ELUCIDATIONS

OF

THE STUDENT'S GREEK GRAMMAR

BY

Prof. CURTIUS.

Translated

From the German, with the Author's sanction

BY

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PREFACE.

THE following pages are a translation of the '*Er-läuterungen zu meiner Griechischen Schulgrammatik*', published in 1863 by Professor Curtius together with the sixth edition of the Grammar. Being merely 'elucidations', they must be read in connection with the Grammar in order to be fully intelligible. Here and there, it is true, quotations and notes have been added in order to make the reading more continuous, but it was impossible to render the book an independent one. Nor, indeed, was it necessary, as the Grammar of Professor Curtius is within the reach of English readers. (The Student's Greek Grammar, London 1862).

The present volume then is a companion to the Grammar. The whole work may be considered a manual of the Greek language embodying in brief the latest results of Comparative Grammar, so far as these illustrate the Greek language. In many respects it will be found to differ widely from the grammars and philological works used in England: but the most distinctive characteristic is the *scientific* method, which Professor Curtius pursues in dealing with language. Throughout, he recognizes language

as an organism, dependent, indeed, upon man, and, therefore, parasitic, but still an organism with definite laws of growth and decay. As such, therefore, it must be studied. We must not approach it with *a priori* ideas derived from metaphysics, but with the watchful and observant eye of the student of nature. What we see, we know; what we deduce from our observations is probable; what we imagine is the baseless fabric of a vision.

On this conception of language two observations may be made.

I.—It may become of great practical value. At the present time there is a widely spread desire for scientific method in education. It is often said, and not without reason, that the classics are studied in our schools to the exclusion of physical science, of our advances in which we are justly proud. Without doubt, the desire would be more readily met, were not classics and science felt to be widely separated. The study of one is regarded as incompatible with the study of the other; and as it is impossible to study *both* in the time usually set apart for education, the classics maintain their prescriptive position. And yet this separation of the two subjects is detrimental to both. The scholar accuses the man of science of a 'want of taste': the man of science regards the scholar as one who neglects the present for the past. But when we regard language as an organism, and the science of language as a physical science, this unfortunate separation is bridged over. A common point is found where the advocates of both

systems can meet. Scientific method can be in-
troduced into our schools without drawing boys
away from classics, or increasing in the least the
material amount of instruction.

Again. Many boys leave school with little or no
knowledge of Greek and Latin. Now it is not al-
together easy to answer satisfactorily those who ask
what is the value of this minimum of knowledge.
The practical value is nothing: the educational value
is little more, if the tasks have been learned merely
by rote. To be able to decline *musa* is not a great
accomplishment if we merely know how to decline
it, and remain in ignorance of the meaning of de-
clension. Yet the distinction between *musa* and *musam*
conveys in the simplest manner the distinction between
subject and object, a distinction which it is impossible
to illustrate in an equally simple and regular manner
from our own language, because in form the nomina-
tive and accusative—except in the personal pronouns
—are identical, and the difference is expressed by
position merely. This is indeed the great value of
the study of inflected language. It presents to the
eye differences which in uninflected language must
be grasped by the mind. Now by teaching language
scientifically all these distinctions and the reasons for
them are impressed upon the pupil; and thus even
a knowledge of the declensions becomes of value.
For though the boy leaves school knowing little or
nothing of Latin and Greek, he knows something
of language. And of all knowledge this is the most
valuable. For language is in nearer relation to the

mind than anything else. It stands between us and
the outward world; we may almost say between us
and our own thoughts. Unless we know something
of its true nature it is almost impossible for us to
emancipate ourselves from its dominion, and become
thinking, not merely speaking, beings.

II.—The view advocated by Professor Curtius is,
in the main, correct. The organic nature of language
is seen in the fact that the changes take place in
obedience to some internal force, and are beyond the
power of man to hasten or retard. No one could
introduce a new sound, or a new rule of syntax into
language. Even the attempt to do so argues a certain
imbecility of mind. Yet the constant use of books
and writing tends to give us too material a view
of language. We are apt to regard it as existing
apart from the mind. As easily could the plant
exist apart from the parent soil. Written language
stands to spoken language much in the same relation
as the plants in a herbarium to those in a garden,
as dead structures to living. And yet, though we
speak of the science of language as a natural science,
and of the mind as the soil in which language,
the plant, grows, we must not be misled by the
metaphor. There is this important difference. The plant
is wholly an organic structure: but language is not
so. It is organic only so far as it is unconscious.
Thus inflections changes of sound, &c., are organic:
not so the order of words in a sentence or the mode
of connecting one sentence with another. Here rhetoric
and logic have invaded the natural domain of lan-

guage. Or we may say that there is in language a physiological, and an intellectual element, and that it is in virtue of the former rather than the latter that language is brought within the sphere of natural science.

It may not be altogether superfluous to point out that a distinction must be drawn between *Roots*, *Stems*, and *Words*. A root is a 'sound of meaning'; it is that part of a word which conveys the meaning divested of any addition or modification. It is a sound, not a word. Thus Ͽε is the root in τί-Ͽε-ται, ἔ-Ͽε-το, Ͽέ-σι-ς. But when a root has become modified in any manner, by the addition of syllables, or by internal change, it becomes a stem: thus τιϿε is a stem formed to express the present tense; Ͽεσι a stem formed to express an action. As compared with roots, stems are changeable. But τιϿε, and Ͽεσι are not words: to complete the structure a termination is needed, Ͽέσις, τιϿεται. As inflection is accomplished by terminations, it follows that stems are uninflected: and that, though changeable as compared with roots, they are the unchangeable elements in words. The three terms, therefore, express three distinct stages of analysis, and in this respect are of the greatest value in both in grammar and etymology. Whether they also represent three stages in the historical growth of language is a matter which in no way concerns the Grammarian however interesting in itself. They are not arbitrary distinctions. In language, it is true,

the sentence is the unit; and all divisions of it are fractional. Thus even words are fractions: δῶρον is unintelligible without δίδωσι; δίδωσι necessitates a δῶρον. Yet the distinction of words is useful in practice, and defensible in science; it is based on definite principles, and not an open question to be decided at the caprice of the individual. The same may be said of the division of words into Roots, Stems, and Terminations. The parts are fractions no doubt: they are, it may be said, fractions of a fraction. Yet the division is not capricious. The distinction between a 'sound of meaning' and a 'sound of relation'; between a 'variable' and an 'invariable' element is as logical as that between subject and predicate, substantive and attribute. The practical use of the distinction in exhibiting the unity of words in conjugation and declension is beyond a doubt.

The Rev. W. Sanday, Fellow of Trinity College, has rendered me very valuable assistance in revising the proofs; the Greek Index also I owe to the kindness of a friend.

The chapters and sections are those to which the Elucidations refer.

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E. A.

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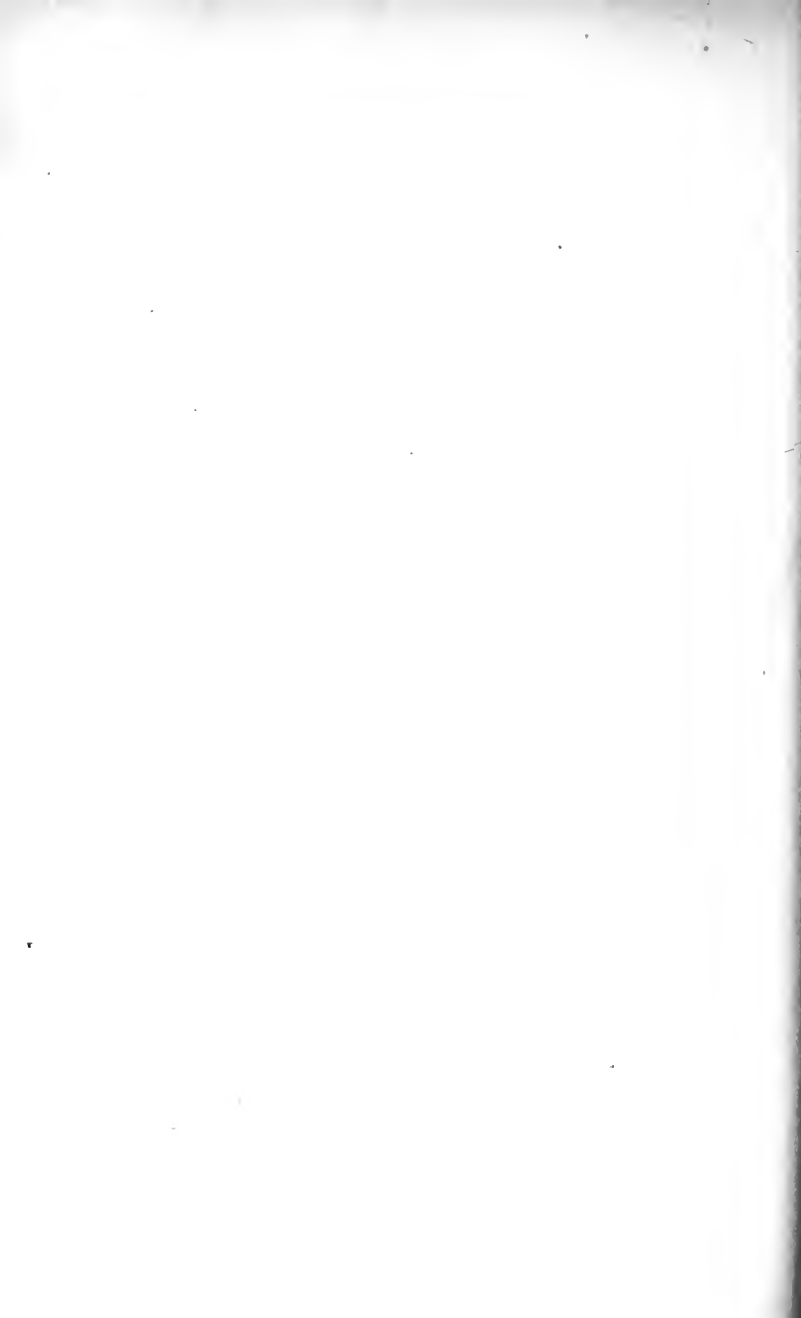
INTRODUCTION.

THE Greek and Latin languages are commonly termed classical. If used in the old sense, as implying that no other language has been born to a similar heritage of dignity and delicacy, the epithet is no longer, strictly speaking, correct; since modern science has rather taught us to regard every language as in itself a marvellous product of man's intellectual activity, and to find in many of those already investigated a high degree of development. But nevertheless, as the circle embraced by this science spreads wider, the conclusion becomes more certain, that in general framework and principle of structure the Indogermanic family remains unsurpassed. And among these again Sanskrit alone perhaps can contest with Greek the claim to the richest and most happy development of the germs common to all. Still, when we direct our attention, not so much to the faithful preservation of old sounds and forms, and the consequent transparency of the whole structure—on which account the language of the Indians is of such vast importance for the general study of language—as to the consistent accomplishment of aims which from the remotest period floated before the genius of language, to the light and flexible character of the forms retained, and the delicate shades of meaning expressed by them, to the richness of the vocabulary which reflects every side of

Greek intellectual life—we can hardly avoid the con-
clusion that the language of the Hellenes is that in
which, on the whole, the most complete structure
is brought before us in the highest degree of deve-
lopment.

At the present time this language forms a neces-
sary part of advanced instruction at school. This
position, it is true, it has attained, not by excellency
of structure, but by the contents of the literature
of which it is the key. And not even the most en-
thusiastic admirer of Greek as a language will go
so far as not to recognize the object of learning
Greek in a knowledge of Homer, Sophocles and De-
mosthenes, no less than in understanding the form
of the Aorist, or use of the Optative. But since
the only way by which the intellectual treasures to
be found in the Greek language can become so
perfectly familiar as to have a real influence in edu-
cation, is an accurate knowledge of the language;
and the study of the language in the literal sense,
that is, careful practice in the forms and their uses,
and the gradual unlocking of the treasures of the
vocabulary, justly lay claim to a large part of the
time devoted to learning Greek—two considerations
seem to be suggested by the present position of
in Greek our schools.

It is, on the one hand, altogether monstrous that
a number of our schoolmasters should proceed, as
they do, to this their most important task of teach-
ing languages—what I say holds good of Latin no
less than Greek—without ever studying the structure
of the language they have to teach, and that in many
German universities no opportunity is ever afforded
for this study. That this defect operates beneficially
on the delight of the teacher in undertaking his task
is what no one will believe. On the contrary, as we
always find most pleasure in teaching subjects which

we love, because we have laboured upon them, and admire, because we apprehend their internal organization, we may suppose that those will teach languages —and Greek especially—with more enthusiasm, and, therefore, with better results, to whom the forms are something different from a motley multitude of unintelligible structures, and something more than an unavoidable task to be learned mechanically. Now the task of teaching the elements of language is chiefly in the hands of young men, and for these the transition from the regions of science to the practical teaching of a school is always very abrupt. For in the first attempts at teaching it is almost impossible to apply the studies in criticism, exegesis, literary history, and antiquities, which fill up the time spent at the university. But with the science of language the case is different. Language becomes at once the subject of instruction. And though of course, even here, scientific investigation and the practical teaching required at school are naturally far apart, it is by no means impossible to enliven the latter even from the very first by the insight obtained in the paths of science. Changes of sounds, rules of accentuation, forms of inflection are no longer what they were in the eyes of one who has learnt to combine them into a whole, and to recognize even in the smallest details the web woven by the genius of language. To him even elementary teaching offers many of the charms of science. The study of language at the university has, therefore, a peculiar value as reconciling science and practice, though such a reconciliation, it is true, is only possible when instruction at school is so arranged—and in Greek this can be done the soonest and most widely—that the charms of science are to a certain extent embodied in practical teaching.

But not merely the pleasure of teaching—that of

learning also will be increased, if instruction in language is not cut off from contact with science. For in this way something of the delight which every glimpse of order and law ensures, will come even to the pupil's aid. If, when the forms have been impressed on the memory, the pupil is taught to recognize them in their origin by correct analysis, and to perceive the special causes of apparent irregularities, there is no doubt that by such a course the attention is sharpened, and the memory rendered more tenacious. And who would refuse to recognize the exercise of the understanding, also called into play by such a process? Nay, more than exercise of the understanding. For to be habituated to combine complicated details into a whole, to seek for analogies, to reject the shallow admission of mere caprice and exception, contains a higher element of culture. And this can be brought to the help of the youthful pupil without in the least increasing the material amount of his studies, but in the closest combination with the acquisition of that which without this must be learned for quite other objects.

In earlier times when instruction in the ancient languages—which at that time was almost identical with instruction in Latin—far outweighed instruction of any other kind, an accurate and lasting knowledge of language was acquired by a method essentially the same as that now followed in learning modern languages, that is, by a certain passive devotion to the material part of the language, in acquiring which the imitative instincts chiefly were taken into consideration. And if at the present time complaints are very frequently made that the acquaintance of pupils with the ancient languages on leaving school is not always in a satisfactory proportion to the important space of time devoted to learning them, the reason of this is still without a doubt to be found mainly in the fact that

in modern times it is very difficult to maintain an
equally concentrated devotion to the object of study
among pupils. Under such circumstances we ought
not to despise any means calculated to excite the
student's attention to the phenomena of language.
And I should think that in a more scientific treat-
ment of instruction such a means would be found;
and that even those who take no part in the science
of language, would readily avail themselves of it as
conducing to an end which all schoolmasters recognize
as desirable. For no one will deny that subjects
are best remembered which have been learned with
pleasure and enthusiasm.

As a fact, the Greek language has not for these
many years been taught in school merely as a task for
the memory. On the contrary, more than a century
has elapsed since the attempt has been made in various
ways to make the forms more intelligible, and, there-
fore, more easy to teach, by tracing them to their
origin, and by distinguishing between stems and
terminations. While our Latin grammars of the
ordinary stamp content themselves with paradigms
of the conjugations, and e. g. in *tango, tetigi, tactum*,
are careful to conceal the fact that the perfect and
supine are formed from the stem *tag*, but the present
from the longer stem *tang*, there is scarcely a Greek
school-grammar to be found in which ΛΑΒΩ or λαβ
is not mentioned as a stem or 'theme' beside λαμβάνω;
and thus one of the most essential facts in the
structure of the Greek and Indogermanic verb, the
distinction between the present-stem and the verb-
stem, is noticed as a fact in individual instances,
though not recognized as a principle. Even the
existence of several dialects in Greek with which
the pupil must be familiarised, led necessarily to a
accurate study of the sounds in their relation to
each other. The difference between the Homeric ἴδ-μεν

and the Attic ἴσ-μεν made an observation necessary
on the relation of δ and σ; and it was then almost
impossible to avoid the conclusion that σ had arisen
out of Ͽ, not only in κεκορυσμένος as compared with
Homeric κεκορυϿμένος, but also in πέπυσμαι beside
πεύϿομαι, and in consequence to take the same view
of the sigma in πέπυσται, πύστις, πίσ-τι-ς; and in spite
of any aversion to further linguistic analysis to allow
some little of this discovery to transpire even in the
presence of the pupil. But in Latin, on the other
hand, the change from *d* to *s* in *es-tis*, from *ed-tis*,
which is quite analogous to the last mentioned change
in Greek, is often regarded as a mystery lying far
beyond the sphere of the schoolmaster, and many
would perhaps even yet regard the comparison of it
with the corresponding change in Greek as an im-
proper innovation.

There is no doubt that Greek accidence has for
a long time been treated in a far more scientific
manner than Latin. Hence the step, which still re-
mained for the grammarian to take, was in reality
not very great. His labour was directed chiefly to
increasing and correcting the analyses already long
in use by others at once deeper and more trust-
worthy—because resting on a wider basis—which are
brought forward by the modern science of languages
with the aid of the comparative method tried and
proved with such signal success in Sanskrit. Other
changes, especially in the arrangement of the material
and the terminology, were also rendered necessary.
And it is the main object of the following pages
to make many things of this kind clearer and more
accessible to persons unacquainted with the science
of language in a strict sense.

The science of Comparative Grammar which in
regard to the Indogermanic family of languages begins
with the publication of Bopp's '*Conjugationssystem*'

in 1816, has now run its course for half a century, and scarcely any person whatever, competent to form an opinion, will treat it any longer with that contempt which forms by no means a creditable page in the history of modern philology. Indeed it would now be a mere waste of words to dwell upon the importance of such studies, and the value of the results obtained. Bopp's '*Vergleichende Grammatik*' (2nd ed.), Schleicher's '*Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik*' (Weimar 1861. 62. 2nd ed. 1866), not to mention other works of a more special character, or touching less upon grammar in the narrower sense, put it in the power of everyone who chooses, to make himself acquainted with this new science, even without a previous knowledge of Sanskrit, an important advantage which is sometimes overlooked. The results of this science have also been reproduced in a popular form suited to general readers by Schleicher in the '*Deutsche Sprache*' (Stuttgart 1860), and Max Müller in his '*Lectures on the Science of Language*', 1st and 2nd series.

In regard also to the position which comparative grammar occupies in respect to philology in the stricter sense, I may here be permitted to refer to other works, especially to my inaugural lecture '*Philologie und Sprachwissenschaft*' (Leipsic 1862); and in regard to the relation between Greek and the kindred languages to my '*Grundzüge der Griechischen Etymologie*', I, p. 21 sq.

On the other hand, a few words may here be added on the particular position which the author of a school book has to take up in this respect. In her first attempts to reach the mighty aims proposed, our science could not always avoid falling into mistakes; and, as is usually the case in the youth of science, regarded much as easy of attainment which it was found on repeated trials beyond our power

to comprehend or teach. Excessive enthusiasm was
followed by indifference; unhesitating confidence in
our own powers of vision gave way to a more ac-
curate inquiry into our means of vision, and method
generally. In this way a small nucleus of truths was
gained, which, though perhaps it was still possible
to look at them from more than one point of view,
were nevertheless in themselves beyond all reasonable
doubt. On the other hand there were other deeper
questions in regard to which, as was natural in the
ever-increasing spread of the science, opinions were
divided, and more than one path struck out. From
a work of a practical nature the latter are of course
to be rigorously excluded; and we must strictly ad-
here to facts which are accepted with scarcely any
hesitation or variety of opinion by those familiar
with the science. Hence it was my first principle
entirely to exclude everything which did not seem
to me proved to demonstration; and, therefore, though
often requested by critics of my grammar to insert
this or that theory, which, while not altogether beyond
a doubt, appeared plausible to them, I have not al-
lowed myself to be misled, believing as I do that
in a school book we must certainly keep a step in
the rear. In every vigorously advancing science,
there are investigations which though commenced
and not without important results, are not as yet
brought to a conclusion and fully ripened. The at-
tempt to teach such theories in a school, where
all hypothesis is out of place, and simple 'yes'
and 'no' are absolutely necessary, is just the very
thing which often brings out in the plainest manner
the weak or missing links in the chain of our re-
searches. So long as such are to be found we must
adhere to the old explanation. For it is in a school-
grammar as in a state: reforms, however desirable,
must be abandoned when obviously beyond our reach,

and we must be content with the old established laws.
Our principle must be to keep the old explanation
unless some important and certain gain is to be ob-
tained by a change; and to this I have adhered, at
the risk of being accounted overcautious by many
fellow students of language, and finding myself and
my book cast aside by advanced enquirers. Never-
theless I do not of course imagine that I have not
fallen into mistakes in this respect; but I have at
least acted upon the most conscientious conviction
in every case.

Further; those results of science only could be
introduced which can easily be rendered intelligible
from Greek alone, or at most from Greek with the
aid of Latin and German. The limits imposed by
this principle were not without the corresponding
advantage, that the language is thus made to appear
throughout as a connected whole, an advantage from
which even science gains an additional charm. It can-
not be denied that the student, comparing a number of
individual facts in different languages, is occasionally
in danger of losing the connecting thread which com-
bines all the phenomena of a given language together,
and unites them into a single product of the national
genius. For this reason the studies of linguistic en-
quirers constantly require to be mutually supple-
mented by works proceeding from different points
of view. The special grammar of a given language
must endeavour mainly to set in the clearest light
the analogies which prevail throughout the language
as a whole, together with the more special rules
and types found only in certain limits, and floating,
as it were, before the linguistic genius of the nation.
Thus, to take an instance from Greek, it is absolutely
necessary that one common name should be found
to denote the so-called *tempora secunda et prima,*
that is, shorter and longer forms having the same

function, though not always standing on exactly the same level. The system of the Greek language makes that indispensable. In such matters the individual character of every language must be carefully vindicated. The distinction mentioned between the tenses which I call 'strong' and 'weak', is as necessary in Greek as similar distinctions in German grammar; though *scientific enquiry* has to arrange and explain many things of this kind in a different manner. But in as much as every phenomenon must be made clear from the Greek itself—though proved, perhaps by comparison with other languages, the grammarian is compelled to make many omissions. Thus, for instance, the relationship between the personal terminations of the verb in the Sing., -μι, -σι, -τι, and the pronoun-stems με, σε, το, can be pointed out even when we confine ourselves to Greek forms; but, on the other hand, we should be led too far away from the form σι of the second person, were we to go back to the older stem *tva* which may be obtained from the Sanskrit and from which, on the one hand, the -θα (σθα) sometimes found in the second person singular, and, on the other, the -θι of the imperative can be explained. In other cases also this compendious treatment compels us to assume auxiliary and intermediate forms, which, though certainly in existence at some time or another, may perhaps never have existed on Greek ground. This also is a point often too little regarded in linguistic enquiry. Science indeed cannot be too exact in this respect; but in a school-grammar some freedom may be allowed in favour of the language which has to be taught. An instance in point will be found in the fem. of the Part. Pref. Act. The Skt. -*ushi* beside the masc. -*rat* (*ras*) proves that -υια has arisen out of -Fοτ-ια, τ being weakened to σ and then dropped. But whether this change took place when Greek had already become

separated from the kindred languages, or whether the
Greeks brought with them the form -*usia* from a pre-
Greek period, must be left undecided. The inter-
mediate form Ϝοσια, therefore, assumed in §188, though
perhaps unknown to Greek lips, was nevertheless in-
troduced as a connecting form absolutely necessary
for the object in view.

The dialects are a very essential instrument in ex-
plaining Greek forms. They must, however, be used
with the greatest moderation in a school-grammar
where the material must be kept within due limits;
such forms only being available in explanation as
occur in books read at school. Happily Homer
presents so great a number of the most instructive
formations that this book alone is of more importance
than all the other dialects. Of it the most extensive
use must be made as being the most natural and
convenient instrument for explanation. The best
method is to bring the corresponding forms together
before the eye on one page, in which case the Attic
forms in the text are often at once explained by a
glance at the Homeric forms beneath. This arrange-
ment presents a further advantage to the teacher
who proceeds intelligently with his work. Attic Greek
must, in my opinion, form the central point in in-
struction, and must be first impressed firmly on the
memory as the most delicate and complete develop-
ment of the language. But when the first and, so
to speak, dullest drudgery is over, and the forms are
being established and fixed in the mind by analysis,
no harm will be done by occasionally quoting a few
Homeric forms in support of the analysis; and more
especially at a later period, when the Homeric dialect
must of necessity be studied in order to read the
book, the most frequent opportunities will be given
for comparing it with the Attic, and renewing an
acquaintance with the latter. This indispensable

comparison of the dialects replaces to a great extent
the more extensive comparison of different languages
which lies beyond the sphere of a school. It is, and
always was a scientific leaven in instruction in Greek,
and even the most declared opponents of all anatomy
of language have not the power to eliminate it. In fact
analysis of some kind is here absolutely necessary;
unless like the ancient grammarians, who derived
everything in the world except their language from
Homer, we would again teach that θεοῖο has arisen
from θεοῦ, Μουσάων from Μουσῶν, λιλαίεαι from λιλαίη,
ἐθέλησι from ἐθέλη by Paragoge, Pleonasmus &c.
But no intelligent teacher will venture to act in such
complete contradiction to science and his own better
knowledge. Yet if this plan is not adopted, what
remains? Must every enquiry of a clever pupil after
the why and how be steadily set aside, and the
meaningless phrases 'instead of', or 'for' used with
cautious indecision in order to conceal what is un-
intelligible, and to repress every innocent desire, as
I think, for the tree of knowledge. Such a course
would I fear be as unworthy of a teacher as of a
man of science.

Hence the need of a more scientific treatment of the
Greek language is so widely felt that I am not alone
in my attempt to satisfy it. Ahrens' '*Griechische
Formenlehre des homerischen und attischen Dialekts*'
appeared in 1852 simultaneously with the first edition
of my grammar; and there are many points in which
the two works agree. A later school-book, also
proceeding from a correct insight into the study of
language, is the '*Griechische Formenlehre für Gym-
nasien*', by H. D. Müller and Jul. Lattmann (Göttingen
1863). This is not the place to enter upon a detailed
criticism of these works. My grammar is distinguished
from both, inasmuch as it includes not only a more
complete and systematic account of the whole ac-

cidence, so far as is needed in schools, but also a
sketch of the syntax. The latter, though brief, is I
believe sufficient for the object in view. Accidence
and syntax have already been separated too long,
to the mutual detriment of both. It is now high time
to reunite them; and in explaining the syntax to avail
ourselves, at least to some extent, of the results of
our enquiries into the forms upon which all syntac-
tical constructions ought to rest; and conversely, to
enliven and deepen the analysis of the forms, which in
some parts is very easily done, by a reference to their
usage. This object has at present, it must be allowed,
been attained to a very limited degree; nevertheless
it is important that both parts of grammar should at
least be based upon the same view of language, and
carried out in the same spirit. In practice I consider it
essential—and my opinion is shared by many teachers
of experience—that one book, and one only, should
be used by the pupil in learning Greek, from the time
that he enters school till he leaves it. With this he
will become perfectly familiar, and though at the
present time there is a common, and not perhaps
unreasonable desire for concentration in instruction,
for my part, I can imagine nothing more likely to
distract the student's attention in this very important
branch of instruction than the successive perusal of
a number of entirely different manuals.

Such a plan of course pre-supposes that the teacher
will make a selection for those commencing the study
of Greek. This I do not on the whole regard as a
very difficult matter. Experience and practical in-
stinct, together with the special character of the class
taught, will supply the necessary clue. Much as
my book is used in schools, few complaints on this
subject have come to my ears; on the contrary many
intelligent teachers have expressed the opinion that
the necessity for a personal study of the grammar,

and for teaching it to pupils according to a plan of their
own, has been a peculiar source of delight to them.
And the systematic arrangement of the material,
which I have attempted, unquestionably renders the
book more useful for reference, which is and ought
to be an important point in every grammar.

In conclusion I must say a word on the external
limitation of the contents in my book. All exceptional
forms or constructions of no importance in the pupil's
reading had of course to be excluded. Hence those
writers only are kept in view which are usually read
in schools, i. e. of the poets, Homer, Sophocles and
Euripides; and of the prose authors Herodotus,
Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato and the Orators. Even
in these, phenomena which would hardly be discussed
in a school, are entirely omitted. With regard to
the statistical citations commonly given, every one
who has studied the subject knows how misleading
they are. Notwithstanding the careful collections in
Krüger's Greek grammar, and the quotations in our
lexicons, much has been omitted, especially in reference
to the compound verbs, of which owing to the ar-
rangement in our lexicons, it is often very difficult
to obtain a connected view, to the great detriment
of linguistic science. In some cases also we must
allow that it is mere accident that a form quite usual
in the Attic period is not known to us till a later
era. With such forms we must not be too strict.
Thus according to Krüger the Perf. Med. ἤκουσμαι
is first found in Apollonius Dyscolus. But it is
hardly possible that no Perf. Med. of so common
a verb existed in the Attic times, and since there
is nothing in the formation which points to a later
origin (cp. ἠκούσθην), ἤκουσμαι is quoted with the
verbs in § 228; whereas I held the fact that the
form does not occur, according to Krüger, before
Menander's time, to be a sufficient reason for the

exclusion of ἔκτακα, the later representative of ἔκτονα.
On the other hand, in the formation of compara-
tives (§ 197) κλεπτίστερος stands among others as
a characteristic example of an irregular formation
although the form is first found in Suidas in the
proverb Νεοκλείδου κλεπτίστερος. But since the pro-
verb owes its origin to the Neocleides satirized in
Aristoph. Plut. 655, the form is proved to be good
Attic. It was unnecessary to mention the superlative
which also occurs; and I only quote this to shew
that I have not been so inattentive and thoughtless
as the remarks of some of my critics would seem
to imply. On the other hand, I make no claim to
absolute consistency in this respect, and such in my
opinion is not required in a school-grammar. It was
not my purpose to be exhaustive within the compass
allowed, still less to guide the student to the formation
of all the possible forms of every noun or verb; but
to arrange neatly and accurately what is required
for the understanding of the Greek authors read at
school. The writing of Greek is obviously of secondary
importance in instruction, and I had no intention of
aiding the pupil in this respect. And even if the
teacher has to add something here and there, as the
reading becomes more extensive, the harm is not great.

Part I.—Accidence.

Chap. I.—Of the Greek Alphabet.

THE separation of this first chapter which treats of the alphabet, from the second, which treats of the sounds, rests on the strict but sometimes neglected distinction between letters as such, and the sounds of which they are the symbols. This difference, in itself so simple, must certainly be impressed upon the pupil. The ancient grammarians knew nothing of it; for instance, they divided the vowels into long, short, and intermediate, and in this way obtained seven vowels in Greek, ε, ο, η, ω, α, ι, υ; whereas, as a fact, there are no more vowels in Greek than in Latin, viz. five, a, o, e, i, u—or if a difference is made between long and short, there are ten, ᾰ, ᾱ, ο, ω, ε, η, ῐ, ῑ, ῠ, ῡ. The fact that in two cases only, there is a separate symbol for the long and short sound, is naturally of importance for the writing only, not for the sound. Nevertheless down to the latest times, the greatest confusion has been caused even by clever and learned men, because they have allowed themselves to be misled by the old method of writing, in which E, as is well known, represents both the long and short vowel, into the idea that in certain cases the long vowel could arise *out* of the short one. Thus from the old method of writing HOMEPOΣ the conclusion has been drawn that the middle syllable of the word was once short. With equal reason we might argue that every Latin *e* must

have been originally short, because in Greek the
symbol E continued to be used for the short vowel
only. The distinction between long and short vowels
is a fact of great antiquity in the Indo-germanic
languages; but the most of them never carried it
so far as to use any different symbols at all for the
long and short vowels, and the Greeks only in the
case of ε and o.

With regard to the accent also, it is important
to distinguish between the sign, the need of which
was first felt in Alexandrian times, and the tone
signified, in order to eradicate the notion, which a
pupil is very apt to entertain, that accentuation itself,
and not merely the marks of it, is a vexatious, and
quite unnecessary addition to the Greek language.

§ 4.

The pronunciation of *t* as *z* in Latin, before un-
accentuated *i*, is here only quoted as a practice now
current, without in the least intending to point it
out as established and recommended (cp. Corssen,
*Ueber Aussprache, Vocalismus und Betonung der Lat.
Sprache*, I, 69).

§ 5.

Of the many errors current in regard to the pro-
nunciation of Greek none is more totally at variance
with the phonetic system of the language than the
rendering of ζ by the hard combination *ts*, which in
common in the greatest part of Germany. Even in
the middle of a word this combination was carefully
avoided by the Greeks, as e. g. in ἀνύ-σω for ἀνυτ-σω,
in Κρη-σί for Κρητ-σι; and at the beginning of a word
it would without doubt be more intolerable still.
According to all that we learn from the grammarians,

the sound ζ is rather to be considered one of the
very softest; it contained that weak sibilant which
is found in German at the beginning of words, before
vowels, e. g. *sein, soll;* and which can be just as easily
distinguished from the similarly written sound in *ist,*
as the French soft *s* in *maison,* from the hard *s* in
son. Being used to denote the weak sibilant ex-
clusively in French and several Sclavonic languages,
this letter *z* is now frequently adopted in several
works on the science of language as the common
symbol of the weak sibilant. In Greek this weak
sibilant has in most cases arisen out of the palatal
spirant Jod. If, for instance, we compare the Greek
Ζεύ-ς with the Sanskrit name of the sky-god *Djâu-s,*
this *d* meets us just as plainly as in διά, which
through an intermediate *dja,* passes into Eolic ζά,
i. e. *dza.* ζ therefore, which is shown by prosody
to be a double consonant, must certainly be pro-
nounced as *dz,* i. e. *d* with soft *s.* When in the
Eolic dialect we find σδ in the place of ζ, the change
is due to metathesis of the two elements. In this
way may be explained the modern Greek pronun-
ciation which has allowed the *d* to drop out, and
preserved the weak *s* only. For the origin of ζ,
see further *Grundzüge der Griech. Etymologie,* II,
p. 187 sq.

§ 7.

The lisping pronunciation of ϑ like the English *th,*
usual in modern Greek, has the advantage of marking
the distinction between ϑ and τ more sharply, but
is at variance with the nature of the old Greek ϑ,
which is proved (*Grundzüge,* II, 10 sq.) to be a true
aspirate—i. e. a sound compounded of *t* and *h,* chiefly
by the easy change which takes place in many in-
stances from *t* to *th* (ἀνϑ' οὗ = ἀντὶ οὗ, τέϑεικα for

ϡεϡεικα); by the old method of writing in Latin
(*tesaurus* = ϡησαυρός); and by the evidence of Diony-
sius of Halicarnassus, *de compos. verbi*, c. XIV, who
speaks of a προσϡήκη τοῦ πνεύματος. In German we
may perhaps express χ and φ by *ch* and *f*, although
they were certainly pronounced as *kh* and *ph*, to
escape imposing upon ourselves too much that is
foreign; but in the case of ϡ it is not advisable to
accustom ourselves to a pronunciation which is foreign
and also demonstrably of recent origin.

§ 8.

I have treated the pronunciation of vowels and
diphthongs at length in *Zeitschrift für d. ö. Gymnas.*
1852. p. 1 sq. This difficult question is often placed
in an entirely false light by restricting it to the
alternatives of modern Greek pronunciation on the
one hand, and the Erasmian pronunciation with its
numerous errors and corruptions on the other. It is
better to put the question thus—How early do we
find traces of the modern Greek method of pro-
nunciation? At the same time, we must be careful
not to take all the sounds together, but to examine
each separately. The modern Greeks have, it may
almost be said, entirely reversed the quantity of the
vowels, and, to a certain extent, of the diphthongs
also. To follow them in pronouncing ἔχει like *êchi*
would render useless every attempt to make the
ancient verses tolerable to the ear; and any one,
who like them, pronounces ευ as *ev*, can form no
intelligible conception of a verse like Od. v. 19 φέρον
δ' εὐήνορα χαλκόν, nor can he understand why forms
like πεπαίδευνται were possible, while others like τε-
τυπνται were avoided. With regard to the diphthongs
we have a fixed *terminus a quo* in opposition to the
terminus ad quem of modern Greek. As a rule,

the history of these sounds begins with the distinct
pronunciation of both the elements: in Greek, as
in many other languages, it ends with compressing
numerous double sounds into single ones. That the
real diphthongal pronunciation of αι, οι, ει, was the
oldest, is the more certain, because in Greek itself
we find each of these double sounds proceeding from
the amalgamation of the two elements—e. g. in παῖς
compared with Homeric πάϊς, οἷς from Homeric ὄϊς,
τέρεινα from τερενια. Equally certain is it that even
at a very early period the diphthongal pronunciation
began to be lost. The only question is, how early
did this take place? Was it so early that the diph-
thongal pronunciation was quite unknown in the
works of the best period, or, on the other hand, so
late that in using the monophthongal pronunciation
we introduce an element of corruption into a period
in which it had no place? Since there are good
reasons for selecting one particular period, (which
can hardly be any other than the Attic), and since
it would be very ridiculous in practice to have a
separate Homeric and Attic pronunciation, the Attic
age must necessarily be our standard. Within this
period, which in round numbers reaches from 500 B. C.
to 300 B. C., the year 400 B. C. may fairly be chosen
as a fixed point, not merely because it is half way
between the two limits, but because the new alpha-
bet, made public in 401 B. C., offers at least some
footing in regard to the sound of the letters. In
many languages, it is true, letters are retained from
an old alphabet which in no way correspond to the
existing sounds. But if an innovation in orthography
becomes current, it is *a priori* probable that it is
on the whole, in close connection with the existing
language. It is very improbable that the EI of the
older alphabet began to be divided into EI and HI
by public edict at a time when the distinction between

the pronunciation of the two sounds was already
obliterated, or that the new H would have been
introduced if the I which had already been long in
existence could have supplied its place. On the
contrary, we may naturally suppose that the sound
represented by H was at that time such that it re-
quired a separate symbol; and that on the whole,
the new alphabet has handed down to us a picture of
the language, as it was spoken in Attica at the time
when that alphabet was made public. Many difficulties,
it is true, still remain. In many cases we cannot
exactly prove how early the older pronunciation
began to be laid aside. It is certain that αι and ει
were the first to change; and that as early as the
Alexandrian period, they were pronounced in some
districts as $\ddot{a}$ and i. But it can hardly be proved
that this corruption began as early as the Attic
period. Perhaps without being too bold, we may
connect it with the violent changes which the Greek
world underwent after Alexander. The mutual con-
fusion of the different Greek races, the supremacy
of the semi-barbarian Macedonians, the manifold con-
tact with non-Greek, and especially oriental nations,
could not be without an influence on the sound of
the language. There is nothing whatever to prove
that the corruption existed earlier, and as it is an
advantage, from a practical point of view, to draw
distinctions wherever sufficient data for them are
to be found, the rule laid down in § 8 with regard
to the pronunciation of diphthongs—that both ele-
ments should receive their proper value, as far as
possible—may in general be recommended with
certainty.*

* If any one considers this impossible, I advise him to
request a Bohemian schoolmaster to pronounce the diphthongs.
There, and as I believe in Austria generally—where owing to
the intersection of different nations and stocks, the vocal organs

αι, therefore, is not to be confounded with η. G. Hermann, *de emendanda ratione grammaticae Graecae*, p. 51 recommends a pronunciation midway between *a* and *e*, sharper than η. His advice has not been followed in Germany, but η and αι, e. g. in μνήμων and δαίμων are still pronounced the same. In any case, those who render αι by *ä* must also render ει by *i*, for there is no probability whatever, that corruption set in earlier in the one case than in the other. It is useless to appeal to the Latin transcription in support of this pronunciation, because it is certain that *ae*, the Latin representative of the Greek αι, which was originally written, and without any doubt, pronounced as a diphthong—was carefully distinguished from *e* by educated Romans, even down to Varro's time (Corssen, *Aussprache des Lat.*, I, 194).

The monophthongal pronunciation of αι has at least the authority of the later Greeks from Alexandrian times, and of many scholars; but the ordinary pronunciation of ει as a broad German *ei* is quite absurd and utterly baseless. In German, *ei* is in sound indistinguishable from *ai*, *weiser* for instance rhymes with *Kaiser* (cp. Rumpelt, *Deutsche Grammatik*, I, p. 36), and, therefore, it evidently contains the elements *a* and *i*. But in regard to the Greek ει there is not the slightest probability, either from the origin of the diphthong, which arises out of ε or ι; or from the transliteration of the Latins who sometimes used *e*, sometimes *i*; or from the sharpening into *i* which began to be common from 300 to 200 B. C., that the α sound was ever heard; or that ει and αι had the same sound, or that ει was pronounced as αι while αι became *ä*. We may maintain with the greatest certainty that *ainae* or *ainä* never re-

are more pliable, this rule is fully carried out, whereas in other provinces of German civilization the greatest mistakes have crept in.

presented the sound of the Greek εἶναι. G. Hermann saw this: *de emend. rat.*, p. 53, he says: '*Diphthongum ει male pronunciari plena voce ut Germanicum ei aut Brittanorum i longum, vel Latina lingua docere potest, quae istam diphthongum nunc in e nunc in i mutat.... Ex quibus merito colligi videtur, diphthongi ει sonum fuisse medium inter ε et ι, eodem modo ut in quibusdam Germaniae regionibus ei pronunciatur.*[*]

If there is little reason to follow the modern Greeks in the pronunciation of αι and ει, there is obviously even less reason still to follow them in pronouncing οι as *i*. Nothing is more certain than that οι became sharpened into *i* far later than ει or even η. Liscovius in his tract on Greek pronunciation (Leipsic 1825) which contains much that is still useful, refers p. 140 to the various orthographical rules which have come down to us from the old grammarians. He mentions the *Erotemata* of Basilius Magnus p. 594 (4th cent. A. C.), where among other rules the following occurs πᾶσα λέξις ἀπὸ τῆς κυ συλλαβῆς ἀρχομένη διὰ τοῦ ῦ ψιλοῦ γράφεται πλὴν τοῦ κοῖλον. The rule would be false if κυ were pronounced like κι, because in that case exceptions like κίθαρις, κίς, κισσός, κιχάνω, κίων and many others ought to have been quoted. Similarly in the *Epimerismata* which have come down to us under the name of Herodian, and in the Etymologists, e. g. *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 289. 11. τὰ εἰς υξ ἄπαντα διὰ τοῦ ῦ ψιλοῦ γράφεται πλὴν τοῦ προῖξ. This case is especially instructive on account of the great number of words in ιξ. R. J. A. Schmidt has collected a great number of such facts in his

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[*] In Swabia, on the lower Rhine, e. g. in the word *Rhein*, and in the North West of Moravia, and probably in many other districts of Germany also, a real diphthong *ei* occurs, clearly distinguished from *ai*, in such a manner that *e* and *i* are distinctly perceived. It is no very difficult experiment to accustom the young pupil to this sound.

Beiträge zur Geschichte der Grammatik, p. 73 sq., and
deduces from them an explanation—undoubtedly
correct—of the terms ε ψιλόν and υ ψιλόν, i. e. that
ψιλόν here means 'bare' in opposition to the diph-
thongal method of writing αι and οι. For this reason
also, these terms first arose at a time when ε
(hitherto named εῖ) and υ (hitherto ὖ) were no
longer distinct in pronunciation from αι and οι.
Schmidt rightly refers the alphabetical arrangement
in Suidas to the same principle. Isolated instances of
a similar arrangement are found also in the *Etym.*
Magn. δοῖδυξ for instance stands after δρύφακτος,
and then, after a number of words beginning with
δοι, follows δύο. Although rules and usages of this
kind were transferred from older collections into
these later ones, it is not likely that they were
borrowed without any alteration, unless at the time
when the *Etym. Magn.* was compiled, i. e. as is
commonly supposed in the 11th cent. οι was re-
garded as phonetically identical with υ, but as distinct
from ι, ει, η, which at that time were one and the
same sound.

