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COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR.

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A COMPENDIUM

OF THE

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

INDO-EUROPEAN, SANSKRIT, GREEK AND LATIN LANGUAGES.

BY

AUGUST SCHLEICHER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE THIRD GERMAN EDITION

BY

HERBERT BENDALL, M.A.
CHR. COLL. CAMB.

PART I.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER & CO., 57 AND 59, LUDGATE HILL.

1874.

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HERTFORD:
PRINTED BY STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS.

10342
2/12/90
Vols 1-2

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THIS book is a translation of those parts of Schleicher's 'Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der Indogermanischen sprachen' which treat directly of the Indo-European original language, Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin: it was undertaken for the use of students of Greek and Latin Philology, on the suggestion of Mr. Peile, M.A., of Christ's College, Cambridge, to whom I am indebted for several hints and corrections. My thanks are due to Herr Gustav Voigt also, for help kindly given.

I shall be glad if readers will point out any mistakes in the translation.

HERBERT BENDALL.

LIVERPOOL COLLEGE,
Oct. 1874.

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

This work is meant to be an elementary handbook for lectures and self-instruction. The want of such a work has been hitherto widely felt. The state of Indo-European Philology is now such that it has become possible to write a compendium of the comparative grammar of the Indo-European languages. After we have discarded that part which is still doubtful, there remains a large store of knowledge, embracing the different sides which language offers to scientific treatment: this knowledge will, in my opinion, stand unshaken for all time. The chief object of a compendium of the Indo-European languages is to collect and arrange in a short and appropriate form, and yet in an intelligible manner, these results of Indo-European Philology. Where, however, it is impossible to avoid mentioning what is obscure and doubtful, it will be expressly characterized as such.

It is no slight task to compose a first handbook of this kind treating of the formation of the Indo-European languages: whether the writer of the present work has succeeded in temporarily satisfying the want, others must decide; but he begs them to take it into consideration that his book is a first essay in the direction pointed out.

The following account of the origin of my book may to some extent at least show that I have honestly encountered the difficulties of the task.

I have been Academical Professor for fifteen years, and have lectured on Indo-European grammar from the outset; partly sketching out grammars of particular Indo-European languages, from a philological point of view, partly writing a grammar of the languages which collectively form a speech-stem, *i.e.* a so-called Comparative Grammar. To infer from the number of hearers whom even these latter lectures attracted, and from the perseverance and attention with which I was listened to, they must have treated the subject in a manner intelligible to beginners. I have remodelled my notes more than once. It was a real pleasure to work for my hearers and pupils here: I am indebted to their encouragement and participation for the heartiness with which I undertook the complete re-arrangement of my treatise on Comparative Grammar of Indo-European languages, which I had delivered in two sets of half-yearly lectures.

In these lectures on Indo-European grammar I felt the want of a printed elementary treatise, which should offer in the most appropriate way the necessary examples and comparative tables. Dictating, and continually writing on the black board, is wearisome both to hearers and to the lecturer. Hence the thought first occurred to me of having my paper multiplied in MS. for the use of my pupils. And from this arose by degrees what I have now completed, the composition

of a compendium especially for beginners. This book is therefore my notes repeatedly revised, and this is the point of view from which I desire it to be used and criticized.

It is to be understood that in my lectures I did not confine myself to the matter in the notes; what is printed here is merely that part which I used to dictate. Enlargements on particular points and excursus by the way I have never denied myself. Those who make use of this compendium will perhaps take this into consideration. The attempt to reduce the compass of the book to the narrowest limits possible made it a necessity to banish from it all discussions as regards different views. Generally I have attempted, whenever I could, to arrange the facts in such a way that they carried their proofs with them: moreover, the materials are so copious that even in the lectures it is difficult to find time for a controversial statement of details.

Circumstances unfortunately compelled me to finish the last preparation of the MS. for a printed compendium in a short time: but I hope that I have nevertheless written a useful book.

The design and execution of my work must speak for themselves; to discuss these points here would occupy too much space, and lengthen the compass of the preface to excess.

August Schleicher.

Jena, *September*, 1861.

ABBREVIATIONS.

A.S.	Anglo-Saxon	mom.	momentary
acc. to	according to	N.H.G.	New High German
bef.	before	O.Bulg.	Old Bulgarian
bes.	beside	O.H.G.	Old High German
betw.	between	origl.	original Indo-European language
caus.	causative		
comb.	combination	partt.	particles
dial.	dialect	Pol.	Polish
diall.	dialects	√	root
ex.	example	Scl.	Sclavonic
exx.	examples	sf.	suffix
f.f.	fundamental form	sff.	suffixes
fm.	form	st.	stem
fmn.	formation	stt.	stems
inscrr.	inscriptions	termn.	termination
M.H.G.	Middle High German.	unacc.	unaccentuate

Asterisk * indicates that the form does not occur.

The other abbreviations explain themselves.

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39	22	*for*	μῆτερ-	*read* μητέρ-.
47	21	*for*	σέομαι, συομαι	*read* -σεομαι, -συομαι.
48	33	*for*	¯	*read* ī.
54	7	*for*	Old. Lat.	*read* Old Lat.
ead.	28	*for*	Indo-Germ.	*read* Indo-Eur.
59	9	*for*	uouos	*read* nouos.
61	1	*for*	dĭco	*read* dīco.
ead.	10	*for*	and	*read* cf.
64	17	*for*	Sk.	*read* Gk.
71	4	*for*	φεροντς	*read* *φεροντς.
72	last	*for*	final ō . . . origl. ŏ	*read* final ŏ . . . origl. ō.
78	16	*for*	πυνζάνομαι	*read* πυνθάνομαι.
100	3	*for*	ab.	*read* Zend.
104	last but one	*for*	νεφελη	*read* νεφέλη.
115	28	*for*	μήτερ	*read* μητέρ-
118	last but one	*for*	ἤττων	*read* ἧττων.
133	last but one	*for*	δᾰήρ-	*read* δᾰήρ.
148	19	*for*	στίχω	*read* στίζω.

INTRODUCTION.

I. Grammar forms one part of the science of language: this science is itself a part of the natural history of Man. Its method is in substance that of natural science generally; it consists in accurate investigation of our object and in conclusions founded upon that investigation. One of the chief problems of the science of language is the inquiry into, and description of the classes of languages or speech-stems, that is, of the languages which are derived from one and the same original tongue, and the arrangement of these classes according to a natural system. In proportion to the remainder but few speech-stems have hitherto been accurately investigated, so that the solution of this chief problem of the science must be looked for only in the future.

By grammar we mean the scientific comprehension and explanation of the sound, the form, the function of words and their parts, and the construction of sentences. Grammar therefore treats of the knowledge of sounds, or Phonology; of forms, or Morphology; of functions, or the science of meaning and relation, and syntax. The subject of grammar may be language in general, or one particular language or group of languages; grammar may be universal or special: it will in most cases be concerned in explaining the language as a product of growth, and will thus have to investigate and lay down the development of the language according to its laws. This is its exclusive province, and therefore its subject is the laying-down of the 'life of the language,' generally called historical grammar, or history of language, but more correctly 'science of the life of

a language' (of sound, form, function, and sentence), and this again may be likewise as well general as more or less special.

The grammar of the Indo-European languages is therefore a special grammar: because it treats of these languages as products of growth, and exhibits their earlier and earliest gradations, and would therefore be more accurately called a special historical grammar of Indo-European languages.

Note 1.—By comparative grammar is meant not that grammar which is merely descriptive, but that which throws light on speech-forms as far as possible, because as a rule it is not confined to the treatment of any one particular language.

Note 2.—The following work embraces only two parts, viz. scientific treatment of sounds and of forms. Indo-European function and sentence-formation we are not at present in a position to handle in the same way as in the case of the more external and intelligible branches—sounds and forms.

II. To assume one original universal language is impossible; there are rather many original languages: this is a certain result obtained by the comparative treatment of the languages of the world which have lived till now. Since languages are continually dying out, whilst no new ones practically arise, there must have been originally many more languages than at present. The number of original languages was therefore certainly far larger than has been supposed from the still-existing languages. The easiest preliminary distribution of languages which we can make is suggested by their morphological constitution.

There are—

1. Languages which are simply composed of invariable disjointed meaning-sounds, Monosyllabic, e.g. Chinese, Annamese, Siamese, Burmese. Such sounds we denote by *R* (radix). The Indo-European language would be in this stage of development when the word *ai-mi* (I go, εἶμι) was sounded not so, but as *i* or *i ma* (formula *R*, or *R*+*r*).

2. Languages which can link to these invariable sounds sounds of relation, either before, or after, or in the middle, or

in more than one place at once [denoted here as *s.* (suffix), *p.* (prefix), *i.* (infix)]. These are Confixative languages, e.g. Finnish, Tatar, Dekhan, Basque, the languages of the aborigines of the New World, of South Africa (Bântu), and most languages in fact. In this step of development the word *ai-mi* would be *i-ma* or *i-mi*.

3. Languages which for the purpose of expressing relation can regularly vary their roots as well as their confixes (which have sprung from independent original roots), and can at the same time preserve intact the means of compounding. These are Inflexive languages. Such a root as is regularly varied for the end of expressing relation is here denoted by R^x (R^1, R^2, etc.), a similar suffix by s^x.

Hitherto we have become acquainted with only two speech-stems of this class, the Semitic and the Indo-European. The latter has for all words only one formula, viz. $R^x s^x$ (s^x meaning one or more than one regularly variable suffix), and consequently a regularly variable root with a regularly variable expression of relation at the end of the suffix, e.g. *ai-mi*, εἶμι, √*i*.

The Indo-European is therefore a suffix-language, together with the neighbouring languages of the Finnish stem, including Tataric, (Turkish) Mongolian, Tungusian, Samoiedish, as also with the Dravidian (Dekhan)—all included in the formula *Rs*.

Note 1.—The Semitic, which is not akin to the Indo-European, has more word-forms, namely R^x and pR^x, forms quite strange to Indo-European, which has only one. Besides, its vowel-system is perfectly distinct from the Indo-European, not to mention other marked differences. Cf. Aug. Schleicher, 'Semitisch und Indogermanisch' in Beitr. ii. 236–244. An attempt to deduce the fundamental language of the Semitic speech-stem has been made by Justus Olshausen in his lehrbuche der hebräischen sprache, Brunswick, 1862.

Note 2.—The augment in Indo-European is no relation-affix, no prefix, but an adherent, though originally independent word, which may moreover be omitted.

III. The life of a language (generally called its 'history') falls under two heads—

1. *Development in prehistoric times.* As man has developed, so also has his language, *i.e.* the expression of his thoughts by sounds: even the simplest language is the product of a gradual growth: all higher forms of language have come out of simpler ones, the Confixative out of the Monosyllabic, the Inflexive out of the Confixative.

2. *Decline in the historic period.* Language declines both in sound and in form, and in its decay changes of meaning take place alike in function and construction of sentences. The transition from the first to the second period is one of slower progress. To investigate the laws by which languages change during their life is a most important problem in the science of language, for unless we are acquainted with them we cannot possibly understand the languages in question, especially those which are still living.

Through different developments, at different points in the province of one and the same language, the self-same tongue branches out into the ramifications of the second period (whose beginning however is likewise earlier than the origin of historic tradition), and diverges into several languages (dialects): this process of differentiation may repeat itself more than once.

All these changes took place gradually and at long intervals in the life of the language, since generally all changes in language unfold themselves gradually.

The languages which spring immediately from an original language we call fundamental; almost every fundamental-language has split up into languages; all these last-named languages may further branch into dialects; and these dialects into sub-dialects.

All the languages which are derived from one original-language form together a class of speech or speech-stem;

these again are sub-divided into families or branches of speech.

IV. The name of Indo-European has been given to a distinct set of languages belonging to the Asiatico-European division of the earth, and of a constitution so consistent internally, and so different from all other languages, that it is clearly and undoubtedly derived from one common original language.

Within this Indo-European class of speech however certain languages geographically allied point themselves out as more closely related to one another: thus the Indo-European speech-stem falls into three groups or divisions.

These are:

1. The Asiatic or Aryan division, comprising the Indian, Iranian (or more correctly Eranian), families of speech, very closely allied to one another. The oldest representative and fundamental-language of the Indo-European family, and generally the oldest known Indo-European language, is the Old-Indian, the language of the oldest portion of the Vêdas; later on, after it had become fixed in a more simplified form, and subject to certain rules, as a correct written language, in opposition to the peoples' dialects, called Sanskrit. We are not acquainted with Eranian in its original form: the oldest known languages of this stem are the Old-Baktrian or Zend (the Eastern), and the Old-Persian, the language of the Achaimenid cuneiform inscriptions (the western). To this family besides is related the Armenian, which we know only from a later date, and which must have branched off even in early times from the Eranian fundamental-language.

2. The south-west European division, composed of the Greek, next to which we must perhaps place the Albanian, preserved to us only in a later form; Italian (the oldest known forms of this language are the Latin,—especially important for us is the Old-Latin, as it was before the in-

troduction of the correct literary language formed under Greek influence,—the Umbrian and the Oscan), Keltic, of which family the best known, though already highly decomposed, language is the Old-Irish, Erse dating from 700 A.D. Italian and Keltic have more in common with one another than with the Greek.

3. The North-European division, composed of the Sclavonic family with its closely-allied Lithuanian,—the most important language for us of this group,—and the German, widely separated from both. The oldest forms of this division are the Old-Bulgarian (Old Church-Slavonic in MSS. dating from 1100 A.D.): the Lithuanian (and of course the High-Lithuanian, South-Lithuanian, Prussian Lithuanian), first known to us 300 years ago, but clearly of far greater antiquity, and the Gothic from the fourth century. Beside the Gothic, however, are the oldest representatives of German and Norse, Old-High-German, and Old-Norse, which we may bring forward when they present earlier forms than Gothic.

The greatest number of archaic particulars in point of sounds and construction of language is found in the Asiatic division, and within it, in the Old-Indian; next in point of archaicisms (*i.e.* preservation of similarity to the original language, by having fewer strongly-developed and peculiar forms) comes the S.W.-division, in which Greek is found to be most faithful; and lastly the N.-European group, which, if regarded as a whole, may be shown to have the most characteristic development, and to be the least faithful to the original language.

By combining these facts with the above-named relationships of the Indo-European languages, and drawing inferences as to the process of separation of the Indo-European body of language in ancient times, we get the following result: The Indo-European original language differentiates first, through unequal development in different parts where it prevailed, into

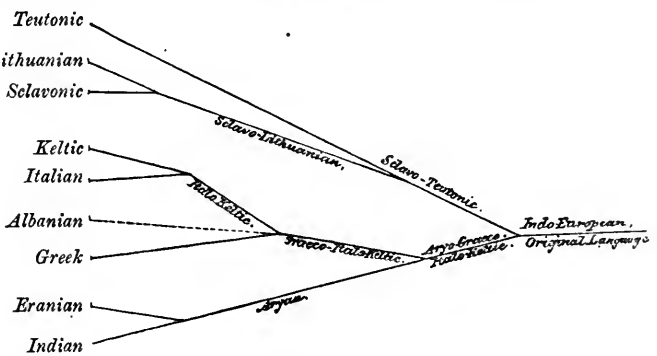
two fundamental-languages, viz. the Sclavo-Teutonic, which afterwards divided itself into Teutonic and Sclavo-Lithuanian, and the Aryo-Graeco-Italo-Keltic, the remaining portion of the Indo-European language, which divided itself into Graeco-Italo-Keltic and Aryan; and the Graeco-Italo-Keltic soon split up into Greek and Italo-Keltic, while the first, the Aryan, remained undivided for some time. Later still the Sclavo-Lithuanian, the Aryan (Indo-Eranian) and Italo-Keltic, further divided themselves. It may be that at most or at all of the divisions there arose more languages than we now know of, since probably many Indo-European languages have died out through lapse of time. The further eastward an Indo-European people lives, the more archaicisms are found in its language: the further westward they have gone, the fewer archaicisms, and the more numerous new-formations are found in the language. From these and other indications we infer that the Sclavo-Teutonic race first began its wanderings westwards; next followed the Graeco-Italo-Keltic; and of the Aryans who remained behind, the Indians journeyed south-eastward, the Eranians south-westward. The home of the Indo-European original race must be sought in the highlands of Central Asia.

It is only of the Indians, who were the last to leave the parent stem, that it is quite certain that they expelled an aboriginal race from their later dwelling-place, a race of whose language much passed into their own: a similar process is highly probable in the case of many other Indo-European peoples.

The most ancient divisions of the Indo-European, up to the origin of the fundamental languages belonging to the families of speech formed from the speech-stem, may be seen in the following table (see next page). The length of the lines shows the duration of the periods, their distances from one another, the degrees of relationship.

Note.—In the present work an attempt is made to set forth the inferred Indo-European original language side by side with its really existent derived languages. Besides the advantages offered by such a plan, in setting immediately before the eyes of the student the final results of the investigation in a more concrete form, and thereby rendering easier his insight into the nature of particular Indo-European languages, there is, I think, another of no less importance gained by it, namely that it shows the baselessness of the assumption that the non-Indian Indo-European languages were derived from Old-Indian (Sanskrit), an assumption which has not yet entirely disappeared. This view has found supporters up to the present date, especially as regards Old-Baktrian (Zend). The term 'Sanskritist,' not seldom applied to Indo-European philologers (meaning that we concede to Sanskrit a position which it does not deserve, by deriving other languages from Sanskrit, or explaining them by it, instead of studying them fundamentally), is likewise shown to be quite inapplicable by the plan employed in the Compendium. The disadvantage of having in certain cases Indo-European original forms inferred which are more or less doubtful, does not weigh at all against the advantages which, according to our view, are attained by the arrangement of the subject used hereafter.

A form traced back to the sound-grade of the Indo-European original language, we call a fundamental-form [f.f.] (*e.g.* Lat. *generis*, f.f. *ganasas;* Gk. γένους, f.f. *ganasas*). Hence it is only when forms of different sound-grades are brought to one and the same sound-grade, that we can compare them with one another. When we bring forward these fundamental-forms, we do not assert that they really were once in existence.



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GRAMMAR.

PHONOLOGY.

A. VOWELS.

INDO-EUROPEAN ORIGINAL-LANGUAGE. § 1.

Since in the citation of examples we make use not only of vowels but also of consonants, before we treat of the vowels we proceed to set forth a table of the speech-sounds collectively, arranged according to the physiology of sound, followed by the necessary remarks upon pronunciation, etc.

TABLE OF THE SOUNDS OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN ORIGINAL LANGUAGE,

i.e. those sounds from which arose the sounds of the different Indo-European languages, according to the laws of sound-change which come into play during the life of a language, and to which accordingly, they may be traced as to a common source.

	CONSONANTS.							VOWELS.	
	MOMENTARY SOUNDS.			PROLONGED SOUNDS.					
	UNASPIRATED. mute	UNASPIRATED. sonant	ASPIRATED. sonant	SPIRANTS. mute	SPIRANTS. sonant	NASALS. sonant	*r*-SOUND. sonant		
Gutt.	*k*	*g*	*gh*					*a*	*aa, āa* *ai, āi*
Pal.					*y*			*i*	
Ling.							*r*		*au, āu*
Dent.	*t*	*d*	*dh*	*s*		*n*			
Lab.	*p*	*b*	*bh*		*v*	*m*		*u*	

§ 1. *Note* 1.—The three aspirates and the vowel-diphthongs with *ā* (thus *āa, āi, āu*) probably were wanting at an earlier period in the life of the Indo-European original language; in the most archaic state of the language, while it was yet uninflected, all the vowel-diphthongs were absent.

Thus the Indo-European original language probably possessed six momentary sounds, viz. three mutes, and three sonants; six consonantal prolonged sounds, viz. three spirants, and three so-called liquids, *i.e.* the two nasals *n, m,* and *r* (*l* is a secondary offshoot of *r*), and six vowels. At a later period, shortly before the first separation, there were nine momentary, and nine vowel-sounds. We must not overlook the numerical proportion belonging to the number of sounds.

Note 2.—Sonants (or medials) are those consonants in whose production the glottis gives a simultaneous sound: this is the case with all nasals and *r*- and *l*-sounds, whilst the momentary consonants and spirants can be pronounced with or without the accompaniment of the vocal-sound. Sonants thus have something of the vowel in their composition. The aspirates are double sounds; both sounds of which they consist, the preceding momentary consonant and the subsequent aspiration, must be heard in pronunciation.

Note 3.—The momentary consonant which precedes the pronunciation of an initial vowel—the so-called spiritus lenis, the aleph or hamza of the Semitic,—which is formed by the sudden separation of the vocal chords, should properly be represented here and in the other languages in the tables, and expressed by a special character (perhaps ', after Gk. analogy). It is a consonant sound produced in the larynx alone, and must therefore be placed in a laryngal class of sounds (to which *h* also belongs, v. post. § 4). Nevertheless I have ventured to abide by the majority of Indo-European spelling-systems, and to leave this sound uncharacterized.

§ 2. VOWELS OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGE.

Fundamental vowel.	1st Step.	2nd Step.
1. *a*-scale *a*	a+a=*aa*	a+aa=*āa*
2. *i*-scale *i*	a+i=*ai*	a+ai=*āi*
3. *u*-scale *u*	a+u=*au*	a+au=*āu*.

Note 1.—The second step occurs in the Asiatic, South-European, and North-European divisions of the Indo-European languages, and therefore in all probability traces its existence

from the original language, though the separate languages often disagree in its use. § 2.

Note 2.—*aa* and *āa* were perhaps even in early times both compressed into *ā*. But at the same time the two *ā*s which thus arose are distinguished from one another, *e.g.* in Greek and Gothic *ā* of the 1st is distinguished from *ā* of the 2nd step. Notwithstanding that the earliest Indian and the Zend seem to bear evidence against the contraction of both *a*s, we have placed throughout hereafter an *ā* for *aa* and *āa* in original Indo-European words, chiefly because it would be impossible to distinguish always between a 1st and a 2nd step-form.

a, the commonest vowel, constitutes a class by itself; *i* and *u* are by nature very similar, and are fundamentally different from *a*. *i* and *u* have the consonants *y* and *v* as collateral relations, and frequently as representatives, whilst *a* cannot pass into any consonantal sound, and has therefore the vowel-nature in a higher degree than the more consonantal sounds *i* and *u*. *a* is by far the most frequent vowel in the Indo-European language, occurring more often than *i* and *u* taken together.

Each vowel can move in its own scale only: this takes place in the root itself for the purpose of expressing relation: the vowels in stem-formative and word-formative suffixes likewise are capable of step-formation, since these suffixes themselves have arisen from roots originally independent. The fundamental-form of the root is always to be cited with the fundamental vowel. Before two consonants the step-formation does not take place; the fundamental vowel *a* (never *i* or *u*) is found in all roots which end in two consonants.

The essence of inflexion depends upon the vowel-system.

Vowel-lengthening must not be conceded to the original language as being of secondary origin.

Note.—Even where the correspondence between different Indo-European languages seems to point to a greater antiquity in the lengthening (*e.g.* in many nom. sing. as Sk. *pitā́r(s)*, Gk. *πατήρ*, Old-Lat. *patēr*, Goth. *fadar*, i.e. **fathār;* Sk. *dúrmanās*, Gk. *δυσμενής*; Sk. *áçmā*, Gk. *ποιμήν*, Lith. *akmů̃*, Lat. *homō*,

§ 2. Goth. *guma*, i.e. **gumā*) we believe that we see an unoriginal phenomenon, which suitably to the nature of the case did not become developed in the different Indo-European languages till after their separation from the original language (not unfrequently the conformity is wanting even in this particular, cf. Sk. *bháran*, Gr. *φέρων*, Lat. *ferens*, Goth. *bairands*, Sclav. *bery*). In the original language we can cite here only the pure fundamental forms, *i.e.* the word preserved perfectly intact as regards all its parts (thus, e.g. *patars*, *dusmanass*, *akmans*).

EXAMPLES.

1. *a*-scale.

vak-mi (1 sg. pres.), √*vak* (speak), *va-vāk-ma* (1 sg. pf.), *vāk-s* (uox) ; *bhar-āmi*, *ba-bhar-mi* (I bear), *bhar-ta-s* (borne), √*bhar* (bear), *ba-bhār-ta* (3 sg. pf.), *bhār-a-s* (burden), *bhār-aya-ti* (3 sg. pres. caus. vb. ; *φορεῖ*) ; *da-ta-s*, *da-tā* (datus, data), √*da* (give), *da-dā-mi* (1 sg. pres.) ; *dha-ta-s*, *dha-tā* (past part. pass. n. sg. m. f.), √*dha* (set), *da-dhā-mi* (1 sg. pres.), etc.

2. *i*-scale.

i-masi (1 pl. pres.), √*i* (go), *ai-mi* (I go) ; *vid-masi* (1 pl. pres.), √*vid* (see, know), *vaid-mi* (I see), *vaid-aya-ti* (3 sg. pres. caus. vb.), *vi-vāid-ma* (pf.) ; √*div* (shine), *div-am* (acc. sg. word-st. *div*, light, bright sky, *Ζεύς*), *daiv-a-s* (shining, diuos, deus), etc.

3. *u*-scale.

bhug-na-s (past part. pass.), *a-bhug-am* (1 sg. aor.), √*bhug* (bend), *bhaug-āmi* (1 sg. pres.) *bu-bhāug-ma* (1 sg. pf.) ; *yug-a-m* (iugum), *yug-ta-s* (iunctus), √*yug* (iungere), *yu-yāug-ma* (1 sg. pf.), etc.

Note.—The agreement of Greek and Gothic proves the 2nd step in pf. ; *πέφευγα* gives no evidence against the 2nd step, but is a Graecism for **πέφουγα* ; cf. forms like λέ-λοιπ-α, √λιπ, which therefore would lead us to expect *ου* here, because *ει* corresponds to *ευ* ; v. sub Greek vowel-system.

§ 3. VOWEL SOUND-LAWS

(*i.e.* influence of vowels and consonants on vowels) were not existent in the original Indo-European language.

A meeting of several vowels occurs but seldom, since hitherto

no consonants have been elided, and prepositions, like separable adverbs, stand before their verb. Nevertheless, if two vowels do come into contact with one another in consequence of word-formation, hiatus perhaps occurred in the most original state of the language; in early time, however, *a* may have become fused with following vowels: thus probably *i* (and *u*, but examples are wanting) after *a* becomes combined with it into a diphthong, in cases like *bharait* (3 sg. opt.), √*bhar* (bear), pres. st. *bhara-*, *i* is the sign of the opt.; the opt.-st. is thus *bharai-*, *t*=sf. of 3 sg. But the sequence of two vowels, of which the former is *i* or *u*, will not be considered as a hiatus, e.g. *i* and *u* (so also *ai*, *āi*, *au*, *āu*) remain unchanged before other vowels, as *i-anti* (3 pl. pres. √*i*, go), *ku-kru-anti* (3 pl. pf.) *krau-as* (neut. the hearing, √*kru*, hear). § 3.

Note.—The earliest Old-Indian points clearly to the non-avoidance of hiatus between *i*, *u* (and the diphthongs which have these vowels as their key-elements), and following vowels. We may nevertheless suppose that *iyanti*, *kukruvanti*, *krauvas* were pronounced, *i.e.* that *i* and *u* before vowels split up into *iy*, *uv*, as this pronunciation almost arises from them.

SANSKRIT.

Tabular View of Sanskrit Sounds. § 4.

CONSONANTS.										VOWELS.	
	MOMENTARY.				PROLONGED.						
	UNASPIRATED.		ASPIRATED.		SPIRANTS.		NASALS.	*r*- & *l*-SOUND.			
	mute	sonant	mute	sonant	mute	sonant	sonant	sonant			
Gutt.	*k*	*g*	*kh*	*gh*	◌̱	*h*	*ṅ*			*a ā*	*e āi*
Pal.	*ḱ*	*ǵ*	*ḱh*	*ǵh*	*ç*	*y*(*j*)	*ń*			*i ī*	
Ling.	*ṭ*	*ḍ*	*ṭh*	*ḍh*	*ṣ̌*		*ṇ*	*r*	*l*	*r r̄ l*	*ō āu*
Dent.	*t*	*d*	*th*	*dh*	*s*		*n*				
Lab.	*p*	*b*	*ph*	*bh*		*v*	*m*			*u ū*	

§ 4. The nasalised pronunciation of vowels (as Fr. *en*, *on*) is indicated by ˜ (*ã*, *ĩ*, etc.): this pronunciation arises through the change of a following nasal consonant according to sound-laws.

The accented syllable is marked ´.

Note 1.—If we compare the above table with the table of Indo-European sounds in § 1, we shall find that the sounds collectively existed in the original language likewise (*ē*= original *ai*, *ō*=original *au*), but in addition to them we shall see a number of very similar unoriginal sounds, which have arisen from those original sounds according to the laws of language, and now stand side by side with them.

Note 2.—The doctrine of the Sanskrit alphabet belongs to Sanskrit special-grammar, as an appendix to the sound-rules.

Pronunciation. Known to us through the Hindu, which is on the whole a very good representative, and by means of the physiology of sounds, and the history of language.

The remarks on the pronunciation of the aspirates in § 1 hold good here also: they are distinct double sounds, and the *h* must be made audible after the momentary sounds.

We are accustomed to pronounce the momentary palatals *ḱ*, *ǵ*, *ḱh*, *ǵh*, like *tsch*, *dsch*, or, more accurately, like French *dj*, *tschh*, *djh*, a pronunciation which is correct only for a later state of the language; in the earlier period the correct pronunciation of *ḱ* and *ǵ* would be a close blending of *ky*, *gy*—almost like *k*, *g*, in German *kind*, *gieng* (in the case of the aspirates the aspiration is still naturally added). Our pronunciation of these sounds is nevertheless clumsy (especially before other sounds than *i*, *e*), and we therefore willingly abide by the somewhat incorrect traditional pronunciation, *i.e.* momentary dental + lingual spirant.

'Lingual,' for want of a better term, is used for that part of the mouth between the palate and the teeth. The momentary linguals are sounds like *t* and *d*, except that they are produced not by the teeth, but much further back towards the palate:

to effect this the tongue must be bent backwards: these sounds are called by the Hindus '*head-sounds*' (which has been mistranslated 'cerebral'): in the conventional European pronunciation they are not distinguished from the dentals.

Of the spirants, the exact pronunciation of ◌ः (a variation fr. *s* acc. to sound-laws) is not known; it has no equivalent in sound: we pronounce it either as *h* or not at all.

h is always audible and equivalent to a sonant, and is therefore like our *h*, but must, however, be sounded emphatically. The *h* is a fricative noise formed in the upper part of the larnyx, and belongs (like ', § 1, Note 3) to the class of laryngal consonants. For convenience, here and in the other languages where it makes its appearance, we have placed it amongst 'Gutturals.' *h* can be produced either with or without vibration of the vocal chords, *i.e.* as a *sonant* or as a *mute*.

ç must be pronounced like *y*, but without its accompanying vocal-sound, and probably somewhat more sharply (with closer contraction of the organ), perhaps like *ch* in *sichel;* the conventional pronunciation as a sharp *sh* is wrong, and must be avoided; *ç* has nothing in common with *s*.

š=Germ. *sch*, Fr. *ch*.

Nasals. *ṅ* is the guttural nasal, and must therefore be pronounced like Germ. *n* in *enkel*, or *ng* in *lange;* *ń* is the pal. nas., which must have been sounded as a close blending of *ny* (as Fr. *gn* in *campagne*); *ṇ*, the head-nasal, takes the place of formative *n*, where *ṭ* or *ḍ* follows: our pronunciation of it is unsuccessful, for we usually confuse it with *n*.

r and *l* as vowels are perhaps sounded as in Germ. *hadern*, *handeln*, pronounced with an inaudible *e* as *er*, *el;* the existence of a strong vowel-sound in vowel *r* is expressly attested by Hindu grammarians (Benfey, Or. und Occ. iii. 25 *sqq.*). *r̄* is= long *r*, and should therefore be distinguished from it by a more prolonged pronunciation. Also *r* before consonants was pronounced as a consonant, with a strongly perceptible vibration of

the chords (as in other languages, especially in Zend), which even appears in spelling as a perfect vowel (*a, i*) after *r*. (Benfey, ib. p. 32.)

Note.—The Bohemian likewise has *r, l,* as vowels; the Slovack dialect has, moreover, the long form of each sound.

Sanskrit Vowels.

Of special importance are the change of *a* to *i, ī,* and *u, ū,* and its total loss (the latter rarely happens in the case of the other vowels). In the latter cases *r* and *l* after consonants form syllables, and count as vowels; *r* is then even capable of being lengthened to *r̄* (as *i* and *u* to *ī* and *ū*).

Besides short *i* and *u*, Sanskrit has further their unoriginal lengthenings *ī, ū; ai* and *au* have been compressed into *ē* and *ō* (through approximation of *a* to *i* and *u*, whereby it became *e* and *o;* and through a further like assimilation of *i* and *u* to *a*, which thus passed into the same vowels *e* and *o;* from *ee, oo* arose *ē, ō*).

Here for the first time we are met by a very important law affecting the life of a language—the law of assimilation (partial and total), and by the no less frequent 'vowel-weakening,' a favourite change, especially in the case of *a*. The vowel-scales of the Sanskrit are now therefore as follows:—

	Weakening.	Fund.-vowel.	1st Step.	2nd Step.
1. *a*-scale loss;	*i, u; ī, ū;*	*a*	*ā*	*ā*
2. *i*-scale		*i*	*ē*	*āi*
3. *u*-scale		*u*	*ō*	*āu*

Note.—The *a*-scale is thus enriched by one member: a negative step-formation (*i.e.* the weakening) has thereby placed itself in a parallel line with the positive.

Examples.

1. *a*-scale.

The weakening occurs principally through the influence of the accent; a similar influence is likewise exercised by assimi-

lation to *i*, *u* of the following syllable, or the preceding con- § 6.
sonant has an effect equivalent to this assimilation.

Loss of *a* occurs most frequently before *r*, also after *r*, in which cases *ar* and *ra* followed by a consonant become vowel *r*; in parallel cases *al* becomes vowel *l*, *va*=*u*, *ya*=*i*; loss of *a* is however by no means confined to these instances.

Examples of complete loss of *a* are:

r=*ar*; √*bhar* (bear, pres. *bhár-āmi*, *φέρω*, fero), *bhr-tá-s* (n. sg. masc. part. perf. pass.); √*kar* (make, 3 sg. pres. *kar-ōti*), *krt-á-s* (made), *ǩa-kr-má* (1 pl. pf.); √*mar* (mori), *mrt-á-s* (mortuos, *βροτός*=**μρο-το-ς*); st. *mā-tár-* (*μητέρ-*, mater), *mā-tŕ-bhyas* (matribus), *mā-tŕ-śu* (*μητράσι*), etc.

This *r* is subsequently treated acc. to analogy of the other vowels, and thus is also lengthened; e.g. acc. pl. *mā-tā́r-s* (matres, *μη-τέρ-ας*), *dā-tā́r-n* (datores, *δο-τῆρ-ας*), st. *dā-tár-* (dator, *δοτήρ*).

l=*al* occurs only in √*kalp* (3 pres. med. *kálp-a-tē*, keep oneself right, succeed), which stands for original *karp* (v. 'Consonants'), *klp-tá-s* (n. sg. masc. past part. pass.).

r=*ra*; *prǩh-áti* (3 sg. pres.), √*praǩh* (pray, cf. Goth. *frah*, Lat. *prec*, e.g. in *prak-šyáti*, 3 sg. fut.); *prth-ú-s* (broad), √*prath* (cf. *πλατ-ύ-ς*, Lith. *plat-ù-s*), etc.

Note.—The Hindu grammarians treat *r*, *l*, as fundamental vowels, *ar*, *al*, as their first step-formations. As a vowel of the first step it is generally=*a* (for it often stands parallel to *ē*, *ō*, also), in the second it is perfectly=*ā*. The first step is called by the Hindu grammarians *guṇá-s* (masc. 'quality'), the second step *vŕddhi-s* (fem. 'increase,' √*vardh*, to increase, fmd. with sf. *ti*), expressions which have often been introduced into European works on language.

Loss of *a*, without admitting vocalisation of consonants, occurs not only before other consonants, but also before *r*, which is capable of being vocalised, in those cases where a vowel follows *r* (from *ar*); in which case, as in all others where *a* is lost before a consonant, the latter alone remains. Examples: *ǩa-krē*

§ 6. (1. 3. sg. pf. med.), √*kar* (make), for **ǩa-kar-ē*, and this fr. 1. **ka-kar-mē*, 3. **ka-kar-tē*; *ǩa-kr-ús* (3. pl. pf. act.), fr. **ka-kar-anti*.

Loss of *a* before other consonants, e.g. *ǵa-ghn-ús* (3. pl. pf.), √*han*, *ghan* (kill), for *ǵa-ghan-ús* (sg. *ǵa-ghắn-a*); *ǵa-gm-ús* (3. pl. pf.), √*gam* (go), for **ǵa-gam-us* (sg. *ǵa-gắm-a*); *s-ánti* (3. pl. pres.), √*as* (esse), for **as-anti* (as *s-unt* for **es-unt*); *s-yáti* (e.g. in *vy-ava-syáti*, he determines), for **as-yati*, √*as*, *sa*, so too *ç-yáti* for **aç-yati*, f.f. **ak-yati*, √*aç*, *ça* (acuere); *á-pa-pt-at* (3. sg. aor.) for **a-pa-pat-at*, √*pat* (fall, fly, πτ-έσθαι), etc.

u=*va* (*a* is lost and *v* becomes *u*); *uk-tá-s* (n. sg. masc. past part. pass.), √*vak* (speak, 3. sg. pres. *vák-ti*), *u-vắǩ-a* (3. sg. pf.) for **va-vāǩ-a*, *ūǩús* (3 pl. pf.) for **va-vaǩ-ús*, f.f. **va-vak-anti*, *ávōǩam* for **a-va-uǩ-am* (1. sg. aor.), f.f. **a-va-vak-am* (Gk. ἔϝπον fr. **ἐ-Fε-Fεπ-ον*); *sup-tá-s* (pf. part.), √*svap* (sleep; *sváp-iti* 3. sg. pres., *á-svap-am*, 1. sg. aor.); *urú-s* (wide, εὐρύς) for **varú-s* (comp. st. *várīyās-*, superl. *váriṣṭha-*), etc.

i=*ya* (*a* is lost and *y* becomes *i*); *iš-ṭá-s* (past part. pass.) for **yag-ta-s*, √*yaǵ* (offer, worship; 3 sg. pres. *yáǵ-ati*), *i-yắǵ-a* (3 sg. pf.) for **ya-yắǵ-a*, *īǵús* (3 pl. pf.) for **ya-yaǵ-ús*, f.f. **ya-yag-anti*; *vidh-yati* (3 sg. pres.), √*vyadh* (wound, slay), *vi-vidh-ús* (3 pl. pf., 3 sg.=*vi-vyắdh-a*), etc.

§ 7. Weakening of *a*—1. to *i* and *u* occurs before *r*, sometimes with assimilation to vowel of following syllable; weakening of *a* to *i* often occurs without influence of following sounds. *u* in certain cases corresponds to original *an*, *am* (the nasal is lost, after dulling the preceding *a* into *u*).

Examples. *gir-i-s* (mountain), √*gar* (be heavy), Zend *gairis*, both from **gar-i-s* (cf. Scl. *gor-a*, with another st.-termn.); *gur-ú-s* (heavy), cf. Gk. βαρ-ύ-ς, f.f. of both **gar-ú-s*, the original √fm. *gar* comes to light only in the Sk. step-forms of this word, e.g. *gár-iṣṭha-s* (superl. of *gurú-s*); *kur-ú* (2 imper. act.), *kur-u-tḗ* (3 sg. pres. med.), and other like forms of √*kar* (make),—these stand for **kar-u*, **kar-utē*, etc., whilst the latter again stand for **kar-nu*, **kar-nutē*, etc. (v. post. 'Rules of Con-

jugation'), *kur-más* next for **kur-umas*, fr. **kar-nu-mas*, where, § 7.
as in the similar forms, the *u* which caused the assimilation is lost; *pur-ú-s* (many), f.f. and Old-Persian *par-u-s*, cf. πολ-ύ-ς, √*par* (fill), *pur-á-m*, *pur-ī́* (state), from same √*par*, with *a* changed to *u* before *r*, without assimilating influence (cf. πόλ-ι-ς, f.f. *par-i-s*).

Weakening of *a* to *i* is frequent, e.g. *kir-áti* (3 sg. pres.), √*kar*, pf. *ka-kắr-a* (pour out); *gir-áti* (3 sg. pres.), √*gar*, pf. *ǵa-gắr-a* (throw); *çiš-más* acc. to sound-laws for **çis-mas* (1 pl.), beside *çắs-mi* (1 sg.), pres. st. and √*çās* (pure √fm. *ças*, bid). This weakening occurs especially in the case of roots in *a* (which by-the-bye we find wrongly classified with √termns. *ā*, *ē*, *āi*, *ō*, acc. to the system of the Hindu grammarians), e.g. *sthi-tá-s* (*sta-tu-s*, στα-τό-ς), √*stha* (stand); *hi-tá-s* for earlier (Vêd.) *dhi-tá-s* (θε-τό-ς), √*dha* (set); *mi-tá-s* (like the preceding, past part. pass.), √*ma* (measure); st. *pi-tar-* for **pa-tar-*, cf. πα-τέρ-, *pa-ter-*, √*pa* (protect); further in pres. redupln. e.g. *bi-bhár-mi*, √*bhar* (bear), *ti-šṭhā-mi* = ἵ-στη-μι, f.f. of both is **sti-stā-mi*, earlier **sta-stā-mi*, √*stha* (stand; cf. Sk. *dá-dhā-mi*, *dá-dā-mi*, and Gk. τί-θη-μι, δί-δω-μι, where the Sk. does not yet show that weakening which has occurred in Gk.).

u = *an*, *am*, e.g. in termn. of 3 pl. *-us*, fr. *-anti*, *-ant*, e.g. *bhárēy-us* = φέροιεν = **bharay-ant* (3 pl. opt. pres. act.), *babhrús* = **babharanti* (3 pl. pf. act.), *ubhắ*, *ubhắu* = ἄμφω, *ambō*; thus later languages show the more original form, etc.

2. *a* becomes weakened to *ī*, *ū*, likewise in the combination *ar*, so that *īr*, *ūr*, the latter after labial consonants, are considered as of the same force as vowel *r*; the weakening to *ī*, however, occurs not only before *r*, but also not seldom in other cases.

ūr = *r* (vowel) = *ar* after labial initial √sounds, e.g. *pūr-ṇá-s* (plenus) for **pr-na-s*, Zend *pere-na-s* (Zend *ere* = Sk. vowel *r*), f.f. **par-na-s*, √*par* (fill), etc., yet also *ǩaṅ-ǩūr-*, intensive pres. st. √*ǩar* (go), and the like.

īr = *r* (vowel) = *ar* after all except labial initial sounds, e.g.

§ 7. *stīr-ṇá-s* (past part. pass.) for *str-ṇá-s*, f.f. *star-na-s*, √*star* (strew); *dīrghá-s* for **drgha-s* (long), Zend *daregha-s*, Gk. δολιχό-ς, etc., f.f. **dargha-s*, cf. compar. and superl. formed in Sk. with step-fmn. of √vowel *a*, compar. st. *drắgh-īyās-*, superl. st. *drắgh-iṣṭha-*.

ī as a weakening of *a* often occurs, especially in cases of roots in *a* (like its weakening to *i*), nevertheless it also often occurs in the case of a non-radical *a* belonging to formative affixes, e.g. *hī-ná-s* for **ha-na-s* (past part. pass.), √*ha* (leave, 3 sg. pres. *ǵá-hā-ti*); *pī-ta-s* (past part. pass.), √*pa* (drink, 3 sg. pres. *píba-ti* for **pi-pa-ti*, fr. **pa-pa-ti*); *yu-nī-más* for **yu-na-mas* (1 pl. pres.), cf. *yu-nắ-ti* (3 sg. pres.), pres. st. *yu-na-*, √*yu* (iungere), etc.

Note 1.—Through this weakening are developed also roots with *i*, which originally were in *a*, e.g. Sk. *kri* (buy), e.g. pres. *krī-ṇắ-ti*, fut. *krē-šyáti*, pf. *ǩikrắy-a*, etc., thus with pure *i*, seems nevertheless to have come from original *kra=kar*, cf. Gk. *πέρ-νημι*, Lith. *perkù* (buy), where the √ with *k* is a further formation. The weakenings of original *a* are altogether not rarely formed by steps like original *i* and *u;* e.g. fr. *pi-tā-mahá-s* (masc. grandfather; on *pi-tar-*, √*pa*, v. supr.) is formed a st. *pāi-tā-maha-* (adj. grandfatherly); fr. st. *dhīr-a-* (adj. firm, stable), √*dhar* (hold), weakened to *dhīr*, sf. *-a-*, *dhāir-ya-m* (neut. stability); fr. *pur-ṇá-māsa-s* (masc. full-moon; on *pūr-ṇá-*, √*par*, v. supr.), *pāur-ṇa-māsá-* (adj. of a full-moon), etc. A change of *a*-scale to *i*- and *u*-scales is accordingly seen, especially in later formations, having arisen after the language-instinct had lost the root-forms.

Note 2.—Cf. the cases where *ī* apparently stands for *a*, though it really is a contraction of *ya*, *yā*, or an auxiliary vowel, § 15, c, f.

§ 8. The fundamental vowel *a* appears in Sk. as the commonest vowel in roots and relation-sounds, e.g. *ád-mi* (1 sg. pres.), √*ad* (edere); *ás-ti* (3 sg. pres.), √*as* (esse); *bhár-asi* (2 sg. pres.), *á-bhar-at* (3 sg. impf.), *bhár-antas* (*φέροντες*, n. pl. masc. pres. part. act.), √*bhar* (bear); *áp-as* (opus), *áp-as-as* (operis); *mán-as* (*μέν-ος*), *mán-as-as* (**μεν-εσ-ος*, *μένους*); *áç-va-s*, f.f. *akvas* (equos, *ἵππος* for **ἰκFος*); *sa* (*ὁ*), *ta-m*, (*τό-ν*, *is-tu-m*); *çata-tamá-s* (centesimus), etc.

§ 9. The step-formation of *a* to *ā* cannot further be analysed into first and second steps (as in Gk., Lat., Goth.), and, moreover, can scarcely—only by means of the analogy of completely corresponding words in *i* and *u*—be distinguished from lengthening. Therefore we hesitate to make the distinction between lengthening and step-formation in the case of f. vowel *a*, and accordingly probably admit many forms as steps, which would be more accurately denoted as lengthenings. The step-formation of *a* to *ā* occurs in roots and in relation-sounds.

Examples of step-formed roots with √vowel *a* are *ba-bhár-a* (3 sg. pf.) bes. *bhár-āmi* (1 sg. pres.), √*bhar* (bear); *u-vắk-a* (3 sg. pf.) bes. *vák-ti* (3 sg. pres.), √*vak* (speak); *vās-as* (uestis) bes. *vas-tḗ* (3 sg. pres. med.), √*vas* (clothe); *kār-áyati* (3 sg. pres. causat. vb.) bes. *kar-ṓ-ti* (3 sg. pres.), √*kar* (make), etc.

Note.—The roots which end in *a* occur mostly in step-raised forms [whence arose the grammatic rule that roots in *a* appear only in pronominal functions, as *ta* (n. sg. masc. *sa*, acc. *ta-m* dem.), *ya* (n. sg. masc. ntr. *ya-s*, *ya-t* rel.), *ka* (n. acc. sg. masc. *ka-s*, *ka-m*), etc., whilst all verbal roots end in *ā*—acc. to Hindu grammarians in *ā*, *ē*, *āi*, *ō*]. Also the un-raised forms, indeed the shortened forms of these roots are not rare, e.g. *ǵi-gā-ti*, *ǵá-gā-ti* (3 sg. pres.), but *ga-tá-s* (past part. pass.), *ga-hi* (2 sg. imper.), *gá-ḱkhati*, f.f. *ga-skati* (3 sg. pres.), cf. *βέβᾰμεν*, *βᾰτής*, √*ga* (go); *dá-dā-mi* (1 sg. pres. *δί-δω-μι*), but *da-d-más* for **da-da-mas* (1 pl. pres.), cf. *δί-δο-μεν*, *δό-σις*, *δο-τήρ*, *dămus*, √*da* (give); *dá-dhā-mi* (1 sg. pres.), but *da-dh-más*, fr. **da-dha-mas*, cf. *τί-θε-μεν*, *θέ-σις*, *θε-τός*, √*dha* (set); *á-pā-t* (3 sg. aor.), *pā-syá-ti* (3 sg. fut.), but *pi-ba-ti* for **pi-pa-ti*, fr. **pa-pa-ti* (3 sg. pres.), cf. *πέ-πο-μαι*, *πό-σις*, √*pa* (drink); *pī́-ti* (3 sg. pres.), but *pá-ti-s*, cf. *πό-σις*, Goth. *fa-th-s*, i.e. **fa-di-s*, Lith. *pà-t-s*, for **pa-ti-s* (lord), with weakening of *a* to *i* in *pi-tar-* (n. *pitā́*), cf. *πα-τήρ*, f.f. *pa-tar-*, √*pa* (protect); *ti-šṭhā-mi*, *ἵ-στη-μι* (1 sg. pres.), but *ti-šṭha-ti* for **sti-sta-ti*, fr. **sta-sta-ti* (3 sg. pres.), with weakening of *a* to *i* in *sthi-tá-s*, f.f. **sta-tá-s*, cf. *στᾰ-τό-ς*, *stă-tu-s*, √*stha*, original *sta* (stare), etc. Here accordingly, as in many other like cases, the root-forms are evidently *ga*, *dha*, *da*, *pa*, *pa*, *stha*; so too *a* is everywhere to be assumed to be the root-sound, even where it happens that the raised forms only are seen in

§ 9. the existing language. Cf. my treatise on '*a*-roots in Indo-germanic,' Beitr. ii. 92–99.

a as a sound expressing relation is found raised in termin. *a* of pres. st. *bhárā-mi* (1 sg. pres.), *bhárā-masi* (1 pl. pres.) bes. *bhára-si* (2 sg. pres.), *bhára-ti* (3 sg. pres.), etc., *bhára-* is pres. st. of √*bhar* (bear); in almost all cases of the fem. of *a-* st., e.g. *náv-ā náv-ām* (n. acc. sg. fem. nou-a, *νέϜα*) bes. *nava-s nava-m* (n. acc. sg. masc.), st. *nava-* (nouos); *áç-vā* (equa) bes. *áç-va-s* (equos), st. *áç-va-* (*ak-va-*), and generally before certain case-sff., e.g. *dēvā́-s*, earlier *dē-vā́-sas* (n. pl.) bes. *dēvá-s* (n. sg.), st. *dēvá-* (deus); further in final syllables of sundry consonantal noun-stems before certain case-sff., e.g. *dā-tā́r-am* (acc. sg.), *dā-tā́r-as* (n. pl.), fr. st. *dā-tár-* (da-tor), which appears pure in e.g. *dā-tár-i* (loc. sg.), in *dā-tŕ-bhis* (instr. pl.), *dā-tr-é́* (d. sg.), and others it is weakened to *dā-tr*.

§ 10. 2. *i*-scale.

Fundamental vowel *i*; *i-más*, cf. *ἴ-μεν* (1 pl. pres.), √*i* (i-re); *vid-más* (1 pl. pres.), cf. *Ϝίσ-μεν*, Hom. *Ϝίδ-μεν*, √*vid* (uid-ere, scire); *viç-áti* (3 sg. pres.), *viç-as* (n. pl. people, husbandmen), √*viç* (go in, dwell); *div-am div-ás* (acc. g. sg. of n. *dyāu-s*, sky), √*div* (shine; cf. *Δι-Ϝός*, similarly fr. *Ζεύς* = **Δγευς*); *pák-ti-s* (fem. coctio), cf. *πέπ-σι-ς* for **πεπ-τι-ς*, √*pak*, *πεπ*, origl. *kak*, cf. Lat. *coc*, Lith. *kep* (coquere), formed through sf. *-ti-*, f.f. therefore *kak-ti-s*.

ī is not seldom a lengthening of genuine *i*, just as we have already found it to be a lengthening of *i* = *a*. The laws under which this lengthening takes place are not discovered in every instance. The lengthened *i* is often interchanged with the unlengthened *i*, and is subject to step-formation and change (to *iy*, *y*), like the latter.

In cases like *pátī-n* (acc. pl. msc.), f.f. *pati-ms*, st. *páti-* (lord); *páktī-s* (acc. pl. fem.), f.f. *pakti-ms*, st. *pákti-* (coctio), we clearly see a compensatory lengthening, v. post. (§ 15, d), where also the lengthening bef. *y* is yet to be mentioned (§ 15, a), as

e.g. *ī-yā́t* bes. *i-yā́t* (3 sg. opt.) √*i* (ire). Bef. final *r* in noun- § 10.
stt., as bef. *r* folld. by a sf. which begins with a conson., lengthening occurs in the case of *i* and *u*, e.g. st. *gir-* (speech; acc. sg. *gír-am*), n. sg. *gīr* for **gir-s*, loc. pl. *gīr-ṣú*, instr. pl. *gīr-bhis* for **gir-su*, **gir-bhis*.

So also in roots *ī* appears bes. *i*, and is grammatically arbitrary, since in these cases the √fm. is usually characterized by the long vowel, as e.g. √*bhi*, not *bhī* (frighten), cf. *bi-bhi-más* and *bi-bhī-mas* (1 pl. pres.; 3 sg. *bi-bhḗ-ti*); in other roots it happens that only the lengthened vowel appears, e.g. *nī-tá-s* (past part. pass.), √*ni* (*nī* acc. to Grammarians and Dictt.; 'lead'); *prī-tá-s*, √*pri* (*prī*, delight), etc.

Note 1.—Root-fms. with final vowels are particularly often mentioned in the lengthened fm. in gramm. and dictt., because the lengthening was particularly popular in these cases. On the unoriginality of *ī* and *ū* in Indo-Eur., cf. my remarks in Beitr. i. 328–333.

Note 2.—On *tr-tíya-s* (*ter-tiu-s*), in wh. *tr* can be taken as a weakening fr. *tri* (st. of numeral 3), v. sub. 'Numerals.'

The 1st step of *i* is in Sk. *ē*, e.g. *é-mi* (*εἶ-μι*), f.f. *ai-mi*, § 11.
√*i* (ire); *vḗd-a* (*Foῖδα*), *vḗd-a-s* (n. sg.; sacred writings of the Hindus, Vēda), √*vid* (see, know); *vi-vḗç-a* (3 sg. pf.), *vḗc-a-s* (n. sg. house, cf. *Foῖκ-o-ς*, *uīc-u-s*), f.f. *vaik-a-s*, √*viç* (go in); *dēv-á-s* (deus), f.f. *daiv-a-s*, √*div* (shine); *pák-tē-s* (g. sg.), *pák-ti-s* (coctio), *pát-ē-s* (g. sg.), *pát-i-s* (lord); *bi-bhḗ-ti* (3 sg. pres. redupl.), √*bhi* (frighten); *nḗ-tra-m* (eye, lit. 'the guiding one'), *náy-ati* (3 sg. pres.), *nay*=*nē* (v. post. § 14, d), √*ni* (lead); *cḗ-tē* (*κεῖ-ται* 3 sg. pres. med.), √*çi* (rest, lie), etc.

The 2nd step of *i* is in Sk. *āi*, e.g. *vā́iç-ya-s* (man of third caste), √*viç* (go in; cf. *viç-as* and *vḗç-a-s*); *vā́id-ya-s* (vēdic, learned), √*vid* (see, know; cf. *Vḗd-a-s*); *dā́iv-a-s* (godly), whence *dā́iv-a-m* (destiny), st. *dēv-á-* (deus), √*div* (shine); *çā́iv-a-s* (belonging to the god Çiva, Çiva-worshipper), fr. *Çivá-s* (the god Çiva); *vāiṣṇavá-s* (belonging to Vishnu, Vishnu-worshipper

§ 11. fr. *Viṣṇu-s* (the god Vishnu); bef. vowels not *ai* but *ay* is found (§ 14), e.g. *nā́y-aka-s* (masc. leader), *nāy-áya-ti* (3 sg. pres. causat. st.), √*ni* (lead), etc.

§ 12. 3. *u*-scale.

This scale, in all its parts, runs parallel to the *i*-scale, also the lengthening of *u* to *ū* occurs here, like *i* to *ī* above.

Fund. vowel *u*, e.g. *buddhá-s* for **budh-ta-s* (past part. pass.), *bu-budh-é* (1, 3 sg. pf. med.), √*budh* (learn, know); *tud-áti* (3 sg. pres.), √*tud* (thump); *yug-á-m* (iugum, ζυγόν), *yuk-tá-s* (past part. pass.) for **yug-ta-s* (iunctus), *á-yuǵ-at* (3 sg. aor.), √*yuǵ*, *yug* (iungere); *su-tá-s* (past part. pass.), √*su* (produce, sow); *çru-tá-s*, *κλυ-τό-ς* (past part. pass.), *çru-dhí* (vēd. 2 sg. imper. aor. *κλῦ-θι*), √*çru* (hear), etc. In pres. st. *çr-ṇu-*, e.g. *çr-ṇṓ-mi* (1 sg. pres.), √*çru* (hear), *ru* is exceptionally weakened to *r*, by complete loss of *u*.

The lengthening of *u* to *ū* occurs here, just as in the *i*-scale *i* becomes *ī*, e.g. *á-bhū-t* (*ἔ-φυ(τ)*, 3 sg. aor.), *bhū-tá-s*, *bhū-tá-m* (masc. ntr. past part. pass.), √*bhu* (*bhū*, be), cf. *φῡ-τό-ν*, *fū-turu-s*; *sū-nú-s* (son), cf. Lith. *sūnùs*, Goth. *sunus*, √*su* (bear, sow, sts. also given as *sū*); *sū-nṹ-n* fr. **su-nu-ns* (acc. pl.), Goth. *sununs*, st. *sūnú-* (n. sg. *sū-nú-s*, cf. § 15, d). Like *i*, so *u* bef. *r*, and bef. *r*+conson. in noun-stt. is lengthened (§ 10), e.g. st. *dhur-* (fore-part of a coach-pole, e.g. acc. sg. *dhúr-am*), n. *dhūr* for **dhur-s*, instr. pl. *dhūr-bhis* for **dhur-bis*, etc.

§ 13. 1. step *ō*, e.g. *bṓdh-ati* (3 sg. pres.), √*budh* (learn, know); *pra-tōd-a-s* (masc. goad), √*tud* (push); *yu-yṓǵ-a* (1, 3 sg. pf.), *yṓg-a-s* (joining, speculation), √*yuǵ* (iungere); *bháv-ati* (3 sg. pres.), *á-bhav-at* (3 sg. pf.), *bhav=bhō* (v. § 14, d), √*bhu* (be); *sṓš-yáti* (3 sg. fut.), √*su* (bring forth); *crṓ-tra-m* (ntr. ear), √*çru* (hear), *sū-nṓ-s* (g. sg.), st. *sūnú-* (n. sg. *sū-nú-s*, son), cf. Lith. *sūnaús*, Goth. *sunaus*, etc.

