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OUTLINES OF LATIN PHONETICS

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OUTLINES
OF
LATIN PHONETICS

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INTRODUCTION.

It has long been recognised that the methods of teaching Latin grammar in vogue in England are marked by an absence of scientific accuracy and by a neglect of philological principles. The conditions that Professor Meillet in his foreword to this book describes as existing in France obtain in this country as well : ' Separated from all modern conceptions, and still scholastic in its essence and formation, grammatical instruction has become a dead element ; it is confined to facts unconnected by any ideas or connected only by ideas which are now obsolete and conflicting with everything else learnt by the pupil. Thus every day opinion becomes more hostile to grammar, and every year fewer hours are assigned to a subject the barren nature of which is felt by every one. Yet,' as the same critic continues, ' it might be thought that a science the essential object of which is to study the principal means of expression of human thought might deserve the attention of schoolboys, and be capable, if properly taught, of awakening their lively interest.'

In the hope, then, of filling to some extent an admitted blank in the public school curriculum, the editors have translated this little book, which has met with a large measure of favour on the Continent. It may prove useful in University courses as well as in schools. It was

intended, however, not for students, but for schoolboys between the ages of fifteen and eighteen with a sufficient grounding in the elements of Latin. The author has omitted references to Greek, believing that a large majority of such boys know nothing, or next to nothing, of that language; and, as Professor Meillet remarks with justice, this has also definite advantages from a purely scientific point of view: Latin has closer connections with Oscan and Umbrian and the Celtic dialects than with Greek.

The translators have compiled an index, but have refrained, except in a few instances, from inserting notes, not only from reluctance to burden the outline with additional matter, but chiefly in the conviction that further elucidation and comment should be left to the teacher.

* before a word indicates a hypothetical form restored by induction.

> means 'developed into'; *i.e.*, $\check{e} > i$ means 'ē developed into *i*.'

O.L. = Old Latin.

) (means 'contrasted with.'

A small dash before or after, or both before and after a letter or a combination of letters, marks an initial, final, or medial sound; *e.g.*, *s-* = initial *s*, *-s* = final *s*, *-s-* = medial *s*.

Since Latin presents numerous grammatical coincidences with Greek, Celtic, Slavonic and several other languages, we must conclude that all these languages develop from

a common source, that they continue a prehistoric common language just as French, Italian, Spanish, etc., continue Latin. This prehistoric language is known as the **Indo-European**; its various transformations, represented by the languages to which we have just referred, are called **Indo-European languages**.

The **stem** of a word is that part of it which remains after the termination is cut off. The **termination** is the variable element which serves to indicate the part played by the word in the sentence. Thus *dūc-* is the stem of *dux*, *manu-* of *manus*, *ama-* of *amare*, and so on. The division into stem and termination in Latin is often difficult, and in several cases quite impossible without the help of its cognate languages. Sometimes the stem cannot be reduced further, as, for example, *dūc* in *dux*, but generally it can be split up into two quite distinct factors, each of which is found in other combinations. Consider, for example, *cantu-*, the stem of *cantus*, *-ūs*. The element *can-* is seen also in *cano*, *canor*, *cantor*, etc., and the element *-tu-* in *gustus*, *-ūs*; *partus*, *-ūs*; *sumptus*, *-ūs*, etc. Similarly the analysis of *rūbē-*, the stem of *rūbēre* shows a factor *rūb-* which is contained also in *rūber*, *rūbor*, *rūbia* ('madder,' a plant from whose roots is made a red dye), and a factor *-ē-* found in *calēre*, *latēre*, *nitēre*, etc. Of these two constituent elements of the stem the first is called the **root**, the second the **suffix**. Thus a word consists normally of three parts—**root**, **suffix**, and **termination**.¹

¹ [From * on is translated from the French. Editorial notes are indicated throughout by square brackets.]

