartaya-ti* beside *kyntā-ti* 'cuts', Lat. *misceō* beside a form \**miscō* for \**mic-scō* ✓ *mejk-*, O.H.G. *scein(iu)* beside *scī-ku* '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 *éjo*-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-wakja* 'I wake up') from *vāja-s* 'speed, power' — which was really inevitable, as there was no such parallel stem as *\*vaja-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 áuknan*, in Lithuanian *linksmin-ti* from *linksma-s* 'glad' by analogy of *kràvin-ti kùpin-ti*, *rentù* from *rētù-s* 'thin' following *tenkù tèkti*, *gelstù gelsti* from *gelta-s* 'yellow' following *virstù virsti mirstù mirszti* (§ 623 p. 160, § 624 p. 161, § 635 p. 173, § 686 p. 217). Compare further Skr. *muj-ud-ti* 'steals' from *mūṣ-* 'a mouse' § 599 Rem. p. 143.

These *éjo*-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. *plāni-ti* 'to fill' from *full-s plānū* 'full' (*\*pl-no-s*), Goth. *hailjan* O.C.Sl. *celi-ti* 'to heal' from *hail-s celi* '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-ejù* O.C.Sl. *v-tya*, Skr. *śv-āya-ti* Lat. *qu-eō*, have already been cited in § 790 p. 323.

As regards the following examples, which shew 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-éjō* ✓ *bher-*: Skr. *sam-bhāraya-ti* 'causes to be gathered', Gr. *qopéō* 'I carry about, wear'. *\*tor-éjō* ✓ *ter-*: Skr. *tārāya-ti* 'gets carried over, transports, furthers', Gr. *topéō*

'I make to pierce, shout loudly'. \**uol-éjō* √ *uel-*: Skr. *prā-vāruṇa-ti* 'appeases, offers, offers for sale', Goth. *valja* 'I choose', O.C.Sl. *voli-ti* 'to wish, to prefer'. \**mon-éjō* √ *men-*: Skr. *māṇḍya-ti* 'honours, shows honour'<sup>1)</sup> Avest. *maṇaye-iti* 'causes to believe, regards' (for *a* cp. I § 200 pp. 168 f.), Lat. *moneō* (O.H.G. *manēm manēm* 'I imagine' with different inflexion), Lith. *isz-maný-ti* 'to understand'. \**ton-éjō* √ *ten-*: Skr. *a-tānaya-ti* 'stretches, stiffens' *sq-tānaya-ti* 'gets carried out, brings to conclusion', Goth. *uf-panja* 'I stretch, lengthen out'. \**qjōu-éjō* √ *qjēu-* (Hom. *ε-αἴε*): Skr. *cyāvāya-ti* 'sets in motion, moves from its place', Gr. *αο(φ)έω* in *ἁδοκημένον* *τεδοκυνημένον*, *ἀποκημένον* Hesych. (I § 489 p. 360).<sup>2)</sup> \**poj-éjō* √ *pej-* (Skr. *páy-a-tē*): Skr. *pāyāya-tē* 'gives to drink', O.C.Sl. *poji-ti* 'to give to drink' (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *pojā*). \**tors-éjō* √ *ters-* 'to be dry, thirsty': Skr. *tarṣāya-ti* 'makes to thirst or pine' Lat. *torreō*, O.H.G. *derr(i)u* (pr. Germ. \**harzi(i)ō*) 'I make dry, cause to wither'. \**mord-éjō* √ *merd-*: Skr. *mardaya-ti* 'presses, oppresses, crushes', Lat. *mordeō*. \**yort-éjō* √ *yert-*: Skr. *cartaya-ti* 'sets circling, rolls, causes to take a certain bent or direction', Goth. *fra-vardja* 'I bring to nought, destroy, make away with', Lith. *partý-ti* O.C.Sl. *prati-ti* freq. 'to turn, twist'. \**kroth-éjō* √ *kreth-*: Skr. *śrāthaya-ti* (*śrathāya-ti*) 'loosens, frees', O.H.G. *rett(i)u* (Goth. \**hradja*) 'I tear away, rescue'. \**bhloḡ-éjō* √ *bhleḡ-*: Skr. *bhrajaya-ti* 'causes to gleam or shine',<sup>3)</sup> O.H.G. *blecch(i)u* (Goth. \**blakja*) 'I make visible, show'. \**logh-éjō* √ *legh-*: Goth. *lagja* 'I lay', O.C.Sl. *loži-ti* 'to lay'. \**month-éjō* √ *menth-*: Skr. *manthaya-ti* '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. *blenten* 'to daze, darken, blind' = O.C.Sl. *blqđiti* 'to wander' Mod.Slov. *bluditi* 'lead astray, deceive') by the adj. *blind*, whose factitive the verb is now used for, though originally the factitive was Goth. *-blindjan* A.S. *blindan*. Compare § 681 p. 213 on Skr. *lōḡa-tē*.

2) Parallel verb *αοοῦμαι* = *αοόομαι*, a denominative, see W. Schulze in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 264 f.

3) This may also be formed from the pres. *bhrajat-é* = 1<sup>st</sup> sg. \**bhleḡe-toj* (§ 494 p. 55), by analogy.

up', O.C.Sl. *mati-ti* 'to bring into perplexity'. \**tong-ējō* ✓ *tong-*: Lat. *tongeō*, Goth. *þagkja* 'I think over, think about', but cp. § 804. \**nok-ējō* ✓ *nek-*: Skr. *naśāya-ti* 'causes to disappear, destroys', Lat. *noceō*.<sup>1)</sup> \**louq-ējō* ✓ *leuq-*: Skr. *rōcāya-ti* 'causes to shine, lights up', Lat. *luc-eō* 'I shine, am bright' and O.Lat. 'I make shine'. \**loubh-ējō* ✓ *leubh-*: Skr. *lōbhāya-ti* 'excites some one's desire, attracts' Goth. *us-laubja* 'I allow', O.C.Sl. *ljubi-ti* 'to love'. \**gous-ējō* ✓ *geus-*: Skr. *jōśāya-tē* 'likes, takes pleasure in, approves', Goth. *kānsja* 'I taste, try'. \**syop-ējō* ✓ *suep-*: Skr. *svāpāya-ti* 'scuds to sleep', O.H.G. *int-surebb(i)u* 'I send to sleep' O.Icel. *svæf* 'I pacify, quiet'. \**uoḡh-ējō* ✓ *ueḡh-*: Skr. *vahaya-ti* 'conveys, makes (a carriage or horses) go, drives', Gr. *ὀξέω* 'I convey, make ride' pass. 'I am carried about, am carried, I ride on', Goth. *ga-vagja* 'I move', O.C.Sl. *vozi-ti* 'to carry (in a vehicle), vehere'. \**uojd-ējō* ✓ *uejd-*: Skr. *vēdāya-tē* 'gives to know, informs', O.H.G. *weiz(i)u* 'I give to know, I show'. \**bhojd-ējō* ✓ *bhejd-*: Skr. *bhēdāya-ti* 'splits, divides', O.H.G. *beiz(i)u* 'I make to bite, I bait'. \**pot-ējō* ✓ *pet-*: Skr. *pātāya-ti* 'makes to fly or fall', Gr. *πρίσσω* 'I fly, flutter'. \**dhogh-ējō* ✓ *dhegh-*: Skr. *dāhaya-ti* 'causes to be burnt', Lat. *foveō* 'I warm, keep warm, cherish, take care of'.<sup>2)</sup> \**bhog-ējō* ✓ *bheg-*: Skr. *bhājāya-ti* 'drives away',<sup>3)</sup> (Ir. *qoséw* 'I make to flee, scare or hunt away' \**tjog-ējō* ✓ *tjeg-*: Skr. *tyājaya-ti* 'bids leave alone', Gr. *σπένω* '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. xxxi 97), Goth. *satja* 'I seat, place'. \**od-ējō* ✓ *ed-*: Skr. *ādaya-ti* 'causes to eat, feeds, fattens', Goth. *fra-atja* 'I divide up for a meal' O.H.G. *ezz(i)u* 'to make eat, give to eat, feed'. \**paḡ-ējō*

1) The construction *nocēre alicui* is doubtless due to the analogy of *obesse officere* etc.

2) Compare *fōmes* 'kindling, tinder' (for \**foimes*) with Lett. *daglis* 'tinder'.

3) Skr. *bhāj-* is contaminated of two distinct roots, that of *qayir* (Nöck. Wtb. I<sup>4</sup> 87) and that of *qáḡḡam* Lith. *dėgyti* (id. ib. 490).

✓ *pāḥ-*: Skr. *pāśāya-ti* 'binds', O.H.G. *fuog(i)n* O.Sax. *fōgiu* 'I make fit, join, bind together'. Skr. *hrādaya-ti* 'causes to make a sound' (*hrāda-tē* 'sounds'), O.H.G. *gruoz(i)n* O.Sax. *grōtiu* 'I address, speak to'; if another, Goth. *grēta* 'I wail out', is of this kin, then we must assume Idg. \**ghrōdējō*. Goth. *af-dauī-þs* 'exhausted' pres. \**dōja* for \**dōyjo* in the first instance (I § 179 p. 156), O.C.Sl. *davi-ti* 'to strangle'. —

In the following, *-ējō* was not added immediately to the root; see § 792 p. 325.

\**tons-ējō* from the stem *ten-s-*: Skr. *taśaya-ti* 'pulls about, tugs, tears, shakes', Lith. *tąsy-ti* 'to drag about'; cp. Skr. *taśa-ti* Lith. *taś-iū* § 657 p. 191. \**uos-ējō* from stem *u-es-*: Skr. *rāsāya-ti* 'causes to put on, clothes with something', Goth. *ga-vasja* O.H.G. *werin* 'I clothe'; cp. Skr. *v-ās-tē* Gr. *ἐνι-σά-ττω* § 656 p. 191.

\**rōdh-ējō* stem *rē-dh-*: Skr. *rādhaya-ti* 'brings about', O.Ir. *no rāidiu* 'I speak', Goth. *rōdju* 'I speak', O.C.Sl. *radi-ti* 'to consider, care for'; cp. Skr. *ārādha-ti* Goth. *ur-rēda* § 689 p. 220. \**jōudh-ējō* \**jūdh-ējō* stem *jeu-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. *jūdinu* '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 *jousiset* which precedes.<sup>1)</sup>

Goth. *stōja* 'I direct' for \**stōyjo* (I § 179 p. 156), O.C.Sl. *stavljā* 'I place, stay, stem' with Goth. *stana* 'court of law' (see *ibid.*) O.C.Sl. *stavū* 'compages' *po-stavū* 'loom-frame, or web' *stava* 'joint, limb' Lith. *stovū* 'place' from ✓ *stā-* 'stand'; to argue from Gr. *στῆναι στῆ-λο-ς* Skr. *sthā-lā-s*, we had best assume *stā- stāy-* (cp. § 488 pp. 44 ff.). \*

The causal Skr. *jīvāya-ti* 'makes living, lets live' O.C.Sl. *življā* 'I make alive' is probably derived from the present

1) If *joubeō* is a genuine form, it may be a variant of *jubeō* like Skr. *śocāya-ti* beside *śucāya-ti*.

*jī-va-ti* *īi-ve-tū* 'lives' (§ 792 p. 325), whilst Goth. *ga-qiuja* 'I make alive' is a denominative causal from *qiu-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.

Skr. *dhārāya-ti* Avest. *dāraye-iti* 'holds fast, carries, supports, strengthens, preserves', O.Pers. *dārayāmīy* 'I hold, possess', √ *dher-*. Skr. *vārāya-ti* Avest. *vāraye-iti* 'holds back, keeps off, hinders': Goth. *varja* 'I hinder, protect, defend', √ *uer-*. Skr. *nāmāya-ti* *namāya-ti* Avest. *nāmāye-iti* 'makes bend, bends' (tr.), √ *nem-*. Skr. *śrāvāya-ti* *śravāya-ti* Avest. *srāvāye-iti* 'causes to hear, recites, informs', √ *kley-*. Skr. *cāyaya-ti* *cayaya-ti* 'ranges together, collects', √ *qei-*. Skr. *nāyaya-ti* 'causes to be carried away'. Skr. *vardhāya-ti* Avest. *vardāye-iti* 'causes to grow, increases, furthers'. Skr. *bandhāya-ti* 'causes to be bound, chains', Avest. *bandāye-iti* 'binds', √ *bhendh-*. Skr. *raḥāya-ti* Avest. *renjāye-iti* 'expedites, despatches', √ *leugh-* (I § 199 p. 167). Skr. *jambhāya-ti* Avest. *zembāye-iti* 'grinds to powder, destroys', √ *ḡembh-*. Skr. *rōcāya-ti* 'causes to shine, illuminates', Avest. *raocāye-iti* 'lights up, illuminates': Lat. *lūceō*, see § 794 p. 328. Skr. *rēcāya-ti* 'makes empty, lots free, deserts', Avest. *raṣcāye-iti* 'deserts', √ *leig-*. Skr. *sādāya-ti* 'places', Avest. *ni-šādāye-iti* 'causes to sit down, brings under, subdues' O.Pers. *niy-ašādāya-mi* 'I made sit down, arranged' (for *š* in the O.Pers. cp. I § 556 p. 410): Goth. *satja*, § 794 p. 328. Skr. *bhāyaya-ti* 'causes fear to, frightens', √ *bhaj-*.

Many Skr. forms are proved by their root syllable to be re-formates. E. g. *arjaya-ti* (as also *ārja-ti* and suchlike) from √ *reḡ-* 'to stretch oneself' (*rājiṣṭha-s*, (tr. *ōpēyo*), is a transformate of *fjya-ti* following *ardhāya-ti* : *ṛdhya-tē ṛdhnō-ti* etc. *tōlaya-ti* 'lifts, weighs' formed from *tul-* (*tulaya-ti* etc.) = Idg. *tŭl-* (I § 287 p. 229, § 290 p. 232), follows *bōdhāya-ti* : *budh-* and the like.

Forms with weak grade of root. Skr. *v-āya-ti* 'weaves': Lith. *v-ejū*, see § 790 p. 323. *śv-āya-ti* 'swells, thrives, is

strong': Gr. *κρ-έω* Lat. *qu-ēō*, see *ibid.* Skr. *hō-āya-ti* Avest. *ab-aye-iti* *zuc-aye-iti* 'calls'. Skr. *dhun-aya-tē* 'roars': O.Sax. *dunius*, see *ibid.* *tul-aya-ti* beside *tāl-aya-ti*, see just above. *grbh-āya-ti* 'grasps'. *śuc-āya-ti* 'shines, beams'. *pīd-āya-ti* 'presses' for *\*pi-zd-eje-ti* ('makes sit down') from *√ sed-*, see I § 591 p. 447. Avest. *urūpaye-iti* 'docs 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):

Skr. *irāya-ti* 'sets a-going, excites, arouses' beside *ir-tē* Idg. *\*ī-tai*, *pārāya-ti* 'fills' beside *pār-dhi* Idg. *\*pī-dhi*, Class I § 497 p. 57.

A group of fairly common forms, such as Skr. *patāya-ti* Avest. *pataye-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. *gāhaya-ti* Avest. *guzaye-iti* (but not O.Pers. *gaudayāhy* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. conj.), cp. Skr. *gāha-ti* 'hides' Avest. mid. *guza-tē*; Skr. *turāya-ti*<sup>1)</sup> (beside *tārāya-ti*), cp. *turā-ti* 'gets through, makes oneself master of'. But this view is not the only one possible, since the *éjo*-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-p* 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. *dādhārāya-ti* 'causes to hold fast' from *dā-dhar-ti*, *jāgarāya-ti* 'awakes, enlivens' from *jā-gar-ti*, Class V § 560 p. 109. Skr. *dandaśayi-toḥ* gerund 'having caused to be severely bitten' beside *dān-daś-ana-s* partic., from *dāś-* 'to bite', *varīcarjāya-nt-* 'turning

1) O.Pers. *atarayāma* may be the same formation (I § 290 p. 232).

backwards and forwards' beside *vāḍi-tyj-at-* partic., from *varj-* 'to turn, twist' Class VII § 568 p. 113.

Skr. *prīṇaya-ti* 'gladdens, delights, makes inclined' from *prī-ṇā-ti*, *dhānaya-ti* 'moves to and fro, shakes' from *dhu-nā-ti*, Class XII § 599 pp. 142 f.: *dhānaya-ti* is perhaps identical with Gr. *θῆνέω*, § 801.

Skr. *iṣṇaya-nta* from *iṣṇa-t* Class XIV, and *iṣṇayā-ti* Class XIX (§ 619 pp. 156 f., § 743 p. 266), cp. Gr. *ἰσύνω-δρασκέω* beside *δραύω* § 801.

From Present Stems of Classes XV and XVI, §§ 625 ff. pp. 162 ff. Skr. *kṛntaya-ti* (beside *kartaya-ti*) Avest. *ker<sup>o</sup>ntaye-iti* 'cuts, splits' from Skr. *kṛntā-ti* Avest. *ker<sup>o</sup>nta-iti*. Skr. *rundhaya-ti* 'stems, holds back, torments' (beside *rōdhaya-ti*) from *ruṇaddhi rundh-a-ti*. Skr. *śundhaya-ti* 'cleanses' (beside *śōdhaya-ti*) from *śunaddhi śundh-a-ti*. Skr. *limpayā-ti* 'besmears, anoints' (beside *lēpayā-ti*) from *limp-ā-ti*. Skr. *bṛhaya-ti* 'strengthens' (beside *barhaya-ti*) from *bṛh-a-ti*. Skr. *dṛhaya-ti* 'makes fast, fixes firmly' from *dṛh-a-ti*. Avest. *bunjayē-iti* 'cleanses' from *bunj-a-iti*.

O.Pers. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *a-kū-nav-oyatā* 'they made' beside *a-kū-nav-am* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *a-kū-nav-a*, Classes XVII and XVIII, § 640 p. 178, § 649 p. 185.

Skr. *pinvaya-ti* 'makes swell or abound' from *pī-nva-ti*, Class XVIII § 651 p. 186.

From unreduplicated Presents, Classes XIX and XX, § 656 pp. 190 f. Skr. *vāśāya-ti* *tasaya-ti*, see § 794 p. 329. Skr. *vakṣaya-ti* *ukṣaya-ti* Avest. *vaxšayē-iti* 'makes grow' from Skr. *śik-ṣa-ti* Avest. *vax-ṣa-iti*. Skr. *bhīṣāya-tē* 'frightens, overawes' (beside *bhāyaya-ti*) from *bhy-āsa-ti* § 659 p. 195. Avest. *aiuey-aršayēinti* 'they inspected' beside O.Pers. *patiy-aršaiy* 'I inspect' § 659 p. 194.

From reduplicated s-Presents (Desideratives), Class XXI §§ 666 f. pp. 198 ff. Skr. *cikīrṣaya-ti* from *cī-kīr-ṣa-ti* 'wishes to make, begins, purposes', *śikṣaya-ti* from *śikṣa-tē* 'learns' for \**śi-śik-ṣa-taj*.

*prachaya-ti* (gramm.) from *prchā-ti* 'asks' ground-form

\**pr(k)-ske-ti*, *ichaya-ti* (beside *ṣṣaya-ti*) from *ichā-ti* 'desires', Class XXII §§ 670 f. pp. 202 f.

*mṛdāya-ti* 'is gracious' from *mṛd-ti* for \**mṛṣ-ā-ti* Class XXV § 692 p. 222.

*chāyaya-ti* from *cha-ya-ti* 'cuts up', Class XXVI § 707 p. 237. *pyāyāya-ti* from *pyā-ya-tē* 'swells', Class XXVIII § 736 p. 262.

§ 797. Near kin to the *ṣṣo*-forms cited in the preceding paragraphs, are the Skr. groups ending in *-payati* and *-apayati*, as *sthā-payati* and *sn-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.<sup>1)</sup> 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. *sthāpayā-ti* causal of *ti-ṣṣh-a-ti* 'stands', cp. Lith. *stapyti-s* 'to stand still' O.H.G. *stab* 'staff' *stabēm* 'I get stiff', *√ sta- stō-*. *dāpayā-tē* causal of *dā-ti d-yā-ti* 'divides, gives a share', cp. Gr. *ḃán-τω* 'I divide up, tear in pieces' *ḃan-ávη* 'expenditure' Lat. *daps*, *√ dā- dō-*. *dīpāya-ti* causal of *ā-dī-dē-t* 'shone' imper. *dī-dī-hi*, cp. *dīp-ya-tē* perf. *didīpē* part. *dīp-ta-s*. On the analogy of such as these arose forms like *dhā-payā-ti* from *dhā-* 'to set, place', *snā-pāya-ti* from *snā-* 'to wash', *kṣē-payā-ti* (beside *kṣay-āya-ti*) from *kṣi-* 'to stay, dwell', *ar-pāya-ti* from *ar-* 'to raise oneself'.

Then again *smāpayā-ti* beside *smāy-āya-ti* from *smi-* 'to smile', *māpayā-ti* instead of \**māy-āya-ti* from *mi-* 'minnere', *adhy-apayā-ti* beside *praty-āyaya-ti* from *i-* 'to go'. There were two causes for this set of forms. Firstly, the participles came in contact, *smi-ta-s smi-tvā* seeming to be parallel with e. g. *sthi-tā-s sthi-tvā*; secondly, *pay-āya-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-ṭi* Lat. *serpō*, which the writer derives from the root of Skr. *sār-a-ti* 'moves, flows'.



(beside *pā-tā- pāy-a-tē*) was compared with *pā-paya-ti* 'gives to drink' (from *pā-ti*), and *gāy-aya-ti* 'makes sing' (beside *gā-tā-gē-ṣya-*) compared with *gā-paya-ti* 'makes sing' (beside *ga-ti gā-sya-ti*). Then a further step was taken, and the resemblance of *sthi-tā-s* to *cardhi-tā-s dīkṣi-tā-s* produced *cardhāpaya-ti* from *vardhāya-ti* 'helps, arouses, causes a pleasant excitement', *dikṣā-paya-ti* from *dikṣaya-ti* 'consecrates'; and again we have on the analogy of these *bhūjāpaya-ti* from *bhājaya-ti* 'gives to eat' (pres. *bhūnā-ti*), and others.

(2) *gl-apaya-ti* 'brings to decay, ruins, exhausts' (beside *glā-pāya-ti glā-ti glā-ya-ti*) beside opt. *glapē-t* (Whitney. Skr. Roots p. 41), (Gr. βλ-ένω 'I look, see' (cp. βάλων ὀμματα or ὄσας εἶς τι or πρὸς τι).<sup>1</sup>) √ *gel-*. *sn-apāya-ti* 'washes, bathes' (beside *snā-pāya-ti snā-ti snā-ya-tē*) compared with Lat. *Nep-tānu-s*. *śr-apāya-ti* 'boils, roasts, burns' (beside *śrā-ya-ti śrā-tā-s*) is connected with *su-śrāpa-s* 'easy to cook'; *jñ-apaya-ti* 'instructs' (beside *jñā-paya-ti jñā-sya-ti*) beside *jñap-tā-s* 'instructed' *jñap-ti-ṣ* 'attainment of knowledge'. *mā-apaya-ti* beside *mā-pāya-ti* 'makes languid, takes away the elasticity'

Remark. Other forms with *-ep-* are: Gr. *κλ-έν-τω* Lat. *cl-epō* Goth. *kl-ifa* 'I steal' beside O.Ir. *celim* O.H.G. *hīlu* 'I hide'; Gr. *δρ-ένω* 'I break-off, cut-off, pluck' *δρ-ένω-ν* 'sickle' beside *δρ-έω* 'I flay'; Lat. *tr-ep-īdu-s*, O.C.Sl. *tr-epē-tū* 'to tremble' beside Skr. *tar-ald-s* 'trembling'. Compare the Author, Morph. Unt. i 40, 48, 49; Per Persson, Wurzelw. 50 ff.

§ 798. A Denominative *éjo*-formation like Skr. *mantrāya-tē* (§ 793 p. 326) can only be definitely maintained for Sanskrit; we know nothing of the Old Iranian accent, and therefore cannot say whether Avest. *frayrāruye-iti* 'wakes up' would answer to a Skr. *\*grārāya-ti* or *\*grārayā-ti*. Other examples from Sanskrit are: *ṛtāga-nt-* 'behaving in due form and order' from *ṛ-tā-m* 'order, rite', *arthāya-tē* 'allows oneself to be persuaded' from *ār-tha-m* 'goal, business'; *pālāya-ti* 'watches, protects' from *pā-lā-s* 'guardian' is used in Sanskrit as causal

1) βλάπτει seems to be a transformate of γλάπτει, which comes from another root, on the analogy of βλέπει.

of *pā-ti*, and *ghātaya-ti* 'causes to be killed, kills' (aor. *a-jēghata-t*) from *ghā-ta-s* 'blow, killing' as causal of *hān-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 *-eja-* in proto-Indic Aryan, as it does in *rōcāya-ti*. We know therefore that *mṛgāya-tē* 'sets on the trail of a quarry' is derived from *mṛgā-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-lōbhayīṣa-ti* from *lōbhāya-ti*.

The passive is formed with *-yā-tē*, *-aya-* being dropped; e. g. *bhāj-yā-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 *éjo*-present, any more than had the aorist of Class IV (§ 548 p. 105).

§ 800. Armenian. There are no clear traces of this *éjo*-group, which appears to have been absorbed into the class of verbs ending with *-em*. For instance, *lizem* 'I lick' may answer equally well to Skr. *lōhāya-ti* or to (ir. *λείχω*. Compare § 774\* p. 293, on *gorcem* etc.

§ 801. Greek. Here this *éjo*-class ran into one group with the denominative present in *-e-izō*, such as *φιλέω* from *φίλος*. Hence arose *φορήσω ἐφόρησα* etc., following *φιλήσω ἐφίλησα* (§ 773 p. 290). Hence again, in the present itself, Lesb. *ποθήω* like *ἀδικήω* (§ 775 p. 293), and *φόρημι* like *τίλημι* (§ 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 Factitive). *τορέω*, (*f*)*οχέω*, *φοβέω*, *σοβέω*, see § 794 pp. 326 ff.

Intensive (or Iterative). *φορέω*. *σείω* (*ἐσσημένον* Hesych.), *πορίζομαι*, see *ibid.* *όχέω* 'I hold fast, hold out, hold' for \**οσχεω*

beside *ἔχω*: Skr. *nt-sahaya-ti* 'helps some one to endure, strengthens, gives heart'. *ποθέω* 'I desire' beside *θέσσεσθαι* Avest. *jaidye-iti* ✓ *ghedh-* (§ 706 p. 234): O.Ir. *no guidiu* 'I pray' first for \**godin*. *στροφέω* 'I turn round and round' beside *στρέφω*. *τροπέω* 'I turn, twist' beside *τρέπω*. *ὀρώεω* 'I swallow' beside Lith. *sreb-iñ* ✓ *srebh-*; Lat. *sorbeō* seems to be an *éjo*-form with weak grade of root, like *jubeō* Skr. *grbhāya-ti*, and others (§ 790 p. 323). *βρομέω* 'I hum, buzz' beside *βρέμω*. *σκοπέω* 'I watch, look at, ponder' beside *σκέπτομαι*. So perhaps *ὀρρώεω* 'I hop, spring, jump, tremble, quake' beside *ὀρχομαι* 'I go'; in that case the word will be akin to Skr. *ṛghayā-ti* 'quakes, throbs'. *ὠθέω* 'I push': cp. Skr. *vadhaya-ti* 'strikes down' Avest. *vādaye-iti* 'knocks back'; *ὠθέω* 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. *γορέω* *γόρο-ς*, *ποθέω* *πόθο-ς*, *στροφέω* *στροφή* and so forth. However, it can hardly be doubted that they had their origin rather in this *éjo*-class, in as much as the earliest verbs of the kind ended in *-έιδ*. After the Greek verb had lost the original Idg. accent (cp. § 527 with the Rem., p. 89), present stems in *-έιδ* and denominatives in *-ε-ιδ* 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.

*εἰλέω* 'I press' beside *εἰλω* for \**fel-vo* (§ 611 p. 150). Ion. inscr. conj. *βουλέωμαι* beside *βούλομαι* 'I wish' for \**bol-vo* (§ 611 p. 150). *πιτρεύω* 'I fall' beside *πίτρω*, whose preterite *ἐπιτρων* became aorist by contrast with *πιτρεύω* (see Curtius, Verb<sup>2</sup> i 268, n 12); *ε* in the root syllable instead of *ε* (✓ *pet-*)

as in *κίρ-νῆ-μι* etc., § 602 p. 144. *δαμνέι* \**δαμᾶζει* (Hesych.) beside *δάμ-νῆ-μι*. *ικνέομαι* 'I arrive' beside Hom. *ικάνω* for \**ix-avfω* § 652 p. 187. *οἶχ-νέω* 'I go, go away, I am off'. (Cret. *ἀγ-νέω* 'I lead, bring'.

*ὀλιγο-δρανέω* 'I am faint, weak' beside *δρ-αίνω* (§ 621 p. 159) like Skr. *iṣ-āṇ-aya-nta* beside *iṣ-āṇ-yā-ti* (§ 796 p. 332).

With Skr. *pi-nv-aya-ti* § 796 p. 332 may be compared the following. *ἀγνέω*, beside *ἀγίνω* 'I lead, bring' for \**ἄγι-νfw*. *ἔξιπτε*, beside *ἐξιπτε-ν* for \**zgi-nuō*. See § 652 p. 187. Perhaps also *δινέω* 'I eddy' beside *δίνω*, and *θυνέω* 'I move wildly, storm' beside *θύνω*, see *loc. cit.*; but still these may be denominatives, derived later from *δύνω-ς* and *θύνω-ς*; *θυνέω* moreover may be identified with Skr. *dhū-n-aya-ti* (§ 796 p. 332). We are still quite in the dark whether *-νμ-έξω* or *-ν-έξω* (*-ne-ξō*) is to be assumed for *κινέω* 'I move from its place' beside *κί-νν-μαι*, *βυνέω* 'I stop up' beside *βύνω* and *βύνω* fut. *βύσω*, *βινέω* 'coeo' beside Skr. *ji-nd-ti* 'overpowers, oppresses' partic. *ji-tā-s*.

*πεκτέω* beside *πέκτω* 'I comb', § 680 p. 212.

*γηθέω* beside *γῆθσμαι* 'I am glad' seems to fall here along with Lat. *gaudeō* for \**gāvideō*, § 694 p. 223. *μινυθέω* (Hippocr.) beside *μινύ-θω* 'minuo'.

*μνύζω* (Hippocr.) beside *μνύζω* 'I suck'. *χρησιόμαι* (Chalc. *χρησιόθω* Boeot. *χρησιόσθῃ*) and Gort. *ληῶ* (for \**ληέω*) beside *χρησσομαι* \**ληέω* perhaps like Skr. *pyāy-āya-ti* beside *pyā-ya-tē* 'swells', see § 737 p. 263.

These forms in *-εω* are also found in association with present stems which have no special characteristic, as *ἐλνέω* beside *ἐλκω* 'I pull'.

Now comes the question — are all these forms with *-εω* to be brought into close connexion with the Idg. *-éjō*, 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 *ē*-suffix occur side by side with present forms which have no *ē*-suffix; as *μελήσει*

*ἐμύλησε μεμύληκε* beside *μέλει*, *τυπτήσω* beside *τύπτω*. It is therefore possible, that at first the only forms used were, say, *ἔλκω* *ἐλκήσω*, *πέκτω* *πεκτήσω*, and that it was only their *ē*-forms which brought these stems in contact with the *eu*-class, and produced *ἐλκέω* *πεκτέω*.

§ 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*, *nocēō*, *lūceō*, *foveō*, and *jubeō* *joubeō*, see § 794 pp. 326 ff.

Besides these there are but few words which can with any certainty be called *ējō*-formations. *spondeō*, beside Gr. *σπένδω* 'I pour a libation, offer it', mid. 'I make a solemn compact'. *dōceō*, beside *discō* for *\*di-tc-scō* (§ 678 p. 210), perhaps from the same root as *decet*, and identical with Gr. *δοκέω* (cp. Fick, Wtb. I<sup>4</sup> 66, 452). *roveō*, although there are doubts as to its origin (cp. I § 428 c p. 316; Fick, Wtb. I<sup>4</sup> 408; Osthoff, Morph. Unt. v 82). *tondeō*, beside Gr. *τίνω* 'I bite' for *\*τεμ-δω* (§ 695 p. 224). *haereō*: Goth. *us-gáisja* 'I frighten' properly 'I make stiff, or congeal'. Umbrian has *tursitu* *tusetu* 'terreto' *tursiandu* 'terreantur' from a pres. *\*torsējō*, beside Lat. *terreō* Gr. *τρέφω* *ἐφάβησεν* (Hesych.), all from *✓ter-s-*, see § 657 p. 192.

The root syllable has a weak grade in: Lat. *qu-eō*, identical with Skr. *śv-āyu-ti*, *ci-eō*, see § 790 p. 323; *sorbeō* beside Gr. *ρῶγέω*, see § 801 p. 336; *jubeō*, parallel stem *joubeō* once found, see § 794 p. 329.

We should also add, it seems, the following: *misceō*, see § 792 p. 325; *augeō*, cp. Lith. *augu* 'I grow'; *suadeō* 'I make a thing acceptable to some one', cp. Gr. *ἡδομαι* § 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, *dēnseō* 'I make thick' beside *dēnsus* 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.

We have already cited the following: O.Ir. *for-tugin* 'I cover over': O.H.G. *decch(iu)* 'I cover', √ *teg-* § 791 p. 325; *ad-suidim* 'I prolong, postpone': Goth. *satja* 'I place', √ *sed-* § 794 p. 328; *no rāidiu* 'I speak, say': Goth. *rōdja* (same meaning), *ibid.*; *no guidiu* 'I pray': Gr. *pothō* 'I desire, crave for', √ *ghedh-*, § 801 p. 337. Further examples: *do-luigim* 'I let off, forgive' perhaps connected with *legaim* 'I fail, perish, go to pieces' (Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi 316). *luadim im-luadim* 'I set in motion' beside *do-lod* 'I went'. *no-m-mōidim* 'I boast, exult' beside *miad* 'pride, honour'. *guirim gorim* 'I heat, warm' from √ *gher-*.

§ 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 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *denis* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *denn(iu)* = Goth. *þanja*) *beigis* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *beiz(iu)* = Goth. \**baitja*) are a re-formation following *hevis* and *suchlike* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *heff(iu)* = Goth. *hafja*), Class XXVI. The partic. pass. in pr. Germanic ended in *-idā-*, as Goth. *fra-vardīps* stem *-vardida-*, *nasīps* stem *nasida-* O.H.G. *gi-nerit*, see § 789 p. 319.

The class was productive, from protoethnic (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(iu)* '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 *-éjo-*, for which reason the former was generally dropt altogether out of use. •

Goth. *varja* O.H.G. *weriu* 'I hinder, guard': Skr. *vārāya-ti*, see § 795 p. 330. O.H.G. *zeriu* O.Sax. *teriu* 'I destroy, tear to pieces': Skr. *dārāya-ti* 'makes burst, splits'. Goth. *valja* O.H.G. *well(iu)* 'I choose': Skr. *pra-vārāya-ti*, see § 794 p. 327.

Goth. *uf-panja* 'I stretch out' O.H.G. *denn(iu)* 'I stretch': Skr. *ā-tanaya-ti*, see § 794 p. 327. O.H.G. *wenn(iu)* O.Icel. *ven* (inf. *venja*) 'I accustom': Skr. *sq-pānaya-ti* 'makes inclined, accustoms to', √ *yen-* 'to like'. O.H.G. *flouw(iu)* 'I rinse' (2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *flewis*, cp. Braune O.H.G. Gr.<sup>2</sup> pp. 84, 253): Skr. *plāvaya-ti* 'floods, pours over', Serv. *plōi-ti* 'to make flooded', √ *pley-* 'flow, swim'. Goth. *fra-vardja* 'I bring to nought, destroy, disfigure', O.H.G. *wert(iu)* 'I destroy': Skr. *vartaya-ti* etc., see § 794 p. 327. Goth. *marzja* 'I hurt, vex', O.H.G. *merr(iu)* 'I hold back, hinder, disturb, mislead' (orig. 'cause any one to make an oversight'): Skr. *murṣaya-ti* 'looks after, carries off, lets alone' (*mṛṣya-ti* 'forgets, neglects, bears patiently'), √ *mers-* 'forget, take no notice of'. O.H.G. *derr(iu)* 'I make dry, wither up': Skr. *tarṣaya-ti* etc., see § 794 p. 327. Goth. *ga-tarhja* 'I mark out, blame': Skr. *darśaya-ti* 'shows', √ *derṣ-* 'see'. Goth. *uf-rakja* 'I reach up', O.H.G. *recch(iu)* 'I reach, stretch out' from √ *reḡ-* (Gr. *ῥέγω*) O.H.G. (*h*)*rett(iu)* 'I tear away, rescue': Skr. *śrāthaya-ti*, see § 794 p. 327. Goth. *þragja* 'I run', beside Gr. *τρέχω* 'I run' (fut. *τρέξουαι*) from √ *threkh-*<sup>1)</sup> O.H.G. *blecch(iu)* 'I make visible, show': Skr. *bhrajaya-ti*, see § 794 p. 327. Goth. *lagja* O.H.G. *legg(iu)* 'I lay': O.C.Sl. *lofi-ti*, see § 794 p. 327. Goth. *þagkja* O.H.G. *dench(iu)* 'I ponder, think': Lat. *tongeō*, see § 794 p. 328; the irregular pret. *þahtu* *dahta* partic. *\*þaht-s gi-daht* (variant *gi-denkit*) — for *aō* becoming *a* see I § 214 p. 181 — arose on the analogy of the corresponding preterite of *þugkja* *dunch(iu)* (Goth. *þahta* etc.), which verb we have placed in Class XXVI (§ 722 p. 252); it is true *þagkja* may also be placed in this class, as it may come from *\*tæg-iō*, 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(iu)* 'I darken, blind': O.C.Sl. *blādi-ti* 'to go astray', orig. transitive like

1) We must believe that the root is *threkh-*, not *thregh-* (I § 533 p. 406), because of O.Icel. *þrell* for *\*þrēx-ila-*. 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. II 437), *√ bhlendh-*; cp. p. 327 footnote (1). Goth. *us-lāubja* O.H.G. *ir-loub(i)u* 'I allow': Skr. *lōbhāya-ti* etc., see § 794 p. 328. Goth. *kāusja* 'I taste, try': Skr. *jōṣāya-tē*, see § 794 p. 328. Goth. *rāupja* O.H.G. *rouf(i)u* 'I pick, pluck, tear out': Skr. *rōpaya-ti* 'makes a tear, breaks off', *√ reyp-reyb-* (I § 343 p. 270, § 469. 7 p. 345). Goth. *drāusja* 'I make fall, throw', O.H.G. *trōr(i)u* 'I make trickle, shed', beside Goth. *drīnsa* 'I fall'. O.H.G. *int-swebb(i)u* 'I lull to sleep': Skr. *svāpāyati*, see § 794 p. 328. Goth. *ga-vagja* O.H.G. *wegg(i)u* 'I move': Skr. *vāhaya-ti* etc., see § 794 p. 328. Goth. *us-vakja* 'I wake up', O.H.G. *wecch(i)u* 'I wake': Skr. *vājāya-ti* 'excites, drives on', *√ weg-*. O.H.G. *weiz(i)u* *weiz(i)u* 'I give to know, show': Skr. *vēdaya-ti*, see § 794 p. 328; O.H.G. *beiz(i)u* *beiz(i)u* 'I cause to bite, corrode, bait': Skr. *bhēdaya-ti*, see § 794 p. 328; originally *weiz(i)u* *weizis* etc., *beiz(i)u* *beizis* etc., whence by levelling in both directions *weiz(i)u* *weizis* and *weiz(i)u* *weizis*, *beiz(i)u* *beizis* and *beiz(i)u* *beizis* etc. (cp. *flōz(i)u* *flōz(i)u* § 805). Goth. *lāisja* O.H.G. *lēr(i)u* 'I teach', *√ leis-* 'learn'. Goth. *satja* O.H.G. *seza(i)u* 'I set, place': Skr. *sādāya-ti*, see § 794 p. 328. O.H.G. *heng(i)u* 'I cause to hang, hang' beside O.H.G. *hahu* 'I hang' for *\*hahhu* (*hiang gi-hangan*). Goth. *uf-hlōhja* 'I make some one laugh', O.Icel. inf. *hlægja*, beside Goth. *hlahja* 'I laugh' (pret. *hlōh*). O.H.G. *fuog(i)u* O.Sax. *fōgin* 'I make fit, join, tie up'. Skr. *paśāya-ti*, see § 794 p. 329. O.H.G. *gruoz(i)u* *gruoz(i)u* O.Sax. *grōtiu* 'I address, speak to': Skr. *hrādāya-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. *-tarhja* instead of *\*-targja* following a lost *\*tairha*, *kāusja* instead of *\*kāuzja* following *kīusa*, *drāusja* instead of *\*drāuzja*



= O.H.G. *trōr(i)u* following *driusa*, *lāisja* instead of \**lāisja* = O.H.G. *lēr(i)u* following *lāis* 'knows', -*hlōhja* instead of \*-*hlōgja* = O.Icel *hlāge* following *hlahja*.

The following *ējo*-forms arose from present stems with some characteristic suffix (see § 792 p. 325).

O.H.G. *klein(i)u* 'I cause to lean' trans. of *kli-nō-m* (O.Sax. *kli-nō-n*, Class XII, § 605 p. 146.

O.H.G. *scein(i)u* 'I make visible, show' beside *scīnu*; *swein(i)u* 'I make disappear, diminish' beside *swē-nu* 'I disappear'; *bi-swell(i)u* 'I make swell, dam up' beside *swillu*; *scell(i)u* 'I cause to sound, dash in pieces' beside *scillu*: Class XIII, § 614 pp. 151 f.

Goth. *saggja* O.H.G. *sench(i)u* 'I make sink, push under' beside *sigga*; O.Sax. *thengiu* 'I complete' beside *thīhu* 'I thrive' for pr. Germ. \**þenȝō*; 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 *ējo*-formations made from presents with a *t*-suffix and a nasal intfix. Goth. *vandja* O.H.G. *went(i)u* 'I turn' from *vinda* ✓*uej*-; O.H.G. *swent(i)u* 'I make disappear, I annihilate' from *swintu* beside *swē-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 f.

Goth. *ga-wasja* O.H.G. *weriu* 'I clothe' (Goth. *-wasja* instead of \*-*wasja*, see p. 342): Skr. *vāsāya-ti*, from *y-es-* (Class XIX) ✓*ey-*, see § 794 p. 329.

O.H.G. *frōr(i)u* 'I make freeze' beside *friu-su*, Class XX § 664 p. 197.

O.H.G. *ir-lesk(i)u* 'I cause to be quenched, I quench' beside *ir-lisku*, Class XXII, § 676 p. 208.

Goth. *rōdja* 'I speak, say' beside *-rē-da*: Skr. *rādhaya-ti* etc., see § 794 p. 329; O.H.G. *flōz(i)u* *flōz(i)u* Mid.H.G. *elotze elotze* 'I make flow, cause to swim off, to float (trans.)' (cp. *weiz(i)u* *weiz(i)u* § 804 p. 341) beside *flu-zu*; 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, (Goth. *fullja* O.H.G. *full(i)u* 'I fill' from *full-s* 'full' and Goth. *hailja* O.H.G. *heil(i)u* 'I heal' from *hails* *heil* 'whole, healthy'. Other examples are: Goth. *hauhja* O.H.G. *hōh(i)u* 'I make high, raise aloft' from *hauh-s* *hōh* 'high'; Goth. *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* (cp. § 794 p. 330); O.H.G. *sterch(i)u* 'I make strong, strengthen' from *starc* 'strong'; Goth. *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. *gram-r* 'angry, provoked'; Goth. *hndieja* 'I lower, degrade' O.H.G. *(h)neig(i)u* 'I bend, incline, sink' tr.: Goth. *hndis-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, *-eĩd -eĩsi* and so forth, is still represented by the Lith. *c-eĩd* O.C.Sl. *v-ĩjā v-ĩjā* '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. *-jā -ĩi* . . . . . 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. *vartaũ vartý-ti* O.C.Sl. *vrastā vrati-ti*, O.C.Sl. *voljā voli-ti*, *pojā poji-ti*, *lošā loši-ti*, *maštā maši-ti*, *ljublja ljubi-ti*, *vošā vozi-ti*, *davlja davi-ti*, Lith. *isz-manaũ -maný-ti* § 794 pp. 326 ff., Serv. *plovi-m plovi-ti*, O.C.Sl. *blāšdā blādi-ti* § 804 pp. 339 f. Others are: O.C.Sl. *morjā mori-ti* 'to kill' (causal): Skr. *mārāya-ti* 'makes die, kills',  $\sqrt{mer-}$ . Lith. *daraũ darý-ti* 'to make' beside *deriũ* 'I bargain, hire, am of use' (cp. Leskien, *Der Ablaut der Wurzels*. im Lit., 99),  $\sqrt{der-}$ . Lith. *ganaũ ganý-ti* 'to tend (cattle), to pasture' O.C.Sl. *gonjā goni-ti* 'to drive' (freq.),  $\sqrt{ghen-}$  'strike'. Lith. *ramaũ ramý-ti* 'to soften, calm' (causal): Skr. *rāmāya-ti* 'brings to a standstill',  $\sqrt{rem-}$ . Lith. *žargaũ-s žargý-ti-s* 'to stretch the legs apart' (freq.) beside *žergiũ* 'I stretch my legs'. Lith. *praszaũ praszý-ti* 'I ask, pray', O.C.Sl. *prošā prosi-ti* 'to ask, pray',  $\sqrt{prek-}$ . Lith. *láuſau láuſý-ti* 'to break' trans. (freq.) beside *láuſeti* 'to break' trans. O.C.Sl. *buždā budi-ti* 'to wake' (causal): Skr. *bōdhāya-ti* 'causes to awake, wakes, makes aware',  $\sqrt{bheydh-}$ . Lith. *snaigo snaigý-ti* 'to snow' (freq.) beside *snik-ti* 'to snow',  $\sqrt{sneigh-}$ . Lith. *szvaitaũ szvaitý-ti* O.C.Sl. *svěštā světi-ti* 'to make clear, light up' (causal),  $\sqrt{kseyt-}$ . O.C.Sl. *běšdā bědi-ti* 'to compel': Goth. *báidja* 'I compel',  $\sqrt{bhejdh-}$ . Lith. *maiszaũ maiszý-ti* O.C.Sl. *měšā měsi-ti* 'to mix',  $\sqrt{mejē-}$ ; the verb may just as well be derived from *\*moikējō*, *\*moik-s-ējō* (Skr. *mēkšāya-ti* cp. Classes XIX and XX, §§ 656 ff. pp. 190 ff.), or *\*moik-sk-ējō* (cp. Lat. *miscēō*, see § 792 p. 325). Lith. *sakaũ saký-ti* 'to say', O.C.Sl. *sočā soči-ti* 'to point out': O.H.G. *seggiu* 'I say',  $\sqrt{seq-}$  (Gr. *ēw-ans* Lat. *in-sece*). Lith. *kasaũ kasý-ti* 'to scratch' (freq.),  $\sqrt{qes-}$  (O.C.Sl. *česu-ti*). O.C.Sl. *toplja topi-ti* 'to warm, heat' (causal): Skr. *tapāya-ti* 'warms',  $\sqrt{tep-}$ . O.C.Sl. *točā toči-ti* 'to make run, make flow, pour' (causal): Avest. *tācayē-iti* 'makes flow',  $\sqrt{teq-}$ .

§ 808. New formation from Primary presents, in which a present root-extension of the *éjo*-form has been handed down (§ 792 pp. 325 f.):

Class XVI §§ 635 ff., pp. 172 ff. — Lith. *rāšau rāšy-ti* 'to reach' (freq.) beside *isz-si-rēsti* 'to reach out, extend, resist', √ *reḡ-* (Gr. *ῥέγω*). Lith. *grāndau grāndy-ti* 'to shave, scrape' (freq.) beside *grėndu grėsti* 'to rub, scour', doubtless connected with O.Icel. *krota* 'to dig in, dig down' O.H.G. *chraz-zōn* 'to scratch'. O.C.Sl. *lācā lāci-ti* 'to separate' beside *lēkq* 'to bend', √ *leq-*. O.C.Sl. *krāštā krāti-ti* 'to turn, twist' (freq.) beside *krę(t)-nq* 'deflecto', √ *qert-*. O.C.Sl. *izū-sqācā -sqāci-ti* 'to make exhausted, dry up' Pol. *w-sqaczy-ć* 'to make trickle in' (causal) beside O.C.Sl. *sęk-nq* 'I dry up', √ *sejg-*. O.C.Sl. *trāšq trāsi-ti* 'to shatter' (freq.) beside *tręsq* 'I shatter', perhaps derived from *tr-es-* (Class XX, § 636 p. 174, § 657 p. 192).

Class XX, §§ 657 ff., pp. 191 ff. — Lith. *tāsaū tāsy-ti* 'I pull or tear about' (freq.) beside *tā-s-iū*, √ *ten-* (§ 794 p. 329). Compare too the above mentioned O.C.Sl. *trāsi-ti*.

Class XXII, §§ 670 ff., pp. 202 ff. — Lith. *drāškaū drāškū-ti* 'to tear about' (freq.) beside *dreskiū* 'I tear' *driškaū* 'I am torn'. Compare § 807 p. 344, on Lith. *maizsy-ti* O.C.Sl. *mēsti*.

Class XXV, §§ 688 ff., pp. 218 ff. — O.C.Sl. *rađdā radi-ti* 'to consider, care for': Skr. *rādhaya-ti* etc., stem \**rē-dh-* (§ 794 p. 329). Lith. *valdaū valdy-ti* 'to rule', beside *veldu* 'I rule', stem *vel-dh-*; *skardau skardy-ti* 'to shred, cut about' (causal) beside *skėrdėiu* 'I burst', stem *sger-dh-*; *girdau* 'I give to drink' (causal) beside *geriū* 'I drink', stem *ger-dh-*; *pūdaū* 'I cause to rot' (causal) beside *pāv-ū* 'I rot', stem *pā-dh-*. *sprāndaū sprāudy-ti* (freq.) beside *sprāudėiu* 'I push forcibly into an interstice', stem *spreu-d-*; *szaūdaū szāudy-ti* (freq.) beside *szāu-ju* 'I shoot', stem *skey-d-*. With *-dh-* or *-d-*, uncertain which: *maldaū maldy-ti* 'to beg' (freq.) beside *mel-dėiū* 'I beg'; *skāldaū skāldy-ti* 'to split' (freq.) beside *skelū* (\**skel-iū*) 'I split', both trans. (*skel-du* and *skel-dėiu* 'I split' intrans.). Starting from verbs of this kind, the ending *-daū -dy-ti* became independent, like *-dinu -din-ti*, and was the type for others: *spār-dau* 'I kick'

(freq.) beside *spir-iū*, *gy-dau* 'I heal' (causal) beside *gy-jū* 'I get well' (cp. Leskien, *Der Ablaut der Wurzels. im Lit.*, 182 ff.).

Lastly, we may mention once again O.C.Sl. *življā živi-ti* 'to make alive' (causal), beside *ži-eq* 'I live', see § 794 p. 329.

§ 809. Denominative verbs in Lith. *-y-ti* O.C.Sl. *-i-ti* (see § 793 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 *jā'stau jā'sty-ti*, a class which is mixed up with the *ā*-denominatives, have been cited already § 782.4 p. 310. Some more Slavonic exx. may be mentioned: *pravljā pravi-ti* 'to make right, direct' beside *pravū* 'right', *ostrjā ostri-ti* 'to point, sharpen' beside *ostrū* 'pointed, sharp', *dioljā divi-ti* *sq* 'to wonder' beside *divo* 'wonder', *děljā děl-ti* 'to divide' beside *dělū* 'part', *darjā dari-ti* 'to present' beside *darū* 'a present', *měrjā mēri-ti* 'to measure' beside *mēra* 'measure', *kramoljā* 'I disturb, confuse' beside *kramola* 'disquiet, noise, uproar'. It must also be mentioned that the Idg. denominatives from *i*-stems, ending in *-i-ǵō*, have run into this Class; see § 782.5 p. 311.

### THE s-AORISTS.<sup>1)</sup>

§ 810. We saw in § 485 p. 38 f., and § 655 p. 190, that thematic and non-thematic s-Preterites belonged to our Present

1) On the Indo-Germanic s-Aorist in general: — The Author, *Zur sigmatischen Aoristbildung im Griech., Ital., Kelt. und Ar.*, *Morph. Unt.* III 16 ff.

Aryan. Whitney, *On the Classification of the Forms of the Sanscrit Aorists*, *Proceed. Amer. Or. Soc.* 1875—76 pp. xviii f. *Idem*, *The sif- and sm-Aorists in Sanskrit*, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* VI 275 ff. Bartholomae, *Zur Bildung des sigmatischen Aorists [in Avestic]*, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXIX 288 ff.

Greek. Inama, *Degli aoristi greci*, *Rivista di filol.* II 249 ff. L. Meyer, *Griech. Aoriste*, Berl. 1879. T. H. Key, *On the Formation of Greek Futures and First Aorists*, *Transact. Philol. Soc.* 1861 pp. 1 ff. Leskien, *Die Formen des Futurums und zusammengesetzten Aorists mit*

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-ṣ-i á-dik-ṣa-t* Gr. *ἰ-δωκ-α-α* Lat. *dic-s-it*, Skr. *á-dhā-s-am* O.C.Sl. *dě-chū*, or (2) Root + Suffix of some kind (Root-Determinative, or what not), as Skr. *á-hv-ā-s-ta* O.C.Sl. *zūp-a-chū*, Skr. *á-vēd-i-ṣ-am* Gr. *(f)uīd-s-(σ)-a* Lat. *vid-i-s-tis*, Skr. *á-yō-t-s-am* 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. *ávēdiṣ-am* Gr. *(f)uīd-s-a* Lat. *vidis-tis*, and others

as in den homer. Gedichten, Curtius' Stud. II 65 ff. P. Cauer, Die dor. Futur- und Aoristbildungen der abgeleiteten Verba auf *-ω*, Sprachwiss. Abhandl. aus G. Curtius' Gramm. Gesellsch. pp. 126 ff. G. Mekler, Die Flexion des activen Plusquamperfects, in: Beitr. zur Bildung des griech. Verbums, Dorpat 1887, pp. 43 ff.

Italic. J. V. Netušil, Ob aoristach v latinském jazykě (The Aorist in Latin), Charkow 1881. Corssen, Kein Aoristus I im Lateinischen, in: Beitr. zur ital. Sprachk. pp. 556 ff. *Idem*, Die synkopierten Formen des Futurum II und Coniunctiv des Perfects auf *-si*, *-a-si*, *-e-si*, *-i-si*, *ibid.* pp. 523 ff. Ch. Blinkenberg, Om resterne af det sigmatiske aorist i Latin, Kort Udsigt det Kjöbenh. phil. Samf. xxxi. Madvig, De formarum quarundam verbi Latini natura et usu [on *faxi* and the like], Kopenh. 1835 and 36 = Opusc. ac. alt. pp. 60 ff. G. Hermann, De I. N. Madvigii interpretatione quarundam verbi Lat. formarum, Leipz. 1843 = Opusc. viii 415 ff. G. Curtius, De verbi Lat. futuro exacto et perfecti coniunctivo (issued in welcome of the Congress of Philologists), Dresd. 1844. E. Lübbert, Gramm. Stud. I: der conj. perf. und das fut. ex. im älteren Lat., Bresl. 1867. *Idem*, Paralipomena zur Geschichte der lat. Tempora und Modi II [on *faxi* and the like], Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. II 228 ff. Fr. Cramer, Das lat. futurum exactum, *ibid.* iv 594 ff. P. Giles, The Origin of the Latin Pluperfect Subjunctive and other etymologies, Cambridge Phil. Transact. 1889 pp. 126 ff. — For other works which deal with the lat. s-Aorist associated with the Perfect, see under Perfect, § 843.

Keltic. D'Arbois de Jubainville, Du futur sigmatique (in Irish), Mém. d. l. Soc. d. ling. vi 56. Thurneysen, Der s-Aorist im Ir., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxviii 151 ff. H. Zimmer, Die Schicksale des idg. s-Aorists im Ir. und die Entstehung des kelt. s-Präteritums, *ibid.* xxx 112 ff. Thurneysen, Zu den ir. Verbalformen sigmatischer Bildung, *ibid.* xxxi 62 ff.

Slavonic. Miklosich, Zusammengesetzter Aorist (in Old Slovenian), Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad. Lxxxii 110 ff.

associated closely with these, such as Skr. *á-yā-s-iṣ-am* Gr. *ἀειῖται* for \**deuk-s-ε(α)-ιαι* Lat. *dic-s-is-tis*. Another subdivision includes the forms with -s-s-, as Gr. *ἑορῆσα ἐκάλισσα* Lat. *evlissam capessō amāssō* O.l.r. *ro-charus* for \**carāss-*.

#### 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 Indic. Act. Sing. had the *ē*-grade: as O.C.Sl. *vēs-ā*<sup>1)</sup> Skr. *á-vākṣ-am* from *√ yegh-*; whether *ē* in Lat. *vēr-i-t* is this *ē* unchanged, is doubtful. The Indic. Act. Plural and Dual, and the whole of the Indic. Middle, had the weak root: as Skr. *á-vit-s-i* Gr. *ἴσ-ατ* from *√ yēd-*. The Conjunctive had the *e*-grade: as Skr. *pákṣ-a-t* Gr. *πέψ-ατ* from *√ peg-*, Avest. *var's-a-ift* Gr. *ἐπέψ-ατ* from *√ yerg-*. The Optative had the weak root; as Skr. *mas-tya* from *√ men-*. With this ablaut compare Skr. indic. *stāu-ti stu-māsi stu-tē mārṣ-ṣi mṛj-ānti*, conj. *stāv-a-t mārj-a-t*, opt. *stuv-t-tā* (§ 494 p. 55).

The Conjunctive stem of this *s*-aorist is identical with the Indicative stem of the XX<sup>th</sup> Present Class; e. g. Skr. *tāsa-t(i)* and indic. *tāsa-ti* = Goth. *pīnsa*, Lat. (fut.) *dicō* and indic. pret. *dicī-t dicī-mus*. so too the conj. Skr. *áy-a-t* and indic. *áy-a-tē* = Lat. *ēō* (§ 489 p. 47, § 493 pp. 51 f.).

§ 812. Pr. Idg. Skr. *kṣar-* Gr. *κῆρ-* 'cause to run off, make disappear' (cp. Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 431): *á-kṣarṣ-am* 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *á-kṣar*, Gr. *ἐκῆρην* (*ἐκῆρσα* Lycophron). *√ der-* 'split, flay': Skr. conj. *dārṣ-a-t(i)*, Gr. *ἰδέσα*. *√ bher-* 'carry': Skr. *á-bharṣ-am*, Gr. *ἐβήρην* (*ἐβήρσα*).

1) In the Indicative 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.

(Hesych.), Lat. conj. *ferrem*. √ *uel-* 'choose, wish': Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. mid. *á-vyš-i* Avest. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. conj. mid. *var's-anē*, Lat. *vellem*. √ *ten-* 'stretch out, lengthen, tighten': Skr. *á-tā-am* 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *á-tān* mid. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *á-tas-i* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *á-tq-mahi*, Gr. *ε-τινα*. √ *men-* 'think, mean': Skr. mid. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *á-mqs-ta* conj. *mās-a-tē* opt 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *mas-īya*, Lith. 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. injunct. (fut.) *mīs-me mīs-tē*. √ *ghen-* 'strike': Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ghān* (*gh-* instead of *h-* following \**ghas-* = \**ghy-s-*), Gr. *εθινα*, Lith. injunct. *gīs-me -te* O.C.Sl. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *po-šē*. √ *rem-* 'rest': Skr. *á-rqs-am* mid. *á-rqs-ta*, Lith. injunct. *reīs-me -te* (trans.) and *rims-me -te* (intrans.). Lat. *dēmpsi prōmpsi* opt. *empsi-i-m*, Lith. injunct. *iīs-me -te* O.C.Sl. *jēs-ū*. √ *gei-* 'to inflict punishment' etc.: Skr. *á-caiṣ-am*, Gr. *ε-ραισ-α*. Skr. *kṣi-* Gr. *φθι-* 'destroy': Skr. mid. *kṣēṣ-ta*, Gr. *ε-φθεισ-α*. √ *pleu-* 'swim': Skr. mid. *á-plōṣ-ta*, Gr. *ε-πλευσ-α*, Lith. injunct. *plāus-me -te* O.C.Sl. *pluch-ū*. √ *kley-* 'hear': Skr. *á-śrauṣ-am* O.C.Sl. *po-sluch-ū*. √ *terp-* 'satisfy, content': Skr. *á-traps-am á-tarps-am* (gramm.), Gr. *ε-ρεψ-α*. √ *uert-* 'vertere': Skr. mid. *á-vyts-i*, Lith. injunct. *verš-me -te* (trans.) and *višs-me -te* (intrans.). √ *serp-* 'serpere': Skr. *á-sraps-am á-sārps-am* (gramm.), and perhaps also mid. *asṛpta* for \**a-srps-ta* (§ 816), Gr. *ε-ρψ-α* (late), Lat. *serps-i*. √ *derk-* 'see': Skr. *á-drākṣ-am* 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *á-drāk* mid. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *á-dṛkṣ-ata* conj. *darkṣ-a-i*, Gr. *δ-δρεῖ-αμην* (late). √ *uerg-* 'work': Avest. conj. *var's-a-iš*, Gr. *εργ-α*. √ *merg-* 'stroke, brush': Skr. *á-mārṣ-am*, Gr. *ἀμείβε-αι ὀμείβε-αι*. √ *melg-* 'milk': Gr. *ἀνέλε-αι*, Lat. *mulc-i*, Lith. injunct. *millsz-me -te*. √ *leig-* 'leave': Skr. *á-raikṣ-am* 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *á-raik* mid. *á-rikṣ-i*, Gr. *ε-λευ-α*, Lith. injunct. *lks-me -te*. √ *uejd-* 'know, learn, find': Skr. mid. *á-viṣ-i*, Gr. mid. *λ-ιτο-ατο* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. act. *ιτο-αυ*, Lat. *vis-i* (pres. *visō* § 862 p. 197), Lith. injunct. *isz-vys-me -te*. √ *leip-* 'besmear': Skr. mid. *á-lips-i*, Gr. *ἀλειψ-αι*, Lith. injunct. *lps-me -te*. √ *deik-* 'show': Skr. mid. *á-dikṣ-i*, Gr. *ε-δειξ-α*, Lat. *dix-i dix-ō dix-i-m*. √ *neig-* 'wash': Skr. *á-naikṣ-am* mid. *á-nikṣ-i*, Gr. *ε-νιψ-α*. √ *steigh-* 'climb': Gr. *ε-στειγ-* O.Ir. injunct. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *for-tē*. √ *jeng-* 'yoke to, fasten': Skr. *á-yokṣ-am* and



*á-yaukš-am* (gramm.), Gr. *ἔ-ευξ-α*; cp. Skr. *á-yaukš-mahi*  
 Lat. *jānz-ī* Lith. *injunet. jūnks-me -te* § 813. *✓ meyg-*  
*meyg-* 'strip off, let go': Skr. *á-māukš-am* 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.  
*á-māuk* mid. *á-mukš-i* (Gr. *ἀν-έμυξα*, Lith. *injunet. maūks-me*  
*-te*: Lat. *ē-mānz-ī*. *✓ bheydh-* 'awake, notice': Skr. mid.  
*á-bhuts-i*, Lith. *injunet. -būs-me -te* O.C.Sl. *bljus-ū*. *✓ uegh-*  
 'vehere': Skr. *á-vākš-am* 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *á-vāt* conj. *vākš-a-t*,  
 Lat. *vēz-ī*, Lith. *injunet. vēs-me -te* O.C.Sl. *vēs-ū*. *✓ uedh-*  
 'to lead': O.Ir. *don-fē* 'let him lead us' for \**vets-t*, Lith. *injunet.*  
*vēs-me -te* O.C.Sl. *vēs-ū*. *✓ dhegh-* 'burn': Skr. *á-dhakš-am*  
*á-dhak* conj. *dhākš-a-t(i)*, Lith. *injunet. dēks-me -te* O.C.Sl.  
*šach-ū* for \**šēch-ū* (I § 76 p. 66) beside *šegā* for \**deyā* (§ 522  
 pp. 85 f.). *✓ sed-* 'sedere': Skr. conj. *sāts-a-t*, Gr. *ἴσα-α*,  
 Lith. *injunet. sēs-me -te*. *✓ peq-* 'coquere': Skr. conj. *pākš-a-t*,  
 Gr. *ἔ-πεψ-α*, Lat. *coxi* for \**quex-ī*. *✓ seq-* 'to be with, follow':  
 Skr. mid. *á-sakš-i* conj. *sākš-a-t*, Lith. *sēks-me -te*. *✓ reg-*  
 'regere': Gr. *ἐπίξ-α*, Lat. *rēx-ī*, O.Ir. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *comēir* for  
 \**cóm-ex-rez-s*. *✓ leg-* 'legere': Gr. *ἔ-λεξ-α*, Lat. *-lēx-ī*.  
*✓ plek-* 'fold': Gr. *ἔ-πλεξ-α*, Lat. *plēx-ī*. *✓ ed-* 'eat': Lat. conj.  
*ēss-e-m*, Lith. *injunet. 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. *injunet. dēs-me -te* O.C.Sl. *dēch-u*. *✓ spē-* 'help onwards,  
 further': Avest. conj. *spānh-a-iti*, Lith. *injunet. 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. *injunet. dās-me -te* O.C.Sl. *dach-ū*;  
 compare also Alban. *Jaše* 'I gave' (G. Meyer, Kurzgef. alb. Gr.,  
 38). *✓ stā-* 'stand': Skr. mid. *á-sthiš-i* Avest. conj. *stānh-a-p*,  
 Gr. *ἰ-σθη-α* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Hom. *ἔ-σταν-α*, Lat. conj. *stār-e-m*, Lith.  
*injunet. stós-me -te* O.C.Sl. *stach-ū*.

The following examples are a group by themselves, having  
 peculiar vocalism in the root (*a*, *i*, *y*). *✓ bhey-* 'be, become':  
 Gr. *ἔ-γεν-α*, conj. (fut.) Umbr. fust *fust* Osc. *fust* 'erit',  
 Osc. conj. *fusid* 'foret', Lith. *injunet. būs-me -te* O.C.Sl. *bych-ū*;  
 cp. fut. Avest. *būšyēiti* etc. § 748 p. 271. *✓ dhey-* 'shake':  
 Skr. mid. *á-dhīš-i*, Gr. *ἔ-θυσ-α*. *✓ gei-* 'live': Lith. *injunet.*  
*gyš-me -te* (inf. *gy-ti* pres. *gy-jū*) O.C.Sl. *žich-ū* (inf. *ži-ti*

pres. *śi-vaḡ*). Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *á-kirj-ata* from *kar-* 'scatter'. (Gr. *ἰ-στροω-α* from *στρο-* 'sternere').

§ 813. Forms with the root-suffixes -a-, -ē- -ō- (§§ 579 ff. pp. 121 ff., §§ 734 ff. pp. 261 ff.). \**dr-a-* 'run': Skr. conj. *drās-a-t*, (Gr. *ἀπ-ἰδρᾶσα* (late)). \**tr-a-* 'to press through, succeed in traversing': Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. mid. *á-trās-mahi* Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. mid. *brāz-dām*, Lat. conj. *in-trārem*. \**gh(i)ṛ-a-* 'hiare': Lat. conj. *hiar-e-m*, Lith. injunct. *šiós-me -te*. \**gh(u)u-a-* 'call': Skr. mid. *á-hvās-ta*, O.C.Sl. *zūvach-ū*. *arā-* 'plough': Lat. conj. *orār-e-m*, O.C.Sl. *orach-ū*. \**pl-ē-* 'fill': Skr. *á-prās-am* 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *á-prās*, Lat. conj. *-plēr-e-m*; whether (Gr. *ἐπιλησθαι* comes in here) is doubtful (see § 750.3 p. 272). \**sn-ē-* 'weave, spin, sew': (Gr. *ἔ-νησ-α*, Lat. conj. *nēr-e-m*). \**bhs-ē-* 'chew, devour': Skr. *á-psās-i-t* (gramm., cp. § 816), (Gr. *ἔ-ιψησ-α*). \**gn-ē gn-ō-* 'learn, know': Skr. *á-jñās-am*, (Gr. *ἀν-ίγνωσα*, O.C.Sl. *znach-ū*). \**vid-ē-* 'see': Lat. conj. *vidēr-e-m*, Lith. injunct. *pa-vyddēs-me -te* O.C.Sl. *vidēch-ū*. \**rudh-ē-* 'blush': Lat. conj. *rubēr-e-m*, O.C.Sl. *rūdēch-ū*. Lat. conj. *favēr-e-m*, O.C.Sl. *govēch-ū* 'veneratus suni', cp. § 590 p. 132. With these aorists are associated the s-preterites of the later denominative group, as (Gr. *ἰ-ρίμωσ-α* Lat. conj. *plantār-e-m* Lith. injunct. *lankós-me* O.C.Sl. *lakach-ū* (cp. § 769 p. 286), (Gr. *ἰ-κλῆσ-α* Lat. *claudēr-e-m* Lith. *gldēs-mé-s* O.C.Sl. *clēch-ū*, Gr. *ἰ-κόντω-α* Lat. *fīnēr-e-m* Lith. *dalyš-me* O.C.Sl. *gostich-ū*, Gr. *ἰ-δάκνωσ-α*, Gr. *ἰ-μίσθωσ-α* Lith. *jūkš's-me* (cp. § 773 p. 290 f.). Venetian *zonas-to* 'donavit' (cp. p. 53 footnote 2).

As this s-formation must be regarded as original for stems with the suffixes -a-, -ē- -ō-, so too for certain roots with a dental suffix. From *gej-t-* 'to observe' (§ 680 p. 212): Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *á-cait*. O.C.Sl. *čis-ū*. From *jeu-ah-* 'disturb, set moving, drive' (§ 689 p. 219 f.): Skr. *á-yōts-am yuts-mahi*, Lat. *juss-i* O.Lat. *jous-i*.

Of the remaining s-forms with roots having some extra suffix, those which are associated with Classes XV and XVI deserve particular mention. Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. mid. *á-yuokš-mahi* Lat. *jānz-i* Lith. *jūnks-me* beside Skr. *yuok-té* Lat. *jungō*

Lith. *jūngiu*, from *√jeng-* 'yoke, join': cp. the associated forms Skr. *á-yókṣ-am* Gr. *ἔ-ζευξ-α* § 812 p. 349. Gr. *ἔ-πλავξ-α* Lat. *plānz-i* beside Gr. *πλάζω* for *\*πλαγγ-ω* Lat. *plangō*, from *√plag-* *plag-* 'strike': cp. Gr. *ἔ-πληξ-α* Lith. *plàks-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.

§ 814. Aryan. First, a few more examples to supplement those given in §§ 812 and 813. *√dher-* 'hold fast': Skr. *á-dharṣ-am* (gramm.), Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *dār's-t dōr's-t* (*ō* for *a*) O.Pers. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. mid. *a-darš-iy* (O.Pers. *darš-* may be either *\*dhers-* or *\*dhys-*). *√per-* 'bring across, transfer, translate': Skr. conj. *pārṣ-a-t(i)*: Gr. *ἔ-πειρ-α*. *√yen-* 'win, conquer': Skr. mid. *vās-i* conj. *vās-a-t(i)* opt. *vas-i-mahi vās-i-mahi*, Avest. Gathic conj. *vēogh-a-itt* = Skr. *vāsati*. *√gem-* 'go': Skr. mid. *á-gas-mahi á-gas-mahi*, Avest. conj. Gath. *jēogh-a-itt*. Skr. *yam-* 'cohibere': *á-yās-am* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *á-yān* conj. *yās-a-t(i)*. Ar. *naj-* 'lead': Skr. *á-naīṣ-am* mid. *á-nēṣ-i* conj. *nēṣ-a-t(i)*, Avest. conj. *naṣṣ-a-ḥ*. Skr. *juj-* 'conquer': *á-jaiṣ-am* mid. *á-jēṣ-i* conj. *jēṣ-a-t(i)*. Skr. *dht-* 'notice': Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *daiṣ*, cp. partic. *dūemna-* Skr. *dhtṣamāṇa-s* § 833. Avest. *praṇ-* 'nourish' (*pr-u-* beside *pr-ā-*, cp. § 579 p. 121 f.): 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. act. *praōṣ-ta* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *praōṣ-ta*. Skr. *sarj-* 'let go': Skr. *á-srākṣ-am* mid. *á-sṛkṣ-i* conj. *sṛkṣ-a-t(i)*. *√prek-* 'ask': *á-prākṣ-am* mid. *á-praṣ-ta*, Avest. mid. *fraṣ-i fraṣ-ta* imper. *ferāṣvā*. Skr. *chand-* Avest. *sand-* 'appear': Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *á-čan* conj. *chant-a-t(i)*, Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *sqs*. *√dejṣ-* 'show, point': Skr. mid. *á-dikṣ-i*, Avest. opt. *diṣ-yā-ḥ*: Gr. *ἔ-διδῆ-α* etc., see § 812 p. 349. Skr. *viṣ-* 'enter': 1<sup>st</sup> pl. mid. *á-vikṣ-mahi*. *√veq-* 'speak': Avest. conj. *vaxṣ-a-ḥ*. *√ped-* 'go': mid. *á-pats-i*. *√bhag-* 'enjoy': Skr. *á-bhakṣ-am* 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *á-bhak* mid. *á-bhokṣ-i* conj. *bhakṣ-a-t(i)*, Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *baxṣ-ta*. *√dhē-* 'place' and *dō-* 'give': Skr. *á-dhās-am á-dhiṣ-i á-diṣ-i dās-a-t(i)*, Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. opt. mid. *dah-i-ša*: Lat. *con-derem* etc., see § 812 p. 350. *√kō-* 'sharpen, cut':

Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *saz-dām*. Skr. *hā* 'go, yield' (*jā-hā-ti ja-hi-mas*): *ā-hās-am* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ā-hās* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ā-hās-ma*.

§ 815. There are many deviations in Sanskrit and Avestic<sup>1)</sup> from the original distribution of these three vowel grades, as set forth in § 811.

The weak stem (as Skr. *ta-s-* from  $\sqrt{\text{ten-}}$ ) 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-dhiṣ-i dhiṣ-īya ā-gas-mahi mas-īya*, Avest. *a-mēh-maidi diṣ-yā-p*. Irregular: Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. conj. mid. *dfkṣ-a-sē* instead of *\*drakṣ-a-sē*.

In Sanskrit the *ā*-grade (as *tā-s-*) spread from the Sing. indic. act. to the Plural and Dual; e. g. *āchāntsur ājaiṣma ābhārṣtam* following the sing. *āchāntsam* etc.; cp. *ādharma* instead of *\*ādhi-ma* following *ādha-m* (§ 495 p. 55), *spar-tam* instead of *spr-tam* (§ 499 p. 62), and the like. But beyond this line Sanskrit has very few other examples of *ā*; one is mid. *ā-yāṣ-i*. In the Gatha dialect *ā* is quite restricted to its original sphere. But in later Avestic it has crept into *nāṣ-i-ma*, if this be the optative to an indic. *\*nāṣ-em* (O.C.Sl. *nēs-ū*); cp. Bartholomae, Stud. idg. Spr., II 166.

The *a*-grade (as Skr. *tā-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. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Skr. *ā-mas-ta* Avest. *mas-tā* opt. Skr. *mas-i-māhi* (variant, Avest. Gath. *a-mēh-maidi* Skr. *mas-īya*) following the conj. Skr. *mas-a-tē*, Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *jēṣ-ma* (beside *ājaiṣ-ma*), Avest. Gath. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *praos-tā*, 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *vəṇgh-en*; within the orig. sphere of the *ā*-grade, Skr. *ā-ras-am ā-yōkṣ-am*.

§ 816. In Sanskrit, the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. indic. act. became identical by regular change (*ājaiṣ* = *\*a-jaiṣ-ṣ* and *\*a-jaiṣ-i*); and if a consonant preceded the aorist sign, the aorist sign was dropt as well as the personal ending (*draik* = *\*a-raikṣ-ṣ* and

1) Here we have to disregard Old Persian, from lack of material.  
Brugmann, Elements. IV.

\**a-railṣ-t*), and sometimes this was done even to the root-final (*ā-čan* = \**a-čānts-s* and \**a-čānts-t*). The inconvenience thus caused served to root the forms with -s-ṣ- -s-ṣ-t firmly in later Vedic, and these are the only ones used in classical Sanskrit (except *bhāiṣ* in the phrase *mā bhāiṣ* 'fear not'); e. g. *ā-jaiṣ-i-ṣ* -ṣ-t. These endings were borrowed from the *siṣ*-aorist (§ 839). For instance, *āyasī-ṣ āyasī-t* belonged originally to the series *āyasīṣ-am āyasīṣ-ma* etc., next displaced 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *āyas* (which belonged to the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *āyas-am*); and the relation between *āyasī-ṣ -t* and *āyas-am* produced *ājayīṣ-i-ṣ -t* beside *ājayīṣ-am*, *ābhārṣ-i-ṣ -t* beside *ābhārṣ-am*, and so forth.

A few times the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. in -*aiṣ* (for *\*-aiṣ-ṣ*) produced a 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. in -*ai-t*, as *ānāit* by complementary analogy from *ānāiṣ* (*nā-* 'to lead').<sup>1</sup> As this formation touched only roots with an i-vowel, it may be that the type was set by preterites like *āj-ai-t* beside *āj-ai-ṣ* from *āj-* 'agere' (§ 572 p. 114).

The Sanskrit grammars class under the s-aorist some forms of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. which more properly belong to our Present Class I; such are *ā-kythas* and *ā-kyta*, which by their structure belong not to *ā-kyṣ-i ā-kyṣ-mahi* but to *ā-kr-i ā-kr-ata*. The reason of this confusion was that in a certain number of consonantal roots the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. of both these series had become indistinguishable; e. g. *āchitthas āchitta* in the systems of *ā-chid-i (ā-chēd-i)* and *ā-chits-i* both (cp. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *āchantta* for \**a-čānts-tu*, I § 557.3 p. 413). Compare also the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *ānugdham* from *muc-* 'to let go', which may belong equally well to the aorist stem *muc-* (precativ *muc-iṣṭa*) or to the aorist stem *mukṣ-* (3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *mukṣ-ata*).

§ 817. s-aorists from Roots with characteristic, or from Present Stems.

Forms with the suffixes -*a*-, -*ē*- -*ō*- have been cited in

1) Analogous formations outside the s-aorist are collected by Joh. Schmidt in Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvi 403. Compare further 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *āchinam* (Maha-Bh.) beside 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ā-chinat* = \**a-činat-t* from *chid-* 'to cut off'.

§ 813 p. 351; add to those Skr. *á-yās-am* conj. *yās-a-t(i)* from *y-ā-* 'to go', *á-dhyās-am* from *dhy-ā-* 'to think'.

With the suffix *-i- -ai-* (§ 498 pp. 61 f.); Skr. *á-grabh-i-* *-ṣ-am á-grah-ai-ṣ-am* beside *á-grabh-i-t á-grh-i-tām* from *grabh-* 'to seize' (§ 574 p. 116).

Skr. *á-yusakṣ-mahi* from *yuj-*, see § 813 p. 351. Skr. *á-stamps-am* beside *stambha-tē* 'fortifies or strengthens itself', *✓stebh-*, see § 629 p. 166.

O.Pers. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *a-kū-nau-š* 'he made' *a-dorš-nau-š* 'he durst' come from *nu-* presents (§ 640 p. 178). And so doubtless 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *-aiš* 'he went' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *-aiša* arose in Persian itself in association with the present stem *ai-* (imperf. *-ay-am*), and is therefore not an orig. s-aorist as might be supposed from Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *adhy-aiṣṣa* (gramm.). The origin of these new forms lies perhaps in certain pairs of imperfect forms; 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. \**aiš* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. \**ai*, 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. \**akūnauš* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. \**akūnau* running parallel to 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. \**abara* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *abara*, 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. \**adadā* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *adadā*, and the like. If there were connected aorist forms such as 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. \**a-naiš* = Skr. *á-naiṣ*, the above 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. in -š might easily be looked upon as an s-preterite, which its use for both 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. suggested. After that, *-aiš* would be complemented by 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *-aiša*.

§ 818. Armenian. So far no s-preterites have been found. Compare the remarks on the ç-aorist, § 672 p. 204.

§ 819. Greek. First, a few examples shall be added to those given in §§ 812 and 813. Hom. *ἔ-κτερο-α* Att. *ἐ-κτερο-α* from *κτερω* 'I shave' fut. *κτερώ*. Hom. *ἔ-κωλο-α* from *κέλλω* 'I move, drive'. *ἔ-στειλ-α* (*ἵσταιλαιν* in Hesych.) from *στέλλω* 'I order, arrange'. *ἔ-πηλ-α* for \**ἔ-παλο-α* mid. *πάλλω* from *πάλλω* 'I shake, brandish'. On the relation of Lesb. *ἐφθερρα* Att. *ἐφθευρα* Dor. *ἐφθηρα* to Hom. *ἐκρσα*, and of Lesb. *ἑστειλλα* Att. *ἑστειλα* Dor. *ἑστηλα* to Hom. *ἑκλωσα*, and such like, see I § 563.3 p. 419, Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 127 ff., the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 63. *ἔμεινα* Lesb. *ἔμεινα* Dor. *ἔμεινα* for \**ἔ-μενο-α* from *μένω* 'I remain'. So *ἔκτενα* from *κτείνω*

'I kill', *ἐνεμα* from *νέμω* 'I divide'. *ἐ-νεσ-α* from *νί(φ)-ω* 'I swim': Skr. mid. *á-snāṣ-ṣa* (gramm.). *ἐ-πνεσ-α* from *πνί(φ)-ω* 'I blow, breathe'. *ἐ-πεσ-α* from *πίρῶ* 'I sack, destroy'. *ἐ-τρειν-α* from *τρίπω* 'I turn': Lat. *torsi* for *\*torcā-i* from *torqu-ēd*. *ἐ-γραφ-α* from *γράφω* 'I write', *√gerph-*. *ἐ-φρασ-α* from *φράζω* 'I give to understand, show' for *\*φραδ-μι*: Lith. 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. injunct. (fut.) *gīrs-me -te* from *girstū* 'I apprehend', *√gherd-*. *βράζαι* *συλλαβεῖν* (Hesych.) beside aor. *βρακεῖν*: Skr. *á-mrākṣ-i-t á-mārkṣ-i-t* from *mṛád-ti* 'touches, grasps' (§ 527 p. 90). *ἐ-σπεισ-α* Cret. *ἐ-σπεσ-α* from *σπένδω* 'I offer, pour'. *ἐ-πισσ-α* from *πείθω* 'I persuade', *√bhejdh-*; *ἐπισσ* instead of *\*ἐφισσ* like Skr. *á-dukṣa-t* instead of *á-dhukṣa-t*, which is also found (§ 659 p. 195). *ἐ-γευσ-α* from *γινώ* 'I give to taste', *√geys-*. *εὔσ-α* from *εὔω* 'I burn': Lat. *ussī* from *ūr-ō*, *√eys-*. *ἐ-γλυφ-α* from *γλύφω* 'I incise, engrave'. *ἐ-ζέσ-σα* *εἴσσω* from *ζί(σ)-ω* 'I boil, bubble'. *θίσσασσιν* for *\*θισσ-* from *θίσσεισθαι* 'to beseech', *√ghedh-* (§ 706 p. 234). *ἐ-δέξ-αμην* *δέκτο* for *\*δεκσ-το* from *δέχομαι* 'I receive'. *ἐ-κλαυσ-α* from *κλαίω* 'I weep' for *\*κλαφ-μι*. *ἡσ-άμην* *ᾄσμενος* from *ᾄδομαι* 'I rejoice': Lat. *suās-i* from *suād-ēd*. *ἐ-πῆξ-α* *πῆκτο* for *\*πῆκσ-το* from *πῆγνυμι* 'I fix' *√pāk- pāḡ-*. *ἐ-δησ-α* from *δή-μι* 'I bind', *√dē-*.

§ 820. The *a* which is seen after *σ* came from the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. in *-σ-α* and the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. in *-σ-αν* (whence, by complementary analogy, *-σας* *-σας-τε* *-σας-ο* etc.). According to Osthoff, Perf. 407, *a* is regular also in *-σασμεν* *-σασμεθα* *-σασμεν*, which endings he derives from *\*-s-ḡmen* and so forth. The 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. in *-σας* properly belongs to the thematic conjugation; *ἐ-δειξ-ε* is like Skr. *á-dikṣa-t* Lat. *dixi-t* (see § 833). The 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *\*ιδιξ* = *\*ιδεικ-ος* and *\*ιδεικ-ο-τ* were dropt for clearness; and it was the perfect forms (*λέλοιπε* : *λέλοιπα*) that caused a thematic form to take root in the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular and nowhere else.

The Conjunctive in Homer and elsewhere still shows the thematic vowel, as *τείσομεν*, instead of which we have later *τείσσομεν* (§§ 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 § 833.

The optative in *-σαιμι* is a re-formation on the analogy of the optative in *-οιμι*; see § 944. On forms like *δείξαιεν*, see § 836.

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 dropt 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 \**λεκσ-το*, imper. *λέξο* for \**λεκσ-σο*, partic. *-λέγμενο-ς* for \**λεκ(σ)-μενο-ς*, beside *ἔλεξα ἔλεξατο*; *ἔμεικτο* 'mixed itself' for \**ἐ-μεικσ-το*, *ἑμίχθη* for \**ἐ-μεικ-σ-θη* (§ 589 p. 130), beside *ἑμίξα*; *παλτο* for \**παλσ-το*, beside *ἔπηλα*; *ἄρμενο-ς* for \**ἀρσ-μενο-ς*, beside *ἤρσα*.

In forms like *ἴστησα ἔδθη ἔνθησα ἐτίμησα ἐμίσθωσα* (§§ 819, 822), *σ* seems to have been due to the analogy of consonantal stems, as *ἔτερωσα ἐκήρῃξα* (cp. I § 564 p. 420), just as *στήσω τιμήσω* got their *σ* by analogy of *τέρωω κηρέω* (§ 755 p. 274). But *σ* drops, as it should, in *ῥῥεα* for \**ῥ-ῥειδεσ-α* (§ 836).

Remark. El. *ἰπώρη* has not kept unaltered the Idg. sounds. It is far more likely that *σ* disappeared in Elean itself; in the same way the change of *σ* to *h* in Lac. *ἰνέαι* and Argive *ἰποῖ/ῥῃ* belonged to these dialects separately.

The question might be asked whether the *σ* of *ἔμνησα ἔμνησαν* may not have returned to them unweakened at some time when the forms \**ἐ-μνησ(-)* \**ἐ-μνησ(-τ)* \**ἐ-μνησ-τε* \**ἐ-μνησ-τον* existed; just as *ῥεαν* (beside Boeot. *παρ-είαν*) got back its *σ* by analogy of *ῥεσι ῥετον ῥετην*. I put the counter question, why we have *ῥῥεα*, not *ῥῥεαε*. 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 ἔγλυψα ὤμορξα ἴσσιξα ἔσχισα ἔπηλα (for \*ἔπαλσα) with γράφω γλίσφω ὁμόγγυμι στίζω σχίζω πάλλω, but ἔτερω ἔδειρα (for \*ἔδερσα) ἔστειξα ἔφθειρα (ἔφθερσα) ἔστειλα (ἔστελσα) beside τέρω δέρω στείχω φθείρω στέλλω. Thus there is no ground for believing that, say, ἰσχισάμην inherited from the parent language its grade σχισ- (cp. Skr. *áchitsi*), or that the conj. δείρω inherited \*διρσ- (cp. Skr. *dárṣ-a-t*)

The vocalism is independent of the present in ἔτιωσα beside τίνω, or ἔδειξα beside Cret. -δείκνυται (Att. δείκνυσθαι), amongst other examples. The *s* of these forms was carried right through the aorist system. However, it need not come exclusively from the Conjunctive; *η* may have been shortened to *s* in the indic. ἔδειξα ἔτιωσα, and in ἔξευξα ἐπλευσα ἐκερσα etc., by the rule laid down in vol. I § 611 p. 461. In this case ἔξευξα would be equivalent to Skr. *áyauckṣam*. This shortening cannot have taken place in the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. ἔμεινα ἔνιμα for pr. Gr. \*ἔ-μενσ-α \*ἔ-νεμσ-α, as is proved by Lesb. μῆν-ος Att. μῆν-ός (see *loc. cit.*). But it may have come about in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing., at a time when these took the forms \*ἔ-μενσ(-ς) and \*ἔ-μενσ(-r), etc. On this view, the old vowel gradation must have been kept, or undergone nothing but regular change, in the conj. act. and mid. δείξω δειξομαι 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, ἔδειξαμεν etc., ἔδειξάμην etc.