2. step *āu*, e.g. *bāuddhá-s* (masc. Buddhist) fr. *buddhá-s* (past part. pass. n. propr. *Buddha*), √*budh* (know); *á-tāut-sam* for **a-tāud-sam* (1 sg. aor.), √*tud* (push); *yā́ug-ika-s* (adj. fr. *yṓga-s*

supr.), st. *yṓga-*, √*yug* (iungere); *bhắv-a-s* (being, nature), § 13. *bhāv=bhāu* (v. § 14, d), √*bhu* (be); *sắu-ti* (3 sg. pres.), *su-šắv-a* (1, 3 sg. pf.) for **su-sāv-a* (v. sub. consonn.), *sāv=sāu* (v. § 14, d), √*su* (bring forth); *á-çrāu-šam* (1 sg. aor. compos.), √*çru* (hear), etc.

Note.—"*ī* and *ū* are subject to step-formation only when they are at the end of roots," is the rule of Sk. grammar, *i.e.* they are in these cases lengthenings of real *i*, *u*; as medial root-sounds however, they are felt by the language-instinct to be unorigl., and are therefore not treated like genuine *i*, *u*. Real *i* and *u* appear besides only before root-termns. which consist of one consonant.

Vowel Sound-laws. § 14.

Note.—Only the most important Sk. sound-laws are here mentioned—those which operate within the word: the changes undergone by the termn. of a word in consequence of its place in a sentence belong to the department of Sk. special-grammar, not to the Indo-Eur. (the so-called 'Comparative') Grammar.

1. Laws of the concurrence of vowels.

Fundamental law: Sk. permits hiatus in its earliest remains of language alone (in the Vēdic hymns), where we find even two like vowels in juxtaposition. In classical Sk. hiatus is avoided, a. by contraction, b. by loss of the former vowel, c. by separation, d. by change of vowel to corresponding spirant.

Contraction occurs when *a* happens to stand before another vowel, except in those cases where *a* is lost bef. the following vowel. Change to the consonn. takes place when *i*, *u* (including their furthest formations *ē*[=*ai*], *ō*[=*au*], *āi*, *āu*). This contrast between *a* and *i*, *u*, arises from the fact that *a* has no corresponding spirant, whereas *i*, *u*, have by their side *y*, *v*, which are only different from them through a slight distinction in pronunciation; the change from *i*, *u*, to *y*, *v*, is through intermediate *iy*, *uv*.

a. Exx. of contraction: pres. st. *bhára-*+*i* of opt. mood= *bhárē-*, e.g. *bhárē-t* fr. **bhara-i-t* (3 sg. opt. pres., √*bhar*, bear);

§ 14. noun st. *áçva-*+*i* of loc. case=*áçvē* (loc. sg. of n. sg. *áçva-s*, equos), etc.

Note.—v. older peculiar contractions post. (§ 15, c).

b. Loss of *a* occurs e.g. in cases like *dhanín-* (rich, n. sg. masc. *dhaní*), fr. st. *dhána-* (neutr. n. sg. *dhána-m*, wealth)+sf. *in*; only bef. sf. *ya* is *a* regularly lost, e.g. st. *dhán-ya-* (adj. rich, n. sg. masc. *dhán-ya-s*), from same st. *dhána-*. Roots in *a* do permit this loss of *a* not unfrequently, e.g. *da-d-más*, *da-dh-más* (1 pl. pres. act.), fr. pres. stt. *da-da-*, *da-dha-* (1 sg. *dá-dā-mi*, *dá-dhā-mi*), √*da* (give), √*dha* (set); so also in pf. they lose their termn., and subsequently even assume an auxil. vowel *i*, as if they ended in a conson., *da-d-i-má*, *da-dh-i-má* (1 pl. pf.), like *tu-tud-i-má*, √*tud* (push), so that it becomes probable that *a* was lost bef. *i*, and not *ma*, but *ima*, etc., was considered to be the termn.

c. The splitting-up of *i* and *u* (and of their lengthenings *ī*, *ū*,—perh. it is more correct to suppose no lengthening to take place before vowels) to *iy*, *uv*, is retained where these vowels are radical in monosyll. words, more rarely also in ordinary Sk. otherwise, *i.e.* when two consonn. stand before the vowel.

Exx.: *bhiy-i* (loc. sg.), cf. n. sg. *bhī-s* (fear), st. thus *bhī-*; *iy-áy-a* (3 sg. pf.), √*i* (go), fr. **i-āi-a*; *āi* is √*i* in 2nd step, *i* in fund. fm.

çu-çruv-ús (3 pl. pf.), √*çru* (hear), f.f. *ku-kru-anti*; *āp-nuv-ánti* (3 pl. pres. fmd. by *nu* fr. √*āp*, work); *bhruv-i* (loc. sg.), n. sg. *bhrū-s* (ὀ-φρύς), st. therefore *bhrū-*.

Note.—*y-anti* (3 pl. ind. pres.), √*i*, contrary to rule where we should have expected *iy-anti*; *i* is here exceptionally treated according to the plan laid down below.

d. The change into corresponding semi-vowel is regular in ordinary Sk., that is, occurs exclusively in the case of *i* and *u* as 2nd part of diphthongs *e* (=*ai*), *āi*, *ō* (=*au*), *āu*, e.g. *pákty-ā* (instr. sg. of n. sg. *pákti-s*, coctio) for **pakti-ā*, *ni-ny-é* (1, 3 sg. pf. med.), √*ni* (*nī*, lead) for **ni-ni-ē*.

náy-ati (3 sg. pres.), √*ni* (lead), here raised to 1st step *nē*, § 14. i.e. *nai*.

ni-náy-a (1, 3 sg. pf. act.), √*ni*, *nāi*=2nd step of *ni*.

çr-ṇv-ánti (3 pl. pres. act.), √*çru* (hear), pres. st. √*çr-ṇu-* (cf. § 12) for **çr-ṇu-anti*, f.f. *kru-nu-anti*; cf. supr. *āpnuv-ánti*, with splitting of *nu* into *nuv*, whereas here two consonn. stand before *u*.

çráv-ana-m (the hearing, ear; n. sg. ntr.), √*çru* (hear), raised to *çro*=*çrau* + sf. *ana*; *çráv-as* (ntr. the hearing, ear =κλέϝος, Scl. *sloves-*), likewise fr. same root + sf. *as*.

çu-çrắv-a (1, 3 sg. pf.), √*çru* (hear), here raised to 2nd step *çrāu*.

Note 1.—The earlier lang. shows the splitting-up only in the case of *i*, *u*. The scale of variation is as follows: 1. *i*, *u* + vowel, e.g. *pákti-ā*; but there arises very easily, 2. *iy*, *uv* + vowel, e.g. *páktiy-ā*; and finally the vowel element is lost entirely, 3. *y*, *v* + vowel, e.g. *pákty-ā*.

Note 2.—The fms. explained in § 6, such as *ūǩ-ús*, *īǵ-ús*, form no exception to the laws above laid down, and are prob. not contracted fr. **uuǩús*, *iiǵús*, but rather arise fr. resolution of *v*, *y*, into *u*, *i*; **va-vaǩ-us*, **uvaǩus*, **uvǩus*, *ūǩús*; **ya-yaǵ-us*, **iyaǵus*, **iyǵus*, *īǵús*, are the gradations of change here to be understood.

2. Vowel-change caused by the neighbouring consonn. § 15.

Note.—A single instance had to be mentioned as early as § 7, as *pūrṇás* with *ū* on acct. of *p*; generally the weakenings of *a* bef. *r* are intrinsically caused by this conson.

a. *y* often lengthens preceding *u*, *i*, *a* (for splitting-up of *y* to *iy*, *īy*, v. supr. § 14, 1, c.), e.g. *crū-yá-tē* (3 sg. pres. pass.), √*çru* (hear); *ǵī-yá-tē* (3 sg. pres. pass.), √*ǵi* (conquer, e.g. in *ǵi-tá-s*, past part. pass., *ǵáyati* 3 sg. pres.); *ǵā-ya-tē* (is born, 3 sg. med.), √*ǵa* (generally *ǵan*, and thus means bring forth, bear; cf. Zend *za-yē-itē*, f.f. therefore *ga-ya-tai*), etc.

Note.—Bef. *y*=*i*, *ī* also may be explained as splitting-up of *i* to *iy*. Perh. fr. this source arise also the lengthenings of *u* to *ū*, and *a* to *ā*, bef. *y*. Cf. sq.

§ 15. b. *iy* sometimes occurs instead of *y*, and also *īy* with the favourite vowel-lengthening bef. *y*.

After *a* in certain cases *iy* (with *a* or *ā* therefore *ēy*) instead of *y* (with *a* or *ā* therefore *ay*, *āy*), e.g. pres. st. in *a* + opt. element *ya* forms not *-a-ya*, but *-a-iya*, i.e. *-ēya*, e.g. *bṓdhēyam* for **bōdha-ya-m* (1 sg. opt. pres.), pres. st. *bodha-*, √*budh* (learn, know); *dḗ-ya-s* (part. necessitatis, n. sg. masc.) for **dā-ya-s*, st. *dā-ya*, consisting of step-formed √*dạ* (give), and sf. *ya*; *gāṅgēya-s* (found in or on the Ganges), fr. *gáṅgā* (nom. pr. Ganges), step-fmd. *gāṅgā* + sf. *ya*, for **gāṅgā-ya-s*.

Also after consonn. occurs *īy* for *y*, thus in compar. st. fmd. with origl. sf. *yans*, e.g. st. *lághīyās-* (n. sf. masc. *lághīyān*), fr. *laghú-s* (light) = *ἐ-λαχύ-ς*, for **lagh-yās-*, cf. *ἐ-λάσσων* for **λαχ-yων*, and superl. *lágh-iš-ṭha-s*, *ἐ-λάχ-ισ-το-ς*, where *is-* is a relic of *-yas-*, *-yās-*. So moreover the sf. *ya* has also a fm. *īya*, e.g. st. *karaṇ-īya-* (faciendus) for **karan-ya-*, st. *kára-ṇa*, which loses its termn. bef. *ya* (§ 14, 1, b), etc.

Note.—*īy* = *y* is not developed in Indian until after the division of Aryan into Ind. and Eran.; the Zend, which stands so close to Old-Ind., still has *y* = Sk. *īy*.

c. *yā* was sometimes compressed into *ī*. So esp. in fem. stt. in *ī*, which prob. can only be = *yā*, e.g. *bhárantī* (the bearing one, f.) = **bharant-yā* = *φέρουσα* = **φερουτ-yā*; *ǵanitrḗ* = **ganitr-yā* fr. **gan-i-tar-ya* (genetrix) = *γενέτειρα*, i.e. **γενετερ-ya*, etc., *ya-* stt. fr. usual masc. stt., Sk. *bhárant-*, *ǵani-tár-*, Gk. *φέρουτ-*, *γενε-τήρ-*; *dēvī́* = **daivyā* (dea), cf. Lith. *deivė́*, i.e. **deivyā́*, f.f. *daiv-yā* (once 'goddess,' now = 'ghost'), later fmn. fr. st. *dēvá-*, Lith. *dḗva*, f.f. *daiva-* (deus); Vēd. *ávī* (instr. sg. for Sk. *ávy-ā*, both fr. *áviā* (*ávi-s*, ouis, *ā* sf. of instr. sg.), etc.: *ī* is clearly a weaker vowel-fm. for *yā* in opt., *e.g.* 3 sg. act. *bibhr-yā́-t*, but 3 sg. med. *bibhr-ī-ta*, √*bhar* (bear, pres. st. *bibhar-*), etc.

Sometimes *ī* is a product of a similar earlier contraction of *i-a* or *ya* after loss of conson. betw. *i* and *a*, as in *sīd-áti* (3 sg. pres.), fr. **si-adati* for **si-sad-ati*, √*sad* (sit, pf. *sa-sā́d-a*, aor.

á-sad-at), like ἵζω fr. *ἵέζω=*si-sed-yō*, f.f. *si-sad-yami*, Lat. *sīd-o* § 15. fr. **sisdo* for *si-sed-o*, f.f. **si-sad-ami* (with not unfreq. pres. redupln.), also the *ir* now used as a root, e.g. *ir-tḗ* (3 pres. med., rises, causat. *ir-áyati*, he arouses), is recognized as a product of pres. redupln.; *ir*=**i-ar*, **iyar*, √*ar* (go), etc.

d. Compensatory lengthening. Esp. in declens.-fms. (n. sg., acc. pl.) is found lengthening of the foregoing vowel after loss of conson. Exx.:

N. sg. *rā́ǵā* for **rāǵan-s*, st. *rāǵan-* (masc. rex) + nom. sf. *s*, cf. ποιμήν for **ποιμεν-ς*; *dhanī́* for **dhanín-s*, st. *dhanín-* (rich); *mātā́* for **mātar-s*, st. *mātar-* (mater), cf. μήτηρ for **μητερ-ς*; *dúr-manās* for **dur-manas-s* (masc. fem. evil-minded, compounded of *dus*, evil, *mánas* ntr. mens), cf. δυσμενής for **δυσ-μενεσ-ς*; *agnimā́n* for **agnimant-s* (fiery, st. *agni-*, ignis + sf. *-mant*). Notice *bháran* without compens. lengthening for **bharant-s* (n. sg. part. pres. act., whilst the corresponding Gk. φέρων for **φεροντς* has the lengthening).

Acc. pl. *áçvān* for **açvan-s*, n. sg. *áçva-s* (equos); *pátīn* for **patin-s*, n. sg. *patis* (lord); *sūnū́n* for **sūnun-s*, n. sg. *sūnú-s* (son); *mátīs* for **mati-ns*, n. sg. *máti-s* (fem. thought): *dhēnū́s* for **dhēnun-s*, n. sg. *dhēnú-s* (milch cow).

Bef. sonant consonn. we ought prob. to consider *ō* to be a compens. lengthening=*as*, with dulling of the vowel, e.g. *mánōbhis*, instr. pl. for **manas-bhis*, fr. *mánas-* (neutr. mens, μένος) and *bhis* (sf. of instr. pl. consisting of *bhi* + pl. sf. *s*), etc. This change of *as* to *ō* often takes place in case of final *as*.

Note.—In the case of compens. lengthening in Sk. and in the other languages, we might make a more accurate distinction as follows: 1. ˘ + conson.=¯ (cf. O.-Bulg instr. sg. *-mĭ*=origl. *bhi*, bes. instr. pl. *-mi*, i.e. *-mī*=origl. *-bhis*), in terminations; medially this case is not found: 2. ˘ + conson. 1 + conson. 2=¯ (e.g. *mātā* for **mātars*) in termn.: 3. ˘ + conson. 1 + conson. 2=¯ + conson. 2, final and medial (e.g. *matīs* for **matin-s*; Gk. εἰμί for **ἐσμι*; a subdivn. forms here ˘ + cons. 1 + cons. 2 + cons. 3=¯ + cons. 3 (e.g. ἱστᾱ́ς for **ἱσταντς*): 4. ˘ +

§ 15. conson. 1 + cons. 2 = ¯ + cons. 1 (e.g. *μήτηρ* for **μητερς*), or ˘ + cons. 1 + cons. 2 + cons. 3 = ¯ + cons. 1 (e.g. *φέρων* for **φεροντς*, finally and medially, the latter, e.g. Gk. *ἔφηνα* for **ἐφανσα*). The physiological explan. of this sound-process is difficult, esp. in case No. 4.

e. Dulling of *ā* to *ē* and *āu* bef. lost conson. and *in fine*. For *ā* there occurs a dulled fm. in *ē*, in certain cases in the middle of a word, when *ā* has been produced through compens. lengthening (§ 15, d), in the case of unusual and late consonantal loss: in termn. it occurs, but is likewise confined to certain cases; also we find *ē* for *ā*, like *āu* for *ā*, the latter of which is retained in the old lang. Exx.:

ē for *ā* when consonn. have been lost; thus in imperat. pres. *ēdhi* for **ā-dhi*, **as-dhi* (√ and pres. st. *as-*, esse, *dhi* termn. of 2 sg. imper.); *dhēhi* for **dhāhi*, with asp. (v. § 59) for Vēdic *daddhi* for **dadh-dhi* (pres. st. *dadh*, √*dha*, set); *dēhi* for **dāhi*, fr. **dadhi* for *daddhi* (pres. st. *dad*, √*da*, dare); in pf. fm. as Sk. *pēt-i-má* for **pāt-i-ma*, Vēd. *papt-i-má* fr. **pa-pat-ma* (1 pl. act.; pf. st. *papat-*, √*pat*, fly, fall); *tēn-i-rḗ* for **tān-i-rē* fr. older *ta-tn-i-rē* (3 pl. med.; pf. st. *tatan-*, √*tan*, stretch), etc.; finally in voc. of fem. *a-* st., e.g. *áçvē* (but earlier still *áçva*), voc. of *açvā* (equa). *āu* for earlier *ā* (cf. *ō* for *as* in termn. bef. sonants, § 15, d) occurs in n. acc. dual, e.g. *áçvāu*, earlier *áçvā* (n. *áçvas*, equos); further in 1, 3 sg. pf. act. of roots in *a*, e.g. *dadā́u*, archaic *dadā́*, √*da* (dare).

f. An auxil. vowel *i*, *ī*, occurs betw. stem-termns. and termns. which begin with a conson. in word-fmn., esp. in conjugation fms., in which origly. and partly still in the earlier lang., the termn. was added immediately to the stem-termn., e.g. pres. fm. of single vbs., as *sváp-i-mi*, *sváp-i-ši*, *sváp-i-ti*, *svap-i-más* (1, 2, 3 sg., 1 pl. pres.), etc., for **svap-mi*, etc., √*svap* (sleep); in pf. this occurs regularly in case of certain persons, e.g. 1 pl. *tutud-i-má*, √*tud* (tundere), etc. Here we often see even now the older fms. without inserted *i*, partly even in ordinary Sk., as e.g. *kakár-tha* (2 sg. pf.), √*kar* (facere), partly in the earlier lang.

of the Vēdas, in which a fm. *tutudmá*, etc., may be found. In fut. e.g. *gam-i-šyámi* (1 sg. fut.), √*gam* (ire); in part. pres. pass., e.g. *vid-i-tá-s*, √*vid* (see, know), and many similar fmns., this insertion of *i* occurs in certain roots. § 15.

ī occurs as auxil. vowel in aor.-fms., e.g. 2 sg. *á-nāi-š-ī-s*, √*n* (*nī*, lead), bes. 1 pl. *ánāi-š-ma ;* in pres. fms. as 1 sg. *bráv-ī-mi*, 3 sg. *bráv-ī-ti*, bes. 1 pl. *brū-más*, √*bru* (*brū*, speak), and in impf. fms., as *á-brav-ī-s*, *á-brav-ī-t* (2, 3 sg.) (id.); *ā́s-ī-s*, *ā́s-ī-t* (2, 3 sg.), √*as* (esse), etc.; *ghr-ī-tá-s* past part. pass., √*grah* (grasp), has likewise this *ī*, which is therefore used just like *i*, only not so often.

The Vēd. *ās* for **ās-t* (acc. to a sound-law of Old-Ind., which must be discussed under 'Consonants'), instead of later *ā́s-ī-t*, favours the view that *ī* is an auxil. vowel inserted at a later time.

Note.—Since beside *sváp-i-mi* for **svapmi*, etc., we see *svápāmi*, etc., we must simply suppose that here, as often elsewhere, beside the pres. st. *svap-*, there was a pres. st. in *a*, *svapa-*.

GREEK. § 16.

Summary of Sounds.

CONSONANTS.							VOWELS.
	MOMENTARY SOUNDS.			PROLONGED SOUNDS.			
	UNASPIRATED mute	UNASPIRATED sonant[1]	ASPIRATED. mute	SPIRANTS. mute	SPIRANTS. sonant[1]	NASALS. sonant[1]	*r*- & *l*-SOUNDS. sonant[1]
Gutt.	κ	γ	χ	ϵ		γ		a ā } ϵ η
Pal.								ι ῑ }
Ling.							ρ λ	} o ω
Dent.	τ	δ	θ	σ		ν		} υ ῡ
Lab.	π	β	φ		(F)	μ		(ου) }

[1] Or medial.

§ 16. In this table only the indivisible sounds are mentioned.

ζ is a consonantal diphthong, namely *d* with the sonant dental spirant (e.g. Sclavonian *z*). ψ, ξ, are only characters for two sounds $\pi\varsigma$, $\kappa\varsigma$. The vowel-diphthongs are $\alpha\iota$, $\epsilon\iota$, $o\iota$; $\alpha\upsilon$, $\epsilon\upsilon$, $o\upsilon$ (older pronunciation); $\upsilon\iota$; also $\breve{\alpha}$, $\breve{\eta}$, $\breve{\omega}$ (older pronunciation, by which the ι was still heard); $\bar{\alpha}\upsilon$ (perhaps in the word $\gamma\rho\bar{\alpha}\hat{\upsilon}\varsigma$ [$\gamma\rho\eta\hat{\upsilon}\varsigma$], perhaps pronounced distinctly from $\alpha\grave{\upsilon}$ with short *a*), $\eta\upsilon$, $\omega\upsilon$.

Note 1.—υ at an earlier period of the language was equivalent to *u*, but became pronounced like *y*, *ü*, as early as classical times; $o\upsilon$ in the earlier language was the genuine diphthong *ou*, but even in the classical period it had become equivalent to *ū*, as indeed it did in other languages, *e.g.* French, the older *ou* became *ū*, whilst the spelling retains the earlier sound-grade.

To pronounce Old-Greek after the fashion of modern Greek is a mistake, which arises from utter ignorance of the laws of development and phonology of a language.

We should be careful to distinguish $\alpha\iota$ from $\epsilon\iota$ in pronunciation, because they are distinct sounds: they are pronounced as they are written, i.e. $\alpha\iota$ like German *ai* or *ei*, but $\epsilon\iota$ like $e+i$ tacked on, a diphthong, which is found dialectically in German, and characterized in other languages by *ey* (*ej*) (cf. Curt. Erl. § 8 sqq.).

Note 2.—Like most other written languages, the Greek does not characterize its long vowels throughout; in earlier Greek, however, they were not indicated at all: *a* serves as *a* and *ā*, ι for *i* and *ī*, υ for *ü* and *ū*, in the earlier writing ϵ for *e* and *ē* (η); *o* for *o* and *ō* (ω). These incomplete indications of sounds have nothing to do with the language itself, $\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, e.g., must be read $\tau\hat{\eta}\varsigma$, $\tau\epsilon\iota=\tau\eta\iota$, i.e. $\tau\breve{\eta}$, $\tau o\iota=\tau\omega\iota$, i.e. $\tau\breve{\omega}$, etc.; in all cases the long vowels are derived from the original language. Cf. 'Declensions.'

The system of Greek writing belongs to Greek special-grammar, as an appendix to the phonology.

§ 17. THE GREEK VOWEL-SYSTEM.

The most important deviation from the original language lies in the colouring of *a* into *e* and *o*, which takes place alike in the case of *a* and *ā* by the side of the original vowel pre-

served: the archaic dialects (Dôric) have remained most faithful § 17.
to the older order of sounds: *o* has a double duty; it is not only 1. the representative of the original *a*, but also 2. (opposed to ϵ=*a*) the representative of the original *ā*.

Through the differentiation of *ā* into *o*, *ā*, η, ω, it became possible to separate ω as the second step from the first *o*, *a*, η.

The weakening of *a* into ι and υ, as well as loss of *a*, occurs comparatively seldom.

This same colouring of the *a*-sound into *e* and *o* occurs when it is combined with *i* and *u* in a diphthong; here too ϵ (=*a*) is the first, *o* (=*ā*) the second step, which however is replaced in the *u*-scale almost always by the first step ($\epsilon\iota$, $\epsilon\upsilon$=original *ai*, *au*; $o\iota$, $o\upsilon$=original *āi*, *āu*). It is only wherever the language has lost the living variability of the vowels according to their scales, $a\iota$ and $a\upsilon$ appear as steps raised from ι and υ.

A large number of vowel-sounds, especially diphthongs and long vowels, arise in Greek through the elision, permutation, and change of position of the original spirants *y*, *v*, *s*, which were entirely, or in certain combinations, unbearable to Greek pronunciation. The vowel-sounds so formed are consequently entirely unoriginal, being products of the peculiar sound-laws of the Greek language, and foreign to the original state of the language.

The Greek vowel-system, in many parts differing from the original one, reminds us in several respects of the Zend; whilst we find on the other hand the greatest conformity with that of the Latin language.

The vowel-scales of the Greek language are then as follows:

	Weakening.	Fundamental-vowel.	1st Step.	2nd Step.
a-scale	loss ι, υ	ϵ, *o*, *a*	*o*, *ā*, η	ω
i-scale		ι	$\epsilon\iota$ ($a\iota$)	$o\iota$
u-scale		υ	$\epsilon\upsilon$ ($a\upsilon$)	$o\upsilon$ ($\bar{a}\upsilon$)

Note.—More than one sound accordingly occurs here in different functions, as is the case with *i* and *u* in Sanskrit, and

§ 17. partly also in Zend. In the Greek, however, we meet with the ambiguity of the sounds for the first time to a greater extent; we may here therefore speak of it briefly. Besides the permutations shown above, ι=original *i* and *a*; υ=original *u* and *a*; ο=original *a* and *ā*: that is, the diphthongs are ambiguous because they stand, sometimes for scale-sounds, sometimes for results of contraction, sometimes for protracted vowels. e.g. ει in εἶμι (εο, ibo), fundamental-form *ai-mi*, originally distinct from εἰμί (sum), from **ἐσμι*, fund.-form *as-mi*; εἰ in εἶπον (dixi), fr. **ἐεπον*, **Fεπον*, √*Fεπ*; εἰ in εἴην (opt. pres.) for **ἐσιην*, f.f. *as-yā-m*; κτείνω (kill) for **κτενιω*; ου in σπουδή (haste; raised to ευ in σπεύδω, √σπυδ) is altogether different, as ου in πούς (foot) for **ποδ-ς*, f.f. *pad-s*; ου in τούς for τονς (acc. pl. of το-), f.f. *tams*; ου in νέου, fr. **νέοο*, for νέοιο, **νεFοσιο*, f.f. *navasya* (gen. sing. masc. and n. fr. νεο-, young); ου in γουνός for **γονFος* (gen. sing. fr. γόνυ, knee):—similarly in the case of οι, λοιπ-ός (remaining), √λιπ, but μοῖρα (lot, fate) for **μορ-ια*, √μερ (divide); οἷς, fr. ὅις (older form ὅFις, Lat. ouis); αι in αἴθω (burn), √*ἰθ*, but μέλαινα (nom. sing. fem. st. μελαν-, black) for *μέλανια*, etc.

§ 18. EXAMPLES.

1. *a*-scale.

Weakening. Loss. e.g. γί-γνο-μαι (become) for **γι-γέν-ομαι*, √γεν, original *gan*; πί-πτ-ω for **πι-πετ-ω*, √πετ, original *pat* (fall); ἔ-σχ-ον (1 sing. aor.), fund.-form *a-sagh-am*, √σεχ, original √*sagh*; ἐ-σπ-όμην (1 sing. aor. ἔπ-ομαι), √σεπ (follow), original √*sak*, etc.

There takes place not unfrequently a complete loss of an original *a* in the elements of stem-formation, e.g. πα-τρ-ός, πα-τρ-ί, from stem πατέρ- (father), original *pa-tar-*, thus stand for πατέρ-ος, πατέρ-ι (Homêric), f.f. *patar-as*, *patar-i*, etc.

Note.—Loss of initial *a* in Greek is not common, cf. ἐσ-μέν (we are), f.f. *as-masi*, Sansk. *s-más*, and Lat. *s-umus*; εἴην= **ἐσιην*, f.f. *as-yām*, Sansk. *s-yām*, Lat. *s-iēm*; εὖ (ἐύ) for **ἐσύ*, f.f. *asu*, Sansk. *su* (well).

The weakening of original *a* to ι (cf. Curt. Gk. Et., p. 641 sqq.) is not frequent or regular in roots, and occurs most often before two consonn., e.g. ἴσ-θι, f.f. *as-dhi* (2 sing. imper.),

√*ἐς*, origl. and Sansk. *as* (to be); *πίτ-νημι* beside *πετ-άννυμι* § 18.
(spread out), cf. *pateo; πιτ-νέω* (fall), √*πετ*, Sk. *pat; κιρ-νημι*
beside *κερ-άω, κερ-άννυμι* (mix); *τίκ-τω* (bring forth), √*τακ*,
origl. √*tak*, cf. *ἔ-τεκ-ον, τέ-τοκ-α*; *ἵππος* for **ἴκ-Fος*, Sk.
áç-vas, Lat. *eq-uos*, f.f. *ak-vas*, √*ak* (run). The passing of
original *a* into *i* is through intervening *e*, to which fact the
examples cited bear witness.

This weakening of the fundamental *a* into *ι* occurs regularly
in the reduplicated form of the present, e.g. *τί-θη-μι*, Sk. and
origl. *dá-dhā-mi*, √*θε*, Sk. and origl. √*dha* (place); *δί-δω-μι*,
Sk. and origl. *dá-dā-mi*, √*δο*, Sk. and origl. *da* (give);
γί-γν-ομαι, √*γεν*, origl. *gan* (bring forth); *πί-πτ-ω*, √*πετ*,
origl. *pat* (fall). This *i* (weakened from *a*) occurs lengthened
to *ī*, e.g. in *πῑ́-νω* (drink), √*πο* (*πό-σις, πο-τήριον, πέ-πω-κα*),
origl. *pa; παρθεν-οπ-ῖπ-ης* (looker-at-maidens), cf. *ὀπ-ωπ-ή*
(sight), √*ὀπ*, origl. *ak* (see); *ὑσ-μίνη, ὑσ-μῖνι* (loc. sing. moil),
f.f. *yudh-manā, yudh-mani*, the latter to the st. *yudh-man-*,
√*yudh* (join battle), suff. *man*.

Dialectically (in Dôric, Aiolic) this weakening of origl. *a* to
i is more common; e.g. Dôr. *ἰσ-τία*, Iôn. *ἰσ-τίη*, for *ἐσ-τία*
(hearth), origl. √*vas; ἰν* Arkad. and Kuprian for *ἐν* (in), related
to the pronoml. stem *an;* Boiôtian *ἰών*=Iôn. *ἐών* for **ἐσ-ων*
(n. sing. masc. part. pres. act.), √*ἐσ-* (be), etc. Through the
dulling of *a* to *o*, and further of *o* to *u*, a change of origl.
a to *u* takes place.

This weakening of *a* to *υ* (cf. G. Curt., p. 644 sqq.) occurs
merely unconnectedly, in most cases through the influence of a
nasal or *r*, *l*; and herein we must not forget that *υ* represents
an older *u*, so that in Greek we have the same weakening from
a to *u* as in Lat. and German, etc., e.g. *νυκτ-ός* (gen. sing.),
stem *νυκτ-* (night), (Sk. adv. *nákt-am*=*noctu*), Lat. stem. *noct-:*
the root-vowel thus is *a*, and the root clearly √*nak* (necare,
nocere); in *ὄνυξ* (stem *ὀνυχ-*, nail), root *νυχ*, cf. Goth. *nag-ls*,
Sk. *nakh-ás*, etc., the origl. vowel is no doubt *a; γυνή* (woman),

§ 18. √*γαν* (bring forth), cf. Sk. *ǵán-a-s* (mensch), *ǵánī* (wife), Gothic *kven-s* (wife, spouse); *κύκλος* (ring), cf. Sk. *ǩakrá-m*; *μύλ-ος*, *μύλ-η* (mola), √*mal* fr. *mar*, cf. *mola*, *molere*, Lith. *malù*, Gothic *malan*; *ἀν-ώνυμος* (nameless) beside *ὄνομα* (name), f.f. *gnāman*, etc.

Dialectically this change is more frequently observed, esp. in Aiolic, e.g. *ὄνυμα*=*ὄνομα*; *ὔμοιος*=*ὅμοιος*, f.f. *samaias*, from stem *sam*=Gk. *ὁμο* (*ὁμός*, like), the origin of which is found in the pronoml. origl. √*sa*=Gk. *ὁ*; Aiolic locative *ἄλλυι*, *τυῖδε*, for *ἄλλοι* (*ἀλλο-*, other), *τοῖδε* (*το-* demonstr. pronoml. st.); Boiôtian *τύ* for **τυι*=*τοι* (n. pl. masc. same st.), *τῦς ἄλλυς*=**τυις* **ἀλλυις*=*τοῖς ἄλλοις* (dat. loc. pl.), by contraction of *υι* to *υ*.

Note.—I hold it inadmissible to separate from the rest those cases in which original *ka*, *ga*, become *κυ*, *γυ*, and to explain them collectively from *kva*, *gva*, with loss of *a*; neither will a fm. **κϝακλος* seem to me to be Gk., and yet we must suppose some such form. No one, so far as I know, has had recourse to a fm. **νϝαξ*, **ὀνϝαξ*, **μϝαλη*, in order to explain the *υ* in these words. Here *υ* must have arisen from *a* without passing through *va*, and the same process must have taken place after gutturals.

§ 19. Root-vowel *a* in the original language.

As a rule, *ε* is the representative of origl. *a* in roots; whilst *o* generally takes its place in the stem-formative and word-formative particles, *a* is found in roots; in word-formative additions it is mostly dependent on a nasal now lost, but once in existence.

ε=*a*. *ἔδ-ω*, Sk. *ád-mi* (eat), √*ἐδ*, origl. *ad* (edo); √*ἑδ* in *ἕζ-ομαι*=**σεδ-yομαι* (sed-eo), *ἕδ-ος* (sed-es), origl. *sad* (sit); √*γεν* in *γέν-ος* (gen-us), origl. *gan* (gi-gn-ere) of *gan-as*; *ἐσ-τί*, Sk. and origl. *ás-ti* (√*ἐσ*, origl. *as*, esse); *φέρω*, Sk. and origl. *bhár-āmi*, *ἔφερ-ον*, Sk. and origl. *á-bhar-am*, √*φερ*, origl. *bhar* (ferre), etc. So also *ε* is common in elements of relation, e.g. st. *πα-τέρ-* (n. sing. *πατήρ*, father), origl. *pa-tar-*; st. *μῆ-τερ-* (n. sing. *μήτηρ*, mater), origl. *mātar-*; st. *μέν-εσ-* (n. sing.

μένος, might), Sk. and origl. *mán-as*; *φέρ-ετε*, Sk. *bhár-atha*; § 19. origl. evidently *bhar-a-tasi* (2 pl. pres. act.), etc.

o=*a*. *ποδ-ός*, Sk. and origl. *pad-ás* (g. sing.), st. and √*pad* (foot, go), where of course, in accordance with the sensibility of the Greek, the *o* may also be considered as a raised step from *ε* in *πεδ*; *ὁ, τό*, origl. and Sk. *sa, ta-t*, root and st. *sa, ta* (pron. dem.); *πό-σι-ς* (lord)=origl. and Sk. *pá-ti-s* (lord); *μέν-ος* (n. acc.), *μέν-ους* (gen. sing.) for **μένεσ-ος*, Sk. and origl. *mán-as, mán-as-as*; similarly in *a*-stems, *a* changes to *o*, as *νέϜο-ς* (n. sing. masc.), *νέϜο-ν* (acc. sing.)=Lat. *nouo-s, nouo-m*, Sk. and origl. *náva-s, náva-m*, etc.

Dialectically *o* takes the place of *a*. Aiolic *βροχέως* for *βραχέως* (adv.), from st. *βραχύ-* (breuis=*breguis*, short); Arkadian *ἑκοτόν* for *ἑκατόν* (100), f.f. of *-κατον* is *kata-m* or *kanta-m*, cf. Sk. *çatá-m*; Kuprian *κόρζα*=*καρδία* (heart), cf. Lat. *cord-*, f.f. of this stem is *kard-*; st. *τεκταν-* in *τέκταινα*, i.e. **τεκτανγα* (fem.), *τεκταίν-ομαι* (build), *i.e.* **τεκτανγομαι* stands by the form *τέκτον-* (n. sing. *τέκτων*, builder), f.f. *taktan-*; the older *a* is preserved in the Dôric *Fίκατι* for the newer Attic *εἴκοσι* (twenty), f.f. of the second part of the word is *(da)kati*; in *δια-κάτιοι* for *διακόσιοι* (200), *-κατιοι* is derived from an origl. stem *kata-* or *kanta-* (100).

a=*a*. *ἀκ-ωκ-ή* (point), st. *ἄκ-οντ-* (n. *ἄκων*, dart), origl. √*ἀκ* (Lat. *ac-*, *ac-utus*); *ἄγ-ω* (lead)=Lat. *ago*, Sk. *áǵ-āmi*, origl. √*ag*; *ἄχος* (grief), *ἄχ-νυμαι* (am grieved), origl. √*agh*; *ἐ-λαχ-ύς* (little), Sk. *lagh-ús* (old *ragh-ú-s*) (light); *πλατύ-ς* (broad, wide), Sk. *prthú-s*, origl. *pratu-s*; *λα-μ-β-άνω* (take), *ἔ-λαβ-ον*, Sk. *á-labh-am*, √*λαβ*, Sk. *labh-* (get); *δάκ-νω* (bite), *ἔ-δακ-ον*, cf. Sk. *dáç-āmi*, f.f. √*dak*; *ἔ-λακ-ον* (I spoke), cf. Lat. *loq-uor*, Sk. *láp-āmi* (cry out), √*λακ*, origl. *rak*; st. *πα-τέρ-* (father)=Lat. *pa-ter-*, origl. *pa-tar-*, √*pa* (protect).

a stands beside *ε*, e.g. *ἔ-ταμ-ον* beside *ἔ-τεμ-ον* (*τέμ-νω*, cut), in *ἔ-τραφ-ον*, *ἔ-τραπ-ον*, *ἔ-κταν-ον* beside *τρέφ-ω* (cherish), *τρέπ-ω* (turn), *κτείν-ω* (kill) (=**κτεν-γω*). We cannot trace herein a

§ 19. step from ε to *a*, but only a vowel-colouring, originally merely dialectic, which indeed was used in Greek for the purpose of expressing the relation of the aorist. As *ἐ-ταμ-ον* is to *ἐ-τεμ-ον*, so are the present forms *τέμνω*, *τρέφω*, *τρέπω* to the Dôric *τάμνω*, *τράφω*, *τράπω*, which we have to consider as the presents corresponding to the aorists *ἔταμον*, *ἔτραφον*, *ἔτραπον*; *κρείσσων* (better) (i.e. **κρετ-γων*) beside *κράτ-ιστος* (best). Cf. Dôric *ā*=Iôn. Attic *η*.

a=*a*+nasal. *πόδα* (acc. sing.), Sk. and origl. *pád-am* (pedem), *πόδ-ας*, Sk. *pád-as*, origl. *padam-s*; *φέρον-τα*, Sk. and origl. *bhára-tam* (feren-tem), *φέροντ-ας*, Sk. *bhárant-as*, origl. *bharant-ams* (acc. pl. ferent-es); *ἑπτά*, Sk. and origl. *saptán* (septem); *δέκα*, Sk. *dáçan*, origl. *dakan* (decem); *-σα* (1 sing. aor. in comp.) =Sk. and origl. *-sa-m*, cf. *ἔ-δειξα* (=*ἐ-δεικ-σα*) and Sk. *á-dikša-m*, √*diç*, origl. *dik* (show).

§ 20. Step-formation in the *a*-scale. Rule for the first step is: radical ε is raised to *o*, *a* to *ā* (i.e. *η*). There are, however, exceptions to this rule.

1. *ε*:*o*. *φόρ-ο-ς* (tax), *φορέω* (bear (durative), wear)=Sk. and f.f. *bhár-a-s* (burden), *bhār-áyāmi* (causat.) beside *φέρ-ω*, Sk. and f.f. *bhár-āmi* (fero); *Fόχ-ο-ς* (waggon), Sk. *vah-a-s*, f.f. *vāgh-a-s* (waggon), √*Fεχ*, Sk. *vah*, origl. *vagh* (vehere), which, however, as a verb becomes intermixed with √*σεχ*, Sk. *sah* (have, hold); *μέ-μον-α* (strive), f.f. *ma-mān-a*, beside *μέν-ος* (might), Sk. and f.f. *mán-as*, √*μεν*, origl. √*man* (think); *γον-ή* (birth), *γόν-ο-ς* (thing born, bairn), *γέ-γον-α*, f.f. *ga-gān-a*, Sk. *ǵaǵāna*, beside *ἐ-γεν-όμην*, *γέν-ος* (genus), Sk. *ǵán-as*, f.f. *gan-as*, √*γεν*, origl. √*gan* (gi-gn-ere); *τόκος* (thing born, bairn), *τοκ-εύ-ς* (parens), beside *τεκ-έσθαι*, *τίκ-τω*, √*τεκ* (produce); *τέ-τροφ-α* beside *τρέφ-ω*, *ἐ-τράφ-ην*, √*τρεφ* (nourish); *ἔ-κτον-α* beside *κτείν-ω* (i.e. **κτεν-γω*), *ἔ-κταν-ον*, √*κτεν* (kill); *εἴ-λοχ-α*, *λόγ-ος*, beside *λέγω*, √*λεγ* (legere); *ἔ-φθορ-α*, *φθορ-ά*, beside *φθείρω*, i.e. **φθερ-γω*, √*φθερ* (destroy); *ὄψ* (voice), i.e. *Fόπ-ς*, origl. *vāk-s*, Sk. *vāk* for **vāk-s* (cry), beside *Fέπ-ος* (word),

origl. *vāk-as*, Sk. *vaǩ-as*, origl. √*vak* (cry); *γόν-υ*, gen. *γόνατος*, § 20. older (Iôn.) *γούνατος*=**γονϜατος*, *γουνός*=**γονϜος*, cf. Sk. *ǵā́nu* (genu); *ὄ-νο-μα*, older (Hom.) *οὔ-νο-μα* (name), from *ὄ-γνο-μα*, cf. Lat. *gno-men*, (Sk. *nā́m-an*, also, with root-vowel raised).

In Greek, on account of the prosodic quantity of *o*, this step is possible only before two consonants, e.g. *δέδορκα*=Sk. *da-dárç-a*, origl. *da-dark-a*, beside *δέρκ-ομαι*, *ἔ-δρακ-ον*, √*δερκ*, origl. *dark* (see).

Note.—The same kind of step-formation of *e*=*a* to *o*=*ā* occurs in Latin, also in Sclavonic, e.g. O.-Bulg. *vez-ą*=original *vagh-āmi*, Lat. *ueho*, bes. *voz-ŭ*=original *vāgh-a-s*, Gk. *Fόχ-ο-ς*, v. infr.

2. *a* : *ā*, *η*. two equivalent sounds. e.g. *λέ-ληκ-α*, *λέ-λāκ-α*, beside *ἔ-λακ-ον*, √*λακ* (cry out), cf. Sk. *lap*, origl. *rak*; *κέ-κληγ-α* beside *ἔ-κλαγ-ον*, *κλάζω*=**κλαγ-γω*, √*κλαγ* (sound); *λέ-ληθ-α*, Dôr. *λέ-λαθ-α*, *λήθη* (forgetfulness), beside *ἔ-λαθ-ον*, *λα-ν-θ-άνω*, √*λαθ* (escape notice); *εἴ-ληχ-α* beside *ἔ-λαχ-ον*, *λα-γ-χ-άνω*, √*λαχ* (get by lot); *δέ-δηχ-α* beside *δάκ-νω*, *ἔ-δακ-ον*, √*δακ* (bite); *εἴ-ληφ-α*, *λῆψ-ις* (i.e. *ληπ-σις*=*ληβ-τις*), beside *ἔ-λαβ-ον*, *λα-μ-β-άνω*, √*λαβ* (take); *κέ-κρāγ-α* beside *κράζω*, **κραγ-γω*, √*κραγ* (cry aloud); *ἔ-āγα*, Iôn. *ἔ-ηγ-α*, i.e. *Fε-Fāγ-α*, f.f. *va-vāg-a*, beside *ἄγ-νυμι*, √*Fαγ* (break); st. *μῆ-τερ-*, origl. and Sk. *mā-tar-*, etc.

In elements belonging to the formation of words, *o* will be found raised to *η*, *ā*: this rule is observed regularly in the stem-termination *o*=*a* in such stems as are raised in the feminine termination, e.g. *νέο-ς* (n. sing. masc.), *νέο-ν* (n. sing. neut.), origl. and Sk. *náva-s*, *náva-m* (nouo-s, nouo-m), but fem. *νέ-α*, Iôn. *νέη*=origl. and Sk. *návā* (noua). In *ἡ*, *ʽā*, origl. and Sk. *sā*, beside *ὁ*, origl. and Sk. *sa* (pron. demonstr.), and other pronominal stems, is found radical *o* raised to *η*, *ā*, the root being equivalent to the stem as often.

Note 1.—*μέ-μηλ-α* beside *μέλ-ει*, √*μελ* (be a care to), shows also the raising of *ε* to *η*.

§ 20. *Note* 2.—Sometimes *ā* is shortened to *ă*, e.g. *Fάστυ* (city), Sk. *vās-tu* (house), Sk. and original √*vas* (inhabit); similar shortenings often occur in the *a*-termn. of feminine stems.

Note 3.—The laying-down of the laws for the use of *ā*, *η*, belongs to the special-grammar of Greek: the Dôric predilection for the more ancient *ā* and that of Iônia for *η* are well known. In Attic likewise *ā* changes to *η*, yet *a* repeatedly occurs, owing to the surrounding sounds, especially in the case of *ρ*, *ε*, *η*, *ι*, *y* (i.e. *ζ*, *σσ*, *λλ*, etc.), preceding, and *ε*, *η*, following, when its change to *η* is stopped.

For the second step we have *ω* in examples such as *ἔρ-ρωγ-α*, *ῥώξ*, *ῥωγ-ός* (cleft), beside *ῥήγ-νυμι*, √*Fραγ* (break), cf. Goth. *brak*, Lat. *frag*; *πτώξ*, i.e. *πτώκ-ς*, gen. *πτωκ-ός* (cowering), *πτώσσω*, i.e. **πτώκ-γω* (cower), beside *πτήσσω* = **πτήκ-γω*, *ἔ-πτακ-ον*, √*πτακ* (cower), clearly a further formation from √*πτα*, cf. *πε-πτη-κώς*; *ἀρωγ-ός* (helper) beside *ἀρήγ-ω* (I help). From these examples we gather an equation *η* : *ω* :: *ε* : *o*.

Also where there is no parallel first step to *ω*, we must hold it to be in the position of a second step, e.g. *τρώγ-ω* beside *ἔ-τραγ-ον*, √*τραγ* (gnaw, chew); *ὄδ-ωδ-α* beside *ὄζω* = **ὄδ-γω*, *ὀδ-μή*, *ὀσ-μή*, √*ὀδ* (smell); *ὠκ-ύς* = Sk. *āç-ús*, origl. *āk-us* (sharp), *ἀκ-ωκ-ή* (point), √*ἀκ*, cf. *ἵππος* (equos), origl. *ak-vas*; *ὠ-όν*, better *ᾠόν* (Sappho, *ᾤιον* acc. to Ahrens, *ὤβεον* Hêsuch.), origl. *āvya-m* (ouom, *lit.* bird-, of a bird), from origl. *avi-s*, Sk. *vi-s* (auis); *ἀγ-ωγ-ή* (leading), *ἀγ-ωγ-ός* (leader), beside *ἀγ-αγ-εῖν*, *ἄγ-ειν* (lead); *δί-δω-μι* beside *δί-δο-μεν*, √*δο* (dare); *ἐδ-ωδ-ή* (food), √*ἐδ*, Lat. *ed*, origl. and Sk. *ad* (eat); *γνω-τός* (known), *γι-γνώ-σκω* (learn, come to know), cf. Lat. *(g)nō-tus*, *(g)nō-sco*, √*gna*, from *gan*.

Note.—Dialectically *ου* occurs for *ω*, i.e. *ū*, in isolated instances (a weakening which occurs also in Lat.). *ω* : *ου* (*ū*) :: *o* : *υ* (*u*), e.g. Thessal. *γνούμα* = *γνώμη* (insight, opinion), √*γνο*, original *gna* = *gan* (learn); *-ουν* = *-ων*, fund. *-ām* in gen. pl., cf. Lat. *-um*, etc.

§ 21. 2. *i*-scale.

Root-vowel *ι*. *ἴ-μεν*, *ἴ-θι*, Sk. *i-más-i*, *i-hí*, origl. *i-masi*, *i-dhi*, √*i* (ire); *ἔ-λιπ-ον*, √*λιπ*, Lat. *lic*, Sk. *rik*, origl. *rik* (leave); *Fἰδ-μεν*

=Sk. and origl. *vid-másí*, st. *Fίσ-τορ-* [n. sing. *ἴσ-τωρ* and *ἴσ-τωρ* § 21.
(knower, witness)], for **Fιδ-τορ-*, f.f. *vid-tar*, √*vid* (know);
ἔ-πιθ-ον, *ἐ-πιθ-όμην*, *πίσ-τις* (faith), for **πίθ-τι-ς*, √*πιθ* (persuade),
and element of stem-formation *τι*; *σχίδ-η* (splinter), *σχιζω* (split)
=**σχίδ-yω*, √*σχιδ*=Sk. *khid*, Lat. *scid*, origl. *skid* (scindere);
ὀ-μιχ-εῖν, √*μιχ*=Sk. *mih*, origl. *migh* (mingere); *λίχ-νος* (daintiness), *λιχ-μάω*, √*λιχ*, Sk. *lih*, *rih*, Lat. *lig*, origl. *righ*; *στίχ-ος* (rank), *ἔ-στιχ-ον*, √*στιχ* (march, tread), Goth. *stig*, Sk. and origl. *stigh*; *τί-ς*, fund. *ki-s*, Lat. *qui-s*, Goth. **hi-s*, pronl. root, origl. *ki* (dem. and interrog.), etc.

Lengthened *ī* is a parallel form to *i* (often depending on fixed proportion of sound), e.g. Hom. *'ἴ-ομεν* and *'ἶ-ομεν* beside *'ἴ-ωμεν* (1 pl. pres. conj.), origl. *i-a-mas*, √*i* (ire); *ἶδ-ος* (ntr. sweat), *'ἴδ-ίω* (I sweat), √*ἰδ*, origl. *svid*, cf. Sk. *svíd-yāmi*; *πῖ-νω* (*πῖνε*), *πῖθι*, beside *ἔ-πῐ-ον*, √*πι* (drink), cf. Sk. *pī* beside *pa*.

i raised by steps. § 22.

1. *i* raised to *ει*; e.g. *εἶ-μι* (go), Sk. *é-mi*, origl. *ai-mi*, √*i*; *πείθ-ω* (1 sing. pres.), √*πιθ*, so *λείπ-ω*, √*λιπ*; *λείχ-ω*, origl. *raigh-āmi* (1 sing. pres.), √*λιχ*, origl. √*righ*; *στείχ-ω*, origl. *staigh-āmi*, √*στιχ*; *Fείδ-εται*, *εἴσομαι* (for **Fειδ-σομαι*), *Fεῖδος* (ntr. outward-form), √*Fιδ*; *εἰκ-ών* (likeness) beside *ἔ-ικ-τον*, *ἐ-ίκτην*, √*Fικ*, clearly (=resemble); *κεῖ-ται* (3 sing. pres. med.)=Sk. *çé-tē*, √*ki* (lie), etc.

αι occurs in the main perhaps only as a lifeless step-formation where the language has lost all sense of the derivation, and hence for the most part no *ι*, *ει*, or *οι*, is parallel to *αι*, e.g. *αἴθ-ω* (I kindle), *αἴθ-εσθαι* (burn), *αἰθ-ήρ*, *αἰθ-έρος*, (aether), *αἴθ-ουσα* (porch), cf. Lat. *aed-es*, *aid-ilis*, √*ἰθ*=Sk. *idh*, *indh* (burn), Germ. *it*, in O.H.G. *eit* (fire); *αἰ-Fών*, origl. *ai-vān-s* (time, long time), cf. Lat. *ae-uo-m*, origl. *ai-va-m*, Sk. *é-va-s*, origl. *ai-va-s* (a going), Goth. *aiv-s*, f.f. *āi-va-s* (time, long time), with other step-forms, √*i* (go), with sf. *van*, *va* (here the language no longer felt the connexion with *ἴ-μεν*, *εἶ-μι*, *οἶ-μος*); *και-ρό-ς* (point of time), cf. Goth. *hvei-la* (hour, time, Engl. '*while*'), origl. *kai-rā*, origl. √*ki*.

§ 22. *Note.*—In medial termns., e.g. *φέρο-μαι*, **φερε-σαι*, *φέρε-ται*, *φέρον-ται*, *αι* is not a step-form, but the product of a contraction from f.f. *bharā-mami*, *bhara-sasi*, *bhara-tati*, *bhara-ntanti*, v. sub. 'Conjugation.'

2. *i* raised to *οι*, e.g. *οἶ-μος*, *οἶ-μη* (road, a going), cf. *αἰ-Fών*, *εἶ-μι*, *ἴ-μεν*, *√ι* (go); *πέ-ποιθ-α* beside *πείθ-ω*, *√πιθ* (*ἐ-πέ-πιθ-μεν*); *λέ-λοιπ-α*, *λοιπ-ό-ς* (left, remaining), beside *λείπ-ω*, *ἔ-λιπ-ον*, *√λιπ*; *Foῖδ-α* (know)=Sk. *vēd-a*, with the 1st, Goth. *vait* with 2nd step, beside *Feῖδ-ος*, *√Fιδ* (*Fιδ-μεν*); *ἔ-οικ-α* (seem) beside *εἰκ-ών*, for *FέFοικα*, *√Fικ*, (*ἔ-ικ-τον*, *ἐ-ίκ-την*); *Foῖκ-ο-ς* (house), cf. Sk. *vḗç-a-s*, Lat. *uīc-u-s*, i.e. **ueic-o-s*, with 1st step, *√Fικ*=Sk. *viç*, origl. *vik* (settle); *Foῖν-ο-ς* (wine), cf. Lat. *uin-um*, Germ. *wein* with 1st step; *λοιβ-ή* (lib-atio) beside *λείβ-ω* (pour), and *λίβ-ο-ς* (drop), *λιβ-άς*, *-άδ-ος* (moisture), *√λιβ*; *στοῖχ-ος* (rank) beside *στείχ-ω*, *ἔ-στιχ-ον*, *√στιχ*; *αἱματο-λοιχ-ό-ς* (blood-licking) beside *λείχ-ω*, *λίχ-νος*; *κοίτ-η* (bed), *κοι-μᾶσθαι* (sleep), beside *κεῖ-ται*, *√ki*, etc.

Note.—In opt. *φέρ-οις* (etc.)=fund. *bhar-ai-s*, also in nom. pl. e.g. *οἱ*, original *sai* (*tai*), *οι* is the result of a contraction, not a step of a vowel-scale; v. 'Conjugation and Declension.'

§ 23. 3. *u*-scale.

Radical *υ*, e.g. *ἔ-φυγ-ον*, *φυγ-ή* (fug-a), *√φυγ*, Sk. *bhuǵ* (*bhug-ná-s*, bent), Goth. *bug* (bend), Lat. *fug* (only here and in the Greek with a narrower sense); *ζυγ-όν* (yoke)=Lat. *iug-um*, Sk. and origl. *yug-ám*, *√yug* (join, iungere); *ἐ-ρυθ-ρό-ς* (red) =Sk. *rudh-irá-s*, f.f. *rudh-ra-s*, *√ῥυθ*, origl. and Sk. *√rudh*, Goth. *rud* (be red), etc.; *σύ*, *τύ* (thou, du), cf. Sk. *tv-am*, Lat. *tu*, Lith. *tu*, Sclav. *ty*; *κλύ-ω* (hear), *√κλυ*, Sk. *çru*, Goth. *hlu* (Eng. *loud*, *lud*=voice), origl. *kru*; *ῥυ-τό-ς* (flowing), *√ῥυ*, Sk. and origl. *sru* (flow), so *ἐῤῥύ-ην*=**ἐ-σρυ-ην*, Germ. *stru* (in *strōm*, *stream*, with inserted *t*); *φύ-ω* (am), *φύτ-ον* (being), *√φυ*, Sk. *bhu*, Lat. *fu*, origl. *bhu* (be); *κέ-χυ-μαι* (perf.), *√χυ*, Goth. *√gu-t* (pour) (with a *t* for further formation); *ἔσ-συ-μαι*, (pf.), *σύ-το* (aor.), *√συ* (rush); *ὠκ-ύ-ς*=Sk. *āç-ú-s*, origl. *āk-u-s*

(sharp); πλατ-ύ-ς, Sk. *prthús*, origl. *prat-u-s* (broad), sf. *u*; § 23.
ἄσ-τυ (city)=Sk. *vás-tu* (house); βοη-τύ-ς (shout), μάρ-τυς (witness), etc., with sf. -τυ, Sk., Lat., origl. *tu*. The lengthening of υ to ῡ is not uncommon, e.g. ὑ̔ῦ̔δωρ, cf. Sk. *ud-a-m*, *ud-aká-m*, Lat. *unda*, with inserted nasal, Sk. √*ud* (be wet); κλῦ-θι (imper. aor.)=Sk. *çru-dhi*, origl. *kru-dhi*, cf. κέ-κλῠ-θι, κλῠ-τός, √κλυ, origl. *kru* (hear); πέ-πνῡ-μαι, πε-πνῡ-μένος (prudent), √πνυ (blow); ξῠ́-ω, √ξυ (shave); ὗς and σῦς (swine), cf. Lat. *sūs*, Sk. *sū-kara-*, O.H.G. *su*, √*su*; δρῦ-ς (tree), Goth. *triu* (arbor). We cannot decide with any certainty where origl. *au* stands as a lengthening for a root-vowel, and where it stands for a step of a vowel-scale. In the last-mentioned examples perhaps originally a step-form was in existence.

Note 1.—The older sound *u* has been kept in Boiôt. (τού=σύ, κούνες=κύνες, etc.), and in diphth. *au*. The later υ=ü occurs proportionately early, however. The same transition of sound occurs also in other languages. Lat. *una* became Fr. *une*, pronounced *ün*.

Note 2.—In Greek as well as in Umbr., ι occurs as a weaker representative form of υ. In mod. Gk. it is well known that υ has universally become ι. So φῑ-τυ-ς (father, begetter), φῑ-τύ-ω (beget)=Lat. *fu-tu-o*, √φυ, original *bhu*; δρί-ον, also δρί-ος (forest), and δρῦ-ς (tree), cf. Sk. *dru-*, masc. n. wood, m. tree), Goth. *triu* (tree); σί-αλο-ς (hog) and σῦς. Curt. Gk. Et.[2] p. 647 sqq.

Step-formation of *u*. § 24.

