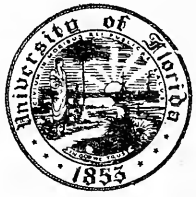
UNIVERSITY
OF FLORIDA
LIBRARIES



PHILOLOGICAL MONOGRAPHS

PUBLISHED BY THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Number XVIII

EDITED BY

JOHN L. HELLER

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

COMMITTEE ON THE PUBLICATION OF MONOGRAPHS

BERTHE MARTI *Chairman*

PHILLIP H. DE LACY

JOHN L. HELLER

JOHN B. McDIARMID

JOHN B. TITCHENER

THE BRONZE TABLES OF IGUVIUM

BY

JAMES WILSON POULTNEY

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

PUBLISHED BY THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

1959

To be ordered through the Secretary of the Association

JAMES W. POULTNEY, THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE 18, MARYLAND
or through
B. H. BLACKWELL, LTD, 50 BROAD ST., OXFORD, ENGLAND

ROLANDI GRUBB KENT

MANIBUS

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2011 with funding from
LYRASIS Members and Sloan Foundation

http://www.archive.org/details/bronzetablesofig00poul

PREFACE

There is no scarcity of editions of the Iguvine Tables, as a glance at the Bibliography will show. The study of these tables and of Italic dialect monuments in general, which was intensified during the thirties and which lapsed during the Second World War, has been revived again, especially in Italy. But the older grammars of von Planta and Buck have been out of print for many years and can now be obtained only with considerable difficulty, and moreover until quite recently all translations of the tables were in a Latin which adhered with extreme fidelity to the Umbrian text, reproducing many of its obscurities and translating some of its words merely by reconstructions invented through application of phonetic laws. Professor Roland Kent both in print (*Language*, XIV [1938], p. 213) and in conversation with me emphasized the need for a translation into a modern language and it was at his suggestion that I undertook to prepare an edition of the type which he contemplated, including an English translation. Devoto's *Le Tavole di Gubbio*, which appeared in 1948, actually includes a translation into Italian beside the Umbrian text. In 1954 there appeared Bottiglioni's *Manuale dei dialetti italici*, which contains not only the Iguvine Tables and other dialect texts with Latin translation and brief commentary but a fairly comprehensive grammar as well. Yet the importance of the Iguvine Tables is so great both for the linguistic and for the religious history of pre-Roman Italy that another edition seems not superfluous, especially in view of the fact that reading knowledge of Italian is not as widespread in the English-speaking countries as it should be.

In the present edition, as in previous works, the grammar has necessarily been presented from a historical standpoint throughout, for only by careful attention to the history of the sounds can we set up valid etymological equations which, in combination with other evidence within and outside the Umbrian text, can give us the correct sense. The interpretation of the cuneiform Hittite texts and the recognition that Hittite is related to the Indo-European languages have radically altered our notions of proto-Indo-European phonology, especially as a result of the conviction shared by the great majority of Indo-Europeanists of

the present day that the phonemic system at some stage must have included several " laryngeal " consonants. Yet there is still considerable disagreement with regard to the number of laryngeals (three or four?), their precise character and effect on the vowel-system, and whether Hittite is to be regarded as an Indo-European language roughly comparable to Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, etc., or as a member of an " Anatolian " group which, with Indo-European, was derived from an earlier " Indo-Hittite." For these reasons it has seemed safest and most convenient to follow the traditional reconstruction adopted in such standard works as Brugmann's *Grundriss*, Buck's *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, or Kent's *Sounds of Latin*, while giving a brief account of the earlier laryngeals and their part in the subsequent development of the vowel- and consonant-system (see II, §§ **35, 36**). The principal deviation from the traditional system is in the recognition of two, not three, series of *k*-sounds. It is improbable that the " plain velars " originally existed as a series distinct from the palatals, and in any case the distinction is unimportant for Oscan-Umbrian, as for Latin, Greek, Celtic, and Germanic.

Following the practice of other recent editors I have presented the Umbrian text without capitalization and without punctuation other than the word-dividers, but where words are written together on the bronze without the divider I have inserted a space between them if they are known to be properly separate. The customary practice of using italic type for texts and individual words recorded in the Latin alphabet and bold-face type for those in the native alphabet has been followed throughout the present work for Oscan as well as for Umbrian. Oscan words recorded in the Greek alphabet are regularly preceded by the abbreviation "O." Greek words are not designated, the alphabet being sufficiently distinctive to identify them as Greek.

In order to provide an easily readable translation I have avoided placing question marks after those words whose meaning is doubtful, although such marks are shown in the Lexicon when the meanings seem sufficiently uncertain to justify it. The practice of leaving words in the translation in their Umbrian form has been held down to a minimum, but in a few cases it has seemed unavoidable; so, for example, in the case of *erus*, *persondro*, and the names of several kinds of offering-cakes. Certain personal and divine names and other words not capable of being fully translated into English have been presented in Latin dress; so, for example, *adfertor* (for Umbrian *arsfertur*), *prinuati* (for *prinuatur* **prinuvatur** with native nom. plur. ending). But it is impossible to achieve and maintain an absolutely logical and consistent standard of usage in this regard.

For those texts which exist in two versions, an earlier and a later, the fullest commentary is on the later (VIa, b, VIIa, b), both because their greater length renders them more important and because, if my impression is correct, instructors often make it a habit to present them to students before the earlier versions.

Yet Ia and b are provided with commentaries designed to summarize their content and to explain matters wherein they differ from the later tables.

The Lexicon is at the same time an Index Verborum, and is intended to account for every instance of every word in the Tables.

The selection of tables to be illustrated by plates was made with a view toward the variety of alphabets and letter-forms represented. Tables Ia and Va show somewhat divergent forms of the native alphabet. Table Vb shows the native and Latin alphabets both on the same surface of one table, while VIIa shows the Latin alphabet in an especially clear and legible form. All twelve plates are to be seen not only in Devoto's *Tabulae Iguvinae*, but also in the *editio minor* of the same work which contains, in addition to the plates, simply the Umbrian text and Latin translation.

My debt to earlier editors, especially Devoto, is far greater than one might infer from the references to them which appear here and there, but I have endeavored to maintain independence of judgment and have occasionally arrived at a new interpretation of my own.

Several publications of importance for the study of the Tables have appeared too late for use to have been made of them in the preparation of the present work. Among them may be mentioned: Giovannangelo Camporeale, *La terminologia magistratuale nelle lingue osco-umbre* (*Atti dell' Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere "La Colombaria"*), pp. 78, Florence, 1957; K. Olzschka, *Das umbrische Perfekt auf nk²* (*Glotta*, XXXVI [1958], pp. 300-304); Ugo Coli, *Il diritto pubblico degli umbri e le tavole eugubine* (*Circolo Toscano di Diritto Romano e Storia del Diritto*, 1), pp. 98, Milan, 1958.

My obligations for help in bringing my work to completion are many. In the early stages of my study of the Iguvine Tables Professor Kent gave me much valuable assistance in conversation and by letter, and it is a matter of great regret to me that he did not live to see the finished work. I am deeply indebted to the Committee on the Publication of Monographs for accepting the manuscript for publication, to the referees for their many valuable suggestions toward the improvement of the work, and to the American Philological Association itself for bearing a large share of the cost. I am deeply grateful to Professor Giacomo Devoto for graciously allowing the plates in his own edition to be used in the preparation of plates for mine, and to Professor Herbert Bloch and Mr. Ernest Nash for generously exploring various means of reproducing the plates. To the Imprimerie Universa I am greatly indebted for patience, care, and skill in the printing of an extraordinarily difficult work. For the reading of the proofs I take the present opportunity to express my thanks to Suzanne Young and Robert E. A. Palmer, both of whom relieved me of the tedious and risky task of reading alone. Finally, to John L. Heller as the editor of this monograph my gratitude is due in a very exceptional degree, not merely for his having assisted me with

his philological learning and with the full range of his familiarity with the intricacies of editing and printing, but far more for the unnumbered hours which he has patiently devoted to the minute examination and correction of the manuscript and proofs. As an *ancien élève* of Professor Kent's, he desires to join me in dedicating this work to his memory.

September 29, 1958. JAMES W. POULTNEY.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations and Bibliography xiii

1. Editions of the Iguvine Tables, and works containing them in their entirety or in part 2. Lexicons, grammatical works, monographs, selected journal articles, etc. 3. Periodicals 4. Dialects 5. Grammatical terms 6. Concordance of dialect inscriptions cited

I. Introduction 1

1-2. Description of the Tables 3-4. History and topography of Iguvium 5-6. Umbria and the Umbrian dialect 7-9. Other Italic dialects; concept of the group 10-11. Language and style of the Iguvine Tables 12. Discovery and history of the Tables 13. Interpretation of the Tables; outline of contents 14-15. Religion and ritual in the Tables 16. Organization of the Atiedian priesthood and of the state of Iguvium 17-19. Chronology of the Tables

II. Grammar 25

A. Phonology (**1-63**) [1] 25

1-3. The alphabets, variants, and pronunciation **4.** Accent **5-25.** The vowel system; diphthongs **26-35.** Lengthening, shortening, syncope and other phenomena of the vowels **36-59.** The consonant system; consonant clusters **60-62.** Other phenomena of the consonants; juncture **63.** Sources of the Umbrian sounds

B. Formation of nouns and adjectives (**64-89**) 84

64-84. Stem classes **85-89.** Nominal compounds

C. Declension of nouns and adjectives (**90-103**) 97

D. Numerals (**104-105**) 105

E. Pronouns (**106-111**) 107

F. Indeclinables (**112-113**) 113

G. The Verb (**114-134**) 116

114. General survey **115.** Personal endings **116-121.** Present tense formation and conjugational classes **122.** Irregular verbs **123-125.** Other tenses **126-127.** The moods **128-129.** Infinitive and supine **130-131.** Participles **132-133.** Gerundive; periphrastic forms **134.** Verbal composition

[1] Throughout the book, boldface numerals refer to sections of the Grammar.

H. Syntax (**135-155**) 142

135-139. General remarks; ellipsis, agreement, etc. **140-146**. The cases **147**. Prepositions and postpositions **148-153**. Verbal syntax **154**. Subordinate clauses **155**. Word order

III. TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY 157

IV. LEXICON AND INDEX VERBORUM 295

PLATES I-IV 334

Tables Ia, Va, Vb, VIIa

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Editions of the Iguvine Tables, and works containing them in their entirety or in part

A.-K. = Th. Aufrecht und A. Kirchhoff, *Die umbrischen Sprachdenkmäler.* Berlin, 1849-51.

Hu. = E. Huschke, *Die iguvinischen Tafeln.* Leipzig, 1859.

Br. = M. Bréal, *Les Tables Eugubines.* Paris, 1875.

Bü. = F. Bücheler, *Umbrica.* Bonn, 1883.

Pl. = R. von Planta, *Grammatik der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte.* 2 vols. Strassburg, 1892-97.

Co. = R. S. Conway, *The Italic Dialects.* Cambridge, 1897.

* R. S. Conway, *Dialectorum Italicarum Exempla Selecta.* Cambridge, 1899.

H. Jacobsohn, *Altitalische Inschriften, ausgewählt.* Bonn, 1910.

Bk. = C. D. Buck, *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian.* New printing with additions and corrections. Boston, 1928.

Blum. = A. von Blumenthal, *Die iguvinischen Tafeln.* Stuttgart, 1931.

Rosenzweig = Irene Rosenzweig, *Ritual and Cults of pre-Roman Iguvium.* London, 1937 (with Buck's text and translation).

Dev. = G. Devoto, *Tabulae Iguvinae.* 2nd edition. Rome, 1940.

Dev., *T.G.* = G. Devoto, *Le Tavole di Gubbio.* Florence, 1948.

* H. H. Janssen, *Oscan and Umbrian Inscriptions.* Leyden, 1949.

* Angel Montenegro Duque, *Osco y Umbro.* Madrid, 1949.

Pis. = V. Pisani, *Manuale storico della lingua latina.* Vol.IV, *Le lingue dell' Italia antica oltre il latino.* Turin, 1953.

Vet. = Emil Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte.* Vol. I. Heidelberg, 1953.

Bott. = G. Bottiglioni, *Manuale dei dialetti italici.* Bologna, 1954.

* contains only selected passages of the Iguvine Tables.

2. Lexicons, grammatical works, monographs, selected journal articles, etc.

Brugmann, *Gdr.* = K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen.* 2nd edition. Strassburg, 1897-1916.

Buck, C. D., *The Oscan-Umbrian Verb System.* Chicago, 1895.

C.I.E. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum.*

C.I.L. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*

Devoto, G., *Gli antichi italici.* 2nd edition. Florence, 1951.

Dumézil, G., *Les dieux des indo-européens.* Paris, 1952.

E.-M. = A. Ernout et A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine.* 3rd edition. 2 vols. Paris, 1951.

Fest. = *Sexti Pompei Festi de verborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli Epitome.* Ed. W. M. Lindsay. Leipzig, 1933.

Hofmann, J. B., Bursian's *Jahresbericht,* CCLXX (1940), pp. 80-100 (Literaturbericht).

Kent, R. G., *The Sounds of Latin.* 3rd edition. Baltimore, 1945.
Kent, R. G., *The Forms of Latin.* Baltimore, 1946.
Kent, *T.C.I.* = Kent, R. G., *The Textual Criticism of Inscriptions.* Philadelphia, 1926.
Leumann-Hofmann = M. Leumann und J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinische Grammatik.* Munich, 1928.
Mu. = F. Muller Jzn, *Altitalisches Wörterbuch.* Göttingen, 1926.
Pighi, *Umbrica* = *Memorie dell' Accademia delle scienze, lettere ed arti di Bologna, Classi morali,* ser. V, vol. IV (1953).
Pokorny = J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch.* Bern, 1948-.
R.-E. = Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.*
Ribezzo, I = Fr. Ribezzo, *Problemi iguvini, Rivista indo-greco-italica,* XVIII (1934), fasc. 3-4, pp. 55-88.
Ribezzo, II = Fr. Ribezzo, *Problemi iguvini, Rivista indo-greco-italica,* XX (1936), fasc. 1-2, pp. 75-106.
Rosenberg, Arthur, *Der Staat der alten Italiker.* Berlin, 1913.
Schulze, *Lat. Eigenn.* = W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen.* Berlin, 1904.
Sommer, F., *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre.* Heidelberg, 1948.
Walde-Hofmann = A. Walde und J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch.* Heidelberg, 1938-54.
Walde-Pokorny = A. Walde und J. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen.* 3 vols. Berlin & Leipzig, 1930-32.
Whatmough, J., *The Foundations of Roman Italy.* London, 1937.

3. Periodicals

A.G.I. = *Archivio glottologico italiano.*
A.J.P. = *American Journal of Philology.*
A.L.L. = *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik.*
B.B. = (*Bezzenberger's*) *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen.*
B.S.L. = *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris.*
Ber. kön. sächs. Ges. Wiss. = *Berichte der königlichen sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse.*
C.P. = *Classical Philology.*
Gl. = *Glotta.*
Historia. Milan, 1927-35.
I.F. = *Indogermanische Forschungen.*
K.Z. = (*Kuhn's*) *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.*
Lang. = *Language.*
Latinitas.
Mnem. = *Mnemosyne.*
N.Jb. = *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik.*
R.F.I.C. = *Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica.*
R.I.G.I. = *Rivista indo-greco-italica.*
Röm. Mitt. = *Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abtheilung.*
T.A.P.A. = *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association.*

4. Languages and Dialects

Aeol. = Aeolic
Av. = Avestan
Dor. = Doric
Eng. = English
Etr. = Etruscan
Fal. = Faliscan
Fr. = French
Germ. = German
Gk. = Greek
Goth. = Gothic
Hitt. = Hittite
Hom. = Homeric
IE = Indo-European
Ital. = Italian
L. = Latin
Lett. = Lettish
Lith. = Lithuanian
Marruc. = Marrucinian
Mars. = Marsian
O. = Oscan
OCS = Old Church Slavic
OE = Old English
OHG = Old High German
OIcel. = Old Icelandic
OIr. = Old Irish
OL = Old Latin
ON = Old Norse
Pael. = Paelignian
pIE = proto-Indo-European
pIt. = proto-Italic
Russ. = Russian
Sab. = Sabine
Skt. = Sanskrit
Ved. = Vedic
Vest. = Vestinian

5. Grammatical terms

abl. = ablative
acc. = accusative
act. = active
adj. = adjective
conj. = conjugation
dat. = dative
decl. = declension
denom. = denominative
f. = feminine
fut. = future
fut. pf. = future perfect
gdve. = gerundive
gen. = genitive
impf. = imperfect
imv. = imperative
ind. = indicative
inf. = infinitive
loc. = locative
m. = masculine
neut. = neuter
nom. = nominative
pass. = passive
pcpl. = participle
pf. = perfect
pl. = plural
postpos. = postposition, postpositive
pres. = present
sg. = singular
subj. = subjunctive
voc. = vocative

The abbreviation "cf." is used in etymological equations in the grammar, commentary, and lexicon to introduce forms which are cognate with the forms being explained, but not full etymological equivalents with them. The abbreviation is omitted before forms which are full etymological equivalents of those being explained, or which show only minor differences of stem-formation while still forming parts of the same paradigm. E.g., (**10a**) "*šimo* **çimu**, **çive** : cf. L. *citra*," (Lexicon) "**ařkani** ... cf. L. *ac-cino, ac-centus*," but (42 **b**) "*calersu* **kaleřuf** : L. *calidus*," (Lexicon) "*fertu*... L. *fero*."

6. Concordance of dialect inscriptions cited

Conway	von Planta	*Buck	Pisani	Vetter	Bottiglioni
28	17	2	9	2	79
63	49	17	13C	25	75
95	127	1	18	1	51
105	141	23		77	33
107	137	33	22B	83	44
108	138	25	23	94	36
109	134a	26	24	81	37
113	133	29	25A	86	39
114	134	30	25B	87	40
115	131	27	26A	84	41
116	132	28	26B	85	42
117	135	31	27	88	45
130	128	19	28	6	27
137	119	40	30	5	54
164	182	55	37	161	19
169	188	50		149	13
175	200	45	34	147	7
208	146c		45D	206	131
216	254		47	213	122
239	253		50A	216	125
248	280		54	227	120
253	242		56	223	132
264	308			228b	134
352	292	82	61	230	116
353	293			232	
354	295	83	62A	233	112
355	296	34	63	236	113
		18[2]	13E	28	78
			35D	141	5b

* The same numbering is followed in Buck's *Elementarbuch der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte*, deutsch von E. Prokosch (Heidelberg, 1905).

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The seven bronze tablets which were discovered at Gubbio, the ancient Iguvium, in 1444 and are now preserved there in the Palazzo dei Consoli, are the only extant records of any considerable extent in the Umbrian dialect;[1] that is, in that language which, with Oscan, Latin, and several other dialects, makes up the Italic branch of the Indo-European family.

2. The largest of the tablets, VI and VII,[2] are each about 33 in. in height and 22 in. in width, the smallest, III and IV, each about 16 by 12. All except III and IV are inscribed on both sides; I, II, III, IV, and the obverse and part of the reverse of V are in a native alphabet very similar to the Etruscan alphabet, the remainder of the reverse of V, as well as VI and VII, in the Latin alphabet. The total number of words is over 4000. The tablets contain instructions for the religious ceremonies of a college of priests known as the Atiedian Brothers who flourished in Iguvium during the period of the Roman republic. No other body of liturgical texts from pre-Christian Europe can compare with the Iguvine Tables in extent. They have therefore an extraordinary importance both for the linguistic and the religious history of early Italy.

3. Gubbio or Iguvium is located in the province of Perugia about 20 miles north-northeast of the city of Perugia and on the western slope of the Apennines. It is known from Cicero, *Balb.*, 47, to have been allied to Rome as a *civitas foederata*, and it was there, according to Livy, XLV, 43, that the Illyrian king Gentius was sent by the senate after the battle of Pydna to live in exile with his wife and children. After the Social War the inhabitants of Iguvium were granted Roman citizenship and the town became a *municipium* in the tribus Clustumina. It suffered a disadvantage as a result of the fact that the Via Flaminia, instead of passing through it, lay some distance to the east. Yet it had some importance during the Middle Ages, under the name *Eugubium*. Charlemagne is said to have passed through it on his return north after his coronation in Rome, and it had been an episcopal see at least as early as the fifth century. Ubaldo, who was bishop of Gubbio from 1129 to 1160, was canonized in 1192 and became the patron saint of the town. The Festival of the Ceri, which is celebrated in his honor on May 15, has certain features which are sometimes regarded as survivals from the pagan cult described in the Tables.[3] In 1384 Gubbio passed under the

[1] Umbrian inscriptions apart from the Iguvine Tables have been found at Amelia (Ameria), Assisi, Fossato di Vico (Helvillum), Foligno (Fulginiae), Gubbio (coins only), Spoleto, and Todi (Tuder). There are scarcely more than ten in all, and the longest, Co. no. 355, contains only twenty words counting abbreviations. For the minor inscriptions see Bü., pp. 172-7; Co., pp. 397-9; Pl. II, pp. 554-7; Bk., p. 310; Vet., I, pp. 164-70; Pis., pp. 214-6; Bott., pp. 323-5; Whatmough, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 1939, pp. 89-93.

[2] For the standard numbering of the tablets see § 13 below.

[3] Rosenzweig, pp. 44-5.

control of the counts of Urbino, and with Urbino it became a part of the papal territory in 1631, and so continued until the plebiscite of 1860.

4. Of the places mentioned in the Tables few can with any reasonable certainty be fixed in relation to the topography of the modern town. The spot from which the auspices were taken, and hence the Fisian Mount itself, is probably to be placed not on Monte Ingino, which lies on the northeast side of Gubbio, but rather on Monte Foce directly to the north, for only by this theory can the observation of the auspices have been made in the southeastward direction which the text of VIa 1-18 seems to demand. A direct eastward facing is hardly possible. The three gates at which sacrifices were performed can be fixed to a certain degree from their names. If *uerir Uehier* means 'the Veian Gate, the gate which leads toward Veii,' this gate would naturally be on the south of Iguvium. The Tesenacan Gate, if it faced toward a town on the site of the modern village of Tessenara about 18 km. southwest of Gubbio, must have been on the southwestern side of the town. The name of the third gate (the first in order in the Tables themselves) contains a root *treb-* which was used extensively in Italic place-names, but two of the possible sources of the name, Trebula Suffenas and Trebula Mutuesca, were in the Sabine country and hence imply that the gate may have been on the southeastern side. This distribution of the three gates is strikingly uneven, but it must be remembered that the mountains on the northern and eastern sides of the town precluded the building of important roads. The location of the gates is connected with the question in which direction the procession moved during the purification of the Fisian Mount.[4] Miss Rosenzweig favors a counterclockwise direction, as in the lustral procession depicted on the Column of Trajan (Strong, *La scultura romana*, fig. 99), Devoto a clockwise direction, the turning toward the right being supported by Solinus, p. 195 Mo. *nec ante substitit* [*quadriga*] ... *quam Tarpeium Iovem trina dextratione lustrasset.* Neither of the opposing arguments is sufficient to settle the question, but if the location proposed for the gates with the help of place-names is correct, the counterclockwise direction seems better, since Devoto (*T.G.*, p. 17) is obliged to place the third or Veian Gate on the northwest side of the town.

The remaining localities mentioned in the text as places for the performance of ceremonies or as landmarks for marking out the augural templum are discussed in the notes on the passages where they occur.

5. There was an ancient tradition according to which the Umbrians were the earliest inhabitants of Italy. This belief is attested by Dionysius of Halicarnassus,[5]

[4] For the two problems see Rosenzweig, pp. 13-6; Devoto, pp. 177-8; Devoto, *T.G.*, pp. 15-7. It is difficult to see why Miss Rosenzweig places the Porta Trebulana at the northeastern corner of the town wall rather than on the eastern or southeastern side.

[5] *Ant. Rom.*, I, 19 *οἱ δὲ διὰ τῆς μεσογείου τραπόμενοι* [sc. *Πελασγοὶ*] *τὴν ὀρεινὴν τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπερβαλόντες, εἰς τὴν Ὀμβρικῶν ἀφικνοῦνται χώραν τῶν ὁμορούντων Ἀβοριγῖσι.*

Florus,[6] and Pliny.[7] This mention of an extensive conquest of Umbrian territory by Etruscans is in partial agreement with the statement of Herodotus, I, 94, that the Etruscans after crossing the sea from Smyrna arrived in the land of the Umbrians. Moreover the use of the name of the *Ὀμβρικοί* to designate the inhabitants of a very large portion of northern Italy receives additional confirmation from Herodotus, IV, 49 *ἐκ δὲ τῆς κατύπερθε χώρης Ὀμβρικῶν Κάρπις ποταμὸς καὶ ἄλλος Ἄλπις πρὸς Βορέην ἄνεμον καὶ οὗτοι ῥέοντες ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐς αὐτόν* [sc. *τὸν Ἴστρον*]. Umbria, however, is generally understood much more narrowly, as the name of that portion of north central Italy separated on the west from Etruria by the Tiber and bordering Aemilia on the north, Picenum on the east, and the country of the Sabines on the southeast, and including in the northeast a small portion of the Adriatic coast between Ancona and Ariminum. It was numbered sixth among the *regiones* of Italy by Augustus. The greater part of Umbria lies to the east of the line which extends northward and southward across Italy in the longitude of Rome, Gubbio, and Rimini, separating the cremating people of the west from the inhuming people of the east,[8] and in general the iron-age material shows a close resemblance to the Picene culture. But the few sites which have yielded inscriptions in the Italic dialect known as "Umbrian" mostly lie along the eastern fringe of the cremation area.[9] The term "Umbrian dialect" then must not be taken as coextensive in area with the Umbrian territory as understood by Herodotus, or even with the sixth *regio* of Augustus.

6. The question of the position of Umbrian among the ancient languages of Italy is essential in any general treatment of the language of the Iguvine Tables. The linguistic diversity in Italy in the pre-Christian era was far greater than in Greece from the beginning of the period from which we have inscriptions. From Sicily and the coastal regions of southern Italy there are abundant records, both epigraphical and literary, of the speech of Greek colonists. From Apulia we have nearly two hundred inscriptions in the language of the Messapii, who are generally regarded as immigrants from the eastern side of the Adriatic, speaking a dialect of the Illyrian branch of the Indo-European family. Much farther to the northwest the Etruscans held control not only of the region between the Tyrrhenian Sea and the Tiber but, during the seventh and sixth centuries,

πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα χωρία τῆς Ἰταλίας ᾤκουν Ὀμβρικοί, καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος ἐν τοῖς πάνυ μέγα τε καὶ ἀρχαῖον.

[6] p. 30, 10-13 (Rossbach) *Etruscorum duodecim populi, Umbri in id tempus intacti, antiquissimus Italiae populus, Samnitium reliqui in excidium Romani nominis repente coniurant.*

[7] *N.H.*, III, 112-3 *Umbrorum gens antiquissima Italiae existimatur, ut quos Ombrios a Graecis putent dictos, quod inundatione terrarum imbribus superfuissent. Trecenta eorum oppida Tusci debellare reperiuntur.*

[8] Randall-MacIver, *Italy before the Romans* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 44-5; Whamough, *The Foundations of Roman Italy* (London, 1937), p. 184.

[9] Whatmough, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

of portions of the Po valley and Campania as well. Around ten thousand Etruscan inscriptions have been discovered, but all except a very few are brief epitaphs. The meager extent of our knowledge of the structure and affinities of the language even today[10] is the more regrettable because of the undoubted influence of the Etruscans on the culture and even the language of their Italic neighbors, especially the closely adjacent Umbrians. None of the other non-Italic dialects of northern Italy is of comparable importance with Etruscan, yet we have some records of Gaulish in the Po valley, of Ligurian and Lepontic in the northwest, and of Raetic in the Raetian Alps. Venetic was formerly grouped as Illyrian along with Messapic, but has more recently been shown to belong in the Italic group.[11] In this group must be placed all the languages of ancient Italy not hitherto mentioned.[12] These languages were spoken especially but not exclusively in the interior throughout the peninsula before its romanization, from the Venetic area in the north to Sicily in the south, and include not only Latin, the most important member, and its closely related neighbor Faliscan, but also Umbrian to the north, Oscan to the southeast, and a series of lesser dialects in the central region around Latium : Paelignian, Marrucinian, Vestinian, Sabine, Aequian, Marsian, and Volscian. Although these last seven are known only from the scantiest records, there is not the slightest doubt as to their classification as Italic. Volscian in particular shows a strikingly close relationship to Umbrian if we may judge from the language of the four-line inscription of Velitrae which constitutes the only certain example of the dialect.[13] Oscan is far better known than the members of this intermediate or " Sabellian " group. Over two hundred Oscan inscriptions are preserved, from Samnium, Campania, Lucania, Bruttium, Messana, and Sicily, including several of fairly considerable length. The close relationship between Umbrian and Oscan is universally recognized; the two have in common a series of phonological and morphological features which must have developed during a period of unity but which are

[10] The evidence in favor of the view that the Etruscans came to Italy by sea from Asia Minor is now so strong that it is practically impossible to entertain any other theory as to their origin. Their language was almost certainly not Indo-European, at least not in the traditional sense. If we follow the opinion of some recent scholars, as, for example, Sturtevant (*Indo-Hittite Laryngeals*, p. 23), in recognizing an "Anatolian" group, which would include Hittite, Hieroglyphic Hittite, Luwian, and Lycian and would constitute a sort of sister-group to Indo-European, Etruscan may some day find a place here.

[11] M. S. Beeler, *The Venetic Language*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949. His conclusions were accepted by Whatmough, *Lang.*, XXVI (1950), pp. 302-4.

[12] Except the language or languages of the "Old Sabellian" or "East Italic" inscriptions discovered at several places on the eastern side of the peninsula. Certain scholars have regarded some of them as Umbrian in language, but their meaning and the classification of their language are not known to any appreciable extent.

[13] Co. 252. Marsian, Aequian, and Sabine may represent intermediate stages reflecting a migration from Umbria to the Volscian territory southeast of Rome, perhaps in the sixth century. See *A.J.P.*, LXXII (1951), pp. 113-27.

absent from Latin. Of these the most striking is the conversion of the labiovelar stops inherited from proto-Indo-European into plain labial stops: e.g. O. **píd**, U. **piř-e**, but L. *quid*. Another important point of agreement against Latin is in the treatment of the voiced aspirates: in Latin these stops become voiceless spirants only in the initial position, while in the medial position they merely lose their aspiration and become plain voiced stops, but in Oscan and Umbrian they become voiceless spirants medially as well as initially: e.g. O. **tfei**, U. **tefe**, but L. *tibi*, with the stop shown in its original form in Skt. *tubhyam*. When a labial or guttural stop stands immediately before a dental, Latin maintains the stop, but in Oscan and Umbrian it is converted into a spirant: e.g. L. *scriptus* but O. *scriftas*, U. *screhto* (*-ht-*<*-ft-*<*-pt-*). The group *-nd-* is assimilated to *-nn-*: e.g. O. **úpsannam**, U. *pihaner*, but L. *operandus*. The groups *ns* and *rs* give rise to *f* and *rf* under certain conditions; for the details, which are complicated, see **58 b**, **c**, **d**, **f**, **59 c**, **e**; Latin shows no parallel to these sound-changes. Among the vowels *ā* is raised in certain situations in the direction of *ō*: e.g. O. *molto*, U. **mutu**, but L. *multa* (with shortening of final *ā* instead of qualitative change). Vowel syncope is much more frequent even than in Latin: e.g. O. **húrz**, U. **Ikuvins** (minor inscription no. 369 Co.), but OL. *hortus*, *Sabinus*. Among declensional forms the genitive singular of *o*-stems has been remodeled after the *i*-stems: e.g. O. **sakarakleís**, U. **katles**, but L. *catuli*; the accusative singular of consonant-stems has been remodeled after the *o*-stems: e.g. O. *tanginom*, U. *curnaco* (<*-om*), but L. *cornicem*. Features of the Oscan-Umbrian verb system not found in Latin include the third plural ending in *-ns*, the *f*-perfect (e.h. **aíkdafed**, U. *pihafi*), and the infinitive in *-om*. The foregoing features are all innovations shared in common by Oscan and Umbrian in contrast to Latin, where the original conditions have been preserved or the innovation has proceeded in a different direction. The reverse instances, in which Oscan and Umbrian have escaped the changes which appear in Latin, have less weight as positive evidence for close Oscan-Umbrian unity, yet they are important in any consideration of the Italic group as a whole. The vowel-weakening which is such a characteristic feature of Latin is largely absent from the other two dialects. *s* before nasals is maintained in such forms as O. **fiísnam**, U. **fesnaf-e** in contrast to its loss in L. *fānum*, etc. In noun-inflection the *ā*-stems have kept the *s* of the genitive singular (e.g. O. **vereias**, U. **tutas**, Gk. *χώρας*, Goth. *gibōs*), which in Latin has been almost entirely displaced, except in expressions like *pater familias*, by the ending *ī* (*āī*> *ae*) of the *o*-stems. In the nominative plural of both *ā*- and *o*-stems both Oscan and Umbrian have retained the *-s* originally characteristic of nouns, as in Sanskrit and Gothic, in contrast to the originally pronominal ending of L. *feminae*, *viri*, etc. In the genitive singular of the third declension, just as Oscan-Umbrian has extended the ending of *i*-stems into consonant-stems (e.g. O. **medíkeís** like *aeteis*), so Latin has extended the ending of consonant-stems into *i*-stems (e.g. *hostis* like *regis*).

Moreover the original short-vowel ending of the nominative plural of consonant-stems, which is preserved in such forms as O. **humuns** (<*-nĕs*), U. *frater* (*-r*<*-rs* <*-rĕs*) was replaced in Latin by *-ēs*<*-eyes* from the *i*-stems. In the verb Oscan and Umbrian preserve the distinction between primary and secondary endings in the third singular and plural, which has been effaced in Latin, and there are other differences, but some of these may be due to the accidental lack of examples in the dialects. In vocabulary also Oscan and Umbrian frequently agree with one another against Latin; for example, O. *touto*, U. *tota* take the place of *civitas*, U. **meřs** (contained also as first member in O. **meddíss**) takes the place of L. *ius*; in place of *ignis* U. has *pir* (: Gk. *πῦρ*), a derivative of which appears in O. **purasiaí**; O. **veru** and U. *uerir* (abl. pl.) take the place of *porta* as words for 'gate.' Latin words for 'building, home, dwell' are largely replaced by derivatives of the root *treb-* seen in O. **trííbúm**, U. *tremnu*, *trebeit*, etc. (but found also in L. *trabs*). The verb represented by L. *volo*, *velle*, apart from specialized uses, has disappeared in favor of O. *herest* '*volet*,' U. **heri** '*vult*,' etc.; and the list could be extended. Naturally Oscan and Umbrian show certain divergences between themselves. The anaptyxis which appears in Oscan forms such as **aragetud** = L. *argento* is largely absent from Umbrian, as from Latin. But where Oscan differs from Umbrian it is almost always the former which shows the earlier stage of development. The change of medial *s* to *r*, which Umbrian shares with Latin, is not found in Oscan, which advanced in this direction only to the extent of voicing the *s*: e.g. U. *pracatarum*, L. *dearum*, but O. *egmazum*; and the Umbrian of the later Iguvine Tables even has rhotacism in the final position: e.g. nom. pl. O. **aídilis**, L. *aediles*, but U. *foner*. Conversion of *k* to a sibilant before front vowels is clearly attested in Umbrian by the use of a special character: e.g. O. **kersnu**, L. *cena*, *cenati*, but U. *śesna*, **çersnatur** (paralleled in the Romance languages in such forms as Ital. *cento*, Fr. *cent*). The change of intervocalic *d* into **ř** *rs* is an especially peculiar Umbrian feature; so also the change of medial *l* to the same **ř** *rs* under certain conditions, and the change of initial *l* to **v** *u* in *uapef-e* (L. *lapides*), etc. The loss of *l* before *t*, which may be observed in the contrast of U. **muta** with O. *molto*, L. *multa*, is also peculiar. Where Oscan has preserved the diphthongs intact, Umbrian has gone farther even than Latin in converting them to monophthongs: e.g. O. **avt** *aut*, L. *aut*, but U. **ute** *ote*.

7. The Sabellian dialects in general show a decided resemblance to Oscan and Umbrian; the conversion of labiovelars to labials is only one among many evidences of such agreement. Paelignian, which is the best known of these dialects, shows an especially close similarity to Oscan, and the same appears to be true of Marrucinian and Vestinian, as far as it is possible to determine from their extremely meager remains, except that they occasionally show the agreement with Umbrian against Oscan which their geographical position would lead us to expect. The close resemblance between Volscian and Umbrian has already been mentioned above in § 6.

8. When we turn from this closely interrelated group of Umbrian, Sabellian, and Oscan dialects to Latin and the question of its relation to them, we are confronted with a problem that has become increasingly controversial in recent decades. Earlier works, such as Brugmann's *Grundriss* and the Oscan-Umbrian grammars of von Planta and Buck, unhesitatingly affirmed the notion of Italic as one of the principal branches of the Indo-European family, with Latin, Oscan, and Umbrian as closely related members within it, and in fact it is doubtful whether the interpretation of the texts could have been successfully accomplished by any other means than the assumption of a close linguistic relationship to Latin, accompanied by a careful comparison of Latin literature and antiquities. The special features common to Latin and the Oscan-Umbrian group of dialects include: representation of the Indo-European initial voiced aspirates by voiceless spirants; representation of the vocalic liquids *ṛ*, *ḷ* by *or*, *ol* and of the vocalic nasals *ṇ*, *ṃ* by *en*, *em*; merging of the diphthongs *eu* and *ou* as *ou*; extensive syncope of unstressed short vowels; frequent use of the extended suffix *-tiōn-* in place of *-ti-* in abstract nouns (with gradation *-tiōn/tīn-* in Oscan and Umbrian); extension of the ablative singular ending *-d* from *o*-stems into most other stem-classes; an imperfect indicative based on the suffix *-bhā-* or more probably *-bhwā-*, which, however, in the dialects is attested solely by O. **fufans**. Moreover in the verbal system of the two branches, despite many important differences and despite the fact that some common features are found even outside of Italic and hence are less significant than innovations peculiar to Latin and Oscan-Umbrian, nevertheless there is a fundamental similarity, which is especially apparent when we attempt to arrange the verbs in conjugational classes. The system of four conjugations which is traditional for Latin and which has been successfully extended to Oscan and Umbrian, could not possibly be adapted to the verbal system of Greek or of the Indo-Iranian or Germanic languages. Several recent scholars, however, have emphasized the differences rather than the resemblances between Latin and Oscan-Umbrian, and in fact the differences are unquestionably greater than between, for example, any two Greek dialects.[14] Moreover, according to those scholars who favor a wide separation, some of the features which the two branches share in common are the result of cultural borrowing after the Italic-speaking nations were settled in the peninsula. Latin words of dialectal origin, especially those possessing unexpected labials in place of the normal product of labiovelars (e.g. *popina* : genuine Latin *coquina*, *bos* : Skt. *gaus*), or medial *f* from *bh*, *dh* (e.g. *Alfius* : genuine L. *Albius*, U. **alfu**, Gk. *ἀλφός*; *rufus* : genuine L. *ruber*, U. *rofu*, Skt. *rudhiras*) are well-known.

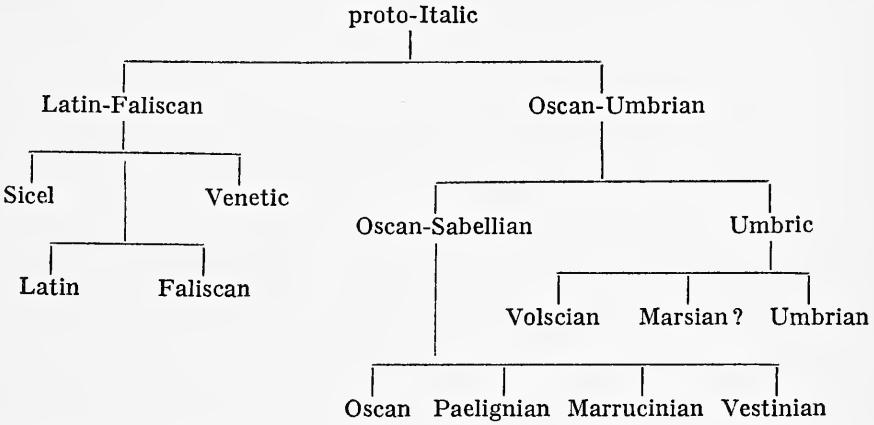
[14] Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*,[2] I (Leipzig and Berlin, 1912), p. 554, found a difference of 10 to 15 words per hundred between the Greek of the Gortynian Law Code and Attic, but a difference of 60 to 70 words per hundred between the Iguvine Tables and Latin. See also Beeler, *Lang.*, XXVIII (1952), pp. 435-43, emphasizing the divergence between Oscan-Umbrian and Latin.

Among borrowings in the opposite direction, from Latin into the dialects, it is possible to mention O. **aídil** (<L. *aedilis*; if this were native we should expect *-f-*), O. **kenzsur** (beside native **keenzstur**), O. **kvaísstur**, U. **kvestur**, unless the initial consonant of these and of L. *quaestor* was *k̂w* (which is unlikely, since these words are probably somehow related to the interrogative pronoun stem with labiovelar k^w) and unless *k̂w* became **kv** instead of *p* in the dialects; certain other words, such as L. *vinum*, U. **vinu**, give evidence of borrowing from dialect to dialect, and of ultimate Greek, Etruscan, or other origin. But in general the evidence for extensive lexical borrowing among the Italic dialects is not very strong, although a careful phonological study of the vocabulary of Latin, Oscan, and Umbrian in close connection with the chronology of the sound-changes might lead to interesting results.

9. Naturally the extent of kinship between Latin and Oscan-Umbrian is a matter of degree and not of absolute truth against absolute falsity, unless it is asked whether or not we have the right to assume "proto-Italic" as a common ancestor of the Italic languages, spoken after the breaking up of proto-Indo-European, but uniform within itself. In the light of present-day knowledge of dialect geography it is unlikely that we have the right to assume any intermediate stages of this sort except in the sense of groups of closely related dialects, mutually intelligible but not absolutely uniform unless their area was an exceedingly small one. In this sense it may be quite proper, and for practical convenience is sometimes desirable, to recognize "proto-Italic" as we recognize "proto-Germanic" and similar ancestor-stages for other groups. But it is quite improbable that "proto-Italic" was ever spoken within the Italian peninsula ; the two main divisions had probably become at least partially distinct somewhere beyond the Alps. It is a familiar assumption that among the prehistoric Indo-European dialects from which the separate languages of later times were descended some occupied a position on the periphery of the original home, and that the speakers of these dialects migrated especially early to their new homes, and further that these dialects, even after wide geographical separation, preserved certain archaisms of morphology and vocabulary which disappeared, sometimes being replaced by new forms, in the more centrally located dialects and the languages descended from them.[15] Now at those points where the Latin and Oscan-Umbrian vocabulary diverge from one another it not infrequently happens that the dialects show a striking agreement with Greek or Germanic, two branches generally regarded as being descended from centrally located Indo-European dialects. As examples it may be sufficient to cite U. *pir*, O. **pur-* in **purasiaí**, Gk. *πῦρ*, OHG *fuir*, Eng. *fire* (but L. *ignis* with Skt. *agnis*); U. *trebeit*, *tremnu*, Goth. *þaurp*, Germ. *Dorf*. In the treatment of the labiovelars also the dialects agree with Greek

[15] For this theory, or variations of it, see H. Hirt, *Die Indogermanen* (2 vols., Strassburg, 1905-7), I, pp. 158, 162; Meillet & Vendryes, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques* (Paris, 1924), p. 17; Devoto, *Gli antichi italici*[2] (Florence, 1951), p. 49.

(especially with Aeolic, where the labialization does not depend on the quality of the following vowel) and with the Cymric division of Celtic, which, to judge from its geographical position, appears to be a descendant of a more centrally situated dialect than that which developed into Irish. The notion that the pre-Latin speakers were early migrants into Italy, followed by a much later wave of other migrants, accords well with the distribution of the Italic peoples in the latter half of the first millenium B.C., when " Latinians " occupied portions of the west coast, including not only Latium but regions farther to the southeast before they were submerged by the Oscan-speaking Samnites, and left possible remnants in Sicily. It is now possible to arrange the Italic languages and dialects according to the following stemma :



10. Neither the passages of the Tables in which the ritual is described nor the liturgical formulas interspersed among these directions can be considered as polished literary compositions comparable with passages of similar content imbedded in Greek epic or tragic poetry or in Latin literature of the Golden Age. But if the prayers of the Atiedian Brothers are deficient in elegance and smoothness, they have nonetheless a certain rugged and archaic dignity. Their style can best be compared with that of the prose of Cato the Elder, the fragments of the Twelve Tables, and the ancient formulas of a ritualistic character scattered through the works of Roman prose writers of a later age.[16] The sentence-structure in the Tables is generally simple; imperatives, sometimes in series of some length, are used in the basic directions for the ritual, interspersed with temporal clauses of resumptive character, containing future perfect verb forms and serving to connect the successive steps of the ritual in their proper sequence. There is rarely a second level of subordination and scarcely even an approach to what is known as a 'periodic sentence.' Asyndeton is the rule when substantives follow one another

[16] For such texts in general see G. Appel, *De precationibus Romanorum* (*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, VII), Giessen, 1909.

in series, and imperative forms are often similarly connected: e.g. *totar Iouinar nome nerf arsmo ueiro pequo castruo fri pihatu*, or the imperatives **persnihmu vestikatu ahtrepuřatu ařpeltu statitatu.** But if there is an appearance of striving for brevity in the sparing use of conjunctions, the opposite is true of the accumulation of near-synonyms which is such a marked feature of legal or liturgical formulas, where no omission may be allowed which might nullify the effect of the prayer or injunction. So, for example, in VIa 27-8 in which Jupiter Grabovius is entreated to accept the ox as a propitiatory offering in case of any deficiency or flaw in the ritual: *Dei Crabouie persei tuer perscler uaseto est pesetom est peretomest / frosetomest daetomest tuer perscler uirseto auirseto uas est...*; or the frequent formula *futu fons pacer pase tua ocre Fisi tote Iiouine erer nomne erar nomne.*

11. In making a comparison between the Iguvine Tables and early Latin legal and liturgical prose it is necessary to take account of one particular artistic device which is especially affected by both; that is, the use of alliteration. The most striking example of its use in the Tables occurs in the curse against the enemies of Iguvium in VIb 60 = VIIa 49 (with only orthographic differences) *tursitu tremitu hondu holtu ninctu nepitu sonitu sauitu preplotatu preuilatu.* Other examples include *stahmei stahmeitei, praco pracatarum, fato fito perne postne sepse sarsite.* It is not necessary to cite Latin parallels, which range from the tour de force *O Tite tute Tati tibi tanta tyranne tulisti* of Ennius (fr. 109 Vahlen) to the restrained use of such phrases as *magno cum murmure montis* by Vergil. The theory that alliteration was especially favored in early Germanic, Celtic, and Italic verse because of the initial position of the accent in the early stages of these languages is plausible enough,[17] but the reduced use of this device in Latin literature of the best period is certainly not the result of the new system of accent, but rather of a more refined and sophisticated standard of taste, combined possibly with the influence of Greek verse-structure, where alliteration never had a prominent role. A rather closely related matter is the possible use of rhythm in the liturgical formulas of the Tables, but here we are on very uncertain ground because of our ignorance not only of quantitative and accentual conditions in the Italic dialects but even of the prosodic principles of Latin Saturnian verse, which is the verse-form that most naturally suggests itself as a basis for comparison in studying the question of rhythm in the dialect texts.[18]

12. Our knowledge of the facts concerning the discovery of the Iguvine Tables[19]

[17] See E. H. Sturtevant, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin* (Philadelphia, 1940), p. 180.

[18] For a rhythmical analysis of the prayer in Cato, *R.R.*, 141 together with certain passages of the Iguvine tables, see Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, I, pp. 156-63, For similar treatment of several Umbrian and other dialect texts, see L. H. Gray, *A.J.P.*, LXIII (1942), pp. 433-43.

[19] For a much more comprehensive account of the study of the tables from their discovery in 1444 down to the present time, see Bréal, *Les tables eugubines*, pp. 1-XVIII, and Devoto, *Tabulae iguvinae*, pp. 5-27. The present is a condensation of these accounts.

is derived from certain addenda to *Statuta Civitatis Eugubii*, the work of a seventeenth-century jurist Antonio Concioli, a native of Gubbio. The passage in question reads: ... *confirmat* (*sc. Eugubium civitatem fuisse antiquissimam, ac reges ibi resedisse*) *veterrimum theatrum: confirmant novem aheneae tabulae fama percelebres, ac litteris ac sententiis nemini cognitis exaratae quae totius orbis, nedum Italiae, antiquissima creduntur monumenta. Anno 1444 has tabellas ex aere purissimo fortuna detexit in subterranea concameratione miris emblematis tessellata, quae quidem tam egregio picturatur artificio, ut regalis aulae specimen praebeat, apud theatrum, hoc est in planitie ubi antiquitus sedebat Eugubium. Atque illae notissimum sibi nomen compararunt apud eos, qui vetustate cognita delectantur, multique crediderunt leges ibi caelatas esse primorum regum, qui in hac provincia dominarentur. Centesimus trigesimus tertius agitur annus ex quo illarum duae Venetiis in armamentario ducalis palatii inter rarissima custodiuntur, tanquam pretiosa caligantis, sed pulchrae antiquitatis monumenta, ac Tabulae Eugubinae vocantur. Delatae fuerunt in eam urbem a clarissimo viro ut nobilibus eorum temporum antiquariis traderentur interpretandae: et licet brevi remittendas fuisse promiserit, nec brevi, nec ullo unquam tempore redierunt in societatem aliarum septem, quae in secreto palatii communis archivio asservantur.* The remains of the Roman theatre in which the tables were discovered are located just outside the town of Gubbio, on the western side. The notion that there were originally nine tables has been questioned because of a notice of the sale as early as 1456 of seven tables to the town of Gubbio:[20] ... *vendidit... magnificis dominis Gonfalonerio et consulibus dicte civitatis et michi Guererio Cancellario infrascripto recipientibus pro dicto Comuni tabulas septem eburneas* (sic) *variis literis scriptas latinis videlicet et segretis.* But there is further evidence to support the belief that the number of tables orignally discovered was nine. Leandro Alberti (1479-1552) in his *Descrizione d'Italia*[21] writes of the tables: *Praeterea loci vetustatem tabulae quaedam ex aere, partim Hetruscis, partim Latinis characteribus inscriptae probant, quae non pridem inter antiquas urbis ruinas inventae, nunc in Curia magno cum honore servantur. Mihi cum aliquando Eugubium venissem, Priores urbis summa cum religione septenas ostenderunt, binas adhuc deesse addentes.* Bréal sought to solve the problem of the conflicting traditions by supposing that the two tables which eventually disappeared in Venice after 1540 had been in other hands from the time of their discovery or else had been sold to other persons at the time when the seven were sold to the city. In any case the view that there were originally nine tables is generally accepted today. Their possible content is discussed briefly below (§ 16).

[20] See Conestabile, *Giornale di Erudizione Artistica* (Perugia, 1872), vol. I, pp. 177-81; Devoto, p. 6.

[21] First edition published 1550. Bréal, p. 311, cites from the Latin translation *F. Leandri Alberti Bononiensis Descriptio totius Italiae. Interprete Guilielmo Kyriandro Hoeningeno* (Cologne, 1567).

13. The religious character of the tables was recognized as early as the sixteenth century. Justus Lipsius, who in 1588 published the *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae passim per Europam liber* of Martinus Smetius after the latter's death, included Tables IV and VI, with the remark *tabulas hasce ambas Joannes Metellus Burgundus vidit et exscripsit, quas etsi nemo plane intelligit, quia tamen de rebus sacris agere quidam crediderunt, ideo hoc loco ponendas existimavi.* The clue to this religious character could conceivably have been found in such expressions as *buf trif fetu marte* or in other passages where Latin-appearing divine names and animal names are used in close association, but it was impossible to make any satisfactory sense from the texts until the development of comparative linguistic method in the nineteenth century. It was not even clearly understood what the language of the inscriptions was, and attempts were made to decipher the texts with the help of Dutch (so van Scrieck in 1614, taking the language to be that of the ancient 'Belgians') or of Old English, Old High German, and Celtic languages (so Bardetti, 1688-1767), or of Greek and Hebrew (so Passeri, 1694-1780). That the language was often taken to be Etruscan is not surprising in view of the type of writing used on five of the seven tables, the proximity of Umbria to Etruria, and the exaggerated enthusiasm for Etruscan antiquities which affected not only some Italians of Tuscan origin but certain non-Italians as well. This view was held by Bernardino Baldo (1553-1617), who in 1613 published a work entitled *Divinatio in tabulam aeneam Eugubinam lingua Hetrusca veteri perscriptam*, and by the Scottish scholar Thomas Dempster (1559-1625), whose work *De Etruria Regali* was written in 1619 but first published in Florence in 1723 with the help of Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester. Dempster regarded the Umbrian language as one of four dialects of Etruscan, of which the others were Oscan, Raetic, and Faliscan. Filippo Buonarroti, who was entrusted with the task of editing Dempster's work, performed a valuable service by adding a set of remarkably accurate facsimiles of the tables. He also denied the theory that their language was Etruscan, basing his argument on the total absence of the termination *-al* which is so common in Etruscan inscriptions. Although the Etruscan theory did not fully die out until the early nineteenth century, some advances were made during the seventeenth and eighteenth. Scipione Maffei (1675-1755) correctly interpreted some of the words in the tables, called attention to the resemblance between their content, which he recognized as being liturgical, and that of the Roman *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, and defended their genuineness against those of his day who regarded them as forgeries. Hannibal degli Abbati Olivieri (1708-89) recognized the words *atiersiur*, etc., as the name of a priestly college, which he designated *Ateiatiorum*, and saw that the word **ikuvina** in the tables, like **ikuvins** on a coin from Gubbio (no. 369 Co.) was derived from the name of the town Iguvium, even though he made the mistake of translating *tota iouina* 'tota iuventus.' Passeri's work was important because of his understanding and exposition of the combinational method of decipherment, his re-

cognition of the language as the ancient language of Gubbio, and his arrangement of the tables, even though this arrangement was later to be superseded by that of Lepsius, which is universally adopted as the standard today.[22] In spite of his dependence on Greek and Hebrew for purposes of etymological comparison, to which reference was made above, he first made correct interpretations of several words the credit for which has generally been given to much later scholars. Aloisius Lanzi (1732-1818) affirmed the ritualistic character of the texts, which, even though it had been recognized much earlier, had by no means been admitted by all scholars during the two centuries which preceded the publication of Lanzi's *Saggio di lingua etrusca e di altre antiche d'Italia* (Rome, 1789). He further succeeded in reaching a sound interpretation of a number of individual words: *feitu* '*facito*', *desenduf* '*duodecim*,' *poi* '*qui*,' *ape* '*postquam*,' **kumiaf** '*foetas*,' *nertru* '*sinistro*,' *fons* '*volens*,' *pir* '*πῦρ*.' A generation later Carl Otfried Müller (1797-1840) made it fully clear that the language of the Iguvine Tables was not Etruscan and that the two alphabets used in the tables do not represent two distinct dialects.[23] Müller's pupil Richard Lepsius (1810-84) partly advanced the interpretation of the tables, especially by perceiving the true value of several of the characters in the Etruscan alphabet, but partly went astray by affirming that the use of the Etruscan and Latin alphabets in the inscriptions of the same people must always indicate a difference of language, and by assigning to the tables a greater antiquity than any scholar of the present day would admit.[24] His most important contribution to the study of the Iguvine Tables, however, lies in the chronological numbering which he assigned to them, for even though this numbering may not represent the true relative age of the tables themselves, still less of the texts which they contain, nevertheless it has become the accepted standard for all subsequent editors.[25] The earliest critical edition of the Iguvine Tables still cited by contemporary scholars in their treatment of problems in the Iguvine Tables is the *Umbrische Sprachdenkmäler* of Th. Aufrecht and A. Kirchhoff (3 vols., Berlin, 1849-51). Although many of their emendations and inter-

[22] Passeri counted twelve tables by taking separately the two sides of the five which are inscribed on both sides. His first six tables are nos. I, VI, and VII according to the system of Lepsius; his VII-VIII = our II; IX-X = our V; XI-XII = our III-IV; identity of content was the ground for placing I with VI and VII despite the difference of alphabet.

[23] *Die Etrusker*, revised by W. Deecke, 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1877. See especially I, pp. 38-49.

[24] 6th century B.C. for those tables in the Etruscan alphabet, 4th century B.C. for those in the Latin. Earlier views of their age had varied considerably. Concioli's account of the discovery of the tables, cited above, may be remembered for his bold statement that the tables were the oldest records in the world, not to mention Italy. Bourguet (1678-1742) regarded them as earlier than the reign of Romulus and as the earliest extant monuments with the exception of some from Egypt. Passeri with more restraint had ranged himself between those who believed the tables to be earlier than the Trojan War and those who believed them to be no earlier than the time of Cicero. For modern views, with the criteria used for dating the tables, see below (§§ 17-19).

[25] Huschke assigned the designation IIa to the table normally numbered IIb and vice versa.

pretations can no longer be accepted today, the work, with its full Latin translation, detailed commentary, grammar, lexicon, and facsimiles of all the tables, still has value. Of the various treatments of the tables during the century which has elapsed since Aufrecht and Kirchhoff some idea can be gained from the bibliography. These may be divided roughly into two classes: works on the Italic dialects, such as those of Conway, von Planta, Buck, Vetter, Pisani, and Bottiglioni, most of them containing a more or less detailed grammatical description of the dialects; and editions of the Iguvine Tables alone, such as those of Huschke, Bréal, Bücheler, von Blumenthal, and Devoto (with the minor Umbrian inscriptions included in Huschke and Bücheler, as well as the Tables). The value of Huschke's work is seriously impaired by the many sound-changes which are erroneously assumed, and by the invalid etymologies based on these sound-changes. Bréal's work has much greater value. Bücheler's edition is excellent, and on it to a large extent are based the interpretations of Conway and of Buck. Von Blumenthal's commentary does not cover the whole of the Tables but contains a penetrating analysis of certain selected passages. Along with some interpretations which must be discarded there are others which show great ingenuity and are preferable to those of any of his predecessors. Devoto's edition is the most important that has appeared during the twentieth century; it deserves special praise for the acute and independent judgment applied to the innumerable problems which arise in the interpretation of the Tables, for its orderly exposition of the parts of the ritual and their relation to the ceremonies as a whole, for the liberal citation of Latin, Greek, Avestan, and Sanskrit passages relating to parallel cult-practices, and for its abundant bibliographical references. Devoto's smaller work, *Le tavole di Gubbio* (Florence, 1948), contains the first translation of the Iguvine Tables to appear in any modern language. A number of important shorter studies, especially by Italian scholars, have appeared during the past two decades, of which it is impossible to give an adequate account here. There are still many unsolved problems in the interpretation of the Iguvine Tables, and for many of these it would be too much to hope that with the knowledge we now have we shall ever find an entirely satisfactory solution, although if some fortunate chance should ever lead to the recovery of the two lost tables or of some new Umbrian inscription of considerable length, our knowledge of the language and meaning of the extant tables would be substantially increased. Actually, however, since the middle of the nineteenth century so much of the tables has been clearly understood that it is quite possible to give a detailed and accurate outline of their content. In the following outline the line-numbers of VIa, b, VIIa are shown in a parallel column after those of Ia, b, since the content is nearly the same except that the version in VI and VII is much more detailed than that in I. In the remainder of the outline IIa, IIb, III, IV, Va, and Vb are given in order.

Ia 1-Ib 9	VIa 1-VIb 47	Purification of the Fisian Mount.
1a 1-2	VIa 1-18	Taking of the auspices.
	18-21	Instructions on the ceremonial wand and on the lighting of the fire.
2-6	22-57	Sacrifice of three oxen to Jupiter Grabovius before the Trebulan Gate. Text of the invocations is given in VIa but not in Ia.
7-10	58-59	Sacrifice of three pregnant sows to Trebus Jovius behind the Trebulan Gate.
11-13	VIb 1-2	Sacrifice of three oxen to Mars Grabovius before the Tesenacan Gate.
14-16	3-5	Sacrifice of three sucking pigs to Fisus Sancius behind the Tesenacan Gate.
16-19	5-18	Supplementary offerings to Fisovius Sancius. Text of the invocations is given in VIb but not in Ia.
20-23	19-21	Sacrifice of three oxen with white foreheads to Vofionus Grabovius before the Veian Gate.
24-27	22-23	Sacrifice of three ewe-lambs to Tefer Jovius behind the Veian Gate.
27-34	23-42	Supplementary offerings to Tefer Jovius. Text of the invocations is given in VIb but not in Ia.
Ib 1-4	43-44	Sacrifice of three bull-calves to Mars Hodius at the Grove of Jupiter.
4-7	45-46	Sacrifice of three bull-calves to Hondus Ṣerfius at the Grove of Coredius.
7-9	47	Instruction to repeat the *auspicium* and the ceremony of purification, if there has been any omission.

Ib 10-45	VIb 48-VIIb 4	Lustration of the people of Iguvium.
Ib 10-11	VIb 48-49	Taking of the auspices.
11-12	49-50	Fire-ceremony.
13-14	51-52	Second *auspicium.*
14-15	52	Procession by the Augural Way to Acedonia, the *adfertor* being accompanied by two *prinuatur.*
16-18	53-55	Banishment of aliens.
19-22	56-65	Procession of the citizens of Iguvium with the sacrificial victims, making the circuit three times. Text of the imprecations against aliens and prayers for favor toward Iguvium are included in VIb but not in Ib.
22-23	65-VIIa 1	The two *prinuatur* depart.
24-26	VIIa 3-5	Sacrifice of three boars to Serfus Martius at Fontuli.
27-30	6-40	Sacrifice of three female pigs to Prestota Serfia of Serfus Martius at Rubinia. VIIa includes supplementary offerings to Prestota Serfia with black vessels, accompanied by imprecations against the enemies of Iguvium and prayers for favor toward Iguvium, and with white vessels, accompanied by prayers for the protection of Iguvium. The text of the imprecations and prayers is given in full. Ib has nothing corresponding to these supplementary offerings except for a brief reference to the black and white vessels and to the moving of the bowls.
31-39	41-45	Sacrifice of three heifer-calves to Tursa Serfia of Serfius Martius at Trans Sanctam, and commands to be passed between the three stations where sacrifices are being performed.
	46-51	Nearly equivalent to VIb 57-62: imprecations against aliens.
40-44	51-VIIb 4	Ritual pursuit of the heifers through the town.
45		Authentication by the quaestor; nearly identical with IIa 44.

IIa 1-14	Sacrifices to be performed in case of unfavorable auspices.
IIa 1-4	Introduction and propitiatory formula.
4-5	Sacrifice of a young pig to Vesticius Sancius, an ox to Jupiter, and a victim to Spector.
6-7	Sacrifice of a ram to Jovius.
8-10	Supplementary offerings to Dicamnus Jovius.
10-11	Sacrifice of a sheep to Ahtus Jupiter.
11-13	Sacrifice of a young boar to Ahtus Mars.
13-14	Sacrifice to the Di Ancites.
IIa 15-44	Sacrifice of a dog to Hondus Jovius.
IIa 15-17	Proper time for the festival of the Hondia.
17-20	Paraphernalia for the festival.
20-32	Slaughter and *porrectio* of the victim at the altar.
33-39	Ceremonies at the Obelisk.
39-43	Return to the altar and conclusion of the sacrifice.
44	Authentication by the quaestor; nearly identical with Ia 45.
IIb 1-21	Sacrifices at the decurial festival of Semo.
IIb 1-2	Selection of the victims, a pig and a goat.
2-7	Naming of the *decuviae* for whom the sacrifices are to be performed.
7-10	Consecration and slaughter of the pig.
10-21	Consecration and sacrifice of the goat.
IIb 21-29	Sacrifice of a bull-calf to Jupiter Sancius.

III-IV	Sacrifices in honor of Jupiter, Pomonus Poplicus and Vesona.
III 1-3	Proper time for the sacrifices.
3	Purification of the jar (or vat?) in the grove.
4-11	Appointment of the *auctor*, inspection of the victims and procession to the Field.
12-20	Construction of the litter for carrying the sacrificial victims.
20-25	Slaughter of the young pig in honor of Jupiter.
26-30	Slaughter of the sheep in honor of Pomonus Poplicus.
30-31	Further instructions with regard to the young pig.
31-IV 14	Continuation of the sheep-sacrifice, with special offerings to Pomonus Poplicus and Vesona.
IV 14-16	Offering of a libation and cake to Purdovif.
17-22	Offerings to Hula and Tursa.
23-32	Further ceremonies in honor of Pomonus and Vesona.
32-33	Injunction against use of the jar (or vat?) after its purification.
Va 1- Vb 7	Two decrees regarding the duties and privileges of the *adfertor*.
Va 1-3	Authority for the first decree.
3-10	Responsibility of the *adfertor* to procure and inspect victims for sacrifice.
10-13	Prescribed rate for the procurement of vegetable offerings.
14-15	Authority for the second decree.
15-22	Rewards granted to the *adfertor* at the three stages of the sacrifice.
22-Vb 7	Vote on whether the *adfertor* has performed his duties satisfactorily, and fine to be imposed on him in case he has failed.
Vb 8-18	Contracts between the Atiedian Brothers and two of the *decuviae*.
Vb 8-13	Contract with the *decuvia* Clavernii.
13-18	Contract with the *decuvia* Casilas.

14. Among the deities known from the Iguvine Tables several are thoroughly familiar in Rome. This is notably the case with Jupiter and Mars, who are honored during the purification of the Fisian Mount with sacrifices before the Trebulan and Tesenacan Gates respectively, although for the epithet *Grabovius* which stands with the names of these two gods most recent editors assume an Illyrian origin and no longer admit any connection with Latin (*Mars*) *Gradivus*: see on VIa 22. This epithet also stands beside the name of Vofionus, who is honored with three oxen at the Veian Gate. The three gods therefore make up a triad comparable to the Roman triad consisting of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, and this grouping in threes appears in a number of other connections in the Iguvine Tables; there are, for example, three gates at which sacrifice is performed in the purification of the Fisian Mount, three sacrifices in the lustration of the people of Iguvium, three principal stages in the sacrifice (*caesio*, *porrectio*, *superjectio*), three victims in each of the sacrifices of the purification and lustration; the sentence of banishment against aliens is pronounced three times, and the lustral procession makes the circuit three times. Roman parallels are not difficult to find; for a treatment of the subject from an Italic and Indo-Iranian viewpoint see Benveniste, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, CXXIX (1945), pp. 5-16. The deities of the Iguvine cult are occasionally grouped in triads in which the second and third are subordinate to the first; so at least in the case of Serfus Martius, Prestota Serfia of Serfus Martius, and Tursa Serfia of Serfus Martius, to whom sacrifices are offered at three separate spots in the ceremonies of the lustration. The second and third deities, which are female, evidently represent two opposite aspects of Mars, Prestota standing for his protective power, Tursa for his hostile power which terrifies enemies. Another apparent instance of deified abstraction is found in IIa 10, 11, where sacrifices are offered to Ahtus Jupiter and Ahtus Mars; Ahtus represents the oracular power of the two gods whose names follow in apposition. In the name **Vesune Puemunes Pupřices** in IV 3-4, etc., Vesuna is probably to be regarded as the consort of Puemunus, both being deities of fertility; but in general the precise interrelation between deities, when one name accompanies another in genitive or adjective form, is difficult to define, and the tables give little direct help. Certainly it is not possible here to discuss the problem of the degree of anthropomorphism present in Italic religion before it had become strongly permeated with Greek influence.

15. The ritual of the Atiedian Brothers was a complex one, partly because the animal sacrifice, which was the most important feature, was generally accompanied by supplementary offerings of various kinds, and because considerable attention was given to the kinds of vessels and other implements used in the ceremonies. Libations are offered with wine and more frequently with a substance known as **puni** = *poni*, which has been variously identified but was probably some other alcoholic beverage, possibly mead; sometimes *poni* alone is prescribed, sometimes a choice of wine or *poni*. Several types of cakes are called for, one or

frequently two types being prescribed for a single sacrifice. A full list would include the *mefa*, with which the *mefa spefa* may be identical, the *ficla*, the *strušla*, the *tesedi*, *farsio* or barley-cakes, the **arçlataf** or crescent-shaped cakes, and the **petenata** or comb-cakes. We can have only a rough notion of the nature of these different cakes, chiefly from etymological comparison and from data regarding Roman offering-cakes in Cato, Festus, etc. The description of the sacrifices also includes instructions on the disposition of the various parts of the victim and on the modulation of the voice and the content of the prayers to be used. Among the passages relating to the purification and lustration the two versions in Ia, b, and VIa, b, VIIa in general show remarkably close agreement, the chief difference being that only the later version gives the actual text of the prayers, while the earlier merely gives a hint of their content through the words **ukriper Fisiu tutaper Ikuvina** 'on behalf of the Fisian Mount, on behalf of the Iguvine State'. But there is no regular sequence in giving the instructions to use wine or mead, to offer cakes of a specified type, to pray silently, to use the same formulas as before the Trebulan Gate, etc.; the sequence not only varies from one sacrifice to the next, but even between the earlier and later versions of the same sacrifice. The priests must have known in what order to proceed and merely needed to be told what type of cakes to offer, whether they must use mead or whether they had the choice of mead or wine, etc. Certain ritual acts not mentioned in connection with the purification and lustration are found in the description of the sacrifice in IIa, b, III, IV. Especially striking among these is the anointing of the Obelisk in IIa 38.

16. A topic related to the cults of Iguvium and even more beset with difficulties is the organization of the Atiedian priesthood and of the Iguvine state. It is fully clear that the Tables are the records of a priestly organization whose name latinized would be *Fratres Atiedii*; it is they who passed the resolutions in Va and who contracted with the *decuviae* Clavernii and Casilas in Vb, and the sacrifices in III are offered on their own behalf — **fratruspe(r) Atiieřie(s)**. The number of members was probably twelve, since in VIIb 1-2 twelve unblemished (heifers) are to be procured for the ritual heifer-chase, unless indeed we take *desenduf* directly with *fratrom Atiersio* itself instead of with *seuacne*. Twelve was also the number of the Roman *Salii* according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.*, II, 70, 1; Livy, 1, 20, 4, and of the *Fratres Arvales* according to Masurius Sabinus (Aul. Gell., VII, 7, 8). There is some difficulty in reconciling the number twelve with the practice of voting in groups of five, as when in III 4-5 the Brothers rising in **puntis** 'pentads' appoint an *auctor*, but Devoto, p. 305, *T.G.*, p. 11, finds a fairly satisfactory solution by recognizing two pentads plus the *fratricus* plus the *adfertor*, making twelve in all. The *fratricus* appears to be a sort of presiding officer within the brotherhood; it is he who in Va 23 calls for a vote as to whether the *adfertor* has performed his duties satisfactorily, although the quaestor may replace him in this function. The *fratricus* also has the responsi-

bility of obtaining victims for the ritual heifer-chase, according to the instructions in VIIb, and like the *adfertor* in Va, he can be penalized if he fails in his duty. The language of VIIa 1-2 — 'whoever at any time shall be *fratricus* for the Atiédian Brothers... during his term of office as *fratricus*' — makes it seem that the office was subject to rather frequent rotation. No single official mentioned in the Iguvine Tables has such an important role as the *adfertor*. It is he who performs the lustration; so much is plain from VIIb 3 'when the Atiedian *adfertor* has performed the lustration of the people'; compare also Ib 40-1. The taking of the auspices in the opening portion of VIa, which precedes the series of sacrifices performed during the purification of the Fisian Mount, is the responsibility of the *adfertor* and augur together; at least the person who is euphemistically designated 'he who goes to observe the divine messengers (the birds)' may safely be regarded as the equivalent of the Roman augur. During the instructions for the sacrifices of the purification in VIa 22-b 47 = Ia 2-b 9 the *adfertor* is never directly mentioned, but this avoidance of his title is evidently deliberate; see especially on VIb 50. In general the instructions throughout the Iguvine Tables have the form of future imperatives without expressed subject, and it is to be assumed that the priests knew who was to carry out each particular instruction; usually it was the *adfertor*, although occasionally it must have been some other person, as, for example, in IV 29, where the subject to be understood for **kanetu** is probably a flute-player. Whether the actual slaying of the victim was performed by a *victimarius*, as ultimately in Rome, it is impossible to say. In Tables Ia, b, IIa, b, III the instructions are normally given in the second person, in VIa, b, VIIa in the third, if we may judge by the distribution of **s** and *st* in the endings of the future and future perfect forms which frequently appear in the subordinate clauses, for the imperative forms in *-tu*, like Latin *amato*, *habeto*, etc., are ambiguous (**115 c**). During the lustration and the heifer-chase the *adfertor* is accompanied by two men called *prinuatur*. From the meagre data in Ib, VIb, VIIa it is not clear whether they are similar to acolytes or are civil magistrates of some kind whose office entitles them to a part in the ceremonies, but from the fact that they wear a purple robe (if *ponisiater* VIb 51, **puniçate** Ib 15 means 'one dressed in purple') and that they join with the *adfertor* in uttering the imprecations against the enemies of Iguvium in VIb 57 ff. and VIIa 46 ff., it appears that their position was an important one. Of two other officials, the *auctor* and the quaestor, more will be said below (§18) because of the significance of these officials for the chronology of the Tables. For the organization of the citizens of Iguvium the most important passages are IIb 1-7 and Vb 8-18. The sense of these two passages is discussed in the notes, but may be briefly summarized here. The population of Iguvium had been divided into **tekvias**, a term which may be latinized as *decuviae* and which clearly indicates a division into ten groups, as may be seen from the ten names **Atiieřiate**, **Klaverniie**, **Kureiate**, etc., which follow. But as the population increased, the *decuviae* had to be redivided; hence the use of the ex-

pressions **etre Atiieřiate** 'second Atiedias,' etc., and every *decuvia* has been divided in this way except for the Casilas, which was divided into three instead of two, and the Peraznanii, which was left undivided. There were thus twenty *decuviae* after the reorganization. Vb 8-18 contains contracts between the Atiedian Brothers and two of these *decuviae*, the Clavernii and the Casilas, the former being understood to include its two and the latter its three subdivisions. Since we should expect to find similar contracts with the remaining eight *decuviae*, it has been reasonably conjectured that they formed a part of the content of the two lost tables (so Buck, p. 302; Blum., p. 36; Dev., p. 412). Vb 8-18 would then be not the beginning but the conclusion of the series of contracts, since nearly half of the reverse of the tablet is left blank. Some lower grouping of citizens than the division into *decuviae* must have existed, and of such a grouping we have some evidence in the terms abl. sg. **natine** and nom. pl. **fameřias.** The sense of **natine** is not so much that of its etymological equivalent L. *natione* as of its more remote cognate *gente, gens.* Names of two of these *gentes* appear in the text, the Petrunia IIa 21, 35, and the Vuciia (Lucia), IIb 26. To judge from the use of **fameřias** in IIb 2 it is not likely that it stood for a division lower than **natine**, like L. *familia* in relation to *gens.* Probably the two terms correspond to two different systems of division, but their exact relation is not clear; see on IIb 2. One other passage bearing on the organization of the citizens is VIb 56 *arsmahamo caterahamo Iouinur* (= Ib 19-20), in which the people are directed to arrange themselves in formation for the procession of the lustration. The two verbs have been taken to refer to larger and smaller military units or to ranks of cavalry and of infantry, but the view preferred here is that *arsmahamo* refers to priestly ranks and *caterahamo* to military ranks of the rest of the citizens.

17. It is impossible to determine the exact date when any of the tables was written, but it is possible to form some idea of their relative age, partly from script and language, partly from content. Since IV is a continuation of III, both must be of the same age, and similarly VIa, VIb, and VIIa, which form a connected body of text, must be of the same age. It is obvious that Tables I, II, III, and IV, which are in the native alphabet, were written earlier than VI and VII, which are in the Latin, and also that Vb 8-18, which is in the Latin alphabet and has no connection in content with Va and Vb 1-7, must have been written later in the blank space on the reverse side of V. Hand in hand with this difference of alphabet goes one important difference in language: final *s* has been changed by rhotacism to *r* in VI and VII, and even in V, most of which is in the native alphabet, but the change is not yet shown in I, II, III, and IV (see **57 e**). Va 1-b 7 is therefore later than I, II, III, and IV, but earlier than VI and VII. At the same time it appears from the shape of certain characters that III-IV were written later than I and II; so especially from the **e**, which in III-IV and V has the three cross-bars parallel, as a Roman *e* would appear if reversed and slightly aslant, while in I and II the **e** has no true cross-bar at the bottom, but merely a

curve in the vertical bar from the point where the middle bar meets it. Within II the content of a 1-14, a 15-44, and b 1-end is different; these three portions are therefore not necessarily of the same age, and the crowding toward the end of IIa gives the impression that the reverse had already been filled and hence could not be used.

18. The content of the tables occasionally provides some evidence of their age through references to Roman institutions. Of the two official titles of the **uhtur** and the **kvestur** the former is assumed to be the earlier because the word has not so strong an appearance of being a Latin loan.[26] Now Tables Ib and IIa were authenticated by the same official during his quaestorship (**kvestretie** Ib 45 = II a 44), while the decrees in Va, which on linguistic grounds must be regarded as later than I and II, are dated by the name of the official holding the office of auctor (**uhtretie**). If this view of the relative age of the two magistracies in Iguvium is valid, this discrepancy suggests that the earlier table may not necessarily contain the earlier text, and that our problem is a twofold one: to determine the order in which the texts were composed, and the order in which the tables were engraved. Bréal, pp. 224-7, showed that VI and VII were not merely copied, with additions, from I, but that both depended on an earlier text now lost. His arguments from the spelling of the texts are partly of doubtful validity, but the archaic accusative plural form *abrons* in VIIb 43, to which he makes reference, probably points to an original of early date, and the absence in VI-VII of anything corresponding to Ia 25 **puste asiane fetu**, b 20 **tures et pure**, 36, 38 **antakre**, 41 **super kumne** strengthens the probability that VI and VII were not directly copied from I. III and IV, even though the form of certain letters approximates that in Va, may contain the oldest text of all; so at least it appears from the ratio of **a** and **u** representing final *a*: among 3rd pl. imperative forms of the type of **fertuta** 5 have **-a** and none have **-u**, while among neut. acc. pl. forms 8 or 9 have **-a**, none **-u**. To assign a relative age to the original texts reflected in each of the tables would be impossible. So far as the tables themselves are concerned, the order proposed by Lepsius and now taken as standard is probably correct, except that IIb appears to have been written earlier than IIa.

19. The actual age of the tables can be determined only within wide limits. The alphabet used in the earlier tables resembles those used on Etruscan inscriptions of the 5th, 4th, and 3rd centuries, especially that of Polimartium (Bomarzo). Since a certain lapse of time must be allowed for the introduction of the Etruscan alphabet into Iguvium and for its adaptation to the local dialect, and also for the composition of the lost originals on which our texts are based, we may be safe in

[26] **uhtur** could conceivably be from L. *auctor*, with **u** (= *ō*) < *au* and **ht** < *ct*, but in this case we should have to assume that the borrowing occurred some time previously, giving the sound-changes time to develop. There is nothing in the phonetic form of the word which could not easily be native Umbrian, while the **kv-** of **kvestur** cannot show a native development of IE k^w and it is not even certain that it can represent the rather rare cluster *kw* (see 46 **h**).

tentatively assigning a date not earlier than the beginning of the 3rd century. For the dating of the later tables some slight evidence may be found through changes in Roman currency. What is explained at greater length in the notes on Vb 9 and VIIb 4 may be briefly summarized here: in the former passage an apparently excessive sum has been fixed as the monetary equivalent of the dinner which is to be furnished by the *decuviae* to the two men who come to fetch the grain for the Atiedian Brothers, and in the latter an excessively high fine is imposed on the *fratricus* in case he fails to procure heifers for the heifer-chase. In 89 B.C. the Roman *as* was reduced to 1-24 of its original value. Therefore if we admit for the tables in the Latin alphabet a date shortly after the Social War, we may find a reasonable explanation for the sums of money mentioned in the two passages. The very sparing use of doubled consonants, when examined in connection with Roman usage, also points to a date not far from the Gracchan period, or even later if we assume that the adoption of the habit must have been later in Umbria than in Rome. Even the three instances *ponne*, *appei*, *issoc* in VIIb do not include every case in that table where doubling is etymologically justified. The question of when the local dialect was replaced in daily use by Latin cannot be answered precisely, but for our purpose it is less important than may appear at first glance, for in a liturgical text such as the Iguvine Tables, the property of a priestly corporation, it is by no means surprising that the native language should continue to be used not only in the prayers but even in the ritual instructions. We may then adopt for the latest tables a date somewhere in the first half of the 1st century B.C., a time when the local dialect of Iguvium, even if it had been largely replaced by Latin, must surely not have been completely forgotten.

II. GRAMMAR

A. Phonology

1. The Alphabets.[1] The following table shows the characters of the native alphabet (used in Tables I, II, III, IV, Va, Vb 1-7; written from right to left) and of the Latin alphabet (used in Tables Vb 8-18, VI, VII; written from left to right). At the right of each column are the characters (excluding the capitals) normally used in modern printed texts.

Native alphabet		Latin alphabet	
A	a	A	*a*
B	b	B	*b*
ꓘ	k	C	*c*
		D	*d*
Ǝ	e	E	*e*
8	f	F	*f*
		G	*g*
Θ	h	H	*h*
I	i	I	*i*
ꓶ	l	L	*l*
ꟽ (Λ)	m	M	*m*
И	n	N	*n*
		O	*o*
1	p	P	*p*
		Q	*q*
ꓭ	r	R	*r*
ꟼ	ř	RS	*rs*
Ƨ (M)	s	S	*s*
d	ç	Ṡ	*ṡ*
⊤ ꓘ (Θ)	t	T	*t*
V	u	V	*u*
ꓶ	v	X	*x*
⋕	z		

a. The native alphabet lacks characters exactly equivalent to *D*, *G*, *O*, *Q*, and *X*. *D* and *G* are represented respectively by ⊤ and ꓘ, the symbols for the corresponding voiceless stops; *O* by V; the rare *Q*, like *C*, by ꓘ; *X* by Ƨꓘ. The Umbrian character ꟼ is represented in the Latin alphabet by the digraph RS. The Latin *V* is used both in the vocalic function of the Umbrian V and in the consonantal function of the Umbrian ꓶ. For the ⋕ of the native alphabet S rather than Z is used in the Latin alphabet.

b. Λ is regularly used in place of ꟽ in Table V; M ("san") appears in place

of the usual ϩ in **salu** IIa 18 and **seritu** IIa 24; and ⊙ appears in place of ᛉ, ᛉ in **furfaθ** Ib 1 and **purtuviθu** IV 20.

[1] The native Oscan alphabet is essentially similar to the Umbrian, but possesses characters for **g** and **d**. On the other hand it has no character equivalent to Umbrian ꟼ (**ř**) or ᑯ (**ç**), since the Umbrian sounds indicated by these characters had, as far as we know, no counterpart in Oscan. I, the equivalent of Umbrian ⱡ (**z**), represents the sound *ts*, but *z* in Oscan inscriptions in the Latin alphabet represents voiced *s* (= Engl. *z*). Special mention should be made of the characters ⊢ (⊣ ⊢), printed as **í**, and V̇ , printed as **ú**, since both occur in many of the Oscan forms cited in the grammar and lexicon. **í** represents a mid-high front vowel originating from *ĭ* or *ē*, or from *ĕ* before another vowel; it also represents the second component of an *i*-diphthong. *ú* represents a mid-high back vowel originating from *ŏ* and, under certain conditions, from *ā*.

2. Orthographic Variations. In this section are treated the principal variations in spelling occurring in identical or closely related forms. The listing of examples is not complete, but more details on the origin, distribution, and significance of the variations may be found in the sections on pronunciation and phonology and in the Lexicon.

a. The following variations exist between forms represented in the two alphabets and arise simply from the absence of certain characters from one or the other of these alphabets:

u and *o*: **ukar** *ocar*, **pune** *pone*, **persklum** *persclo*, etc.

k and *c*: **ukar** *ocar*, **kuvertu** *couertu*, etc.

k and *q*: **tekuries** *dequrier*.

k and *g*: **Krapuvi** *Grabouei*, **kumiaf** *gomia*.

t and *d*: **testre** *destre*, **titu** *ditu*, **hutra** *hondra*, etc.

ç and *s̀* or *s*: **çimu** *s̀imo*, **Çerfe** *S̀erfe*, **purtinçus** *purdinsust*, **skalçeta** *scalseta*, etc.

z and *s*: **taçez** *tases*, **pihaz** *pihos*, **puze** *puse*.

ř and *rs*: **kařetu** *carsitu*, **teřa** *dirsa*, **peři** *persi*, etc.

b. Although **b** is not, like ***d** and ***g**, lacking in the native alphabet, it is sometimes replaced by **p** through analogy with the use of **t** and **k** for the voiced dental and guttural stops: **hapinaf habina**, **kapru kabru**, **kumpifiatu** *combifiatu*, **Krapuvi** *Grabouei*, **Treplanes** *Treblaneir*.

c. The character S̀ which is used in the Latin alphabet as the equivalent of ᑯ (**ç**) of the native alphabet is sometimes written S without the diagonal stroke: *S̀erfie Serfie*, *Sans̀ie*, *purdins̀us purdinsust*.

d. Variations between vowels:

a u *o* when the vowel is etymologically long: nom. sg. of the first declension: **muta mutu**, **panta etantu**; nom.-acc. pl. neut.: **vatuva vatuvu**, **veskla vesklu**; pf. pass. pcpl. nom. sg. masc.: **pihaz** *pihos*, **kunikaz** *conegos*.

e i *e i*: from original *ĕ*: *tases tasis*, **vestiça vistiça** (on these forms see **8 e**),

krenkatrum krikatru; from original *ē*: **feliuf** *filiu*, **kařetu** *carsitu*; from original *ĭ*: **vea via** *uia*, **steplatu** *stiplatu*, **teřa** *dirsa*, etc.; from original *ī*: **pehatu** *pihatu*, *pehaner pihaner*, **purtuvetu purtuvitu**.

ei *ei* in variation with **e** *e* or **i** *i*: **aves** aueis, **veres** *uereir*, **fetu feitu**, *Iiouine Iioueine*, *stahmitei stahmeitei*, *pehaner pihaner peihaner*, *uiro ueiro*, etc. Forms with *ei* are especially frequent in Table VIa 1-39.

e. Vowel-length is generally not indicated, but there are some cases of length, original or secondary, shown by writing vowel + **h** *h* or vowel + *h* + vowel. The latter combination occurs only in the Latin alphabet. **hatu hahtu**, **mantraklu mantrahklu**, **sate** *sahate*, **sahta** *sahata*, **etuřstamu** *eheturstahamu*.

f. The variation *meersta mersta* is exceptional and the vowel is not an original *ē*, but the doubling in *meersta* VIa 17 together with the frequent omission of **r** *r* in the writing of forms containing *rs* suggest that *r* in such forms was often weakened or lost, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

g. The origin and meaning of *ooserclom* are uncertain, but by any of the etymologies proposed the initial is a long *o* of secondary origin.

h. ii, uv and *i*, *u*. When *i* or *u* is followed by a vowel the semivocalic glide which naturally intervenes is generally represented by **i**, **v** in the native alphabet but is not indicated in the Latin alphabet: **triia** *trio*, **heriiei** *heriei*, **Atiieřiur** *Atiersur*, etc., **tuves** *duir*, **kastruvuf** *castruo*, **prinuvatus** *prinuatur*, etc. The practice in Umbrian agrees closely with that in Oscan. Single writing, however is occasionally found in the native alphabet where **ii** or **uv** is expected: **tekvias**, **via**, **arvia**, **aviekla**; **purtuetu**, **iveka**. Conversely *uu* occurs in the Latin alphabet in *saluuom*, *saluua*, *tuua*. For details and for special explanation of some of the aberrant spellings the proper sections in the phonology must be consulted.

i. Omission of medial consonants:

Variants with and without preconsonantal **n** *n*: **antentu atentu**, **ustentu ustetu**, **krenkatru krikatru**, *Sanśi* **Saçe**, **tenzitim** *tesedi*, **anzeriatu azeriatu**, *onse* **uze**.

Variants with and without **t** in medial consonant clusters: **pustnaiaf pusnaes**.

Variants with and without **r** *r* before **s** *s*: **persnimu** *persnimu* **pesnimu** *pesnimu*, **persuntru pesuntru**, **Turse Tuse**, *farsio fasio*.

Variants with *s* for *rs* (= **ř**): **Akeřuniam** *Acesoniam*.

Variants with **r** *r* for **ř** *rs*: *arsueitu* **arveitu** *arueitu*.

j. Omission of final consonants:

Variants with and without final **k** *c*: **erek** *erec* **ere** *ere*.

Variants with and without final **f** *f*: acc. pl. *treif* **tre**, *sif si*, etc.; pres. pcpl. **zeřef** *serse*.

Variants with and without final **m** *m*: acc. sg. **persklum** *persclo*, **sim si**, **tuta** *totam*, etc.

Variants with and without final **s**: nom. pl. **Ikuvinus Ikuvinu**; conjunction **heris heri.**

k. The following variations are abnormal and not easily explained:

Final **p** for normal final **f**: **kutef kutep, turuf turup, vitluf vitlup.** The aberrant forms with **p** all occur in Ib 3-4.

Initial **m** for normal **b**: **menes**, cf. *benus*. Here the **m** may have been extended into the simplex from a compound **kommenes*, in which the *b* would have been assimilated to *m*.

Final **m** for **n**: **numem** but **umen.**

h and *f*: **erahunt** *erafont.*

l. Variants with and without **h** *h*, apart from **h** *h* as indication of vowel length: *heritu* **eretu**, *hebetafe ebetrafe, anhostatu anostatu.*

3. Pronunciation. The phonetic value of the characters cannot be determined with any degree of exactness, because of the scantiness of material, the absence of metrical texts, and the lack of descriptive information from native or Roman sources. It would not be safe to attempt to reconstruct a phonemic system in the form which is customary in the treatment of living languages, since neither the native nor the Latin alphabet can be considered an entirely adequate representation of such a system. But in general where there is no conflicting evidence it is safe to assume that the values of the characters did not differ strikingly from the values of the equivalent characters in Latin.

Among the orthographic variations some have no significance for the pronunciation. The use in the native alphabet of **k**, **t**, **p**, for example, in forms spelled with *g*, *d*, *b* in the Latin alphabet certainly does not mean that the stops in question were unvoiced in the earlier stage of the language, but merely reflects the lack of distinction between voiced and unvoiced stops in the language of the Etruscans, from whom the alphabet was borrowed. In many cases the variations may arise from conflict between traditional and phonetic spelling; so possibly in forms like **ustentu ustetu, persnimu pesnimu.** The distribution of final **s** in Tables I-IV and **r** *r* in V-VII, however, probably shows that the sound-change commonly known as rhotacism had taken place in final position between the time of writing of the earliest and latest tables; at least this conclusion is inevitable unless we prefer to assume that the earlier tables merely failed to adapt themselves to a change already in effect. But it is altogether improbable that they would have represented *r* as different from *s* in the medial and not in the final position.

The following points in regard to pronunciation may be briefly noted:

a. **a** in those forms which have orthographical variants with **u** *o* probably had a raised sound like that of *a* in Eng. *call.* For the distribution of the sound see **7 b, c.**

b. Among the mid-vowels *ē* was higher than *ĕ*, and *ō* higher than *ŏ*, if we may judge from the more frequent use of **i** *i* for *ē* than for *ĕ* and of *u* for *ō* than for *ŏ*. Since this use of *i* was especially frequent in the tables written in the Latin alphabet, we may suspect that the *ē* was progressively raised as the language developed, and it is not unlikely that the *ō* had a parallel history, but the lack of a special character for the *o*-vowels in the native alphabet renders it impossible to make a comparison of this sort.

c. Among the high vowels *ī* appears to have been more strongly raised than *ĭ*, since the use of **e** *e* is frequent for the short *i* but decidedly rare for the long *i*. It is likely that a similar difference existed between *ŭ* and *ū*: while *ŭ* under certain conditions is represented by *o* (**u** of the native alphabet being of course ambiguous), *ū* not only maintained its raised quality but assumed such a front position as to be written **i** *i*. Whether it was fully identical with the long *i* or had a value approximating that of French *u*, German *ü*, is uncertain.

d. The stops written **p t k** in the native alphabet should be voiced in those forms where orthographical variants or etymological evidence shows that the stop in question was actually a voiced one. The orthographical or etymological evidence may be found in the Lexicon. The following is a list of the most important of such forms:

With **p**: **hapinaf, kapru** (**pr** > **br** by **60 e**), **kumpifiatu, Krapuvi, Treplanes.**

With **t**: **teitu, tenzitim** (medial **t**), **tiçit, tuplak, tuva** (numeral), **atru** (**tr** > **dr** by **60 f**), **tekuries, tekvias, tesvam, testru** (initial **t**), **teřtu** (initial **t**), **tetu** (initial **t**), **tuf, tupler, Kureties, utur, ustentu** (second **t**), **ententu, antentu, ampentu, sutentu** (second **t**), **pertentu** (second **t**), **tikamne, tiçel**; probably also **terkantur.**

With **k**: **Krapuvi, kumiaf, krenkatrum krikatru** (second **k**), **kunikaz** (second **k**), **Ikuvins, iveka.**

e. The character ɕ (**ç**), to which corresponds Š (*š*) in the Latin alphabet indicates a sound which was derived from an unvoiced palatal or velar stop before a front vowel. Its exact nature can of course not be determined, but it was presumably a palatal sibilant or a sibilant like Eng. *sh*. Plain **s** does not appear as an orthographic variant of **ç**, but *s* appears so frequently as a variant of *š*, especially in medial position (for example, 15 times *pase*, never **paše*, in the etymological equivalent of L. *pace*), that by the time of the writing of the later tables the sound may have become almost identical with that of the inherited *s*, with a development parallel to that seen in L. *centum* > French *cent*.

f. The character ɋ (**ř**) indicates a sound arising from intervocalic *d* and, under certain conditions, from intervocalic *l*. The corresponding use of *rs* in the Latin alphabet suggests a sound similar to the Czech *ř* or Polish *rz*. But the *rs* in such words as *persclu, persnihimu, tursitu, farsio*, which has a different origin and corres-

ponds in certain quotable instances to **rs** in the native alphabet, must have constituted a cluster and not a single phoneme.

4. Accent. On the quality of the accent in Umbrian and the other Italic dialects we have no direct information, but from the extensive syncope of unstressed vowels we must conclude that at least during a period in the history of these dialects, the accent was characterized by a considerable element of stress. Of the laws regulating the position of the accent in the word and phrase we know next to nothing, but it is generally assumed that the initial stress which was dominant in Germanic, Celtic, and prehistoric Latin must at one stage have characterized Oscan and Umbrian as well. The question then is whether the accentual system remained in this stage or whether it was replaced, as in Latin, by a new system whereby the penult, if long, received the accent, while the antepenult received it if the penult was short. The distribution of double and single consonants in certain Oscan forms led von Planta (I, p. 594) to argue in favor of a system like that which prevailed in classical Latin (e. g. **úpsannam**[1] like L. *operándam* but **eehiianasúm** like L. *amandárum*) but Umbrian provides no evidence of this kind. The vocalism of **Puemune** may give some indication of penultimate accent: if it is taken as cognate with L. *Pōmōna*, we must assume a stem **Powemōno/ā-*, with weakening of the unstressed initial syllable, in order to account satisfactorily for the Umbrian form along with Sab. *Poimunien*; and to this evidence von Planta adds several other forms, but they do not constitute a convincing proof. We must therefore leave the problem still unsettled.

Of sentence-accent it is possible to form some notion from the frequency of enclitic forms written without separation from the preceding word. It may safely be assumed that these enclitics were unaccented as in Latin. Examples are:

The indefinite pronoun **pis**: **svepis.**

The 3 sg. pres. ind. *est* and subj. *si* of the verb to be: *peretomest, ortoest, parsest* (with *rs* preserved as in medial position, in contrast to *far* with the final treatment), *mersi*. Writing as one word is more frequent than writing as two.

The fossilized 3 sg. verb form **her** (<**herit*) in **pisher** (cf. L. *quilibet*).

The postpositions **ař a, kum ku** *com co*, **em e** *em e*, **per** (rarely **pe**) *per*, **ta tu** *to*: **spinamař, vukukum**, *uerisco*, **vapefem**, *destrame*, **ukriper, skalçeta**. This type of enclisis is very frequent, and only a few of the examples are given here.

Certain pronominal enclitics for which see **106 b, c, d** and **113 f, g, h, i, j, k, l.**

[1] The marks over the vowels in these Oscan forms are not indications of stress but of vowel-quality; see **1** n. 1.

5. The Vowel System. In describing the origin, history, and etymological correspondences of the Umbrian vowels and diphthongs the following pIE phonemes may be assumed as a basis from which to begin:

Vowels:	pure			semi-consonantal					
short	*a*	*e*	*o*	*i*	*u*	*r̥*	*l̥*	*m̥*	*n̥*
long	*ā*	*ē*	*ō*	*ī*	*ū*	*r̥̄*	*l̥̄*	*m̥̄*	*n̥̄*
reduced	*ə*	*ъ*							

Diphthongs:			
short	*ai*	*ei*	*oi*
	au	*eu*	*ou*
long	*āi*	*ēi*	*ōi*
	āu	*ēu*	*ōu*

a. The obscure vowel represented by *ə* and known by the Hebrew name *shwa* became in Italic, as in all the European branches of the IE family, fully merged with *ă* and had the same history, but forms which originally contained it rather than *ă* can be distinguished to a large extent by correspondence with Skt. forms containing *ĭ* or by their ablaut-relationship with forms containing long vowels.

b. The character *ъ* is used to represent the sound known as "shwa secundum", which results from the reduction of short vowels in situations where complete loss of the vowel would result in difficult consonant-clusters. In place of *ъ* some comparative grammars use *a e o* since there is evidence that the reductions of *a e o* did not all have precisely the same history; this, however, may be partly explained by analogical restoration of the original vowel. In any case *ъ* is adequate for the few Umbrian forms with reduced short vowels which call for treatment in the present work.

c. For the explanation of the long vocalic liquids *r̥̄ l̥̄* and nasals *m̥̄ n̥̄* see 18.

d. In principle there is some justification for admitting diphthongs, both short and long, with liquids and nasals as second element (e. g. *ar, el, om, ēn*, etc.), corresponding to the *i*- and *u*-diphthongs, since there is a close similarity between the liquids, nasals, and *y* and *w* in relation to the pIE phonemic system as a whole.[1] Yet in view of the history of the sounds in question in most of the individual languages it is far more convenient to treat *ei, oi, eu*, etc. as diphthongs but to give separate treatment to the separate components, vocalic and semi-consonantal, of *ar, el, om*, etc.

e. The following table is designed to show in the simplest form the history of the vowels and diphthongs in some of the principal IE languages. The "shwa secundum", the long vocalic liquids and nasals, and the long diphthongs, however, have been omitted. No attempt is made to show here the full history of the vowels in any language or to include the results of secondary changes such as, for example, the vowel-weakening of Latin. In general the development of the vowels in stressed syllables and between consonants is taken as typical. They are given in the standard orthography of the respective languages or in the Roman characters conventionally used to represent the standard orthography, but marks of length have been placed over Greek, Latin, Gothic, and Lithuanian vowels when such vowels are known to constitute distinct phonemes, and naturally over the Sanskrit long vowels as well.

pIE	Umb.	Osc.	Lat.	Gk.	Goth.	Lith.	OCS	Skt.
a	**a** *a*	**a** *a*	*a*	*α*	a	*a*	*o*	*a*
ā	**a** *a* **u** *o*	**a aa** *a* **ú u** *o*	*ā*	*ᾱ* [2] *η* [2]	*ō*	*ō*	*a*	*ā*
e	**e** *e* **i** *i*	**e** *e*	*e*	*ε*	*i aí* [4]	*e*	*e*	*a*
ē	**e, i** *e, i* **(ei)** *(ei)*	**í íí** *i*	*ē*	*η*	*ē*	*ė*	*ě*	*ā*
i	**i** *i* **e** *e*	**í** *i*	*i*	*ι*	*i aí* [4]	*i*	*ĭ* [7]	*i*
ī	**i** *i (ei)* **ih** *ihi*	**i íí** *i*	*ī*	*ῑ*	*ei* [5]	*y* [6]	*i*	*ī*
o	**u** *o u*	**ú** *o*	*o*	*o*	*a*	*a*	*o*	*a*
ō	**u** *o u*	**u uu** *u*	*ō*	*ω*	*ō*	*uo*	*a*	*ā*
u	**u** *u*	**u iu** *u*	*u*	*υ* [3]	*u aú* [4]	*u*	*ŭ* [7]	*u*
ū	**i** *i*	**u uu** *u*	*ū*	*ῡ* [3]	*ū*	*ū*	*y* [6]	*ū*
ə	**a** *a*	**a** *a*	*a*	*α*	*a*	*a*	*o*	*i*
ṛ	**ur** *or* [1]	**ur** *or* [1]	*or*	*αϱ ϱα*	*ur ru*	*ir*	*ri ru*	*ṛ*
ḷ	**ul** *ol* [1]	**ul** *ol* [1]	*ol*	*αλ λα*	*ul lu*	*il*	*li lu*	*ṛ*
ṃ	**em** *em* [1]	**em** *em* [1]	*em*	*α αμ*	*um*	*im*	*ę*	*a am*
ṇ	**en** *en* [1]	**en** *en* [1]	*en*	*α αν*	*un*	*in*	*ę*	*a an*
ai	**e** *e*	**aí ai** *ae*	*ae*	*αι*	*ai*	*ai ie*	*ě*	*e* [8]
ei	**e** *e*	**eí** *ei*	*ī*	*ει*	*ei*	*ei ie*	*i*	*e* [8]
oi	**u** *o*	**úí** *oi*	*oe ū*	*οι*	*ai*	*ai ie*	*ě*	*e* [8]
au	**u** *o*	**av** *au*	*au*	*αυ*	*au*	*au*	*u*	*o* [8]
eu	**u** *o*	**úv** *ou*	*ū*	*ευ*	*iu*	*au*	*u*	*o* [8]
ou	**u** *o*	**úv** *ou*	*ū*	*ου*	*au*	*au*	*u*	*o* [8]

[1] The history of the vocalic liquids and nasals in the Italic dialects cannot be adequately reconstructed from actual examples. This portion of the table is partly filled out on the basis of comparison with Latin and with forms containing original *or*, *ol*, *em*, *en*, with which *r̥*, *l̥*, *m̥*, *n̥* appear to have become identical in proto-Italic.

[2] *ē* in Ionic and generally in Attic; *ā* after *ε*, *ι*, *ϱ* in Attic and in all positions in other dialects.

[3] *ū*, *ῡ* in Attic and Ionic had the quality of French *u*, German *ü*.

[4] The Gothic reflexes of *e*, *o* are in modern transcription written *aí*, *aú*, in order to distinguish them from the diphthongs *ai*, *au*.

[5] *ei* in Gothic, as in Greek in the time of Ulfilas, seems to have had the phonetic value of *ī*.

[6] *y* in standard Lithuanian orthography represents a long *i*, but in Old Church Slavic represents the Cyrillic character ы, the phonetic value of which may have had some resemblance to *i* and to *u* without being fully identical with either.

[7] *ĭ* and *ŭ* stand for the Cyrillic characters ь and ъ and designate short raised vowels of palatal and non-palatal quality respectively.

[8] *e* and *o* represent Skt. *i*- and *u*- diphthongs respectively.

6. pIE *ă* generally remains as *a* **a**: *auif* **avif**: L. *avis*; **kabru**: L. *caprum*; **arçlatаf** (initial **a**): L. *arculata*; etc.

For lengthening of *ă* see **26 c, d**. For possible weakening of *ă* see **28 a, b, c**. Of syncope of *ă* in Umbrian there are no known instances. Oscan provides a few examples, and there is no reason to suppose that Umbrian *ă* was exempt, but *ă* in comparison with *ĕ*, *ŏ* was a relatively rare sound in those situations where syncope was likely to occur.

7. a. pIE *ā* is represented by *a* **a** or by *o* **u**. The unaltered *a* **a** appears in (abl. sg.) *asa* **asa**: L. *ārā*; *frater* **frater**: L. *fratres*; **Tařinate** *Tarsinater* (second *a*) like L. *Arpinati*, *-is*; imv. *portatu* **purtatu**: L. *portato*; pcpl. **kuratu**: L. *curatum*; etc.

b. The change to *o* **u**, which indicates a raised pronunciation of the vowel and a merging, partial or complete, with *o* **u** from pIE *ō* appears in first declension nom. sg. **mutu** (but also **muta**): L. *multa*; **etantu**: L. *tanta*; neut. pl. **alfu**: L. *alba*; *Casilos* like L. *Arpīnās*; pass. pcpl. nom. sg. m. *conegos* (but = **kunikaz**) like L. *amātus*; etc. More problematical is the penultimate vowel in *Prestote* and *Tesenocir*. The correspondence of *o* with the **a** of the older forms **Prestate** and **Tesenakes** makes it probable that the forms are derived from stems containing *ā*, and in fact there appears to be no objection to this view in the case of *Tesenocir*, but *Prestota* might be more easily derived from *-stăt-* < *-stət-*, the vowel-grade which L. *antistita*, etc. lead us to expect.

c. It is not possible on the basis of our extant material to formulate a satisfactory rule regarding the change of *ā* to *o* **u**. It is best attested in final position, and before *t* in the nom. sg. of *-ti*-stems and passive participles, which lost the vowel of the final syllable by syncope. It does not occur in the oblique cases of *ā*-stems or of formations in *-āti-* or *-āto-*, and it does not occur in *ā* arising by secondary lengthening of *ă* (e. g. *sahatam* **sahta**). Its distribution is closely parallel to that in Oscan.

8. pIE *ĕ*.

a. *ĕ* generally remains as *e* **e**: **emantur**: L. *emantur*; *est*: L. *est*; *destru* **testru**: L. *dextro*; **prusekatu** : L. *prosecato*; *fertu*: L. *ferto*; etc. Sometimes *ĕ* is maintained even where Latin shows secondary changes: **kvestretie** like L. *duritia* (both from *-etia-*); **veltu**: cf. L. *volo*, etc.

b. *ĕ* before another vowel appears as *i* **i** in *farsio* **fasiu**: L. *farrea*; *tursiandu*: L. *terreantur*; but not in the pronominal forms *eam*, *eaf*, etc.: L. *eam*, *eas*, etc.

c. *ĕ* became *i* before *r* in *ostensendi* (fut. pass. 3 pl. based on earlier ending *-nter*); *herti* beside earlier **herter.**

d. *ĕ* became *i* **i** before *n* followed by a velar stop in **krikatru** (beside **krenkatrum**) *cringatro*; the vocalism is like that of L. *tinguo* beside *τέγγω*.

e. In the following forms *e* became *i* **i** when followed by a sibilant (including **ç** and *s* from *k* by **46 b**): **tiçit**: L. *decet*; **iseçeles** with prefix *e(n)*; **vaçetum-ise** with postpositive *e(n)*; *tasis*, but against 21 cases with *e* **e**; **vistiça**, but against 33 cases with *e* **e** in this and cognate forms.

f. If *uitlu* **vitlu**, L. *vitulus*, are connected with L. *vetus*, *Fέτος*, we must assume a change *e* > *i* for which there is no certain explanation. Thurneysen (*K.Z.*, XXX, p. 487) suggested borrowing of these words from an Italic dialect in which the change would be regular, but no such dialect can be identified.

g. *ĕ* became *o* **u** under certain conditions in the proximity of labial sounds: **pumpeřias**, **puntes**, cf. O. **púmperiaís**, **Puntiis**, *Πομπτιες pomtis*, all with *o* **ú u** probably after the cardinal **pompe* '*quinque*', which must owe the change *e* > *o* to the following *-nkw-*, since the initial *k*^{w}*e-* does not undergo vowel change in *petur-*, O. *petiro-* '*quadri-*'; *sonitu*: cf. L. *sonere*, *sonare*, all from **swen-*[1] unless the verbal forms are denominatives to the ablaut-variant *swono-*, which is improbable for all these forms.

h. For lengthening of *ĕ* see **26 c, f, h.** For syncope of *ĕ* see **29 a-f, m.**

[1] Oscan, against Umbrian and Latin, preserves *ĕ* after *sw*: **sverruneí**, cf. Eng. *swear*, *answer*.

9. pIE *ē* is represented by *e* **e** or by *i* **i**, very rarely by *ei* **ei.** The frequency of the *i*-spelling, which is used to the total exclusion[1] of *e* in the imperative of second-conjugation verbs written in the Latin alphabet, is evidence for a closer pronunciation for *ē* than for *ĕ*.

a. *e* **e** from *ē* is exemplified by *plener*: L. *plenis* (initial syllable); **preve** (suffix as in L adverbs in *-ē(d)*; **rehte**: L. *rēctē*;[2] imv. **kařetu, habetu**: L. *habeto*; etc.

b. *i* **i** from *ē* is exemplified by *frite*: cf. L. *frētus*; **prusikurent** with **-sik-** < *-sēk-* in a long-vowel perfect stem; **eitipes**, if < **eit(om) hēpens*, also a long-vowel perfect; **tiçit** with second **i** < *ē* as in L. *decet* < **dekēt*; **tiçel** if from **diē-kelo-*; imv. *habitu*: L. *habeto*, etc.

c. *ei* **ei** occurs in **heriiei** with *ē* the sign of the subjunctive, in *nesimei* with the same adverbial ending seen in **rehte** < *-ēd*, and in *seipodrupei* with *sē-* as in L. *sēdulō, se fraude*, etc. This rare spelling may be intended to indicate a high vowel intermediate between *ē* and *ī*.

[1] Unless we count **maletu** IIa 18 as imv., as Devoto does. Most take it as a pass. pcpl.

[2] Original long *e* in the suffixal syllable and possibly also in the radical syllable, with which Muller, p. 382, compares Av. *rašta-* < *rāšta* 'in gerader Richtung, gerades Wegs'; otherwise the lengthening in the first syllable is secondary.

10. pIE *ĭ*.

a. *ĭ* generally remains as *i* **i**: **tikamne**: cf. L. *dĭcāre*; *uirseto*, pass. pcpl. of verb equivalent to L. *video*; *šimo* **çimu, çive**: cf. L. *citra*; *pis* : L. *quis*; etc. In the native alphabet doubling is frequent in the prevocalic position (**2 h**): **triia** (but *trio*): L. *tria*; **heriiei** (but *heriei*); etc.

b. Yet *ĭ* regularly appears as *e* **e** when final, as in Latin: in neut. nom.-acc. sg. of *i*-stems: *uerfale*: L. *verbale*; in abl. (originally loc.) sg. of consonant-stems: **pure**: Gk. dat. *πυρί*; *curnase*: L. *cornice*; etc.; in the conjunction *ote* **ute**: O. *auti*, L. *aut*, all from **auti*.

c. *ĭ* also becomes *e* **e** in certain other forms, under conditions which are partly obscure. There is considerable fluctuation in the spelling, but *e* for non-final *i* is very rare in the Latin alphabet: **vea** twice, but **via** once, *uia* 5 times, abl. : L. *via*; neut. plurals **sakreu, perakneu** with **-eu** < *-iā*; **steplatu** once, *stiplatu* twice: L. *stipulato*; reduplicating present verb forms **sestu**: L. *sistito*, **teřa** subj. as = L. **didat* (but original *ĕ* in fut. pf. **teřust** !); imv. **ahtrepuřatu** (forms with **e** 5 times, with *i* 3 times, erroneously with *o* once): cf. L. *tripodato*; pronominal and conjunctional forms **peře** *perse persi persei pirse pirsi*: L. *quid* + enclitic *ī*; *fratrexs* **fratreks**, *fratrecate*: L. *fratricus*, **fratricate* (*fratric-* with Buck, § 45, rather than *fratrec-* as suggested by von Planta, I, p. 102). The proximity of **ř** *r* **r** may be an influencing factor in the change to *e* **e**, but *uirseto, auirseto* (each 4 times with *i*, never with *e*) and **kapiře** *capirse*, etc. (16 times with *i* **i**, never with *e* **e**) are unfavorable to such a view.

11. pIE *ī* generally remains as *i ihi* **i ih**; *e* **e** are much rarer for long *i* than for short *i*, and this fact may be taken as evidence for a closer pronunciation of *ī* than of *ĭ*; *ei* is also sometimes found.

a. *i ihi* **i ih**: **Ikuvina**: L. *Iguvina, cabriner*: L. *caprīnī*, etc; fourth conjugation imv. forms *persnimu persnihimu* **persnimu persnihmu**, *anouihimu*, **amparitu, amparihmu.**

b. *e* **e**: **pehatu**, *pehaner* (but 37 instances with *i* **i** in forms of this verb and of the noun **pihaklu**): cf. L. *pius, piare*, O. **piihiúí**, the last form lending support to the vowel-length of the Umbrian forms; *screhto* (*h* here not a mere mark of

vowel-length); fourth conjugation imv. **purtuvetu purtuetu**, but much more frequently with *i* **i**.

c. *ei*: *peica*: L. *pīcam*; *peico*: L. *pīcum*; *peihaner*: cf. L. *piandi*; *screihtor*: cf. L. *scrīpta*; *ueiro*: cf. Skt. *vīras*, Lith. *výras* (L., OIr., and Goth. forms are based on short *i*). Most instances of *ei* for *ī*, including all those here cited, occur within the first 39 lines of VIa. This portion includes, for example, 3 occurrences of *ueiro* against 8 of *uiro* in the rest of VIa, VIb, and VIIa.

12. pIE *ŏ*.

a. *ŏ* generally remains as *o* **u**:[1] *ocar* **ukar**: L. *ocris*, *ὄκρις*; *oui* **uvef** (acc.pl.): L. *ovis*, *ὄϝις*; *poplo* **puplu** (both syllables) : L. *populum*; *porse* **puře**: L. *quod*, + enclitic; *ostentu* **ustentu**: L. *ostendito*; etc.

b. *ŏ* before *r* + consonant becomes *u*. Naturally the change can be observed only in forms appearing in the Latin alphabet, since **u** may stand for either *o* or *u*. Examples are: *curnaco*: L. *cornicem*; *purdouitu* with prefix equivalent to L. *por-*[2]; *tursitu* <**torsey-etōd*, causative-intensive form of verb represented by L. *terreo*.

c. *furo*: L. *forum* is an instance of the change *o* > *u* before prevocalic *r*, unless *furo*, like *θύρα*, represents the zero grade **dhuro-* in contrast to **dhworo-*.

d. *portatu*, *portaia*, *portust* (once each in the Latin alphabet: L. *portato*, etc.) have only *o*, and the fut. pf. forms *couortus*, etc. (cf. early L. *vortus*, *advortit*) have twice *o* and once *courtust* for **couurtust*.

[1] The development of *o* in Oscan agrees for the most part with that in Umbrian; both, for example, maintain *ŏ* unchanged before *lt* in contrast to Latin, which changes it to *u*: nom. pl. *motar*; cf. O. *molto*, but L. *multa*, all from **mol(k)tā*. Umbrian, however, does not share with Oscan the change *o* > *u* before final *m*: e. g., pres. infinitive O. *deicum*, *acum*, etc., but U. *erom*, *afero*, all based on original ending *-om*.

[2] **por-* may be from earlier **pr̥-*: see **17 a**.

13. pIE *ō* is represented by *o* **u** and *u*, the forms in the Latin alphabet being alone significant, since **u** serves for both values. The choice between *o* and *u* does not depend on phonetic environment alone; rather certain words and certain grammatical terminations have a strong predilection for one or the other vowel. The great frequency of abl. sg. and "future" imv. forms may produce an exaggerated impression of the extent to which the *ō* was raised toward the position of *ū*, but yet it is reasonable to suppose that *ō* was higher than *ŏ*, just as *ē* was higher than *ĕ*.

a. *o* occurs in *nome* (98 occurrences of its various forms with *o*, none with *u*): L. *nomen*; *homonus*: cf. OL *homōnēs*; *poni* (13 times in various forms with *o*, never with *u*): cf. L. *pōtus*, *pōtiō*; abl. sg. *somo* against more than 100 instances of abl.

sg. forms with *-u*; gen. pl. *Atiersio*, *peracrio* (< *-ōm*). *esono* (10 times in various forms with *o*, never with *u*) probably also belongs here as from **ais(e)s-ōnō-*, but the vocalism of the suffix is not certain.

b. *u* occurs in *arsfertur*, acc. *arsferturo*, noun like L. *scriptor*, etc.; abl. sg. *pihaclu*, *poplu*, *uinu* and numerous others; nom. pl. *Iouinur*, *Clauerniur*; imv. *etu*, *habitu*, etc., extremely numerous and never with *-o*.

c. *dupursus*, *peturpursus* '*bi-*, *quadripedibus*' are usually taken as containing penultimate *u* < *ō*, as in Dor. *πώς*, Goth. *fotus*, but it may be possible to derive them from the stem with the ablaut-grade *ŏ*, as in *ποδός*, *ποδί* etc., if we admit the change *ŏ* > *u* before *rs* from intervocalic *d* as well as before the cluster *rs* (**12 b**).

d. *ulo* probably has *u* < *ō*, as in L. *ōlim*.

14. pIE *ŭ*.

a. *ŭ* in general remains as *u* **u**, but only forms occurring in the Latin alphabet are unambiguous. Examples are: *puse*: cf. L. *ut*, both < *kwu-*; *subotu* and other forms containing *sub-*: L. *sub-*; *super*: L. *super*, *ὑπέρ*; *pure-to*: cf. *πυρός*, *πυρί*; *Rufrer*: L. *rubri*, cf. *ἐρυθρός*, Skt. *rudhiras*; etc.

b. *ŭ* became *o* before *m*, which in some cases was subsequently lost: *somo* (first *o*): L. *summum*, *summo*; fourth declension acc. sg. *trifo*: L. *tribum*; supine *aseriato*: cf. L. *observatum*.

c. *ŭ* became *o* before *p* in *sopa* (of 4 various forms of this word 3 have *o*, 1 *u*): L. *suppam*; but observe **super**, *superne*, *subra*, where the change fails to occur.

d. *ŭ* became *o*, apparently, in *sorsom*, a word whose etymology is obscure, but which according to the prevailing view contains *sŭ* (as in L. *sŭcula* against *sūs*) + *-do-*.

15. pIE *ū*.

a. *ū* is normally represented by *i* **i**, indicating a change through *ü* toward a sound nearly or fully identical with that of *ī*. Examples are: **sim**, *sif* **sif**: cf. L. *sūs*, *ὗς*; *pir* **pir**: *πῦρ*; *frif* acc. pl.: cf. L. *frūges*; abl. sg. of *u*-stems *mani* **mani**, **trefiper**, **aŕputrati**.

b. A possible example of **i** < *ū* is pass. pcpl. **statita** if = L. *statūta*. **purtitu** *purdito* is also sometimes taken as containing *i* **i** < *ū*, but the vocalism is not clear, and in any case the vowel here could scarcely have been primary *ū*. The derivation of the subjunctive form *dia* from a form with original *ū* is also improbable.

c. There are perhaps no real exceptions to the above change. *mugatu* and its pcpl. *muieto* are taken by Buck, § 58, as examples of preservation of *ū*, as in L.

mūgīre, but it is probably better to assume a short vowel, as in *ἔμυκον*, with von Planta, I, p. 135. In *strusla* **struhçla** the length of the *u*, indicated by **h**, probably arose too late to participate in the change *ū* > *i*, which, to judge from traces in Oscan and the minor dialects, may have begun in the period of Oscan-Umbrian unity.

16. pIE *ə* shwa and *ъ* shwa secundum.

a. *ə*, the reduced grade of *ē*, *ā*, *ō* in the long-vowel ablaut series (**35 c, d**), had precisely the same history as *ă* in all branches of the family except Indo-Iranian. Instances of *ă* < *ə* in the Italic dialects are to be recognized chiefly through their etymological correspondence with Latin and other forms where *ă* alternates with *ē*, *ā*, *ō*: U. **façia**: L. *făciat*, cf. *fēci*, U. *fetu* (whether *fē-* or *fēk-*); U. **stafli**: L. *stăbilis*, cf. 1 pl. *ἵστᾰμεν* but 1 sg. *ἵστημι*, Dor. *ἵστᾱμι*. For the occasional secondary replacement of *ă* < *ə* by a short vowel of different quality see **35 d** with n. 12, **119 b, c**.

b. A possible instance of *ă* from *ъ* is represented by **tapistenu** if we admit the explanation in n. on IV 30 whereby the form contains a reduced grade of the root seen in L. *tepor*, etc.

17. Short vocalic liquids and nasals. The allophones of *r* and *l* with vocalic, that is, syllabic function, which actually existed in Sanskrit and are commonly represented by the symbols *ṛ* and *ḷ*, must be assumed also for pIE, where they alternated, as ablaut-variants, with *er*, *or*, *el*, *ol*, just as *ĭ* alternated with *ei*, *oi*, and *ŭ* with *eu*, *ou*.

a. In pIt. *ṛ*, *ḷ* before consonants became *or*, *ol*, and consequently it is not always certain whether actual forms containing *or*, *ol* reflect original *or*, *ol* or their ablaut-variants *ṛ*, *ḷ*. In some forms, however, the original vocalism can be inferred by comparison with forms in other languages, especially Sanskrit and Greek. The principal Umbrian forms for which we must assume original *ṛ*, *ḷ* are: *orto*, **urtas**: L. *ortus*, Skt. *ṛtás*; *trahuorfi*: L. *transvorsus*, Skt. *vṛttás* (but fut. pf. **kuvurtus** *couortus* may contain original *or*, since the IE perfect had *o*-vocalism in sg., zero-vocalism in pl., with possibilities for later leveling); *pur-* **pur-** (in **purtuvitu**, *purdinsust*, etc.): L. *por-rigo*, *παρά*; *motar* **muta** < **mol(k)t-*: L. *multa*, Skt. pass. pcpl. *mṛṣṭás*.

b. *ṛ*, *ḷ* before vowels — in which position we should write *ṛr*, *ḷl* — apparently became *ar al*: **karu**: L. *caro*, *carnis*, cf. Skt. *kṛṇāti* 'injures'; possibly also **maletu** in contrast to L. *molitum* with *o*-grade.

c. The vocalic nasals *m̥*, *n̥*, unlike the vocalic liquids, did not exist in Sanskrit, but nevertheless are assumed for pIE, where they alternated with *em*, *om*, *en*, *on*.

d. In pIt. *m̥*, *n̥* became *em*, *en* before consonants; consequently *em*, *en* from

m̥, n̥ can be distinguished from original *em, en* only by comparison with forms in other languages. The principal Umbrian examples are: *desenduf* '12' with *-en-* < *-em-* < *-m̥-*: L. *decem*, *δέκα*, Skt. *daśa*; **iveka** *iuenga*: cf. L. *iuvencus*, Skt. *yuvaśas*; nom.-acc. sg. of neut. stems in *-men*: *nome* **numen** (with *-e* **-em** for *-en*): L. *nomen*, Skt. *nāma*, etc.

e. *n̥* before vowels — in which position we should write *n̥n* — apparently became *an*; at least this has been assumed in order to explain the discrepancy between the negative prefixes L. *in-* and O.-U. *an-*. We may suppose then that Latin generalized the preconsonantal *in-* < *en-* < *n̥* for all situations: *infamis, imbellis, inermis*, etc., and O.-U. the prevocalic *an-* < *n̥n* for all situations: U. **antakres**, *anhostatu*, etc.: cf. *ἀ-, ἀν-*, Skt. *a-, an-*.

18. The long vocalic liquids and nasals symbolized by *r̄, l̄, m̥̄, n̥̄* were assumed by Brugmann in order to account for such correspondences as Skt. *pūrṇás*, Lith. *pìlnas*, etc. Their precise character is unknown, but it is clear that their occurrence is in forms containing disyllabic ablaut-bases (**pelē-*, etc.) with accent on the suffix, so that the two syllables of the unaccented base appear in the reduced and zero-grades respectively. Hirt symbolized them by *ьrə, ьlə, ьmə*, etc. in order to show their original disyllabic character. The history of the long-vowel ablaut series as outlined in **35** is applicable here, including the statement in regard to the laryngeals as the source of *ə* in zero-grade forms. The origin of *ī, ū* is partly similar to that of *r̄*, etc., but their history in the separate languages is sufficiently distinct to call for separate treatment.

a. *r̄, l̄, m̥̄, n̥̄* are represented in Italic by *rā, lā, mā, nā* or, under certain conditions which are not altogether clear, by *ar, al, am, an*. Probable examples in Umbrian are: **kumates** *comatir* < **kom-malt-* < **-ml̥̄-to-*: cf. Skt. *mūrṇás*;*an clar* <**an-klā-s* < *-kl̥̄*: cf. L. *clā-mo* (denominative to **klā-mā*, like *fā-ma*), *calare*, *καλέω*, the last two with different gradation;[1] *natine*: cf. L. *nātio, nātus* <**gnā-t-*, Skt. *jātás*, all from *gn̥̄-*; **naratu** *naratu*: cf. L. *nārrāre, gnārus *gnā-rā/ro-* < *gn̥̄-*: cf. L. *i-gnō-ro, co-gnō-sco* with different gradation. *mandraclo* **mantrahklu** is sometimes similarly explained, as from **man-trāk-klo-* < **man-trāg-tlo* <**-tr̥̄g-* with gradation of the same root found in L. *tergeo*, although its root is not of the type which customarily furnishes ablaut-grades with *r̄*.

[1] See Brugmann, *Berichte der kön. sächs. Ges. der Wiss.*, 1890, p. 206.

19. Diphthongs. pIE *ai*.

a. *ai* is normally represented by *e* **e**: *esono* **esunu**: cf. O. **aisusis**; *pre* **pre**: O. **prai**, L. *prae*; **sve**: O. **svaí**; dat. sg. of *ā*-stems (*ai* < earlier *āi* by **25** with **a**) *tote* **tute**, etc.

b. *ai* is represented by **ei** in **eikvasatis, eikvasese** if these forms are connected with L. *aequus*, but their etymology and meaning are uncertain.

c. pernaiaf, pustnaiaf, *persaia* **peřaia** are exempt from the change *ai* > *e* **e**, the diphthong being preserved before the consonantal *i* in the suffix *-ayyo-*.

20. pIE *ei*.

a. *ei* is normally represented by *e* **e**: **preve**: cf. O. *preiuatud*, L. *prīvus*; *etu* **etu**: L. *ito*, cf. Skt. *etu*; gen. sg. ending in *o-*, *i-*, and consonant-stems **kapres**, *ocrer*, *farer*, etc.: cf. O. ending *-eis* **-eis** (no Latin parallel): dat. sg. of *i-* and consonant-stems *ocre* **ukre**, *Iuue* **Iuve**, etc.; loc. sg. of *o*-stems *onse* **uze**, etc.: cf. O. **tereí**, *comenei*, L. *humi*; probably also loc. sg. of *i*-stems *ocre*, etc.

b. *e* **e** from *ei* is in all probability to be recognized in **kletra**: Goth. *hleiþra*.

c. *ee* from *ei* appears in *eetu* VIb 54 beside 16 instances of *e* **e** in imv. of this verb and its compound *enetu* **enetu**; and also once in fut. *eest* < **eiset*.

d. The extremely rare use of *i* **i** to represent the vowel derived from *ei* occurs in one instance of *irer* (VIa 25) against the frequent spelling of this pronoun with initial *e* **e**.

21. pIE *oi* developed differently according as it stood in initial or final syllables. The development in medial syllables is not attested by any examples, and in fact the evidence for initial syllables is meagre, partly because of the twofold value of **u** in the native alphabet and partly because of the doubtful etymology and interpretation of some of the forms used as evidence.

a. *o* from *oi* in initial syllables appears to be contained in *pora* if fully equivalent to O. *poizad* (**110 e**); *nosue* if < **noiswai*, an ablaut-variant to O. *nei suae*; in *ponisiater* (**puniçate**) if < earlier *poinikiato-* : cf. L. *pūnicus*, but this etymology is by no means certain.

b. *uocu* **vuku** might be an example of *o* **u** < *oi* if equivalent to *Foῖκος*, but the view here adopted, by a slight margin of preference, is the one which connects it with L. *lūcus*, with *wōk-* < *louk-* (**24 a**, **55 a**)[1].

c. The following forms, known only in the native alphabet, in all probability contain **u** = *o* < *oi*: **kuratu**: cf. Pael. *coisatens*; **muneklu**: cf. O. **múiníkú**, OL *comoinem* (*communem*); **unu**: OL *oino*, cf. *οἰνή* 'one' (on dice), Goth. *ains*.

d. For *oi* in final syllables reference is made to **25 b**, since in the dat. sg. and dat.-abl. pl. forms of the second declension which furnish the examples the *oi* results from shortening of the long diphthong *ōi*.

[1] *uinu* **vinu**, despite its obvious connection with *Foῖνος*, does not constitute valid evidence against *o* < *oi* in initial syllables. The word is of non-IE origin, and all forms occurring in Italic languages (e.g. L. *vīnum*) and Etruscan have *i*. See Sturtevant, *Lang.*, X (1934), pp. 6-9.

22. pIE *au* is represented by *o* **u**: *ote* **ute**: O. *auti*, L. *aut*; **uhtur**: L. *auctor*; *fons*: cf. L. *Fones*, *Faunus*; *frosetom*: cf. L. *fraudo*, *fraussus*; *toru* **turuf**: L. *tauros*;

also **kutef**, if it is pres. pcpl. of a denominative verb from pcpl. equivalent to L. *cautus*, whence our form would = L. **cautens*.

23. pIE *eu* is represented by *o* **u**. Since *eu* had precisely the same history as *ou* in all Italic languages, it is not possible in every case to distinguish forms with original *eu* from those with original *ou*. On grounds of comparative etymology it is probably correct to assume original *eu* for *totar* **tutas**: O. *touto*, Goth. *þiuda*, and possibly the Illyrian personal name *Teuta*. On *eu* < *ēu* see 25 **c**.

24. pIE *ou*.

a. *ou*, showing the same development as *eu*, appears as *o* **u**. It is probably to be recognized in *uocu* **vuku** if these forms are connected with O. **lúvkeí**, L. *lūcus* rather than with *Foĩκος*. For vocalism see Muller, p. 243 under **loukos**.

b. *comohota* apparently has *-oho-* representing *ō* from secondary *ou* after syncope of *e* in **moweto-*: cf. L. *commōtus*.

c, In the following forms it is uncertain whether *o* **u** is derived from *eu* or from *ou*: *rofu*: cf. L. *rūfus* (of dialectal origin; on vocalism see E.-M.[3], p. 1021); **Vuvçis**: O. **Lúvkis**, L. *Lucius*, with vocalism either as in *λευκός* or as in L. *lūx*, which is itself ambiguous.

25. The ie long diphthongs did not survive as such in any Italic language; in fact, apart from the Greek case-endings commonly written *ᾳ*, *ῃ*, *ῳ*, they scarcely exist in any European branch of the family, having suffered either shortening of the first element or loss of the second, so that they became identical either with the plain diphthongs or with the long vowels and had the same subsequent history. The change to plain diphthongs was doubtless early, and the change to long monophthongs may have begun in pIE under conditions of juncture which are in part obscure. Forms originally containing long diphthongs are generally distinguished by their correspondence with Sanskrit forms or with Greek case-endings in *ᾳ*, *ῃ*, *ῳ*.

The following forms contain vowels arising from plain diphthongs arising from earlier long diphthongs:

a. *āi* > *ai* > *e* **e**: dat.-loc. sg. of *ā*-stems: *tote* **tute**, etc.: cf. O. **deívaí**, **víaí**, L *viae*, *ἀγορᾷ*; also dat.-abl. pl. of *ā*-stems: *aseriater* **anzeriates**: cf. O. **kerssnaís**, L. *terris*, if based on a case-ending *-āis* made after the instrumental pl. of *o*-stems in *-ōis* while the long diphthong was still intact; otherwise it should be included above under *ai* (**19**).

b. *ōi* > *oi* > *e* **e** *i* **i** *ei*: dat. sg. of *o*-stems: **Iuvie**, *pople*, **Tefri**, *fratreci*, *Grabouei*: cf. O. **húrtúí**, OL *Numasioi*, *λύκῳ*, dat.-abl. pl. of *o*-stems: *ueris* **veres**, *sehmenier*, *esoneir*: cf. O. **Núvlanúís**, *zicolois*, OL *privicoles*, L. *hortis*, if all the Italic forms

are to be derived from IE instrumental pl. in *-ōis*: Skt. *devais*. The forms with *ei* are restricted to the first 42 lines of Table VIa.

c. *ēu* > *eu* > *o* **u** in dat.-loc. sg. of *u*-stems **manuv-e**, *trifo*: cf. L. dat. *curru*, Skt. loc. *sunau*.

The following forms contain etymologically long vowels arising from long diphthongs with loss of the second element:

d. *ēi* > *ē* > U. *e* **i** in fifth declension forms dat. *auie*, **ri**: cf. L. *fidē* dat. in Hor., *Serm.*, I, 3, 95; abl. **ri**, acc. pl. *iouie*. The fifth declension in general is based on stems in *-ēi* (*-ēu* in the case of L. *diēs*). For details see **79**.

e. *ōu* > *ō* > U. *u* **u** (**13** with **b**): acc. **bum**, acc. pl. *buf* **buf**: Dor. *βῶν*, Skt. *gām*.

f. There is a slight possibility of a similar origin for the dative ending in the divine names *Trebo* and *Fiso* (and perhaps **Ahtu**), if these are derived from forms in *-āi* and *-ōi*, like OL *Matuta*, *C.I.L.*, I, 379, and the standard dat. sg. in L. *o*-stems *equō*, etc., with further examples in the minor Italic dialects; see von Planta, II, pp. 94-5, 111; not admitted by Buck, § 171, 3 a, 185, 2, who treats the Umbrian forms as fourth declension, in which case the development is through plain diphthongs and not through long monophthongs.

26. Lengthening of Vowels. In Latin it is a well-known fact that vowels originally short were lengthened before certain consonant-clusters, partly in compensation for the loss of one of the consonants, partly where no such loss had occurred. The authority of ancient grammarians, which furnishes a part of our information for Latin, is lacking for the Italic dialects, but occasionally the orthography gives evidence of vowel-lengthening under conditions similar to those in Latin, and it is likely that the phenomenon was by no means limited to the few forms in which we have direct evidence of it but extended to categories of which these forms are merely isolated examples. The evidence in Umbrian includes all the means by which vowel-length is indicated: doubling of the vowel, use of the vowel + *h* **h**, or of the vowel + *h* + vowel, and also the use of *ei* for *e* and of *u* for *o*, indicating a change toward a more raised position as the *e*, *o* was lengthened.

a. The consonant-group *-nkt-* was reduced to *-t-* with lengthening of the preceding vowel: *sahatam* **sahta**: L. *sānctam*; *ŝihitu*, *anŝihitu*: L. *cīnctos*.

b. A similar lengthening before *-nk-* is probably to be recognized in **çihçeřa**, if it is from **kinkel(y)ā* or **kinkedā* and related to L. *cingo*, *κιγκλίδες*, etc., according to the usual view.

c. The group *-kt-* became *-ht-* by **46 i**, and in such forms as **apehtre**, *ehueltu* it is possible to regard the *h* as sounded, but in **amprehtu**, where it has no etymological justification, and in forms with the spelling consisting of vowel + *h* + vowel (e. g. *sahatam*, *eheturstahamu*) it is not possible to regard the *h* as anything

more than a mark of vowel-length. It was used originally, then, to indicate the aspiration arising from *k* before *t* (and also from *f* < *p* before *t* by **38 b**) and continued to be used sporadically to show the length of the vowel after the aspiration had disappeared. Our principal examples are forms containing *ehe-* **eh-**, the prefix equivalent to L. *ex, ē*: **apehtre**: cf. L. *ab extra*; *ehueltu*, **ehvelklu**, *ehetursta hamu*, and finally the preposition *ehe* itself. These forms present difficulties when we attempt to explain them satisfactorily for Umbrian, Oscan, and Latin. *ē* cannot be from **ex* before *l, m, n* in Oscan or Umbrian, since *s* is not lost in this position in these dialects as it is, for example, in L. *ē-mergo* < **ex-mergo*. It is necessary therefore to derive O.-U. *ē-* < *eh-* < **ek* (: *ἐκ*), the *ē-* arising in this way being then extended analogically to other situations. A further difficulty is the fact that in Oscan the *h* arising from *k* before *t* is in general not lost; at least forms like **Uhtavis**: L. *Octavius*; **ehtrad** do not show variants without *h*. Von Planta, I, p. 209, suggests that Oscan *h* may have been lost before spirants (cf. **eestínt**), the prefix then being generalized in the form *ē-*. Actually the Oscan forms with **h** written before **t** are too few to allow any generalization as to its value.

d. **aanfehtaf** may exemplify lengthening of the vowel before *nf*, as in L. *īnficio*, etc., but its value as evidence is weakened by the fact that the first **a** fell at the end of a line, perhaps causing the engraver to begin the word anew on the following line.

e. Lengthening before final original *ns* in the acc. pl. forms *toru, rofu* (*o*-stems), and *aueif, treif* (*i*-stems) is inferred from the spelling with *u, ei* unless we follow the less probable view that these forms ended in *-ōns, -īns* originally. The lengthening is common to the Italic languages (cf. L. *virōs, avīs*, etc.) and is certainly older than the Umbrian change of *-ns* > *-f*.

f. Lengthening before medial *ns* appears in O. **keenzstur** (with **nz** for *nts* < *ns*; for length cf. L. *cēnsor*) and probably occurred in similar situations in Umbrian, but there is no direct graphic evidence of it.

g. *ooserclom* has initial *ō* resulting from compensatory lengthening if it is from **ob-serklom*, but there is an almost equally good possibility of taking it from **au-serklom* < **awi-serklom*, in which case *oo* would be explained by development of *au* as in **22**, after syncope had occurred.

h. The reduction of the group *rs* is accompanied by lengthening of the preceding vowel in *frateer* (= L. *fratres*) < **fraters* < **frateres*. Similar lengthening is probable before medial *rs*, in which the loss, or at least the weakening of the *r* is shown by frequent omission in spelling (**2 i**). The doubling in *meersta* (with *rst* < *rsst* with secondary *rs* = *ř* < *d* according to one widely accepted etymology) may be an indication of such length, but this doubling occurs only once against 14 instances of *merst-*.[1]

[1] *meersta* is admitted as evidence of length by Pl., I, pp. 207-8, and Buck, § 76, 1, but taken as dittography by Kent, *T.C.I.*, p. 41.

27. Shortening of Vowels. Since vowel-length itself is so irregularly shown in Umbrian orthography, it is especially difficult to detect those cases where vowels originally long have become short. On the other hand there is moderately abundant evidence that in both Oscan and Umbrian long vowels are maintained in a number of situations where these vowels would be shortened in Latin.

a. Final *ā* is altered in quality but keeps its quantity: **mutu**, O. *molto*, but L. *multă*, etc. (**7 b**; etymologically short *a* does not change to *o* **u**).

b. The length of the vowel is maintained before final *m* in the gen. pl. *pracatarum*, since *-um* here can represent *-ōm*, but not *-ŏm*.

c. The retention of long vowels before final *t* is attested in Oscan by the verb forms **kasit**: L. *carĕt*, **fusíd**: L. *forĕt*, all from *-ēt*, and possibly in Umbrian by *trebeit*, if *ei* stands for *ē* (second conjugation) or for *ī* (fourth conjugation). It is much less probable that *ei* stands for *ĕ* (third conjugation), both because *ei* rarely represents a short vowel and because the intransitive meaning of *trebeit* favors the belief that the verb belongs to the second conjugation.

d. Of the retention of long vowels before final *r* Umbrian provides no unambiguous examples.

28. Vowel-Weakening. Umbrian and Oscan present very few parallels to the weakening of vowels so frequent in Latin in syllables which were unstressed under the early system of initial accent. Moreover there are clear cases of absence of such weakening in dialect forms closely analogous to weakened Latin forms (e. g. *procanurent* against L. *oc-cinui*, **taçez** against L. *tacitus*). Yet there are some instances of vowel-change which cannot be explained by any other supposition than that of weakening in unstressed position. The weakening, when it occurs, is usually in the direction of *o* **u**, not of *e*, *i* as in Latin, and it seems to be especially favored by the proximity of a labial consonant; possibly some cases of actual weakening are concealed as a result of the lack of a special *o*-character in the native alphabet, **a** being preferred to **u**, and possibly other cases were eliminated by recomposition, but it is not possible to formulate any comprehensive rule.

a. The most probable instance of weakening is **prehubia** (varying, at least in spelling, with unweakened **prehabia**): L. *praehibeat*.

b. kumaltu (3 times) **kumultu** (once) *comoltu* (5 times) form a similar case if the proper vowel-grade is *al* < *l̥* in the imperative as in the participle **kumates** (18 **a**), but *ul* **ol** may represent *ol*, **kumaltu** then being remodeled after the participle. In **sumel** also we have to choose between the possibility of weakening of **semel* (cf. L. *simul*) in enclitic use or of ablaut-variation in the first syllable.

c. The *o*-forms *Prestota*, etc., show weakening if **Prestate** contains *ă* < *ə*, but the vowel may be *ō* < *ā* (**7 b**). *atropusatu* against 5 instances of **-tre-** and

3 of *-tri-* is probably not a form with an obscure labial-colored vowel, but simply an error (cf. Kent, *T.C.I.*, p. 43).

29. Syncope. Loss of unstressed short vowels by syncope is much more frequent in Oscan and Umbrian than in Latin. All the short vowels except possibly *u*[1] are subject to syncope, but the analogy of related forms occasionally prevents the loss of the vowel or restores it to its original place. Even for Latin it is not possible to lay down a complete set of rules describing the occurrence of syncope or its failure to occur, and still less is it possible for the dialects.

Since the Italic languages had initial stress during the period when syncope was taking place, we cannot expect to find loss of vowels from initial syllables. The principal instances of syncope in medial syllables are treated in paragraphs **a** to **h** and in final syllables in paragraphs **i** to **m**, but loss of absolutely final vowels is treated separately in **31**.

a. *e* is lost in the suffix of comparison and contrast *-tro-* < *-tero-*: *destre* **testre**: L. *dextra*, but *δεξιτερά*, *nertru*, *postra*, etc.

b. *e* is lost before *t* in imperative forms of verbs of the third conjugation: **kuvertu** < **kom-wertetōd*: L. *convertito*; *ostendu* **ustentu** < **obs-tendetōd*, with *nd* < *nt* < *ndt* (**60 a**): L. *ostendito*; *ditu* **titu** < **didetōd* (**119 b**): cf. *διδότω*; **sestu** IIb 22: L. *sistito* (but not pres. ind. **sestu** IIb 24: L. *sisto*); *andersistu* < **-sizdetōd*: L. **intersīdito*; etc. **sumtu** < **sub-emetōd* shows loss not only of the *e* before the imv. ending but also of the *e* of the radical syllable. *fertu* **fertu** probably shows not syncope but unthematic inflection, since Latin, which does not syncopate imv. forms in general, has *ferto*.

c. *ĕ* is lost in 3 sg. pass. ind. **teřte** < **dedeter*.

d. *ĕ* is lost before *s* in *onse* **uze** < **omesei*: L. *umerus*; **felsva** < **feles-wa* (etymology not quite clear, and *f* here may show dialect borrowing, but in all probability connected with L. *holera*); *mersto* if < *meřs-to-* < **medes-to-*, but this etymology is very uncertain; *ose* if < **opse* < **opesi*, but here again the etymology is doubtful.

e. *ĕ* is lost before *l* in **arçlataf**: L. *arculatas*; **tiçlu** < **dik-elom*; **ereçlum**; **struhçla**: L. **struiculam*; *preuiślatu*: L. **prae-vinculato*. In all these forms **ç** *ś* < *k* (**46 b**) shows that a front vowel, in all probability *e*, must originally have followed. In other cases we must reckon with the possibility that no vowel originally stood before the *l*, hence no syncope. In some cases the former presence of *e* can be supported on other grounds: **katlu** < **kat-elom* because *-tl-* would have become *-kl-* (41 **e**); similarly in **vitlu**, where the original *e* also receives some support from O. **Víteliú**, L. *Vitellius*. But the vocalism of several forms is uncertain, and Latin cognates in *-culus*, etc., are not decisive, since the *u* can be from *e* or from *o* or can have arisen through anaptyxis.

f. *ĕ* is lost in the noun-suffixes *-men-* (oblique cases) and *-meno-*: *nomne*: L. *nomine*; **tikamne**: L. **dicam(i)no*; *pelmner* if < **pelpmen-*; **menzne** if < **mēns-en-i*; *termnom-e*: L. *terminum*.

g. *ĭ* is lost in *todcom-e* < **toutikom*; *percam*: L. *perticam*; **struhçla** < **struwikelam* with *ū* < *uw* after syncope: cf. L. *struem*; *scalse-to*: L. *calice*.

h. *ĭ* is lost in the reduplication after the prefix in **restef** < **resistens*; at least the transitive sense, generally rendered by L. *restaurans*, favors the view that the present stem was originally reduplicated.

i. *ŏ* is lost before final *s* in the masc. nom. sg. of words of the second declension: **tiçel** < **diyēkelos* (with *s* lost after the syncope); similarly **katel**; **fratreks** *fratrexs* if < **fratrikos*; pf. pcpls. *tases* **taçez**: L. *tacitus*; *pihos* **pihaz**: L. *piatus*; *conegos* **kunikaz**; **stakaz**; gerundive **pelsans** < **pelsannos* < **pelsandos*.

j. The vowel *o*/*e* has been lost in the forms nom. sg. *mers* **meřs**, abl. pl. *mersus*, from stem **medos-medes-*.

k. *ŏ* is lost before final *s* in the dat.-abl. case-ending of the third and fourth declensions, the *f* which preceded the *o* being then assimilated to the *-s* (**61 d**, **101 c**, **d**, **e**). Typical examples are: *aueis* **aves** < **awifs* < **awibhos*: L. *avibus*; *fratrus*: L. *fratribus*; *nerus*: Skt. *nṛbhyas*; **berus**: L. *verubus*; etc.

l. *ĭ* is lost before final *s* in nom. sg. of the *i*-stems *Casilos* < **kasilātis*: cf. L. *Arpinas*; *fons* if < **faunis*; *pacer* < **pākris* with samprasāraṇa (**32 d**) and loss of *-s*: cf. L. *acer* < *ācris*.

m. *e* is lost in future verb forms between the tense-sign *s* and the personal ending *-s* (2 sg.) or *-t* (3 sg.): **anpenes**, **heries**, **purtuvies**; **prupehast**, **ferest**, **fust**; etc. Syncope must likewise be recognized in the same situation in the future perfect, unless we regard the second component as an auxiliary form in which the syncope was already accomplished previously.

[1] Nom. sg. forms of *u*-stems, which could provide evidence, are lacking in both Oscan and Umbrian, but *erus*, if it represents a stem in *-us*, shows absence of syncope in comparison with *o*-stem forms like **katel**, etc. Von Planta, I, p. 231, compares Goth. *u*-stem *handus* unsyncopated and *i*-stem *fisks* syncopated.

30. Failure of Syncope. Although it is not always possible to explain those instances in which syncope fails to occur when expected, a few cases deserve mention.

a. The *e* in the final syllable of 3 sg. pf. ind. forms is maintained: **dede** [1] < **deded* < **dedet*: cf. O. **kúmbened**, L. *dedit*, *convēnit*. The same is probably true in the 3 sg. pres. ind. of verbs of the third conjugation, on the evidence of Marruc. *feret*, Vest. *didet*, although no Oscan or Umbrian forms are quotable.

b. The imv. **kanetu** is often taken as an unsyncopated third-conjugation form,

on the supposition that a vowel between *n* and *t* escapes syncope; but actually there is no support for such a view unless we count O. **Genetaí.** In view of the almost invariable syncope in imv. forms of the third conjugation, therefore, it seems preferable to assign **kanetu** to the second conjugation (< **kanētōd* < **kaneyetōd*, **118 b**).

c. Several pf. pcpl. forms offer difficulty because of their failure to syncopate the vowel before the *t*. *uirseto* (with *auirseto*) might be explained as an example of extension of *ē* into the non-present forms of a second-conjugation verb, as if L. *video* had pcpl. **vidētus* instead of *visus*, and **taçez** *tases* might be similarly explained, but this explanation is more difficult for verbs whose present stems belong to other conjugations: **pruseçetu** to **prusekatu**; *muieto* to *mugatu*; also *daetom*, *peretom*, *frosetom*, *pesetom*, **vaçetum**. Von Planta's explanation[2] may be tentatively adopted for want of a more satisfactory answer: syncope occurred in the imv., where the medial syllable stood between the accented initial syllable and the heavy ending *-tōd*, but failed to occur before the endings *-ts* < *-tos* and *-tom* in the pcpl., the unsyncopated form then being generalized.