Survivals of the original weak grade are ἴσαν, ἦσαν for \*ἦφισαν<sup>1)</sup> beside ἑισάμην, Hom. ἴστασαν beside ἑστησα, ἄσμενός beside ἦσάμην ἦσασθαι (Lat. *suāsi*).

1) On ἴσαν Dor. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. ἴσας etc., which are due to the analogy of ἴσας, 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. *ἰδδάξα* from *διδάσκω* 'I teach' for \**δι-δακ-σκω* Class XXIII (fut. *διδάξω*). *ἐτίθηνα* from *τεταίνω* 'I stretch' for \**τε-ταν-χω* Class XXVII B. Hom. *τέτρηνα* from *τε-τραίνω* 'I bore', cp. *ῥιξηνα* under (2). Hom. *ῥῖξα* Att. *ῥῖξα* from *ῥίσσω* 'I rush wildly' for \**φαι-φαι-χω*, *ἐποίησα* from *ποι-φύσσω* 'I blow, snort', *ἐποίησα* from *ποι-πνέω* 'I puff, pant' Class XXVII A (fut. *ἄξω ῥέω* etc.).

(2) With a Nasal Suffix. *ἐκλῖνα*, *ἔφηνα* for \**ε-κλιν-α*, \**ε-φαν-α*, from *κλίνω* 'I bind' for *κλι-ν-χω*, *φαίνω* 'I cause to appear' for \**φα-ν-χω*. *ῥιξηνα* for \**ι-ξαν-α* from *ῥαίνω* 'I scratch, comb' for \**ξ-αν-χω*. *ἔφηνα* from *ὑφ-αίνω* 'I weave' (on the *σ* of *ὑφάνα* see the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> 58 p. 71. Solmsen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 66 f.). For these presents in *-ν-χω* and *-αν-χω* see under Class XXIX § 743 pp. 265 f. The aorists were formed on the analogy of *ἐκτεῖνα* from *κτείνω*, *ἐπηλα* from *πάλλω*, and so forth (§ 611 p. 150). The futures of these are *κλινῶ φανῶ ὑφανῶ*, § 757 p. 276 f.

Remark. *αἴθηνα* for \*(*τ*)-*σαιν-σ-α* should be compared with the Lith. 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. injunct. (fut.) *saũs-i-s-me -te*. But these forms are not equivalent. For \**σαιμ-σ-α*, which may be the ground-form of the Lith. aorist stem, would become \**αἰ-σ-* in Greek. The Greek aorist was built upon the present, at a time when *-ν-χω* had become *-αν-χω* (*-ανω*).

(3) With Nasal in the root (cp. § 813 p. 351 f.). *ἐπλάγξα* from *πλάζω* 'I strike, beat' for \**πλαγγ-χω* Class XXIX: Lat. *plānx-i*. *ἔκλαγξα* (fut. *κλάγξω*) from *κλάζω* 'I make a sound, cry' for \**κλαγγ-χω* Class XXIX and beside *κλαγγ-αίνω* Class XIV. *ἔσφρυξα* (fut. *σφρίγξω*) from *σφρίγγω* 'I bind, tie' Class XVI. See § 821 p. 158, § 628 p. 166, § 631 p. 167, § 744 p. 266.

(4) Later group of Denominatives. Following *ἐκτεῖνα*: *κτείνω*, *ἐπηλα*: *πάλλω*, *ἔσκειλα*: *στέλλω*, *ἔπληξα*: *πλήσσω*, *ἔσφαξα*: *σφάζω* were formed *ὠνόμηνα* from *ὀνομαίνω* 'I name', *ἐτεκτενάρημι* from *τεκταίνωμαι* 'I carpenter' (*ἐσήμενα* beside *ἐσήμενα* like *ἔγανα*, see above). *ἠγγεῖλα* from *ἀγγέλλω* 'I announce', *ἔποισα* from

κηρύσσω 'I proclaim', ἤρπαξα from ἀρπάζω 'I seize', ἐσάλπιγγα from σαλπίζω 'I sound the trumpet' (for \*σαλπιγγ-χω), ἐτέλεισα Att. ἐτέλεσα from τελέω -ω 'I finish' (for \*τελεσ-χω). The futures are ὀνομασιῶ τεκτανοῦμαι ἀγγελεῶ like κτενῶ etc., but κηρύξω ἀρπάξω σαλπίγξω τελέσω like πληξω etc. Compare § 756.3 p. 275.

Many analogical changes took place in the aorist forms from presents in -ζω, because these represent both -δ-χω and -γ-χω; e. g. ἤρπασα instead of ἤρπαξα following ἰδίκασα (δικάζω for -αδ-χω), and ἰδίκαξα instead of ἰδίκασα following ἤρπαξα. 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 ο go back to the pre-Greek period. To those cited in § 813 p. 351, add the following: ἔμνησα Dor. ἐμνάσα from μν-α- √ *men-* 'think, mean'; ἔβησα Dor. ἐβάσα from γ-α- 'to go' (§ 497 Rem. p. 57); ἔζησα ἔζωσα from γι-ε- γι-ο- √ *gei-* 'live'; ἔχορσα from χο-η- 'to give an oracle'. Amongst dissyllabic aorist stems with these suffixes, those in -η-σ- take a prominent place; as ἐμίκτησσι from μέλει 'it is a care', ἐθίλησα from θίλω 'I wish', ἰδέησσι Hom. Aeol. ἰδεύησα from δέω Hom. Aeol. δένω 'I lack, need', with which were associated forms made from present stems with some characteristic, as καθιζήσας from ἵζω 'I place' for \*σι-zd-σ, ἐτύπτησα from τύπ-τω 'I strike', ἐχαίρησα from χαίρω 'I rejoice' for \*χαρ-χω, ὤζησα from ὀζω 'I smell' for \*ὀδ-χω. With these go similar futures, as μνήσω βήσομαι μολήσω, see § 750.1 p. 271, § 756.1 p. 275.

(6) Along with the forms mentioned under (5) go the aorists of later denominatives, as ἐτίμασσι Ion. ἐτίμησα, ἐφίλησα, ἐμίσθωσα, ἐδάκρυσα, ἐκύνισα. See § 756.5 p. 276, § 773 p. 290, § 813 p. 351.

§ 823. *Italic*. Three *Italic* categories fall here.

(1) Forms of the perf. indic. ending in *-s-t* (to the building up of which a great many things have gone, see § 367). We have already mentioned *clēmpsē prōmpsē serpsē*

*torst mulet vst dxt usst vxt cxt -rxt -lxt plxt suast*  
*joust juss, jünxt ē-münxt planxt*; §§ 812, 813. Other examples  
 are: *mānst* from *maneō*. *tempst* from *temnō*. *mixt* (*mīxt*?) and  
*münxt* from *mingō* √ *meigh-* 'to stale': Gr. *ομιζα* (*i* ?), Lith.  
 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. injunct. (fut.) *mīsz-me -te*. *scripst* from *scribō*.  
*dī-vst* from *dī-vidō*. *frīxt* from *frigō*: cp. Skr. *á-bhrākṣ-am*  
*á-bhārṣ-am* (gramm.) from *bhṛjjá-ti* (cp. § 524 p. 87). *dāxt*  
 from *dacō*. *clepst* from *clepō*: Gr. *ἐλεψα* from *κλέπ-τω*  
 'I steal'. *pēxt* from *pec-tō*: Gr. *ἐπέζαμην* from *πέζ-τέω* 'I comb'.  
*cōn-spēxt* from *-spiciō*. *ges-st* from *gerō* for \**gesō*. *auxt*  
 from *augeō*: Lith. 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. injunct. (fut.) *áuks-me -te* from  
*augu* 'I increase'. *haest* for \**haes-st* from *haereō*. With  
 internal nasal (cp. *jünxt* etc., above): O.Lat. *nūxti-t* from  
*ningui-t* √ *sneigh-* 'snow': cp. (Gr. *ἐννεψε* (*ēntpe*)). *distīnxt*  
 from *distingūō*: cp. Gr. *ἐστιζα* from *στιζ-ω* 'I prick, pierce'.  
*sānxt* from *sanciō* beside *sacer*.

In the paradigm of *dīxt* 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. ldg. s-aorist. We cannot connect  
 the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. with Skr. mid. *ky-ṣ-ē* beside *á-ky-ṣ-i* (§ 656  
 p. 191), because of its past meaning. It is as impossible to  
 prove that *-imus* in *dīx-imus* represents a proethnic \**-ῥιμος*,  
 as it is to prove that *-amur* in *i-dēiz-amur* represents \**-ῥιμεν*  
 (§ 820 p. 356). The short forms of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl., e. g. *dīxtis*  
*accestis exclūstis*, may, it is true, be regarded one and all as  
 s-aorist forms (cp. Stolz, Lat. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 372 footnote 3); but on  
 the other hand there is nothing against the traditional view,  
 namely, that they are contractions of *dīxistis accessistis ex-*  
*clūstis* (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 *fid-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, *dīzi-t* and *dīxi-mus* (cp. Skr. *á-dikṣo-t*

*d-dikša-ma*, Gr. *ἰ-δεδῆ*, O.C.Sl. *jeso-mŭ*), whose ending is equivalent to that of *fidi-t fidi-mus*; then between pret. *vīsi-t vīsi-mus* and present *vīsi-t vīsi-mus* there was the same relation as between pret. *scandi-t* and pres. *scandi-t* (the preterite forms originally had a secondary personal suffix). If aorists of this kind came to have the same syntactical value as perfect forms such as *totondit totondimus*, then *dix-i fid-i* might be made on the model of *totond-i*. To this group were attracted *vīdistis vīdisti*, which really belong to the is-aorist (possibly *vīderunt* also, see § 1023), and on the model of them sprang up *dixistis dixisti dixerunt* (§ 841).

§ 824. (2) The Conjunctive with -e- -o-, and the Optative with -ī-.

Lat. *dixō dixim*: Gr. *δεῖξω*. *axim*: cp. Gr. *ἄξις* § 833. *empsim*, *in-cēnsim*, *capsō capsim*, *ob-fexim*, *faxō faxitur faxim*, *oc-cīsim*, *ausim*. Conj. *dixō* beside indic. pres. *vīxō* indic. pret. *dixi-t dixi-mus*, like Skr. conj. *tāsa-t(i)* beside indic. pres. *tāsa-ti* pret. *(ā-)tqsa-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 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. perf. in § 867.7 below). Umbr. *fust* *fust* Osc. *fust* 'erit' Umbr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *furent*: cp. Gr. *ἔρῃα* etc., § 812 p. 350. Umbr. *pru-pehast* 'ante piabit'. Osc. *deivast* 'iurabit', *censazet* 'censebunt'. Compare the future with -es-, Umbr. *ferest* Osc. *pert-emet* § 837. The ending of the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Umbr. -ent(i) stands for \*-onti, see § 1022 at the end.

(3) Conjunctive with -s- (§ 926 b). Osc. *fusi-d* 'foret', cp. § 812 p. 350. Lat. *essem*, cp. Gr. fut. *ἴσομαι*. Lat. *ferrem vellem essem con-derem* (✓ *dhē*) *darem stārem*, see § 812 pp. 348 f. With the root-suffixes -ā-, -s-: *in-trārem hiārem flārem nārem arārem iuvārem*, -plērem nērem flērem vidērem tacērem; then denominatives as *plantārem claudērem finīrem*. See § 813 p. 351. Pelign. *upsaseter* 'operaretur' or 'operarentur'.

Compare the forms with *-es-* Lat. *agerem vicerem*, Osc. *patensins* for \**patenesent* § 837.

This *ē*-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-trāre plēre plantāre claudere finire*. The same sort of thing occurs in Aryan and Greek; as Skr. inf. *ji-ṣ-ē* beside indic. *ā-jaiṣ-am* (mid. \**ā-jīṣ-i*), inf. *ṛñj-as-ē* beside indic. *ṛñj-as-ē* part. *ṛñjas-ānā-s*, Avest. inf. *ā nās-ē* (to make away with) beside *nās-i-ma* (§ 815), Gr. *deiḗai μῆσαι τιμῆσαι κοῖσαι* beside *ēdiḗa* 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. *mulsi* beside *mulgeō mulctum*, *torsti* beside *torqueō tortum*, compared with *tersi* beside *tergeō (tergō) tersum*. Sometimes the aorist goes along with the *to*-participle, and is different from the present; *ussi* : *ustu-s*, but *ūrō*; *dī-vīsi* : *dī-vīsu-s*, but *-vidō*; howbeit, *mīsi* is different from *missu-s*.

Whether *ē* in *-lēxi tēxi vēxi rēxi* in the Idg. *ē* of O.C.Sl. *těchū* Skr. *ādhakṣam*, is doubtful in the extreme. It appears to have been imported from forms like *lēg-i* beside partic. *lēctu-s*, and suchlike. *coxi* (for \**quexi*) like Gr. *inspa*, cp. partic. *coctu-s* (for \**quectu-s*).

As regards forms like *serpsi dixi* (for *deix-*) it must be remembered that *ē* may have been shortened to *e* as set forth in vol. I § 612 p. 462, *serps-* for \**sērps-* and so on.

§ 826. Keltic. In Irish the only indic. forms we have are the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing., but without augment, and therefore really injunctive. The 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. is only used as a conjunctive (or hortative), the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. both as conj. and future. Examples: 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *comēir* 'raise thyself' for \**cóm-es-recs-s* beside

*con-ērgim* 'I raise myself': (Ir. *ógaḡa*. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *tair* 'veni' for \**tó-air-incs-s*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *tair* 'veniat' for \**-incs-t*, *co-tē* 'donce veniat' for \**t(t)g-incs-t* beside *-icim*: cp. Skr. pret. mid. *ākṣ-i* beside pres. *ākṣa-tē* from *aś-nó-ti* 'reaches' (§ 659 p. 194). *for-tē* 'subveniat, iuvet' for \**-steics-t* beside *tiagim* 'I step, go' (*for-tiagim* 'I come to the help'), √ *steigh-*: (Ir. *ē-steiḡ-a*; perhaps by contamination of *-tē* with the conjunctive *tēis* (see below) arose *-tēi*, which is used as equivalent to *-tē*. *do-n-fē* 'let him lead us' for \**-vets-t*!) beside *fedim* 'I bring, lead': Lith. *vėsme* 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. 1<sup>st</sup> pres. *-tias* 2<sup>nd</sup> *-tēis* 3<sup>rd</sup> (abs.) *tēis tēs*, pl. 1<sup>st</sup> *-tiasam* 2<sup>nd</sup> *-tēsid* 3<sup>rd</sup> *-tiasat*. On account of the relation between absolute and conjunct inflexion in the present, arose the new forms sing. 1<sup>st</sup> *tiasu* 2<sup>nd</sup> *tēisi*, pl. 1<sup>st</sup> *tēisme* 2<sup>nd</sup> *tēsit*. Other instances: *no tes* 'effugiam' from *techim* 'I flee': O.C.Sl. *téch-ū* from *tekq* 'I run, flee': *at-resat* 'surgent' from *at-reig* 'raises itself', cp. *comēir* above; *co n-dārbais* 'ut demonstrēs' from *du-ad-bat* 'demonstrat' (pass. *-badar*); *ma fris-tōssam* 'si abiuraverimus' from *tongaim* 'iuro'.

Again, the so-called *t*-preterite comes in here, as far as it was derived from the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. of the *s*-aorist in \**-s-to*; say *do-bert* '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-scri-ran*) beside pret. sing. *srei* 'he cried' pres. inf. *scri-an* 'to cry'; *-r-* = pr. Germ. *-z-*, see I § 581 p. 434. Later on, this *r*-formation got into the verb *spūcan* 'to spew', the participle being changed from *ge-spūcen* to *ge-spiren* (but, vice versa, O.H.G. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *er-scrieun* follows *spieun*). See

1) The long vowel in *-ē* 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 *scribum* is very questionable; see G. Holz, Urgerm. geschloss. *ē*, pp. 47 f.; and Zarneke in P.-B. Beitr. XV 350 ff.

A few *s*-aorist forms have perhaps contributed to the system of the weak preterite, as Goth. *vissa* O.H.G. *wissa* 'he knew', whose plurals *wissun wissut wissui* may be compared with Gr. *ἴσμεν*. Compare § 907.

#### § 828. Balto-Slavonic.

In Lithuanian, we find the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> plural and the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons, there is the less reason for surprise at this commixture of the injunctive with the future in *-sio-*. In addition, the 3<sup>rd</sup> 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* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *būsiu*) *ris* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *rýsiu*) *gūs* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *gáusiu*) 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 *kàs vòks nepralòps* 'the thief never grows rich' with the similar use of the injunctive in Greek (§ 909.1). And further, this view of the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular is favoured by the Prussian forms, used exclusively as conjunctive, *boūsai* (*boūsei boūse*) 'be he, be they', and the like, which cannot be separated from Lith. *su-gausai* beside *su-gūs* etc., whose *-ai* moreover is the same affix as we see in *tasai* beside *tàs* 'the, that' (§ 999). This would be making \**būs* for \**bū-s-t* prothetic Baltic.

O.C.Sl. *s*-aorist forms of this group are the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing., plur., and dual; as sing. *ję જે*, pl. *jęste જેસે*, dual *jęста જેсте*; but the 1<sup>st</sup> persons are thematic (*jęсѣ јесомѣ јесомѣ*); see § 833.

Of *s*-forms preserved in both branches we have mentioned in § 812 *gīs-me -te* from *genū* 'I hunt, drive' O.C.Sl. *po-šę* from



*ān-jā* 'I cut, harvest', Lith. *iñs-me* from *imū* 'I take' O.C.Sl. *jēs-ū* from *imā* 'I take', Lith. *plāns-me* from *plāu-ju* 'I rinse' O.C.Sl. *pluch-ū* from *plov-a* 'I swim, sail', Lith. *pa-būsme* from *pa-bundū* 'I awake' O.C.Sl. *bljusū* from *bljudā* 'I guard, protect, take care', Lith. *vės-me* from *vešū* 'I drive' (trans.) O.C.Sl. *vēs-ū* from *reza* 'I drive' (trans.), Lith. *vēs-me* from *vedū* 'I lead' O.C.Sl. *vēs-ū* from *ved-a* 'I lead', Lith. *dēks-me* from *deg-ū* 'I burn' (trans. and intr.) O.C.Sl. *šachū* from *šeg-a* 'I burn' (trans.), Lith. *ės-me* from *ėd-mi* *ėd-u* 'I eat' O.C.Sl. *jas-ū* from *jamī* 'esse', Lith. *dēs-me* from *de-d-ū* 'I lay' O.C.Sl. *dēch-ū* from *dē-jā* 'I lay', Lith. *spēs-me* from *spē-ju* 'I have leisure' O.C.Sl. *spēch-ū* from *spē-jā* 'I get on, have success', Lith. *dūs-me* from *dū-du* 'I give' O.C.Sl. *dach-ū* from *damī* 'I give', Lith. *stōs-me* from *stō-ju* 'I tread' O.C.Sl. *stach-ū* from *sta-na* 'I place myself', Lith. *būs-me* from *bū-ti* 'to be' O.C.Sl. *bych-ū* from *by-ti* 'to be', Lith. *gys-me* from *gy-jū* 'I revive, get well' O.C.Sl. *šich-ū* from *ši-va* 'I live'. Forms with *-ā-*, *-ē-*, and denominative forms in § 813: Lith. *pa-vydēsme* from *pa-vyd-šiu* 'invideo' O.C.Sl. *vidēchū* from *viēda* 'I see', Lith. *lankōs-me* from *lankō-ju* 'I try to make soft or malleable' O.C.Sl. *lākach-ū* from *lāka-jā* 'I cheat, deceive'.

§ 829. Lithuanian. Besides the examples given in § 828 others were given in §§ 812 and 813, as *mīls-me* from *mélū* 'I milk', *sēs-me* from *sėd-u* 'I place myself, sit', *šios-me* from *šio-ju* 'I open my mouth', *gūdēs-mės* from *gūdē-jū-s* 'I am greedy', *jūkēs-me* from *jūkū-ju* 'I play, sport'.

The vocalisation of the root in the forms under § 812 is always that of the *sjo*-future. There is no trace left of the Idg. vowel gradation (§ 811 p. 348).

From present stems with internal Nasal: *jūnks-me* from *jūng-iu* 'I put in the yoke', *skūs-me* from *skūnd-šiu* 'I lament' (cp. § 761 p. 278), to be compared with Skr. *ā-yuokṣ-mahi* Lat. *jānz-i*. From presents in *-inu* *-enu*: *sausīs-me* from *saus-inu* 'I make dry', *gabēs-me* from *gabē-nū* 'I push something

forward, help it on' (cp. § 761 p. 278), to be compared with Gr. *αἵμα* for *\*(ē)αυα-av-aa* (§ 822. 2 p. 359), and again with O.C.Sl. *vr̥ignach-ū*, 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-slučū* from *-slu-jā* 'I hear', *orach-ū* from *or-jā* 'I plough', *rūdēch-ū* from *rūšdā* 'rubeo', *clēch-ū* from *clē-jā* 'I get well'. On the aorist in *-nqch-ū*, as *vr̥ichnqchū* from *vr̥ig-nq* 'I throw', see § 615 p. 154 and § 829.

The general question of the *s*-aorist inflexion has been discussed in § 829 p. 366. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *-s-s* and *-s-t* dropt entirely by rule, which gave forms like *jē* the look of a preterite of our I<sup>st</sup> Present Class, those like *ma ora rūdē* the look of preterites of Present Class X, and denominatives like *lqka* the look of preterites without *-jo-* such as Gr. *Leab. ἔρτα* (for *\*-a-t*). Probably, however, some of these forms really are what they look like; for instance *bē* 'eras, erat' may come from Idg. *\*bhū-ō-s -t* as well, and *da* 'thou gavest, he gave' may also come from Idg. *\*dō-s -t*.

With roots in a consonant, the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. are found only when this root-final was a nasal, *r*, or *l*: as *jē* (*jēstū*), *īrē* and *īrī* (*īrēchū* for *\*īerchū* and *īrīchū* from *īir-q* 'I devour, offer'), *kla* (*klachū* for *\*kolchū* from *kol-jā* 'I slay'); otherwise the thematic aorist without *s* was used, as 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *tečō* beside *tēchū* *tēchomū* 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 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. often add *-tū*, the ending of the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. pres.; as *pri-jētū* instead of *-jē*, *bitū* instead of *bi* (*bija* 'I strike'), *u-mrētū* instead of *-mrē* (*u-mīrā* 'I die'); *dastū* instead of *da* following *dastū* 'dat'. This addition came up first in the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. aorist, and then went on to the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. because the two persons had the same form. Compare imper. *jaīdī* both 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. § 949, and again Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *cakr-āthur -ātur* § 1038.

§ 831. From what was said in § 811 p. 348 on the Idg. gradation of the root syllable, it follows that *s* is original in such forms as *vėsū nēsū tēchū rēchū* (*rekā* 'I say'), and the *a* = Idg. *ō* in *basū* (*bodā* 'I pierce', cp. Lat. *fodio fodī*); the long vowel was originally confined to the singular. Since a long vowel before *i*, *y*, 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 *bich-ū* (\**bhēj-s-*), *cisū* (*cētā* 'I count, reckon, honour', cp. Skr. *cāits-*), *po-sluchū* (Skr. *śraṇṣ-*), *mrēch-ū* for \**merch-ū* (*mīrā* 'I die', \**mēr-s-*), *orēs-ū* for \**vers-ū* (*vrīz-ā* 'I tie', cp. Lith. 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. injunct. *ceřsz-me -te* from *rerē-iū* 'I tie', √*yergh-*), *mēs-ū* (*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. *ērīch-ū* (also *ērēch-ū*) beside *ērī-ti* (also *ērē-ti*), *klach-ū* for \**kolch-ū* beside *kla-ti* for \**kol-ti* from *qf-* like Lith. *kāls-me -te* (§ 726 p. 256), *krych-ū* 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 nesosē*, 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 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *dēla* to the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *dēlaste* 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *-asta* 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *-aste* first caused the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *nēsē* to change its forms *nesete -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 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *nesochū* completed the group. Then

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 *neseste* to *nesoste* etc. A different view is taken by Wiedemann, Beitr. zur altbulg. Conj., 109 f.

## II. Thematic *s*-stems.

§ 833. The forms which fall under this heading belong to our XX<sup>th</sup> 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-mṛkṣa-t*; but non-thematic inflexion is also found, as *á-dikṣ-i* beside *á-dikṣa-t* from *diś-* 'to show, point', *á-drākṣ-am* beside *á-dṛkṣa-t* from *dṛś-* 'to see', *á-srākṣ-am* *á-sṛkṣ-i* from *sṛj-* 'to free'. O.Pers. *niy-apīšam* 'I wrote' seems to be similar to *á-dikṣ-a-m*, see *loc. cit.* above. An Avestic thematic form is *a-saša-b* from *sawh-* (*kens-*) 'speak', with strong root.

In Greek, the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. act. was thematic from the pro-ethnic stage; e. g. *ἔ-δεξε*, see § 820 p. 356. In the Epic dialect this is true of other persons, as *ἔξε-ς ἔξο-ν* beside *ἔξο-μαι* 'I will come', *ἔ-βησι-το* beside *ἔ-βησ-α* fut. *βήσο-μαι* from *g-a-* 'go' (see Curtius, Verb II<sup>2</sup> pp. 307 f.). Perhaps these latter forms arose partly by analogy of the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. in *-ν*, and partly by that of thematic forms of the imperative (see below).

Remark. The Att. *ἐνεον* 'I fell' *ἐχενον* 'eacavi' do not come in here. They got their *e* from the fut. *πενούμαι*, *χενούμαι*. See F. Hartmann, De aor. sec., 66; Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 313 ff.: the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> 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.) *dix-ō* and to the opt. *dixim* just as Skr. *á-bhākṣa-t* to conj. *bhākṣa-t*, and Gr. *ἔ-βησε* to conj. *βήσο-μεν*.

Irish. Mid.Ir. *seiss* 'has seated himself, sat' and 'sits' for \**setse-t* from  $\sqrt{\text{sed-}}$ , cp. Skr. conj. *sāts-a-t* Gr. indic. *ἕσσ-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-nākṣ-úr* from *nāk-ṣa-ti* 'reaches' and others (§ 659 p. 194).

In O.C.Slav. the 1<sup>st</sup> persons are thematic, as *jěsŭ jěso-mŭ jěso-vě*. On the *ch* of *dachŭ trŭchŭ* etc., see I § 588. 1 and 2, pp. 442 f.; on the Idg. sound-groups *kš* and *gs* in *něsŭ (nesq)* and *rěchŭ (reka)*, see *ibid.*, and § 414 p. 303. The *s*-type spread into the *ch*-series, and thus we have forms like *jachŭ jachomŭ* instead of *jasŭ jasomŭ* (ground-form \**ġtso-*,  $\sqrt{\text{ed-}}$  'to eat'), as also in the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *jašq* instead of *jasq*.

(2) Imperative. Aryan and Greek forms come in here. Ved. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *něša*, cp. conj. *něš-a-t(i)* from *nŭ-* 'to lead'; *parša*, cp. conj. *pārṣ-a-t(i)* from *par-* 'to bring over, transfer'; mid. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *rāsa-tām* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *rāsa-ntām*, cp. conj. *rās-a-t(i)* from *rā-* 'to give'. Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *janhe-ntu*, cp. conj. Gath. *jēngha-it* from *jam-* (*gem-*) 'to go'. Gr. Ep. *οἶσθαι* *οἰσέτω*, cp. fut. *οἶσω* 'I will carry, or bring'; *ὄψεσθαι* (sing. *ὄψω* in Hesych.), cp. fut. *ὄψομαι* 'I shall see'; *ἄξεσθαι* *ἄξεσθαι*, cp. fut. *ἄξω* 'I will lead'; *ἐπι-βήσθαι*, *λέξω* and others. These Greek imperative forms were adduced in § 747 p. 269 to support the theory that the *σ*-future, at least in part, has grown out of the conjunctive of the *s*-aorist. I admit that the parallel *ο*-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. *tās-a-t(i)* and the indic. *ta-sa-ti* Goth. *-hinsa*. 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. *mumōc-a-ta* Gr. *μεμόη-ε-τε*.

(3) Participle. Skr. *dhīṣa-māṇa-s* Avest. *dīše-mna-* beside Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. indic. *dāiš* from *dhi-* 'to notice'. Avest.

*xšnaoše-mna-* beside 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. injunct. *xšnaošēn* from *xšnu-* 'to join oneself to, comply with'.

### B. STEMS IN *-es-*, *-os-*, AND *-is-*.

§ 834. Between *-s-* and what is usually called the Root there often appears *-e-*, *-o-*, or *-i-*. We have *-e-s-* in Aryan, Greek,<sup>1)</sup> Italic, perhaps Keltic; *-o-s-* in Aryan, Greek, perhaps Keltic; *-i-s-* in Latin (*-i-s-* in Sanskrit). In view of the connexion of verbal forms with *-s-* and noun-stems with *-s-* (§ 655 pp. 189 f., § 824 p. 363), we may identify Gr. \**ῥεδε-* in *ῥεδε-α* ῥεδε-α with \**ῥεδε-* in gen. *ῥεδε-ος*, 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. *ῥε-λάσθης* with adv. *ῥελας*, Skr. mid. *á-rōciṣ-ṭa* with neut. *rōciṣ-*, 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *á-jāriṣ-ur* with Gr. *γῆρας*, 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. *ρεῖω* *ρεῖω*, *πείλω* *πείλω*, Skr. *rōciṣya-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 *-e-s-*, *-o-s-*, *-i-s-*, 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 (1<sup>st</sup> Strong Grade), as *ῥεδ-* in Skr. *ῥēdiṣ-* Gr. *ῥεδε(ο)* Lat. *vidis-*, *gem-* in Skr. *gamiṣ-* Umbr.-Osc. *benes-*; cp. the *s*-future Skr. *haniṣya-ti* Gr. *ῥενέω* etc.

As regards the tense, or kind of action denoted, we must observe that whilst the *s*-stems described under (A) are prevaillingly aorist, so that we must regard this as fairly representing the proethnic use, these *-es-*, *-os-* and *-is-* stems do not have the aoristic use anything like so often in proportion; for instance, Skr. *arcas-ē* Gr. *ῥήσα* never had it. The verb-

1) I no longer regard *e* in Gr. *ῥέω* as representing Idg. *o*. See p. 271 footnote 1.

suffix *-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-* (*ᾔδεια εἰδέω εἰδεῖν*). 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. *ἰνι-εσται*) *arc-as-e* Avest. *rdsh-awh-ōi* etc.

§ 836. Greek. *ᾔδεια εἰδεια* 'I knew', served for a preterite to *οἶδα* 'I know', cp. O.Ir. *ro-fetar* 'I know' with *-es-* or *-is-* (§ 838), Skr. *á-vēdiṣ-am* with *-as-*, Lat. *vidis-tis* with *-is-*; conj. Ion.-Att. *εἰδέω εἰδῶ* (2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *εἰδέης εἰδέῃς* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *εἰδέσθω εἰδῶσθαι* by transfer to the *ε:ō-* conj.)<sup>1)</sup> and (Hom.) *ἰδέω*, cp. Skr. *vēdiṣ-a-t* Lat. *vider-ō*, opt. *εἰδεῖμην* for *\*Fιδ-εσ-ι-μεν* sing. *εἰδεῖν*, cp. Lat. *vider-i-mus vider-i-m*.

Hom. *ἦτα* (unless it be properly *ἦτα* — see below —, the form in our texts is *ἦτα*) Att. *ἦεν* 'I went', imperf. and aor. preterite to *ἔλμυ*, ground-form *\*ēj-es-ηs*, cp. Umbr. conj. (fut.) *eest est* 'ibit' for *\*ēj-es-e-t(i)*, Skr. mid. *dy-iṣ-ṭa* (gramm.), Lat. *iis-* (i. e. *\*ēj-is-*) in *iis-tis ier-ō ier-i-m*. As in pr. Greek *ῖ* dropped between sonants, *ἦεν* (which should be *\*ἦεν*) must have got its *iota* subscript from *ἦμεν* etc. (§ 502 p. 64); and it becomes a question whether the Homeric form should not be read *ῖτα*. If Hom. *εἶπν* is to be recognised for an

1) On the forms *εἰδῶ εἰδέε* in the text of Homer, see W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XIX 251.

optative of *εἴμι* (see Curtius, *Verb II* p. 99), it is natural to derive it from \**δ(λ)-ε(σ)-κην-ν*.

Remark. G. Meckler's theory (*Beitr. zur Bild. des Gr. Verb.*, 69 ff.), that *ἤδεα* comes from \**ἤδεαδεκν*, an aorist of the verb *εἶδω*, is untenable. See Wackernagel, *Phil. Anzeiger* 1887 pp. 240 f.

*ἐ-κορέσ-θης* (stem *κορεσ-* 'to satisfy') *ἐ-σχορέσ-θης* (stem *σχορεσ-* 'sternere') come in here as the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid., if we may venture to assume that they helped to form the *σθην*-aorist (§ 589 pp. 129 f.). On *ἐκόρεσ(σ)α* *ἐσχορέσ(σ)α*, see § 842.

Furthermore, the future in *-έω*, as *κορέω* *ρενέω*, if it be a conj. of the *es*-aorist and not for *-εσ-ίω* (§ 747 p. 269). The difference in the use of this future and *εἰδέω* is explained because *εἰδέω* was bound fast to the indic. *εἶδεν*.

*-es-* in Greek has been borrowed by perfect stems, as *πεποιθ-τα* *πεποιθεν* beside *πέποιθα* 'I believe', *ἱστηκειν* beside *ἵστηκα* 'I stand', *ἐτετίμηκειν* beside *τετίμηκα* 'I have honoured' (side by side with the old perf. preterites like *ἐπέπιθμεν* *ἑσταμεν* *γεγάτην*); the same with *-is-* in Latin, as *totondis-tis* *totonder-ō* *totonder-i-m*. I incline to think that this transfer is independent in Greek and Latin, *πεποιθεα* following *εἶδεν* and *totondistis* following *εἰδιστίς*; 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. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1883, pp. 178 f.; Thurneysen, *Bezz. Beitr.* 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 *s*-preterite, as *tánacús* 'I came' instead of *tánac*.

In the Indicative, *-εα* *-εας* *-εες(ν)* became in Ion.-Att. *-η* *-ης* *-ει(ν)*. Then *-ει(ν)* by complementary analogy produces Att. *-ειν* *-εις*, cp. *ἦν* 'eram' instead of *ἦα ἦ* § 502 p. 65. The 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. was *-εσαν* in older Attic; this followed \**-εσ-τε* \**-εσ-τον* \**-εσ-την* as *ἦσαν* followed *ἦστε* etc. (§ 1021). *-εσαν* similarly caused the forming of *-ειμεν* *-ετε*, which are the endings of old Attic. The endings *-ειμεν* *-ετε* *-εισαν* are first found at a late period; so it can scarcely be allowable to derive *-ειμεν* from \**-εμεν*, which



has to be postulated for proethnic Greek. Probably *-ei-* came in from the singular.

A Greek new formation is doubtless the opt. *δεῖξαι*, for \**-σ-εσ-ιαν*, which, on the analogy of the indicative, produced *δεῖξαι* *-eis*; similarly Skr. *á-yā-s-iṣ-am* (§ 839) and Lat. *dic-tis* *dic-er-ō* *dic-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. *cest est* 'ibit' for \**ej-es-e(ti)*: Gr. *ῥέω* § 836; *ferest* 'feret', an-penes 'impendes'. Osc. *per-emet* 'perimet'. The same future could be made from present stems with some characteristic, as Osc. *didest* 'dabit' beside Vestin. *dī-d-e-t* 'dat' (§ 553 p. 107), to be compared with Skr. mid. *á-dad-iṣ-ṭa* beside *dá-dā-ti* *dá-d-a-ti*; Umbr. *heries* 'voles' *heriest* 'volet' beside *heris* 'vis' Osc. *heriad* 'velit' (§ 706 p. 233, § 716 p. 249).

(2) *s*-Conjunctive in Latin and Umbr.-Oscan (cp. Lat. *es-s-e-m* Osc. *fu-s-i-d*, § 824 p. 362).

Lat. *ager-e-in* *ager-e-s*: cp. Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ājiṣ-ur*. *unguer-e-m*: cp. Skr. *dājiṣ-am*. *merger-e-m*: cp. Skr. *á-majjiṣ-am*. *viver-e-m*: cp. Skr. *á-jiviṣ-am*. I think it more likely that *forem* comes from \**fy-es-ē-* (I § 172.3 p. 152), than from \**fu-s-r-ē-*; it therefore belongs to *-bō* for \**fyō*, as *agerem* to *agō*. The same formation is made from characterised present stems; as *sisterem* from *si-st-ō*, *jungerem* from *jung-ō* √ *jeug-* (cp. Skr. *ṛāj-as-ē* § 656 p. 191, *āindh-iṣ-ṭa* § 839), *sternerem* from *ster-nō*, *gnōscerem* from *gnō-scō*.

Umbr. *ostensendi* 'ostenderentur' for \**-tendes-ē-ntēr* (§ 1082.1). Osc. *herrins* 'caperent' for \**heres-ē-nt* from a pres. \**herō*, *patensins* 'aperirent' for \**patenes-ē-nt* from a pres. \**patenō* (§ 622 p. 159).

§ 838. Keltic. O.Ir. *ro-fetar* 'I know' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ro-fítir* for \**uid-es-* (I § 521 p. 379, and Thurneysen Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 62 f., 98): (Gr. *ῥέω* conj. Hom. *idéō* beside *eidéō*, § 836 p. 373. I conjecture that *ro-fetar* originally meant 'I have

learnt', hence its present meaning 'I know', cp. *seist* § 833 p. 370. The phonetic rules however permit of another derivation, from \**vid-is-*, in which case it would come near to Lat. *vidis-tis*.

## II. *es*-stems.

§ 839. Aryan *-is-* in Sanskrit and in the Gatha dialect of the Avesta.

In the Gathas we find three forms. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. conj. *xšnev-is-a* from *xšnu-* 'to attach oneself' (cp. *xšnao-še-mna-* § 833 p. 371), indic. mid. *ciš-is-ī* *ciš-is-tā* from *ku-* 'to look away to something, to hope'; *ī* is probably to be read *ī*, as often.

The formation is common in Sanskrit. As regards the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. mid. in *-idhvam*, as *ājanidhvam*, it is to be noted that *-idh-* is due to the analogy of the other persons which have *-iṣ-* instead of \**-idh-* = \**-iṣdh-* (I § 591 pp. 447 f.).

Usually with *e*-grade (1<sup>st</sup> Strong Grade) in the root. *ā-star-iṣ-am* from *star-* 'to strew'. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. *kṣan-iṣ-ṭhas* from *kṣan-* 'to wound'. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *yām-iṣ-ṭa* from *yam-* 'cohibere'. 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *cay-iṣ-ṭam* from *ci-* 'to put in layers, collect'. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *ā-nav-iṣ-ṭa* from *nu-* 'to praise'. *ā-dharṣ-iṣ-ur* from *dharṣ-* 'to be brave, dare'. Conj. *jambh-iṣ-a-t* from *jambh-* 'to snap at'. *ā-śas-iṣ-am* from *śas-* 'to praise'. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. mid. *ā-bōdh-iṣ-ata*, conj. *bōdh-iṣ-a-t* from *budh-* 'to awake, notice'. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *ā-sah-iṣ-ṭa* opt. *sah-iṣ-t-māhi* from *sah-* 'to subdue'. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *āj-iṣ-ur* from *aj-* 'agere'.

Other grades of root. *ā-bhār-iṣ-am* from *bhār-* 'to carry'. *ā-tār-iṣ-am* conj. *tāriṣ-a-t* opt. *tāriṣ-t-māhi* from *tar-* 'to carry across, pass through'. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. mid. (pass.) *ā-nāy-iṣ-ata* from *nī-* 'to lead'. Opt. *idh-iṣ-t-māhi* from *idh-* 'set afire'. Opt. *gm-iṣ-īya* from *gam-* 'to go'.

As the root of 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. *pār-iṣ-ṭhas* (*par-* 'to fill') shows it to have been based upon verbal forms like *pār-dhi*, so also the *iṣ*-aorist is often made from a characterised present stem. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *ā-dad-iṣ-ṭa* beside *dā-dā-ti* *dā-d-a-ti* from

*dā-* 'to give' (cp. Osc. *dideat*, § 837.1 p. 374). 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *āindh-iṣ-ṭa* opt. *indh-iṣ-ṭya* (also *idh-iṣ-*) beside *in(d)dhē* pl. *indh-ātē* from *idh-*, *ā-dṛh-iṣ-am* beside *dṛh-a-ti* from *darh-* 'to make firm' (cp. Lat. *junger-e-m* § 837.2 p. 374). *āṭps-iṣ-am* beside *ṭp-sa-ti* from *āp-* *ap-* 'to attain', 1<sup>st</sup> sing. mid. *jīṇās-iṣ-i* beside *ji-jṇā-sa-tē* from *jṇā-* 'to learn'. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. mid. *ā-hlāday-iṣ-ata* beside *hlād-aya-ti* causal of *hlād-* 'to refresh, give life to', 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. *pyāyay-iṣ-ṭhas* beside *pyāy-āya-ti* causal of *pyā-ya-tē* 'swells' (§ 796 p. 333). Compare 1<sup>st</sup> sing. pres. mid. *gāy-iṣ-ē* beside *gā-ya-ti* 'sings' (§ 656 p. 191).

The origin of the *siṣ-* aorist is like that of the latter group of forms. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *dkṣiṣ-ur* beside pres. *ak-ṣa-tē* (§ 659 p. 194) and beside aor. *dk-ṣ-i* (§ 655 p. 189) from *qṣ-* *aṣ-* 'to attain'. *hāsiṣ-am* beside pres. *hā-sa-tē* (§ 659 p. 195) and beside aor. *ā-hā-s-am* (§ 814 p. 353) from *hā-* 'to go, yield'. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *ā-bhāsiṣ-ṭa* (gramm.) beside pres. *bhā-sa-ti* (aor. *ā-bhās-i-t*, gramm.) from *bhā-* 'to shine'. Compare the fut. *akṣiṣya-ti* *bhāsiṣya-tē* § 750.2 p. 272. So again *ā-jṇā-siṣ-am* beside *ā-jṇā-s-am* (cp. Lat. *gnōri-tur*), *ā-gā-siṣ-ur* conj. *gā-siṣ-a-t* beside 1<sup>st</sup> sing. mid. *gā-s-i* from *gā-* 'to sing', *ra-siṣ-am* beside 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *ā-ra-s-ta* from *ram-* 'to be quiet'. Compare with these *siṣ-* aorists, which had not become common in Vedic, Gr. *ἰεῖναι* § 836 p. 374, and Lat. *dixis-tis* *dixer-ō* *dixer-i-m*, § 841.

Remark. In Mss. of the Veda occur forms with *-ṣiṣ-* instead of *-siṣ-*, as *pyā-ṣiṣ-i-mahi*. This shows the same phonetic change as *ṣuṣ-ka-s* for *\*suṣka-s* I § 587.4 p. 413. Compare Whitney, *Am. Journ. Phil.* vi 277; Bloomfield and Spieker, *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* xiii 118.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. of the aorists with *-iṣ-* and *-siṣ-* ended regularly in *-i-ṣ* and *-i-t*, as *ā-stari-ṣ* *-t* beside *ā-stariṣ-am*, *ā-yast-ṣ* *-t* beside *ā-yasiṣ-am*. The original endings must have been *\*iṣ(-ṣ)* and *\*siṣ(-t)*. That of the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. is still seen in injunctive forms like *aviṣ-ṭ-u* (§ 909), and the influence of the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. can be made out in aorist forms such as *ā-jay-i-t* (§ 574 p. 115). *-i-ṣ* *-t* cannot be got out of *\*iṣ-ṣ* and *\*iṣ-t*. They rather belonged in origin to our IX<sup>th</sup> Present Class, and were not sigmatic aorist at all; *ā-star-i-t* is like *ā-rōd-i-t*

*á-brav-t-t* (§ 574 p. 116). As *á-star-t-t* is to *stara-ti*, so is *á-hás-t-t* to *há-sa-tē*, and *á-bhás-t-t* to *bhá-sa-ti*.<sup>1)</sup> These forms in *-tē* *-ti* took the place of *\*astariš* *\*ahásiš* (2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.) because it then became possible to distinguish the persons; then *-tē* and *-ti* drove *\*-iš* *\*-it* out of the field altogether. Compare *i* instead of *ī* in *á-dhī-mahi*, *mṛ-ṇī-más* and the like § 498 p. 62. How *-sīš* *-sīt* passed afterwards from the *sīš*-aorist to the *s*-aorist, see in § 816 p. 354.

§ 840. Greek. Here *-as-* = *-es-* is found only in such crbs as use the *s*-suffix outside of the aorist stem. Attention should be called to the future in *-aω*, if it was conj. of the *σ*-aorist (§ 747 p. 269, § 757 pp. 276 f.), and the indic. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. in *-as-θης*, if it had a share in originating the *θην*-aorist (§ 589 pp. 129 ff.). E. g. *κρεμάω ἐκρεμάσθης* from *κρεμασ-* 'to hang' (*κρεμασ-τό-ς*) beside *κρεμα-* (*κρέμα-μι κρεμά-θῃ*), *κράω ἰκράσθης* from *κρασ-* 'to mix' (*κρασ-τό-ς κκίρασται*), *σκέδαω ἰσκέδασθης* from *σκαδασ-* 'to scatter' (*σκαδασ-τό-ς ἰσκέδασται*). On the *σσ*-aorists *ἐκρέμασ(σ)α ἰκρέμασ(σ)α ἰσκέδασσα*, see § 842.

In Keltic, *-as-* may be looked for in the *s*-preterite of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Conjugations, as O.Ir. *ro-charus* Mid.Cymr. *cereis* 'I loved'. For the Britannie dialects only *-ās(s)-* and not *-as(s)-* may be assumed. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. O.Ir. *ro-char* for *\*-caras-t*, 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. depon. *-asser* for *\*-as-thēs + r* (Thurneysen, Idg. Forsch. 1 463). Also found, pl. *ro-charsam -charsid -charsat* for *\*carassomo(s) \*carassete \*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 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *\*caras-te* became *\*carasse*, this was enlarged to *\*carassete* by adding the usual ending of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl., and then by analogy *\*carassomo(s)* etc. May we venture to suggest a parallel with the relation of Gr. *ἐκρεμάσ-θης* (see above) and *ἐκρέμασσα* (§ 842)?

<sup>1)</sup> Jackson believes that he has found an Avestic 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. of this kind in *frā-dāhīf* Yt. 3. 2, from *√ dā-* (Proceed. Am. Or. Soc., Oct. 1889, p. CLXV).

III. *Is*-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(ō)* (§ 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. *vēdiṣ-* Gr. *ēde(o)-*; *iis-tis* for *\*ēis-* *\*ēi-is-*: cp. Skr. *ayīṣ-* Gr. *ēe(o)-*. *liquis-tis*, *fūdis-tis* *vicis-tis*. And doubtless *fūgis-tis* *rūpis-tis* *jūcis-tis* (*juv-* for *\*djugu-*, beside Lith. *džiaugiu-s* 'I am glad') with *ū* = Idg. *eu*. *vertis-tis* *scandis-tis*. Also *scābis-tis* *cāvis-tis*, *fōdis-tis* and *lēgis-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 *z*, for instance, in the system of *lēgi-*; (1) this may have come from *lēgi-tis* as suggested, (2) *lēgimus* may follow the analogy of *sēdimus* for *\*se-zd-*, as Skr. *pētīmā* follows *sēdimā* (§ 471 p. 16), (3) *lēg-i vēr-i* may be non-thematic, like Goth. *qēm-um* Skr. *sāh-eds-* (loc. cit.), or (4) *lēgi-t* may = pr. Ital. *\*lēg-e-d*, and be a thematic preterite form related to *legi-t* as Gr. *μῆδε-ται* to *μῆδε-ται*, Skr. *sāha-ti* to *sāhā-tē* (§ 480 Rem. p. 28, § 514 p. 81).

Phonetic law forbids our assuming that *-es-* has been weakened to *-is-* in *vidis-tis* (*vidis-sem* § 842); cp. *scelestu-s capessō* and the like. It is not a sufficient explanation to say that *-e-* became *-i-* because of *-imus*, or that the relation of *amāmus* : *amāssem* produced *vertissem* beside *vertimus* (Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 112). Nothing is left but to hark back to Idg. *-i-s-*.<sup>1)</sup> In § 834 p. 371 we compared *cinī-s* Gr. *θίμω-*. Compare further *af-t-σ-* in *ἐναίω-το-ς* *ἥϊσ-(ο)α* from

1) I will here give a possible way of identifying Lat. *-is-* with Idg. *-es-* or *-as-*; but I do not believe that any one will adopt it. *\*ste-ti-tis* *\*ste-ti-fi* or *-bī* (Gr. *ἴστω-τε* Skr. *ta-t(hi)-tha*), *\*tu-tudi-tis* *\*tu-tūdi-fi* (Gr. *τε-τρώπε-τε* Skr. *tu-tūdi-tha*), *\*scidi-tis* (Skr. *ś-chida-ta*) become *stetitis stetisti*, *tutudistis tutudistis*. *scidistis* on the analogy of *\*vides-tis* *\*vīdes-ti*; and then by reciprocal analogy, these became *vidis-tis* *-ti*.

*āiō* 'I hear' for \**āfiō-ō* and in *āiō-θi-σθau* beside Skr. *āv-a-ti* 'regards, favours',<sup>1)</sup> *āf-i-σ-* in *āiō-θu* 'I breathe out' beside *āiō-v* (doubtless for \**āfiō-o-v*) beside *ā(f)-η-μi* 'I blow, breathe', variant stem *āf-es-* in *āσθmu* (*āiō-θu* : *āσ-θμα* = Lat. *vidis* : Gr. *εἶδε(ο)-*). Further, *āl-ōxo-μαi* *āp-āp-iōxō* beside *āp-iō-xō* (§ 673 p. 206). Lastly, Skr. *ā-grah-ti-ṣ-am*, where I hold *-t-* to be merely an ablaut variant of the *-i-* now under discussion. If, as we must assume, it was in proethnic Latin that *-is-* spread from the verbs to which it properly belongs to all others, then according to I § 33 p. 33, *-er-* in *vīderō* etc. must be derived in all instances from *-is-*. Thus e. g. *verterō* will be for \**vertisō* (but *verterem* for \**vertesō-m*).

*vīdera-m* shows the same *ā*-suffix as *-bam eram* (§ 583 p. 124), and probably it is due to analogy, being made to complement *vīderō* like *eram* : *erō*. Observe that *dirō dirim* have no \**diram*.

The endings of *vīdistis -istī vīderō vīderim vīderam vīdissem* were transferred both to forms like *totondī tetigī* and to those like *dixī*, so that we have *totondistis totonderō* and *dixistis dixerō* etc. The former may be compared with Gr. *πενόισθαι* (§ 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 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. and pl. had become rather awkward, as 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. \**totons(s)ī* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. \**totons(s)is* (or \**totonsti* \**tolonstis* with *t* restored from *estis*) and 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. \**dir(s)* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. \**dirtis*.

We proceed to mention the *is*-aorists of Latin and Irish belonging to *io*-present stems (Class XXVI):

In Latin, those verbs whose 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. indic. pres. ended in *-is*, had the *ē*-conjunctive in *-irem*, as *farcīrem* from *farcīō*. The only exception is *fierem* like *agērem*, § 837.2 p. 374. But from verbs like *capiō -is* the conj. was *-ērem*, *caperem*; and it remains uncertain whether this be for \**-is-ē-m* or \**-es-ē-m*, cp. *capiō-sō* and *capes-sō* § 842.

1) To assume a 'Root' *āis-* for *āiōv* and a present \**āfiōm* I hold to be wrong (Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 249 ff.).

It must be remembered, in considering Lat. *farctrem* and the like, that these went hand in hand with the original denominatives in *-i-ǵō*, as *finiō*, whose *s*-aorist, *finiŕem*, is to be compared with (ir. *ḗxónīda* O.C.Sl. *gostichŭ* (§ 813 p. 351). Hence the question presents itself — whether *farctrem* is really like Skr. *á-graktīś-am*, whether it was not rather produced simply by the analogy of the *ts*-formation. In this case it might be compared with O.C.Sl. *bichomŭ* (§ 727 p. 257), which was modelled upon *gostichomŭ*.

In the *s*-aorist of the *ǵō*-present (3<sup>rd</sup> Conjugation) in Irish, the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. ended with *\*-i-s-t*, as *-lêic* for *\*leikis-t*. A short *i* is seen also in Mid.Cymr., which in this aorist had *-yss-*, e. g. *eisteddyssant* '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 *-lêcsem*. Hand in hand with these *ǵō*-verbs went those in *\*-i-ǵō* and those in *\*-éǵō*, as 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *do-ro-dalius* from *-dālim* 'I divide', 1<sup>st</sup> 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 *-ss-* have been brought before us in § 839, the Sanskrit aorist series of which one is *dk-ṣīṣ-ur*.

Greek. Hom. *ἔ-σπασ-σα* Att. *ἴσπασα* from *σπάω* 'I pull' for *\*σπα-σω*, *ἔ-σπασ-ται*. *ἔ-κλασ-σα* from *κλαίω* 'I break off' for *\*κλα-σω*, *κί-κλασ-ται*. *ἔ-κρέμασ-(σ)α* 'I hung' *ἔ-κέρασ-(σ)α* 'I mixed' *ἔ-σκέδασ-(σ)α* 'I scattered' beside *κρημασ-τό-ς* *κε-κέρασ-ται* *ἔ-σκέδασ-ται*. (*f*)-*ἴσ-(σ)α* 'I clothed' beside 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *ἔσ-σαι*. *ἔ-σβ-εσ-(σ)α* 'I quenched' beside *σβ-εσ-τό-ς* *ἔ-σβεσ-ται*. *ἔ-κόρεσ-(σ)α* 'I satisfied' beside *κε-κόρεσ-ται*. *ἄρ-έσ-(σ)ασθαι* 'to come to an understanding'

beside ἀρσ-τό-ς. ἰ-κάλεσ-(σ)α 'I called' ἀλ-εσ-(σ)α 'I ground' ἔμ-εσ-(σ)α 'I spewed' from the presents καλέω ἀλέω ἐμέω, perhaps for \*καλ-σω \*ἀλε-σω \*ἐμε-σω. εἶρσ-(σ)α ἱρσ-(σ)α 'I pulled' beside εἶρσ-ται. Compare § 575 p. 117, § 656 p. 191, § 661 p. 196, § 836 p. 372 f., § 840 p. 377.

Remark. There is too little support for the theory that these Greek *so*-aorists stand in a direct historical connexion with the Sanskrit *siṣ*-aorist — that originally the singular active had *-sse* (*-sse-*) and the plural *-ss-*, and that Sanskrit kept only the singular form, Greek the form of the plural (W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 268 ff.).

Italic. With Lat. *vīsō* for \**uejt-sō*, *quaesō* for \**quais-sō* (§ 662 p. 197), compare *petes-sō* O.Lat. *ad-petis-si-s*, *capēs-sō* O.Lat. *capis-sa-m*, *laces-sō*, *faces-sō*. And to the same group as *faxō faxitur faxim* (§ 824 p. 362) belong *amās-sō amāssim*, *turbās-situr*, infin. *averruncās-sere*; *habēs-sō pro-hibēssim*, *licēssi-t*; *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. *ēssēm* instead of \**ēsem* (*edō*) on the analogy of *ēssēm* (from *sum*). With *petissis capessam* are associated forms like *vidis-sē-m*, *ē*-conjunctives, whose analogy produced (1) *totondissem* and (2) *dixissem* etc. The forms with *-is-s-* have their nearest parallels in Gr. ἦσ-(σ)α from ἄφ-ισ- (§ 841 p. 378 f.).

## THE PERFECT.<sup>1)</sup>

§ 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 √ *uejd-*

1) On the Indo-Germanic Perfect in general. H. Osthoff, Zur Geschichte des Perfects im Idg. mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Griech. und Latein., Straassb. 1884. C. Pauli, Das praeteritum reduplicatum 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., xvi 117 ff.



'to know, see': 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Skr. *véd-a* Gr. *old-a* Goth. *vait*, 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *véttha olada vdist*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *véd-a old-e vait*. (2) Secondly, the participle active formed with the suffix *-ues-*, as Skr. *vid-vás-*

Aryan. Bartholomae, Die ai. *z*-Formen im schwachen Perfect, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 337 ff. *Idem*, Der 'Bindevocal' *i* im avestischen Perf., Ar. Forsch. ii 97 ff.

Greek and Latin. Ernault, Du parfait en grec et en latin, Paris 1886.

Greek. H. Malden, On Perfect Tenses in Greek, and especially the First Perfect Active, Trans. Phil. Soc., 1865, pp. 168 ff. Loebell, Quaestiones de perfecti Homericis forma et usu, Leipz. 1877. H. von der Pfordten, Zur Gesch. des griech. Perfectums, Munich 1882. J. Stender, Beiträge zur Gesch. des griech. Perfects, 2 Theile, München-Gladbach 1883-84. R. Fritzsche, Über griech. Perfecta mit Präsensbedeutung, Sprachwiss. Abhandl. aus G. Curtius' Gramm. Gesellsch. pp. 43 ff. H. Uhle, Die Vocalisation und Aspiration des griech. starken Perf., *ibid.* pp. 59 ff. Mahlow, Einige altertümliche Perfectbildungen des Griech., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiv 293 ff. J. Schmidt, Die Entstehung der griech. aspirierten Perfecta, *ibid.* xxvii 309 ff. *Idem*, Noch einmal die griech. aspirierten Perfecta, *ibid.* xxviii 176 ff. Alex. Hoppe, Über das griech. zweite Perfect, Festprogr. des Erfurter Gymn., Erfurt 1870, pp. 34 ff. The Author, Der Ursprung des griech. schwachen Perfects, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 212 ff. F. Hartmann, Wieder einmal das *x*-Perfectum, *ibid.* xxviii 284 ff. K. F. Johansson, Über das griech. *x*-Perfect, in: Beitr. zur griech. Sprachk., Upsala 1890, pp. 33 ff. F. W. Walker, Greek Aorists and Perfects in *-ov*, Class. Review v 446 ff.

Italic. A. Harkness, On the Formation of the Tenses for Completed Action in the Latin Finite Verb, Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc. v 14 ff., vi 5 ff. Platzer, Die Lehre von den lat. Perfectis und Supinis, Neubrandenburg 1840. Lattmann, Das Gesetz der Perfect- und Supinbildung im Lateinischen, Zeitschr. f. d. Gymnasialw. N. F. ii (1868) pp. 94 ff. M. Kinke, Die Zeitwörter der latein. 3. Conjugation in ihren Perfectformen, Heiligenstadt 1843. Schleicher, Der Perfectstamm im Lateinischen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. viii 399 f. Fr. Müller, Über das lat. Perfectum, Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad. LXVI 225 ff. Corssen, Zur Bildung des Perfectums, in: Beitr. zur ital. Sprachk., pp. 503 ff. W. Deecke, De reduplicato linguae Latinae praeterito, Leipz. 1869. E. Frohwein, Die Perfectbildungen auf *vi* bei Cicero, ein Beitrag zum Sprachgebrauch C's und zugleich ein Supplement zu F. Neue's Formenlehre, Gera 1874. L. Havet, Les prétendus parfaits en *-avi*, Mém. Soc. lingu. vi 39. W. Schulze, Das lat. *v*-Perfectum, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxviii 266 ff. G. Curtius, Über das lat. Perfect auf *vi* und *vi*, Ber. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. 1885 pp. 421 ff. P. Regnaud, Les parfaits composés en latin, Lyon 1882. L. Scheffler, De perfecti in *vi* exeuntis formis apud

Gr. *ἰσ-ῶς* O.C.Sl. *sta-vü* from  $\sqrt{\text{sta-}}$  '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, Keltic, and Germanic. In Greek it was mixt up with a  $\kappa$ -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.

poetas Latinos dactylicos occurrentibus, Marburg 1890. Th. Birt, Verbalformen vom Perfectstamme bei Claudian, Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. iv 589 ff. H. Kern, Das osk. Perfect auf -*te*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxi 240 ff. Danielsson, Zum altital. *t*-Perfect, Pauli's Altital. Stud. iv 183 ff.

Keltic. Windisch, Das reduplicierte Perfectum im Irischen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiii 201 ff.

Germanic. W. Scherer, Die reduplicierten Präterita, Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymnas. xxiv 295 ff., and Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Altert. xix 154 ff., 390 ff. Sievers, Die reduplicierten Präterita, Paul-Braune's Beitr. i 504 ff. Pokofny, Über die reduplicierten Praeterita der germ. Sprachen und ihre Umwandlung in ablautende, Landskron 1874. Holthausen, Die reduplicierenden Verba im German., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 618 ff. G. Burg-hauser, Die Bildung des germ. Perfectstammes vornehmlich vom Standpunkte der idg. Vocalforschung, Prag 1887. Ljungstedt, Anmärkningar till det starka preteritum i germanska språk, Upsala 1887. R. E. Ottmann, Die reduplicierten Praeterita in den german. Sprachen, Alzey 1890. G. Holz, Die im Got. noch reduplicierten Perfecta, in: Urgerm. 2 und Verwandtes (Leipz. 1890) pp. 21 ff. H. Lichtenberger, De verbis quae in vetustissima Germanorum lingua reduplicatum praeteritum exhibeant, Nancy 1891. J. Grimm, Die ahd. Praeterita, Germania iii 147 ff. J. Hoffory, Die reduplicierten Praeterita im Altnord., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 593 ff. C. Pauli, Über die deutschen Verba praeteritopraesentia, Stettin 1883. Osthoff, Das praeteritopraesens mag, Paul-Braune's Beitr. xv 211 ff. Aufrecht, Eine altnord. Aoristform, Kuhn's Zeitschr. i 474 ff. Von Knoblauch, Die germ. Perfecte auf *r*, *ibid.* i 573 ff. Schweizer-Sidler, *r* im altd. Präteritum, *ibid.* ii 400. Müllenhoff, Angebliche Aoriste oder Perfecta auf *r* im Altnord. und Hoehd, Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Altert. xii 397 ff. Zarneke, Zu den reduplicierten Praeteriten, Paul-Braune's Beitr. xv 350 ff. J. von Fierlinger, Die 2. ps. sg. perf. starker Flexion im Westgerm., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 430). Works on the weak Germanic Praeterita are given under § 907.

(1) Reduplicated Stem, with *o* in the root syllable of the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. indic. act., if the root belonged to the *e*-series. E. g. \**ge-gon-*, \**ge-gh-* \**ge-gv-* from √ *gen-* 'giguere': Gr *γέ-γον-ε* *γέ-γα-μεν*, Skr. *ja-jān-a ja-jā-úr*.

(2) Unreduplicated Stem. Sometimes the ablaut is the same as in (1), as \**uoid-* \**uid-* from √ *ueid-*: Gr. *οἶδ-ε* *ἰδ-μεν*, Skr. *vid-a vid-má*. Sometimes different, as with *e* in roots of the *e*-series; e. g. \**mēd-* from √ *med-* 'measure': O.Ir. *ro mīd-ar* Goth. *mēt-um*; \**sēd-* from √ *sed-* 'sit': Goth. *sēt-um* Lith. *sēd-ēs*; \**sēgh-* from √ *segh-* 'conquer, hold': Skr. *sāh-vās*.

In perfect stems like \**ge-gon-* or \**uoid-* the *o*-grade prevailed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Indic. Active (*οἶδα οἶδε*), and, in the opinion of most scholars, the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. as well (*οἶδα*); the *e*-grade in the Conjunctive (*εἶδ-ο-μεν*) Skr. *ta-tān-a-n*), and, according to some scholars, in the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Indic. Active too (*πέπει-α*); the weak grade in the plural and dual Active, and right through the Indicative Middle (*γέ-γα-μεν ἔ-κ-ρον τέ-τραν-ται* Skr. *ni-ny-úr ni-ny-ē*), and in the Optative (Skr. *va-vrt-yā-t* Goth. *vaúrþ-ēi-ma*). To *o* in \**ge-gon-e* answers *ō* in \**se-sō-* (Gr. *ἀπ-έ-σταν* Goth. *sai-sō*) from √ *sē-* 'send forth, sow'.

Remark. Considering that the ending of the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. indic. act. was Idg. *-o*, while that of the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. was Idg. *-e*, there is a difficulty in the difference between Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ja-jān-a* and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ja-jān-a*. I have identified *jājāna* with *yáyora* (I § 78 p. 69). De Saussure (*Mém. sur le syst. prim.* 72 f.) and Osthoff (Perfect, 61) equate *jājāna* = Idg. \**gejēna*, on which view *yáyora* would be due to levelling and should be \**yeyora*; and as a matter of fact no difficulty worth mentioning faces this view. From the standpoint of those scholars who deny that Idg. *e* becomes Ar. *ā* in open syllables, no explanation of Skr. *jājāna* has been found which is in the smallest degree satisfactory (see the last attempt in Bechtel, *Die Hauptprobleme der idg. Lautlehre*, 57, 185); op. § 790 p. 322 on the *ā* of *bhāraya-ti*. It may be observed in passing that the means lately used by J. Schmidt to combat my theory of this Aryan *ā* 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 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. act. *ds-i-tha ru-rñj-i-tha* (but *vñt-tha ta-tán-tha*), 1<sup>st</sup> pl. act. *pa-pt-i-má* (but *yu-yuj-má vid-má*), 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. indic. mid. *ac-i-ññ ja-jñ-i-ññ* (but *da-dyñ-ññ*), 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. mid. *ja-jñ-i-rñ*, to which answers Avest. *vaoz-i-rem*, cp. Skr. partic. act. *pa-pt-i-vás-* (but *da-dyñ-vás- vid-vás-*).<sup>1)</sup> In Vedic this *i* is found only when the preceding syllable is long. In Avestic, *-ama* in *daidy-ama* beside pass. *di-dae-iti* (§ 537 p. 97).

Greek shows *-α-* in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *τε-τράφ-α-μεν τε-τράφ-α-τε* (but *ἴδ-μεν εἰλήλουθ-μεν ἴστε*). Compare partic. *πεντώς* for *\*πε-πτ-α-φώς*, answering to Skr. *pa-pt-i-vás-* (but *vid-(F)ώς*), and the mid. *πέ-πτ-α-μαι* beside *πεν-ά-σαι*. On *-ας* beside *-α* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing., see p. 386.

Latin. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *tu-tud-i-mus sēd-i-mus*.

Old Irish. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ce-chn-ammar* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *ce-chn-aid*.

Gothic. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *vit-um sēt-um skat-skáid-um* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *vit-u-þ sēt-u-þ skat-skáid-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-sthī-má* Gr. *ἵστα-μεν* Lat. *sto-ti-mus* (for *stetimus* cp. however § 869). In Greek, Italic, Keltic, and Germanic the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. has an *nt*-suffix, Gr.

1) I do not here consider the *s* of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> dual active *viddikur vidditur*, because it may have been identical with that of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *vid-d* and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *vid-a* (§ 1088).

-αυσι -ασι (mid. -αται), 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, τέτροφα -s having the same suffixes as ἔδειξ-α -s (beyond doubt τέτροφα-ας follows ἔδειξ-ας, and in later Doric γέγον-αν follows ἔδειξ-αν); ther which came first, τέτροφα-αμεν -ασι or ἔδειξ-αμεν -ασι? In Italic, again, as early as the proethnic stage, the old perfect had got mixt up with thematic aorist. If, for instance, *i* was the thematic vowel in *fu-i-mus tetig-i-mus dix-i-mus* as well as with *fu-i-t tetig-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. *daiḍy-ama* cannot be kept apart from optative forms like *jam-y-ama* (see § 1001), to assume an Idg. suffix -yme as variant of -me in the perfect seems almost inevitable; and therefore I am inclined to refer to this the Gr. -αμεν in τέτροφα-αμεν etc., and the Goth. -um in *skaiskaid-um* etc.; Lat. -imus and O.Ir. -ammar may also in some cases represent the same. But again the conjecture offers itself that the difference between Skr. *papt-i-má* and *yuyuj-má*, between Gr. τέτροφα-αμεν and εἰλήλουθ-αμεν, represents a difference of structure like that which exists in Skr. *rud-i-más* (Class IX §§ 572 ff.) and *uś-más* (Class I §§ 492 ff.). It may be that once \**papt-amá* \**sazd-amá* (like Avest. *daiḍy-ama*) and *tasthi-má* (= *ἔστα-αμεν*) *dadhi-má* existed side by side, and that the former were transformed to match the latter and became *paptimá* *śḍimá*. 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-ptə-* (and thus 1<sup>st</sup> pl. \**pe-ptə-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 V<sup>th</sup> 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.

#### § 848. (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-gon-* \**ge-gn-* Gr. *γέ-γονε* O.Ir. *ro gēnar* (for \**ge-gn-*) Skr. *ja-jān-a* from √ *gen-*, \**se-stā-* \**se-sta-* Gr. *ἔ-στα-μεν* Lat. *ste-ti-mus* Skr. *ta-sthāú* from √ *stā-*. But even then there were not lacking perfect forms with *ē* in the reduplicator, which one may call the Intensive Perfect: Gr. *ἐ-γν-μεν* Skr. *jā-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-ī* Goth. *fr-ēt* Skr. *ad-a* from √ *ed-*, Gr. *ἔ-φα* O.Icel. *ök* Skr. *āj-a* from √ *ag-*). It is very likely indeed that all these forms belong to the unreduplicated perfect type. See § 848.

√ *der-* 'split, tear, flay', act. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. \**de-dór-e* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. \**de-dy-mé* mid. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. \**de-dr-ái* (conj. \**de-ðér-e-l(i)* opt. \**de-dr-iē-t* or \**de-dr-iē-t*): Skr. *daddra* mid. *dadrē* partic. *da-dy-vās-*, Gr. *δέδαγται* (Goth. *ga-tar*). √ *smēr-* 'remember': Skr. *sa-smār-a*, Lat. adj. *memor* derived from a perf. \**me-mor-i* (§ 476 p. 23). Skr. *kṣar-* Gr. *φθίρω* 'to cause to run off or

disappear' (§ 812 p. 348): Skr. *ca-kṣār-a*, Gr. *ἐφθόρε ἐφθάρ-ται*. Skr. *śa-śār-a* 'he broke up, crushed' pl. *śa-śr-ur* (gramm.) mid. *śa-śr-ē* (O.Ir. *do-ro-chair* 'cecidit'). √ *ger-* 'swallow': Skr. *ja-gār-a*, Gr. *βέβρω-ται* (*βρω* = \**gr-*). √ *per-* 'bring, bring forth, give a share' (Lith. *per-iù* 'I brood, incubate, hatch'): Gr. *πέπω-ται*, Lat. *pe-per-i* for \**pe-par-i* (*πω* *par* = \**pf-*). √ *tel-* 'carry bear': Gr. *τέτλα-μεν*, Lat. *te-tul-i*. √ *gen-* 'gignere': Skr. *ja-jān-a* *ja-jā-úr* *ja-jā-ē*, Gr. *γίγον-ε* *γέγα-μεν*, O.Ir. mid. *ro gēnar* (*gēn-* for \**gegn-*). √ *men-* 'think, mean, regard': Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> dual mid. *ma-mn-ātē* (this may be from stem *mn-a-* as said in § 850), opt. *ma-man-yā-t*, Gr. *μίμν-ε* *μίμα-μεν*, Lat. *me-min-i* imper. *me-men-tō* (= Gr. *με-μά-τω*). O.Ir. mid. *do-mēnar* instead of pr. Kelt. \**me-mn-* (Goth. *man mun-un*, Lith. part. *mīn-ēs*). √ *ghen-* 'strike': Skr. *ja-ghān-a* *ja-ghn-ē* conj. *ja-ghān-a-t* part. *ja-ghan-vās* *ja-ghn-i-vas*, Gr. *πέγα-ται*, O.Ir. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ro ge-gon*. √ *ten-* 'stretch': Skr. *ta-tān-a* *ta-tn-ē* *ta-tan-ē* (*tan* = \**tyn-*) conj. *ta-tan-a-t*, Gr. *τέτα-ται*, O.Lat. *te-tin-i*. Skr. *kṣan-* Gr. *κτεν-* 'to wound, kill': Skr. *ca-kṣān-a* *ca-kṣān-ē* (gramm.), Gr. *ἀν-έκτορε*. √ *gem-* 'go': Skr. *ja-gām-a* *ja-gm-úr* *ja-gm-ē* Avest. opt. *ja-ym-yā-ō* Skr. part. *ja-gan-vās* (I § 199 Rem. 2 p. 168, § 225 p. 193), Gr. *πέγα-μεν* (Goth. *gam*, Lith. *gīm-ēs* 'come into the world' partic.). √ *klej-* 'bend, incline': Skr. *śi-śráy-a* *śi-śriy-ē*, Gr. *κί-κλι-ται*. √ *lej-* 'linore': Skr. *li-ly-ur* *li-ly-ē*, O.Ir. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ro li-l* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ro le-l-dar*. √ *kley-* 'hear': Skr. *śu-śráv-a* *śu-śruv-ē* conj. *śu-śrav-a-t* opt. *śu-śru-yā-t* *śu-śra-yā-t*, Gr. imper. *κί-κλυ-θε* beside *κί-κλεσθε* (see § 557 p. 109), O.Ir. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ro chuala* for \**cōla* \**cu-clov-a* Mid.Cymr. *ci-gleu*. √ *gley-* 'to move, shift': Skr. *cu-cyuv-ē* Gr. *ἐσπν-ται*. √ *ghey-* 'pour': Skr. *ju-hāv-a* *ju-huv-ur* *ju-hv-ē* *ju-huv-ē*, Gr. *κί-χυν-ται*. √ *pley-* 'to swim, float': Skr. *pu-pluv-ur* *pu-pluv-ē*, Gr. *κί-πλυν-ται*. √ *dhey-* 'move violently, shake, take hold': Skr. *du-dhāv-a* *du-dhuv-ē* opt. mid. *du-dhuc-i-ta*, Gr. *τί-θυν-ται*. √ *bhey-* 'become, be': Avest. *ba-vāv-a* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ba-bv-ar* Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ba-bhāv-úr* opt. *ba-bhā-yā-t* partic. *ba-bhā-vās* (-āv- instead of -uy- as in *ā-bhāv-am* § 497 p. 56 f.: with *ba-bhāv-a* *ba-bhā-tha* compare *ā-bhā-t*

Gr.  $\epsilon\phi\theta$ , loc. cit., and fut. Avest.  $b\bar{u}\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\phi\theta\text{-}iti$  Gr.  $q\acute{o}\sigma\omega$  § 748 p. 271), Gr.  $\pi\epsilon\phi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\iota$   $\pi\epsilon\phi\upsilon\omega\varsigma$  (O.Ir. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.  $ro\ b\bar{o}i$ , Lith.  $b\bar{u}\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\phi\theta$  O.C.Sl.  $by\text{-}\acute{v}\bar{u}$ ).  $\checkmark derk\text{-}$  'see': Skr.  $da\text{-}d\bar{a}r\acute{s}\text{-}a$   $da\text{-}d\bar{r}\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{u}r$   $da\text{-}d\bar{r}\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{e}$ , Gr.  $\acute{\delta}\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\acute{\delta}\acute{o}\phi\kappa\text{-}\epsilon$  (O.Ir.  $ad\text{-}con\text{-}daire$ ),  $\checkmark uerg\text{-}$  'work': Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid.  $v\bar{a}\text{-}ver\text{-}z\text{-}\bar{o}i$ , Gr.  $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\gamma\text{-}\epsilon$ .  $\checkmark merd\text{-}$  'crush': Skr.  $ma\text{-}mard\text{-}a$   $ma\text{-}myd\text{-}ur$   $ma\text{-}myd\text{-}\acute{e}$ , Lat.  $me\text{-}mord\text{-}\bar{i}$   $memord\text{-}i\text{-}mus$   $momord\bar{i}$   $momordimus$ .  $\checkmark ters\text{-}$  'be dry, athirst': Skr.  $ta\text{-}t\bar{r}\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{u}r$  part. mid.  $ta\text{-}t\bar{r}\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{a}n\bar{a}\text{-}s$  (Goth.  $ga\text{-}þars$   $þaurs\text{-}un$  opt. 1<sup>st</sup> pl.  $þaurs\text{-}ei\text{-}ma$ ).  $\checkmark dherz\text{-}$  'be bold': Skr.  $da\text{-}dh\bar{a}r\acute{s}\text{-}a$   $da\text{-}dh\bar{r}\acute{s}\text{-}ur$  conj.  $da\text{-}dh\bar{a}r\acute{s}\text{-}a\text{-}t$  (Goth.  $ga\text{-}dars$   $daurs\text{-}un$ ).  $\checkmark uert\text{-}$  'turn, give a certain direction or inclination to': Skr.  $va\text{-}v\bar{a}rt\text{-}a$   $v\bar{a}\text{-}vrt\text{-}\acute{u}r$   $va\text{-}vrt\text{-}\acute{e}$   $v\bar{a}\text{-}v\bar{a}rt\text{-}a$   $v\bar{a}\text{-}vrt\text{-}\acute{u}r$   $v\bar{a}\text{-}vrt\text{-}\acute{e}$  (Goth.  $varþ$   $vaurs\text{-}un$ ).  $kl\text{-}ep\text{-}$  'to steal' (§. 797 Rem. p. 334): Gr.  $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\acute{\kappa}\lambda\acute{o}\phi\text{-}\epsilon$  part. Messen.  $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\acute{\kappa}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\text{-}\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  mid.  $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\acute{\kappa}\lambda\epsilon\pi\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$  (Goth.  $klaf$ ).  $\checkmark dhendh\text{-}$  'bind': Skr.  $ba\text{-}b\bar{a}ndh\text{-}a$   $ba\text{-}b\bar{u}ndh\text{-}ur$  (Goth.  $bond$   $bund\text{-}un$ ).  $\checkmark deik\text{-}$  'show': Skr.  $di\text{-}d\bar{e}\acute{s}\text{-}a$   $di\text{-}di\bar{s}\text{-}\acute{e}$ , Umbr.  $de\text{-}rsic\text{-}ust$  for  $*de\text{-}dic\text{-}$  (I § 369 p. 279) fut. perf. 'dixerit' (Goth.  $ga\text{-}taih$   $taih\text{-}un$ ).  $\checkmark bheid\text{-}$  'split': Skr.  $bi\text{-}bh\bar{e}d\text{-}a$   $bi\text{-}bhid\text{-}\acute{u}r$   $bi\text{-}bhid\text{-}\acute{e}$  (Goth.  $bait$   $bit\text{-}un$ ).  $\checkmark leig\text{-}$  'leave': Skr.  $ri\text{-}r\bar{e}c\text{-}a$   $ri\text{-}ric\text{-}\acute{e}$  opt.  $ri\text{-}ric\text{-}y\bar{a}\text{-}t$ , Gr.  $\acute{\lambda}\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\lambda\acute{o}\upsilon\pi\text{-}\epsilon$   $\acute{\lambda}\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\pi\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$  (Goth.  $laihv$   $laihv\text{-}un$  O.H.G.  $l\bar{e}h$   $liu\text{-}un$ ).  $\checkmark seig\text{-}$  'pour out, strain, filter': Skr.  $si\text{-}\acute{s}\bar{e}c\text{-}a$   $si\text{-}\acute{s}ic\text{-}\acute{e}$  Ved.  $si\text{-}sic\text{-}ur$   $si\text{-}sic\text{-}\acute{e}$  § 475 p. 20 (O.H.G.  $s\bar{e}h$   $sig\text{-}un$ ).  $\checkmark gey\text{-}$  'taste, try, enjoy': Skr.  $ju\text{-}j\bar{o}\acute{s}\text{-}a$   $ju\text{-}ju\bar{s}\text{-}ur$   $ju\text{-}ju\bar{s}\text{-}\acute{e}$ , Gr.  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$ , O.Ir. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.  $do\text{-}roigu$  (Goth.  $k\bar{a}us$   $kus\text{-}un$  O.H.G.  $k\bar{o}s$   $kur\text{-}un$  opt. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl.  $kur\text{-}i\text{-}t$ ).  $\checkmark bheydh\text{-}$  'wake, observe': Skr.  $bu\text{-}b\bar{o}dh\text{-}a$   $bu\text{-}budh\text{-}\acute{e}$  conj.  $bu\text{-}b\bar{o}dh\text{-}a\text{-}s$ , Gr.  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\pi\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  (Goth.  $ana\text{-}b\bar{a}uþ$   $bud\text{-}un$ ).  $\checkmark bheug\text{-}$  'to bend': Skr.  $bu\text{-}bh\bar{o}j\text{-}a$  (gramm.), Gr.  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\pi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\text{-}a$   $\pi\epsilon\text{-}\pi\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\text{-}\varsigma$  (Goth.  $b\bar{a}ug$   $bug\text{-}un$ ).  $\checkmark jey\text{-}$  'iungere': Skr.  $yu\text{-}y\bar{o}j\text{-}a$   $yu\text{-}yuj\text{-}ma$   $yu\text{-}yuj\text{-}\acute{e}$ , Gr.  $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$ .  $\checkmark rey\text{-}$  'weep, lament': Skr.  $ru\text{-}r\bar{o}d\text{-}a$   $ru\text{-}rud\text{-}ur$  (O.H.G.  $r\bar{o}z$   $mizz\text{-}un$ ).  $\checkmark syp\text{-}$  'sleep': Skr.  $su\text{-}\acute{s}v\bar{a}p\text{-}a$   $su\text{-}\acute{s}up\text{-}ur$  (O.Icel.  $svaf$ ).  $\checkmark uegh\text{-}$  'vehere': Skr.  $u\text{-}v\bar{a}h\text{-}a$   $\acute{a}h\text{-}ur$  (Goth.  $ga\text{-}vag$ , Lith.  $v\bar{e}ž\text{-}\acute{e}ž\text{-}s$  O.C.Sl.  $vez\text{-}\bar{u}$ ).  $\checkmark pet\text{-}$  'fly, shoot through the air, fall': Skr.  $pa\text{-}p\bar{a}t\text{-}a$   $pa\text{-}p\bar{t}\text{-}\acute{u}r$  ( $p\bar{e}t\text{-}ur$ ) part.  $papt\text{-}i\text{-}v\bar{a}s\text{-}$ , Gr.  $\pi\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  doubtless for  $*\pi\epsilon\text{-}\pi\tau\alpha\text{-}f\bar{u}\varsigma$ .  $\checkmark sed\text{-}$  'sit': Skr.  $sa\text{-}s\bar{a}d\text{-}a$   $s\bar{e}d\text{-}ur$



for \**sa-zd-*, Lat. *sēd-i* for \**se-zd-*? (Goth. *sat*). ✓ *dhē* 'set, place, lay': Skr. *da-dhāu da-dhā-tha da-dhi-mā da-dh-úr da-dh-ē*, Gr. *τέ-θε-ται*, Lat. *crēdidī* (I § 507 Rem. p. 372), Gall. *de-de* 'dedit' or 'posuit' (O.Sax. *de-du-n* opt. *de-d-i*? § 886). ✓ *sē* 'send forth, throw, sow': Gr. *εί-ται* for \**ē-i-ται* Dor. *ἀφ-έω-ται* with *ω* from the active (*ἀφ-έωκα*), Goth. *saī-sō saī-sō-un*. ✓ *dō* 'give': Skr. *da-dāu da-di-mā dad-ē*, Gr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Boeot. *ἀπο-δεδώανθι* mid. *δέ-δο-ται*, Lat. *de-d-i*. ✓ *pō* 'drink': Skr. *pa-pāu pa-pi-mā pa-p-ē*, Gr. *πί-πο-ται* (act. *πέ-πωκα*), Lat. *bibi* instead of \**pe-p-i* (following *bi-bō*). ✓ *stā* 'stand': Skr. *ta-sthāu ta-sthi-mā ta-sthē*, Gr. *ἑ-στα-μεν καθ-ίσταται*, Lat. *ste-t-i ste-ti-mus*. ✓ *skhaj-* *skhajd-* 'seindere' (§ 521 p. 85): Skr. *ci-chēd-a ci-chid-ē*, Lat. *sci-cid-i*, Goth. *skai-skāip skai-skāid-un*. ✓ (*s*)*tayd-* 'knock': Skr. *tu-tōd-a tu-tud-úr*, Lat. *tu-tud-i tu-tūd-i*, Goth. *stai-stāut stai-stāut-un*. Ital. Kelt. *kan-* 'sing': Lat. *ce-cin-i* for \**ce-can-i*, O.Ir. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ce-chan*. ✓ *day-* 'burn': Skr. *du-dāv-a* (gramm.), Gr. *δέ-δη(F)-ε* (*η* = pr. Gr. *α*) *δε-δāv-μένο-ς*. Skr. *śad-* (Gr. *καθ-* 'to distinguish oneself': Skr. *śā-śad-úr* mid. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *śā-śad-mahē*, Gr. *κε-καθ-μένο-ς* (Pindar), Hom. *κέκασσαι κεκάσμεθα*. ✓ *pāk-* *pāg-* 'make firm': Gr. Dor. *πέ-παγ-ε*, Lat. *pe-pig-i* for \**pe-pag-i*. ✓ *plāq-* *plāg-* 'strike': Gr. Dor. *πέ-πληγ-ε*, Goth. *fat-flōk*. Skr. *ja-hlād-ē* (gramm.) from *hlād-* 'to refresh, give life to', Gr. Dor. *κί-χλαδ-ε* 'swells, becomes luxuriant'.

Skr. *an-āśa* 'he desired', *an-aś-ma an-aś-úr an-aś-ē*, opt. *an-aś-yā-t*, O.Ir. *t-ān-aic* 'he came' 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *t-ān-ac* (-c = -nc, I § 212 p. 178, § 513 p. 375), cp. aor. Gr. *ἐν-εγχε-ῖν*, § 470 p. 15. Variant Skr. *anāś-a* Gr. *κατήνοχα κατενήνοχα* (cp. *ποδ-ηνεκ-ής* 'reaching to the feet'). On Skr. *aś-a* see § 851; on Gr. *ἐν-ήνοχ-ε ἐν-ήνεγχε-ται*, § 858.

§ 847. Perfect forms from Extended Roots.

Root + suffix \**-ā-*, \**-ē-*, \**-ō-* (§§ 578 ff. pp. 118 ff.). Skr. *ji-jyāu*, Gr. Ion. *βέ-βίη-ται* (*βέ-βίηκε*) from \**g(i)j-ā-*, ✓ *gei-* 'compel, subdue'. Skr. *ma-mnāu* (gramm.), Gr. Dor. *μέ-μνα-ται* from *mn-ā* ✓ *men-* 'think, mean'. Skr. *ja-glāu*, Gr. *βί-βλη-ται* (*βέ-βληκε*) from *gl-ē* ✓ *gel-* 'fall' (cp. § 587 p. 127). Skr. *va-vāu*,

Goth. *vaī-vō* from *u-ē* ✓ *au-* 'blow'. Skr. *ja-jādu*, Gr. *ē-γνω-σ-ται* with *σ* added later (*ē-γnows*), O.Ir. *ad-gēn* (§ 877) from *gn-ō* ✓ *gēn-* 'know'. On the Sanskrit conjugation of these perfects, see § 850.