1. step ευ, e.g. φεύγ-ω (flee), πέ-φευγ-α, √φυγ; ἐλεύ[θ]-σομαι (shall come), √ἐλυθ in ἤλυθον=*ἐ-ελυθ-ον; κλέF-ος=Sk. *çráv-as* (fame), origl. *krav-as*, √κλυ; πλέF-ω (sail)=Sk. and origl. *pláv-āmi*, √πλυ; ῥεῦ-μα (stream), ῥεύ-σομαι, ῥέF-ω (flow)=Sk. and origl. *sráv-āmi*, √ῥυ, origl. and Sk. √*sru* (flow); πνεῦ-μα (breath), πνεύ-σω, πνέF-ω (blow), √πνυ; σεύ-ω (rush), √συ; χέF-ω (pour), √χυ; ξέF-ω (I scrape), √ξυ; Ζεύ-ς (nom. propr. God), for *δyευ-ς, in Sk. with 2nd step *dyāu-s* (heaven), in the other cases from √*div*, √διF=*dyu*, *δyυ, ζυ, etc.

au is here too a lifeless step-formation, e.g. αὔ-ω for *αὐσ-ω

§ 24. (kindle), *ἔν-αυσ-μα* (tinder), cf. *εὖ-ω*, Lat. *uro*=**ous-o*, **eus-o* (see Lat. 'Vowels'), Sk. *ṓš-āmi*, origl. *aus-āmi*, √*uš*, origl. *us*; *αὐγ-ή* (glance), √*ὐγ*, cf. Sk. *ṓǵas* (force); *αὐξ-άν-ω*, i.e. **αὐγ-σανω* (make to grow), cf. Lat. *aug-eo*, √*ug* (which occurs pure in Lith.).

2. Second step *ου* occurs seldom, espec. when *u* is medial (no **πε-φουγ-α*=Goth. *baug*,=**bu-bāuga*, like *λέλοιπα*), while we find it compensated for by the first step, yet cf. *εἰλήλουθα* (Hom.) from √*ἐλυθ*, cf. *ἤλυθον* and *ἐλεύ(θ)σομαι* [origl. √*ἐλ*=*ἐρ*, origl. *ar* (go), in *ἔρ-χομαι* (come, go), f.f. *er-skomai*, further formed in Greek by sf. *υ* (*προς-ήλυ-τος ἔπ-ηλυς*, newly come), to which is added the frequent accompaniment of a verb-stem *θ* (v. sub. 'Formation of Present-stem'); the secondary √*ἐλυθ* so formed sts. was treated as if the √vowel was really *υ* (exx. in text), sts. is merely equivalent to an auxiliary vowel (§ 29), which moreover may disappear, *ἦλθον*]; *ἀ-κόλουθος* (follower), and *κέλευθ-ος* (way); *ῥούσ-ιος* (reddish), for **ῥουθιος* (or perhaps **ῥουθ-τιος*, **ῥουθ-σιος*?), beside *ἐ-ρεύθ-ω* (blush), and *ἐ-ρυθ-ρός* (red); *σπουδ-ή* (haste) beside *σπεύδ-ω* (hasten); *λοῦσσον*=**λουκ-γον* (white pith of deal), cf. *λευκ-ός* (white), *ἀμφι-λύκ-η* (twilight), *λύχ-νος*. More often beside final *u*, e.g. *πνοF-ή* (blast) beside *πνέF-ω*, √*πνυ*; *ῥοF-ή*, *ῥόF-ος* (stream), beside *ῥεῦ-μα*, √*ῥυ*; *χοF-ή* (outpouring) beside *χέF-ω*, √*χυ*; *πλόF-ος* (voyage) beside *πλέF-ω*, √*πλυ*; *θόF-ος* (swift) beside *θέF-ω*, √*θυ*, Sk. and origl. *dhu*; *ξοF-ίς* (chisel), *ξόF-ανον* (carved-work), beside *ξέF-ω*, √*ξυ*; *σόF-ος* (quick motion), *σοῦ-μαι*=**σοF-ομαι* (Trag. haste), beside *σεύ-ω*, √*συ*.

In separate instances also *αυ* (*āu*) is a second step fr. *u*, e.g. *ναῦς* (nauis) (i.e. *nāŭs* on acct. of *νηῦς*)=Sk. *nāu-s*, Iôn. *νηF-ός*, Dôr. *νᾱF-ός*, Sk. *nāv-ás*, point to √*nu*.

ωυ is only Iôn.=*αυ*, e.g. *θωῦ-μα* (wonder)=*θαῦ-μα*, *θέFα*, *θεFά-ομαι* (show, gaze), point to √*θυ*.

ω also occurs sts. as second step from *υ*, e.g. *ζω-μός* (broth), cf. *ζῦ-μη* (yeast), Sk. *yū-šá-m*, Lat. *iū-s*, similarly belonging to

$\sqrt{yu}$, Gk. ζυ (with which ζέ-ω (cook) for *ζεσ-ω, cf. ἔ-ζεσ-μαι, § 24.
ζεσ-τό-ς, has no connexion, cf. O.H.G. $\sqrt{jas}$, cook); ζώ-ννυμι (gird), $\sqrt{\zeta v}$, origl. *yu* (join); χώ-ννυμι, $\sqrt{\chi v}$, χέω (pour). If we compare πλώ-ω for πλώFω, Iôn. parallel-form to πλέF-ω, Dôr. βῶς=βοῦς=Sk. *gāus*, and Iôn. ωυ=*au*, hence we infer in Greek a step-formn. *ōu*, *ov*=origl. *āu*, *āv*, where the 2nd element has become assimilated to the first, so that only *ō*, *ω* (=*ωο*, *ou*) remains.

Note 1.—Cases such as οὐρανό-ς (heaven) beside Sk. *váruna-s* (name of a deity); οὐλ-ή (scar) beside Lat. *uolnus*, Sk. *vranam* and *vranas* (wound); εὐρύ-ς (wide) beside Sk. *urú-s* for **varú-s*, show *ου*, *ευ*, in place of the expected *Fo*, *Fε*. The explanation of this is difficult; perhaps it is to be considered less as a transposition of *Fo*, *Fε*, to *ου*, *ευ*, than a shortening fr. original *va* to *u* and a step-formation from the latter.

Note 2.—There are three roots *θυ* in Gk.: 1. θύω, hasten; 2. θύω, offer; 3. in θαῦμα, θεάομαι, gaze.

Note 3.—All vowel-sounds which do not appear in the vowel-scales are therefore unoriginal products of the sound-laws (especially of contraction after the elision of consonants).

Sound-laws of Vowels. § 25.

The laws laid down in ordinary Greek grammars, i.e. the laws of contraction, etc., may be passed over as already understood.

At first sight we are struck by the frequently occurring hiatus which arises from elision of spirants *y*, *s*, *v*, and their vocalisation, and which is not by any means invariably obviated by contraction; thus arise forms such as Homêric δηϊόῳεν, five vowels (together), 3 pl. opt. from δηιόω (slay), fr. δήιος (hostile); δήιος evidently=*δησιος=Sk. *dāsya-s* (hostile), adjectival form in *ya*, fr. *dā́sa-s* (demon, slave, originally 'foe'), whence **dāsya-yā-mi* (=*δησιο-γω-μι, whence δηϊόω), of which 3 pl. f.f. *dās-ya-yai-nt*, in Gk. with superfluous unoriginal ε before personal termination, **dāsya-yai-ant* as f.f.=δηιο-οι-εν, and in that case with ῳ=*ai*, in consequence of an unoriginal lengthening of οι to ω, comes δηιόῳεν. (Acc. to Aufrecht in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vii. 312,

§ 25. sqq., δήιος proved to be Aiolic in δάϜιος belongs to √δυ; f.f. accordingly of δήϊος, δηιόφεν=*dāvya-s, *dāvya-yai-ant.) Diphth. ᾳ, ῃ, ῳ, are only secondary products of contraction.

Whilst the termination (except a few instances, e.g. partial shortening of ā to ă in fem. and the like, cf. § 20) does not yet exercise a destructive influence on the vowels,—and also the vowels of syllables which follow medially upon one another (excepting the working of the ι of σι on the vowel of the preceding syllable) have no essential influence upon one another,—we perceive a variation of the older vowel-system, caused by consonantal influence,—a variation of considerable importance and characteristic of the language.

Important above all are the changes in consequence of the Greek distaste for the original and frequent Indo-European spirants *y*, *v*, *s*; *y* and *v* become ι and υ, *y* also becomes ε; *v* and *y* as ι and υ change position from a following to a preceding syllable; *y*, *v*, and *s*, further fall out from between two vowels. After the disappearance and softening of consonants, frequent vowel-lengthening takes place. A consonantal sound in the beginning of a word is not unfrequently accompanied by an introductory vowel-sound, and besides occurs the so-called vowel-insertion between two consonants.

§26a. Introduction of *i* into a preceding syllable in case of termn. -σι. e.g. (1.) loc. dat. pl. ταῖσι, Iôn. τῇσι, thence ταῖς, fr. *tāsi (pronoml. st. *ta* raised to *tā*, and loc. termn. pl. *si*), and also τοῖσι, τοῖς, fr. *to-si, *tā-si (although another explanation offers itself here, v. sub. 'Declension'). (2.) 2 sing. ind. and conj. act., e.g. φέρεις (indic.), fr. *φερεισι, *φερε-σι, f.f. *bhara-si*; φέρῃς (conj.), fr. *φερῃσι, *φερησι, *φερησι, f.f. *bharā-si*.

§26b. Vocalisation and transposition of *y* and *v*.

1. *y* changes to ι and *u* to υ, e.g. original stem-formative particle *ya*=Gr. ιο; πάτρ-ιο-ς (paternal), cf. *patr-ius*, st. πατέρ-, cf. Sk. *pitr-ya-s*, origl. *patar-ya-s*; ἅγ-ιο-ς (holy), cf. Sk. *yaǵ-ya-s* (to revere); compar. suff. -ιον, origl. -*yans*, e.g. ἡδ-ίων, st.

ἡδ-ίον- (*ἡδ-ύ-ς*, sweet), f.f. *svād-yāns*, st. *svād-yans-*, cf. *ἐλάσσων* §26b.
for **ἐλαχγων*, f.f. *lagh-yāns* (*ἐλαχ-ύ-ς*, small, f.f. *lagh-u-s*), in the latter of which instt. *y* as such has disappeared; pres.-st.-suff. origl. *ya*, e.g. *ἰδ-ί-ω* (sweat), f.f. *svid-yāmi*, *δα-ίω* (kindle), fr. *da-yāmi*, cf. *κράζω* (howl), for **κραγ-γω*, with same suff. which here has retained *y*; in Dôr. fut. form. *-σίω* for **σγω*, origl. *syāmi*; in gen. sing. masc. neut. of *a*-stem, origl. *-asya* (Gr. with loss of *σ*, *οιο*), e.g. *ἵππο-ιο* fr. **ἰκϜοσ-γο*=Sk. *áçvasya*, origl. *akva-sya*; optat. particle *ιη*, origl. and Sk. *ya*, e.g. *εἴην* for **ἐσ-γη-μ*= origl. *as-ya-m*, with *s* lost between two vowels; perf. part. act. fem. *υια* fr. origl. *-vant-yā*, *-vans-yā*, from the latter form with elision of *an* came **-vsyā*, hence *-usyā*=Gk. **νσια*=*υια*; *δύο*, *δύω* =**δϜω*, cf. *δώδεκα* fr. **δϜωδεκα*, Sk. and origl. *dva*.

Note.—Esp. in Lesbo-Aiolic *ν* between two vowels is preferred to be=*v*, e.g. *χε-ύ-ω*=*χέϜω* (pour), √*χυ*; so *πνεύ-ω*= **πνέϜω* (breathe), √*πνυ*; *θεύω*=*θέϜω* (haste), √*θυ*, etc.

2. Further, *ε* occurs sts. undeniably for *y* (not however for *v*, *F*) especially after consonants; in the cases from *y* there remains only the accompanying vowel-sound itself, as a short and indeterminate vowel which is nearly=*ε*, e.g. *ε*=*y* in fut. forms, *πλευσοῦμαι*, *φευξοῦμαι*=*σέομαι*, **σγομαι*, fund. f. *-syāmai*; further in *κενέος* (empty), Aiol. *κέννος*, both fr. **κενγος*, f.f. *kvanyas*, Sk. *çūnyás*; *ἐτεός* (true) = Sk. *satyás*; *στερεός* (firm, solid) beside *στερρός*, f.f. **στεργος*, *staryas*, fem. *στεῖρα*, *staryā*; Epic *ἠνορ-έη* =*ἀνδρ-ία* (manliness), f.f. of suff. is *yā* (st. *ἀνέρ-*, *ἀνδρ-*), n. sing. *ἀνήρ* (man).

Note 1.—In cases of declens., e.g. *πόλεως*, *ε* is not=*y*, but there was a step-raising of *ι* to *ει*, and the representative *y* was lost; e.g. *πόλεως*=*πόλεος*, fr. **πολεγ-ος*, st. *πολι* (city), f.f. *parai-as*, st. *pari*.

Note 2.—Original *v* also does not change to *ι*. In poetry perhaps the metrical forms such as *πλείειν* for *πλεύειν* (sail), √*πλυ*, raised to *πλευ*, *πλεϜ*, may be traced to a present st. in *ya*, which the Gk. has strangely liked, thus *πλείω*=**πλεϜ-γω*, while *πλέω* = *πλέϜω*; *νεῖος* beside *νέϜος* (new), *νειός* beside *νεϜός*

§26b. (fallow), brings us to a f.f. *navyas*, which clearly occurs in Lith. *nau-yas*, Goth. *niuyis*, st. *niuya-* (new). From such cases ει may have become a more widespread representative of ε by analogy. In πνοιή for πνοή, we find *ya*-stems, whilst πνοϜή (√πνυ) has suff. α, πνοιή=*πνοϜιή=*πνοϜγη, suff. *ya*.

Note 3.—ἑός=ἐϜ-ός, Lat. *sou-os*, *suus*, f.f. of both **sev-os*; τεός=τεϜός, Lat. *touos*, *tuus*, f.f. **tevos* (yet σός, fr. σϜος=*τϜος, not raised from √τυ); through the Latin the Italograec f.-forms are made clear. In forms like ἡδεῖα, fem. of ἡδύς (sweet), there is a clear step-raising, thus f.f. is ἡδεϜ-ια=*svā-dav-yā*, diverging from the unraised Sk. *svādvī*, fr. **svādvyā*.

Note 4.—G. Curt. Gr. Et.[2] p. 500 sqq., treats of ο, ω, as representatives of original *v*. This occurs on the whole but seldom, and mostly in words of uncertain etymology, e.g. δοάν (Alkman), for *δϜαν, *δϜην, δήν (long while), and these must stand for *διϜα-ν, *διϜη-ν, acc. of a st. *διϜα-=Lat. **diue-*, in *die-s*=**dive-s* (day, for meaning cf. Lat. *diu*, long).

3. When *y* and *v* stand after ν, ρ, they regularly occur as ι and υ before the consonants: in Aiolic dialects, however, assimilation takes place to the preceding consonant: this assimilation occurs in the case of λ in the other dialects, transposition in the case of λ is merely the exception. The origin of the transposition we must hold to be this, that at first, whilst *y* and *v* were yet in existence, an *i* and *u* arose by assimilation in the foregoing syllable (as in Zend), and that long afterwards the *y*, *v*, disappeared.

y; e.g. κτείνω (kill), Aiolic κτέννω, for *κτεινγω, fr. *κτενγω; μέλαινα (fem. fr. stem μέλαν- black), fr. *μελανγα; χείρων (worse), Aiol. χέρρων, for *χειρ-γων, fr. *χεργων; φθείρω (destroy), Aiol. φθέρρω, for *φθεργω; κλίνω (lay), Aiol. κλίννω, for *κλινγω; κρίνω (sift), Aiol. κρίννω, for *κρινγω; πλύνω (wash), for *πλυινω, *πλυινγω, *πλυνγω, contrn. of ιι and νι to ῑ and ῡ.

In the case of λ*y* the assimln. occurs outside the Aiolic dial., ὀφείλω, however, for *ὀφελγω, Hom. ὀφέλλω (ought).

Note 1.—After ν, ρ, λ, original *y* very often=ι, e.g. χρόν-ιο-ς,

ἐλευθέριο-ς, μακάριο-ς, παράλιο-ς, collectively constructed with original suff. *ya*. § 26b.

Note 2.—For epenthesis of *y* beside other consonants, we have good instances in μείζων (greater) for *μειγ-γων, fr. *μεγ-γων, μεγ- with compar. suff. original *-yans*; ζ=γγ, consequently this is a clear case of genuine epenthesis; κρείσσων (stronger, better) for *κρειτ-γων, fr. *κρετ-γων (κρέσσων preserved in diall.); σσ=τγ (v. post.) formed just like μείζων; πείκω (beside πέκω, comb) for *πεκγω, which by the laws of sound (κγ=σσ) must coincide with πέσσω (cook) in form; st. γυναικ- (γυναικός, gen. fr. γυνή, woman) for *γυνακι, cf. φυλακίς (female-guard); st. αἰγ- (n. sing. αἴξ for αἰγ-ς, goat) for *ἀγι-, cf. Sk. *aǵá-s* (stag), *aǵā́* (goat) (Curt. Gr. Et.[2] p. 608). It cannot be denied that πείκω for *πεκ-γω is very doubtful phonetically.

v; e.g. γουνός, γοῦνα (Aiol. γόννος, γόννα), γούνατος, for γονϜός, γόνϜα, γόνϜατος, st. γόνυ (knee); οὖλος, Ion.=ὅλος (all), fr. ὅλϜος, cf. Sk. *sárva-s* (every, all), Lat. *saluo-s, sollus* (Fest. totus), fr. **soluo-s*; παῦρο-ς (small, few) fr. *παρϜο-ς, cf. Lat. *paruo-s*; νεῦρο-ν (sinew) fr. *νερϜο-ν, cf. Lat. *neruo-s*.

In consequence of the evanescence of *y, v, s*, vowel- accumulation and contraction occur frequently. § 27.

Thus *s* disappears, e.g. in φέρῃ fr. *φέρεσαι (2 sing. pres. med. fr. φέρω, bear), Sk. *bhárasē*; μένους (gen. sing. fr. μένος, might) fr. *μενεσος, Sk. *mánas-as*; εἶην (1 sing. pres. opt. of ἐσ-, esse) fr. *ἐσ-γην, f.f. *as-yā-m*; εἱπόμην fr. *ἐ-σεπ-ομην, √ἑπ (follow), i.e. σεπ, Sk. *saḱ*, Lat. *seq*, in ἕπομαι; εἷρπον fr. *ἐ-σερπ-ον, √σερπ (crawl), Sk. *sarp*, Lat. *serp-o*; πεποιθυῖα (fem. part. pf. act.) fr. *-υσια*, and the latter fr. *v(an)tyā*, etc.

F disappears in εἰργασάμην (Ϝεργάζομαι, work) fr. *ἐ-Ϝεργ-ασαμην; εἶπον, εἰπεῖν, older ἔ-ειπον, fr. *ἐ-Ϝε-Ϝεπ-ον=f.f. *a-va-vak-am*, redupl. aor. of √Ϝεπ (speak), Sk. *vaḱ*, Lat. *uoc*, f.f. *vak*, etc.

Loss of *y* is common above all in the stems whence arise the contr. vbs. in έω, άω, όω, fr. *εγω, *αγω, *ογω=Sk. and origl. *-ayāmi*, e.g. φορῶ, φορέω (bear)=Sk. *bhārāyāmi*, etc.

Note.—The sound-laws by which concurring vowels are regulated in different dialects do not belong in this place;

§ 27. because they extend to explain the Greek forms alone. The fundamental-forms, however, in the commonest and most important cases, conform to the rules laid down in the construction of stems and words.

The forms peculiar to the Greek, e.g. *ὁρόω, ὁράᾳς*, by assimilation for *ὁράω, ὁράεις*; *δρώωσι* beside *δράουσι, δρῶσι*, etc., frequently offer difficulties in their explanation.

§ 28. After the evanescence and medial and final loss of consonants, there often occurs a compensatory lengthening.

1. *n* lost before *s*, followed by lengthening of preceding

o to *ου*—e.g. *φέρουσι* (they bear)=**φερονσι* fr. *φέροντι*=*bháranti*, *φέρουσα*=**φερονσα* fr. **φεροντγα*, etc.; *λύκους* (acc. pl. st. *λυκο-*, wolf)=**λυκο-νς*, cf. Goth. *vulfa-ns*; Krêtan *τό-νς*=*τούς* (acc. pl. st. *το-* demonstr.), f.f. *ta-ns, ta-ms*.

ε to *ει*—e.g. *τιθείς* (n. sing. m. part. pres. act. fr. *τίθη-μι*, place, *√θε*)=Krêtan *τιθένς* fr. **τιθεντ-ς*; *χαρίεις* (n. sing. masc. conn. c. *χάρις*, grace)=**χαρι-Fεντ-ς* (but fem. *χαρίεσσα*=**χαρι-Fετγα*, without *ν*, cf. Sk. sf. *-vant*, fem. *-vatī*=*vatyā*, likewise with loss of *n*), etc.

α to *ᾱ*—e.g. *ἱστᾶς* (n. sing. m. part. pres. act. *ἵστη-μι*, place, *√στα*)=**ἱσταν*ς fr. **ἱσταντ-ς*, etc.

υ to *ῡ*—e.g. *δεικνῦς* (*δείκνυ-μι*, show)=**δεικνυνς* fr. **δεικνυντ-ς*, etc. Similarly *εἰμί* (am) for **ἐσ-μι*, by compensatory lengthening (cf. Aiol. *ἐμμί* by assimiln.), Sk. and f.f. *ás-mi*; *ὀρεινός* (mountainous) for **ὀρεσ-νος*, Aiol. *ὀρεν-νός* (fr. *ὄρος*, mountain, Iôn. *οὖρος*, therefore older **ὀρ-Fος*, *√ὀρ*, or-iri, exsurgere), st. *ὀρες-*, with sf. *-νο-*, etc.

2. Moreover medial compensation is found in the formn. of 1 aor. after the loss of *σ*, preceded by *λ, μ, ν*, e.g. *ἔνειμα* (*νέμω*, distribute) for **ἐνεμ-σα*, cf. Aiol. *ἐ-νέμμ-ατο*, by assimiln.; *ἔφηνα* (*φαίνω* for **φανγω*, point out) for **ἐφαν-σα*, *ἔστειλα* (*στέλλω* for **στελγω*, send) for **ἐστελ-σα*, Aiol. representation of compensation, *ἔστελλα*, etc.

3. Compensation by lengthening is frequently found in nom. sing. masc. of consonantal stems to compensate for lost

final ς or τς, e.g. *ποιμήν* (shepherd) for **ποιμεν-ς*, cf. Sk. *rā́ǵā* for **rāǵan-s*, Lat. *homo* for **homon-s*, Goth. *guma* (man), i.e. **gumā* for **guman-s*; *μήτηρ* (mater) for **μητερ-ς*, cf. Sk. *mātā́* for **mātar-s*; *πατήρ* (father) for **πατερ-ς*, cf. Sk. *pitā́* for **pitar-s*, Old Lat. *patēr* for **pater-s*, Goth. *fadar*, i.e. **fadār*, for **fadar-s*; *εὐμενής* (well-meaning) for **-μενεσ-ς*, cf. Sk. *sumanās* for **-manas-s*; *φέρων* (bearing) for **φεροντ-ς*; *πεποιθώς* (perf. pt. act. *πέποιθα*, trust) for **πεποιθ-Fο-τς*. § 28.

Vowel insertion and addition. § 29.

1. Vowel insertion occurs in Gk. in the same way as in Oscan and O.H.G., only less regularly. Acc. to G. Curtius, Gr. Et.[2] 656, sqq., this change takes place only in the neighbourhood of *r*, *l*, and nasals, so that it clearly arises from the vowel-sounds contained in these consonants. *α* and *ε* occur most frequently, *ο* and *ι* are rarer, *υ* rarest, as vowels attached to these consonantal sounds: e.g. *ὀ-ρέγ-ω* (reach, stretch), *√ὀρεγ* fr. *ὀργ*, cf. Sk. *arǵ* (reach), beside *ὀριγ-νάομαι* (stretch) and *ὀρό-γ-υια* beside *ὀργ-υιά* (fathom), where clearly *ὀρεγ*, *ὀριγ*, *ὀρογ*=*ὀργ*, origl. *arg*; *ταράσσω* =**ταραχ-γω* (make uneven, disturb), beside *τέ-τρηχ-α* (perf.) and *τραχ-ύς* (rough, uneven), *√τραχ*, therefore; *ἀλεγ-εινός* (painful) beside *ἄλγ-ος* (pain); *δολιχ-ός* (long)=Sk. *dirgh-ás*, *√dargh*, beside *ἐν-δελεχ-ής* (unbroken, uninterrupted), fr. same root; *ἤλυθ-ον* beside *ἦλθ-ον* (v. supr. § 24); *χάλαζα* (hail), i.e. **χαλαδγα*, cf. Skl. *grad-ŭ*, Lat. *grand-o*, Sk. *hrād-unī* (storm); *κολεκ-άνος*, *κολοκ-άνος* (lank), *κολοσσός* (colossus) for **κολοκ-γος*, cf. Sk. *krç-á-s* (lank), *√karç* (make lean), Lat. *crac-entes* (graciles), origl. *√krak*, *kark*; *κονίς*, pl. *κονίδ-ες* (dust, nits), cf. O.H.G. *hniz*, Bohem. *hnid-a*. Even long vowels clearly arise in this way, e.g. *ἐρωδ-ιός* (heron), Lat. *ard-ea*.

Note.—But *ε* is no auxiliary vowel in such forms as *ἡδεῖα*, i.e. **ἡδεF-ια* (v. supr. § 26 b. 2, n. 2): and also in *ἐπέεσσι* fr. **ἐπεσε-σσι*, **ἐπεσε-σFι*, *κύνε-σσι*, loc. pl. st. *ἐπες-* (*ἔπος*, word), *κυν-* (*κύων*, dog, g. *κυν-ός*), and other loc. pls. in consonantal stems. These are probably constructed on the analogies of the *ι-* and *υ-* stems, cf. *πόλε-σι*, st. *πόλι-* (state), *γλυκέ-σι*, st. *γλυκύ-* (sweet), as

§ 29. doubtless in other languages consonantal stems have often become allied to vowel stems, especially to the *i*-stem (e.g. Lat. *pedi-bus*, st. *ped-*). [Curt. has suggested doubts which I do not understand, especially on account of the Hêrakl. *πρασσόντ-ασσι*; he maintains a helping-vowel in these cases.] Less still do futs. of verb-stems in λ, μ, ν, ρ, belong here, e.g. *τενῶ* fr. **τενεσω*, **τενεω*; *βαλῶ* fr. **βαλεσω*, **βαλεω*. In these cases we come upon the verb-stem *-εσω*, original *asyāmi*, fut. of √*as* (esse) (v. sub. 'Conjugation').

2. Vowel addition (prefix).

This phenomenon of sound also is to be referred to the slight development of the vocal-sound before the following consonants. Acc. to G. Curtius (Gr. Et.[2] p. 649, etc.) prefixed-vowels are very rare before simple momentary sounds; they never occur before τ, π, φ, but on the contrary, most frequently before more than one consonant, before liquids, and before nasals. Exx. a) before two consonants, *ἀ-στήρ* (star), cf. Latin *stella* for **sterula*, Goth. *stairnō*, Sk. st. *star-*; *ὀ-φρύ-ς* (brow), Sk. *bhrū-s*, O.H.G. *brāwa*, Skl. *brŭvĭ*; Lesb. Aiol. *ἄ-σφε*, *ἄ-σφι=σφέ*, *σφί*, origl. st. *sva*; *ἐ-χθές* beside *χθές* (yesterday), Sk. *hyas*, etc.

b) before λ, μ, ν, ρ; *ἐ-λαχύς* (small), Sk. *laghūs*, Lat. *leui-s*, fr. **legu-is*; *ἐ-μέ*, *ἐ-μοί*, beside *μέ*, *μοί*, origl. st. *ma* (pron. 1 pers.); *ὀ-μιχέω* (mingo), *ὀ-μίχ-λη* (mist), origl. √*migh*, cf. Sk. *mih* (mingere), Lat. *mig*, *mi-n-go*, etc.; *ἀ-νήρ* (man), Sk. st. *nar-*, Umbr. *ner* (prince); √*ἐ-νεκ-* (bear), in *ἠνέχ-θην*, *ἤνεγκ-ον*; *δι-ηνεκ-ής* (thorough), for *νεκ*, cf. O. Bulg. *nes-ti*, Lith. *nèsz-ti* (bear); *ἐν-νέFa* (nine), with redupld. *ν*, cf. Lat. *nouem*, Sk. *návan*, etc.; *ὄ-νυξ* (nail), st. *ὀνυχ-*, Sk. *nakha-s*, *nakha-m*, O.H.G. *nagel*; *ὄ-νομα*, name, cf. Lat. *(g)nōmen*, Sk. *nāman-*, Goth. *naman-*, where in the Gk. the *o* did not arise until the origl. initial *g* had disappeared, *ἐ-ρυθρός* (red)=Sk. *rudhirás*, Lat. *ruber*, fund.-fm. *rudh-ra-s*, √*rudh*; *ἔ-ρεβος* (n. lower-world, gloom), Sk. *raǵas* (gloom), Goth. *rikvis* (dimness); *ἐ-ρεύγ-εσθαι* (belch), cf. Lat. *ructare* for *rug-tare*, etc.

c) before origl. *v*; *ἐ-Fέργ-ειν* beside *Fέργ-ειν* (keep in), cf. Sk. *varǵ* (keep off); *ἐ-Fέρση* (Il. xxiii. 598), Krêt. *ἄ-Fερσα* beside

Fέρση, ἔρση (ros, dew), cf. Sk. √*varš* (rain); *ἐ-Fείκοσιν* (Il. vi. 217) beside *εἴκοσι* (twenty), Boiôt. *Fίκατι*, Sk. *vīçáti*, Lat. *uiginti;* the initial was origly. *dv* (*dvi*=two), the ε was not prefixed until the *d* had disappeared (cf. *ὄ-νομα*); and more frequently in the case of *F*. § 29.

d) before other consonants; *ὀ-δούς* (tooth), st. *ὀ-δοντ-*, cf. Lat. st. *dent-*, Sk. st. *dant-* and *danta-*, Goth. *tunthu;* in this word the *o* arises clearly, I think, from the vowel-sound of δ, and my view is confirmed by the consonance of the *o* with the *o* of the second syllable, as well as by the agreement of all the other languages in initial *d*. [*ἔδ-οντες* in Aiolic should, I think, be separated fr. *ὀδόντες*, and be regarded as a poetical expression; it is a part. of *ἔδω* (eat), 'the eating ones,' i.e. 'teeth'; the origl. *dant-* (tooth) may arise from √*ad, da* (eat), but in my opinion *da-nt-* more probably belongs to √*da, ad,* 'separate, cut'; cf. Zend st. *dā-ta-*, 'tooth.'] *ἀ-δαγ-μός* (itch), *ὀ-δάξω, ἀ-δαξέω* (bite, itch), fr. √*δακ* in *δάκ-νω* (bite), Sk. *daç*. For other inst. of prefixed-vowel before other mom. consonn., more or less probable, see Curt. Gr. Et.[2] p. 653.

LATIN. § 30.

Table of Sounds in the Latin Language.

CONSONANTS.					VOWELS.
MOMENTARY SOUNDS.			PROLONGED SOUNDS.		
	UNASPIRATED. mute	UNASPIRATED. sonant	ASPIRATED. mute	ASPIRATED. sonant	NASAL. sonant	*r*- & *l*-SOUND. sonant	
Gutt.	*c, q*	*g*	*h*		*n*		*a, ā* } *e, ē, ae* } *o ō* } *oe*
Pal.				*j*			*i, ī* }
Ling.						*r, l*	
Dent.	*t*	*d*	*s*		*n*		
Lab.	*p*	*b*	*f*	*v*	*m*		*u, ū*

§ 30. *Note* 1.—I have placed *h* amongst the mute spirants, because it is nowhere pronounced with a vowel-sound except in Sk.

Note 2.—Guttural *n* has no peculiar character; *n* is gutt. before gutt. consonn. *c*, *q*, *g* (*n* adulterinum), but not after *g*, where, contrary to the German usage, it must be pron. like ordinary dental *n*.

Diphthongs, almost exclusively peculiar to Old. Lat., are *ai* (*ae*), *au*, *ei*, *eu*, *oi* (*oe*), *ou*, *ui*.

§ 31. LATIN VOWEL-SYSTEM.

The Lat. vowel-system has suffered frequent changes in the course of time. Classical Lat., like Umbrian, shows a distaste for diphthongs, and these have changed to more compact sounds: the old diphthongs are vouched for by Old Lat., and esp. by Oscan. In the above cases the Lat. is insensible to vowel-development. A movement of root-vowels in their scales (confined, however, generally to two steps only) is not still shown except in a few roots.

The influence of final sounds, and further of sounds generally on one another (of consonant upon vowel, vowel upon vowel), has reached a high pitch in Lat. Unoriginal shortenings and lengthenings also occur frequently, so that the vowel-system of the Latin has diverged very widely from the original sounds. Besides, Old-Lat. and Osc. (both Italic languages with more origl. vowel-systems) have reached us only in a very fragmentary condition, while Classical Lat. has the characteristics of a written language which became stereotyped under foreign influence, and Umbr. is in the highest degree unoriginal in its vowels. Accordingly, of all Indo-Germ. languages, Lat. offers the greatest difficulties to a scientific investigator.

a is frequently weakened to *u* and *i*, and passes in a great measure into *e* and *o* (later generally to *u*), as in Gk.; similarly *ā* into *ē* and *ō*, only in Lat. the influence of neighbouring sounds is clearly the reason for vowel-colouring. In consequence of the full and thorough conformity of the Lat. with

the Greek vowel-scales, we are probably entitled to treat *ō* in Latin also as a vowel of the second step. § 31.

The *i*- and *u*- scales were in the oldest form of the language exactly like the Greek, especially in the distinction of *ai* and *au* from *ei* and *eu*. In the *u*-scale the second step takes throughout the place of the first, whilst *e* before *u* (*v*) passes into *o*, according to Lat. sound-laws (vid. § 34) [as in Gk. the converse takes place]. The later language, however, has preserved only *au* of the old diphthongs; yet even this diphthong shows a marked tendency to become a simple sound in certain cases.

Latin vowel-scales (Old Lat. sounds distinguished by upright characters):

	Weakening.	Fund.-vowel.	1st Step.	2nd Step.
1. *a*-scale loss.	*i, u*	*e, o, a*	*o, ē, ā*	*ō*
2. *i*-scale		*i*	**ei** *ī ē*, **ai** *ae*	**oi** *oe ū*
3. *u*-scale		*u*	**eu** *au ō*	**ou** *ū*

In Class. Lat. *eu* no longer exists as a vowel-step, but has become *ou* (i.e. *ū*).

The change from diphth. to monophth. is capable of simple physiological explanation (assimilation of both sounds, each to the other, e.g. *ei* to *ē*, *ai* to *ae*, *oi* to *oe*, *au* to *ō*, or of one to the other, as *ei* to *ī*, *ou* to *ū*), the change from *oi*, *oe* to *ū*, is caused by the common passing of *o* into *u* (change-scale *oi*, *ui*, *ū*; possibly also *oe*, *ue*, *ū*).

Examples. § 32.

1. *a*-scale.

Weakening. 1. Loss of radical *a*, e.g. *sum*, *sumus*, *sunt*, *siēm*, etc., for **es-um* fund.-fm. *as-mi*, **es-umus* f.f. *as-masi*, **es-unt* f.f. *as-anti*, **es-iēm* f.f. *as-yām* (√*es*, to be, cf. Gk.); *gigno* (produce, cf. γί-γνο-μαι), fr. **gi-gen-o*, √*gen* (cf. *gen-ui*, *gen-us*), origl. *gan*; especially in the second member of compounds is this loss frequent, as in *malo* fr. **maulo*, and this again fr. **mage-uol-o*

§ 32. (magis uolo), and in like cases (v. 'Sound-laws,' § 42): sf. *-br-um* (in part at least fr. **ber-um*), √*ber*, origl. *bhar* (ferre), so that here we have a compound, not a stem-formative sf.; the same remark applies to *-gnus* fr. **-genus* (√*gen*, *gi-gn-ere*), e.g. *mali-gn-us* (ill-disposed, malus, evil), and others, and *-gium* in *iur-gium* (lawsuit) for **iur-igium*, cf. *rem-ig-ium* (rowing), √*ag* (agere), etc.

In stem-formative suffixes, loss of origl. *a* occurs, as in the kindred languages, e.g. *patr-is*, older **patr-us*, **patr-os*, for *pater--os*, st. *pater*, f.f. *patar-as* (gen. sing.), and in many other cases.

2. Weakening of *a* to *i* is very frequent, esp. in the second member of a compound, e.g. *ac-cipio* (receive) beside *capio* (take); *per-ficio* (complete) beside *facio* (make); *as-sid-eo* (sit by), √*sad*, Lat. *sed*; *me-min-i* (bring to mind), √*man*; *co-gni-tus* (known), √*gna*, fr. *gan*; *in-si-tus* (implanted), √*sa*, etc.; moreover in stem- and word-formative particles, e.g. *ueh-is*, *ueh-it* (2, 3, sing. pres., √*ueh*, carry), for **ueh-isi*, **ueh-iti*, origl. *vagh-asi*, *vagh-ati*; *nō-min-is* (gen. sing. *nōmen*, name), origl. *gnā-man-as*, etc.

It occurs even in the accentuated syllable of the word (as in Germ.), e.g. *in-ter* (between), Umbr. *an-ter*, compar. of pronoml. st. *an*, cf. Sk. *an-tár*, *án-tara-s* (inter, interior), Gk. ἔν-τερα; *in-* (neg.), Umbr. *an-*, Sk. *an-*, Gk. ἀν-; *igni-s* (fire), Sk. *agní-s*; *quin-que* (five), f.f. *kankan*, Sk. *páñkan*.

In the reduplication-syll. of pres. stems fr. roots in root-vowel *a*, this weakening takes place regularly, e.g. *gi-gno* (beget) fr. **gi-gen-o*, f.f. *ga-gan-āmi*, cf. Gk. γί-γν-ομαι, √*gan*; *ser-o* (sow) =**siso* (*i* changed to *e* on acct. of the *r*), f.f. *sa-sā-mi*, √*sa*; *si-st-o* (set), f.f. *sta-stā-mi*, √*sta*; *sīdo* (set myself) fr. **si-sdo*, **si-sed-o*, f.f. *sa-sad-āmi*, √*sad*.

Note.—The lengthening of *e* weakened from origl. *a* into *ī* (*ei*) is hardly susceptible of proof: *scrībo* (write) beside γράφω, since both words are generally akin, we must perhaps assume to be a case of *a*-scale passing into *i*-scale, as often in Sclavo-

Teutonic: in cases such as *uirī-tim* (man by man) fr. st. *uiro-* (*uir*, man), the analogy of other forms (verbal stems) is followed (cf. *tribu-tim*, etc.). § 32.

3. Weakening of *a* to *u* is common, esp. in stem- and word-formative elements, but also in roots, through the influence of certain consonants. *i* is clearly the furthest weakening from *a*, for *u* through intermediate *ü* ("medius quidam inter *i* et *u* sonus—pinguius quam *i*, exilius quam *u*—sonum *y* Graecae uidetur habere" Gramm.; imp. Claudius Caesar ordered the character ⊦ to be used for this sound) often changes to *i*, whilst older forms in *u* exist beside later ones in *i*; *u* is also an unimportant representative of weakening from *a* through *o*, the older lang. very often retaining *o* where later *u* occurs. The vowel-scale of change from *a* to *i* is therefore evidently: *a*, *o*, *u*, *ü*, *i*. Thus, e.g. a f.f. *ap-tama-s* becomes **op-tomo-s*, *op-tumu-s*, *op-tümu-s*, *op-timu-s* (best), Ital. *ottimo*; *dakama-s*, **decomo-s*, *decumu-s*, *decimu-s* (tenth), Ital. *decimo*; beside *cap-io* (take), *man-cup-ium* (property; Plaut.), *oc-cup-are* (seize), *in-cip-ere* (begin), *man-cip-ium*; *con-cut-io* (shake violently) beside *quat-io* (shake), *in-sul-sus* (unsalted) beside *salsus* (salted), etc. *u* is frequent as a merely later change fr. older *o* (cf. Gk., where *o* remains), especially in word-formative elements, e.g. nom. acc. sing. masc. neut. of origl. *a*-stem *-u-s* fr. Old-Lat. *-o-s*, Gk. *o-ς*, origl. *-a-s*; *-u-m*, Old-Lat. *-o-m*, Gk. *-o-ν*, origl. *-a-m*, e.g. *da-tu-s* (given) fr. *da-to-s*, Gk. δο-τό-ς, origl. *da-ta-s*; acc. *da-tu-m* fr. *da-to-m*, Gk. δο-τό-ν, origl. *da-ta-m*. Lat. *os*, *us*, generally represents origl. final *as*, e.g. *gen-us* (race), earlier *gen-os*=γέν-ος, Sk. *ǵán-as*, origl. *gan-as*; *op-us* (work), Old-Lat. *op-os*, Sk. and origl. *áp-as*; *-bus* (sf. dat. abl. pl.), earlier *-bos* for *-byos*, Sk. *bhyas*; *ferunt* (they bear), Old-Lat. *fer-ont*, *fer-onti*, Gk. φέρ-ουτι (φέρ-ουσι), Sk. and origl. *bhár-anti*; also in pres. part. *o* clearly is the form of the earlier lang., cf. *e-unt-em* (him who goes), i.e. *e-ont-em*, where beside *e*, *o* has become *u*, whilst *e* regularly occurs; *uol-unt-arius* (willing)

§ 32. points to a once-existing **uolont-*, **uolunt-*, beside usual *uolent-* (willing), etc.

After consonantal *u*, *o* remains, e.g. *uolt* (later *uult*, he will), Sk. and origl. √*var*; *loquontur* (*loquuntur*, they speak); *quom* (*quum*, conj. 'when,' 'since,' cf. *quon-iam*), f.f. *kam*; *quo-d* (which), f.f. *ka-t* (but *is-tu-d*, f.f. *ta-t*); *nouo-s*, new (*nouus*), Sk. and f.f. *náva-s*, etc.

Note.—Through the older *o*-forms, Latin approaches near to Greek.

§ 33. The root-vowel of the *a*-scale, origl. *a* is represented by—

1. *a* preserved in a very few cases, appearing by preference before *g*, *c*, e.g. *ac-us* (needle), *ac-ies* (point), *ac-erbus* (sour), √*ac*, Sk. *aç*, origl. √*ak*; *ag-o* (drive), ἄγ-ω, Sk. *áǵ-āmi*, √*ag*; *mag-is* (more), *mag-nus* (great), μέγ-ας, Sk. st. *mah-ánt-* (n. sing. masc. *mah-ā́n*), Goth. *mik-ils*, √*mag*, Sk. *mah* fr. *magh*; *frag-ilis* (breakable), *frag-or* (crash), *fra-n-go* (break), Goth. √*brak* (pres. *brik-a*, pf. *brak*); *ang-uis* (snake), Sk. *áh-is*, Gk. ἔχ-ις, Germ. *unk*; *ans-er* (goose) for **hans-er*, Germ. *gans*, Sk. *hā̃s-ás*, f.f. *ghans-*; *al-ius* (other), ἄλλος=**ἀλ-yος*, Goth. *al-is*; *ap-iscor* (get), *ap-tus*, cf. Sk. *āp-nṓ-mi* (1 sing. pres. ind. adipiscor) √*ap*; *sta-tus* (placed), Gk. στα-τός, f.f. *sta-tas*, √*sta*; *sa-tus* (sown), √*sa*; *da-tus* (given), *da-tor* (giver), Gk. δο-τός, δο-τήρ, √*da*, etc.

2. Origl. *a* appears as *o*, especially in roots before and after *v*, and further in stem- and word-formative elements.

After *v*, as *uom-o* (spue), Gk. *Fεμ-έω*, Sk. *vám-āmi*; *uol-o* (will), *uol-t*, *uol-im*, later *uult*, *uel-im*, cf. Sk. *vár-āmi* (*vr-ṇṓmi*, *vr-ṇā́mi*), √*var*; *uoc-are* (call), Sk. √*vaḱ*, Gk. *Fεπ*, origl. *vak*; *uort-o* (turn), later *uert-o*, cf. Sk. *várt-atē* (3 sg. pres. med. uertitur, est), √*vart*; *uo-s* (you), *uoster* (your), later *uester*, cf. Sk. *vas* (uos, uobis); *uolu-ere* (twirl), Goth. *valv-yan* (uoluere); cf. *quatuor* (four) for **quatuors*, **quatuores*, beside τέσσαρες= **τετFαρες*, f.f. prob. *katvāras*; even *uocuus* (empty) in inscrr. for *uacuus*.

Origl. *sva* is regularly *so* in Lat., prob. fr. *suo* for *sue*, origl.

sva, by the above rules; *u* falls out, as in *te* (thee), *se* (himself), § 33. etc., for **tue*, **sue*, e.g. *socer* (father-in-law) fr. **suocer*, **suecer*, Gk. ἑκυρός for *σFεκυρος, Sk. *sváçuras* (written *çváçuras*), Goth. *svaíhra*, cf. *socrus* (mother-in-law), Sk. *sváçrūs* (written *çváçrūs*); *sorōrem* (sister, acc.), Sk. *svásāram*, f.f. *svastāram*; *sop-or*, *somnus* (sleep), for **sop-nus* (cf. ὕπ-νος), Sk. and f.f. *sváp-nas*, *sváp-i-mi* (I sleep); *son-us* (sound), Sk. *sván-as*.

Before *v*, e.g. *ou-is* (sheep), Gk. ὄFις, Sk. *áv-is*, Lith. *av-ìs*; *uou-os*, later *nou-us* (new), Gk. *νέF-ος*, Sk. *náv-as*; *nou-em* (nine), Gk. *ἐν-νέFa*, Sk. *náv-an*.

In other combinations, e.g. *mor-ior* (die), origl. and Sk. √*mar* (mori); *dom-are* (tame), Gk. √δαμ (ἔ-δαμ-ον), Sk. *dam*, Goth. *tam*, H.G. *zam*; *op-us* (work), Old-Lat. *op-os*, Sk. *áp-as*; *loq-uor* (speak), cf. Gk. ἔ-λακ-ον, Sk. √*lap*; *po-tis* (powerful), *po-tens* (mighty), *po-tiri* (become master of), cf. Gk. πό-σις (lord), Sk. and origl. *pá-tis* (master) [perh. in these instances the lab. *m*, *p*, and the lab. vowel which in Lat. accompanies *l*, are the causes of *o* representing *a*]; *coq-uere* (cook), Gk. √πεπ, Sk. *pak*, Lith. *kep*, etc., origl. *kak*.

In terminal particles (stem- and word-formative) *o* is remarkably regular before *s* and *m* (as in Gk.); for later weakening of *o* to *u*, v. sup. §§ 32, 3); e.g. suff. *-to* in n. sing. m. and acc. masc. and neut. *-to-s*, *-to-m*, Gk. *-το-ς*, *-το-ν*, Sk. *-ta-s*, *-ta-m*, e.g. *in-clu-to-s* (famed), acc. *clu-to-m*, cf. Gk. *κλυ-τό-ς*, *κλυ-τό-ν*, Sk. *çru-tá-s*, *çru-tá-m*, origl. *kru-ta-s*, *kru-ta-m*; neut. termn. *-os*, later *us*, e.g. *gen-os* (*gen-us*, race), Gk. *γέν-ος*, Sk. *ǵán-as*, origl. *gan-as*, so also *Ven-os* (prop. n. fem., *-os* authenticated); Lat. pl. *-bos* (*-bus*), Sk. *-bhyas*, etc.

3. *a* passes into *e* very frequently, without assignable reason, in neighbouring sounds: e.g. *fer-o* (bear), √*fer*, Gk. *φέρ-ω*, Sk. and origl. *bhár-āmi*, √*bhar*; *es-t* (he is), √*es*, Gk. *ἐσ-τί*, Sk. and f.f. *ás-ti*, √*as*; *sed-eo* (sit), √*sed*, Sk. and origl. *sad*; *gen-us* (race), Old-Lat. *gen-os*, √*gen*, √Gk. *γέν-ος*, Sk. *ǵán-as*, origl. *gan-as*, √*gan*; *ueh-it* (he carries), √*ueh*, Sk. *váh-ati*, f.f.

§ 33. *vagh-ati*, √*vagh*; *pecu-* (cattle), Sk. st. *paçú-* (n. sing. masc. *paçú-s*), f.f. stem *paku-*; *eq-uos* (horse), √*ec*, Gk. ἵππος=**ικ-Fος*, Sk. *áç-vas*, √*aç*, f.f. *ak-vas*, √*ak*; *dec-em* (ten), Gk. δέκα, Sk. *dáçan-*, f.f. *dakan-*; *septem*, Gk. ἑπτά (seven), Sk. and f.f. *saptán-*; *dent-em* (tooth, acc.), ὀ-δόντ-α, Sk. *dánt-am*; *men-te-m* (mind, acc.), f.f. *man-ti-m*, √*man*; *fer-ent-em* (bearing, acc.), φέρ-οντ-α, Sk. and f.f. *bhár-ant-am*; the origl. sound-combn. *ant* also becomes *ont*, *unt*, in Lat., e.g. *fer-unt* (they bear) fr. **fer-onti*, Sk. and origl. *bhár-ant-i*, *e-unt-em* (going, acc.; cf. § 32), beside *fer-ent-em*; st. *pa-ter-* (father), *mā-ter-* (mother), origl. *pa-tar-*, *mā-tar-*; *(g)nō-men* (name), Sk. *nā́-man-*, f.f. *gnā-man*, etc.

e is often an evident weakening from *a*, e.g. *per-fec-tus* (made thoroughly) beside *fac-tus* (made), etc.

e has proceeded from *o* in cases such as *uert-o*, *uester*, etc., fr. older *uorto*, *uoster*, f.f. *vart-ā-mi*, Sk. and origl. √*vart*, Goth. *varth*; *uos-ter*, cf. Sk. *vas* (uos, uobis) (cf. § 33). Accordingly *e* comes after *a* and *o* as a lighter vowel.

§ 34. Step-formation of *a*.

1. Corresponding to *e* we find *o* as the equivalent heavier vowel, and *o* sometimes occurs as a step-formn. fr. *e*=*a* (cf. Gk. and Sclav.); thus in these cases *o*=*ā*; *e* : *o*=*a* : *ā*, e.g. *mon-eo* (warn), i.e. *mān-āyami*, caus. vb. fr. origl. √*man* (think, thus simply=make to think), beside *mens* (mind) for **ments*, **men-ti-s*, f.f. *man-ti-s* (sf. *ti*), fr. √*man*, cf. *me-min-i* (I remember), later with weakening of *e* to *i*; *noc-eo* (hurt), f.f. *nāk-ayāmi*, caus. vb. fr. origl. √*nak*, Sk. √*naç* (die) (so simply 'make to die'), *nex*, *nec-is* (death), *per-nic-ies* (ruin), *nec-are* (kill), cf. *νέκ-υς*, *νεκ-ρός* (corpse); *tog-a* (wrapper) beside *teg-o* (cover), √*tag* (H.G. *tak*), prob. for *stag*, cf. *στέγ-ω*, Sk. *sthág-āmi* (cover), in Lith. *steg-iù* (cover) stands beside *stōg-as* (tectum); *socius* (comrade) beside *seq-ui* (go with), *ad-sec-la* (escort); *doc-eo* (teach), caus. f.f. *dāk-ayāmi*, beside *di-dic-i*, *disco* (learn) for **dic-sco*, prob. for **di-dac-sco*, cf. *δι-δά(κ)-σκω* (teach) beside *διδάξω*, i.e. *διδάκ-σω*, *διδαχ-ή* (teaching), √*dak* (not *dic*, as in

dĭc-o, *δείκ-νυμι*, which must be kept distinct); *proc-us* (wooer) § 34. beside *prec-ari* (beg); *for-s* (chance), *for-dus* (pregnant), beside *fero* (bear), √*fer*, origl. √*bhar*.

When *o* is short, the step-formations can take place also before two consonants, e.g. *pond-us* (n. weight) beside *pend-ĕre* (weigh); *ex-torr-is* (exile), *torr-eo* (roast)=**tors-eo*, cf. *tos-tus* (p. part. pass. torreo) for **tors-tus*, beside *terra* for **ters-a* (the 'dry land' in contrast to the 'water'), √*tars*, Goth. *thars* (in *thaírsan*, roast, *thaúrsyan*, thirst, vb.), Sk. *tarš* (thirst). Beside *a*, *o* occurs in *scob-s* (sawdust), *scob-ina* (rasp), and *scăb-o* (scratch); *port-io* (share) beside *part-em* (*pars*, part), *im-pert-io* (give, share).

2. *ē* is not common, e.g. *tēg-ula* (tile) beside *tĕg-o* and *tŏg-a*; *rēg-em* (*rex*, king), cf. Sk. *rā́ǵ-am*, *rā́ǵ-ānam* beside *rĕg-o* (rule); *lēg-em* (*lex*, law), *col-lēg-a* (comrade in office) beside *lĕg-o* (pick out, read), *sēd-es* (seat) beside *sĕd-eo* (sit), √*sad*; *sē-men* (seed) beside *să-tus*, so chiefly as a step-formn. of *e*; *ē* corresponds to origl. *ā* in *plē-nus* (full), f.f. *prā-nas*, √*pra*, *par* (fill); *ēd-i*, cf. Sk. *ā́da*, i.e. **āada* (perf.), fr. *ĕd-o* (eat), Sk. *ád-mi*; *sēmi-* (half), Gk. *ἡμι-*, Sk. *sāmi-*, O.H.G. *sāmi-*; *siēm*, *siēt* (1, 3, opt. fr. *es*, be), cf. *εἴην*, *εἴη*, Sk. *syām*, *syāt*, origl. *as-yā-m*, *as-yā-t*, in which cases perh. *i* has had an assimilating influence.

3. As *ē* is to *ĕ*, so is *ā* to *a* in the sound-scale, which, therefore, occurs most often before guttural consonants, e.g. *āc-er*, *āc-ris* (sharp), beside *ăc-ies* (point); *plāc-are* (appease) beside *plăc-ēre* (please); *pāc-em* (*pax*, peace), thence *pāc-are* (to pacify), beside *păc-isci* (bargain); *māc-ero* (soften) beside *măc-er* (thin): *amb-āg-es* (roundabout-way), cf. *amb-ăg-ere* (be in doubt), fr. √*ag* in *ăg-o* (drive, lead), Gk. *ἄγ-ω*, Sk. *á́ǵ-āmi*, origl. *ag-āmi*; st. *con-tāg-io-* (*con-tāg-iu-m*, contact), and further formed from it the commoner *con-tāg-iōn-* (n. sing. *con-tāg-io*), fr. √*tag* in *tango* (touch), *tac-tu-s* (past part. pass.) for **tag-tus*, cf. *con-tingo* (touch, hit); st. *suf-frāg-io* (*suffrāg-ium*, origly. 'sherd'; vote) beside *frăg-or* (crash), √*frag*, cf. *fra-n-go* (break), *in-fri-n-g-o*

§ 34. (break into); *sāg-ire* (perceive), *sāg-us* (sooth-sayer), *sāg-a* (witch) beside *săg-ax* (knowing); *pāg-ina* (page, leaf), *com-pāg-i-* (compages, union), *com-pāg-in-* (compago), fr. √*pag* in *pa-n-g-o* (fix), cf. *com-ping-o* (fix together); *uād-o* (go) beside *uăd-o-* (uadum, ford); *lāb-i* (glide) beside *lăb-are* (totter); *dā*, *dā-s*, beside *dă-tus*, √*da* (give); *fā-ri* (speak), *fā-ma* (fame), *fā-cundus* (eloquent), beside *fā-teri* (own to), origl. √*bha*; *mā-ter* (mother), Sk. *mā-tar-*, √*ma*; *frā-ter* (brother), Sk. *bhrā-tar-*, √*bhra*, transposed fr. *bhar*.

The fem. of the *a*-st. had origly. in the Lat. also long *a*, e.g. *nou-ā*, *coc-tā*, origl. *nav-ā*, *kak-tā*, cf. Sk. *náv-ā*, **pak-tā* (this form does not happen to occur, but is replaced by an entirely different form *pak-vắ*), Gk. *νέF-ā*, *πεπ-τή*, fr. *nou-o-s*, *coc-to-s*, *nou-u-s*, *coctus*, origl. *nav-a-s*, *kak-ta-s*, Gk. *νέF-ο-ς*, *πεπ-τό-ς*. Remains of this *ā* have been preserved in Latin.

4. Not unfrequently *ō* is a step-formation from *a*, especially beside *o*=*a*, and where *a* is a root-termn., further in stem-formative elements, e.g. *per-sōn-a* (mask) beside *sŏn-us* (sound), *sŏn-are* (sound), Sk. and origl. √*svan*; *sōp-io* (put to sleep), i.e. Sk. and origl. *svāp-áyāmi*, causat. verb, beside *sŏp-or* (sleep), Lat. √*sop*, Sk. and origl. *svap*; *uōc-em* (*uox*, voice)=Sk. *vā́k-am*, Gk. *Fόπ-α*, origl. *vāk-am* beside *uŏc-o* (call), origl. √*vak* (speak); *ōc-ior* (swifter), comp. fr. lost adj. corresponding to Gk. *ὠκ-ύ-ς*, Sk. *āç-ú-s* (swift) (perh. sounded **oquis*), origl. √*ak*; *dō-num* (gift), Sk. and f.f. *dā́-na-m*, *dō-te-m*, n. *dōs* (dowry,=*dō-ti-s*), f.f. *dā-ti-m* beside *dă-tus*, √*da*; *gnō-sco* (*nō-sco*, learn), *gnō-tus* (known, cf. *γι-γνώ-σκω*, *γνω-τός*), *gnō-men* (name) beside *(g)nŏta* (mark), *co-gni-tus* (known), √*gna*, fr. *gan* (as later forms show); *pōd-ex* beside *pēd-o* and *pēd-ico*, Sk. and origl. √*pard*, Gk. *περδ*, H.G. *farz*; *da-tōr-em* (giver, acc.), Sk. *dā-tā́r-am*, Gk. *δο-τῆρ-α*, origl. suff. *tar*, here raised to *tār*; *quō-rum* fr. st. *quo-* (rel. interrog.), origl. *ka*, etc.

5. *ū* as=origl. *ā* can only be considered a later parallel form from *ō*, since *o* has frequently become *u*; probably it does not

occur within the root. Hence the suff. *-tūro-*, fem. *-tūra-*, e.g. § 34. *da-tūr-us* (about to give), *rup-tūr-a* (breach), Lat. formns. from stems in *-tōr*, origl. *-tar*, *da-tōr-*, *rup-tōr-*, origl. *da-tār-*, *rup-tār-*; the suff. of gen. pl. *-um*, *-rum* (prob. for *-ūm*, *-rūm*, cf. Bücheler, Grundriss der Lat. Decl., p. 40) stands for earlier *-ōm*, *-rōm* (*bou-om* even in Verg.), Gk. *-ων*, in **-ών*, Sk. and origl. *-ām*, *-sām*, e.g. *(is)tarum*=Gk. **ταών*, i.e. *τῶν*, Sk. *tā́sām*; *vōc-um*=Gk. *Fοπ-ῶν*, Sk. *vāk-ā́m*.

2. *i*-scale. § 35.