[1] On minor inscr. 352 Co. = 292 Pl. = 82 Bk. (from Todi).

[2] I, p. 215. Devoto's view (pp. 156-7) that long *e* in pcpl. alternated with *ā* in pres. of the first conjugation is tempting, but this type of alternation is not attested by the evidence of cognate languages, while several Latin verbs of the first conjugation do possess pcpls. in *-(i)tus* < *-(ə)tos*: *domitus* to *domare*, *sectus* to *secare*, etc.

31. Loss of Final Vowels. Many inherited short vowels in final position were lost in the Italic languages, but the instances of loss and of preservation are not distributed in a clear and consistent manner either among the separate dialects or within the same dialect. Apparently different positions in the sentence favored one or the other treatment, depending on the initial sound of the following word, and of the doublets which thus arose one or the other was generalized for the form in question in all situations. For the most part the type of loss here described differs from syncope both in distribution and in origin and is usually treated separately.

a. *-ă* is preserved in the voc. sg. of the *ā*-stems *Prestota*, *Serfia*, *Iouia*, *Tursa*, the shortness of the *a* being shown by its contrast with the nom. in *-ō* **-u** < *-ā*.

b. *-ĕ* is lost in *neip* **neip**: O. **neip** etc. but L. *neque*; **ap** (but usually *ape* etc.): L. *atque* but also *ac*; **erek** and other pronominal forms made with enclitic equivalent to L. *-ce*.

c. *-ĕ* is preserved in the voc. sg. of *o*-stems **Saçe**, *Grabouie*, etc.

d. *-ĭ* is regularly lost in the 3 sg. and 3 pl. active primary personal endings: *est* **est**: L. *est*, but ἐστί, Skt. *asti*; *habiest*, *fefacust*, etc.; *-ĭ* is lost also in *et* **et**: L. *et* but ἔτι, Skt. *ati*; *post*: O. **pust**, L. *post*, all from **posti* (like **anti*); etc.

e. *ĭ* is regularly preserved (as *-e* **-e**) in abl. sg. of consonant-stems *capirse* **kapiře**, **natine**, etc.; in nom.-acc. sg. neut. *uerfale* and most other neut. *i*-stem nouns and adjectives; in *ote* **ute**: O. *auti* but L. *aut*; *pufe* **pufe**[1]: L. *ubi* but O. **puf.**

f. *-ŏ* is preserved in **supu** IV 17, if von Planta (I, p. 567) is right in equating it with *ὑπό*, Skt. *upa*, L. *sub*. See note on IV 17 for the two possibilities.

g. For the loss or preservation of *-ŭ* there is no conclusive evidence.

[1] It is not certain what the final vowel of these forms originally was; the Oscan and Umbrian forms may have had suffix *-dhe*: Skt. *ku-ha*, or *-dhi*: *πό-θι*; L. *ubi* may be < *ubī* < OL *ubei*.

32. Samprasāraṇa[1] is the name used to designate the change of a semivowel to the corresponding vowel when the vowel which originally followed is lost by syncope. The word affected thus suffers no syllabic loss. The phenomenon is treated here for convenience, instead of being made a part of the history of the consonants, because of its close connection with the syncope treated in the foregoing sections and because of the vocalic nature of the sound which results. In principle the semivowels capable of undergoing the change are *y*, *w*, *r*, *l*, *m*, and *n*; in Umbrian the chief examples involve *y* and *r*.

a. In the nom. and acc. sg. of stems in *-yo-* the *o* is syncopated, whereupon the *y* becomes *i*: nom. **Vuvçis**: O. **Lúvkis**, but L. *Lucius*; acc. *Fisim* < **Fisyom*; nom. *arsir* if equivalent to L. *alius*, *alis*,[2] the view preferred here; but the alternative view has considerable support; see on VIa 6. **tehteřim** also probably belongs here, since it is much more easily derived from a stem in *-dyo-* or *-lyo-* than in *-di-* or *-li-*.

b. If **Teteies** is equivalent to L. *Tetteius*, both from **Tetteiyos*, **e** in the final syllable is a rare spelling for **i** developing from the *y*.

c. iveka *iuenga*: L. *iuuencas*, with **iv-** < *yuw-*, should be regarded as an example of samprasāraṇa in the initial position.

d. If a vowel is syncopated after *r*, the *r* assumes the function of a vowel and appears in the standard orthography as *er* **er**: *ager*[3] < **agṛs* < **agros*: L. *ager* *ἀγρός*; *pacer* < **pakṛs* < **pakris*; enclitic (and therefore unaccented) postposition *-per* < **pṛ* < **pro*: L. *pro*.

e. Samprasāraṇa of *n* has occurred in the development of *Padellar* < **Padenlās* < **Patn̥lās* < **Patnolās*, if we accept the usual view as to its etymology.

[1] A Sanskrit term, literally 'a drawing asunder.'
[2] Sall. *apud* Charis., *Gramm. Lat.* (Keil), I, p. 159, 31.
[3] Minor inscr. no. 355 Co. (from Assisi).

33. Contraction and Hiatus.

a. Unlike vowels are left uncontracted, the resulting hiatus being frequently indicated by *h* **h**: *stahu*[1] but L. *sto*; **ahesnes**: L. *ahenis*; etc.

b. Like vowels are contracted. The known instances mostly involve vowels left in juxtaposition after loss of *y* (**53 b**): nom. pl. *pacrer* < **pakreyes*: cf. L. *acres*; second-conjugation verb forms of the type of *tursitu* **tusetu** < **torseyetōd*: cf. L. *terrētō*; etc.

c. In the dat. sg. and dat.- abl. pl. of *yo*-stems the close *e* < *oi* contracts with the preceding *y*, but this contraction is sometimes neglected, or at least is not consistently shown by the spelling: sg. *Grabouei* **Krapuvi**, **Iuvi**, but also **Iuvie**, etc.; pl. *Atiersir* but also *Atiersier*, etc. The contraction is undoubtedly connected with the raised quality of the vowel following the *y*, and it has a parallel in *dur* < **duos* (cf. L. *duo*), where contraction took place after *ō* had been raised in the direction of *ū*. Significantly, the contraction never occurs when *i* is followed by the open *ĕ* in voc. sg., or by *e* **e** < *ei* in gen. and loc. sg., or by *e* **e** < *ai* in dat.-abl. pl. of the first declension.

[1] Minor inscr. 355 Co.

34. Elision. On the loss of a final vowel before the initial vowel of the following word it is impossible to lay down any general rule, but the loss of final short vowels treated above in **31** may be in origin a manifestation of this tendency, secondarily extended to situations before an initial consonant. The loss of final vowel + *m* (cf. L. *animadverto* < *animum adverto*) may be exemplified by **eitipes** if < **eitom hēpens* (**124 c**), but observe the failure to show elision in *vasetomest*, *pesetomest*, etc. **neiřhabas**, if < ***nei ařhabas**, shows loss of the initial vowel after the preceding final.

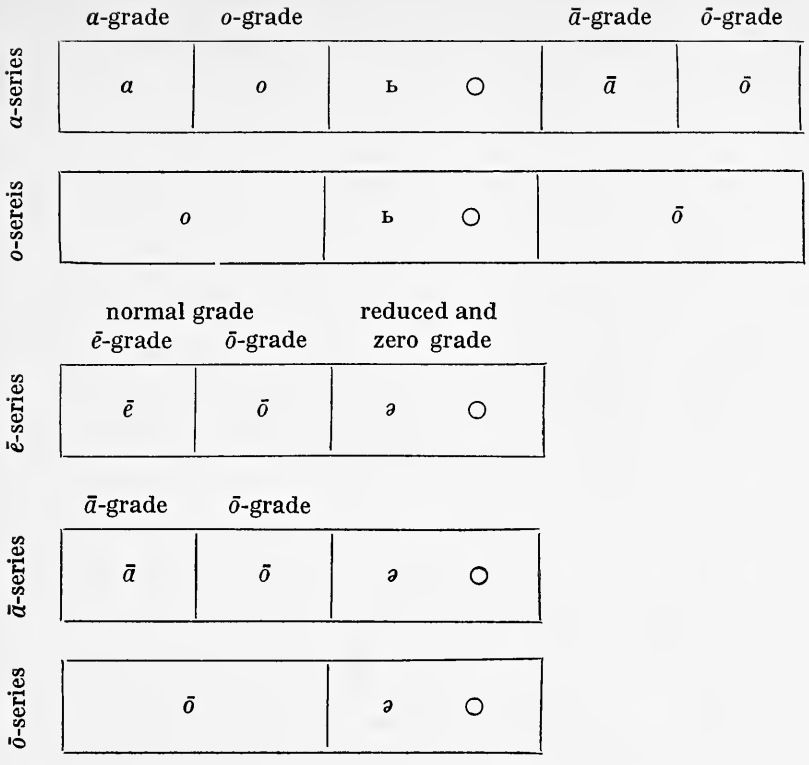
35. Ablaut. The variations of vowel in etymologically related forms, known collectively as ablaut or vowel-gradation, are older by several millennia than the weakening and syncope of the Italic languages. Their origin was partly similar — the effect of a stress accent — but they must be assigned to a stage no later than proto-IE, since every language of the family has inherited them to some degree. During the period when the ablaut-variations were developing every syllable of a word was subject, at least in theory, to this type of variation, but the leveling of related forms has greatly reduced the actual scope of the phenomenon. In the Italic languages particularly ablaut has been reduced in importance, as a comparison of the Latin tense-system, for example, with that of Greek or any Germanic language will quickly show.

The study of Hittite and the recognition of its relationship to the Indo-European languages have led to an increased understanding of the pre-history of the IE vowel-system. Even before the decipherment of Hittite, Ferdinand de Saussure (*Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-européennes*, Leipzig, 1879) had assumed two "coefficients sonantiques" in order to explain the long vowels in such forms as ἵστᾱμι, τίθημι. Subsequently Hittite was found to contain two sounds customarily transcribed *ḫ* (voiced)

and *ḫḫ* (voiceless). Correspondences like Hitt. *laḫḫa-* 'campaign, war': λαός, Hitt. *meḫur* 'time, occasion': L. *mētior* suggested that IE *ē* and *ā* arose when an earlier short normal-grade vowel was followed by a laryngeal, so that de Saussure's theory in its essential features was vindicated. Sturtevant in *The Indo-Hittite Laryngeals* (Baltimore, 1942) recognized four "laryngeal" phonemes *' ̣ x γ* (cf. p. 22 with correspondences between his own and other systems, some of which recognize only three laryngeals). The most important features of his doctrine, so far as IE vocalism is concerned, are: *x* and *' ̣* imparted an *a*-color to a contiguous *e*-vowel, whereby *ă* and *ā* came to exist as distinct phonemes after and only after the disappearance of the *a*-colored laryngeals; the vowels *ē*, *ā* in the "long-vowel" series (to be distinguished from *ē*, *ā* as lengthened grade in the *ĕ*-, *ă*-series) arose when normal-grade *e* was followed by a laryngeal of *e*- or *a*-color, which in turn was followed by a consonant; in zero-grade forms when the *e*, *a* disappeared, the laryngeal itself became *ə*, which subsequently alternated as zero-grade with *ē*, *ā* after these long vowels had arisen from the combination of *e* + laryngeal. Some scholars regard *o*, *ō*, when not in qualitative ablaut-variation with *e*- and *a*-vowels, as reflexes of *e* in contact with the laryngeal *γ* (cf., for example, Lehmann, *Proto-Indo-European Phonology* [Austin, Texas, 1952], pp. 92, 93, 96; Messing, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* LVI-LVII [1947], pp. 217-220). Others admit *o*, *ō* only as ablaut-variants of *e*- and *a*-vowels (cf. Sturtevant, *Lang.*, XIV [1938], pp. 104-11).

The implication of all this is that the six ablaut-series presented below were in origin one. The fundamental distinction was between accented syllables containing *e* and unaccented syllables containing no vowel unless a liquid, nasal, semivowel or laryngeal assumed vocalic function. The differences of quality and quantity in the vowels characterizing the six ablaut-series were then largely the result of the quality and position of contiguous laryngeals. These laryngeals, however, are not attested in the IE languages which were known before the decipherment of Hittite, while on the other hand there are numerous instances of vowel-correspondences of the type of δέκα, L. *decem*, Goth. *taihun*; ἄγρος, L. *ager*, Goth. *akrs*; ἔθηκα, L. *fēcī*; Dor. μάτηρ, L. *māter*, Skt. *mātā*, etc. It is safest therefore in describing the origin of the Italic vowels to begin from the fully developed system outlined in § 5, the vowels of which can be arranged in the six ablaut-series shown below.

	normal grade		reduced and		lengthened grade	
	e-grade	*o*-grade	zero grade		*ē*-grade	*ō*-grade
e-series	*e*	*o*	ь	○	*ē*	*ō*
	ei	*oi*	*i*		*ēi*	*ōi*
	eu	*ou*	*u*		*ēu*	*ōu*
	er	*or*	*r̥*		*ēr*	*ōr*
	el	*ol*	*l̥*		*ēl*	*ōl*
	em	*om*	*m̥*		*ēm*	*ōm*
	en	*on*	*n̥*		*ēn*	*ōn*



The table does not show reduced grade as distinct from zero grade. "shwa secundum" (written ь; cf. **5 b, 16 b**) is included, however, to account for unstressed vowels in syllables where complete loss of the vowel would lead to unpronounceable clusters of stops. In the long-vowel series it is often customary to distinguish between a reduced grade with ə (e. g. L. *stătus*, Skt. *sthitás*) and a zero grade with syllabic loss (e.g. Skt. *dadhmás*) which vary under conditions which are not fully clear. The two are not separated in the table, but see n. 12 in regard to *purdouitu* and *dersa* **teřa**.

a. A full account of ablaut should include the combinations *ye, yo, we, wo, re, ro*, etc., since here also the semivowels may appear as vowels in zero-grade forms (e.g. Skt. comparative *nav-yas*, superlative *nav-iṣ-ṭha-*), but actual instances are far less numerous than those showing the variations *ei*: *i*, *eu*: *u*, *er*: *r̥*, etc.

b. In the *a*-series *a* takes the place of *e* as normal grade and *ā* of *ē* as lengthened grade. In the *o*-series there is no distinction between normal and *o*-grade nor is there any qualitative distinction in the lengthened grade. In the *a*- and *o*-series as well as the *e*-series it is necessary to take account of the subdivisions in which the vowel is followed (or preceded) by *y w r l m n*, but the combinations *ai, au*,

	e grade	*o*-grade	reduced and zero-grade	lengthened-grade *ē*-grade	lengthened-grade *ō*-grade
e	L. *tepor* **meřs** L. *bipedibus* L. *in-sece* L. *prae-side* *tremnu*	L. *modus* *dupursus* [1] **sukatu** **pruzuře**(?)	**tapistenu**(?) L. *trabs*	**prusikurent** O. **trííbúm**	
ei	**teitu** [2] O. *nei*	*nosue* [3]	**tikamne**		
eu	*rofu* (?) *iouies* [4]		**rufru** L. *ruber* L. *iuvenis*		
er	*persclo* *couertu* L. *circulus*	*couortus*(?) [5]	**pepurkurent** L. *posco* **kurçlasiu**(?)[5] **uhtretie** [6]		**uhtur** [6]
el		*comoltu* [7]	*comatir* [7]		
em	*γέμω* L. *simul*	*gomia* **sumel**			
en	**nuřpener**	L. *pondus*	*tribrisine* [8]		**tribřiçu** [8]

etc. can be easily inferred from their similarity to the corresponding *e*-forms, and the *o*-forms are the same as those found under *o*, *ō* in the *e*-series.

c. The origin of the lengthened grade is partly obscure, but the *ē*, *ā*, *ō* probably came from *ĕ*, *ă*, *ŏ* by compensatory lengthening under certain conditions involving loss of the syllable immediately following. The lengthened-grade vowels, from the historical standpoint, should be carefully distinguished from the vowels of the long-vowel ablaut-series, which owe their length to the loss of a following laryngeal: for example L. *pēs*, Dor. *πώς* represent lengthened grades in relation to L. *pedis*, Gk. *ποδός* in the *e*-series, but the long vowels in *τίθημι*, *δίδωμι* represent normal grades in their respective long-vowel series. The long-vowel series naturally do not possess lengthened grades distinct from their normal grades.

d. The tables herewith show some of the principal examples of ablaut-variation between Umbrian forms or between related forms in Umbrian, Oscan, Latin, and Greek. The series are kept distinct, but it has not seemed necessary in the table to show the further subdivision into series with *ei*, *eu*, *er*, etc. The variations exemplified are in the root-syllable except when otherwise indicated in the notes.

a-series

a-grade	*o*-grade	reduced and zero grade	*ā*-grade	*ō*-grade
ançif L. *hasta* *ἄκρος*	L. *uncus* *hostatu* *ocar*		L. *ācer*	*ἀκωκή*

o-series: Umbrian shows no good examples of *o*-grade forms not in ablaut-variation with *e*- or *a*-grade forms in the same language or in other IE languages. In fact, the right to recognize such a series at all ("non-apophonic *o*") is questioned by many scholars at the present time. But see below in the *o*-series, where forms derived from the root **dō*-, *dōw* 'give' appear to contain "a non-apophonic" *ō*-vowel.

ē-series

ē-grade	*ō*-grade	reduced grade	zero-grade
fesnaf-e O. **fiísnú** *fetu* [10] **erietu**(?)[11]		L. *fānum* [9] **façia** L. *aries*	

ā-series

ā-grade	ō-grade	reduced grade	zero-grade
stahmei		*staflarem*	

ō-series

ō-grade	reduced grade	zero-grade
dunum[12]	*purdouitu*	*dersa* **teřa**

[1] Or possibly ō-grade, as in Goth. *fotus*.

[2] **ei** is not a direct survival of IE *ei* (see **20 a, 46 j**).

[3] See **21 a**.

[4] It is not certain whether these forms show the grade *eu* or *ou*, since the two became merged as *ou* in pIt. (**23**).

[5] It is not certain whether these forms show the grade *or* or $\underset{\circ}{r}$, since the two became merged as *or* in pIt. (**17 a**).

[6] The gradation is in the suffix *tr/tōr*, etc.

[7] From a disyllabic base, perhaps **melē-*, with *comoltu* < **kom-molətōd* and *comatir* < **-maltois* < **-mi̯tois* (**18 a**).

[8] Suffix *-yōn/īn-* (**81 b**).

[9] From **făsnom* < **dhəsnom*.

[10] *ē*-grade whether we derive from the unextended root **dhē* (cf. *τί-θη-μι*) or from the extended **dhē-k* (cf. L. *fēcī*).

[11] The only evidence for long initial *e* here is Lith. *ėrýtis* 'lamb'.

[12] **dunum** (inscr. no. 352 Co. from Todi): L. *dōnum*. *pur-douitu* shows reduced grade of *dōu*, a diphthongal form of the root **dō*; *o* instead of *a* < *ə* is difficult but may represent the same type of qualitative leveling seen in *δίδομεν* beside *δίδωμι*. Pf. pcpl. *pur-ditom* < **-dʷītom* has zero-grade of **dōu*, as in L. *duint*, etc. *dersa* **teřa** < **dedāt* has zero -grade of **dō* + *ā*, sign of the subjunctive.

36. General Survey of the Consonant System. In describing the origin, history, and etymological correspondences of the Umbrian consonants the following pIE phonemes are to be assumed as resting on the surest evidence:

STOPS	Labial	Dental	Velar or Palatal	Labiovelar
Voiceless	*p*	*t*	*k*	k^w
Voiced	*b*	*d*	*g*	g^w
Voiced Aspirate	*bh*	*dh*	*gh*	g^wh
Nasals	*m*	*n*		
SEMIVOWELS		*y*		*w*
LIQUIDS		*l*		*r*
SIBILANT			*s*	

a. The laryngeals are not included in the table. For their part in the development of the IE vowel system see **35**. So far as the consonant system is concerned the rare phoneme *b* is sometimes regarded as a reflex of *p* followed by the voiced laryngeal *γ* (cf. Sturtevant, *Indo-Hittite Laryngeals*, p. 87). For the plain velar stops see **45**.

b. The voiceless aspirates *ph th kh* k^wh, which are commonly assumed in addition to the voiceless, voiced, and voiced aspirate stops of the various classes, have been omitted from the table here given. They are normally included in the pIE phonemic system in order to account for sets of related words which show *ph*, *th*, etc. in Indo-Iranian but which show reflexes of the plain voiceless stops in Celtic, Germanic, and Balto-Slavic and of either the plain voiceless stops or the voiced aspirates in Italic and Greek (e.g. Skt. *tiṣṭhati*, Gk. *ἵστημι*, L. *sisto*, Goth. *standan*; Skt. *nakhas*, Gk. *ὄνυξ*, *ὄνυχος*, OE *nægel*; etc.). Some recent scholars have derived the voiceless aspirates from combinations of plain voiceless or voiced stops followed by any one of the three voiceless laryngeals ' ˙ *x* (in Sturtevant's system). Certain variations between aspirated and unaspirated stops, or their reflexes, are then traced to doublets showing the laryngeal immediately after the stop (leading to aspirates) or separated from the stop by an intervening vowel (leading to unaspirated stops). Cf. Sturtevant, *Indo-Hittite Laryngeals*, pp. 83-86; Lehmann, *Proto-Indo-European Phonology*, pp. 80-84. The Umbrian forms in which IE voiceless aspirates have been assumed are extremely few: 1) with the labial *ph*: **aŕepes** if we derive from root **eph-* with Devoto (*T. I.*, p. 201; see Lexicon), but this is very uncertain; 2) with the dental *th* (after von Planta, I, pp. 470-1): **itek** if it contains the same suffix as Skt. *katham*, *yathā*; **urfeta** if, with L. *rota*, it is connected with Skt. *rathas*; *uatuo* **vatuva** if connected with Skt. *kvath-*, but this is extremely uncertain.

c. For the question of the plain velar stops, their relation to the palatals and labiovelars, and their significance for Latin and the Italic dialects see **45**.

d. Strictly speaking, the nasals *m*, *n*, the liquids *l*, *r*, and the semivowels *y*, *w* are allophones of the vowels *m̥*, *n̥*, *l̥*, *r̥*, *i u* respectively, since the conditions under which *m̥* or *m*, *r̥* or *r*, *i* or *y*, etc. can occur are mutually exclusive. For the sake of clarity, however, separate symbols are used as if *m̥* and *m*, *i* and *y*, etc. were distinct phonemes. The symbols *ŋ* and *ñ*, however, are not used, since in pIE and the early IE languages in general they are merely allophones of *n* occurring before (labio)velar and palatal stops respectively. (Contrast their phonemic value in Eng. *lawn*: *long*, *sinner*: *singer*).

e. Some recognize *z*, a voiced sibilant in contrast to the voiceless sibilant *s*. Whether or not it is justifiable to admit *z* as a separate phoneme, it is adequate for our purposes to treat *z* as an allophone of *s* arising when a voiced stop immediately follows, as in zero-grade derivatives of the root **sed-* 'sit' (for Umbrian forms see **29 b**, **61 c**).

37. History of the stops in Italic and other IE Languages. The following is a simplified diagram showing the history of the stops in some of the principal IE languages. The Umbrian and Oscan sounds are shown only as they appear in the Latin alphabet, except that the Umbrian characters **ř**, **k**, and **ç** are included. The voiced stops arising in Gothic under the conditions of Verner's Law are shown at the right of the voiceless spirants, and the products of palatalization before front vowels in Sanskrit, Lithuanian, and Old Church Slavic are shown at the right of the *k* and *g* symbols, but the unaspirated stops arising in Greek and Sanskrit by Grassmann's Law are omitted.

	Umbrian	Oscan	Latin	Greek	Gothic	pIE	Lith.	OCS	Skt.
Labials	*p* *b* *f*	*p* *b* *f*	*p* *b* *f b*	*π* *β* *φ*	*f b* *p* *b*	*p* *b* *bh*	*p* *b* *b*	*p* *b* *b*	*p* *b* *bh*
Dentals	*t* *d ř rs* *f*	*t* *d* *f*	*t* *d* *f d*	*τ* *δ* *θ*	*þ d* *t* *d*	*t* *d* *dh*	*t* *d* *d*	*t* *d* *d*	*t* *d* *dh*
Palatals or Velars	**k** *c* **ç** *ś* *g i* *h*	**k** *c* *g* *h*	*c* *g* *h*	*ϰ* *γ* *χ*	*h g* *k* *g*	*k* *g* *gh*	*k š* *g ž* *g ž*	*k č c s* *g ž z* *g ž z*	*k c ś* *g j* *gh h*
Labio-velars	*p* *b* *f*	*p* *b* *f*	*qu* *v* *f*	*π τ ϰ* *β δ γ* *φ θ χ*	*h* *q* *g*	*k^w* *g^w* *g^wh*	*k* *g* *g*	*k č c* *g ž z* *g ž z*	*k c* *g j* *gh h*

a. When Umbrian is compared with Latin, two striking differences become apparent: 1) in Umbrian, with Oscan, the voiced aspirates become voiceless spirants both initially and medially, while in Latin they become voiceless spirants initially but voiced stops medially; 2) in Umbrian, again with Oscan, the labiovelar stops become labial stops, but in Latin they mostly remain unaltered as velar stops with lip-rounding, at least where the voiceless stops are concerned.

b. When the table is examined as a whole, it is seen that in the group of languages at the left the "palatals or velars" have generally remained as stops, while in those at the right they have largely been changed to sibilants.[1] At the same time the labiovelars have generally remained as stops, partly of labial character, in the languages at the left, but have lost their lip-rounding in the languages at the right and appear as plain *k*- or *g*-sounds, or as sibilants resulting from secondary palatalization of these sounds in the separate languages. This divergence in the treatment of the palatals and labiovelars is the basis of the familiar division into "*centum*-languages" and "*satəm*-languages", which is discussed more fully in **45**.

[1] The Lithuanian, Slavic, and Sanskrit *k* and *g* shown in the table as reflexes of pIE *k g gh* belong to etymological groups like *κρέας*, L. *cruor*, Lith. *kraũjas*, Skt. *kraviṣ*, for which earlier works generally assumed "plain velars" as distinct from both palatals and labiovelars. See **45**.

38. Labial Stops. pIE *p*.

a. *p* normally remains as *p* **p** initially and medially: **patre**: L. *pater*, *πατήρ*; **peři** *persi*: L. *pes*, *πούς*; *pir*: *πῦρ*, Eng. *fire*; *pequo*: L. *pecu*, Goth. *faihu*, Skt. *paśu*; etc.; **super**: L. *super*, *ὑπέρ*; *dupla*: L. *duplas*; etc.

b. The cluster *pt* (including *pt* < *bt*, *bht* by very early assimilation), which remained unaltered in Latin, became *ft* in proto-Oscan-Umbrian, and the resulting *f* was further altered in Umbrian to *h*, the further history of which was parallel to that of the *h* in the cluster *ht* < *kt* (**46i**): *screhto*: O. *scriftas*, L. *scriptum*; **sutentu** < **sup-tendetōd*; probably also imv. *hatu* **hahtu**, from a form with secondary *pt* after syncope of the intervening vowel, and perhaps *subo:u* **subahtu**.

c. For the assimilation of *p* before *s* see **61 d**. For the assimilation of *p* before *m* see **61 e**.

39. pIE *b*, which was a very rare phoneme, generally remains unaltered as *b* **b** (for representation by **p**, which does not there indicate a voiceless stop, see **3 d**): *trebeit*: cf. O. **tríibúm**, L. *trabs*, Goth. *þaurp*; *habe* **habe**: cf. L. *habeo*: the phonology of the various forms of this verb in the Italic dialects presents a complex problem (**122 e**), but the Umbrian forms containing *b* **b** must be referred to an original *b*, since *bh* would not provide a satisfactory solution for Oscan-Umbrian, nor g^w for Latin; **kebu**: L. *cibus*, but because of the **k** unpalatalized before **e** the Umbrian form is under strong suspicion of being a loan; if it is a Latin loan, the **b** could be from *bh*; **ařputrati**: L. *arbitratu*, a reasonably sure equation; the ultimate etymology is unknown, but the U. **p** and L. *b* must be from pIE *b* unless one or the other of the forms is a dialect borrowing.

For the assimilation of *b* before *n* see **61 e**.

40. *bh* normally becomes *f* **f** in Umbrian and Oscan not only in the initial position, as in Latin, but also in the medial position, where Latin has *b* with loss of aspiration: *fertu* **fertu**: L. *ferto*, *φερέτω*; *fratrom* **fratrum**: O. **fratrúm**, L. *fratrum*; *futu* **futu**: cf. O. *fust*, L. *fui*; etc.; *trifo* but L. *tribum*; *tefe* **tefe**: O. **tfei** but L. *tibi*; **alfu**: *ἀλφούς* but L. *albus*; etc.

For the change *mbh* > *mf* > *mb* see **60 d**.

41. Dental Stops. pIE *t*.

a. *t* initial and medial normally remains as *t* **t**: *totam* **tuta**: O. *touto*, Goth. *þiuda*; *tases* **taçez**: L. *tacitus*; *tenitu*: L. *teneto*; *trif* **tref**: L. *tris*, *τρεῖς*, Eng. *three*; etc.; *fertu* **fertu**: L. *ferto*, *φερέτω*; **etantu**: O. *etanto*, L. *tanta*; *et* **et**: L.

et, ἔτι, all from **eti*; 3 sg. and 3 pl. verb forms in primary tenses, with *-t* < *-ti*: *est*: L. *est*, ἐστί; *sent*: cf. L. *sunt*, OCS *sątĭ*; etc.

b. *t* when originally final became *d* in Oscan and Umbrian and subsequently disappeared in Umbrian: 3 sg. verb forms in secondary tenses: **dede**[1]: O. **deded**, L. *dedit*; **façia**: O. **fakiiad**, L. *faciat*.

c. Final *nt* **nt** in pronominal and adverbial forms containing the suffix *-(h)ont*, *-font* is preserved in 29 instances against 2 without the *-nt* **-nt**. Since it is altogether unlikely that final *t* would be preserved in *-nt* when it is otherwise lost, we must assume that a vowel, perhaps *-i*, had previously followed the *t*.

d. Initial *tl*, which in Latin is simplified to *l-*, is preserved in the Umbrian form *Tlatie*, which may be cognate with L. *Latium* or possibly with *latus* < **tlā-tos*, pf. pcpl. to *fero*, *tuli*.

e. Medial *tl* became *cl* **kl**: *pihaclu* and other nouns made with the same suffix (**75 b**). O. **pestlúm** with *stl* < *sktl* is an exception to which there is no Umbrian parallel unless *persclo* is made with *-tlo-* rather than with *-lo-*.

f. An Oscan-Umbrian change *tn* > *kn* is commonly assumed as a convenient means of bringing several forms into connection with L. *annus*, Goth. dat. pl. *aþnam*, both < **at-no-*. The forms are O. **akeneí** '*in anno*', **akun.**, both with anaptyctic vowel before *n*; also U. *seuacne* **sevakne** if it contains the same root, but see on IIa 21. The change gains to some extent in plausibility through its resemblance to the change *-tl-* > *-kl-* (**e** above), but cannot be regarded as proven. *Padellar* might be expected to show the same change, if the reconstruction given in **32 e**, **60 b**, is correct. It may therefore be necessary to assume that **Patnolā* resulted secondarily after syncope of **Patenolā*.

g. Medial *t* is lost before *k*, after syncope has occurred, in *percam* < **pertikam*: L. *pertica*.

h. For the loss in *t* in **pusnaies** see **2 i**. For the change *-tr-* > *-dr-* see **60 f**. For *-nt-* > *-nd-* see **60 a**. For *-tn-* > *-dn-* (as a stage in the development of *Padellar*) see **60 b**, with **f** above. For *-tt-* and groups containing *t* with other dental stops see **44** with **a**, **b**, **c**, **d**.

[1] From minor inscr. no. 352 Co. (from Todi).

42. pIE *d*.

a. *d* in the initial position generally remains as **t** *d*, the **t** in this case of course indicating a voiced stop (**3 d**). *dur*, **tuf**: L. *duo*; *desenduf*: cf. L. *duodecim*; *destru* **testru**: L. *dextro*; *ditu* **tetu**: cf. δίδωμι, L. *do*, *dare*; *Di Dei*: cf. OL *Diovis*.

b. *d* between vowels normally became a sound represented in the native alphabet by the character which we write as **ř** and in the Latin alphabet by *rs* (**3 f**). Another source of this **ř** *rs* is intervocalic *l* (**55 b**), and in certain forms of

doubtful etymology and interpretation it is not certain whether we have to do with original *d* or *l*. In both cases the change is a peculiarity of Umbrian not shared by Oscan, although the character ⋔, which occurs 4 times on a single Paelignian inscription from Corfinium (216 Co.), may have indicated a similar sound. The surest Umbrian examples of **ř** *rs* < *d* are: *erse* **eřek**: O. *idic* **idik**, cf. L. *id*; *pirse* **piře**; cf. O. **pídum**, L. *quid*; *persi* **peři**: L. *pede*, *ποδί*; from the same root *dupursus*, *peturpursus*: cf. L. *bi-*, *quadrupedibus*; *capirse* **kapiře**: L. *capide*; *calersu* **kaleřuf**: L. *calidus* = *λευκομέτωπος* (cf. Isid., *Or.*, XII, 1, 52); *serse* **zeřef**: L. *sedens*; *dersa* **teřa** < **didat*, pres. subj.: cf. *δίδωμι*; similarly *andirsafust* **ateřafust**; *ahatripursatu* **ahtrepuřatu**: cf. L. *tripodato*.

c. When **ř** *rs* occurs in positions other than intervocalic, we must generally assume that a vowel was lost by syncope after the change *d* > **ř** *rs* had been completed, or that the **ř** *rs* was extended by analogy from forms where it arose normally. The former explanation is possible for *mers* **meřs** < **med(o)s*: cf. O. **med-díss**, L. *modus*; **ařpes** beside the more frequent **ařepes**. In *dirstu* **teřtu** the *rs* **ř** probably arose by analogy with related froms (e. g. *dirsa*, etc., not subject to syncope), since the syncope in the imperative forms in question is assumed to belong to an earlier period than the change *d* > *rs* **ř**, the normal development appearing in *ditu* **titu** < **dittōd* < **did(e)tōd*. *ars-* **ař-** in **ařkani**, *arsfertur*, **ařpeltu**, **ařputrati** can be explained as having originated in forms where the prefix was followed by a vowel, but it is difficult to separate this group of forms from L. *arbiter*, OL *arfuise*, *arveho*, etc., whose precise explanation is obscure, but which are sometimes regarded as dialect variants of *ad-*. It should be observed that in Umbrian *arfertur* (beside *arsfertur*), *arueitu* (beside *arsueitu*) *rs* **ř** may be replaced by the more advanced stage *r*, as in the Latin forms, and also that in both languages the alteration of *ad-* seems to occur chiefly before labials. The postposition **-ař** could arise normally in close juncture before a word with initial vowel; of the 5 actual examples 3 are before vowels and 2 before consonants, while the variant form **-a** occurs 8 times before consonants and nowhere before a vowel.

d. In contradistinction to *rs* **ř** non-intervocalic, we sometimes find *d* maintained under conditions that seem to call for the change to *rs* **ř**. In *Coredier*, *tuder*, *tuderato*, **utur** the change was apparently prevented by the dissimilatory effect of an *r* elsewhere in the word (*r* in *tuder*, *tuderato* is from *s* by 57 **c**, **e**; in *eturstahmu* **etuřstamu**, where *s* did not change to *r*, the change of *d* to *rs* **ř** was not prevented). In *Padellar* the *d* may be from *t* (**60 b**), but unless the *d* developed so late as to escape the change to *rs*, it may be better to assume that we have here a case of resistance to sound-change in a divine or personal name. In *tesedi* **tenzitim** no explanation of the *d* is possible, since the etymology is unknown.

e. Final *d* is lost: abl. sg. *tota* **tuta**, etc.: O. *toutad*, cf. OL *sententiad*; imv. *fertu*, etc.: cf. O. *deiuatud*, OL *datod*. For loss of secondary *-d* from *-t* see **41 b**.

f. For the treatment of *-dt-* see **44 b.** For *-df* see **61 b.** For *-dn-*, and also for *-nd-*, see **61 e.**

43. pIE *dh* normally becomes *f* **f** in Umbrian and Oscan not only in the initial position, as in Latin, but also in the medial position, where Latin has *d* (or, under certain conditions, *b*): **façia**: O. **fakiiad**, L. *faciat*, cf. Skt. *da-dhāmi*, *τίθημι*; *filiu* **feliuf**: L. *filius*, cf. *θηλή*, *θῆλυς*; *furo*: L. *forum*, cf. *θύρα*, Eng. *door*, Russ. *dvor*, all based on stems with initial *dhw-*; *uerfale*: L. *verbale* (*b* < *dh* after *r*), cf. Eng. *word*; *staflarem*: cf. L. *stabulum*, based on suffix containing *-dhl-* (*-θλο-*) and L. *b* resulting from earlier proximity of *l*; **rufru**: L. *ruber*, *ἐρυθρός*, Skt. *rudhiras* (*f* in L. *rufus* is dialectal in origin); *combifiatu*, with *f* whether we accept connection with L. *fido*, *πείθω*, or the less probable one with *πυνθάνομαι*.

For *dht* see **44 d.** For the possible development of *ndh* through *nþ* to *nd* see **60 a, d.**

44. Dental Clusters. The clusters which arose through the addition of dental suffixes to stems ending in dentals underwent very early alteration, probably during the period of Indo-European unity, as a result of the intrusion of a sibilant between the two dental stops. Consequently some works include *tst*, etc., among the proto-IE phonemes. Yet for the sake of etymological transparency it is best to present the combinations in their original form. Since the suffixes with which we have to deal are in almost all cases either the *-to-* used in forming the passive participle or other related *t*-suffixes, our dental clusters are for practical purposes limited to *tt*, *dt*, and *dht*. In some cases, however, the cluster is preceded by *n* or *r* or followed by *r*, and the normal development of the dental groups may then be altered or followed by secondary developments.

a. *tt* became L. *ss*: *messus* < **met-tos*, pcpl. of *meto*. Of the development of simple *tt* in Umbrian there are no examples, but *trahuorfi* must have passed through the stages **-wr̥t-tēd* > **-worssēd* > **-uorfi* (**59 c**).

b. *dt* first became *tt* by assimilation and had precisely the same subsequent history as original *tt*: *frosetom*, if derived like Latin iterative verbs by addition of *-to/tā-* to the verb-root: cf. L. *fraus*, *fraudis*, *fraudare*, etc.; but actually it is not certain whether the root-final was originally *d* or *dh*, since Latin medial *d* is ambiguous and forms outside of Italic sometimes have root-variants ending in gutturals instead of dentals; *spefa* < **spend-tā* through the intermediate stages **spent-tā* > **spenssā* (**58 c**); similarly **spafu** (**58 c** with **n. 3**).

c. The cluster *ttr*, whether original or resulting from the assimilation of *dtr*, is represented by *str* in Umbrian, Oscan, and Latin: *castruo* **kastruvu**: O. *castrous*, L. *castrum*, *castra*; despite certain semantic difficulties the equation of these forms is generally accepted; for details see Lexicon.

d. The history of *dh* + *t* is more complicated; in several of the IE languages

it shows two different reflexes distributed in such a way that there must have been two successive developments in proto-Indo-European itself, nor is there universal agreement among scholars as to which development was normal and which was the result of special factors. According to the view favored here the normal development was that one whereby a transfer of aspiration took place resulting in *dʰdh* > *zdh*, then Skt. *dh* (or *h*) with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, Gk. *σθ*, Italic *st*. This development may be seen in U. *hostatu*: L. *hastatos*, cf. Goth. *gazds*, all from **ghodh-to-*, *-tā-*; **ufestne**, adj. in abl. pl. 'sealed', if < **op-fest(o)-no-* < **ob-bhn̥dh-to-no*: cf. L. *offendix* 'knot, band', Eng. *bind*, Av. *basta-*, Skt. *baddhas*, both = 'bound'. The other development involved the analogical reintroduction of *t* (which was the characteristic feature of the perfect passive participle, the largest component among forms containing dental clusters) into the stem, the result in Italic being *ss*, as from original *tt*, *dt*: **Fise**, *Fiso*, if < **bheidh-to*: cf. L. *fido*, *confisus*, *πείθομαι*; perhaps also *nesimei* '*proxime*', if < **nedh-tn̥mēd*: cf. O. **nessimas**, OIr. *nessam*; the evidence for the aspirate is Skt. *naddhas* 'tied'. The development of *dhtr* is illustrated in Oscan by **nistrus** '*propinquos*' (same root as in U. *nesimei* above, with suffix *-t(e)ro-*; *t* would be preserved by either development described above); there are no Umbrian examples.[1]

[1] On the development of *dh* + *t* in general see Buck, § 138 a; Kent, *Lang.*, VIII (1932), pp. 18-26; Kent, *Sounds of Latin*[3], § 130, 2; § 144.

45. Palatal or Velar Stops. In Brugmann's *Grundriss* and other standard works on IE comparative grammar or on the historical grammar of individual languages the stops assumed for pIE have included not only a palatal series (commonly designated *k̂*, *ĝ*, *ĝh*) and a labiovelar series (*qu̯*, *gu̯*, *gu̯h*, or now more usually, k^w, g^w, g^wh) but a "plain velar" series (*k*, *g*, *gh*) as well. The palatal series provides for such etymological groups as: (with *k̂*) L. *centum*, Gk. *ἑκατόν*, Eng. *hundred*, Skt. *śatam*, Av. *satəm*;[1] L. *decem*, U. *dequrier*, **tekvias**, Gk. *δέκα*, Skt. *daśa*, Lith. *dešimt*; U. *ocar*, Gk. *ὄκρις*, Skt. *aśris*; (with *ĝ*) L. *ager*, U. *ager*, *agre*, Gk. *ἀγρός*, Skt. *ajras*; (with *ĝh*) U. *hondomu*, *hondra*, L. *homo*, *humus*, Lith. *žẽmė*, OCS *zemlja*. Etymological groups containing the labiovelars are treated in **49**. The plain velars were assumed in order to cover those groups which show unlabialized *k*-, *g*-sounds in the western group of languages but also show *k*-, *g*-sounds (sometimes with secondary palatalization) in the eastern languages, and consequently fail to fit either the palatal or the labiovelar series: e.g. (with *k*) L. *cruor*, Gk. *κρέας*, Skt. *kraviṣ*; (with *g*) L. *tego*, Gk. *στέγω*, Skt. *sthagayati*; (with *gh*) Gk. *στείχω*, Goth. *steigan*, Skt. *stighnoti*, OCS *stignǫ*. Yet for some time the propriety of recognizing originally separate *k̂*- and *k*-series has been questioned.[2] Such a distinction is completely lacking not only in Greek, Italic, Celtic, and Germanic but in Hittite[3] and Tocharian[4] as well. Probably a single *k*-series split into a velar (*k*-) and a palatal (*k̂*-) series, the latter then becoming sibilants,

in the dialect area in which the *satəm*-languages originated. The conditions for such a split are not entirely clear, but must be at least partly connected with the sound following the stop, since the appearance of plain velars in contrast to palatals is especially frequent before *ă* and *r*. In dealing with Italic dialects, as with *centum*-languages generally, the question of *k̂* and *k* is of relatively little importance. In the present work, whether a given pIE reconstruction according to traditional practice calls for *k̂* or *k*, *ĝ* or *g*, *ĝh* or *gh* we write simply *k*, *g*, *gh*.

[1] The basis of the familiar designation "*centum*-languages" (Greek, Italic, Celtic, Germanic) and "*satəm*-languages" (Indo-Iranian, Armenian, Phrygian, Balto-Slavic, Albanian).

[2] Hirt, *B.B.*, XXIV (1899), pp. 218-291; Meillet, *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*, pp. 66-67; Lehmann, pp. 100-102.

[3] Sturtevant-Hahn, *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language* (New Haven, 1951), p. 55.

[4] Pedersen, *Tocharisch vom Gesichtspunkt der indoeuropäischen Sprachvergleichung* (Copenhagen, 1941), p. 234.

46. pIE *k*.

a. *k*, if not followed by *e* or *i*, is represented by *c* **k**: **kanetu**: cf. L. *canito*; *com*, *-co* **-ku**: L. *cum*, *com-*; **kabru kapru** (with *cabriner*): L. *caper*, ON *hafr*.

b. *k* followed by an *e*- or *i*-vowel or by *y* became **ç** *ṡ* through a process of palatalization not shared by Oscan or by classical Latin but doubtless resembling the sound-change observed in It. *cento*, or in Fr. *cent*, from L. *centum*. Often *s* appears in place of *ṡ* in the tables written in the Latin alphabet. The following is a partial list of examples: *Ṡerfer*, *Serfe*: O. dat. **Kerrí**, L. *Ceres*; **çimu**, **çive**: L. *cis*, *citra*; *ṡihitu*, *sihitir*: L. *cinctos*, *-is*; *tases* **taçez**: L. *tacitus*; **façia**: O. **fakiiad**, L. *faciat*; **tiçit**: L. *decet*; *desenduf*: cf. L. *duodecim*; *curnase*: cf. L. *cornice*; *pesetom*: cf. L. *peccatum*.

c. In the following forms with **ç** *ṡ* followed by *l* the palatalization of *k* was caused by *e* in the suffix *-elo-*, *-kelo-*, etc., the *e* being subsequently lost by syncope: **arçlataf**: L. *arculatas* (L. *-u-* < *-e-* before *l*); **tiçlu**, **kurçlasiu**, *preuiṡlatu*, **struhçla**. In *uesclir* the palatalization of *k* appears to have been prevented by the *s*.

d. Certain apparent cases of **ç** *s* before back vowels result from the occasional failure to write the *i* which has caused the palatalization, probably indicating a partial or complete absorption of the *i* by the preceding consonant: **vestiça** beside **vestiçia**; **façu** beside **façiu**; **puniçate** beside *ponisiater*; *purdinṡus purdinsust*, **purtinçus**, beside *purdinṡiust*; **tribřiçu** < **-kiōn* beside abl. *tribrisine* with *i*.

e. Of the instances in which *c* **k** appears unchanged before front vowels most can be explained as restorations through the analogy of closely related forms

not subject to change; so especially the forms *fratreci*, **Pupřike**, *todceir*, *Naharcer*, *Tuscer*, *Iabuscer*, all belonging to *o*-stems. That the absence of palatalization is due to the secondary character of the *i*, *e* in these dat. sg. and dat. -abl. pl. forms (*ē* < *oi*) is less likely, especially in view of the palatalized **Pupřiçe**, etc., beside **Pupřike**. In *pacer* also the *e* is secondary (*pacer* < **pakʏs* < **pakris*), and in any case the *c* can be explained by the analogy of forms where *k* still stood unchanged before *r*.

f. In several other forms, however, the explanation of the unaltered *c* **k** is not clear. The evident relationship of *Acesoniam* to O. **Akudunniad** suggests that the *e* may have denoted a vowel of obscure quality without effect on the *c*, but the four Umbrian occurrences of the word are consistent in the use of *e* **e**. **kebu**, apparently = L. *cibo*, is under suspicion of being a loan, not only because of the **k** before **e** but also because of the medial **b** (**39**). In *cehefi* and **kukehes** the *c* **k** has been explained on the ground of secondary *ē* < *ai* or through the analogy of forms with *k* before *a* (: L. *candeo*) or as an archaism preserved through ritualistic use, but no explanation is certain.

g. There are a few forms in which **i** appears in place of an expected **ç**, but all can be explained by special causes without the need of formulating a general phonetic law. **peia**, which is always used in contrast with *rofu*, **rufru** 'red' of animals, must itself designate a color, presumably 'black', in which case it would be cognate with L. *piceus*. If contamination of **pikyos* with **nigros* (L. *niger*) is admitted, **peia** may be derived from acc. pl. f. **pigyans* by **47 a**. **feia**, semantically equivalent to **façia**, is sometimes taken from stem *dhē-* (cf. *τί-θη-μι*) as distinguished from *dhē-k-* (cf. L. *fē-ci*), but there is no positive evidence for unextended *dhē-* in Italic except in compounds of the type of L. *condo*, O. **prúffed**. **feia**, however, may have been remodeled after imv. **feitu** (with normal loss of *k* by **46 j**), according to the correspondence **fera* (implied by *ferar*): *fertu*, etc. **usaie** in Ib 45 is almost certainly an erroneous spelling of **usaçe** which occurs in the same formula in IIa 44, the lateral loop of the character d being omitted.[1]

h. It is not certain how the group *kw* (as distinct from the single labiovelar phoneme *k*^{w}) developed in the Italic dialects. Even if **ekvine** means (*Via*) *Equina* or *in Circo Equino* (Muller, p. 159), it is most unlikely that it is a Latin borrowing. We must then admit that *kw* was kept distinct from *k*^{w}, which became *p* by **49 a**, or else reject the connection of **ekvine** with L. *equinus*.[2] **kvestur**, like the official title O. **aídil**, is probably a borrowing, from L. *quaestor*, and moreover it is uncertain whether the *qu* of L. *quaero*, *quaestor*, etc., is from a labiovelar or from *k* + *w*. In **tekvias** the **k** originally was almost certainly followed by a full *u*-vowel (< **dekuwiās*).

i. The cluster *kt* (including *kt* from *gt* by very early assimilation, but excluding *kt* resulting from syncope of an intervening vowel) became *ht* in Umbrian,

as in Oscan, but not in Latin: **rehte**: L. *recte*; **apehtre**: cf. O. **ehtrad** (both from **ek-tr-* without the *s* contained in L. *extra*); **uhtur**: L. *auctor*; **ahtim, Ahtu**, if connected with L. *ago, actio, actus*. That the *h* in such forms as these was very weakly sounded, or lost with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, is shown both by the frequent omission of *h* in the writing and by its use as a mark of vowel-length in forms where it has no etymological value. Among the forms where *h* is omitted are **satam** beside **sahta**: O. **saahtúm**, L. *sanctus*; **Speture**: cf. L. *specto*; **petenata**: L. *pectinatus*. For *h* as a mere mark of vowel-length see **26 c.**

j. *kt* occurring after syncope of the intervening vowel has a different history in both Umbrian and Oscan from the *kt* of **i** above, implying that the syncope did not take place until after the change of the earlier *kt* had been completed. In Umbrian *i* appears in place of the *k*, while in Oscan the *ct* **kt** remains unaltered: *aitu*: O. *actud*, L. *agito*; *deitu* **teitu**: L. *dicito*; **feitu**: cf. O. *factud*, L. *facito*.[3] The phonology of *ars-ueitu*, **ku-veitu** is more complicated. Most scholars equate them with L. *ad-, con-vehito*: cf. Skt. *vahati*, Goth. *ga-wigan*, Lith. *vežù*, all from root *wegh-*. If we assume a development **weghetōd* > **weχetōd* > **wehetōd* > **wehtōd*, we should not expect to find *ei* **ei** in all twenty occurrences of the two forms (never with *e* or *eh*). But if the syncope occurred while the prior consonant was still *χ* it is possible that *-χt-* may have developed as *-kt-*: thus, **weχetōd* > **weχtōd* > **wektōd* > *ueitu*.

k. For the voicing of *k* after *n* see **60 c.** For the assiimlation of *k* before *s* see **61 d.** For the treatment of final *k* see **62 a.**

[1] For the three forms here discussed see R. G. Kent, *C.P.*, XV (1920), pp. 365-6.

[2] In Latin *kw* fell together with k^w (*equus* prosodically like *sequor*), but of course neither became *p*. If we hold that *kw* failed to become *p* in Umbrian, the gentile name *Epidius* found on Latin inscriptions of Campania must either contain a *p* of foreign (perhaps Celtic) origin or else must not belong to the etymological group of *equus*, since it is quite unlikely that Umbrian and Oscan show a different development of *kw*.

[3] The fact that *fetu* **fetu** (once *feetu*) is nearly four times as frequent as *feitu* **feitu** may be explained by the fact that the raised *e* of **fēk(e)tōd* (the same ablaut-grade as in L. *fēcī*) easily contracted with *i* < *k* before *t*, whereas the *a* of *aitu* and the *e* of the other forms did not.

47. pIE *g*.

a. *g*, if not followed by *e* or *i*, is represented by *g* **k (2a, 3)**: *gomia* **kumiaf**: L. *gomia*; *mugatu*: cf. L. *mugio*; *agre*: L. *ager*, *ἀγρός*.

b. *g* followed by an *e-* or *i*-vowel or by *y* was converted by palatalization to a sound represented by *i* **i**: *muieto*, pf. pcpl. to *mugatu*. In **eveietu** also the **i** is most satisfactorily explained as from *g* (< **ē-wēgētōd* < **ē-weigētōd*) but the etymology of the verb is not entirely sure.

c. A similar palatalization of *g* after *i* is sometimes suspected but cannot be

proven: **niru** IIb 15 may be equivalent to L. *nigrum*, but the exact sense of the single occurrence is not known; the adjective from the name of the city of Iguvium is written **Iiuvina -as** 7 times beside **Ikuv-** 14 times, and in the later tables consistently appears as *Iiou-* or *Iou-*, yet the evidence of the Latin form *Iguvium* and of mediaeval *Eugubium* and modern *Gubbio* is against such a change. It has been suggested that the spellings **Iiuv-** *Iiou-* *Iou-* represent a "pious fraud" on the part of the priests, with a view toward connecting the name of the town with the name of the god Jove.

d. *g* is lost before *n* in **natine**, L. *natione*: cf. *γνήσιος*, Skt. *jnātis*; *naratu*, **naraklum**: cf. L. *gnārus*, *γνωρίζω*. A similar loss in medial position is perhaps to be seen in *conegos* **kunikaz** if from **kon-gnigā-*, cf. OL *gnixus*.

48. pIE *gh*.

a. *gh* normally becomes *h* **h** initially and medially: *homonus*: O. **humuns** (nom. pl.), OL *homōnes*; *hondomu*, *hondra*, *hondu*: cf. O. **huntrus**, L. *humi*, *χαμαί*; *her*, *herti*, *heries*: cf. O. *herest*, OL *horior*, *χαίρω*, Germ. *gern*; *hostatu*: L. *hastatos*, cf. L. *hasta*, Goth. *gazds*; *e-hiato*: cf. O. **ee-hiianasúm**, L. *hiare*, *χάσκω*; pron. *erihont* with *-ho-* from the same stem as L. *hoc*; *mehe*: L. *mihi*, Skt. *mahyam*.

b. Of the representation of pIE *gh* by *f* found in L. *fundo* (or *ferus* with *f* < *ghw*) there are no sure examples in Umbrian. **felsva**, generally taken to be cognate with L. *holera*, may be a dialect borrowing.[1] The *f* in *Fondlir-e*, with L. *fons*, is probably from *dh* by **43**. The *f* in *erafont* is better taken as originating through reanalysis of such forms as *if-ont* than as a phonological variant of the *h* in *erihont*.

[1] Cf. Paul. *e* Fest., p. 74 Li. ... *antiqui dicebant ...folus pro holere...*; Ernout, *Les éléments dialectaux dans le vocabulaire latin* (Paris, 1928), pp. 69-70; Schrijnen, *Neophilologus*, VII (1922), pp. 222 (map), 234-6.

49. The Labiovelars. The conversion of the labiovelar stops to labials has already been mentioned in **37 a** as one of the most important features in which Umbrian and Oscan agree against Latin.

a. k^w regularly becomes *p*: forms derived from the interrogative-indefinite-relative stem: *pis*: O. *pis*, L. *quis*, *τίς*; **piř-e**: O. **píd**, L. *quid*; *porse* **puře**: cf. O. **púd**, L. *quod*; *pane*: L. *quamde*; *prepa*: L. **prae-quam*; **panta**: L. *quanta*; *puse*, as if L. **ut-s-ī*;[1] **putrespe**: cf. L. *utriusque*.[1] Particle cognate with L. *-que*, *τε*, Skt. *-ca*: *a-pe*: L. *at-que*; *nei-p*: cf. L. *ne-que*. The indefinite stem and *-pe* are both contained in **pisipumpe**: L. *quicumque* and in *(sei)podruhpei*: L. *utroque*. Forms derived from the stem of the numeral '4': *peturpursus*: L. *quadrupedibus*, cf. O. *petora petiro-pert*. Among forms derived from the stem of the numeral '5' the second **p** of **pumpeřias** is derived as here described;

the initial **p** of **pumpeřias** and of **puntes** are from k^w which came from earlier *p* through asimilation to k^w in the second syllable (pIE **penk^{w}e*, Skt. *pañca*, Gk. *πέντε*, Aeol. *πέμπε*, L. *quinque*, OIr. *coíc*; cf. **105** n. 3).

b. g^w becomes *b* in Umbrian and Oscan, as against *v*, *gu* (the latter after *n*) in Latin: *benus*: cf. O. **kúmbened**, L. *vēnit*, *βαίνω*; **berus**: L. *verubus*; **bum**: *βοῦν*, L. *bovem* (with dialectal *b* for L. *v*); *habina*: L. *agnīna*, cf. *ἀμνός* < **ἀβνός*. **umen**, which is equivalent to L. *unguen*, must be derived from **umben*, the *b* having caused assimilation of *n* (ŋ) to *m* and having then itself disappeared.

c. Of the rather rare phoneme g^wh there are no sure examples in the Italic dialects serving to show the development in initial position. In medial position g^wh appears as *f* in Umbrian in a single group of forms: **vufru** <**wog^{w}h-(e)ro-m*, **vufetes** < **wog^{w}heto-* as equivalent to L. *votis* according to the usual interpretation, but see on IIa 31; *Uofione* **Vufiune** as a god in some way associated with vows, according to the usual interpretation, but see on VIb 19. **eugh-*, the root of *εὔχομαι*, may be regarded as a variant of **weg^{w}h-*, with dissimilatory loss of labialization. On *ninctu*, whose root originally contained g^wh, see **d** below.

d. Loss of labialization. Under certain conditions stops which are known by comparison with Greek, etc., to have been originally labiovelar lost their lip-rounding in Oscan-Umbrian or in Latin or in both and show the same development as Italic *k*, *g*, *χ*. Analogical processes have worked in both directions, sometimes producing unlabialized forms where *p*, etc., might be expected, and causing the retention or restoration of *p*, etc., where loss of labialization might be expected. Loss of labialization before *t* is common to Latin and the dialects: L. *coquo* but *coctus*, *inseque* but *insectio*, U. **puntes**, cf. O. **Púntiis**, against U. **pumpeřias**, O. **púmperiaís**.[2] U. **prusikurent** < **-sēkusent*, **sukatu** < **so-kātōd*, both regarded as cognates of *ἔννεπε*, *ἔνισπε*, L. *insece*, may owe their *k* to analogy with *-kt*-forms similar to L. *insectio* above; **prusikurent** may also owe its *k* to loss of labialization before *u*. *subocau*, *suboco*, whatever their precise value, are related to L. *vocare*, *vox*, *Ϝέπος*, etc.; the loss of the labial element in L. *vocare* and in the oblique cases of *vox* is generally explained by analogy with *vōx* = *vōks* < **wōk^{w}s* (loss of the ^{w} before *s*), and the Umbrian forms must be similarly explained. The cluster k^wt arising from syncope of an intervening vowel (g^w, g^wh then being assimilated before the voiceless stop *t*) is treated in the same manner as earlier $k^wt > kt$:[3] **fiktu** < **fīk^{w}tōd* < **dhīg^{w}etōd*: cf. L. *fīvo* (and *fīgo*); *ninctu* < **nink^{w}tōd* < **sning^{w}hetōd*: cf. L. *ninguit*, *νείφει*, Av. *snaēžaiti*.

e. On the other hand the labial was preserved in **puze**, *puse*, **putrespe** (see **a** above); if we admit loss of labialization before *u*, then these forms must owe their *p* to the analogy of related forms in which *p* is normal. In **umtu**, where we should expect **k** as in **fiktu**, *ninctu*, the preservation of the labial (implied by

the *m*) must result from analogy with unsyncopated forms of the present stem, such as **umbo*: L. *unguo*.

[1] Loss of the initial consonant (*c* < *k*^{w} before *u*) in Latin was caused by reanalysis of such forms as *si-cut*, *ne-cuter*, etc.

[2] It is not likely that the development was **ponk*^{w}*t-* > **pompt-* > **pomt-* > **pont-*, for if we do not admit an early loss of the labial element, we should expect either *mft* < *mpt* or perhaps *mt* as in **umtu**.

[3] The syncope then must have been earlier than the conversion of labiovelars to labials, for if the latter change had preceded the syncope, we should expect to find the same development as with original labial stops. But the *kt* did not develop early enough to be affected by the change *kt* > *ht*.

50. Continuants. The following table is designed to show in the simplest form the history of consonants other than stops; that is, of the nasals, semivowels, liquids, and sibilants, all of which may be grouped together under the comprehensive term "continuants", in several of the principal IE languages, in order that the etymological comparisons in the succeeding paragraphs may be more readily understood.

pIE	Umb.	Osc.	Lat.	Gk.	Eng.	Lith.	OCS	Skt.
m	*m*	*m*	*m*	*μ* [1]	*m* [1]	*m*	*m*	*m*
n	*n*	*n*	*n*	*ν*	*n*	*n*	*n*	*n*
y	*i*	*i*	*i*	ʿ, *ζ*, ○ [2]	*y* [3]	*j*	*j*	*y*
w	**v** *u*	**v** *u*	*v*	*F*, ○ [4]	*w* [3]	*v*	*v*	*v*
l	**v** *u*, *l*, *ř*	*l*	*l*	*λ*	*l*	*l*	*l*	*r* (*l*)[5]
r	*r*	*r*	*r*	*ϱ* [6]	*r*	*r*	*r*	*r* (*l*)[5]
s	*s* [7], *r* [8]	*s* [7], *z* [8]	*s*, *r*	ʾ, ○ [8]	*s*, *r* [8]	*s*	*s*	*s*

The characters used in the Umbrian and Oscan columns are those of the Latin alphabet, except that **v** is included along with *u*, and **ř** is used to denote the sound derived from intervocalic *l* under the conditions described in **55 b**. The sign *j* is to be understood in the value of German *j*, English *y*. The circle ○ indicates that the sound under certain conditions is lost.

The table shows the sounds as they appear in the initial position, or in the medial position between vowels. Their history in the medial position postconsonantal-prevocalic or postvocalic-preconsonantal, or in the final position, is to a considerable extent the same, but it is not possible to present all the special changes in the table. A few of the most important are given in the notes.

[1] Final *m* becomes *ν* in Greek, and, in part, *n* in Germanic.

[2] *y* in Greek is represented initially by ʿ (= *h*) or by *ζ*, the reason for the variation being disputed; medially between vowels it is lost; medially in conjunction with preceding consonants it undergoes complex changes.

[3] In Gothic and Old Norse intervocalic *y* and *w*, through the change known under the name of Holtzmann's Law, underwent strengthened articulation whereby *y* became Goth. *-ddj-*, ON *-ggj-*, and *w* became Goth., ON *-ggw-*.

[4] The labial semivowel *w*, written *F* (digamma), was preserved in many mainland Greek dialects, but lost in Attic and Ionic.

[5] pIE *r* and *l* result in *r* regularly in Avestan and Old Persian and generally in Sanskrit, but *l* sometimes appears in Skt. for pIE *l* and sometimes even for pIE *r*. The irregularity is commonly attributed to dialect-mixture.

[6] pIE forms with initial *r* regularly appear in Greek with a vowel before the ϱ.

[7] Initial *s* was lost in some forms when followed immediately by *p, k, m, n, l,* or *r*.

[8] Medial intervocalic *s* appears as *r* in Umbrian, Latin, and (in part) English; as *z* (= voiced *s*) in Oscan and (in part) Gothic; in Greek it became *h* and was then lost, frequently with resulting vowel-contraction.

51. Nasals. pIE *m*.

a. *m* is regularly preserved initially and medially between vowels: *mani*: O. *manim* (acc.), L. *manū*; *Marte*: L. *Marti*; *mehe*: L. *mihi*; *nome, nomner*: L. *nomen, nominis*, a vowel having originally stood between *m* and *n* in the Umbrian form of the genitive.

b. A case of elision of vowel + *m*, similar to that in L. *animadverto* < *anim(um) adverto*, must be admitted in **eitipes** if we accept the usual derivation from **eitom hēpens* (see Lexicon).

c. Medial *m* preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant is preserved in **kumne** < **kom-nei* (not the result of syncope as in *nomner* in **a** above).

d. Medial *m* preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant is partly lost (especially in the tables written in the native alphabet), partly preserved: **ampentu apentu,** *combifiatu* **kumpifiatu kupifiatu,** etc.

e. Final *m* is partly preserved, partly lost. Some typical examples are: acc. sg. **puplum puplu** *poplom poplo, ocrem ocre*; gen. pl. **fratrum fratru**; infinitive **aferum** *afero*; supine **anzeriatu** *anseriato*; postposition **-kum** *-com* rarely, **-ku** *-co* frequently; temporal adverb *enom ennom* **enu** *eno enno*. The 1 sg. of secondary forms of verbs must have ended in *-m* (cf. L. *eram*, O. **manafum**), but the only Umbrian example is pres. subj. *aseriaia*.

f. For assimilation of *m* see **61 a.**

52. pIE *n*.

a. *n* is regularly preserved initially and medially between vowels: *neip*: cf. L. *neque*; *nerf*: O. gen. pl. *nerum*. Gk. *ἀνήϱ*, OIr. *nert* 'strength'; *nertru*: *νέϱτεϱος*, Eng. *north*; *nome*: L. *nomen*; **nuvis**: cf. L. *novem*; *plener*: L. *plenis*; *cabriner*: L. *caprini*.

b. Initial clusters consisting of consonant + *n* may lose the prior consonant but the *n* is preserved: **natine**: L. *natione*, cf. *gnatus, gens, γνήσιος*; *naratu*,

naraklum: cf. L. *gnarus*, *γνωϱίζω*; *ninctu*: L. *ninguito*, cf. Eng. *snow*, Lith. 3 sg. *sniẽga*.

c. Medial *n* preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel is normally preserved: *ṡesna*: O. **kersnu**, L. *cena*; *tremnu* abl. sg. < **trebnōd*: cf. O. **trííbúm.**

d. Medial *n* (including *n* < *m* before dentals) preceded by a vowel and followed by a stop or by **ç** *ṡ* < *k* or by *s*[1] was sufficiently weakened in pronunciation to be frequently, but not uniformly, omitted in writing. The fact that this omission of *n* is more frequent in the earlier than in the later tables, where it occurs only before *s*, must be attributed to the influence of Latin orthography, since it is hardly conceivable that the *n* was actually restored in speech. Among the chief examples are: **iveka**, *iuenga*: L. *iuvenca*; **Saçi**, *Sanṡi*: cf. L. *Sancus*; **hutra** *hondra* < **hom-terad* (with *n* by **61 a**); **ateřafust** *andersafust*; **ampentu ampetu** < **am-penn(e)tōd* < **an-pendetōd* with *nd* < *nn* (**61 e**) and then syncope; 3 pl. forms of secondary tenses: *etaians etaias*, *dirsans dirsas*, **sis** *sins*; *n* before *s* after syncope: *fons fos* < **faunis*; *n* by assimilation of *m* before *s* after syncope: *onse* **uze**: L. *umerus* with rhotacism, which in Umbrian was here prevented by the syncope. For further examples of omission of preconsonantal *n* see **2 i.**

e. The cluster *-nkt-* in both Umbrian and Oscan participated in the change *-kt-* > *-ht-* and then lost the *n*, at least in so far as its full consonantal value was concerned: *sahata sahatam*: O. **saahtúm**, L. *sanctum*; *ṡihitir*: L. *cinctis*.

f. The cluster *-ndl-* lost both *n* and *d*, apparently in the sequence *ndl* > *nnl* > *nl* > *ll*: **apelus** < **am-pendlus*; similarly **entelus.**

g. *n* in the 3 pl. primary ending *-nt* < *-nti* is normally not omitted: *furfant*, *dersicurent*, **pepurkurent**, **prusikurent**, *furent*, *haburent*, *sent*, etc.; **furfaθ** is the only exception. **fefure** is best not taken as fut. pf. 3 pl. of *futu*, standing for ***fefurent**, but as a distinct verb: see Lexicon and note on IIa 4. **eruhu** IIb 22 appears without the *-nt* of *erihont* and other forms of the same paradigm. *sururo* VIb 48, sometimes taken as a similar shortening, is more probably for **sururor*, a dittographic form of *suror*, just as *suront* is haplologic for *sururont*.[2]

h. Final *n* is preserved in **umen** (: L. *unguen*), lost in *nome* (: L. *nomen*; 13 examples). In **numem** (twice in Ib 17) final *m* probably results from assimilation after the medial *m*. The postposition *-en* appears occasionally with the *n* preserved, but mostly as **-e** *-e*, and occasionally as **-em** *-em*, the last form having apparently originated in the acc. sg. by assimilation as in **numem** above, and then having spread to other situations.

i. For the history of *ns*, original and secondary, see **58.**

[1] *ns* in Umbrian is in large part converted to *f*, but escapes this change when original and non-final or when *n* stands before *s* as the result of syncope (**58 a, e**).

[2] See **112 d** and R. G. Kent, *C. P.*, XV (1920), p. 361, where it is pointed out that both *sururont* against *suront* and *sururo* against *surur* are favored in VIb 48 - VIIa 2, which forms a passage complete in itself.

53. Semivowels. pIE *y* was actually an allophone of the vowel *i*, which it replaced initially before vowels and medially between vowels, but its separate treatment among the consonants is justified on grounds of convenience.

a. Initial *y* is preserved as *i* **i** in Umbrian as in Oscan and Latin: *iouies*: cf. L. *iuvenis*, Skt. *yuvan-*; **iuka**: L. *iocus*, cf. O. **iúkleí**. (But *i* **i** in *Ioui* **Iuvi** is from *dy-*: O. **Diúveí**, O. *Διοϝει*, as well as **Iuveí**, L. *Diespiter*, *Diovis* beside the forms with *Iov-*.)

b. Medial *y* between vowels was lost, and if the vowels were similar they underwent contraction: nom. pl. of *i*-stems **puntes**, *pacrer*, *foner*: cf. O. **trís**, L. *hostes*, all from *-eyes*; adjectives in-*eyo-*: *farsio* (*i* < *e* by **8 b**), **spantea**. The presence of **i** *i* in **kuraia**, *portaia*, etc., may be explained by the analogy of other present subjunctive forms where the *i* is preserved after consonants (**126 a**).

c. Intervocalic *y* is not subject to loss if the prior vowel is *i* or an *i*-diphthong. Among instances of the latter type may be cited **pernaiaf**, **pustnaiaf**, **Teteies**.[1] The instances of *y* retained, as a glide, after vocalic *i* are sometimes difficult to distinguish, because a single character may stand for *iy* or for the consonant *y* alone. In pIE *iy* and *y* appear to have stood in complementary distribution,[2] but in Italic the old distribution has been effaced. However, in those forms written in the native alphabet with **ii** (**triia**, **heriiei**, etc.; see **2 h**) the value of the second **i** is unquestionably consonantal.

d. *y* preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel is partly preserved, partly lost after imparting to the consonant a palatal quality. In forms like **façiu façu**, **Rupinie** *Rubine*, **spinia spina**, **vestiçia vestiçam** the coexistence of spellings with and without *i* **i** shows that the sound was consonantal and was at least partly absorbed by the preceding consonant which it had palatalized.

e. In **kurçlasiu**, **plenasier**, **urnasier**, **sestentasiaru** the failure of the *s* to change to *r* (**57 c, d**) is often taken as evidence of a consonantal rather than vocalic value for the *i*.

f. If *y* is preceded by a consonant and the vowel following suffers syncope, the *y* itself may become *i* by samprasāraṇa. For details and examples see **32** including **a**. In *iuenga* **iveka**: L. *iuvenca* also the *i* **i** must have become vocalic; at least this is more plausible than the assumption that **iv** stands for *yuw-*.

[1] It might conceivably be argued that *y* has been lost in these forms and that the written **i** belongs in the diphthong. But in Oscan spellings of the type of **Púmpaiians**, **vereiiaí** are common, and examples of L. *Maiia*, *eiius*, etc., are known. In the treatment of intervocalic *i* in general Umbrian, Oscan, and Latin agree. It is therefore better to assume that **i** in **pernaiaf**, **pustnaiaf** does duty for the *y* and also for the second element of the diphthong *ai*, which before *y* then escapes the usual change to *e* (**19**).

[2] Probably under the conditions familiarly known as "Sievers' Law": *iy* if preceded by two consonants or by a syllable containing a long vowel or diphthong, otherwise *y*.

54. pIE *w* was an allophone of *u* and replaced it precisely as *y* replaced *i*. Moreover the old distribution of *uw* and *u* has been effaced and it is not always possible in a given instance to determine whether *u* indicates the consonant or the vowel followed by a glide, but in the native alphabet **uv** is employed in a manner which parallels the use of **ii**.

a. Initial *w* is preserved as **v** *u* in Umbrian as in Oscan and Latin: *uiro*: L. *vir*, cf. Skt. *vīras*, Lith. *vyras*; *uerfale*: L. *verbale*, cf. Eng. *word*; *uirseto*: cf. L. *videre*, (*F*)*ιδεῖν*; **vurtus**: cf. L. *verto*, *vorti*, Skt. *vartate*; etc.

b. Intervocalic *w* is preserved as **v** *u* in Umbrian as in Oscan and Latin: **avif** *auif*: L. *avis*; **uve** *oui*: L. *ovem*, Skt. *avim*. If *w* is preserved as a glide after *u*, the fact is indicated in the native alphabet by means of **uv**: **tuver** *duir*: cf. L. *duo*; **kastruvu** *castruo*.

c. Medial *w* preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel is to a considerable extent preserved: **sve** *sue*: O. **svaí**; **arvia** *aruio* (in the older tables 19 instances of **arv-**, with **aruv-** only once); **felsva**; **tesvam** *dersua*; *saluo* (24 times *salu-*, only twice *saluu-*; not represented in the native alphabet).

d. But *w* after certain consonants, especially labials, is lost: *subocau* < **sub-wok-*; **prufe** < **pro-bhwēd*: L. *probe*, cf. Skt. *prabhu-*; perhaps also *sopa*, **supa**: L. *suppus*, if from **supwo-*.[1]

e. *w* after *d* does not cause alteration of the *d*, in contrast to Latin, where *dw* > *b*: *difue*: cf. *διφυής*, L. *bis*, *bi-*; *purditom* < **-dwitom* with zero-grade as in L. *duint*; probably also *dia* < **dwiyāt*.

f. Initial *swe-* suffers loss of *w* but with alteration of the *e*, as in Latin: *sonitu*: cf. L. *sonare*, Skt. *svanati*, OIr. *sennaim*. (In contrast to the Umbrian and Latin development cf. O. **sverruneí**, Eng. *swear*.)

g. **seritu** with *anseriato* (cf. L. *servare* and *servire*) and *caterahamo* (cf. L. *caterva*) appear to show loss of *w* after *r*, but it is not possible to state the conditions with precision.

[1] Since gemination is scarcely ever expressed in writing in the Iguvine Tables, it might be supposed that *w* was assimilated to the preceding consonant, actually producing *-pp-*, etc., but the evidence of O. **fufans** *amprufid*, L. *probus*, *aperio*, etc., whose history is parallel, rather favors the view that *w* has been simply lost, and this despite L. *suppus*.

55. Liquids. pIE *l*.

a. Initial *l*, which is preserved in Oscan and Latin as in the majority of IE languages, is nowhere written on the Iguvine Tables.[1] On the other hand there are several virtually sure instances of **v-** *u-* < *l-*: **vapeře**, *uapef-e*: L. *lapide*, (*in*) *lapides*; **vutu** < **low(i)tōd*: cf. L. *lavare*; possibly also **Vuvçis**: L. *Lucius*. Other alleged examples are quite uncertain: see *uocu-com* and *anderuomu* in the Lexicon.[2]

b. Intervocalic *l* is partly preserved, partly changed to **ř** *rs*. The conditions for the latter change are somewhat uncertain because of the scarcity of data, but apparently before *ē*, *y*, and *iy* *l* became *d* by a sort of palatalization, and then participated in the change *d* > **ř** *rs* (**42 b**). Before back vowels and before *ĕ* and preconsonantal *ĭ* the *l* was preserved. Examples without change are: *ulo* < **ōlō* (or double *l* as in L. *olle*, *ille*?); *uerfale*, *i*-stem with *-e* < *-ĭ*: L. *verbale*. Examples with **ř** *rs* < *l*: **kařetu** *carsitu*, where **e** *i* = *ē* as if to L. **calēre* for *calāre*; **uřetu**: L. *ad-oleto*; **fameřias**: L. *familiae*, cf. O. *famelo*. The preservation of *l* in *presoliaf-e* and **feliuf** *filiu* probably results from the analogy of related forms with *l* before back vowels.[3]

c. *l* preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel is preserved: *plener*: L. *plenis*; *dupla*: L. *duplus*.

d. *l* preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant is partly preserved: *alfir*: L. *albis*; *pelmner* < **pelpmn̥neis* (?). But *l* is lost before *t*: **muta**, *motar*: L. *multa*, < **molktā*, with secondary *-lt-* after loss of *k*; *comatir* pcpl., but imv. *comoltu* with preservation of *l*, which was not in contact with the *t* until after syncope.

e. Of original final *l* there are no true cases: **tiçel** is from **-k(e)los*; **sumel** is from **someli*.

[1] There are a few occurrences on minor Umbrian inscriptions: **La** (abbreviation of a praenomen) in 353 d Co., *L* (abbreviation of a praenomen) in 354 Co.

[2] The surest examples of the change all have a back vowel after the **v**- *u*-, and the quality of the vowel may have induced a back pronunciation of the *l*, leading to *w*. It is by no means certain that the change took place before *e* and *i*, but there is no good evidence, positive or negative. The alleged cases are treated by von Planta, I, pp. 287-9; add Muller, p. 237 (**veskla** < *-*les-tlom*).

[3] See *Lang.*, XXV (1949), pp. 395-401, for an attempt to formulate the conditions for the change *l* > **ř** *rs*.

56. pIE *r*.

a. *r* is preserved initially and medially before vowels: **rehte**: L. *recte*; **rufru**: L. *rubrum*, *ἐρυθρόν*; **uhturu**: L. *auctorem*; *trif*: L. *tris*; *agre*: L. *agri*; etc.

b. Medial *r* before consonants is in general preserved: *porca*: L. *porcas*; *termnom-e*: L. (*in*) *terminum*, cf. O. **teremenniú** (with anaptyctic **e** after the **r**). But the omission of *r* before *s* in both alphabets is frequent, though irregular, indicating a weakening or partial loss in pronunciation: *śesna*, but **çersnatur**: O. **kersnu**, L. *cena*, *cenati*; *farsio fasio*: L. *farrea*. See **2 i**.

c. Final *r* is preserved in *r*-stem nouns, perhaps through the influence of the intervocalic *r* of the oblique cases: *pir*: *πῦρ*; **uhtur**: L. *auctor*; *arsfertur*; etc. But loss of *-r* is frequent in passive verb forms: **emantu** (but also **emantur**); *ostensendi*: cf. L. *ostendentur*; **teřte**: cf. L. *datur*; etc.

d. For *r* which becomes final as the result of syncope followed by samprasāraṇa see **32 d.** This *r* is normally preserved, but against over 100 cases of the postposition **-per** *-per* (< *pro*) there are 3 occurrences of **-pe.**

57. The Sibilant. pIE *s.*

a. Initial *s* is preserved when followed by a vowel and, at least in part, when followed by a consonant: *sacra*: L. *sacras*; *sersi*: L. *sede*, cf. ἕδος; **sim**: ὗν, cf. L. *suem*; *screhto*: L. *scriptum*; **statita**: L. *statuta.*

b. *s* before *l, m, n* both initially and medially was normally preserved in Umbrian and Oscan in contrast to Latin, where it was lost with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, if medial. There are no examples of initial *sl-* in Umbrian, but Oscan has **slagím** 'boundary-road', cf. OIr. *slige* 'street'; medially, *disleralinsust* if < **dis-leisālinkyust*; cf. L. *dī-ligo* < **dis-l-*; *smursim-e*? (etymology uncertain); **pusme**, *esmei*: Skt. *kasmai, asmai*, cf. Pael. *prismu*, L. *prīmus*; **snata**: cf. L. *no, nare*, Skt. *snāti*; **fesnaf-e**: O. **fiísnam**, cf. L. *fānum* < **făsnom.* But *s-* is lost in *ninctu*: L. *ninguito*, Eng. *snow*, with *s* indirectly attested in Gk. ἀγάννιφος and in Epic lengthening before *νίφα, νείφει.* The treatment of *s* in these initial groups is believed to depend partly on the generalization of doublets arising under different conditions of juncture; cf. *τέγος, στέγος, μικρός*: *σμικρός.*[1]

c. Intervocalic *s* in Umbrian as in Latin underwent the change to *r* familiarly known as rhotacism. The change must have been preceded by a voicing of the intervocalic *s*, perhaps during the period of Italic unity or in any case probably very early. Oscan never passed beyond this first stage, and the voiced *s* is indicated by *z* in those Oscan inscriptions which are written in the Latin alphabet.[2] Umbrian examples of medial rhotacism include: **kuratu**: L. *curato*, cf. Pael. pf. 3 pl. *coisatens*; gen. pl. forms *pracatarum*, etc.: cf. L. *feminarum* but O. *egmazum*; fut. and fut. pf. forms **staheren, furent**, etc.: cf. O. *censazet*, **tríbarakattuset**, all from vowel-stems + *-sent*; *puri*, nom. pl., < **pōs* + enclitic *ī*; demonstrative pronoun *ere(c)*: O. *izic.*

d. But the Tables show a number of occurrences of **s** *s* not changed to *r.* Some of these exceptions are more apparent than real, since the **s** *s* may stand for *ss*, which is not subject to rhotacism; so, for example, demonstrative pron. in abl. sg. *essu esu* with *ss* < *ks*: O. **eksuk**; intensive pron. *esuf*: O. **essuf**, assumed to be cognate with L. *ipse*, *ss* < *ps*; *osatu*: cf. Pael. impf. subj. pass. 3 sg. *upsaseter*, L. *operari*, with syncope in the dialect forms before *s* could become *r*; *uasor*, unless *s* is preserved after the analogy of nom. sg. **uas*, may be from a stem **wates-* with *ts* assimilated after syncope: cf. L. *vassa* in Plaut., *Merc.*, 781 in *Cod. Ambr.*; in *pisi* the preservation of *s* before the vocalic enclitic, in contrast to *puri* (**c** above), is evidently induced by the simple *pis*; in **kurçlasiu** and other forms with the suffix *-āsyo-* the preservation of the *s* may be explained

by the supposition that *i* is the consonant *y* rather than the vowel *i*: cf. O. **kerssnasias** (not ***kerssnasiias**) '**cenariae*', but L. *denarius*; *asa*: O. **aasaí, aasas,** in contrast to the rhotacized L. *ara*, is especially difficult, but the preservation of the Umbrian *s* may be a ritualistic archaism; so possibly also in **eikvasese.**

e. In contrast to both Oscan and Latin the later Umbrian of Tables V, VI, and VII has rhotacism in final as well as medial position: *tuder* (*s*-stem, as shown by **etuřstamu** < **ek-tudestāmōd*); gen. sg. *totar* (cf. L. *familias*), *popler, ocrer*; dat.-abl. pl. **Atiieřier,** *aseriater*; 2 sg. verb form *sir*: L. *sis*. But final rhotacism does not occur in the dat.-abl. pl. of *i*-, *u*-, and consonant-stems, which have *-s* < *-fs* < *-fos* < *-bhos*: *homonus*: cf. L. *hominibus*, and O. **luisarifs** with *-fs* preserved; nor does it occur in the 3 pl. secondary ending of verb forms such as *etaias* (with *etaians*), **sis** (with *sins*).

f. Before enclitics beginning with a vowel *-s* in dat.-abl. pl. forms of *ā*- and *o*-stems is rhotacized in the older as well as the later tables: **Funtlere** *Fondlire*, **fesnere,** but before enclitics beginning with a consonant the *s* is preserved: **esunesku.** In other words, the juncture is so close that the rule for medial rhotacism applies.

g. A change *sr* > *fr* must be assumed in order to explain several Italic forms. In Latin the final result is *fr* initially, *br* medially: *frigus*: ῥῖγος, Lett. *strẽgele* 'icicle'; L. *membrum* < **mēms-ro-*: cf. Skt. *māṃsam*, Goth. *mimz*. The only probable Umbrian example is *tefru* 'burnt-offering' (?), if from **tep(e)s-ro-*: O. **tefúrúm** (**-úrú-** < *-ro-* by Oscan anaptyxis), cf. L. *tepor*, Skt. *tapas*.

h. Final *s* in Tables I-IV and the **-r** *-r* of Tables V-VII which results from rhotacism of the earlier *-s* are occasionally omitted in writing: gen. sg. *agre, Fisie*, nom. pl. **prinuatu**, dat.-abl. pl. **snate, antakre, kumate**, 2 sg. verb forms **heri** *heri, si*, etc. Among nouns and adjectives the cases of omission are very few in proportion to the total number of forms in **-s, -r,** *-r*, but for verbs the total number of 2 sg. indicative and subjunctive forms attested is low. Forms ending in *-s* from *-fs* or *-ns* are not subject to dropping of the *s*, just as they are not subject to rhotacism (see **e** above).[3]

i. For the treatment of *ns*, both original and of secondary origin, see **58.** For the treatment of *rs*, both original and of secondary origin, see **59.**

[1] For a different view, whereby *s*- represents a remnant of a prefix, see Hoenigswald, *Lang.*, XXVIII (1952), pp. 182-5.

[2] For example, in the *Tabula Bantina* (no. 28 Co.). In the native Oscan alphabet **z** has the value *ts*, while **s** is used for both the unvoiced and the voiced *s*. Paelignian, like Oscan, escaped rhotacism, while for the other minor dialects the evidence is inconclusive. Italic rhotacism has recently been treated with special attention to chronology and geographical distribution by F. Altheim, *Studies in Honor of David M. Robinson*, vol. II (St. Louis, 1953), pp. 459-68.

[3] Abl. pl. **sevakne** (third declension) in IV 9 stands at the end of the line, with no room in the margin for the final **s.**

58. *NS.* In treating the history of the cluster *ns* it is necessary to make a distinction between its occurrence in medial and in final position and between those cases in which *ns* is original and those in which it arises from some other consonant cluster or from the syncope of a vowel which originally stood between the *n* and the *s*.

a. Original medial *ns* became *nts*, represented by **nz** (**z** = *ts*), *ns*, or simply *s*: **anzeriatu** *aseriatu*, *anseriato*, *anstiplatu*, all with the prefix *an-* (= *ἀνά*),[1] before forms having initial *s*; **menzne** (< **mēns-en-i*[2]), **antermenzaru**, both cognate with L. *mēnsis*.

b. Original final *ns*, which is principally represented by the acc. pl. of masc. and fem. nouns and adjectives, became *f*; the *f*, however, is sometimes omitted, rarely in the older tables, but very frequently in polysyllabic forms in the later tables: **vitlaf**, **purka** *porca*, **apruf** *abrof*, *uiro*, **uvef** *oui*, etc.

c. Medial *ns* arising from *n* + the dental clusters *tt*, *dt* (through *nss* by **44 a**, **b**) results in *f* and is illustrated by the passive participles *spefa* < **spenssā* < **spend-tā*: cf. L. *pensa*; **spafu**: L. *pānsus*, both < **(s)pand-to-*;[3] probably also *mefa* with L. *mēnsa*; there is no verb root in *-nd* to which this last pair can be referred, but they may be derived from **mens-sā* analogically formed after those participles which had *ss* by regular development of dental clusters.

d. Final *ns* from *-nts*, as in the nom. sg. of present participles, becomes *f*, which in the few quotable examples is omitted in the later tables: **zeřef** *serse*: L. *sedēns*; **restef** *reste*; **kutef**;[4] probably also prep. **tra** *traf traha trahaf*, if we regard it as originally pres. pcpl. of a verb equivalent to L. **trāre*.

e. *ns* resulting from syncope of the intervening vowel is represented in medial position by **uze** *onse* < **omesei*: L. *umerus*;[5] in final position by *fons fos* < **faunis*. *ostensendi*, fut. pass. 3 pl. of *ostendu*, must also be considered as an example showing medial *ns* after syncope of the short vowel which formerly preceded the *s* (see **123**), but it is not clear whether the development was **-tendesenter* > **-tendsenter*, etc., or whether it was **-tendesenter* > **-tennesenter* > **-ten(n)senter*, etc.; in other words, whether the *d* was assimilated to the *n* before the syncope of the thematic vowel or not.

f. In the nom. sg. of masc. and fem. *n*-stems it is possible that we must recognize an ending *f* < *ns* of secondary origin; at least this view is necessary in order to explain the Oscan forms **fruktatiuf**, **úittiuf** (: L. *usio*), **tríbarakkiuf**. To the *-n* (which was either inherited, as in *ἀγών* in contrast to L. *legiō*, or added by analogy with the oblique cases) there was attached an *-s* after the analogy of the other classes of animate nouns with *-s* in the nom. sg., and the resulting *-ns* ultimately became *-f*. The Umbrian examples are **karu** (dat. **karne**, abl. **karne**, cf. L. *carō*, *carnis*), **tribřiçu** (abl. *tribrisine*), and **esuf**: O. **essuf**, both equivalent to L. *ipse* and commonly taken as from **epsōns*. Since final **f** is seldom

omitted in the older tables — which alone provide examples of the forms under discussion — one is tempted to take **karu** and **tribřiçu** as exact equivalents of L. *carō*, etc., without the *-ns*, but **esuf** cannot be so explained, and it is also perhaps safer to assume a form based on *-ns* because of the usual close agreement of Umbrian with Oscan.

g. The secondary tenses of verbs, including the present subjunctive, have a 3 pl. ending *-ns*, *-s*, the explanation of which is difficult. The fact that in addition to U. *etaians*, *etaias*, *dirsans*, *sins*, **sis**, etc., several examples are known from Oscan and some of the minor Italic dialects, might lead one to assume that the formation was developed during the period of Oscan-Umbrian unity, but the fact that the *-ns* never changes to *-f* favors a very recent origin. For the probable origin of the formation see **115 d.**

h. It is advisable at this point to consider the question of relative chronology among the foregoing sound-changes. In general Umbrian and Oscan agree: both have *-nts-* from original medial *ns*, both have *-ns* where syncope has occurred in the final position (as in *fons* under **e**) and both have *f* in the nom. sg. of *n*-stems, as in **f**, unless we here adopt the alternative explanation of U. **karu** and **tribřiçu**. The forms in **a** must have undergone a development *-ns-* > *-nts-* (written **nz** in the native alphabet) before the changes resulting in secondary *-ns-* had been completed, for otherwise **menzne**, etc., should have participated in the change *ns* > *f*. On the other hand forms like **uze** *onse*, *fons* must not have suffered syncope until after the change *ns* > *f* had ceased to be effective. The discrepancy between Umbrian and Oscan in the treatment of original final *ns* (U. **vitlaf**, etc., as in **b**, but O. **víass**) is a difficulty, but it is possible that doublets arose under different conditions of juncture, after which *-f* was generalized in U. and *-ss* in O.

[1] Some refer the prefix of **anzeriatu** to *am-* (: L. *amb-*, *ἀμφ-*); in this case we merely have to assume an early assimilation, whereby *m* becomes *n* and the cluster follows the normal development of original medial *ns*.

[2] Blumenthal, p. 70, prefers a stem *mēns-ni-*: less probable because *-e* is a very rare spelling in abl. sg. of *i*-stems, but the development of the *-ns-* is not affected.

[3] For the variation *sp-*/*p-* see **57 a**, **b**. The question of the relation between *spahatu*, *σπάω*, L. *pando*, *pateo*, *spatium* is complicated, but the equation *spafu*: L. *pānsus* is quite safe.

[4] Etymology uncertain (see Lexicon), but all from Bücheler on make it an active pcpl. For the abnormal spelling **kutep** in Ib 3 see **2 k**.

[5] Actually with *ns* by assimilation of *ms* after the syncope was completed. Observe also the omission of *n* in **uze**.

59. *RS*. For *rs* as for *ns* it is necessary to take account of whether the combination occurred in medial or final position and whether it was original or arose from the alteration of some other consonant cluster or after the syncope of an intervening vowel. Yet the history of *rs* is by no means closely parallel to that of *ns*, especially in regard to the situations in which *f* can develop. Moreover,

among the reflexes of *ns* the *n* was never preserved, at least in writing, before *f*, but *r* was regularly preserved in *rf* resulting from any combination containing *rs*.

a. Original medial *rs* is preserved, or else the *s* alone is written, the *r* being omitted, in Umbrian, in contrast to Latin, where it becomes *rr*, and to Oscan, where it ultimately becomes *r* with lengthening of the preceding vowel: U. *tursitu* **tusetu** and the name of the goddess dat. **Turse Tuse**, all cognate with L. *terreo*, *terror*, *ἔτερσεν · ἐφόβησεν* Hesych.; *farsio fasio* **fasiu**: L. *farrea*.[1] *pars* before the enclitic *est* shows the same preservation of *rs* as in medial position generally (for other examples of treatment of word-finals before enclitics see **4, 57 f**).

b. Original final *rs* becomes *r*: *far*: L. *far*, O. **far**. See **a** above in regard to *-rs* before enclitics.

c. *rs* in which the *s* has resulted from a dental cluster (**44 a**) becomes *rf* in Umbrian, being preserved as *rs* in Oscan and Latin: *trahuorfi*: L. *transverse*, both from **-worssēd* < **-wɣttēd*: cf. L. *versus*, O. *Ϝερσορει*.

d. There are several other forms originally containing clusters of three or more consonants in which a stop stood between *r* and *s*. In all of the following the *rs* is preserved after loss of the stop, or else the *s* remains, the *r* being dropped, as in **a** above: *ŝesna*, **çersnatur**: O. **kersnu**, cf. **kerssnasias**, L. *cēna*, *cēnāti*, all from **kert-snā-*: cf. Skt. *kártati*, *kṛṇtáti*;[2] *persclo* **persklum**, *pesclu*, *persnimu pesnimu*, all apparently from **perk* + *sk-* or other *s*-extension: L. *posco* < **pork-skō*; for details see Lexicon; probably also **perstu pestu**, *peperscust*: L. *parco*, *compesco* (?). The etymology of *persondru* and the origin of its *rs* are unknown.

e. Medial *rs* resulting after syncope of an intervening vowel becomes *rf* in Umbrian, *rr* in Oscan and Latin: *Ŝerfe* **Çerfe**: O. **Kerrí**, OL *Cerus* (= **Cerrus*) and unsyncopated *Cereri*, with the second *r* from *s*; *parfa*: L. *parra*; the equation cannot be questioned, and the two can only be reconciled on the basis of **par(e)sā*, for original *rs* would not yield *rf* in Umbrian, and pIE **parbhā* would not yield *parra* in Latin.

f. Final *rs* resulting after syncope of an intervening vowel becomes simply *r*: *frater frateer* < **frātērs* < **frāteres*; the original vocalism of the second syllable is uncertain, but the length indicated by *frateer* is probably compensatory; *ager* (minor inscription n. 355 Co.) < **agers* < **agɣs* < **agros*: *ἀγρός*, L. *ager*.

g. The fact that original medial *rs* did not become *rf* may be explained on the supposition that the *s* became voiced (*-rs-* > *-rz-*) before the development of secondary *-rs-* had been completed, while in this latter *-rs-* (< *-rss-* < *-rtt-*) the *s* must have remained unvoiced until the conversion to *f* occurred. The change of *-rs-* to *-rf-* after syncope, as illustrated by *parfa*, *Ŝerfe*, is surprising in view of the failure of Oscan **Kerrí**, **sverruneí** to show the same change, and also

because in corresponding forms with *-ns-* after syncope (**58 e**) the change to *f* did not occur, but the material is too limited to allow any sure explanation.

[1] But *farer*, gen. sg. of noun *far*, has *r* in place of *rs* by analogy with the nom.-acc. *far*.

[2] A root containing *t* is necessary in order to account for L. *cēna*, OL *cesna*, since *rsn* would yield L. *rn*, as in *cernuus* < **kersnowos*, cf. Skt. *śīrṣan-*. But the root **kert-* is evidently an extension of **ker-* found in **karu** and **kar-tu**.

60. Conversion of Voiceless Stops and Spirants to Voiced Stops. Voiceless stops, and also the Italic voiceless spirants derived from pIE aspirated voiced stops, are liable in Umbrian to become voiced stops when preceded by nasals, and the voiceless stops are similarly altered before *r*. This latter change does not take place in the initial position, but the position after verbal prefixes such as *en-*, *com-*, etc., is generally treated as medial. Since in the tables written in the native alphabet **t** and **k** are regularly, and **p** occasionally, used for *d*, *g*, and *b* respectively, we must depend to a large extent on the later tables for clear examples of the consonantal changes in question.

a. The change *t* > *d* after *n* is illustrated by: **anter-** *ander-*: O. **anter**, cf. L. *inter*; **hutra** *hondra* < **ghom-t(e)rād* with suffix as in L. *extra*, *contra*; *hondomu* < **ghom-tm̥mōd* with superlative suffix as in L. *ul-timus*; **Funtler-e** *Fondlir-e*: L. **(in) Fontulis*; **mantraklu** *mandraclo* < **man(u)trāgklo-*:[1] cf. L. *manutergium*; **persuntru** *persondru*: the etymology is unknown, and the spelling *persontru* in VIb 28 is surprising with its *t* in the Latin alphabet against 8 instances with *d*; yet in all probability the word is formed with the suffix *-tro-* (**76 b**); pres. subj. pass. 3 pl. *tursiandu*: L. *terreantur*; fut. pass. 3 pl. *ostensendi* < **ops-tendesenter*; **ententu** *endendu*: L. *in-tendito*; the second *d* of the Umbrian form is from *t* of the imv. ending *-tōd*, changed to *d* when the original *d* had been assimilated to the *n* (**61 e**) and the thematic vowel had been syncopated, leaving *n* in contact with *t*; similarly **ustentu** *ostendu*: L. *ostendito*. The same explanation can be applied to imv. *hondu* 'cast down' if from **ghom* + root *dō* of *δίδωμι*, L. *do*, *dare*, in which case the stages would be **ghom-dətōd* > **hon-detōd* > **honnetōd* > **hontōd* > *hondu*; but if the root is *dhē-* (cf. *τίθημι*)[2] the development must be differently reconstructed: **ghom-dhətōd* > **honƀetōd* > **honƀtōd* > **honttōd*, etc., the syncope having occurred before the possibility of a change *nƀ* > *nd* (see **d** below). On final *nt* see **41 c.**

b. A change *t* > *d* before *n̥* may possibly be exemplified by *Padellar*, if it is from **padenlās* < **padn̥lās* < **patnolās*.

c. *k* becomes *g* when preceded by *n*: **iveka** *iuegna*: L. *iuvenca*. But the change *k* > *g* in the cluster *nkl* must have occurred earlier, since it is shared by Umbrian with Oscan and Latin: *anglom-e*: O. *ungulus* '*anulus*' (Fest., p. 514 Li.; the variation of the initial vowel in these forms is *a*/*o*-ablaut; the original voiceless character of the consonant is attested by *ἀγκάλη*, L. *uncus*, etc., yet there

is some evidence for variation in the final guttural of the root even in pIE); *angla*: cf. L. *clamare*; of the 8 occurrences, all in the later tables, 6 have *g*, 2 have *c*.

d. The pIE voiced aspirates when preceded by nasals are represented not by voiceless spirants (*f*, *h*) but by voiced stops.[3] Labials: *amboltu*, with *amb-* < **amf-* < **ambh-*: *ἀμφ-*, L. *amb-*; **amprehtu**, *ambretuto*, with *ambr-*, an extension of *amb-*,[4] + verb equivalent to L. *eo*, *ire*; **kumpifiatu** *combifiatu*: cf. L. *fido*, *πείθω*, root *bheidh-*; even if we were to adopt the less probable connection with *πυνθάνομαι*, Skt. *bodhate* (root *bheudh-*), the law under discussion is still applicable. Of the effect of *n* on the dental spirant there are no sure examples (see **a** above). The voicing of a guttural (Italic *χ* < pIE *gh*) is illustrated by **krenkatrum** *cringatro*: OCS *krǫgŭ*, OHG *hring*, which together point to original *gh* in the second syllable. It should be noted finally that in *afero*, *aferener* < **am-fer-* < **amf-fer-* the analogy of the simplex *fer-* has prevented the action of the nasal upon the initial consonant of the verb in the compound.

e. Medial *p* becomes *b* when followed by *r*:[5] *abrof* **apruf**: L. *aper*, *apri*: **kabru**, *cabriner*: L. *caprum*, *caprini*; **tribřiçu**, *tribrisine*: the voicing is caused by contact with **ř** (in the latter form simply *r*!) from *d* if we derive from **tri-pedikyōn*.[6] In **supru**: L. *supra*, cf. O. **supruis**, the **p** is in all probability used with the value of *b*.

f. Medial *t* becomes *d* before *r* in: **atru** *adro*: L. *ater*, *atri* (consonantism not certain, since there are no sure etyma outside of Italic); *seipodruhpei*: cf. O. **pútereípíd** (anaptyctic vowel after **t**), L. *utroque*. But *cringatro*, *fratrom*, and other forms escape the change, and it is not possible to formulate any rule.

[1] *u* is believed not to be subject to syncope (**29**, n. 1); yet it is likely that *mandraclo*, like late L. *manutergium*, had the full stem *manu-* as first member. Probably medial *u* was actually subject to syncope, though *u* in final syllables, on the evidence of *erus*, was not.

[2] Compare the fusion of the two roots exemplified by *condo*, *reddo*, etc., in Latin, where medial *d* may represent either *d* or *dh*. In the dialects, where *dh* gives *f* medially, the two sets of verbs would not fall together except when the consonants are obscured by secondary assimilatory changes. The thematic vowel *e* instead of *a* (the normal Italic reflex of *ə*) is written here because of the transfer of these compounds to the third conjugation. The second of the two explanations here offered for *hondu* is also applicable to *ahauendu*, *preuendu*: Eng. *wind* (verb), etc., the voiced aspirate being supported by Skt. *vandhuram*, *vivadhas*.

[3] In Latin the voiced aspirates in general became unaspirated voiced stops in medial position regardless of their environment; only in the case of *gh* does the development appear to be conditioned by a preceding nasal (or *r*): *veho*, *mihi*, but *lingo* (cf. *λείχω*), *fingo* (cf. *τείχος*), *spargo*. We may assume then that in Latin a preceding nasal produced voicing if the medial spirant was not already voiced under the rule covering the development of voiced aspirates in Latin. In Oscan on the other hand a nasal does not cause a following stop or spirant to become voiced. It seems best therefore to regard the change exemplified by *ambretuto* (cf. O. **amfret**), L. *lingo*, etc., as an independent development of Umbrian and Latin or a tendency which spread after the separation of dialects and which failed to affect Oscan.

[4] For *amb-*: *ambr-* compare L. *sub*: *super*, *ὑπό*: *ὑπέρ*, Skt. *upa*: *upari*, where the enlargement

was of course pro-ethnic. For the prefix *ambr-* compare also O. **amfr-et**, L. *anfractus* = *amfractus*, the traditional connection with *frango*, *fractus* being a popular etymology.

[5] The voicing of *p* before *r* does not take place in Latin, nor in Oscan apart from the forms **embratur**, etc. (*'imperator'*) on several coins. O. *Abella* is best taken as containing original *b*: cf. OIr. *ubáll*, Eng. *apple*, and Vergil's *maliferae... Abellae* (*Aen.*, VII, 740).

[6] We cannot attribute the change *p* > *b* to assimilation before the earlier *d* since the vowel cannot have been syncopated until after the *d* had become **ř**.

61. Assimilation of Consonants includes changes which must partly have occurred in pIE itself and which are recognized chiefly through the obvious etymological relationships of the forms with other unassimilated forms. Such, for example, is the change of a voiced to a voiceless stop when the stop immediately following is voiceless, as in L. *scriptus* beside *scribo*, and Oscan and Umbrian must have inherited these *p*-forms before making further changes of their own which resulted in O. *scriftas*, U. *screihtor*. But new instances of assimilation occurred as consonants were newly brought into contact, and the Italic languages were especially susceptible to these changes because of the vowel syncope which was so prevalent in them. Unfortunately, however, in Umbrian full assimilation, whereby a sound becomes identical with the following sound (regressive assimilation being the usual type) is difficult to recognize because doubling or "length" of consonants is scarcely ever shown in writing. Sometimes the doubling of a consonant in an Oscan form makes it highly probable that a closely related Umbrian form was similarly pronounced, but often it is a matter of conjecture whether a consonant was assimilated or merely lost, especially in clusters originally consisting of three or four consonants.

a. Assimilation involving change in the place of articulation is shown in *ape* < **at-pe* < **at-que*: L. *atque*, with the single instance of *appei* in VIIb 3 constituting possible evidence of consonantal length despite the 30 instances of spelling with single **p** *p*. Similar is the transfer of nasals to the position of the following stop in **etantu**, **panta** (: L. *tanta*, *quanta*) if from **tām-tā*, *quām-tā* according to the prevailing view. **uze** *onse*: L. *umerus* < **omesos* shows a change of the labial *m* to the dental *n* before *s* after syncope has taken place.[1] This assimilation of *m*, however, did not take place in the imperative **umtu** < **umbetōd*: L. *unguito*, nor in **sumtu**.

b. A dental or guttural stop before *f*, the acc. pl. ending of masc. and fem. consonant-stems, suffers complete assimilation, followed apparently by total loss; at least there is no evidence that the change results in *-ff*, and in some cases even the **f** *f* is not written. Examples are: *capif* (*-if* 3 times, **-i** twice, **-iř** once by analogy with other cases): cf. L. *capides*; *frif* (*-if* 5 times, *-i* 6 times): cf. L. *fruges*; *uapef-e* (**-f** *-f* 3 times before postposition **-em** *-e*): cf. L. *lapides*.

c. Changes of order, that is, of the manner of articulation, were usual in the parent speech whenever voiced and voiceless consonants came into contact through etymological derivation. Reference may be made to the first paragraph

of the present section, and also to **60**, in which the changes described are really of this type. Somewhat different, however, and more complicated is the development seen in **sistu** in III 8 from **sisttōd* < **sizd-tōd* < **sizdetōd*: L. *sīditō*.

d. *k*, *p*, and *f* are assimilated to a following *s*, with some evidence that a geminate results, although in the triconsonantal clusters it is possible that actual loss occurred. With *ks*: pron. *essu esu*: O. **eksuk**. With *ps*: **esuf**: O. **essuf** *esuf*, cf. L. *ipse*; *osatu*: cf. O. **úpsannam**, L. *operari*, all from **opesā-*. With *kst*: *destre*: O. **destrst** (= L. *dextra est*); **sestentasiaru**: L. *sextantariarum*. With *pst*: *ostendu* **ustentu** < **ops-t-*: L. *ostendito*. *f* is assimilated to final *s* in *-fos*, the dat.-abl. pl. ending of *i-*, *u-*, and consonant-stems, after syncope of the *o*: *aueis*: L. *avibus*; **berus**: L. *verubus*; *homonus*: L. *hominibus*; etc. The possibility that the *s* was long is shown by the fact that it is never rhotacized and scarcely ever dropped as in the dat.-abl. pl. of *ā-* and *o*-stems (on **sevakne** IV 9 see **57** n. 3).

Oscan shows a single example of preservation of *f* in the ending: **luisarifs**, beside **Anafríss**, **sakriss** with double **s**.

e. In the following instances stops standing immediately before (in the case of *nd*, after) nasals are themselves changed to nasals. *bn* > *mn*: *tremnu* < **trebnōd*: cf. *trebeit*, O. **tríibúm**. *pm* > *m*(*m*): *somo*: L. *summum*, cf. **super**, L. *super*. *dn* > *n*(*n*): **une** < **udne*, abl. sg. of **utur** 'water', an *r*/*n*-stem: *ὕδωρ*, *ὕδατος* (**84**). *nd* > *n*(*n*): *ponne* (twice, and **pune puni** *pone* 16 times) < **pon-de* < **k^{w}om-de*, cf. L. *quamde*; gerundives *peihaner*, etc.: cf. L. *piandi*, O. **úpsannam**, **sakrannas**; also as an intermediate stage in *ostendu*, *endendu*, **ampentu**, before syncope of the thematic vowel and change of *nt* to *nd* (**60 a**).

[1] It is possible that the whole consonant cluster was voiced after syncope had taken place since the intervocalic *s* which became rhotacized in Latin and, when syncope did not interfere, in Umbrian also, is assumed to have been a voiced *s* in proto-Italic, as in Oscan. The phonetic spelling then would be **ondze*; the **z** of **uze** shows that the dental stop was preserved between *n* and *z*, and the *n* of *onse* shows that the nasal was not lost.

62. Final Consonants. Juncture. The preservation, alteration, or loss of final consonants has for the most part been discussed in the sections devoted to the history of the individual consonants, so that the present section is merely a summary, with references to the appropriate sections. The consonants with which we are concerned are partly inherited finals (e.g. *-s* in nom. sg. of the second declension, *-m* in various acc. sg. forms, etc.), partly the products of consonantal changes (e.g. *-f* from *-ns*), partly consonants left in final position after syncope of a vowel in the final syllable and alteration of the resulting consonant cluster. To some extent the retention or loss of final consonants depends on the form-categories in which they occur (e.g. final *r* is retained in nom. sg. of nouns of the type of **uhtur**, L. *auctor*, but largely lost in 3 sg. and pl. passive verb forms).

a. Of inherited final labial stops, either preserved or lost, there are no instances. Final *t* and *d* are regularly lost, *-t* having passed through the intermediate stage *-d* (**41 b, c, 42 e**). Final *k* seems to be preserved in **huntak, tuplak.** For final *m* see **51 e.** For final *n* see **52 h.** Of inherited final *l* there are no cases; in those instances where final *l* actually appears its final position is secondary (**55 e**). For original final *r* see **56 c.** *r* which becomes final after completion of the change *-ros* > *-ɣs* > *-er* or the change *-ro* > *-ɣ* > *-er* (a consonant having originally preceded the *r*) is regularly preserved, the instances of loss being extremely rare (**32 d, 56 d**). For final *s* and for the *r* which arises from it in the later tables see **57 e, h.** Original final *s* is normally preserved in forms where a preceding vowel has been syncopated: *fons fos* (**58 e**), **pelsans** (**29 i, 91 b**), dat.-abl. pl. forms *fratrus, aueis,* etc. (*-s* < *-fs* < *-fos* < *-bhos,* **57 h, 101 c**), but not so in forms which originally ended in *-los* (e. g. **tiçel, 55 e**) or *-ros, -res, -ris* (e.g. *ager, pacer,* **32 d, 59 f**). *-s* is lost in original *rs* (**59 b,** but observe also **a**). In the 3 pl. active secondary ending of verbs, whatever the origin of the *-ns,* the *s* is regularly preserved (**58 g**). Final *f* from *-ns, -nts* is largely preserved in the earlier, largely lost in the later tables (**58 b, d, f**).

b. For the treatment of final vowels see **31 a-g, 34.**

c. Juncture has to do with the changes which occur (or fail to occur) at the point of contact between morphemes; that is, where stem-suffixes, case- and person-endings, enclitics, prepositional prefixes, etc., are attached to roots or to each other; and also where words follow one another in the sentence. In general the term "open juncture" or "external sandhi" may be applied to instances of the last-named type, and "close juncture" or "internal sandhi" to those occurring within words or within such phrases as form single accentual units. It is not possible, however, to formulate a comprehensive and orderly set of rules for the Iguvine Tables comparable to the rules found in grammars of such languages as Sanskrit. The Tables almost never show variants corresponding to differences in external sandhi; such variations as the presence or omission of final *m,* for example, show no consistent relation to the initial of the following word. In part the phenomena of juncture have already been treated; so, for example, the treatment of initial preconsonantal *s* (**57 b**) and the assimilation of consonants (**61**) are largely matters of juncture, although they partly belong to historical stages considerably prior to the existence of Umbrian as a separate dialect. The present section is primarily concerned with the changes which may occur when verbs or other forms are compounded with prepositional prefixes or when postpositions, pronominal enclitics, or the enclitic *est* are placed after forms of any kind. In such cases two opposing forces may come into conflict: the tendency to allow the free operation of the phonetic law applicable to the particular environment in which the form occurs, and the tendency to maintain the form as it would appear in isolation or in open juncture.

d. A verb compounded with a prefix may undergo changes of such a nature

that the initial of the simplex is lost or altered: *subocau* with loss of *w* after *b*: cf. L. *vox, vocare,* etc. *endendu* with change *t* > *d* after *n* (**60 a**); cf. *ostendu* with prior *t* preserved. *combifiatu* with *b* < *f* after *m* (**60 d**). **anzeriatu** with **-nz-** = *-nts-* < *-ns-* in **an-ser-* (**58 a** with n. 1).

e. menes, fut. 2 sg. equivalent to L. *venies,* may owe its initial *m* to the influence of a compound ***kum(m)enes** with *-m(m)-* < *-mb-* as in **umen** < **umben* < **ong^{w}en* (**49 b**) or like the assimilation of *-nd-* to *-n(n)-* in *peihaner,* etc. (**61 e**); and this despite the unassimilated Oscan form **kúmbened.**

f. Like O. **kúmbened** immediately above in **b** are certain forms in which the influence of the simplex prevented alteration of the initial in the compound: *anferener* < **am(f)-fer-,* escaping the change *-mf-* > *-mb-* seen in *combifiatu* in **a** above; *andersafust,* escaping the change *-nd-* > *-n(n)-* (**61 e**). Another instance is *anderuomu,* if any of the etymologies assuming the change *l-* > *u-* **v-** is correct (**55 a** and note on VIb 41).

g, The change of intervocalic *d* to **ř** *rs* (**42 b**) may occur when an enclitic with initial vowel is added to a form with final *d*: **piře** *pirse* < **k^{w}id* + *i,* **puře** *porse* < **k^{w}od* + *i* (vocalism of the enclitic is uncertain; see **106 d**). Similarly when an enclitic with initial *d* follows a form with final vowel: *nersa* < *ne-dām.*

h. Rhotacism of final *s,* which is characteristic of the later tables, may occur even in the earlier if the form in question is followed by a vocalic postposition: **Funtler-e** Ib 24, **fesner-e** IIb 11 (**57 f**).

i. The enclitic *est* in the combination *pisest* VIb 53 fails to rhotacize the *s* of the pronoun, yet in *sopir habe* 54 the *s* becomes *r* before the verb *habe.*

j. Final *rs* (original or secondary after syncope), which normally loses its *s,* retains it in the phrase *pars est* just as medial *rs* is retained in *farsio.*

63. Sources of the Umbrian Sounds. The present section is a summary of the etymological values of the Umbrian sounds as they are represented by the characters of the Latin and native alphabets. The treatment is necessarily much condensed and contains references only to the most important sound-changes. For many details the individual sections must be directly consulted. It has seemed necessary, however, to include not only the single vowel-characters but also certain combinations, such as *ai, ei,* **ei,** etc., which stand sometimes for simple vowels, sometimes for diphthongs.

a **a**: < *ă* **6**; < *ā* **7 a**; < *ə* **5 a**; *a* **a** in combination with preceding liquid or nasal may be from long vocalic liquid or nasal by **18 a.**

ai **ai**: < *ai* **19 c.**

b **b** < *b* **39**; < *g^{w}* **49 b**; < *f* < *bh* after *m* **60 d**; < *p* before *r* **60 e.**

c **k**: < *k* **45, 46 a, e, f,** (?) **h**; < *k^{w}* **49 d**; < *t* before *l* **41 e,** before *n* (?) **41 f.** In regard to **k** see also under *g* (**2 a**).

d **t** (**2 a**): < *d* **42 a, d**; < *t* final **41 b**; < *t* after *n* **60 a**; < *t* before *r* **60 f.**

e **e**: < *ĕ* **8 a**; < *ē* **9 a**; < *ĭ* **10 b, c**; < *ī* **11 b**; < *ai* **19 a**; < *ei* **20 a, b, c**; < *oi* final **21 d**; < *āi* **25 a**; < *ēi* **25 d**; < *ōi* **25 b**.

ei **ei**: < *ē* **9 c**; < *ī* **11 c**; < *ai* (?) **19 b**; < *ōi* **25 b**.

f **f**: < *bh* **40**; < *dh* **43**; < *gh* (?) **48 b**; < g^wh **49 c**; < *s* before *r* **57 g**; < original *ns* **58 b**; < secondary *ns* **58 c, d, e, f**; in the combinations *rf* **rf 59 c, e**.

g **k** (**2 a**): < *g* **45, 47 a**; < *k* after *n* **60 c**; < *gh* after *n* **60 d**.

h **h**: < *gh* **45, 48 a**; < *k, p* (original or resulting from assimilation) before *t* **38 b, 46 i**. As mark of vowel length **11 a, 15 c, 26 a, b, c**. As mark of hiatus **33 a**.

i **i**: < *ĭ* **10 a**; < *ī* **11** with **a**; < *ĕ* **8 b, c, d, e, f**; < *ē* **9 b**; < *ū* **15 a, b**; < *ei* **20 d**; < *ēi* **25 d**; < *ōi* **25 b**; < *y* **53 a, c, d, e, f**, n. **1**; < *k, g, gh* **46 g, j, 47 b**, (?) **c**.

l **l**: < *l* **55 b, c, d, e**.

m **m**: < *m* **51 a, c, d, e**; < *n* by progressive distant assimilation **52 h**.

n **n**: < *n* **52 a, b, c, d, g, h**; < *m* by assimilation **61 a**.

o **u** (2 a): < *ŏ* **12 a, d**; < *ō* **13** with **a**; < *ā* **7 b, c**; < *ĕ* **8 g**; < *ŭ* **14 b, c, d**; < *oi* **21 a**; < *au* **22**; < *eu* **23**; < *ou* **24**; < *ēu* **25 c**; < *ōu* **25 e**.

ol, or: < *ol, or*, or < *l̥, r̥*. See **17 a**.

p **p**: < *p* **38 a**; < k^w **49 a, e**. In regard to **p** see also under *b* (**2 b**).

q: see under *c* **k** and **2 a**.

r **r**: < *r* **56 a, b, c, d**; < *s* **57 c, e, f**.

ř *rs*: < *d* **42 b, c**; < *l* **55 b**. For **rs**, and for *rs* when not equivalent to **ř**, see **59**. For the same as components of larger consonant clusters see **59 e**.

s **s**: < *s* **57 a, b, d, f**; < *ks* **61 d**; < *ps* **61 d**; < *fs* < *bh*(*o*)*s* **61 d**; as a variant of *rs* **rs 2 i**; < U. *ṡ* **ç**, q.v.

ṡ **ç**: < *k* **46 b, c, d**.

t **t**: < *t* **41 a**. In regard to **t** see also under *d* (**2 a**).

u **u**: < *ŭ* **14 a, 15 c**; < *ŏ* **12 b, c, 13 c**; < *ō* **13** with **b, c, d**; < *ōu* **25 e**. In regard to **u** see also *o* **u** (**2 a**).

ul, ur: < *ol, or* or *l̥, r̥*. See **17 a**.

u **v**: < *w* **54 a, b, c**: < *l* initial **55 a**.

z: < *ts* **2 a, 58 a**.

B. Formation of nouns and adjectives

64. Of the various Indo-European noun and adjective stem-classes the following are represented in the Iguvine Tables: root-stems, *ā*-stems, *o*-stems, *i*-stems, *u*-stems, *n*-stems, *r*-stems, one *r*/*n*-stem, *s*-stems, and stems in stops, including U. **ř** *rs* from intervocalic *d*.

a. The gender-system is essentially the same as in Latin: *ā*-stems are feminine, *o*-stems masculine or neuter, and the three genders are variously distributed among the other stem-classes, but the gender of the nouns can be positively known only from the forms of the adjectives used in agreement with them. As in Latin, adjectives are either *o*-stems with *ā*-stem forms serving as feminines, or they are *i*-stems or consonant-stems without change of stem for different genders.

b. In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to classify the majority of the nouns and adjectives found in the Iguvine Tables on the basis of their stem-formation. A few, however, are so obscure that discussion regarding them is reserved for the commentary or the Lexicon. The *ā*- and *o*-stems are treated concurrently, for any attempt to separate them would do violence to many of the classes using the same suffix with only a difference of gender indicated by *-ā-* or *-o-*. Moreover it is sometimes difficult in Umbrian, especially with divine names attested only in the dative singular, to know whether a given form is a masculine *o*-stem or a feminine *ā*-stem.

65. Root-stems. In these the root serves as stem. There is no suffix of any kind other than the case-endings.[1] The variety of roots, however, is such that the forms fall into many different declensional classes with vocalic, diphthongal, or consonantal stems.

a. *ā*-stem: *angla* < **an-klā*, with the same root found in L. *clā-rus*, *clāmo*, denominative to **clā-mā*.

b. *ū*-stem: **sim**: *ṽv*, cf. L. *suem* (= **suwem*).

c. Diphthongal stems. **bum**, *bue* 'ox' is a stem in *ōu* varying with *ou* and *ō*: cf. L. *bovem*, *bove* (with *b* of dialectal origin, from g^w), *βoṽv*, dat. *βoṽ*, Doric acc. *βων*, Skt. *gām*, loc. *gavi*. *re(-per)*, **ri** is a stem in *ēi*/*ē*: cf. L. *rēs*, *reī*, Skt. *rās*, acc. *rāyam*, etc. *Di Dei* (voc.), *Dei* (acc.) 'Jupiter' is a disyllabic base in *ēu*/*ē*: cf. L. *diēs*, *Diespiter*, *diem*, Gk. acc. *Ζῆνα* (acc. **Ζην* extended by further addition of acc. ending *-a*), Skt. *Dyāus*, acc. *Dyām*; U. dat. **Iuve**, voc. **Iu** (both in combination with forms of *pater*) are built on the grade **Dyeu-* > pIt. *(D)iou-*: L. *Iovis*, etc.

d. *l*-stem: **salu**: L. *salem*, *ἅλα*.

e. *r*-stems: *nerf*: cf. *ἄνδῳ-ας*, Skt. *nṝn*; *pir*: *πῦῳ*; **vepurus** abl. pl., if we analyze *vē-pur-us* 'fire-less.'

f. Stems in stops or in Umbrian spirants derived from stops: *pase*: L. *pace*; *praco* (?), stem-class not certain, but the gender is fem., and a fem. *o*-stem is unlikely; *frif* < **frūg-f*: cf. L. *fruges*; *persi* **peři**: L. *pede*, *ποδί*; *dupursus*, *peturpursus*: L. *bi-*, *quadripedibus*; **pruzuře** < **prō(d)-sod-i* (?) with ablaut- variant of $\sqrt{sed}$-: cf. L. *praeside*, etc.; *uef* acc. pl. < **weif-f* < **weidh-ns*: cf. L. *di-vido* (?).

[1] "Case-endings" here may be understood to include elements properly belonging to vowel-stems but secondarily extended to consonant-stems and forming for all practical purposes a part of their case-endings: the acc. sg. of consonant-stems, for example, has the ending *-om*, consisting of *o*, the stem-vowel of *o*-stems, + *m*, the original acc. sg. ending; and the dat.-abl. pl. has *-us*, consisting of *u*, the stem-vowel of *u*-stems, + *s* < *-fs* < *-bhos*, the original dat.-abl. ending for *i*-, *u*-, and consonant-stems.

66. *ā*-stems. In the following forms *ā* is attached directly to the root, or at least the stem cannot be clearly broken down into any other components than the root + *ā*: *asa*; *uia*; *totar*; *peica*; *parfa* < **paresā* (further analysis not clear); *porca*; *paca* (abl. sg. functioning as "improper" preposition, like L. *causā*); *Tursar*; probably also gen. pl. **antermenzaru**; **Hule** (generally taken as fem.). Cf. also *angla*, a root-stem in *ā*, listed above in **65 a.**

67. *o*-stems. In the following nouns and adjectives *ŏ* (or its ablaut-variant *ĕ*) is attached directly to the root, with no clear possibility of further analysis: *abrof*; **kabru**; *furo*: L. *forum*; **iuku iuka**; **numer**: L. *nummis*; *onse* (loc.): L. *umerus*; *peico*; *perso* **peřum**: *πέδον*; **Titis** (gen.): L. *Titus*, *-i*; *toru*: L. *taurōs*; *uerof-e* (acc. pl.); *uocu-com*: either *Ϝοῖκος* or L. *lūcus*; *uinu*; probably also *anderuomu* (abl.); *carsom*; **kebu**; *Śerfer*, but with the possibility of a suffix *-es-* before the *o*. Adjectives: *alfir*: L. *albis*; *rofu*; *semu*; possibly also *dersecor*.

68. Stems in *-io-* and *-iā-*. Actually this category includes stems in *yo/ā* and *iyo/ā*, but the distribution of the two types in the Italic dialects is secondary and not a survival of the conditions assumed to have existed in proto-IE (see **53 c** with n. 2 on "Sievers' Law"). Moreover the two types frequently cannot be distinguished from one another as they appear in our texts, and no attempt is made to separate them in the following sub-sections, although in general forms written with **ii** in the native alphabet belong to the type with suffix *iyo/ā*. The suffixes treated in the present section furnish a large proportion of all the adjectives used in Umbrian, or indeed in the earlier Indo-European languages generally. Many of the nouns, which include personal and ethnic names, etc., are clearly adjectival in origin, others much less clearly so. The suffixes may be attached either to roots directly or to stems already containing extensions, and the analysis of some of the forms is so uncertain that a rigid classification is impossible. In all cases the Lexicon should be consulted for further etymological details.

a. The following forms may with reasonable certainty be regarded as primary derivatives formed by the addition of *yo/ā* or *iyo/ā* directly to the root. Nouns or adjectives used substantively: **ařkani**, as if = L. **ad-cinium* (see **32 a**; an *i*-stem here is far less probable); **pruseçia**; **Vuvçis**: L. *Lucius*. Adjectives: *deueia* (VIa 9, 10; *ei* probably represents *i*); *Fisier*; *gomia* **kumiaf**; *Ioui*: cf. L. *Iovius*; *Martier*; *peia* (cf. **46 g**); *Sansie*; *Tlatie*: L. *Latium* (?); *Uehier* **Vehiies**; observe also **Vuçiia** beside **Vuvçis** listed above as masc. noun.

b. The following adjectives are formed with the suffix *-eo-* < *-eyo-* with loss of intervocalic *y* (**53 b**) as in L. *igneus*, *aureus*, etc.: *farsio*: L. *farrea*; **spantea**: cf. **spanti**; possibly also **ařepes**, if = L. *adipeis*.

c. The following adjectives, designating situation, are formed with the suffix *-aio-* < *aiyo-* (cf. O. **kersnaiias** beside **kersnu**, Gk. *δίκαιος* beside *δίκη*, Ved.

sabheyas beside *sabhā*): **pernaiaf** (to *perne*), **pustnaiaf** (to *postne*), *persae* **peřae** (to *perso* **peřum**).

d. The following adjectives or substantives of adjectival origin are formed with the suffix *-asio-* or *-ario-* < *-āsyo-* (perhaps originally from gen. sg. in *-ās* + *yo-*; cf. O. **kerssnasias** beside **kersnu**, L. *herbarius* beside *herba*, and **57 d** on the lack of rhotacism in most of these forms) : **kurçlasiu**; **plenasier**; **urnasier**: L. *ordinariis* (?); **sestentasiaru**: L. *sextantariarum*; but **ezariaf** with rhotacism.

e. The following is a list of miscellaneous nouns and adjectives formed certainly, or at least very probably, with the suffix *-(i)yo-*. The suffix is mostly secondary, although in a few cases it appears to be added directly to the root. A large proportion of the words, especially of the personal, divine, and ethnic names, are etymologically obscure, and the very brief comments below must be supplemented by reference to the Lexicon. Forms used with substantive value: *Acesoniam* **Akeřuniam**, a place-name; cf. O. **Akudunniad**, etc.; **aiu** (?), stem-formation uncertain; **ampeřia**; *arsier*; *aruio*, derived from the *-wo-*stem *aruo*; **Kastruçiie**, a gentile name; cf. Oscan names of the type of **Kluvatiis**; *Clauerniur*, nom. pl., name of a *decuvia*; **Kluviier**, a gentile-name; *Coredier* **Kureties**, name of a god; **kvestretie** 'term of office as **kvestur**', but in formation like L. *duritia*, *avaritia*, etc.; **fameřias**: L. *familiae*; *Fisouie*, name of a god; *Piquier*; **Huntia**, *Hoier*, *Noniar*, *Nurpier*, *Salier*, names of persons or deities in the enumeration of places given in VIa 12-14 in order to define the limits of the augural *templum*; **Peraznanie**, pl., name of a *decuvia*; *presoliaf*, one of the places listed in VIa 12; **pumpeřias**; *Rubinam-e*, **Rupinie**, name of a place (for phonology see **53 d**); *sehmenier* **semenies**; **spinia**; **sufafias**; **çersiaru**; **tekvias**; **tehteřim** (a stem in *-di-* or *-li-* is much less probabe); **Teteies**, a gentile name with stem in *-eiyo-*; **uhtretie**, to **uhtur** as **kvestretie** to **kvestur**; *uestisiar* 'libation' and *Uestisier*, name of a god, both apparently identical in formation except for the variation *-ā/o-*. Forms used principally with adjectival value: **aplenia**; *arsmatia*; *Atiersiur* from a stem in *-dio-*, cf. *Coredier*; *filiu* **feliuf** 'suckling' < **fē-liyo-*, cf. L. *filius*; *Grabouie*, a divine epithet, in formation like *Fisouie*; **Petrunia**, name of a gens, in formation like *Acesoniam* **Akeřuniam**; **speturie**: L. **spectoriae*; *Šerfiar*, a divine epithet; *dequrier* **tekuries**.

69. Stems in *-uo-* and *-uā-*. These are based on a suffix *-(u)wo/ā* similar to the suffix *(i)yo/ā* described in **68**, and what was said there is to a large extent applicable here also. No attempt is made to separate the nouns and adjectives, since most of the forms are adjectival in origin and several are used sometimes with one value, sometimes with the other; but the adverbs in *-ē* are given separately. Nouns and adjectives: **arvam** < **ar-wām*, cf. L. *aro*, *arva* (f.), Naev. and Pacuv. *apud* Non., 192, 30; *dersua* **tesvam**; **felsva**; **mersuva**; **prever**: L. *privus*; *saluo*: L. *salvum*; *seuom* **sevum**; *sopa* **supa** < **sup-wo-*; for loss of *w*

see **54 d.** Adverbs from stems in *-wo-*: **çive** < **ki-wēd*: cf. *sìmo* **çimu**, L. *ci-tra*; **prufe** < **pro-fwēd* < **pro-bhwēd*, cf. L. *probus*, *superbus*, Skt. *abhvas*, and **54 d.**

70. Stems in *-ko-* and *-kā-*. The *c* **k** is sometimes visibly preceded by the "connecting-vowel" *i*, which spread analogically from stems ending in *i*; in other cases comparison with cognate forms shows that the *i* was present before its loss through syncope. The original value of stems in *-ko/ā-* was predominantly adjectival, but a considerable proportion have become substantives. The Umbrian forms include the following nouns: *fratrexs* **fratreks** (but *fratreca* VIIb 2 as adj. abl.sg.fem.): L. **fratr-icus*; *iuengar*: L. *iuvencae* (on U. *ng* < *nk* see **60 c**); *perca*: L. *pertica*. Adjectives: *todceir* < **tout-iko-*: O. **túvtíks**; the ethnics *Iabuscom* **Iapuzkum**, *Naharcom*, *Tuscom* **Turskum**; *Tesenocir* **Tesenakes**, name of one of the gates of Iguvium; **Pupřiçes Pupřçes**, **Pupřiçe Pupřike**, epithet of the god **Puemunes**. A *k*-suffix is also to be recognized within the forms **aviekate**, *fratrecate*, and *uesticatu*.

71. Stems in *-to-* and *-tā-*. The most productive class of these stems of course consists of the perfect passive participles of verbs (**131**). There are, however, in Umbrian several examples of the closely related type represented in Latin by *armātus*, *barbātus*, with the sense 'equipped with, characterized by, resembling so-and-so,' as well as a number of other forms which for various reasons are not suitable for inclusion among the participles. As in the case of the stems in *-(i)yo/ā*, *-(u)wo/ā*, *-ko/ā-*, the original adjectival (or participial) value is often replaced by substantive value. Substantives: **arçlataf**: cf. L. *arculata* beside *arculum*; somewhat similar is *ponisiater* **puniçate**: L. **puniceatus* beside *puniceus*, cf. *praetextatus* beside *praetexta*; loc. sg. *fratrecate* 'in term of office as *fratricus*,' a probable transfer from the *u*-declension, as in OL *senatus*, gen. *senatī*; the divine names *Honde* **Hunte** (for *-nd-* < *-nt-* see **60 a**) and *Prestote* **Prestate**; *motar*, **muta mutu**: L. *multa* 'fine'; *pertom and tettom*, terms of uncertain meaning but probably participial in origin, found in the list of landmarks in VIa 12-14; *prinuatur*, title of certain officials, but of obscure etymology; **vaputu** 'incense' (?), perhaps related to L. *vapor* as *arbutum* to *arbor*; **urfeta**: L. *orbitam*; *pracatarum*, although it may be classified as a true participle, especially if we take the preceding *praco* as gen. pl. Adjectives: *hostatir*: L. *hastatis*; *anhostatir*; **petenata**: L. *pectinatam*; **etantu**: cf. L. *tanta* < **tam-tā*; similarly **panta**: L. *quanta*; apparently *mersta*, although the etymology is not clear. The adverb **rehte**: L. *rectē* < **reg-tēd* must also be included.

72. Stems in *-do-*, U. *-rso-* **-řu-**: *calersu* **kaleřuf**: L. *calidōs* '*λευκομετώπους*,' cf. L. *cālīgō*, Skt. *kāla-*, from which the suffixal character of the Italic *-do-* may be inferred;[1] possibly also *sorsom* **surum**, although it is not certain that *rs* **ř** here is from *d* rather than *l*.

[1] The Latin adjectives in *-idus* are phonologically ambiguous, since the medial *d* can represent IE *d* or *dh*, but the *rs* of U. *calersu* must be from *d*, since *dh* would become *f* (**43**). In view of

the semantic value of *calersu*, therefore, it is likely that the Latin color-terms *albidus*, *rubidus*, etc., have original *d* rather than *dh*.

73. Stems in *-mo-*. The *o*-suffix *-mo-* is found in the noun *arsmor* < **ad-mōs*, cf. also the derived adj. *arsmatia* and vb. *arsmahamo*; perhaps also in *stahmei* < **stā-mōi*, although here the possibility of a stem in *-mi-* cannot be ruled out. Of feminine nouns in *-mā-* (cf. O. *egmo* 'thing,' L. *fama*) there are no Umbrian examples.

a. *-mo-* is also used in forming superlative adjectives and ordinal numerals, together with adverbs corresponding to both of these types. Adjectives: *hondomu* < **ghom-tn̥-mōd*, with superlative suffix *-tn̥mo-* as in L. *op-tumus*, etc.; *somo*: L. *summum* < **sup-mom* (**14 b, 61 e**); *semu*, in partitive attribution with *pe(r)sclu*, 'middle of, half-way through': for the formation cf. L. ordinals *primus*, *septimus*. Adverbs: *nesimei* < **nedh-tn̥mēd*, with the same superlative value as in L. *proxime*; **nuvime**, according to the usual view 'for the ninth time,' as adv. in *-ē(d)* from ordinal stem in *-mo-*, but perhaps better taken as adv. from superlative **nowimo-* 'latest, last'; see on IIa 26; *sìmo* **çimu** '(back) to this spot,' cf. **çive**, L. *citra*, *citimus*.

74. Stems in *-no-* and *-nā-*. The nouns and adjectives, together with several adverbs, formed with *-no/ā-* as a suffix of primary or secondary derivation are sufficiently numerous and varied to require some division into sub-classes.

a. In the following nouns *-no-* or *-nā-* is added directly to the root: **kumne** loc. sg. < **kom-nei*: O. *comenei* (with anaptyctic *e*); **fesnaf-e** acc. pl.: O. **fiisnú**, cf. L. *fānum*; *acnu*: O. **akeneí**, *acunum*, L. *annus*, < **at-no-* ? (see **41 f**); *tremnu* < **treb-nōd*.

b. The following adjectives are formed with *-no-* as primary or secondary suffix: *plener*: L. *plenis*, cf. *plē-re*; **sanes**: L. *sanis*; **ahesnes**: L. *aenis ahenis* < **ayes-no-*; **ufestne** (see **44 d**).

c. A suffix *-snā* must probably be recognized in the noun *sesna*: O. **kersnu**, L. *cēna*, OL *cesna*, all from **kert-snā*.

d. A suffix *-āno-* (cf. L. *Romānus*, *urbānus*) occurs in several forms, mostly ethnic or topographical names: *Treblanir* abl. pl., name of one of the gates of Iguvium; **Iuieskanes** and **Satanes**, names of *decuviae*. **asiane** is of uncertain etymology and meaning.

e. The similar suffix *-īno-* (cf. L. *canīnus*, *Sabīnus*) is used chiefly in making ethnics and adjectives from names of animals or gods: *Iiouinar*: L. *Iguvinae*; *cabriner*: L. *caprini*; **ekvine** loc. sg.: L. *equinus* (?); *habina*: L. *agninas*; *Fisouina*, related to *Fisouie* as L. *Antoninus* to *Antonius*; *Miletinar*.

f. The divine names appearing chiefly as dat. sg. in **-une** *-one* are somewhat

different and more difficult to analyze. Although most of them occur only in the native alphabet, the form *Uofione* together with L. *Bellōna*, *Pomōna*, etc., make it plain that the vowel is *ō*, not *ū*; yet for **Vesune** see on IV 3. The masculine forms **Ařmune**, **Puemune**, *Uofione* **Vufiune** can be consonant-stems in *-ōn-* as well as stems in *-ōno-* (like L. *patrōnus*), since no unambiguous case-forms of them occur. In any case the whole group should be regarded as stems in *-ōn-* or extensions of them with *-o/ā-*, their treatment among stems in *-no/ā-* being justified merely by convenience.

g. Similarly stems in *-m(e)no-* are *o*-extensions of *men*-stems but may conveniently be treated with stems in *-no-*: *termnom*: L. *terminum*, cf. OL *termen*, Skt. *tarati*, all from the root *ter-*.

75. Stems in *-lo-* and *-lā-*. Here are included stems in *-(e)lo/ā-*, *-tlo/ā-* (Italic *-klo/ā-*), *-k(e)lo/ā-*, and *-dhlo/ā-*.

a. The semantic value of the stems in *-lo/ā-* is partly diminutive, partly that of names of instruments, but is in general not sharply defined. Forms based on *-lo-* and on *-elo-* are difficult to distinguish because of the loss of vowels through syncope in Umbrian and the development of anaptyctic vowels in Latin; but the suffix *-elo-* was common in Greek (e.g. *σκόπελος*, *εἴκελος*), and its use in Umbrian may be inferred from the palatalization of *k* in **arçlataf** < **ark-elā-tans*, cf. L. *arc-ulum*, *arc-ulata*; *preuiślatu* < **prai-wink-elā-tōd*, cf. L. *vinculum*. On the other hand the lack of palatalization in *anglom* (not **anślom*) is evidence of *-lo-* rather than *-elo-*, the unvoiced stop being supported by comparison with *ἀγκών*, *ἀγκάλη*, L. *ancus*, etc. The Umbrian forms with *-(e)lo/ā-* are: *anglom-e* (but not *angla*: see **65 a**); probably *Casiler*; **katel**: L. *catulus*; **klavlaf**: *ecla* (?) adj. 'every,' of uncertain etymology; *fondlir-e*; *Padellar* (?), apparently name of a goddess, < **Pateno-lās*, cf. O. **Patanaí** and **32 e**; *persclo*, where however the suffix may have been *-tlo-* as in **b** below; **sep-les**; *scapla*; *uitla* and *uitlu*.

b. Stems in *-tlo/ā-* (cf. *ἄντλος*, *χύτλον*) became Italic stems in *-klo/ā-* by **41 e**. The Umbrian examples in general are nouns designating articles or places having a specific function (cf. L. *oraculum*, *poculum*): **kumnakle**; **ehvelklu**; *ficla* < **fig-klā*; *mandraclo*; **muneklu**; **naraklum**; *ooserclom*; *pihaclu*: L. *piaculo*; evidently also **sufeřaklu**, although the exact sense is uncertain. On the adjective *auiecla*, the formation of which is not clear, see Lexicon.

c. Stems in *-kelo/ā-* (cf. L. diminutives *articulus*, etc.) arose originally from the addition of *-lo-* as secondary suffix to stems with the suffix *-ke-*, which in Umbrian suffered the change *k* > **ç** *ś* (**46 b, c**) before the syncope of *e*: **ereçlum**; *struśla*; *uasirslom-e*; *uesclir*, with *c* **k** unpalatalized after the *s*. With the above forms belong also **kurçlasiu** (< **kŗkelāsiōd*), the second *k* not being an original part of the root, and **tiçel, tiçlu**, if the interpretation followed in IIa 15, etc., is correct.

d. A stem in *-dhlo/ā-* (cf. *γένεθλον*, L. *fabula*, with *b* < *dh* before *l*) is apparently represented by **tafle**: L. *tabula* < **tlə-dhlā* (?); contained also within *staflarem*: cf. L. *stabularius* with stem in *-ārio-*, not *-āri-*.

76. Stems in *-ro-* and *-rā-*. Here are included stems in *-ro/ā-*, in the suffix *-tro/ā-* used for nouns designating instruments, and in *-tro/ā-* < *-tero/ā-*, the suffix used for adjectives of comparison and contrast.

a. The following nouns and adjectives are made with *-ro/ā-*, generally as a primary suffix added directly to the root: *adro* **atru** acc. pl. neut.: L. *atra* (root and suffix uncertain, since there are no sure cognates outside of Italic, and the word may be of Etr. origin); *agre*: L. *agri* < **ag-rei*, cf. *ag-o* (?); *abrof*: even though L. *aper* and most of the other cognates have *r*, the *ro* must be considered a suffix and not a true part of the root; so also with **Kabru**, L. *caper*; **antakres**: L. *integris*, $\sqrt{\text{tag-}}$, cf. L. *tango*; *ebetraf-e* < **ē-baet-rā-*: cf. L. *baeto*, but our form could also be derived from **ē-baet(e)-trā* with suffix as in **b** below; **rufru**: L. *rubrum*, *ἐρυθρόν*, cf. *rofu* without suffix; *sacra*: L. *sacra*, cf. *sancio*, *sanctus*; *tefru* < **tep(e)s-ro-* (**57 g**), *-ro-* being here a secondary suffix added to *tep-es-*; *uiro*: L. *virōs*, cf. Skt. *vīra-*, all from **wĭ̆-ro-*, if connection with L. *vī-s*, *vi-m*, etc., is to be maintained. **naraklum** and *naratu* imply an adj. **(g)nā-ro-*: L. *gnārus*, cf. *co-gno-sco*, *γνώριμος*, etc. Finally the adv. *subra* (with **supru sese** IV 3) < **sup-erā*, cf. L. *super*, *superus*, *supra*, the suffix *-ero-* here having comparative value like that of *-tero-* in **c**.

b. The suffix *-tro/ā-*, used chiefly for making names of instruments or articles having a specific function (cf. L. *ara-trum*, *ἄρο-τρον*, *ῥή-τρα*) is clearly recognizable in the Umbrian nouns **kletra**, **krematra**, *cringatro* **krikatru**, **feřehtru**, *persondru* together with the adjective **venpersuntra** (partly substantive in use). Discussion of these forms, most of which are partly obscure in etymology and meaning, is reserved for the Lexicon.

c. The suffix *-tero/ā-* is used in forming adjectives, together with some adverbs, designating position, ownership, etc., where a contrast of opposites is possible (cf. L. *dexter*, *vester*, *δεξίτερος*, *ὑμέτερος* etc.). Syncope of the *e* is regular in the Umbrian forms. Comparative adjective: **mestru**: cf. L. *magis*, *magister*. Adjectives of position: *destre* **testre**: L. *dexter*, *-tra*, *δεξίτερος*; *nertru*: *νέρτερος*, ON *norðr*; *postra*: L. *posterus*; *pretra*; *hondra* **hutra** (on *d* < *t* see **60 a**). Pronominal adjectives involving contrast of identity: *etru*: for sense cf. L. *alter*, including its value as ordinal numeral 'second'; **putrespe**, *seipodruhpei*: L. *utriusque*, *utroque*. Pronominal adjective of possession: *uestra*: L. *vestra*. Adverb of place whence: **apehtre** '*extrinsecus*': source of final **e** not clear, but **eh** = *ἐκ*, and **tr** is undoubtedly from the suffix *-tero/ā-*, cf. L. *ex-tra*.

77. Stems in *-i-*. Here are included stems in *i* not a component of any longer suffix, and stems in *-ti-* (with *-āti-*), *-ni-*, *-ri-* (with *-āri-*), *-li-* (with *-āli-* and *-feli-*).

a. In several of the following forms the *i* has the appearance of a primary suffix attached to the root, but it is not always possible to make a clear analysis into root and suffix: **ançif** acc. pl. < **ank-i-ns* (?); *auif* **avif**: L. *avis*, Skt. *vi-* 'bird'; *oui* acc. pl., **uvem** acc. sg.: L. *ovis*, *ὄϝις*; *sersi*, where *-i* is evidence of an *i*-stem in abl. sg., against the possibility of taking as a consonant-stem or a locative (cf. L. *sēdēs* partly inflected as an *i*-stem); **spantim-ař** (?), uncertain and possibly to be analyzed as a stem in *-ti-*; see on III 33.

b. The IE suffix *-ti-* was productive in the formation of nouns of action, but the examples in the Iguvine Tables are too few to allow any generalization with regard to its normal function in Umbrian: **ahtim-em** < **ag-tim-en*: cf. L. *ago*, *actio*, the common Latin type in *-tiōn-* being an extension in *-ōn-* of the older type in *-ti-*, for which cf. *βά-σις*, Skt. *ga-tis*, etc.; *anderuacose* **antervakaze** < **anter-wakat(i)s sit* (**wakātis* : L. *vacatio* as **ahtim** : L. *actionem*); **puntes** nom. pl. 'groups of five' < **ponk(ʷ)teyes*, cf. **49 d** with note 2. A stem **sta-ti-* must be recognized within imv. **statitatu**, an iterative verb made from the pass. pcpl. of a 4th-conjugation denominative to *stati-* (cf. *στάσις*, L. *stati-o*), unless we derive *i* from *ū* (**15 b**) and explain through a pcpl. equivalent to L. *statūtus*.

c. Stems in *-āti-* include the dative forms **Atiieřiate**, **Kaselate** (beside nom. *Casilos* < *-āt(i)s*), **Kureiate**, **Museiate**, **Peieřiate**, **Talenate**, all names of *decuviae* at Iguvium, and *Tarsinater*, *-te*, *-tem*, name of a hostile state. The evidence for the *i*-stem character of these forms is found in the closely cognate Latin forms *Arpinas*, etc., with *i*-stem forms nom. sg. *Arpinatis* (Cato *apud* Prisc., II, 337, 21 Keil), gen. pl. *Arpinatium*, *optimatium*, etc.

d. Stems in *-ni-* include: noun *poni* **puni** (abl. sg.), literally 'the drink' < **pō-ni-* (?); adj. *fons*: cf. L. *Fones*, gloss. '*dei silvestres*,' *Faunus*, *faveo*; **perak-nem**: etymology and meaning uncertain, but by any reasonable analysis the **n** belongs to the suffix rather than to the root; the *i*-stem, however, may have replaced an *o*-stem by the same principle of formation as in L. *triremis*: *remus*; similarly in **sevakni**, which is also uncertain. A stem **persni-* <**persk-ni-* must evidently be assumed to account for the denominative verb *persnimu* 'pray.'

e. Stems in *-ri-* (apart from those in *-āri-*, for which see **f** below) include: *ocar* **ukar**, acc. *ocrem*, abl. *ocri*: *ὄκρις*, L. *ocris*, root *ak-*, *ok-*; *pacer* nom. sg. < **pāc-ri-s* (cf. **32 d**), nom. pl. *pacrer*; *peracri* abl. < **per-ak-rīd*: L. *acri*; **sakre** acc. sg. beside the *a*-stem form **sakra** *sacra*, precisely like OL *sacrem*, etc., beside standard *-o/ā-*forms.

f. Stems in *-āri-* include *Staflarem*, and also *sehemeniar* if we take it as an adj. from the noun equivalent to L. *semen* and admit loss of the final *i*, but see on VIIa 52, where an altogether different interpretation is favored.[1]

g. A possible example of a stem in *-li-* similar to L. *facilis*, *habilis* may be seen in abl. pl. **iseçeles**: L. **insicilibus*, unless we follow those editors who emend to **iseçetes**, producing a pass. pcpl.

h. Stems in *-āli-* include: *uerfale*: L. *verbale*; *sorsalir* gen., *sorsalem* acc.: cf. *sorsom* **suřum**; *Tefrali* abl. sg.: cf. *Tefrei*. A stem **-lērāli-* < **leisāli-* must be assumed in the formation of *disleralinsust* if we adopt the usual analysis, taking it as a 4th-conjugation denominative verb cognate with L. *lira, delirus*.

i. Adjectives in *-feli-* represent Italic stems in *-fli-* resulting from alteration of the IE stems in *-dhlo-* in line with the Italic tendency to inflect adjectives as *i*-stems. Since the anaptyxis which explains the *i* before *l* in L. *credibilis*, etc., cannot be assumed for Umbrian, the vowel must have been extended from the nom. sg. **-fel*, in which the *e* could arise by samprasāraṇa (32): **façefele**[2]: L. **facibilem* (in sense **sacrificabilem*); similarly **purtifele**: cf. **purtitu** *purditom*, pass. pcpl. to *purdouitu*.