Such being the state of the case, two results follow.
(1) Those who pronounce υ as ι follow a system
of pronunciation which certainly did not exist in
the 4th, and probably not in the 11th cent. A. D.
(2) That it is a great mistake to conclude from
the Latin transliteration of οι by *oe*, that οι had
the sound of a German ö, as K. W. Krüger among
others maintains § 44, A, 1. οι in the 4th cent. A. D.
was pronounced as υ, the latter, therefore, according
to this theory must also have been pronounced as ö
which—in spite of certain mutual changes between
the sounds—no one will maintain, and which is the
more inconceivable because Quintilian XII, 10, 27
expressly says that the υ sound was wanting in
Latin. The Latin *oe*, the identity of which with

the German ö is by no means certain, like *ae*, only
represents the Greek οι, because it is the successor
of the older diphthong with ι. When *Oinomavos*
was written (Mommsen, *Corp. Inscr.* No. 60), both
sounds of the diphthong were certainly pronounced.
And if *oe* had been like German ö, it could hardly
have given rise to *û* (*oetier = ûti, poena = pûnio*).

The history of the Greek οι is, therefore, as fol-
lows:—At the time of the general corruption of
the diphthongs it passed first into *ü*, and then by a
much later change into *i*.—All these deteriorations of
diphthongs meet us first in the Bœotian dialect, which
even in classical times replaced αι with η, ει with ι,
and οι with υ: ὀφείλετη, ἴμι, τῦς (Ahrens, *Æol.* 191).
Besides, even in modern Greek acute observers find
delicate distinctions between the several ι-sounds, and
quite unmistakeable remains of older sounds in several
words (Thiersch, *Griech. Gram.*, 4. Aufl., § 7, Anm.;
E. Curtius, *Gött. Anz., Nachr.* 1857, No. 22), a further
objection to the Itacistic method of pronunciation
which reduces all to one level.

As distinguished from οι, which in sound was not
far removed from the English *oi*, ευ must be pro-
nounced so that the sharper ε may be heard before
the υ. This is the regular pronunciation of the
German *eu* in Mecklenburgh, whereas the common
mode of pronouncing this diphthong identifies it
with *oi* or even *ei* (*ai*). The Bacchic exclamation
εὖοι may serve as a warning against the confusion
of ει and οι; αἰεί and σεύει against the confusion
of αι and ει, ευ and ει.

Two main proofs may be cited of the strict
monophthongal pronunciation of ου. (1) In the
Bœotian dialect ου represents even the short U-sound,
e. g. κούνες. (2) The Latins never made the attempt to
write this obviously merely graphical diphthong with
two letters, although it would have been very easy for

them, having in earlier times the diphthong *ou*, to do
so. It is true that ου in certain cases corresponds
etymologically to a diphthong, e. g. βοῦ-ς = Sanskrit
gâu-s, yet the sound must have been simple at a
very early period; and only when the letter Υ became
fixed for *ü*, were the Greeks, like the French in
modern times, compelled to denote the simple vowel
by combining the symbols of the sounds which to
some extent denote the limits between which the
vowel in question lay. '*Inopia fecerunt*' says even
Nigidius Figulus in Aul. Gellius, *N. Att.* XIX, 14.

That the ι subscriptum had ceased to be sounded
as early as Strabo's time (contemp. with Augustus),
is clear from XIV, p. 648. Inscriptions belonging
to a period even earlier present considerable variation
in writing or omitting it, though it may have been
sounded in the best period. But it would be difficult
to express it with our northern organs of speech.

§ 25.

The vowels are divided into two classes, which it is of importance to distinguish. Those in the first class, I call hard, those in the second, soft vowels. The choice of these technical terms may be called in question; indeed, there are perhaps no grammatical terms against which some objection cannot be made from one side or another. Nevertheless distinctive terms are needed both in practice and in science, clearly to mark out essential facts; and it seems to me that Comparative Grammar, especially in her latest representatives, has too carefully avoided setting new expressions in circulation, from the fear that they might in some respects be open to objection. The value of terms is obviously underrated in the science of language. In this respect J. Grimm was far more fertile. How strikingly does the single term *Lautverschiebung* mark out a whole series of facts in the history of language. For a school-grammar accurately chosen terms are indispensable.

The vowels which I call 'hard' have all arisen out of an original *a*, which is still to be found in Sanskrit. Hence in Greek also very frequent interchanges take place among these vowels, as a glance at the dialects will show. But besides these, such cases also as the following are especially to be noticed, φρήν (stem φρεν), εὔφρων (stem εὔφρον), εὐφραίνω (i. e. εὐφρανιω), λέων (λεοντ), λέαινα (i. e. λεαν[τ]ια), ποιμήν (stem ποιμεν), ποιμαίνω (i. e. ποιμανιω);

ἅμα also stands by ὁμοῦ, while the E sound is in
this case shown in the Latin *sem-el*, old Lat.
semol (*simul*). (*Grundzüge*, I, p. 286.) Hence we
may explain οἴκα-δε from stem οἰκο, verbs in -οω
from stems in α, e. g. κορυφό-ω and *v. v*, Patro-
nymica in -ιαδη-ς from stems in ιο, e. g. Ταλ-
θυβιάδη-ς, derivative adjectives in -ιακό-ς, e. g.
Πελοποννησια-κό-ς, also from stems in -ιο. Thus
even without the aid of Sanskrit the original iden-
tity of these vowels can be made clear. As they all
go back to *a*, we might call them A-sounds; but
such a term would be, at least for schools, likely
to mislead, and we use the expression A-sound in
a narrower sense to denote short and long *a* in their
common difference from E and O. Besides, in this
case there would be no common homogeneous name
to denote the second class ι and υ.* 'Hard' sounds are
those which cannot easily adapt themselves to others;
'soft' those which are pliant and flexible. Thus the
hardness of the first class of sounds is shown in
the fact, that though harmonizing with following
soft vowels, e. g. in the diphthongs (§ 26), they can-
not be combined with each other; but undergo
changes of various kinds (§ 36), while the soft vowels
of the second class remain unchanged both be-
fore and after hard vowels (§ 35). There is another
indication of their soft nature, which lies beyond
the compass of my grammar; ι and υ pass into the
semi-vowels Jod and Vau, and in other cases de-
velop these spirants, throwing off as it were a portion
of their natural softness (ι = ιj—υ = υF.) cp. *Grund-*

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* Benary (*Röm. Lautlehre* p. 4) names the vowels of the first
class *starr* (*fixed*) and those of the second *flüssig* (*mobile*). But
since we connect the idea of immutability with the word *starr*,
and the vowels α, ε, ο certainly undergo numerous changes, the
expressions do not seem to me very happily chosen.

züge, II, 145 and 208. The effect also of ι, and more rarely of υ, on a preceding τ, which by direct contact with these vowels becomes softened to σ in certain cases (e. g. Ion. φη-σί for Dor. φα-τί (§ 60) φᾱ-σί, i. e. φα-νσι for φαν-τί, σύ for older τύ) is owing to the soft nature of these vowels, from which a part, so to speak, is separated off and expended in modifying the preceding dental. Taking a wider view, it is to this head that the phenomena belong, to which Schleicher gives the name *Zetacismus*, the most essential of which are mentioned in § 55—58, and those which I call *Dentalismus* (*Grundzüge* II, 71 sq.). For these reasons the expressions 'hard' and 'soft' seem to me quite appropriate.

It was impossible in the grammar to give any further explanation of the dialectical phenomena mentioned in § 24. D., e. g. ξεῖνος, μοῦνος for ξένος, μόνος. Many of them no doubt are not without a deeper reason. Thus the lengthening of ε to ει, and ο to ου is due to the rejection and transposition of consonants, e. g. in the Homeric οὔνομα, which stands for ὀ-γνο-μα cp. old Latin *gnô-men* (rt. *gnô* = Greek γνω). The short middle syllable may be compared with Latin *nŏ-ta*. Nevertheless philologists have as yet been by no means successful in discovering a definite cause for the lengthening in all cases; and, therefore, in a school-grammar, it is indispensably necessary merely to point out the facts as such.

§ 30 sq.

In the division of the consonants I have attempted, so far as possible, to reconcile the current expressions with those brought into use by the new enquiries set on foot from a physiological point of view (cp.

especially Brücke, *Grundzüge der Physiologie und Systematik der Sprachlaute*, Vienna 1856, and Lepsius, *Das allgemeine linguistische Alphabet*). What is here called the organ, according to the usual terminology, has received from physiologists the more accurate designation 'region of articulation'. Hence it follows *vi termini* that we cannot in Greek speak of linguals, because the tongue takes as essential a part in the pronunciation of a κ, as in that of a τ. But the expression 'dental' as applied to τ, δ, ϑ, is thoroughly justified, the tongue being pressed against the upper row of teeth in pronouncing them. In the earlier editions of the grammar λ and ρ were placed among the dental consonants. But the objection has been made, and not without reason, that λ has no particular place of articulation, but is really a pure lingual; ρ on the other hand, may certainly be pronounced by the vibration of the tip of the tongue against the upper row of teeth; but it is not necessary so to pronounce it. In a great part of Germany, for instance, this sound is produced in the back part of the mouth by vibration of the uvula. Since we cannot decide which pronunciation was used in the case of the Greek ρ, I have exempted λ and ρ from the organic division of consonants.

In the note to § 31* reference is made to the designation of mutes as 'momentary' sounds, and semi-vowels as 'continuous' sounds, which is usual among physiologists. In order not to multiply expressions, other terms also, in some respects still more striking, have been passed over. Among these is the term 'explosive sound', equivalent to mute, an expression denoting in the clearest manner the

* § 31. Obs. 'The mute consonants are also called momentary, because they are produced in a moment: the sonant, are called continuous sounds because we can continue to pronounce them for some time.' This note is omitted in the Eng. Trans. TR.

essential characteristic of these sounds, which are produced by the sudden opening of a closure formed in some particular region of the mouth.

§ 34. D.

The aversion of the Greek language towards spirants—as I, with other grammarians, term the sounds *j, s, v*—is a very important fact, by reference to which numerous changes in Greek, and more especially distinctions between Greek and Latin, can be explained. Of these three homogeneous sounds, σ is frequently dropped before vowels (cp. § 60 b, § 61 b). At the beginning of a word it passes for the most part into Spiritus asper, but in the middle, apparently through the medium of a Spiritus asper, it vanishes altogether. The labial spirant ϝ, in regard to which the absurd notion that it could be prefixed to, or inserted in a word at will, must once for all be abandoned, was preserved to a considerable extent in Æolic and Doric from a very early period, especially at the beginning of words; of its existence in the Homeric poems, in the words quoted in the grammar, there can be no doubt.—The third spirant Jod, produced by breathing over the palate, has not come down to us in any Greek dialect, but the existence of the sound at one time as inferred from the comparison of kindred languages, is one of the most important facts in the history of the language, by which a number of apparently quite different processes receive a very simple explanation (see further *Grundzüge*, II, p. 176 sq.).

With regard to the digamma in Homer (cp. on this subject the extremely careful work of Hoffmann, *Quaestiones Homericae*, Clausthal 1842), my principle was to give those words only as beginning with the digamma, in which the existence of the

sound is proved, not merely by the criteria of the
Homeric verse, which by themselves are not in all
cases sufficient, but also by the evidence of other
dialects and kindred languages. For this reason,
the corresponding words in Latin are given where-
ever the coincidence is striking. Hence many words
will not be found here, which are given with the
digamma in other works, e. g. Bekker's 2nd edition
of Homer (Bonn 1858. 2 vols.). In school instruc-
tion the digamma can only be noticed so far as it
explains the anomalies of the Homeric verse which
are mentioned in the grammar, and much apparent
irregularity in the inflection and formation of words.
The doctrine of the augment more especially comes
into consideration here, the acquaintance with which
in § 236, 237, or the repetition of it in the course of
practical instruction, perhaps first gives an op-
portunity of referring to § 34. D., and so preparing
the way for a knowledge of the Homeric dialect.
Another opportunity is given in § 275, 2; and also
in many verbs belonging to the two leading con-
jugations, especially in those of the 8th or mixed
class (§ 327), and in the composition of words (§ 354,
360. Obs.). Everywhere it is very important for the
teacher to bear in mind that besides ϝ, the other
two spirants could be dropped, in obedience to the
laws of sound (e. g. εἶχ-ο-ν = ἐ-(σ)εχ-ο-ν). The cause
of these phenomena is, therefore, by no means to be
sought in the digamma only. Indeed, in the Homeric
dialect a short syllable is so frequently made long
before ὥς (e. g. ϑεὸς ὥς), that we should be justified
in assuming the existence of a digamma, did not
the kindred languages point rather to an old Jod
(*Grundzüge*, II, 177), and make it probable that in
this very common word the effects of that spirant,
and not of the digamma have been preserved.

Of Ⅎ in the Æolic and Doric dialect the fullest
account is given in the admirable works of Ahrens,
de dialecto Æolica (Gött. 1839), *de dial. Dor.* 1843.
On ε as evidence for Ⅎ (ἐείχοσι) cp. *Grundzüge*, II, 152 sq.

Chap. III.—Of the combinations and changes of sounds.

§ 40.

The most careful explanation of the vowel-orders is given in Schleicher's *Compendium*, 48 sq.—For school instruction it seemed sufficient to distinguish between the two most essential kinds of lengthening, which are: (1) Organic, the strengthening of a vowel in subservience to aims present to the genius of language and consequent lengthening of a syllable causing it to be pronounced with greater force. (2) Compensatory, which arises in consequence of the loss of a sound, and is due to the desire to compensate the loss of consonant-sound by increasing the amount of vowel-sound.

Organic lengthening can be made clear in detail only by the aid of the kindred languages. It is due to the fact that the vowels were originally only three in number: *a, i, u.* Of these, *a* was extended by reduplication and remained a simple sound, $a+a = \hat{a}$, $\hat{a}+a = \hat{a}$, *i* and *u* became diphthongs, *a* short, and then *a* long, being prefixed—*i, ăi, âi—u, ău, âu.* These two stages of phonetic extension, known to Sanskrit grammarians by the names *Guna* (i. e. power) and *Vṛddhi* (i. e. increase), are in Greek confounded with other changes of vowels, which appear to be of later origin. The hard vowels—α, ε, ο—change into η (Dor. ᾱ) and ω not merely in forms in which the kindred languages display a similar lengthening, e. g. in Perf. Act., κραγ κέ-κρᾱγ-α, λᾰϑ λέ-λη϶-α (Dor.

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λέ-λᾱϑ-α), ὃδ ὅδ-ωδ-α, but the change also takes place along with the addition of elements used for the formation of stems, e. g. in the Future, the Perfect stem, the weak passive stem, and in numerous noun-forms, e. g. τετίμη-κα, ἐ-ποιή-ϑη-ν, ποίη-σι-ς, δικαίω-μα, σοφώ-τερο-ς, where the kindred languages have no corresponding change.

The latter mode of strengthening sounds, which has as yet received but little attention from scientific grammar, is far more important in a school-grammar than the other, because it occurs more frequently. It is one of the cases in which the special grammar of a language must take its own course. The disturbance which has taken place in the original relation, is displayed in Greek most conspiciously in the fact that not only are the hard vowels lengthened far more frequently than in earlier periods of the Indo-germanic language; but also the soft vowels ι and υ, instead of becoming diphthongs according to the old usage, are simply lengthened as single vowels, and this occurs in the same places, in the same forms, which in the kindred languages, especially in Sanskrit, have the diphthong. The Greek 1st per. pl. δείκ-νυ-μεν corresponds in formation to the Sanskrit *âp-nu-mas;* the first sing. δείκ-νῦ-μι to Sanskrit *âp-nô-mi (âp-nau-mi).* From the root πλυ, πλευ-σοῦμαι is formed regularly by diphthongal extension; and may be compared with the Sanskrit active form of similar meaning, *plô-shjâ-mi;* from the root φυ, on the other hand, we have φύ-σω (cp. Sanskrit *bhav-i-shjâ-mi).* In this case the Zend future *bû-sjeiti* stands by the Greek φύ-σει. Schleicher, *Comp.,* p. 619. Bopp, *Vergl. Gram.,* II, p. 553. By these facts my explanation is sufficiently justified. In a school, certain subtler changes of sound can be passed over without danger of superficiality. Even the relation of ο to ε, and the corresponding relation of οι to ει

(e. g. τρόπο-ς—τρέπω, οἶδα—εἰδέναι), which may be
considered as a slighter form of organic extension,
I have preferred not to point out as such, because
a doubt might arise in the mind of an enquiring
thoughtful student concerning the relation of the
vowels in ἔτραπον, τρέπω and τρόπος, a doubt which
for him, and to some extent even for us also, must
remain unsolved. Indeed, it has been my object
generally in dealing with the sounds to call attention
to none but the most essential of the laws and ten-
dencies which govern language.

§ 42.

The principle of compensatory lengthening was
first brought into notice so far as I know by H. L.
Ahrens, *Ueber die Conjugation auf* μι (Nordhausen
1838. 4. p. 34), although of course the fact that
vowels were lengthened in consequence of the re-
jection of consonants had been observed previously.
This principle is one of very great usefulness in a
school-grammar. In Müller and Lattmann it is thus
very concisely defined.—'The lost position-length
is replaced by a natural length.' The intention of
language is in some respects most clearly shown in
ἀλλήλω-ν, the origin of which from ἀλλ-αλλο (*alius,
alium*) is beyond a doubt. The exact repetition of
the sound was avoided; but ἀλλο was not replaced
by ἀλο, but by Doric ᾱλο, Ionic ηλο (cp. ἔψηλα =
Æolic ἔψαλλα).

§ 46.

'Before mute dentals, mute dentals in order to
become audible pass into the sonant σ—(Dissimila-
tion).' Although here, as elsewhere, I attribute an
intention to language, I need hardly remark that I

do not mean a conscious purpose. Anything of that kind must be altogether excluded from the spontaneous life of language, of which it is just in the changes of sound that we have the most direct revelation. Obviously, we have here only to deal with an instinctive adaptation of means to ends, an unconsciously pursued tendency of the genius of language. In Greek this tendency aims with marvellous energy at giving full value to each significant element. This peculiarity may be called the intellectual character of the Greek language. Thus, when the proximity of other dental sounds made the preceding dental of the stem intolerable in a pure state, e. g. in ἀδ-τέον, the tongue was placed as before against the upper row of teeth in the position necessary for the pronunciation of the δ, but instead of the firm closure required in producing an explosive sound, a compression only was formed, and in this way the dental sibilant was produced instead of the pure dental. Thus language attains a double object; the pronunciation is made easier, and the dental element retained, though in another form: cp. Latin *es-t = ed-t* for *ed-i-t; claus-trum* from *claud-trum*. In *lae-su-s = laed-tu-s*, the corruption has gone further, in which case nevertheless we may with probability assume an older form *laes-tu-s*, which through later assimilation became *laes-su-s; lae-su-s*.

§ 47.

'Before μ a guttural becomes γ, a dental σ, a labial μ.' Three changes are here classed together which do not exactly stand on the same level, but which in a certain sense may all be regarded as assimilation. The principle is marked most clearly in the change of a labial before μ, for in this case

the preceding sound becomes, not merely similar to, but entirely identical with μ, ὀπ-μα, ὄμ-μα (in Æolic we find the reverse change ὄπ-πα). But even the change of a dental into σ can be regarded as assimilation in so far as the continuous sound (semivowel) σ is nearer to the continuous sound μ, than it is to a dental explosive sound. Lastly, it is clear that among the guttural explosive sounds the weak γ is the most closely connected with μ, and, therefore, represents the other gutturals before that letter. The numerous exceptions to the two latter changes in the formation of words, do not allow us to consider the whole as a law, but only as a tendency of language. The analogy of the other person-terminations may have had an influence in making this tendency more widely-spread in the inflection of verbs, e. g. ἴσ-μεν like ἴσ-τε, ἴσασι; πέ-πεισ-μαι like πέπεισαι, πέπεισται, πέπεισϑε.

§ 48.

'Before σ as a hard consonant γ and χ become κ, and β becomes π,—Assimilation: κσ is then written ξ and πσ, ψ.' Here again it is important to insist on the distinction between sound and the symbols of sound. The want of such a distinction has given rise to the false notion that ξ and ψ are triple sounds, according as the one = κσ, γσ, χσ, and the other = πσ, βσ, φσ. The absurdity of such a notion is evident, and it is worth while, both in Greek and Latin, to guide the pupil into the right path.

§ 49.

The connection between the first and second divisions of this section is sufficiently clear. As in τείχε-σι, so in πο-σί a dental sound has disappeared.

There can be no doubt, at least in the case of the
dental mutes, that the history of the change was
as follows. First, the dental became assimilated to
the sibilant. This is sufficiently proved by Homeric
forms like ποσ-σί. Later on came the desire to drop
one of two consecutive sigmas. In this way πο-σί
arose, which indeed as well as ποσσί is found in
Homer. The rejection of one of two sigmas is a
proceeding which explains numerous forms, e. g. Attic
τόσο-ς compared with Homeric τόσσο-ς, i. e. το-τι-ο-ς
(cp. Latin *tot*, for *toti, totidem*), ἔσομαι compared
with Homeric ἔσ-σο-μαι, βέλε-σι with βέλεσ-σι and
the termination σι(ν) in dative plural generally as
compared with the original -σσι(ν), apparently derived
from σϝι(ν). It is important also to point out to
the pupil (cp. § 62. D.) that the double consonants
which are found in the dialects beside simple ones,
belong as a rule to the older forms, and not *vice versâ*.

§ 51.— Obs. 2 and dialects.

The insertion of auxiliary consonants is in Greek
confined to a few cases, and can be explained by
reference to the precisely parallel phenomena of the
Romance languages, e. g. French *cen-d-re* = Lat. *cin-
e-rem*, *Vendredi* = *Veneris dies*, *chambre* = *camera*,
com-b-le = *cumulus* (Diez, *Grammatik der roman.
Sprachen.* I. 201, 206). Still nearer is the German
Fähn-d-rich, and provincial *Hein-d-rich*, *Hen-d-rich*.

§ 55—58.

In inserting these changes of sound in a practical
school-grammar, I have the support of Ahrens. There
is, however, this difference between us, that he in
p. 182 sq. of his *Formenlehre* quotes other changes
besides those which I have mentioned—as e. g. those

from πι, βι, and φι into ππ, by which the third, or
T-class of verbs, would be made a subdivision of
the fourth or I-class—changes which I cannot regard
as established. In *Grundz.*, II, 231 sq. I have given
the reasons for my view at length. Müller and
Lattmann also in the *Formenlehre* which I have
quoted, assign a place to these phenomena, confining
themselves however to what is certain. As a fact,
I regard this innovation as one of the most important,
because in this way, a number of phenomena of
language, in appearance very diverse, are brought
back to one principle, which is easily intelligible,
even to a pupil. Chief among the classes of such
phenomena are the following three: (1) the formation
of comparatives, (2) the formation of feminine ad-
jectives and proper names, and (3) the formation of
present-stems in verbs of the I-class. When these
have become familiar to the pupil, the teacher may
avail himself of a repetition of §§ 55—58, to com-
bine them all together, and thus impart an insight
into the connection of all these phenomena.

All the changes here pointed out are due to the
operation of the old consonant Jod, which, we have
seen, was not unknown in the oldest times to the
Greeks. But since this spirant frequently passes
into its kindred vowel in the very changes under con-
sideration (e. g. in τείνω for τεν-jω), and elsewhere
also, in similar formations, appears as ι; ἡδ-ίων, ἱδ-ίω
(Sanskrit *svid-ja-mi*, *Grundz.*, I, 207), ποιήτρ-ια; and
since in any case, the most frequent changes, and
the closest relationship between Jod and Iota must
be assumed as existing in that ancient period, I have
thought myself entitled to give a full account of its
operation without introducing a letter unknown to
the Greek alphabet, which however the grammars
mentioned above have inserted without scruple; but

I believe that it ought to be our object to introduce
as little as possible that is strange into a grammar.

On the several changes here mentioned the fol-
lowing remarks may be made. (1) The transposition
of ι into the preceding syllable hardly needs any
particular explanation, metathesis being one of the
most common phenomena in language. Those who
question the fact, may be referred to Æolic forms
like μέλαν-να, χέρ-ρων, the origin of which by as-
similation from μελαν-jα, χερ-jων is self-evident. In
several of the forms which belong to this head the
Jod of the second syllable has further asserted its
power in two ways; (1) it combined with the pre-
ceding consonant into one of the usual groups, and
(2) also entered as ι into the preceding syllable;
e. g. in κρείσσων = κρετ-jων, μείζων = μεγ-jων, see § 198
Obs. Here also belong θάσσον = ταχ-jον, and μᾶλλον
= μαλ-jον, in which the ι has only lengthened the
stem-syllable and has not combined with it into a
diphthong. A similar effect is produced by the J-
sound on a preceding vowel in the verbs κρίνω and
σύρω (§ 253). The Æolic forms κρίννω, σύρρω are
proofs that this explanation is correct.

(2) The most convincing proofs of this change
are those given in the text.—Latin *alius* compared
with Greek ἄλλος, *sal-io* with ἄλλομαι. Somewhat
similar is Old High German *stellan* for *steljan*.

(3) and (4) These changes of dentals and gutturals
with Jod, are discussed elsewhere in full, *Grundzüge*,
II, 233 sq. The most important results of the en-
quiry, which bring the theory of spirants into a
consistent whole for the first time, are the follow-
ing:—σσ—in New Attic and Bœotian ττ—arises only
out of a *hard* mute or aspirate (τ, θ, κ, χ); ζ—in
Bœotian in the middle of a word, δδ—arises only
out of a soft mute (δ, γ). Where the first group

appears to rise out of γ, e. g. in φράσσω (stem φραγ), γ is the representative of an older x, compare Latin *farc-io* = φράσσω. I could make no use of this discovery in the text of the grammar, because the change from x to γ cannot be made clear to the pupil in every case. The statement, therefore, is allowed to remain for the present, that σσ arises out of γ. Further, the assumption that σσ sometimes arises out of δj is quite without foundation. The comparative βράσσων, which is only found in Iliad K. 226, belongs to βραχύς, not to βραδύς, and, therefore, has arisen out of βραχ-jων (cp. § 198. D).

σσ arises out of τj in the following manner. The Jod of λιτ-jo-μαι, for instance, was changed into a sibilant, originally soft, but afterwards hardened— λιτ-σο-μαι. From this group arose (1) σσ by retrogressive assimilation (i. e. assimilation working backwards from the end of the word), and (2) ττ by progressive assimilation. δj has gone through the same changes, with the additional loss of the aspirate.

In the same way ζ is explained, the sound of which is, as we have seen, *dz*. εδ-jo-μαι became εδ-zo-μαι, that is ἕζομαι. In this case no further change took place.

At a period long anterior to the formation of existing groups of sound, the gutturals, under the influence of a following Jod, became thrust forward into the fore-part of the mouth. Thus ἡκ-jων passed by different steps into ἡτ-jων, ὀλιγ-jων into ὀλιδ-jων. The manifold changes between *c* and *t* in unaccentuated syllables in Latin—e. g. *patri-ciu-s* and *patri-tiu-s*, *condi-cio* and *condi-tio*, rest on the same principle (see Corssen, *Aussprache*. I. 28), as also the change of the Latin *c* into the French sibilant, *facies face*. Out of the hypothetical forms ἡτ-jων and ὀλιδ-jων arose ἥσσων (ἥττων) and ὀλίζων, exactly in the same way as λίσσομαι (λίττομαι) and ἕζομαι out of

λιτ-*jo*-μαι and ἑδ-*jo*-μαι. The breathing of χ like that
of ϛ is lost in the process of change.

In countries where Sclavonian languages have come
into contact with German, all these phenomena can
easily be made intelligible, because a great number
of the changes of sound peculiar to Sclavonic, are
due to the influence of Jod on preceding consonants.
Whether it would be advisable in other places to
trace out to the pupil in detail these developments
of sound according to the indications here given,
is doubtful, not because such a course would be
beyond his comprehension—for this whole theory is
very simple, and quickly mastered, if studied with
attention—but because it would occupy too much
time, and lead too far away from Greek, as a his-
torical language. Nevertheless, it is to be wished
that the teacher, even if, with his pupil, he confines
himself to those facts of the history of sound which
I have here pointed out, should obtain for himself
an idea of the basis on which the whole rests.

§ 62.

After what has been said, I need not show in
detail that the double consonants mentioned in this
section preserve as a rule the older forms of the
language, and have arisen out of assimilation. In
nearly all the roots beginning with ρ more especially,
the earlier existence of a consonant before ρ can be
proved; ἄρρηκτο-ς is the assimilated form of ἀ-Ϝρηκτος
(*Grundz.*, II. 119), περίρρυτο-ς of περι-σρυ-τος (I. 318).
In the same way the double ρ after the augment
(§ 234) can be explained.

Thus too the first μ in φιλομμειδής is proved to be
a representative of σ; by the fact that the root *smi*
(*Grundz.*, I, 293) means in Sanskrit also 'to smile.'
μέσσος (Ionic and Æolic) corresponds to Sanskrit

madhja-s and Latin *medius* (I. 297). But in other
cases the attempt to explain the double consonant
is a failure, e. g. in ἐΰννητο-ς, in which, with all the
help of the kindred languages, we can get no further
than the root νε (I. 280). In λαβεῖν also we cannot
prove the existence of an older sound before λ (II.
109). A Greek school-grammar, therefore, must be
content with pointing out the fact that the Homeric
dialect has often a double consonant in the place of
a single one. This fact is to be taken together with
the lengthening of short syllables at the end of a
word, mentioned in § 77. D. The lengthening of
the final short vowel of a preceding word, like the
doubling of the consonant in the middle of a word,
is in many cases due to the influence of a consonant
no longer in existence—e. g. in δήν, which as the
form δοάν in Alcman proves, has arisen out of διϜᾶν,
διϜην, and is akin to the Latin *diu*, signifying li-
terally—'a day long'. *Grundz.*, II., 145. The close
ὄρεα νιφόεντα Il. Ξ. 227, is to be explained by the
older σν which is retained in this stem in the Gothic
snaiv-s—'snow', and the Lithuanian *snig-ti* ('to snow').
In both these word-stems, and in many others, the
first consonant was still, at the time of the origin
of the Homeric poems, a fuller sound. The influence
of this sound was in some cases, e. g. in the middle
of a word, indicated by the doubling of a consonant;
sometimes, e. g. at the contact of two words, by
the lengthening of the final syllable of the preceding
word. But there is no doubt that the second of
these phenomena occurs before word-stems, which
in all probability never at any time began with two
consecutive consonants, e. g. before μέγα-ς (I. 292),
in which from the comparison of Latin *magnus*,
Gothic *mik-ils*, it is impossible to suppose that an
initial consonant has been dropped; and which never-
theless in numerous lines like εἶδος τε μέγεθός τε

(Il. B. 58), and even Αἴας δ' ὁ μέγας αἰέν (Il. 358)
is preceded by most remarkable lengthenings. Such
facts are not to be removed by bold alterations of
the text, but must be fully recognized. So long as
we confine our enquiries to isolated forms and sounds,
we can obtain no correct idea of them; they become
intelligible only when we possess a proper insight
into the peculiar character of the Homeric dialect as
a whole. The further our researches penetrate, the
more certain does the inference become, that this dia-
lect is the production of a conventional minstrel-usage
which preserved a number of very old forms, and
sounds regarded as in process of extinction; but at the
same time availed itself of many formations of a later
date, and evidently in contemporary use. For this
reason the dialect preserved that character of variety,
that luxuriance of forms, and elasticity of rule, which,
though almost unconceivable in a language actually
spoken, offered immense advantages to the minstrel
in the construction of his verse. At the time when
this dialect of the epic minstrel-schools—if we may
use the expression—became fixed, much was taken
for licence which was really archaism, and nothing
was easier than that confusion should arise, and the
province of Epic licence should thus extend itself
by false analogies beyond the limits of archaism. In
the idea that φιλομμειδής owed the double μ simply
to an archaic habit of doubling the consonant, forms
like ἔμμαθε were ventured upon; and to ἐπὶ νευρῇ
(cp. *Schnur*, Rt. *snar*. *Grundz.* I, 279) was added
ὑπὸ νέφεος. At all times these innovations were
limited to a certain circle of words by the authority
of those who introduced them with the greatest
moderation. But the most frequent opportunities
for introducing them would naturally be found in
words of very common occurrence, e. g. μέγας, and
its derivatives; just as it can hardly be pure chance

that only the two proper names, which occur most
frequently in the Iliad and Odyssey, waver between
a single and double consonant in the middle of the
word. Such remarks as these are not in the least
intended to dissuade from further enquiry into the
subject—for we may always expect to find the oldest
forms in Homer—but merely to justify myself in
quoting many of the peculiarities of the Homeric
dialect simply as facts; and at least to point out
the way in which many of the riddles here presented
to us may be solved. At the same time what I have
said will show sufficiently what view I take of the
paths struck out by Ahrens, especially in *Rhein. Mus.*
II, 167 sq., and by Hoffmann, *Quæstiones Homericæ.*

Chap. VI.—Declension of Substantives and Adjectives.

With regard to the position of the separate parts of the accidence, I have not felt myself called upon to differ from that in general use. Several attempts have been made of late, from a scientific point of view, to place the formation of words or stems before inflection, under the impression that the order of origin is in this way more strictly preserved, the relations of the sounds, as elements in all formations of words being taught first, then the formation of stems, last of all the changes which stems undergo when brought into relation with other words, that is inflection. But even in a strictly scientific work this arrangement could not be consistently carried out without separating much that is necessarily connected. Thus the formation of the Participles and Infinitive—which is a part of the formation of words—cannot be explained without entering into the difference of tense-stems, a question of inflection; and the last part of the theory of the formation of words, which treats of composition, presupposes of necessity the declension of nouns. In a school-grammar, at any rate, the far greater importance of inflection is quite a sufficient reason for teaching it before the formation of words. The attempt to put the verb before the noun in the theory of inflection —although frequently attempted owing to the influence of K. F. Becker's system—has for a scientific basis the false assumption that the verb as such,

i. e. as a system of forms, is older than the noun,
whereas the modern science of language leads more
and more decisively to the conviction that the forms
of both noun and verb are of equal antiquity. As
a practical matter it is clear that the inflection of
nouns can indeed be taught without a knowledge of
the verb-forms; but the inflection of verbs cannot
be taught before the declension of nouns, on account
of the participles. Thus on every side we are forced
back to the old method, and in fact not much would
be gained for either science or practice in this
struggle for priority.

In the whole theory of inflection everything turns
on the strong and sharp distinction between stem and
termination. On this is based all analysis of forms.
Even the pupil can easily be brought to understand
that the stem of a noun, to go no further for an instance,
which peculiarly and exclusively conveys the meaning,
runs through all the cases, while the terminations
are added to it to denote the several cases, among
which the nom. sing. naturally has a place. Compared
with all the earlier methods, the stem-theory has
the advantage of far greater simplicity. By the old
grammarians the nom. sing. of the noun (like the
1st sing. Pres. Act. of the verb) was regarded as the
starting point, the πρώτη θέσις. No attempt was made
to explain how the other cases developed themselves
out of this. They were contented with the simple
fact; Nom. ος, Gen. ου, Dat. ῳ, &c. The unity of
the third, or consonantal declension, as I call it,
can never become intelligible on such a method.
In θήρ, for instance, the Gen., as compared with
the Nom., gives us an additional -ος, whereas in
σῶμα we find an additional -τος. In ἐλπίς the final ς
is replaced by -δος, in κόρυς by -θος. To avoid
complete confusion, the expedient was invented of
learning the genitive as well as the nominative of

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this declension. Thus in reality the first step was already taken towards the stem-theory; for the genitive was of course selected merely because in it the element which remains the same through all the cases—which is no other than the stem—stands out in greater prominence. To speak accurately, therefore, it was only in the two first declensions that the old grammarians derived all the cases from the nominative sing.; in the third they derived them from the gen. sing., beside which the nom. remained as a simple fact which was not explained further. The genitive here owes its prominence, not to any peculiarity of its own, but merely to the circumstance —quite accidental in the analysis of forms—that it stands second in the arrangement of cases on the old method. But leaving the arbitrary nature of this position out of the question, the old theory attains to no insight into the formation of cases. It remains content with simple changes—for nom. -ος, gen. -ου; gen. -ος, dat. -ι, acc. -α, &c.; but the stem-theory gains a clearness of quite another kind by the simple fact that the case-termination is distinctly named as such and taught in combination with that which is the really unchangeable element. Besides—and this is an advantage of a most essential character—the nominative also on this theory no longer occupies an exceptional position, but is developed like the other cases from the single base common to all. There is another way also in which their per-verse treatment of inflection revenged itself upon the old philologists. So long as one case or verb-form was derived from another at will by assuming a change of sound (τροπή) or addition (πλεονασμος), &c., no one hesitated to follow a similar plan with regard to the formation of words. A rational phonology was quite impossible; and thus, there was no firm foundation for etymology, as an enquiry into words;

but in the place of it a soil was secured in which all sorts of caprices and eccentricities sprang up in great luxuriance.

Nevertheless since Buttmann's time (*Ausf. Gr.* I, p. 159 Anm.) a certain regard has been paid to the stems in the so-called third declension. In this respect, it is true, Buttmann himself was very uncertain; for he was inclined to leave the 'genetic method' to the oral instruction of 'thoughtful teachers.' Matthiä (I, 199) opposes even this 'hypothesis,' and wishes the well-known apophthegm of Quintilian—*inter virtutes grammatici habebitur aliqua nescire*—to be applied even to the question:—'what is the reason that the Greeks form the words of the third declension in such various ways.' Only, in this case we ought to read *omnia* instead of *aliqua!* Here as elsewhere Thiersch takes a far more certain and intelligent course But even K. L. Struve, to whom Latin Grammar is indebted for essential corrections, in his Greek Grammar p. 27 (Riga and Dorpat 1823, 2. Aufl.), allows the Genitive to arise *out* of the Nominative by various rejections and insertions. Kühner, following the lead of Reimnitz, whose treatise (*System der Griech. Declination.* Potsdam 1831) was written under the influence of Comparative Grammar, was the first to make the stem-theory dominant in the third declension. Since that time, a return to the old confusion in all its fulness has been impossible. To a certain extent every author of a school-grammar, even against his inclination, must yield to our new insight. But even to the most recent times the stems in ς, e. g. γενες (Nom. γένος) are ignored by Rost and Krüger; though it is just as easy to conceive that γένε-ος has arisen out of γενεσ-ος as that ἐ-γέν-εο has arisen out of ἐ-γεν-ε-σο, and is quite absurd to regard the ς in γένος as a sign of the Nom., since on the contrary that sign as a rule belongs only

to the personal genders. Still the insight into the essential laws of language, the possibility of recognizing the regularity of the forms of language is in the eyes of many teachers far too small a thing for them to move out of the old track on that account more than is absolutely necessary. Any one who wished to write a book on the sluggishness of the human mind would find ample materials in the history of our school-grammars, though numbers come year after year into the market.

Among the consequences resulting from this stolid acquiescence in traditional doctrines may be reckoned the inconsistency of treating the first two declensions as entirely different from the third. If we reduce παντ-ός to a stem παντ-, we must also reduce Μουσά-ων to a stem Μουσα, λόγου to a stem λογο-. Such a comprehensive treatment of the stems has been shrunk from merely because in the case of the A- and O-stems there was no such pressing necessity for it in practice. For the teacher can certainly allow the paradigm λόγ-ος, Gen. λόγ-ου to be recited after the old fashion without any practical difficulty. But such a course is not without some attendant evils; it destroys the insight into the unity of declension as a whole. And it might perhaps occur to a clever pupil that as ν only is the termination of the accusative case in πόλι-ν, αν and ον can scarcely be considered as such in χώραν and λόγον; that as Θηρ-ῶν has the termination -ων in the Gen. Pl., this, and nothing more, is the termination in the Homeric Μουσάων; and that, in general, if the stem is to be considered the unchangeable part of a word, the vowels α and ο, when they run through the whole declension with few changes, can on any rational method only be regarded as part of the stem. From a scientific point of view there is not the slightest doubt that these vowels form part of the stem; and, therefore,

it is quite inconceivable why the truth should not
be taught even in school. In this way only is unity
introduced into great diversity; whereas the apparent
stems Μουσ, λογ which still adorn more than one
grammar, have neither a basis in science, nor mean-
ing in practice.

The consistent carrying out of the stem-theory is
sometimes opposed on the ground that it has to deal
with pure abstractions, whereas it is the real Greek
language as it existed in time past in the mouth of
the nation which has to be impressed upon the
pupil, and not a system of phantom-forms, which
never had any existence at all. This seems a serious
objection. But where is the Greek grammar which
does not take refuge in forms, the existence of which
can no longer be proved from actual usage? Were
the endings -μι, -σι, -τι, or those false stems λογ,
τιμ, γενε ever uttered as separate words? Or did any
Greek author ever use ΛΑΒΩ? Yet for the last
hundred years no grammarian has appeared without
such abstractions. And if in regard to such verbal
themes the attempt is made to guard against con-
fusion of the real and hypothetical by the use of
large letters, we may avail ourselves of a similar
expedient in regard to our stems. Besides, where
do we find λεοντ-σι written, from which every one
very properly derives λέου-σι? In a word, we are
not dealing with an absolute innovation, but only
with the consistent carrying out of a principle uni-
versally recognized as correct; indeed, in many cases
the real question is merely whether we are to in-
troduce hypothetical forms the existence of which
can be proved by the severest method of linguistic
enquiry; or forms like λογ, τιμ, γενε, which can be
proved never to have had any existence at all. It
is noticeable that the opponents of innovation are
the chief supporters of the latter forms.

Besides, the stems are by no means mere abstractions. There was a period in the life of language —a very early one, it is true, and long antecedent to the existence of Greek as a separate language, because antecedent to the formation of the inflection common to all the Indo-Germanic languages — in which in all probability those forms which we now call roots and stems were actual words, although for the most part they had not as yet received the phonetic form peculiar to Greek. There is also no doubt that a stock of stems, in the first instance comparatively small, was increased by the addition of a number of other stems formed at a later period by analogy. But even apart from this, so to speak, antenatal existence of stems, they have preserved at all times a truly real existence in so far as they live in the completed forms of inflection. They exist, though not independently and separately, and have as much claim to be recognized by science as cells in plants, or, one may say as letters, which with very few exceptions, are not used separately in actual speech. The noun-stems prove their reality especially in the derivative formations—e. g. in δίχα-ιο-ς, δικαιο-σύνη, νεότη(τ)-ς, παιδ-ίο-ν, εὐμενέσ-τερο-ς, and in composition, e. g. λογο-γράφο-ς, νεο-τόχος, σαχέσ-παλο-ς. In many cases also the pure stem appears in the vocative—Σώχρατες, δαῖμον, νύμφα; and even the pupil can draw the inference that the vocative is the noun in itself apart from any grammatical relation, and, therefore, without any case-termination. Here we see plainly enough that language is an organic whole, in which all the parts fit into each other. Without a correct knowledge of stems no rational theory of sounds or of the formation of words is possible, and even syntax cannot be fixed upon any firm basis by any other method.

By a proper application of the noun-stems it is not

difficult to bring to view the essential unity of Greek
declension. But it is self-evident that in practical
instruction the multiplicity of forms must be first
impressed on the memory; and the unity which
underlies all that multiplicity—to the knowledge of
which § 173 introduces us—can only be enforced
as an advanced stage of instruction. We must not
be led by the proof of unity to pay too little at-
tention to the variety which nevertheless exists.
The science of language in its latest phases carries
the aversion to classification to an excessive degree.
More concerned to trace out the several forms through
all their changes than to pay attention to the com-
bination of all forms under a whole, or the grouping
of them round a stem, it displays a certain in-
difference to divisions of every kind, an indifference
which in some of our youngest students has reached
a complete contempt of so-called declensions. Even
on severely scientific grounds—especially where we
have to deal with a particular language—we cannot
leave out of sight the unity, and the analogies which
have grown up between the separate forms of the
same stem. The instinct of language perceived these
very clearly; thus many anomalies, especially He-
teroklisis, are owing exclusively to the fact that the
instinct of language extends these analogies too far.
For instance, owing to the large number of proper
names in -ή-ς nom. sing. which are formed upon
stems in A, others like Σωκράτης, Δημοσθένης, which
were originally sigma-stems, are treated as similar.
Such cases cannot be explained by mere relations
of sound or by the formation of stems; they are
made intelligible only by classification. The old
grammarians preferred to give the name of analogy
to inflection. The analogies between similar and simi-
larly treated words floated before the instinct of
language, while yet purely natural, and were also

the first to present themselves with clearness when
that instinct became conscious, and was awaking
into a science. Without a due regard to this ele-
ment even science herself would be lost in the vague
and indefinite; she cannot on her part exist without
a certain system. That in the practical course of
instruction, proper to a school, we ought certainly
to divide the declensions, to distinguish and arrange
the divisions, needs no further confirmation.