LATIN PHONETICS.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

§ 1. PHONETICS is the science dealing with the sounds which constitute language. By sounds are meant all the impressions that are made on our organs of hearing, determined by the modifications which the organs of speech produce on the current of breath issuing from the lungs. These impressions may be investigated from two points of view: (1) from that of their physiological production, and (2) from that of their historical development. Indeed, sounds depend for their development on space and time. The transformations which they undergo occur unconsciously, *i.e.*, independently of the will or reflection of the speaker. They are brought about by imperceptible gradations, and according to unchangeable laws. That is to say, all sounds, or groups of sounds, if exposed to identical conditions, develop with absolute regularity. Exceptions to this rule, which is the fundamental principle of the linguistic method, are merely apparent. They are mostly to be explained as being the result of disturbances in the normal course of phonetic laws brought about by a psychological cause, which we call **analogy**. For example, in Latin, in an open medial syllable (*i.e.*, where the vowel is followed by a single consonant only), a short *ĕ* appears unchanged in such words as *comĕdo*,

appĕto, obtĕgo, dissĕco, subvĕnio ; while it becomes ĭ in such words as praesĭdeo () (sĕdeo), constĭti () (stĕti), collĕgo () (lĕgo), auspĭcis (genitive of auspĕx), sustĭneo () (tĕneo). But we must be careful not to regard this difference of treatment as a capricious trick of language. As a matter of fact, the transition of ě into ĭ took place in all the words mentioned ; but analogy has restored the original ě in comĕdo, appĕto, obtĕgo, dissĕco, subvĕnio, in order to accentuate their affinity with ědo, pĕto, etc. Thus analogy acts with a levelling tendency on words related by grammatical function or signification.

GENERAL THEORY OF SOUNDS.

§ 2. Spoken language is produced by the current of air issuing from the mouth in the shape of breath. The breath, expelled from the lungs, passes first through the windpipe and then into the larynx. The larynx is formed of several cartilages, between which are stretched two membranes—the vocal chords. Between these again lies a slit called the glottis. If the current of breath finds the glottis closed, it forces its way out by a series of jerks which set the vocal chords in vibration. On the other hand, if it finds the glottis open, it passes freely through, and sets up no movement of the vocal chords. In the former case the sound produced is said to be **voiced**; in the latter case, **breathed**. A simple method of testing to which of these two categories any given sound belongs is to close the ears while uttering the sound. If you hear a buzzing noise in the head, the sound produced is voiced; if no buzzing sound is heard, it is breathed. After passing through the glottis the breath enters the pharynx, from which it escapes through the mouth or the nose, or through both exits simultaneously, according as the soft palate, a membranous partition between the cavity of the mouth and that of the nose, is raised, depressed, or held in balance in an intermediate position by its muscles.

The mouth plays a double part in sound production. Sometimes it serves merely as a sounding-board to the sound produced in the larynx; at other times, by a series of stoppages, or narrowing processes, it puts various

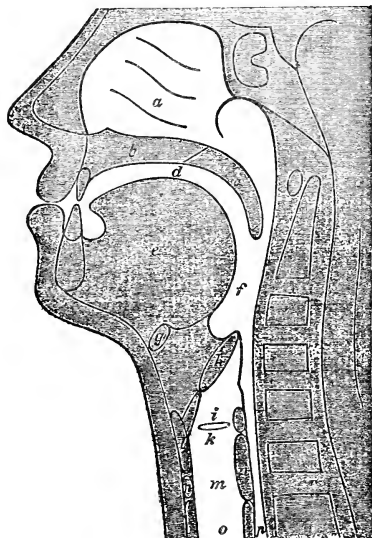
obstacles in the way of the breath. Consequently sounds are divided into (a) those in the utterance of which the mouth cavity *maintains unchanged* the position it has once adopted, and (b) those which depend entirely or mainly on a closing or opening *movement*. The former are called vowels; the latter consonants. It is important, however, to notice carefully that one cannot draw an absolute line between these two classes of sounds [*e.g.*, the sonant use of consonants *l*, *m*, *n* (also *ng*, *i.e.*, *w*), *r*, *z*, represented as *l̄*, *m̄*, etc., spelt, *e.g.*, *rattle*, *Birmingham*, *written*, *can give*, *as*; *r̄* is not represented in English, but is common in German, *e.g.*, 'butter.')] On the other hand *i*, *ou*, *u* are true vowels in the French words *je lie*, *je tue*, *je loue*; but as they admit of a distinct raising of the tongue, they can act also as movements of closing and opening, that is to say as consonants; compare *nous lions*, *nous tuons*, *nous louons*, where, in modern French, each word is pronounced as a monosyllable. With this reservation we may for convenience maintain the accepted terms vowel and consonant.