[1] Apart from a few rare forms such as *extaris, coquinaris, pecuniaris, paegniaris*, the suffix *-āri-* exists in Latin only as a variant to *-āli-* produced by dissimilation in forms already containing *l* (e.g. *militaris* in contrast to *animalis*). O. **dekkviarím** would be an exception to this rule, and also U. *sehemeniar* if taken as an adjective in *-āri-*. The dialect evidence is too scanty to permit the formulation of a rule, but the contrast between *Staflarem* and *Tefrali* seems to indicate that the distribution of *-āli-* and *-āri-* followed the same principle as in Latin.

[2] Practically all editors thus emend the actual reading **façefete** in IIb 9, the only passage where the word occurs.

78. Stems in *-u-*.

a. Apart from stems with the suffix *-tu-*, which in Latin and several other languages form a productive class, the Umbrian *u*-stems include the following substantives: **berva** acc. pl., **berus** abl. pl.: L. *verua, verubus*; *mani*: L. *manū* (*i* < *ū* by **15 a**), loc. **manuv-e**; *trifor* gen. sg., *trifo* dat., etc.: L. *tribūs*, etc.; *pequo* acc. pl.: L. *pecua*; *castruo* **kastruvuf** acc. pl.: *u*-stem on evidence of O. gen. sg. *castrous*, in contrast to *o*-stem L. *castra*. The divine names *Fiso, Trebo* (both dat. sg.) must be regarded as *u*-stems, but both have in the earlier tables dat. sg. forms **Fise, Trebe** of the *o*-stem type.

b. The suffix *-tu-*, used in Latin in the formation of nouns of action and the result of action, is clearly represented in **ařputrati** (*i* < *ū* as in *mani*, **a** above): L. *arbitratu*; apparently also in **Ahtu** dat. sg. used in IIa 10, 11 of a divine power identified with Jupiter and Mars. Whether the etymologically obscure *uatuo* **vatuva** is a stem in *-tu-* or in *-tuo-* cannot be positively determined.

79. Stems in *-iē-* ("Fifth Declension"). The origin of this type in Latin and the Italic dialects is partly obscure because of the lack of clear correspondences in other IE languages, but it is reasonably certain that it rests ultimately on a stem-class in *-(i)yē/ī-* varying in part with *-(i)yā/ī-* (cf. L. *durities*: *duritia*). The Umbrian examples include: *auie* (contained also within the participle **aviekate** and the adjective *auiecla*); *iouies*. The fifth-declension noun *re* (*-per*), **ri** (:L. *res*) has already been listed in **65 c** among the root-stems.

80. Stems in stops. Here are included stems in *k*, *t*, and *d* (Umbrian **ř** *rs*). Several forms from roots ending in these and other stops, but containing no suffixes, have already been included among the root-stems (**65 f**) and are given only passing mention here.

a. Stems in *-k-* (including **-ç-** *-s-* from *k* by **46 b**) include: *curnaco* acc. sg., *curnase* abl. : cf. L. *cornicem*, *-e*; *scalse-to*, **skalçe-ta**: cf. L. *calice*; neuters acc. sg. **huntak**, **tuplak**. For the root-stems *pase*, *praco*, and *frif* (*g*-stem **frūg-*) see **65 f.**

b. Stems in *t* include: **erietu**: L. *arietem*, cf. ἔριφος with suffix *-φo-* < *-bho-*; *Marte*: L. *Marti*; *frite* < **frēt-e*, like L. *dōt-ĕ* according to Muller, p. 512, but the stem in *-t-* is only one of several possibilities. For the present participles, whose stems end in *-nt-*, see **130 a.**

c. Stems in *-d-* (U. **-ř--***rs-*) include: *capirse* **kapiře**: L. *capidi*; **vapeře**, *uapef-e*: L. *lapide*, (*in*) *lapides*. For the root-stems *persi* **peři**, *dupursus*, *peturpursus*, **pruzuře**, and also for the root-stem *uef* (originally in *-dh-*) see **65 f.**

81. Stems in *n*. Here are included masculines and feminines in *-ōn-* without gradation or with zero-grade in the oblique cases, feminines (and masculines?) in *-iōn-* with *-īn-* in the oblique cases, and neuters in *-men-*.

a. Stems in *-ōn-* representing (in part) the type of L. *sermō*, *sermōnis*, include: **abrunu** acc. sg.: L. **aprōnem*, cf. L. *Aprōnius*; *homonus* dat. pl.: OL *homones*:[1] **karu**, **karne**: L. *caro*, *carni*, with zero-grade in the oblique cases. **menzne** < **mēns-en-i* may belong here, but no case other than the ablative occurs, and from the attribute **kurçlasiu** IIa 17 we cannot determine whether **menzne** is m., like L. *mensis*, or neut.

b. To L. *legiō*, *-ōnis*, *ōrātiō*, *-ōnis*, etc., without gradation, corresponds an Oscan-Umbrian type based on the gradation *-(i)yōn-* : *-īn-* (**35 d**): O. nom. sg. **tríbarakkiuf**, **fruktatiuf**, acc. *medicatinom*, abl. *tanginud*; U. **natine**: L. *natione*; *ferine* as if corresponding to L. **ferione* from root of *fero*; **tribřiçu**, *tribrisine*.

c. Neuters in *-men* include: *nome* **numem** (sic) acc., *nomner* gen., *nomne* dat.: L. *nomen*, etc.; **umen** acc., **umne** abl.: L. *unguen*, *unguine*; *pelmner* gen. sg.

[1] Similar in formation to **abrunu**, *homonus*, is probably **esuf**: O. **essuf** '*ipse*,' as if = L. **epsōns*. On the evidence of this form and of O. **fruktatiuf**, etc., we must probably assume that U. **karu**, **tribřiçu** originally had *n* by analogy with the oblique cases plus *s* by analogy with other nominatives of the third declension, the resulting *-f* (< *-ns*) being then dropped.

82. Stems in *r*. Here are included nouns of agent and nouns of family-relationship. The root-nouns *nerf*, *pir*, and **vepurus**, whose stems end in *r*, have already been treated in **65 e.**

a. Nouns of agent (cf. L. *orator, victor*) are formed by means of the suffix *-tōr-* without gradation in the paradigm: *arsfertur*, dat. *arsferture*, acc. *arsferturo*; **kvestur** (probably a Latin loan; see **46 h**); **Spetur**e, name of a god, as if L. **Spectōri*; **uhtur**, acc. **uhturu**: L. *auctor, -tōrem*. The abstract nouns **kvestretie**, **uhtretie** contain *-tr-*, the zero-grade of the suffix *-tōr-*.

b. Nouns of family-relationship are formed by means of the suffix *-ter/tr-* in ablaut-variation. The Umbrian examples are: *frater frateer* **frater** nom. pl., < **frāteres* (**26 h**), *fratrom* gen., *fratrus* dat.; **Iuvepatre** dat., **Iupater** voc.

83. Stems in *s*. Here are included stems in which a suffix ending in *s* has been attached as a primary suffix to the root. The vowel before the *s* has been in many instances lost by syncope, and the *s* has partly been changed by rhotacism to *r*. From the identity of nom. and acc. sg., from adjective-agreement (e.g. in *uirseto auirseto uas est* VIa 28, etc.), and from comparison with Latin and other languages it is apparent that the gender is prevailingly neuter. Umbrian examples are: acc. *far* < **fars*, gen. *farer* (in place of **farser* by analogy with nom.-acc. *far*): cf. L. *far, farris*; nom. sg. **meřs**, abl. pl. **mersus**, < **med-(o)s, med(e)s-ufs*; acc. sg. *tuder*, nom. pl. *tuderor*, etc.;[1] acc. sg. *erus* < **aisus*: O. abl. pl. **aisusis** (?); *ose* if < **op-(e)s-i*: L. *opere*, cf. U. *osatu*, but the etymology of *ose* and the interpretation of the phrase in which it occurs are uncertain; *pars*: L. *pār* (?); *uas* 'flaw' < **wak(o)s* (?); nom. pl. *uasor*, acc. *uaso*, abl. **vasur**: L. *vas, vasis*, etc. (for lack of rhotacism see **57 d**).

[1] Evidence that *tuder* is an *s*-stem is found in the denominative verb *ehetursiahamu* **etuřstamu**, which when taken in connection with *tuder* points to an original **-tudes-tā-* with syncope of *e* after the change *d* >*rs* **ř**. Whether nom.-acc. *tuder* has *r* as the result of final rhotacism or by the analogy of the oblique cases (cf. L. *honor* in place of early *honōs* by analogy with *honōrem*, etc.) is uncertain, but the latter alternative seems preferable, since the nom.-acc. which we should expect would be **tudos* or its reflex **tuřs** (cf. **meřs**).

84. Stems in *r/n*. This type of neuter noun, in which *-n-* of the oblique cases alternates with *-r-* of the nom.- acc., is believed on the basis of Hittite evidence to have constituted a fairly large class in Indo-Hittite or early proto-IE, but it usually survives in the recorded languages in scattered examples with secondary alterations of the stem (e.g. Skt. *yakṛ-t*, gen. *yaknas*, ἦπαρ, ἥπατος, L. *iecur, iecinoris*, early *iecoris*; *femur, feminis*, etc.). There are no Oscan examples. The sole[1] Umbrian example is acc. **utur** (**t** = *d*) 'water,' abl. **une** < **ud-n-*: cf. ὕδωρ, ὕδατος, Goth. *wato, watins*, Eng. *water*, Germ. *Wasser*, the *n*-stem being generalized in this word in East annd North Germanic, the *r*-stem in West Germanic.

[1] From Goth. *fon* 'fire,' gen. *funins* we may infer that the stem represented by U. *pir*, acc. *purom*, Gk. πῦρ, πυρός was originally of the *-r/n*-type, but since no trace of this variation has survived in this word in Greek or Italic, it has been treated here as a root-stem in *-r*. **ie-**

pru IIa 32, understood in the present work as acc. sg. 'liver', cannot be equated directly with L. *iecur* but must represent a transfer to the *o*-stem class: **yepr-o(m)*, unless, as Muller, p. 218, suggests, it is a misspelling of ***iepur.**

85. Nominal Compounds. Umbrian and Oscan in general resemble Latin in the types of compounds formed and in the extent to which compounds are used. The first member is an adverb of the class capable of being used prepositionally, or an inseparable prefix (e.g. *a- an-*, *sei-*, **ve- ven-**), or a numeral stem, or, rarely, the stem of a declinable noun or adjective. The second member is a noun or adjective stem, or, in the case of *seipodruhpei*, a pronoun. Apart from combinations of *a- an-* with the passive participle, compounds containing parts of the verb proper are not included here (see **134**).

86. The compounds treated in this section are formed with prefixes which may be used as prepositions, or which at least have cognates in Latin which are capable of being so used.

a. The following compounds are hypostases; that is, the relation of the prefix to the second member is that of a preposition toward its object: **antermenzaru**: cf. L. *intermenstruarum*; **peraknem**, if equivalent to L. *perennem*, literally 'through the year,' but see on IIa 5. *traha Sahata*, name of the place of one of the sacrifices in the lustration, has become a hypostasis in which the case is determined not by *traha* but by the construction of the whole expression in the sentence.

b. In *peracri* 'perfect' (semantic value of *-ac-* as in *ἀκμή*, *ἀκμαῖος*) the prefix has intensive force; cf. *περικαλλής*, L. *peroptimus*.

c. In the following compounds the second member contains a verbal root and the whole is a noun of action or of the place of action: **antervakaze** *anderuacose* L. **intervacāt(i)s sit*; **aŕkani**: L. **ac-cinium*; **aŕputrati**; *ebetraf-e*: cf. L. (*in*) *exitus*; **ehvelklu**; *ooserclom-e*: L. **obser(vā)culum* (?).

d. The following compounds are best regarded as agent-nouns formed directly from the compound verbs to which they correspond:[1] *arsfertur*: cf. L. *ad-fero*; *Prestote* **Prestate**, name of a goddess: cf. L. *prae-sto*.

e. In the following compounds the second member contains a verbal root, and the whole constitutes an adjective similar in sense to an active or passive participle: abl. pl. **iseçeles** < **en-sek-elif(o)s*; **pruseçia**: cf. *proseseto*, **prusekatu**; **pruzuře (65 f)**.

f. kumne loc. sg. '*in comitio*' is formed by attaching the suffix *-no-* directly to the prefix *kom-*, unless we adopt the more dubious view whereby **komno* is from **kom-ben-o-* with prefix and root as in L. *conventio*. **kumnahkle** may be explained either as **komnā-* (stem of a denominative verb to **komno-*) + *-klo-* (**75 b**) or as **komn-* + *-āklo-* after the analogy of other nouns in *-āklo-*.

[1] Not only here but also in **c** and **e** we must consider the possibility that the compounding took place first in the verb, from which the verbal noun or adjective was subsequently formed.

87. The compounds treated in this section are formed with prefixes which, as far as we can determine, appear only in composition and not as prepositions governing objects.

a. The following compounds contain the negative *a-* **a-** *an-* **an-** + a passive participle (in the case of **antakres** an adjective in *-ro-*): **aanfehtaf (26 d)**: L. *infectas*; *anhostatir*: cf. *hostatir*; *anṡihitir*: cf. *ṡihitir*; **aseçeta**; **asnata**: cf. **snata**; *auirseto*: cf. *uirseto*; **antakres**: L. *integris*.

b. *sei-* (cf. L. *sē-cerno*, *sēd-itio*, etc.) occurs in composition with the indefinite pronoun stem in *seipodruhpei* 'separately for each' < **sē(d)kʷoterōkʷe*: L. *sedutraque*, Plaut., *Stich.*, 106.

c. **ve- ven-** (cf. L. *vē-cors*, *vē-sanus*, and Lexicon for the form **ven-**) occurs in **vepurus** abl. pl. 'fireless' (?), to which the verb **vepuratu** appears to be a denominative; and also in the obscure **venpersuntra vepesutra**: cf. *persondro* **persuntru**.

88. The following compounds contain numeral stems as first members: *dupla*, **tupler**: L. *duplus*, second member being apparently from root **pel-* 'fold'; similarly **tripler**; **tuplak** 'fork': L. *duplex*; *difue* acc. sg. neut.: *διφυές*; *dupursus* and *peturpursus*, compounds of the bahuvrīhi or possessive type: L. *bipedibus*, *quadripedibus*; **tribřiçu**, *tribrisine* < **tri-pedikyōn-*, *-īn-*.

89. Compounds having noun or adjective stems as first members include: *mandraclo* **mantraklu** 'hand-wiper, towel, maniple': cf. L. *manus* and *tergeo*; *seuacne* **sevakni**, if the first member is identical with the stem in *seuom* **sevum**, but see on IIa 21.

C. Declension of nouns and adjectives

90. For the stem-classes of nouns and adjectives and for the gender-system see **64**. The declensional system in the Italic dialects is sufficiently like that in Latin to justify the familiar arrangement under five declensions: the first declension then includes *ā*-stems, the second *o*-stems, the third consonant- and *i*- and diphthongal stems, the fourth *u*-stems, while the fifth includes the few scattered examples whose stems end in *-ē* (**79**). But the difference between *o*-stems and consonant-stems is less strongly marked than in Latin (see **92, 94, 100** below on the gen. sg., acc. sg., and gen. pl.), while on the other hand the original distinction between consonant-stems and *i*-stems is much better preserved than in Latin, where it has been largely effaced by analogical leveling (see **94, 96, 99, 101** on the acc. sg., abl. sg., nom. pl., dat.-abl. pl.).

		First Declension *ā*-stems	Second Declension *o*-stems	Second Declension *yo*-stems
Sg.	Nom.	**muta mutu**	*tases* **taçez pelsans** *fratrexs* **fratreks** *ager* **katel tiçel**	**Vuvçis** **Teteies** *arsir*(?)
	Gen.	*totar* **tutas**	*popler* **kapres** *agre ponisiater* **puniçate katles katle**	*Coredier* **Kureties** *Fisie* **Kastruçiie** **Titis**
	Dat.	*tote* **tute**	*Tefrei Tefre* **Tefri** *Šerfe* **Çerfe**	*Ioui Iouie* **Iuvi Iuvie** *Grabouei* **Krapuvi** *Sansi* **Saçi**
	Acc.	*totam tota* **tuta** *uestisiam uestisia*	*poplom* **puplum** **kaprum** *poplo* **puplu vinu**	*Graboui Graboue*
	Abl.	*asa* **asa** *uestisia* **vestiçia**	*uinu* **vinu** *pihaclu* *tremnu somo*	*Fisiu* **Fisiu** **kurçlasiu**
	Loc.	*tote* **tafle**	*pople destre* **testre** *onse* **uze**	**Atiieřie**
	Voc.	*Prestota*		*Grabouie* **Saçe**
	Nom.-Acc. Neut.		*ortom orto* *esono* **esunu** *persclo* **persklum**	**ařkani** *tertim* **terti**
Pl.	Nom.	*anclar iuengar* **fameřias pumpeřias**	*Iiouinur* **Ikuvinus** **Ikuvinu çersnatur**	*Clauerniur* **Atiieřiur** **Ikuvinus**
	Gen.	*pracatarum* **urnasiaru**	*pihaclo* **pihaklu**	**Atiieřiu**
	Dat.-Abl.	*dequrier* **tekuries** *aseriater* **anzeriates** **klavles** **plenasier urnasier**	*uerir* **veres vaputis** *seueir*	*sehmenier* **aplenies** *Clauerni* **Klaverniie** *Uehier* **Vehiies**
	Acc.	*merstaf mersta* *gomia* **kumiaf** *porca* **purka**	*abrof* **apruf** *uitlu* **rufru** *ueiro*	*filiu* **feliuf**
	Nom.-Acc. Neut.		*adro* **atru** **veskla vesklu**	*aruio* **arvia arviu** *farsio* **fasiu**

	Third Declension Consonant-stems	Third Declension *i*-stems	Fourth Declension *u*-stems	Fifth Declension *ē*-stems
Sg. Nom.	*arsfertur* **arfertur** **tribřiçu karu** *serse* **zeřef**	*ocar* **ukar** *fons Casilos* *pacer*		
Gen.	*farer* *nomner*	*ocrer* **punes** *sorsalir*	*trifor*	
Dat.	*capirse* **kapiře** *nomne*	*ocre* **ukre**	*trifo* **Ahtu**	**ri**
Acc.	*curnaco* **uhturu**	*ocrem ocre* **uvem uve** **perakni**	*trifo* **trifu**	
Abl.	*persi* **peři** *nomne* **pure**	*ocri-per* **ukri-per** **sevakni sevakne**	*mani* **mani**	*re-per* **ri**
Loc.		*ocre* **ukre**	**manuv-e**	*auie*
Voc.	**Iupater**			
Nom.-Acc. Neut.	*pir* **pir** *nomne* **numem** (sic) **umen**	*uerfale*		
Pl. Nom.	*frater frateer* **frater**	*foner* **puntes**		
Gen.	*fratrom* **fratrum** *buo* **fratru**	*peracrio*		
Dat.-Abl.	*fratrus* **kapiřus**	*aueis* **aves** **avis sevaknis**	**berus**	*iouies*
Acc.	*capif* **kapi** *uapef-e* **vapef-e**	*auif aueif* **avif** **avef uvef** *oui*		*iouie*
Nom.-Acc. **Neut.**	*uasor* *tuderor*	**sakreu** **perakneu**	*pequo* **berva**	

91. Nominative Singular Masculine and Feminine. The IE case-ending in *ā*-stems was ○, in *o*-, *i*-, and *u*-stems *-s*, in consonant-stems sometimes ○, sometimes *-s*.

a. In *ā*-stems in Umbrian, as in the IE languages generally, the stem is used without ending; for *-ā* > *-o* **-u** see **7 b.**

b. In *o*-stems the stem-vowel is syncopated (**29 i**), but *-s* normally remains: **pelsans** < **pelsann(o)s* < **pelsandos*; **fratreks**, etc. In *-yo*-stems the *y* becomes *i* after syncope of *o* (**32 a**): **Vuvçis** (on **Teteies** see **32 b**); *arsir* with *-r* < *-s* by **57 e**, if from **alyos* (: L. *alius*), but see on VIa 6. Stems in *-ro-*, *-lo-* lose *-s* after syncope of the *o*: *ager* <**agros* (**32 d**), **katel, tiçel.**

c. Among consonant-stems there are no examples of masc. or fem. stems in stops, apart from such present participles as **zeřef** *serse*. Stems in *-r-* have lengthened grade of the suffix, *-tur* < *-tōr*, with zero-ending: *arsfertur*, **kvestur**: cf. L. *orator*, etc. Stems in *-ōn-* (**karu, tribřiçu,** pronoun **esuf**) may have had *-s*, in contrast to L. *caro, legio*, etc. See the discussion in **58 f.**

d. *i*-stems in general retain *-s* after syncope of the *i*: *Casilos* < **-lātis*; *fons*. But *-s* is lost in *-ri*-stems: *pacer* < **pakris* (**32 d**), *ocar* (see Lexicon).

e. Nom. sg. forms of the fourth and fifth declensions are not attested.

92. Genitive Singular. All O.-U. forms rest ultimately on IE forms with ending *-s*; there are no traces of the ending *-ī* seen in L. *virī*, or of *-osyo* seen in *ἵπποιο*, Skt. *aśvasya*. The *-s* is rhotacized to *-r* in Tables V, VI, and VII (**57 e**), but forms without final consonant occur sporadically in both the earlier and the later tables (**57 h**). In *ā*-stems the *s* is added directly to the stem: cf. L. (*pater*) *familiās* in contrast to the usual *-ae* < *-āī*. *o*-stems and consonant-stems use the ending originally peculiar to *i*-stems: **-es -er** *-er* **-e** *-e*, all from *-eis* (cf. O. *aeteis*, **sakarakleís**). The ending in **Titis** is anomalous but cannot have a different origin from that of *o*-stems in general. The ending for *i*-stems is based on the full ("normal") grade of the stem-vowel (*-ei-s*) and is inherited: cf. Skt. *agnes*, Lith. *antës*. The *u*-stem *trifor* has *-or* < proto-It. *-ous* < IE *-eu-s* or *-ou-s* (**23**). No gen. sg. forms of the fifth declension are attested.

93. Dative Singular. The history of the forms is complicated, but, with the exception of those which were originally locative, all are derived ultimately from an ending *-ei* or *-ai*,[1] which in combination with the stem-vowels *ā*, *o* produced long diphthongs.

a. In *ā*-stems the *-āi* became O. **-aí**, U. **-e** *-e* through shortening of the first element (**25 a**).

b. In *o*-stems the *-ōi* became O. **-úí**, U. **-e** *-e* through *-oi* (**25 b**): cf. OL *Numasioi* in contrast to the standard form with *-ō* derived by loss of the *i* of the long diphthong.

Stems in -(*i*)*yo*- may show contraction, especially in the later tables: **Saçi** *Sanèi*, *Fisi*, etc., and even plain *o*-stems occasionally show forms in **-i** *-i* or *-ei*: **Tefri** *Tefrei*, *fratreci*.

c. In the third declension, consonant-stems and *i*-stems alike end in O. **-eí**, U. **-e** *-e*, but the precise history of the endings is obscure. It is not necessary to assume the same origin for the ending in the two stem-types, but it is extremely probable that the development was the same in the two dialects. The forms have been explained as original locatives with the ending belonging to *i*-stems, but it is possible to refer them all to a dative ending *-ei* added to consonant-stems or to *i*-stems with full grade of the stem-vowel (thus *ocre* < **okreei* < **okreyei*, **53 b**), the ultimate result being the same for both stem-types.

d. The ending **-u** *-o* of *u*-stems is from *-ou* < *-eu* or *-ou* (**23**), originally a locative formation with the bare stem in full grade or possibly in lengthened grade *-ēu* or *-ōu*; cf. Skt. *sūnāu*, and for the Italic formation cf. L. *currū*, *cornū*, etc., in contrast to the standard *-uī* < *-(u)wei* with proper dative ending. There are no Oscan dat. sg. forms of *u*-stems.

e. The fifth declension form **ri** can be analyzed as either original dative or locative: the case-ending dat. *-ei* or loc. *-i* was added to the stem in *-ēy*, and after loss of the *y* (**53 b**) the vowels contracted.

[1] The difficulty in reconstructing the IE dat. sg. arises from the fact that forms like *Διει-* (*τρέφης*), Cypr. Gk. *ΔιϜει* (*φιλος*) etc., point to *-ei*, while *χαμαί* and the infinitives in *-αι* (e.g. *δόμεναι* point to *-ai*. Whatmough, *C.P.*, L (1955), p. 151, suggests postulating an ending *ŏi̯* as well as *-ei̯*, *-i̯*. This ending-*ŏi̯*, if I understand it correctly, would be the reduced ablaut-grade of *-ei̯* and would provide a source for the Gk. forms in *-αι*.

94. Accusative Singular Masculine and Feminine. The original ending was *-m* for all vowel-stems and its allophone *m̥* for consonant-stems. In Umbrian the same system in general prevails, but in consonant-stems the *-om* of *o*-stems has been adopted; cf. the similar Oscan forms **leginum**, *tanginom*. In *-yo*-stems the *y* becomes *i* after syncope of the *o* (**32 a**). No forms of the fifth declension are quotable. In all stem-classes the *-m* **-m** is subject to loss (**2 j**, **51 e**).

95. Nominative-accusative Neuter. From proto-IE the Italic branch inherited neuter *o*-, *i*-, *u*-, and consonant-stems, but no nom.-acc. sg. forms of *u*-stems are quotable from the dialects. The history of the *o*-stems, including *-yo*-stems, is identical with that of the accusative of masculines (**94**). Consonant-stems use the bare stem without ending; for the stem-variation in **utur**, abl. **une**, see **84**. *i*-stems use the bare stem with final *ĕ* < *ĭ* (so *uerfale*: **10 b**).

96. Ablative Singular. The ending *-d*, which in proto-IE was peculiar to *o*-stems, was extended in Italic to vowel-stems in general. The stem-vowel is

regularly long after the analogy of the *-ōd* in *o*-stems, probably with support from the *-ād* of *ā*-stems. The *-d* is regularly lost in Umbrian (**42 e**) as in classical Latin, but is found preserved in O. *toutad*, *dolud*, **slaagid**, etc. Consonant-stems use *-ĕ* < *-ĭ* (**10 b**), originally a locative ending; cf. the similar ending in L. *rege*, etc., in contrast to Oscan **tanginúd**, *ligud*, with *o*-stem ending.

97. Locative Singular. All forms can be referred to original endings *-i* or ○. *ā*-stems have **-e** *-e*, O. **aí** *-ae* < *-ā* + *i* (**25 a**), the development after contraction being identical with that of the dative. *o*-stems have **-e** *-e*, O. **-eí** *-ei*, from *-e*, the ablaut-variant of *o*, + *i*.[1] Consonant-stems have **-e** *-e* < *-i* and are thus identical with ablative forms, which have adopted the locative ending (**96**). *i*-stems have *-e*, which may be from full-grade *-ei* + *i*, through *-eyi* > *-ei*; no Oscan examples. For the *u*-stem form see **93 d**, the dative having been originally locative. Locative forms sometimes are followed by the postposition *-en* *-e*, written separately or together. In *scalsie* (consonant-stem) the *-e* prevented the change of the preceding *i* to *e*. In **manuve** the glide **v** shows that the diphthong *ou* was preserved before the **-e**, in contrast to the otherwise similar dat. *trifo* with monophthong *-o* < *-ou*. It is possible that many locative forms are actually based on contraction of the ending with the postpositive *-en* and omission of the final *n*.

[1] Greek gives evidence for both *-ei* and *-oi* (e.g the adverbs *ἐκεῖ*, *οἴκοι*), while L. *-ī* and Skt. *-e* are ambiguous, but the Umbrian forms probably agree with the Oscan, which clearly point to *-ei*. Moreover the **-i** *-i* < *-oi*, which alternates with **-e** *-e* in the spelling of dative forms of *o*-stems, is not found in the locative.

98. Vocative Singular. In IE languages generally the voc. sg., in so far as it is distinct from the nom., is regularly without case-ending, although the stem-vowel frequently shows ablaut-variation. The Tables show voc. forms of the first, second, and third declensions.

a. *ā*-stems regularly have *-a*, never *-o* as in the nom. Since there are nearly fifty examples, it is not possible to regard the voc. ending as identical in origin with the nom.; it must therefore represent *-ă* < *-ə*, the reduced grade of *-ā*, as in Homeric *νύμφα*, *τοξότα*.

b. *o*-stems have *-e*, ablaut-variant of *o*. In *-(i)yo*-stems this vowel remains uncontracted, in contrast to L. *Tullī*, etc.

c. The consonant-stem **Iupater** shows a voc. form in both members; cf. *Ζεῦ πάτερ*, L. *Iuppiter*. The **e** is short, as may be seen by comparison with nom. O. **patir**, where **i** (in place of the expected **í**) stands for *ē*, cf. *πατήρ*.

99. Nominative Plural Masculine and Feminine. Umbrian and Oscan have preserved the inherited endings based ultimately on *-es*, which contracted with

the stem-vowel in proto-IE; similarly in Sanskrit and Gothic, in contrast to *χῶραι, ἵπποι*, etc., L. *terrae, equī*, etc., which have the pronominal ending. *ā-, o-, i-*, and consonant-stem forms are attested.

a. *ā*-stems have **-as** in the older tables, *-ar* (**57 e**) in the later. Cf. Skt. *senās*, Goth. *gibos*.

b. *o*-stems have **-us** (occasionally **-u, 57 h**) < *-ōs* < *-oes* in the older tables, *-ur* in the later, including Va. Cf. Skt. *vṛkās*, Goth. *wulfos*.

c. *i*-stems have **-es** in the older tables, *-er* in the later. The IE case-ending *-es* was added to *-ei*, the full grade of the stem-vowel, giving *-eyes* > *-ees* (**53 b**) > U. *-es* **-er**, O. **ís** *-is*, L. *-ēs*.

d. Consonant-stems must originally have had *-ĕs* (cf. *φύλακ-ες, ῥήτορ-ες*, etc.) in contrast to Latin, where the ending *-ēs* of *i*-stems was adopted also by consonant-stems. O.-U. *-es* lost the *e* by syncope: O. **humuns**, O. *μεδδειξ*, **meddíss**. The Umbrian examples all belong to *r*-stems and show not only syncope but subsequent loss of the *r* with some evidence of compensatory lengthening (**59 f**).

100. Genitive Plural. The original ending was *-ōm*,[1] or a combination containing it, for all stem-classes. Italic dialect forms are attested in the first, second, and third declensions.

a. *ā*-stems have *-arum* **-aru**: O. *-azum* **-asúm**, L. *-ārum*, Epic Gk. *-ᾱ́ων*, all from *-āsōm* borrowed from pronouns. The *-um* (not *-om*) of *pracatarum* is commonly taken as evidence that the original vowel-length of the ending is preserved in this and other gen. pl. forms (**27 b**).

b. *o*-stems, including *-yo*-stems, have **-u** *-o*, **-iu** *-io* from *-ōm, -yōm* with loss of *-m*: O. **-úm** *-om*, **-ium**, L. *-um* in archaic *virum*, etc. Standard L. *-ōrum*, modeled after *-ārum* of *ā*-stems, has no parallel in the dialects.

c. Consonant-stems have **-um -u** *-om -o*, *i*-stems *-io*, all formed by addition of the ending *-ōm* to the stem as in Oscan and Latin.

[1] With some evidence of an ablaut-variant *-ēm* in Gothic.

101. Dative-Ablative Plural. There are two endings, one for the first and second, the other for the third and fourth declensions, as in Latin. No fifth-declension forms are quotable.

a. *ā*-stems have **-es, -er** *-er*: O. **-aís -ais** *-ais*, L. *-īs*, with early *-eis -es*, all from *-ais* in imitation of **-ois*, the ending for *o*-stems, or perhaps rather from *āis* in imitation of *-ōis*, the earlier form of the *o*-stem ending (**25 a**).

b. *o*-stems have **-es, -er -e** *-ir -eir -er*, once *-i*: O. **-úís** *-ois*, L. *-īs* with early

-eis -es -oes, all from *-ois* < *-ōis* (**25 b**), an ending originally instrumental: cf. Skt. *-āis*.

c. *i*-stems have **-is -es** *-is*, once *-eis* (*aueis*): O. **-ifs -íss**, L. *-ibus*, all from *-i* + *-fos* < *-bhos* with O.-U. syncope of the vowel in the final syllable. O. **luisarifs**, the sole form with *f* preserved, gives evidence of the survival of the *bhos*-ending in the Italic dialects, and the analysis commonly given receives support, where the Umbrian forms are concerned, through the failure of the *-s* to suffer rhotacism (**57 e**) or to be omitted in writing.[1]

d. Consonant-stems have **-us** *-us* adopted from *u*-stems, in contrast to both Oscan **-is** *-is* and L. *-ibus* adopted from *i*-stems.

e. *u*-stems have **-us** < *-u* + *-fos* with derivation as in **c** above.

[1] **sevakne** abl. pl. IV 9 is not a normal case of omission of final **-s** but the result of lack of space at the end of the line.

102. Accusative Plural Masculine and Feminine. The IE ending was *-ns* for vowel-stems or its allophone *-n̥s* for consonants-stems. Umbrian forms are quotable in all declensions, if we count **kastruvuf**, neuter *u*-stem with ending as explained in **103** below.

a. *ā*-stems have **-af -a** *-af -a* (**58 b**) : O. *-ass -as*, L. *-ās*. Skt. *-ās*, Goth. *-os* reflect an early loss of *n* in the ending *-āns*, but the O.-U. forms require the assumption of an *-ns* in proto-Italic. The *-ns* may have been adopted from *o*-stems, where *n* was not subject to early loss after the short *o*, or it may represent an inherited variant *-ans* with shortening of *ā* and preservation of *n*.

b. *o*-stems have **-uf -u** *-uf -u -o* (**58 b**; on the vowel-length indicated by *-u* see **26 e**; on **turup** see **2 k**) : O. **-úss**, L. *-ōs*, Cretan *-ovς*, Goth. *-ans*, all from *-ons* with compensatory lengthening in Latin after loss of *n*.

c. *i*-stems have **-if -i -ef -e** *-if -i -eif* (**58 b**): Oscan not attested, Latin *-īs* (the rival form *-ēs* being taken from consonant-stems). These endings are from *-ins*, with resulting long vowel inferred from spelling *-eif* (usually, though not always, an indication of length) and from the parallel development *-ons* > *-ōf* > *-uf*.

d. Consonant-stems have **-f** *-f* or ○, with loss of *d* before *f* in **vapef** (cf. L. *lapid-es*), *capif* (cf. L. *capid-es*), of *g* before *-f* in *frif* (cf. L. *fruges*), of *f* < *dh* in *uef* (see Lexicon). The absence of a vowel before *-f* in these forms and in O. **malaks**,[1] **usurs**[1] is difficult to explain. It could not have been the result of syncope, since proto-Ital. *-ens* < IE *-n̥s* should have lengthened its *e* (cf. the treatment of *-ons*, *-ins* in **b**, **c** above[2]. It is possible, however, that the nom. pl., where the *ĕ* in *-es* was syncopated, may have exerted an analogical influence which could be expressed by the proportion ***vitlas**: **vitlaf** = * **vitlus**: **vitluf** = **puntes**: ***puntef** = ***vapes**: *uapef*.

e. The diphthongal stem **buf** *buf* is readily explained as from *bō* (cf. Dor. *βως* with monophthongization of the long diphthong in **g^{w}ōu-*) + *-ns*. Similarly **sif** *sif si* from the long-vowel stem *sū-* (*i* < *ū* by **15 a**).

f. On the *u*-stem **kastruvuf** see **103 a** below.

[1] We might expect **-ss** as in the *o*-stem forms **feihúss**, etc., with **-úss** < *-ons*, but the two consonant-stems here cited occur on the Curse of Vibia (Co. 130), where gemination is never expressed in writing.

[2] It is altogether unlikely that *-ōns -īns* were inherited directly from proto-IE; the evidence of Cretan *ἐλευθερονς*, Goth. *wulfans*, etc., is against such an assumption.

103. Nominative-Accusative Plural Neuter. *o-*, *i-*, *u-*, and consonant-stems are quotable. The ending is, in part, **-a** *-ā* **-u** *-o*: O. **-ú** *-o*, L. *-a*, all from original *-ā*. The forms in **-u** (O. **-ú**) *-o* are evidence that the vowel-length was preserved in the dialects in contrast to Latin, where *ā* is shortened to *-ă* (cf. the similar treatment of *-ā* in nom. sg. of *ā*-stems).

a. But in Umbrian, without parallel in Oscan, some neuter forms were altered by the addition of nom. pl. *-r*, acc. **-f** to the neuter endings in *-o* **-u**. Nom.: *o*-stems: *totcor, screihtor, arsmor, dersecor, subator*; consonant-stems: *uasor, tuderor*. Acc.: *o*-stem: **veruf**: *u*-stem: **kastruvuf**. The classification of these forms as neuter, despite their endings, depends in part on the coexistence of such unmistakably neuter forms as **krematra**, acc. sg. *tuder*.

D. Numerals

104. The remains of the Italic dialects are not extensive enough to allow more than a fragmentary account of even the cardinal and ordinal numerals. Yet the stems of the numerals from 1 through 6, and also of 9 and 10, are all represented in the Iguvine Tables in one form or another, and the numerals for 2 and 3 show several different inflectional forms.

a. The numerical symbols IIII, V, VI, VII, X, XV occur in Table Vb 8-18 (Latin alphabet), CCC in VIIb 4 (Latin alphabet); XII in IIb 2 (native alphabet).

b. The form-classes in which numeral stems occur are: cardinals, ordinals, distributives, multiplicative adverbs, compounds of several types with numeral stems as first member, and miscellaneous noun and adjective formations.

105. The numerals and their various derivatives are treated in numerical order in the following paragraphs.

a. 1. The cardinal is **unu**, acc. sg. IIa 6, 8, <**oinom*: L. *ūnum*, OL *oino*, *οἰνή* 'one on dice,' Goth. *ains*. The ordinal is **prumum** *promom* acc. sg. with adverbial value: cf. *πρόμος* 'chief.'[1] The multiplicative adverb is **sumel** 'once': cf. L. *simul, semel,* and **28 b.**

b. 2. The vestigial dual form represented by L. *duo* has been replaced in Umbrian by a nom. pl. form *dur*, acc. **tuf**, acc. neut. **tuva**, dat.-abl. *duir* **tuves**. The nom. *dur* < **duwōs* resulted from vowel-contraction after the *ō* had been raised in the direction of *ū* (**33 c**). On *u* and **uv** see **2 h**. The ordinal is *etru*, **etre**, etc., with normal *-o/ā*-stem inflection, from **e-tero-* (stem **109 c**, suffix **76 c**), its ordinal use being precisely similar to that of L. *alter*. The adverb *duti* 'for the second time' is apparently an analogical formation after *tertim*. *dupla* acc. pl. f., **tupler** abl. pl. m. are identical in formation with L. *duplus* but are used with the distributive value of L. *binas*, *-is*. **tuplak** acc. sg. neut. '(two-pronged) fork'(?) is similar to L. *duplex*. *du-* appears as first member of the compound *dupursus* (**88**). The compound *difue* acc. sg. (**88**) has as first member *di-* < *dwi*: *διφυής*, cf. L. *bi-fidus*, Skt. *dvi-jas*.

c. 3. The cardinal is *trif* **tref** acc. pl. m.-f., **triia** acc. neut., **tris** abl., with stem *tri/trei-* and regular *i*-stem inflection (**58 b**, **102 c**, **103**). The ordinal is **tertie** dat. sg., *tertiam-e* acc. sg. f., etc., with regular *o/ā*-stem inflection: L. *tertius*. **tripler** abl. pl. is precisely similar in formation to *dupla*, **tupler** (**b** above). The multiplicative adverb *trioper* **triuper** 'three times' is formed by the addition of *-per* < *-pert* to the neut. pl. **triyā*: cf. O. *petiropert*, L. *semper* for suffix. For the compound *tribrisine* see **88** and Lexicon.

d. 4. This numeral appears as first member of the compound *peturpursus*[2]: cf. *du-pursus* in **b** above, and for the form of the stem cf. Skt. *catur-*; for *p* < *k*^{w} (L. *quattuor*, etc.) see **49 a**.

e. 5. The cardinal, which is not attested in any dialect of the Oscan-Umbrian group, was apparently O.-U. **pompe* < **penk*^{w}*e* with *o* < *e* (**8 g**): *πέντε*, Aeol. *πέμπε*, Skt. *pañca*, L. *quinque* with initial *qu* < *p*.[3] **puntes** nom. pl., **puntis** abl. pl., 'pentads, groups of five,' is a *-ti*-stem noun (**77 b** and for phonology **49 d** with n. 2). **pumpeřias** nom. pl. IIb 2 is of uncertain formation and meaning (for discussion see introductory note on IIb), but is undoubtedly a derivative of the numeral for 'five'.

f. 6. The only form is **sestentasiaru** gen. pl. f. 'bi-monthly' from **seksto-* (: L. ordinal *sextus*) + *-ent-āsio/ā*, the *-ent-* in contrast to L. *sextantarius* being possibly the result of analogy with an *e*-form corresponding to L. *trientarius*; see **61 d**, **68 d**.

g. 9. **nuvis** 'nine times' is apparently made from **now-* (cf. L. *novem*, *novie(n)s*) with *-is* after **dwis*, **tris*.[4] **nuvime** 'for the ninth time' is an adverb in *-ē(d)* from an ordinal stem **nowimo-* like L. *septimus*, *decimus*, according to the usual view, but see on IIa 26. The proper name *Noniar* gen. sg. VIa 14 may belong to the root of the numeral 'nine'.

h. 10. There are two derivatives of the numeral 'ten.' **tekvias** nom. pl. IIb 1, signifying originally tenths of the population, is an *-iyā*-stem derivative

of **dekw-*, which may be assumed as an ordinal stem built after the analogy of some form corresponding to L. *octāvus*, *ὄγδοϝος*. **tekuries** *dequrier* abl. pl. 'of the *decuviae*' is an adjective in *-uryo-*, a suffix derived by reanalysis of ** k^{w}etur-yo-*, in which **k^{w}etur-* is an ablaut-variant of **k^{w}etwer-o-* 'four'.[5]

i. 12. *desenduf* acc. pl. occurs in VIIb 2; from **dekm̥-duwo* remodeled with pl. *-f* < *-ns* in place of dual ending (see **b** above).

[1] L. *prīmus* is from **pri-is-mos*: Pael. *prismu*.

[2] Possibly also in the proper name **Petrunia**: L. *Petronius*, cf. *Pomponius*, if from the numeral '5', the Latin forms being necessarily dialectal (*p* < k^{w}) if these etymologies are admitted. Oscan forms include *petora* 'four', and the more recently discovered form **pettiur** on an inscription from Samnium (Pi. 35 D = Vet. 141 = Bott. 5 b).

[3] Since the assimilatory change which produced L. *quinque* < **penk^{w}e* was very early, having affected Celtic as well as Latin, we must assume that the proto-Italic form was **k^{w}enk^{w}e*, whence O.-U. **pompe* with both stops reconverted to *p* (**49 a**).

[4] Not like L. *noviens*, since *-ns* would become *f* by **58 b**.

[5] For the etymology and interpretation of these numeral derivatives, which have been much debated, I follow Devoto, *Atti del reale istituto veneto*, LXXXIX (1929-30), pp. 927-36.

E. Pronouns

106. For our purposes, the pronouns may be divided into personal, including the possessive pronominal adjectives; demonstrative; and interrogative, indefinite and relative. As in Latin, the personal pronouns show no distinction of gender, the interrogative-indefinite has distinct neuter forms in the nominative and accusative, while the remaining pronouns show the gender of the substantives to which they refer. Several of the pronouns in oblique cases are capable of being used with adverbial or conjunctional value, and the line of demarcation between such uses and the true pronominal uses is not always clear. For this reason and in order to fill gaps in the paradigms several of these adverbial forms are included in the table and discussion.

a. Case-endings are for the most part the same as in *-o/ā-*stem adjectives. Final *s* is rhotacized in the later tables and also before enclitics beginning with vowels (e.g. nom. pl. m. *eur-ont* < **eyōs-hont*). Nom.-acc. neut. forms were made with the ending *-d* (cf. O. *id-ic*, L. *id*, Skt. *tad*, etc.) with loss by **42 e** in **este** and **ř** *rs* < *d* (**42 b**) in **eřek** *erse*, **piře** *pirse*, etc. On the ending in *esmei* see **109 c**.

The following enclitics are attached to certain pronominal forms:

b. **-k** *-c* (cf. L. *hi-c*, *hun-c*, *tun-c*, *illi-c*, etc.) in abl. sg. **eruk**, f. **erak**, etc. The nom. sg. m. **erek** *erec* and nom.-acc. neut. **eřek** contain an enclitic combination from *-ik* (cf. O. *izic*, *idic*). Many forms not showing **-k** *-c* probably had it and subsequently lost it (**62 a**; observe also **ere** *ere* beside **erek** *erec*). **-k** *-c* should not be confused with the postposition **-ku(m)** *-co(m)*, which does not lose its vowel.

c. **-hunt** *-hont* after vowels, **-unt** *-ont* after consonants, in the pronoun of

identity *erihont*, and also in the adverb **isunt**. This enclitic is in origin probably an acc. sg. **hom* cognate with L. *hi-c hun-c*, etc., further extended by means of *-t* (cf. **per-t**). On the abl. sg. f. *erafont* with *f* in place of the normal *h* see **48 b**.

d. **-i** *-i* **-e** *-e -ei* in many forms of the interrogative and relative pronouns and related conjunctions: *poi poe poei*, **puře** *porse*, **pisi** *pisi*, **piře** *pirse, puri, pafe, pifi*. *ī* (cf. *οὗτοσ-ῑ́-*) must be assumed in order to account for the forms written with **-i** *-i*, since final *ĭ* normally became *ĕ* (**10 b**). The relation between this enclitic and the *i* of *erihont* is uncertain; it is not possible to bring it into connection with the second vowel of **erek** *erec*, O. **ídík**, without assuming a variant *-ĭ-* as a possible basis for the vocalism of these forms.

107. The extant forms of personal pronouns, including the reflexive, are:

a. First person. Dat. sg. *mehe*, from **meghei*: L. *mihi* with vowel weakening *e* > *i* in first syllable because of unaccented use, and (for the most part) iambic shortening in second syllable. Cf. also Skt. *mahyam* < **meghi* + enclitic particle *-am*.

b. Second person. Dat. sg. **tefe** *tefe*, from **tebhei*: O. **tfei**, L. *tibi* with vocalism as in *mihi* above. Cf. also Skt. *tubhyam* with formation as in *mahyam* above. Acc. sg. **tiu** *tiom tio teio*, from *te* + *om* of doubtful explanation; possibly adopted from acc. sg. of *o*-stems, or possibly enclitic as in Skt. nom. sg. *tvam*, dat. *tubhyam*, etc. Cf. also O. nom. (!) sg. **tiium**.

c. Third person reflexive. Dat. sg. *seso*, generally analyzed as from **s(w)oi* (: *oĭ*) + *-so*, an enclitic of unknown origin[1].

[1] The final syllable in **svesu** Ib 45, IIa 44, *sueso* VIIb 1, all loc. sg. of the pronominal adj. equivalent to L. *suus*, must be of the same origin. The most natural supposition is that it is itself a form of some pronoun used with intensive value, a single grammatical case being used in all situations, with the first member alone inflected, as in early L. *eāpse, eumpse, eōpse, eaepse*, etc. Our forms may be explained on the basis of an original acc. sg. if we admit loss of *-m* in the dat. sg. pronoun *seso* (VIb 51 only) and in the three examples of the adjective **svesu** *sueso*. In any explanation it is necessary to account for the lack of rhotacism of the second *s*. If as the second element we take acc. sg. **esso(m)* **epsom* (: L. *ipsum*), we may derive *seso* from **soi essom*, with **soi* as a variant of **swoi* (Gk. *οἵ, οἱ*) and *-e* < *-oi* by **21 d**, the syllable being unaccented; or possibly the first component suffered elision before **esso(m)*. The fact that **esuf**, O. **essuf** has an extended stem **essōn* (**58 f**) is not a serious obstacle; although common to Umbrian and Oscan it is probably of relatively recent origin, while the simpler **esso-* may have been used in the combinations here under discussion.

108. The forms of possessive pronominal adjectives are:

a. For the second person singular. Gen. sg. *tuer touer*, abl. sg. *tua tuua*: from **towo/ā-* <**tewo/ā-* (**23**): Hom. *τεός*, L. *tuus* (with vowel-weakening).

b. For the second person plural. Abl. sg. *uestra*: from **wes-*, ablaut-variant of **wos*, *wōs* (cf. Skt. *vas*, L. *vōs*) + *-tero-*, suffix of comparison and contrast (**29 a, 76 c**).

c. For the third person reflexive. Loc. sg. **svesu** *sueso*: from *swo/ā-* (: Gk. possessive *ὅς*) + fossilized acc. sg. **esso(m)* generalized first in the reflexive pronoun and then in the pronominal adjective, according to the suggestion in **107**, n. 1.

109. The demonstrative pronouns are shown in the following table. The separate pronominal stems are discussed in the paragraphs following the table. The forms used in the paragraph headings are the same as those in the Lexicon. Forms used adverbially have been omitted, even when, as in the case of *ulo* **ulu**, they contain recognizable case-endings.

	erec **erek**	*erihont*	*esmei*	*este*, **estu**	*esu*	**esuf**	*orer* **ures**
Sg. Nom.	**erek ere** *erec ere*	*erihont eront*				**esuf**	
Gen.	*erer irer erar*	**erarunt**					*orer* **ures**
Dat.			**esmik** *esmei*				
Acc.	*eam*			**estu**			
N.-A. Neut.	**eřek** *erse*			**este** *este*			
Abl.	**eruk erak eru-ku** *eru-com*	**eruhu erahunt** *erafont*			*esu essu* **esu-ku** *(eh)esu esa*		
Loc.			*esme*				
Pl. Nom.		*euront*					
Gen.	**eru** *erom ero*				**esumek** *esome*		
Dat.-Abl.		**ererunt** *eriront*			*esir isir esis-co*		
Acc.	**eaf** *eaf*			**estu** *esto*			
N.-A. Neut.	**eu** *eo*						

a. The anaphoric **erek** *erec*: O. *izic*, cf. L. *is*, *ea*, *id*. A comparison of the O.-U. and Latin forms shows that originally the nom. sg. m. and nom.-acc. sg. neut. had *i-*, the other cases *ey-*; the *e-* < *ey-* in the Umbrian forms seems to have spread through the whole paradigm by analogical levelling. The Umbrian **r** *r*, Oscan **s** *z* in gen., abl., and (O.) loc. forms was generalized in these cases through reanalysis of forms where the case-ending contained *s*, thereby producing a stem U. *ero/ā-* < **eiso/ā-*. The most probable source of the *s* was the pronominal gen. pl. ending *-sōm*: cf. Skt. *teṣām*, f. *tāsām*, etc. The enclitic **-ek** *-ec* is used in nom. and acc. sg. and gen. sg. **ererek**, and **-k** in abl. sg.

b. The pronoun *erihont* 'the same.' The first part is the same as in *erec* but without the enclitic *-ec -e*: cf. L. *is* and the first part of *īdem*, O. **ísídum**. On the vocalism see **a** above; on the *i* of *erihont* see **106 d**. On the enclitics **-(h)unt** *-(h)ont*, *-font* see **106 c**, **48 b**.

c. The pronoun represented by dat. sg. **esmik** *esmei*, loc. *esme*, 'this.' These forms are from the IE demonstrative stem **e-* which appears also in **etantu** (cf. L. *tanta*), *etru* (**105 b**), L. *e-quidem*, *ἐ-κεῖ*, *ἐ-κεῖνος*, and probably also in the Greek verbal augment. These forms are cognate, as regards both stem and case-ending, with Skt. *asmai*. For **-k** in **esmik** see **106 b**.

d. The pronoun *este*, **estu**, etc. 'this', with reference sometimes to that which has just been mentioned (e.g. VIa 15, b 62, 63, VIIa 51), sometimes to that which is newly introduced (e.g. IIb 23, 24). Although *este* has not the special nuance of association with the second person, it is generally regarded as related to L. *iste*; yet the etymology of both is uncertain. The first part may be the stem *e-* of **c** above, altered in Latin to *i* after *is*, *id*; the *s* is of uncertain source but may be connected with the *s* in *esmei* **esmik**; the second part is probably the same stem as in Skt. *tad*, *tasya*, the Greek article *τό*, *τοῦ*, etc. Among the inflectional forms acc. sg. neut. *este* (in contrast to L. *istud*) probably has *-e* < *-id* by analogy with **id*, **pid* reflected in **eř-ek**, **piř-e**.

e. The pronoun *esu*, etc., 'this', and the derived adverb *eso*, etc., 'thus'. The Umbrian forms have *s* throughout, *ss* in abl. sg. *essu* and adv. *issoc*. Like O. **eksuk**, *exac*, etc., they have the same semantic value as L. *hic*, *haec*, but the Oscan forms have **ks** *x* (= U. *s*[*s*]) in dat., abl., loc., **k** in nom. and acc. The initial *e* is probably the pronominal stem discussed in **c** above. The next part may be from **ke-*: cf. L. *ec-ce*, *huius-ce*, etc., perhaps also *cis*, *citra*. The origin of the *s* is uncertain but its distribution in the Oscan paradigm is parallel to that of *s* in O. *izic*, U. *erec*, and it may be from the same source (see **a** above). The derivation then may be from **ekso-* < **e-ke-s-o-*, the medial vowel being necessary because otherwise *-ks-* would give O. *-ss-*. For addition of the enclitics *-c* **-k**, **-ek** see Lexicon under *eso* and *esu*.

f. The pronoun **esuf**: O. **essuf** *esuf* 'he, he himself', the intensive meaning being clearest in the Oscan Tabula Bantina (Co. 28), line 19. The etymology is

as uncertain as that of L. *ipse*, to which it is commonly assumed to be related. The **-uf** appears to be from *-ōns*, the nom. sg. ending *-s* being added to a stem extended by means of *-ōn*, as in Latin agent-nouns *praedo*, etc. (for *-f* < *-ns* see **58 f**).

g. The adverb *ulo* **ulu** 'there, to that place: cf. O. gen. sg. f. **ulas**, L. *ōlim*. The vowels of both syllables are probably from *ō* (on the development of *ō* in Umbrian see **13**; on the ending see **113 c**).

h. The pronoun *orer* **ures**, etc. The use is mostly equivalent to that of L. *hic* 'this,' but in Ib 18 = VIb 55 it has rather the value of the anaphoric pronoun L. *eō* '(with) him.' There are no cognate forms in Oscan and the etymology is wholly uncertain, since the initial vowel may be from *ŏ*, *ō*, *oi*, or an *u*-diphthong, and the *r* may be original or from *s*.

i. The adverbs *enem* **ene** *eno* **enu enumek**, etc., 'then, next, after that'. All these forms are related to O. **ínim** 'and,' L. *enim*, Skt. instr. sg. *anena*, Russ. *on*, *ona*, *ono* 'he, she, it,' the various Italic meanings being derived ultimately from a demonstrative value similar to that of L. *ille*. If L. *nam*, *nempe* are also related, as seems likely, the initial vowel must be of separate origin and is probably the same as *e-* in **c** above, but O. **í-** can only be from *ĭ* or *ē*, not from *ĕ*. It may be possible to reconcile the various cognate forms by assuming several ablaut-variants, but no explanation is certain.

j. The stem *so-* found in *seso* (**107 c**, with n. 1), O. **sífeí**, L. *sibi*, etc., possibly but not certainly related to **so*, **sā*, Skt. *sa*, *sā*, *ó*, *ἥ*. Here belongs probably *surur* < **sō-sō-s* (?), *suront*, *sururont*. From **swo-*, a variant of *so-*, comes *sue* **sve** as well as the pronominal adjective *sueso* (**108 c**).

k. The stem *to/ā-*: *τόν*, *τήν*, *τό*, etc., Skt. *tam*, *tām*, *tad*, Goth. *þata*, etc. This stem is found in the second part of the adjective **etantu** (: L. *tanta*) from **e-tām-tā*. For the **e** see **c** above. The origin of the final syllable is uncertain.

110. Interrogative, Indefinite, and Relative Pronouns. All forms are derived from a group of stems with initial k^w, which in Umbrian and Oscan became *p*, but in Latin remained as *qu* (**49 a**). The stem k^wi- (O.-U. *pi-*) in the Italic languages was partly specialized for interrogative-indefinite use, the stem $k^wo/ā$- (O.-U. *po/ā-*) for relative use, but there are no Umbrian examples of the interrogative use (interr. **pis** once in Oscan, in no. 164 Co.). The acc. pl. form *pifi* as relative with definite antecedent occurs in VIIb 2. The stem k^wu-, which might have been expected to appear as *cu-* **ku** (**49 e**) regularly appears as *pu*, apparently through the analogical influence of related forms. In addition to the pronouns a variety of adverbs and conjunctions are derived from the stems *pi-*, *po/ā-*, *pu-*, and it is not always easy to distinguish these uses from true pronominal uses.

		Forms with Stem *pi-* Masc.-Fem.	Neuter	Forms with Stem *po/a* Masc.	Fem.	Neuter
Sg.	Nom.	*pis* **pis** *-pir pisi*	*pirse* **piře peře**	*poi poei porse porsei*	*(sue) po* **(sve) pu**	**puře**
	Gen.					
	Dat.			**pusme**		
	Acc.					
	Abl.				*pora*	
	Loc.					
Pl.	Nom.			*puri* **pure**		*porsi*
	Gen.					
	Dat.-Abl.					
	Acc.	*pifi*			*pafe*	*porse*

a. The enclitic **-i** *-i* **-e** *-e* is extensively used in both the indefinite and the relative pronouns (see **106 d**). The *-s* of nominative case-endings is partly rhotacized before the enclitic (**57 c**), but *pisi* preserves its *s* through the influence of *pis*. On the other hand *pir* (in *sopir*) with *r* from final *s* occurs in VIb 54.

b. In addition to the forms described in **a** above, the following combinations of *pis* occur: **svepis, svepu** *suepo* < **swai* $k^wā$, cf. L. *si qua*; *pisher* like L. *quilibet* 'anyone at all,' the second part being probably from **herit* 'wishes' with enclitic use causing syncope of *i* and loss of *t*; *pisest* 'whoever is,' with enclitic use of *est*; **pisi pumpe** 'whoever' (**112 e, 113 l**).

c. The forms *porse, porsi, porsei,* **puře** may contain an enclitic from *-dī* (**42 b**) arising through reanalysis of such forms as nom.-acc. sg. neut. *k^wod-ī, abl. *$k^wōd$-ī. The nom. sg. m. forms may then be from *k^woi- *dī* (*o* **u** for $ō$ < *oi*, **21 a**) and the nom.-acc. pl. neut. forms from *$k^wā$-*dī* with *o* < $ā$ either by normal development (**7 b, c**) or analogically. The nom. pl. m. forms are more difficult; since *d* would not change to *rs* after a consonant, the *rs* must be analogical (**42 c**), unless the loss of *s* in the nom. pl. ending occurred sufficiently early to leave *$pō$-$dī$.[1]

d. Dat. sg. **pusme** corresponds closely to Skt. *kasmai*. For the ending cf. *esmei* **109 c.**

e. Abl. sg. f. *pora* is from **k^{w}oisād* (: O. *poizad*) with *o* < *oi* (**21 a**) and *r* < *s* as in the oblique cases of *erec* (**106 a**).

[1] The analysis of the forms in this paragraph is based for the most part on von Planta, II, p. 228. Buck, § 199 f., explains these forms as examples of an indeclinable relative identical in formation with the conjunction **puře** 'when' in IIa 26. Such a use would have a parallel in Modern Greek *ποῦ* 'who, whom', but von Planta's explanation has the advantage of conforming to normal use of cases, even though the phonological details are somewhat troublesome.

111. The following forms not included in the table in **110** are derived from the interrogative-indefinite or the relative stem:

a. panta nom. sg. f. Vb 2, acc. Vb 3 'how great': L. *quanta*; analogous in formation to **etantu (109 k)**, but without the initial **e-.**

b. putrespe, gen. sg. IV 14 'of each'; from **k^{w}o-tereis-k^{w}e*: cf. *seipodruhpei*, L. *utriusque*, *πότερος*. For *-tero-*, the suffix of contrast, see **76 c**; for **-pe**: L. *-que*, *τε*, see **113 l.**

F. Indeclinables

112. Indeclinables include adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions. They are derived occasionally from nouns, much more frequently from adjectives, numerals, or pronouns, sometimes from other indeclinables, and very rarely from verbs (e.g. *heri*, conj. 'or,' from pres. ind. second (?) sg. of verb *her*, *herti*, etc., 'wish'). A considerable proportion of indeclinable forms, especially of the adverbs, have clearly recognizable case-endings, and if their forms are identical with those of stems actually declinable, it is not always possible to distinguish between adverbs and oblique cases of adjectives and pronouns; so, for example, *pirse* as neut. of pronoun *pis* and as conditional conjunction 'if.' In addition to fossilized case-endings several suffixes not belonging to the declensional system of the language are used, and a number of enclitics used in the formation of pronouns recur among the indeclinables.

The following classification is based on the stem-types from which the indeclinables are derived. Since a clear division of categories is not always possible and the arrangement is sometimes arbitrary, cross-references are freely used; but for etymological details it is necessary to consult the Lexicon.

a. The following adverbs are derived from adjectives, including perfect passive participles but excluding numerals, whose derivatives are listed in **b** below: **preve, prufe, rehte**, *sarsite*, *sepse*, *trahuorfi*, *nesimei*. These forms are in general adverbs of manner, except *nesimei* and *trahuorfi*, whose value is local. **nuvime**

also belongs in the present paragraph, if derived from the superlative of **nowo-*; see on IIa 26.

b. The following adverbs are derived from numeral stems: *duti* (see **105 b**), *trioper* (**105 c**), **nuvis**. For *promom*, which serves as the ordinal 'first', see **113 a.**

c. The following adverbs are derived from local prepositions, or from declinable adjectives derived from prepositions by means of suffixes of comparison: **apehtre** (cf. L. adj. *exterus*), *perne*, *postne*, *postro*, *superne*, **subra**, **çive**, **çimu** (cf. L. prepos. *cis*).

d. The following adverbs of time, place, and manner are derived from the stems of demonstrative pronouns and are in certain instances scarcely distinguishable in use from oblique cases of the pronouns themselves: from **i-*, stem of the anaphoric *erec* (**109 a**): *ife*, **itek**. From **esso-*, stem of the demonstrative *esu*, etc. (**109 e**): *eso*, **esuk**, *isec*, **isunt**. From a pronominal stem represented in Oscan by gen. sg. fem. **ulas** and in Latin by *olle*, adv. *ōlim* (**109 g**): *ulo*. From a pronominal stem **eno-* represented by Skt. instr. sg. *anena*, etc. (**109 i**): *enem*, *eno*, **enumek**, etc. From a pronominal stem **so-* represented by *ὁ*, *ἡ*, Skt. *sa*, *sā* (**109 j**): *surur*, *suront*, *sururont*, and also the conjunction *sue*.

e. The following local, temporal, conditional, and final conjunctions are derived from the stems of interrogative-indefinite and relative pronouns: from *pam-* (: L. *quam*): *pane* < **k^{w}ām-de*, *prepa* < **prai-k^{w}ām*. From *po-*, *pu-* < **k^{w}o-*, **ku* (see **49 e**), with various case-endings or other suffixes: *pue*, *pufe*, *pone ponne* **pune**, **pumpe**, **puře**, *pusi* **puze**, From *pi-* < **k^{w}i-*: *perse* **peře**. The stem *po-* is also contained in the adverb of direction *seipodruhpei* (**111 b**).

f. The conjunction *heri* **heris** etc. 'or' is a fossilized form, apparently 2 sg. fnd., of the verb *her*, *herti*; for the semantic development cf. L. *vel* 'or' from a iorm of *volo* 'wish' (2 sg. **welsi* ?).

g. The following indeclinables do not fall into any of the etymological groups treated in the preceding paragraphs: the negatives **nei**, *neip*; the temporal conjunctions *arnipo*, *nersa*, which contain the negative **ne*; the conjunction *nosue* < **noi-swai*, but for the *-sue* see **109 j**; the conjunction *ote* **ute**; the temporal adverb **sumel**; the conjunction *et*; the conjunction *ape* etc. < **at-k^{w}e*.

113. The following classification is based on the case-endings, enclitics, or other elements attached as suffixes to the stems used in the formation of adverbs and conjunctions.

a. The following adverbs and conjunctions are in origin accusative singular forms, the adverbial use being derived in part through use of the accusative to express the inner object or effect of the action of the verb: *promom*, *duti* < **dutim* < **du-tyo-m*, *tertim* **terti**; the temporal conjunctions *pone ponne* **pune** < **k^{w}om-de*, *pane* < **k^{w}ām-de*, *nersa* if from **ne-dām*, cf. L. *quondam*.

b. A neut. acc. pl. ending is found in the multiplicative adverb *trioper* **triiuper** < **triyā-per(t)* (**105 c**).

c. The following adverbs are based on *-ōd*, the abl. sg. ending of *o*-stems, the adverbial use being developed largely through the instrumental value of the ablative case:[1] *tertio* **tertiu, çimu, eruk**, *eso* etc. 'thus,' *ulo* **ulu**, *surur, seipodruhpei*. The same formation appears perhaps also in *postro* VIIa 43, 44 = **pustru** Ib 34, 36, taken by Buck, § **190.** 6 *a* rather as derived from a predicative use of the neut. pl. like that of **pustra** IIa 32, **pustru** b 19, etc. The question cannot be conclusively answered, but an adverb of direction from a neut. pl. form is by no means a usual or inherently probable formation; in IIa 32, b 19, VIb 5, VIIa 8 **pustra**, **pustru**, *postro* is in predicative agreement. The conjunction *pue* 'where', if from **k^{w}ō-ī*, must have received the enclitic *-ī* after loss of the ablatival *-d*.

d. The following adverbs are based on *-ēd*, in origin an ablaut-variant to the *-ōd* of **c** above, and are thus analogous to L. *longē*, OL *facilumed*, O. *amprufid*, etc.: **preve**, **prufe**, **rehte**, *sepse*, *sarsite*, *trahuorfi*, *nesimei*, **nuvime**; similarly **apehtre**, unless with a suffix from *-im* (cf. L. *illim*), which is preferred by von Planta, II, pp. 190, 194, 454, not only for this form but for several others as well. **çive** probably originated not as an abl. but as a loc. form (see on IIb 11).

e. The following adverbs are based on *-ād*, the abl. sg. ending of *ā*-stems: *hondra* **huntra** < **ghom-terād*, **subra**: L. *suprā*.

f. The locatival suffix *-fe* < **dhe* appears in *ife*: L. *ibi*,[2] Skt. *iha*, Prakrit *idha*; *pufe*: L. *ubi*. Here must also be included *ifont* < **i-f-(e)-hont*.

g. The enclitic *-ī* (**106 d**) is used in the local conjunction *pue* < **k^{w}ō-ī*, the conditional conjunction *perse* < **k^{w}id-ī* and the temporal conjunction **puře** < *k^{w}od-ī*.

h. The enclitic **-k** *-c* (**106 b**) is used in the adverbial forms **eruk**, **itek**, **esuk**, *isec*, **enuk**, **enumek.**

i. The enclitic *-(h)ont* used in pronouns of identity (**106 c**) is found also in the adverbs *ifont* (see **f** above), **isunt**, *suront*, *sururont*.

j. An enclitic *-ne* appears in the adverbs *perne*, *postne*, *superne*: L. *supernĕ*. The origin of the enclitic and the quantity of its *e* are uncertain, but it may be related in some way to the demonstrative stem found in L. *nam*, *nempe*, etc. (**109 i**).

k. A group of enclitics *-de*, *-dō*, *-dām* related to L. *dum*, *donec*, etc., appears in the temporal conjunctions *pane* < **k^{w}ām-de*, *pone* < **k^{w}om-de*, *panupei*: L. *quandoque*, *nersa* < **ne-dām*.

l. The enclitic *-pe* < **-k^{w}e* appears in the temporal conjunction *ape* < **at-k^{w}e*: L. *atque*, and in the negative *neip* **neip** *nep* with loss of final vowel (see **31 b** and cf. L. *nec* beside *neque*). So probably in **(pisi) pumpe**, **putrespe**: L. *utriusque*; *seipodruhpei*, *panupei*; there seems to be no compelling reason for deriving the

enclitic from *-$k^{w}id$ (: Skt. -*cid*) rather than from *-$k^{w}e$ beyond the desire to equate it with the enclitic in O. **púkkapíd.** The spelling -*ei* in some of these forms may signify that the enclitic -*i* (see **g** above) was further added at the end.

m. An enclitic -*ti* is commonly assumed in the formation of *puse* **puze**, etc. < *k^{w}u-t(i)-s-i (?): cf. L. *ut, uti* and see **49 a** with note 1. The -*ti* in *posti* is doubtless of the same origin.

[1] It is, for example, from this use of the abl. that *ulo*, L. *illūc*, acquire their value as indicating direction toward a goal, the intermediate stage being the route traveled. In a formal sense, however, there is no justification for setting up a series of original instrumental as distinct from ablative forms, for the fusion of the two cases into a single Italic case with ablative -*d* took place very early; the absence of -*d* in the Umbrian forms represents a normal phonetic loss, and the distinction of forms in -*o* and -*u* has no value as evidence for originally distinct case-endings.

[2] with *b* for *d* after *ubi*, where *dh* yielded *b* instead of *d* because of the preceding *u*. For the absence of initial consonant in *ubi* see **49 a** with note 1.

G. The verb

114. General Survey. The extant monuments of the Italic dialects, being mostly prescriptive rather than narrative in content, give us an unbalanced picture of the verb system. Among tenses we have examples of the present, perfect, future, and future perfect, the last being especially frequent. Of the imperfect there are no examples except O. **fufans** '*erant*,' as if equivalent to L. **fūbant*, and there are no pluperfect forms at all; yet it is altogether probable that this tense existed in the dialects as well as in Latin.

a. The voices are the active and the passive; as in Latin the difference in form is largely one of personal endings, and there are several deponent verbs. Passive inflection, however, has spread into the perfect system in a manner not paralleled in Latin, as exemplified by such forms as pf. subj. pass. *pihafi*, **herifi**, O. **sakrafír**, *lamatir*, fut. pf. pass. U. *benuso*, *couortuso*, O. *comparascuster*.

b. The subjunctive mood is known from examples in the present and perfect tenses, with a few forms of the imperfect in Oscan and Paelignian. In the imperative mood the present is rare, but forms corresponding to the Latin future imperative are extremely frequent.

c. The forms of the non-finite verb include a present active infinitive, a perfect passive infinitive of periphrastic formation as in Latin; a supine similar to the Latin supine in -*tum*; a present active participle, a perfect passive participle, and a gerundive, these last three formations being fully analogous to those in Latin.

d. The classification of verbs into four conjugational types is applicable to Umbrian and Oscan, as to Latin, since the present stem-classes are to a large extent the same throughout the Italic group.

e. The following tables do not contain all the verbal forms in the Iguvine Tables, but are intended to show the forms which best represent the categories to which they belong. Since the four conjugations in the Italic dialects, as in Latin, are, strictly speaking, present stem classes, the use of the traditional scheme for the verb as a whole sometimes involves difficulties, and in some instances the practice followed may appear inconsistent. For example, fut. pf. *portust*, despite the absence of the characteristic *a*, has been placed in the First Conjugation along with its pres. subj. form *portaia*, but the pres. ind. pass. forms **herter herte** *herti* have been placed in the Third Conjugation, in contrast to the Fourth Conjugation forms **heris**, **heriiei**, on the theory that the presence or absence of (long) *i* in forms of the same tense marks a genuine variation of conjugational class. In the table of irregular verbs only the verbs 'be' and 'go' have been included. Although *afero* and the equivalents of L. *facio*, *capio*, and *habeo* are treated in **122 c, d, e** as irregular, their irregularities are not so extreme as to make it impracticable to include their forms under the appropriate headings in the table of regular verbs.

EXAMPLES OF REGULAR VERBS

ACTIVE FORMS

		Conjug. I	Conjug. II	Conjug. III	Conjug. IV
Pres. Ind.	sg. 1	*subocau* (?)		**sestu**	
	2				**heris**
	3		*trebeit* (or IV?) **tiçit**		
	pl. 3	*furfant* **furfaθ**			
Pres. Subj.	sg. 1	*aseriaia*			
	3	**kuraia** *portaia* **kupifiaia**	**prehabia**	*dersa* **teřa**	**façia**
	pl. 3			*dirsans* **(nei)řhabas**	
Fut. Ind.	sg. 2			**menes anpenes ferest**	**heries purtuvies fuiest staheren**
	3	**prupehast**			
Perf. Ind.	sg. 3			**fefure** (?) **usaçe** (?)	
	pl. 3		**eitipes** (?)		
Perf. Subj.	sg. 3	*combifianŝi*			**heriiei**

	Conjug. I	Conjug. II	Conjug. III	Conjug. IV
Fut. Perf. Ind. sg. 2			**apelus** **entelus** **benus**	**purtiius** **purtinçus**
3	*andirsafust* **ateřafust** *portust* *combifianšiust*		**apelust** **entelust** **benust** *dirsust* **teřust** *peperscust*	*purdinšiust* *disleralinsust*
pl. 3		*haburent*	**facurent** **benurent** *procanurent* *eiscurent* **pepurkurent** **prusikurent**	
Imv. Pres. sg. 2	*stiplo* *aserio*			
Imv. Fut. 2, 3	*combifiatu* **kumpifiatu** *naratu* *portatu* **purtatu** *stiplatu*	*carsitu* **kařetu** *habitu* **habetu** *sersitu* *tursitu* **tusetu** **upetu**	*aitu* *fertu* **fertu** *comoltu* **kumaltu** *fetu* **fetu** *ditu* **titu** **teřtu** *endendu* **ententu**	*purdouitu* **purtuvitu** **amparitu** **seritu** *stahitu*
pl. 2, 3	*etato* **etatu**	*habituto* **habetutu** *tursituto* **tusetutu**	**aituta** **fertuta** **ustentuta**	*stahituto*
Inf. Pres.			*afero* **aferum** **façiu façu** (or IV?)	
Supine	*aseriato* **anzeriatu**			
Pcpl. Pres.	[*traf*]	**kutef** *serse* **zeřef**	**restef**	

PASSIVE FORMS

	Conjug. I	Conjug. II	Conjug. III	Conjug. IV
Pres. Ind. sg. 3		*habe* (?) **habe** (?)	**herter herte** *herti*	
Pres. Subj. sg. 3 pl. 3		*tursiandu*	*ferar* **emantur** **terkantur**	
Fut. Ind. pl. 3			*ostensendi*	
Perf. Ind. sg. 3	*tuderato est* **stakaz est**		*screhto est*	
pl. 3			*screihtor sent*	
Perf. Subj. sg. 3	*pihafi*			**herifi**
Fut. Perf. Ind. sg. 3	*pihos fust*		*benuso* *couortuso*	*persnis fust* *purdito fust*
pl. 3	**çersnatur furent**			
Imv. Fut. sg. 2, 3	*spahamu* *eturstahmu*			*persnihmu* **persnimu** **amparihmu** *anouihimu*
pl. 2, 3	*arsmahamo* *caterahamo* **kateramu**			*persnimumo*
Inf. Perf.	**kuratu eru** *erom ehiato*			
Pcpl. Perf.	*conegos* **kunikaz** **kuratu** **snata** *hostatu* **çersnatur**	*tases* **taçez** *opeter* *uirseto* **vufetes**	*screhto* *comatir* **kumates** **spafu** *spefa*	*persnis* *purditom* **purtitu** *heritu*
Gerundive	*peihaner* **pelsans** *pelsana*		*anferener*	

IRREGULAR VERBS

	THE VERB 'BE'	THE VERB 'GO'
Pres. Ind. Act. sg. 3	*est* **est**	
pl. 3	*sent*	
Pres. Subj. Act. sg. 2	*sir si sei*	
3	*si se* **si se**	
pl. 3	*sins* **sis**	
Fut. Ind. Act. sg. 3	*fust fus* **fust**	*est eest*
pl. 3	**furent**	
Perf. Subj. Pass. sg. 3		*ier* (?)
Fut. Perf. Ind. Act. sg. 3		*iust*
pl. 3		*ambrefurent*
Imv. Fut. Act. sg. 2,3	*futu* **futu**	*etu eetu* **etu**
pl. 2,3	*fututo*	*etuto* **etuta etutu**
Inf. Pres. Act.	*erom* **eru**	
Pcpl. Perf. Pass.		*daetom, peretom*

115. Personal Endings. It is not possible to give a full account of the personal endings in the Italic dialects; first person plural forms, for example, are not attested, and there are no second plural forms except in the imperative. The distinction of primary and secondary endings, however, is preserved to a greater extent in the dialects than in Latin; in the third person it can be observed in both singular and plural, and it is found in the passive as well as the active voice. The primary endings are used in the present, future, and future perfect indicative and the secondary in the perfect (as well as in impf. O. **fufans**) and throughout the subjunctive.

The following table shows the personal endings actually quotable in indicative and subjunctive forms. The term "ending" is here understood in the narrowest sense and excludes such elements as the stem-vowel or the *s* of the future. The symbol ○ shows a "zero-ending" which in indicative and subjunctive forms has resulted from phonetic loss of the final consonant which constituted the ending. Endings which are found with identical spelling in both alphabets are shown in the Latin alphabet only.

For the endings of imperative forms see **127 a, b, c, d.**

a. Active first Singular. The primary *-u* < *-ō* occurs in **sestu**, *stahu* (: L. *stō*; from minor Umbrian inscription no. 355 Co.), and in *subocau subocauu*, if it is present, as seems likely, rather than perfect. On the failure of unlike vowels to contract see **33 a.** The secondary ending *-m* is attested in O. pf. **manafum**, but the *-m* has been lost in the sole Umbrian example, pres. subj. *aseriaia* (**126 a**).

b. Active Second Singular. The original distinction between primary *-si* and secondary *-s* was effaced in the Italic languages as a result of the early loss of *-i* in the primary ending. The difference which appears in the table is therefore coincidental and results merely from the distribution of quotable forms among the earlier and later tables (*-s* > *-r*, **57 e**). The form **heris** used as a conjunction in Ia 4, b 6, is in origin a 2 sg. pres. ind. verb form. In fut. and fut. pf. forms the tense-sign *s* and the ending *-s* are written as one. Pres. subj. *sir* (: L. *sīs*) shows rhotacism of the *s*, and omission of the final consonant occurs in several forms, including pres. ind. **heri**, subj. **se si** *si sei*.

c. Active Third Singular. The primary *-ti* became *t* through proto-Italic loss of the *i*, and this *t* is partly preserved, partly lost: e. g. **tiçit** but **heri**, *fust* but *fus*. A large proportion of both 2 sg. and 3 sg. forms are fut. or fut. pf. in subordinate clauses depending on principal clauses with imperatives in *-tu*. Since these imperatives are themselves ambiguous, it is not always possible to distinguish fut. and fut. pf. 2 sg. forms from 3 sg. forms with loss of *-t*, but an examination of the usage in the tables as a whole shows that in general the ritual instructions are in the second person in Tables I, II, and III, in the third person in V, VI, and VII. Table IV is poor in applicable examples, but **fakust**

PERSONAL ENDINGS

	ACTIVE		PASSIVE	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Primary	*-u*			
	-s ○			
	-t ○	*-nt* **-n** **-θ** **-ent**	**-ter** *-ti* **-te** *-tei*	*-ndi*
Secondary	○ (<*-m*)			
	-r (<*-s* **57 e**) ○			
	○(<*-d* <-t, **41 b**)	*-ns* *-s* **-es**	*-r* ○	*-ndu* **-ntur**

31 and **prupehast** 32 are third person. — The secondary ending *-t* became *-d* (**41 b**), and this *-d* was regularly lost in Umbrian, though it is preserved in Oscan and in such Old Latin forms as *sied*, which antedated the generalization of the primary *-t*.

d. Active Third Plural. Primary *-nti* became *-nt* through loss of *-i*. *-ent* **-ent** < **ŋti* is in origin a variant of *-nti* used in unthematic forms and exemplified in fut. **staheren**, fut. pf. *facurent*, etc. Final *nt* is normally preserved, but **furfaθ** Ib 1 (= *furfant* VIb 43) and **staheren** Ib 19 (before a word beginning with **t**) are exceptional. The secondary ending is *-ns*, *-ens*,[1] with frequent omission of the *n*. The origin of the ending, which is known in Oscan, Paelignian, and Volscian, but not in Latin, is difficult to explain. It cannot be a normal phonetic development of *-nt*, and any discussion of it must take account of the fact that this *-ns* escaped the usual change to *-ſ* (**58**). According to the view preferred here *-n* < *-nn* < *-nd* (**61 e**) < *-nt* was strengthened by the addition of *-s* through analogy with the 1 pl. and 2 pl. endings (cf. L. *-mus*, *-tis*).[2]

e. Passive Third Singular. The primary ending is **-ter** or **-te** *-tei* *-ti* (**8 c**, **56 c**): **herter herte** *hertei herti*. For the future perfect forms in *-so* see **g** below.

The secondary ending is *-r*, which is subject to loss (**56 c**): *ferar*, but *pihafi*, **herifi.**

f. Passive Third Plural. The primary ending is *-ndi* in *ostensendi*, the sole example; **nter* may be assumed as the original ending (**60 a**; **8 c**, **56 c**). The secondary ending is **-ntur** *-ndu*, both for **-ntur* (**60 a**, **56 c**).

g. Remarks on the Passive Endings. *r*-endings are known to have existed in Sanskrit, Armenian, the Italic and Celtic languages, Hittite, and Tocharian, primarily though not exclusively in deponent and passive forms. Since their history is complicated and requires some revision, especially as a result of the recent study of the two last-named languages, it is not intended here to give a full discussion of the origin of the Umbrian formations, but rather to emphasize those features in which they differ from the corresponding Latin forms. As in the active voice the distinction between primary and secondary endings in the third sg. and pl. is maintained in Umbrian, not lost, as in Latin. The O.-U. 3 pl. ending **-nter* is best explained as from a combination of the two IE medio-passive endings *-nto -ro*, with syncope of the medial *o* and *-er* < *-ɣ* < *-ro*, as in *per* < *pro* (**32 d**). The L. and U. secondary 3 pl. ending **-ntur* may be from *-nto-r*, though several other origins through combination of *nt-* and *r*-endings are possible. In any case the 3 sg. O.-U. *-ter* and L. *-tur* must have been derived from *-nter*, *-ntur* analogically after the correspondence between active 3 sg. *-t(i)* and 3 pl. *-nt(i)*. U. forms of the type of *ferar*, in which *-r* alone serves as the 3 sg. ending, must have resulted from simple replacement of the active ending *-d* < *-t*) by *-r*, as in Latin the 1 sg. *ferar*, *ferebar* resulted from replacement of the *-m* of active *feram*, *ferebam*. The fut. pf. pass. 3 sg. forms *benuso*, *couortuso* are the most difficult of all. Since there are only four examples, all from VIIa 64 through VIIb 2, it is fully possible that an *-r* has been lost. They would then be closely related to the *ferar*-type, and this close relationship would receive additional support from the fact that the short passive forms of the *ferar*-type, as well as *benuso* and *couortuso*, are predominantly impersonal in use. The *o*, however, remains unexplained, and the whole formation is the more obscure because of the uncertain origin of the future perfect itself.

[1] **-es** in pf. **eitipes**, the one actual Umbrian example with the secondary ending of unthematic forms. Cf. O. **uupsens**. The relation of *-ens* to *-ns* is like that of *-ent* to *-nt*.

[2] So R. G. Kent, *I.F.*, LIII (1935), pp. 41-4.

116. Present Tense Formation and Conjugational Classes. The distinction of thematic and unthematic present stems ("*ō*-verbs and *mi*-verbs"), which is the primary basis of classification in Sanskrit and Greek, has little significance in the Italic group. A few unthematic verbs survive as irregulars (e.g. L. *sum*, *volo*, *ēsse* 'to eat'), while those from roots ending in vowels have mostly become indistinguishable from vowel-stems of other types and have joined with them

to form the classes familiarly known as the first and second conjugations. Most of the inherited primary thematic verbs, including those of the reduplicating, nasal-infix, and *-sko*-classes, fall into the third conjugation, while primary verbs with present stems in *-ye/o-* are included within the fourth conjugation or as a subdivision within the third (the *capio*-type). Denominatives, which form a very large and productive class, are in origin *-yo*-stems; most of them belong to the first conjugation, but some to the fourth and a few to the second. The classification here briefly outlined applies equally to Latin and to Oscan-Umbrian.

a. Although the four conjugations in principle are present stem-classes, their special characteristics persist to a large extent throughout the non-present tenses, including the perfect passive participle, so that the validity of the division into four classes is all the greater. Yet some deviations from the system occur: e.g. L. *domo, -āre, domui, domitus*; *cupio, -ĕre, cupīvī, cupītus*. There is some ground for believing that these deviations are rather more frequent in the dialects than in Latin, if we may generalize from the limited material: e.g. *mugatu* but pf. pcpl. *muieto*; *portatu* but fut. pf. *portust*; *osatu* but pf. pcpl. *oseto* (minor inscr. no. 354 Co.), in contrast to L. *operari, operatus*; *pesetom* with no pres. attested, but cf. L. *peccātum*. Not infrequently Umbrian and Latin show a difference of stem-class in otherwise equivalent forms: e.g. *dirstu* <**did(e)tōd* like *δίδωμι* in contrast to L. *do*; *amboltu* but L. *ambulato*; *uirseto* as if L. **vidētum* instead of *vīsum*; *conegos* **kunikaz** < *-ātus* but L. *conixus*; **neiřhabas** as if L. **ne adhibas*, like *advenat*, instead of *adhibeas*.

b. Sections **117-120** below contain an account of the four conjugations with lists of those verbs which can with reasonable probability be assigned to them. Although the classification is mainly applicable to present stems, some non-present forms are included when they clearly show the characteristics of their respective classes. The discussion of individual verbs is held to a bare minimum; for etymological details the Lexicon should be consulted.

117. The First Conjugation includes a few primary verbs and a large number of denominatives. As in Latin, the primary verbs are partly derived from root-stems with unthematic inflection, partly from present stems with the suffix *-ye/o-*. The denominatives, whether from nouns or adjectives with stems in *-ā*, *-o*, or consonants, are all derived by addition of *-ye/o-* to a stem in *-ā*.

a. Possible examples of root-stems, with original unthematic inflection are: *spahatu* (root *spā-* ?); **restatu** < **re-stā-tōd*, but it is also possible to assume a present in *-ye/o-*.[1] The pf. pcpl. **snata** gives indirect evidence of a present stem *snā-*: cf. Skt. *snāti*, but also *snāyate*, L. *no, nare*.

b. Other primary verbs of the first conjugation are derived from disyllabic bases in *-ā* or from stems in *-ā* built analogically after such bases. The original

inflection was partly unthematic, but we may infer from Gk. primary presents like *σπάω*, *χαλάω*, that the *-yo*-type of inflection came into early use. Among Latin examples of this class may be mentioned *dĭco*, *oc-cupo*, with persistent *ā*, and *seco*, *domo*, *sono*, with *ā* restricted to the present system. The Umbrian forms are: *mugatu* (but pf. pcpl. *muieto*); **prusekatu** (but pf. pcpl. *proseseto*); **sukatu**, cf. Lith. *sakaũ*; a present of this type is indirectly attested by pf. pcpl. *ehiato*: cf. L. *hio*, *-āre*, *-ātus*; fut. pf. *andersafust* < **an-didā-* through transfer of **dide/o-* (cf. *dirstu*, *δίδωμι*) to the first conjugation, probably in connection with its specialization of meaning. The pf. pcpl. *conegos* **kunikaz**, with no present attested, shows the *ā* of the first conjugation in contrast to L. *co-nitor*, *conixus*.

c. The following present forms can with reasonable certainty be regarded as denominatives: *arsmahamo*, *caterahamo*, **kuraia**, *naratu*, *osatu*, *pihatu* with fut. **prupehast**, *(an-)stiplatu*, *ahatripursatu*, *eheturstahamu*, **vepuratu**, *uesticatu*, *preuiślatu*, *subocau*. Similar denominatives are indirectly attested by the pf. pcpls. **çersnatur**, *tuderato*.[2]

d. The iterative or frequentative type represented by L. *cantare*, etc., is in origin probably a denominative formation from the pf. pcpl. Umbrian has several examples, although without the characteristic meaning: *etato* to the primary *etu*; *portatu*, with L. *porto* formed from a pcpl. to the root seen in *πείρω*, *πόρος*; **statitatu**, a denominative to a pf. pcpl., whatever view we take of the stem before the participial suffix.

e. The analysis of the following forms is less clear, but all are more probably denominative than primary verbs: *combifiatu*, *aseriatu*, *preplotatu*, *furfant*. The pf. pcpls. **aviekate** and **stakaz** presuppose denominative stems in *-ā*.

f. The present tense of verbs of the first conjugation was originally formed by the addition of the personal endings directly to the *ā* of the root or disyllabic base in verbs of the unthematic type, or to the thematic vowel *e/o* in the denominatives and other verbs with stems in *-āye/o-*, but the two types implied by this description have been replaced in Oscan-Umbrian and Latin by a single type of inflection combining features of both earlier types. The first person singular is regularly of the thematic type: e.g. *subocau*[3] < **sub-wokāyō* without contraction after loss of *y*; cf. L. *no* < **(s)nāyō* in contrast to Skt. *snāmi* which preserves unthematic inflection. In other forms of the present indicative the loss of intervocalic *y* was followed by vowel-contraction;[4] the resulting vowel was *ā*, whereby thematic and unthematic forms became identical, or if a different vowel resulted, it was analogically replaced by *ā*. For the shortening of *ā* in Latin 3 sg. *-at* there is no evidence in Oscan-Umbrian, and in fact the evidence of spelling in second-conjugation forms is against such shortening. For the future see **123**. For the present subjunctive see **126 a**.

[1] Such a stem is often assumed for L. *stō*, *stāre*, which is intransitive and of durative aspect. Because of the transitive meaning of **restatu**, Buck, § 213, 4 a, regards it as a reduplicated

pres. like L. *sisto*, with transfer to the first conjugation, but as support for an unreduplicated form with transitive value we may compare L. *praesto* 'offer,' unless *praesto* and U. **restatu** may both be of the same class as *ἵ-στημι* with loss of reduplication through syncope after the prefix, an unlikely supposition in view of the absence of any L. **sistāre*.

[2] Not so, however, with *hostatir* and *ponisiater*, which belong to the same type as L. *barbatus*. Such formations are older than the corresponding finite verbs, when the latter existed at all.

[3] Some take *subocau* as perfect rather than present, but this involves greater difficulties. See on VIa 22.

[4] In the proto-Italic period *ā* + *e* would yield *ā*, and *ā* + *o* would normally yield *ō* (e.g. *sōl* < **sāwol* < **sāwel*), with replacement by *ā* in forms of the first conjugation.

118. The Second Conjugation includes verbs derived from roots or disyllabic bases in *-ē*, and from stems in *-eye/o-* of several different types. It is not possible in all cases to separate the primary verbs with original unthematic inflection from those based on stems in *-eye/o-*. Moreover because of the fluctuation in the use of *e* and *i* on the tables it is sometimes difficult to determine whether a given verb should be assigned to the second conjugation or to the fourth. The question is usually decided by reference to the semantic value of the verb (as intransitive or as causative) or by comparison with related Latin forms.

a. The primary verbs which undoubtedly belong to the second conjugation include: *habitu* **habetu**: L. *habeto*; *sersitu*: L. *sedeto*; *tenitu*: L. *teneto*; *carsitu* **kařetu** in contrast to L. *calato*. Indirect evidence of present forms corresponding to L. *taceo*, *video* is given by the pf. pass. pcpls. *tases* **taçez**, *uirseto*.

b. The Umbrian and Latin second conjugation includes a class of verbs with *o*-vowel in the root and a stem in *-eye/o-*. The meaning is predominantly intensive or causative: e.g. L. *moneo* 'remind' beside *memini* 'remember'. The clearest Umbrian example is *tursitu* **tusetu** < **torseyetōd* (**12 b**) with normal *o*-grade in contrast to L. *terreto*. **upetu**, with pf. pcpl. gen. sg. *opeter*, may represent the same type.[1] **kanetu** may also be an intensive; it is generally taken as a third conjugation form equivalent to L. *canito*, but it is difficult to believe that the *e* would escape syncope; see on IV 29. The pf. pass. pcpl. **vufetes**, if taken with the majority of editors as equivalent in sense to L. *votis*, would give evidence of a present indicative like L. *voveo*, of the type treated in this sub-section; see however on IIa 31, where a different interpretation is proposed, making it equivalent to L. *libitis*, pcpl. of *libet*. If this view is adopted, **vufetes** still belongs in the second conjugation, but probably with the forms in **a** above rather than in **b**.[2]

c. To the denominative type represented by L. *albeo* beside adj. *albus* may belong U. **kutef** if it is pres.pcpl. of ***kauteyō**, a denominative to **kautos* = L. *cautus*; but several other etymologies have been proposed.

d. Several other verbs are commonly assigned to the second conjugation, but with some uncertainty, which arises in part from the ambiguity of *i* in the Latin alphabet and the lack of forms in the native alphabet: *iremitu* with causative

sense but without the characteristic *o*-vowel; possibly *nepitu, sauitu, sonitu*; probably *trebeit* because of its intransitive meaning, although the etymological value of the *ei* is not clear; probably also **eveietu, tiçit.**

e. The treatment of the stem before the endings is in general analogous to that in the first conjugation (**117 f**): in denominatives and other formations in *-eye/o-* the intervocalic *y* was lost and similar vowels contracted, producing partial identity with the unthematic forms. Quotable indicative forms of this conjugation, however, are limited to the 3 sg.

[1] The normal *e*-grade may be contained in Hittite *epmi* 'je saisis,' as suggested by E.-M.[3], p. 824, who however take the *o*-vowel of the Italic forms as evidence of an old unthematic present. But **upetu** is identical in sense with L. *optato*, and it is possible to see an original intensive value expressed in Umbrian by ablaut-variation in the root and stem in *-eyo-* and in Latin by the use of the iterative stem in *-tā-*. The semantic evolution may be expressed by the proportion: root **ep-* 'seize': **opeyō* (or **optāyō*) 'wish for, choose' = L. *capio* 'seize': *capto* 'strive for'.

[2] Those who prefer to adhere to the traditional interpretation may compare *εὔχομαι* as a form illustrating the normal ablaut-grade; the connection of *voveo* with *εὔχομαι* is favored by E.-M. and Boisacq. The intensive notion in *voveo* has faded to about the same extent as in *spondeo*, a verb of similar meaning.

119. The Third Conjugation contains a large majority of the inherited primary verbs with thematic inflection, whether the thematic vowel is added directly to the simple root or whether the root is strengthened by reduplication, nasal infix, or any one of several suffixes.

a. The majority of verbs of the third conjugation form the present stem by the addition of the thematic vowel to the root, which is usually, but not invariably, in the normal *e*-grade. In the imperatives, which are the most frequent forms, the *e* before the *t* has been syncopated, but its former presence can be inferred through comparison with Latin and through the fact that the treatment of the final consonant of the root often presupposes the presence of a vowel before the *t* (cf., for example, original *-kt-* and *-kt-* arising after syncope, **46 i, j**). The Umbrian forms are: *aitu*; **menes** for ***benes**, fut. 2 sg. of verb corresponding to L. *venio* but without *i*, as in OL pres. subj. *advenat*; **kartu**; *deitu* **teitu**; pres. subj. **terkantur** and **emantur**; **sumtu**; *fertu* and its compound represented by inf. *afero*; **fiktu**; probably *holtu*, the etymology of which is, however, uncertain; *comoltu* **kumultu**;[1] *amboltu* (in contrast to L. *ambulato*); **ampentu**; **ařpeltu**;[2] the series of compounds *andendu*,[3] *endendu, ostendu*, **pertentu, sutentu**; **umtu**; *arsueitu* and **kuveitu**; **veltu** and *ehueltu*; *ahauendu* and *preuendu*; *couertu*; **vetu**; **vutu.**

b. Several verbs are made from reduplicated stems. The original stem was probably unthematic as in *δίδωμι, ἵστημι*, but the intrusion of thematic forms began very early (cf., for example, Skt. *tiṣṭhati* in contrast to unthematic *ἵστημι*),

and the Italic forms have become fully thematic. The forms are: *ditu* **titu** < **did(e)tōd* (**42 c**), with pres. subj. *dirsa* **teřa** < **didāt*; **sestu** < **sist(e)tōd*; **sistu**: L. *sīdito*, from **sizd(e)-tōd*; probably also **restef** < **re-sistēns* with loss of the reduplication through syncope of its vowel; comparison with L. favors a reduplicated stem in the third-conjugation verb, but an unreduplicated stem in the first-conjugation **restatu** (**117**, n. 1).

c. *hondu* 'cast down' (?) is a compound of *hom-* + a verb similar to that found in L. *condo, reddo*, etc. Since proto-It. *þ* became *d* after *n*, *hondu* has the same ambiguity as the Latin series; that is, the second element may be either from **dō-* 'give' or **dhē-* 'place,' but the similarity in meaning to L. *pessum dare* favors the former alternative. It is to be assumed that the stem here is unreduplicated, but the verb has adopted the thematic type of inflection exactly as in **b** above. For phonological details see **60 a, d.**

d. The type of present stem with nasal infix (cf. L. *vinco, vici*) is represented by *ninctu* (**49 d**): L. *ninguito.*

e. The verb-class characterized by the inchoative suffix *-sko-* is represented by **perstu** < **perk-sk(e)-tōd*, fut. pf. *peperscust*; *eiscurent* fut. pf. of a verb commonly referred to root **ais-* 'seek'. The two fut. pf. forms, with O. *comparascuster*, show the *-sko-* extended into non-present forms of the verb, in contrast to Latin *cresco, crevi*, etc., where the suffix is restricted to the present system.

f. revestu is apparently formed with a suffix *-so-* and is thus equivalent in formation to L. *revisito* < **re-weid-se-tōd.*

g. In the third conjugation the thematic vowel was regularly syncopated in the fut. imv. but not in the 2 sg. and 3 sg. ind., where, however, the evidence is very meagre: 2 sg. **seste** (IIb 22, taken by some as 3 sg. pass.), 3 sg. Marruc. *feret*, Vest. *didet*. Identity between the true thematic forms and those with *a* < *ə*[4] originated in forms where either *e* or *a* suffered syncope, after which the unthematic forms changed fully to the thematic type.

[1] These forms, with L. *molo, -ĕre*, are from a disyllabic base, but the *ə* which stood as the reduced grade in the second syllable has been replaced by the ordinary thematic vowel.

[2] An ordinary thematic present if we follow Devoto's interpretation *'circumito,'* whereby the verb is from root **k^{w}el-*, cf. L. *ac-colo*, *πέλομαι*, Skt. *carati*. If we equate with L. *appellere*, with most editors, we have a third-conjugation verb of the *-no-*class.

[3] In this series the root is actually **ten-* and the suffix *-do-* (the unstrengthened form of the root being found in L. *con-ten-tus*), but this does not seem a sufficient ground for setting up a separate class.

[4] *ə* is the reduced grade of pIE *ā, ē, ō* (**35 c**, and **b, c** above). What is said here applies particularly to the verb 'give', including Vest. *didet* here cited.

120. The Fourth Conjugation includes some primary verbs and some denominatives, the latter class being derived originally from *i*-stems and then by analogy from nouns and adjectives of other types (e.g. L. *finio* to *finis*, then

custodio to *custos*, *servio* to *servus*). The present stem must originally have been made for primary verbs by adding *-iye/o-*, or its ablaut-variant *-ī-*, to the root and for denominatives by adding *-(i)ye/o-* to the noun-stem *fini-*, *custod-*, *serv-*, etc., but thematic and unthematic forms do not coexist in parallel series; rather they supplement one another in a single composite paradigm, as in the first and second conjugations.

a. The primary verbs include: **amparitu**; *anouihimu*; pres. subj. **fuia** with fut. ind. **fuiest**, the length of the *i* being attested by comparison with L. *fīo*, *fīunt* and O. 3 pl. **fiiet**; *purdouitu* **purtuvitu**, fut. pf. **purtiius** and *purdinsus*, etc., pf. pcpl. *purditom* **purtitu**. The persistence of *i* in all these forms (against **e** in **purtuvetu purtuetu** once each) plainly points to a verb of the fourth conjugation derived from **dowī/dwī*, an extension of root **dō(w)* 'give'. Pres. subj. *dia* is apparently from **dwīyāt* made from the same extension of the same root. *stahitu*, fut. **staheren**, and the cognate Oscan forms **staít**, **stahínt stahint**, etc., are usually placed in the fourth conjugation, the classification being partly dependent on the evidence of *-yo-*stem derivatives of the root **stā-* in Indo-Iranian, Balto-Slavic, and Germanic, since the vocalism of the Italic forms is not entirely clear.

b. The denominatives include: *persnimu persnihimu* **persnihmu**, etc., apparently from a noun **persk-ni-*;[1] fut. pf. *disleralinsust* with *-nky-*pf. stem (**124 f**) to **dis-lērāli-*; pf. pcpl. *stahmito*, *stahmeitei* gives evidence of a denominative to a stem **stā-mi-* or **stā-mo-* represented by dat. sg. *stahmei*.

c. The following verbs appear to belong to the fourth conjugation but their origin is in some respects uncertain: *seritu* probably denominative like L. *servio*, if we admit loss of *w* after *r* (**54 g**); **statita** pf. pcpl. of a denominative **statiyō* to **sta-ti-* or **statuyō* to **sta-tu-*, in which case our form would be equivalent to L. *statūta*; the ambiguity arises from the fact that *ī* can be from *ū* (**15 b**) as well as original; *uestis uesteis*, of uncertain etymology, but probably pf. pcpl. from **westīt(o)s*, almost certainly belongs to the fourth conjugation.

d. Reference should also be made to the discussion of **façia** and *heri* and their cognate forms in **121** below.

e. The vocalism of the stem before the endings and the relation between thematic and unthematic inflection have been partly covered in the first paragraph of the present section. Among forms actually preserving the thematic vowel may be cited 1 sg. *stahu* < **stayō* (minor inscr. no. 355 Co.), fut. 3 pl. **staheren** < **sta(y)esent*.

[1] Since the noun is not actually attested, it may possibly have been **persk-no-*, the denominative formation then being like L. *servīre* to *servus*; cf. also Skt. denominative *praśnayati* 'ask' to *o*-stem noun *praś-na-* 'question'. In *stahmei* also the stem-class is uncertain, even though here the noun itself is attested.

121. Third-Conjugation Verbs of the Type of L. capio. The reason for recognizing these as a special class in Latin is, of course, the fact that in some of their forms they resemble normal verbs of the third conjugation but in others those of the fourth. It is to be expected that such verbs in the dialects should suffer syncope in the fut. imv. and should have **i** or **ii** in certain of the forms recorded in the native alphabet (see **53 c, 68**). Actual examples showing this variation are: imv. O. *factud*, but pres. subj. **fakiiad**, U. **façia**, inf. **façiu façu**; pres. pass. 3 sg. **herter herte** *herti hertei*, pres. act. 3 sg. *her* as enclitic in *pisher*, but **heri** after **svepis** IV 26, fut. **heries**, *heriest*, pres. subj. O. **heriiad**; the verb 'take,' which appears to be a contamination of the cognates of L. *capio* and *habeo* (**122 e**) shows imv. **hahtu hatu** *hatu*, but pres. subj. **habia**, where, however, **i** represents *ē* (cf. L. *habeat*). In the forms outside the present system, which have some indirect bearing on the question of assignment of the verbs to conjugational classes, we find fut. pf. **fakust, fakurent** *facurent*; pf. subj. act. **heriiei**, pass. **herifi**, pf. pcpl. *heritu hereitu* **eretu**; fut. pf. *habus, haburent*.

a. The origin of the *capio*-type in Latin and in the dialects must naturally be treated as a single problem.

According to the prevailing view L. *capio* and *audio* both represent inherited types, with corresponding classes in Balto-Slavic, and the original distribution of verbs between the two classes depended on the length of the radical syllable.[1] If we adopt this view, the dialect forms corresponding to L. *facio* and *capio* (with the *h* of *habeo*) probably belong, like *capio* and *facio* themselves, in the third conjugation. O. *factud* and U. *hatu* etc. then resulted from syncope of *ĭ* in contrast to the syncope of *ĕ* in normal third-conjugation verbs, and O. **fakiiad** may simply represent a transfer to the fourth conjugation.[2] The pres. pass. forms **herter** etc. suggest a similar classification for this verb, but the non-present forms resemble those of verbs of the fourth conjugation.[3] In its inflection this verb may be compared with the semantically similar L. *cupio, -ĕre, -īvi, -ītus*.

b. According to the alternative explanation of the *capio*-type, it developed within Latin from the *audio*-type through iambic shortening,[4] **căpīs, *căpīt*, etc. thus becoming *căpĭs, căpĭt*, etc. Naturally this explanation will not hold good for the dialect forms, and if we admit it for Latin, the dialect forms must properly belong to the fourth conjugation, and, since *ī* is not subject to syncope, *hatu* **herter**, O. *factud*, etc., must represent an unstrengthened type like OL *advenat* beside *venio, -īre*, either inherited or secondary. On the whole the former explanation seems somewhat preferable, but in any case the three verbs under discussion show fluctuation between the third and fourth conjugations and cannot be fitted perfectly into either class.

[1] By Sievers' Law (**53**, n. 2). Cf. Brugmann, *Gdr.*, II, III, I, p. 189; Leumann-Hofmann, p. 321, with extensive bibliography.

[2] U. pres. subj. **façia** is less certain. It is difficult to separate it from O. **fakiiad**, although

in the native Umbrian alphabet **ii** is normally written where *-iy-*, in contrast to *-y-*, is intended (see **2 h**, where some exceptions are shown). On the other hand inf. **façiu** with its variant **façu** probably represents **fakyom*. It should be observed that the distinction of *-iy-* and *-y-* has been effaced in Latin, *capio*, *capiunt* thus being like *audio*, *audiunt*, but is preserved in the dialects.

[3] **heřis heři** *heri* is less decisive. On syntactical grounds we cannot be sure whether it is ind. or subj. in origin, and it is not impossible to take it as like L. *capis*, since the evidence in regard to syncope in the 2 sg. of third-conjugation verbs is not conclusive. But it is probable that these verbs belong to the fourth conjugation.

[4] Cf. F. Skutsch, *Archiv für lat. Lex. und Gram.*, XII (1902), pp. 210-13; *Gl.*, II (1910), pp. 367-9; Kent, *Forms of Latin*, p. 99; Sommer, *Hdb. d. lat. Laut- und Formenlehre*, pp. 505-6.

122. Irregular Verbs. Irregularity in the inflection of verbs in the Italic languages may result from fluctuation between two conjugational classes, or from the survival of unthematic conjugation in parts of the verb which are normally thematic, or from suppletion, whereby different tense-systems of the verb are made from different roots, or, in at least one very probable case, from contamination of roots.

a. The verb 'be' is made, as in Latin, from the root **es/s-* and from the disyllabic base **bhewā-* with its ablaut-variants, especially **bhū-*. **es-* appears in the pres. ind. *est*, *sent*, subj. *sir*, *si*, etc., inf. *erom*, and pres. pcpl. O. *praesentid*. The 3 pl. *sent*, O. **sent set**, like Goth. *sind*, preserves the ending characteristic of unthematic forms, in contrast to Latin *sunt* < **sonti*, which has been altered after the analogy of thematic verbs. The root **bhū*, which in Latin is mostly restricted to the perfect system, the fut. pcpl., and *fore*, *forem*, etc., furnishes the imv. U. *futu*, impf. ind. O. **fufans**, impf. subj. O. **fusíd** (= L. *foret*), and the forms *fust* **fust**, etc., which appear in Oscan partly as fut. pf. but in Umbrian regularly with future value.

b. The verb 'go' is from the root **ei/i-*, and, as in Latin, the development of **ey-* before vowels produces partial resemblance to verbs of the second conjugation. The normal grade *ei* may be assumed for imv. *etu*, etc., fut. 3 sg. *est eest*, fut. pf. **amprefuus**, *ambrefurent*. The zero-grade is found in fut. pf. *iust*, pf. subj. pass. *ier*, both with stem like that of L. *iī*, and in pf. pcpl. *da-etom*, *per-etom* with *e* < *i* as in **10 c**; cf. L. *red-itum*, etc.

c. The compound verb *afero* < **am(f)-fer-* 'perform a lustration' supplies its perfect system from **am(f)-dō/də-*, as shown in fut. pf. *an-dersafust* **a-teřafust**. It is not known what root supplied the perfect of the simplex *fer-* but in view of L. *fero*, *tuli*, etc., Gk. φέρω, οἴσω, ἤνεγκα, etc., it is probable that this verb resorted to suppletion in the Italic dialects also.

d. The verb corresponding to L. *facio* and the classification of its forms in the third and fourth conjugations have been discussed **121** in. The forms without *i* include fut. pf. **fakust**, **fakurent** *facurent* with *a* in contrast to the *ē* of L. *fēcerit*, etc. **The vocalism of pres. subj. feia** and imv. *fetu* (52 times) *feitu* (5 times)

feetu (once) **fetu** (48 times including the erroneous **feiu**) **feitu** (20 times), however, presents a problem. These forms have been referred sometimes to the full grade of the root **dhē-* as seen in *τίθημι*, etc., sometimes to the extended **dhē-k-* of L. *fēci*. In favor of the second analysis are the spelling with *ei* **ei** in some of the examples[1] and the fact that this root without the *k*-extension is not positively known to exist in the Italic languages except in compounds of the series represented by L. *condo*, etc.

e. The cognates of L. *capio* and *habeo* in the dialects present a complicated situation. All the forms in question have initial *h*, never *c* **k**, but the meaning is partly that of L. *capio*: so, e.g., in pres. subj. **habia**, fut. pf. *haburent*, and in some of the imv. forms, especially the third-conjugation forms *hatu*, etc. Moreover O. fut. pf. *hipust*, pf. subj. *hipid*, etc., show *p* in place of *b*, and O. fut. *hafiest*, pres. subj. pass. **haf[iar**[2] show *f*. This *f* cannot correspond to L. *b* as in O. **tfei**: U. **tefe**: L. *tibi* (**40**), since the Umbrian and Latin forms with *b* plainly point to original *b* in the verb (**39**). The facts seem to be approximately as follows: the verbs corresponding to *capio* and *habeo*, which are closely related in meaning, suffered contamination,[3] perhaps in the period of Oscan-Umbrian unity, and developed a series of forms all having the initial *h* of *habeo*, while the second consonant is partly *b*, partly *p*. The Oscan forms with *f* must have spread analogically from forms in which *f* could have come from *p* before *t* (**38 b**). U. *hatu* etc. give no evidence of whether they originally had *b* or *p*, since after the syncope had once taken place the history would be the same for *b* as for *p*. The meaning in Oscan is that of *habeo* but in Umbrian to a large extent that of *capio*.

[1] **dhē-tōd* would probably give a form spelled uniformly with *e* **e**. **dhē-k-* would presumably lead to forms with thematic inflection and phonological development as in **46 j** with note 3. In favor of derivation from **fē-* cf. Pl., II, pp. 257-8; in favor of **fē-k-* cf. Buck, p. 168.

[2] On no. 18[2], Buck, p. 365, published subsequent to the time of the collections in Conway, von Planta, and Buck's earlier edition. The form **haf[iar**, although partly dependent on restoration, gives some support to the *f* in *hafiest*, previously suspected of being an error.

[3] So Buck *Oscan-Umbrian Verb-System*, p. 165; Kent, *T.A.P.A.*, LVII (1926), pp. 51-2; Buck, *O.-U. Grammar*, p. 167.

123. Future Tense. There are no forms corresponding to either of the normal Latin types; all are sigmatic in origin and are therefore closely related to the Greek future and to Latin futures of the type of *faxo*.[1]

Although the future, or its prototype, was originally independent of the present stem, it has become in Italic a part of the present system, sharing in such characteristics as reduplication in verbs like *ditu* < **did(e)tōd*, O. fut. *didest*, or the *-yo-*suffix in **purtuvies**. The tense-sign *s* is added to the *ā* of first-conjugation verbs (e.g. **prupehast**) and to the *e* or *ye* of third- or fourth-conjugation verbs. There are no clear examples from the second, since in *habiest* the *i* is not necessari-

ly from *e* by **8 b**, but may be the mark of the fourth conjugation. The *e* before the *s* is syncopated in pass. 3 pl. *ostensendi* < **-tendesenter* (**60 a**), but in general this vowel remains, while the short vowel between the *s* and the ending suffers syncope: so in the 2 sg. and 3 sg. forms **heries** < **heriyeses*, **menes** < **beneses*, **ampenes**, **purtuvies**, **ferest** < **fereset*, *eest*, *fust*, **fuiest**, **prupehast**. 3 pl. **furent** and **staheren** < **stayesent* show no syncope in either syllable, and consequently the *s* is rhotacized.

[1] All these formations were formerly regarded as being of the same origin as the Homeric short-vowel aorist subjunctive; cf., for example, Buck, § 221. More recently they have been equated with Sanskrit desideratives of the type of *pipāsāmi* and with Old Irish sigmatic futures; so, for example, Buck, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, §§ 388-9. But perhaps the distinction is more apparent than real, since it appears now that the *s*-future and the *s*-aorist subjunctive were originally a single formation with future value, from which the subjunctive value was a secondary development; cf. E. A. Hahn, *Subjunctive and Optative* (New York, 1953), pp. 59-65. At the same time it should be observed that the Skt. desiderative and the Irish sigmatic future differ from the Italic and Greek formations in being reduplicated.

124. Perfect Tense and Perfect System. In describing the perfect system in the Italic dialects it is necessary to a considerable extent to depend on future perfect forms, since the perfect tense itself is so rare in the extant inscriptions that it is not possible to find examples representing every one of the various types. Since the origin of the future perfect is an unsettled problem, some facts in the history of the perfect stem are uncertain, and the treatment of it must be mainly descriptive. The perfect formations without distinctive suffix, though partly with reduplication or gradation of the root vowel (**a**, **b**, **c**) were undoubtedly inherited from proto-IE perfect (and perhaps in part aorist) forms and are represented in Latin as well as Oscan-Umbrian. But the other formations, the Latin perfects in *-si* and *-vi*/*ui*, the O.-U. *f*-perfect, the Oscan *tt*-perfect, and the Umbrian *l*- and *nky*-perfects have a more limited distribution; not one of them appears in all three languages, and, while allowance must be made for the meagerness of the dialect texts, it is safe to say that these formations, in their function as perfect tense-forms, were developed in proto-Italic or even later.

a. The forms of the perfect system with reduplication are: **dede** (minor inscr. no. 352 Co., with **d** represented by the character q); fut. pf. *dirsust* **teřust** (42 **b**); *dersicust*; **pepurkurent**; **fefure**, of very doubtful etymology and interpretation but in any case a reduplicated form of the perfect system. The vowel of the reduplication is regularly *e* as in Greek and in OL *memordi*, *cecurri*, etc.[1]

b. Unreduplicated forms of the perfect system are derived partly from original perfects, partly from aorists corresponding to the Greek " second " aorist. The principal forms are: fut. pf. **fakust**, *portust*, **vurtus** with *couortus*, **benus**, *eiscurent*, *iust*, **purtiius**, pf. subj. **heriiei**, pf. subj. pass. *ier*; probably also pf. 3 sg. **usaçe usaie**, for which see on Ia 45. The Italic verb has suffered such ex-

tensive alteration through loss of ablaut-distinctions and loss of distinction of meaning between perfect and aorist that it is not possible to classify the forms on the basis of these two tenses.

Moreover proto-IE apparently had some reduplicated aorists as well as some unreduplicated perfects. Some of the verbs above may have lost reduplication through composition, like L. *concidi* in contrast to simplex *cecidi*. There are no clear examples of the *o*-grade of the radical vowel characteristic of Greek "second" perfects; the vowel of **vurtus** *couortus* may be from *ɣ* as well as *or* (**35 d**). Of the conjugational classes the third and fourth are chiefly represented among the foregoing forms; *portust* beside imv. *portatu* shows a simplification of stem (**116 a**). *eiscurent* shows the extension of the present tense-suffix *-ske/o-* into the perfect system (**119 e**). The stem of *iust* and *ier* is similar to that of L. *iī*, and it probably served as the model for the stem in **heriiei** and **purtiius**, both of which have rival perfect stems of other classes (**d, f** below).

c. Another type of unreduplicated perfect without special tense-suffix is that in which the radical vowel is lengthened, as in L. *vīdi* to *video*, *vēni* to *venio*, *fēci* to *facio*, etc. The long vowels are of diverse origin, but in a large proportion of cases they represent ablaut-variants, as lengthened grade to normal grade *e*, or as normal grade to reduced grade *ə* (**35**). Since the number of Umbrian examples is small, the Oscan examples are added as an aid toward their clarification: O. **upsed**, **uupsens**, O. *ουπσενς* with **u uu** *ου* for *ō*, in contrast to O. **úpsannam**, U. *osatu*, L. *operari*, all present-system forms with *ŏ*; O. *sipus* 'knowing' < **sēpus* or **sēpuwos* in ablaut-variation with L. *săpio*; U. **prusikurent** with **sēk-* in variation with L. *insĕce*; O. *hipid*, *hipust*, U. **eitipes**, if from **eit(om) hēpens*, all in variation with U. *habitu*, L. *habeo*, etc., as if L. had **hēbī* as pf. to *habeo* (see **34** on **eitipes** and **122 e** on the consonantal variation).

d. The *f*-perfect is represented by the following forms: fut. pf. 2 sg. **amprefuus**, 3 pl. *ambrefurent*; 3 sg. *andersafust* **ateřafust**; pf. subj. pass. 3 sg. *pihafi*, **herifi**, perhaps also *cehefi*, although not according to the view preferred here (see on VIa 20). To these may be added the following Oscan examples: pf. **aíkdafed** '*decrevit*', of which **-da-** belongs to the root of L. *do*, *dare*; **fufens** '*fuerunt*'; pf. subj. **sakrafír** '*sacrato*'.[2] Although the origin of the formation is not entirely clear, there is little doubt that the *f* is of the same origin as that in O. impf. **fufans**, or the tense-signs of the L. impf. in *-bam* and fut. in *-bo*; in other words it belongs to a verb-stem from the root **bhewā/bhū-* used as an auxiliary in combination with some form which cannot be precisely identified. Now among the foregoing verbs **fufens** belongs to the same root as U. imv. *futu*, L. *fui*, etc., and **amprefuus** to that of L. *eo*, *ire*; **herifi** is of the fourth conjugation, and the classification of *cehefi* is unknown; all the others are of the first conjugation. This distribution therefore is roughly analogous to that of the Latin futures in *-bo*, which belong to *eo*: *ibo*, to verbs of the first and second conjugations, and in some early instances to verbs of the fourth. The two formations appear then to be based

on the same second element, a thematic stem **bhwe/o-*, reflected in Skt. aor. subj. *bhuvat*, etc.; but it must be assumed that this stem could be used both as an indicative and as a subjunctive similar in formation to the "short-vowel" subjunctive of Vedic Sanskrit and Homeric Greek, and that the Latin *bo*-future is derived from the latter use and the O.-U. *f*-perfect from the former. This twofold development has a close analogy in the history of the stem **bhwā-*, which furnished on the one hand Lith. *bùvo* 'he was' and the tense-suffix of the Latin impf. ind. and on the other the L. subj. *fuat*, etc.

e. The *l*-perfect is found only in Umbrin and only in the fut. pf. forms **apelus apelust** beside imv. **ampentu** < **an-pend-etōd*, **entelus** *entelust* beside imv. *endendu* < **en-tend-etōd*. The suffix *-lo-*, which is attached directly to the root, is apparently of the same origin as that in L. *credulus*, *pendulus*, etc., together with the suffix used in the formation of the participle in *-lo/ā-* which furnishes the preterit in the Slavic languages. The phonetic development is : **pend-lo-* > **penn-lo* (**61 e**) > **pen-lo-* > **pel-lo*.

f. The *-nky*-perfect is found only in Umbrian, where it is represented by: fut. pf. *combifianṡiust combifianṡust combifiansiust*, pf. subj. *combifianṡi*; **purtinçus**, *purdinṡiust purdinsust purdinṡus*; *disleralinsust*. The origin of this formation cannot be determined with any certainty. It is quite possible, however, that it arose from a combination of an accusative noun in *-am*, *-im* + **ke* + *iust* and other forms of the perfect system of the verb 'go'.[3] The use of verbs of going as future auxiliaries, as, for example, in L. *factum itur*, *factum iri*, etc., is favorable to such a view. The noun which forms the first part of the periphrasis (with *-n* < *-m* before *k*) could be an *ā*-stem like L. *cura*, *fuga* (whence denominatives and *-nky*-perfects of the first conjugation) or an *i*-stem like L. *mors* < **mort(i)s* (whence denominatives and *nky*-perfects of the fourth conjugation) or a stem in *(i)yo-* with acc. sg. in *-im* (**32 a**). The enclitic *k(e)* may serve to indicate direction, like *-δε* in *οἴκόνδε*, *φυγάδε*.[4] The whole formation, therefore, may have spread analogically from such periphrases as **fuganṡiust* < **fugām-k(e)-iust* 'he will have gone in flight,' **meddiki(o)m-k-iust* 'he will have gone to the pronouncement of justice.'

g. Indicative forms of the perfect tense are so rare that their description must be supplemented by forms from Oscan and other dialects. The 1 sg. is represented by O. **manafum** (Co. 130, the Curse of Vibia), in which the secondary ending *-m* is added to the thematic vowel.[5] The 3 sg. is represented by O. **aíkdafed**, **deded**, etc., U. **dede** (minor inscr. no. 352 Co.), all based on the secondary ending *-d* < *-t* (**41 b**). The 3 pl. is represented by O. **uupsens**, etc., U. **eitipes** < **eitom hēpens* (?), all based on *-ens* (**115 d**, with n. 1).

[1] Cited by Aulus Gellius, VI, 9, 2-8. The classical reduplication exemplified by *momordi*, *cucurri*, etc., arose secondarily upon the principle of imitation of the radical syllable, with forms like *tetendi* serving as a model.

[2] O. **aamanaffed, manafum** are omitted here. They were taken as forms of the *f*-perfect to a verb coresponding to L. *mandare* by Buck, *Oscan-Umbrian Verb System*, pp. 151, 171, and by Pl., II, pp. 338-9, but as reduplicated pf. < *-*man-fefom*, *-ed* (root **dhē/ə-*, second *a* being anaptyctic) by Buck, *O.-U. Grammar*, § 223.

[3] This explanation is substantially that of Pl., II, pp. 352-3, with certain alterations and additions.

[4] Observe the close similarity in the use of *-ce* and *-δε* in *hi-c*, *huius-ce*, *hun-c*, *ὅ-δε*, *τόν-δε*; observe also O. *cebnust 'venerit'*, where *ce-* is prefixed to a fut. pf. form of the verb 'come'.

[5] In this particular instance the thematic vowel may have replaced the vowel of the root. The analysis of the form is uncertain; see n. 2 above.

125. Future Perfect Tense. Examples are numerous, and perfect stems of all the types described in **124** are represented. The following list is not complete, but is designed to show some examples of each type: **pepurkurent**, *dersicust* (**124 a**); **vurtus**, *portust*, *facurent* (**124 b**) *prusikurent* (**124 c**); *andersafust*, *ambrefurent* (**124 d**); *entelust* (**124 e**); *combifiansiust* (**124 f**).

a. The origin of the future perfect is disputed,[1] but it has been plausibly explained as having arisen through analogy with the forms *fust*, etc., which appear in the Iguvine Tables with future value (see **122 a** and Lexicon under *futu*), but which sometimes serve as future perfect in Oscan. The development of the new formation from perfect stems would be sufficient to establish the future perfect as distinct from the future value. For the explanation of the endings *-us*, *-ust*, *-urent* reference may be made to **123.**

[1] Buck, *Verb-System*, p. 176, and *O.-U. Grammar*[1], § 230, favored derivation as a periphrastic formation from a pf. act. pcpl. with suffix *-us-* + a future of subjunctive origin equivalent to L. *ero*, etc., thus giving a combination which would be analogous to *γεγραφὼς ἔσομαι*. Von Planta, II, pp. 373-6, with detailed discussion, favors connection with the L. *vi*-perfect. Buck, *O.-U. Grammar*[2], in correction of 230, upholds the view here adopted.

126. Subjunctive Mood. Subjunctive forms of the present and perfect tenses are found in both Umbrian and Oscan. There are no Umbrian forms of the imperfect subjunctive, but Oscan has **fusíd**: L. *foret* and several other forms analogous in origin with the Latin imperfect subjunctive.

a. All present subjunctive forms from regular verbs are of the *ā*-type, even in the first conjugation: 1 sg. *aseriaia*, 2 sg. **kupifiaia**, 3 sg. **kuraia**, *portaia*; second conjugation: 3 sg. **prehabia**, 3 pl. pass. *tursiandu* (**8 b**); third conjugation: 3 pl. (or 2 sg.?) **neiřhabas** (**116 a**), 3 sg. *dirsa* **teřa**, 3 pl. *dirsans*, 3 sg. pass. *ferar*, 3 pl. pass. *emantur*, **terkantur**; fourth conjugation: 3 sg. **façia**, *dia*. The forms of the second, third, and fourth conjugations are precisely like the corresponding Latin forms, but the forms of the first conjugation fail to agree with Oscan and Latin, which agree with one another in the use of a modal suffix *-ē-* (either subjunctive *ē* added to denominative stem in *-āy-* or old optative *-yē-* added to unthematic stem in *-ā-*, in either case producing *-āyē* >

-āē- > O. *deiuaid*, L. *curet*, etc.). U. **kuraia**, etc. cannot be derived by addition of *ā* to a stem in *-āy-*, for *y* would be lost and the vowels would contract (**53 b**); the formation must therefore have developed secondarily by analogy with forms like **façia**, etc. with normal *i*.

b. The subjunctive formation characteristic of unthematic verbs, illustrated by L. *sim*, *velim*, etc., is found only in forms of the verb 'be': 2 sg. *sir si sei*, 3 sg. **si se** *si se*, 3 pl. **sis** *sins*. This formation was originally optative, and the mood-sign was *-yē/ī-*, which was added to the root. The original gradation shown by L. 2 sg. *siēs* < **s-yē-s* contrasting with 1 pl. *sīmus* < **s-ī-mos* has been effaced as in classical L. *sim*, *sīs*, etc., by the generalization of the grade *ī* throughout.

c. The perfect subjunctive is illustrated by the following examples: 3 sg. *combifianŝi*, probably also **heriiei**; 3 sg. pass. **herifi**, *pihafi*, *pihafei*, probably also *ier*. It is not certain whether the perfect subjunctive is in origin an optative made by adding the sign *-ī-* to the perfect stem or a subjunctive made by adding *-ē-* to the same stem. In favor of the former view is the optative origin of the Latin pf. subj., in which the *ī* is added to a stem in *-is-* of aoristic origin and identical with the *-is-* in the 2 sg. pf. ending *-istī* (e.g. 1 pl. *fēcerīmus* < **dhēk-is-ī-mos*). But O. 3 pl. **tríbarakattíns**[1] and 3 sg. pass. **sakrafír**[2] present an obstacle, since **í** may be from *ē* or *ĭ* but not from *ī*. The question must be regarded as still unsettled.[3]

[1] Line 48 of the Cippus Abellanus (no. 95 Co.); 3 pl. subj. of *t*-pf. of a first-conjugation verb equivalent in sense to L. *aedifico*.

[2] No. 114 Co.; 3 sg. subj. pass. of *f*-pf. of a denominative verb identical in origin with L. *sacrare*. The inscription is one of the group known as "Iovilae dedications." Forms occurring in texts which have no character for **í** (e.g. the Tabula Bantina = no. 28 Co., in the Latin alphabet, or the Curse of Vibia = no. 130 Co.) are useless for our problem, since their *i* **i** may stand for either *ī* or *ē*.

[3] Von Planta, II, pp. 369-71, with discussion, favors optative origin. Buck, § 234, favors derivation from an *ē*-subjunctive. E. A. Hahn, *Subjunctive and Optative* (New York, 1953), pp. 71-2, n. 156, prefers to take **heriiei**, *heriei herie* as *yē*-optative forms like OL *siem*, *pihafi pihafei* as from an *ī*-optative.

127. Imperative forms are found in both voices, in both singular and plural, and with both second-person and third-person value; but there are no instances of formal distinction between forms of the second and third persons. As in Latin, the imperative nowhere has a special stem with a special mood-sign, but depends solely on distinctive personal endings.

a. Of forms corresponding to the Latin "present imperative" there are no absolutely sure examples, but *stiplo* VIa 2 and *aserio* VIa 4 probably belong in this category. As in Latin *observā*, etc., the stem alone is used without ending (*o* < *ā* as in **7 b**). The less probable alternative to taking these forms as imv. is to take them as infinitives.

b. Future imperative active forms of the 2-3 sg. are very numerous, and the following is merely a list of selected examples: *naratu* **naratu**, *portatu* **purtatu**, *habitu* **habetu**, *tursitu* **tusetu**, *fertu* **fertu**, *endendu* **ententu** (**60 a**), *purdouitu* **purtuvitu**, *futu*, *etu*, *fetu*, *hatu*. The ending is from *-tōd* (**13 b**): O. *-tud* **-tud**, OL *-tōd*, L. *-tō*, Gk. *-τω*. For the stem before the ending see **117 f**, **118 e**, **119 a**, **120**. On the value of the forms as 2 sg. or as 3 sg. see **115 c**.

c. The forms of the imv. active 2-3 pl. include: *habituto* **habetutu**, *tursituto* **tusetutu**, **fertuta**, **ustentuta**, *fututo*, etc. The ending **-tuta -tutu** *-tuto* points to an original *-tōtā* with **-a** partly changed to **-u** in the older tables and fully to *-o* in the later tables (**7 b**), but the origin of the ending is uncertain. **etatu** *etato* are apparently 2 pl. of a frequentative verb (**117 d**, as if = L. **itāre* beside īre) with loss of a syllable through haplology in ***etatutu** **etatuto*, but **etuta etutu** *etuto* are normal pl. imperatives of the primary verb *etu*.

d. The forms of the imv. passive include: 2-3 sg. *eturstahmu*, *spahmu*, *anouihimu*, **persnimu** *persnimu*; 2-3 pl. *arsmahmo* **armamu** (written **armanu**), *caterahamo* **kateramu**, *persnimumo*. These forms are in some way related to the rare and archaic Latin passive imv. forms *progredimino*, *fruimino*, but it is improbable that they actually result from a change *-m(i)no* > *-mō*; rather the U. and L. forms show inherited suffix-variants, for which the Balto-Slavic pass. pcpls., with suffix *-mo-* in contrast to Gk. *-μενος*, Skt. *-mānas*, provide some evidence. U. *-mu* < *-mōd* may then represent a passive imv. formation modeled after the active imv. in *-tōd*, while O. imv. pass. 3 sg. *censamur* shows a further remodeling with *-r* from other passive forms. The pl. imv. *persnimumo* has the same relation to sg. *persnimu* as act. pl. **etuta etutu** *etuto* to *etu*. The plural value of *arsmahamo*, *caterahamo* is clearly shown by their association with the pl. *Iouinur* **Ikuvinu** in VIb 56, Ib 20; the syllabic loss in *arsmahamo* can be explained by haplology (<**arsmahamumo*) and in *caterahamo* by its juxtaposition with *arsmahamo*.

128. Infinitive. The only simple infinitive preserved in the Italic dialects is the present active. The Umbrian examples are: *afero* **aferum**, **façiu**, **façu**, *erom* **eru**, these last belonging to the verb 'be' and used in some instances as auxiliaries in the formation of the pf. pass. inf. The Oscan pres. inf., which is precisely similar, may be illustrated by the following examples: *moltaum*, **tríbarakavúm**,[1] **fatíum**, **deíkum**, *deicum*, *ezum*. The origin of the formation is uncertain, but it is difficult to avoid the belief that it is an acc. sg. of a verbal noun, with the ending *-om* which belongs properly to *o*-stems. The Oscan forms have *u* **u** < *o* before final *m*. Although the verbal nouns which developed into infinitives in the various IE languages were made from the root and not from separate tense-stems, nevertheless the O.-U. infinitives, like the Latin forms in *-re*, are made from the present stem and share in its formal characteristics.

a. For the perfect passive infinitive see **133.**

[1] Twice on the Cippus Abellanus (lines b 2, 10 = no. 95 Co.), but in the former instance the last four letters depend on restoration and in the latter the ú is not clearly legible.

129. Supine. The only certain example of this formation is *aseriato* **anzeriatu.** Other alleged examples, including *aso* VIb 50 and **vaçetum** Ib 8, are better taken as pf. pass. pcpls. The supine in Umbrian is precisely like that in Latin, both in formation and in use: it is in origin the acc. sg. of a verbal noun with stem in *-tu-*, as is also the classical Skt. infinitive in *-tum*. For *-o* < *-um* see **14 b.** There are no examples of a supine in Oscan.

130. Active Participles.

a. The present active participle is represented by **restef (119 b)**, *serse* **zeřef**: L. *sedens*, and probably **kutef (22, 118 c).** Although there are no oblique case-forms and no sure Oscan examples at all, there is no reason to doubt that the present participle, as in Latin, Greek, etc., was formed by the addition of *-nt-* to the present stem. For final *f* < *-nts*, and also for the possibility of deriving the preposition *traf* **tra** from a pres. pcpl., see **58 d.**

b. The pf. act. pcpl. made with the suffix *-wes/wos/us-* and exemplified by *εἰδώς*, *ἰδνῖα*, Skt. *vidvāṃs*, *viduṣī*, and Balto-Slavic forms, is not preserved as a productive category in the Italic languages, yet several forms are explained as remnants of it: L. prepos. *apud* as neut. nom.-acc. sg. to verb-root found in *apiscor*;[1] O. *sipus* **(124 c)** < **sēpus* or, with lengthened grade of the suffix, **sēpwōs*, although it may be from *o*-stem **sēpwos* with samprasāraṇa as in **32.** The pf. act. pcpl. is sometimes taken as a component of the O.-U. fut. pf. tense. A different explanation is adopted here, but see **125 a** with n. 1.

[1] See R. G. Kent, *Forms of Latin*, § 423, II.

131. Perfect Passive Participle. Examples are very numerous, and most of the conjugational classes are represented. The following is a selected list: **kuratu**: L. *curatum*; **çersnatur**: L. *cenati*; **kunikaz** *conegos*; *tases* **taçez**: L. *tacitus*; *screihtor*: L. *scripta*; **spafu** if < **spand-tom* **(58 c** with n. 3); similarly *spefa*; *persnis*; **statita**; **purtitu** *purditom*; *daetom*; *peretom.* See also **71** for adjectives of the type of L. *barbātus*, which in a formal sense are precisely like pf. pcpls. Both these and the true participles in Umbrian, as in Oscan and Latin, are formed by means of the suffix *-to/ā-*. In verbs of the first and fourth conjugations the suffix is normally added to the *-ā-*, *-ī-* of the verb stem. In verbs of the third conjugation it is added directly to the root, causing secondary changes in some of the resulting consonant-clusters, of which the most striking is that illustrated by **spafu**, *spefa* above. There are no sure examples of participles

preserving the characteristic *ē* of the second conjugation, since even *uirseto* may have unsyncopated *ĕ*. On the difficult question of the *e* here and in *tases*, *muieto*, **pruseçetu**, *daetom*, *peretom*, *frosetom*, *pesetom*, *uaśetom*, some of which belong to verbs of the first conjugation, see **30 c** with n. 2.

132. Gerundive. The examples are: gen. sg. m. *anferener*, *pihaner pehaner peihaner*; nom. sg. m. **pelsans**, acc. sg. m. **pelsanu**, acc. pl. f. *pelsana* **pelsana**. O. **úpsannam**, **sakrannas** give evidence of etymological gemination of the *n*. The O. and U. forms are therefore to be equated with L. gerundives *piandus*, *ferendus*, etc., on the basis of the O.-U. change *-nd-* > *-nn-* (**61 e**), the ultimate origin of the formation remaining obscure.

133. Periphrastic Forms. As in Latin, the passive forms of the perfect system are normally made by means of the pf. pass. pcpl. with appropriate forms of the verb 'be,' including forms of the root *fu-* as well as *es-*. The perfect indicative forms are: *uaseto est*, *pesetom est*, *peretom est*, *frosetom est*, *daetom est*, *orto est*, *screhto est*, pl. *screihtor sent*, *subator sent*. The only pf. subj. form of this type is **kuratu si**. The only pf. imv. form is **purtitu futu**. The pf. inf. forms are *erom ehiato* and **kuratu eru**. The fut. pf. forms are *muieto fust*, *persnis fust*, **pihaz fust** = *pihos fust*, **purtitu fust** = *purdito(m) fust*, **spafu fust**, pl. **çersnatur furent**. For pass. pf. subj. forms of the type of *pihafi* see **114 a**, **126 c**. For fut. pf. forms of the type of *benuso* see **115 g**.

134. Verbal Composition. The general principles for compounding verbs with prefixes are the same as in Latin. The effect of the prefix on the meaning of the verb is to define more precisely the location, direction, etc., of the action. The compound then often shows the attainment of a goal where the simplex shows no such attainment (cf., for example, L. *consequor* beside *sequor*, Germ. *ersteigen* beside *steigen*), and the distinction becomes similar to that of the "perfective" and "imperfective" aspects of the Slavic languages, but not to such an extent as to be reduced to an orderly system. Consequently no attempt is made to distinguish between those compounds in which the prefix has local value and those in which it merely shows action brought to completion.

Many of the verbal prefixes are also found as prepositions (or postpositions) with noun objects, and among the rest the lack of similar examples of prepositional use may be accidental; the Latin equivalents of *dis-* and *re-*, however, are used only as prefixes, and there is no reason to believe that they were ever otherwise used. For those prefixes which also serve as prepositions with nouns cross-references are given below, but detailed discussion of etymology and nuances of meaning is avoided here.

a. *aha-* **ah-** *a-* **a-**: L. *ā-*. *ahatripursatu* **ahtrepuřatu** etc., *ahauendu*.

b. *am-* **am-** *an-* *a-* **a-** 'around, about': ἀμφι-, L. *amb-*. This and *an-* immedi-

ately following are sometimes difficult to distinguish, as a result of the assimilation or loss of the nasal to which both are subject. The chief criterion for separating the two prefixes is the sense of the compounds in which they occur. The following are to be referred either certainly or probably to *am-*: *afero* **aferum**, *anferener*, and its suppletive fut. pr. *an-dersafust* **ateřafust**; *amboltu*.

c. *ambr-* **ampr- apr-** 'around, about': O. **amfr-**. Related to *am(b)-* as L. *super* to *sub*. *ambretuto*, **amprehtu apretu.**

d. *an-* **an- am-** *a-* **a-** 'up, upon', etc.: *ȧva-*, L. *an-* (in *anhelo*). The forms which are to be assigned with certainty or reasonable probability to this prefix, in contrast to *am-* above, are: **afiktu, amparitu, ampentu apentu,** *andendu* **atentu,** *anouihimu*; *anseriato aseriatu*, etc.; **anstintu astintu,** *anstiplatu*.

e. *ander-*: O. **anter**, L. *inter*. *andersistu*.

f. *ars-* **ař-** *ar-* **ar- a-**: L. *ad-*. **(a)řhabas** in crasis **neiřhabas, ařpeltu,** *arsueitu* etc. Cf. **147 a.**

g. *com-* **kum-** *co-* **ku-**: L. *com- con-*. *combifiatu* **kumpifiatu,** *comohota, comoltu* **kumultu,** *conegos* **kunikaz,** *couertu* **kuvertu, kukehes** (?), **kuveitu.** Cf. **147 b.**

h. *da-*: O. *dat* (and more remotely L. *dē*). *daetom*.

i. *dis-*: L. *dis-*. *disleralinsust* (?).

j. *ehe- eh- e-* **e-**: O. **eh- ee-**, L. *e*. *efurfatu, eheturstahamu* **etuřstamu,** *ehiato, ehueltu,* **eveietu.** Cf. **147 c.**

k. *en-* **en-**: O. *en*, L. *in-*, *ἐν-*. *endendu* **ententu,** *enetu*. Cf. **147 d.**

l. *os-* **us-**: O. *o(s)-* (in *ossi*[*ns* = L. **ob-sint*), L. *ob- obs- os-*. *ostendu* **ustentu.**

m. *per-* **per-**: O. *per-*, L. *per-*. *peretom*, **pertentu.** Cf. **147 h** on prep. **pert.**

n. *pre-* **pre-**: O. *prae-* **prai**, L. *prae-*. **prehabia, prepesnimu,** *preplotatu, preuendu, preuiślatu*. Cf. **147 k.**

o. *pro-* **pru-**: O. *pru-*, L. *pro-*. *procanurent, proseseto*, **prusekatu, prupehast, prusikurent.** Cf. **147 g** on *-per*.

p. *pur-* **pur-**: L. *por-*. *purdouitu* **purtuvitu.**

q. *re-* **re-**: L. *re-*. **restatu** *reste*, **revestu.**

r. *sub-* **sub- su-**: L. *sub-*. *subator*, **subahtu** *subotu, subocau, sumtu* < **subemetōd*, with assimilatory loss of *b* after syncope of the radical *e*; **sutentu.**

s. *trah-*: L. *trans- tra-*. *trahuorfi* (adv. from pf. pass. pcpl. of verb corresponding to L. *trans-verto*). Cf. **147 p.**

H. Syntax

135. General Remarks. The syntax of the Iguvine Tables, like that of the other Italic dialect inscriptions, resembles Latin so closely in most respects that a detailed account of it is unnecessary. In the following brief outline the chief emphasis is on those features of the syntax which are unusual (although many of them have parallels in Plautus or in early Latin prose) and on those principles which are important for the solution of problems of interpretation.

136. Ellipsis. The omission of the subject, verb, or direct object of the sentence is moderately frequent, but it is not possible in all cases to make a sharp distinction between clear cases of ellipsis and mere omission of words which are unnecessary because they can easily be supplied from the context.

a. The subject of the imperative forms used in the ritual instructions is omitted far more frequently than it is included. See Introduction, § 16.

b. Omission of the copula is so widespread in many IE languages as hardly to deserve notice among cases of ellipsis. In IIb 1-2 **tekvias / fameřias pumpeřias XII**, however, the 3 pl. **sent** is probably to be supplied if the interpretation adopted in this edition is correct. See translation and notes.

c. Most of the following passages contain an accusative direct object but omit the verb on which the object depends: — IIa 25 **tiu puni tiu vinu**: it is not certain what verb is to be supplied, but cf. VIa 25 *Di Grabouie, tio esu bue peracrei pihaclu ocreper Fisiu totaper Iouina irer nomneper erar nomneper*, where the verb would be *subocau*, as appears from the almost identical 33-4. Cf. also VIb 9-10, VIIa 9-10. — Ia 18 **kapiř purtitaf sakref etraf purtitaf etraf sakref tutaper Ikuvina**: the verb may be inferred from the corresponding VIb 18 *capiʃ purdita dupla aitu sacra dupla aitu.* — IV 14 **putrespe erus**: cf. **erus.../ teřtu** 27-8. — VIa 17-8 *parfa dersua curnaco dersua peico mersto peica meersta*, etc.: the accusatives cannot depend on *carsitu* which immediately precedes, for the sentence is oratio recta, as *tefe* in 18 shows. Some verb equivalent to 'I see, I have seen' must therefore be supplied. — VIa 27, 37, 47, b 29 *pus(e)i neip her(e)itu*: the full form is shown in IIa 4 **fetu puze neip eretu.**

d. Ellipsis of the direct object: — Va 17 **ape apelust**: the object of the verb would designate the sacrificial victim. — III 20-1 **ap / vuku kukehes iepi persklumař kařitu**: the object of **kařitu** would designate the persons called to the ceremony. The forms *comoltu* VIb 17, 41, VIIa 39, 44, 45, **kumaltu** IIa, 9, IV 28, **kumultu** Ia 34 are without direct object. **kumaltu** IIa 41 is preceded by the series of partitive genitives **struhçlas fiklas sufafias**, and in every instance it is probably the cakes of the type used in each particular sacrifice which are to be ground up.

137. Asyndeton. The omission of the conjunction 'and,' like the omission of the copula, was a widespread and well-established IE phenomenon. In the Iguvine Tables it is so frequent as to be the rule rather than the exception. For the following pairs line references are unnecessary: **ařepes arves** 13 times, **antakre(s) kumate(s)** 3 times, **snata asnata** (**-u**, **-es**, **-e**) 4 times, *dupursus peturpursus*, *šihitu anšihitu* (*-ir*) 7 times, *hostatu an(h)ostatu* (*-ir*) 7 times, **atru alfu**; *nome nerf arsmo u(e)iro pequo castruo frif* 11 times; **Puemune Pupřike Vesune Puemunes Pupřikes** IV 10-11, but **Puemune Pupřike et Vesune Puemunes Pupřikes** 12-13. **etu veltu** IV 21 is asyndetic, but the verbs are not coordinate in the full sense. VIa 1 *parfa curnase dersua peiqu peica merstu* shows two asyndetic pairs, but the connective is not necessarily *et*, since the requirement may be for a *parra or* a crow *dersua*, a woodpecker *or* a magpie *merstu*. See note on passage.