The difference of the declensions is owing chiefly
—though by no means exclusively, since in some
cases, e. g. Gen. sing., two terminations are certainly
in use—to the final letter of the stem. As this can
be either a vowel or a consonant, we have a primary
division into vowel and consonant declensions. This
division is not however perfectly accurate. Only the
stems ending in hard vowels follow the first main de-
clension; and as α and o were originally one sound,
this is in reality simply an A-declension. The soft
vowels ι and υ, on the other hand, no less than the diph-
thongal stems which are very closely connected with
them, belong to the second or consonant declension.
For this reason objections have been made to my
dichotomy as illogical and misleading. The note
to § 135 is intended to give the pupil a hint on
the matter which at first sight is certainly not quite
clear. The intelligent teacher will find no difficulty
in pointing out the fact that here, as often, the ter-
minology is given *a potiori;* and that the consonant
stems not only form by far the largest part of the
second main declension, but give the type for the rest.
But from a scientific point of view the matter may be
explained more clearly. It is here that the division
of the vowels into hard and soft mentioned above
(p. 28) becomes of importance. At the end of the
diphthongs, the soft vowels pass into the correspond-
ing spirant—thus ναυ-ός becomes ναϝ-ός; but when

they stand alone, they develope a spirant after them, which adapts itself to the rules of the consonant declension. Thus in Sanskrit from the stem *bhû* (Nom. *bhûs*, Earth) we have the Gen. *bhu-v-as* (cp. *plu-v-ia* from the root *plu + ia*). By analogy we should expect in Greek ου-Ϝ-ός, from which ου-ός afterwards arose. In other stems in υ and still more in those in ι the formation is very variable. With some, e. g. stem κι, Nom. κί-ς we must suppose a Gen. κι-*j*-ος, in which the spirant developed out of ι corresponds exactly to the Ϝ in the case previously mentioned. But in other stems δ takes the place of Jod, ἐρι, ἔρι-δ-ος. But that this δ must be regarded as a sound arising out of Jod in accordance with certain distinct analogies, I believe has been proved in *Grundzüge* II, 207 sq. Other stems again in ι and υ undergo extension. The ει arising out of ι passes before vowels into ε*j*, e. g. πολέ*j*-ος; so that when the Jod is dropped the ε alone remains as the representative of the final letter of the stem. In a similar manner υ lengthened to ευ becomes εϜ and then ε, ἀστεϜ-ος, ἄστεος. In this way, therefore, all these vowel-stems become in certain case-forms consonantal, and justify us in classifying them in that declension. On the other hand, in the formation of the acc. sing. of Masc. and Fem., the true vowel-nature of the stems declares itself, πόλι-ν, πολύ-ν; and the voc. sing. also, where it exists as a separate form, contains the pure vowel stem. The double nature of these stems, therefore, is now clear. The only group not as yet completely explained is the stems in ο and ω. In the grammar (§ 135 Obs.) I could only introduce the remark that these stems have apparently lost a consonant, but which the consonant in question is, it is certainly by no means easy to decide. Only the two words ἠώς and αἰδώς leave no doubt on the subject. They are distinguished from the other

feminines by the termination ς in the nominative.
ἠώς, Æolic αὔως, as the comparison of the kindred
language proves (*Grundzüge* I, 368), goes back to a
stem *ausos,* common to Greeks and Italians; in Latin
this stem was lengthened by the addition of an *a*
(*ausōs-a,* later *aurōra*), just as the Indian word of
the same meaning *ushas* (for *us-as*) has the form
ushâs-â existing side by side with it. Hence very
little doubt is left that in the case of αἰδώς too
we must regard αἰδος as the stem; both these
words, therefore, properly belong to the sigma stems.
It is merely because they are the only two words
of their kind, and are declined throughout as O-
stems without regard to the nom., that they have
retained their place in the grammar among the latter.
The masculines in ω (nom. ως), on the other hand,
point to another origin. πάτρω-ς corresponds to the
Latin *patruu-s;* and though there is no *matruu-s*
existing by the side of μήτρω-ς, the derivative *ma-
truēlis* shews that this form must once have been
in existence. These forms, therefore, appear to have
lost an F. From a common form *patrovo-s,* the
Greeks by dropping the *o* obtained πατροϝ-ς, πάτρως
(cp. πλώ-ω = πλοϝ-ω by the side of πλέ-ω = πλεϝ-ω,
Grundzüge II, 152). The feminines which have -ω
in the nom. I formerly connected with stems in ν;
and there are certainly many points of contact between
the two. The same connection—somewhat differently
carried out, has of late been adopted by Leo Meyer,
Ueber die Flexion der Adjectiva im Deutschen (Berlin
1867, S. 57). But the rejection of ν in this case
remains a very doubtful assumption, and seems in-
deed to have been set aside with justice by Ahrens
in a more complete analysis, Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* III,
81 sq., upon which we here at once enter. It is
very remarkable that the nominatives of these stems,
in inscriptions, and according to the evidence of

grammarians, had secondary forms in -ῳ, Λητώ, Σαπφώ.
Without question this form is the oldest, and at the
first glance we see that Σαπφώ is the regular nomi-
native to voc. Σαπφοῖ, to which it bears exactly the
same relation as δαίμων to δαῖμον. Ahrens is, there-
fore, quite correct in assuming οι as the primary
ending of these stems. This ending is shown most
plainly in the vocative, but it also appears in the
Doric accusative in οιν of which we have a genuine
instance in τὰν Λατοῖν on the Cretan inscription of
Dreros. (K. F. Hermann, *Gött. Anz.* 1855, *Nachr.*
p. 101 sq.). Only we shall now have to go a step
further. The Ionic form of the acc. in ουν which is
found not only in the best MSS. of Herodotus ('Ιοῦν,
Βουτοῦν, Τιμοῦν), but also on Inscripp. ('Αρτεμοῦν,
Δημοῦν, Μητροῦν) certainly cannot be derived from
stems in οι, or indeed from stems in ν. Now we found
that the Masc. in -ω sprang from -οϜ: it will not,
therefore, be too rash to refer the feminines in -ο
to οϜι. Greek ι, corresponding to Sanskrit *î*, is an
old suffix for the feminine. The form οϜι, there-
fore, as the feminine of -οϜ or -οϜο, need not appear
strange to us, and as a fact, feminines of this kind
are found existing by the side of the very rare
nominatives in -ω, in three instances—though all are
proper names—Πατρώ, Μητρώ, 'Ηρώ. I have, there-
fore, no doubt that the supposed connexion really
existed, though I cannot here go on to establish it
in greater detail from the formation of words in
Greek and Latin. The result, with which we are
here concerned, would, therefore, be that the fem.
stems in ο, the mutilated form of an older οϜι, have
the same right as the I-stem to be included in the
consonant declension. The actual Ϝ is retained only
in those Ionic Accusatives. By the loss of Ϝ, -οϜι
became -οι. This stem appears in the Voc. and in
the Accusatives quoted, of which Λατοῖ-ν, for instance

is related to the stem Λατοι (from Λατοϝι) in exactly
the same manner as ci̯-ν to the stem οι (as ὁϝι =
Lat. *ovi*, Nom. *ovis*). Between two vowels the ι,
like υ, passed in the diphthong-stems primarily into
the corresponding spirant, until at length it also
became utterly lost. In these, as in other similar
changes, we must assume that they did not all take
place at once, but gradually, one after the other.

To these remarks on the general classification of
the declensions may be added a few on the further
division of the same. In these we return at once to
the vowel declension. This was, as we have said,
originally but one declension. The relation is pre-
served in Sanskrit. There the A is short in Masc.
and Neut., and long in Fem., so that in Nom. sing.
the ending, *a-s*, *â*, *a-m* corresponds to the Greek ο-ς,
α (η), ον, and Latin *u-s*, *a*, *u-m*. The use of *a* for
the long vowel, and *o* for the short one is evidently
anterior to the existence of Greek as a separate
language. Latin has a full share in this division
of the vowels, the only difference being, that in the
latter language the *o* has in certain cases, and at first
by slow degrees, been supplanted by *u*. Hence it
has a more varied appearance: yet old Latin forms,
like *equo-s*, *dono-m*, are exactly similar to the Greek.
There is another peculiarity common to Greek and
Latin as distinguished from all the other kindred
languages. It is a very general rule that A belongs
to the feminine gender; but in Latin and Greek we
find a number of masculines ending in this vowel.
No definite reasons have yet been discovered for
change of sound in these words. The assumption
of A- and O-declensions is, therefore, equally ne-
cessary in both languages. We put the A-declension
first for two reasons:—1. because the A-sound is
the older, and 2. in order to abide by custom.—
The change from the meaningless designation by

numbers, to a terminology based on the characteristic
sound, needs no defence.

§ 112.

All the stems of the A-declension are here said
to end in α. Ahrens, *Formenl.* p. 11 and 12, and
Müller-Lattmann also assume stems in η. But even
those very stems which like τιμή, δική, in the Ionic
dialect present the η to a greater extent than any
others, confine it to the singular number, and η in
the dual and plural is unknown to the Attic dialect.
It is true that the Ionic admits η in Dat. plural:
but in this case we have always the same vowel
without any reference to the singular: Μοῦσα, Μούσῃσι,
no less than μάχη, μάχῃσι. η, therefore, cannot pos-
sibly be regarded as the final letter of the stem.
A stem τιμη would never give us τιμαί, τιμά-ων,
τιμά-ς, but conversely τιμή, τιμῆς could certainly
be produced from τιμα. The assumed stem τιμη,
therefore is found insufficient, when we ask whether
all the forms can be derived from it with the as-
sistance of the laws of sound—which is the only
proof that we have chosen the stem correctly. The
Masculines also, with their vocatives and old nomi-
natives in α (ἱππότα) shew clearly that the change
of the original α to η is a mere affection of the
vowel occurring here and there according to no fixed
rule. It cannot, therefore, be regarded as forming
part of the stem which has already been defined as
the *unchangeable* element in words.

§ 114.

The coincidence between Latin and Greek is here
most striking, except indeed in the two cases gen.
sing. and plur. But with regard to the gen. sing.,

forms like *pater familiās* may be quoted to advanced
pupils, from which it follows that in the formation
of this case also there was originally no difference
between these two most clearly connected languages.
On the contrary we must assume, and there is further
support for the assumption, that the ending -*ajâs*,
still retained in Sanskrit, formed the common starting
point for Greek and Latin. From this -*ajâs*, by
weakening the syllable *jâs*, arose the Latin -*aïs* (also
-*aes*), which, on the one hand, became worn down
to *aï* (*terrai*) and further to *ai*, *ae*; and on the other,
was contracted into *ās* (*familiās*). But the Greeks
allowed the *j* to drop out, and contracted α-ας to ᾱς.
To the gen. pl. in its contracted form the Latin
poetical forms in -*um*, e. g. *cælicolum*, correspond
exactly. For *drachmum Æneadum* are imitations of
Greek forms. No form from the Latin is here
compared with the dat. pl., because the fuller Greek
form in -σι is proved to be really a Locative and
quite distinct from the Latin Dat. and Abl. Plur.,
which in the consonantal declension preserve the
proper termination -*bus* (Sanskrit *bhjas*). Such at
least is the decision of Bopp and Schleicher, *Vergl.
Gram.* I, 485; *Compendium* 476, in opposition to Leo
Meyer, *Declination*, p. 99.

§ 125 sq.

The identity of the Greek and Latin O-declension
scarcely needs to be especially pointed out. But the
use of the Accusative termination in this declension
for the nom. of the neuter—a use found in Sanskrit
also—is very remarkable. Language utterly refuses
the characteristic formation of the nominative to the
neuter gender. Here in its place is added the ter-
mination of the Acc., evidently because the neuter,
even where it assumes the position of the subject

in a sentence, carries with it a notion of dependence, distinct from the self-sufficience of the masculine.— The α of the neuter plural, like the ε of the vocative, is obviously not to be regarded as a peculiar termination, but as the final letter of the stem, which in this case was lengthened, the Greek and Latin ă having here arisen out of ā. In the vocative, on the other hand, the o-sound is represented by the weaker ε, the sound which after α stands in the nearest relation to o. In my grammar I use the word 'termination' to express the elements which are added to the stem with a change of meaning: α, therefore, is not called a 'termination', but merely an 'ending*', which general term I adopt to express any sound or group of sounds whatever at the close of a word. δῶρα, therefore, ends in α, but has no termination; δώρου has the ending ου, but the termination added to the stem δωρο is the ο arising out of -ιο. In the vowel declension, in which the stems and terminations have coalesced in various ways, this distinction is essential, and must certainly be observed by the teacher. Even the pupil cannot mistake the two ideas without danger of error and confusion. Into such confusion the older grammars are constantly falling.

In the O-declension, and to a certain extent, it is true, in the A-declension also, the separation of stem and termination is not marked in the type throughout all the cases. In ἄνθρωπο-ς, ἄνθρωπο-ν the division is clear and simple, and the two parts are separated by a hyphen. But to mark off the υ in the genitive ἀνθρώπο-υ is somewhat doubtful, because υ alone cannot possibly be regarded as the termination. Similar difficulties present themselves in other cases, the separation, therefore, is omitted.

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* This distinction is not strictly preserved in the translation of the Grammar. TR.

§ 128.

In the Attic dialect I have assumed -o only as
the termination of the genitive singular, because here
every trace of another element before the -o is lost.
But the observation on the Homeric forms in -οιο
makes it sufficiently clear that -o has arisen out of
ιο, no doubt through the medium of *jo*. The chasm
also between the Homeric Ͽεο-ῖο and the form Ͽεοῦ,
which was also in use in Homer's time, is filled up,
if in accordance with the indications of the Homeric
verse we allow certain genitives in -οο. Even Butt-
mann, *Ausf. Gr.* I, 299, suspected that the form ὅου
which is contrary to all analogy and occurs but twice
(Il. B. 325, Od. α. 70), both times before a double
consonant, ought to be written ὅο (ὅο κράτος, ὅο κλέος).
Ahrens went further, inasmuch as he proposed, *Rhein.
Mus.* II, 161 and *Formenl.* p. 15, to remove the ir-
regular lengthening in Od. κ. 36, by reading

δῶρα παρ' Αἰόλοο μεγαλήτορος

and naturally also κ. 60

Αἰόλοο κλυτὰ δώματα

and similarly elsewhere. This sounds very probable.
But Leo Meyer p. 27 goes further and gives forms
in -οο as Homeric, not only in cases where the con-
tracted form causes a difficulty in prosody, but even
in Spondaic verses—e. g. δήμοο φῆμις (Od. ξ 239)—
though the Homeric dialect certainly did allow such
verses under certain conditions; and even maintains
that this older form ought to be restored in every
instance where it is not excluded by the metre.
This is mere extravagance due to ignorance of the
language of Homer, which, as we have already seen,
everywhere exhibits older and later forms side by
side. In many of these very verses the ear abso-
lutely requires the later form. In the grammar even

those forms which have been assumed with great probability have not been mentioned, because it is my invariable rule to pay attention to such forms only as really occur in current texts; and in no case to enter the field of conjecture..

In order to leave no room for the erroneous notion that the epic Genitive and Dative Du. in -οιιν owe their fuller form to a simple lengthening, it may be mentioned that those cases have lost a consonant before the ι. The complete termination, as is shown by the comparison of the Sanskrit *vrka-bhjam*—'to the two wolves', was -φιν. From λυκοφιν arose on the one hand λυκο-ϊν, λύκοιν, by dropping the φ; and on the other, λυκοι-φιν, λύκοι-ιν, by the addition of ι to the stem-vowel, exactly as in Dat. Plur. λύκοι-σι. Cp. Bopp, *Vergl. Gram.*, 437; Schleicher, *Compend.*, 479 for further information on the dropping of the φ and insertion of iota. The supposed form λυκοφιν stands in exactly the same relation to λυκοιφιν as the Locative forms Πλαταιᾶσι, Ἀϑήνησι (§ 179) to the ordinary datives in the Ionic form Πλαταιαῖσι, Ἀϑήναισι.

§ 133.

The peculiar accentuation of the Attic declension is evidently owing to the fact that these stems originally ended in -ᾱο. From that time, in spite of the change of quantity, the acute continued frequently to be placed on the propenult: Μενέ-λᾱο-ς, Μενέλεω-ς, ἀνώγα(ι)ο-ν, ἀνώγεω-ν. For the same reason the same peculiarity is found in the form of the Gen. Sing. which is also called Attic, e. g. πόλεως, with which compare Homeric πόληος.

§ 134.

The original termination of the Acc. Pl. -νς can be deduced from the Greek dialects even without the assistance of the kindred languages. It is found in inscriptions in the Cretan form πρειγευτά-νς (Ahrens Dor. 106) = πρεσβευτάς, and apparently also in the Argive τόνς = τούς. Only by assuming such a termination can we explain the forms of all the other dialects. The Æolians of Lesbos replaced the lost ν here, as elsewhere, by ι, ταίς, τοίς; some of the Dorians by lengthening the vowel, τάς, τώς; others not at all—τᾰς, τός, where the shortness of the vowel is the characteristic. The Ionians and Attics adopted the compensatory lengthening usual with them, τάς, τούς. The Latin ūs, ōs resemble most the Doric forms first mentioned. The old case-termination occurs in the most complete form in Gothic *vulfa-ns*, *fiska-ns;* but traces are to be seen in almost all the other families of the Indogermanic stock. (Bopp, *Vergl. Gr.*, I, 465 sq. Schleicher, *Comp.*, 441.)

§ 147.

The formation of the Nom. Sing. out of the stem is an important element in the consonantal declension to which the teacher must again and again return. Agreeably to the general principle of my arrangement this formation is mentioned separately in each division; but the teacher will not find it difficult here, as elsewhere, to give a connected view of what has been previously learned separately. The two formations of the Nom. Sing. are distributed among the different kinds of stems belonging to this declension in the following manner: the Nom. Sing.

invariably ends in sigma in guttural and labial stems, stems in δ and ϑ, in the single stem in λ, άλ, stems in weak vowels and diphthongs. Stems in ρ and ς never have sigma in the Nom. Sing. Stems in τ—especially ντ—, in ν and ο, vary between the two formations. From this synopsis it is clear that the formation in sigma is the typical one, and predominant by far. The intention of language was everywhere the same, viz. to add the sibilant to the stem. Only in cases where the addition gives rise to too hard a combination of sounds this intention gives way to euphony. Even then, language was intent upon distinguishing the Nom. from the stem. The lengthening which takes place in the formation without sigma, e. g. from πατερ to πατήρ, from δαιμον to δαίμων, is manifestly due to the desire for compensation. Comparative grammarians, therefore, among whom Schleicher is most consistent, *Comp.*, p. 427, very properly assume as the original forms, πατερ-ς, δαιμον-ς, σαφεσ-ς. But for Greek grammar, and especially for Greek school-grammar, the two methods of forming the Nominative, ποιμήν from stem ποιμεν, and εἶ-ς from stem ἑν, must be carefully distinguished. In cases in which the addition of the sigma causes difficulties, there are evidently before us two periods in the history of language, which must be chronologically distinguished; and this is, so far as I know, a point of view which has hitherto been unnoticed.

At a very early period in the life of language the combinations *rs, ss, ts* were felt to be distasteful. They are avoided even in Sanskrit, and hence it is probable that at a time anterior to the separate existence of Greek the older termination -*ars* became -*âr*, -*ass* became -*âs*, -*ats* became -*ât*, while in the other case-forms the short vowel remained unaltered. From this ancient condition of language—for which we have evidence in Sanskrit *pitâ* (instead of *pitâr* = πατήρ)

compared with Latin *pater*, Sanskrit *durmanâs* =
Greek δυςμενής—the Greek borrowed the long vowel
in πατήρ, σαφής, λελυκώς for λελυκωτ. In the same
way the combination *ns* began at a very early period
to be objectionable, and, therefore, the sibilant was
dropped in many cases, especially when the stem
ended in - *n* only. Thus *ans* became *ân* and the
Greek ους, ων, e. g. in τέκτων = Sanskrit *takshâ* (for
takshân) from the stem τεκτον. The antiquity of such
formations is proved by the Latin ō in *homō* for
homōn, stem *homon*.

On the other hand, other combinations of sounds
were retained much longer, especially *ns*, when a *t*
had fallen out after the *n:* for it is a comprehensive
law in language that hard combinations of sound
are more tolerable when they have arisen out of still
harder combinations. Even from a due regard to
clearness of meaning language imposes certain limits
on the changes of sound. Thus Latin *ars* for *art-s*,
Mars for *Mart-s* remained unaltered, while *paters* was
intolerable, and for the same reason we have *dens*, but
not *homens, ordens,* or *homon-s, ordon-s.* For the same
reason forms like τιθέν-ς were long retained on Greek
ground; they are indeed to some extent actually
vouched for as Argive (Ahrens *Dor.* 105). From this,
at a proportionately recent date, came τιθεί-ς by the
usual compensatory lengthening, from ὀδοντ-ς, ὀδούς.
It cannot certainly be denied that language was incon-
sistent. In the formation of participles especially,
we must assume an early variation, by which, in
the conjugation with the connecting vowel, the leng-
thening of the stem-vowel replaced the sigma—ap-
parently in accordance with old tendencies—φέρων
being intelligible only as the residuum of an older
φερωντ, which is related to φεροντ as λελυκωτ to λελυκοτ.
In the conjugation without the connecting vowel, on
the other hand, the form with the sigma remained,

τιθεντ-ς from which later τιθείς. A similar variation may be found in the *n*-stems, cp. τέρην with εἴ-ς.

§ 148. Obs.

The reference to § 85 is intended to show that the accentuation of Ἀγάμεμνον harmonizes with the general accentuation of compound words, as also that of Σώκρατες, Δημόσθενες, § 165. Accurately speaking, therefore, the accent cannot be said to be thrown back. As in the Vocative we find the pure stem we must look to this case also for the natural stem-accent. The intention of language which aimed at accenting the first element in compound words can only be carried out in the Vocative. In the Nom. it is frustrated by the length of the final syllable. This becomes still more clear from the comparison of forms like Ἴασον, Ἀρετᾶον, in which as being simple there is no such intention on the part of language. There are, it is true, exceptions like the stems in -ηνορ, e. g. Ἐλπῆνορ and others. It is not the object of a school-grammar to point out individual cases of this kind, and therefore the rule is so framed that the attention of the pupil is merely awakened to the varieties of accentuation which occur. The attempt to start in every case from the stem-form in explaining accentuation, though scientifically correct, presents great difficulties in practice. I believe I have done right in limiting the accent, which in a true sense gives life to the word, to really living forms.

§ 149.

The difference between χαρίε-σι and τιθεῖσι is explained by the fact that the adjectives from an early period had forms in -ετ, i. e. in -ϝετ existing side

by side with the stems in -εντ, originally -Fεντ. For the same reason the feminine of χαρίεις is χαρί-εσσα (cp. § 187), that is χαρι-Fετ-ια, in distinction from τιθεῖσα i. e. τιθεντ-ια. In a similar manner the corresponding adjectives in Sanskrit vary between the 'strong' form -vant and the 'weak' form -vat (cp. Ebel in the *Zeitschr. für vergl. Sprachforschung*, I, 298).

§ 154.

Accusatives Plural in -εις like πόλεις and γλυκεῖς are noticeable. The anomalous contraction from -εας is probably owing to the analogy of the Nom. Plur. The same holds good of the rarer formation of the same case in stems in -ευ (§ 161. Obs.).

§ 156.

For practical reasons, and for the sake of brevity, stems in τ and θ are classified with those in δ, in spite of the considerable differences between them. The δ in stems like ἐριδ, ἐλπιδ, has,—as I have briefly mentioned already p. 57—and elsewhere shown in detail (*Grundz.*, II, 207)—arisen out of Jod, and, therefore, never occurs except before vowels. The true stem, from a scientific point of view, is here ἐρι, ἐλπι, and there is no reason whatever to assume a Nom. ἐριδς, ἐλπιδς. On the other hand, in χάρι-ς and κόρυ-ς, we must assume real stems χαριτ and κορυθ, and the formation of the Acc. χάρι-ν, κορυ-ν is due to Heteroklisis (§ 174).

§ 160.

The formation of the Acc. Pl. in diphthong-stems, with the exception of those in ευ, is worthy of observation. The difference between γρᾶ-ες, i. e. γραF-ες,

βό-ες, i. e. βοϜ-ες, and the Acc. γραῦ-ς, βοῦ-ς, οἶ-ς,
is explained by the fact that the termination of the
Nom. Pl. is -ες, but that of the Acc. -νς. This νς
could be added to those stems without any difficulty
—βου-νς, γραυ-νς; and afterwards the ν disappeared.
There was no reason to insert the auxiliary vowel α.
In the same manner σῦ-ς is not contracted from σύ-ας,
or the Herodotean πόλι-ς from πόλι-ας, but both
are formed in the oldest and simplest manner. These
Acc. Pl. stand to those in -ας in exactly the same
relation as Acc. Sing. in -ν (βοῦ-ν, πόλι-ν) to those
in -α.

§ 161.

The special peculiarities of the stems in -ευ are
most simply explained if we start from the Homeric
forms. These present, for the most part, a long
vowel in those cases in which the υ, or rather its
representative Ϝ, is dropped. Forms like βασιλῆ-ος,
βασιλῆ-α are apparently to be explained by the fact
that the lengthening of the vowel here compensates
the loss of the consonant, and, therefore, βασιλεϜ-ος,
βασιλεϜ-α, not βασιληϜ-ος, βασιληϜ-α, were the original
forms. From the Homeric forms arose βασιλέ-ως,
βασιλέ-α, by metathesis of the quantity; but the
long vowel is not preserved consistently throughout,
for the ι of the Dative is always, and the α of the
Acc. Sing. and Plur. frequently, shortened. In Nom.
Plur. the old Attic forms in -ῆς are apparently
derived from forms in -ηες. The effect of a lost
digamma in lengthening the adjacent vowel was first
pointed out by Ebel, *Zeitschr. für vergl. Sprachf.*,
IV, 171. We shall recur to this phenomenon in
discussing the augment.

§ 164 sq.

An objection has been made to the expression 'elided stems', because elision is the term elsewhere given in the grammar to the rejection of one vowel before another. By the addition 'which reject the final consonant in certain forms' I have guarded against any mistake, and a better, and at the same time shorter, term is not yet current. A closer examination will show that the three principal divisions of the consonant declension have been so arranged, that in the first division, the final consonant is always retained; in the second it emerges out of the vowel in certain forms; in the third, on the other hand, it frequently disappears before vowels.

In the third principal division the sigma-stems occupy the first place, owing to their frequency, and because in them the characteristic mark of this division is shown most clearly. The discovery that the sigma in γένος, εὐγενής, belongs to the stem, has already (p. 51) been mentioned as peculiarly fruitful in results, because by it alone we can gain a correct insight into the formation of the Vocative (Σώκρατες), the Nom. Acc. Voc. Neut. (εὐγενές), the Comparative (εὐγενέστερος), and finally such compounds as ἐπεσ-βόλο-ς, σακεσ-φόρο-ς, in which the older grammarians were always compelled by their stupid and foolish method to assume the addition of sigma—an addition entirely without cause. The omission of sigma before vowels is vindicated in § 61 b, and before a second sigma in the Dative Plural, in § 49. Nevertheless, a knowledge of Sanskrit was required to extend this correct view more widely. But when Bopp had shown that μένος is exactly synonymous with Sanskrit *manas*; that the Genitive of the latter is *manas-as;* the Loc. *manas-i*, the Gen. Plur. *manas-âm,*

the Loc. Plur. *manas-su*, it became clear that the corresponding forms in Greek were at one time μενεσ-ος, μενεσ-ι, μενεσ-ων, μενεσ-σι; in fact we find forms like βέλεσ-σι actually existing in Homer by the side of βέλε-εσσι, which naturally arose out of βελεσ-εσσι.   When the proper path had thus been pointed out, the true relation of the Greek to the Latin words of similar formation also became apparent. It was seen that the *r* in *gener-is* arose out of *s;* that, therefore, the old Lat. *genes-is* (cp. *foedes-is* in Varro L.L. VII, § 27)—according to all analogy for a still older *genes-us*, *genes-os*,—was exactly similar to the oldest Greek form.   Even in the change of vowels the two languages exactly correspond.   The Nom. only has the deeper vowel; all the other cases present the clearer one.   Hence we might be inclined to assume the Nominative form (γένος) as the stem, and to regard the forms with ε (γενεσ) as weakened from this. But our principle is to denote the unchangeable element as the stem, and, therefore, it was advisable to start from the form with ε; at the same time the kindred adjectives εὐ-γενες, δυς-γενες, with their unchangeable ε (cp. Lat. *de-gener*) are most simply explained from this form.

§ 168.

The stems with moveable τ, few in number, are best explained on the hypothesis that language has here been led by the similarity of sound in the Nom. case to waver between two stems, one short and the other lengthened by the addition of τ.   Accurately speaking there has here been no rejection of τ, which would be without a parallel in the constant use of this consonant in inflection and the formation of words.   But there were two stems, e. g. κερας and κερατ, standing side by side; and each having

the same sound in the Nominative. From each, cases were formed which continued to remain in use side by side. Similar double formations, of which the longer are characterized by τ, occur frequently among the anomalies. Cp. γόνυ, δόρυ, κάρη and ἔρως as correlative of γέλως.

§ 169.

The same holds good of the stems with moveable ν. The rejection of ν as a phonetic process cannot be vindicated. This class contains scarcely any other than the comparative stems, in which the -ιον, as the corresponding form in Sanskrit shows, has arisen out of -ians or -jans (Sanskrit -îjans, e. g. svâd-îjans =ἡδ-ιον), see Bopp, *Vergl. Gram.*, II, 36; Schleicher, *Comp.*, 384. Of the two consonants ν and σ, the latter has, as a rule, disappeared, perhaps through the medium of νν as in Æolic μῆννος = Attic μηνός for μηνσος (cp. Latin *mensis*). The Latin, on the other hand, has thrust out the nasal, and retained the *s*; *suā(d)v-ios*. The older language (Varro L. L. VII, 27 *meliosem*) carried the *s* throughout all the cases; but at a later period it passed into *r* between two vowels, and at length remained only in Nom. Acc. Sing. of the Neuter; *suavius* (for *suavios*). But in the long *ō* of *suāviōris*, at least the *effect* of the nasal also is still felt. I have no doubt, therefore, that for the Græco-Italic period of the language we must assume the stem *suādv-ions*. And it appears probable to me that even in Greek certain case-forms with σ as (σ)ϝᾱδ-ιονσ-α-ν = *suādv-ions-em* remained current, which afterwards lost their ν: (σ)ϝᾱδιοσα, and became regarded as analogous to the sigma-stems. Such forms—at a somewhat later period of the language —naturally rejected σ: ϝαδιοα, ϝαδίω (ἡδίω), exactly as αἰδοσ-α, αἰδο-α, αἰδῶ. Ebel, *Zeitschrift*, I, 300

quotes this view as Benary's. He himself is in
doubt about it on account of the three forms Ἀπόλλω,
Ποσειδῶ, and Homeric κυκεῖω, for which this explan-
ation does not hold good. But in fact the origin
of these three words is unknown, and every attempt
at explanation must be given up. In a school-grammar
therefore the old doctrine of the rejection of ν must
be retained, especially as the origin of the comparative
suffix cannot well be explained without reference to
Sanskrit.

§ 176.

'Several neuter stems in αρτ, as φρεαρτ reject τ in
Nom. Acc. and Voc. Sing. and ρ in other cases'.

That this explanation is correct is shown especially
by the Sanskrit *jakṛt*, i. e. *jakart* (cp. Latin *jecur*)—
synonymous with the Greek ἧπαρ—in which both
consonants stand side by side, *Grundzüge*, II, p. 48.
A parallel to the rejection of ρ will be found in the
Homeric ποτί by the side of προτί (Cret. πορτί). In
the stems σκαρτ and ὑδαρτ the vowel in Nom. Acc.
Sing. is deepened and lengthened; σκώρ, ὕδωρ.

§ 177.

Those words are to be regarded as anomalous,
the inflection of which cannot be derived from any
single stem with the help of the laws of sound.
But on taking a closer view of the relation which
exists between the various stems which are united
to make one word, we find that here again certain
analogies come to the surface. Some of the most
extensive of these are mentioned in §§ 174, 175.
In § 177, on the other hand, several anomalies are
quoted in alphabetical order; the main reason being
that in each of these, there is something deserving

particular notice. Many of the words here intro-
duced can obviously be classed among the analogies
already pointed out. Thus the irregularity of Ἄρης
evidently rests on the same principle as that of
Σωκράτης, with an additional irregularity in the
quantity of the vowel; Homeric Ἄρη-ος, Attic Ἄρεως
beside Ἄρεος.—The words γόνυ and δόρυ, which are
exactly similar, together with No. 22 κάρα and their
secondary forms in τ, are analogous to those men-
tioned in § 175; No. 20 ἔρως is analogous to those
in § 169. D. But in the first mentioned, the meta-
thesis of the final υ into the preceding syllable is
peculiar; Hom. γοῦν-α, i. e. γονυ-α, cp. Lat. *genu-a*,
δοῦρα = δορυ-α are parallels to the metathesis of ι
in μείζων from μεγ-ιων.—No. 17 υἱό-ς and 19 Ἀΐδ-η-ς
with their complementary stems of shorter and longer
form have a precedent in ἀλκ by the side of ἀλκή,
ὕσμιν and ὑσμίνη (§ 175. D). The stem ὄσσο (No. 25)
stands to the Homeric stem ὀσσ, in ὄσσε, exactly as
ἐρίηρο-ς to Plur. ἐρίηρ-ες, as δάκρυ-ο-ν to δάκρυ.
Further enquiry shows that ὄσσε has arisen out of ὀκι-ε,
consequently that the stem in ὀκι (*Grundzüge*, II, 51)
which is retained to this day in the Bohemian Dual
oči (pronounce *otschi*), and the stem in its original
form in the Lithuanian *aki-s*.—The rejection of ρ in
μάρτυ-ς is similar to that in φρέαρ, ἧπαρ. The mobility
of ϑ in the stem ὀρνιϑ is like that in κορυϑ (§ 156).

The remaining anomalies, which are not numerous,
can be explained in part by very simple changes
of sound. In ἀνήρ the irregularity rests on the same
syncope as in the stems discussed in § 153; only in
this case we have the insertion of a δ as an auxiliary
consonant (§ 51. Obs. 2). The stem ἀρν is only so
far anomalous as it is without a nominative. The α
in Dat. Plur. ἀρν-ά-σι is obviously the same as in
πατρ-ά-σι, ἀνδρ-ά-σι, υἱ-ά-σι.—The same vowel is in-
serted in λᾱ-α-ς to facilitate the formation of the

Nom. and Acc. Sing. The stem was originally λᾱϜ, from which λεύ-ειν (*Grundz.*, II, 130).—ναῦ-ς is so far anomalous that the diphthong undergoes various changes, but these all take place in a manner strictly in accordance with the phonetic inclinations of the language.

The anomaly of οὖς is of a similar kind. The full stem is found in the Ionic οὔατ-α. οὔατ became weakened to ὀϜατ; the digamma was rejected, and ὀατ became contracted into ὠτ. This contracted form was used throughout in the Doric dialect, and the word was therefore quite regular. In Homeric and Attic, on the other hand, the Nom. was certainly retained for a longer time in the diphthongal form οὐας, from which, by contraction, arose οὖς. See further *Grundz.*, I, 370. On the Homeric forms of this word a remark may here be made. In Homer the following forms occur; Acc. Sing. οὖς, Gen. οὔατος, the Nom. Acc. Plur. οὔατα, Dat. οὔασιν. But singularly enough by the side of these forms which occur so often as to be beyond doubt, we find in one single passage the Attic form ὠσίν, at the close of the narrative about the Sirens. Od. μ. 200.

ὅν σφιν ἐπ' ὠσὶν ἄλειψ' (viz. κηρόν).

In this passage Eustathius, it is true (p. 1707, 39), gives the variant πᾶσιν instead of ἐπ' ὠσίν, but this will hardly satisfy anybody. If however we compare the corresponding account given in verse 177

ἐξείης δ' ἑτάροισιν ἐπ' οὔατα πᾶσιν ἄλειψα

and 47

ἐπὶ δ' οὔατ' ἀλεῖψαι ἑταίρων

It becomes very probable that the original form of line 200 was

ᾧ σφιν ἐπ' οὔατ' ἄλειψ'.

So too in Iliad Ψ. 264, 153 we ought to read οὐατόεντα instead of ὠτώεντα with the more confidence as the ω in the second place is very extra-

ordinary, as Buttmann perceived *Ausf. Gr.*, II, 451.
Lastly we read in Iliad Λ. 109

Ἄντιφον αὖ παρὰ οὖς ἔλασε ξίφει

where Bekker has now adopted Heyne's conjecture
αὖτε παρ' οὖς to remove the intolerable hiatus. Perhaps
the pronunciation was at one time παρ' ὄας. The
lengthening of the final syllable in the main cæsura
is not at all remarkable. If this conjecture be true,
we should have the required transitional form in
this passage.

On the irregularity of the word Ζεύ-ς, which is
explained by the comparison of the kindred languages
we may here refer to *Grundz.*, II, 187 sq.; for γυνή
to II, 207, 247. With regard to the first word it
can be made intelligible even to the pupil that Ζεύ-ς
stands for Δτευ-ς (cp. § 58) and is thus not far re-
moved from the stem ΔιϜ in Δι(Ϝ)-ός, &c.

§ 179.

The Locative was originally common to all the
Indogermanic languages. It is retained in Latin in
the names of towns (*Romae, Corinthi*) and in a few
appellatives in common use (*domi, belli, ruri*); but
we required the aid of Sanskrit in order to recognize
it as a separate case, distinct from Gen. and Dat.,
and to a certain extent from the Abl. It has left
but few traces in Greek; οἴκοι is the most common
instance. Æschylus has also πέδοι (Prom. 615, 272);
the Æolians μέσσοι. The Pronominal adverbs ποῖ,
οἶ, are other examples of this case, which is more
common in proper names, being frequently found
in combination with a preposition, like the other
cases, e. g. ἐν Πριανσιοῖ on a Cretan inscription (C. I.
2556), and in Simonides (*Frag.* 209 Schneid.) ἐν
Ἰσθμοῖ. χαμαί = *humi*, which has been introduced
into the text of the grammar, is the only example

belonging to the A-declension. It is formed from a
stem which is now found only in χαμά-δις, χαμᾶ-ζε,
χαμά-Ͽεν, and with a change of vowel, in χαμό-Ͽεν.

§ 178. D.

The Homeric forms in φι(ν) belong to an extensive
class of case-formations in which the characteristic
element was, in its original form, the syllable *bhi.*
In Sanskrit we find the suffix of the Instrumental
Plur. *-bhi-s,* the Dat. Abl. Plur. *-bhjas* (= Lat. *bus*),
the Dat. Instr. Dual *-bhjâm,* belonging to this class.
Connected with it is the termination *-bi,* in Latin
si-bi, ti-bi, u-bi. These various applications of this
suffix, which in Sanskrit becomes specified by ad-
ditional elements (on which cp. Bopp, *Vergl. Gram.,*
I, 420 sq.), form the reason why the Greek termina-
tion is not limited to one case, but corresponds
sometimes to the Dat. in the sense of the means or
accompanying notion (Ͽεόφιν βίη-φι), sometimes to
the Locative (Ͽύρη-φι, παρὰ ναῦφιν), sometimes to
the Genitive, especially in combination with various
prepositions (ἀπὸ πασσαλόφι, διὰ στήϿεσφιν). A com-
plete enumeration of all the Homeric forms is given
by Leo Meyer (*Gedrängte Vergl. der Griech. und Lat.
Decl.* Berlin 1862, p. 54 sq.) who however is wrong
in maintaining that these formations denote the rela-
tions of the Genitive case only so far as the Genitive
is the representative of the Ablative-Combinations
like τιτυσκόμενος κεφαλῆφιν, Il. Δ. 350, κεφαλῆφιν ἐπεὶ
λάβεν Il. 762, can only be regarded according to
Greek usage as real Genitives, which have nothing
in common with the Ablative διὰ στήϿεσφιν and the
like are also to be regarded in the same light.

This whole chapter properly belongs to the formation
of words, and occupies a position here solely on ac-
count of its great practical importance.

§ 187.

The observation on this paragraph contains in brief
the result of my more detailed discussion of these
formations in *Grundz.*, II, 234.* In my earlier edi-
tions I assumed that the hypothetical form παντ-ια
passed first into πανσ-ια, and then into πανσ-α, πᾶσα.
Further enquiry has led me to the conclusion that
this was not the path which language followed.
The σ is found in all Greek dialects in this place,
but in the Dor. dialect τ before ι does not become
σ (cp. φα-τί, φαν-τί); consequently the σ cannot be
due to the influence of the ι, but has more probably
arisen out of Jod; and from παντ-σα came the usual
form πᾶσα.

§ 188.

Without the aid of Sanskrit, it would be difficult
to understand how the fem. in -υια is connected

* In the English Translation of the Grammar the earlier view
is given. In the last (9th) edition of the original the Obs. is
as follows. 'The form of the Feminine is explained thus.—
The ι (cp. § 57) passes into σ. Before this σ, ντ is dropped
with compensatory lengthening; παντ-ια, παντ-σα, πᾶ-σα; λυοντ-ια,
λυοντ-σα, λύου-σα. TR.

with the corresponding masc. stem in -οτ. The San-
skrit perfect participle has the suffix -vat, with an
alternative form -vas, e. g. vid-vat = εἰδ-οτ; the fem.
-ushî, i. e. usî, e. g. vid-ushî, for an older vid-usî.
From this it is clear that the Greek form in -οτ
goes back to -Ϝοτ; an origin which suits admirably
the numerous Homeric forms which like τεϑνη-ώς,
τετιη-ώς, have a long vowel before this suffix. As
the Greek feminine termination -ια corresponds to
the Indian î, we should have expected at first to
have -Ϝοτ-ια. But the weaker form in -vas appears
to have existed beside the form -vat at an early
period. And this form also underwent a further
weakening, which in Sanskrit is common enough,
but is rare in Greek; us, Greek υς took the place
of -vas, Greek Ϝος, just as, for instance, the shorter
stem κυν took the place of κυον, and as the Greek
ὑπ-νό-ς corresponds to the Sanskrit svap-na-s (of the
same meaning), for which we have also evidence in
Latin sop-io, som-nu-s for sop-nu-s. Thus arose
υσ-ια and with the usual rejection of σ between two
vowels -υια. Cp. p. 10 and 11.

§ 191.

The stem πολλο is connected with πολυ through
the form πολϜο. The difference, therefore, consists
merely in the addition of a hard vowel in order to
make the declension both in case and gender more easy.
The Homeric πουλύ-ς, πουλύ, is due to the attraction
of the vowel into the preceding syllable, cp. εἰνί by
the side of ἐνί (Grundzüge, II, 249). This process
has been already touched upon, and it was shown
to be of great importance for understanding the
Comparatives (p. 42).

F

§ 198. D.

On βράσσων cp. *Grundz.*, II, 239. This form only
occurs in Il. K. 226 and in deriving it from βραχύ-ς,
and not, as is usual, from βραδύ-ς, we are merely
following the old tradition which can be shown to
have existed among the Greeks themselves, as the
Scholion of Aristonicus on this passage proves.
βραχίων, the hypothetical form for βράσσων, is quoted
by Hesychius, and βράχιστο-ς is used several times
by Sophocles. The reasons why we cannot allow σσ
to arise from δj have been already mentioned (p. 43).

§ 199.

In my first edition ἀμείνων was compared with
the Latin *amœnus;* a comparison which is by no
means improbable. But there are some difficulties
in the way, chief among which is the fact, that on
this hypothesis, this word would be the only re-
presentative in Greek of the Root *am, am-or, ama-re,*
so common in Latin. The comparison, therefore,
does not seem to have attained such a degree of
certainty as to admit of its introduction into a
school-grammar.

The stem ἀρες, which we most naturally assume
for ἀρείων, and with which ἄριστ-ος also is connected,
is without doubt related to ἀρε-τή, but also to ἀρέ-
σκ-ω, and belongs to the root ἀρ- (to join or fit),
Grundz., I, 304.