Root + *s*-suffix (§§ 655 ff. pp. 189 ff.). *ten-s-* 'pull, draw': Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. mid. *ta-tas-rē* (Goth. *at-þans -þuns-un*). *tuej-s-* 'shake': Skr. *ti-tviṣ-ē*, Gr. *σέ-σις-ται*.

Root + *dh*-suffix (§§ 688 ff. pp. 218 ff.). *rē-dh-*: Skr. *ra-rddh-a ra-rādh-ūr* (pres. *radh-no-ti* 'finishes successfully, makes all right'), Goth. *ga-rairōþ -rairōdun* (pres. *ga-rēða* 'I consider, busy myself').

In the same way, the present *sk*-suffix is seen in Skr. *pa-prach-a pa-prach-ur* and Lat. *po-posc-i* for \**poporesci* from ✓ *prek-* 'ask'; beside these we have Umbr. *pepurkurent* 'rogaverint', Mid.Ir. mid. *im-chom-arc-air*, Goth. *frāh* (§ 870 p. 203). Probably perfect forms with *sk* are not so old as the parent language.

### § 848. (B) Unreduplicated 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. *vaēd-a*, (Gr. *oīd-e iō-mev* from ✓ *ueid-* 'know'.<sup>1</sup>) Skr. *tī-ē* (and *tī-tē*) Avest. *is-ē* 'has got something into one's power, has power over', Goth. *aih* 'has' pl. *aiḡ-un* (cp. § 888). Skr. *sarpa* 'he crept' (*upa-sarpa*) beside *sa-sarpa*, *viṣ-i-vās-* beside *vi-vēṣ-a vi-viṣ-ē* from *viṣ-* 'to enter', *ni-ṣidhur* beside *ni-ṣiṣedha* 'he warded off, forbade' *-ṣiṣidhur*. Gr. Lesb. Ion. *oīx-e* 'is like', *oīx-a-mev* beside *oīx-e* for \**fo-foax-s*, Hom. *duq-(f)axvā* beside *lāxw* 'I cry out' for \**fi-faxw* (§ 552 p. 107).

1) Skr. *vidēda* '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 — *vid-* 'know' and *vīd-* 'find' (pres. *vindā-ti vidd*).

(2) Next these I place a number of forms which perhaps had *e* for the root vowel in the parent language itself. Gr. Hom. *ἐχ-αται ἐχ-ατο* from (*F*) *ἐγγω* 'I shut up, shut off'.<sup>1)</sup> Gort. *κατα-φελμένος* 'collected'<sup>2)</sup> from \**Fελ-νω* Lesb. *ἀπ-έλλω* etc., see § 611 p. 150; parallel reduplicated stem Hom. *ἐέλλεθα*, Pind. plpf. *έέλει. ἐπεί-τευκται ἐν ἐπιτυχία ἐστί* (Ms. *ἔστωι*) Hesych. beside *ἐπι-τυχάων*; but redupl. *τέ-τευχ-ε*. Hom. *δέχ-αται* from *δέχομαι* 'I receive'; but redupl. *δε-δεχ-ται*. Compare further Curtius, Verb II<sup>2</sup> 163 ff.; G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> pp. 480 f. Skr. *yam-ur yam-átur* beside *ya-yām-a yēm-úr* from *yam-* 'cohibere'. *darś-i-vas-* beside *da-dárs-a da-dṛś-úr da-dṛś-i-vas-* from *darś-* 'to see'. *ḍk-i-vás-* beside *u-vōc-a āc-úr* from *uc-* (✓ *ευγ-*) 'to take pleasure in'. *skambh-ur skambh-áthur* beside *ca-skambh-a ca-skabh-ānā-s* from *skambh-* 'to support'. *śas-ur śas-irē* beside *śa-śas-a śa-śas-ur* (instead of \**śa-śas-ur*) from *śas-* (*kens-*) 'to prophesy, praise'. *takṣ-ur takṣ-atur* beside *ta-tākṣ-a ta-takṣ-úr* from *takṣ-* 'to fashion'. *sah-vás-* (Rig-V., Pada text) beside *sā-sāh-a sēh-i-ma sa-sah-ē* from *sah-* 'to subdue' (cp. *sah-vás-* 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 *śa-śas-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-ús-as* Rig-V. x 271, which must be derived from *jñā-* 'to know' and was modelled upon the present *jānā-ti* (§ 598 p. 141 f.), and in the perfects belonging to reduplicated present stems, such as *śīd-atur* (from *śīd-a-ti*), *vivak-vás-* (from *vī-vak-ti*), *didās-i-tha* (from *dī-dāsa-ti*), *nōnāv-a* (from *nō-nav-t-ti*), see § 850; compare *viś-i-vás-*, cited under (1), beside pres. *viś-ā-ti* and *dhi-ṣṣ dhirē* beside aor. *i-dhi-ta*, also Gr. *ἄγ-ναι* 'way, road' (sc. *ὁδός*) beside *ἦχα ἦχμαι* and pres. *ἄγω*.

1) Whether *δέχαιο* is augmented or reduplicated is doubtful.

2) Wrongly read *-φελμένος* by Baunack.

Remark 1. Skr. *sa-sāh-ē* (beside *sāh-*) may have been formed from the stem seen in *sāh-vās-*, just as *sa-sāh-ē* was from that of *sāh-vās-* (see below). Again, there is no need to ascribe the re-formation *śa-śās-ur* instead of *\*śa-śās-ur* to the influence of the singular alone (*śa-śās-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 *ī-sē-nai* (instead of *\*fē-fēl-nai*), cp. § 859.

(3) Forms with *ē-* in the root-syllable, from roots of the *e*-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. *ro mēd-ar* 'iudicavi', Goth. pl. *mēt-un* opt. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *mēt-ei-ma* from *✓med-* 'measure', cp. Gr. pres. *μετρεῖ-ε-ραι*. Goth. pl. *sēt-un*. Lith. partic. *sēd-ēs* from *✓sed-* 'sit' (cp. § 494 p. 54, § 859 on Gr. *ἡσ-ραι*, whose initial is perhaps to be explained by supposing that *\*sēd-* was represented in Greek), cp. Lith. pres. *sēd-mi*. Skr. *sāh-vās-* from *✓segh-* 'to subdue', cp. *sāk-śva sāk-a-ti sākha-s* (= *\*segh + w-*); *daś-vās- daś-i-vās-* from *✓dek-* 'honour, prize' (*daśas-yā-ti* Lat. *dec-us*), cp. *daś-ṭi* Gr. *δῆκ-ρύμερο-; δῆκ-αράνια* (§ 621 p. 158, § 639 p. 178); I regard *sa-sā-hē da-daś-i-ma* as new forms in place of *\*sah-ē \*daś-i-ma*.

Since Latin *sēd-* in *sēd-i sed-i-mus* can be regularly derived from *\*se-zd-* (cp. *sēdō* for *\*si-zd-ō* I § 594 p. 450), it is reasonable to assume that *lēg-i vēr-i* 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-i* can also be connected with Goth. *sēt-un* Lith. *sēd-ēs*, and *vēr-i* with Goth. *yēm-un*; and this theory has the advantage that it becomes unnecessary to suppose that all *ē*-perfect forms from roots of the *e*-series with initial consonant are due to the analogy of the single form *sēd-i*.<sup>1)</sup> 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 *ē*-perfect could be found in Umbrian or Samnitic. For Umbr.-Osc. *sēd-* is probably not derived from *sezd-*.

Furthermore, Idg. perfect forms of roots beginning with *e* and ending in a single consonant may also be brought under this *e*-type. Gr. *ἐδ-ηδ-ώς* instead of *\*ἡδ-ώς* (§ 858), Lat. *ēd-i-mus*, Goth. *fr-ēt -ēt-un*, Lith. *ēd-ēs* O.C.Sl. *ēd-ŭ jad-ŭ*, Skr. *ād-a ad-ur* from *✓ed-* 'eat'. Gr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *ἦσ-θα* (came to be used for the imperf., see § 858), Skr. *ās-a as-úr* from *✓es-* 'be'. Lith. *ėj-ės* fem. *ėj-us-i* from *✓ej-* 'go'. That *e* is due to a contraction of *e-e* cannot be made probable.

(4) Roots with initial *a*-vowel, and ending in a single consonant, seen to have made this perfect in all forms with *a* in the parent language: *\*ag-e* 'egit' from *✓ag-*: Skr. *āj-a* (gramm.), Gr. *ἦχ-ε ἦγ-μαι* (*η* for *a*), O.Icel. *ök* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ök-o -u*; *\*an-e* from *✓an-* 'breathe': Skr. *ān-a* Goth. *ön ön-un*; Goth. *ög* 'I fear' beside *agis* Gr. *ἄχος* (Lat. *eg-i co-ēpi* — Skr. *āp-a āp-úr* — are Italic re-formates as much as *cēpi*, see § 870). Similarly with *ō-* the perf. *\*ōd-e* from *✓od-* 'smell': Gr. *ōd-ωδ-ε* instead of *\*ōd-ε* (§ 858), Lith. *ūd-ēs*. *ag- od-* from *ag- od-* seem to be formed on the same principle as *ēd-* from *ed-*; and if there is no reduplication in *ēd-*, there was none in *ag-* or *od-*. 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-i-mus* (*skōb-un* : *sēt-un* = *ön-un* : *fr-ēt-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 *-yas-* never had any reduplication. When these *yas*-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. *γέ-γον-α γέ-γον-μεν*, can be argued on the strength of the root-vocalism in Gr. *αἰδώς* *ἡγενυσίν* beside *οἶδε* *ἡγενυε* etc. (II p. 439).<sup>1)</sup> Sanskrit shows *sāh-* and *dās-* as perfect stems only in *sāh-rds-* and *dās-rds-*. Again, it may be mentioned that in Balto-Slavonic, which only shows participles of the above type with the sole exception of indie. Slav.

1) The Conjunctive with similar root-vocalism (*αἰδ-ο-μεν* Skr. *ta-tdn-a-t*, § 843 p. 384), also did not belong originally to the proper perfect forms, being thematic.

*śēd-ē*, all these are unreduplicated; and they include the large group exemplified by Lith. *śēd-ēs* *śēd-ēs* O.C.Sl. *śēd-ā*. Lastly, it must be added that it is easy to explain the wide diffusion by analogy of stems like *śēd-* and *śkēp-* in roots with initial consonant, displacing the older reduplicated forms, by supposing that they were taken up in order to get rid of a number of awkward and unnatural sound-groups which had developed amongst the weak forms in (plural and dual indic., etc.).

### Aryan.

§ 849. We begin with a few additional examples (cp. §§ 846—848).

✓ *qer-* 'make': Skr. *ca-kār-a* *ca-kr-mā* *ca-kr-ur* mid. *ca-kr-ē* *ca-kr-ṣē* opt. (prec.) *ca-kr-iyā-s* part. *ca-kr-vās-* *ca-kr-ūṣ-*, Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. act. *ca-xr-ar*, O.Pers. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. opt. *ca-xr-iyā*.  
 ✓ *dher-* 'hold fast': Skr. *da-dhār-a* *da-dhār-a* *da-dhr-ē*, Avest. *da-dār-a* *da-dr-ē*.  
 ✓ *uen-* 'win': Skr. *vā-vān-a* *va-vān-mā* (cp. *han-mas* § 498 p. 58) *va-vān-ē* conj. *vā-vān-a-s* part. *va-vān-vās-*, Avest. Gath. *vaon-ar* opt. *vaon-yā-ḥ* part. *va-vān-vē* *vaon-uṣ-*.  
 ✓ *ei-* 'go': Skr. *iy-āy-a* *iy-ē-tha* *iy-ūr*.  
 ✓ *bhāj-* 'fear': Skr. *bi-bhāy-a* *bi-bhy-ur* part. *bi-bhī-vās-* *bi-bhy-ūṣ-*, Avest. part. *bi-wei-vē*.  
 ✓ *kley-* 'hear': Avest. *su-sru-ma* *su-sruyē* i. e. *su-sruv-ē* (Bartholomae, Handb. § 90 p. 40), Skr. *śu-śrāv-a* etc., see § 846 p. 388.  
 ✓ *tey-* 'be strong': Skr. *tā-tāv-a*, Avest. *tā-tāv-a* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. opt. (prec.) *tā-tu-yē*.  
 Ar. *sarē-* 'to let go': Skr. *sa-sarj-a* *sa-srj-ē* *sa-srj-māhe* part. mid. *sa-srj-āna-s*, Avest. part. mid. *haxher* 'z-āna-.  
 Skr. *vardh-* 'to grow': *va-vārdh-a* *vā-vydh-ūr* *vā-vydh-ē*.  
 Skr. *kṣip-* 'to throw': *ci-kṣēp-a* *ci-kṣip-ur*.  
 Skr. *vyadh-* 'to pierce': *vi-vyadh-a* *vi-vidh-ur* *vi-vyadh-ur* *vi-vidh-vās-*.  
 ✓ *leṇq-* 'shine': Skr. *ru-rōc-a* *ru-ruc-ūr* *ru-ruc-vās-*.  
 Avest. *rud-* 'to grow' (Skr. *rudh-*): 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *\*rū-raoḍ-a* part. *\*rū-rud-uṣ-*.  
 Skr. *yam-* 'cohibere': *ya-yām-a* *ya-yan-tha* *yēm-i-mā* *yēm-ūr* *yēm-ē*; *yēm-* for *\*iā-īm-*.  
 ✓ *iaḡ-* 'offer': Skr. *i-yāj-a* *yēj-ē* and *īj-ē*; *yēj-* for *\*iā-ij-*.  
 ✓ *ueq-* 'speak' (pr. Ar. weak stem *\*ua-uk-* *uā-uc-*):  
 Skr. *va-vāc-a* and *u-vāc-a* *u-vak-tha* *ūc-ūr* *ūc-ē*, Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *va-vac-a* Gath. *vaoc* 'mā mid. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *vaoc-ē* part. *vaoc-uṣ-*.

✓ *yegh-* 'vehere' (pr. Ar. weak stem \**ya-yēh-*): Skr. *va-rah-a* and *u-vāh-a āh-ūr āh-ē*, Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. mid. injunct. (used as plpf.) *vaōz-i-rem*. ✓ *teg-* 'run, fall headlong': Skr. *ta-tak-a* (gramm.), Avest. part. *ta-pk-uš-*: cp. O.Ir. *ro taich* 'fugit' pl. *ro tach-atu*r. ✓ *sed-* 'sit'. Skr. *sa-sād-a sa-sāt-tha sēd-i-ma sēd-ūr* (*sēd-* for \**sa-zd-*, I § 591 p. 447), Avest. opt. *ha-zd-yā-p*. ✓ *seq-* 'be with, follow': Skr. *sa-śc-i-ma sa-śc-ur*. ✓ *dhē-* 'place' *dō-* 'give': Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *da-đa* Gath. *da-da-pa* mid. *daidē*, Skr. *da-dhāu da-dāu* etc., see § 846 p. 390.

✓ *es-* 'be': Skr. *ās-a ās-ūr*, Avest. *ānh-a ānh-ar'*: cp. Gr. *α-ῥα*, § 848 p. 394.

§ 850. Perfect Forms derived from an Extended Root, or from a Present Stem with some characteristic attacht (Suffix or Determinative). Compare § 847.

From Roots + *-ā-*, *-ē-* or *-ō-*, only in Sanskrit. These Skr. perfects, of which *ji-jyāu ma-mnāu ja-glāu va-vāu ja-jñāu* 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-nti* §§ 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-jñ-ē* (beside *ja-jñāu*), *ya-y-ā ya-y-ur* (beside *ya-yāu ya-yā-tha*, *y-ā* 'to go'), *da-dr-ur* (*dr-ā* 'to run'), *ta-tr-ē* (*tr-ā* 'to protect'), so also *ja-jñ-i-vās-* instead of \**ja-jñā-vās-*, *ya-y-i-vās-* instead of \**ya-yā-vās-*, *pa-pr-vās-* instead of \**pa-prā-vās-* (beside *pa-prd pa-prāu pa-prd-tha*, *pr-ā* 'to fill'). *jojñivās-* and *paprvās-* 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 (*gn-ē gn-ō-*, *pl-ē-*) and the unextended (*gen-*, *pel-*);<sup>1</sup> compare Gr. *τλ-τλα-μιν* and

1) Parallel to *paprāu*: *papāra* we have *papyē* (pres. *pyā-ya-tē*) and *pīpāya* (pres. *pāy-a-tē*); so that it is naturally doubtful with which of the two perfects Ved. *pīpyē* is to be connected. The *i* in the reduplicator decides nothing, cp. *ji-jyāu*.

τι-τλ-η-ώς τέ-τλ-η-κα), πίμ-πλα-μεν and πίμ-πλ-η-μι (§ 594 p. 135. However, *yayivás-* at any rate is a new form, following some such analogy as *ta-sthi-rás-*.

Root + Nasal Infix or Nasal Suffixes (§§ 596 ff. pp. 136 ff.). Skr. *ta-stámbh-a ta-stabh-úr* (*stabh-* = \**stmbh-*) and *ta-stambh-ur* (§ 852) conj. *ta-stámbh-a-t* beside *stambh-a-tē* 'makes itself firm, supports itself' from √ *stebh-*, *sa-sañj-a* from √ *seg-* 'hang, affix', *da-dámbh-a* beside *da-dābh-a* from *dabh-* 'to hurt, deceive', see § 629 p. 167. *ju-ghāṛṇ-a* beside *ghūr-ṇa-ti* 'wavers'. *jī-jinv-a* beside *jī-nva-ti* 'sets in motion, helps on', *pi-pinv-a* beside *pi-nva-ti* 'swells, makes fat'.

Root + *s*-suffix. Skr. *ta-ta-s-rē ti-twi-ṣ-ē* see § 847 p. 391. Ar. *dyi-ṣ-* 'to hate' (§ 656 p. 190): Skr. *di-dvṣ-a di-dviṣ-ē* (gramm.), Avest. *dī-dvaṣ-a di-dviṣ-ma*. Skr. *ba-bhāṣ-a* (gramm.) beside *bhāṣati* 'barks' for Idg. \**bhel-se-ti* (the *a* betrays this as a later re-formate): cp. O.H.G. *bal(l) ballun* (§ 657 p. 191). *da-dakṣ-ē* beside *dák-ṣa-tē* 'is able, is of value, is brave' (§ 659 p. 194). *mi-mikṣ-ē* from √ *meṣk-* 'mix' (§ 669 p. 200).

With *sk*-suffix. Skr. *pa-prach-a* see p. 391. *mu-mārch-a* beside *mārch-a-ti* 'curdles, congeals'. *ju-hārch-a* (gramm.) beside *hārch-a-ti* 'slips, falls'. Compare too the thematic *an-archa-t* beside *ṛ-chá-ti ar-cha-ti* 'hits, attains', like *an-arṣ-a-t* § 854.

With *t*-suffix (§§ 679 ff. pp. 211 ff.). Skr. *ci-t-* 'to notice, recognise' (§ 680 p. 212): Skr. *ci-kēt-a ci-kiṭ-ur ci-kiṭ-ē ci-kiṭ-rás-*, Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Gath. *ci-koit-er-ṣ* (cp. § 852) part. *ci-kiṭ-uō*. Skr. *yu-t-* 'to join on to, strive' (§ 681 p. 213), weak stem \**ja-īt-*: Skr. *yēt-ē*, Avest. *ya-yat-a yaēp-ma* (Gath. *yōp-ma*) part. *yaēp-uš-*. Skr. *na-nart-a na-nṛt-ur* beside *nṛt-t-ya-ti* 'dances'. *pu-sphōṭ-a* beside *sphuṭa-ti* 'bursts, splits' (beside *phāl-a-ti*, § 680 p. 211). *ci-cēṣṭ-a* beside *cēṣṭ-a-ti* 'is in motion'.

With *dh*-suffix. Skr. *ra-rādh-a* see p. 391. *yu-yōdh-a* beside *yō-dha-ti* 'gets in motion' (§ 689 p. 219).

Skr. *jī-jī-va jī-jīv-ē* beside *jī-va-ti* 'lives' (§ 487 p. 41).



From a reduplicated Present is often formed a Perfect having no further reduplication besides what the present had. *sīd-atur* (beside *sa-sdd-u sēd-ūr*) from *sīd-a-ti* Idg. \**si-zd-e-ti* from *✓ sed-* 'sit', *nind-i-ma* from *nī-nīl-a-ti* 'abuses, reviles', see § 550 p. 106. *vivak-vās-* from *vī-vak-ti* 'speaks'. *didās-i-tha* from *dī-dāsa-ti* desid. of *dā-dā-ti* 'gives'. *nōnav-a nōnuv-ur* from *nō-nav-i-ti nō-nu-mas* intens. of *nāu-ti* 'praises', *dauidhāv-a* beside part. *dāvi-dhv-at-* intens. of *dhū-nō-ti* 'shakes'.<sup>1)</sup> We may also if we choose place here *jāgār-a* (cp. Gr. *ἐγγ-γερ-μαι*) beside *jā-gar-ti* 'wakes, watches', since the present may be regarded as an intensive (§ 560 p. 109). *ā* instead of *a* 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-jāgār-a* was made from *jāgar-ti*. That a perfect *bi-bhikṣ-ē* 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-j-a-*, § 562 p. 110) a perfect *sa-sajj-ur* Mahabh. (beside *sa-saj-ur sēj-ur* and *sa-saṅj-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-pīd-ē* beside *pīd-aya-ti* 'presses' for \**pi-zd-* (lit. 'to sit upon'), see § 795 p. 331; cp. Gr. *πνίσεσθαι* from *πν-έζω*. *nī-niyōj-a* (Ait. Brāhm.) from *nī-yuj-* 'to fasten on'. So Gr. *ἡμυέσθαι* from *ἡμυα-(f)εσ-* 'to clothe, draw on'. The same principle is exemplified in the Augment, see § 477 p. 25.

1) We should expect *dauidhāv-a* by § 467 p. 13. The *i* seems to me to be more simply explained by supposing that the perfect is a comparatively late analogical form from *dāvidhv-* 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 *ā* = Idg. *ē* is also found (cp. § 850, p. 398).

This was changed in Aryan where a root had *i*- or *u*-vocalism.

(1) Of Roots with internal or final *i*- or *u*-vowel only three retained the *a* in the reduplicator: Skr. *ba-bhāu-a* Avest. *ba-vāc-a*, Skr. *sa-sāv-a* (beside *su-śāv-a*), part. mid. *śa-śay-and-s* (beside indic. *śi-śy-ē*). In all others, *i* and *u* had taken the place of *a* in proethnic Aryan; as Skr. *dī-dvīṣ-a* *dī-dviṣ-ē* Avest. *dī-dvaēṣ-a* *dī-dviṣ-ma*, Skr. *vi-vyādh-a* *vi-vidh-ur*, Skr. *ru-rōc-a* *ru-ruc-ūr* Avest. *\*rā-raod-a* *\*rā-rud-uš*, Skr. *su-śodhp-a* *su-śup-ūr*. This tendency affected even roots with initial diphthong: hence Skr. *iy-āy-a* *īy-ūr* i. e. *\*i-iy-ur* instead of pr. Ar. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *\*ai-a* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *\*ai-r* (cp. Lith. part. fem. *ėj-us-i*) beside *ē-ti* 'goes'; Skr. *ūc-ur* i. e. *\*u-uc-ur* beside *u-tā-s* 'woven' *ō-tu-m*; Skr. *u-vōc-a* *ūc-ūr* beside *uc-ya-ti* 'takes pleasure in' *ōkas* 'pleasure, satisfaction' (cp. the archaic adjectival participle without reduplication *ōk-i-vāc* § 848 p. 392).

One important factor in this development we may conjecture to have been the influence of reduplicated presents with *i* and *u* in the reduplicator. If the stems of Skr. *dī-dhay-a* *dī-dhi-ma*, *dī-dāy-a* *dī-dī-vās*, *pī-pē-tha* *pī-pī-vās*, *bī-bhāy-a* are really and truly the same which are contained in the present forms *dī-dhy-ē* *ā-dī-dhē-t*, *dī-dy-ati* *dī-dī-hi* *ā-dī-dē-t*, *pī-pī-hi* *pī-pāy-a-t*, *bī-bhay-a-t* (§ 537 pp. 97 f.) — compare *jā-gār-a* : *jā-gar-ti*, *nō-nāc-a* : *nō-nac-ti* § 850 p. 398. — then we shall have to connect e. g. *bi-bhāy-a* *bi-bhy-ur*, *iy-āy-a* *īy-ūr*, *ju-hāv-a* *ju-huv-ur* *ju-hv-ē* directly with *bi-bhē-ti* *bī-bhy-ati*, *iy-ē-ti* (§ 537 p. 97), *ju-hē-ti* *jū-ho-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 *i-* and *y-*, of the form of Ar. *iat-* 'join on, strive' and *yak- yac-* 'speak', still had *ia-* and *ya-* for reduplication right through the Perfect in protoethnic Aryan: Skr. *yēt-ē* Avest. *ya-yut-a yaṣṣ-ma*, Skr. *ya-yām-a yēm-ūr*, Skr. *yēj-ē*, Skr. *va-vāc-a* Avest. *va-vac-a vaox-mā*, Skr. *va-vah-a* Avest. *vaox-i-rem*, Skr. *va-vām-a*; with the weak stems compare pres. Skr. *yēṣa-ti* = *\*ia-iṣ-a-ti* and aor. *á-vōca-t* Avest. *vooca-p* = *\*ya-uc-a* § 562 p. 110. These forms stood on the same level as those like Skr. *va-vart-a va-vṛt-ur vi-vēś-a vi-viś-ūr* and with (Ir. *i-ól-ti* (§ 848 p. 392) *i-ogy-* (§ 846 p. 389) *i-oux-t* (§ 848 p. 392) and (Ioth. *vai-vald*. Next, in Sanskrit, those verbs which had amongst their non-perfect forms some in which the root, being of the weak grade, began with *i-* or *u-*, substituted *i-* and *u-* for *ya-* and *va-* as the reduplicator; and thus we get *i-yāj-a iṣ-ūr* (i. e. *\*i-ij-ur*) beside *ij-yá-te iṣ-tá-s* etc., *u-vāc-u āc-ūr* (i. e. *\*u-uc-ur*) beside *uc-yá-tē uk-tá-s* etc., on the analogy of *iy-āy-a iy-ūr* beside *iy-ē i-tás* etc., *vi-vyādh-a vi-vidh-ur* beside *vidh-ya-ti viddha-s* etc., *su-śvāp-a su-śup-ūr* beside *sup-ya-tē sup-tá-s* etc.<sup>1)</sup> 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 *im-* 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-cul-t* from *scindō* as contrasted with *ce-cid-t* from *cadō*, § 868.

Remark. The reason why we have in Sanskrit *eav-ūr* and not *\*eōr-ūr*, and *earn-ūṣ-* not *\*eōn-ūṣ-* (cp. Avest. *vaonuš-*), as might have been expected from *maghōn-*, the weak form of the stem *magharan-* 'giver, offerer', was the analogical influence of forms whose ending began with a consonant, such as *ea-ṛy-mā* and *ea-ṛan-mā va-ṛan-vds-*, 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-* or *ii-* *ya-* in *i-yāj-a u-vāc-a* is incorrect. Observe further, that the evidence offered by *i-yāj-a iṣ-ē* and the like for the view that the *l*/*y* began in Idg. with *i-* and not with the spirant *j* is only indirect (I § 598 p. 453).

a syllable by itself (cp. *ta-tan-ē* l. e. *\*tān-aj* beside *ta-tan-ē*, *ti-stir-ē* l. e. *\*stīr-aj*). Thus *va-van-* in this way depended upon *va-van-*; and, by a contrary application of the principle, *yēm-i-mā* *yēm-i-eas-* instead of *\*ya-yan-ma* *\*ya-yan-eas-* (cp. *ja-gan-ma* *ja-gan-vās-* from *gam-* 'to go') depended upon *yēm-ur* *yēm-uš-* (cp. *jagm-i-eas-* instead of *jayan-eas-* following *jagm-ūš-*).

Whilst Roots beginning with an *a*-vowel had in Aryan *ā-* through all forms of the Perfect, if they ended in a single consonant, as Skr. *ās-a* Avest. *āsh-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-āś-a* with the weak stem *an-aś-* (*-aś-* = *-āś-*) in *anāś-ūr* *anāś-yā-t* (pres. *aś-nō-ti* 'attains'): O.Ir. *t-an-aic*, see § 846 p. 390; parallel Skr. *anāś-a* Avest. Gath. plpf. *ēnāxšta* for *\*anāś-ta*, which are similar to Gr. *καρ-ήνεα* (see *loc. cit.*), and Skr. *aś-a* *āś-atur*, which was formed for *aś-nō-ti* aor. *aś-yā-t* *aś-ē-ma* on the analogy of *ās-a* *ād-a*. Also *an-añj-a* *an-aj-ē* opt. Ved. *an-aj-yā-t* from *añj-* 'to anoint, smear' seems to have formed part of the parent stock.

Hence afterwards arose *an-arc-a* *an-rc-ūr* from *arc-* 'to shine, praise', *an-rdh-ūr* from *ardh-* 'to thrive', *an-ryh-ūr* from *arh-* 'to earn'.

#### § 852. Form of the Root Syllable.

The pr. Aryan distinction between Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ja-jān-a* with *ā*, and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ja-jān-a* with *a* (§ 843 p. 384), was lost. Thus we have in later Sanskrit the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. form used for the 1<sup>st</sup> as well as 3<sup>rd</sup> (still, *jajāna* was not dropt altogether), and in Avestic the 1<sup>st</sup> singular form was used for both (e. g. *va-vac-a* beside the regular *hi-šāy-a*).<sup>1)</sup>

In imitation of such forms as *sa-sdd-a* : *sēd-ūr* (for *\*sa-zd-ur*) and *ya-yām-a* : *yēm-ūr* (for *\*ja-īm-ur*), arose the Skr. forms *sēh-ur* (*sah-* 'to subdue'), *sēj-ur* (*saj-* 'to hang, fasten'), *pēc-ūr* (*pac-* 'to cook'), *sēc-ē* (*sac-* 'to be with, accompany', but also *sa-śc-ē*), *pēt-ūr* (*pat-* 'to fly, fall', but also

1) The Avestic change was natural enough because *tatōka* (Skr. *tatdka*) had got in amongst roots with single final consonant.

*pa-pt-úr*), *nēm-ur* (*nam-* 'to bow, bend'), *tēn-ē* (*tan-* 'to stretch', but also *ta-ta-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 *qēm-* (§ 893). *mēthur* beside *ma-mānth-a* (*manth-* 'to shake, knead'), and *bēdh-úr* beside *ba-bāndh-a* (*bandh-* 'to bind'), arose because the weak roots *math-* and *badh-* in *mátha-ti badh-nā-ti* etc. (*-a* = *-u*) were conceived as being parallel to roots like *sad-* or *yaj-*; which also explains *mamāth-a* beside *mamanth-a*, *mathiṣya-ti* beside *manthiṣya-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 *bhaj-* '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. *tastambhur* (but also *tastabhúr*) following *tastāmbha*, cp. § 850 p. 397. *babandhur* following *babāndha*. *yuyōpimá* following *yuyōpa* from *yup-* 'to obstruct'. *vivēśur* (but also *viviśē*) following *vivēśa* from *viś-* 'to enter'. *bibhēdur* (but *bibhidur* also) following *bibhēda* from *bhid-* 'to split'. *varahatur* (but *āhatur*) following *varāda* from *vah-* 'vehere'. *nanāmirē* (but *nēm-ur*) following *nanāma*. *śaśasur* following *śaśasa* (cp. aor. *ā-śiṣ-a-t*) from *śas-* 'to order': cp. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *śas-ati* beside opt. *śiṣ-ya-t*. *dadāvās-* (but *dadvās-dadvās-*) following *dadāu* from *da-* 'to give'. Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *cikōiter's* (but *cikīpced*) following \**cikōita* from *cit-* 'to observe' (§ 850 p. 397). 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *hahana* following 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. \**hahana* from *han-* 'to give, earn'. But we may see, from what has been said in § 848 pp. 392 f. on *sa-sah-ē śa-śas-ur* and *sa-sah-ē da-dāś-i-ma*, that it is possible to hold that the germ of these consists of unreduplicated foris with a strong root (such as Skr. \**stambh-ur*) which received reduplication in Aryan.

In Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ta-sthāu da-dhāu pa-prāu* etc., the origin of *-au* is obscure. Now and then we meet with variants

3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *pa-prd* and Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *da-da*.<sup>1)</sup> Some regard *-u* as a particle affixed to the perfect with final *-ā*, as *pa-prd + u = pa-prāu*; and others compare *ta-sihāu* with *sthāv-ira-sthāv-arā-sthā-rā-*, or *pa-prāu* with Lat. *plēr-i*, *ja-jāu* with Lat. *nōv-i*. All these are thoroughly uncertain conjectures.

§ 853. As regards the *-i-* which precedes the personal ending in *-i-tha -i-ma -i-va -i-ṣē -i-mahē -i-vaḥē*, 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 unreduplicated *iṣ-ē* (§ 848 p. 391): *iṣ-i-ṣē* (beside *iṣ-ṣē*) *iṣ-i-dhōē* like *ja-jā-i-ṣē ja-jā-i-dhōē*. After what was said in § 574 p. 115, it is not strange that beside *iṣ-ṣē* we find *iṣ-i-tē*. Compare however the pres. *ṣy-ṇo-i-ṣē* beside *ṣy-ṇo-i-rē* (like *iṣ-i-rē ja-jā-i-rē*).

§ 854. The so-called Pluperfect, and Thematic Forms of the Perfect Stem (cp. § 555 p. 108, § 845 p. 387 f.).

Un-Thematic Pluperfect. Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ā-ja-gan* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ā-ja-gan-ta* (with strong stem like *gan-tā* beside *ga-tā*, § 498 p. 58) 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. mid. *ā-ja-gm-iran* beside *ja-gām-a*. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ca-kar-am* beside *ca-kār-a*. Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. mid. *saos-irem* beside Skr. *va-rāh-a* (§ 849 p. 396). Gath. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. mid. *vōiz-dām* (with strong stem instead of weak) beside *vōistā =* Skr. *vēttha*. Compare Gr. *ἰ-νί-νιθ-μεν* beside *νί-ναιθ-ε*, § 865. We find in Sanskrit also the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. with *-t*, an *ā-ja-grabh-t* beside 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ā-ja-grabh-am*, see § 577 p. 118.

Thematic Pluperfect. Skr. *ā-ca-kr-a-t* beside *ca-kār-a*. *ā-da-dṛh-a-nta* beside *da-darh-a* (gramm.) from *darh-* 'to make firm'. *an-arṣ-a-t* from *arṣ-* 'to stream'; an analogous form is *an-archa-t* (beside perf. *ar-a ar-ur*) from pres. *ṛ-chā-ti ar-cha-ti* 'hits, attains, seizes' (cp. § 850 p. 397). Avest. *in-ym-a-p* beside Skr. *ja-gām-a*. *ta-taš-a-p* beside 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ta-taš-a =*

1) On the assumed Avest. *dōdō =* Skr. *dadhāu*, see Bartholomae, *Bezz. Beitr.* ix 301.

Skr. *ta-tákš-a* from *takš-* 'to shape, form'. Compare Gr. *ἐ-μέ-μην-ο-ν* § 865.

The Thematic Imperative, as Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *mu-mōc-a-tam* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *mu-mōc-a-ta* (*muc-* 'to loose') 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. *vā-vydh-ā-sva* (*vardh-* 'to grow'), stood beside the Unthematic *mu-muk-tam mu-mug-dhi*, as in Greek e. g. *κτ-κράγ-ε-τε κτ-χῆν-ε-τε* beside *κί-κράχ-θι*; and they were related to the Thematic Conjunctive Skr. *mu-mōc-a-t(i)* Gr. *ἰδ-ο-μεν* as, in the s-aorist, Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. imper. *nē-ṣ-a* to the conj. *nē-ṣ-a-ti*, Gr. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. imper. *ἄξ-ε-τε* to conj. (fut.) *ἄξ-ε-τε* (§ 833 p. 370).

The forms Skr. *īṣ-a-tē* Avest. *is-a-itē* beside *īṣ-ē is-ē* '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 *hán-ti jainti* (§ 498 p. 58). Compare § 888 on Goth. *áihan áihands*.

### Armenian.

§ 855. The old Perfect inflexion seems to be wholly lost. *gitem* 'I know' may have been transformed from *\*mojd-a* in the same way as Lesb. *οἶδμι* from *οἶδα*; but it may also be regarded as a present of Class II 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.

*σπαρ-ται* from *σπείρω* 'I sow'. *ἐ-ολ-ε ἐ-ελ-ται* from *εἶλω* 'I press' ✓ *Feλ-* (§ 848 p. 392). *ἐ-στολ-ε* (gramm.) *ἐ-σταλ-ται* from *στέλλω* 'I place, ordain'. *δὲ-δρομ-ε* beside *ἐ-δραμ-ο-ν* 'I ran'. Hom. *δεῖδω* i. e. *\*δέιδω* 'I fear' for *\*δε-δφοκ-α*, *δεῖδω* i. e. *\*δέ-δφι-α*, *δεῖδιμεν* i. e. *\*δέ-δφι-μεν*, *δεῖδιότ-εσ* i. e. *\*δέ-δφι-οτ-εσ* (I § 166 p. 147), Att. *δέ-δν-μεν δέ-δν-θι δε-δν-ώς δι-δι-έται*.

κρί-ναι from κρίνω 'I separate, choose, decide' (§ 614 p. 150). πέ-πορδ-ε from πέροδομαι 'pedo'. πέ-γρω-ται from φράζω 'I give to understand, show', √ gherd-: Lith. part. *isz-gird-ęs* from *isz-girstù* 'I perceive' (§ 707 p. 236, § 686 pp. 216 f.). τέ-τροφ-ε τέ-τραφ-ε τέ-τραπ-ται from τρέπω 'I turn'. ἔ-ολπ-ε from ἔλπομαι 'I hope', *Feilp-*. πέ-πονθ-ε παπαθ-ώς beside fut. πείσομαι for \*πενθ+σ-, pres. πάσχω 'I suffer' (§ 673 p. 205). ἔ-οικ-ε 'is like' ἔ-οικ-τον ἤ-οικ-το ἔ-οιγ-μεν ἐ-οίκ-α-μεν εἰκ-ώς ἐ-οικ-ώς, √ *Feik-*. πέ-ποιθ-ε ἐ-πέ-πιθ-μεν πε-ποίη-α-μεν πέ-πεισται from πείθω 'I persuade'. τε-τεύχ-αται τέ-τυκ-ται τε-τεύχ-αται from τεύχω 'I prepare'. κέ-χοδ-ε from χέζω 'caco'. τέ-τοκ-ε beside ἔ-τεκ-ον 'I begat, bore'. ἔ-ρρωγ-ε ἐ-ρρηγ-εῖα from ῥήγ-νυ-μι 'I break', *Feηγ-*. λί-ληκ-ε λε-ληκ-αίς (-η- for -α-) λε-λακ-εῖα beside ἔ-λακ-ον 'I spoke'. με-μήκ-αίς (-η- for -α-) με-μακ-εῖα beside μακών 'bleating, crying'. λέ-λαμπ-ε from λάμπω 'I shine'.

δέ-δε-ται from δέ-δη-μι 'I bind'. The root-vowel *i*, like that of τί-θε-ται εἴ-ται (for \*ἔ-ε-ται) and that of δέ-δο-ται, is instead of *a* = Idg. *e*. Compare § 493 p. 53 on ἔ-θε-μεν ἔ-δο-μεν, and § 542 p. 102 on τί-θε-μεν ἴ-ε-μεν δι-δέν-των δι-δο-μεν.

Forms with so-called Attic Reduplication. Hom. εἰλήλουθα εἰλήλουθμεν Att. ἐλήλυθα ἐλήλυθαμεν beside ἐλεύσομαι 'I will come' aor. ἤλυθον, ἔλευνθ-. Ion. ἄρ-ηρ-ε ἄρηρως ἄρ-αρ-εῖα beside ἤρ-αρ-ον 'I joined'.

§ 857. 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 δρα-α- 'to do'. κέ-κρα-ται from κρα-α- 'to mix'. τε-τλη-ώς from τλ-α- 'to bear'. κε-κμη-ώς from κμ-α- 'to weary'. τέ-τμη-ται from τμ-α- 'to cut'.\* τί-τρη-ται from τρ-η- 'to wear away, pierce'. κέ-κλη-ται from κλ-η- 'to call'. κέ-χρη-ται from χρ-η- 'to lend, borrow'. τε-τιγ-ώς τε-τήγ-ται from τη- 'to be still, overawed' Idg. *gij-ē*, see § 590 p. 132. κε-χαρη-ώς κε-χάρη-ται from χαίρω 'I rejoice'. κε-καφη-ώς 'breathing hard'. δι-δέη-ται from δέω Hom. Aeol. δέν-ω 'I need'. νε-νέμη-ται



from νέμω 'I distribute'. βι-βούλη-ται from βούλομαι 'I wish' for \*βόλο-μαι. τε-τύπη-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-κοτη-ώς, Boeot. gen. pl. *φε-φεκονομιόντων* (Att. *φοκομηκότων*, cp. § 866), τε-τίμη-ται (-η = -α-), πε-φίλη-ται, με-μίση-ται, κε-κόνι-ται, δε-δάκρυ-ται. Compare § 756. 5 p. 276, § 773 pp. 290 f., § 813 p. 351, § 822. 6 p. 360.

(3) δε-δίδαχ-ε δε-δίδασ-ται δε-δίδαγ-μαι beside δι-δάσκει 'I teach' (§ 678 p. 210), cp. aor. ἐ-δίδαξα.

(4) πί-φην-ε (Dor. πί-φην-ε) πί-φην-ται from φαίνω 'I make appear, show' for \*φα-νι-ω. κί-χην-ε (Dor. κέ-χην-ε) from χαίνω 'I gape' for \*χα-νι-ω. ἐ-ξαν-ται ἐξαμμαι from ξαίνω 'I scratch, comb'. On the forms πέφασμαι ἐξασμαι (= ἔξαμμαι), see § 862. προ-βέβουλε beside βούλομαι (see under 1). Compare § 822. 2 p. 359.

(5) Nasal Infix. κί-κλαγγ-ε, also κέ-κληγ-ε, beside κλαγγάνω and κλαζω (for \*κλαγγ-ω) 'I make a sound, cry out'. The verb χανδάνω 'I have room for' (√ *ghed-*, § 631 p. 168) perhaps had both κέ-χανδ-ε and κέ-χονδ-ε (like λέλογχε from λαγγάνω) for its perfect; see Mekler, Beitr. zur Bildung des griech. Verbums, 60 f.; Wackernagel, Berl. Phil. Wochenschr. 1891, col. 1475 f. Aeol. part. πε-φύγγων (Att. πε-φενγ-ώς) from φυνγάνω 'I flee'. ἐ-σφιγκ-ται 1<sup>st</sup> sing. ἔσφικμαι (-γμ- for -ωγμ-, I § 492 p. 363) from σφίγγω 'I tie'. Compare § 822. 3 p. 359.

(6) ἔ-σπα-σ-ται, κέ-κλα-σ-ται, κε-κέρασ-ται, ἐ-σκέδασ-ται; ἔ-σβ-εσ-ται, κε-κόρισ-ται; ἐ-ξυ-σ-ται, εἴρουσ-ται. See § 661 p. 196 § 842 pp. 380 f.

(7) Syrac. πέποσχε instead of πίπονθε from πάσχω (§ 673 p. 205). Compare Skt. *papracha* Lat. *porosci* from √ *prek-*.

(8) κατα-πέπυθα καταρρόγηκα Hesych., beside πύθω 'I make to rot'. βί-βριθ-ε from βριθω 'I weigh down'. Compare § 694 p. 223. πέφλοιδ-ε beside ἐ-φλιδ-εν δέρρειν. δια-κεχλοιδώς and δια-κεχλιδώς beside χλίω 'I am weakly'. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. ἐ-ρράδ-αται from ραίνω 'I sprinkle' for \*σρ-ανω (§ 621 p. 159). Compare § 695 p. 224.

(9) Hom. *παφνύζετε* from \**φύζω* for \**φυνύζω* (§ 707 p. 236).

(10) Perfects of later Denominatives whose verbal stem ended in a Consonant. *κηρύσσει* *κηρύσσεται* *κηρύσσομαι* from *κηρύσσω* 'I announce, proclaim' for \**κηρύσχω*. *πεφύλακε* *πεφύλακεται* *πεφύλακμαι* from *φυλάσσω* 'I watch' for \**φυλάκχω*. *ἤλπισται* from *ἐλπίζω* 'I hope' for \**ἑλπισθ-χω*. *λέλυσται* from *λῆγναι* 'I get booty' for \**λαβιδ-χομαι*. *τετέλεσται* from *τελέω* 'I finish' for \**τελεσ-χω*. *ἡγγέλται* from *ἀγγέλλω* 'I announce'. *λελόβηται* from *λοιβαίνωμαι* 'I treat shamefully, insult, torture'. Compare § 756. 3 p. 275, § 757 p. 276 f., § 768 p. 282 f., § 822. 4 p. 359 f.

§ 858. The Reduplication with *ε* 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 *πιφύλακται* *διδυστήχης*, *τιθαλασσοκράτης*, Boeot. *φετεκορμεύοντων*.

Remark. On the analogy of compounds like *ἐμ-πεποιήκει* were made others such as *ἐν-δεδήμκει* *ἀπο-δεδήμκει* instead of \**ἐνδεήμκει* \**ἀποδεήμκει* from *ἐν-δεήμο-ς* *ἀπό-δεήμο-ς*. The group was further enlarged by *διδο-πεποιήκει* *εἰδο-πεποιήκει* *ἰππο-τετρώμκει* 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. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *ἦσ-θα* from √*es-* 'to be' (cp. Skr. *ds-i-tha*), which form came afterwards to be used as imperfect because *ἦα ἦμεν ἦστε ἦσσαν* belonged to both; *ἤριξε* from *ἐρίζω* 'I strive'. *ἤχ-ε* *ἤγ-μαι* (*η* = *a*) from *ἄγω* 'I lead': Skr. *āj-a* O.Icel. *ðk-* (here comes *án-og-* from *án-áγω* according to Danielsson\*, Nord. tidskr. f. filol., ny række, VII 138 ff.); *ἤσκη-ται* from *ἀσκέω* 'I practice': *ἤρχ-ε* *ἤρχ-μαι* from *ἄρχω* 'I begin'; *ἤμφιεσ-ται* from *ἀμφι-έσ-σαι* 'to draw on, clothe'. *ὠγκω-ται* from *ὠγείω* '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-a* (§ 851 p. 401). This flourished considerably at the expense of the last named (1). *ἰδ-ηδώς*: Skr. *ād-a*; *ῥο-ωρ-ε*: Skr. *dr-a*; *ῥδ-ωδ-ε*: Lith. *ū'd-ēs*. Att. *ὀμ-ώμο-ται* (and *ὀμ-ώμο-σ-ται*) from *ὀμ-νθ-μι* 'I swear'. Hesiod has *ἔρ-ήρωται* from *ἐρῶϊω* 'I strive'; but *ἤραιε* above. Perhaps Hom. *ἐρσθα* 'eras' and *ἔην ἤην*, as contrasted with *ἦσθε ἦεν ἦν* (§ 502 p. 65 f.), was based upon a form *\*ἔσ-ησ-*; cp. § 583 p. 124, and the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 184, Bartholomae, Stud. z. idg. Spr. II 118 f. Ion. *ἀν-αρ-αίρη-ται* and *ἀν-αιρ-έρη-ται* from *ἀν-αιρίω* 'I raise up on high'; but *ἀν-ῆρη-ται*. Hom. *ὀρ-ωρέχ-αται* from *ὀρέγω* 'I stretch out', but *ὠρεγ-μαι*, from *√reg-* (O.fr. perf. *re-raig* 'porrexit'). On the analogy of *ἰλ-ήλυθ-ε*: *ἔλυθεν*, the form *ἐν-εγκ-εῖν* 'to bring', which already had the Attic reduplication (cp. Skr. *ān-āś-a*), formed a perfect *ἐν-ήνεγκ-ται*, which next called into being the act. *ἐν-ήνοχε* beside *κατ-ήνοχε* (§ 846 p. 390); *ἐν-* in *ἐν-ήνεγκ-ται* and *ἐν-ήνοχε* must then be the preposition *ἐν*, which I see in the aorist *ἐν-εικα* (§ 504 p. 68); if so, *ἐν-ήνεγκ-ται* must be compared directly with Skr. *ān-āś-a*. Ion. *ὀρ-ώρηκ-ε* (Herodas) beside *ἰόρακε* *ἰώρακε* from *ὀράω* 'I see' for *\*Forā-*, late Attic *ἰλ-ηλυ-μένο-ς* beside *ἔλιε-ται* from *ἑλίσσω* 'I wind' for *\*Felik-*.

§ 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* *ἐφθορ-ώς*, *πεπόνθ-α-μεν*, *τετρώφ-α-μεν*, *ἔοιγ-μεν* *ἑοίκ-α-μεν*, *πεποίθ-α-μεν* conj. Hom. *πεποίθ-ο-μεν* Att. *πεποίθ-ω-μεν*, *εἰλήλουθ-μεν* *εἰληλουθ-ώς*, *ἐρρώγ-α-μεν*, *ἄφ-έιν-ται*.

Next, the weak form sometimes became the type; as *δέδι-α*, *τέτραφ-α*, *ἑλήλυθ-α*.

Thirdly, *ε* is often found where it originally was not, as

πέφηνε-ε πεφένυ-α-μεν, πέ-πλεχ-ε, λέ-λογ-ε; particularly often in the Middle, as πέπλεκ-ται πέπεισ-ται. The original place of this ablaut-grade was in the perfect Conjunctive, sometimes in the Participle active (II § 136 p. 438 f.), and also, according to the hypothesis of De Saussure and Osthoff, the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Indic. active (§ 843 Rem. p. 384). Again, ἔ-λ-ται and like forms may be based upon the unreduplicated (κατα-)φελμένο-ς; 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 φεύγω may have influenced πέφηνε, or πείθομαι πέπεισται.

Sometimes the change which took place was that weak perfect forms with α from roots of the ε-series caused the production of other forms on the analogy of α-roots. Thus μέμηλε (Dor. μέμαλε) took the place of \*μέμολε (from μέλει 'it is a care to'), because forms with με-μαλ- (cp. Skr. *ti-stir-* from *√ster-* 'sternere') were associated with such others as τι-θαλ-νῖα beside τέθηλε (Dor. τέθαλε). Similar considerations account for μέμνη (√μεν- 'think') and δέδηχώς δέδηγμαι (√δεῖκ- 'bite') by analogy with με-μαν- = \*με-μην- and δε-δακ- = \*δε-δακ- (cp. Skr. *dadaś-vás-* beside *dadaś-a*). But undoubtedly with both these perfects other non-perfect forms, such as μαίνομαι ἐμάνην and δάκνω ἔδακον, helped to change them over to the new vowel-series.

The ē-grade seen in O.Ir. *māl-ar* Goth. *sēt-um* Lith. *sēd-ēs* etc. (§ 848. 3 p. 393), has been conjectured for Gr. ἥσται 'sits', whose aspirate is odd as contrasted with Skr. *ds-tž*. It is quite possible that, in Greek, middle forms of \*sēd- were confused with the verb \*ēs-. Compare *prea*. Lith. *sēd-mi* § 494 p. 54.

§ 860. On the -α- of τέτροφε-α-ς -α-μεν -α-τε, on Dor. γέγον-αν and part. πεπρωώς, see § 844 pp. 385 f.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. ἵστασι 'they stand' is contracted for \*ἵ-σται-σαι, which had taken the place of a previous \*ἵστασι. So also Ep. γηγάσαι μεμύσαι βεβύσαι Att. βεβῆσαι. See § 1021. 4.

§ 861. Aspirated Perfects like δέδειχε (√δεικ-) πί-πλεχε (πλεκ-) κεικήρθε (κηρ(κ-)) τέτροφε τείτραφαται (τρην-) κέκλοφε

(κλεπ-) ἤχε (ἀγ-) λέλιχε (λεγ-) ὀρωρέχεται (ὀρεγ-) τέτριψε τετρίφεται (τριβ-) have borrowed the aspirate, and put it in place of media or tenuis, from perfect stems which properly ended in an aspirate, such as γέγραψε γεγράφαται and τετιύχαι. The cause of this change was that in some perfect forms and in forms outside the perfect, these phonetic differences disappeared, and the aspirate was no longer distinguished from the tenuis or media. Thus τέτραμμαι τέτραψαι etc. and ἔτρεψα τρέψω looked exactly like γέγραμμαι γέγραψαι etc. and ἔγραψα γράψω; hence the analogy of γεγράφαμεν gives rise to τετράφαμεν instead of \*τετραπαμέν. Compare Osthoff, Perf. 284 ff., 614 ff.; Curtius, Zur Kritik der neuesten Sprachforschung, 58 ff.

§ 862. Perfects from verbal stems in *s* generally show in the middle the endings -σμαι -σμεθα -σμενος, as ἔξεσμαι ἔξωσμαι ἤκουσμαι κέεσισμαι ἔσβεσμαι τετέλεσμαι ἔσπασμαι κέκρασμαι, 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 ἔξωμαι (✓ *jōs*-) γέγενυμαι (✓ *gēys*-) ἐγ-κνημένος (✓ *eys*-). But the other set are a re-formation on the model of those with -στ-, as ἔξισμαι instead of \*ἐξιμαι following ἔξισται, ἔξωσμαι following ἔξωσται. On the contrary, ἔξωμαι and γέγενυμαι suggested ἔξωται instead of ἔξωσται, ἐγγέγνωται instead of \*ἐγγε(νο)-ατο.

Similarly, in the Middle Voice of Perfects from Verbal-stems in *θ* and *δ*, the *σ* of -σται spread into the forms in -μαι -μεθα -μενος, as λέλιασμαι following λέλιασται (act. λέληθε), κέπυσσμαι following κέπυσται (pres. πένθωμαι) πέπυσσμαι following πέπυσται (pres. πείθω), κέκασμεθα following κέκασται (καθ-), κέκρασμαι following κέκρασται (aor. πέφραδον). Forms like Hom. κωκυθήμενος πεφραδήμενος Pind. κεκαδήμενος are regular. Similarly, Att. ἴσμεν (Hom. ἴθ-μεν) may be regarded as a re-formate following ἴσται; but it may also follow the pret. ἴσμεν i. e. \*ἴ-φιτ-σ-μεν just as ἴσσαι follows ἴσαν ἦσαν (§ 863 p. 411).

The agreement of forms like αἰώσω ἔσεισα (for \*αιω-σω \*ε-σεισ-σα) ἐρείσω ἤρμισα (for \*ερειδ+σω \*ηρειδ+συ) with such forms as τει-σω ἔ-τει-σα (✓ τει-) had this result, that the endings -σται -σμαι etc. spread from αἰσεισται -σμαι ἐρημισται -σμαι to the Perfect of verbal stems which ended in a vowel: τέτει-σται -σμαι, κέκλευ-σται instead of κέκλευται, ἔγνω-σται, κέκελευ-σται. The same cause gave rise to ἀπο-κειστέο-ς ἐτίσθη, κλαυστό-ς instead of κλαυτός, ἔγνωσθη etc. Or the σ of these forms from verb stems with final vowel may have originated from the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. in -σ-θης, as ἔγνωσθης (= *ágnasthas*) ἐμνήσθης (Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 312, Henry, Précis de gramm. comp.<sup>3</sup> § 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'), σέσημασμαι beside σέσημαν-ται (σημαίνω 'I make a signal'); but we also find ἔξαμμαι for \*ε-ξαν-μαι (ξάλω 'I scratch, comb'), ἥσχυνμαι for \*ἥσχυν-μμι (αἰσχύνω 'I disgrace'), and others. We may conjecture that first \*πεφαν-σθε \*σεσάμαν-σθε became regularly \*πεφασθε \*σεσάμασθε, and then, since these looked like ἔσπασθε κέκερασθε, the forms πέφασμμι σέσημασμαι were made to match ἔσπασμαι κέκερασμαι; on the other hand, πέφανται produced the form πέφανθε.

§ 863. The 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. of ἔδμεν was in Homer ἴσσοσι (Att. ἴσσοσι Dor. ἴσαντι by vol. I § 563. 2 p. 419), an ad-formate of the s-aorist \*ἴσαν ἴσαν, augmented ἦσαν (§ 812 p. 349, § 821 p. 358). The formation of ἴσσοσι was due to ἴστε ἴστω beside ἦστε ἦστων. Compare § 862, on Att. ἴσμεν.

ἴσαντι, associated with ἴσαντι 'they place', caused the Doric dialect to make the further forms ἴσῃμι ἴσαμεν ἴσῃμεναι etc. following ἴσῃμι and the rest.

In Heracleian, this σ went on to the middle of the perfect: γεγράψαται. Then, on the strength of the relation of γεγράψαται to ἐγράψαντο, we get \*μεμισθώσεται beside ἐμισθώσαντο — the conj. μεμισθώσονται is found.

§ 864. There can be no doubt that the  $\kappa$ -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.  $\kappa$  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. *ἴσθηκα* as well as perf. *τίσθηκα*, aor. *ἴδωκα δέκω* as well as perf. *δίδωκα*, *ὀλέκω* as well as *ὀλόδωκα*, *δεδ(φ)ύσσομαι* for *\*δε-δφικ-ιο-μαι* as well as *δεδ(φ)ύσκα*.

The favourite sphere of the  $\kappa$ -formation lay from the proethnic period of Greek in stems with  $e$ -,  $o$ - and  $a$ -vowels, as *τί-θη-κε* *ἔ-ω-κε* *δέ-δω-κε* *ἔ-στα-κε*, *βί-βλ-η-κε* *ἔ-γν-ω-κε* *δῶ-δρῶ-κε*. Forms like *\*τε-θη* *\*ἔ-ω* (Avest. *da-da*) without  $-α$  and  $-ε$  in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. may have seemed too unnatural and unlike the rest of the system; this may have brought in some  $\kappa$ -form, which afterwards spread rapidly by analogy.

Beside the above named perfect forms with the root-suffixes  $-α$ - and  $-ε$ -  $-ο$ -, were formed others, such as *κεχαρηκε* *γεγάμηκε* *ἠθέληκε* *δεδείπνηκε* *μεμίσθωκε* *τετίμακε* *δεδάκρυκε*. Compare *κεχαρηώς* *κεκοτηώς* *νενέμηται* *πιφίληται* etc., § 857. 1 and 2, p. 405 f.

Again, the relation of *ἔστηκα* to *στήσω ἔστηκα*, of *δέδωκα* to *δράσω ἔδρασα*, produced perfects like *πέπεικα* beside *πείσω* *ἵπναισα* (*πείθω* 'I advise'), *πέφρακα* beside *φράσω ἔφρασα* (*φράζω* 'I give to understand, show' for *\*φραδ-ιω*), *γεγύμνακα* beside *γυμνάσω ἔγύμνασα* (*γυμνάζω* 'I exercise'), *ἤρμωκα* beside *ἀρμόσω* *ἤρμοσα* (*ἀρμόζω* 'I fit, join'), *ἔσπεικα* beside *σπείσω ἔσπεισα* for *\*σπευτ-σ-* (*σπένδω* 'I pour'), *ἔσπικα* beside *σπάσω ἔσπικα* (*σπάω* 'I pull' for *\*σπα-σ-ω*).

By analogy of the perfect middle (cp. *δέδραται* : *δέδρακα*) arose e. g. Phoc. *τίθηκα* (instead of *τίθηκα*) following *τίθεται*,

Att. *εἶκα* (\**εκα*), following *εἶται* (\**εσται*), *δέδεκα* following *δέδεσται*, *εφθάρκα* following *εφθάρται*, *κάλικα* following *κάλικται*, *ἡγγέλκα* following *ἡγγέλται*. Vice versa, mid Dor. *ἀφ-έωται* follows *εκα* (§ 858 p. 408).

Following *εἶκα εἶται*, the forms *τέθηκα* *τέθεμαι* were changed in late Attic to *τέθεικα* *τέθειται*.

Following *ἔσθια*: *ἔσταμεν* we get *γέγαθα* (Pind.) beside *γίγαμεν* (\**γε-γη-*); vice versa *ἡρίσταμεν* (Comedy) beside *ἡρίστηκα* (*ἀριστάω* 'I breakfast').

§ 865. For the Pluperfect Greek, like Sanskrit, at first had two formations, thematic and unthematic (cp. § 555 p. 108, § 845 p. 387, § 854 p. 403).

(1) The Unthematic type is found in the Active only for Plural and Dual, e. g. *ἐπέπιθ-μεν* *γιγά-την* *ἔστα-μεν*; the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. ends in *-σαν*, e. g. *ἔστα-σαν* *μέμα-σαν* *ἰδεῖδισαν* i. e. \**ἐδέ-δφι-σαν* (§ 1021. 2). Far oftener, and found in all three numbers, this occurs in the Middle; as *τε-τύγ-μην* *ἐτέ-ταχ-το* *βε-βλή-ατο* *κε-χόλω-σο*. Compare Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *á-ja-gan*.

(2) Thematic Forms are e. g. *ἐμέ-μηκ-ον* (but *με-μηκ-ώς*), *ἐπέ-πληγ-ον* (but *πέ-πληγ-α*), *ἄν-ωγ-ον* (but *ἄν-ωγα*), *δεῖδτε* i. e. \**δέ-δφι-ε* (but perf. *δέ-δε-μεν*); with *κ*, *ἐπέ-φῶκ-ον* (but *πέ-φῶ-κα*). Compare Skr. *á-ca-kr-a-t*. Sometimes it is doubtful whether a form comes here or in the VI<sup>th</sup> Present Class (§ 563 p. 111); as *λε-λάκ-ον-το* (cp. *λέληκα* *λελακνῖα* and *ἔ-λακ-ον-ν*).

(3) To these formations are added all which are based upon an original *s*-aorist. (a) On the one hand, the forms *ῆδεα* and *ἴσαν* *ῆσαν* (*ῆσμεν* *ῆστε*); (b) on the other, those in which the Aorist ending was affixt to the Perfect stem, as *πε-ποίη-εα* *πε-ποίη-ειν* *ἐπε-ποίη-ειν* beside *πέ-ποιθ-α*, and *ἐστήκ-ειν* beside *ἔ-στη-κα*. See § 821 p. 357 f., § 886 pp. 372 ff.

§ 866. Like the thematic pluperfect *ἐμέ-μηκ-ον* etc., mentioned in § 865. 2, the thematic imperative *κε-κράγ-ε-τε* and so forth belong to the parent speech; cp. Skr. *mu-mṛc-a-ta*, § 844 p. 404.

But thematic forms occur more or less in all other formations of the Greek perfect system. Indicative Hom.



μέ-μβλ-ε-ται 'it is dear' beside μέλ-ει (which may also belong to Present Class VI, § 563 p. 111), ὀρ-ώρ-ε-ται 'is aroused' beside ὀρ-ωρ-α, ἀν-ώγω beside ἄν-ωγα, Syrac. ὀλαίλ-ω beside Att. ὀλ-ωλ-α. And again, ἤκω 'I am here' may have taken the place of a perfect \*ἤκα; 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 i-ē- 'to go'. Conj. Hom. ἀρ-ήρ-η Att. βι-βλήκ-η beside Hom. εἰδ-ο-μεν. Opt. Att. βς-βλήκ-ο-ι beside ἐ-στα-ῖ-μεν. Inf. Rhod. γιγόνειν, in Pindar κεχλάθειν. Part. Lesb. πεπληρωόων, Hom. (Aeol.) κεκλήγοντες, Boeot. *φεφύκονοι μείοντων*.

### 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-ī* = Skr. *tu-tud-ē*, *de-d-ī* = Skr. *da-d-ē* (§ 1044). In § 846 we have compared with perfect forms of other Idg. languages these others: *peperī*, *tetuli*, *memini* *mementō*, *tetini*, *memordi* *momordi*, *credidī*, *bibi*, *steti*, *scididī*, *cecini*, *pepigi*; to which add Umbr. *dersicust*.

(2) Probable Unreduplicated Perfect forms. First *leg-ī* *vēn-ī* and the like, with possibly *ed-ī*, cp. § 848.3 p. 393. Next *scand-ī*, *vort-ī* *vert-ī* Umbr. *co-vortus* 'converterit', *scab-ī*, *od-ī*, cp. § 848.1, 2 and 4, pp. 391, 392, 394.

(3) Forms of the s-Aorist, both thematic and non-thematic, as *dtx-ī* *dtx-i-t* *dtx-i-mus*, cp. Gr. *i-dei-a* Skr. *ā-dikṣ-a-t*. See § 823 p. 360 f.

(4) Forms of the non-thematic is-Aorist, as *vīdis-tis* (*vīdis-ti*) *vīder-ō* *vīder-i-ni*, cp. Skr. *ā-vēdiṣ-am* Gr. *ἤδεα*. See § 841 pp. 378 ff.

(5) Thematic Aorists of Class II. Lat. *fu-i-t* *fu-i-mus*, Osc. *fuid* 'fuerit': Skr. *ā-bhuv-a-t*. Lat. *scid-i-t*: Skr. *ā-chid-a-t*. *fid-i-t*: Skr. *ā-bhid-a-t*. *ex-uit* for \*-*uy-e-t* (Class II B) or

\**-ey-e-t* (Class II *A*). Osc. *dic-ust* 'dixerit' beside \**dic-e-d* 'dixit': Skr. imperf. *á-diṣ-a-t*. Osc. *kúm-bāned* 'convēnit' *ce-bnust* 'huc venerit': Skr. *á-gam-a-t* Avest. *ym-a-p*, *√ 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. *sanciō*. Pelign. *afded* 'abiit' for \**af-je-d* (Thurneysen, *Rhein. Mus.* XLIII 348), cp. Gr. opt. *ī-o-i*. 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* (*√ leg-*) were some like Gr. *ἰ-μῆδ-ε-ρο* (*√ med-*) Skr. *á-sāh-a-t* (*√ segh-*). See § 841 Rem. p. 378.

(7) Probably reduplicated thematic aorists of Class VI. *te-tig-i-t* *te-tig-i-mus*: Gr. *τε-ταγ-ών*. *pe-pig-i-t*: Gr. *πε-παγ-ο-ιη-ν* beside *πέ-πηγ-α*. *ce-cid-i-t*: *κε-καθ-εῖν* 'to hurt, despoil' *κε-κάθ-ο-ντο* beside *ἰκεκῆθει* *ὑπεκχωρήκει* (pres. *κηδω*). *pe-pul-i-t*: *πε-παλ-ά-ν*. *pe-per-i-t* for \**pe-par-e-t*: *πε-πορωῖν* *δοῦναι* beside *ἔ-πορ-ο-ν* 'I gave, brought', cp. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *pe-per-ī* and *πέ-πορω-ται* § 846 p. 388. *de-d-i-t* Osc. *de-d-e-d* Umbr. *ře-ř-e* pr. Ital. \**de-d-e-t*?) Skr. imperf. *á-da-d-a-t* (§ 562 p. 110 f.). Compare § 564 p. 111.

To these must be added (8) the Latin perfect in *-vī* and *-uī*, (9) the Umbr.-Samn. 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 protoethnic Italic.

1) Conway (*Amer. Journ. Phil.* v. 308) defends the old view of *cebnust* as a reduplicated form.

2) The Umbr.-Osc. ending *-e-d* is odd as compared with forms like *f-nat*, 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. *-ī* in the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. = Skr. *-ē*; *-tī* which fused with the aorist element *-is-* made the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. (: Skr. *-tha* § 988.3); and *-imus* in *tutud-imus vñ-imus* may be equated with Skr. *-i-mā*, Avest. *-ama* Gr. *-auer* Goth. *-um* (*ste-ti-mus* = Gr. *ἑστα-μεν* Skr. *ta-sthi-mā*?). To the *is*-aorist belongs Lat. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *-is-tis*, also *-is-tī* in 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. (see above), and possibly *-erunt* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural. To the thematic aorist belong Lat. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *-i-t*, earlier *-e-d* (*phēphaked*), whose agreement with Umbr.-Samn. *-e-d* is most important (the *-e* of the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. perf. Idg. must doubtless have given place to *-e-d* = Idg. *-e-t* completely in pr. Italic), and partly *-i-mus* in the 1<sup>st</sup> plural. The 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Umbr.-Samn. *-ens* and Lat. *-erunt* 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 3<sup>rd</sup> singular and 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 proethnic Italic some thematic forms had joined on to the old perfect system; cp. Lat. *de-d-i-t* Osc. *de-d-e-d* beside Lat. *de-d-ī*, *pe-pig-i-t* beside *pe-pig-ī*.

Beside *-e-d* = Idg. *-e-t*, Latin has also *-īd* *-it*, on inscriptions *-eit*, as *fuueit redieit*. Since *interieisti* also occurs on inscriptions, the simplest explanation is that the *i* came from the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. which had *-ī*.

Remark. Bartholomae (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 195) derives *fuit* from Idg. *\*bhuy-i-t* or *\*bhuy-ti-t*, which seems to me very far-fetched. I identify *fuit* with Skr. *ā-bhuv-a-t* (Osc. conj. *fuid* for *\*bhuy-ē-t* § 872), and I regard *fū* (Ennius has *fūimus*) as a re-formate like *plū* (cp. Osthoff, Perf. 254 f.).

§ 868. The Idg. *e* of the reduplicating syllable seems to have been kept without change in proethnic Italic. Compare O.Lat. *phē-phaked* 'fecit' Osc. *fe-faciā* 'fecerit', Lat. *de-dī* Osc. *de-ded* Umbr. *re-rē*, Lat. *me-mordī* *pe-pugī* *ste-tī*, Umbr. *de-rsicust* '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-mordī* : *mordō*, *cu-currī* : *currō*, *pu-pugī* : *pungō*, *sci-cidī* : *scindō*, *di-dicī* : *discō*, *sti-tī* : *sistō*; whilst in Old Latin we still find the regular forms *me-mordī* *pe-pugī* 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* *pendō*, *pe-pēdī* : *pēdō*; and the same if it differed from the present vowel, as *ce-cinī* : *canō*, *ce-cidī* : *cadō*, *pepulī* : *pellō*, *pe-perī* : *pariō*, *ste-tī* : *stō* *stās* etc.

In compounds four syllables long (in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 *\*ré-pepulī* *\*ré-tetulī* *\*ré-cecidī*, *dēcidī* *attigī* *incurrī* for *\*dē-cecidī* *\*āt-tetigī* *\*in-cecurrī* (I § 633 p. 474).

That both reduplicated and unreduplicated forms occurred in pr. Italic within the perfect system of the same verb is shown by O.Lat. *vhe-phaked* Osc. *fe-facust* as compared with Lat. *fēci* Umbr. *fakust*. Compare further Lat. *sci-cidī* and *scidī*, *te-tulī* and *tulī*, Umbr. *de-rsicust* and Osc. *dicust*, Lat. *ce-cinī* and Umbr. *pro-canurent*. Thus we have no right to assume that Lat. *tulī* 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 unreduplicated forms all the closer.

Beside Lat. *abs-condidī* (from *abs-condō*) the form *abs-condī* sprang up on the analogy of *scandī* : *scandō*, since *condō* in this word joined with *abs* had ceased to be regarded as a compound; cp. *absconditum* beside *absconditum*. On the contrary, *condidī* :

*condō*, *crēdidī*: *crēdō* and the like gave rise to perf. *dēscendidī* beside *dēscendī*.

As regards verbs with initial vowel, such forms as Skr. *an-āś-a* (§ 851 p. 401) and Gr. *ōq-ωq-a* (§ 858 p. 408) were foreign to Italic. Lat. *ēd-ī em-ī* (from *ed-ō em-ō*), as well as *sēd-ī vēn-ī*, *ēg-ī co-ēpt coept* (from *ag-ō ap-iō*), as well as *cēp-ī pēg-ī*, *ōd-ī (od-iō)*, as well as *fōd-ī*, 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 *tutudī* is doubtless a difference of ablaut, such as we see in Skr. *tu-tōd-a tu-tud-ūr* (cp. also Goth. *staf-staut*); then *tu-tūd-* will come from *\*tū-taud-*, as *in-clūdō* for *\*in-claudō*.

The *o*-grade of the sing. indic. appears in *spopondī totondī*, which had run into one verbal system with the *éjo*-presents *spondeō tondeō* (§ 802 p. 338). *spopond-imus* instead of *\*spond-* like Gr. *πενόvθ-αμεν* instead of *πε-παθ-* (part. *πενυθνῖα*). *momord-* in *momordī momordimus* (pres. *mordeō* like *spondeō*) may be both Idg. *\*me-mord-* and *\*me-myd-* (Skr. *ma-mard-a ma-myd-ur*). Similarly, we have *cu-currī* from *curreō* for *\*corsō* *\*krsō* (§ 662 p. 197). Umbr. *pepurkurent* from *✓prek-* may like *de-rsic-ust* contain the weak stem (*\*pe-prk-*), although persklum persnimu. which have changed the position of *r* (§ 674 p. 207), suggest some doubt.

Strong and Weak forms may be found, again, in *meminī tetinī pepulī tetulī* (*memin-i-mus tetul-i-mus*: Gr. *μῆμα-μεν τίτλα-μεν*, as Skr. *jagm-i-ma*: *jagan-ma* Gr. *βῆβα-μεν*, and as Skr. *jagm-i-vās*: *jagan-vās*); only the weak form in *pepigī* for *\*pepagī* (but Gr. *πέπηγε*) *tetigī ceculī*. 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. *fefacust* beside Lat. *fēcī* from *✓fēh-*. The *a* of Lat. *ehēhaked* is difficult.

Remark. If it is short, this seems to prove that at the time of the Manios inscription (attributed to the 8<sup>th</sup> century B. C.) the weakening of \**pēpagi* to \**pēpigi* and the like (I § 680 p. 547) had not yet been completed. But hear what Bücheler says (Rhein. Mus. XLII 317): "After the second *h* the carver first put *i*, which he afterwards erased, though not so completely but that the intent is clear". Again, p. 318: "The quantity of the *a* is not known. What we know of the reduplicated perfects which are preserved in Latin, makes it likely that the *a* was short. Possibly this is the reason of the *i* which was first engraved (*conocceini, infacetu infictu*)". If this *i* is rightly so explained, and if the *a* 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-factus*); but such a reversion in the perfect is hardly credible. If *ā* was meant, it must be assumed that \**fefāk-* was made in connexion with \**fefak-* \**fefik-* on the analogy of some such form as \**pepāg-* (beside weak \**pepāg-* \**pepigi-*). — We may now refer to Buck, Der Vocalismus der osk. 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-ř-ust* 'dederit' = Skr. *da-d-ūř-* (cp. *de-rsic-ust* = Skr. *di-diř-ūř-*), 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. *sestu* § 543 p. 103, § 553 p. 107. Uncertain it is whether Lat. *sistimus* is \**si-sta-mos* answering to Gr. *ἴ-σταν-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. *ἴ-σταν-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 *phēphakēd*): *faciō*, *capī*: *capio* (cp. Goth. *hōf*), *jēcī*: *faciō*, *pēcī* (beside *pepigi* Gr. Dor. *πέναιε*): *pangō*, *frēcī*: *frangō*; Osc. conj. *hipid* 'habuerit' fut. perf. *hipust* 'habuerit': *hāfiest* 'habebit', *sipus* 'sciens': Lat. *sapiō* (cp. O.H.G. *int-suab*). With initial vowel Lat. *ēgī*: *agō* (cp. O.Icel. *ök*), *co-ēpī* *coepī*: *capio*. *ē* is certainly original in *fēcī*,<sup>1)</sup> compare Gr. *ἴσθηκα* (§ 864 Rem. p. 412), and doubtless

1) Bronisch sees *fēk-* in Umbr. *feitu fetu feitu fetu* 'facito' = \**fēke-tōd*. Another explanation, but less probable, is offered by Conway, Amer. Journ. Phil. XI 307, Class. Rev. v 300.

in *frēgī*, compare Goth. *brēkum* from  $\sqrt{bhreg-}$  (on *frangō* see § 632 p. 168), and perhaps *-jēcī* (Johansson, Beitr. gr. Spr. 61). Beginning with these forms, *ē* spread to those which originally had *a*; in the causing of which not only the present with *a*, but also the *to*-participle had some effect, *captu-s* for example being like *factu-s*; the reason why *scabī* (= Goth. *skōf*) remained, from *scabō*, whilst *\*cāpī* (= Goth. *hōf*) 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.

§ 871. Perfect from Present stems with stem-characteristic. Compare § 847 p. 390 f.

Lat. *po-poscī* from *poscō* for *\*por(c)-scō*, cp. Skr. *papracha*. *fe-fellī* for *\*fe-fallī* from *fallō* for *\*fal-nō* (§ 608 p. 149). *tetend-ī* from *tendō*,  $\sqrt{ten-}$  (§ 564 p. 111, § 696 p. 225).

Lat. *pre-hendī* from *-hendō* from  $\sqrt{ghed-}$ , *lambī* from *lambō* beside O.H.G. *laffu*, *pandī* from *pandō* beside *pateō* (§ 632 p. 168 f.). *cūdī* from *cū-dō* (§ 696 p. 225). Osc. *com-parascuster* 'consultus erit' beside Lat. *-pescō* for *\*perc-scō* or *\*parc-scō* (§ 674 p. 207). Umbr. *eiscurent* 'poposcerint, arcesierint' 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-fek-(o-)*, showing the same reduplication as Gr. *τίθημι*, and to be compared with Vestin. *dī-d-e-t* 'dat' Lat. *si-stō* etc. (§ 553 p. 107); cp. Skr. part. *vivak-vās-* from pres. *vī-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-uī : ex-uō*, *pluī : pluō* and the like. The same is true of perf. *statuī* from the denominative *statuō*.

§ 872. The Moods 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. *μνησθω* remains, because *meminī* was used as a 'perfect present'.

Umbro-Samnitic has an *ē*-conjunctive (§ 926 c). Osc. *fefacid* 'fecerit' *hipid* 'habuerit' *fuid* 'fuerit', Umbr. *stīti-steteiens* 'stiterint'. From the *f*-Perfect Osc. *sakrafir* 'sacraverint', Umbr. *pihāfei* = *\*pihāfēr* 'piaverint', from the *t*-Perfect, Osc. *tribarakattins* 'aedificaverint'. This Conjunctive may be derived from either conj. of the Idg. perfect (cp. Gr. *πενόρθ-η* Skr. *paprc-ā-si*) or conj. of the thematic aorist (Osc. *fuid* = Skr. *bhuv-ā-t*).

In the same area, the Idg. *ues*-participle held its own. Osc. *sipus* 'sapiens' probably like nom. sing. Skr. *vidūṣ* Avest. *vidūš* (II § 186 p. 439 f., III § 193 p. 73). From this form was built up the future perfect (cp. W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxviii 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'). 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *-us* = *\*-us-ses*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *-ust* = *\*-us-set* (*\*-us-sed*): Umbr. *kuvurtus* 'converteris' *dersicust* 'dixerit', Osc. *fefacust* 'fecerit'. Osc. *fust* 'fuerit' (beside *fust* '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')<sup>1)</sup>, which will be due to analogy of it. On the analogy of the 1<sup>st</sup> future, where *-zent* is the ending of the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl., — as Osc. *censazet* '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)*, *beniso* '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 *u* 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. Bronisch, in his new work on the Osc. *i-* and *e*-vowels, regards the nominative ending *-us* as earlier *\*-ōs* for *\*-ēōs*, and supports his view by *amprefuus* and *tribarakattuset*.



Umbr. *en-telust* 'intenderit' a-pelust 'impenderit' derived from \**tend-lo-* \**pend-lo-* (Lat. *pendulu-s* 'hanging'). Compare the Slavonic part. pret. act. with *-lo-*, as *nes-lŭ* from *nes-ti* 'to carry' (II § 76 p. 212).

Umbr. *sesust* 'sederit' from \**sesso-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. *tribarakato-*. On the analogy of \**aamanafust* to ind. *aamanaffed* etc. arose such Indicatives as *prúfatted* 'probavit' and Conjunctives like *tribarakattins*. The same new formation is seen in Pelign. *coisatens* 'curaverunt' and in Volsk. *sistiatiens* 'statuerunt' = \**sistatens*. The frequent spelling with double *t* in Oscan is the same in principle as *ff* 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 *ā*-denominatives can make a strong perfect. It may therefore be held that as the perfect *prúffed* was made for the present stem *profā-* 'probare', so the perfect *prúfatted* was made for \**profātā-* '\*probatare'. But I prefer the explanation given above, so long as no forms are found from a stem \**profātā* or anything like it.

An origin similar to that of these future perfects must be postulated for Umbr. *combifiansiust* beside *combifiatu* 'nuntiatio', *purdinsiust* 'porrexerit' 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' *aikdafed* '\*aequidavit', Osc. *manafum*, which may be 1<sup>st</sup> sing. (*mandavi*) or 1<sup>st</sup> pl. (*mandavimus*), it is uncertain which; conj. Umbr. *pihafei(r)* 'piaverint' Osc. *sakrafir* 'sacraverint'; fut. perf. Umbr. *ateřafust* *andirsafust* 'circumtulērīt' *ambrefurent* 'circumierint'.

This formation belongs to the Italic imperfect compounded with \**bhŷ-ā-m* 'I was' (Lat. *ama-bam* Osc. *fu-fans* 'erant') and

the Latin future compounded with \**bhy-ō* 'I shall be' (*amā-bō*), found also in Keltic (§ 899); the Umbr.-Samn. *-fed* is indie. aor. = Idg. \**bhy-e-t* (Avest. *bva-p*), cp. Lat. *fuit* Osc. conj. *fuid*, to be connected with Skr. *á-bhuv-a-t* (§ 867.5 p. 414). If Osc. *mana-fum* is 1<sup>st</sup> sing., its second part must be = Idg. \**bhy-o-m*. In the *ff* of Oscan, as *aamanaffed*, 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.-Samn. conjunctive stem *-fē-* = \**fy-ē-* may be equated with O.C.Sl. *bě* (§ 578 p. 119, § 587 p. 128).

The attraction of these forms into the Perfect called up a future perfect with *-us-*. Umbr. *ampr-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-ust* (§ 872 p. 420 f.).

No complete explanation has been given for the forms Umbr. *portust* 'portaverit' beside *portatu* 'portato', Osc. *upsed* 'operatus est' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *uupsens* *ουναις* beside *úpsannam* 'operandam', *prúffed* 'probavit' *prúftú-set* 'probata sunt' beside *prúfatted* 'probavit', *urust* 'oraverit'. They look as though formed after the fashion of primary *a*-verbs with strong perfect. Umbro-Samnitic perhaps had, as Latin had, primary *a*-verbs with strong perfect (cp. *juvāre* *javē* § 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. *probutō* from *probāre* (see Georges, Lex. Lat. Wortf., 556).

§ 875. We now return to Latin, in order to finish with the perfect in *-vī* and *-uī*, as *l-vī* *sā-vī* *sē-vī* *plē-vī* *nō-vī* *flā-vī* *fīnī-vī* *amā-vī* and *genuī* *texuī* *crepuī* *monuī* *saluī*.

Of the attempts hitherto made to explain these, which are summarised by Stolz, Lat. Gr.<sup>2</sup> 370 f., and more fully by Per Persson, Wurzelerrw. 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. *comōho-ta* abl. 'com-mota') *jū-tu-s*: *mōv-i jāv-i*, and the like, suggested (1) *plēvī nōvī amāvī* beside *plētū-s nōtū-s amātū-s* etc., to which were added *sēvī fōvī* etc.; and (2) e. g. *\*gene-ū* beside *\*gene-to-s* (*genitus*), which became *genuī*.<sup>1</sup>) Between *genuī* and *flāvī*, then, there would be the same relation as between Gr. *ῥομαιοῖσιν* and *ῥομαιοῖσιν*.

The reason why *mōvī jāvī* had this influence, in spite of their present *moveō juvō*, is the specially close connexion between the *to*-participle and the perfect active; *mōtus sum* being the passive of *mōvī*. The Gr. *τεθνηκα δέδωκα* etc., it will be remembered, caused the *x*-type of perfect to spread (as *βέβληκα ἔγνωκα*), in spite of their connexion with the aorist *ἔθνηκα ἔδωκα*, which themselves were not fertile.

Remark. We must assume that *nōv-i* goes along with Skr. *ju-jñāṣ*, *nāe-i* with Skr. *anāṣ-ti*, and *nēv-i* with Goth. *anēv-um*. The old part. perf. active has also been brought in evidence, and *sēvistis* derived from *\*sē-ves ates*, *sēvīnus* from *\*sēves smos* (though *\*sēves-smos* could regularly only become *\*sēvēnus*); and others have connected *genuī* with *in-genuo-s*, *sīvī* with *de-sivare*, 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 nōverō genuerō nōverim genuerim nōveram genueram nōvissem genuissem*.

A few original *s*-perfects were transformed to match *genuī*: *pēxūī nēxūī* instead of *pēxī nēxī* (§ 823 p. 361) from *pectō nectō* (§ 683 p. 214 f.), *messūī* instead of *\*messī* from *metō*.

### Keltic.

§ 876. Outside of Irish, few survivals remain of the Idg. perfect. Gall. *dede* 'dedit' or 'posuit', Mid.Cymr. *ciglef* 'audiui' = O.Ir. *ro chuala*.

1) Beside *pōnō* for *\*po-s(i)nō* stood *po-sivī* and since *po-situ-s* was incorrectly analysed *pos-itu-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 gegon* 'interfeci', *ro lū* 'adhaesit' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ro leldar*, *ro chuala* 'audivi', *ro bōi* 'fuit', *ad-con-dairc* 'conspexit', *do-roigu* 'elegit', *ro cechan* 'cecini'; in § 847 *in-chom-arc-air* 'interrogavit', in § 849 *ro taich* 'fugit' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ro tāchatar*.

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.) 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ro me-mā-atur*, pres. *maidim*. *ro de-daig* 'oppressit' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ro de-dg-atar*, pres. *for-dengat* 'opprimunt'. *fris-racacha* 'speravi', pres. *ad-chiu* 'I see'. *ro selaig* 'he struck down' i. e. *se-slaig*, pres. *sligim*: cp. Goth. *slōh* § 888. *ro cechladatar* 'suffoderunt', pres. *-cladar* 'he is buried'. *ro sescaind* 'he sprang', pres. Mid.Ir. *scinnim*: Skr. *ca-skānd-a* 'he sprang'; on the vocalism of this root see § 520 p. 84. *ro sescaing* 'he leapt out', pres. Mid.Ir. *scingim*. Mid.Ir. *ro leblaing* 'he leapt' instead of \**lelaing* beside pres. *lingim* O.Ir. *lengaim* (R. Schmidt, Idg. Forsch. I 48 f.). *ro cechaing* '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. *baþ* from *bidja* § 722 p. 253.

Mid.Ir. *ro-siu* 'he slept', not from √ *syep-*, but, as Thurneysen holds, from √ *yes-* (Skr. *vas-* 'to pass the night' perf. *u-vās-a*), therefore for \**ye-yo(s)-e*, which became first \**fi-ui*, 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *-feotar* for \**ye-yo(s)-atar*; cp. *feiss* 'sleep'. Observe the analogical *e* of the reduplicator, for by I § 66 p. 54 f. \**ueyos-* must have become \**uoyos-*.

§ 877. Perfects based upon presents with stem-characteristic (cp. § 847). *in-roigrann* 'I pursued' beside

*in-grennim* from  $\sqrt{\text{ghredh-}}$  (§ 628 p. 165). *do-sefainn* 'pepuli' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *do-sefnatar*, if the present *sennim* § 613 p. 151 is rightly derived from  $\sqrt{\text{syem-nō}}$ . *ro nenasc* 'I bound, promised' beside *nascim* from  $\sqrt{\text{nedh-}}$  (§ 675 p. 208).