In this, as in the *u*-scale, there is a lack of roots which present all three steps at once. In the *i*-scale, I know only the √*fid* in *fĭdes* (faith), *per-fĭd-us* (faithless) beside *con-fīd-o* (trust), i.e. *feid-o* (*di-feid-ens* is vouched for) and *foid-os* (*foedus*, treaty): even in roots which appear in two steps, e.g. √*dic* (Gk. *δικ*, Sk. *diç*, etc.), in *in-dĭc-o* (point at), *causi-dĭc-us* (advocate) beside *deic-o*, *dīc-o* (say); and √*i* (go) in *ĭ-tum* beside *ei-s*, *ei-t*, *ei-tur*=*īs*, *īt*, *ītur* (cf. *εἶμι*, go, Sk. *é-mi*), there is a step wanting.

The fundamental vowel *i* occurs, e.g. in *dic-are* (dedicate), √*dic*, cf. Sk. *diç*, Gk. *δικ* (in *δείκ-νυμι*); *ĭ-tum* (cf. *ĭ-μεν*, Sk. *i-más*), √*i* (go); *uid-eo* (see), cf. Sk. *vid-más*, Gk. *Fῖδ-μεν*, Goth. *vit-um*, √*vid*; *sci-n-d-o* (slit), *scissus*=**scid-tus* (slitten), cf. Sansk. *khi-n-á-d-mi*, *σχίζω*=**σχιδ-yω*, Goth. √*skid* in *skaid-an*, √*scid*; √*mig*, origl. *migh*, Gk. *μιχ*, in *mi-n-g-o*, *mic-tus* for **mig-tus* (past part. pass.); √*lig* in *li-n-g-o* (lick), origl. *righ*, Gk. *λιχ*; *qui-s* (who?), cf. Goth. *his* (dem.), Lith. *szi-s*, f.f. *ki-s*, √*qui*=*ki*. In stem-formative elements, e.g. *ou-i-s* (sheep), Gk. *ὄF-ι-ς*, Sk. *áv-i-s*, Lith. *av-ì-s*, √*u*, *av*, with suff. *i*, *i* is often lost in consequence of its position at the end of a word, e.g. *men-s* for *men-tis*, *men-ts*, f.f. *man-tis*, or dulled to *e*, as *men-tem*, cf. sqq.

This genuine *i* is dulled to *e* according to definite laws, e.g. *in-dex*, *in-dic-is* (pointer), √*dic*; *ig-ne-m* (fire, acc.) for older *ig-ni-m*, Sk. *agni-m*, Lith. *ùgni*. The earlier forms of this acc. occur not uncommonly, as *naui-m* (ship, acc.) beside *naue-m* and

§ 35. others. Also *mare* for **mari*, cf. *mar-i-a* (in similar cases final *i* is lost); so also in *naue-bos*, *tempestate-bus* (inscrr.), origl. *i* has passed into *e*, stems *nāui-*, *tempestāti-*.

Note.—Thus here *e* is the newer, *i* the origl. and hence older sound; whilst in the case of the more usual *i* weakened from *a*, when it is interchanged in the earlier lang. with *e*, the latter is the earlier sound. The language, however, no longer felt the difference of derivation, and both *i*-sounds were treated alike. Perh. unorigl. lengthening of *i* to *ī* should not be separated from step-formn. of *i* (to *ei*).

First step: *ei* (*ī*, *ē*); **deiu-os*, *dīu-os* (godlike, *deiuae*, *deiuinus*, occur), Sk. *dēvá-s*, f.f. *daiva-s*, √*div* (shine); *deic-o*, *dīco* (say), f.f. *daik-āmi*, √*dic*; *ei-tur*, *ī-tur* ('it is gone,' impers.), √*i*; *feid-o*, *fīd-o* (trust), √*fid*; *ueiuo-s*, *uīuo-s* (alive), cf. Sk. *ǵīvá-s*, Lith. *gývas*, √*gi*, redupl. *gig*, *uig*, *giu*, *uiu* (*u* for *g*, through intermed. *gu* (vid. sub. "Consonn."), *ueic-us*, *uīc-us* (hamlet), Sk. *vḗças*, Sk. *Foῖκος*; *uīnum* (wine), i.e. *ueinom*, Goth. *vein*, Gk. *Foῖνος*; clearly *īd-us*, *eid-us* (a fixed day in the month, origly. the day on which the moon shines, the bright day; Corss. Krit. Beitr. 261), √*id*, origl. and Sk. √*idh* (vid. sub. *ai*, *ae*).

Deus (god) is weakened fr. **dēus*, **dēuos*, **deiuos*, and is thus a parallel-fm. to *dīuos*, to which *deiuīnus* points; so *ĕo* (go) is clearly for **ēo*, **ēyo*, f.f. **aiy-āmi* for **aiāmi*, with splitting up of *i* into *iy*; *uen-dēmia* (inscrr.)=*uin-dēmia* (vintage).

In word-formative elements, *ē* beside *ei*, *ī*, is common, later generally the rule, e.g. *omneis*, *omnīs*, *omnes*, etc.

ai, *ae*, occur here and there as in Gk., e.g. *aid-e(m)*, *aed-es* (house, hearth), *aid-īlis* (overseer of buildings), *aes-tās* (summer heat) for **aed-tas*, cf. Gk. *αἴθ-ω*, *αἴθ-ουσα*, *αἰθ-ήρ*, Sk. √*idh* (kindle); *ae-uo-m*, old *ai-uo-m* (aye, long time) (except in gend.)= Sk. *ḗv-a-s* (course), cf. *αἰ-Fών*, √*i* (go), origl. suff. *va*; *maes-tus* (sorrowful), *maer-eo* (grieve, intr.) beside *mis-er* (wretched); *aem-ulus* (vying) beside *im-itari* (imitate); *laeuos* (left-), cf. *λαιFός*; *scaeuos* (left-), cf. *σκαιFός*; *caecus* (blind), cf. Goth. *haihs* (one-eyed, blind).

Second step is *oi, oe, ū;* e.g. *foid-ere,* n. **foid-os* (*foed-us,* § 35.
treaty), √*fid;* *ūber* (fruitful), early Lat. **oib-ri-s,* f.f. *āidh-ri-s,* cf. Sk. *ēdh-atē* (he grows), hence √*idh, ūber* (neut. subst. fruitfulness), early Lat. perh. **oib-es,* f.f. *āidh-as,* fr. same root; **oinos, oino(m),* occurs, *oenus, ūnus* (one), cf. Goth. *ains; comoinem, comūnem* (common, acc.), cf. Goth. *gamains;* so we find *loidos, loedos, lūdus* (game); *oitier, oetier, ūtier* (use), etc.

Note.—For *oe* we find *ē* written by mistake (cf. Fleckeisen, 5th Art. aus einem Hilfsbüchlein für Lat. Rechtschreibung, Frankf. 1861, p. 22), e.g. *ob-ēdire* for *ob-oedire,* cf. *audire, n-ēnum=n-oenum* (*non*).

3. *u*-scale. § 36.

Very much obliterated in Lat. Exx. are very rare: we can bring forward only *lŭc-erna* (lamp), Gk. √λυκ, Sk. *ruk,* f.f. *ruk,* beside *Leuc-esie* (Carm. Sal.), *Louc-ina* (nom. pr.), *lūcem* (light, acc.), *lū(c)-men* (light), *lou(c)-men; dŭc-em* (leader) beside *douc-ere, dūc-ere* (lead); *rŭb-er* (red), f.f. *rudh-ra-s,* beside *rūf-us* (red), f.f. *rāudh-as; pro-nŭb-us* (marriage-making), *in-nŭb-us* (unwedded), beside *nūb-o* (marry— of the woman); *rūp-es* (rock, cliff) fr. √*rup,* in *ru-m-p-o* (break); *trūd-o* (thrust) beside *trŭd-i-s* (thrusting-pole).

The fund. vowel *u,* e.g. in *rup-tus* (broken), *ru-m-p-o* (break), cf. Sk. *lu-m-p-ámi,* √*lup,* origl. √*rup; us-tu-s* (burnt), √*us,* Sk. √*uš; tu-tud-i* fr. pres. *tu-n-d-o* (thump), cf. Sk. *tud-ámi,* √*tud; rub-er* (red), for **ruf-er,* **ruf-ro-s,* √*ruf*=ῥυθ, Sk. and origl. √*rudh; iug-um* (yoke)=ζυγ-όν, Sk. *yug-ám,* √*yug; fu-i* (was), *fu-turus* (about to be), cf. φυ-τόν, origl. and Sk. √*bhu* (in Sk. lengthened *bhū*). In stem-formn. (not in stem-formative particles), e.g. *pec-u* (cattle, pl. *pecu-a*), cf. Goth. *faihu,* O.H.G. *vihu,* Sk. *paçú-s.*

This genuine *u* was also weakened to *i* (*ü*) [like that which arose from *a,* cf. § 32], e.g. *lub-et, lib-et* (it pleases), Sk. and origl. √*lubh* (desire), Goth. *lub* (in *lub-ō,* beloved, *liub-s,* love; *ga-laubs,* dear); *cli-ens* (hearer), √*clu,* √κλυ, origl. *kru* (hear);

§ 36. **manu-bus*, and hence *mani-bus* (*manu-s*, hand), *u* is noticeably preserved in many cases; *fructi-fer*, *corni-ger*, fr. **fructu-fer*, **cornu-ger* (fruit-bearing, horn-carrying).

Note 1.—Genuine *u* does not change to *o* except in *fŏ-re* fr. *fŭ-se*, √*fu*.

Note 2.—*ū* as lengthening from *ŭ* is prob. not to be separated fr. *ū*=*ou*, 1st and 2nd step-formn. of *u*. In *tū* (thou), we have an unorigl. lengthening, f.f. is *tŭ*, for in Sk. *tv-am*, Gk. *τύ*, *σύ*, Goth. *thu*, Scl. *ty*, there is no step-formn. We cannot decide between lengthening and step-formation in cases like *sū-s* (boar), *ὗς*, O.H.G. *sū*; *mūs* (mouse), *μῦς*, O.H.G. *mūs*, etc., where Gk. vouches for the hypothesis of the lengthening.

The first step-formn. (acc. to analogy of all Indo-Eur. langg.)—sounded of course precisely as in Gk.—was *eu*; but it was lost very early, since the only remaining instance of this archaic step-formn. is in *Leuc-esius* (n. prop.), cf. λευκ-ός (white), also *Loucetius*, *Lucetius*; f.f. is prob. **Leuc-ent-ios*, a further formn. fr. a particp. st. **leuc-ent-* (as *Prudent-ius* fr. *prudent-*), of a pres. **leuc-o*, √*luc*, as *φεύγ-ω* fr. √*φυγ*. In consequence of the sound-law mentioned § 33, (*e* before *u*, *v*, changed to *o*), there will arise fr. *eu* an *ou*, coinciding with 2nd step, and later becoming *ū*. Hence from *dūc-o* (lead), *douco*, we must infer an older **deuco*, f.f. *dauk-āmi*, √*duk* (because pres. stt. of this kind were formed by the 1st step); *ūro* (burn), **ouso* for **euso*=*εὐ-ω* for **εὐσ-ω*, Sk. *ṓṣ-āmi*, f.f. *aus-āmi*, √*us*; in roots which end in *u* we find *ov* for **ev*=*eu*, e.g. **plou-ont*, thence *pluu-ont*, *plu-ont* (they rain); **plou-ont*, however, is for **pleu-onti*, cf. Gk. *πλέF-ουτι* (*πλέ-ουσι*), f.f. *plav-anti*; so *flu-ont*=*flou-ont*, fr. **fleu-onti*, and other similar pres. fms.; *ious*, *iour-is* (*iūs*, *iūr-is*, right), is for **iou-os*, **iou-es-is*, and formed like **gen-os*, **gen-es-is* (gen-us, gen-eris), fr. √*iu* (iungere), by the first step, as is usual in this kind of noun st., **iou-os* is thus for **ieu-os*, formed fr. √*iu* like *κλέF-ος* fr. √*κλυ*, and corresponding Sk. *çráv-as* fr. √*çru*; *iūs*, *iūr-is* (broth)= **iou-s*, **iour-is*, **iou-os*, **iou-es-os*, **ieu-os*, **ieu-es-os*, f.f. *yav-as*, *yav-as-as*, fr. another √*yu*, Gk. √*ζυ* (in *ζύ-μη*, yeast), cf. Scl.

iu-cha (broth); *pūs* (*pūr-is*, matter)=**pous*, **pou-os*, **peu-os*, f.f. *pav-as*, Sk. and origl. √*pu* (be foul), cf. Goth. *fu-ls*, perh. *fū-ls*, O.H.G. *fū-l*, N.H.G. *fau-l*, f.f. *pau-ra-s*, Lith. *pú-ti* (be foul). Also *Iou-em*=*Diouem* (acc. n. pr.) must be referred to **dyev-em*, and clearly *Iū-piter* stands for **dyū-piter*, **dyou-piter*, and the latter for **dyeu-piter*, st. *dyeu-*=ζευ-, which is merely a sound-variation fr. *dyeu*, √*dyu*=*div* (shine, as noun-st. 'heaven' and 'god of heaven'; Sk. nom. *dyā-us* (2nd step) does not correspond with the Lat.): here the 1st step is much commoner than the 2nd, so that Lat. *ū* must generally be referred hither as= Old-Lat. *ou*. § 36.

Note.—*neu*, *seu*=*neue*, **seue*, do not belong here strictly, any more than *ne-uter*, *ne-utiquam* (also *nutiquam* like *nullus*).

au, as in Gk., is a first step long since unused, and in Lat. the only diphth. retained, and not yet given up (it occurs still in Ital. and in more isolated cases in other Latin lang.), although even in early times it was weakened, esp. in popular dialects, to the sound *ō*; further *au* is contr. into *ū* (prob. through intermed. *ō*), e.g. *raud-us*, *rōd-us*, *rūd-us* (crumb of earth), √*rud*, elsewh. *rub*, *ruf*, √*rudh* (be red). Exx. of *au*: *aur-ōra* (dawn), f.f. prob. *aus-āsā*, √*us* in *ūr-o*, *us-tus*, cf. Sk. st. *uš-ás-* (aurora), without step-formn. in root and suff. (the latter occurs in certain cases only); *aug-eo* (I increase), cf. *αὔξω*, *αὐξάνω*, prob. fr. **αὐγ-σω*, **αὐγ-σανω*, Lith. *áug-u* (I wax), √*ug*; the above-mentioned *raud-us* (neut. pl. *raud-era*), √*rud*, Sk. √*rudh*, Gk. √*ῥυθ*, etc.

Note.—*au* can also arise through a secondary process, e.g. *nauta* (sailor), *auceps* (bird-catcher), *gaudeo* (am glad), fr. *nāu-i-ta*, **au-i-ceps*, **gāu-i-deo*, etc.

The second step of *u*, viz. old Lat. *ou*, later *ū*, is equally wanting with the 1st step, and it is only by the aid of the cognate langg. that we can detect whether *ou*, *ū*, represent origl. *au* or *āu*: the latter is certain only in rare instances, e.g. *rūf-us* (red)=Kelt. *rúad*, Goth. *raud-s*, f.f. *rāudh-as*; clearly

§ 36. here belongs *ūber* (udder), on acct. of Gk. *οὖθαρ*, f.f. of both *ādhar*, though Sk. *ūdhas*, O.H.G *ūtar* (H.G. *euter*), show other degrees of the scale: perh. also *lūc-em*, *Louc-ina*, *lū(c)men*, √*luk*, origl. √*ruk*.

Note.—*ū*, *ou*, are here and there secondary products through falling-out of sounds, as e.g. **councti*, *cuncti* (all together), fr. *co-iuncti*; *noundinum* (S.C. de Bacc.), *nūndinum*, fr. **nouendinum*, cf. *nundinae* (period of 9 days), *prūdens* fr. *pro-uidens*.

§ 37. VOWEL SOUND-LAWS.

Accurate statement of the extraordinarily variable vowel sound-laws of the Lat. must be left to the special-grammar of the lang.: a general view only can be given here.

Hiatus. In case of vowels coming into contact with one another, hiatus is often obviated by means of contraction. This occurs regularly, when the first vowel is *a*, thus *amo* (1 sing.) fr. **amao*, *amas* (2 sing.), fr. **amais*, f.f. of termn. *-ayāmi*, *-ayasi*; *amarunt* (3 pl. pf.) fr. *ama(u)erunt*; *equae* and *equā* fr. *equāi* (d. sing); *diē*, *fidē*, fr. *diēi*, *fidēi*, etc. Other exx. are found in *sīs* fr. *siēs*, *sīt*, earlier *seit*, fr. *siēt*, f.f. *syāt*; *tibī*, *tibei*, fr. *tibie*, f.f. of termn. *-bhya(m)*; so too in *uōbeis*, *uōbīs*, f.f. of termn. *bhya(m)s*; *senatūs* (gen. sing.) fr. *sena-tuis* (*-tuos*), *senatu* (d. sing.) fr. *senatui*, *cōgo* fr. **co-igo*, *equo* (d. sing.) fr. *equōi*, etc. Both vowels, however, remain in many cases, esp. *u* and *i* with its kindred *e* make no hiatus with follg. vowels, e.g. *fui*, *lues*, *fluunt* (*fluont*); the noun-termns. *-io*, *-ia*, *-ies*; *fieri*, *tenuia* (*tenvia*), *eunt*, *eo*, *meae*. In combination even *co-actus*, *de-esse*, *co-optare*, but also medially, *boo* (*boare*), etc. Hiatus in the middle of a word is almost always brought about by loss of consonn., e.g. *fluunt* fr. *flouont*, *boo* fr. *bouo*, etc. The laws of hiatus in Lat. need a further and more accurate settlement.

§ 38. Assimilation exercises a wide-spread influence; vowel assimilates vowel, both forwards and backwards, and also in case of indirect contact of vowels (passing over consonn.), causing both

partial and complete similarity; and the same effects are produced by consonants upon vowels (relationship between particular consonantal- and vowel-sounds). And, moreover, by this means immediate contact betw. like vowels is avoided, and dissimilation takes place. § 38.

Thus *aureolus, gladiolus,* even *vinolentus,* etc., stand for **aureulus, *gladiulus, *vinulentus,* fr. *aureu-s, gladiu-s, uinu-m,* cf. *longulus, turbulentus; duritie-s* beside *duriti-a,* etc.; cf. *siēm, siēs, siēt,* with Sk. *syām, syās, syāt.* In these and similar cases we see an assimilating influence of foregoing vowels on those follg.; consequently *o* is nearer to *e* and *i* than *u,* and *e* more akin to *i* than *a.*

A reflexive assimiln. passing over cons. occurs, e.g. in *ex-ul* but *exil-ium, facul-tas* but *facil-is, sta-bulum* but *sta-bilis; mihi, tibi,* but Umbr. *mehe, tefe; bene* but *bonus.*

For relation between *o* and *u,* vide § 33, 2; *u* has a special affinity for labials, and above all *m* and *l.* Hence from weakened *a* we get, not *i,* but *u,* in cases like *oc-cup-o, au-cup-ium,* bes. *capere, con-tubernium* (chummage) beside *tab-erna* (hut), *op-tum-us* (later only, *optimus*), etc.; bef. *l* older *o* became *u,* e.g. *poculum* fr. *pocolom, consul* fr. *cosol, epistula* fr. ἐπιστολή; through this weakening of *a,* before *l*+cons. we find *u,* not *i* or *e* (the regular representative of *i* before 2 consonn.), e.g. *sălsus, insulsus, sepelio, sepultus,* etc.; further, *u* has remained before *n*+cons., e.g. *ferunt, homunculus* (cf. supr. § 32). Throughout, it represents here too an earlier *o,* wh. maintained itself intact in the popular diall., as later inscrr. and Ital. (e.g. *sepoltura* as early as 558 A.D., cf. Ital. *sepolcro, colomna,* Ital. *colonna*) prove.

Even origl. *i*—not weakened fr. *a*—gives way to *u* in cases like *testu-monium* (witness) beside *testi-s*; *carnu-fex* (flayer) beside st. *carni-* (n. *caro,* flesh), and the like; where, nevertheless, the analogy of the commoner cases may have had some influence.

e is retained by preference in final syll. bef. nasals, e.g. *septem,* cf. ἑπτά, *nōmen,* Sk. *nā́man-, cornicen,* √*can, ouem* fr. *oui-m,* and

§ 38. so in most *i*-stems; in acc. sing. of *a*-stem nevertheless we find *o, u* (*nouo-m, nouu-m*); but above all *e* is found bef. *r*, e.g. *camera* fr. *καμάρα, operis* beside *nominis; stetĕrunt* for **steti-sonti*, cf. *stetis-ti; ueher-is* fr. *uehis-is*, cf. *uehit-ur; peperi* for **pepiri*, fr. *pario*, like *cecini* fr. *cano; affero*, not **af-fir-o*, wh. we might look for acc. to analogy, comparing such cases as *colligo* fr. *lego*.

r has also a preference for *o* (=*u*) preceding, e.g. *fo-re, fo-rem*, fr. √*fu* (*fu-turus*); Lat. *ancora* fr. Gk. *ἄγκῡρα*; but *robur, ebur* with *u*, perh. on account of preceding *b*.

Further, *e* occurs bef. two or more consonn. interchangeably with *i* bef. one cons., e.g. *iudex* but *iudicis; eques-ter* for **equet-ter*, **equit-ter* but *equit-em; asellus* fr. **asin(u)lus*, cf. *asinus; consecro, abreptus*, etc. (but it remains *i* bef. *ng* in *attingo, infringo* and the like).

The sound-combinations *ent, end*, and *unt, und*, are weakened forms, e.g. *fer-ent-em* beside *e-unt-em* fr. **e-ont-em*, where the earlier sound *o, u*, has been kept in consequence of dissimiln., beside *e, uolunt-arius; faciendus* and *faciundus*, both fr. **faciondus*, remain in '*sacris faciundis*,' '*iure dicundo*,' and the like. After *u, e* is invariable: *tu-endus, restitu-endus*. *a* is throughout the origl. vowel in these cases.

i has a special affinity to *n* and *dentals*, and is the commonest weakening fr. *a*, e.g. *μηχανή* but *māchina; nominis, hominis, cecini*, fr. stems *gnāman-, ghaman-, ka-kan-*, etc.

By dissimiln. is prevented the combn. of two like vowels, e.g. *ueri-tas* fr. *ueru-s*, but *pie-tas* (*piu-s*), *ebrie-tas* (*ebriu-s*), etc., not **pii-tas*, etc.; *equit-is* (*eques*) but *abiĕt-is, ariĕt-is, pariet-is* (*abies, aries, paries*); *diuinus, diuo-s*, but *aliēnus* (*aliu-s*); *lēui-gare* (lēuis) but *uarie-gare* (*uariu-s*), etc. The first vowel is changed in *mēio* fr. **mĭg-yo*, **mīio: ei, dei*, are older and more correct than *ii, dii*, etc. Through dissimiln. *o* kept ground longer after *u, v*, e.g. *equos, equom, nouom, mortuos*, etc.

§ 39. Through loss of consonants vowel-change takes place, viz. 1. Compensatory lengthening; 2. Contraction.

1. Compensatory lengthening, e.g. *pēs*, *ariēs*=**pĕd-s*, *ariĕt-s*; a regular shortening has here taken place later (§ 41), e.g. *pedĕs* fr. *pedēs*=**pedĕt-s*, *patĕr* fr. *patēr*=**patĕr-s*; *ferēns* =**ferĕnt-s* (cf. φέρων=φεροντ-ς); *sāl* (salt)=*săl-s* (gen. *săl-is*), cf. ἅλς, etc.; esp. often through loss of nasal bef. *s*, e.g. acc. pl. of *a*-st. *-ōs* (*nou-ōs*)=*-ons* (f.f. *nav-ans*); in compar. *-iōr*, *-iōrem*, fr. *-yans*, *-yansam*, etc.; further, *pōno* (place)=**pos-no* (cf. *pos-ui*), *quini* (by fives)=*quĭnceni*, *exāmen* (swarm)=*exăg-men* (*ăgo*); thus *g* falls out esp. bef. *y*, e.g. *māior* (greater)=**măg-ior*, cf. *mag-nus* (great), *āio* (say)=**ăg-io* (cf. *ad-ăg-ium*, proverb), *mēio* (urino) =**mīio*=**mĭgyo*, etc. § 39.

2. Contraction (vid. supr. § 37), e.g. *amārunt*, *amāsti*, *nōrunt*, *amō* (fr. **amao*), *docēs*, *audīs* (fr. **doce-is*, **audi-is*); *nouīs*=**nouo-is*, **noua-is* fr. **nouo-bios*, **noua-bios* (v. Decl.), etc. In redupl. perff. this case is very clear, e.g. *fēci* fr. **fĕfici*, cf. *cecini*, likew. *iēci*, *frēgi*, etc.

Note.—Cases like *inuītare* (invite)=**uicitare*, √*uŏc*; *conuītium* (wrangle)=**conuīcitium* √*uŏc*; *suspītio* (suspicion)=**suspicitio*, etc. (on the last ex. cf. Fleckeisen, Rhein Museum, viii. 227; on the other side Corssen, Kritik. Beitr. s. 12 sqq., who writes *suspīcio*, *conuīcium*, and derives them accordingly, but assigns *inuītare* to an ambig. Sk. √ *vi*). Cf. § 77, 1. a. sub fin.

Weakening (lightening of vowels by change of quality with and without shortening) is very common in Lat., and throughout not exclusively confined to unaccentuate sylls., whence probably too the analogy of this weakening arose (cf. supr. § 32, 2; on the question cf. G. Curtius, das dreisilbengesezt der Gk. u. Lat. betonung, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, ix. 321 sqq.). Esp. regular is the occurrence of weakg. in sylls. of word-formation; in composition and in reduplication, but also in root sylls. Nevertheless, that the weakening did not invariably occur in the second member of a compound is proved by exx. such as *com-paro*, *per-agro*, *per-actus*, etc. (Corss. Kuhn's Zeitschr. xi. 370). Through weakening § 40.

§ 40. *a* becomes *e*; *fall-o fe-fell-i, parc-o pe-perc-i, fac-tus per-fec-tus,* etc.

a becomes *u*; *cap-io, oc-cup-o;* here belongs the *u* of the unaccentuated final sylls., e.g. *da-tu-s* f.f. *da-ta-s;* early Lat. *oper-us,* Sk. and f.f. *ápas-as,* etc.: the change fr. *a* to *u* is through intermed. *o.*

a becomes *i;* e.g. *fac-io con-fic-io, pa-ter Iupi-ter, cad-o, ce-cid-i, can-o, ce-cin-i,* etc.; the change must be through intermed. *e.* *e* occurs for *i* acc. to the above-stated rule, in cases like *tubi-cen, pe-per-i, oper-is* for **opis-is* (*opos-os* f.f. *apas-as*), etc. Cf. § 38.

ā becomes *ē*; *hāl-o an-hēl-o.*

ae becomes *ī*; *quaer-o in-quīr-o, caed-o ce-cīd-i con-cīd-o, aequos in-īquos,* etc.

au becomes *ō, ū*; *caus-a ac-cūs-o, fauc-es suf-fōc-o, plaud-o ex-plōd-o,* etc.

Even long vowels and diphths. became *ĭ* (*ĕ*) by more marked shortening, e.g. *gnō-tus co-gnĭ-tus, iouro* (*iūro*), *pe-iĕro, de-iĕro* (*-yĕro* for **-yiro,* with *e* for *i* bef. *r,* cf. § 38).

Before secondary suffixes, and as 1st member of compds., stems in *o, u,* weaken their stem-termns. before consonn. to *i,* e.g. *duri-tas, duri-ties,* st. *duro-* (*durus*); *corni-culum, corni-cen, corni-ger,* st. *cornu-,* etc.

Bef. vowels *u* remains, e.g. *fructu-arius fructu-osus,* st. *fructu-*; it also keeps ground bef. labials, e.g. *locu-ples, quadru-pes, quadru-plex.*

§ 41. Also shortening of vowels in unacc. final sylls. prevails very widely.

Thus *ă* in fem. is origl. *ā* (Sk. *ā, η*), hence kept long sometimes in earlier Latin; *ĕ,* in abl. sing. of *i*-st. and of conson. stems, following their analogy, is origl. *-ait,* thence *-aid, -eid, -ēd, īd,* later *-ei, -ē, -ī* (so *patrē,* tit. Scip. Barb.); *ē* of the vb. sometimes appears short, e.g. *cauĕ, iubĕ; ĭ* in *mihĭ, tibĭ, ubĭ,* etc., is fr. earlier *ī, ei* through shortening, *mihei, tibei, ubei,* occur not seldom: final *ō* always represents origl. *ŏ,* e.g. *homō=*homon-s;*

agō cf. *ἄγω*, f.f. *ag-āmi*, next step *ag-ā* by loss of *mi*; *egō* cf. *ἐγώ*; in these cases the nasal may have caused the dulling of *ā* to *ō*; *duo*, *ambo*, *octo*, cf. *δύω*, *ἄμφω*, *ὀκτώ*. § 41.

Shortening occurs regularly bef. final *t*; *amă-t* for *-āt*=*-ait*, *-aat* fr. *-ayati*, cf. *amā-mus*; so *-et*, *-it*, in the derived vbs. and in opt. fr. *-ēt*, *-īt*, earlier *-eit*: also *-it* in pf. was sounded *-eit* in earlier times, and the like.

Similarly bef. other consonn., e.g. *-is* of opt. (*fecerĭs*) for and beside *-īs* (*fecerīs*); *pa-tĕr* fr. *pa-tēr* (cf. *πα-τήρ*) for **pa-ters*; *-ŏr* in nom. sing. fr. *-ōr*, e.g. *censōr* (tit. Scip.) fr. **cens-tor-s*, and many more such.

Evaporation in unacc. sylls. brings us to total loss, final and medial loss of vowels (§ 32). § 42.

Final loss of vowels is partly of late date only, e.g. *animal* for and beside *animale*, *dic* for and bes. *dice*, *hoc* for and bes. *hoce*, *ut* for and bes. *uti*; partly older, e.g. *uehis* for **uehisi*, f.f. *vaghasi*; *est*, *uehit*, for **esti*, **uehiti*, f.f. *asti*, *vaghati* (*tremonti* has remained, Bergk. index lect. Marburg, 1847–8), etc.

Medial loss of weakly-accented vowels is esp. common in Lat., and occurs (1.) bef. vowels, e.g. *minor*, *minus*, for **minior*, **minius*; *nullus* for *ne-ullus*, etc.; cases can be produced where no contraction has taken place, e.g. *un-ŏculus* (*uno-oculus*), *sem-ănimus* (*semi-animus*), *nŭtiquam* (*ne-utiquam*). (2.) bef. consonn., the commonest case, e.g. *alumnus*, *uertumnus*, for **alumenus*, **uert-umenus*, suff.=Gk. *-μενο-*, Sk. *-māna-*; *stella* for **sterla* fr. **sterula*; *puella* for **puerla* fr. **puerula*; *misellus* for **miserlus* fr. **miserulus*; *patrem* for **pater-em*, st. *pater-*; *rettuli* fr. **re-tetuli*; *reppuli* fr. **re-pepuli*; *repperi* fr. **re-peperi*, and so on. Thus the loss of medial vowels is chiefly approved betw. like consonn. (as in Mid.H.G., Zeitschr. x. 160). Unacc. *i* may altogether disappear, e.g. *dixti* fr. *dixisti*, *ualde* fr. *ualide*, *gaudeo* fr. **gauideo* (cf. *gauisus*), etc.

Of special importance in treatment of declension is the medial loss of origl. *a* and *i*, i.e. *o* or *u* and *i* before the *s* of nom. sing.

§ 42. Thus arises *puer*, etc., fr. **puers*, which comes fr. *puero-s*, *puerus* (in existence), *uir* fr. **uirs*, **uiros*, *acer* (§ 43) fr. *acris*, etc. This is noticeably regular after *r* with short syll. precedg.; hence *quatuor* stands for **quatuors*, **quatuores*, cf. τέσσαρες, Sk. *ǩatvâras;* after the vowel had been lost, the *s* also fell off from the *r*. Such forms as *famul* (Enn. Ann.) are obsol.; it stands for **famuls* fr. *famulos*, *damnas* for **damnats* fr. *damnatos;* *alis* for *alios* (vouched for more than once); *Sallustis*, *Clodis* (Inscrr.) for *Sallustios*, *Clodios*, etc.; *alid* for **aliod*, *aliud*.

Loss of *i* in *i*-st. is remarkably common, whereby its Lat. nom. has become thoroughly confused with that of conson. stems, thus e.g. *primas* for older *primatis*, *gens* fr. **gents* and this fr. **gen-ti-s*, *mors* for **morts* fr. **mor-ti-s*, fr. √*gen*, origl. *gan* (gignere), and √*mor*, origl. *mar* (mori), f.f. therefore *gan-ti-s*, *mar-ti-s*, and the like. Further *acer* for and bes. *acris*, *uigil* fr. *uigilis*, etc.

Note.—The occasional omission of vowels in the text of Inscrr. which could not take place in the spoken lang. (e.g. *dcumius*, *fect*, *uixt* for *Decumius*, *fecit*, *uixit*) has been pointed out by Ritschl. (Rhein. Mus. n. Folge xvi. p. 601 sqq.; xvii. p. 144 sqq.).

§ 43. Insertion of a helping-vowel likewise sometimes occurs in Lat., e.g. *s-u-m* fr. **es-mi*, **es-u-mi*, origl. *as-mi;* *s-u-mus* fr. **es-mus*, **es-u-mus*, origl. *as-masi;* *uol-u-mus* fr. **uol-mus*, f.f. *var-masi*, cf. *uol-t*, f.f. *var-ti;* *teg-u-mentum* (hence *teg-i-mentum*) bes. *teg-mentum*, and the like belong likewise here; *u* is here the helping-vowel on account of *m* following, cf. *drach-u-ma* (Plaut.) fr. δραχ-μή, since in general a similar vowel-insertion was admitted in foreign words, as e.g. *tech-i-na* (Plaut.) from τέχνη, etc.

Bef. *r*, *e*=*i* (§ 38), e.g. *um-e-rus* (shoulder) bes. Sk. *âsa-s* for **amsa-s*, *rub-e-r* (red) for **rubr* fr. **rubrs*, **rub-ro-s*=ἐ-ρυθ-ρό-ς, Sk. also with helping-vowel *rudh-i-rá-s*, origl. *rudh-ra-s;* *gener* (son-in-law) for **gen-r(o-s)*, cf. γαμβρός for **γαμ-ρό-ς*; *ager* (field) for **ag-r(o-s)*, Gk. ἀγ-ρό-ς; *caper* (he-goat) for **cap-r(o-s)*, a form like κάπ-ρ-ος (boar), etc.

§ 43. The common helping-vowel *i* may generally be regarded as a weakening of an older *u* or *e*: it occurs rather irregularly (cf. Ritschl. Rh. M. n. F. 1862, 607 sqq.) in e.g. *mor-i-turus* bes. *mor-tuos*, *or-i-turus* bes. *or-tus*, etc. After the analogy of consonl. roots this *i* is found also in the case of roots ending in a vowel, e.g. *ru-i-turus*, *di-ru-i-tus* bes. *diru-tus*, *tu-i-tus* bes. *tu-tus*, etc.

B. CONSONANTS.

§ 44. CONSONANTS OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.

The consonn. in Indo-Eur. are specially distinguished from the vowels, setting aside their physiological conditions, in that they are fixed and invariable in roots (we may pass over the changes which they undergo in consequence of sound-laws that are always secondary), but cannot, like vowels, raise themselves in a definite scale of gradation. Whilst the nine origl. vowel-sounds of the Indo-Eur. can be reduced to three fundamental vowels, the consonn. are collectively independent of one another. Whilst the vowels by means of their step-formation according to meaning thereby serve for the expression of *relation*, consonn. are merely elements of expression of *meaning;* no relationship is expressed in Indo-Eur. by the use of root-consonn.

The Indo-Eur. origl. lang. has fifteen consonn., which in § 1 are classed according to their physiological conditions, viz. three momentary mutes, three mom. sonants, three mom. son. aspirates, three spirants, and three so-called liquids, i.e. two nasals and *r*. The existence of *b* (mom. son. labial) in the origl. lang. cannot be authenticated by any perfectly certain example: but it is highly probable that it did exist, as the origl. element of the frequent aspirate *bh*. The number of origl. consonn. is also much greater than that of the vowels (prob. 3×3, but certainly 2×3 existed).

The aspirates, as double sounds, seem to be foreign to the most original condition of the lang., and to have developed only in later times: but they certainly existed before the first splitting-up of the origl. lang., for they are found in the three divisions of the Indo-Eur., or at least they can be detected;

that is, they occur in Aryan and in S.-European; in N.-European likewise they must once have existed: the Teutonic has them, it is true, like the other northern langg., changed to *sonants*, but the origl. *sonants* are distinguished from them by becoming *tenues*. § 44.

Consonantal sound-laws had not arisen so early as the origl. lang.; consonn. can be placed anywhere, and in any combination which the organism of the lang. required, because these combinations (e.g. *vāk-bhis* inst. pl. fr. st. *vāk*, *voice*) were not yet so close that those consonn. which are brought together by word-formation exercised any influence on one another (thus e.g. in *vāk-bhis* the influence of *bh* on *k* produces as early as Sk. the fm. *vāg-bhis*: *k* has here changed bef. sonant *bh* into its corresponding son. *g*: on the improbability of origl. interchange of *i*, *u*, with *y*, *v*, cf. § 3).

Examples. § 45.

Momentary mute unaspirated consonants.

1. *k*. *ka-s* (who), *ka* (-que, and), *katvār-as* (four), *kankan* (five), *kard* (heart), √*kak* (cook), √*ka* and *ak* (be sharp, quick), √*ki* (lie), √*kru* (hear), *kru-ta-s* (heard), *kvan-s* (dog), √*skid* (cut), √*vak* (speak), √*dak* (bite), √*dik* (show), √*ruk* (light), *ak-man-s* (stone, heaven), *dakan* (ten), *varka-s* (wolf); sf. *-ka*, etc.

2. *t*. *ta-t* (that), *tu* (thou), √*ta*, *tan* (stretch), *tri* (three), √*sta* (stand), *stag* (cover), √*pat* (fly, fall), √*prat* (broad), √*vart* (turn); common in stem- and word-formative particles, e.g. sf. *-ta* (pf. pt. pass.), *bhara-ti* (fer-t), *ragh-is-ta-s* (ἐλάχιστος), etc.

3. *p*. √*pa* (drink), √*pa* (protect, rule), thence *pa-ti-s* (lord) and *pa-tar-s* (father), *par* (fill), hence *paru-s* (many) and *par-na-s* (full), √*pad* (go) as noun-st. n. sing. *pad-s* (foot), *pratu-s* (πλατύ-ς), √*pru* (flow), *prav-ati* (he flows), √*spak* (see, look), √*sarp* (creep, serpere), √*tap* (burn, heat), √*svap* (sleep) thence *svap-na-s* (sleep, n.), etc.

§ 46. Momentary sonant unaspirated consonants.

1. *g.* √*ga* (go), 1 sing. pres. *ga-gā-mi*, √*ga*, *gan* (be born), √*gan* (know), √*ag* (agere), *ag-ni-s* (ig-ni-s), √*grabh* (grasp), √*yu-g* (iungere), thence *yug-am* (yoke, iug-um), etc.

2. *d.* √*da* (dare), 1 sing. pres. *da-dā-mi*, √*dak* (bite), √*dam* (tame, domare), *dama-s* (domus), √*dik* (show), √*div* (shine), st. *dva-* (two), √*ad* (eat), √*sad* (sit), √*vid* (uidere), 1 sing. pres. *vaid-mi*, etc.

3. *b.* I know of no certain example of this sound.

Note.—The Teutonic and Gk. forms of those words that show *b* in the Aryan and S.-European langg. point partly to *bh*, e.g. Sk. √*bandh* (bind), but Goth. *band*, f.f. therefore *bhandh*, Gk. √*πενθ* for **φενθ*, *πενθ-ερός* (affinis), *πεῖσμα* for **πενθ-μα* (cable); Sk. *bāhús* (fore-arm), Gk. *πῆχυς* for **φηχυς*, N.-Eur. *bōgr*, O.H.G. *puoc*, origl. initial-sound *bh;* Sk. √*budh* (know), Gk. √*πυθ* (*πυνζάνομαι*) for **φυθ*, Goth. *bud*, not **pud*, as might be expected fr origl. *b* (moreover the Goth. root, notwithstanding the difference of function, is identical with *budh*, *πυθ*); if *b* were origl., the Gk. fms. would be **βενθ*, **βηχυς*, **βυθ*. These three roots have a final asp., which was the effect of the disappearance of an origl. asp. at the beginning in Aryan and Gk. (this conjecture has been ably confirmed by Grassmann, Zeitschr. xii. 110). In other instt. we lack decisive representatives in N.-European, e.g. *βραχύς*, *breuis*, Sclav. *brŭzŭ;* Sk. √*lab*, *lamb* (labi, delabi; 3 sing. pres. *lámbatē*), Lat. *lab.* (lāb-itur), etc.; *κάνναβις* (hemp), Norse *hanpr*, O.Bulg. *konoplya*, a doubtful and borrowed form. Grassm. Zeitschr. xii. 122 sqq. shows it to be likely that *b* did not exist in Indo.-Eur., at least at the beginning of a word. Nor have I found any certain exx., ap. Bickell Zeitschr. xiv. 425 sqq., of the origl. existence of lab. son. in Indo.-Eur.

§ 47. Momentary sonant aspirated consonants.

1. *gh.* √*ghar*, *ghra* (burn, shine; be green, yellow), *ghans-s* (m. f. *goose*), √*stigh* (step), √*agh*, *angh* (be tight), √*vagh* (uehere), √*migh* (mingo), √*righ* (lick), *dargha-s* (long), etc.

2. *dh.* √*dha* (set, make), 1 sing. pres. *dha-dhāmi*, √*dham* (blow), √*idh* (burn), √*rudh* (be, become red) thence *rudhra-s* and *rāudha-s* (red), *madhu* (honey, mead), *madhya-s* (medius), etc.

3. *bh.* √*bha* (shine, speak), √*bhar* (bear, ferre), 1 sing. pres. *bhar-āmi,* √*bhu* (be, become), 1 sing. pres. *bhav-āmi,* √*bhug* (bend, flee), *bhrā-tar-s* (brother), √*grabh* (grasp), *nabha-s* (neut. nubes), *-bhi* common case-sf. *bh* is not very common in st.-formative particles. § 47.

Consonantal Prolonged-sounds. § 48.

Spirants.

1. *y.* *ya-s* (which), *yuga-m* (yoke, iugu-m), √*yug, yu* (iungere); very common in st.-formative particles, e.g. *madh-ya-s* (medius), *as-yā-t* (sit, siēt), *bhāra-yā-mi* (φορέω), compar. sf. *-yans* (prob. also *-yant*); also in word-formative sff., e.g. *-bhyam, -bhyams,* sf. of dat. sing. pl. *-sya,* sf. of gen. sing. masc. of *a*-st., etc. As a medial sound, *y* is akin to *i,* cf. § 3.

2. *s.* √*sad* (sit), *saptan* (seven), √*su* (sow), thence *su-nu-s* (son), √*sru* (flow), √*svid* (sweat), √*sta* (stand), √*star* (strew), √*smar* (remember), √*as,* pres. *as-mi* (sum), √*us* (urere), √*vas* (dwell, clothe oneself), √*tars* (torrere, thirst), *sva-star-s* (sister); common in word-formative partt., e.g. *akva-s* (equos), nom. sg. masc., *akvā-sas,* nom. pl. masc., etc.; also in st. forms, e.g. *man-as* (mind), etc.

3. *v.* √*va* (flow), √*vam* (uomere), √*vak* (speak), thence *văk-s* (voice), √*vagh* (carry, uehere), 1 sing. pres. *vagh-āmi,* √*var* (will), √*vart* (turn, uertere), *aui-s* (ouis), √*vid* (see, know), *naua-s* (new, nouos); in stem-formative partt., e.g. sf. *-vant,* Sk. *-vant, -vans,* Gk. *-Fεντ, -Fοτ*; rarer in word-formative partt., e.g. loc. pl. *-sva,* etc.; *v* as a medial sound is akin to *u,* vid. § 3.

Nasals. § 49.

1. *n.* *na, an-* (negation), √*nak* (die), thence *nak-ti-s* (night), *nava-s* (nouos), *nāu-s,* gen. *nāv-as* (nauis), √*gan* (be born, know), st. *ana-* (dem. pron.); *n* is common in st.-and word-formative partt., e.g. *par-na-s* (plenus; past part. pass.), *ak-man-s* (stone), *gnā-man* (name), *bhara-nti* (ferunt), etc.

§ 49. 2. *m.* √*ma*, *ma-n* (measure, think), thence *ma-na-s* (mind) and *mā-tar-s* (mother), √*mar* (mori), √*smar* (remember), √*vam* (uomere); common in word-formative partt., e.g. *varka-m* (acc. sg.), *ai-mi*, *i-masi* (eo, imus, 1 sg. pl. pres.), etc.; in st-formative partt., e.g. *ghar-ma-s* (heat), *gnā-man* (name).

§ 50. *r.* √*rak* (shriek), √*ruk* (light), √*rik* (liquere), √*righ* (lick), √*rudh* (rubere), *raghu-s* (light, adj.), √*kru* (hear), √*bhar* (ferre), √*ar* (oriri, ire; arare), √*par* (fill); also in stem-formative partt., e.g. sf. *tar*, *bhrā-tar-*, *mā-tar-*, and the like, but not in word-formative sff.

§ 51. SANSKRIT CONSONANTS.

The physiologically-arranged table of Sk. consonn. is in § 4, where also their pronunciation is considered. Whilst the vowel system of Sk. is generally original, its conson. system is mixed in many ways with later elements. Hence arises that large number of conson.-sounds which is unparalleled in other Indo-Eur. langg.

The origl. sounds in Sk. are the mom. mutes and sonants, and the sonant aspp. all of gutt., dent., and lab. quality, thus, *k*, *t*, *p*; *g*, *d*, *b* (?); *gh*, *dh*, *bh*; further the spirants *y*, *s*, *v*, and also *n*, *m*, *r*. Thus Sk. still possesses the consonn. of the Indo-Eur. origl. lang. entire. All the rest, nineteen in number, have arisen in pure Aryan words from these fifteen origl. consonn., and are to be treated as parallel fms. of them, which have been called forth according to generally perceptible sound-laws, and through the influence of the non-Indo-Eur. langg. spoken by Dravidian (Dekhanic) peoples who were pressed back by the Aryans, and were the earlier inhabitants of the peninsula of Further India, just as neighbouring langg. very often acquire sounds from one another.

The origin of the so-called Sk. lingual mom. consonn. and ling. nasal (*ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṭh*, *ḍh*, *ṇ*) is due to the latter influence, therefore these sounds are peculiar to Indian, and are unknown in this form to other Indo-Eur. langg. Within the Indian these

sounds gain a still wider sway in the course of the development of the lang. (in the Prākrits). In Aryan words they are variations of their corresponding dentals. § 51.

Further the palat. mom. sounds and their nasal are all unorigl. (*ć, ǰ, ćh, ǰh, ń*); they have arisen from the corresponding gutturals; and so is the pal. mute spirant *ç*, which is a variation fr. *k*. The law acc. to which the gutt. partly pass into palatals, partly remain, is hitherto unexplained in particular cases (however, that the change of gutt. into palat. did not occur till late, is implied by the circumstance that the gutt. were reduplicated by means of the corresponding palatals).

Unorigl. also are all the tenues aspp. (*kh, th, ph;* in the case of *ćh* and *ṭh* the unoriginality is sufficiently clear from the nature of the unasp. sound), whose origin is in known cases mainly caused by foregoing *s* (*kh, ćh=sk, sth=st*).

Unorigl. also is *h*, which mostly represents *gh*, sometimes also other aspp.; *š̌* occurs partly acc. to definite sound-laws, partly without perceptible reason for *s;* ◌ः (visarga) is an altogether late variation of *s*, and confined almost entirely to the termination.

The gutt. and palat. nasals stand only bef. mom. consonn. of their own quality, by which therefore they are conditioned; the nasalisation of the vowels (◌ँ) is likewise dependent on the follg. conson.; it occurs bef. *s* and *h* (bef. other consonn. it is often merely a way of writing nasal consonn.).

l bes. *r*, is as in other langg., unorigl.; it obviously increases in the course of the development of Sk.

Besides the sound-laws already explained, Sk. has numerous laws for medial sounds, but esp. for termn. (these laws however do not belong here, but rather to Sk. special grammar), through which the conson.-syst. of Sk. became considerably removed from the basis of the origl. lang.

The representation of gutt. by palatals occurs only bef. vowels and sonant mom. prolonged sounds, not bef. mom. consonn., mute conson.-prolonged-sounds, and in termin. Yet here also

§ 51. occur palatals by no means acc. to fixed sound-laws (e.g. *yu-yṓǵ-a* iunxi, bes. *yṓg-a-s* iunctio), so that it seems that the lang. has availed itself of the change of gutt. into palatals (originally merely physiological), in order to express differences of relation.

Examples.

§ 52. Origl. mom. mute unaspirated consonn.

1. Origl. *k*=Sk. *k, ḱ, kh, ḱh, ç, p.*

Sk. *k*=origl. *k*, e.g. in *ka-s* (who), √*kar* (make), *kímis* (worm), *vṛ́ka-s* (wolf), st.-formative sf. *-ka*, e.g. *dhārmi-ka-s* (right, fr. *dharmá-s*, duty), etc.

Sk. *ḱ*=origl. *k*, *ḱa-kā́ra* (feci), *ḱa-* is the relic of the most origl. reduplicated supposed √*kar;* *ḱa* (-que, and), *ḱatvā́r-as* (quatuor); √*ruḱ* (shine), √*vaḱ* (speak), whence *vā́ḱ-mi* (I speak), *vā́ḱ-am* (uocem, speech); *ḱ* stands for *k* esp. in √termn., etc.

Note.—Bef. mom. sounds and *s* the gutt. remains, e.g. *vák-ti* (he speaks), *vák-ši* (thou speakest, *š* for *s* after *k*, v. § 55, 2), *vag-dhi* (speak), *g* for *k* acc. to sound-laws, v. post., etc.

kh and *ḱh* occur for origl. *k* after *s*; this *s* more often than not is lost in case of *skh*, in case of *ḱh* always. [For aspirating force of *s*, v. Kuhn, Zeitschr. iii. p. 321 sqq., 426 sqq. Cf. also Ascoli, Zeitschr. xvi. p. 442 sqq.]

Sk. *kh*=origl. *sk*, e.g. *khaṅǵa-s* (limping), cf. O.H.G. *hinch-an*, *hink-an*, √*hank*, likewise without initial *s*, but Gk. *σκάζω* (limp), √*σκαγ*=Sk. *khaǵ*, f.f. *skag;* *kháǵa-s* (stirrer), cf. Ang.-Sax. *scac-an*, Norse *skak-a* (shake); *khaḱ* (spring forth), cf. Sclav. *skak-ati* (spring).

Note.—Most words in *kh* cannot, or at least not certainly, be reduced to their f.f.

Sk. *ḱh*=origl. *sk*, e.g. √*ḱhid* (split), Zend *çḱid*, Lat. *scid*, f.f. *skid;* *ḱhāyā́* (cover), cf. Gk. *σκιά*; *gáḱḱhāmi*, f.f. *gaskāmi* (the redupln. of *ḱh* to *ḱḱh* is regularly written so after a short vowel), and in similarly fmd. pres. stt.

Note.—Bef. *t, th, ḱh* becomes *š*, e.g. *práš-ṭum* (*ṭ* for *t* after *š*), § 52. infin., √*praḱh*, f.f. prob. *prask*, with unorigl. *s;* cf. Lat. *prec* (precor), *proc* (procax), Lith. *prasz*, Sclav. *pros*, Germ. *frah* (*fraihnan*), Sk. *praç-ná-s* (prayer) for **prak-na-s;* but e.g. *prak-šyáti* fut. with *k* acc. to usual rule.

ç=origl. *k;* √*çi* (*çḗtē*=κεῖται); *ça* and *aç* (acuere), pres. *(a)ç-yáti, çā-tá-s, ci-tá-s* (acutus), whence also *áçman-* (n. *áçmā*, stone); √*çru* (hear); *çvan-*, n. *çvā* (hound); √*diç* (show); √*daç* (bite); *dáçan-* (ten), etc. *ç* is a favourite sound esp. bef. liq. consonn. and *v*; further in √termns., in place of *k*; it is however not uncommon at the beginning of roots.

In verb stt. *k* remains bef. *s*, though *ç* was produced from it in other circumstances, e.g. *á-dik-šat* (*ἔ-δεικ-σε*, after *k*, *š* stands for *s*, v. post.), so in certain noun stt., e.g. *dik-šú*, loc. pl. fr. st. *diç-* (n. sg. *dik* for **dik-s*, gen. *diç-ás*, quarter of the compass), dat. pl. *dig-bhyás* acc. to sound-laws (v. post.) for **dik-bhyas*. Other noun. stt. let their *ç*, however, interchange with *ṭ, ḍ*, unoriginally. Bef. *t, th, ç* becomes *š*, which *t, th*, then become lingual, e.g. √*darç* (Gk. *δερκ*, see), but *drš-ṭá-s* (past part. pass.) for **drç-ta-s*, f.f. *dark-ta-s*.

Sk. *p*=origl. *k* occurs only sporadically. This change fr. *k* to *p* is seen in all Indo-Eur. langg. except Lat. and Erse; e.g. √*paḱ* (cook) for origl. *kak*. Whilst Lat. √*coc* preserves both gutt., which evidently arose fr. redupln. of origl. √*ka*, Gk. has in *πεπ* permitted labials to arise in both cases, Sk. *paḱ* and Scl. *pek* have only changed the initial, and Lith. *kep* contrariwise the final. This ex. is specially full of information, and points unmistakably to the originality of the *k*, hence the √fm. is in these cases *kak*. Further *páṅ̀kan-* (five) for **ḱankan;* √*sap* (sequi, Vēdic) seems to be a bye-fm. of *saḱ* (sequi), f.f. *sak*, so that in this root also two variations fr. origl. *k* are to be seen; st. *ap-* (water) must stand bes. Lat. *aq-ua*, Goth. *ah-va* (river), for origl. *ak-*, Lith. *ùpė* shows likewise the change fr. *k* to *p*, f.f. of *ùpe* is thus **ak-yā*, and the root of this word is probably

§ 52. *ak* (be swift). [On the change of origl. *k* to *p*, wh. often does not appear till late in certain words, while in others *k* remains, cf. Beitr. iii. 283 sqq.]

Note.—In the words *hrd-*, *hŕd-aya-m* (heart), *h*=origl. *k*, clearly through intermed. *kh;* origl. *k* is attested by *cord-is*, *καρδ-ία* *hairt-ō*, Lith. *szird-ìs*, Scl. *srŭd-ĭce*. In √*guh* (hide, 3 sg. pres. *gū́h-ati*, *gúh-ā*, cairn) *g* is softened fr. *k*, f.f. of root therefore is *kudh*, as Gk. *κεύθ-ω* (hide), Lat. *cus-tos* for **cud-tos*, Ang.-Sax. *hyd-an*, prove.

2. Origl. *t*=Sk. *t*, *th*.

Sk. *t*=origl. *t*, e.g. *ta-t* (that), origl. id.; *tv-am* (thou); √*ta*, *tan*, 1 sg. pres. *ta-nṓmi* (stretch); *pát-ati* (3 sg. pres.), √*pat* (fly, fall); *várt-atē* (3 sg. pres. med), √*vart* (uertere); sf. of past part. pass., e.g in *yuk-tá-s* (√*yug*, *yuǵ*, iungere), cf. *iunc-tu-s*, *ζευκ-τό-ς*; sf. *ti* of 3 pers. vb., e.g. 3 sg. *bhára-ti*, 3 pl. *bhára-nti*, cf. *φέρε-(τ)ι*, *φέρο-ντι*, *fer-t*, *feru-nt*, Goth. *baíri-th*, *baíra-nd*, etc.

Sk. *th*=origl. *t*, esp. after *s*, e.g. √*stha* (stand), e.g. *sthi-tás*, origl. *sta-ta-s* (status); √*sthag* (cover), cf. Gk. *στεγ*, Lith. *steg;* superl. sf. *-iṣ̌ṭha*, e.g. *lágh-iṣ̌ṭha-s*, cf. *ἐ-λάχιστος* (here *th* has become *ṭh* acc. to sound-laws after *ṣ̌*). Sometimes *th* stands for *t* without being caused by preceding *s*, thus *tha*, termn. 2 sg. pf., e.g. *babhár-tha* (thou hast borne) could hardly have had an *s* inserted bef. it; as a √termn. in √*prath* (be wide, broad), 3 sg. *práth-atē*, *prth-ús* (*πλατύς*); √*math*, *manth* (move), 1 sg. pres. *math-nā́mi*, *mánth-āmi*, where origl. *st* must not be assumed.

Note 1.—The unoriginality of *th* is shown by the fact that it does not appear at the beginning of words (except in the few onomatopoëtic or unused and unorigl. words given in Lexx.).

Note 2.—It appears that after *k* (in those cases where *t* though part of a sf. was not felt to be such) this *t* passed into *s;* *s* however in these instances becomes *ṣ̌* (v. post. § 55, 2), e.g. *ŕkša-s* (bear)=*ἄρκτο-ς*, *ursu-s* for **urctus* (cf. post. sub Lat.); st. *tákšan-* (carpenter)=*τέκτον-*; √*kšan* (slay) further fmn. fr. *kša*, cf. *κτεν* in *κτείνω*; √*kši* (dwell), Gk. *κτι* (*ἀμφι-κτί-ονες*, dwellers-around, *κτί-ζω*, build), etc. Contrariwise, e.g. *uktá-s*

(said), past part. pass.; *vák-ti*, 3 sg. pres. √*vaḱ*, origl. *vak* (say, speak); st. *çak-tár-* (fut. part.), *çak-tá-* (past part.), √*çak* (know, be able), etc. § 52.

3. Origl. *p*=Sk. *p*, *ph*.

Sk. *p*=origl. *p*, e.g. √*pa* (drink, protect), whence *pá-ti-s* (lord), *pi-tár-* n.sg. *pi-tā́* (father); √*par* (fill), 3 sg. pres. *pi-par-ti*, whence *pūr-ṇá-s* for **par-na-s* (plenus); √*spaç* (see, spy) in *spaç-a-s* (spy), *vi-spašṭá-s* (perspicuos) for **vi-spaç-ta-s* (past part. pass.); √*tap*, 3 sg. pres. *táp-ati* (heat, burn); √*sarp*, 3 sg. pres. *sárp-ati* (serpere, ire), etc.

Sk. *ph*=origl. *p*, esp. after *s*, e.g. *sphaṭī* (alum), *sphāṭika-s* (crystal), cf. German *spat;* √*sphur*, 3 sg. pres. *sphur-áti* (shake, in Vēd. the root means 'strike, push'), clearly fr. **sphar*, cf. σπαίρω, ἀ-σπαίρω, O.H.G. *sporo* (spur), *spor* (track); *phéna-s* (foam), cf. Scl. *pěna*, Lith. *pẽna-s* (milk); Lat. *spūma*, provided it comes fr. **spoi-ma*, would here also point to *sp*, in *phé-na-s* etc. we must therefore assume a root *spi*, etc. For the rest, *ph* is not frequent in initio.