138. Agreement. The fundamental rules are the same as in Latin: an attributive or predicative adjective agrees with its noun in number, gender, and case; a verb agrees with its subject in person and number; a relative agrees with its antecedent in gender and number, while its case is determined within its own clause. But deviations occur as a result of case-attraction, anacoluthic sentence-structure, or the replacement of strictly formal agreement by agreement according to sense.

a. A singular subject which for any reason is plural in sense may have its verb in the plural: Va 24-6 **sve mestru karu** / **fratru Atiieřiu pure ulu benurent** / **prusikurent rehte kuratu eru**... The verb **prusikurent** takes its number not only from the collective sense in **karu** but also from the influence of the intervening relative clause, whose verb **benurent** receives its plural number from **fratru**... **pure**; similarly 27-9; similarly b 3-6, where **pepurkurent** is the verb showing attraction of number. In VIIa 52 *hondra furo sehemeniar hatuto totar pisi heriest*, despite the singular clause *pisi heriest* it is understood that the persons catching the heifers will be more than one; hence plural *hatuto*. In VIb 56 the *adfertor* with the two *prinuatur* make a pl. subject: *eno com prinuatir peracris sacris ambretuto*. Cf. Livy, XXI, 60, 7 *ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur*.

b. VIa 19-20 shows an example of attraction of the antecedent into the case of the relative; or, more strictly, the antecedent in the nominative case introduces the sentence, followed by the relative clause, after which the antecedent is resumed by a demonstrative in the accusative as object of the principal verb, the sentence as a whole being anacoluthic: *uasor... porsi ocrer* / *pehaner paca ostensendi eo iso ostendu pusi...*: *uasor* is nom., since acc. would end in *-f* (**103 a**), but *eo*, object of *ostendu*, must be acc.

c. The following examples show a shift in number between a pronoun and the

noun or pronoun to which it refers: VIIa 13-14 *futu fons / ... pople totar Iiouinar tote Iiouine erom nomne erar nomne. erom* refers to *pople*, being plural by construction according to sense, but in the similar passages 17-18, 31, the sg. *erer* is used. In III 33-IV 3 the sg. **eřek** is used three times with reference to **tuva (triia) tefra**; see note on III 34. Va 7-8 shows a shift in number between relative and antecedent: **revestu puře teřte eru emantur herte** '*revisito, quae dantur* [*num*] *ex iis accipiantur oporteat*' (Buck): the usage of **puře** resembles that of **eřek** in III 33-IV 3 above, while **eru** is a pl. partitive subject, unless we prefer to take **eru** as abl. sg. with Conway, *Dial. Ital. Ex. Sel.*, who translates '*ex eo quod datur.*'

139. Interchange of Predicate adjective and Adverb or Prepositional Phrase. The following constructions are striking chiefly because they show an adverb or prepositional phrase where English usage leads us to expect an adjective, or vice versa. Parallels can sometimes be found in Latin, and to some extent the usage varies between Umbrian and Oscan, or even within the Iguvine Tables themselves.

a. An adverb is used where we should expect a predicate adjective: — Va 24-27 **sve mestru karu... prusikurent rehte kuratu eru, eřek prufe si** (as if L. used *id probe sit* in place of *id probum sit*). — VIa 8-10 *angluto / hondomu porsei nesimei asa deueia est anglome somo porsei nesimei uapersus auiehcleir / est*: with the adverb *nesimei* (*-ei* < *-ēd*) contrast the predicate adjective in Oscan no. 109 Co. **nessimas staíet veruís lúvkeí** '*proximae stant portae in luco.*'

b. An adjective is used where we should expect an adverb or prepositional phrase, or the adjective may replace the preposition: — *tases persnimu*, **kutef pesnimu**, these two expressions with their variations making 29 examples; cf. Livy, XXXV, 19, 1 *contumeliam tacitus tulit.* — IIa 10-11 **uve... / peřaem fetu** 'sacrifice the sheep on the ground,' with variations 11 examples in all; similarly IIa 21-22 **esunu / peřae futu** 'the sacrifice shall be on the ground.' — IIa 30-31 **supa spantea pertentu** 'at the side.' — 32 **supa pustra perstu** 'at the back'; cf. b 19, VI b 5, VIIa 8, the forms of *postro-* in all these examples being accusative in agreement with the things which are placed at the back; similarly IV 17-18 **persuntru supu ereçle... purtuvitu** 'at the bottom of the statue'; but 19 has **super ereçle** with a preposition. — VIb 17 *eno mefa uestisia sopa(m) purome efurfatu, subra spahmu* 'down into the fire'; *sopa(m)* agrees with *uestišia* or *mefa*, but *subra* is best regarded as an adverb, as appears plainly in Va 20, VIa 15 (first instance), VIIb 3. VIIa 38-39 is nearly equivalent to VIb 17.

140. The Cases. The syntactical differences between the Italic dialects and Latin in regard to the cases are considerably less striking than the morphological differences. As in Latin the ablative case combines the functions of the IE ablative, instrumental, and (in part) locative; but just as the locative has maintained

itself as a distinct formal category to a greater extent than in Latin, so it is actually used to a greater extent.

141. Nominative. The uses as subject and as predicate noun or adjective need no explanation. The Iguvine Tables show no clear examples of vocative use where distinct vocative forms are available. There are two possible instances of an unconstrued nom. used as a heading for what is to follow: — VIa 12 *Tuderor totcor: uapersusto auieclir ebetrafe*, etc., unless we prefer to consider *tuderor totcor* the subject of a sentence in which the copula is omitted. — IIa 15 **Huntia** may be a heading for the instructions on the dog-sacrifice which follow, if the suggestion contained in the note on the passage is correct.

142. Genitive. Most of the uses, especially the possessive and other adnominal uses, need no explanation. Uses which seem to deserve some notice include the following:

a. Genitive of origin: Vb 9 *farer opeter p. IIII agre Tlatie Piquier Martier.* The Ager Tlatius Picuvius Martius is the source of the spelt.

b. Among partitive uses some are obvious; among those which are more unusual, at least from a Latin standpoint, are the following: — IIa 41 **struhçlas fiklas sufafias kumaltu**: the three gen. sg. forms are partitive objects of **kumaltu**. — VIa 13 *tertiame praco pracatarum*: the third in a certain series of objects is used as one of the landmarks in defining the augural *templum*. *praco* may be acc. sg. modified by *tertiam* or gen. pl. modified by *pracatarum*, but the last is clearly partitive gen. See note on the passage. — Va 8 **eru emantur**: a partitive subject; but see **138 c** above, with the alternative explanation.

c. Judicial genitive: a probable instance is VIIb 4 *fratreci motar sins a. CCC.* For discussion see note on the passage.

d. Gerundive in the genitive case expressing purpose: VIa 8 *Uerfale pufe arsfertur trebeit ocrer peihaner.* b 48 *sururo stiplatu pusi ocrer pihaner.* Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, II, 59, 1 *Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis.*

In VIa 18-19 the gerundive construction may depend loosely on the noun *esoneir*: *esisco esoneir seueir / popler anferener et ocrer pihaner perca arsmatia habitu.* In 19-20, immediately following, *paca* functions as an improper preposition governing the genitive: *uasor uerisco Treblanir porsi ocrer / pehaner paca ostensendi...*; so most construe the sentence (otherwise Dev. and Pis., taking *paca* as abl. of manner '*ritu*' or '*ex pacto*').

143. Dative. Most uses require only the briefest mention. The dative of indirect object is illustrated by VIa 22 *Iuue Grabouei buf treif fetu*, with similar expressions at the beginning of the instructions for other sacrifices. Dative with adjectives: VIb 7-8, etc., *fons sir pacer sir ocre Fisi tote Iiouine erer nomne erar*

nomne. Dative with compound verbs: IIa 19-20 = III 21-22 **pir ase / antentu**; IV 21 **eřek persuntre antentu**; VIa 56 *prosesetir meſa speſa ficla arsueitu* and other examples with *arsueitu*; Ia 31 **esmik vestiça afiktu**. The following uses are less familiar or less obvious:

a. Dative of possessor used with a form of the verb 'be': — Vb 6-7 **etantu mutu ařferture / si**. — VIIb 1 *Pisi panupei fratrexs fratrus Atiersier fust* 'Whoever at any time shall be brother-superior among (or *for*) the Atiedian Brothers.'

b. Dative with a form of the verb **kuratu**: Va 4-5 **ri esune / kuraia**. Cf. the rare Latin use which appears in Plaut., *Trin.*, 1057 *sed ego sum insipientior qui rebus curem publicis*.

c. With the impersonal verb **herter**: IIa 40 **esuf pusme herter**. Cf. Ter., *Ad.*, 928 *ita nobis decet*.

d. Dative of advantage or disadvantage: — VIIa 11-3 *Prestota Šerfia... preuendu uia ecla atero tote Tarsinate*, etc., in the curse against Iguvium's enemies. With opposite effect 26-7 *Prestota / Šerfia... ahauendu uia ecla atero pople totar Iiouinar tote Iiouine*, etc. — VIa 17-8 *parfa dersua curnaco dersua peico mersto peica meersta, / mersta aueif mersta ancla eesona tefe, tote Iiouine esmei stahmei stahmitei*: the dative construes less easily with *dersua... mersta* as 'west... east' than as '*prosperam... iustas*' with earlier editors, yet the notion of the omens serving the interests of the individual and the state is quite clear.

144. Accusative. The most frequent uses are as direct object of verbs and as object of prepositions (or postpositions). For elliptical expressions with omission of the verb governing the object see **136 c**. For the uses with prepositions see **147 a, d, e, h, j, l, n**.

a. An example of the acc. with a verb of putting on (passive with middle sense) occurs in VIb 49 *perca arsmatiam anouihimu. cringatro hatu, destrame scapla anouihimu*. For the probable sense of *perca* and the semantic evolution of *anouihimu* see on VIa 19. For the case-construction in general cf. Verg., *Aen.* II, 392-3 *Androgei galeam clipeique insigne decorum / induitur*.

145. Ablative. The uses fall into three main categories: "true" ablative constructions involving source and separation; instrumental-comitative constructions; and constructions of place and time in which the ablative competes with the locative. The ablative absolute is treated among participial constructions; see **153 h**. For prepositional uses see **147 b, c, g, i, k, o**.

a. The ablative of place whence, unaccompanied by a preposition or postposition, is rare: — VIa 8-9 *angluto / hondomu porsei nesimei asa deueia est* '*proxume ab ara divina.*' — III 23 = IV 15-16 **testru sese asa**; **sese** as a preposition governs **testru**, and the resulting combination governs **asa**. So probably also

in VIa 2 *tremnu serse arsferture ehueltu*, 16-17 *tremnu serse / combifiatu*. For reasons of word-order it would be easier to take *tremnu* with *serse* than with *ehueltu, combifiatu*, but in this case we should expect the locative *tremne*.

b. Instrumental and comitative constructions include the following: — Ablative of accompaniment: IIb 13 **persutru vaputis mefa vistiça feta fertu**: probably **persutru** is acc. object of **fertu**, while **vaputis** and the succeeding nouns are abl.; see note on passage. — Ablative of means: VIb 52 *uia auiecla esonome etuto*; cf. 65, Ib 14, etc.; III 12-13 **sakre uvem / kletra fertuta**. A variety of the instrumental use is the frequent ablative with **fetu**: VIa 56-7 *este / esono heri uinu heri poni fetu*; similarly b 1-2, etc. Cf. *Acta fratrum arvalium*, pp. 11, 12, 24, 26, etc. (Henzen) *ture et vino fecerunt*. Somewhat different and probably to be referred to the "true" ablative is VIb 55 *fetu uru pirse mers est* 'do with him what is the law.' Cf. L. *quid hoc homine facias*? — Instrumental ablative with *persnihmu*: VIb 9 *poni pesnimu*, and frequent similar expressions. — Ablative of accordance: Va 11-12 **felsva/arputrati fratru Atiieřiu prehubia** 'at the discretion of the Atiedian Brothers'; III 4-6 **uhturu... / ... ustentuta puře / fratru mersus fust**. See note on passage. — Ablative of price: Va 17-18 **ape apelust, muneklu habia numer / prever pusti kastruvuf** 'shall receive a donation [at the rate of] a single nummus per head'; similarly 19, 21.

c. Locative uses: These include both local and temporal constructions. In the plural there is of course no formal distinction between the ablative and locative cases, and even in the singular the formal distinction is not always clear. Local uses: — VIa 5 *sersi pirsi sesust*; *sersi* is probably abl., since the loc. sg. of both consonant- and *i*-stems in the 3rd declension ends in *-e* **-e**. — VIa 2 *tremnu serse arsferture ehueltu*. — VIa 11 *todceir tuderus seipodruhpei seritu* 'within the city boundaries.' Temporal uses: IIa 17 **menzne kurçlasiu façia tiçit**. The ending of the adjective shows that the case is abl., not loc. The justification for the case is that the construction is very close to being an abl. of attendant circumstance or abl. abs. rather than a purely temporal construction.

146. Locative. The constructions are partly local, partly temporal. For uses with prepositions and with the postposition *-en -em -e* see **147 d, m**. This postposition frequently contracts with *-e*, the loc. sg. ending in the first and second declensions, to which most of the attested loc. sg. forms belong; and since final nasals are frequently not written, it is possible that many or even all loc. sg. forms, if not accompanied by some preposition, actually contain *-e(n)*. Examples not preceded by prepositions and not clearly followed by *-en -em -e* include the following:

a. Local uses: — VIa 57, etc., *uatuo ferine fetu*. — VIb 50 *aso destre onse fertu* (but in IIb 27, 28 **testre e uze habetu** the postposition is clearly present). — Va 15-16 **kumnah/kle Atiieřie ukre**: the first noun, with its adjective, is loc-

ative, and so is **ukre**; **eikvasese Atiieřier**, which follows, has postpositive **-e**. — VIb 54-5 *sopir habe | esme pople* 'if anyone is caught among this people.'

b. Temporal uses: — Ib 45 = IIa 44 **kvestretie... svesu** (**svesu** is inflected before the **-su**; the case-ending is *-e-*); similarly VIIb 1 *sueso fratrecate.* — IIa 15, III 2 **sume ustite** 'in the final period' (?). — Va 2, 14-15 **plenasier urnasier.**

147. Prepositions and Postpositions. The cases used are the accusative, ablative, and locative. **-ař -a**, *hondra*, **pert**, *posti* **pusti**, *subra*, *superne* have only the accusative. *com -co* **-ku**, *ehe* **e**, *-per*, *post* **pus**, *pre*, *-to* **-ta -tu** have only the ablative. **super** has the locative (but cf. *superne* with acc.). *-en -e -em* and *traf* have the accusative and locative. *paca* used in VIa 20 with a preceding gerundive construction resembles Latin *causa* used as an improper postpositive preposition with the same construction. For the use of prepositions as prefixes in combination with verbs see **134**.

The following account of the prepositions is merely intended to illustrate the most important and typical uses. For a full listing as well as for etymological data see the Lexicon.

a. **-ař -a** with acc., 'to, toward': **spinamař etu, persklumař kařitu**; 'in the direction of, at': **tuva tefra spantimař prusekatu, spiniama persnihmu vestikatu ahtrepuřatu.**

b. *-co* **-ku** with abl., 'with': *etuto com peracris sacris, com prinuatir*; in postpositive use 'at': **asaku**, *destruco persi, nertruco persi*, etc.; only with pronouns is the postpositive used in sense 'with': VIb 50-1 *erucom prinuatur dur | etuto.*

c. *ehe* **e** with abl., 'out of, from among': VIb 54 *eetu ehesu poplu*; 'away from': IIa 38-9 **manf easa / vutu.**

d. *-en -e -em.* With acc., 'into, to, upon': **pune fesnafe benus**, *uapefe auieclu*, (*cringatro*) *destrame scapla anouihimu* 'place over his right shoulder'; showing result, *vasetome fust*; cf. L. *in irritum.* With loc., 'in, upon': **fesnere purtuetu**, *ocrem Fisiem* '(if) on the Fisian Mount (fire has occurred).' Occasionally *-e(n)* is attached both to the noun and to a qualifying adjective: with acc., Ib 14 **vapefem avieklufe kumpifiatu** (but not in the corresponding VI b 51 *uapefe auieclu*); with loc., *ocrem Fisiem, toteme Iouinem.* Buck, § 169, 7a, compares O. **húrtín Kerríiín** (Agnone Dedication = Co. no. 175, line 1-2) and suggests that the extension of *-m* to the adjective, as if it were a case-ending, was favored by the parallelism of locative forms with and without *-m* and of accusative forms with and without *-m*, the *-m* of the acc. being of course quite natural in the adjective. *toteme* actually contains a double loc. ending, induced perhaps by such acc. forms as *totame.* III 20 **vukumen esunumen etu** is probably not an instance of repetition of the *-en*; see note on passage.

e. *hondra* **hutra** with acc., 'below': *hondra furo sehemeniar* 'below the Forum Seminarium,' *hondra esto tudero* 'below these limits.'

f. *paca* with gen., 'for the purpose of': *ocrer pehaner paca* 'for the purification of the Mount.' See introductory remarks in the present section.

g. *-per* with abl., 'for, on behalf of': *teio subocau... ocriper Fisiu totaper Iiouina, erer nomneper erar nomneper* (frequent).

h. pert with acc., 'beyond, on the other side of': **pert spinia** (but **-pert** IIa 35 is an error for **-per**).

i. *post* **pus** with abl., '*behind*': *post uerir.*

j. *posti* **pusti(n)** with acc., with distributive force like *κατά*, Eng. *per*, L. *in* (*singulos*, etc.): **pustin ançif** 'at each turning'; **pusti kastruvuf** 'per head' (?); *posti acnu* 'each year.'

k. *pre* **pre** with abl., 'before, in front of': *pre uerir.*

l. *subra* with acc., 'above': VIa 15-16 *subra esto / tudero*; elsewhere only as adv.

m. super with loc., 'above, at the top of': Ib 41 **super kumne** 'above the place of assembly'; IV 19 **super ereçle** 'at the top of the statue.'

n. *superne* with acc., 'above': *superne adro* 'above the black (vessels).'

o. *-to* **-ta -tu** with abl., 'from': *uapersusto auieclir* 'from the augural seats' (in defining the limits of the templum); *scalseto* **skalçeta** (**purtuvitu** or *dirstu*) 'from a cup.'

p. *traf traha(f)* **tra** 'across.' With the exception of IIa 13 **tra ekvine** 'across the Via Equina'(?), all examples govern forms of *sahatam*, making a place-name similar to *Trastevere*, and the case-syntax then depends not on *traf* but on the relation of the resulting hypostasis to the rest of the sentence. See on VIIa 5.

148. General Remarks on the Syntax of the Verb. The treatment of the syntax of the verb is brief, partly because in most respects the resemblance to Latin is so close as to make a detailed description superfluous, and partly because the extent and nature of the material have limited both the number of morphological categories and the range of uses of those categories which are actually represented. In the indicative only the present, future, perfect, and future perfect are found, the last being the most frequent; in the subjunctive only the present and perfect, with a few imperfect forms in Oscan and Paelignian. With the exception of *stiplo* and *aserio* all imperative forms are of the "future", type. The infinitive is limited to the present active and perfect passive, the participles to the present active, perfect passive, and gerundive.

149. Impersonal Use of Verbs. The use of 3 sg. forms, especially passives

without definite subject is moderately frequent. The chief examples are: — VIa 27-8 = 37 = 47 *persei tuer perscler uasetom est pesetom est peretom est frosetom est daetom est*; VIIb 3 *pusei subra screhto est* 'as it is written above'; but VIa 15 has *screihtor sent* with definite pl. subject; VIb 42 *purdito fust*, Va 18-19 **ape purtitu / fust**; yet Ib 38-9 **esunu / purtitu fust** has **esunu** as subject, and we may have to explain the equivalent VIIa 45 *purditom fust* as an ellipsis; similarly IV 31-2 **purtitu / futu**, but **esunu / purtitu futu** in IIa 43. — Va 20 **ape subra spafu fust**; see on Va 17-22. — Va 23-9 **ehvelklu feia... / sve rehte kuratu si. sve... / ... / prusikurent rehte kuratu eru.../... sve ... / ... prusikurent / kuratu rehte neip eru...** — VIa 7 *sue muieto fust* 'if a noise is made.' — VIb 63-4 *ape termnome / couortuso ... ape termnome benuso* 'when the boundary has been reached'; 65 = VIIa 1-2 *erafont uia pora benuso.* — IIa 17 **façia tiçit**; cf. L. *decet* + inf. — Va 5-6 **piře uraku ri esuna / si herte**, like L. *oportet* + subjunctive; cf. 8, 10, b 8, 11, 13, 16, VIIb 2, III 1. — IIa 40 **esuf pusme herter** 'he whose duty it is.'

150. The Voices. Passive forms are found in normal passive use, in impersonal use, and as deponents. It is unsafe in specific cases to affirm the non-existence of active forms in languages as poorly preserved as the Italic dialects, and yet it is reasonably certain that deponents must have existed in Umbrian as in Latin and Greek.

a. For the normal contrast of active and passive the following examples will suffice: — VIa 29 *Di Grabouie, pihatu ocre Fisei, pihatu tota Iouina*; b 46-7 *eno ocar / pihos fust.* — VIa 19-20 *uasor... porsi ocrer / pehaner paca ostensendi, eo iso ostendu...* 'the vessels which are to be exhibited... he shall so exhibit...'

b. For the impersonal use of passive forms see **149** above.

c. Among deponent verbs should probably be included the following: *persnimu*: cf. L. *precor* with different stem but same root and meaning; **terkantur**: *δέρκομαι* (?); *eheturstahamu.* **çersnatur furent**, the sense of which is active, may, like L. *ceno*, have possessed active forms, but no such forms are quotable.

d. When active and passive forms coexist, the difference may be one of transitive and intransitive meaning: III 13-14 **kletram / amparitu** 'set up the litter'; IIa 42 **amparihmu** stand up'; cf. *ἵστημι* : *ἵσταμαι.* It is not clear, however, why the active *subra spahatu* is used in VIb 41 but the passive *subra spah(a)mu* in 17 = VIIa 39.

e. No active forms are quotable beside passive *arsmahamo caterahamo*, but the active would presumably have been used of the commander who arranged the companies, the passive being a middle used of the persons arranging themselves. So probably **anouihitu* would mean 'put (clothing) on (another)' as *anouihimu* is 'put (clothing) on (oneself).'

151. The Tenses. There are few, if any, usages which are peculiar by contrast with Latin.

a. The present indicative is occasionally used in subordinate clauses where we might expect the future: VIb 43 (= Ib 1) *ponne oui furfant*; VIIb 2 *ponne iuengar tursiandu hertei*, but fut. in VIb 48 (= Ib 10) *pone poplo afero heries*; VIb 54-5 *sopir habe / esme pople* 'if anyone is caught among this people'; the form *habe* is obscure but undoubtedly of the present tense.

b. The perfect indicative is used of past action with lasting effect in Va 1-2 (= 14) **esuk frater Atiieřiur / eitipes**; the last word is partly obscure but almost without doubt a pf. ind. verb.

c. The future and future perfect differ as in Latin. In subordinate clauses, where the majority of our examples of both tenses are found, the fut. shows the action as in progress, the fut. pf. as completed, when the main action occurs; so, for example, in IIb 27-8 **pune anpenes krikatru testre e uze habetu. ape apel/us, mefe atentu** 'while you are slaying... when you have slain.' But there is some fluctuation in usage: Ib 15-16 **pune menes** (= ***benes**, L. *venies*) / **Akeřuniamem**, but fut. pf. in the corresponding VIb 52-3 *ape Acesoniame/ ... benust*; IIb 16 **pune fesnafe benus**.

d. Among the tenses of the subjunctive only present and perfect forms are quotable in Umbrian. The distinction between the two tenses is not purely one of relative time, or rather most of the few examples do not occur in situations where such a distinction can be observed. Like the distinction of the Gk. present and aorist subjunctive, it appears to be partly a matter of aspect. VIa 28-9 (= 38, 48, b 31) *esu bue / peracrei pihaclu pihafei*; the subj. is pf. pass., and the purification is contemplated as a completed act. VIb 51-2 *neip / amboltu prepa desua combifianśi* 'until (the augur) has announced.' Vb 3-7 **panta muta... / ... / ... ařferture eru pepurkure/nt herifi, etantu mutu ařferture / si** 'whatever fine they demand it be pleasing to be (imposed) on the *adfertor*, so great a fine shall be (imposed) on the *adfertor*.' For the sequence of tenses it is impossible to find adequate examples, but the few imperfect subjunctive forms in Oscan and Paelignian occur in subordinate clauses depending on perfect indicative forms; in other words with the same tense sequence as in Latin (cf. Cippus Abellanus = Co. 95, lines 19, 50, 51, 54; Pael., Co. 239).

e. The imperative forms, being used in permanent instructions for the performance of the ritual, are almost all of the "future" type: *naratu* = L. *narrato*, *habitu* = L. *habeto*, etc. The two present imv. forms *stiplo* VIa 2, *aserio* VIa 4 are in oratio recta, in the dialogue between the augur and *adfertor* during the taking of the auspices at the beginning of the purification of the mount.

f. The participles have the same tense-values as in Latin, the pres. act. showing action contemporaneous with that of the main verb, the pf. pass. showing action

prior to that of the main verb. For the time-value of the pcpl. in the ablative absolute *aueis aseriater* VIa 1, see introductory note on VIa 1-18.

152. The Moods. The uses of the indicative and subjunctive in subordinate clauses are treated in **154**. The present section is concerned with the subjunctive and imperative in expressions of command, exhortation, etc., and with dependent uses of the subjunctive where no subordinating conjunction is present.

a. In the following passages 2nd and 3rd person forms of the subjunctive are used with a value scarcely different from that of the imperative: Va 3-5 **arfertur** ... / ... **ri esune** / **kuraia, prehabia pire**... 10-12 **arfertur**... / ... **esunesku vepurus felsva** / ... **prehubia.** 17-23 **ape apelust, muneklu habia numer** / **prever pusti kastruvuf,**... (19) **habia**... (21) **habia**... (23) **ehvelklu feia fratreks ute kvestur.** Cf. 27 **prufe si,** b 1 **ehvelklu feia,** 6-7 **etantu mutu arferture** / **si.** In the above passages the use of the subjunctive in place of the imv. may have been partly induced by **eitipes** 2, 14, which introduces the decrees; in other words, the subjunctive may be quasi-subordinate. Not so, however, in VIIb 1-2 *...fratrexs ... portaia seuacne fratrom* / *Atiersio desenduf.* 4 *fratreci motar sins a. CCC.* Ib 35-6 **ene tra Sahta kupifiaia** / **erus tera,** but imv. **kupifiatu** earlier in 35, *combifiatu* VIIa 43, 44, the latter instance corresponding to the subjunctive in Ib 35.

b. A prohibitive use of the subjunctive occurs in IV 32-3 **erek** / **ures punes neirhabas** '*... ne adhibeant.*' In VIa 6, b 51-2, however, prohibitions are expressed by *ne(i)p* + imv.

c. With verbs of necessity, obligation, and certain other ideas a dependent subjunctive may appear with no subordinating conjunction. With *herter*: III 1-2 **esunu fuia herter sume** / **ustite**... Cf. Va 6 **si herte,** 8, 10 **emantur herte,** b 8, 11, 13, 16 *dirsas* (*-ans, -a*) *herti*; VIIb 2 *ponne iuengar tursiandu hertei*; but in Vb 3-6 **panta muta fratru** / **Atiierius mestru karu**... / ... **arferture eru pepurkure/nt herifi** the infinitive **eru** depends on **herifi,** which itself depends as a pf. subj. on **pepurkurent.** With **tiçit**: IIa 16-17 **arfertur**... / ... **façia tiçit.** With *stiplo*: VIa 2 *stiplo aseriaia parfa dersua*... With *combifiatu* **kupifiatu**: VIIa 43-4 *combifiatu Rubiname erus* / *dersa* (= Ib 35), VIIa 44 (= Ib 35-6) practically the same. With *deitu*: VIb 64 *etaians deitu,* 65 = VIIa 1 *deitu etaias.* In VIa 22-3 the presence of *subocau* seems to be the occasion for the use of the subjunctive: *teio subocau suboco* / *Dei Graboui... fos sei pacer sei ocre Fisei*; cf. b 6-7, 26. In all other instances of the formula *subocau* is absent from the context, and the imv. *futu, fututo* is used. Cf. also **a** above for the verb **eitipes** as an influencing factor in the use of the subjunctives in V.

d. Indirect questions have partly the indicative, partly the subjunctive: Va 7-8 **revestu pure terte** / **eru emantur herte** 'whatever are offered, he shall examine whether any of them should be accepted.' **herte** is ind.; the form cannot

be explained as subj., and the use of the ind. is no more surprising than in early Latin, where it is frequent. Cf. 10 **emantu herte.** The subjunctive is used in 23-4 **ehvelklu feia fratreks ute kvestur / sve rehte kuratu si**; b 1-3 **ehvelklu feia... / ... panta muta / arferture si.** In the last example the subj. can be explained by the deliberative nature of the clause, but not so in the prior example, which is an indirect question of mere fact.

e. The use of the imperative in the ritual instructions of the Tables is too frequent to require illustration. Certain special cases, however, deserve mention: IIa 42-3 **esunu / purtitu futu**; IV 31-2 **purtitu / futu.** Contrast the indicative in VIb 42 *purdito fust*; similarly VIIa 45, Ib 39. In each case the formula occurs at the end of the description of a particular ceremony.

f. The prohibitive use of the imv. occurs in the following passages: VIa 6 *neip mugatu nep arsir andersistu*; b 51-2 *neip / amboltu.* See also **b** above.

153. The Non-finite Forms of the Verb. The verbal nouns include the present active and perfect passive infinitive and the supine in *-tum*, while the verbal adjectives include the present active and perfect passive participles and the gerundive.

a. Examples of the complementary infinitive are found only with forms of the verb *heries*: — VIb 48 *pone poplo afero heries* (= Ib 10). — IIa 16-17 **heriiei façiu, arfertur... / ... façia tiçit.** — IIb 21-2 **vitlu vufru pune heries / façu.**

b. The infinitive accompanied by an accusative subject and depending on an impersonal verb is exemplified by: — Vb 3-6 **panta muta ... / ... / ... arferture eru pepurkure/nt herifi.** The inf. **eru** depends on the subjunctive **herifi**, which in turn depends on **pepurkurent.** — VIIb 1-2 *seuacne ... / ... pifi reper fratreca pars est erom ehiato.* For the form *ehiato* see the note on the passage.

c. The infinitive in oratio obliqua is found in the following passages: Va 24-6 **sve ... / ... / prusikurent rehte kuratu eru.** Similarly 27-9, but with negative **neip.**

d. Clear examples of the supine occur only in the verb *anseriato*, and all depend on forms of *etu*: Ib 10 **avef anzeriatu etu** = VIb 48 *auif aseriato etu.* Cf. VIa 1, 6, (twice).

e. All examples of the present participle show the "predicative" use: — VIb 22 *serse fetu* = Ia 25 **zeřef fetu**, and so with the other examples of *serse* **zeřef**; see Lexicon.— VIb 47 *reste esono feitu* = Ib 9 **restef esunu feitu.** — Ia 6 **kutef pesnimu** and similarly with all other instances of **kutef.**

f. The attributive use of the pf. pass. pcpl. may be seen in the following examples: — VIb 18 *capif purdita dupla aitu, sacra dupla aitu* (= Ia 18), where pcpl. *purdita* and adj. *sacra* designate two different classes of vessels. Similarly **veskla snata asnata** IIa 19, etc. — IIa 42 **antakres kumates persnihmu**, where

kumates are the ground in contrast to the unground grains (or cakes?); similarly Ib 36, 37. — VIb 59-60, etc., *nerf śihitu anśihitu iouie hostatu / anhostatu.*

g. Examples of the predicative use of the pf. pass. pcpl. are: — VIa 55, etc., *tases persnimu.* — VIb 5 *uestisia et meſa speſa scalsie conegos ſetu*, and similarly in all the other instances of *conegos* **kunikaz.**

h. Examples of the ablative absolute are: VIa 1 *aueis aseriater* (= Ia 1, IIa 16-17). Possibly also VIb 17 *comoltu, comatir persnihimu*, unless *comatir* is rather to be taken in an instrumental sense 'with the ground grains' as in the passages with **antakres kumates** cited in **f** above.

i. The examples of the gerundive in general involve the notion of purpose: — VIa 18-19 *esisco esoneir seueir / popler anferener et ocrer pihaner*, where the gerundive phrase depends, at least to some extent, on *esoneir.* — VIa 19-20 *ocrer / pehaner paca*, where *paca* is generally taken as equivalent in sense to L. *causā.* — VIa 8 *uerfale pufe arsfertur trebeit ocrer peihaner*, where the gerundive phrase has no direct dependence on any word; cf. Tac., *Ann.*, II, 59 *Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis.* — VIb 22 (= Ia 26) *pelsana ſetu* 'offer for (ultimate) burial'; cf. IIa 6, III 32. — IIa 43 **katel asaku pelsans futu** is more nearly like the obligational use in L. *Carthago delenda est.*

154. Subordinate Clauses. The use of dependent subjunctives without a subordinating conjunction has already been treated in **152 c** above, and indirect questions in **152 d.** Relative clauses and clauses introduced by the local conjunctions *pue* and *pufe* present no problem in regard to the use of moods and tenses. The present section is therefore limited to substantive clauses with *puse* **puze**, temporal clauses, and conditional clauses.

a. The following passages show *puse* **puze** + subj. corresponding to L. *ut* + subj.: — VIIa 43 *carsitu... puse erus dersa* = Ib 33-4 **kařetu** ... /... **puze erus teřa.** — VIa 20 *eo iso ostendu pusi pir pureto cehefi dia*; *dia* is subj., but see note on the passage.

b. The temporal conjunctions are *arnipo, nersa, prepa* 'until,' *ape, pane, pone* **pune** 'when.' VIb 41 *sersitu arnipo comatir pesnis fust* (fut. pf.); in 25 the verbal form *uesticos* is obscure; see note. VIa 6 *neip mugatu nep arsir andersistu nersa courtust.* b 51-2 *neip / amboltu prepa desua combifianśi* (pf. subj.). VIb 5 *ape sopo postro peperscust*, and fut. pf. with all other instances except IIb 28 **ape purtuvies**, where the verb is fut., and possibly III 20-1 **ap / vuku kukehes**, where the verb is obscure; see note. VIIa 46 (= Ib 40) *postertio pane poplo andirsafust.* In contrast to *ape* and *pane*, which introduce action prior to the main action, *pone* may introduce contemporaneous as well as prior action, and is used with the pres., fut., and fut. pf. ind., and once with the pres. subj.: VIb 43 (= Ib 1) *ponne oui furfant*, and pres. also in VIIb 2, and in IIb 22, where *seste* is better taken as pres. than as fut. Va 8-9 **pihaklu pune / tribřiçu fuiest,**

and similarly with fut. in Ib 10 = VIb 48, Ib 15, 19, IIb 21, 27. Fut. pf. in Ib 11 **pune kuvurtus** and in 20, 33, IIa, 1, 7, b 16. Pres. subj. in VIb 49-50 *pone esonome ferar.*

c. The conditional conjunction is *sue* **sve**, including its combinations with enclitic pronominal forms. Examples are found with the fut. pf. ind., with the pres. subj., and in two probable instances with the pres. ind. Va 24-6 = 27-8 **sve mestru karu... prusikurent rehte kuratu eru (kuratu rehte neip eru)**, and fut. pf. also in VIa 7, 16, VIIb 3. Pres. subj. in VIb 47 (= Ib 8) *suepo esome esono anderuaco se.* In Va 24 the verb with the first **sve** 'whether' is a subjunctive of indirect question; see **152 d.** The present indicative, if the forms are correctly explained, is found in Ib 18 **svepis habe** 'if anyone is caught,' IV 26 **svepis heri.** The apodoses of the above conditional sentences, generally being instructions rather than statements of fact, show imperative (Ib 18, IV 27, VIa 17) or pres. subj. forms (Va 27 **si**, b 1 **feia**, VIIb 4 *sins*). The fut. pf. ind., however. is found in VIa 7, where *disleralinsust* is fut. pf. by any reading or interpretation. In Ib 8 = VIb 47 the forms **ise**, *(e)fust* are uncertain; see on VIb 47.

155. Word-Order. As in early Latin prose the normal arrangement of words is seldom altered for the sake of artistic effect, and yet it is not so rigid that we can set up invariable rules. Even in two different versions of the same formula the words may be differently arranged. A full account of the word-order cannot be attempted here; it must suffice to show the normal arrangement in sentences and phrases and to point out a few of the more striking exceptions.

a. The verb commonly stands at the end of its clause: VIa 3 *arfertur eso anstiplatu*; 22 *pre uereir Treblaneir Iuue Grabouei buf treif fetu*; 34 *Di Grabouie, tio subocau*; etc. But there are many exceptions; e.g., Ib 40-1 **iveka perakre tusetu / super kumne arfertur**, with subject last, perhaps in emphatic contrast to **prinuvatu tuf tusetutu** which follows; IIa 9 **ape purtiius suřu**; Ib 15-6 **pune menes / Akeřuniamem**; etc.

b. The complementary infinitive precedes the verb on which it depends in VIb 48 *afero heries* (= Ib 10) but follows in IIa 16 **heriiei façiu** and similarly in b 21-2. In all the instances of *anseriato* with forms of the verb *etu* (Ib 10, VIa 1-2, 6, 6-7, b 48) the supine precedes.

c. As in Latin, the conjunction which introduces a subordinate clause sometimes takes second place within the clause: Va 8-9 **pihaklu pune / tribřiçu fuiest**; VIa 5 *sersi pirsi sesust, poi angla...*

d. A dependent genitive sometimes precedes its noun, sometimes follows it: VIa 29-30, etc., *ocrer / Fisier totar Iouinar nome nerf arsmo ueiro pequo castruo fri pihatu*; VIa 23, etc., *erer nomneper erar nomneper.* With the genitive in second place: VIb 51 *perca ponisiater habituto* = Ib 15 **perkaf habetutu puniçate**; VIb 57-8 *Prestota Šerfia Šerfer / Martier.*

e. In placing the genitive of the fathers' *praenomen* between the son's *praenomen* and *nomen* Umbrian differs from Latin and Oscan, which place the father's *praenomen* after the son's *nomen*: Ib 45 **Vuvçis Titis Teteies**; similarly IIa 44; Va 3 **T. T. Kastruçiie**, on which see note.

f. A qualifying adjective normally follows its noun: VIa 58 *si gomia* = Ia 7 **sif kumiaf**; VIb 3 *sif filiu* = Ia 14 **sif feliuf**; VIb 19 *buf trif calersu* = Ia 20 **tref buf kaleřuf**. In the frequent expressions *frater Atiersiur, ocre Fisi, tote Iouine, uerir Treblanir* (*Tesenocir, Uehier*) the adj. invariably follows. The position of the adj. with *persondru*, however, varies: VIb 28 *sorsu persontru* and similarly in 31, 35, Ia 27, 30, IIa 8; *pesondro sorsom* in VIb 24 and similarly in 37, 39, 40.

g. The arrangement of adj. + prepos. + noun, as in L. *magna cum cura*, is fairly common: — VIb 24 *destruco persi*, and so in 38, 49, Ia 29, IIb 27, 28; VIb 37 *nertruco persi*, and so in 39, Ia 32, but VIb 24-5 *mani | nertru*. — IIa 21, 35 **Petruniaper natine**, b 26 **Vuçiiaper natine** — VIa 10 *todcome tuder*, but 12 *tuderor totcor*.

h. Numeral adjectives precede the noun in the earlier tables but follow the noun in the later tables: Ia 3 **tre buf fetu**, and so in 7, 11, 14, 20, 24, b I, 4, 24, 27, 31, but VIa 22 *buf treif fetu*, and so in 58, b 1, 3, 19, 22, 43, 45, VIIa, 3, 6, 41. Similarly the numeral '2' precedes in IIa 27, III 32, 34, but follows in Vb 10, 15, VIb 50, VIIa 46. III 17-19 **seples | ahesnes tris ... etres tris | ahesnes... tuves ahesnes** is a special case in which we must take account of the failure to repeat **seples** and of the contrast between 'three' and 'two'.

III. TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

Ia 1 - b 9 (= VIa 1 - b 47). Purification of the Fisian Mount. For a detailed analysis see the outline of the tables, above, Introduction, § 13. As in Table VI, sacrifices are to be performed before and behind the three gates, at the grove of Jupiter, and at the grove of Coredius. The deities honored and the victims offered are regularly the same in the corresponding sections of I and VI, but there are some differences in details and in the order in which the instructions are presented.

Ia 1 - 2 (= VIa 1 - 21). Taking of the auspices. In contrast to the expanded version in VIa, with the names of the birds to be observed, the formulas to be repeated, and the landmarks to be used in defining the augural *templum*, we have here a single short sentence. — **2 pernaies pusnaes**: literally '*anticis posticis*,' 'before and behind.' For an attempt to equate them with *merstu*, *dersua* and make both pairs refer to east and west, see on VIa 1, and also the summary at the end of VIa 1 - 18.

Ia 2 - 6 (= VIa 22 - 57). Sacrifice of three oxen to Jupiter Grabovius before the Trebulan Gate. The present version differs from that in VI in its failure to include the text of the prayers, which is merely hinted at in the expression **ukriper Fisiu tutaper Ikuvina**; in the use of **kutef** instead of *tašes*; in the inclusion of the phrase **ařepes arves** and the absence of any distinct reference to cakes; and in the order in which the various instructions are arranged. — **3 arvia ustentu**: this instruction appears regularly in the sacrifices performed for the purification of the Mount and the lustration of the people, in the later as well as in the earlier tables. In the former, however, the verb *fetu* takes the place of **ustentu**, and the expression **ařepes arves** is omitted. Devoto, p. 200, suggests that the *fetu* of VI and VII covers the whole ceremony with the *aruia*, which in I is described in two steps, **arvia ustentu** and **pesnimu ařepes arves**. He is probably correct in understanding *aruia* of vegetable offerings, with Bü., Pl., Bk., Bott., against K. O. Müller, Hu., Blum., Vet., who translate '*exta*' (see on IIa 18). **ařepes** is more difficult. Most connect it with L. *adipeis*, which provides a sound basis for the ending (direct connection with *adipibus* would lead us to expect ***ařepus**; cf. **101 d**). It is then the first member of an asyndetic pair. Dev., on the other hand, translates '*tostis granis*,' deriving from ***ad-eph-***, with the root found in *ἕψω*, Armenian *ephem* 'cook'. The idea of

(Ia 1) **este : persklum : aves : anzeriates : enetu : /** (2) **pernaies : pusnaes : preveres : treplanes : /** (3) **iuve : krapuvi : tre buf : fetu : arvia ustentu : /** (4) **vatuva ferine : feitu : heris : vinu : heri puni : /** (5) **ukriper : fisiu : tutaper : ikuvina : feitu : sevum : /** (6) **kutef : pesnimu ařepes arves : /**

Commence this ceremony by observing the birds, those from in front, and those from behind. Before the Trebulan Gate sacrifice three oxen to Jupiter Grabovius. Present grain-offerings, place the ribs on a tray, sacrifice either with wine or with mead, for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. Pray each (portion) in a murmur with (offerings of) fat and grain.

(7) **pusveres : treplanes : tref sif : kumiaf : feitu : /** (8) **trebe : iuvie : ukriper : fisiu : tutaper : ikuvina : /** (9) **supa sumtu : arvia ustentu : puni fetu : /** (10) **kutef pesnimu : ařе arves /**

Behind the Trebulan Gate sacrifice three pregnant sows to Trebus Jovius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. Take up the under-parts, present grain-offerings, sacrifice with mead, and pray in a murmur with (offerings of) fat and grain.

(11) **preveres : tesenakes : tre buf : fetu : marte : krapuvi /** (12) **fetu : ukripe : fisiu : tutaper : ikuvina : arviu : ustentu /** (13) **vatuva ferine : fetu : puni fetu : kutef : pesnimu : ařpes : arves : /**

Before the Tesenacan Gate sacrifice three oxen; sacrifice to Mars Grabovius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. Present grain-offerings, place the ribs on a tray, sacrifice with mead, and pray in a murmur with (offerings of) fat and grain.

(14) **pusveres : tesenakes : tref : sif : feliuf : fetu : /** (15) **fise saçi : ukriper : fisiu : tutaper : ikuvina : /** (16) **puni : fetu : supa : sumtu : arviu : ustentu : mefa : /** (17) **vestiça : ustetu : fiiuvi : fetu : ukriper :**

Behind the Tesenacan Gate sacrifice three sucking pigs to Fisus Sancius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. Sacrifice with mead, take up the under-parts, present grain-offerings, present a *mefa* cake and a libation. Sacrifice to Fisovius, sacrifice for the Fisian

10 **ařе**: for **ařepes**. An erasure occupying the space of one letter stands after **ařе** and also after **arv**. 17 **fiiuvi**: for **fisuvi**.

the roasting of the grain as a part of the ritual is most attractive, but the etymological support is weak in comparison with the easy equation of **ařepes** with L. *adipeis*. I have therefore decided, though hesitantly, to maintain the usual interpretation. It is curious that at the end of the series of instructions for each sacrifice in I we regularly find **ařepes arves** but no mention of cakes, while in VI and VII, usually near the end of the series, a *ficla* and one other type of cake are prescribed. Only for the sacrifice at the grove of Coredius does I call for a special type of cake (**tenzitim** Ib 6 = *tesedi* VIb 46). Possibly there was a change in

the ritual whereby cakes in the later stage took the place of simple offerings of grain and fat in the earlier. — **4 vatuva ferine feitu**: see on VIa 57. — **heris vinu heri puni**: on VIa 57. — **sevum**: on VIa 18 (near end). — **6 kutef**: found only in Ia and b, where it corresponds to *taśes* in VIa and b; but **taçez** is used in Ia 26 (sacrifice behind the Veian Gate) and regularly in the instructions for the sacrifices to be performed during the lustration of the people (Ib 26, 30, 32, 44). **kutef** is almost certainly a present participle with **-ef** < *-ens*, but there is no general agreement in regard to its etymology. It is altogether probable, however, that its sense is similar and not opposite to that of *taśes*; in other words, that between the earlier and later tables there was a change in the phraseology but not in the meaning of the instructions.

Ia 7 - 10 (= VIa 58 - 59). Sacrifice of three pregnant sows to Trebus Jovius behind the Trebulan Gate. For the character and sex of this deity and the declensional class to which the name belongs see on VIa 58. The instructions here are given in substantially the same order as in VI, but differ, as in other similar instances, in the use of **kutef** for *taśes*, **arvia ustentu** for *aruio fetu*, and **ařepes arves** where the later version calls for two type of cakes (see on 3 above). Moreover Ia omits *persae fetu*, but has **supa sumtu**. References to the *sopa*, however, are regularly associated with victims which are slain *persaia* (cf. Ia 16 = VIb 3, IIa 22, VIb 3 with 5, VIIa 7 with 8; note on VIb 5). **supa sumtu** must then refer to the removal of the entrails from the victim which has been slain lying on its back. — **7 sif kumiaf**: see on VIa 58. — **8 Trebe Iuvie**: on VIa 58. — **9 supa sumtu**: on *sopo* VIb 5.

Ia 11 - 13 (= VIb 1 - 2). Sacrifice of three oxen to Mars Grabovius before the Tesenacan Gate. The differences of detail between this and the later version shown in VI consist in the contrast between **arviu ustentu** and *aruio fetu*, **kutef** and *taśes*, **ařepes arves** and *prosesetir farsio ficla arsueitu*, much as in the case of the second sacrifice.

Ia 14 - 19 (= VIb 3 - 18). Sacrifice of three sucking pigs to Fisus Sancius behind the Tesenacan Gate. The instructions for the supplementary offerings to Fisovius which follow the sacrifice proper are not introduced by a temporal clause commencing with **api** as in VIb 5, or as in both the earlier and later versions of the sacrifice behind the Veian Gate (Ia 27 = VIb 23). Moreover the words **kutef pesnimu ařepes arves** appear at the very end of the present passage, in contrast to the more orderly arrangement in 24-34. Yet the provision for the supplementary offerings in Ia as in VIb is made clear by the use of the name **Fisuvi** (cf. VIb 5, etc.), the repetition of **ukriper Fisiu**, the requirement of the **mefa** (nowhere else mentioned in Table I; cf. VIb 5), and the instruction with regard to the cups (cf. VIb 18). — **14 sif feliuf**: see on VIb 3. — **Fise Saçi**: on VIb 3. — **16 mefa**: on VIa 56. — **17 vestiça**: on VIb 5. — **ustetu**: this verb is used in the passive with *uasor* as subject in VIa 20 and in the active, with reference to the electing of the **uhtur** in III 5; in all other passages apart from its use here with **mefa vestiça**, it is restricted to the expression **arvia ustentu**. In regard to the variation between **ustentu** and **fetu** see on 3 above; Devoto's theory may be applicable to the present passage as well. — **18 - 19 kapiř purtitaf sakref, etraf purtitaf, etraf / sakref**: the general sense must be the same as in VIb 18 (q.v.), but there are certain differences in the language, of which the most striking is the lack of a verb on which the accusative might depend. Since ellipses of this sort are not uncommon in the Tables (see **136 c**), we may assume that the *aitu* of VIb 18 is not absolutely indispensable in the abbreviated instructions given here. The important point is how many vessels of

fisiu : fetu : / (18) **kapiř : purtitaf : sakref : etraf : purtitaf : etraf : /** (19) **sakref : tutaper : ikuvina : kutef : pesnimu : ařepes : arves : /**

(20) **preveres : vehiies : tref : buf : kaleřuf : fetu : vufiune /** (21) **krapuvi : ukriper : fisiu : tutaper : ikuvina : /** (22) **vatuva : ferine : fetu : heri : vinu : heri : puni : /** (23) **arviu : ustentu : kutef : pesnimu : ařepes : arves : /**

(24) **pusveres : vehiies : tref : hapinaf : fetu : tefre : iuvie : /** (25) **ukriper : fisiu : tutaper : ikuvina : puste : asiane : fetu : zeřef : fetu : /** (26) **pelsana : fetu : arvia : ustentu : puni fetu : taçez : pesnim / u : ařiper : arvis : api : habina : purtiius : sušum : pesuntru /** (28) **fetu : esmik : vestiçam : preve : fiktu : tefri : iuvi : fetu : ukri / per fisiu : tutaper : ikuvina : testruku**

Mount. (Move) the loaned and the consecrated bowls, two loaned, two consecrated, (in the ceremony) for the state of Iguvium. Pray in a murmur with (offerings of) fat and grain.

Before the Veian Gate sacrifice three oxen with white foreheads to Vofionus Grabovius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. Place the ribs on a tray, (sacrifice) either with wine or with mead, present grain-offerings, and pray in a murmur with (offerings of) fat and grain.

Behind the Veian Gate sacrifice three lambs to Tefer Jovius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. Sacrifice at the rear of the altar, sacrifice seated, sacrifice (the victims) for burial, present grain-offerings, sacrifice with mead, and pray silently with (offerings of) fat and grain. When you have made the presentation of the lambs, offer a pig-*persondro*, and to it add a libation separately. Sacrifice to Tefer Jovius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Igu-

each kind are to be used, and **etraf** clearly takes the place of the *dupla* of VIb 18. The only other plural forms of **etru** in the Tables are dat. **etre** accompanying **Klaverniie, Satane, Iuieskanes** in Ib 3, 4, 6 ('second Clavernii,' etc.). The use of **etraf**, or of plural forms of L. *alter*, with the value of cardinal numerals would be most unnatural, yet there would be no point in saying 'some loaned, others sacred (property)' as a mere amplification of **purtitaf sakref** immediately preceding. **etraf** must therefore have approximately the same sense as the distributive *dupla* in VIb 18. A remote parellel to this use of an ordinal with enumerative value may perhaps be seen in such Greek expressions as *πέμπτος αὐτός* 'with four others.'

Ia 20 - 23 (= VIb 19 - 21). Sacrifice of three oxen to Vofionus Grabovius before the Veian Gate. The earlier and later versions agree very closely, the only differences being those already observed in the instructions for the third sacrifice (Ia 11 - 13 = VIb 1 - 2). The arrangement of the instructions is consistent between the two versions, but is not quite the same as in the third sacrifice. — **20 kaleřuf**: see on VIb 19. — **Vufiune Krapuvi**: on VIb 19.

Ia 24 - 34 (= VIb 22 - 42). Sacrifice of three ewe-lambs to Tefer Jovius behind the Veian Gate, followed by supplementary offerings to Tefer Jovius. The sacrifice proper is contained in 24-27. The differences between this and the later version in VIb include the usual varia-

tion of **arvia ustentu** with *aruio feitu* and of **ařiper arvis** with the two types of cakes in VIb 23. Moreover the obscure **puste asiane fetu** is peculiar to Ia 25. On the other hand in place of **kutef pesnimu**, which is regularly used in Ia, b in describing the sacrifices connected with the purification of the Mount, Ia 26 has **taçez pesnimu**, as in the instructions for the lustration of the people and throughout VIa, b, VIIa. — **24 hapinaf**: see on *habina* VIb 22. — **Tefre Iuvie**: on VIb 22. — **25 puste asiane fetu**: very uncertain; the most satisfactory interpretation is probably that of Devoto, who translates '*in parte postica arae*,' taking **puste** as loc. of a stem *posto-* derived from preposition *post*, and **asiane** as in some way connected with *asa*, Lat. *ara*, though stem and suffix are not quite clear. For other interpretations see L. H. Gray, *B.B.*, XXVII (1902), pp. 306-7; Blum., p. 59; Pisani, p. 159; Vetter, p. 177. — **zeřef**: for the sitting position see on VIb 17. — **pelsana**: on VIb 22.

Ia 27 - 34 api habina purtiius, etc.: as in VIb 23 ff. the *porrectio* is followed by special offerings to Tefer Jovius. The earlier and later versions agree in most of their principal features: the priest offers near his right foot a *sorsom persondro* and a libation to Tefer Jovius, and near his left foot a *persondro* and libation to Stabilis Jovius (?), and both versions conclude with the grinding of the cereal offerings and accompanying prayers. However, there are numerous discrepancies of detail; in addition to the failure of Ia to include the text of the prayers, the identification of the priest by the clause *eront poi habina purdinsust* (VIb 24) is also omitted, and similarly the instruction *eam* (sc. *capirso*) *mani nertru tenitu*, etc. (VIb 24-5). Moreover Ia only once mentions an *erus*, that of the ewe-lambs (33), while VIb calls for an *erus* in 25 just after the offering of the *persondro* and libation at the right foot and for the *erus* of the *prosecta* in 38, and the *erus* of each of the libations in 38 and 39. The instructions *pesondro... endendu pelsatu* (39-40) and *uaso... subra spahatu... anderuomu sersitu* (40-41) are also without any precise equivalent in Ia. On the other hand VIb has nothing corresponding to the expressions **esmik vestiçam preve fiktu** Ia 28, **esmik vestiça afiktu** 31, used with reference to the manner of offering the libation. — **sufum pesuntru**: see on VIb 24. — **28 esmik vestiçam preve fiktu**: in contrast with 31 **esmik vestiça afiktu**, where the verb is compounded and the adverb **preve** is wanting. The sense is obscure chiefly because the composition of both the **vestiça** and the **pesuntru** is unknown. For **preve** Dev., p. 246, suggests '*guttatim.*' It seems not impossible, however, that the present passage may be explained by comparison with VIb 24-5 *eam* (sc. *capirso*) *mani / nertru tenitu arnipo uestisia uesticos;* that is, if he holds the libation-bowl in his left hand until he has poured the libation, he does not pour it upon the *persondro* but in a separate spot, even though near his right foot (*destruco persi*). The absence of a prefix to the verb in **preve fiktu** should be noted, in contrast to **afiktu** in 31 just below, where **preve** does not appear. The dative **esmik** is a difficulty, but here it may merely signify that the **vestiça** belongs to the **pesuntru**, even though it is not placed upon it as in 31, where the compound **afiktu** governs **esmik** quite naturally. So far as the translation of **fiktu** and **afiktu** is concerned, nothing can be affirmed with certainty, since we do not know the exact nature of the **vestiça** which depends on it. On the whole, however, connection is easier with L. *figo* than with *fingo*, and if the **vestiça** is solid (or possibly melted fat which solidifies when it falls?) there is no serious difficulty ; if it is a liquid, we must assume a semantic evolution 'attach > add > pour (over).' — **29 kapiře**: see on VIb 18 *capif.* — **peřum**: on VIb 24 *perso.* — **30 Staf/li Iuve**: the bronze here

: **peři** : **kapiře** : **peřum** : **feit** / **u api** : **eřel purtiius** : **enuk** : **sufum** : **pesuntrum** : **feitu** : **staf** / **li** : **iuvesmik** : **vestiça** : **afiktu** : **ukriper** : **fisiu tutaper** : **ikuvina** / **a** : **feitu nertruku** : **peři** : **kapiře** : **peřum** : **feitu** : **puni** : **feitu** : / (33) **api** : **suřuf purtitius** : **enuk** : **hapinaru** : **erus** : **titu** : **zeřef** / (34) **kumultu** : **zeřef** : **kumats** : **pesnimu** : /

(Ib 1) **vukukum** : **iuviu** : **pune** : **uvef** : **furfaθ** : **tref** : **vitluf** : **turuf** : / (2) **marte** : **hurie** : **fetu** : **pupluper** : **tutas** : **iiuvinas** : **tutaper ikuvina** : / (3) **vatuva** : **ferine** : **fetu** : **puni** : **fetu** : **arvia** : **ustentu** : **kutep** : **pesnimu** : / (4) **arepes** : **arves** : **vukukum** : **kureties** : **tref** : **vitlup** : **turup** : **hunte çe** / **fi** : **feitu** : **pupluper** : **tutas** : **iiuvinas** : **tutaper** : **iiuvina** : **vatuva** : / (6) **ferine fetu arvia** : **ustentu** : **tenzitim** : **arveitu** : **heris** : **vinu** : **heris** : / (7) **puni** : **feitu** : **kutef** : **persnimu** : **aripes** : **arvis** : **inuk ukar** : **pihaz** : **fust** : / (8)

vium. At your right foot make a mound for the bowl. When you have presented this (*persondro*), then offer a pig-*persondro*, to Stabilis Jovius, upon it add a libation, for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. At your left foot make a mound for the bowl. Sacrifice with mead. When you have presented the pig-*persondra*, then distribute the *erus* of the lambs. Grind (the grain) sitting and pray sitting, with the ground (grain).

At the Grove of Jupiter, while they are placing on a platter (the remains of) the sheep, sacrifice three bull-calves to Mars Hodius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. Place the ribs on a tray, sacrifice with mead, present grain-offerings, and pray in a murmur with (offerings of) fat and grain. At the Grove of Coredius sacrifice three bull-calves to Hondus Šerfius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. Place the ribs on a tray, present grain-offerings, add a twisted cake, sacrifice either with wine or with mead, and pray in a murmur with (offerings of) fat and grain. Then the mound will have been

30 **eřel**: for **eřek**. 31 **ikuvina**: final **a** not completed on 31 and so repeated on 32. 33 **purtitius**: for **purtiius**. 34 **kumats**: for **kumates**. Ib 4-5 **çe**/ **fi**: for **çe**/**rfi**, with space for the **r** unused.

reads **stafli**:**iuvesmik** with the word-divider between the first and second **i** very faint. There have been many attempts to read and interpret the passage correctly, with editors in general taking **stafli(i)** as in some way connected with L. *stabulum* and in some cases assuming wrong word-division, so as to read the second word as **uve** 'sheep' ('of the stable'). For a detailed discussion of the problem see R. G. Kent, *C.P.*, XV (1920), pp. 354-6, who argued in favor of the word-division actually inscribed on the bronze. For the sense of the passage, however, there are good reasons for following G. B. Pighi, *Latinitas*, II (1954), pp. 22-3, *R.F.I.C.*, XXXII (1954), p. 234, who sees in **stafli** a divine name which may be rendered etymologically '(il dio) per opera del quale si stabilisce (il rito)'. The parallelism between 27-29 and 30-32 is remarkably

close, and if we admit **Stafli Iuv.** as name of a god to balance **Tefri Iuvi** in 28, the symmetry is nearly perfect. We may assume that **Tefri Iuvi** should have followed **fetu** at the beginning of 28 but was omitted, then added after **fiktu** with a new **fetu**, while the correct arrangement was followed in 30-31. The reading **iuvesmik** may be explained as an instance of haplography resulting from the resemblance of **v** and **e**, which differ in the native alphabet only in the presence of the cross-bar in the middle of the **e**: the scribe, having engraved the **v**, saw on his copy the **e** of **iuvie**, confused it with the **v** which he had just written, and continued with **esmik** (Kent, *ibid.*, p. 354). See also on VIb 37, where the possibility of contrasting *Staflarem* with *Tefrali* 28, 35, is taken as support for the interpretation of **stafli** adopted in the present passage. — **afiktu**: see on 28. — **33 erus**: on VIb 16. — **34 kumultu**: on VIb 17.

Ib 1 - 4 (= VIb 43 - 44). Sacrifice of three bull-calves to Mars Hodius at the grove of Jupiter. The agreement between the earlier and later versions is very close, the differences of detail and the arrangement of the instructions being the same as in the case of the fifth sacrifice (Ia 20-23 = VIb 19-21). The clause *ponne oui furfant* = **pune uvef furfaθ**, however, is found only here. — **1 vukukum**: for the translation 'grove' in preference to 'temple' see on VIb 43. — **furfaθ**: on VIb 43. The character ⊙ used for the final letter occurs also in **purtuviθu** IV 20. — **2 Huřie**: on *Horse* VIb 43. — **3 vatuva ferine fetu**: on VIa 57. — **puni**: on *poni* VIa 57. — **arvia ustentu**: on Ia 3. — **kutep**: on Ia 6; for the final **p** in place of the normal **f** cf. **vitlup turup** in 4 below. — **4 ařepes arves**: on Ia 3.

Ib 4 - 7 (= VIb 45 - 46). Sacrifice of three bull-calves to Hondus Serfius at the grove of Coredius. The instructions in general agree with those in VIb 45-6, but the *ficla* prescribed in the latter passage is not mentioned with the **tenzitim** in Ib 6, and the cakes are called for at a different place in the series of instructions in the two tables. — **4 Kureties**: see on VIb 45. — **Hunte Çerfi**: on VIb 45. — **6 tenzitim**: see on *tesedi* in the equivalent VIb 46, the only other passage in which this type of cake is prescribed.

Ib 7 - 9 (= VIb 46 - 47). Instruction for repeating the whole purification in case there has been any omission. The similarity between the two versions is extremely close, the principal difference being between **anter**: **vakazevaçetumiseavif** and *ander.uacose.uasetome.fust.auif*, as the words appear in the actual texts. For discussion of the word-division and interpretation see on VIb 46-7.

Ib 10 - 45 (= VIb 48 - VIIa 54). Lustration of the people. The present version contains the instructions for the taking of the auspices (10-11), the fire-ceremony (11-12), the second taking of the auspices (13-14), the procession to Acedonia with the *prinuati* (15-16), the banishment of aliens (16-18), the three circuits around the assembled people (19-23), the sacrifices at Fontuli, at Rubinia, and at Trans Sanctam, which seem to have been partly in progress at the same time (24-39), the ceremonial heifer-chase (40-44), and finally the authentication by the quaestor (45). For the principal discrepancies between the whole passage and the later version, and for the problem of the sequence of events in both of them, see the introductory portion of the notes on VIb 48 - VIIa 54. — **10 aferum**: see on VIa 19. — **avef anzeriatu etu pernaia/f pustnaiaf**: on VIb 48-52. — **11 krenkatrum**: on VIb 49. — **12 ahtimem**: probably a *ti*-stem (+postposition *-em*) from the root *ag-* (cf. L. *ago*, *actio*), but the sense is very uncertain. Some, in order to reconcile it with **ahtisper** III 24, 29, take it to designate the ceremony for which the fire is prepared: '*ad agonium*' (Bü.), '*ad caerimonium*' (Bk.), '*ad actionem*' (Bott.); others to designate the object in which the fire is to be carried: '*in foculum*'

svepu : esumek : esunu : anter : vakazevaçetumiseavif : azeriatu : / (9) **verufe : treplanu : kuvertu : restef : esunu : feitu : /**

(10) **pune : puplum : aferum : heries : avef : anzvriatu : etu : pernaia / f : pustnaiaf : pune : kuvurtus : krenkatrum : hatu : enumek : /** (12) **pir : ahtimem : ententu : pune : pir : entelus : ahtimem : /** (13) **enumek : steplatu parfam : tesvam : tefe : tute : ikuvine : /** (14) **vapefem : avieklufe : kumpifiatu : vea : aviekla : esunume : etu : /** (15) **prinuvatu : etutu : perkaf : habetutu : puniçate : pune : menes : /** (16) **akeřuniamem : enumek : etuřstamu : tuta tařinate : trifu : /** (17) **tařinate : turskum : naharkum : numem : iapuzkum : numem : /** (18) **svepis : habe : purtatulu : pue : meřs : est : feitu : uru : peře : meřs : est : /** (19) **pune : prinuvatus : staheren : termnesku : enumek : armanu : /** (20) **kateramu : ikuvinu : enumek : apretu : tures : et : pure : puni : amprefu / us : persnimu : enumek : etatu : ikuvinus : triiuper : amprehtu : /** (22) **: triiuper : pesnimu : triiuper : etatu : ikuvinus : enumek : /** (23) **prinuvatus : çimu : etutu : erahunt : vea : çimu : etutu : prinuvatus : /**

(24) **funtlere : trif : apruf : rufru : ute : peiu : feitu çerfe : marti : /** (25) **vatuvu : ferime : fetu : arviu :**

purified. If there is any interruption of these rites, they shall be invalid: take an observation of the birds, return to the Trebulan Gate, and perform the rite anew.

When you wish to perform a lustration of the people, go to observe the birds, those from in front and those from behind. When you have returned, take a stole, then place fire in the carrier. When you have placed the fire in the carrier, then demand a *parra* in the west for yourself and for the state of Iguvium. (The augur) shall make his announcement in the direction of the augural seats. Go to the sacrifice by the Augural Way. The *prinuati* shall go (along); they shall hold the wands of a *puniceatus*. When you come to Acedonia, then pronounce banishment on the Tadinate state, the Tadinate tribe, the Tuscan, the Narcan name, the Iapudic name: "If anyone is caught, bring him to that place to which it is the law, do with him that which is the law." When the *prinuati* shall be standing at the boundary, then (say): "Arrange yourselves in priestly ranks and military ranks, men of Iguvium." Then make the circuit around (them) with the victims and the fire. When you have made the circuit, pray. Then (say): "Go, men of Iguvium." Make the circuit three times, pray three times, (say): "Go, men of Iguvium" three times. Then the *prinuati* shall return; by the same road shall the *prinuati* return.

At Fontuli sacrifice three boars, red or black, to Šerfus Martius. Place the ribs on a tray, present grain-offerings,

10 **anzvriatu**: for **anzeriatu**, the cross-bar being omitted. 19 **armanu**: for **ařmamu**.
20-1 **amprefu/us**: for **amprefus**. 25 **ferime**: for **ferine**. **feiu**: for **fetu** or **feitu**.

(Br., Blum.), '*in ferculum*' (Pl.), '*vasculum igniarium*' (Dev., p. 267). From a comparison with the corresponding passage VIb 49-50 it appears that the latter interpretation is preferable. The two passages placed side by side read:

Ib 11-13	VIb 49-51
enumek / pir ahtimem ententu. pune pir entelus ahtimem enumek steplatu parfam tesvam tefe tute Ikuvine.	*pir endendu . pone / esonome ferar pufe pir entelust, ere fertu poe perca arsmatiam habiest . erihont aso destre onse fertu . erucom prinuatur dur / etuto, perca ponisiater habituto . ennom stiplatu parfa desua seso tote Iiouine.*

It will be noticed that in the later version there is nothing corresponding to **ahtimem** which stands with **pir... ententu** in the earlier, and also that beside **pir entelus ahtimem** we find *pufe pir entelust*. This omission of **ahtimem* in one place and use of a substitute expression in the other appears to be a clear instance of tabu. Since *esonome* is 'to the sacrifice,' in other words the destination of the fire, **ahtimen** and *pufe* must in all probability designate that in which it is carried; that is, a sort of fire-pan or brazier. For a noun with suffix *-ti-* as the name of an instrument or utensil we may compare L. *vectis* < **wegh-ti-*. For tabu against the mention of the fire-carrier see on VIb 45. — **13 steplatu**: on VIa 2. — **parfam, tesvam**: on VIa 1, where the *parfa* is associated with three other birds. Why it is alone required here cannot be determined. On the possible reason for this second taking of the auspices see on VIb 48-52. — **14 vapefem avieklufe kumpifiatu**: on VIb 51. — **vea aviekla**: on VIb 52. — **15 prinuvatu**: on VIb 50, where in contrast to the present passage the mention of the *prinuati* precedes the instruction *stiplatu parfa desua*. — **perkaf**: on VIa 19. — **puniçate**: on VIb 51. — **menes**: the normal spelling would be ***benes**; **menes** probably originated through the decompounding of **com(m)enes* < **combenes*. — **16 Akeřuniamem**: this place in relation to Iguvium proper cannot be positively identified, but see on VIb 52. — **etuřstamu**, etc.: as in VIb 52-5, when the *adfertor* has arrived at Acedonia he pronounces banishment against any members of the Tadinate people and tribe and the Tuscan, Naharcan, and Iapudic "name" who happen to be present. For **trifu, numem**, and the possible identification of the nations named, see on VIb 54. — **18 svepis habe, purtatulu pue meřs est, feitu uru peře meřs est**: see on VIb 54-5. In the latter passage the text of the sentence of banishment is given more fully, commencing at *pisest tolar Tarsinater* and including the names of the alien states. — **19-20 pune prinuvatus staheren termnesku, enumek 'ařmamu / kateramu Ikuvinu'**: in contrast to VIb 55-6 the older version omits the instruction to pronounce the sentence of banishment three times, and uses pl. **termnesku** in place of sg. *termnuco*; the participation of the *prinuati* is differently described, and there is no ***deitu** to introduce the command **ařmamu kateramu Ikuvinu**. For **termnesku** see on VIb 53, for **ařmamu kateramu** see on 56. — **enumek apretu tures et pure**: VIb 56 reads *eno com prinuatir peracris sacris ambretuto*. Since bulls are mentioned nowhere else in the description of the lustration of the people, the victims at the three stations Fontuli, etc., being boars, pigs, and heifer-calves, **tures** must be used here in the general sense of 'victims'; cf. Bü., p. 98, Dev., pp. 278-9. **pure** may be the same fire which was placed in the carrier in 12. — **21 etatu Ikuvinus**: see on VIb 63. — **23 prinuvatus çimu etutu**, etc.: as in VIb 65 the *prinuati* depart by the same way by which they came, and as in VIIa 51-2, so in Ib 40-41 the same (or other?) *prinuati* participate in the heifer-chase. For the problem involved see the introductory remarks on VIb 48 - VIIa 54.

Ib 24 - 26 (= VIIa 3 - 5). Sacrifice of

ustentu : puni : feiu : / (26) **taçez : pesnimu : ařepe : arves : /**

(27) **rupinie : e : tre : purka : rufra : ute : peia : fetu : prestate : /** (28) **çerfie : çerfe : marties : peřaia : feitu : arviu : ustentu : /** (29) **kapi : sakra : aitu : vesklu : vetu : atru : alfu : puni : fetu : /** (30) **taçez : pesnimu : ařeper : arves : /**

(31) **tra : sate : tref : vitlaf : feitu : tuse : çerfie : çerfe : marties : /** (32) **peřaia : feitu : arviu : ustetu : puni : fetu : taçez : pesnimu : /** (33) **ařeper : arves : pune : purtinçus : kařetu : pufe : apruf : /** (34) **fakurent : puze : erus : teřa : ape : erus : teřust : pustru : /** (35) **kupifiatu : rupiname : erus : teřa : ene : tra : sahta : kupifiaia : /** (36) **erus : teřa : enu : rupiname : pustru : kuvertu : antakre : /** (37) **kumate : pesnimu : enu : kapi : sakra : aitu : vesklu : vetu : /** (38) **enu : satame : kuvertu : antakre : kumate : pesnimu : enu : esunu : /** (39) **purtitu : fust : /**

sacrifice with mead, and pray silently with (offerings of) fat and grain.

At Rubinia sacrifice three pigs, red or black, to Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius. Sacrifice (the victims) upon the ground, present grain-offerings, move the consecrated bowls, divide the black and the white vessels, sacrifice with mead, and pray silently with (offerings of) fat and grain.

At Trans Sanctam sacrifice three heifer-calves to Tursa Šerfia of Šerfus Martius. Sacrifice (the victims) upon the ground, present grain-offerings, sacrifice with mead, and pray silently with (offerings of) fat and grain. When you have made the presentation, the order shall be called to the place where they have sacrificed the boars, to distribute the *erus*. When the *erus* has been distributed, the instruction shall be passed back to Rubinia to distribute the *erus*. Then the instruction shall be passed to Trans Sanctam to distribute the *erus*. Then return to Rubinia and pray with the whole and the ground (grain). Then move the consecrated bowls and divide the vessels. Then return to (Trans) Sanctam and pray with the whole and the ground (grain). Then the sacrifice will have been completed.

three boars to Šerfus Martius at Fontuli. For details see on VIIa 3-5. In general the two versions agree, but there is a slight difference in the arrangement of the instructions, as well as the usual difference in the expressions relating to the cereal offerings. Moreover the instruction to distribute the *erus* upon receiving the order from Trans Sanctam is given in VIIa 5 in connection with the present sacrifice, but in Ib not until 33-4 in connection with the third sacrifice.

Ib 27 - 30 (= VIIa 6 - 8). Sacrifice of three pigs to Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius at Rubinia. In the later version the sacrifice proper is followed in 8-40 by supplementary offerings closely resembling those described in VIb 5-18 in connection with the sacrifice behind the Tesenaçan Gate. In the present version, however, the only suggestion of such offerings is found in the passage **kapi**

sakra aitu, vesklu vetu atru alfu, on which see below. — **28 peřaia**: here for the first time in Table I; in the second and fourth sacrifices of the purification of the Fisian Mount, where VIa 58, b 3 have *persae fetu*, Ia 9, 16 in the corresponding position have **supa sumtu**, but in Ib 32, 44 **peřaia fe(i)tu** is used in connection with the sacrifice at Trans Sanctam and the sacrifice after the pursuit of the heifers. For its meaning see on VIa 58. — **29 kapi sakra aitu**: the same instruction occurs in VIIa 40 at the conclusion of the ceremony. For the details see on VIb 18. —**vetu**: of uncertain etymology and meaning. The view preferred here is that of Bü., Pl., and Bk., who translate *'dividito.'* The phonological development would then be **weid-hetōd* > **weif(e)tōd* > **vetu**, with syncope followed by the same treatment of *-ft-* as in **38 b**, where *-ft-* is from *-pt-*. ***veitu** might be a more natural spelling, but there are certain difficulties in deriving **vetu** from **weltu*, as Blum., Dev., and Bott. do, for it is not certain that loss of *l* before *t*, as in **kumates** < **kom-maltois*, would occur here; see **55 d**. In fact **veltu** IV 21, *ehueltu* VIa 2, are against such a view, while at the same time there is not enough similarity in sense between Ib 29 and IV 21 to lead to the assumption that the verb in the two passages is the same. The meaning then is probably 'divide the black and the white vessels.'

Ib 31 - 39 (= VIIa 41 - 45). Sacrifice of three heifer-calves to Tursa Šerfia at Trans Sanctam. The details closely resemble those in the preceding sacrifice at Rubinia, and also agree in most respects with VIIa 41-45, if allowance is made for those differences which are usual between the ritual instructions of the earlier and later tables. In the earlier as in the later version we must picture sacrifices being performed at three adjacent stations partly at the same time, and in each version the *adfertor* goes from Trans Sanctam to Rubinia for the grinding of the cereal offerings and the ceremony of the vessels, after which he returns to Trans Sanctam. — **31 Tra Sate**: for this place-name, which has the form of a prepositional phrase and which we render 'Trans Sanctam,' see on VIIa 5. — **Tuse Çerfie Çerfe Marties**: see on VIb 58. — **33 kařetu**: for the difference between this verb and **kupifiatu** see on VIIa 43. — **pufe apruf fakurent**: the same substitute for ***Funtluf-e**, possibly euphemistic in purpose, is used in VIIa 43. — **34 erus**: for the procedure in distributing the *erus* at the three stations see introductory remarks on VIIa 41-45, and on the *erus* itself see on VIb 16. — **36-7 antakre / kumate pesnimu**: the same instruction occurs immediately below in 38 and also in IIa 42 in the instructions for the dog-sacrifice. All recent editors take **antakres** as equivalent to L. *integris*, no forms in the Latin alphabet being recorded to serve as a test for the value of the **k**. The priest prays over the ground and unground grain or cakes; see on VIb 17 on *comoltu*, which is usually not accompanied by a direct object. In VIIa 44, 45 *comoltu*, *comatir persni(hi)mu* the instruction to grind is not merely implied but directly given, while on the other hand no distinction is made between unground and ground offerings. — **enu kapi sakra aitu, vesklu vetu**: precisely as in 29 above, except that the color-names **atru alfu** are omitted. — **38-9 enu esunu / purtitu fust**: not of the *porrectio* but of the conclusion of the whole sacrifice; similarly in the equivalent VIIa 45 and in VIb 42 at the end of the ceremony behind the Veian Gate.

Ib 40 - 44 (= VIIa 51 - 54). Ritual pursuit of the heifers. Actually the introductory clause **pustertiu pane puplu ateřafust** corresponds to VIIa 46, but the whole passage VIIa 46-51, containing the curse against the enemies of Iguvium, is without counterpart in Ib. For the chase in general and the differences between the earlier and later accounts of

(40) **pustertiu : pane : puplu : ateřafust : iveka : perakre : tuseiu** / (41) **super : kumne : ařfertur : prinuvatu : tuf : tusetutu :** / (42) **hutra : furu sehmeniar : hatutu : eaf iveka :** / (43) **tre : akeřunie : fetu : tuse iuvie : arviu : ustetu :** / (44) **puni fetu : peřaia fetu : taçez pesnimu : ařepe : arves :** / (45) **kvestre : tie : usaie : svesu vuvçis titis teteies :** /

When he has made the circuit around the people for the third time, the *adfertor* shall chase a heifer fit for sacrifice, above the Comitium, and the *prinuati* shall chase two. Below the Forum of Semonia they shall catch them. These three heifers he shall sacrifice at Acedonia to Tursa Jovia. He shall present grain-offerings and sacrifice with mead. He shall sacrifice (the victims) upon the ground, and pray silently with (offerings of) fat and grain. Lucius Tetteius, son of Titus, approved (the foregoing) in his quaestorship.

40 **tuseiu**: for **tusetu**.

it see the introductory remarks on VIIa 51-54. — **40 pustertiu pane puplu ateřafust**: the pursuit probably takes place, according to the view adopted here, after the completion of the whole lustration including the sacrifices, and not merely after the third circumambulation. See introductory remarks on VIb 48 - VIIa 54. — **iveka**: the *adfertor* chases a single heifer and the two *prinuati* one each; in VIIa 51-2 the *adfertor* and *prinuati* chase possibly twelve heifers, though the number is not precisely stated. — **perakre**: on VIa 25. — **41 kumne**: only here, being omitted from the instructions in VIIa 51-2, but without doubt the same word as O. *comenei, comono* '*comitium.*' The location of this place of assembly cannot be determined with certainty, but Miss Rosenzweig conjecturally places it a short distance southwest of the modern Corso Garibaldi. — **42 hutra furu sehmeniar**: on VIIa 52. — **hatutu**: since there is no new subject, the *adfertor* and *prinuati* are evidently expected to catch the heifers themselves. In VIIa 52, where the number of heifers is larger, any person is authorized to catch them below the Forum.

Ib 45. Formula containing the name of the authenticating official. Nothing equivalent is found at the end of the later version in VIIa, but the formula at the end of IIa is substantially identical. In consequence of certain differences in spelling and word division, however, it is best to show the exact text of both passages: Ib 45 **kvestre: tie: usaie: svesuvuvçistitisteteies**: IIa 44 **kvestretieusaçesvesuvueçistiteteies**, the last passage being written in the lower left margin commencing a little to the left of **esunu** and extending upward. That **kvestretie** is to be read as the first word of the sentence is beyond question. The last half of the formula, on the other hand, has caused considerable difficulty because of the lack of word-division in both versions, but the recognition of **usaie** / **usaçe** as a verb and of **Vuvçis Titis Teteies** as the name of the quaestor has finally led to a satisfactory analysis and interpretation of the passage. — **kvestretie**: for the **kvestur** see Va 23, b 2, where the **kvestur** or the **fratreks** is directed to take a vote on whether the *adfertor* has provided satisfactorily for the ceremonial meal and, in case of a negative vote, on what the amount of the penalty should be. For the for-

mation of the noun **kvestretie** cf. **uhtretie** Va 2, 15. In Va 1-3 the eponymous magistrate was the **uhtur** rather than the **kvestur**; for the relation of this fact to the chronology of the tables see Introduction, 18. — **usaie**: IIa 44 shows the correct form **usaçe**, the error being caused by omission of the loop at the lower left of the vertical hasta in the letter ḍ. Devoto, p. 302, derives from **op-sak-ed* as pf. 3 sg. from the root **sa(n)k* (formation as in **124 b**), partly anticipated by Pl., I, p. 555, II, p. 671, and by Linde, *Gl.*, XX (1932), p. 292, in so far as the latter took the form for a verb, although his etymology was different (< **opesankʲit*, pf. of *osatu*). Vet. and Bott. have followed Dev.; the former suggests that the authorization was for the cost of preparing the table. — **svesu**: loc. sg. of the possessive pronominal adj. equivalent in meaning to L. *suus*; for an attempt at an etymological explanation see **107**, n. 1. — **Vuvçis Titis Teteies**: the praenomen, father's praenomen, and nomen; for the arrangement see on Va 3. — **Vuvçis**: taken by Thurneysen, *K.Z.*, XXXII (1893), pp. 559-61, and by Buck (with reservations) and Blum. as equivalent to L. *Lucius*. Dev. p. 303, rather than allow **uv** to stand for a retained diphthong, derives from **Vof(i)kio-*, as if corresponding to L. **Vovicius*, *voveo*, etc. Bott. reads **Vuvçis** here, **Vueçis** in IIa 44, **Voecius* in his Latin translation in both places. In IIa 44 the third letter has a cross-bar making an **e**, which is visible in the photographic plate in Devoto's edition. Bottiglioni's reading is therefore very tempting, since it seems more natural to assume that the cross-bar was erroneously omitted in Ib 45 than erroneously added in IIa 44. Yet there are certain objections. Latin *Voesius*, which Bott., p. 270, cites as support for **Voecius* (cf. Schulze, *Lat. Eigenn.*, pp. 105 f.; Conway, *It. Dial.*, I, p. 328), is a nomen, while the Iguvine **Vuvçis**, **Vueçis**, like L. *Lucius*, is a praenomen. Moreover forms with *-s-* from scattered sites in Etruria or from Praeneste are not reliable evidence for Umbrian forms with **ç** (from *k* before front vowel) unless we assume that such palatalization had an extraordinarily wide distribution. It seems best, therefore, to adhere to the old equation of **Vuvçis** with *Lucius*, or possibly **Vovicius* after Devoto. For **e** in place of **v** we have a possible parallel in Ia 17, where the fifth letter of **Fiiuvi** (for **Fisuvi**) has in its center a blur which gives evidence of a not entirely successful attempt to correct an **e** into a **v**. As between *Lucius* and *Vovicius* the former seems preferable, since **Vovicius* is nowhere actually attested. The spelling with **uv** may possibly represent a family tradition. — **Titis**: abbreviated **Ti** in the other version; etymological equivalence with L. *Titus* is virtually sure. On the gen. sg. ending see **92**. — **Teteies**: the gentile name Tetteius occurs in *C.I.L.*, VI, 5296, 27296 (Rome), X, 1403 (Herculaneum), 1781 (Puteoli). For the ending **-ies** see **32 b**. It is otherwise unknown in Umbrian, but occurs in Paelignian and in certain Oscan inscriptions in the Greek alphabet, and is better understood here as nom. than as gen. sg.

(IIa 1) **pune : karne : speturie : atiieřie : aviekate : naraklum : /** (2) **vurtus : estu esunu : fetu : fratrusper : atiieřie : eu : esum /** (3) **esu : naratu : peře : karne : speturie : atiieřie : aviekate : /** (4) **aiu : urtu : fefure : fetu : puze neip eretu : vestiçe saçe : /**

When for the augural section (of the) Atiedian (Brotherhood) in taking the auspices the response turns out (unfavorably), perform the following sacrifices for the Atiedian Brothers. Proclaim these sacrifices thus: "If for the augural section (of the) Atiedian (Brotherhood) in taking the auspices the response hath turned out for ill, bring it to pass that it be as not intended." Offer an additional sacrifice of a young pig to Vesti-

2 **esum**: for **esunu** (𐌴𐌼 for 𐌵𐌼).

IIa. This table falls into two portions quite distinct in content. Lines 1-14 contain instructions for sacrifices to be performed in case of unfavorable auspices, while 15-43 describe the sacrifice of a dog to Hondus Jovius. The distinct character of the two parts may originally have been shown by a space after 13, which was later filled by the words **Açetus perakne fetu** (cf. Vetter, p. 189); such a theory is at least plausible in view of the space at the end of 13, which would have been fully adequate for **Açetus**. IIa ends with a sentence written in the lower part of the left margin, which, despite certain differences of spelling and word-division, is substantially identical in content with the formula of authentication at the end of Ib. It is evident therefore that Ib and IIa were written at about the same time, but it is not certain that the auspices in question are those connected with the sacrifices during the purification of the Fisian Mount and the lustration of the people, as Bücheler, p. 123, and Rosenzweig, p. 47, suggest. The expression **fratrusper Atiieřie** (2), in place of **ukriper Fisiu tutaper Ikuvina** or **pupluper tutas Iiuvinas tutaper Ikuvina** is unfavorable to such a view (cf. Dev., p. 309), but the question must be left undecided.

IIa 1 - 14. Sacrifices in case of unfavorable auspices: a young pig to Vesticius Sancius, an ox to Jupiter, and a victim of uncertain species to Spector, a ram to Jovius, a sheep to Ahtus Jupiter, and a boar to Ahtus Mars. For the Roman practice of offering additional sacrifices if the previous one gave unfavorable auspices cf. Cic., *Div.*, II, 17, 38 *Quid? cum pluribus deis immolatur, qui tandem evenit, ut litetur aliis, aliis non litetur? quae autem inconstantia deorum est, ut primis minentur extis, bene promittant secundis?* — **1 karne**: it seems better to discard *'carni'*, the rendering of earlier editors, and, following Blum. and Dev., to adopt 'part, portion, section' in all passages where the word occurs. In Va 24, 27, b 4 this is unavoidable, and it agrees with the sense in O. *maimas carneis senateis tanginud* (Tabula Bantina = Co. 28, line 3), while the Latin sense 'meat, flesh' shows a later stage in the semantic evolution. See Blum., p. 68. — **speturie**: only here and in the similar formula in 3, but the formation is clear: the L. equivalent would be **spectoriae*, related to **spector*, U. **Speture**, as *amatorius* to *amator*. It is therefore that section of the Atiedian Brotherhood which is concerned with *spectio* or the taking of auspices. — **aviekate**: from a denom. vb. stem *aviēkā-*, and probably a deponent pf. pass. pcpl., although analysis as a pres. pcpl. with loss of *n* before *t* is also possible. The whole ex-

pression **karne speturie Atiieřie aviekate**, here and in 3, then means 'for the augural section (of the) Atiedian (Brotherhood) in taking the auspices.' — **naraklum vurtus**: the unfavorable nature of the omens is not directly stated, but Bü., p. 124, interprets the passage in the light of the ancient belief that evil omens could be produced by a miraculous change in the organs of the victim at the time of sacrifice; cf. Cic., *Div.*, II, 15, 35 *cum immolare quispiam velit, tum fieri extorum mutationem, ut aut absit aliquid aut supersit.* Pighi, *R.F.I.C.*, XXXII (1954), p. 244, takes **vurtus** as 2 sg. and translates *'quom parti augurali Atiediae auspicanti narrationem verteris,'* understanding **vurtus** to denote some error made by the priest in pronouncing the **naraklum**; this gives good sense in its context, but the construction of the dative **karne ... aviekate** seems slightly more natural by the other interpretation. — **3-4 peře karne ... / ... fefure**: the formula actually to be used in announcing the expiatory sacrifice differs from the clause in 1-2 not only in the use of **peře** rather than **pune**, but also in the words designating the nature of the omens, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the formula in 4 preserves more archaic language. — **4 aiu**: found only here and variously interpreted, but best taken in etymological connection with L. *aio, prod-igium*, as 'response.' For the suffix, R. G. Kent, *C.P.*, XV (1920), p. 363, admits three possibilities: *-iā-, -iōn-* (see **81 a**, n. 1), or *-io-* with declension as neuter; the last is the most likely. — **fefure**: taken as fut. pf. 3 pl. of *futu* by Br., Bk., Blum., and more recently by Vet., but there are several objections: it is unlikely that a fut. pf. of the auxiliary would be used in making a fut. pf. of the verb as a whole, and even if a fut. pf. were so used, we should not expect a reduplication; the Tables have many instances of unreduplicated *fust* as auxiliary, whether we prefer to call it fut. or fut. pf.: cf., for example, Ib 7, 39, Va 19, 20, 22, VIa 7, b 39, etc. Moreover *-nt* in 3 pl. verbs and other forms is preserved with considerable regularity, the few examples of loss being subject to special explanation. **fefure** then is probably pf. 3 sg. of some other verb. Connection with *φύρω, πέφυρται* is possible, even though Bücheler rejected it in favor of L. *forare* or *furcillare*. The semantic evolution then may have been 'mingle > confound > disturb > make ineffective,' and a literal translation may be 'if ... the response (which has) come forth has made (the sacrifice) ineffective.' Cf. Kent, *C.P.*, XV (1920), p. 363; Pisani, *Gl.*, XX (1932), pp. 96-7; the latter takes **fefure** as 3 pl. with an ending *-re* similar to certain 3 pl. forms in Tocharian B, but **aiu** and **fefure** can as easily be sg. as pl. (cf. **esunu** 2, and **115 c**), and a sg. is somewhat easier here in view of **naraklum vurtus** in the alternate formula. — **fetu puze neip eretu**: cf. the more elliptical expression *pusei neip heritu* VIa 27, etc. — **Vestiçe**: this god, who is here grouped in a triad with Jupiter and Spector, is not otherwise known except from the expression *carsome Uestisier*, which occurs in VIa 13-14 in the list of points used in defining the city-limits. There is little doubt, however, that his name is connected with *uestis, uesticatu, uestisiar* (see on VIb 5), and if the connection of these words with *Vesta* is valid, Vesticius is probably a god associated with the hearth. Bü., p. 125, hesitantly speculates on the possibility of identifiying Vesticius with the Oscan **Vezkeí** of the Agnone Dedication (Co. 175), A 2, B 3, on the basis of an interchange of **z** (= *ts*) and *st*. — **Saçe**: an epithet of **Iupater** in IIb 17, 24, and used alone in b 10; see also on VIb 3. The nasal before **ç** *ś* is omitted in all 5 instances in the native alphabet and written in all 12 instances in the Latin alphabet. Yet it is unlikely that we have a distinct non-nasal form replaced in the later tables under Latin influence by a nasal form, as Dev., p. 217, suggests. In the earlier tables **n**

(5) **sakre : iuvepatre bum perakne : speture : perakne : restatu** / (6) **iuvie : unu erietu sakre : pelsanu fetu : arviu : ustentu :** / (7) **puni fetu : taçez : pesnimu : ařepe : arves : pune purtiius :** / (8) **unu : suřu pesutru : fetu : tikamne : iuvie : kapiře :** / (9) **peřu : preve**

cius Sancius, an ox brought from away to Jupiter, and a victim brought from away to Spector. Offer to Jovius one ram from the temple-property, to be buried. Present grain-offerings, sacrifice with mead, and pray silently with (offerings of) fat and grain. When you have made the presentation, present one pig-*persondro* to Dicamnus Jovius. Make a mound in a separate place for the

before ç is often omitted, and written only in **ançif** IIa 25, **purtinçus** Ib 33. Besides, the wide distribution of the stems *Sancu-*, *Sanco-* has received new confirmation from the appearance of the name *San. qus* on one of the Italic inscriptions in the Val Camonica (see Altheim, *Gesch. d. lat. Spr.* [Frankfurt-am-Main, 1951] pp. 100-04). — 5 **sakre**: for the substantive use cf. III 8, 9, 12 (where **sakre** is not an epithet of the following **uvem**), 22, 30, Va 6, VIb 52, 56; O. **sakrim** (Curse of Vibia = Co. 130, line 11), **sakriss** (Co. 113), **sakrid** (Co. 114), **sakrím** (Co. 117). That the *i*-stem *sacri-* may be used of a young pig as a sacrificial victim is apparent from Varro, *R.R.*, II, 1, 20 *E quis* (sc. *porcis*) *qui iam puri sunt ad sacrificium, ut immolentur, olim appellati sacres*; 4, 16 *Cum porci depulsi sunt a mamma, a quibusdam delici appellantur neque iam lactantes dicuntur, qui a partu decimo die habentur puri, et ab eo appellantur ab antiquis sacres, quod tum ad sacrificium idonei dicuntur primum. sacres* as attribute of *porci* occurs in Plaut., *Men.*, 289-90, *Rud.*, 1208. — **perakne**: mostly used as an attribute of sacrificial victims, but of uncertain meaning; commonly connected with *acnu*, O. **akeneí**, **akun.**, L. *annus*, as a precise formal equivalent to L. *per-ennis* though with a sense more like that of *sollemnis* (substantially so A.-K., II, p. 355, Buck, § 159a, Blum., p. 45, E.-M.[3], p. 63. But this fails to give a satisfactory interpretation of some of the passages where **perakn-** occurs. — It is a striking fact that with the exception of VIa 54, where we must almost certainly emend *peracnio* to *peracrio*, the adjective **perakn-** occurs only in IIa, b, and Va 7, while *peracr-*, apart from **perakre** Ib 40, occurs only in VIa, b, and VIIa, and further that both are at times associated with *sacr-* **sakr-** in what appears to be a contrast of meanings (e.g. not only the present passage, but also VIb 52 *uia auiecla esonome etuto com peracris sacris*, with the closely similar VIb 56). Devoto calls attention to the distinction between animals raised for sacrifice (**sakri-**) and those from secular sources selected as victims (pp. 190-91; cf. his similar classification of vessels, p. 237), and he maintains connection with *acnu*, which, however, he renders by '*extensione, mole*' rather than by '*anno.*' In view of O. **akeneí**, **akun.**, it seems best to preserve the meaning 'year' for U. *acnu* and abandon connection between it and **perakne**. Now the **k** of **perakne** can stand for *g* as well as for *k* (1a). It may therefore be possible to derive from **per-ag-ni-* 'driven (from) beyond,' with the value of *per-* similar to that in L. *peregrinus*, as suggested by Devoto. *-no-* as a suffix used in the formation of passive verbal adjectives is represented not only by L. *plenus*, etc., but by the pf. pepls. of numerous Indo-Iranian, Slavic, and Germanic verbs. In the present instance we have in place of *-no-* an *i*-stem suffix *-ni-*, and the change of stem cannot be explained as in the bahuvrīhi compounds L. *imberbis*, *trire-*

mis, etc. But the change may have been occasioned by the use of the word as member of a contrasting pair with *sacri-* **sakri-**, which outnumber the *o/ā*-stem *sacro/ā-* by 13 to 4. We may then render the sense by 'brought from outside, brought from away.' See also on VIa 25 *peracrei*, IIa 21, **sevakne**. — **Speture**: this god, the third of the present triad, is mentioned only here, but in view of the expression **karne speturie Atiieřie aviekate** in 1, 3 above, and of such technical terms as L. *auspicium*, *extispicium*, *haruspicium*, *ignispicium*, and *spectio* 'right to take auspices,' there can be little doubt that Spector was in some way a god of augury. See Rosenzweig, pp. 95-6. — **restatu**: cf. Ib 9 **restef esunu feitu** = VIb 47 *reste esono feitu* in the instruction for repeating the purification of the Mount in case of any omission in the ceremony.

IIa 6 - 10. Sacrifice of a ram to Jovius, followed by the offering of a *persontru* to Dicamnus Jovius. The principal problem is the identification of Jovius, for IIa 6 is the only passage in the tables where a form of the stem *Iovio-* appears alone as a divine name. As a parallel Rosenzweig, p. 80, mentions the Dea Dia of the Fratres Arvales, and there is no question as to the etymological relation of the names, even though the gradation and stem-types are different. Yet it is hard to believe that **Iuvie** does not involve an ellipsis of some other name, to which it may have stood in the same relation as in the names **Tikamne Iuvie**, **Hunte Iuvie**, etc. Dev., pp. 315-6, calls attention to the strikingly close resemblance between the present passage and the description in Ia 24-34 of the sacrifice of three lambs to Tefer Jovius and the supplementary offerings which follow. The passage in Ia is more detailed, but both contain the instructions **pelsana fetu arvia ustentu puni fetu taçez pesnimu ařiper arvis** (with orthographical variations); both call for the offering of a **suřum pesuntru** after the *porrectio*; for the construction of a mound (**peřum**) for the bowl; and for the grinding of the cereal offerings, to be followed by prayers. It is possible therefore that in order to balance the repetition of Ia 24 **Tefre Iuvie** ... 26 **pelsana fetu** ... 27 **api habina purtiius, suřum pesuntru / fetu** ... **Tefri Iuvi fetu** we must understand **Tikamne** to belong in sense with **Iuvie** in IIa 6 as well as in 8. — **6 unu erietu**: the bronze reads **unuerietusakre**, but the word-division is beyond reasonable doubt. For **erietu** all editors since Aufrecht and Kirchhoff adopt the translation '*arietem*,' with the exception of Bréal. **unu** occurs only here and in 8 below, and it is strange that the numeral should be used at all with reference to a single victim. Br. translated '*agnum*,' but with an untenable etymology (: *ἀμνός*, cf. p. 277). Pisani, *A.G.I.*, XXVII (1935), pp. 165-6, translates '*ovillum*,' with a better etymology (**unu** < **ovĭno-*), but the normal Italic suffix for adjectives from animal-names is not *ĭno-* but *īno-*, as in *cabriner*, *habina*, where the unsyncopated *i* must belong. The interpretation of **unu** as derived from the stem *ovi-* also creates difficulties in 8 if **suřu** is to be connected with L. *sus*, according to the usual view. The word-order also favors taking **unu** as '*unum*,' since the normal practice in I and II is to place the numeral before the noun (see **155 h**). — **pelsanu**: see on VIb 22 — **arviu**: on Ia 3 and below on IIa 18. — **7 puni**: on VIa 57. — **ařepe**: on Ia 3. — **8 suřu pesutru**: on VIb 24. — **Tikamne**: taken by most earlier editors as abl. of a noun related to L. *dicare* and signifying a dedicatory formula. Br., p. 278, took it as a divine name, and Dev. and all subsequent editors have so taken it, while retaining the traditional etymological connection. Most recently G. B. Pighi, *R.F.I.C.*, XXXII (1954), p. 247, pointed out its resemblance to L. *Vertumnus*, *Picumnus*, of suspected Etruscan origin, and *alumnus*, *femina*, from IE medio-passive participles: what-

fetu : ape : purtiiusuřu : erus : tetu : enu : kuma/ltu kumate pesnimu : ahtu : iuvip : uve peraknem : / (11) peřaem fetu : arviu : ustentu puni : fetu : ahtu marti : abrunu / (12) perakne : fetu : arviu : ustetu : fasiu : pruseçete : ařveitu : / (13) peřae : fetu : puni fetu : tra : ekvi : ne : fetu : / (14) açetus : perakne : fetu : /

bowl. When you have presented the pig-*persondro*, distribute the *erus*. Then grind (the grain) and pray with the ground (grain). To Ahtus Jupiter sacrifice upon the ground a sheep brought from away. Present grain-offerings and sacrifice with mead. To Ahtus Mars sacrifice a young boar brought from away. Present grain-offerings, add spelt-cakes to the parts cut off, sacrifice the victim upon the ground, and sacrifice with mead. Sacrifice across the (Via) Equina. Sacrifice a victim brought from away, to the Ancites.

9 **purtiiusuřu**: for **purtiius : suřu**.

ever the actual origin of **Dicamnos*, it was popularly associated with **deik-*, **dik-ā*, and had approximately the sense 'he who speaks.' See further on **Ahtu** in 10 below. — **kapiře**: on VIb 18. — **9 peřu**: on VIb 24. — **preve**: found also in Ia 28, on which see note. In the latter passage, however, **preve** referred to the manner of offering the *uestišia* and not to the building of the mound for the bowl. The present passage is best clarified by a comparison with Ia 29 **testruku peři kapiře peřum feitu**, 32 **nertruku peři kapiře peřum feitu**: in the latter ceremony two bowls were used, while in IIa 8-9 a single bowl is used. The function of **preve** then is similar to that of **unu** in 6, 8; both appear somewhat unnecessary, but may be used in intended contrast to the corresponding instructions in Ia, as Dev., p. 316, suggests. — **erus**: for a discussion of the nature of this offering see on VIb 16. — **kumal/tu kumate pesnimu**: on VIb 17.

IIa 10 - 14. Sacrifice of a sheep to Ahtus Jupiter and of a boar to Ahtus Mars. The word **ahtu** occurs nowhere except in the present passage, but practically all editors take it as in some way forming a part of the names of the two deities. The form may be easily analyzed as dat. sg. of a stem in *-tu-*, and the root may be either that of L. *ago* or that of L. *aio*, *ad-agium*, *prod-igium*, with **-ht-** < *-kt-* < *-gt-*, as in **rehte**. Probably the latter alternative is the more satisfactory. Pighi, *R.F.I.C.*, XXXII (1954), pp. 245-6, in substantial agreement with Dev., p. 314, so takes it, along with **aiu** < **ag-yo-* and **Açetus** < **ag-yent-*, comparing also the Roman *Aius Loquens* (Varro *apud* Aul. Gell., XVI, 17, 2; Cic., *Div.*, II, 32, 69) and *Aius Locutius* (Livy, V, 50, 5). Both Jupiter and Mars have oracular functions through which they make known their will to men, and it is entirely natural that the oracular aspect of their character should have a prominent place in the first part of Table IIa. The utterance of the gods is deified and the deification is shown not by using adjectives ***Iuvie** and ***Martie** but by apposition of the names of the gods themselves, for **Iuvip** in 10 can reasonably be taken only as dat. of the noun **Iupater**. — **11 peřaem**: see on VIa 58. — **abrunu**: in (b 24 = VIIa 3 during the lustration of the people of Iguvium three boars are sacrificed to Serfus Martius at Fontuli. The details of the ritual, however, are strikingly different. The in-

structions for the sacrifice at Fontuli include among other matters the expression *uatuo ferine fetu*, which is elsewhere used only in connection with oxen (Ia 4, 13, 22, VIa 57, b 1, 19) or bull-calves (Ib 3, 5-6, VIb 43-4, 45). The present sacrifice, on the other hand, contains the instruction **peřaem fetu**, which is used in VIa 58 of pregnant sows, VIb 3 of sucking pigs, Ib 28 = VIIa 7 of sows, Ib 32 = VIIa 41 of heifer-calves, Ib 44 = VIIa 54 of heifers, and III 32 of a sheep; in IIa 21-2 the expression **esunu / peřae futu** is used in the description of the dog-sacrifice. In other words the two expressions *uatuo ferine fetu* and **peřaem fetu** never occur in the instructions for one and the same sacrifice and never with victims of the same class, unless we equate **aprunu** with **apruf** *abrof* of the sacrifice at Fontuli. It is probable therefore that the stem-variation between **aprunu** and **apruf** (as if L. **aprōnem* stood beside acc. pl. *aprōs*) corresponds to a difference in the victim itself, with **aprunu** probably standing for 'young boar,' since the instruction to slaughter the victim stretched upon the ground (**peřaem fetu**) is generally used in connection with smaller victims. Cf. *A.J.P.*, LXXVII (1956), pp. 177-80. — **12 fasiu pruseçete aŕveitu**: see on VIb 1-2, where spelt-cakes form a part of the offerings made to Mars Grabovius in the third sacrifice of the purification of the Fisian Mount. The latter passage, together with VIb 43 on the sacrifice to Mars Hodius at the Grove of Jupiter, and the present passage are sufficient to show that spelt-cakes had an especially close association with the cult of Mars. — **13 tra ekvine**: the actual reading of the bronze is **tra**: **ekvi**:**ne**. Von Planta, I, pp. 347-8, Dev., and Bott., assume connection with **eikvasatis** and **eikvasese** but are unable to find any entirely satisfactory solution, and moreover the normal Umbrian negative is **neip** *neip*, the short form **nei** being found only in IV 33 in combination with the subjunctive (**a**)**ŕhabas**. It seems best therefore to read **ekvine**, taking it as equivalent to L. *equinae*. For the phonological problem see **46 h**. For a clear instance of erroneous use of the word-divider cf. **kvestre**:**tie** Ib 45. Blum., p. 57, compared **tra ekvine** '*trans equinam viam*' with **tra sate** Ib 43. For the case-usage see on VIIa 5. Vetter, p. 191, suggests that the sacrifices to the two **Ahtus** deities were performed in a different place from the sacrifice to Spector. — **14 Açetus**: again the interpretation is uncertain, and there is no other instance for purposes of comparison. The form is almost certainly dat. pl. of a *t*-stem, or of a pres. pcpl. with loss of *n* before *t* by **52 d**. As a pres. pcpl. it has been referred to *ag-*, root of *ago* (Bü.), and to *ag-*, root of **ahtu**, L. *aio*, *prod-igium* (Dev.), but there is no satisfactory explanation of the **ç**, for the normal product of palatalization of *g* would be *i* by **47 b**. It might be possible to assume a variant root-form *ak-* spreading analogically, as perhaps in O. infinitive *acum*, from forms where *g* is subject to unvoicing before *t* (cf. Brugmann, *Ber. kön. sächs. Ges. Wiss.*, 1890, pp. 237-8), but a translation '*Agentibus*' or its semantic equivalent '*Actoribus*' tells us nothing whatever about the nature of the deities in question. Pighi (see above) on 10-14 reaches a better solution by deriving **Açe(n)t-** < **ag-yent-* '*aiens*,' which may be tenable from a phonological standpoint if we admit **aç-** < *ak-* < *ag-* as explained above. The **Açetus** then are apparently **Ahtu Iuvip.** and **Ahtu Marti** themselves, and **Açetus** is related to **Ahtu** as the speaker to the word, both being here identified with Jupiter and Mars. But it is rather strange that the instruction to offer victims **perakne** to the two deities should be repeated here with substitution of the name **Açetus** for **Ahtu Iuvip.** ... **Ahtu** ... **Marti**. On the whole it seems safest to follow Pl., Bk., Blum., Vet., in tentatively identifying **Açetus** with L. *dis Ancitibus*, *C.I.L.*, IX, 3515, from near Furfo in the Vestinian territory. On

(15) **huntia : katle : tiçel : stakaz : est : sume : ustite : /** (16) **anter : menzaru : çersiaru : heriiei :**

The Hondia: the day for (the sacrifice of) the dog is appointed for the final period of the Cerealia occurring between

phonological grounds the equation is easy, and the Umbrian palatalization occurred early enough to preclude the change *-nk- > -ng-*.

IIa 15 - 43. Sacrifice of a dog to Hondus Jovius. For a defense of the traditional view that **katle** means 'dog, puppy,' not 'young pig,' see below on 15 **katle**. A number of details of the ritual are obscure, the more so because we have not the advantage of being able to compare an earlier and a later version, as in the case of the purification of the Fisian Mount and the lustration of the people. Those features, however, which are clear may be briefly outlined. The time at which the sacrifice is to be performed — **sume ustite antermenzaru çersiaru** — is given in 15-16, but there is good ground for believing that a distinction was made between the sacrifice performed privately and that performed by the *adfertor* himself, and that in the latter case a special time, designated by the expression **menzne kurçlasiu**, was prescribed. The articles necessary for the sacrifice include cereal-offerings (**arvia**), the cakes known as **struhçla** and **fikla**, wine and mead (**puni**), crushed salt, a maniple, wet and dry vessels, and an unguent (18-19). The victim is slain stretched on the ground, on behalf of the gens Petronia. The dancing of the *tripudium* takes place when the grain and mead are offered (24-5) after the slaughter of the victim, and again after the *porrectio*. A certain portion of the ceremony (34-9) takes place near an object known as the *spina*, possibly a sort of obelisk; this portion includes libations and prayers, the dancing of the *tripudium*, the anointing of the *spina*, and a ceremonial washing of the hands. After the *adfertor* has returned to the altar, he offers further prayers, the cakes are ground, and the remains of the dog buried. —

15 Huntia: generally taken as abl. sg., but as acc. sg. by Vetter, pp. 191, 194, who understands it as acc. of goal indicating the name of the place where the sacrifice is to be performed. If we so take **Huntia**, it is difficult to construe it with **stakaz est**. In 17 with **fertu** it would give good sense, but the evidence for ordinary accusatives of goal without a preposition in the Italic dialects is negligible; we should rather expect ***Huntiama(ř)** or ***Huntiame(n)**, like **asamař, spinama, fesnafe**. It is possible that **Huntia** should be left unconstrued and understood as the title of the body of instructions which follows. This is natural in view of the change of subject-matter after 14 and has a partial parallel in VIa 12 where *tuderor totcor* as a general heading precedes the list of places which follows. **Huntia** is then best taken as neut. pl. and may be compared with such neut. pl. festival-names as *Ambarvalia, Lupercalia, Saturnalia*. **Huntia** in 17 may possibly be a neut. pl. meaning 'the things for the Hondia,' which are then identified by the long series of nouns following **fertu**. — **katle**: this word, which occurs only in the description of the sacrifice in the present table, is generally understood to mean 'puppy, dog.' Vetter, p. 194, takes it to mean 'young pig,' on the ground that the elaborate instructions which follow would not be devoted to the preparation of dog-meat, and as support for **katel** = 'young pig' he cites Plaut., *Epid.*, 579 *aliter catuli longe olent, aliter sues*, which, even apart from the mutilated condition of the text, does not seem to give adequate support. In Plaut., *fr. inc.* XLII (Goetz and Schoell) *et ego te conculcabo ut sus catulos suos* it is the presence of *sus* in the context that establishes the meaning of *catulos*. I prefer to adhere to the usual interpretation of Table IIa 15 ff.

The sacrifice of dogs to infernal deities and for protection against grain-rust, and also the eating of dog-meat are attested by the following passages: Paul. *e* Fest., 39 Li. *catulinam carnem esitavisse hoc est comedisse Romanos Plautus in Saturione refert*; Ov., *F.*, I, 389-90 *Exta canum vidi Triviae libare Sapaeos, et quicumque tuas accolit, Haeme, nives*; IV, 907-8 *Flamen in antiquae lucum Robiginis ibat, exta canis flammis, exta daturus ovis*; Colum., X, 342 *mala robigo viridis ne torreat herbas, sanguine lactentis catuli placatur et extis*; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.*, 52 *διὰ τί τῇ καλουμένῃ Γενείτῃ Μάνῃ κύνα θύουσι*; 68 *διὰ τί κύνα θύουσιν οἱ Λούπερκοι*; Plin., *N. H.*, XXIX, 58 *catulos lactentes adeo puros existimabant ad cibum ut etiam placandis numinibus hostiarum vice uterentur his. Genitae Manae catulo res divina fit et in cenis deum etiamnum ponitur catulina.* If the Atiedian sacrifice included the eating of dog-meat, the elaborate preparations might be all the more necessary to make it fit for human consumption. The case of **katle** may be gen. (**Çerfe** Ib 28, 31, **puniçate** Ib 15 give some support to loss of **-s** in gen. sg. in the older tables), but is perhaps better taken as dat., since **-s** is not omitted in **katles** IIa 22, 27. — **tiçel**: commonly referred to root **dik-* of L. *dico*, etc., and interpreted *'dicatio, dedicatio, declaratio.'* But Ribezzo, II, pp. 85, 93, followed by Vet. and Bott., gained a better interpretation by deriving from **diē-kelo-*; cf. O. *zicolom* in the Tabula Bantina, where the sense 'day' is practically certain. See also on b 22, III 25. — **sume ustite**: the expression recurs in III 1-2. For **ustite** there is no entirely satisfactory solution, but it is possible to reconstruct a stem **op-stīto-*, with *stī-* an ablaut-variant of *stāi-* (so Devoto) and semantic evolution 'that which stands at hand' > 'time.' For the temporal use of **sume** cf. Verg. *Aen.*, II, 324 *venit summa dies.* — **16 antermenzaru çersiaru**: for **antermenzaru** the etymological translation 'interlunary' is easy, and since **kurçlasiu** below is best taken as indicating the time for the sacrifice by the *adfertor*, there need not be any conflict in sense between **antermenzaru** and **kurçlasiu**. **çersiaru** is commonly connected with *ṣesna*, **çersnatur**, L. *cena*, but since this latter group is regularly based on a *nā*-stem in Italic, it is probably better, with Dev. and others, to associate **çersiaru** with *Ceres*. *-rs-* where we should expect *-rf-* may be explained by derivation from **ker(e)s-siārum*. The sense of **sume ustite antermenzaru çersiaru** then is apparently 'at the final time of the interlunary Cerealia.' There were Roman festivals in honor of Ceres at the beginning of spring (cf. Verg., *G.*, I, 339-40 *Sacra refer Cereri, laetis operatus in herbis, extremae sub casum hiemis, iam vere sereno*). — **heriiei façiu ařfertur ... façia tiçit**: it is uncertain whether we should punctate after **ařfertur** and make it the subject of **heriiei**, with the majority of editors, or before **ařfertur** and make it the subject of **façia**, with Devoto. In the former case a distinction is supposed to be made between the dog-sacrifice offered privately and publicly, and the time specified for each is different. Dev., pp. 322-3, argues for the opposite view on the ground that the sacrifice is a single one, offered for the gens Petronia of the Atiedian Brothers, and that the mere occurrence of the *adfertor's* title is not sufficient to indicate a public sacrifice. If we accept Devoto's interpretation, the subject of **heriiei** must be impersonal, with reference to any person who wants the sacrifice to be performed, and the appearance of **ařfertur** as subject of the following **façia** must mean that the *adfertor* alone is authorized to perform it. But **menzne kurçlasiu** leads to serious difficulty, because whether we translate 'at the full moon' or 'in the month Curṣlasius,' this new designation of the time for the ceremony is superfluous after **sume ustite antermenzaru çersiaru**, if not actually contradictory, whereas it is quite acceptable if a distinction is

façiu : ařfertur : avis : / (17) **anzeriates : menzne : kurçlasiu : façia : tiçit : huntia : fertu /** (18) **katlu : arvia : struhçla : fikla : pune : vinu : salu : maletu : /** (19) **mantrahklu : veskla : snata : asnata : umen : fertu : pir : ase : /** (20) **antentu : esunu : puni : feitu :**

moons. If he desires to perform it, the *adfertor* is required, after having observed the birds, to perform it at the full moon. He shall bring the things pertaining to the Hondia; he shall bring the dog, grain, a *strušla* cake, a *ficla* cake, mead, wine, ground salt, a maniple, wet and dry vessels, and unguent. He shall place fire on the altar; he shall perform the sacrifice with mead. He

made between a sacrifice performed by the *adfertor* and by some other person. It is not necessary to assume that there were two types of sacrifice, one public and one private, for the ceremony is described throughout as one, performed for the gens Petronia. The explanation is rather, as Vet., p. 195, suggests, that sometimes the *adfertor* himself was a member of the gens, in which case a special day was prescribed for the sacrifice and the taking of the auspices had to be included. — **17 menzne kurçlasiu**: **menzne** as a nasal extension of the same stem which is disguised in *μήν*, L. *mensis*, can be 'month' (so Bü., Pl., Bk.) or 'moon' (so Blum., p. 70, Dev., Vet., Pis., Bott.). In favor of the former is the distribution of meanings in L. *mensis* and *luna*, and also the reasonableness of taking **kurçlasiu** as the name of a month, like L. *Ianuarius*, *Februarius* (in the present case 'that which completes the circle,' in other words the last month of the year). But it is natural that the precise date should be named, as Blum. and Dev. observed, and also if the meaning is 'in the month Circularius,' we should expect the loc. case (cf. **145 c, 146 b**). If we interpret 'when the moon is full, at the full moon,' **menzne kurçlasiu** becomes an ablative absolute or ablative of attendant circumstances and so is quite natural. The use of the name of a round object to designate the fulness of the moon receives some support from Ov., *M.*, VII, 530-1 *Dumque quater iunctis explevit cornibus orbem luna, quater plenum tenuata relexuit orbem.* — **tiçit**: equated with L. *decet* by nearly all editors except Vetter, who connects with L. *licet*; the sense is equally good, but for *d* from initial *l* before front vowels there is no reliable evidence positive or negative. — **Huntia**: see on 15, where it was suggested that **Huntia** in the present passage may refer to the things needed for the sacrifice to Hondus. — **fertu**: the repetition of **fertu** again in 19 is a difficulty, but the second **fertu** may have been placed at the end simply because of the extreme length of the series. — **18 arvia**: this passage is of crucial importance for the interpretation of all the occurrences of **arvia** *aruio*. Hu., Blum., Ribezzo, I, pp. 83-4, Vet., p. 195, translate '*exta*,' in general comparing L. *arvina* 'fat, lard.' Bü., Co., Pl., Bk., Dev., Pis., Bott. on the other hand connect with L. *arvum* and interpret as grain or similar products of the fields, Bü., p. 62, having pointed out that **arvia** in the present passage cannot be a part of the victim; so also Br., pp. 101-2, although he translates '*ollas*' in the formula *aruio fetu*, **arvia ustentu**, and '*extis*' in **ařepes arves**. Assuming that the victim has not been previously slain, I regard the argument of the second group of editors as cogent and take **arvia** *aruio* to refer to grain offerings. Moreover there appears to be a sort of supplementary relation between the **arves** of Ia, b and the cakes prescribed in the corresponding por-

tions of VI and VII (see on Ia 3). — **struhçla**: see on VIa 59. — **fikla**: on VIa 56. — **salu**: the initial **s** here has the form Ⅿ, as also in **seritu** in 24 below. For the use of salt in religious ritual cf. Ov., *F.*, I, 337-8 *Ante deos homini quod conciliare valeret, far erat et puri lucida mica salis*; Plin., *N.H.*, XXXI, 89 *maxime tamen in sacris intelligitur auctoritas* (sc. *salis*) *quando nulla conficiuntur sine mola salsa.* Saltworks are known to have existed at Veii, Volaterrae, and in the Vestinian country; see *R.-E.*, 2*te Reihe*, II, pp. 2078-9. — **maletu**: the only instance of the simplex of this verb in the Italic dialects. Devoto takes it as imv. of a second-conjugation stem in contrast to the third-conjugation forms **kumaltu, kumates** and by so breaking the series into two provides full justification for the second **fertu** in 19. It is easier, however, not to assume a change of conjugational class, and a pcpl. in *-etu* is quite natural in view of *frosetom, pesetom*, etc. The syncope of the post-radical vowel in **kumates** *comatir* may be connected in some way with different accentual conditions in the simplex and in the compound. — **19 mantrahklu**: see on VIb 4. — **veskla snata asnata**: also in 34, 37 below and in IV 9. The two adjectives are clearly of opposite meaning and are generally derived from the root *snā-*: Skt. *snāti* 'bathe,' L. *nāre*, so that their sense should be 'wet and dry' or 'washed and unwashed'; but it is not clear how the vessels are to be used. Dev., p. 325, believes that the two classes of vessels are those which have been used for the unguent (**umen**) and those which have not, and it may be significant that IIa and IV, the only tables which mention **veskla snata asnata**, are also the only ones referring to **umen** and containing the verb **umtu**. It is safest, however, simply to translate 'wet and dry,' understanding the **snata** to be used for liquids or for unguents and the **asnata** for grain or other substances which do not wet the vessels. — **umen**: only in the present table, while the related verb **umtu** is found in 38 and in IV 13. On etymological grounds the sense is reasonably certain, but the exact nature of the unguent is of course unknown. **19-20 pir ase / antentu**: cf. III 21-2 **vuke pir / ase antentu.** — **20 esunu puni feitu**: since mead and wine are both called for in 24-5, the use of mead alone here may pertain simply to the opening part of the ceremony, the placing of the fire on the altar. — **Hunte Iuvie**: the present table is the only one containing a description of a sacrifice to this god, but Hontus Serfius is mentioned in VIb 45 = Ib 4 as the recipient of three bull-calves in the sacrifice at the Grove of Coredius during the purification of the Fisian Mount. That Hondus was an infernal deity is clear not only from his name, the connection of which with *hondra, hondomu*, imv. *hondu*, is fairly sure despite the uncertainty of the suffix, but also because of the literary evidence for the association of the dog-sacrifice with the cult of the underworld and of the dead; see above on 15 **katle.** — **ampentu**: practically all editors treat as etymologically equivalent to L. *impendito* and translate accordingly, but the exact meaning is not clear. In all passages where forms of this verb occur a word designating some sacrificial victim is present or easily supplied. At first glance 'offer up' might be a suitable enough translation, and the sense would not be altogether different from that of *impendere* in Lucan, II, 382-3 *patriaque impendere vitam / nec sibi*; Petr., I, 1 "*hunc oculum pro vobis impendi*". But **ampentu** indicates a ritual act quite different from **purtuvitu** and performed prior to it, as appears plainly from Va 17-22 **ape apelust, muneklu habia numer / prever pusti kastruvuf, et ape purtitu / fust, muneklu habia numer tupler / pusti kastruvu, et ape subra spafu fust, / muneklu habia numer tripler pusti / kastruvu.** There is no verb in the Iguvine Tables which un-

hunte : iuvie : ampentu : katlu : / (21) **sakre : sevakne : petruniaper : natine : fratru : atiieřiu : esunu /** (22) **peřae : futu : katles : supa : hahtu : sufafiaf : supaf : hahtu : /** (23) **berus : aplenies : pruseçia : kartu : krematra : aplenia :**

shall slay in honor of Hondus Jovius an unblemished dog from the temple-property for the gens Petronia among the Atiedian Brothers. The sacrifice shall be (performed) upon the ground. He shall take the under-parts of the dog; he shall take the lower limbs. He shall roast the sacrificial pieces on a sufficient number of spits; he shall place a sufficient number of roasting-pans under

mistakably signifies 'slaughter,' yet it is probable that **ampentu** implies the slaughter of the victim, which must precede the *porrectio*; cf. on the one hand the figurative expression *inter caesa et porrecta* in Cic. *Att.*, V, 18, 1, and on the other the implication of slaughter in Sen., *Tro.*, 298-9 *Quis iste mos est, quando in inferias homo est impensus hominis* (of the sacrifice of Polyxena). As L. *immolare* 'sprinkle with salted meal' is euphemistically employed for 'slay,' so may **ampentu** be used in order to avoid direct use of a verb 'slay'; cf. Dev., pp. 326-7. It is not necessary in the passages where forms of **ampentu** occur to assume that the slaughter was accomplished by hanging or strangulation. — **21 sevakne**: etymology and sense are both very uncertain. The word is often applied to victims: the dog here, the sheep in III 26, pig IIb 8, goat 10, heifers VIIb 1. But it is also applied to objects of various kinds: unguent IIa 38, wine 39, roasting-spits IIa 36, vessels 37, IV 9, 25, and to the cakes called **arçlataf** IV 22. Whatever its origin, it must have acquired approximately the sense 'fit for ritual use,' which may be modified to 'solemn' or 'perfect' according to the context. It is not fully synonymous with **sakre**, which is used to distinguish that which is temple-property from that which is secular (see on IIa 5) nor with *arsmatia*, which is applied to the wand carried by the priest. According to the usual view **sevakni** is a compound of **sev-** 'whole' (cf. *seuom*, *seueir*, O. *siuom* '*omnino*') + **akni-** (cf. **perakni**, which however is otherwise explained in note on IIa 5). **sevakni** is then analogous in formation to L. *sollemnis*, for whose second member Ernout-Meillet [3] suggest connection with O. **amnúd**, while Pisani, p. 187, proposes to derive the second member of **sevakni** from the same root as **ançif**, L. *ancus*, *uncus*, *ἄγκος*, *ἀγκών*, etc. The semantic evolution then would be 'all the way around > complete > perfect,' and the association of both *sollemnis* and **sevakni** with the words for 'year,' O. **akeneí**, U. *acnu*, L. *annus*, may be secondary. Dev., p. 307, explains **sevakni** quite differently as '*sine vitio*,' so that the prefix is the same as in *seipodruhpei*, while **vak-** is the same root as in *ander-uacose*, *uaśetom*: no less plausible than the view of the majority. — **Petruniaper natine fratru Atiieřiu**: cf. 35 below, where a libation is offered to Hondus Jovius at the *spina* on behalf of the gens Petronia, and b 26, where a bull-calf is offered to Jupiter Sancius on behalf of the gens Lucia. **natine** is the formal equivalent of L. *natione* (for the different vowel-grade see **81 b**), but the sense is rather that of the more remote cognate *gente*. The relation of the gentes Petronia and Lucia to the organization of the Atiedian Brotherhood as a whole is not clear, but it is to be noted that in the early history of Rome particular cults were assigned to particular gentes, e.g., Sol to the Aurelii, Hercules to the Potitii and Pinarii, etc.,

but were later transferred to the priestly colleges. Bü., p. 131, suggests that the gens Petronia may have become extinct, the implication apparently being that the brothers representing other gentes assumed the obligation which it was no longer able to fulfill. — **22 supa**: see on VIb 5 *sopo*. **supa hahtu** occurs only here, but **supa sumtu** Ia 9, 16 must be scarcely different in meaning. The next reference to **supa** is in 30-31 **supa spantea / pertentu**, while 32 includes the instruction **supa pustra perstu** 'place the under-parts at the back (of the altar?).' Similarly in the description of the sacrifice behind the Tesenaçan Gate, VIb 3 has *persae fetu* corresponding to Ia 16 **supa sumtu**, while VIb 5 contains the clause *ape sopo postro peperscust*. — **sufafiaf**: found again in gen. sg. in 41, where it is to be ground up together with the cakes known as **struhçla** and **fikla**. It is therefore probably some bony portion of the victim. The Latin passages commonly cited in explanation of **sufafiaf** are: Plaut., *M.G.*, 1180 *id conexum in umero laevo, exfafillato bracchio* (sc. *palliolum*; the reference is to a seaman's dress, and the medial *f* is a mark of dialectal origin, but the reading is not certain); Fest., 199 Li. *exertum, quod scilicet omnes exerto brachio sint exfilati*, i.e. *extra vestimentum filo contextum*; Ps.-Plac. (*Gloss. Lat.* IV, ed. Lindsay) E 6 *effafilatus exserto humero id est extra filum manum proferens*. If the root in **sufafiaf** (< **sub-fafians*) is one of 'extending out,' as would appear from the Latin forms, **sufafiaf** may mean 'limbs,' and the following **supaf** may specify the 'lower limbs' or 'lower parts of the legs.' The view followed here is essentially that of Dev., p. 329, but nothing can be affirmed with certainty. — **23 berus**: recognized as the etymological equivalent of L. *verubus* by Bü., p. 132, whom all subsequent editors follow. — **aplenies**: found only here and in **krematra aplenia** just below. Most translate '*impletis*,' deriving from **am-plē-n(i)yo-*, but the formation is an improbable one, for we should rather expect a stem in either *-to-* or *-no-*, and in fact we have in VIIa 21, 34 a form *plener* = L. *plenis*. Vetter, p. 196, obtains better sense from the two passages where **aplenies, -ia** occur, by taking as an extension like that in **semenies** from a stem equivalent to that of L. **amplus**. The spits then must be in sufficient quantity, and so must be the roasting-pans which are to be placed below. An alternative possibility is that **aplenies** may be a gentile name and that the instructions call for a particular type of spits and roasting-pans known by the name of the manufacturers. Schulze, *Lat. Eigenn.*, pp. 152, 346, cites several similar names, of which the most suitable for our purpose are *Abulenius* (*C.I.L.*, XI, 6056, from Urvinum Mataurense, Augustan period), *Abulenus* (X, 3766, from Suessula). — **pruseçia**: almost certainly to be equated with L. *prosiciae*. It is not clear just how **pruseçia** differs from *proseseto*, etc. (L. *prosecta*), which is used frequently in describing the sacrifices of the purification and lustration in VI and VII. The difference, strictly speaking, may have been between what is intended for cutting off and what has actually been cut off (other exemples of *-yo*-stem adjectives with quasi-gerundive value are L. *eximius, inferius*, ἅγιος, σφάγιος), but there is no basis for such a distinction so far as the present passage is concerned. Cf. the mixture of forms in Non., p. 330 (L. Müller) *Aemilius Macer in Ornithogonia*: *Vulcani tosta vapore / cum virgis prosecta ferunt. Feminino Lucilius lib. XIII*: *cenam, inquit, nullam neque divo prosiciam ullam. Varro Rerum divinarum lib. XI*: *prosiciem extorum vel in mensam porrigere*. — **kartu**: generally translated '*dividito*' on the assumption that it is connected with **karu** 'piece.' Vet., pp. 196-7, equates with L. *carpito*, while Pis., p. 192, translates '*torreto*,' with Lith. *kuriù*, OCS *kurenje*, OHG *herd*, and also L. *carbo* as support for the sense 'roast';

sutent/u : peřu : seritu : arvia : puni : purtuvitu : vestikatu : ahtrepuřa/tu : pustin : ançif : vinu : nuvis : ahtrepuřatu : tiu : puni : tiu : vinu : / (26) **teitu : berva : frehtef : fertu : puře : nuvime : ferest : krematruf : /** (27) **sumel : fertu : vestiçia : peřume : persnihmu : katles : tuva : tefra /** (28) **terti : erus : prusekatu : isunt : krematru : prusektu : struhçla : /** (29) **fikla : ařveitu : katlu : purtuvitu : ampeřia : persnihmu : aseçeta : /**

(the spits). He shall watch the ground. He shall present grain-offerings with mead, pour a libation, and dance the *tripudium*, offering wine at each turning. Nine times he shall dance the *tripudium*. "(I invoke) thee with mead, (I invoke) thee with wine," he shall say. He shall take the spits and the boiled portions. That which he carries last (with it) he shall carry the fat-drippings at the same time. He shall pray with a libation upon the ground. He shall cut off two (pieces) of the dog as burnt-offerings, and a third as an *erus*. At the same spot he shall cut the fat-drippings. He shall add a *strušla* cake and a *ficla* cake. He shall make the presentation of the dog. He shall pray with the portion around the (dog's) foot; he

cf. also Muller, pp. 74-5. There is no sure solution, but Pisani's interpretation gives perhaps the most satisfactory sense. — **krematra**: it is plain from **sutentu** that **krematra** designates something to be placed under the spits on which the pieces of meat are roasted, and the most obvious connection is with L. *cremare*. Most editors translate etymologically '**crematra*,' with varying explanations, but the most probable view is that the **krematra** were roasting pans designed to catch the dripping fat. See also on **krematruf** in 26. — **sutentu**: clearly 'place underneath (*supponito*)'; cf. *andendu*, *endendu*, *ostendu*, all from **-tendetōd*. — **24 peřu seritu**: not the **peřu** called for in 9, which is a portion of a different ceremony. It is possible that **peřu** in the present passage means simply 'ground' and not 'mound,' the meaning adopted in the present edition for most passages (see on VIb 24). The *adfertor* is apparently expected to keep watch over the place where the meat is roasted in the fire, in order to see that everything takes place according to rule. Dev., p. 333, notes the durative aspect of the uncompounded **seritu** in contrast to **anzeriatu**; the effect of the prefix might be roughly compared with that in Germ. *erblicken*. — **arvia puni purtuvitu**: the only passage where **arvia** is used as object of **purtuvitu**, although in IV 22 the same verb governs **arçlataf**, a type of cakes probably of circular form. On the possible relation between **arvia** and offerings of cakes, see on Ia 3. — **vestikatu**: see on VIb 6. — **ahtrepuřatu**: on VIb 16. — **25 pustin ançif vinu**: nearly all editors place a period after **vinu**, so that the three words belong in the sentence with **vestikatu ahtrepuřatu**. The phrases **pusti kastruvu(f)** Va 13, 18, 20, 21, *posti acnu* Vb 8, 12, 14, 17 have distributive force, and the same force should be admitted for **pustin** in the present passage. **ançif** is generally derived from **anki-ns* with the same root as in L. *uncus*, *angulus*, *ἀγκύλος*, *ἀγκών*, in all of which the fundamental sense is 'bent, angular.' The apparent sense then is

that the priest offers a libation of wine at each turning in the *tripudium*. — **nuvis ahtrepuřatu**: for the number nine in ritual usage cf. Ov., *F.*, V, 435-9 (of the Lemuria) *Cumque manus puras fontana perluit unda, vertitur et nigras accipit ore fabas, aversusque iacit, sed dum iacit, 'haec ego mitto, his' inquit 'redimo meque meosque fabis.' Hoc novies dicit, nec respicit*; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, I (London, 1913), p. 193, mentions the custom in the French Pyrenees of leaping nine times over the midsummer fire in order to be assured of prosperity; cf. the index in Vol. II for further magical associations of the number nine. — **tiu puni tiu vinu**: for the ellipsis of the verb see **136 c.** — **26 frehtef**: IV 30-31 contains the instruction **pune frehtu habetu**, but the sense in both passages is very obscure. Formally **frehtef** can be acc. pl. of a *ti*-stem, or, with much less probability, nom. sg. of a pres. pcpl. like **kutef**. Several editors (Bü., Ribezzo, II, pp. 88, 100, Bott.) assume connection with L. *frigus*, *frigeo*, etc.: the hot spits are cooled in IIa 26, and the mead is to be cool in IV 31. In this case **frehtef** must be a pres. pcpl. equivalent in sense to *frigidans* or *refrigerans*, but this is troublesome from the viewpoint of morphology, for it is difficult to imagine a denominative verb in the third conjugation, or in the second conjugation with transitive sense (**kutef** '**cautens*' is intransitive), and moreover we should expect Umbrian, like Latin, to use the pf. pcpl. of an action which precedes the main action. The most satisfactory interpretation is probably that of Dev., p. 335, who suggests connection with Skt. *bhurajanta* 'roast,' while assuming that in Umbrian the root **freg-* replaced the verb represented by L. *coquo* in the meaning 'boil.' The advantages of taking **frehtef** as 'boiled portions' are that it removes the danger of a rivalry in meaning with **krematru(f)** and that the sense 'roast' would not suit **pune frehtu** in IV 31. — **puře**: the pronominal form **puře** *porse* is nowhere used as a conjuction '*cum*' and must here be regarded as a relative without antecedent; cf. Cato *ap.* Diom. (*Gramm. Lat.*, I, p. 362 Keil) *lepus multum somni adfert qui eum edit.* — **nuvime**: taken by nearly all as an adverb from the ordinal 'ninth,' but by Vet. as superlative to **nowo-* (cf. L. *novus*) in the sense 'an letzter Stelle,' on the ground that *Noniar* VIa 14 shows the true ordinal stem 'ninth' and that the carrying of the spits and **frehtef** is a separate act from the ninefold *tripodatio*. On the whole his view appears preferable. — **ferest**: the spits, the **frehtef**, and finally the **krematruf** are apparently carried from the fire to the altar. — **krematruf**: since **krematru** in 28 cannot possibly be 'roasting-pans,' we may assume that the difference in ending between **krematru(f)** and **krematra** corresponds to a difference of sense. **krematru(f)** according to Vetter refers to the fat which falls into the pans, then congeals and is cut up; this is better than to refer it to the pieces of roasted meat, which have already been accounted for in the instruction **berva ... fertu**. — **27 vestiçia**: see on VIb 5. — **tefra**: on VIIa 46, where, however, *tefru-to* designates the *place* of burning; here the **tefra** are the burnt-offerings themselves. Similar offerings are cut from the sheep in III 32, 34, IV 2. — **28 prusektu**: not a pcpl., for the normal form of the pcpl. is represented by **pruseçetu** in IIb 12, and moreover if **krematru** and **prusektu** were both accusative they would have to depend on the preceding **prusekatu**, giving a tautology. **prusektu** may represent an alternate stem (cf. L. *secatus*: *sectus*, *lavatus*: *lautus*) but is more probably simply an error for **prusekatu**. — **29 ampeřia**: many different solutions have been attempted. On phonological grounds the analysis as from **am(f)-pediā(d)* 'part around the foot' (Bk., Pis.) is free from objection. If this view is correct, a certain portion including a foot of the victim has been cut off and the *ad-*

(30) **karne : persnihmu : venpersuntra : persnihmu : supa : spantea : /** (31) **pertentu : veskles : vufetes : persnihmu : vestikatu : ahtrepuřatu : /** (32) **ařpeltu :**

shall pray with the uncut portion; he shall pray with the *vempersondro*; he shall place the under-parts over at the side; he shall pray with vessels of whichever type he desires. He shall pour a libation, dance the *tripudium*, approach

fertor holds it or keeps it before him as he prays. Although Bücheler's translation *'pedem servato'* for **peřum seritu** in 24 has not been accepted by later editors, the passages which he cites in support of it are relevant to the present passage: Varro, *L.L.*, V, 23 *qui Romanus combustus est, <si> in sepulcrum eius abiecta gleba non est aut si os exceptum est mortui ad familiam purgandam, donec in purgando humo est opertum ... familia funesta manet*; Fest., p. 148 Li. *membrum abscidi mortuo dicebatur cum digitus eius decidebatur, ad quod servatum iusta fierent reliquo corpore combusto*; *'digito hominis catuli respondet petiolus'* (Bü., p. 133). — **aseçeta**: taken by all recent editors as *'non(dum) secta.'* Apart from the negative prefix the participial stem is the same as in **pruseçetu**. — **30 venpersuntra**: of the three other passages where forms of this word occur, IIb 18-19 **vepesutra pesnimu, veskles pesnimu, atrepuřatu / ařpeltu statitatu** is most similar to the present passage. But **venpersuntra** cannot be any clearer than **persuntru**, to which it is obviously related; see on VIb 24, where it is suggested that *ven-* may reinforce rather than nullify the meaning adopted for **persuntru**. According to Ribezzo II, p. 81, the *n* in the prefix may have resulted from the assimilatory influence of the penultimate syllable. — **30-31 supa spantea / pertentu**: the number and case of **supa**, the form and construction of **spantea**, and the meaning of **pertentu** are uncertain. Whether **supa** is acc. sg. fem. or acc. pl. neut. makes little difference for the sense. It is unlikely that it is abl. sg., since it is improbable that **pertentu** was normally intransitive, despite IV 8 **supes sanes pertentu**. **spantea** from the viewpoint of syntax would be best taken with Vet. as **spante(m)-a(d)* 'auf die Seite,' but there are 13 instances of acc. sg. *-m* preserved and none lost before postpositive **-a(ř)**. **spantea** must then be taken as a predicate adj. like **pustra** in 32, cf. b 19. Just as L. *protendo* may mean 'extend (the hand)' or 'extend (the object in the hand),' so **pertentu** here means 'place the under-parts at the side (of the altar, with outstretched hands)' and in IV 8 'reach out with ...' — **31 veskles vufetes persnihmu**: the majority of editors derive **vufetes** from **wog^{w}heto-* (cf. *εὔχομαι*, L. *voveo*) and translate *'votis'* or *'consecratis,'* but this does not give a very satisfactory sense, especially if we take account of the other passages in which the expression **veskles persnihmu** occurs. Dev. translated *'vacuis,'* that is, not containing the viscera, but gave no etymology to support his interpretation. I propose to equate **vufetes** with L. *libita*, pf. pass. pcpl. of *libet, lubet*, with phonology as in **14, 40, 55 a**, and participial stem in *-eto* corresponding to L. *libita* from *libet* as **taçez** to L. *tacitus* from *taceo*. The sense intended may be seen from a comparison with other relevant passages. In 19 the list of articles to be brought to the place of sacrifice included **veskla snata asnata**, and in 34 these wet and dry vessels, with other things, are to be carried to the *spina*. In 37 the priest is directed to pray at the *spina* with the wet and dry vessels, **veskles** being this time further accompa-

nied by the adjective **sevaknis**. In IV 9 a prayer is offered to Pomonus Poplicus and Vesona of Pomonus Poplicus with the wet and dry vessels, but in 24 to Vesona of Pomonus Poplicus with **veskles vufetes**. In both passages in IV **sevakne(-is)** accompanies **veskles**, as in IIa 37. The significant contrast appears to be between **snates asnates** and **vufetes**; in other words, sometimes the *adfertor* when he prays must hold or have before him both the dry and the wet vessels, while at other times he may use whichever vessels he wishes. — **32 arpeltu**: usually taken as equivalent to L. *adpellito* and translated *'adpellito'* or *'admoveto,'* but the sense here as well as in b 19, IV 8 calls for an intransitive verb, and Devoto's derivation from the root **k^{w}el-* with *πέλομαι*, L. *colo*, which is adopted also by Pisani and Bott., is decidedly preferable. Dev. translates *'circumito,'* the idea of circular motion being often inherent in derivatives of this root, and he takes **ar-** as a prefix of perfectivation, but it is more probable that the verb merely signifies the priest's approach toward the altar after dancing the *tripudium*. — **statitatu**: regularly found after **arpeltu**. Its meaning 'halt, stop' is beyond reasonable doubt. — **supa pustra perstu**: the under-parts are here placed on the back part of the altar. Cf. VIb 5, VIIa 8, where *ape sopo postro peperscust* introduces the instructions for libations and supplementary offerings after the main sacrifices behind the Tesenacan Gate and at Rubinia. — **iepru**: by some taken as abl. pl. of a demonstrative pronoun + **-pru**, by others as cognate with *ἦπαρ*, L. *iecur*. By the former view the pronoun before the enclitic should belong to a stem corresponding to L. *is, ea, id* and should be abl. pl., referrring to **supa**, but the loss of *-s* before the *p* would be without precedent, and no other analysis starting from a pronominal stem is entirely satisfactory either for form or for sense. The equation with L. *iecur*, which seems decidedly preferable, was advocated by Panzerbieter, *Quaestiones Umbricae* (Progr. Meiningen, 1851), p. 12; Savelsberg, *K.Z.*, XXI (1873), p. 213; with especially detailed argument and documentation by R. G. Kent, *C.P.*, XV (1929), pp. 367-9; more recently adopted by Pis. and Bott. If we adopt this interpretation, the form **iepru** is to be derived from **yēk^{w}rom* either as neut. with the original *r*-stem extended into an *o*-stem, or, with change of gender, as masc. *r*-stem with the usual third-declension acc. sg. ending in *-om*. That it was written by mistake in place of ***iepur**, as Muller, p. 218, suggests, is most unlikely. With it may be compared *purom-e* VIb 17, VIIa 38. So far as the sense is concerned, the liver is here identified as the *erus*. — **mani**: purposely inserted, according to Dev., to make it clear that on this occasion the prohibition against touching certain consecrated objects with the hand did not hold good. — **kuveitu**: the usual verb governing *erus* is *dirstu* **tertu**, although IIa 40 below has **erus kuveitu tertu**. Strictly speaking the actions indicated by **-veitu** and **tertu** are not the same: the former is the carrying or conveying of the object to its destination, the latter the placing of it in the possession of those who are to receive it, but the prefix **ku-** affects the aspect of the verb in such a way as to make it almost synonymous with **tertu**.

IIa 33 - 39. Ceremonies at the Obelisk. At this point the *adfertor* moves to a spot designated by an object called *spina*, to return to the altar again in 39. The objects which are to be taken to this spot include two bowls of mead, spits, smearing-sticks, wet and dry vessels, and unguent. A libation is offered to Hondus Jovius, prayers are said in conjunction with the spits, with the smearing-sticks, and with the wet and dry vessels. Then follow another libation, the dancing of the *tripudium*, the anointing of the obelisk, a prayer with the unguent, and finally the washing of the hands. — **33 spinamar**: it is of course not clear precisely what object is designated by

statitatu : supa : pustra : perstu : iepru : erus : mani : kuveitu / (33) **spinamař : etu : tuve : re kapiřus : pune : fertu : berva : klavlaf : a/anfehtaf : vesklu : snatu asnatu : umen : fertu : kapiře : hunte** : / (35) **iuvie vestikatu : petruniapert : natine : fratru : atiieřiu : berus** : / (36) **sevaknis : persnihmu : pert : spinia : isunt : klavles : persnihmu** : / (37) **veskles : snate : asnates : sevaknis : spiniama : persnihmu : vestikatu** : / (38) **ahtrepuřatu : spina : umtu : umne : sevakni** :

(the altar), and stop. He shall place the under-parts at the back. The liver, (which is) the *erus*, he shall carry in his hand. He shall go to the Obelisk. He shall bring mead in two bowls; he shall bring the spits, the smearing-sticks not yet used, the vessels wet and dry, and the unguent. He shall pour a libation from a bowl to Hondus Jovius for the gens Petronia among the Atiedian Brothers. With the ceremonial spits he shall pray on the other side of the Obelisk. At the same spot he shall pray with the smearing-sticks. With the ceremonial vessels wet and dry he shall pray at the Obelisk. He shall pour a libation and dance the *tripudium*. He shall anoint the Obelisk, pray with the

33 **tuve : re**: for **tuvere.** 33-4 **a/anfehtaf**: for **anfehtaf.** 35 **petruniapert**: for **petruniaper.**

this word, found only here and in 36, 37, 38 below, but there is no reason to question the general view that it was some sort of column or other monument whose shape had some resemblance to a thorn. Although this particular semantic development is not attested for L. *spina*, it offers no difficulty, and it is not out of place to mention the *spina* in the Roman Circus, a low wall or fence extending longitudinally down the middle, with the track running around it (Cassiod., *Var.*, III, 51; *Schol. Juv.*, VI, 588; cf. Bü., p. 136). Compare also "Cleopatra's Needle." — **tuvere kapiřus**: one bowl is to be used in the libation prescribed below in 34-5, and the other for the purpose of extinguishing the altar-fire (**kapiře punes vepuratu**) in 41; so Dev., but Vet. understands the two bowls in relation to the libations called for by **vestikatu** in 35 and 37. — **klavlaf**: the abl. pl. **klavles** occurs in 36 and in IV 11, in both instances followed by **persnihmu**. There are two possible interpretations. Earlier editors, and more recently Vetter, understand in the sense of '*clunes*,' supporting their view in part by the fact that Germ. *Keule*, the semantic equivalent of L. *clava*, has the additional meaning 'leg, thigh' (of mutton or veal). The haunches of the dog according to this view were therefore included among the articles to be brought for the ceremony at the obelisk. Devoto, however, translates *cochlearia*,' taking the **klavlaf** to be spoons used in applying the unguent to the obelisk (in IV 11-13 to the **ereçlu** or statue), and his view is adopted by Pis. and Bott., although they use '*clauulas*' in their translation. Both in IIa 35-8 and in IV 9-13 the other objects kept at hand during the prayers are parts of the ceremonial equipment and not of the sacrificial victims: in the former passage the spits, then the **klavles**, then the wet and dry vessels, in the latter the wet and dry vessels, then the **klavles**; and in each passage the prayers are followed by the anointing of the obelisk or of the sta-

tue. Devoto's interpretation therefore seems decidedly preferable, and is adopted here. It is possible, however, that the **klavlaf** were not actually spoons but merely pieces of wood, club-shaped or with flattened ends, for smearing the unguent on the object to be anointed. The rare L. *clavula* gives no direct support for either 'haunches' or 'spoons' as the meaning of **klavlaf**, but 'smearing-sticks' is closer both to the sense which we should expect in a diminutive of **klāva* and to the actual use of *clavula* as a synonym of *talea* in Varro, *R.R.*, I, 40, 4 with reference to olive-cuttings. — **33-4 a/anfehtaf**: the doubling of the **a** may represent vowel-lenthening before *nf*, but it is much more probable that the engraver simply recommenced the word on a new line after realizing that there was not sufficient space on the original line. Nearly all editors analyze as a compound of negative *an-* + pcpl. of **façia** or *fetu*. Those who take **klavlaf** as '*clunes*' then understand **aanfehtaf** to mean 'uncooked.' If **klavlaf** is 'smearing-sticks' **aanfehtaf** is somewhat more difficult, but Dev. makes satisfactory sense by suggesting '*nondum adhibitum, nondum oblatum*' as developments from the literal sense '*non factum.*' The spits, the vessels, and the unguent must be **sevakni-**; for the smearing-sticks it is sufficient that they should not have been used previously. — **36 pert spinia**: cf. the Oscan usage in Cippus Abellanus (Co. 95), B 33 **pert víam** 'across the road.' On the orthographical variation **spina**: **spinia** see **53 d.** — **37 spiniama**: 'on the hither side of the obelisk.' **-a** here contrasts with **-pert** in 36. — **38 spina umtu**: parallels to this curious ceremony are moderately abundant. The anointing of the **ereçlu** or statue in IV 13 has already been mentioned. The *Acta fratrum arvalium* contain, among others, the following references to the anointing of cult-images: pp. CLVII (Henzen) and CLXXVII *signis unctis*; XXIV *deas unguentaverunt*; CC XXV *deam unguentaver(unt)*. Pausanias, X, 24, 6 in reference to a stone near the tomb of Neoptolemus at Delphi says: *ἐπαναβάντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος λίθος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας · τούτου καὶ ἔλαιον ὁσημέραι καταχέουσι καὶ κατὰ ἑορτὴν ἑκάστην ἔρια ἐπιτιθέασι τὰ ἀγρά*. In Vedic ritual the sacrificial post called the *yūpah* was anointed with butter; cf. *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, III, 7, 1, 10-13; Apastamba's *Śrāutasūtra*, VII, 10, 1-5 (Caland); J. Schwab, *Das altindische Tieropfer* (Erlangen, 1886), pp. 68-70. In *Genesis*, XXVIII, 18, Jacob took the stone on which he had rested his head while he slept, and set it up for a pillar and poured oil over it. — **38-9 manf easa / vutu**: the interpretation of the passage in general receives support from the instruction *manus interluito* in Cato, *R.R.*, 132, between the prayers with the food and the wine in the offerings to Jupiter Dapalis. The precise meaning of **easa**, however, is not quite certain. According to Bü. the connection between this passage and what follows is so close that the instruction to wash the hands from the altar is given before the instruction to return from the obelisk to the altar. It seems safer, however, to take the two events in the sequence in which they are presented, so that **easa**, '*ex ara*,' means 'away (at some distance) from the altar' (so Dev., who discusses both views).