In the stem χερ- of χείρων, χείριστο the fundamental
idea is in all probability that of inferiority (*Grundz.*,
II, 167).

The stem ἡχυ is assumed for ἥσσων according to
the analogy of ἡδυ, ταχυ, βραχυ and others. The final
vowel may, it is true, have been perhaps somewhat

different. The kindred languages do not offer any
analogous word, from which to draw a certain con-
clusion as to meaning and form.

For μείων no stem has been given, because none
can be obtained without somewhat complicated com-
binations. In another place (*Grundz.*, I, 299) I have
attempted (following J. Grimm) to show that μινυ
(cp. μινύϑω, μίνυνϑα) is the stem from which μνε-ίων
arose in the same manner as πλε-ίων from πολυ.
Finally the initial μν became shortened to μ. μικρό-ς,
of which the fuller form is σμικρό-ς, is certainly not
connected etymologically with this word.

More intelligible even to the pupil is the stem ἐλαχυ,
which is preserved in the fem. ἐλαχεῖα, in Hymn.
in Apoll. Pyth. 19, and in the compound ἐλαχυ-πτέρυξ
in Pindar. In Od. ι. 116, κ. 509 Bekker now rightly
reads νῆσος ἔπειτ᾿ ἐλάχεια with Zenodotus, instead
of the usual λαχεῖα. It is certain that the explanation
of this word by εὔγειος mentioned in the scholiasts
and based on the derivation from λαχαίνειν (to dig),
is absurd, for in ι. 122 we have

οὔτ᾿ ἄρα ποίμνῃσιν καταΐσχεται οὔτ᾿ ἀρότοισιν.

Most modern interpreters have followed Nitzsch,
who 'struck out a dark path' to another explanation,
by which, with the aid of a very doubtful etymology,
he arrived at the meaning 'rough'.

The comparative πλε-ίων is due to a hypothetical
form πολεϝ-ιων, from stem πολυ, extended to πολευ.
From this arose by syncope πλεϝ-ιων, later πλέ-ιων.

The peculiar variation of the quantity and of the
consonants in καλό-ς is explained by the origin from
kalja-s, which in Sanskrit means 'sound, whole',
and corresponds etymologically to German *heil*
(*Grundz.*, II, 110). Hence καλλ-ίων, τὸ κάλλος, and
Doric even καλλά = καλῶς.

The shorter stem, from which ῥάων, ῥᾷστος arose,
is seen most clearly in ῥά-ϑυμο-ς, in Homeric ῥέα,

ῥεῖα, while ῥά-διο-ς, Homeric ῥη-ΐ-διο-ς, is a further adjectival derivative from it.

§ 200.

The positive of ὕστερος can only be quoted from Sanskrit in the preposition *ut*, or as it appears to be more correctly written *ud*, from which are formed *ut-tara-s* 'the higher, later', *ut-tama-s* 'the highest, latest'. A suggestion on a Greek residuum of this positive is given in *Grundz.*, I, 194.

ἔσχατο-ς is evidently connected with the prep. ἐξ, in the sense of *extremus*.

§ 203 AND 204. DIALECTS.

The Homeric ἐπασσύτεροι is apparently to be compared with ἀσσότερω. It is a comparative formed from a comparative (cp. πρώτιστος). υ stands for ο after Æolic fashion as in πρύ-τανι-ς from the prep. πρό, and Homeric ἄμυ-δις (cp. ἅμα) ἄλλυ-δις (cp. ἄλλο-σε).

§ 205.

THE stem of the third personal pronoun had ori-
ginally only the meaning 'self', and, therefore, even
from the very beginning, and not only in consequence
of misusage, could it be applied to the first and
second persons to express the reflexive reference of
these to the subject. This fact has been proved to
demonstration by comparative grammar. The Scla-
vonian languages are of especial importance in this
respect, because to this day they use the correspond-
ing reflexive pronoun for all three persons (cp. Mi-
klosich, *Ueber den reflexiven Gebrauch des Pronomens* οὖ,
Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Ak., 1). But in German
dialects also the same phenomenon occurs (Grimm,
Deutsche Gram., IV, 319); and the origin of the *r*
in the passive voice of the Italian languages from
se rests on the same ground (cp. Schömann, *Rede-
theile*, 109). Hence in Greek ϝί-διο-ς later ἵ-διο-ς
belongs to the stem ϝε for older σϝε. Hence also the
use of ἑαυτοῦ compounded with ε, and the derivative
ἑό-ς, ὅ-ς for the first and second person (§ 471. c).
The want of insight into language on the part of
the editors of the old texts can occasionally be
recognized in the attempt to remove these usages
by conjectures which are at once superfluous and
groundless.

The Æolic forms in Homer ἄμμες, ὔμμες, &c., have
had to contend with a somewhat similar prejudice.
To a certain extent they are allowed to count merely

as metrical helps which would be only introduced
in place of the common forms, where they fitted
better into the verse. But the Æolisms in Homer
are by no means few and not at all restricted to
forms which are convenient to the metre (cp. ἐπασ-
σύτεροι p. 84).

§ 212 sq.

In all except the personal pronouns the charac-
teristic of the declension lies only in the formation
of the neuter singular, in which we find the pure
stem, and not as in the Adjectives of the O-de-
clension, an additional ν in Nom. and Acc. case.
But originally, this gender also had a termination
viz. τ, corresponding to the *d* in Latin, *i-d*, *illu-d*,
quo-d, so that ἄλλο is exactly identical with *aliu-d*.
For according to § 67 the dental consonant could
not be retained in Greek.

§ 213.

It is pure accident that a few forms of the relative
pronoun with initial Spiritus asper are identical in
sound with some forms of the demonstrative pronoun
(the Article of the later Greek). The relative stem
originally began with Jod. ὅ-ς, ἥ, ὅ, correspond
to the Sanskrit *ja-s*, *jā*, *ja-t*, whereas the article ὁ
arose out of *sa*, *Grundz.*, I, 363. Nevertheless even
this stem must in the first instance have had a de-
monstrative meaning, a residuum of which still re-
mains in the Attic usage καὶ ὅς ἔφη, and in the
demonstrative use of the adverb ὥς, which is formed
from this stem. In the relative use of the forms
with initial τ, τοῦ, τῷ, in the Ionic dialect we see
more plainly still that the separation of the relative
from the demonstrative was gradual in Greek. The

fact, therefore, is certain—and it is exceedingly im-
portant for syntax, and more especially for the ex-
planation of compound sentences—that the Greek
language arrived at its relative pronoun, the most
complete means for combining sentences, by starting
from two pronoun-stems different in origin, but both
demonstrative.

The form ὅου as has been already mentioned p. 64,
is in all probability merely an incorrect mode of
writing for ὅο. More remarkable is the quite singu-
lar fem. ἕης, Il. II. 208. Perhaps the old *j* has
been retained here under the form ε. Other instances
of a like nature are collected in *Grundz.*, II, 180 sq.

§ 214.

To the same change, i. e. of *j* to ε, are due the
Ionic forms of pronoun-stem τι; τέῳ, τέοισιν, as is
shown most clearly by the corresponding Æolic forms
τιώ, τίοισιν (Ahrens, *Æol.*, 127). By the addition
of a vowel, the stem τ, like the stem πολυ, passed
into the O-declension. τι-ο became afterwards τε-ο.
Finally the vowel was entirely lost by contraction.
Thus we may explain the Attic forms τοῦ, τῷ, which
again are only accidentally the same in sound with
the corresponding cases of the article. On the origin
of the stem τι and its identity with the Latin *qui*
(cp. *Grundz.*, II, 75).

Chap. X—XII.—The Inflection of the Verb.

The following table, taken with some additions from the English edition of the grammar, will give a convenient synopsis of the arrangement of the verb which is discussed in the following pages. The §§ are those of the Grammar.

INFLECTION OF THE VERBS.

List of Paradigms. § 225—230.

Εἰμί. Table I.

Synopsis of λύω (exhibiting the meaning of the tenses). Table II.

VERBS IN ω.

A. Vowel-stems.
  1. Uncontracted λύω. Table III.
  2. Contracted τιμάω, φιλέω, δουλόω. Table IV.

B. Consonant stems.
  1. Guttural stems πλέκω, φεύγω, τάσσω. Table V.
  2. Dental stems ψεύδομαι, πείθω, κομίζω. Table VI.
  3. Labial stems πέμπω, λείπω, καλύπτω. Table VII.
  4. Liquid stems δέρω, ἀγγέλλω, σπείρω. Table VIII.

VERBS IN ΜΙ.

First class τίθημι, δίδωμι, ἵστημι. Table IX.
Second class δείκνυμι. Table X.

Obs.—The verbs in ω are divided into eight classes, four of which are contained in chap. X, and four in chap. XII.

They are as follows:—

    I. The Present-stem is like the Verb-stem, λύ-ω, τί-ω, ἄγ-ω, τιμά-ω, &c.

    II. The stem-vowel is lengthened in the Present-stem, φεύγ-ω, λείπ-ω, τήκ-ω, &c.

III. The Present-stem affixes τ to the Verb-
stem, τύπτ-ω, βλάπτ-ω, βάπτ-ω.

IV. The Present-stem adds ι to the Verb-
stem, κ, γ, χ with ι form σσ (New At-
tic ττ), πράσσω, τάσσω, ταράσσω.
δ and more rarely γ with ι form ζ,
ἕζομαι, κράζω.
λ with ι forms λλ, βάλλω.
ν and ρ throw the ι into the preceding
syllable, τείνω, φθείρω.

V. Nasal class.
The Verb-stem is strengthened by the
addition of ν or a syllable containing ν
(αν, νε) to the Present-stem, τίν-ω,
ἁμαρτ-άν-ω, κυ-νέ-ω.

VI. Inchoative verbs.
The Present-stem adds σκ to the Verb-
stem, γηράσκω, γιγνώσκω, εὑρίσκω.

VII. E-class.
A short stem alternates with one en-
larged by ε.
I. ε in the Present, γαμ-έ-ω.
II. the ε forms the tenses except the present,
e. g. βόσκω, βοσκήσω.

VIII. The Mixed class.
Several essentially different stems unite
to form one verb.

———

The inflection of verbs is the most difficult part
of accidence, but it is also that which science has
done the most to elucidate. How we may best suc-
ceed in presenting a synopsis of the extraordinary
abundance of forms, is a question worth consideration
in the interests of science no less than in those of
education. The older grammarians, it is true, cared

little about the matter, and went to work in a purely
mechanical fashion, trusting almost entirely to the
learner's powers of memory. But this is just a point
on which scientific enquiry has every reason to put
herself in harmony with the requirements of practice,
if her results are to become fruitful and generally
accessible; and, on the other hand, practice also may
certainly be expected to have some interest in the
attempt to apply the most important results of en-
quiry to a division of the subject matter, and thus
to put order and law in the place of a formless chaos.
For this reason a few remarks on my arrangement
of the verb will be in place here, and they will be
the less superfluous because this arrangement differs
essentially from that found in most grammars.

A verb-form is chiefly distinguished from a noun-
form by the greater number of different elements
combined in it. In a case-form we have to deal
with but one invariable and one variable element,
παιδ-ός; or at the most a vowel is inserted to con-
nect the two, παίδ-ε-σσι. But verb-forms of such a
simple character as ἴ-μεν, ἄγ-ο-μεν are few in number.
In ἴ-ω-μεν, ἄγ-οι-τε we have already an additional
element denoting the mood; in ἀγ-ἀγ-οι-τε a further
addition of temporal signification; and a still further
addition in ἤγ-αγ-ο-ν, that is, the augment, which,
though also of temporal signification, is added for
a different purpose. In explaining the forms of the
verb, therefore, the grammarian cannot attain his
object by beginning with one invariable element,
that is, one stem only. Such a process would lead
us to create a number of widely different moveable
elements for each individual form; and also to ignore
the relative stability of certain parts in comparison
with others more mobile, the smaller unities and
groups existing within the great whole. ἀγαγ has
a certain relative stability in comparison with the

individual forms ἀγάγ-ω-μεν, ἀγάγ-οι-μεν, ἀγαγ-εῖν, ἀγαγ-έσθαι, and the same is the case with ἀξ as compared with ἄξομεν, ἄξοιμεν, ἄξειν, ἄξεσθαι. Hence to prevent entire dismemberment, it is necessary to assume several fixed points, i. e. several stems, in the verb. Practical grammarians indeed have long since felt a similar need. Hence for the Latin verbs a happy instinct established four leading forms which together make up the so-called *conjugatum*, or *a verbo*. Had these four forms been consistently retained and not mutually confused when carried out into detail in the paradigms, the Latin verb would as a fact have attained a certain degree of classification. Greek grammarians sought to accomplish a similar object by impressing on the memory the future as well as the present tense of the verb, and then developing from the former the remaining tenses with the exception of the *tempora secunda* which could not be brought into this scheme —a scheme utterly wanting in science like all the older grammar. Even a school boy, were he to think of the matter, would find it difficult to conceive how an Aorist or Perfect could be derived from a Future tense. But even this plan shews more practical sense than that other, which still meets with much attention, where the explanation of the verb begins with mere abstract rules about stem, characteristic, augment, &c., the whole crowd of forms being afterwards added in alphabetical order, the most wretched expedient of all. If I am not mistaken, this is a subject where the proverb *divide et impera* is applicable; and indeed we can apply it the more confidently as language herself leads the way.

Thus of the many different elements which are united in the structure of the verb, some are easily detached, and have, therefore, a more general char-

acter, while in others the union is more close, and
thus they become of a more special nature. Most
easily detached are the person-terminations, for they
can be joined to the most widely different stems,
to all the temporal and modal elements throughout
the active and middle voices. With these are to be
classed the terminations of the participles and in-
finitives, which though nouns by origin, are in Greek
—and this is one of the most decisive advantages
which the language has over her sisters—used in the
most different tenses. The same holds good of the
signs of mood which also recur again and again,
and lastly of the augment, so far as it is common
to three preterites of entirely distinct meaning. All
these elements have nothing of the nature of a stem
about them; they are added in much the same manner
as the case-terminations, and constitute the inflection
of verbs in the narrower sense.

But with the second class the case is far otherwise.
In combination with these different elements we find
others also differing widely among themselves, which
as being comparatively stable in contrast to the ex-
treme mobility of the others, may be named stems.
For, as we have already pointed out, λυσα is as much
an invariable stem in ἔ-λυσα, λύσα-ι-μεν, λύσα-ς, λύσα-
σθαι, as δικα in δίκα-ι, δίκᾱ-ς, δίκα-ις; and so λελυ
in λέλυκ-α, λέλυ-μαι, ἐ-λέλυ-το. To state the case
briefly, it may be said that in the noun, formation
—that is, formation of the word, or more correctly
of the stem—and inflection in the narrower sense
are distinct; but in the verb they combine, and en-
croach each upon the other. He alone is completely
master of the verb-forms who from the verb-stem
common to all can first form all the special stems,
and secondly can inflect the stems when correctly
formed. To these special-stems as distinguished from
the stem common to the whole verb—the verb-stem—

I give the name tense-stems; for thus I do not break
with the old method which connects the moods,
participle, infinitive, &c., with particular tenses.
Ahrens, with the same object in view, uses the
word 'systems', Müller and Lattmann the expression
'groups of forms'. As regards the arrangement of
the verb, we have here to answer the general question
concerning the relative position of formation and
inflection. Theoretically we may defend the ar-
rangement which begins with formation, just as in
many scientific works the formation of stems precedes
the inflection of nouns. But even from a scientific
point of view such a course is objectionable, for the
history of language was certainly not that here in-
dicated. The verb arises essentially out of a syn-
thesis of predicate and subject: the germ of it being
the *verbum finitum* which from a very moderate
beginning has gradually developed into a great
variety of forms. Hence even in a severely scientific
examination of the verb it would scarcely be ad-
visable to begin with the formation of tense-stems
which are in themselves imaginary, and in practice
such a course is even less to be recommended.
No one would readily give his approval to a plan
in which the pupil is first taught to form uninflected
stems, and afterwards to inflect them. Nor on the
other hand, would it be well to give the priority in
our arrangement to inflection in its widest extent,
that is, as carried through all the tense-stems; for
the result of such an arrangement would be, that
the pupil would understand how to inflect λύω, λύεις,
λύει, λέλυκα, λέλυκας, ἐλυσάμην, without having gained
any conception of the manner in which these dif-
ferent stems are connected together in one verb.
The proper course seems to me to lie midway between
the two extremes; inflection and formation are best
treated separately in each of the different tense-stems,

and thus the verb is broken up into natural groups
which follow each other in a manner adapted to
practical needs. This division into groups constitutes
the peculiarity of my arrangement. The danger lest
in this manner the verb should be entirely dis-
membered has been most carefully provided against.
First of all a preliminary synopsis is given of the
whole scheme (§ 225—230); then the verb-stem is
retained as an integral in the formation of each tense-
stem; and the same paradigm is carried throughout
so far as possible; finally, another synopsis is added,
based upon an arrangement of the stems according
to the final syllable. This synopsis, it may be re-
marked, cannot possibly cross with the other, but
will rather supplement the preceding explanation
for practical purposes, in the same manner as the
synopsis of the consonant-declension given in § 172
supplements the preceding explanation.

In the division of the verb according to tense-
stems I have purposely departed from the usual
arrangement; but in some other parts I have, on the
contrary, adhered to it, viz. in the retention of the
two leading conjugations. Strictly speaking, it is
true, the distinction between verbs in -ω and those
in -μι does not run through the whole verb, but is
felt only in the present, the strong aorist, and,
though to a limited extent, in the perfect. It might,
therefore, have been discussed in each of these tense-
stems. But the number of these verbs in -μι is
small, and they present many special pecularities
which make a more complete enumeration of the
forms used in each necessary. Hence our view of
the whole subject would be greatly obstructed by
intruding them among the other verbs. More es-
pecially the pupil would be delayed too long with
the formation of the present stem, already sufficiently
perplexing. For this reason I thought it better to

gather the verbs in -μι into a separate conjugation.
With this concession to traditional usage, which all
school masters will find, I hope, acceptable, is con-
nected another. A large number of verbs with
presents formed after the first leading conjugation
have aorists and perfects after the second. Forms
like ἔβην, ἔγνων, πῖϑι, τεϑνάναι, can only be under-
stood and properly inflected when the pupil has
been taught to combine the person-termination and
stem without a connecting vowel, as in ἔστην, &c.
The large number of verbs in -ω, therefore, must be
divided into two parts, of which the first, as the
simpler, took the lead, but the second, as containing
more complicated phenomena, were placed after the
verbs in -μι. Hence the four classes as given in
§ 247—253, the remaining four not being added till
§ 320 sq. In calling the latter irregular I do not
mean that they stand outside all rule, in which sense
the word could not be applied even to the anomalies
of declension. I only call attention to the fact that
in these the rule is not simple. Besides the irregu-
larity upon which the classification is based, we find
as a fact various peculiarities of less importance, ad-
ditional forms of several kinds, &c., in most of the
verbs belonging to these classes. This is a sufficient
reason for terming such verbs irregular, although,
in the most accurate sense, the word can be applied
only to the eighth or mixed class.

But this classification, as a whole, needs explaining.
The first leading conjugation must of necessity be sub-
divided. An alphabetical list of irregular verbs is a
most wretched resource, which unfortunately has not
yet vanished from our common grammars, although
few are utterly without an attempt to arrange the
irregularities. But what classification shall we make?
What principle shall we go upon? It is easy, and
appears logically consistent, to classify the verb-stems

on the same principle as the noun-stems; i. e. according to the final sound. The old division into *verba pura*, *liquida*, &c., rests on this principle. But no sooner do we compare the two kinds of stems than we perceive the difference between them. Noun-stems with the same final sound are for the most part similarly declined, e. g. φυλακ, κηρυκ, πατερ, ῥητορ, λογο, νομο: but with verbs the case is different. λυ and πλυ are stems ending in the same vowel, but the formation of the tense-stems is widely different: λύ-ω, πλέ-ω, λύ-σω, πλευ-σοῦμαι, ἀγ, πραγ, Ϝαγ, all end in γ; but ἄγω, πράσσω, ἄγνυμι, are quite distinct: so too λιπ and τυπ; but in the present we have λείπω, τύπτω. The synopsis given in p. 103 sq. of the grammar brings this variety before us, at least in part. In short, for the formation of tense-stems with characteristic consonants, especially the stems of the future, weak aorist, and perfect, the difference in the final sound of the stem is of real importance and must not be left out of sight. But in explaining the verb the essential point is the unity of each individual verb, and this rests on the relation of the various tense-stems to each other. The pupil must be taught from a given present—e. g. πράσσω —to form a tense not belonging to the present stem; and, by a reverse method, to find the present of a given form not belonging to the present stem: e. g. λιπεῖν. He must perceive how such apparently diverse forms can be reconciled, and this knowledge is the hinge on which turns our insight into the structure of the verb. If we arrange the forms of a verb according to the tense-stems, we ought as a natural consequence to make the relation of the verb-stem to the tense-stem the principle of classification. Now all the tense-stems with the exception of the present can be derived from the verb-stem in a very simple manner; e. g. ἄξω is formed from ἀγ as πράξω from

G

πραγ, ἐ-άγη-ν from Ϝαγ, as ἐ-γράφη-ν from the Rt. γραφ.
For this reason the corresponding tenses in Sanskrit
are called 'general', that is, tenses formed in es-
sentially the same manner in every verb. But the
present stem is of a very different character. The
forms which correspond to it in Sanskrit are called
'special-tenses' because developed in various ways.
The important position of the present tense, and its
relation to the other tenses in the whole system of the
verb was correctly seen even as early as Buttmann.
In § 112 of his larger grammar he says: 'By far the
greater part of the anomalies of the Greek verbs
are due to the union of forms which pre-suppose
different themes; especially in such a manner, that
several derivative tenses, treated in the regular way,
pre-suppose a different present than that in use.' Hence
Buttmann regarded the irregularities as proceeding
from 'a change of stem', or 'double theme,' and
classified them accordingly; and in a similar sense
Krüger distinguishes the 'tenses formed from the
pure stem', or 'thematic' tenses, from the present
and imperfect; that is, from the forms of the present
stem. What the glance of acute scholars had dis-
covered in the Greek language alone is only set in
a still clearer light by Comparative grammar. It was
at once seen that the structure of the Greek verb
is based essentially on the same distinction between
two large groups of forms as that in Sanskrit,
though in detail, it is true, i. e. in the manner of
distinguishing the present stem from the pure verb-
stem, great differences occur. That arrangement
only can be correct which brings this general prin-
ciple into force, and at the same time is suited to
the individual peculiarities of the Greek language.
In this manner only can the analogous phenomena
be arranged together, and a real insight gained into
the structure of the verb. For syntax also such

an insight is of essential importance. The various distinctions between the present stem and verb-stem, now brought into prominence by the classification of the verbs, are of great use in syntax, especially in pointing out the difference between the aoristic action, e. g. φυγεῖν, and the durative, e. g. φεύγειν. And the correct distinction between the tense-stem and additions which, like the augment, are made to particular forms only, preserves us from grave errors in syntax.

To these general remarks on the tense-stems and the division into classes may be added a few on the arrangement followed in regard to both. First, of the tense-stems. The arrangement introduced into the grammar is based mainly on practical considerations. From a purely scientific point of view something might be said in favour of beginning with the strong aorist stem, as that tense-stem which in most cases, if not always, is identical with the verb-stem. But the objection at once arises, that the strong aorist is found in a proportionately small number of verbs; and further, when we come to unite inflection with formation, we find that the former can be developed but imperfectly in these stems because no primary tense is derived from them. On the other hand, the present stem forms a desirable starting point in every respect. In practice the present is universally regarded as the *datum*. Present stems also of the first class like λυ, φυ, ἀγ are identical with the verb-stem, and, as this class is very extensive, form in fact the simplest basis in a great number of verbs. Moreover, in the present stem the best opportunity is offered for acquiring a familiarity with inflection, not only because in this stem all the moods, together with the infinitive, participle, and preterite, are carried through the Active and Middle— which latter is also used for the Passive; but also

because an almost unlimited choice of examples is
offered for practice. For in the inflection of the
present stem *every verb is regular*. The pupil can,
therefore, be taught, by means of a good exercise
book, to use the forms of ἔχω, μανϑάνω, πράσσω,
πάσχω, γιγνώσκω, and other verbs in the present-
stem no less than λύω, ἄγω, &c. To me it seems
a great advantage that this important element in
the structure of the verb should first be accurately
committed to memory in all its essential parts. With
the augment also and its use an almost complete
familiarity may thus be acquired, for observations
on those forms which by accident occur only in
the aorist (§ 236), can easily be added afterwards.
Further, the contracted verbs are included in the
present stem, for it is in the forms of this stem only
that the characteristic contraction is found; this too
it is important to bring clearly before the pupil. The
usual method of separating the contracted verbs from
the so-called regular verbs is not merely contra-
dictory but impracticable, inasmuch as the *futurum
secundum* in the so-called liquid verbs, and the Doric
and Attic futures necessarily pre-suppose a know-
ledge of contraction.

When the inflection of the present stem is thoroughly
familiar to the pupil, the distinction between the present
stem and verb-stem discussed in § 245 sq. may be
mentioned. Even for instruction it will be more
expedient if a familiarity is *previously* acquired with
a strong aorist like ἔ-λιπ-ο-ν and all its forms, and
the difference between the stem thus brought for-
ward, which is also the pure verb-stem, and the
present stem, firmly based on a number of actual
forms impressed upon the memory. The question
of the mutual relation of these stems, thus forcing
itself upon our notice, receives a satisfactory answer
in the paragraphs referred to, at least with regard to

a considerable number of verbs. At the same time,
the cardinal point in the whole explanation of the
verb—the distinction between the pure verb-stem
and the present stem, and the notion of the verb-
stem as a whole,—is put in the clearest light. The
strong aorist stem also is fitted to follow upon the
present stem, inasmuch as the inflection in both
is identical, and the pupil can at once, therefore,
give all his attention to the formation. The unity
of the verb-stem being now clear, and the neces-
sary foundation laid for the further explanation of
the verb, the question arises what tense-stem must
follow next?

In a severely scientific treatment of the subject
we might feel inclined to take the perfect stem
after the strong aorist stem, both being formed
simply and without composition. But inflection and
formation present too many difficulties to make this
plan advisable in practice. The third stem, therefore,
is the future, which again in inflection is identical
with the present. But the formation offers an op-
portunity of turning the preceding explanation of
the pure verb-stem to account in regard to such
verbs as have no strong aorist, e. g. most of
those in the fourth class. Here we see that our
care in distinguishing πραγ from πρασσ, κραγ from
κραζ, τερ from τειρ, φαν from φαιν, was by no
means superfluous. In regard to many verbs of the
third class also the knowledge of the verb-stem
can here be made available. At the same time,
the changes which take place owing to the com-
bination of the verb-stem with sigma can now be
explained with the aid of the chapter on sounds.
The contracted verbs being already accurately known,
the contracted future can present no difficulty.

The sibilant common to both naturally leads from

the future to the weak aorist. In this there is little
that is new and peculiar in the formation. In the
inflection, on the other hand, owing to the charac-
teristic α and the peculiar terminations of the Im-
perative, Infinitive and Participle, much has to be
learned.

But just in this very way is preparation made
in part for the perfect stem, which has the α in
common with the weak aorist, and is, therefore,
placed next as the fifth link in the chain. In this
the most important point is the explanation of re-
duplication, as the distinguishing characteristic of
the stem. Throughout the whole arrangement care
has been taken to prevent any confusion between the
augment and reduplication. The distinction between
these elements is to be strongly marked, not merely
because science regards them as entirely distinct,
the augment being the sign of a past, the redupli-
cation of a completed action; but also on practical
grounds, in order to guard against the misappre-
hension that either of them excludes the other—for
in the pluperfect both are found together—or that
the augment can be prefixed to any other than a
preterite tense—that is, a tense in the Indicative
mood. Even for syntax this strict distinction is of
importance inasmuch as it thus becomes self evident
that the idea of past time belongs in the first instance
to augmented forms only, whereas the idea of com-
pletion, conveyed in reduplication, runs through all
the forms of the perfect. Owing to the very different
manner in, which the perfect stem is combined with
the person-terminations in the active—where a con-
necting vowel is most frequently found—and in the
middle—where such a vowel never occurs—the two
voices are more widely separated in this stem; and
in the active voice also two modes of formation,

the strong and the weak, must be distinguished.
But the reduplication which is common to all serves
as a link to connect these forms.

The two passive stems bring up the rear. The
priority is given to that which, as uniting more
closely than the other with the root, we call the
strong stem. In it the inflection of both the pas-
sive stems can be learned, and preparation made for
the study of the verbs in μι. In the weak passive
stem the combination of the verb-stem with the
characteristic syllable Ɂε, that is the formation, is
the important point.

In this manner I believe my arrangement of the
tense-stems is sufficiently justified. Committed to
memory by the pupil in the separate forms, one
after the other, they must afterwards be combined,
and the unity of the verb brought into prominence,
when using the synopsis p. 103, in the constant re-
petitions which on other grounds will be necessary.
With this division is connected an innovation in the
terminology which has met with some opposition.
I refer to the expressions 'strong' and 'weak' as
used to denote the tenses commonly known as *secunda*
and *prima*. We have seen good reason to place the
tempora secunda before the *tempora prima* in our
arrangement of the verb. Could we then continue
to use these terms? Ought we to confuse the pupil
by teaching him that one is two and two is one?
The numerical designation of these tenses is moreover
objectionable for another reason. It leads us wrongly
to expect both formations in every verb, whereas
the rule is quite the reverse, one form *or* the other,
not both together, being found. A change in the
terminology was, therefore, in my opinion unavoidable
in this case. At the same time a comprehensive ex-
pression is given embracing the whole of the so-called
tempora secunda and *prima*. For this reason, the

distinction which from a scientific point of view at first presents itself for the Active, and Middle aorist—the distinction I mean between simple and compound— is not applicable throughout. For the perfect, which I call 'weak', cannot be proved to be a compound tense; still less can the Passive aorist, which I call 'strong,' be proved to be a simple tense. The expressions 'old' and 'new' also would be unsuitable, especially for the Passive aorists. I am well aware that the expressions 'strong' and 'weak' seem also objectionable at first sight. But they have at least the advantage of brevity; they are used in German grammars, although not quite in the same sense, and are easily intelligible. That those forms are called 'strong' which spring as it were from the internal force of the root, and those 'weak' which are formed by the addition of syllables externally, can easily be made intelligible to the pupil: and at the same time it is very easy to compare the double formation of perfects in German or English (*nehme* 'take', *nahm* 'took', like τρέπω, ἔτραπον, *hege* 'cherish', *hegte* 'cherished', like λέγω, ἔλεξα). To this may be added the somewhat extensive parallelism between Greek and German with regard to the intransitive and transitive meaning of the verbs quoted in § 329, *sank* and *senkte* like ἔδυν, ἔδυσα, *trank* and *tränkte* like ἔπιον, ἔπισα, *losch* and *löschte* like ἔσβην, ἔσβεσα. Thus, as yet, I know no expression which offers so many advantages with so few deductions as this, and, therefore, I retain it till some one coins a better. In necessary innovations it is often of more importance that men agree, than upon what they agree.

I have still a few words to say on the arrangement of the classes of verbs. The first and last class are to a certain degree necessary consequences of my principle of division, for which reasons have been given. They are the extreme opposites. In the

first class there is no distinction between the verb-stem and present stem; in the last the distinction is so great that two essentially different stems, and often a third, are united to make one verb. In the division of the other classes my plan has been to proceed from the lesser changes of the verb-stem to the greater. Thus in the lengthened class (2) the two stems are distinguished simply by the weight of the vowels; in the T-class (3) and the I-class (4) one sound only is added in each case; but the additional I gives rise to more or less striking changes of the stem. In the fifth class the nasal is extended to the syllables αν and νε; the sixth class has the important addition σκ, and the inchoative idea often connected with it shows that this addition was not made without a purpose. It also gains further importance from the reduplication frequently found with it. The seventh or E-class might appear at first sight very simple, and fitted to have a place among the first classes. But inasmuch as this ε is sometimes found in the present stem, sometimes in the verb-stem, and serves to connect the most various formations of tenses, we find in it a somewhat complicated anomaly, which forms the proper stepping-stone to the eighth or mixed class, as that in which alone, to be accurate, we can use the word anomalous in the full sense.

§ 226.

Of the origin of the person-terminations, and many other questions respecting the structure of the verb, a detailed account will be found in my '*Bildung der Tempora und Modi im Griechischen und Lateinischen*' (Berlin 1846), with which may be compared Bopp's later explanation, *Vergl. Gramm.*, II, 2nd ed., and Schleicher's *Compendium*.

The auxiliary vowel which appears in the termination -αται, -ατο ought certainly to be distinguished
from the connecting vowel mentioned in § 230. The
latter occurs regularly and passes throughout the whole
inflection of the verb; the former is added only in the
individual forms—just as in Acc. Sing. and Pl. of the
consonant-declension—in order to make them easier
of pronunciation. Schleicher p. 25 assumes -αντι,
-αντ as the termination of the 3rd Pl. in the Active,
-ανται, -αντο in the Middle, so that in his view
the α is an integral part of the person-termination.
Such a view has much to recommend it; but it is
also open to considerable objections which can only
be examined in a discussion on the general structure
of the verb in the Indogermanic family. I adhere
to the explanation here given, because it appears
to me impossible to separate the α in the 3rd Pl.
Med. -αται, ατο and Act. -ασι, e. g. ἔ-α-σι for ἐσ-α-ντι
((e)sunt) from that which appears in 1st Sing. Act.,
e. g. in ἦ-α i. e. ἦσ-α-(ν) = Latin er-a-m, Sanskrit
âs-a-m.

It is important to bear in mind continually, and as
soon as possible to impress even upon the pupil, the fact
that the similarity between the 3rd Pl. and 1st Sing.
so often observed in the historical tenses, e. g. ἔ-λυ-ο-ν,
is due to a subsequent corruption of the sounds. In
the first instance the latter form was ἔ-λυ-ο-μ, cp.
Lat. er-a-m, and also inqua-m, (e)s-um. This change
of m into n can in this case be illustrated in a common New High German form: ich bin = O.H.G. bi-m.
On the other hand, the complete form of the termination of the 3rd Pl. in the historical tenses was -ντ.
A glance at the Latin forms will convince us of this,
without having recourse to more distant languages.
Lat. er-a-nt stands for es-a-nt, which corresponds to
the Ionic ἔσ-α-ν, but has preserved the -nt without
mutilation. Even the Greeks themselves in the Doric

dialect still distinguished the two forms by the accent. The 1st Sing. was ἔ-λυ-ο-ν, the 3rd Plur. ἐ-λύ-ο-ν (Ahrens, *Dor.* 28), the difference being due to the fact that the full form of the latter was ἐ-λυ-ο-ντ. The last syllable in the 3rd Pl., being long by position, drew the accent on the penultimate; but in the 1st Sing. the general law of accentuation in the verb forms took its course, and the accent was placed on the preceding syllable.

§ 228.

The comparison of the Greek conjunctive with the Latin conjunctive forms characterized by long *a* is established by me in *Tempora und Modi*, p. 264 sq., in agreement with Pott, but in opposition to Bopp and other scholars. Schleicher takes my view, p. 542.

The element peculiar to the optative, which in most cases is simply an Iota, is also found in a fuller form in the syllable ις (e. g. λύ-οις-ν) and ιη (e. g. in Ͽε-ίη-ν). This fuller form is apparently the original one. It points back to a pre-Greek syllable *jā* or *ja*, and ι must be regarded as the shortened form of this syllable. In aorist forms of the optative like λύ-σε-ια, λύ-σε-ια-ν (§ 268) the old α has been retained without alteration, and the α in Ionic μαχοία-το can be regarded in the same light (§ 233. D. 6).

§ 230.

I agree with earlier grammarians, especially Buttmann, in regarding the presence or absence of the connecting vowel as the basis of the thorough distinction between the two main conjugations—a distinction which appears in exactly the same manner in Sanskrit as in Greek. Even those who are averse to the term 'connecting vowel', and oppose the notion as a matter of science, will allow this view to have a place in a school grammar.

What I have to advance in support of it will be
found in *Tempora und Modi,* p. 39, where also the
difficulties which stand in the way of the different
views maintained by Bopp, Pott, and others are dis-
cussed. The vowel in question, which in Greek
varies between ε, ο, and ω, and in Sanskrit between
a and *â,* is regarded by Schleicher (p. 574) as a
component part of the present stem, so that, for
example λυο, λυε, φερο, φερε, and the Sanskrit equiva-
lent to the latter, *bhara,* are assumed as present
stems. Against this I think it may be said that
we find the same vowel in other stems beside the
present, e. g. to take the plainest instance, in the
strong aorist stem; and, therefore, in λιπο, λιπε, no
less than λειπο, λειπε. The consequence is that the
vowel is not a radical element characteristic of the
meaning of the present stem, and, therefore, cannot
be properly regarded as a component part of this
tense-stem, whereas everything leads to the suppo-
sition that this vowel, whatever its origin may be,
is an element belonging to the inflection of the verb
as a whole, with the exception of the second princi-
pal conjugation. The assumption that this vowel
at least in a great portion of the forms now in
question owes its origin to the desire for ease in
pronunciation, becomes less strange than it appears
from a specifically Greek point of view, when we
go back to the origin of many of the forms. The
vowel vindicates its claim to be called a connecting
vowel most naturally in stems ending in a consonant.
It is obvious that the pronunciation of λέγ-ο-μεν,
πιϑ-ε-σϑε, πειϑ-ό-μεσϑα, is rendered easier by the
insertion of a connecting vowel, indeed without such
a medium some of these forms could hardly be pro-
nounced at all, e. g. λεγ-μεν, πιϑ-σϑε, πειϑ-μεσϑα;
and I cannot see what absurdity there is in attri-
buting to language in this case as in πατερ-α-ν,

πατερ-α-νς, the power of introducing a vowel to
unite the stem and termination, especially as the
principle of euphony here coincides with the effort
to attain clearness, an effort which permeates the
formation of language to a very great degree. For
the direct addition of person-terminations to stems
ending in a consonant could not have been carried
out consistently without the elision of important
consonants. In optative forms also, like λέγ-ο-ιεν,
the vowel may certainly be regarded as having
this office, for in this mood, as has already been
said, the characteristic syllable was originally *ja*.
As to the vowel-stems, in many of them, viz. in
verbs which have the presents in -αω, -εω, -οω,
the connecting-vowel may be explained by the fact
that a Jod has been dropped between the vowels
which at first sight seem congregated in a most
capricious manner, and that there was a time when
τιμά-ω was pronounced τιμα-*j*-ω-μι (cp. Sskt. -*a-jâmi*),
and the vowels did not come into direct collision.
But I do not intend to maintain that the vowels ο
and ε throughout the whole inflection of verbs are
due to the same origin. In the 4th class of verbs,
which corresponds to the same class in Sanskrit, the
syllable *jâ* or *ja* (Greek *jo*, ιο) may have been the
element added to the stem, so that φριχ-*jo*-μεν, for
example, would be the proper division of φρίσσομεν;
and in the derivative stems just mentioned this ex-
planation also seems to me the more probable. Perhaps
even these very classes of verbs, in which language
was accustomed to introduce certain vowels before
the person-terminations, may have contributed by
their numbers to the yet wider use of these vowels.
It is not our object to pursue the matter any
further in this place. For Greek grammar there is
no doubt that the vowel in φρίσσομεν, τιμάομεν, and
φέρετε must be regarded as essentially the same. We

require a name for it, and I believe that the name 'connecting vowel' can certainly be completely vindicated.

§ 234, 235.

The augment is in all probability a demonstrative pronoun-stem referring to past time, like the German *da, damals* (*Tempora und Modi*, p. 126 sq.; Schleicher, *Compend.*, 567). The original form in Greek as in Sanskrit was ἀ, of which certain traces still remain even in the Greek dialects (Ahrens, *Æol.*, 229, to which add Hesych, ἄσβεσϑε διέφϑειρε). Before consonants the α regularly became ε; before vowels it took the form of the initial vowel, and combined with it to form one long syllable. Thus we can suppose the Doric ἆγο-ν to have arisen out of ἀ-αγ-ο-ν, from which, in the Ionic dialect, must come ἦγον. To the Greek ὦρ-το corresponds the Sanskrit *âr-ta*, which has arisen from *a-ar-ta* (*Grundz.*, I, 312). This contraction had certainly taken place before *a* became divided into the three sounds *a, e, o;* and after that the R. *ar* became fixed in Greek as ὀρ, ὦρ-το stood beside ὄρ-νυ-μι, as in the earlier period of language *âr-ta* stood beside *ar-nau-mi*. The same was naturally the case with initial ε also, e. g. in ἦσαν = Sanskrit *âsan* beside ἐσ-τί = Sanskrit *as-ti*. With initial ι and υ we might certainly expect a diphthong. But it must be observed that primitive verb-stems, beginning with this vowel, are not common. Hence they followed the analogy of the initial hard vowels; and by degrees the feeling grew up in language that the augment was nothing more than a lengthening of the vowel. The mobility of the augment also is common to Greek and Sanskrit. But it would be quite wrong to suppose that the augment is not essential, because it is sometimes dropped in poetry. Language not unfrequently lays aside individual

symbols of meaning, when, by means of them, forms have been coined, so distinctly marked, that the original elements are no longer absolutely necessary.

The doubling of the ρ after the augment is owing to the fact that a consonant has, as a rule, fallen out before it. With the aid of the kindred languages this consonant can often be discovered, e. g. in ἔ-ρρε-ο-ν, i. e. ἔ-σρεϝ-ο-ν = Sanskrit *a-srav-a-m*, from the root σρυ = Sanskrit *sru* (*Grundz.*, I, 318); ἔ-ρρεπ-ο-ν, i. e. ἔ-ϝρεπ-ο-ν from a Root ϝρεπ (*ibid.*, 316), the ϝ of which occurs also in καλα-ϋροψ.

§ 236.

[In the following verbs the augment (ε) becomes ει instead of η].

This apparent irregularity, like that just mentioned, may be explained from the history of language, and reference is made to this fact in the observation on this section. With the exception of ἐάω, the origin of which is still a matter of opinion, it has been proved that all the verbs here quoted originally began with a consonant. ἐθίζω, *suetus* (*Grundz.*, I, 216); ἑλίσσω, *vol-v-o* (I, 325); ἕλκω, Lith. *velka*; ἕπ-ο-μαι, *sequor* (II, 47); ἐργάζομαι, 'work' (I, 150); ἕρπ-ω, *serpo* (I, 230); ἑστιάω ἑστία = *Vesta* (I, 175); ἔχ-ω (I, 161); εἵμην (I, 369); εἷλ-ο-ν (II, 135); εἷσα, *sedes* (I, 205).

§ 237.

[Verbs which originally began with a digamma, i. e. with a consonant, have the Syllabic Augment in spite of the initial vowel. ἑορτάζω has the augment in the second vowel: ὁράω and ἀνοίγω have both the syllabic and temporal augments].

These phenomena like those in the preceding section can all be explained by the loss of an initial consonant: ἁνδάνω = σϝανδανω, Latin *suavis* (*Grundz.*, I, 195); οὐρέω, Sanskrit *vâri*, 'water' (I, 315); ὠθέω, Sanskrit

va-vadh-a (I, 225); ὠνέ-ο-μαι, *vendo* (I, 285). ἑορτάζω
stands for ἐΓορτάζω (II, 154) with ε prefixed (cp.
p. 34). The loss of the consonant was readily
compensated. In the first instance, no doubt, the
preceding vowel was lengthened (cp. βασιλῆος); hence
Homeric ἠ-είδ-η = ἐ-Ϝειδ-η (§ 317. 6. D) but after-
wards the reverse process took place, and the follow-
ing vowel was lengthened (cp. βασιλέως); hence
ἑήνδαν-ον, ἐωνοχόει, apparently with a double aug-
ment, ἑάλω-ν (§ 324. 17), ἐ-ώρα-ο-ν (Rt. Ϝορ. *Grund-
züge*, I, 312), ἀν-έῳγ-ο-ν (II, 90). Ebel has rendered
good service towards clearing up these facts in
Kuhn's *Zeitschr.*, IV, 170 sq. The irregularities which
from the arrangement of the grammar could not be
mentioned here, because belonging to the aorist stem
or the later verb-classes, can easily be brought into
combination with those here pointed out, by means
of the references to these paragraphs, which are never
omitted.

§ 238.