§ 3. Starting with the neutral vowel *a*, which is pronounced with the tongue lying loosely on the base of the mouth cavity, we may divide the vowels into *front* and *back* vowels. This distinction is based upon whether the tongue lies bunched in the front or the back part of the mouth. Another possible division may be drawn dependent on the vertical distance between the top of the arched part of the tongue and the roof of the hard palate. In this way we distinguish between low and high vowels, more commonly known as open and close vowels.¹

¹ Cf. Giles, § 79.

Two vowels of different timbre or acoustic quality, uttered without break in the same syllable, constitute a diphthong.

Diagram of the Organs of Speech (after Victor).



- (a) nasal cavity.
- (b) hard palate.
- (c) soft palate.
- (d) mouth cavity.
- (e) tongue.
- (f) pharynx.
- (g) hyoid bone.
- (h) epiglottis.
- (i) rima glottidis.
- (k) vocal chord.
- (l) thyroid cartilage.
- (m) laryngeal cavity.
- (n) tracheal rings.
- (o) air tube.
- (p) oesophagus.

§ 4. Consonants fall into two main categories: close or stops, and narrow. The first are characterised by a complete stoppage, the latter by a mere narrowing of the air passage. The stops are instantaneous explosive sounds; the narrow, on the other hand, can be maintained for a more or less long time. Hence the stops are sometimes called 'momentary' and the narrow 'continuous' sounds. The narrow are divided into four categories, which are named after the manner in which the air

escapes in the process of their production: Fricatives or Spirants, Trilled Consonants, Lateral or Divided Consonants (these last two are often spoken of by the common name of *Liquids*), and Nasals.

In the production of spirants the current of air finds the breath passage of the mouth narrowed, and produces a rubbing sound.

The trilled consonants are determined by the rapid vibration against the teeth roots of an elastic organ (the uvula or tip of the tongue), which is displaced by the breath, and then returns to its former position [or by vibration of the flexible parts of the mouth between themselves, *e.g.*, the lips].

Divided consonants are formed when the tip or back of the tongue is pressed against the central line of the hard palate, from the teeth to the soft palate, and blocks the path for the breath, which escapes sideways.

Finally, the nasals are produced when the mouth is closed, but the soft palate lowered, so that the air can pass freely through the nose.

Another division of the consonants may be made according to the place in the mouth where the obstacle arises, which conditions the sound characteristic of each.

[Divided thus there are seven main classes :—

(1) Velar, back or guttural, formed by the root of the tongue and the soft palate (velum), *e.g.*, *ch* as in Scotch *loch* (spirant); *ng* or *ɲ* as in *being* (nasal).

(2) Palatal or front, formed by the middle of the tongue and the hard palate, *e.g.*, *k* before *e* or *i* in such words as *Kent*, *kindred* (stop).

(3) Cerebral, formed by the blade of the tongue and the front of the hard palate, *e.g.*, *ʃ* = *sh*, *ʒ* = *zh*, as in *daze* (spirant).

(4) Dental (alveolar), formed by the tip of the tongue

and the roots of the upper teeth, *e.g.*, *t* as in *temper* (stop); *s* as in *summer* (spirant); *n* as in *nowhere* (nasal).

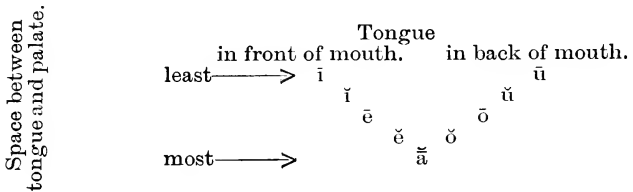
(5) Interdental, formed by the tip of the tongue and the tips of the front teeth, *e.g.*, *th* as in *then*, *thin* (spirants).

(6) Labiodental, formed by the lower lip and upper teeth, *e.g.*, *f* and *v* as in *fall*, *veal* (spirants).

(7) Labial, formed by the upper and lower lips, *e.g.*, *p*, *b*, *w*, *m* (and sometimes *r* when used alone as an ejaculation), as in *pile*, *beer* (stops); *woman*, *man* (nasals).]

CLASSIFICATION OF THE LATIN SOUNDS.

§ 5. The Latin vowels may, according to the principles laid down above, be represented by the following scheme, which shows the different positions of the tongue :—



Note.—The vowel *y*, not mentioned in the scheme, occurs only in Greek loanwords (see § 6, note iv. 3).