IIa 39 - 43. Ceremonies after the return to the altar. The *adfertor* prays silently with ceremonial wine, the *erus* is distributed, and also wine and mead; a portion of the cakes and of the **sufafia** are ground; the fire is extinguished with a bowl of mead; the *adfertor* prays with the whole and ground cakes, arises and removes whatever is left on the altar. The ceremony is then completed and the remains of the dog are buried at the altar. — **39 asaku**: **-a(ř)** indicates motion, **-ku(m)** position, although **-a** in 37 means '*cis*,' contrasting with **pert** 36 (cf. Dev., p. 347). — **40 esuf pusme herter**: the value of **esuf** as the equivalent of L. *ipse* receives its best support from

persnihmu : manf : easa : / (39) vutu : asama : kuvertu : asaku : vinu : sevakni : taçez : persnihmu : / (40) esuf : pusme : herter : erus : kuveitu : teřtu : vinu : pune : teřtu : / (41) struhçlas : fiklas : sufafias : kumaltu : kapiře : punes : vepuratu : / (42) antakres : kumates : persmhniu : amparihmu : statita : subahtu : esunu : / (43) purtitu : futu : katel : asaku : pelsans : futu : / (44) kvestretie usaçe svesu vueçis ti teteies /

ceremonial unguent, and wash his hands away from the altar. He shall return to the altar; at the altar he shall pray silently with ceremonial wine. He whose duty it is shall carry and distribute the *erus*. He shall distribute the wine and mead. He shall grind (a portion) of the *strušla* cake, the *ficla* cake, and the limbs. He shall extinguish the fire with a bowl of mead. He shall pray with the whole and the ground (grains). He shall stand up and take away the things which remain. The sacrifice shall have been completed. The dog shall be buried at the altar. Lucius Tetteius, son of Titus, approved (the foregoing) in his quaestorship.

42 **persmhniu**: for **persnihmu**, with confusion of 𐌼 and 𐌽. 44 **vueçis**: for **vuvçis**.

O. *esuf* in Tabula Bantina, 19, 21, where it clearly indicates the individual in contrast to his property and household. **esuf** in Conway's Oscan inscription no. 169 is less helpful because of the mutilated state of the text, and the only other Umbrian example, **esuf** IV 15, is not decisive. For **pusme** there are no other U. or O. examples, but its clear etymological correspondence to Skt. *kasmai*, dat. sg. of the interrogative pronoun, places its value here as dat. of the relative beyond reasonable doubt. **herter** III 1, **herte** Va 6, 8, 11, *herti* Vb 8, 11, 13, 16, regularly accompanied by subjunctive forms, is clearly a verb of obligation, similar to L. *oportet*. The *adfertor* has not been designated by name since 16, but it is to him that **esuf** must refer. We may possibly have here another instance of euphemistic avoidance; see on VIa 1 *poei angla aseriato eest*. — **erus kuveitu teřtu**: see on 32 above. — **41 vepuratu**: generally regarded as a denominative verb from the stem *vē-pur-* 'fireless' seen in abl. pl. **vepurus** Va 11. For the sense cf. Verg., *Aen.*, VI, 226-7 *Postquam collapsi cineres et flamma quievit, reliquias vino et bibulam lavere favillam.* — **42 antakres kumates persnihmu**: see on Ib 36-7. — **amparihmu**: beside this passive imv. form an active **amparitu** occurs in III 14 with acc. **kletram** as object. Nearly all editors derive from the root seen in L. *paro*, *pario*, *reperio*. From *an-*, *am-* (Gk. *ἀνα-*) + **par-* 'produce' are developed the active sense 'raise' and the middle sense 'rise.' It has not been stated that the priest is to sit during the prayer immediately preceding, but the sitting position is prescribed in VIb 17, 41 = Ib 33-4 for the grinding of the cakes and the prayers which follow. — **statita**: generally translated '*statuta*,' whether the verb to which the pcpl. belongs is denominative to **statu-* or to **stati-*; see **120 c**. The correct sense appears to be given by Dev., who translates '[*res*] *exstantes*,' understanding it to refer to the remnants of the cakes, etc., left on the altar. — **subahtu**: apparently the same verb as in the expression *capirso subotu* VIb 25, and generally analyzed as *sub-* + *hahtu*. The force of *sub-* here is similar to that of L. *dē-*; for *-hahtu*, the value of which is that of L. *capio*

rather than of *habeo*, see **122 e**. The instruction is to 'take down' or 'away' whatever remains on the altar. — **42-3 esunu / purtitu futu**: the expression **purtitu futu** occurs in IV 31-2; cf. also VIb 42 *purdito fust*, VIIa 45 *enom purditom fust* = Ib 38-9 **enu esunu purtitu fust.** — **43 katel asaku pelsans futu**: on the arguments in favor of retaining the old interpretation 'bury' for *pelsatu*, **pelsans** see on VIb 22, where it is pointed out that the present passage and VIb 39-40 offer serious difficulties to any attempt to translate *pelsatu* by '*pulsato.*'

IIa 44. Formula containing the name of the authenticating official. See on Ib 45, which is substantially the same. The differences in the two versions are: 1) Ib 45 shows word-division in **kvestre: tie** (erroneously) and before and after **usaie**, while IIa 44 shows no division at all; 2) Ib 45 has **usaie** in contrast to IIa 44 **usaçe**, which is evidently the correct form; 3) Ia 45 has the praenomen **Vuvçis**, IIa 44 **Vueçis**; 4) Ia 45 has the full form of the father's praenomen **Titis**, IIa 44 the abbreviation **Ti.**

(IIb 1) **seme : nies : tekuries : sim : kaprum : upetu : tekvias : / (2) fameřias : pumpeřias : xii :**

At the decurial festival of Semo choose a pig and a he-goat. The *decuviae* and the quincurial families are twelve. Say:

1 **seme : nies**: for **semenies**.

IIb 1 - 21. Sacrifice of a pig and a goat at the decurial festival of Semo. The opening lines present extraordinary difficulties, which involve, among other matters, the meaning of **semenies**; the meaning and interrelation of **tekuries, tekvias**, and **pumpeřias**, and their significance for the organization of the citizens of Iguvium; the reference of the numeral XII and its relation to what otherwise seems to be a decimal rather than a duodecimal system; the relation of **Atiieřiate, Klaverniie**, etc., and of the accompanying **etre**, to the organization indicated in the passage immediately preceding. IIb 1-6 and Vb 8-18 are partly interdependent for their interpretation: in both passages the instructions relate to the same festival, the *sehmenier dequrier*, and the names of two of the ten *decuviae* listed in IIb reappear in Vb, where it is stated that the Clavernii are annually to present 4 *p.* of barley to the Atiedian Brotherhood and receive in return 10 portions of pork and 5 of goat-meat, the Casilas to present 6 *p.* of barley and receive 15 portions of pork and 7½ of goat-meat. It is this ratio of 2 : 3 taken in connection with IIb 3 **Klaverniie, etre Klaverniie** ... 6 **Kaselate, etre Kaselate, tertie Kaselate** which has led to the notion of an expansion whereby the *decuvia* Casilas was split into three and all the others, including the Clavernii, into two, the Peraznanii alone remaining undivided. The interpretation adopted here is essentially that of Devoto, who with most editors begins a new sentence with **tekvias** and who arrives at the sum XII by adding together the ten *decuviae* and two **fameřias pumpeřias**, that is two families, or groups similar to gentes, each representing a **pontis* or pentad of *decuviae*. The principal bibliographical references for the opening lines of IIb, apart from the editions, are: Schulze, *Lat. Eigenn.*, pp. 543-47; A. Rosenberg, *Der Staat der alten Italiker*, pp. 118-28; Devoto, *Atti del reale istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 1930, pp. 927-36; Ribezzo, II, p. 90; Pighi, *Umbrica*, pp. 20-21. The sacrifice of the pig and of the goat are alike in some respects and different in others. Both sets of instructions call for the consecration of the victim (**eveietu**) and for a formal pronouncement as to its suitability for sacrifice, although **naratu** is used alone of the goat, without a preceding **sevakne**. Both sacrifices call for incense, if that is the correct interpretation of **vaputu**. But the goat-sacrifice differs both in the nature of some of the instructions and in the amount of detail. It is to be performed partly outside, partly in the temple; the *persondro*, the cake called *mefa*, and a libation are all specified; not only wine and mead but also water are to be carried to the temple for the second part of the goat-sacrifice, as are also fire, the maniple, and certain other objects of uncertain nature. The dancing of the *tripudium* is also prescribed. — **1 semenies tekuries**: the prior word is translated *'semestribus'* by Bü.; *'conciliis'* by Dev., p. 301, connecting it with Skt. *samanya-*; *'singulis'* by Vet., from **sem-*, the IE root indicating identity and individuality. Most others assign it to the family of L. *semen*, in the sense *'(feriis) sementivis'* (Bk., Blum.) or *'Semoniis'* (Pis., Bott., after Pighi, pp. 20-21 of *op. cit.* above in introductory remarks to 1-21). This last interpretation appears the most satisfactory in the light of two Latin inscriptions cited by Dev. as support for his interpretation of **tekuries**: *C.I.L.*, VI, 567 *Semoni Sanco Deo Fidio ... decur(ia) bidentalis donum dedit* (from Trastevere); 568 *Sanco Sancto Semoni Deo Fidio sacrum decuria sacer-*

dotum bidentalium (from the Quirinal). Cf. also Ov., *F.*, VI, 213-8 cited below on VIb 3. The appearance of **Saçi** in 10, **Saçi Iuvepatre** in 17 of the present table, taken in connection with the passages just cited, gives further support to the notion of a festival in honor of Semo, or his Umbrian counterpart. For the ablaut-variation in L. *Semo*: U. *sehmenier* cf. L. *Nerio*: *Nerienis*, *Anio*: *Anienis*. **tekuries** is in a formal sense equivalent to L. *decuriis* 'groups of ten'; yet the sense of the passage here seems to call for an adjective corresponding to **tekvias**, and the **tekvias** are not groups of ten but, at least originally, groups based on a division of the population into tenths; so much is probable from the ten names in the series commencing in 2 with **Atiiеřiate**, and also from the formation of **tekvias** as an extension of an ordinal stem **deku-*. But the multiplicative value which is assumed for **tekvias** on the ground of its formation may be preserved if we consider that ten tenths make up the whole. The 'decurial festival of Semo' then is celebrated by the ten *decuviae* united into one body. — **sim**: in the sacrifices of the purification of the Fisian Mount three pregnant sows are offered behind the Trebulan Gate (Ia 7 = VIa 58) and three sucking pigs behind the Tesenacan Gate (Ia 14 = VIb 3). — **kaprum**: the present sacrifice is the only one in the Tables in which a goat is offered, but mention was made in the introductory remarks on 1-21 of the obligation of the Atiedian Brothers to furnish certain portions of goat-meat to the *decuviae* Clavernii and Casilas according to the contracts shown in Vb 8-18. — **upetu**: generally translated '*optato*' or '*deligito*' on the basis of etymological connection with L. *optare*. The verb recurs in 8 with **si perakne sevakne** and in 11 with **kapru perakne sevakne** as object, and it is difficult to see why, if the victims have already been 'chosen,' they should have to be 'chosen' again. Similarly in III 9-10 the 'pentads' of the Brothers are directed to 'choose' a pig and a sheep (**sakre uvem urtas puntes fratrum upetuta**), after which again there is an apparent repetition in 22 **sakre sevakne upetu**, 26 **uvem sevakni upetu**. Devoto, followed in substance by Vetter, sought to avoid the difficulty by taking **upetu** as the equivalent of L. *ob-ītō* with the sense of *ad-ito* or *capito*. It is difficult, however, to see that much is gained, for the repetition of **upetu** in IIb 8, 11, III 22, 26 is almost as awkward as before. It is possible that in these four passages **upetu** should be taken not as imv. but as acc. sg. masc. of the pass. pcpl. The participial stem is known from *opeter* Vb 12, 17, and the case-ending **-u(m)** receives support from **kapru** IIb 10, **vuku** III 21. At the same time there is no serious difficulty in the fact that the concinnity in the series **upetu eveietu (sevakne) naratu** IIb 8, 11 is destroyed, nor in the fact that the new interpretation makes it impossible to end the sentence with **upetu** in III 22, 26. — **tekvias**: usually translated '*decuriae, decuriales,*' or '*decuviae,*' the last being merely an adaptation of the Umbrian word. On the reasons for taking it to refer to divisions into tenths and not groups of ten see above on **semenies tekuries**. The punctuation of the majority of editors is followed here: the first sentence of IIb ended with **upetu**, and **tekvias** commences a new sentence which ends with **XII**. Blum. and Pis. make a single sentence, with **tekvias fameřias** as gen. sg. depending on **sim kaprum upetu** in the manner of Ar., *Eq.*, 85 (*πίνειν*) *ἄκρατον οἶνον ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος* (cf. Blum., p. 40). — **2 fameřias**: here taken as nom. pl. in asyndetic connection with **tekvias**. It is a clear etymological equivalent of L. *familia* and doubtless designated a similar grouping, but whether it was related to **natiuf* (abl. **natine**) precisely as L. *familia* to *gens* is not certain. Dev. suggests that *gens* (U. **natiuf*) may have belonged rather to cult, *familia*

atiieřiate : etre : atiieřiate : / (3) klaverniie : etre : klaverniie : kureiate : etre kureiate / (4) satanes : etre satane : peieřiate : etrep : eieřiate : talenate / (5) etre talenate : museiate : etre museiate : iuieskane : / (6) etre iuieskanes : kaselate : etre kaselate : tertie kaselate : / (7) peraznanie : teitu ařmune : iuve : patre : fetu : si : pera : / (8) kne : sevakne : upetue :

"For the (*decuvia*) Atiedias and for the Second Atiedias, for the Clavernii and for the Second Clavernii, for the Cureias and for the Second Cureias, for the Satani and for the Second Satani, for the Peiersias and for the Second Peiersias, for the Talenas and for the Second Talenas, for the Museias and for the Second Museias, for the Juvescani and for the Second Juvescani, for the Casilas, for the Second Casilas, and for the Third Casilas, and for the Peraznanii." Sacrifice to Jupiter Arsmo. Consecrate the pig brought from away and

4 **etrep : eieřiate**: for **etre : peieřiate.** 7-8 **pera : kne**: for **perakne.** 8 **upetue**: **veietu**: for **upetu : eveietu.**

rather to organization of the citizen-body. Blum. and Pis. understand it as a collective designation of the slaves who are to be included with the *decuvia* as beneficiaries in the ceremony; this view has much in its favor in view of the use of *famel* in the Italic dialects: Paul. *e* Fest., p. 77 Li. *Famuli origo ab Oscis dependet, apud quos servus famel nominabatur, unde et familia vocata*; Paelignian no. 208 Co. *famel inim loufir 'servus et liber'*; it is not adopted here, however, because it conflicts with the interpretation of the passage as a whole. — **pumpeřias**: undoubtedly derived from the numeral **pompe* 'five.' Since the closest connection is with O. **pumperias, púmperiais,** we should expect **r**, and the **ř** of the Umbrian form may represent an analogical alteration of the phrase ***fameřia pumperia*** or may simply be an error induced by **fameřias** (cf. Pl., II, p. 200). Oscan **púmperias, -aís** on several Capuan inscriptions (Co. 105, 107, 114, 115, 116) is generally taken to designate the fifth day of the month (cf. L. *nonae* from the ordinal 'ninth'), and so Blum. and Pis. take it in our passage. The **XII** is then the designation of the month December according to Blum., pp. 39-40, and the festival is similar to the Saturnalia. This interpretation, despite its ingenuity, has certain disadvantages. It is unlikely that the month would be designated by the numeral **XII** rather than by its name, and **pumpeřias** as a genitive of time, which is necessary for this interpretation, is less natural than the abl. pl. which appears in the Oscan inscriptions 114, 115, 116 cited above. **pumpeřias** is therefore to be taken as nom. pl. of an adj. agreeing with **fameřias**, and related to the collective **puntes** as **tekuries** would be to the collective **dekenti-*. A division of the Atiedian Brothers into groups of five is known from the use of **puntis** III 4, **puntes** 9, 10, and a similar division of the citizens of Iguvium into two groups of five *decuviae* each may be assumed, according to Dev., pp. 353-4, with each **pontis* represented by one family, as the **puntes** of the Brothers appear to have been represented by the gentes Petronia and Lucia. The ten *decuviae* and the two *familae* **quincuriae* together make up the twelve indicated by **XII**. Whether the families changed periodically by a system of rotation or

resembled certain Roman gentes in being permanently associated with a definite cult cannot be determined.

IIb 2 - 7 Atiieřiate ... teitu: an admonition that every one of the *decuviae* for which the sacrifices are to be performed must be specifically named. Livy, XLI, 16, 1 records an instance in which the sacrifice at the Feriae Latinae was invalid because of failure to mention the Roman people: ... *quia in una hostia magistratus Lanuvinus precatus non erat populo Romano Quiritium, religioni fuit.* Cf. also Paul. *e* Fest., p. 59 Li. *dici mos erat Romanis in omnibus sacrificiis precibusque 'populo Romano Quiritibusque.'* That the dative should be used instead of the ablative + **-per** is slightly surprising, but the Latin passages just cited (after Bü., p. 141) seem to give adequate support for the view adopted. For the names themselves no attempt is made here to establish connections with local or ethnic names known from other sources, whether Latin, dialectal, or modern Italian. However, certain observations may be made. In the first place the ten names are not all of the same type: six are singular forms similar to L. *Arpinas*, dat. *-ati*, while the rest are gentilicia made with suffixes *-io-* (**Klaverniie, Peraznanie**) or *-no-* (**Satanes, Iuieskanes**). Among the individual names **Atiieřiate** is clearly related to the name of the Atiedian Brotherhood. The appearance of the Clavernii and Casilas in Vb, which states the terms of their contract with the Atiedian Brothers, has already been mentioned in the introductory remarks just above. — **7 ařmune**: not only are the etymology and meaning uncertain, but it is not even clear whether the word is dative of a divine name belonging with **Iuve patre**, or ablative of a common noun. Against the former view is the fact that **Ařmune Iuve patre** appears to conflict with 10 **vaputu Saçi ampetu, 17 vaputu Saçi Iuvepatre prepesnimu.** Devoto renders 'in *ařmone*' (*T.G.*, 'nell' assemblea sacra'), Vetter '*ordine,*' Bott. '*in sacerdotum concilio,*' all deriving it from the same root as *arsmor, arsmahamo, arsmatiam.* Earlier editors and also Pis. take it as a divine name, but without agreement as to its origin. The formation of the word favors taking it as a divine name similar to **Puemune, Vesune**, *Uofione*, and the connection with *arsmor* is as good as any other. The relation of **ařmune** to *arsmor* then is similar to that of L. *praedo* to *praeda*; it designates Jupiter as the god having an interest in or presiding over *arsmor* or sacred ordinances. The conflict with **Saçi** 10, **Saçi Iuvepatre** 17 is not irreconcilable, or at least it is scarcely more serious than the conflict of these names with **Iuve patre** which is left alone in 7 if we take **ařmune** as abl. of a common noun. Read as a divine name it becomes simply an additional epithet of **Iuve patre**, who must probably be understood as identical with **Saçi, Saçi Iuvepatre** of 10 and 17. — **perakne**: see on IIa 5. — **8 sevakne**: on IIa 21. — **eveietu**: usually taken as the second in a series of imperatives, but it was suggested on 1 above that **upetu** in 8 is best taken as a participle. **eveietu** then becomes the prior of two instructions, to be followed by **sevakne naratu.** The only other occurrence is in 11 below, and comparison with passages where other verbs are followed by **naratu** is not of much help: III 26-7, for example, shows the series **uvem sevakni upetu Puemune Pupřike ampetu tiçlu sevakni naratu**, but there is no possibility that **eveietu** in IIb 8, 11 can be synonymous with **ampetu**, for **ampetu** occurs in 10, 11, occupying a later position in each series of instructions. The most satisfactory etymology and the one enjoying the greatest favor is the derivation from **ē-weig-ē-tōd*, cf. L. *vic-tima*, Germ. *weihen* (substantially so Osthoff, *I.F.*, VI [1896], pp. 39-47, Bk., Muller, Dev., Pis., Bott.). We must assume a root-form **weig-*, since **weik-* inferred from the Germanic forms would give **-veç-**, and we

veietu : sevakne : naratu : arviu / (9) **ustetu : eu naratu : puze : façefete : sevakne : heri : puni :** (10) **heri vinu fetu : vaputu : saçi : ampetu : kapru : pera : kne : seva /** (11) **kne : upetu : eveietu : naratu : çive : ampetu : fesnere : purtu/etu: ife : fertu : tafle : e pir fer : tu : kapres : pruseçetu /** (13) **ife aṙveitu : persutru : vaputis : mefa : vistiça : feta fertu : /** (14) **sviseve : fertu : pune : etre : svi : se : ve : vinu fertu : tertie : /** (15) **sviseve : utur fertu : pistuniru fertu :**

without blemish, which has been selected, and pronounce it free from blemish. Present grain-offerings and pronounce upon them as upon (a victim) fit for sacrifice, without blemish. Sacrifice either with mead or with wine. Slay (the victim) in honor of Sancius with incense. Consecrate and pronounce upon the he-goat brought from away and without blemish, which has been selected. Slay it outside and present it in the temple. Carry it there; carry the fire there on a board, and add to it the parts cut off from the goat. Bring the *persondro* with incense, with a *mefa* cake, and with the prepared libation. Bring mead in a flask, in a second flask bring wine, in a third flask bring water.

10 **pera : kne**: for **perakne.** 12 **epirfer : tu**: for **e : pir : fertu.** 14 **svi : se : ve**: for **sviseve.**

must assign **eveietu** to the second conjugation because of the unsyncopated *e* before the ending, unless we choose to make it a pf. pcpl. with Vetter, who compares *muieto*. In view of its probable etymology and its position in the series of instructions it is best taken to refer to the consecration of the designated victim. — **sevakne naratu**: it has already been stated that the pig chosen must be free from blemish; here the *adfertor* is to make a formal declaration of the fact. For similar uses of **naratu** + noun and predicate adjective cf. 25 (sc. **vitlu**) **vufru naratu,** III 27 **tiçlu sevakni naratu.** — 8-9 **arviu ustetu**: see on Ia 3. — 9 **eu naratu puze façefele sevakne**: **eu** of course refers to the preceding **arviu. façefele** is adopted by practically all editors as the correct reading for **façefete** which appears on the actual table. **purtifele** in 25 gives support for the emendation. The sense is as if L. **facibilem* were made to show the special ritual sense of *facio*. The sense then is that the **arviu** are to be pronounced upon in the same manner as a victim which is declared to be free from blemish and suitable for sacrifice. However, the passage is not sufficient ground for taking **arviu** with Blum., p. 59, and others as '*exta*'; see on IIa 18. — **9-10 heri puni / heri vinu**: cf. VIa 57 with note on *poni*. — **10 vaputu Saçi ampetu**: cf. 17 **vaputu Saçi Iuvepatre prepesnimu,** and also 13 **persutru vaputis mefa vistiça feta fertu.** The best etymology and sense are obtained by connecting **vaputu** with L. *vapor* 'incense,' with the majority of editors. For the correspondence between the *s*-stem *vapor* (*vapos*) and the *to*-stem **vaputu** Bü., p. 144, compares L. *arbos*: *arbuta*. Blum., p. 86, questions the propriety of translating '*ture*' on the ground that the introduction of incense into Italy was relatively late, but nothing is implied as to the type of incense used, unless he restricts *ture* to frankincense. On the native materials which preceded the use of oriental incense cf. Ov., *F.*, I, 343-4

Ara dabat fumos herbis contenta Sabinis, et non exiguo laurus adusta sono. For other interpretations of **vaputu** see Dev. (*'laqueo'*), Bott. (apparently as a divine name, without discussion). — **ampetu**: see on IIa 20.

IIb 10 - 21. Sacrifice of the goat. See the introductory note on the present table. The instructions commence in the same manner as in the case of the pig, except that **sevakne** is omitted before **naratu**, whether through oversight or because it is sufficiently clear from 8 and 10 what the pronouncement is to be. — **11 çive ampetu, fesnere purtuetu**: since the verbs are in contrast, designating respectively the slaying and the offering of the victim, it is probable that **çive** and **fesnere** are also in contrast. The interpretation of **fesnere** as 'in the temple' receives excellent support from O. **fíísnú**, acc. **fíísnam, físnam**, on the Cippus Abellanus (Co. 95), A 24, B 4, 6, 19; **fíís[naí** Co. 169; Pael. *fesn.* Co. 239. The Umbrian use of the plural here and in 16 **fesnafe** deserves notice. **çive** occurs nowhere else, but gives good sense if taken as an adverb from loc. sg. of a stem **kiwo-*; cf. **çimu** *šimo*, L. *cis, citra*. The question then arises whether the principal emphasis in **çive** is on a place not in the temple precinct or on a place under the open sky; Devoto decides in favor of the latter, taking account of the Roman practice of standing out of doors while swearing an oath by Dius Fidius and other similar cult practices in connection with heavenly gods. On etymological grounds **çive** seems merely to suggest relative nearness to the speaker, and in any case the slaughter of the victim occurs outside of the temple. — **12 tafle e pir fertu**: incorrectly divided **tafle**: **epirfer**: **tu** on the bronze, with a dot like the upper point of the word-divider between the **r** and **f**, although the space would not be adequate for a whole letter; but the real meaning is clear enough, and all editors translate the prepositional phrase *'in tabula.'* The **tafla* is evidently a broad flat carrier of some kind on which are to be placed not only the fire but the *prosecta* of the victim as well. In Ib 12 in the ceremony between the first and second taking of the auspices, before the lustral procession has advanced to Acedonia, the fire is placed in a carrier designated by a different name: **pir ahtimem ententu**, while in the equivalent VIb 49-50 the name of the object for carrying the fire is avoided entirely. — **12-13 kapres pruseçetu / ife aŕveitu**: for the *prosecta* see on VIa 56. **aŕveitu** in most instances has as direct object that which is added to the *prosecta*, generally cakes of various kinds. — **13 persutru vaputis mefa vistiça feta fertu**: for the **persutru** see on VIb 24, **mefa** on VIa 56, **vistiça** on VIb 5. Except for the abl. pl. **vaputis** the case-endings of all the nouns in the series are ambiguous, but at least one must be the acc. object of **fertu**. It is probably best to follow Bü., Pl., Bk., Pis. in taking **persutru** as acc., to which the remaining nouns are abl. of accompaniment, but the problem is after all one of syntax rather than of sense. The pl. **vaputis** contrasts with sg. **vaputu** in 10 and 17, but there is no possibility of taking this form as neut. pl., since **prepesnimu** in 17 almost certainly calls for an abl. The form **feta**, which is nowhere else used as an epithet of *uestišia*, seems to mean that the libation was already mixed, but in this case Devoto can scarcely be right in taking the mead, wine, and water in 14-15 to be the actual ingredients of the libation, for it is made clear that they are to be carried in separate vessels. It is not certain exactly what the *uestišia* is, and it may not always even have been a liquid substance (see on Ia 28). — **14 sviseve**: clearly a container of some kind, one being used for each of the three liquids, but nothing certain can be affirmed with regard to the etymology. Several editors suggest possible relationship with L. *sīnum*; according to Pis. our form may be a loc. (+ **-e**) in **-eu** < *-ēu* analogous to Skt. *sūnāu*, etc., from a stem **s̥uit-su-* or **s̥uit-tu-*, with the Latin cog-

vepesutra : fertu : / (16) **mantraklu : fertu : pune : fertu : pune : fesnafe : benus : /** (17) **kabru purtu : vetu : vaputu : saçi : iuvepatre : prepesnimu : /** (18) **vepesutra : pesnimu : veskles pesnimu : atre : puřatu : /** (19) **ařpeltu : statitatu : vesklu : pustru : pestu : ranu : /** (20) **pesni : mu : puni : pesnimu : vinu : pesnimu : une pesni/mu : enu erus tetu : vitlu : vufru :**

Bring dark meal, bring the *vempersondra*, bring a maniple, and bring (additional) mead. When you have come into the temple, make the presentation of the goat. Offer a preliminary prayer to Jupiter Sancius with incense. Pray with the *vempersondra* and pray with the vessels. Dance the *tripudium*, approach (the altar) and stop. Place the vessels at the back. Pray with the *ranum*, pray with the mead, pray with the wine, pray with the water. Then distribute the *erus*. When you wish to sacrifice

17 **purtu : vetu:** for **purtuvetu.** 18 **atre : puřatu:** for **atrepuřatu.** 20 **pesni : mu:** for **pesnimu.**

nates *sīnum* < **suit-sno-*, *situla* < **suit-elā*. — **15 utur**: Bü. and all after him translate '*aquam.*' **t** stands for *d* and the noun is an *-r/n*-stem cognate with *ὕδωρ*; the *n*-stem is represented by abl. **une** in 20 below. — **pistu niru**: written on the bronze with a space after **pistu** wide enough for one letter, but without the word-divider. The **fertu** which follows is not separated from **niru** by either a space or a word-divider. **pistu niru** is read by some editors as one word, by others as two, and there is no sure interpretation, but a fairly satisfactory sense can be reached through the etymological translation '*pistum nigrum*' (for palatalization of *g* see **47 c**). The **pistu niru** would then be black or dark meal crushed with a pestle instead of ground with a millstone. Cf. IIa 18, where **salu maletu** 'ground salt' appears among the materials to be taken to the place where the dog is sacrificed to Hondus. We are not told precisely how either the dark meal or the salt is subsequently used. — **vepesutra**: the meaning is very uncertain but see on IIa 30. — **16 mantraklu**: see on VIb 4, from which it is clear that the word means a cloth to be worn over the right hand. — **pune fertu**: this second mention of **pune** is surprising after **sviseve fertu pune** in 14, and it is not unlikely that we have simply a dittographic repetition of **fertu pune**, the correct reading consisting of the **fertu** governing **mantraklu** and the conjunction **pune** which begins the new sentence. On the other hand it is curious that **ranu** mentioned in 19 does not appear in the list of articles to be carried to the place of sacrifice, and Vetter, p. 206, may be correct in his suggestion that **pune fertu** was erroneously written in place of **ranu fertu**. But in our translation we proceed as if the text were sound. — **16-17 pune fesnafe benus / kabru purtuvetu**, etc.: the *porrectio* or second part of the sacrifice now begins inside the temple. — **17 prepesnimu**: this is the opening of a series of prayers, and hence the verb is compounded with **pre-**; not so, however, in IIa 29-31, where **persnihmu** occurs 4 times uncompounded. — **18 veskles**: these have not been mentioned before, but they can scarcely be the vessels designated by **sviseve** in 14-15 as the containers of the mead, wine, and water, since the prayers said in conjunction

with these liquids are covered by a separate instruction just below in 20. Dev., pp. 361, 364, takes **pistuniru** to be a part of the viscera of the victim and the **veskla** to be the vessels containing them, but the idea of a connection between the two rests purely on a comparison of the passages in which each occurs; see, however, on 19 below. — **18-19 atrepuřatu / ařpeltu statitatu**: the same series of imperatives, in the same order, occurs in IIa 31-2 among the instructions immediately following the *porrectio* in the dog-sacrifice, but **vestikatu**, which occurs there between the prayer with the vessels and the dancing of the *tripudium*, is not included in the present passage. — **19 vesklu pustru pestu**: in IIa 32 it is the **supa** or under-parts of the victim which are placed at the back (of the altar), and similarly in VIb 5, VIIa 8. Apparently here the vessels containing the **supa** are spoken of in place of the **supa** themselves. — **ranu**: not elsewhere mentioned and completely obscure, beyond the fact that it must be the name of one of the materials used in the ritual; see also above on 16 **pune fertu**. Bü. and Pl. suggested etymological connection with *ῥαίνω*, taking **ranu** to be a liquid of some sort. Blum., p. 73, takes as equivalent to L. *grano*; he supports the variation *r-/gr-* by reference to Hesych. *Ῥαικός · Ἕλλην. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὸ γ' προσθέντες Γραικόν φασι* and other similar glosses, and rules out *Grabovius* as contrary evidence on the ground that it is a foreign name. Goldmann, *St. etr.*, XII (1938), p. 407, cites his interpretation with approval. Several scholars equate with Etr. **ranem, ranvis**, the sense of which, however, is itself uncertain: a triple vase like the Duenos Vase according to Dev., p. 363 with bibliography; a kind of cake (*libum*) according to Ribezzo, II, p. 192. — **21 erus**: see on VIb 16. In IIa 32 the priest is instructed to convey the *erus*, which is the liver if **iepru** is correctly interpreted, in his hand.

IIb 21 - 29. Sacrifice of a bull-calf to Jupiter Sancius. Since this offering is made on behalf of the gens Lucia of the Atiedian Brothers, it is generally regarded as having a private character in contrast to the sacrifice of the pig and goat in 1-21, which concerns all the *decuviae* into which the citizens are divided. One noteworthy feature of the present ritual is the disk or wheel (**urfeta**) which the priest holds in his hand when he dedicates the victim. As in the augural ceremony at the beginning of the lustration (Ib 11 = VIb 49), he wears a stole over his shoulder, but in the present ceremony he removes the stole after the slaying of the victim and places it upon the cake (*mefa*), to replace it on his shoulder after the *porrectio*. The instruction **arviu ustetu** is included, as in sacrifices during the purification of the Fisian Mount and the lustration of the people, and the use of mead is prescribed, but not of wine or water. — **21 vufru**: Bü. and nearly all after him translate *'votivum'*, so also Vetter in his glossary, but he proposes *'liberum'* in his commentary and adopts it in his translation. From a phonological standpoint this is extremely tempting, since the two forms can be fully equated on the basis of derivation from **leudherom*; cf. *ἐλεύθερος*, Pael. *loufir 'liber,'* Fal. *loifirtato 'libertatis'*; U. phonology as in **23, 43, 55 a**. There are semantic difficulties, however. There would be no point in calling the calf 'free' in the sense of 'unyoked, never used for plowing,' since this would be true of all calves. Vetter, p. 206, takes the sense to be *'non sollemnis'*; in this case **vufru naratu** in 25 may be contrasted with **sevakne naratu** in 8, somewhat as **sakre** and **perakne** are contrasted in IIa 5, and the calf may be free in the sense of 'not temple-property, not fenced,' or perhaps even 'unowned.' The argument would be less difficult if we had a really clear idea of what **sevakne** means, but in any case it is rather strange that the priest should have to declare the victim 'free' three times (25 just below). On

pune heries : / (22) **façu** : **eruhu** : **tiçlu** : **sestu** : **iuvepatre** : **pune seste** : / (23) **urfeta** : **manuve** : **habetu** : **estu** : **iuku** : **habetu** : / (24) **iupater** : **saçe** : **tefe** : **estu vitlu** : **vufru** : **sestu** : / (25) **purtifele** : **tri** : **iuper teitu** : **triiuper** : **vufru** : **naratu** / (26) **feiu** : **iuvepatre** : **vuçiiaper** : **natine** : **fratru atiieřiu** / (27) **pune** : **anpenes** : **krikatru** : **testre** : **e uze** : **habetu** : **ape apel/us** : **mefe** : **atentu** : **ape purtuvies** : **testre** : **e uze habetu** / (29) **krikatru** : **arviu** : **ustetu** : **puni fetu** : /

a votive bull-calf, dedicate it to Jupiter on the same day. When you dedicate it, hold a disk in your hand. Use the following words: "Jupiter Sancius, to thee I dedicate this votive bull-calf." Three times declare it fit for presentation, three times pronounce it a votive offering. Sacrifice it to Jupiter for the gens Lucia among the Atiedian Brothers. While you are slaying it, wear a stole on your right shoulder. When you have slain it, place (the stole) upon the *mefa* cake. While you are presenting it, wear the stole on your right shoulder. Present grain-offerings and sacrifice with mead.

25 **tri : iuper**: for **triiuper**. 26 **feiu**: for **fetu**. 27, 28 **testre : euze**: for **testre: e : uze**.

the other hand it would be quite natural to make formal declaration that the victim was about to be offered in fulfilment of a vow. We therefore reluctantly abandon the equation with *liberum* and derive from **wog^{w}h-(e)ro-m*, from the same root as L. *voveo*. Other examples of stems in *-ro-* with predominantly passive sense in relation to the verbs from which they are derived include L. *sacer* to *sancio*, *integer* to *tango*, *δῶρον* to *δίδωμι*. — **21-2 pune heries / façu**; similar formulas occur in IIa 16 **heriiei façiu ařfertur ... façia tiçit**, where the punctuation and construction are in doubt, and in VIb 48 *pone poplo afero heries*. — **22 eruhu tiçlu**: see on IIa 15, where the interpretation 'day,' is advocated in preference to '*(de)dicatio, declaratio.*' In the present passage also we get a better sense by translating 'on the same day,' since the formula of dedication in 24 below is not the same as in the preceding sacrifice. — **sestu**: cf. the ritual use of L. *sisto* in connection with the formal dedication of the victim in Verg., *Aen.*, VIII, 84-5 *quam* (sc. *suem*) *pius Aeneas tibi enim, tibi, maxima Iuno, mactat sacra ferens et cum grege sistit ad aram*; Ov., *Met.*, XV, 130-32 *Victima labe carens ... vittis praesignis et auro sistitur ante aras auditque ignara precantem*. — **seste**: this form has been taken as 2 sg. pres., 2 sg. fut., and 3 sg. pres. pass. Although the fut. is frequent after *pone* **pune**, it is unlikely that we have an example here, for the final *s* in the fut. 2 sg. is etymologically double (see **123**), and all the Umbrian examples, **ampenes**, **heries**, **menes**, **purtuvies** retain a single **-s**. The pres. pass. 3 sg. is possible, since the final *r* is sometimes omitted (see **115 e**). Our form would then be from **sester* < **sist(e)ter*. The use of the passive here, however, seems unnecessary and slightly unnatural. It may therefore be best to take **seste** with Bü., Co., Bk., Blum., and Bott. as pres. 2 sg. The present with *pone* **pune** is less frequent than the fut., but is found in Ib 1 = VIb 43, and VIIb 2. — **23 urfeta**: in a formal sense fully equivalent to L. *orbitam*, unless the unsyncopated **e** was long. Semantically it is closer to *orbis*, since it

evidently indicates some circular or wheel-shaped object having a symbolic value. Livy, VIII, 20, 8, in connection with the property of the condemned rebel Vitruvius Vaccus says: ... *bona Semoni Sango censuerunt consecranda; quodque aeris ex eis redactum est, ex eo aenei orbes facti positi in sacello Sangus adversus aedem Quirini.* The rock-drawings in the Val Camonica include a representation of a man holding up a solar ring in his hand and another of a warrior with an eight-spoked wheel by his side (cf. F. Altheim, *Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache* [Frankfurt-am-Main, 1951], pp. 103-4). The association of the solar symbol with Jupiter Sancius and Semo Sancius may be connected with their function as protectors of oaths and pacts; compare also the Roman practice mentioned above on 11 of swearing oaths under the open sky. — **estu iuku habetu**: in III 28, not before the slaughter as here, but after it, we find **iuka mersuva uvikum habetu** ... For the plural, which is shown by the accompanying **estu** in preference to **este**, cf. L. *ioca*, and for the use with **habetu** cf. the Latin idiom *orationem habere*. There is no objection on semantic grounds to the connection with *iocus*, *-a*, since the Latin sense 'jest,' like that of Lith. *juõkas*, can easily be explained as an instance of specialization. The serious sense, and also the *e*-vowel grade, are preserved in the OHG verb *jehan* 'declare.' — **25 purtifele**: related to **purdī-*, the weak stem-form of *purdouitu*, as **porricibilis* would be to L. *porricio*. The priest three times declares the bull-calf to be qualified for presentation, and three times gives notice that it is a votive offering (?). Whichever of the two possible interpretations we adopt for **vufru** in 21, it must refer to the status of the calf before the ceremony. It appears therefore that in the present passage **teitu** is used of that which becomes effective as a result of the utterance and **naratu** of that which was already true and is merely made known, and there is no objection to applying this distinction to the other instances of the two verbs in Tables IIa, b, III, although nowhere else are they used in such close proximity as in the present passage. — **26 Vuçiiaper**: the name is probably equivalent to L. *Lucia*, though it has also been rendered *'Vucia'* (Br.), *'Vocia'* (Bü.), *'Vovicia'* (Dev.). The phraseology is similar to **Petruniaper natine fratru Atiieřiu** in IIa 21 (on which see note) and 35. Vetter favors the view that **Vuçiia** here does not designate an actual gens Lucia but has rather the value 'gens So-and-so' and is therefore comparable to the Roman legal expression *TITIAE UXORI MEAE* (Gaius, *Inst.*, I, 152); an ingenious and plausible explanation, but if we accept it we must discard Devoto's view cited in note on 2 **pumpeřias** that the gentes Petronia and Lucia (Vovicia) represented the two pentads of the Brotherhood. — **27 krikatru**: mentioned also in Ib 11 and in the equivalent VIb 49, on which see note. In these last two passages the stole is worn during the fire-ceremony between the first and second taking of the auspices in the lustration. — **28 mefe atentu**: it is not clear what is symbolized by the placing of the stole upon the surface of the broad flat cake. According to Dev., p. 368, the **krikatru** indicated the three principal events in the sacrifice and imparted a certain sacred character (*aliquid sacri*) to the *exta* to which the *mefa* was added.

(III 1) **esunu : fuia : herter : sume** : / (2) **ustite : sestentasiaru** : / (3) **urnasiaru : huntak : vuke : prumu : pehatu** / (4) **inuk : uhturu : urtes : puntis** : / (5) **frater** :

Sacrifice is required to be performed in the final period of the regular bi-monthly festival. First purify the jar in the grove. Then the Brothers, rising in groups of five, shall elect an *auctor*

III - IV. Sacrifice in honor of Pomonus and Vesona. These two tables clearly contain a single body of text. The reverse of III is left blank and the last sentence of III is continued on IV, and the obverse of IV is almost completely filled, with slightly less than half a line of blank space at the bottom and with the reverse, like that of III, left blank. Yet the two tables seem not to have been engraved by the same hand. III contains no absolutely certain instances of error: **ferime** 16 must probably be emended to **ferine**, but **vatra** 31 may quite easily be correct, and **aruvia** 31 is probably a unique variant of **arvia**. IV on the other hand contains at least eight sure cases of misspelling and several more probable cases. The two tables are as difficult to interpret as any among the seven, especially because of the large number of names of articles used in the ritual, many of them occurring only once and giving no good clue as to their sense either through comparative etymology or through study of their context. The following is a brief outline of the content of the two tables, with the chief emphasis on those portions where the meaning is most surely established. First the time for the sacrifice is given: the final period of the regular bi-monthly festival. A certain jar or vat in the Sacred Grove is to be purified. The Atiedian Brothers then appoint an *auctor*, who designates a young pig and a sheep as victims. The Brothers examine and accept the victims, and all proceed to the sacred field called the Arva. The victims are taken to the field on a **kletra**, a sort of litter whose construction is explained in detail (III 14-20) but is striking for the large number of obscurities. First the pig is slaughtered in honor of Jupiter and on behalf of the Atiedian Brothers and the state and tribe of Iguvium (22-5). The sheep is then slaughtered in honor of the god Pomonus Publicus on behalf of the Atiedian Brothers and the state and tribe of Iguvium (26-30), yet the two sacrifices are not similar in all respects. The sheep is to be slaughtered on the ground, for ultimate burial (31-2). Two pieces are to be cut off as burnt-offerings on one side of the altar, two at another side for presentation to Pomonus, and three at a third side for presentation to Vesona, a goddess closely associated with Pomonus, probably as his consort, the two being predominantly deities of fertility and growth. In connection with this ritual (31-IV 6), use is made of cakes called ***struhçlas** but having a special form sometimes believed to involve sex-symbolism. 6-14 contain instructions to make offerings of the uncut and cut portions of meat, the sin-offerings (**vempesuntres**) and the underparts, to pray, approach the altar and stop; to pray to Pomonus and Vesona with the wet and dry vessels and with the spoons or sticks used for applying unguent, and finally to anoint the statue. 14-22 contain instructions to offer a libation and cake (**mefa**) from a cup, kneeling, at the right of the altar, and in the same manner to present libations and sin-offerings below and above the statue to Hula and Tursa, goddesses whose cult in the present instance seems to be merely subsidiary to that of Pomonus and Vesona. The last lines of this passage contain instructions to fetch a cover and place it over the sin-offering and to offer certain cakes of a circular form. The final portion of the sacrifice (23-32) includes, among certain obscure

details, prayers to Pomonus and Vesona, a second distribution of the *erus* (the first being in 14), the grinding of cakes, with prayers over the ground cakes, and the playing of music. The final sentence of IV is not directly connected with the foregoing instructions for the sacrifice but is an injunction against the (private or secular) use of the mead in the jar or vat the purification of which was prescribed in III 3.

III 1 - 2 sume / ustite: cf. IIa 15 and note. — **2-3 sestentasiaru urnasiaru**: cf. **plenasier urnasier** Va 2. **urnasiaru** was generally rendered by earlier editors *'urnariarum'* on the supposition that the festival was named from the urns used in its celebration, but Blum. was no doubt right in equating it with *ordinariarum*, after Linde, *Gl.*, III (1912), pp. 170-1. **sestentasiaru** = L. *sextentariarum* 'belonging to the sixth part (of the year)'; hence 'bi-monthly.' The festival then was one which occurred at intervals of two months, or possibly at the end of the second month of the year, which agrees well with the belief that this festival was somehow connected with the Roman Ambarvalia, celebrated in May. — **huntak**: taken by Br. as an adv. from the same root as the second part of *erihont*, with ending as in L. *istac*, *illac*; similarly Blum. But an object is needed for **pehatu**, and also for **prupehast** in IV 32, so that **huntak** is best taken as a noun, as in fact the majority of editors take it. In this case it is apparently a neut. *k*-stem analogous to **tuplak** and derived from the root **hom* < **ghom-* 'earth'; cf. *hondra*, *hondomu*, *hondu*. Since we should expect *-n(n)-* from *-nd-*, Pl., II, p. 69, suggests development from a stem in *-nditak-*. Several editors take the **huntak** to be a well or similar source of underground water: *'fontem'* Bü. (but observe *fondlire* with *f*, not *h*), *'cisternam'* Pl., *'puteum'* Bk., Vet. (?), Pis. But it is hard to escape Devoto's objection, p. 369, based on the fact that the **huntak** is evidently intended to contain the substance *poni*. This much is evident from IV 32-3 by any reasonable interpretation, and it is altogether unlikely that **punes** would be applied to water, despite its apparent derivation from **pōi-* 'drink.' Dev. translates *'ollam,'* assuming the jar to be designated, perhaps euphemistically, by the earthenware from which it is made. Could it be possible that the **huntak** was a vat located in the grove and used for making the mead, and that IV 32-3 has the effect of a prohibition against using the mead for private or secular purposes, once the vat has been purified? Such a view would be easy to support on etymological grounds, but cannot be affirmed with any certainty. — **vuke**: see on VIb 43. — **pehatu**: since the ceremony takes place on a set day, it is probably a routine purification or consecration rather than an expiation for sin. — **4 uhturu**: recognized as the etymological equivalent of L. *auctorem* by nearly all editors. The abstract **uhtretie** *'*auctoratu'* accompanied by the names of the eponymous magistrates is used in Va 2, 15 for dating the regulations contained in those passages, and the abbreviation *oht* accompanied by the names of two officials is similarly used in an Umbrian inscription from Assisi (no. 355 Co.). It is incredible that the Atiedian Brothers should elect a civil magistrate, yet 'elect' or 'appoint' appears to be the sense of **ustentuta** in 5. Vetter translates **uhtretie** Va 2, 15, and *oht* in the Assisi inscription by *'auctoritate'*; thus we no longer have an eponymous magistracy to deal with, and the **uhtur** in III becomes simply a master of ceremonies to preside over the sacrifice. This last view is doubtless correct, but if C. Vestinius and Nero Babrius in the Assisi inscription were not **uhtur**, it is not clear what their position was; perhaps they were merely the sponsors of the motion. — **urtes puntis**: cf. **puntes** 9, **urtas puntes** 10, which are subjects of their verbs; the present form then is abl. abs. **puntis** is normally translated *'quinioni-*

ustentuta : puře : / (6) fratru : mersus : fust : / (7) kumnakle : iinuk : uhtur : vapeře : / (8) kumnakle : sistu : sakre : uvem : uhtur / (9) teitu : puntes : terkantur : inumek : sakre / (10) uvem : urtas : puntes : fratrum : upetuta : / (11) inumek : via : mersuva : arvamen : etuta : / (12) erak : pir : persklu : uřetu : sakre : uvem : / (13) kletra : fertuta : aituta : arven :

who shall be in accord with the customs of the Brothers in assembly. Then the *auctor* shall sit on the stone seat in the meeting-place. The *auctor* shall designate a young pig and a sheep, the groups of five shall inspect them, then the groups of five rising shall accept the young pig and the sheep. Then they shall go by the accustomed way to the field. On the way load the fire (with incense) with a prayer. They shall lift and carry

7 **iinuk**: for **inuk**.

bus'; the brothers then are divided into groups of five for voting purposes, and the total number of twelve brothers is made up, according to Dev., p. 305, of two pentads together with the *adfertor* and the *fratricus*. **urtas** is generally rendered *'ortis,'* the sense being that of *surgentibus* used of voting by rising. For a similar early use of *orior* Bü. cites Velius Longus (*Gramm. Lat.*, VII, Keil), p. 74, 18 *oriri apud antiquos surgere frequenter significabat ut apparet ex eo quod dicitur: oriens consul magistrum populi dicat, quod est surgens.* — **5 ustentuta**: this verb is not elsewhere used with the title of a person as object, but the semantic development 'show > proclaim > elect' offers no special difficulty. — **5-7 puře fratru mersus fust / kumnakle**: most editors give translations having the general sense 'which shall be in accordance with the laws (or customs) of the Brothers' (quite otherwise Devoto, who translates *'ab oriente,'* with reference to the location of the **huntak** in the place of meeting); but the future **fust** in place of a present is somewhat surprising, and the whole expression is slightly otiose. We may improve the sense of the passage by translating 'who shall be in conformity with the customs of the Brothers in convention.' The use of **puře** as masc. nom. sg. receives adequate support from *porse perca arsmatia habiest* in VI b 63, VII a 46, 51. There is no change in the construction of **mersus**, which is still an ablative of accordance. The spelling with **-rs-** instead of the expected **-řs-** is evidence that there was only a slight difference in pronunciation between **řs** = *rs(s)* and original *rs*. **kumnakle** is used also in Va 15 to designate the place of adoption of the second portion of the decree regarding the duties and rights of the *adfertor*. — **vapeře**: all other instances of this word are accompanied by forms of the adj. *auiecla*, and Blum., pp. 34-5, relying on Livy's description, I, 18, 6-7, of the inauguration of Numa, suggests that in the present passage also the **uhtur** occupies the *lapis auguralis* in order to take the auspices. There is, however, no direct mention of such a purpose, and we must be satisfied to assume that the seat was simply one of stone. The *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* also contain references to the priests or the promagister sitting in their ceremonial chairs (cf., for example, pp. 11, 12, 14 Henzen). — **8 sakre uvem**: there is no possibility of regarding **sakre** as a mere epithet of **uvem**, for the two are treated separately in 22-3 and 26-7, the former being offered to Jupiter, the latter to Pomonus Publicus. It is uncertain for what victim **sakre** stands, but see on IIa 5, where it is

taken to be a young pig. — **9 teitu**: the first of three actions connected with the two victims. Normally *deitu* **teitu** is either used with oratio recta or else its object is accompanied by a predication, as in IIb 25, III 25. The present example falls into neither of these categories, and the question is precisely how **teitu** and **upetuta** differ. The sense is either that the *auctor* designates a young pig and a sheep and the pentads of the Brothers, after examining them (**terkantur**), signify their acceptance of them by rising up, or that the *auctor* names (the species) pig and sheep as victims and the Brothers after an examination select one of each as victims. The former interpretation seems slightly preferable as conforming more closely to the normal meanings of the verbs in question. — **terkantur**: there are no other instances, and the initial **t** is etymologically ambiguous, but most connect the word with *δέρκομαι* 'look.' In Va 7 **revestu**, etymologically equivalent to L. *revisito*, is similarly used of examining victims. — **11 mersuva**: in all probability related to *mers* 'law, custom' somewhat as L. *annuus* to *annus* and therefore meaning 'accustomed.' This also gives satisfactory sense in 28, where **mersuva** is used with **iuka**. In Ib 14-6 = VIb 52 the *adfertor* after the taking of the auspices proceeds by the *uia auiecla* or 'Augural Way' to Acedonia to perform the three sacrifices of the lustration. In the present passage, however, the route is not identified by a proper name. — **arvamen**: an *a*-stem, perhaps with originally collective value, in contrast to the Latin *o*-stem *arvum*. Nonius, p. 192, however, cites an acc. pl. *arvas* from Naevius and Pacuvius. The exact location of the *Arva* of the Atiedian Brothers is of course uncertain, but Rosenzweig, pp. 18-9, plausibly suggests the level plain near the Roman theatre where the Tables were discovered. — **12 erak**: an abl. sg. fem. form used adverbially and found nowhere else. It must refer not to the *Arva*, in which case we might expect **ife**, but to **via**; the act designated by the words immediately following is therefore to be performed along the way. — **pir persklu uřetu**: the verb, which recurs in IV 30 without **pir**, is generally regarded as equivalent to L. *ad-oleto* 'burn, load (with gifts), worship.' Dev. assumes that it means 'load (the fire) with incense,' depending in part for support on etymological connection with L. *odor*, *olēre* < **odēre*, where comparison with Gk. *ὀδμή*, *ὄδωδα* shows that *d* and not *l* was the original consonant. Since **ř** in the phonetic environment in which it stands can have arisen from either *d* or *l*, it is quite possible that **uřetu** represents a contamination of the two roots. Vetter and Pisani in both passages take **uřetu** as a supine forming an expression of purpose which they translate '*ad adolendum* (*-am*).' This is free from objection on formal grounds (unless **uřetu** made a shorter supine without *e*, like L. *visum* to *videre*), but it is hazardous to assume that the Umbrian supine was not largely restricted, like the Latin, to use with verbs of motion. — **persklu** in the present passage must be taken in its narrow sense 'prayer.' — **13 kletra**: the etymological equation often made with Goth. *hleiþra* '*σκηνή*' is phonologically perfect though semantically slightly difficult. L. *clitellae* 'pack-saddle' probably represents a diminutive extension of **kleitro-*. In any case it is clear from the context that the **kletra** is a litter for carrying the victims to the Field. For a recent discussion of the nature of the **kletra** and its component parts see G. B. Pighi, *Studi in onore di Gino Funaioli* (Rome, 1955), pp. 373-77. — **fertuta aituta**: Gk. and L. parallels to this pair are frequent: E 483-4 *ἀτὰρ οὔτι μοὶ ἐνθάδε τοῖον, οἷόν κ' ἠὲ φέροιεν Ἀχαιοί, ἤ κεν ἄγοιεν*. Livy, XXII, 3, 7 *res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit*; cf. III, 37, 7, XXXVIII, 15, 10. In the present passage, however, the circumstances are quite different, since it is not a question of carrying ob-

kletram : / (14) **amparitu** : **eruk** : **esunu** : **futu** : **kletre** : **tuplak** : / (15) **prumum** : **antentu** : **inuk** : **çihçeřa** : **ententu** : / (16) **inuk** : **kazi** : **ferime** : **antentu** : **isunt** : **feřehtru** : / (17) **antentu** : **isunt** : **sufeřaklu** : **antentu** : **seples** / (18) **ahesnes** : **tris** : **kazi** : **astintu** : **feřehtru** : **etres** : **tris** / (19) **ahesnes** : **astintu** : **sufeřaklu** : **tuves** : **ahesnes** / (20) **anstintu** : **inenek** :

the young pig and the sheep on a litter. Set up the litter in the field. Then the sacrifice shall take place. First attach a fork to the litter. Then insert the lattice frame. Then place the kettle upon the carrier; on the same put the chopping-board; on the same put the underboard. Fasten the kettle with three bronze nails; fasten the chopping-board with three additional bronze (nails); fasten the under-board with two bronze

jects and driving beasts. Here **fertuta** is evidently used for the lifting of the victims on to the litter, **aituta** for the carrying of the litter to the designated place ('La vittima "scara," la pecora sollevino, portino via in una lettiga,' Devoto, *T.G.*, p. 65). — **14 amparitu**: etymology and meaning were discussed on IIa 42, where the medio-passive was used of the priest rising. Here the active is used of the setting up of the litter. — **eruk**: like **erak** in 12 this form is unique. Derivatives of the stem ******ero-* are anaphorics like L. *is*, *ea*, *id*, etc. while *eso*, etc. are used to introduce matter which is to follow. Moreover the technical instructions in 14 **kletre tuplak** ... 20 **anstintu** do not really constitute the **esunu** but are inserted almost parenthetically between **eruk esunu futu** and 20 **inenek vukumen esunumen etu**. **eruk** then is best taken not as 'in the following manner,' but as 'then, next,' the ablative form having developed an adverbial value. — **tuplak**: a double object of some kind (cf. L. *duplex*); according to most editors a *furca* to be somehow attached to the litter; according to Vetter a sort of double floor of clay to be placed over the wooden floor of the **kletra**, on which glowing coals were then to be placed. But the additional three objects which are to be placed on top, the **kazi**, the **feřehtru**, and the **sufeřaklu** are already quite enough. If the litter was of such a kind as to be easily carried but not to stand in

place without a support, perhaps because of a round bottom, then the **tuplak** may have been a forked piece of wood designed to hold it in position, and in this case it is quite natural that the instruction regarding the **tuplak** should be the first one given. — **15 çihçeřa**: quite obscure, but generally brought into connection with *κιγκλίδες*, L. *cingo*, and translated '*cancellos.*' It must then be a sort of lattice frame to be added to the litter. — **ententu**: important because the usual verb in this series of instructions is **antentu**, which governs **tuplak**, **kazi**, **feřehtru**, and **sufeřaklu**. If the **kletra** had holes into which the separate rods making up the **çihçeřa** were to be inserted, the use of **ententu** in place of **antentu** would be adequately explained. — **16 kazi**: many etymologies and interpretations, but there is no sure solution. The **z** probably represents *ts*, and the form may be a stem in *-si-* or more probably in *-sio-* (cf. **32 a**). Vetter proposed to connect with L. *catinus* and to assign to it a similar sense 'Kessel' or 'Tiegel.' His view of certain other details in the passage is not adopted here (see on **tuplak** 14 above), but the notion of **kazi** as a kettle or pan of some sort is not necessarily in conflict with the sense adopted for the passage as a whole, if we consider that the **kletra** served as a sort of movable altar. — **ferime**: found also in Ib 25, where emendation to **ferine** is unavoidable because of the fre-

quency of the formula **vatua ferine fetu** in which it occurs. In the present passage emendation is favored by Kent, *T.C.I.*, p. 36, Bk., Dev.; retention of **ferime** by Co., Pl., Blum., Vet., Pis.; Bott. is doubtful. For a *nomen instrumenti* made by adding *-i-* or *-(i)yo-* to a verbal root, which would have to be assumed to account for **ferim-e**, it would be virtually impossible to find a Latin parallel. Moreover *andendu* **antentu** is normally construed with a dative or locative or with an adverb (cf. Kent, *loc. cit.*); VII a 25 *superne adro trahuorfi andendu* is the only instance with a preposition. It is therefore quite probable that we must assume a misspelling of **ferine** here as in Ib 25. The sense, however, is not greatly affected, and **ferim-e** or **ferine** may be taken to indicate the flat surface on which the **kazi** is placed, just as *ferine* in the frequent formula *uatuo ferine fetu* appears to be a flat tray or similar object. — **feřehtru**: the suffix **-tru** suggests a *nomen instrumenti*, and the **ř** may be from *d* or from *l* (**42 b**, **55 b**). We should proceed, however, on the theory that **feřehtru** and **sufeřaklu** in 17 are probably related, and **ř** before *a* cannot be from *l*, unless through some analogical influence. Conway found a reasonably satisfactory solution by taking as equivalent to a L. **fidetrum* from the same root as *findo* and signifying a chopping-board. The *e* < *i* is paralleled by **teřa** < **didāt*. — **17 sufeřaklu**: no less obscure than **feřehtru**, with which it evidently shares the same root, though vowel-extension and suffix are different. If the interpretation 'chopping-board' proposed above for **feřehtru** was correct, then the **sufeřaklu** may possibly be a receptable beside and below the **feřehtru** designed to receive the pieces of meat after they have been chopped. — **seples** generally taken as equivalent to L. *simpulis* 'ladles' until it was shown that *simpulum* in Fest., p. 455 Li., on which the etymology depended, was a false reading for *simpuvium* (cf. Brinkmann, *A.L.L.*, XV [1908], pp. 139-43). Devoto has an altogether different interpretation according to which the **seples** are nails. This gives the most satisfactory sense when taken in connection with **a(n)stintu**, and the thrice repeated instruction that the **seples** must be of bronze is very easily explained by the widespread tabu against the use of iron in holy places (cf. Dev. p. 381, who cites among other references *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, p. 132 Henzen, on the propitiatory sacrifice to atone for the bringing of iron tools into the sacred grove). Devoto's interpretation unfortunately lacks adequate etymological support, but **seples** might conceivably be from the same root as L. *saepes*, *saepio*, the semantic connection lying either in the fact that nails are used for closing wooden structures or that a nail or peg has a certain resemblance to one of the poles that make up a fence. — **18 ahesnes**: equivalence with L. *ahenis*, *-eis* is universally recognized and is beyond reasonable doubt. — **astintu**: used three times, having as object **kazi**, **feřehtru**, and **sufeřaklu**. The first two actions are performed with three **seples** each, the last with two. Some render '*exstinguito*' or '*restinguito*' understanding that the fire burning on the litter is extinguished with the **seples** which they take to be ladles; others '*distinguito*' in the sense 'mark off, adorn' with the ladles or other vessels designated by **seples**. However, if it were merely a question of ladles being placed at various points, we might expect some expression such as ***seplu antentu** instead of **anstintu**. The sense 'pierce' (with nails) has a satisfactory etymological basis if we connect with *στίζω*, *στιγμή*, L. *instigare*, *distingere*; cf. Velius Longus (*Gramm. lat.*, VII Keil), p. 67, 20 *inventi sunt qui distinguere quoque sine u littera et scribere et dicere maluerunt, adicientes et illam rationem quod distingere est interposito puncto dividere atque diducere*. — **20 inenek**: found nowhere else and hard to explain morphologically, but the va-

vukumen : esunumen : etu : ap / (21) **vuku : kukehes : iepi : persklumař : kařitu : vuke : pir** / (22) **ase : antentu : sakre : sevakne : upetu : iuvepatre** / (23) **prumu : ampentu : testru : sese asa : fratrusper** : / (24) **atiieřies : ahtisper : eikvasatis : tutape : iiuvina** / (25) **trefiper : iiuvina : tiçlu : sevakni : teitu** : / (26) **inumek**

(nails). Then go into the grove for the sacrifice. When you reach the grove, call (them) there to the ceremony. In the grove place fire upon the altar. The young pig without blemish, which has been selected, slay first in honor of Jupiter, at the right of the altar, for the Atiedian Brothers, for the fire-carriers (the symbols) of the college, for the state of Iguvium, for the tribe of Iguvium. Pronounce the day solemn. Then slay

riety of pronominal and adverbial forms observed in the scanty Italic dialect remains is so great that we are scarcely justified in emending to **inemek**, as some have proposed. — **vukum-en**: the interpretation 'grove' is to be preferred to 'temple'; see on VI b 43. — **esunumen**: Bü. favored taking as an adj. *'divinam'* qualifying **vukum**, and as support for the repetition of the preposition he cited Ib 14 **vapefam avieklufe** and Homeric *ὅνδε δόμονδε*. His suggestion is all the more tempting in view of **persklumař** in 21, which would lead us to expect **-ař**, not **-en**, if **esunumen** means 'to the sacred rites.' Yet there are more instances in which the adjective following the noun is unaccompanied by the postposition, and moreover Ib 14 shows an unambiguous example of **esunume etu** in the sense 'go to the sacrifice.' It is therefore safer to follow the majority in taking **esunumen** as a separate phrase. — **ap**: a syncopated form of **ape**; the only other example is in IV 31. — **21 kukehes**: a unique and exceptionally troublesome form. Connection with *cehefi* VI a 20 is tempting but not necessary, since there is no especially close connection between the contexts in which the two forms occur. Earlier editors in general translated by forms of *in- succendo*, understanding that the grove was to be lighted up with a fire. Etymological connections were set up with *καίω* or with L. *candeo* or *in-cendo*, but both involve difficulties of phonology because in the combination of vowel + **h** + vowel in the native alphabet the **h** regularly has etymological value instead of being merely an indication of vowel-length. Blum., p. 74, found an easier etymology by connecting with O. **kahad** *'capiat'* (and L. *in-cohare*?), and is followed in substance by most subsequent editors. The sense then is not that of 'lighting up' but simply of 'reaching' or 'entering' the grove. The ablaut-variation in **kukehes**: O. **kahad** is the same as in L. *cēpi*: *capio*, but the ending is difficult. **ape** *ape* is used 29 times with the fut. pf., only once with the fut. (**purtuvies** IIb 28). The vowel-grade in **kukehes** points to the pf. stem, yet a fut. pf. 2 sg. should end in **-us**. R. G. Kent, *Lang.*, IX (1933), p. 217, suggested analyzing as a 3 pl. pf. subj. from **ko(m)-kēhēns*, with the Brothers as subject, but there are no other examples of a subjunctive after *ape*, and besides **ap kukehes** seems to contain the fulfilment of the instruction **vukumen etu** immediately preceding, as Blum., *loc. cit.*, suggested, so that we should be inclined to expect a 2 or 3 sg. form. A hybrid form made from the long-vowel pf. stem but inflected like the fut. instead of the fut. pf. would be quite without parallel, but the difficulties by any other interpretation are no less serious. The prefix **ku-**, like *con-* in L. *con-*

sequor, imparts perfective aspect (in the Slavic sense) to the verb, and presents no problem. For discussion of **kukehes** cf., beside the editions, Kent, *C.P.*, XV (1920), p. 366; *Lang.*, IX (1933), p. 217; Ribezzo, II, p. 98. See also on *cehefi* VI a 20. — **iepi**: an adverb found only here and of uncertain origin. Blum., p. 74, took it to be temporal and to correspond to the preceding **ap** as L. *tum* to *cum*; but if **ape** is followed by a temporal adverb, it is normally **enuk**, *enom*, *eno* (cf., for example, Ia 30, 33, VIb 53, 63, VIIa 5, 8). Most render **iepi** '*ibi*, *illic*,' etc., but there is almost no chance that it represents **ife** by the same type of orthographic variation as **kutef**: **kutep** (cf. **2 k**). The first part is probably from **iyei*, loc. sg. of the thematic pronominal stem seen in L. *is*, *ea*, *id*. The second part may be related to O. **íp**, Pael. *ip*, Mars. *ceip* '*hic*,' and possibly also to U. *neip*. The use of **iepi** is like the rare and late Latin use of *ibi* 'thither' with verbs of motion. — **persklum**: used in a comprehensive sense, as in I a 1 = VI a 1. — **kařitu**: see on *carsitu* VIIa 43. — **pir / ase antentu**: the same fire which was mentioned in 12. For the instruction to place the fire on the altar cf. IIa 19-20. — **22 upetu**: on the reasons for taking as pcpl. rather than imv. here and in IIb 8 see on IIb 1. If this view is adopted, the sentence will not end with **upetu**, as it does in most of the standard editions. — **23 prumu**: in contrast to **inumek**, which introduces the sacrifice of the sheep to Pomonus at 26. —**ampentu**: see on IIa 20. — **testru sese asa**: the same expression occurs in IV 15-6, while **supru sese ereçluma** occurs in IV 3. Although the general sense is clear, **sese** is obscure. There have been several attempts to derive it from the root **sed*-, with reference to place: Br. refers it to a noun **sessis*; Bü. (without exact analysis) regards it as equivalent to L. *sessu*, or to *sessione*; Bk., § 307, as equivalent to L. **sessē* from *sessus*. Others more recently have derived it from the adverb of separation found in *sei-podruhpei*, L. *sed-itio*, etc. (so Blum., pp. 40-1, Dev., Pis.). **sese** will then be taken as a postposition in close connection with **testru**, not as a preposition with **asa**, for IV 3 has **supru sese** alone without a following **asa**, and the combination **testru sese** in turn will govern the abl. **asa**, giving the direction from which the motion proceeds, but the whole phrase may be rendered 'at the right of the altar.' — **24 ahtisper eikvasatis**: it would be satisfactory in some respects to equate **ahtis** with L. *actis*, but from an *o*-stem we should expect the abl. pl. to end in **-es**; **-is** is found only in **vaputis** IIb 13 (*io*-stems are not taken into consideration here). **ahtis** must therefore be abl. pl. of an *i*-stem, perhaps the same noun as **ahtim-em** in Ib 12, where it was taken to designate a fire-carrier. If this interpretation is adopted, the fire-carrier must be regarded as the symbol of the Atiedian Brotherhood, or of that group affiliated with it or included in it under the name **eikvases-e Atiieřie** (V a 4, 16), and these symbols are then among the objects of the prayers which accompany the sacrifice. Dev., p. 386, cites, among other evidence for the sacred symbols of various priesthoods, the following passages relating to the Fratres Arvales: Plin., *N.H.*, XVIII, 6 *spicea corona quae vitta alba colligaretur sacerdotio ei pro religiosissimo insigni data*; Gellius, VII, 7, 8 *cuius sacerdotii insigne est spicea corona et albae infulae*. For **eikvasatis** see on **eikvasese** Va 4; whatever the etymology and sense of the latter, **eikvasatis** can be easily explained as a stem in *-āti-* standing toward it in the same relation as L. *Arpinas* to *Arpinum*. — **tutape**: see on *tote* VIa 5. The omission of the final **r** in **-per** occurs again in 28 below, and in Ia 12. — **25 trefiper**: on VIb 54. Apart from III 30 it is elsewhere used only in the sentences of banishment and commination proclaimed against the alien state of Tadinum. — **tiçlu sevakni teitu**: see on IIa 15, b 22 on the reasons for

: **uvem** : **sevakni** : **upetu** : **puemune** : / (27) **pupřike** : **apentu** : **tiçlu** : **sevakni** : **naratu** : / (28) **iuka** : **mersuva** : **uvikum** : **habetu** : **fratruspe** / (29) **atiieřie** : **ahtisper** : **eikvasatis** : **tutaper** / (30) **iiuvina** : **trefiper** : **iiuvina** : **sakre** : / (31) **vatra** : **ferine** : **feitu** : **eruku** : **aruvia** : **feitu** : **uvem** / (32) **peřaem** : **pelsanu** : **feitu** : **ererek** : **tuva** : **tefra** / (33) **spantimař** : **prusekatu** : **eřek** : **peřume** : **purtuvitu** / (34) **struçla** : **ařveitu** : **inumek** : **etrama** : **spanti** : **tuva tefra** / (35) **prusekatu** : **eřek** : **ereçluma** :

the unblemished sheep, which has been chosen, in honor of Pomonus Poplicus. Announce that the day is solemn. Use the accustomed words in connection with the sheep, for the Atiedian Brothers, for the fire-carriers (the symbols) of the college, for the state of Iguvium, for the tribe of Iguvium. Place the young pig's ribs on a tray. With it make grain-offerings. Sacrifice the sheep upon the ground, for burial. Cut off two (pieces) of it at the side (of the altar) as burnt-offerings; present them upon a turf-altar. Add a *strušla* cake. Then on the other side (of the altar) cut off two (pieces) as burnt-offerings; pre-

adopting 'day' as the translation of **tiçlu**. The present passage becomes a virtual oratio obliqua with **sevakni** 'solemn' as predicate. — **26 upetu**: as in 22, the sentence does not end with **upetu**, if we are correct in taking it as a pass. pcpl. — **Puemune** / **Pupřike**: these two divine names are found only in III and IV, the former being regularly accompanied by the latter, as an epithet, except in IV 5. That the names are masc. and not fem. is shown by the gen. sg. in **-es** IV 3-4, since the only stem-classes that can be considered are the *o*-stems and the consonant-stems of the *Cicerō*-type. **Puemune** is in all probability the male counterpart of L. *Pomona*, and the Vestinian or Sabine form *Poimuni-en* (Co. 248) appears to be an adj. from the name of the same god as **Puemune**; the problem of the vocalism is briefly discussed in **4**. **Pupřike** is more difficult. Not only is it uncertain whether the **ř** is from *d* or *l*, but it is unnatural for it to occur at all after a consonant; for a discussion of the phonology see *Lang.*, XXV (1949), pp. 397, 399. If L. *populus* is of Etruscan origin, as some believe, **Pupřike** may be related both to it and to *Fufluns*, the name of the Etruscan counterpart of Dionysus. It then becomes possible to set up certain correspondences which may provide a satisfactory explanation. **Pupřike** and Etr. *Fufluns* are related in sense to *populus* somewhat as L. *Liber* to the noun for 'people' represented by OHG *liut*, Germ. *leute*, OCS *ljudie*. The root **leudh*- seems originally to have signified growth, and not only Liber and Dionysus but also Fufluns and *Pomonus Poplikos were probably, at least in part, gods of fertility and growth. According to Aug., *Civ. Dei*, IV, 11; VII, 3, there was a Libera corresponding to Liber; the goddess Vesona who is worshipped in conjunction with Pomonus in Table IV, her name generally followed by **Puemunes Pupřikes**, may stand in much the same relation to him as Libera to Liber. — **27 tiçlu sevakni naratu**: cf. 25, and see on II b 25 for the distinction between **teitu** and **naratu**. — **28 iuka**: see on IIb 23. — **mersuva**: it is not stated what the 'customary' words are, but the objects of the prayers are the same as in the sacrifice to Jupiter above. — **30 sakre**: probably not acc. but gen., because it is most natural for the object of **fetu** to be **vatra**, on which **sakre** will then de-

pend. There are no gen. sg. forms of *i*-stems with omission of the final **-s** in the older tables, but the total number of examples is small, and there is some support in the *o*-stem forms **Çerfe**, **Kastruçiie**, etc., since the origin of the case-ending in the two classes is the same. — **31 vatra**: the context so closely resembles the formula *uatuo ferine fetu* (see on VI a 57) that some regard **vatra** as merely an instance of erroneous spelling. Table III, however, unlike IV, has few errors, and it is safer to regard **vatra** and *uatuo* as stem-variants. With this variation Bü., p. 63, compares *νέκνες* : *νεκροί*. The exact analysis of **vatra** is not clear, but it is scarcely an *s*-stem related to *uatuo* as L. *pecora* to *pecus*, for the syncope should have occurred so early as to prevent rhotacism from taking place, if we may judge from *ose*, *osatu* (**57 d**). It must rather be a stem in *-ro/rā-*, and is better taken as a noun than as an adj., for in the latter case it would probably follow instead of preceding **ferine**, and the sense 'place the pig on the tray intended for ribs' would be most unnatural. *uatuo* in the regular formula is never preceded by another noun in the same clause but here **sakre** marks a change of subject-matter, since 26-30 was concerned with the sheep. — **aruvia**: see on Ia 3, IIa 18. **eru-ku** must refer to the pig (**sakre**). — **32 peřaem**: see on VIa 58. — **pelsanu**: on VIb 22. The instructions to slaughter the victim on the ground and to slaughter it for burial occur nowhere else in immediate juxtaposition, but both are given in connection with the dog-sacrifice, the former in II a 22, the latter in 44. — **ererek**: the addition of the enclitic to the gen. sg. is unusual but the form may be explained by the proportion **ererek**: **erer** = **eřek**: **id*, L. *id*. — **tefra**: see on II a 27. — **33 spantimař**: found only in the present passage, where **spantimař** ... **34 etrama spanti** ... IV 2 **tertiama spanti** make up a series. An adj. **spantea** occurs in IIa 30, but the exact sense of the latter passage is not clear. Editors are nearly unanimous in taking **spanti** as 'side,' and the sides are the front, right, and left of the altar, although it is not clear in what order; the back of the altar is normally designated by forms of *postra*. The etymology of **spanti** is uncertain; since there are no forms in the Latin alphabet, **t** may represent *t* or *d*, and we may have an *i*-stem from a root ending in a dental stop or a *ti*-stem from a root ending in *n*, but not a stem in dental stop + *ti*, which would yield *f*. See Lexicon. — **prusekatu**: in IIa 28 two pieces of the dog were cut off as burnt-offerings and a third as an *erus*; here two, two, and three pieces of the sheep are cut off as burnt-offerings at three different sides of the altar. — **eřek**: neut. sg. pronoun but referring to **tuva tefra**; as Latin parallels Bü. cites Plaut., *Trin.*, 152 ff. *nummorum Philippeum ad tria milia. / id solus solum per amicitiam et per fidem / flens me opsecrauit suo ne gnato crederem*; 403 ff. Le. *minas quadraginta accepisti a Callicle. / estne hoc quod dico, Stasime* ? St. *quom considero, / meminisse uideor fieri.* Le. *quid factumst eo*? — **peřume**: see on VIb 24. — **34 struçla**: on VIa 59. — **35 ereçluma**: this word occurs eight times from the present passage through IV 19, under circumstances which show that, like **asa** 'altar', the **ereçlum** is intended for the presentation of offerings. The etymology is uncertain, but connection with *erus* is as easy as any. We may derive from **aise-kelo-* with Pl., II, p. 26, or with Dev. we may assume that the suffix originally had instrumental value (*-klo-* < *-tlo-*?) and that the formation came to be understood as a diminutive, so that **-çlo-** replaced **-klo-**. The **ereçlum** has generally been taken to be a sort of side-altar or gift-table; Bü., Pl., Bk., Blum., Pis. translate '*sacrarium.*' But Vetter gains an improved sense by taking it to be a cult-statue '*simulacrum* (?).' On etymological grounds this is as easy as the other view, since we can still maintain connection

puemune : pupřike / (IV 1) **purtuvitu : erarunt : struhçlas : eskamitu : aveitu** / (2) **inumek : tertiama : spanti : triia tefra : prusekatu** / (3) **eřek : supru : sese : ereçluma : vesune : puemunes** / (4) **pupřiçes : purtuvitu : struhçla : petenata : isek** : / (5) **ařveitu : erererunt : kapiřus : puemune** : / (6) **vesune : purtuvitu : asamař : ereçlamař** / (7) **aseçetes : karnus : iseçeles : et · vempesuntres** /

sent them at the statue to Pomonus Poplicus. Add the phallic portion of the same *struśla* cake. Then at the third side (of the altar) cut off three (pieces) as burnt-offerings; present them from the top (of the altar) toward the statue, to Vesona of Pomonus Poplicus. Likewise add a comb-cake. From the same bowls make the presentation to Pomonus and Vesona. At the altar and at the statue, with the uncut portions, the chopped meat, the *vempersondra*, and the

1 **aveitu**: for **ařveitu**. 5 **erererunt**: for **ererunt**.

with *erus* and with Pael. *aisis* '*dis*,' Marruc. *aisos* '*di*,' Mars. *esos* '*di*,' αἰσοί· *θεοὶ ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν* Hesych. Moreover the new interpretation gains support from IV 13 **ereçlu umtu** (for the practice of anointing cult-images see on IIa 38.) — **IV 1 eskamitu**: found only here and of uncertain sense, but it must surely indicate some part of the cake called **struçla**. For the form of the **struçla** see on VIa 59, especially the Festus passage. It is possible that the **eskamitu** may be the *panicula* by which the cake is surmounted and also that it was a phallic symbol, as Bü. suggested; see on **petenata** in 4 below. Pisani, who follows substantially the view of Bü., finds a fairly satisfactory etymology by analyzing as a pass. pcpl. of a stem *e-skamī-*, cf. Germ. *Scham* 'vergogna, parte pudenda.' If we adopt this view, the prefix *ē-* will be a prefix of perfectivation, as in L. *efficio*, the verb stem will be a denominative of a stem belonging to Walde-Pokorny's *(s)qombh-no-* (II, p. 601), with semantic development from 'verkürzt, verstümmelt' through 'Scham,' and the literal sense of **ē-skamīto-* will be 'that which has been made like a phallus.' — **aveitu**: the misspelling seems partly due to crowding at the end of the line. The correct spelling is shown by **ař-** 5 times, *ars-* 11 times, in addition to which **ar-** and *ar-* occur each once. — **3 supru sese**: the two instances of **testru sese** in III 23 and IV 15 are followed by **asa**, and it is not unlikely that **asa** is to be understood here also. The direction in which the presentation to Vesona takes place is therefore from the top of the altar toward the statue. — **Vesune Puemunes / Pupřiçes**: the name of the same goddess occurs in the same dative form *Vesune* on two dedicatory inscriptions: Co. 253 (from Antinum; Volscian or Marsian) and 264 = *C.I.L.*, I², 392 (from Ortona; Marsian-Latin). Of greater interest is the appearance of Vesuna on an Etruscan mirror from Volsinii (Gerhard-Körte, *Etruskische Spiegel*, V, 35) wearing the chiton, nebris, and diadem and carrying the thyrsus. Her hand rests on the shoulder of the god Fufluns, recalling not only the association of Ariadne and Dionysus, but also of Libera and Liber and of Vesona and Pomonus in the passage now under discussion; see above on III 26. That Vesona is closely related to Pomonus, probably as consort, is beyond doubt, and her name in every instance in the Tables, with the exception of IV 6, is followed by **Puemunes Pupřikes (-çes)**. The formation of the name is similar to that of L. *Bellona*, *Pomona*, but the **u** is not graphic for *o*; rather it shows the change *ō* > *ū*, since the inscriptions Co. 253, 264 cited

above, which are in the Latin alphabet, also have *u*. The root cannot be determined with certainty. For attempts to connect the word with L. *Vesta*, with *Vesuvius*, and with Gaulish *Vesontio* (Besançon), *Vesunna Petrocoriorum*, etc., see Bü., p. 162, Rosenzweig, pp. 98-9, Dev., p. 391. — **4 petenata**: practically all editors translate '*pectinatam*,' the phonological correspondence to L. *pecten* being like that of **Speture** to L. *specto*. The type of **struçla** offered in the present instance must therefore be a cake whose surface has been furrowed with an instrument shaped like a comb or rake. The evidence for *pecten* as a symbol of female sex was assembled by Bü., p. 161, where the notion of **eskamitu** as a symbolic offering to the god Pomonus is balanced against the **struhçla petenata** offered to the goddess Vesona; but it must be admitted that the evidence is not very strong: *pecten* is, among other meanings, the name of a type of shellfish or *concha*: Hor., *S.*, II, 4, 34 *pectinibus patulis iactat se molle Tarentum*; cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, IX, 101, 160, XI, 139, 267, XXXII, 150. *concha* is employed in Plaut., *Rud.*, 704, in an obscene pun: *te* (sc. *Venus*) *ex concha natam esse autumant, cave tu harum conchas spernas*. Cf. also Clem. Alex., *Protr.*, p. 23 Dind. *κτεὶς γυναικεῖος, ὅ ἐστιν, εὐφημῶς καὶ μυστικῶς εἰπεῖν, μόριον γυναικεῖον*. — **isek**: the equivalent *isec* is found in VIb 25, and the form must be derived by addition of the enclitic **-k** to **essē*, from the same pronominal stem as *esu*, etc. (**109 e**), with *i-* for *e-* perhaps through the influence of the stem *i-* represented in Latin by *is*, *id*. The adv. **isek** is probably one of manner, and a suitable translation is 'likewise, in like manner.' — **erererunt**: an error by dittography for **ererunt**. Not 'the same bowls (as previously),' for none have been previously mentioned in III - IV, but the same bowls are to be used in the offerings to both deities. Dev., p. 391, cites Roman evidence of attempts to discourage too close association of gods in cult practice: Livy, XXVII, 25, 8-9 [*pontifices*] *negabant unam cellam duobus diis recte dedicari ... neque duobus, nisi certis, deis rite una hostia fieri*; Val. Max., I, 1, 8 *cum M. Marcellus ... templum Honori et Virtuti ... consecrare vellet a collegio pontificum impeditus est negante unam cellam duobus diis recte dicari: futurum enim, si quid prodigii in ea accidisset, ne dinosceretur utri rem divinam fieri oporteret*. — **6 ereçlumař**: the actual reading is **ereçlamař**, but there are 5 instances of the acc. sg. in **-um -u**, and there is practically no possibility of **ereçlam** being a fem. adj. in agreement with **asam**. We must therefore follow the majority of editors in emending to **ereçlumař**. — **7 aseçetes**: this and the following line contain several difficulties, which may be partly solved by comparison with the instructions following the *porrectio* of the dog (IIa 29-32) and of the goat (IIb 17-21). In IIa 29-30 **aseçeta karne** was taken as 'the uncut portion,' and similarly in the present passage; but the use of the pl. **aseçetes karnus** here may show that the instruction has reference to both victims, the sheep and the pig (**sakre**), as Dev., pp. 392-3, suggests. The contrast between **vempesuntres** here and sg. **venpersuntra** IIa 30 strengthens this belief. — **iseçeles**: several editors including Br., Bk., and also Kent, *T.C.I.*, p. 37, take this to be an error for **iseçetes** = L. *insectis, non sectis*, since we seem to need a pcpl. like **aseçetes**; but despite the bad orthography of IV the reading of the bronze here can be defended. We have either a stem in *-li-* like L. *facilis* or in *-lo-* like the verbal adjectives which seem to be the basis of fut. pf. forms like *entelust*, **apelust**, and which in some of the Slavic languages became the normal preterit. Since the latter formations are both predominantly active and not passive, the analysis of **iseçeles** as a *-li-*stem is to be preferred. The passive sense may be seen in L. *fragilis*, *docilis*, and although **-is** *-is* is the usual dat.-abl. pl. ending of *i*-stems in

(8) **supes : sanes : pertentu : persnimu : arpeltu** / (9) **statitatu : veskles : snates : asnates : sevakne** / (10) **ereçluma : persnimu : puemune : pupřike : vesune** / (11) **puemunes : pupřikes : klavles : persnihmu** / (12) **puemune : pupřikes : et : vesune : puemunes** / (13) **pupřikes : pustin : ereçlu : inuk : ereçlu : umtu** / (14) **putrespe : erus : inuk : vestiçia : mefa : purtupite** / (15) **skalçeta : kunikaz : apehtre : esuf : testru · sese** / (16) **asa : asama : purtuvitu · sevakne :**

uncooked under-parts stretch forth (the hands), pray, approach (the altar), and stop. With the ceremonial vessels, wet and dry, pray at the statue, to Pomonus Poplicus and Vesona of Pomonus Poplicus. With the smearing-sticks pray to Pomonus Poplicus and Vesona of Pomonus Poplicus at their respective statues. Then anoint the statues (and distribute) the *erus* of each (deity). Then kneeling apart at the right side from the altar you yourself shall present at the altar from a cup a libation and a *mefa* cake, to Purdovif, and pronounce

12 pupřikes: for pupřike.

Umbrian, there is some support for -e- in **aves** Ia 1, **sevakne** IV 9. A Latin form *i(n)sicium, -a,* signifying some sort of chopped meat, is known from several literary passages: Varro, *L.L.*, V, 110 *insicia ab eo quod insecta caro, ut in carmine Saliorum est quod in extis dicitur nunc porrectum.* Macr., *Sat.*, VII, 8, 1 *isicium, quod ab insectione insicium dictum: amissione enim litterae postea quod nunc habet nomen obtinuit.* Donatus, *ad* Ter. Eun. 257 *fartores qui insicia et farcimina faciunt.* — **vempesuntres**: see on VIb 24, IIa 30. — **8 supes sanes**: for **supes** see on VIb 5. **sanes** is doubtless the etymological equivalent of L. *sanis*, but its precise sense is not clear. 'Whole, not cut up' is probably too close to the sense of **aseçetes** just above. It is safest therefore to take it with Dev. as equivalent in sense to '*crudis*,' that is, 'uncooked' ('*quae in ollis non reponuntur*'). — **pertentu**: see on IIa 30. It is apparently transitive there, but intransitive here, being followed by three other verbs **persnimu arpeltu statitatu**, which would not govern an acc. ***supa sana** as object. — **persnimu**: in IIa 29-31 the arrangement is different, and **persnihmu** is not one verb in a series quite as here. The instructions called for prayers in connection with the part of the victim called **ampeřia**, with the uncut portion, with the **venpersuntra**; then the placing of the under-parts at the side of the altar, then the prayer with the vessels, then the series **vestikatu ahtrepuřatu arpeltu statitatu**, the first two of which are not found in III - IV. — **arpeltu / statitatu**: on IIa 32. — **9 veskles snates asnates**: see on II a 19. The passage most closely parallel, however, is IIa 37, where the priest prays (to Hondus) at the Obelisk just as he prays here to Pomonus and Vesona at the statue. — **sevakne**: the omission of **-s** in the dat.-abl. pl. ending of *i*-stems is unusual, but the space at the end of the line here is insufficient for the word. Cf. also the dat. pl. forms **Klaverniie, Satane, Iuieskane, Peraznanie** in IIb 3-7. — **11 klavles**: see on IIa 33, where the sense is closely similar to that of the present passage. — **13 pustin**: this preposition has distributive force in IIa 25 **pustin ançif**, as has also **pusti** *posti* in several passages of Va, b. In the present passage, however, its force must be local, the more

so when we consider the resemblance between 'pray with the spoons (or sticks) behind the statue' and 'pray with the ceremonial spits beyond (that is, on the other side of) the obelisk; likewise with the spoons (or sticks)' IIa 35-6. — **umtu**: although there are certain differences of detail, the resemblance to IIa 29-38 continues: in 38 the Obelisk was to be anointed. — **14 putrespe**: taken by nearly all editors as gen. sg. equivalent to L. *utriusque*; that O.-U. pronouns form the masc.-neut. gen. sg. in *-eis*, unlike L. *eius*, *cuius*, etc. is known from O. *eizeis*, U. *erer*. There is no advantage, therefore, in taking **putrespe** as a plural dativus sympatheticus with Havers, *Gl.*, V (1914), p. 2. The interpretation of the passage suffers both from the uncertainty of the meaning of *erus* and from the lack of a verb. For the former see on VIb 16, where the view adopted is that the *erus* is a part of the victim distributed at the end of the ceremony to certain persons present. Since **putrespe erus** cannot be in apposition with the action indicated by the preceding **ereçlu umtu**, we must assume an ellipsis, probably of **teřtu**, but it will be no more startling than the omission of the verb in I a 18-9 **kapiř purtitaf sakref etraf purtitaf etraf / sakref**, II a 25 **tiu puni tiu vinu**, etc. — **vestiçia məfa**: the offering of the libation and cake to the god whose name is written **Purtupite** closely resembles that in honor of Fisovius Sancius in VIb 5 immediately after the sacrifice behind the Tesenacan Gate; cf. also VIIa 37. The resemblance is increased by the inclusion of **skalçeta kunikaz** = *scalsie conegos* 'from a cup, kneeling.' — **Purtupite**: hardly a corruption of **purtuvitu**, which would stand after, not before, **kunikaz**, as in 18, 20 below, and would be largely superfluous in view of **purtuvitu** in 16. Besides, a divine name in the dative case is needed here, and by almost any reasonable view we have the title of a deity in some way associated with **purtuvitu**, the verb used to designate the *porrectio* or second stage in the sacrifice, just as **Speture** IIa 5 is associated with augury (*spectio*), **Ahtu** IIa 10, 11, with oracular utterance, etc. It is natural to wish to keep the reading of the bronze, but there is difficulty both in the proposal of Bü., who compares L. *Seispitem*, *Sospitam*, with the root found in *potestas*, for the vowel-weakening which would have to be assumed is extremely rare in Umbrian, and in that of Pisani, who compares Skt. *pra-dāpita-*, pass. pcpl. of the causative of *dā-* 'give,' for there is scarcely any evidence of a causative in *-pey/pi-* outside of Indo-Iranian. We must therefore follow the majority of editors in emending to **Purtuvite**, an easy correction, since the only difference between **v** and **p** is in the presence or absence of the lower cross-bar. The most satisfactory solution will then be to derive **purtuvite** from a pres. pcpl. **por-dowintei* with unthematic inflection of the tense-stem, as if Latin had **audintī* instead of *audientī*, and with loss of *n* before **t** (= *d* from earlier *t*); cf. **52 d**, **60 a**. ***Purtuvif**, the god who assists in the *porrectio*, may be identical with Jupiter; so much at least seems possible from a comparison with III 22-3. — **15 apehtre**: similar to *ἀπέξ*, L. *ab* + *extra*, but, like O. **ehtrad**, formed from **ek-* without *s*. The priest in making the present offering kneels at a slight distance from the altar, at the right (**testru sese asa**), perhaps just outside the rectangular space which immediately encloses the altar, and makes his presentation toward the altar (**asama**). — **esuf**: see on IIa 40. — **16 sevakne**: the form can be acc. sg. or acc. pl., and it is not clear just what the *adfertor* declares to be **sevakne**. For a list of things to which the word is applied, see on IIa 21. It is not likely that we should assume an ellipsis of **tiçlu**, comparing the expression **tiçlu sevakni teitu (naratu)** III 25, 27. It is also unlikely that at this late stage in the ceremony the victims would be declared **sevakne(f)**. The word is never used with

sukatu : / (17) inumek : vesveça : persuntru : supu · ereçle : hule / (18) sevakne : skalçeta : kunikaz : purtuvitu : inuntek / (19) vestiçia : persuntru : turse : super : ereçle : sevakne / (20) skalçeta : kunikaz : purtuviθu : inumek : tehteřim / (21) etu : veltu : eřek : persuntre : antentu : inumek / (22) arçlataf : vasus : ufestne : sevaknef : purtuvitu / (23) inumk : pruzuře : kebu : sevakne : persnihmu / (24) puemune : pupřiçe : inumek :

(the offering) perfect. Then kneeling offer at the bottom of the statue a libation and *persondro* from a cup to Hula. Then kneeling offer at the top of the statue a solemn libation and *persondro* from a cup to Tursa. Then go select a cover; place it upon the *persondro*. Then offer ceremonial circlet-cakes from sealed vessels. Then with the remaining ceremonial food pray to Pomonus Poplicus. Then at the litter pray with ceremo-

17 **vesveça**: for **vesteça**. 18 **inuntek**: for **inumek** (𐌍𐌉 for 𐌌). 23 **inumk**: for **inumek**.

uestisia or *mefa*, but is used with **vinu** in IIa 39 and with the cakes known as **arçlataf** below in 22. It therefore seems not unreasonable to take it in the present passage as acc. pl. applied to both the libation and the cake. — **sukatu**: a *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* clearly equivalent in sense to *deitu* or *naratu*. It is most satisfactorily explained, with Bü., Pl., I, p. 276, and others, as cognate with **pru-sikurent**, L. *in-secе*, Gk. *ἔννεπε, ἔνι-σπε*, all from root **sek*^{w}- 'say.' The vowel-gradation and stem-type are the same as in Lith. *sakaũ*, *sakýti* 'say,' and the development of the labiovelar to **k** rather than to **p** may have resulted from the analogy of forms in which *k*^{w} stood before *t* and so lost its labial element. — **17 vesteça**: the bronze reads **vesveça**, which is undoubtedly an error. — **supu**: in obvious contrast with **super** in 19. Since the exact nature of the **ereçlu** is uncertain, there is some doubt as to whether the libation and *persondro* are offered at the foot of it or actually under it. If it is a table, the latter is possible. In any case the presentation under or at the foot of the **ereçlu** seems to symbolize the chthonic or infernal character of Hula, in contrast to Tursa, to whom in 19 a similar offering is made above the **ereçlu**. — **Hule**: known only from this passage, but the similarity between 17-18 and 19-20, where the offering is made to Tursa, makes it plain that **Hule** is the name of a deity. The name has been compared with *holtu*, a verb of uncertain sense in the curse in VIb 60 = VIIa 49; with *Horse* = **Huřie** in VIb 43 = Ib 2; and with the Roman god Helernus, cf. Ov., *F.*, II, 67-8 *Tunc quoque vicini lucus celebratur Helerni, qua petit aequoreas advena Thybris aquas*, with Frazer's note. Just as Prestota Šerfia and Tursa Šerfia are associated in the ceremonies of the lustration in VIb 57 ff., so Hula and Tursa are associated here, and just as the chthonic character of Prestota seems to be symbolized by the offering of dark-colored pigs (red or black) in VIIa 6 = Ib 27, so the chthonic character of Hula is symbolized by the fact that the offering is made to her below, to Tursa above, the **ereçlu**. On purely linguistic grounds it cannot be determined whether **Hule** is masc. or fem., but the great majority of editors take the deity to be female. — **19 Turse**: see on VIb 57-58. — **super ereçle**: the chiasmus **supu ereçle Hule ... Turse super**

ereçle places the last phrase in emphatic position. — **20 purtuviθu**: the spelling with the character ⊙ occurs also in **furfaθ** Ib 1 = *furfant* VIb 43. — **tehteřim**: almost certainly a cover to be placed over the *personaro*, as appears from the next line. Vetter takes it to be a cover used for baking the *persondro*, comparing Cato, *R.R.*, 76, 4 *testo caldo operito, pruna insuper et circum operito.* The root is that of L. *tego*, *tectum*, etc.; the stem-formation is uncertain, but is probably in *-dio-* or *-lio-*, if the conditions for the change *l* > **ř** *rs* in **55 b** are correctly formulated. — **21 veltu**: usually taken as related to *ehueltu*, **ehvelklu**, from the root of L. *volo*, *velle*, and translated *'deligito.'* Since **veltu** is preceded by **etu** 'go,' we may assume that there is no cover at the actual scene of the sacrifice but that the *adfertor* or some other official has to go a short distance and select one from the place where they are kept. The form **veltu** can as easily be supine as imv., and it makes little difference for the sense. Its position, however, is the decisive factor, for the supine *a(n)seriato* in VIa 1, 6, b 48 = Ib 10 stands before, not after, the verb of going. — **22 arçlataf**: nearly all editors explain with the help of Festus, 110 Li. *arculata dicebantur circuli qui ex farina in sacrificiis fiebant. Arculum appellabant circulum quem capiti imponebant ad sustinenda commodius vasa quae ad sacra publica capite portabantur.* We might be tempted to regard these cakes as crescent-shaped, but since the *arculum* in the second Festus passage was plainly a full circle, it is safest to assume the same for the *arculata* and the **arçlataf** of our passage. They may then have had some resemblance to doughnuts. — **ufestne**: quite obscure and without a clearly marked case-ending; but while **sevaknef** plainly goes with **arçlataf**, it is most reasonable to take **ufestne** with **vasus**. Bü. explained the word as a cognate of L. *offendix*, *offendimentum*, which are known from Festus, pp. 222-3 Li. as terms signifying the knot of the strap by which the *apex* was bound under the chin; further cognates would be Goth. *bindan*, Eng. *bind*, Skt. *badhnāti* all from root **bhendh-*, and the pIt. reconstruction of our stem would be **op-festo-no-*. The vessels then are to be sealed or otherwise fastened shut, and the suffix *-no*, the appearance of which following the participial stem has caused some embarrassment, probably serves to designate the *type* of vessel, where the participial stem alone would mean that they were actually closed. Bücheler's theory is substantially followed by most scholars and adopted, at least tentatively, here; Pisani, however, derives with the suffixes *-sti-no* from the stem of the dialectal word reflected in L. *offa*. — **23 pruzuře kebu sevakne**: best treated together as forming a single problem. **kebu** from any viewpoint is perplexing because of the unpalatalized **k** before **e**. If it is equivalent to L. *cibo*, as practically all editors assume, the two forms cannot have been independently inherited from a form with IE *bh* (which would give U. *f*) nor with IE g^w (which would give L. *v*); IE *b* is possible, but was very rare. Since there are no known etyma outside Italic, it is best simply to assume that U. borrowed the word from L., or that both borrowed from a common unknown source, the Umbrian borrowing having taken place so late that the **k** failed to change to **ç**. **pruzuře** in a formal sense is sometimes compared with *proseda* used by Plaut., *Poen.*, 266 in the sense 'prostitute'; cf. Festus, p. 252 Li. *prosedas meretrices Plautus appellat, quod ante stabula sedeant. Eaedem et prostibulae.* This is of little help in the explanation of our passage, but it is striking that the rare character **z** which occurs in **pruzuře** occurs also in **zeřef** = *serse* (L. *sedens*). **pruzuře** may then be derived from **prō(d)-sod-i* with the *o*-grade of the root **sed-*. It is generally translated *'praestante'* or *'prostante,'* the contrast being between the food which

kletra : veskles : / (25) vufetes : sevaknis : persihmu : vesune : / (26) puemunes : pupřçes : inumek : svepis : heri : / (27) ezariaf : antentu : inumek : erus : taçez : / (28) tertu : inumek : kumaltu : ařkani / (29) kanetu : kumates : persnihmu : esuku / (30) esunu : uřetu : tapistenu : habetu : pune / (31) frehtu : habetu : ap : itek : fakust : purtitu / (32) futu : huntak : piři

nial vessels of whichever type you wish to Vesona of Pomonus Poplicus. Then if anyone wishes, he may place the food-baskets upon (the litter). Then silently distribute the *erus*. Then grind (the grain). (The flute-player) shall play the accompaniment. Pray with the ground (grains). In connection with this ceremony load (the fire with incense). One shall have a caldron and have boiled mead. When he has done thus, (the ceremony) shall have been completed.

25 **persihmu**: for **persnihmu**. 26 **pupřçes**: or **pupřiçes**. 28 **tertu**: for **teřtu**.

is still on hand and that which has been presented in the *porrectio* or distributed as *erus*. The cakes may be included as well as the remaining parts of the victims, since the **mefa** was offered in 14 and the ***arçlatas** in 22, while the grinding does not take place until 28. — **24 kletra**: mentioned here for the last time. There is some disagreement with regard to the final disposition of the litter; it was burned according to Bü., p. 154, on the evidence of **esunu uřetu** 30; not so according to Vetter; Dev. suggests that it was simply taken apart. There does not seem to be sufficient ground for believing that it was actually burned. — **25 vufetes**: see on IIa 31, where it was suggested that **vufetes** may mean L. '*libitis*,' that is, that the exact type of vessel to be used is left to the discretion of the *adfertor*. This translation in the present passage seems not to involve any more difficulty than the usual '*votis*.' — **27 ezariaf**: very uncertain, but usually translated '*escas*,' or by some other derivative of the root **ed-* 'eat.' Ribezzo, II, p. 100 compares Festus, 54 Li. *escariae mensae quadratae vocantur, in quibus homines epulantur*, and translates 26-7 **inumek ... antentu** '*tunc si quis vult, epularias* (*mensas*) *imponito*.' Direct equivalence between **ezariaf** and *escarias* is impossible on phonological grounds, but **ed(e)s-āria-* will provide a satisfactory source for the Umbrian form. It is still not certain, however, just what is to be done with the **ezariaf**; according to Bü. they are to be added to the fire, just as at the funeral of Julius Caesar private individuals made offerings after the conclusion of the public sacrifices; according to Dev. they were simply to be added to the remains of the victims; according to Vet. they were food-baskets and were to be placed on the **kletra** and taken back to town without being a burden to their owners. I have adopted his explanation as being the most satisfactory, especially in view of **svepis heri**, which shows that the action is optional, or at least that no obligation rests upon any particular individual and that therefore it may not be a part of the ritual at all. — **erus taçez / teřtu**: there was already a distribution of the *erus* in 14, where, however, the sense is slightly obscure because of the ellipsis of the verb. Twofold distributions of the *erus* occur also in VIb 16, 16 (in honor of Fisovius Sancius), 38, 38 (Tefer Jovius), IIa 28, 32 (Hondus). — **28 inumek kumaltu**: the distribution of the *erus* is similarly followed by the grinding (of the cakes) in Ia 34 and IIa 9; compare also the complex procedure

in the ceremonies of the lustration, at VIIa 43-4 = Ib 34-7, where three sacrifices are in progress at once at stations a short distance apart. — **ařkani / kanetu**: both are *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*, yet the etymology and sense are reasonably clear. The Latin equivalent to **ařkani** would be **accinium*, while actually known cognates include *accano* Varro *L.L.*, VI, 75 and *accentus*, first known from Quintilian, I, 5, 22 as an apparent loan-translation of *προσῳδία* but found in Amm. Marc., XVI, 12, 36 of the sound of brazen trumpets. **kanetu** corresponds to L. *canito* but is with much better reason assigned to the second than to the third conjugation, since there is no plausible explanation of why a short vowel before the *t* would escape syncope. It is quite possible that **kanetu** represents an intensive type corresponding to L. *cantare* as **upetu** seems to correspond to *optare* (cf. **118 b**) but weakened in meaning just as Italian *cantare*, French *chanter* show weakening of the proper meaning of L. *cantare*. Who does the singing is not fully clear, but Bü. is probably correct in taking it to be a flute-player playing his instrument rather than the priest chanting a formula. The purpose of the music is presumably to drown out any other sounds which might be ill-omened. — **29 esuku / esunu uřetu**: the concluding portion of Table IV is almost hopelessly obscure in certain details, especially because of the uncertain nature of the article called **tapistenu** and the uncertain meaning of **frehtu**. The form **esunu** could be either acc. or abl., but the latter is preferable because otherwise **esu(ku)** would be left with no noun to which it could refer, and because **esunu** as acc. would not be a suitable object for **uřetu**. This verb in III 12 governs **pir**, and in the present passage we may have to assume an ellipsis of the same noun; Dev. in fact does assume such an ellipsis. On the etymology of **uřetu** and the possibility of its meaning 'load (the fire) with incense' see on III 12. If this view is correct, **oře-* in contrast to L. *olēre* < **odēre* must have a causative sense which however is not outwardly shown because the two characteristic marks of the IE causative, *o*-grade vocalism and stem in *-eye/o-*, were already present. The sense 'in connection with this sacrifice load (the fire with incense)' is more satisfactory than a mere instruction to kindle or heap up the fire, which would be quite pointless in view of the fact that the fire was kindled some time previously. — **30 tapistenu**: there is no sure hope of a solution, but since the view of **pune frehtu** adopted here is that it is boiled or warmed mead and not chilled mead (see on IIa 26 **frehtef**), **tapistenu** may be the name of the utensil in which it was heated. Bk., Muller, and Pis. translate '*caldariolam*,' deriving from the same root as L. *tepor*, etc. The **a** in place of the expected **e** must represent a reduced grade, and the explanation of the stem offered by Bü., with slight adaptations, is as good as any: "*a tepore fit tepesta ut ab honore honesta, exinde tepestinum ut ab sale salinum.*" — **pune / frehtu**: the mead was to be used for putting out the fire according to Bü., who compares Verg., *Aen.*, VI, 226-7 *postquam conlapsi cineres et flamma quievit, reliquias vino et bibulam lavere favillam.* He takes **frehtu** in the sense '*frigidam*'; of course either hot or cold mead could be used for extinguishing the fire, although there is no positive assurance that this was its purpose. The reasons for taking **frehtef** as 'boiled portions' were discussed in connection with IIa 26, and it is most reasonable to derive **frehtu** in the present passage from the same source. The use of the utensil called **tapistenu** and of the mead which was presumably heated in it must have served some ritual purpose which is not altogether clear. — **31-2 purtitu / futu**: the same expression occurs in IIa 43 at the end of the dog-sacrifice, with **esunu** immediately preceding, and **esunu** is possibly to be supplied in sense here; compare the optional use in

: **prupehast** : **eřek** / (33) **ures** : **punes** : **neiřhabas** /

When he has purified the jar, thereafter they shall not use any of that mead.

VIIa 45 *enom purditom fust* = Ib 38-9 **enu esunu purtitu fust**. — **32-3 huntak piři prupehast, eřek / ures punes neiřhabas**: this final sentence is not a part of the instructions for the sacrifice proper but a special precaution relating to the jar (or vat?) the purification of which was prescribed in III 3, on which see note. There are several difficulties of grammar and interpretation. For example, it is not fully clear whether **piři** and **eřek** are pronouns or whether **piři** is a conjunction and **eřek** an adverb, both being of course pronominal in origin; and there is some doubt whether the injunction is against the use of the jar or of the mead which is in the jar. It is almost certain, however, that **ures punes** is not dat. pl., as it was taken by Bü., Pl., and Bk., but gen. sg., as it is taken by Blum. and all subsequent editors, since *poni-* by almost any of the various meanings assigned to it is a noun of material and therefore unlikely to be used in the plural. As a gen. sg. it must be partitive. It will now be most unnatural to translate 'let them not use it for (any) of that mead' because the gen. would have to be a partitive indirect object or substitute for some phrase equivalent to L. *ad* + acc., and also because **ures** 'that' would have no clear reference; it could scarcely refer to the hot (?) mead in 30-1, since our present passage belongs in thought rather with the opening lines of III than with the conclusion of the sacrifice. The injunction is therefore against the use of the mead, presumably for private or secular purposes, and 'that mead' means the mead which is in the jar that has been purified. By this interpretation **eřek** as a pronoun becomes superfluous, and **piři** ... **eřek** must be taken as correlatives in the sense 'when ... thereafter.' The two verbs in the sentence call for brief explanation. **prupehast** is fut. of **pehatu** compounded with **pru-**, but the correspondence with **prumu pehatu** in III 3 should not lead us to assume that **prupehast** was erroneously written for **prumu pehast**, as A.-K. suggested. **neiřhabas** is from ***nei ařhabas** (**34**), pres. subjunctive of the verb equivalent to L. *adhibeo*. It is hard to see why the form might not be 2 sg. with indefinite reference 'do not use,' but practically all editors take it as 3 pl. (**-as** < *-ans*). The reference is still indefinite 'let them not use.' The shift from the second- to the third-conjugation type should be noted; cf. L. *tuor* beside *tueor*.

Va 1 - b 7. Two decrees of the Atiedian Brothers prescribing the duties of the *adfertor* in procuring the materials for the sacrifice, the remuneration to which he is entitled, and the penalty imposed on him if he has failed to perform his duties satisfactorily. The native alphabet is still used, but rhotacism of final *s* is regular when the *s* has not resulted from simplification of a consonant-cluster (**57 e**). For the relative age of V see Introduction, 17-19.

Va 2 eitipes: only here and in 14. It is almost certainly a 3 pl. pf. form of a verb whose approximate meaning is 'decreed, resolved,' but the etymology is uncertain. Probably from **eit(om h)ēpens 'ratum habuerunt'* with **eitom* < **aik^{w}-(o)tom* with early syncope followed by loss of labialization as in **49 d** (cf. O. **aíkdafed** 'decreed'); for **hēpens* see **124 c**. Devoto, p. 401, makes the verb a denominative to **eitūk^{w}o-* from the same root as O. *eitua* 'money' ('that which is official') but, unlike L. *manducare*, which he compares, our form would have to be a denominative of the 3rd conjugation, and moreover Pl., I, p. 134, on whom his suggestion is based, does not account satisfactorily for the present stem. — **plenasier urnasier**: variously interpreted. **plenasier** is apparently 'belonging to the full (year)' with reference to a festival occurring when the year is completed. **urnasier** was formerly taken to be connected with L. *urna* and understood either as a designation of a festival or as a reference to the use of urns in voting. Linde, *Gl.*, III (1912), p. 170, proposed to equate it with L. *ordinariis* ('regular'; *d* was lost after syncope of the vowel which originally followed it), and his new interpretation has been adopted by almost all subsequent editors. — **uhtretie**: for the **uhtur** or *auctor* see Introduction, 18, and note on III 4. The phrase *oht. C. U. Uistinie Ner. T. Babr.* on an Umbrian inscription from Assisi (no. 355 Co.), perhaps of the Sullan period, gives evidence of an eponymous dual magistracy of similar name there. In Tables Ib 45, IIa 44, however, the date is given by means of **kvestretie**. — **3 T. T. Kastruçiie**: the father's *praenomen* stands between the son's *praenomen* and *nomen*; so also in some of the minor Umbrian inscriptions and in Volscian and certain other dialects, in contrast to the arrangement in Latin, Oscan, and Paelignian, illustrated by the formula *Q. Marcius L. f. S. Postumius L. f.* (*C.I.L.*, I^{2}, 581 = Senatusconsultum de Bacchanalibus). See *A.J.P.*, LXXII (1951), p. 118. — **4 eikvasese**: only here and in 16, but cf. **eikvasatis** in III 24, 29. There is no clear etymology, but both words are probably related to L. *aequus*, and may have reference to *collegae* united in a *collegium*. **eikvasese** is in all probability abl. pl. + postposition **-e** < *en*. The **ei**, the failure to show *p* < *k^{w}* if connected with L. *aequus* (*qu* of labiovelar origin: cf. Skt. *ekas* and **37**), and the two instances of unrhotacized **s** all suggest that a very archaic form of the word has been preserved through ritual use. The expression ***fratruse Atiieřier** might rather be expected, but **eikvasese** may possibly designate a smaller group among the brothers, eligible for duty as *adfertor*. — **ri esune**: cf. L. *re divina facta*, Plaut., *Amph.*, 968, etc. For the dat. with **kuraia** see **143 b**. — **6 si**: for the use with **herte** see **152 c**. — **pure**: this relative form recurs in 25, 28, b 4 with masculine antecedent and clearly refers to persons. — **sis**: equivalent to *sins*, L. *sint*. It depends on **herte**, whose force carries over to the end of the sentence. — **6-7 sakreu / perakneu**: the expression probably includes not only victims, in which case we might expect the masc., but all materials for the sacrifice. For the spelling see **10 c**. For a discussion of the etymology and interpretation of **perakne** see on IIa 5. — **7-8 revestu puře teřte / eru emantur herte**: for the syntax see **138 c, 142 b, 152 c**. — **9 tribřiçu**: the abl. *tribirsine* is used in VIa 54 in connection with the propitia-

(Va 1) **esuk . frater : atiieřiur : / (2) eitipes : plenasier : urnasier : uhtretie / (3) t : t : kastruçiie : ařfertur : pisi : pumpe : / (4) fust : eikvasese : atiieřier : ere : ri : esune : / (5) kuraia : prehabia : piře : uraku : ri : esuna : / (6) si : herte : et : pure : esune : sis : sakreu : / (7) perakneu : upetu : revestu : puře : teřte : / (8) eru : emantur : herte : et : pihaklu : pune : / (9) tribřiçu : fuiest : akrutu : revestu : / (10) emantu : herte : ařfertur : pisi : pumpe : / (11) fust : erek : esunesku : vepurus : felsva : / (12) ařputrati : fratru : atiieřiu : prehubia : / (13) et : nuřpener : prever : pusti : kastruvuf : /**

The Atiedian Brothers resolved as follows at the regular annual festival during the *auctorship* of Titus Castrucius, son of Titus. Whoever shall be *adfertor* among the members of the Atiedian college, he shall look after the religious ceremony, and provide what is necessary for that ceremony, and decide what persons shall be present at the ceremony. He shall select the sacred articles and those brought from elsewhere. Whatever are offered, he shall examine whether any of them should be accepted, and when there is to be a triad of propitiatory offerings, he shall make an inspection in the field, whether they should be accepted. Whoever shall be *adfertor*, he shall provide vegetables in connection with the unburned sacrifices, at the discretion of the Atiedian Brothers, and at the rate of one new *dupondius* per head.

tory sacrifice of oxen. For the formation see **60 e**, **83**, and Lexicon. — **fuiest**: a future nearly equivalent to L.*fiet* (**120 a**, **123**). — **akrutu**: found only here, and very uncertain because the **k** may stand for either a voiceless or a voiced stop, and the **-tu** may be the same postpostion 'from' found in *scalseto*, *pureto*, etc., or else the imv. sg. ending. Earlier editors (Br., Bü., Pl., Bk.) took the first part as equivalent to L. *agro*, but Blum. felt the need for a verb before **revestu** to balance **upetu revestu** in 7, and proposed (p. 47) to derive **akrutu** as imv. from **akriūi̯ō*, translating '*saginato*' and assuming a connection with *peracri-* 'sehr fett.' Devoto, p. 404, made **akrutu** an imv. from **agrōtōd* as cognate with Aeol. *ἄγρημι* 'catch' and rendered '*sumito*,' but in *T.G.*, pp. X, 69, he reverts to the old interpretation and translates 'dal campo (luogo) d'origine.' For an altogether different interpretation see Ribezzo, I, p. 190 ('*deinceps*,' Ital. 'da capo,' with formation partly as in *ἄκροθεν*; followed by Pis. and Vet.). It is probably safest to follow the traditional view and maintain connection with L. *ager*, *agro*. The loc. ***akre** might appear more natural, but we may compare certain uses of L. *a*, *ab* with stationary value, as in *ab ea parte*, *ab oriente*, etc., and anticipation of **emantur** may also have been a contributing factor. — **11 vepurus**: found only here but almost certainly cognate vith **vepuratu**, IIa 41, and generally understood in the sense 'without fire.' Blum., p. 43, takes **esunesku vepurus** in the sense 'bei unreinen Opfertieren,' the **felsva** then being a fine which the *adfertor* must pay for his failure to procure proper victims; a satisfactory interpretation of **vepurus**, since its Greek analogue *ἄπυρος* can, like *ἄθυτος*, mean 'unfit for sacrifice,' but Blum. does not offer any etymology for **felsva**, nor does

he make it clear why a different term than the **muta mutu** of Vb 2, 3, 6 should have been used for a fine. It might be possible to find etymological support for his interpretation through Brugmann's connection with Goth. *fra-gildan* 'vergelten' (*Ber. kön. sächs. Ges. Wiss.*, 1890, p. 226), but he does not here cite Brugmann, nor does Brugmann himself take **felsva** to refer to a fine. Devoto, p. 407, translates '*verbis*,' connecting with ἔπος (< **wek*^{w}*os*), but apart from the sense it is difficult to see how the medial syllable would escape syncope (as in **29 j**); the traditional etymology gives us **u** < *u*, not **u** < *o*, and in any case the lack of syncope in this instance could be explained by analogy with the simplex *pur-*. For use of the term 'fireless' of vegetable offerings cf. Eur., fr. 912 (Nauck) σὺ δέ μοι θυσίαν ἄπυρον παγκαρπείας δέξαι πλήρη προχυθεῖσαν — **felsva**: found only here and variously interpreted. It seems best with Bü., Bk., Mu., (Pl. uncertain) to maintain connection with L. *holus* and to derive from pIt. **χeles-wā*, with *f* of dialectal origin as in L. *folus* (Paul. *e* Fest. 74 Li.) beside normal *holus*. — **12 aŕputrati**: too similar to L. *arbitratu* to be reasonably taken otherwise than as its equivalent, even though the **p** could stand for *p* as well as for *b*. R. G. Kent (*T.A.P.A.*, LVII [1926], p. 56, fn. 29, following a verbal suggestion of J. Whatmough, suggested contamination with the equivalent of L. *putare* 'think' in order to explain the *u* contrasting with L. *i*, an explanation which would not work if we should render '*adventui*' with Dev.; moreover the type of stem-formation here (*-tr-ātu-*) is not characteristic of abstract nouns from verbs of motion in Latin and was probably not used in making such nouns in Umbrian. Since the quantity of **felsva** to be furnished is fixed by the phrase **nuŕpener prever pusti kastruvuf** in 13, the sense of **aŕputrati fratru Atiieřiu** must be that the question whether to include **felsva** is left to the discretion of the brothers. — **13 et**: used here to introduce new matter defining more precisely what has preceded, in much the same way as Germ. *und zwar*. — **nuŕpener**: obscure, but a comparison with 17-18 **muneklu habia numer prever pusti kastruvuf** shows clearly that it has reference to money. Bücheler's *nullipondiis* must be discarded because it does not give a satisfactory basis for deriving **ŕ** from *l*. **ŕ** therefore must have come from *d* before syncope of the vowel which followed. Blum., pp. 44-5, connected the first member with L. *nūdus* in the sense 'ohne alle Abzüge,' Ital. 'netto,' the whole compound then meaning literally 'Nacktgewicht' and standing for *as librarius*. Devoto, p. 405, followed him in his interpretation but took the word to be a Roman borrowing, because of the difficulty of deriving **nuř-** from **nog*^{w}*edho-*, a difficulty perhaps not insuperable, since there is some possibility that the medial stop varied between IE *dh* and *d*, and **nuř-** < **nōdo-* < **nobdo-* < **nobedo-* < **nog*^{w}*edo-* might be admissible, although decidedly complicated. Pauli, *Altitalische Studien*, V (Hannover, 1887), p. 87, without discussion of the sense, derived from *novido-* as an extension of the stem equivalent to L. *novus*; there is no support for such a stem (L. *albidus* beside *albus* being rather a complement to *albeo* after the usual correspondence of adj. in-*idus* to vb. in *-eo*), but the suggestion of R. G. Kent, *Lang.*, IX (1933), p. 215, deriving from **novo-du-pend-iyo-* 'new *dupondius*,' may be the correct answer. If the currency reform assumed by such an interpretation was a local one, it is not possible to say more about it, but the reference may be to a change in the Roman standard. According to Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXIII, 44, the Roman *as* was reduced during the First Punic War to $\frac{1}{6}$ of its previous value, and again, in the dictatorship of Q. Fabius Maximus during the Second Punic War, to $\frac{1}{12}$ of its original value. The notion of the spread of Roman currency favors the second rather than the first

(14) **frater : atiieřiur : esu : eitipes : plenasier : /** (15) **urnasier : uhtretie : k . t. kluviier : kumnah/kle : atiieřie : ukre : eikvasese : atiieřier : /** (17) **ape : apelust : muneklu : habia : numer : /** (18) **prever : pusti : kastruvuf : et : ape : purtitu : /** (19) **fust : muneklu : habia : numer : tupler : /** (20) **pusti : kastruvu : et : ape : subra : spafu : fust /** (21) **muneklu : habia : numer : tripler : pusti : /** (22) **kastruvu : et : ape : frater : çersnatur : furent : /** (23) **ehvelklu : feia : fratreks : ute : kvestur : /** (24) **sve : rehte**

The Atiedian Brothers resolved as follows at the regular annual festival during the *auctorship* of C. Cluvius, son of Titus. At the Atiedian assembly on the Mount, among the members of the Atiedian college, when (the *adfertor*) has slain (the victims) he shall receive a donation of a single *nummus* per head, and when the presentation has been made he shall receive a donation of two *nummi* per head, and when the distribution has been made he shall receive a donation of three *nummi* per head, and when the brothers have dined the brother-superior or the quaestor shall call for a vote whether (the dinner)

of these changes, and the relative age of Table Va, which is in the native alphabet but shows rhotacism of final *s*, and contains the Roman official title **kvestur** = *quaestor* (line 23), may also be taken into account. — **prever**: for the sense cf. Aul. Gell., X, 20, 4 *veteres priva dixerunt quae nos singula dicimus*; Lucr., V, 733 *inque dies privos aborisci*, of the notion of the moon being destroyed and replaced by a different moon every day. — **kastruvuf**: the interpretation of this word, which has varied between '*fundos*' and '*capita*,' depends on a comparison of its four occurrences in Va with the recurring formula *nome nerf arsmo ueiro pequo castruo fri* in VIa, b, VIIa, and with O. *castrid* in line 8, *castrous* in line 13 of the Tabula Bantina (no. 28 Co.). The Oscan passages seem to show a contrast between criminal charges involving a fine (*eituas*) and those involving the death penalty; so Buck (p. 236, n. 1) interpreted the forms, but in his second edition he adopted '*in fundos*' in place of '*in capita*' and is followed by Pis., Vet., and Bott. The interpretation of the two Oscan forms as '*praedio, -i*' rather than '*capite, -is*' is ably defended by Vet., pp. 19-20, and it is natural to suppose that the Oscan and Umbrian forms have the same meaning; yet they may represent two different stages in the semantic evolution of the same word, whatever its precise etymology and semantic history were (cf., for example, the difference between the two etymological equivalents U. **karu** 'piece' and L. *caro* 'meat'). In any case the sense '*capita*' is more suitable in the present passage and also in the recurring formula *uiro pequo castruo*, where *uiro* (and hence also *pequo*) appears to be gen. pl. rather than acc. pl., so that the meaning '*fundos*' would scarcely fit; see on VIa 30. There remains the problem whether the meaning is 'per person' or 'per victim.' The last part of the sentence shows an awkward lack of balance, with its absence of any verb for the words following **prehubia**, but by any interpretation the force of **prehubia** must carry over to the end of the sentence. **nuřpener**, if taken in the sense suggested above, as the equivalent of the *dupondius* after the second reduction of the Roman *as*, may indicate the amount to be paid for vegetable offerings of all kinds in proportion to each victim; an amount considerably less than the monetary value of the victims them-

selves, if we may judge by the sum paid in recompense to the *adfertor* in 17-22 below.

Va 14 - b 7. A second and distinct decree, as appears not only from the repetition of the opening formula but also from the name of the new eponymous **uhtur**. Moreover the paragraph division is indicated on the bronze by a short horizontal line engraved under the characters **et : n** at the beginning of line 13. — **14-16**: nearly all editors end the first sentence with **Kluvier**, except Br. and Vet., who end with **Atiieřier**, and Dev., who ends with **ukre**. The view of the majority seems preferable because it is most natural for the sentence to end, as in 4, with the name of the magistrate by whose term of office the document is dated, and also because **ape apelust**, with nothing to indicate the setting, would make a very abrupt opening for the second sentence. In any case there can be no reasonable doubt that **eikvasese Atiieřier** belongs in the second sentence, as in 4 above. The use of this expression after **kumnahkle Atiieřie** might appear pleonastic, but **eikvasese** may indicate some sort of special board within the larger group, as suggested above on 4. That the banquet itself was attended, at least in theory, by all the brothers appears from **ape frater çersnatur furent** in 22 and from **mestru karu fratru Atiieřiu pure ulu benurent** in 24-5, 27-8. — **17-22**: after each of the three principal acts in the ceremony the *adfertor* is to receive a donation. For **apelust** see on IIa 20; for **purtitu fust** see Lexicon. Imv. forms of *subra spa-* are used in VIb 17 and VIIa 39, which are nearly identical in content, and in VIb 41, and are translated '*superiacito*' by Bk., Blum., Dev., Vet. Here, however, the reference seems to be to a distribution of the pieces of meat which are to be eaten by the brothers at the dinner, a sense which conforms well to the notion of spreading which is clearly visible in many of the cognates of U. *spahatu*. The change from the active **apelust** to the impersonal passives **purtitu fust** and **spafu fust** may, as Dev. (p. 409) suggests, indicate that in early times the actual slaying was performed by the *adfertor* while the *porrectio* and *superiectio* were left to others. — **17 muneklu**: generally translated '*munusculum*' or '*sportulam*' and roughly equivalent to L. *munusculum*, although the formation is not precisely the same; see **21 c, 75 b.** — **23 fratreks**: this official is mentioned below in the closely similar passage b 1 ff., where he is to call upon the brothers to fix the fine in case the *adfertor* has not performed his duty satisfactorily, and also in VIIb 1, 4, where he himself is directed to furnish twelve heifers at the time of the lustration of the people during his term of office, and to pay a fine of 300 *asses* if he fails to do so. The usual derivation of **fratreks**, equating it with L. **fratricus*, should be maintained, and the noun L. *vilicus*, which Bü. cites, is a reasonably close parallel so far as formation is concerned, despite Blum., pp. 82-3, who prefers to derive from **fratri-rex* with haplologic loss of a syllable. Apart from the fact that he is still obliged to assume a stem **frātreko-* as source of an analogical spread of the *c* into the oblique and derived forms (e.g. *fratreci*, *fratreca*, *fratrecate*, all in the Latin alphabet, where *c* cannot stand for the *g* of L. *rēg-*, etc.), *-rex* as second member of the compound is scarcely compatible with the notion of an office held for a fixed term (cf. VIIb 1 *sueso fratrecate*) in an organization which seems to have been essentially democratic; cf. Stegmann von Pritzwald, *Gl.*, XXI (1933), pp. 134-6. — **kvestur**: here and below in b 2 he may act in place of the **fratreks** as the official who calls for the vote, while **kvestretie** as designation of an eponymous office appears at the end of Ib and of IIa. Dev., p. 304, suggests that the **fratreks** and **kvestur** shared the duties previously performed by the **uhtur** alone, and it is reasonable to regard the **kvestur**, whose

: **kuratu** : **si** : **sve** : **mestru** : **karu** : / (25) **fratru** : **atiieřiu** : **pure** : **ulu** : **benurent** : / (26) **prusikurent** : **rehte** : **kuratu** : **eru** : **eřek** : / (27) **prufe** : **si** : **sve** : **mestru** : **karu** : **fratru** : **atiieř/iu** : **pure** : **ulu** : **benurent** : **prusikurent** / (29) **kuratu** : **rehte** : **neip** : **eru** : **enuk** : **fratru** / (Vb 1) **ehvelklu** : **feia** : **fratreks** : / (2) **ute** : **kvestur** : **panta** : **muta** : / (3) **ařferture** : **si** : **panta** : **muta** : **fratru** : / (4) **atiieřiu** : **mestru** : **karu** : **pure** : **ulu** : / (5) **benurent** : **ařferture** : **eru** : **pepurkure/nt** : **herifi** : **etantu** : **mutu** : **ařferture** / (7) **si** : /

(Vb 8) *clauerniur . dirsas . herti . fratrus . atiersir . posti . acnu* / (9) *farer . opeter . p . IIII . agre . tlatie . piquier . martier . et . sesna* / (10) *homonus . duir . puri . far . eiscurent . ote . a . VI . clauerni* /

has been provided in a satisfactory manner. If a majority of the Atiedian Brothers who have come there declare that it has been provided in a satisfactory manner, it shall be well. If a majority of the Atiedian Brothers who have come there declare that it has not been provided in a satisfactory manner, then the brother-superior or the quaestor shall call for an expression of opinion on the part of the brothers as to how great a fine shall be (imposed) on the *adfertor*. Whatever fine a majority of the Atiedian Brothers who have come there demand shall be (imposed) on the *adfertor*, so great a fine shall be (imposed) on the *adfertor*.

The (*decuvia* of the) Clavernii are required to give to the Atiedian Brothers each year four pounds of choice spelt from the Ager Tlatius of Picus Martius, and dinner for the two men who come to fetch the spelt, or else (to give) six

title was apparently borrowed from the Romans, as belonging to a later period than the **uhtur**, yet in 2 and 15 of the present table **uhtretie** is used to designate the eponymous magistracy. On the functions of the **kvestur**, **fratreks**, and **uhtur** in general see G. B. Pighi, *Studi in onore di Gino Funaioli* (Rome, 1955), p. 374, and on the relation of the magistracies to the whole problem of the chronology of the Tables see Introduction, 18. — **24 karu**: for the meaning of this word which is probably 'part, section' in all passages in the Iguvine Tables, never 'meat,' see on IIa 1. — **27 prufe si**: for this use of an adverb in the predicate in place of an adjective see **139 a**. It is easier to admit a usage of this kind in the present passage than to assume an *i*-stem adj. in contrast to L. *probus*, *-a*, *-um*, as Bü. did. — **b 2-3 panta muta ařferture si**: for the subjunctive see **152 d**. — **5-6**: for the syntax of the verbs see **152 c**.

Vb 8 - 18. This passage, which is in the Latin alphabet, must have been written some time after the completion of the preceding portion of the table, and was inserted in the blank space on the reverse of V, although its content has no direct connection with that of Va 1 - b 7. 8-18 is a pair of contracts between the Atiedian Brothers and two of the *decuviae*, whereby the latter are expected to make annual contributions of grain to the brotherhood and to provide dinner or its monetary equivalent to the men who come to fetch the grain, while the *decuviae* in return receive from the brotherhood at the festival of Semo certain portions of meat in addition to dinner or its equivalent. The *decuviae* to which the present passage applies are the Cla-

vernii and the Casilas. Since it appears from IIb 3, 6, that the Clavernii had been reorganized into two new *decuviae* and the Casilas into three, it is immediately clear why the latter must give one and a half times as much grain and receive one and a half times as much meat as the former. The extant tables contain no similar contracts between the brotherhood and the remaining *decuviae*; it is therefore a plausible assumption that such contracts formed the content of one of the lost tables. See Introduction, 16. — **8** *posti acnu*: in view of O. **akeneí**, which almost certainly means 'year,' it is probably best to maintain the translation 'each year' in the present passage, despite Devoto's objection (pp. 416-17 '*secundum moles*'). The fact that *posti acnu* stands before *farer opeter* but (in 12) after *pelmner sorser* may have no special significance beyond the desire to place *pelmner sorser* in a position of emphasis, since it contrasts with *cabriner*, while *farer opeter* is not a member of a contrasting pair. Moreover 'each year ... at the festival of Semo' is not necessarily a redundancy, since the former gives the frequency with which the contribution must be made, while the latter gives the proper time for making it. — **9** *agre Tlatie*: gen. sg., as appears from the parallel *agre Casiler* in 14. The field cannot be identified. Huschke, p. 473, compared *Dolates cognomine Salentini* in Pliny's list of Umbrian states (*N.H.*, III, 14, 19), but the improbability of *t* for *d* in the Latin alphabet and of syncope in the initial syllable is against such an identification. Most editors see a relationship with *Latium*, which is quite possible in an etymological sense, but, as Conway *s.v.* pointed out, it is unlikely that the reference is to Latium in the geographical sense. In the present case the name of the *decuvia* and the name of the field assigned to it do not agree, but in 13-14 below *Casilos* and *agre Casiler* agree except for the stem-variation. Since we have only the two contracts it is difficult to make generalizations, but it may be observed that among the names of the *decuviae* in IIb 2-7 six are of the type of L. *Arpinas, -atis*, while the remaining four are *gentilicia* like L. *Cornelii*, etc. Devoto, pp. 355, 413, suggests that originally all bore ethnics of the type in *-āti-* derived from territorial names, but that several later replaced these ethnics by gentile names of the type of *Claverniur.* — *Piquier Martier*: for the *peico* (L. *picus*) from which *Piquier* is derived see VIa 1 and note. Evidence of the association of the *picus* with Mars is found in Dion. Hal., *Antiqu. Rom.*, I, 14, 5 ἐν ταύτῃ [i.e. Tiora Matiana in the Sabine country] λέγεται χρηστήριον Ἄρεος γενέσθαι πάνυ ἀρχαῖον... παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἀβοριγίσι θεόπεμπτος ὄρνις, ὃν αὐτοὶ μὲν πῖκον, Ἕλληνες δὲ δρυοκολάπτην καλοῦσιν, ἐπὶ κίονος ξυλίνου φαινόμενος...; Plin., *N.H.*, X, 40 ... *pici Martio cognomine insignes et in auspicatu magni.* In Table Vb not only the *agre Tlatie* of 9 but also the *agre Casiler* of 14 are in some manner sacred to Picus Martius. The position of sanctity occupied by this bird is one of the most striking examples of totemism in early Italic religion. — **9** *ṡesna* ... **10** *ote a. VI*, repeated in 15: there are several difficulties. The *decuvia Casilos* as a result of its threefold division furnishes a higher quota of grain and receives a higher allotment of meat than the Clavernii, yet both furnish dinner for two men and in turn receive the same from the brotherhood, as shown by the identity of the sum of money set as the equivalent of the dinner. The value itself has been a second source of difficulty, because it appears excessive when compared with certain passages in Greco-Roman literature: Polybius, II, 15 (with reference to Cisalpine Gaul) ποιοῦνται γὰρ τὰς καταλύσεις οἱ διοδεύοντες τὴν χώραν ἐν τοῖς πανδοχείοις, οὐ συμφωνοῦντες περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐπιτηδείων, ἀλλ' ἐρωτῶντες πόσου τὸν ἄνδρα δέχεται. Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ παρίενται τοὺς καταλύτας οἱ πανδοχεῖς, ὡς, ἱκανὰ πάντ' ἔχειν τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, ἡμιασσαρίου...; Mar-

(11) *dirsans . herti . frater . atiersiur . sehmenier . dequrier* / (12) *pelmner . sorser . posti . acnu . uef . X . cabriner . uef . V . pretra* / (13) *toco . postra . fahe . et . sesna . ote . a . VI . casilos . dirsa . herti . fratrus* / (14) *atiersir . posti . acnu . farer . opeter . p . VI . agre . casiler . piquier* / (15) *martier . et . sesna . homonus . duir . puri . far . eiscurent . ote . a . VI* / (16) *casilate . dirsans . herti . frateer . atiersiur . sehmenier . dequrier* / (17) *pelmner . sorser . posti . acnu . uef . XV . cabriner . uef . VIIS . et* / (18) *sesna . ote . a . VI* /

asses. The Atiedian Brothers are required to give to the Clavernii at the decurial festival of Semo each year ten portions of pork and five portions of goat-meat, the former pickled, the latter roasted, and dinner or six *asses.* The (*decuvia*) Casilas is required to give to the Atiedian Brothers each year six pounds of choice spelt from the Ager Casilus of Picus Martius, and dinner for the two men who come to fetch the spelt, or else (to give) six *asses.* The Atiedian Brothers are required to give to the (*decuvia*) Casilas at the decurial festival of Semo each year fifteen portions of pork and seven and a half portions of goat-meat or six *asses.*

tial, IV, 68 *invitas centum quadrantibus et bene cenas.* / *Ut cenem invitor, Sexte, an ut invideam*? Devoto suggests (p. 405) that the price of the dinner here, and also the fine imposed on the *fratricus* in VIIb 4, belong to the period after the reduction of the *as* to $\frac{1}{24}$ of its original value; that is, after 89 B.C. according to the usual interpretation of Pliny, *N.H.*, XXX, 44. In any case there can be no doubt of the general sense of the passage. Among individual words *eiscurent* alone is obscure, and all editors translate it by *arcessierint* or some verb of fairly similar meaning. — **11** *frater*: the *T* and the *E* are separated by a space sufficient for one letter, and it is clear that the wrong letter had been originally inscribed after the *T* and then erased. The letter was apparently an *R*, and the mistake may have been induced by the oblique case-forms or possibly even by the Latin nom. pl. — **11-12** *sehmenier dequrier* / *pelmner sorser ... cabriner*: cf. IIb 1 **semenies tekuries sim kaprum upetu**, with note. — **12** *uef*: twice here and twice in 17 below. It indicates some unit of measure by weight or volume, but its etymology and precise meaning are uncertain. Thurneysen (cited by Pl., I, p. 288) suggested that it may be an abbreviation for **uefraf*, the equivalent of L. *libras*, and is followed by several recent editors, but the change *l-* > *u-* **v-** is not surely attested before front vowels (see **55**, n. 2). Blum., p. 76, equated *uef* in form with L. *vehes*, *-is* 'wagon-load' and in sense with ON *vett*, *væt* 'weight.' Although, as Blum. points out, there is no serious objection to admitting one unit of measure, *p.*, for grain and another for meat, it seems safest to assume a root-stem **weif-* from the root *widh-* of L. *di-vido*, after Pl., I, pp. 288, 455, II, p. 182, Buck, § 136 a. While translating 'portions' we may understand *uef* to be a technical term indicating a definite quantity which we cannot identify. — **12-13** *pretra ... postra*: these adjectives, which must be in agreement with *uef*, show its gender to be fem. Certain specifications are given for the pork and goat-meat here but are omitted in 17 below, either because they applied only in the case of the Clavernii or because having once been stated they were assumed to apply to both. In the word *pretra* the second *R* was at first omitted and then inserted above the line between the *T*

and the *A*. — **13** *toco*: the ending, and consequently the syntax in the sentence, are not clear, but there is little doubt that the word is somehow connected with Gallo-Latin *tucca*, *tuc(c)etum*, and also *taxea*: Schol. Pers., XI, 42 *tucceta apud Gallos Cisalpinos bubula dicitur condimentis quibusdam crassis oblita ac macerata*; *et ideo toto anno durat. Solet etiam porcina eodem genere condita servari*; *Corp. Gloss. Lat.*, II, 202, 52 *tucca· καταχυμα ζωμον*; Isid., *Orig.*, XX, 2 *taxea lardum est gallice dictum*; *unde et Afranius in Rosa*: *Gallum sagatum pingui pastum taxea*. — *fahe*: here it is not possible to say anything with certainty. The ending *-e* could indicate an adverb in *-e* or an acc. pl. of an *i*-stem adj. like *seuacne* in VIIb 1. Bü. translated '*confectas*' and conjectured an *i*-stem **fahis* related to **façia**, L. *facio*, as L. *vehes*, *-is* to *veho*, but the medial *h* is an obstacle, since we should expect *ṡ*, and it is doubtful whether an uncompounded form of this sort would have developed the meaning 'preserved, pickled (meat).' Pl., I, pp. 281, 439-40, 461, suggests connection with *φώγω* 'roast,' Germ. *backen*, which would mean that the meat was to be roasted before being presented to the Clavernii. Another possible connection is with L. *fāgus*, Gk. *φηγός*, the sense being 'beech-cured (ham)' in contrast to *toco* as 'fat bacon'; cf. Whatmough, *Dialects of Ancient Gaul*, 181; but here again the Umbrian *h* is a difficulty.

(VIa 1) *este . persclo . aueis . aseriater . enetu . parfa . curnase . dersua . peiqu . peica . merstu . poei .*

(The *adfertor*) shall commence this ceremony by observing the birds, the *parra* and crow in the west, the woodpecker

VIa 1 - b 47 (= Ia 1 - b 9). Purification of the Fisian Mount. For an outline of the content of the present version, as well as of that of Table I, see Introduction, 13, and for the relation between the two versions see Introduction, 18. Both describe the same ceremony: the same victims, in groups of three, are offered to the same gods at the same three gates and at two additional stations, but the account in the later tables is far more detailed; not only are a number of specific instructions found in VI which were omitted in I, especially in regard to the taking of the auspices, but the prayers accompanying the sacrifices, which are completely lacking in I, are presented in full in VI.

VIa 1 - 18 (= Ia 1 - 2). Taking of the auspices, which must be completed before the beginning of the purification proper. In Ia the instruction for taking the auspices was compressed into the first line and a half, with no specifications beyond the use of the terms **pernaies pusnaes**, while VIa specifies the birds to be watched, the formulas to be repeated by the *adfertor* and the augur, and the demarcation of the *templum*. Despite the very considerable amount of study that has been devoted to this whole passage, many details remain obscure. Especially is this true in the list of landmarks for defining the *templum*. A summary of conclusions in regard to the *auspicium* is given below after the note on 14. — **1** *persclo*: best understood as including the augural ceremony as well as the purification itself; at least this seems likely in view of the fact that VIa enters immediately into detailed instructions for taking the auspices. The ablative absolute then means 'by observing the birds' rather than 'after observing the birds'; for this usage cf. Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 45 *damnum Caesar ad gloriam vertit, exsolutis domuum et insularum pretiis*; *Hist.*, II, 85, *pessimum facinus audet, misso centurione ad interficiendum Tettium Iulianum.* — *aueis*: for the exceptional importance attached to birds in augury among the Umbrians cf. Cic., *Div.*, I, 41, 92 *Phryges autem et Pisidae et Cilices et Arabum natio avium significationibus plurimum obtemperant, quod idem factitatum in Umbria accepimus.* In Roman augural practice the birds were classified according as they gave omens by flight or by voice: Festus, p. 308 Li. *Oscinum tripudium est, quod oris cantu significat quid portendi, cum cecinit corvus, cornix, noctua, parra, picus ... Oscines aves Ap. Claudius esse ait, quae ore canentes faciant auspicium, ut corvus, cornix, noctua: alites quae alis ac volatu; ut buteo, sanqualis, aquila, immulsus, vulturius: picam aut Martius Feroniusque et parra et in oscinibus, et in alitibus habentur* [*picam aut* W: *pica aut* X; ed. princ.: *picus autem* Aug.: fort. *pica avis*]. Comparison is often made between the list of birds in VIa 1 and Plaut., *As.*, 259-61 *impetritum, inauguratumst: quovis admittunt aves, / picus et cornix ab laeva, coruos, parra ab dextera / consuadent*, in which the similarity to Table VIa 1 is striking enough to suggest the possibility that Plautus had in mind the augural practice of his native Umbria. — *enetu*: the logical subject is the *adfertor*, although the actual observation of the birds is the duty of the augur; both have a part in the ceremony, however. — *parfa*: this bird has not been identified with certainty. It agrees, at least in an etymological sense, and presumably also in a zoological sense, with L. *parra*; any other hypothesis would be highly improbable in view of the Plautine passage, in which all modern editors adopt *parra*, the reading of B^2, in place of the *porro*

of the majority of mss. But the identity of the *parra* itself is unknown, and etymological comparisons, as, for example with ψάρ 'starling,' OHG *sparwari* 'sparrow-hawk, Sperber, épervier,' will not give the answer. The bird in Hor., *C.*, III, 27, 1 *Impios parrae recinentis omen / ducat* has been identified as an owl (so Orelli, Ussani, Wickham, etc.) or as the lapwing (O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, II [Leipzig, 1913], p. 178), but with slight probability. Devoto's identification of the bird as the green woodpecker (picchio verde, *T.G.*, p. 29) has a better chance of being correct, but if *Feronius* in the corrupt Festus passage cited above is a second variety of *picus* distinguished from the *picus martius*, it may easily be the green woodpecker, and the *parra* immediately following must be a different bird. The translation 'jay' is here offered with no great confidence in its correctness, but partly as a result of the elimination of several theories which appear less probable, and partly in view of the fact that the comparative size and striking appearance and shrill cry of the European jay (Garrulus glandarius) might make it suitable for inclusion among augural birds. Thomas Chase, *The Works of Horace* (Philadelphia, 1884) on Hor., *loc. cit.*, suggested identification of *parra* with the jay. For a fuller discussion see *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson*, Vol. II (St. Louis, 1953), pp. 469-76. — *curnase*: like L. *cornix*, which differs only in the vowel of the second syllable, this is the crow (probably Corvus cornix cornix). — *dersua*: see below after the note on *peica*, where *dersua* and *merstu* are treated together. — *peiqu*: like Plautus' *picus*, this is generally taken to be the large black European woodpecker Dryocopus martius martius, which was very prominent in early Italic religion and mythology (see on Vb 9). — *peica*: evidently the magpie (Pica pica pica); its absence from the passage cited from the *Asinaria* above, if Plautus is thinking of Roman rather than Umbrian augury, may be significant when observed in connection with Pliny, *N.H.*, X, 78 *nuper et adhuc tamen rara ab Appennino ad urbem versus cerni coepere picarum genera quae longa insignes cauda variae appellantur.* — *dersua ... merstu*: the syntax presents some difficulty at this point. In place of the plural adjectives which we should expect with the two pairs of nouns we have singular adjectives, and *merstu* agrees not with *peica* but with the more remote *peiqu*. Bréal suggested that the second bird in each pair was merely an alternative to the first. In favor of his suggestion is the obvious fact that the greater the number of birds which must be seen, the greater the difficulty of obtaining the proper auspices required as a condition for the ceremony which was to follow. Bréal himself, however, did not use this argument, and it is not as cogent as it might at first appear, since there is some slight possibility that birds were caught and kept in order to be released at the time of the taking of the auspices; cf. Goidànich, *Hist.*, VIII (1934), p. 256, where however no actual evidence is given. So far as the use of the singular in place of the plural is concerned, it would be quite natural if the conjunction to be supplied in the two pairs of bird-names is *or* rather than *and*; yet, while the omission of *et* is extremely frequent (**137**), there are no known instances of the omission of the disjunctive *ote*. The explanation, however, may be that *ote* is avoided because the *parfa* and *curnase* are not mutually exclusive; either one or both, in the proper situation, will provide a satisfactory omen, and similarly with the *peiqu* and *peica*. The sense may then be similar to that in expressions where English occasionally makes use of the combination *and/or*. *dersua* and *merstu* themselves have defied all attempts at interpretation. The former, in addition to its 12 occurrences in Table VI, is found as **tesvam**, with **parfam**, in Ib 13, while *merstu* occurs only in VIa. **mersuva** in III 11, 28 may be, but is not necessari-

angla . aseriato . / (2) eest eso . tremnu . serse . arsferture . ehueltu . stiplo aseriaia . parfa . dersua . curnaco dersua / (3) peico . mersto . peica . merst . a . mersta . auuei . mersta . angla . esona . arfertur . eso anstiplatu /

and magpie in the east. The one who goes to observe the messengers, sitting shall call out from the tent to the *adfertor*: "Demand that I may observe a *parra* in the west, a crow in the west, a woodpecker in the east, a magpie in the east, in the east birds, in the east divine messengers." The *adfertor* shall

ly, related to it. *dersua*, according to an etymology proposed by Panzerbieter, *Quaestiones Umbricae* (Progr. Meiningen, 1851), p. 11, followed by Bü., Pl., I, pp. 406-7, Buck, is from **ded-es-wo-*, adj. to an *es*-stem built on the reduplicated root of the verb 'give.' *merstu* according to Bü., Pl., and Buck, following Ebel, *K.Z.*, IV (1855), p. 200, VII, pp. 271-2, is from **med-es-to-*, with the same root contained in *mers* **meřs**, O. **med-díss**, L. *modus*, *modestus*, etc. The omens then would be of two degrees of value: *merstu*, in Latin *iusto*, *allowing* the ceremony to be undertaken, and *dersua*, in Latin *prospera*, actually *favoring* the undertaking. — *aves quae non admittant tantum sed secundent* (Bü., p. 43). This interpretation of the words has a certain advantage when applied in 3 to *mersta auuei*, *mersta angla esona*, where there is no direct contrast with a *dersua* and it is difficult to understand *mersta* in a local or directional sense. Yet for several reasons it seems advisable to abandon it. In the first place **de-d-es-wo-* is not a probable formation nor one for which good support can be found in cognate languages. Moreover there is no good evidence of a distinction between omens which merely gave permission and those which gave encouragement, nor do the etymologies adopted as a basis for this interpretation really justify giving a stronger sense to one adjective than to the other. The corresponding passage in Ia 1-2 uses the terms **pernaies pusnaes**, regularly translated *anticis posticis*, and it seems highly probable that in VIa also the terms used of the birds should refer to direction, although there is no serious objection, despite Bréal, to taking *dersua*, *merstu* in reversed correspondence to **pernaies**, **pusnaes**, if the etymologies adopted are more satisfactory under this arrangement. How far Umbrian and Roman augural procedure agreed is uncertain, but if there is to be any hope at all of understanding this portion of Table VIa, we must take account of Latin passages bearing on the matter. The Plautine passage cited above seems to assume that a Roman audience would understand the allusion to the birds on the left and right. There is almost no chance, however, that *dersua* means 'right,' despite Blum., p. 77, who connects it with Goth. *taíhswa* '*δεξιός*' and derives it from **deks-wo-*. The meanings 'right' and 'left' belong to *destre* and *nertru* respectively. *dersua* and *merstu* then must refer to points of the compass or to other contrasting directions, as **pernaies pusnaes** in Ia 2 do. In Roman augury the best evidence is for southward facing or for eastward facing. Literary passages which give support to the notion that the augur faced south include: Varro, *L.L.*, VII, 7 *Eius templi partes quattuor dicuntur sinistra ab oriente, dextra ab occasu, antica ad meridiem, postica ad septentrionem.* Festus 244 Li. *Sic etiam ea caeli pars, quae sole illustratur ad meridiem, antica nominatur, quae ad septentrionem postica; rursumque dividuntur in duas partes orientem atque occidentem.* Passages which support eastward facing include: Livy, I, 18, 6-7 *inde ab augure ... deductus* (sc. *Numa*) *in arcem in lapide ad meridiem versus consedit. augur ad laevam eius capite velato*

sedem cepit, dextra manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellarunt. inde ubi prospectu in urbem agrumque capto deos precatus regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dextras ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septentrionem esse dixit. Isid., *Etym.*, XV, 4, 7 *locus designatus ad orientem a contemplatione templum dicitur, cuius partes quattuor erant, antica ad ortum, postica ad occasum, sinistra ad septentrionem, dextra ad meridiem spectans.* The fact that there were two conflicting orientations appears very plainly through the use of *antica* for the south by Festus but for the east by Isidore. The confusion may arise partly from the fact that two officials took part in the taking of the auspices, in Rome the *rex* or other official and the augur, in Iguvium the *adfertor* and the official *poei angla aseriato eest.* But apparently there were actually two or more systems in use in Italy, reflecting not only the varying purposes for which augury was used, but also an overlapping of different cultures. The view adopted here is based on the interpretation which Devoto proposed (pp. 143-4) for the two adjectives on etymological and other grounds. *dersua* he derives from **drotsvo-*, cf. L. *dorsum* < **dr̥tso-*; since there is no certainty as to the etymology of *dorsum* itself, a safe procedure may be to maintain the connection between *dersua* and *dorsum* but to abstain from equations outside of Italic. *-er-* and *-or-* may represent an ablaut-variation, or *-er-* may be from *-ro-* (**32 d**) if either the L. *-or-* or the U. **-ro-* resulted from metathesis. The adjective *dersua* then is to L. *dorsum* as *annuus* to *annus*, a hypothesis which receives some support from the *-uo-*stem indirectly attested by L. *dorsualis*. It is to be assumed that *dersua* passed through the same semantic evolution as L. *posticus*, which became 'north' (as in Festus) or 'west' (as in Isidore). Devoto takes *merstu*, with Goth. *maúrgins* '*tempus matutinum*,' etc., from the root **mer-k-* with its variations (cf. Pokorny, *Idg. etym. Wb.*, p. 734). It is then comparable to Ger. *Morgenland* in both origin and sense, and it is apparent that the orientation assumed is an eastward one; on the relation of the *templum* to the topography of Iguvium see below in the summary of 1-18. — *poei angla aseriato eest*: since the augur must surely have had some official title, the circumlocution here is probably an instance of tabu, as Devoto (p. 145) suggests. This reluctance to name the augur (for fear of being overheard by the birds?) has a rough similarity to the hunter's tabu in certain northern European languages against the name of the bear, which has led to such substitutes as Russ. *medvedь*, literally 'honey-eater.' — **2** *tremnu*: possibly a local abl. with *serse*, but since this sense would normally call for the locative, it is better, with most editors, to take it as abl. of place whence depending on *ehueltu*, despite the word-order. Precisely what sort of structure the *tremnu* was cannot be determined, but it was without doubt similar to the Roman *tabernaculum* mentioned in Cic., *N.D.*, II, 4, 11; *Div.*, I, 17, 33; II, 35, 75; Livy, IV, 7, 3, used in the taking of the auspices. — *ehueltu*: cf. **ehvelklu** 'choice, expression of opinion.' Both contain *eh-* (: L. *e*, *ex*) + *wel-*, the root of L. *volo*, *velle*, with semantic development 'wish > select > request,' in the case of the verb. — *stiplo*: separated from *ehueltu* by a space equal to about one letter and containing a point. *stiplo* is no longer taken as an infinitive depending on *ehueltu*, with Hu., Bü., Pl., but by most editors as pres. imv., beginning the formula in oratio recta. The subjunctive *aseriaia* must then be 1 sg., although the form is ambiguous because of the lack of a final consonant. — **3** *mersta*: the second instance of *mersta*, which is not in direct contrast with *dersua*, is somewhat awkward when taken as 'in the east,' but it may represent a provision that any birds beside those already specified may be counted as good omens if

(4) *ef . aserio . parfa . dersua . curnaco . dersua . peico . mersto . peica . mersta . mersta . aueif . merstaf* / (5) *anglaf . esona . mehe . tote . iioueine esmei . stahmei . stahmeitei . sersi . pirsi . sesust . poi . angla* / (6) *aseriato . est . erse . neip . mugatu . nep . arsir . andersistu . nersa . courtust . porsi . angla . anseriato* / (7) *iust . sue . muieto . fust . ote . pisi . arsir . andersesusp disleralinsust* /

(8) *uerfale . pufe . arsfertur .*

thus demand: "There observe a *parra* in the west, a crow in the west, a woodpecker in the east, a magpie in the east, in the east birds, in the east divine messengers, for me, for the state of Iguvium, for this established ordinance." While he who goes to observe the messengers sits in the seat, during that time no one shall make a noise nor shall any other person sit in the way until he who has gone to observe the birds returns. If a noise is made or any other person sits in the way, he will make (the ceremony) invalid.