The position of the augment (and the reduplicated
syllable) between the Preposition and Verb-form is
proved in Derivation (§ 356) to have a deep foun-
dation in the structure of the language. The Pre-
position was always felt to retain a certain indivi-
duality: the real verb-form follows it. After the
pupil has learnt (cp. § 446) the free position of the
prepositions in Homer, and how they can be sepa-
rated from the verbs which they define, a simple
reference will show him that the position of the
augment rests on the same grounds.

§ 243. D.

[Homer inflects the α stems of contracted verbs in three
ways.

1.—The syllables regularly contracted by the Attic writers remain open and unchanged; ἀοιδιά-ει, ναιετά-ουσι, with Fem. Part. ναιετάωσα for ναιετάουσα with a remarkable change of ου to ω.

2.—Contraction takes place; ἀρετᾷ = ἀρετά-ει; προς·ηύδα = προς ηύδα-ε. Sometimes αε becomes η, not α.

3.—Extension, instead of contraction, takes place when a vowel of the same kind is inserted before the long one which results from contraction; ὁρίω contracted ὁρῶ, extended ὁρόω].

In thus assuming an 'extension' I have adopted the usual method of explanation. For this a few words of excuse are needed. It is one of the rare instances in which I have purposely inserted an explanation into the grammar, though I knew it to be at variance with the true course of the history of language. That forms like ὁρόω, ὁράᾳς, did not as a matter of fact arise *out* of the contracted forms ὁρῶ, ὁρᾷς, but rather stand midway between ὁράω, ὁράεις, and ὁρῶ, ὁρᾷς, could escape no one who has an open eye to the history of language; and for many years I have treated these forms in this manner in my lectures. In the main, therefore, I fully agree with the view taken by Leo Meyer in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.*, X, p. 45 sq., and *Vergl. Gramm.*, I, p. 292 sq.

All contraction of dissimilar hard vowels into one long vowel rests on two processes; first, one vowel became assimilated to the other, and secondly, both, when assimilated, became united into one long sound. These two movements, as a rule, took place at different times in the history of language, and the first must necessarily precede the second. Here, as so often, the Homeric language preserves the results of two separate epochs of language side by side, the original form without any change at all, ναιετάω, the assimilated ὁρόω, and the contracted ὁρώμενος. The assimilation of vowels is by no means merely a preliminary step to contraction; the phenomenon also occurs independently, e. g. in δεδά-

ασθαι (§ 326 D. 40) = δεδά-ε-σθαι, in φαάντατος from
φαεντατος shortened from φαεινότατος; and also in
φαάνθη, for φαένθη, γόαασκον for γοάεσκον, σόο-ς for
σάος cp. σαώτερος; similarly in νηπιάας beside νηπιέη
(original form νηπια-ja). In this assimilation we
see most plainly the power which one vowel exer-
cises on the other. Even in this preliminary stage
the deeper O-sound overpowers the clearer A-sound;
but this, on the other hand, overpowers the medium
E-sound (§ 37, 38). Hence, in the first case the
assimilation is retrogressive, in the second, pro-
gressive.

So far all is simple, so simple that such an ex-
planation could be admitted without hesitation into
a school grammar. But now we find forms like
ὁρόωσα, ὁρόωσι, ὁρόωνται, in which the processes
mentioned do not suffice; for according to them
we should expect ὁρόουσα, ὁρόουσι, ὁρόονται. In the
two first of these forms Leo Meyer arranges the
difficulty in a manner by no means satisfactory, but
in regard to the third, and forms like βοόωντα, ὁρόωεν
and the like, he assumes without further trouble
that they were wrongly written down at the time
of the settlement of the Homeric text; and ought,
therefore, to be replaced by ὁρόονται, βοόονται, ὁρό-
οιεν. Such a proceeding, even if it could be justified
scientifically, is absolutely inadmissible in a school-
grammar, where only the forms really in use can
be taught, not those which rest on conjecture. But
even from a scientific point of view Meyer's hypo-
thesis is not merely very rash, but totally untenable.
It is clear that according to the laws of contraction
in Attic-Ionic, ὁρόονται, βοόοντα, ὁρόοιεν could never
have given rise to any other forms than ὁρουνται,
βοουνται, ὁροῖεν. Meyer p. 53 seeks to invalidate this
objection by the remark, 'It is a far older and more
extensive law that two similar vowels should contract

into the corresponding long one.' But in this case
we have to deal with forms which are by no means
of great antiquity, but comparatively late, i. e. be-
longing to a historically demonstrable period in the
life of the Greek language. At the time when con-
traction began to force its way in, a difference must
have been felt between the vowels in νόος and those
in ὁρόωντα, otherwise we should not have νοῦς as
the contracted form of the one, and ὁρῶντα as the
contracted form of the other. Now how rash it is
to declare Homeric forms, occurring again and again
in the text which has come down to us, to be errors
of writing, in order to obtain a uniformity which is
really no uniformity at all! The real forms ὁρῶνται,
βοῶντα, ὁρῷεν, vouch for the existence of the ὁρόωνται,
βοόωντα, ὁρόῳεν, which are found in the text of Homer.
But how can we explain the singular ω, by the side
of which stands the long α of ὁράᾳς? We must con-
nect it I believe with another lengthening which at
first sight seems very strange. From δρά-οι-μι comes
δρώ-οι-μι, from μναόμενος μνωόμενος, and similarly
ὑπνώοντας from ὑπνόοντας. With the assimilation is
here connected a change of quantity of the same
varying character as that in βασιλῆος beside βασιλέως,
βασιλῆα beside βασιλέᾱ, and in the phenomena pre-
sented by the augment which have been discussed
already. In that case the lengthened syllable was
explained as arising from the desire to compensate
for a lost spirant. And so here: -αω, -εω, -οω, have,
as has been already mentioned, sprung from a form
-ajâ-mi. The loss of the j, which in other instances
was vocalized, e. g. νεικείω, παλαίω, was compensated
by the lengthening, sometimes of the preceding
vowel, πεινᾱῶν, δρώ-οι-μι; and sometimes of the
following vowel, ὁρόωντα, ὁρόωσι, and also φόως =
φα(Ϝ)ος. But in some cases both vowels were length-
ened, e. g. δρώωσι, ἡβώωσι; and in others again—

neither, ἀοιδιάουσα. It is not my object in this place
to follow up the lengthenings in question any further,
otherwise many other dialectical forms would require
discussion, especially Doric forms like ἐμετρίωμες =
ἐμετροῦμεν, ὁμιώμενοι = ὁμούμενοι, which Ahrens ex-
plains *Dor.*, 210 sq. In these also the long vowel is
apparently due to the same cause.

This is in brief my conception of the phenomenon
in question, with which may be compared the ex-
planation given by Dietrich in Kuhn's *Zeitschr.*, X,
p. 434. Like myself he is opposed to the views of
Leo Meyer, and I agree with him in many points,
but not in all. In any case this is a matter on
which many difficulties remain to be cleared up.
I have, therefore, put a check upon my desire to
adopt at least some part of our more correct views
into the grammar, and have preferred to allow the
old doctrine to remain. It has at least the advantage
of being very simple and intelligible.

§ 245 sq.

Throughout the division of the verb-classes attention
has been also directed to the formation of nouns,
because in them the pure verb-stem is often found
in the plainest form, and indeed, is found there only
when no strong tenses are formed from it. As the
formation of words can seldom be a distinct subject
of instruction, it is the more important to point out,
as occasions offer, the most striking formations of
nouns. In this way not only are a number of words
impressed upon the memory; but at the same time
the pupil is made to feel that such words are not
mere *vocabula* to be found in the dictionary, but
essential forms of language, standing in the most
intimate relation with the formation of verbs.

§ 248 sq.

The lengthening of the stem-vowel in this class of verbs is the more clearly organic, because the lengthened form denotes the more extended action of the present stem; λείπ-ειν as distinguished from λιπ-εῖν. In this case, therefore, phonology, inflection, and syntax unite (§ 484 sq.). Of this formation of the present stem a few relics only remain in Latin, e. g. dīc-o Rt. dĭc (causī-dĭc-u-s), fīd-o (older feid-o) Rt. fĭd (fĭd-ē-s), dūc-o (older douc-o) Rt. dŭc (dux, dŭcis).

§ 249.

The attempts hitherto made to explain the T in the present stem of this class cannot be considered as successful (see Grundz., II, 243 sq.). But there is no doubt that the formation is exactly parallel with Latin verbs like plec-t-o, nec-t-o.

§ 250.

The changes of sound brought before us in the formation of this class have been already discussed (p. 42). These verbs may be compared with Latin forms like fac-i-o, verb-stem fac, fod-i-o verb-stem fod, pat-i-or verb-stem pat, the peculiarity of which also consists in the fact that the i is confined to the present stem. The corresponding class in Sanskrit is formed by adding the syllable ja or jâ to the verb-stem, e. g. Rt. kup, present-stem kup-ja, 1st Sing. Praes. kup-jâ-mi (I fall a-wishing), cp. Latin cup-io. In the same language we find the root jâ meaning 'to go', which stands in exactly the same relation to the shorter sound i as Greek ἰέ-ναι to ἴ-μεναι.

Hence with Bopp (*Vergl. Gr.*, II, 357) and other
scholars, I consider it quite probable that the present
stem of the verbs of this class is due to composition
with this root. The original intransitive meaning
required by this supposition is still actually demon-
strable in many of these verbs in Sanskrit (cp. *Temp.
und Modi*, p. 88). In Greek the additional element
has become a purely formal instrument of construction
which is applied among other usages to distinguish
the present stem from the pure verb-stem. But in-
asmuch as the action expressed by the present stems
very often denotes the effort and desire to realise
the idea conveyed by the verb-stem, we may still
perceive a link between origin and meaning. Compare
English phrases like 'to go a-begging!' German
betteln gehen, sitzen gehen.

§ 258 sq.

In the future stem the requirements of instruction
made it necessary to deviate a little from the dis-
coveries of Comparative grammar, the main drift of
which is as follows. In Greek the formation of the
future is retained most perfectly in the Doric dialect,
Here we find in addition to the σ an Iota which as
in the present stem of the fourth class corresponds
to a Jod in Sanskrit. Thus a Doric future like δω-
σίω corresponds to a Sanskrit *dâ-sjâ-mi*. But even
the Dorians retained the Iota only before α and ο
(Ahrens, 210); elsewhere it becomes ε, e. g. δωσεείς,
and then δωσεῖς by contraction (*Grundzüge*, II, 181).
In this shape the fuller form is known even to Attic
as the Doric future (§ 264), e. g. πλευ-σοῦ-μαι. For
the most part, it is true, the original spirant Jod
was entirely lost, and σ alone remained as the char-
acteristic sound of the future. As, therefore, in the
grammar I had to assume stems for the Attic dialect,

the future stem must then be λῡσ.   With regard to
the origin of this future formation I now adopt the
view held by Schleicher (*Compend.*, 616), who sees
in it a form compounded with the future of the
substantive verb, in preference to the explanation
given in my *Tempora und Modi*, p. 317.   From the
root *as* (Greek ἐς) language developed a present
form after the fourth class.   This was originally
as-jâ-mi and is retained in the Latin *ero = es-io*, the
middle form of which is the Greek ἔσσομι = ἐσιομαι.
As we have already suggested, the additional *jâ-mi*
signified originally 'I go'; the hypothetical ἐσ-ιω,
therefore, would mean 'I go to be', from which a
future signification could very easily be developed.
Compare the French *je vais faire* (provincial English
'I am a-going to do'), the Latin *datum iri* with the
rare correlative form in the Active '*datum ire*' =
'*daturum esse*'.   With this ἐσ-ιω 'I go to be' or 'I shall
be' the other verbs must be compounded in order
to acquire a future in the same manner as the per-
fect stem in Latin is compounded with *ero*, e. g.
cecid-ero, in order to form its proper future, i. e.
the *futurum exactum*.   In the process of composition
the ε of the root has been lost, a phenomenon by
no means strange, the same vowel constantly dis-
appearing elsewhere in many languages, e. g. Latin
s-u-mus, *s-u-nt* for *es-u-mus*, *es-u-nt*.   In stems ending
in λ, ρ, μ, ν we find an ε in the future: μεν-έ-ω, after
which a sigma has undoubtedly dropped out, so that
we get μεν-ε-σ-ω for μεν-εσιω.   Hence it might be
supposed that this ε also belongs to the root ἐς;
and that μεν-εσιω stands in the same relation to πραξ-
σιω as Greek ἐσ-μέν to Latin *s-u-mus*.   But in San-
skrit we find a vowel in the same position which
can only be regarded as a connecting vowel; e. g.
in *tan-i-shjâ-mi*, which corresponds to the Greek τεν-
έ-ω (i. e. τεν-ε-σιω); so that the view introduced into

the text of the grammar—that the Greek ε also is a
connecting vowel—is the more natural. According
to the laws of euphony in Greek σ between two
vowels disappears; hence it is lost in τεν-ε-σι-ω, but
retained in πραχ-σίω, πράξω. The view maintained
by some younger scholars that τεν-έ-ω is a quite
different formation into which this σ never entered,
is most easily shown to be false by forms like χέλ-σω,
κύρ-σω, from which it is clear that even the liquids
and nasals did not in the first instance avoid the
combination with σ. The distinction between the
two formations is purely phonetic, and, therefore, it
is quite impossible to apply the terms 'strong' and
'weak' to the future.

§ 265.

The futures here quoted, ἔδομαι, πίομαι, are
remains of an older formation without σ and, there-
fore, without composition. Here as in εἶμι (§ 314,
Obs.) the present stem serves for the future.

§ 267.

The σ of the weak aorist is usually traced back
to the same source as that of the future, i. e. the
root ἐς. But while the future is compounded with a
peculiarly formed present stem of this root, in the weak
aorist the verb-stem enters into combination with the
pure verb-stem ἐς, to which however the immovable
vowel α is appended in order to make the inflection
more easy. We find the same addition in the San-
skrit praeterite âs-a-m, Greek ἦ-α for ἦσ-α-μ, Latin
er-a-m for es-a-m. The stem λῦ-σα, therefore, means
literally 'to be loosing', ἔ-λυ-σα 'I was loosing'.
Thus the weak aorist stands in the same relation
to the strong as the Latin perfect *solutus est* to the

Greek λέλυ-ται. In each we have to deal with an auxiliary verb used for periphrasis, but in the aorist, as in the future, this has become completely amalgamated with the verb-stem. In the stems ending in λ, ρ, μ, ν language struck out a different path in the formation of the aorist, from that followed in the future. No connecting vowel was inserted, but these consonants were allowed to come into direct collision with the objectionable σ which seldom maintained its place in the conflict, but, as a rule, vanished, being either assimilated to the preceding consonant, e. g. Æolic ἔ-τεννα = ἐ-τεν-σα, Homeric ὤφελλα, and this may have been the older process, or dropped without leaving any trace of its existence beyond a compensatory lengthening ἔτεινα, ὤφειλα.— The few non-sigmatic aorists formed from other verb-stems may be explained in the same manner. Language avoided the collision of too many consonants by shortening the original εἰπ-σα, ἤνεγκ-σα to εἶπα, ἤνεγκα.

§ 272.

The perfect stem with its numerous forms requires discussion at somewhat greater length. The peculiar and essential symbol of this stem is the reduplication. There can scarcely be a doubt about the aim which the genius of language had in view in applying this instrument to the formation of the perfect stem after the remarks of Bopp, *Vergl. Gr.*, II, 388, Pott, especially in his latest work '*Doppelung*', p. 205 sq., myself *Temp. und Modi*, p. 174, and others. That stem denotes the completed action. And to signify this language employs the same means or instrument of which she avails herself frequently for the formation of intensive verbs, and generally to denote any strengthening of the idea expressed by a word.

πε-φευγ as distinguished from φυγ and also from φευγ,
denotes in the liveliest manner the action as brought
to completion. For the same reason the syllable of
the stem is also strengthened in many other ways in
this tense. The Greek language at least in the time
of its fullest bloom used the perfect stem exclusively
in this, the obviously original sense, and in doing
so displays an antiquity superior to all the other
members of the Indogermanic family. Hence it is
better adapted than any other to represent the ori-
ginal intentions of language in regard to the for-
mation of tenses. But it is true that this, like other
advantages of the Greek language, would scarcely
have been perceived to be such, did not the kindred
languages offer us the material for comparison.

With regard to the form of reduplication it will
here be sufficient to refer to the fact that the simi-
larity of sound between the augment and the re-
duplicated syllable before certain double consonants
is purely accidental. The accident however is in
harmony with the widespread tendency of language
to avoid any undue repetition of the same sound
in two consecutive syllables (cp. *Grundzüge*, II,
p. 279 sq.).

By reduplication all the forms of the perfect,
however widely they may differ in the mode of their
formation, are kept together as a whole; and the
unity of this whole must not be obscured even in
practical instruction. The reduplicated stem is seen
in its purest and most naked form in the Middle,
where the terminations are added to it immediately
without a connecting vowel, λέ-λυ-μαι, πέ-πραγ-μαι.
In this case there is one mode of formation only.
For the distinction between strong and weak forms
which is carried out in the aorist to the complete
separation of two entirely distinct stems, comes be-
fore us in the perfect stem in the Active voice only;

and even there the strong and weak forms are merely
different modes of forming one and the same stem.
This must be pointed out to the pupil, and he must
be shown that the distinction in this case is to a
certain extent secondary.

In the middle the perfect stem follows the con-
jugation in -μι in joining the person-terminations
directly to the stem; in the active as a rule it avails
itself of a uniting vowel. πεπράγ-α-μεν in distinction
from πέπραγ-μαι. Forms without a uniting vowel
like ἴδ-μεν, later ἴσ-μεν, βέβα-μεν, ἔστα-τε can, there-
fore, be treated separately in § 317. This is not
the place to examine in detail Schleicher's view of
the α in the Perfect (*Compend.*, 554) which in regard
to some forms differs from mine. But even from
what has been said it will be plain why the α cannot
certainly as in the weak aorist be regarded as part of the
stem; and why we cannot assume stems like πεπραγα,
γεγονα. It is to be observed moreover that in the
aorist the α passes as the characteristic vowel through
the moods and verbal nouns, λύσα-ι-μι, λυσά-τω,
λύσα-σθαι, &c.; but in the perfect this is not the
case, πεπράγ-ο-ι-μι, πεπραγ-έναι. The vowel, there-
fore, is moveable, and consequently does not belong
to the stem.

Older grammarians distinguish in the Active be-
tween the *perfectum secundum* and the *perfectum
primum*. Under the first came all those forms which
in 1st Sing. join the α without any further addition
to the reduplicated stem γέγον-α, πεπρᾱγ-α. Under
the latter came two classes of Perfects, those formed
with κ and those with an aspirate. But if we put
the facts clearly before us, we see at once without
going back to their origin, that the forms in κ can
indeed be considered as a separate class, but the
aspirated forms cannot. For in the first place, when
we attempt to follow the old plan in establishing

the aspirated perfect as a separate formation, we are
met by the question: to what class are we to refer
the perfects of stems ending in an aspirate? γέγραφ-α
is regarded as a *perfectum primum*. It is assumed,
therefore, that in this case aspiration was intended,
but could not be carried out on account of the
aspirate already in existence. In this particular in-
stance the short vowel might be brought forward
by which γεγράφα is distinguished from λέληθα. It
is said that this short vowel shows that γέγραφα is
not analogous to the so-called *perfecta secunda*. But
what are we to do with ἀλήλιφ-α, ὀρώρυχ-α? In the
Attic reduplication the penultima is *not* lengthened
as a rule, ἀκήκο-α, ἐλήλυθ-α. As the aspirate is found
also in ἀλείφω, διώρυχ-ος, i. e. quite independently
of the perfect-stem, it would be more reasonable in
this case to assume a *perfectum secundum*. But further,
even Buttmann (*Ausf. Gr.*, I, 410) saw that a con-
siderable number of those changes of vowels which
were usually regarded as characteristic of the so-
called *perfecta secunda* were to be found in con-
nection *with* and *by the side of* aspiration. To be
consistent, those who explain γέγραφα as a *primum*
because the vowel remains unchanged, must consider
πέπομφα, κέκλοφα, τέτροφα, as *secunda* on account of
the change. But compared with the stems πεμπ,
κλεπ, τρεπ, these *perfecta secunda* have the addition
of a breathing; they are aspirated. Hence if we
would strictly maintain the old distinction between
the *perfecta prima* and *secunda*, we must allow,
either that aspiration is no exclusive mark of the
perfectum primum, or that a change of the vowel
is not an exclusive mark of the *secundum*. In the
first case there ceases to be any reason for separating
the aspirated forms as a distinct mode of formation
from the unaspirated; in the second there ceases
to be any reason for considering forms like γέγραφα

as different from λέλημθα. In both cases we have the
indubitable result that a hard and fast line cannot
be drawn between the two formations.

This difficulty has been felt; and the attempt made
in consequence to support the aspirated forms by
uniting them with those in χ. Buttmann, p. 408 as-
sumes ἁ as the peculiar ending of this perfect, and he
has frequently enough been followed in maintaining
that this *spiritus* combined with the preceding guttural
and labial mute to form an aspirate, but 'between
two vowels and after a liquid it changed into χ
in order to become audible'. But the science of
language knows nothing whatever of such a change
of the *spiritus asper* into χ. That minimum of a
sound which we call the *spiritus asper* appears in
Greek almost always as the last residuum of a spirant.
It would be against the analogy of the whole history
of sound for the strong guttural χ to spring from
such a mere shadow of a sound. No one who has
the least knowledge of the manner in which such
questions are treated at the present day would even
for a moment agree to a theory which for Butt-
mann's time was acute, but which, though deserving
notice as an effort to introduce unity into variety,
is, when examined closely, without any foundation
whatever.

Nevertheless the attempt to distinguish the aspirated
perfect as a special form has found a new defender
among the students of Comparative grammar. No less
a person than the venerable founder of this science,
F. Bopp, seeks to maintain this distinction, but in
a manner in which, as I believe I have already shown,
Temp. und Modi, p. 191, it is impossible for us to
agree. He discusses the perfects with χ and the
aspirated perfects merely *en passant*, while treating
of the aorist (*Vergl. Gr.*, II, 446). The χ of the
three isolated aorists ἔ-δω-χα, ἔ-θη-χα and ἥ-χα he

compares with the σ of the ordinary Greek aorist,
and is of opinion that χ may have arisen out of σ.
But there is an entire absence of any sufficient and
established analogy for such a change. For it is really
no analogy at all that in Ecclesiastical Sclavonic
the spirant *ch*, rather than *k*, appears as the re-
presentative of *s*; and even less, that in certain
Lithuanian imperatives, which have no connection
with the weak aorist, *k* is used for *s*, especially as
this *k* is explained by Schleicher (*Lith. Gr.*, p. 231)
in quite a different and far more satisfactory
manner. From these manifestly insufficient premisses
Bopp goes on to conclude that σ is the source of
the χ in the perfect no less than in the aorist,
and of the aspiration also. But in regard to the
perfect, even he can point to no analogy in the
kindred languages to prove the existence of σ. The
wide difference between the sounds χ and σ, which
very fairly represent the extreme opposites among
the Greek consonants, thoroughly justifies us in
doubting and even decisively rejecting this expla-
nation. The reputation of such a scholar as F. Bopp
is not lessened by the fact that some of his opinions
are controverted by those who continue to work in
his spirit. It would be superfluous to make this
remark had not the authority of our venerable
master been used on this very point to protect an
assumption which has nothing in itself to support
it, and to bring forward as an established fact that
explanation of the perfects in which no other recent
scholar, so far as I know, agrees with Bopp. The
whole tendency of the modern science of language
leads us to point out wherever possible a distinct
cause for every sound and change of sound. Hence
there has been no want of other conjectures on the
origin of aspiration in the perfect, which are how-
ever no more satisfactory than Bopp's. I may refer

on this point to *Tempora und Modi*, p. 193, and
Grundzüge, II, 82 sq. In the latter place I have
treated this aspiration in combination with the other
cases in which a Tenuis or Media becomes an aspirate
in Greek, and the result is that we can hardly re-
gard the aspiration of the perfect as anything more
than a simple alteration of sound without any defi-
nite reason, which can only be explained by a ten-
dency of the Greek language not unknown in other
instances also.

In maintaining this view of the aspirated perfect
which Pott originated, and has again advocated
in his later work '*Doppelung*', p. 257, two circum-
stances still deserve especial consideration — viz. 1.
that the same aspiration is found in 3rd Pl. Med.
in -αται and -ατο, quite independently of the Act.
Perf. and without any interchange of κ, e. g. τετάχ-
αται, Homeric ἔρχ-αται (Rt. ἔργ), ep. § 287; and
2. the small number of the aspirated forms, which
are quite unknown to the Homeric poems, where
for instance we find κεκοπώς instead of κεκοφώς the
form usual in later Greek. In *Tempora und Modi*,
p. 196, I have enumerated but 21 aspirated Perfects
in all, a great portion of which are not found before
the time of Polybius. To these, it is true, a few
more may yet be added. I have marked 5 which may
find their place here by the side of those already
noticed. Stems which have already an aspirate are
naturally not counted. From stems in κ we find
δέδειχα (Hesych.), δέδηχα (Babr.), δεδίωχα (Hyperides,
c. Lycophr., p. 29, 6 Schneid.), ἐνήνοχα, κεκήρυχα,
πέπλεχα, πέπραχα, πεφύλαχα; from stems in γ, ἦχα
by the side of ἀγήοχα, ἤλλαχα in compounds εἴλοχα,
μέμαχα, μέμιχα, ἀνέωχα by the side of ἀνέῳγα, ὀρω-
ρεχότες (Suid.), τέταχα; from stems in π, βέβλεφα
(ἀποβεβλεφότες Antipater ap. Stobæum, 70. 13), κέκ-
λοφα, κέκοφα, πέπομφα, τέτροφα by the side of τέτραφα

(from τρέπω); from stems in β, βέβλαφα (Demosth. 19.
180) by the side of ἔβλαφα (C. I. n. 1570), τέθλιφα,
εἴληφα, τέτριφα, τέθαφα (from θαμβέω). To these may
be added the doubtful διαπεπαιχώς (παίζω) in the
much discussed expression of Sophocles on his own
artistic development, in Plutarch, *de profect. in vir-
tute*, chap. 7, for which Bergk (*Praef. ad Soph.*,
p. XXXI) conjectures διαπεπλακώς. Such being the
case it is obvious that the Active perfect, with the
exception of the forms in κ from vowel-stems, is on
the whole a rare tense. Buttmann saw this (*A. Gr.*,
I, 410). It is, therefore, very absurd to impress upon
the memory of the pupil forms like τέτυπα and τέτυφα,
neither of which are found anywhere, though they
have not yet disappeared from our grammars and
grammatical writings. And nothing is more un-
reasonable than to require the pupil should be taught
to form an Active perfect to every verb. This is
to make him learn more than the old Athenians
knew. He ought certainly to learn that only which
really occurs in the literature preserved to us in the
best period of Greece, and not fancies fashioned after
the model of supposed analogies such as were the
futura secunda which before the times of G. Hermann
and Buttmann disfigured our Greek grammars.

This discussion may be sufficient to justify the
position which I have allotted to the Aspirated
perfect, but a few words are still needed in regard
to the form with κ which I denote exclusively as
the weak perfect. This also can be traced in its
gradual growth from Homer onwards. In Homer
the κ is inserted in the first instance after vowels:
τεθνηκώς by the side of τεθνηώς. At a later period
it forced its way into stems in λ, ρ, ν, and dental
mutes ἔσταλκα, ἔφθαρκα, κεκόμικα. From these facts
I formerly drew the conclusion that κ was here nothing
more than a phonetic element introduced to unite

stem and termination. This view I now admit to be
untenable for the reason that in no other instance
has χ grown up out of the hiatus, and I have re-
tracted it in *Grundz.*, I, 52, where will be found a
conjecture on the origin of this χ. In any case the
sound is analogous to other elements which are
added to the verb-stem. Schleicher, *Compend.*, 558,
adopts my view of the aspirated perfect, but marks
the origin of the χ as obscure, p. 622.

§ 283.

To understand the formation of the pluperfect, we
must begin with the Homeric forms. ἐ-τεθήπ-εα is
distinguished from the perfect stem τεθηπ by the
prefix of an augment belonging to a past tense and
the addition of -εα. On the origin of this -εα we
can scarcely have any doubt, when we call to mind
the Homeric imperfect ἔα—'I was'—which stands for
ἔσα and a yet older ἔσαμ. and came under our notice
above in treating of the formation of the weak
aorist. Since this ἔσαμ. is exactly the same as the
Latin *eram* (for *esam*), it follows that there is the most
complete identity between forms like ἐ-πεπήγ-εα and
pepig-eram. The compound form ἐ-πεπήγ-εα, therefore,
is not different in value from the periphrastic πεπηγώς
ἦν (*Temp. und Modi*, 332; Schleicher, *Compend.*, 622).
In the 3rd Sing. the α passed into ε as in the weak
aorist and the perfect; ἐ-τε-θήπε-ε; the 3rd Plural
ἐ-τεθήπ-εσαν has retained even the σ;—terminations
in -σαν being frequent in other formations also and
especially in ἦσαν, ἔσαν, so that here there was no
collision between two vowels. Thus far all is quite
clear and without any difficulty. The old Attic first
persons in -η, e. g. ἐ-πεπόνθη may also be simply
explained by the rules of contraction; and if at first
sight it is strange that the 3rd Sing., e. g. in Homeric

Attic ἤδη—'he knew'—has the same form, the explanation is that in this person also there was in the first instance an α, and that the contraction took place at a time when the 3rd Sing. did not yet end in -εε but in -εα; while the forms in -ειν of this person are naturally to be regarded as contractions of -εε(ν) with ν *ephelkystikon*, and, therefore, stand in exactly the same relation to the more frequent forms in ει as ἐτεθήπεεν to ἐτεθήπεε. But here we are met by a real anomaly. When the diphthong ει had become usual in 3rd Sing. which is everywhere the most frequent form, it became inserted at a later period in forms where it was out of place like 1st and 2nd Sing. the Plur. and Dual; and after the analogy of numerous other first persons Sing. was introduced in that person also. But ἐ-λελύκει-ν is a much later formation than ἐλελύκη. Eustathius on Od. ψ 220 quotes good authority for the fact that the best manuscripts of Plato and Thucydides have η and not ειν. The extreme point of confusion was reached when ει found its way into 3rd Plur. in which person there was never at any time any occasion for contraction, and consequently for the diphthong. But here also the result of the analysis of language has been most splendidly confirmed by the tradition of grammarians, which is the more trustworthy because it has no point of contact whatever with scientific views. The Atticists recommended the forms in -εσαν, rejecting those in -εισαν (Phrynichus, ed. Lobeck, p. 149) and good manuscripts have the latter form but rarely in Attic writers (Matthiæ § 198. 5, Krüger § 30. 6 Anm.).— In contrast to the common formation of the pluperfect by composition the Homeric ἐ-μέμηκ-ο-ν is formed simply, i. e. without the help of the addition of the substantive verb; so too those very old pluperfect forms like ἐ-τέθνα-σαν, ἐ-πέπιθ-μεν (§ 317), which have moreover no connecting vowel, being

indeed in no need of such an expedient inasmuch
as they follow the formation of the pluperfect Middle,
rather than the Active.

§ 291.

That the *Futurum exactum* or 3rd future is com-
pounded of the perfect stem and the future of the
root ἐς, like the corresponding tense in Latin, δεδώ-
σομαι like *ded-ero*, needs no further confirmation after
what has been said. The insignificant variations in
the quantity of the vowel in the future and the
perfect stems which consist exclusively in this that
the vowel is more often found long in the future
than in the perfect, may very well be explained on
two grounds. 1. The Greeks had always a tendency
to lengthen short syllables when surrounded by others
also short. Hence the ω in σοφώτερος, εὐώνυμος;
2. The analogy of the common Middle forms was ob-
viously not without a certain influence—thus we have
λελύσομαι following λύσομαι in contrast to λελύ-μαι.

§ 292—299.

The two Passive stems are the most difficult forms
in the Greek verb. In analysing them, the kindred
languages are so far of no assistance that they pre-
sent no form exactly parallel and used in a similar
manner. It is not our object here to solve difficult
problems but to put together results which can en-
liven and advance instruction in Greek. The follow-
ing observations then may suffice. The two Passive
stems like the Greek aorist, the future and the
pluperfect are without doubt compound formations.
The Passive meaning peculiar to these stems is not
denoted by the person terminations as in the other
Passive forms—on the contrary the terminations of

the two aorists are active—but must lie in the stems themselves, i. e. in the elements ε(η) and θε(θη) appended to the verb-stems. I have already stated in *Temp. und Modi,* p. 329 sq. my conjecture that the ε has arisen from the root *jâ* 'to go' which we have already met more than once in another phonetic form. Here this root would be used without a connecting vowel after the analogy of the conjugation in -μι, e. g. as στᾱ in ἔ-στη-ν, γνω in ἔ-γνω-ν, and since the verb-stem, when it appears in its pure form, has an aoristic force, the direct application of a stem like γραφ-ε to express the aorist is accounted for. The Passive meaning of this root is vindicated by Sanskrit forms in which the syllable *jâ* combined with Person-terminations Active no less than Middle gives a Passive meaning and also by forms like the Latin *vênum ire* or *vênire,* the Passive of *venum dare* or *vendere.* ἐ-γράφ-η-ν, therefore, was pretty nearly equivalent to German *ich ging schreiben, gerieth ins Schreiben* ('I went a-writing—fell a-writing'); just as German *in Verfall, in Verlust gerathen* or *verloren gehen* is synonymous with *verloren werden* ('to go lost' = 'to be lost').—In regard to the weak Passive stem only so much is certain that it stands in close connexion with numerous other formations which present the same consonant θ. The formation in point will be found collected in *Grundz.,* I, 54. It is probable that this θ arose out of the root θε (Sanskrit *dhâ*) which even in Greek signifies not merely 'to place' but also 'to do' (e. g. Sappho, *Frag.,* 62 τί κε θεῖμεν). But how this θ comes to be used with a Passive meaning is a difficulty which I have attempted to solve in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift,* I, 26. Schleicher, *Compend.,* 623; Corssen, *Jahn's Jahrb.,* LXVIII, 368; Lange, *Ueber den lateinischen Infinitiv,* p. 23, have adopted more or less decisively my conjecture, that in the θε we may recognize a

compound, a combination of the root θε with the jε already mentioned.

§ 301.

The shortness of the stem-vowel in the formation of the tenses of numerous verb-stems, e. g. γελάω, fut. γελάσομαι, is here pointed out merely as a fact, because, though many conjectural explanations have been given of this phenomenon, proof can be obtained in very few cases. Since in the tense-stems in point a short vowel is the rule where the verb-stem has lost a dental consonant before the additional elements, e. g. in πλά-σω from the root πλατ, φρά-σω from the root φραδ, and since the same stems present their final consonants elsewhere in the form of σ, e. g. πέπλασ-μαι, φρασ-τός, it is natural to connect both phenomena, the shortness of the vowel and the frequent insertion of σ (§ 288, 298, 300), in such a manner as to assume that stems ending in a dental sound must be our starting point in explaining them. But while it is easy to advance this, it is difficult to establish it. τελέ-ω has been given as a denominative from τέλες, Nom. τέλος, to which τε-τελεσ-μένος only would stand in the same relation as κε-κορυ͛-μένος to the noun-stem κορυ͛; and in this case at any rate the formation of the present from such a stem can certainly be explained by the phonetic laws of Greek, τελεσ-ιω, τελε-ΐω, Homeric τε-λείω, τελέω. Elsewhere kindred formations with δ, σ, τ have been brought forward, e. g. σπαδ-ών for σπά-ω, σπά-σω, ἐ-σπασ͛η-ν; ἀρύτ-ω by the side of ἀρύ-ω for ἀρύ-σω. But here the rejection of the dental in the present between two vowels creates a fresh difficulty. Since no phonetic law in Greek forbids σπαδω as a form of the present, we should, in attempting to get rid of the old anomaly, create

a new one which was not in existence before. Besides, etymology is against the assumption of a root σπαδ (*Grundz.*, I, 237). In other cases in which a stem of this kind has been assumed by a similarly circuitous path, the assumption is not merely not confirmed by the other forms of the verb, and the corresponding words in the kindred languages, but rather contradicted, e. g. in ἀρκέ-ω, with which the Latin *arce-o* may be compared, in ἐμέ-ω the ε in which is like the *j* in Lithuanian *vem-ju* (*Grundz.*, I, 288), in ἀρό-ω which on account of ἄρουρα points rather to ἀροϝ-ω (*Grundz.*, I, 306), as ἀλέ-ω, in spite of ἀλέ-σω, ἀλήλεκα to ἀλέϝ-ω on account of ἄλευρον (*Grundz.*, I, 325 sq.). And what consonant can well be proved for the stems of λύω and πτύω, or even for ποθέω and πονέω? Besides the shortness and length of Greek forms is something so variable that in very few of these verbs would one stem-form be sufficient, while for the most of them two stems would have to be assumed, each complementing the other, e. g. δυ for δύ-σω, and δυσ or something of the kind for τέδυκα. In short the whole method has no basis; it rests on mere conjectures of the boldest kind, and, therefore, is quite unsuited for notice in a school-grammar, even though some of the conjectures may not be altogether improbable. I may take this opportunity of pointing out that I cannot approve of the assumption of dental stems such as those which have been put forward for κερά-ννυ-μι, κρεμά-ννυ-μι, κορέ-ννυ-μι and some other similar formations. In ἔ-ννυ-μι alone the first ν has been really proved to be due to assimilation (root ἐς, ϝες, § 319. 3), and the same origin is in my opinion probable for σβέ-ννυ-μι (*Grundz.*, II, 146). But in a school-grammar the forms ἔ-σβη-ν, ἔ-σβη-κα make the assumption of such a root unadvisable. The σ which in the formation of tenses no less than of nouns

appears between vowel-stems and the various termin-
ations is as yet by no means thoroughly cleared up,
and cannot certainly be removed at a stroke as it were
by making it in every case a component part of the
stem. Such a simple expedient carries us but a little
way, as may be seen very clearly in forms like ἐδ-
έ-σϑη-ν, ἐδ-ήδ-ε-σ-μαι, ὀμ-ώμο-σ-ται by the side of
ὀμ-ώμ-ο-ται, in which the preceding vowel has never
once been proved to belong to the root. We must not
be led away by the effort to explain the variation of
quantity wherever possible by definite causes an effort
quite correct in principle into hastily seizing upon any
explanation which comes to hand, and embodying it
at once in a school-grammar for the benefit of young
scholars. It is not from any carelessness or inattention,
but after the fullest consideration, that I have pre-
ferred in such cases simply to point out the anomaly.

§ 304.

The verbs in -μι might have been divided into
more classes than I have made. More especially it
seems advisable from a scientific point of view to
treat as a separate class those which distinguish their
present stem from the pure verb-stem by reduplication
(§ 308). But the number was too small to justify us
in doing so. There are but nine Greek verbs in all
of this kind, and they can, therefore, be regarded
merely as a part of the first class. The same holds
good of the verbs in -νημι (§ 312. D.) which more-
over with the exception of δύναμαι are not found in
Attic prose. These also are nine in number, δάμ-
νη-μι, κίρ-νη-μι, κρήμ-να-μαι, μάρ-να-μαι, πέρ-νη-μι,
πίλ-να-μαι, πίτ-νη-μι, σκίδ-νη-μι, δύ-να-μαι.

Among these μάρ-να-μαι is used only in the pre-
sent stem, δύνα-μαι has an unchangeable stem δυνα
running through the whole formation of the tenses

and occasionally increased by the addition of a sigma
(δυνάστης); and all the others are provided with
secondary forms of different structure which are in
more common use. To treat the dissyllabic stems
ἀγα, ἐρα, κρεμα, also as separate was the less neces-
sary for my purpose, as no certain explanation can
be given of their origin.

On the other hand, the verbs in -νυμι are clearly
to be regarded as distinct. The syllable νυ is re-
stricted to the present stem, and the number of the
verbs of this kind runs up to 38. In every respect,
therefore, they may claim to form a class by them-
selves. In their formation these verbs are evidently
clearly allied to those numerous and variously formed
verbs which extend the present by the addition of
a nasal, either alone or in combination with different
vowels, and, therefore, they stand in close connection
with the fifth or nasal class which immediately
follows them in my arrangement. As regards the
origin of these nasal additions, I cannot in spite of
the opposite theory so frequently brought forward,
and lately adopted by Schleicher in his *Compendium*,
p. 576, bring myself to the conviction that any
pronominal element is contained in them; on the
contrary, I still adhere to the view given in detail
in *Tempora und Modi*, p. 53 sq., that these ad-
ditions are of a purely phonetic nature and became
formed into syllables in the course of time by a
gradation which we can still trace with certainty.
The Latin *pa-n-g-o*, therefore, into which the
nasal enters only as an extension of the conso-
nantal sound (cp. *ju-n-g-o, tu-n-d-o, ru-m-p-o*) I
consider as more ancient than the Greek νυ-μι, where
the nasal, combined with υ, forms a syllable by it-
self. Nasalization, which may take its place as a
consonantal extension by the side of the extension
of vowels, is a phenomenon which ought not to be

disregarded by the modern science of language so
much as is usual. It would be difficult to prove
any other origin for the nasal in πίμ-πλη-μι, πίμ-
πρη-μι, τύμπ-ανο-ν (Rt. τυπ), Ͽάμ-β-ος (Rt. ταφ),
Λυγκ-εύ-ς (Rt. λυκ), ἔγγ-ελυ-ς, *anguilla, anguis* by the
side of the Sanskrit *ahi-s*, Greek ἔχι-ς, βένϽ-ος by
the side of βάϽος; and I cannot see that there is
anything absurd in the supposition that the nasal
which we find as ν *ephelkystikon* following upon
short vowels at the end of words should be intro-
duced into the middle of words to produce a greater
fulness of tone like the extension of vowels which
is accepted by every one.

§ 305 sq.

I have been reproached with the inconsistency of
regarding sometimes the short vowel, e. g. in θε, δο,
and sometimes the long one, e. g. in γνω, βιω as primary
in roots which end in a vowel. But in assuming
these forms with regard to which on the whole I differ
but little from other grammarians, I have acted upon
a definite plan: the root is quoted with a long vowel
where the length extends to the greater number of
forms, and with a short one where it is confined
to the smaller number. The distinction between
ἐ-θέ-την, θεῖναι, θέ-σι-ς, δέ-δο-ται, δοῦναι, δό-σι-ς,
φά-θι, φα-τό-ς, on the one hand, and forms like
γνῶ-ναι, γνω-τό-ς, γνῶ-σι-ς, βιῶ-ναι, ἀλῶ-ναι, ἅλω-σις,
τέ-τρω-μαι, ἐ-τρώ-θη-ν, on the other, is sufficiently
marked to justify the distinction. In stems like
those of στῆ-ναι, μέμνη-μαι, τέ-θη-κα, there is the
further practical consideration that as η can arise
out of ε no less than α, it is only in στα. μα. θνα
that we can recognize the real stem-vowel. The
quantity, where it fluctuates, is purposely left un-
marked. In this way I believe all objections are

removed so far as Greek grammar, and at any rate
Greek school-grammar is concerned. When we take
up a higher point of view so as to include in our
observation the corresponding forms in the kindred
languages, we shall, it is true, find reason to alter
our judgment. The Indian grammarians allow no
roots in *a*, but only in *â*, so that Sanskrit *dâ* cor-
responds to Greek δο, Latin *dă-re* (by the side of
dô-nu-m), Sanskrit *dhâ* to Greek θε, Sanskrit *gâ* to
Greek βα (βαίνω). But Schleicher in an essay in Kuhn
and Schleicher's *Beiträge*, II, p. 92 sq., has brought
forward weighty reasons for universally assuming
short *a* as the primitive form in these roots; and
he takes the same view in his *Compendium*. But
even in this case we must continue to regard the
long vowel as the characteristic in those roots in
which metathesis is found, e. g. in γνω (= Sanskrit
gnâ, Latin *gnô* by the side of German *kann*), since
that form of the root only in which the vowel stands
between the two consonants (e. g. θαν, βαλ, μεν,
τεμ, βορ, στορ) regularly presents the short vowel;
but, on the other hand, when metathesis takes place,
the vowel is long (θνη-τό-ς, βέ-βλη-κα, μέ-μνη-μαι,
στρώννυμι). Consequently in roots which present the
vowel in the latter position only, the length of the
vowel is a part of the stem. More obscure in origin
is a number of other stems like βιω, ἁλω, ἀμβλω,
but in these also the long vowel is undeniably fixed,
i. e. forms part of the stem.