*ad-gēn* 'cognovi' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *-geuin* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *-gēnammar* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *-gēnatar* comes from the Idg. perfect  $\sqrt{\text{ge-gn-ō}}$  (Skr. *jajñāu* Gr. *ἔγνωκα ἔγνωσται*, also perhaps Goth.  $\sqrt{\text{kaf-knō}}$ , see p. 128 footnote 1), from  $\sqrt{\text{gen-}}$ . The plural may be derived at once from this ground-form. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing., which point to  $\sqrt{\text{ge-gn-a}}$  and  $\sqrt{\text{ge-gn-e}}$ , are later re-formates. Compare in Sanskrit the forms *jajñimā jajñivās-* beside *jajñāu* 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. *πῆ-φαται*, *ro ce-chan ce-chuin* like Lat. *ce-cinī*.

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  $\sqrt{\text{*rō-gegu}}$ , and *in-roigrann*, come in here. Others are *for-roichan* beside *ro cechan*, *fo-roiblang* beside *ro leblang*, *arob-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 chuala*, for  $\sqrt{\text{*cu-clou-a}}$ ; the Mid.Cymr. *ci-glef* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ci-gleu*) 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 lūl* 'adhaesit' pres. *lenim*  $\sqrt{\text{lei-}}$ , *ro giuil* 'adhaesit' pres. *glenim*  $\sqrt{\text{glei-}}$ , *do-rad-chiuir* 'redemit' 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *-chēr* pres. *crenim*  $\sqrt{\text{grei-}}$  (§ 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.<sup>1)</sup> 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 these show the personal ending affixed immediately to the root-final consonant: 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. \**li-le* \**gi-gl-e* \**ki-kr-e*, 1<sup>st</sup> sing. \**ki-kr-a* (-*chër*) 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. \**li-l-ontor* (*leldar*). And again the perfect of *renim* 'I sell' (for \**pr-na-mi* from  $\sqrt{\text{per-}}$ , § 598 p. 141) shows this perfect formation, 3<sup>rd</sup> 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" *grej-*, it may be conjectured, is possibly an extension of *ger-* 'make'.<sup>1)</sup> If this be the origin of *-rir* (and *-ciuir*), the difficulty of *-lil* and the rest at once vanishes.

*t-anaic* 'I came' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *t-anaic* beside Skr. *anāśa*, also to be compared with Gr. *ἐν-ήνευκ-ται*, 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 bōi*, *ad-con-dairc*, *im-chom-arc-air*, *ro taich*, we may add 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ro scaich* beside *scuchim* 'I yield', *ro gāid* beside *gudim* 'I beg', 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *fo-ro-damar* for *-damar* beside *fo-daim* 'patitur', 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *du-fu-tharcair* 'wishes'.

There is no proof that these forms have lost a reduplicating syllable in Keltic itself. Like *ro-mīdar* (§ 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. *darś-i-vas-* (§ 848. 2 p. 392).<sup>\*</sup>

Unfortunately there is nothing to decide whether in the plural of the Irish perfect, in such forms as *ro cechnammar cechnaid cechnatar*, the vowel preceding the personal ending was the thematic vowel, or Idg. *ə* (= pr. Kelt. *a*); in the 1<sup>st</sup> plural another question offers, whether *a* does not come from the initial sonant of the personal ending (*-num-*). 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. *ἔδραξε*, *bōi* with Skr. *ābhavat*; *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. *āchidat* (§ 867. 5 p. 414). In § 878 p. 427. I conjectured that *-rir* was a reduplicated thematic aorist. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular, the original endings *\*-e* (perf.) and *\*-e-t* (thematic pret.) must have run together in Irish; so in the 1<sup>st</sup> plural with *-ə-m-* (Skr. *-i-ma*), *-num-* (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 indie. active, the differences of gradation between singular and plural were all levelled away in Old Irish; e. g. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ro geguin* 'vulneravit, trucidavit' for *\*gegon-e* (Skr. *jaghñ-a*) 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *ro gegnaid* for *\*gegon-* (Skr. *jaghñ-ā*). But the original middle shows in some forms the weak stem proper to it; e. g. *ro gēnar* 'natus sum' for *\*ge-gn-*, like Skr. *ja-jā-ē*.

The vocalism of some forms is exceptional: *ro taich* beside *techim* 'I flee', *ro rāith* beside *rethim* 'I run', cp. *ro scaich* beside *scuchim*, *ro gaid* beside *gudim*. Except *ro mīdar*, all unreduplicated preterites with roots having a single initial consonant show *-ā-*.

§ 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 (-*ammar* and -*atar*).

### Germanic.

§ 882. I first give once again the forms cited in § 846, and compared with perfects from other languages. Goth. *ga-tar* 'he tore up, destroyed' -*tērūn*, O.H.G. *zar zārūn*. Goth. *man* 'remembers, wishes' *munun*, O.Icel. *man muno*. Goth. *gim* 'came' *gēmūn*, O.H.G. *quam quāmūn*. Goth. *ga-þars* 'dried up' -*þaursun*. Goth. *ga-dars* 'dares' -*daursun*, O.H.G. *gi-tar-turrun*. Goth. *varþ* 'became' *vaúrþun*, O.H.G. *ward wurtun*. Goth. *hlaf* 'stole' *hlēfun*. Goth. *band* 'bound' *bundun*, O.H.G. *bant buntun*. Goth. *gataih* 'showed, recounted' -*taihun*, O.H.G. *zēh zigun*. Goth. *bait* 'bit' *bitun*, O.H.G. *beiz biggun*. Goth. *láihs* 'lent' *laiheun*, O.H.G. *lēh liwun*. O.H.G. *sēh* 'strained, filtered' *sigun*. Goth. *kāus* 'tried, chose' *kusun*, O.H.G. *kōs kurun*. Goth. *ana-báup* 'bade, commanded' -*budun*, O.H.G. *bōt butun*. Goth. *báug* 'bent' *bugun*, O.H.G. *boug bugun*. O.H.G. *rōz* 'wept' *ruggun*. O.Icel. *svaf* 'slept' *svǫfo*. Goth. *gavag* 'moved' -*vēgun*, O.H.G. *wag wāgun*. Goth. *sat* 'sat' *sētun*, O.H.G. *saz sāgun*. Goth. *sai-sō* 'sowed' *sai-sōun*. Goth. *skat-skaiþ* 'separated, parted' *skat-skaidun*. Goth. *stai-staut* 'pushed, knocked' *stai-stautun*.

The Idg. difference in accent of singular and plural (cf. Skr. *vēda* : *vidmá*, *cakāra* : *cakrṃá*) has left its traces in the final consonants of the root in O.H.G. *ward* : *wurtun*, *zēh* : *zigun*, *kōs* : *kurun* and the like (I § 530 p. 386 f., § 580 p. 434).

Whether the ending of the 1<sup>st</sup> pl. indic. -*um* represents Idg. -*ṃme*, or is due to the analogy of 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. -*un* and was originally Idg. -*me* or -*ə-me*, 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. *wizz-t-mēs*, Goth. *skat-skaid-*



-ei-ma. Then there is one isolated Conjunctive form, used as an imperative, Goth. *ōgs* 'fear thou' (beside indic. *ōg* 'he fears'), and a few substantives based upon the Participle, as Goth. *bēr-us-jōs* 'parents' and A.S. *ēgasa* *ēgsa* O.Sax. *ēcso* 'owner' (II § 136 p. 445, Johansson Beitr. zur griech. Sprachkunde, 134).

The Germanic Perfect falls into two divisions, (I) Reduplicated and (II) Unreduplicated.

§ 883. (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.<sup>1)</sup>

All Gothic reduplicating syllables have *ai*, which is regular for *i* = Idg. *e* before *h* and *r*; c. g. *hai-hait* *rai-rōþ* (I § 67 p. 58). Beginning with those cases where it was regular, *ai* spread to the rest by analogy; hence *skai-skaiþ*; which regularly would be *\*ski-skaiþ*. As regards Johansson's view that Goth. *ai* is to be read as a long vowel, see Addendum to page 17.

The fact that the analogy of *ai* really did so act is clear from the new forms *ai-duk* (= O.Icel. *jök* § 885) beside *auka* 'I increase', and *af-aiðik* beside *af-aika* '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-skaiþ* *skai-skaidun*: Skr. *ci-chēda* *ci-chidur*, *√skhajit* *skhajid-*. *stai-stait* *stai-staitun*: Skr. *tu-tōda* *tu-tudūr*, *√(s)toyed-*. *fai-flōk* 'he lamented' *fai-flōkun*: Gr. Dor. *né-plāye*, pres. *flōka* Class II A in contrast with Lith. *plakù* Class II B, *√plag-* *plag-* (§ 534 p. 96). *sai-sō* 'sowed' *sai-sōni*: Gr. Dor. *ἀείωκα*, pres. *saia* for *\*sē-jō*, cp. Gr. *ῖ-η-μι*, *√sē-* *sē-*; *saisōun*, like *lailōun* '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. *saisald* beside *ealda* 'I rule' for *\*uðald* from *√uð-*.

also shows itself not to be in its original form by the ending *-un*, taken over from the stems which had initial consonant. *lai-lōt* 'let' *lai-lōtun*, pres. *lēta*, √ *lēd-* (§ 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 *u-ē-* 'to blow', pres. *vaia* = *uē-iō* (§ 587 p. 128, § 735 p. 262).

*fai-fah* 'grasped' *fai-fahun* (cp. O.H.G. *fiang fiangun* § 885) beside pres. *faha* (O.H.G. *fahu*) for *\*faēxō*, probably a nasal present from √ *pāk-* (§ 632 p. 168, § 634 p. 171).

*fai-falþ* 'folded' *fai-falþun* beside pres. *falþa* ground-form *\*fā-iō* (§ 680 p. 213); *hai-hald* 'tended, pastured' beside pres. *halda* ground-form *\*kē-iō* (§ 585 p. 215). *vai-vald* 'he ruled' *vai-valdun* beside pres. *valda* ground-form *\*uī-dhō* (§ 689 p. 219); *ga-rai-rōþ* 'considered' *-rai-rōdun* beside pres. *ga-rēda* ground-form *\*rē-dhō* (§ 689 p. 220). *sai-salt* 'he salted' beside pres. *sai-ta* = Lat. *sallō* for *\*sai-dō* (§ 690 p. 221).

§ 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. *rai-rōþ*, (*leo-rt* = *lai-lōt*), *leo-le* 'he leapt' = *lai-lāik* with long vowel lost in the final syllable, as it is in *hweylc* 'which?' *sweylc* 'such' = Goth. *hvileiks sveleiks*.

More uncertain are some forms which Bopp regarded as reduplicated. O.H.G. Alemann. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. ind. *pleruggun* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. opt. *ca-pleruggi* beside pres. *bluozu* 'I offer', 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. ind. *ki-akrerot* beside pres. *scrōtu* 'I cut' (= Goth. *\*skráuda*), 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. ind. *steroz* beside pres. *stōzu* 'I knock, push'. According to Holz (Urgermanisches geschlossenes ē, p. 28) *\*ske-skrōd-* became *\*skre-skrōd-* *\*skre-rōd-*, *\*be-blōt-* became *\*ble-blōt-* *\*ble-lōt-* *\*blerōt-*; this, he says, produced a perfect type with *r*, whence *\*sterōt-* instead of *\*ste-stōt-*. A different view is taken by Zarneke, P.-B. Beitr. xv 350 ff.; but his is more dubious even than that of Holz.

O. Icel. *sera* 'I sowed' for \**se-zō* = Goth. *sai-sō*; *sera* is inflected as a weak preterite in the singular (as is Goth. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *saisōst* perhaps from \**saisōs*); in the plural, *serom*. O. Icel. *jök* 'I increased' (pl. *jökom*) for \**eauka* = Goth. *ai-āuk* (§ 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 388.<sup>1)</sup> The facts about O.H.G. are as follows:

(1) Verbs with *ou* or *ō* = Goth. *au* in the present, and verbs with present *uo* = Goth. *ō*, have, instead of the Gothic dissyllabic reduplicated stem, a monosyllabic stem with *eo*, whence *io ia ie*. *leof liof liaf lief* 'I ran' *leofun liofun* from pres. *loufu*: Goth. *hai-hlāup hai-hlāupun*. *stioz* 'I pushed, knocked' *stiozun* from pres. *stōzu*: Goth. *stai-stāut stai-stāutun*. (*h*)*riof* 'I called' (*h*)*riofun* from *hruofu*.

(2) The others, instead of the Gothic dissyllabic reduplicated stem, show a monosyllabic stem with *ē*, which becomes *ea ia ie* (I § 75 Rem. 2 p. 65):

(a) *hiag* 'I was called' *hiagun* from pres. *heizu*: Goth. *hai-hait hai-haitun*. *sciad* 'separated' from *sceidu*: Goth. *skai-skāip*.

(b) *fiald* 'folded' *fialdun* from pres. *faldu*: Goth. *fai-falþ fai-falþun*. *hialt* 'held' from *haltu*: Goth. *hai-hald*. *wialt* 'rules' from *waltu*: Goth. *vai-vald*. *sialz* 'salted' from *salzu*: Goth. *sai-salt*. *fiang* 'seized' *fiangun* from *fāhu*: Goth. *fai-fah fai-fahun*; 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 *h* and the plural *g* (cp. § 882 p. 429). *fial* 'fell' from *fallu* for \**fal-nō*, *wial* 'bubbled, boiled'

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.

*icalun* from *wallu* for \**yal-nō*, see § 614 p. 151; *l* for *ll* because a long vowel precedes. *spian* 'I stretched' *spianun* from *spa-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) *liag* 'I let' *liagun* from *lagu*: Goth. *lai-lōt lai-lōtun*. *riat* 'I advised' from *ratu*: Goth. *rat-rōþ*. *sliaf* 'slept' from *slāfu* contrasted with Goth. *sai-zlēp sai-slēp* pres. *slēpa*.

Remark. *sāu* 'I sow' passed over to the weak conjugation; hence pret. *sāta* (part. *gi-sāt*), 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 *co*-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-*: 1<sup>st</sup> sing. \**é-auka* (Goth. *atáuþ*) became \**éōka* \**eōka* (O. Icel. *jök*); then on the analogy of \**eōka* beside pres. \**aukō* was formed beside \**hlaupō* the perf. \**hleopa* '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 *√ dhē-* 'to place, do' is a reduplicated perfect: O.H.G. indic. 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *teta* (2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *tati*) pl. *tatum tatut tatun* opt. 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *tati*; O.Sax. 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *deda* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *dedōs* pl. *dedun* and *dadun* opt. *dedi* and *dādi*; A.S. *dyde dydes(t)* etc. like *nerede*, but pl. also *dādon*.

It is not clear whether this preterite is to be connected with the Idg. perfect (Skr. *dadhāu*), or the Idg. imperfect (Skr. *ádadhāt* Gr. *ἐτιθη*, see § 539 p. 99, § 545 p. 103), or both. In any case, however, there can be no comparing of the

1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. O.H.G. *teta* O. Sax. *deda* and the Skr. middle form *dadhē*.

The *y* of A.S. *dyde* is difficult. Sievers deduces an opt. \**du-d-i-* (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 *-dēdum* 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 *tatum* was an ad-formate of *gābum* etc. The suggestions of Johansson (Kuhn's Ztschr. xxx 550) and Holz (as cited, 44) are unsatisfactory.

Remark. Collitz (Am. Journ. Phil. ix 51) and Johansson (as cited, p. 549) see in Goth. *iddja* 'I went' a 1<sup>st</sup> sing. perf. mid. = Skr. \**iy-ē* (cp. act. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *iy-ūr*). But there never was any pr. Idg. perfect stem *iy-*, which fact alone wrecks the hypothesis; Skr. *iy-ūr* is an Aryan formation; see § 851 p. 399. On *iddja*, see § 478 p. 26, § 587 p. 128, § 592 p. 133.

§ 887. (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. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *skōbeima*; and (B) those which have, as Goth. *man munun muneima*, *gam gēmun gēmeima*.

A part of these forms, what are called the Preterite-Presents, kept hold of the proethnic function of the perfect to express the present perfect, and did not become a historic tense; as Goth. *ǣg* 'I fear' *āih* 'I have' *vāt* 'I know' *man* 'I think'. In this they are like Lat. *meminī* and *scīō*. As they were isolated in use, so they were exceptional in form. (1) In the Indicative, roots of the *e*-series, ending in a single consonant, lacked the *ē*-form; cp. Goth. *man munun* or *skal skulun* as contrasted with *gam* 'I came' *gēmun*, *stal* 'I stole' *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 *dih* 'I have', *vitan vitands* beside *viit*. Of the forms taken from Class II *B*, some few had come down from pre-Germanic times; as *vitan munan skulan ga-daúrzan* (§ 532 p. 93 f.). The adj. *un-agands* 'fearless' is related to *ōg* 'I fear' as *us-anands* 'exhaling' to *us-ōn* '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 *vāt* *weig*, Goth. *ga-daúrsta* O.H.G. *gi-torsta* beside *ga-dars* *gi-tar*. If, as has been assumed, O.H.G. *wiss-um -ut -un* belong to the *s*-aorist, they must be related to *weig* just as *ȝōwer ȝōre ȝōar ȝōar* to *ōlða* (§ 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-ni* O.H.G. *un-nu-ni* 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' (§ 523 p. 87); it belongs to the root of Gr. *μῆχος μηχανή* Dor. *μᾶχανά*, and must have been an orig. perfect *\*mōg* *\*mōgun*. Its transformation into a present is easily understood from its meaning. Beside *magan magands* were formed *mag magun* following *dih āigun* beside *āihan āihands*, and *ga-mōt -mōtun* beside *-mōtan -mōtands*.<sup>1)</sup> The form *muz-*, found in West-Germ. beside *maz-*, e. g. O.H.G. *mugun* 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 *mag* to be a genuine perfect, and assumes that *\*mōg magun* levelled out the strong stem. This view is contradicted by *ōg ōgun* (beside *un-agands*) *dih āigun* (beside Skr. *iṣ-*) *skōf skōbun* (beside *skobun*) and so forth, which all show levelling in favour of the singular stem.\*

1) Similarly, in the Rhine-Frankish dialect of Mod.H.G. the identity of inflexion in *ich brauch(e)* *wir brauchen*(n) inf. *brauche(n)* pret. *brauch(e)* and *ich muss* *wir müssen*(n) inf. *müsse(n)* pret. *musst(e)* led to the coining of a 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *er brauch*, instead of *er braucht*, parallel to *er 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 *ō* in the root.

*ai* only in Goth. *aih* 'has' pl. *aiḡun* (by levelling also *aiḡ* and *aihun*) O.H.G. pl. *eigun* (from the participial stem *\*aiḡ-us-* comes A.S. *ēgesa* *ēgsa* O.Sax. *ēcso*, see § 882 p. 430): Skr. mid *iṣ-ṣ*, see § 848 p. 391. As this Sanskrit form shews, Germanic has levelled in favour of the singular vocalism, *aiḡun* instead of *\*iḡun* or *\*igun*. That *aih* has no reduplication (we *af-aldik stat-skáip* etc. have, §§ 883 ff.) shows that this was lacking in pre-Germanic times, and makes the immediate connexion with the Aryan verb certain. Inf. *aihan* part. *aihands* are Germanic re-formates (cp. the thematic Skr. *iṣ-a-tē* Avest. *is-ai-itē*, § 854 p. 404).

All other examples have *ō*, 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* *skōfo* from pres. *skaba* *scalu skéf*: Lat. *scabi* from *scabō*. Goth. *hōf* 'raised' *hōfun* (instead of *\*hōbun*) O.H.G. *huob* (instead of *\*huof*) *huobun* from pres. *hafja* *heff(i)u*: Lat. *capiō*. O.H.G. *int-suab* 'I marked' *skōbun* from pres. *int-seff(i)u*: Lat. *sapiō*. Goth. *skōþ* 'I hurt' *skōþun* from pres. *skapja*: cp. Gr. *ἀσκηθής* 'scatheless' (*η* = *a*). Goth. *us-ōn* 'exhaled' *-ōnun* from pres. *us-ana*: Skr. *āna*, cp. Gr. *ἀνεμο-ς* 'wind' *ἡνεμόεις* 'windy' (*η* for *a*). O. Icel. *ōk* 'drove' *ōko* beside pres. *ek*: Gr. *ἔχῃ ἡγμαι* (*η* for *a*) 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. *πέφωμαι* pres. *φύγω* (Class II A). Pret.-pres. Goth. *ōg* 'fears' *ōgun* (2<sup>nd</sup> sing. conj. *ōgs* § 882 p. 430) beside *un-agands* 'fearless': O.Ir. *-agur* 'fear' may also have been originally perfect.

A certain number of perfects of this group come from roots of the *e-*series. Goth. *fōr* 'drove' *fōrun* 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. *melja* beside Armen. *malem* Lat. *molō* Cymr. *malof* (§ 523 p. 86). Goth. *grōf* 'dug' O.H.G. *gruob* from *graba grabu*, √ *ghrebh-* O.C.Sl. *grebq.* Goth. *slōh* 'struck' *slōhuu* (instead of \**slōgun*) O.H.G. *sluoh* (also *sluog*) *sluogun* from *slaha slahu*, √ *slek- sleg-* O.Ír. *sligim*. O.H.G. *gi-ueuog* 'mentioned' from *gi-wahann(i)u* (§ 623 p. 161), √ *ueq-* Gr. *επος* '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 *ō* on the analogy of *skōf skōbun* from *skaba*. See § 509, page 75. There is no need to suppose that *fōr* 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-* = \**př-* and \**mř-* may have been the weak perfect stem. If so, then the sing. *fōr* and *mōl* were formed beside them just as in Greek *μέμαλε* took the place of \**μεμολε* on the analogy of forms with *με-μαλ-* (§ 859 p. 403); a step further, and we have *fōrun* and *mōlun* following the singular.

§ 889. Some perfects of this class are based upon an extended root or a present stem which already has some characteristic (cp. §§ 847, 884, 891). O.H.G. *spuon* 'I enticed' from *spanu* (§ 614 p. 152); Mod.H.G. *bak* instead of Mid.H.G. *buoch* O.H.G. *buoh* following *backe* O.H.G. *backu* for \**bak-nō* (§ 888 p. 436). Goth. *vōhs* O.H.G. *uuohs* 'I grew' from *vah-s-ja wahsu* (§ 657 p. 192). O.H.G. *uuoosc* 'I washed' from *uascu* probably for \**uat-skō* (§ 676 p. 209). Goth. *stōþ* O.H.G. *-stuot stuont* 'stood' from *sta-nda sta-ntu* 'I stand' (§ 634 p. 172, § 685 p. 216). O.H.G. *luod* from *(h)la-du* A.S. *hla-de* 'I load' (§ 689 p. 220).

§ 890. Group II B. Perfects which ever since protoethnie 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.

(1) Goth. *bait* 'I bit' *bitun* opt. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *biteima* O.H.G. *beiz biggim* *biggim* O.Icel. *beit bito bitem*. Pret.-pres. Goth. *vait* 'I know' *vitun* O.H.G. *weiz wizzun* O.Icel. *veit vito*. Goth. *-bduþ* 'offered' *-budun* O.H.G. *bōt butun* O.Icel. *baud budo*. Pret.-pres. Goth. *dauþ* 'valet' O.H.G. *toug tugun*.

Goth. *band* 'I bound' *bundun* O.H.G. *bant buntun* O.Icel. *batt bundo*. Goth. *varþ* 'I became' *waúrþun* O.H.G. *ward wurtun* O.Icel. *varð urðo*<sup>1)</sup>. Pret.-pres. Goth. *ga-dars* 'dares' *-dairsun* O.H.G. *gi-tar -turrun*.

(2 a) Perfects with Preterite meaning. Goth. *bar* 'carried' *bērun* O.H.G. *bar bārun* O.Icel. *bar bǫro (bāru)*. Goth. *gam* 'came' *gēmum* O.H.G. *quam quāmun* O.Icel. *kvam kvǫmu (kvāmu)*. Goth. *sat* 'I sat' *sētun* O.H.G. *saz sāzun* O.Icel. *sat sǣto (sātu)*. Goth. *brak* 'I broke' *brēkun* O.H.G. *brah brāhhun*. Goth. *frak* 'asked' *frēhun* O.Icel. *frā frǫgo (frāgu)*. There are reformatives following this class; one is Goth. *baþ* 'I bade' *bēdun* O.H.G. *bat bātun* from pres. *bidja bitt(u)n*, √ *bhejdh-* (§ 722 p. 253).

(b) Preterite-presents. Goth. *skal* 'shall' *skulun* O.H.G. *scal sculun* O.Icel. *skal skolò*. Goth. *man* 'thinks' *munun* O.Icel. *man muno*. Goth. *ga-nah* 'is enough' *\*-nauhun* O.H.G. *gi-nah* A.S. pl. *ge-nuzon* (probably akin to O.C.Sl. *nesq* 'I carry', √ *nek-*).

§ 891. Numerous perfects of this class are made from roots already extended, or from characterised present stems (cp. §§ 847, 884, 889).

With *n*-suffix (§ 614 p. 151 f.). O.H.G. *spw-nun* 'they trod, kicked' (sing. *\*sparn*) A.S. *spearn spurnon* from *spur-nu*. O.Sax. *fragn* 'I asked' *frugnon* A.S. *frægn frugnon* (cp. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ga-fregin* in the Prayer of Wessobrunnen) from *frig-nu friz-*

1) Of the same sort is Goth. *þrask* 'I threshed' *þraskun* O.H.G. *drask draskun*, which probably contains the present suffix *-sko-*. Cp. § 676 p. 209, and § 891.

-ne Goth. *frath-na*. Goth. *skáin* 'appeared' *skinun* O.H.G. *scein* *scinun* from *skei-na* *scē-nu*; so too O.H.G. *swein* 'disappeared' from *swē-nu* etc. O.H.G. *qual(l)* 'welled up' *quullun* from *quillu* for *\*quel-nō*; so also *hal(l)* 'sounded, rang out' *hullun* from *hillu* 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. *chlamb* 'climbed' *chlumbun* from *chlimbu*, from *glei-p-*. O.H.G. *sprang* 'sprang' *sprungun* from *springu*, √ *spergh-*. O.H.G. *scrant* 'burst' *scruntun* from *scrintu*, *syer-dh-*. — Goth. *fanþ* 'found' *funþun* O.H.G. *fand* *funtun* from *finþa* *findu*, as I conjecture from √ *pet-*. — Goth. *vand* 'turned' *vundun* O.H.G. *want* *wuntun* from *vinda* *wintu*, from *yei-t-*. The Goth. *þeiha* O.H.G. *dīhu* 'I thrive', for *\*þeoxō*, which is connected with Lith. *tenkù* inf. *tėk-ti* (√ *teq-*), had originally a perf. *\*þaow* *\*þuowun*, which is now represented only by A.S. *ðungon* (cp. part. *ge-ðungen* O.Sax. *gi-thungan*); the regular phonetic change of the present led to the formation of the perf. forms Goth. *þáih* O.H.G. *dēh* following *stáig* beside *steiga* etc. (I § 67 Rem. 2 p. 57).

From Present stems in -*nnō* for -*ny-ō* and in -*innō* for -*eny-ō* (§ 654 pp. 187 f.). Goth. *du-gann* 'began' -*gunnun* O.H.G. *bi-gan* -*gunnun* from *du-ginna* *bi-ginnu* = Skr. *hi-nva-ti*. Goth. *rann* 'ran' *runnun* O.H.G. *ran* *runnun* from *rinna* *rinnu* = Skr. *ri-ṇāmi* Idg. *\*ri-ny-ō* or = Idg. *\*r-enyō*. O.H.G. *trōn* 'I separated myself' *trunnun* beside *trinnu* = Idg. *\*dr-enyō*.

Root with *s*-extension (§ 664 p. 197). Goth. *-þans* 'I pulled' *-þunsun* O.H.G. *dans* *dunsun* from *þin-sa* *din-su*, √ *ten-*. O.H.G. *bal(l)* 'barked' *bullun* from *bǣllu* = *\*bhel-sō*. Goth. *fra-láus* 'I lost' -*lusun* O.H.G. *vir-lōs* -*lurun* from *-liu-sa* -*liu-su* 'I lose'.

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' *fluhtun* from *flīh-tu*; *faht* 'fought' *fuhtun* from *fiht-tu*<sup>1)</sup>. Goth. *ga-vaþ* 'bound' -*vēdun* O.H.G. *wat wātun* from *ga-vida witu*, ground-form doubtless \**wi-tō*. Compare the perf. Goth. *vand*, which belongs to a *t*-present with nasal infix, p. 439.

Root with *dh*-extension (§ 698 p. 225). O.H.G. *brat(t)* 'I swung, jerked' *bruttun* A.S. *bræzd bruzdon* from *brittu breg-de*. Also with internal nasal O.H.G. *scrant* from *sger-dh*, p. 439.

Root with *d*-extension (§ 699 p. 225 f.). Goth. *gāt* 'poured' *gutun* O.H.G. *gōz guzzun* from *giu-ta giu-zu*. O.H.G. *flōz* 'flowed' *fluggun* from *fliu-zu*. Goth. *svalt* 'was burnt up' *svultun* O.H.G. *swalz swulzun* from *svil-ta swil-zu*.

§ 892. Levelling between perfect singular and plural as we see it in Mod.H.G. *biss* 'I bit' following *bissen*, *quoll* 'welled up' following *quollen*, *banden* 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 nāmun*<sup>2)</sup>, O.Icel. *ōf* *ōfo* instead of *vaf* *ōfo* = O.H.G. *wab wābun* (O.Icel. *vefa* O.H.G. *weban* 'to weave').

§ 893. 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 mētun gēmūn*; see § 848. 3 p. 393. The reason why they drove out of the field forms of the same type as Skr. *pa-pt-tīr sēdūr* = \**sa-zd-ur*, was that in course of phonetic change the unity of the tense-system had been considerably destroyed; thus the reduplicated 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. of the Goth. *mitan* must needs become \**mintun* (sing. *mat*), from Goth. *saihvan* the form must be \**sisk(y)un* (sing. *sahv*), from Goth. *qīþan* it must be \**qaihtun* (sing. *qaf*), 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 *brīstn* 'I break'. For the change in the perf. plural see Osthoff, Perf. 119.

2) *nōmon* is regular, and drew the singular under the influence of *fōr fōron*.

it must be \**fīrun* (sing. *jas*), and from O.H.G. *lessen* it would be \**lillun* (sing. *las*). Thus the same difficulty had to be met here as was met in Sanskrit by the spread of the type *śed-yēm-* (§ 852 p. 401).

(2) The pret.-pres. Goth. *diū* and probably also *vāt* which answers to Skr. *vēda* and Gr. *olōs*, see § 848 p. 391, § 888 p. 436.

Further, the following may be regarded as perfect forms originally unreduplicate:

(3) Goth. *fr-ēt-ētun* O.H.G. *az* O.Icel. *at* and

(4) O.Icel. *ök öko*, Goth. *ōn* and *ōg*; see § 848. 3 and 4, pp. 393 f.

As regards the Preterite-Presents in particular, we must remember that the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Goth. *munun* and *ga-dairsan* were in all probability injunctive, as we may regard *vītun* (§ 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. *scābi*) 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 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. like O.H.G. *biggi* A.S. *bite* 'thou didst bite' (Skr. *ā-bhid-a-s* Lat. *fid-i-t*), O.H.G. *zigi* A.S. *tize* 'thou didst draw' (Skr. *ā-diś-a-s*), see § 532 p. 928; further perhaps those like O.H.G. *māgi* A.S. *māte* 'thou measuredst' (Gr. *ἐ-μ/δ-ε-ο*), see § 514 p. 81. Such forms as these were at first quite rare. In protoethnic W.Germ. they had become identical with the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing.

optative, whose ending \*-īz became -ī, 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. *fiangi* A.S. *fenge*. But in O.H.G. and O.Sax. the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. opt. and indic. were differentiated afresh, -ī being restricted to the indicative, and in the optative the ending -īs (-īst), used since protoethnic Germanic beside \*-īz, being made proper ending: O.H.G. indic. *biggi* opt. *biggiſt* (t), but A.S. *bite* opt. and indic. both. The reason why the old forms in -t (-þ) preserved in Gothic and Norse, such as Goth. *bāist* 'didst bite' *gaft* '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. *πένονθα* etc. with -ας instead of -θα).

This West-Germ. 2<sup>nd</sup> 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. *τε-τάθ-ο-ε* are included amongst O.H.G. *fiangi hiaz* 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 Celtic and Germanic. The Participle survived, while the Finite Verb disappeared.

One vestige of this has been left in Slavonic; the O.C.Sl. *věd-ě* 'I know', answering to Skr. *vēda* Gr. *oida* Goth. *vāt*, with the middle ending, which here as in Lat. (*tutud-ī*) drove

out the active. This perfect was transformed into a present, giving *vėmĩ* 'I know' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *vėstũ*; the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *vėste* opt. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *vėdimũ* imper. *vėdĩ* (which keep *ė* instead of *ĩ* 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.

The Participial forms are all unreduplicated. Examples are Lith. *kiŗt-ęs* (pres. *kertũ* 'I cut, strike'), O.C.Sl. *čŗtũ* (pres. *čŗta* 'I cut'): Skr. *ca-kŗt-vās-*. Lith. *dėg-ęs* (*dėgũ* 'I burn') O.C.Sl. *đegũ* (*đega* 'I burn'): Skr. *dēh-i-vās- dēh-ūṣ-*. Lith. *dā-vęs* (*dũdu* 'I give') O.C.Sl. *da-vũ* (*damĩ*): Skr. *da-di-vās-da-da-vās-*. Pruss. *signā-uns* beside *signā-t* 'to bless', O.C.Sl. *žēlē-vũ* beside *žēlē-ti* 'to wish', which must be compared with Gr. *κκκκρωός*. See II § 136 pp. 445 f. Along with O.Ir. *mīdar* Goth. *sētun* go Lith. participles like *sėd-ęs* (from *sėdu* 'I sit, take my place'). Again, with Lat. *ēdĩ* Goth. *fr-ēt* goes the part. Lith. *ėd-ęs* O.C.Sl. *jad-ũ*, and with Lith. fem. *ėd-us-i* may be compared *ěj-us-i* as being the regular descendant of Idg. *\*ēj-us-i*.

How the first-named participles, *kiŗtęs čŗtũ* 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. *ėj-ęs kiŗt-ęs* etc. and the connected present stems *ėj-o kiŗt-o* (§ 586 p. 126 f.) caused the coining beside *dė-jo stó-jo* of the part. *dėjęs stójęs*. Just so the agreement between *mĩr-ęs gim-ęs* etc. and *mĩr-ė gim-ė* (§ 593 p. 133) caused the coining beside *ėm-ė* of the partic. *ėm-ęs* instead of *\*ĩm-ęs* (Pruss. *immus-* O.C.Sl. *imũ*). Vice versā, by analogy of participles similar to *sėd-ęs*, as *vėm-ęs* (from *vėmũ* 'I vomit') *gėr-ęs* (from *gerũ* 'I drink') were formed the preterites *vėmė gėrė* with *ė* in the root syllable.

## PERIPHRASTIC 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. *datāsmi* instead of *datā asmi*;<sup>1)</sup> 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 *es-* or a synonym of it, is a usage which occurs all over the Indo-Germanic area; examples of this are Skr. *iṣṭā dēvātāḥ* 'honoured are the gods' *iṣṭā dēvātā āsan* 'honoured were the gods' (see Delbrück, Altind. Synt. 392 ff.; Spiegel, Altpers. Keilinschr.<sup>2</sup> § 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. *γεγραμμέου εἰσι* instead of *γεγραμμένοι*, Lat. *actus est* (cp. Gr. *ἔχεται*), Goth. *gemēlīp ist* 'ἔγραπται'.

## § 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. *canterò* Fr. *chanterai* for Lat. *cantāre habeo*, Serv. *ubīcu* ('I will kill') = O.C.Sl. *ubiti choŭta*, Pol. *działatem -ales* etc. 'I have built' = *działal jestem*, — *jest* etc.

'dator') and the verb 'to be', but only in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons. There is a difference in usage between this and the *siḥ*-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 *datāsmi* instead of *datā asmi* we have 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *datāsmas* instead of *datārah* *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. *datāsmahē*. Compare II § 122 p. 385.

Again, it is not until the historical period that we see a productive type arising out of the Periphrastic Peffect, the union of a case ending in *-ām* with *caḥāra*, *daa*, or *babhāva*, as *vidā caḥāra* 'I knew', *gamayā caḥāra* '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 where present and perfect were not clearly distinguished in form, as in *as-* 'to sit'. Following *vidām asām* and the like, forms like *gamayām* and *bibhayām* were derived from the present stem (pres. *gamā-ya-ti bi-bhē-ti*).

Remark. Since in such formations *caḥāra* is almost exclusively used in the older language, and *babhāva* never, Delbrück (Altind. Synt. 426 f.) infers that *-ām* is the ending of the acc. sing. of an abstract noun in *-ā* (cp. *bhidd* 'split'). The accusative must have crystallised, much as the infinitive *did*, before *daa* and *babhāva* could be used with it. But there is such a striking parallel in Lat. *are faciō* and *are fiō* (Deecke, *Facere und fieri in ihrer Composition mit andern Verbis*, Strassburg 1873), *arē-bam*, *fiā-bam*, *amā-bam* and O.C.Sl. *nešč-achū dila-achū*, that we can hardly separate the *-ām* 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 *o*-stems (cp. III § 275 p. 176), and often with *z*-stems like Lat. *quie-s* Gr. *χεῖ ὤπο-σις* (§ 578 p. 120), e. g. *plē* in *plē-bam*. It may be that *vidām* when used with *caḥāra* is accusative; but when used with *as-* or *bhā-* it may be instrumental. That *vidām* might be instr. is shown by O.C.Sl. *rqkq* (III § 276 p. 179) and Skr. *pratarām* (Hirt, *Idg. Forsch.* i 20) and the like. Compare too the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. imper mid. *vidām* § 968.2.



§ 897. Armenian has several periphrastic formations; as the part. aor. (active or passive) in *-eal* coupled with *em* 'I am', e. g. *gereal ē* 'cepit, captus est' *gereal ēr* 'ceperat, captus erat' from *gerel* 'capere, to take prisoner'.

§ 898. Greek. Here we find as far back as we can go variants *γέγονται* and *γεγραμμένοι*; *ἔστι* 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* dropt out of use altogether: *γεγραμμένοι* *εἰσὶ* and *ἦσαν*. In the other tenses and moods *-αται* and *-ατο* had dropt 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. *λελείψεται* *βεβλήσεται* (§ 756. 6 p. 276). For the Active, and for such verbs as could not form this tense, a participle + *ἔσται* had to be used; as *κατακκορώς* *ἔσται* 'he will have killed, he will be a murderer', *τετελεσμένον* *ἔσται* 'it will be accomplished'.

The periphrasis of the perfect by using *ἔχω* with a participle, as *κρύψας* *ἔχω* 'I keep hidden' (Lat. *abditum habeo*), gained currency largely because certain verbs were without the simple perfect form; e. g. *ἐρασθεὶς* *ἔχω* (Plato) from *ἐράω* 'I love', *στήσας* *ἔχω* (Soph.) from *ἵστημι* 'I place' (because *ἔστηκα* is intransitive).

Desideratives in *-σεῖω* at first used only the participle active, as *ὀπείων* 'wishing to see'. This form, as Wackernagel makes very probable, comes from *ὄψει* *ἰών* 'going out for to see' (Kuhn's Zeitschr., xxviii 141 ff.); similarly *ἐπιβασείων* 'wishing to make a bargain' from *ἐύμβασις*, *ἀπαλλάξείων* 'wishing to get rid of' from *ἀπάλλαξις*. 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, *aseriato 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 *bhey-* 'to become' joined with a preceding infinitival word to express the future. Lat. *arē-bō vidē-bō albē-bō, cubā-bō flā-bō plantā-bō*, (O.Lat.) *scī-bō audī-bō, ī-bō da-bō*, Falisc. *carē-fō pipā-fō*. O.Ir. *no charub* 'I will be' for *\*-bhū-ō*, elsewhere stem *\*-bhū-a-*, as in 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *-carfa carfid*; *dolēciub* 'I will relinquish' *-lēicfea lēicfid*.

The Umbr.-Samn. Perfects like Osc. *aa-mana-ffed* 'mandavit' contain the Idg. thematic aorist *\*(e)-bhū-e-t*, see § 874 p. 422 f. The pret. of Class X *\*(e)-bhū-ā-m* (§ 583 p. 123 f.) from the time of pr. Ital. made Imperfects, e.g. Lat. *arē-bam vidē-bam albē-bam plē-bam nē-bam dicē-bam* (in O.Lat. also a future like *dicē-bō*), *capīē-bam faciē-bam finīē-bam, cubā-bam flā-bam plantā-bam*, (O.Lat.) *scī-bam finī-bam, ī-bam da-bam*, Osc. *fu-fans* 'erant'.

There is unquestionably some connexion between the first word in Latin phrases like *are facio* and the case-forms in *-ē* and *-ā* (instr. sing.) in the first part of the O.O.Sl. imperfect, *vidē-achū dēla-achū*; there is probably a connexion with such a form as Skr. *vidām* in *vidā carati*. See § 896 Rem., § 903. Following the lead of Lat. *plantā-bō*, we may derive O.Ir. *no charub* from *\*carā-bō* (*carfid* from *\*carā-bāt(i)*, etc.). But there is no proof that *a* was long; and as the *s*-aorist *ro-char* comes from *\*carās-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, plantatus sum, finitus sum*, Umbr. *screhto est* 'scriptum est' *screihtor sent* 'scripti sunt', Osc. *prūftūset* '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 dearth of material.) (1) As the act. *fīneit* meant both 'he has

ended and done with', and in narrative 'he put an end to', so *finitum est*, which properly meant 'it is ended and done with', got in addition the meaning 'it was ended'; and *finitum erat* meant not only 'it was' but 'it had been ended'. Beside *praeceptum est* 'it is prescribed' we get *praeceptum fuit* 'it was prescribed'. (2) The other fact is the use of this periphrasis with deponents, where we see e. g. *cōfessus sum* made the perfect of *cōfiteor* for all purposes, and taking the same construction (II § 79 p. 219).

Just as in Attic the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *γερᾶνται* was driven out by *γερῶμενοι εἰσι*; so in Latin — perhaps even in proto-Italic — the old 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. middle (cp. Skr. *bhāradhvā* Gr. *ῥέσθης*, § 1063) was superseded by a periphrasis with a participle: \**ferimī estis* = Gr. *φερόμενοι ἐστέ*, which in the historical period dropt its copula, and then the participial character of *ferimī* fell out of sight; see II § 71 p. 165. We may conjecture that \**ferimī erātis*, \**ferimī essētis* were also used. By and by this form buried itself in the present system, which it became part of; then its ending *-minī* became recognised for a personal suffix; and lastly we have *ferāminī ferēminī ferrēminī ferēbiminī ferēbāminī* on the analogy of *ferāmur ferēmur* etc. to *ferimur*.

Old Latin had an indeclinable inf. fut. in *-tūrum*, as *crēdō inimicōs meōs dictūrum* (C. Gracchus), which Postgate (Class Review, v 301) neatly explains as compounded of *dictū* and *erum* = Umbr. *erom* Osc. *ezum* 'esse'. To this crystallised infinitive *esse* was superadded; as *dixerunt omnia . . . prōcessūrum esse*; and then, the apparent analogy of *hoc prōcessūrum* (*esse*) with *hoc factum* (*esse*) caused the form to be inflected as an adjective (*o*-stem), e. g. *hanc rem prōcessuram* (*esse*) etc. Similarly, as beside Gr. *ὀψίων* an indic. *ὀψίων* was formed (§ 898 p. 446), so beside *mē datūrum* (*esse*) we have e. g. *datūrus sum*.

Remark. The traditional interpretation, that *datūrus* is an extension of *dator* (cp. II § 122 p. 387), has been recognised for wrong by Kretschmer too (Kuhn's Zeitschr., xxxi 463 f.). He also connects the form with the supines in *-ā* and *-um*, but assumes the suffix to be *-ro-*, comparing Gr. *δοτέος* from *δοτέω*. Postgate's explanation I think the likelier.

In formation, as in meaning, there is no connexion between the verbal adj. in *-tūrus* and the abstract noun in *-tūra*; the latter has nothing future in it, and contains a secondary suffix *-rā-*. As regards Desideratives like *parturiō canturiō*, see § 768 p. 282, § 778.1 p. 301.

Further, Latin has the periphrastic inf. fut. passive, *datum iri*, mentioned above in § 898 p. 446. The complete fusion of these two words is shown by the spelling *-tuiri* instead of *-tum iri* (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 *-ues-*) 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. *gamēliþ ist* 'γέγραπται, it is written', O.H.G. *ginoman ist* 'it is taken'; similarly pret. Goth. *ana þammei sō baúrgs izē gatimrida was* 'ἐφ' οὗ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ἀκοδόμητο, was built, stood builded', O.H.G. *ginoman was* 'it had been taken, was in that condition'. Cp. 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 was jah bigitans varþ* 'ἀπολωλὼς ἦν καὶ πρέσθη, 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. *skaiskáþ* '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. *vaurhta* '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. *cognitam hanc rem habet* and gr. *χρητὸν ἔγω* 'abditum habeo' beside *χρησας 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 *finitū* '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. *sjo*-future was lost, nor did this branch, as others did, use certain conjunctive forms with future meaning only (as Lat. *erō*). 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 sijaina þō tea du leika samīn* 'and I expect you will be able to do it'; or thirdly, periphrases with auxiliaries which naturally pointed to the future. But the use of these last with dependent infinitive (Goth. *haban*, *uginnan*, *skulan*, O.H.G. *scolan*, *muozan*, *wollen 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. *vairþan* O.H.G. *werden*) with the present participle, which is found a few times, in Gothic, as *jās saurgandans vairþiþ* 'you will 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 dropt 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 *taĩ (grà) sàkoma* 'that is being said, that is usually said', *jis prakéikiamas būs nū visū* 'he is constantly curst by all'. For completed action the participle in *-ta-s* is used; as *jis (grà) prakéiktas* 'he is accurat', *dūrys uždarytos būvo* '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 *vilkau* (§ 586 p. 126) and *viriaū* (§ 593 p. 133) combine the meanings of historic perfect and present perfect; as *isz-đugo* '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 *esū* may be used; as *đsz (esū) iszđugęs* 'I am grown up', *đsz (esū) iszmókęs* 'I have learnt', *jis būvo parařgęs* 'he was impoverished'. This participle with *būvaū* also serves for a more exact expression of pluperfect time, cp. O.H.G. *geman was* 'he had come' § 901 p. 450.

Wish is expressed by the Injunctive forms 1. pl. *-bime* 2. pl. *-bíte* from *✓bhey-* preceded by the Supine in *-tum*, as *sùktum-bime*. See § 727 p. 257. The 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pl. and dual *sùkta* is without the auxiliary; for the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. we have *sùkciau sùkceze*. 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.; Bezzenberger, Beitr. z. Gesch. d. lit. Spr. 212 ff.; Leskien-Brugmann, Lit. Volksl. u. Märch. 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. \**jachū* 'eram' for \**es-o-m* (§ 510 p. 76) added to the Instrumental case of nomina actionis in *-r* 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-achŭ* 'I saw' like Lat. *vidē-bam*, *oslābē-achŭ* 'I became weak' like *albē-bam*, *nesē-achŭ* 'I carried' *pečaachŭ* 'I backed' for \**pekē-achŭ* (I § 76 p. 65) like *ferē-bam*, *borja-achŭ* 'I fought' for \**borjē-achŭ* (see as cited) like *capiž-bam*, *laka-achŭ* like *plantā-bam*.

For Present Perfect was used the pres. part. in *-lŭ* (II § 76 p. 212) with *jesmŭ*, as *prišlŭ jesmŭ* 'I am come, I am here'. The same participle and *bēachŭ* or *bēchŭ* formed the Pluperfect, if need were to express this point of time exactly; as *poslŭlŭ bēaše* 'he had sent'.

As in Germanic, when the old *sjo-* 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. *imamŭ* ('I have'), *choštŭ* ('I wish'), *načŭnŭ* ('I will begin'), all of which with others (Miklosich, Vergl. Gr. iv 862 ff.), including *bqdŭ* ('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 *-uī* (§ 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 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. aor. pass. (also mid.) in *-i*, mostly with *a* in the root-syllable, in Vedic and Avestic, with or without augment like the other augmented tenses (as

usual, the unaugmented forms can have a conjunctive meaning). Examples: Skr. *á-vác-i vác-i* Avest. Gath. *a-vác-i vác-i* √ *ueq* 'speak'; Skr. *á-dhár-i* O.Pers. *a-dár-iy* √ *dher-* 'hold fast'; Skr. *ájani* √ *gen-* 'gignere', *ádarsi* √ *derk-* 'see', *áyēji* √ *jeng-* 'yoke', *á-jānā-yi* stem *gn-ē- gn-ō-* 'noscere'; Avest. *jaini* √ *ghen-* 'strike, slay'.

It has often been assumed that *-i* is identical with the ending of the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. mid. *-i* (as in *á-kr-i*), just as *-ē* in the perfect did for both 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> singular. The difference of vowel grade in the root syllable is generally compared with that in the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *u-vác-a* : 1<sup>st</sup> 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 *-ç-*, such, for instance, as conj. pres. *geriçem* (for \**gerëçem*) aor. *gereçi* (for \**gereaçi*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *gereaç*) fut. *gereçiç* from *gerem* 'capio', where not only does *ç* 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.),<sup>1)</sup> as *no berinn* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *no bertha* etc. The 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *no bered* is perhaps for \**bhere-to* = Gr. *qépe-ro*.

§ 907. In Germanic, explanation is still to seek for the much discussed Weak Preterite,<sup>2)</sup> whose chief mark is a *t*-sound.

1) Windisch, Das ir. praes. secundarium, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 156 ff.

2) Begemann, Das schwache Präteritum der german. Sprachen, Berl. 1873. *Idem*, Zur Bedeutung des schw. Prät. der germ. Spr., Berl. 1874. Fr. Carter, On Begemann's Views as to the Weak Preterite of the Germanic Verbs, Transactions of the Am. Phil. Assoc. vi (1875) pp. 22 ff. Wickberg, Über den Ursprung der schwachen Präteritalbildung in den german. Sprachen, Lund 1877. Bugge, Das schwache german. praeteritum, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiii 523. Amelung, Die Perfecta der schwachen Conjugation, Zeitschr. deutsch. Altert. xxi 229 ff. Paul, Zur Bildung des schwachen Präteritums und Participiums, Paul-Braune's



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. *vaúrhta* O.H.G. *worhta* from *vaúrkeja* *wurk(i)u* 'I work', Goth. *páhta* O.H.G. *dahta* from Goth. *þugkja* O.H.G. *dunk(i)u* 'I think', Goth. O.H.G. *bráhta* from *brigga* *bringu* 'I bring'. Next, the Preterite Present has also this preterite, as Goth. *ga-daursta* O.H.G. *gi-torsta* from *ga-dars* *gi-tar* 'I dare', Goth. *skulda* O.H.G. *scolta* from *skal* *scal* 'I shall', Goth. *munda* from *man* 'I think', *kunþa* from *kann* 'I know, learn'. Lastly, it is found with all weak verbs, as Goth. *nasida* O.H.G. *nerita* from *nasja* *neris* 'I save', Goth. *salbōda* O.H.G. *salbōta* from *salbō* *salbōm* 'I smear, anoint', Goth. *habāda* O.H.G. *hapta* *habēta* from *haba* *habēm* 'I have'.

In the Indicative, the dental was followed by *ē* sometimes and sometimes *ō*, as Goth. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *nasidēs* contrasted with O.H.G. *neritōs* (but also *chi-minnerōdēs* like O.Sax. *habdes*); 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Goth. *-da* O.H.G. *-ta*; Norse Run. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *worahto* 'I made' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *wurte* *urte* 'he made'; in the plural O.H.G. *-tun* *-tut* *-tun* (Alemann. *-tōm* *-tōt* *-tōn*), Goth. *-dēdum* *-dēdūþ* *-dēdun*. Opt. Goth. *-dēljau* *-dēdeis* etc., O.H.G. *-ti* *-tīs* 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. *kunþa* like partic. *kunþa-*, *munda* like partic. *munda-*.<sup>1)</sup> But it 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

Beitr. vii 136 ff. Möller, *Kunþa* und das *t*-Präteritum, *ibid.* vii 457 ff. Sievers, Zur Flexion der schwachen Verba, *ibid.* viii 90 ff. Collitz, Das schwache Präteritum des Germanischen, Am. Journ. Philol. ix 42 ff. — Bezzenberger's Beitr. xvii 227 ff. Johansson, Zur Flexion des schwachen Präteritums im Got., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 547 ff. Other works are cited in those here enumerated.

1) For O.H.G. *forah-ta* 'feared', whose old participle is the adj. *forah-t* Got. *faħhr-t-s* 'timid', the present *t* must be taken into account *foriht(i)u* Got. *fourhtya*). See § 685 p. 216.

such forms in the group; for example, O.Sax. *libda* 'lived' from  $\sqrt{\text{leip-}}$  cannot have had Idg. *t* in the ending, and the partic. *ge-libd* must be instead of *\*-lift* and due to the analogy of the preterite.<sup>1)</sup> 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. *iddja* (pl. *iddjēdun*) is the Sanskrit *ā-yā-m* or perhaps its byeform *iyā-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*<sup>2)</sup> *vīl dēs* may be equated with Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. *ma-thās* (*ā-ma-thās*) *or-thās* (*ā-ṛ-thās*), compare Gr. *ἐ-ρέ-της* = Skr. *ā-ta-thas* § 503 p. 67. Again, O.H.G. *wissun* as an *s*-worist may be compared with Gr. *ῥοω* (§ 827 p. 365), and forms like *salbō-ta* may be compounds of the same kind as Lat. *amā-bam* O.C.Sl. *děla-achū* (§ 899 p. 447, § 903 p. 451 f.), having for the second member the preterite of *dhē-* 'do' *\*(e)-dhē-m*, or the preterite *ā*-injunctive *\*dh-a-m* (§ 507 p. 74, § 937).

§ 908. In Lithuanian, the growth of the Imperfect of habit in *-davau* is obscure; examples are *piáu-davau* 'I used to cut' 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *piáu-davo* part. *piáu-davęs* (fem. *-davusi*). *sūk-davau* 'I used to twist', *matį-davau* 'I used to see'. The ending *-avan* recalls *baļtavau* pret. of *baļtāju* 'I gleam white', and recalls *d* in the present endings *-d-inu* and *-d-au*, treated in §§ 700 f. pp. 226 ff.

1) Nothing prevents our putting this re-formation of the participle back to protoethnic Germanic; and so Goth. *ga-hugd-s* O.Sax. *gi-hugd* 'thought, reason, understanding' beside pret. O.Sax. *hogda hugla* O.H.G. *hoeta* part. O.Sax. *gi-hugd* O.H.G. *ge-huet* does not weigh against the connexion of Germ. *hug-* with Skr. *huc-* (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.<sup>1)</sup>INJUNCTIVE.<sup>2)</sup>

§ 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. *qēst*, cp. imperf. *á-bhara-t i-qēst*. 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:

1) L. Tobler, *Übergang zwischen Tempus und Modus* etc., see p. 33 footnote 1. S. H. A. Herling, *Vergleichende Darstellung der Lehre vom Tempus und Modus*, Hannover 1840. Wöllner, *Die Bedeutung der sprachlichen Casus und Modi*, Münster 1827. C. F. Nägelsbach, *De vera modorum origine*, Erlang. 1843. M. L. E. Rusén, *Unde notiones modorum verbi sint repetendae*, Upsala 1855. A. Bergaigne, *De coniunctivi et optativi in Indoeuropaeis linguis informatione et vi antiquissima*, Paris 1877.

R. Kohlmann, *Über die Modi des griech. und des lat. Verbums in ihrem Verhältnis zu einander*, Eisleben 1883.

Scheuerlein, *Über den Charakter des Modus in der griechischen Sprache*, Halle 1842. W. Büttner, *Vom Optativus und Coniunctivus*, I, Schweidnitz 1879.

W. Weissenborn, *De modorum apud Latinos natura et usu*, I, Eisenach 1846. *Idem*, *Bemerkungen über die Bildung des Modus im Lat.*, *Philologus* 1 389 ff. Works on the future perfect and the conjunctive perfect are given in the footnote to page 346.

Jellinek, *Germanische Conjunctive*, in: *Beitr. zur Erklärung der germ. Flexion* (Berl. 1891) pp. 94 ff.

2) The Author, *Der sogen. unechte Coniunct.*, *Morph. Unt.* III 1 ff. M. Bloomfield, *On Certain Irregular Vedic Subjunctives or Imperatives*, *Am. Journ. Phil.* v 16 ff. Thurneysen, *Der ir. Imperativ auf -the*, *Idg. Forsch.* 1 460 ff.

(1) Indicative Present. Skr. Ved. *cōdaya-t* 'he sets afire' and others (Delbrück, Altind. Syntax 354 f.). Gr. Dor. and Cypr. *φέρε-ς* 'thou bearest', Att. *τίθης* 'thou placest'; cp. also the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> § 160 Anm. p. 185 on the present (timeless) use of the ind. aor., as in *κάρθα' ὁμῶς ὁ τ' ἀεργός ἀνὴρ ὁ τε πολλὰ ἐοργώσ.*<sup>1</sup>) Lat. *veh-i-s im-plē-s ī-s s-u-m* (§ 528 p. 91). O.Ir. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *-bir* 'fers' for *\*bhere-s* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *-beir* for *\*bhere-t*. O.Icel. *ero eru* 'are' for *\*iz-únþ* (§ 507 pp. 73 f., § 508 p. 74). Lith. *bij-o-si* 'he fears' for *\*bhij-a-t*, *jūsto* 'he girds' for *\*jöstā-t*, Pruss. *waitia* 'he speaks' (§ 782. 4 p. 310); O.C.Sl. *beretū* 'fert' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *beratū* 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. *φέρει* 'he bore'; special mention must be made of the Ionic frequentatives *φεύγεσθον* etc. (§ 673 p. 206), which regularly lack the augment. Lat. *-bās* Osc. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *-fans*, Lat. *era-s* (§ 583 p. 124), Osc. *kúm-bened* 'convēnit' (§ 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 ff.

### (3) Conjunctive.

(a) Conj. = Wish. The 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. and 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> dual were firmly rooted among the imperative forms as early as the parent language: Skr. *bhāra-ta* 'ferte' *bhāra-tam bhāra-tām*, Gr. *φέρε-τε φέρε-τον*, Lat. *agi-te*; O.Ir. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *beri-d*; Goth. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *batri-þ* (2<sup>nd</sup> dual *batra-ts* with primary ending); beside *\*es-ti* 'is' Skr. *s-tā s-tām s-tām*, Gr. *ἔσ-τε ἔσ-τον*, 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 *gāt* after *mā* in the *Mahā-Bhārata* (Holtzmann, Gramm. aus dem Mahābh., 28).

s-Aorists Skr. *aviṣ-tá-na* (*-na* is a particle, see § 1010) *aviṣ-tám* *aviṣ-tám* from *áv-a-ti* 'he desires', Gr. *δεῖξα-τε* *δεῖξα-τορ* from *δείξ-νῆ-αι* 'shows'. In the other persons the proethnic 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. *prá vācam* 'I will praise', *dās* 'give', *juṣata* 'let him be pleased' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *juṣanta*, and many more. Then we have as part of the Aryan imperative such forms as 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Skr. *bhārat-u* Avest. *barat-u* 'ferro' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Skr. *bhārant-u* Avest. *baran-tu* 'ferueto', Injunctives particle *u* (§§ 992. 2 and 1017).

Gr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. *πέποι* *πέποι* for \**πέποι-σθ* (cp. imperf. *ἐ-πέποι*), *παλοῦ* for \**παλέ-σθ* (on the accent of this form see § 958), *πόο* from *πη-μι* 'I say', aor. *ἵεο* *ἵεο* beside *ἐ-ἵέ-μην* 'I placed for myself', used as regular imperative forms. Rarely also the corresponding 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. act. as *ἐνί-σπ-ε-ς* beside *ἐνί-σπ-ε* 'insece', *ἐνί-σπ-ε-ς* beside *ἐνί-σπ-ε* 'stop', *ἄγ-ε-ς* *ἄγε*, *πέποι* (Hesych.); cp. also § 932 on *ἵε* *ἵε* *ἵε*.

Lat. *sequere* = gr. *ἐπεί*, as regular imperative.

O.Ir. forms of the s-aorist, as *comēir* 'get up' for \**-rec-s-s*, *tair* 'let him come' for \**-inc-s-t* (§ 826 p. 363). Also the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. imper. mid. in *-the*, as *cluinte* 'exaudi' beside indic. *ro-chluinethar*, *aigde* 'fear' beside *-āgur*, *foilsigthe* 'révela', since *-the* is the Skr. secondary ending *-thās* (§ 1051).

O.H.G. *ni curi* 'noli' for \**kuz-i-z* \**gus-e-s* beside 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *ni cur-e-t*; Goth. *visa-m* *vaila* 'ἐ-ῥα-ν-ῥα-ν-ῥα', O.H.G. *fara-m* (*fara-mēs*) 'transcamus'.

Lith. *te ne ei* 'let him not go' for \**ei-t*, *tė-suka* 'let him turn' *te-māto* 'let him see',<sup>1)</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ei-mė* 1<sup>st</sup> dual *ei-và* 'let us go' (§ 511 p. 77); O.C.Sl. *bađa* 'sunto' (also found *bađatū* 'erunt'), *veli-te* 'command ye' (also indic. *veli-te* 'ye command'), see § 955 Rem.

1) Since forms like *vāta mātō* were also used for pres. indic., it came about that indicative forms with primary endings, as *eiv(i)*, could be used with a "permissive" meaning; e. g. *t'eiv(i)*.

(b) Conj. = Future. Skr. Ved. *nēm* (= *ná im*) *agha naśat* 'him no mischief will reach' (cp. Delbrück, Altind. Syntax 358). In Lithuanian, some dialects have forms of the s-aorist like *dė-s-mė* 'we will lay' *dėste dėsa dėsta* (§§ 828 f. pp. 365 f.).

### CONJUNCTIVE.<sup>1)</sup>

§ 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 *-ā-* and *-ē-* (*-ō-*). 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 *-ā-* or *-ē-* (*-ō-*). If the Indicative itself had *-ā-* or *-ē-* (*-ō-*) (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 *-ā-* *-ē-* (*-ō-*) originally did for both Indicative and Conjunctive, we may suppose that

1) Moulton, The Suffix of the Subjunctive, Amer. Journ. of Philol. x 285 f.

Bartholomae, Indisch *ai* in den Medialausgängen des Conjunctive, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 210 ff.

Joh. Paech, De vetere conjunctivi Graeci formatione, Breslau 1861.  
H. Stier, Bildung des Conjunctive bei Homer, Curtius' Stud. ii 125 ff.  
Stolz, Zum Conj. des griech. sigm. Aor., Idg. Forsch. ii 153 ff.

Thurneysen, Der Italokeltische Conjunctiv mit *ā*, Bezzenberger's Beitr. viii 269 ff.

Bréal, Un mot sur les subjunctifs latins en *am*, 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.  
Corssen, Die syncopierten Futurformen auf *-s* im Umbr., Osk. und Volsk., in: Beitr. zur ital. Sprachk. 538 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. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *rē-ñi* 'thou comest near' and 'come near' (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *rē-ti* 'he comes near'), *kṛē-ñi* 'thou abidest' and 'abide thou' (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *kṛē-ti* 'he abides') are two examples out of many (Delbrück, Altind. Verb. 31 and 34 f.), Avest. Gath. *dōiñi* 'perceive thou', Gr. imper. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *λάθῃ* 'lay thyself' for \**lex-ai-on* (§ 969. 2). Compare § 974 Rem. On the use of the Att. indic. forms *μῆθεός* *μῆθοι* 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 scanty 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* *agā-mus* true conj. and *edī-mus* *si-mus* optative); then the Optative won the day. Examples of Opt. forms used as Conj. in these languages are: Goth. *þairhaggōima* 'ðeilðamur, let us go through', *ni maúrþrjdis* 'ni gowrþs'; *te-sukē* 'let him turn' (imperative)<sup>1)</sup>, O.C.Sl. *ne vūvedi nasū tū iskušenije* 'ne nos inducas in tentationem, ni sīacvęxęs tūmāš' 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* \**ej-ti* \**rney-ti*, and contained the thematic vowel, as \**bhēre-ti*, or (II) ended in a long vowel, as \**e-stā-t* \**plē-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 Conjunctive from these stems had in the parent language, and continued to have, the Thematic Vowel, as *\*ei-e-t(i)* (Skr. *dyati dyat*) beside Indic. *\*ei-ti* 'goes'. The stem had its strong form, the ablaut-syllable the 1<sup>st</sup> strong grade (e-grade in the e : o-series): pres. conj. *\*ei-e-t(i)* beside indic. *ei-i-*, *\*r-neu-e-t(i)* (Skr. *r-náo-a-t(i)*) beside indic. *\*r-neu-* *\*r-nu-*, *\*steu-e-t(i)* (Skr. *stáo-a-t(i)*) beside indic. *\*steu-* *\*stu-* (§ 494 p. 54 f.); s-aor. conj. *\*qeí-s-e-t(i)* (Skr. *cé-ś-a-t(i)* Gr. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *rei-o-e-re*) beside indic. (e-) *qēi-s-* *\*(e-)qi-s-* (§ 811 p. 348); perf. conj. *\*te-ten-e-t(i)* (Skr. *ta-tán-a-ti*) beside indic. *\*te-ton-* *\*te-tu-* *\*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.): *\*és-e-t(i)* beside *\*és-ti* 'is': Skr. *ásat(i)*, Gr. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ī-ō* (but *īn̄s* *īñs* etc. belong to B), Lat. (fut.) *er-i-t*. Class III (§§ 536 ff.): Skr. *bi-bhar-a-t* beside *bi-bhar-ti* 'bears', *bi-bhay-a-t* beside *bi-bhē-ti* 'fears'. Class V (§§ 555 ff.): Skr. *bā-bhas-a-t* beside *bā-bhas-ti* 'eats, devours'. Class VII (§§ 567 ff.): Skr. *jāw-ghán-a-t* beside *jāw-ghan-ti* intens. 'strikes, kills'. Class XV (§§ 625 f.): Skr. *riṇác-a-t* beside *riṇák-ti* 'lets go, makes empty'. Class XVII (§§ 638 ff.): Skr. *r-náo-a-t* beside *r-nó-ti* 'excites, sets in motion'. Class XIX (§§ 656): *deś-ś-a-t* beside *deś-ś-ti* 'hates'.

s-Aorist (§§ 810 ff.). Skr. *nē-ś-a-t(i)* beside *á-nai-ś-am* 'I feared', Gr. *rei-o-o-uēr* beside *ī-ra-o-a* 'I paid', Lat. (fut.) *dīx-ō* beside *dīx-ī*, O.Ir. *for-tias* 'subveniam' beside injunct. *for-tē* 'subveniat' (§§ 826 p. 363 f.). Gr. *idē-ī-ō* *idō* (but *idōñs* etc. belong to B) beside *īdēa* 'I knew' for *\*ī-fēw-ē-o-a*,



Unbr. *eest est* 'ibit' beside Gr. ἔειπεν 'I went' instead of \**ēi-es-ya* (§ 836 pp. 372 ff.). Skr. *bōdh-iṣ-a-t* beside ind. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. ind. *ā-bōdh-iṣ-ata* from *budh-* 'watch, notice', *gā-siṣ-a-t* beside ind. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ā-gā-siṣ-nr* from *gā-* 'to sing'; add perhaps Gr. fut. *χορμαίο* from stem *χορμασ-* 'to hang' (§ 840 p. 377). Lat. (fut.) *vid-er-ō* beside ind. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *vid-is-tis*. Gr. ἐγείνω beside *εἰρ-σσ-α* 'I dragged', Lat. *amā-ss-i-t*.

Perfect (§§ 843 ff.). Skr. *ta-tān-a-t(i)* beside ind. *tu-tān-a* from *√ten-* 'stretch'. Gr. *πιστοῖσθε* instead of \**pe-pisθ-o-μεν* beside *πί-πισθ-ε* 'he trusts', *εἶδ-ο-μεν*) *εἶδ-ο-μεν* beside *οἶδ-ε*; but it can be grouped with the pres. \**yejā-mi* Skr. *vēd-mi* (§ 493 p. 52). Goth. *ōgs* 'fear thou' for \**agh-e-s* beside *ōg* 'fears' (§ 882 p. 430).

§ 913. Aryan. The Thematic formation is fertile in Vedic, Avestic, and Old Persian. In later Sanskrit nothing remains but the 1<sup>st</sup> persons, which are now called 1<sup>st</sup> person Imperative.

The personal endings here as in the *a*-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 *kṛṇāvamahāi* instead of *kṛṇāvamahē*, see § 922.

Further examples (cp. § 912). Present. Skr. *kār-a-ti* *kar-a-nti* Avest. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *carā-nī* beside ind. Skr. *kār-ṣi* Avest. *cor'-p* from *√ger-* 'make'; Skr. *āy-a-t(i)* Avest. *ay-a-p* beside ind. *ē-ti* *aē-iti* from *√ej-* 'go'; Avest. *awh-a-itī -a-p* O.Pers. *ah-a-tiy* Skr. *ās-a-t(i)* beside ind. Skr. *ās-ti* etc. from *√es-* 'esse'. In Sanskrit this Conjunctive formation is also found beside Indicatives with the suffix *-i-*, as *brāv-a-t(i)* beside *brāv-i-ti* 'speaks' (§ 574 p. 116). Skr. *ju-hav-a-ti* beside *ju-hō-ti* 'offers', Avest. *ci-kay-a-p* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *rikaen* = *ci-kay-en*.

1) Compare for this Conj. W. Schulze, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXIX 251.

beside Skr. *ci-kē-ti* 'observes, perceives'. Skr. *yundj-a-tē* beside *yundk-ti* 'yokes', Avest. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. mid. *cinap-a-maidē* beside *cinas-ti* 'teaches'. Skr. *kṛ-nār-a-t(i)* Avest. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ker'-nav-ā-mi* beside *kṛ-yō-mi* *ker'-nao-mi* 'I make'. *s*-Aorist. Skr. *vā-s-a-ti* Avest. *vāgh-a-ūt* from *√yen-* 'win, get, conquer'. Skr. *san-iṣ-a-t* beside *ā-sān-iṣ-am* 'won', Avest. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *xšnev-iṣ-a* from *xšnu-* 'join oneself'. Perfect. Skr. *ja-ghān-a-t(i)* beside *ja-ghān-a* from *√ghen-* 'strike, kill', *mu-mōc-a-t* beside *mu-mōc-a* from *mic-* 'let go', Avest. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *āsh-a-ma* beside *āsh-a* (Skr. *ās-a*) from *√es-* 'esso' (but the form may also be connected with the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *āsh-a-p*, under *B*).

Rarely we find a divergence in the Present from the rule of gradation which holds for this Conjunctive formation (§ 911 p. 461), as Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *añj-a-tas* beside 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *añj-an* (indic. *andk-ti* 'anoints, adorns') formed as though the indic. were \**ānēk-ti*. On the numerous analogical forms in the *s*-aorist, such as Skr. *dyk-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 1<sup>st</sup> sing. act. in *-ω* 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. *ἵομεν* instead of \**ἱ(ε)-ο-μεν* and *ἴ-ο-μεν* from *ἱ-μι* 'I will go'; *ἵομεν* is to be compared with Skr. *t-mahē* (see § 493 p. 52, § 497 p. 56), or else it is due to the analogy of *ἰτῆ-ο-μεν* *ἰδῶ-ο-μεν* and the like (cp. § 934 on Messen. *ἦνται* Hom. *μετ-ήου*). Hom. *φθι-ε-ται* (instead of \**φθι(ε)-ε-ται*) beside *φθι-το* 'was destroyed', *ἄλ-ε-ται* beside *ἄλ-το* 'he leapt'. On the analogy of these were made similar Conjunctives for indic. stems in *-α* *-ε* or *-ο*, as *αἰτῆ-ο-μεν* *ἰτῆ-ο-μεν* *ἰδῶ-ο-μεν* *βλη-ε-ται* (§ 934).

Some such conjunctives survived elsewhere, for instance in Attic, crystallized and used only for the Future; ἔδ-ο-μαι 'I will eat' (cp. inf. ἔδ-μεναι, Skr. indic. *āt-tī*), πί-ο-μαι 'I will drink' (beside imper. πί-θι), χύ-(f)-ω 'I will pour' (beside indic. ἔ-χε(f)-α ἔ-χv-ro).

Remark 1. In an Aeolic inscr. (discussed by Meister, Anzeiger für idg. Spr.- und Altertumsk., i 203 f.) we have the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *εἰσονται* with the meaning of Att. *εἰσονται*. If the reading is true, we must grant it to be an instance of the o-conj. invading the domain of the long vowel. If so, we should have a right to question whether Homeric conjunctives like *αἰετοῦνται* (in subord. clause after *ἄν* *ἄν*) ought really to be denied. These are collected by Stier in Curtius' Stud. ii 138 f.; Curtius himself regards them as mythical (Verb, ii<sup>2</sup> 87 ff.).

s-Aorist. There are many examples in Homer and other Homeric poets; as *τελοομεν τελευτε*, *βήσεται*, *ἀμείψεται*. So there are in inscriptions of the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. B. C., from Ephesus, Teos, and Chios; as 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. in *-ει*, *ἀποκρίνεται*, and 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *πρήξουσιν* (Att. *πράτξουσιν*) with *-ει* instead of *-ου* by Lesbian influence (I § 205 p. 172). In Cretan we find such forms as 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *δαῖξει*. Then there are Epic imperatives such as *ἄλξ-ε-τε* 'bring ye' *ἄλξ-ε-σθε* *ὄψ-ε-σθε* 'see ye' (§ 833 p. 370), and the futures *ἄξω ὀψομαι*, 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 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *εἰδέω* *εἰδῶ* (2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *εἰδῆς* etc. goes under B) beside indic. *ᾔδεα* 'I knew' for \**ᾔ-φειδ-εσ-α* (§ 836 pp. 372 ff.).

Perfect. Survivals in Homer: *πε-ποιθ-ο-μεν* ἔδ-ο-μεν, see § 912 p. 462; mid. *προσ-αρήρε-ται* Hes. Op. 431 (Vat. 2 *προσαρησται*). Attic imper. like *χε-χράγ-ε-τε* *χε-χρήν-ε-τε* (§ 854 p. 404).

Remark 2. It is strange that while Homer has *τελοομεν* etc. he has no complementary conj. forms in *-εις* *-ει* *-ουσι*. We may conjecture that he really had, but that the symbols of the old alphabet, *-ΕΙΞ* *-ΕΙ* *-ΟΞΙ*, which had more than one value, were here misunderstood, and the forms disappeared, *-ς* *-ε* *-ου* 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 *ῥομεν*, *ἀλῆται*, *πεποθόμεν*. See § 923.

§ 915. Italic. Only found as a Future (cp. Att. *ἴδ-ο-μαι*, § 914).

Present. Lat. *erō* *er-i-s*: Skr. *ās-a-ni* Gr. *ἴ-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' *prupehast* 'ante piabit', Osc. *deivast* 'iurabit' (§ 824 p. 362). Umbr. *eest est* 'ibit' *ferest* 'feret', Osc. *pert-emeest* 'perimet' (§ 837 p. 374). Lat. *viderō* *liquerō*, then by analogy *sciderō* *totonderō* *dixerō* etc. (§ 841 pp. 378 f.). In the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. of these future perfects, the ending \*-erunt, which was also the ending of the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. indic. perfect, gave place to the optative ending -erint (beside 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *vid-erim*), just as we find *viderimus* instead of *viderinnus*, *videritis* instead of *videritis*.<sup>1)</sup> 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 *a*- and *ē*-forms (B) remained fertile; these also spread into the thematic conjunctive, as Lat. *e-a-s* beside indic. *t-s*, *plē-r-ē-s* beside indic. Skr. *ā-prā-s-am*.

§ 916. Keltic. s-aorist with meaning of Wish and more rarely of the Future; as from *tiagin* 'I step, go' the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. -*tias*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *tēs tēis*, see § 826 p. 364.

§ 917. Germanic. Isolated Got. *ōgs* 'fear thou' beside perf. *ōg* 'fears' (§ 822 p. 430, § 912 p. 462).

## B. Conjunctive to a Thematic Indicative.

§ 918. These Conjunctives have for the Suffix long vowels, not subject to gradation, -*a*- 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*.

as in the Indicative. Gr. *ῥ-ἄρ-α-ν* Lat. *pl-ē-s*, which also have no gradation: this has been pointed out in § 578 p. 119.

*-ā-* is a Conj. vowel in Italic, Keltic, Slavonic, Germanic (?); *-ē-* in Greek and Italic: *-ē-* in Greek. *-ā-* and *-ē-* (*ῥῥῥ-ἄρ-α-ν* *ῥῥῥ-ἄρ-α-ν*) are connected closely (cp. Gr. indic. *ζ-ῆ* and *ζ-ῆ-ω*, *ψ-ῆ* and *ψ-ῆ-ω*); 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. *ῥ-ἄρ-α-ν* beside indic. *ῥ-ἄρ-α-ν* *ῥ-ἄρ-α-ν*, Mess. conj. *ῥ-ἄρ-α-ν* beside indic. *ῥ-ἄρ-α-ν* *ῥ-ἄρ-α-ν* § 934). What was the quality of sound which became Aryan *-ā-* cannot now be seen. And as long as this remains dark, so long it will be unknown how the *-ā-* and *-ē-* (*-ō-*) 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 1<sup>st</sup> sing. act. Ved. *ārcā* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ārc-ā-t*) Avest. *per<sup>s</sup>-ā* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *per<sup>s</sup>-ā-ti*) we may perhaps assume some direct connexion with the Greek formation (*ῥῥῥ-α* beside 3. sing. *ῥῥῥ-ῥ*); compare Lat. *ag-ā-m* O.Ir. *do-ber* for *\*ber-ā-m* O.C.Sl. *berq* for *\*ber-ā-m*. The O.Lat. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *age* may be for *\*agō* by qualitative assimilation with *agēs* etc.: *\*agō* beside *erō* like Skr. *ārcā* beside *brānā*.

§ 919. Pr. Idg. Class II (§§ 513 ff.): Skr. *bh'ir-ā-t(i)*, Gr. *ῥῥῥ-α-ν* *ῥῥῥ-ῥ*, Lat. (conj.) *fer-ā-s* (fut.) *fer-ē-s*, O.Ir. *do-ber* for *\*ber-ā-m*, beside indic. Skr. *bhār-a-ti* etc. from *√bher-* 'bear': Skr. *vid-ā-t(i)* Gr. *ῥῥῥ-α-ν* beside indic. Skr. *ā-vid-ā-t* 'found' (Gr. *ῥῥῥ-ῥ* 'saw' from *√ueid-*; Skr. *bhuv-ā-ni* Lat. *fu-ā-s* Osc. *fuid* 'fuerit' (for *\*fu-ē-t*) beside indic. Skr. *ā-bhuv-a-t* Lat. (perf.) *fu-i-t* from *√bhey-* 'be, become'. Class IV (§§ 547 ff.): Gr. *γ-ῥ-ῥ-α-ν* Lat. *gi-gn-ā-s* *gi-gn-ē-s* beside indic. *γ-ῥ-ῥ-α-ν* *gi-gn-i-t*, Mid.Ir. *gignid* 'nascetur' ground-form *\*gi-gen-ā-ti* (§ 544 p. 103) from *√gen-* 'beget'. Class VI (§§ 561 ff.): Avest. *ja-jn-ā-p* Gr. *π-ῥ-α-ν* Mid.Ir. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. (fut.) *gēnam* for *\*ge-gn-ā-m* beside indic. *ῥ-ῥ-ῥ-ῥ* from *√gheh-* 'strike, kill': Avest. *raoc-ā-p* Gr. *ῥῥῥ-α-ν* beside indic. Avest. *raoc-ā-p* Gr. *ῥῥῥ-ῥ* Idg. *\*(e)ye-ye-ῥ-t* from *√yeq-* 'speak'. Class XIII (§§ 607 ff.): Gr. *π-ῥ-α-ν* from *π-ῥ-α* 'drink'.

Lat. *li-n-ā-s* *li-n-ē-s* from indie. *li-nō* (cp. § 935). Class XVI (§ 627 ff.): Skr. *siñc-ā-s* beside *siñc-ā-ti* 'sprinkles' from  $\sqrt{\text{siñc}}$ , Gr. *σφίγγ-ω-μεν* from *σφίγγ-ω* 'I tie, bind', Lat. *jung-ā-s* *-ē-s* from *jung-ō*. Class XVIII (§§ 648 ff.): Skr. *inv-ā-t* from *i-nva-ti* 'subdues, oppresses', O.Pers. *kā-nav-ā-hy* from *a-kā-nav-a* 'he made', Gr. Att. *τίρω-μεν* from *τίρω* 'I pay' for \**ti-ufw*, Lat. *minu-ā-s* *-ē-s* from *mi-nu-ō*. Class XX (§§ 657 ff.): Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *boxš-ā-nti* from *box-ša-iti* 'divides, receives as a share', Gr. *ἀέξ-ω-μεν* *αὐξ-ω-μεν* from *ἀέκ-σιω* *αὐκ-σιω* 'I increase', *τρέ-ω-μεν* from *τρέ-ι(σ)-ω* 'I tremble, flee', Lat. *vīs-ā-s* *-ē-s* from *vīsō* for \**vit-sō*. Class XXII (§§ 670 ff.): Skr. *prch-ā-t* Lat. *posc-ā-s* *-ē-s* beside *prchā-ti* *posci-t* from  $\sqrt{\text{prek}}$  'ask, demand', Gr. *φάσκ-ω-μεν* from *φά-σκω* 'I inform, say' O.Ir. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *-nasc-a-m* beside *nascim* 'bind' from  $\sqrt{\text{nedh}}$ . Class XXIII (§ 678): Gr. *διδάσκ-ω-μεν* from *δι-δά(κ)-σκω* 'I teach', Lat. *disc-ā-s* *-ē-s* from *discō* for \**di-te-scō*. Class XXIV (§§ 679 ff.): Gr. *πέκ-ω-μεν* from *πίκ-τω* 'I comb', Lat. *pect-ā-s* *-ē-s* from *pec-tō*. Class XXV (§§ 688 ff.): Gr. *πλήθ-ω-μεν* from *πλή-θω* 'I am full', *ἐλθ-η-ται* from *ἐλ-δο-μαι* 'I wish, desire', Lat. *cūd-ā-s* *-ē-s* from *cu-dō*. Class XXVI (§§ 705 ff.): Skr. *har-y-ā-s* Gr. *χαίρω-μεν* Osc. *heriia* 'velit' beside Skr. *hār-ya-ti* *χαίρω* from  $\sqrt{\text{gher}}$  'take pleasure in'; Skr. *pāśy-ā-t(i)* Lat. *cōn-spici-ā-s* *-ē-s* beside *pāś-ya-ti* *-spic-iō* from  $\sqrt{\text{spek}}$  'see'; O.Ir. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *do-lēcea* beside *-lēc-iu* 'I let'. Class XXVII (§§ 728 ff.) Gr. *γαργαίρω-μεν* beside *γαρ-γαίρω* 'I swarm with', Lat. *tin-tinni-ā-s* *-ē-s* beside *tin-tinn-iō*. Class XXVIII (§§ 734 ff.): Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. *pyāyā-sē* beside *py-ā-ya-tē* 'swells', Gr. *ζώ-ω-μεν* (Gort. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *δω-ω-ντα*) beside *ζ-ώ-ω* 'I live', Lat. *-pleā-s* for \**plē(i)-ā-s* beside *plēō* for \**pl-ē-(i)ō*, *videā-s* for \**vidē(i)-ā-s* beside *videō* for \**vid-ē-(i)ō* (*hiē-s* for \**hiā(i)-ē-s*? beside *hiō* for \**hi-ā-(i)ō*). Class XXIX (§§ 742 ff.): Skr. *prtan-y-ā-t* from *prtan-yā-ti* 'fights', Gr. *ιαίν-ω-μεν* from *ιαίνω* for \**i(o)avwō* 'I quicken, make alive'. Class XXX (§§ 768 ff.): Skr. *apasy-ā-t* from *apas-yā-ti* 'is active', *vasūy-ā-t* from *vasū-yā-ti* 'desires wealth', Gr. *τεταίν-ω-μεν* from *τεταίνω* 'I fashion' for \**τεταιν-ω-μεν*, *τιμά-ω-μεν* *τιμῶμεν* *τιμά-η-τε* *τιμῶτε*

from *τιμά-ω* 'I honour', *φιλέ-ω-μεν φιλοῦμεν φιλέ-η-τε φιλήτε* from *φιλέ-ω* 'I treat as a friend', Lat. *custōdi-ā-s -ē-s* from *custōd-iō*, *fīni-ā-s -ē-s* from *fīni-ō*, *claudē-ā-s* from *claudē-ō*, *statu-ā-s -ē-s* from *statu-ō* (*plantē-s* for \**plantā(i)-ē-s*? from *plantō* for \**plantā-(i)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. *φορέ-ω-μεν φοροῦμεν* from *φορέ-ω* '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. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ād-a-n* Gr. *ἔδ-ω-μεν* Lat. *ed-ā-s* beside indic. Skr. *āt-ti* Lat. *est*, cp. ind. Skr. *ād-a-t* (imper. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. *ad-a-sva*) Gr. *ἔδ-ω* Lat. *ed-ō* Goth. *it-a* from *√ed-* 'eat'. Skr. *ās-ā-t* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *as-a-tha* Gr. *ἔ-ω-μεν* beside Skr. *ās-ti* Gr. *ἔσ-τι*, cp. Hom. *ἔ-ο-ν ἔ-ο-ι ἔ-όν* Lat. *s-u-nt* O.C.Sl. (O.Russ.) *s-qtŭ* from *√es-* 'to be'. Skr. *ay-ā-s ay-ā-t* Lat. *e-ā-s* beside indic. *ē-ti i-t*, cp. *āy-a-tē* Lat. *e-ō e-u-nt* from *√ei-* 'go'. For the long-vowel Conjunctive from the s-aorist, as Skr. *mā-s-a-tāi* Gr. *δειξ-ω-μεν εἰδ-ω-μεν* Lat. *es-s-ēs ager-ēs*, thematic Indicatives like Skr. *ā-dik-ṣ-a-t* Gr. *ἔ-δειξ-ε ἔ-ο-ν* Lat. *dix-i-t* must be compared (§ 833 p. 369). So for Perfect forms like Skr. *vā-vṛdh-a-ti* Gr. *ἐλλήχη* Osc. *fefacid* 'fecerit' we compare the thematic indic. Skr. *ā-ca-kr-a-t* Gr. *ἰ-μύ-μνη-ο-ν μέ-μνη-ε-ται* Lat. *te-tig-i-t vhe-vhak-e-d* 'fecit' (§ 854 p. 403 § 865. 2 p. 413, § 866 p. 413 f., § 867. 5, 6, and 7 p. 414 f., §§ 872 f. pp. 420 ff.).

§ 921. Aryan. On the distribution of primary and secondary Personal endings see § 913 p. 462.

Further examples for the normal Conjunctive formation (cp. § 919). Skr. *yāj-a-tē* Avest. *yaz-a-itē* beside *yāj-a-tē yaz-a-itē* 'he honours with an offering'. Skr. *bhāv-a-ti* Avest.

2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *bav-ā* O.Pers. *bav-ā-tiy* beside Skr. *bhāv-a-ti* etc. 'becomes'. Avest. *per's-ā-iti* O.Pers. *pars-ā-tiy* Skr. *prchā-t(i)* beside Skr. *prchā-ti* etc. 'asks'. Skr. *many-a-tē* Avest. *many-ē-itē* O.Pers. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. act. *maniy-a-hy* beside Skr. *mān-ya-tē* 'thinks'. Skr. *pārāy-a-t(i)* Avest. *pāray-a-p* beside Skr. *pārāya-ti* 'carries over'; O.Pers. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *gauday-a-hy* from *gud-* 'hide'.