The aspiration of tenues after *s* is not, however, by any means universal, as is shown by the common combinations *sk* (*skánd-ati*, scandit), *st* (*str-ṇáti*, sternit), *sp* (*sprç-áti*, touches).

Origl. mom. sonant unasp. consonn. § 53.

1. Origl. *g*=Sk. *g*, *ǵ* (*h*).

Sk. *g*=origl. *g*, e.g. √*ga* (go) in *ǵá-gā-ti*, *ǵi-gā-ti*, 3 sg. pres., *ga-tá-s* (past part. pres.), *á-gā-t* (3 sg. aor.); *yugá-m* (iugum); *grabh*, *grah* (seize), etc.

Sk. *ǵ*=origl. *g*, e.g. *ǵi-gā-mi* (βίβημι), 1 sg. pres. √*ga* (go); *yu-ná-ǵ-mi*, 1 sg. pres. √*yuǵ* (iungere), cf. parallel *yug-á-m* with *g* preserved; √*ǵan* (gignere), e.g. *ǵán-as*=Lat. *gen-us*, 1, 3, sg. ind. pf. *ǵa-ǵā́n-a*=γέγονα, γέγονε; *ǵñā-tá-s*=*(g)nō-tus*, √*ǵña* fr. *ǵan*, origl. *gan*, etc.

Note.—Bef. *t* in many cases we find not the gutt. but an unorigl. *š*, e.g. *srš-ṭá-s*, past part. pass. √*sarǵ* (do); *mā́rš-ṭi*, 3 sg. pres. √*marǵ* (cleanse, wash away). Sometimes also *ǵ* is interchanged with *ḍ* and *ṭ*, acc. to the quality of the following sounds.

§ 53. In more cases in Sk. *h* (=*gh*) stands where Gk. and the other langg. point to origl. *g*, so that in Sk. we must assume an unorigl. aspiration, e.g. st. *mah-ánt-*, i.e. **magh-ant-* (big), but parallel to it *máǵ-mán-* (strong), cf. Gk. *μέγ-ας*, *μέγ-ιστος*, Goth. *mik-ils* (big), Lat. *mag-nus;* indeed beside it stands Sk. √*mah*=*magh* (to wax), which exactly corresponds to Goth. √*mag* (can, be able); *hánu-s* (jaw)=Gk. *γένυ-ς*, Goth. *kinnu-s* (chin), cf. Lat. *gena*, and (dens) *genu-inus; ahám*, i.e. **agham*=*ἐγώ*, Goth. *ik*, Lat. *ego; gha, ha*=Gk. *-γε*, Dôr. *-γα*, Goth. *-k* (in *mi-k*=**με-γε*). In all these cases Gk. *γ*=Goth. *k* are in favour of origl. *g*.

2. Origl. *d*=Sk. *d*, e.g. √*da* (dare), 3 sg. pres. med. *dá-da-tē*, 2 sg. imper. med. epic *dá-da-sva*, 1 sg. pres. act. *dá-dā-mi*; √*dam* (domare), e.g. *dam-á-s, dám-ana-s* (domans, coercens), 3 sg. pres. *dām-yá-ti*; √*vid* (uidere), e.g. 1 sg. pres. *vḗd-mi*, 1, 3, sg. pf. *vḗd-a*=*Foἶδα, Foἶδε*; √*sad* (sidere, considere), e.g. 3 aor. sg. *á-sad-at*, etc.

Note.—*ḍ* in *pīḍ* (press) and *nīdá-* seems to have arisen from *sd*, namely in case of *pīd*, which is proved unoriginal through *ī* and *ḍ*, comes fr. **pisd*, **pi-sad*=*api-sad*, cf. *πιέζω*=**πι-σεδγω*=**ἐπι-σεδ-γω*; bes. *nīḍá-s, nīḍá-m*, stands Lat. *nīdu-s*, which may very likely be for **nisdus* (cf. *iu(s)-dex, i(s)dem*; v. sub Lat. 'consonn.'), to which Teutonic *nest* points; **nisda-s* would then have arisen from **ni-sada-s*, and mean "down-sitting," unless it belong to √*nas*, on which point v. Curt. Gr. Et.[2] no. 432, p. 282.

3. Sk. *b* (cf. § 46, 3), which may be held unorigl., occurs, e.g. in *bala-m* (force), with which is usually classed O. Bulg. *bolij* (greater); √*lab, lamb* (labi), 3 sg. pres. *lámb-atē*, Lat. *lab*.

§ 54. Origl. mom. sonant asp. consonn.

1. Origl. *gh*=Sk. *gh, h*.

Sk. *gh*=origl. *gh*, e.g. √*agh* in *agh-ám* (ill, sin, origl. prob. anguish); √*stigh*=*στιχ* (step), 3 sg. pres. *stigh-nutḗ*; *mēgh-á-s* (clouds), cf. √*mih*, sub '*h*'=*gh*; *dīrghá-s* (long)=*δολιχό-ς*, etc.

Sk. *h*=origl. *gh*; e.g. *hāsá-s* (goose), cf. *χήν*, Germ. *gans*, Lith. *żąsìs*, Pol. *gęś*; √*āh*=*angh* in *āh-ú-s* (snake), *āh-as, āh-atis* (pain); √*vah* (uehere), 3 sg. pres. *váh-ati*, for *vagh*, cf. Goth.

√*vag*; √*mih* (pour out, mingere), 3 sg. pres. *mḗh-ati* for *migh*, § 54. cf. supr. *mēghás*, Gk. √ μιχ; √*lih* (lick), 3 sg. pf. *li-lḗ-ha*, cf. λιχ, etc.

Note 1.—In *nakha-s*, *nakha-m* (nail, claw), cf. ὄνυχ-ος, Scl. *nog-ŭtĭ*, Goth. **nag-l-s*, *kh* stands most strangely where we should have expected *gh*.

Note 2.—*ǵh* occurs rarely, e.g. *ǵhasá-s* (fish); in other Indo-Europ. langg. no similar example is yet known; *ǵh* occurs most often in initio in onomatopoëtic words.

2. Origl. *dh*=Sk. *dh*, *h*.

Sk. *dh*=origl. *dh*, e.g. √*dha* (set), 1 pres. *dá-dhā-mi*, cf. τί-θη-μι, Goth. √*da*: √*idh* (kindle), 3 sg. pass. *idh-yátē*, cf. Gk. αἴθ-ω; √*rudh* (rubere) in *rudh-irás* (ruber), cf. Gk. ῥυθ, Goth. *rud*; *mádhu* (honey, mead, intoxicating drink), cf. μέθυ, etc.

Sk. *h*=origl. *dh*, e.g. in *hi-tá-s* for **dhi-ta-s* fr. **dha-ta-s*, past part. pass. √*dha* (set), cf. θε-τό-ς; √*rah* (*rah-itá-*, forsaken, bereaved; *ráh-as*, ntr. secret, hidden) for **radh*, cf. √λαθ (λαθ-εῖν, escape notice; λάθ-ρα, secretly); √*guh* (hide) for **gudh*, cf. √κυθ (κεύθ-ω, hide); *-hi* for *-dhi*, sf. of 2 sg. imper. act., e.g. *pā-hí* (tuere), but Vēd. *çru-dhí*=κλῦ-θι; in Sk. this *-dhi* occurs after consonn. only, e.g. *ad-dhí*, √*ad* (edere), but *-hi* after vowels.

3. Origl. *bh*=Sk. *bh*, rarely *h*.

Sk. *bh*=origl. *bh*, e.g. √*bhar* (ferre), 1 sg. pres. *bhár-āmi*, cf. Gk. φέρ; √*bhu* (become, be), 3 sg. pres. *bháv-ati*, cf. φυ; *bhid* (findere), 3 sg. pf. *bi-bhḗd-a*, cf. Lat. √*fid*; *nábhas* (air, heaven), cf. νέφος; √*bha*, 3 sg. pres. *bhā́-ti* (gleam), cf. φα, φα-ν, etc.

Sk. *h*=origl. *bh*, e.g. √*grah*, Vēd. still *grabh* (seize); *má-hyam* bes. *tú-bhyam* (dat. sg. pers. pron. 1 and 2), cf. *mi-hi* bes. *ti-bi*; *bh* has disappeared entirely in instr. pl. of *a*-st., e.g. *áçvāis* for **açva-bhis* (v. 'declens.').

In roots which end in aspp. an origl. initial asp. loses the aspiration; e.g. √*bandh* (bind), 3 s.g. pres. *badh-nā́-ti*, pf. *ba-bándh-a* for **bhandh*, Goth. *band*, Gk. πενθ for **φενθ*; *bāhú-s*

§ 54. (masc. elbow) for **bhāhu-s*, cf. Norse *bōgr*, Gr. πῆχυ-ς for **φηχυς*; √*budh* (learn, know), 3 sg. pres. *budh-yátē*, *bṓdh-ati*, cf. Goth. √*bud*, Gk. πυθ for **φυθ*; √*druh* (hurt), 3 sg. pres. *druh-yáti* for **dhrugh*, Zend *drug*, *druǵ*, *druž*, but O.H.G. *trug*, i.e. earlier *drug*, are in favour of initial *dh*. Cf. the reduplication-law (§ 59, 3).

Consonantal Prolonged Sounds.

§ 55. Spirants *y*, *s*, *v*.

1. Origl. *y*=Sk. *y*, e.g. pron. √*ya* (rel.), n. sg. masc. *ya-s*; *ya* is further a frequent st.-formative element, e.g. *mádh-ya-s*=*med-iu-s*; the same part. fms. the opt., e.g. *s-yā-t*=*s-iē-t*; further, as one part of the pres. stem which comes fr. *as* (esse), and serves to form the fut., e.g. *dā-s-yá-ti*=δώσει fr. *δω-σ-γε-τι; *ya* forms derivative vbs., e.g. *bhārá-ya-ti*, 3 sg. pres. vb. causat. √*bhar* (ferre)=φορεῖ fr. *φορε-γε-τι; √*yu*, *yuǵ* (iungere), cf. Lat. √*iug*, whence *yugá-m*=Lat. *iugu-m*; *yúvan-*, acc. sg. *yúvān-am*, cf. Goth. *juggs* (same meaning), Lat. *iuuenis*: *yákrt* (liver), cf. Lat. *iecur* (id.).

The connexion between *y* and *i* is treated in § 14, 1, d; the splitting up of *y* to *iy*, *īy*, in § 14, 1, c; change fr. *y* to *iy*, *īy*, v. § 15, 2, b.

2. Origl. *s*=Sk. *s*, *š*.

Sk. *s*=origl. *s*, e.g. √*sad* (sedere), e.g. *sád-as* ntr., *sád-ana-m* (sedes); *sáp-tan-*, Vēd. *saptán-*=*septem*; √*su* (beget, sow), e.g. *su-tás*, past part. pass.; √*sru* (flow), 3 sg. pres. *sráv-ati*: *svásar-*, acc. sg. *svásār-am* (sister); √*svid* (sweat), 3 sg. pres. *svid-yáti*; √*star* (sternere), 3 sg. pres. *str-ṇáti*; √*smar* (remember), 3 sg. pres. *smár-ati*; √*as* (esse), 3 sg. pres. *ás-ti*; √*vas* (dwell), 3 sg. pres. *vás-ati*; √*vas* (clothe oneself), 3 sg. pres. *vas-tē*; in st.- and word-formative particles, as *mán-as* (ntr. mens)=μέν-ος; *-s* is an element of nom. masc. and fem., e.g. *vŕka-s*, pl. *vŕkā-sas* (wolf, wolves), etc.

Sk. *š*=origl. *s*, e.g. √*uš* (ur-ere), cf. *us-tus*, 3 sg. pres. *ṓš-ati*;

√*tarš* (thirst), 3 sg. pres. *trš-yáti*, cf. Lat. *torr-eo*=**tors-eo*, § 55. Germ. *durs-t*; *š* also sporadically after *a*, e.g. √*bhāš* (speak), 3 sg. pres. *bhā́šatē*, further fmn. of √*bha*=Gk. *φα* in *φά-τι-ς*, *φά-σι-ς* (speech), *φη-μί* (say); bes. *bhās*, 3 sg. pres. *bhā́satē* (shine, gleam), further fmn. of a similarly sounding √*bha*=Gk. *φα* in *φαίνω* (show, make clear)=**φα-ν-γω*, *φά-σι-ς* (showing); *š* thus stands to *s* as palatal to gutt.; it is initial in *šaš* (sex) only, but cf. Zend *khašvs*, a fm. which renders doubtful the originality of the initial sound of this numeral in the other langg. of our stock.

Origl. *s* has moreover undergone many more changes in Sk.; these changes, however, did not occur generally till a relatively late period; *s* before *t* (*th*) and *p* (*ph*) and after *a* (except in fine) remains fixed; after *k* and *r*, *š* stands for *s*; likewise after *i*, *u* (and their diphthongs, generally after other vowels, as after *a*, *ā*); medially bef. most sounds (bef. all vowels and *y*, *v*, *m*, *t*, *th*; ° and ˜ bef. *s* do not break this sound-law); fr. st. *bhūti-* (=*φυσι-*) thus comes loc. pl. *bhū́ti-šu* for **bhūti-su*; *nē-šyáti* (3 sg. fut. √*ni*, lead) for **nai-syati*; *ḗ-ši*, f.f. *ai-si* (2 sg. pres. √*i*, go); *vák-ši* (2 sg. pres. √*vaḱ*, speak) but *át-si* for **ad-si* (2 sg. pres. √*ad*, eat) and *tā́-su* (loc. fem. pl. *ta*, pron. dem.); st. *dhánus-* (bow), loc. pl. *dhánu°-šu* or *dhánuš-šu* for **dhanus-su*; with sf. *mant*, *dhánuš-mant-*, n. sg. *dhánuš-mān* (provided with a bow). Betw. *s* and *š* there is nevertheless great vacillation (particulars must be relegated to Sk. special. gr.; it is enough to note here that *š* =origl. *s*).

°, *r*, *ç*, occur, like *š*, acc. to definite sound-laws, in place of *s*; yet mainly in termn. alone, in which case *-as* also may pass into *ō*, and *s* be lost, e.g. *vrka°* for *vrka-s* at end of a sentence, or bef. *k*, *p*; *avir ēti* for *avis ēti* (ouis it); *r* occurs for *s* bef. all sonant sounds unless *a* or *ā* precede; *-as*, however, bef. sonants becomes *ō*, and *-ās* becomes *ā*; this latter also medially, e.g. *çā-dhi* for **çās-dhi*, 2 sg. imper. fr. √*çās* (rule), but 3 sg. imper. *çā́s-tu*; *aviç karati* (the sheep goes); *vrkṓ bhavat* for *vrkas abhavat* (the wolf was); *vrka āstē* for *vrkas āstē* (the wolf sits), etc.

§ 55. In stems ending in *-s* these changes take place before case-sff. also which begin with a conson., e.g. st. *mánas-*, g. *mánas-as*, without change; but instr. pl. *mánōbhis* for **manas-bhis*, loc. pl. *mána°-su* for *mánas-su*, which also occurs, *dhánur-bhis* for **dhanus-bhis*, st. *dhánus-* (bow).

š bef. *s* passes into *k*, e.g. √*dvis* (hate), 2 sg. pres. *dvḗk-ši* for **dvēš-si*; also the change to *ṭ*, *ḍ* occurs, as in the case of *ç*, e.g. *dviḍ-ḍhí*, 2 sg. imper. act. √*dviš* for **dviš-dhi*. Cf. Sk. grammars.

Note.—In *çváçura-s* (father-in-law), *çvaçrū-s* (mother-in-law), *ç* stands in initio (by assimiln. to follg. *ç*), instead of *s*, cf. Zend *qhaçura-* i.e. **svaçura-*, ἑκυρό-ς, Lat. *socer*, *socrus*; similarly in st. *çúška-* (dry) for **suska-*, cf. Z. *huska-*, O.Bulg. *suchŭ*, f.f. *sausa-s*, Lith. *saúsa-s*; *ç* for *s* occurs besides in other single cases bef. *v* and *u*.

3. Origl. *v*=Sk. *v*, e.g. √*vid* (perceive), 3 sg. pres. *vḗt-ti* for **vēd-ti*; √*va* (blow), 3 sg. pres. *vā́-ti*, cf. Goth. √*va*; √*vah* (uehere), 3 s.g. pres. *váh-ati*, cf. Lat. *ueh*, Goth. *vag*, Sclav. *vez*, etc.; √*var* (cover), 3 sg. pres. *vr-ṇṓti*, whence *ū́r-ṇā* (wool) for **var-nā*, cf. Gk. *Ϝέρ-ιον*, Sclav. *vlŭ-na*, O.H.G. *wol-la*, etc.; √*var* (will), cf. Lat. *uol* (uelle), Goth. *val* (will), etc.; *ávi-s*=Lat. *oui-s*, *ὄϜι-ς*; *náva-s*=Lat. *nouo-s*, *νέϜο-ς*, etc.

On the connexion betw. *v* and *u*, v. § 14, 1, c, d.

§ 56. Nasals.

1. Origl. *n*=Sk. *n*, e.g. *na*, *an-* (negation); √*naç* (perish), 3 sg. pres. *náçyati*, cf. *νεκ*; st. *nar-*, *nara-*, n. sg. *nā* for **nars*, *nara-s* (*ἀ-νήρ*); *nāu-s*=*ναῦς*; *nā́-man-*=Lat. *nō-men-*; *dánta-s* (dens); often *n* is changed into another nasal, e.g. *pūr-ṇá-s* (plenus, cf. supr. *ū*=*a*, § 8), f.f. *par-na-s*, *ṇ* for *n*, since *r* precedes, v. post.; *ǵńā-tás*=*gnō-tus*, origl. fm. of √*ǵńa* is *gan*, on *ń* for *n*, v. post.; *yuńǵánti* (iungunt), √*yug*, with inserted nasal, but *yuṅktḗ*, 3 sg. med. with *ṅ*, since *k* follows, v. post.; *lump-áti*=*rumpit*, has nasal *m* because *p* follows; *hā̃sá-s*, cf. *hanser*, Germ. *gans*; *mā́-si*, 2 sg. pres. act., *mā̃-syátē*, 3 sg. fut. med. √*man* (mean), with ˜ for *n* acc. to Sk. sound-laws, etc. All these changes must have been wanting in Indo-Eur. origl. lang.,

because clearly either the nasal was not yet within the root, but stood after it, acc. to the formative principles of Indo-Eur. (v. Introduction, 2), and so the fms. in question were still perh. *yug-nanti, yug-natai,* or else *n* and *m* remained unchanged, e.g. *man-si,* etc. § 56.

Bef. case-termns. which begin with consonn., *n* as a noun-st.-termn. disappears, e.g. st. *nā́man-* (nomen), loc. pl. *nā́ma-su* for **nāman-su* (**nāmā-su*). This sort of loss of *n* takes place in other like cases also.

2. Origl. *m*=Sk. *m*, e.g. √*man* (mean, think), whence *mán-as* (mens)=*μέν-ος*; *mā-tár-*=*mā-ter-*; √*smar* (remember), cf. Lat. *me-mor* with lost *s;* √*vam,* Lat. *uom-ere,* 3 sg. pres. *vám-ati;* in st.- and word-formative particles thus sf. *man,* e.g. *nā́-man-*; *m* as sign of acc. case, e.g. *áçva-m*=*equo-m; -mi, -masi, -mas,* 1 sg. pl. e.g. *é-mi,* pl. *i-más,* earlier *i-másι*=*εἶ-μι, ἴ-μεν,* etc.

The nasals *n, m* have, as the above exx. show, undergone many variations in Sk. because they always adapt themselves to the quality of the succeeding consonn. Accordingly bef. gutt. mom. *ṅ* only is found; bef. palatals is found *ñ,* this sound occurs also immediately after *ḱ, ǵ*; bef. lingg. and (acc. to distinct sound-laws) where ling. sounds *ś, r,* precede in a word, *ṇ* is found; *n* has its place bef. dentt. and vowels; *m* bef. labb. and vowels (these two origl. nasals only are found in the beginning of a word); bef. *s* and *h,* ˙ is found. Particulars belong to Sk. special-gr.

r- and *l*-sounds. § 57.

r was softened to *l* in many cases at an early date; sometimes the earlier lang. retains *r* where the later already has *l.*

Sk. *r*=origl. *r,* e.g. √*ram,* 3 sg. pres. *rámatē* (he is pleased); √*riḱ* (separate), 3 sg. pres. *ri-ṇá-k-ti* (with inserted *na*); √*ruḱ* (shine), 3 sg. pres. *rṓḱ-atē;* √*mar* (mori), e.g. *mr-tá-s,* past part. pass. (mortuos); √*par* (fill), 3 sg. pres. *pi-par-ti;* st. √*krp-* (fem. appearance, beauty), √*karp,* cf. *corp-us,* Z. *keref-s;* in sff., e.g. *rudh-i-rá-s*=*ἐ-ρυθ-ρό-ς*; sf. *tar,* Lat. *tor; tra-m,* Lat. *tru-m,* etc.

§ 57. *Note.*—In termn. *r* was treated like *s*; at the end of a sentence it becomes ◌ः, etc., cf. § 55, 2.

Sk. *l*=original *r*, e.g. *lōk*, 3 sg. pres. *lṓk-atē* (see), doubtless akin to *ruk* (shine), cf. λευκ-ός and λεύσσω = *λευκ-γω; √*lup* (break), 3 sg. pres. *lumpáti*, cf. Lat. √*rup*; √*kalp* (be in order), 3 sg. pres. *kálpatē*, cf. *krp*; √*lih*, λιχ, Lat. *lig*, Erse *lig*, Goth. *lig*, Lith. *liž*, Scl. *liz* (lick), but in earliest Indian still *rih*. Also where the kindred langg. show no *r*, we must yet assume an origl. *r*, because we notice that *l* is continually spreading, whilst *r* becomes rarer; if we suppose this process to have been going on continuously in pre-historic times, *r* will remain as the older by elimination; cf. Zend. Such instances are found in e.g. *plu* (float), Lat. *plu*, Gk. πλυ, Scl., Lith. *plu*, Germ. *flu* (in *flu-ʒ*, in diall. *fleu-e* (wash); here precisely it happens that *l*—so frequently interchanged with *r*—occurs throughout; whilst in Sk. there is still a root *pru* (go) in existence, which origly. was prob. identical with *plu*, and must be considered as its earlier fm.

§ 58. Sketch of some sound-laws important for comparative grammar (so far as they are not contained in foregoing sections).

Between the various ways in which the Indo-Eur. sounds make their appearance in particular Indo-Eur. langg. (i.e. those changes of origl. sounds through which this or that distinct lang. arose from their common fundamental lang., e.g. Sk. *vắk-am*, Gk. *Fόπ-α*, Lat. *uōc-em*, fr. f.f. *vāk-am*), and the variations which the sounds undergo during the separate existence of the lang. thus produced, namely sound-laws, we can draw no sharp line of demarcation. The distinction between sound-representation and sound-law is chronological, and therefore indeterminate, and the exact definition of the date at which a sound-change occurred is generally difficult. For this reason, and also in order not to break up the subject too much, I have often above left the boundary between sound-correspondence

and sound-law ill-defined; moreover, sound-laws—as peculiar to the separate-life of a lang.—belong here only in so far as they bear upon our knowledge of older word-forms. The numerous laws, e.g. in Sk., which come into play only when words are composed into sentences, may here be mostly omitted, since we are treating of words taken separately. § 58.

We find, esp. in written lang., forms of different periods beside each other, e.g. Sk. *yuk-tá-s* for **yug-ta-s*, √*yuǵ* (iungere), after an earlier mode of formn. than *iš-ṭá-s* for **ig-ta-s*, **ik-ṭa-s*, f.f. *yag-ta-s*, √*yaǵ* (open, v. § 53, 1, n.); here the sound-law by which *ǵt* becomes *sṭ* is clearly later than the preservation of the origl. combination *gt*, i.e. *kt* (bef. *t*, *k* must naturally occur for *g*).

Generally speaking we may call the Sk. very rich in conson. sound-laws; its conson. system is thus manifoldly unorigl. from this point of view also. Consonn. often exercise influence on one another, not only in the middle of words, but also between the end of one word and the beginning of another when they are combined in a sentence, a process which we can scarcely attribute to the lang. at this early condition; the laying-down of these laws belongs, as we have said, in a great measure elsewhere.

Medial Sound-laws.

1. Assimilation. § 59.

a. Medially also sometimes occurs complete assimilation of a preceding to a follg. sound, e.g. *bhinna-* for **bhid-na-*, past part. pass. √*bhid* (split); *panna-* for **pad-na-*, likewise fr. √*pad* (go, fall), and so often in similar cases.

b. Lightening of conson.-groups by loss of one sound is likewise not rare, e.g. *ǩašṭē* for **ǩakš-tē* (*ṭ* for *t* on acct. of *š*, v. sqq.), 3 sg. pres. med. √*ǩakš* (see), etc.; *á-tut-ta*, 3 sg. med. aor. compos. √*tud* (push) for **a-tut-s-ta*, and so frequently in case of *s* betw. two mom. consonn. in like cases.

c. Bef. sonant mom. sounds sonants only, bef. mutes mutes

§ 59. only, are found, e.g. st. *vāk̑* (voice), instr. pl. *vāg-bhis*; *yu-ná-ǵ-mi*, 1 sg. pres. √*yuǵ* (iungere), but 2 sg. *yu-ná-k-ši*, 3 sg. *yu-ná-k-ti* for **yunag-si*, **yunag-ti* (cf. § 53, 1); *ád-mi*, 1 sg. pres. √*ad* (edere), but *át-si*, 2 sg. pres. *át-ti*, 3 sg. pres. for **ad-si*, **ad-ti*, ; *bhárad-bhis*, instr. pl. fr. st. *bhárant-* (ferens) for **bharat-bhis* fr. **bharant-bhis*, etc.

The influence of spirant *s* on follg. mom. sounds has been already handled under '*s*.' In the case of the combination of *š* with a follg. *t*, *th*, the latter becomes assimild. to *s* because it is a lingual, e.g. superl. sf. origl. *is-ta;* fr. *yans*, compar. sf. shortened *is*+*ta*, arises next **is-tha* (§ 51, sqq.), and since after vowels other than *a*, *ā*, *š* must occur for *s*, **iš-tha*, whereby also *th* becomes *ṭh*, so that in Sk. *ištha* stands for *ista*, e.g. st. *āç-ištha*=Z. *āç-ista-*, Gk. *ὦκ-ιστο-*, origl. *āk-ista-* (fr. *āçú-*, origl. *āku-*, swift). For the group *çt* occurs *šṭ*, e.g. st. *drštá-* for **drç-ta-*, past part. pass. √*darç*, origl. *dark* (see); st. *ašṭa-*, *ašṭan-* (eight), for **açta-*, **açtan-*, f.f. *akta-* (cf. *ὀκτώ*, octo); *vášṭi* for **vaç-ti*, 3 sg. pres. √*vaç* (will, wish).

For the changes of *s* produced by assimiln. v. § 55, 2; by nasals, § 56, 2.

An example of dissimilation worth notice is found in the change of *s* to *t* at the end of a root bef. the termn. in *s* of fut. and aor., e.g. √*vas* (dwell), 3 sg. fut. *vat-syáti*, 3 sg. aor. *á-vāt-sīt* for **vas-syati*, **á-vās-sīt*. Doubled *s* was generally avoided, e.g. *ási*, 2 sg. pres. √*as* (esse), for *as-si*=*ἐσ-σί*, cf. § 55, 2.

Note.—The *s* of √*vas* (dwell) is origl. and perh. not due to *t*, cf. Goth. √*vas* (remain, be), pres. *vis-a*=*vas-āmi*.

2. The aspirates stand bef. vowels and son. prolonged consonn. only, and therefore never in termn. The collision of a sonant gutt., dent., or lab. aspirate with follg. *t* (*th*) is common. In this case the aspp. throw their aspiration on follg. *t*, which in its turn becomes like the preceding sound in that it assumes vocal-sound; fr. sonant aspp.+*t* arise therefore son. unasp. consonn.+*dh;*

accordingly *gh*+*t*=*gdh*; *dh*+*t*=*ddh*; *bh*+*t*=*bdh*, e.g. √*budh* § 59.
(learn, know), step-formed *bōdh*+*tum* (infin. termn.)=*bŏddhum*;
√*labh* (hold)+*tum*=*lábdhum*, etc.: *h* here also often is clearly
equivalent in force to *gh* (cf. § 54, 1), e.g. √*duh* (milk)+*ta*,
sf. past part. pass., composes the fm. *dugḥdá-s*, further *dug-dhí*
(2 sg. imper.) for **dugh-dhi*, *dŏ́g-dhi* for **dōgh-ti*, 3 sg. pres.,
collectively formed as sounds from still existing √*dugh*. Other
roots (whose initial is not *d*) also treat their *h* otherwise, e.g. *ruh*
(increase)+*ta* (pf. part. pass.) fms. *rūḍhá-*; **lēh-ti*, **lēgh-ti*,
3 sg. pres. √*lih*, i.e. *ligh* (lick), become *lḗḍhi*, etc.; *h*+*t*, *th*, *dh*,
here becomes *ḍh*, accompanied by lengthening of preceding
short vowel: this sound-interchange is accordingly clearly
more secondary and later than the change of *ht*, i.e. *ght*, into
gdh. The aspiration is thus throughout postponed to the follg.
consonant.

When the aspiration of a root-termn. cannot remain, e.g. in
termn. or bef. *s*, and the root begins with an origl. sonant un-
aspd. conson., the aspn. passes over to the latter, e.g. st. *sarva-
búdh-* (all-knowing), n. sg. should be **sarva-budh-s*, *s* is neces-
sarily lost, acc. to termination-laws, *dh* became *t*, the aspn.
passes over to the *b*, and the word is *sarva-bhút;* precisely so
the loc. pl. *sarva-bhút-su* fr. **-budh-su;* *h* here too was treated
like *gh*, e.g. 3 sg. aor. √*duh* (milk) is *á-dhuk-šat*, with *š* for *s*
acc. to rule (§ 55, 2), for **a-dugh-sat;* likewise where the final
aspn. disappears through loss (assimiln.), e.g. *dhēhí* (2 sg. imper.
act.) for **dhāhi* (§ 15, e), and this for **dā-hi* fr. **dadh-hi*,
**dadh-dhi; dadh-* for *da-dha-* is pres. st. of √*dha* (set), *hi*, *dhi*,
termn. of 2 sg. imper. act.

3. Law of reduplication. In redupln. the gutt. are
changed into palatals: *ḱa-ḱára*, pf. √*kar* (make); of more than
one conson. or consonantal double-sounds (aspp.; *h*=*gh*) only
the first was maintained; *dá-dhā-mi*, pres. √*dha* (set, lay);
ǵu-hṓ-mi, √*hu* (open; cf. also § 54, 3, sub. fin.); *çu-çrắv-a*, pf.
√*çru* (hear); only in case of *s*+mom. sounds does the second

§ 59. of these sounds remain; *ti-šṭha-ti*, pres. √*stha* (stand), origl. fm. of pres. is *sta-sta-ti*.

In other cases the Sk. still shows a more archaic kind of redupln. by which gutt. and aspp. remain unchanged; so esp. in ancient intensive-sts., e.g. *kō-ku* (3 sg. med. *kō-kū-ya-tē*), √*ku* (raise a cry); *kari-kar-*, √*kar* (make); *bhari-bhar-*, √*bhar* (bear); *ghani-ghan-*, √*ghan*, *han* (slay, kill); in noun-sts., e.g. *ghar-ghara-s* (clatter, crackling), etc. (cf. Benf. G. g. 1864, st. 39, p. 1539 sqq.).

Termination.

§ 60. 1. In termn. only one conson. is tolerated, of more than one only the first remains, e.g. st. *vāḱ* (voice, acc. *vā́ḱ-am*) should be in n. sg. **vāḱ-s*, or rather (acc. to § 52, 1) **vāk-s*, or (acc. to § 55, 2) *vāk-š*, wherefore *vāk* is now seen. Since aspp. are double-sounds, they must lose their aspn.; thus we find, not **sarva-budh*, but **sarva-bhud*, with aspn. transferred (acc. to § 59, 2), for which, acc. to the follg. law (no. 2), *sarva-bhút* with *t* for *d* occurs.

Only *r* + mom. conson can stand *in fine*, a case which nevertheless occurs but seldom; moreover bef. follg. *ḱ*, *t*, *ṭ*, and *ḱh*, *th*, *ṭh*, the combn. ˜*s* stands with their representatives, e.g. *áçvān*, acc. pl. of n. sg. *áçva-s* (equos), f.f. is **açvāns* or **açvāms*, hence e.g. *açvā̃s tatra* (equos ibi); *çrí-mān* (pleasant), n. sg. masc. f.f. **çrī-mant-s*, hence e.g. yet *çrīmā̃ç ḱarati* (felix it; *ç* for *s* acc. to § 55, 2); *ā́san*, 3 pl. impl. √*as* (esse) fr. **āsant*, **āsans*, *t* is esp. often subject to a change into *s*, as in stems in *-ant*, which are interchanged with fms. in *-ans*, further in termn. of 3 pl. *-us* for *-ant*, hence e.g. *āsās tatra* (erant ibi) for origl. **āsant tatra*. In all other cases, however, *n* only remains acc. to the general rule.

2. As only mute mom. consonn. (when no distinctly influencing clearer sound follows upon it; in pausa) could stand *in fine*, the son. consonn. pass over into the mutes of their quality; hence

for **sarva-búdh*, not **sarva-bhud*, but *sarva-bhút* is found. *h*, § 60. i.e. *gh*, becomes *ṭ* in termn., earlier *k* (for *g*, *gh*) has been retained in such roots only as begin with *d*, e.g. fr. *lih* (licking) comes in nom. (f.f. *ligh-s*) *liṭ* (*liḍ* bef. sonants), but fr. *duh* (milking), *dhuk* (*dhug*).

Note.—That palatals are not retained in termn. was remarked above in § 51, sub. fin.

Consonants of Greek. § 61.

v. Table in § 16.

The consonl. system of the Gk. has retained 1. the origl. aspirates, not, however, as sonants, but as mutes: χ=*kh*, θ=*th*, ϕ=*ph*, these can be proved to be the oldest equivalents of the Gk. sounds; the pronunciation of χ, ϕ, as spirants, i.e. χ= Germ. *ch*, ϕ=*f*, and that of θ as a sibilant (nearly like *ts*), is of later origin, and arose first partially and afterwards in all cases. The passing of origl. sonant aspp. into Gk. mute aspirates is not inexplicable according to the physiology of sounds. Arendt (Kuhn und Schleicher, Beitr. ii. 283) conjectures, prob. rightly, that the un-sonant *h* of the origl. aspp. *gh*, *dh*, *bh*, changed the preceding sonants *g*, *d*, *b*, into the mutes κ, τ, π, and indeed no one will deny that *kh*, *th*, *ph*, are much easier to pronounce than *gh*, *dh*, *bh*. Thus the Gk. already permits of an assimilation. Change of sonn. to un-sonn. is seen also in Teutonic (origl. *g*, *d*= Germ. *k*, *t*). The agreement of the Indo-Eur. langg. collectively, and also of those langg. which are nearest of kin to the Gk., prevents us from accepting the supposition that the Gk. alone has preserved the oldest equivalents for the Indo-Eur. aspirates (that the sounds *kh*, *th*, *ph*, existed in the origl. lang. instead of *gh*, *dh*, *bh*; cf. esp. G. Curtius, Gr. Etym.[2] p. 369 sqq.). 2. Gk. shows a dislike of the origl. spirants; *y* even, in the earliest accessible state of the lang., is found merely remaining in its effects, but lost as a separately existing sound; *v* is retained

§ 61. as *F* in the archaic lang.; *s* stands its ground only in terminations and bef. and after mutes (*ξ*, *ψ*); moreover, when another sound has assimilated itself to it (*s*); before vowels it becomes *h*, and generally falls out between vowels. In Gk. as in all other Indo-Eur. langg., except Zend, *l* already occurs often beside *r*.

Generally, therefore, the consonantal-system of the Gk. is nearer to that of the origl. lang. than that of the Sk. or of most other Indo-Eur. langg.

As for consonl. sound-laws, the loss of origl. spirants and the variations which arise through this loss, and through the effects of origl. spirants on neighbouring sounds, bring about a considerable deviation from the older system of sounds. Assimilation has already acquired a widely extended sway: dentals generally have fallen away before *s*, *n*, mostly with a lengthening of preceding vowel. The palatal sounds (*y*, *i*) already show their influence in many cases (zêtakismos). Further, but few consonn. are tolerated in termn.; in short, in its consonantal sound-laws Gk. much resembles a lang. which is already in a comparatively late stage of existence.

§ 62. EXAMPLES.

Origl. momentary mute unaspirated consonants.

1. Origl. *k*=Gk. *κ*, *γ*, *π*, *τ* (*κy*=*σσ*, cf. sound-laws).

Gk. *κ*=origl. *k*, e.g. *καρδ-ία* (heart), cf. Lat. *cord-*, Lith. *szird-ìs*, Scl. *srŭd-ĭce*, Goth. *hairt-ō*, Indo-Eur. lang. collectively presuppose an initial *κ*, Sk. *hrd-* thus stands for **khard-*, origl. *kard-*; *κεῖ-μαι* (I lie), *κοί-τη* (bed), *√κι*, Sk. *çi*, Scl. and origl. *ki*; *κύων*, *κυν-ός* (hound), Sk. st. *çvan-*, origl. *kvan-*; *κλυ-τός* (famed), *√κλυ* (hear), Sk. *çru*, Goth. *hlu*, origl. *kru*; *δάκ-νω* (bite), *√δακ*, Sk. *daç*, origl. *dak*; *δείκ-νυμι* (show), *√δικ*, Sk. *diç*, Goth. *tih*, origl. *dik*; *δέκα* (ten), Lat. *decem*, Sk. *daçan-*, Goth. *taihun*, origl. *dakan-*; *λευκ-ός* (white), *ἀμφι-λύκ-η* (morning-twilight), *√λυκ*, Sk. *ruḱ*, origl. *ruk*, etc.

Note.—ξ is merely a character for *ks*, e.g. δείξω (I will show) § 62. =*δείκ-σω; δεξιός (right)=*δεκ-σιος, *δεκ-τιος, cf. *dexter*, Sk. *dákš-iṇas*, etc.

Gk. γ is sometimes a later softening fr. κ, which often remains beside it (cf. G. Curtius, Gr. Et.² 467 sqq., 600 sqq.), e.g. √φραγ in ἐ-φράγ-ην bes. pres. φράσσω (fence in)=*φρακ-γω (v. sound-laws), Lat. *farc-io* (on the difference of meaning v. G. Curt. Zeitschr. xiii. 399); √μαγ in ἐ-μάγ-ην, μάγ-ειρος (cook), μαγ-εύς (pastry-cook), but μάσσω (knead)=*μακ-γω, cf. *mac-erare*, Lith. *mìnk-yti* (knead) bes. *mank-sztýti* (soften), root therefore *mank* fr. *mak*; μίσγω, μίγνυμι (mingle), bes. Lat. *misceo*, Sk. *miçráyāmi*; √πλαγ in πλαγ-ή (blow), ἐξ-ε-πλάγ-ην bes. πλήσσω (strike), i.e. *πληκ-γω, cf. Lith. *plàk-ti* (strike), pres. *plak-ù*, f.f. *plak-āmi*, etc. (cf. Lat. post).

Gk. π=origl. *k* (cf. G. Curt. in Kuhn's Zeitschr. iii. 401 sqq.), e.g. √πεπ (cook) in πέ-πεπ-ται, πέψω, i.e. πέπ-σω, πέπ-ων (ripe), bes. πεκ in πέσσω (cook)=*πεκ-γω, origl. *kak*, Lat. *coc*; πέντε (five), Aiol. πέμπε, πέμπ-το-ς (fifth), πεμπ-άζειν (count by fives), Lat. *quinque*, origl. *kankan*; √πο in ποῦ (where), πῶς (how), πότερος (whether, uter), Iôn. still κοῦ, κῶς, κότερος, Lat. *quo-*, Goth. *hva-*, Sk. Lith. Sclav. and origl. *ka-*; √ἑπ in ἕπ-ομαι (follow), origl. *sak*, Lat. *seq*; √Fεπ in Fέπος (word), εἶπον (I said)=*FεFεπον, *Fοπ-ς (voice)=*uōc-s*, origl. *vak* (speak), in ὄσσα (voice)=*Fοκγα (v. sound-laws), *k* has remained; √λιπ in λείπ-ω (leave), λοιπ-ός (left over)=Lat. *lic* (linquo), Sk. *rik*, origl. *rik*; √ὀπ in ὄψομαι (I shall see), ὄμμα (eye), Aiol. ὄπ-πα=*οπ-μα, Lat. *oc* in *oc-ulus*, Lith. *ak-ìs* (eye), etc., but dual ὄσσε=*οκγε, fr. a st. *ὀκι- (eye), Lith. and origl. *aki-* with *k* retained. Acc. to G. Curt. Gk. π is in 17 cases= origl. *k*, whilst in 104 cases it remains *k*, thus about one-sixth of origl. *k* has been changed to π.

Gk. τ=origl. *k* occurs mostly in pronl. and num. stems, thus τί-ς (who), Lat. *qui-s*, Sk. **ki-s* (in *na-kis*, no one, *mā-kis*, O.Bulg. *mā-kis*, ne quis), origl. *ki-s*; τε (and), origl. *ka*, Sk. *-ka*, Lat.

§ 62. *-que*, Goth. *-u-h* for **-ha*, cf. *πό-τε* (when), Dôr. *πό-κα*, *ἄλλο-τε* (another time), Dôr. *ἄλλο-κα*; *πέντε* (five) bes. Aiol. *πέμπε* (see ab. *π=k*), origl. *kankan*, cf. *quinque*; *τέσσαρες* (four), origl. *katvāras*, cf. Lat. *quatuor(es)*, Sk. *ḱatvár-as*, Lith. *keturì*. This correspondence of sounds occurs but rarely in other roots, e.g. *√τι* in *τί-ω* (honour, valuate), *τῑ-μή* (honour), *τί-νω*, *τί-νυμι* (punish, fine), Sk. *ḱi* in *ḱáy-ē* (I punish), *apa-ḱi-ta-s* (honoured), origl. therefore *ki*.

2. Origl. *t*=Gk. *τ* (*τy=σσ*, v. sound-laws), e.g. *τό(τ)* origl. and Sk. *ta-t* (nom. acc. sing. dem. pron. st. origl. *ta-*); *√τα*, *τεν* in *τέ-τα-κα*, *τά-νυ-μαι* (stretch myself), *τείνω* (stretch, lengthen)=**τεν-yω*, origl. and Sk. *ta*, *tan*; st. *τρι-* (three) in *τρεῖς*, origl. and Sk. *tri-*; *√στα* (stand), in *στα-τός* (placed), *στά-σις* (setting, revolt), *ἵ-στη-μι* (set up), origl. and Lat. *sta*, etc.; *√στεγ* in *στέγ-ος* (roof), *στέγ-ω* (cover), cf. Lith. *√steg*, origl. *stag*; *√πετ* in *πέτ-ομαι* (fly), *πί-π(ε)τ-ω* (fall), origl. and Sk. *√pat* (fly, fall); *πλατύς* (broad), origl. *pratus*, Sk. *prthús*; suff. *το* of pf. pass. part., origl. and Sk. *ta*, etc.

The combination *κτ* is in most cases preserved only in Gk., while in other langg. it is softened to *ks*, e.g. st. *τέκτον-* (carpenter), Sk. *tákšan-*, cf. O.H.G *dëhsa*, *dëhsala* (axe); *ἄρκτος* (bear)=Lat. *ursus*, by Lat. sound-laws for **urcsus* fr. **urctus*, Sk. *ŕkšas*, f.f. **ark-ta-s*.

Note.—Upon the very uncommon softening of *τ* to *δ* in Gk. cf. G. Curt. Gr. Et.[2] p. 469 sqq. It occurs almost without exception in obscure etymologies, not in words accurately corresponding with their kindred langg.

3. Origl. *p*=Gk. *π* (cf. *π*=origl. *k*), e.g. *√πο*, *πι* (drink), in *πό-σις* (draught), *πέ-πο-μαι*, *πέ-πω-κα*, *πί-νω* (drink); *πό-σις* (husband), f.f. and Sk. *pá-tis* (lord); st. *πα-τέρ-* (father), origl. *pa-tar-*, fr. *√pa* (protect); *√πλα*, e.g. in *πίμ-πλη-μι*, *πιμ-πλά-ναι* (fill), origl. *pra* fr. *par*, e.g. Sk. *pi-par-mi* (1 sing. pres. act.); *πλατύς* (broad), origl. *pratus*, Sk. *prthús*; *√πλυ* in *πλέϝ-ω* (sail), *πλόϝ-ος* (voyage), *πλυ-τός* (washed), Sk. *plu*, origl. *pru*;

√ἑρπ in ἑρπ-ετόν (creeping thing), ἕρπ-ω (creep)=Sk. and origl. *sárp-āmi*, Lat. *serp-o*, origl. *sarp*; ὕπ-νος (sleep), origl. and Sk. *sváp-nas*, cf. *som-nus*=**sop-nus*, etc. § 62.

Note 1.—The softening of π to β, likewise uncommon, and only found in words of obscure etymology, has been treated of by G. Curt. elsewh. p. 471 sqq.

Note 2.—On unoriginal aspiration of tenues caused by operation of sound-laws, v. 'sound-laws.' Sometimes in Gk. as in Sk. aspirates make their appearance without visible reason. This occurs comparatively frequently in the case of π, cf. ἀ-λείφ-ω (anoint), ἀ-λοιφ-ή (ointment), bes. λίπ-α, λίπ-ος (grease), λιπ-αρός (greasy, shiny), cf. Sk. √*lip* (anoint), O.Bulg. *lĕp-ŭ* (plaster), Lith. *lìp-ti* (cleave to); βλέφ-αρον (eyelid) bes. βλέπ-ω (glance); κεφ-αλή (head) bes. Lat. *cap-ut*, Sk. *kap-ālas*, *kap-ālam* (shell, skull); σαφ-ής (clear), σοφ-ός (sap-iens), cf. Lat. *sap-io* (smack, am wise), O.H.G. √*sab* (understand; in pf. *int-suab*, **ant-suob*, he understands, notices), etc. Moreover, μόθ-ος (bustle) must not be coupled with Sk. √*math*, *manth* (i.e. *mat*, *mant*, stir, move), and O.Bulg. *mętĭ-ą* (trouble), *mętĭ-ežĭ* (uproar, tumult). In ἔ-τυχ-ον (I chanced), τυχ-ή (chance), τεύχ-ειν (prepare), and Iôn. τε-τύκ-οντο (they prepared), τύκ-ος (mason's tool), we cannot suppose different roots; so too δέχ-ομαι (receive) bes. Iôn. δέκ-ομαι, δοκ-ός (beam), δοκ-άνη (fork) has the look of an unorigl. asp. In the perf. this unorigl. asp. has developed into a kind of medium for stem-formation, v. sub. Perf. G. Curt. Gr. Et.² p. 439 sqq. has treated at length of Unorigl. Aspiration in Gk.

Momentary sonant unaspirated consonants. § 63.

1. Origl. *g*=Gk. γ, β.

Gk. γ=origl. *g* (on ζ=γγ, v. sound-laws), e.g. √γεν in γέν-ος (race), γί-γ(ε)ν-ομαι (I am born, become), Sk. *ǵan*, origl. *gan*; √γνο=*gna* fr. *gan* in γι-γνώ-σκω (I learn), γνώ-μη (thought, opinion); γόνυ (knee)=Sk. *ǵā́nu*, cf. Lat. *genu*, Goth. *kniu*; √ζυγ, origl. *yug* (iungere) in ζεύγ-νυμι (I yoke), ζυγ-όν (yoke); √ἀγ in ἄγ-ω (lead)=Sk. *áǵ-āmi*, Lat. *ag-o*, O.Norse inf. *ak-a*, 1 sing. pres. *ek*, pf. *ōk*, etc.

Note 1.—It is only in quite detached cases that Gk. δ seems= origl. *g* (like τ=origl. *k*); thus prob. δελφ-ύ-ς (uterus) must be

§ 63. placed beside Sk. *gárbh-a-s* (id.), esp. since a form *ἀδελφειός* corresponds perfectly to Sk. *sa-garbhyas* (co-uterinus) in its formn. It is worthy of note that *βρέφος*, too (v. sq.), stands close to Sk. *gárbhas*.

Note 2.—On Gk. *γ* and Sk. *h*, cf. § 53, 1.

Gk. *β*=origl. *g* (cf. § 68, 1, e); *√βa* in *βί-βη-μι*, *βά-σκω* (go) =Sk. and origl. *ga* (go), in Sk. *gí-gā-mi*, origl. *ga-gā-mi*, Sk. *gá-kkhāmi*, origl. *ga-skāmi*; *βαρύς* (heavy)=Sk. *gurús* for origl. *garus*, *βάριστος*=Sk. *gariṣṭhas*, origl. *garistas* (heaviest), cf. Lat. *grauis*=**garu-i-s*, Goth. *kaúrs* (heavy, earnest) for **kaúri-s*, and this prob. for **kurv-i-s* fr. **karv-i-s*; *βρέφος* (neut. offspring, child), Sk. *gárbha-s* (masc. matrix, offspring), O.Bulg. *žrěbę*, *žrěbičь* (to foal), Goth. *kalbō* (fem. cow-calf); Boiôt. *βανά* =*γυνή* (wife) with root vowel *a* retained, f.f. of both *ganā*, *√gan* (gignere); *βάλανος* (acorn), cf. Lat. *glans*, *gland-is* (acorn); *βίϝος* (life)=Sk. *gīvás*, Lith. *gývas*, Goth. *kvius*, f.f. prob. *gigvas* (lively); *βοῦς* (bull)=Sk. and origl. *gāus*; *βι-βρώ-σκω* (eat), *βορ-ά* (food), *√βορ*, *βρο*, origl. *gar*, *gra*, Sk. *√gar* (swallow); Lat. *(g)uor-are*, Lith. *gér-ti* (drink), Scl. *žrě-ti* (swallow); *ἔ-ρεβ-ος* (gloom of lower world), cf. Sk. *rájˊ-as* (gloom, dust), Goth. *rikv-is* (neut. darkness); *√νιβ* in *χέρ-νιψ* (water for washing hands) for **χερ-νιβ-ς*, **χερ-νιβ-ος*, Sk. *√niˊg*, origl. *nig*, in Gk. retained in *νίζω* (wash)=**νιγ-γω*.

2. Origl. *d*=Gk. *δ* (on *ζ*=*δy*, cf. § 68); *√δο*, origl. *da* (give), pres. *δί-δω-μι*, origl. *da-dā-mi*; *√δακ* (bite), pres. *δάκ-νω*, Sk. *√daç*, origl. *dak*; *√δαμ* in *δαμ-άω*, *δάμ-νημι* (tame, bind), Sk. and origl. *dam* (domare); *δόμος* (house), Lat. *domus*, Sk. *damás* or *damám*, Scl. *domu*; *√Fιδ* (see), origl. *√vid* (uidere), pf. *Fοῖδα* (knew), Goth. *vait*, f.f. *vi-vāida*; *√ἐδ*, origl. and Sk. *√sad* (sedere) in *ἕζομαι*=**sed-yo-mai*; *√ἐδ*, origl. and Sk. *√ad* in *ἔδ-ω*, *ἔδ-ομαι* (eat, shall eat), Lat. *ed-o*, Goth. *it-a*, etc.

3. Gk. *β*, whose origl. existence can be proved, is found very rarely (cf. § 46), e.g. *βλη-χή* (bleating), *βλη-χάομαι* (bleat), Lat. *bāl-are*, Scl. *ble-yą*, O.H.G. *blā-zan*; *βραχύ-ς* (short), Lat.

breu-is, fr. **bregu-is*, Scl. *brŭz-ŭ*; βδέ-ω (pedo), Bohem. *bzdi-ti*, § 63. Lith. *bezd-éti*, Germ. *fist* (flatus uentris sine crepitu), thence *fist-en* (flatum uentris emittere), Scl.-Germ. thus with spirant bef. *d* (whether this spirant was inserted in Germ. or lost in Gk., H.G. *f* does not correctly correspond to *b* of other langg.), the f.f. of the root is thus *bda* or *bsda*=*bad* or *basd*.

Note.—χ, θ, φ, instead of γ, δ, β, in Gk., is barely seen in one single certain ex.; even the cases which G. Curt. (Gr. Et.² p. 449 sqq.) allows are more or less doubtful. Θεός (god) is in no way related to Δι*F*-ός (gen. fr. Ζεύς), δῖος (godlike), Lat. *deus*, *diuos*, but, as G. Curt. makes probable, to √θες (Gr. Et.² p. 450) (pray), in θέσ-σεσθαι, πολύ-θεσ-τος (much-implored), Πασι-θέη (implored by all), θέσ-φατος (said by god), θέσ-κελος (godly), θεῖος for *θεσιος fr. st. θεσ-, *θεσο-, with regular loss of *o* bef. origl. suff. *ya*, and loss of *s* (cf. ἀλήθεια, i.e. *ἀληθεσια fr. st. ἀληθέσ-), Lat. *fes* in *fes-tus*; μέθη (drunkenness) does not belong to Sk. √*mad* (be drunk), but to μέθυ (n. intoxicating drink, wine), Sk. and origl. *mádhu* (honey-mead, intoxicating drink), etc. Only in pf. act. we see in later formations χ and φ bes. γ and β (εἴ-λοχ-α fr. λέγ-ω, τέ-θλιφ-α fr. θλίβ-ω, etc., v. post).

Original momentary sonant aspirated consonants. § 64.

1. Origl. *gh*=Gk. χ (on χσ=σσ, cf. § 68), e.g. χήν (goose), cf. Germ. *gans*, f.f. *gansis*, Sk. *hāsá-s*, i.e. **ghansas*, Lith. *žąsìs*, Scl. *gąsĭ*; √χυ in χέ*F*-ω (pour), χύ-σις (pouring), Goth. √*gu-t*, H.G. *gu-ſs* (*gieſs-en*); √ἀχ, ἀγχ in ἄγχ-ω (throttle), ἄχ-νυμαι (am grieved), ἄχ-ομαι (id.) ἄχ-ος (pain, grief), ἄχ-θος (burthen), ἄχ-θομαι (am burthened), origl. *agh*, Sk. *āh*, Lat. *ang*, Goth. *aggv*; √στιχ in στείχ-ω (go), στίχ-ος (rank), στοῖχ-ος (rank, file), Sk. and origl. √*stigh*, Goth. *stig* in *steigan* (step vb.), *staiga* (path, the Sclavo-Lith. do not regard aspirates); √λιχ in λείχ-ω (lick), Sk. *lih*, earlier *rih*, i.e. *righ* (lick), Goth. *lig* in *bi-laig-ōn* (ἐπι-λείχ-ειν); √μιχ in ὀ-μιχ-έω (urino), ὀ-μίχ-λη (mist), Sk. *mih*, i.e. *migh* in *mḗh-āmi* (urino), *mēgh-ás* (cloud), Germ. *mig*, e.g. Dutch *mīge* (urina); δολιχός (long), Sk. *dīrghás*, f.f. *darghas*, etc.

§ 64. In ἐγγύς (near) = Sk. *ā́hús*, i.e. **anghus* (narrow),—the Goth. *aggvus* (narrow) corresponds to the aspirated fms., which we hold to be origl. in this case, since we assign *ἐγγ-ύς* to √*ἀχ*, origl. *agh*, in *ἄγχ-ω*, *ἄχ-ομαι*, etc. (so G. Curtius).

Other isolated cases in which Gk. sonants, mostly after nasals, stand for origl. aspp., are treated by G. Curtius (Gr. Et.[2] p. 460 sqq.).

Note.—In *νίφ-α* (acc. snow), *νιφ-ετό-ς* (snow-storm), *νίφ-ει* (it snows), *φ* stands for *χ*, cf. Lat. *nix*, *niu-is*, for **nig-s*, **nigu-is*, (v. post), *ning-it;* the root had an initial *s* lost in Graeco-Italic, cf. Lith. *snìg-ti* (to snow), *sněg-as* (snow), O.Bulg. *sněg-ŭ* (snow), Goth. *snaiv-s* (snow), Zend √*çniž* (*çnaēž-enti*, 3 pl. pres. 'it snows,' lit. 'they snow'), Sk. √*snih* (be damp), f.f. of root is therefore *snigh*.

2. Origl. *dh* = Gk. *θ* (on *θy* = *σσ*, cf. § 68), e.g. √*θε*, origl. *dha* (set), pres. *τί-θη-μι*, Sk. and origl. *dá-dhā-mi*, Goth. √*da*, (do), H.G. *ta*, e.g. in 1 pres. *tuo-m* fr. **ti-tō-mi* = *dhadhāmi;* *μέθυ* (intoxicating drink), Sk. and origl. *mádhu*, O.H.G. *mëtu* (mead); √*ἰθ* in *αἴθ-ω* (kindle), Sk. and origl. √*idh;* *ἐ-ρυθ-ρός* (red), √*ῥυθ*, Sk. *rudhirás*, origl. *rudhras*, √*rudh*, Goth. √*rud* in *raud-s*, H.G. *rut* in *rōt*, Lat. *rūf-us*, etc.

Note.—In *θερμός*, Sk. *gharmás* (heat), Lat. *formus*, cf. Scl. *grě-ti* (to warm), Germ. *warm* fr. **gwarm*, √*θερ*, *θέρ-ομαι* (am warm), *θέρ-ος* (neut. summer), origl. and Sk. *ghar*, *θ* stands where we should expect *χ*.

3. Origl. *bh* = Gk. *φ*; √*φα* (shine) in *φα-ίνω* (show), *φάσ-ις* (a showing), √*φα* (speak) in *φη-μί*, *φά-σκω* (say), *φά-τις* (speech, rumour), *φω-νή* (voice), Sk. and origl. *bha*, Sk. *bhā́-mi* (shine), *bhā-s* (give light, shine), *bhā-š* (speak), Lat. *fa-ri;* √*φερ*, 1 sing. pr. *φέρ-ω* (bear), Lat. *fer*, *fero*, Sk. and origl. *bhar*, *bhár-āmi*, Goth. *bar*, *baira;* √*φυ* in *φύ-ω* (bring forth), *φυ-τόν* (plant), Lat. *fu* in *fu-turus*, *fu-i*, Sk. and origl. *bhu*, O.H.G. *pi* in *pi-m*, weakened fr. **pu*, **pi-um;* *νέφ-ος* (cloud), *νεφελη* (a cloud), Sk. *nábhas* (a cloud), O.H.G. *nëpal* (cloud); *ὀ-φρύς* (eyebrow), Sk. *bhrūs*, O.H.G. *prāwa*, etc.

Note 1.—In √λαβ (λαμβάνω, ἔ-λαβ-ον, take, seize) bes. § 64. λάφ-υρον (booty), ἀμφι-λαφ-ής (clasping), Sk. √*labh* (keep, get), *β* is very prob. a representative of origl. *bh*, caused perh. by the nasalized pres. λαμβάνω, cf. supr. ἐγγύς fr. √*agh;* also βρέμ-ω (roar) has *β* for origl. *bh*, cf. Lat. *frem-o*, Sk. *bhrám-āmi* (swarm, rove). On other isolated exx. cf. G. Curt. Gr. Et.[2] p. 460 sqq., Grassmann, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xii. 91 sqq.).