§ 321.

In this, no less than in the following classes of
verbs (as is pointed out even in the observations in
the grammar), we must carefully observe that over
and above the peculiar characteristics of each class

many isolated specialities present themselves. Since
language in general applies very various means to
distinguish the present stem from the verb-stem, we
cannot wonder that we sometimes find several of these
means united. Similar pleonasms may be observed
in the most widely distinct provinces of language.
We need only call to mind comparatives like χερειό-
τερο-ς, and superlatives like πρώτιστος. No one would
think of availing himself of these extended forms
to overthrow the usual arrangements of the Com-
parative and Superlative. Similarly in No. 1 of the
verbs here given, βαίν-ω, we find the double addition
in the present stem. From the root βα arose first
βαν, then βαν-ι. Here and elsewhere the doubt might
arise which of these two additions is to give the
mark for classification. Does βαίνω on account of
the ι belong to the 4th or I-class (cp. μαίνομαι), or
on account of the ν to the 5th or Nasal class? The
first arrangement would be recommended by the
comparison of Latin ven-i-o by the side of vên-i
(cp. Oscan ben-ust = ven-erit). But in favour of the
second is the circumstance that in Greek the ν oc-
curs in the present stem only, and we cannot, there-
fore, in this case establish a root βαν, whereas, on
the other hand, in φαίνω though we can go back
to a root φα, yet if we leave a few Homeric forms
out of sight (φα-εν, πε-φή-σο-μαι) φαν only can be
recognized as the verb-stem, and the verb, therefore,
belongs to the 4th class. As in this case then we
find the 4th and 5th classes united, so the peculiar
mark of the 7th or E-class and especially of the
second division of it, viz. the lengthening of the
verb-stem by an ε added to facilitate the formation
of tenses, occurs occasionally in all the other classes.
There is only this difference, that in the 7th class the
additional element is the mark which distinguishes
between the verb-stem and present stem, whereas

in the other classes it is something accessory and
claims attention only for the formation of certain
tenses. We, therefore, who have taken this distinction
between verb-stem and present stem as the basis
of our arrangement, can be in no doubt about the
place which each verb ought to occupy. In spite
of ἁμαρτ-ή-σομαι, ἁμαρτάνω belongs to the nasal class,
and the same is the case with αὐξ-άν-ω in spite of
αὐξ-ή-σω.—In ὀφλ-ισκ-άνω we find the additional
elements of the inchoative and nasal class combined,
as is pointed out by the reference to § 324. But the
proper place for the verb was in § 322, among those
which add -αν to the stem. So too the circumstance
that the root πι is supplemented in the construction
of many forms by the root πο, and consequently
must be mentioned in the mixed class, is no reason
that the relation of ἔ-πι-ο-ν to πίν-ω should not be
mentioned in this section.

I have already pointed out p. 136 that I consider
all these nasal additions to be purely phonetic. Here
also we find a certain pleonasm in language. When
the root-vowel is short, the mere addition of the
syllable -αν is not enough, but the nasal is also
inserted in the root and is thus doubly represented,
μανθ-αν, τυγχ-αν, λαμβ-αν.

I have already referred p. 136 to the connection
of this nasal class with the verbs in -νυ-μι. This
connection is especially prominent in some of the
verbs which belong to this place. The Homeric
dialect has preserved the form τί-νυ-μι, and, there-
fore, it is not impossible that τί-ν-ω arose out of
τι-νυ-ω, and φθινύ-θ-ω makes an older form φθι-νυ-ω
for φθί-ν-ω not improbable. In § 318, 4 it is noticed
how frequently we find secondary forms in the O-
conjugation beside the verbs in -νυ-μι. In this way
also we may explain ἐλαύ-νω by the side of the verb-
stem ἐλα. We may carry it back to ἐλα-νυ-ω (cp.

Ahrens, *Formenl.*, p. 127), and assume the same metathesis of the υ which is brought before us so plainly in γοῦν-α = γονυ-α (Latin *genu-a*).

No less plainly is the internal homogeneity of all the nasal additions of this class displayed by the fact that we possess double forms which exhibit a certain variation on the part of language in regard to the exact form of the nasal syllable. Thus by the side of δάκ-ν-ω we find, in quotations of the grammarians only, δαγκάνω, which serves to combine forms like βαίνω and ἁμαρτάνω; the connecting link between ἁμαρτ-άν-ω and κυ-νέ-ω is ἱκάν-ω by the side of ἱκ-νέ-ο-μαι; while the Ionic ἵγ-νυ-μαι (καθίγνυμαι), retained in Hippocrates, forms the transition to the verbs -νυ-μι (Lobeck, *Technol.*, 209). So too ἰσχάνω (in a longer formation ἰσχανάω) by the side of ὑπ-, ἀμπ-ισχ-νέ-ο-μαι. The numerous verbs which belong to this place have been illustrated by Lobeck on Buttmann, *Ausf. Gr.*, II, 64 sq.

§ 324.

The 6th or Inchoative-class is one of those possessions common to Greek and Latin which shew how extremely close is the connection existing between the two languages. There is, it is true, something analogous to it in Sanskrit. But only three verbs in that language form the present stem in this manner, viz.—by the addition of the *kh*, the regular representative of *sk* in Indian. We might, therefore, assume a *ga-sk-â-mi* corresponding to the Greek βά-σκ-ω (Schleicher, *Compend.*, 582), as the predecessor of *ga-kh-â-mi,* 'I go,' from the root *ga* = Greek βα. But not merely have the sounds lost their original form in Sanskrit; in other respects also that language stands below the classical languages

in regard to these forms. In it there is no trace
of that specific meaning of the additional element
which in the two classical languages is retained to
so great an extent that the class is termed from it
the Inchoative-class. The Inchoative meaning is not
only found in the verbs mostly of derivative for-
mation which are termed Inchoative in the strict sense,
e. g. γηρά-σκ-ω (cp. *sen-e-sc-o*), ἡβά-σκ-ω (cp. *pube-
sc-o*), ἀνα-βιώ-σκ-ο-μαι (cp. *reviri-sc-o*), but may also
be easily recognized in many others, e. g. in μι-μνή-
σκ-ο-μαι (cp. *re-min-i-sc-or*), ἀλδ-ή-σκ-ω (cp. *adole-
sc-o*), γι-γνώ-σκ-ω (= *gnō-sc-o*), δι-δά-σκ-ω the causa-
tive correlative of the intransitive *di-sc-o*. As the
Inchoative meaning consists essentially in the fact
that the action comes to pass gradually, those pre-
sent stems which denote the gradual working out
of an action, e. g. ἐπι-βά-σκ-ειν, *pac-i-sc-i* are dis-
tinguished from the Inchoatives in the narrower
sense, which denote a gradual process, as transitive
from intransitive, i. e. as ἵ-στη-μι and Latin *si-st-o*
from στῆ-ναι and *stare*. Thus, therefore, πι-πί-σκ-ω,
μεθύ-σκ-ω, ἀρ-αρ-ί-σκ-ω become intelligible. The re-
duplication found in not a few verbs in conjunction
with the σκ is naturally to be regarded as an ad-
ditional strengthening element, even as it is applied
in an independent manner in the verbs in -μι to
form the present, and occurs here and there in the
verbs given § 327, 14—17 (γί-γν-ο-μαι, πί-πτω, τι-
τρά-ω). After what has been said there can scarcely
be any doubt that this class originally comprised
those verbs only in which it was the intention of
language to denote in the present stem the gradual
realization of an action. Even in those forms, there-
fore, in which such a meaning can scarcely, if at
all, be proved in the historical era of the language,
e. g. βλώ-σκ-ω, θρώ-σκ-ω, στερ-ί-σκ-ω, Latin *ulc-i-sc-or*,
we may reasonably assume that it existed at an

earlier period. We need hardly dwell upon the fact
that the σκ of the Iteratives in -σκο-ν is not different
in nature and origin from the additional element in
the present, and consequently the Iterative was only
an isolated preterite of this formation of the present.
The gradual realization and the repetition of an
action are regarded by language as nearly akin.
Both form the opposite to the sudden incidental
action of the aorist. This class possesses a peculiar
interest for the student of the verb in general, be-
cause we can in this case prove a particular mean-
ing for the additional element in the present stem.
It ought however to be mentioned that the origin
of this σκ is unknown to us, the last and highest
question, therefore, still remains unanswered.

In the mode of adding the element also, Latin
and Greek present a high degree of similarity. We
need only compare (g)no-sc-o, (g)na-sc-or, cre-sc-o
with γι-γνώ-σκ-ω, πι-πρά-σκ-ω, κι-κλή-σκ-ω, the deri-
vative ἡβά-σκ-ω, γηρά-σκ-ω with Latin ira-sc-or,
ἀλ-ί-σκ-ο-μαι, στερ-ί-σκ-ω with Latin ap-i-sc-or,
pac-i-sc-or, and διδά-σκ-ω, λά-σκ-ω in which a gut-
tural is lost with di-sc-o, to perceive that the laws
of formation are the same. It is a striking fact
that the genius of language, which is ever intent
on delicate distinctions, has separated the Iterative
forms, which, in spite of their close relationship,
have some peculiarities of application, from the In-
choatives, at least in part by the connecting vowel;
στά-σκ-ον, it is true, is formed like φά-σκ-ω, but
ἔχ-ε-σκ-ον, ἴδ-ε-σκ-ον are distinct from στερ-ί-σκ-ω,
εὑρ-ί-σκ-ω; and only ἀρ-έ-σκ-ω which, though else-
where also it retains the ε, cannot be separated
from ἄρ-μενο-ς, ἄρ-τιο-ς in the sense 'to accomodate
one's self to' (*Grundz.*, I, 304) makes use of the
connecting vowel. This desire for distinction stands
in my opinion by the side of the consistent develop-

ment of the germs handed down from an earlier period, as a highly characteristic mark of the Greek language.

§ 325 AND 326.

The 7th or E-class is evidently composed of two formations of quite distinct origin. But as we have throughout made the relation of the present stem to the verb-stem the basis of our arrangement, and this relation in the verbs before us is shown in the fact that a superfluous ε is sometimes found in one position and sometimes in another, it was certainly allowable for practical purposes to bring both under *one* point of view. That formation naturally occupies the first place which in unison with the classes already discussed presents the extended stem in the forms of the present. With regard to the ε, the addition of which distinguishes γαμε, δοκε, κυρε, &c., as present stems from the verb-stems γαμ., δοκ, κυρ, I have already conjectured *Temp. und Modi*, p. 92, 94, that it arose out of Jod. In my *Grundz.*, II, 183 I have illustrated and confirmed this explanation from other sources. The identity of this ε with the Jod of the I-class is most apparent in the Homeric ἐρ-έ-οντο (B 398, Ψ 212). As ε is found even outside the verb as the representative of an original Jod, this form, which belongs to the root ὀρ (ὄρ-νυ-μι), may be compared with Latin *or-i-untur*. If my view is correct, and I can see no reasonable objection against it, the first division of the seventh class presents at least in part the same element which characterizes the I-class. But there are good reasons for separating the two. Thus I could not maintain the same origin for the ε in all the verbs of this class. In some it is quite as possible that the present stem is

formed from a noun, and the rest of the tenses from
a shorter stem. In χραισμέω this is undoubtedly the
case. The word evidently proceeds from χρᾱ-σμο-ς,
and is derived from it in the same manner as ἀδικέ-ω
from ἄδικο-ς. The ι became inserted in the radical
syllable by Epenthesis, on which see *Grundz.*, II, 247 sq.
Hence ἔ-χραισμ-ο-ν is quite an anomalous preterite,
which like ἔ-πιτν-ο-ν became fixed for the aorist
solely because it was distinguished from the imper-
fect ἐ-χραίσμ-ε-ο-ν (cp. ἐ-πίτ-νε-ο-ν) as the shorter
form. The origin of the ε, which in this case is
certain and corresponds exactly to the origin of the
same vowel in the derivative verbs in -εω, is at least
possible in some other verbs, e. g. in φιλέ-ω (cp.
φίλο-ς), κτυπ-έ-ω (κτύπο-ς), ῥιπτέ-ω which Lobeck on
Buttmann, II, 52 traced back to ῥιπτό-ς, and Her-
mann, *ad Soph. Ajac.*, 235 compares with *jactare*
in contradistinction to *jacere*. Similarly in πεκτέω
(Aristoph.). That a formation of the present, in
which that tense only belongs to the derivative stem,
and the others to the primitive, is not unknown in
Greek is proved by the presents with α quoted in
§ 325 under *n-p* for this very purpose, γοά-ω, μηκά-
ο-μαι, μυκά-ο-μαι by the side of ἔ-γο-ο-ν, μέ-μηκ-α,
ἔ-μυκ-ο-ν. In Latin this combination of two stems
thus distinguished has prevailed, as is well known,
to a very great extent—e. g. *lav-a-re* (older *lav-e-re*,
λού-ειν) by the side of *lāvi*, *son-a-re* (*son-e-re*) by the
side of *son-ui*, *son-i-tus*, in which we cannot suppose
that the long *a* has been dropped. For this reason
I think it probable that the same view may be taken
of the second or E-conjugation of the Latins, the
e in which is confined to the present stem. *Doc-ui*,
therefore, has not arisen out of *docē-vi*, any more
than ἔδοξα out of ἐδόκησα, but in Latin as in Greek
the forms without *e* are to be regarded as the
verb-stems, those with *e* as extended forms, and,

therefore, confined to the present stem. Vaníček (*Latein. Schulgr.*, § 187) has also arranged these verbs on this theory; and the arguments which have been brought forward on the other side have not convinced me that we are in the wrong. After what has been said, sufficient reason appears to have been given for the separation of the presents extended with ε as a distinct class. The division and arrangement of the phenomena of language ought not to be guided exclusively by our conjectures about their origin; but above all by the evidence of the facts before us. And there is no question that everything which comes under discussion here was gathered up by the instinct of language under the change of verbs in -εω and -ω.

The second division of this class is of quite a distinct kind. Here the ε comes before us as a vowel uniting the stem and the additional elements' of tense-formation. In many cases, therefore, it is simply an auxiliary or connecting vowel. Buttmann taking a similar view, classed together (II, 56) the epic perfects, ὀρ-ώρ-ε-ται (τ 377, 524) and ἀκ-ηχ-έ-μενο-ς (E 364. Σ 29), to which may be added ἀρ-ηρ-έ-μενο-ς in Apollonius Rhod. In many of the verbs belonging to this division we can feel the need of such a vowel, just as ε is always inserted in forming the future of certain verbs (cp. Ahrens, *Formenlehre*, p. 119; Müller and Lattmann, p. 102), especially after ρ in the stems ἐρ, τορ, after the λ in βουλ, θελ, μελ, the nasals in μεν, νεμ, the double consonants ἀλεξ, αὐξ, ἀχθ, ἑψ, ὀλισθ, δαρθ, βλαστ, αἰσθ, ἁμαρτ, ἐρρ, μελλ, περδ, ἀλθ; and even in dental stems like αἰδ, εὐδ (cp. εὕσω from εὕω), κηδ, μεδ, πετ, the formation of the tenses gains in clearness by the addition, in so far as a number of phonetic changes are thus avoided. There are also many anomalies in verbs of other classes which may without difficulty be brought under

the same point of view (cp. *Grundzüge*, II, 302),
e. g. ἐμ-ήμ-ε-κα, λόϜ-ε-σσα, ὀμ-ώμ-ο-ται, ἐδ-ήδ-ο-ται
and ἐδ-ήδ-ο-κα, and the Homeric aorist from πέρ-
νη-μι, ἐ-πέρ-α-σσα (§ 312. D. c). In the first in-
stance the inserted vowel may have been universally
short. But in the E-stem the resemblance to the
vowel-stems in ε was too close to be always avoided.
The vowel is still short in γέν-ε-σις (cp. *gen-e-trix*),
but long in γεν-ή-σο-μαι, γε-γέν-η-μαι. A great number
of these forms also are evidently of no great anti-
quity, especially those in which the present stem
becomes a new verb-stem by the addition of ε;
βοσκ-ή-σω, καθ-ιζ-ή-σομαι (Plato), ὄζ-η-σα, κλαιήσω,
μελλ-ή-σω, ἐ-μύζ-η-σα, ὠφείλ-η-κα, τυπτ-η-σω(Aristoph.).
This convenient analogy appears to have been an
especial favorite in the conversational language of
Attica. It was aided without doubt in some cases
by the desire to avoid confusion: thus we have
οἰήσομαι by the side of οἴσομαι (φέρω), ἐρρήσω by the
side of ἐρῶ, μελλήσω by the side of μελῶ, δεήσω
(from δεϜήσω) by the side of δήσω, ἀχθέσομαι by the
side of ἄξομαι (ἄγω), μαχοῦμαι by the side of μάξω
(μάσσω), μαθ-ή-σομαι by the side of μήσομαι (μήδομαι)
and μάσω (μαίω). Anyone who wishes to follow
further the spread of these aftergrowths must in-
clude the formation of nouns in his researches, the
vowel being equally common there.

§ 327.

This last or anomalous class also comprises very
various elements. But a further division of the
material is hardly incompatible with the requirements
of instruction. From a scientific point of view two
principal divisions may certainly be distinguished.
To the first belong those verbs the stems of which
can be connected phonetically. Among these may

be counted the first seven of the verbs given in this section (αἱρ-έ-ω, ἔρχ-ο-μαι, ἔρδ-ω, ἐσθί-ω, ἔπ-ο-μαι, ἔχ-ω, μίσγ-ω), and further 9, 10 (πάσχω, πίν-ω), and the five last (εἶπον, γίγνομαι, πίπτω, τιτράω, ἴ-αύω), in which reference is made in the text of the grammar to the connection existing between the different forms. Thus in the last mentioned the present stem appears as a reduplicated verb-stem. Nothing is more intelligible than that γί-γνο-μαι as well as the Latin gi-gn-o, has arisen out of the root γεν and in the same manner πί-πτ-ω out of the root πετ. The roots are clearly to be seen in ἐ-γεν-ό-μην and the Doric ἔ-πετ-ο-ν. In regard to the second verb the Latin pet-e-re deserves notice. Like the old Latin gen-i-tur (Cic., de Orat., II, § 141) it arises immediately from the pure root. That pet-e-re and πεσ-εῖν, and also πέτ-ε-σθαι are identical in origin is shown in Grundz., I, 178. In many instances ἐμπεσεῖν is synonymous with impetere, impetum facere, e. g. Il. O. 624. The ω in πέ-πτω-κα is explained by the ε of the Homeric πε-πτε-ώς to which it stands in the same relation as ἐδ-ήδ-ο-κα to ἐδ-ήδ-ε-σ-μαι. Without doubt the effort to distinguish the notions of 'flying' and 'falling' has helped to produce the O-sound, cp. πτῶσις and πτῆσις, πτωτικός and πτη-τικός. τι-τρά-ω needs no further explanation. The stem τρα stands to τερ (τέρ-ε-τρο-ν, τερ-έ-ω, Latin ter-o, ter-e-bra) as μνη (μιμνήσκω) to μεν (μέμονα), τμη (τμῆσις) to τεμ (τέμνω). Another form of the shortest kind is presented to us in the Homeric τορ-εῖν.—In the Homeric ἰ-αύ-ω the stem, which begins with a vowel, is reduplicated simply by ι as in ἴ-η-μι, and more exactly still in ἰ-άλλ-ω (Grundz., II, 128). The root is ἀϜ (Grundz., I, 355). Hence ἀϜ-ε-σα (ἄ-ε-σα) as λοϜ-ε-σσα. In Odyssey λ 261 a rhapsody allowed to be of late origin, we do indeed find the aorist ἰαῦσαι, but the derivation of the

word from the root ἀF is as little affected by this
form as the derivation of δί-δω-μι from the root δο
by the occurrence of an isolated future διδώ-σω. Thus
in the conjugation in ω we have a residuum, by no
means inconsiderable, of that addition to the present
which was more plainly marked in the verbs in -μι
(cp. p. 135). ἴ-σχ-ω also—the stronger form of the
present ἔχ-ω quoted under No. 6—is apparently to be
traced back to the same principle of formation inas-
much as it stands for σι-σχ-ω, ἰ-σχ-ω.

In the remaining verbs the phonetic changes are
less clear. A middle point in which the stems αἱρε
and ἑλ meet, has been found in the Cretan ἀφαιλή-
σεσϑαι (*Grundz.*, II, 135, 249). We may assume a
root Fαρ which alternates with Fελ. The present,
therefore, was probably in the first instance Fαρ-ι-ω
after the analogy of the I-class. From the penul-
timate the ι passed into the stem-syllable.—The way
in which such forms as ἔρδ-ω and ῥέζ-ω may be
connected could be pointed out even in the gram-
mar, no phonetic changes being involved beyond
those mentioned in the chapter on sounds. The same
holds good of ἕπομαι and ἔχω. With regard to the
first a word may be added on the aorist ἑ-σπ-ό-μην.
The Homeric forms ἕ-σπ-ω-μαι, ἑ-σπ-έ-σϑαι show
that the syllable ε was originally considered part
of the stem, and, therefore, we have here to do
with a reduplicated aorist in which ἑ stands for ε as
in the perfect ἕ-στη-κα. But in the Attic period the
ε was confounded with the augment and, therefore,
dropped except in the Indicative: σπῶμαι, σπέσϑαι.
Of the forms belonging to ἔχω, ὄχ-ωκ-α deserves
notice. It is regarded as an Attic reduplicated per-
fect, and stands, therefore, for ὀχ-ωχ-α (cp. οἴχ-ωκ-α)
with a change of the second aspirate into the cor-
responding *tenuis* (cp. σώ-ϑη-τι).—The irregularities
of πίνω are merely so far difficult as the change of

a hard vowel into ι is usual in Greek only before a double consonant. For this reason the stems πο, and πι could not be explained in the grammar. The Æolic πώ-ν-ω by the side of πί-ν-ω, and still more the forms of the kindred languages quoted in *Grundzüge*, I, 245, leave no doubt that the soft vowel has arisen out of the hard one.

Three verbs, ἔρ-χ-ο-μαι, πά-σχ-ω, and μί-σγ-ω have the common characteristic that the additional element in the present stands in connection with the Inchoative class. If we compare ἔρ-χ-ο-μαι with the stem ἐλ-υ-Ͽ, we perceive at once that ἐρ and ἐλ are identical. As then we have good reason to regard ρ as the older sound, when it alternates with λ, we shall assume ἐρ as the root, which corresponds to the Sanskrit *ar* 'to go' (*Grundz.*, II, 54, 271). From this may be formed an Inchoative present ἐρ-σκ-ο-μαι, which again corresponds exactly to the Sanskrit *ar-kh*, i. e. *ar-sk*, a form, according to the Petersburg Dictionary, found, like ἐρχ, only in the present stem. How the combination σχ is sometimes changed to σκ, and then deprived of the sigma in the press of accumulated consonants, is shown in detail in the places cited above. But the stem ἐλ also was not used as a verb without alteration. First of all, it took the additional vowel υ which we see very frequently in combination with λ; and with this we find it united in προς-ήλυ-το-ς, ἔπ-ηλυ-ς. Then was added that Ͽ, which serves in a number of old forms to coin peculiar tense-stems (§ 338. D.), and frequently, e. g. in ἐέργ-α-Ͽ-ο-ν, ἠμύν-α-Ͽ-ο-ν is affixed, as here, to a vowel added to the verb. We mentioned this Ͽ above (p. 132) while speaking of the weak passive stem. In the stem ἐλυϽ, which thus arose, the auxiliary vowel is of a peculiar nature. Sometimes it is organically lengthened like a radical vowel, e. g. ἐλεύ-σομαι. εἰλήλουϽα; sometimes, on the other

hand, it is thrown out, as in the Attic ἦλϑον.—
πά-σχ-ω beside the stems παϑ, and πενϑ, has been
frequently derived from παϑ-σκ-ω. The Aspirate,
it was thought, which was dropped before σ, became
united as the spiritus asper to the κ in the next
syllable. But elsewhere we frequently find that the
sibilants are able of themselves to exercise an aspi-
rating power (σφόγγος beside σπόγγος). Hence the
explanation given is doubtful, and the more so as
it is probable (see *Grundz.*, II, 271) that the ϑ in
παϑ is an additional element. We are led, there-
fore, to a root πα with a secondary form πεν (cp.
γα, γεν; τα, τεν), from which by the addition of ϑ,
we have πα-ϑ, πεν-ϑ, and by the addition of σκ,
πα-σκ, and with peculiar aspiration πα-σχ.—Finally
in regard to μί-σγ-ω, the Latin *misc-eo* makes a con-
nection between the σγ and the characteristic letters
of the Inchoative class probable. In this case, with-
out doubt, owing to some indistinct analogy with
forms like μιγῆναι, μιγ-νυ-μι, the medial takes the
place of the *tenuis.*

We have now only to say a few words on those
verbs belonging to this class which mark the highest
degree of irregularity, inasmuch as in them two or
more entirely distinct stems are combined into one verb.
These are but 5 in number: viz. 4. ἐσϑίω, 8. ἐράω,
11. τρέχ-ω, 12. φέρ-ω, 13. εἶπον. The phenomenon
as a whole is of peculiar interest to the student.
It causes us to throw a glance at the abundance of
verb-stems, which the older language possessed to
express nearly related notions. Even the pupil can
be made to understand that, speaking strictly, in
all these cases several defective verb-stems of slightly
different meaning mutually supply each other's de-
ficiencies, so as to form one idea, τρέχ-ω, ἔ-δραμ-ο-ν
are related to each other in the same manner as if
we were to say 'I walk' (present), 'I ran' (past);

ἐσθίω, ἔ-φαγ-ο-ν as 'I feast', 'I ate up'. Occasionally we can succeed with the aid of comparison in discovering the particular sense which was originally proper to the separate stems. I have attempted to do this especially in regard to the roots Ϝιδ (ἰδεῖν), ὀπ (ὄψομαι), and Ϝορ (ὁρᾶν), which supplement each other, in *Grundz.*, I, 79 sq.; and Tobler in Kuhn's *Zeitschr.*, IX, p. 241 sq. has examined this remarkable phenomenon in a manner substantially agreeing with my view. He places it very happily on the same level with the irregularities in Comparatives (ἀγαθός, βελτίων; *bonus, melior, optimus*). It cannot be mere accident that language has fixed on one of the many roots which it possesses, for the present stem, and on another for the aorist stem. If the primary notion of the root *vid* was, as I believe that I have shown that it was, that of the discovering, perceiving look, that root was especially adapted to denote the momentary act (*conspicere*) expressed by ἰδεῖν; while the root Ϝορ—which recurs in our 'ware' ('to be ware of'), and in the Greek ὥρα—in the primitive use of the root as seen in the Homeric ἐπὶ ὄρονται (Od. γ 471, ξ 104), ἐπὶ ὀρώρει (Il. Ψ 112), no less than in οὖρος 'watchman', denoted the cautious watchful look; and moreover in the derivative ὁρά-ω which presupposes a noun ορα, was thoroughly adapted to express the continuous action of the present stem.

We pass on now to the several verbs of this category. No. 4 ἐσθίω seems indeed to go back to two distinct stems, but does not do so. ἐδ and ἐσθ can be brought into connection phonetically. The second form is increased by that θ, which we find also in the present stem of πλή-θ-ω, πρή-θ-ω. The Homeric ἔσ-θ-ω is in ἐσ-θί-ω increased by the Iota of the I-class. It is a noticeable instance of the agreement between the Greek and Latin languages that the root ἐδ, which the Latins inflect in many

forms without the connecting vowel *es-t*, *es-tis*, *es-sem*,
presents in Greek at least one form inflected in the
same manner—the Homeric ἔδ-μεναι.—The root φαγ,
on the other hand, is analogous to the Sanskrit *bhaǵ*
'to divide', from which springs *bhagas, portio* (*Grundz.*,
I, 92), so that we have a similar transition of mean-
ing to that found in δαίς (Rt. δα 'to divide'), unless
we suppose that the yet more outward notion of
'breaking' is the primary one. This would agree
very well with the use of the Indian words *bhaǵ*,
and *bhañǵ*.

In regard to No. 8 little need be added to what
has been said. The root ὀπ in the first instance
stands side by side with the Latin *oculus*. The
original κ-sound is to be seen in the gloss quoted
by Hesychius ὄκκον, ὀφθαλμόν, and in the changed
form caused by the influence of the adjacent ι in
ὄσσε (= ὀκι-ε), ὄσσομαι (= ὀκ-ι-ο-μαι); see further
Grundz., II, 51.—The comparison of the kindred
languages leads to no certain conclusions concerning
the stems τρεχ, and δρεμ (No. 11); but in regard to
the verb-stems signifying 'to bear' we find at least
a number of points worthy of notice (*Grundz.*, I,
264, 292). Thus the root φερ is found only in the
present stem in both the classical languages, and in
both occasionally without a connecting vowel, φέρ-τε
= *fer-te*. The stem ἐνεγκ, on the other hand, is else-
where found only in the Sclavo-Lithuanian branch
of language, and there merely in the form Eccl.
Sclav. *nes* (Lith. *nesz*)—a form not surprising to those
acquainted with the phonetic laws of that language.
The Latins seized upon the Rt. *tul* (= Sanskrit *tul*,
Greek ταλ, τλᾱ) to fill up the defects of the root φερ.
The origin of the future is as yet a matter of con-
jecture, nothing certain having come to light.

Of the three stems given in No. 13, ἐρ and ῥε
are only phonetically different. Both unite in the

root Ϝερ, with which Latin *ver-b-um* could be compared even in the grammar (cp. *Grundz.*, I, 308). The root Ϝεπ from which arose ἔπος, εἶπον = Ϝε-Ϝεπ-ο-ν, has, like ὀπ, a specifically Greek π, to which *c* in Latin corresponds: hence Ϝοψ = *vox*, ὄσσα = Ϝοκϳα (*Grundz.*, II, 47). We may assume 'to shout', 'shout out' as the original meaning of this root, which again was obviously well adapted to express the aoristic action. To these may be added a fourth stem, quite distinct from all three—the Homeric σεπ, the kindred words to which are given in *Grundz.*, II, 55. Here also the primary sound was a guttural as is shown by old Latin *insece* = ἔννεπε. By syncope we get the aorist ἔνι-σπ-ο-ν. The Imperative ἔ-σπ-ε-τε is most naturally explained as reduplicated σε-σπ-ε-τε.

Further, in a certain sense the verbs here collected do not exhaust the mixed class. As in Latin (*e*)*sum*, *fui, esse* is compounded of the two roots *es* (Greek ἐς) and *fu* (Greek φυ), so we may join εἰμί, ἔφυν, πέφυκα or γέγονα together in Greek. There is only this distinction that for the Greek forms of the aorist and perfect there is a present found in common use, whereas *fuam* and the like belong to the archaisms of Latin.—The three verbs also, which signify to strike, παίω, πατάσσω, and πλήσσω mutually supplement each other inasmuch as the first two are used especially in the present stem of the active, the third in the perfect and passive stem πέπληγα, ἐπλήγην. But the relation between the three is not so fixed and radical that they could be included in the grammar.

§ 328.

The preference of the Greeks for the form of the future Middle over the Active occurred to Buttmann as a noticeable fact. In *Ausf. Gr.*, II, 85 he

collected 53 primitive and 14 denominative verbs,
in which the future is Middle in form and Active in
meaning. This number has been raised by Krüger
§ 39, 12 to 77 from the Attic authors only, including
however the verbs which alternate between an Active
and Middle future form. Buttmann was of opinion
'that this phenomenon was one of the peculiarities of
the Middle generally, rather than the future. In the
older language from Homer downwards, the Middle
is frequently used for the Active without any dis-
tinction of meaning.' This view stands in connection
with an incorrect notion of the older Greek language
which Buttmann regarded as wanting in definiteness
and development. We can by no means assent to
it; on the contrary, the older period is just that
in which it is most impossible to regard the Middle
signification as something separable from the Middle
form. Krüger, therefore, very properly strikes out
another path, observing quite correctly that most of
the verbs which come under this head, 'denote an
expression of bodily or intellectual power', and con-
sequently 'the Middle form is not at variance with
the meaning.' In § 266 I have referred in a similar
manner to the signification of these verbs. It is true,
that I have only noticed the 'bodily activity, my
reason being that I am in that place discussing only
the so-called regular verbs, i. e. the verbs of the
first four classes. The expression of 'intellectual
force' is denoted almost exclusively by verbs which
like γιγνώσκω, μανθάνω, πάσχω belong to other classes.
It is without doubt a happy idea to combine the
Middle future of Active meaning with that kind of
Middle, which Krüger calls 'dynamic', and I call
'subjective', or 'inward' (§ 480). For in this usage
less than any other is it possible to separate the
Middle sharply from the Active. It depends on but
a slight difference in the shade of thought whether

an action is regarded as purely external, or as one proceeding from the power of the subject in any other than the ordinary sense. The only doubt is whether in some verbs other usages of the Middle are not more in point, especially the indirect or dative Middle (§ 479) ὄψομαι, ἀκούσομαι as well as the Homeric ὁρῶμαι, ἰδέσθαι, and the common Greek αἰσθάνομαι, οἴομαι, ἀπολαύσομαι, ἔδομαι, πίομαι like τέρπομαι, ἑστιάομαι, εὐωχέομαι are certainly explained more simply from the latter than the former. Here language appears occasionally to have regarded the action as one which the subject allows to take place of itself. But at the same time it is certainly no mere accident that this shade of representation is to be found to an especial degree in the future. As the future depends less on the volition of the subject, so it is more natural to denote a future action as one which is allowed to take place of itself, rather than one directly originated. The verb-root *jā* also, which we recognized p. 118 as an element in the formation of the future, denotes merely the intention; and it is not an insignificant fact, that the intransitive *werden* serves in German for the auxiliary verb of both the passive and future.

§ 329.

In roots, in which an alternation is found between the transitive and intransitive meaning, it is a striking fact that the intransitive is evidently the earlier. This is clear from the simple fact that it is found in the tense-stems of older formation, whereas the transitive force occurs in the present and the compound tense-stems. We shall certainly not be wrong in assuming that in the present stem ἵ-στα (= σι-στα) the change from the notion of 'standing' to that of 'placing' was not uninfluenced by the reduplication,

in regard to which it is noticeable that the same signification is found accompanied by the same phonetic element in Latin *sisto*. As an aorist for this notion of placing the later form στῆσαι was adopted, στῆναι having been given up to the older intransitive meaning.

Chap. XIII.—Derivation.

On this chapter as a whole I may here repeat the words which I have used on the subject in another place (*Zeitschr. f. d. ö. Gymn.*, 1856, p. 13 sq.). 'Derivation is rarely made a special subject of continuous study. Yet it is not, therefore, out of place in the grammar. For when the accidence can be regarded as thoroughly mastered, the teacher will frequently find an opportunity, in explaining an author, to refer to this chapter, and by the help of the material here collected to induce the pupil to avail himself of the leading principles of derivation in order to facilitate and strengthen his knowledge of the Greek vocabulary.' I believe that I am not wrong in maintaining that the knowledge of the vocabulary is a greater difficulty in learning Greek than the acquaintance with the forms and their usages. And owing to the excellent lexicons now in existence to help him, the student is very easily led to entertain the notion that a word is a thing on which it is possible to have recourse at any moment to the dictionary. Against such a purely external conception—which only encourages idleness—we have to contend. The pupil must regard a given word not merely as a word, but as a structure of speech united to others by stem and termination, no less than the grammatical forms. It is true that etymology, when driven to excess, is a great evil, and to neglect other subjects in favour of it would be very absurd. Nevertheless,

here as elsewhere the understanding may be allowed
to assist the memory in acquiring the vocabulary,
though less regularly, and in a manner which must
depend entirely on the good sense of the tutor.
In the later editions of my grammar I have also
sought to call attention to this part of instruction,
by always comparing the formation of nouns, when
explaining the verb. But it must be borne in mind
that in the noun the terminations are the important
part, whereas in the verb the root and stem form
the starting point and aim of our explanations.

To be exhaustive or complete was obviously quite
beyond my purpose in this place, and in the first
section also, which treats of the simple formation
of words, it was no less impossible within the brief
limits here allowed to make any strong distinction
between form and meaning. On the whole, the
derivation, especially of nouns, is still a much neg-
lected part of grammar, which even in a severely
scientific sense, yet requires a thorough revision.
Valuable collections and comparisons are to be found
in the works of Bopp (vol. III), Schleicher (*Com-
pendium*, II), Pott (*Etymol. Forsch.*, 1st ed., vol. II);
while with regard to the Greek language in parti-
cular, this subject has been treated by Lobeck
especially with the accurate and comprehensive
learning peculiar to him; and his work cannot
be left out of sight, even by those who differ from
him in aim and method. Still this is a subject
in which it is very rarely possible to see to the
bottom; and since, for such an insight, it is of
prime importance to regard the phenomena of lan-
guage fròm a general point of view, I approach
the subject of derivation chiefly from that direction
in my treatise, *De nominum Græcorum formatione*
(Berlin 1842). More especially I have there shown
how impossible it is to speak of any one original

specific meaning in regard to the numerous suffixes
used in the formation of words; that, on the con-
trary, the different use of, suffixes, originally dis-
tinguished only by the slightest shade of meaning,
grew up by degrees in language, aided chiefly by the
distinction of gender. Those categories of meaning,
therefore, in which I have arranged my materials,
with a view to teaching at school, are all of later
date, and though necessary to the learner for ac-
quiring a knowledge of the language in its fullest
development, must not be supposed to have existed
in the sense of language from the first. The object
also of this whole chapter which is intended to be
nothing more than a brief conspectus, did not per-
mit me to give any more detailed description of the
classes introduced, otherwise I should have had much
to add on the changes which the several categories
of meaning undergo. Thus, even a transient glance
will show that the classes of words placed under B
(*Nomina actionis*) and C (Nouns denoting the result
of an action) have many points of mutual contact,
and in the selection of examples, this has been pointed
out, to some extent at least. For instance, among
the *nomina actionis* we find δεσμός, which speaking
accurately can only belong to this category so far
as it denotes 'binding', but so far as it means 'that
which binds', or 'is bound', belongs rather to the
nouns which denote the result of an action (§ 343).
The Homeric form of the Plural δέσμα-τα (§ 175. D),
therefore, corresponds more accurately to the mean-
ing of the word than the masculine form used in
the singular. On the other hand, γένος is not con-
fined to the meaning of what is 'created' or 'born',
but encroaches on the meaning of γένεσις, 'birth',
'origin', to which is added also the collective ap-
plication of the word to all that is born—'race'.
The difficulty which stands in the way of a really

satisfactory explanation of derivation is owing in a
great measure to the changeable nature of all these
categories, which, without rendering it absolutely
impossible for us to maintain a few leading distinctions,
checks the enquiry into details at every step,
especially as in many respects we are still without
any thoroughly certain starting point. In this re-
spect almost everything is yet to be done for science.
Not till the various Indogermanic languages have
been investigated in a comprehensive manner, not
merely with regard to sounds, but also with a deli-
cate observation of the meanings of words, shall
we be able to go further. Nothing whatever is gained
by hastily identifying suffixes which are only partially
similar. On the contrary, at present very little is
possible beyond a careful comparison of phenomena
easily connected in sound and usage. As a useful
help for Greek derivation I may here mention Pape's
*Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache
zur Uebersicht der Wortbildung nach den Endsilben
geordnet* (Berlin 1836), and Schwabe, *De Diminutivis
Græcis et Latinis* (Gissæ 1859), in its way a pattern
of what an essay on a special subject should be.

§ 353.

The derivative verbs are so arranged that the three
most frequent classes are placed at the beginning.
The common origin of the verbs in -οω, -αω, -εω, from
the form in -*ajâmi*, which is preserved in Sanskrit,
has been already mentioned more than once (pp. 109,
115). The distinction of vowels was certainly in
the first instance, not irregular. With Schleicher
(*Compend.*, 295) I regard the vowel α as the final
vowel of a noun-stem; but -*jâmi*, as has been already
shewn, as an auxiliary verb, originally meaning 'I go'.
If, therefore, we assume an Indogermanic *tima-jâ-mi*

to correspond to the Greek τιμά-ω, the former would
mean, literally, 'I go honour.' *Tima* is here assumed
as a noun-stem, like Greek τιμα. So far as the
meaning is concerned, we must, it is true, from the
first, ascribe to the verb of 'going', the power of
denoting the idea of 'production', 'operation', just
as we see the intransitive στα pass into ἵστημι, and
inchoative verbs, e. g. βάσκω, pass into causative
(p. 142). Thus then this very signification 'I bring
into honour' was retained for τιμάω; while in other
verbs the intransitive idea of being 'busied about
something' became prominent. Now when the ori-
ginal α was divided, and separate A and O-declensions
began to be formed in Greek, it was natural that
the same vowel should occur in the noun-stems, and
the verb-stems derived from them. Thus, in the
first instance, we may take it as a universal rule
that only verbs in -αω should be formed from noun-
stems in α, and only verbs in oω from noun-stems
in o. Moreover this relation of the noun-stems and
verb-stems will actually be found to preponderate
greatly, in the language as it has come down to us.
For this reason, formations like μισθό-ω, τιμά-ω are
put first in the examples given; but at the same
time, a few are added in which noun and verb
differ, e. g. γοά-ω, ζημιό-ω. The verbs in -εω occupy
an indifferent position since ε is as far removed from
o as from α. But it is undeniable that in many
cases the original rule has not been retained. Not
merely is a different vowel found in verb and noun,
but we even find a vowel in the verb, which is
quite unknown in the noun-stem, e. g. πυρ-ό-ω,
δηρι-ά-ομαι, ἱστορ-έ-ω. Many reasons may be given
in explanation of this anomaly; thus in some in-
stances it is easy to suppose that the stem retained
in the verb was at a certain period of the language
in use by the side of the noun-stem. But it is very

doubtful whether we are always justified in making
this assumption. Endings which frequently occur
easily acquire an independent existence in language.
Verbs in -εω, -αω were so common that they were
derived by extended analogy from noun-stems in which
the elements of the derivative did not really exist.
In this respect, as usual, Latin is even less consistent
than Greek. The Latin verbs in -*are* (-*ari*) correspond
to those in -αω and -οω, so that we not only have
coronāre from *corona*, but also *domināri* from *dominus*.
Nevertheless I think it probable that at an earlier
period of the language, Latin also possessed an O-
conjugation to correspond to the O-declension. But
this has been preserved only in a few verbal ad-
jectives like *ægrō-tu-s;* from which we may, without
difficulty, go back to a form *ægrō-e-re* 'to make sick';
to which *ægrō-tu-s* stood in the same relation as
ἰσω-τό-ς to ἰσό-ω. And since the old *o* in Latin
often passes into *u*, we may without difficulty regard
nāsū-tu-s, cinctū-tu-s, versū-tu-s, as similar forms;
and perhaps, compare even *argu-er-e* with *argū-tu-s*
to a Greek ἀργό-ω (from ἀργός 'bright'), though,
it is true, the form does not occur.—In the other
leading classes of derivative verbs, that example is
placed first, which gives the type as, for instance,
in the seventh section, σημαίν-ω from the stem σῆματ.
After what has been already said on these formations
of the present, it is hardly worth while to remark
that σημαίν-ω stands for σημαν-jω. The Jod belongs
to the verbal element; σημαν is the noun-stem σηματ
in an apparently older form. In the same manner
ὀνομαίν-ω is from an older stem ὀνομαν, preserved
in Latin *nōmen*, Sanskrit and Gothic *nâman*, and
which also may be seen in νώνυμν-ο-ς among
other words. For here, as in the instance just
quoted from Latin, υ has replaced the older ο (cp.
ἀνώνυμο-ς, συν-ώνυμο-ς), so that νη-ονυμνο-ς corresponds

to Latin *i-gnominu-s*, which is the hypothetical stem-word from *i-gnominia*.

With regard to composition, I have put together the most essential rules as briefly as possible. Owing to the extraordinary abundance of compounds especially in the poets, this portion of grammar is of peculiar importance in Greek, and cannot be omitted even in school-instruction, without endangering the accurate perception of Homeric epithets, and many highly poetical pictures in the Tragedians. Besides the comprehensive works already frequently quoted, the following deserve especial notice for this division: J. Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*, Vol. II, esp. p. 969 sq., where valuable materials for Greek are discussed from the author's point of view; Ferd. Justi, *Ueber die Zusammensetzung der Nomina in den Indogermanischen Sprachen* (Gott. 1861), a treatise distinguished by the most comprehensive learning, which must form the starting point for any more detailed researches of the future, even though we cannot entirely agree with the views on which it is based; Lobeck, *Parerga ad Phrynichum*, where some of the fundamental laws of composition in Greek are established for the first time, and many details discussed in a masterly manner.