Not uncommonly we find an *ā*-Conjunctive to an unthematic Indicative (cp. § 920); here we must bear in mind that in Aryan the 1<sup>st</sup> persons of the Active and Middle were the same in the two Conjunctive series, 1<sup>st</sup> sing. act. Skr. *-ā* (*-ā-ni*) Avest. *-a* (*-ā-ni*) mid. Skr. and Avest. *-āi*, 1<sup>st</sup> pl. Skr. act. *-a-ma* mid. *-a-mahē* (*-ā-mahāi*). (1) Present. Skr. *ās-a-t* Avest. *awh-ā-iti* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *awh-ā* beside Skr. *ās-ti* 'is', cp. O.Pers. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. pret. *aha* i. e. *āha*. Skr. *ay-a-t* Avest. *ay-a-p* beside Skr. *ē-ti* 'goes', cp. Skr. indic. *áy-a-tē*. Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *han-a-tha* Avest. *jan-a-p* beside Skr. *hán-ti* 'strikes, kills', cp. indic. Skr. *han-a-ti* Avest. *jan-a-iti*. Skr. *brav-a-t* Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. mid. *mrav-a-irē* beside Skr. *brāv-t-mi* Avest. *mrav-mi* 'I speak', cp. Avest. indic. *mrav-a-iti*. Skr. *bi-bhar-ā-si* beside *bí-bhar-ti* 'bears', cp. Avest. indic. *bī-bar-ā-mi*. Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *vōi-vid-ā-itē* beside Skr. part. *vē-vid-āna-s* intens. of *vid-* 'find', cp. Avest. indic. *naē-niž-a-iti* (§ 570 p. 113). Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *yumaj-a-n* beside indic. *yu-nák-ti* 'yokes'. Skr. *kṛ-nāv-a-t* Avest. *ker'navā-p* O.Pers. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *kānavā-hy* beside indic. Skr. *kṛ-nō-ti* etc. 'makes', cp. indic. O.Pers. *a-kā-nav-atā* and the like, § 649 p. 185. (2) *s*-Aorist. Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *mās-a-tai* beside indic. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. mid. *ā-mā-s-i* from *mā-* 'measure', Avest. *janōh-a-p* beside conj. Gath. *jēōgh-a-iti* from *√ gem-* 'go' (§ 814 p. 352), cp. the thematic Indicative Skr. *ā-dīh-ā-t* Avest. *a-sqs-a-p* § 833 p. 369. (3) Perfect. Skr. *vā-epdh-a-ti* beside indic. *vā-vārdh-a* from *vardh-* 'to grow', *pa-prc-a-si* beside indic. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *pa-prc-ur* from *parc-* 'to mix', Avest. *āwh-a-p* beside indic. *āwh-a* from *as-* 'to be', cp. the thematic Ind. Skr. *ā-ca-kr-a-t* etc. § 854 p. 403.



§ 922. In Sanskrit an extra mark was added to the Middle of the *a*-conjunctive; the final *-ē* of those persons that ended therewith was changed to *-āi*, as *-mahē* to *-mahāi*. This came from the 1<sup>st</sup> sing., as *bhārāi* which was all that had it in pr. Idg. (§ 1042. 1).

First were formed 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *bhārāmahāi* 1<sup>st</sup> dual *bhārāvahāi* instead of \**bhārāmahē* \**bhārāvahē*, to distinguish conjunctive from indicative: so that *bhārāmahāi* 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. *vōcā-vahāi* beside indic. *a-vōcā-vahi* (*vōcā-vahī*) 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *a-vōc-a-ta* from *vac-* 'to speak', pres. *kṛnāv-a-mahāi* beside indic. *kṛ-ṇu-māhē*. Amongst these we find also the older *-mahē* used, as in *kār-a-mahē* beside indic. *ā-kṛ-ta* from *kar-* 'to make', *sanīṣ-ā-mahē* beside indic. *ā-san-iṣ-ta* from *san-* 'to get, gain'.

From the 1<sup>st</sup> pl. and dual *-āi* next went on to the other persons of the *a*-conjunctive: 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *-a-sāi* beside *-a-sē*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *-a-tai* beside *-a-tē*, 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *-a-dhvai* beside *-a-dhvē*, 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 *māday-* 'to enjoy'.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> dual the ending *-āi* is not found. Here the endings were *-āithē* *-āitē*, in which *-āi-* on account of the 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *trāsathē* (indic. *ā-trā-s-ta* from *trā-* 'to protect') must doubtless be regarded as also coming from the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. in *-āi*: following *bhārāi* beside indic. *bhārē* were coined the conj. *bhārāithē* and *bhārāitē* beside *bhārēthē* and *bhārētē*. See Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 214 f.

Some few instances occur of a 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. in *-antāi* beside a thematic indicative; as *varjantāi* beside indic. *vārt-a-ntē* 'vertuntur'. The origin of this form is clear: *bhārāi* *bhārāmahāi* *bhārāvahāi* are distinguished from *bhārē* *bhārāmahē* *bhārāvahē* only by the ending, which suggested a symmetrical relation and caused *-antāi* to arise in place of *-antē*.

## § 923. Greek. Examples in § 919.

The Personal endings are nearly all primary. But in the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular many dialects (amongst others Arcadian and Cyprian) have *-η* for *-η-τ*, as *ἐχη*, instead of *-η-ι* (*-η*).

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *φέρωντι* (Att. *φέρουσι*) *φέρωνται*, *ω* is not regular: there is the same analogical change as in *ἄνται* instead of *\*ἄενται* cp. act. *ἄνται* (I § 611 Rem. p. 462, IV § 582 p. 123).

In Attic the ending *-ης -η* (§ 987.1, § 995) ran together with the indic. *-εις -ει*, that is *φέρης* and *φέρεις* had the same pronunciation; so too *φιλέης* (for *φιλέης*) and *φιλέης* (for *φιλέεις*). And since after contraction *τιμάης* *τιμάη* became the same as *τιμάεις* *τιμάει*, namely *τιμάης* and *τιμάη*, and since the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. in all verbs of this form was the same for both indic. and conj., — *φέρω φιλοῦ τιμῶ μισθῶ* — the result was that the indic. *μισθοῖς μισθῶ* came to be used as conjunctive too.

By degrees, the *η-ω*-inflection drove out that with *ε* and *ο* from the Conjunctive Mood; as *ἵομεν* instead of *ἵομεν* (§ 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 1<sup>st</sup> sing. act. in both these conjunctive systems ended in *-ω*; as *ἔω* (*ω*) beside indic. *ἔσ-τι* (Lat. *er-ē* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *er-i-t*), *φέρω* beside indic. *φέρει* (cp. Skr. *ārcā* beside indic. *ārc-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-a-s* is used as equivalent to both *ἄγης* and *ἄγας*), 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 *-ā-* and *-ē-* are both found, and the personal endings are secondary: Lat. *ag-a-m* (like *injunct.* — *pret.* — *-b-a-m*), 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Osc. *pūtiad fuid*, 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Osc. *putians herrins* (but Osc. has also 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *tadait* = *\*-ā(i)ē-ti*, § 996).

On the spread of long-vowel forms in place of those with a short vowel, as in Lat. *e-ā-s* *es-s-ē-s* Osc. *fefacid*, see § 920 p. 468.

§ 925. The *ā*-suffix appears in the Present only. To the forms cited in § 919 add the following. Lat. *fu-ā-s* beside indic. *fu-i-t*. Lat. *dīc-ā-s* Osc. *deicans* 'dicant' beside indic. Lat. *dīc-i-t*. Umbr. *emantur* 'emantur'. Lat. *faci-ā-s* Umbr. *fasia* 'faciat' beside indic. *fac-iō*. Lat. *fīni-ā-s* beside indic. *fīni-ō* i. e. *fīni-iō*, *claude-ā-s* beside indic. *claudeō* for *\*claude-iō*, *mone-ā-s* beside indic. *moneō* for *\*mon-eiō*.

In Umbrian *-iā-* spread from *fasia* and like forms to the *ā*-denominatives; hence *kuraia* 'curet' *etians* 'itent'.

Lat. *e-ā-s* beside indic. *i-t* (like Skr. *ay-a-t*), whilst in the verbs *est vult est* the Optative (*s-iē-s s-i-s*, *vel-i-s*, *ed-i-s* beside *ed-ā-s*) added the conjunctive function to their own. The opt. of *i-t* may have been lost by the plural *\*i-i-mos* becoming *\*imos*, and thus being identical with the indicative.

Remark. The only example of *-ā-* outside the Present would be Lat. *dum-taxat*, if Bréal be right in taking *-taxat* as the conj. of the *s*-aorist 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., Diet. étymol.\* p. 385). As in the whole area of Italic the *s*-aorist has only the *ē*-conjunctive (§ 926), it would be better to take *-taxat* as conj. of an indic. *\*taxō*, Class XX (§ 662 p. 197).

§ 926. The *ē*-suffix appears in all tense Stems.

(1) Present. Lat. (fut.) *fer-ē-s capi-ē-s farci-ēs fīni-ē-s*.<sup>1)</sup> Umbr. *heriiei* 'velit' or 'volet' (cp. Osc. *heriad* 'velit' § 919 p. 467).

The following may also be examples: Osc. *deivaid* 'iuret' for *\*deivā(i)-ē-t*, *tadait* 'censeat' for *\*tadā(i)-ē-ti*, *sakahiter* 'sacretur' for *\*saka(i)-ē-ter*; Lat. *nēs plantēs* for *\*nā(i)-ē-s* *\*plantā(i)-ē-s* (indic. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *nō plantō* for *\*-ā(i)ō*); similarly

1) These forms are wrongly explained in vol. I § 81 Rem. 3 p. 74 f.

*stēs* for \**stā(i)-ē-s* (indic. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *stō* for \**stā-(i)ō*), by analogy of which would come *dēs* (cp. § 946). The difference between *plantēs* and *claudēs fīnias* — the conj. suffix being in the one group *ē* and in the other *ā* — may be explained by remembering that \**plantā(i)-ā-s* must become \**plantās*, and a confusion with the indicative would result (compare § 930 *sub fin.*); the loss of \**claudē(i)-ē-s* (cp. *fīni-ē-s plantēs*), because it too would become \**claudēs* like the indicative. But all these *ē*-forms may be optative: \**deivā-īē-t* \**plantā-īē-s*, \**da-īē-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.

(2) *s*-Aorist (cp. Skr. *mā-s-a-tai* Gr. *μαί-η-τε* *μαί-η-τε* § 920 p. 468). Lat. *es-s-ē-s in-trā-r-ē-s im-plē-r-ē-s vidē-r-ē-s plantā-r-ē-s* Osc. *fusid* 'foret' Pelign. *upsaseter* 'operaretur' or 'operarentur' (§ 824 p. 362). Lat. *ag-er-ē-s gnōsc-er-ē-s*, Umbr. *ostensendi* 'ostenderentur' for \**tend-es-ē-ntēr*, Osc. *herrins* 'caperent' for \**her-es-ē-nt* (§ 837 p. 374). Lat. *vīd-is-s-ē-s totondissēs dīxissēs* (§ 842 p. 381). Compare the short-vowel conjunctive-futures Lat. *fax-i-tur vider-i-s* Umbr. Osc. *fust* § 915 p. 465.

(3) Perfect Forms (cp. Skr. *vā-vydh-a-ti* Gr. *λε-λήκ-η* § 920 p. 468) occur only in Umbro-Samnite, as in Latin the *s*-Aorist had intruded in place of the perfect forms. Osc. *fefacid* 'fecerit' *hipid* 'habuerit' *fuid* 'fuerit'; Osc. *sakrafir* 'sacraverint' Umbr. *pihafei* 'piaverint'; Osc. *tribarakattins* 'aedificaverint'. See §§ 872 f. pp. 420 f. Most of these forms may be regarded as belonging originally to a thematic aorist, as *fuid* to indic. Lat. *fu-i-t* = Skr. *ā-bhuv-a-t* (see *loc. cit.*); if so they belong to (1).<sup>1</sup>

§ 927. Keltic. For Irish examples see § 919. Only *-a-* is proved as the Conjunctive suffix. Conjunct flexion, e. g. sing. *do-ber*, *-berae* *-bere*, *-bera*, pl. *-beram* *-berid* *-berat* based

1) In regarding the Umbro-Samnitic forms in this section as *ē*-conj. I follow my pupil G. Bronisch. Meanwhile Bartholomae likewise explains *sakahiter* as a conj. like Gr. *οἰσάη-ται* (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" 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *bera* (certainly a new form), 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *berid*, pl. *bermme berthe berit*. Similarly 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *dolēcea* for \**leikyi-ā-t* etc.

With the conj. *-bera* harmonised fully in inflexion *-cara*, beside indic. *no charu* for \**carā-ið*, cp. Cymr. conj. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *caro* pl. *carom caroch caront* with *o* for *ā*. The conj. *carā-* may be for \**carāi-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  $\sqrt{qreij-}$ ) and *benim* 'I strike, cut' (beside O.C.Sl. *bi-ti* 'to strike') the conjunctives are 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *(ni-)criu* for \**grii-ā-t* (cp. Gr. *ἡλ-ω-μαι ἡλ-η-ται*) and *(fon-)bia* for \**bhiij-ā-t*. Compare Thurneysen in Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi: 87 f. On the analogy of these, *renim* 'I sell' for \**pr-nā-* ( $\sqrt{per-}$ ) 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 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *baīrau* = O.Icel. *bera* beside the clear optatives Goth. *baīrāi-s baīrāi* etc.; this has hitherto been derived from \**berai-u* Idg. \**bheroj-ŋ* (cp. I § 142 p. 126), which is called the "only tenable hypothesis" by Kluge, Paul's Grundr. i 381.<sup>1)</sup> According to Hirt (Idg. Forsch. i 206) the form comes from \**berō-m* = Lat. *feram*, and *-au* must be pronounced *-au̯*, that is as a single sound; similarly Goth. *viljau* O.H.G. *wille* would be derived from \**uel-i-ā-m*, pr. Germ. \**uiliŋm*. Compare § 947.

§ 929. Slavonic. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. indic. *bera* for \**berām* is a conj. form used as future, which displaced the old form in *-ō*

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 *a*, before acc. \**frijōnd-u* became *frijōnd*, if this form really so arose (see III § 219 p. 96). Others see the particle *u* in *baīrau* (cp. Wiedemann, Lit. Prät. 159).

first in perfect verbs whose present served for the future. Compare § 955 on imperative *pīja-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. *dra-ti* Gr. *ἰ-δρα-ν*), \**pl-ē-* 'fill' (Skr. *ā-prā-t* Gr. *πλη-ρο* Lat. *im-plē-s*), \**myn-ē-* 'to think' (Gr. *ἰ-μᾶν* Lith. *miné*), \**tak-ē-* 'to be silent' (Lat. *tacē-s* O.H.G. *dagē-s*), with which are grouped denominative stems without -jo- like Lat. *plantā-* (*plantā-mus*) O.Ir. *carā-* (*no chara-m*) Goth. *salbō-* (*salbō-m*) Lith. *jūstō-* (*jūstō-me*) Gr. Aeol. *ῥιμᾶ-* (*ῥιμᾶ-μεν*) (§ 769 pp. 283 ff.) and Perfects like Skr. *ji-jyā́* Gr. *βε-βλή-ται* *βέ-βλη-ται* *τε-τίμα-ται* (§ 847 pp. 390 ff.).

The long vowels of these stems we have already identified with the conjunctive suffixes -ā- and -ē- (-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 *vé-ṣi kṣé-ṣi* etc. (§ 910 Rem. pp. 459 f.).

Greek. Messen. *-γράφ-η-ντι* conj. of *ἰ-γράφ-η* 'it was written' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *ἰ-γράφ-η-μεν*, *-συνάσθη-ντι* beside *ἰ-συνάσθη* 'was prepared'. Perf. Gortyn. *πέ-π-ᾶ-ται* beside indic. *πέ-π-ᾶ-ται* 'he has gained, he possesses' from *ἐμ-ᾶ-* (II § 117 p. 370 f.), Ther. *πέ-π-ᾶ-ται* beside indic. *πέ-π-ᾶ-ται* 'is sold', also conj. Heracl. *οἰκοδόμη-ται* from *οἰκοδομέω* 'I build', Gortyn. *ἰσ-τετέκνω-ται* beside (Att.) *ἐκ-τεκνῶω* 'I beget children'. For clearer distinction between conj. and indic. these forms followed the

analogy of our I<sup>st</sup> conjunctive class: hence we have on the one hand forms with short conj. vowel, as Hom. βλή-ε-ται τραπή-ο-μεν γνῶ-ο-μεν κι-χῆ-ο-μεν (cp. κί-χ-η-μι § 594 p. 135), and on the other hand forms with long vowel, as Hom. δαμῆ-ης γνῶ-ωσι,<sup>1)</sup> contracted Att. τραπής τραπῶμεν γνῶς γνῶμεν, μιμνήται Hom. μιμνῶμεθα, Heracl. ἐπι-βῆ for \*-βᾶει or \*-βᾶη.

From Keltic we may cite the conj. of *a*-verbs, as O.Ir. -cara for \*cara-t (cp. § 927 p. 474), and from Germanic the corresponding conjunctives, such as Goth. salbō -ō-s -ō -ō-ma -ō-p -ō-na O.H.G. salbo -ō-s -o -ō-m -ō-t -ō-n; also O.H.G. conj. habe -ē-s -e -ē-m -ē-t -ē-n beside indic. habēm -ēs etc., and Gr. conj. γράφ-η-νται beside ἐ-γράφ-η-μεν.<sup>2)</sup> Similar Latin forms, \*plantā-m -a-s etc., may have been the predecessors of plantem -ēs 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(ə)- (Skr. á-dha-t á-dhi-ta), \*dhi-dhē- \*dhi-dh(ə)- and \*dhe-dhē- \*dhe-dh(ə)- (Gr. τί-θη-αι τί-θε-ται τί-θε-ται, Skr. dá-dhā-ti da-dh-más da-dhāú da-dh-úr), \*my-nā- \*my-n(ə)- (Skr. my-nā-ti my-n-ánti Gr. μά-ρα-ται).

Two conjunctive types appear to be proethnic; one with the thematic vowel, which we may call the regular type, as Skr. du-dh-a-tē beside indic. dá-dha-ti, and one with long

1) It is true there is nothing to prove that the forms Homer really used were not δαμῆ-αι; γνῶ-ων; compare § 934, on conj. like ἀθή-αι ἀθή-ων. The absence of such forms as δαμῶμεν δαμῶντε ἀθήμεν ἀθήντε in Homer is in favour of the short-vowel conjunctive.

2) But how are we to explain Goth. habau -ais -ai? That habē in Gothic became habais (ai = long ai) by simple action of regular change is to my mind as little proven as the identity of Goth. sijais and Lat. siēs. The student may now refer to Streitberg, Zur Germ. Sprachgeschichte 73 f., who regards habais habai as optative with the suffix -jē-.

vowel, as Skr. *da-dh-a-tāi*, (Ir. *éni-or-w-mai éni-or-η-rai* beside indic. *éni-or-a-rai*, 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. *dā-dhā-ti*, *da-dh-a-tai* beside indic. *dā-dh-a-ti* (§ 562 p. 110 f.). Cp. conj. *dy-a-t* and *ay-a-t* and the like (§ 920 p. 468).

### § 932. (1) Thematic Conjunctive Type.

Skr. *da-dh-a-t* 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *dā-dh-a-thas* mid. *da-dh-a-tē* beside indic. *dā-dhā-ti* 'places'. 2<sup>nd</sup> dual mid. *dh-éthē* 3<sup>rd</sup> 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. *dā-dh-a-ti d-mi-n-a-nta*; *-dh-a-t* as injunctive is to be compared with *dā-t* (§ 524 p. 88). Avest. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *xšt-a* (cp. indic. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *paiti-štā-p* Skr. *d-stha-t* from *√ sta* 'stare') may come in here as easily as under (2); cp. § 938.

Greek perhaps has specimens of this type of conjunctive in the imperative 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *ῥέε* (from *ρίθηναι*) and *ῥε* (*ῖηναι*). If so, their *ε* is not the same as *ε* in *ῖ-ῥε-μεν*, which has displaced *α* = Idg. *a* (§ 493 p. 53); they would be on the same plane as *εχ-έ-ς*. On the model of *ῥ-έ-ς* (\**dh-e-s*): *ῥε-ε-ς* (Idg. \**dhə-te*) *ῥέε* beside *ῥέρε* would then be coined. Or are *ῥέε*, *ῥε*, *ῥέε* transformates of \**ῥ-ῥε*, \**ῥ-ῥε*, \**ῥ-ῥε* (which would be injunctive like Skr. *dhas dās*) by levelling with *ῥερε*, *ῥερε* etc. (§ 909 p. 458).

### § 933. (2) Long-Vowel Conjunctive Type.

Aryan. Skr. *da-dh-a-tai da-dā-tai* beside indic. *dā-dhā-ti* 'places' *dā-dā-ti* 'gives', cp. indic. *dā-dh-a-ti dā-dā-ti* Avest. *da-p-a-iti* (§ 562 p. 111). Skr. *dh-a-ti d-dā-ti sth-a-ti sth-d-thas* 2<sup>nd</sup> dual mid. *dhāithē* (cp. § 922 p. 470 on *bhāraithē*), Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *d-a-hē* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *d-a-its* mid. *d-a-itē* *xšt-a-itē* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. mid. *d-dāntē* beside indic. Skr. *d-dhā-t d-dā-t d-stha-t* Avest. *da-p-štā-p*, cp. indic. Skr. *dā-t* (§ 524 p. 88). Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *kri-n-a-tha* mid. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *kri-n-a-tai* beside indic. *kri-nā-ti* 'buys' (Whitney, Skr. Gr. § 720), Avest. mid. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *per'-n-a-itē* *ver'-n-a-tā* (with secondary ending) 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ver'-n-d-ntē*



beside indic. *ger<sup>o</sup>-nā-iti* 'grasps, comprehends', cp. indic. Skr. *mṛ-ṇ-ā-ti* (§ 598 p. 141, § 609 p. 149).

On the ending *-ā-tai* see § 922 p. 470.

§ 934. Greek. *ἐπί-στ-ω-μαι ἐπί-στ-η-ται* beside indic. *ἐπί-στα-ται* 'understands'. *δύ-ν-ω-μαι* beside indic. *δύ-να-ται* 'can', *μαρ-ν-ώ-μεθα* (Hesiod) beside indic. *μάρ-νε-ται* 'fights', cp. opt. *μαρ-ρο-ί-μεθα* (Od. 11. 513) and indic. like *πτάθ-ρο-μαι* (§ 611 p. 149). Whether the Attic accent be *τίθωμαι* or *τιθῶμαι* (for \**τιθίωμαι*) cannot be decided; the grammarians contradict each other, and the MS. tradition is uncommonly inconsistent; *τί-θ-ω-μαι τί-θ-η-ται* would answer to Skr. *da-dh-ā-tai*.

A second type is represented by forms like Messen. *τίθηντι* beside *τίθημι* 'I place', Arcad. *ἱ-στᾶ-τοι* Cret. *ἱθῶντι* beside *ἱ-στᾶ-μι* 'I place, set up', Cret. *δέ-ι-α-μαι* beside *δύ-να-μαι* 'I can', *ρήγ-νῃ-ται* (Hipponax) beside *ρήγ-νῶ-μι* 'I break, tear'. I assume that this type is due to imitation of such a conjunctive as *-γράφ-η-ντι* (§ 930 p. 475). — observe that in both series the optative formation had become the same in proethnic Greek, as *γραφείην* and *τιθείην*, see § 943; — *τίθηντι* : *τίθημι* *ἐτίθην* = *γράφηντι* : *γράφην*; *ρήγνῃται* like *ὀμιναδουν* § 480 p. 29. Cp. Hom. *τιθήμενο-ς* instead of *τιθέμενο-ς* like *κίχῃ-μενο-ς* *βλή-μενο-ς*, indic. *ἐπί-σσηται* (Il. 16. 243, from *ῥ-στη-ν*) like *πλῆ-το* 'drew near' (for \**πλᾶ-το*). If Greek once had the conj. *ā*-suffix, *ἱ-στᾶ-τοι* might be compared with Lat. *si-st-ā-s*.

In the same way, and at the same time, with the forms *γράφηντι* etc., Conjunctives like *τίθηντι* came under the influence of *ο*- and *ω*-conjunctives. Hom. *στή-ο-μιν* *στή-ε-τον*, *θή-ο-μεν* *-θή-ο-μαι*, *δω-ε-μεν* and Hom. *στή-ης* *στή-ωσι*, *φῆ-ης*,<sup>2)</sup>

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 *στήεις* *στήουσι* *φῆεις*. See p. 476 footnote 1.

Delph. *δα-η*, Boeot. *καθ-ισάου*. Contracted Att. *αῶ* *αῆ*; *ισαῶ* *ισαῶς*, *ισαῶ* *ισαῶς*, *ισαῶ* *ισαῶς*, *ισαῶ* *ισαῶς*, *ισαῶ* *ισαῶς*.

The relation of *τίθημι* to indic. *τίθημι* produced in Messenian a conj. *τίθημι* 'sint' beside indic. *τίθημι*. With this must be grouped Hom. *μετ-έω* (Il. 23. 47), for which read *μετ-ήω* and place it parallel to *τίθημι* *εἰ-ήω*. Compare also § 502 p. 66 on *ἐμὲν* and *ἐμὲν ἐμὲν* and § 914 p. 463 on Hom. *ἵμεν*.

§ 935. Italic. Lat. *si-st-ā-s* cp. indic. *si-st-i-t* ✓ *stā*; *serās* for \**si-s-ā-s* cp. indic. *ser-i-t* ✓ *sē*; *red-d-ā-s* Osc. *da-dad* 'dedat' (da- prefix) cp. indic. Lat. *red-d-i-t* (the indic. forms *dās* *dat* may contain the same stem *d-ā* which with injunctive Flexion could also be indic. pres., cp. § 505 p. 71, § 909 p. 456 f.), Pelign. *dī-d-a* 'det' Umbr. *dī-rs-a* 'det' cp. indic. Vest. *dī-d-e-t* 'dat' ✓ *dō*. Compare § 493 p. 53, § 524 p. 88, § 550 p. 106, § 553 p. 107.

Lat. *ster-n-ā-s* *li-n-ā-s* cp. indic. *ster-n-i-t* *li-n-i-t*. Compare § 603 p. 145.

§ 936. From Irish we may cite the Mid.Ir. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *éba* 'bibas', cp. indic. *ibid* for \**pi-b-e-ti* ✓ *pō*. Compare § 539 p. 100, § 554 p. 108.

§ 937. Germanic. In § 507 p. 74 it was pointed out as possible that O.Sax. *dō-m* O.H.G. *tuo-m* 'I do' may represent the stem *dh-ā* of Lat. *conda-s* and be compared with Lat. indic. *d-ā-s* (§ 935). The same stem as Conj. is seen in O.Sax. 1<sup>st</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *dua-n* O.H.G. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *tuo-t* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *tuo-n*.

#### OPTATIVE.<sup>1)</sup>

§ 938. The Optative of the Unthematic Indicative has for suffix in the Singular Active *-ia* *-iēs* (Strong form), in the Plural and Dual Active and in the Middle of all numbers *-i-*

1) Th. Benfey, Über die Entstehung und die Formen des idg. Optativ (Potential) so wie über das Futurum auf sanskritisch *apāṇi* u. s. w. Abhandl. der Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. xvi 135 ff. J. Schmidt, Die

before consonants and *-i-* *-i-* before sonants (Weak forms). The Tense Stem had its Weak form. Thus from *\*es-ti* 'is': *\*s-iē-* *\*s-iē-* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. Skr. *s-yā-s* *s-iyā-s* O.Lat. *s-iē-s*, *\*s-i-* *\*s-i-* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. Lat. *s-i-mus* 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 *\*bhero-i-* (Gr. *ῥέροι-ς ῥέροι-τε*) beside indic. *\*bhere-ti* 'bears' from  $\sqrt{\text{bher-}}$ . Probably *-oi-* is for *-o-i-* and this *-i-* identical with that of *\*s-i-*; 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *\*bhero-i-te*: *\*s-i-te* = loc. *\*uoi-ko-i* (Gr. *οἶκοι*): *\*kun-i* (Gr. *κυν-ί* Skr. *śun-i*).

The Personal endings of the Optative are Secondary. Compare § 942 Rem.

In Armenian and Irish<sup>1)</sup> 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-* *-i-*.

## § 939. Pr.Idg.

Class I (§§ 492 ff.). *\*gm-iē-* *\*gm-i-* beside indic. *\*gém-ti* 'goes' (Skr. *á-gan*): Skr. *gam-yā-t* mid. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *gm-īya*, A.S. *cyme* (Goth. *\*kunjau*). *\*bhā-iē-* *\*bhū-iē-* *\*bhū-i-* beside

ursprüngl. Flexion des Optativs und der auf *ā* auslautenden Präsensstämme, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIV 303 ff.

G. H. Müller, De Graecorum modo optativo, Philologus XLIX 548 ff.

Fr. A. Bösche, 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.

Miklosich, Imperativ [in Old Slovenian], Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad. LXXXI 132 ff. Oblak, Ein Beitrag zum slavischen Imperativ, Archiv slav. Phil. x 143 ff.

1) "What the British conjunctive, in which *i* seems to be mixt up with *ō* (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 139 ff.

1<sup>st</sup> pl. Skr. *ā-bhū-ma* Gr. *ἰ-φθ-μεν* from  $\sqrt{bhey}$  'be, become':  
 -kr. *bhū-yā-t* O.Pers. *b-iyā*, Gr. Cypr. *φύλα*, 1<sup>st</sup> pl. Avest. *buyama*  
 i. e. *bviyama* for *\*bhū-ij-ñm-* (§ 942). *\*uid-je-* *\*uid-i-* beside  
 Skr. *vid-mi* from  $\sqrt{ueid}$  'see, know' (see § 493 p. 52): Skr.  
*vid-yā-t* Goth. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *vit-ei-ma*. *\*s-(i)je-* *\*s-i-*: Skr. *s-yā-t*  
*s-iyā-t*, O.Lat. *s-ic-t* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. O.Lat. and class. *s-i-mus*, O.H.G.  
 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *s-i-m*. *\*d-(i)je-* *\*d-i-* beside Skr. *ad-mi* 'esse': Skr.  
*ad-yā-t* Lat. *ed-i-mus* O.C.Sl. *jad-i-mū*; in all three branches  
 a strong root-form has taken the place of the weak.

Indicatives like *\*ē-dhē-t* 'he placed' had two optative types,  
 one having the "unaccented weak grade" of root (*dh-*) and the  
 other the "weak grade with secondary accent" (*dho-*); compare the  
 two forms of the root in Skr. *d-yā-ti* and *dā-ya-tē*, and the like  
 (§ 707 p. 238). (1) *\*dh-je-* *\*dh-i-*: Avest. *d-yā-p* Osc. *da-did*  
*'dedat'* (-i- from the plural), cp. redupl. Avest. *daidya-p* midl.  
*daidd-ta*. (2) *\*dho-je-* *\*dho-i-* (cp. *\*bheroj-* and Skr. superl.  
*sthēṣṭha-s* 'the steadiest, most stable' for *\*stā-īs-to-* II § 81  
 p. 244). Gr. pl. *θαῖ-μεν* *δοῖ-μεν* *οταῖ-μεν* (*θε-* *δο-* instead of  
 and *θα-* *\*δα-*, see § 493 p. 53), beside which we have *θαῖην*  
*δοῖην* *οταῖην* instead of *\*θε-ιην-ν* etc., like 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *φιλοῖεν* *-οιαο*  
 instead of *\*-ο(ι)εν* *-ο(ι)αο* following *φιλοῖμεν* etc. Skr. pl.  
*\*dhēma*<sup>1)</sup> *\*dēma* *\*sthēma* (cp. precativē *dē-ṣ-ma* § 942), whence  
 sing. *dhēyā-t* *dēyā-t* *sthēyā-t* instead of *\*dha-yā-t* etc. (cp.  
*bhārēyam* following *bhārē-ma* instead of *\*bharāy-am* § 951,  
 and compar. *sthēyas-* following superl. *sthēṣṭha-s* instead of  
*\*sthā-yas-* II § 81 p. 244), and hence again by further analogy  
 pl. *dhēyāma* *dēyāma* *sthēyāma* like *syā-ma* following *syā-t* and  
 like Gr. *θαῖημεν* following *θαῖην* (§ 945); the root syllable in

1) The 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. Ved. *dhātana*, R.V. VIII. 56. 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. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *doi-ṣ* Gr. *ἐνι-δοιρο*  
*-δοιμεθα*, or a new form coined beside *dhātā* on the analogy of *attā*  
*attā* beside *addhī*, *itāna* *iṭā* beside *i-hī*, *yātāna* *yātā* beside *yāhī*, and the  
 like. The latter view is supported by Pali pres. *dhemi* *dhēsi* etc. and  
*dēmi* *dēsi* etc., which undoubtedly are new formates complementary to  
 the imperative *dhātā* and *dātā*.

the presumptive form *\*dhē-ma* stands to that of 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *da-dh-i-tā* just as the indic. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. pret. *ā-dhi-ta* to the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. pres. *dha-t-tē*. It is uncertain whether Lat. *dēs* comes from *\*da-(i)ē-s* (§ 946), and whether O.H.G. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *stēn* is to be equated with Gr. *σταῖμεν* (§ 947).

Remark. Others assume that Skr. *dhēyā-t* Gr. *θαίη* come from *\*dhā-iē-t*. With this view, attractive enough at first sight, I cannot agree. The explanation, now put forward again by Jellinek (Beitr. zur Erklärung der germ. Flexion, p. 95), that *bhādrēyam* comes from Idg. *\*bhero-iē-ṃ*, 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-tā da-d-i-tā*, 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-mŭ da-d-i-te* (indic. *da-d-eti* 'dant'); Gr. *τι-θι-μεν δι-δο-μεν ἰ-στα-μεν* like *θι-μεν* etc., see above Skr. *bi-bhi-yā-t bi-bhī-y-āt* beside *bi-bhē-ti* 'fears', *bi-bhī-yā-t* beside *bi-bhar-ti* 'bears'.

Class VII (§§ 567 f.). Skr. *vē-viṣ-yā-t* beside indic. *vē-vēṣ-ṭi* 'works, is active'.

Classes X and XI (§§ 579 ff.). Skr. *jāa-yā-t* (gramm.) Gr. *γροῖμεν* for *\*γρο-ι-μεν* from *ḡn-ē- ḡn-ō-* 'to learn'. Skr. *mna-yā-t* 'commemoret' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *mna-y-ur*. Gr. *δοῦμεν* for *\*δοα-ι-μεν* beside *ἔ-δο-α-ν* 'I ran'. Lat. *nēs* for *\*sn-ā-iē-s*? (s. § 946). — Gr. *νιχῶμεν* beside *νί-χ-η-μεν* 'we reach, find'.

Class XII (§§ 597 ff.). Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *ṣṛ-n-i-tā* beside *ṣṛ-nā-ti* 'shatters'. Gr. *δύνατο* (beside *δύ-να-ται* 'is able') for *\*du-no-i-to* stands to Skr. *ṣṛ-n-i-tā* as *τιθαίρο* (on the accent see § 944) to *dadhīta*.

Class XV (§§ 625 f.). Skr. *yuṇj-yā-t* mid. *yuṇj-i-tā* beside *yundk-ti* 'yokes'.

Class XVII (§§ 638 ff.). Skr. *ṛ-nu-yā-t* mid. *ṛ-nu-i-tā* beside *ṛ-nō-ti* 'excites, sets a-going', mid. *aś-nuv-i-tā* beside *aś-nō-ti* 'attains'. Hom. *δαρῦρο* for *\*da-ru-ι-ρο* beside *δα-ru-ται* 'eats', 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *δαρῦατο* for *-ru-ι-ατο* (§ 944). Goth. *kunneima* for *\*kun-nu-i-* Idg. *\*ḡṇ-nu-i-* beside *kun-nu-m* 'we learn, know'.

Class XIX (§ 656). Skr. *dviṣ-yā-t* beside *dvēṣ-ṭi* 'hates'.

s-Aorist (§§ 811 ff.). Skr. mid. *dikṣ-i-ta* beside 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *ā-dik-ṣ-i*, Lat. *dīx-i-mus* beside *dīx-i*, √ *deik-* 'show'; Skr. mid. *ma-s-i-ta* Idg. \**my-s-i-to*, √ *men-* 'think'; O.H.G. *wiss-i-mēs* 'we knew' must be named here, if *wissun* 'they knew' is to be compared with (Ir. *iāur* (§ 827 p. 305). es-Aorist: Gr. *idēiμev* 'we should like to know' for \**fed-i-a-i-μev* (cp. Lat. *vid-er-i-mus*), *διῆεν* for *-a-i-a-i-ar* or *-a-i-a-i-ar* see § 944. as-Aorist: Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. mid. *jan-iṣ-i-mahi* beside indic. *ā-jan-iṣ-ta* from *jan-* 'gignere', *pyā-s-iṣ-i-mahi* from *pyā-* 'swell'. is-Aorist: Lat. *vid-er-i-mus* for \**yeid-is-i-* beside conj. *videt-ō* (cp. (Ir. *idēiμev*).

Perfect (§§ 843 ff.). \**ye-urt-iṣ-i-* from √ *yert-* 'verttere': Skr. *va-urt-yā-t* 1<sup>st</sup> pl. mid. *va-urt-i-mahi*. (Goth. *vaúrþ-ei-ma* (instead of reg. \**vaurdeima*) O.H.G. *wurt-i-mēs*. \**se-zd-(i)ṣ-i-* from √ *sed-* 'sedere': Skr. *sēd-yā-t* Avest. *hazd-yā-þ*, cp. Goth. *sēt-ei-ma*. Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *ṣṣ-i-ta* Goth. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *dig-ei-ma* beside indic. *ṣṣ-ē dīh* 'has something in his power' (§ 848 p. 391).

Often both types, *-iṣ-* and *-ō-*, 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. *for* Lith. *tes* beside *sipti es-mi* 'I am', Avest. *d-ōi-ṣ* (Ir. *iāi-ṣauro* beside indic. *dā-þ ē-ṣe-ro* from √ *dhe-* 'place', Pruss. *dais* 'give' from √ *dō-*, Gr. *μαρτυρεῖται* beside *μάχ-va-rai* 'fights', *ἡμεῖς ἔμαρτον* beside *πῆ-μαρθ-α* 'I have experienced'.

§ 940. Aryan. In Sanskrit, the *-yā-* of the sing active is invariable for active plural and dual forms that have a personal ending with initial consonant; as *s-yā-ta* instead of \**s-i-ta* (Lat. *s-i-tis*), *jñā-yā-ta* instead of \**jñāi-ta* (Gr. *γινώ-τε*): in the Middle it is invariably absent. The same relation may be seen in Indicative stems like *dha-* (Idg. \**dhe-*): as *ra-ert-yā-t* *ra-ert-yā-ta* mid. *va-ert-i-ta*, as *ā-da-t* *ā-dā-ta* mid. *ā-di-ta* (§ 495 p. 55). In Avestic *-yā-* preponderates for the plural active, as Goth. *īyā-tā* = Skr. *syā-ta*; but *-i-* seems to occur, as in *errimā* i. e. *srur-i-mā* beside imper. *srāo-iā* = Skr. *brū-tu* from √ *brū-* 'hear'.

Instead of the Skr. ending *-iya* of the 1<sup>st</sup> sing., as *va-vṛt-iy-a*, we should expect *-ya* or *-iya* following the *-y-ur -iy-ur* of the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. active; indeed, the MS. *ṛ* of the Veda must often be read short for metrical reasons, as in *īṣiya* and *rāṣiya* Rīg.-V. vii. 32. 18, and Avestic regularly has *tanuya* i. e. *tanv-iy-a* (Bartholomae, Handb. § 91 b p. 40). This *-i-* came from the other middle forms; similarly we have *bhārēyam* following *bhārē-ṣ* etc., instead of *\*bharay-am* or *\*bharāy-am* (§ 951).

More examples to add to those given in § 939:

Class I. Skr. *kr-iyā-t* beside *ā-kar* 'he made', *dṛ-yā-t* = *\*dṛ-īṣ-t* beside *ā-dar* 'he split, burst' (cp. below, Class VII Avest. *dar'-dairya-ḥ*), mid. *vur-ī-ta* beside *ā-vṛ-ta* 'he chose'. Avest. *jam-yā-ḥ* O.Pers. *jam-iyā* with *jam-* instead of *gam-*, which is preserved in Skr. *gam-yā-t* (mid. *gm-īya*) (I § 451 Rem. p. 334), cp. § 939 p. 480. Skr. *han-yā-t* Avest. *jan-yā-ḥ* O.Pers. *jan-iyā* beside Skr. *hān-ti* 'strikes, kills' from *√ ghn-*; pr.Ar. *\*jhan-īā-t* instead of *\*ghan-* = *\*ghn-*, with which we have the reg. mid. Skr. *ghn-ī-ta* Avest. *yn-ī-ta*, but in Skr. following the active also *han-ī-ta* (I § 454 Rem. p. 335, II § 498 p. 57 f.). Skr. *stu-yā-t* mid. *stuv-ī-tā* Avest. *stu-yā-ḥ* beside indic. Skr. *stāu-ti* (*stu-māsi*) Avest. *stao-iti* 'he praises'. Skr. *i-yā-t* beside *ī-ti* 'goes'. Skr. *vṛj-yā-t* beside *ā-vark* 'he twisted together' (pres. *vṛnak-ti*). Skr. *uś-yā-t* Avest. *us-yā-ḥ* beside Skr. *vāṣ-ṭi* Avest. *vas-ti* 'wishes' (*uś-māsi us-mahī*). On Skr. *dēya-t* Avest. *d-yā-ḥ* and the like, see § 939 p. 481; on Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *dā-yd*, below, Class X.

Skr. *brā-yā-t* mid. *bruo-ī-tā* (Avest. *mru-yā-ḥ*) beside *brāv-ī-ti* 'he speaks' Class IX (§ 574 p. 116).

Class III. Skr. *ju-hu-yā-t* mid. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *jū-hv-ī-mahi* beside *ju-hṣ-ti* 'offers'. Avest. *daidya-ḥ daiṇyā-ḥ* mid. *daidi-ta daiṇi-ta* like Skr. *da-an-yā-t da-d-yā-t da-dh-ī-tā da-d-ī-tā*, § 939 p. 481.

Class VII. Avest. *dar'-dairya-ḥ* beside indic. Skr.

1) On the active singular forms with *-ī-*, like *sāhīṣ*, which used to be wrongly taken as optative, see Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Sprachg. II 157, 169.

*dār-dar-ti* intens. of *dar-* 'to split'; the ground-form may be \**dā-jē-t*, see § 568 p. 112.

Class X. Skr. *yā-yā-t* beside *y-ā-ti* 'goes'. Avest. *pā-yā-ḥ* from *pā-* 'protect' (§ 588 p. 129). The forms Skr. *mnēyā-t jāyēd-t* beside the regular *mnā-yā-t jānā-yā-t* (§ 939 p. 482) are adformates of such as *dhēyā-t sthēyā-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 precative *jāṇēsam*, § 942. Levelling in the reverse direction is shown by Avest. *dā-yā-ḥ* beside *d-yā-ḥ*.

Class XII. Skr. mid. *pr-v-ī-tā* beside *pr-ṇā-ti* 'fills'; act. *pr-ṇi-yā-t* with the same *-i-* as indic. *pr-ṇī-mās*, see § 597 p. 141.

Class XV. Skr. *rundh-yā-t* mid. *rundh-ī-tā* beside *ruṇādh-mi* 'I hold-back, stay'. Avest. *meraṣ-yā-ḥ*, see § 626 p. 162.

Class XVII. Skr. *kṛ-nu-yā-t* mid. *kṛ-ṇv-ī-tā* Avest. *ker'-nu-yā-ḥ* beside *kṛ-ṇā-ti* *ker'-nao-iti* 'makes, does'. Skr. *aś-nu-yā-t aś-nuv-ī-tā* Avest. *aś-nu-yā-ḥ* beside *aś-nā-ti aś-nao-iti* 'attains'. Avest. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. mid. *tanuya* i. e. *tanv-iy-a* (beside Skr. *tanvī-yā*), see p. 484.

s-Aorist. Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. mid. *dhuk-ṣ-ī-māhi* from *duh-* 'to milk', 1<sup>st</sup> sing. mid. *dī-ṣ-īy-a* from *dā-* 'divide, share'; Avest. *dīṣyā-ḥ* from *√deṣk-* 'to show, point' from a ground-form \**dīk-s-jē-t*, cp. Skr. mid. *dīk-ṣ-ī-ta*. On the intrusion of the strong root in Skr., as *mā-s-ī-māhi* beside *mā-s-īy-a*, see § 815 p. 353. The *iṣ-* and *siṣ-*aorist in Sanskrit: *ruc-iṣ-īy-a* and *rōc-iṣ-īy-a* from *ruc-* 'to shine', *sah-iṣ-ī-māhi* and *sah-iṣ-ī-māhi* from *sah-* 'to overcome', *vā-siṣ-īy-a* from *van-* 'to gain'. Optatives from sigmatic aorist are in Sanskrit only found in the middle voice, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. show regularly the precative form, as *mā-s-ī-ṣṭhās mā-s-ī-ṣṭa van-iṣ-ī-ṣṭa yā-siṣ-ī-ṣṭhās* (§ 942).

Perfect. Skr. *ja-gam-yā-t* Avest. *jaṛmyam* i. e. *ja-γm-iyam* beside indic. Skr. *ja-gām-a* from *√gem-* 'go'. Skr. *ri-ric-yā-t* beside *ri-rēc-a* from *ric-* 'let loose'. Avest. *cuonyā-ḥ* beside



indic. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *vaon-ar*<sup>e</sup> from *van-* 'to gain', O.Pers. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ca-zr-iyā* from *kar-* 'to make'.

§ 941. According to Bartholomae, Avestic has in the 1<sup>st</sup> pl. active forms with *-ama* for *-nme*: *jam-y-ama* (the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. is *jam-yā-p*, § 940 p. 484), *buyamā* i. e. *bv-iy-amā* (cp. *tanuya* § 940 p. 434) beside O.Pers. *biyā* for *\*b(v)-iyā-t* (Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *buyā* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *buyā-p* may also be derived from *bv-iyā*, because of the Avestic mode of spelling). Following *buyamā* we have 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *buya-ta*: perhaps 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *dāya-ta* springs from 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *dāya-p* in the same way. A similar explanation is given of Skr. *duhiyā-t* beside 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *duhīyān*; perhaps the *t* of this 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. may be accepted as evidence that *-t-ma* and *-t-ta* once existed in the Sanskrit language (cp. middle *-īy-a* following *-i-thas* etc.). See Benfey, Abh. Gött. Gesellsch. Wiss. xvi 182 f., 197; J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiv 318; Bartholomae, *ibid.* xxix 274 f.

§ 942. The "Precative", as it is called, is a mood peculiar to Sanskrit. This is a optative with *-s-* between mood-suffix and personal ending;<sup>1)</sup> in the middle, the 1<sup>st</sup> persons and the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. could not take this form. Examples are act. sing. 1<sup>st</sup> *bhū-yā-s-am* 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> *-yā-s* (2<sup>nd</sup> *\*-yā-s-s* 3<sup>rd</sup> *\*-yā-s-t*) pl. *-yā-s-ma* *-yā-s-ta* *-yā-s-ur*, mid. sing. 2<sup>nd</sup> *muc-ī-ṣ-ṭhas* *mā-s-ī-ṣ-ṭhas* *yā-sis-ī-ṣ-ṭhas* 3<sup>rd</sup> *muc-ī-ṣ-ṭa* etc.

Beside *ā-dā-t* 'gave', 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *dēṣma* i. e. *\*dā-i-s-me* (confirming the assumed *\*dē-ma* = Gr. *δοῖ-μεν*, see § 939 p. 481); 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *sthē-ṣ-ur* beside *ā-sthā-t*. To this the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. is *dēṣam* *sthēṣam*. *jāṇēsam* (from *jā-a-* 'know'): *dēṣam* = *jāṇyā-t*: *dēyā-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 *t*, described in § 498 p. 61 and § 572 p. 114, it would be obvious to

1) Avest. *satuyā* 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. 567.

assume the same connexion between Skr. *dā-ṣ-ma* (\**dā-i-ṣ-ma*) and Gr. *δο-ῖ-μεν* as between Skr. *d-grah-i-ṣ-fa* and *d-grah-i-t*; Skr. *djāi-ṣ* 'thou didst drive' could be analysed \**aj-ā-i-ṣ*, as the opt. *djē-ṣ* into \**aj-a-i-ṣ*. Then the optative would be an Injunctive to the indicative with *-i-*.

§ 943. Greek. Here we see *-jē-* *-i-* always and only after sonant vowels, with which *-i-* is contracted.

The fact that Skr. forms like *vid-yā-t gam-yā-t bi-bhṣ-yā-t da-dh-yā-t ri-ric-yā-t* are missing in Greek as we have it, is easy to explain. The *i* of *-jē-m* *-i-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 \**ἴζην* (\**izōn*) \**ἰδμεν* beside *οἶδα ἰδ-μεν*, \**πταίνην* \**πταῖμεν* beside *ἔκτα-μεν*, \**θισσην* \**τιθῖμεν* beside *τί-θην-μι*, \**λελισσην* \**λελιτῖμεν* (\**λελιπιτῖμεν*) beside *λέ-λοιπ-α*, the regular forms, would be unrecognisable for the same kin.

§ 944. Class I. Hom. *εἶην* 'aim' for \**ἔσ-α-ν* or trisyllabic \**ἔσ-α-ν-ν*, 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ἔεν* for \**ἔσ-α-εν* or \**ἔσ-α-ι-εν* (cp. Skr. *s-iyā-m s-iy-ūr* beside *s-yā-m s-y-ūr*), 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *εἶμεν* for \**ἔσ-ι-μεν* with intrusion of strong root (cp. § 502 p. 65). El. *ἔα* for \**ἔη* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *οὐν-έαν* possibly for *-εαν* answering to the Ion. *ἔεν* (cp. I § 64 p. 51, § 72 p. 63, where *ἔα* must be read and not *εἶδ*, and IV §§ 952, 1020.1 a). *εἶ-* in Att. *εἶην ἔεν* is either to be explained by the fact that the Greek ground-forms \**ἔσσην* \**ἔσμεν* were trisyllabic, or else if these were really \**ἔσσην* \**ἔσμεν* it must have come from *εἶμεν*, as *θείην* follows *θεῖμεν* and *φέρειν* follows *φέρομεν* (I § 131 p. 118, IV § 939 p. 481).

On *θείην δοίην σταίην* see § 939 p. 481. Of the same sort are *φαίην φαῖμεν* mid. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *φαῖο* from *φη-μι* 'I say'.

Cypr. *φάκη*, see I § 130 p. 118: Skr. *bhā-yā-t*, see § 939 p. 481. Hom. *ἐκ-δῶμεν* (beside *ἔ-δῶ* 'went in' *ἐ-δῶ-μεν*) for \**δωκ-μεν* (like *σταῖμεν* *γροῖμεν*) stands for \**δω(f)-ι-μεν* or \**δφ-ι-μεν*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *δῶη* = \**δωνη* like *σταῖη* beside *σταῖ-μεν*. Cp. *δαιρέτο* *δαιρέατο* Class XVII p. 488. Whether Hom. *φθῖτο* (beside *ἔ-φθι-το* 'was destroyed' is regularly descended from \**φθιχ-ι-το*, which must be assumed as original, is a question; it may have been coined beside *ἔφθιτο* on the analogy of *δοῖτο* to *εἶδο*.

Class III. *τιθείην δίδοιην ἰσταίην* like *θείην* etc., cp. § 939 p. 481. *τιθεῖρο*: Skr. *dadhātá* = *τίθεμεν*: *dadhmás*. If the Gr. Indicative with *σ* need not be regarded as a new formation in Greek (cp. Skr. *dadhi-dhveḥ ja-hi-mas*), neither need *τιθεῖμεν* *τιθεῖρο* be such; we should then postulate Idg. *\*dhi-dhə-i-* = *\*dhi-dhə-i-*. But in that case the accentuation *τιθεῖμεν* *δίδοιμεν* etc. (not certain before the Alexandrian period) must be new, and the original accent *\*τίθεμεν* *\*δίδοιμεν* etc., as *δύναιτο* shows (see below); the influences at work in the change may have been the accent of *ἰδῶμεν* for *\*Φειδέ(σ)-ι-μεν* (beside *εἰδείην*), *παρ-εῖμεν* for *\*-έσ-ι-μεν* (beside *παρ-είην*), and *φιλοῖμεν* for *φιλέοιμεν* (beside *φιλοίην*, see § 952), and again that of *τιθείημεν* (§ 945). Similarly the accent of *ἐκ-θῦμεν* *ἐκ-δῦμεν* and *δανῶτο* is not original.

Classes X and XI. *δραῖμεν* for *\*δρα-ι-μεν* by I § 611 p. 461, hence *δραίην* instead of *\*δρα-(ι)η-ν* like *σταίην* following *σταῖ-μεν*. Similarly, *γηραίην* beside *ἐ-γήρα-ν* 'I grew old', *βλείην* *βλείμεν* *βαλείην* *βαλείμεν* beside *ἐ-βλη-ν* *ἐ-βάλη-ν* 'I received a missile, was struck', *δοθείην* beside *ἰδόθην* 'I was given', *κίχην* beside *κί-χην-μι* 'I attain, reach', *γνοίην* *γνοῖμεν* beside *ἐ-γνω-ν* 'I learnt', *αἰλοίην* beside *ἰάλω-ν* 'I was caught'. Again Lesb. *φιλείην* beside *φιλή-μι* 'I treat as a friend', El. *σῦλαίη* beside *σύλαμι* 'I rob', and on the same principle we explain *στεφανοίην* etc.

The Middle formation *ἐμ-πλήτο* (beside *πλή-το* 'filled itself') is to be compared with the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. indic. *ἐμ-πλήντο*: as this is a transformate of *\*-πλεντο* on the analogy of *πλήτο*, so *-πλήτο* is instead of *\*-πλεῖτο* (§ 582 Rem. p. 123). The same is true of *μεμνήμην* *κεκτρήμην*, p. 489. *-πλήτο* *μεμνήμην*: *βλείμεν* *δραῖμεν* = *-πλήντο* *μέμνητον*: *ἐβλεν(τ)* *ἔδραν(τ)*.

Class XII. Apparently the only form found is *δύναιτο* from *δύναμι* 'I am able'; *κίρναιην* from *κίρ-νη-μι* 'I mix' and the like may be left out of count. *δύ-να-ι-το* beside Skr. *ḍh-ṇ-i-tá* like *\*ti-ḍi-i-to* (*τιθῖτο*) beside *da-dh-i-tá*.

Class XVII. Hom. *δανῶτο* (beside *δαί-νυ-ται* 'eats') for *-νυ-το*, like *ἐκ-δῦμεν*; instead of *\*-νυ(φ)-ι-το* or *\*-νφ-ι-το*, cp. Skr. *aḍ-nuv-i-tá* *kṛ-ṇv-i-tá* § 940 p. 485. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *δανῶτο* = *-νυ-ατο*, like *δῶη* (p. 487).

σ-Aorist. εἰδείην εἰδεῖμεν (beside ᾔδσα 'I knew') for \**ἑιδ-εσ-μην* or *-εσ-μην* and *-εσ-ι-μεν*, cp. Lat. *vid-er-i-mus*; Att. εἰδείην is to be explained in the same way as εἶην, page 487. On the optative of εἶμι 'I go' see § 836 p. 372 f.; the form ἐσθην Il. 19. 209 may, like Plato's δεδιείην, be an adformate of εἰδείην, cp. *λέναι δεδιέναι* : *εἰδέναι*.

δειξαί-μι -αι-ς etc. is a new formation following the optative -οι-μι -οι-ς etc., which sprang up when α in the σ-aorist had spread beyond its proper sphere; cp. § 820 p. 357.

It is likely that the forms Hom. Att. δειξείας -εἰε -εἰαν Arcad. διακωλύσει and ῥύψοιμεν (only preserved by Choeroboscus Dict. 565. 2, and by him called Aeolic) contain the endings -σεσ-μην- or -σεσ-μην- and -σεσ-ι-, see § 836 p. 374. The 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. -ιαν stands to the ordinary -ιεν (εἶεν θεῖεν) as indic. Boeot. παρ-εῖται to Dor. ἦν for \**ᾗ(σ)-εν*; 1<sup>st</sup> pl. -σοιμεν for \**-σεσ-ι-μεν*. On the one hand, -σοιμεν occasioned a 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. -σει on the analogy of -σαι : σοιμεν and -ω : οιμεν; on the other, -σειαν produced complementary 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. -σειας -σειε following indic. -(σ)ας -(σ)ε -(σ)αν, just as Avest. *buya-ta* follows *buyama* and Skr. *duhityá-t* follows *duhityán* (§ 941 p. 486).

Remark. For the latter development (-σοις -σειε) there would be a second motive if there ever was a 1<sup>st</sup> pl. in \**-σοιμεν*, answering to the Avest. *jam-y-ama* (§ 941 p. 486); *-σοιμεν* : *-σοιμεν* as *jam-yama* : *ayimā*. And *-σοιμεν* would make it easier to understand the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. -ιαν beside the usual form -ιεν.

Perfect. ἵσταίην ἵσταίμεν beside ἴσταμεν 'we stand' like ἰσταίην ἰσταίμεν beside ἴσταμεν. Mid. μεμνήμην (beside μέμνη-μαι Dor. μέμνη-μαι 'I remember') κεκτήμην (beside κέκτη-μαι 'I have gained') instead of regular \**μυμναιμην* \**κεκτειμην*, like indic. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. μίμνηται κέκτεται instead of \**μυμναιται* \**κεκτεται*, see p. 488.

With perfect stems having a final consonant the thematic optative is always found; as *πεπόνηται*.

§ 945. In the Active of the Optative -μην- constantly passed into the Plural and Dual, as εἶημεν beside εἶμεν, σταίημεν beside σταίμεν, εἰδείημεν beside εἰδαίμεν, ἵσταίημεν beside ἵσταίμεν;

Homer has only one example of this sort, *αἰνῆαυ* Il. 17. 733. Compare Skr. *sydma* instead of \**s-i-ma* following *syd-t* § 940 p. 483.

§ 946. Italic. O.Lat. *s-ie-m* *siēs* *siet* *s-i-mus* *sīlis* *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' *sius* *sis* 'sint', Marruc. *pacr-si* 'propitius sis' or 'sit'. Lat. *vel-i-m* *vel-i-mus* beside *vul-t*, with irregular strong root (cp. Skr. mid. *vur-t-ta*), see § 505 p. 69. Similarly *ed-i-m* *ed-i-mus* beside *ēs-t* from *✓ed-* 'eat', see § 505 p. 70, § 939 p. 481. The reason why *siem* 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-ya-ḥ*, cp. Marruc. *-si* 'sit'.

Lat. *dem* may be derived from \**da-(i)ē-m*, and *stem* from \**sta-(i)ē-m*; *dēmus* *stēmus* for \**da-(i)ē-mos* \**sta-(i)ē-mos* should be compared with Gr. *δοῦμαι* *σταῖναι* (§ 945). Lat. *neim* *plantem* may come from \*(*s*)*na-(i)ē-m* \**planta-(i)ē-m*, Osc. *deivaid* from \**deiyā-(i)ē-t*, cp. § 939 p. 482. But all these forms, as we saw in § 926 p. 472, may be Conjunctive.

s-Aorist. Lat. *dixim* *axim*, see § 824 p. 362. *vīderim* *lūquerim* *totonderim* *dixerim*, see § 841 p. 378. *amāssim* *prohibēssim* *ambīssim*, 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 *-ī-* had got into the singular in protothnic Germanic, cp. e. g. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Goth. *vaurþ-i* O.H.G. *wurt-i* Norse Run. *urþ-i* 'would be' for *-ī-þ* as contrasted with Skr. *va-vrt-ya-t*, 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. O.H.G. *s-i-s* O.Icel. *sēr* (= pr. Germ. \**sīz*) 'mayst thou be' as against Skr. *s-yd-s*; so in the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Goth. *vaurþ-ei-na* O.H.G. *wurt-i-n*

'they would become' Norse Run. *vanin* 'they would be'. The history of the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. (Goth. *-jan* O.H.G. *-i* O.Icel. *-a*) is still obscure (cp. § 933 on Goth. *ninau*); in explaining (Goth. *-jan* let it be remembered that *j* in *viljan* and *j* in *vitjan* seem to be different (see below).

Present. A.S. *cyme* pl. *cymen* (from *cuman* 'to come') would be Goth. \**kunjan* \**kunneima*: Skr. *gam-yā-t*, see § 939 p. 480. Goth. *viljan* *vilei-s* etc., cp. Lat. *vel-i-m* § 505 p. 69; the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *viljan* may with O.H.G. *wille* have been originally 1<sup>st</sup> sing. conj. to indic. O.H.G. *willu* 'I will' = O.C.Sl. *velja*, whose tense stem is also represented by Goth. *viljan* and *viljands* (§ 505 p. 69, § 716 p. 249, § 727 p. 259), cp. § 928 p. 474. O.H.G. *sī* 'I should be' pl. 1<sup>st</sup> *sī-mēs* *sī-m* 2<sup>nd</sup> *sī-t* 3<sup>rd</sup> *sī-n* beside *is-t* 'is': Skr. *s-yā-m* etc., see § 939 p. 481; Goth. *sijau* *sijāis* etc. (like *baifrau* *baifrais*) is perhaps a transformation of the dissyllabic Idg. \**s-ijē-m* etc. It is possible, that O.H.G. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *stēn gēn* (sing. 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> *gē stē* 2<sup>nd</sup> *gēs stēs*) are optative like Gr. *οἶμαι*.

The following may be counted amongst those parts of the Preterite-Present system which are not really perfect. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. Goth. *vit-ei-ma* O.H.G. *weizz-i-mēs* (Skr. *vid-yā-t*), Goth. *mun-ei-ma*, *ga-daūrseima* O.H.G. *gi-turrīmēs* see § 508 p. 74. Goth. *kunneima* O.H.G. *kunnīmēs* (beside Goth. O.H.G. *kun-nu-m* 'we learn, know' Class XVII) for \**gyn-i-* like Skr. *r-ṇu-i-tā*, see § 939 p. 482; similarly O.H.G. *unnt-mēs* beside indic. *an* 'I grant', N.-Ger. *dārne* beside indic. *darn* 'I dare', see § 646 p. 184.

Perfect. Goth. *skat-skāid-ei-ma* O.H.G. *sciad-i-mēs* 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *skat-skāid-jau* *sciadi* beside indic. *skat-skāiþ* *sciad* 'I divided', similarly Goth. *nēm-ei-ma* O.H.G. *nām-i-mēs* beside *nam* 'I took' etc. Similarly in the weak preterite (§ 907 pp. 453 ff.), as Goth. *nasidēd-ei-ma* O.H.G. *nerit-i-mēs*. On O.Sax. *dedin* 'they would do' sing. *dedi* (instead of regular \**did-*) see § 939 p. 482.

The intermingling of 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. opt. and 2<sup>nd</sup> 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. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *daĩti* (read *daiti*) doubtless do not go with Gr. *δοῦρε* — *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. 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *jad-i-mŭ i-tě* 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *-i-vě -i-ta* beside indic. *jad-eťŭ* 'they eat' (§ 510 p. 76): Skr. *ad-yā-t* Lat. *ed-ī-mus*, see § 939 p. 481. *dad-i-mŭ* etc. beside *dad-eťŭ* 'they give' (§ 546 p. 103 f.): Skr. mid. *da-dh-ī-tā* etc., see § 939 p. 482. *věd-i-mŭ* beside *věstŭ* 'he knows' 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *věd-eťŭ* with the perfect stem *vojǵ-*, originally confined to the singular indicative, see § 894 p. 442 f. Side by side with this, from the same root, imperative *vidi-mŭ* 'videamus' etc.; the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *viědŭ* = Lith. *veizdi*, which must be explained with *vidimŭ*, proves it to be old and to belong to the Idg. present *\*ueǵd-mi* (§ 493 p. 52, § 510 p. 75); here *eǵ* = Slav. *ī* became the only suffix, as *oǵ* = Slav. *ě* did in *věstŭ*.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. to these imperatives are *jaědŭ daědŭ věědŭ* and the already mentioned *viědŭ*. The ending *-ŭ* makes it probable that these should be derived from genuine imperative forms in *\*-dhi*. Their original shape was *\*ězdŭ* (cp. Skr. *addhi*), *\*dazdŭ* (cp. Skr. *dēhi daddhi* Avest. *dazdi*) or *\*dadŭ* (= O.Lith. *dūdi*), *\*vēědŭ* and *\*vīzdŭ* (= O.Lith. *veizdi*, cp. Skr. *viddhi* Gr. *ἴσθι*). Side by side with these stood the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. opt. *\*ēdja \*dadja* etc. (= orig. *\*ēd-ješ \*ēd-je-t, \*dōd-je-s* etc.). By levelling arose *\*ēd-ŷ \*dadŷ* etc., which became the forms actually found, *jaědŭ* etc.<sup>1)</sup> Compare I § 547 p. 401,<sup>2)</sup> II § 962. The use of *jaědŭ* etc. for the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular has a parallel in 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *pri-jetŭ* for the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular; see § 830 p. 367.

1) That e.g. *ědŭ jaědŭ* are not simply contaminations of *\*ězdŭ* and *\*dēdŭ* is shown by the other Slavonic languages, which imply an older ending *-dŷi*. E.g. Pol. *wiedza*: O.C.Sl. *věědŭ* = Pol. *miedza*: O.C.Sl. *mēdŭ*.

2) Here *\*ueǵdŭ* = O.Lith. *veiz(d)* is a misprint for *\*ueǵdŭ* = ...

II. OPTATIVE WITH *-oi-*.

§ 950. The ending in the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. act. is *-oi-ya* (§ 976. 3), in the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *-oi-yi* (1017. 1. b).

In all languages which have this optative at all it is a living and creative type.

For pr. Idg. a few examples will suffice. \**bheroj-* beside \**bhēr-e-ti* 'bears', 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. \**bheroj-s* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. \**bheroj-te*: Skr. *bhārē-ṣ-ta* Gr. *πίποι-ς -τε* Goth. *batrāi-s -p* O.C.Sl. *berī berē-te*; Lith. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *te-sukē* beside *sukū* 'I turn'. \**uṛgjoj-* beside \**uṛg-jē-ti* 'works': Avest. *ver'zyaṣ-ta* Gr. *ὀϊζοι-τε* Goth. *vaurk-jai-p*; Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *sphāye-ta* beside indie. *sphā-ya-tē* 'increases, grows', O.C.Sl. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *spěji* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *spěji-te* beside *spě-ja* 'I succeed'. Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *pṛtanāyē-t* beside *pṛtanā-yā-ti* 'he fights', Gr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *τιμάω-ς τιμῶς* beside *τιμάω* 'I honour', A.S. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *sealfie* beside *sealfie* 'I salve, anoint', O.C.Sl. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *lākaji* beside *lāka-ja* 'I trick, deceive'.

§ 951. Aryan. For examples see § 950. No examples of this optative occur in Old Persian, certainly a mere accident.

In Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. act. *bhārēyam* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. act. *bhārēyur* 1<sup>st</sup> sing. mid. *bhārēya* 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> dual mid. *bhārēyatham bhārēyātām*, *ē* has taken the place of a (\**bharay-am* etc.), coming from the other optative forms (*bhārē-ṣ* etc.); in Avest. we still see 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. act. *baray-en* mid. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Gath. *vāuray-a* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *baray-anta*.<sup>1)</sup> Compare Skr. *vavṛt-ty-a* instead of \**vavṛt-y-a* § 940 p. 484, and possibly *duhṛyān* instead of \**duh-y-an* § 941 p. 486; also *ābhuv-am* instead of *ā-bhuv-am* following *ā-bhū-ṣ* § 497 p. 57.

In the Brahmana and Sutra period verbs in *-aya-ti* sometimes show an opt. middle of the I<sup>st</sup> type, as *vēday-i-ta* beside *vēdāya-tē* 'gives to know', *kāmay-i-ta* beside *kāmayā-tē* 'wishes'. These must be connected with participles like *vēdayāna-s* beside

1) If *ā* in open syllables represents Idg. *o* (I § 78 p. 68), we must assume pr. Ar. \**bharāṁ-am* \**bharāṁ-an*. In Avestic, *ā* will have been exchanged for *o* following the lead of these persons in which *ai* was tautosyllabic. Compare § 939 Rem. p. 482.



*vēdaya-māna-s* and such indic. forms as *dhvanay-i-t* (cp. *ā-brav-i-t*, § 574 p. 116). Compare § 789 Rem. p. 321; Bartholomae, *Stud. Idg. Spr.* II 71, 127.

§ 952. Greek. Examples given in § 950.

On the endings of the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *-οιμι -οι-ν* see § 979.3; of the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *-οιεν* El. *-οιαν* Delph. *-οιν*, § 1020.1. *b*.

Because of the formal agreement between *σχοῖμεν* (indic. *ἔ-σχ-ο-μεν*) *φιλοῖμεν* (indic. *φιλοῦμεν* for *φιλόμεν*) *μισθοῖμεν* (indic. *μισθοῦμεν* for *μισθόμεν*) on the one hand, and on the other *δοῖμεν* *διδόμεν* (indic. *ἔ-δο-μεν* *δί-δο-μεν*), there arose in Ionic-Attic, and in Doric here and there, a new formation for the singular following Type I, *σχοίην φιλοίην μισθοίην* by analogy of *δοίην διδοίην*; but the old singular forms were not discarded (*παρά-σχοιμι φιλοῖμι μισθοῖμι*); similarly *τιμώην* beside *τιμῶμεν* (indic. *τιμῶμεν* for *τιμάομεν*). A further consequence of this was the plural series *φιλοίημεν* etc., cp. *στραίημεν* complementary to *στραίην*, § 945 p. 489.

§ 953. Germanic. Goth. *nimái-s nimái* etc. O.H.G. *nemēs neme* etc., Goth. mid.-pass. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *nimái-zau* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *nimái-dau* with the indic. *nima nimu* 'I take': Gr. *ρέμοι-ς* etc. The A.S. *sealfie* pl. *sealfien* may be compared directly with Skr. *ṛṣṭanāyē-t* O.C.Sl. *lākaji* (cp. § 781.1 p. 304), but O.H.G. *salbōe -ōes(t) -ēm* etc. beside *salbo -ōs(t) -ōm* etc. is a new formation (cp. Lith. *pa-darai* § 954), and so is *habēs -ēs(t) -ēm* beside *habe -ēs(t) -ēm* etc., see § 930 p. 476.

§ 954. Balto-Slavonic.

Lithuanian retains the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. act. (used also for 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. and dual) and calls it a Permissive; e. g. *te-sukē* 'he may turn' beside indic. *sukù*, *te-ateinē* 'he may come' beside indic. *ei-nù* 'I go', *te-vertē* 'he may turn' for *\*vertjē* (like 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. indic. pres. reflex. *vertē-s* for *\*vertjē-s*, I § 147 p. 131) beside indic. *verczù*. *te-dūdē* 'he may give' beside indic. *dū(d)-mi* and *dūdu* (§ 546 p. 104) like *tesē* 'he may be' beside indic. *es-mi* and *es-ù* (§ 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 *darau*

'I make'. *te-darai* : *te-sukē* = 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. indic. *darai-s(i)* : *sukē-s(i)* (§ 991), i. e. the optative suffix *ē* (*ai*) is added to indic. stems in -*u* (-*ā*) just in the same way as O.H.G. *salbōe* is formed on the analogy of *berē* (§ 953). We also find 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *pa-praszaim* (*pa-praszai* 'I beg for, win over') and 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *žinait* (*žinaū* 'I know'); Bezzenberger, *Zur Gesch. der lit. Spr.*, 223. Furthermore, the *oj-* optative is a living type in Prussian, where it is used for the Imperative; e. g. *imais immais* 'take thou' 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *imaiti*, *en-gaunai -gaunei* 'let him receive'; to compare with Lith. *tesē* we have 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *seiti* 'be ye', and again *jeis* 'go thou' pl. *jeiti* like Gr. *ἴες* (§ 511 p. 77), *idaiti ideiti* 'esset' beside Lith. *ėdu* (§ 510 p. 76), *dais* 'give thou' 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *daiti* like Avest. *dōi-s* (§ 948 p. 492). Similarly in Lettish 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *meti-t* 'throw ye' *vē'zē-t* 'pull ye' *mašgāji-t* 'wash ye' *lūkāji-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. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> *beri* (I § 84 p. 82) pl. 1<sup>st</sup> *berē-mū* 2<sup>nd</sup> -*ē-te* dual 1<sup>st</sup> -*ē-vē* 2<sup>nd</sup> -*ē-ta* from *bera* 'I carry, bear', *ději -ji-mū -ji-te* etc. (I § 84 p. 82) from *děja* 'I lay'. On the root syllable in *rīci ſīci pīci žīzi* see § 534 p. 95 f.

Along with forms having *-ji-* = *-joi-* we get in the Old Bulgarian literature forms with *-ja-* for *-jē-* (cp. *sto-jati* for *\*stojēti* I § 76 p. 86); as *pijate* beside *pijite* from *pija* 'I drink', *glagoljate* beside *glagoljite* from *glagolja* 'I speak' (see Leskien *Handb.*<sup>2</sup> p. 138, Wiedemann *Beitr. zur abulg. Conj.* 27 ff.) So long as no such forms as *\*ſicāte* instead of *ſicēte* are found, it is likely that *ē* comes from forms like *berēte*,<sup>1)</sup> and the group *jē* thus made, along with *jē* = Idg. *jē*, became *ja*; more likely than Oblak's view (*Arch. slav. Phil.* x 143 ff.), that we have here orig. *jē*, i. e. a conjunctive like Lat. *capit-s* (§ 926. 1 p. 472), *pijate* standing to *pija* in the same relation as Lat. *capit-tis* to *capia-m* (cp. § 929 p. 455).

1) Similarly in O.H.G., after *ja* in final syllables had become *ie* and then *e*, *-en* was replaced in the infinitive of the First Weak Conj. on the analogy of verbs without *-j*, e. g. *nerian* instead of older *nerien* following *neman* and similar infinitives.

Remark. Present Stems of Class XXVI, as *veljā veliāi* inf. *velēti* 'to command' (§ 727 pp. 257 ff.); of Class XXXI, as *goṣṭā goṣṭiāi* inf. *goṣṭi* 'to entertain as a guest' (§ 782 pp. 308 f.); and of Class XXXII, as *eraṣṭā eratīāi* inf. *eratī* 'to turn' (§ 807 pp. 343 f.) all have throughout their imperative -i-: *veli velimū goṣṭi goṣṭimū eratī eratimū*; from the Idg. optative forms which it is necessary to assume we should expect \**velji* \**veljimū* \**goṣṭji* \**goṣṭjimū* \**eraṣṭji* \**eraṣṭjimū*. The forms are then doubtless not optative at all, but Injunctive; and *velimū velite* are related to indie. *velimū velite* as *bāḍā 'sunto'* (§ 909 p. 458) to indie. *bāḍāi (bāḍāiā)*. Some might wish to take 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *veli* for orig. \**veli*, i. e. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. imperative (cp. Lat. *farci* § 958). Against this may be urged that *choṣṭi* 'wish thou' is sometimes used in sentences which are not imperative (Leskien, Handb. 2 p. 143).

### IMPERATIVE.<sup>1)</sup>

§ 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 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. dual Skr. *bhāra-ta bhāra-tam* Gr. *ῥέρε-τε ῥέρε-τον*, which were already well established in the imperative system of the parent language; Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *bhārat-u* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *bhārant-u* (with the particle -u), Gr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. *ῥέρεο ῥέρεοι*, O.Ir. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. *cluinte* 'exaudi' (§ 909 p. 458). (2) Conjunctive forms: Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. pl. and dual, as 1<sup>st</sup> pl. act. *bhārāma* mid. *bhārāmahai*; the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons of the conj. are dropt in classical Sanskrit, and the 1<sup>st</sup> persons, which are kept, go with the Imperative system. (3) Optative forms: O.C.Sl. *beri berēte* (§ 955 p. 495). (4) Indicative forms: Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *vē-ṣi* 'come

1) Thurneysen, Der idg. Imperativ, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 172 ff. Pott, Über die erste Person des Imperativs, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. i 50 ff.

Aufrecht, Über eine seltne Verbalform [Skr. *adḍhaki* 'eat away now' from *adḍhi* and the 'like], Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch., XXXIV pp. 175 f.

I. N. Madvig, De formis imperativi passivi, Kopenh. 1837 = Opusc. ii 239 ff. J. N. Schmidt, Über den lat. Imperativ, Zeitschr. für d. Gymnasialw. 1855 pp. 422 ff. Ch. Thurot, De l'imperatif futur latin, Revue de phil., iv 113 ff.

Kern, Eine Imperativform im Got., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xvi 451 ff.

here', Gr. *λέγει* 'lay thyself' (§ 910 Rem. p. 459 f.). (5) Forms of the Verb Infinitive: as Lat. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *sequi-mini* (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 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. act.

§ 957. The forms which come in this section are such as Gr. *ἵστη* 'place thou' *φίε* 'bear thou', which like the voc. *ὄχι* *ἴππε* do without any personal suffix whatever. I regard the Idg. forms in *-dhi* (§ 959) and *-tōd* (§ 963) and the Skr. forms in *-sōa* (§ 968) as being nothing but extensions of these.

#### (1) Unthematic.

Pr.Idg. Class I. \**e<sub>i</sub>-ti* beside \**e<sub>i</sub>-ti* 'goes': Gr. *ἔξ-ει*, Lat. *ei* I *ex-ī*, Lith. *ei-k*. \**dō* beside \**d-dō-t* 'he gave': Lat. *ce-do* (2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *cette* for \**ce-d(i)-te* § 505 p. 71),<sup>1)</sup> Lith. *dū-k*, cp. Gr. *δι-δω* (Class III). — Class X. Lat. *hīa* Lith. *hiō-k* 'open thy mouth' beside indic. Lat. *hīa-mus*; on the same principle Lat. *planta* O.l.r. *car* Goth. *salbō* Lith. *dovanō-k* (see below). Lat. *vidē* Lith. *pa-vydē-k* 'invidē' beside indic. Lat. *vidē-mus*. Compare Gr. *ἰν-δίνω* *πίν-πιν* (Class XI). — Class XVII. Skr. *stṛ-ṇu* Gr. *στέγ-νῦ* beside indic. *stṛ-ṇō-ti* (*stṛ-ṇu-mās*) *στέγ-νῦ-σι* 'sternit'.

Aryan. This formation is clear only in the XVII<sup>th</sup> Class in Sanskrit, where however *-dhi* or *-hi* is usually affixed, *ḥṛ-ṇū*

1) Others, not so well, take *ce-do* as a combination of two particles, 'here-wards, hither'. *cette* then is explained as derived from *cedo* as Slav. *na-te* from *na*. See Per Persson *Studia Etymol.*, p. 71.

and *śy-ṃu-dhi* 'hear thou' (§ 960); in the later language it was the rule to use *-hi* only where the root ended in a consonant.

In § 600 p. 143 I conjectured that *grhānā* is \**grha* + the particle *na*, and that \**grh-a* comes from \*-*ā*: cp. Att. *κρίμνη*.

Compare further what is said in § 641 p. 180 about *kurn*.

Greek. Class I. Att. *ἔξ-μ*, see above. — Epir. Aeol. *πῶ* 'drink thou' beside *πῶ-θι*. — Class III. *δί-θω* (gramm.) 'give thou'. *ἱ-στη* Dor. *ἱ-στᾶ* Lesb. *ἱ-στᾶ* 'place thou'. — Classes X and XI. Dor. *ἐγ-κίχθᾶ*, from *κίγ-κίχθ-μι* 'I mix'; Att. *πίμ-πρη*, from *πίμ-πρη-μι* 'I kindle' (cp. § 594 p. 135); Lesb. *κίτρη* from *κίτρη-μι* 'I move', Lesb. *φίλη* from *φίλη-μι* 'I treat as a friend', *μόροι* from *μόρω-μι* 'I anoint': cp. Lith. *kėtė-k batnū-k*. — Class XII. Att. *κρίμνη* from *κρίμ-νη-μι* 'I hang, let hang' Lesb. *δάμ-νᾶ* from *δάμ-νᾶ-μι* 'I tame, subdue'. — Class XVII. *ὄφ-νῶ* from *ὄφ-νῶ-μι* 'I arouse': Skr. *ṛ-ṃu*.

Latin. *τ cē-do*, see above.<sup>1)</sup> The forms *fer ēs es* can hardly belong to this group; it is more likely they are injunctive like *vel* = \**uel-s* (§ 505 p. 69). — Class X. Besides *hīa plantā* we have *flā nā domā portā* etc., and by analogy *stā dā*, unless we must take *stā* to be another form of Class I like *cē-do* (cp. Lith. *stó-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; *-ō* has been restored from the other imperative forms which had it, as 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. Goth. *salbō-p* O.H.G. *salbō-t* (cp. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. indic. pres. Goth. *salbō*, § 982.1). Similarly, O.H.G. *habe* 'have thou' (indic. *habē-m*), with its final vowel assimilated to *ē* in pl. *habē-t*.

Baltic. In Lithuanian, a particle *-ki -k (-kē)* is always affix to these imperative. Whether the *i*-vowel represents the original ending of the particle is very questionable. It is usual to compare Lat. *ce* (*cē-do sī-c*), which is plausible.

1) *fu* in the Arval Song will be another if it means 'be thou', which is doubtful. Compare Pauli, *Altital. Stud.* iv 29 ff.

Class I. *ā-k* indie. *ā-ti* 'he goes': Gr. *ἔλ-ν* Lat. *t.* *dā-k* 'give thou' beside Skr. *ā-dā-t* (§ 493 p. 53): Lat. *ce-dō*. *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. *ne-bijōki-s* 'fear thou not' beside *biyo-s* 'he fears'. *šio-k* beside *šio-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', *minō-k* beside *minē* 'he remembered'. *lukē-k* beside *lukē-ju* 'I wait a bit'. *dovanō-k* beside *dovanō-ju* 'I present', *pāsako-k* beside *pāsako-ju* 'I relate': cp. Lat. *planta*. *kēte-k* beside *kēte-ju* 'I grow hard': cp. Lesb. *qίλη*. *balnū-k* beside *balnū-ju* 'I saddle': cp. Lesb. *μύρω*.

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 *vartj-k* beside *vartaū* 'I turn', *jā'sty-k* beside *jā'stau* '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 *vēsti* 'to lead' (pres. *vedū*), *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 dā'kite dā'kiva dā'kita* from *dā'ki dā'k*, on which see § 463 Rem. p. 9. *dā'ki-te: dā'k(i)* as Lett. *weddi-t: wedd(i)* 'lead thou' (cp. § 958).

#### § 958. (2) Thematic.

Pr.Idg. \**bhēre*, from indie. \**bhēre-ti* 'bears': Skr. *bhāra* Armen. *ber* Gr. *φίρε* O.Ir. *beir* Goth. *bair*; Lat. *age*. Skr. *ti-ṣṭh-a* Lat. *si-st-e*, indie. *tī-ṣṭh-a-ti si-st-i-t* from *√stā* 'stand'. Skr. *gācha* Gr. *πάσσε* beside *gā-cha-ti* from *√gam* 'go'. Skr. *namas-yā* indie. *namas-yā-ti* 'honours', Gr. *ρέλλε* *ρέλλε* from indie. *τελείω -τω -ω*, 'finish thou', for *-σσ-λω*; Skr. *gātu-yā* indie. *gātu-yā-ti* 'goes an errand', Lat. *metue* from *metuō*. Skr. *sādāya* Goth. *satei* from indie. *sādāya-ti satji-p* causal

of *V sed-* 'sit'; Gr. *φάσσε-σι*, indic. *φάσεις* -σι, 'scare thou off'.  
*s-Aorist*: Skr. *नृ-ष-अ* beside conj. *नृ-ष-अ-त(ि)* from *नृ-* 'to lead',  
 Gr. *ἀσσε* beside conj. (fut.) *ἀσσω* 'I will bear or bring' (§ 833  
 p. 370).

Wherever *jo*-presents of Class XXVI show *-i-* and *-i-* in the indic. pres. beside *-jo-*, these weaker grades are naturally found in the imperative too: Lat. *cape* for \**capi* cp. indic. *capi-s*, *farcē* cp. indic. *farcē-s*, O.H.G. *biti* cp. indic. *bitis* 'thou prayest'; perhaps we may venture to add O.Lith. *girdi*, cp. ind. *girdi-te* 'ye hear'.

Aryan. Skr. *jīva* O.Pers. *jīvā* beside indic. Skr. *jīva-ti* 'lives'; Avest. *ja-sa* (Skr. *gá-cha*) beside indic. *ja-sa-iti* 'goes' (§ 671 p. 208).

Armenian. *ber* 'bring thou' beside *berem* aor. *ber-i*,  
*ac* 'lead thou' beside *acem* 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. *ἄγε-ε* 'age' from *ἄγω* 'ago'. *κατά-σχε* beside  
*ἔσχε-ο-ν* pres. *ἔχω* 'I have'. *τίμας* *τίμα* from *τιμάω* -ω  
 'I honour', *δουλοε* -ου from *δουλόω* -ω 'I enslave' (cp. Leab.  
*μύρω* § 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 *-α-δ* or *-δ*; as Att. *καθ-ίστα*  
 Dor. *ἴστη* for \**ἴσταε*, Att. *τίθμι* *δίδου*, Att. *πίμ-πλᾶ* Dor.  
*πίμ-πλη*, Att. *ἔσ-βα* Dor. *ἔμ-βη* for \**βᾶε*; similarly *ῥμνυ-ε*.  
 Perf. *γέγωνε* from *γέγων-α* *γγώνω* 'I announce, say'.

The five words *ἰδέ λαβέ εἰπὶ ἔλθι εὐρέ* have kept the  
 accent which they had in pr. Idg. at the beginning of a  
 sentence; *λίπε* 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 *-έ(σ)ε*  
 (§ 909 p. 458) have always the accent which they bore as first  
 in a sentence, even when compounded, *προσ-λαβοῦ* (but active  
*πρόσλαβε*). *ἔ-θι* (contrast Skr. *i-हि*, § 959) is accented on the  
 same principle as *λίπε*, and so too *ἴσθι* *πῖ-θι* and others; but  
*φα-θι* is like *ἰδέ*, and also has a variant *φάθι*.

Italic. Lat. *age*. Whether *albē monē* are for *\*albe(i)e* *\*mone(i)e* is as doubtful as the derivation of *albēs monēs* from *\*-eje-s* (§ 788 p. 319).

Lat. *cape* for *\*capi*,<sup>1)</sup> *farcī*, see above.

Keltic. O.Ir. *ib* Mod.Cymr. *yf* 'bibe' for *\*(p)i-be*. *lēic* for *\*lēci* or *-i*, see § 702. p. 229, § 719 p. 251.

Germanic. Goth. *batr*; in O.H.G. forms like *hilf* 'help thou' for *\*hilfi* are regular, but e. g. *bir* stands for *\*biri* (I § 662. 2 p. 520). O.H.G. *neri* 'make thou whole' for pr. Germ. *\*naziji*, see loc. cit.; Goth. *nasei* seems to prove that *\*naziji* had not yet become *\*nazī* in pr. Germ. (cp. nonn. *frijōndi* I § 660. 2 p. 515).

With Idg. *-i* O.H.G. *heri* from *heff(iu)* 'I lift', *biti* from *bitt(iu)* 'I beseech', like Lat. *cape* for *\*capi*, see p. 500. But Goth. *hasei* instead of *\*hafi* *\*haf* follows *nasei* etc.