Note 2.—√*Fραγ* in ῥήγ-νυμι (break, tear), ῥῆγ-μα (rent), διαῤῥώξ (broken through) for **δια-Fρωγ-ς* has *F* for origl. *bh* (as in case-sf. origl. *bhi* the *bh* may even be entirely lost, v. sub. declens.), cf. Lat. √*frag* in *frang-o*, *frag-men*, *frag-ilis*, Goth. √*brak* in *brik-an* (break), pf. *brak*. The same change occurs in √*Fαγ*, ἄγ-νυμι (break), ἀ-αγ-ής (unbroken), cf. Sk. √*bhaǵ* in *bha-ná-ǵ-mi* (I break), *bhaṅgi-s* (breakage). It is uncertain whether the roots *bhag* and *bhrag* are akin.

Roots which origly. began and ended with an asp. also lose in Gk. their initial asp., whereby there thus arises a tenuis (cf. sup. § 64). Thus e.g. πῆχυ-ς (fore-arm) stands for **φηχυ-ς*, cf. Norse *bōg-r*, O.H.G. *buoc*, like Sk. *bāhú-s* (arm) for **bhāghu-s;* πυθ-μήν (base) for **φυθ-μην*, like Sk. *budh-nás* (floor) for **bhudh-na-s*, cf. O.H.G. *bod-am*, Lat. *fu-n-d-us;* πενθ-ερός (father-in-law), πενθ-ερά (mother-in-law), πεῖσ-μα (bond, halser) for **πενθ-μα* fr. √*πενθ* for **φενθ* (bind), like Sk. *bandh* for **bhandh* (in Sk. also 'relationship' derived fr. 'bonds,' e.g. *bandh-u-s*, a relation); so too the Goth. fm. *band* points to this (pres. *bind-a*, pf. *band*); √πυθ for **φυθ* in πυνθ-άνομαι, πεύθ-ομαι (learn, ask), Sk. *budh* for **bhudh* (be awake, know, be wise), Lith. √*bud* (*bud-ĕti* be awake, *bud-rú-s* wakeful), O.Bulg. *bŭd* (*bŭd-ĕti* be awake, *bud-iti* wake), Goth. *bud* (*biud-an* bid, though with a considerable change of meaning). A perfectly analogous phenomenon is seen in redupln.-laws (§ 68); cf. Grassm. Kuhn's Zeitschr. xii. 110 sqq.

Consonantal Prolonged-sounds. § 65.

Origl. spirants; *y*, *s*, *v* (the changes of origl. *y*, *v* have been treated at length by G. Curt. Gr. Et.[2] pp. 491–611).

§ 65. 1. Origl. *y*=Gk. *ι*, *ε*, *ζ*, ', is lost (on *y* in *ζ*, *σσ*, cf. § 68, 1 b, d, e). From assimiln. of *y* to other consonn. (*κεῥρω* for **κερ-yω*, *ἐλάσσων* for **ἐλαχyων*, etc.), it follows that it was not lost till late in Gk. To the existence of *y* in Gk. evidence is given by the operation of the consonantal beginning of Hom. *ὥς* (as)=origl. *yāt* (abl. of st. *ya-*), and that of *ἵετο*, *ἱέμενος*, etc., origl. √*ya* (go); even the writing of *F* for *y* in *Fότι* and *TλασίαFo* proves it, on which point we may follow G. Curt. Gr. Et.[2] no. 606, p. 354.

a. Gk. *ι*=origl. *y*, e.g. in the common st.-formative sf. origl. *ya*, Gk. *ιο*, thus *πάτρ-ιο-ς* (fatherly), origl. *patar-ya-s*; *τελείω*, thence *τελέω* (finish), for **τελεσ-yω*, pres. fm. in *ya* fr. st. *τελες-* (*τέλος*, neut. end), etc., vid. § 26.

Here there occurs also a transposition of origl. *y* after a liquid cons. to Gk. *ι* before the liquid, e.g. *φθείρω* (destroy) fr. **φθερ-yω*, etc., v. § 26, 3.

b. Gk. *ε*=origl. *y*, e.g. *κενεός* (empty) for **κενyος*, as is shown by Aiol. *κέννος* fr. Sk. *çūnya-s* beside **κενyο-ς* we may infer an origl. *kvanya-s* common to both; *στερεός*=*στεῥρός* (hard, solid) fr. **στερ-yος*; *θυρεός* (door-stone, door-shaped shield) fr. **θυρyος*, with origl. sf. *ya*, fr. *θύρα*, door. v. § 26, 2.

c. Gk. *ζ*=origl. *y*, e.g. √*ζυγ* in *ζεύγνυμι* (bind), *ζυγόν* (yoke), Lat. *iug-um*, Sk. *yugám*, etc., Lat. Sk. origl. √*yug* (iungere); *ζέω* (seethe, intr.), √*ζες*, cf. *ἔ-ζεσ-μαι*, *ζεσ-τός*, O.H.G. *jës-an* (H.G. *gären*), f.f. of root is *yas*; *ζέFa* (spelt), Lith. *yávas*, pl. *yavai* (barley), Sk. st. *yava-* (grain).

Note.—A *d* has been here developed bef. origl. *y*, for *ζ*=*dz* or *dy*, precisely as in other langg. we find a change fr. *y* to *dy*, and further to *dž*, e.g. Lat. *maiorem*, middle-Lat. *madiorem*. It. *maggiore*, i.e. *madžore*; Prākrt *ǵutta-*, i.e. *džutta-*=*yukta-*. G. Curtius (Gr. Et.[2] p. 550 sqq.) compares this *dy* for *y* with *gv* for *v*, which appears not unfrequently in later periods of speech (e.g. It. *guastare* fr. Lat. *uastare*). Curt. also adds *δι* =origl. *y*, in sf. *διο-* (e.g. *κρυπτά-διος*, secret)=origl. *ya*, and *δε*=**δy*=origl. *y* in sf. *δεο-* (e.g. *ἀδελφί-δεο-ς*, nephew), and

further δ=origl. *y* by entire loss of *y* after the δ wh. it pro- § 65.
duced, through intermed. step. *δy. This case is indisputable in Boiôt. δυγό-ν (yoke)=*δyυγο-ν=ζυγό-ν=origl. *yuga-m* (yoke); further G. Curt. assumes it in δή (iam) for **dyā*, **yā*, perh. an instr. pron. st. origl. *ya*, cf. Lat. *iam*, Lith. *yaú*, Goth. H.G. *ju*, and others fr. same st.; it then becomes evident that the δ of apparent sf. *-ιδ-* is nothing but *iy* for *i*, e.g. μή-νι-ος and μή-νιδ-ος fr. μῆ-νι-ς (wrath; √*ma*, think, also be wroth, sf. *ni*) θέ-τι-ος and θέ-τιδ-ος (each case formed by sf. *ti*), also φρον-τίδ-ος, ἔριδ-ος bes. ἔρι-ν, etc.; everywhere therefore we must presuppose in these cases a Gk. f.f. such as *μη-νιy-ος, *θε-τιy-ος. Also the sf. *aδ* and others with δ are due to origl. *y* acc. to Curtius. Though we cannot treat in detail of the deductions of G. Curtius, we may remark in general on his opinion, that whilst *y* is remarkably common in st.-formation of Indo-Eur., *d* is a rare element, so that we see scarcely any other possibility of bringing the above-named Gk. fms. into harmony with those of the kindred langg. The assumption of so many termns. in special cases of later Gk. forms is, however, not perfectly certain; nevertheless that *y*=δ in δυγόν is beyond doubt. Further the dental certainly corresponds to origl. *y* in χθές=*χδές, *χδyες, *χyες=Sk. *hyas* (yesterday), f.f. *ghyas*, cf. Lat. *her-i, hes-ternus*, Goth. *gis-tra-dagis*. What we admit in these cases is possible in others too.

d. Gk.ʿ=origl. *y*, e.g. ἧπαρ (liver), cf. Lat. *iecur*, Sk. *yákrt;* ἅγιος (holy), Sk. *yaǵyas* (to honour, worship), origl. √*yag;* ὥρα (season), cf. O.Bulg. *jāre* (n. year), Goth. *yēr*, O.H.G. *jār;* ὑσ-μίν- (retained only in loc. sg. ὑσ-μῖν-ι), ὑσ-μίνη (combat), √ὑς bef. μ for ὑθ=Sk. *yudh* (fight), e.g. in *yudh-ma-s* (fight, fighter), *yudh-māna-m* (fight), which agrees with the Gk. in the sf. also; ὑμε-ῖς (you), cf. Sk. *yušmá-t* (abl.; it here depends of course from the stem only), Lith. *jūs* (you), etc.

e. In Gk. *y* is entirely lost (cf. § 27), e.g. initial *y* in Aiol. ὔμμε-ς (you), cf. Sk. *yušmá-t* (abl.); ὅττι in Sappho fr. st. ὁ-=origl. *ya-*. In the middle of words this loss is more frequent; after consonn., e.g. in termn. of fut. *-σω* for **σyω*, cf. Dôr. fm. *-σίω*=Sk. and origl. *-syā-mi;* betw. vowels the loss of *y* is commonest of all, as in the termns. of derivative vbs. *-έω*, *-άω*, *-όω*, which alike represent the origl. and Sk. *-ayāmi*, e.g. φορέω

§ 65. (bear)=Sk. and origl. *bhār-áyāmi;* in cases like τελέω fr. τελείω, for *τελεσ-γω, with origl. sf. *ya* fr. st. τελες- (τέλος neut. end), in -υω for *-νγω (φύω earlier φυίω, f.f. *bhuyāmi*, etc.); in gen. sg. masc. and neut. of *o*-st., origl. *a*-st., e.g. ἵππου fr. ἵπποο, and this certainly fr. ἵπποιο, which stands for *ἵπποσγο, origl. *akvasya;* πλέον (more) bes. πλεῖον, f.f. *pra-yans*, comp. fr. √*par*, *pra* in πολ-ύ- (many), f.f. *par-u-*. Thus in most cases, before *y* entirely disappeared, it became *i*.

Note.—The assimiln. of *y* to other consonn., e.g. λλ=λ*y* and the like, and its combination with gutt. and dentt. as ζ, σσ, is treated of under 'sound-laws,' § 68.

2. Origl. *s*=Gk. σ, ', is lost.

a. Gk. σ=origl. *s* in termn. and bef. mutes, more rarely bef. vowels, e.g. √ἐς, origl. *as* (esse), ἐσ-τί, Sk. and origl. *ás-ti* (he is); st. μενες- n. μένος (might, strength), origl. and Sk. *mánas;* sf. of nom. sg. masc. fem. *-s*, e.g. πόσι-ς, ὄψ=*Fόπ*-ς, Sk. and origl. *páti-s*, origl. *vāk-s;* sf. gen. sg. -ος, origl. *-as*, e.g. *Fοπ-ός*, origl. *vāk-as*, Sk. *vāk-ás*, etc.; √στορ, Sk. and origl. *star*, e.g. in 1 sg. pres. στορ-έννυμι, στόρ-νυμι (spread), Sk. *str-ṇ́mi*, origl. *star-naumi*, etc.; √στα, ἵστημι (set), origl. *sta-stā-mi*, Lat. and origl. *sta;* σῦς bes. ὗς (swine), Lat. *sūs*, O.H.G. *sū;* σέβ-ομαι (be in awe of), σεμ-νός (awful) for *σεβ-νος, σοφ-ός (wise), and others show likewise init. *s* bef. vowel; σιγάω (am silent) bes. O.H.G. *swīgēn* has exceptionally σ for older *sv*, which regularly should become '; it is also found in σελ-ήνη (moon), fr. origl. √*svar* (shine), and perh. in some other instt., cf. σέλ-ας (sheen), ἑλ-άνη (torch), with usual sound-change, fr. same root (cf. G. Curt. Gk. Et.[2] p. 625). This σ bes. ', we must prob. consider to be an archaïsm, which has been partially retained.

b. Gk. '=origl. *s*, when it is initial before a vowel or origl. *v*, e.g. √ἑδ, ἕδ-ος, ἕδ-ρα (seat), ἕζομαι (set myself, sit) for *ἑδ-γομαι, Lat. *sed*, origl. and Sk. *sad* (sit); ἑπτά (seven), Lat. *septem*, origl. and Sk. *saptán-*; √ἑπ in ἕπ-ω, ἕπ-ομαι (follow),

Lat. *sequ-or*, Sk. √*sak*, origl. *sak;* ὕπνος (sleep), origl. and Sk. *sápnas;* ἡδύς (sweet), f.f. Sk. and origl. *svādús;* pron. √ἑ, ὁ, in οὗ, οἱ, ἕ (sui, sibi, se), ὅς (suos), origl. and Sk. *sva-;* ἑκυρός (father-in-law), f.f. *svakuras*, Sk. *çváçuras* for *sváçuras*, Lat. *socer*, Goth. *svaihra*, etc. § 65.

Note.—It is not probable that the ' (which regularly represents *s*) in words which origly. began with *sv* compensates for the *v*, and that *s* afterwards entirely disappeared from before it. If the earlier lang. shows *F* even then, we may prob. assume that the sign of the asp. was not written bef. *F*, and that we must theref. read *Fé* and the like as *hve;* the long duration of *s* in Gk. seems proved by parallel fms. in diall., such as σφός.

Not uncommonly we find medial ' after vowel transferred to initial ' bef. vowel; e.g. ἱερός (strong, holy) fr. *ἰ̓ἔρος, *ἴσερο-ς =Sk. *iširá-s* (strong, fresh); εἰπόμην fr. *ἐ-ἑπομην, *ἐ-σεπομην, √ἑπ (follow) for *σεπ, origl. *sak;* εἰστήκειν fr. *ἐ-ἑστηκειν, *ἐ-σεστηκειν, √στα (stand), redupld. *sa-sta*, *σε-στα; εὖω bes. εὔω (kindle), √ὑς, origl. *us*, Sk. *uš* (burn), f.f. *ausāmi*, in Gk. first *εὐσω, *εὐώ; ἑώς (dawn) for *ἐώς fr. *εὐώς, *ἐ̓Fώς, cf. Aiol. αὔως for *αὐσως (ἠώς by compens. lengthening for *ἀFσως), f.f. of st. is *aus-as-*, cf. Sk. *uš-ás-* (f. dawn), fr. same √*us*, Lat. *aurōra* for **aus-ōs-a*, likewise, as in Gk., with step-formn. of root; ἧμαι (sit) for *ἠσ-μαι, cf. Sk. *ás-ē* for **ās-mai*, here in Gk. the init. ' became fixed by analogy throughout, and is added also in ἧσ-ται for *ἠσ-ται=Sk. *ás-tē;* ἡμεῖς (we), cf. Sk. *as-má-t*, ἡμεῖς thus stands by compens. lengthening for *ἀσ-μεις, whence the parall. fm. ἄμμες=*ἀσμες, in which the σ has become assimilated to the μ; in ἡμεῖς therefore the real *s* is doubly represented.

Note.—At first sight ἑός bes. σφός and ὅς seems clearly fr. a Gk. f.f. *σFος, viz. ἑός for *ἐ̓ός (*ehos*) fr. *ἔ̓Fος (*ehvos*), and this fr. *ἐσFος, *ἐ-σFος for *σFος, with the favourite vowel-prefix, which does not occur in σφός and ὅς; but when we recollect the Lat. *suus*, earlier *souos*, i.e. **seuos* (§ 33, 2), we are

§ 65. led back to a special Gr.-Ital. f.f. **sevos* (cf. Lith. *sávo* fr. an unused **sava-s* suus), which necessarily becomes in Lat. *souos, suus*, in Gk. *ἑFος*; then too we must understand *τεός*=**τεFος* =*tuus*, i.e. **tovos, *tevos*, Lith. *tàva-s* (tuus). Cf. § 26 n.

Sometimes ' appears as a later addition; it seems that the sensibility of the lang. to the distinction betw. ' (*h*) and ' (Semit. 'elif') began to decay rather early (cf. c.), thus e.g. in *ἵππος* (horse) fr. **ἰκFος*, cf. the extant fm. *ἴκκος*, Lat. *equos*, Sk. *áçvas*, f.f. *akvas;* that ' occurs here only in later times is proved by forms like *Λεύκιππος, Ἄλκιππος*, which otherwise would have been pronounced **Λευχιππος, *Ἀλχιππος*; *ὕστερος* (later)=Sk. *út-taras; ὐ* is so frequently an initial sound, for origl. *su, sva*, that the more uncommon beginnings which would properly be *ὐ*, followed the analogy of *ὑ*; here belongs prob. *ὕδωρ* (water), cf. Boiôt. *οὔδωρ*, Lat. *unda*, Sk. *ud-am, ud-akám* (water), Goth. *vatō*, Lith. *vandʼù* (with earlier *vad*=*ud*); *ὕφ-η, ὕφ-ος* (web), *ὑφ-αίνω* (weave), cf. Germ. *√wab* (weave), Sk. *ūrṇa-vā́bh-i-s* (m. spider, lit. woolweaver), *√vabh*, fr. which therefore may arise regularly a fm. *ubh*, Gk. *ὑφ*; for **ὐδ, *ὐφ*, in these words, we must presuppose an origl. *vad, vabh*, for which through loss of *a* arose *ud, ubh*.

c. In Gk. origl. *s*, or rather ', which arose fr. origl. *s*, is entirely lost (cf. § 28). This occurs regularly in middle of words betw. vowels, and more rarely in initio bef. vowels, whilst it is regular bef. initial *ν* and *ρ*; e.g. *μένος*, gen. *μένους* fr. *μένεος, *μενεσος*, f.f. and Sk. *mánasas; φέρῃ* fr. **φερεσαι*, origl. *bharasai; μῦς* (mouse), gen. *μυός*=Lat. *mus, muris*, both fr. **musas; Fιός* (poison) for **Fισος*=Lat. *uirus*, Sk. *viša-s* and *viša-m;* etc. Yet we also find *s* kept betw. vowels, e.g. *δίδο-σαι, τίθε-σαι, ἵστα-σαι*.

In initio bef. vowels ' has fallen out in *ἀ-* (for and bes. *ἁ-*), *ὁ*=origl. and Sk. *sa-* (with), e.g. in *ἀ-δελφειός, ἀ-δελφός* (brother, lit. couterinus, cf. *δελφύς* uterus); *ἄ-λοχος* (spouse, consors tori, cf. *λέχος*, bed); *ὅ-πατρος* (having the same father, cf. *πατήρ*), etc., bes. *ἅ-πας* (all); *ἐτεός* (true, correct)=Sk. *satyá-s; √ἐχ*

(in ἔχ-ω hold, have)=Sk. *sah* (*sáh-atē*, he holds, carries; this § 65. √ἐχ=*sagh* is confused in Gk. with √*vagh*, uehere); ἰδίω (sweat), Sk. and f.f. *svidyāmi*, bes. ἴδ-ρώς (sweat); ἥδ-ος (pleasure, delight) bes. ἡδ-ύς (sweet)=Sk. and origl. *svād-ús*, √*svad*; οὖλο-ς (Old-Ep. and Iôn.) bes. ὅλος (whole), Gk. f.f. *solvo-s*=Lat. *saluo-s*, *sollo-s*=Sk. *sárva-s*; ἔ-σταλ-κα, pf. fr. pres. στέλ-λω (place, send) for *ἑ-σταλ-κα, *σε-σταλ-κα; ἔ-σπαρ-μαι, pf. pass. fr. σπείρω (sow)=*σπερ-γω, similarly for *ἑ-σπ, *σε-σπ. We see that the dropping of the *h*-sound, which has taken place throughout in mod. Gk., began even very early (G. Curt. Gr. Et.[2] p. 612 sqq.). The feeling of the lang. for *h* was weakened even in early Gk. (cf. supr. 2, b.).

Note.—The st. ὀντ- in ὤν=*ὀντ-ς, οὖσα=*ὀντγα, ὄν=*ὀντ= origl. *as-ant-*, pres. part. act. of origl. √*as* (esse), only apparently belongs here. The earlier fms. of this part. ἐών, etc., point to a once-existent fm. *ἐόντ-, *ἐσ-οντ-, with √ἐς preserved, fr. which fm. the *s* regularly dropped out, *ἐσ-οντ- thus became ἐοντ-, later the ε fell off, and thus arose ὀντ-.

s falls away bef. *ν* in νυός (bride, daughter-in-law), Lat. *nurus*, but O.H.G. *snur*, *snura*, Sk. *snušā*, O.Bulg. *snŭcha*, accordingly we must assume also a Gk. f.f. *σνυσο-ς; √νυ in νέF-ω (swim), impf. however in Hom. ἔννεον fr. *ἐ-σνεF-ον, Sk. and origl. √*snu* (flow, drip).

s is lost bef. *ρ* in √ῥυ (flow), ῥέω, ῥυτός=Sk. and origl. *sru*, Germ. *stru*, with inserted *t*, in *strōm*, Lith. *sru* and *stru*, Scl. *stru* in *o-strov-ŭ* (περιῤῥυτος, i.e. isle). Also here *s* is preserved by assimiln. to *ρ*, e.g. ἐῤῥύην, ἔῤῥευσα for *ἐ-σρυ-ην, *ἐ-σρευ-σα.

Also in √μερ in μέρ-μερ-ος (careful), μέρ-ιμνα (care), μάρ-τυς (witness), as in Lat. *me-mor* and Germ. *māri* (felt), the *s* is lost which is preserved in Sk. *smar*, pres. *smárāmi* (I remember, recall). The same loss perh. occurs elsewhere, though *σμ* was not disliked as an initial sound.

Before other sounds the loss of *s* is rarer, yet cf. ταῦρο-ς (bull), Lat. *tauru-s*, O.Bulg. *turŭ*, with Sk. *sthūrá-s* (bull), Zend

§ 65. *ςtaora-* (larger cattle, draught-oxen), Goth. *stiur* (bull, calf); sts. the interchange betw. *στ* and *τ* is prob. merely a dialectical one, e.g. *τέγ-ος* bes. *στέγ-ος* (roof), *στέγ-ω* (cover), Lith. *stóg-as* (roof), *stëg-ti* (to cover), Sk. √*sthag*, origl. *stag* (cf. Lat. *teg-o*, Germ. *decken*, √*dak*, without initial *s*). For further exx. of this phenomenon, which is hard to decide upon, vid. G. Curt. Gr. Et.[2] p. 621 sqq.

The assimiln. of *s* to other consonn. is treated, § 68; the loss of *s* with compens. lengthening, § 28.

3. Origl. *v*=Gk. *υ*, *F*, which was lost in the later langg.; origl. *v* is expressed by ˙.

a. Gk. *υ*=origl. *v*, e.g. *δύω*, *δύο*, which bes. *δώδεκα* proves an early Gk. st. *δFo-*=Sk. *dva-;* the same holds good in *κύων* (dog), bes. Lat. *canis* for **quani-s*, Sk. *çvā* (nom. sing. for **çvan-s*, st. *çvan-*, *çun-*), and in some other cases. It is very hard to decide whether *v* or *u* was the origl. here; perh. *uv* (Engl. *w*) is the earliest.

On the Aiolic vocalisation of *v* between vowels (*χεύω*=*χεFω*, etc.), so too on the transposition of *v* near liquid consonants, as e.g. *γουνός*=Aiolic *γόννος* from **γονFος*, st. *γονυ-* (knee), with *-ος* of the gen. sg., before which *υ*, that is *u*, passes over into *F*, *δουρός*, *δούρατος*, fr. **δορFος*, **δορFατος*, from which are explained also *δορός*, *δόρατος*, by loss of *v*, cf. nom. *δόρυ* (spear), v. supra § 26 b, 1, 3.

b. Gk. *F*,[1] which was lost in the later stage,=origl. *v* (cf. § 27), e.g. *Foῖνος* (wine), cf. Lat. *uīnum*, O.Lat. *ueinom*, f.f. of st. *vaina-* (or, acc. to Gk., *vāina-*); *Foῖκος* (house), Lat. *uīcus*, i.e. O.Lat. *ueicos*, Sk. *vḗça-s*, origl. *vaika-s*; *Fέργον* (work), √*Fεργ*=Sk. *vrǵ*, *ūrǵ*, Germ. *vark* (work, to work), origl. *varg;* √*Fιδ* (see, know), origl. Sk. *vid*, Lat. *uid*, Germ. *vit*, e.g. in *Fῖδ-μεν*=Sk. and origl. *vid-másі*, *Foῖδα*=Sk. *vḗda*, Goth. *vait*,

[1] J. Savelsberg, "de digammo eiusque immutationibus dissertatio," pars i. Aquisgrani, 1864; pars ii. 1866.

f.f. *vivāida*; √*Fεπ*, speak=Lat. *uoc* for **uec*, Sk. *vaḱ*, origl. *vak*, § 65. e.g. in *Fέπ-oς* (word)=Sk. *váḱ-as* (speech); *ὄFις* (sheep)=Lat. *ouis*, Lith. and origl. *avìs*; *ᾠον* for **ὠFιον*, f.f. *āvya-m*, fr. origl. *avi-s*, Lat. *aui-s* (bird); *νέFος* (new)=Lat. *nouus* for **neuos*, Sk. and f.f. *náva-s*; *πλέF-ω* (sail), √*πλυ*=Lat. **plou-o* for **pleu-o* (pluo), Sk. and origl. *pláv-āmi*; *ῥέF-ω* (flow), √*ῥυ*, origl. and Sk. *sráv-āmi*, √*sru*, cf. *ῥεῦ-μα* (stream); sf. *-Fεντ-* = Sk. and origl. *-vant-* (e.g. in *στονό-Fεσσαν*=*-Fετ-γαν*, with loss of nasal); *ναῦς* (ship), gen. *νᾱFός*=Sk. and origl. *nāus*, gen. *nāv-ás*; after consonn. e.g. in *δώδεκα* (twelve), *δίς* (twice), for **δFω-δεκα* **δFι-ς*, st. *δFo-*, *δFι-*, origl. *dva-* (cf. *δύο*); *δορός*, *γόνατος*, fr. **δορFος*, **γονFατος*, cf. *δόρυ* (spear), *γόνυ* (knee), etc.

Note.—Thus *vy* can disappear in medio betw. vowels; this occurs in sf. *tav-ya*, formed by *ya* and step.-formn. of stem termn. of abstracts in *tu*, sounded in Gk. as *τέο*, e.g. *δοτέος* (dandus)=Sk. *dātávyas*; *θετέος* (ponendus)=Sk. *dhātávyas*.

c. Gk. ῾=origl. *v* in *ἕσπερος*, *ἑσπέρα* (evening), cf. Lat. *uesper*, *uespera*; *ἴσ-τωρ* bes. *ἴσ-τωρ*, a fm. which we expect according to *Fίδ-μεν*, st. *Fιδ-τορ-* (knowing, witness), thence *ἱστορ-ία* (questioning, history), √*Fιδ*; *ἕννυμι* (clothe), *εἷμα* (garment), Aiol. *Fέμμα*=**Fέσ-νυμι*, **Fεσ-μα*, √*Fες*, cf. Lat. *ues-tire*, Sk. and f.f. of √*vas*: ῾ may, however, here have arisen also fr. *s*, and then been transposed: cf. supr. 2 b.

Note.—In isolated exx. *β*=origl. *v*, *βούλομαι* (I will), which we hold stands for **βολνομαι* (cf. Sk. *vṛṇḗ*, f.f. *var-na-mai*); to which Aiol. *βόλλομαι* and *βόλλα*=*βουλή* (will, council) seem to bear evidence; *ου* would thus arise fr. *o* by compensatory lengthening, in place of the lost *ν*; √*βολ* for **Fολ* corresponds to the Lat. *uel*, *uol* (in *uel-le*, *uol-t*), Sk. and origl. *var* (choose, will); *ὄροβο-ς* (vetch) bes. Lat. *eruo-m*, O.H.G. *araweiz*, cf. H.G. *erbse*. For other exx. of this correspondence of sound v. G. Curt. Gr. Et.² p. 514 sqq. Dialectically *β* for origl. *v* occurs more often, e.g. Lakôn. *βέργον*, *βιδεῖν*, for *Fέργον* (work), *Fιδεῖν* (see), origl. √*varg*, √*vid*; Lesb. Aiol. *βρίζα* (root), *βρόδον* (rose), for *Fρίζα*, *Fρόδον*, etc. Yet it is not unlikely that here (except in comb.

§ 65. $\beta\rho$=$F\rho$) β is practically only a character representing the *v*-sound instead of *F*.

Quite beside the ordinary rule we find $\sigma\phi$=earlier *sv* in pron. st. $\sigma\phi\varepsilon$-, $\sigma\phi o$- ($\sigma\phi\varepsilon\hat{\iota}\varsigma$, you, $\sigma\phi\acute{\varepsilon}$-$\tau\varepsilon\rho o\varsigma$, $\sigma\phi\acute{o}$-ς, your)=Sk. and origl. *sva*-; in $\sigma\phi\acute{\omega}$ (you two) for $^*\sigma F\omega$, $^*\tau F\omega$, fr. $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$, Dôr. $\tau\acute{\upsilon}$, origl. *tu* (thou); here $\sigma\phi$ arises, prob. early, for *sp*, in consequence of the aspirating force of *s* (v. sub. § 68); so, too, $\sigma\phi\acute{o}\gamma\gamma o\varsigma$ bes. $\sigma\pi\acute{o}\gamma\gamma o\varsigma$, $\sigma\pi o\gamma\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha$, which corresponds in root to the Goth. *svamms*, st. *svamma*- (Lat. *fungus* is perh. borrowed fr. Gk.); *sp* here occurs exceptionally for *sv*, as takes place sometimes in Zend; in Hom. $\phi\acute{\eta}$ (as) for $^*\sigma\phi\eta$, cf. Goth. *svē* (as), the initial *s* has been lost (G. Curt. p. 387).

Origl. *v* is said to be=μ in $\grave{\alpha}\mu\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ (lamb) for $^*\grave{\alpha}F\iota$-νo-ς, fr. origl. *avi*-*s*, Gk. $\check{o}F\iota$-ς (sheep), and in other single instt. more or less doubtful (G. Curt. p. 521).

Still more doubtful is the change from *v* to γ (G. Curt., p. 527 sqq.).

On the assimiln. of *v* to other consonn. e.g. $\tau\acute{\varepsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\varepsilon\varsigma$=$^*\tau\varepsilon\sigma F\alpha\rho\varepsilon\varsigma$, $^*\tau\varepsilon\tau F\alpha\rho\varepsilon\varsigma$, v. 'sound-laws.'

§ 66. Nasals.

1. Origl. *n*=Gk. ν (cf. sound-laws for medial and final loss of origl. *n* in Gk.); e.g. $\nu\acute{\varepsilon}F o\varsigma$ (new)=Sk. and origl. *návas*; $\nu\alpha\hat{\upsilon}\varsigma$ (ship)=Sk. *nāus*, Lat. *nauis*; $\grave{\alpha}$-$\nu\acute{\eta}\rho$ (man), st. $\nu\varepsilon\rho$-=Sk. and origl. *nar*-; $\grave{\varepsilon}\nu\nu\acute{\varepsilon}F\alpha$ (nine), Lat. *nouem*, Sk. and f.f. *návan*-; $\sqrt{\nu\varepsilon\kappa}$ in $\nu\acute{\varepsilon}\kappa$-$\upsilon\varsigma$, $\nu\varepsilon\kappa$-$\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ (corpse)=Lat. *nec* in *nec*-*are*, Sk. *naç*, origl. *nak*; neg. $\grave{\alpha}\nu$-=origl. and Sk. *an*-; $\sqrt{\grave{\alpha}\nu}$, origl. and Sk. *an* (blow) in $\check{\alpha}\nu$-$\varepsilon\mu o\varsigma$ (wind)=Lat. *an*-*imus*, cf. Sk. *an*-*ilás* (wind); $\sqrt{\gamma\varepsilon\nu}$ in $\gamma\acute{\varepsilon}\nu$-$o\varsigma$ (race), $\gamma\acute{\iota}$-γ(ε)ν-$o\mu\alpha\iota$ (become)=Lat. *gen*, origl. *gan*; $\sqrt{\mu\varepsilon\nu}$, origl. and Sk. *man* (think) in $\mu\acute{\varepsilon}\nu$-$o\varsigma$ (mind, might)=Sk. *mán*-*as*; 3 pl. vb. -$\nu\tau\iota$ (-$\nu\sigma\iota$)=Sk. and origl. -*nti*, e.g. $\phi\acute{\varepsilon}\rho o\nu\tau\iota$, $\phi\acute{\varepsilon}\rho o\upsilon\sigma\iota$=Sk. and origl. *bháranti*, etc.

Before gutturals in Gk. the nasal becomes guttural, origl. *nk*, *ng*, *ngh*=Gk. $\gamma\kappa$, $\gamma\gamma$, $\gamma\chi$; bef. labials it is labial. Accordingly the radical nasal, origl. *n*, which occurs after the root in the case of certain present-forms, remains, as in $\tau\acute{\varepsilon}\mu$-$\nu\omega$ (I cut; cf. aor. $\check{\varepsilon}$-$\tau\alpha\mu$-$o\nu$), is ν bef. dentt., e.g. $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta$-$\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ (escape notice), cf. $\check{\varepsilon}$-$\lambda\alpha\theta$-$o\nu$; it becomes μ bef. labb., e.g. $\lambda\alpha\mu\beta$-$\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ (take), cf.

ἔ-λαβ-ον; γ bef. gutt., e.g. λαγχ-άνω (get by lot), cf. ἔ-λαχ-ον. § 66. The same interchange is seen besides naturally in compds. where συν- is changed to συμ-, συγ-, according to the quality of the following conson.

Note 1.—√γαμ in γάμ-ος (marry), γαμ-έω (marry), is, like Lith. √*gam* (*gim-ti*, am born, *pri-gim-tìs*, nature, *gam-ìn-ti*, beget, furnish), a further fmn. fr. √γα (γε-γα-ώς), developed early to γε-ν (the meang. 'beget' through that of 'marry'); μ is here not fr. ν in γεν. In γαμ-βρός (son-in-law) for *γαμ-ρο-ς we conjecture a 'popular' etymology fr. γαμ-έω, through which an earlier *γαν-ρο-ς=Lat. *gener*, i.e. **gen-ro-s* (son-in-law), may have passed to *γαμ-ρος; cf. Lith. *žén-ta-s* (son-in-law), f.f. *gan-ta-s*, O. Bulg. *zętĭ* (id.), f.f. *gan-ti-s*, similarly fr. √*gan*; cf. § 75, 2, n.

Note 2.—Ἄλλος (other)=Lat. *alius*, Goth. *alis*, we hold to be unconnected with Sk. *anyá-s* (other), with G. Curt., and see in it a fmn. fr. origl. pron. √*ar*. That such a root existed is proved by st.-fmative sf. *ra* (v. post). Corss. (Krit. Beitr. p. 295 sqq.) divides them thus: *a-li-s*, *a-liu-s*, *ἀ-λyo-ς, because he holds the *a* to represent pron. √*a* (dem. e.g. Sk. gen. sg. masc. nt. *a-syá*), *li*, *lyo*, to be sff. *tā-li-s*, *quā-li-s*.

2. Origl. *m.*=Gk. μ, ν (the latter in termn.), e.g. st. με-, μο-, ἐμε-, ἐμο- (pron. pers. 1)=Lat. *me-*, Germ. *mi-* (in *mi-ch*, *mi-r*), Sk. and origl. *ma-*, thence -μι, pl. -μεν, Dôr. -μες, 1 sg. pl. vb. =origl. and Sk. *-mi*, *-masi* (e.g. εἶ-μι=origl. *ai-mi*, Sk. *é-mi*; ἴ-μεν=Sk. and origl. *i-másі*); μέσσο-ς (μέσος)=*μεθ-yoς (v. post, § 68, 1, e)=Lat. *mediu-s*, Sk. and origl. *mádhya-s*, Goth. *midji-s*; st. μήτερ- (mother), Sk. and origl. *mātár-*; √μεν, μνα, origl. and Sk. *man* (think), in μι-μνή-σκω (remember), μέν-ος (mind, might)=Sk. and origl. *mánas*; μέθυ (intoxicating drink), Sk. and origl. *mádhu*, O.H.G. *mëtu*; ἅμα (together, with), ὁμό-ς= Sk. *sama-s* (similar, like), *sama-m*, *samā* (ὁμοῦ), cf. Lat. *sim-ilis*, *sim-ul*, Goth. *sama* (same); √Fεμ (ἐμέω)=Lat. *uom* in *uom o*, for **uemo*, Lith. *vem* (1 sg. pres. *vem-iù*), Sk. and origl. *vam* (spue, 1 sg. pres. *vám-āmi*). Final *m* becomes ν, e.g. sign of acc. ν=origl. *m*, e.g. τό-ν=Sk. and origl. *ta-m*, cf. Lat. *is-tu-m*; ν=*m* as sf. of 1 pers. sing., e.g. ἔφερο-ν=Sk. and origl. *ábhara-m*.

§ 66. *Note.*—The exx. which are intended to prove medial *ν* to be a representative of origl. *m* (cf. Curt. Gr. Et.[2] p. 476 sqq.) are all doubtful. Thus e.g. *βαίνω* (go) fr. **βαν-γω*, which must not be assigned to Sk. √*gam*, but to √*ga*, comes fr. the common formatives of the present st. *na* and *ya*; in *χθών* (earth), st. *χθον-*, bes. *χθαμαλός* (lowly, on the earth), cf. *χαμαί* (on the earth), Zend st. *zem-* (earth), O. Bulg. *zemya*, *zemlya*, Lith. *zémė* (earth), the *ν* seems to have penetrated inwards from the termn.: so, too, perh. st. *χιόν-* (*χιών*, snow) bes. Lat. *hiem(p)s*, Sk. *hima-s* (snow, cold), Zend st. *zim-*, *zima-* (winter, cold), O. Bulg. *zima-*, Lith. *žëmà* (winter).

§ 67. *r*- and *l*-sounds.

Origl. *r*=Gk. *ρ*, *λ*.

Gk. *ρ*=origl. *r*, e.g. in √*ῥυθ* (be red), Sk. and origl. *rudh*; suff. *-ρο*, Sk. and origl. *-ra*, both in *ἐ-ρυθ-ρό-ς* (red) = Sk. *rudh-irá-s*, Lat. *ruber*, i.e. **rub-ro-s*, origl. *rudh-ra-s*; √*ἀρ* in *ἀρ-όω* (plough), *ἄρ-οτρον* (a plough), cf. Lat. *ar-o*, *ar-atrum*, Goth. *ar-yan*, Lith. *ár-ti*, Scl. *or-ati* (plough); √*ὀρ* in *ὄρ-νυμι* (rise), Lat. *or*, Sk. *ar* in *r-ṇṓmi* (orior); √*ῥυ*, Sk. and origl. *sru*, flow, etc.

Gk. *λ*=origl. *r*, e.g. in √*λυκ* in *λευκ-ός* (white), Lat. *luc*, Germ. *luh*, Sk. *ruk*, origl. *ruk* (shine); √*πολ*, *πλε*, Sk. and origl. *par* (fill), in *πολύς* (many), Sk. *purús* for origl. *parus*, *πίμ-πλη-μι* (fill); *ἐ-λαχύς* (small)=Sk. *laghús*; *δολιχός* (long), Sk. *dīrghás*, Zend *dareghō*, origl. *dargha-s*; *ὅλος* (whole) for **ὁλϜος*, Lat. *sollus* for **soluos*, Sk. *sárva-s*, etc.

§ 68. Some important Sound-laws.

Medial.

1. Assimilation.

a. Perfect assimiln. of a preceding to a following sound; e.g. of *s* to *ν*, *μ* following, *ἕννυμι* (clothe)=**Ϝεσ-νυμι*; Aiol. *ὄρεννος* (mountainous)=**ὀρεσ-νος* fr. *ὄρος* (mountain), st. *ὀρες-* sf. *-νο*; Aiol. *ἔμμι* (am)=**ἐσ-μι*; *εἰ-μί*, *ὀρει-νός*, represent the double cons. by compensatory lengthening. Not unfrequently consonants which were afterwards lost are preserved in

such assimilns., e.g. *περίῤῥυτος* (sea-girt) for **περι-σρυ-το-ς*, *√ῥυ* (flow, *ῥέF-ω*) for **σρυ*, Sk. and origl. *sru*, Germ. *stru* (with inserted *t*), etc.; *ἄῤῥηκτος* (unbreakable, unbroken) for **ἀ-Fρηγ-το-ς*, *√Fραγ* (*Fρήγ-νυμι*, break, *Fρῆξις*, rent, for **Fρηγ-τι-ς*); *φιλομμειδής* (freely smiling) for **φιλο-σμει-δης*, *√μι* for **σμι*, Sk. and origl. *smi*, O. Bulg. *smi*, etc. § 68.

The assimiln. of momentary labb. to following *μ* is well known; e.g. *γράμμα* (writing) for **γραφ-μα* (*γέ-γραμμαι* for **γεγραφ-μαι*, 1 pf. med. fr. *γράφ-ω*, write), etc., and the assimilns. which perh. occur only in compds., e.g. *συλλέγω*, *συῤῥέω*, and the like.

In the commonest of these cases, i.e. in assimiln. of all the dentals (including *ν*) to a following *s*, the double *s* so produced was not tolerated in the later form of lang., even when *s* was medial and followed a short vowel: only the archaic (Hom.) lang. shows such forms as *ποσσί* fr. **ποδ-σι* (loc. pl. fr. st. *ποδ-*, foot); throughout *s* is the only trace of the process of assimiln., not seldom (especially in nom. sing. and where *ντ*, *νδ*, *νθ*, were originally existent) accompanied by compensatory lengthening of precedg. vowels (cf. § 28), in which cases, perh. not common, we must assume an assimiln. of the *ν* by resolution into a vowel-sound. This is a well-known sound-law, to which belong such exx. as loc. pl. *σώμᾰ(τ)-σι*, *πο(δ)-σι*, *κόρῠ(θ)-σι*, *δαίμο(ν)-σι*. The *s* which produces the assimiln. is often unorigl., i.e. has arisen, through the action of a previous sound-law (v. infr.), from *τ*, e.g. *πείσις* (feeling) fr. st. *πενθ-* (cf. *πένθος*, grief) and suff. *-σι-ς* fr. *-τι-ς*. Compensatory lengthening occurs in such cases as *εἰδώς*=**FειδFοτ-ς*, *δαίμων*=**δαιμον-ς*, *φέρουσι*=**φερονσι* fr. *φέροντι*; *ν*+dent. must both be lost before *s*, e.g. *σπείσω* fr. **σπενδ-σω*, *πείσομαι* fr. **πενθ-σομαι*, *τιθείς* fr. **τιθεντ-ς*, *χαρί-εις* fr. **χαρι-Fεντ-ς* (*φέρων*, however, fr. **φεροντ-ς*, v. § 28, 3; *χαρίεσσα* fr. **χαριFετ-ya* [v. e], without compensatory lengthening, because no *ν* was originally there).

Moreover, in this place belong the cases in which the assimiln. takes place together with the loss of the former consonant, e.g.

§ 68. διδάσκω (learn) for *διδαχ-σκω, cf. διδαχ-ή (teaching); λάσκω (cry out, speak) for *λακ-σκω, cf. ἔ-λακ-ον; ἔψευκα for *ἐψευδ-κα fr. ψεύδ-ω (tell lies), etc.

b. Complete assimiln. of a following to a preceding sound.

This kind of assimiln. is, like the former, an especial favourite in the Aiol. dialects, whilst elsewhere, instead of the double consonn., compensatory lengthening (§ 28) of the preceding vowel, or transposn. of *v* and *y* generally occurs. Thus *F*, *y*, and *σ* become assimilated to a preceding liquid, *F* and *y* sometimes to other sounds also, viz. *σ*, *y*, to *τ*, *δ*; e.g. γόννος=γουνός =*γονF-ος, gen. fr. st. γονυ- (knee); st. πολλό- for *πολFο-, a further fmn. through *o*, origl. *a*, fr. st. πολύ- (many), origl. *par-u-*; ἵππος (horse) fr. *ἰπFος, ἰκFος (cf. sideform ἴκκος), origl. *ak-va-s*; κτέννω (kill)=κτείνω=*κτεν-γω; χέρρων=χείρων (worse) =*χερ-γων, etc. In the case of λ*y* the assimiln. has been retained in other diall.; στέλλω (send)=*στελ-γω; ἄλλος (other) =*ἀλγος, Lat. *alius;* except ὀφείλω (owe) fr. *ὀφελγω, and perh. a few others; πτίσσω (peel)=*πτισ-γω (ἔ-πτισ-μαι), cf. Lat. √*pis* in *pinso, pis-tor,* Sk. *piš* (e.g. *pi-náš-ṭi,* Lat. *pinsit*); this does not often happen, *s* usually is lost, and also *y* at a later period, cf. supr. § 65, 1, a, e; πόδ-εσσι fr. *ποδεσFι, -σFι=origl. *-sva,* is termn. of loc. pl., ποδε- is the noun-st. fr. earlier ποδ- (foot); in this case also the later lang. has only one *σ*, e.g. πόλεσι, γλυκέσι, which never disappears from between the two vowels, because it stands for *σσ*. τέτταρες, τέσσαρες (four), fr. *τετFαρες (f.f. *katvāras*), and thence *τεσFαρες is an ex. of *F* assimild. to a mom. sound. *ττ* for *τy*, *θy*, *κy* (apparently *γy*, v. infr. e, *β*), *χy* is produced in the same way, since *κy* first became *τy*, as this sound-change occurs in many langg., and the aspiration (of *θy*, *χy*) becomes lost before *y*.

Thus, e.g. ἐρέττω (I row) fr. *ἐρετ-γω, cf. ἐρετ-μός (oar); ἧττων (less, worse) fr. *ἡτγων for *ἡκ-γων, cf. ἥκ-ιστος (superl.); ἐλάττων (less, smaller) for *ἐλατγων, and the latter for *ἐλαθ-

γων, **ἐλαχ-γων*, cf. *ἐλάχ-ιστος* and *ἐλαχύς* (little). These forms in *ττ* have by-fms. in *σσ* (v. infr. e, *β*), and have not arisen through an unparalleled change of *σσ* into *ττ*, but one produced by a divergence of diall. in the treatment of the same fund-fms. as underlie the fms. in *σσ*. Accordingly, since e.g. *πτίσσω* (v. supr.) stands for **πτισ-γω*, no *t*-sound ever was in existence here, and so no parallel fm. **πτιττω* occurs. § 68.

δδ, initial δ, for *δy*, *γy*, a sound which did not become *δy* until late, is likewise dialectic; e.g. Boiôt. Lak. *Δεύς* for **Δγευς* (*Ζεύς*); Boiôt. *σφάδδω* for **σφαδ-γω* fr. **σφαγ-γω* (*σφάζω*, cut the throat), *√σφαγ* (*ἐ-σφάγ-ην*); *σαλπίδδω* for **σαλπιδ-γω*, **σαλπιγ-γω* (*σαλπίζω*, trumpet); st. *σαλπιγ-* (*σάλπιγζ*, *σάλπιγγ-ος* (trumpet). This also is the explanation of Att. Iôn. *ἔρδω* (do) fr. *√Fεργ* (pf. *ἔοργα*, i.e. *FέFοργα*, *Fέργο-ν*, work), Goth. *vark*, for **Fερδ-γω*, **Fεργ-γω*, from which we ought to have found **Fερζω* acc. to the rule, but this form seems to have been avoided on account of the unpleasant combination *ρζ*, cf. Iôn. *Fρέζω*, Boiôt. *Fρέδδω*=**Fρεγ-γω*, which differs from **Fερδ-γω* merely in transposition from *Fεργ* to *Fρεγ*. So also δ fr. *δy* is produced in place of origl. *y* (v. supr. § 65, c, n.).

The same assimiln. occurs, except in archaic remains such as *ἔρσω*, *ὦρσα*, *χέρσος* (*χέῤῥος*), *θάρσος* (*θάῤῥος*), *πέφανσαι* (which perh. is hardly authenticated), beside medial combinations, as *λσ*, *ρσ*, *νσ*, *μσ*, e.g. Aiol. *ἔστελλα*=*ἔστειλα*=**ἐστελ-σα*; Aiol. *ὀῤῥάτω*=*ὀρσάτω*; Aiol. *ἐγέννατο*=*ἐγείνατο*=**ἐγενσατο*; Aiol. *ἔνεμμα*=*ἔνειμα*=**ἐνεμσα*; thus *ἔφηνα* stands for **ἐφαν-σα* *ἤγγειλα* for **ἠγγελ-σα*, etc. Thus *χήν* (goose), gen. *χην-ός* fr. **χεν-ς*, **χενσ-ος*, cf. Lat. *(h)ans-er*, Sk. *hā-sas*, O.H.G. st. *gansi-*, Lith. *žąsì-s*, O. Bulg. *gąsĭ*; *μήν* (month), Iôn. Aiol. *μείς*, gen. *μην-ός* fr. **μεν-ς*, cf. Lat. *mens-is*, Sk. *mās-* (origl. *ma-nt-*, pres. part. act. *√ma*, measure); *ὄλλυμι* (destroy) stands for **ὀλ-νυμι*.

c. An assimiln. of preceding to following sounds. It is well known that *τ* and *σ* can be preceded only by mute mom. sounds (*λεκ-τός*, *λέκ-σις*, i.e. **λεγ-σις*, *√λεγ*), δ by none

§ 68. but sonant mom. sounds (*γράβ-δην*, √*γραφ*), *θ* by none but aspp. (*λεχ-θῆναι*, √*λεγ*).

Before *ν* labb. pass into their nasals, e.g. *σεμ-νός* (awful) for **σεβ-νος*, cf. *σέβ-ομαι* (I dread), yet they are found, e.g. *ὕπ-νος* (sleep), in opposition to *som-nus* (**sop-nus*).

Bef. labb. *ν* notably passes into the lab. nasal *μ* (e.g. *ἔμ-πειρος* for **ἐν-πειρος*), bef. gutt. into the gutt. nasal *γ* (e.g. *συγ-καλέω* for **συν-καλεω*), cf. § 66, 1.

Bef. *μ* the dentt. *τ*, *δ*, *θ*, often pass into their spirants, e.g. *ἤννυσ-μαι* fr. *ἀνύτ-ω* (bring to pass, finish), *πέ-πεισ-μαι* for **πε-πειθ-μαι*, etc.; yet Iôn. *ὀδ-μή* occurs beside later *ὀσ-μή* (smell), √*ὀδ*; *ἴδ-μεν* (we know) bes. *ἴσ-μεν*; *ἀριθ-μός*, *ἀτ-μός*, *κεκορυθ-μένος*, and others, do not show the change to *σ*.

Further, the change of gutt. *κ*, *χ*, before *μ* into *γ* is well known, e.g. *δόγ-μα*, √*δοκ*; *τέ-τυγ-μαι*, √*τυχ*; yet *χ* often remains, e.g. *δραχμή*. This law was likewise incompletely applied in the earlier (Iôn.) langg., e.g. *ἴκ-μενος*, *ἀκαχ-μένος*.

Sometimes nasals seem to change preceding mom. sounds into aspp., e.g. *λύχ-νος* (light, torch) fr. √*λυκ* (*λευκ-ός*, white), origl. *ruk*; *ἀκ-αχ-μένος* (sharpened, pointed), redupl. √*ἀκ* (be sharp); cf. *ἀκ-ωκ-ή* (point), and others.

The same influence is exercised by *ρ*, *λ*, in many cases, e.g. suff. *-θρο*, *-θλο*, bes. origl. *tra*, Zend *thra* (here the spirants have the force of aspp.), e.g. *βά-θρο-ν* (base), √*βα* (go); *κλεῖ-θρον* (lock), fr. *κλείω*, *κληΐω*, *κλήω* (lock); *θέμε-θλον* (ground-work), etc., bes. *ἄρο-τρο-ν* (plough)=Lat. *arā-tru-m* (*ἀρόω*, I plough), etc.

Before *ι* in stem- and word-formative particles (except in Dôr. dial.) *τ* is changed to *σ*, e.g. *φησί* (he says), Dôr. *φατί*; the *-τι* of 3rd pers. sing. is kept in *ἐσ-τί* (he is); the abstracts in *-σι-ς* for *-τι-ς*, e.g. *φά-σις*, in Hom. and tragg. *φά-τις* (speech); *πέψις* (cookery, √*πεπ*, f.f. *kak*, cook) fr. **πεπ-τι-ς*, f.f. *kak-ti-s*; suff. *ya*, Gk. *-ιο*, forming *-tya*, with stems ending in *t-*, *ta-* (the stem-termn. *a* of *ta* being lost, which is regularly the case bef. suff. *ya*), Gk. *-τιο*, and hence *-σιο*, e.g. fr. *πλοῦτο-ς* (wealth) is

fmd. Dôr. *πλούτ-ιο-ς*, and hence *πλούσιο-ς* (rich); fr. *ἐνιαυτό-ς* § 68.
(year), Dôr. *ἐνιαύτ-ιο-ς*, and hence *ἐνιαύσιο-ς* (yearly); st. *γεροντ-* (n. sing. *γέρων*, old man) with sf. *ya*, Gk. *ια*, makes *γεροντία*, and thence *γερουσία* (senate); f.f. *(d)vikati*, Dôr. *Fίκατι*, *εἴκατι* (perh. fr. **ἐFικατι*), Att. *εἴκοσι* (twenty); from Dôr. *φέροντι*, *τιθέντι* (3 pl.), f.f. *bharanti*, *dadhanti*, come **φερονσι*, **τιθενσι*, and thence by rule (v. supr.) *φέρουσι*, *τιθεῖσι* (Iôn.), etc. Yet in Att. and Iôn. is found *φά-τι-ς* (speech), *√φα*, and the like.

Also bef. *υ* this change of *τ* to *σ* sometimes takes place, thus in *σύ* for Dôr. *τύ* (thou), cf. Lat. and Lith. *tu*; suff. *-συ-νη*, f.f. *-tu-nā*, further fmn. of common abstract sf. *-tu* (*-tv-a*).

d. An assimiln. of following to preceding sounds. *y* in the combn. *dy* is so similar to the preceding dent. sonant *d*, that it becomes a dental sonant spirant (French or Polish *z*), *dy* thus becomes *dz* (acc. to Sclav. or French pronuncn.), written *ζ*, e.g. *Ζεύς* fr. **Δyευς*=Sk. *dyāus* (*√dyu=div*), cf. early Lat. *Diou-is*; Aiol. *ζά*=**δya* for *διά* (through); *ἕζομαι* (sit, seat myself)=**σεδ-yομαι*, *√ἑδ=σεδ*; *σχίζω* (split) for **σχιδ-yω*, *√σχιδ*; *τρά-πεζα* (table) for **τετρα-πεδ-ya* (four-footed), cf. Lat. st. *ped-* (*pes*, *ped-is*, foot), etc.

Here belongs the aspiration of origly. unaspirated consonn. through influence of preceding prolonged-(liquid) sounds. In Greek this influence is especially exercised by *s*, cf. Sk. § 52: i.e. **σχιδ-yω*, *σχίδ-η* (splinter), *√σχιδ*, for and bes. *√σκιδ* in *σκίδ-νημι* (divide, scatter), cf. Lat. *scid* in *scindo*, Goth. *skid* in *skaida* (cut), Sk. *ḱhid*, i.e. origl. *skid*, in *ḱhi-ná-d-mi* (slit); *πάσχω* (suffer) for **πα-σκω* or perh. **παν-σκω*, *√πα* in *πα-θ* (*ἔ-παθ-ον*), and *πε-ν*, *πέν-ομαι* (endure, tire myself), further formations in *θ* and *ν*; the *σ* sometimes disappears before the aspp. which it has called into existence, e.g. *ἔρχομαι* (come), for **ἐρ-σχομαι*, *ἐρ-σκομαι*, *√ἐρ* (come, go), cf. Sk. *rḱkhāmi*, also *árḱhāmi=*ἐρχω*, origl. 1 sing. act. *ar-skā-mi*, med. *ar-ska-mai*; *κρῑθή* (spelt) for **χρῑθη* (cf. § 64, sub fine, and 2 infr.), and this for **χρισθη*, **χριστη*, cf. O.H.G. *gërsta*, etc.

§ 68. The nasals also seem to have this aspirating effect sometimes, e.g. Boiôt. *-νθι* for *-ντι*, 3 p. pl. act. vb.; *ὀμφ-ή* (voice) for **Fομπ-η* fr. √*Fεπ*, origl. *vak* (speak); *ἐγχ-ος* (nt. spear) fr. √*ἀκ* (be sharp), cf. *ἄκ-οντ-* (*ἄκων*, javelin).

Perh. *ρ*, *λ*, are the cause of aspiration in *τρέφ-ω* (nourish), which thus by assumption may be for **τερφω* bes. *τέρπω* (sate, delight, cf. *τέρπεσθαι ἐδητύος*), Sk. *tarp* (be sated, delighted), Lith. *tàrp-ti* (thrive); *πλάθ-ανος*, *πλαθ-άνη* (flat cake), bes. *πλατ-ύς* (broad), Lith. *plat-ùs*, etc., *πλάτ-η* (plate, oar-blade). Concerning 'unorigl. aspiration,' cf. G. Curt. Gr. Et.[2] p. 439 sqq.

e. Mutual assimilation (complete or partial) of two sounds, each affecting the other.

a. *γy* becomes *ζ=dz* (v. d supr.), as *γ* bef. *y* becomes *d*, *y* after *d* becomes *z*, e.g. *κράζω* (cry), i.e. **kradzō* fr. **κραδyω*, and this fr. **κραγ-yω*, √*κραγ*, cf. *κέ-κρᾱγ-α*; *ἄζομαι* (dread) fr. **ἀγ-yομαι*, cf. *ἅγ-ιος* (holy); *μέζων*, *μείζων* (greater), the latter having, moreover, *y* transferred to the preceding syll. (cf. § 26), fr. **μεγ-yων*, cf. *μεγ-άλη*, *μέγ-ας* (great), etc.

In *νίζω* (wash) bes. *χέρ-νιβ-ος* (*χέρνιψ*, water for handwashing), *νίπτω* (wash)=**νιβ-τω*, the earlier root-fm. *nig*, Sk. *niǵ*, is retained (cf. § 63). *Λάζομαι* (grasp) bes. *λαμβάνω* (take) is obscure, unless it be the unique ex. of *ζ=βy*, formed perh. on the analogy of the common fms. in *-αζω*, *-αζομαι*.

β. *τy*, *θy*, *κy*, *χy*, become *σσ*; in *τy* and *θy*, *y* perh. became the dent. mute spir. *s*, after dental mutes, whereby arose *τς*, *θσ*, then the preceding mute dentt. assimilated themselves to this *σ*; because *σσ=τy*, *θy*, also in Dôr., we must not assume that *τy* (*θy*) passed next into *σy*, as *τι* into *σι* (v. sup. c), and this *σy* into *σσ* by rule (b), for in Dôr. *τ* remains before *ι*; *κy*, *χy*, became firstly *ty*, *thy*, as of course gutt. so often pass into dentt. bef. *y*, and then these sounds became *σσ* in the way above described; e.g. *ἐρέσσω* (row) fr. **ἐρετ-yω*, cf. *ἐρετ-μός*; *κρέσσων*, *κρείσσων* (stronger, better), with transposn. of *y* (cf.