§ 354.

'A noun standing first in a compound appears in the form of its stem: ἀστυ-γείτων, χορο-διδάσκαλο-ς, σακές-παλος.'

'Consonant stems are usually united to the second part by the connecting vowel ο: ἀνδριαντ-ο-ποιό-ς, πατρ-ο-κτόνο-ς; φυσι-ο-λόγο-ς, and it regularly stands in place of α in the stem: ἡμερο-δρόμο-ς. The ο is dropped before vowels, χορ-ηγό-ς, but remains where

the word originally began with a digamma δημιοεργό-ς
(Homeric), δημιουργός (Attic).'

Even the simple fact, that in the first part of a
compound, the simple word-stem occurs in its pure
form, is of the greatest importance in giving a correct
insight into the formation of language. Could this
one fact have been recognized, a number of errors
would have been avoided, even before the remodelling
of the modern science of language. Here the stems
are clearly to be seen: the knowledge of which alone
makes the declension of nouns intelligible.—By the
manner also in which the two parts of the compound
are joined together, we may illustrate important traits
in the history of language. The uniting vowel was
certainly, in the first instance, the short α, which
was applied in the same manner in the Acc. sing.,
e. g. πόδ-α-(ν). This α is retained in some words un-
changed: κυν-ά-μυια (Il. Φ. 394), ποδ-ά-νιπτρο-ν (Od. σ.
504); but as a rule it passed into ο: κυν-ο-κέφαλο-ς,
ποδ-ο-κάκη. And as the same ο, by the force of a
gradually extending analogy, became the regular re-
presentative even of the α of the A-declension, e. g.
in μουσο-μήτωρ, and became attached also to stems
in ι and υ, it is the vowel which is almost universally
to be looked for in the syllable which lies between
the two component stems—'the composition-vowel',
as J. Grimm calls it. But by another somewhat
neglected formation we are led back in the compounds
to the old α, which from the original identity of the
hard vowels (p. 28) must always be regarded as the
precursor of ο or ε. The Epic poets who lengthened
words to suit the metre, have a whole series of
compounds in which η represents ο, and this, not
only in A-stems, in which the fact would be less
remarkable, e. g. μοιρη-γενής (only in Boc. μοιρηγενές,
Il. Γ, 182), but even in O-stems: νεηγενής, ἐλαφη-

βόλο-ς, and after consonantal stems: αἰϑρ-η-γενέτη-ς, εὐ-η-γενής. This variation is evidently due to the desire to gain a long syllable. But the o is not, as we should have expected, lengthened into ω, but into η. This points back to a condition of language in which o and η were still united in an original α. For the same reason, we find occasionally in the same place an ᾱ, e. g. ἀρετᾱ-λόγο-ς, πολεμᾱ-δόκος (Pindar), σταδια-δρόμο-ς (Inscripp.). Thus then this fact in the composition of words establishes and confirms important traits in the history of sound; and also shows us at the same time, how in the course of the formation of languages, peculiar analogies arose, which were no longer understood even by the genius of language, if we may say so; and yet were retained with peculiar tenacity.

Other peculiarities which occur may be arranged under three heads. 1. We have a number of old forms in which the Composition-vowel is rejected: πυγ-μάχο-ς (Od.), μελαγ-χροιής (Od.), πυρ-φόρο-ς. These formations are not actually denoted in § 354 as irregular, inasmuch as σακές-παλος (cp. ἐπεςβόλος, σελασφόρος, φωσφόρος), is there quoted in proof of the fact that stems are found in their pure state in composition. They are only so far uncommon as in the course of time the vowels mentioned above passed into general use. 2. We find all kinds of abbreviations in the first word-stem, especially in those compounds with sigma-stems, in which they are treated exactly as O-stems: τειχο-μαχία, κρεο-πώλη-ς. 3. We find case-terminations at the close of the first of the two component stems; sometimes the genitive: οὐδενός-ωρο-ς (Il. Θ. 178), sometimes, and far more frequently, the dative, δουρι-άλωτο-ς, κηρεσσι-φόρητο-ς (Il. Θ. 527), κηρι-τρεφής (Hesiod.); and the closely allied locative Πυλοι-γενής (Il. B. 54). Since it is essential to the nature of composition that two word-stems should

be combined into a whole, without further defining their mutual relations. J. Grimm rightly names these compounds 'improper'. They are, to a certain extent, amphibious forms, which stand on the boundary between synthetic and syntactic combination.

§ 356 and 357.

'§ 356. A verb—without changing its nature— can only be compounded with a preposition. The looseness of the connection in such compounds is the reason for the position of the augment after the preposition ἀποβάλλω, ἀπέβαλλον. For the same reason prepositions are frequently separated from their verbs in the poets, and in Herodotus, and in some cases even in Attic prose. This separation is called *tmesis*.

When any other word is to be compounded with a verb-stem, a *nomen agentis* is first formed of the two, e. g. from λίθο-ς and stem βάλ, λιθο-βόλο-ς, and from this λιθοβολέ-ω; so likewise from ναῦς and μάχομαι comes first ναυ-μάχο-ς, and from this ναυμαχέ-ω; from εὖ and stem ἐργ, εὐεργέτης, εὐεργετέ-ω.

§ 357. A substantive of an abstract meaning can only be compounded with a preposition without changing its ending προβουλή. In every other compound the abstract substantive must take a derivative termination. λίθος and βολή make λιθοβολία, &c.'

These two paragraphs contain the most important rules for the composition of words in Greek. 'Without changing its nature', i. e. so long as it continues to be what it is, 'a verb can only be compounded with a preposition.' This is certainly the plainest way of stating the *regium præceptum Scaligeri* (as Lobeck terms it), which that great philologer first embodied in the simple observation that εὐαγγελλω could not be a Greek verb. Lobeck, *ad Phryn.*, 560 sq. has

illustrated the validity of this law from every side; and
the few exceptions to it, which are, for the most part,
merely apparent. Compare also Buttmann, *Ausf. Gr.*,
II, p. 470 sq. The instinct of language felt the verb
to be something far too mobile to enter into permanent
combinations with any other part of speech. In its
whole framework a very ancient synthesis of predicate
and subject; forced moreover to distinguish Active and
Middle, kinds of time, orders of time, moods; and
this in not a few cases by means of composition—and
with the most various changes of the stem-vowel—the
verb was not adapted the verb-forms were not the places
to combine two different conceptions into a new whole.
Only prepositions, which, being originally adverbs,
with case-forms not yet universally obliterated beyond
recognition, leave the essential meaning of the verb-
stem unaltered, and rather denote the direction in
which the action aims both in the original or local,
and in the metaphorical or intellectual sense, can be
brought together with verb-forms under the compass
of one principal accent, and thus become one word
with them. But the laxity of the connection is evident
from the fact that in the Homeric dialect, which in
this respect resembles the Vedas, this bond is broken
at every moment, and the preposition separated, by
means of the so-called Tmesis from the verb which
it defines; and yet more because the augment and
reduplicated syllable invariably dissolve the connection.
By the position of these elements, e. g. in συν-έ-λαβ-ο-ν,
προ-βέβουλ-α, language shews us unmistakably that
the real body of the verb begins after the preposition.
We might, therefore, even say that only individual
verb-forms, and not verb-stems in the proper sense,
are compounded with prepositions. The rule holds
good in Latin no less than Greek; forms like *ædi-
facio* or *ædi-ficio* being as impossible as οἰκοδέμω.
But inasmuch as the Latin language possesses those

remarkable semi-compounds, or improper compounds,
like *calefacio, benedico,* which are distinguished to
a certain extent by accent and vocalization from the
compounds proper, the rule is less strongly marked.

This dislike to permanent composition is shared
by abstract substantives. Lobeck, *ad Phryn.,* 489 sq.
shews that words like μισϑο-φορά, ἱστο-δοκη, νεκρο-
ϑήκη, are rare, and only excused by their somewhat
technical use; while, as a rule, language adheres to
the principle that two ideas can never be permanently
united except in personal nouns of agency, οἰκο-δόμο-ς
(*ædifex*), λιϑο-βόλο-ς, ναυ-μάχο-ς. From these com-
pounded and recreated stems come in their turn,
first the derivative verbs, οἰκοδομέ-ω (*ædificare*), λιϑο-
βολέω, ναυμαχέ-ω; and abstract nouns like οἰκοδομία,
λιϑοβολία, ναυμαχία, just as if in German we did not,
as we do, in contradistinction to the Greeks, allow
wahr and *sagen* to form *wahrsagen,* but first formed
a noun *Wahrsager,* and then from it the verb *wahr-
sagen,* and the substantive *Wahrsagerei.* Thus, it
comes to pass, that as a rule, in verbs and abstract
substantives compounds are not found without the
derivative. The middle form however has not, it
is true, been preserved in every case. It often
has merely an existence in theory for the sense of
language. These rules are of very obvious importance,
and give us in many directions a deep insight into
the nature of language.

§ 358.

'Compounds having the first part formed directly
from a verb-stem are rarely met with, except in the
poets. They are formed in two ways, viz.:

1. The verb-stem or present stem is joined directly
to stems beginning with a vowel, and to those be-
ginning with a consonant by means of the connecting

vowel ε, ι, or ω: δακέ-Ͽυμος (Pres. δάκν-ω, cl. 5),
πείϿ-αρχο-ς (πείϿομαι and ἀρχή), &c.

2. A form strengthened by σ and resembling the
Weak aorist stem is joined in the same way to the
second part of the word: λυσ-ί-πονος, πλήξ-ιππος, &c.'

The old compounds here mentioned, like δακέ-
Ͽυμο-ς, which belong almost exclusively to poetical
language, I have regarded, after the old plan, as
combinations of a verb-stem with a noun-stem,
although, of course, I am aware that Comparative
Grammarians (Bopp, *Vergl. Gr.*, III, 438; Justi,
p. 45) to some extent take a different view of them.
But many as have been the attempts to establish
a noun-stem in the first members of words like δακέ-
Ͽυμο-ς, λυσί-πονος, which Grimm regarded as forms
of the Imperative, and valuable as have been the
analogies brought forward in support of this view,
especially for the second kind of formation, the
question seems to me by no means settled as yet, and,
therefore, in a school-grammar no other course was
open but to adhere to the old method of explanation.

§ 359.

'In regard to their meaning compound adjectives
and substantives are divided into three principal
classes.

1. *Determinative* compounds. In these the second
word is the principal, which, without in any way
altering its meaning, is merely defined by the first.
These compounds may be paraphrased by changing
the first part either into an adjective or an adverb:
ἀκρόπολι-ς, i. e. ἄκρα πόλις (Homeric πόλις ἄκρη);
μεσ-ημβρία, i. e. μέση-ημέρα, &c.

2. *Attributive* compounds. In them the first word
also defines the second, yet so that the latter alters

its meaning, and together with the first forms a new idea. These compounds can generally be paraphrased by employing the participle of ἔχω or a verb akin to it in meaning, and adding to this the second word as an object, the first becoming an attribute to the object: μακρό-χειρ, *longi-manus*, i. e. μαρὰς χεῖρας ἔχων, ἀργυρό-τοξο-ς, i. e. ἀργυροῦν τόξον φέρων; ὁμό-τροπο-ς, γλαυκ-ῶπι-ς, &c.

3. *Objective* compounds, or those of dependency. In these either the first word is grammatically governed by the second, or the second by the first, so that, in the paraphrase, one of the two must be put in an oblique case: ἡνί-οχο-ς = τὰ ἡνία ἔχων, λογο-γράφο-ς, i. e. λόγους γράφων, ἀξιό-λογο-ς, i. e. λόγου ἄξιος; φιλό-μουσο-ς δεισι-δαίμων, &c.

Even a question which appears to belong so peculiarly to Greek, and to be so closely connected with the strictest problems of philological inquiry, as the inquiry into the meaning of compounds, was satisfactorily explained for the first time by the aid of comparative grammar, and especially of Sanskrit. We do not know that the Greek grammarians ever made the compounds generally an object of minute study, or investigated their meaning. The Indians, on the other hand, with the acuteness peculiar to the nation, have arranged the infinite mass of compound words which occur in Sanskrit, in six classes, according to their meaning. This arrangement, though certainly not satisfactory in every respect, brings into striking prominence the most essential distinctions, and is, therefore, of great importance, not merely for Sanskrit, but for all the kindred languages, and even for linguistic enquiry in the widest sense. Justi in the work so often quoted has attempted in a manner well worth notice to make this division clearer and render the classes more definite.

In the grammar it was merely necessary to separate
distinctly and denote clearly those kinds of composition
which are most common in Greek. Now without
any doubt three kinds stand prominently forward,
and among these, that is placed first which in many
respects is the simplest. Here the force of the com-
position is manifested only in defining the second
word more accurately by the first. For this reason
I join with Bopp in calling this class of compounds
'*Determinativa*'. Objections have been brought against
the term as too wide because, strictly speaking, one
word is defined more accurately by the other in every
compound. But in this class the definition, and no-
thing more, is the essential part. Justi p. 87 prefers
the expression 'defining by apposition', which certainly
denotes the relation more clearly, but is inconsistent
with the view of apposition which I have introduced
with good reason into my syntax (§ 361, 12); and
moreover does not cover all the cases which may
be brought into this class. In ὁμό-δουλο-ς (fellow-
slave), for instance, we cannot without some violence
speak of ὁμο as in apposition to δοῦλος; still less,
in compounds like παμμήτωρ (Soph. Ant. 1282 τοῦδε
παμμήτωρ νεκροῦ), Δύσπαρις, ἀγα-κλειτό-ς, ἀμφι-Ͽεάτρο-ν.
For the same reason, the expression 'attributive',
which Lange proposes for this class of compounds,
is unsuitable.—To this class applies the observation
of Lobeck (*ad Phryn.*, p. 600): '*non solent Græci
substantivum cum adjectivo ita componere, ut composi-
torum eadem significatio sit, quæ fuerat appositorum.*
By the composition of two words, language attempted
as a rule, to express something which could not be
expressed by simply placing them side by side. In
some cases, it is true, the instinct of language was
contented with obtaining by this method, a technical,
and, therefore, specially limited expression, e. g. in
ἀκρό-πολι-ς, which does not mean 'every high city',

but the fortified high part of the city, that is to say
the high city, as raised above the rest; and, never-
theless, the word is unknown to Homer*. Similarly
in the numerous botanical compounds with ἀγριο-,
ἀγριελαία, &c.; which however came into use by slow
degrees. Others are coloured by the fancy of the
moment, or are nicknames with a special point in
them, as Il. Ψ. 791 ὠμογέροντα δέ μίν φασ' ἔμμεναι
(cp. Od. ο. 357 ἐν ὠμῷ γήραϊ θῆκεν), Αἰνόπαρις.

The second class stands in the strongest contrast
to the first. The same formations have quite a dif-
ferent sense according as they belong to this or
that class. This did not escape even the Byzantine
grammarians. Lobeck (see above) quotes Tzetzes
ad Lycophr., 731 καλλίπαις ἡ καλῆς παιδὸς μήτηρ καὶ
ἡ καλὴ παῖς (following Lobeck's certain emendation).
In the first or attributive sense, according to my
terminology, the epithet is given to Phædrus in
Plato 261 A as the sire of beautiful speeches. καλλί-
παις, in the second, or as I call it, determinative
sense occurs in Eurip. *Orest.* 956; where Persephone
is spoken of as καλλίπαις θεά. The peculiarity of
the second class consists in this that, to borrow the
striking expression of Justi p. 118, 'the subject is not
in, but *outside* the compound.' That is what I have
attempted to point out by the epithet 'attributive',
which word I do not use here in the sense in which
it occurs here in the syntax. These compounds are
nothing by themselves; they have a meaning only
in combination with a substantive. In a work of art
the attribute is often added to god or hero in the
loosest manner, without any regard to the particular
situation in which the artist introduces him, and the
case is similar with these attributive compounds,
which in epic poetry form a great portion of the

* The word occurs twice in Od. VIII 494 ὅν ποτ' ἐς ἀκρόπολιν
δόλον ἤγαγε διὸς 'Οδυσσεύς, and 504 ἐς ἀκρόπολιν ἐρύσαντα.

characteristic *epitheta ornantia*, like χρυσα-κόμη-ς,
λευκ-ώλενο-ς, βο-ῶπι-ς, ῥοδο-δάκτυλο-ς. Since in this
case, language, by simply bringing together two
word-stems under one accent, creates a new forma-
tion in the shortest manner possible, we may say
that these compounds occupy in some measure the
highest rank; and Justi very properly distinguishes
them from the rest, as 'the higher kind of compo-
sition'. But just for the very reason, that in these
compounds a peculiarly energetic effort is required
on the part of the creative imagination, they do not
suit except, to a very small extent, the dead level
of every-day speech. The Indians name these com-
pounds *Bahuvrîhi*, i. e. 'much rice', or more clearly
'rich in rice', after an example of the class which
in Greek would be πολυ-όρυζο-ς. Bopp, *Vergl. Gr.*,
III, 455 has used the term 'possessive compounds',
because they 'denote the possessor of the qualities
expressed by the separate parts of the compound,
so that the idea of possession has always to be sup-
plied.' This name and definition can be applied to
many, but not by any means to all the formations
belonging to this class. Even some of the examples
quoted in the grammar, e. g. πικρόγαμος (Od. α. 226
πάντες κ' ὠκύμοροί τε γενοίατο πικρόγαμοί τε), δεκαετής,
show that the field occupied by these compounds
is not so narrow as Bopp supposes, and for the
language of the Tragedians the possessive signifi-
cation is quite insufficient. The stiff and awkward
paraphrase 'having a double tongue' would not be
an equivalent of our word 'double tongued' (cp. ἀμφί-
γλωσσος in Eustathius), and still less could we translate
πικρόγλωσσοι ἀραί (Aesch. *Sept.* 768 Herm.) by 'having
a bitter tongue.' Thersites is not called ἀμετροεπής
because he has, but because he utters unmeasured
words (cp. λιγύ-φθογγο-ς); οἰοχίτων (Od. ξ. 489) is
not merely the man who merely has but one coat,

but the man who wears but one. χειροδίκαι (in
Hesiod. ἐργ. 189) are men who practise the 'right
of hand'; the πολύκερως φόνος of the raging Ajax
(Soph. *Aj.* 55) does not possess, but falls upon 'many
horns'; the λευκοπήχεις κτύποι (Eurip. *Phœn.* 1356)
denote the beating caused by white arms; in short,
the connection of these compounds with their sub-
stantives can by no means be explained in every case
by the idea of possession; and I doubt whether any
more accurate definition is possible than that given
in the grammar. 'The new idea formed by the
composition is attributed as a quality to another word.'
The attempt to express the same idea by other means
than composition is carried out in a very different
way.

The third kind of compounds is so far nearer the
first than the second, that in it, one of two ideas is
defined by the other without undergoing any further
change or modification. But the relations between
the ideas in the two classes are different; in the one
case we have congruity, in the other, government.
Besides this, another distinction, the freedom of
position, comes before us. In the third class also,
it happens more frequently than in the other two
that the second word had no existence before compo-
sition. This is especially the case with the numerous
compounds in -ο-ς in the nom., which, chiefly in an
active sense together with those in -ης, in a passive
sense, arise from the combination of a noun-stem
and verb-stem, e. g. μελο-ποιό-ς, βουνόμο-ς, in an
active sense, beside the passive βού-νομο-ς, πατρο-
κτόνο-ς, but also Ͽεοστυγής, οἰκογενής. But the es-
sential characteristic of this class is the relation of
government which exists between the two members
of the compound. The difference of government is
shown by the examples. Those compounds are the
most frequent which when paraphrased by a participle

or verbal adjective require the dependent word to
be in the accusative or instrumental case. Examples
of the first are: δρυ-τόμο-ς, δορυ-φόρο-ς, λοχ-αγό-ς,
ἱππό-δαμο-ς, πτολί-πορθο-ς, ἱππ-αγωγό-ς, ἑλκε-χίτων,
of the second: αἰχμ-άλωτο-ς, θεό-δμητο-ς, ἱππό-βοτο-ς,
ναυσί-πορο-ς. But the relations expressed by the other
cases are also found, e. g. the locative in Θηβα-γενής,
or with locative form Θηβαι-γενής, ὀρει-βάτη-ς; the
dative in ἐπιχαιρε-κακό-ς, θεο-είκελο-ς; the genitive, in
German the most frequent, but rather rare in Greek,
in οἰκο-φύλαξ (Aesch.), ἀστυ-γείτων, χορο-διδάσκαλο-ς.

This is not the place to enter further into the
subject of composition. Here I could only illustrate
the leading classes by a larger number of examples
and a few additional words of explanation. It will
certainly be an advantage to the pupil also in the
explanation of the bolder compounds in Homer and
the Tragedians to cast a glance into this laboratory
of language. For the wealth, and wise moderation
of the Greek language in this respect are truly
admirable.

PART II.—SYNTAX.

THE Syntax given in my grammar will require far fewer explanatory notes than the Accidence, because it deviates far less from the usual treatment of the subject. A thorough revision of this part of grammar is as yet impossible owing to the want of the necessary scientific preparations, and above all of ample collections of the syntactical usages of the kindred languages, such as have hitherto been made only for Latin, and alas! incompletely for German in the fourth volume of J. Grimm's German Grammar, a book which the student of Greek syntax will find remarkably instructive. The want of a syntax of Sanskrit is still constantly felt. For the Sclavo-Lettish languages Schleicher has at least made a commencement in his Lithuanian Grammar (Prague 1856), which was often instructive to me in comparison with the Greek usages. Many excellent hints of a general character, and important comparisons for a particular department of syntax—the prepositions—are contained in Ludwig Lange's paper, '*Ueber Ziel und Methode der syntaktischen Forschung*', in the transactions of the Gottingen Philological Association (Gott. 1852). Kvičala has lately expressed himself in a similar manner with regard to the requirements of syntax in his admirable review of Bäumlein's '*Partikeln*' —*Zeitschr. f. d. ö. Gymn.*, 1863, p. 304.

Such being the position of scientific enquiry, a

certain amount of moderation was prescribed in deal-
ing with the Syntax. Only where the analysis of
the forms secured a firm foundation, or where the
change in our conception of the life and nature of
language urgently recommended new points of view,
could and must a change be made. For the rest
my aim was merely to put together in a plain and
compendious manner the actual usages of the language,
as they have been fixed by the industry and acuteness
of the excellent philologists of the last half century.
After Gottfried Hermann, whose works form an epoch,
K. W. Krüger and Madvig deserve especial mention
in this respect. But in so doing a double object
had still to be kept in view throughout. First the
positive object of preserving the greatest possible
uniformity between the syntax and accidence both
in the general point of view and in the mode of
expression, and secondly the negative object of keep-
ing at as great a distance as possible all that was
fanciful, all preconceived notions or constructions
such as still alas! continue to force their way into
our grammatical manuals though in garbs changed
for the occasion. All these categories of language,
forms of thought, relations of the sentence or what-
ever else be the name by which they are or have
been called, on which so much weight is and still
will be laid to some extent from different quarters,
rest at bottom on the notion that thought was prior
in development to language, and that the forms of
language are the product of acute reflection, the in-
vention of certain individuals who founded language,
the *inventores, constitutores sermonis,* as they were once
termed. This conception, which corresponds to the
modes of thought current in the last century, is now
completely contradicted especially by the profound
enquiries of W. von Humboldt and by all that the
science of language in the widest sense has brought

to light since his time. In this respect we need only refer to the various works of Steinthal and Heyse's '*System der Sprachwissenschaft.*' Thought grew up by and with language; the forms of thought with and out of the forms of language in a thoroughly instinctive and popular manner. Hence the usages of syntax also are wholly a growth which like growths of other kinds admits no tying up into logical formulæ, but can only be understood by historical study and correct conception of the development of language.

If, therefore, in explaining the syntax we must to some extent abandon that deceptive charm which may be gained even in a school-grammar by connecting individual usages with general principles, if a certain amount of dullness and dryness· is the necessary consequence of strict adherence to the truth—there are yet other elements intellectual in themselves or calculated to arouse the intellect which need not be despised. One such element, for instance, was found in the arrangement of the phenomena connected with each other. Even where the ultimate questions must still remain unanswered, the proof of such internal connection serves to combine individual usages together and to give life to the study of them. But we must, it is true, allow that in this respect the final sentence has still to be pronounced in many instances; and many usages can be connected in more than one way. I am very far from supposing that I have always taken the right path here. The certainty attained in the Accidence is often not attained in Syntax. But I can assure the reader that the arrangement and connection of the different usages given in my Grammar is due to mature consideration and that I have always kept the syntax carefully in view though my studies have been more especially directed to other departments of language.

Another more peculiar feature in my treatment of the
syntax is the connection of Greek usages with these
equivalents in German and Latin. If, as we have seen,
the life of language is to be regarded as something in-
stinctive, it follows that the usages of language can by
no means be taught by rules and definitions merely,
but it is an essential part of teaching that they should
be connected with known usages in other languages
and best of all with those of the student's mother
tongue as the language with which he is most familiar.
In this way better than any other is made good that
beautiful saying of W. von Humboldt that 'strictly
speaking language cannot be taught, but we can only
awaken it in the feeling of the learner.' Thus teach-
ing actually becomes as in Plato an ἀνάμνησις, not
however of knowledge acquired in an earlier con-
dition of the soul, but of the notions and perceptions
born and bred in each individual. Thus, for example,
I attempt in § 361, 10 to bring the further predicate
as conceived in the Greek mind nearer to the pupil
by a few German examples of a kindred nature:—
*Ich fühle mich gesund, halte dich bereit, wir nennen
dich unsern Vetter.* I explain the apparent variety in
the Greek genitive in combination with substantives
by the addition of German compounds, § 408:—e. g.
*Landsmann, Hausfreund, Eisenbahn, Erbtheil, Vater-
freude,* &c.; in many verbal constructions and also for
the Genitive absolute (§§ 417, 428):—*stehenden Fusses*
I adduce similar constructions from German.* In this
respect of course great moderation must be preserved
just as the comparisons with Latin also must be
limited to what is important in the way of similarity
or contrast. But it would be unnatural to make no
use of the grammatical conceptions and analogies
implanted in the pupil by his own sense of language;

* These German parallels are of course omitted, or replaced
by English equivalents in the translation of the Grammar.

and it is not less undesirable that the knowledge already attained of Latin should remain entirely unconnected with his knowledge of Greek. In regard to both languages moreover, it is quite as important to call attention to what is different as to what is similar. Now the difference is often marked in the shortest and most striking way by translation. This is the reason that I always lay such great weight on exact translations of the Greek constructions. The translations in my grammar are intended to be committed to memory by the pupil together with the Greek examples. For this reason they are added throughout and not left either to the pupil's uncertain intelligence or to the teacher's caprice. Indeed, the definite form of the translation often appeared to me quite as essential as the definite framing of the rules. Moreover had I chosen such instances only as admit of a correct translation apart from the context in which they occur, I should have been limited far more in my choice, or I must have given references to the places where they may be found. For many passages are not really intelligible till we see them in the context. Of course these examples cannot by any means take the place of independent exercises in translation. But for such sufficient material could not be given within the narrow limits prescribed for my grammar. After I had made the attempt in the first edition by a very considerable collection of characteristic examples, I felt convinced on my attention being drawn to the matter that my collection was still insufficient and preferred to make a complete separation between the grammar and exercise-book. In all subsequent editions, therefore, the grammar contained so many examples only as were absolutely necessary to make every rule clear; and in order to guard against misunderstanding of any kind a translation both into Latin and German, carefully con-

sidered and as verbal as possible is added to every
example. From that time the *Griechisches Elementar-
buch* by Dr. Carl Schenkl, now Professor at Inns-
bruck, was intended for an exercise book both in the
Accidence and Syntax. It contains a large amount
of material, well arranged, and has perhaps sufficiently
proved that it serves its purpose by the simple fact that
it has gone through five editions (Fifth, Prague 1863).
To this may be added the *Uebungsbuch zum Uebersetzen
aus dem Deutschen und Lateinischen in's Griechische*
by Dr. C. Schenkl (2nd edit. Prague 1861), and the
still larger collection '*Aufgaben zum Uebersetzen in
das Griechische*' by Dr. Gottfried Boehme (Leipsic
1859). Besides, the reading of the easy prose authors,
with which instruction usually commences after the
most necessary grammatical knowledge has been ac-
quired, offers at every step vouchers for the doctrines
laid down in the grammar and supplies the teacher
with ample opportunities of explaining from the
grammar the phenomena of language which come
before us.

In selecting the matter to be comprised in the syntax
I have been very strict. It appeared to me the most
essential point to bring out in the clearest light the
typical usage of the language in the most important
phenomena. When this object has been attained by
the teacher with the aid of the grammar and a suit-
able exercise-book, when once the sense of the rule,
I might say, of the syntactical rhythm of Greek
has been aroused, it will not be difficult to explain
to the pupil isolated deviations and licences with
respect to what has been learnt. It is perhaps even
a gain for instruction that much is here left to the
discretion of the teacher. Moreover, in this respect
it is certainly not quite easy to find the limit between
too much and too little. Here and there, it is true,
the wish has been expressed by teachers taking an

interest in my book, that I would make some en-
largement in the syntax, but, on the other hand,
the very brevity and conciseness of my synopsis
have been brought forward as an advantage. For
this reason I have hitherto acceded to the demand
for extension to a very slight degree.

Chap. XVI.—The Cases.

With a great number of scholars, and even one or two Comparative Philologers of eminence, the view still appears to meet with much approval, that the Cases denoted, in the first instance, relations of space; and were thence by slow degrees, transferred to relations of a more intellectual character. At first sight this assumption stands in a certain degree of unison with the fundamental theory which, quite properly, governs modern science; and which, as a rule, recommends us to start from what is concrete as distinguished from what is purely ideal. Relations of directions in space appear to be more concrete than the mutual relation of the parts of a sentence: and, therefore, fitted to form the basis of them. But on closer examination this appearance vanishes, and difficulties everywhere arise. Had language as a fact conceived the action of the verb as a movement straining from the subject towards the object, then not merely must the point towards which this action tends—the *quo*—have given rise to the case of the object, as many assume, but obviously, the starting point—the *unde*—must also have given rise to the case of the subject; and thus, strictly speaking, but one local relation, the *ubi*, remains for the other cases. Consistently carried out, therefore, this assumption must lead to the conclusion, that the Nom. is identical with the Ablative, and with the Genitive also, if this case is regarded as the counterpart of the Ablative. But who would venture

to maintain this? The only certain starting-point
for the explanation of the use of the cases,—but
also, it is true, a point to which the advocates of
the local theory have paid the least attention—is
supplied by the forms of the cases. Now when
we look at their form *one* group of closely connected
cases at once rises to the surface—the Nom., Acc.,
and Vocative. Throughout the Indogermanic lan-
guages these cases always coincide in the Neuter;
whereas none of them ever displays the least contact
with the remaining cases—that is, a Vocative, No-
minative, or Accusative form never takes the place
of a Genitive or Dative form, in the way, in which,
e. g. in the Latin Plural, Dative and Ablative; in
the Greek Dual, Genitive and Dative are identical
in form. Within this group the Vocative, as the
case of appellation, is without any case sign, the
stem without any addition—the word in a condition
antecedent to the formation of the cases. The No-
minative is unmistakeably the case of the subject.
It appears, as Bopp was the first to perceive, that
the sigma of the Nom. is identical with the Pronoun-
stem *sa*, which in separate use is ὁ in Greek. Lan-
guage, therefore, denoted the subject as the leading
word of the sentence by a pronoun placed like an
article after it. The opposite of the subject is ob-
viously the object. We cannot see through the
formation of the Accusative, so clearly as that of
the Nominative; but we have already seen (p. 62)
that it is very noticeable that in the neuters, that
is, in words which from their meaning cannot be
subjects of an action in an operative sense, like the
Masculines and Feminines, the case of the object
represents also the case of the subject. If however
this is in reality the relation, if τέκνο-ν from a formal
point of view, is just as much the Acc. of the
stem τεκνο-, as θεόν is the Acc. of the stem θεο,

how is it then possible that τέκνο-ν originally signified 'towards' or 'to the child'? Or, to reverse the question, granting that τέκνον originally signified this, how could it ever be used for the Nominative and Vocative. Would or could language interchange the starting point of an action with the goal of it? Such a change, if at all, would at best be possible only when the original meaning had been completely forgotten, through a lingering process of decay. But this vicarious use of the Acc. for the Nom., is of great antiquity; it is older than the separation of the Indogermanic languages. Consequently if it were the case, which is certainly incredible, that in the very beginning, the creation of the cases arose out of ideas of space, this point of view must have been already given up again at the time when the forms of language became fixed, before the separation of the languages of the Indogermanic stem. But then it would further follow from this, that this supposed relation of direction had already, at that early period, become completely confused in the sense of language; and consequently it would in no way be adapted to be taken by us as a basis for the complicated uses of the cases, as they became fixed at a time obviously far later. In short in the Acc. we see as plainly as possible how inadmissable the local theory is. Here also the greatest difficulties present themselves in explaining the individual usages. For that widespread and very ancient kind of Acc., more especially, which I call the Acc. of the Internal Object, cannot without great violence be wrung out of the category of *quo*.

If, therefore, it is certain that in denoting the Nom. language started from quite other than local perceptions; and if it has been found impossible to explain the Accusative from the category of *quo*, the whole local theory is now deprived of important

support. For the charm of the theory lay just in
this that the three oblique cases in Greek could be
fitted so neatly into these three convenient categories
of *unde*, *ubi*, and *quo*. *Ubi*, and *unde* still remain.
But for *ubi*, even the Indogermanic language had
originally a special case,—the Locative, which at least
in one class of languages, is retained in form and
meaning beside the Dative, and quite distinct from it.
Elsewhere, it is true, these two cases have several
points of contact. But still it by no means follows
from this that they were originally identical: and it
would be very difficult to derive the leading use
of the Dative, i. e. its use for what is called the
remoter object, from the category of *ubi*. The case
is similar with the Ablative and Genitive. We do
not see why these should be two cases if both ex-
pressed originally one and the same relation of space.
Here too, especially in the Plural, where the Ablative
coincides with the Dative, each case takes its own
course. And the application of the Genitive to bring
into prominence the connection between two nouns
—by far the predominant use in all languages—is
far removed from the notion of *unde*. To explain
the widely extended use of the Genitive from this
category of *unde* is to explain an infinite abundance
of applications from a small and decaying minority.
Even the Latin use of the Dative as of the Genitive
should have warned us against the mistaken idea
of placing local relations at the head in these cases.
For in truth there is scarcely any ground whatever
for such a theory. If then it is now plain that in
three of the original eight cases, viz. the Voc. Nom.
and Acc., it is impossible to carry out the local
meaning and that in two, the Dat. and Gen., such
a meaning is barely conceivable, yet again for two
others, the Loc. and Abl., this meaning is probable
inasmuch as we can without difficulty trace back

all the functions of the Loc. to *ubi* and those of
the Abl. to *unde*. But since both these cases have
become extinct in Greek, the local theory has for
this language a certain amount of importance only
in so far as the functions of these cases have been
adopted by others. Finally the eighth case—the In-
strumental—in certain applications called also the
Sociative or Comitative, because it expresses all the
relations for which in German the preposition *mit*
is used, is obviously of so specific a character that
it cannot be inserted without violence in any one
of the three categories. The form also gives us no
ground for regarding it as a simple variety of a
local case.

These few remarks will suffice to show how
little reason there is for speaking of the local
theory, as is still constantly done, as an established
fact. That is not the case; we are fully justified
in completely disregarding so unsound a basis in
explaining the use of the cases in Greek. The triple
division of the oblique cases in Greek, which, by
reason of its apparent simplicity, has been essential
in recommending the local theory to favour, even if
it has not created it, is not a mark of antiquity,
but rather a corruption of the larger system of cases
which is retained, to some extent in Latin, and
completely in Sanskrit.

This important fact must form the basis for the
arrangement of the use of the cases in Greek. There
was an early period in this language, in which all
eight cases were in existence. Indeed many traces
of them all are still to be found. Case-forms which
in individual use have become detached from the
others of the same stem, and thus have lost their
status as such, we call adverbs. In the Adverbs in
-δον, -δην, Lat. -*tim*, the Accusative form, in ἑξῆς
(Homeric ἑξείης), ὁμοῦ, the Genitive form, in κομιδῇ,

παντάπασιν the Dative form is unmistakable. The very common adverbs in -ως, like the Latin in ō (for ōd) and ē (for ed) are proved to be Ablatives. Locatives are concealed not merely in χαμα-ί, μέσο-ι, but also in ποῖ, οἶ, in ἀμαχεί, ἀμισθί. Forms like ἅμα, πάντ-η, ἵ-ν-α corresponding to the Sanskrit Instrumental in â, are in all probability to be regarded as petrified instrumentals; while, on the other hand, the epic forms in -φι also are at least in part to be considered as another formation of this case. Thus, therefore, even Greek itself still points back to a condition of language in which the cases were more numerous; and the question arises—how was the language able to replace the gradually encroaching decay of the cases? The answer obviously is that another case by degrees assumed the functions of the decaying one, in addition to its own. In what order this took place, cannot, it is true, be ascertained with certainty. But since we have good reason from the close relation which mutually prevails between the two South European languages, to presuppose that any share which Latin had in the ancient heritage, existed in Greek also in a period which, though prehistoric, is not imaginary, it is not improbable that those cases were retained the longest in Greek, which were retained to the end in Latin, while, on the other hand, those were the earliest to decay, which in Latin also ceased to exist. Consequently the Instrumental would be the first to give way. The functions of this case were assumed in Latin by the Ablative, language regarding the instrument as that from which the action indirectly arose, but in Greek, where the Ablative also was allowed to drop out of use at a very early time, by the Dative, to which, as the case of the interested person, the Comitative side of the Instrumental lay very near. After the Instrumental the Ablative was

apparently the next to disappear. In its place came
the Genitive as the case of connection. For in the
idea of origin the ideas of *unde* and of connection
meet and touch. Lastly, the Locative, the pro-
portionately late disappearance of which case is
proved by the numerous local Adverbs with locative
forms found both in Sing. and Plur.—was replaced
by the Dative, after it had already become con-
siderably extended by the assumption of the functions
of the Instrumental. In these considerations more-
over the fact must not be overlooked that the use
of prepositions in combination with distinct cases
must have essentially contributed to remove any in-
definiteness in the expression, and, as it were, to
relieve the cases of their accumulated functions.
Hence it follows that the Acc. alone in Greek has
not exceeded the limits of its original sphere. The
Genitive and Dative are mixed, or as Pott, *Etym.
Forsch.*, I, 22 terms it, 'syncretistic' cases. The use
of each of these cases cannot at all be traced back
to one single principle. Rather must we analyse
both into the modes of use which have run together
in them; and, therefore, distinguish a double Genitive
(Genitive, and Ablative); and a triple Dative (Dative,
Instrumental, Locative). In Latin where the Genitive
and Dative have remained within their proper spheres,
we can perceive most clearly the genuine primary
nature of these cases. It is significant that neither
case ever occurs in this language with a preposition;
and that, generally, the older condition of the case-
system in Latin allowed writers to express much
by the simple case, which in Greek required the aid
of preposition.

Such being our conception of the cases, it is self-
evident, that we must be on our guard against all
over strict definitions of the separate cases; and not
allow ourselves to be led away by the delusion that

our explanation becomes scientific when we trace
back the various usages by violent means to some
single point confined within narrow limits and strictly
unalterable. Yet, on the other hand also, it is clear
that every case is to the sense of language at a
particular period an individual, which was felt as
such, and distinguished in its characteristic peculi-
arities from others. It is also by no means in-
different for the nature of the separate cases, whether
the language possesses three or six oblique cases.
We can, no doubt, trace back a certain portion of
the usages of the Genitive to the Ablative, and derive
certain of its functions, e. g. the Genitive of se-
paration, from this source; and, accordingly, denote
them as vicarious functions. But the sense of
language itself ceased in time to perceive the dis-
tinction clearly, connecting links became formed un-
consciously between the two cases, and the Genitive,
increased by a part of the usages of the Ablative,
grew up gradually to a peculiar case of more ex-
tensive use. Hence a difficulty arises for the gram-
marian. It is, at times, not easy to decide whether
a mode of use belongs to the original capital, or to
the later inheritance of a stem; and again, when
the inheritance is twofold, as in the Dative, to which
part it belongs. In this latter case however the relations
are less complicated; and the decision would perhaps
only be difficult in regard to the looser use of the
Dative treated in § 144. On the other hand, the
Genitive owing to the greater extent of application,
is much more difficult. Here the Localists have
wrung everything out of their category of *unde*.
And how much may be developed out of this relation
can be shown by the extensive use of the German
preposition *von* (of). The only point is, to find the
proper limits. The Genitive of the object compared
with Comparatives, e. g. which corresponds to the

Latin, and Sanskrit Ablative, can without violence
be explained as a later function adopted from the
Ablative. But still it is undeniable that with this
use the original and proper use of the Genitive
offers many points of connection. In the sense of
language the notion of the Genitive has become
developed to that of relativity in general. In the
Adjectives (§ 414) especially, this is clearly to be
seen. If the Genitive with ἄξιος, ἀντάξιος is certainly
a genuine Genitive, if we must judge the same of
the adverbs quoted in § 415—e. g. πρόσω, πρόσθεν,
ἄνω—it is not difficult to take the same view of the
Genitive used with μείζων, μείων. From the verbs
also of comparative meaning the Genitive with com-
paratives can hardly be separated, and yet it is
certainly simpler to explain the Genitive with ἄρχειν,
βασιλεύειν from the idea of relation than from that
of *unde*. My principle, therefore, was, in the Genitive,
not to be too strict in holding asunder the originally
different usages, and mainly to keep in view the
simple juxtaposition of what can be easily connected
in the period when the language had become de-
veloped.

By taking this view of the cases we avoid a fault
which is noticeable in many explanations proceeding
from different points of view;—the fault of starting
from quite isolated and in part poetical modes of
use. In my grammar, on the contrary, the leading
use is always placed at the head, that use, which
gives the peculiar type and characteristic of the case.
For the Accusative the starting point must in any
case be the construction with verbs, as for the
Genitive the construction with substantives. But in
Greek—for Latin in its stricter fashion takes its own
course—we can in every case distinguish a more
independent use by the side of the usage found in
a multitude of quite common constructions. In time

the cases obviously extend their usage beyond the
range of the original analogies. Therefore, I distin-
guish in every case a looser or freer use. The last
step in this path is the adverbial use. The Gram-
marian must make it his task to illustrate the course
of the history of language so far as possible by
characteristic examples. For the Accusative the
category of the inner object is of supreme importance
in this respect; in regard to which I have adopted
Krüger's terminology. How very prone the Greek
is to supply in thought to every verb the notion
contained in it, in the form of the object, is shown
by usages like Soph. El. 1415 παῖσον διπλῆν, where
an attribute is added to the internal object though
omitted. Schömann in his excellent work *Rede-
theile* (Berlin 1862), especially p. 148 sq., where he
is treating of the origin of the adverbs, takes quite
the same view; as also Haase on Reisig's *Vorlesungen
über Lat. Sprachwissenschaft*, *Anm.* 509, and 559.
Both with justice lay stress on the fact that even
the substantive verb very easily admits the notion
of an internal Accusative; and consequently even the
freer, and in part quite adverbial Accusatives like
ἀκὴν ἔσαν are to be regarded in this light. ἀκὴν
ἔσαν means literally 'they were rest'; i. e. 'they were
a quiet being' (cp. § 400 c.), in the same sense as
we might say: 'they went a quiet walk'. In Sanskrit
also the Accusative of the action stands in quite
a similar manner with the substantive verb in the
paraphrastic formation of the perfect, e. g. *îçâm âsa*,
or *îçâm babhûva*, literally *dominationem fui*, i. e. 'I
have ruled' (Bopp, *Sanskritgr.*, § 419). The great
antiquity of this very use of the Accusative can
hardly be doubted. The numerous adverbs of Ac-
cusative-form, the use of the Supines in *-tum* in
Latin (*nunciatum ire* = ἀγγελίην ἐλθεῖν) and much
besides, proves this. In Latin also the wider use

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of the Accusative is by no means always to be re-
garded as a Grecism; but sometimes as a residuum
of a power of this case, which in later times became
more and more cut down. This is shown not merely
by such national usages as *excubias, infitias ire,*
with which our phrase 'to stand guard' may be
compared, but also by the very frequent occurrence
of usages of quite a Greek character in the older
writers, e. g. Plaut., *Epid.,* IV, 1, 39: *ut alias res
est impense improbus* (Holtze, *Syntaxis prisc. script.
Lat.,* I, 221).