There were four diphthongs in classical Latin, viz. :—*eu* (very rare, see § 22), *ae*, *au*, *oe*.

§ 6. In the following Table the consonants are classified from the double standpoint of the form and place of their articulation :—

Form of Articulation.		Place of Articulation.	Labials.	Dentals.	Gutturals.
Stops.		voiced.	b	d	g
		breathed.	p	t	c, k, q
Narrow.	Spirants.	voiced.			
		breathed.	f	s	
	Trilled.	voiced.		r	
		breathed.			
	Divided.	voiced.			l
		breathed.			
	Nasals.	voiced.	m	n	ŋ
		breathed.			

[For fuller table see Giles, table opposite, p. 90.]

NOTES.

(i.) The place of articulation of the guttural stops is not fixed. The tongue touches the palate more or less back according to the acoustic quality of the following vowel. Before *e* and *i* the position is at the hard palate; before *a* at the middle of the palate, *i.e.*, half-way between the hard and soft palates; before *o* and *u* at the back part of palate, *i.e.*, the soft palate or velum. It is probable that in O.L. the use of the three symbols *c*, *k*, *q*, corresponded to these three positions. Indeed, it seems that originally *c* was as a rule written before *i* and *e* (*civis*, *cēna*), *k* before *a* (*kāpūt*, *kārus*), *q* before *o* and *u* (*qōmēs*, *qūra*). Gradually, however, the use of *c* became general; *k* disappeared and left but a few traces in certain abbreviations, *e.g.*, *K* = *Kaeso* (proper name), *K* or *KAL* = *cālendae*, *KA* = *cāpitālis*, *KK* = *castrorum*, etc.; while *q* was retained only in the combination *qu*, which denoted the breathed labialised guttural in words like *qui*, *quae*, *quod* (§ 39). Latin recognised also two kinds of the narrow divided *l*, which was articulated sometimes at the root of the upper front teeth (palatal *l*); sometimes at the soft or velar palate (velar *l*). The *l* was palatal, (*a*) when initial; (*b*) when medial before *i*; (*c*) in cases of doubled *ll*. It was velar (*a*) when final; (*b*) when medial before *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, and before a consonant.

(ii.) The sound represented by Latin *f* was originally formed by pressing the lips together. But at a relatively early period this bilabial¹ changed into a labiodental *f*, which, as in English, French, and German was produced by the pressure exercised by the upper front teeth on the lower lip.

(iii.) *ʋ* denotes the guttural nasal, for which the Latin alphabet like English, French, and German possessed no special symbol. Before a guttural stop this sound was written *n*, as in *angulus* and *anceps*; before a nasal, *g* as in *dignus* (§ 69). The poet Accius (170-94 B.C.), proposed to employ *g* before gutturals as well, as was done in Greek. Thus instead of *angulus*, *anceps*, *ancora*, etc., he would

¹ [See Edmonds, pp. 77, 78. The bilabial *f* was represented in early Latin by *fh*, *e.g.*, *FHEFHAKED*, the old form of *fecit*.]

have written *aggulus*, *ageps*, *agcora*. His suggestion, however, was not adopted.

(iv.) In the scheme given above the following letters are omitted :—

(1) *h*, which was mute in classical times as in modern French (§ 44).

(2) *j* and *v*, which were semi-vowels, at least as late as the first century A.D., *i.e.*, consonantal forms of the vowels *i* and *u*. Their sounds were equivalent to those heard in *i* and *u* respectively in the French *pierre* (pronounced *pyèr* and *échouer* (pronounced *échwé*). The use of the letters *j* and *v* dates from modern times. Their introduction is due to the scholars of the Renaissance. In this book these convenient symbols will be employed to represent initial consonantal *i* and *u*. The Latin alphabet, however, knew only *i* and *u*.