The *templum* where the *adfertor* re-

7 *andersesusp*: for *andersesust*.

seen in the east, while *mersta angla esona* further provides for other omens than birds; for example, lightning (cf. Dev., p. 150). The number of admissible omens then is less restricted than at first appears. — *anstiplatu*: the compound in contrast to *stiplo* above may show "action déterminée": 'conclude an agreement'; but the distinction is no less subtle than when we compare L. *stipulor* and *instipulor* (the latter in Plaut., *Pseud.* 1069, *Rud.*, 1381). — **4** *ef aserio*, etc.: *aserio* is a pres. imv. similar in formation to *stiplo* in 2. The augur's response comes below in 17-18, where the verb required to complete the elliptical sentence might be a form of *aserio*. —**5** *mehe*, etc.: for these datives signifiying the objects of divine favor cf. Cato, *R.R.*, 141 *duis bonam salutem mihi domo familiaeque nostrae*; Livy, XXIX, 27, 2 *mihi populo plebique Romanae, sociis nominique Latino*. — *tote*: there are more than 130 examples in the Tables, mostly accompanied by some form of *Iioueine*. It signifies 'state' in the sense of the total citizen-body. Cf. O. *touto* similarly used in the Tabula Bantina (Co. 28.) — *stahmei* is almost certainly from **stā-* 'stand,' and most translate by dat. *statui*, although it is not quite clear in what sense; *stahmeitei* is without doubt pcpl. of a denominative verb from the former, in agreement with it and making up a *figura etymologica*. Devoto's '*in hac superficie extensa*' is very tempting, since in some respects a loc. *stahmei* understood as a designation of place gives a better sense than a dat.; yet there are certain objections: 1) the ending *-ei* is more easily taken as dat., whether of an *o-* or of an *i*-stem: cf. dat. *Tefrei* VIb 22, but loc. *ocre* VIa 26, 36, b 29, and see **20, 93 b, c, 97**; 2) *esmei stahmei stahmeitei* as dat. gives a construction fully coordinate with the datives which precede; 3) it is difficult to understand *stahmei* of the augural *templum*, since *uerfale* in 8 is used in this sense. We therefore translate 'for this established ordinance,' as suggested by R. G. Kent, *Lang.*, XIV (1938), p. 215. Dev., p. 151, distinguishes the use of the dat. in such formulas from the abl. + *-per*: "postpositionis *-per* ope ea indicantur quibus actiones sacrae prosunt; casus dativus ea indicare videtur

'quorum nomine' actiones peragantur." *esmei stahmei stahmeitei* as dat. may then have an underlying sense 'for compliance with this established ordinance.' — **5-6** *sersi pirsi sesust*, etc.: injunction against any disturbance during the taking of the auspices. The pronominal forms *pirsi ... erse* are here used with conjunctional and adverbial value respectively. — **6** *mugatu*: although assumed to be related to L. *mugire*, it must refer to noise of any kind, and the prohibition must refer not only to the augur but the *adfertor* and any other individual (hence the singular) in the vicinity. — *arsir*: the principal source of difficulty in the passage. Bü., Pl., Bk., Blum., and Vet., and also Ernout-Meillet[3], p. 40, equate it with L. *alius* (see **32 a**). Certain other scholars, however, take it as a dat. pl.: Br. in the sense *'precationibus'* (?) as cognate with ἄρᾱ, Dev., Pis. as *'dedicationibus,'* cognate with *arsie*, after Brugmann, *Ber. sächs. Ges. Wiss.*, 1911, p. 173. Admittedly the lack of a *pisi* before the first *arsir*, to correspond to *pisi arsir* in 7, is surprising if *arsir* is 'other,' but the lack is equally strange by the other interpretation 'no one shall make a noise or interrupt the ceremonies,' because in any case the subject of the two imvs. must be indefinite. *arsie* 24, b 8, 27, in address to divinities, is not a good parallel to our passage, and in the same lines the interpretation of *arsier* (b 8 *asier*) is itself uncertain, although the contrast in spelling between *arsier* and *arsir* is worthy of notice. I prefer therefore, though with some hesitation, to take *arsir* as *'alius'* and to understand it as a provision that no unauthorized third person shall appear on the scene and cause a disturbance. — **7** *muieto fust*: impersonal. On the form of the participle see **30 c, 47 b, 116 a.** — *andersesust, disleralinsust*: after the word-divider that follows *arsir* the bronze has *andersesuspdisleralinsust.* There is no doubt that *p* must be emended to *t*, making the end of a 3 sg. verb, but *disleralinsust* presents some difficulty. The fact that the word-division is neglected after the *p* gives us the right to assume that there may be a separation between *disler* and *alinsust* also, as earlier scholars and more recently Dev. have done. According to this view *disler* is abl. pl. of **tiçel, tiçlu** (**t** = *d*), and the general sense is that the formulas become ineffective. There is a certain obscurity about *disler.* No other instances occur in the Latin alphabet, and the contexts where **tiçel, tiçlu** occur are not close parallels to VIa 7; but the real difficulty is in finding any satisfactory etymology for *alinsust* (< **aliśenśust* with *a*-privative and root as in L. *licet*, Bréal, pp. 35, 372; cognate with ὄλλυμι and meaning '[*caerimonia*] *irrita erit,*' Dev.). It seems best therefore with Bü., Pl., Bk., etc., to regard *disleralinsust* as a denominative verb from **dis-leisā-li-*: cf. L. *de-lirus, delirare*, but with the notion of failure or ineffectiveness in contrast to the Latin sense of mental aberration. There is no expressed subject; we may regard the augural ceremony as logical subject or regard the verb as impersonal.

8 - 14. Instructions for defining the *templum* in which the birds, or other omens, are to be observed. The demarcation is made with relation to the augural seats, the *asa deueia*, and certain landmarks in the city, none of which can be clearly identified. — **8** *uerfale*: the etymological equivalent of L. *verbale*, but used here to designate the *templum.* The semantic development is considerably clarified by two passages in Varro, *L.L.*: VI, 53 *Hinc effata dicuntur, qui augures finem auspiciorum caelestum extra urbem agri<s> sunt effati, ut esset; hinc effari templa dicuntur: ab auguribus effantur qui in his fines sunt*; VII, 8 *In terris dictum templum locus augurii aut auspicii causa quibusdam conceptis verbis finitus.* — *arsfertur*: although the actual taking of the auspices is performed by the augur, the *adfertor* himself purifies the Mount. — *trebeit*: related to *tremnu*, O. **tríibúm, tríbarakkiuf**, etc.,

trebeit . ocrer . peihaner . erse stahmito eso tuderato est . angluto / (9) *hondomu . porsei . nesimei . asa . deueia . est . anglome . somo . porsei . nesimei . uapersus . auiehcleir* / (10) *est . eine angluto . somo . uapefe auiehclu . todcome tuder . angluto . hondomu . asame . deueia . todcome* / (11) *tuder . eine . todceir . tuderus . seipodruhpei . seritu* /

(12) *tuderor . totcor . uapersusto auieclir . ebetrafe . ooserclome . presoliafe . nurpier . uasirslome* / (13) *smursime . tettome . miletinar . tertiame . praco . pracatarum . uapersusto auieclir . carsome* / (14) *uestisier . randeme . rufrer .*

mains for the purpose of purifying the Mount, when established, is bounded thus: from the lowest angle, which is next to the *Ara Divina*, to the highest angle, which is next to the augural seats: thence from the highest angle to the augural seats to the city boundary, from the lowest angle to the *Ara Divina* to the city boundary. Then within the city boundaries he shall make observation in either direction.

The city boundaries are: from the augural seats to the Exit, to the observation-post, to the fore-area of Nurpius, to the Vale, to the Temple of Smurcia, to the house of the gens Miletina, to the third tower of the rampart; and from the augural seats to the avenue of Vesticius, to the garden of Rufer, to the

having to do with buildings of various types. The semantic development in the Umbrian verb is from 'dwells' to 'remains.' — *ocrer peihaner*: for the syntax cf. 19 below and **153 i.** — *stahmito*: *'stativum'* Bü., Pl., *'statutum'* Bk., Blum., Pis., Bott., *'extensum'* Dev., *'stabilitum'* Vet. It serves to show that the *templum* for the auspices preceding the purification of the Mount was a fixed and permanent one, while *tuderato* serves to introduce the list of points defining it. — 8-9 *angluto / hondomu porsei nesimei asa deueia est*: the first of a succession of imaginary lines is drawn from the "lowest angle," a point near the *asa deueia*, to the "highest angle," near the augural seats. The *asa deueia* was in all probability situated in the forum, which may very easily have been in the same part of the city as the present Piazza dei Quaranta Martiri (formerly the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele), the low elevation of which accords well with the expression *angluto hondomu*. From a comparison of Ib 14, VIa 16-17, b 51, it appears that the *adfertor* occupies the augural stone-seat, while the augur, who announces the omens to him, is a short distance away. The augural seats must have been located on the Fisian Mount or *arx*, for the location of which see Introduction, 4. *angluto somo uapefe auiehclu* and the parallel passage *angluto hondomu asame deueia* present a difficulty: do the phrases with postposition *-e* merely repeat in more concise language what was previously expressed by *porsei nesimei ... est*; in other words does the usage resemble that of L. *ad* indicating proximity without motion? So Buck, § 301. 2, takes it. Yet it seems better with Dev., p. 162, to treat *uapefe auiehclu* and *asame deueia* as phrases involving motion, like the *todcome tuder* which follows. The lines are then drawn from the highest and lowest angles to the seats and the altar respectively, so that these objects become in effect points of transition between the two angles and the city limits indicated by *todcome tuder*. — **12** *ebetrafe*: cf. the incorrectly spelled *hebetafe* in b

53. The majority analyze as from **ē-bait-rā-* (cf. L. *ē, ex* and *baeto, -ere*), with sense '*exitus*.' Since it refers to one single landmark, the value of the pl. is similar to that in L. *fores*. This exit was apparently distinct from the three familiar gates of Iguvium, none of which is mentioned in the present passage, but nothing more can be said about it. — *ooserclome*: generally taken as from **ob-ser-klom-en* or **au(i)-ser-klom-en*, in either case with syncope of *i* or *u(e)* before *-klom*. Devoto, however, sees in it the name of a rivulet from **Auser-klom*, comparing L. *Auser* and the modern *Serchio*. The derivation from **au(i)-ser-klom* should be discarded, since we already have one place for watching birds, but there appears to be no objection to regarding the *ooserclom* as an observation-post for military purposes. — *presoliafe*: commonly assumed to be related to L. *solum*, but it is uncertain whether *solum* would have to be understood as 'foundation' or as 'ground' and whether *presoliaf* are the foremost portions of a *solum* or certain things in front of the *solum*. — *Nurpier*: nowhere found as the name of a god, and more probably a gentile name, but nothing certain can be affirmed with regard to it. — *uasirslome*: very uncertain; sometimes taken as connected with L. *vacerra* < **wakerzā*; by Dev., p. 165, as < **vakrikelo-* : cf. Skt. *vakra-* 'curved'. The meaning then would be 'vale' for which Swiss-Ital. *curva* 'avvallamento' is cited as a semantic parallel. — *smursime*: none of the various conjectures can be regarded as at all certain. A Roman goddess Murcia, whose temple was at the foot of the Aventine, is known from Varro, *L.L.*, V, 154; Livy, I, 33, 5; she is generally identified with Venus, and is mentioned by Aug., *Civ. Dei*, IV, 16, as a goddess who causes sloth. If our form is acc. of a stem in *-io-*, as seems likely, it may possibly be a neuter name of a temple of **Smurcia*. For the U. *sm-*: L. *m-* see **57 b**. — *tettome*: found here and twice in 14 below: it is not easily equated with L. *tectum*, because we should expect *-ht-* < *-kt-* (**46 i**), yet it is hard to believe that the two are not equivalent. Blum., p. 78, arguing from the foreign appearance of the names attached to *tettome*, suggests that *tettome* itself may be foreign. — *Miletinar*: sometimes compared with *μείλιχος, μειλίχιος*, O. **Meeilikiieis** for the root, and with L. *Caprotina, Libitina* for the suffix. Blum., p. 78, suggests connection with L. *miles* (a goddess of soldiers?). Since, however, *Noniar* and *Salier* appear not to be divine names, and since 'house' fits *tettom* better than 'temple,' it is better to assume that *Miletinar* is an adjective from a gentile name, taking its gender from the equivalent of *gens* or some similar word. — *tertiame praco pracatarum*: undoubtedly the third in a certain series of objects. *praco* may be acc. sg. or gen. pl. used partitively, but in either case it is fem., and so is probably a consonant-stem, since fem. *o*-stems are rare in those IE languages which possess them at all. *pracatarum* must be gen. pl. of the pcpl. of a denominative verb from *praco*. It is most natural to derive both from the same root as L. *compesco, comperce* (cf. Lexicon, and Muller, p. 320), the basic sense being one of fencing in. — *carsome*: numerous etymologies have been proposed, all uncertain. The view tentatively adopted here is that of Blum., p. 79, substantially followed by Dev., whereby *carsom* is equivalent to L. *cursus*, Ital. *corso*, with *a* through the influence of Gaulish *carrus*, unless the whole word is a Gaulish loan. — **14** *Uestisier*: possibly the same as the god **Vestiçe Saçe** in IIa 4. — *randeme*: extremely uncertain; Dev. translates '*ad hortum*,' but without adopting any of the etymological conjectures of previous editors. Pis., as etymological support for the same interpretation, proposes to derive from **ran-ti-*, from the same root as *ῥαίνω, ῥαντίζω*, assuming an initial variation *r/sr-*. The reference then would be to a garden irrigated or watered in some special way. — *Rufrer*: a place *Rufrae* in Campania is

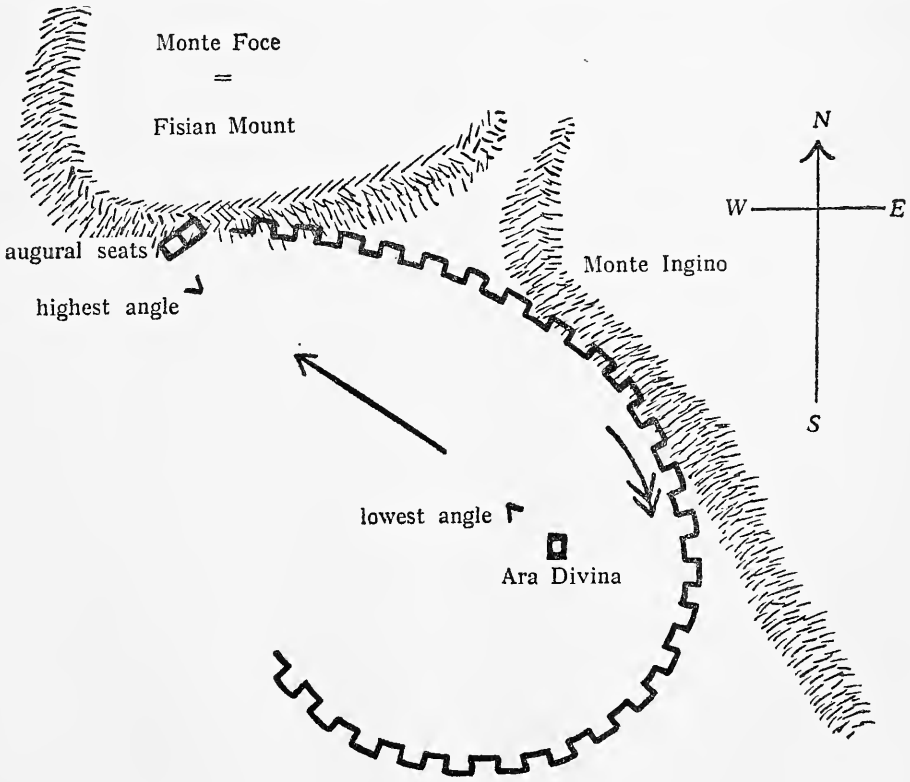
tettome . noniar . tettome . salier . carsome . hoier ¦. pertome . padellar /

house of the gens Nonia, to the house of Salius, to the avenue of Hoius, to the

mentioned in Verg., *Aen.*, VII, 739, and a gentile *Rufrius*, *Rubrius* is common on inscriptions from several parts of Italy, but no proper name from a stem *Rufro-* is known. Moreover it is not likely that our form is from **Rufrio-* with loss of *i* by 53 d, since there is no evidence of such treatment of *-ri-*, while *speturie*, *dequrier* **tekuries** constitute evidence against it. We can probably not hope to do better than assume a name *Rufer* < **Rufros* and decline to make any conjectures regarding the bearer of the name. — *Noniar*: Blum., p. 78, suggested dialectal origin on the ground that in Umbrian we should expect **Nouim-* in a derivative of the ordinal from '9'; cf. *nuvime* IIa 26. It is not certain, however, that this last form represents the ordinal from '9,' since derivation from a superlative stem to **newo-* (L. *novus*), after Vet., p. 197, is also possible. For the value of the name in other respects see on *Miletinar* in 13 above. — *Salier*: the failure of *l* to change to *rs* (55 b) arouses suspicion that the word is a dialect borrowing, and Blum. (p. 78) is doubtless right in affirming connection with L. *Salii*. The masculine, in contrast to *Miletinar*, *Noniar*, shows that here an individual and not a *gens* is meant. — *Hoier*: possibly connected with **Hule** IV 17, if *i* is erroneously written for *l* through omission of the cross-bar, as suggested by R. G. Kent, *T.C.I.*, p. 41, or with *Horse* **Huřie** as suggested by Dev., p. 257, although the loss of *rs* cannot be satisfactorily explained. Like *Uestisier* it is probably a divine name, but nothing can be affirmed with certainty in regard to it. — *pertome*: this word may reasonably be taken as cognate with L. *porta*, *portus*, in the sense 'passageway, gate.' The *e*-grade of the root is attested by ON *fiǫrðr* 'firth,' nom. pl. *firder*, but the Germanic forms, like L. *portus*, are *u*-stems; only *pertome* shows a transfer to the *o*-declension. — *Padellar*: usually taken as name of a goddess related to L. *Panda*, O. dat. sg. **Patanai**, both from **Patnā*, with L. *-nd-* < *-tn-* and O. anaptyxis; for the phonology of *Padellar* see Lexicon, with references. Panda was sometimes identified with Ceres: Varro *apud* Non., p. 44 M. *hanc deam Aelius putat esse Cererem*; *sed quod in asylum qui confugiunt panis daretur, esse nomen fictum a pane dando, pandere, quod est aperire.* To the gate bearing the name of Padella there is a Roman parallel in the *porta Pandana* mentioned by Varro, *L.L.*, V, 42; cf. Fest., p. 246 Li. *Pandana porta dicta est Romae, quod semper pateret.* — Devoto, p. 168, remarks that the first set of boundaries (*ebetrafe ... pracatarum*) consists chiefly of natural landmarks and the second of buildings and similar structures; the first group then lies along the mountain slope and the second along the plain, an ingenious and valuable suggestion, although naturally it is dependent on the interpretation of the individual words, many of which are very obscure.

The conclusions reached in the interpretation of the opening portion of VIa may now be briefly summarized. According to the view adopted here *dersua* and *merstu* do not mean 'right' and 'left,' nor do they mean '*prospera*' and '*iusto.*' Like **pusnaes** and **pernaies** they have reference to omens appearing 'behind' and 'in front,' but the etymology adopted for *merstu* (after Dev.) presupposes an orientation in which *merstu* must be toward the east. If the Fisian Mount was on Monte Foce, and the *asa deueia* was toward the eastern part of the area now occupied by the Piazza dei Quaranta Martiri, it is possible to conceive of the augur sitting on the mount and facing in a southeastward direction. A facing directly toward the east cannot be reconciled with the description of the *templum* given in VIa, because the mountains, on one of

the slopes of which the augur would have had to sit, lie on the northern and eastern sides of Gubbio. This southeastward facing is admitted by Devoto ("aliquantum ad orientem," p. 168; cf. *T.G.*, p. 17). Moreover Goidànich (*Historia*, VIII [1934], p. 245), while he favors southward facing, nevertheless remarks that the *decumanus* in Iguvium probably ran not due west and east but northwest and southeast, because of the obstacle which the mountains presented against the normal view of the sunrise. In 15-16 *hondra esto tudero*, etc., it is said that below the limits marked out the *parra* and crow should be seen *dersua*, and above the same limits the woodpecker and magpie should be seen *mersta*. Apparently then, birds seen above the limits are to be counted as higher up the slope of the mountains lying to the east of the city, and consequently in the (south)eastern region, while those seen below are in the lower and consequently more western portion of the city. If we insist on a close equivalence between **pernaies pusnaes** of Ia 2 and the terms of direction in VIa, then **pusnaes** may be used of those omens which are *less* forward (literally 'in the back'), and so *dersua* or western. For the higher and lower situation of augural birds cf. Servius on *Aen.*, III, 361 *praepetes sunt quae secundo auspicio ante eum volant qui auspicatur ... Sed praepetes aut superiora tenent et praepetes vocantur, aut inferiora et dicuntur inferae.* There is also a possibility that the different distribution of the birds in Plaut., *As.*, 260, cited earlier in the commentary on this portion of VIa, may have some connection with the



(15) *hondra . esto . tudero . porsei . subra . screihtor . sent . parfa . dersua . curnaco . dersua . seritu . subra . esto* / (16) *tudero . peico . mersto . peica . mersta . seritu . sue anclar . procanurent . eso . tremnu . serse* / (17) *combifiatu . arsferturo . nomne . carsitu . parfa . dersua . curnaco . dersua . peico . mersto . peica . meersta* / (18) *mersta . aueif . mersta . ancla . eesona . tefe . tote . iiouine . esmei . stahmei . stahmitei . esisco . esoneir . seueir* / (19) *popler . anferener . et . ocrer . pihaner . perca . arsmatia . habitu . uasor . uerisco . treblanir . porsi . ocrer* / (20) *pehaner . paca . ostensendi . eo . iso . ostendu . pusi . pir . pureto . cehefi . dia . surur . uerisco . tesonocir . surur* / (21) *uerisco . uehieir* /

gate of Padella. Below these limits which are described above, watch for a *parra* in the west, a crow in the west. Above these limits watch for a woodpecker in the east, a magpie in the east. If the messengers sing forth, (the augur) sitting shall thus make announcement from the tent and shall call the *adfertor* by name: "(I have seen) a *parra* in the west, a crow in the west, a woodpecker in the east, a magpie in the east, in the east birds, in the east divine messengers for you, for the state of Iguvium, for this established ordinance." At each of these rites for the lustration of the people and the purification of the mount (the *adfertor*) shall hold a ritual wand. The vessels at the Trebulan Gate which are to be exhibited for the purification of the mount he shall so exhibit as to cause fire to be kindled from fire. Similarly at the Tesenacan Gate, similarly at the Veian Gate.

fact that he divides them into left (*picus, cornix*) and right (*coruos, parra*), while Table VIa divides them into *dersua* (*parfa, curnase*) and *merstu* (*peiqo, peica*), the latter replacing the *coruos* of Plautus. The preceding diagram is intended to illustrate the demarcation of the *templum* in Iguvium, assuming that the Fisian Mount, from which the observation was made, is the present Monte Foce. The language suggests that the "lowest" and "highest angles" are imaginary points adjacent to but not identical with the Ara Divina and the augural seats respectively. ⊓⊔⊓⊔ represents the city boundary designated by the series of names commencing with 12 *uapersusto auiectir* and extending in a clockwise direction along the slope of Monte Ingino around through the lower part of the town to 14 *periome padellar* (see last of notes on 14).

A partial bibliography of material dealing with the augural *templum* at Rome and Iguvium, beside the standard handbooks on Italic dialects and editions of the Iguvine Tables, would include: K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, 2nd ed. by Deecke (Stuttgart, 1877), II, pp. 128-64; Regell, *N.Jb.*, CXXIII (1881), pp. 598-637, Valeton, *Mnem.*, XVII (1889), pp. 275-325, 418-52, XVIII (1890) pp. 208-63; Wissowa, *R.-E.*, II, pp. 2586-87; Weinstock, *Röm. Mitt.*, XLVII (1932), pp. 95-121; Blumenthal, *Klio*, XXVII (1934), pp. 1-13; Goidànich, *Hist.*, VIII (1934), pp. 237-69; Ribezzo, I, pp. 55-88, especially 66-78. — **17** *combifiatu*: the subject is the augur, *poei angla aseriato eest*; similarly for *carsitu*. — *parfa dersua*, etc.: here the augur complies with the instructions given him by the *adfertor* in 4-5. For the ellipsis of the verb see **136 c.** —

18 *esisco esoneir*: for the expression with *-co* cf. Va 11 **esunesku vepurus**. — *seueir*: Devoto translates '*formulis*,' which suits Ia 5, VIa 56, as well as the present passage. But it would have to be derived from a long-vowel form **sēwo-* in contrast to Skt. *sāva-* '*incitator, incitamentum*' which he compares (p. 170), for **sĕwo-* would almost certainly show the pIt. change *ew* > *ow*, as in L. *novus* < **newos*, cf. O. **Núvellum**. Since O. *siom* (28 Co., line 22) requires 'entirely' or a similar meaning, it seems best to see an expression of totality in U. *seueir, seuom* **sevum**, which can be fully equated in a formal sense with O. *siuom*. Vetter's '*singula*' (p. 236; '*unum quidque*' in Ia 5, VIa 56) preserves the notion of individuality belonging to the root **sĕ-* which appears to be contained in *seueir*. — **19** *anferener*: cf. *afero* VIb 48 = **aferum** Ib 10; all are from **am(f)-fer-*. As a semantic parallel L. shows *circumfero*: Non., p. 261 *circumferre est proprie lustrare*; Verg., *Aen.*, VI, 229 *idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda*. The Umbrian verb like the Latin is suppletive, but makes its pf. forms from the root **dō-* 'give': *andersafust andirsafust* **ateřafust**. — *perca arsmatia*: generally taken as a ceremonial wand; cf. L. *pertica*, the measuring rod used in surveying, and also a portion of land so measured, and the abbreviated form O. **perek**: used of road-measurement. For the use of a staff in Roman ritual cf. Paul. *e* Fest., 49 Li. *Commoetaculum genus virgulae qua in sacrificiis utebantur*. The verb on which *perca(m)*, **perkaf** depends is always *habiest* or some other form of *habetu*, except in VIb 49. The use of *anouihimu* there has led Br. (p. 56), Dev., (p. 172), Bott. (p. 267) to regard the *perca* as a type of toga, and indeed there is some Roman evidence for the ceremonial putting on and taking off of the *toga praetexta* (cf. for example, *Acta fratrum arvalium*, pp. 14, 21, 28 Henzen). But there is no etymological support for the interpretation 'toga,' while the equation with L. *pertica*, O. **perek**., is easy. Moreover it would not have been difficult for *anouihimu* to extend its meaning from 'put on (clothing)' to 'take up, equip oneself with (articles held in the hand, etc.).' I have therefore followed the majority in taking *perca* as a wand or staff. — *uasor*: on the case-ending see **103 a**. The word is used in IV 22 of containers for the cakes called **arçlataf** and in VIb 40 for the *persondra*. — **20** *cehefi dia*: obscure, although the general sense seems to be that fire is to be kindled from fire, that is, not kindled anew from flint or by attrition. The practice is perhaps explained by Fab. Pict. *apud* Aul. Gell., X, 15, 7 *Ignem a flaminia, id est flaminis Dialis domo, nisi in sacrum efferri ius non est*; Fest., p. 94 Li. *Ignem ex domo flaminia efferri non licebat, nisi divinae rei gratia*. We may therefore conjecture that what was forbidden for secular use was obligatory for sacred use. It is unlikely that *cehefi* and *dia* are both verbs, for *dia* would hardly fall into the same class with *herter*, etc. (**152 c**); nor is it likely that *dia* is an adverb placed in final position after the verb of the clause. It seems best then to take *dia* as pres. subj. from **dwiy-āt* derived, like *purdouitu*, pcpl. *purdito*, L. *duint*, etc., from an *i*-extension of the root **dōw-* 'give.' *cehefi* may be derived from **kn̥d-ti-*, the zero-grade of the root found in L. *candeo, -cendo* (*e* in the latter being the result of vowel-weakening). The ending *-i* may represent acc. sg. of a stem in *-io-* (like *smursim-e*?, *tesedi*?) or abl. sg. of a stem in *-i-* (like *poni*) or abl. sg. of a stem in *-u-* (like *mani*). The least awkward construction may be reached by making *cehefi* an acc. and *pir* the subject of *dia*: 'that fire may produce a blaze from fire.' For the verb 'give' in the sense 'cause, produce' cf. L. *dare morsus, motus, stragem, ruinas*. On the failure of the *c* to suffer palatalization before *e* see **46 f**. On the problem of *cehefi* in general see, beside the standard editions, Bechtel, *B.B.*, VII (1883), p. 2; R. G.

(22) *pre . uereir . treblaneir . iuue . grabouei buf . treif . fetu . eso . naratu . uesteis . teio . subocau . suboco* / (23)

Before the Trebulan Gate he shall sacrifice three oxen to Jupiter Grabovius. Thus shall he speak after making the libation: "Thee I invoke as the one in-

Kent, *C.P.*, XV (1920), p. 366; Goidànich, *A.G.I.*, XXV (1931-32), pp. 52-4; Ribezzo, I, p. 79. — **20-21** *surur uerisco Tesonocir. surur / uerisco Uehieir*: for the possible location of the gates, see Introduction, 4. The spelling *Tesonocir* with antepenultimate *o* occurs also in VIIa 38, against 4 instances with *e* **e**; there is no satisfactory explanation.

VIa 22 - 57 (= Ia 2 - 6). Sacrifice of three oxen to Jupiter Grabovius before the Trebulan Gate. The libation which precedes the sacrifice is followed by a short invocation of the god on behalf of the Fisian Mount and the state of Iguvium and the names of the Mount and of the state (22 *teio subocau* ... 25 *Dei Graboue*). This is followed by the prayers accompanying the sacrifice of the first ox (25 *Di Grabouie* ... 34 *tio subocau*). The prayers accompanying the sacrifices of the second and third oxen are given in full in 35-44 and 45-55 respectively, although in content they are identical with 25-34, except for the use of the words *etru* and *tertiu* and a reference in 54 to the triad of oxen, which serves as a sort of conclusion to the whole series of three prayers. For the resemblances and differences between the present description and the much shorter one in Ia see the introductory paragraph in the notes on VIa and the outline in the Introduction, 13. The principal difference is of course the inclusion of the full text of the prayers in VI.

VIa 22 *Iuue Grabouei*: the epithet occurs in several spellings, of which the most frequent is *Grabouie* in the Latin alphabet, **Krapuvi** in the native alphabet. It is used in VIb 1 = Ia 11 of Mars, in VIb 19 = Ia 21 of Vofionus, elsewhere only of Jupiter. Its resemblance to L. *Gradivus*, epithet of Mars, has struck many editors, but U. *b* and L. *d* cannot be etymologically equated. Most recent authorities follow Kretschmer, *Festschrift Adalbert Bezzenberger* (Göttingen, 1921), pp. 89-96, in connecting *Grabouie* with the Illyrian proper names *Γρᾶβος*, *Γράβων*, Epirote Modern Greek *γρᾶβος* 'oak,' Russ. *grab* 'hornbeam,' adj. *grabovyj*, taking account of the intrusion of Illyrian culture into Italy across the Adriatic and the close connection of the oak with the cult of Zeus and Jupiter (for details see Rosenzweig, pp. 67-72). The Illyrian theory of the origin of *Grabouie* does not account for L. *Gradivus*. R. G. Kent, *T.A.P.A.*, LVII (1926), pp. 56-7, who did not follow Kretschmer's view, sought to maintain a connection between the Umbrian and Latin forms by suggesting that *Grabouie* is in origin the same word as L. *Gradivus*, altered as a result of a fancied connection with the Umbrian equivalent of *bos*, the animal which in the Iguvine cult was sacrificed to the three gods who bore the epithet *Grabouie*. But it may not be too hazardous to suggest that, while the derivation of *Grabouie* from an Illyrian source is correct, at the same time the Latin form may be explained by contamination with *gradior* (Mars the "Strider") or with *divus* or with both. — *fetu*: cognate with L. *facio*, Gk. *τίθημι*, although the stem-formation is not fully clear (see **46 g, j** with n. 3, **122 d**). The sense 'sacrifice, offer' is very frequent, the accusative being used of the victim, parts of the victim (e.g. *uatuo*), the *persondro*, and *aruio*, which is here taken to refer to cereal-offerings but by many editors as '*exta*' (see on Ia 3, IIa 18). The ablative is used of offerings which accompany the principal element of the sacrifice (*uinu*, *poni*); the case-ending of *uestisia* and *mefa spefa* in VIb 5, VIIa 37, is am-

biguous. L. *facio* in the technical language of ritual is accompanied by the abl. of the victim: Cato, *R.R.*, 139 *porco piaculo facito*; Verg., *Ecl.*, III, 77 *cum faciam vitula pro frugibus.* — *naratu*: etymologically equivalent to L. *narrato*, but in part very similar in value to *persnimu*; compare, for example, the present passage with b 25 *esoc persnimu uestis*, the prayer which follows being practically identical, though the deities addressed in the two prayers are different. The threefold repetition of the prayer introduced in VIa 22 with *naratu* is followed in 55-6 by *tašes persnimu seuom.* Unlike *persnimu*, however, *naratu* is always accompanied by some indication of the content: either the actual words of the prayer or an expression such as **tiçlu sevakni** III 27, or a statement on the quality of the victims (e.g., IIb 8, 9), or an indication that the same words are to be used as on some other occasion (e.g., VIa 59, and through VIb and VIIa). — *uesteis*: *uestis* recurs in VIb 6, 25 in a similar formula with *persnimu*. It has been taken as a pres. pcpl. and as a pf. pcpl., the latter view being decidedly preferable, because the pres. should probably end in *-f* (cf. **kutef, zeřef**) or in a vowel after loss of *-f*, and because the pouring of the libation, which would take almost no time, is not to be thought of as accompanying the long prayer, but rather as preceding it. *uestis* apparently belongs to a 4th conjugation verb related to L. *Vesta* as *punio* to *poena*. If it is not a full deponent, the use of the pf. pass. pcpl. may be compared with that of L. *cenatus*, *potus*. For further etymological data see on *uestisia* in VIb 6. — *subocau suboco*: in addition to its occurrence here and twice in 24, this expression occurs in the similar prayer to Fisovius Sancius in b 6-8 and to Tefer Jovius in b 26-7. *subocau* alone occurs in VIa 34, 44, 55, b 15 (twice), 36, and in VIIa 20 (twice), 22, 23, 33, 34, 36 (twice), the spelling in VIIa being regularly *subocauu*. The instances of *subocau(u)* not followed by *suboco* are always at or near the end of prayers. *suboco* without a preceding *subocau* does not occur. The pair present a threefold problem: 1) are the two forms both verbs, or is *subocau* alone a verb? 2) what tense is *subocau*, and what tense is *suboco*, if it is a verb? 3) if *suboco* is not a verb but a noun or adjective, what are its stem class and case-ending? It is difficult to take *subocau* as pf. because the final *u* in a 1 sg. verb form in the Latin alphabet could only stand for the primary ending *-o*, while the *-uu* in *subocauu* would probably point to a *v*-perfect (as in L. *vocavi*), for which there is no good evidence in the Italic dialects. *suboco*, if pf. of a denominative verb, should probably retain the *ā* of the present stem, as in fut. pf. **prupehast**, etc., despite such forms as *portust*, *oseto* (**116 a**). The view adopted here is that *subocau(u)* is 1 sg. pres., while *suboco* is a noun, possibly a root-stem meaning 'the one invoked,' with passive sense as in the root-nouns L. *redux*, *coniunx*, *obiex*, Gk. *διῶρυξ*, *σύζυξ*, etc. The fondness for the *figura etymologica* which characterizes the language of the Iguvine Tables has preserved the tautological expression 'thee I invoke (as) the one invoked,' and has caused *suboco* to stand immediately after the verb and before *Dei Graboui*, with which it is closely connected in syntax, while the true object *teio* takes its normal place before the verb. For phonological details see **49 d**, **54 d**, and for discussion of the problem as a whole see *A.J.P.*, LXXVI (1955), pp. 79-82. — **23** *Fisiu*: the sacred mount or *arx* bears the name of the god Fisus, to whom under the name *Fisus Sanšius* three suckling pigs are offered behind the Tesenacan Gate (VIb 3 = Ia 14-15). The Mount was probably not Monte Ingino, which is situated to the northeast of the town, but Monte Foce, which lies more directly toward the north; see Introduction, 4. — *nomneper*: the mention of the *name* occurs in several other similar formulas of benediction, including VIIa 16-17 *saluo seritu popler*

dei . graboui . ocriper . fisiu . totaper . iiouina . erer . nomneper . erar . nomneper . fos . sei . pacer . sei . ocre . fisei / (24) *tote . iiouine . erer . nomne . erar . nomne . arsie . tio . subocau . suboco . dei . graboue . arsier . frite . tio . subocau* / (25) *suboco . dei . graboue . di . grabouie . tio . esu . bue . peracrei . pihaclu . ocreper . fisiu . totaper . iouina . irer .*

voked, Jupiter Grabovius, for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state. Be thou favorable, be thou propitious to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. In the consecration I invoke thee as the one invoked, Jupiter Grabovius; in trust of the consecration I invoke thee as the one invoked, Jupiter Grabovius. Jupiter Grabovius, thee (I invoke) with this perfect ox as a propitiatory offering for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Igu-

totar Iiouinar, totar Iiouinar / nome nerf arsmo, etc. The magical value attached to names is shown in its positive aspect here and in its negative aspect through their deliberate avoidance as a result of tabu (see on 1 *poei angla aseriato / eest*, and Dev., p. 187). The usage with *Tusc-Naharc- Iabusc-* in the banishment and curse in VIb 54, 58-9, VIIa 12, 47-8, Ib 17 is not quite similar; it has rather a notion of comprehensiveness, as in *ceivis Romanus neve nominus Latini neve socium quisquam*, in the *Senatusconsultum de Bacchanalibus*. — *fos sei pacer sei*, etc.: the same formula with the subjunctive occurs, making allowance for orthographical variations, in b 7, 26, in each instance near the beginning of the prayer. *futu fo(n)s pacer* with imv. appears in a 30, b 13, 34, of the same prayers, and elsewhere. — **24** *arsie tio subocau suboco ... arsier frite tio subocau*: the same formula occurs in b 8 with *Fisoui Sanši* and in 27 with *Tefro Ioui*, and *arsie ... arsier* have generally been translated '*sancte ... sancti.*' The value of *frite* as a noun 'trust' related to L. *frētus* is reasonably sure. It recurs in VIb 15, VIIa 20, 23, 33, 36 in a formula partly similar to the present one, but without *arsie* and with a divine name in place of *arsier*; moreover this second formula regularly occurs near the end of a prayer. Our understanding of the passage is hindered by the lack of any sure etymology for *arsie* and the other words which are assumed to be related to it: *arsmor, arsmahamu, arsmatia*; but the derivatives of the root **ars-ař-* in general are associated with religious ritual and priestly functions, while there is no evidence of their direct application to deities. Devoto translates '*in dedicatione ... dedicationis fiducia*' (with discussion pp. 188-9). In Roman ritual *dedicatio* and *consecratio* are very closely associated, but in strict usage *dedicatio* is the function of the magistrate or other person presenting the article, building, etc., for sacred use, while *consecratio* is the function of the priest by whose word and act it becomes sacred property (see J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, III [Leipzig, 1878], pp. 260-1). It may therefore be slightly better to understand *arsie* of the formula of consecration. — **25** *tio*: for the ellipsis of the verb see **136 c**. — *peracrei*: only in Tables VI and VII, except for **perakre** in Ib 40, which is equivalent to VIIa 51. In these last two passages the epithet is applied to heifers; in VIb 52, 56 it is followed by *sacris*, the victims not being specified; elsewhere *peracri-* is preceded by *bue* and followed by *pihaclu*, and

peracrio must be restored in VIa 54 *buo peracnio pihaclo*. In the note on IIa 5 it was pointed out that **perakne** and *peracri* stand in a sort of supplementary distribution to one another, and also that each at times stands in apparent contrast with forms of **sakra** *sacra*. It is therefore not unnatural to understand *peracri*, like **perakni**, of victims from secular sources in contrast to those raised as temple property. Devoto in his Italian translation renders both words by 'profano.' Yet this view, despite the strong arguments in its favor, is not without its disadvantages. In the first place it seems rather strange that the god should be reminded in the prayers in VIa that the victim was 'brought from outside.' Moreover the traditional connection of *peracri* with L. *acer*, *acris* on the formal side is simple, while if we derive from **per-ag-* we must assume contamination with *sacri* in order to account for the *c* in place of *g*. I have therefore, though hesitantly, maintained the older view whereby *peracri* is a compound of the same stem seen in L. *acer* but with a semantic development like that of *ἀκμαῖος*. The forms *peracri*, **perakne**, *seuacne*, and also L. *sollemnis* present an extraordinarily difficult problem, complicated probably by contaminations through popular etymology resulting from an imperfect understanding of the archaic liturgical formulae in which the words often occur. — **26** *orer ose*: variously interpreted. *orer* is commonly referred to the same pronominal stem seen in **uru**, **uraku**, as gen. sg. by most editors, as abl. pl. by Blum. *ose* is taken by most as equivalent to L. *opere*, by Dev. as equivalent to *operis*, by Blum. as 2 sg. subjunctive of the verb known through imv. *osatu*, L. *operari*. This has the advantage of providing a verb on which the clause *pusei neip heritu* may depend, but the intrusion of the conditional clause *persei ... sent* is slightly awkward, and *ose* does not conform to the pres. subj. paradigm of first-conjugation verbs as seen in *aseriaia*, **kupifiaia**. *ose* is therefore better taken as a noun than as a verb, and both on morphological and syntactical grounds is more probably an ablative than a genitive. The sense is apparently that the sacrifice of the ox is intended to nullify the evil effect of any fire (caused by lightning) on the Mount or of any omission of necessary religious rites in the city, not merely during the ceremony of purification, but perhaps during the entire time that has elapsed since the last purification. The use of the perfects *orto est*, *subator sent* in preference to the future perfect seems to bear out this latter view. — *persei ocre Fisie pir orto est*: compare the precaution in case of fire caused by lightning in the grove of the Fratres Arvales (*Act. fr. arv.*, p. CCXIII Henzen): ... *ibi imm(olaverunt), quod vi tempestat(is) ictu fulmin(is) arbor(es) sacr(i) l(uci) d(eae) attact(ae) arduer(int)*... — 26-7 *arsmor dersecor / subator sent*: Devoto, who takes *ose* as abl. of time having reference only to the time of the ceremony itself, understands *arsmor dersecor subator sent* to refer to a premature dismissal of the priestly colleges, and it would be desirable for *arsmo(r)* to have a uniform sense here and in 30 below, where the translation 'priesthoods' is defended in the note. But if we have interpreted the context of *arsmor ... subator sent* correctly, it is unlikely that a 'dismissal of the priestly colleges' would be singled out as one of two types of occurrence requiring expiation. We therefore translate *arsmor dersecor* as 'due rites.' — **27** *pusei neip heritu*: since there are certain objections to taking *ose* as a verb (see on 26 above), we must assume an ellipsis of the verb on which the *pusei*-clause should depend. *futu*, the equivalent of L. *esto*, may be supplied in thought. *heritu* is apparently abl. of the passive pcpl. of *her*, *herti*, its construction being similar to the impersonal use of the ablative absolute in L. *consulto*, *auspicato*, etc. — *tuer perscler*: partitive genitive with no governing word expressed

nomneper / (26) *erar . nomneper . dei . grabouie . orer . ose . persei . ocre . fisie . pir . orto . est . toteme . iouine . arsmor . dersecor* / (27) *subator . sent . pusei . neip . heritu . dei . crabouie . persei . tuer . perscler . uaseto . est . pesetomest . peretomest* / (28) *frosetomest . daetomest . tuer . perscler . uirseto . auirseto . uas . est . di . grabouie . persei . mersei . esu . bue* / (29) *peracrei . pihaclu . pihafei . di . grabouie . pihatu . ocre . fisei . pihatu . tota . iouina . di . grabouie . pihatu . ocrer* / (30) *fisier . totar . iouinar . nome . nerf . arsmo . ueiro pequo . castruo . fri . pihatu . futu . fos . pacer . pase . tua . ocre fisi* / (31) *tote . iiouine . erer . nomne . erar .*

vium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state. Jupiter Grabovius, by the effect of this (ox) (bring it to pass), if on the Fisian Mount fire hath occurred or in the state of Iguvium the due rites have been omitted, that it be as not intended. Jupiter Grabovius, if in thy sacrifice there hath been any omission, any sin, any transgression, any damage, any delinquency, if in thy sacrifice there be any seen or unseen fault, Jupiter Grabovius, if it be right, with this perfect ox as a propitiatory offering may purification be made. Jupiter Grabovius, purify the Fisian Mount, purify the state of Iguvium. Jupiter Grabovius, purify the name of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, purify the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state.

unless we take *persei* as an indefinite pronoun equivalent to L. *quidquid*; most assign to it conditional value as in 28 below. — **27-8** *uaseto est, pesetom est, peretom est,* / *frosetom est, daetom est,* etc.: for the meaning of the individual participles which to go make up these perfect passive verbs see the Lexicon. The passage is the clearest example of the tendency mentioned in Introduction, 5, to make the language of the formula as full as possible, as a precaution against any omission which might make the prayer invalid. — **29-31** *Di Grabouie ... erar nomne*: the general sense of this portion of the prayer is clear, but there are certain difficulties not only in the interpretation of individual words but, in one place, of the syntax as well. However, the words following *nome* fall rather easily into three successive pairs, not alliterative as, for example, in the curse in VIb 60 = VIIa 49, but showing nonetheless certain contrasts of meaning which may serve as a guide to the sense of the whole. — **30** *nerf*: connected by nearly all scholars with *ἀνήρ*, Skt. *nar-*, *nṛ-*, and several Sabine forms cited in classical authors: Suet., *Tib.*, 1, *inter cognomina autem et Neronis adsumpsit, quo significatur lingua Sabina fortis ac strenuus*; Aul. Gell., XIII, 23 *id autem, sive Nerio sive Nerienes est, Sabinum verbum est, eoque significatur virtus et fortitudo*; Lydus, *De Mens.*, IV, 42 *νερίκη γὰρ ἡ ἀνδρία ἐστι καὶ νέρωνας τοὺς ἀνδρείους οἱ Σαβῖνοι καλοῦσιν. nerf* in our passage cannot, like Gk. *ἄνδρας*, be merely the semantic equivalent of L. *viros*, for we have *ueiro* also just ahead. The key to the proper mean-

ing of *nerf* is provided by several Oscan passages: Co. 28, line 29 ...] *um nerum fust, izic post eizuc tr. pl. ni fuid*; Co. 108 **Minnieís Kaísillieís Minateís ner.**; Co. 137f **Dekis Rahiis Maraheis niir.** In all these passages 'man, men' would be absurd, since the reference is clearly to public officials. In Table VIb 59, 62, etc. are found the expressions *nerf šihitu anšihitu, nerus šihitir anšihitir*, followed by the contrasting *iouie hostatu anhostatu, iouies hostatir anostatir.* The *nerf* there are contrasted with the youth but are themselves divided into two opposite classes. Although the sense of *šihitu anšihitu* is uncertain, it is most probable that the *nerf* subdivided in this way include more than the magistrates actually in office. We may therefore translate 'elders,' in the sense 'chief citizens'; in other words men comparable in age and social status to those who composed the Roman senate. — *arsmo*: cf. the formula *arsmor dersecor subator sent* in 26-7; usually translated '*ritus*,' but the meaning of the other nouns in the series is concrete, and it is not really probable that the god is asked to 'purify the rites.' The interpretation of the word is hindered by the lack of any really satisfactory etymology. The adj. *arsmatia*, of the wand carried by the *adfertor*, and the verb *arsmahamo* are related, but no equations with forms in other languages are at all convincing. *arsmo* is neuter, if it is correct to assume that the only nom. pl. ending for masc. *o*-stems is *-ur* and that forms like pl. *arsmor* are neuters with extended endings (**103 a**). There is no objection to Devoto's '*sacerdotes*' (p. 118, etc.), '*societas sacerdotum*' (p. 197), if we understand the neut. noun to have a collective sense like 'priesthood,' the plural here being made to include all the priesthoods of Iguvium. The civil (*nerf*) and religious authorities, as the two most important elements in the state, are thus the first to be named in the prayers for purification and safekeeping. — *ueiro*: almost certainly equivalent to L. *vir-*, though the spelling with *ei* here and in 32, 39 is probably evidence of long *i*, as in Skt. *vīras*, Lith. *výras* (see Lexicon). *ueiro pequo* form a pair; cf. b 10-11 *dupursus peturpursus*; Ov. *Met.*, I, 285-6 *flumina ... / ... pecudesque virosque ... rapiunt*; Avestan, *Videvdat*, VI, 32 *pasubya vīraēibya* 'for cattle and men.' The sense of *ueiro*, etc. in the above passages is more like that of L. *homines* than of *viri*. The ending *-o*, which occurs in every instance of *u(e)iro pequo* in the Tables, is ambiguous, since it may stand for the gen. pl. (cf. *pihaclo* 54, *Atiersio* VIIb 2) or acc. pl. (cf. *ehiato* VIIb 2, with note. If it is acc. pl. masc., it serves as support for the ending in *ueiro*; *pequo*, like L. *pecua*, is neut., but *ueiro* must be masc.) At first glance it would be natural to take *ueiro pequo* along with the rest of the words in the series as acc., but *rofu* (once), *toru* (twice), *uitlu* (twice) make it appear that *-u*, not *-o*, is the normal masc. acc. pl. ending of *o*-stems. Moreover, if we take *castruo* as equivalent to '*capita*' rather than to '*fundos*,' *ueiro pequo* must almost certainly be dependent genitives, and it is difficult to avoid taking *castruo* in this way (see on Va 13). The change of case within the series is admittedly a difficulty, but not an insuperable one, since consistency is maintained within the pair. — *castruo*: see on Va 13; the reasons for taking it as '(per) head' in the latter passage and as 'lives' in the present passage, rather than as 'estates,' are found partly in the general sense of the passages in Va, partly in the probability on grounds of spelling that *ueiro pequo* in the prayer are genitive plural, in which case the sense 'estates' would be impossible. — *fri*: like L. *fruges* it may be taken to include both tree-fruit (L. *fructus*) and cereals (L. *frumenta*). — *futu fos pacer pase tua*: the formula here, with b 13, 34, differs from that in 23, b 7, 26 in the use of imv. instead of subj., in the failure to repeat the verb before *pacer*, and in the inclusion of *pase tua* in assonance with *pacer*. For the seeking of

nomne . di . grabouie . saluo . seritu . ocre . fisi . salua . seritu . tota . iiouina . di / (32) *grabouie . saluo . seritu . ocrer . fisier . totar . iiouinar . nome . nerf . arsmo . ueiro . pequo . castruo . fri . salua* / (33) *seritu . futu . fos . pacer . pase . tua . ocre . fisi . tote . iouine . erer . nomne . erar . nomne . di . grabouie . tio . esu . bue* / (34) *peracri . pihaclu . ocreper . fisiu . totaper . iouina . erer . nomneper . erar . nomneper. di . grabouie . tio . subocau* /

(35) *di . grabouie . tio esu . bue . peracri . pihaclu . etru . ocreper . fisiu . totaper . iouina . erer . nomneper . erar . nomneper . di* / (36) *grabouie . orer . ose . persei . ocre . fisie . pir . orto est . tote . iouine . arsmor . dersecor . subator . sent . pusei . neip* / (37) *hereitu . di . crabouie . persi . tuer . perscler . uaṡetom . est . pesetomest . peretomest . frosetomest . daetomest . tuer* / (38) *perscler . uirseto . auirseto . uas . est . di . grabouie . persi . mersi . esu . bue peracri . pihaclu . etru . pihafi . di . grabouie* / (39) *pihatu . ocre . fisi . pihatu . tota . iouina . di . grabouie . pihatu . ocrer . fisier . totar . iiouinar . nome . nerf . arsmo . ueiro* / (40) *pequo . castruo. fri . pihatu . futu . fos . pacer . pase . tua . ocre . fisie . tote . iiouine . erer . nomne . erar . nomne . di* /

Jupiter Grabovius, keep safe the Fisian Mount, keep safe the state of Iguvium. Jupiter Grabovius, keep safe the name of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, keep safe the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. Jupiter Grabovius, thee with this perfect ox as a propitiatory offering for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state, Jupiter Grabovius, thee I invoke.

"Jupiter Grabovius, thee with this perfect ox as a second propitiatory offering for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state (I invoke). Jupiter Grabovius, by the effect of this (ox) (bring it to pass), if on the Fisian Mount fire hath occurred or in the state of Iguvium the due rites have been omitted, that it be as not intended. Jupiter Grabovius, if in thy sacrifice there hath been any omission, any sin, any transgression, any damage, any delinquency, if in thy sacrifice there be any seen or unseen fault, Jupiter Grabovius, if it be right, with this perfect ox as a second propitiatory offering may purification be made. Jupiter Grabovius, purify the Fisian Mount, purify the state of Iguvium. Jupiter Grabovius, purify the name of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, purify the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of

pax deorum or security from harmful visitation by the gods cf. Lucr., V, 1229-30 *non divom pacem votis adit ac prece quaesit ventorum pavidus paces ...?*; Verg., *Aen.*, III, 370 *exorat pacem divum*; Livy, VII, 2, 2 *pacis deum exposcendae causa ... lectisternium fuit.* — **31** *saluo seritu*, etc.: cf. Cato, *R.R.*, 141, 3 *pastores pecuaque salva servassis.*

VIa 35 - 55: see above in the introductory paragraph to 22-57. Comment is unnecessary, since the prayers which accompany the sacrifices of the second and third oxen are identical with those for the first, barring minor orthographic variations and the use of the ordinals *etru*

---

(41) *grabouie . saluo seritu . ocre fisim . salua . seritu . totam iiouina . di . grabouie . saluuom . seritu . ocrer . fisier . totar* / (42) *iiouinar . nome . nerf . arsmo . uiro . pequo . castruo frif . saluua . seritu . futu . fons . pacer . pase . tuua ocre . fisi . tote* / (43) *iiouine . erer . nomne . erar . nomne . di . grabouie . tiom . essu . bue . peracri . pihaclu . etru . ocriper . fissiu . totaper . iouina . erer* / (44) *nomneper . erar . nomneper . di. grabouie. tiom . subocau* /

(45) *di . grabouie . tiom . esu . bue . peracri . pihaclu . t . ertiu . ocriper . fisiu . totaper . iiouina . erer . nomneper . erar . nomneper . di* / (46) *grabouie orer . ose . pirse ocrem . fisiem . pir . ortom . est . toteme . iouinem . arsmor . dersecor . subator . sent . pusi . neip* / (47) *heritu . di . grabouie . perse . tuer . pescler . uasetom est . pesetom . est . peretom . est . frosetom . est . daetom est . tuer* / (48) *pescler . uirseto . auirseto . uas est . di . grabouie . pirsi . mersi . esu . bue .*

the mount, to the name of the state. Jupiter Grabovius, keep safe the Fisian Mount, keep safe the state of Iguvium. Jupiter Grabovius, keep safe the name of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, keep safe the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. Jupiter Grabovius, thee with this perfect ox as a second propitiatory offering for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state, Jupiter Grabovius, thee I invoke.

"Jupiter Grabovius, thee with this perfect ox as a third propitiatory offering for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state (I invoke). Jupiter Grabovius, by the effect of this (ox) (bring it to pass), if on the Fisian Mount fire hath occurred or in the state of Iguvium the due rites have been omitted, that it be as not intended. Jupiter Grabovius, if in thy sacrifice there hath been any omission, any sin, any transgression, any damage, any delinquency, if in thy sacrifice there be any seen or unseen fault, Jupiter Grabovius, if it be right, with this perfect ox as a

peracri . pihaclu . tertiu . pihaſi . di . grabouie / (49) *pihatu . ocrem . fisim . pihatu . totam . iiouinam . di . grabouie . pihatu . ocrer . fisier . totar . iiouinar . nome nerf . asmo* / (50) *uiro . pequo . castruo . fri . pihatu . futu . fons . pacer . pase . tua . ocre . fisi tote . iiouine . erer . nomne . erar . nomne . di* / (51) *grabouie . saluo . seritu . ocrem . fisim . saluam . seritu . totam . iiouinam . di . grabouie . saluom . seritu . ocrer . fisier* / (52) *totar . iiouinar . nome . nerf . arsmo . uiro . pequo . castruo . frif . salua . seritu . futu . fons . pacer . pase . tua . ocre . fisi* / (53) *tote . iiouine . erer . nomne . erar . nomne . di . grabouie . tiom . esu . bue . peracri . pihaclu . tertiu . ocriper . fisiu . totaper* / (54) *iiouina . erer . nomneper . erar . nomneper . di . grabouie . tio . comohota . tribrisine . buo . peracnio . pihaclo* / (55) *ocriper . fisiu . totaper . iiouina . erer . nomneper . erar . nomneper . di . grabouie . tiom . subocau . tases . persnimu* / (56) *seuom . surur . purdouitu . proseseto . naratu . prosesetir . meſa . speſa . ficla . arsueitu . aruio . ſetu . este* / (57) *esono . heri . uinu . heri . poni . ſetu . uatuo . ferine . ſetu* /

third propitiatory offering may purification be made. Jupiter Grabovius, purify the Fisian Mount, purify the state of Iguvium. Jupiter Grabovius, purify the name of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, purify the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. Jupiter Grabovius, keep safe the Fisian Mount, keep safe the state of Iguvium. Jupiter Grabovius, keep safe the name of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, keep safe the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. Jupiter Grabovius, thee with this perfect ox as a third propitiatory offering for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state, (I invoke). Jupiter Grabovius, bringing forward the triad of perfect oxen as propitiatory offerings for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state, Jupiter Grabovius, thee I invoke." He shall pray each (portion) silently. In the same manner he shall make the presentation, make pronouncement upon the parts cut off, add to the parts cut off a *meſa speſa* cake and a *ficla* cake, and offer grain. He shall perform this sacrifice either with wine or with mead. He shall place the ribs on a tray.

54 *peracnio*: for *peracrio*.

(35, 38, 43) and *tertiu* (45, 48, 53). — 54 *tio comohota tribrisine buo peracnio pihaclo*: cf. Cato, *R.R.*, 134, 2 *Iuppiter, te hoc ferto obmovendo bonas preces precor.* Beside *tribrisine* the nom. **tribřiçu** occurs in Va 9; for the formation see **60 e, 88**, and Lexicon. *peracrio* must almost certainly be restored in place of *peracnio*, the reading of the bronze, since *peracr(e)i* is used 9 times as epithet of the oxen in 25-53, while no other instances of *peracn-* occur in Table VI.

VIa 55 - 57. Further instructions for the sacrifice before the Trebulan Gate. The instructions in the corresponding version in Ia 3-6 are similar, except that **kutef pesnimu** appears in place of *tases persnimu*, **arvia ustentu** in place of *aruio fetu*, **ařepes arves** is included but the reference to a specific type of cake is omitted, and the order in which the various instructions are presented is not the same. For the general character of these instructions, which are concerned partly with the manner of performing the sacrifice, partly with the supplementary offerings to be included, see Introduction, 15. — 55 *tases persnimu*: cf. Ov., *Met.*, IX, 300 *tacita quoque carmina voce dixit.* — 56 *purdouitu*: the presentation to the god, the second of the three principal stages in the sacrifice, although the actual slaying of the victim, the first stage, has not been previously mentioned, except in so far as it is implied by the general verb *fetu* in 22. Cf. Cic., *ad Att.*, V, 18, 1 *ne quid inter caesa et porrecta, ut aiunt, oneris mihi addatur aut temporis*; Varro, *L.L.*, VI, 31 *intercisi dies sunt per quos mane et vesperi est nefas, medio tempore inter hostiam caesam et exta porrecta fas.* — *proseseto naratu* : the *prosecta* or parts cut off for presentation to the god are the *exta*, if we may judge from Cato, *R.R.*, 134, 4 *ubi exta porsecta erunt*; Varro, *L.L.*, V, 110 *insicia ab eo quod insecta caro, ut in Carmine Saliorum <prosicium> est, quod in extis dicitur nunc porsectum.* The *exta* are identified in Cic., *Div.*, II, 12, 29 as the liver, heart, and lungs. The *adfertor* pronounces upon the *prosecta*, presumably upon their satisfactory condition. Cf. IIb 7-8 **si perakne sevakne upetu eveietu, sevakne naratu**, and similarly 10-11. — *mefa spefa*: this rhyming pair occurs nine times in VI and VII, while *mefa* alone occurs several times in the older tables and in VIb 17. Practically all editors take *mefa* to be a cake, and since the equation with L. *mensa* is easy, it may be a broad flat cake to be placed under the *prosecta*, recalling the famous eating of the *mensae* in Verg., *Aen.*, III, 255-7, VII, 112-6. The most satisfactory etymological explanation is that of Kretschmer, *Gl.*, VIII (1916), pp. 79-82 : *mefa spefa* = L. *mensa pensa* ; *spefa* is cognate with L. *pendo, pendeo*, and the semantic development of the expression is 'what is measured and weighed > flat cake.' — *ficla*: this type of cake, the exact nature of which is unknown, is added to the *prosecta* in the sacrifices before and behind the three gates and at the other stops during the purification of the Mount, and also in the lustration of the people. If the word is from **fig-klā*, with the root of L. *fingo*, according to the usual view, we may assume that the cake was kneaded or fashioned into a certain shape. It may have been similar to the L. *fertum*, since *fertum* and *strues* are associated together in Cato, *R.R.*, 134, the former as an offering to Jupiter, the latter to Janus, while *ficla* and *strušla*, the equivalent of L. *strues*, are associated in several Iguvine passages. — *aruio fetu*: see on Ia 3 for the relation of this expression to the **arvia ustentu** of the earlier tables, and on IIa 18 for the grounds on which *aruio* **arvia** throughout the present work is taken to signify vegetable offerings rather than *'exta.'* — 57 *heri uinu heri poni*: the choice of wine or *poni* is permitted before the Trebulan and Veian Gates and at the grove of Coredius; elsewhere in the purification and lustration *poni* alone is prescribed, and the corresponding passages of I and VI are fully consistent.

(58) *post . uerir . treblanir . si . gomia . trif . fetu . trebo . iouie . ocriper . fisiu . totaper . iiouina . persae . fetu . aruio . fetu* / (59) *pone . fetu . tases . persnimu . surur . naratu . puse . pre . uerir . treblanir . prosesetir . strusla . ficla . arsueitu* /

Behind the Trebulan Gate he shall sacrifice three pregnant sows to Trebus Jovius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. He shall perform (the sacrifice) upon the ground, offer grain, sacrifice with mead, pray silently, recite the same formulas as before the Trebulan Gate, and add to the parts cut off a *strusla* cake and a *ficla* cake.

VIb 1 *pre . uerir . tesenocir . buf . trif . fetu marte . grabouei . ocriper . fisiu totaper . iiouina . aruio . fetu . uatuo . ferine . fetu poni* / (2) *fetu . tases . persnimu . prosesetir . farsio . ficla . arsueitu . surur . naratu . puse pre . uerir . treblanir* /

Before the Tesenacan Gate he shall sacrifice three oxen to Mars Grabovius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. He shall offer grain, place the ribs on a tray, sacrifice with mead, pray silently, add spelt-cakes and a *ficla* cake to the parts cut off, and recite the same formulas as before the Trebulan Gate.

poni has been variously interpreted, but most regard it as *pō-ni-* based on the root **pō-* 'drink,' the problem being to determine what the drink-offering actually was. Hu. translated '*mulso*,' Br. '*lacte*', Bü. '*posca*,' followed by Pl. and Bk. Dev., p. 204, is probably correct in assuming it to be an alcoholic product of grain or honey established in ritual use before the knowledge of grape-wine; 'mead' is therefore a suitable conjecture. For an offering of *mulsum* cf. Livy, X, 42, 7 *voverat Iovi Victori, si legiones hostium fudisset, pocillum mulsi, priusquam temetum biberet, sese facturum.* For *poni* see, beside the standard editions, Thurneysen, *Gl.*, I (1909), p. 242; F. Edgerton, *A.J.P.*, XXXIII (1912), p. 224; Goidànich, *A. G. I.*, XXV (1931), pp. 95-112; Hofmann, *B.Jb.*, CCLXX (1940), pp. 89-90; Kent, *Lang.*, XIV (1938), p. 216. — *uatuo ferine fetu*: this instruction occurs in connection with the sacrifices before, but not behind, the three gates, and also at the groves of Jupiter and Coredius and at the Fontuli. Many interpretations have been proposed, though none is sure. On phonological grounds it is easy to set up a connection with L. *latus, -eris*, with *u* **v** < *l-* (**55 a**) and stem-variation as in L. *pecu*: *pecus, -oris*. The *uatuo* may then be the side-portions or ribs, which are to be placed on a tray or carrier of some kind (*ferine*) and reserved for the priests and other persons. For the setting aside of certain parts of the victim for profane use, see Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², p. 419, and for detailed discussion of the formula see *A.J.P.*, LXXVI (1955), pp. 77-9. The noun *ferine* may be related to L. *ferio* only in the unlikely event that *uatuo* indicates victims, which then are slain *cultro* or *ictu* (so Blum.). Otherwise it must be connected with *fertu*, L. *fero*, as some sort of carrier on which the *uatuo* are placed or presented.

VIa 58 - 59 (= Ia 7 - 10). Sacrifice of three pregnant sows to Trebus Jovius behind the Trebulan Gate. For pregnant sows as offerings cf. Cic., *Div.*, I, 45, 101 *scriptum ... est, cum terrae motus factus esset, ut sue plena procuratio fieret, vocem ab aede Iunonis ex arce exstitisse.* — **58** *Trebo Iouie*: this deity is mentioned only here and in the corresponding Ia 8, where the *o-* or *ā*-stem form **Trebe** is difficult

to reconcile with *Trebo*, since both must be dat. sg. For the possibility that *Trebo* may show a rare *ā*-stem ending see **25 f.** If this possibility is rejected, *Trebo* must be an *u*-stem. Since a divine name is more likely to have changed from an *u*- to an *o*- or *ā*-stem than the reverse, the later table may here preserve an older form, as Vetter, p. 245, suggests. The sex of the deity is unknown; the principle that female victims are offered to female deities generally holds good, but in view of the ewe-lambs offered to Tefer Jovius in VIb 22 ff. = Ia 24 ff., we dare not insist on it too rigidly. Of the two genders the masculine is more in keeping with the *u*-stem. If *Trebo* is from the same root as *trebeit*, *tremnu*, O. **tríibúm**, L. *trabs*, etc., as seems likely, it is probably the name of some deity of the house, inherited from a stage of Indo-European culture when the wooden house was the rule (cf. Dev., p. 211). — *persae fetu*: the victims in connection with which this expression occurs are sows, young pigs, boars, heifers, she-calves, sheep, and dogs. *persae* is regularly followed by *fetu* except in IIa 21-2 **esunu / peřae futu**, while in III 32 **pelsanu** intervenes. It is quite certain that the expression designates the position of the victim at the moment of sacrifice, and also that *persae* **peřae(m)** is in some way connected with *persi* **peři** 'foot,' and *perso* **peřum**. The latter term, whether taken as '*fossam*' with most editors, or 'mound,' as in the present work, gives a satisfactory basis for the formation of an adj. **pedaio*- signifying location, like **pernaiaf** from *perne*, **pustnaiaf** from *postne*. There seems therefore to be no good reason to depart from Bücheler's view (p. 64) that the victim was stretched on the ground. The same type of sacrifice may be designated by the Latin expression *sacrificium humanum*: Paul. *e* Fest., 91 Li. *Humanum sacrificium dicebant, quod mortui causa fiebat*; Gell., V, 12, 11-12 *Simulacrum igitur dei Vediovis, quod est in aede, de qua supra dixi, sagittas tenet, quae sunt videlicet partae ad nocendum. Quapropter esse demum plerumque Apollinem esse dixerunt; immolaturque ritu humano capra eiusque animalis figmentum iuxta simulacrum stat.* Cf. also VIb 5, with note on *sopo*. — **59** *strušla*: this cake accompanies the sacrifices offered behind the three gates and at Rubinia, across the Sacred Way, and at Acedonia, but only in VI and VII; it is not mentioned in the corresponding portions of I. It is also used in the dog-sacrifice in IIa, and in the sacrifices in III and IV. In every one of its occurrences except in these last two tables, *strušla* is found in juxtaposition with *ficla*. The nature of the *strušla* may be inferred from that of L. *strues*, to which the Umbrian word is probably related as a diminutive: cf. Fest., 407 Li. *strues genera liborum sunt, digitorum conjunctorum non dissimilia qui superiecta panicula in transversum continentur.*

VIb 1 - 2 (= Ia 11 - 13). Sacrifice of three oxen to Mars Grabovius, the second of the Grabovian trinity, before the Tesenacan Gate. The only new feature is the mention of *farsio*, which together with the *ficla* are to be added to the *prosecta*. The word is here used substantively of spelt-cakes. Cf. Fest., 78 Li. *farreum genus libi ex farre factum*; Plin., *N.H.*, XVIII, 10 *quin et in sacris nihil religiosius confarreationis vinculo erat, novaeque nuptae farreum praeferebant.* *farsio* are also added to the *prosecta* in 44 in the sacrifice to Mars Hodius at the grove of Jupiter and in IIa 12 in the sacrifice of a boar to Ahtus Mars. They are not included, however, in the passages of Ia, b corresponding to VIb.

VIb 3 - 18 (= Ia 14 - 19). Sacrifice of three sucking pigs to Fisus Sancius behind the Tesenacan Gate, followed by supplementary offerings to Fisovius Sancius. The sacrifice proper is contained in 3-5. For the victims cf. Cic., *Leg.*, II, 12, 29 *iam illud ex institutis pontificum et haruspicum non mutandum est, quibus hostiis immolandum cuique deo, cui maioribus, cui lactentibus, cui maribus, cui fe-*

(3) *post . uerir . tesenocir . sif . filiu . trif . fetu fiso . sansie . ocrifer . fisiu . totaper . iiouina . poni . feitu . persae . fetu . aruio . fetu* / (4) *surur . naratu . pusi . pre . uerir . treblanir . tases . persnimu . mandraclo . difue . destr e . habitu . prosesetir . ficla* / (5) *strušla . arsueitu . ape . sopo . postro . peperscust . u.estisia . et . mefa spefa .*

Behind the Tesenacan Gate he shall sacrifice three sucking pigs to Fisus Sancius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. He shall sacrifice with mead, perform (the sacrifice) upon the ground, offer grain, recite the same formulas as before the Trebulan Gate, pray silently, have a maniple folded double upon his right hand, and add to the parts cut off a *ficla* cake and a *strušla* cake. When he has put the under-parts at the back (of the altar), kneeling he shall offer a libation and a *mefa spefa* cake in a cup

3 *ocrifer*: for *ocriper*.

minis; Arn., VII, 18 *ut ille tauris deus, haedis alius honoretur aut ovibus, hic lactentibus porculis, alter intonsis agnis.* — **3** *Fiso Sanšie*: the name of this god occurs nowhere else except in the equivalent Ia 15, with **Fise** showing the same stem-variation seen in **Trebe**: *Trebo* (see on VIa 58). Yet the name of the Fisian Mount is evidence of the importance of his cult in Iguvium. *Fiso, Fisier* are generally believed to be derived from the same root as L. *fido, fides*, etc. The god was then a protector of oaths and solemn pledges. This aspect of his character is further confirmed by the use of the epithet *Sanšie*, which is found also in the equivalent Ia 15 and frequently with *Fisoui* in VIb 6-15, VIIa 37; there are also several occurrences of **Saçe Saçi** in IIa, b. The connection of *Sanšie* with L. *sancio, -ire* is obvious; for the use of the Latin verb in relation to solemn oaths, cf. Livy, XXV, 8, 8 *rursus fide sanxerunt liberos Tarentinos leges suas suaque omnia habituros. Fiso Sanšie* further recalls the association of the Latin names *Fidius* and *Sancus* attested by Varro, *L.L.*, V, 66 *Aelius Dium Fid<i>um dicebat Diovis filium ... et putabat hunc esse Sancum ab Sabina lingua* [*Sancum* Scaliger's emendation of *Sanctum*]; Ov., *Fast.*, VI, 213-18 *Quaerebam, Nonas Sanco, Fidione referrem, an tibi, Semo pater. Tum mihi Sancus ait: 'Cuicumque ex istis dederis, ego munus habebo. Nomina terna fero, sic voluere Cures.' Hunc igitur veteres donarunt aede Sabini, inque Quirinali constituere iugo*; Fest., 276 Li. *statua eius* [sc. *Gaiae Caeciliae*] *est in aede Sancus, qui deus dius fidius vocatur.* — **4** *mandraclo difue destre habitu*: not found in the corresponding passage in Ia 14-16, but the **mantra(h)klu** is called for in IIa 19 in the sacrifice of a dog to Hondus Jovius and in IIb 16 in the sacrifice of a he-goat to Sancius Jupiter. Of particular interest are certain coins of Tuder showing a hand wrapped with a cloth two folds of which cross on the back of the hand, a possible explanation of *difue* in our text. See A.-K., I, pl. 9; R. Garrucci, *Le monete dell' Italia antica* (Rome, 1885), p. 29, pl. LV. The association of the cloth over the hand with the solemnization of pledges receives further support from Latin sources: Livy, I, 21, 4 *Fidei sollemne instituit* [sc. *Numa*]. *ad id sacrarium flamines bigis curru arcuato vehi iussit manuque ad digitos usque involuta rem divinam facere, significantes fidem tutandam sedemque eius etiam in dexteris sacratam esse*; Serv., *ad Aen., I*, 292 *canam Fidem dixit vel quod in canis nominibus invenitur; vel quod ei albo panno involuta manu sacrificatur, per quod ostenditur fidem debere esse secretam.* The *mandraclo* in an etymo-

logical sense is, like L. *mantele*, a cloth for wiping the hands (for phonology see **18 a**). It is interesting to observe that *mantele* is one of several medieval designations of the maniple worn over the *left* forearm by the priest celebrating Mass; the Catholic use of the maniple, however, seems to have originated in the usage of certain Roman civil magistrates; see *Enciclopedia Cattolica* under *manipolo*. — **5** *ape sopo postro peperscust*, etc.: here begins the description of special ceremonies in honor of Fisovius Sancius with a libation, a *mefa spefa*, and *poni* (9). The prayer in 6-8 agrees in almost all details with VIa 22-25 as far as *suboco Dei Graboue*, and b 11 *futu fons* to its conclusion in 15 is practically a repetition of VIa 30-4, but the passage extending from b 9 to 11 *uouse auie esone* is peculiar to the ceremony in honor of Fisovius Sancius. The precise relationship of Fisovius Sancius to the Fisus Sancius of 3 (= Ia 15) is not clear. Rosenzweig, p. 74, takes both gods to be the same, and there can be no doubt that they are at least closely connected. Moreover we cannot argue for a difference in the deities from the fact that the sacrifice to Fisus Sancius in 3-5 was a complete ceremony in itself calling for the same prayers as those used before the Trebulan Gate, while the new ceremony has differences in the prayer as well as in the use of a *mefa spefa* instead of the *struśla* of 5; for in VIIa also the sacrifice of three sows at Rubinia is followed at 8 by a new ceremony, again introduced by *ape supo postro pepescus* and containing new prayers, but, like the sacrifice itself, performed in honor of Prestota Śerfia. In its formation *Fisovio-* has the same relation to the *u*-stem *Fisu-* that L. *Marcius* has to the *o*-stem *Marcus*, but it is impossible to say with certainty whether we have here a genealogy of deified abstractions or merely a substitution of a patronymic for the primary name. In VIIa the libation to Prestota Śerfia is followed from 37 through 40 by offerings to Fisovius Sancius, the description of which agrees closely in many details with the present passage. — *sopo*: editors in general admit formal equivalence with L. *suppus*, but it is not certain what part of the victim is meant. With *ape sopo postro peperscust* compare VIIa 8, where the same expression occurs, and **supa pustra perstu** in IIa 32. The victims of which *sopo*, *sopa*, etc., is used are sows and young pigs, sheep, and dogs; in other words, some of the same victims with which the expression *persae fetu* is associated (see on VIa 58). Moreover the **supa sumtu** of Ia 9, 16 is replaced by *persae fetu* in the corresponding VIa 58, b 3, in environments otherwise almost identical. The rare L. *suppus* does not give direct help in understanding *sopo*; the most important passages are: Fest., 370 Li. *suppum antiqui vocabant quem nunc supinum dicimus ... eius vocabuli meminit Luci<li>us*: "*si vero das quod rogat, et si suggeris suppus*"; Lucr., I, 1061-2 *et simili ratione animalia suppa vagari contendunt*. It is the etymological relationship and equivalence of meaning between *sopo*, L. *suppus*, and *supinus*, ὕπτιος that may provide the answer. The words of this group may originally have stood in contrast to 'erect'; at least this is the contrast implied in the Lucretian passage on the manner in which animals walk. But the usual contrast is with *pronus*, πρηνής. *sopo* then seems to have been specialized to mean the parts of the victim which are on top when the victim is supine; in other words, the under-parts. Some support for this meaning of *sopo* may be found in a similar use of ὕπτιος in Arist. *P. A.*, 658a, 15-19 *καὶ τῶν ἐχόντων τρίχας ἐπ' ἀμφότερα οἱ ἄνθρωποι μόνον ἔχουσιν. τὰ γὰρ τετράποδα τῶν ζώων ἐν τοῖς ὑπτίοις οὐκ ἔχει τρίχας, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πρανέσι μᾶλλον· οἱ δ'ἄνθρωποι τοὐναντίον ἐν τοῖς ὑπτίοις μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς πρανέσιν*. Devoto, p. 208, makes a distinction between *prosešeto*, '*exta*' and *sopo* '*viscera*'; but see Kent, *Lang.*, XIV (1938), p. 214, and Devoto, *T.G.*, *passim*, where *sopa* is 'carni' and

scalsie . conſgos . ſetu . ſisoui . sansi / (6) *ocriper . ſisiu . totaper . iouina . eso . persnimu . uestisia . uestis . tio . subocau . suboco ſisoui sansi . ocrider . ſisiu* (7) *totaper . iiouina . erer . nomneper . erar nomneper . ſons . sir . pacer. sir . ocre . ſisi . tote . iiouine . erer . nomne /* (8) *era.r nomne . arsie . tiom . subocau . suboco . ſisoui . sanṡi . asier . ſrite . tiom . subocau . suboco ſisoui . sanṡi . suront /* (9) *poni . pesnimu . meſa speſa . eso . persnimu . ſisouie . sanṡie . tiom . esa . meſa . speſa . ſisouina ocriper . ſisiu totaper . iiouina /* (10) *erer . nomneper . erar . nomneper ſisouie .*

to Fisovius Sancius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. Thus shall he pray after pouring the libation: "Thee I invoke as the one invoked, Fisovius Sancius, for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state. Be thou favorable, be thou propitious to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. In the consecration I invoke thee as the one invoked, Fisovius Sancius, in trust of the consecration I invoke thee as the one invoked, Fisovius Sancius." Likewise shall he pray with the mead. Thus shall he pray with the *meſa speſa* cake: "Fisovius Sancius, thee with this Fisovian *meſa speſa* cake for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state (I invoke). Fiso-

5 *conſgos*: for *conegos*. 6 *ocrider*: for *ocriper*.

prosešeto is 'visceri.' — *uestisia*: from an examination of the passages containing this noun and its cognate verb *uesticatu* it appears that the meaning is 'libation, offer a libation'; so, for example, in IIa 24, 31, 35, where **vestikatu** is used in association with **puni, veskles, kapiře.** Devoto, p. 185, recognizes two distinct uses of *uestisia, uesticatu*, illustrated especially in IIa 7-16: the *aspersio* or sprinkling of the victim before sacrifice, and the libation in the strict sense, which is additional to and not a part of the sacrifice proper. The etymology of the two words, with *uestis*, is uncertain, but a plausible explanation has been offered by Kretschmer, *Gl.*, X (1920), pp. 154-6, in part anticipated by Bücheler, pp. 52-3: *uesticatu* is related to L. *Vesta* as *claudicare* to *claudus*, *fabricare* to *faber*. **westicā* may be assumed as an intermediate stage in the formation of the actual form *uestišia*. *uestis* may be assigned to a verb related to *Vesta* as *punio* to *poena*, with analogy of *persnis* as a contributing factor in its formation. The semantic development of the whole group shows a generalization from libations poured to Vesta (or else on the hearth) to libations poured to any deity. Moreover the *uestisia* cannot always have been a liquid offering, since the expressions Ia 28 **esmik vestiçam preve fiktu,** 31 **esmik vestiça afiktu** suggest that it was something solid, to be imposed and fixed to the **persuntru**; but in no case can the precise nature of the *uestišia* be determined. — *scalsie conegos*: with minor variations this expression occurs in 16 in connection with the *erus* of the libation; in VIIa 37, which is almost identical with the present passage, and in IV 15, 18, 20 in the offerings of libations, etc., to Pomonus and Vesona, to

Hula, and to Tursa. The sense of *scalsie* has been determined by etymological means (see Lexicon), but since it was used not only for liquids but also for the *mefa spefa*, which was almost certainly a type of cake, it must have been a broad, shallow bowl rather than a cup. Only in the present passage, with VIIa 37, is *scalsie* followed by the postposition *-e*; all the other examples have *-to* **-ta**. If we take the forms at their face value, we must assume a difference in the manner of presentation, according as the *uestišia*, etc., are offered *in* the bowl or poured out *from* the bowl. — *conegos* (=**kunikaz**): the majority of scholars have assumed connection with L. *conīveo*, whose meaning 'close the eyes, wink' would then be derived from 'nod, bend over,' the sense of the root **kneigʷh-*. But the meaning 'kneeling,' which seems to be required for the Umbrian forms, receives better etymological support if we connect these forms with L. *genu*, *nītor*, *e-nītor*, *nixus*, OL *gnixus*, the whole group possibly being further connected with *gigno*, etc., through the kneeling position of the mother at childbirth. Cf. R. Back, *I.F.*, XL (1922), pp. 162-5; Kretschmer, *Gl.*, XIV (1925), p. 224; Pisani, p. 153. The kneeling position in religious ritual is illustrated by certain Oscan coins showing a young man kneeling during the presentation of a pig in the striking of a treaty. Cf. J. Friedländer, *Die oskischen Münzen* (Leipzig, 1850), p. 81. — **9** *Fisouie Sanšie* ... **11** *uouse auie esone*: this portion of the prayer is found nowhere else in the Tables, but its use is called for in VIIa 37-38 through the instruction *suront naratu puse post uerir Tesonocir*. The succession of alliterative pairs in 11 is striking. — **10-11** *dupursus peturpursus*: for this designation of men and beasts cf. Cic., *Dom.*, 18, 48 *hoc ministro omnium non bipedum solum sed etiam quadripedum impurissimo*; *Rigveda*, X, 85, 42 *śaṃ no bhava dvipade śaṃ catuṣpade* 'be a blessing to our bipeds, a blessing to our quadrupeds' (Lanman). Dev., pp. 224-5, gives additional examples from Sanskrit as well as several from Avestan and calls attention to the gradation *-purs-*: *persi* 'foot,' like *πατήρ* : *εὐπάτωρ*, as evidence of the antiquity of the compounds. — **11** *fato* should not be equated with L. *factum*, as in several earlier editions, but with *fātum*, as implied by the more recent translations *'fata'* (Blum.), *'vaticinium'* (Dev., Bott.), *'fatum'* (Pis., Vet.). The participle of **façia** is not **fato-* < **fahto-*, but *feto-* (cf. **feta** IIb 13). *fito* is uncertain because the *i* may represent *ī*, *ū* if equivalent to Skt. *bhūtam*, or *ē*, in which case it would be an orthographic variant of the stem seen in **feta** from **façia**. It seems most natural, however, to derive it from **bhwī-tom*, thus bringing it into close relationship with *φῖτυ*, O. **fiiet**, L. *fio*, OL *fitum*. The pair then show a contrast of sense similar to that in 'word and deed' and may be translated 'prediction and outcome' ('das Vorbestimmte, das Eingetretene,' Vetter). — *perne postne*: this pair presents no difficulty; cf. *πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω*. — *sepse sarsite*: no solution can be regarded as certain. *sarsite* is generally taken as an adv. in *ē*- as if to L. **sarcītus* in place of *sartus*, the actual pcpl. of *sarcio*. The development of the notion of wholeness or entirety from that of mending may be illustrated by Charis., p. 220 Keil: *Sarcte pro integre. sarcire enim est integrum facere. hinc 'sarta tecta uti sint' opera publica locantur et ut Porphyrio ex Verrio et Festo 'in auguralibus' inquit 'libris ita est' sane sarcteque ...'* *sepse* may be a synonym to *sarsite*, as 'completely' to 'wholly' or an antonym, as 'individually' to 'collectively.' In seeking an etymology for it we must account for the preservation of *p* before *s* (cf. **61 d**). If we derive it from the pcpl. of a verb equivalent to L. *saepio*, *saeptus*, the *s* in place of *t* would show the same analogical extension from dental stems as seen in L. *labor*, *lapsus*, and the analogy of present-stem forms might be sufficient to prevent the assimilation or loss of the *p*.

sanśie . ditu . ocre . fisi . tote . iouine . ocrer . fisie . totar . iouinar . dupursus / (11) *peturpursus . fato . fito . perne . postne . sepse sarsite . uou.se . auie . esone . futu . fons . pacer . pase . tua . ocre . fisi . tote . iiouine* / (12) *erer . nomne . erar . nomne . fisouie sanśie . saluo seritu . ocrem . fisi . totam . iouinam . fisouie . sanśie . saluo seritu* / (13) *ocrer . fisi.er . totar . iouinar nome . nerf . arsmo . uiro . pequo . castruo . frif . salua . seritu . futu . fons . pacer . pase* / (14) *tua . ocre . fisi . tote . iiouine . erer . nomne . erar . nomne . fisouie . sanśie . tiom . esa . mefa . spefa . fisouina . ocriper . fisiu* / (15) *totaper . iiouina . erer nomneper . erar . nomneper . fisouie . sanśie . tiom .*

vius Sancius, grant to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the men and beasts of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, (success in) word and deed, before and behind, in private and in public, in vow, in augury, and in sacrifice. Be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. Fisovius Sancius, keep safe the Fisian Mount, the state of Iguvium. Fisovius Sancius, keep safe the name of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, keep safe the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. Fisovius Sancius, thee with this Fisovian *mefa spefa* cake for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state, Fisovius San-

15 *nomneper* (first instance): *per* written small above the line.

For an alternative explanation see Danielsson, *Altitalische Studien*, III (Hannover, 1884), p. 156 (*sepse* < **saepicio-* as *uouse* < **vovicio-*). By either derivation *sepse*, from the notion of fencing off which is inherent in the root, could mean 'individually' in contrast to *sarsite* 'collectively.' — *uouse auie esone*: of these three forms *uouse* is the most difficult. The actual text is *uou.se*, but all editors from Bücheler to the present either read it as a single word or at least translate it on this basis. Some sort of connection with L. *voveo*, *votum* is apparent. We may derive it from **vofçyo-* < **vofikyo-* < **wog^{w}hikyo-* after Kent, *C.P.*, XV (1920), pp. 364-5, the development of the diphthong *-ou-* < *-of-* after syncope being parallel to that in *aitu* < **agetōd*. *auie* is generally regarded as an *ē*-extension of the stem seen in *auif*, L. *avis*, itself contained in the further extended forms **aviekate**, *auiecla*. *auie* may then be taken as an abstract noun meaning 'augury, taking of the auspices,' and the three words will give satisfactory sense if we take them as loc. sg. (not dat.; it is the *dupursus peturpursus* who are expected to benefit from the prayer), and understand them to refer to the three principal parts of the ceremony in the widest sense: the dedication of the victim, the taking of the auspices, and the sacrifice proper. See Dev., p. 228, where a diagram illustrates the division of the whole ceremony (*persclo*) into its three

component parts, with further subdivision of the *uouse* into *diçlo* and *arsio* and of the *esono* or sacrifice proper into the acts designated by the verbs *ampentu*, *purdouitu*, and *subra spahatu*. — *futu fons* ... 15 *tiom subocau*: cf. VIa 30-4, which is closely similar. — **15-16** *pesclu / semu uesticatu atripursatu*: *semu* is generally taken as cognate with L. *semi-*, ἡμι- and translated '*dimidia, media*,' that is, 'when the prayer is half through, in the middle of the prayer.' Vetter translates '*unaquaque*,' from the separative and individualizing force seen in *sē-*, since there are separate prayers at the presentation of the *uestisia* in 6, the *pone* in 9, and the *mefa spefa* in 9 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 249). But *sehemu* in 36 cannot be so understood unless we take it to refer to the separate parts of the prayer in 25-36, for the ceremony in honor of Tefer Jovius commencing at 24-5 does not call for separate prayers with the *uestišia* and with the *persondro sorsom*. It seems best therefore to follow the general view with regard to *semu*. — *atripursatu*: found also in the instructions for the offering of the *persondro* to Tefer Jovius in 24 ff., for the ceremony with black and white vessels in honor of Prestota Serfia in VIIa, for the dog-sacrifice in IIa, and for the sacrifice of a he-goat in IIb. It is frequently preceded by *uesticatu* **vestikatu**. The principal Latin passages relating to the dancing of the *tripudium* are: *Act. frat. arv.*, p. 26 (Henzen) *ibi sacerdotes clusi succincti libellis acceptis carmen descindentes tripodaverunt in verba haec*: *enos Lases iuvate*; Livy, I, 20, 4 *Salios item duodecim Marti Gradivo legit* [sc. *Numa*] ... *ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis sollemnique saltatu iussit*. Cf. also E. Norden, *Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern* (Lund, 1939), pp. 190-1, 238-9. The prefix *a- aha-* **a- ah-** in the Umbrian forms evidently means that the *adfertor* in performing the dance moves away from the altar. There is no good reason to assume with Bü., p. 69, that *atripursatu*, like L. *tripudium*, refers to the feeding of sacred fowl for the purpose of taking auspices. — *eam*: the *mefa spefa* of 9, 14 above. — *erus*: the etymology and meaning are both uncertain. All instances of the word are acc. sg. with the possible exception of IV 14 (abl. pl. according to Vetter), and most depend on forms of the verb *dirstu*, although the governing verb is **prusekatu** in IIa 28, **kuveitu** in IIa 32, **kuveitu teřtu** in IIa 40. A dependent genitive often precedes: *hapinaru* Ia 33, *uestisiar sorsalir* VIb 38, *uestisiar* VIb 16, VIIa 38, *proseseto* VIb 16, 38. That the *erus* was a solid substance and not a liquid is apparent from IIa 32 **iepru erus mani kuveitu**, and IIa 27-8 **katles tuva tefra / teřti erus prusekatu** shows that at least in some cases the *erus* was a part of the victim itself. Devoto, p. 230, argues in favor of the view that the *erus* was not offered to the gods but distributed to those persons who were present, pointing out that the expression *erus ditu* or its equivalent usually occurs near the *end* of the instructions for the sacrifice. It may also be significant that there is no clear instance in the Tables of *dirstu* used of something offered to a god; here the normal verb is *purdouitu*, while the instances of *dirstu* and its various forms are almost entirely limited to expressions with *erus* as the object, except for IIa 40 **vinu pune teřtu**, VIb 10 in the prayer to Fisovius Sancius, and the contracts between the Atiedian Brothers and the two *decuviae* in Va, b. The commonly adopted etymology of *erus* (see Lexicon) is not in conflict with such a view, since the portions distributed could be regarded as 'divine' or 'sacrificial' by outside persons, and the rhotacism, in contrast to unrhotacized *esono*, might be a mark of popular as against ritual usage. It is strange that the priest should be kneeling while making the distribution, but Dev., p. 223, may have given the correct explanation in suggesting that the vessel was a large one and was placed on the ground. As a technical term of uncertain

subocau fisouie . frite . tiom . subocau . pesclu / (16) *semu . uesticatu . atripursatu . ape . eam . purdinsust . proseseto . erus . ditu . eno . scalseto . uestisiar . erus . conegos* / (17) *dirstu . eno . mefa . uestisia . sopa . purome . efurfatu . subra . spahmu . eno . serse . comoltu . comatir . persnihimu* / (18) *capif . purdita . dupla . aitu . sacra . dupla . aitu* /

(19) *pre . uerir . uehier . buf trif . calersu fetu uofione . grabouie . ocriper .*

cius, thee I invoke. In trust of Fisovius I invoke thee." In the middle of the prayer he shall pour a libation and dance the *tripudium*. When he has presented this (cake) he shall distribute the *erus* of the parts cut off. Then kneeling, from a cup he shall distribute the *erus* of the libation. Then he shall remove from the platter the *mefa* cake and the libation and scatter them down into the fire. Then sitting he shall grind (the cakes) and shall pray with the ground (cakes). He shall move the two loaned bowls, he shall move the two consecrated bowls.

Before the Veian Gate he shall sacrifice three oxen with white foreheads to

meaning *erus* is left untranslated in the present work. — **17** *mefa uestisia*: these two oblations are again offered to Fisovius Sancius in VIIa 37-8, just after the sacrifice to Prestota Šerfia, and to the deity whose name in written **Purtupite** in IV 14. — *sopa*: acc. sg., as may be seen from *sopam* in the nearly identical VIIa 38. — *purome*: an *o*-stem has replaced the consonant-stem, or the masc. ending has replaced the zero-ending of the third-declension neuter; in either case the result is the same. In a number of instances where the postposition *-e* is not used, the normal neut. acc. sg. *pir* **pir** appears. — *efurfatu*: only here and in VIIa 38, where the context is identical, but *furfant* **furfaθ** in VIb 43 = Ib 1 must be the simplex of the same verb. The sense is not certain, but Dev., pp. 232-3, has offered the most satisfactory solution by taking the verb as a denominative from a noun **furfa* < **forfā*, root **bherdh*/*bhordh*, (cf. OIcel., OE *bord* '*tabula, axis*'), and translating '*e lance auferto.*' For the use of *lances* and *mensae* in Roman ritual cf. Verg., *G.*, II, 194 *lancibus et pandis fumantia reddimus exta*; *Aen.*, XII, 213-5 *sacratas* / *in flammam iugulant pecudes et viscera vivis* / *eripiunt cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras*; Fest., 275 Li. *mensae in aedibus sacris ararum vicem obtinent*; Macr., *Sat.*, III, 11, 5 f. *in Papiniano enim iure evidenter relatum est arae vicem praestare posse mensam dicatam. Ut in templo inquit Iunonis Populoniae angusta mensa est.* — *subra spahmu*: similarly in VIIa 39; cf. VIb 40-41 *enom uaso porse pesondrisco habus* / *serse subra spahatu*, and see on Va 20 **subra spafu fust**. The sense 'throw' is not too remote from 'spread' to be acceptable in VIb and VIIa, but the reason for the use of the passive in the present passage and VIIa 39 against the active in VIb 41 is not clear. — *serse*: not found in the equivalent Ia 16-19, but the sitting position is prescribed in the sacrifice behind the Veian Gate (VIb 22 = Ia 25) and in the last portion of the supplementary offerings which follow (VIb 41 = Ia 33-4), including the ritual of the vessels, the grinding of the cereal-offerings, and the accompanying prayer. — *comoltu*: the instruction to grind occurs not only here but also in the description of the sacrifice

behind the Veian Gate (VIb 41 = Ia 34) and across the Sacred Way and at Rubinia (VIIa 39, 44-5 = Ib 37-8), and in IIa and IV. Generally no object is expressed, but IIa 41 **struhçlas fiklas sufafias kumaltu** shows a series of partitive genitive objects, the first two of which are clearly types of cakes. The expression **antakre(s) kumate(s) pe(r)sni(h)mu** in Ib 37-8 (but not in the corresponding VIIa 44-5) and in IIa 42 seems to show a contrast between whole and ground cakes (?). Dev., p. 234, suggests that the grinding may symbolize the chewing of the cakes by the gods who receive them. All the instances of **kumaltu kumultu** *comoltu* occur shortly after the giving of the *erus*, and the grinding is regularly followed by a prayer. *comatir* may possibly be taken as abl. abs. 'when they have been ground,' but it is not necessary to repeat in a new construction what has already been expressed by means of *comoltu*. We may therefore take *comatir* as an instrumental abl. indicating that with which or over which the priest prays. — **18** *capif*: this type of vessel is used in offering libations and the *pesondro* in 24, 37 = Ia 29, 32, and IIa 8, 34, and as a container for the drink **puni** in IIa 33, 41. It may have had a round bottom, since a *persom*, generally taken as a 'pit,' here as a 'mound,' had to be made for it (cf. Ia 29, 32, IIa 8, VIb 24, 37). For the distinction of two classes of these cups, *purdita* and *sacra*, cf. the corresponding passage Ia 18-19. In Ib 29, 32 = VIIa 39-40, 45, on the other hand, only the *capif sacra* are mentioned. It is probably best to follow Devoto, pp. 190, 236 in making a distinction between cups which were temple property and those which were loaned or given from outside sources, similar to the distinction between victims **sakre** and **perakne** (see on IIa 5). — *aitu*: used with acc. pl. forms *capif* etc. in VIIa 40 = Ib 29 (sacrifice at Rubinia) and VIIa 45 = Ib 37 (sacrifice at Trans Sanctam), while **aitu** may be supplied in the elliptical sentence Ia 18-19 corresponding to the present passage. The precise meaning is difficult to determine. The adverb **enu** in Ib 37 shows that here at least the instruction is not merely to "use" **kapi sakra** but to perform some specific act with them at a certain point in the ceremony. The occurrence of *capif ... aitu* at or near the end of the particular ceremony in most cases might make it appear that the bowls were to be removed, but in this case we should probably expect to find the verb compounded with some prefix denoting separation. It is safer therefore simply to translate 'move,' a sense close enough to the normal meanings of L. *ago*, Gk. *ἄγω*. The exact nature of the motion prescribed is uncertain, but it may not be out of place to refer to VIIa 25, where the vessels (**uesclo*) are to be placed in a particular position.

VIb 19 - 21 (= Ia 20 - 23). Sacrifice of three oxen to Vofionus Grabovius before the Veian Gate. As in the sacrifice to Jupiter Grabovius before the Trebulan Gate in VIa 22, 56-7 the use of either wine or *poni* is prescribed, and cakes known by the names *mefa spefa* and *ficla* are to be added to the *prosecta*, but the instructions for the two sacrifices are not given in the same order. — **19** *calersu*: equivalent to L. *calidus*, known from Isid., *Orig.*, XII, 1, 52 *equi qui albam frontem habent, calidi appellantur*; *Philoxenus calidus λευκομέτωπος*. For the sacrifice of victims with a white spot on the forehead cf. further Hor., *C.*, IV, 2, 57-60 (sc. *vitulus*) *fronte curvatos imitatus ignis tertium lunae referentis ortum, qua notam duxit niveus videri cetera fulvus*. For similar regulations on the marking of the victim in the Vedic horse-sacrifice see P.-E. Dumont, *L'Aśvamedha* (Paris and Louvain, 1927), p. XII, §§ 67-72. — *Uofione Grabouie*: the third and most obscure of the Grabovian triad. Bü. and the majority of subsequent editors have connected the name with L. *voveo*, U. **vufru** (IE **wog^{w}h-*), the god therefore being in some way associated with vows.

fisiu . totaper . iiouina . uatuo ferine . fetu . herie . uinu / (20) *herie . poni . fetu . aruio . fetu . tases . persnimu . proseseter . mefa . spefa . ficla . arsueitu . suront . naratu . pusi . pre . uerir* / (21) *treblanir* /

(22) *post . uerir . uehier . habina . trif . fetu . tefrei . ioui . ocriper . fisiu . totaper . iiouina . serse . fetu . pelsana . fetu . aruio . feitu . poni* / (23) *fetu . tasis . pesnimu . prosesetir . strusla . ficla . arueitu . suront . naratu . puse . uerisco . treblanir . ape . habina .*

Vofionus Grabovius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. He shall place the ribs on a tray, sacrifice either with wine or with mead, offer grain, pray silently, and add to the parts cut off a *mefa spefa* cake and a *ficla* cake, and recite the same formulas as before the Trebulan Gate.

Behind the Veian Gate he shall sacrifice three lambs to Tefer Jovius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. He shall sacrifice sitting, he shall sacrifice (the victims) for burial, offer grain, sacrifice with mead, pray silently, add to the parts cut off a *strusla* cake and a *ficla* cake, and recite the same formulas as at the Trebulan Gate. When he has presented the lambs, the same

Pisani, *Revue des études indo-européennes*, I (1938), p. 11, proposed derivation from **Leudh-i̯ōn-*, from the same root found in OCS *ljudije*, Germ. *Leute* (*u* **v** < *l-* as in **55a**). Cf. also Pisani, *Lingue dell' Italia antica*, p. 157. The name is therefore from the same root as L. *Līber*, and like Dionysus and Etr. Fufluns the god is one of vegetation and growth. The chief advantage of the new interpretation is that it produces a closer parallel between the Iguvine triad and the Roman triad Jupiter-Mars-Quirinus, for, even though etymological equivalence between *Vofionus* and *Quirinus* is of course impossible, we may now have in each case a third god associated especially with the farming class as Jupiter and Mars were with the priestly and warrior classes under the social system sometimes assumed for Indo-European and early Italic peoples. Cf. Benveniste, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, CXXIX (1945), pp. 6-9.

VIb 22 - 42 (= Ia 24 - 34). Sacrifice of three ewe-lambs to Tefer Jovius behind the Veian Gate, followed by supplementary offerings to Tefer Jovius. The sacrifice proper is contained in 22-23. *poni* is used, and the cakes called *strusla* and *ficla* are added to the *prosecta*, as behind the Trebulan and Tesenacan Gates. — 22 *habina*: translated '*agnas*' by nearly all editors; for phonological details see Lexicon. Vetter, p. 177, favors '*sues castratas*,' arguing that since the victims offered *before* the three gates are all of the same species (oxen), those behind the Veian Gate should, like those behind the other two gates, be pigs; and for the etymology he suggests that the relation of *habina* to L. *capus*, *cap(p)o* is similar to that of the dialectal verb-root *hab-* to L. *cap-*. But neither the argument on grounds of ritual nor of phonology seems a sufficiently cogent reason to depart from the usual interpretation. — *Tefrei Ioui*: this god is mentioned only in the description of the sacrifice and supplementary offerings behind the Veian Gate, and is nowhere known outside of Iguvium. His name is doubtless connected with *tefra*, *tefru-to*, under which the Lexicon may be consulted for phonological details. If these forms are correctly interpreted as 'burnt-offerings, place of burnt-offerings,' then Tefer is evidently a deity

of the hearth, comparable in certain respects to the Roman Vesta. Cf. especially Rosenzweig, pp. 81-2, Dev., p. 238. — *serse*: the sitting position is prescribed also during the grinding of the cereal-offerings and the prayer which follows, in 41 = Ia 34, as also in VIb 17 during the grinding which forms a part of the special ceremonies in honor of Fisouius Sancius. — *pelsana*: this gerundive is used in the equivalent Ia 26, in the sacrifice of a ram to Jovius in IIa 6, in the sacrifice of a dog in IIa 43, and of a sheep in III 32, while the imperative *pelsatu* is used in connection with the *pesondro* in VIb 40. Goidànich, *A.G.I.*, XXV (1933), pp. 70-1, connects *pelsana*, *pelsatu* with L. *pulsare*, offering literary and archaeological evidence for the practice of slaughtering the victim by a blow on the head. Etymologically this is easier than any other interpretation yet proposed, but it offers a serious difficulty in IIa 43 **katel asaku pelsans futu** and VIb 39-40 *enom ... endendu, pelsatu*, since in both of these passages the word occurs near the *end* of the series of instructions. Bott., p. 277, n. 4, in defending the interpretation, suggested that the instruction in IIa 43 may be an afterthought omitted from its proper place near the beginning and added at the end. This defense, however, will not work for VIb 39-40. Vetter, p. 178, derives from **pel(p)sā-* 'to mince meat,' as a denominative to **pelpos*, a stem-variant of *pelmner*; an attractive but not altogether convincing interpretation. It may be best to revert to the traditional view according to which *pelsatu* is 'bury.' The etymological support offered by L. *sepelire* is indeed very weak; in fact connection of the latter with Skt. *saparyati* 'pay honor to' is fully as satisfactory as an analysis *se-pel-*, which would be required if the Umbrian and Latin forms are to be connected. But better support for *pelsatu* as 'bury' may be found in Goth. *ga-filhan*, *us-filhan* 'bury (the dead).' Two advantages in maintaining the sense 'bury' are that it is excellently suited to the position of **pelsans** IIa 43, *pelsatu* VIb 40, at the end of the series of instructions, and that it does not depend upon the correctness of the meaning which we assign to *persondro* (*pelsatu* as 'strike' or as 'mince, chop up' would require that the *persondro* be an animal-offering, not a cake in the shape of an animal, unless the cake was struck to simulate slaughter). — **23** *suront naratu puse uerisco Treblanir*: *uerisco Treblanir* in place of the usual *pre uerir* occurs also in 44, 46, VIIa 5, 42, 53 (cf. also *uerisco* VIa 19, 20, 21). It is difficult to believe that the variation is anything more than capricious, and since we know from VIa 59 that the same formulas were used behind the Trebulan Gate as before it, there was no possibility of error in following out the instructions. — **23** *ape habina purdinśus*, etc.: the *porrectio* is followed by supplementary offerings to Tefer Jovius, the description of which extends through 42. The present ceremony differs in certain respects from that which follows the sacrifice behind the Tesenacan Gate (5-18 = Ia 16-19). The principal distinctive feature is the *persondro*, a type of offering known also from IIa 8, b 13, IV 17, 19, 21. Because of the uncertain meaning of *persondro* (see on 24) as well as of *uestisia* and *erus*, and of *staflare*, used as an epithet of *pesondro* in 37, the sense of the whole passage is partly obscure. If the passage is compared with Ia 27-34, however, it becomes apparent that a *persondro* is offered to Tefer Jovius near the priest's right foot, then a second *persondro* to a deity whose name may be latinized as *Stabilis Jovius*, near the left foot, the same prayer being used in both instances. The prayer agrees in part with that used in connection with the offerings to Fisovius Sancius after the sacrifice behind the Tesenacan Gate; thus 25-27 = 6-8, 33-36 = 12-15. On the other hand the present passage contains nothing equivalent to VIb 10 *Fisouie Sanśie, ditu ocre Fisi* ... 11 *uouse auie esone*, while at the same time 25-36

purdinŝus / (24) *eront . poi . habina . purdinsust . destruco . persi . uestisia . et . pesondro . sorsom . fetu . capirse . perso . osatu . eam . mani* / (25) *nertru . tenitu . arnipo . uestisia . uesticos . capirso . subotu . isec . perstico . erus . ditu . esoc . persnimu . uestis . tiom* / (26) *subocau . suboco . tefro . ioui ocriper . fisiu . totaper . iiouina . erer . nomneper . erar . nomneper . fonsir . pacer . si . ocre . fisi . tote* / (27) *iouine . erer . nomne . erar . nomne . arsie . tiom . subocau . suboco . tefro ioui arsier . frite . tiom . subocau suboco . tefro . ioui . tefre* / (28) *iouie . tiom . esu . sorsu persontru . tefrali . pihaclu . ocriper . fisiu . totaper . iiouina . erer . nomneper . erar . nomneper . tefre* / (29) *iouie orer . ose . perse ocre . fisie . pir . orto . est . tote . iiouine . arsmor . dersecor . subator . sent . pusi . neip . heritu . tefre iouie* / (30) *perse . touer . pescler . uasetomest . pesetomest . peretomest . frosetomest . daetomest . touer . pescler . uirseto . auirseto . uas . est* / (31) *tefre . iouie . perse . mers . est esu . sorsu . persondru . pihaclu . pihafi . tefre . iouie . pihatu . ocre . fisi . tota . iiouina . tefre . iouie . pihatu* / (32) *ocrer . fisier . totar . iiouinar . nome . nerf . arsmo . uiro . pequo . castruo . fri . pihatu . futu . fons .*

one who has presented the lambs shall offer at his right foot a libation and a pig-*persondro*. He shall make a mound for the bowl; he shall hold it in his left hand until he has poured the libation; he shall set down the bowl. In like manner he shall distribute the *erus* at his foot. Thus shall he pray after making the libation: "Thee I invoke as the one invoked, Tefer Jovius, for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state. Be thou favorable, be thou propitious to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. In the consecration I invoke thee as the one invoked, Tefer Jovius. In trust of the consecration I invoke thee as the one invoked, Tefer Jovius. Tefer Jovius, (I invoke) thee with this pig-*persondro* for Tefer as a propitiatory offering for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state. Tefer Jovius, by the effect of this (bring it to pass), if on the Fisian Mount fire hath occurred or in the state of Iguvium the due rites have been omitted, that it be as not intended. Tefer Jovius, if in thy sacrifice there hath been any omission, any sin, any transgression, any damage, any delinquency, if in thy sacrifice there be any seen or unseen fault, Tefer Jovius, if it be right, with this pig-*persondro* as a propitiatory offering may purification be made. Tefer Jovius, purify the Fisian Mount, the state of Iguvium. Tefer Jovius, purify the name of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, purify the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable and pro-

is fully equivalent, except for insignificant details, to the prayer used in the six sacrifices at the three gates (cf. V Ia 23-34). — **24** *eront poi habina purdinsust*: for this use of a relative clause to designate the official cf. VIa 1, 5, b 50, 53. — *destruco persi*: cf. Ia 29 **testruku peři kapiře peřum feitu**; in contrast the *pesondro staflare* is offered at the left foot in 37, 39, Ia 32. — *pesondro*: the nature of this offering cannot be determined with certainty. In addition to the *pesondro sorsom* here and the *pesondro staflare* in 37-41, with the equivalent passages in Ia 27, 30, a **persuntru** is prescribed in IIa 8, b 13, IV 17, 19, 21. Bü., Bk., and others take it to be a cake in the shape of a pig or sheep, offered in place of the animal itself, and the objection of Krause, *R.-E., Suppl.* V, p. 237, Blum., p. 62, that this practice did not exist in Italic ritual is hard to understand in the light of Serv. *ad Aen.*, II, 116 *sciendum in sacris simulata pro veris accipi, unde cum de animalibus quae difficile inveniuntur est sacrificandum, de pane vel cera fiunt et pro veris accipiuntur*; Fest., 474 Li. *Tauri verbenaeque in commentario sacrorum significat ficta farinacea.* A more serious objection is that a translation such as 'animal-cracker' increases the difficulty of finding a satisfactory interpretation of **venpersuntra**, which must almost certainly be derived from it with the prefix (or combination of prefixes?) **ven-** and which is used in IIa 30, IV 7 in evident association with meat. Ribezzo, II, p. 82, proposed a reasonably satisfactory etymology in deriving *persondro* from **person-ro-*: cf. OHG *sunt*, OIcel. *synd* 'Sünde'; it was then a sin offering, but we still cannot be certain of its exact nature, and the safest procedure may be, as with *erus*, to leave it untranslated. The possibility that it was a cake shaped like an animal is not absolutely excluded, but this can hardly have been its etymological meaning. The prefix in **venpersuntra** then must be not negative but intensive, or at least must strengthen the notion of removal (of sin) which is already inherent in *persondro* by Ribezzo's interpretation; cf. the value of *ex-* in L. *ex-piare* and M. Niedermann, *I.F.*, X (1899), pp. 247-56 on some similar uses of L. *vē-*. — *perso*: directed to be made for the placing of the cup in the present passage, with Ia 29, in VIb 37 = Ia 32, and in IIa 9. It is the exact etymological equivalent of *πέδον* and is usually translated *'fossam,'* but there is good ground for believing that it was rather a mound or a turf-altar of the type mentioned in Verg., *G.*, I, 337 *In primis venerare deos atque annua magnae sacra refer Cereri, laetis operatus in herbis*; Hor., *C.*, I, 19, 13-15 *Hic vivum mihi caespitem, hic verbenas, pueri, ponite turaque bimi cum patera meri*; cf. III, 8, 3-4; *Act. frat. arv.*, 218 (Henzen) *ante aedem in cespite promag(ister) et flam(en) sacr(um) fecer(unt)*; cf. Goidànich, *A.G.I.*, XXV (1933), pp. 69-70, who sees a correspondence between the Umbrian *perso* and the Roman *caespes* for offerings to terrestrial gods, as the *rusem* and *scrobiculum* were used for infernal and the *asa* and *ara* for heavenly gods. — **25** *uesticos*: troublesome because if it is a fut. pf. 3 sg. from **westikā-us(t)*, we should rather expect a fut. pf. of the *f*-type, the usual type in verbs of the first conjugation, while if we take it as a pf. pcpl. from **westikāt(o)s*, with Buck and others, we must assume an ellipsis or an erroneous omission of *fust*. The former of the two alternatives is, I believe, slightly preferable but the sense of the passage is not affected. — *subotu*: apparently the same verb as **subahtu** IIa 42 and the pf. pcpl. *subator* VIa 27, 36, 46, b 29. The *o* of *subotu* is unexpected and does not meet the conditions described in **7 c**, but it may represent an exceptional case of *o* from secondary *ā* (same verb as **hatu hahtu** *hatu*), while the retention of *a* in *subator* may result from its occurrence in a liturgical formula. Since the priest has just been holding the cup (*eam mani nertru tenitu*), *subotu* must be

pacer . pase . tua . ocre . fisi . tote / (33) *iiouine . erer . nomne . erar . nomne . tefre . iouie . saluo . seritu ocre . fisi . totam . iiouinam . tefre . iouie saluom . seritu . ocrer . fisier /* (34) *totar . iouinar . nome . nerf . arsmo . uiro . pequo castruo fri . salua . seritu . futu . fons pacer . pase . tua ocre . fisi . tote . iiouine . erer /* (35) *nomne . erar . nomne . tefre . iiouie . tiom . esu . sorsu . persondru . tefrali . pihaclu . ocriper . fisiu . totaper . iiouina . erer . nomneper . erar /* (36) *nomneper . tefre . iouie . tiom . subocau . persclu . sehemu . atropusatu /*

(37) *pesondro . staflare . nertruco . persi . fetu . suront . capirse . perso . osatu . suror . persnimu . puse . sorsu . ape . pesondro purdinsus /* (38) *proseseto . erus . dirstu enom . uestisiar sorsalir . destruco persi persome . erus . dirstu . pue . sorso . purdinsus . enom /* (39) *uestisiam . staflarem . nertruco . persi . sururont erus dirstu . enom . pesondro . sorsalem . persome . pue . persnis . fust . ife /* (40) *endendu pelsatu . enom . pesondro . staflare . persome . pue pesnis . fus . ife . endendu . pelsatu . enom . uaso . porse . pesondrisco . habus /*

pitious with thy peace to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. Tefer Jovius, keep safe the Fisian Mount, the state of Iguvium. Tefer Jovius, keep safe the name of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, keep safe the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. Tefer Jovius, thee with this pig-*persondro* for Tefer as a propitiatory offering for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state, Tefer Jovius, thee I invoke." In the middle of the prayer he shall dance the *tripudium.*

He shall offer a *persondro* for Stabilis at his left foot: he shall make a mound for the bowl in the same manner, he shall pray in the same manner as in the case of the pig-*persondro* (for Tefer). When he has presented the *persondro,* he shall distribute the *erus* of the parts cut off. Then he shall distribute the *erus* of the libation accompanying the pig-*persondro,* at his right foot, toward the mound, where he has offered the pig-*persondro.* Then (he shall offer) the libation for Stabilis at his left foot, and likewise distribute the *erus.* Then where he has prayed, there he shall place the pig-*persondro* (for Tefer) on the mound and bury it. Then where he has prayed, there he shall place the *persondro* for Stabilis on the mound and bury it. Then, sitting, he shall throw over (his head) the vessels which he has kept with the *persondra.* He shall sit

the instruction to set it down (on the *perso*). — *persico*: the actual reading of the text is *perstico*; Bü. keeps this reading, while translating '*ad pedem*,' and takes the formation to be related to *persi* as L. *rusticus* is to *rus*. Vetter takes it as an extension in *-ic-* from the pf. pcpl. of *peperscust*, understanding it of the parts previously placed at the back. Many editors (Bk., Kent, *T.C.I.*, p. 43, Dev.), however, emend to *persico*, and despite the usual advantage of keeping the original text, it is probably necessary to follow them, in view of the close analogy with 38 *destruco persi persome erus dirstu*. — **25 - 36**: see the general comment above on 23 - 42 and for details see on VIa 23 - 34, with which, *mutatis mutandis*, the present passage is practically identical. — **37** *Staflare*: there is general agreement among editors in equating with L. **stabularem*, but the sense is uncertain: according to Bü. and others, 'sheep-, belonging to sheep,' as the animal kept in the *stabulum* in contrast to swine; according to Dev. and Vet., '*concretum, -am.*' If we admit two deities, Tefer Jovius and Stabilis Jovius, here as well as in the corresponding Ia 27-32, then *Staflarem* has the same relation to **Stafli** in Ia 30-31 (on which see note) as *Tefrali* VIb 28, 35, to *Tefer*. There is admittedly a difficulty in the contrast between 24 *destruco persi uestisia et pesondro sorsom fetu* and 37 *pesondro staflare nertruco persi fetu*; 38 *uestisiar sorsalir destruco persi persome erus dirstu* and 39 *uestisiam staflarem nertruco persi sururont erus dirstu*; 39-40 *pesondro sorsalem ... endendu pelsatu* and 40 *pesondro staflare ... endendu pelsatu*. It is not unnatural that earlier editors saw in these contrasting expressions a reference to two kinds of *pesondro* and *uestisia*, one simulating or made from a pig, the other simulating or made from a sheep (see on Ia 30-31 **stafli** and on VIb 24 for the notion of *pesondro* as a cake in the form of an animal). But it is apparent from Ia 27-8 **suřum pesuntru / fetu ... Tefri**, 30-1 **suřum pesuntrum feitu Stafli Iuv...**, that the real contrast is between two *persondro-*, both *sorso-*, but offered in the one case to Tefer Jovius, in the other (despite the uncertainty of the text, on which see note) to Stabilis Jovius. This view receives some confirmation from VIb 28, 35 *tiom esu sorsu persontru tefrali pihaclu ...* The old interpretation of **stafli**, *staflare* as '*ovillum*' (Buck in both editions, Kent, *C.P.*, XV, p. 356) runs into difficulty because the whole expression **suřum pesuntrum** must then mean '*figmentum*' with the specific sense of **suřum** 'pig-' lost through generalization. We may perhaps assume that the *persondro-* in both cases was *suilli generis* and that in certain instances in describing the prior offering the nature of the *persondro*, rather than its destination for Tefer Jovius, is specified; in this way it is made to appear that the contrast is between *sorso* and *staflare*. — **38** *uestisiar sorsalir ... erus*: the words *uestisiar sorsalir* refer to the libation which was mentioned in 24 in connection with *persondro sorsom* and which may actually have been a libation of lard; the *erus*, if the interpretation adopted for *erus* above (on 16) was correct, is probably a portion of the libation set aside for distribution. — *pue sorso purdinsus*: if this is equivalent to 'near the right foot,' as appears from 24 *destruco persi uestisia et pesondro sorsom fetu*, it is slightly tautological in view of *destruco persi* in 38 just above. — **40** *uaso*: there is no indication that these are identical with the bowls mentioned in 24, 25, 37. In 24-5 a mound was built for the bowl, it was held in the left hand until the libation was poured, and was then set down. In 37, which begins the instructions for the second offering of the *persondro*, the making of the mound for the bowl is again prescribed, but the subsequent instructions regarding it are not carried out as in the former instance. — **41** *subra spahatu*: nowhere else used with *uaso* or any similar word as its

(41) *serse . subra . spahatuanderuomu . sersitu . arnipo . comatir . pesnis . fust serse . pisher . comoltu . serse . comatir . persnimu* / (42) *purdito . fust* /

during the interval until he has prayed with the ground (cakes). Anyone at all, sitting, shall grind (the cakes). Sitting, (the *adfertor*) shall pray with the ground (cakes). The sacrifice will have been completed.

(43) *uocucom . iouiu . ponne . oui . furfant . uitlu . toru . trif . fetu . marte . horse fetu . popluper . totar . iiouinar . totaper . iiouina . uatuo . ferine* / (44) *fetu poni . fetu . aruio . fetu . tases . persnimu . prosešetir . fasio . ficla . arsueitu . suront . naratu . puse . uerisco . treblanir* /

At the Grove of Jupiter, while they are placing on a platter (the remains of) the sheep, he shall sacrifice three bull-calves; he shall sacrifice to Mars Hodius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. He shall place the ribs on a tray, sacrifice with mead, offer grain, pray silently, add spelt-cakes and a *ficla* cake to the parts cut off, and recite the same formulas as at the Trebulan Gate.

(45) *uocucom . coredier uitlu . toru . trif . fetu . honde . šerfi . fetu . popluper . totar . iiouinar . totaper . iiouinar . uatue . ferine . fetu aruio* / (46) *fetu heri . uinu . heri . poni . fetu . tases . persnimu . prosesetir . tesedi . ficla arsueitu . suront . naratu . puse . uerisco . treblanir eno . ocar* / (47) *pihos . fust . suepo . esome . esono . ander . uacose . uasetome . fust . auif . aseriatu uerofe . treblano couertu . reste . esono . feitu* /

At the Grove of Coredius he shall sacrifice three bull-calves; he shall sacrifice to Hondus Šerfius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. He shall place the ribs on a tray, offer grain, sacrifice either with wine or with mead, pray silently, add to the parts cut off a twisted cake and a *ficla* cake, and recite the same formulas as at the Trebulan Gate. Then the Mount will have been purified. If there is any interruption of these rites, they shall be invalid; he must take an observation of the birds, return to the Trebulan Gate, and perform the rite anew.

45 *iiouinar* (second instance): for *iiouina*. *uatue*: for *uatuo*.

object. Dev. and Pis. assume that the vessels were thrown and broken; the *Acta fr. arv.* mention a similar throwing away of vessels after ceremonial use (Henzen, pp. 26, 30). — *anderuomu*: the bronze shows *spahatuanderuomu* without word-division; it is therefore uncertain whether we should read *anderuomu* or *ander uomu*, and since the expression occurs nowhere else, there is no sure solution. The interpretation here adopted is 'in the interval, meanwhile,' *anderuomu* being taken as a noun compounded from *ander* + *uomo-* (root **lem/lom-*, cf. Russ. *lom* 'debris' and possibly also Osc. *lamatir* '*caedatur*'). The change *l-* > *u-*

operates within the compound as in the initial position in the simplex, and the semantic development 'break > interrupt(ion) > interval' may be illustrated by comparison with Germ. *Unterbrechung*, Eng. *without a break*, etc. For further details see *A.J.P.*, LXXI (1950), pp. 67-70. — **42** *purdito fust*: here, as also in VIIa 45, it is evident that this expression must be used not of the *porrectio* but of the conclusion of the whole ceremony

VIb 43 - 44 (= Ib 1 - 4). Sacrifice of three bull-calves to Mars Hodius at the grove of Jupiter. The details of the ceremony resemble those in the sacrifice to Mars Grabovius before the Tesenacan Gate in 1-2, although they are not given in precisely the same order. — **43** *uocucom*: phonologically *uocu* **vuku** may be equated either with Gk. *Fοϊκο-* (in sense '*aede*'; so Bü., Bk.) or with L. *luco* (so Br., Blum., and subsequent editors). The interpretation 'grove' is preferable, since 'temple' is approximately the sense of **fesnere** IIb 11, **fesnafe** IIb 16. — *furfant*: only here, with **furfaθ** in the corresponding Ib 1. If the etymology and interpretation adopted for *efurfatu* in VIb 17 above are correct, *furfant* must refer to the placing of the pieces of the slaughtered sheep on a platter, presumably the lambs sacrificed in 22 ff. The platter may have been used for the *distributio*, at the final conclusion of which the next sacrifice could begin, assuming that the supplementary offerings prescribed in 24-42 had also been completed in the meantime. — *Horse*: only here, with **Huřie** in Ib 2. Editors in general latinize '*Hodio*,' but nothing can be affirmed as to the etymology or precise meaning of this epithet of Mars. It cannot be connected with *Ὅδιος* except on the assumption that the Umbrian word was a borrowing, since the spiritus asper in *ὁδός*, with OCS *chodŭ*, presupposes an *s-*, which could not yield *h-* in Italic.

VIb 45 - 46 (= Ib 4 - 7). Sacrifice of three bull-calves to Hondus Šerfius at the grove of Coredius. The instructions are the same as for the preceding sacrifice except that 1) *aruio fetu* is given second instead of third in order; 2) a choice of wine or *poni* instead of *poni* alone is authorized; 3) the cake called *tesedi* takes the place of *fasio*. — **45** *Coredier*: elsewhere only in the equivalent Ib 4, in the form **Kureties**. Dev., p. 255, compares the modern place-name *Goregge*, the name of the *decuvia* **Kureiate** IIb 3, and the name of the *gens Coretia* (known from Latin inscriptions from Sentinum; cf. Schulze, *Lat. Eigenn.*, p. 355), and also suggests that *Coredier* is not a divine name but a gentile or ethnic. Nothing, however, can be affirmed with certainty. — *Honde Šerfi*: it is clear that Hondus was an infernal deity, both from the etymology of the name and from the fact that IIə 20 calls for the sacrifice of a dog to Hondus Jovius. In the present passage, in place of the epithet *Ioui*, *Honde* is accompanied by *Šerfi*, which is also applied to Prestota and Tursa of Šerfus Martius (see on 57 below). — **46** *tesedi*: the corresponding form in Ib 6 is **tenzitim**, and in view of the context there is little doubt that the word designated some sort of cake, perhaps a pulled or twisted cake if the root is the same as in L. *tendo*, *tensio* (cf. Bü., p. 81, who compares the Greek cakes called *στρεπτούς* and *σπείρας*). It is not possible, however, to arrive at a sure etymology and interpretation of *tesedi* **tenzitim**, and the intervocalic *d* unchanged to *rs* **ř** may be a mark of foreign or dialectal origin.

VIb 46 - 47 (= Ib 7 - 9). Instruction for repeating the whole purification in case there has been any omission. Ib 7 - 9 is practically identical, word for word, except for the difference of the verb forms in **vaçetumise**, *uasetome fust*, and the general sense of the whole passage is clear, but there are certain difficulties of word-division and grammar. The actual reading of the bronze in the most critical passage is: Ib 8: **svepu : esumek : esunu : anter : vakazevaçetumisea-**

(48) *pone . poplo . afero . heries . auif . aseriato . etu . sururo . stiplatu . pusi . ocrer . pihaner . sururont .*

When he wishes to perform a lustration of the people, he shall go and observe the birds, make the same demands as for the purification of the Mount, make

vif : aseriatu, VIb 47 *.suepo . esome . esono . ander . uacose . uasetome . fust . auif . aseriatu.* With the exception of Pl., II, p. 670, who was hesitant, most editors since Bü. have taken **anter** *ander* in composition with **vakaze** *uacose* despite the interpunct in both instances. *ander* would otherwise be difficult to construe, and **anter : menzaru** in IIa 16 shows an instance of separation in a word which must be understood as one. With most modern editors I follow Brugmann, *Ber. kön. sächs. Ges. Wiss.*, 1890, pp. 217-8, in deriving *uacose* **vakaze** from **vakāt(i)s* plus the subjunctive equivalent to L. *sit*. The failure to show word-division may be explained partly by the identity of final and following initial, partly by the enclitic character of the verb 'be'; cf. *fonsir, mersei mersi*, although in most similar word-groups the division is shown. Of course there is no need for a verb until *fust*, which may mark the end of the protasis, but Brugmann's view is adopted here as providing the only satisfactory analysis of *uacose* **vakaze**; in this case the protasis ends with *(s)e*, *uasetome fust* is the apodosis, and what follows is virtually a new sentence. — *uasetom* **vaçetum** may be a supine or a pf. pcpl.; if it is a supine, the final *-e*, despite the word-division, must be taken as part of **efust*, fut. pf. of *etu* (cf. **amprefuus** Ib 20, *ambr-efurent* VIb 56), while **ise** must be from **iser*, fut. pf. pass. of *etu* (Bü.) or else pf. subj. or fut. pf. act. of *etu* (Pl., II, p. 389, cf. *amb-issit*, Plaut., *Amph.*, 71). The construction then, at least by Bücheler's interpretation, would resemble such Latin combinations as *servatum itur, factum itur*, and the sense would be excellent: 'it shall go for naught, be invalidated.' Yet there are several objections: 1) *uasetom* as pf. pass. pcpl. is already known from VIa 27, 37, 47, b 30; 2) there is no real support for **ise** as a perfect-system form of the verb 'go'; 3) other things being equal it is better to keep the word-division *-e fust*. This last argument might also be applied against Devoto's proposal (p. 259) to take **ise**, *efust* as forms of the verb 'be' with prefixed *en-*, though naturally one should not attach undue weight to the word division in view of the treatment given by nearly all recent editors to *ander . uacose* just before. Dev. makes excellent sense by making *uasetom* the subject and translating *'vitium inerit,'* but from **inse* we should expect ***ize** or ***inze** (cf. Kent, *Lang.*, XIV [1938], p. 216, Buck, § 110.1). It is probably best therefore to regard *-e* **-i** as a postposition attached to *uasetom*, a pcpl. used substantively with the following verb uncompounded. The literal sense then would be 'it shall be for nullified'; that is, 'as a thing null and void.' This use of a prepositional phrase with *e(n)* in place of a predicate nominative is roughly comparable to Latin constructions like *cladi fuit*, in which the dative tends to replace the nominative. — *auif aseriatu*, etc.: for the taking of auspices anew cf. Verg., *Aen.*, II, 178, in Sinon's tale of the departure of the Greek fleet for Greece.

VIb 48 - VIIa 54 (= Ib 10 - 45). Lustration of the people. The ceremony proper must be preceded by the taking of the auspices, as in the purification of the Fisian Mount. The *adfertor*, accompanied by two *prinuati*, then proceeds to Acedonia, where he pronounces banishment against any enemy aliens who may chance to be present. After he has made a circuit around the assembled people, he prays to Šerfus Martius and Prestota of Šerfus Martius and Tursa of Šerfus

Martius with imprecations against the enemies of Iguvium and entreaties for favor toward the state and people of Iguvium. The circuit is performed and the prayers said three times. There follows a sacrifice to Šerfus Martius at the Fontuli, then a sacrifice to Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius accompanied by further curses against the enemies of Iguvium and prayers for protection of the city and its people. A libation and cake (*mefa spefa*) are then offered to Fisovius Sancius, after which the *adfertor* crosses the Sacred Way and sacrifices three calves to Tursa Šerfia of Šerfus Martius. After the lustration has been performed for the third time, Tursa Jovia is invoked with curses against enemy states and prayers for favor toward the state and people of Iguvium. Table VIIa ends with instructions for the ceremonial chasing of heifers and the sacrifice to Tursa Jovia of the first three heifers which are caught.

Table Ib 10 - 45 is in essential agreement with the longer version in VIb and VIIa, but it does not contain the text of the prayers and imprecations which are prescribed. The later version on the other hand does not contain a ratification of the foregoing instructions similar to that in Ib 45. Both versions present certain problems in regard to the sequence of the various parts of the lustration. The instructions for the three sacrifices at Fontuli, Rubinia, and Trans Sanctam are presented commencing at VIIa 3 = Ib 24, after the circuit of the assembled people has been performed for the third time and the two *prinuati* have departed by the way they came. There are certain indications that the sacrifices themselves were partly in progress at the same time; Ib 33-4, for example, shows that the distribution of the *erus* at Trans Sanctam is to follow immediately after the *porrectio* at Fontuli. In both versions the instructions which follow after the completion of the third sacrifice are introduced by the words 'after he has made the circuit around the people for the third time.' The instructions in VIIa 46 ff. include the prayer to Tursa Jovia, then at 51 the pursuit of the heifers, while at Ib 40 the clause **pustertiu pane puplu ateřafust** is followed immediately by the pursuit of the heifers, the prayer to Tursa Jovia being omitted, but the omission of the text of prayers is regular in the older tables, and there is no doubt that the prayer and the pursuit and sacrifice of the heifers to Tursa Jovia (VIIa 53 = Ib 43) are parts of a single ceremony. The difficulty lies in the fact that the ceremony in honor of Tursa Jovia is described after the three sacrifices at Fontuli, etc., and yet in language which implies that it was intended to follow immediately after the third circuit of the people. Moreover two *prinuati* are directed to participate in the chase (VIIa 52 = Ib 41), although the *prinuati* are supposed already to have departed after the circuit was completed for the third time (VIb 65 = VIIa 1 = Ib 22-3). Of course there is no certainty that the *prinuati* were the same in the two instances, but even if we assume that two new *prinauti* appeared for the chase of the heifers, we are no closer to a solution of the question whether the chase, with the prayer to Tursa Jovia immediately preceding, followed directly after the third circuit, as the words *postertio pane poplo andirsafust* seem to suggest, or whether the three circuits, the three sacrifices, and the ceremony of the heifers actually took place in the order in which they are presented. The former view is supported by Br., pp. 209-10, Dev., p. 297, the latter by Hu., p. 291, Bü., p. 113. The latter is, I believe, preferable. The pursuit of the heifers between the third circuit and the first sacrifice would have introduced an element of disorder into the lustration, and, if it had really been intended, would in all probability have been prescribed at the proper place. It is not too much to believe, as Hu. and Bü. suggest, that *andirsafust* designates the

combifiatu . eriront . tuderus . auif / (49) *seritu . ape . angla . combifiansiust . perca . arsmatiam . anouihimu . cringatro hatu . destrame scapla . anouihimu . pir . endendu . pone* / (50) *esonome . ferar . pufe . pir . entelust . ere . fertu . poe perca . arsmatiam . habiest . erihont . aso . destre . onse . fertu . erucom . prinuatur . dur* / (51) *etuto . perca .*

announcement in the same manner, and observe the birds within the same limits. When he has announced the divine messengers he shall hold a ritual wand, take a stole, and place it over his right shoulder. He shall place fire in (the fire-carrier). When that in which he has placed the fire is brought to the sacrifice, he who holds the ritual wand shall carry it; the same shall carry it lighted on his right shoulder. With him shall go two *prinuati*; they shall hold

lustration in the broadest sense and includes the sacrifice of the victims at the three stations round about the assembled people, which was necessary if the purification was to be fully effective.

The lustration at Iguvium in its most important aspects resembles Roman ceremonies of the same kind, although Dev., p. 261, observes certain differences. The chief literary sources for the Roman lustration are: Cato, *R.R.* 141 *Agrum lustrare sic oportet. Impera suovitaurilia circumagi*: "*Cum divis volentibus quodque bene eveniat, mando tibi, Mani, uti illace suovitaurilia fundum agrum terramque meam quota ex parte sive circumagi sive circumferenda censeas, uti cures lustrare.*" *Ianum Iovemque vino praefamino, sic dicito*: "*Mars pater, te precor quaesoque uti sies volens propitius mihi domo familiaeque nostrae, quoius re ergo terram fundumque meum suovitaurilia circumagi iussi, uti tu morbos visos invisosque, viduertatem vastitudinemque, calamitates intemperiasque prohibessis defendas averruncesque; utique tu fruges, frumenta, vineta virgultaque grandire beneque evenire siris, pastores pecuaque salva servassis duisque bonam salutem valetudinemque mihi domo familiaeque nostrae; harumce rerum ergo, fundi terrae agrique mei lustrandi lustrique faciendi ergo, sicuti dixi, macte hisce suovitaurilibus lactentibus immolandis esto; Mars pater, eiusdem rei ergo macte hisce suovitaurilibus lactentibus esto,*" etc.; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* IV, 22, 1-2 *τότε δ' οὖν ὁ Τύλλιος, ἐπειδὴ διέταξε τὸ περὶ τὰς τιμήσεις, κελεύσας τοὺς πολίτας ἅπαντας συνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ μέγιστον τῶν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδίων ἔχοντας τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ τάξας τοὺς θ' ἱππεῖς κατὰ τέλη καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν φάλαγγι καὶ τοὺς ἐσταλμένους τὸν ψιλικὸν ὁπλισμὸν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἑκάστους λόχοις, καθαρμὸν αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο ταύρῳ καὶ κριῷ καὶ τράγῳ. Τὰ δ' ἱερεῖα ταῦτα τρὶς περιαχθῆναι περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κελεύσας ἔθυσε τῷ κατέχοντι τὸ πεδίον Ἄρει. Τοῦτον τὸν καθαρμὸν ἕως τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ χρόνων Ῥωμαῖοι καθαίρονται, μετὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τῶν τιμήσεων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν ἱερωτάτην ἀρχὴν Λοῦστρον ὀνομάζοντες.* Cf. also the description of the *Ambarvalia* in Tib., II, 1; Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], pp. 142-3, 390-1.

VIb 48 - 52 (= Ib 10 - 15). Taking of the auspices. This ceremony is directed to be performed in the same manner as in the purification of the Fisian Mount, with the same formulas and within the same city-limits. The birds to be observed are not named, although in Ib 10-11 we find **pernaiaf pustnaiaf**, the same terms of direction used in Ia 2. The most curious feature of the present passage, however, is that, after the instructions for the ceremonial carrying of the fire, we find in 51-2 (= Ib 13-4) that the taking of the auspices must be repeated, the bird *parfa* alone being called for in this second observation. A.-K. and Br. in

explanation suggested that the repetition was necessary because the lustration was to take place outside the *pomerium*, while the first taking of the auspices had effect only within. Dev., p. 265, however, points out that the second observation also takes place before the *adfertor* has made his descent from the citadel by the *uia auiecla*, and as an alternative explanation suggests that the first observation is intended not for the lustration but only for the preliminaries, perhaps for the fire-ceremony. — **48** *stiplatu*: cf. VIa 2. — *combifiatu*: the logical subject must be the augur; cf. VIa 17. The subject of *anouihimu*, however, is the *adfertor*, since it is the bearer of the *perca arsmatia* who pronounces the imprecations and prayers commencing at 53. — **49** *ape angla combifiansiust*: Ib 11 instead has **pune kuvurtus** and omits the instruction regarding the *perca arsmatiam*; for *perca* see on VIa 19. — *cringatro*: similarly **krenkatrum hatu** in Ib 11, while in IIb 27, 29 the wearing of a **krikatru** over the right shoulder is prescribed during the slaughter (?= **anpenes**) and presentation of the calf. Nearly all editors translate '*cinctum*' or '*cingulum*,' and the notion of a girdle or encircling object receives support from the cognates OE *hring*, OCS *krogŭ* 'circle.' 'Stole,' however, seems an appropriate English translation for a liturgical garment worn over the shoulder. — *scapla*: hardly a mere substitute in the later language for **uze** in IIb 27, 29, since *onse* is used in VIb 50 just below. *scapla* is rather the shoulder-blade, over which the *cringatro* was thrown back. — *pir endendu*: in Ib 12 **ahtim-em**, the name of a kind of fire-carrier, depends on **ententu**. Not only is the name of the vessel omitted here, but immediately below, where it should appear as subject of *ferar*, it is replaced by the circumlocution *pufe pir entelust*. The deliberate avoidance of the name of the fire-carrier is an almost sure instance of tabu. For tabu among the Scots of the western isles against the names of certain common objects see J. G. Frazer. *The Golden Bough*[3], Part II = *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* (London, 1911), pp. 292-3. — **50** *poe perca arsmatiam habiest*: another probable instance of tabu, repeated in 53, 63, VIIa 46, 51. The similarity of this last passage, describing the chasing of the heifers, to Ib 41-2 **iveka perakre tusetu / super kumne arfertur, prinuvatu tuf tusetutu** confirms the identity of *poe perca arsmatiam habiest* with the *adfertor*. — *aso*: etymology and sense are both uncertain, but the unrhotacized *s* naturally suggests connection with L. *assum* 'roast'; what is applied in the one case to the meat is applied in the other to the fire itself; in other words there is no serious objection to following Buck's interpretation '... carry it lighted on the right shoulder.' *aso* taken as a supine does not give satisfactory sense, for *pir endendu* in 49 shows that the fire has already been kindled, and it is not specified that it is to be carried for the purpose of lighting something else. *aso* then must be taken with Buck as a pf. pcpl., probably to the verb cognate with L. *ardeo*. Under certain conditions we should expect **arfo* (< **arsso-* < **ard-to-*, with development of consonants as in *trahuorfi*), but the difficulty can be avoided if we derive from **ar-* or from **as-* + *-so-* appearing analogically in place of *-to-* as in L. *pressus*, *pulsus*, etc. Goidànich, p. 56, followed by Bott., takes *aso* as a noun signifying some sort of support for the *ahti-* in which the fire is placed in Ib 12, but this is a less easy interpretation, especially in view of IIb 12, where **tafle** is the name of the flat object on which the fire is carried. — *prinuatur*: etymology obscure, but the word clearly designates certain officials. They accompany the *adfertor* in the present augural ceremony and in the *exterminatio* which immediately follows, and in the actual lustration (55, 56, Ib 19); they join him in the invocation to Serfus Martius, Prestota, and Tursa

ponisiater . habituto . ennom .
stiplatu parfa desua . seso . tote .
iiouine . sururont . combifiatu .
uapefe . auieclu . neip / (52) *amboltu .*
prepa . desua . combifianśi . ape . desua .
combifiansiust . uia . auiecla .
esonome . etuto . com . peracris . sacris .
ape . acesoniame / (53) *hebetafe .*
benust . enom . termnuco . stahituto .

the wands of a *puniceatus*. Then he shall demand a *parra* in the west for himself and for the state of Iguvium. In the same manner (the augur) shall make his announcement in the direction of the augural seats. He shall not walk about until he has announced (a *parra*) in the west, they shall proceed by the Augural Way to the sacrifice with the unblemished victims. When he has come to Acedonia, to the exits, then they shall stand at the boundary. He who holds

(*persnimumo tasetur* 57), and after the circuit has been completed for the third time, they depart by the same way they came (65 = VIIa 1 = Ib 23). They appear again as participants in the invocation to Tursa Jovia (VIIa 46), and in the ritual pursuit of the heifers (VIIa 52 = Ib 41). The number of *prinuati* is fixed as two in the present passage and in VIIa 46, while VIb 51 (= Ib 15) shows that they are to be distinguished by special insignia, *perca ponisiater*. Not only from this fact, but from their close association with the *adfertor*, shown by the 3 pl. verb forms *etuto* 52, *stahituto* 53, *ambretuto*, *ambrefurent* 56, etc., we may infer that they were persons of some dignity, perhaps civil magistrates of a certain grade. — **51** *ponisiater*: gen. sg. and so used to describe the bearer of the *perca*, while *arsmatia* is an adj. describing the *perca* itself. The word is found only here, with **puniçate** in the corresponding Ib 15. Nearly all editors take it as equivalent to L. **puniceatus*, the relation of which to *puniceus*, *-a*, *-um* would be the same as that of *togatus* to *toga*. The *prinuati* on the present occasion then are to carry wands of the type used by the officials who are named for their purple-ornamented robes. The Roman *toga praetexta* naturally comes to mind, but just what official is here designated by the wearing of the purple stripe cannot be determined with certainty.