Balto-Slavonic. In O.Lith. and Lett. *-i* is found with presents like Lith. *vedù* 'I lead', as O.Lith. *vedi ved* Lett. *weddi wedd*, *gawilēji* 'I exult, shout for joy'. By the sound laws it is impossible to explain this as the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. opt. (cp. Pruss. *weddeis*), or to assume that *-i* is *-e* weakened; and therefore

1) The forms *fac* and *dūc dūc* may have elided *-e* as *haec* for *haece* *hae*. 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 *\*fer-s* (Forschungen zu lat. Gramm. 55 ff.). But his reasons will not hold water. That *ferre* was originally a thematic present, and that forms like *fert* come by syncope 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 *\*fer aequo animo*), any candid enquirer will see in this a confirmation of my view rather than his. Why the MS. should be corrupt in *fer aequo animo*, and genuine in the two examples of *fer* 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 *fer animo 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<sup>nd</sup> sing. indic. (*vedi* beside indic. *ved-i* follows *girdi* beside indic. *girdi*); and that *veizdi* 'see thou, i. e. *\*uejd+ahi*, helped to make the type current, — perhaps we should add *dā-di* (§ 962).<sup>1)</sup>

In O.C.Sl. the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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.

### B. 2<sup>nd</sup> 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. *ádhi* 'up' (like Ger. *auf!* *geh!* 'up! go!'), with its variant *dhi*, like *abhi* with variant *bhi*; others again compare the infinitive endings *-dhyāi* Gr. *-θαί*, 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.

Pr. Idg. Class I. *\*i-dhi* from *\*ej-ti* 'goes': Skr. *i-hi* Gr. *i-θι*. Skr. *śru-dhi* Gr. *κλῦ-θι* 'hear thou' from *√kley-*. *\*uid'-dhi* (I § 494 p. 363) beside Skr. *ved-mi* and *ved-a* from *√uejd-* 'see, know' (§ 493 p. 52): Skr. *viddhi* Gr. *ἰσθι*, O.Lith. *veizdhi* O.C.Sl. *višdŕ* instead of *\*višdŕ* (§ 962). *\*z-dhi* from *\*es-ti* 'is': Avest. Gath. *zdi* Gr. *ἰσθι*. — Class X. Skr. *gā-hi* 'go thou', Gr. *γῶ-θι* 'learn, know'. — Class XVII. Skr. *śṛ-nu-dhi* *śṛ-nu-hi* from *śṛ-nō-ti* 'hears', Gr. *ᾠμ-νν-θι* from

1) With the change of *\*vede* to *vedi* following *girdi* etc. should be compared the change of O.C.Sl. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. pres. *\*nesomŭ* to *nesemŭ* following *znajemŭ* § 1008 sub. fin.; with the effect of *veizdi* which possibly helped, compare the change of O.C.Sl. imper. *chošŭ* 'wish thou' to *chošŭ* following *rišŭ*.

ōu-rē-a 'swears'. — Perfect. Skr. *mumugdhī* beside *mu-mōc-a* from *muc-* 'to let go', Gr. Hom. *deiðēiðē* i. e. \**dei-ðfi-ðē* beside \**dei-ðfi-μev* 'we feared'.

§ 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. Morg. Gesell.* XL 658 ff., where the variants *-dhi* and *-hi* (*śṛudhi* and *śṛuhi* for instance) are convincingly explained as dialectic bye-forms.

Class I. Skr. *i-hi* Avest. *i-ði* O.Pers. *i-dīy* beside indic. Skr. *ē-ti* 'goes'. Skr. *stu-hi* Avest. *staidi* beside indic. Skr. *stāu-ti* 'praises'. Skr. *kṛ-dhi* beside ind. *kār-ṣi* from *kar-* 'to make'. Skr. *ga-dhi* *ga-hi* Avest. *gaidi* beside indic. Skr. *á-gan* from *√gem-* 'go, come'. Skr. *ja-hi* Avest. *jaidi* O.Pers. *ja-dīy* beside indic. Skr. *hán-ti* from *√ghen-* 'strike'; the common ground-form \**jha-dhi* stood instead of regular pr. Ar. \**gha-dhi*, I § 454 Rem. p. 335, and § 480 p. 354; in Sanskrit we also have *han-dhi* by re-formation. Beside Avest. Gath. *zēd*, to which a Skr. form \**dhi* would correspond, Sanskrit has a variant *ēdhi*, for \**az-dhi*, I § 591 p. 447. Similarly, with intrusive strong stem, we have Skr. *addhi* 'eat' (indic. *āti*) from *√ed-*: cp. O.C.Sl. *jaždŭ* § 962. — Classes III and V. Skr. *dhēhi* and *daddhi* 'place thou' *dēhi* and *daddhi* 'give thou' Avest. *dazdi* beside indic. Skr. *ad-dha-ti* *dā-dā-ti*, see § 540 p. 101. Skr. *ci-kr-hi* beside *ci-kē-ti* 'observes, notices'. *śi-ṣi-hi* and with strong stem *śi-ṣa-dhi* and *śi-ṣa-ti* 'whets, sharpens' (§ 538 p. 98). — Class VII. Skr. *car-kṛ-dhi* beside *car-kar-ti* 'remembers', *nē-nig-dhi* beside *nē-nēk-ti* 'washes'. — Class IX. Skr. *stani-hi* from *ston-* 'to thunder'. *brū-hi* and with strong stem *bravī-hi* beside *bravī-ti* 'speaks'.

Class X. Skr. *vā-hi* beside *vā-ṛi* 'blows'. Skr. *pā-hi* O.Pers. *pā-dīy* from Ar. *pā-* 'to protect' (§ 588 p. 129).

Class XII. Skr. *śṛ-ñi-hi* from *śṛ-ñā-ti* 'breaks to bits, crushes' (§ 597 p. 141); sometimes the strong stem appears, as *śṛ-ñā-hi*. — Class XV. *bhindhī* from *bhinád-mi* 'I split',

*prōdhi* from *prōdā-k-ti* 'mixes, mingles'. — Class XVII. Skr. *ky-nu-hi* Avest. *ker'-nū-idi* beside indic. Skr. *ky-nō-ti* 'makes', Skr. *dhyō-nu-hi* beside *dhyō-nō-ti* 'dares'; cp. § 957 p. 497 f.

s-Aorist. *aviddhi* instead of regular *\*avidhi* (cp. I § 591 Rem. 1 p. 448), with indic. *dviš-am* from *av-* 'to favour, help'.

Perfect. Skr. *pi-prī-hi*, beside indic. *pi-priy-ē* pret. *ā-pi-prē-t* from *prī-* 'to enjoy'; *śu-śug-dhi* beside indic. *śu-śōc-a* from *śuc-* 'to shine'.

§ 961. Greek. Class I. *ἴσθι* 'be thou': Avest. *zdi*, see I § 593 p. 450, § 626 p. 470; also *ἴσθι* like pl. *ἴσθε*, see § 502 p. 66. *φα-θι* and *φά-θι* (on this double accentuation see § 958 p. 500) from *φη-μι* 'I say': cp. Skr. *bha-hi* § 495 p. 55. *κλῦ-θι*: Skr. *śru-dhi*, cp. *Περὶ-κλύμενο-ς* § 498 p. 59. *πῖ-θι* 'drink thou' beside conj. (fut.) *πίομαι* § 914 p. 464. — Class III. *ἴλα-θι* 'be thou gracious' for *\*σι-σλα-θι*, also *ἴληθι* on the type of Class XI; like the latter we find another, Hom. *ἴδου-θι*.

Class X. *γνῶ-θι* 'learn thou, know'. *ἔλθ-θι* 'endure thou'. *βῆ-θι* 'go thou' Lac. *κά-βασι* (I § 495 p. 364). *φάτη-θι* 'appear thou', *πορεύθῃ-τι* 'start off' (I § 496 p. 364). Of this class we have further *σιγῇ-θι* Lac. *ἄ-ττασι* (I § 566 p. 423), see § 495 p. 55. — Class XI. *ἴληθι*, see above, *ἱμ-πίπληθι* 'imple'.

Class XVII. *ὀρνυ-θι* from *ὀρνυ-σι* 'arouses'.

Perfect, *ἕ-στα-θι* 'stand thou' beside indic. *ἕ-στα-μεν*. *τέ-τλα-θι* 'endure thou' beside *τέ-τλα-μεν*. *πέπιοθι* 'trust thou' (Aesch. Eum. 599, MSS. *πέπιοσθι*) beside *πέ-ποιθ-α ἰ-πέ-πισθ-μεν*. Of the same kind are *ἔλλαθι* *κέκλυθι*, which I placed in Class V (§ 557 p. 109).

§ 962. Balto-Slavonic. O.Lith. *veizdi veizd* 'see thou' (by this analogy *veizdmi* instead of *\*veid-mi*) O.C.Sl. *vidi* instead of *\*vizdi*: cp. Skr. *viddhi* Gr. *ἴσθι*. O.Lith. *dādi dād* 'give thou' may be Idg. *\*dō-dhi*, in which case it stands to *dā-k* as Gr. *πῶ-θι* to *πῶ*; O.C.Sl. *daǵdi* instead of *\*da-dǵ* = *dā-di* Class I, or instead of *\*dazǵi* like Avest. *dazdi*, Class V. O.C.Sl. *jaǵdi* 'eat thou' instead of *\*ēzdi*: cp. Skr. *addhi*. O.C.Sl. *vědi* instead of *\*vėzdi* beside indic. *vědě* 'knows'. See I § 547 p. 400, IV § 949 p. 492.

C. The Forms with *-tōd*.

§ 963. These forms, for instance \**mit-tōd* from  $\sqrt{\text{yeid-}}$  'see, know', \**bhēre-tōd* from  $\sqrt{\text{bher-}}$  'ferre', served originally for the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons of all numbers, as their use in Sanskrit indicates. Thus *-tōd* was properly not a personal suffix at all; probably it was an affix particle, the abl. sing. of the pronoun stem \**to-* 'this, that' (Skr. *tād*), 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 chiefly 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, *vānaspātīr ādhi teā sthāsyaṭi tāsyā vittat* (Tāittirīya-Saṃhitā) 'the tree will fall on thee; beware of it'; *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 *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<sup>nd</sup> singular, which it is most commonly used for: cp. Skr. *ky-ṇu-tād* Gr. *σρόφ-νῦ-τω* with *ky-ṇu σρόφ-νῦ*, Lat. *im-plē-tō* with *implē*, Gr. *ληψέ-τω* Lat. *licē-tō* with *vidē*, Skr. *bhāra-tād* Gr. *φειλέ-τω* Lat. *vehi-tō* with *bhāra φείετ* *vehe*.

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.

(1) Unthematic Forms. Stems with gradation have the Weak grade. Class I. Skr. *vittād* Gr. *ἴστω* beside Skr. *vid-mi* and *vid-a* from  $\sqrt{\text{yeid-}}$  'see, know' (§ 493 p. 52). Gr. *ἴστω* Lat. *es-tō* beside *es-ri es-t*; strong grade in the root as in *es-rē es-te* etc. Gr. *δαί-τω* Lat. *da-tō* beside *ε-δο-μεν da-mus* from  $\sqrt{\text{dō-}}$ . — Classes III and V. Skr. *dha-t-tād* Gr. *τι-θῆ-τω*

from  $\sqrt{dhē}$  'place', Skr. *da-t-tad* Gr. *di-dō-tō* from  $\sqrt{dō}$  'give'. — Class X. Gr. *δοῶ-τω* beside *ἐ-δοῶ-ν* 'I ran', *σβή-τω* beside *ἐ-σβή-ν* 'I quenched', *γρῶ-τω* beside *ἐ-γρῶ-ν* 'I learnt'. Lat. *flā-tō* beside *flā-s*, *im-plētō* beside *im-plēs*. — Class XII. Skr. *pu-nī-tad* beside *pu-nā-ti* 'purifies'. Gr. *μῑ-ρά-τω* beside *μῑ-ρη-μι* 'I mix'. — Class XVII. *κτ-νυ-tad* beside *κτ-νῶ-ti* 'makes'. Gr. *ὀμ-νύ-τω* beside *ὀμ-νῶ-σι* 'swears'. — Perfect. Gr. *μν-μᾶ-τω*, Lat. *me-men-tō* beside Gr. *μέ-μνη-α* *μέ-μα-μεν* Lat. *me-min-i* from  $\sqrt{men}$  'think, devise'.

(2) Thematic Forms. Skr. *vaha-tad* Lat. *vehi-tō* beside Skr. *vāha-ti* 'vehit'. Skr. *vōca-tad* Gr. *ειπέ-τω* beside *ἀ-εῶκα-τ* Gr. *ε-ειπ-ε* (§ 561 p. 110). Skr. *rākṣa-tad* beside *rākṣa-ti* 'protects'. Skr. *pātaya-tad* beside *pātāya-ti* 'makes fly', cp. Gr. mid. *πορεύομαι* § 966; Gr. *φορεῖ-τω* *φορεῖτω* from *φορέω* '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 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular, but are also found as 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. and as 2<sup>nd</sup> plural.

Since *vaha-tad* as 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. was associated with *vāha-ta* 'vehite', a middle form *vana-dhvād* was coined to complement *vāha-dhvam* (*vārayadhvād* in the Brahm. is the only form actually found). Compare Gr. *φερέ-σθω* § 966, Lat. *fruiminō* § 967.

§ 966. Greek. Further examples (see § 964). *φά-τω* from *φη-μι* 'I say'; *ἔ-τω* from *εἴ-μι* 'I will go'. *ἰέ-τω* from *ἵ-νη-μι* 'I send forth'. *βλή-τω* from *ἐ-βλή-ν* 'I received a missile, was struck'. Lesb. *τιμᾶ-τω* from *τιμᾶ-μι* 'I honour'. *ὀθῆ-τω* from *ὀθῆ-μι* 'I press, oppress'. *δαμ-ρά-τω* from *δάμ-ρη-μι* 'I tame'. *δεικ-νύ-τω* from *δείκ-νῶ-μι* 'I show'. *δείξ-ά-τω* from *ἐ-δείξ-α* 'I showed'. *ἑ-στά-τω* from *ἑ-στα-μεν* 'we stand'. *ἀγέ-τω* from *ἄγω* 'ago', *τιμαῖ-τω* *τιμᾶ-τω* from *τιμάω* -ᾶ 'I honour'.

On the analogy of act. *φέρετε*: mid. *φέρεσθαι* a middle *φερέσθω* was coined to complement *φερεῖτω*; this happened in

proethnic Greek. Compare Skr. *vārayadhvād* § 965, Lat. *fruinimō* § 967.

In Greek, the forms with *-τω* and *-σθω* are regularly used for the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular. The active form is used as 2<sup>nd</sup> sing., with the additional suffix *-s* to make the person clear, in the word *ἐλθῆτως ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐλθεῖ*. *Σαλαμῖνιαι*, a gloss given by Hesychius; cp. § 987. 1. The Corcyrean *φερέσθω*, 3<sup>rd</sup> plural, may be taken as evidence that once *φερέτω* could be used for the plural. But another explanation is possible; that the coincidence of *διδόσθω* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. and *διδόσθω* = *\*διδονσθω* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. caused the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *φερέσθω* to be used for the plural too.

For the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural, different dialects made new forms on the basis of *-τω* and *-σθω*: *φερέτω-ν φερίτω-σαν φερόντω* (cp. Lat. *feruntō*) *φερόντω-ν φερόντω-σαν* and *φερέσθω-ν φερέσθω-σαν φερόσθω φεροσθω-ν* (for *\*ονσθω \*ονσθω-ν*, cp. I § 204 p. 171); see the collections of G. Meyer Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> pp. 498 ff. Two remarks must be made here. (1) The origin of *φερέτω-ν φερόντω-ν φερίτω-σαν φερόντω-σαν* is later than the change of *\*-τωδ* to *-τω* (I § 652.5 p. 498).<sup>1)</sup> (2) The forms with *-ντ* (*-οντω -οντω-ν -οντωσαν*), it may be conjectured, were not based directly upon the indicative *\*bheronti \*ebheront* (Att. *φέρουσι ἔφερον*), but on the imperative-injunctive form *\*bheront* (cp. *σχί-ς φέρε-τε φέρε-τον φέρε-ο* and 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Skr. *bhāran bhārant-u* O.C.Sl. *bqdq* § 909 pp. 457 f.).

The active and middle endings of the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural did not always correspond; thus Arcadian has act. *-ντω* mid. *-(ν)σθων* (*ᾤμιόντω ἐπαλασάσθων*). In this and similar cases the explanation is that it was attempted to distinguish the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural from the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular middle.

No certain explanation has been given for Lesb. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *φέροντων φέρεσθων*; see the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> 173, Windisch Ber. sächs. Ges. der Wiss. 1889 p. 20, O. Hoffmann Das Präsens der idg. Grundspr. 21. The medio-passive forms *ιστάνθω* and

1) So the identification of Goth. *beirandau* with Gr. *φερόντων* (Hirt, Idg. Forsch. I 206) is wrong.

*ισαίνθωρ*, found in a late Boeotian and a late Phocian inscription, are re-formates instead of *ισάαθω* and *ισαίνθωρ* by analogy of the active forms, made in order to clearly mark the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural.

§ 967. Italic. The forms in *-tōd* (Lat. *-tōd -tō* Umbr. *-tu* Osc. *-tud*) were used for the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> singular.

Class I. Lat. *fertō* instead of *\*for-tō* like 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *fer-te* instead of *\*for-te*; on Umbr. *fertu fertu* 'fer-to' see § 505 p. 69. Lat. *ei-tō tō* Umbr. *etu etu* *estu* instead of *\*i-tōd*: (Gr. *ī-rō*; cp. Lat. *ei-te ī-te* Pelign. *ei-te* instead of *\*i-te* = *ī-re*. Umbr. *futu futu* 'esto': Gr. *qō-rō*. Lat. *es-tōd estō* .Osc. *estud estud* Volsc. *estu*: Gr. *so-rō*, see § 964. i p. 505. — Class X. Lat. *nē-tō*, *in-tratō*. Lat. *habē-tō* Umbr. *habetu habitu*, Lat. *licē-tōd licē-tō* Osc. *likītud licitud*. Lat. *portā-tō* Umbr. *portatu*, Osc. *deivatud* 'iurato'. — Perfect. Lat. *me-men-tō*: Gr. *me-mā-rō*. — Thematic. Lat. *agi-tōd* Umbr. *aitu* *aitu* Osc. *actud* (I § 502 p. 368). Lat. *sūmi-tō* Umbr. *sumtu*. With Idg. *i*, Lat. *faci-tō* Osc. *factud*.

These forms with *-tōd* 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 2<sup>nd</sup> plural was made in Latin by adding *-te* (*fer-te*), as *fertō-te agitō-te*, which should be compared with Gr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *qēqēro-v qēqēro-sar*: first arose *\*fertōtte* (cp. *cette* for *\*ce-dite*), and the double consonant was then thinned because of the preceding long vowel. Again, a 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. with *-nt-* makes its appearance, e. g. *feruntō*, *suntōd suntō*; probably this form has a similar history to Gr. *qēqēro*; 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 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> plural are made by affixing *-tu -tō -ta* (for *-ta* I § 105 p. 98) to *-tu* = *\*-tōd*: *futu-to* 'estote' *etu-tu etu-to etu-ta* 'eunto' *fertu-ta* 'ferunto'

habetu-tu *habitu-to* 'habento'. This *-tā* may be either Lat. *-te* + some interjection (cp. *ἔαστε* ὦ Ar. Lysistr. 350, *καρὸλο-λῦξαι* ὦ Aesch. Ag. 1118, *dringā drinc* Parsifal 220. 28), or an ending of the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *futu-to* made for it, like Lat. *agitō-te* from *agitō*, and then since *futu* could be used for 3<sup>rd</sup> singular too, *futu-to* came to be used for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person (cp. O.C.Sl. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *jaědŭ* used also for 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. § 949 p. 492). Still, *-tā*, if it was a dual ending, may have been originally the ending of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person too (cp. O.C.Sl. *-ta* as 3<sup>rd</sup> dual, § 1040); in that case *futu-to* was originally a 3<sup>rd</sup> person form as well as a 2<sup>nd</sup>.

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) *etato Iiovinur* 'itate Iguvini', and this *-tā* medialised into *-mā* (cp. *-mu(ō)* following *-tu(ō)*, below) might be seen in *aramahamo caterahamo Iosinur* '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 *etato aramahamo* are shortened by dissimilation from *\*etātā-tō* ('itate') *\*aramāmū-mō*, and that the latter has caused by analogy the shortening of *\*caterāmū-mō* which follows it.

(2) Complementary to *datōd datō dantō* there were formed in Latin *dator dantor*, like *damur* beside *damus*. There also arose a 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. in *-minō* for the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. in *-mini* (II § 71 p. 165), as *fruiminō fāminō profitēminō* beside *fruimini* etc.

Corresponding to the latter formation Umbr. has *persnimu persnihimu* 'precamino, supplicato', and the relation of pl. *habitu* 'habento' and *habitu* 'habeto' suggested a plural *persnihimuno* 'pecantor, supplicanto'. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *aramahamo caterahamo*, see the last Remark. Osc. *censamur* 'censemino, censetor' 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.

(1) The 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. in pr. Ar. *-sya*. Skr. *ky-ṣvā* Avest. Gath. *ker'-ṣvā* beside indic. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Skr. *d-kr-ata* from *✓ger-* 'make'. Skr. *ir-ṣvā* Avest. *ar'-ṣva* beside indic. Skr. *ir-tē* from *✓er-* 'set in motion' (§ 497 p. 57). Skr. *dhatsvā* Avest. *dasva* for *\*datsva* (I § 473.2 p. 349) beside indic. Skr. *dā-dhā-ti* from *✓dhē-* 'place'. Skr. *jāni-ṣva* (from *✓jen-* 'gignere') *vāsi-ṣva* (from *u-es-* 'clothe') like *stani-hi* (§ 960 p. 503). Skr. *vāha-sva* Avest. *vaza-nuha* beside Skr. *vāha-ti* 'vehit', Gath. *gūša-hva* beside *gūša-itē* 'hears', O.Pers. *pati-paya-nvā* 'take care' (I § 558 p. 415).

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.). *-sya* is the form which in Greek is the accusative, *Fé* ε.

(2) The 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. and pl. mid. in *-am*.<sup>1)</sup> Skr. sing. *ky-nu-tām* pl. *ky-nv-ātām* from *ky-nō-ti* 'makes', sing. *dhattām* pl. *dadh-atām* from *dā-dhā-ti* 'places'. Skr. sing. *bhāra-tām* pl. *bhāra-ntām* from *bhāra-ti* 'fert', Avest. sing. *ver'zya-tām* from *ver'zye-iti* 'works', pl. *jase-ntām* (Skr. *gācha-ntām*) from *jasa-iti* 'goes', O.Pers. sing. *varnava-tām* beside Avest. *ver'-nav-a-itē* 'believes' (§ 649 p. 185).

The ending of these forms is connected with that of the Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. imper. mid. *duh-ām vid-ām śay-ām* and the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. imper. mid. *duhr-ām*, which again can hardly be treated apart from the form *vidām* which is contained in *vidā oakāra* (§ 896 p. 445); thus we are drawn to see in them verbal nouns

1) *-ām* is also seen in Avest. *āqm* 'should be proclaimed'. Since in Skr. *-ām* is found only with verbs whose 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. indic. shows the ending *-e* beside *-tē*, it is natural to assume (as my pupil Mr. E. Kleinhaus has pointed out to me) that, say, *duhām* beside *duhē* is due to the analogy of *dagdhām* beside *dagdhē*. *duhrē* would then have suggested the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *duhrām* (§ 1078.)

used with the imperative meaning. Then e. g. *bhāratām* *ohārantām* may be a transformation of the injunctive *bhārata* *bhāranta*, completed in proethnic Aryan, on the analogy of *dāhām* 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 *-tām* passed over to the Optative, as *d-yā-tām* from *dhā-* 'to place' (Bartholomae, *Ar. Forsch.* II 63 ff.).

### § 969. Greek.

(1) The 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. act. of the *s*-aorist in *-σον*, as *δείξον* from *ἔδειξα* 'I showed'. The Syracusan dialect has *-ον* in the thematic aorist as well: *λάβον* (not as Attic, *λαβέ*). Its origin is obscure.

(2) Among the possible explanations of the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. of the *s*-aorist, as *δείξαι* *λίξαι*, two in particular deserve attention. (a) *λίξαι* ('lay thyself') may be the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. \**lex-σ-σαι*, connected with *λέκρο* for \**lex-σ-ρο* (§ 820 p. 357), and its primary personal ending may be compared with Ved. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. act. *वृ-षि* 'come here' and like forms (§ 910 Rem. p. 459 f.). *λέξαι* would be to the injunctive *λέξο*, i. e. \**lex-σ-σο* (also used for imperative), as Skr. *prā-si* 'fill thou' to the imper. injunct. *prā-s*. But since in the speaker's thought *λέξο* was associated with the system *λέκρο* *λίχθαι* etc., *λέξαι* because of its *α* was supposed to go with the *α*-forms *ἐλεξάμην* *ἐλέξατο* etc. (b) The other possibility is that this imperative was a Present form, that e. g. *ἴσσαι* (✓ *sed-* 'sedere') was the middle to the Skr. imper. *sāt-si* 'place thyself, sit', and *ᾠορξαι* the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. to Skr. *myś-ṭṣē*. 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-steigadau* 'καταβαίτω', *láuſjadau* 'ἑνσάσθω', and *liugandau* 'γαμησάτωσαν'. 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 *baīrāi-zuu -dan -ndau* in § 1052.

## SIGNS OF THE PERSONS, AND OF MIDDLE AND PASSIVE VOICE.<sup>1)</sup>

§ 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.

1) Fr. Müller, Sprachwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Suffixlehre des idg. Verbums, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. II 351 ff. *Idem*, Zur Suffixlehre des idg. Verbums I, Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad. xxxiv 8 ff., II, *ibid.* LXVI 193 ff. G. Curtius, Zur Erklärung der Personalendungen, in his Stud. IV 211 ff. Begemann, Zur Erklärung der Personalendungen, in: Zur Bedeutung des schwach. Präteritums der german. Sprachen 1874 pp. 184 ff. The Author, Zur Geschichte der Personalendungen, Morph. Unt. I 133 ff. Sayce, The Person-Endings of the Indo-European Verb, Teichner's Zeitschr. f. allgem. Sprachw. I 222 ff. P. Merlo, Sulla genesi delle desinenze personali, Rivisti di filol. XII 425 ff., XIII 385 ff., XIV 369 ff. M. Haberlandt, Zur Geschichte einiger Personalausgänge bei den thematischen Verben im Idg., Wien 1882. Windisch, Personalendungen im Griech. und Sanskr., Ber. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. 1889 pp. 1 ff. Bezenberger, Die idg. Personalendungen -mā, -tā, -dā, in his Beitr. II 268 f. E. Sibree, First and Second Persons of the Indo-European Verb, The Academy XXVII (1885) pp. 190 f. Stier, Die 3. plur. praes. indicativi des verbi substantivi, Kuhn's Zeitschr. VII 1 ff. Benfey, Über einige Pluralbildungen des idg. Verbum, Abhandl. d. Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. XIII 39 ff. V. Henry, La 3<sup>e</sup> personne du pluriel du parfait indo-européen, Mém. Soc. Ling. VI 373 ff. Windisch, Über die Verbalformen mit dem Charakter *r* im Ar., Ital. und Kelt., Leipz. 1887 (= Abhandl. der sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Cl., X 447 ff.). Misteli, Über Medialendungen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XV 285 ff. 321 ff. A. Kuhn, Über das Verhältniss einiger secundären Medialendungen zu den primären, *ibid.* XV 401 ff. L. Parmentier, L'origine des secondes personnes *quet(n)a*, *liet(n)a*, *bhrasā*, *sequer*, Mém. Soc. Ling. VI 391 ff. H. C. von der Gabelentz, Über das Passivum, Abhandl. der sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. VIII 449 ff. Steinthal, Über das Passivum, Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. II 244 ff. Herm. Müller, De generibus verbi, Greifsw. 1864.

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 affix to the

Aryan. Bartholomae, *Aricea*: Zur Bildung der 1. sing. praes. act., der 1. plur., der 3. sing. perf. act., Zur Flexion des Conjunctivi, Zur Bildung der 3. plur. praet. act., der 2. und 3. du. med., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 271 ff. *Idem*, Die 1. sing. opt. med. der thematischen Conjugation [of Aryan], Ar. Forsch. ii 65 f. Th. Bénéfy, Über die Entstehung und Verwendung der im Sanskrit mit *r* anlautenden Personalendungen, Abhandl. der Gött. Ges. d. Wiss. xv 87 ff. J. Darmesteter, Des désinences verbales en *ns* et des désinences verbales qui contiennent un *r* en sanskrit, Mém. Soc. Ling. iii 95 ff. A. Bergaigne, Des troisièmes personnes du pluriel en *-ram*, *ibid.* iii 104 f. Bartholomae, Indisch *āi* in den Medialexgängen des Conjunctivi, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 210 ff. A. J. Eaton, The *Ātmanepada* in Rigveda, Leipz. 1884. Spiegel, Die 3. Person plur. des perf. red. med. im Altbakt., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xx 155 f. Bartholomae, Suffix *at\** und *āt\** in den 3. pl., das Personalsuffix *-am* im Opt. [in Avesti], Ar. Forsch. ii 61 ff.

Greek. K. Burkhard, Die Personalendungen des griech. Verbums und ihre Entstehung, Teschen 1853. Bollensen, Über die 2. und 3. du. in den historischen Zeiten des Griech., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xiii 202 ff. J. Schmidt, Die Personalendungen *-a* und *-av* im Griech., *ibid.* xxvii 315 ff. F. Misteli, Über die erste Pers. Sing. Opt. Act. des Griech., Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. xii 25 ff. V. Henry, La finale primaire de 2<sup>e</sup> personne du singulier de voix moyenne en dialecte attique, Mém. Soc. Ling. vi 200 ff. Poppo, De Graecorum verbis mediis, passivis, deponentibus recte discernendis ac de deponentium usu, Frankf. a. d. O. 1827. Heurlin, De significatione verbis Graecorum mediis propria iisdemque a deponentibus discernendis, Lund 1852. L. Janson, De Graecorum verbis deponentibus vetustissimorum poetarum epicorum usu confirmatis, Festprogr. des Thorner Gymn., Thorn 1868. Kowaleck, Über Passiv und Medium vornehmlich im Sprachgebrauch des Homer, Danzig 1887.

Italic and Keltic. J. Rhys, The Passive Verbs of the Latin and the Keltic Languages, Transact. of the Philol. Soc. 1885 pp. 298 ff. H. Zimmer, Über das italo-keltische Passivum und Deponens, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 224 ff.

Italic. Corssen, Osservazioni sulle desinenze personali del verbo italico, Rivista di filol. iv 478 ff. *Idem*, Zur Gestaltung der Personalendungen italischer Verba, in: Beitr. zur ital. Sprachk. pp. 564 ff. Speijer, *tis* 2<sup>e</sup> personne du pluriel, Mém. Soc. Ling. v 189. *Idem*, Désinences moyennes conservées dans le verbe latin (Parfait en *-i* (*-ti*), Singulier de l'impératif en *-re*), Mém. Soc. Ling. v 185 ff. Corssen, Zur ital. Passivbildung, in: Beitr. zur ital. Sprachk. pp. 562 ff. Conway, The Origin of the Latin Passive, illustrated by a recently discovered

verb. Thus a connexion with ancient personal pronouns is in fact possible for the followings endings: in the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *-m -mi*, cp. Skr. *mā* (ir. *mā* (III § 434. 2 p. 365); in the 1<sup>st</sup> dual Skr. *-vas -va*, cp. Skr. *vām* Goth. *vi-t* Lith. *vè-du* (III § 436. 1 p. 367, § 457 p. 396); in the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *-t -ti*. cp. Skr. *tā-m* Gr. *ré-v* (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. *-mīnī* in *sequimīnī* even in proethnic 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

inscription, Cambridge Philol. Society's Proceedings 1890, Dec. 4, pp. 16 ff. L. Ramshorn, De verbis Latinorum deponentibus, Leipz. 1830. J. G. Ek, De verbis deponentibus Latinorum iisdemque cum mediis Graecorum quodammodo comparandis, Lund 1835. Nölting, Das lat. Deponens, Wismar 1859. A. W. Jahnsson, De verbis Latinorum deponentibus, Helsingf. 1872. H. Ebel, Zur umbr. Conjugation, Kuhn's Zeitschr. v 401 ff. M. Bréal, La première personne du singulier en ombrien, Mém. Soc. Ling. II 237 ff.

Keltic. Wh. Stokes, Die Endung der 1. pers. sg. praes. indic. act. im Neuirischen, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. II 131 ff. Thurneysen, Der ir. Imperativ auf *-the*, Idg. Forsch. I 460 ff. Wh. Stokes, Zum kelt. Passivum, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VII 467. Loth, La 2<sup>e</sup> personne du singulier du présent de l'indicatif actif (gallois *ydd*, cornique *yth*, armoricain *es* ou *es*), Revue Celt. X 348 f.

Germanic. R. Kögel, Zum deutschen Verbum: Die Endung der ersten Person Pluralis und die Endung der zweiten Person Pluralis, Paul-Braune's Beitr. VIII 126 ff. A. Ludwig, Über die 2. sing. perf. ind. im German., Sitzungsber. der böhm. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. 1884 pp. 52 ff. J. von Fierlinger, Die II. ps. sg. perf. starker Flexion im Westgerm., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 430 ff. *Idem*, Ahd. *-māz*, *ibid.* XXVII 189 f. J. Thorkelsson, Personalsuffixet *-m* i første Person Ental hos norske og islandske Oldtidsdigtere, Ark. för nord. fil. VIII 34 ff. H. Ebel, Das got. Passivum, *ibid.* v 300 ff. W. Uppström, Über das got. Medium, Germania XII 173 ff.

Slavonic. The Author, Altbulg. *beretū* und *beretū*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 418 ff. Miklosich, Die Personalsuffixe des Dualis [in Old Slovenian], Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad. LXXXI 125 ff.

possible to deny a connexion between the endings *-nt -nti -nto* etc. of the 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. Gr. *-ραι* and 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. act. *-τι*?

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 *\*-medhaj* or *\*-medhoj* of the 1<sup>st</sup> plural as an extension of the act. *\*-me*. *\*-so* *\*-to* *\*-nto* are doubtless extensions of the active *\*-s* *\*-t* *\*-nt*, and if a particle *i* were added to these, the former would become *\*-saj* *\*-taj* *\*-ntaj* or *\*-saj* *\*-taj* *\*-ntaj*, the latter *\*-si* *\*-ti* *\*-nti*. But in the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. the middle Skr. *-dhve* *-dhvam* are obviously to be kept quite apart from the active *-tha* *-to*. And who is to prove that *\*-saj* *\*-taj* 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 Bogemann, *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 those different endings, as between *-ti* and *-e* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. active (Skr. pres. *ās-ti* and perf. *ās-a*). 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 1<sup>st</sup> sing. active, of *-taj* or *-toj* and *-to* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. middle. The *-i* which distinguishes the active endings 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *-mi* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *-si* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *-ti* 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *-nti* from *-m* *-s* *-t* *-nt* in the same persons, may, I suggest, be an affix particle (perhaps implying present time). The same *-i*, forming a diphthong with a preceding *-a*-vowel, is seen in the middle endings 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *-aj* or *-oj* (Skr. perf. *tutud-ē*) and

-ōi (Skr. conj. *ky-nāv-ai*), 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. -sai or -sai, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. -tai or -tai, 1<sup>st</sup> pl. -medhai or -medhai, 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. -ntai or -ntai beside 1<sup>st</sup> sing. -o (Skr. pret. *ā-dviṣ-i*) and -o (Skr. opt. *dviṣiy-ā*), 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. -so, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. -to, 1<sup>st</sup> pl. -medho (Skr. -mahi Gr. -μεθα), 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. -nto. Other differences distinguish the endings of the 1<sup>st</sup> pl. act. Skr. -mas (-masi) and -ma, the endings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> dual act. Skr. -thas -tas and -tam -tam, 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 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. for instance has primary endings -ti active and -tai (-tai) middle, and secondary -t active and -to middle.

The Primary endings belong to the Indic. Pres. Active and Middle (Skr. *dāda-ti dat-tē*), and include the *sio*-future (Skr. *dasyā-ti -tē*), and the Indic. Perf. Middle (Skr. *dad-ē*). 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-da-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 dadī-tā* etc.)

The Conjunctive 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. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *do-beir* for \**bere-t* (secondary ending) and *berid* for \**bere-ti* (primary). Probably the Irish usage in some degree reflects that of proethnio times, and we should suppose that in the parent language, while *bhère-ti* would be used alone, such a form as \**pró bhère-t* would be used when the verb was coupled with a prefix. On this supposition, Skr. *prā bhārati* is due to the analogy of independent *bhārati*, and vice versa Lat. *vehis* to that of the compounds, as *dā-vehis*. But this kind of variation cannot be assumed for all tenses and moods in the parent language (of course the perfect indicative active is always excepted). It certainly was not found in the optative, which in the existing languages always shows secondary personal endings. And notwithstanding Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. imper. *vē-ṣi* and Gr. *λήτο* (§ 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. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *caṅr-úr*), sometimes in conjunction with others (as Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. pres. *duh-r-atē* Lat. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *seque-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.

### 1<sup>ST</sup> PERSON SINGULAR.

#### § 976. Protoethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) *-mi*, Primary Ending for Unthematic Stems. \**es-mi* 'I am': Skr. *ásmi* Arm. *em* Gr. *εἰμι* Alban. *jam* (for \**em* \**esmi*, § 493 p. 52) Goth. *im* Lith. *esmi* O.C.Sl. *jesmŭ*. Skr. *dáda-mi* Gr. *δίδω-μι* 'I give'. Skr. *śy-nd-mi* 'I break to pieces' Armen. *baṛ-na-m* 'I lift' Gr. *δαμ-νῃ-μι* 'I tame' O.Ir. *glenim* 'I remain hanging' (for \**gli-na-mi*) O.H.G. *gi-nō-m* 'I gape'. Most languages came indepenently 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) *-ō*, the Primary Ending for Thematic Stems. \**bherō* 'fero': Avest. Gath. *ufyā* 'I weave, extol' Gr. *φίρω* Lat. *ferō* O.Ir. *as-biur* 'effero, dico' Goth. *baifra* Lith. *vežti* 'veho'. Future Avest. Gath. *vaz-šyā* 'I will speak' Lith. *dā-siu* 'dabo'. Conjunctive \**es-ō* from indic. \**es-mi*: Avest. Gath. *anā* Skr. *brāv-a* 'dicam' Gr. *ἔω αἰ* Lat. (fut.) *erō*. *-ō* also in the Greek long-vowel Conjunctive, as *φίρω* (pl. *φίρω-μεν* *φίρη-τε*), and the Aryan *-ā* seems to be identical in the forms Skr. *ārcā* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ārc-a-ti*) Avest. Gath. *per'sā* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *per's-a-itī*), see § 918 Rem. p. 466.

(3) *-m* (after sonants) and *-n* (after consonants) Secondary Ending for any Stem. \**bhéro-m*: Skr. *ā-bhara-m* Gr. *ἰ-φερο-ν* Lat. *su-m* O.C.Sl. *nesū* 'bore'. Conj. Lat. *fera-m* O.Ir. *do-ber*



O.C.Sl. *bera* (§ 929 p. 474). Skr. *á-yā-m* 'I went' Gr. *ē-dgā-v* 'I ran' Lat. *era-m* O.Ir. *ba* 'fui' Goth. *i-dǫfa* 'I went'. Opt. \**s-(i)jē-m* 'aim': Skr. *syd-m* Gr. *ēŋ-v* Lat. *sie-m* *si-m*. \**ēs-m* 'eram' (before sonants also \**ēs-m*): Skr. *ās-am* Gr. *ē-a*. *s-Aorist* Skr. *á-cāiṣ-am* Gr. *ē-τεῖσ-α* from *√ qei-* 'pay a penalty, etc.'. Opt. \**bheroj-m*: Skr. *bhārēy-am*.

(4) *-a* in the indic. perf. \**yōjd-a* 'I know': Skr. *véd-a* Gr. *oīd-a* O.Ir. *ro cecan* 'cecini' Goth. *vāt*.

§ 977. Aryan. (1) *-mi*. Skr. *ās-mi* Avest. *ah-mi* O.Pers. *amīy*. Skr. *dādha-mi* 'I place' Avest. *dada-mi*. Skr. *kṛ-ṇō-mi* 'I make' Avest. *ker-nao-mi*.

(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. *barāmi* O.Pers. *dārayāmiy* (Skr. *dhārāyāmi*). The reason for this innovation was that there were often parallel forms, one thematic and the other unthematic, as Skr. *dā-dha-ti* and *dā-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 1<sup>st</sup> sing. mid. indic. pres. of both classes the same ending (*-ai*) 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* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *brāv-a-t*) Avest. *mrava* *mravāni* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Gath. *mrav-a-it*) beside indic. Skr. *brāv-ti* 'speaks' 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *brū-māḥ*; Skr. Ved. *vōca* (Gr. *(f)éino*) Ved. and class. *vōcāni* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *vōc-a-ti*) beside indic. *á-vōc-a-t* (Gr. *ē-(f)émi*) from *vac-* 'to speak', Avest. *per'sā* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *per's-a-iti*) beside indic. *per's-a-iti* 'asks', *azāni* beside indic. *az-a-iti* 'agit'.

The origin of *-ni* is obscure. Perhaps we should connect

it with the Ar. *-na* of Avest. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *bara-nā* and the ending of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *-than-a -ta-na* (§ 600 p. 143, § 1010).<sup>1)</sup>

(4) *-m*. Skr. *ā-bhara-m* Avest. *oarem* O.Pers. *abaram*. Skr. *ā-dadhā-m* Avest. *dadaq-m*. Optative Skr. *dadh-yā-m* Avest. *daidyaq-m*.

(5) *-m* appears in Aryan regularly as *-am*, which we may consider the ante-sonant form (*-mm*). 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. *ā-han-am* and other such by the existence of thematic and unthematic variants together (cp. *ā-han-a-t* § 498 p. 58); in *ds-am* *dd-am* by a wish to distinguish these from the perfect (*ds-a* *dd-a*); in the optative *bhārēy-am*, by a wish to distinguish active and middle (*bhārēy-a*). Skr. *ā-brav-am* Avest. *mraom* i. e. *mrao-em* 'I spoke'; Skr. *ds-am* O.Pers. *ah-am* 'eram'. Avest. *diḍaem* i. e. *diḍay-em* beside *di-ḍaē-iti* 'sees'. Skr. *ā-kṣār-ṣ-am* (Gr. *ε-φθινο-α*) from *kṣar-* 'to flow, pass away'. Optative Skr. *bhārēy-am* (not found in Iranian).

(6) *-a* in the Perfect. Skr. *vēd-a* Avest. Gath. *vaēd-a* 'I know': Gr. *οἶδα*. On Skr. *dadhāu* see § 852 p. 402 f.

§ 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. *jer-nu-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 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> singular (as in Serv. *nesem*, § 983), partly from the analogy of *em*. The same innovation is seen in the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *berem*, § 1019.

(2) The history of Idg. *-m* and *-m* 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. II 36 f.; Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXII 75.

1) What Mahlow suggests and Wiedemann approves (Lang. Voc. 162, Lit. Prät. 160) does not convince me in the least.

## § 979. Greek.

(1) *-μι*. *ἴμι* 'I go': Skr. *ś-mi*. *ἄγω-μι* 'I blow': Skr. *va-mi*. Lesb. *τίμα-μι* 'I honour': cp. Armen. *jana-m* O.H.G. *salbō-m*.

(2) *-ω*. *ἄγω*: Lat. *agō*. Conjunctive *ἰδέω -ω* 'sciam': Lat. *viderō*. Conj. *φέρω* 'feram': cp. Skr. Ved. *ārca*. In Homer the Conjunctive is extended by *-μι*, a re-formation: *κτείνω-μι* with indic. *ἐκτεῖνα*, *ἐθέλω-μι* indic. *ἐθέλω*, cp. *ἐθέλωσθα* § 987 and *ἐθέλω-αι* § 995.

(3) *-ν* for *-m*. *ἄγω-ν*: Skr. *dja-m*. *ἐτίθη-ν*: Skr. *á-dadhā-m*. Optative *θείη-ν* *τιθείη-ν*: Skr. *dadh-yā-m*.

*-α* for *-η*. Aorist *ἔχε(F)-α* 'I poured', *ἔδειξ-α* 'I showed'. The opt. form *\*φερο(χ)-α* which Skr. *bhārēya-m* leads as to expect, is lacking. In its stead we find *φέρου-μι*, which is undoubtedly a re-formation (*-οιμι* : *-οις* like *τίθημι* : *τίθης*), and one or two cases in Attic of *φέρων*, which stands to Skr. *bhārāya-m* as *ἔ-φῶ-ν* to *á-bhūv-am*.

(4) *-α* = Idg. *-a* in the Perfect. *δέδορκ-α* 'I have seen': Skr. *dadārś-a*.

§ 980. Italic. *-mi* and *-a* (Perfect) are not found.

(1) *-ō*. Lat. *agō*: Gr. *ἄγω*; Umbr. *sestu* 'sisto'. Lat. *planto* for *-a(i)ō*, Umbr. *subocauu* *sobocau* 'adoro' (*-uu* and *-u* = *-ō*)<sup>1</sup>. Conj. (fut.) Lat. *er-ō*: Avest. Gath. *awh-a*; cp. § 918 Rem. p. 466.

(2) *-m*. Lat. Osc. *s-u-m* § 528 p. 91; add Osc. *manafum*; if it means 'mandavi', see § 874 p. 423. Lat. *amā-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 *ao* contracted in unaccented syllables (§ 1094. 7), it apparently follows that *subocauu* is a new form instead of *\*subocō* by analogy of *stahu* 'sto' and the like.

Forms like *lëcim* (beside *-lëciu*) 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 (*m̥h*) as in Cymric? This is no effect of the analogy of the Irish representative of Idg. *\*es-mi* 'I am' (with *mm* 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 *-ām-* when following the accent became *-amm-*?" (Thurneysen.)

(2) Idg. *-ō*. *biu* 'I am': Lat. *fiō*. *no guidiu* 'I beg'. *-biur* 'I bear': Lat. *ferō*. *no charub* 'I will love': cp. Lat. *amā-bō*. See I § 90 p. 85.

(3) Idg. *-m*. *bā* 'fui' for *\*bhū-a-m*: Lat. *amā-bam* (§ 584 p. 125). Conj. *-her* 'feram' for *\*bherā-m*; the absolute form *bera* is analogical, and no ground-form can be inferred for it.

Idg. *-m̥* seems to be quite lost.

(4) Idg. *-a* in the Perfect. *ro sešlach* 'I struck down' for *\*se-slag-a*: cp. Goth. *slōh*.

### § 982. Germanic.

(1) Idg. *-mi* is common in West Germanic. Goth. *im* O.H.G. *b-in 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 *baīra*: *baīra-m -nd*. On Goth. *haba* see § 708 p. 238 f.

(2) Idg. *-ō*. Goth. *baīra* O.H.G. *biru* 'fero' O.Icel. *heito-mk* 'I call myself', Goth. *naŕja* O.H.G. *neriu nerru* 'I save'; on forms like O.H.G. *hilfu* 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 11<sup>th</sup> century: e. g. *wirdon gihun* instead of *wirdo gihu*, and so too O.Low Fr. *wirthon* (cp. § 976. 1).

(3) Idg. *-m*. Goth. *i-dǣja* 'I went': Skr. *á-yām*; Goth. *nasida* O.H.G. *nerita* 'I rescued' Norse Run. *tawido* 'I made'. No trace is left of *\*-un* = *-m*; it must have been once used in the opt. Goth. *laírau*; the origin of this form (O.Icel. *bera*) is very uncertain, see § 928 p. 474.

(4) Idg. *-a* in the Perfect. Goth. *vāt* O.H.G. *weiz* 'I know': Skr. *véd-a* Gr. *oǵ-a*.

§ 983. Balto-Slavonic. *-a* (Perfect) is wanting.

(1) *-mi*. Lith. *es-mi* O.C.Sl. *jes-mĭ* 'I am': on Lith. *es-mù* see § 510 p. 75. O.C.Sl. *ima-mĭ* 'I have' (§ 586 p. 127); reformation with *-mĭ*, *bi-mĭ* etc., see § 727 p. 257.

It is true the Lith. reflexive ending *-mē-si* (*dāmē-si*, *velmē-s* § 511 p. 76) contains the middle ending *-mē* = Gr. *-μα'* (cp. Pruss. *asmai*),<sup>1</sup> and by I § 664.3 p. 523 it follows that *-mē* becomes *-mi*. Still it does not follow that *-mi* must always come from *-mē*; active and middle endings must have existed side by side, and only in the *si*-reflexive was *-mē* made regular on the strength of 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *-ā-s* : *-ū*, 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *-mē-s* : *-me*. Compare § 991 on *dūsi* : *dūsē-s*.

In Servian *-m(ŷ)* runs through all conjugations: first, beginning with the 13<sup>th</sup> century, *-a-m*, as *čuva-m* 'I protect' (cp. O.C.Sl. *ima-mĭ*); then *-i-m*, as *hvali-m* 'I praise' (cp. O.C.Sl. *bi-mĭ*); lastly *-e-m*, as *nese-m* 'I bear', which should be compared with Armen. *bere-m* (§ 978 p. 519), only *mogu* 'I can' and *hoću* 'I wish' kept fast to the old ending. The same is true of Slovenian.

(2) Idg. *-ō* only in Baltic; Lith. *sukū* 'I turn' *sukū'-s(i)* 'I turn myself' (I § 664.3 p. 523), *dū'siu* 'dabo'. On the spread of *-u* to stems in orig. *-ā* and *ē*, as *lindau*, see § 586 p. 127, § 593 p. 133 f., § 991.1.

(3) Idg. *-m* only in Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *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.C.Sl. *-mi* instead of *-mĭ*, which some might be inclined to regard as another instance of middle ending. Miklosich cites it as a very rare variant (Vergl. Gr. iii<sup>2</sup> 63).

junctive *veza* = Lat. *veha-m* as indic. pres., see § 929 p. 474. Idg. *-m* is quite gone.

## 2<sup>nd</sup> PERSON SINGULAR.

§ 984. Protoethnic Indo-Germanic. On the imperative *-dhi*, and imperatives without any personal ending like Skr. *bhāra*, which we here disregard, see §§ 957 ff. pp. 497 ff.

(1) *-si*, Primary ending. \**ei-si* 'is': Skr. *ē-ṣi* Gr. *ēl* for \**ei-(o)i*. Skr. *bhāra-si* O.Ir. *berī* for \**bere-(s)i* Goth. *bairi-s* 'fers'. Conj. Skr. *bhār-ā-si*. O.Ir. *cari* 'amas' for \**carā-(s)i*, Goth. *salbō-s* 'thou anointest'.

From *√es-* 'esse' two forms. 1. \**esi*: Skr. *āsi* Gr. *al* for \**i-(o)i*; Alban. *jē* for \**e(s)i* (G. Meyer, M. Hertz zum 70. Geburtstag, 1888, pp. 86 f.). 2. \**es-si*: Armen. *es* Gr. Hom. *ēo-oi*: On the relation of the two Idg. forms, see III § 356 Rem. p. 258. On Goth. *is* see § 990. 1; on Lith. *esi* O.C.Sl. *jesi*, § 991.

(2) *-s*, Secondary ending. \**e-stā-s* from *√stā-* 'stare': Skr. *ā-sthā-s* Gr. *ē-sth-s*; Skr. *ā-ya-s* Goth. *i-dadjē-s* 'wentest'. \**bhēre-s*: Skr. *ā-bhāra-s* Gr. *phēre-s* *i-phēre-s* Lat. *ag-i-s* O.Ir. *do-bir* O.C.Sl. *veze*; Goth. *ōg-s* 'fear thou'. Opt. \**bhēro-j-s*: Skr. *bhārē-ṣ* Gr. *phēro-ς* Goth. *bairāi-s* Pruss. *imai-s* 'take thou' O.C.Sl. *berī*; \**s-(i)ṣ-s*: Skr. *syā-s* Gr. *ēi-ς* Lat. *siē-s* *st-s* Goth. *vitei-s* 'scias'.

(3) *-tha* in the ind. perf.: Skr. *vēt-tha* Gr. *oīda* 'knowest', O.H.G. *gi-tars-t* 'darest'.

## § 985. Aryan.

(1) *-si*. Skr. *vāk-ṣi* Avest. *vaṣi* beside 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Skr. *vāṣ-ṣi* Avest. *vaṣ-ti* 'desires'. Skr. *dādā-si* 'placest', Avest. *dādā-hi*. Skr. *bhāra-si* Avest. *bara-hi*. Conj. Skr. *bhārā-si*, Avest. *barā-hi* (also *barāi* with *h* dropt) O.Pers. *vainā-hy* 'videas'. Imperative Skr. *sāt-si* 'place thyself, sit' see § 910 Rem. p. 459 f.

Skr. *āsi* Avest. *ahi* Goth. *ahy* 'thou art', see § 984. 1.

(2) *-s*. Skr. *dhd-s* *ā-dhā-s* Avest. *dā* from *√dhē-* 'to place', Skr. *ākar* for \**a-kar-ṣ* 'madest', Avest. *var-ṣ* 'didst work' ground-form \**uerk-s*, *sqs* 'didst say' ground-form \**kens-s* (§ 493

p. 52). Skr. *á-dadhā-s* Avest. *daddā*. s-Aorist Skr. *ájaiṣ* for \**á-jaiṣ-ṣ*, *áchān* for \**a-chānt-s-s* see § 816 p. 354. Skr. *bhāra-s á-bhara-s* Avest. *barō* O.Pers. *gaudaya* 'didst hide' (I § 558.4 p. 415). Conj. Skr. *ás-a-s* Avest. *aoh-ō*, Skr. *bhār-ā-s* Avest. *bar-ā*. Opt. Skr. *bhārē-ṣ* Avest. *barōi-ṣ*, Skr. *dadhyā-s* Avest. *daiḥyā*.

(3) *-tha* in the Perfect. Skr. *vēttha* Avest. Gath. *vōista* (I § 475 p. 351), Skr. *dadhd-tha* Avest. Gath. *dada-pa*.

§ 986. Armenian. *es* 'art': Gr. *ἔσ-αι*. Hence *beres* 'fers', like *berem* following *em* (§ 978 p. 519).

Remark. The ending *-r* found in many tenses and moods Bugge thinks he can explain as *-r* + particle \**ra* = Gr. *ῥα*, e. g. aor. *ar-ar-er* (pres. *ar-ne-mi* 'I make') = Gr. *ῥε-αγ-ε-ι-ς ῥα* (Beitr. zur etym. Erläut. der arm. Spr., Christiania 1880 pp. 44 ff.). This particle he sees in the ending of the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. imperf., as *berēr alair toloir*. However, it is not found elsewhere in Armenian.

### § 987. Greek.

(1) *-si*. Only left in Hom. and Syrac. *ἔσ-αι* 'thou art', with a variant *εἰ* for \**ἔ(σ)αι*, and in *εἰ* 'wilt go' for \**εἰ(σ)αι*. 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. *εἰ-ς* or *εἴ-ς* 'thou art' and Hesiod's *εἰ-ς* 'thou wilt go'; in the same way was produced 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *ἔλθεις-ς*, § 966 p. 507.

*φέρεις* 'fers' either for \**φερε(σ)αι* = Skr. *bhāra-si* with secondary *-ς* added (see the Author's Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 145, and Fay in the Amer. Journ. Phil. xi 219 f.); or for Idg. \**bherēi-s* (by I § 611 p. 481), a form like Skr. *áj-ai-ṣ* (see footnote to page 61). The latter view, on which *φέρεις* is really injunctive, is to my mind likelier, because it explains at the same time the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *φέρει* in the simplest way (§ 995). The conjunctive *φέρης* sprang up by the side of *φέρεις* because of the existence of *φέρης* beside *φέρers*.

(2) *-s*. *ἔ-βλη-ς*: Skr. *á-gla-s* (§ 587 p. 127). *ἰ-τίθη-ς*: Skr. *á-dadhā-s*. *ἤγε-ς*: Skr. *ája-s*. Opt. *φέρου-ς εἴη-ς*. Observe the injunctive forms with indicative present use, Dor. Cyp. *φέρε-ς* Att. *φη-ς* *τίθη-ς* Lesb. *φίλη-ς* etc., § 909 p. 457.

(3) *-tha* in the Perfect. Only two original forms are left: — *οἶσθα*: Skr. *vēttā* 'knowest' and *ἦσ-θα* from *ἔσ-* 'to be'. The latter, which was afterwards used as imperfect (§ 858 p. 407), was the origin of many analogical forms, for instance *ἔφησθα ἤμισθα τίθησθα* conj. *ἐθέλῃσθα* opt. *βάλλουσθα εἴησθα*. *οἶσθα-ς ἦσθα-ς* are of very doubtful authority before the Alexandrian age; *οἶσθα-ς* occurs in Herodas II 55. In the indic. perf. *-α-ς* was usual instead of *-θα*, e. g. *τέτροφ-α-ς*, also *οἶδας* beside *οἶσθα*; 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 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *\*-tī* seems very early to have become *-t* (§ 996), nothing prevents our deriving Lat. *es* 'art' and *ēs* 'eatest' from *\*essi* and *\*ētī*.

(2) *-s*. Lat. *vī-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. agis farct-s*, Umbr. *heris heri heri* 'vis, vel' (p. 68 footnote, and § 715 p. 248). Conjunctive Lat. *er-i-s vider-i-s, ag-ā-s ag-ē-s*. Optative Lat. *siē-s si-s*. Umbr. *sir si sei* 'sis'.

(3) Idg. *-tha* in the Perfect. Lat. *vīdis-tī* (inscr. also *-tēi*) got its *-tī* either from the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. with the middle suffix *-tī*; or else the middle ending existed in Italic in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person too (*\*-stī* for pr. Lat. *\*-saj*) and *-tī* got its *-tī* from this, in the same way as *-tī* in O.C.Sl. *berēši* is a mixture of active Idg. *\*-si* and middle Idg. *\*-saj* or *\*-soj* (§ 991).

§ 989. Celtic. *-tha* (Perfect) is lost. The ending of *cechan* 'cecinisti' is obscure.

(1) *-si*. O.Ir. *berī* 'fers' for *\*bere-si* (I § 576 p. 431).

(2) *-s*. Injunct. *comēir* 'get up' for *\*cóm-ecs-rec-s-s* (§ 826 p. 363) *-bir* 'fers' for *\*bere-s* (I § 576 p. 431, § 657.5 p. 508).

In the *a*-conjunctive, *berae bere* and *do-berae -e* for a supposed *\*berāsi*; 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. *bairi-s gatamji-s salbō-s* have \**-zi* or \**-si* cannot be made out, as both pr. Goth. *-z(i)* and *-s(i)* must needs become *-s* (I § 660.5 p. 516). The breathed *-s* in West Germanic is thus explained: — in O.H.G. *tuos gā-s*, in O.H.G. and A.S. *bis* (ground-form \**bhy-i-si*, with *i* dropt on the analogy of forms like *tuos biris*, cp. 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. *-pi* and *-di* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular, § 998.

Whether Goth. *is* 'thou art' be Idg. \**esi* or \**essi* is not clear (§ 984. 1).

(2) *-s*: Goth. pr. Norse *-z*, pr. W.Germ. *-s* and *-s*. Goth. *gatamidēs* O.Icel. *tamder* O.H.G. *zemitōs* A.S. *temedes*. O.H.G. *zigi* pret. 'thou didst accuse': Skr. *ā-diś-a-s* § 893 p. 441, *ni curi* 'noli' § 909 p. 458. Goth. conj. *ōg-s* ('fear thou') § 917 p. 465. Opt. Goth. *batrāi-s* O.H.G. *berē-s* A.S. *bere*; O.H.G. *sī-s* 'mightst be', Goth. *bitei-s* O.H.G. *biggi-s* A.S. *bite* 'mightst bite', see § 893 p. 441. The constant use of affixt \**pā* 'thou' partly caused the secondary ending to be kept in West Germanic.

The O.H.G. compounds *biris-tu tuos-tu* (see under 1.) *zemitōs-tu sīs-tu biggi-s-tu* were misunderstood, and in the 9<sup>th</sup> century people began to regard them as *birist* + *du* (*thū*) 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. *lisa*) *slōh-t* 'didst strike' (pres. *slaha*) O.H.G. *gi-tarst*

'darest' (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *gi-tar*). By their analogy Goth. *vāist* O.H.G. *weist* 'knowest' (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *vāit weiz*), Goth. *gast* 'didst say' (pres. *giba*) with *st* instead of regular *ss*. Further, Goth. *bar-t* 'didst bear' *skul-t* A.S. *scealt* 'shalt' instead of \**bar-p* etc. See I § 553 p. 406. The sole example of pr. Germ. *-þa* = *-tha* is A.S. pres. *ear-ð ar-ð* 'art', which must therefore be a transformate of pres. mid. \**ar-þēs* = Skr. *ir-thas* (§ 509 p. 75).

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', *soil-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-diś-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-si* 'goest', *dūsi* 'gives' for \**dū-t-si*. Whether Lith. *esi* is to be compared with Skr. *ási* or Gr. *ia-oi* (§ 984 p. 523) is still uncertain.

Starting from *esi*, *-i* spread to the other verbs. *dūdi* instead of *dūsi* beside *dū(d)-mi dūd-u*, *degi* beside *degmi degu*, *suki* beside *suku*, *verti* for \**verti* beside *verciū*, fut. *dūsi* for \**dūsji* beside *dū-siu*. Further, \**lindō-i*, which became *lindai*, beside 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *lindo* which drew after it the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *lindau* = \**lindō-u*; this adoption of *i* and *ū* 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 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. and in the plural and dual (e. g. *būvo* 'he was' like *lindo*); from the *a*-preterite, *-i* and *-ū* then proceeded to the preterite with *ē*. 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 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. future,<sup>1)</sup> and thus also the present \**lindō-si* (cp. O.C.Sl. *ima-ši*) may have been exchanged for \**lindō-i*, because the former agreed with the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. future.

1) *elsi* 'is' and *ēisi* 'ibis' are distinguished by accent.

The Reflexive in Lithuanian has always the middle endings *-sė -š*, as *desė-s* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *dė(d)-mi* § 546 pp. 103 f.), *sukė-s vertė-s* (for *\*vertjė-s*, cp. *te-vertė* § 954 p. 494); similarly the old books have *essie-gu* i. e. *esė-gu* (*-gu* is a particle). In the same way we have Pruss. *assai assei essei* 'thou art' *seggē-sai* 'thou doest'. Still, although *-š* had to become *-i* anyhow by rule, we must not assume that all instances of *-i* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular come from *-š*. 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 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *-mi*, that the middle ending became the rule; cp. § 988.1 p. 522.

Protoethnic Slavonic had *-ši* = Idg. *-si*, e. g. in *\*here-ši* 'fers': Little Russian, Mod.Sloven., Serv., and Czech *berěš*. Along with this it had the middle *-si* = Idg. *-sai* *-saj* in verbs with *-mi*: O.C.Sl. *jesi* 'art' *jasi* 'eatest' *dasi* 'givest', Little-Russ. *jesy jisy dasy* Mod.Slov. *si* 'art', Serv. *jesi* 'art', Czech *jsi* 'art'. By contamination of *-ši* and *-si*, O.C.Sl. *berěši ima-ši* etc.

(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. *vdha-s*, opt. *vezi*: Skr. *vdhē-š*. As regards *da* 'gavest' for *\*dō-s-s* see p. 830 p. 367, where also the origin of the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *dastū* instead of *da* is treated.

### 3<sup>RD</sup> PERSON SINGULAR.

#### § 992. Protoethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) *-ti* Primary ending. *\*es-ti* 'est': Skr. *ās-ti* Gr. *ἔσ-τι* Lat. *es-t* O.Ir. *is* Goth. *is-t* Lith. *ēs-ti* *ēs-t* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *jes-ť*. Skr. *dāda-ti* Gr. Dor. *dāw-τι* Lith. *dā's-t(i)* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *das-ť* 'dat'. Skr. *vd-ti* Gr. *ᾠ-τι* 'blows' Lat. *ne-t planta-t* O.Ir. *carid* 'loves' Goth. *salbō-þ* 'anoints' O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *ima-ť* 'hat'. Skr. *śy-nd-ti* 'breaks to pieces', Armen. *baṛ-na-y* 'lifts', Gr. *δαμ-νῃ-σι* 'tames', O.Ir. *lenid* 'catches hold' (for *\*li-na-ti*) O.H.G. *gi-no-t* 'gapes'. *\*bhere-ti* 'fert': Skr. *bhāra-ti* Armen. *berē* Lat. *agi-t* O.Ir. *beri-d* Goth. *bairi-þ* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *berě-ť*. Conj. Skr. *ās-a-ti* 'sit' Lat. (fut.) *er-i-t*.

(2) *-t* Secondary ending. \**ēs-t* 'erat': Skr. *ās* Gr. Dor. *ἦς*; \**e-gem-t* 'he went': Skr. *ā-gan* Arm. *e-kn*; \**e-dhē-t* 'he placed': Skr. *ā-dhā-t* Armen. *e-d*. Skr. *ā-dadhā-t* Gr. *ἔ-τι/θη* 'he placed'. Skr. *ā-yā-t* Goth. *i-dđja* 'he went'. \**s-Aor.* Skr. *ā-jai-ṣ* 'he conquered' for \**-ṣ-t*, O.Ir. *for-tē* 'he must help' for \**steigh+s+t*, O.C.Sl. *da* 'gave' for \**dō-s-t*. \**bhēre-t*: Skr. *bhāra-t ā-bhara-t*, Gr. *πέρε ἔ-περε*, Osc. *kúmbened* 'convēnit', O.Ir. pres. *-beir* O.C.Sl. *veze* 'vexit'. Conj. of *s-Aor.* Skr. *jē-ṣ-a-t* O.Ir. *tēs tēs*; long-vowel Conj. Skr. *bhār-a-t*, Arcad.-Cypr. *πέρ-η*, Osc. *deiva-i-d* 'iuret' heriia-d 'velit', O.Ir. *do-bera*. Opt. Skr. *s-yā-t* Gr. *σιγ* O.Lat. *sied* O.H.G. *sī wizzi*; Skr. *bhārē-t* Gr. *πέρα* Goth. *bairdi* Lith. *te-sukē* 'turn' O.C.Sl. *beri*.

A combination of *-t* with the particle *u* produced the personal ending *-tu*. Skr. *ās-tu* 'esto' O.C.Sl. (Bulg.) *jestū* 'est', Skr. *bhāra-tu* 'ferto' O.C.Sl. (Bulg.) *beretū* 'fert' (§ 909 p. 458). Cp. *-ntu* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl., § 1017.

(3) *-e* in the Perfect. Skr. *vēd-a* Gr. *οἶδ-ε* Goth. *vāt* 'he knows'. Skr. *ja-ghān-a* 'he struck, killed' O.C.Sl. *ro ge-guin* 'vulneravit, trucidavit'.

### § 993. Aryan.

(1) *-ti*. Skr. *ās-ti* Avest. *asti* O.Pers. *astiy*. Skr. *dādha-ti* Avest. *dādā-iti*. Skr. *bhāra-ti* Avest. *bara-iti*, O.Pers. *tarsa-tiy* 'he fears'.

(2) *-t*. Skr. *ā-dhā-t* Avest. *dā-ḥ* O.Pers. *a-dā*. Skr. *ās* Avest. *ās* 'erat' pr. Ar. \**as-t*. Skr. *ā-kar* Avest. *cor'-ḥ* 'made', Avest. *cōis-t* 'announced' from *ciš-*. Skr. *ā-tryat* = \**a-tryat-t* beside pres. *tryat-ti* from *tard-* 'to pierce', Avest. *cinas* beside pres. *cinas-ti* 'teaches' (§ 626 p. 162). *s-Aor.* Skr. *ā-jaiṣ* 'he conquered' = \**a-jaiṣ-t*, *ābhār* 'he brought' = \**a-bhār-ṣ-t*. Skr. *ā-bhara-t* Avest. *bara-ḥ* O.Pers. *abara*. Opt. Skr. *han-yā-t* Avest. *janyāḥ* O.Pers. *janiyā*, Skr. *bhārē-t* 'Avest. *barōi-ḥ*.

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*

Avest. *as-t-u* with Skr. *ds* Avest. *as*, Skr. *gán-tu* Avest. Gath. *jan-tā* with Skr. *á-gan*, Skr. *prṇák-tu* with *á-prṇak*, *iṣ-Aor.* *aviṣ-tu* (§ 889 p. 376).

(3) *-a* = Idg. *-e* in the Perfect. Skr. *ds-a* Avest. *ānōh-u* from  $\sqrt{\text{es-}}$  'to be'. On Skr. *pa-prā pa-prāú* Avest. *da-da* see § 852 p. 402 f.

§ 994. Armenian. *-e* (Perfect) is wanting.

(1) The *t* of *-ti* becomes *i* after vowels (Hübschmann, Arm. St. I 74, above I § 360 p. 276).<sup>1)</sup> *berē* 'fert' for *\*bere-i* *\*bere-ti*, *bařna-y* 'lifts' for *\*bařna-ti*, *alay* 'grinds' for *\*ala-ti*, *xausi* 'loquitur' for *\*xausi-i -ti*.

(2) *e-d* 'he placed': Skr. *á-dhā-t*. *e-ku* 'he came': Skr. *á-gan*, Idg. *\*e-gou-t*.

The *-r* of the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. imperf., as *berēr*, is obscure; see § 986 Rem. p. 524.

§ 995. Greek.

(1) *-ti*. *ēa-ti*, *āḡai*, Dor. *dídō-ti* Att. *dídō-ai*.

(2) *-t* dropt off (I § 652.5 p. 498). Dor. Arcad.-Cypr. *ē* 'erat'. *ē-tiθῆ*. Injunctive *τιθῆ* serves as indic. present in Lesbian, cp. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. Att. *τίθῃς*. *ἐφείρε*. Optative *εἴθῃ*, *φείροι*. Conjunctive Arcad.-Cypr. and other dialects *φείρη*, like Skr. *bhāra-t*.

The explanation of *φείρει*, which cannot be derived from *\*q<sub>1</sub>φε-τι*, depends on that of the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *φείρεῖς*. If *φείρεῖς* = *\*q<sub>1</sub>φε(σ)ι + ε*, *φείρει* has been coined as complementary on the model of *φείροι* : *φείροις*, *ἔφερε* : *ἔφερες*. But if *φείρεῖς* is a form like Skr. *ájāi-ṣ*, which I have preferred as more probable, *φείρει* must go parallel to Skr. *á-sarāt-t* 'he broke to bits'; then *\*bherēi-t* was the ground-form. In any case it follows that *φείρει* had the secondary ending. Conj. *φείρη* is an ad-formate of *φείρει*, as *τίθης* of *τίθεις*. Compare § 987.1 p. 524. In Epic dialect *-ai* 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. *ἐθαλλοι* instead of *ἐθαλλη*, cp. *ἐθαλλω-μι* § 979. 2 p. 520, *ἐθαλλοθα* § 987. 3 p. 525.

(3) *-e* in the Perfect. *οἶδ-ε*, *γί-γν-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. *es-t* Umbr. *est* Osc. *est* ist. Lat. *agi-t ama-t*. Umbr. *tišit* 'docet' *trebei-t* 'versatur' *habe habe habet*; Osc. *faama-t* 'habitat' *stai-t* 'stat', Marruc. *fere-t* 'fert', Vestin. *dide-t* 'dat'.

(2) *-d* representing Idg. *-t*. Thematic Preterite (§ 867 p. 414 f.): Lat. inscr. *vhevake-d* 'fecit' *face-d*; Umbr. *řeře* Osc. *dede-d* 'dedit' Osc. *kúm-bene-d* 'convēnit' *aamanaffe-d* 'mandavit' (§ 874 p. 422). Optat.: Lat. inscr. *sie-d*; Umbr. *si si -sei* 'sit', Osc. *da-di-d* 'dedat' Marruc. *-si* 'sit'. Long-vowel Conj. (cp. Skr. *bhāra-t*, O.Ir. *-air-ema* § 997. 2): Umbr. *fašia* 'faciat' *kuraia* 'curet' Osc. *heriia-d* 'velit', Umbr. *heriiei* 'velit' Osc. *deivai-d* 'iuret' Osc. *fusi-d* 'foret'; Osc. *tadait* like Skr. *bhāra-ti*, and Lat. *mitat* in the Duenos inscr., beside *sied feced* (unless we should read with Conway, Amer. Journ. Phil. x 452, *mita(n)t*).

In Latin *-t* early becomes the sole ending, *fui-t ama-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 *fuid tum*).

§ 997. Keltic.

(1) Idg. *-ti*, whose vowel disappeared by I § 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 *-ā-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. *tēs tēis* 'eat' for \**steiks-e-t*, *-air-ema* 'suscipiat' for \**-emā-t*, *ro-chara* 'amet' for \**carā-t*.

(3) Idg. *-e*: *ro cechuin* '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(i)* and *-d(i)* (I § 660.5 p. 516), e. g. *trudi-p* 'steps' Class II *B* like Skr. *tudā-ti*, *bairi-p* 'fert' = Skr. *bhāratī*. West Germanic has both forms, O.H.G. using *-t* = pr. Germ. *-di* always, whilst A.S. has usually *-d* = pr. Germ. *-pi*; O.H.G. *biri-t hevi-t* and the like (§ 720 p. 251) are regular and *tuo-t* analogical, A.S. *dæd ðige-d* (loc. cit.) regular and *bire-d* analogical.

(2) *-t* dropt in all Germanic dialects (I § 659.6 p. 513). Goth. *i-dǣja* 'he went': Skr. *ā-yā-t*. Goth. *nasida* O.H.G. *nerita* 'he preserved'. Optative Goth. *baidrāi* O.H.G. *bere* pr. Germ. \**béraj-d*; Goth. *vaurpi* O.H.G. *iourti* 'he would become' pr. Germ. \**yurdīt-p*.

(3) *-e*, pr. Germ. *-i* in the Perfect. Goth. *skai-skāip* O.H.G. *sciad* 'he separated': Skr. *ci-chēda*. 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 *i*-quality is still indicated, according to W. van Helten (P.-B. Beitr. xiv 262 f.), in the *ē* 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 unthematic stems;

in Old Russian both with these and with the thematic. Lith. *ēs-ti ēst* Pruss. *ast* (*astits* = *asti tas* 'est hic') O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *jes-tŭ* 'is'. Lith. *ėi-ti eīt* Lett. *t-t* 'goes' Pruss. *ēit*. Lith. *dū'sti* reflex. *dū'sti-s* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *dastŭ* 'dat'. O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *berē-tŭ*: Skr. *bhāra-ti*.

(2) *-t* dropt in both branches (I § 663.3 p. 521). O.C.Sl. aor. *veze*: Skr. *vāha-t*, *s*-aorist *-t* 'ate' for *\*ēts-t* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *-ēstŭ*). Lith. injunctive used for indic. pres. and preterite: *sāko* 'says' *būvo* 'was', *tūri* has'. Optative Lith. *te-vežē* O.C.Sl. *vezi*: Skr. *vāhē-t*. Another example is Lith. *vēja* 'vehit' for *\*veša-t*. The *a* of this form, and of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *vēja-te* and the 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *vēja-ta*, came in from the 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *vēja-me* and displaced *e*; this levelling was helped by present stems which had *i* all through, and those which had *o* in the plural, dual, and 3<sup>rd</sup> singular (*tūri-me* etc., *sāko-me* etc.); cp. O.H.G. Alemann. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *bera-t*, § 1015.

In Baltic the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular of all verbs served also for 3<sup>rd</sup> plural and 3<sup>rd</sup> dual. According to J. Schmidt (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 595), the form *yrā* 'est' (from the *✓* of Skr. *īr-tē*, § 497 p. 57) was originally a substantive used predicatively ('existentia'), which did for all numbers; when this idiom became familiar, the 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 proethnic speech which allowed a neuter plural or dual subject to have a verb in the singular (cp. Homer's *δοῦρα δέσση* and *ὄσσε δέσση*): this rule held in proethnic 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-výst(a)* and conjunctive (see § 909.3a p. 457) *te-lystai* 'let him grow haggard' = *te-lýst(a)*, Pruss. *swintmai* 'he sanctifies' = *swintina* (also *-ei -e* instead of *-ai*) *turrei* 'has' = *turri*. *s*-Future Lith. *su-gausai* 'he will or must get' = *su-gaũs*. *turėsai* 'he will or must have', in Prussian always used as conjunctive, as *boūsai* 'be he' *dāsai* 'let him givo' (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. *tasaĩ* as compared with *tās* (III § 414 p. 336). Perhaps, however, it was not -ai but -sai (see *loc. cit.*).<sup>1)</sup> In this case we must assume that it was first added to the future, which seems to have ended with -s = -s-t in protothnic Baltic (injunctive of the s-aorist), cp. § 828 p. 365 f.; and after the double s was thinned (\**bās-sai* becoming \**bāsas*), -ai was mentally abstracted and then added to the present.

In Old Bulgarian we find instead of -tŭ the ending -tŭ i. e. -t + particle *u* (§ 909 p. 457), e. g. O.Bulg. *jestŭ beretŭ*, cp. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *sqtŭ beratŭ*. Perhaps protothnic Slavonic had *jestŭ* and *beretŭ* corresponding to Lith. *ĕsti* and *vĕža*. and levelling took different directions in the dialects.

In Old Bulgarian -tu spread from the present to the aorist, and thus we have *pri-jetŭ* instead of -jĕ; these aorist forms then came to be used for the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular. See § 830 p. 367.

#### 1<sup>ST</sup> PERSON PLURAL.

§ 1000. Protothnic 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 -*masi* -*mas*, and secondary and perfect -*mā*; from Old Irish, with -*mi* -*me* in absolute flexion, -*m* in conjunct; and from Old High German, whose -*mēs* 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 protothnic speech. Whether the vocalic suffixes and those ending in a nasal

1) This -sai may be identified with the Goth. *sai* O.H.G. *sē*, 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. *\*bhéro-mos* 'ferimus', cp. III § 228 p. 111 f. on the endings of the gen.-abl. sing. *-es* and *-os*. Skr. *i-más bhára-mas*, Gr. Dor. *i-μεν φέρο-μεν*; Lat. *i-mus feri-mus*, O.H.G. *tuo-mēs bera-mēs*. Perhaps we should add O.Ir. *do-bera-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-mási bhára-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. *á-bhára-ma bhárē-ma* perf. *vid-má*; Ved. also *-mā*. Osc *manafu-m* comes in too, if it is 1<sup>st</sup> pl. ('mandavimus'), see § 874 p. 422. Goth. *vitum* O.H.G. *wiggun*, opt. Goth. *baltrái-ma vites-ma* (for *\*-mē* or *\*-mō*). Lith. reflex. *sūko-mė-s*, with variant *sūko-mie*. Perhaps also O.Ir. *do-bera-m* (for *\*-mō*), Czech *js-me nese-me* Serv. *its-mo plete-mo*.

(b) *-mem -mom* or *-men -mon*.<sup>1)</sup> Gr. *i-φέρο-μεν φέρο-μεν* *ιδ-μεν*, O.C.Sl. aor. *neso-mŭ*. Perhaps also O.Ir. *do-bera-m* (for *\*-mom* *\*-mon*); but there is no trace of a final nasal. O.C.Sl. *neso-my* may be derived from *-mōm -mōn*.

§ 1001. It is a difficult question how far the *-m-* of our ending, and likewise that of the middle ending Skr. *-mahē* Gr. *-μεθα*, had a sonant pronunciation (*-mm-*) in the parent language.

1) *-mem -mom* appear to deserve the preference to judge from Skr. *-tam* beside Lith. *-ta* O.C.Sl. *-ta* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> dual (§ 1031). and Skr. *-tām* beside O.C.Sl. *-te -ta* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> dual (§§ 1038 and 1040).

The following are cited from Avestic by Bartholomae (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 273 ff.): 1<sup>st</sup> pl. aor. *jim-ama* from  $\sqrt{\text{gem-}}$  'go', 1<sup>st</sup> pl. pres. *hišc-amaidē* beside 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. act. *hi-saz-ti* (§ 540 p. 101), opt. *jam-y-ama* (§ 941 p. 486). For the Perf. examples are Avest. *-ama* in *daidy-ama*, Gr. *-αμεν* Goth. *-un* Lat. *-imus* O.Ir. *-ammar*, see § 844 p. 386. Lastly, for the Sigmatic aorist, Gr. *-αμεν -αμεθα* Lat. *-simus*, see § 820 p. 356, § 823 p. 361.

### § 1002. Aryan.

(1) Primary *-mas* and *-masi*. Both are kept in Sanskrit, but in Iranian only the latter is found. Skr. *s-más s-mási* Avest. *mahi* O.Pers. *a-mahy* 'sumus'. Skr. *bhārā-mas -masi* Avest. *barā-mahi* O.Pers. *paḥyā-mahy* ('dicimur').

(2) Secondary and Perfect *-ma*, whose Vedic variant *-mā* may be compared with Goth. *-ma* Lith. *-mė(-s)*. Skr. *á-dhā-ma* Avest. Gath. *dā-mā* from  $\sqrt{\text{dhē-}}$  'to place', Skr. *á-kar-ma* O.Pers. *a-kū-mā* from  $\sqrt{\text{qer-}}$  'make'; Avest. *jim-ama* (§ 1001). Opt. Skr. *syā-ma* Avest. *x'yā-ma jam-y-ama* (§ 1001), Skr. *bhārē-ma* Avest. *baraē-ma*. Further, the Aryan conjunctive always has *-ma*, by which the ind. and conj. pres. of thematic stems were distinguished): Skr. *bhārā-ma* Avest. *barā-ma*. Perfect *śu-śru-mā su-sru-ma* from  $\sqrt{\text{kley-}}$  'hear'; Avest. *daidy-ama* (§ 1001).

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-pośyāmas* 'we saw' and pres. *paśyāma* 'we see', and similarly 1<sup>st</sup> 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 (Beifr. zur etym. Erl. der arm. Spr., Christiania 1889, p. 44) derives *-mē* from *-mes + v* (the particle *u*), cp. III § 313 p. 212 on the case-suffix *-ē* in *dsterē mē* etc. Still more obscure is the *-ē* of other tenses, as of aor. *tuaē* 'they gave'.

Remark. In explaining the endings of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> plural (§ 1011) we must not forget the possibility of a personal pronoun being affixt, cp. Mod.Cymr. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *carwn* Alban. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *jenn* § 1006. 2, O.Ir. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *adib* (§ 506 p. 72 f.). In considering the -ið of the 2<sup>nd</sup> plural, where i seems to come from t for -te, we must also remember that the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. may have imitated the ending of the 1<sup>st</sup> plural, cp. O.Ir. *beríhi* Lith. *sakotė-s* §§ 1014, 1016. Compare Hübschmann, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiii 12.

§ 1004. Greek. In Doric, -μεν (primary) becomes universal. E. g. *φέρο-μεν* *ἴω-μεν* *ἐ-στάσαμεν*, *ἀπ-εστάλαχμεν*. 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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' (1<sup>st</sup> sing. -*guidiu*). -mi became -me when the preceding syllable had no palatal vowel (1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugations); thus *berme* for \**bero-mi* \**bero-mesi*, *carme* for \**carā-mi* \**carā-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-lēcem*, and so in the α-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 = sm.<sup>1)</sup> But Cymric shows -wn in the pres. indicative, as *carwn* ('we will love'),

1) On the same principle, we find in Pali *dadumha* following *amha* for *asma* 'sumus', Prakrit *cijḥamha* -mho following *amha* -mho; and in Prakrit there is a 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *gacchāmi* instead of *gacchāmi*. As regards the 1<sup>st</sup> plural something may be put down to the influence of the s-aorist ending (Skr. -s-ma), cp. Pali *apacamhā* beside *apacimhā* (E. Kuhn, Beitr. zur Pāl-Gramm., 109; Torp, Die Flexion des Pāl., 47).

i. e. *-w* + the personal pronoun *n*;<sup>1)</sup> and therefore had the regular spirant *m*; however, *ym* 'sumus' has hard *m*, for *sm*.

Of the secondary ending *-m* the reverse is true. *-m* in O.l.r. *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. *baíra-m*, see § 909 p. 458), and then to the Indic. preterite, *bārumēs*, and then to the Optative, *bārī-mēs*. Compare Braune, Ahd. Gramm.<sup>2</sup> pp. 223 f., and the works there cited.

(2) Goth. *-m* = Idg. *-me* or *-mo* in *vitum bērum baíra-m*. Goth. *-ma* = Idg. *-mē* or *-mō* in the optative: *bairái-ma bērei-ma*. The West-Germ. *-m*, O.H.G. *wizzum bārum bera-m herē-m bārī-m*, may be equivalent either to *-m* or to *-ma* in Gothic (I § 661. 2 pp. 517 ff.).

### § 1008. Balto-Slavonic.

Lith. *-mė* = Idg. *-mē* (§ 1002. 2. a) before the reflexive *-si* and *-s*: *sūko-mė-s sūka-mė-s*. The *-me* of *sūko-me sūka-me ei-mė eamus* *ei-me* 'imus' may come from *-mē* 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 *-mė-s* (Bezzenberger, in his Beiträge, II 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. *jenn* 'sumus' instead of *jemi*. See G. Meyer, M. Hertz zum 70. Geburtstag, 1888, p. 89.

so too in the 2<sup>nd</sup> plural there is contamination with dual forms (§ 1016). Lett. *-mī(-s)* is to be connected with Pruss. *-mai* (*as-mai* 'we are' *turri-mai* 'we owe, should'), as also 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *-tī(-s)* with Pruss. *-tai -tei -ti* (*as-tai es-tei as-ti* 'ye are' *drucō-tai* 'ye believe' *turri-ti* 'ye should'): the diphthong comes from the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> singular (§ 983 p. 522, § 991 p. 528).

The following endings may be regarded as proethnic Slavonic.

(1) *-me* = Idg. *-mes* or *-me*. Mod.Bulg. *sum* 'sumus' aor. *nesoh-me*. Little-Russ. dial. (in the Carpathians) *vydy-me*. Czech *js-me* 'sumus' *jíme* 'edimus' *nese-me* opt. *nesme*.

(2) *-mo* = Idg. *-mos* or *-mo*. Little-Russ. with the ind. present in *-mi*, *ješ-mo jimo*. Serv. and Mod.Sloven. also in other stems: Serv. *jes-mo ijemo* Mod.Slov. *s-mo jěmo*, Serv. and Mod.Slov. *plete-mo* opt. *pleti-mo*.

(3) *-mū* = Idg. *-mom* or *-mon*. In O.C.Sl. this is the usual ending: *jes-mū damū nese-mū* aor. *neso-mū* opt. *nesē-mū dadi-mū*. So in Great-Russ.: *nese-m dadi-m* 'damus'; Little-Russ. *nese-m* opt. *nebi-m*; Pol. *niesie-m* (see below); Czech aor. *nesecho-m* imperf. *nesjěcho-m*.

(4) *-my* either from *-mōm* or *-mōn* (I § 92 p. 86 f.), or else modelled after *my* 'we' (cp. 1<sup>st</sup> dual *-vě*, as *jes-vě*, with *vě* 'we both', § 1030). O.Bulg. e. g. *věmy* beside *vēmū*, *vidi-my* beside *vidi-mū*. Pol. *wiemy*, *niesiemy* beside *niesie-m*. East-Sorb. and Mod.Sorb. *věmy*.

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 *-mū* ran into one with the *-mī* of the 1<sup>st</sup> singular; hence in Polish while *niesiem* exists beside *niesiemy* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *niosę*), we have only *wiemy* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *wiem*) and *działamy* (1<sup>st</sup> sing. *działam*).

Thematic. O.C.Sl. pres. *nese-mŭ nese-vě* as against aor. *nese-mŭ neso-vě*. The former follow the analogy of *jo*-stems such as *znaje-mŭ -vě*, where *e* is regular for *o* (I § 84 p. 80). In the aorist *o* remains, because there were no *jo*-stems in the aorist.

## 2<sup>ND</sup> 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. 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 *tenuis 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. *-rs* as Skr. *-ē* to Gr. *-rau* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. perf. middle, and may possibly be identical with the *a* of the Sanskrit endings 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *-á-thur* 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *-á-tur* (§ 1038).

(1) Primary Skr. *-tha* Gr. *-rs* etc. Skr. *s-thá* Gr. *ēo-rē* Lith. *ēs-te* O.C.Sl. *jes-te*. Skr. *bhāra-tha* Gr. *gēps-rs* O.Ir. *do-beri-d* Goth. *batri-þ* Lith. *vėja-te* O.C.Sl. *berē-te*.