(3) The voiced dental spirant *z*, which was unknown in genuine Latin words, *cf.* Quintilian, *Instit. Orat.*, xii. 10, 28; *namque est ipsis statim sonis durior (i.e., Latina facundia) quando et jucundissimas ex Graecis litteras non habemus, vocalem alteram, alteram consonantem, quibus nullae apud eos dulcius spirant, quas mutuari solemus quotiens illorum nominibus utimur—quod cum contingit, nescio quomodo velut hilarior protinus renidet oratio, ut in zephyris et zophoris: quae si nostris litteris scribantur, surdum quiddam et barbarum efficient.*

(4) The breathed aspirate stops *ch*, *ph*, *th*, originally restricted to Greek loanwords borrowed at a comparatively late period, such as *chōrus*, *māchīna*, *philtrum* (a love charm), *romphaea* (a broad-sword), *thēsaurus*, *cithāra*. Under the influence of these aspiration was introduced, it is true, from the end of the second century B.C., in a certain number of words of genuine Latin origin, as in *pulcher* (the pronunciation *pulcer* was obsolete in Cicero's time, as he himself informs us, *cf. Orator*, 48, § 160); *sēpulchrum* (a pronunciation which in Cicero's time was not common, and one which Cicero personally rejects (*cf. Orator*, loc. cit.)), *limpha* (spring water), *sulphur*, etc. (§ 35).

(v.) The difference which manifests itself in English in the names given to the letters denoting the consonants (*f*,

l, m, n, r, s, being called *eff, ell, emm, enn, ar, ess*, while on the other hand, *b, c, d, g, k, p, q, t* are called *bee, cee, dee, gee, kay, pee, kew, tee*) goes back to ancient times with the reservation that until the second half of the fourth century A.D. the letters of the first group named *f, l, m*, etc., were pronounced without any supporting vowel. Thus up to this time they were 'litterae per se nominativae sive quae per se prolatae nomen suum ostendunt' (Charisius, i. p. 9, 4 K and Priscian, ii. p. 8, 10 K) just like *a, e, i, o, u*. Hence the Roman grammarians called them **semivocales** in opposition to *b, c, d, g*, etc., which were called **mutae**; 'quod per se sine adminiculo vocalium non possunt enuntiari' (*Diomedes*, i. p. 423, 24 K).

LATIN ACCENTUATION.

§ 7. In the sound groups which we call words, one of the syllables in each word may be brought into prominence either by strong muscular effort or by a more or less marked elevation of the voice.

The degree of prominence obtained by special energy in articulation forms the stress accent, or, shortly, 'the accent'; that which is due to the change from a lower to a higher musical note makes the pitch accent or tone.

Now, accent and tone may exist simultaneously in one and the same language. This was the case in pre-literary Latin. Independently of the alternations, inherited from the Indo-European language, of high and low syllables, a sharply-marked stress accent had begun to mark the first syllable of words. But at the beginning of the literary period this stress accent disappeared, as it was ill-suited to the genius of the Latin language, in which the quantity of the syllables was strictly marked. From the second century B.C. down to the fourth century A.D., Latin possessed merely a pitch accent or tone, the place of which was regulated by the quantity of the penultimate syllable.

There are no traces left to show that before the Romance period the pitch accent exercised any influence whatever on the sound system of Latin. On the other hand, the initial stress accent has profoundly altered the original vowels of medial syllables by strengthening the initial syllable at their expense. Still, it is remarkable that this influence is manifest only in the short vowels. Not only

did the long vowels, in spite of the influence of the stress accent, maintain both their acoustic quality and length, but it was nothing else than the struggle between the long and the stressed syllables—which gave rise to two opposed rhythms—that caused the initial stress accent to disappear.

[*Note.*—The views above given are those traditionally held by French scholars. The Germans maintain, almost without exception, that even in historical times the stress accent was far stronger than the musical one, and they explain the evidence of the Roman grammarians, which is suitable only to a musical accent, as mere thoughtless application of the terms used by Greek scholars when discussing *Greek pitch accent.*]

DEVELOPMENT OF THE LATIN VOWELS.

Changes due to Initial Stress Accent.

§ 8. The results of initial stress accentuation may be referred to two main phenomena:—

- (1) Change of the timbre or acoustic quality of short medial vowels: umlaut, or **Vowel-weakening**.
- (2) The disappearance or **Syncope** of short medial vowels.

It has not yet been possible to draw a definite line of demarcation between these two classes: *i.e.*, to explain why in one word the vowel has disappeared, instead of being merely weakened, and *vice versâ*. All that we can safely say is that vowel-weakening invariably comes into operation where syncope has not taken place.

Vowel-weakening (umlaut).