— *parfa desua*: for a discussion of the possible meaning of these terms see on VIa 1. — *seso*: the formation is not quite clear, but the word is clearly dat. sg. of the reflexive pronoun (see **107**, n. 1). Table Ib, where the instructions are in the second person, has **tefe** (13), while VIa 5, with the actual words to be used by the *adfertor*, has *mehe*. — *uapefe auieclu*: we have learned from VIa 2, 17 that the augur (*poei angla aseriato eest*) makes his observation from the *tremnu* and reports (*combifiatu*) to the *adfertor*, who apparently occupies the stone seat. Whereas VIa 16 gave the source of the announcement, *tremnu*, the present passage gives its destination, *uapefe auieclu*. — *neip amboltu*, etc.: in VIa 5-7 the prohibition was against any noise or interruption before the return of the augur from the place of observation; here the augur is forbidden to move from the spot until he has announced the proper omen. That *amboltu* refers to the augur (so Dev.) rather than to the *adfertor* (so Bü.) is probable because no change of subject is indicated between *combifiatu* and *combifianśi*, and because if the *adfertor* were meant, we might expect the two *prinuati* to be included in the prohibition, as they are in the command *etuto* just below. Vetter, p. 261, denies close connection with L. *ambulare* on the ground that denominatives never transfer to the third conjugation, and he translates 'sich

aufmachen,' taking *am-* from *an-* 'up' rather than from *amf-*. But L. *ambulare*, although of rather uncertain etymology, is probably not a denominative, and its relation to *amboltu* may be similar to that in *dicāre*: *dīcere*, *educāre*: *dūcere*, etc. Moreover the root **bol* or **pol* which must be assumed as a basis for the new interpretation is without support. It seems best therefore to follow the traditional view of *amboltu*. — **52** *uia auiecla*: this was the counterpart of the Via Sacra in Rome, if we may judge from Varro, *L.L.*, V, 47 *Carinae pote a caeri-<m>onia, quod hinc oritur caput Sacrae Viae ab Streniae sacello quae pertinet in arce<m>, qua sacra quotquot mensibus feruntur in arcem et per quam augures ex arce profecti solent inaugurare*. However, there was in Iguvium a (*Uia*) *Sahata* (= *Sancta*) also, on one side of which three heifers are offered to Tursa Šerfia in VIIa 41 (= Ib 31). — *peracris sacris*: see on VIa 25.

VIb 52 - 55 (= Ib 15 - 18). Banishment of aliens. The *adfertor*, having arrived at Acedonia by the Via Aviecla after taking the auspices, stands at the boundary and directs all persons of the Tadinate nation and tribe and of the Tuscan, Narcan, and Iapudic "name" to depart from among the assembled people of Iguvium or be taken away and punished according to the law. The banishment is proclaimed three times. The versions in VI and in I fully agree in distinguishing two categories of aliens, designated respectively by the terms *totar Tarsinater trifor Tarsinater* and *Tuscer Naharcer Iabuscer nomner*, but there are certain differences of phraseology; thus in the present version the names of the banished nations and the instructions for apprehending loiterers are all included in the formula to be used by the *adfertor*, while in I the *adfertor* is merely instructed to banish the members of the alien nations, after which the threat **svepis habe ... feitu uru peře meřs est** is given in the direct form. For the banishment of various classes of persons from religious ceremonies in Rome cf. Fest., 198 Li. *exesto, extra esto. Sic enim lictor in quibusdam sacris clamitabat*: *'hostis, vinctus, mulier, virgo exesto'*; Verg., *Aen.*, VI, 258-9 *'procul o procul este profani,' conclamat vates, 'totoque absistite luco.'* — **52** *Acesoniame*: VIIa 52 has *Acersoniem*, Ib 16 **Akeřuniamen**; with these forms may be compared O. **Akudunniad** on a coin (Co. 158) from the modern town Lacedonia, situated east of Benevento and south of Foggia, the name of which may be from **acedonia* through reanalysis of phrases containing a preposition and article. The frequent association of U. *Acersoniame*, O. **Akudunniad** with the name *Aquilonia* may be an error resulting from confusion between the two adjacent modern towns Lacedonia and Aquilonia (cf. Co., pp. 171-2). The *Acersonia* of the Tables is evidently a suburb located on one side of Iguvium and serving as a suitable place for assemblies; Dev., p. 272, places it across the Camignano in the direction of Monte Ingino; the name *Crisonia* by which this region was designated in the Middle Ages may be derived from *Acedonia* (cf. *Studi etruschi*, IV [1930], pp. 226-8). — **53** *hebetafe*: there is no parallel form in Ib 16, but the word is apparently equivalent to *ebetrafe* in VIa 12, with *h* possibly serving as a mark of vowel-length in crasis of postposition *-e* + *ebet-* (although divided between lines), and with erroneous omission of the *r*. *ebetrafe* occurred as the first in a series of landmarks to be used in defining the augural *templum* in VIa 12-14. If this 'exit' lay on the northeastern side of the town, toward the slope of Monte Ingino (see note on VIa 14), its location may be of some help in locating the *hebetaf* of b 53 and consequently Acedonia. But there is no proof that the two 'exits' were the same, and moreover it is not likely that Acedonia, where the people were assembled, was situated on a steep incline. — *termnuco stahituto*: no parallel form in Ib 16, but Ib 19 has

poi . percam . arsmatia . habiest . etursta . eso . eturstahmu . pisest . totar / (54) tarsinater . trifor . tarsinater . tuscer naharcer . iabuscer . nomner . eetu . ehesu . poplu . nosue . ier . ehe . esu . poplu sopir habe / (55) esme . pople . portatu . ulo . pue .

the ritual wand shall pronounce banishment. Thus shall he pronounce banishment: "Whoever is of the Tadinate people, of the Tadinate tribe, of the Tuscan, the Narcan, the Iapudic name, let him go out from this people. Unless a going out from this people takes place, if anyone is caught among this people, bring him to that place to which it is the law,

53 *etursta*: for *eturstahmu*: enough blank space for three or four letters follows.

pune prinuvatus staheren termnesku; perhaps the sg. denotes the boundary and the pl. the posts (two *cippi*?) which marked the boundary and at which the two *prinuati* took their stand. It is quite certain that neither the **ebetras* nor the *termini* were identical with any of the three city-gates, which are called *uerof, -ir*, etc., accompanied by the proper name of the particular gate. The boundary at which the banishment was pronounced must have been located on the pomerium, and what lay beyond was not really alien territory but was within the Iguvine **trifus* (see on 54 below). The aliens then were simply expelled from the area which was to be encircled by the lustral procession. — 53-4 *totar / Tarsinater trifor Tarsinater*: cf. the similar expression **tutape(r) Iiuvina trefiper Iiuvina** III24-5, 29-30. *trifor, trefi* in these passages cannot refer to a division into thirds, as L. *tribus* does in connection with *Ramnes, Tities*, and *Luceres*, the names of the three tribes of early Rome, and as the apparent derivation from **tri-* would lead us to expect; unless Iguvium and Tadinum are to be thought of as (originally third) portions of some larger grouping, which is altogether unlikely. A satisfactory sense may be reached through comparison with Livy, XXXI, 2, 6 ... *C. Ampium ... per Umbriam, qua tribum Sapiniam vocant agrum Boiorum invadere iussit*; XXXIII, 37, 1 *consul per tribum Sapiniam in Boios venit.* The *trifus* then is a territorial unit, as the *tota* is a political unit. — *Tarsinater*: the town from which this ethnic is derived is commonly identified with the modern Gualdo Tadino, situated on the main road between Foligno and Fano, and about 20 km. southeast of Gubbio. Philipp, *R.-E.*, 2te *Reihe*, VIII, pp. 1999-2000, places it near the Church of S. Maria Tadina, about one mile north of Gualdo Tadino. — *Tuscer*: the nearest large Etruscan city was Perusia, nearly 40 km. southwest of Iguvium. — *Naharcer*: the spelling **Naharkum** in Ib 17 shows that, originally at least, the *h* must have had etymological value, since the spelling with vowel + *h* + vowel is not used in the earlier tables merely as a mark of length. A similar Latin spelling occurs in the expression *municipi Interamnat(is) Nahartis* (*C.I.L.*, XI, 4213: age of Augustus). On linguistic grounds there is no objection to connecting these forms with *Nar*, the ancient name of the river Nero, since the spelling with a simple (long) *a* was sufficient once the *h* ceased to be sounded, but the relative remoteness of the Nar from Iguvium might be an objection. Vet., p. 183, for this reason suggests that *Tuscer* and *Naharcer* both refer to a single nearby Etruscan state, perhaps in the vicinity of Perusia; yet there is no evidence of such a state to which *Naharcer* could refer, and moreover it is

not inconceivable that the word *Tuscer* could have been meant to include all Etruscans indiscriminately in the banishment. It may be best therefore to assume that the Naharci were the inhabitants of a state located somewhere along the Nar. Krahe, *Gl.*, XXVI (1938), pp. 95-7, refers our form to a stem **Nah-ar-ko-* with *-ar-* a suffix used in such river-names as *Ἰσάρα*, etc., and *-ko-* designating the dwellers along the river, as in *Isarci*. — *Iabuscer*: in a total of 8 instances (including **Iapuzkum** Ib 17, the only instance in the native alphabet) 5 have *b* and 3 have *p* **p**. The *b*-forms are perhaps to be compared with L. *Burrus*, *buxus*, where *b* replaced the *p* of *Πύρρος*, *πυξός* as a result of the difference of degree of tenseness in the voiceless stops in Greek and Latin. If we make allowance for the difference of suffix, the relationship of the name *Iabuscer*, **Iapuzkum** (< **Iapud(i)s-ko-*) to that of the Iapyges in the heel of Italy is obvious. Both nations were of Illyrian origin; for the Iabusci cf. Strabo, IV, 207 *Καὶ οἱ Ἰάποδες δὲ ἤδη τοῦτο ἐπίμικτον Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ Κελτοῖς ἔθνος περὶ τούτους οἰκοῦσι τόπους καὶ ἡ Ὄκρα πλησίον τούτων ἐστίν*. Pliny, *N.H.*, III, 18, 127 *Carnorum haec regio iunctaque Iapudum, amnis Timavus*. If the proper home of the Iapudes was the region between the Carnic Alps and the Adriatic, the Iabusci banished from the Iguvine lustration were probably an offshoot farther south, perhaps somewhere between Ancona and Ravenna. — *nomner*: see on VIa 23 *nomneper*; the *nomen* stands for the nation in the widest possible sense; as it is more inclusive than *tota* and *trifus* together, so is the alien character of the Tusci, Naharci, and Iabusci more strongly emphasized than that of the Tadinates, who, we may assume, were probably an Umbrian-speaking nation. — *ehesu*: preposition *ehe* + pronoun *esu* are in crasis. — *ier*: an isolated form, with no parallel in Ib 18, but best taken as a pf. subj. pass. of **i-* 'go' used impersonally and thus equivalent in meaning, though not in form, to L. *itum sit*. — *sopir habe*: Ib 18 reads **svepis habe**. *habe* has caused considerable difficulty. If taken as 3 sg. ind. act. equivalent to L. *habet*, with the majority of editors, the loss of final *t* (< *-ti*) is surprising in view of the preservation of *-t* in **tiçit**, *trebeit* (**heri** IV 26 may be otherwise explained). Moreover it is then necessary either to understand *habe* as equal in sense to L. *capit* and supply an object signifying any alien who is caught after the sentence of banishment, or to understand *habe* in the sense of L. *habitat* 'dwells.' The best solution is to follow Kent, *C.P.*, XV (1920), pp. 359-60, in taking *habe* as 3 sg. ind. pass. from **habēr* '(if anyone) is caught.' Omission of the passive ending *-r* is otherwise unknown in Tables I-IV, but **-pe** for **-per** occurs in Ia 12, and in general the number of 3 sg. pass. forms in the native alphabet is not sufficient to establish norms of spelling. The objection to *habe* as *'capitur'* on the ground that 3 sg. pass. forms in *-r*, as contrasted with *-ter*, are always impersonal need not be pressed too strongly, since the personal use is probably to be assumed for *ferar* in VIb 50. — 55 *portatu ulo pue mersest, fetu uru pirse mersest*: the two versions agree in all essentials, but neither the place of punishment nor the nature of the punishment is precisely stated.

VIb 55 - VIIa 2 (= Ib 19 - 23). The actual lustration. The *adfertor* orders the Iguvine people to arrange themselves in formation and, still accompanied by the two *prinuati*, he makes the circuit around the people with the sacrificial victims. Having completed the circuit the *adfertor* and *prinuati* pray to Serfus Martius, Prestota and Tursa for afflictions to be visited on the Tadinate, Tuscan, Naharcan and Iapudic nations and for divine favor toward Iguvium, after which the order 'go, Iguvines' is given. The circuit, the prayer, and the order 'go, Iguvines' are repeated a second and a third time, after which the *prinuati* depart the way they

mersest . fetu . uru . pirse mersest . trioper . eheturstahamu . ifont . termnuco . com . prinuatir /
(56) *stahitu . eno . deitu . arsmahamo . caterahamo . iouinur . eno com . prinuatir . peracris . sacris . ambretuto ape . ambrefurent /* (57) *termnome . benurent . termnuco . com . prinuatir . eso . persnimumo . tasetur . serfe . martie prestota . ŝerfia . ŝerfer /*
(58) *martier . tursa . ŝerfia . ŝerfer . martier . totam . tarsinatem . trifo .*

do with him that which is the law." Three times shall he pronounce banishment. He shall stand on the same spot at the boundary together with the *prinuati*. Then he shall say: "Arrange yourselves in priestly ranks and military ranks, men of Iguvium." Then along with the *prinuati* they shall make the circuit with the unblemished victims. When they have made the circuit and have come to the boundary, at the boundary he and the *prinuati* shall thus pray silently: "Ŝerfus Martius, Prestota Ŝerfia of Ŝerfus Martius, Tursa Ŝerfia of Ŝerfus Martius: the Tadinate state, the

came. The version in Ib is considerably more condensed; it not only omits the text of the prayer but does not even name the deities to whom the prayer is addressed. Instead of the *peracris sacris* of VIb 56, Ib 20 has **tures et pure**; and although in Ib the *prinuati* are present, they are not included in the instructions for the procession and prayer; contrast, for example, *ambretuto* 56, 63, 64 and **apretu** Ib 20, **amprehtu** 21, *pe(r)snimumo* 57, 64, 65 and **pe(r)snimu** Ib 21, 22. — **56** *arsmahamo caterahamo Iouinur*: Ib 19-20 with **armanu kateramu Ikuvinu** is substantially the same, with **arm-** written for **ařm-** and **armanu** corrected to read **-amu** by all editors except Br., who was hesitant (p. 182); the error involves omission of one oblique and one vertical stroke in the ᛖ. For the phonology of these pl. imv. pass. forms see **127 d**. As for the sense it is clear that the Iguvini are ordered to arrange themselves in formation, and it is altogether unlikely that *arsmahamo* and *caterahamo* are merely synonyms; one may refer to larger and the other to smaller military units, the former including the latter, or one may refer to infantry and the other to cavalry units (cf. Hor., *Epist.*, II, 1, 190 *dum fugiunt equitum turmae peditumque catervae*, and Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, IV, 22 on the Roman lustration, cited above on VIb 48 - VIIa 54). Devoto, p. 277, however, improves on earlier interpretations by seeing a distinction between priestly ranks and military ranks; the connection between *arsmahamo* and the cult-words, *arsmor*, *arsmatia*, *arsier* is most favorable to such a view whether we take *arsmor* as *'ritus'* with the majority or as *'sacerdotum concilia'* with Dev., Bott. *caterahamo* is generally regarded as a denominative to the equivalent of L. *caterva*; otherwise Dev. and Bott., but there is no apparent ground for abandoning the traditional view, once we admit the loss of *w* after *r* attested by *seritu* in contrast to L. *servare*, *servire* (cf. **54 g**). — *ambretuto*: for the syntax of the plural see **138 a**. The sense is nearly equivalent to that of *afero* **aferum**. The latter, however, appears to be the proper ritual term for the lustration as a whole, and is used transitively, while *ambretuto* is used of the actual circumambulation and nowhere has a direct object. Each verb has its own fut. pf., and *andirsafust*, the suppletive to *afero*, governs *poplo* in the three passages where it occurs, yet its

use in VIIa 46 = Ib 40, with reference to the completion of the third circuit, resembles that of *ambrefurent*, which is used in VIb 56 of the first. — **57-8** *Serfe Martie, Prestota Śerfia Śerfer / Martier, Tursa Śerfia Śerfer Martier*: this triad is the special object of worship in the ceremonies of the lustration. None of its members is mentioned elsewhere in the Tables (although **Turse** alone appears in IV 19), and at the same time no other deities are honored during the lustration, except for Fisovius Sancius, who receives a libation and cake at VIIa 37, and Tursa Jovia, who is invoked in VIIa 47-51 in a prayer nearly identical with that addressed to the triad in VIb 57 ff. Śerfus Martius himself is the recipient of a sacrifice of three boars at the Fontuli in VIIa 3-5, while further offerings are made to Prestota Śerfia at Rubinia in VIIa 6-36 and to Tursa Śerfia across the Via Sancta in VIIa 41-2. The closest Latin cognate to *Serfus* is *Cerus*: cf. *Fest.*, 109 Li. ... *et in carmine Saliari Cerus manus intelligitur creator bonus*; Varro, *L.L.*, VII, 26 (Kent) ... *in Carmine Saliorum sunt haec*: ... *Ianeus iam es, duonus Cerus es, duonus Ianus*. *Śerfus* and *Cerus* then signify a male deity corresponding to *Ceres*, Oscan **Kerrí** (dat. sg. on the Agnone Dedication = Co. 175) in much the same way as the rare *Tellurus* (Mart. Cap., I, 49) to *Tellus*. For phonological details see **59 e.** *Śerfe*, L. *Cerus*, and O. **Kerrí** are syncopated, in contrast to unsyncopated L. *Ceres*, *Cereris*, while the gemination is not expressed in the spelling of *Cerus*, nor in O. **Keri** on the Curse of Vibia (Co. 130). L. *creo*, *-are*, *crēsco*, *crēber* are generally admitted into the same etymological group, *crē-* representing a disyllabic base **kerē-* and *crēber* < **kres-ro-* possibly showing the same *s*-extension assumed for L. *Cereris* < **Keres-*. *Śerfus* is then a deity associated with growth and nourishment, and his importance in the lustration is quite natural. The regular use of *Martier* as an epithet of *Śerfer* is closely connected with the debated question of the agricultural and warlike aspects of Mars. Cf. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, p. 143, Dumézil, *Les dieux des indo-européens*, pp. 28-30; Marback, *R.-E.*, XIV², pp. 1934-37. The importance of Mars in the Roman lustration is apparent from Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, IV, 22, 1 *Τὰ δ' ἱερεῖα ταῦτα τοῖς περιαχθῆναι περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κελεύσας, ἔθυσε τῷ κατέχοντι τὸ πεδίον Ἄρει* and from the long prayer addressed to him in the lustration of the field in Cato, *R.R.*, 141. The two female associates of Śerfus Martius show contrasting aspects of his character and activity. Prestota, who is known only from the two versions of the lustral ceremony, has been compared with **Antərstatáí** on the Agnone Dedication and, more aptly, with the Sabine Praestita (*C.I.L.*, IX, 4322), Jupiter Praestes (*C.I.L.* XIV, 3555), the Lares Praestites of Ov., *Fast.*, V, 129-36 *Praestitibus Maiae Laribus videre Kalendae aram constitui parvaque signa deum ... Stant quoque pro nobis, et praesunt moenibus Urbis, et sunt praesentes auxiliumque ferunt*; cf. also the Roman goddesses Praestana, Arn., IV, 3, Praestitia, Tert., *Adv. Nat.*, II, 11. Praestota Śerfia then represents the defensive power of Śerfus Martius which is besought to avert evil from the people of Iguvium. Tursa on the other hand represents the offensive force which terrifies and puts to flight the enemies of the city. The name is clearly related to the verb *tursitu*, forms of which are used as a part of the curse against the enemies of the state (60 = VIIa 49) and with reference to the chasing of the heifers (Ib 40, 41, VIIb 2), and the connection with L. *terror* is scarcely less evident despite the difference in vowel-grade and stem-class and the assimilation *rs* > *rr*. For the religious concept cf. the similar deification of Pavor and Pallor among the Romans: Livy, I, 27, 7 *Tullus in re trepida duodecim vovit Salios fanaque Pallori ac Pavori*; Serv. *ad Aen.*, VIII, 285 (*Salii*) *ab Hostilio vero pavorii et*

tarsinatem . tuscom . naharcom .
iabuscom . nome / (59) *totar .*
tarsinat . er . trifor . tarsinater .
tuscer . naharcer . iabuscer . nomner .
nerf . šihitu . anšihitu . iouie .
hostatu / (60) *anhostatu . tursitu .*
tremitu hondu . holtu . ninctu .
nepitu . sonitu . sauitu . preplotatu .

Tadinate tribe, the Tuscan, the Narcan, the Iapudic name, the chief citizens in office and not in office, the young men under arms and not under arms, of the Tadinate state, of the Tadinate tribe, of the Tuscan, the Narcan, the Iapudic name: terrify them and cause them to tremble, cast them down to Hondus, to Hola, overwhelm them with snow, overwhelm them with water, deafen them with thunder and wound

pallorii instituti; Lact., I., 20 *Pavorem Palloremque Tullus Hostilius figuravit et coluit.* — 58-60 *totam Tarsinatem*, etc.: the first portion of the prayer consists of a curse against the four enemy nations which were included in the banishment in 53-54, and the Tadinates are again placed in a separate category from the other three nations, as in the banishment, but this time the names of the nations are followed by a division of their populations into *nerf and iouie*, these classes being further divided into two sub-classes designated by affirmative and negative adjectives, so that the passage reads: ... *Tuscer Naharcer Iabuscer nomner nerf šihitu anšihitu iouie hostatu anhostatu tursitu*, etc. — 59 *nerf*: see the discussion on VIa 30, where, however, *nerf* was contrasted with *arsmo*. In the present passage, on the other hand, *nerf* is contrasted with *iouie* and so must refer to a grouping based primarily on age. — 59 *šihitu anšihitu*: this pair may be connected etymologically with L. *citos incitos*, as by Br. and Dev., or with *cinctos incinctos*, as by the majority of editors, but in any case *an-* must be the negative and not the local preposition as in L. *incinctus* and (partly) *incitus*, for the opposition of ideas is as strong as in *hostatu anhostatu* below. Bréal's interpretation, being connected with an untenable view of *nerf* ('*Lares*'), may be ignored here, but it is necessary to take account of Devoto's objection to L. *cinctus, incinctus* (p. 282). On the ground that the normal word for 'gird' was **kringaom* (inferred from *cringatro* **krikatru**) he makes *šihitu anšihitu* equivalent to L. *accitos non accitos* and as support for *accire* of summoning to office he cites Cic., *Resp.*, II, 13, 25 ... *eumque* (sc. *Numam Pompilium*) *ad regnandum ... Romam Curibus accivit*; Lucan, I, 584 *haec propter placuit Tuscos de more vetusto acciri vates*. Yet the use of the simplex in this sense would not seem quite natural; L. *cio, cire, citus* is mostly limited to compounds, while direct connection of *šihitu* with *cĭtus* is impossible. I have therefore decided, though hesitantly, to follow the usual view whereby *šihitu* is equivalent to *cinctos*. The two roots **krengh* and **keng/k* may easily have coexisted in the language, the latter appearing not only in *šihitu* but also in **çihçeřa**: indeed the two may possibly even be variants of a single ultimate root altered by assimilatory or dissimilatory processes. *šihitu anšihitu* taken as *cinctos incinctos* may refer to men in and not in military office; so Bü., p. 99, takes it, and the use of *cingitur, cinctus* for taking up or being under arms can be supported by Verg., *Aen.*, II, 749 *cingor fulgentibus armis*; *Dig.*, XXXIX, 1, 38 *cinctus in alia militia*; etc. This gives a sufficiently comprehensive division of the population. If we were to extend the meaning of

šihitu further so as to include all in offices of any kind, military or civil, the support from L. *cingitur*, *cinctus* would be less good. — *iouie*: all editors since Bü. have recognized the equivalence of this word with L. *iuvenes*, only the stem being different. — **59-60** *hostatu / anhostatu*: the *iouie* or young men of military age are divided into two groups, the *hastatos* and the **inhastatos*. The distinction is either between the heavy-armed and the light-armed or between those under arms and those not under arms. Bü., p. 100, favors the former interpretation, while Dev., p. 283, mentions both possibilities but uses 'alle armi e non alle armi' in his Italian translation in *T.G.* The question cannot be positively decided, but Devoto's view appears slightly better, since if the second class consisted of light-armed troops, they might rather be designated by some characteristic weapon than merely by their lack of spears. — **60**: here follows a series of ten verbs indicating the nature of the afflictions to be visited on the enemies of Iguvium. The arrangement of the verbs in five alliterative pairs is the most striking instance of the use of alliteration to be found anywhere in the Tables; for other instances of its use see Introduction, 11. The verbs are all imperatives of the usual 2nd and 3rd sg. type, despite the fact that the deities addressed form a triad and that 61 below shows a consistent use of the plural, the repetition of the names of the triad being followed by *fututo foner pacrer pase uestra*. Dev., p. 282, notes the discrepancy and suggests that the three deities are not regarded here as the direct agents of vengeance and that the verb forms *tursitu*, etc., have therefore an impersonal character. — *tursitu*: equivalent to L. *terreto*; for phonology see on *Tursa* in 58 above. — *tremitu*: equivalent in sense to L. *tremefacito*; for the phonology and conjugational class see **118 d**. — *hondu*: cognate with *hondra*, *hondomu*, and the name of the god *Honde*; for details see **60a**, **119 c**. — *holtu*: sometimes regarded as connected with ὄλλυμι, in which case the *h* would have no etymological justification. Ribezzo, II, p. 103, suggested connection with the name of the goddess **Hule** (IV 17). If **Hola* is the female counterpart of the infernal deity Hontus, the present pair of verbs would mean '*Honto Holae mittito*,' a tempting explanation, were it not for the fact that analysis of *holtu* as an actual denominative from **Hola* is impossible and Ribezzo gives no really adequate explanation of the verb stem. Connection with ὄλλυμι may not be impossible after all, for all the verbs in the curse beside *hondu holtu* are joined in alliterative pairs, and it would not be surprising if **oltu* should here have received an unetymological initial *h*, at least in spelling if not in pronunciation. A possible source would be contamination with **Hola* or other words of its family, or with *hondu* itself. The weakness of the sound of *h* was a source of confusion, and *hebetafe* VIb 53 with unetymological *h*, in contrast to *ebetrafe* VIa 12, is an actual instance of this confusion. — *ninctu*: taken as equivalent to L. *ninguito* by practically all editors except Pis. and Vet., who object to the transitive use of *ninctu* in the sense 'cover with snow' and translate '*necato*,' deriving from **ni-n(e)c-tōd*. A stronger objection to the traditional interpretation is the failure of the form to show an initial *sn-*: cf. L. *ninguit*, but Av. *snaēžaiti*, Goth. *snaiwan*, Lith. *sniñga*, OCS subst. *sněgŭ*, and L. *nare* but U. **snata** (see **57 b**). Yet despite the loss of *s-* it seems best to follow the older view. Initial clusters consisting of *s* + nasal show a certain degree of instability in several IE languages, as a result of sentence-sandhi; it is difficult to find good support for a reduplicated present **ni-n(e)c-tōd*; and on the other hand the use of *ninctu* with external accus. although without parallel in Latin, is indirectly implied for Greek by the passive use in Ar., *Ach.*, 1075 κἄπειτα τηρεῖν νειφόμενον τὰς ἐσβολάς. Xen., *Hell.*, II,

preuilatu / (61) *serfe . martie prestota . serfia serfer . martier . tursa . serfia . serfer . martier . fututo . foner . pacrer . pase . uestra . pople totar . iiouinar* / (62) *tote . iiouine ero nerus . sihitir . anṡihitir . iouies . hostatir . anostatir . ero . nomne . erar . nomne . ape . este . dersicurent . eno* / (63) *deitu . etato . iiouinur . porse . perca . arsmatia habiest . ape este . dersicust . duti . ambretuto . euront . ape . termnome* / (64) *couortuso . sururont . pesnimumo . sururont . deitu . etaians . deitu . enom . tertim . ambretuto . ape . termnome . benuso* / (65) *sururont . pesnimumo . sururont . deitu etaias eno . prinuatur . šimo . etuto erafont . uia . pora benuso* /

them, trample them under foot and bind them. Šerfus Martius, Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, Tursa Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, be favorable and propitious with your peace to the people of the state of Iguvium, to the state of Iguvium, to their chief citizens in office and not in office, to their young men under arms and not under arms, to their name, to the name of the state." When they have said this, then he that holds the ritual wand shall say "Go, men of Iguvium." When he has said this, the same ones shall make the circuit a second time. When the boundary has been reached again, they shall pray in the same manner. He shall speak in the same manner; he shall direct them to go. Then for the third time they shall make the circuit. When the boundary has been reached, in the same manner they shall pray, in the same manner he shall direct them to go. Then the *prinuati* shall go back by the same road by which they came.

4, 3 *οἱ δὲ νιφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ.* Cf. also Polyb., XVI, 12, 3. — *nepitu*: generally regarded as related to Neptunus and translated '*inundato.*' The interpretations of *ninctu* and *nepitu* are interdependent insofar as, if one is taken as a curse invoking disastrous weather, the other should preferably be taken in the same way. For curses of this type Dev. compares *Gromatici*, ed. Lachmann, 350 f. *qui contigerit terminum moveritque damnabitur a diis ... domus exstirpabitur, gensque ... omnis interiet ... terra a tempestatibus et turbinibus ... movebitur ... fructus saepe laedentur decutienturque imbribus atque grandine caniculis interient, robigine occidentur.* Vet. derives *nepitu* from **nepid-tu* and translates '*ad nihilum redigito,*' thus preserving semantic similarity between the two verbs in the pair (see on *ninctu* above). — *sonitu*: both verbs in the present pair are obscure, but *sonitu* is in all probability somehow connected with L. *sonare*. Devoto translates '*verberato,*' the sense 'beat' being derived from the notion of loud noise inherent in the root **swen-* > *son-*, as in the derivation which he adopts for *persondru*. Whether this beating is to be accomplished by means of lightning and thunder is not clear, but it is altogether natural that a curse of this sort should include this form of divine vengeance. In order to keep fairly close to the probable etymological sense of *sonitu* I have translated it 'deafen with thunder.' — *sauitu*: possibly related to L. *saucius* if *c* in the latter form is regarded

as an extension and not a part of the root. Nothing can be affirmed with certainty, since the connections of *saucius* itself are rather uncertain, but the variation of forms with and without *-cio-* could be compared with L. *novus*: *novicius*, or for semantic purposes with *emo*: *empticius*, *suppono*: *suppositicius*. *sauitu* might then correspond to a lost Latin verb whose relation to the pass. adj. *saucius* would be similar to that in the forms just cited, allowing for the difference in their derivation through the pass. pcpl. stem. 'Wound' is as satisfactory a translation as we can find under the circumstances. — *preplotatu*: VIIa 49 has *preplohotatu*, showing that the root-vowel is long. Since *preuilatu* = *preuišlatu*, the other member of the pair, is clearly a verb of binding, we might expect a similar sense for *preplotatu* also. Ribezzo, II, p. 104, connects with L. *plecto*, *amplector*, deriving from **praiploktā-tōd*, which gives the desired sense and accounts for the length of the root-syllable (see **46 i**), but the *o*-vowel grade is scarcely admissible in a formation of this type. It is best then to follow Bü., Co., and Dev. in regarding *preplotatu* as a denominative from Umbrian *plotus* known from Fest., 274 Li. *<plotos appellant> Umbri pedibus planis natos ... et <Macci> us poeta, quia Umber Sarsinas erat, a pedum planitia, initio Plotus, postea Plautus coeptus est dici.* Yet the curse is probably intended not merely to inflict lameness on the enemies of Iguvium, as suggested by Conway's *'impedito, claudum facito,'* but rather to lay them flat (*'sternito'* Dev.). — *preuilatu*: an erroneous spelling of *preuišlatu*, which appears in VIIa 49 and which nearly all editors take as equivalent to L. **praevinculato*, denominative to *vinculum*. For the use of *pre-* in composition with verbs of binding, Bü., p. 101, calls attention to L. *praevincio*, *praestringo*, *praeligo*. — **61-2**: the second portion of the prayer is an entreaty for divine favor toward the state and people of Iguvium. The triad of deities addressed is the same as in the curse preceding, and the population of Iguvium, like the enemy populations in the curse, is divided into *nerus sihitir anšihitir*, *iouies hostatir anostatir*. — *fututo foner pacrer pase uestra*, etc.: for the sense of the expression as a whole see on VIa 30. For the plural forms in contrast to sg. *tursitu tremitu*, etc., see on 60 above.

VIb 62 - VIIa 2 (= Ib 21 - 23). Instructions for repeating the circuit, etc. — **62** *dersicurent*: reduplicated fut. pf. of *deitu*, with *rs* from intervocalic *d*. — **63** *etato Iiouinur*: this can scarcely be an order for dismissal, despite Dev., § 155, p. 286 (*'ter formula de conventu dimittendo pronuntianda est'*), for in this case we should expect some order such as *arsmahamo caterahamo* directing them to reassemble, and moreover it is altogether likely that they would have been expected to remain in formation until the whole lustration was completed. Possibly they were obliged to perform certain evolutions within the area between the boundary-mark and the three stations at which the sacrifices were to be offered. Cf. the description of the lustration of the Macedonian army in Livy, XL, 6, 1-2 *caput mediae canis praecisae et pars ad dexteram, cum extis posterior ad laevam viae ponitur: inter hanc divisam hostiam copiae armatae traducuntur.* For the form of *etato* see **127 c**. — *euront*: the *adfertor* and the two *prinuati*. — *termnome*: to the boundary-mark at which the *adfertor* had pronounced the banishment in 53 ff. and at which the Iguvines had been ordered to assemble in 56. — **64** *etaians deitu*: subjunctive here and in 65 = VIIa 1, in contrast to imv. in 63 and in Ib 21, 22. — **65** *eno prinuatur šimo etuto erafont uia pora benuso*: the two *prinuati* had joined the *adfertor* in 50-51 and had proceeded with him to Acedonia and the boundary-marks by the Via Aviecla. *šimo*: commonly translated *'retro,'* but the actual sense is '(back) hither' from the viewpoint of one who is in the in-

(VIIa 1) *sururont . pesnimumo . sururont . deitu . etaias . eno . prinuatur . šimo . etuto . erafont . uia . pora* / (2) *benuso* /

(3) *fondlire . abrof . trif . fetu . heriei . rofu . heriei . peiu . šerfe . martie . feitu . popluper . totar . iiouinar . totaper* / (4) *iiouina . uatuo . ferine . feitu . poni . fetu . aruio . fetu . tases . persnimu . prosesetir mefa . spefa . ficla . arsueitu* / (5) *suront . naratu . puse . uerisco . treblanir . ape . traha . sahata . combifianšust . enom . erus . dirstu* /

(6) *rubine . porca . trif . rofa . ote . peia . fetu . prestote . šerfie . šerfer . martier . popluper . totar . iiouinar . totaper* / (7) *iouina . persaia . fetu . poni . fetu . aruio . fetu . suront . naratu . pusi . pre . uerir . treblanir . tases . persnimu* / (8) *prosesetir . strušla . ficla . arsueitu . ape . supo .*

In the same manner they shall pray, in the same manner he shall direct them to go. Then the *prinuati* shall go back by the same road by which they came.

At Fontuli he shall sacrifice three boars, either red or black; to Šerfus Martius he shall sacrifice for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. He shall place the ribs on a tray, sacrifice with mead, offer grain, pray silently, add to the parts cut off a *mefa spefa* cake and a *ficla* cake, and recite the same formulas as at the Trebulan Gate. When (the *porrectio*) has been announced from Trans Sanctam then the *erus* shall be distributed.

At Rubinia he shall sacrifice three sows, red or black, to Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. He shall sacrifice (the victims) upon the ground, sacrifice with mead, offer grain, recite the same formulas as before the Trebulan Gate, pray silently, and add to the parts cut off a *strušla* cake and a *ficla* cake. When he has put the underparts at the back (of the altar), then

terior of the town. Cf. Varro *apud* Non., 131, 9 Li. *eo die cis Tiberim redeundum est.*

VIIa 1: the exact words of VIb 65 are repeated in order to make it clear that the new table is a continuation of the instructions for the Lustration.

VIIa 3 - 5 (= Ib 24 - 26). Sacrifice of three boars to Šerfus Martius at Fontuli. The instructions are in general similar to those given for several of the sacrifices performed during the purification of the Fisian Mount, but no two agree in all details. — **3** *Fondlire*: this place is mentioned only here and in the equivalent Ib 24. Dev., p. 288, and in *Studi etruschi*, IV (1930), p. 238, suggests connection with the medieval Via di Fontevole, more recently Via delle Fonti, old names of the present Via Savelli della Porta, one of the three thoroughfares of modern Gubbio. Derivation of the word as a diminutive of **font-* (L. *fons*) is more satisfactory than connection with L. *fundula* 'cul de sac' (Varro, *L.L.*, V, 145), which Bü., p. 105, offers as an alternative explanation. He further compares *Fondlire* with Athenian *ἐν Λίμναις* remarking that the equivalent of *ad fontes* would have been *fondlisco*; yet the translation 'at Fontuli' renders the sense adequately in English. — *abrof*: a boar is offered to Ahtus Mars in IIa 11,

where the stem-variant *aprōn-* is used, possibly designating a *young* boar. — *peiu*: since *rofu* is 'red' *peiu* must also be a color-name, and 'black' (L. *piceus*) is the only possibility. Dark-colored victims are appropriate because Šerfus Martius was a chthonic divinity; cf. Val. Flacc., III, 439 *Tunc piceae mactantur oves* (in the purification of the Argonauts from blood-guiltiness); Arn., *adv. Nat.*, VII, 19 *quia superis diis ... color laetus acceptus est ac felix hilaritate candoris at vero diis laevis sedesque habitantibus inferas color furvus est gratior et tristibus suffectus e fucis.* — *Šerfie Martie*: see on VIb 57. — *popluper totar Iiouinar, totaper Iiouina*: similarly in 6-7, 41, since the lustration is for the people; cf. the expression *ocriper Fisiu, totaper Iiouina* used in VIa 58, etc., during the purification of the Mount. — **4** *uatuo ferine feitu*: see on VIa 57; *poni*: on VIa 57; *aruio*: on Ia 3; *mefa spefa, ficla*: on VIa 56. — **5** *uerisco Treblanir*: on VIb 23. — *traha Sahata*: the prepositional phrase has become fossilized into a place-name like that of the modern Roman Trastevere, and *Sahata* then takes its case not from *traha* but from the relation of the whole phrase to the rest of the sentence; in the present instance the case is abl. Most take *Sahata* as equivalent to *Sanctam* (sc. *viam*), while Dev., p. 295, Bott., p. 426, prefer connection with **Satanes**, IIb 4, the name of one of the *decuviae*. The question has no bearing on the syntax or interpretation of the passages where the phrase occurs, but it seems more probable that *Sahata* was a street than an extended region, if we must think of sacrifices being performed in three places at once with the *adfertor* moving from one to another and instructions being called aloud across the *Sahata*. — *combifiansust*: when the *porrectio* of the third sacrifice, in Trans Sahatam, has been announced, the distribution of the *erus* is to be made at Fontuli; so much is clear from Ib 33-4 **pune purtinçus, kařetu, pufe apruf / fakurent, puze erus teřa**, where the instruction is really the same as in VIIa 5, but is presented in connection with the third instead of the first sacrifice.

VIIa 6 - 8 (= Ib 27 - 30). Sacrifice of three pigs to Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius at Rubinia. The details resemble those described in the sacrifices behind the Trebulan and Tesenacan Gates not only in the species of victims but also in the manner of slaughter (*persae fetu*) and in the kinds of cakes offered. Moreover the sacrifice proper, like that in honor of Fisus Sancius behind the Tesenacan Gate, is followed by supplementary offerings and prayers, after which in VIIa 37-40 a libation and *mefa spefa* are offered to Fisovius with precisely the same prayers, ceremony of the vessels, etc., as in VIb 5-18. — **6** *Rubine*: this place cannot be identified by the help of any place- or street-name in modern Gubbio, but Dev. (*St. etr.*, IV [1930], p. 226; *T.I.*, p. 289) suggests a possible connection with the Etruscan names *Rupinas* (*or Srupinas*?), *C.I.E.*, 4990 (from Orvieto), *Rupenial*, 4408 (from Perugia). — **7** *persaia fetu*: see on VIa 58. — **8** *struśla*: on VIa 59.

VIIa 8 - 36. Supplementary offerings to Prestota Šerfia. The ceremony commences with a libation to be poured into a trench (?). The vessels used in the ceremony are of two kinds, black and white, corresponding to the nature of the prayers in conjunction with which the vessels are used. The first prayer contains an invocation to the deity to visit evil on the Tadinate nation along with the other enemies of Iguvium (cf. VIb 58), followed by entreaties for favor toward the people of Iguvium. The second prayer, which is offered with the white vessels, is an entreaty for the averting of evil from the people of Iguvium and for divine protection of men, beasts, etc. The two prayers are in most respects closely parallel. The same initial invocation is found, *mutatis mutandis*, in 10-11 and in 25-26. 11-13, with the char-

postro . pepescus . enom . pesclu . ruseme . uesticatu . prestote . śerfie / (9) *śerfer . martier . popluper . totar . iouinar . totaper . iouina . enom . uesclir . adrir . ruseme . eso . persnihimu . prestota /* (10) *śerfia . śerfer . martier . tiom . esir . uesclir . adrir . popluper . totar . iiouinar . totaper . iiouina . erer . nomneper /* (11) *erar . nomneper . prestota . śerfia . śerfer . martier . preuendu . uia . ecla . atero . tote . tarsinate . trifo . tarsinate /* (12) *tursce . naharce . iabusce . nomne . totar . tarsinater . trifor . tarsinater . tuscer . naharcer . iabuscer . nomner /* (13) *nerus śitir . anśihitir . iouies . hostatir . anostatir . ero . nomne . prestota . śerfia . śerfer . martier . futu . fons /* (14) *pacer . pase . tua . pople . totar . iiouinar . tote . iiouine . erom . nomne . erar . nomne . erar . nerus . śihitir . anśihitir . iouies /* (15) *hostatir . anostatir . prestota . śerfia . śerfer . martier . saluom . seritu . poplom . totar . iiouinar . salua . serituu /* (16) *totam . iiouinam . prestota . serfia . serfer . martier . saluo . seritu . popler . totar .*

with a prayer he shall pour a libation into a trench to Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. Then (pouring) from the black vessels into the trench he shall pray thus: "Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, thee (I invoke) with these black vessels for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the people, for the name of the state. Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, in every way turn thou evil against the Tadinate people, the Tadinate tribe, the Tuscan, the Narcan, the Iapudic name, against the chief citizens in office and not in office, against the young men under arms and not under arms, of the Tadinate state, of the Tadinate tribe, of the Tuscan, the Narcan, the Iapudic name, and against their name. Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the people of the state of Iguvium, to the state of Iguvium, to their name, to the name of the state, to its chief citizens in office and not in office, to its young men under arms and not under arms. Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, keep safe the people of the state of Iguvium, keep safe the state of Iguvium. Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, keep safe the name of the people of the state of Iguvium, (the

acteristic *preuendu uia ecla atero tote Tarsinate*, etc., corresponds to 27-28 with *ahauendu uia ecla atero pople totar Iiouinar*. In 13-15 the purpose of the formula *futu fons pacer pase tua*, etc., is to prevent the curse of the preceding lines from having adverse effect upon the people of Iguvium; it is therefore without counterpart in the second prayer. 15 *Prestota Śerfia Śerfer Martier, saluom seritu* through 23 *enom uesticatu ahatripursatu* and 28 through 36 are almost completely identical. — 8 *ape supo postro pepescus*: for *supo* see on VIb 5, where precisely the same clause is used to introduce the instructions for offerings to Fisovius Sancius. — *ruseme*: there is no sure etymology, but the word apparently means some sort of trench or pit. Devoto, p. 292, translates '*in mundum*,'

having in mind the covered pit or *mundus* in the Roman comitium (cf. Fest., 255, 273 Li.), and for the etymology compares Lith. *rūsỹs* (a hole for winter storage of potatoes: cf. Walde-Pokorny, II, p. 356) but the unrhotacized *s* is a difficulty. W.-P.'s root 2. *reu-* 'aufreissen, graben, aufwühlen' has a variety of extensions; it would be tempting to connect *rusem* with ὄρυξις 'a digging,' but a *ti*-stem of **ru-g-*, **ru-gh-* would yield **ruh-ti-*. It is possible that *rusem* may be from **ru-dh-ti-m* with development of the dental cluster as in **Fise**, *Fiso*, 44 **d**, the extended root being the same as in ON *rjōda* 'reuten, räumen' and other Germanic forms cited by Walde-Pokorny, II, p. 354. For the ritual value of the *rusem* Goidànich, pp. 65-6, calls attention to the character of the prayer with which it is associated, and especially to the curse contained in the prayer. Cf. also the note on *persom* VIb 24. — *uesticatu*: see on *uestisia* VIb 5. — **9-10** *Prestota / Serfia ... tiom*, etc.: for the ellipsis of the verb see **136 c**. — **11** *preuendu*: only here, but etymology and sense are both fairly certain; cf. *ahauendu* 27, and for the directive force in *pre-* cf. L. *prae(hi)beo*, *praecipio*, *praetendo*. — *ecla*: the sense in conjunction with *uia* appears to be 'in every way,' but the derivation is very uncertain; possibly from **aiko-lo-* (cf. Skt. *ekas* 'one') with *-lo-* as in L. *singuli* and semantic development 'one > individual > each individual > every'; cf. Muller, p. 11. — *atero*: to be directed against the enemies of Iguvium, and in 27 to be averted from the people of Iguvium; it must therefore signify some aspect of evil, but again the derivation is very doubtful. *atero* has been connected with *adrir* by Bü., p. 108, the notion 'evil' being derived from 'black' just as the color of the vessels is symbolical; with L. *alter* by some on the basis of Fest., 99 Li. *alter et pro non bono ponitur, ut in auguriis altera cum appellatur avis quae utique prospera non est; sic aliter nonnumquam pro adverso dicitur et malo*; possibly from **ap-tero-* with semantic development as in L. *deterior* according to a suggestion of Pl., I, p. 426, II, p. 203; but none of these satisfactorily accounts for the unsyncopated *e*. Dev., p. 295, translates '*hostem*,' with derivation similar to L. *ex-torrem*, but the root of L. *terra* contained an *s* which would not be assimilated in Umbrian (see Buck, § 115.1). The safest explanation, at least from a phonological viewpoint, is that of Sommer, *I.F.*, XI (1900), pp. 14-16, who derives from **ā-terom* taken as an infinitive equivalent to L. *-terere* 'rub' but without formal distinction of voice. He then translated '*advertito omni via civitati Tarsinati* **absteri* [= *interire*, *interitum*]'; 'Wende auf jedem Wege dem tarsinatischen Staate den Untergang zu' bezw. 'ab.' The unsyncopated vowel is not unnatural in the radical syllable, and for the sense Vetter, I, p. 268, cites L. *detrimentum* as a semantic parallel. — *tote Tarsinate* ... **12** *Iabuscer nomner*: see on VIb 53-4. — **13** *nerus ... anostatir*: see on VIb 59-60. — *Prestota Serfia Serfer Martier, futu fons* ... 15 *hostatir anostatir*: evidently intended to preclude any possibility of harm to the people of Iguvium from the curse contained in the lines immediately preceding, for the same precaution is observed in VIb 61-2 just after the curse containing *tursitu tremitu*, etc., but not in the prayer with the white vessels which commences at VIIa 25 and which is in most respects closely similar to our present passage but contains no curse. A precautionary formula similar in some respects to the present passage occurs in the curse tablets of Cnidus: ἐμοὶ δὲ ὅσια καὶ ἐλεύθερα εἴη πάντως (cf. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, pp. 5-19, and R. G. Kent, *C.P.*, XX [1925], p. 252, who used the Cnidian formula as the basis for a restoration in line 9 of the Oscan curse of Vibia). — **15** *Prestota Serfia* ... 18 *erar nomne*: similar to VIa 31-33, except that there the prayer was addressed to Jupiter Grabovius for protection toward the Fisian Mount,

iiouinar . totar . iiouinar / (17) *nome . nerf . arsmo . uiro . pequo . castruo . frif . salua seritu . futu . fons . pacer . pase . tua . pople . totar . iiouinar* / (18) *tote . iiouine . erer . nomne . erar . nomne . prestota . śerfia . śerfer . martier . tiom . esir . uesclir . adrer . popluper* / (19) *totar . iiouinar . totaper . iouina . erer . nomneper . erar . nomneper . prestota . śerfia . śerfer . martier . tiom* / (20) *subocauu . prestotar . śerfiar . śerfer . martier . foner . frite . tiom . subocauu . ennom . persclu . eso . deitu* / (21) *prestota . śerfia . śerfer . martier . tiom . isir . uesclir . adrir . tiom . plener . popluper . totar . iiouinar . totaper* / (22) *iiouina . erer . nomneper . erar . nomneper . prestota . śerfiar . śerfer . martier . tiom . subocauu . prestotar* / (23) *śerfiar . serfer . martier . foner . frite . tiom . subocauu . enom . uesticatu . ahatripursatu . enom . ruseme* / (24) *persclu . uesticatu . prestote . śerfie . śerfer . martier . popluper . totar . iiouinar . totaper . iouina . ennom . uesclir* / (25) *alfir . persnimu . superne . adro . trahuorfi . andendu . eso . persnimu . prestota . śerfia . śerfer . martier . tiom* / (26) *esir . uesclir . alfir . popluper . totar . iiouinar . totaper . iiouina . erer . nomneper . erar . nomneper . prestota* / (27) *śerfia . śerfer . martier . ahauendu .*

name) of the state of Iguvium, keep safe the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the people of the state of Iguvium, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the people, to the name of the state. Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, thee (I invoke) with these black vessels for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the people, for the name of the state. Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, I invoke thee; in trust of thy favor, Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, I invoke thee." Then in prayer he shall speak thus: "Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, thee with these black vessels, thee with full vessels, for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the people, for the name of the state, Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, thee I invoke. In trust of thy favor, Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, I invoke thee." Then he shall pour a libation and dance the *tripudium*. Then with a prayer he shall pour a libation into the trench to Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. Then he shall pray with the white vessels; he shall place them crosswise above the black vessels; thus shall he pray: "Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, thee (I invoke) with these white vessels for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the people, for the name of the state. Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, in every way turn thou aside evil from the

22 *śerfiar*: for *śerfia*.

but here to Prestota Śerfia for the people of the Iguvine state. — **17** *nome nerf ... castruo frif*: see on VIa 20. — **20** *subocauu*: see on VIa 22. — *frite*: see on VIa 24. — *ennom persclu eso deitu*, etc.: a new prayer with a new invocation to the goddess and a new set of black vessels, for these are designated in 21 as *plener*. The vessels used in connection with the prayer in 9-10 had apparently been emptied in the pouring of the libation called for in 8. — **23** *ahatripursatu*: see on VIb 16. — **23** *enom ruseme ...* 24 *totaper Iouina* just before the prayer with the white vessels corresponds to 8 *enom pesclu ruseme uesticatu*, etc., just before the prayer with the black vessels. — **25** *superne adro trahuorfi andendu*: the symbolic significance of this act is not clear, but it appears from the language that the white vessels are placed above the black ones in a crosswise position; at least it is natural to take *superne* as a preposition governing *adro* rather than to make *adro* the object of *andendu* with *superne* as an adverb, for the black vessels, whose use is now finished, would not be placed on top of the white. *trahuorfi* occurs only here but is clearly equivalent to L. *transverse*; the vessels must therefore have been of oblong or elliptical shape, as Dev., p. 290, suggests. — **25** *Prestota Śerfia ...* **36**: for those respects in which the prayer with the white vessels differs from that with the black see above, on 8 - 36.

---

uia . ecla . atero . pople . totar . iiouinar . tote . iiouine . popler . totar . iouinar / (28) *totar . iiouinar . nerus . śihitir . anśihitir . iouies . hostatir . anhostatir . ero . nomne . erar . nomne . prestota . śerfia* / (29) *śerfer . martier . saluom . seritu . poplo . totar . iiouinar . salua . seritu . totam . iiouinam . prestota . śerfia . śerfer* / (30) *martier . saluom . seritu . popler . totar . iiouinar . totar . iiouinar . nome . nerf . arsmo . uiro . pequo . castruo . frif* / (31) *salua . seritu . futu . fons . pacer . pase . tua . pople . totar . iiouinar . tote . iiouine . erer . nomne . erar . nomne . prestota* / (32) *śerfia . śerfer . martier . tiom . esir . uesclir . alfer . popluper . totar . iiouinar . totaper . iiouina . erer . nomneper .*

people of the state of Iguvium, from the state of Iguvium, from the chief citizens of the people of the state of Iguvium and of the state of Iguvium, in office and not in office, from the young men under arms and not under arms, from their name, from the name of the state. Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, keep safe the people of the state of Iguvium, keep safe the state of Iguvium. Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, keep safe the name of the people of the state of Iguvium and of the state of Iguvium, keep safe the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the people of the state of Iguvium, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the people, to the name of the state. Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, thee with these white vessels for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the people, for the name of

erar / (33) *nomneper . prestota . śerfia . śerfer . martier . tiom . subocauu . prestotar . śerfiar . śerfer . martier . foner . frite . tiom* / (34) *subocauu . ennom . persclu . eso . persnimu . prestota . śerfia . śerfer . martier . tiom . isir . uesclir . alfer . tiom . plener* / (35) *popluper . totar . iiouinar . totaper . iiouina . erer . nomneper . erar . nomneper . prestota . śerfia . śerfer . martier . tiom* / (36) *subocauu . prestotar . śerfiar . śerfer . martier . foner . frite . tiom . subocauu . enom . uesticatu . ahatripursatu* / (37) *uestiśa . et . mefa . spefa . scalsie . conegos . fetu . fisoui . sansii . popluper . totar . iiouinar . totaper . iiouina . suront* / (38) *naratu . puse . post . uerir . tesonocir . uestisiar . erus . ditu . enno . uestisia . mefa . spefa . sopam . purome . efurfatu* / (39) *subra . spahamu . traf . sahatam . etu . ape . traha . sahata . couortus . ennom . comoltu . comatir . persnihimu . capif* / (40) *sacra . aitu* /

(41) *trahaf . sahate . uitla . trif . feetu . turse . śerfie . śerfer . martier . popluper . totar . iiouinar . totaper . iiouina . persaea . fetu . poni* / (42) *fetu . aruio . fetu . tases . persnimu . prosesetir . strušla . ficlam . arsueitu . suront . naratu . puse . uerisco . treblaneir . ape* / (43) *purdinśiust . carsitu . pufe . abrons . facurent . puse . erus . dersa . ape . erus .* the state, Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, thee I invoke; in trust of thy favor, Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, I invoke thee." Then in prayer shall he pray thus: "Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, thee with these white vessels, thee with full vessels, for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the people, for the name of the state, Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, thee I invoke; in trust of thy favor, Prestota Śerfia of Śerfus Martius, I invoke thee." Then he shall pour a libation and dance the *tripudium*. Kneeling he shall offer a libation and a *mefa spefa* cake in a cup to Fisovius Sancius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. He shall recite the same formulas as behind the Tesenacan Gate. He shall distribute the *erus* of the libation. Then he shall remove from the platter the libation and the *mefa spefa* cake and scatter them down into the fire. He shall go to Trans Sanctam. When he has returned from Trans Sanctam, then he shall grind (the cakes) and pray with the ground (cakes). He shall move the consecrated bowls.

At Trans Sanctam he shall sacrifice three heifer-calves to Tursa Śerfia of Śerfus Martius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. He shall sacrifice (the victims) upon the ground, sacrifice with mead, offer grain, pray silently, add to the parts cut off a *strušla* cake and a *ficla* cake, and recite the same formulas as at the Trebulan Gate. When the *porrectio* has been completed, the order shall be called to the place where they have sacrificed the boars, to distribute the *erus*. When

VIIa 37 - 40: Fisovius Sancius is again honored with a libation and *mefa spefa*, as in the ceremony described in VIb 5-18. Not only do the two passages agree in most details, but VIIa 38 contains a specific direction to use the same formulas as behind the Tesenacan Gate. But apart from Ib 29 **kapi sakra aitu** there is nothing in the earlier version to correspond to VIIa 37-40 as Ia 16-19 corresponds to VIb 5-18. Devoto, p. 295, § 162, may therefore be right in suggesting the possibility that an error led to the addition of this passage after the ceremony in honor of Prestota. The actual differences between the present passage and VIb 5-18 are: 1) the clause VIb 5 *ape sopo postro peperscust* is lacking in VIIa; 2) the ceremony in VIb is performed for the Fisian Mount and the state, that in VIIa for the people and state; 3) the prayers are given in VIb in full but in VIIa only by cross-reference to the sacrifice behind the Tesenacan Gate; 4) the instruction *pesclu / semu uesticatu atripursatu* VIb 15-16, the reference to the *erus* of the *prosecta*, and the use of the expression *scalseio ... conegos* in connection with *uestisiar erus* are without parallel in VIIa; 5) the direction to the priest to go across the Sancta and to return are naturally not found in VIb; 6) VIb 18 mentions cups both *purdita* and *sacra*, VIIa 39-40 only *sacra*. — **37** *uestiša*: see on VIb 5. — *mefa spefa*: on VIa 56. — *scalsie conegos*: on VIb 5. — *Fisoui Sanšii*: on VIb 5. — **38** *erus*: on VIb 16. — *sopam purome efurfatu*: see **139 b.** — **39** *subra spahamu*: on VIb 17. — *traf Sahatam etu. ape traha Sahata couortus*: the clause beginning with *ape* is obviously the same instruction as *enem Rubiname postro couertu* given in 44 below in connection with the sacrifice to Tursa, for both passages are followed by *comoltu, comatir persnihimu (et) capif sacra aitu*. The *adfertor* leaves Rubinia for Trans Sanctam in order to perform the sacrifice to Tursa, or at least so much of it as requires his personal presence and activity, and remains until after the *porrectio*, when he gives the order for the distribution of the *erus* at Fontuli and then returns to Rubinia. — *ennom comoltu, comatir persnihimu*: see on VIb 17. — *capif / sacra aitu*: on VIb 18.

VIIa 41 - 45 (= Ib 31 - 39). Sacrifice of three heifer-calves to Tursa Šerfia at Trans Sanctam. The details agree closely with those of the sacrifice behind the Trebulan Gate (VIa 58-9) as well as with that at Rubinia, although in each case the order in which the separate instructions are given is somewhat different. When the *porrectio* has been completed, the *adfertor* calls out the order for the distribution of the *erus* at Fontuli, which is followed by the distribution at Rubinia, and finally at Trans Sanctam. He then goes to Rubinia and performs the ceremony of the grinding, after which he returns to Trans Sanctam and repeats the ceremony there. — **41** *trahaf Sahate*: for the grammatical character of this place-name see on 5 above. — *uitla*: heifer-calves are offered as victims only here and in the equivalent Ib 31. — *Turse*: see on VIb 58. — **43** *carsitu ... combifiatu ... 44 combifiatu*: in Ib 33-5 the verbs are similarly distributed except that the third verb is subjunctive **kupifiaia**. The difference between the two verbs is that *carsitu* is used of calling out an order, while *combifiatu* is used of giving information. In the present passage notice is given that the *erus* has been distributed at Fontuli, and this notice is the signal for the distribution at Rubinia (43 *postro combifiatu Rubiname erus / dersa*). After a similar notice from Rubinia the *erus* is distributed at Trans Sanctam; on the whole passage cf. Dev., p. 296. — **43** *pufe abrons facurent*: the same circumlocution is used in Ib 33-4; Dev., pp. 146, 288, regards it as another instance of euphemism. The form *abrons* is peculiar, for line 3 has *abrof*, Ib 24, 33 **apruf**. Since there are no known acc. pl. forms in *-ns* in the second declension, editors in general have been inclined to

dirsust . postro . combifiatu . rubiname . erus / (44) *dersa . enem . traha . sahatam . combifiatu . erus . dersa . enem . rubiname . postro . couertu . comoltu . comatir . persnimu . et* / (45) *capif . sacra . aitu . enom . traha . sahatam . couertu . comoltu . comatir . persnihimu . enom . purditom . fust* / (46) *postertio . pane . poplo . andirsafust . porse . perca . arsmatia . habiest . et . prinuatur . dur . tefruto . tursar . eso . taseiur* / (47) *persnihimumo . tursa . iouia . totam . tarsinatem . trifo . tarsinatem . tuscom .*

the *erus* has been distributed, the instruction shall be passed back to Rubinia to distribute the *erus*. Then the instruction shall be passed to Trans Sanctam to distribute the *erus*. Then (the *adfertor*) shall return to Rubinia, grind (the cakes), pray with the ground (cakes) and move the consecrated bowls. Then he shall return to Trans Sanctam, grind (the cakes), and pray with the ground (cakes). Then the sacrifice will have been completed. When he has made the circuit around the people for the third time, he who holds the ritual wand and the two *prinuati* shall silently pray thus from the (place of) burnt offerings, to Tursa: "Tursa Jovia: the Tadinate state, the Tadinate tribe, the Tuscan, the Nar-

derive *abrons* from the same *n*-stem found in **abrunu** IIa 11, with various explanations for the anomalous form (cf. Danielsson, *Altitalische Studien*, III, p. 146; Buck, §181 b; Vetter, p. 270; Pisani, p. 183). Yet in view of the close relationship of the present passage to the three others cited it seems better to assume an *o*-stem in all four passages and an *n*-stem only in IIa 11, where there is good reason to believe that the difference in the stem-class corresponds to a difference in the victim (see on IIa 11). Pl., I, pp. 510-11, suggested that *abrons* was a sandhi-doublet which might have existed beside *abrof* under certain conditions, presumably under conditions resembling those in **58 a** (original medial *ns*). Our form would then represent an extension of this form into a different phonetic environment. — **45** *enom purditom fust*: here used of the completion of the whole ceremony, as in VIb 42.

VIIa 46 - 51. Prayer to Tursa Jovia with imprecations against the enemies of Iguvium. The language of the curse and of the prayer for favor toward the people of Iguvium is identical with that of the version contained in VIb 57-62, except that now Tursa Jovia alone is addressed and consequently there are certain grammatical variations (e.g. *futu* for *fututo*, *fons* for *foner*, *tua* for *uestra*, etc.); there are also several insignificant orthographical variations. — **46** *postertio pane poplo andirsafust*: the same formula occurs in Ib 40, where, however, it directly introduces the instructions for the pursuit of the heifers, the text and even the mention of the prayer being omitted. For discussion of the actual position of the pursuit of the heifers in the order of events see above on VIb 48 - VIIa 54 (= Ib 10-45), where the lustration as a whole is briefly outlined. — *porse perca arsmatia habiest*: similarly 51, VIb 50, 53, 63. — *prinuatur dur*: there is an apparent conflict between this passage and VIb 65, where the *prinuati* are supposed to depart from the scene; see above on VIb 48 - VIIa 54. — *tefruto*: used to indicate the spot where the *adfertor* and *prinuati* stand while reciting the prayer, as the postposition *-to* plainly shows.

The similar prayer commencing in VIb 57 was recited *termnuco* 'at the boundary.' The form *tefra* in IIa 27, III 32, 34, IV 2 is commonly understood to designate certain pieces cut from the victims, to be roasted as burnt-offerings, and Oscan **tefúrúm** on the Agnone Dedication (Co. 175, lines a 17, b 20) may have a similar sense. The present passage, however, seems to show a transfer of meaning from the object burnt to the place of burning, the hearth (L. *focus* or *rogus*, but not *ara*, U. *asa*). — **47** *Tursa Iouia*: Tursa Serfia of Serfus Martius is one of the triad invoked in the prayer commencing at VIb 47, nearly identical with the present one, and was also the recipient of three heifer-calves in VIIa 41; while Tursa without special epithet is honored in IV 19-20 with offerings of a **vestiçia** and **persuntru**. The epithet *Iouio-* on the other hand is borne by the deities Trebus, Tefer, Ticamnus, and Hontus. Tursa Jovia, who is mentioned only here, with the accompanying account of the pursuit of the heifers (51-54 = Ib 40-44), evidently signifies the personification of that aspect of Jupiter which inspires terror in the people's enemies, as Tursa Serfia signifies the same aspect of Serfus Martius. That Jupiter's power should be invoked in this prayer is quite natural in view of the fact that several of the words of the curse, e. g. *ninctu*, *nepitu*, *sonitu*, seem to refer to disasters arising from the weather. For these and other verbs of the series beginning with *tursitu tremitu* see above on VIb 60.

VIIa 51 - 54 (= Ib 40 - 44). Ritual pursuit of the heifers. The *adfertor* and *prinuati* put to flight an unspecified number of heifers, to be caught by persons waiting below the Forum Sehemeniar, and the first three caught are sacrificed to Tursa Jovia at Acedonia. The details of the sacrifice are similar to those at Rubinia (7-8), although they are not presented in the same order. The account of the chase in Ib 40-44 differs in several respects from that in VII. The *adfertor* and *prinuati* each chase a single heifer, making three in all. The chase begins above the place of assembly, and the heifers are caught below the Forum Sehemeniar, as in VII, but apparently by the *adfertor* and *prinuati* and not by whatever persons first succeed in catching them. The pursuit of the heifers may be a ritualistic survival from the time when victims for sacrifices actually had to be hunted. What is more important, however, is its apparent magical character. It is scarcely a coincidence that the pursuit takes place in close connection with the curse against the enemies of Iguvium, and that the victims are offered to Tursa, while the verb *tursitu* is used both of the chasing of the heifers and as a part of the curse. Parallels to this feature of the Iguvine ritual are by no means wanting. Plato, *Critias*, 119 e, in the mythical story of Atlantis, refers to a similar pursuit of bulls: *ἀφέτων ὄντων ταύρων ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερῷ... ἄνευ σιδήρου ξύλοις καὶ βρόχοις ἐθήρευον, ὃν δὲ ἕλοιεν τῶν ταύρων πρὸς τὴν στήλην προσαγαγόντες κατὰ κορυφὴν αὐτῆς ἔσφαττον.* Diog. Laert., I, 110, says of the purification of Athens by Epimenides during a pestilence in the forty-sixth Olympiad: ... *λαβὼν πρόβατα μέλανά τε καὶ λευκὰ ἦγαγε πρὸς τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον· κἀκεῖθεν εἴασεν ἰέναι οἳ βούλοιντο, προστάξας τοῖς ἀκολούθοις ἔνθα ἂν κατακλίνοι αὐτῶν ἕκαστον θύειν τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ· καὶ οὕτω λῆξαι τὸ κακόν.* The Oscan gerundive **eehiianasúm** on a Capuan inscription (Co. 117) evidently refers to the same practice; cf. *ehiato* in Table VIIb 2 — **51** *iuenga*: how many is not stated, but if a definite number was called for, it was probably twelve, since VIIb 1-2 says that the *fratricus* is to procure the Atiedian Brothers' twelve victims which are to be let loose and pursued after the lustration of the people. — *peracrio*: for the meaning see on VIa 25. The form here is gen. pl.; it must therefore be partitive with the sense 'from among the excellent ones,' that is 'from among those most fit for sacrifice.' — **52** *furo sehemeniar*:

naharcom . iapusco . nome . totar / (48) *tarsinater . trifor . tarsinater . tuscer . naharcer . iapuscer . nomner . nerf . sihitu . ansihitu . iouie . hostatu . anostatu /* (49) *tursitu . tremitu . hondu . holtu . ninctu . nepitu . sunitu . sauitu. preplohotatu . preuišlatu . tursa . iouia . futu . fons /* (50) *pacer . pase . tua . pople . totar . iouinar . tote . iouine . erar . nerus . šihitir . anšihitir . iouies . hostatir . anhostatir . erom /* (51) *nomne . erar . nomne . este . trioper . deitu . enom . iuenga . peracrio . tursituto . porse . perca . arsmatia . habiest . et /* (52) *prinuatur . hondra . furo . sehemeniar . hatuto . totar . pisi . heriest . pafe . trif . promom . haburent . eaf . acersoniem /* (53) *fetu . turse . iouie . popluper . totar . iiouinar . totaper . iouina . suront . naratu . puse . uerisco . treblanir . aruio . fetu /* (54) *persaea . fetu . strušla . ficla . prosesetir . arsueitu . tases . persnimu . poni . fetu /*

can, the Iapudic name, the chief citizens in office and not in office, the young men under arms and not under arms, of the Tadinate state, of the Tadinate tribe, of the Tuscan, the Narcan, the Iapudic name: terrify them and cause them to tremble, cast them down to Hondus, to Hola, overwhelm them with snow, overwhelm them with water, deafen them with thunder and wound them, trample them under foot and bind them. Tursa Jovia, be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the people of the state of Iguvium, to the state of Iguvium, to the chief citizens in office and not in office, to the young men under arms and not under arms, of the state, to their name, to the name of the state." This he shall say three times. Then he who holds the ritual wand and the *prinuati* shall chase the heifers (selected) from among those fit for sacrifice. Below the forum of Semonia whoever of the state wishes shall catch them. Whichever three they catch first, these (the *adfertor*) shall sacrifice at Acedonia to Tursa Jovia for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. He shall recite the same formulas as at the Trebulan Gate, offer grain, sacrifice (the victims) upon the ground, add to the parts cut off a *strušla* cake and a *ficla* cake, pray silently, and sacrifice with mead.

(VIIb 1) *pisi . panupei . fratrexs . fratrus atiersier . fust erec. sueso . fratrecate . portaia . seuacne . fratrom /* (2) *atiersio . desenduf . pifi . reper . fratreca . parsest . erom . ehiato . ponne . iuengar . tursiandu . hertei /* (3) *appei . arfertur . atiersir . poplom .*

Whoever at any time shall be brother-superior among the Atiedian Brothers, during his term of office shall bring twelve victims for the Atiedian Brothers, which are required on the brotherhood's account, to be let loose when the heifers are to be chased, when the Atiedian *adfertor* has performed the circuit around

Ib 42 has **furu sehmeniar**, so that the final *r* to all appearances is original. Von Planta, II, p. 47, and Buck, § 257.4 explain as a stem in *-āri-*, the latter translating *'forum seminarium.'* One need not object too strongly on the ground that in Latin the suffix *-āri-* appears only as a result of dissimilation of *-āli-* (e.g. *militaris, popularis*, but *annalis, Dialis, navalis*), for *extaris, coquinaris*, as well as O. **dekkviarím**, are exceptions to the general rule. But the loss of the final *i* would be strange, for it is preserved in *uerfale*, while there are no really applicable examples to support loss of final *i* in **sēmeniāri*. Devoto translated *'concilii,'* deriving from **semeno-yā* and comparing Skt. *samanam* 'Zusammenkunft, Festversammlung' (p. 301). The etymology is too far-fetched to be convincing, but the recognition of *-ar* **-ar** as a gen. sg. ending is an improvement over older theories. Rhotacism of final *s* in the earlier tables is decidedly unusual, but **ařeper** in 30 is an instance. According to the view preferred here *sehemeniar* **sehmeniar** is gen. sg. of the name of a goddess identical with L. *Semonia* and is so rendered in the translation. The only source of our knowledge of Semonia is Macrobius, I, 16, 8 *Apud veteres quoque qui nominasset Salutem Semoniam Seiam Segetiam Tutilinam, ferias observabat.* On Semonia's male counterpart Semo and on the ablaut-variation in the Latin and Umbrian names see on IIb 1; cf. also Pisani, pp. 186, 196, Pighi, *Umbrica*, p. 20; Bott., pp. 270, 321.

VIIb 1 - 4. Responsibilities of the *fratricus* in connection with the heifer-chase. The four lines of text on the reverse side of Table VII have some connection with VIIa, as is apparent from the reference to the chase after the completion of the lustration. The *fratricus* is charged with the responsibility of obtaining the heifers, under penalty of a fine in case he fails. *reper fratreca* in line 2 arouses the suspicion that the ceremony here may be the private concern of the Atiedian Brotherhood and distinct from those performed *popluper totar Iouinar totaper Iouina* (cf. Dev., pp. 303, 307). But it is difficult to believe that the words *appei arfertur Atiersir poplom andersafust* refer to any other lustration than the one described in the last portion of VIb and VIIa. Perhaps the heifer-chase, and not the lustration, may be a special one undertaken in the interests of the Brotherhood; but it is not impossible that *reper fratreca* merely designates the ceremony as the *responsibility* of the Brotherhood, without implying that it is for their special benefit. — **1** *fratrexs*: on the nature of this official and on the derivation of the word see on Va 23. — *fratrus Atiersier*: for the dative see **143 a.** — *seuacne*: used here without a noun, as also in III 22, where however it stands beside the adjective **sakre**. In the present passage, since *desenduf* is preferably to be taken with *seuacne* rather than with *fratrom Atiersio, seuacne* can scarcely mean anything but the heifers which are to be pursued, even though in other passages it is used of a variety of objects connected with ritual. For a list of these objects as well as for a discussion of the meaning of *seuacne* see on IIa 21. — **2** *desenduf*: Dev., p. 305, takes with *fratrom Atiersio*, which is easier so far as its position is concerned, but it is improbable that the accusative of 'two' as a component of 'twelve' has been fossilized as an uninflected form, and moreover it would not be natural for the number of brothers to be stated at all. It seems better therefore to understand the whole expression as meaning twelve victims corresponding to the (twelve) Atiedian Brothers. *reper fratreca*: see above in the introductory remarks to the present table. — *pars est*: only here, but similar to L. *par est* + inf. Bü., p. 118, sets up a distinction whereby *pars est* is used of that which is in compliance with the law, *hertei* of that which has been resolved upon (*ἔδοξεν*). — *erom ehiato*: the infinitive form *erom* and the sense of the

andersafust . sue . neip . portust . issoc . pusei . subra . screhto . est / (4) *fratreci motar . sins . a . ccc* /

the people. If he does not bring them just as it is written above, the fine for the brother-superior shall be 300 *asses*.

whole expression are quite clear, but *ehiato* presents certain difficulties. The stem can be satisfactorily explained by connecting it with L. *hio*, *-are*, etc. (see Lexicon and **45 a**, **48 a**; for the rare transitive use of L. *hio* 'spew forth' cf. Val. Fl., VI, 705-6 *subitos ex ore cruores / saucia tigris hiat*). The ending is more difficult. Vetter and Bott. take the form as a supine, the *-o* < *-um* being adequately supported by *anseriato aseriato*, but the construction of a supine with *erom* (= L. *esse*) is so unnatural that we are almost forced to take it as a pf. pass. pcpl. The masc. instead of the expected fem. may be explained by the ambiguity of *seuacne* and *pifi* and the lack of any distinctly fem. antecedent. The alternative is to take *ehiato* as neut. sg., making a pf. inf. with the participle uninflected. The choice is difficult, but the former of the two alternatives is perhaps the better. *erom ehiato* here does not, like **kuratu eru** Va 26, 29, have the characteristic perfect meaning, but it is possible that the combination of pass. pcpl. + inf. had to serve both as pres. and as pf. inf.; at least no forms like L. *amari*, *moneri*, *mitti* are known in the dialects. — *ponne*: used with present *hertei* of contemporaneous events, in contrast to *appei* below with fut. pf. *andersafust* of prior event. — **3** *Atiersir*: sometimes taken as dat.-abl. pl., as by Buck, § 172 in additions and corrections; by others, including Vet., Pis., Bott., as nom. sg. On grounds of orthography either view has some support, but the second alternative is preferable since no form of the stem *Atiersio-* is elsewhere used as a substantive; all stand with a noun, usually a form of *frater*, and the omission of *fratrus* here would be strange. Havers, *Gl.*, V (1914), pp. 2-3, proposed taking *Atiersir* as an adnominal dative depending on *arfertur*, and indeed if it is dat. pl. it is hard to see how it could be construed in any other way, since the *adfertor* does not perform the lustration 'for' the Atiedii, and if he did we should expect abl. + *-per*. *Atiersir* then is best taken as nom. sg. in agreement with *arfertur*. Elsewhere *arsfertur* is not accompanied by *Atiersio-*, and its use here may result from a desire to emphasize the private nature of the present ceremony, as Dev., p. 308, suggests, or may imply that other *adfertores* sometimes performed lustrations but that the present instructions in regard to the heifer-chase apply to the lustration performed by the Atiedian *adfertor*. — **4** *motar*: the sense is clearly 'the fine for the *fratricus* shall be 300 asses,' but the construction is difficult to classify. Br. and Bü. prior to his edition (p. 119) took *motar 'multae'* as nom. pl., but it is in all probability gen. sg. A striking analogy is found in *C.I.L.*, XI, 4766 (from Spoleto; about 200 B.C.[?]) *seiquis scies violasit dolo malo, Iovei bovid piaclum datod et a. CCC moltai sunlod*; *moltai* though ambiguous here is shown to be gen. sg. by the sentence which follows: *eius piacli moltaique dicatore exactio estod*. Dative of purpose might be conceivable for the Latin example but not for the Umbrian. It must therefore belong to the judicial class of genitives. — *a. CCC*: this abbreviation, stating the amount of the penalty, follows *sins* with an intervening space nearly large enough for five letters. The size of the fine of 300 *asses* is, according to Bü., p. 119, an indication of the seriousness of the offense from a religious viewpoint, not of the monetary value of the cattle. But see on Vb 9, where reference is made to Devoto's suggestion that both the price of a dinner there and the fine in the present passage presuppose a date after the reduction of the Roman *as* to $\frac{1}{24}$ of its original value.

IV. LEXICON AND INDEX VERBORUM

The alphabetical order is in general the same as in Latin, but **k** is alphabetized with *c*, **ř** is treated as equivalent to *rs*, *ś* **ç** follows *s* **s**, and *u* **u**, **v** are treated together.

a, abbreviation for L. *asses* or its U. equivalent. Nom. pl. VIIb 4; acc. pl. Vb 10, 13, 15, 18.

aanfehtaf, 'unused' (?); according to another interpretation, 'uncooked.' Pcpl. pass. acc. pl. fem. IIa 33-4. From neg. *an-* + **feh-ta-ns*. Cf. L. *in-fectas*. **26 d, 87 a.**

abrof **apruf**, 'boars.' Acc. pl. **apruf** Ib 24, 33, *abrof* VIIa 3, *abrons* VIIa 43. L. *aper*. **58 b, 60 e, 67, 90**; n. on VIIa 43. **abrunu**, 'young boar' (?). Acc. sg. IIa 11. From **aprōn-*, cf. *abrof*, L. *aper*. **81 a**; n. on *loc. cit.*

Acesoniam-e, **Akeřuniam-em**, 'Acedonia,' name of a locality in Iguvium. Acc. sg. (+ **-em** *-e*) **Akeřuniamem** Ib 16, *Acesoniame* VIb 52; loc. **Akeřunie** Ib 43, (+ *-m*) *Acersoniem* VIIa 52. **2 i, 46 f, 68 e**; n. on VIb 52.

acnu, 'years.' Acc. pl. Vb 8, 12, 14, 17. O. **akeneí**, L. *annus*, Goth. *aƀnam*, all from **atno-*. **41 f, 74 a**; n. on Vb 8.

akrutu: see *agre*.

adro **atru**, 'black.' Acc. pl. neut. **atru** Ib 29, *adro* VIIa 25; abl. *adrir* VIIa 9, 10, 21, *adrer* VIIa 18. L. *ater*. **3 d, 60 f, 76 a.**

afero **aferum**, 'perform a lustration.' Inf. **aferum** Ib 10, *afero* VIb 48; gdve. gen. sg. m. *anferener* VIa 19. For etym. see *am-* and *fertu*. **12 a** n. 1, **51 e, 60 d, 119 a, 122 c, 128, 153 i**; n. on VIa 19.

afiktu, 'add to, add upon.' Imv. Ia 31. For etym. see *an-*, **fiktu**, and n. on Ia 28.

agre, 'field, country.' Gen. sg. *agre* Vb 9, 14; abl. (+ **-tu**) **akrutu** Va 9 (?). *ager* nom. sg. in minor U. inscr. no. 355 Co., L. *ager*, *ἀγρός*, Skt. *ajras*, Eng. *acre*. **32 d, 45, 47 a, 55 a, 57 h, 76 a, 90, 142 a**; n. on Va 9.

ahatripursatu **ahtrepuřatu**, 'dance the *tripudium*.' Imv. **ahtrepuřatu** IIa 24, 25, 31, 38, **atrepuřatu** IIb 18; *ahatripursatu* VIIa 23, 36, *atripursatu* VIb 16, *atropusatu* VIb 36. From *ā-* + **tripudātōd*. Cf. L. *tripudium*. **10 c, 28 c, 42 b, 117 c**; n. on VIb 16.

ahauendu, 'turn aside, avert.' Imv. VIIa 27. From *ā-* + **wendhetōd*. Cf. *preuendu*, Germ. *wenden*. **60** n. 2, **119 a.**

ahesnes, 'of bronze.' Abl. pl. III 18, 19, 19. L. *aēnus*, *ahēnus*, **ayes-no-*, cf. L. *aes*, Germ. *Eisen*, Eng. *iron*. **33 a, 74 b.**

ahtim-em, ahtis-per, of uncertain meaning, possibly 'fire-carrier.' Acc. sg. (+ **-em**) Ib 12, 12; abl. pl. (+ **-per**) III 24, 29. From **akti-*, cf. L. *ago*, *actio* (?). **46 i, 77 b**; n. on Ib 12, III 24.

Ahtu, of uncertain meaning, perhaps name of a god Ahtus. Dat. sg. IIa 10, 11. Possibly connected with L. *aio*, *adagium*, *prod-igium*, etc. **25 f, 46 i, 78 b, 90**; n. on IIa 10-14.

aitu, 'move, carry' (?). Imv. **aitu** Ib 29, 37, *aitu* VIb 18, 18, VIIa 40, 45; imv. 3 pl. **aituta** III 13. O. *actud*, inf. *acum* (with analogical extension of the *c* which comes from *g* before *t*), L. *ago*, *ἄγω*. **46 j, 119 a**; n. on III 13, VIb 18.

aiu, '(oracular) response' (?). Nom. sg. IIa 4. Etym. uncertain; possibly from **ag-yom*, cf. L. *prod-igium*, *aio* < **agyō*. **68 e.**

alfir, **alfu**, 'white.' Acc. pl. neut. **alfu** Ib 29; abl. *alfir* VIIa 25, 26, *alfer* VIIa 32, 34. L. *albus*, *ἀλφούς · λευκούς* Hesych. **7 b, 40, 55 d, 67.**

am-, prefix 'around, about.' **134 b.**

amboltu, 'walk about.' Imv. VIb 52. Cf. L. *ambulo*. **60 d, 116 a, 119 a, 152 f.**

ambretuto, **amprehtu**, 'make the circuit.' Imv. **amprehtu** Ib 21, **apretu** Ib 20;

imv. 3 pl. *ambretuto* VIb 56, 63, 64; fut. pf. 2 sg. **amprefuus** Ib 20; 3 pl. *ambrefurent* VIb 56. From *ambr-* 'around, about' + *etu*, etc. **26 c, 60 d, 122 b, 124 d, 125, 134 c, 138 a.**

amparitu, act. 'set up,' pass. 'stand up.' Imv. **amparitu** III 14; imv. pass. **amparihmu** IIa 42. Cf. L. *paro, pario* (?). **11 a, 120 a, 150 d.**

ampentu, 'offer up, slaughter.' Imv. **ampentu** IIa 20, III 23, **ampetu** IIb 10, 11, **apentu** III 27; fut. 2 sg. **anpenes** IIb 27; fut. pf. 2 sg. **apelus** IIb 27, 3 sg. **apelust** Va 17. From *an-* + *pend-*, cf. L. *impendo.* **3 d, 29 m, 51 d, 52 d, f, 61 e, 119 a, 123, 124 e, 151 c**; n. on IIa 20.

ampeřia, of uncertain meaning, possibly 'part around the foot.' Abl. sg. IIa 29. From **am(ǰ)-ped-iād*, cf. L. *amb-* + *pes* (?). **68 e.**

amprehtu, amprefuus: see *ambretuto.*

an-, prefix 'up, upon.' **134 d.**

ancla, anclar: see *angla.*

andendu **antentu,** 'put on, place upon.' Imv. **antentu** IIa 20, III 15, 16, 17, 17, 22, IV 21, 27, **atentu** IIb 28, *andendu* VIIa 25. From *an-* + *tend-*, cf. L. *tendo.* **2 i, 3 d, 119 a** with n. 3.

andersafust **ateřafust,** 'make the circuit.' Fut. pf. 3 sg. **ateřafust** Ib 40, *andersafust* VIIb 3, *andirsafust* VIIa 46. From *am-* + root of *dirstu* **teřtu,** L. *do.* **42 b, 52 d, 117 b, 122 c, 124 d, 125.**

andersistu, 'sit in the way.' Imv. *andersistu* VIa 6; fut. pf. 3 sg. *andersesust* VIa 7. From *ander-* + root of *sersitu,* L. *sedeo, sīdo.* **29 b, 60 a, 152 f.**

anderuacose, 'interruption' + enclitic vb. = L. *sit.* Nom. sg. contained in **antervakaze** Ib 8, *anderuacose* VIb 47. Probably from **anter-wakāt(i)s sīt*, cf. L. *inter-* + *vacatio.* **60 a, 77 b, 86 c.**

anderuomu VIb 41, of uncertain meaning, possibly 'interval,' as abl. sg. of **ander-womo-*, with **wom-* from **lom-* 'break,' cf. O. *lamatir* 'be beaten,' Russ. *lomatь* 'break.' **55 a, 60 a, 67**; n. on *loc. cit.*

andirsafust: see *andersafust.*

anferener: see *afero.*

angla, '(divine) messengers.' Nom. pl. *anclar* VIa 16; acc. *angla* VIa 1, 3, 5, 6, b 49, *anglaf* VIa 5, *ancla* VIa 18. From **an-klā-*, cf. L. *clā-mo, clā-rus.* **18 a, 60 c, 65 a, 66.**

anglom-e, 'angle.' Acc. sg. (+ *-e*) *anglome* VIa 9; abl. sg. (+ *-to*) *angluto* VIa 8, 10, 10. L. *angulus.* **60 c, 75 a.**

anhostatir, 'unarmed, not under arms.' Dat. pl. *anhostatir* VIIa 28, 50. *anostatir* VIb 62, VIIa 13, 15; acc. pl. *anhostatu* VIb 60, *anostatu* VIIa 48. From neg. *an-* + *hostatir,* q.v. **2 l, 17 e, 71, 87 a.**

anostatir, anostatu: see *anhostatir.*

anouihimu, 'wear, put on, hold (clothing, etc.).' Imv. pass. VIb 49, 49. Cf. L. *ind-uo, ind-uor,* Lith. *aviù* 'wear, put on (shoes).' **11 a, 134 d, 150 e.**

anpenes: see **ampentu.**

anseriato **anzeriatu,** 'observe.' Pres. subj. 1 sg. *aseriaia* VIa 2; imv. **azeriatu** Ib 8, *aseriatu* VIb 47; imv. pres. 2 sg. *aserio* VIa 4; supine **anzeriatu** Ib 10, *anseriato* VIa 6, *aseriato* VIa 1, 6, b 48; pcpl. pass. abl. pl. **anzeriates** Ia 1, IIa 17, *aseriater* VIa 1. From *an-* + *serwiā-*, cf. L. *servire, servare.* **2 i, 14 b, 25 a, 51 e, 54 g, 57 e, 58 a, 115 a, 117 e, 126 a, 127 a, 129, 153 d.**

ansihitu: see *anšihitir.*

anstintu, 'fasten (with nails)' (?). Imv. **anstintu** III 20, **astintu** III 18, 19. Cf. L. *in-stigare, di-stingere,* στίζω, στιγμή. **134 d**; n. on III 18.

anstiplatu, 'demand.' Imv. VIa 3. From *an-* + *stiplatu.* **58 a, 117 c, 134 d.**

ançif, 'turnings.' Acc. pl. IIa 25. From **anki-*, cf. L. *uncus, angulus,* ἀγκύλος, ἀγκών. **35 d, 77 a.**

anšihitir, 'not in office' (?). Dat. pl. *anšihitir* VIb 62, VIIa 13, 14, 28, 50;

acc. pl. m. *anšihitu* VIb 59, *ansihitu* VIIa 48. From neg. *an-* + *šihitir*. **87 a.**

antakres, 'whole, unground.' Abl. pl. **antakres** IIa 42, **antakre** Ib 36, 38. L. *integer*, cf. *tango*. **17 e, 57 h, 76 a, 86 a**; n. on Ib 36.

antentu: see *andendu*.

antermenzaru, 'between moons, interlunary.' Gen. pl. IIa 16. From *ander-* + *mēns-ā-*, cf. L. *mēnsis*, Gk. *μήν*. **58 a, 66, 86 a.**

antervakaze: see *anderuacose*.

anzeriates, anzeriatu: see *anseriato*.

ape, conjunction 'when.' **ape** Ib 34, IIa 9, b 27, 28, Va 17, 18, 20, 22, **api** Ia 27, 30, 33, **ap** III 20, IV 31, *ape* VIb 5, 16, 23, 37, 49, 52, 52, 56, 62, 63, 63, 64, VIIa 5, 8, 39, 42, 43, *appei* VIIb 3. From **at-kʷe*: L. *atque*. **31 b, 49 a, 61 a, 112 g, 113 l, 154 b.**

apehtre, 'apart.' IV 15. From **ab-ektrēd*, cf. O. **ehtrad**, L. *ab* + *extra*, *ἀπέξ*. **26 c, 46 i, 76 c, 112 c, 113 d.**

apelus, apelust, apentu: see **ampentu.**

aplenia, 'sufficient' (?). Acc. pl. **aplenia** IIa 23; abl. pl. **aplenies** IIa 23. For etym. see n. on *loc. cit.* **68 e.**

appei : see *ape*.

apretu: see *ambretuto*.

apruf: see *abrof*.

arfertur: see *arsfertur*.

armamu: see *arsmahamo*.

arnipo, conjunction 'until.' VIb 25, 41. From *ar-* (= **ař-**, L. *ad-*) + neg. *ne* + *pom* (L. *quom*, *cum*) or *pod* (L. *quod*). **112 g, 154 b.**

-ař -a, postposition 'to, toward.' **asam-ař** IV 6, **asam-a** IIa 39, IV 16; **ereçlum-a** III 35, IV 3, 10, **ereçlum-ař** (written **ereçlamař**) IV 6; **etram-a** III 34; **persklum-ař** III 21; **spantim-ař** III 33; **spinam-ař** IIa 33, **spiniam-a** IIa 37. L. *ad*, *ar-* (in *arbiter*, etc.), cf. O. **az. 4, 147 a.**

ařkani, 'musical accompaniment.' Acc. sg. IV 28. Probably from **ad-kaniom*, cf. L. *ac-cino*, *ac-centus*. **42 c, 68 a, 86 c.**

ařepes, noun 'fat' (?). Abl. pl. **ařepes** Ia 6, 10, 19, 23, b 4, **ařeper** Ib 30, 33, **ařepe** Ib 26, 44, IIa 7, **ařipes** Ib 7, **ařiper** Ia 27, **ařpes** Ia 13. L. *adipeis* (?). **36 b, 42 c, 68 b**; n. on Ia 3.

arsfertur **ařfertur**, '*adfertor*,' the chief priest in the cult of the Atiedian Brothers. Nom. sg. **ařfertur** Ib 41, IIa 16, Va 3, 10, *arsfertur* VIa 8, *arfertur* VIa 3, VIIb 3; dat. **ařferture** Vb 3, 5, 6, *arsferture* VIa 2; acc. *arsferturo* VIa 17. From **ad-bher-tor*, cf. L. *af-fero*, *arferia* (of dialectal origin?)· *aqua quae inferis libabatur*, Paul. *e* Fest., p. 10 Li. **13 b, 42 c, 55 c, 82 a, 86 d, 90, 91 c.**

ařhabas, 'use.' In **neiřhabas** = **nei** + **ařhabas**, pres. subj. 3 pl., cf. L. *adhibeant*, **34, 152 b**; n. on IV 33.

arsier, noun of uncertain meaning, possibly 'consecration, formula of consecration.' Gen. sg. *arsier* VIa 24, b 27, *asier* VIb 8; loc. (?) sg. *arsie* VIa 24, b 8, 27. Probably related to *arsmor*, *arsmahamo*, *arsmatia*. No sure connections outside Umbrian. **68 e**; n. on VIa 24.

arsir, 'other' according to the view preferred here. Nom. sg. m. VIa 6, 7. From **alyos*: L. *alius*, *ἄλλος*. According to another view, with almost equally good support, '*dedicationibus*' as abl. pl. of *arsier*. **32 a, 91 b**; n. on VIa 6.

arsmahamo, 'arrange in priestly ranks' (?). Imv. pass. 2 pl. **ařmamu** (written **armanu**) Ib 19, *arsmahamo* VIb 56. From **ad-mā-*, cf. *arsmor*, *arsmatia*. No sure connections outside Umbrian. **73, 117 c, 150 e.**

arsmatia, adj. 'ritual.' Acc. sg. *arsmatiam* VIb 49, 50, *arsmatia* VIa 19, b 53, 63, VIIa 46, 51. **68 e, 73.**

arsmor, 'rites; priesthoods' (?). Nom. pl. *arsmor* VIa 26, 36, 46, b 29; acc. pl. *arsmo* VIa 30, 32, 39, 42, 52, b 13, 32, 34, VIIa 17, 30, *asmo* VIa 49. From **ad-mo-*, cf. *arsmahamo*, *arsmatia*. No sure connections outside Umbrian. **73, 103 a.**

Ařmune, an epithet of Jupiter. Dat. sg.

IIb 7. Probably from **ad-mōn-*, cf. *arsmor*. **74 f**; n. on *loc. cit.*

arpeltu, 'approach.' Imv. IIa 32, b 19, IV 8. Probably from **ad-kʷel-(e)tōd*, cf. *πέλομαι*, L. *colo*. According to another view cognate with L. *adpello, -ere*. **42 c, 119 a**; n. on IIa 32.

arpes: see **arepes**.

arputrati, 'discretion.' Abl. sg. Va 12. L. *arbitratū*; root and vocalism uncertain. **15 a, 39, 42 c, 78 b, 86 c.**

arsueitu **arveitu**, 'add.' Imv. **arveitu** IIa 12, 29, b 13, III 34, IV 5, **arveitu** Ib 6, **aveitu** IV 1, *arsueitu* VIa 56, 59, b 2, 5, 20, 44, 46, VIIa 4, 8, 42, 54, *arueitu* VIb 23. L. *advehito*, cf. **kuveitu 2 i, 46 j, 119 a.**

arçlataf, 'circlets' or 'crescents,' name of a type of ritual cakes of a circular or semicircular shape. Acc. pl. IV 22. From **arkelātā,-* cf. L. *arcus, arculum, arculata*. **6, 29 e, 46 c, 71, 75 a.**

arvam-en, 'field.' Acc. sg. (+ **-en**) **arvamen** III 11; loc. (+ **-en** partly absorbed) **arven** III 13. Cf. *aruio*, L. *aro, arvum*. **69.**

arueitu **arveitu**: see *arsueitu*.

aruio **arvia**, 'fruits of the field, grain'(?). Acc. pl. **arvia** Ia 3, 9, 26, b 3, 6, 43, IIa 18, 24, **aruvia** III 31, **arviu** Ia 12, 16, 23, b 25, 28, 32, IIa 6, 11, 12, b 8, 29, *aruio* VIa 56, 58, b 1, 3, 20, 22, 44, 45, VIIa 4, 7, 42, 53; abl. **arves** Ia 6, 10, 13, 19, 23, b 4, 26, 30, 33, 44, IIa 7, **arvis** Ia 27, b 7. Probably related to **arvam**(**-en**), L. *arvum*, as *ἄγριος* to *ἀγρός*. **2 h, 54 c, 68 e**; n. on Ia 3, IIa 18.

asa, 'altar.' Dat. (or loc.?) sg. **ase** IIa 19, III 22; acc. (+ **-ař**) **asamař** IV 6, (+ **-a**) **asama** IIa 39, IV 16, (+ *-e*) *asame* VIa 10; abl. **asa** IIa 38, III 23, IV 16, *asa* VIa 9, (+ **-ku**) **asaku** IIa 39, 43. L. *ara*, O. loc. sg. **aasaí**, cf. possibly also Hitt. *haššaš* 'hearth.' **7 a, 57 d, 66, 90, 145 a.**

aseriaia, aseriater, aseriato aseriatu, aserio: see *anseriato*.

aseçeta, 'uncut.' Abl. sg. f. **aseçeta** IIa 29; abl. pl. f. **aseçetes** IV 7. Neg. **a-** + pass. pcpl. **seçeto/ā-**, cf. **prusekatu**, pcpl. dat. sg. **pruseçete**, L. *secare, sectus*. **87 a.**

asiane, noun of uncertain meaning, 'rear of altar' (?). Loc. sg. Ia 25. Cf. *asa* (?). **74 d**; n. on *loc. cit.*

asier: see *arsier*.

asmo: see *arsmor*.

asnata, adj. 'dry.' Acc. pl. neut. **asnata** IIa 19, **asnatu** IIa 34; abl. pl. **asnates** IIa 37, IV 9. Neg. **a-** + **snata**. **87 a**; n. on IIa 19.

aso, pcpl. 'lighted' (?). VIb 50. L. *assum, arsum*, pcpls. to *ardeo* (?). **129**; n. on *loc. cit.*

Açetus, name of certain deities of uncertain identity. Dat. pl. IIa 14. Perhaps identical with L. *dis Ancitibus*. **80 b**; n. on *loc. cit.*

atentu: see *andendu*.

atero, noun 'evil' (?). Acc. sg. VIIa 11, 27. Etym. uncertain; see n. on *loc. cit.*

ateřafust: see *andersafust*.

Atiieřiate, name of a *decuvia* among the citizens of Iguvium. Dat. sg. IIb 2, 2. Related to *Atiersiur* **Atiieřiur** as L. *Arpinas, -atis* to *Arpinum*. **77 c.**

Atiersiur **Atiieřiur**, adj. 'Atiedian,' name of the priestly brotherhood at Iguvium with whose activities the Tables are concerned. Nom. sg. (?) *Atiersir* VIIb 3; dat. **Atiieřie** IIa 1, 3; loc. **Atiieřie** Va 16; nom. pl. **Atiieřiur** Va 1, 14, *Atiersiur* Vb 11, 16; gen. **Atiieřiu** IIa 21, 35, b 26, Va 12, 25, 27, b 4, *Atiersio* VIIb 2; dat. *Atiersir* Vb 8, 14, *Atiersier* VIIb 1; abl. **Atiieřies** III 24, **Atiieřie** IIa 2, III 29, **Atiieřier** Va 4, 16. Probably related to *Attiggio*, name of a village south of the modern town of Fabriano. **2 h, 13 a, 33 c, 57 e, 68 e, 90.**

atrepuřatu *atripursatu atropusatu*: see *ahatripursatu*.

atru: see *adro*.

aveitu: see *arsueitu*.

auie, 'augury.' Loc. sg. VIb 11. From **awi-yē-*, cf. *auif*, L. *avis*. **25 d, 79, 90, 93 e.**

aviekate, pcpl. pf. pass. (or pres. act.?) 'taking auspices.' Dat. sg. IIa 1, 3. From denominative vb. **awiē-kā-*, cf. *auie*, *auiecla*, *auif*, L. *avis*. **70, 79, 117 e.**

auiecla, 'augural.' Abl. sg. f. **aviekla** Ib 14, *auiecla* VIb 52; acc. pl. m. *auiehclu* VIa 10, *auieclu* VIb 51, (+ **-e**) **avieklufe** Ib 14; abl. *auiehcleir* VIa 9, *auieclir* VIa 12, 13. Probably from **awiē-k(o)-lo-*, cf. **aviekate**, *auie*, *auif*, L. *avis*. **2 h, 79.**

auif **avif**, 'birds.' Acc. pl. **avif** Ib 8, **avef** Ib 10, *auif* VIb 47, 48, 48, *aueif* VIa 4, 18, *auuei* VIa 3; abl. **avis** IIa 16, **aves** Ia 1, *aueis* VIa 1. L. *avis*, Vedic *vi-*, nom. pl. *vayas*, 'bird.' **6, 26 e, 29 k, 54 b, 61 d, 77 a, 90.**

auirseto, 'unseen.' Nom. sg. neut. VIa 28, 38, 48, b 30. Neg. *a-* + *uirseto*. **10 c, 30 c, 87 a.**

auuei: see *auif*.

azeriatu: see *anseriato*.

benus, 'come.' Fut. 2 sg. **menes** Ib 15; fut. pf. 2 sg. **benus** IIb 16; 3 sg. *benust* VIb 53; 3 pl. **benurent** Va 25, 28, b 5, *benurent* VIb 57; fut. pf. pass. 3 sg. *benuso* VIb 64, 65, VIIa 2. From **g^{w}em-*, cf. O. *ce-bnust 'venerit,'* L. *venio*, *βαίνω*. **2 k, 49 b, 114 e, 115 g, 123, 124 b, 151 c.**

berva, '(roasting-) spits.' Acc. pl. **berva** IIa 26, 33; abl. **berus** IIa 23, 35. From **g^{w}eru-*: L. *veru*, OIr. *bir* 'spit', Goth. *qaíru*, gloss on *hnuþo· σκόλοψ*. **29 k, 49 b, 61 d, 78 a, 90.**

bue, *buf*, etc., 'ox.' Acc. sg. **bum** IIa 5; abl. *bue* VIa 25, 28, 33, 35, 38, 43, 45, 48, 53; gen. pl. *buo* VIa 54; acc. **buf** Ia 3, 11, 20, *buf* VIa 22, b 1, 19. From **g^{w}ōu-*, L. (of dialectal origin) *bōs*, *βοῦς*, Skt. *gāus*. **25 e, 49 b, 65 c, 102 e.**

CCC, abbreviation for equivalent of L. *trecenti* 'three hundred.' VIIb 4. **104 a.**

K, abbreviation for praenomen possibly equivalent to L. *Gaius*. Gen. sg. Va 15.

cabriner, 'of goat, goat(-meat).' Gen. sg. Vb 12, 17. L. *caprinus*, cf. **kabru**. **11 a, 46 a, 52 a, 60 e, 74 e.**

kabru, '(he-)goat.' Gen. sg. **kapres** IIb 12; acc. **kabru** IIb 17, **kapru** IIb 10, **kaprum** IIb 1. L. *caper*, ON *hafr*. **2 b, 3 d, 6, 20 a, 46 a, 60 e, 67.**

calersu **kaleřuf**, adj. 'with white forehead,' as epithet of oxen. Acc. pl. m. **kaleřuf** Ia 20, *calersu* VIb 19. L. *calidus* in Isid., *Orig.*, XII, 1, 52 *equi qui albam frontem habent, calidi appellantur*. **42 b, 72.**

kanetu, 'sing, play (music).' Imv. IV 29. Cf. L. *cano*. **30 b, 46 a, 118 b.**

capirse **kapiře**, 'bowl.' Dat. sg. Ia 29, 32, IIa 8, *capirse* VIb 24, 37; acc. *capirso* VIb 25; abl. **kapiře** IIa 34, 41; acc. pl. *capif* VIb 18, VIIa 39, 45, **kapiř** Ia 18, **kapi** Ib 29, 37; abl. **kapiřus** IIa 33, IV 5. L. *capis*, *-idis*. **10 c, 31 e, 42 b, 61 b, 80 c, 90, 102 d.**

kapres, kapru: see **kabru.**

karne, karnus: see **karu.**

carsitu **kařetu**, 'call.' Imv. **kařetu** Ib 33, **kařitu** III 21, *carsitu* VIa 17, VIIa 43. L. *calare*, *καλέω*. **2 a, 9 a, 55 b, 114 e, 118 a.**

carsom-e, noun of uncertain meaning, possibly 'street.' Acc. sg. (+ *-e*) VIa 13, 14. Possibly related to L. *cursus*, Ital. *corso*. **67**; n. on VIa 13.

kartu, 'roast' (?). Imv. IIa 23. No sure etym. **119 a**; n. on *loc. cit.*

karu, 'portion, section,' (with **mestru**) 'majority.' Nom. sg. **karu** Va 24, 27, b 4; dat. **karne** IIa 1, 3; abl. **karne** IIa 30; abl. pl. **karnus** IV 7. L. *caro*, cf. Skt. *kṛṇ̥tati* 'cut,' OHG *sceran* 'cut.' **17 b, 58 f, 81 a, 90, 91 c**; on IIa 1.

Casiler, name of a field. Gen. sg. Vb 14. Cf. *Casilos*, and *Casilos* as name of magistrate on a Lepontic gold coin

from the Rhone Valley, Whatmough, *Prae-Italic Dialects*, II, no. 327.

Casilos, **Kaselate**, name of a *decuvia* among the citizens of Iguvium. Nom. sg. *Casilos* Vb 13; dat. **Kaselate** IIb 6, 6, 6; *Casilate* Vb 16. Cf. *Casiler*. **7 b, 29 l, 77 c, 90, 91 d.**

castruo **kastruvu** 'heads, lives' (?); according to another view, 'estates.' Acc. pl. **kastruvuf** Va 13, 18, **kastruvu** Va 20, 22, *castruo* VIa 30, 32, 40, 42, 50, 52, b 13, 32, 34, VIIa 17, 30. Cf. O. *castrous*, *castrid*. L. *castrum*, *-a*, and see Buck, p. 236, n. 1, which I follow for the most part despite the change of view in his Additions and Corrections. **2 h, 44 c, 54 b, 78 a, 103 a.**

Kastruçiie, a gentile name 'Castrucius.' Gen. sg. Va 3. Cf. L. *Castrucius*, O. **Kastríkiieís** (Co. no. 63, from Pompeii). **68 e.**

katel, 'puppy, dog.' Nom. sg. **katel** IIa 43; gen. **katles** IIa 22, 27; dat. (?) **katle** IIa 15; acc. **katlu** IIa 18, 20, 29. L. *catulus*. **29 e, i, 75 a, 90, 91 b.**

caterahamo **kateramu**, 'arrange in military ranks' (?). Imv. pass. 2 pl. **kateramu** Ib 20, *caterahamo* VIb 56. L. *caterva*. **54 g, 114 e, 117 c, 150 e.**

kazi, noun of very uncertain meaning, possibly 'kettle.' Acc. sg. III 16, 18. Cf. L. *catinus* (?). See n. on III 16.

kebu, 'food' (?). Abl. sg. IV 23. L. *cibum* (?). **39, 46 f, 67.**

cehefi, VIa 20, of uncertain morphology and meaning. According to the view adopted here, 'flame, blaze,' as acc. sg. from **kefiom* < **kensiom* > **kentiiyom* < **kn̥d-tiyom*, cf. L. *candeo*, *incendium*. **46 f, 124 d**; n. on *loc. cit.*

Clauerniur, **Klaverniie**, name of a *decuvia* among the citizens of Iguvium. Nom. pl. *Clauerniur* Vb 8; dat. pl. **Klaverniie** IIb 3, 3, *Clauerni* Vb 10. **13 b, 68 e.**

klavlaf, according to the view adopted here 'smearing-sticks'; according to others 'haunches' or 'spoons.' Acc. pl. **klavlaf** IIa 33; abl. **klavles** IIa 36, IV 11. L. *clava*, *clavula* (?). **75 a**; n. on IIa 33.

kletra, 'litter.' Acc. sg. **kletram** III 13; abl. **kletra** III 13, IV 24; loc. **kletre** III 14. Goth. *hleiþra* '*σκηνή*,' cf. L. *clitellae*. **20 b, 76 b.**

Kluviier, a gentile name 'Cluvius.' Gen. sg. Va 15. **68 e.**

com, 'with, along with.' VIb 52, 55, 56, 57. O. *com*, L. *cum*, *com-*. **4, 46 a.**

-com -co **-kum -ku**, postposition 'at, by; with.' **asa-ku** IIa 39, 43; **testru-ku** Ia 29, *destru-co* VIb 24, 38; *eru-com* VIb 50, **eru-ku** III 31; **esu-ku** IV 29, *esis-co*, VIa 18; **esunes-ku** Va 11; **nertru-ku** Ia 32, *nertru-co* VIb 37, 39; *persi-co* VIb 25; *pesondris-co* VIb 40; *termnu-co* VIb 53, 55, 57, **termnes-ku** Ib 19; *ueris-co* VIa 19, 20, 21, b 23, 44, 46, VIIa 42, 53; **vuku-kum** Ib 1, 4, *uocu-com* VIb 43, 45; **ura-ku** Va 5; **uvi-kum** III 28. Etymology same as for *com*. **46 a. 51 e, 106 b, 147 b, 155 g.**

comatir: see *comoltu*.

combifiatu **kumpifiatu**, 'announce, deliver instructions.' Pres. subj. 2 (or 3?) sg. **kupifiaia** Ib 35; imv. **kumpifiatu** Ib 14, **kupifiatu** Ib 35, *combifiatu* VIa 17, b 48, 51, VIIa 43, 44; fut. pf. 3 sg. *combifiansiust* VIb 49, *combifiansust* VIIa 5, *combifiansiust* VIb 52; pf. subj. 3 sg. *combifiansi* VIb 52. Probably from denominative stem **kombheidh-iyā-*, cf. *πείθω*, L. *fido*. **2 b, 3 d, 43, 51 d, 60 d, 114 e, 117 e, 124 f, 125, 126 a, c.**

comohota, pcpl. pf. pass. 'moved forward, brought forward.' Abl. sg. **f.** VIa 54. L. *commoveo*, *-motus*. **24 b.**

comoltu **kumultu**, 'grind.' Imv. **kumultu** Ia 34, **kumaltu** IIa 9, 41, IV 28, *comoltu* VIb 17, 41, VIIa 39, 44, 45; pcpl. pass. abl. pl. **kumates** Ia 34 (written **kumats**), IIa 42, IV 29, **kumate** Ib 37, 38, IIa 10, *comatir* VIb 17, 41, 41, VIIa 39, 44, 45. L. *com-molo*, cf. Skt. *mr̥ṇāti* 'crush.

18 a, 28 b, 35 d, 55 d, 57 h, 90, 114 e, 119 a.

conegos **kunikaz**, pcpl. pf. pass. 'kneeling.' Nom. sg. m. *conegos* VIb 5, 16, VIIa 37, **kunikaz** IV 15, 18, 20. Probably from **ko(n)-(g)nigā-*, cf. L. *genu*, *gnixus* in Paul. *e* Fest., p. 216 Li. *gnitor et gnixus a genibus prisci dixerunt.* **2 d, 3 d, 7 b, 29 i, 47 d, 114 e, 116 a, 117 b, 131**; n. on VIb 5.

Coredier **Kureties**, either a divine name or a gentile name 'Coredius.' Gen. sg. **Kureties** Ib 4, *Coredier* VIb 45. **3 d, 42 d, 68 e**; n. on VIb 45.

couertu **kuvertu**, 'return.' Imv. **kuvertu** Ib 9, 36, 38, IIa 39, *couertu* VIb 47, VIIa 44, 45; fut. pf. 2 sg. **kuvurtus** Ib 11; 3 sg. *couortus* VIIa 39, *courtust* VIa 6; fut. pass. 3 sg. *couortuso* VIb 64. L. *converto*, *convertito*, etc. **2 a, 12 d, 17 a, 29 b, 35 d, 114 e, 115 g, 119 a, 124 b.**

Crabouie, **Krapuvi**: see *Grabouie.*

krematra, 'roasting-pans' (?). Acc. pl. IIa 23. From **krema-tro-*, cf. L. *cremo*, *-are.* **76 b.**

krematru, 'fat-drippings' (?). Acc. pl. **krematruf** IIa 26, **krematru** IIa 28. Etym. same as for **krematra.** **76 b**; n. on IIa 26.

cringatro **krikatru krenkatrum**, noun 'stole' (?). Acc. sg. **krenkatrum** Ib 11, **krikatru** IIb 27, 29, *cringatro* VIb 49. Cf. OE *hring*, OCS *krogŭ* 'circle.' **2 i, 3 d, 8 d, 60 d, f, 76 b**; n. on VIb 49.

-ku: see *-co.*

kukehes, vb. of uncertain meaning, possibly 'arrive at, reach.' Fut. 2 sg. III 21. From **kon-kēh-es-es*, cf. O. **kahad**, L. *in-cohare* (?). **46 f**; n. on *loc. cit.*

kvestretie, 'quaestorship.' Loc. sg. Ib 45, II 44. Cf. **kvestur**, L. *quaestor.* **8 a, 68 e.**

kvestur, 'quaestor.' Nom. sg. Va 23, b 2. Probably borrowed from L. *quaestor.* **46 h, 82 a, 91 c.**

kumaltu, kumate(s): see *comoltu.*

kumiaf: see *gomia.*

kumnahkle, 'assembly, meeting-place.' Loc. sg. **kumnahkle** Va 15, **kumnakle** III 7, 8. From **kom-nā-tlo-*, cf. **kumne. 75 b, 86 f.**

kumne, a place in Iguvium, probably 'Comitium.' Loc. sg. Ib 41. From **kom-nei*: O. *comenei.* **51 c, 74 a, 86 f.**

kumpifiatu kupifiatu, kupifiaia: see *combifiatu.*

kumultu: see *comoltu.*

kunikaz: see *conegos.*

kuratu, 'look after, provide.' Pres. subj. 3 sg. **kuraia** Va 5; pcpl. pf. pass. neut. nom. sg. **kuratu** Va 24, 26, 29. L. *curo*, *-are*, Pael. pf. 3 pl. *coisatens*, denominatives to L. *cura* and its Pael. equivalent. No sure cognates outside Italic. **7a, 21 c, 53 b, 57 c, 114 e, 117 c, 126 a, 131, 149.**

Kureiate, name of a *decuvia* among the citizens of Iguvium. Dat. sg. IIb 3, 3. **77 c.**

Kureties: see *Coredier.*

curnaco, noun 'crow.' Acc. sg. *curnaco* VIa 2, 4, 15, 17; abl. *curnase* VIa 1. Cf. L. *cornix*, with variation of the vowel in the second syllable. **10 b, 12 b, 46 b, 80 a, 90,**

kurçlasiu, of uncertain meaning, probably 'circular, full' (of the moon). Abl. sg. IIa 17. From **kr̥-* or **kor-kelā-sios*, cf. L. *circularis* (with ablaut-variation in the root and a different stem-suffix). **35 d, 46 c, 53 e, 57 d, 68 d, 75 c**; n. on *loc. cit.*

kutef, pres. pcpl. 'speaking in a low tone, murmuring.' **kutef** Ia 6, 10, 13, 19, 23, b 7, **kutep** Ib 3. Possibly from **kautens*, pres. pcpl. of **kauteyō*, denominative vb. from pf. pass. pcpl. corresponding to L. *cautus.* **2 k, 22, 58 d, 114 e, 118 c, 130, 139 b.**

kuveitu, 'convey, carry.' Imv. IIa 32, 40. L. *convehito*, cf. *arsueitu* **arveitu. 46 j, 119 a.**

kuvertu kuvurtus: see *couertu.*

daetom, pcpl. pass. nom. sg. neut. used as noun 'delinquency.' VIa 28, 37, 47, b 30. From *da-* (O. *dat*, cf. O. **dadid** *'dediderit'* and, more remotely, L. *dē*) + **itom* (or **eitom*?) pcpl. pass. of *etu*, cf. *peretom*. **30 c, 114 e, 122 b, 131, 149.**

Dei: see *Di*.

deitu **teitu**, 'say, declare, pronounce, designate.' Imv. **teitu** IIa 26, b 7, 25, III 9, 25, *deitu* VIb 56, 63, 64, 64, 65, VIIa 1, 20, 51; fut. pf. 3 sg. *dersicust* VIb 63; 3 pl. *dersicurent* VIb 62. O. *deicum* **deikum**, L. *dīco*. **3 d, 35 d, 46 j, 52 g, 119 a, 124 a, 125.**

dequrier **tekuries**, 'decurial, pertaining to the *decuviae*.' Abl. pl. **tekuries** IIb 1, *dequrier* Vb 11, 16. From **dekur-yo-*, cf. L. *decuria*, O. **dekkviarím**, L. *decem*. **2 a, 3 d, 45, 68 e, 90, 105 h**; n. on IIb 1.

dersa: see *dirstu*.

dersecor, adj. 'due.' Nom. pl. VIa 26, 36, 46, b 29. Probably from **dedeko-*, reduplicated stem from root contained in **tiçit**, L. *decet*. **67, 103 a.**

dersicurent, dersicust: see *deitu*.

dersua **tesvam**, adj. of uncertain meaning, possibly 'western, in the west.' Acc. sg. f. **tesvam** Ib 13, *dersua* VIa 2, 2, 4, 4, 15, 15, 17, 17, *desua* VIb 51, 52, 52; abl. sg. f. *dersua* VIa 1. Possibly related to L. *dorsum*. **3 d, 54 c, 69**; n. on VIa 1.

desenduf, 'twelve.' Acc. pl. VIIb 2. Cf. L. *duodecim*, with the components in reverse order. **17 d, 42 a, 46 b, 105 i.**

destre **testre**, adj. 'right' (of position). Acc. sg. f. (+ *-e*) *destrame* VIb 49; abl. m. **testru** III 23, IV 15; (+ **-ku**) **testruku** Ia 29, *destruco* VIb 24, 38; loc. m. **testre** IIb 27, 28, *destre* VIb 50; loc. f. *destre* VIb 4. L. *dexter*, *dextra*, *δεξιτερός*, cf. O. **destrst** = L. *dextra est*. **2 a, 3 d, 8 a, 29 a, 42 a, 61 d, 76 c, 90.**

deueia, 'of the god(s), *divina*.' Acc. sg. *deueia* VIa 10; abl. *deueia* VIa 9. Probably from **deiwiyā-*, cf. O. **Deívaí**, *deivinais*, L. *dīvus*, Skt. *devas*. **68 a.**

Di, name of the god corresponding to L. *Jupiter*, Gk. *Ζεύς*. Acc. sg. *Dei* VIa 23, 24, 25, 27; voc. *Di* VIa 25, 28, 29, 29, 31, 31, 33, 34, 35, 35, 37, 38, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 45, 47, 48, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, *Dei* VIa 26. From diphthongal stem **d(i)yēu-* : *Iu(pater)*, O. **iúveís, Diúveí**, L. *Iu(piter)*, *Iovis*, OL. *Diovis*. More remote cognates semantically are L. *diēs*, and morphologically L. *deus*, *dīvus*, etc. **42 a, 65 c.**

dia, 'give, cause, produce' (?). Pres. subj. 3 sg. VIa 20. Probably from **dwīyāt* from **dwī-* ablaut-variant of **dōu-* 'give' + *ī*, cf. *purdouitu*, *purdito*, L. subj. 3 pl. *duint*. **15 b, 54 e, 120 a, 126 a.**

difue, 'folded double.' Acc. sg. VIb 4. From **dwi-fwim* or **dwi-fuyom* with development as in **32 a**; for first component cf. *δι-*, L. *bi-*, Skt. *dvi-*, for second cf. U. *futu*, L. *fui*, for compound cf. *δι-φυής*. **54 e, 88, 105 b.**

dirstu **teřtu**, *ditu* **tetu**, 'give, distribute.' Pres. ind. pass. 3 sg. **teřte** Va 7; pres. subj. act. 3 sg. **teřa** Ib 34, 35, 36, *dirsa* Vb 13, *dersa* VIIa 43, 44, 44; 3 pl. *dirsans* Vb 11, 16, *dirsas* Vb 8; imv. **teřtu** IIa 40, 40, **tertu** IV 28, *dirstu* VIb 17, 38, 38, 39, VIIa 5; imv. **tetu** IIa 9, b 21, **titu** Ia 33, *ditu* VIb 10, 16, 25, VIIa 38; fut. pf. 3 sg. **teřust** Ib 34, *dirsust* VIIa 43. All these forms are based on reduplicated stems, cf. *δίδωμι*, Skt. *dadāmi*, O. fut. *didest*; cf. also U. *dia*, *pur-douitu*, L. *do*, *dare*, etc. **2 a, 3 d, 10 c, 29 b, c, 35 d, 42 a, b, c, 52 d, 55 c, 58 g, 114 e, 116 e, 119 b, 123, 124 a, 126 a.**

disleralinsust, 'become ineffective' or 'make ineffective.' Fut. pf. 3 sg. VIa 7. Possibly denominative to **dis-leisāli-* (gradation of root uncertain), cf. L. *dis-* and *līra*, *dē-līrus*, *dē-līrāre*, Germ. *Geleise*. **57 b, 77 h, 114 e, 120 b, 124 f**; n. on *loc. cit.*

ditu: see *dirstu*.

dupla, **tupler**, 'two.' Acc. pl. f. *dupla* VIb 18, 18; abl. pl. m. **tupler** Va 19. L. *duplus*, cf. U. **tuplak**, L. *duplex*. **3 d, 38 a, 55 c, 88, 105 b.**

dupursus, 'bipeds, men.' Dat. pl. VIb 10. From **du-pod-ufs* (quantity of root-vowel uncertain), cf. *peturpursus*, L. *bipes*, *δίπους*. **13 c, 35 d, 42 b, 65 f, 80 c, 88, 105 b.**

dur, **tuf**, 'two.' Nom. pl. *dur* VIb 50, VIIa 46; dat. *duir* Vb 10, 15; acc. pl. **tuf** Ib 41; acc. pl. neut. **tuva** IIa 27, III 32, 34; abl. **tuves** III 19, (+ **-e**) **tuvere** IIa 33. L. *duo*, *δύο*, Eng. *two*, etc.; cf. also U. *duti*. **2 h, 3 d, 33 c, 42 a, 54 b, 105 b, 155 h.**

duti, 'a second time.' VIb 63. From **du-tim* < **du-tyom*. **105 b, 112 b, 113 a.**

-e **-e -en -em -n** *-m -me* **-i**, postposition. With acc. 'into, to, upon.' **Akeřuniam-em** Ib 16, *Acesoniam-e* VIb 52; **ahtim-em** Ib 12, 12; *anglom-e* VIa 9; **arvam-en** III 11; *asam-e* VIa 10; **av iekluf-e** Ib 14; *carsom-e* VIa 13, 14; *destram-e* VIb 49; *ebetraf-e* VIa 12, *hebetaf-e* VIb 53; **esunum-en** III 20, **esunum-e** Ib 14, *esonom-e* VIb 50, 52; **fesnaf-e** IIb 16; *ooserclom-e* VIa 12; **peřum-e** IIa 27, III 33, *persom-e* VIb 38, 39, 40; *perlom-e* VIa 14; *purom-e* VIb 17, VIIa 38; *presoliaf-e* VIa 12; *randem-e* VIa 14; **Rupinam-e** Ib 35, 36, *Rubinam-e* VII a 43, 44; *rusem-e* VIIa 8, 9, 23; **satam-e** Ib 38; *smursim-e* VIa 14; *termnom-e* VIb 57, 63, 64; *tertiam-e* VIa 13; *tettom-e* VIa 13, 14, 14; *todcom-e* VIa 10, 10; *uapef-e* VIa 10, b 51; *uasirslom-e* VIa 12; *uasetom-e* VIb 47, **vaçetum-i** Ib 8; **veruf-e** Ib 9, *uerof-e* VIb 47; **vukum-en** III 20. With loc. 'in, on, at.' **arve-n** III 13; **eikvases-e** Va 4, 16; **fesner-e** IIb 11; *Fisie-m* VIa 46; **Funtler-e** Ib 24, *Fondlir-e* VIIa 13; **manuv-e** IIb 23; *ocre-m* VIa 46; *scalsi-e* VIb 5, VIIa 37; *tote-me* VIa 26, 46. O. *en*, *-en*, L. *in*, Gk. *ἐν*, Eng. *in*. **4, 8 e, 52 h, 147 d.**

eaf **eaf**, *eam*: see *erec*.

ebetraf-e, 'exit, exits.' Acc. pl. (+ *-e*) *ebetrafe* VIa 12, *hebetafe* [sic] VIb 53. Probably from **ē-bait-rā-* or **ē-baite-trā-*; cf. L. *ē*, *ex* and *baeto* 'go,' the latter possibly from root *i-t-* with prefix an ablaut-variant to *ἐπί*, L. *ob* (see Muller, pp. 59-60). **2 l, 76 a, 86 c.**

ecla, 'every' (?). Abl. sg. f. VIIa 11, 27. Etym. uncertain. Possibly from **aiko-lo-*, cf. Skt. *ekas* 'one.' **75 a**; n. on VIIa 11.

ekvine (written **ekvi:ne**), probably name of a street '(Via) Equina.' Loc. sg. IIa 13. L. *equinus*. **46 h, 74 e**; n. on *loc. cit.*

ef: see *ife*.

efurfatu, 'remove from a platter' (?). Imv. VIb 17, VIIa 38. From *ē-* + *furfā*, cf. *furfant*.

ehe **e**, preposition with abl. 'from, away from.' **e** in **easa** IIa 38, *ehe* VI b 54, (in combination *ehesu*) 54. O. **ee- eh-**, L. *ē*, *ex*, *ἐκ*, *ἐξ*. **26 c, 147 c.**

ehetursta hamu **etuřstamu**, 'banish, pronounce banishment against.' Imv. pass. sg. **etuřstamu** Ib 16, *eturstahmu* VIb 53 (written *etursta*), 53, *ehetursta-hamu* VIb 55. From *e-* + **tudes-tā-*, cf. *luder*. **26 c, 57 e, 114 e, 117 c.**

ehiato, 'let loose.' Pcpl. pf. pass. acc. pl. m. (or sg. neut.?) VIIb 2. From *ē-* + **hiyā-*, cf. O. **eehiianasúm**, L. *hio*, *hiare*. **48 a, 114 e, 117 b.**

ehvelklu, noun 'vote, expression of opinion.' Acc. sg. Va 23, b 1. From **ē-wel-tlo-*, cf. *ehueltu*, L. *volo*, *velle*. **26 c, 75 b, 86 c.**

ehueltu, 'order, call out.' Imv. VIa 2. From **ē-wel-(e)tōd*, cf. **ehvelklu**, L. *volo*, *velle*. **26 c, 119 a.**

eikvasatis, 'of the college' (?). Abl. pl. III 24, 29. Cf. **eikvases-e**, to which **eikvasatis** is related as L. *Arpinas* to *Arpinum* or *Ravennas* to *Ravenna*. **19 b.**

eikvases-e 'members of a (priestly) college' (?). Loc. pl. (+ **-e**) Va 4, 16.

Etym. and stem-formation uncertain, cf. L. *aequus* (?), U. **eikvasatis. 19 b.**

eine: see *enem* **ene.**

eiscurent, 'come to fetch.' Fut. pf. 3 pl. Vb 10, 15. Probably related to Skt. *icchắti* (< **is-ske-ti*) 'wish,' OHG *eiscōn* 'fragen,' OE *āscian*, OCS *iskati* 'seek,' all these forms representing several different vowel-grades. **114 e, 119 e, 124 b.**

eitipes, 'resolved.' Pf. 3 pl. Va 2, 14. Etym. uncertain; possibly from **eit-(om h)ēpens 'ratum habuerunt.'* **9b, 34, 51 b, 114 e, 115 d** n. 1, **124 c, g, 151 b**; n. on Va 2.

emantur, 'accept.' Pres. subj. pass. 3 pl. **emantur** Va 8, **emantu** Va 10. L. *emo, emantur*. **8 a, 56 c, 114 e, 119 a, 126 a.**

endendu **ententu**, 'insert, place in, on.' Imv. **ententu** Ib 12, III 15, *endendu* VIb 40, 40, 49; fut. pf. 2 sg. **entelus** Ib 12; 3 sg. *entelust* VIb 50. From *en-* + *tend-*, cf. *andendu*, L. *tendo*. **3 d, 52 f, 60 a, 61 e, 114 e, 119 a** with n. 3, **124 e, 125, 127 b.**

enem **ene**, temporal adv. 'then, thence.' **ene** Ib 35, *enem* VIIa 44, 44, *eine* VIa 10, 11. Cf. *eno*, **enumek, inumek**, O. *inim*, **inim**, O. *ειvειμ*, L. *enim*. **109 i, 112 d.**

enetu, 'commence.' Imv. **enetu** Ia 1, *enetu* VIa 1. From *en-* + *etu*. L. *ineo*. **20 c.**

eno **enu enuk, enumek**, etc., temporal adv. 'then.' **enuk** Ia 30, 33, Va 29, **inuk** Ib 7, III 4, 7, 15, 16, IV 13, 14, **enu** Ib 36, 37, 38, 38, IIa 9, b 21, *eno* VIb 16, 17, 17, 46, 56, 56, 62, 65, VIIa 1, *enom* VIb 38, 38, 39, 40, 40, 53, 64, VIIa 5, 8, 9, 23, 23, 36, 45, 45, 51, *enno* VIIa 38, *ennom* VIb 51, VIIa 20, 24, 34, 39; **enumek** Ib 11, 13, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, **inumek** III 9, 11, 26, 34, IV 2, 17, 18 (written **inuntek**), 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, 28, **inumk** IV 23, **inemek** III 20. Cf. *enem* **ene** and Oscan and Latin etyma listed after it. **51 e, 109 i, 112 d, 113 h.**

entelust, **ententu**: see *endendu*.

erec **erek ere, eřek** *erse*, etc., anaphoric pronoun 'he, it,' etc.; sometimes with adverbial value 'then, during that time.' Nom. sg. m. **erek** Va 11, **ere** Va 4, *erec* VIIb 1, *ere* VIb 50; neut. **eřek** Va 26, *erse* VIa 8; gen. sg. m. **ererek** III 32, *erer* VIa 23, 24, 31, 33, 34, 35, 40, 43, 43, 45, 50, 53, 54, 55, b 7, 7, 10, 12, 14, 15, 26, 27, 28, 33, 34, 35, VIIa 10, 18, 19, 22, 26, 31, 32, 35, *irer* VIa 25; f. *erar* VIa 23, 24, 26, 31, 33, 34, 35, 40, 43, 44, 45, 50, 53, 54, 55, b 7, 8, 10, 12, 14, 15, 26, 27, 28, 33, 35, 35, 62, VIIa 11, 14, 14, 18, 19, 22, 26, 28, 31, 32, 35, 50, 51; acc. f. *eam* VIb 16, 24; neut. **eřek** Ia 30, III 33, 35, IV 3, 21, 32, *erse* VIa 6 (adverbial value in the last two passages); abl. m. (+ *-com*) *erucom* VIb 50; f. **erak** III 12; neut. (+ **-ku**) III 31, **eruk** III 14 (adverbial); gen. pl. **eru** Va 8 (?), *ero* VIb 62, 62, VIIa 13, 14, 28, *erom* VIIa 50; acc. f. **eaf** Ib 42, *eaf* VIIa 52; neut. **eu** IIa 2, b 9, *eo* VIa 20. O. *izic*, cf. L. *is, ea, id*. **2 j, 8 b, 20 d, 31 b, 42 b, 57 c, 106 b, d, 109, 109 a** (the basic ref.), **113 c, h.**

ereçlu, 'statue' (?). Acc. sg. **ereçlu** IV 13 (first instance; possibly pl.), (+ **-a**) **ereçluma** III 35, IV 3, 10, (+ **-ař**) **ereçlumař** (written **ereçlamař**) IV 6; loc. **ereçle** IV 17, 19; acc. pl. **ereçlu** IV 13 (second instance). Probably from **aise-kelo-*, cf. *erus, esono*. **29 e, 75 c**; n. on III 35.

eretu: see *her*.

erietu, 'ram.' Acc. sg. IIa 6. Cf. L. *aries*, Lith. *ėrỹtis* 'lamb.' **35 d, 80 b.**

erihont, eront, etc. 'the same.' Nom. sg. m. *erihont* VIb 50, *eront* VIb 24; gen. f. *erarunt* IV 1; abl. m. **eruhu** IIb 22; f. **erahunt** Ib 23; *erafont* VIb 65, VIIa 1; nom. pl. m. *euront* VIb 63; abl. f. **ererunt** (written **erererunt**) IV 5; neut. *eriront* VIb 48. For first element cf. *erec*; for second element cf. L. *hic, hunc*, etc. **48 a, b, 52 g, 106 c, d, 109, 109 b.**

erus, noun of uncertain etym. and meaning, left untranslated. Possibly some-

thing distributed to persons present at the sacrifice. Acc. sg. **erus** Ia 33, b 34, 34, 35, 36, IIa 9, 28, 32, 40, b 21, IV 14, 27; *erus* VIb 16, 16, 25, 38, 38, 39, VIIa 5, 38, 43, 43, 43, 44. Possibly from **aisus*, cf. O. abl. pl. **aisusis** 'sacrifices'; cf. also U. *esono*, **29** n. **1, 60** n. **1, 83**; n. on VIb 16.

eskamitu, noun of uncertain meaning, possibly 'phallic portion' (of a *strušla* cake). Acc. sg. IV 1. Cf. Germ. *Scham* (?). See n. on *loc. cit.*

esmei, **esmik**, pronoun 'this, it.' Dat. sg. **esmik** Ia 28, 31, *esmei* VIa 5, 18; loc. *esme* VIb 55. Skt. *asmai*; for the stem cf. the initial vowel of *ἐκεῖνος*, U. *etantu*. **57 b, 109, 109 c.**

eso esoc **esu esuk**, etc., adv. of manner 'thus, as follows.' **esu** IIa 3, Va 14, **esuk** Va 1, *eso* VIa 2, 3, 8, 16, 22, b 6, 9, 53, 57, VIIa 9, 20, 25, 34, 46, *esoc* VIb 25, *iso* VIa 20, *issoc* VIIb 3. Cf. *esu*, O. **eksuk**, *exac.* **109 e, 112 d, 113 c, h.**

esono **esunu**, adj. 'of the gods, divine, religious' and neut. noun 'rite, sacrifice.' Adj.: dat. sg. f. **esune** Va 4; abl. f. **esuna** Va 5; acc. pl. f. *esona* VIa 3, 5, *eesona* VIa 18. Noun neut.: nom. sg. **esunu** Ib 38, IIa 21, 42, III **1**, 14; acc. **esunu** Ib 9, IIa 2, 20, *esono* VIa 57, b 47, (+ **-en**, **-e** *-e*) **esunumen** III 20, **esunume** Ib 14, *esonome* VIb 50, 52; abl. **esunu** IV 30; loc. **esune** Va 6, *esone* VIb 11; gen. pl. **esunu** Ib 8, *esono* VIb 47; acc. pl. **esunu** IIa 2, 2; abl. *esoneir* VIa 18, (+ **-ku**) **esunesku** Va 11. Probably from **ais(e)s-ono/ā*, cf. dat. pl. Marruc. *aisos*, Mars. *esos* '*dis*'; *αἰσοί· θεοὶ ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν* Hesych., *aesar Etrusca lingua deus*, Suet., *Aug.*, 97; also O. **aisusis**, abl. pl. 'sacrifices,' U. *erus* (?). **13 a, 19 a, 25 b, 57 f, 90.**

est **est**, vb. 'be, is,' etc. Pres. 3 sg. **est** Ib 18, 18, IIa 15, *est* VIa 8, 9, 10, 26, 27, 27, 27, 28, 28, 28, 36, 37, 37, 37, 37, 37, 38, 46, 47, 47, 47, 47, 47, 48, b 29, 30, 30, 30, 30, 30, 31, 53, 55, 55, VIIb 2, 3; 3 pl. *sent* VIa 15, 27, 36, 46, b 29; pres. subj. 2 sg. *sir* VIb 7, 7, 26 (in *fonsir*), *si* VIb 26, *sei* VIa 23, 23; 3 sg. **si** Va 6, 24, 27, b 3, 7, **se** Ib 8, 8 (in **antervakaze**), *si* (in *mersi*) VIa 38, 48, *se* (in *anderuacose*) VIb 47; 3 pl. **sis** Va 6, *sins* VIIb 4; inf. **eru** Va 26, 29, b 5, *erom* VIIb 2. O. **est íst**, inf. *ezum*, L. *est*, *ἐστί*, Skt. *asti*, etc. **4, 8 a, 12 a, 31 d, 41 a, 52 d, 57 e, h, 58 g, 114 e, 115 b, 122 a, 126 b, 128.** See also *futu*, which stands in a suppletive relation to *est*.

este **este, estu**, etc., demonstrative pron. 'this, the following.' Acc. sg. m. **estu** IIb 24; neut. **este** Ia 1, *este* VIa 1, 56, b 62, 63, VIIa 51; acc. pl. neut. **estu** IIa 2, b 23, *esto* VIa 15, 15. L. *iste* (?). **106 a, 109, 109 d.**

esu **esu**, etc., demonstrative pron. 'this.' Abl. sg. m. (+ **-ku**) **esuku** IV 29, *esu* VIa 25, 28, 33, 35, 38, 45, 48, 53, b 28, 31, 35, 54, *essu* VIa 43, (after *eh-*) *ehesu* VIb 54; f. *esa* VIb 9, 14; gen. pl. **esumek** Ib 8, *esome* VIb 47; abl. *esir* VIIa 10, 18, 26, 32, (+ *-co*) *esisco* VIa 18, *isir* VIIa 21, 34. Cf. *eso*, O. **eksuk**, *exac.* **57 d, 61 d, 109, 109 e.**

esuf, intensive pron. 'oneself.' Nom. sg. m. IIa 40, IV 15. O. **essuf**, L. *ipse*. **57 d, 58 f, 61 d, 81** n. **1, 91 c, 109, 109 f.**

et **et**, conjunction 'and.' **et** Ib 20, IV 7, 12, Va 6, 8, 13, 18, 20, 22, *et* Vb 9, 13, 15, 17, VIa 19, b 5, 24, VIIa 37, 44, 46, 51. L. *et*, *ἔτι*, Skt. *ati*. **31 d, 41 a, 112 g.**

etantu, adj. 'so great.' Nom. sg. f. Vb 6. For **e-** cf. the initial of *esmei*; for **-tantu**, L. *tanta*, cf. *τόν, τήν, τό*, etc. **2 d, 7 b, 41 a, 61 a, 71, 109 c, k.**

etalo **etatu**, 'go.' Pres. subj. 3 pl. *etaians* VIb 64, *etaias* VIb 65, VIIa 1; imv. 3 pl. **etatu** Ib 21, 22, 23, *etalo* VIb 63. From **eitā-*, related to *etu* as frequentative L. *ito -are* to *eo ire*, except that *e-* in the Umbrian forms probably stands for the strong grade of the root. **52 d, 57 e, 58 g, 114 e, 117 d, 127 c.**

etru, 'other, second.' Dat. sg. f. **etre** IIb 2, 3, 4, 5, 5, 6,; acc. f. (+ **-a**) **etrama** III 34; abl. neut. *etru* VIa 35, 38, 43; loc. **etre** IIb 14; dat. pl. **etre** IIb 3, 4, 6 (first instance in each of these three lines); acc. f. *etraf* Ia 18, 18; abl. *etres* III 18. From *e-* (cf. *esmei*, etc.) + *-tero-*, with semantic development as in L. *alter*. **76 c, 105 b, 109 c.**

etu **etu** *eetu*, 'go.' Fut. 3 sg. *est* VIa 6, *eest* VIa 2; imv. **etu** Ib 10, 14, IIa 33, III 20, IV 21; *etu* VIb 48, VIIa 39, *eetu* VIb 54; imv. 3 pl. **etuta** III 11, **etutu** Ib 15, 23, 23, *etuto* VIb 51, 52, 65, VIIa 1; fut. pf. 3 sg. *iust* VIa 7; pf. subj. pass. (?) 3 sg. *ier* VIb 54. L. *eo*, *ire*, *εἶμι*, Skt. *emi*, cf. U. *etalo*. **13 b, 20 a, c, 122 b, 123, 124 b, 126 c, 127 b, c.**

eturstahmu **etuřstamu**: see *eheturstahamu*.

eveietu, 'consecrate' (?). Imv. IIb 8,11. Probably from **ē-weig-ē-tōd*, cf. L. *vic-tima*, Germ. *weihen*. **47 b, 118 d**; n. on IIb 8.

ezariaf, 'food-(baskets)' (?). Acc. pl. IV 27. Probably from **ed(e)s-āriaf* < **edes-āsians*, cf. L. *edo* 'eat,' etc. **68 d.**

facurent **fakurent, fakust**: see **façia.**

fahe, word of uncertain form and sense in Vb 13. Possibly 'roasted.' Cf. *φώγω* (?), Germ. *backen* and Eng. *bake* (?). N. on *loc. cit.*

fameřias 'families' (?). Nom. pl. IIb 2. O. *famel*, *famelo*, L. *familia*. No sure connection outside Italic. See E-M³, under *famulus*, where possible Etr. origin is suggested.

far, noun 'spelt.' Gen. sg. *farer* Vb 9, 14; acc. *far* Vb 10, 15. O. **far**, L. *far*, OE *bere* 'barley,' cf. U. *farsio*. **20 a, 59 b, 83, 90.**

farsio fasio **fasiu**, 'spelt-cakes.' Acc. pl. neut. **fasiu** IIa 12, *farsio* VIb 2, *fasio* VIb 44. L. *farrea*, cf. U. *far.*, etc. **2 i, 3 f, 8 b, 53 b, 55 b, 59 a** with n. **1, 68 b.**

façefele, adj. 'fit for sacrifice.' Acc. sg. (written **façefete**) IIb 9. Equivalent as if to L. **facibilem*; cf. *facio*, U. **façia** in the ritual sense 'sacrifice.' **77 i.**

façia, *fetu*, etc., 'do, perform, sacrifice offer, place,' etc. Pres. subj. 3 sg. **façia** IIa 17; pres. subj. 3 sg. **feia** Va 23, b 1; imv. **fetu** Ia 3, 9, 11, 12, 13, 13, 14, 16, 17, 17, 20, 22, 24, 25, 25, 26, 26, 28, 28, b, 2, 3, 3, 6, 25, 25, 27, 29, 32, 43, 44, 44, IIa 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 11, 12, 13, 13, 13, 14, b 7, 10, 26 (written **feiu**), 29, **feitu** Ia 4, 5, 7, 29, 30, 32, 32. 32, b 5, 7, 9, 18, 24, 28, 31, 32, IIa 20, III 31, 31, 32, *fetu* VIa 22, 56, 57, 57, 58, 58, 58, 59, b 1, 1, 1, 2,3, 3, 3, 5, 19, 19, 20, 20, 22, 22, 22, 23, 24, 37, 43, 43, 44, 44, 44, 45, 45, 45, 46, 46, 55, VIIa 3, 4, 4, 6, 7, 7, 7, 37, 41, 42, 42, 53, 53, 54, 54, *feitu* VIb 3, 22, 47, VIIa 3, 4, *feetu* VIIa 41; inf. **façiu** IIa 16, **façu** IIb 22; pcpl. pass. abl. sg. f. **feta** IIb 13; fut. pf. 3 sg. **fakust** IV 31; 3 pl. **fakurent** Ib 34, *facurent* VIIa 43. From root **dhə-k-*, *dhē-(k)-*: O. **fakiiad**, L. *facio*, cf. *τίθημι*, Skt. *dadhāmi*, Eng. *do*. **16 a, 31 d, 35 d, 41 b, 43, 46 b, d, g, j, 53 d, 114 e, 115 d, 121, 122 d** (the basic ref.), **124 b, 125, 126 a, 127 b, 128.**

fato, '(success in) word' (?). Acc. sg. VIb 11. Pcpl. pass. from root **bhā-*: L. *fātum*, cf. *φημί*. (?). N. on *loc. cit.*

feetu: see **façia.**

feſure, vb. of uncertain meaning, 'be disturbed, turn out for ill' (?). Pf. 3 sg. (?) IIa 4. Etym. uncertain; possibly connected with *φύρω*, *πέφυρται* 'mingle, confound.' **114 e, 124 a.**

feia, feitu *feitu*: see **façia.**

feliuf: see *filiu.*

felsva, noun of uncertain meaning, probably neut. acc. pl. 'vegetables.' Va 11. If this interpretation is correct, from **ĝheles-wo-*, cf. L. *holera*, dialectic L. *folus* cited as "ancient" by Paul. *e* Fest., 74 Li.; *χλόη*, *χλωρός*, Eng. *yellow*, Lith. *želvas* 'greenish,' Russ. *zelenyi* 'yellow,' the Balto-Slavic forms giving evidence of original initial palatal stop. **29 d, 48 b, 54 c, 69.**

ferar, **ferest**: see *fertu*.

ferine, 'carrier, tray' (?). Loc. sg. **ferine** (in Ib 25, III 16 written **ferime**) Ia 4, 13, 22, b 3, 6, 25, III 16, 31, *ferine* VIa 57, b 1, 19, 43, 45, VIIa 4. Cf. *fertu*, L. *fero*. *ferine* : L. **feriōne* : *fero* = U. **natine** : L. *natiōne* : *na-scor*. **81 b**; n. on VIa 57.

feřehtru, noun of uncertain meaning, possibly 'chopping-board.' Acc. sg. III 16, 18. From **fidē-tro-*, cf. L. *findo*, Skt. *bhinátti*. (?). **76 b**; n. on III 16.

fertu, 'bring, carry, lift.' Pres. subj. pass. 3 sg. *ferar* VIb 50; fut. 3 sg. **ferest** IIa 26; imv. **fertu** IIa 17, 19, 26, 27, 33, 34, b 12, 12, 13, 14, 14, 15, 15, 16, 16, *fertu* VIb 50, 50; imv. pl. **fertuta** III 13. L. *fero*, *φέρω*, Eng. *bear*. **8 a, 29 b, m, 40, 41 a, 42 e, 114 e, 115 e, 119 a, 123, 126 a.**

fesnaf-e, 'temple.' Acc. pl. (+ **-e**) **fesnafe** IIb 16; loc. (+ **e**) **fesnere** IIb 11. O. **fiisnú**, cf. L. *fānum* (*-ān- < -ăsn-*), *fēstus*, *fēriae*. Connections outside Italic are uncertain. **35 d, 57 b, f, 74 a, 90.**

fetu **fetu, feta**: see **façia.**

ficla **fikla**, a type of cake, here left untranslated. Gen. sg. **fiklas** IIa 41; acc. sg. **fikla** IIa 18, 29, *ficla* VIa 56, 59, VIb 2, 4, 20, 23, 44, 46, VIIa 4, 8, 54, *ficlam* VIIa 42. Probably from **fig-klā*, cf. L. *fingo*, *τεῖχος*, all from root **dheigh-*. **75 b, 142 b**; n. on VIa 56.

fiktu, 'attach, add.' Imv. Ia 28. L. *fīgo* (?). **49 d, 119 a**; n. on *loc. cit.*

filiu, adj. 'sucking.' Acc. pl. m. **feliuf** Ia 14, *filiu* VIb 3. L. *filius*, cf. *felare*, *θηλή*, *θῆλυς*. **43, 55 b, 68 e.**

Fise: see *Fiso*.