μέζων, μείζων), fr. *κρετ-γων, cf. κράτ-ιστος; κορύσσω (I arm) § 68. fr. *κορυθ-γω, cf. κε-κόρυθ-μαι; βάσσων for *βαθ-γων, cf. βαθ-ύς (deep); πίσσα (pitch)=*πικ-γα, cf. *pix, pic-is*; ἧσσων (less, worse) for *ἡκ-γων, cf. ἥκ-ιστος; ἐ-λάσσων (smaller) for *ἐ-λαχ-γων, cf. ἐ-λάχ-ιστος, ἐ-λαχ-ύς, Sk. *lagh-ús*.

Not unfrequently σσ has apparently arisen from γγ: in these cases thus much is clear, that in the older state of langg. a fundamental κ is always found still preserved, and that this κ was not softened to γ till a later period, after κy had been incorporated into a fixed group of sounds; e.g. πλήσσω (strike) bes. πέπληγον, πληγή (blow), but origl. √πλακ, cf. πλάξ, πλακ-ός (flat, plate), Teut. *flah*, Lith. *plàk-ti* (strike), whence *plók-sztas* (flat, adj.); φράσσω (inclose)=*φρακ-γω, but ἐ-φράγ-ην with softening of κ to γ, cf. Lat. *farc-io*, etc. Cf. supr. § 62.

Note 1.—βράσσων must be assigned to βραχ-ύς (short), not to βραδ-ύς (slow); so G. Curt. Gr. Et.[2] p. 600.

Note 2.—Likewise we mentioned in § 62, above, that κy is still preserved in cases such as πέσσω (cook) bes. πέψω, πέπων (ripe); ὄσσα (voice) bes. ἔπος; ὄσσε (eyes) and ὄσσομαι (see) bes. ὄψομαι (*πεκ-γω, Sk. *pak*, Lat. *coc*; ὄσσα=*Fοκγα, √Fεκ, √Fοκ, origl. *vak*; ὄσσε=*ὀκ-γε, ὄσσομαι=*ὀκγομαι, √ὀκ, origl. *ak*, cf. *oc-ulus*, Lith. *ak-ìs*).

f. Apparent insertion of a consonant between two concurrent consonants. νρ and μρ, also μλ, as in other langg. (e.g. French *gen-d-re* fr. Lat. *gener, generum, *genrum*; *nombre* fr. Lat. *numerus, *numrus*; *humble* fr. Lat. *humilis, *humlis*), become νδρ, μβρ, μβλ, i.e. *n* and *m* thereby are joined with follg. *r* and *l*, in an easier combination, because they preserve the extremities of momentary consonn.; *n* becomes *nd*, *m* becomes *mb*, to which the subsequent *r*- or *l*-sound was merely lightly joined; e.g. ἀν-δ-ρ-ός for *ἀνρ-ος, gen. st. ἀνερ- (man); μεσ-ημ-β-ρία (mid-day) for *-ημ-ρια, cf. ἡμέρα (day); ἄ-μ-β-ροτος (deathless) for *ἀ-μρο-τος, √μρο=Lat. *mor* (mori); μέ-μβλω-κα (pf.) for *με-μλω-κα, fr. μολ-εῖν (go, come), √μολ, μλο; in βροτός the μ has fallen away from bef. β, βροτός stands for

§ 68. *μβροτος (preserved in ἄ-μβροτος), and this for *μρο-τος, past part. from √*mar*, *mra* (mori), cf. Sk. *mar-ta-s* (a mortal, man, Rigved. I. 84, 8, acc. to Kuhn, Beitr. iii. 236); the same process takes place in βλίττω (cut honey) for *μβλιττω, fr. *μελιτ-γω, st. μελιτ- (μέλι, honey); βλώσκω (go, come) for *μβλωσκω fr. *μλωσκω, √μολ in μολ-εῖν, etc.

Note.—In πτόλις, and such like cases, bes. πόλις (city), cf. Sk. *puram*, *purī*, √*par* (fill); πτόλεμος bes. πόλεμος (war), cf. πελεμίζω (brandish), and Lat. *pello*; πτίσσω (peel)=*πτισ-γω for *πισγω, √πις=Lat. *pis* (pinso), Sk. *piš*, πτ stands for π without any visible cause. They seem to be dialectic fms.

g. The ejection of *s* from between consonn., e.g. τέτυφ-(σ)θε, is well known.

Loss of *s* between vowels is treated of § 65. In like cases τ also disappears, but not so often; e.g. κέρως for κέρατ-ος (gen. sing. st. κερατ-, horn); φέρει (3 sing. pres. act.) fr. *φερε-τι, origl. *bhara-ti*. The dent. nasal also is subject to similar decay in known cases, e.g. μείζους for μείζον-ες (n. pl. masc. fem. st. μειζον-, greater).

h. Transposition, as in θάρσος bes. θράσος, δέδορκα bes. ἔδρακον: it is not easy to ascertain which arrangement is here the primitive one.

Note.—τέ-θνη-κα bes. ἔ-θαν-ον, and the like, are primitive deviations from root-fms., and must not be treated according to Gk. sound-laws. Cf. 'root-formation.'

2. Dissimilation. Here belong the known changes of mom. dent. bef. τ and θ to σ, so as to facilitate pronunciation; this change is found in Eran. Lat. and Sclavo-germ. also, e.g. ἀνυσ-τός fr. ἀνύτ-ω; ᾰ̓σ-τέον fr. ᾰ̓δ-ω; πεισ-θῆναι fr. πείθ-ω; πισ-τός for *πιθ-τος, etc.

Sometimes two consecutive aspp. are avoided by changing the former or latter into an unasp. conson., e.g. ἐ-τέ-θην, ἐ-τύ-θην, for *ἐ-θε-θην, *ἐ-θυ-θην, √θε, θυ, cf. τί-θη-μι, θύω; σώ-θη-τι for *σω-θη-θι, the termn. of 2 p. sing. imp. is -θι, origl. *dhi*, cf.

κλῦ-θι, origl. *kru-dhi*, etc. This change scarcely ever takes place except in the case of θ (in φ and χ perh. only in compds., e.g. ἀμπ-έχω, ἐκε-χειρία). § 68.

For a similar phenomenon in the case of root-fms., which origly. began and ended with aspp., v. supr. § 64, sub fine).

Moreover, the attempt to avoid pronouncing similar sounds close together causes the contraction of two similar or like consonn. into one, by means of evaporation of the vowel that lies between them, e.g. τράπεζα (table) for *τετρά-πεζα (four-footed); τέτραχμον for earlier τετρά-δραχμον (four-drachm piece); ἀμφορεύς (two-handled jug) for earlier ἀμφι-φορεύς, etc.

3. The aspirates. Whenever by sound-laws aspp. which terminate a root become unasp. consonn., the aspiration falls back upon the τ which begins the root; the same change takes place when θ follows upon the root-termn., notwithstanding that the asp. remains before θ, e.g. st. τριχ-, cf. τριχ-ός, but *θρικ-ς, i.e. θρίξ (hair); τρέχ-ω (run), but θρέξομαι; τύφω (fume), but θύψω; τρέφ-ω (nourish), but ἐθρέφθην, etc. In cases like the last mentioned the aspiration before the θ appeared to the Greek instinct for language to be caused by it (the θ), and similarly also where the aspiration occurs in the case of e.g. π, β; accordingly the sound that ended the root was only characterized as aspirate by the retrogression of the aspiration upon the initial conson.

For the law by which, in the case of roots which origly. began and ended in aspp., the initial consonn. lost their aspiration, v. supr. § 64, sub fine.

4. Law of Reduplication. Of two initial consonn. the former only was admissible into the syll. of redupln.,—hence the aspp. are redupld. through their first element alone (χ, i.e. *kh*, through κ; θ, i.e. *th*, through τ; φ, i.e. *ph*, through π)—e.g. ἵ-στη-μι (set), i.e. *σι-στη-μι for *sti-stā-mi*; γέ-γραφ-α (have written) for *γρε-γραφ-α; πέ-φυ-κα (have been born) for *φε-φυ-κα;

§ 68. *τί-θη-μι* (place) for **θι-θη-μι*; *κί-χρη-μι* (lend, borrow) for **χι-χρη-μι*, and this for **χρι-χρη-μι*, etc.

In the case of more consonantal combinations, the first consonant also falls away, so that instead of redupln., only a vowel appears, e.g. *ἔ-γνω-κα* (have learnt) for **γε-γνω-κα*; *ἔ-κτον-α* (have killed) for **κε-κτον-α*, etc. Cf. Sk. redupln., § 59.

§ 69. TERMINATION.

The only consonn. tolerated *in fine* in Gk. were ς and *ν* (generally fr. *μ*; this is also the case in the N. European langg. of the Teut. stem), e.g. *πόσι-ς*, origl. *pati-s*; *πόσι-ν*, origl. *pati-m*; and further *ρ* also, e.g. *πάτερ*, voc. f.f. *patar*, n. sing. *πατήρ*, f.f. *patars* (*κ* is found only in *ἐκ*, shortened fr. *ἐξ* 'out,' and in *οὐκ* 'not,' which likewise is prob. a shortened fm.). Other conson. were either cast off, or changed into ς or *ν*.

Thus the frequent final *t* of Indo-Eur. is thrown off in Gk. (cf. Lat. *nouō* fr. *nouōd*, origl. *navāt*, abl. sing.), or changed to ς, e.g. *τό* (the, neut.), Sk. and origl. *ta-t*, Lat. *(is)-tu-d*, Goth. *tha-t-a*; *ἔφερε* (3 sg. impf.), Sk. and origl. *ábharat*; *ἔφυ* (3 sg. aor.), Sk. *ábhūt*; *ἔφερον* (3 pl. impf.), origl. *abharant*; *φέρον* (acc. sg. neut. pres. part. act.) for **φεροντ*; *τέρας* (wonder, sign) for **τερατ*, cf. gen. *τέρατ-ος*; *εἰδός* (neut. pres. part. act. 'knowing') for **εἰδϜοτ*, cf. gen. *εἰδότ-ος*, etc. In consequence of loss of final *ι*, *θ* became final; when this occurred, *θ* also became ς, e.g. *δός* (give) fr. **δοθ* for **δο-θι*, origl. *da-dhi* (imper. aor. √*δο*, origl. *da*, dare). *δ* drops off: *παῖ* (voc.) for **παιδ* (n. sg. *παῖς*, child); so also *κ* in *γύναι* (voc. woman) for **γυναικ* (cf. e.g. gen. *γυναικ-ός*); *κτ* in *ἄνα* (voc.) for **ἀνακτ* (*ἄναξ*, gen. *ἄνακτ-ος*, lord), *γάλα* (n. acc. milk) for **γαλακτ* (e.g. gen. *γάλακτ-ος*), etc. From *ντ* only *τ* is lost, e.g. *γέρον* (voc. fr. n. *γέρων* for **γεροντ-ς*, gen. *γέροντ-ος*, old man) for **γεροντ*.

The final *m* so common in Indo-Eur., esp. as sign of acc. and element of 1st sing. of vb., is usually replaced by *ν* in Gk., e.g. *πόσι-ν*, Sk. and f.f. *páti-m*; *νέϜο-ν*, Sk. and f.f. *náva-m*; *ἔφερο-ν*

(1 sing.), f.f. and Sk. *ábhara-m*, etc. More rarely it coalesced with the precedg. vowel; this is probably the reason why precdg. *a* was lengthened, and hence also in the above lang. it remained as *ă*, and did not change into ε, e.g. *πατέρ-α*=**πατερ-ᾱ* fr. **πατερ-αν*, f.f. *patar-am*; *ἔδειξα* (1 sg. aor.)=**ἐ-δεικ-σᾱ*, f.f. of termn. *-sa-m*, cf. Sk. *á-dik-šam*; *δέκα*, cf. Lat. *decem*, Sk. *dáçan-*, etc. § 69.

Where there are more than one consonn. of which *s* is the last, the last *s* is cast off regularly, in the n. sing. generally, with compensatory lengthening, e.g. *φέρων* for **φεροντ-ς*, *μήτηρ* for **μητερ-ς*, *ποιμήν* for **ποιμεν-ς*, *εὐμενής* for **εὐμενες-ς*; yet *s* is retained also, as e.g. in *τιθείς*, *διδούς*, etc., fr. **τιθεντ-ς*, **διδοντ-ς*, and, in known cases, the foregoing sounds also, e.g. *φάλαγξ* (gen. *φάλαγγ-ος*, phalanx), *λύγξ* (gen. *λυγκ-ός*, cough), *φλόξ* (gen. *φλογ-ός*, flame), *ὄψ* (gen. *ὀπ-ός*, voice); even *ἕλμινς* for **ἑλμινθ-ς* (gen. *ἕλμινθ-ος*, intestine worm), *πείριν-ς* for **πειρινθ-ς* (gen. *πείρινθ-ος*, hamper), *ἅλς* (gen. *ἁλ-ός*, salt), which end in displeasing combinations.

The well-known *ν ἐφελκυστικόν* is no relic of an earlier state of the lang., but a peculiar and late phenomenon in Gk., e.g. *ἔφερε-ν*, Sk. and f.f. *ábharat* (3 sg. impf.); in these cases the *ν* does not appear, therefore, until the origl. *t* had already been lost, and the feeling for lang. had become accustomed to treat the form as ending in vowel; *φέρουσι-ν*, Sk. and f.f. *bháranti* (3 pl. pres.); *ποσσί-ν*, f.f. *pad-svi* (loc. pl.).

On the 1st pers. pl. of the vb. this *ν* has taken firm hold; the f.f. of this termn. is *-masi*, hence rose *-mas*, which is kept in Dôr. *-μες*; through the loss of final *s*—which occurs here and there even in Gk. (in Lat. it is notoriously common), e.g. in *οὕτω* bes. and for *οὕτως* (thus)—fr. *-μες* arose **-με*, and upon this was grafted *ν*, at first prob. ephelkustik, and thus was produced *-μεν*, e.g. Sk. and origl. *bhárāmasi*, hence Sk. *bhárāmas*, Gk. (Dôr.) *φέρομες*, **φερομε*, *φέρομε-ν* (we must not think of a change of *s* to *n* in this case, any more than elsewhere throughout the range of the Indo-Eur. lang.).

§ 70. CONSONANTS IN LATIN.

The table of consonn. is to be found in § 30.

The Lat. lang. is esp. characterized by lack of the aspp., which were represented by the corresponding unaspirated sonants, and by unorigl. spirants *f*, *h*; the latter in such a way that *f* (repres. by *b*, in medio) may stand for any origl. asp., *h* almost exclusively=origl. *gh*.

k (written *c*, *q*) remains always unchanged, but here and there drops away in initio; it does not become *p* or *t*, as in the other Indo-Eur. langg. The origl. spirants *y*, *s*, *v*, are generally retained, though *s* very often passes into *r*, and *y* and *v* often drop out, and are interchanged with *i* and *u*.

The consonn. are subject to numerous sound-laws: assimilation; dissimilation; change from *t* to *s*; from *s* to *r*; medial, initial, and final loss (the latter in a still higher degree in archaic Lat.)—all remove the consonantal system of Lat. widely from the origl. condition of the Indo-Eur. lang.

§ 71. EXAMPLES.

Origl. mom. mute unaspirated consonn.

1. Origl. *k*=Lat. *k*, i.e. *c*, *q*. Origl. *k* often attaches to itself a *v*, by a sound-law not yet understood (cf. Goth.). The written character, with a few archaic exceptions, represents *k* by *c*; before *u* (when other vowels follow = *v*) *k* is represented by its equivalent *q* (at an earlier period also before the *u* which forms the syll., e.g. *pequnia*), e.g. √*coc* in *coc-tus*, *coqu-o* (cook), origl. *kak*, cf. Gk. πεπ, Sk. *pak̑*; *quinque* (five), origl. *kankan*, cf. Gk. πέντε; √*quo* in *quo-d* (which), etc., origl. *ka*, cf. Gk. πο, earlier κο; *-que* (and), Sk. *-k̑a*, origl. *ka*, cf. Gk. τε; *quatuor* (four) for **quatuores*, origl. *katvāras*, cf. Gk. τέτταρες; st. *cord-* in *cor* (heart) for **cord*, gen. *cord-is*, origl. *kard*, cf. Gk. κραδ-ία; √*qui* in *qui-s*, *qui-d* (what), origl. *ki*, cf. Gk. τί-ς, τί; √*qui* in *qui-es* (rest), origl. *ki*, cf. Gk. κι in κεῖ-ται; √*clu* in *clu-o* (hear),

in-clu-tus (famed), origl. *kru*, cf. Gk. *κλυ*; *√scid* in *scindo* (split), § 71. origl. *skid*, cf. Gk. *σχιδ*; *canis* (hound) for **cvan-is*, origl. *kvan-s*, cf. Gk. *κύων*, *κυν-ός*; *√dic* in *deic-o*, *dīc-o* (say), *-dĭc-us* (saying), origl. *dik*, cf. Gk. *δικ* in *δείκ-νυμι*; *decem* (ten), origl. *dakan*, cf. Gk. *δέκα*; *√luc* in *lūc-eo* (shine), *louc-em*, *lūc-em* (n. lux, light), origl. *ruk*, cf. Gk. *λυκ*; *√loc* in *loc-utus*, *loqu-i* (speak), origl. *rak*, cf. Gk. *λακ*; *√uoc* for **uec* in *uōc-em* (n. uox, voice), *uoc-are* (call), origl. *vak*, cf. Gk. *Fεπ*; suff. *-co*, fem. *-ca*, origl. *-ka*, fem. *-kā*, e.g. *ciui-cu-s*, *uni-cu-s*, cf. Gk. *-κο-ς*, etc.

In Lat. as in Gk. (cf. § 62) *k* is sometimes softened into *g*, e.g. *ui-gin-ti*, *tri-gin-ta*, bes. *ui-cen-sumus*, *tri-cen-sumus* (*uigesimus*, *trigesimus*, cf. *εἴ-κο-σι*, *τριά-κον-τα*), *-gin-*, *-cen-*, is here a relic of *(de)cem*, f.f. *dakan*; *neg-otium*=**nec-otium*; *gubernator* bes. *κυβερνήτης*, etc.

Note 1.—This is prob. the case also in *glōria* (glory) for **clōria*, **clōsia*, a further fmn. of st. **clōs-* for **clouos-*, **cleuos-*=Gk. *κλεFες-*, Sk. *çrávas-* (glory), Sclav. *sloves-* (n. acc. *slovo*, word), root origly. *kru* (hear), as Sk. *çravas-ya-* (famous), *cravas-yā* (famousness, Kuhn, Zeitschr. iii. 398), yet the *ō* is strange, for we should have expected *ū*, cf. *in-iūria*=**ious-ia*, fr. *ious*, *iūs*, a further fm. fr. **iouos*, **ieuos*.

Note 2.—The pronunciation of *c* bef. *i* became, as in other langg., that of palat. *ḱ* (perh. like Germ. *k* in *kind*): the preference for *c* before *i*, where another vowel follows, was the stronger, because in these cases *i* was nearly the same as *y*, so that the combinations *cio*, *ciu*, etc., were not only sounded like *ḱio*, *ḱiu*, but tolerably early (precisely as in other langg. also) were pronounced *tyo*, *tyu* (Ital. *cio*, *ciu*), whence arose the common fluctuation in writing about the end of the second or the beginning of the third century A.D. (Corss. Krit. Nachtr. p. 48). The change of *i*, *y*, after *t*, into *s*, *š* (*tyo*=*tšo*), does not occur till the Romance period.

Note 3.—In the pronoml. stems, *hi-*, *ho-* (*hi-nc*, *ho-nc*), notwithstanding the regularly corresponding Sk. **ghi-*, *gha-* (in *hi*, then, *ha*, *gha*, important particles), ought not prob. to be separated from Goth. *hi-*, *hva-*, Sclav. *sĭ-*, *kŭ-*, Lith. *szi-*, *ka-*, i.e. origl. *ki-*, *ka-*, on account of the perfect similarity of their functions; further, in *√hab* in *hab-eo*, *hab-ēs*=Goth. *hab-a*, *hab-ais* (I have, thou hast), cf. Osk. *hip-ust* (habuerit), *haf-iest* (habebit),

§ 71. whose initial conson. is, as in Goth., *k* (Goth. √*hab* also corresponds to Lat. √*cap* in *cap-io*); Lat. *h* seems to be origl. *k*, a permutation which is found sporadically in Sk. *hrd-*, *hṛd-aya-* (heart)=origl. *kard-* (cf. Lat. *cord-*, Gk. καρδ-ία, Goth. *haírt-ō*) [the antiquity of this *h* in Aryan is shown by Zend *zeredhaēm* =Sk. *hṛdayam*]. With Bopp, therefore, I now hold the Lat. pron. stems *hi-*, *ho-*, to be parallel-fms. to origl. *ki-*, *ka-*, regularly represented in Lat. by *qui-*, *ci-*, *quo-*, *cu-* (*qui-s*, *ci-tra*, *quo-d*, *cu-ius*, used as interrog. and relat.), and so, too, √*hab* in *hab-ēre*, as a parallel-fm. to *cap* in *cap-ere*, for Goth. *b* can be= origl. *p*, and *b* may possibly arise in Lat. through softening from *p* (*bibo*, drink,=origl. *papāmi*). The correspondence of Lat. *h* to Goth. *h* remains none the less remarkable, but esp. the conformity of the two langg. as regards *habēre*, whose perfect identity, nevertheless, no one denies. But we must not suppose words were borrowed in either case. Other views are found in Corss. Krit. Nachtr., p. 89 sqq.; Comp., 1st ed., p. 715.

Note 4.—Accordingly *p* is not in Lat.=origl. *k* (but cf. Osk. and Umbr.); words in which *p* seems=origl. *k* are therefore borrowed. Thus *Petronius*, *Epona*, are Keltic, cf. Lat. *quatuor*, *equos*; *popina* is Osk., cf. Lat. *coquina*, *coquere*; *palumbes*, bes. Lat. *columba*, must prob. be derived fr. Osk., and *limpidus*, too, bes. *liquidus*, must be a dialectic, and not originally a Roman by-form, in which case both words, as is often maintained, were identical; if *lupus* is really=Gk. λύκος, it must therefore also be attributed to Osk., Sab., or Umb., but beyond doubt it belongs to Zend; *u-rup-i-s*, *raop-i-s* (name of wild beasts of the breed of dogs), √*rup*, *lup* (rend, cf. Spiegel, Zeitschr. xiii. 366); *sap-io* (taste of), *sap-iens* (wise), does not belong to *sucus*, Gk. ὀπός (sap), but to O.H.G. √*sab* (understand, pf. *int-suab*; Mid. H. G. pres. *ent-sebe*, pf. *ent-suop*), Gk. σοφ-ός (wise), σαφ-ής (intelligible, clear), with unorigl. asp. (v. supr. § 62, 3, n. 2); *saep-io* (hedge in), *prae-saep-e* (crib, stall), does not agree with Gk. σηκό-ς even in root-vowel (Lat. *ae*=*ai*, Gk. η=ā); *trepit* (vertit; Paul. Ep., 367; Curt. Gr. Et.[2] 411) seems to be borrowed from Gk. τρέπει.

2. Origl. *t*=Lat. *t*; e.g. in *tu* (thou), origl. *tu*, cf. Gk. τύ, σύ; √*to* in *is-tu-d* (dem.), origl. *ta*, *ta-t*, cf. Gk. τό; √*ten* in *ten-tus* (held, stretched), *ten-or* (holding, length), *ten-eo* (hold), *ten-do* (stretch), origl. *tan*, cf. Gk. τα, τεν; st. *tri-* (three) in *trēs*, *trīs*, *treis*, origl. *tri-*, cf. Gk. τρι- in τρεῖς; √*sta* (stand) in *sta-tus*,

sta-re, origl. *sta*, Gk. στα; √*teg* (cover), origl. *stag*, Gk. στεγ; § 71. √*pet* in *pet-o* (make for), *im-pet-us* (onset), *penna* fr. *pes-na*, **pet-na*, origl. *pat* (fly, fall), cf. Gk. πετ; √*uert* in *uert-ere* (turn), origl. *vart*; suff. *-to*, fem. *-ta*=*-tā*, cf. Gk. *-τό-*, *-τη*, e.g. in *da-tu-s*, origl. *da-ta-s*, Gk. δο-τό-ς; *-t*, 3 p. sing., *-nt*, 3 pl. vb., origl. *-ti*, *-nti*, cf. Gk. *-τι*, *-ντι*, e.g. *fer-t*, *fero-nt(i)*, Sk. and origl. *bhára-ti*, *bhára-nti*, Gk. φέρε-(τ)ι, φέρο-ντι, etc.

Note 1.—On final *t*, cf. § 79: for Lat. *br*=Gk. θρ, origl. *tr*, § 77, 1, c.

Note 2.—The change fr. τι bef. vowels to *ts* (*z*) occurs first in Romance langg.

3. Origl. *p*=Lat. *p*, e.g. √*po* in *po-tus* (drink), origl. *pa*, cf. Gk. πο in πό-σις; in *bi-bo* (drink), f.f. *pa-pāmi*, *p* has been softened into *b*, a change occurring also in other isolated cases (cf. Corss. Krit. Nachtr. p. 176 sqq.); **po-ti-s* in *impos*, *compos*, *im-po-tem*, *com-po-tem* (unable, able), *po-t-est* (he can), *-po-te*, *-pte* (a noticeable affixed particle, e.g. *ut-pote*, *suo-pte*), Sk. and origl. *pá-ti-s* (lord), Gk. πό-σι-ς, origl. √*pa* (protect); *pa-ter* (father), origl. *pa-tar-s*, cf. Gk. πα-τήρ, same root; √*ple* in *plē-nus* (full), origl. *par*, *pra*, cf. Gk. πλε; *ped-is* (gen.; n. *pes*, foot), Sk. and origl. *pad-ás*, cf. Gk. ποδ-ός; √*spec* in *spec-io*, *spic-io* (see), *spec-ies* (appearance), Sk. *paç* for **spaç*, O.H.G. *spah* (in *spëh-ōn*, espy, *spāh-i*, shrewd), origl. *spak*; √*tep* in *tep-eo* (am warm), *tep-or* (warmth), Sk. and origl. *tap*; √*sop* in *sop-ire* (make sleepy), *som-nus* (sleep) for **sop-nus*, Sk. and origl. *svap*, cf. Gk. ὑπ-, etc.

Note.—√*flu*, *flug* (*fluc-tus*), a later and further fmn. fr. *flu*, in **flou-o*, *flu-o* (flow), does not belong to πλυ, Sk. *plu*, Sclav. *plu*, etc., for Lat. *f* is not=origl. *p*: this root is represented by Lat. *plu* (*plu-it*, i.e. **plou-it*, it rains); perh. Lat. *flu* is to be placed beside Gk. φλύ-ω (swell, overflow), οἰνό-φλυξ, *-φλυγ-ος*; so Curt. Gr. Et.[2] 271; we can scarcely take *flu* for **sflu*, and this for **sθlu* fr. **stru* for *sru* (flow), with Ad. Kuhn (Zeitschr. xiv. 223); in the latter case Lat. *fluo*, i.e. **flouo*, stands equal to Sk. *srávāmi*, Gk. ῥέϝω; *flu-men* for **sθroumen*, **sθreumen*, essentially =ῥεῦμα for **σρευμα*, O.H.G. *strou-m*, Pol. *strumień* (running stream).

§ 72. **Momentary sonant unasp. consonants.**

1. Origl. *g*=Lat. *g, gv (gu), v.*

Lat. *g*=origl. *g*, e.g. √*gen* in *gi-g(e)n-o* (beget), *gen-us* (race), *gna* in *gnā-tus* (one born, son), origl. *gan*, cf. Gk. γεν; √*gno* in *gnō-sco* (learn), *gnō-tus* (known), origl. *gna*, transposed fr. *gan*, cf. Gk. γνο in γι-γνώ-σκω; *genu* (knee), cf. Gk. γόνυ, Sk. *ǵā́nu*, Goth. *kniu*; √*ag* in *ago* (drive), origl. *ag*, pres. *ag-āmi*, Gk. ἀγ in ἄγ-ω; √*iug* in *iugum* (yoke), *iung-o* (join), Sk. *yuǵ, yug*, origl. *yug*, cf. Gk. ζυγ, etc.

Lat. *gv (gu)*=origl. *g*. As origl. *k* developed into *qu (kv)*, so also *g* (=origl. *g* and *gh*, cf. § 73, 1) into *gv*: this *gv* is, however, retained only after *n*; it also occurs after *r*, bes. *g*, in *urgueo* bes. *urgeo* (urge), √*urg*, origl. *varg*, cf. Sk. *varǵ* (shut out), Lith. *vèrž-ti* (urge). Between vowels this *g* has become assimilated to the *v* (without lengthening of a previous short syll.), so that the *v* alone therefore remains. In this way it happens that Lat. *v* betw. vowels may be origl. *g* and *gh*, e.g. √*uig* for **guig*, cf. Germ. *quick* in *uixi* (pf.)=**uig-si*, *uic-tus* (diet)=**uig-tus*, but *ūu-os* (alive), *ūu-o* (live) for **uigu-os*, **uigu-o*. For further exx. of this interchange of sound v. sub '*gh*' (v. Corss. Krit. Beitr., p. 68, on interchange of *g* and *gv* in Lat.).

Note 1.—*fluxi, fluc-tus, con-flūg-es* (confluence), bes. *fluo*, i.e. **flou-o* (flow), show indeed a further fmn. of √*flu* to *flug*, as Gk. φλυ to φλυγ (§ 71, 3 n.); we see, however, no ground for the assumption that *fluo*, **flou-o*, together with *fluu-ius* (river), have passed through fms. **flogu-o*, **flugu-ium* (Corss. Ausspr. etc., i.[1] 44). In this case the root-fm. is preserved without *g*.

Note 2.—Cf. exx. cited under *gh*, § 73, 1, and sound-laws, § 77, 1. a.

Note 3.—In *bos, bouis* (ox)=Gk. βοῦς, βοFός=Sk. *gāus* (gen. *gōs* prob. represents origl. *gav-as*), cf. O.H.G. *chuō*, *b*=origl. *g*, a correspondence of conson. otherwise foreign to Lat.; accordingly the word is probably borrowed. G. Curt. Gr. Et.[2] nos. 639, 642, brings forward *super-bus, super-bia* (proud, pride), which he takes to stand for **super-bios*, as=Gk. ὑπέρ-βιος (overween-

ing), *-βία* (presumption), *-βιος* however=Sk. *ǵi*, pres. *ǵáy-āmi* § 72. (triumph), f.f. *gi*; *bo-ere*, *bou-are* (cry, sound), *re-bo-are* (resound), with Gk. *βο-ή* (call, cry) fr. Sk. √*gu* (let sound), Old Bulg. *gov-orŭ* (noise); *super-bus* is, however, not precisely similar to *ὑπέρ-βιος*, a word compounded according to Gk. principles (for we should then be obliged to consider it borrowed), but rather a special Lat. fmn. like *acer-bus*, *mor-bus* (Corss. Krit. Beitr. 61), and *boare* with *βοή* need not by any means be referred to Sk. *gu*, O. Bulg. *gov-orŭ*. It seems to me to be a mere imitative sound.

Note 4.—*c* and *g* were not distinguished in earlier Lat. writing, but prob. in the spoken lang. only.

Note 5.—Bef. *n* we are now accustomed in pronunciation to change Lat. *g* to gutt. *ñ*, i.e. the *g* becomes assimild. to *n*, according to its scale, becoming nasal: instead of *mag-nus*, *dig-nus*, etc., we say *mañ-nus*, *diñ-nus*. This is the same interchange of sound which is seen quite early in the lang., e.g. in *Sam-nium* for **Sab-nium*, *som-nus* for **sop-nus*. Spellings such as *singnum* make it probable that even as early as the times of the later Cæsars, people had begun to pronounce *signum* as *siñnum*. Yet we cannot consider this pronuncn. of *gn* as *ṅn* to be ancient, because the Roman grammarians do not mention it. From this later pronunciation of *gn* we must distinguish the principle on which *gn* was treated in Romance langg., where it became a palatal *ń*, e.g. Ital. *magno*, *degno* (pron. *mańo*, *deńo*), Fr. *magne*, *digne* (pr. *mań*, *diń*). Therefore the above-named pronunciation of Lat. *gn* cannot have arisen through Romance influence.

2. Origl. *d*=Lat. *d*, rarely *l*.

Lat. *d*=origl. *d*, e.g. √*da* in *dă-tus* (given), Sk. and origl. √*da*, cf. Gk. *δο*; √*dom* in *dom-are* (tame), Sk. and origl. √*dam*, cf. Gk. *δαμ-άω*; *dom-us* (house), Sk. and origl. *dam-as*, cf. Gk. *δόμ-ος*; *dent-em* (tooth, acc.), Sk. and origl. *dánt-am*, cf. Gk. *ὀ-δόντ-α*; √*uid* in *uid-ere* (see), Sk. and origl. *vid*, Gk. *Fιδ*; √*ed* in *ed-o* (eat), Sk. and origl. *ad*, cf. Gk. *ἐδ*; √*sed* in *sed-eo* (sit), Sk. and origl. *sad*, cf. Gk. *ἑδ*, etc.

Lat. *l*=origl. *d* *in initio*, and, more rarely, medially bef. vowels, e.g. *lacrima* (tear) fr. *dacrima* (Festus), cf. *δάκρυ*, Goth. *tagr*, O.H.G. *zahar*; *lēuir* (father-in-law), cf. *δᾱήρ-*, st. *δᾱερ-*, for **δαιερ-*, **δαιFερ-* (Ebel, Zeitschr. vii. 272), Sk. st. *dēvár-*, n. sing.

§ 72. *dēvắ*, also *a*-st. *dēvará-s*, O.H.G. *zeihhur*, Lith. *dëveri-s* (known to me through the Dictionary only), O. Bulg. *dĕverĭ; lingua* (tongue), earlier *dingua*, cf. Goth. *tuggō*, Germ. *tunge; ol-ere* (smell) bes. *od-or* (scent), cf. ὄδ-ωδ-*α*, ὀδ-μή, ὀσμή. Sometimes both the *d*- and *l*-forms remained extant; thus *im-pel-imentum* bes. *im-ped-imentum* (hindrance), fr. st. *ped-* (pes, foot); *de-lic-are* bes. *de-dic-are* (dedicate), √*dic* (*dīc-o*, δείκ-νυμι, etc.), etc.

3. Lat. *b* may be origl. *b* (v. § 46, 3), e.g. in *bal-are* (bleat), cf. Gk. βλη-χή (a bleating), βλη-χάομαι, Sclav. *blĕ-ją*, O.H.G. *blā-ȝan* (bleat), an onomatopoëtic word; *breuis* (short), corresponding to Gk. βραχύς, Sclav. *brŭzŭ* (quick); √*lab* in *lāb-itur* (glides, sinks), *lap-sus*=**lab-tus* (past part.), Sk. √*lab*, *lamb* in *lámb-atē* (he sinks, falls).

§ 73. Momentary sonant aspirated consonants.

Note 1.—*f* may represent any of the aspp., and is placed mainly *in initio;* medially *b* occurs instead of *f;* yet *rūfu-s* (red), *scrofa* (sow), *Afer* (African), *sifilus* and *sifilare* (Fr. *siffler*, Zeitschr. xvi. 382) bes. usual *sibilus* (whistling, piping), *sibilare* (to whistle, pipe), etc., with medial *f* betw. vowels, according to the principles of the other Italian langg., whose influence perh. made itself felt in these words (Corss. Krit. Nachtr. p. 194, sqq.). In *signi-fer*, *pesti-fer*, and the like, *f* evidently arises from the perceptible connexion with *ferre*, whilst in *ama-bam*, etc., fr. √*fu* (*fui*, etc.), origl. *bhu* was no longer felt.

Note 2.—*ch*, *th*, *ph*, are not Latin but Gk. sounds, which did not come into use till a comparatively late period, and are yet unknown in the earlier lang. Further details as regards the history of these ways of spelling belong to the special gr. of Lat.

1. Origl. *gh*=Lat. *g*, *gv* (*gu*), *v*, *h*, *f*.

Lat. *g*=origl. *gh*, e.g. √*ger*, *gra*, in *ger-men* (bud),=Lith. *żel-mŭ*, st. *żel-men-* (sprout), *grā-men* (grass), origly. a side-form of *ger-men*, cf. O.H.G. *gruo-ni* (green), *gra-s* (grass), Sk. *hár-it-*, *har-ita-* (green), Zend *zairita-* (yellowish-green), Gk. χλο-ή (green, grass), O. Bulg. *zel-enŭ* (green), Lith. *żél-ti* (grow green,

wax), *żál-ias* (green), *żol-ĕ* (grass, greens), origl. √*ghar, ghra* (be green, yellow, grow green); *grā-tu-s* (pleasant), cf. Osk. Umbr. √*her* (wish), *χάρ-ις* (grace), *χαίρω*, i.e. **χαρ-yω* (rejoice), Sk. *har-yāmi* (love, desire), Germ. √*gar* (desire), e.g. in O.H.G. *gër-ōn* (desire), origl. √*ghar, ghra; grando* (hail) bes. Sk. *hrād-unī*, Gk. *χάλαζα*, i.e. **χαλαδ-ya*, **χλαδya* (v. § 29, 1), origl. root therefore *ghrad;* except before *r* and in *ger-men* Lat. *g*=*gh* is confined to the middle of words; √*ang* in *ang-o* (throttle, kill), *ang-ustus* (narrow), *ang-or* (pain), *ang-īna* (quinsy), origl. √*angh*, Gk. *ἀγχ ἀχ* in *ἄγχ-ω*, *ἄχ-νυμαι*, *ἄχ-ος*, Sk. *ah*, *āh*, Goth. *agg*, origl. *agh*; √*lig* in *lig-urio, li-n-g-o* (lick), origl. *righ*, Sk. *rih, lih*, Gk. *λιχ* in *λείχ-ω*, *λίχ-νος*, Goth. *lig;* √*mig* in *mi-n-g-o, mēio*, for **migio*, origl. *migh*, Sk. *mih*, Gk. *μιχ* in *ὀ-μιχ-έω*, *ὀ-μίχ-λη*. § 73.

Lat. *gv (gu)*, *v*=origl. *gh* (cf. § 72, 1, and § 77, 1, a), e.g. *angu-is* (snake), *angu-illa* (eel), cf. Gk. *ἔχ-ις* (viper), *ἔγχ-ελυς* (eel), Sk. *ah-is*, i.e. **agh-is*, Lith. *ang-ìs* (snake), *ung-urỹs* (eel), O.H.G. *unc* (snake); in *nix* (snow), i.e. **nig-s* fr. **snigh-s*, gen. *niu-is* for **nigu-is*, **snigh-as*, is found—as also we see fr. Lith. √*snig*, in *snìg-ti* (to snow), *snĕg-a-s* (snow), and Gk. *νίφ-α* (snow, acc.), *νίφ-ει* (it snows)—an origl. √*snigh* as a basis, which is clearly shown in Sk. *snih* (be moist); *breu-is* (short) for **bregu-is*, Gk. *βραχύς*; *leu-is* (light) for **leguis*, cf. *ἐ-λαχύς*, Sk. *laghú-s*. In *breuis* and *leuis* the correspondence of *v* to *gu* ought prob. to be explained as occurring through change of origl. *gh* to *gv*, but rather through the introduction of a secondary *i* into the previously existing stems *bregu-*, *legu-*,=*braghu-*, *raghu-*. Nevertheless even thus the origl. *gh* is involved in the *v*, because the *gh*, or rather its Lat. equivalent *g*, has become assimild. to the *v*.

Note.—Therefore *g* may represent both origl. *gh* and *g*; in such cases as *mag-nus* (great) bes. *μέγ-ας*, *ego* (I) bes. *ἐγώ* (§ 64, 1), we must not permit ourselves to determine that Lat. *g* is=origl. *gh*, merely on account of Sk. *mah-ánt-*, *ahám*,

§ 73. since the corresponding Goth. fms. *mik-ils*, *ik*, show the unasp. conson.

Lat. *h*=origl. *gh*, esp. *in initio*, very rarely *in medio*, e.g. *hiem-ps* (winter), cf. Gk. *χιών* (snow), *χεῖμα* (storm), *χειμών* (winter), Sk. *himá-s* (snow, cold), Sclav. *zima* (winter, cold), Lith. *žëmà* (winter); *homo* (man), earlier *hemo*, st. *homen-*, *hemen-*, cf. Goth. *guma* (man), st. *guman-*, Lith. *žmů*, st. *žmen-* (mankind), which collectively point to a f.f. *ghaman-; holus*, *helus*, *heluola* (greens), √*ghar* (be green), cf. *χλο-ή*, Sk. *hár-ita* (v. sub *g*=*gh*); *haed-us* (he-goat, Cod. Medic. Vergili), cf. Goth. *gaits* (f. she-goat), O.H.G. *geiȝ*, the initial conson. of this word was therefore *gh*; √*veh*, pres. *ueh-o* (carry, draw), √*vagh*, pres. *vagh-āmi*, Sk. *vah*, pres. *váh-āmi*, Zend *vaz*, pres. *vaz-āmi*, Gk. *Fεχ* in *Fόχ-ος* (waggon), Goth. *vag* in *(ga-)vig-a* (move), *vig-s* (way), Sclav. *vez*, pres. *vez-ą*, Lith. *vez*, pres. *vež-ù*.

The *h* easily comes to be entirely lost, e.g. in *anser* (goose) for **hanser*, cf. Sk. *hãsá-s*, O.H.G. *gans*, st. *gansi-*, Sclav. *gąsĭ*, Lith. *žąsì-s; olus* for earlier *holus* (v. supr.); *uia* (way) fr. **ueh-ia*, **ueia*, **uīa*, √*ueh*, cf. the completely analogous Lith. *vėžė́* (track), i.e. **vežya*, f.f. of Lith. and Lat. word, thus *vagh-yā; nēmo* (no man), fr. **ne-hemo*, etc.

Note.—*h* is often found where it should not be, by false analogy, e.g. *humerus* for *umerus*, which is warranted by MSS., cf. Gk. *ὦμο-ς*, Sk. *ắsa-s* and *ắsa-m*, Goth. *amsa*, st. *amsan-;* in later times *h* was noticeably often placed bef. initial vowel: *h* must therefore have fallen out of use in many cases tolerably early.

Lat. *f*=origl. *gh*, e.g. *fel* (gall), st. *felli-*, clearly fr. **felti-*, cf. Gk. *χολ-ή*, *χόλ-ος*, O.H.G. *galla*, Sclav. *žlŭčĭ*, √*ghar* (be green); *for-mu-s*, *for-midus* (hot), cf. Sk. *ghar-má-s* (heat), Scl. *grě-ti* (to warm), *gor-ĕti* (burn), Germ. *warm* for **gwarm* fr. **gar-m*, all of which point to a √*ghar* (on Gk. *θερ-μός*, *θέρ-ομαι*, v. supr. § 64, 2. n.); *fra-gra-t* (*fragrare*, emit odour), provided it really comes from a redupln. of √*ghra*, cf. Sk. *ǵi-ghrā-ti*, *ghrā-ti* (stinks,

Benf. Or. u. Occ. iii. 69); *fu-tis* (tub), *fū-tilis* (unstable, cf. Curt. Gr. Et.[2] no. 203, p. 156), √*fu-d*, *fundo* (pour), cf. Gk. √χυ in χέF-ω, Teut. *gu-t*, in Goth. *giut-an* (pour). § 73.

Since *f* and *h* correspond to origl. *gh*, and *h* easily disappears altogether, we can explain such forms as *faedus*, *fēdus*, bes. *haedus*, *aedus*, *ēdus* (cf. *geiχ*); *folus* bes. *holus* and *olus* (√*ghar*); *fostis* bes. *hostis* (foe; Goth. *gasts*, guest, points distinctly to the origl. initial *gh*; in both langg. the meaning has been developed in divergent lines, cf. Corss. Krit. Beitr. 217 sqq.); *fordeum* bes. *hordeum*, prob. for **horteum*, **horsteum*, cf. O.H.G. *gersta*, Gk. κρῑθή for *χρῐστη (§ 68, 1, d; on this word cf. Corss. Krit. Nachtr., p. 104 sqq.); *festūca* (stalk, switch) bes. *hasta* (spear), cf. Goth. *gazds* (thorn), O.H.G. *gart* (thorn), **gartya* (*gardea*, *kertia*, *gerta*), initial origl. *gh* therefore; and the like. Cf. the change fr. *gh* to *f* in cases such as Engl. *enough* (pron. *inŭf*), A.S. *genōh* (genug); *laugh* (pr. *lāf*), A.S. *hleahhan*, Goth. *hlahyan* (laugh), etc.

Note 1.—No ex. of *b*=origl. *gh* seems to be found.

Note 2.—The origl. √*ghar* (be green) is found also in fms. *ger* (germen), *gra* (grāmen), *hel* (helus), *hol* (holus), *ol* (olus), *fol* (folus), and *fel* (fel). In the other langg. also the feeling of relationship of the different words which spring from this root has been lost.

2. Origl. *dh*=Lat. *d*, *f*, *b*.

Lat. *d*=origl. *dh*, e.g. *mediu-s* (middle-)=origl. and Sk. *mádhya-s*, Gk. μέσσος, i.e. **μεθyo-ς*, Goth. *midji-s*; *aed-es* (house, origly. fire-place, cf. *aes-tus*, *aes-tas*, fr. **aed-tus*, **aed-tas*), √*idh*, origl. Gk. αἴθ-ω, Sk. *indh*, cf. O.H.G. *eit* (fire); *uidua* (widow), cf. Sk. *vidhavā*, Goth. *viduvō*.

Hence it arises that the origl. roots *da*, *dha* (give, set), may become intermixed, e.g. *ab-do* (do away, hide), *con-do* (found), *crē-do* (believe), belong not to *da-re* (give), but to a root lost in its uncompounded fm., corresponding to Gk. *τί-θη-μι*, Sk. *dá-dhā-mi*, O.H.G. *tuo-m*, cf. Sk. *çrad-dadh-āmi* (believe); of the coin-

§ 73. cidence of the origl. *da, dha* (as in Zend), we find proof in *uen-di-t* (sells) bes. *uēnum dat* = Sk. and origl. *vasnam dadhāti, ὦνον τίθησι, dat* therefore stands here most likely as representative of *dha*, Gk. *θε*, not of *do*, Gk. *δο*; further, *do* which has become like a sf., e.g. in *albi-du-s, ari-du-s, sordi-du-s*, is prob. to be referred to this root, as the similar roots also in Lat. are elsewh. still practically used as suffixes (e.g. *laua-cru-m, ludi-cru-s, ala-cri-s, uolu-cri-s*, cf. √*kar* (make); *late-bra, fune-bri-s*, cf. √*bhar*, ferre, etc.). In uncompounded words √*dha* is in Lat. *fa, fe;* v. post.

Note.—*r* for *d* fr. *dh* is altogether sporadic, in *meri-dies* (midday) fr. **medi-dies* (*medius*=*mádhyas*, cf. *μεσ-ημβρία*, Germ. *mit-tag*, Sk. *madhyāhna-s* fr. *madhya-, medius*, and *ahan-*, day); in the case of *ar*=*ad* (*ar-uorsus*, etc.), the comparison with words of the kindred langg. is not easy (cf. regular change of *d* to *r* in Umbrian).

Lat. *f*=origl. *dh*, e.g. *fūmus* (smoke), cf. Sk. *dhūmás*, Lith. *dūmai* (pl. n. sing. would be *dūma-s*), Sclav. *dymŭ*, O.H.G. *toum*, Gk. *θύ-ος* (burnt sacrifice), √*dhu; fores* (pl. door), *foris* (passage), *foras* (outwards), cf. Gk. *θύρα*, Goth. *daúr*, O.H.G. *tor, turi*, Scl. *dverĭ*, Lith. *durýs*, Sk., however, *dvā́ra-m, dvār-*, Ved. *dur-* with *d*, not *dh*, to which the S.- and N.-European langg. point; *fer-us, fer-a, fer-ox* (wild), cf. Gk. *θήρ, θηρ-ίον*; *fir-mus* (fast), *frē-tus* (trusting to), *frē-num* (bridle), *for-ma* (shape), cf. Sk. *dhar-imán-* (id.), √*dhar* (hold); *fīo*=**feio* (become), f.f. *dhayāmi*, √*dha* (set, do), Gk. *θε*, Goth. *da*, from which also the secondary √*fac* is formed (*fac-io*, make), likewise *fă-ber* (wright), st. *fa-bro-*, cf. Sk. *dhā-tar-* (founder, ordainer; Kuhn, Zeitsch. xiv. 229 sqq.).

In *rūfus* (red)=Goth. *raud-s*, f.f. *rāudha-s*, √*rudh*, medial *f* stands also for origl. *dh*, whilst *rub-er* (red), *rub-igo* (rust), are regular, and show *b* for *f* (v. supr. n. 1), but collateral *raud-us* (clod), origl. √*rudh*, cf. Sk. *rudh-irá-m* (blood), Gk. *ἐ-ρυθ-ρός*, and hence we find this root in Lat. as *rud, ruf, rub* (for *rutilus*, v.

infr.). Cf. the *f*-like pronuncn. of *th* in Eng. and *θ* in mod. Gk; § 73. in Russian Gk. *θ*=*f* in pronunciation.

Lat. *b*=origl. *dh* in medio, e.g. *rub-er*, st. *rub-ro-*=*ἐ-ρυθ-ρό-*, Sk. *rudh-i-rá-*, origl. *rudh-ra-*, √*rub*, Sk. *rudh*, Goth. *rud*, O.H.G. *rut*, Scl. *rŭd* (be red); *ūber* (udder), i.e. **ouber*, Gk. *οὖθαρ*, Sk. *ūdhar-*, *ūdhas-*, *ūdhan-*, M.H.G. *ūter*, *iuter*, root-syll. origl. *audh*; *ūber* (adj. rich), i.e. **oiber*, cf. Sk. *ēdh-atē* (increases), √*idh* (Walt. Zeitschr. x. 77); *uerbum* (word)=Goth. *vaúrd*, H.G. *wort*, f.f. *vardha-m*, cf. Lith. *várda-s* (m. name); *barba* (beard), stands bes. Norse *bardhr*, H.G. *bart*, Lat. *b*=Germ. *t*, *d*, must be der. fr. origl. *dh*.

3. Origl. *bh*=Lat. *b*, *f*, *h*.

Lat. *b*=origl. *bh* in medio, e.g. *ambō* (both)=Gk. *ἄμφω*, cf. Sk. *ubhāú*, earlier *ubhā́*, Goth. *bai*, nt. *ba* (with loss of init. sound), Scl. *oba*, f.f. of st.=*ambha-*; *lub-et* (pleases), Sk. √*lubh* (desire), Goth. *lub* (in *liub-s*, dear, *-lubō*, love, etc.); *nĕbula* (mist), *nūbes* (cloud), Gk. *νεφέλη*, *νέφος*, Sk. *nábhas* (cloud, sky), O.H.G. *nĕbal*, Scl. *nebo* (sky); *-bī* in *ti-bī*, *i-bī*, *(c)u-bi*, corres. to Sk. *-bhyam*, sf. dat. sg. (only preserved in certain cases, e.g. *tú-bhyam*, *-bhya*=Lat. *ti-bī*); *-bus*, sf. dat. abl. pl.=Sk. *-bhyas*, cf. Gk. *-φιν*, both alike containing particle *bhi*: √*fu* in verb. fms. composed by it begins with *b*, e.g. *ama-bam*, *ama-bo*, for **ama-fam*, **ama-fo* (v. post. "conjugation").

Lat. *f*=origl. *bh*, e.g. √*fa* in *fā-ri* (speak), *fā-tum* (utterance, fate), origl. *bha*, cf. Gk. *φα* in *φη-μί*, *φω-νή*, *φά-τις*, Sk. *bhā-š* (speak); √*fer*, pres. *fer-o* (bear), cf. Gk. *φερ* in *φέρ-ω*, origl. and Sk. *bhar*, pres. *bhár-āmi*; √*fu* (be) in *fu-turus*, *fu-am*, Sk. and origl. *bhu*, Gk. *φυ* in *φύ-ω*, *φυ-τός*; √*fug* in *fug-io* (flee), *fug-a*, cf. Gk. *φυγ* in *φεύγ-ω*, *φυγ-ή*, Sk. *bhuǵ*, Goth. *bug*, pres. *biuga*, origl. *bhug*; *frāter* (brother), origl. *bhrātar-s*, cf. Gk. *φράτωρ*, Sk. *bhrā́tā*, Goth. *brōthar*, etc.

Lat. *h* is very rarely=origl. *bh*; e.g. in *hor-da* bes. *for-da* (bearing), √*fer*, origl. *bhar*; in *mi-hi*, *-hi* stands for *-bi*, which we should have expected, as also in Sk. *má-hyam* for **ma-bhyam*,

§ 73. cf. *ti-bi*, Sk. *tú-bhyam;* in both langg. the initial *m* seems to have had a dissimilating influence on the *bh*. We must not hence venture to assign a fm. *ma-hyam* to the origl. lang., for the origl. could only be sounded *ma-bhyam* (or *ma-bhiam, ma--bhiyam*, cf. § 3), a f.f. which diverged later into Sk. *má--hyam*, Lat. *mi-hei*; in dat. pl. of *a*-st., in *-īs* fr. *-ois, -ais*, origl. *-a-bhyams, -ā-bhyams* (v. 'decl.'), origl. *bh* has entirely disappeared, perh. through intervening *h* (cf. *mihi*); so too prob. *ama-ui* for **ama-fui*, √*fu*, origl. *bhu* (be).

Note.—In some exx. a Lat. tenuis stands apparently for an asp.; these are *rutilus* (fiery red) bes. Sk. √*rudh*, Gk. *ῥυθ*; *pati* (suffer) bes. Gk. *παθεῖν*; *pūtēre* (stink) bes. Gk. *πύθ-εσθαι*; *putāre* (calculate) bes. Gk. *πυθέσθαι* (learn), otherwise distinct from it in use; *sapiens* (wise) bes. Gk. *σοφός*; *latēre* (escape notice) bes. Gk. *λαθεῖν*, Sk. √*rah* for origl. *radh*. Cf. L. Meyer, Gr. of Gk. and Lat. Langg., i. p. 51; G. Curt. Gr. Et.² p. 374, Kuhn's Zeitschr. ii. 355; Grassmann ap. Kuhn, id. xii. 86 sqq.; Corss. Krit. Beitr. p. 75 sqq., 79 sqq. Herein we concur in the conclusions of Curt. and Corss., which amount to this,—that in the above-named words also *t* and *p* are not=origl. *dh, bh*, Gk. *θ, φ*. *ru-tilus* (cf. *fu-tilis, mu-tilus*) seems to have sf. *-tilo*, and to stand peculiarly for **rud-tilus*, **rus-tilus* (v. post.), like early Lat. *ad-gre-tus, e-gre-tus*, for **-gred-tus*, **-gres-tus* (class. *gressus*, √*grad, gred*, in *grad-ior*, step), *pa-tior* however is a later fmn. fr. √*pa*, which is otherwise formed in Gk. *πα-θ, πεν-θ* (*πένθος*, suffering, grief); to the origl. existence of the shorter root-fm. *pa, πα*, the fms. *πέν-ομαι* (am in want), *πον-έω* (suffer, labour), point; therefore *πε-ν, πο-ν*, give evidence to *πα*, just as *γε-ν, γο-ν* (beget), do to a real pre-existent *γα* (*n* is a common secondary root-termn.). The same explan. holds good in *puteo*, where *t* belongs to the origl. root as little as does *θ* in *πύ-θομαι*; the root is *pu*, which clearly occurs in Lat. *pūs*, gen. *pūris* (matter), i.e. **pou-os*, **pou-es-os*, f.f. *pav-as, pav-as-as*, cf. *πύ-ον* (id.), Sk. *pū́-yatē* (becomes foul, stinks), *pū́-ya-s* (matter), Lith. *pú-ti* (befoul), O.H.G. *fū-l* (foul), f.f. *pau-ra-s*. *Pu-tare* fr. *putus* (pure), lit. ='make clean, clear,' and has therefore nothing to do with Gk. *πυθέσθαι*, Sk. √*budh*, etc.; *σοφός* stands for **σοπος* with unorigl. aspn., cf. supr. § 62, 3, n. 2. Thus *latēre* alone remains unexplained bes. *λαθεῖν*, a solitary instance, for which we must not try to make good a consonantal change which is otherwise unknown.

Consonantal Prolonged-sounds.

Spirants *y*, *s*, *v*. § 74.

1. Origl. *y*=Latin *j* (written *i*), *i*.

Lat. *j*=origl. *y*, initial and medial, yet not commonly between vowels, and almost only after long vowels, e.g. *cū-ius*, *plebē-ius*, or when a conson. has assimilated itself to the *y*, as in *āio*, *māior*, *mēio* (v. post.), e.g. √*iug*, Sk. *yuǵ*, Gk. ζυγ, origl. *yug*, in *iu-n-go*, (join), *iug-um* (yoke)=origl. and Sk. *yug-ám*, Gk. ζυγ-όν, Goth. *yuk*, O.Bulg. *igo*=**jŭg-o*; pronl. √*ya* in *ia-m* (already), cf. Lith. *yaú*, Goth. *yu* (already); *ius* (broth), cf. Sk. *yūša-s*, *yūša-m* ('pease-soup,' 'the water in which pulse of various kinds has been boiled;' Wilson), Scl. *iucha*; *iuuenis* (young man), cf. Sk. *yúvan-*, Goth. *yuggs*, Scl. *yunŭ*, Lith. *yaúnas* (young); *āio* (say) for **ag-io*, pres. fmn. in sf. origl. *ya*, √*ag*, origl. √*agh*, cf. *ad-ăg-ium* (saying), Sk. *ah* (say); *māior* (greater) fr. **mag-ior*, comp. sf. *-ior*, earlier *-ios*, Gk. *-ιον*, Sk. *-yās*, *-īyās*, origl. *-yans*; *mēio*=**migio*, i.e. **migh-yāmi*, pres. fmn. in origl. *ya*, etc.

Lat. *i*=origl. *y* after consonn., e.g. *med-ius*=origl. and Sk. *mádhyas*, cf. μέσσος=**μεθ-yος*; *patr-iu-s* (father-), origl. *patar--ya-s*, cf. πάτρ-ιο-ς, Sk. *pitr-ya-s*, st. origl. *patar-*, sf. *ya*; *siem*, *siet* (1, 3, sg. opt. pres.), origl. *as-yā-m*, *as-yā-t*, cf. εἴην, εἴη, fr. **ἐσ-yη-μ*, **ἐσ-yη-τ*, Sk. *syā-m*, *syā-t*, opt. pres. √*as* (be); *capio* for **cap-yō*, i.e. **kap-yā-mi*, pres. in origl. *ya*, etc.

Not uncommonly *y* disappears entirely, thus regularly betw. vowels, as, e.g. *moneo* (remind, warn), f.f. *mānayāmi*, causative from √*men* (*men-tem*, *me-min-i*), origl. *man* (think); *sēdo* (seat, set), fr. **sēdao*, **sēdayo*, Sk. and origl. *sādáyāmi*, caus. from √*sed* (sedere), origl. *sad*; further before *i* and *e* which stands for *i* (§ 35, § 38), e.g. *capis*, *capit*, for **capyis*, **capyit*, i.e. *kap-ya-si*, *kap-ya-ti*, bes. *capio*, i.e. *kap-yā-mi*; *obex* (obstacle, hindrance), gen. *obicis*, for **obyex* =**ob-yic-s*, *ob-yic-is*, √*iac* (cf. *iac-io*, *ob-iic-io*, *ob-ic-io*); yet elsewh.