§ 9. The weakening of short medial vowels under the influence of the initial stress accent varied, according as these vowels occurred in an open or close syllable, *i.e.*, according as whether only one or more consonants followed them. We have therefore to examine their treatment separately in either of these two positions.

A. Vowel-weakening in an Open Medial Syllable.

§ 10. In an open medial syllable, except before *r* and after *i*, all short vowels, without regard to their original acoustic quality, passed into one of the two closest short

vowels *ī* or *ū*. The appearance of *ĩ* or *ũ* depended on the nature of the neighbouring sounds. Thus we have:—

- (1) *ī* before *d, t, n, g, c*;
- (2) *ī* before *l* followed by *i*, but *ū* before *l* followed by any other vowel;
- (3) *ī* or *ū* respectively before the labial sounds *b, p, f, m*; it has not as yet been possible to formulate definitely the laws which decided on the choice of the one rather than the other.

EXAMPLES.

- (1) (a) *ĩ* remains:

video; *pervideo*, *ēvidens*, *prōvidus*.
cīto (I set in motion); *excīto*, *suscīto*.
mīnuo; *commīnuo*, *immīnuo*.
rīgo; *irrīguo*, *irrīguus*.
mīco; *dīmīco*, *ēmīco*.
vīcis, gen. (nom. not in use); *invīcem*.

- (b) *ŕ > ĭ*:

sŕdeo; *obsŕdeo*, *praesŕdeo*.
dŕdi; *reddŕdi*, *tradŕdi*.
mŕdŕus; *dīmŕdŕus*.
stŕti; *dŕstŕti*, *restŕti*.
stŕpŕs, nom. (from **stŕpŕts*); gen. *stŕpŕtis*.
pŕto; *compŕtum*, 'a crossway.'
tŕnŕo; *abstŕneo*, *sustŕnŕo*.
flumŕn; gen. *flumŕnis*.
lŕgo; *sŕlŕgo*, *collŕgo*.
rŕgo; *ŕrŕgo*, *porrŕgo*.
auspŕx (= *auspŕcs*, from **āvŕ -spŕc-s*); *auspŕcis*, gen.

- (c) *ŕ > ĭ*:

cŕdo; *cecŕdi*, *decŕdo*, *incŕdo*, *succŕduus*.
ĩtŕ; *ĩtidem*.
fŕtŕor; *diffŕteor*, *profŕteor*.
stŕtuo; *restŕtuo*, *substŕtuo*.
dŕtus; *ŕdŕtus*, *prŕdŕtus*.
rŕtus, 'ratified'; *irrŕtus*.
cŕno; *cecŕni*, *concŕno*, *praecŕno*, *tibicŕnium*.
ŕgo; *abŕgo*, *transŕgo*, *prŕdŕigus*.

pāngo (root pāg); pepīgi.
 tāngo (root tāg); tētīgi.
 fācio; conficio, officio, difficilis, aedificium.
 tāceo; conticesco, reticeo.
 fācetus; inficetus.

(d) *ō > i* :

lōcus (in O.L. stlōcus according to Quintilian, *Instit. Orat.* i. 4, 16); ilico, from *in stlōcō.
 novōs (which became novūs in the Augustan period (§ 29)); novitas, from *novōtas.

(e) *ū > i* :

capūt; capītis.
 cornū (stem cornū-); cornīger.
 manūs (stem manū-); manīca, 'sleeve' or 'handcuff.'

(2) Exīlium but exīlans.

famīlia, the body of dwellers in one household, with special reference to the body of slaves under one master; but famīlus.

Sicīlia, but Sicīlus.

simīlis, but sīmīlo.

Compare also—desīlio, a compound of sālīo; and sedīlo, 'with real earnestness,' from *sé dīlō.

(3) hābeo; adhībeo, prohībeo.

tāberna; contūbernalis.

lībet; quodlībet (from compounds of this kind a form lībet established itself, which entered into competition with the original form, lūbet, and finally ousted it).

arcūs, nom. sing.; arcūbus, dat. abl. plural.

manūs; manūbus, dat. abl. plural.

Compare also :—

intūbum and intūbum, 'chichory.'

aucēps, nom.; aucūpis, gen.

mancēps; mancūpis, archaic form, and mancīpis, classical form of the gen.

cāpio; recīpero and recūpero.

accīpio, but occūpo.

rāpio; surrīpio, but in Plautus surrūpi.

aurīfex and aurūfex.

manifestus (classical form) and manūfestus (archaic form).

ferimus, legimus, but possimus, volimus.
specimen, but documentum.