In the Genitive—this orthography, and not Genetive,
will still be permitted in writing German and English—
my chief object was to make clear the wide range of
relations, which this case can indicate, especially in the
simplest combinations of two substantives with each
other. To quote all the possible varieties of such com-
binations was superfluous: on the contrary, my pur-
pose was simply to bring forward the most essential,
and to make it plain that all those different signi-
fications of origin, possession, material, &c., are not
really expressed by the Genitive, but rather merely
infused by the intelligence into the connection de-
noted by the Genitive. Hence there are instances
which can be subsumed under none of these cate-
gories; and where the attempt to do so would be
simple sophistry, e. g. Demosth. *Mid.* 35 βλάβης νόμος.
And it would be foolish to assume a special Genitive of
comparison on account of such a passage, as Soph.
Ant. 114 πτέρυξ λευκῆς χιόνος. So too there are other
instances which can be placed with equal right under
two of the varieties quoted. ὅρκων πίστις can denote
'faith in an oath', no less than the 'confidence which
springs out of an oath sworn', the latter as in δός
μοι χερὸς σῆς πίστιν, Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1632, just as
fiducia virium is quite indefinite when standing
by itself, so that the translator is often compelled

in these loose combinations of two ideas, to introduce
more than is really there, owing to the want of
similarly loose combinations in his own language.
The partitive Genitive also is naturally nothing more
than a Genitive of connection with a whole, or to use an
expression proper in many cases, with a totality. This
species of the Genitive was obviously first developed
in the plural; but spread out widely from thence in
all the kindred languages. Hence I do not believe
that we can dispense with it. In a construction like
Θῆβαι τῆς Βοιωτίας, therefore, the Genitive is certainly
one of connection, but the specific kind of connection
here intended is that of a part with the whole, as
becomes quite clear from the looser use quoted in
§ 425 τῆς Ἰωνίας νενόμισται, i. e. 'in the district of
Ionia'.

In the use of the Genitive with verbs, so widely
developed in Greek, I have felt myself specially
called upon to point out everywhere the relations
to the more familiar use in combination with Sub-
stantives and Adjectives. Here the older German
language especially offers many valuable parallels.
Here, therefore, it is especially instructive to com-
pare J. Grimm, IV, 646 sq. As opposed to the
variety of the uses of the cases in Greek, Latin
presents a monotonous logical consistency; especially
in the use with verbs. For this use in Greek,
I have, not without opposition, given a wide range
to the partitive Genitive. J. Grimm l. c. says: 'The
Accusative denotes that the object is completely
overpowered. In the Genitive the power of the
subject is regarded as exerted to a less degree.
The active power is, as it were, only tried and
roused, not put forth to the full extent.' This is
merely another way of saying that the power of
the verb, when a Genitive is added, refers only to
a part of the object. How far we can extend this

category of the partitive Genitive may certainly be doubtful. Here we are still in want of copious, and properly arranged collections, but thus much is certain: where we find one and the same verb in two constructions, sometimes with the Gen. and sometimes with the Acc.; and this with just the distinction that the Acc. denotes the object as completely overpowered, or indivisible—then we are justified in considering the Gen. as partitive in distinction from the Acc. Thus for the Gen. with verbs of 'aiming at', or 'striving after' (§ 419 d). Soph. *Ant.* 770 is significant: τεύξεται τὸ μὴ θανεῖν. —On the other hand, for the verbs of exclusion it is certainly easy to regard the Gen. as the representative of the Abl., just as also the Abl. is found throughout with the corresponding verbs in Latin. Yet we must also bear in mind that the Adjectives mentioned in § 414, 5 correspond to these verbs. Since it is certain that ἄμοιρος and Lat. *expers* have the same Genitive as ἔμμοιρος and *particeps*, there is no contradiction at all in assuming an internal connection between ἀπέχομαι, εἴργω, ἀποτυγχάνω, and μετέχω, μεταδίδωμι, τυγχάνω. In the German languages it is doubtful whether the Gen. has assumed the representation of the Abl.; but certain that a number of verbs of privative meaning (J. Grimm, VI, 674 sq.), especially in the older language take the Gen., and some of these are still retained. Grimm explains these from the same point of view as the constructions with the corresponding positive verbs. But because the explanation from the Abl. is also possible, I have in the latest edition quoted this class of verbs in § 419 b, separately from the former.

The free use of the Gen. I have everywhere compared with the kindred applications of the more fixed use, so as to point out an internal connection. That the Genitive of the cause § 427 is combined

with that of the aim, i. e. the *causa efficiens* with
the *causa finalis*, needs, of course, no justification.
The Gen. Absolute also ought by no means always
to be explained from the category of *unde*. There
are many constructions in modern German which
warn us against that*. It is not improbable that a
stock of similar usages was already in existence,
when the Abl. fell into dislike among the Greeks,
and that the Gen. absolute by slow degrees forced
itself into the place of the Abl., and in this way
has now certainly become extended far beyond its
original range. Moreover the Gen. absolute is in
Greek itself a growing construction, the continually
increasing spread of which can be observed from
Homer onwards. On this as on many questions
belonging to this subject, compare the beautiful re-
searches of Classen, '*Beobachtungen über den Home-
rischen Sprachgebrauch*' (Frankfort on Maine 1854—56).

In the arrangement of the use of the Dative the
various sources can be distinguished more definitely.
The instrumental use especially is plainly to be
separated off, as forming a close category to itself
with several subdivisions. But nevertheless a com-
plete analysis appeared impracticable. The Dative
of community (§ 436) has its source obviously in
the sociative or comitative use of the old Instrumental:
for which reason the Ablative—elsewhere also the
Italic representative of the lost fellow-case—corre-
sponds in Latin to the Greek Dative and the Sanskrit
Instrumental in this usage. The Preposition *sa* 'with'
is in Sanskrit combined with the Instrumental; the
corresponding ἄμα, ξύν, σύν in Greek take the Dative;
cum in Latin has the Ablative. Hence something
may be said in defence of placing this use after

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* E. g. *Er ging eilenden Schrittes, er ritt verhängten Zügels,
ihr zogt unverrichteter Sache ab, er ward verdientermassen* (mhd.
also *unverdienter Dingen*, Grimm, *Gr.*, IV, 907) *geehrt*.

the instrumental use. But in the language, as we
find it, the sociative Dative is more nearly akin to
the proper original Dative, than the instrumental;
and in general it certainly forms the connecting link
between these two cases, since it was easy to denote
the person, or thing connected with an action by
the same case-form which was already in use for
the person interested. We need only call to mind
the Homeric σοὶ ἄμ᾿ ἑσπόμεϑ᾿, beside the Attic σοὶ
ἑσπόμεϑα. Hence the Dative of community is put
in this position. With regard to the proper, and,
so to say, genuine Dative, I have distinguished two
cases. That kind of Dative is put first from which
the case has received its name δοτική. Krüger terms
this, which in his arrangement is placed later on,
'the objective Dative of the thing interested' § 48, 7.
It might otherwise be called 'the Dative of the
Indirect Object'. But it appeared to me advisable
to keep the term object within the narrowest limits
possible, in a school-grammar, in order to avoid
confusion. Hence in the explanation I preferred
the words 'the person remotely affected by anything'.
The Dative in transitive verbs like διδόναι, ἐπιτρέπειν,
παρέχειν, and with intransitives like βοηϑεῖν, δοκεῖν,
πείϑεσϑαι, but also with adjectives like φίλος, πιστός,
ἱκανός, is as it were necessary. The enunciation re-
mains imperfect without the mention of the person.
This is what the expressions 'interested', 'affected
by', are intended to mean. On the other hand,
the Dative of 'the Interest' as I call it (cp. Krüger
§ 48, 3) is different. This Dative is to a certain
extent added at pleasure; not required by a govern-
ment of the verb which has become typical. On the
contrary, the sentence is extended in a peculiar
manner by the introduction of the word standing
in the Dative. The so-called *Dativus commodi* and
incommodi can be added to any verb whatever.

It, therefore, and the Dative generally now under
consideration, is very frequently replaced by other
constructions, especially with prepositions. Language
has the choice between two different modes of ex-
pression. This, so to say, 'facultative' use of the
Dative is seen most strikingly in the ethical Dative
as it is called (§ 433), which has received this name
from the very fact that it is not so much required
by the thought, as by a reference of the feelings.
The choice, on the other hand, between the simple
Dative, which in this instance has something personal
in it, and a preposition combined with the corre-
sponding case, meets us most strikingly in the com-
bination with the passive (§ 434).—For the rest, in
all these instances especially few examples seemed
to be requisite to me, because there are but a few
in which we can speak of a peculiarly Greek idiom.
That the freer Dative in its application to place
and time is derived from the Locative, was already
mentioned. For this very reason the Latins use
the Ablative, which in their language has assumed
a portion of the Locative use, in the same sense.

In order to understand the government of pre-
positions, nothing is more important than the in-
disputable fact that all prepositions were, in the
first instance, adverbs. There was, therefore, a con-
dition of language in which these words did not yet
exist as such, that is, in their proper prepositional
use. The government of prepositions tended to be-
come more and more fixed as language developed.
Excellent remarks on the nature and origin of these
words are given by Schömann, *Redetheile*, p. 138 sq.
Now as adverbs the prepositions could primarily
take the Genitive, as the case of connection. To
this source of combination with cases, which is often
quite overlooked in the government of prepositions,
reference is made in § 447, 2. ἀντί is, without
question, the Locative of a noun-stem, of which
we have another case, the Acc., in ἄντα, and yet
another, the Ablative turned Locative, in Latin *ante-d*.
The Genitive depends, therefore, on ἀντί in precisely
the same manner as in the German *Angesicht, Laut,
Kraft*. With πρός, also, to which the Lat. Ablative
pro corresponds, the case is, no doubt, the same;
and with διά, the Æschylean form of which, διαί,
has the sign of the Locative. διά, without question,
goes back to a noun-stem (cp. δίχα) which denoted
duality. The same is the case with ὑπέρ = Sanskrit
upari, which evidently signified in a literal sense
'on the upper side', as ὑπό (ὑπαί) 'on the under side';
and with many others. Nowhere is the perversity

of the Localists shown more plainly than in the attempt to trace back the Genitive in this connection invariably to *unde*. When, in Latin, the prepositions *in, pro, præ, sub, super* take the Ablative, that case is here, as often, to be regarded as the representative of the Locative. But the Genitive in Greek depends in this usage on the preposition which it takes, in the strictest sense. The most decisive confirmation of our view is found in the fact that all the improper prepositions, that is, the prepositions which still continue to have more of the nature of adverbs, take the Genitive.

The first step in the departure from this adverbial use of the prepositions was taken when they were used in a supplementary manner, and in a loose connection with verbs, especially with a view to define more accurately the direction of the verb. In the Homeric language this usage is still clearly to be seen, in so far as this, that here the preposition though often undoubtedly forming one notion with the verb, can nevertheless, be separated therefrom not only, as continued to be the case in the later language, by the augment and reduplication, but also by independent words. The careful researches of Hoffmann on 'ἀμφί *in der Ilias*', and '*Die Tmesis in der Ilias*' (Luneburg and Clausthal 1857—60), show very plainly how hard it often is to decide whether a preposition must be taken adverbially or in combination with a verb. Now, inasmuch as the preposition in connection with a verb forms a whole in idea, it can in this connection require a case. When we find in Od. δ 43 αὐτοὺς δ' εἰσῆγον ϑεῖον δόμον, we have an instance in which the older usage is no doubt retained; and εἰς-άγειν as a whole takes the Accusative. Il. I, 89 illustrates the later use, when εἰς had already become moveable and independent. Ἀτρείδης δὲ γέροντας ἀολλέας

ἦγεν Ἀχαιῶν ἐς κλισίην. But in idea the Accusative
here no less than in the former instance depends on
the unified conception in εἰσάγειν. By the addition
of a preposition signifying the direction, a verb
gains the power of governing an external object of
that to which the action is directed; which however
is no longer felt to be such so soon as the preposition
is detached and placed immediately before the case.
This is the reason that the Accusative frequently
denotes the aim; and the other meanings also men-
tioned in § 447 follow from this. In a similar manner
the Dative is often to be regarded as a Dative of
community, which depends on the verb connected
in thought with the preposition, e. g. in the Homeric
usage πὰρ δέ οἱ ἔστη, θέων δέ οἱ ἄγχι παρέστη, beside
ἑσταότες παρ᾽ ὄχεσφιν Il. Θ. 565. This use of the
Dative also is the reason why the power of ex-
pressing a more external connection is ascribed in
§ 447, 3 to the Dative in combination with prepo-
sitions. — For the Genitive, it is true, we must certainly
allow that to some extent, even when dependent on
prepositions, it is the representative of the Abla-
tive; yet in such a manner that even here the Abla-
tive was dependent in the first instance on the verb
together with the preposition, e. g. Λ. 346 ἐκ δ᾽ ἄγαγε
κλισίης Βρισηΐδα, and then the Genitive came in as
its originally less definite representative.

These observations will be sufficient to indicate in
what manner I combine the use of the prepositions
with cases with the other uses of the cases, and
to refute the objection that I assume for the pre-
positions a basis of local meaning, which I deny
elsewhere.

Chap. XX.—The Tenses.

The doctrine of the use of the tenses required considerable revision. Here, as a fact, by a more accurate enquiry into the form of language, quite a new foundation had been obtained for the use of language; and without going further into the theory than was absolutely necessary, I attempted to apply the insight, thus obtained, to syntax. The older grammarians treated the aorist throughout, and the perfect also in part, as tenses of past time. But the analysis of the forms proves in the most striking manner (cp. p.98, 102, 110) that language possesses no other means whatever to denote past time generally, than the augment; and, therefore, the denotation of past time can only be primarily assumed where the augment stands, that is, in the imperfect, pluperfect, and Indicative of the aorist, and, therefore, generally in the Indicative only. Now in these Indicatives we can see in the plainest manner that in such forms, language denotes another notion in addition to that of past time, and of quite a different nature. ἐ-γέν-ε-το, ἐ-γίγν-ε-το, ἐ-γεγόν-ει are distinguished from each other by something quite different from that which distinguishes ἐγίγνετο from γίγνομαι, ἐγεγόνει from γέγονα. For this something, which is denoted in the *stem* of the tense-form, and for this very reason is marked as fixed and essential, we need an expression. Hitherto Grammarians have found none for it; even the most artistic theories of the tenses, which from the days of the Stoic grammarians,

down to the most modern times, have set up distinctions such as were never observed in any living speech, left this point out of sight. But for the Greek language this distinction is undeniably requisite even in a school-grammar. In the Greek sense of language lay a triple distinction of time, which crosses with that of present, past, and future; and runs through the whole rich system of tenses, moods, and verbal-nouns. Not finding a general name for each of these triple distinctions ready to my hand, it became necessary to invent one. Now it was evident that of these two distinctions of time, one was rather external and the other internal. The distinction of present, past, and future rests merely on the relation of the action to the speaker. This distinction, therefore, in which we have only to do with the standing point, I call the 'grade of time'. The action is either coincident with the standing point of the speaker, or it lies, as a previous grade, behind it, or again, before it, as a grade still to be reached. The expression cannot, I believe, be misunderstood. In the image chosen it is also clearly pointed out that the distinction is removed by simple progression in time, without any internal change. But the difference between γενέσθαι, γίγνεσθαι, γεγονέναι must obviously be denoted by a word, which at once indicates that here we have to do with a difference lying within the action itself, not merely with the relation to something external to it. In this sense I chose the expression 'kind of time', especially as 'kind' is the very word which we use to signify specific, internal peculiarities. Heyse, in his *System der Sprachwissenschaft*, in a similar but not quite the same sense, distinguishes between 'subjective', and 'objective' time (p. 457 sq.). These expressions would, I believe, in any case be more equivocal. But what has already been said about the difficulty

attending innovations in terminology applies to these technical terms, no less than others.

The triple kind of time must now in turn be distinguished by three different names. Two of these present themselves at once. The action of the present stem is *continuous*, that of the perfect *completed*. But how shall we briefly denote the action expressed in the aorist stem? The word 'momentary' opens a door to numerous errors. If this term is chosen, we are tempted to measure the distinction between ποιεῖν and ποιῆσαι, νικᾶν and νικῆσαι, ἔβαλλε and ἔβαλε merely by lapse of time, whereas in reality the distinction is quite different and far deeper. Whether the artist wrote ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ or ΕΠΟΙΕΙ under his work, did not depend on the length of time devoted to the task, but on his intention to lay stress either on the simple fact that he was the artist, or on the labour spent upon it. I preferred, therefore, to adopt the terminology of Rost, and Krüger, who call the aorist '*eintretend*'. The epithet is difficult of translation, and cannot be represented in all its bearings by any single English word. It is 'initial' as opposed to 'continued', 'culminating' as opposed to 'preparatory', 'instantaneous' as opposed to 'durative'. An action so qualified is, first of all, quite distinct from a beginning or impending act; it has nothing in common with the *tempus instans* with which it has sometimes been erroneously confounded. On the contrary, it is opposed to two other actions. First, to a continuing act. Thus the advent of winter is opposed to its continuance. In a similar manner νοσῆσαι (to fall sick) is opposed to νοσεῖν (to be sick) and βασιλεῦσαι to βασιλεύειν. Secondly, as denoting an incident, it is opposed to an act that is not yet finished; and this is the relation of πρᾶξαι (to accomplish) to πράσσειν (to be doing), πεῖσαι (to persuade) to πείθειν (to advise). Lastly an act to which

this epithet is applied, is invariably an act achieved
at one blow, or an act the single moments of which
are not to be taken into account. Hence this German
word appears to me very happily chosen for our
purpose. It has been objected that the word is
equivocal and indefinite, but the Greek aorist has,
as a fact, its different sides; and the peculiar ad-
vantage of the word lies precisely in the fact that
it has a certain width of meaning, by which it be-
comes applicable to the different sides of the aorist,
while at the same time a firm nucleus is unmistake-
able and can be perceived by our sense of language.
It will always be a hopeless task to give a cut and
dry definition of the Greek aorist. The distinction
of the kinds of time rests on a certain instinct, which
we can only acquire by entering ourselves into the
Greek modes of thought; and for that purpose an
image or mode of expression belonging to our own
language is a far greater help than any logic. Among
the living languages the Sclavonic possesses very similar
refinements as to the kinds of time; and, therefore,
Sclavonic speaking people find it very easy to realize
the use of the aorist and its distinction from the
forms of the present stem; cp. Kobliska, *Ueber das
Verhältniss des Aorists zu den Formen des čechischen
Verbums* (Königsgrätz 1856); Kvičala, *Zeitschr. f. d.
ö. Gymn.*, 1863, p. 137.

In the observation on p. 274 of the Grammar I
have attempted to define the three kinds of time
more accurately by means of another illustration,
borrowed from mathematics. The expression 'a point
of time' is in common use; and to this I refer in
saying that the action of the aorist can be compared
to a point. A point, as is well known, does not
admit of any extension at all; and in the action
denoted by the aorist its extension in time is not
at all taken into account. And as objects which are

remote or passing into the back ground appear as
points in spite of their actual extension in space,
so also from the speakers point of view do the
actions, which he brings forward merely as aoristic.
But a line is opposed to a point inasmuch as it
admits of extension, though indefinitely. Hence in
carrying out the illustration, it forms the counter-
part to the continuous action, the essential charac-
teristic of which is that it admits of extension in
time, without any internal limitation. Lastly, a
completed action is one completely limited in every
direction. Hence, therefore, it may be compared to
a surface bounded by lines.

It was not my purpose to follow out in greater
detail these leading conceptions peculiar to every
tense-stem. But some few hints may find a place
here. In the idea of an aoristic act we recognized
two moments. On the one hand, an aoristic action
is opposed to a continuing one; as a man's arrival
at a house is opposed to his stay in it, or the ad-
vent of darkness to continuous gloom. In this sense
an aoristic action denotes as it were the starting
point of a line. ἐρασθῆναι or ἐράσασθαι, i. e. 'to fall
in love', (e. g. Il. Π, 182 ἠράσατ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδὼν
ἐνὶ μελπομένῃσιν) is followed by ἐρᾶν, as ἄρξαι by
ἄρχειν, διανοηθῆναι by διανοεῖσθαι. This use of the
aorist we may call the *ingressive* (cp. § 489). Here
the force of the aorist is especially prominent, so
much so that at times the aoristic action requires
quite a different translation from the durative. On
the other hand, the culmination of an act is opposed
to the preparatory steps; as a bright flash is opposed
to a glimmer, the fall of night to evening twilight.
Thus διδόναι can be used to express the simple at-
tempt to give, the offer; δοῦναι the actual giving,
the handing over of the gift; ἄγειν means to 'lead
on', ἀγαγεῖν 'to carry away'; κτᾶσθαι 'to acquire',

κτήσασθαι 'to possess'. We may term this the
effective use of the aorist. Here the tense denotes
the last point in a line; and is preceded by the
durative action. This use of the aorist, under the
name συντελικῶς, was opposed by the old grammarians
to the action of the imperfect, which was denoted
as παρατακτικῶς, e. g. Aristonicus *ad* Il. Λ. 368 (cp.
Friedländer, *Ariston.*, p. 5). It rests with language
to bring into prominence one of these two usages,
or, from another point of view, the fundamental
meaning of every verb and the context present
sometimes the one, and sometimes the other sense
to the reader, though, it also frequently happens
that neither can be distinguished with certainty, and
the notion conveyed by the tense is simply that
of a point of time without any reference to other
actions.

The need of distinctions of time like those which
were certainly presented to the Greek from a very
ancient period in the use of the aorist is felt in all
languages. Here also we can find points of connection
existing in our own sense of language, and to point
out this is the object of the observation on § 485.
The effect of an aorist is frequently replaced in other
languages by composition with prepositions; and in
this respect the Sclavonic languages offer the most
noticeable analogies. A parallel to the ingressive
signification is found in German compounds like
einschlafen, einsehen, and Latin like *insonare, incitare,*
where the *ein (in)* means simply that the subject is
entering into a certain state. In German the prefix
er i. e. *aus* forms more especially a marked parallel
to the use of the aorist, and similarly the Latin *ex.*
Here of course language regards the earlier condition
or state, as that from which the new action springs
forth, as in the intransitives *erklingen, erwachen, er-
grimmen, erschrecken, ersterben,* and in the transitives

erwecken, erfinden, erregen, erkennen, erschliessen (cp.
Grimm, *W.*, III, p. 694); Latin *efficere, evenire,
evincere, evitare, excitare, exclamare, emori.* Yet an-
other point of view is taken up in the use of the
preposition *con*, e. g. in *conspicere* = ἰδεῖν, *consequi*,
distinguished from *sequi*, as denoting the happy
termination of the action commenced in the simple
verb, *conticuere omnes* = ἐσίγησαν πάντες, *cohorruit* =
ῥίγησεν, *comedere*, 'to eat all up together'. The *con*
(compare also the Greek συντελεῖν beside the aorist)
denotes the collective moments of the action which
are united for the complete attainment of the object.
In a similar manner *per* denotes the action as brought
through to an end; *persuasit* is related to *suasit* as
ἔπεισε to ἔπειθε. The German word *stehen*, out of
compounds, denotes as a rule a state which the
Greek conceives as the result of the act necessary
for attaining it, and, therefore, denotes by the perfect;
ἕστηκα *ich stehe* (I stand, I have placed myself). In
compounds, on the other hand, the word does not
denote a state, but for the most part an individual
act, and corresponds, therefore, to the Greek aorist;
στῆναι *auf-stehen* (to stand up). The same meaning
may be also found in the M.H.German, e. g. *von
dem Rosse stân.* In German and Latin, therefore,
the value of a verb is altered by composition with
prepositions, in much the same manner as in Greek
by the change of kinds of time. It is true that the
two phenomena are not completely co-extensive.
In Latin the perfect combines the significations of
the aorist and the perfect proper; *conticui*, therefore,
answers not only to the Greek ἐσίγησα, but to
σεσίγηκα also; and in *conticesco*, the present cor-
responding to the perfect *conticui*, we have a union
of the effective and inchoative significations unknown
in any Greek form. The German *erwachen* stands,
it is true, in the same relation to *wachen*, as the

Homeric ἔγρεσθαι to ἐγρηγορέναι, but there is also a
prolonged *erwachen* (awaking, *expergisci*—ἐγείρεσθαι),
whereas ἔγρετο denotes merely the point of time when
the sleep ends. The German word, therefore, is not
a perfect translation of the Greek one. This is a
subject on which a wide field for observation still
remains open, as Schömann (*Redetheile*, p. 139),
though from a somewhat different point of view,
has already briefly pointed out. In our Lexicons
also scarcely anything at all has been done to trace
out the distinctions between the different kinds of
time in Greek, though these are almost quite as
important in explaining the various usages of the
word, as the distinction between Active and Middle
to which so much attention has been paid. This
neglect arises from the πρῶτον ψεῦδος that the aorist
and perfect are Tenses of past time, and that the
difference between the present and aorist, the present
and perfect, affects the real meaning of the verb no
more than that between present and future.

§ 496.

The view of the Tenses here brought forward as
the correct one appears to be contradicted to a certain
extent by the fact that the participle of the aorist
is frequently applied to actions previous to a point
in past time. Since the participle, like the other non-
augmented forms of the aorist, has nothing what-
ever to do with the denotation of past time, and
since time previous to a point in past time is not
the less a kind of past time, we do not here under-
stand at once how the participle became used in this
sense. But the enigma is solved when we examine
the nature of the aorist and participle. The latter,
an adjective in origin, fixes one action in relation
to another. The action which is denoted by the finite

verb is the principal one. When the secondary action
continues side by side with the principal action, it
must stand (παρατατικῶς) in the participle of the
present; if again referred to the future, the proper
sign of the future is needed; and similarly, the
perfect participle serves to express an action regarded
as complete in reference to the principal action.
If however it is intended to denote the secondary
action without any reference to continuousness, and
completion, and futurity, but merely as a point or
moment, the aorist participle alone remains for this
purpose. We indeed by a sort of necessity regard
a point which is fixed in reference to another action
as prior to it, but strictly speaking this notion of
priority in past time is *not* signified by the aorist
participle. But owing to the frequent use of it in
narratives, it is quite intelligible that the notion of
priority in past time became spontaneously connected
with the aorist participle. For this reason, therefore,
it could not be passed over without mention in the
Grammar. Even from the examples quoted in the
observation (γελάσας εἶπε, he began to laugh, and
said: ὧδε δέ τις εἴπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλήσιον ἄλλον; χάρισαί
μοι ἀποκρινάμενος), it is clear how nearly the past
and present often seem to meet in the participle.
In the predicative use of the aorist participle with
another aorist, more especially, it is often quite
impossible to speak of priority in past time, e. g.
in εὖ ἐποίησας ἀναμνήσας με (Plato, *Phæd.*, p. 60 c)—
'you did well to remind me'. Again in Herodotus,
V, 24 we have εὖ ἐποίησας ἀφικόμενος, where it is
quite clear that the notion of the verb is not sub-
sequent to the notion of the participle, for the kind-
ness consisted precisely in the coming (cp. Krüger,
§ 53, 6. Anm. 8; § 56, 8. Anm. 1). So too in the
proverb λάθε βιώσας, both actions are regarded as
on one and the same level in point of time. If,

therefore, in those other usages the priority merely
arises out of the connection, without being expressed
as such by language itself, the preterite signification
of the aorist participle stands exactly in a line with
that of the Infinitive and Optative, when these refer
to past actions in categorical sentences (§ 497). In
a sentence like Κύκλωπες λέγονται ἐν Σικελίᾳ οἰκῆσαι,
language does not really denote the grade of time
at all, but only the kind of time; and the aorist is
used because the fact is regarded merely as an in-
cident, and no stress is laid on the continuance of
it. Were it otherwise, were it our object to denote
a continuous state, we might use οἰκεῖν, e. g. Κύκλωπες
λέγονται τότε ἐν Σικελίᾳ οἰκεῖν, and in translating it,
must have used 'have dwelt' or 'dwelt' just as in
the case of the aorist. In these cases, it is true,
the aorist must as a rule be translated as a past
tense, but it is not on that account felt to be such
in the Greek sense of language, for in German
(and English) we are frequently compelled to mark
a grade of time which the Greeks left out of sight.
Exactly the same holds good of the Indicative aorist
as the representative of a German and Latin plu-
perfect (§ 493). The past time is here expressed in
Greek, but the priority in past time is left unmarked.
Here, as a rule, German stands far nearer to Latin
than to Greek.

§ 519 sq.

HERE it was my object to indicate at least the two principal points of view which present themselves in discussing the combination of sentences, viz. the form of their combination, and the signification arising out of it.—The formal side, therefore, is taken first and explained in § 519. Here too, owing to the brevity necessary in a school-grammar, it was by no means easy to introduce the knowledge of the origin and growth of the form of Sentences derived from the historical study of language, and at the same time to give the necessary prominence to the forms occurring in actual use. In Greek as we find it even in the Homeric poems the two leading forms of combination, parataxis and hypotaxis, meet us as characteristic, but it is clear that the latter is, historically speaking, invariably a development from the former. Hypotaxis was impossible until the relative had become sharply distinguished from the demonstrative, but in the first instance as we have already seen (p. 86), this was not the case. Even in Homer the demonstrative and relative still coincide in many instances, and in consequence we find the older parataxis still frequently underlying and breaking up through the Homeric hypotaxis. The best known instance of this is the case of δέ in Apodosis, which admits of no other explanation. But the same confusion, or more correctly speaking, the same incomplete separation of the two forms, is also to be

seen in the various usages of the copulative article
side by side with a hypotactic combination; e. g.
Il. A 218 ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπείθηται, μάλα τ᾽ ἔκλυον αὐτοῦ
(cp. § 624, 5). Hypotaxis has obviously arisen out
of parataxis in two ways. First directly, one of
the sentences, which originally were equally in-
dependent, being thrust into the background. In this
manner have arisen relative sentences—subordinate
and parenthetical—like μῆνιν οὐλομένην ἥ μυρί᾽ Ἀχαιοῖς
ἄλγε᾽ ἔθηκεν. These sentences continue to preserve
something of the free nature of paratactic combin-
ation, even as they are carried on in a thoroughly
paratactic manner (§ 605). But a far more fertile
source of hypotaxis is the correlative combination
of sentences which in innumerable instances forms
the connecting link between parataxis and hypotaxis.
In a Homeric sentence like Il. A 125 ἀλλὰ τὰ (μὲν)
πολίων ἐξ ἐπράθομεν τὰ δέδασται, we perceive as yet
no formal distinction at all between parataxis and
correlation. Emphasis alone marks the second member
τὰ δέδασται as the most important. Here we see
how one of the two demonstrative pronouns became
weakened into a relative while the other became
more and more prominent. The attention was roused
by the accent in the first member (πρότασις) and
satisfied in the second (ἀπόδοσις); and in this con-
sists the essential characteristic of correlation. The
more also that the demonstrative pronouns and
particles became separated in form from the relatives,
the more did correlation begin to be distinctly marked
as differing from parataxis. Even in Homer the
correlative combination of sentences is developed to
a great extent. But in the later language also this
combination of sentences is of great importance on
account of the hypothetical clauses (§ 534), and,
therefore, it could not be passed over. In its nature
the correlative combination is distinguished from the

hypotactic by the fact that in correlatives neither
of the two sentences can be regarded as absolutely
pre-eminent, and, therefore, we cannot yet speak
of any subordination. As the protasis is completed
in the apodosis, so, conversely, the apodosis is not
intelligible till we refer to the protasis, whereas at
least some kinds of hypotactic combination are of
such a nature that the main sentence is easily in-
telligible by itself, but the dependent sentence con-
tains an addition not absolutely required to make
the meaning clear, e. g. § 531 τοῦτ' αὐτὸ νῦν δίδασχ'
ὅπως ἄν ἐκμάθω. This is the reason that in the
earlier editions of the grammar down to the fifth
the correlative sentences are separated from hypo-
taxis, and put in a class by themselves. From a
scientific point of view such an arrangement is cor-
rect enough. There is really a distinction, though
a delicate one, between correlative and hypotactic
arrangement; but I admit that the distinction cannot
always be realized in practical instruction. From
Homer downwards language is at pains to amalga-
mate correlative sentences more closely. Even the
fact that the pronouns and particles are frequently
allowed to remain in the apodosis obscures the
mutual interchange of the clauses, which is again
still further confused by the frequent transfer and
combination of the particles peculiar to the pro-
tasis and apodosis. Thus ἄν and κέν are particles
belonging properly to apodosis only, but in certain
shades of hypothesis they are attracted by prolepsis
into the protasis. Hence arose εἰ ἄν, ἐάν, ἤν or εἴ
κεν. In a similar manner ἐπεί may certainly be
analyzed into ἐπί and εἰ. ἐπί which is here adverbial
in the sense of 'thereupon' (cp. Sanskrit *api* also)
is in the first instance a correlative, in regard to
time, of ἐι, a particle of similarly temporal signification
= 'when'. ἐπεὶ εἶδεν ἔγνω is, therefore, an abbreviated

expression for εἰ εἶδεν ἐπὶ ἔγνω, i. e. 'when he saw, then he knew'. Similarly Latin *tametsi* = *tamen etsi*, *tamquam* from *quam* (protasis), and *tam* (apodosis), and *priusquam*. When in the effort made by language to bring forward as quickly as possible the leading thought of the sentence, confusions of this kind had become numerous, the distinction between correlation and hypotaxis disappeared altogether in many cases. Both stand in common contrast to parataxis; hence the separation between the two has been given up in the Grammar. But for the same reason it is quite impossible to bring forward throughout, the real nature of those correlative sentences which now appear as a kind of hypotaxis. This is done only in the hypothetical sentences (§ 534), in which the correlative relation can easily be made clear. The dependent interrogative sentences also have without doubt arisen from this class—question and answer being an essential kind of correlation. In εἰπέ μοι τίνα γνώμην ἔχεις, the second sentence was originally an independent question, which formed the protasis to the apodosis εἰπέ ('What opinion hast thou, that tell me'). But I very much doubt if it is advisable to point this out to a pupil, for the fact has little in common with the teaching of Greek as distinct from other languages, but applies equally to all. Moreover, it is often a matter of doubt what view ought to be taken of such sentences, and exact knowledge is in many cases impossible, until we have enquired into the origin and primary meaning of the conjunctions. Nevertheless I consider it essential that the idea of correlation should not escape the pupil, because it is necessary to a proper understanding of the combination of sentences. This is not the only case in which a school-grammar must be content to indicate explanations without entering into further detail.

The second point to be noticed in the combination
of sentences is the meaning of the sentence or the
relation of ideas which prevails between the matter
of one sentence and the matter of another. This is
denoted in two ways, by moods and by conjunctions.
1. The form of the moods is obviously somewhat
indefinite. By the use of the two moods, which,
when connecting sentences, may be termed oblique
after the analogy of the oblique cases, no more is
really signified than that one sentence is to be re-
garded in comparison with the other as something
merely required or thought of. 2. The meaning of
the conjunctions is at first sight more specific, but
on going deeper and enquiring further into their
origin, we frequently find that the specific meaning
is merely a delusion. The same particles ὡς, the
fundamental meaning of which is undoubtedly 'how',
and ὅπως, which is not materially different, meet us
in nearly every sort of sentence relative, temporal,
final and categorical. ὅτι 'that', and ὅτι 'because' are
one and the same, the inference being that language
did not mark the distinction between categorical and
causal sentences. εἰ was unquestionably a temporal
particle in the first instance, like the German *wenn*,
which is a weakened form of *wann*. ἐπί has already
been explained from this original signification, and
from it also the meaning of εἰ with the optative dis-
cussed in § 547 is rendered intelligible. Hence we
see that even the hypothetical relation was not ori-
ginally distinguished by language from the temporal.
It follows, therefore, that in all our classifications of
sentences, we are rather logical than grammatical,
importing more into the words than the language
really means. Nevertheless some arrangement of
dependent sentences according to their meaning is
necessary in instruction. But it would be very
absurd to preserve a strict consistency in this respect

in opposition to the genius of the language. An able
teacher will perceive that I have guarded against
that. Thus the sentences in which ὅπως occurs with
the future indicative are indeed included amongst
the sentences of purpose in § 552 Obs. for the sake
of completeness, but they will be found explained in
detail among the relative sentences in § 553, and
that with reference to § 500. The future indicative
in a sentence like σκόπει ὅπως τὰ πράγματα σωθήσεται
becomes intelligible only when we remember that
ὅπως is really a relative particle signifying 'how';
'consider how, in what manner, the state will be
preserved'. The modal signification changes into
the final by a usage parallel to that of the Latin
ut. Elsewhere also I have been at pains to avoid
anything like those logical systems, which do but
stand in the way of a living insight into the pro-
cesses of language, and to refer to the connections
and transitions which prevail between usages ap-
parently distinct.

If now we ask how language has distinguished
the conjunctions from each other, and has applied
these distinctions to the sentences introduced by
them we must here as elsewhere go back to the
form. The conjunctions used in the protasis and
apodosis have all with few exceptions arisen out of
relative stems. But they display different forms,
and four cases especially can be distinguished, viz.
Accusative, Locative, Instrumental, and Ablative.
Accusatives are ὅ, the compound ὅτι (= ὅ τι), Latin
quod, and perhaps also *quia*, as the plural of *quod*.
ὅτι, as an accusative of substance, brings the contents
of the dependent sentence under the action of the
governing verb in the leading sentence; and, there-
fore, serves as the particle in sentences of assertion
and opinion. ἕως and the correlative τέως (cp. *quam-
dia, tamdiu*) are also accusatives, the case being

here used in a temporal sense, and, therefore, like
quantum—tantum temporis. ἧος, a form proved by
the metre in Homer, corresponds to the Sanskrit
jâvat, the neuter accusative of the pronoun stem
java(n)t (quantum), which is used in exactly the
same sense. ὅ-τι is naturally to be explained in the
same manner. εἰ is a locative used in a temporal
signification (cp. Latin *ubi*); in form it may be
compared to the Latin *si* and Oscan *svai* (cp. also
Romai, χαμαί). As we have already seen, it meant
'when', with this qualification, that it did not, like
ὅτε, refer to a continuance of time, but merely to a
point. ἵ-ν-α is an instrumental of the relative stem *ja*,
which is here weakened into ἱ. Originally, there-
fore, it meant 'wherewith' and may be compared to
the Latin instrumental ablative *quô* and the German
damit. Finally ὡς together with ὅπως and the cor-
relatives ὥς, οὕτως are ablatives. Here as in the other
adverbs in ως the modal signification of the ablative
has arisen out of *unde*. In this manner the doctrine
of sentences may be connected with the doctrine of
cases and from the very forms of language a principle
of arrangement may be obtained for the sentences
introduced by conjunctions. We might divide them
into accusative, locative, instrumental and ablative
sentences. In so far as such an arrangement rests
on elements which we find denoted in language itself,
it would be more justifiable than the arrangements now
in use, which have arisen from mere abstractions, and
for that very reason are found to be unsuitable and
incomplete, when we classify the individual phenomena
under them. The sentences thus divided into four
classes might in turn be collected under the common
name of conjunction-sentences and distinguished from
the relative sentences in the narrower sense, i. e.
from sentences introduced by actual case-forms of
the relative pronoun. Only the interrogative sentences

would then, it is true, still require a separate treat-
ment. But I need hardly remind my readers that
such an arrangement must first be carried out in a
strictly scientific manner, and worked through on
all sides, before it is fitted for a place in a school-
grammar. In such a work, especially on account of
the great importance of the hypothetical sentences
for the construction of the relative as of the temporal
sentences, we can hardly avoid giving an earlier place
to that class of sentences than to the latter.

In the Infinitive as elsewhere it is necessary to start
from the form. The Infinitive, in its origin, is the
petrified case of a substantive of abstract meaning,
but one which in many instances is united more
closely to the verb than all other abstract substantives.
As to the definite case-form, which underlies the
Infinitive, scholars are hitherto only so far agreed,
that the forms in αι: εἰπέμεναι, γεγονέναι, λέγεσθαι
are pretty generally regarded as the fullest and oldest.
But whether these forms are really Locatives, or
Datives is a point on which views differ. In my
treatise, *De nominum formatione*, p. 58, I have at-
tempted for the first time to establish the Locative
form of the Infinitive. Bopp, *Vergl. Gramm.*, III,
323 sq., pronounces for the Dative, and also Leo
Meyer in his treatise on the Infinitive (Göttingen
1856), and Lange in his review of my grammar,
Zeitschr. f. d. ö. Gymn., 1855 sq., p. 728 sq. These
scholars lay stress more especially on the circumstance,
that in the dialect of the Vedas forms distinctly
dative are applied as infinitives. I am joined by
Schleicher, *Compend.*, p. 335 in starting from the
Locative, and also, though less decisively, by Schö-
mann, *Redetheile*, p. 66. Two reasons especially seem
to me to be in favour of the latter view. In the
first place Datives in αι are unknown in Greek,
whereas certainly one Locative at the least occurs
with this termination, χαμαί, to which, after what

has been said αἱ with the weaker form εἱ may be
joined. As χαμαί is a Locative from χαμα, so must
the Infinitives in -μεναι be regarded as Locatives
of abstract substantives in -μενα. We must assume
a noun-stem ἐδ-μενα, the suffix of which is only
distinguished from that in πλησ-μονα by a difference
in the vowel. If this ἐδ-μενα signified 'eating', the
Locative ἐδ-μεναι means literally 'in eating'. In the
second place the meaning of the Locative is exactly
suited to explain the various usages of the Infinitive.
The Infinitive denotes the limits, the sphere, in which
the action of a verb moves; δύναμαι λαβεῖν, also the
province in which the meaning of an adjective is
realized: ϑείειν ἀνέμοισιν ὅμοιοι. In this sense the
Indian Grammarians use the Locative, in order
to apply the idea contained in a root, e. g. *budh*
(= Greek πυϑ) *vêdanê* (Locative from the Nom.
vêdana-m 'knowledge'), i. e. εἰδέναι, and, therefore,
exactly in the manner of the Infinitive. This more
indefinite signification of the Locative appears to me
better suited to give the starting point of the various
usages of the Infinitive than the signification of 'aim'
or 'object', from which those start, who assume the
Dative as their basis. My account of the Infinitive,
therefore, is tacitly based on the assumption that
it was originally a Locative, and by slow degrees
has grown up to a wider usage. At the same time
it was also natural to presuppose that language her-
self lost the consciousness of this origin at a very
early period, and, therefore, I have been very careful
not to allow this view of the origin of the form to
have too much influence in the arrangement and
explanation of the usage.   •

Chap. XXIII.—The Participle.

While the use of the Infinitive in Greek is on the whole simple, and chiefly requires explanation at length in regard to one point only, viz. the combination with cases, the participle presents a considerable number of peculiar usages. In classifying these I have, in all essentials, followed K. W. Krüger, without however adopting his arrangement. The expression 'attributive use' is intelligible without explanation. The 'appositive use' is connected with the definition of apposition given in § 361, 12. By 'apposition' I mean an addition of a looser kind, which as a rule is synonymous with a descriptive parenthesis, or subordinate sentence. Hence the appositive participles are a shorter looser and, therefore, also less definite mode of expression, serving essentially the same purpose, which is attained in a more compact manner by relative and conjunctional sentences. Classen in his excellent remarks on the use of language in Homer gives the name 'predicative' to the use which I call appositive. I am not ignorant that this term can be justified, in so far as the appositive participle, as distinguished from the attributive, possesses, it is true, a certain predicative power, which meets us most decisively in the absolute constructions. But still it appeared to me more advisable to limit the expression 'predicative participle', as Krüger has done, to that usage, in which the participle serves to supplement a verbal predicate (§ 589—594), and forms as such an essential part

of the predication. This widely ramifying use, to which the Greek language is especially partial, is of supreme importance to the pupil. The predicative participle, or, to speak more truly, the participle which unites with the verb to form a predicate, has without doubt arisen out of the appositive; λανθάνω τι ποιῶν means, properly, 'I remain concealed while I do something'. But the participle becomes so much changed by usage, that the real predicate is often contained in it, ἴσθι λυπηρὸς ὤν. And, therefore, especially as the usage is a widespread and manifold one in combination with cases, a special name is absolutely necessary for it. Here, as in the discussion of the participle generally I have felt myself specially called upon to familiarize the Greek usages, by the comparison of the corresponding but more familiar phenomena in German.

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