(2) Secondary Skr. *-ta* Gr. *-rs* etc. Pret. Skr. *á-vida-ta* Gr. *ēde-re* O.C.Sl. (aor.) *nese-te*. Hortative Injunct. Skr. *bhāra-ta* Gr. *gēps-re* Lat. *agi-te* O.Ir. *beri-d* Goth. *batri-þ*. s-Aor. Skr. *á-dhā-s-ta* Gr. *ē-deiḡa-re* Lith. (injunct. as fut.) *dė-s-te* O.C.Sl. *dě-s-te*. Opt. Skr. *bhārē-ta* Gr. *gēpor-re* Goth. *bairái-þ* O.C.Sl. *berē-te*.

(3) Perfect Skr. *-a* Gr. *-rs* etc. Skr. *vid-á* Gr. *ēo-re* O.Ir. *gegnaid* Goth. *vitū-þ*.

## § 1010. Aryan.

(1) Primary ending pr. Ar. *-tha*. Skr. *bhāra-tha* Avest. *bara-þa*. Skr. *s-thá* Avest. Gath. *s-ta* (cp. *vōista* = Skr. *vēttha* I § 475 p. 351).

(2) Secondary ending pr. Ar. *-ta*. Skr. *á-bhara-ta* Avest. *bara-ta*. Opt. Skr. *bhārē-ta* Avest. *baraē-ta*.

In Vedic we also meet with *-thana* and *-tana*, the latter very common with hortative forms: e. g. *s-thána váda-thana i-tana pūti-tána*. *-na* is a particle, which, if my conjecture be right, is contained in other forms, namely 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. imper. Avest. *barana* and Skr. *grhāṇā* (§ 600 p. 143), and which may be akin to the *-ni* of the Aryan 1<sup>st</sup> sing. conj. in *-āni* (§ 977. 3 p. 518).

(3) Pr. Ar. *-a* in the Perfect. Skr. *ca-kr-ā* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ca-kār-a* 'he made'), Avest. *hañhān-a* from *han-* 'to present, earn' (§ 852 p. 402).

§ 1011. Armenian. All tenses and moods have *-ē* final; e. g. *berē* 'fertis' for \**bere-iē*, *alaiē* 'molitis', aor. *ediē* 'ye placed'. The *i* of *-iē* appears to be the same as *t* in *-te*; for further discussion refer to the Remark to § 1003, on page 536.

§ 1012. Greek. Always *-τε*: *ἔσ-τε φέρε-τε φέροι-τε ἴστε τεύροφα-τε*.

Remark. The *-θς* of the Perfect forms Hom. ind. *πίνουσθς* (Aristarchus *πίνουσθς*) imper. *ἴγγυοσθς ἄρωσθς* is not the Skr. *-tha*, but a middle ending.

§ 1013. Italic. In Latin *-te* only in the hortative Imperjunctive (Imper.): *fer-te agi-te*.

Elsewhere *-tis*: *es-tis agi-tis aga-tis si-tis vidis-tis*. That the relation of *agite* to *age* produced *agitis* beside *agis* (Osthoff, Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymn., 1880, p. 70), is less probable than that *-tis* (earlier \**-tes*) is really a dual ending (Skr. *-thas* Goth. *-ts*). Outside the imperative the forms with *-te*, which often elided their vowel, became too much like those of the 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> plural, see Thurneysen Rhein. Mus. XLIII 352.

§ 1014. Keltic. Ir. *-d* for *-te* in conjunct inflexion: *do-berid* 'datis', conj. of *s-aorist for-tēsid* 'succurratis, succurretis'. So in the imperative: *berid* 'ferte'.

The absolute forms have *-thi* for their ending (*-the* for *-thi* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation, as in 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *-me* for *-mi*, see § 1006 p. 537); e. g. *ber-thi* for *\*berethi*, *lēcthi* for *\*lēcθ-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-tė-s* imitates *sūka-mė-s* (§ 1016).<sup>1)</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. ending *-ti*, see § 998.1 p. 532. Goth. indic. pres. *bairi-þ* perf. *bēru-þ* opt. *bairái-þ* *bērei-þ* like the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. pres. *bairi-þ*. O.H.G. *ga-sihī-t* 'ye behold' (Monsee or Mondsee "Fragments", see Braune Abh. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 1) perf. *baru-t* opt. *berē-t* *bart-t* like 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> plural (cp. Lith. *vėša-te* § 999.2 p. 533), which served to distinguish 2<sup>nd</sup> plural from 3<sup>rd</sup> 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. *baira-ts*), or *\*bhere-tom* (Gr. *qáps-ror*), or *\*bhere-tā* (O.C.Sl. *bere-ta*); cp. §§ 1031 ff.

§ 1016. Balto-Slavonic.

Lith. *-te* and *-t*, as *ėš-te vėša-te* (on *-a-* instead of *-e-*, see § 999.2 p. 533) pret. *vėšė-te*. The ending *-tė-s* in the reflexive

1) Just in the same way *\*faiz* *\*dis* became *faites dites* in Old French by analogy of *faimes* and *dimes* (Neumann, Zeitschr. für rom. Phil., XIV 581, 584).

follows *-mé-s* beside *-me* in the 1<sup>st</sup> pl. (cp. § 1014). The endings *-to-s*, sometimes found in place of *-té-s*, and *-ta* in Lett. *ei-ta* 'ye go' or 'go ye', are dual; just as *-ma* and *-mo-s* in the 1<sup>st</sup> 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.

Slavonic: *-te: jes-te nesc-te* aor. *nesc-te dě-s-te* opt. *nesě-te*.

### 3<sup>RD</sup> PERSON PLURAL.

§ 1017. Protoethnic 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 *-yti -yt*, 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*.

Primary *-énti*. *\*s-énti* 'are': Skr. *s-ánti* (Arimen. *en*, cp. § 1019), Gr. Dor. *ἐντι* Att. *ἐσσι*, Umbr. *s-ent* Osc. *s-et s-et*, O.Ir. *it* O.Cymr. *int*, Goth. *s-ind*. *\*d-énti* 'they eat' ✓ *ed-*: Skr. *ad-anti* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *jad-ěti*. *\*mṛ-n-énti* beside 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *\*mṛ-nā-ti* 'crushes, grinds to dust' (§ 598 p. 141): Skr. *mṛ-n-ánti*. *\*ṛ-nu-énti* beside 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *\*ṛ-néu-ti* 'excites' (§§ 638 f. pp. 176 f.): Skr. *ṛ-nv-ánti*.

Secondary *-ént*. *\*s-ént*: Skr. *s-án ás-an* (cp. *gm-án á-gm-an*), with the particle *u*, *s-ánt-u*, Gr. Dor. *ἦν* for *\*ḡ(o)-er*. O.Bulg. *jad-ět-ŭ* with the particle *u* (but cp. § 1026). Skr. *á-sṛ-n-an*, *á-su-nv-an*. Opt. *\*s-(i)-ént* 'may they be': Gr. *ἦεν* O.Lat. *si-ent*; of the same kind, apparently, is Skr. *duh-īy-án*, see § 941 p. 486, § 951 p. 493.

(b) *-yti* and *-yt*.

Primary *-yti*. *\*dē-d-yti* from ✓ *dō-* 'give': Skr. *dād-ati* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *dad-ěti*. In Greek *-ᾷσι* for the Perfect, as *λε-λόγγῃ-ᾷσι*.

Secondary *-yt*. The type *\*dē-d-yt* is preserved in Aryan only as embodied along with the particle *u* in the Skr. *dā-d-at-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-et-ŭ* 'dant' (but cp. § 1026), and another is O.Sax. *ded-un* 'they did' from *√ dhæ-*, 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 *-pt* originally, as we are led to believe by Skr. part. nom. sing. *dhákṣat*;<sup>1)</sup> and so perhaps O.C.Sl. *-s-e*, as *daše*, belongs to the same group, and O.H.G. *wissun* if it is rightly compared with Gr. *ῥασ* (§ 827 p. 365, § 907 p. 455). Lastly, our suffix should be claimed for the *oi*-optative: *\*bhéroj-pt*, instead of which we have in Skr. *bhárēy-ur* Avest. *baray-en* Gr. *ῥέποι-εῖν* Goth. *baírdái-na*.

(2) After Sonants, *-nti* and *-nt*.

Primary *-nti*. *\*yā-nti* 'they blow': Skr. *vānti* Gr. *ἀέωσι*; Armen. *ala-n* 'they grind', Lat. *ple-nt ama-nt*, O.Ir. *carit* 'they love', Goth. *salbō-nd*, O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *imaŋtŭ* 'they have'. Long-vowel Conjunctive: Avest. *patā-nti* Gr. Dor. *ῥέποι-ντι* Att. *ῥέποισι*. *\*bhero-nti* 'ferunt': Skr. *bhāra-nti* Armen. *berē-n* Gr. Dor. *ῥέποι-ντι* Lat. *feru-nt* O.Ir. *berit* Goth. *baíra-nd* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *beraŋtŭ*.

Secondary *-nt*. Gr. *ἔμυς-ν ἔγρο-ν*, O.Bulg. *imaŋt-ŭ* 'they have' (with the particle *u*). Long-vowel Conj.: Skr. *bhāra-n*, Osc. *deica-us* 'dicant'. *\*bhéro-nt*: Skr. *bhāra-n á-bhara-n*, Gr. *ῥέποι-ν ἔγρο-ν*, O.C.Sl. *bq* for *\*bhyo-nt* (§ 525 p. 88) aor. *nesq*.

§ 1018. Aryan.

(1) After Consonants Idg. *-ēnti -ēnt* and *-nti -nt*.

(a) *-ēnti* and *-ēnt*.

Primary *-ēnti* = pr. Ar. *-ānti*. Skr. *s-ānti* Avest. *h-enti* O.Pers. *h-atiy*. Skr. *y-ānti* Avest. *y-ēinti*. Skr. *grbh-ñ-ānti* Avest. *ger'w-n-enti*. Skr. *yufij-ānti* Avest. *mer'nc-inti* (I § 94 p. 89). Skr. *kr-ṇv-ānti* Avest. *ker'ṇv-anti*.

Secondary *-ēnt* = pr. Ar. *-ānt*. Skr. *s-án ds-an* Avest. *h-en* O.Pers. *ah-a*, Skr. *áy-an* O.Pers. *ay-a*. Aor. Skr. *gm-án*

<sup>1)</sup> For the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural of the *s*-Aorist with vowel gradation (§ 811 p. 348 f.), it is necessary to assume the ending *\*-s-ēnt*.

*á-gm-an* Avest. *g'm-en*; with *á*-stems of our Classes I and X Sanskrit adopted the ending *-ur*, as *á-sth-ur* *d-g-ur* from *stha-* and *gā-*; but in Vedic there remain a few examples of *-an*, as *vy-asthan* (Bartholomae, Stud. zur idg. Sprachg. i 32 ff., ii 64 ff.). Skr. *á-śṛ-ṇ-an á-yuṣṭj-an á-kṛ-ṇv-an*. An Optative form of this kind is apparently Skr. *duhṣy-án*; otherwise we have Skr. *s-y-úr* and Avest. *h-yān* = \**s-yā-nt*, no. (2).

(b) *-ṇti* and *-ṇt*.

Primary *-ṇti* = pr. Ar. *-ati*. Skr. *dá-dh-ati* Avest. Gath. *da-d-aits*, 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. *-antiḥ* instead of *-aitḥ* § 1067. 1.

Secondary *-ṇt* = 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-aḥ za-z-aḥ jī-ger'z-aḥ daidy-aḥ* (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 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. in the Aryan verb. In Sanskrit this is replaced by *-ur*, as *á-da-dh-ur á-bi-bhar-ur*,<sup>1)</sup> s-aorist *á-mats-ur á-tariṣ-ur á-yāsiṣ-ur* (cp. § 1017. 1. b), opt. *bhārēy-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 Sonants, Idg. *-nti* and *-nt*.

Primary *-nti*. Skr. *vā-nti* Avest. *vā-nti*. Skr. *bhāra-nti* Avest. *bara-nti* O.Pers. *baratiy*, Skr. *bhārāya-nti* Avest. *baraye-nti*. The long-vowel Conjunctive in Avestic has *-nti* and *-n*, as *patā-nti* and *patān*, but only *-n* in Sanskrit — *pātān*.

Secondary *-nt*. This form retains its *-t* before the particle

1) Ved. *abibhāraṁ* I regard as *a-bi-bhr-a-n*, i. e. as a thematic form (§ 589 p. 99).

u: Skr. *bhāra-ntu* Avest. *bara-ntu* 'ferunto' (§ 909 p. 458). Elsewhere -n. Skr. *ā-bhara-n* Avest. *bare-n* O.Pers. *a-bara*. The short-vowel conjunctive always has this ending: Skr. *ās-a-n* Avest. *aṣhen*. In place of \**a-gā-n* (= Gr. *ἔ-βα-ν*, beside 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ā-gā-t* *ἔ-βη*). Sanskrit has *ā-g-ur*, and similarly *ā-y-ur* instead of \**a-yā-n* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ā-yā-t*), answering to the form *ā-dh-ur* = Avest. Gath. *d-ar*<sup>2</sup>. But Avest. *dān* beside *d-ar*<sup>2</sup> makes us infer such forms as \**gān* = *βά-ν* (Idg. \**gā-nt*) — *dān* : *dā-ma* following \**gān* : *gā-ma* — as in the optative, beside 1<sup>st</sup> pl. Gath. *ḡ-yā-mā* was coined 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *ḡ-yē-n* = late Avestic *h-yān* (compare with this *h-yā-r*<sup>2</sup>, also with strong form of optative suffix).

As regards the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. with -r (Skr. -ur Avest. -ar' -ar'<sup>2</sup>), see §§ 1076 f.

§ 1019. Armenian. The 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *berem* : *em* § 978. 1 p. 519.

*etān* 'they gave', *edin* 'they placed', cp. Avest. *dā* § 1018. 2 above. But why not \**etu* \**edn* by I § 651. 1 p. 497?

§ 1020. Greek.

(1) After Consonants Idg. -*énti* -*ént* and -*ῃti* -*ῃt*.

(a) -*énti* and -*ént*.

Primary -*énti*. Dor. *ἐντι* Att. *εἰσι* instead of \**ἐντι* = Idg. \**s-énti* with smooth breathing following *σιμῖ* etc.<sup>1</sup>)

Secondary -*ént*. Doric and other dialects *ἦν* 'erant' for \**ἦ(σ)-er*: Skr. *s-ān* *ās-an*; cp. § 502 p. 65 on the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ἦεν ἦν*. *ἱδ-*Optative *ἱδ-εν* *εἰδῆσ-εν* *τιθῆσ-εν*; O.Lat. *si-ent*; on El. *σιν-εαν* refer to § 944 p. 487.

(b) -*ῃti* and -*ῃt*.

Primary -*ῃti* = Gr. -*ατι*. Instead of \**ῃσ-ατι* \**τιθ-ατι*

1) *εἰσι* 'eunt' in Theognis 716 is too uncertain to make it a ground for assuming pr. Gr. \**ε-εντι* = Skr. *y-anti*. See Osthoff, *M. U.* iv 288 f.

\**δίδ-ατι* (Skr. *bībhṛ-ati dādāh-ati*) we find (Dor.) *ἰστα-ντι τιθε-ντι*, *δίδο-ντι*, as in (2). But *-ατι* is preserved in the perfect, as Dor. *ἰθαίκα-ατι* (Hesych.), Phoc. *ἰσθητεύκα-ατι* Hom. *λε-λόγγχ-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 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. took *-ν*. *ἔ-τι-θε-ν ἔ-δο-ν* like *τί-θε-ντι*. Similarly \**φείπ-α(τ)* 'they said' = \**μέ-μν-ντ* gave way to *φείπαν*, thus following no. 2 (§ 557 p. 109). Again, *-αν* got into the *s*-aorist, where originally either *-ént* (with roots that had gradation), or *-ντ*, seems to have been the ending; e. g. *ἴσ-αν ἔ-δευξ-αν* (instead of \**ἴσσο-εν* \**ἔ-δεξ-εν*?) \**φείδε-αν* (instead of \**φείδε-α*?); on the last see § 1021. The *οἰ*-optative took over the ending of the *ῖε*-optative: *φέροι-ν* instead of \**φέροχ-α* following *ἔλν* (El. *-ααν*, e. g. *παρ-βαίνοαν*, seems to have arisen by regular change from *-οιεν* as *συν-έαν ἱπι-θείαν* from \**-εν -θειν*); side by side with which Delphic has *φέροι-ν*, analogical like mid. *φέροι-ντο* (§ 1068).

(2) After Sonants Idg. *-nti* and *-nt*.

Primary *-nti*. *ἄνισι* 'they blow' for \**ἄσ-η-ντι*; Skr. *ed-nti*; Lesb. *φίλεισι* 'they love' *δίψασι* 'they thirst': Lat. *ple-nt vide-nt juva-nt*. Conj. Dor. *φέρω-ντι* Att. *φέρουσι* (§ 923 p. 471). Dor. El. N.-W. Gr. *φέρο-ντι* Att. *φέρουσι*.

Secondary *-nt* = Gr. *-ν*. *ἔ-δρα-ν ἔ-τλα-ν ἔ-γνο-ν ἔ-μυγε-ν ἔ-γνωσθε-ν* for \**ἔ-δρα-ντ* etc., whence also *ἔ-φθ-ν*.

The vowel before the personal ending is sometimes long instead of short. The reason is undecided. Examples are Hom. *μῶνθην* Cret. *διελέγην* Hom. *ἔφθν*.

Remark. In Morph. Unt. i 72 f., 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 *πῶντο ἄνται* and other like them. Solmsen now tries to make out a case for believing that *-ν* *-ων* etc. arose at the sentence-end, and that *ἔλγην* replaced the regular in-sentence form \**ἔλγηντ* on the analogy of *ἔλεγην*. (Bezz. Beitr. xvii 329 ff.).

These endings *-ντι* and *-ν* vread to all stems with

gradation that ended in -α, -ε, or δ. *τι-θε-ντι* *ε-τι-θε-ν* *ε-θε-ν*<sup>1</sup>), *δι-δο-ντι* *ε-δι-δο-ν* *ε-δο-ν* (cp. 1. b). Dor. *φα-ντι* Att. *φασι*, *φά-ν*. *δάμνῃσι* (*δαμνῶσι*) for \**δαμ-να-ντι* instead of \**δαμ-ν-εντι*. By analogy *ἐγγυῶσι* (*ἐγγυῷσι*) for \**ἐγγυ-νυ-ντι* instead of \**ἐγγυ-νυ(F)-εντι*.

§ 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: *εἶπ-αν*, *ἴσ-αν* *ε-διδε-αν* \**φειδε-αν* (by analogy, the ind. perf. *γέ-γον-αν* § 844 p. 386). So Boeot. *παρ-εῖαν* for \*-*η(σ)-αν* (I § 72 p. 63) from √ *es-* 'to be', Hom. Aeol. *ἔχεν-αν* (§ 504 p. 67 f.) and others. Also opt. *δείξιαν* instead of \**δείξει-εν* 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 *ἔχουα* (instead of \**ε-χv-αν*), beside which there once was a 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. middle \**ε-χv-ατο* (cp. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ε-χv-το*).

That -εν remains in the Opt., as *τιθη-εν*, must be put down to the strong stem *τιθετη-* (cp. *ἔμμεν* : *ε-μμετη-*, *ἔτιθεν* : *ε-τιθετη-*). Then *τιθη-εν* propped up *φέροι-εν* despite the mid. *φερόατο*.

(2) \**ῆ-αν* 'erant' (Boeot. *παρ-εῖαν*) under the influence of *ῆσ-τε* *ῆσ-τον* *ῆσ-την* became *ῆσ-αν*, which may be compared with *ἴσ-μεν* (§ 502 p. 65). Similarly *φείδισαν* *ῆδισαν* depend upon a lost \**φείδεσ-τε* (§ 836 p. 372); the form was once \**φείδι-αν* (cp. § 1020. 1. b). Then the ending -σαν became familiar, and was detached as a type, beginning partly with these, and partly with σ-aorists of the form *ἔπηξαν* (to whose system once belonged \**ἔπαμμεν* \**ἔπαπτε*, see § 820 p. 357); examples are *ε-φα-σαν* *ε-τιθε-σαν* *ε-θε-σαν* *ε-γνω-σαν* *ε-μίγη-σαν* *ε-δικάσθη-σαν* (Hellenistic also *ἰλάσσαν* *εἰπάσαν* and the like),

1) Although we must assume Idg. \**dh-ent* \**é-dh-ent*, we can hardly venture to say that the Greek form is derived straight from this ground-form.

plpf. ἔ-στα-σαν, opt. εἴη-σαν, imper. ἔστω-σαν. The wider use of -σαν was assisted by a wish to make the number of syllables the same in 1<sup>st</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> plural (ἐφασαν : ἐφασμεν ἐφαστε).

(3) On the analogy of ἵστα-ν to ἵστα-ντι, ἔ-τιθε-ν to τίθε-ντι, ἔ-δίδο-ν to δίδο-ντι, a primary -αντι sprang up as complement to -αν. Beside \*ἦαν 'erant' then stands the pres. Ion. ἔασι; we also have ἱάσι 'eunt', ἐγγυρί-ασι. Beside ἵσαν, the pres. (perf.) ἴσασσι ἱάσσι 'sciunt' Dor. ἴσαντι (§ 863 p. 411). Also perf. δε-δή-ασι τε-τράψ-ασι Dor. τε-θίν-αντι.

Doubtless something is due to the analogy of the middle -αται, as ἐγγυρί-ασι : \*ἐγγυρί-αται (like εἰρή-αται § 1068. 1. a), τετράψ-ασι : τετράψ-αται. For the Perfect cp. also the ending -ᾶτι, § 1020. 1. b.

(4) Following ἔ-ασι beside ἔ-μεν, ἐγγυρί-ασι beside ἐγγυν-μεν, δέδι-ασι beside δέδι-μεν sprang up τίθε-ασι δίδο-ασι \*ἱστά-ασι ἱσῶσι as 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. to τίθε-μεν δίδο-μεν ἵστα-μεν, Hom. βεβᾶ-ασι Hom. Att. \*ἱστά-ασι<sup>1</sup>) ἱσῶσι to βέβα-μεν ἵστα-μεν, Boeot. δίδο-ανθι (on the θ see § 1068). Similarly Boeot. ἀν-έθιαν (ἐθειαν ἐθιαν); by which form the number of syllables in the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural was made to agree with the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> plural (as with -σαν, see no. 2. above).

Remark. Thess. imperf. ἐν-επαρίσσειν aor. ἰδοῦσιν ἀν-εθίσαιν ἐνέθαιν are not yet properly explained. If their -εν -ει = pr. Gr. -εν, their model must have been \*ἦ-εν 'erant' (§ 1020. 1. a) εἰ-εν παροι-εν; if again -εν (-ει) is regular in Thessalian for -ον (Prellwitz, De dial. Thess., 9), they fall into line with Boeot. ἰθε-αν mentioned above. Solmsen conjectures that the endings -ον -αν were pronounced -ον -αν, to get an equal number of syllables with the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> plural, and that -ον -ον -ον are various attempts to write these sounds (Bezz. Beitr. xvii 336).

Late Greek new forms in the 3<sup>rd</sup> 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. *kīyat* (III § 225 p. 106) makes it probable that Latin once had Umbr.-Samn. *-ns* = Idg. *\*-nt*.

The complete disappearance of *-i* from *-nti* in Italic is remarkable; the same thing is 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 (Akademi. afhandl. til Prof. S. Bugge, pp. 29 ff.); compare § 1023 on *söder-unt*, and the O.H.G. and A.S. *sind-un* instead of *sind*, § 1025. Similarly *ex-plēnunt prōd-ūnunt* would stand for *\*plen \*in* (cp. the form *int* beside *eunt*, formed complementary to *imus itis* as *sint* was to *simus sitis*, 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 indie. perfect only, and that *-s* is the same as we see in Avest. *-ar\*š* (§ 1077). Compare further Johansson, Bezz. Beitr. XVIII 49.

(1) The post-consonantal Idg. *-ēnti -ēnt* and *-yti -yt* run together into *-ent(i) -ens* in Italic.

(a) *-ēnti* and *-ēnt*.

Primary *-ēnti* = Ital. *-ent(i)*. Umbr. *s-ent* Osc. *set set 'sunt'*.

Secondary *-ēnt* = Ital. *-ens*. Opt. Lat. *si-ent* instead of *\*si-ens*; new form *sint* following *si-mus si-tis*, so also Umbr. *sins sis* with the secondary ending kept. Lat. *viderint* like *sint*.

(b) *-yti* and *-yt*.

Primary *-yti* = Ital. *-ent(i)*. Since in Umbr.-Samn. the orig. *-o-nt(i)* has disappeared and given place to *-ent(i)* (see below), we may assume as 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. to *di-d-e-t 'dat'* (§ 553 p. 107) the form *\*didēnt*, which would be a parallel to Skr. *dā-d-ati*.

Secondary *-yt* = Ital. *-ens* seems to be lost.

(2) After Sonants *-nti* or *-nt*.

Primary *-nti* Ital. *-nt(i)*. Lat. *ple-nt fla-nt vide-nt ama-nt*, Umbr. *furfant* 'februant'. Hence by analogy Lat. *da-nt* like Gr. *ἔδο-ν* § 1020 p. 548, *i-nt* (beside *eu-nt*). Lat. *feru-nt su-nt*: Skr. *bhāra-nti* O.Russ. *sqŭŭ*. Thematic Conjunctive Lat. *eru-nt*.

Secondary *-nt* = Ital. *-ns*, instead of which Latin has the primary *-nt*. Osc. *fu-fa-ns* 'erant' Lat. *amā-ba-nt*. Conj. Umbr. *dirsa-ns dirsas* 'dent' Osc. *deica-ns* 'dicant', Lat. *dīca-nt*; Osc. *herri-ns* 'caperent' tribarakatti-*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. *fiiet* 'fiunt'. Thematic Conjunct. of the *s*-Aor.: Umbr. *furent* 'erunt' Osc. *censazet* 'censebunt' (§ 824 p. 362), and these served as the model for fut. pf. Umbr. *benurent* 'venerint' Osc. tribarakattuset 'aedificaverint' (§ 872 p. 421). Of the same kind are perhaps Umbr. *eitipes* 'decreverunt' Osc. *prufattens* 'probaverunt', cp. the thematic 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *prafatted* (§ 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. *jad-ŭŭ*, forms of the XII<sup>a</sup> Present Class in *-n-ent* = Skr. *-n-dnti*, of the XVII<sup>a</sup> in *-ny-ent* = Skr. *-no-dnti* (*-nuv-dnti*), and again the form *\*did-ent* = Skr. *dād-ati* (see above, 1. b).

§ 1023. The Perfect in Latin shows the endings *-erunt* *-ērunt* and *-ēre*; to which we must add from inscr. *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-si*, from *\*is-ont(i)* (§ 841 p. 378), still the *r* of these 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. endings is doubtless connected in some part at least with the Skr. *-ur*, Avest. *-ar*, Skr. mid. *-rā*, and others of like nature (§§ 1076 ff.). With the extension of the *-r*-form by *-ont* compare Skr. *-r-anta* *-r-atē* *-r-ata* (on the form *-r-am*,

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 shewn by the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *tutud-i* (§ 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. 1<sup>2</sup> 139; Stolz, Lat. Gr.<sup>2</sup> 372 f.; Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr. II 195 ff.

#### § 1024. Keltic.

Primary Ending. Idg. *-énti* remains in O.Ir. *it* O.Cymr. *int* 'they are' for pr. Kelt. *\*s-enti*, see footnote to II p. 196 (in the light of which I § 243.3 p. 202 must be corrected). Elsewhere only Idg. *-nti*. O.Ir. *berit*: Gr. *φίρο-ντι*. *carit* for *\*carā-nti*: cp. Lat. *ama-nt*. Conjunctive *berit*: Lat. *fera-nt*; cp. Mid.Cymr. *gwelo-nt* 'videant'. *lenit* 'they hold' for *\*līna-nti*, as Gr. *δαμῶσι* (*δαμῶσι*) for *\*δαμ-ρα-ντι* (§ 1020 p. 548), instead of Idg. *\*n-énti*.

Side by side runs the Conjunct inflexion indic. *do-berat*, in the oldest glosses *-ot* is still found, as *tu-thegot* = later *do-thiagat* 'they go away'; *no charat* 'amant'; conj. *do-berat*. Whether these are descended straight from forms in Idg. *-nt* (*\*bero-nt* *\*cara-nt* *\*berā-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. *φίρο-ντο*, 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, *-énti* *-ént* and *-yti* *-yt*.

(a) Primary *-énti* = pr. Germ. *-inþi*. Goth. *sind* O.H.G. *sint* 'they are' for pr. Germ. *\*sindī*, which is either the unaccented form of the word (cp. I § 669 p. 534) or has taken the place of the regular *\*sinþi* = Goth. *\*sinþ* O.H.G.

\**sind* on the analogy of *batrand berant*; O.H.G. also *sint-un sind-un* (O.Sax. and A.S. *sind-un*) with an additional ending following 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *birum* 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *birut*. Secondary *-ent* is quite lost.

(b) Primary *-pti* is lost. Secondary *-pt* = Germ. *-un* is perhaps original in O.Sax. *ded-un* 'they did' O.H.G. *irissun* 'they knew' (§ 1017. 1. b p. 544). *-un* is always found in the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. of both strong and weak Perfect, and also sometimes in the Present: e. g. Goth. *skalskaid-un bër-un* O.H.G. *sciad-un bär-un*, Goth. *nasidëd-un* O.H.G. *nerit-un*, Goth. *vît-un* O.H.G. *weigun* (§ 508 p. 74), O.Icel. *er-o er-u* 'they are'. Perhaps these endings have been under the influence of the middle \**undai* \**unda* = Idg. *-ptai -pto*, which we may assume to have lasted down to protoethnic Germanic.

(2) After Sonants *-nti* and *-nt*.

Primary *-nti*. Goth. *salbō-nd* O.H.G. *salbō-nt*, O.H.G. *habē-nt*. Goth. *batra-nd* O.H.G. *bera-nt*; instead of the latter, Frank. *berent*, formed doubtless like the 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *beremēs* (instead of *beramēs*) under the combined influence of the 2<sup>nd</sup> plural *beret* (§ 1035) and present stems with *-jo-* (*suoche-mēs -nt*).

Secondary *-nt*. Perhaps it is old in O.H.G. conj. *salbō-n* like O.Ir. *-carat* 'ament' (§ 930 p. 476). Further, \**-nt*, but not original, in all optatives, as O.H.G. *s-i-n bār-i-n*, which are to be compared with Lat. *s-i-nt* instead of *s-i-ent* (it is hardly likely that *sīn* is for \**s-ij-inþ* = Idg. \**s-ij-ént*), and O.H.G. *berē-n* (instead of Idg. \**bhéroi-pt*), which falls in line with Gr. *πίποι-ν* (§ 1020. 1. b p. 547). Gothic in the optative shows *-na*. *salbō-na bērei-na batrāi-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 1<sup>st</sup> plural *-ma* (§ 1007. 2 p. 538). I suggest that in the 1<sup>st</sup> 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. Slavonic<sup>1)</sup>. The variation of (O.Russ.) *-nŕi*

1) In Baltic, the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular did for 3<sup>rd</sup> plural too; see § 999 p. 533.

and (O.Bulg.) *-ntü* (= *nt* + particle *u*) ran parallel to that of *-ñ* and *-t-ü* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing., see § 999 p. 532 f.

(1) After consonants, *-enti -ént* and *-yti -ýt*, both running into *-etñ -e*.

(a) Primary *-enti* = *-etñ*. O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *jad-etñ*: Skr. *ad-anti*. Secondary *-ént* in O.Bulg. *jad-et-ü* (but cp. below).

(b) Primary *-yti* = *-etñ*. O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *dad-etñ*: Skr. *dád-ati*. Secondary *-ýt* in O.Bulg. *dad-et-ü* like Skr. *dád-at-u* (but cp. below) and perhaps in the *-e* of *s-Aorists*, as O.C.Sl. *daše* (§ 1017. 1. b p. 543 f).

(2) After sonants, *-nti* and *-nt*.

Primary *-nti*. O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *imañtñ* beside 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ima-ñ*, *berañtñ sañtñ znañtñ*.

Secondary *-nt*. Aor. O.C.Sl. *nesq*, injunct. *bq* for *\*bhy-o-nt* (§ 523 p. 87), *bada* (§ 909 p. 458). With the particle *u*, O.Bulg. *imañtñ berañtñ sañtñ znañtñ*.

On *smrñdetñ -etñ* for *\*-inti \*-int-u*, see § 637 Rem. p. 176.

If in proethnic Slavonic the *mi*-presents had *-ntñ*, the rest *-ntü* (*jadetñ*, — *berañtñ*), and if levelling took place in different directions in the several dialects (cp. § 999 p. 534 on *-ñ* and *-tñ* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular), O.Bulg. *jadetñ* could not be brought in evidence for Idg. *-ént* (1. a), nor O.Bulg. *dadetñ* for Idg. *-ýt* (1. b).

#### 1<sup>ST</sup> PERSON DUAL.

§ 1027. Proethnic Indo-Germanic. The suffix began with *y-* and shows in its ending some kinship with the 1<sup>st</sup> plural suffixes beginning with *m-*. It can only be traced in Aryan, Germanic, and Balto-Slavonic.

(1) Primary forms *-yes -yos* and *-yesi -yosi*. Skr. *s-vás bhára-vas*, Avest. Gath. *us-vañt* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *vañ-ti* 'wishes'). Also doubtless Goth. *bairōs salbōs*, cp. § 1029.

(2) Secondary or Perfect forms *-yē -yō*. Skr. *á-bhara-va*. Goth. opt. *bairái-va*; perf. *bēru* for *\*bēru-y(i)* or *-y(a)*, possibly for *\*bēr-yai* or *-uya* with a form of suffix that makes a parallel to *-yune -ymo* (= Goth. *-um?*); cp. § 1001 p. 535. Lith. pret. *sūko-ra* refl. *-ro-s*, O.C.Sl. aor. *vezo-rě* (but cp. § 1030).

§ 1028. Aryan. In Sanskrit only *-vas* and *-va*, in Avestic only *-vahi* and *-va* are found. That Sanskrit has no *-vahi*, Avestic no *-vō*, may be considered an accident. For examples see § 1027; I add Avest. injunct. *jāva* i. e. *jīva-va* from Ar. *jīve* 'to live' (Bartholomae Handb. § 91 a Anm. 4, p. 40).

§ 1029. Germanic.

The primary form appears to occur in Goth. *baīrōs* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *baīri-p*) *salbōs* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *salbō-p*), cp. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. O.H.G. *-mēs*. *salbōs* perhaps for *\*salbō-us* (cp. Streitberg, Die germ. Compar. auf *-ōs-*, p. 9 as against I § 181 Rem. p. 159). Instead of *baīrōs* we should expect *\*baīrdus*. To assume an Idg. ground-form *\*berōyes* on the strength of Goth. *baīrōs*, as Streitberg does (Zur germ. Spr., 108) seems to me to be open to criticism.

Secondary forms. Opt. Goth. *baīraī-va* like 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *baīraī-ma*. Perf. *bēru* see § 1027; similarly Norse Run. *wearitu* for *\*werit-u* 'we both scratched, or wrote'.

A neat conjecture is that of van Helten (P.-B. Beitr. xv 472), who sees a 1<sup>st</sup> dual injunct. aorist in O.Sax. *wita* 'come along, very well' orig. 'tendamus', for *\*wita-u-*. Compare 1<sup>st</sup> pl. A.S. *wuton* 'come along' § 532 p. 94.

§ 1030. Balto-Slavonic.

Lith. *ēs-va sūka-va* reflex. *sūka-vo-s*, cp. 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *sūka-ta sūka-to-s*. *-vō* is a secondary ending like *-mē* (*-mē-s -mē*) in the 1<sup>st</sup> plural. But *-vō* is doubtless not = Idg. *\*-uō* (for which we ought rather to have *-vā*), but a transformation of the Idg. secondary endings on the analogy of the 2<sup>nd</sup> dual (cp. Slav. *-va* below).

O.C.Sl. *-vē*: *jes-vē veze-vē* aor. *vezo-vē* opt. *vezē-vē*. As representing Idg. *\*-uē* we expect *-vi* (cp. *mati* 'mother' I § 76 p. 66). There seems therefore to have been an imitation of *vē* 'we two' (cp. § 1008 p. 539 on 1<sup>st</sup> 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* (2<sup>nd</sup> dual) than as representing Idg. *\*-uō* (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 *raqé* (III § 286 p. 194) and masculines like *eláka* (III § 285 p. 193), and *éé* and *ra* were grouped accordingly (cp. what is said of *-té* in § 1036).

## 2<sup>ND</sup> PERSON DUAL.

§ 1031. Protoethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) Primary ending something like *\*-thes \*-thas*; observe that the aspirate rests on the authority of Aryan only; the same is true of the 2<sup>nd</sup> plural (§ 1009 p. 540). Skr. *s-thás bhára-thas*. Lat. *es-tis agi-tis* (cp. § 1034). Goth. *baira-ts* (cp. § 1035).

(2) Secondary or Perfect forms.

(a) *-ta*. Lith. pret. *sùko-ta* reflex. *-to-s*, O.C.Sl. aor. *veze-ta*. And, no doubt, Umbr. *futu-to* 'estote' (§ 1034).

(b) *-tom* (also *-tem*?). Skr. *á-bhara-tam*. Gr. *í-φίπε-rov*.

§ 1032. Aryan. Skr. primary *-thas*: *s-thás bhára-thas*; secondary *-tam*: *ás-tam á-bhara-tam*. The Avestic forms in *-pō* and *-tem*, which answer to these, are used for the 3<sup>rd</sup> dual.

On Skr. *-áthur* in the Perfect, see § 1038.

§ 1033. Greek. The secondary ending *-rov* drove out the primary in prehistoric times (cp. the levelling out of all but *-μεν* in the 1<sup>st</sup> plural, § 1004 p. 537): pret. *ήσ-rov í-φίπε-rov*, pres. *ίσ-ρόν φίπε-rov*.

A consequence of the use of *-rov* for both 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> dual in primary tenses was that the same was done in historic tenses, where *-rov* belonged properly to the 2<sup>nd</sup> dual and *-ραν* (Ion.-Att. *-ραν*) to the third. Thus we get *ήφίπεσσαν* for both persons, and by similar reasoning *ήφίπεσσαν* for both also.

§ 1034. Italic. Lat. *es-tis agi-tis agē-bātis si-tis* are probably dual forms; see § 1013 p. 541.

The secondary ending *-ta* may have taken plural use in Umbrian forms like *futu-to* 'estote', 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:

*batra-ts* (-a- instead of -i-, cp. O.H.G. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *bera-t* § 1015 p. 542) perf. *beru-ts* opt. *vilei-ts*. On the -t of -ts — for which \*-ps would be expected — see I p. 406 footnote 1, Kluge in Paul's Grundr. i 324 (§ 10. 1. b), and Johansson Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 554 f.

The O.H.G. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *here-t* 'fertis', which cannot be explained as being for Idg. \**bere-t(h)e*, may be a dual form. As far as sound-laws go, it may be compared with any of these three, Skr. *bhāra-thas bhāra-tam* or O.C.Sl. *bere-ta*, see § 1015 p. 542.

### § 1036. Balto-Slavonic.

Lithuanian has the secondary ending -ta (reflexive -tō-s) = Idg. -tā as its only form: *sūko-ta*, *sūka-ta* (instead of \**suke-ta*, see § 999. 2 p. 533), *ēs-ta*.

So also Slavonic: aor. *veze-ta* opt. *vezē-ta* pres. *veze-ta jes-ta*. A few instances of -tē are found, as also in the 3<sup>rd</sup> dual, probably in imitation of -vē in the 1<sup>st</sup> dual; so by reverse attraction -va is found instead of -vē (§ 1030 p. 555). -tē in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> dual is used where the subject is feminine, as we saw in the case of -vē (loc. cit.).

### 3<sup>rd</sup> PERSON DUAL.

§ 1037. Protoethnic 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 -tām is nothing but secondary: Skr. *ās-tām* Gr. ἤσ-την.

### § 1038. Aryan.

Primary ending pr. Ar. -tas: Skr. *bhāra-tas* Avest. *bara-tō*. Avest. *yāidya-pō* 'they both fight' shows the 2<sup>nd</sup> dual ending.

Secondary, pr. Ar. -tām. Skr. *ā-bhara-tām*. In Avestic always -tem, the ending of the 2<sup>nd</sup> dual, as *ai-tem* 'they both went', just as in Greek we see -ρον in place of -ραν (§ 1039).

In the Perfect pr. Ar. -atyr, Skr. -ātur Avest. -atar': Skr. *ca-kr-ātur sēd-ātur da-d-ātur*; Avest. *yapt-atar'* (from *yat-* 'to stretch, strive to reach'), beside this Gath. *vaocātar'* (from *vac-*



'to speak'), where *-ā*, we may conjecture, comes from the middle suffix *-āitē* (*maman-āitē*). The *r*-ending is undoubtedly borrowed from the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. in *-r* (Skr. *-ur* Avest. *-ar*, § 1077), and the Skr. *-āthur* of the 2<sup>nd</sup> du., e. g. *cakr-āthur*, is due to the use of both *-thas* and *-tas* (cp. O.C.Sl. *pri-jetū* as 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Person § 830 p. 367). The *a* of *-atur* appears to be that of the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. and 2<sup>nd</sup> plural perfect.

§ 1039. Greek. Primary *-tov*: *ἰσ-τόν φέρε-τον*. Secondary *-ραν* and *-τον*: *ἦσ-την ἐ-φερέ-την* and *ἦσ-τον ἐ-φερέ-τον*. Cp. § 1033 p. 556.

§ 1040. Slavonic. *-te* and *-ta* are variants without any distinction: O.C.Sl. pres. and aor. *veze-te* and *-ta*, opt. *vezē-te* and *-ta*. *-te* may be derived from *\*-tes*, cp. Skr. *-tas*. Whether *-ta* originally belonged to the 3<sup>rd</sup> dual or was the ending of the 2<sup>nd</sup> dual is not clear. Perhaps *-ta* must be identified with Umbr. *-tā* in *etu-tā* 'eunto', see § 967 p. 508. As regards a third form *-tē* (used with a fem. subject), see § 1036 p. 557.

## MIDDLE ENDINGS.

### 1<sup>ST</sup> PERSON SINGULAR.

§ 1041. Protoethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) Primary endings there appear to be two:

(a) *-mai* or *-māi* in unthematic stems: Gr. *ἴ-στα-μαι* *ἴδ-δο-μαι*, Lith. reflex. *vel-mē-s(i)* Pruss. *as-mai* 'sum'.

(b) *-ōi* in thematic stems (vgl. *-ō* in the active). Skr. thematic Conjunct. *ky-ṇāv-āi* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ky-ṇāv-a-tē*). Norse Run. *haite* O.Icel. *heite* 'I bid, call'. The same ending in the long-vowel Conj.: Skr. *bhārāi* (cp. § 918 Rem. p. 466).

(2) The Secondary endings are quite obscure:

(a) Unthematic Stems. Skr. *ā-dviṣ-i* doubtless for *-ō* (*ā-dviṣ-i* : *dī-dviṣ-ē* = 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *-māhi* Gr. *-μεθα* : *-mahē*), but opt. *dviṣty-ā bhārēy-a*. Gr. *ἰ-δό-μην* *ἰ-δού-μην* *φερό-μην* (Dor. *-μᾶν*), recalling the Suffix of the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *-thēs* beside act. *-tha*.

(b) Thematic Stems. Skr. *ā-bhar-ē*. Gr. *ἰ-φερό-μην*.

(3) *-aī* or *-ōi* in the Perfect, is doubtless connected with

the *-a* of Skr. *dvīṣty-ā* and the *-i* = *-a* of Skr. *ā-dvīṣ-i* (cp. § 1054.3). Skr. *tutud-ē*. Lat. *tutud-i*. O.O.Sl. *věd-ě*.

§ 1042. Aryan.

(1) Primary ending. The *-ai* of the thematic Conj. is old: Skr. *mān-ai* Avest. Gath. *mēn-ai* beside indic. Skr. *ā-ma-ta*, *s*-Aor. Skr. *mā-s-ai* Avest. Gath. *mēnagh-ai* beside indic. Skr. *ā-mā-s-ta*, Skr. *kṛ-ṇāv-ai* beside indic. *kṛ-ṇu-tē*. Also *-ai* in the long-vowel Conj.: Skr. *bhārāi* Avest. *barāi*. So there was once indic. pres. *\*bharāi* (cp. active indic. Avest. *uḡyā* Gr. *φείω* like conj. Avest. *aḡhā* Gr. *ῥω* Lat. *erō* and conj. Skr. *ārcā* Gr. *φείω* § 976.2 p. 517), which was exchanged even in pr. Aryan for *\*bharai* = Skr. *bhārē* Avest. *barē* following the *-ai* of the unthematic Indicative, and the analogy of *-sai* *-tai* etc., for the purpose, I would suggest, of distinguishing the conj. and indic. moods.

Instead of *-ai* 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. *var'sānē* beside 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *var's-ā-itē* (*s*-aorist of *varz-* 'to work'), *yazānē* (beside *yazāi*) with 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *yazā-itē* (from *yaz-* 'to offer').

Aryan *-ai* in the non-thematic indic. present: Skr. *bruv-ē* Avest. *mruyē* i. e. *mruv-ē* beside 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *brū-tē* *mrū-itē*, Skr. *duh-ē*, Avest. *yn-ē* (✓ *ghen-* 'strike, slay'). This *-ai* I regard as borrowed from the perfect in place of orig. *\*-mai* (vice versa we have in Greek perf. *δέδο-μαι* following pres. *δέδο-μαι*), just as in the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Skr. *-ē* (§ 1055), and in the 3<sup>rd</sup> 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-takšaiy* (from *takš-* 'to shape, make all right').

Unthematic. In the Indicative Ar. *-i* for *-ə*: Skr. *ā-duh-i* *ā-kr-i*, Avest. Gath. *aoj-i* (from *aoj-* 'to speak'), *s*-aorist Skr. *ā-ruts-i*, O.Pers. *a-darš-iy* (from *dar-* 'to hold'). But in the Optative Ar. *-a*: Skr. *tanvīty-ā* Avest. *tanuya* i. e. *tanviy-a* from *tan-* 'to stretch' (§ 940 p. 485), Skr. *bhārēy-a* Avest. Gath.

*oḍuray-a* (from *var-* 'to choose'), Avest. *mainya* for \**mānyay-a* (I § 643 p. 482) = Skr. *mānyēy-a*.

(3) Pr. Ar. *-ai* in the perfect: Skr. *śu-śruv-ē* Avest. *susruyē* i. e. *śu-śruv-ē* from *√ kṣey-* 'hear'.

§ 1043. Greek. Primary *-μαι*; on the analogy of *δέδομαι* ἄρην-μαι we get *φέρομαι φέρω-μαι* and perfect *δέδομαι εἶπυ-μαι*, etc.

Secondary (Dor.) *-μᾶν*: *ἐδεδό-μην ἐδεικνύ-μην ἐειξάμην* *τετύγ-μην τιθεί-μην φεροί-μην*.

§ 1044. Italic. Only the perfect Idg. *-ai* or *-oi* remains, but it loses its middle meaning: Lat. *tutud-ī*: Skr. *tutud-ē*, *ded-ī*: Skr. *dad-ē* (§ 867 p. 414). Perhaps we should explain *reverti* beside *revertor*, *assensī* beside *assentior* as due to the originally middle force of *-ī*.

§ 1045. Germanic. Idg. *-oi* (§ 1041.1. b) in O.Icel. *heite heiti* 'I bid, call', beside Goth. *hāita*.

Remark. I cannot agree with Jellinek's conjectures in his Beitr. zur Erklärung der germ. Flexion, 1891, pp. 70 ff.

In Gothic the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *hāituda* does duty for the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. too; so also A.S. *hätte* is 3<sup>rd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> sing., cp. Goth. 3<sup>rd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *hāitanda*. On this use of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person for the 1<sup>st</sup> see Jellinek in the work just cited, pp. 103 ff.

§ 1046. Balto-Slavonic.

In Baltic Idg. *-mai* or *-māi* remains: Lith. reflex. *velmė-s(i)* (§ 511 p. 76), Pruss. *as-mai* 'I am'. Cp. § 983 p. 522.

The perfect *-ai* or *-oi* occurs in the single form O.C.Sl. *pěd-ě* 'I know'.

## 2<sup>ND</sup> PERSON SINGULAR.

§ 1047. Protohuic Indo-Germanic.

(1) Primary ending *-sai* or *-sai*. Skr. *bhāra-sē*, Gr. *φέρω φέρον*, Goth. *baīra-za*; thematic Conj. Skr. *ma-s-a-sē* Gr. *βιή-σ-ε-αι* (Theogn.), long-vowel Conj. Skr. *bhār-ā-sē* Gr. *φέρηαι φέρον*. Skr. *da-t-sē dha-t-sē*, Gr. *δί-δο-σαι τί-θε-σαι*, Lith. *dūsi desė-s* O.C.Sl. *dasi*.

The same ending in the Perfect: Skr. *da-di-ṣē ri-rik-ṣē*, Gr. *δέ-δο-σαι λέ-λειψαι*.

(2) Secondary endings *-so* and *-thēs*, the latter connected with perf. act. *-tha* (§ 984.3 p. 523), and recalling Gr. *-μῶν* (§ 1041.2 p. 528). Originally it would seem that *-so* belonged only to thematic and *-thēs* only to unthematic stems.

(a) *-so*. Avest. *bara-ŋha*, Gr. *ῥέπειν ῥέπον ἑ-ῥέπει ἑ-ῥέπον*, Lat. *sequere*. Possibly also Idg. *-se*, see § 1082.1.

(b) *-thēs*. Skr. *á-di-thās*, Gr. *ἑ-δοι-θης*. *s-Aor. Skr. á-śramiṣ-thās* from *śram-* 'to grow tired' Gr. *ἑ-κρεμάσθης* from *κρέμα-μαι* 'I hang'. O.Ir. *cluinn-te* 'exaudi'.

§ 1048. Aryan. On *-sya* in the imperative see § 968 p. 510.

(1) Primary ending, pr. Ar. *-saj*. Skr. *bhāra-sē* Avest. *bara-ŋhē*. Conj. Skr. *prchā-sē* Avest. *per'sā-ŋhē*; on *-sai* in the Skr. conjunctive, see § 922 p. 470. Skr. *bra-ṣṣē kṛ-nu-ṣṣē*, Avest. *raosē* beside 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. injunct. Gath. *raosta* (from *rud-* 'to grow'). Perfect Skr. *dadi-ṣṣē*.

(2) In the Secondary endings Sanskrit and Avestic do not go together; the former has only pr. Ar. *-thās*, the latter only pr. Ar. *-sa*. Skr. *á-kṛ-thās á-dhat-thās á-dhānu-thās janiṣ-thās*, opt. *vāyadhī-thās bhārē-thās*, pret. *á-bhara-thās*. Avest. *a-yasa-ŋha* (cp. Skr. *á-yacha-thās*), Gathic *aoyša* beside 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *aog'dā* (I § 482 p. 356), *dā-ŋha* (but Skr. *á-dhi-thās*), opt. *daidī-ša baraṣ-ša* (but Skr. *dadhī-thās bhārē-thās*).

§ 1049. Greek.

(1) Primary ending *-σαι*. *ἦσαι* 'thou sittest' for \**ἦσ-σαι* (§ 494 p. 54), *ἴδο-σαι ἰάμ-να-σαι. φέρσαι φέρῃ,*<sup>1)</sup> conj. *φέρῃαι φέρῃ*. Perf. *γέγραψαι ἴδο-σαι μέμνη-σαι*. That the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. imper. of the *s-Aorist*, as *λέξαι*, comes in here, we saw in § 910 Rem. p. 460, § 969.2 p. 511.

(2) Of the two secondary endings, *-θης* holds its ground in the Present of Classes I and X and in the *s-Aorist*, as *ἑ-δοι-θης* = Skr. *á-di-thās* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ἑ-δο-ρο* = Skr. *á-di-ta*) *ἑ-κρά-θης* = Skr. *á-kṣa-thās* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *ἑ-κρά-ρο* = Skr. *á-kṣa-ta*), *ἑ-βλή-θης*

1) On the supposed middle forms in *-ει*, see Meisterhans Gramm. d. att. Inschr.<sup>2</sup> 131, the Author, Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 147.

(3<sup>rd</sup> sing. ἐβλητο), ἐμίχθη (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. ἐμικρο for \*ἐμικ-σ-το. On these forms is founded the whole "Weak" passive aorist ἐδόθη-ν etc. See § 589 pp. 130 f.

The only suffix which remained in living use was -σθ; and this, as in Avestic, spread to unthematic stems. ἐφέρε-σθ ἐφέρον, injunct. imper. φέρε-σθ φέρον. ἔθε-σθ ἔθου (beside ἐτέ-σθη), injunct. imper. θέ-σθ θού, ἦσο for \*ἦσ-σθ, ἐδίδο-σθ, ἐγέγραψθ ἐδέδο-σθ, ἐδείξα-σθ (ἐδείξθ Dor. ἐδείξα), opt. θεί-σθ φέροι-σθ.

The σ of -σαι and -σθ of course dropt in pr. Greek after vowels (I § 564 p. 420 f.). In Attic on the analogy of forms such as γέγραπθαι ἐγέγραψθ, the σ was restored in the perfect, pluperfect, and unthematic present and imperfect, with a very few exceptions of which one is ἐδύνω: δέδοσαι δίδωσι ἐδέδοσο ἐδίδοδο ἴστασαι etc. Homer has still the unrestored forms, βέβληται plpf. ἔσσο δίδωσι ἐμάρνασθ imper. παρ-ίστασθ, side by side with δύνασθαι παρ-ίστασθαι imper. ἴστασθ. The aorist everywhere kept clear of this tendency: Att. ἔθου ἐδείξθ.

In later times, the vulgar dialect used -σαι with thematic stems as well, e. g. in the N.Test. πίσας.

§ 1050. Italic. Latin keeps -so in the form -re (I § 81 p. 73): — *seque-re*: Gr. ἔπε-σθ, *re-re vide-re fabula-re*, conj. *sequā-re*.

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. *vinclet*.

Inscriptions also have -rus, as *spatiarius altarus*. I offer the following conjecture as to this ending. We may suppose that at the time when \**spatiā-so* was the form, a suffix \**-so-r* arose answering to \**-to-r -tur* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular,<sup>1)</sup> and that

1) \**-so-r* \**-rur* beside \**-so -re* like O.Ir. *-the-r* beside *-the* (§ 1051).

\*-*ru* 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.

§ 1051. Keltic. Irish retains Idg. -*thēs*.

-*the* for \*-*thēs* in the injunctive with imperative function, as *chain-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-sudigser* from *sudigim* 'pono', like Skr. *janiṣ-ṭhas*.

§ 1052. Germanic. Here only -*sai* can be traced. Goth. -*za* (cp. III § 263 Rem. p. 165 f., Hirt, Idg. Forsch. I 217): *salbō-za* cp. Gr. perf. *τε-τίμη-σαι* Lat. injunct. pres. *amā-re*, *baīra-za* (a as the thematic vowel, as in 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *baīra-da*, comes from the plural *baīranda* in all probability): cp. Gr. *φέρε-αι*.

The ending -*zau* in opt. *baīrdi-zau* is, like -*dau* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. and -*ndau* in 3<sup>rd</sup> plural, obscure. Compare imper. *at-steigadau liugandau*, § 970 p. 511.

§ 1053. Balto-Slavonic. Here also the only suffix is -*sai*, with active meaning.

In Lithuanian, it occurs with unthematic verbs, as *desė(-s)* for \**det-sē*: Skr. *dhatsē*; Pruss. *seggē-sai* 'thou doest'. See § 991 p. 528.

In Old Church Slavonic, also with verbs in -*mi*, as *dasi* 'givest' for \**dō-t-sai*: Skr. *datsē*. See *ibid*.

### 3<sup>rd</sup> PERSON SINGULAR.

§ 1054. Protoethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) Primary ending -*tai* or -*tj*. Skr. *ds-tē* Gr. *ῥσ-ται*. Skr. *ṛ-nu-tē* Gr. *ῥρ-vv-ται*. Gr. *ἄη-ται* Lesb. *ποη-ται* *τίμα-ται* Goth. *salbō-da*. Skr. *bhāra-tē* Gr. *φέρε-ται* Goth. *baīra-da*.

Thematic Conjunct.: Skr. *kar-a-tē mǎ-s-a-tē* Gr. *φθί-ε-ται ἀμειψ-ε-ται*. Long-vowel Coniunct.: Skr. *manyā-tē* Gr. *μαίνη-ται*.

(2) Secondary ending *-to*. Skr. *á-di-ta* Gr. *ἔ-δο-το* Lat. *da-tu-r*. Skr. *á-stō-ṣ-ta* Gr. *ἔμυατο* for *\*ἔ-μυα-ο-το*. Opt. Skr. *dadhi-tá* Gr. *τιθεῖ-τε* Lat. *du-tu-r*, Skr. *bhárē-ta* Gr. *φίποι-το*. Skr. *á-bhara-ta* Gr. *ἔ-φίπε-το* Lat. *agi-tu-r*. Conj. Lat. *ferā-tu-r* O.Ir. *do-berthar*.

*-to* also in Venetian: *zo-to* 'ἔδωρο', *zonas-to* 'ἔδωκονατο, donavit'. See p. 53 footnote 2. In Armenian Bugge (Idg. Forsch. 1 440) sees *-to* in the *-v* of the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. aor. II mid., as *cnar* 'natus est' for *\*gens-to*, cp. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *cna-n* § 1066. I also conjecture *-to* in such forms as Lith. *rims-ta*, see footnote to p. 216.

On the strength of Osc. *-ter* beside Lat. *-tur* = *-to+r*, e. g. *vincter* 'vincitur', we should perhaps assume another Idg. form *-te* beside *-to* (and similarly in the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *-nte* beside *-nto*), see § 1082.

(3) *-ai* or *-ei* in the Perfect: Skr. *ca-kr-ē da-dh-ē*.

In § 1041.3 p. 560 I said that *-ē* in Skr. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *dī-dviṣ-ē* is doubtless connected with *-i* = *-ə* in the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *á-dviṣ-i*. If so, we must connect *-ē* in 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *didviṣ-ē* with *-i* in 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. aor. mid. pass., as ai. *d-vāc-i*; all the more because the root-vowel so strikingly recalls the Skr. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. perf. act. (*u-vāc-a*). Compare § 905 p. 453.

§ 1055. Aryan. As regards *-am* and *-tām* in the Imperative, see § 968.2 p. 510.

(1) Primary ending Ar. *-taij*. Skr. *vás-tē* Avest. *vas-tē* (from *vas-* 'to clothe oneself'), Skr. *dhattē* Avest. Gath. *dazdē* (I § 482 Rem. 1 p. 356). Skr. *bhára-tē* Avest. *baraitē* O.Pers. *gauba-taiy* 'is called'. Conj. Skr. *yam-a-tē* Avest. *yamaitē* (from *yam-* 'cohibere'), Skr. *yáj-ā-tē* Avest. *yazaitē* O.Pers. *gaubā-taiy*; on *-tāi* in the Skr. Conj. see § 922 p. 470.

(2) Secondary ending Ar. *-ta*. Skr. *á-bra-ta* Avest. Gath. *mra-tā*, Skr. *á-ha-ta* O.Pers. *a-ja-tā*. s-Aor. Skr. *á-praṣṭa* Avest. Gath. *fraṣṭa* from *√prek-* (§ 814 p. 352). Skr. *á-bhara-ta* Avest. *bara-ta* O.Pers. *a-naya-ta* 'was led'.

Opt. ai. *bruv-tā* Avest. Gath. *mrvt-tā* Skr. *dadh-tā* Avest. *daišt-ta*, Skr. *bhāṣ-ta* Avest. *baraṣ-ta*.

(3) Perfect Ar. -*aj*. Skr. *da-dhr-ē* Avest. Gath. *dā-dr-ē*, Skr. *da-dh-ē* Avest. *daiḍ-ē*. The -i of Skr. *á-vāc-i* Avest. Gath. *a-vāc-i* may be regarded as in some degree the secondary ending of this -*aj*; see § 1054.3.

It is not uncommon to find Ar. -*taj* and -*aj* interchanging, in consequence of the close connexion between Present and Perfect. Thus on the one hand we have Skr. *īṣ-ṭē* instead of *īṣ-ē* (Avest. *is-ē*, Goth. act. *aih*, § 848.1 p. 391).<sup>1)</sup> On the other hand, Skr. *bruv-ē* Avest. *mruvē* i. e. *mruvē* instead of *mrā-tē* *mrāitē*, Skr. *śṛuv-ē* instead of *śṛuv-tē*. There is the same confusion in the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. (§ 1078.1). Compare also act. *nō-nav-a* beside *nō-navi-ti* § 850 p. 398. There is nothing to prevent forms like Skr. *bruv-ē* from being called an unreduplicated perfect.

§ 1056. Greek. On the imper. -*σθω* see § 966 p. 506 f.

(1) Primary ending -*rai* (Boeot. -*ρη* Thess. -*rai* I § 96 p. 90). *ἵστα-rai* *φείρε-rai*, conj. *ἀμείβε-rai* *φείρη-rai*. Arcad. -*rai* instead of -*rai*, but (notwithstanding O Hoffmann, Die griech. Dial. I 180 f.) this comes from the analogy of -*ro*.

Even in pr. Greek perf. *ἵδο-rai* *πίνεσθαι* following the present (cp. Skr. *īṣ-ṭē* instead of *īṣ-ē* § 1055.3), just as *ἵδο-μαι* follows *ἵδο-μαι* (§ 1043 p. 560).

(2) Secondary ending -*ro* (Cypr. -*rv* I § 80 p. 71): *ἵστα-ro* *ἔφειρε-ro*, opt. *τεῖσθ-ro* *φείρου-ro*.

§ 1057. Italic. Here we have -*to* with -*r*. Lat. *da-tu-r*: Gr. *δό-ro*. *sequi-tu-r*: Gr. *ἐπε-ro*. As to Osc. -*ter* see § 1054.2 p. 564, § 1082.

§ 1058.<sup>2)</sup> Keltic. Probably only -*to*.

First in the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. of the *t*-preterite, as O.Ir. *as-bert*

1) Compare the change of Upper-Germ. *er weiss* to *er waiast* and of O.Fris. *āch* 'he has' (= got. *aiā*) to *ācht*.

2) Whoever assumes with Zimmer that the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. act. *berit* represents both \**beronti* and mid. \**beruntai* (see § 1024 p. 552) may also regard 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *sechidir* and 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *sechitir* as representing -*tai*+*r* and -*ntai*+*r*.



dixit', which is followed by 1<sup>st</sup> 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*.

§ 1059. Germanic. Only -tai remains. Goth. *hāita-da* A.S. *hätte* for \**hajta-daj*, Goth. *salbō-da*. See § 1045 p. 560. -a- is the thematic vowel, as in the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *hāita-za* § 1052 p. 563.

The ending -dau in Goth. opt. *batrāi-dau* (also used as 1<sup>st</sup> sing.) is obscure. Compare *batrāi-zau*, loc. cit.

#### 1<sup>ST</sup> PERSON PLURAL.

§ 1060. Protoethnic Indo-Germanic. We may suppose that -medhaj or -medhəj = Skr. -mahē is the Primary, and medhə = Skr. -mahi Gr. -μεθα the Secondary ending, e. g. pres. Skr. *bhārā-mahē* pret. Skr. *ā-bhārā-mahi* Gr. *ἐ-μεσθό-μεθα*. Compare § 973 p. 515 f.

Goth. *batranda* is doubtless 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. and not for \**bira-mda* \*-midaj (§ 1071).

As to -medhaj (Avest. *hiśc-amaidē*), answering to act. -imes, see § 1001 p. 535 f.

§ 1061. Aryan. Skr. -mahē -mahi with h = dh is to be explained like the imper. ending -hi beside -dhi, see § 960 p. 503.

(1) Primary ending Skr. -mahē Avest. -maidē. Skr. *bhārā-mahē* Avest. *barā-maidē*. Conj. Skr. *saniṣā-mahē* Avest. *cināpā-maidē* (beside *cinas-ti* 'he teaches' § 626 p. 163); on Skr. conj. forms like *yājāmahai* see § 922 p. 470.

The same ending in the Perfect: Skr. *mumuc-māhē*.

(2) Secondary ending Skr. -mahi Avest. Gath. -maidē. Skr. *ā-yuj-mahi*, s-Aor. Skr. *ā-ga-s-mahi* (from *gam-* 'to go') Avest. *a-mēhmaidē* (from *man-* 'to think', § 815 p. 353). Opt. Skr. *bhārē-mahi* Avest. *barōi-maidē*.

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. *ὁρ-νύ-μεθα* *φερό-μεθα*, *ἔ-φερό-μεθα*, *φερό-μεθα*, perf. *πινύμεθα*.

Homer. *-μεσθα* with *σ* by analogy of *-σθι* *-σθεν* *-σθην*.

Remark. V. Henry (Mém. Soc. Ling. vi 73 f.) thinks that Greek once had in the active *φέρομε*: \**ἰφέρομε*, and at this period the type *φερόμεσ-θα* was produced on the analogy of *ἰφέρομε-θα*; after that *-μεσθα* was employed as secondary as well as primary.

Aeol. *-μεθεν*, only known through the grammarians, appears to be modelled upon *-μεν* (*-μεθεν*: *-μεν* = *-σθι*: *-τε*). Compare 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Thess. *-νθι-ν* § 1068.

## 2<sup>ND</sup> PERSON PLURAL.

§ 1063. Proethnic Indo-Germanic. All that can be fairly inferred from Ar. *-dhyaḥ* (primary) *-dhyam* (secondary) and Gr. *-σθε* (both) is that the original ending contained *dh*. It is phonetically possible to derive Gr. *-σθε* from \**-σθfe*. The original ending of the suffix may perhaps be that shewn by Aryan. It is possible that Gr. *-σθον* was orig. 2<sup>nd</sup> plural (*-σθον* = Skr. *-dhvam*), and turned into a dual because of the dual meaning of *φέρερον*; 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 *-zdḥ-*, which became Gr. *-σθ-*. In Aryan *z* dropt between consonants, and the type thus produced became general.

(2) It orig. began with *-dh-*. Then Gr. *ἡσ-θε* *πίνωσ-θε* come straight from it. In mentally analysing 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 *ἰσφαγθε* *ἰσβαλθε* *πεφύλαχθε* still have the orig. suffix, without the intrusive *σ*, or whether they once had *σ* and it disappeared as it regularly would.

(3) There was a double suffix, with initial *-zdḥ-* or *-dh-*; and each of the two types was preferred by certain languages.

Compare Bartholomae, Rhein. Mus. XLV 153.

§ 1064. Aryan. On Skr. *-dhaṃd* imper., see § 965 p. 506.

(1) Primary ending Ar. *-dhyaḥ* *-dhyāḥ*: Skr. *-dheḥ*, also *-dhuvē* in Vedic. Avest. *-duyē* i. e. *-dusē*. Skr. *anag-dheḥ*

(from *anák-ti* 'he smears, anoints') Avest. Gath. *mer'wag'-duyē* (from *marc-* 'to destroy', § 626 p. 162). Conjunctive Skr. *kāmāyā-dhvē*; as regards *-dhvāi* in the conj., see § 922 p. 470.

The same ending in the Perfect: *bubudhi-dhvē*.

(2) Secondary ending. Ar. *-dhyam -dhyam*: Skr. *-dhvam*, also *-dhvam* in Vedic, Avest. *-dwem -dām* (I § 159 p. 142). Skr. *ā-bhara-dhvam* Avest. *bara-dwem*. Avest. s-aorist Gath. *frā-z-dām* from *trā-* 'to push through' (§ 813 p. 351).

§ 1065. Greek. Always *-σθε*, see § 1063. *φέρεσθε ἥσθε* *ἐ-φέρεσθε φέροι-σθε*. Perfect *πέπυσθε*.

Perf. *πέφανθε* beside 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *πέφασμαι* 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *πέφανται* is doubtless a transformation of \**πέφασθε* on the lines of *ἔσπαρθε* beside *ἔσπαρμαι*; see § 862 p. 411.

### 3<sup>rd</sup> PERSON PLURAL.

§ 1066. Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) After consonants *-ntai* or *-ntōi* and *-nto*.

(a) Primary ending *-ntai* or *-ntōi*. Skr. *ās-atē* Gr. Hom. *ἦ-αται*, Skr. *dā-dh-atē pu-n-atē ta-no-atē*.

(b) Secondary ending *-nto*. Skr. *ās-ata* Gr. Hom. *ἦ-ατο*. Skr. *ā-kṛ-nt-ata*, s-Aor. *ā-dṛkṣ-ata*. Opt. Gr. *γυνόμ-ατο*.

(2) After sonants *-ntai* or *-ntōi* and *-nto*.

(a) Primary ending *-ntai* or *-ntōi*. Skr. *bhāra-ntē* Gr. *φέρο-νται* Goth. *baira-nda*. Thematic Conj. Skr. *ma-s-a-ntē* Gr. Hom. *ἐν-ετίθρο-νται* (*ἐν-ετίθνω* 'I arrange'). Long-vowel Conjunctive Avest. *hacā-ntē* Gr. *ἔνω-νται*. Gr. *ἰλίζη-νται* Lesb. *ἡγο-νόη-νται τίμα-νται* Goth. *salbō-nda*.

(b) Secondary ending *-nto*. Skr. *ā-bhara-nta* Gr. *ἐ-φέρο-ντο* Lat. *feruntu-r* O.Ir. *do-bertar*. Conj. Lat. *fera-ntu-r* O.Ir. *do-bertar*. Gr. *ἔμ-πλη-ντο* Lat. *im-ple-ntu-r* *planta-ntu-r*.

*-nto* is conjectured by Bugge (Idg. Forsch. i 440) in the *-n* of the Armen. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. aor. II mid., as *cna-n* 'nati sunt' for \**geno-nto*.

On account of Oscan forms of the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural like *karanter* 'pascuntur' beside Lat. *-ntur* = *-nto+r*, we should perhaps

assume an Idg. form *-pte -nte* beside *-pto -nto* (similarly in the 3<sup>rd</sup> 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. *τεράω-αται*) is still a riddle. See §§ 1076 ff.

§ 1067. Aryan. On the Imperative in *-atām -ntām* see § 968 p. 510.

(1) After sonants Ar. *-atai -ata*.

(a) Primary ending *-atai*. Skr. *vās-atē, indh-atē indh-ātē*, Avest. *mer'nc-aitē*.

(b) Secondary ending *-ata*. Skr. *ā-gm-ata ā-tanv-ato*. Avest. Gath. *dar's-ata* (✓ *derk-*).

In Avestic *-aitē -ata* as a rule gave way to *-antē -anta*, which mark the plural number better; cp. act. *daḥ-enti* as contrasted with Skr. *dādḥ-ati* § 1018. 1. b p. 545. E. g. *āshantē dadentē ver'navaintē* (Skr. *ās-atē dādḥ-atē vṛtv-ātē*), *mravanta* (3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *mrāo-tā mrū-ta*), opt. *barayanta*.

As regards O.Pers. *ahatā* 'eraut' 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*.

(a) Primary ending *-ntai*. Skr. *bhāra-ntē*, Avest. *bara-ntē*. Short-vowel Conjunctive Skr. *na-s-a-ntē* (from *nam-* 'to bend, bow oneself'), long-vowel Avest. *yazd-ntē*. On *-ntai* in the Skr. Conjunctive see § 922 p. 470.

(b) Secondary ending *-nta*. Skr. *ā-bhara-nta*, Avest. *yaze-nta* O.Pers. *a-baratā* (read *abaranta*).

(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 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. (§ 1055. 3 p. 565). e. g. *duh-rē sunv-i-rē*.

§ 1068. Greek. On imper. *-σθε -στων -σθεσθε* see § 966 p. 506 f.

(1) After consonants *-atai -aro*.

(a) Primary ending *-atai*. Hom. *ῥ-αται* for *\*ῥσ-αται*,

*κεί-αται* for \**κελ-αται* (variant *κείαται* with *κει-* following *κει-μαι* etc., see I § 180 p. 117 f.), *ειρύ-αται*.

(b) Secondary ending *-ατο*. Hom. *ῆ-ατο κεί-ατο ειρύ-ατο*. Opt. Hom. and elsewhere *γενού-ατο ἐπι-φρασσαι-ατο ἐπι-σται-ατο*, whose diphthongs *αι* and *αι* are to be explained like *κεί-αται* (a), *δαντατο* = *-νω-ατο* (§ 944 p. 487).

*-αται -ατο* are special favourites in the Perfect system, where they occur even in Attic prose; e. g. *τετεύχ-αται γιγράφ-αται ἐ-τιτάχ-ατο* (cp. § 898 p. 446).

Instead of \**τιθ-αται* \**διδ-αται* (Skr. *dā-dh-atē*) we have *τίθε-νται δίδ-ονται* (2), as act. *τίθει-ντι* instead of \**τιθ-ατι* (§ 1020.1. b p. 547).

(2) After sonants *-νται -ντο*.

(a) Primary ending *-νται*. *φέρ-ο-νται*. Conj. *φέρ-ω-νται*. *διζ-η-νται* Lesb. *προ-νό-η-νται*.

(b) Secondary ending *-ντο*. *ἐ-φέ-ρο-ντο*. *πλη-ν-το* = \**πλᾶν-το* pres. *πλάζω*, *ἐμ-πλη-ντο* from *πλε-* 'fill'.

Of the same kind are perf. *μέμνη-νται δεδούλω-νται* *ἐ-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 μεμνή-μεν* § 944 p. 488. With *φέρ-ωνται* cp. act. *φέρ-ωντι* § 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 *ā*, *ē*, or *ō*; as Hom. *βεβλή-αται βεβλή-ατο* instead of *βέβλη-νται βέβλη-ντο*, late Ion. *πιπονέ-αται* (for *-η-αται*) and *τιθέ-αται δίδ-αται*, cp. act. *τιθέ-ασι* (§ 1021.4 p. 549). On the other hand, *-νται -ντο* are added to stems in *i* and *u* in Attic and elsewhere, sometimes in Ionic itself; e. g. *κεί-νται ἔκει-ντο λύ-ντο ἄγν-νται* (should be \**ἄγν-αται*, cp. Skr. *aśnuv-atē*) *εἶπ-ντο*, opt. *γίνοι-ντο τιθεῖ-ντο*, with which compare 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *εἶπ-ν* (§ 979.3 p. 520) and opt. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *φέρει-ν* (*ibid.*) and 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *φέρει-ν* (§ 1020.1. b p. 547). Further, *ῆ-νται ῆ-ντο* beside *ῆ-αται ῆ-ατο*, since *ῆ-μαι ῆ-μεθα* (for \**ῆ-σ-μαι* \**ῆ-σ-μεθα*) were regarded as similar in structure to *ἄ-η-μαι* etc.

Boeotian and Thessalian have  $\theta$  in place of  $\tau$  in the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural endings, as Boeot.  $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\theta\eta$  (= Ion.  $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ )  $\epsilon\beta\alpha\lambda\sigma\sigma\theta\sigma$  Thess.  $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\sigma\theta\sigma$ ; and Boeotian has  $\theta$  in the active endings too,  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\iota$   $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\iota$ . It may be suggested that  $\theta$  came in from the middle endings  $-\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$  and  $-\sigma\theta\iota$ , and in Boeotian had spread from the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. middle to the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. active.

In Thessalian we get  $-\sigma\theta\epsilon\upsilon$  as a primary ending, in which  $-\upsilon$  probably came from the active; cp. § 1062 p. 567 on  $-\mu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\upsilon$ . Example:  $\epsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon\upsilon$ .

§ 1069. Italic. Here we have  $-nto + -r$ . Lat. *feru-ntur ama-ntur*, Umbr. *ema-ntur* 'emantur'. On Osc. *kara-nter* see § 1066. 2. b p. 568.

§ 1070.<sup>1)</sup> Keltic. Here too we have  $-nto + -r$ , as O.Ir. *do-bertar* 'dantur': Lat. *feru-ntur*. Beside this  $-nto$  without  $-r$  is possibly contained in *do-berat* 'dant', see § 1024 p. 552.

§ 1071. Germanic.  $-ntaj$  or  $-ntaj$  in Goth. *batra-nda salbō-naa*, used for both 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> plural (cp. § 1060 p. 566).

An obscure form is  $-ndau$  in the opt. *batraū-ndau* (also used for both 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> plural); cp. § 1052 p. 563.

#### PERSONS OF THE DUAL MIDDLE.

§ 1072. 1<sup>st</sup> Person. Aryan alone has any special suffix; Skr. prim.  $-vāḥ$  sec.  $-vāhi$ , which if we judge by  $-mahē$   $-mahī$  will be derived from  $*-uedhaj$  or  $*-uedhāj$  and  $*-uedhō$ . E. g. *bhārā-vāḥ* opt. *bhārē-vāhi*; on  $-vāhai$  in Conjunctive forms like *sacāvāhai* see § 922 p. 470.

Greek.  $-\mu\epsilon\theta\sigma\upsilon$ , only found in rare instances and questionable at that, is doubtless a transformation of  $-\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$  made to match the ending of  $-\sigma\theta\sigma\upsilon$ .

§ 1073. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> dual  $-atḥ$  3<sup>rd</sup> dual  $-atē$ ,

1) See footnote 2 to § 1056 p. 565, above.

secondary 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *-ātham* 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *-ātām* in unthematic stems. Indic. pres. *dvīṣ-āthē -dīṣ*, imperf. *ā-dvīṣ-āthām ā-dvīṣ-ātām*. It has the primary endings in the Perfect, *cakr-āthē -dīṣ*. In Avestic the same stems have the secondary 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *-ātem* = pr. Ar. *\*-ātām*: *a-sru-ātem* you *sru-* 'hear'. In Vedic are other secondary endings, *-ītham -itām*: 2<sup>nd</sup> dual injunct. aor. *trd-s -ītham* 3<sup>rd</sup> dual indic. aor. *ā-dh-ītām*.

Skr. primary 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *-ēthē* 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *-ētē*, secondary 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *-ētham* 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *-ētām* in thematic stems. Indic. pres. *bhārethē bhārētē*, imperf. *ā-bhārethām ā-bhārētām*. On the Conjunctives *bhārāitē bhārāitē* see § 922 p. 470. In Avestic there is a 3<sup>rd</sup> dual indic. pres. *vaenōiṣē*, answering to the form of the Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> dual; but injunct. 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *jasātem*.

Rarely Skr. *-thē* etc. without any preceding vowel in the ending itself. Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> dual indic. perf. *ci-kē-thē*, 3<sup>rd</sup> dual indic. pres. *patya-tē* conj. aor. *yam-a-tē*, 2<sup>nd</sup> dual injunct. *dī-dht-thām*. Similarly Avest. 3<sup>rd</sup> dual indic. perf. *dazdē* = *\*dha-dh-tai*.

See further details in Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 283 ff.; Jackson, Amer. Or. Soc. Proceed., Oct. 1889, p. CLXV.

§ 1075. Greek. Indic. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *φέρε-σθον* 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *φέρε-σθον*, imperf. 2<sup>nd</sup> dual *ἔ-φέρε-σθον* (*ἔ-φερέ-σθην*) 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *ἔ-φερέ-σθην* (*ἔ-φέρε-σθον*) answering to the active *φέρε-τον* etc., see § 1033 p. 556, § 1039 p. 558. Possibly *φέρε-σθον* was originally 2<sup>nd</sup> plural (§ 1063 p. 567), and caused *-σθον* to be made on the model of *-σαν*.

#### ARYAN, ITALIC, AND KELTIC ENDINGS WITH R.<sup>1</sup>)

§ 1076. In this section we discuss those endings of the Aryan, Italic, and Keltic branches which consist of, or contain, the suffix *-r*.

Remark. It is not impossible, but certainly it is unlikely, that the *r* which we noticed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> singular in Armenian has the same origin (§ 936 Rem. p. 554).

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<sup>rd</sup> plural, or denoted an indefinite subject or subjects, such as *one says*, *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<sup>rd</sup> plural (exceptions are the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> dual perf. act. in *-athur* *-atur* in Sanskrit).

The Active voice has it in the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. perfect, aorist, and optative, with exception of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> dual perfect.

First as regards the usage in the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural. Here *-r* sometimes is the only personal suffix and sometimes it is combined with *s*. Tracing the forms back to proethnic Aryan, we get four:

(1) *-r* = Avest. *-r'*: opt. *hyā-r'* 'sint', a later re-formate with the strong opt. suffix *-yā-* (§ 1018. 2 p. 546).

(2) *-rr* (the form taken by *r* before sonants) = Skr. *-ur* Avest. *-ar'* (I § 290 p. 233): perf. Skr. *ās-ūr* Avest. *āsh-ar'*, aor. Skr. *ā-dh-ur* Avest. Gath. *d-ar'*, opt. Skr. *sy-ūr bhārēy-ur*. But Skr. *-ur* may be equated with Avest. *-er's* (4).

(3) *-rś* = Avest. *-r's*: opt. *daihyā-r's*, a new form like *hyā-r'* (1).

(4) *-rś* = Avest. *-er's*: perf. *cikōit-er's* (§ 850 p. 397, § 852 p. 402). This form may also be the origin of Skr. *-ur*, compare gen. abl. Skr. *mātūr* with Avest. *ner's* III § 235 pp. 125 f.

Exceptionally Skr. *-ur* appears in the indic. present as well, as *duh-ūr* 'they milk'. But this formation, 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. mid. *duh-rē* and



3<sup>rd</sup> sing. mid. *duh-ē*, 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 3<sup>rd</sup> dual, and Skr. *-athur* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> dual, are without doubt peculiar to Aryan; see § 1038 p. 557 f.

§ 1078. In the Middle and Passive *r* is found only with the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural, and only combined with other elements, added after it, which usually appear as middle and passive suffixes in other connexions.

(1) *-raj* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. perf., and by analogy in the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. present, is proethnic in Aryan. Skr. *du-duh-rē da-dh-rē*, pres. or unreduplicated perf. *duh-rē* (cp. *duh-ūr* § 1077); Skr. *śē-rē* Avest. *saē-rē sōi-rē* 'they lie' (cp. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *śāy-ē* beside *śē-tē*). In Sanskrit *-rē* is generally preceded by *-i-* = Idg. *-o-*, regularly so in Vedic with a long stem-syllable (cp. § 844 p. 385); as *tē-i-rē ja-jñ-i-rē* (cp. Avest. *vaōz-i-rem* under 2.); so also pres. *śṛṇv-i-rē* (cp. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *śṛṇv-i-ṣē* § 853 p. 403). *-irē* became a new suffix and in classical Sanskrit was the only one used for the Perfect, as *duduh-irē cikriy-irē* (pres. *say-irē* beside *śē-ratē*). By analogy of forms like *duduh-rē* and like *ja-jñ-irē* we have in Vedic *duduh-rirē jagrbh-rirē*, and others.

In Avestic *-rē* passed into the *ā*-Conjunctive: *ānoha-rē* beside indic. *ās-tē* 'sits'.

Ar. *-raj* seems to have the same relation to act. *-r* (*-r*) as *-ntaj* to *-nt*, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *-taj* to *-t* and the like.

(2) Further, *-ram* in the augmented preterite is pr. Aryan, as *ā-dṛś-ram a-sṛg-ram*, Avest. *vaōz-i-rem* (§ 844 p. 385, § 854 p. 403). *-ram* is usually compared with the middle ending of 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *-dhvam*.

The following *r*-suffixes appear in Sanskrit only.

(3) *-ra* in augmented preterite: *ā-duh-ra. ā-duh-ra : duh-rē* = *ā-duh-ata : duh-atē* (*duh-ātē*).

(4) *-ratē* and *-rata*: pres. *duh-ratē śē-ratē*, opt. *maṣ-i-rata bharē-rata*.

(5) Isolated: *-ranta* in *ā-va-ṛt-ranta*.

(6) *-rām* and (7) *-ratām* in the Imperative: *duh-rām* and *duh-ratām*. Cp. *duh-ātām* § 968.2 p. 510. Lastly

(8) *-ran* in the augmented preterite, as *a-va-vrt-ran* *ā-ca-kr-i-ran* *ā-dyā-ran* *ā-śē-ran*, and in the Optative, as *da-dī-ran* *bhārē-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 *-r's*.

§ 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 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. indic. perf. *-erunt* *-erunt* *-ere* (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 3<sup>rd</sup> plural perfect. Since the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *tutud-i* was properly middle, the 3<sup>rd</sup> 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. *sakrafir* (with *últiumam* for object) 'let them have consecrated' (§ 874 p. 422, § 926.3 p. 478). Umbr. *ferar* 'let one carry', *ier*, 'one will go' possibly for *\*ier-er* i. e. *\*e(i)-es-er* (§ 837 p. 374), *benuso(r)* 'one will have come' (§ 872 p. 421). With Zimmer and Conway, I formerly regarded these as 3<sup>rd</sup> plural active (Ber. sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1890, pp. 214 ff.). But, as we infer from a comparison of *sakrafir* with *sakrim fakiadon* the other Oscan inscr. of the same kind (Rhein. Mus. XLIII 557 f.), they may be 3<sup>rd</sup> 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. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *zazan-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, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1883). There is a third possibility. They may be 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *bertir* beside *do-bertar* (§ 1082), I believe to be a new Keltic development; imper. *berar* 'should be brought', Mod.Bret. *quemerer* (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 Umbrian and Oscan, are 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 Britannic (*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 Britannic, 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 protothnic Keltic (or, if you will, in Italo-Keltic)."

Remark 2. If we assume these Italo-Keltic *r*-forms to be 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *socare* 'they trouble themselves' to Skr. *śocantē*.

§ 1081. (II) *r* in combination with other personal endings,

active and middle, which always precede it (cp. Skr. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> dual *-athur -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, *r* runs through all persons except the 2<sup>nd</sup> plural, but the passive forms only the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular and plural with such suffixes.

It is possible that once, in protoethnic Italo-Keltic, *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) *r* added to Middle endings.

(1) Italic and Celtic 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *-nto+r*. Lat. depon. *sequi-tur sequo-ntur sequū-tur sequa-ntur* etc., pass. *agi-tur agu-ntur* etc. Umbr. e. g. *emantur* 'emantur'. O.Ir. depon. *-sechethar* 'sequitur' *-sechetar* 'sequuntur' perf. *do-mēnatar* 'putaverunt', pass. *do-berthar* 'dantur, dentur'; in the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. indic. pass. this ending is shown only in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Conjugations in Irish, as *no charthar* 'amatur' *do-leicthar* 'linquitur' (1<sup>st</sup> Conjug. *doberar*, conjunct. *-berar* and *-berthar*).<sup>1)</sup> The absolute forms *sechidh* 'sequitur' *sechith* 'sequuntur' *bertir* 'feruntur, ferantur' *carthir* 'amatur' *leicthir* 'linquitur' etc. are analogical like *berir* 'fertur' (§ 1080 p. 576).

No satisfactory explanation has been given of the Umbr.-Samn. endings with *e*-vowels, which answer to Lat. *-tur -ntur*. Osc. *vincter* 'vincitur' *sakarater* 'sacratu'r' *sakahiter* 'sanciatu'r' *comparascuster* 'consultus erit' *karanter* 'pascuntur', Pelign. *upsaseter* 'operaretur' or 'operarentur', Marruc. *ferenter* 'ferantur'. Umbr. *herter herte herti hertei* 'oportet' *ostensendi* 'ostenderentur'; for the form *emantur*, see above. The Oscan forms had undoubtedly a short *e*; and I venture to conjecture that parallel to *-to -nto* there were 1dg. forms *-te -nte* (cp. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *-mo(s) -me(s)*, *-mom -mem*, § 1000 p. 535).<sup>2)</sup> Umbr. *hertei* points

1) See footnote 2 to § 1058, page 565.