§ 74. after consonn. also, e.g. *minor, minus* (less), for **min-ior, *min-ius*, origl. sf. *-yans*, compar.-fmn.; *ero, eris, erit*, fr. **eso, *esis, *esit*, for **esyo, *esyis, *esyit*, f.f. *as-yā-mi, as-ya-si, as-ya-ti*, pres.-fmn. through *ya* of √*as*, which expresses fut. meaning, cf. Sk. *s-yā́-mi, s-yá-si, s-yá-ti*, Gk. ἔσομαι for **ἐσ-yo-μαι; -bus* sf. of dat. and abl. pl. origl. *-bhyams*, Sk. *-bhyas*, etc.

2. Origl. *s*=Lat. *s, r*.

Lat. *s*=origl. *s*. Initially, generally also finally, medially betw. mute consonn.; betw. vowels *s* passes over into *r* almost always in the class. lang. Before sonant consonn. *s* partly falls out (becomes assimld.), partly likewise becomes *r* (v. 'sound-laws'), e.g. √*sed* (sed-ere), origl. and Sk. *sad*, Gk. ἕδ, Goth. *sat* (sit); *septem* (seven), Sk. and origl. *sáptan*, Gk. ἑπτά; √*sta* (stand), e.g. in *sta-tus*, origl. *sta*, Gk. στα, Sk. *stha;* √*ster* in *ster-no* (strew), Sk. and origl. *star*, Gk. στορ; √*es* in *es-t*, origl. and Sk. *as*, Gk. ἐσ in ἐσ-τί; √*us* (burn) in *ur-o, us-tus*, origl. *us*, Sk. *uš;* *-s*, sf. of nom. sg., origl. and Sk. *-s*, Gk. -ς, Goth. Lith. *-s*, e.g. *equo-s*, origl. *akva-s*, Gk. ἵππο-ς, Sk. *áçva-s;* sf. *-os, -es*, e.g. *gen-os, gen-us* (race), gen. *gen-er-us, gen-er-is*, origl. *gan-as, gan-as-as*, cf. Gk. γέν-ος, *γεν-εσ-ος=γένους, Sk. *ǵán-as, ǵán-as-as*, etc.

Lat. *r*=origl. *s* (cf. sound-laws, § 77, 1. f.).

3. Origl. *v*=Lat. *v* (in writing undistinguished fr. *u*), *u*.

Lat. *v*=origl. *v*, e.g. √*vid* in *uideo* (see), Sk. and origl. *vid*, Gk. *Fιδ*; √*vom* for **vem* in *uom-o* (spue), Sk. and origl. *vam*, Gk. *Fεμ*; √*voc* for **vec* in *uoc-are* (cry), *uōc-em* (acc. voice), origl. *vak*, Sk. *vaḱ*, Gk. *Fεπ*; √*veh* in *ueh-o* (carry), origl. *vagh*, Sk. *vah*, Gk. *Fεχ*, Goth. *vag*; √*vol* in *uol-t* (he wills), Sk. and origl. *var* (uelle); *oui-s* (sheep), origl. *avi-s*, Lith. *avì-s*, Sk. *ávi-s*, Gk. *ὄFις*; *nouo-s* (new), orig. and Sk. *náva-s*, Gk. *νέFο-ς*, etc.

Note.—Though *quis, quod, anguis, suauis* are the usual ways of writing those words, yet here, too, *u*=*v* (thus *qvis, qvod, angvis, svauis*), because this *u* is not metrically=vowel.

Lat. *u*=origl. *v* after mom. consonn. and *n*, e.g. *quatuor* (four), § 74. Sk. *katvāras*, Gk. *τέτταρες*=**τετϜαρες*, Goth. *fidvōr*, origl. *katvāras;* this *u*=*v* seems secondarily to have the force of a conson., whence e.g. the lengthening by position of the short *a*, expressed in the spelling *quattuor;* esp. often *u*=origl. *v* in the origl. st.-fmative sf. *-va*=Lat. *-uo*, *-vo*, later *uu*, *vu*, which in Lat. were sounded *-uo* (later *-uu*), fem. *-ua*, after most consonn., except *r*, *l*, *q*, e.g. *al-v̆uo-s* ('the nourishing—'), √*al* (*al-o*, nourish); *ar-v̆uo-m* ('the ploughed—'), √*ar* (plough); *eq-v̆uo-s* (horse), origl. *ak-va-s*, Sk. *áç-va-s* ('the running—'), origl. √*ak* (run), etc.; but *uac-uo-s* (empty), √*uac;* *noc-uo-s* (hurtful), *re-lic-uo-s* (left over) bes. *re-liq-vo-s*, √*noc*, *lic* (altogether usage often wavers betw. *v* and *u*, as *aqüae*, *acuam*, bes. *aqva;* *tenvia*, *genva*, bes. *tenuia*, *genua*, etc.); *con-tig-uo-s* (contiguous), √*tag* (*tango*); *de-cid-uo-s* (falling off), √*cad* (*cad-o*); *in-gen-uo-s* (inborn, free), √*gen* (*gi-gn-o*, *gen-us*); *sūd-or* (sweat), *sūd-are* (sweat), prob. for **suid-or*, **suid-are* (as e.g. gen. *senatus* for *senatuis*), and this for **svid-or*, **svid-are*, √*svid*, cf. *ἰδίω* for **σϜιδ-ιω*, Sk. *svid-yāmi*, O.H.G. *swizzan*, *sweiʒ*, *swiʒ*, earlier *svit*, origl. *svid* (sweat), etc.

Note.—*su̯os* (his) is not=*sva-s*, but was sounded *sovos* in the earlier lang.; accordingly we have also *tuus*=*tovos*; in Lat. and in Gk. there is here a step-fmn. of *u* to *eu*, *ou* (*ἑός*, *τεός*=**seu-os*, **teu-os*), whilst the other langg. show *v*.

Not unfreq. *v* disappears entirely, thus e.g. *se*, *si-bi* (himself), etc., for **sve*, **svi-bi*, fr. st. origl. *sva-*; *te* (thee), *ti-bi* (to thee), for **tve*, **tvi-bi*, cf. Sk. *tva-m* (n. sg.); for origl. initial *sva-*, *so-* occurs regularly (v. supr. § 33); *canis* (hound) for **cvan-is*, cf. *κύων*, Sk. st. *çvan*, f.f. *kvan-*; *suadeo* (recommend) for **suadveo*, fr. *suauis* (sweet)=**suadv-i-s*, cf. G. *ἡδύ-ς*, Sk. *svādú-s;* *deus* (god) =**dēus*, **dēvo-s*, **deivo-s*, **dīvo-s*, f.f. *daiva-s*, cf. Sk. *dēvá-s*, Lith. *dẽva-s*. The later lang. permits frequent loss of *v* from betw. vowels, e.g. *suus*, *suum*, for earlier (inscrr.) *souos*, *souom* (**suvus*, **suvum*); *fluunt*, earlier (inscrr.) *flouont;* *fui*=**fuvi*, and so, too, in other like cases; *boum* for *bouum;* *prudens* fr. *prouidens;*

§ 74. *nōlo*=**neuolo*; *amarunt*=*amauerunt*, etc. Yet *nouos*, *ouis*, etc., with *v* preserved, are the only fms. found.

Note.—On the alleged change of *v* to *b* in Lat. v. Corss. Krit. Beitr., 157 sqq. Only in *ferbui*, pf. fr. pres. *ferueo* (boil), *v* after *r* and bef. *u* has become *b*; *bubile* bes. *bouile* (ox-stall) seems caused by the analogy of *bu-bulus* (ox-); *opilio*, *upilio* (shepherd), stand for **oui-pilio*, cf. *Pal-es*, *αἴ-πολ-ος*, *βού-πολ-ος* (Corss. ib. 152; Krit. Nachtr., p. 180 sqq.).

§ 75. Nasals.

1. Origl. *n*=Lat. *n*. As in other Indo-Eur. langg., so also in Lat., origl. *n* bef. gutt. consonn. becomes gutt., bef. labb. it becomes lab., i.e. *m*, (*ṅ*=gutt. *n*, § 4). Exx.: *ne* (negation), in *ne-c*, *ne-fas*, etc., Sk. and origl. *na*; *in-*, Umbr. *an-*, Gk. *ἀν-*, Sk. and origl. *an-* (neg. in composn.); √*nec* in *nec-are* (kill), *noc-ēre* (hurt), Gk. *νεκ*, Sk. *naç*, origl. *nak*; st. *noc-ti* (night) in *noc-te-m*, origl. *nak-ti-*, cf. Lith. *nak-tì-s*, Gk. st. *νυκτ-*, Sk. *nákta-m* (adv. by night); *nāuis* (ship), Sk. and origl. *nāus*, Gk. *ναῦς*; √*gen* in *gen-us* (race), *gi-g(e)n-o* (beget), Gk. *γεν*, Sk. *ǵan*, origl. *gan*; *n* is common in suff., e.g. origl. *-na* in *plē-nu-s* (full), f.f. *prā-na-s*, origl. *par-na-s*, √*par* (fill), *na* fms. the perf. part. pass., but has also various other functions, e.g. *som-nu-s* (sleep) for **sop-nu-s*, origl. and Sk. *sváp-na-s*, Gk. *ὕπ-νο-ς*; sf. *-man*, e.g. in **gnō--men*, *nō-men* (name), Sk. *nā-man-*, origl. *gnā-man-*; *-nti*, *-nt*, fm. 3 pl. vb., e.g. **fero-nti*, *feru-nt*,=*φέρο-ντι*, Sk. and origl. *bhára-nti*, etc.

Exx. of change of *n* to *ṅ*, *m*, are found in pres. fmn., e.g. *iu-n-go* (join), √*iug*, *ru-m-po* (break), Sk. *lu-m-pā́mi*, √*rup*, Sk. *lup*, which in f.f. were prob. *yug-nāmi*, *rup-nāmi*; only later did the nasal pass into the root, whereby arose *yuṅgāmi*, *rumpāmi*, i.e. *iungo*, *rumpo*.

Note.—On *gn* v. supr. § 72, 1, n. 5.

2. Origl. *m*=Lat. *m*, e.g. √*men* in *me-min-i* (remember), *men-tem*, *mens* (mind), *moneo* (warn), Gk. *μεν*, origl. and Sk. *man* (think); *mā-ter* (mother), *μή-τηρ*, Sk. *mā-tā́*, origl. *mā-tar-s*;

√*mor* in *mor-i* (die), *mor-tuos* (dead), Sk. and origl. *mar*; √*uom* § 75.
for **uem* in *uom-o* (spue) (§ 33), Gk. *Fεμ*, Sk. and origl. *vam*, etc. In sff. also *m* often occurs, e.g. sf. *-men*, origl. *man*, as in **gnō-men*, *nō-men*, Sk. *nā́-man-*, origl. *gnā-man*; origl. sf. *-ma*, an intensitive, most often forming superl., esp. in combination with sf. *-ta*, as *ta-ma*, Lat. e.g. in *pri-mu-s*, *optu-mu-s*; *-m* 1 pers. sg., *-mus* 1 pl., e.g. *(e)s-u-m* fr. **es-mi*, Gk. *εἰ-μί* fr. same f.f., Sk. and origl. *ás-mi*; *feri-mus*, Gk. *φέρο-μεν*, Dôr. *φέρο-μες*, Sk. and origl. *bhárā-masi*; *-m* of acc. sing., e.g. *equo-m*, Sk. *áçva-m*, cf. Gk. *ἵππο-ν*, with *ν* for *μ*, acc. to Gk. sound-laws of termn., origl. *akva-m*, etc.

Note.—In *tene-brae* (darkness), prob. for **tenes-brae*, **temes-brae*, √*tam* in Sk. *tám-as* (darkness), O.H.G. *dëm-ar* (dawn), etc., *n* has arisen by dissimiln. fr. *m*, to avoid the labialism **temebrae*; in *nōnus* (ninth) for **nōmus*, **nouimus*, cf. *nouem* (nine), *septimus* bes. *septem*, *decimus* bes. *decem*, *primus*, etc., the init. *n* has had an assimilating influence; *gener* (son-in-law) does not stand for **gemer* on acct. of *γαμβρός* (on which cf. § 66, 1, n. 1), because **gemer* would have stood its ground like *uōmer* (ploughshare), also Sk. *ǵā́-mātar-* (son-in-law) proves nothing, because it is a compd. of *ǵā* (come after) from √*ga*, origl. *ga* (gi-gn-ere), and *mā-tar-* (bearing, bringing forth); *gen-er*, st. *gen-ero-* for *gen-ro-*, is derived rather fr. √*gen* (beget), sf. *ra*, in this case with auxil. vowel *i*, pronounced *e* bef. *r* (§ 38).

r- and *l*-sounds. § 76.

Origl. *r*=Lat. *r*, *l*.

Lat. *r*=origl. *r*, e.g. *rex* (king), i.e. **rēg-s*, origl. *rāg-s*, cf. Sk. st. *rā́ǵ-* (id.); √*rub* in *rub-er* (red), *rub-ru-m*, cf. *ἐ-ρυθ-ρό-ς*, *ἐ-ρυθ-ρό-ν*, Sk. *rudh-i-rá-m*, origl. *rudh-ra-s*, *rudh-ra-m*; √*rup* in *ru-m-p-o* (break), *rup-tu-s*, cf. Sk. *lup* (rumpere) in *lu-m-p-ā́mi*, *lup-tá-s*, Lith. *lup* in *lùp-ti* (flay); √*or* in *or-ior* (rise), *or-tus*, cf. *ὄρ-νυμι*, Sk. and origl. *ar*; √*ar* in *ar-o* (plough), cf. *ἀρ-όω*, Scl. *or-ją*, *ar-atrum* (plough), cf. *ἄρ-οτρον*, O. Bulg. *or-alo* for **or-adlo*; √*fer*, 1 sg. pres. *fer-o* (bear), Gk. *φερ*, 1 sg. pres. *φέρ-ω*, Sk. and origl. *bhar*, 1 sg. pres. *bhár-āmi*; *frā-ter* (brother), *φρά-τωρ*, Sk. *bhrā́tā*, origl. *bhrā-tar-s*, etc. *r* is frequent in

§ 76. stem-formative particles, thus in sff. *ro, ru,* origl. *ra* (*rub-ru-m,* origl. *rudh-ra-m*); *tōr,* origl. *tār* (*da-tōr,* origl. *da-tar-s,* n. sg.); *tro, tru,* origl. *tra;* in word-formative particles, i.e. in case- and person-termns., it does not occur.

Lat. *l*=origl. *r* (cf. 'sound-laws,' upon Lat. interchange of *l* with *r* for purposes of dissimiln.), e.g. √*loc* (speak) in *loqu-or, loc-utus,* Gk. λακ, Scl. *rek* (*rek-ą,* loquor), origl. *rak;* √*luc* in *luc-erna* (lamp), *lūc-em* (acc. light), Gk. λυκ, Sk. *ruk,* Goth. *luh,* origl. *ruk;* √*lic* in *linquo* (leave), *re-lic-tus,* Gk. λιπ (λείπω), Sk. *rik,* origl. *rik;* √*lig* in *lingo* (lick), Gk. λιχ (λείχω), Sk. *lih,* origl. *righ;* √*lub* in *lub-et* (it pleases), Goth. *lub* (*liubs,* love), Sk. *lubh* (desire), origl. *rubh; leuis* (light) fr. **legu-is,* cf. Gk. ἐ-λαχύ-ς, Sk. *laghú-s,* origl. *raghu-s; plē-nu-s* (full), f.f. *prā-na-s,* parall. fm. to *par-na-s,* Zend *perenō,* Sk. *pūrṇá-s,* i.e. origl. *par-na-s,* Goth. *fulls* for **ful-na-s; sollus* (whole, Fest.) for **soluo-s,* parall. fm. to *sal-uo-s* (whole), Gk. *ὅλFος, Sk. and f.f. *sár-va-s;* √*uol, uel,* in *uol-t* (he wills), f.f. *var-ti, uel-le* (will), for **uel-se* (v. post), Sk. and origl. *var* (choose), etc. In st.-formative particles also *l* is common.

§ 77. Sketch of some Sound-laws which are important for Comparative Grammar.

Medial.

1. Assimilation. We omit here the assimilns. which occur in prepositional compds.; they bear a subordinate meaning for Compar. Gr., and belong to the Special Gr. of Latin. Further, except that they are treated as well known, they are not at all, or only briefly, mentioned.

a. Complete assimiln. of foregoing to following consonn. This occurs after long vowels, after which doubled consonn. cannot easily be made audible, and can scarcely be distinguished from evanescence (ejection) of the former conson.; whilst after short vowels the doubling of the conson. is the distinctive mark of real assimiln. As, however, the evaporation of one conson. bef. another can hardly be conceived of as con-

ditioned in any other way than by assimiln. to the follg. cons., we § 77.
likewise treat here of cases where consonn. are lost before consonn.

The doubling of consonn. was not characterized in writing before Ennius; in inscrr. it does not appear in frequent use until after 640 A.V.C.

Note.—Upon the doubled tenuis in Lat. cf. C. Pauli, Zeitschr. xviii. 1 sqq., where many words of difficult etymol. are considered. Acc. to Pauli the doubling is not seldom unorigl., and arises 'through sharpened pronunciation.'

Exx. of complete assimiln. of foregoing to follg. consonn. after short vowels are found in *sum-mu-s* for **sup-mu-s*, cf. *sup-er*, *sup-erior*, *sup-remus*; *flamma* fr. **flag-ma*, cf. *flag-rare*; *serra* (saw), prob. fr. **sec-ra*, cf. *sec-are* (cut); *sella* fr. **sed-la*, cf. *sed-ere*; *lapil-lus* fr. **lapid-lus*, cf. *lapid-em*; *puel-la* fr. **puer-la*, **pueru-la*, cf. *puer*; *asel-lus* fr. **asin-lus*, **asinu-lus*, cf. *asinu-s* (ass); *esse* fr. **ed-se*, cf. *ed-o* (eat); *penna* fr. **pesna*, and this fr. **pet-na*, √*pet*, origl. *pat* (fly), etc.

Complete assimiln. of foregoing to follg. consonn. after long vowels; the spelling does not show the doubling in these cases. The assimiln. (dropping out) of *d*, *t*, and often *n* before *s*, is well known; a foregoing short vowel therefore becomes long, wherein we believe we see an evidence that a doubling of the conson. was once really in existence, e.g. *suāsi* fr. **suād-si*, pf. fr. *suād-eo*, etc.; *pēs*=**pĕd-s*, cf. *pĕd-em*; *milēs*, *milĕs* only later, fr. **milĕt-s*, cf. *milit-em*; *formōsus* fr. **formonsus*, sf. origl. *-vans* fr. *-vant*, whose *v* disappeared; *equōs* fr. **equon-s*, i.e. acc. sg. *equo-m*+pl.-sign *s*; *consul* bes. *cōsul*; *quotiens*=**quotient-s* bes. *quoties*; *censor*, *censeo*, bes. rarer *cēsor*, *cēseo*, etc. Thus the lang. has sometimes decided early in favour of loss of *n*, whilst at others the *n* has stood exclusively for a longer time, and until a later period of written lang.

A follg. *j* assimilates itself not seldom to precedg. *g*; *j* is then written indivisibly, but the foregoing vowel, if short before, now becomes long (cf. § 39, 1), e.g. *mā-ior* fr. **măg-yor*, cf. *mag-nus*, √*mag*, origl. *magh* (wax); *ā-io* fr. **ăg-yo*, cf. *ad-ăg-ium*,

§ 77. √*ag*, Sk. *ah*, origl. *agh* (say); *mē-io* by dissimiln. (cf. § 38) fr. **mi-yo* for **mĭg-yo*, cf. *mi-n-g-o*, √*mig*, Gk. *μιχ*, origl. *migh* (cf. § 74, 1). Bef. origl. sf. *-ya*, *g* remains, because here *y* changes into *i* (§ 74, 1), e.g. *ad-ăg-iu-m*, *nau-frăg-iu-m*. Cf. the extensive loss of consonn. before *y* with compensatory lengthening in composition, e.g. *se(d)-iungo*, *pe(r)-iero*, *di(s)-iudico*, *tra(ns)-icio*, etc.

Loss of *g* bef. *v* without compensat. lengthening occurs, e.g. in *brĕu-is* for **bregu-is*, cf. *βραχύ-ς*; *lĕu-is* for **lĕgu-is*, cf. *ἐ-λαχύ-ς*; *niu-is* for **nigu-is*, cf. *nix*=**nig-s*, *ningu-o*; accordingly the same process must be assumed in *uīuo* for **uīgu-o*, cf. *uixi*, i.e. **uig-si*, √*uig* (v. §§ 72, 1; 73, 1).

d disappears bef. *v* in *suāu-is* for **suād-uis*, cf. Gk. *ἡδύ-ς*, Sk. *svādú-s*.

Bef. nasals sometimes *g*, oftener *c*, disappears (*c* may also remain and become *g*, v. c in this section), more rarely without, more often with compensatory lengthening, *c* was evidently softened to *g* before it fell out (v. c), e.g. *stĭ-mulus* (goad), *stĭ-mulo* (I goad), √*stig*, raised a step to *stīg* (*in-stīg-o*, urge), nasalized in *in-stinc-tus* (urged) =**in-sting-tus*, cf. Gk *στίχω* (prick) =**στιγ-γω*; *ex-ā-men* (swarm of bees, rank) for **ex-ăg-men*, √*ag* in *a-gere* bes. *ag-men*, *teg-men*, *seg-mentum* (*g* is common bef. *n*, e.g. *lig-num*, *dig-nus*, *mag-nus*, etc.); *uā-nus* (empty) fr. **uăc-nus*, cf. *uăc-uos* (empty); *dē-ni* (ten apiece) fr. **dĕc-ni*, cf. *dĕc-em*; *pī-nus* fr. *pĭc-nus*, cf. *pix*, *pĭc-is* (pitch; *pīnus*, on acct. of the vowel, cannot be akin to *πεύκ-η*, Germ. *vich-te*, which point to a √*puk*); *nc* disappears thus in *quī-ni* (five apiece) for **quinc-ni*, cf. *quinque* (five).

Before *m*, *c* disappears in *lū(c)-men* (light), where it is doubtful whether the vowel is simple or whether it is raised in the scale, whether fr. **lŭc-men* or **louc-*, **lūc-men*; *cs*, i.e. *x*, disappeared bef. *m* in *sē-mestris* (six-monthly) for **sex-mestris*, prob. also in *tē-mo* (pole) for **tex-mo*, cf. O.H.G. *dīhs-ila*, and Sk. √*takš* (compose, make).

Bef. *m*, *b* disappears, e.g. *glūma* (shell) for **glūb-ma*, cf. *glūb-ere* (pare); *grĕmium* (lap) for **greb-mium*, cf. Sk. *gárbha-* (masc. id.), etc. (Corss. Krit. N. p. 236).

§ 77. Bef. *l*, *x* has died out in *tē-la* (web), which, however, can only be explained as prob. coming fr. **tex-la*, cf. *tex-ere* (weave).

Bef. *c*, *d* and *t* disappear in *hoc* for **hod-c*, **hod-ce*, cf. *quod*; *ac* for **at-c*, cf. *atque*.

Bef. sonant consonn. *s* disappears, thus e.g. bef. *n* in *pō-no* for **pos-no*, cf. *pos-ui*; *cē-na* for **ces-na*, cf. Umbr. *ces-na*; *penis* for **pes-nis*, cf. πέος for *πεσ-ος, Sk. *pás-as*; in *penna* for earlier *pesna* the assimiln. has been kept, *pesna* stands for **pet-na* (v. c), √*pet*, πετ, Sk. *pat* (fly), cf. *prae-pet-es* (aues; Fest.), O.H.G. *fëd-ara*, *fëd-ah*, Gk. πτ-ίλον, πτε-ρόν (feather, wing), etc.

Bef. *m*, *s* is lost in *rē-mus* (oar), cf. *tri-resmus* (three-oared) Col. Rostr., *res-mus* stands for **ret-mus*, cf. ἐ-ρετ-μός; *s* is lost without compensatory lengthening in *Că-mēna* for *Cas-mena*, √*cas*, cf. *car-men*, Sk. √*ças*, *çās* (count, say).

Bef. *n* and *m*, *s* also becomes *r*. v. e.

Bef. *l*, *s* is lost in *corpu-lentus* for **corpus-lentus*, cf. *corpus*, *corpor-is*.

Bef. *d*, *s* is lost in, e.g. *iū-dex* for **iūs-dex*, *ī-dem* for **is-dem*, *di-duco* for **dis-duco*, etc., but it remains in *trans-dūco*, *trans-do*, bes. *trā-dūco*, *trā-do*, further in cases like *eius-dem*, *cuius-dam*.

Bef. *b*, also, *s* is lost, e.g. *tene-brae* for *tenĕs-brae*, and the like; v. post.

Bef. *d*, *r* is lost with compensat. lengthening in *pēd-o*, *pōd-ex*, bes. πέρδ-ω, Sk. √*pard*, O.H.G. *farz*, Lith. *perd* (1 sg. pres. *pérdžu*=**perd-yu*).

The change of *r* to *s* by assimiln. is well known, e.g. *rūsum*, *russum*, bes. *rur-sum*, *sū-sum* bes. *sur-sum*, *retrō-sum* bes. *retror-sum*, etc.

Bef. *sc*, consonn. are lost, prob. only to make pronunciation simpler and easier; thus in *di-sco* for **dic-sco*, cf. *di-dĭc-i*; *po-sco* (where *sc* became fixed, though origl. only in pres., cf. *po-posc-i*), prob. for **porc-sco*, cf. √*proc*, *prec*, in *proc-ax*, *proc-us*, *prec-or*, cf. Germ. *frah*, *frag* (in Goth. *fraih-nan-*, N.H.G. *frag-en*); *mi-sceo* for **mig-sceo*, cf. μίγ-νυμι (here, too, has the *sc* in Lat. grown into the root).

§ 77. Similarly *mis-tus* stands for and bes. *mics-tus, mix-tus,* and this prob. for **misc-tus,* cf. *misc-eo; tos-tus* for **tors-tus,* cf. *torr-eo* for **tors-eo,* Germ. *durs-t,* Sk. √*tarš* (thirst), i.e. *tars,* to which prob. belongs *tes-ta* (crock, jar) for **ters-ta* (lit. 'baked,' 'burnt'); cf. *terra* (dry land) for **ters-a.*

It is certain that certain groups composed of more consonn. were lightened by the evaporation (ejection) of one of these consonn.

Thus after *r, l,* are lost gutt. *c, g,* when folld. by *t* or *s,* e.g. *sar-tus* for **sarc-tus,* cf. *sarc-io; tor-tus* for **torc-tus,* cf. *torqu-eo; ul-tor* for **ulc-tor,* cf. *ulc-iscor; in-dul-tus* for **in-dulc-tus,* and this for **in-dulg-tus* fr. *in-dulg-eo,* and so others; *sar-si* for **sarc-si,* cf. *sarc-io; tor-si* for **torc-si,* cf. *torqu-eo; mul-si, mul-sus,* for **mulg-si, *mulg-sus,* fr. *mulg-tus,* cf. *mulg-eo*; *spar-si* for **sparg-si, spar-sus* for **sparg-sus* fr. *sparg-tus,* cf. *sparg-o,* etc.; *par-simonia* for **parc-simonia* fr. **parc-timonia,* like the underlying fm. *par-sus* fr. **parc-tus,* cf. *parc-o;* thus also *ursus* for **urcsus* fr. **urctus,* cf. Gk. ἄρκτος, Sk. *ŕkšas.*

On the other hand, *rcs* was tolerated *in fine,* in *arx, merx.*

Also the combinations *s-br, r-br* are avoided by the evaporation of the *s, r,* bef. *b,* e.g. *mulie-bris* for **mulier-bris* (or **mulies-bris*); *fune-bris* for **funes-bris* bes. *funer-a, funus; tene-brae* for **tenes-brae, *temes-brae,* (§ 75, 2, n.); *fe-bris, he-bris,* for **fer-bris,* √*fer* (in *fer-uor,* etc.), origl. *ghar* (§ 73, 1; Corss. Krit. Beitr. 204 sqq.; Ebel, Zeitschr. xiv. 78; cf. L. Meyer, Comp. Gr. ii. 235, 241). Similarly in above-mentioned *tos-tus* for **tors-tus,* etc.

Quintus for *Quinc-tus* is late, cf. common *Quinc-tius* bes. later *Quin-tius;* the same holds good in *au-tor* for *auc-tor* fr. **aug-tor,* etc. Yet it cannot be doubted that *c* was lost bef. *t* sporadically even at an earlier period of the lang. in such cases as *in-uītus* fr. **in-uic-(i)-tus,* √*uic, uec,* Gk. Fεκ (ἑκ-ών), Sk. *vaç,* i.e. *vak* (will): *in-uī-tare* fr. **in-uic-(i)-tare,* √*uic, uec, uoc* (*uoc-are*), Gk. Fεπ, Sk. *vaǩ,* origl. *vak* (speak), etc. (cf. Corss. Krit. B. p. 4 sqq., and Krit. N. p. 47 sqq. where other views, however, are expressed). Also *Vitoria, Vitorius,* are supported

by inscrr. as by-forms of *Victorius*, *-a* (Corss. Krit. N. p. 45 § 77. sqq.). v. another explanation of *inuītare*, etc., in § 39, 2.

b. Complete assimiln. of following to foregoing consonn. This branch of assimiln. is well represented in Lat.; thus e.g. *t* of superl. termn. *-timu-s* (origl. and Sk. *-tama-s*, retained in *op-timus*) is assimild. to *s* in *-is-simus*= **-is-timus*; *is*, the shortest fm. of origl. *-yans*, which is in Lat. *iōs*, *iōr*, *ius*, is accordingly the compar.-sf. to which the superl. is added, e.g. *longis-simus* fr. **longis-tumu-s;* so too *t* of *-timus* becomes assimild. to *r* and *l* in those superll. which are fmd. fr. an unraised adj.-stem, e.g. *celer-rimus* fr. **celer-timu-s*, **facil--limus* fr.* *facil-tumu-s*, etc., unless these superll. stand (as G. Curt. conjectures in a letter) for **celer-is-timus*, **facil-is-timus*, **celerstimus*, **facilstimus*, **celersimus*, **facilsimus*.

s is assimild. to *r* in *torr-eo* for **tors-eo* bes. *tos-tu-m* for **tors-tu-m*, *terra* for **ters-a*, origl. √*tars* (be dry), as in Germ. *dürr-e* bes. *durs-t; fer-rem*, *uel-lem*, are fr. **fer-sem*, **uel-sem*, cf. *ama-rem* for **ama-sem*, *fac-sem*, etc. (cf. Corss. Krit. B. 402 sqq.).

Perh. *y* has become similar to the preceding consonn. in pres. fmns. with doubled root-termns., as *pello*, *fallo*, *curro*, *mitto*, etc., though the combinations *lio*, *rio*, *tio*, are ordinary (v. pres.-st.).

v seems assimild. to preceding *l* in *pallor*, *pallidus*, for **pal-uor*, **pal-uidus*, cf. O.H.G. *falo*, *falaw-er*, *falw-er*, Lith. and f.f. *pàlv-as* (fallow—of deer); *mollis*, prob. fr. **molvis*, **moldv-is*, =Sk. *mrdú-s*, f.f. *mardu-s; sollu-s* (totus) equal to *saluo-s*, Sk. *sárva-s*, Gk. ὅλος for *ὅλFος. In these double fms. (*sollus* : *saluos* :: *pello* : *alius*) we must prob. recognize traces of a mixture of dialects.

t after *s* becomes assimld. to it, in *censor*, *census*, √*cens*+sff. *-tor-*, *-tu-*, cf. Osk. *cens-tur*, *cens-tom* = *censum*. Moreover, assimiln. of *t* to foregoing *s* occurs in the many cases where fr. *d*, *t*+*t* arise (subsequently *st*, cf. 2, Dissimiln.); after short vowels the doubling is expressed in writing as well, after long vowels, and after consonn. we find regularly only one *s*; yet we find by their side spellings such as *fussus*, *cassus*, *diuissio*, *rissus*, etc.,—which have therefore a good foundation in the lang.,—

§ 77. e.g. *fissus* fr. **fid-tus*, **fis-tus*, √*fid* in *findo*, *fĭd-i*; *gressu-s* fr. **gred-tu-s*, **gres-tu-s*, cf. *grad-ior*; *fossa* fr. **fos-ta*, **fod-ta*, √*fod* in *fod-io*; *passus* fr. **pat-tu-s*, **pas-tu-s*, cf. *pat-ior*; *ēsum* for **essum*, which we might have expected, fr. **ĕd-tu-m*, **es-tu-m*, cf. *ĕd-o*; *clausus* fr. **claud-tu-s*, **claus-tu-s*, cf. *claud-o*; *ūsus* (rarely *ussus*, inscrr.) fr. **ūt-tu-s*, **ūs-tu-s*, cf. *oit-ier*, *ūt-i*; *tonsu-s* fr. **tond-tu-s*, **tons-tu-s*, cf. *tond-eo*; *uicensumus*, *uicēsumus*, fr. **uicent-tumu-s*, **uicens-tumu-s* (unless here, as in *deci-mu-s*, only *mo* was added, in which case the fm. would be **uiginti-mu-s*); *uersus*, *uorsus*, for **uers-tus*, **uors-tus*, fr. **uert-tus*, **uort-tus* (*uert-ere*), etc. On this Sound-law, cf. Corss. Krit. B. 418 sqq.

c. Partial assimiln. of foregoing to follg. consonn.

It is well known that bef. mutes mom. sonant consonn. become mute; e.g. *ac-tus* for **ag-tus*, cf. *ag-o*; *scrip-tus*, *scrip-si*, for **scrib-tus*, **scrib-si*, cf. *scrib-o*, etc.; in *uec-tus* bes. *ueh-o*, origl. *vagh-āmi*, we must assume a representation of origl. *gh* by Lat. *g*: origl. *vagh-ta-s*, Lat. **ueg-to-s*, *uec-tu-s*. On the other hand, *sec-are*, *salic-em*, stand bes. *seg-mentum*, *salig-nus*, etc.; the sonant consonn. *m*, *n*, here change *c* to son. *g*.

Lab. moment. consonn. pass into their nasals bef. *n*: *som-nus*, *Sam-nium*, for **sop-nus*, **Sab-nium* (cf. *sop-ire*, *Sab-īni*, *Sab-elli*).

The earlier lang. still shows *s* bef. nasals, softened fr. *t*, as *res-mu-s* (rēmus) fr. **ret-mu-s* (ἐ-ρετ-μό-ς); *pes-na* (penna) fr. **pet-na* (√*pet*, fly, v. a).

Quadra-ginta bes. *quatri-duo* is peculiar; *t* bef. sonant *r* has become *d*.

From origl. *tr* in Lat. there have arisen sometimes **thr*, *dhr*, *br*, through the aspirating force of the *r* (v. supr. Gk., also Zend), (on *b* as a representative of origl. *dh*, v. § 73, 2), e.g. *consobrinus* (cousin) for **-sosbrinus* (*s* bef. *b* is lost regularly, v. sup.), and this for **sosdhrinus*, **sosthrinus*, **sostrinus*, fr. **sostor--ĭnu-s*, st. **sos-tor-*, usu. **sosor-*, *soror-* (sister); *salūbris* fr. **salus-bris*, and this for **salus-dhris*, **salus-thris*, **salus-tris*, **salut--tris* (*salus*, *salut-is*). Cf. Ebel, Zeitschr. xiv. 78; Kuhn, Zeitschr. xiv. 222, xv. 238. On the other hand, Cors. Krit. N. p. 186 sqq.

d. Partial assimilation of following to foregoing consonants. This takes place esp. in the case of *t*, which, after nasals and liquids, commonly changes into spir. *s*; the same tendency is seen after gutt. (after *c*),—the latter occurs also in Sk. (v. § 52, 2, n. 2); e.g. *man-sum* for **man-tu-m* (*man-eo*); in *Leu-cesie*—important on acct. of *eu*, v. § 36—(voc.; title of Iuppiter) for **leucetie*, fr. **Leucentie*, cf. *Leucetios*, *Loucetios*, for **leucent-ios*, **loucent-ios*, further fmm. fr. **leucent-*, *loucent-*, pres. part. act. fr. **leuc-o*, **louc-o*, f.f. *rauk-āmi*, √*luc*, origl. *ruk* (Corss. Krit. B. 471); *t* has become *s* after origl. *n*, which afterwards was lost, in the same way; *pul-su-s* for **pul-tu-s* (*pel-lo*, *pe-pul-i*), *spar-sus* for **spar(g)-tu-s* (*sparg-o*), etc.; but by their side occur *ten-tu-s* (and *ten-su-s*), *sepul-tu-s* (*sepel-io*), *tor-tu-s* for **tor(c)-tu-s*, (*torqu-eo*), etc.; **mac-simu-s* thus is for **mag-timu-s* (*mag-nus*; cf. *op-timu-s*); *fixus*, i.e. *fic-su-s*, for **fig-tu-s* (*figo*); *noxa*, i.e. **noc-sa*, for **noc-ta* (*noc-eo*), etc., bes. *ac-tu-s* (*ag-o*), *fic-tu-s* (√*fig* in *fi-n-g-o*), and many others with retained *t*. § 77.

Regularly *t* does not pass into *s* after *n*, when *nt* belongs to one and the same word-formative particle, e.g. *feru-nt*, *fere-nt-em*, etc. (yet cf. above-mentioned *Leucesios* for **Leucentios*).

Lapsus for **lap-tu-s*, **lab-tu-s*, is singular (cf. *lab-i*), bes. *scrip-tu-s* (*scrib-ere*), cf. Corss. Krit. B. 420 sqq. (Ebel, Zeitschr. xiv. 245 sqq. here assumes an inserted *s*: **lap-stus*, **man-stum*, to which *t* was assimild.)

Note.—Yet *mend-ax* belongs prob. to *ment-iri*, according to the system laid down by Schuchardt, Vocalismus des vulgärlateins, Lpz. 1866; cf. however on this point Aufrecht in Zeitschr. ix. 232; Corss. Krit. B. 117 sqq.

e. Change of *s* to *r* betw. vowels, or betw. vowels and sonant consonn., also after vowels in termination (in the lang. in question). The sonant consonn. here change the mute *s* into sonant *r*. The same process takes place, e.g. in Germ. also (*war*, *wāren*, for *was*, *wāsen*, √*was*, cf. *ge-wēs-en*, etc.), and in Sk. So, e.g. in *gener-is* (genus) for old Lat. **genes-os*; *maiores* fr. **maioses*; *erat* fr. **esat*, √*es*, etc.;

§ 77. *ueter-nus* fr. **uetes-nus* (*uetus, ueter-is*); *car-men* fr. **cas-men*, cf. Old-Lat. *Cas-mena*, √*cas; diur-nus, ho-dier-nus*, from an otherwise lost st. **dios-*, **dies-* = origl. *divas* (in *dies, diei*, the final *s* of the root has been lost), etc.; *arbor* for earlier *arbos; amor* fr. **amos*, **amo-se*, etc. *In fine* this *r* for *s* is caused through analogy of the other fms. (*arbor-is, amar-is*). Betw. vowels *s* has remained but rarely, e.g. *nasus*, cf. Sk. *nas*, Scl. *nosŭ*, etc., *miser, uasa, posui;* regularly *s* only remains instead of *ss*, e.g. *casus* for *cassus* fr. **cad-tu-s*, etc. (v. b).

f. Loss of consonn. betw. vowels. Here too we see a kind of assimiln., in that sonant consonn. become thereby similar to the surrounding vowels, and are swallowed up by them, so that only the attendant accent remains.

In the Romance langg. this process is very common (e.g. *ducatus*, It. *ducato*, Sp. *ducado*, Fr. *duché*). The commonest case is the loss of *y* and *v*, as *moneo, monēs*, fr. **moneyo*, **moneyis*, f.f. *mānayāmi, mānayasi; amasti* fr. **amaisti, amauisti; fluont, fluunt*, fr. *flouont*, etc. Exceptionally *s* has been lost betw. two vowels (Corss. Krit. Beitr. 464 sqq.), thus e.g. in *uēr* (spring) fr. **ueser*, cf. Gk. ἔαρ for **Fεσαρ*, Lith. *vasarà* (summer), Sk. *vas-antá-s* (spring), O. Bulg. *ves-na; ūis, uim*, bes. *uires, uirium*, st. *uisi-, uiri-*; prob. through analogy fr. origl. **divas-* arose a fm. *diēs, diēi*, bes. *ho-dier-nus*, fr. **dives-no-s*; fr. origl. and Sk. *nábhas-, nūbēs, nūbi-s*; fr. origl. and Sk. *sadas-* (cf. Gk. ἕδος), *sēdēs, sēdi-s*, and other like forms. Further, loss of origl. *bh*, Lat. *f*, *b*, has certainly occurred in *ama-ui* for **ama-fui*, etc.; in dat. pl. e g. *equīs*, f.f. *akva-bhya(m)s* (v. § 73, 3). On the doubtful loss of *c* betw. vowels, cf. § 39, 2; § 77, a, sub fin.; on loss of *h*, cf. § 73, 1.

g. Evident insertion of conson. betw. concurrent consonn. The change fr. *m* to *mp*, for the accommodation of *m* to the follg. *s, t*, is well known; it occurs in the best MSS. (e.g. in Cod. Medic. Vergili), e.g. *hiem-p-s, sum-p-si, sum-p-tus*, etc. Bef. the *s, t, m* became an audible conclusion, i.e. changed to *mp*.

2. Dissimilation.

t, d, before follg. *t*, change into *s* (as in Zend, Gk., Scl.-Germ.),

e.g. *eques-ter, pedes-ter,* for **equet-ter, *pedet-ter,* cf. *equit-is,* § 77.
pedit-is; es-t, es-tis, for **ed-t, *ed-tis,* cf. *ed-o; claus-trum* for **claud-trum,* cf. *claud-o*; st. *potēs-tāti-* (*potestas*) for **potens-tāti-* fr.**potent-tāti-*, st. *potent-* (*potens*) + sf. *-tāti-*, etc.

Likewise through the striving after dissimiln. *-āli-s* is interchanged with *-āri-s*; the latter is found in those cases where the word-st. to which this secondary sf. is added contains an *l*, e.g. *mor-tali-s,* but *uolg-ari-s, popul-ari-s, epul-ari-s.*

In the dislike of the immediate succession of two like sounds is found also the cause of the contraction of two like or similar consonn., which are separated by only one vowel, into one, through evanescence of the intervening vowel (cf. Gk. § 68, 2; a similar phenom. in M.H.G. has been mentioned by me in Kuhn's Zeitschr. x. 160); thus *consuētūdo* for **consuēti-tūdo* (*con-suētu-s*), st. *aestāti-* for **aestitāti-* (*aestu-s*), st. *nūtrīc-* for *nūtrī-trīc-* (*nutrī-re*), *stipendium* for **stipi-pendium* (*stip-s, stip-is*), *uenēficus* for **uenēni-ficus* (*uenēnu-m*), etc. (L. Meyer. Comp. Gr. i. 281).

Initial. § 78.

In Lat. more than in the other kindred langg., where loss of initial consonn. occurs in the main only sporadically, initial consonn. are exposed to evaporation: of two initial consonn. the former often falls away, yet even one single conson. is found to disappear bef. a follg. vowel (*e* bef. *u*).

Thus no Lat. word begins with *sn, sm, sr*; where these combinations origl. occurred initially, the *s* is lost, and only the second conson. remains, e.g. *nix, niuis,* fr. **snig-s, *snigv-is* (v. supr. § 72, 1), cf. Zend √*çniž* (snow), O. Bulg. *sněg-ŭ* (snow), Lith. *snìg-ti* (snow, v.), *sněg-as* (snow, n.), Goth. *snaiv-s* (snow); *nurus* (daughter-in-law) fr. **snurus,* cf. O.H.G. *snur,* Sk. *snušā́, me-mor* (mindful) fr. **sme-mor* (cf. *spo-pond-i, ste-ti* for **ste-sti,* etc.), and this fr. **sme-smor,* as Sk. and origl. √*smar* (bethink; on √*flu*=origl. *sru,* v. § 71, 3 n.).

Neither does initial *vr, vl,* occur in Lat., e.g. *laqueus* (noose), cf. Goth. *vruggō* (sling), **vriggan* (wring, wind); *lacer* (torn),

§ 78. cf. *ῥάκος* (rag), Aiol. *βράκος*, i.e. *Fράκος*, Sk. *√vraçk*, i.e. *vrak* (tear); *radix* (root), cf. *ῥίζα*, Lesb. *βρίσδα*, i.e. *Fρίζα*, **Fριδ-ya*, Goth. *vaúrts* (root), O.H.G. *wurza*, *wurzala*, f.f. of root therefore=*vrad*, etc.

Bef. *f*, *s* has disappeared in *fallere* (deceive) bes. *σφάλλειν*, *fungus* (id.) bes. *σφόγγος*, *funda* (sling) bes. *σφενδόνη*, *fides* (lyre) bes. *σφίδη*; on the conjectured loss of *s* bef. *p*, v. Corss. Krit. B. 457.

More singular, on the other hand, are cases like *teg-o* (cover) for **steg-o*, cf. *i-steg-a* for **in-steg-a* (cover), Gk. *στέγ-ω*, *στέγ-η*, bes. *τέγ-η*, Lith. *stógas* (roof), in Germ. likewise the *s* is lost, cf. *deck-en*, *dach*; *tundo* (thump), *√tud*, bes. Goth. *stauta*, *√stut*, but Sk. *√tud*; *taurus* (bull), *ταῦρος*, O. Bulg. *turŭ*, but Goth. *stiur*, Sk. *sthūra-s*; *cau-ere* (beware) bes. Goth. *us-skav-yan* (be wakeful), origl. *√skav*, etc.; bes. freq. initial *st*, *sc*. Whilst, inversely, of *sc* only the *s* remains in *sirpeus* (rush—), *sirpea*, *sirpiculus*, *-la*, (junket), *sirpare* (bind), bes. *scirpus* (withe), *scirpeus*, *scirpea*, etc., cf. O.H.G. *scilaf*, *sciluf*, N.H.G. *schilf*, and perh. in some others (Corss. Krit. B. 31 sqq.). Also in *lā-tum* for **tlātum*, cf. *√tol* (tollo), init. *t* is lost. *p* bef. *l* has clearly been lost in *lien* (milt) bes. Sk. *plihán-*, *plīhán*, *σπλήν*; perh. in *lanx*, *lanc-is* (dish), bes. *πλάξ*, *πλακ-ός* (flat-, plate), O.H.G. *flah*; whether *lae-tus* (glad) is for **plai-to-s*, and belongs to Sk. *√pri* (love, cheer), *lau* in *lau-ere*, *lauare* (wash), stands for **plav*, and here a causative fmn. of *√plu* is seen, may seem doubtful (*lau* belongs prob. to same root as *luo*, and not to root *plu*). Upon loss of *c* bef. *l*, which is not yet beyond doubt in my opinion, cf. Corss. Krit. B. p. 2 sqq., Krit. N. p. 35 sqq. On the whole there is still considerable doubt and uncertainty in this branch, because we are confined to a few examples.

It is well known that it was not till historic times that men simplified *gn* into *n*, as e.g. in *nō-sco*, *nō-tus*, *nō-men*, fr. older *gnō-sco*, cf. *co-gnō-sco*, *gnō-tus*, *gnō-men*, cf. *co-gnō-men*; *narrare* fr. earlier *gnā-rigare*, from same *gnā-rus*, where the initial conson. is fully preserved, fr. same root as *gnō-sco*, origl. *gna* fr. *gan* (nosse: cf. *γι-γνώ-σκω*, Sk. *ǵña*, Germ. *kan* and *kna*, etc.):

nā-tus for earlier *gnā-tus*, preserved in *co-gnā-tus*, √*gna* fr. *gan* § 78.
(gignere), cf. *gen-us*. The same sound-law, by which an initial gutt.+*n* becomes *n*, occurs also in Eng.: the old initials *gn*, *kn*, are still noticeably written in Eng. of this day, in words like *gnat*, *gnaw*, *knowledge*, etc., but *g*, *k*, are no longer heard. Cf. loss of gutt. bef. nasals medially (§ 77, 1, a).

Similarly at a later period of the lang. *st* was lost before *l* (Corss. Krit. B. 461, cf. 149) in st. *stleiti-*, *sleiti-*, *leiti-*, *līti-* (*lis*, suit), bes. which we place O.H.G. *strīt*, N.H.G. *streit* (in st.-terminations, it is true, this does not occur in Lat. words), in Inscrr. *slis* is seen, *stl* thus becomes *l* through *sl*: *stlātu-s*, *lātu-s* (broad), which is derived from origl. √*star* (*ster-no*, *strā-tus*, στορ-έννυμι, etc.)—thus the origl. word means "spread"; *stlocu-s*, *locu-s* (place), which we refer to Sk. √*sthal*, further fmn. of *stha*, origl. √*sta* (stand), and others whose derivation is not quite clear.

As *suāuis* for **suaduis* (§ 77, 1, a), so *uiginti* for **duiginti*, cf. *duo*, Sk. *dva*; the dropping away of the *d* occurs nevertheless in Gk. too (εἴκοσι), in Kelt. (Erse *fiche*, *fichet*, i.e. *uiginti*), in Aryan (Sk. *vīçáti*, Zend *vīçaiti*), and thus dates from the earliest times. If **duiginti* had stood its ground to a later time, **biginti* would have arisen, as *bis* fr. **duis*, *bellum* fr. *duellum*, *bonus* fr. *duonus* (*duonoro*; Epit. Scip. Barb. f.): here through mutual influence *b* has arisen, as an assimiln. of *d* and *v*, since *d* became assimilated to *v* as regards quality (labial quality), and *v* became like *d* as regards quantity, i.e. became a momentary sonant conson.

Bef. *y*, *d* is lost in *Iouis*, etc., for **Dyouis*, cf. Old Lat. *Dioue* (Ioui), and Osk. *Diúveí* (Momms. Unterital. Diall. p. 255), Sk. *dyāu-s* (heaven), Gk. *Ζεύς*=**δγευ-ς*, etc., √*dyu* (=*div*, shine). The same loss is seen in *Iuno* for **Diou-no*, fmd. fr. same root (Corss. Krit. N. p. 142).

Even the favourite initial sound *qu* appears simplified to *u* in *uermis* (cf. Germ. *wurm*) for **quermis*, f.f. *karmi-s*, Sk. *krmi-s*, Lith. *kirm-elė* (worm; but cf. G. Curt. Gr. Et.² p. 485 sqq.);

§ 78. so too *v* appears to stand for *gv* in √*uen* (uenire)=**guen* for **ge-n* (§ 77, 1), further fmn. fr. √*ga* (go), by means of *n*. At a very late period arose the loss of init. *c* bef. *u* in several fms. of interrog. pronn., e.g. in *u-bi* for **cu-bi* or **quo-bi*, kept in compd. *ali-cu-bi*, cf. Umbr. *pufe* (*p*=Lat. *c*); *u-nde* for* *cu-nde*, kept in *ali-cu-nde; u-ter* for **cu-ter* (compar. fm. st. *cu-*=*quo-*), cf. Osk. *pùturus-pid* (i.e. utrique) with *p*=Lat. *c*, Gk. πότερος, earlier Iôn. κότερος, Sk. and f.f. *ka-tarás*.

§ 79. FINAL.

The Lat. lang., as we have it, generally permits only single consonn. at the end of a word, but also groups of two and even three consonn., viz. nasal or liq.+mutes; mutes, *r*, *l*, *m*, *n*+*s*; *s*+*t*, e.g. *ferunt, hunc, uolt, fert; scrobs, ars* for **art-s*, and so in similar cases (but *uir* for **uirs, quatuor* for **quatuors*, fr. **uiro-s, quatuor-es*), *fers* (fr. *feris*), *puls* for **pult-s* (but *uis* for **uil-s*, f.f. *varsi*, "thou wilt," *sal* for **sal-s*, *s* lost), *hiem(p)s, ferens* for **ferent-s*, and so in such cases (but *nouōs, nouās*, for **nouons*, **nouans*); the combinations *rs*, *ls*, *ns*, were therefore tolerated in these cases where they stand for *rts*, *lts*, *nts*, i.e. when *s* alone =*ss*; *est*; nasal or liq.+mute+*s*, e.g. *hiemps, urbs, arx*, i.e. *arc-s, falx*, i.e. **falcs;* indeed our present final consonn., for by far the greatest part, did not become final until vowels had evaporated, and were not compressed until vowels had been lost. Yet in no case was a doubled conson. tolerated, *in fine*, e.g. *os, fel*, not **oss*, **fell*, cf. *oss-is, fell-is*; moreover, the combination of two mom. consonn. was not admissible, e.g. *lac* for **lact*, cf. *lact-is*, and *rd, cor* for **cord*, cf. *cord-is*; where these combinations should have been final, the latter conson. was discarded.

It was not until Lat. became a fixed written language in classical times that the termn. assumed a more definite existence. The earlier national archaic lang. shows in spelling a great indifference towards final consonn. In fact, the consonantal termns. *s*, *m*, *t*, important as they are for word-formn., were sometimes expressed in writing, sometimes omitted, which

we find to be the case in Umbr. also. This fact proves that in § 79.
earlier times (and later also in the unformed branch of the Roman) the final consonn. were heard with difficulty, perh. as in many Romance langg. (e.g. *d* in Span., *t*, *nt*, etc., in Fr.). The correct lang. here introduced a fixed rule, after the pattern of the Gk.; the conson. was now either always written (the rule), or regularly discarded (the exception). A few exx. of the unsettled treatment of the termn. have remained in spelling even as late as the classical period.

We will treat separately of the final consonants, origl. *s*, *m*, *t*, since they are most important for grammar.

s is omitted in writing in the oldest inscrr. in cases like *Tetio*, *Furio*, n. sg. for *Tetio-s*, *Furio-s*; *Corneli*, *Clodi*, etc., for *Cornelis*, *Clodis* = *Cornelios*, *Clodios* (Ritschl, Progr. of 12 March, 1861). Yet in the earliest lang. the loss of final *s* is mainly confined to n. sg. It is well known that even at a later time the poets were wont to neglect final *s* bef. initial consonn., and that the weak pronunciation of final *s* is otherwise attested. The written lang. in most cases decided in favour of the retention of the *s*. Nevertheless the wavering betw. retention and loss of final *s* in 2 p. sg. med. is obvious, e.g. *amabaris*, *amabare*; further in *magi-s* and *mage*, *poti-s*, *pote*, where, at the same time *i* was dulled to *e*.

The loss of *s* was regularly allowed, e.g. in n. pl. masc. of *o*-st., which in the older lang. still shows the *s* here and there, e.g. *heis*, *magistreis*, etc., bes. *hei*, *magistrei*; a later fm., as *hi*, *magistri*, was the one afterwards exclusively fixed upon; the same process takes place in gen. sg. fem. of *a*-stems, e.g. *suaes*, *dimidiaes*, later *ae* only is found, etc.

Through evaporation of the vowel of the last syll. *s* after *r* is lost, as in *puer*, *uir*, *quatuor*, *acer* (with auxil. vowel bef. *r*), for **pueros*, **uiros*, **quatuores* (cf. τέσσαρες), *acris*; more rarely this occurs after *l*, *uigil* for *uigilis*, **uigils*.

m, only faintly audible *in fine*, is likewise often unexpressed in earlier monuments of the lang., e.g. *oino*, *uiro*, *duonoro* (Epit.

§ 79. Scip.), bes. *pocolom, sacrom,* etc. In popular diall. this faint pronunciation of final *s* remains, as later inscrr. prove; the written lang., however, firmly maintained the letter in spelling. One effect of the weak pronunciation of final *m* must here be noticed, viz. that in verse it was not considered a conson. bef. vowels.

Also final *n* seems to have become only faintly heard, cf. *alioqui* bes. *alioquin* and the like (cf. however, Corss. Krit. B. 272).

Origl. final *t* had in earlier Lat. a weak sound, like a scarcely audible *d*; accordingly it is freq. omitted in writing, e.g. *patre* (Epit. Scip. Barb.) bes. *Gnaiuod,* etc. In classical Lat. *d* for origl. *t* was sometimes retained in writing, thus e.g. in ntr. pronl. decl. e.g. *quo-d*=origl. *ka-t, id*=origl. *i-t,* etc. (the spelling in *t* is rarer in these cases), sometimes completely discarded, as in abl. sg., where *d*=origl. *t* has been retained in archaic Lat. only, but was not written in class. Lat., e.g. *equō-d, equō* =origl. *akvā-t,* Sk. *áçvā-t*; in termn. *-to* of imper. *t* has likewise been lost, e.g. origl. *as-tāt,* Osk. *es-tūd,* Lat. *esto* fr. **es-tōd.* Final *t* in Lat. is not origl., but has become final after vowel-loss, and thus remains in class. Lat., whilst archaic Lat. does not show this *t,* e.g. *īt,* f.f. **ei-ti,* origl. *ai-ti; uehit(i), uehunt(i), *uehonti,* origl. *vaghati, vaghanti,* etc., but archaically *dede= dedet, dedit,* and even indeed *dedro=dedront, dederunt.*

Thus *nt* also in earlier times and colloquial lang. was barely audible in pronunciation; wherein lies the cause of the double fms. of the later fixed spelling of 3 p. pl. pf., as *fecerunt* (with entire termn. retained) and *fecere* (with lost *nt* and weakened vowel).

The clipping of final consonn. was even more prevalent in Umbr. than in Old Lat.; whilst the Osk. does not show this phenomenon, since there was a generally-received Samnite orthography before the time from which our earliest inscrr. date, and the popular variations in pronunciation were no longer followed in spelling.

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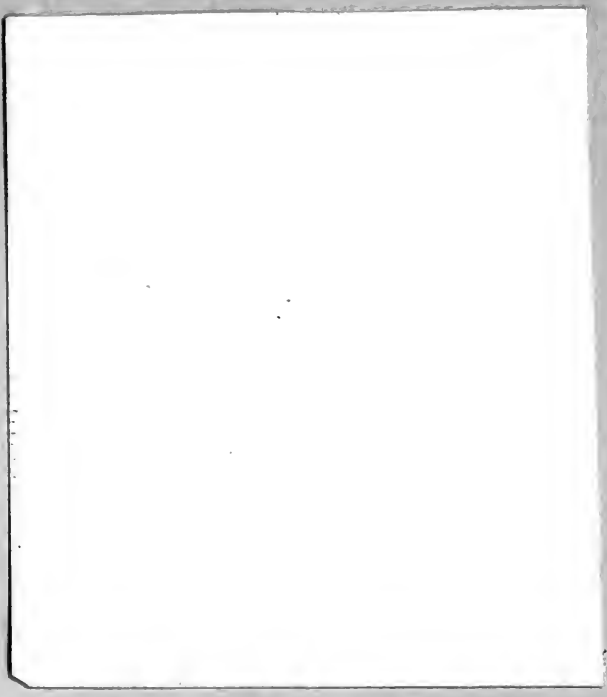
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