Fisier, adj. in our texts found only with forms of *ocar* **ukar**, 'the Fisian Mount,' and hence always sg. m. Gen. *Fisier* VIa 30, 32, 39, 41, 49, 51, b 13, 32, 33, *Fisie* VIb 10; dat. *Fisie* VIa 40, *Fisi* VIa 30, 33, 42, 50, 52, b 7, 10, 11, 14, 26, 32, 34, *Fisei* VIa 23; acc. *Fisim* VIa 41, 49, 51, *Fisi* VIa 31, 39, b 12, 31, 33, *Fisei* VIa 29; abl. **Fisiu** Ia 5, 8, 12, 15, 17, 21, 25, 29, 31, *Fisiu* VIa 23, 25, 34, 35, 45, 53, 55, 58, b 1, 3, 6, 6, 9, 14, 19, 22, 26, 28, 35, *Fissiu* VIa 43; loc. *Fisie* VIa 26, 36, b 29, (+ *-m*) VIa 46. Cf. *Fiso*. **32 a, 57 h, 68 a, 90, 93 b.**

Fiso, name of a god 'Fisus.' Dat. sg. **Fise** Ia 15; dat. sg. *Fiso* VIb 3. From **bh(e)idh-to-*, cf. L. *fido*, *fisus*, *πείθω*. (?). **25 f, 44 d, 78 a**; n. on VIb 3.

Fisouie, name of a god 'Fisovius,' generally in combination with *Sansi* **Saçe**. Gen. sg. *Fisouie* VIb 15; dat. **Fisuvi** Ia 17, *Fisoui* VIb 5, 6, VIIa 37; acc. *Fisoui* VIb 8, 8; voc. *Fisouie* VIb 9, 10, 12, 12, 14, 15. Cf. *Fiso*. **68 e**; n. on VIb 5.

Fisouina, adj. 'Fisovian, for Fisovius.' Abl. sg. VIb 9, 14. Cf. *Fiso*, *Fisouie*. **74 e.**

Fissiu: see *Fisier*.

fito, '(success in) deed' (?). Acc. sg. VIb 11. Pcpl. pass. from root **bhw-ī-*: O. **fiiet**, L. *fio*, OL *fitum*. (?). N. on *loc. cit.*

Fondlir-e, name of a place in Iguvium, 'Fontuli, the Springlets.' Loc. pl. (+ **-e** *-e*) **Funtlere** Ib 24, *Fondlire* VIIa 3. Probably equivalent as if to L. **font-ulis*. **48 b, 57 f, 60 a, 75 a.**

fons, 'favorable.' Nom. sg. *fons* VIa 42, 50, 52, b 7, 11, 13, 26 (in *fonsir*), 32, 34, VIIa 13, 17, 31, 49, *fos* VIa 23, 30, 33, 40; gen. *foner* VIIa 20, 23, 33, 36; nom. pl. *foner* VIb 61. L. *Fones*, gloss. *'dei silvestres'*; cf. *Faunus*, *faveo*. No sure connections outside Italic. **22, 29 l, 52 d, 53 b, 58 e, 77 d, 90, 91 d.**

frater, '(priestly) brothers.' Nom. pl. **frater** III 5, Va 1, 14, 22, *frater* Vb 11, *fratеer* Vb 16; gen. **fratrum** III 10, **fratru** IIa 21, 35, b 26, III 6, Va 12, 25, 27, 29, b 3, *fratrom* VIIb 1; dat. *fratrus* Vb 8, 13, VIIb 1; abl. (+ **-per, -pe**) **fratrusper** IIa 2, III 23, **fratruspe** III 28. L. *frater*, *φρᾰ́τηρ*, Skt.

bhrātā, Eng. *brother*. **7 a, 26 h, 29 k, 40, 51 e, 59 f, 60 f, 82 b, 90, 143 a.**

fratrecate, 'term of office as *fratricus*.' Loc. sg. VIIb 1. Related to *fratrexs* as L. *tribunatus* to *tribunus*, but with apparent transfer to the *o*-decl. **10 c, 70, 71.**

fratrexs, adj. 'of the brotherhood' and m. noun '*fratricus*, brother-superior.' Nom. sg. m. **fratreks** Va 23, b 1, *fratrexs* VIIb 1; dat. m. *fratreci* VIIb 4; abl. f. (as adj.) *fratreca* VIIb 2. Cf. *frater*. **10 c, 25 b, 29 i, 46 e, 70, 90, 91 b, 93 b.**

frehtef, 'boiled portions' (?). Acc. pl. (?) IIa 26. Possibly from **bhreg-ti-*. For etym. discussion see n. on *loc. cit.*

frehtu, 'boiled, hot' (?). Acc. sg. IV 31. Possibly pass. pcpl. of vb. to which **frehtef** is a verbal noun. N. on *loc. cit.* and on IIa 26.

frif, 'fruits.' Acc. pl. *frif* VIa 42, 52, b 13, VIIa 17, 30, *fri* VIa 30, 32, 40, 50, b 32, 34. L. *frūx*, *frūges*, cf. O. **fruktatiuf**, L. *fruor*, *fructus*, *frumentum*, Goth. *brukjan* 'gebrauchen,' OE *brucan*. **15 a, 61 b, 65 f, 80 a, 102 d.**

frite, noun 'trust.' Abl. sg. VIa 24, b 8, 15, 27, VIIa 20, 23, 33, 36. Cf. L. *frētus*. **9 b, 80 b.**

frosetom, pass. pcpl. nom. sg. neut. used as noun 'damage.' VIa 28, 37, 47, b 30. Probably pcpl. to pIt. **fraussā-* formed as if iterative to L. *fraudo*, *-are*, and with variation of stem-vowel as in *pesetom* contrasted with L. *peccatum*. **22, 30 c, 44 b, 131, 149.**

fuia, 'be performed, be.' Pres. subj. 3 sg. **fuia** III 1; fut. 3 sg. **fuiest** Va 9. O. **fiiet**, L. *fio*, all three being from root **bhū-* + *ī*. Cf. also U. *fito* (?), *futu*. **114 e, 120 a, 123.**

Funtlere: see *Fondlir-e*.

furent: see *futu*.

furfant, 'place on a platter' (?). Pres. 3 pl. **furfaθ** Ib 1, *furfant* VIb 43. From **bhordh-ā-*, cf. *efurfatu*, Germ. *Bord*, Eng. *board*. (?). **1 b, 52 g, 115 d, 117 e**; n. on VIb 17, 43.

furo, 'forum.' Acc. sg. **furu** Ib 42, *furo* VIIa 52. L. *forum*, cf. *fores*, *θύρα*, Eng. *door*, etc., the usual meaning of *forum* having developed from an earlier meaning 'enclosure around a house,' according to E-M³, p. 444. **12 c, 43, 67.**

futu **futu**, 'be.' Fut. 3 sg. **fust** Ib 7, 39, III 6, Va 4, 11, 19, 20, *fust* VIa 7, b 39, 41, 42, 47, 47, VIIa 45, b 1, *fus* VIb 40; 3 pl. **furent** Va 22; imv. **futu** IIa 22, 43, 43, III 14, IV 32, *futu* VIa 30, 33, 40, 42, 50, 52, b 11, 13, 32, 34, VIIa 13, 17, 31, 49; imv. pl. *fututo* VIb 61. Cf. O. *fust*, **fufans**, L. *fui*, *φύω*, Skt. *bhavati*, Eng. *be*; also U. *fito* (?) **fuia**. The absence of the change $\bar{u} < i$ (**15**) may point to a thematic stem **bhŭwe-*, unless the *u* is preserved by analogy of other forms in which it is not subject to change. **29 m, 40, 52 g, 57 c, 114 e, 115 c, 122 a, 123, 127 b, c.** See also *est*, to which *futu* stands in a suppletive relation.

gomia **kumiaf**, 'pregnant.' Acc. pl. f. **kumiaf** Ia 7, *gomia* VIa 58. L. *gumia* 'glutton,' cf. *γόμος*, *γέμω*. **2 a, 3 d, 35 d, 47 a, 68 a.**

Grabouie Crabouie, **Krapuvi**, 'Grabovius,' epithet of the gods Jupiter, Mars, and Vofionus. Dat. sg. **Krapuvi** Ia 3, 11, 21, *Grabouei* VIa 22, b 1, *Grabouie* VIb 19; acc. *Graboue* VIa 24, 25, *Graboui* VIa 23; voc. *Grabouie* VIa 25, 26, 28, 29, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 38, 39, 41, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 48, 49, 51, 51, 53, 54, 55, *Crabouie*, VIa 27, 37. Probably connected, through an Illyrian medium, with Epirote Modern Gk. *γϱᾶβος* 'oak,' Russ. *grab* 'hornbeam,' etc. **2 a, b, 3 d, 25 b, 31 c, 33 c, 68 e, 90**; n. on VIa 22.

habe **habe, habetu** *habitu*, **hahtu** *hatu*, 'take, receive, have.' Pres. pass. (?) 3 sg. *habe* VIb 54, **habe** Ib 18; pres. subj. 3 sg. **habia** Va 17, 19, 21. Fut. 3 sg. *habiest* VIb 50, 53, 63, VIIa 46, 51; fut. pf. 3 sg. *habus* VIb 40, 3 pl.

haburent VIIa 52; imv. **habetu** IIb 23, 23, 27, 28, III 28, IV 30, 31, *habitu* VIa 19, b 4, imv. pl. **habetutu** Ib 15, *habituto* VIb 51; imv. **hahtu** IIa 22, 22, **hatu** Ib 11, *hatu* VIb 49, imv. pl. **hatutu** Ib 42, *hatuto* VIIa 52. O. *hafiest*, pf. subj. *hipid*, cf. L. *habeo* and *capio*, whose roots in O.-U. appear to have become contaminated. **2 e, 9 a, b, 13 b, 31 d, 38 b, 39, 114 e, 116 c, 118 a, 121, 121 a, b, 122 e** (the basic ref.), **126 a, 127 b, c, 138 a.**

habina **hapinaf**, 'lambs.' Gen. pl. **hapinaru** Ia 33; acc. **hapinaf** Ia 24, **habina** Ia 27, *habina* VIb 22, 23, 24. From **ag^{w}nīnā-* (cf. L. *agnus*, *agninus*) with dissimilatory loss of *n*, and unetymological *h* possibly from contamination with the U. equivalent of L. *haedinus*. **2 b, 3 d, 49 b, 74 e**; R. G. Kent, *Lang.*, II (1925), pp. 189-90.

habitu, *habus*, **hahtu** *hatu*: see *habe*.

her, *herti*, *heries*, etc., vb. 'wish,' in pass., 'be necessary, intended.' Pres. 3 sg. **heri** IV 26, *her* (in *pisher*) VIb 41; pres. pass. 3 sg. **herter** IIa 40, III 1, **herte** Va 6, 8, 10, *herti* Vb 8, 11, 13, 16, *hertei* VIIb 2; fut. 2 sg. **heries** Ib 10, IIb 21; 3 sg. *heriest* VIIa 52, *heries* VIb 48; pf. subj. 3 sg. **heriiei** IIa 16; pf. subj. pass. **herifi** Vb 6; pcpl. pass. abl. sg. neut. *heritu* VIa 27, 47, b 29, *hereitu* VIa 37, **eretu** IIa 4. O. fut. *herest*, cf. L. *horior*, *hortor*, *χαίρω*, Skt. *haryati* 'delight in,' Germ. *gern*, Eng. *yearn*. **2 h, l, 4, 8 c, 9 c, 10 a, 29 m, 48 a, 53 c, 57 h, 114 e, 115 c, e, 121, 121 a, b, 123, 124 b, d, 126 c, 152 d.** Cf. also *heri*.

heri, conjunction in correlative pairs 'either ... or.' **heris** Ia 4, b 6, 6, **heri** Ia 4, 22, 22, IIb 9, 10, *heri* VIa 57, 57, b 46, 46, *herie* VIb 19, 20, *heriei* VIIa 3, 3. Fossilized 2 sg. pres. ind. form of *her*, etc. **2 j, 112 f, 115 b.**

Hoier, proper name, probably of a god 'Hoius.' Gen. sg. VIa 14. Etym. uncertain. **68 e**, n. on *loc. cit.*

holtu, vb. of uncertain meaning, possibly 'destroy.' Imv. VIb 60, VIIa 49. Perhaps related to *ὄλλυμι* (but not to L. *ab-oleo*, if E-M^{3} are right in connecting the latter with *alo*). **119 a**; n. on VIb 60, including problem of the *h-*.

homonus, 'men.' Dat. pl. Vb 10, 15. O. **humuns**, L. *homo*, *hominibus*, OL *homones*, cf. *humus*, *χαμαί*, *χθών*, etc. **13 a, 45, 48 a, 57 e, 61 d, 81 a.**

Honde **Hunte**, name of a god 'Hondus.' Dat. sg. **Hunte** Ib 4, IIa 20, 34, *Honde* VIb 45. Probably from **ghom-to-*, cf. *homonus*, *hondomu*, *hondra*, L. *humus*, *χαμαί*, *χθών* etc. **71.**

hondomu, superlative adj. 'lowest.' Abl. sg. VIa 9. 10. Cf. *hondra*, L. *humus*, etc. **45, 48 a, 60 a, 73 a.**

hondra **hutra**, comparative adj. with value of improper preposition 'below.' **hutra** Ib 42, *hondra* VIa 15, VIIa 52. From **ghom-t(e)rād*, cf. *hondomu*, L. *humus*, etc. **2 a, 45 a, 48 a, 52 d, 60 a, 76 c, 113 e, 146 e.**

hondu, vb. of uncertain meaning, probably 'cast down.' Imv. VIb 60, VIIa 49. From **ghom-dətōd* (?); for first member cf. *hondomu*, *hondra*, L. *humus*, etc., the second member being either from root **dō-* or **dhē-*. **48 a, 60 a, 119 c.**

Horse **Huřie**, epithet of Mars 'Hodius' (?). Dat. sg. **Huřie** Ib 2, *Horse* VIb 43. Etym. uncertain. N. on VIb 43.

hostatir, 'armed, under arms.' Dat. pl. *hostatir* VIb 62, VIIa 13, 15, 28, 50; acc. pl. *hostatu* VIb 59, VIIa 48. Cf. *anhostatir*, L. *hastatus*, *hasta*, Goth. *gazds·* *κέντρον*. **35 d, 44 d, 48 a, 71, 114 e, 117 c** n. 2; n. on VIb 59-60.

Hule, name of a deity 'Hula.' Dat. sg. IV 17. Etym. unknown. **66**; n. on *loc. cit.*

huntak, 'jar' (or 'vat' ?). Acc. sg. III 3, IV 32. From **honditak*, cf. *hondomu*, *hondra*. (?). **80 a**; n. on III 3.

Hunte: see *Honde*.

Huntia, 'the Hondia, the festival of Hondus; things pertaining to the Hondia (?).' Nom. pl. neut. (?) **Hun-**

tia IIa 15; acc. pl. neut. (?) **Huntia** IIa 17. Cf. *Honde* **Hunte**. **68 e**; n. on IIa 15.

Huřie: see *Horse*.

hutra: see *hondra*.

IIII, symbol for 'four.' Vb 9. **104 a.**

Iabuscer, **Iapuzkum**, adj. of nationality 'Iapudic.' Gen. sg. *Iabuscer* VIb 54, 59, VIIa 12, *Iapuscer*, VIIa 48; dat. *Iabusce* VIIa 12; acc. *Iabuscom* VIb 58, *Iapusco* VIIa 47, **Iapuzkum** Ib 17. Cf. L. *Iapyges*, *Ἰάποδες*. **46 e**, **70**; n. on VIb 54.

Ikuvina: see *Iiouinar*.

iepi, adv. 'there, to that place.' III 21. Cf. *ife*; for -p- cf. O. **íp**, Pael. *ip* (?). N. on *loc. cit.*

iepru, 'liver' (?). Acc. sg. IIa 32. Cf. *ἧπαρ*, L. *iecur*, Skt. *yakṛt*. (?). **84** n. 1; n. on *loc. cit.*

ier: see *etu*.

ife, adv. 'there, thither.' **ife** IIb 12, 13, *ife* VIb 39, 40, *ef* VIa 4. L. *ibi*, Skt. *iha*, Prakrit *idha*, all from **i-dhe*. **112 d**, **113 f.**

ifont, adv. 'on the same spot.' VIb 55. Cf. *ife*, *erafont*, **isunt**, *suront*. **113 f**, **i.**

Iiouinar, **Ikuvina**, etc., adj. 'Iguvine, of Iguvium' and pl. noun 'men of Iguvium.' Gen. sg. f. **Iiuvinas** Ib 2, 5, *Iiouinar* VIa 32, 39, 42, 49, 52, b 32, 43, 45, 61, VIIa 3, 6, 10, 14, 15, 16, 16, 17, 19, 21, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 30, 31, 32, 35, 37, 41, 53, *Iouinar* VIa 30, b 10, 13, 34, VIIa 9, 27, 50; dat. f. **Ikuvine** Ib 13, *Iiouine* VIa 18, 24, 27, 31, 40, 43, 50, 53, b 7, 11, 14, 33, 34, 51, 62, VIIa 14, 18, 31, *Iioueine* VIa 5, *Iouine* VIa 33, b 10, 27, VIIa 50; acc. sg. f. *Iiouinam* VIa 49, 51, b 12, 33, VIIa 16, 29, *Iiouina* VIa 31, 41, 54, b 31, *Iouina* VIa 29, 39; abl. f. **Ikuvina** Ia 5, 8, 12, 15, 19, 21, 25, 29, 31, b 2, **Iiuvina** Ib 5, III 24, 25, 30, 30, *Iiouina* VIa 23, 45, 55, 58, b 1, 3, 7, 9, 15, 19, 22, 26, 28, 35, 43, 45 (written *iiouinar*), VIIa 4, 10, 22, 26, 32, 35, 37, 41, *Iouina* VIa 25, 34, 35, 43, b 6, VIIa 7, 9, 19, 24, 53; loc. f. *Iiouine* VIb 29, *Iouine* VIa 26, 36, (+ *-m*) *Iouinem* VIa 46; nom. pl. m. (as. voc.) **Ikuvinus** Ib 21, 22, **Ikuvinu** Ib 20, *Iiouinur* VIb 63, *Iouinur* VIb 56. L. *Iguvini*, *Iguvium*. No clear etym. **2 j**, **3 d**, **11 a**, **13 b**, **47 c**, **74 e**, **90.**

inumek: see *eno* **enu.**

Ioui **Iuvi**, 'Jovius, of Jupiter,' as epithet of several deities and in IIa 6 used alone as a divine name. Dat. sg. **Iuvi** Ia 28, **Iuvie** Ia 8, 24, b 43, IIa 6, 8, 20, 35, *Ioui* VIb 22, *Iouie* VIa 58, VIIa 53; acc. **Iuviu** Ib 1, *Ioui* VIb 26, 27, 27; abl. *Iouiu* VIb 43; voc. m. *Iouie* VIb 28, 29, 29, 31, 31, 31, 33, 33, 36, *Iiouie* VIb 35; voc. f. *Iouia* VIIa 47, 49. From **d(i)yow-(i)yo-*, related to **Iu(pater)**, **Iuve**, as L. *Iovius* to *Iu(piter)*, *Iovis*, or *Martius* to *Mars*. **20 a**, **25 b**, **31 a**, **33 c**, **53 a**, **68 a**, **90.**

iouies, 'young men.' Dat. pl. *iouies* VIb 62, VIIa 13, 14, 28, 50; acc. pl. *iouie* VIb 59, VIIa 48. From **yuwiyē-*, cf. L. *iuvenis*, Skt. *yuvan-*. **25 d**, **35 d**, **53 a**, **79**, **90.**

isec **isek**, adv. 'in like manner, likewise.' **isek** IV 4, *isec* VIb 25. Cf. *esu*, *eso*, etc. **113 h.**

iseçeles, adj. with value of pass. pcpl. 'chopped' (?). Abl. pl. IV 7. From **en-seke-li-*, cf. *pro-seseto*, **pru-sekatu**, L. *seco*, *-are*, etc. **8 e**, **77 g**, **86 e.**

iso, *issoc*: see *eso*.

isunt, adv. 'at the same spot, on the same.' IIa 28, 36, III 16, 17. Cf. *esu*, *isec*, and for the second part *ifont*. **106 c**, **112 d**, **113 i.**

itek, adv. 'thus.' IV 31. Cf. L. *ita*, *item*, Skt. *iti*. **112 d**, **113 h.**

iuka iuku, neut. noun 'words.' Acc. pl. **iuka** III 28, **iuku** IIb 23. L. *iocus*, cf. Lith. *juõkas* 'joke,' OHG *jehan* 'declare.' **53 a**, **67**, **90**; n. on IIb 23.

iuengar, 'heifer.' Acc. sg. **iveka** Ib 40; nom. pl. *iuengar* VIIb 2; acc. **iveka** Ib 42, *iuenga* VIIa 51. L. *iuvenca*, cf.

iuvencus, *iuvenis*, U. *iouies*, Skt. *yuvaśas*. **2 h, 3 d, 17 d, 32 c, 52 d, 53 f, 60 c, 70, 90.**

Iuieskanes, name of a *decuvia* among the citizens of Iguvium. Dat. pl. **Iuieskanes** IIb 6, **Iuieskane** IIb 5. Etym. uncertain, but Dev., p. 356, suggests connection with *Iovio-* in reference to the grove in Ib 1 = VIb 43. **74 d.**

Iupater, **Iuve**, name of the god 'Jupiter.' Dat. sg. **Iuve patre** IIa 5, b 7, 17, 22, 26, III 22, **Iuvip** IIa 10, **Iuve** Ia 3, 31 (word-division and interpretation uncertain), *Iuue* VIa 22; voc. **Iupater** IIb 24. From **D(i)you-* < **D(i)yeu-* + forms of **pat(e)r-* 'father.' O. **Iúveís**, **Iuvei**, **Diúvei**, L. *Iupiter*, *Iovis*, *Ζεὺς πατήρ*, Skt. *Dyāuḥ pitā*, and more remotely L. *deus*, *dies*, etc. **82 b, 90, 98 c.**

iust: see *etu*.

Iuvi: see *Ioui*.

maletu, pcpl. 'crushed, ground.' Acc. sg. IIa 18. Simplex to *comoltu* **kumultu**, etc., q. v. **9 n. 1, 17 b.**

mandraclo **mantraklu**, 'hand-towel, maniple.' Acc. sg. **mantraklu** IIb 16, **mantrahklu** IIa 19, *mandraclo* VIb 4. From **man-trāk-klo-* < **man-trāg-tlo-*, cf. *mani*, L. *manus* and *tergeo*. **2 e, 18 a, 60 a, 75 b, 89.**

mani, 'hand.' Abl. **mani** IIa 32, *mani* VIb 24; loc. (+ **-e**) **manuve** IIb 23; acc. pl. **manf** IIa 38. L. *manus*, cf. O. *manim*, OE *mund*, OHG *munt*. **15 a, 25 c, 51 a, 78 a, 90, 97.**

mantraklu: see *mandraclo*.

manuve: see *mani*.

Marte, name of the god 'Mars.' Dat. **Marte** Ia 11, b 2, *Marte* VIb 1, 43. L. *Mars*, cf. *Mavors*, O. *Mamers* from Fest., p. 117 Li. *Mamers Mamertis facit, id est lingua Osca Mars Martis, unde et Mamertini in Sicilia dicti, qui Messanae habitant.* **51 a, 80 b.**

Martier, 'Martius, of Mars.' Gen. sg. **Marties** Ib 28, 31, *Martier* Vb 9, 15, VIb 58, 58, 61, 61, VIIa 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 32, 33, 33, 34, 35, 36, 41; dat. **Marti** Ib 24, IIa 11, *Martie* VIIa 3; voc. *Martie* VIb 57, 61. L. *Martius*. Related to *Marte* as *Ioui* (L. *Iovius*) to **Iu(pater)**. **68 a.**

mefa, a type of cake, here left untranslated; generally but not always accompanied by *spefa*. Dat. sg. **mefe** IIb 28; acc. **mefa** Ia 16, IV 14, *mefa* VIa 56, b 17, 20, VIIa 14, 38; abl. **mefa** IIb 13, *mefa* VIb 5, 9, 9, 14, VIIa 37. L. *mensa*, other connections very uncertain. **58 c.**

mehe, first person pronoun, dat. sg. 'to me.' VIa 5. L. *mihi*, cf. Skt. *mahyam*. **48 a, 51 a, 107 a.**

menes: see *benus*.

menzne, 'moon' (?). Abl. sg. IIa 17. Probably from **mēns-en-i*. Sab. (or Vest.?) *mesene* (no. 248 Co.), cf. L. *mensis*, *μήν*, Doric *μείς*. **29 f, 58 a, 81 a, 145 c.**

mers **meřs**, 'law, right, custom.' Nom. sg. **meřs** Ib 18, 18, *mers* VIa 28 (in *mersei*), 38, 48 (both in *mersi*), b 31, 55, 55; abl. pl. **mersus** III 6. From **medos*, cf. O. **meddíss** (similar in meaning and identical in second member with L. *iu-dex*), L. *modus*, *μέδομαι*. **29 j, 35 d, 42 c, 83.**

mersta, adj. 'eastern, in the east' (?). Acc. sg. m. *mersto* VIa 3, 4, 16, 17; f. *mersta* VIa 3, 4, 16, *meersta* VIa 17; abl. m. *merstu* VIa 1; acc. pl. f. *merstaf* VIa 4, *mersta* VIa 3, 3, 4, 18, 18. Cf. Goth. *maúrgins* (?). **2 f, 26 h, 29 d, 71, 90**; n. on VIa 1.

mersuva, 'accustomed.' Abl. sg. f. **mersuva** III 11; acc. pl. neut. **mersuva** III 28. From **medes-wo-* (the expected form being ***meřsuva**), cf. *mers* **meřs.** **69.**

mestru, comparative adj. 'greater,' with **karu** 'part' making up expression 'majority.' Nom. sg. f. Va 24, 27, b 4. Probably from **mais-trā* <

magis-terā*. L. *magister*, cf. *magis*, O. superlative *maimas*, etc. **76 c.

Miletinar, a gentile name or (less probably) a divine name 'Miletina.' Gen. sg. VIa 13. Etymology unknown. **74 e**; n. on *loc. cit.*

motar, **muta**, noun 'fine.' Nom. sg. **muta** Vb 2, **mutu** Vb 6; gen. *motar* VIIb 4; acc. **muta** Vb 3. O. *molto*, *-tas*, *-tam*, L. *multa*, all from **molk-tā-*. **2 d, 7 b, 12 n. 1, 17 a, 27 a, 55 d, 71, 90, 142 c.**

mugatu, 'make a noise.' Imv. VIa 6; pcpl. pass. nom. sg. neut. *muieto* VIa 7. Cf. L. *mugio*, *μύζω*, *μυκᾶσθαι*. **15 c, 30 c, 47 a, b, 116 a, 117 b, 152 f.**

muneklu, 'donation.' Acc. sg. Va 17, 19, 21. From **moin-e-tlo-* (?), vocalism of second syllable uncertain. Cf. L. *munusculum*, O. **múiníkú**, etc. **21 c, 75 b.**

Museiate, name of a *decuvia* among the citizens of Iguvium. Dat. sg. IIb 5, 5. Etym. uncertain, but. Dev., p. 356, suggests connection with the personal name *Museia* (*C.I.L.*, XI, 4613, from Carsulae) and the gentile names *Mussia*, *Museia*, *Musetia* (Co., p. 576). **77 c.**

muta mutu: see *motar*.

Naharcer, adj. of nationality 'Narcan.' Gen. sg. *Naharcer* VIb 54, 59, VIIa 12, 48; dat. *Naharce* VIIa 12; acc. **Naharkum** Ib 17, *Naharcom* VIb 58, VIIa 47. Cf. L. *Nahartis*, *Nar.* **46 e, 70**; n. on VIb 54.

naraklum, '(oracular) response.' Nom. sg. IIa 1. From **gnā-rā-tlo-*, cf. *naratu*, L. *gnarus*, *narro*, all from an ablaut-variant of root **gnō-* 'know.' **47 d, 52 b, 75 b, 76 a, 90.**

naratu, 'announce, pronounce, proclaim, speak, recite.' Imv. **naratu** IIa 3, b 8, 9, 11, 25, III 27, *naratu* VIa 22, 56, 59, VIb 2, 4, 20, 23, 44, 46, VIIa 5, 7, 38, 42, 53. From **gnā-rā-*, cf. **naraklum**, L. *gnarus*, *narro* (with gemination not easily explained), all from an ablaut-variant of root **gnō-* 'know.' **18 a, 47 d, 52 b, 76 a, 117 c, 127 b.**

natine, in the social organization of Iguvium apparently equivalent to '*gens*.' Abl. sg. IIa 21, 35, b 26. L. *natio*, cf. L. *(g)nascor*, *gens*, etc., all from root **gen-*. **18 a, 31 e, 47 d, 52 b, 81 b**; n. on IIa 21.

nei, prohibitive 'not.' IV 33 (in **neiřhabas**). Cf. O. *nei*, *ni*, L. *nē*. **112 g.** Vocalism of the U. form not clear. Cf. also *neip*.

neip, negative and prohibitive 'not.' **neip** IIa 4, Va 29, *neip* VIa 27, 36, 46, b 29, 51, VIIb 3, *nep* VIa 6. *nei-* same as **nei**. *-p* < *k^w(e)*, cf. *ape*, L. *neque*, *atque*. **31 b, 49 a, 52 a, 112 g, 113 l.**

nepitu, vb. of uncertain meaning, possibly 'overwhelm with water.' Imv. VIb 60, VIIa 49. Cf. L. *Neptunus* (?). **118 d.**

nerf, *nerus*, 'elders, chief citizens.' Dat. pl. *nerus* VIb 62, VIIa 13, 14, 28, 50; acc. *nerf* VIa 30, 32, 39, 42, 49, 52, b 13, 32, 34, 59, VIIa 17, 30, 48. O. **niir**, gen. pl. *nerum* (magistrate(s),' *ἀνήρ*, Skt. *nṛ-* 'man, hero,' cf. Sabine-Latin *Nero*, *Nerio*. **29 k, 52 a, 65 e, 82** ; n. on VIa 30.

nersa, conjunction 'until.' VIa 6. Probably from **ne-dām*, cf. L. *nĕ-que* and *quon-dam*. **112 g, 113 a, k, 154 b.**

nertru, adj. 'left.' Abl. sg. (+ **-ku** *-co*) **nertruku** Ia 32, *nertruco* VIb 37, 39; *nertru* VIb 25. Gk. *νέρτερος* 'lower, inferior,' cf. Eng. *north*, the left being the less good or inferior side, and the north being at the left if one faces east, as conversely Skt. *dakṣiṇah* is 'right' and 'south.' **29 a, 52 a, 76 c.**

nerus: see *nerf*.

nesimei, adv. used like predicate adj. 'next to.' VIa 9, 9. Apparently from **nedh-i̯mmĕd*. O. **nessimas**, OIr. *nessam*. **9 c, 44 d, 73 a, 112 a, 113 d, 139 a.**

ninctu, vb. of uncertain meaning, possibly 'overwhelm with snow.' Imv. VIb 60, VIIa 49. Probably from **nink-tōd* < **sning^{w}h-e-tōd*. L. *ninguit*,

cf. *νείφει*, Eng. *snow*. **49 d, 52 b, 57 b, 119 d**; n. on VIb 60.

niru, word-division and meaning uncertain, probably 'black, dark.' Acc. sg. **niru** IIb 15. L. *niger, nigrum* (?). **47 c**; n. on *loc. cit.*

nome **numem**, noun 'name.' Gen. sg. *nomner* VIb 54, 59, VIIa 12, 48; dat. *nomne* VIa 24, 24, 31, 31, 33, 33, 40, 40, 43, 43, 50, 50, 53, 53, b 7, 8, 12, 12, 14, 14, 27, 27, 33, 33, 35, 35, 62, 62, VIIa 12, 13, 14, 14, 18, 18, 28, 28, 31, 31, 51, 51; acc. **numem** [sic] Ib 17, 17, *nome* VIa 30, 32, 39, 42, 49, 52, b 13, 32, 34, 58, VIIa 17, 30, 47; abl. *nomne* VIa 17, (+ *-per*) VIa 23, 23, 25, 26, 34, 34, 35, 35, 44, 44, 45, 45, 54, 54, 55, 55, b 7, 7, 10, 10, 15, 15, 26, 26, 28, 28, 35, 36, VIIa 10, 11, 19, 19, 22, 22, 26, 26, 32, 33, 35, 35. L. *nōmen*, Skt. *nāma*, cf. *ὄνομα*, Eng. *name*. **2 k, 13 a, 17 d, 29 f, 51 a, 52 h, 81 c, 90.**

Noniar, proper name, possibly of a gens 'Nonia.' Gen sg. VIa 14. L. *Nonius*, cf. *nonus* (?). **68 e, 105 g.**

nosue, conjunction 'unless.' VIb 54. From **noi-swai*; for first part cf. **nei**; second part = *sue* **sve**. **21 a, 35 d, 112 g.**

numem: see *nome*.

numer, name of a coin '*nummus*.' Abl. pl. Va 17, 19, 21. L. *nummus*, Doric *νοῦμμος* (Epicharmus); further connections uncertain. **67, 145 b.**

Nurpier, a personal or gentile name 'of Nurpius.' Gen. sg. VIa 12. Etym. unknown. **68 e.**

nuřpener, name of a coin, perhaps 'new dupondius.' Abl. pl. Va 13. Etym. uncertain; possibly from **nowo-dupend-iyo-* with syncope of *u* after completion of the change *d* > **ř**, and *iy* treated as in **53 d**. **nowo-* : L. *novus*, *νέος* (*ew* > *ow* is pIt.; cf. O. **Núvellum** and **23**). For *-pend-* cf. L. *pendo*, *pondus*. **35 d**; n. on *loc. cit.*

nuvime, adv. 'last, the last time' (?). IIa 26. According to most, from ordinal stem **nowimo-* 'ninth'; according to the view preferred here, from superlative **nowimo-*, cf. L. *novus*, *novissimus*. **52 a, 73 a, 105 g, 112 b, 113 d**; n. on *loc. cit.*

nuvis, adv. 'nine times.' IIa 25. L. *noviens, novies*. **52 a, 105 g, 112 b.**

ocar **ukar**, noun 'mount,' always with reference to the Fisian Mount in Iguvium. Nom. sg. **ukar** Ib 7, *ocar* VIb 46; gen. *ocrer* VIa 8, 19, 19, 29, 32, 39, 41, 49, 51, b 10, 13, 32, 33, 48; dat. *ocre* VIa 23, 30, 33, 40, 42, 50, 52, b 7, 10, 11, 14, 16, 26, 32, 34; acc. *ocrem* VIa 49, 51, b 12, *ocre* VIa 29, 31, 39, 41, b 31, 33; abl. (+ *-per* **-per** *-pe*) **ukriper** Ia 5, 8, 15, 17, 21, 25, 28, 31, **ukripe** Ia 12, *ocriper* VIa 23, 43, 45, 53, 55, 58, b 1, 3, 6, 6, 9, 14, 19, 22, 26, 28, 35, *ocreper* VIa 25, 34, 35; loc. **ukre** Va 16, *ocre* VIa 26, 36, b 29, (+ *-m*) *ocrem* VIa 46. L. *ocris* (Fest., p. 296 Li. *ocrem antiqui ... montem confragosum vocabant*), *ὄκρις*, cf. also *ὀξύς*, L. *ācer*. The ending of *ocar* **ukar** may reflect an alternate stem in *-ari-*, for otherwise we should expect *-er* as in *pacer*. **2 a, 12 a, 20 a, 35 d, 45 a, 51 e, 57 e, 77 e, 90, 91 d, 93 c, 142 d.**

onse **uze**, 'shoulder.' Loc. sg. **uze** IIb 27, 28, *onse* VIb 50. L. *umerus*, cf. *ὦμος*. **2 i, 20 a, 29 d, 52 d, 58 e, 61 a, 67.**

ooserclom-e, name of a landmark used in defining the augural *templum*, possibly 'observation-post.' Acc. sg. (+ *-e*) VIa 12. Probably from **ob-ser-klom*, with vowel of uncertain identity syncopated before *-klom* < *-tlom*. **2 g, 26 g, 75 b, 86 c**; n. on VIa 12.

opeter, **upetu**, 'choose.' Imv. **upetu** IIb 1; imv. 3 pl. **upetuta** III 10; pcpl. pass. gen. sg. *opeter* Vb 9, 14; pcpl. (?) pass. acc. sg. **upetu** IIb 8, 11, III 22, 26. O. **ufteis** '*voluntatis*,' L. *opto*, *-are*. **118 b**; n. on IIb 1.

orer **ures**, demonstrative and anaphoric pron., 'this, that, him, it.' Gen. sg.

ures IV 33, *orer* VIa 26, 36, 46, b 29; abl. sg. **uru** Ib 18, *uru* VIb 55, (+ **-ku**) **uraku** Va 5. Etym. unknown. **109 h, 145 b.**

orto, **urtas**, pcpl. pf. 'arisen, rising, occurred.' Nom. sg. neut. **urtu** IIa 4, *ortom* VIa 46, *orto* VIa 26, 36, b 29; nom. pl. f. **urtas** III 10; abl. pl. **urtes** III 4. L. *orior*, *ortus*, Skt. *ɣtás*, cf. ὀρτός; *or-* in the Italic forms is probably from *ɣ-*. **17 a, 90.**

osatu, 'make.' Imv. VIb 24, 37. From **op(e)sā-*. L. *operor*, *-ari*, cf. U. *ose* (?). **57 d, 61 d, 116 a, 117 c, 124 c.**

ose, noun 'effect' (?). Abl. (?) sg. VIa 26, 36, 46, b 29. Probably equivalent to L. *opere* < **opesi*; cf. U. *osatu*. **29 d, 83**: n. on VIa 26.

ostendu **ustentu**, 'present, exhibit, elect.' Fut. pass. 3 pl. *ostensendi* VIa 20; imv. **ustentu** Ia 3, 9, 12, 16, 23, 26, b 3, 6, 25, 28, IIa 6, 11, **ustetu** Ia 17, b 32, 43, IIa 12, b 9, 29, *ostendu* VIa 20; imv. 3 pl. **ustentuta** III 5. From **ops-* + *tend-*. L. *ostendo*, *ostendito*, cf. U. *andendu*, *endendu*. **2 i, 3** with **d, 8 c, 12 a, 29 b, 55 c, 58 e, 60 a, 61 d, e, 114 e, 115 f, 119 a** with n. 3, **123, 127 c.**

ote **ute**, conjunction 'or.' **ute** Ib 24, 27, Va 23, b 2, 10, 13, 15, 18, *ote* VIa 7, VIIa 6. O. *auti*, **avt**, L. *aut*, cf. αὖ, αὖτε, αὖθις. **10 b, 22, 31 e, 112 g.**

oui, **uve**, 'sheep.' Acc. sg. **uvem** III 8, 10, 12, 26, 31, **uve** IIa 10; abl. (+ **-kum**) **uvikum** III 28; acc. pl. **uvef** Ib 1, *oui* VIb 43. L. *ovis*, ὄις, Skt. *avis*, Eng. *ewe*. **12 a, 54 b, 58 b, 77 a, 90.**

p, abbreviation probably for L. *pondo* or its U. equivalent. Vb 9, 14.

paca, ablative noun with value of improper preposition 'for the sake of, for.' VIa 20. Cf. *pacer*, *pase*, L. *pax*, etc. **45 a, 66, 147 f.**

pacer, 'propitious.' Nom. sg. *pacer* VIa 23, 30, 33, 40, 42, 50, 52, VIb 7, 11, 13, 26, 32, 34, VIIa 14, 17, 31, 50; pl. *pacrer* VIb 61. From **pak-ri-*. Mars. *pacre*, Pael. *pacris*, cf. U. *paca*, *pase*, L. *pax*, *paciscor*, Skt. *pāśas* 'bond.' **29 l, 32 d, 33 b, 45 a, 46 e, 53 b, 77 e, 90, 91 d.**

Padellar, name of a goddess 'Padella.' Gen. sg. VIa 14. Probably from **Padenlās* < **Patn̥lās* < **Patnolās*. Cf. O. **Patanai**, L. *Panda*, *pando*, *pateo*. **32 e, 41 f, 42 d, 60 b, 75 a**; n. on *loc. cit.*

pafe: see *po-*.

pane, conjunction 'when.' **pane** Ib 40, *pane* VIIa 46. L. *quamde*, cf. O. *pan*, U. conj. *pone* **pune. 49 a, 112 e, 113 a, k, 154 b.**

panta, 'how great, whatever.' Nom. sg. f. **panta** Vb 2; acc. **panta** Vb 3. L. *quanta*. **2 d, 49 a, 61 a, 71, 111 a.**

panupei, adv. 'at any time.' VIIb 1. L. *quandoque*, cf. U. *pane*; for *-pei* cf. *ape*. **113 k, l.**

parfa, an augural bird of uncertain identity, possibly a jay (?). Acc. sg. **parfam** Ib 13, *parfa* VIa 2, 4, 15, 17, b 51; abl. *parfa* VIa 1. L. *parra*, U. and L. forms both being from **par(e)sā*. Connection with ψάρ 'starling,' Goth. *sparwa* 'sparrow' less sure. **59 e, 66.**

pars, with *est* 'it is fitting, required.' VIIb 2. L. *par* (?). **59 a, 83.**

pase, 'peace.' Abl. sg. VIa 30, 33, 40, 42, 50, 52, b 11, 13, 32, 34, 61, VIIa 14, 17, 31, 50. L. *pax*, *pace*, cf. U. *paca*, *pacer*. **3 e, 65 f, 80 a.**

pater, found only as a component of **Iupater**, q.v. **38 a.**

pehaner, **pehatu**: see *pihatu*.

peia, 'black.' Acc. pl. m. **peiu** Ib 24, *peiu* VIIa 3; f. **peia** Ib 27, *peia* VIIa 6. L. *piceus* (?). **46 g, 68 a.**

peica, 'magpie.' Acc. sg. *peica* VIa 3, 4, 16, 17; abl. *peica* VIa 1. L. *pīca*, cf. U. *peicu*, Skt. *pika-* (?) 'cuckoo,' Germ. *Specht* (?). **11 c, 66.**

peico, 'woodpecker.' Acc. sg. *peico* VIa 3, 4, 16, 17; abl. sg. *peiqu* VIa 1. L. *pīcus*, cf. U. *peica*, etc. **11 c, 67.**

Peieřiate, name of a *decuvia* among the citizens of Iguvium. Dat. sg. IIb 4, 4. Etym. uncertain. **77 c.**

peihaner: see *pihatu*.

peiqo: see *peico*.

peiu **peiu**: see *peia*.

pelmner, 'meat.' Gen. sg. Vb 12, 17. From **pelp-men*, with loss of *p* in *-lpm-*; cf. L. *pulmentum*, *pulpamentum*, both with *u* < *o* < *e* before non-palatal *l*. **29 f, 55 d, 81 c.**

pelsatu, vb. of uncertain meaning, here taken as 'bury.' Imv. *pelsatu* VIb 40, 40; gdve. nom. sg. m. **pelsans** IIa 43; acc. m. **pelsanu** IIa 6, III 32; acc. pl. f. **pelsana** Ia 26, *pelsana* VIb 22. Etym. uncertain; cf. Goth. *ga-filhan* (?), *us-filhan* (?) 'bury.' **29 i, 90, 91 b, 153 i**; n. on VIb 22.

peperscust, *pepescus*: see **perstu.**

pepurkurent, vb. 'demand.' Fut. pf. 3 pl. Vb 5. From **pe-pŗk-usent* (or **pe-pork-usent* ?), cf. L. *precor*, *posco* < *pork-skō*, Skt. *pṛcchāti*. **35 d, 52 g, 114 e, 124 a, 125, 138 a.**

pequo, '(domestic) beasts.' Gen. pl. (?) VIa 30, 32, 40, 42, 50, 52, b 13, 32, 34, VIIa 17, 30. L. *pecū*, Skt. *paśu*, Goth. *faihu*. **38 a, 78 a, 90.**

-per **-per -pe**, postposition 'for, on behalf of.' **ahtis-per** III 24, 29; **fratrus-per** IIa 2, III 23, **fratrus-pe** III 28; *nomne-per* VIa 23, 23, 25, 26, 34, 34, 35, 35, 44, 44, 45, 45, 54, 54, 55, 55, b 7, 7, 10, 10, 15, 15, 26, 26, 28, 28, 35, 36, VIIa 10, 11, 19, 19, 22, 22, 26, 26, 32, 33, 35, 35; *ocri-per* VIa 23, 43, 45, 53, 55, 58, b 1, 3, 6, 6, 9, 14, 19, 22, 26, 28, 35, *ocre-per* VIa 25, 34, 35, **ukri-per** Ia 5, 8, 15, 17, 21, 25, 28, 31, **ukri-pe** Ia 12; **Petrunia-per** IIa 21; *poplu-per* VIb 43, 45, VIIa 3, 6, 9, 10, 18, 21, 24, 26, 32, 35, 37, 41, 53, **puplu-per** Ib 2, 5; *re-per* VIIb 2; *tota-per* VIa 23, 25, 34, 35, 43, 45, 53, 55, 58, b 1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 15, 19, 22, 26, 28, 35, 43, 45, VIIa 3, 6, 9, 10, 19, 21, 24, 26, 32, 35, 37, 41, 53, **tuta-per** Ia 5, 8, 12, 15, 19, 21, 25, 29, 31, b 2, 5, III 29, **tuta-pe** III 24; **trefi-per** III 25, 30; **Vuçiia-per** IIb 26. From **pŗ* < **pro*. Cf. *pro-* **pru-** (**134 o**), O. *pru*, L. *prō*. **4, 32 d, 56 d, 147 g, 155 g.**

perakne, adj. of uncertain meaning, generally applied to sacrificial victims; possibly 'brought from away, from elsewhere' (that is, not raised as temple-property). Acc. sg. **peraknem** IIa 10, **perakne** IIa 5, 5, 12, 14, b 7, 10; acc. pl. neut. **perakneu** Va 7. *peracnio* VIa 54 must be emended to *peracrio*. Possibly from **per-ag-ni-* with adj. suffix *-no-* replaced by *-ni-* after *i*-stem *sakri-*; cf. L. *per-ago*. **10 c, 41 f, 77 d, 86 a, 90**; n. on IIa 5.

peracri, adj. of uncertain meaning, probably 'perfect, fit for sacrifice.' Acc. sg. f. **perakre** Ib 40; abl. sg. m. *peracri* VIa 34, 35, 38, 43, 45, 48, 53, *peracrei* VI a 25, 29; gen. pl. *peracrio* VIIa 51, VIa 54 (misspelled *peracnio*); abl. *peracris* VIb 52, 56. Probably from **per-āk-ri-*. L. *ācer*, *ācris*, cf. U. *ocar*, *ocri-*, *ἀκμή*, *ἀκμαῖος*, with semantic development from 'sharp, peaked,' through 'topmost.' **13 a, 77 e, 86 b, 90**; n. on VIa 25.

Peraznanie, name of a *decuvia* among the citizens of Iguvium. Dat. pl. IIb 7. No clear etym. **68 e.**

perca, 'wand, staff' (?). Acc. sg. *percam* VIb 53, *perca* VIa 19, b 49, 50, 63, VIIa 46, 51; acc. pl. **perkaf** Ib 15, *perca* VIb 51. L. *pertica*, O. **perek**. (for **perekaís**). **29 g, 41 g, 70**; n. on VIa 19; on the whole etymological group see Whatmough, *Lang.*, XXIX (1953), pp. 297-8.

peretom, pcpl. pass. nom. sg. neut. translated as noun 'transgression.' VIa 27, 37, 47, b 30. From *per-* (L. *per*, cf. O. **pert**) + **itom* (or **eitom* ?), pcpl. pass. of *etu*, cf. *daetom*. For semantic value cf. *παρα-βαίνω*. **30 c, 114 e, 122 b, 131, 149.**

pernaiaf, adj. 'from in front.' Acc. pl. f. **pernaiaf** Ib 10; abl. f. **pernaies** Ia 2. From **pernai-yā-*, cf. *perne*. **19 c, 53 c, 68 c.**

perne, adv. 'before.' VIb 11. Lith. *pérnai* 'in the previous year,' cf. *πέρυσι*. For *-ne* cf. U. *postne*, *superne*. **112 c, 113 j.**

persae **peřae**, adj. 'on the ground, stretched on the ground.' Nom. sg. neut. **peřae** IIa 22; acc. sg. m. **peřaem** IIa 11, III 32; neut. **peřae** IIa 13, *persae* VIa 58, b 3; acc. pl. f. **peřaia** Ib 28, 32, 44, *persaia* VIIa 7, *persaea* VIIa 41, 54. From **pedaiyo-*, cf. *perso* **peřum**, *persi* **peři**, L. *pēs*. **19 c, 68 c, 90, 139 b**; n. on VIa 58.

persclo **persklum**, 'prayer, ceremony, acrifice.' Gen. sg. *perscler* VIa 27, 28, 37, 38, *pescler* VIa 47, 48, b 30, 30; acc. **persklum** Ia 1, (+ **-ař**) **persklumař** III 21, *persclo* VIa 1; abl. **persklu** III 12, *persclu* VIb 36, VIIa 20, 24, 34, *pesclu* VIb 15, VIIa 8. Probably from **perk-sk-lo*, with *-sk-* through influence of a verb equivalent to L. *posco*. Cf. **pepurkurent**, etc. **2 a, j, 3 f, 35 d, 41 e, 59 d, 75 a.**

perse **peře**, conjunction 'if,' sometimes 'when, while.' **peře** IIa 3, *perse* VIa 47, b 29, 30, 31, *persi* VIa 37, 38, *persei* VIa 26, 27, 28, 36, *pirse* VIa 46, **piři** IV 32, *pirsi* VIa 5, 48. From **pid-ī* < **k^{w}id-ī*; for the first part cf. O. **píd**, L. *quid*. **10 c, 112 e, 113 g.** See also *pis*.

persi **peři**, 'foot.' Abl. sg. **peři** Ia 29, 32, *persi* VIb 24, 37, 38, 39, (+ *-co*) *persico* VIb 25, where the actual reading *perstico* must probably be emended. L. *pēs, pedis*, Skt. *pād, padás*, (with ablaut-variation) *πούς, ποδός*. **2 a, 38 a, 42 b, 65 f, 80 c, 90.**

persnimu pesnimu, deponent vb. 'pray.' Imv. pass. **persnimu** Ib 7, 21, IV 8, 10, **persnihmu** IIa 27, 29, 30, 30, 31, 36, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, IV 11, 23, 25, 29, **pesnimu** Ia 6, 10, 13, 19, 23, 26, 34, b 3, 22, 26, 30, 32, 37, 38, 44, IIa 7, 10, b 18, 18, 20, 20, 20, 20, *persnimu* VIa 55, 59, b 2, 4, 6, 9, 20, 25, 37, 41, 44, 46, VIIa 4, 7, 25, 25, 34, 42, 44, 54, *persnihimu* VIb 17, VIIa 9, 39, 45, *pesnimu* VIb 9, 23; imv. pass. pl. *persnimumo* VIb 57, *persnihimumo* VIIa 47, *pesnimumo* VIb 64, 65, VIIa 1; pcpl. pass. *persnis* VIb 39, *pesnis* VIb 40, 41. Apparently denominative from **persk-ni-* with *-sk-* of same origin as in *persclo*, q.v. Cf. *persclo*, **pepurkurent. 2 i, 3** with **f, 11 a, 59 d, 77 d, 114 e, 120 b, 131.**

perso **peřum**, 'mound, ground, turf-altar' (?); according to another view 'pit, trench.' Acc. sg. **peřum** Ia 29, 32, **peřu** IIa 9, 24, *perso* VIb 24, 37, (+ *-e -e*) **peřume** IIa 27, III 33, *persome* VIb 38, 39, 40. From **pedom. πέδον*, cf. *persi* **peři**, L. *pēs*. **67**; n. on VIb 24.

persondru, **persuntru**, noun of uncertain meaning designating a type of offering, here left untranslated. Dat. sg. **persuntre** IV 21; acc. **persuntru** IV 17, 19, **persutru** IIb 13, **pesuntru**, Ia 27, **pesuntrum** Ia 30, **pesutru** IIa 8, *pesondro* VIb 24, 37, 37, 39, 40; abl. *persondru* VIb 31, 35, *persontru* VIb 28; abl. pl. (+ *-co*) *pesondrisco* VIb 40. *per-* as in L. *per*, etc. (?); for *-sond-* cf. OIcel. *synd* 'sin,' L. *sons, in-sons*. (?). **2 i, 59 d, 60 a, 76 b**; n. on VIb 24.

perstu, vb. 'place, put.' Imv. **perstu** IIa 32, **pestu** IIb 19; fut. pf. 3 sg. *peperscust* VIb 5, *pepescus* VIIa 8. From **perk-ske-tōd* cf. L. *parco, com-pesco*. **59 d, 114 e, 119 e.** Muller, p. 320, suggests ultimate identity of this root ('umgeben, einschränken') with that of *persclom*, **pepurkurent**, L. *posco, precor*, etc. ('bedrängen, von allen Seiten her [be]fragen').

pert, preposition 'beyond, on the other side of.' IIa 36 (but **-pert** in IIa 35 must be emended to **-per**). O. **pert** 'across,' cf. U. *per-etom*; *-t* < *-ti* as in *post* < **pos-ti*. **147 h.**

pertentu, 'stretch forth, place ... over.' Imv. IIa 31, IV 8. From *per-* (as in *peretom*) + *tend-*. L. *pertendo*, cf. U. *andendu, endendu, ostendu*. **3 d, 119 a** with n. 3.

pertom-e, 'gate' (?). Acc. sg. (+ *-e*) VIa 14. Probably from **perto-* with transfer from *u*-stem; cf. L. *portus, porta*, ON *fiǫrðr*, Eng. *firth*. **71**; n. on *loc. cit.*

pescler, pesclu: see *persclo.*

pesetom, pass. pcpl. nom. sg. neut. translated as noun 'sin.' VIa 27, 37, 47, b 30. Cf. L. *pecco, peccatum*; further connections uncertain. **30 c, 34, 46 b, 116 a, 149.**

pesni-: see *persnimu.*

pesondro, **pesuntru**: see *persondru.*

petenata, pcpl. 'shaped like or furrowed as if by a comb, comb-(cake)'. Acc. sg. f. IV 4. From **pekten-ā-tam*, pcpl. of denominative vb. to **pekten*, cf. L. *pecten*, κτείς < **pkten-*. **46 i, 71.**

Petrunia-per, name of a gens (?; **natine**) 'Petronia.' Abl. sg. f. + **-per** IIa 21 (misspelled **-pert**), 35. L. *Petronia* (of dialectal origin), U. *peturpursus*, etc. **68 e, 105 d**, n. 2.

peturpursus, 'quadruped, beast.' Dat. pl. VIb 11. From **k^{w}etur-pod-ufs* (quantity of root-vowel uncertain), cf. *dupursus*, L. *quadrupes*; also U. **Petruniaper. 13 c, 42 b, 49 a, 65 f, 80 c, 88, 105 d.**

pihaclu, 'propitiatory offering.' Abl. sg. *pihaclu* VIa 25, 29, 34, 35, 38, 43, 45, 48, 53, b 28, 31, 35; gen. pl. **pihaklu** Va 8, *pihaclo* VIa 54. From **piy-ā-tlo-*, L. *piaculum*, cf. *pius*, O. **Piihiúí**, U. *pihatu*. Further connection of this group with L. *pūrus*, etc., is possible if **piyo/ā-* is from **pw-iyo/ā.* **11 b, 13 b, 41 e, 75 b, 90.**

pihatu **pehatu** 'purify.' Imv. **pehatu** III 3, *pihatu* VIa 29, 29, 29, 30, 39, 39, 39, 40, 49, 49, 49, 50, b 31, 31, 32; pf. subj. pass. 3 sg. *pihafi* VIa 38, 48, b 31, *pihafei* VIa 29; pcpl. pass. nom. sg. m. **pihaz** Ib 7, *pihos* VIb 47; gdve. gen. sg. m. *pihaner* VIa 19, b 48, *pehaner* VIa 20, *peihaner* VIa 8. From **piyā-*, cf. *pihaclu*, etc. **2 a, d, 11 b, c, 29 i, 61 e, 114 e, 117 c, 124 d, 126 c.**

Piquier, with *Martier*, adj. from the name of the deified *Picus Martius*. Gen. sg. Vb 9, 14. From **pīk(u)w(i)yo-*, cf. *peico*, L. *picus*. **68 e.**

pir, noun 'fire.' Nom. (?) sg. *pir* VIa 20; nom. sg. 26, 36, 46, b 29; acc. **pir** Ib 12, 12, IIa 19, b 12, III 12, 21, *pir* VIb 49, 50 (heteroclite form + *-e*) *purome* VIb 17, VIIa 38; abl. sg. **pure** Ib 20, (+ *-to*) *pureto* VIa 20. πῦρ, Germ. *Feuer*, Eng. *fire*, cf. O. **purasiaí. 10 b, 14 a, 15 a, 38 a,** 55 **c, 65 e, 82, 84** n. **1, 90.**

pirse, pirsi: see *perse.*

pis, pisi, indefinite and (VIIb 2) relative pronoun 'any, whoever.' Nom. sg. m. *pis(est)* VIb 53, *pis(her)* VIb 41, (**sve**)**pis** Ib 18, IV 26, (*so*)*pir* VIb 54, **pisi** Va 3, 10, *pisi* VIa 7, VIIa 52, b 1; neut. **piře** Va 5, **peře** Ib 18, *pirse* VIb 55; acc. pl. f. *pifi* VIIb 2. From **k^{w}i-* (O. **pís, píd**, L. *quis, quid*, τις, τι) partly extended by *-ī*. **4, 10 a, c, 42 b, 49 a, 57 d, 62 g, i, 106 a, d, 110** with **a, b**. See also *perse* **peře**, *poe poi.*

pistu, word-division and meaning uncertain, probably 'meal' (crushed with a pestle). Acc. sg. IIb 15. L. *pinso, pistus*, Skt. *pinaṣṭi, piṣṭas*. (?). N. on *loc. cit.*

plenasier, 'annual festival' (occurring when the year is *full*). (?). Abl. pl. Va 2, 14. Equivalent as if to L. **plenārius*, cf. U. *plener*, L. *plenus*. **53 e, 68 d**; n. on Va 2.

plener, 'full.' Abl. pl. VIIa 21, 34. L. *plenus*, cf. πλήρης, Skt. *pūrṇas*, Eng. *full*. **9 a, 52 a,** 55 **c, 74 b.**

po-, pā-, stem of indefinite (Ib 8, VIb 47) and relative pron. 'any, who, which.' Nom. sg. m. *poe* VIb 50, *poi* VIa 5, b 24, 53, *poei* VIa 1, *porse* VIb 63, VIIa 46, 51, *porsi* VIa 6, *porsei* VIa 9, 9; f. (**sve**)**pu** Ib 8, (*sue*)*po* VIb 47; neut. **puře** IIa 26, III 5, Va 7; dat. sg. **pusme** IIa 40; abl. f. *pora* VIb 65, VIIa 1; nom. pl. m. **pure** Va 6, 25, 28, b 4, *puri* Vb 10, 15; neut. *porsi* VIa 19, *porsei* 15; acc. f. *pafe* VIIa 52; neut. *porse* VIb 40. From **k^{w}o/ā-* (O. **pui, paí, púd**, L. *qui, quae, quod*, cf. πότερος, πῶς, πῇ, etc.) partly extended by *ī-*. **12 a, 21 a, 49 a, 57 b, c, 106 d, 110**

with **b, c, d, e** and n. 1, **112 e, 113 g.** See also *pis, pisi.*

pone **pune,** conjunction 'when, after.' **pune** Ib 1, 10, 11, 12, 15, 19, 33, IIa 1, 7, b 16 (second instance), 21, 22, 27, Va 8, **puni** Ib 20, *pone* VIb 48, 49, *ponne* VIb 43, VIIb 2. From **k^{w}om-de.* O. *pon* **pún pun,** cf. L. *quom cum*; for second part cf. also U. *pane.* **2 a, 61 e, 112 e, 113 a, k, 154 b.**

poni **puni,** a substance of unknown identity used in the sacrificial ceremonies of the Atiedian Brothers; according to the view preferred here, 'mead.' Gen. sg. **punes** IIa 41, IV 33; acc. **pune** IIa 18, 33, 40, b 14, 16 (first instance), IV 30; abl. **puni** Ia 4, 9, 13, 16, 22, 26, 32, b 3, 7, 25, 29, 32, 44, IIa 7, 11, 13, 20, 24, 25, b 9, 20, 29, *poni* VIa 57, b 1, 3, 9, 20, 22, 44, 46, VIIa 4, 7, 41, 54, *pone* VIa 59. From **pō-ni-*, cf. L. *pōtus, pōtio,* Skt. *pānīya-* 'drinkable.' (?). **13 a, 77 d, 90, 145 b**; n. on VIa 57.

ponisiater **puniçate,** *'puniceatus'* (a purple-clad official). Gen. sg. **puniçate** Ib 15, *ponisiater* VIb 51. Related to L. *puniceus* as L. *armatus* to *arma, togatus* to *toga,* etc. **21 a, 46 d, 71, 117 c**; n. on VIb 51.

poplom **puplum,** 'people.' Gen. sg. *popler* VIa 19, VIIa 16, 27, 30; dat. *pople* VIb 61, VIIa 14, 17, 27, 31, 50; acc. **puplum** Ib 10, **puplu** Ib 40, *poplom* VIIa 15, b 3, *poplo* VIb 48, VIIa 29, 46; abl. *poplu* VIb 54, 54, (+ **-per** *-per*) **pupluper** Ib 2, 5, *popluper* VIb 43, 45, VIIa 3, 6, 9, 10, 18, 21, 24, 26, 32, 35, 37, 41, 53; loc. *pople* VIb 55. L. *populus,* cf. U. **Pupřiçes** (?), Etr. *Fufluns* (?), Etr.-Lat. *Populonia.* No sure connections outside Italic. The whole group may be of Etr. origin; see on III 26, and E.-M.^{3} under *populus.*

pora: see *po-, pā-.*

porca **purka** 'pig.' Acc. pl. **purka** Ib 27, *porca* VIIa 6. L. *porca,* cf. *porcus,* OIr. *orc,* OE *fearh,* OHG *farah.* **45 a, 55 b, 58 b, 66.**

portatu **purtatu,** 'bring.' Pres. subj. 3 sg. *portaia* VIIb 1; imv. **purtatu** Ib 18, *portatu* VIb 55; fut. pf. 3 sg. *portust* VIIb 3. L. *porto,* cf. *porta, portus,* πόρος, πείρω. **7 a, 12 d, 53 b, 114 e, 116 a, 117 d, 124 b, 125, 126 a, 127 b.**

post **pus,** preposition 'behind.' **pus** Ia 7, 14, 24, *post* VIa 58, b 3, 22, VIIa 38. O. **púst** *post,* L. *post,* all from **posti.* **31 d, 147 i.** See also *postertio.*

postertio **pustertiu,** 'when ... for the third time.' *postertio* VIIa 46, **pustertiu** Ib 40. Combination of *post* + *tertio* < abl. **tertiōd.* **113 c.**

posti **pustin,** preposition with distributive force 'each, at each, per.' **pustin** IIa 25, IV 13, **pusti** Va 13, 18, 20, 21, *posti* Vb 8, 12, 14, 17. O. **pústin,** both from **postyen* < **posti* + *en* (?). For the semantic value compare the distributive use of Germ. *nach,* Eng. *after.* **147 j.**

postne, adv. 'behind.' VIb 11. From **post(i)* + *ne,* cf. *perne, superne.* **112 c, 113 j.**

postra, **pustra,** adj. 'at the back; the latter.' Acc. pl. f. *postra* Vb 13; neut. **pustra** IIa 32, **pustru** IIb 19, *postro* VIb 5, VIIa 8. O. **pústreí,** L. *posterus.* **29 a, 76 c, 139 b.** See also *postro* adv.

postro **pustru,** adv. 'back.' **pustru** Ib 34, 36, *postro* VIIa 43, 44. From **posterōd* (?) with same stem as *postra,* q.v. **112 c, 113 c.**

pracatarum, 'rampart' (?). Gen. pl. f. VIa 13. Pcpl. pf. pass. probably of denominative vb. to *praco.* **27 b, 57, 71, 90, 100 a, 142 b.** N. on *loc. cit.*

praco, a landmark used in defining the augural *templum,* possibly 'tower' (of a rampart). Acc. sg. (or gen. pl. ?) VIa 13. Probably from root-stem **pɣk-* or **pɣ̌k-* (gradation uncertain). Cf. L. *com-pesco* (<**-perk-skō* or **park-skō*), *comperce* in Paul. *e* Fest., 52 L.; *comperce pro compesce dixerunt antiqui*; U. **perstu,** Eng. *park.* **65 f, 80 a, 142 b**; n. on *loc. cit.*

pre, preposition 'before, in front of.' **pre** Ia 2, 11, 20, *pre* VIa 22, 59, b 1, 2, 4, 19, 20, VIIa 7. O. **prai**, L. *prae*. **19 a, 147 k.**

prehabia prehubia, 'provide.' Pres. subj. 3 sg. **prehabia** Va 5, **prehubia** Va 12. **pre-** + **habia**; see *habe*. **28 a, 126 a.**

prepa, temporal conjunction 'before, until.' VIb 52. From **prai-k^{w}ām* cf. *pre* and L. *quam*, *priusquam*. **49 a, 112 e, 154 b.**

prepesnimu, 'offer a preliminary prayer.' Imv. pass. IIb 17. *pre-* + *persnimu*.

preplotatu, 'trample under foot' (?). Imv. *preplotatu* VIb 60, *preplohotatu* VIIa 49. Probably denominative vb. in sense 'flatten' from same stem seen in *plotus* Fest., p. 274 Li. **117 e**; n. on VIb 60.

presoliaf-e, a landmark used in defining the augural *templum*, possibly 'forearea.' Acc. pl. (+ *-e*) VIa 12. First part *pre*; for second part cf. L. *solum* (?). **55 b, 68 e.**

Prestote **Prestate**, name of a goddess 'Prestota.' Gen. sg. *Prestotar* VIIa 20, 22, 33, 36; dat. **Prestate** Ib 27, *Prestote* VIIa 6, 8, 24; voc. *Prestota* VIb 57, 61, VIIa 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 35. From **prai-stə-tā* or **prai-stā-tā*, vowel-grade of root uncertain. Cf. *stahitu*, L. *sto*, *stāre*, etc. **7 b, 28 c, 31 a, 71, 86 d, 90.**

pretra, adj. 'the former.' Acc. pl. f. Vb 12. From **praiterā*, cf. *pre*, L. *praeter*. **76 c.**

preve, adv. 'separately, in a separate place.' Ia 28, IIa 9. From **preiwēd*, cf. L. *prīvus*, O. *preiuatud* '*reo*'. **9 a, 20 a, 112 a, 113 d.**

preuendu, transitive vb. 'turn ... against.' Imv. VIIa 11. *pre-* + verb from root **wend-*, cf. Goth. *bi-windan*, *wandjan*, Germ. *winden*, Eng. vb. *wind*. **60 a n. 2, 119 a.**

prever, adj. 'single, one ... per ...' Abl. pl. Va 13, 18. From **preiwo-*. L. *prīvus*, cf. U. **preve**, O. *preiuatud*. **69**; n. on Va 13.

preuišlatu, 'bind.' Imv. *preuišlatu* VIIa 49, *preuilatu* VIb 60. *pre-* + denominative vb. from noun equivalent to L. *vinculum*. **29 e, 46 c, 75 a, 117 c**; n. on VIb 60.

prinuatur, name of certain officials, here latinized '*prinuati*.' Nom. pl. **prinuvatus** Ib 19, 23, 23, **prinuvatu** Ib 15, 41, *prinuatur* VIb 50, 65, VIIa 1, 46, 52; abl. *prinuatir* VIb 55, 56, 57. Etym. obscure; apparently *pri-* (cf. L. *prior*, etc., Pael. *pri-stafalacirix*) + root of unknown identity + *āto-* as in pf. pcpl. of first conjugation. **2 h, 57 h, 71**; n. on VIb 50.

procanurent, 'sing forth.' Fut. pf. 3 pl. VIa 16. From **pro-kan-* cf. L. *cano*, U. **kanetu**. **28, 114 e, 134 o.**

promom, adv. 'first.' **prumum** III 15, **prumu** III 3, 23, *promom* VIIa 52. πρόμος 'chief,' cf. *-per* < *-prŏ*. **105 a, 113 a.**

proseseto, **prusekatu**, etc., 'cut, cut off.' Imv. **prusekatu** IIa 28, 28 (second instance written **prusektu**, probably by error), III 33, 35, IV 2; pcpl. pass. gen. pl. *proseseto* VIb 16, 38; dat. **pruseçete** IIa 12, *prosešetir* VIb 44, 46, *prosesetir* VIa 56, 59, b 2, 4, 23, VIIa 4, 8, 42, 54, *proseseter* VIb 20; acc. pl. neut. **pruseçetu** IIb 12, *proseseto* VIa 56. From **pro-sek(ā)-*. L. *seco*, *-āre*, Russ. *prosekatь* 'cut through.' **8 a, 30 c, 117 b, 134 o.**

prufe, adv. 'well.' Va 27. L. *probe*, both from **pro-bhwēd*; cf. O. **prúfatted** '*probavit*.' **54 d, 69, 112 a, 113 d, 139 a.**

prumum prumu: see *promom*.

prupehast, 'purify (in advance).' Fut. 3 sg. IV 32. *pro-* + *pihatu*. **29 m, 114 e, 123, 134 o.**

prusekatu, pruseçete: see *proseseto*.

pruseçia, 'sacrificial pieces.' Acc. pl. neut. IIa 23. From **pro-sek-yo-*, cf. *proseseto*. **68 a, 86 e**; n. on *loc. cit.*

prusikurent, 'declare.' Fut. pf. 3 pl. Va 26, 28. From **pro-sēk-usent*, cf. L. *in-seque*, *in-sece*, *ἔν-νεπε*, *ἔνι-σπε*, *ἔ-σπετε*, U. **sukatu**. **9 b, 35 d, 49 d, 52 g, 114 e, 124 c, 125, 134 o, 138 a.**

pruzuře, adj. 'remaining' (?). Abl. sg. IV 23. Probably from **prō(d)-sod-* with ablaut-variant of root **sed- 'sit.'* Cf. **zeřef** *serse*, L. *prae-ses*, *pro-seda*, etc. **35 d, 65 f, 80 c, 86 e**; n. on *loc. cit.*

pue, conjunction 'where.' **pue** Ib 18, *pue* VIb 38, 39, 40, 55. Probably from **$k^wō$-ī*, cf. *poe poi*, etc. under stem *po-*. **112 e, 113 c, g.**

Puemune, name of a god latinized as 'Pomonus.' Gen. sg. **Puemunes** IV 3, 11, 12, 26; dat. **Puemune** III 26, 35, IV 5, 10, 12, 24, 26. Cf. L. *Pomona*, Sab. or Vest. *Poimunien* (Co. no. 248). **4, 74 f.**

pufe, conjunction 'where, in which.' **pufe** Ib 33, *pufe* VIa 8, b 50, VIIa 43. O. **puf**, L. *ubi*, all from **k^wu-dhe*. **31 e, 112 e, 113 f.**

pumpe, with preceding **pisi**, 'whoever.' Va 3, 10. With **pisi pumpe** cf. L. *quicumque*, the L. and U. forms being fully identical so far as the second and third parts are concerned. **49 a, 106 d, 110 a, b, 112 e, 113 l.**

pumpeřias, adj. 'quincurial (representing five *decuviae*).' Nom. pl. IIb 2. O. **púmperiaís**, cf. U. **puntes**, L. *quinque*, *πέντε*, Aeol. *πέμπε*. Stem-formation partly obscure. **8 g, 49 a, 68 e, 105 e**; nn. on IIb 1-21 and 2.

pune, puni: see *pone* and *poni*.

puniçate: see *ponisiater*.

puntes, 'groups of five.' Nom. pl. **puntes** III 9, 10; abl. **puntis** III 4. From **ponk(^{w})-ti-*, cf. O. *pontis 'quinquiens,'* **Púntiis**, L. *Quintius*. **8 g, 49 a, d, 53 b, 77 b, 90, 105 e**; n. on III 4.

puplu: see *poplom*.

Pupřiçes, epithet of the god **Puemune** 'Pomonus,' tentatively latinized 'Poplicus.' Gen. sg. **Pupřiçes** IV 4, **Pupřikes** 11, 13, **Pupřçes** IV 26; dat. **Pupřiçe** IV 24, **Pupřike** III 27, 35, IV 10, 12 (erroneously written **Pupřikes**). Etym. uncertain; cf. *poplom* (?), Etr. *Fufluns* (?). **46 e, 70**; n. on III 27.

purka: see *porca*.

purdouitu **purtuvitu**, 'offer, present, make the presentation or *porrectio*'; sometimes 'complete the sacrifice.' Fut. **purtuvies** IIb 28; imv. **purtuvitu** IIa 24, 29, III 33, IV 1, 4, 6, 16, 18, 22, **purtuviθu** IV 20, **purtuvetu** IIb 17, **purtuetu** IIb 11, *purdouitu* VIa 56; fut. pf. 2 sg. **purtinçus** Ib 33, **purtiius** Ia 27, 30, 33, IIa 7, 9, (written **purtiiusuřu** in connection with **suřu** following); 3 sg. *purdinsiust* VIIa 43, *purdinsust* VIb 16, 24, *purdinśus* VIb 23, 37, 38; pcpl. pass. nom. sg. neut. **purtitu** Ib 39, IIa 43, IV 31, Va 18, *purditom* VIIa 45, *purdito* VIb 42; acc. pl. f. **purtitaf** Ia 18, 18, *purdita* VIb 18. From **pŗ-dow-ī-*. For prefix cf. L. *por-ricio*, *por-rigo*, with *por-* < *pŗ-*, an ablaut-variant of *per*. For verb cf. L. *do*, *duim*, etc. **1 b, 2 a, c, h, 11 b, 12 b, 15 b, 17 a, 29 m, 35 d, 46 d, 54 e, 114 e, 120 a, 123, 124 b, f, 127 b, 131, 149, 152 e.**

pure: see *pir* and *po-*.

puri: see *po-*,

purome: see *pir*.

puře: see *porse*.

purtatu: see *portatu*.

purtifele, 'fit for presentation.' Acc. sg. m. IIb 25. From plt. **por-dwī-flim*, related to *purdouitu*, *purdito*, as L. **porricibilis* to *porricio*. **77 i.**

purtiius purtinçus, purtitu, purtuvitu, etc.: see *purdouitu*.

Purtupite, probably corrupt reading for **Purtuvite**, name of a god **Purdouif*, L. *'Porriciens.'* Dat. sg. IV 14. From **por-dowint-*, pres. pcpl. stem of *purdouitu* **purtuvitu** (?). N. on *loc. cit.*

pus: see *post*.

puse **puze**, conjunction 'that, as,' equivalent in use to L. *ut*. **puze** Ib 34, IIa

4, b 9, *pusi* VIa 20, 46, b 4, 20, 29, 48, VIIa 7, *pusei* VIa 27, 36, VIIb 3, *puse* VIa 59, b 2, 23, 37, 44, 46, VIIa 5, 38, 42, 43, 53. From *$k^wut(i)$-s-i* (?), cf. O. **puz** *'ut,'* L. *ut, uti.* **2 a, 14 a, 49 a, e, 112 e, 113 m, 154 a.**

pusme: see *po-.*

puste, noun 'rear' (?). Ia 25. *o-, ā-,* or *i*-stem derived from *post* (?). N. on *loc. cit.*

pustertiu: see *postertio.*

pusti: see *posti.*

pustnaiaf, adj. 'from behind.' Acc. pl. f. **pustnaiaf** Ib 11; abl. pl. f. **pusnaies** Ia 2. From **post(i)nai-yā-*, related to *postne* as **pernaiaf** to *perne.* **2 i, 53 c, 68 c.**

pustru: see *postra* and *postro.*

putrespe, pron. 'either, each of two.' Gen. sg. IV 14. From **k^wo-tereis-k^we.* L. *utriusque*, *ποτέρου τε*, cf. U. *seipodruhpei.* **49 a, e, 76 c, 111 b, 113 l.**

puze: see *puse.*

randem-e, a landmark used in defining the augural *templum*, possibly 'garden.' (+ *-e*) VIa 14. No plausible etym. N. on *loc. cit.*

ranu, an object or substance of unknown identity, here left untranslated. Abl. sg. IIb 19. No plausible etym. N. on *loc. cit.*

rehte, adv. 'right, in a satisfactory manner.' Va 24, 26, 29. L. *rēctē*, both from **rēktēd*, cf. L. *rego, rectus*, etc. **9 a, 46 i, 56 a, 71, 112 a, 113 d.**

re-per, **ri**, 'thing, ceremony (with **esuna, -e**), account.' Dat. sg. **ri** Va 4; abl. **ri** Va 5, (+ *-per*) *reper* VIIb 2. L. *rēs*, Skt. *rās* 'wealth.' **25 d, 65 c, 79, 90, 93 e, 143 b.**

restatu, *reste*, 'offer additional sacrifice,' (in combination with *feitu*) 'perform sacrifice anew.' Imv. **restatu** IIa 5; pres. pcpl. nom. sg. m. **restef** Ib 9, *reste* VIb 47. From *re-* + vb. forms equivalent to L. *sto, stāre*, and *sisto, -ĕre.* (?). **29 h, 58 d, 114 e, 117 a, 119 b, 130 a, 134 q.**

revestu, 'examine, make an inspection.' Imv. **Va 7, 9.** L. *revisito*, fut. imv. to *reviso*; cf. U. *uirseto*, L. *video*, etc. **119 f.**

ri: see *re-per.*

rofu, adj. 'red.' Acc. pl. m. *rofu* VIIa 3; f. *rofa* VIIa 6. L. (of dialectal origin) *Rufus*, cf. *ruber*, U. **rufru. 24 c, 26 e, 35 d, 67.**

Rubinam-e **Rupinam-e**, name of a place in or adjacent to Iguvium, 'Rubinia.' Acc. sg. (+ *-e* **-e**) **Rupiname** Ib 35, 36, *Rubiname* VIIa 43, 44; loc. **Rupinie** Ib 27, *Rubine* VIIa 6. Etym. uncertain; Bü., p. 106, suggests connection with *rusem-e*, L. *rubus* and *ruscum*, Dev., p. 289, with Etr. **rupinas, rupenial.** 53 d, 68 e; n. on VIIa 6.

Rufrer, masc. proper name 'Rufer.' Gen. sg. VIa 14. Same stem as **rufru** (?). **14 a.**

rufru, adj. 'red.' Acc. pl. m. **rufru** Ib 24; f. **rufra** Ib 27. L. *ruber, ἐρυθρός*, cf. U. *rofu.* **35 d, 43, 56 a, 76 a, 90.**

Rupiname, Rupinie: see *Rubinam-e.*

rusem-e, 'trench' (?). Acc. sg. (+ *-e*) VIIa 8, 9, 23. Etym. uncertain. N. on VIIa 8.

S, abbreviation for *semis* or its equivalent in numerical symbol *VIIS.* Vb 17.

sacra **sakra**, adj. 'sacred, consecrated, belonging to the temple'; as noun 'sacred article, victim, young pig' (?). Gen. sg. (?) **sakre** III 30; acc. sg. **sakre** IIa 5, 6, 21, III 8, 9, 12, 22; acc. pl. f. **sakra** Ib 29, 37, *sacra* VIIa 40, 45, **sakref** Ia 18, 19; acc. pl. neut. **sakreu** Va 6; abl. *sacris* VIb 52, 56. L. *sacer, -ra, -rum* and *-ris, -re*, U. and OL both showing the same variation between *o/ā*-stem and *i*-stem. Cf. *sahatam.* No sure connections outside Italic. **10 c, 57 a, 76 a, 77 e, 90**; n. on IIa 5.

sahatam, except in Ib 38 always preceded

by *traf traha trahaf* **tra**, the phrase forming an inflected hypostasis used as name of a place in or adjacent to Iguvium, latinized 'Trans Sanctam.' Acc. sg. **sahta** Ib 35, (+ **-e**) **satame** Ib 38, *sahatam* VIIa 39, 44, 45; abl. *sahata* VIIa 5, 39; loc. **sate** Ib 31, *sahate* VIIa 41. L. *sancta*, cf. *sacer*, U. *sacra*, *Sansi*. **2 e, 7 c, 26 a, 46 i, 52 e**; n. on VIIa 5.

Salier, personal name 'Salius.' Gen. sg. VIa 14. L. *Salius* (?). **68 e**; n. on *loc. cit.*

salu, 'salt.' Acc. sg. IIa 18. L. *sal*, *salem*, *ἅλς*, *ἅλα*. **65 d.**

saluo, adj. 'safe.' Acc. sg. m. *saluo* VIa 31, 41, 51, b 12 (first instance), 33, *saluom* VIIa 15, 29; f. *salua* VIa 31, 41, VIIa 15, 29, *saluam* VIa 51; neut. *saluo* VIa 32, b 12 (second instance), VIIa 16, *saluom* VIa 51, b 33, VIIa 30, *saluuom* VIa 41; pl. f. *salua* VIa 32, 52, b 13, 34, VIIa 17, 31, *saluua* VIa 42. O. **salavs**, O. *σαλαϝς*, L. *salvus*, *ὅλος*, Ionic *οὖλος*, Skt. *sarvas*. The Italic forms in contrast to the Greek may be based on development of *l̥* as in **18 a. 2 h, 54 c, 69.**

sanes, adj. 'uncooked' (?). Abl. pl. IV 8. L. *sanus* (?). **74 b**; n. on *loc. cit.*

Sansi **Saçe**, epithet of the gods Fisus, Fisovius, Jupiter, and Vesticius, and once (IIb 10) used alone. Dat. sg. **Saçe** IIa 4, **Saçi**, Ia 15, IIb 10, 17, *Sansie* VIb 3, *Sansii* VIIa 37, *Sansi* VIb 5, 6; acc. *Sansi* VIb 8, 8; voc. **Saçe** IIb 24, *Sanśie* VIb 9, 10, 12, 12, 14, 15. Cf. L. *Sancus* (see on IIa 4, VIb 3), *sancire*, which according to Kretschmer, *Gl.*, X (1919), pp. 155-6, is denominative to *Sanco-*; cf. also *sacra*, L. *sacer*, the connection of which with L. *sancio* etc., Kretschmer denied. **2 c, i, 31 c, 52 d, 68 a, 90, 93 b**; n. on VIb 3.

sarsite, adv. of uncertain meaning, possibly 'in public.' VIb 11. From **sarkītlēd*, adv. as if from a pcpl. **sarkīto-* to vb. equivalent to L. *sarcio*, with semantic development 'sewn together > collectively > publicly.' (?). **112 a, 113 d**; n. on *loc. cit.*

Saçe Saçi: see *Sansi.*

satame, sate: see *sahatam.*

Satanes, name of a *decuvia* among the citizens of Iguvium. Dat. pl. **Satanes** IIb 4, **Satane** IIb 4. No sure etym. **74 d.**

sauitu, vb. of uncertain meaning, possibly 'wound.' Imv. VIb 60, VIIa 49, Cf. L. *saucius* (?). **118 d**; n. on VIb 60.

scalse-to, a ceremonial vessel of some kind, probably 'cup.' Abl. sg. (+ **-ta** *-to*) **skalçeta** IV 15, 18, 20, *scalseto* VIb 16; loc. (+ *-e*) *scalsie* VIb 5, VIIa 37. L. *calix*, *κάλυξ*, *κύλιξ*, *σκύλλιον*, *σκάλις*, Skt. *kalášas* are all possibly or probably related. **2 a, 29 g, 80 a, 97.**

scapla, 'shoulder-blade, shoulder.' Acc. sg. VIb 49. L. *scapulae*. **75 a**; n. on *loc. cit.*

screhto, screihtor, 'written.' Pcpl. pass. nom. sg. neut. *screhto* VIIb 3; nom. pl. neut. *screihtor* VIa 15. O. *scriftas*, L. *scribo*, *scriptus*. **11 b, c, 38 b, 57 a, 61, 90, 103 a, 131.**

Sehemeniar, 'of Semonia' (?). Gen. sg. (?) **Sehmeniar** Ib 42, *Sehemeniar* VIIa 52. Cf. *sehmenier*, L. *semen*, *Semo*, *Semonia*. **77 f**; n. on VIIa 52.

sehmenier, adj. 'of Semo' (?). Abl. pl. **semenies** IIb 1, *sehmenier* Vb 11, 16. Cf. L. *Semo*, *semen*, etc. **25 b, 68 e**; n. on IIb 1.

sehemu: see *semu.*

seipodruhpei, adv. 'in either direction.' VIa 11. From **sē(d)-kʷotero-kʷe*, cf. **putrespe**, O. **pútereípid**, L. *sedutraque*. **9 c, 49 a, 60 f, 76 c, 87 b, 111 b, 112 e, 113 c, l.**

semenies: see *sehmenier.*

semu, adj. 'half-way through, middle of.' Abl. sg. *semu* VIb 16, *sehemu* VIb 36. Cf. L. *sēmi-*, *ἡμι-*, Skt. *sāmi-*. **67, 73 a**; n. on VIb 15-16.

seples, 'nails' (?). Abl. pl. III 17. From **saip-lo-* or *-lā-*, cf. L. *saepes*, *saepio*. (?). **75 a**; n. on *loc. cit.*

sepse, adv. of uncertain meaning, possibly 'in private.' VIb 11. From **saip-sēd*, adv. as if from a pcpl. **saip-so-* to vb. equivalent to L. *saepio*, with semantic development 'fenced off > separately > in private.' (?). **112 a, 113 d**; n. on *loc. cit.*

Serfe, Serfer: see *Šerfer.*

Serfia, Serfie: see *Šerfiar.*

seritu, 'watch, watch for, observe; keep.' Imv. *seritu* VIa 11, 15, 16, 31, 31, 32, 33, 41, 41, 41, 42, 51, 51, 51, 52, b 12, 12, 13, 33, 33, 34, 49, VIIa 15, 16, 17, 29, 29, 30, 31, *serituu* VIIa 15, **seritu** IIa 24. Probably from **serwī-*. L. *servio* (?), cf. *servus, servare*, U. *anseriato*. **54 g, 114 e, 120 c.**

serse: see *sersitu.*

sersi, noun 'seat.' Abl. sg. VIa 5. L. *sēdēs*, cf. *ἕδος*, L. *sedeo*, Eng. *sit*. **57 a, 77 a, 145 c.**

sersitu 'sit.' Imv. *sersitu* VIb 41; pcpl. pres. nom. sg. *serse* VIa 2, 16, b 17, 22, 41, 41, 41, **zeřef** Ia 25, 33, 34. L. *sedeo*, cf. *ἕζομαι*, U. *sersi*. **2 a, j, 42 b, 58 d, 114 e, 118 a, 130 a.**

sese, probably preposition with abl. 'from, from the direction of.' III 23, IV 3, 15. From **sēd-sēd*, cf. *sei-podruhpei*, L. *sed, sed-itio, se (fraude)*. (?). N. on III 23.

seso, pron. 'for himself.' Dat. sg. VIb 51. From **s(w)oi-so*, cf. *oī*, etc. (?). **107 c** with n. 1.

sestentasiaru, adj. 'bi-monthly' (that is, occurring in cycles of one-sixth of a year). Gen. pl. f. III 2. From **sekst-ent-āsiā-som*, cf. L. *sextantariarum*. **53 e, 61 d, 68 d, 105 f.**

sestu, 'dedicate.' Pres. 1 sg. **sestu** IIb 24, 2 sg. (?) **seste** IIb 22; imv. **sestu** IIb 22. L. *sisto*, cf. U. **restatu**, *restef*. **10 c, 22 b, 114 e, 115 a, 119 b, g.**

sesust, 'sit.' Imv. **sistu** III 8; fut. pf. 3 sg. *sesust* VIa 5. L. *sīdo*, imv. *sīdito* < **sizd(e)tōd*, Skt. *sīdati* < **sizdeti*, cf. U. *andersistu, andersesust, sersitu*. Formation of fut. pf. *sesust* not quite clear, but perhaps derived from pf. pcpl. equivalent to L. *sessus*. **61 c, 119 b.**

seuacne **sevakne**, adj. 'perfect, free from fault, unblemished (?); solemn, ceremonial.' Acc. sg. **sevakni** III 25, 26, 27, **sevakne** IIa 21, b 8, 8, 9, 10, III 22, IV 18, 19; abl. **sevakni** IIa 38, 39, **sevakne** IV 23; acc. pl. **sevaknef** IV 22, **sevakne** IV 16 (?), *seuacne* VIIb 1; abl. **sevaknis** IIa 36, 37, IV 25, **sevakne** IV 9. From **sēw-* (*seuom*, O. *siuom* 'omnino') + *akni-* (?); according to another view, from *sē-* privative (cf. *seipodruhpei*, L. *se fraude*) + *wak-ni* (cf. *ander-uacose, uašetom*). **41 f, 77 d, 89, 90, 101**, n. 1; n. on IIa 21.

seuom **sevum**, 'each, every.' Acc. sg neut. **sevum** Ia 5, *seuom* VIa 56; abl. pl. *seueir* VIa 18. From **sē-wom*, O. *siuom*, cf. L. *so-lus, se-d*, the underlying sense being that of separate individuality.

sihitir, sihitu: see *šihitir.*

sim, 'sow, pig.' Acc. sg. **sim** IIb 1, **si** IIb 7; acc. pl. **sif** Ia 7, 14, *sif* VIb 3, *si* VIa 58. L. *sūs, suem, ὗς, ὗν*. **2 j, 15 a, 57 a, 65 b, 102 e.**

sistu: see *sesust.*

smursim-e, a landmark used in defining the augural *templum*, 'temple of Smurcia' (?). Acc. sg. (+*-e*) VIa 13. Etym. and interpretation uncertain; possibly from **Smorkiom* (by **12 b, 32 a**) as neut. place-name corresponding to L. divine name *Morcia*. **57 b**; n. on *loc. cit.*

snata, pcpl. pass. 'wet' (?). Acc. pl. neut. **snata** IIa 19, **snatu** IIa 34; abl. pl. **snates** IV 9, **snate** IIa 37. Cf. L. *no, nare, νήχω*, Skt. *snāti*, 'bathe,' OIr. *snám* 'act of swimming'; cf. also U. **asnata**. **57 b, h, 114 e, 117 a**; n. on IIa 19.

somo, 'highest; final (?).' Acc. sg. *somo* VIa 9; abl. *somo* VIa 10; loc. **sume** IIa 15, III 1. L. *summus*, cf. *sub, super*, O. *συπ*, U. *sub-* **su-, super**. **13 a, 14 b, 61 e, 73 a, 90.**

sonitu, 'deafen with thunder' (?). Imv. *sonitu* VIb 60, *sunitu* VIIa 49. Cf. L. *sono*, *-are* and *-ere*, Skt. *svanati*. **8 g, 54 f, 118 d**; n. on VIb 60.

sopa, 'under-parts' (?); in VIb 17, VIIa 38 adj. with value of adv. 'down' (?). Acc. sg. f. *sopam* VIIa 38, *sopa* VIb 17; acc. pl. f. **supaf** IIa 22; neut. **supa** Ia 9, 16, IIa 22, 30, 32, *supo* VIIa 8, *sopo* VIb 5; abl. pl. **supes** IV 8. **14 c, 54 d, 69, 139 b**; n. on VIb 5.

sorsalir, adj. 'pig-, accompanying the pig-*persondro*.' Gen. sg. *sorsalir* VIb 38; acc. sg. *sorsalem* VIb 39. Cf. *sorsom*. **77 h, 90,**

sorsom **suřum**, adj. 'pig-'; with *pelmner* 'pork.' Gen. sg. *sorser* Vb 12, 17; acc. **suřum** Ia 27, 30, **suřu** IIa 8, 9, *sorsom* VIb 24, *sorso* VIb 38; abl. *sorsu* VIb 28, 31, 35, 37; acc. pl. m. **suřuf** Ia 33. Cf. **sim**, *sorsalir*. **14 d, 72.**

spahatu, 'throw, scatter (?); distribute' (?). Imv. *spahatu* VIb 41; imv. pass. *spahmu* VIb 17, *spahamu* VIIa 39; pcpl. pf. nom. sg. neut. **spafu** Va 20. Cf. *σπάω*, L. *pando*, *pansus*, *pateo*, *spatium*, U. **spanti**, **spantea**, Germ. *spannen*; all are probably related, with an underlying notion of extension in space, but some phonological details are obscure. **44 b, 58 c, 114 e, 117 a, 131** ; nn. on Va 20, VIb 17.

spantea, adj. 'at the side.' Acc. pl. neut. IIa 30. Cf. **spanti**. **53 b, 68 b, 139 b.**

spanti, 'side.' Acc. sg. **spanti** III 34, IV 2, (+ **-ař**) **spantimař** III 33. Formation obscure, but probably related to *spahatu*, q.v. **77 a.**

spefa, pcpl. pass. always preceded by *mefa*, the two making up the name of a type of cake, here left untranslated. Acc. sg. fem. *spefa* VIa 56, b 20, VIIa 4, 38; abl. *spefa* VIb 5, 9, 9, 14, VIIa 37. Cf. L. *pendo*, *pensus*. **44 b, 58 c, 114 e, 131**; n. on VIa 56.

Speture, name of a god 'Spector.' Dat. sg. IIa 5. Cf. **speturie**, L. *specio*, *specto*, *spectio*, *σκέπτομαι*, etc. **46 i, 82 a**; n. on *loc. cit.*

speturie, adj. 'augural.' Dat. sg. IIa 1, 3. From **spektōriyo/ā-*, to **Speture**, L. *-spector*, as *amatorius* to *amator*. **68 e.**

spinia, 'obelisk' (?). Acc. sg. **spinia** IIa 36, **spina** IIa 38, (+ **-ař -a**) **spinamař** IIa 33, **spiniama** IIa 37. From **spīnyā-*, cf. L. *spina*. **53 d, 68 e.**

stakaz, pcpl. pass. 'established, appointed.' Nom. sg. m. IIa 15. From **sta-kā-tos*, cf. *stahitu*, L. *sto*, *stāre*, etc. **29 i, 117 e.**

staflarem, adj. 'for Stabilis (Jovius)' (?). Acc. sg. *staflarem* VIb 39, *staflare* VIb 37, 40. Equivalent as if to L. **stabularem*; cf. *sto*, *stāre*, *stabilis*, U. *stahitu*, etc. **35 d, 43, 75 d, 77 f**; n. on VIb 37.

Stafli, in combination with **Iuve** making a divine name here latinized 'Stabilis Jovius' (?). Ia 30-1. L. *stabilis*, both from pIt. **sta-þli-*, cf. L. *sto*, *stāre*, *stătus*, etc. **16 a**; n. on *loc. cit.*

stahitu, 'stand.' Fut. 3 pl. **staheren** Ib 19; imv. *stahitu* VIb 56; imv. 3 pl. *stahituto* VIb 53. From **sta-ye/o-*, *sta-ī*. O. **staít**, **stahínt**, cf. L. *sto*, *stāre*, U. *stahu* (minor inscr. no. 355 Co.), **stakaz**, **Stafli**, *stahmei*, **statitatu**. **57 c, 114 e, 115 d, 120 a, e, 123.**

stahmei, 'ordinance' (?). Dat. sg. VIa 5, 18. From **stā-mo-* or **stā-mi-*, cf. *stahitu*, L. *sto*, *stāre*. **35 d, 73, 143 d**; n. on VIa 5.

stahmito, pcpl. pass. 'established.' Nom. sg. neut. *stahmito* VIa 8; dat. *stahmitei* VIa 18, *stahmeitei* VIa 5. From denominative vb. to stem contained in *stahmei*, q.v. **120 b.**

statita, pcpl. pass. 'remaining.' Acc. pl. neut. IIa 42. From denominative vb. to noun **stati-* or **statu-*, cf. *stahitu*, L. *sto*, *stāre*. **15 b, 57 a, 120 c, 131**; n. on *loc. cit.*

statitatu, 'stop.' Imv. IIa 32, b 19, IV 9. Iterative (without iterative sense) to the denominative vb. assumed for **statita**, q.v. **77 b, 117 d.**

stiplatu, 'stipulate, bargain for, demand.' Imv. *stiplatu* VIb 48, 51, **steplatu** Ib

13; pres. imv. 2 sg. *stiplo* VIa 2. L. *stipulor, -ari*, cf. U. *anstiplatu*. **10 c, 114 e, 117 c, 127 a.**

strušla, a type of cake, here left untranslated. Gen. sg. **struhçlas** IIa 41, IV 1; acc. *strušla* VIa 59, VIb 5, 23, VIIa 8, 42, 54, **struhçla** IIa 18, 28, IV 4, **struçla** III 34. From **struw(i)-k(e)lā-*, cf. L. *strues*. **15 c, 29 e, g, 46 c, 142 b**; n. on VIa 59.

subahtu, *subator*, 'take away; omit' (?). Imv. **subahtu** IIa 42, *subotu* VIb 25; pcpl. pf. nom. pl. neut. *subator* VIa 27, 36, 46, b 29. From *sub-* + *hahtu*, cf. *habe*. (?). **14 a, 38 b, 103 a**; nn. on IIa 42, VIa 26-7.

subocau, 'invoke.' Pres. 1 sg. *subocau* VIa 22, 24 (twice), 34, 44, 55, VIb 6, 8, 8, 15, 15, 26, 27, 27, 36, *subocauu* VIIa 20, 20, 22, 23, 33, 34, 36, 36. From **sub-wok-ā-yō*, cf. L. *voco, -are*, U. *suboco*. **49 d, 54 d, 114 e, 115 a, 117 c, f**; n. on VIa 22.

suboco, noun 'the one invoked' (?). Acc. sg. (?) VIa 22, 24, 25, VIb 6, 8, 8, 26, 27, 27. According to the view adopted here, root-stem noun from **sub-wok-*, cf. *subocau*. N. on VIa 22.

subotu: see *subator*.

subra, adv. 'above, over,' and (VIa 15, second instance) preposition 'above.' **subra** Va 20, *subra* VIa 15, 15, b 17, 41, VIIa 39, b 3. L. *supra*. **14 c, 76 a, 112 c, 113 e, 139 b, 147 l.**

sukatu, 'pronounce.' Imv. IV 16. Probably from **sok-ā-tōd*, cf. **pru-sikurent**, L. *in-sece*, *ἔν-νεπε*, *ἔνι-σπε*, Lith. *sakaũ* 'say.' **35 d, 49 d, 117 b**; n. on *loc. cit.*

sue **sve**, conjunction 'if.' **sve** Va 24, 24, 27, (in **svepu**) Ib 8, (in **svepis**) Ib 18, IV 26, *sue* VIa 7, 16, VIIb 3, (in *suepo*) VIb 47. O. *suae* **svaí**, cf. U. *nosue, sueso*; L. *si* < *sei*, loc. of **so-*, a stem-variant of **swo-*. **19 a, 54 c, 109 j, 110 b, 112 d, 154 c.**

sueso, reflexive pronominal adj. 'his.' Loc. sg. *sueso* VIIb 1, **svesu** Ib 45, IIa 44. First element from **swo-*, cf. O. **suveís**, L. *suus*, U. *sue* **sve**; second element of uncertain origin. **107 n. 1, 108 c, 109 j.**

sufafias, noun of uncertain meaning; 'limb' (?). Gen. sg. **sufafias** IIa 41; acc. pl. **sufafiaf** IIa 22. Cf. L. *effafilatus, exfilati* (?). **68 e, 142 b**; n. on IIa 22.

sufeřaklu, noun of uncertain meaning, possibly 'under-board.' Acc. sg. III 17, 19. From **sub-fid-ā-tlo-*, with same root as **feřehtru**. (?). **75 b**; n. on III 17.

sviseve, 'flask' (?). Loc. sg. (+ -e ?) IIb 14, 14, 15. Cf. L. *sīnum, situla*. (?). N. on IIb 14.

sumə: see *somo*.

sumel, adv. 'at the same time.' IIa 27. Cf. L. *semel, simul*. **28 b, 35 d, 55 e, 105 a, 112 g.**

sumtu, 'take up.' Imv. Ia 9, 16. L. imv. *sumito*, both from **sub-emetōd*; cf. U. **emantur**. **29 b, 61 a, 119 a.**

supa, supes: see *sopa*.

super, preposition with loc. 'above, at the top of.' Ib 41, IV 19. L. *super*, cf. *ὑπέρ*, U. *subra, superne*. **14 a, 38 a, 61 e, 147 m.**

superne, preposition with acc. 'above.' VIIa 25. L. *superne*, cf. U. *perne, postne* (for second element). **14 c, 112 c, 113 j, 147 n.**

supru, adj. with value of noun 'the top' (?). Abl. sg. IV 3. From **superōd*, cf. *subra*, **super**, O. **supruis**, L. *superus*. **60 e, 76 a.**

supu, preposition 'at the bottom of' (?). IV 17. L. *sub*, cf. *ὑπό*, Skt. *upa*; cf. also U. *sopa*. **31 f.**

suront sururont, adv. 'likewise, in the same manner.' *suront* VIb 8, 20, 23, 37, 44, 46, VIIa 5, 7, 37, 42, 53; *sururont* VIb 39, 48, 51, 64, 64, 65, 65, VIIa 1, 1. For first part cf. *surur*; for second part cf. *erihont, eront, ifont*, L. *hic, hunc*. **52 g** with n. 2, **109 j, 112 d, 113 i.**

surur, adv. 'similarly, in the same manner.' *surur* VIa 20, 20, 56, 59, VIb 2, 4, *suror* VIb 37, *suroro* VIb 48.

Probably from **sō-sō-s(ō)*, cf. *ó, ṓ*, Skt. *sa, sā*, etc. **52 g** with n. 2, **109j, 112 d, 113 c.**

suřu: see *sorsom.*

sutentu, 'place under.' Imv. IIa 23. L. imv. *subtendito*, cf. U. *andendu, endendu, ostendu*, **pertentu. 3 d, 38 b, 119 a** with n. 3.

Śerfer, always followed by forms of *Martier*, name of a god 'Serfus Martius.' Gen. sg. **Çerfe** Ib 28, 31, *Śerfer* VIb 57, 58, 61, 61, VIIa 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 29, 29, 32, 33, 33, 34, 35, 36, *Serfer* VIIa 16, 23, 41; dat. **Çerfe** Ib 24, *Śerfe* VIIa 3; voc. *Serfe* VIb 57, 61. L. *Cerus*, O. dat. sg. **Kerrí**, cf. L. *Ceres, creo, cresco.* **2 a, 46 b**, 59 e, **67, 90**; n. on VIb 57-8.

Śerfiar, epithet of the deities Prestota, Tursa, and Hondus, 'Serfius, Serfia.' Gen. sg. f. *Śerfiar* VIIa 20, 23, 33, 36; dat. **Çerfie** Ib 28, 31, **Çefi** Ib 4, *Śerfie* VIIa 6, 8, 24, *Śerfi* VIb 45, *Serfie* VIIa 41; voc. f. *Śerfia* VIb 57, 58, 61, VIIa 10, 11, 13, 15, 18, 19, 21, 22 (erroneously written *Śerfiar*), 25, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 35, *Serfia* VIb 61, VIIa 16. Adj. in *-yo-* to *Śerfer*, q.v. **2 c, 31 a, 68 e.**

çersiaru, 'festival of Ceres, Cerealia' (?). Gen. pl. IIa 16. From **ker(e)s-siyā-*, cf. *Śerfer*, L. *Ceres.* (?). **68 e**; n. on *loc. cit.*

çersnatur, pcpl. pf. 'dined.' Nom. pl. m. Va 22. L. *cenati*, cf. U. *śesna.* **56 b, 59 d, 114 e, 117 c, 131.**

śesna, 'dinner.' Acc. sg. Vb 9, 13, 15, 18. L. *cena*, O. **kersnu**, cf. **kerssnasias**, U. **çersnatur**, Skt. *kṛṇtáti* 'cut.' **52 c, 55 b, 59 d, 74 c.**

śihitir, 'in office' (?). Pcpl. pass. dat. pl. *śihitir* VIIa 14, 28, 50, *śitir* VIIa 13, *sihitir* VIb 62; acc. *śihitu* VIb 59 *sihitu* VIIa 48. L. *cinctis, -os* (?). **26 a, 46 b, 52 e**; n. on VIb 59.

çihçeřa, noun of uncertain meaning, possibly 'lattice frame.' Acc. sg. III 15. Cf. *κιγκλίδες*, L. *cingo, cinctus*, U. *śihitir.* (?). **26 b**; n. on *loc. cit.*

śimo **çimu**, adv. 'hither, back' (to place where the speaker is). **çimu** Ib 23, 23, *śimo* VIb 65, VIIa 1. From **ki-mōd*, cf. **çive**, L. *cis, citra, citimus.* **2 a, 10 a, 46 b, 69, 73 a, 112 c, 113 c**; n. on VIb 65.

śitir: see *śihitir.*

çive, adv. 'on the hither side, outside.' IIb 11. From **ki-wei*, loc. of **ki-wo-*, cf. *śimo* **çimu**, L. *cis*, etc.

t: see **Titis.**

-ta: see *-to.*

tafle, noun 'board' (?). Loc. sg. IIb 12. L. *tabula*, other connections uncertain. **75 d, 90.**

Talenate, name of a *decuvia* among the citizens of Iguvium. Dat. sg. IIb 4, 5. No clear etym. **77 c.**

tapistenu, noun of uncertain meaning, possibly 'caldron.' Acc. sg. IV 30. From **tapestēnom*, cf. L. *tepor*, Skt. *tapas.* (?). **16 b, 35 d**; n. on *loc. cit.*

Tarsinater, ethnic adj. 'Tadinate.' Gen. sg. *Tarsinater* VIb 54, 54, 59, 59, VIIa 12, 12, 48, 48; dat. *Tarsinate* VIIa 11, 11; acc. **Tařinate** Ib 16, 17, *Tarsinatem* VIb 58, 58, VIIa 47, 47. L. *Tadinates*, Ital. *Gualdo Tadino.* **7 a, 77 c**; n. on VIb 53-4.

tases **taçez**, pcpl. pf. 'silent(ly), in a murmur.' Nom. sg. m. **taçez** Ia 26, b 26, 30, 32, 44, IIa 7, 39, IV 27, *tases* VIa 55, 59, b 2, 4, 20, 44, 46, VIIa 4, 7, 42, 54, *tasis* VIb 23; nom. pl. m. *tasetur* VIb 57, VIIa 46. L. *tacitus*, cf. Goth. *þahan*, OHG *dagēn*, 'be silent.' **2 a, 8 e, 28, 29 i, 30 c, 41 a, 46 b, 114 e, 118 a, 131, 139 b.**

tekvias, noun latinized to *'decuviae,'* groups each originally composed of one tenth of the citizen body. Nom. pl. IIb 1. Cf. *dequrier* **tekuries**, O. **dekkviarím**, L. *decuria, decem, δέκα*, etc. **2 h, 3 d, 45, 46 h, 68 e, 105 h**; n. on *loc. cit.*

tekuries: see *dequrier.*

tefe, 2 sg. personal pron. 'thee.' Dat.

tefe Ib 13, IIb 24, *tefe* VIa 18; acc. **tiu** IIa 25, 25, *tiom* VIa 43, 44, 45, 53, 55, b 8, 8, 9, 14, 15, 15, 25, 27, 27, 28, 35, 36, VIIa 10, 18, 19, 20, 21, 21, 23, 25, 32, 33, 33, 34, 34, 35, 36, *tio* VIa 24, 24, 25, 33, 34, 35, 54, b 6, *teio* VIa 22. O. **tfei**, L. *tibi*, cf. Skt. *tubhyam*; acc. **tiu** etc. equivalent to L. *te* but with an added element *-om*. **40, 107 b.**

tefra, *tefruto*, 'burnt-offering, (place of) burnt-offerings.' Abl. sg. (+ *-to*) *tefruto* VIIa 46; acc. pl. **tefra** IIa 27, III 32, 34, IV 2. O. **tefúrúm**. Probably from **tepsro-*, cf. L. *tepor*, Skt. *tapas*; connection of *τέφρα* very doubtful. **57 g, 76 a**; n. on VIIa 46.

Tefrali, adj. 'for Tefer.' Abl. sg. VIb 28, 35. To *Tefrei* as L. *Saturnalia* to *Saturnus*, etc.; cf. also U. *Staflarem*: **Staflii** (?). **77 h.**

Tefrei, name of a god 'Tefer.' Dat. sg. **Tefre** Ia 24, **Tefri** Ia 28, *Tefrei* VIb 22; acc. *Tefro* VIb 26, 27, 27; voc. *Tefre* VIb 27, 28, 29, 31, 31, 31, 33, 33, 35, 36. Cf. **tefra**, *Tefrali*. **25 b, 93 b**; n. on VIb 22.

tehteřim, noun 'cover' (?). Acc. sg. IV 20. Cf. L. *tego*, *tectum*; stem-formation uncertain. **32 a, 68 e**; n. on *loc. cit.*

teio: see *tefe*.

teitu: see *deitu*.

tenitu, 'hold.' Imv. VIb 25. L. *teneto*; cf. also U. *andendu*, *endendu*, etc., from a different stem of the same root. **41 a, 118 a.**

tenzitim: see *tesedi*.

terkantur, 'inspect.' Pres. subj. pass. 3 pl. III 9. *δέρκομαι*, Skt. pf. *dadarśa*, OIr. *condercar*, '*conspicitur*'; no Italic connections except possibly personal names *Dercennius*, *Dercina*, *Dorcatius*, *Durcatius* (see Pl., I, p. 397, n. 2). **3 d, 114 e, 119 a, 166 a.**

termnom-e, 'boundary.' Acc. sg. (+ *-e*) *termnome* VIb 57, 63, 64; abl. (+ *-co*) *termnuco* VIb 53, 55, 57; abl. pl. (+ **ku**) **termnesku** Ib 19. L. *terminus*, cf. OL *termen*, Skt. *tarati* 'cross over.' **29 f, 56 b, 74 g.**

tertiam-e, 'third.' Dat. sg. f. **tertie** IIb 6; acc. f. (+ *-a*) **tertiama** IV 2, (+*-e*) *tertiame* VIa 13; acc. neut. **terti** IIa 28, *tertim* VIb 64; abl. sg. neut. *tertiu* VIa 45, 48, 53; loc. **tertie** IIb 14. L. *tertius*, Skt. *tṛtīya-*. **90, 105 c, 113 a.** See also *postertio*.

tertio: see *postertio*.

tertu: see *dirstu*.

teřa, teřte, teřtu, teřust: see *dirstu*.

tesedi **tenzitim**, a type of cake, possibly 'twisted cake.' Acc. sg. **tenzitim** Ib 6, *tesedi* VIb 46. Etym. and stem-formation uncertain; possibly related to L. *tendo*, *tensio*. **2 i, 3 d, 42 d**; n. on VIb 46.

Tesenocir, name of a gate in Iguvium, 'Tesenacan.' Abl. pl. **Tesenakes** Ia 11, 14, *Tesenocir* VIb 1, 3, *Tesonocir* VIa 20, VIIa 38. Cf. modern Ital. *Tessenara* (?). **7 b, 70**; Introd., 4.

testre, testru: see *destre*.

tesvam: see *dersua*.

Teteies, gentile name latinized 'Tetteius.' Nom. sg. Ib 45, IIa 44. L. *Tetteia*, *Tettia*. **32 b, 53 c, 68 e, 90**; n. on Ib 45.

tettom-e, a landmark used in defining the augural *templum*, 'house' (?). Acc. sg. (+ *-e*) VIa 13, 14, 14. From **tektom*. L. *tectum*, cf. *τέγος*. (?). **71**; n. on VIa 13.

tetu: see *dirstu*.

Ti: see **Titis**.

Tikamne, name of a deity 'Dicamnus' (?). Dat. sg. IIa 8. From **dikām(e)nos*, cf. L. *dīco*, *-āre* (?). **3 d, 10 a, 29 f, 35 d**; n. on *loc. cit.*

tio tiom: see *tefe*.

tiçel, 'day' (?). Nom. sg. **tiçel** IIa 15; acc. **tiçlu** III 25, 27; abl. **tiçlu** IIb 22. O. *zicolom* 'day,' **d**]**iikúlús**, cf. L. *diēs*. (?). According to the more usual interpretation, from **dik-elos* '*dicatio, dedicatio, declaratio.*' **3 d, 9 b, 29 i,**

46 c, 55 e, 75 c, 91 b; nn. on IIa 15, b 22.

tiçit, impersonal vb. 'one is required.' Pres. 3 sg. IIa 17. L. *decet*, cf. *decus*, *dignus*, Homeric *δέκτο*, Vedic *dāṣṭi* 'worship.' **3 d, 8 e, 9 b, 46 b, 114 e, 115 c, 118 d.**

Titis, praenomen 'Titus.' Gen. sg. **Titis** Ib 45, abbreviated **Ti** IIa 44, abbrev. **T** Va 3, 3, 15. L. *Titus*; cf. also Schol. Pers. I, 20 *titi sunt columbae agrestes*. **67, 90, 92, 155 e.**

titu: see *dirstu*.

tiu: see *tefe*.

Tlatie, adj., name of a field. Gen. sg. Vb 9. Etym. uncertain; possibly connected with L. *Latium*, or else with *lātus* < **tlātos*, pcpl. of *fero*. **41 d, 68 a**; n. on *loc. cit.*

-to **-ta -tu**, postpostition 'from.' **akrutu** (?) Va 9; *anglu-to* VIa 8, 10, 10; *pure-to* VIa 20; **skalçe-ta** IV 15, 18, 20, *scalse-to* VIb 16; *tefru-to* VIIa 46; *uapersus-to* VIa 12, 13. Etym. uncertain; according to Co., related to suffix in L. *caelitus*, Skt. *devatas* (IE *-tos*); according to suggestion of Pl., II., p. 453, from reanalysis of abl. sg. ending *-t* (if admitted as source of *-d*) + *ā* (L. *ā*); Vetter compares Etr. **-ta**, with same value. **4, 147 o.**

toco, word of uncertain form and sense in Vb 13. Possibly 'pickled, preserved by pickling.' Cf. Gallo-Latin *tucca*, *tuc(c)etum*, *taxea* (?). N. on *loc. cit.*

todceir, adj. 'city-, of the city.' Acc. sg. neut. (+ *-e*) *todcome* VIa 10, 10; nom. pl. *totcor* VIa 12; abl. *todceir* VIa 11. O. **túvtiks**, *toutica*, cf. U. *tota*. **29 g, 46 e, 70, 90, 103 a.**

toru **turuf**, with *uitlu* **vitluf** 'bull-calves'; in Ib 20 'victims' (?). Acc. pl. **turuf** Ib 1, **turup** Ib 4, *toru* VIb 43, 45; abl. **tures** Ib 20. L. *taurus* O. *ταυρομ*, Gk. *ταῦρος*, cf. Goth. *stiur*, Eng. *steer*. **2 k, 22, 26 e, 67.**

totar **tutas**, 'state' in sense of *πόλις*, L. *civitas*. Gen. sg. **tutas** Ib 2, 5, *totar* VIa 30, 32, 39, 41, 49, 52, b 10, 13, 32, 34, 43, 45, 53, 59, 61, VIIa 3, 6, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 16, 17, 19, 21, 24, 26, 27, 27, 28, 29, 30, 30, 31, 32, 35, 37, 41, 47, 50, 52, 53; dat. **tute** Ib 13, *tote* VIa 5, 18, 24, 31, 33, 40, 42, 50, 53, b 7, 10, 11, 14, 26, 32, 34, 51, 62, VIIa 11, 14, 18, 27, 31, 50; acc. **tuta** Ib 16, *totam* VIa 41, 49, 51, b 12, 33, 58, VIIa 16, 29, 47, *tota* VIa 29, 31, 39, b 31; abl. (+ **per -pe** *-per*) **tutaper** Ia 5, 8, 12, 15, 19, 21, 25, 29, 31, b 2, 5, III 29, **tutape** III 24, *totaper* VIa 23, 25, 34, 35, 43, 45, 53, 55, 58, b 1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 15, 19, 22, 26, 28, 35, 43, 45, VIIa 3, 6, 9, 10, 19, 21, 24, 26, 32, 35, 37, 41, 53; loc. *tote* VIa 36, b 29, (+ *-me*) *toteme* VIa 26, 46. O. *τωϝτο touto*, OIr. *túath*, Goth. *þiuda*, Lith. *tauta*; connection of L. *totus* uncertain. **2 j, 19 a, 23, 25 a, 41 a, 42 e, 57 e, 66, 90, 143 d.**

touer: see *tuer*.

traf trahaf traha **tra**, preposition 'across.' **tra** Ib 31, 35, IIa 13, *traf* VIIa 39, *traha* VIIa 5, 39, 44, 45, *trahaf* VIIa 41. L. *trans*, both being probably fossilized pcpl. pres. nom. sg. **trā-nt-s*, cf. Skt. *trāti* 'bring across.' **58 d, 147 p**; n. on VIIa 5.

trahuorfi, adv. 'crosswise.' VIIa 25. L. *transversē*, cf. U. *traf traha* and **vurtus**, *co-uertu*, *co-uortus*. **17 a, 44 a, 59 c, 112 a, 113 d.**

tre: see *trif*.

Trebe: see *Trebo*.

trebeit, vb. 'remain.' Pres. 3 sg. VIa 8. Cf. *tremnu*, *Trebo*, O. **tríibúm**, L. *trabs*, Goth. *þaúrp*. **27 c, 39, 61 e, 114 e, 118 d.**

Treblanir, **Treplanu**, name of a gate in Iguvium. 'Trebulan.' Acc. pl. **Treplanu** Ib 9, *Treblano* VIb 47; abl. pl. **Treplanes** Ia 2, 7, *Treblanir* VIa 19, 58, 59, b 2, 4, 20, 23, 44, 46, VIIa 5, 7, 53, *Treblaneir* VIa 22, VIIa 42. Cf. place-names *Trebula*, *Trebia*; *trebeit*, *tremnu*, etc. **2 b, 3 d, 74 d**; Introd., 4.

Trebo, deity of uncertain sex, 'Trebus.' Dat. sg. **Trebe** Ia 8; dat. sg. *Trebo* VIa 58. Cf. *trebeit*, *tremnu*. **25 f**; n. on VIa 58.

tref *treif*: see *trif.*

trefiper: see *trifo.*

tremitu, 'cause to tremble.' Imv. VIb 60, VIIa 49. Cf. L. *tremo*, τρέμω, τρέω, Skt. *trasati*, none of which however shows the same stem-class as *tremitu.* **118 d.**

tremnu, '(augural) tent.' Abl. sg. VIa 2, 16. From **treb-no-*, cf. *trebeit*, O. **tríibúm**, L. *trabs.* **35 d, 52 c, 61 e, 74 a, 145 a.**

Treplanes, Treplanu: see *Treblanir.*

tribrisine, 'group of three, triad' (of sacrificial victims). Nom. sg. **tribřiçu** Va 9; abl. *tribrisine* VIa 54. Probably from **tri-pedik-yōn/īn-*, cf. *trif* and L. *pedica* (so Brugmann, *Ber. Kön. Sächs. Ges. Wiss.* [1890], pp. 207-10). The alternative derivation from **tri-plik-yōn/īn-* is semantically easier, but it does not provide a satisfactory basis for a change *l* > **ř. 35 d, 46 d, 58 f, 60 e, 81 b, 88, 90, 91 c, 105 c.**

trif, 'three.' Acc. pl. **tref** Ia 7, 14, 20, 24, b 1, 4, 31, **tre** Ia 3, 11, b 27, 43, **trif** Ib 24, *trif* VIa 58, b 1, 3, 19, 22, 43, 45, VIIa 3, 6, 41, 52, *treif* VIa 22; acc. pl. neut. **triia** IV 2; abl. pl. **tris** III 18, 18. O. **trís**, L. *tres*, τρεῖς, Eng. *three*, etc. **2 h, j, 10 a, 26 e, 41 a, 53 c, 56 a, 105 c, 155 h.** See also *trioper.*

trifo, 'tribe.' Gen. sg. *trifor* VIb 54, 59, VIIa 12, 48; dat. *trifo* VIIa 11; acc. **trifu** Ib 16, *trifo* VIb 58, VIIa 47; abl. (+ **-per**) **trefiper** III 25, 30. L. *tribus*, the two pointing back to IE **tri-bhu-*; cf. *trif*, if we may assume that the basis was an early threefold division of certain nations (?). **14 b, 15 a, 25 c, 40, 78 a, 90, 92**; n. on VIb 54.

triia: see *trif.*

trioper, adv. 'three times.' **triiuper** Ib 21, 22, 22, IIb 25, 25, *trioper* VIb 55, VIIa 51. From neut. pl. **triyā* 'three' + *-per* < *pert*; for second part cf. O. *petiropert*, L. *semper.* **105 c, 112 b, 113 b.**

tripler, 'three.' Abl. pl. Va 21. L. *triplus*, cf. *triplex*, τριπλοῦς. **88, 90, 105 c.**

tris: see *trif.*

-tu: see *-to.*

tua: see *tuer.*

tuder, 'boundary, limit.' Acc. sg. *tuder* VIa 10, 11; nom. pl. *tuderor* VIa 12, acc. *tudero* VIa 15, 16; abl. *tuderus* VIa 11, b 48. Cf. *tuderato*, *ehe-turstahamu*, *Tuder* (modern Todi in Umbria); no sure connections outside Italic. **42 d, 57 e, 83, 90, 103 a, 145 c.**

tuderato, pcpl. pass. 'bounded.' Nom. sg. neut. VIa 8. Denominative vb. from *tuder*, q.v. **42 d, 114 e, 117 c.**

tuer, possessive pronominal adj. of the 2nd person 'thy.' Gen. sg. *tuer* VIa 27, 28, 37, 37, 47, 47, *touer* VIb 30, 30; abl. f. *tua* VIa 30, 33, 40, 50, 52, b 11, 14, 32, 34, VIIa 14, 17, 31, 50, *tuua* VIa 42. O. **tuvai**, L. *tuus*, τεός, σός < **τϝος*, the various forms showing ablaut-variation in the root syllable. **2 h, 108 a.**

tuf: see *dur.*

tuplak, 'fork' (?). Acc. sg. III 14. Cf. *δίπλαξ*, L. *duplex.* **3 d, 80 a, 88, 105 b**; n. on *loc. cit.*

tupler: see *dupla.*

tures: see *toru.*

Tursar, name of a goddess 'Tursa.' Gen. sg. *Tursar* VIIa 46; dat. **Turse** IV 19, **Tuse** Ib 31, 43, *Turse* VIIa 41, 53; voc. *Tursa* VIb 58, 61, VIIa 47, 49. Cf. *tursitu.* **2 i, 31 a, 59 a, 66**; n. on VIb 57-8.

tursitu **tusetu**, 'terrify, chase.' Pres. subj. pass. 3 pl. *tursiandu* VIIb 2; imv. **tusetu** Ib 40, *tursitu* VIb 60, VIIa 49; imv. 3 pl. **tusetutu** Ib 41, *tursituto* VIIa 51. Cf. *Tursar*, L. *terreo*, *terror*, and more remotely *tremo*, U. *tremitu.* **3 f, 8 b, 12 b, 33 b, 59 a, 60 a, 114 e, 118 b** (the basic ref.), **126 a, 127 b, c.**

Turskum: see *Tuscer.*

turuf turup: see *toru.*

Tuscer, adj. of nationality 'Etruscan,

Tuscan.' Gen. sg. neut. *Tuscer* VIb 54, 59, VIIa 12, 48; dat. neut. *Tursce* VIIa 22; acc. neut. **Turskum** Ib 17, *Tuscom* VIb 58, VIIa 47. L. *Tuscus*, cf. *Etruscus*, *Τυρσηνός*, etc. **46 e, 70.**

Tuse: see *Tursar.*

tusetu, tusetutu: see *tursitu.*

tuta, tutape(r), tutas, tute: see *totar.*

tuua: see *tuer.*

tuva, tuvere, tuves: see *dur.*

V, symbol for 'five.' Vb 12. **104 a.**

uapef-e, **vapeře**, 'stone seat, seat.' Abl. sg. **vapeře** III 7; acc. pl. (+ **-em** *-e*) **vapefem** Ib 14, *uapefe* VIa 10, b 51; abl. *uapersus* VIa 9, (+ *-to*) *uapersusto* VIa 12, 13. L. *lapis*; no sure connections outside Italic. **55 a, 61 b, 80 c, 90, 102 d.**

vaputu, noun of uncertain meaning, possibly 'incense.' Abl. sg. **vaputu** IIb 10, 17; abl. pl. **vaputis** IIb 13. From **wapōto-*, cf. L. *vapor* (?). **71**; n. on IIb 10.

uas, 'fault.' Acc. sg. VIa 28, 38, 48, b 30. From **wak(o)s*, cf. *uaśetom*, L. *vaco*, *-are*, *vacuus*. (?). **83.**

uaseto uasetom: see *uaśetom.*

uasirslom-e, a landmark used in defining the augural *templum*, 'the Vale' (?). Acc. sg. (+ *-e*) VIa 12. Etym. uncertain; possibly from **wakri-kelom* with *s* < *ś* < *k* before *er* < *ɣ* < *ri*, as in **32 d, 46 b**; cf. Skt. *vakra-* 'curved.' (?). **75 c**; n. on *loc. cit.*

uasor, 'vessels.' Nom. pl. *uasor* VIa 19; acc. *uaso* VIb 40; abl. **vasur** IV 22. L. *vas*, *vasis* and *vasum*, *-i*; no sure connections outside Italic. **57 d, 83, 90, 103 a, 138 b.**

uaśetom. pcpl. pass. nom. sg. neut. translated 'sin.' *uaśetom* VIa 37, *uasetom* VIa 47, b 30, *uaseto* VIa 27; (+ **-i** *-e*) **vaçetumi** Ib 8, *uasetome* VIb 47. Cf. *uas*, L. *vaco*, *-are* (?). **30 c, 34, 129, 149.**

vatra, noun of uncertain meaning, here taken as 'ribs.' Acc. pl. III 31. Stem-variant of **vatuva**, if not merely an erronenous spelling of it. N. on *loc. cit.*

uatuo **vatuva**, noun of uncertain meaning, according to the view adopted here, 'ribs.' Acc. pl. **vatuva** Ia 4, 13, 22, b 3, 5, **vatuvu** Ib 25, *uatuo* VIa 57, b 1, 19, 43, 45 (written *uatue*), VIIa 4. From **latuā*, cf. L. *latera*. (?). **2 d, 36 e, 78 b, 90**; n. on VIa 57.

vea: see *uia.*

uef, noun designating definite quantities (of meat), here translated 'portions.' Acc. pl. Vb 12, 12, 17, 17. Etym. uncertain; possibly from proto-Umbrian **weif-f* < **weidh-* 'divide,' cf. L *divido*, Skt. *vidhyati* 'pierce.' **65 f, 80 c, 102 d**; n. on Vb 12.

Uehier, name of a gate in Iguvium, 'Veian.' Abl. pl. **Vehiies** Ia 20, 24, *Uehier* VIb 19, 22, *Uehieir* VIa 21. Cf. L. *Veii* (?). **68 a**; Introd., 4.

ueiro: see *uiro.*

veltu, 'choose, select.' Imv. IV 21. L. *volo*, *velle*, cf. U. *ehueltu*, **ehvelklu. 8 a, 119 a.**

venpersuntra, vepesutra, noun or adj. of uncertain meaning, here left untranslated. Acc. sg. f. **vepesutra** IIb 15; abl. f. **venpersuntra** IIa 30, **vepesutra** IIb 18; abl. pl. **vempesuntres** IV 7. For prefix cf. **vepurus, vepuratu**; for second part cf. *persondru*. **76 b, 87 c**; n. on IIa 30.

vepuratu, 'extinguish.' Imv. IIa 41. Cf. **vepurus**, to which **vepuratu** is a denominative vb. **87 c, 117 c.**

vepurus, adj. 'unburned.' Abl. pl. Va 11. From **wē-pur-u-fs*, cf. L. *ve-cors*, *ve-sanus*, and *πῦρ*, U. *pir*, **vepuratu. 65 e, 82, 87 c**; n. on *loc. cit.*

uerfale, adj. with value of neut. noun '*templum.*' VIa 8. L. *verbale*, cf. also *ἐρῶ*, *(Ϝ)ρήτρα*, *ῥήτωρ*, the sense of the root being 'make a statement'; *uerfale* 'that which has the nature of a designation' may be a euphemistic substitute for the actual name of the *templum.* **10 b, 31 e, 43, 54 a, 55 b, 77 h, 90, 95**; n. on *loc. cit.*

uerir, 'gate.' Acc. pl. (+ **-e** *-e*) **verufe** Ib 9, *uerofe* VIb 47; abl. **veres** Ia 2, 7, 11, 14, 20, 24, *uerir* VIa 58, 59, b 1, 2, 3, 4, 19, 20, 22, VIIa 7, 38, *uereir* VIa 22, (+ *-co*) VIa 19, 20, 21, b 23, 44, 46, VIIa 5, 42, 53. O. **veru**, **veruís**, cf. L. *aperio*, *operio* < **-wer-yō*, Goth. *warjan* 'ward off'; probably also O. **vereias**, **vereiiaí**, Germ. *Wehr-macht*, *Land-wehr*. **25 b**, **67**, **90**, **103 a**.

uesclir, 'vessels.' Acc. pl. **veskla** IIa 19, **vesklu** Ib 29, 37, IIa 34, b 19; abl. **veskles** IIa 31, 37, b 18, IV 9, 24, *uesclir* VIIa 9, 10, 18, 21, 24, 26, 32, 34. Etym. uncertain; if equivalent to L. *vasculis*, the *e* is unexplained; possibly related to *uesticatu*, *uestis*. **2 d**, **46 c**, **55** n. 2, **75 c**.

uesticatu 'pour a libation.' Imv. **vestikatu** IIa 24, 31, 35, 37, *uesticatu* VIb 16, VIIa 8, 23, 24, 36. Fut. pf. (?) *uesticos* VIb 25. From **westikātōd*, cf. *uestisiar*, *uestis*, L. *Vesta* (?). **70**, **117 c** ; n. on VIb 6.

uestis, pf. (?) pcpl. 'after pouring a libation.' Nom. sg. *uestis* VIb 6, 25, *uesteis* VIa 22. Probably from **westītos*, pcpl. to deponent vb. **westiyo-*, cf. *uesticatu*, *uestisiar*, L. *Vesta* (?). **120 c**; n. on VIa 22.

uestisiar, 'libation' (?). Gen. sg. *uestiśiar* VIb 38, *uestisiar* VIb 16, VIIa 38; acc. **vestiçia** IV 14, 19, **vestiçam** Ia 28, **vestiça** Ia 17, 31, **vesteça** (erroneously written **vesveça**) IV 17, *uestisiam* VIb 39, *uestisia* VIb 6, 17, 24, 25, VIIa 38, abl. **vestiçia** IIa 27, **vistiça** IIb 13, *uestisia* VIb 5, *uestisa* VIIa 37. From **westikia-*, cf. *uesticatu*, *uestis*, L. *Vesta*. (?). **8 e**, **46 d**, **53 d**, **68 e**, **90**; n. on VIb 5.

Uestisier, name of a god, 'Vesticius.' Gen. sg. *Uestisier* VIa 14; dat. **Vestiçe** IIa 4. Cf. *uestisiar*, *uestis*, *uesticatu*. **68 e**; n. on IIa 4.

uestra, possessive pronominal adj. of the 2nd person pl. 'your.' Abl. sg. f. VIb 61. L. *vestra*, cf. *vōs*, cf. Skt. *vas*. **76 c**, **108 b**.

Vesune, name of a goddess 'Vesona.' Dat. sg. IV 3, 6, 10, 12, 25. Etym. uncertain. Possibly related to *Vesuvius*, Gaulish *Vesunna*. **74 f**; n. on IV 3.

vetu, vb. of uncertain meaning, probably 'divide.' Imv. Ib 29, 37. Cf. L. *divido*, imv. *di-vidito*, U. *uef.* (?). **119 a**; n. on Ib 29.

ufestne, 'sealed' (of vessels) (?). Abl. pl. IV 22. From pIt. **op-festo-no-*, cf. L. *offendix*, *offendimentum*, Eng. *bind*. (?). **44 d**, **74 b**; n. on *loc. cit.*

uhtretie, '*auctorship*, term of office as **uhtur**.' Loc. sg. Va 2, 15. From **auktr-etiā*, abstract to **uhtur** < **auktōr*, as **kvestretie** to **kvestur**, with stem as in L. *amicitia*. **35 d**, **68 e**.

uhtur, title of an official, '*auctor*.' Nom. sg. **uhtur** III 7, 8; acc. **uhturu** III 4. L. *auctor*, cf. *augeo*, *αὔξω*. **22**, **35 d**, **46 i**, **56 a**, **c**, **82 a**, **90**; n. on III 4.

VI, symbol for 'six.' Vb 10, 13, 14, 15, 18. **104 a**.

VII, symbol for 'seven.' Vb 17. **104 a**.

uia, 'way, road.' Abl. sg. **vea** Ib 14, 23, **via** III 11, *uia* VIb 52, 65, VIIa 1, 11, 27. O. **víú**, L. *via*. **2 h**, **10 c**, **66**.

uinu, 'wine.' Acc. sg. **vinu** IIa 18, 40, b 14; abl. **vinu** Ia 4, 22, b 6, IIa 25, 25, 39, b 10, 20, *uinu* VIa 57, b 19, 46. L. *vinum*, Volsc. *uinu*, *Foῖνος*. **13 b**, **67**, **90**, **145 b**.

uiro, 'men' (in sense of L. *homines*, *-um*, contrasted with *pequo* 'domestic animals'). Gen. (?) pl. *uiro* VIa 42, 50, 52, b 13, 32, 34, VIIa 17, 30, *ueiro* VIa 30, 32, 39. L. *vir*, OIr. *fer* < **wĭros*, Eng. *were(wolf)*; Skt. *vīras*, Lith. *vyras*; quantity of the U. *i ei* unknown. **11 c**, **54 a**, **58 b**, **76 a**, **90**; n. on VIa 30.

uirseto, pcpl. pass. 'seen.' Nom. sg. neut. VIa 28, 38, 48, b 30. Equivalent as if to L. **vidētum*, pcpl. to *video*; cf. U. *auirseto*. **10 a**, **c**, **30 c**, **54 a**, **114 e**, **116 a**, **118 a**.

vistiça: see *uestisiar*.

uitla, 'heifer-calves.' Acc. pl. **vitlaf**

Ib 31, *uitla* VIIa 41. L. *vitula*, cf. U. *uitlu*. **58 b, 75 a, 90.**

uitlu, 'bull-calves.' Acc. sg. *uitlu* IIb 21, 24; acc. pl. **vitluf** Ib 1, **vitlup** Ib 4, *uitlu* VIb 43, 45. L. *vitulus*, Aeolic ϝεταλον, Doric ϝετελον 'yearling,' cf. O. **Víteliú**, L. *Italia*; also Skt. *vatsas* 'calf,' (*F*)έτος 'year.' **2 k, 8 f, 29 e, 75 a, 90.**

ulo **ulu**, adv. 'there, to that place.' **ulu** Va 25, 28, b 4, (in **purtatulu**) Ib 18, *ulo* VIb 55. Cf. L. *olle*, *ōlim*. **13 d, 55 b, 109 g, 112 d, 113 c.**

umen, 'unguent.' Acc. sg. **umen** II a 19, 34; abl. **umne** IIa 38. L. *unguen*, both from **ong*^{w}*en*, cf. U. **umtu. 49 b, 52 h, 81 c, 90.**

umtu, 'anoint.' Imv. IIa 38, IV 13. L. *unguo*, Skt. *anakti* 'anoint.' **49 e, 61 a, 119 a.**

une: see **utur.**

unu, cardinal numeral 'one' (?). Acc. sg. IIa 6, 8. OL *oinos*, L. *unus*, οἰνή, Goth. *ains*, Eng. *one*. (?). **21 c, 105 a**; n. on IIa 6.

uocu-com **vuku-kum**, 'grove' (?). Acc. sg. **vuku** III 21, (+ **-en**) **vukumen** III 20; abl. (+ **-kum** *-com*) **vukukum** Ib 1, 4, *uocucom* VIb 43, 45; loc. **vuke** III 3, 21. O. loc. sg. **lúvkeí**, L. *lucus*. (?). According to an alternative view, 'temple' with ϝοῖκος, Skt. *veśas* 'house.' **21 b, 24 a, 55 a, 67**; n. on VIb 43.

Uofione, name of a god 'Vofionus.' Dat. sg. **Vufiune** Ia 20, *Uofione* VIb 19. From **leudhyōn*(*o*)- or **loudhyōn*(*o*)-, cf. L. *Līber*, OCS *ljudĭje*, Germ. *Leute*, the root being one associated with growth. (?). **49 c, 74 f**; n. on VIb 19.

uouse, noun 'vow' (?). Loc. sg. VIb 11. From **wofs̀yo-* < **wofikyo-* < **wog*^{w}*hi-kyo-*, cf. L. *voveo* < **wog*^{w}*heyō*. (?). N. on *loc. cit.*

upetu, upetuta: see *opeter.*

uraku, ures: see *orer.*

urfeta, 'disk.' Acc. sg. IIa 23. L. *orbita*, cf. *orbis*; no sure connections outside Italic. **36 b, 71**; n. on *loc. cit.*

urnasier, adj. 'regular' (?). Gen. pl. **urnasiaru** III 3; abl. **urnasier** Va 2, 15. Probably from **ordenāsyo-* with syncope as in **29 f** and *-rn-* < *-rnn-* < *-rdn-* by **61 e. 53 e, 68 d, 90**; n. on Va 2.

uřetu, 'load (fire with incense)' (?). Imv. III 12, IV 30. From **olē-* (L. *ad-olēre*) or from **odē-* (L. *olēre*, cf. *odor*, ὀδμή, ὄδωδα) or possibly from contamination of both. **55 b**; nn. on both passages.

urtas, urtes, urtu: see *orto.*

usaie usaçe, pf. 3 sg. 'approved.' (?). **usaie** Ib 45, **usaçe** IIa 44. From **op-sak-ed*, cf. L. *ob-* and *sancio*. (?). **46 g, 114 e, 124 b**; n. on Ib 45.

ustite, 'period (of time)' (?). Loc. sg. IIa 15, III 2. Etym. uncertain; possibly from **op-stī-to-*, cf. L. *ob-* and *sto, stare*. N. on IIa 15.

utur, 'water.' Acc. sg. **utur** IIb 15; abl. **une** IIb 20. From **udōr, udn-*. ὕδωρ, Goth. *wato*, gen. *watins*, Eng. *water*. **3 d, 42 d, 61 e, 84.**

vuke, vuku: see *uocucom.*

vufetes, pf. pass. pcpl., according to the view adopted here 'chosen, according to one's choice.' (?). Abl. pl. IIa 31, IV 25. Possibly from **lubhetōis*, cf. L. *lubet, libet, libita*. **49 c, 118 b**; n. on IIa 31.

Vufiune: see *Uofione.*

vufru, 'votive' (?). Acc. sg. m. IIb 21, 24, 25. From **wog*^{w}*h-(e)ro-*, cf. *uouse*, L. *voveo*, εὔχομαι. (?). **49 c, 76 a**; n. on IIb 21.

vurtus, 'turn out (unfavorably).' Fut. pf. 3 sg. IIa 2. L. *verto vorto*, Skt. *vartate*, pf. *vavarta*, Germ. *werden*, cf. U. *couertu, couortus*. **54 a, 124 b, 125**; n. on *loc. cit.*

Vuçiia-per, name of a gens (?; **natine**) 'Lucia' (?). Abl. sg. f. (+-**per**) IIb 26. L. *Lucia* (?), cf. U. **Vuvçis. 68 a**; n. on *loc. cit.*

vutu, 'wash.' Imv. IIa 39. L. *lavo, -ĕre*, cf. λούω. **55 a, 119 a.**

Vuvçis, praenomen latinized 'Lucius.' Nom. sg. Ib 45, (written **Vueçis**) IIa 44. O. **Lúvkis**, L. *Lucius*. **24 c, 32 a, 55 a, 68 a, 90, 91 b**; n. on Ib 45.

uze: see *onse*.

X, symbol for 'ten.' Vb 12. **104 a.**

XII, symbol for 'twelve.' IIb 2. **104 a.**

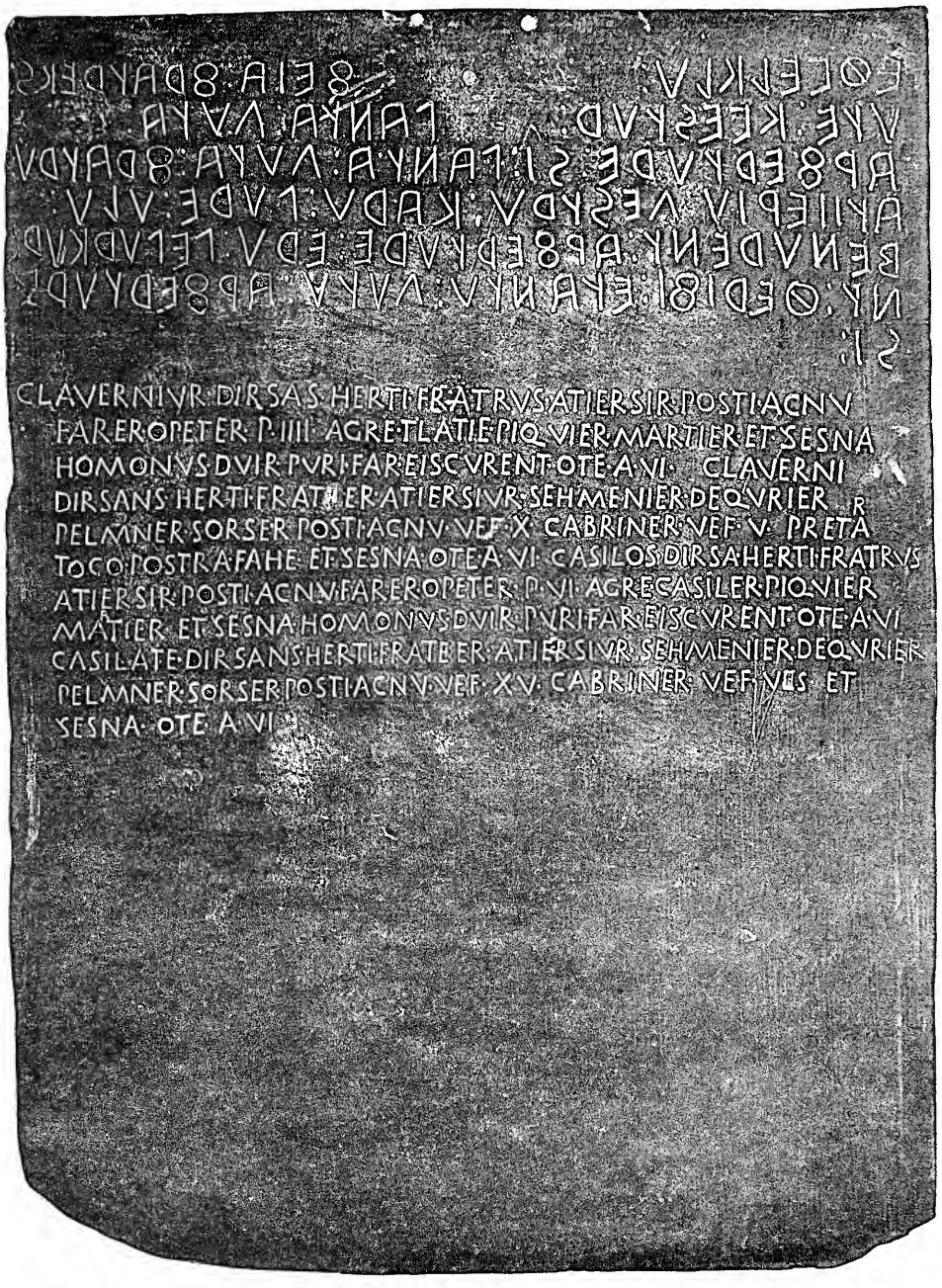
XV, symbol for 'fifteen.' Vb 17. **104 a.**

zeřef: see *sersitu*.

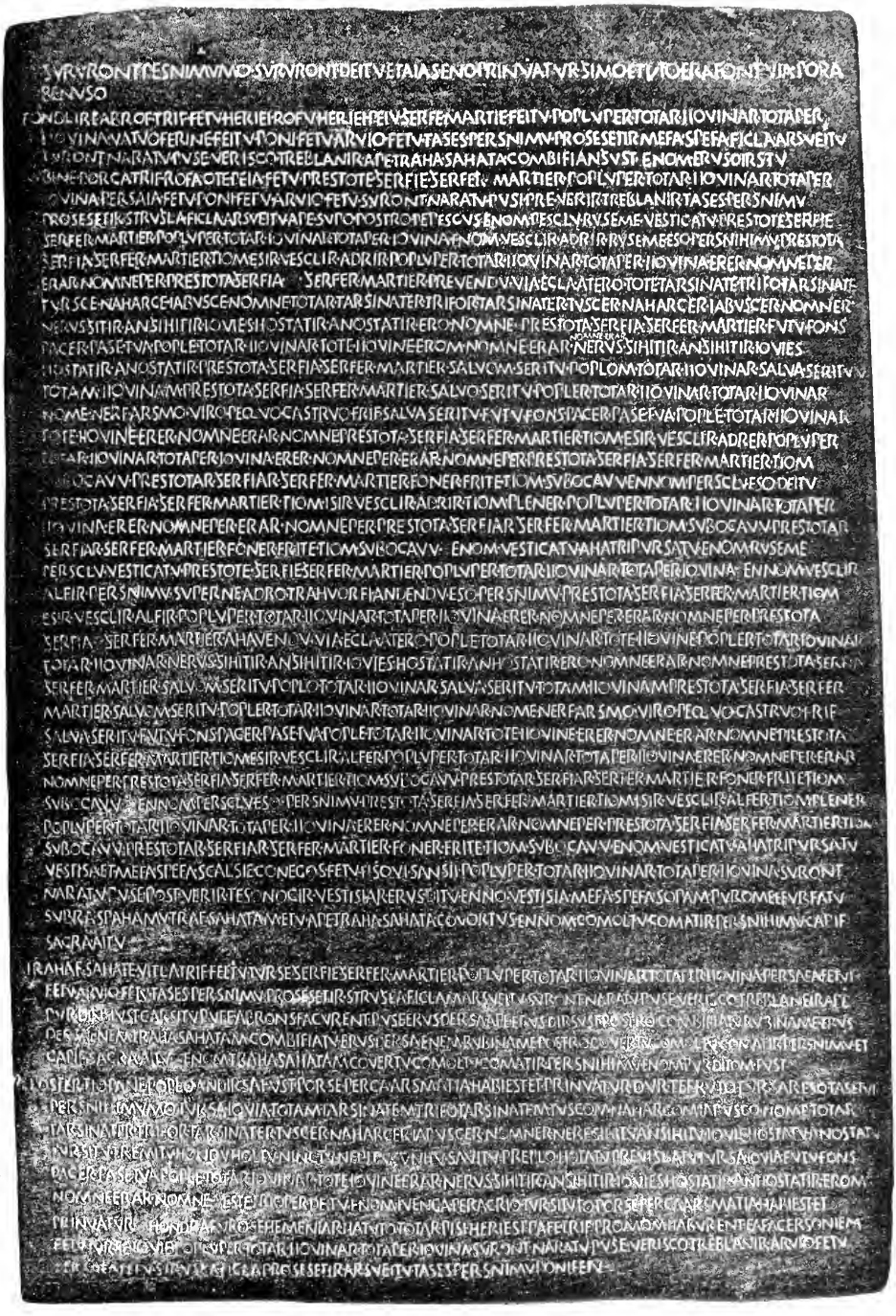
Printed by UNIVERSA Wetteren (Belgium).

I *a*

V *a*


CLAVERNIVR·DIRSAS·HERTI·FRATRVS·ATIER·SIR·POSTIACNV
FARER·OPETER·P·IIII·AGRE·TLATIE·PIQ·VIER·MARTIER·ET·SESNA
HOMONVS·DVIR·PVRI·FAR·EISCVRENT·OTE·A·VI· CLAVERNI
DIRSANS·HERTI·FRATER·ATIER·SIVR·SEHMENIER·DEQVRIER·R
PELMNER·SORSER·POSTIACNV·VEF·X· CABRINER·VEF·V· PRETA
TOCO·POSTRAFAHE·ET·SESNA·OTE·A·VI· CASILOS·DIRSA·HERTI·FRATRVS
ATIER·SIR·POSTI·ACNV·FARER·OPETER·P·VI·AGRE·CASILER·PIQ·VIER
MATIER·ET·SESNA·HOMONVS·DVIR·PVRI·FAR·EISCVRENT·OTE·A·VI
CASILATE·DIRSANS·HERTI·FRATER·ATIER·SIVR·SEHMENIER·DEQVRIER
PELMNER·SORSER·POSTIACNV·VEF·XV·CABRINER·VEF·VES·ET
SESNA·OTE·A·VI

V *b*



2-24-61
A

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
3 1262 07805 235 3

408
A512p
no.18
c.2