2) If this be correct, there would be no need to derive the *-re* of Lat. *stipulare* (cp. Gr. *πνέο*) from 1dg. *-re*; it might be derived from Brugmann, *Elementa*, IV.

to *ē*. Very well — we may suppose that there were variants *-tē* *-ntē* beside *-te* *-nte*, as we saw *-mēs* beside *-mes* in the 1<sup>st</sup> 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 *ē*, and that of *ostensendi* (*-i* for *-ē*), 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-Samnite forms (Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* xxx 277), which I regard as wrong, see Buck, *Der Vocalismus der osk. Sprache* pp. 79 f.

(2) Latin forms of the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular, like *spatiārus* possibly contain *\*-ru-r* = *\*-so+r*. See § 1050 p. 562.

(3) In Oscan *censamur* 'censemino, censored' *r* is seen combined with the Umbr.-Samn. mid.-pass. suffix *\*-mōd*. *-d* was exchanged for *-r*. See § 967 pp. 508 f.

(4) O.Ir. *-ther* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. of deponent verbs, e. g. *-sechthes* 'sequeris', 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 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *\*-ōr*, in Keltic only deponent. Lat. *sequor* O.Ir. *-sechur* 'sequor', Lat. *gradior* O.Ir. *-midior* 'iudico', 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 *\*-ōr* is the active *-ō+r*. It may be that Italo-Keltic had the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. mid. *\*seqōi* (§ 1041. 1. b p. 558), and that this was transformed to *\*seqōr*, as in Oscan *\*-mōd* *\*-mud* became *-mur* (§ 1082. 3).

(2) Italic and Keltic 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *\*-mor*, in Keltic only deponent. Lat. *sequimur sequāmur sequēmur ferimur* etc., O.Ir. *-sechem-mar* 'sequimur, sequāmur' perf. *do-mēnammar* 'putavimus'. 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. *mm* instead of *m* in Irish is due to the active forms *ammi bermmi* etc. (see § 1006 pp. 537 f.).

Idg. *\*-se*. *ālāris* would be related to *ālārus* as Ose. *vinciter* to Lat. *vincitur*. Compare § 1050, page 562.

(3) In the Irish deponent perfect we have 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *do-mēnar* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *do-mēnar* beside the active forms 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *cechan* for \**ce-can-a* 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *cechan* (§ 981. 4 p. 521, § 989 p. 525). In 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. *do-mēnair* beside act. *cechuin* the non-palatal pronunciation of the *n* is a difficulty. Is this due to the analogy of other persons of the perfect, or because *-gēnair* comes from \**ge-gnā*?

Remark 2. Neither Italic nor Celtic have an *r*-form in the 2<sup>nd</sup> plural. Latin has *sequimur ferimur* (see II § 71 p. 165). The Irish deponents have the active ending, as *-midid* beside *-midir*, *do-mēnair* beside *dō-menar*.

### PERIPHRASTIC MIDDLE IDIOMS (REFLEXIVE).

§ 1084. In several languages, where the Idg. Middle (Skr. *bhāra-tē* Gr. *φέρε-ται*) 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 yajamanabhagā prāṇdīy atmaṇam eva prīṇati* (Taitt. Sāh. 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), *nēd atmaṇā vā prīthiṣṭ vā hināsaṇi* (Satap.-Brāhm. I 2. 4. 7)

'that I may not destroy either myself or the earth'. Gr. *ἐμοὶ δὲ δὲκ' ἔξελον οἶω* (Od. 9. 160) 'but for myself alone I chose ten (goats)', *ἀποκρύπτω ἑμαυτόν* '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 vaī sá ātmānam aprīṇīta* (Tāitt.-Sāh. v 1. 8. 3) 'therewith he enjoyed himself', *sá yajñān ātmānā vyādhatta* (Māitr.-Sāh. i 9, 3) 'he changed himself into the offering', *ἡ κακῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἡ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βεβαίωσασθαι* (Thuc. i. 33. 3), *ὅτι Ξενοφῶν βούλεται ἑαυτῷ ὄνομα καὶ δύναμιν περιποιήσασθαι* (Xen. An. v 6, 17). Cp. Lith. *būnaq sau prausiū-s(i)* § 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. *ἑπεται*, Lat. *re-miniscor* O.Ir. *do-muiniur* 'I think' = Skr. *mānyatē*. But it partly gave place to the periphrastic reflexive, Lat. *dedecore se abstinebat* (*ἀπέχετο*), *gloriam sibi peperit* (*ἐπολάρο, ἐκρήσατο*), *meum reputo* (*σκοποῦμαι, λογιζομαι*), 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* and *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 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> 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-nisīþ* 'he gets happily through, finds protection or health' as against Skr. *ndsatē* Gr. *νέσται*, Lith. *sekiū* 'I follow' against Skr. *sacatē* Gr. *ἑπεται* (Lat. *sequitur* O.Ir. *-sechethar*), O.O.Sl. *mīřęq* 'I think' as against Skr. *mānyatē* (O.Ir. *do-muiniur*). In Gothic, verbs in *-nan* may represent the old Middle, as

*and-bundniþ* '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-went(i)u mih* 'I turn myself towards, convert me, convertor, -return'. Goth. *skama mik* O.H.G. *scamēm mih* 'I am ashamed'. Goth. *ōg mis* 'I fear' (for myself). O.H.G. *furht(i)u mir*, the same. Goth. *gaginand sik* 'they gather together', reflex. In Norse, about the 8<sup>th</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons as well as the third. However, in the oldest period we do find a 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *-mk* (for *mik*), as *heito-mk* '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 used as a passive. Compare Noreen, Aisl. und Anorw. Gramm. 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(i)* 'I raise myself, get up' 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *kelē-s(i)*, and so forth. *bijaū-s(i)* 'I fear'. *džiaugiaū-s(i)* 'I enjoy myself'. *būrną prausiū-s(i)* 'I wash my face'. Also *būrną sau prausiū-s(i)*, like Gr. *περινοίωσας θά τινι* *ἐαυτῷ* (§ 1084 p. 580). *mūsza-s(i)* '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-s*). Compare Lett. *bīstā-s* 'I fear' (in folk-poetry *-si* sometimes survives, and has not yet become *-s*); Pruss. *grīki-si* 'they fall into sin' (III § 447 p. 385), with a variant *-sin*, obviously the accusative case, as *ēlāiku-sin* 'let him abstain, forbear'. In O.C.Sl. we see the acc. *se* answering to Pruss. *-sin* as a

(Continued on p. 594.)

[Here follow Tables of the Verb Finite pp. 582-593.]



## 1. Ind. pres. and imperf. act. of Present Class. I.

Appendix to

	Pr.Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic	Armenian	Greek
Sing. 1.	* <i>és-mi</i> : 'I am'	<i>ds-mi</i>	<i>ah-mi</i>	<i>em</i>	<i>ελμι</i>
2.	* <i>ési</i> : * <i>ds-si</i> :	<i>dsi</i>	<i>ahi</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>ελ, ει-ε (ελ-ε)</i> <i>εσσι</i>
3.	* <i>ds-ti</i> :	<i>ds-ti</i>	<i>as-ti</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ἔσ-τι ἔσ-τι</i>
Plur. 1.	* <i>s-mēs(i)</i> (* <i>s-mos(i)</i> ):	<i>s-mās s-māsi</i>	<i>mahi</i>	<i>zmē</i>	Dor. <i>ελμεις</i> , Ion. <i>ελμεις</i> , Att. <i>ἑλμεις</i>
2.	* <i>s-tē</i> (* <i>s-thē</i> ):	<i>s-tha</i>	<i>s-tā</i>	<i>zē</i>	<i>ἑσ-τε</i>
3.	* <i>s-anti</i> :	<i>s-anti</i>	<i>h-enti</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>εσσι, ἔσσι</i>
Dual. 1.	* <i>s-yēs(i)</i> (* <i>s-yos(i)</i> ):	<i>s-yās</i>	* <i>xiw-ahi</i>		[Dor. <i>ελμεις</i> etc.]
2.	* <i>s-tēs</i> (* <i>s-thēs</i> ):	<i>s-thās</i>			<i>ἑσ-τον</i>
3.	?	<i>s-tās</i>	<i>s-tō</i>		<i>ἑσ-τον</i>
Sing. 1.	* <i>ds-ym</i> (* <i>ds-ym</i> ): 'I was'	<i>ds-am</i>	O. Pers. <i>ah-am</i>	<i>ēi</i>	<i>ἦν ἦ, ἦν</i>
2.	* <i>ds-s</i> :	<i>ds, ds-i-š</i>	* <i>šs</i>	<i>šir</i>	<i>ἦσθα</i>
3.	* <i>ds-t</i> :	<i>ds, ds-i-t</i>	<i>šs (as)</i>	<i>šr</i>	Dor. <i>ἦς</i> [ <i>ἦεν ἦν</i> ]
Plur. 1.	* <i>ds-s-mē(m)</i> * <i>ds-</i> * <i>mē(m)</i> (- <i>mē(m)</i> ):	<i>ds-ma</i>	<i>a-h-ma</i>	<i>šam</i>	<i>ἦμεν</i>
2.	* <i>š-s-tē</i> * <i>ds-te</i> :	<i>ds-ta</i>		<i>šir</i>	<i>ἦσ-τε, ἦτε</i>
3.	* <i>š-s-ent</i> * <i>ds-ent</i> :	<i>ds-an' (s-an)</i>	O. Pers. <i>ah-a</i> (Avest. <i>h-en</i> )	<i>šin</i>	Dor. <i>ἦν</i> , Boet. <i>ἦν</i> , Att. <i>ἦσαν</i>
Dual. 1.	* <i>š-s-yē</i> * <i>ds-yē</i> (- <i>yē</i> ):	<i>ds-sa</i>			[ <i>ἦμεν</i> ]
2.	* <i>š-s-tom</i> * <i>ds-tom</i> (- <i>tem</i> ):	<i>ds-tam</i>			<i>ἦσ-τον, ἦτον</i> [ <i>ἦσ-</i> <i>την</i> ]
3.	* <i>š-s-tām</i> * <i>ds-tām</i> :	<i>ds-tām</i>			<i>ἦσ-την, ἦτην</i> [ <i>ἦσ-</i> <i>την</i> ]

11. 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 [ ].

§§ 492 — 1086.

Latin	Irish	Gothic	O.H.G.	Lith.	O.C.Sl.
<i>sum</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>b-im</i>	<i>es-mi</i>	<i>jes-mi</i>
<i>es, 2c</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>is</i> (§ 990. 1)	<i>(bis biat)</i>	<i>esl</i> (991. 1)	<i>jesi</i>
<i>es-t</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>is-t</i>	<i>is-t</i>	<i>2s-ti 2s-t</i>	O.Russ. <i>jes-ti</i> O.Bulg. <i>jesti</i>
<i>sumus</i>	<i>ammi</i>	<i>ajum</i>	<i>b-irum b-iru- m2s</i>	<i>2s-me</i>	<i>jes-mil -my,</i> Mod.Bulg. <i>s-me,</i> Serb. <i>jes-mo</i>
<i>[es-tis]</i>	<i>adi-b</i>	<i>ajup</i>	<i>b-irut</i>	<i>2s-te</i>	<i>jes-te</i>
<i>sunt, Umbr. s-ent</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>s-ind</i>	<i>s-int</i>	<i>[esti 2st]</i>	O.Russ. <i>squ,</i> O.Bulg. <i>squ</i>
		<i>ajū</i>		<i>2s-va</i>	<i>jes-rē</i>
2nd pl. <i>es-tis</i>		<i>ajuts</i>		<i>2s-in</i>	<i>jes-ta</i>
		<i>[s-ind]</i>		<i>[2s-ti 2s-t]</i>	<i>jes-te, jes-ta</i>
pres. <i>2s (r)</i>					
					<i>nesb-as-fo</i>
					<i>nesb-as-in</i>
					<i>nesb-as-fo</i>

Spaced Type implies that the inflexion of any given form may be regarded as derived straight from that of the parent language.

## 2. Ind. pres. and injunct. (pret.) act. of Present Class X.

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic	Armenian	Greek
<b>Sing. 1.</b>	* <i>uδ-mi</i> 'I blow'	<i>uδ-mi</i>	<i>uδ-mi</i>	<i>mna-m</i> 'I remain'	<i>δη-μι</i>
2.	* <i>uδ-si</i> :	<i>uδ-si</i>	<i>uδ-hi</i>	<i>mna-s</i>	<i>δης</i>
3.	* <i>uδ-ti</i> :	<i>uδ-ti</i>	<i>uδ-ti</i>	<i>mna-y</i>	<i>δηςσι</i>
<b>Plur. 1.</b>	* <i>uδ-mδs(i) (-mos(i))</i> :	<i>uδ-mδs - mδsi</i>	<i>uδ-mahi</i>	<i>mna-mē</i>	Dor. <i>δη-μες</i> , Att. <i>δη-μεν</i>
2.	* <i>uδ-te (-the)</i> :	<i>uδ-thā</i>		<i>mnaē</i>	<i>δη-τε</i>
3.	* <i>uδ-nti</i> :	<i>uδ-nti</i>	<i>uδ-nti</i>	<i>mna-n</i>	<i>δειςσι</i>
<b>Dual. 1.</b>	* <i>uδ-mes(i) (-mos(i))</i> :	<i>uδ-vas</i>	<i>uδ-va hi</i>		[Dor. <i>δη-μες</i> , Att. <i>δη-μεν</i> ]
2.	* <i>uδ-tes (-thes)</i> :	<i>uδ-thās</i>			<i>δη-τον</i>
3.	?	<i>uδ-tas</i>			<i>δη-τον</i>
<b>Sing. 1.</b>	* <i>(e-)uδ-m</i> :	<i>ā-vā-m</i>	<i>eqm</i>		<i>δη-ν</i> , <i>ἰ-δεα-ν</i>
2.	* <i>(e-)uδ-s</i> :	<i>ā-vā-s</i>	<i>vā</i>		<i>δη-ς</i> , <i>ἰ-δεα-ς</i>
3.	* <i>(e-)uδ-t</i> :	<i>ā-vā-t</i>	<i>vā-ḥ</i>		<i>δη</i> , <i>ἰ-δεα</i>
<b>Plur. 1.</b>	* <i>(e-)uδ-mδ(m) (-mī(m))</i> :	<i>ā-vā-ma</i>	<i>vā-ma</i>		<i>δη-μεν</i> , <i>ἰ-δεα-μεν</i>
2.	* <i>(e-)uδ-te</i> :	<i>ā-vā-ta</i>	<i>vā-ta</i>		<i>δη-τε</i> , <i>ἰ-δεα-τι</i>
3.	* <i>(e-)uδ-nt</i> :	<i>ā-vā-n</i>	<i>eqn</i>		<i>δε-ν</i> , <i>ἰ-δεα-ν</i> ( <i>δη-σαν</i> , <i>ἰ-δεα-σαν</i> )
<b>Dual. 1.</b>	* <i>(e-)uδ-uδ (-uδ)</i> :	<i>ā-vā-va</i>			[ <i>δη-μεν</i> , <i>ἰ-δεα-μεν</i> ]
2.	* <i>(e-)uδ-toni (-tem?)</i> :	<i>ā-vā-tam</i>			<i>δη-τον</i> , <i>ἰ-δεα-τον</i> [ <i>δη-την</i> , <i>ἰ-δεα-την</i> ]
3.	* <i>(e-)uδ-tām</i> :	<i>ā-vā-tām</i>			<i>δη-την</i> , <i>ἰ-δεα-την</i> [ <i>δη-τον</i> , <i>ἰ-δεα-τον</i> ]

Latin	Irish	Gothic	O.H.G.	Lith.	O.C.Sl.
<i>pleō, nō</i>	<i>scarium</i> 'I se- parate'	<i>mitō</i> 'I measure'	<i>mezzo-m</i>	<i>lindau</i> 'I put somewhere'	<i>ima-mi</i> 'I have'
<i>plē-s, nās</i>	<i>scari</i>	<i>mitō-s</i>	<i>mezzo-s</i>	<i>lindai</i>	<i>ima-il</i>
<i>ple-t, nā-t</i>	<i>scarid</i>	<i>mitō-p</i>	<i>mezzo-t</i>	<i>lindo</i>	O.Russ. <i>ima-ti</i> , O.Bulg. <i>ima-tū</i>
<i>plē-mus, nā- mus</i>	<i>scarmme, -sca- ram</i> (?)	<i>mitō-m</i>	<i>mezzo-mes, -ō-n</i>	<i>lindo-me</i>	<i>ima-mū</i>
<i>[plē-tis, nā-tis]</i>	<i>-scarid, scarthe</i>	<i>mitō-p</i>	<i>mezzo-t</i>	<i>lindo-te</i>	<i>ima-te</i>
<i>ple-ni, nā-nt</i>	<i>scarit</i>	<i>mitō-nd</i>	<i>mezzo-nt</i>	<i>[lindo]</i>	O.Russ. <i>imqti</i> , O.Bulg. <i>imqū</i>
		<i>mitōs</i> (?)		<i>lindo-va</i>	<i>ima-eđ</i>
2. pl. <i>plē-tis, nā-tis</i>		<i>mitō-ts</i>		<i>lindo-ta</i>	<i>ima-ta</i>
		<i>[mitō-nd]</i>		<i>[lindo]</i>	<i>ima-te, ima-ta</i>
<i>-ba-m</i>	<i>ba</i> 'ful'	<i>iddja</i> 'I went'		<i>miniaū</i> 'I remem- bered', <i>būvoū</i> 'I was'	
<i>-ba-s</i>		<i>iddja-s</i>		<i>minēl, būvoī</i>	<i>bē</i> 'eras'
<i>-ba-t</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>iddja</i>		<i>minē, būvo</i>	<i>bē</i>
<i>-ba-mus</i>				<i>minē-me, būvo-me</i>	
<i>[-bā-tis]</i>				<i>minē-te, būvo- te</i>	
<i>-ba-nt, umbr. -fa-n-s</i>				<i>[minē, būvo]</i>	
				<i>minē-va, bū- vo-va</i>	
2. pl. <i>-bā-tis</i>				<i>minē-ta, būvo-ta</i>	
				<i>[minē, būvo]</i>	

## 3. Ind. praes and inj. (pret.) of Present Class II.

	Pr. Indg.	Sanskrit	Avestic	Armenian	Greek
Sing. 1.	*bhāra-ī 'I bear':	bhārāmi	bar ā, barāmi	berem	φέρω
2.	*bhāra-si	bhāra-si	bara-hi	beres	φέρεις
3.	*bhāra-ti:	bhāra-ti	bara-ti	ber?	φέρει
Plur. 1.	*bhāra-mos(i) (-mos(i)):	bhārā-mas -masi	barā-mahi	beremē	Dor. φέρο-μεν, Att. φέρου-μεν
2.	*bhāra-te (-the):	bhāra-ta	bara-pa	berē	φέρει-τε
3.	*bhāra-nti:	bhāra-nti	bara-nti	beren	φέρουσι
Dual 1.	*bhāra-yos(i) (-yos(i)):	bhāra-vas	barā-va hi		[Dor. φέρο-μεν, Att. φέρου-μεν]
2.	*bhāra-tes (-thes):	bhāra-tas			φέρετον
3.	?	bhāra-tas	bara-tō [bara-pō]		φέρετον
Sing. 1.	*(-bhāra-m):	d-bhāra-m	bare-m	beri	ἰ-μερο-ν
2.	*(-bhāra-s):	d-bhāra-s	barō	berer	ἰ-φερε-ς
3.	*(-bhāra-t):	d-bhāra-t	bara-ḥ	e-ber	ἰ-φερε
Plur. 1.	*(-bhāra-mō(m)): (-mō(m)):	d-bhārā-ma	barā-ma	berāē	ἰ-φέρω-μεν, Dor. ἰ-φερο-μεν
2.	*(-bhāra-te):	d-bhāra-ta	bara-ta	berēē	ἰ-φέρει-τε
3.	*(-bhāra-nt):	d-bhāra-n	bare-n	berin	ἰ-φερο-ν
Dual 1.	*(-bhāra-yo (-yō)):	d-bhārā-va	barā-va		[ἰ-φέρω-μεν, Dor. ἰ-φερο-μεν]
2.	*(-bhāra-tom (-tem?)):	d-bhāra-tam			ἰ-φέρει-τον [ἰ-φερί-την]
3.	*(-bhāra-tām):	d-bhāra-tām [bara-tēm]			ἰ-φερί-την [ἰ-φερί-τον]

Latin	Irish	Gothic	O.H.G.	Lith.	O.C.Sl.
<i>agō</i>	<i>-bīur</i>	<i>baīra</i>	<i>biru</i>	<i>vežān</i> 'veho'	<i>berq</i>
<i>agī-s</i>	<i>berī</i>	<i>baīri-s</i>	<i>birī-s</i>	<i>vežī</i>	Little Russ. etc. <i>bera-s</i> , O.C.Sl. <i>bera-si</i>
<i>agī-t</i>	<i>berī-d</i>	<i>baīri-p</i>	<i>birī-t</i>	<i>vežā</i>	O.Russ. <i>bera-ti</i> , O.Bulg. <i>bera-tū</i>
<i>agī-mus</i>	<i>ber-mme, -ber-</i> <i>am</i> (?)	<i>baīra-m</i>	<i>bera-mze</i>	<i>vežā-me -mē-s(i)</i>	<i>berē-mū</i> etc. (§ 1008)
[ <i>agī-tis</i> ]	<i>-berid, berthi</i> <i>berthe</i>	<i>baīri-p</i>	<i>birī-t, bera-t</i> [ <i>berē-t</i> ]	<i>vežā-te -tē-s(i)</i>	<i>berē-te</i>
<i>agu-nt</i>	<i>berit</i>	<i>baīra-nd</i>	<i>beru-nt</i>	[ <i>vežā</i> ]	O.Russ. <i>berqīi</i> , O.Bulg. <i>berqūi</i>
		<i>baīrōs</i>		<i>vežā-va -vō-s(i)</i>	<i>berē-ēd</i>
2 <sup>d</sup> pl. <i>agī-tis</i>		<i>baīra-ts</i>	2. pl. <i>berē-t</i>	<i>vežā-ta -tō-s(i)</i>	<i>berē-ta</i>
		[ <i>baīra-nd</i> ]		[ <i>vežā</i> ]	<i>berēte, berē-ta</i>
					<i>vežāi</i> 'voxī'
pres. <i>agī-s</i>	pres. <i>-bīr</i>				<i>veze</i>
<i>acīdī-t</i> , Osk. <i>kūm-</i> <i>bonē-d</i>	pres. <i>-beir</i>			praes. <i>vežā</i>	<i>veze</i>
<i>acīdī-mus</i>	pres. <i>-beram</i> (?)			praes. <i>vežā-me</i> <i>-mē-s(i)</i>	<i>vezo-mu</i> via. (§ 1008)
					<i>veze-te</i>
					<i>vezeq</i>
				praes. <i>vežā-va</i> <i>-vō-s(i)</i>	<i>vezo-ēd</i>
					<i>veze-ta</i>
					<i>veze-te, veze-ta</i>

## 4. Indic. perf. act.

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic	Greek
Sing. 1.	* <i>ge-gén-a?</i> 'genul', * <i>uóid-a?</i> 'I know':	<i>ja-ján-a</i> [ <i>ja-jān-a</i> ], <i>véd-a</i>	<i>dā-dar-s-a</i> , <i>vaēd-a</i>	<i>γέ-γον-α</i> , <i>οἶδ-α</i>
2.	* <i>ge-gén-tha</i> , * <i>uóit-tha</i> :	<i>ja-ján-tha ja-jā-</i> <i>i-thā, vēt-tha</i>	<i>ēōistā</i>	<i>γέ-γον-ατ</i> , <i>οἶσθ-α</i>
3.	* <i>ge-gén-e</i> , * <i>uóid-e</i> :	<i>ja-ján-a</i> , <i>véd-a</i>	<i>dā-dār-a</i> [ <i>eu-en-an</i> ], <i>vaēd-a</i>	<i>γέ-γον-ε</i> , <i>οἶδ-ε</i>
Plur. 1.	* <i>ge-gu-mē(m)</i> , * <i>uīd-</i> <i>mē(m)</i> , ( <i>mē(m)</i> ):	<i>ja-jū-i-mā ca-ky-</i> <i>mā, vid-mā</i>	<i>su-sru-ma</i> <i>vaōx-mā</i>	<i>γέ-γα-μεν γε-γόν-αμεν</i> , <i>ἴδ-μεν</i> Att. <i>ἴσμεν</i>
2.	?	<i>ja-jū-ā, vid-ā</i>	<i>ha-nhān-a</i>	<i>γέ-γα-τε</i> , <i>γε-γόν-ατε</i> , <i>ἴσ-τε</i>
3.	* <i>ge-gu-f(r)</i> , * <i>uīd-f(r)</i> ( <i>-ts</i> ):	<i>ja-jū-ūr, vid-ūr</i>	<i>ca-xr-ar*</i> , <i>kōit-arē</i>	<i>ει-γε-γά-σσι γε-γόν-ισσι</i> , <i>ἴσσι</i>
Dual 1.	* <i>ge-gu-yē</i> , * <i>uīd-yē</i> ( <i>yē</i> ):	<i>ja-jū-i-ud ca-ky-</i> <i>vā, vid-vd</i>		[ <i>γέ-γα-μεν</i> etc.]
2.	?	<i>ja-jn-dthur, vid-</i> <i>dthur</i>		<i>γέ-γα-τον γε-γόν-ατον</i> , <i>ἴστων</i>
3.	?	<i>ja-jn-dtur, vid-dtur</i>	<i>yast-atar*</i>	<i>γέ-γα-τον γε-γόν-ατον</i> , <i>ἴστων</i>

## 5. Imper. praes. act.

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic	Armenian	Greek.
Sing. 2.	* <i>ei 'go'</i> : * <i>i-dhi 'go'</i> : * <i>bhère 'carry'</i> : * <i>i-tād</i> , * <i>bhère-tād</i> :	<i>i-hi</i> <i>bhāra</i> <i>itād, bhāra-</i> <i>tād</i>	<i>i-đi</i> <i>bara</i>		<i>ἴθ-ει</i> <i>ἴ-θι</i> <i>φέρει</i> <i>ἴθι-τῷς ἴθι</i> (Hes.)
3.	* <i>i-tād</i> , * <i>bhère-tād</i> :	<i>i-tād, bhāra-</i> <i>tād, ēt-u,</i> <i>bhārat-u</i>	<i>agl-u, bara-tu</i>		<i>ἴ-τω, φέρι-τω</i>
Plur. 2.	* <i>i-tē</i> , * <i>bhère-te</i> : * <i>i-tād</i> , * <i>bhère-tād</i> :	<i>i-tē, bhāra-ta</i> <i>i-tād, bhāra-</i> <i>tād</i>		<i>berē</i>	<i>ἴ-τε, φέρε-τε</i>
3.	* <i>i-tād</i> , * <i>bhère-tād</i> :	<i>yān-u, bhārat-u</i>	<i>yant-u, barant-u</i>		<i>ἴ-των, φέρι-τωσαν</i> <i>φερό-ντων -ντων</i> <i>-ντωνσαν</i>
Dual 2.	* <i>i-tām (-tām?)</i> * <i>bhère-tām</i> :	<i>i-tām, bhāra-</i> <i>tām</i>			<i>ἴ-τον, φέρε-τον</i>
3.	* <i>i-tām</i> , * <i>bhère-tām</i> :	<i>i-tām, bhāra-</i> <i>tām</i>			<i>φερι-των</i>

Latin	Irish	Gothic	O.H.G.
me-mín-i, scáb-i	ro ce-chau 'cecini', ro gād 'I begged'	hai-háit 'I called', vāit	hiaz 'I called', weiz
me-mín-istī, scáb-istī	ro ce-chau, ro gād	hai-hāist, vāist	hiazī, weist
me-mín-it, scáb-it	ro ce-chuin, ro gāid	hai-hāit, vāit	hiaz, weiz
me-mín-imus, scáb-imus	ro ce-chn-ammur, ro gād-ammur	hai-hāit-um, vit-um	hiaz-um, wigg-um (-umēa)
me-mín-istis, scáb-istis	ro ce-chnaid, ro gād-aid	hai-hāit-uþ, vit-uþ	hiaz-ut, wigg-ut
me-mín-ērunt, scáb-ērunt (-ēre)	ro ce-chn-atar, ro gād-atar	hai-hāit-un, vit-un	hiaz-un, wigg-un
		hai-hāit-u, vit-u	
		hai-hāit-uts, vit-uts	
		[hai-hāit-un, vit-un]	

Latin	Irish	Gothic	O.H.G.	Lith.	O.C.Sl.
i.				eī-k veizdi veizd vedi ved, vāik	viždi (§ 940)
age i-tō, agi-tō	beir	bafr	bir		
i-tō, agi-tō		bafradau			
i-te, agi-te i-tōte, agi-tōte	berid	bafrī-þ	bera-t [beret]	ekite, vākite	
eu-ntō, agu-ntō		bafra-ndau	*		
		bafra-ta	2nd pl. bere-t	ekita, vākita	
		[bafra-ndau]			



## 3. Optative pres. act.

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic	Greek
<b>Sing. 1.</b>	*s-ix̥-m *s-ix̥d-m 'sim'	s-yā-m s-iyā-m	xyēm	εἴη-ν
2.	*s-ix̥-s *s-ix̥d-s:	s-yā-s s-iyā-s	xyā	εἴη-ς
3.	*s-ix̥-t *s-ix̥d-t:	s-yā-t s-iyā-t	xyāh	εἴη
<b>Plur. 1.</b>	*s-ix̥-mē(m) (mō(m)): *dh̥y-ix̥-mi-mē(m) (-mō(m)):	s-yā-ma s-iyā-ma	xyāmā bunyahmā i. e. b v- -iy-amā	εἴ-μεν, εἴη-μεν
2.	*s-i-tē:	s-yā-ta s-iyā-ta	xyātā	εἴ-τε, εἴη-τε
3.	*s-i-tnt *s-ix̥-tnt:	s-y-ūr s-iy-ūr	hyān hyār	εἴ-εν, εἴη-σαν
<b>Dual 1.</b>	*s-i-yē (-yē):	s-yā-va s-iyā-va		
2.	*s-i-tōm (-tēm?):	s-yā-tam s-iyā-tam		εἴ-τον, εἴη-τον
3.	*s-i-tām:	s-yā-tām s-iyā-tām		εἴ-την, εἴη-την
<b>Sing. 1.</b>	*dh̥éro-i-m (m) 'teram'	bh̥dr̥y-am		φείροι-μι, φείροι-ν
2.	*dh̥éro-i-s:	bh̥dr̥z-ē	barōi-ē	φείροι-ς
3.	bh̥éro-i-t:	bh̥dr̥z-t	barōi-h	φείροι
<b>Plur. 1.</b>	*dh̥éro-i-mō(m) (-mō(m)):	bh̥dr̥z-ma	baraf-ma	φείροι-μεν, Dor. -οι-μεν
2.	*dh̥éro-i-te:	bh̥dr̥z-ta	baraf-ta	φείροι-τε
3.	*dh̥éro-i-pt:	bh̥dr̥y-ur	baray-en	φείροι-εν
<b>Dual 1.</b>	*dh̥éro-i-yē (-yē):	bh̥dr̥z-va		[φείροι-μεν, Dor. -οι- μεν]
2.	*dh̥éro-i-tom (-tem?):	bh̥dr̥z-tam		φείροι-τον
3.	*dh̥éro-i-tām:	bh̥dr̥z-tām		φείροι-την

Latin	Gothic	O.H.G.	Lith.	O.C.Sl.
<i>s-i-e-m, sim</i>	<i>sifau, sifau</i> 'I would know'	[ <i>s-i, wiggī</i> 'I would know?']		
<i>s-i-ē-s, eis</i>	<i>sifas-s, sifai-s</i>	<i>s-i-s -st, wiggī-s -st</i>		<i>fašt</i> 'eat thou' (§ 949)
<i>s-i-a-t, ait</i>	<i>sifdi, vils</i>	<i>s-i, wiggī</i>		[ <i>fašt</i> (949)]
<i>s-i-mus</i>	<i>sifdi-ma, sifai-ma</i>	<i>s-i-m, wiggīm</i>		<i>jad-i-mā</i>
[ <i>s-i-tis</i> ]	<i>sifdi-þ, sifai-þ</i>	<i>s-i-t, wiggī-t</i>		<i>jad-i-te</i>
<i>s-i-e-nt, sint, Umbr. sina</i>	<i>sifai-na, sifai-na</i>	<i>s-i-n, wiggī-n</i>		
	<i>sifdi-va, sifai-va</i>			<i>jad-i-rē</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> pl. <i>s-i-tis</i>	<i>sifai-ta, sifai-ta</i>			<i>jad-i-ta -te</i>
	[ <i>sifdi-na, sifai-na</i> ]			
	<i>bairan</i>	[ <i>berē?</i> ]		
	<i>bairdi-s</i>	<i>berē-s</i>	Pruss. <i>imai-s</i> 'take thou'	<i>berī</i>
	<i>bairdi</i>	<i>berē</i>	<i>te-sukē</i> 'let him turn'	<i>berī</i>
	<i>bairdi-ma</i>	<i>berē-m</i>		<i>berē-mā</i>
	<i>bairdi-þ</i>	<i>berē-t</i>	Pruss. <i>imai-ti</i>	<i>berē-te</i>
	<i>bairdi-na</i>	<i>berē-n</i>	[ <i>te-sukē</i> ]	
	<i>bairdi-va</i>			<i>berē-rē</i>
	<i>bairdi-ta</i>			<i>berē-ta -te</i>
	[ <i>bairdi-na</i> ]		[ <i>te-sukē</i> ]	

## 7. Indic. pres. und injunct. (pret.) mid. of Present Classes I and II.

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic
<b>Sing. 1.</b>	* <i>zs-naṣ</i> 'I sit' (- <i>naṣ</i> ); * <i>bherō</i> 'I bring me' oto.:	<i>ās-z</i> ; <i>bhārv</i>	<i>ger's-z</i> ; <i>barz</i>
2.	* <i>zs-naṣ</i> (- <i>naṣ</i> ); * <i>bherē-naṣ</i> (- <i>naṣ</i> ):	<i>ās-sz</i> ; <i>bhāra-sz</i>	<i>raosz</i> ; <i>bara-<sup>o</sup>haz</i>
3.	* <i>zs-taṣ</i> (- <i>taṣ</i> ); * <i>bherē-taṣ</i> (- <i>taṣ</i> ):	<i>ās-tz</i> ; <i>bhāra-tz</i>	<i>ās-tz</i> ; <i>bara-itz</i>
<b>Plur. 1.</b>	* <i>zs-medhō</i> (- <i>medhō</i> ); * <i>bhero-medhō</i> (- <i>medhō</i> ):	<i>ās-mahz</i> ; <i>bhārā-mahz</i>	<i>ciš-maidz</i> ; <i>barā-maidz</i>
2.	?	<i>ādhe</i> ; <i>bhāra-dhe</i>	op. <i>mer'sg'-duy</i> ; <i>bara-duy</i> - <i>piw</i>
3.	* <i>zs-ntaṣ</i> (- <i>ntaṣ</i> ); * <i>bhero-ntaṣ</i> (- <i>ntaṣ</i> ):	<i>ās-āiz</i> ; <i>bhāra-niz</i>	<i>ānō-antz</i> op. <i>mer'nc-aitz</i> ; <i>bara-niz</i>
<b>Dual 1.</b>	* <i>zs-medhō</i> (- <i>medhō</i> ); * <i>bhero-medhō</i> (- <i>medhō</i> ):	<i>ās-vaiz</i> ; <i>bhārā-vaiz</i>	
2.	?	<i>ās-āihz</i> ; <i>bhārvāihz</i>	
3.	?	<i>ās-āiz</i> ; <i>bhārvāiz</i>	—; [ <i>barōipz</i> ]

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic
<b>Sing. 1.</b>	?	<i>ās-i</i> ; <i>ā-bharz</i>	<i>aoj-i</i> ; <i>a-barz</i>
2.	* <i>zs-thz</i> ; *(e)- <i>bherē-so</i> (- <i>se</i> ):	<i>ās-thās</i> ; <i>ā-bhara-thās</i>	<i>aoj-ā</i> ; <i>a-bara-<sup>o</sup>ha</i>
3.	* <i>zs-to</i> (- <i>te</i> ): *(e)- <i>bherē-to</i> (- <i>te</i> ):	<i>ās-ta</i> ; <i>ā-bhara-ta</i>	<i>mrū-ta</i> ; <i>a-bara-ta</i>
<b>Plur. 1.</b>	* <i>zs-medhō</i> ; *(e)- <i>bhero-medhō</i>	<i>ās-mahi</i> <i>ā-bharā-mahi</i>	<i>var'-maidī</i>
2.	?	<i>ādheam</i> ; <i>ā-bhara-dheam</i>	<i>i-dūm</i> ; <i>a-bara-dheam</i>
3.	* <i>zs-ntō</i> (- <i>nte</i> ): *(e)- <i>bhero-ntō</i> (- <i>nte</i> ):	<i>ās-ata</i> ; <i>ā-bhara-nta</i>	<i>dar's-atā</i> , <i>mrav-anta</i> ; <i>a-bare-nta</i>
<b>Dual 1.</b>	* <i>zs-medhō</i> ; *(e)- <i>bhero-medhō</i>	<i>ās-vaiz</i> ; <i>ā-bharā-vaiz</i>	
2.	?	<i>ās-āihām</i> ; <i>ā-bharvāihām</i>	
3.	?	<i>ās-āizām</i> ; <i>ā-bharvāizām</i>	<i>a-erō-ātem</i> ; <i>a-baraētem</i>

Greek	Gothic	Lith.	O.C.Sl.
ἔμαι; φέρομαι	—; O.Icel. <i>heite</i> , Goth. <i>sel-mē-s(i)</i> [ <i>baírada</i> ]		
ἔσαι; φέρε-αι φέῃ	—; <i>baíra-za</i>	cp. <i>desē-s(i)</i>	<i>jasí</i>
ἔσ-ται; φέρε-ται	—; <i>baíra-ða</i>		
ἔμεθα; φερό-μεθα	—; [ <i>baíra-nda</i> ]		
ἔ-ομεν; φέρε-ομε	—; [ <i>baíra-nda</i> ]		
ἔ-νται, ἔντοι; φέρο-νται	—; <i>baíra-nda</i>		
ἔμεθον; φερό-μεθον			
ἔσθον; φέρε-σθον			
ἔοσθον; φέρε-σθον			

Greek	Latin	Irish
ἔμην; ἔ-φερό-μεν		
ἔσο, ἔ-δó-σθης; ἔ-φίρε-ο ἔ-φίρου	cp. <i>re-re, -ris, spatiārus; se-que-re, -ris</i>	cp. <i>cluin-te; -sechther</i>
ἔσ-το; ἔφίρε-το	<i>da-tu-r; sequi-tu-r</i> — Oso. <i>vino-ter</i>	cp. <i>as-bert; -sechthar</i>
ἔ-μεθα; ἔ-φερό-μεθα		
ἔσμεν; ἔ-φίρε-ομε		
ἔ-ατο, ἔντο; ἔ-φίρο-ντο	<i>da-nu-r; sequo-nu-r</i> — Oso. <i>kara-nter</i>	—; <i>-bertar, -sechthar</i>
ἔμεθον; ἔ-φερό-μεθον		
ἔσθον; ἔ-φίρε-σθον		
ἔοσθον; ἔ-φίρε-σθον		

general reflexive pronoun; e. g. *privedą sę* 'I take myself somewhere, turn towards', *boją sę* 'I fear', *smięją sę* 'I laugh'. This *się*-reflexive also got a passive meaning, as *ljubljaaše sę gospodīni* 'he was loved of the Lord'.

## THE VERB INFINITIVE (VERBAL NOUNS).<sup>1)</sup>

§ 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.

On the Indo-Germanic Verb Infinitive in General. W. von Humboldt, *Über das Wesen des Infinitivs und Gerundiums*, A. W. von Schlegel's *Indische Biblioth.*, II (1824) 71 ff. *Idem*, *Über den Infinitiv*, Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* II 242 ff. Max Schmidt, *Über den Infinitiv*, Ratibor 1826. C. E. A. Schmidt, *De infinitivo*, Prenzlau 1827. A. Höfer, *Vom Infinitiv*, besonders im Sanskrit, Berlin 1840. C. Fritzsche, *De substantia in verbo constituta vel de participio et infinitivis*, Görlitz 1865. Schömann, *Zur Lehre vom Infinitiv*, Fleckeisen's *Jahrb.* 1869 pp. 209 ff. E. Wilhelm, *De infinitivi vi et natura*, Eisenach 1869. *Idem*, *De infinitivi linguarum Sanscritae Bactricae Persicae Graecae Oscae Umbricae Latinae Goticae forma et usu*, Eisenach 1873. J. Jolly, *Geschichte des Infinitivs im Indogermanischen*, München 1873. Th. Benfey, *dādanē dāmanē dāmanē*, und die Infinitive auf *erai*, *Orient und Occident* I 608 ff. L. Tobler, *Über das Gerundium*, Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* XVI 241 ff. J. Jolly, *Zur Lehre vom Particip*, Sprachwissenschaftl. Abhandl. aus G. Curtius' grammat. Gesellsch. Leipz. 1874, pp. 71 ff. Th. Benfey, *Indogermanisches Particip Perfecti Passivi auf *tua* oder *tea**, Nachr. von der Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen 1873 pp. 181 ff. = *Kleinere Schriften* I 2 and 159 ff. H. Ebel, *Das Suffix -ant und Verwandtes*, Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* IV 321 ff. M. Bréal, *Origine du suffixe participial ant*, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* II 188 ff. F. Baudry, *Le t du suffixe participial ant*, *ibid.* 393 ff. Bartholomae, *Zur Flexion der -nt-Participien*, Bezzenberger's *Beitr.* XVI 261 ff. The Author, *Zur Geschichte der Nominalsuffixe -as-, -jas-, -nas-*, Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* XXIV 1 ff. J. Schmidt, *Das Suffix des part. perf. act.*, *ibid.* XXVI 329 ff. W. Schulze, *Zum part. perf. act.*, *ibid.* XXVII 347 ff.

Aryan. H. Brunnhofer, *Über die durch Anhängung der dativisch Bacterien Wurzel *dha*, *dha*, *dhi*, *dhu* an beliebige andere Wurzeln gebildeten Infinitive des Veda und Avesta*, Bezzenberger's *Beitr.* XV 262 ff. A. Ludwig, *Der Infinitiv im Veda*, Prag 1871. M. Müller, *Grammatische Formen im*

adjective; these are the Infinitive, Supine, Absolutive, Gerund, Participle, and Gerundive.

Sanskrit, welche den sogenannten Infinitiven im Griech. und Lat. entsprechen, Essays iv 420 ff. H. Brunnhofer, Über Dialektspuren im ved. Gebrauche der Infinitivformen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 329 ff. *Idem*, Über die durch einfache Fleetierung der Wurzel gebildeten Infinitive des Veda, *ibid.* xxx 504 ff. Th. Benfey, Zu dem sanskr. Infinitiv *man2*, Orient und Occident ii 132. A. Barth, Le gérondif sanscrit en *te2*, Mém. Soc. Ling. ii 238 ff. Bartholomae, Altind. Infinitive auf *-man* und *-man2*, Idg. Forsch. i 495 ff. J. Jolly, Der Infinitiv im Zendavesta, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. vii 416 ff. Geldner, Ein neuer Infinitiv im Avesta, Bezzenberger's Beitr. xii 160 f. Bartholomae, Noch zwei avest. Infinitive, *ibid.* xv 12 f. *Idem*, Die Infinitivbildung im Dialekt der Gāthā's, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxviii 17 ff. *Idem*, Die ar. Flexion der Adjectiva und Participia auf *nt*, *ibid.* xxix 487 ff. H. Kern, Le suffixe *ya* du sanscrit classique, in de l'arien, Mém. Soc. Ling. ii 321 ff.

Greek. K. Eichhoff, Über den Infinitiv im Griech., Cref. 1831. Delbrück, De infinitivo Graeco, Halle 1868. *Idem*, Der griech. Infinitiv auf *-en*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xi 317 f. L. Meyer, Der Infinitiv der homer. Sprache, Gött. 1856. Simmerle, Zur Bildung der homer. Infinitivformen, Innsbruck 1874. C. Meierheim, De infinitivo Homérico, I. Gött. 1875, II. Lingen 1876. Abel, De infinitivi Graeci forma, Budapest 1878. L. Parmentier, L'infinitif *εἰπεῖν*, Mém. Soc. Ling. vi 391 ff. Bartholomae, Das griech. Infinitivsuffix *-εν*, Rhein. Mus. xlv 151 ff. Moisziastzig, De adiectivis Graecis, quae verbalia dicuntur, Progr. von Konitz 1844. 1868 etc. Ch. E. Bishop, De adiectivorum verbalium *-en* terminatione insignium usu Aeschyleo, Leipz. 1889. A. Funck, Das Verbaladjectiv auf *-en*, Rhein. Mus. xxxiii 615 ff.

Italic. L. Lange, Über die Bildung des lat. infinitivus praes. pass., Denkschr. der Wiener Akad. x (1880) i ff. F. Sander, Über die Bildung des lat. infinitivus praes. pass., Stade 1864. G. Schönberg, Ein Erklärungsversuch des lat. mediopassiven Infia. auf *ier* und *ier*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xvii 153 ff. Giacomino, Dell' infinitivo praes. pass. latino, Savona 1880 [G. Meyer]. V. Henry, Les infinitifs médiopassifs du latin Mém. Soc. Ling. vi 62 ff. *Idem*, Esquisses morphologiques V, Les infinitifs latins, Paris 1889. A. Miodoński, Zur Erklärung der Infinitive auf *-ier -ier*, Arch. f. lat. Lexikogr. vii 132. E. H. Miles, The Passive Infinitive in Latin, Class. Review v 198 f. S. Brandt, Infinitivus futuri passivi auf *-iri*, Arch. f. lat. Lexikogr. ii 349 ff. iii 457. J. P. Postgate, The Latin Future Infinitive in *-urum*, Cambridge Phil. Soc. Proceed. 1889 p. 6 and Class. Review v 301. C. Pascal, La formazione degli infinitivi latini, Rivista di filol. xix 471 ff. E. Walder, Der Infinitiv bei Plautus, eine sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchung, Berl. 1874. E. W. G. Wachsmuth, Von dem Gerundio, Supino und den damit verwandten Participien, Günther und Wachsmuth's Athenäum I (1816) 37 ff. Deecke,

Of these, which hold a place halfway between the Noun and the Verb, some general account has been given in vol. II

Beiträge zur Auffassung der lat. Infinitiv-, Gerundial- und Supinum-Constructionen, Mülh. i. Els. 1890. P. Genberg, De gerundia et supinia Latinorum, p. i-ix, Lund 1841. E. L. Richter, De supinis Latinae linguae, p. i-v, Königsb. 1856-60. F. Scholl, Das Supinum auf *u* als Dativform aufgefasst, Blatt. f. d. Bayer. Gymnasialschulw. iv (1868) 162 ff. Platzer, Die Lehre von den lat. Perfectis und Supinis, Neubrandenb. 1840. Lattmann, Das Gesetz der Perfect- und Supinbildung im Lateinischen, Zeitschr. f. d. Gymnasialw. N. F. ii (1868) 94 ff. Nils Sjöstrand, De vi et usu supini secundi Latinorum, Lund 1891. W. Weissenborn, De gerundio et gerundivo Latinae linguae, Eisenach 1844. Schröder, Über den Ursprung des lat. Gerundium, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xiv 350 ff. H. Rotter, Über das Gerundium der lat. Sprache, Cottbus 1871. L. Adrian, Über das lat. part. praes. pass., Gross-Glogau 1875. Corssen, Zum Gerundium, Beitr. z. ital. Sprachkunde 1876 p. 589 ff. Kvifala, Gerundium und Gerundivum, Wiener Studien i (1879) 218 ff. The Author, Der Ursprung der lat. Gerundia und Gerundiva, Amer. Journ. of Philol. viii (1887) 441 ff. A. Döhring, Die Etymologie der sogen. Gerundivformen, Königsb. 1888. R. S. Conway, The Origin of the Latin Gerund and Gerundive, Class. Review v 296 ff. J. Weisweiler, Zur Erklärung der Arvalacten (*adolenda commolenda* etc.), Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1889 p. 37 ff. *Idem*, Das lat. part. fut. pass. in seiner Bedeutung und syntaktischen Verwendung, Paderborn 1890. Thurneysen, *-m-* im Lat. (formation of the Ital. gerundive), Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 493 ff. Carlsson, Om det latinska gerundivum och gerundium, Pedagog. tidskr. 1891 p. 349 ff. G. Dunn, Origin of the Latin Gerund and Gerundive, Class. Review vi 1 ff. *Idem*, The Latin Gerundive, *ibid.* 284. E. P. Morris, Weisweiler on the Latin Participle in *-dus*, *ibid.* 285 ff. (I may say that even after these latest attempt to explain the vexed question of the origin of the Latin Gerund and Gerundive, the explanation given on pages 608 ff. as preferable seems amply to hold its own.) Winckler, De vi et usu vocabulorum *-bundus* finitorum, Colberg 1869. A. Prehn, De adiectivorum verbalium in *-bundus* exeuntium usque ad alterum p. Chr. saeculum usu, Comment. in hon. G. Studemund 1889 p. 1 ff. G. H. R. Wichert, De adiectivis verbalibus Latinis, Tilsit 1839, 1843. O. Bechstein, De nominibus Latinis suffixorum *-ent-* et *-m-* ope formatis, Curtius' Stud. viii 395 ff. J. Weisweiler, Zur Etymologie des lat. part. praes. act., Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1889 p. 790 ff. Usener, Zur Geschichte des lat. Participiums, Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1878 p. 51 ff. Bréal, Participes moyens en latin, Mém. Soc. Ling. vi 412 f. Birt, De participiis lat. quae dicuntur perfecti passivi, Marb. 1883. G. Bordellé, De linguae Latinae adiectivis suffixo *to* a nominibus derivatis, Düsseldorf. 1873. J. Ulrich, Die formelle Entwicklung des participium praeteriti in den roman. Sprachen, Winterthur 1879.

§ 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.

# 1. VERBAL SUBSTANTIVES.

§ 1088. Nomina Actionis, which appear in more than one language as Infinitive, Supine, or Gerund.

(1) Root-Nouns. Dat. Skr. *nir-āje* 'to drive out', Lat. *ag-i*; in Greek this type may be represented by infinitives such as *χεῖν-αι ἐνέγκ-αι* (§ 504 p. 67 f.). See II § 162 pp. 489 f.

(2) -s- -es- between Root and Case-Suffix; this cannot be separated from the Noun-suffix -es- (-as- -s-) or -s- in the aorist. Dat. Skr. *ji-ṣ-ē* 'to conquer', *doh-ās-ē* 'to milk', Gr. *δείξ-αι* 'to show', Lat. *da-r-i* (cp. loc. *da-r-e ag-er-e*). See II § 132 pp. 413, 414 f., 416, 418, § 162 p. 489 f., III § 251 p. 153, § 254 p. 155, § 272 p. 172, IV § 655 p. 190, § 824 p. 363.

(3) Suffix -men-. Dat. Skr. *dā-man-ē* Gr. *δό-μεν-αι* 'to give' Lat. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. imper. *dā-min-i*; Skr. *vid-mān-ē* 'to learn' Gr. *ἰδ-μεν-αι* 'to know'. Loc. Skr. *dhār-man* 'to hold up' Gr. *δέ-μεν* 'to give'. See II § 71 p. 165, § 117 p. 367, III § 251 p. 153, § 257 p. 158.

(4) Suffix -yen-. Dat. Skr. *dā-vān-ē* Gr. Cypr. *δο-φεν-αι*

Keltic. Windisch, Zum irischen Infinitiv, Bezzenger's Beitr. II 72 ff. Loth, Le participle de nécessité en celtique, Mém. Soc. Ling. VI 66 ff.

Germanic. A. Denecke, Der Gebrauch des Infinitivs bei den ahd. Übersetzern des 8. und 9. Jahrh., Leipz. 1890. Paul, Zur Bildung des schwachen Präteritums und Participiums, Paul-Braune's Beitr. VII 136 ff.

Balto-Slavonic. W. Müller, Über den letto-slavischen Infinitiv, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VIII 156 ff. Schleicher, -tē (d. i. -tai) als Endung des Infinitivs im Litauischen, *ibid.* I 27 ff. Forssmann, Der Infinitiv im Ostromir'schen Evangelium, Festschr. des Protest. Gymn. zu Strassb. 1888 p. 245 ff. Miklosich, Das Participium praet. act. I (in Old Slovenian), Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad. LXXXI (1875) 83 ff. *Idem*, Das Partio. praes. act. auf *ę* statt auf *y*, *ibid.* 95 ff.



Att. *δοῦναι* 'to give'; Avest. *vid-van-di* Gr. *εἰδέναι* for \**ferd-fer-en* 'to know'. Loc. Avest. *roip-wan* 'to make run together', with which perhaps should be compared Greek Infinitives like as *δοῦν* = \**do-fer* (§ 1093. 4).

(5) *-sen-* i. e. *s+en* (cp. 2). Skr. loc. *-san-i*, e. g. *sak-śān-i* 'to be with'. With this probably goes the Gr. infin. type Ion. Att. *γέρεν* Dor. Lesb. El. *γέρεν* for \**qere-en*. See II § 114 p. 347.

(6) Suffix *-ti-*. Dat. Skr. *pi-tāy-ē* 'to drink', see II § 100 p. 298, III § 249 p. 149, § 251 p. 153. The explanation of Avest. *mrūtē* is uncertain, see III § 249 p. 150, § 260 Rem. p. 161. Loc. Lith. *dektē* 'to burn', see III § 260 p. 161, Hirt, Idg. Forsch. I 27. The Lith. infinitive in *-ti*, as *dā-ti* 'to give', and the O.C.Sl. inf. in *-ti* as *da-ti* 'to give', are probably locative, standing for \**-tē* or \**-te*. But Lith. *-ti* may be derived from \**-tj-ai* (dative); this would become \**-tjē*, then \**-tē*, and lastly, because of the accent (cp. dat. *do-mēnai*), *-ti* (cp. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. *verti* for \**ver-tjē* § 991 p. 528) and would be related to Skr. *-tay-ē* (see above) as Pruss. *-tu-ei* to Skr. *-tav-ē* (7). And O.C.Sl. *-ti* may also be the Idg. locative *-ē* for *-tj* (cp. Lith. *dektē*). See III § 260 p. 161, Hirt, Idg. Forsch. I 28, Streitberg, *ibid.* 271 und 289. It is wholly doubtful how we are to explain such Lith. infinitive forms as *dā-tē*; see III § 260 p. 161, Hirt, as cited pp. 27 f., Streitberg *ibid.* 271.

(7) Suffix *-tu-*. Dative Skr. *dhd-tav-ē* 'to place', Pruss. *dā-tu-ei* 'to give'. Locative supine Lat. *da-tū* O.C.Sl. *da-tu* 'to give', ground-form *-tē* or *-te*. Accusative Skr. *dhd-tu-m* Lat. sup. *con-ditum* Lith. sup. *dē-tū* (*dē-tā*, cp. opt. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *dētum-bime*) O.C.Sl. sup. *dē-tū* from √ *dhe-* 'place'. See II § 108 pp. 323 ff., III § 250 p. 152, § 261 p. 161 f.

(8) Suffix *-o-*. Accusative Skr. adverbial gerund *abhy-ā-kramam* 'approaching', Umbr. *er-om* Osc. *ex-um* 'esse'; Greek similar forms perhaps are aor. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. imper. Syrac. *λάβον* 'take' Att. *δείξον* 'show' etc. (*λάβον* :

*deĩfor* = Skr. *-áj-ē* Gr. *χῆν-αι* : *ji-ē-ē* Gr. *deĩfor* = Skr. *bhuj-yāi* : *a-vyāth-iē-yāi*). See II § 60 p. 114.

(9) There is a close connexion between the Aryan dative infinitive in *-dhjāi*, as Skr. *vāha-dhyāi* 'to convey' (other suffixes with the same value are used, *-dhēyaya* *-dhai* and *-dhē*), and the Greek dative infinitive in *-οθαι*, as *ἕνε-οθαι* '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 *-tum* (9).

(1) Root-Nouns, see § 1088. 1. Dative Skr. *dr̥ś-ē* Avest. *dar's-ōi* 'to see'. Locative Skr. *dr̥ś-i* 'to see'. Gen.-Abl. Skr. *ā-t̥d-as* 'to pierce'. Accus. Skr. *śūbh-am* 'to shine, be magnificent', Avest. *dam* 'to place'.

(2) *-s- -es-* between Root and Case-Suffix; see § 1088. 2. Dat. Skr. *ji-ē-ē* 'to conquer' *dōh-ās-ē* 'to milk', Avest. *av-aoh-ē* 'to help'. Gen.-Abl. Avest. *aēnawh-ō* 'to force'.

(3) Suffix *-men-*, see § 1088. 3. Dative Skr. *dā-man-ē* 'to give', Avest. *stao-mainē* 'to praise'. Locative Skr. *dhār-man* 'to hold up'; Loc. Skr. *sāvī-man-i* 'to uplift', Avest. *caš-maini* 'to behold' (so the new recension, in place of the form *caš-mainē* (given in II § 117 p. 369).

Remark. The Avestic loc. forms *caš-mān* etc., which we classed as infinitive in II § 117 p. 369 and III § 257 p. 158, comparing them with Cret. inf. *δέ-μεν*, are now denied to be infinitive at all by Bartholomae (Idg. Forsch. I 495 f.).

(4) Suffix *-yen-*, see § 1088. 4. Dative Skr. *dā-vān-ē* 'to give', Avest. *vīd-van-ōi* 'to know'. Locative Avest. *rōiṇ-īwan* 'to cause to flow together'.

(5) *-sen-*, see § 1088. 5. Dative Avest. *srao-šan-ē* 'to hear'. Locative Skr. *sak-śān-i* 'to be with'.

(6) Suffix *-ter-*, cp. Avest. *dar'-prāi*, no. 11. Locative Skr. *vi-dhartār-i* 'to divide up, distribute'.

(7) Suffix *-i-*. Dative Skr. *dyś-dy-ē* 'to see'. See II § 93 p. 280, III § 249 p. 149, Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xv 238.

(8) Suffix *-ti-*, see § 1088. 6. Dative Skr. *pi-táy-ē* 'to drink', Avest. *ker'-tēē* 'to complete'. Locative Skr. *sātāi* 'to attain' (III § 260 p. 159 f.). Instrumental Skr. *at-i* 'to help', Avest. *fra-mrūiti* 'to recite', see III § 249 p. 150, Bartholomae as cited 245 f. Gen.-Abl. Avest. *darštoi-š* 'to see'. Accusative Avest. *astm* (= *\*a-sth-ti-m*) 'to stand by'.

(9) Suffix *-tu-*, see § 1088. 7. Dative Skr. *dhd-tav-ē* 'to place' (cp. *dātavai* no. 16). Gen.-Abl. Skr. *dhd-tō-š* 'to place'. Accusative *dhd-tu-m* 'to place', which, as has been said, is the only classical type of infinitive.

(10) Suffix *-tuo-* *-tyno-*. Locative Avest. *aiwi-šōi-šnē* 'to inhabit', O.Pers. *car-tanaiy* 'to do'. See II § 69 p. 161.<sup>1)</sup> But these may be regarded as the dative from stems containing the suffix *-ten-*.

(11) Suffix *-tro-*. Dat. Avest. *dar'-prāi* 'to hold fast' (cp. 6).

(12) Suffix *-jo-* (cp. *-jo-* as participial suffix § 1099. 3). Dat. Skr. *bhuj-yāi* 'to enjoy', also *-yaj-yā* 'to honour' like *sakhyā*, and *-yājyāya* 'to honour' like *vākāya* (III § 246 p. 145), Avest. *vaçd-yāi* 'to recognise'. Skr. *a-vyāth-iṣ-yāi* beside the s-Aorist 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. mid. *vyath-iṣ-ṭhas* from *vyath-* 'to waver' (Bartholomae as cited, 229 f.). Loc. Avest. *vereidyē* 'to help on' (Bartholomae, as cited, 240). Acc. Skr. *-vidya-m* 'to find'.

The same suffix occurs in the Aryan inf. in *\*-dhjāi* (dative), as Skr. *vāha-dhyāi* Avest. *vazaidyāi* 'to convey, carry'. This form is a combination of the two noun-stems *vaha-* and *dh-ya-* ( $\sqrt{dh}$ ), compare these other forms, also used

<sup>1)</sup> The connexion there assumed between the Latin gerund in *-ndo-* and the Lithuanian participia necessitatis in *-tina-* now seems to me very dubious. See Remark to § 1103.

as infinitive, *vayō-dhēyāya* *vayō-dhāi* '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', *prūd-dhyāi* beside *pr-ud-ti* 'fills', Avest. *srāvayēidyāi* beside *srāvayēiti* 'causes to hear', *ver'n-dyāi* beside *ver'n-tē* 'chooses' (§ 599 p. 142), *mer'sag'-dyāi* beside *mer'nc-inti* 'they destroy' (§ 626 p. 162) and the like. See § 1088. 9.

(13) Suffix *-jā-*. Acc. Avest. *zwairyqm* '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 *-teyo-* (cp. Gr. *δωκ-τέος* § 1099. 4). Dat. Skr. *dā-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 *ā-gam-ya* *ā-ga-tya* lit. 'with a coming' (III § 278 p. 182), and that in *-tā* as *śru-tā* lit. 'with a hearing' (II § 108 p. 327, III § 279 p. 183), are Instrumental. There is another group in *-tāi*, as *bhā-tāi*, which Bartholomae explains as locative (Bezz. Beitr. xv 227, 240, 241); a group in *-tāya*, which is dative, e. g. *dr̥ṣ-tāya* (see Bartholomae, pp. 239 f.); and an accusative "adverbial gerund" as *abhy-ā-krdma-m* 'approaching'.

§ 1091. Another class of verbal substantives in Sanskrit consists of the forms which are found in the well-known periphrasis with *caḍdra* *ḍsa* *babhāva*, the accusative in *-ām*, as *vidām*. See § 896, p. 445.

§ 1092. In Armenian, the Inf. has an *i*-suffix, as *ta-i* 'to give' from indic. *ta-m*. See II § 76 p. 202, Bugge, Etruskisch und Armenisch I 15.

§ 1093. Greek Infinitive.

(1) It is doubtful whether *χεῖ-αι* *ἐρέγ-αι* and the like

are the dative of Root-Nouns, to be placed with Sanskrit and Latin infinitives such as *-āj-ē* and *ag-ī*. See § 1088. 1.

(2) Dative in *-σ-αι*, belonging to the *s*-aorist, e. g. *δεῖξαι*. See § 1088. 2. Thess. aor. *ὀν-γράφειν* (Att. *ἀνα-γράφειν*) with *αι* = *αι* (I § 96 p. 90), and *-ν* added on the analogy of other infinitives.

(3) Suffix *-μεν-*. Dative *-μεν-αι*, loc. *-μεν*, e. g. *δό-μεναι* *δό-μεν*. See § 1088. 3. By contamination of *-μεν* and *-ειν* (*γράφειν*) arose Rhod. *-μειν*, e. g. *θέ-μειν*. Cret. *δό-μην* is probably, like *δό-μεν*, Locative, with a strong-grade formative suffix; cp. Avest. loc. *caš-mam*, see III § 257 p. 158, IV § 1089 Rem. p. 599.

(4) Suffix *-μεν-*. Dative Cypr. *δο-φειν-αι* Att. *δοῦναι* 'to give', Att. *ἀῖναι* 'to blow' for *\*ἀφ-η-(φ)ιναι* (III § 251 p. 153). Forms like *δοῦν* (Theognis), *ἐξ-εῖν* (Oropus), Lesb. *μεθύσθην* may perhaps be locative in *-μεν* like Avest. *rōiθ-īwan*. See § 1088. 4.

(5) A Locative in *\*-s-en* may perhaps explain Att. *γέρειν* for *\*γερε-εν*. See § 1088. 5.

(6) Doric and Arcadian infinitives in *-ν*, such as *ἄρχεν* *ἀγαγέν*, are obscure. See the Author's Gr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> § 146. 5 p. 175.

(7) Perhaps the imperative in *-ον* (2<sup>nd</sup> sing.), as Syrac. *λάβον* (Att. *λαβέ*) Att. *δεῖξον*, are infinitive; see § 1088. 8.

(8) The medio-passive Infinitive in *-σθαι* is connected with the Skr. inf. in *-dhyāi* *-dhṛyāya* *-dhāi* *-dhē*, see § 1088. 9, and § 1089. 12. *εἶδεσθαι* for instance is the dative of a compound consisting of the noun stem *Feidec-* (*εἶδος*) + *\*dhē-* *\*dh-* *✓dhē-* 'place, do'; cp. *ἐπεσ-βόλος* and the like, II § 29 p. 50; the Skr. *śrad-dh-ē* corresponds exactly. After the second member of such compounds had sunk into a mere suffix, *εἶδεσθαι* was mentally analysed *εἶδε-σθαι* because such was the structure of the forms associated with it, *εἶδε-ραι* and the rest. Then this supposed suffix *-σθαι* was added to other tense-stems, and became a type. It received its medio-passive

meaning because this was the meaning of *-μεθα -ομεν* and similar personal endings with *θ*.

§ 1094. Italic Infinitive.

(1) Dat. of Root-Nouns, Lat. depon. pass. *sequi-t ag-t*, see § 1088. 1.

(2) Dat. in *-s-t -r-t* = *\*-s-ai*, Lat. depon. pass. *da-ri* (O.Lat. *dasī*) *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 *-t -rt*; 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 595); compare further Stolz, Lat. Gr.<sup>2</sup> pp. 380 f. The origin of these forms is still not quite cleared up.

Remark. If we agree with Fr. Møller (Grundr. der Sprachwiss. III 2 p. 651) that *-er* 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. *nincter* 'vincitur' karanter 'pascuntur'. As pointed out in § 1082. 1, it is possible that the Latin language once had likewise these indicative forms in *-er*.

(4) An infinitive with formative suffix *-men-* is probably to be seen in the Lat. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. imper. in *-mini*, as *da-mini sequi-mini*. 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. (7) below.

(6) An Infinitive type is also to be seen in forms like *are* in *are faciō*, see § 578 p. 120, § 896 Rem. p. 445, § 899 p. 447.

(7) In Umbr.-Samn. the inf. pres. act. ends regularly in *-om*, as Umbr. *er-om* Osc. *ez-um* 'esse'. Umbr. *fabiu* 'facere' *stiplo* 'stipulari' (for *\*stiplā-om*), Osc. *defkum* 'dicere' *moltaum* 'multare' *fatium* 'fari'. See II § 60 p. 114, IV § 1088. 8, § 1103 Rem., Buck, Der Vocalismus der osk. Spr. 123, von Planta, Vocalismus der osk.-umbr. Dialekte 111 f., 272.

Postgate holds that the Latin inf. fut. in *-tūrum* represents the same type, and that its ending is *\*-tū+erom*; see § 900 p. 448.

§ 1095. In Latin there are two Supines, in *-tu-m* (acc.) and in *-tū* (loc.), e. g. *da-tum da-tū*. The former occurs in Umbr., *asariato* '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 expressed, 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 Britannie 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. *itan* O.H.G. *ezzan* 'to eat' = *\*ed-ono-m*, Goth. *dīhan* O.H.G. *eigan* 'to possess, own'. These come very near the Skr. *ādana-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 *-tē*, and in Old Church Slavonic, which has *-ti*; e. g. Lith. *dė-ti dė-tē*, O.C.Sl. *dě-ti* 'to place, lay'. There are also Lith. inf. in *-tē*

(loc.), as *dektē dēya* 'it burns fiercely' (cp. Leskien, *Bildung der Nomina im Lit.*, 404). See § 1088. 6.

(2) The Suffix *-tu-* occurs in the Supines Lith. *dēta* i. e. *dē-tū* (cp. opt. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. *dētum-bime*) O.C.Sl. *dō-tū* (acc.) and O.C.Sl. *dētu* (loc.), beside which observe Pruss. acc. *dā-tun* *dā-ton* 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.

(3) A verbal substantive in *-ē* is seen in O.C.Sl. *vidē-achū* 'I saw'. See § 903 p. 452.

## 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.

(1) *-to-*, part. perf., mostly passive. \**dho-tō-s* 'placed, laid': Skr. *-dhita-s hitā-s* Gr. *θετός* Lat. *crēditu-s* Lith. *dēta-s*. Mid.Ir. *dō-breth* 'datum est' Skr. *bhṛ-tā-s* 'borne'. Goth. *vairh-t-s* Avest. *varš-ta-* 'done'. O.C.Sl. *žē-tū* 'cut, mown' Skr. *ha-tā-s* 'struck, killed'. See II § 79 pp. 218 ff., § 140. 3 and 4 p. 452 f.

(2) *-no-* *-eno-* *-ono-*, part. pret., mostly passive. Skr. *pār-ṇā-s* 'filled', Alban. *ḡenē* (Gegian dialect *ḡan*) 'said' for \**ḡons-no-* (G. Meyer, *Kurzg. Alban. Gramm.*, p. 42 f., Alban. Stud. II 76, III 65 f.), O.H.G. *gi-tān* 'done' O.C.Sl. *o-dēnū* 'done again, turned over', A.S. *bund-en* O.Icel. *bund-enn* Goth. *bund-an-s* O.H.G. *gi-buntan* 'bound', O.C.Sl. *nes-enū* 'borne'. See II §§ 65—67 pp. 138 ff., § 140. 3 p. 452.

(3) *-io-*, part. fut. pass. (Gerundive). Skr. *dfś-ya-s* *dūrś-īya-s* 'conspiciendus, visible, worth seeing', Goth. *un-qēp-s* 'inexpressible' O.Sax. *un-fōd-i* 'insatiate' (cp. also Gr. *ἀγ-ιος* 'venerandus' Lat. *ex-im-ius* 'eximendus, remarkable'). See II § 63 pp. 123 ff., § 140 p. 452.

(4) *-tuyo-*, *-tuo-* *-tuyo-*, part. fut. pass. (Gerundive). Gr. *ἰωκ-τέος* 'to be followed' for \**-τέος* (Hesiod *παριτέος* for



\**qa-taf-ia-s*?), Skr. *kar-tavyā-s* 'faciendus' (implies \**kar-tava-*, cp. inf. in *-tavāi* § 1089. 16 p. 601), Skr. *kār-tva-s* *kār-tva-s* 'faciendus'. See II § 61 p. 116, § 63 p. 127, § 64 p. 135, § 140 p. 452.

(5) *-lo-*. Armen. part. aor. act. and pass., *gercal* 'capiens', *captus* from *gerem* 'capio', O.C.Sl. part. pret. act. II *nes-lū* 'having borne'. See II § 76 p. 212, § 140 p. 451.

(6) *-ent-* *-nt-*, part. pres., aor., and fut. act. Skr. *bhārant-* Gr. *ῥιπών* Lat. *ferens* Goth. *balrand-s* O.C.Sl. *bery* 'ferens', Lith. *vėžis* 'vehens'. *s*-Aor. Skr. *dhāk-ṣ-at-* 'burning', Gr. *πύω;* 'cooking'. *s*-Fut. Skr. *dā-syā-nt-* Lith. dial. *dū-sius* for \**sians* High Lith. *dū'sys* Gr. *δύσω* 'daturus'. See II §§ 125 f. pp. 394 ff., § 140 p. 451, IV § 491 p. 50 footnote.

(7) *-yes-* part. perf. act. Skr. *virik-pās-* Gr. *λελοιπ-ώς* Lith. *likęs* 'having left', O.C.Sl. *mlāz-ū* 'having milked'. See II § 136 pp. 438 ff., § 140 p. 451.

(8) *-meno-* *-mono-* *-mno-*, part. mid.-pass. Pres. Skr. *yāja-māna-s* Avest. *yaza-mna-* Gr. *ἄζο-μενο-* from *√ jag-* 'honour', Pruss. *po-klausī-manas* (ī) nom. pl. fem. 'being heard'. Fut. Skr. *dā-syā-māna-s* Gr. *δο-σώ-μενο-* from *√ dō-* 'give'. Perf. Gr. *δε-δó-μενο-*. The suffix *-ana-*, which replaces this in Sanskrit with unthematic stems, e. g. pres. *dā-dh-ana-s* perf. *viric-ānā-s*, may perhaps come from \**-gno-*. See II § 67 Rem. p. 152, § 71 pp. 163 ff., § 140 p. 451.

§ 1100. Aryan.

(1) *-to-*, part. perf. mostly passive. Skr. *kṛ-tā-s* Avest. *ker'-ta-* O.Pers. *kar-ta-* 'made', Skr. Avest. O.Pers. *i-ta-* 'gone'. See § 1099. 1.

(2) *-no-*, in Sanskrit, beside *-to-*, as *pār-ṇā-s* = *pār-tā-s* 'filled', *bhinndā-s* 'split'. See § 1099. 2.

(3) *-ja-*, part. fut. pass. (Gerundive), Skr. *dṛś-ya-s* *dāś-ya-s* Avest. *dar's-ya-* 'conspiciendus, 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-yai* beside *bhuj-yai* § 1089. 12, 14 pp. 601 f.

(5) Skr. *-ay-yā* *-ay-ya-*, part. fut. pass., based upon the

Infinitive in *-ay*, as *śraedy-īya-s* 'laudandus, praiseworthy'; next we have *stuṣṭīya-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*.

(6) Skr. *-tva-* *-tuva-* and *-tavya-*, part. fut. pass., *kār-tva-s* *kār-tuva-s* and *kar-tavyā-s* 'faciendus'. See § 1099.4.

(7) Skr. *-antya-*, part. fut. pass., derived from nomina actionis in *-ana-m* (II § 67 p. 150), as *karaṇīya-s* 'faciendus' from *karaṇa-m* 'a making', cp. *gṛhamēdh-īya-s* adj. of *gṛhamēdhā-s* 'house offering', *tṛt-īya-s* 'tertius' (II § 63 p. 122). These gerunds did not grow common until the later period.

(8) Skr. *-ēnya-* *-ēniya-*, part. fut. pass., as *dyśēniya-s* 'conspiciendus', from an *s*-aorist *yas-ēnya-s* 'cōhibendus'. 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.

(9) *-ent-* *-nt-*, part. pres., fut., and aor. active. Skr. *s-ānt-* Avest. *h-ant-* 'being', Skr. *vāha-nt-* Avest. *vaza-nt-* 'vehens', fut. Skr. *vak-ṣyā-nt-* Avest. *vaz-ṣya-nt-* from *vac-* 'to speak', *s*-aorist Skr. *dhāk-ṣ-at-* from *dah-* 'to burn'. See § 1099.6.

(10) *-o-*, part. pres. active. Skr. *pra-mṛd-s* 'destroying' with indic. *-mṛd-ti*, Avest. *per'sō* 'asking' with indic. *per'sa-iti*. See III § 198 p. 78.

(11) Skr. *-u-*, part. pres. active of *s*-Desideratives (§ 667 pp. 198 ff.), as *dīpsū-ṣ* 'wishing to hurt' beside indic. *dīpsa-ti*, and from verbs in *-āya-ti* (§ 794 pp. 326 ff., § 795 pp. 330 f.), as *bhājayū-ṣ* from indic. *bhājāya-ti*. See II § 104 p. 314. With the latter participles compare those from denominative verbs, such as *aśvayū-ṣ*. II § 105 p. 319.

(12) Skr. *-uka-*, part. pres. active, formed from *-u-* (11) with *-ka-*, as *śikṣu-ka-s* 'sharing' (specially common in the Brāhmanas). See II § 88 p. 264.

(13) *-yes-*, part. perf. active. Skr. *ci-kiṭ-vās* Avest. *ci-kiṭ-wah-* beside indic. Skr. *ci-kiṭ-a* 'knows'. See § 1099.7.

(14) Skr. *-tavant-*, part. perf. active, formed from *-ta-* (1)

with *-vant-*, as *kytd-vant-* 'factum habens, πεποιηκώς' (cp. the unique Avestic (*vt-*)*ver'zdu-vant-* = ai. *vyddhā-vant-* from *vardh-* 'to help, exalt'). See II § 127 p. 406, Bartholomae, Stud. zur idg. Sprachg. I 14 ff.

(15) Skr. *-māna-* Avest. *-mana-* *-mna-*, part. mid.-pass. with thematic stems. Pres. Skr. *bhāra-māna-s* from *bhar-* 'to bear', Avest. *bar'ze-mana-* *bar'ze-mna-* from *barz-* 'to raise oneself, be high'. Fut. Skr. *yak-śyā-māna-s* from *yaj-* 'to honour' Avest. *var'šya-mna-* from *varz-* 'to work'. See § 1099. 8.

(16) Ar. *-āna-*, part. mid.-pass. with thematic stems. Pres. Skr. *dā-dh-āna-s* Avest. *da-ḥ-āna-* beside indic. Skr. *dā-dhā-ti* 'places'. Perf. Skr. *ja-gm-ānd-s* from *gam-* 'to go', Avest. *vāver'z-āna-* from *varz-* 'to work'. The ground-form of this *-āna-* is doubtful. See § 1099. 8.

#### § 1101. Armenian.

(1) *-lo-*, part. aor., e. g. *gereal* 'capiens, captus', from the *ç*-Aorist *gereceal* (§ 905\* p. 453). See § 1099. 5.

(2) *-aui* (later *-ol -ol*) forming nomina agentis and part. pres. act., e. g. *geraul* 'captor, capiens'. Bugge, Idg. Forsch. I 437 derives *-aui* from Idg. *-a-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 *-oç*, as *gereli* and *gereloç*.

#### § 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. *ῥα-ρό-ς* 'skinned', *λυ-ρό-ς* 'capable of being set free'. See § 1099. 1.

(2) *-teyo-*, part. fut. passive, as *διωκ-ρέο-ς* 'fit to be pursued'. See § 1099. 4.

(3) *-ent- -nt-*, part. pres., aor., and fut. active, as *λείπων* *λείπων* *λείπων* from *λείπω* 'I leave'. See § 1099. 6.

(4) *-yes- (-yet)*, part. perf. active, as *λε-λοιπ-ός*. See § 1099. 7.

(5) *-meno-*, part. mid.-pass. from any mid.-pass. indicative; *λειπό-μενο-ς* *λειπό-μενο-ς* *λειπό-μενο-ς* *λειπό-μενο-ς* *λειψι-μένο-ς*. See § 1099. 8.

§ 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. *screihtor* pl. 'scripti' Osc. *scritas* pl. 'scriptao'. See § 1099. 1.

(2) Lat. *-taro-*, part. fut. active, as *datāru-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 faciendu-s faciendu-s, juvandu-s, videndu-s*, Umbr. *an-ferener* gen. 'circumferendi' *pihaner* gen. 'piandi', Osc. *úpsannam* '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 596) in my opinion none will do.

Remark. Weisweller's investigations (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 *virtūs colenda est* suggesting *colendum est* (similarly *patriae defendendae causā* suggested *defendendi causā*) as an impersonal construction with similar meaning (*colitur* = *cultus fit*, *cultum est* = *cultus facta est*, hence *colendum est* = *cultus facienda 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. *brady-īya-s* 'laudandus' from inf. \**bradi* (§ 1100. 5 p. 102). On this I base the following conjecture.<sup>1)</sup>

1) This was written before I learnt that Pott (*Et. Forsch.* II<sup>1</sup> 239 and II<sup>2</sup> 517) and Schröder (*Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XIV 354) had already analysed *ferendus* into *feren-do-*, and that in the final 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.

In pr. Italic it was customary to combine the accus. infinitive in *-m*, such as Umbr. *fero(m) fašiu(m)*, with the postposition *\*dō* or *\*de* 'to' (cp. Lat. *en-do indu*, *dō-nicum dō-nec*, Avest. *raesman-da* 'to the house', Gr. *ἐντρέφω-δε ἐντρέφωρ δῶ*, O.Ir. *do* 'to' A.S. *to* O.H.G. *zuo* and *zi* 'to', see III § 223 Rom. 3 p. 102, Fick, Wtb.<sup>4</sup> 457), the combination meaning the same as our *to* with the infinitive. *-mā-* must have become *-nd-* in pr. Ital. (cp. O.Lat. *quan-de* Umbr. *pāne* 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 *subjugu-s*, *antenuvissimu-s*, *perfidu-s* come from *sub jugō*, *ante novissimum*, *per fidum* (II § 15 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.-Samn. infinitive (Osc. *fatium* 'fari' *censuum* 'censere' Umbr. *stiplo(m)* 'stiprari' — *-o(m)* contracted from *-ā-om*). Firstly, these may be transformations of *-z-m* and *-ā-m* on the lines of the thematic conjugation. In view of all that has been said in § 487 p. 41 f. §§ 578 ff. pp. 118 ff., and of infin. forms like Avest. *dāmi* 'to place, give' (§ 1089.1 p. 599), *\*plz-m* *\*vidz-m* *\*flā-m* *\*arā-m* in the same sense as *plere*, *videre* etc. would seem nothing strange. In Lat. *plendu-s arandu-s* Osc. *āpsannam*, then, we should see these older infinitive forms unchanged. For Lat. *rotundu-s* (beside *rota*) *rubicundu-s* (beside *rubicare* *Rupicō* from *\*rubico-*) it would be needful to assume inf. *\*rotō-m* *\*rubicō-m* (cp. *aggrō-tu-s*); *rotundu-s* for *\*rotōndu-s* like *latrunculu-s* for *\*latrōnculu-s*. And the agreement in form between *arandu-s videndu-s* and part pres. *arant- vident-*, whilst in *\*ferōndu-s* (*ferundu-s*) the vowel did not agree with *ferent-*, produced very soon, indeed in pr. Italic, the re-formate *ferendo-s*. Secondly: it is possible that even in pr. Italic the Oscan forms *fatium censuum* existed, in the shape *\*-z-jom* *\*-ā-jom* (cp. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. pres. in *\*-z-jō* *\*-ā-jō*),<sup>1)</sup> and so there were also in use *\*-z(j)on-do-* *\*-ā(j)on-do-* (cp. Lat. *faciundu-s* beside Umbr. *fašiu(m)* 'facere'). Then the relation of *\*ferōndo-* to the participial stem *\*feront-* (cp. *eunt-* etc. II § 126 p. 401) produced not only *ferendo-* following *ferent-* but also *arando- videndo-* following *arant- vident-*. In this case a simple explanation is possible for *rotundu-s rubicundu-s*.<sup>2)</sup> They would go with *rotāre rubicāre*, and would come regularly from *\*rotā(j)ondo-* *\*rubicā(j)ondo-* through the intermediate stage of *\*rotōndo-*

1) This would allow a simple explanation for Umbr. *suboco* in the formula *sobocau suboco* 'I entreat entreatingly'. It would be inf. like Lith. *dekiti* in *dekiti daga* 'it burns up brightly' (cp. § 478 Rem. p. 17 f.). But it would be perhaps not acc., for *\*-ā-jo-m*, but instr., for *\*-ā-jō* ('with weeping'). For the ending of the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *subocau* see § 280 p. 520.

2) What is gained by connecting the group in *-cundu-s* with the Greek  $\alpha$ -perfect I cannot see (cp. Weisweiler, p. 41; Johansson, Beitr. Gr. Spr., 91 f.).

\**rubicundo-* (cp. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. *rotō* for \**rotā*-(i)ō) — *rotundus* would mean 'that which goes rolling, rollable'. These then will have kept the older form of the infinitive more exactly than *rotandu-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 *b*-future, as is shown by *furibundu-s* (beside *furere*) *paribundu-s* (beside *parere*) and like forms. If we are not to start from nouns with the suffix *-bho- -bhā-* (II § 78 pp. 218 ff.), the best thing is to suppose that they are compounds containing *-bhū-o-* (from *√bhū-* 'to be come, be', cp. Skr. *ā-bhū-a-m*). We then compare the Skr. *vāha-dhyāt* and similar compounds (§ 1089. 12 p. 600).

(4) *-ent- -nt-*, part. pres. active. Lat. *prae-sens* Osc. *prae-sentid* 'praesente', Lat. *sedens* Umbr. *zōrof serse* 'sedens'. See § 1099. 6.

(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'; cp. 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. *brithe brethe* 'brought'. Cymric had in place of *-to-* the ending *-(e)tic* i. e. *-t-ico-*. See II § 79 p. 232 f., IV § 1099. 1.

(2) O.Ir. *-ti -thi*,<sup>1)</sup> part. fut. passive ('participle of necessity'); e. g. *messi* 'iudicandus' *carthi carthi* 'amandus'. Mod.Cymr. *cara-dwy* 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 *-a*. British has for final the diphthong which has developed in stem-syllables from *ei* (or from *ē* in borrowed words), e. g. O.Bret. *in-aetoe*, a gloss, 'ineundum' (*√ag-*) Mod.Cymr. *caradwy* 'amandus'. The suffix perhaps originally had *ā* before the dental even in primary verbs, cp. Brit. *\*aga-toi*, Ir. *bēthi* for \**bēathi* 'to cut' beside part. passive *bēthe* (this word *bēthi* I have wrongly explained in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 92), *for-canti* 'to teach' for \**canathi*. Its

1) The supposed ending *-ti -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 \**-aileis* as the original ending."

### § 1105. Germanic.

(1) *-to-*, part. perf., mostly passive, in Weak Verbs and those Strong ones which had a weak preterite (§ 907 p. 454). Goth. *salbō-p-s* O.H.G. *gi-salbō-t* 'anointed', Goth. *vaúrht-t-s* O.H.G. *gi-worht-icorht* 'worked'. See § 1099. 1.

(2) *-no- -eno- -ono-*, with the same function as *-to-* (1), only in Strong Verbs. O.H.G. *gi-tan* 'done', O.H.G. *bund-en* O.Icel. *bund-enn* Goth. *bund-an-s* O.H.G. *gi-buntan* 'bound' (II § 65 p. 138, § 67 pp. 151, 153). See § 1099. 2.

(3) *-io-*, part. fut. passive, seems established for the earlier periods of Germanic as a participial suffix, e. g. Goth. *un-gēþ-s* 'inexpressible', O.Sax. *un-fōdi* 'insatiate'. See § 1099. 3.

(4) *-nt-*, part. pres. active. Goth. *kūsa-nd-s* O.H.G. *chiosanti* 'trying, choosing' (II § 126 p. 402). See § 1099. 6.

### § 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 *ŕe-tŭ* 'chopped, hewn, mown' (II § 79 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. *danŭ* 'given' *nes-enŭ* '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 *-yno-* Lith. *-ina-* O.C.Sl. *-ino-*; e. g. Lith. *sūk-tina-s* 'fit to be turned' O.C.Sl. *pri-jětinu* 'acceptable, pleasant', O.C.Sl. *ne-iz-d-reč-enŭ* '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 *-tanaiy* 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-lā* in *neslā jesmŭ* 'I have borne' (§ 903 p. 452). See § 1099. 5.

(5) O.Preuss. *-mana-*, part. pres. passive: *madlas poklausimanas ast* 'the prayers are heard'. See § 1099. 8.

(6) *-mo-*, part. pres. passive in Baltic and Slavonic; also part. fut. passive in Baltic. Lith. *vēša-ma-s* O.C.Sl. *vezo-mŭ* 'being carried', Lith. fut. *vėszī-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. *-davau* (§ 908 p. 455) and must originally have been middle (deponent). Compare Umbr. persnih-mu 'precamino', II § 72. 1 p. 166.

(7) *-ent-* ~~*-m-*~~, part. pres. and fut. active. Lith. *vėžēš* O.C.Sl. *vezy* 'vehens', Lith. fut. dialectic *vėszius* for \**veziāns*, High-Lith. *vėszēs* (O.C.Sl. *byšqšteje byšqšteje* 'futurum, τὸ μέλλον'). See § 1099. 6.

(8) *-mes-*, part. perf. active. Lith. *mīš-ēs* O.C.Sl. *mīz-i* 'having milked'. In Lith. also in the so-called part. imperf. act. in *-darēs*, belonging to the indic. in *-davau* (§ 908 p. 455). See § 1099. 7.





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