In the case of the superlatives in -imus and -issimus, as optimus and optissimus, Quintilian tells us that the medial vowel which was weakened represented a sound half-way between *ĭ* and *ĭ̄* (*Instit. Orat.*, i. 4, 8: *medius est quidam u et i litterae sonus: non enim optimum dicimus aut optimum*). He states also that *u* was the archaic and *i* the classical spelling (*ib.*, i. 7, 21): *jam optimum, maximum, ut mediam litteram quae veteribus u fuerat acciperent, Gai primum Caesaris inscriptione traditur factum*. This remark is generally confirmed by the orthography of the inscriptions and the best manuscripts, which permits us to apply it further to a certain number of other words belonging to this third group (*cf. e.g.*, the genitive *mancipis*, *manĭpis*; *manifestus*, *manĭfestus* mentioned above). At the same time it is to be noticed that as regards *minus* no form *minissimus* appears to be proved, and this fact, together with the contrast of *ferimus*, *legimus*, with *possimus*, *volimus*, and of *specimen* with *documentum*, seems to suggest a certain influence exercised by the vowel of the first syllable on the acoustic quality of the vowel of the second syllable. In other cases, as in that of *accipio* (*occĭpo*, it seems more probable that the vowel of the syllable which followed determined the acoustic quality of that which was weakened.

§ 11. Before *r* every short medial vowel has the acoustic value of *ĕ*.

EXAMPLES.

Nom. *cinĭs*; gen. *cinĕris* (from **cinĭsis*, **cinĕris* (§ 41)).
pulvĭs; *pulvĕris*.
Falĭsci; *Falĕrii* from **Falĭsii*, **Falĕrii* (§ 41).

legifer; legērupa, 'law breaker' (this form is testified to by the best MSS. of Plautus, *Persa*, 68).

fērus; effērus.

verbār; verbēris.

dāre; reddere, tradere.

pārio; pepēri, repērio.

Compare further—legere, numerus, volneris (volnus).

§ 12. Lastly, *ē* represents the weakened vowel after *i*.

EXAMPLES.

pietas, varietas (derived from pius and varius, older forms piūs, variūs, like novitas from novūs (§ 10, 1, d)).

abiētis, arietis, parietis, genitives from abiēs, ariēs, pariēs (the long vowel in the nominative of these three words is exactly comparable with that of pēs) (pēdis).

B. Vowel-weakening in Closed Medial Syllables.

§ 13. In a closed medial syllable *ā* became *ē* irrespective of its neighbouring sounds; *ō* became *ū* from the end of the third century B.C., except after *u*, whether vocal or consonantal, when it was retained in writing until the commencement of the Augustan Era.¹ The other vowels remained unchanged.

EXAMPLES.

1. *ā* > *ē* :

ārceo; cōrceo, exrceo.

cārpo; discārpo, excārpo.

scāndo; ascāndo, descāndo.

trācto; detrācto, obrācto.

fāctus; effāctus, refāctus.

jāctus; abjāctus, subjāctus.

fāllo; fefālli.

pārco; pepārci.

ānnus; biānnium.

¹ [Probably because of the confusion entailed by the collocation *uu*.]

bārba ; imbārbis.

āptus ; inēptus.

2. *ǝ* > *ǖ* :

O.L. endǝstruos, 'industrious,' properly 'working within one's head,' from endǝ, 'within,' and strūo, 'I build': cf. Paulus Diaconus, p. 75, 28 Th.: *industrium antiqui dicebant endostruom quasi qui, quidquid ageret, introstrueret et studeret domi.* Classical form *indǖstrius*.

mǝnt-, stem of mōns (with compensatory lengthening of *ǝ* (§ 25, 2)).

promǝnturium (this and not promǝnturium is the proper spelling).

O.L. Venos,¹ Venēris (the form Venos is found on two very old mirrors); venǝstus.

On the other hand, during the whole Republican period the pronunciation of the 3rd pers. plur. pres. indic. of frūor and sēquor was exclusively frūǝntur, sēquǝntur (§ 29).

3. *ǐ*, *ǣ*, *ǖ* remain unchanged :

dǐsco ; dedǐsco, perdǐsco.

fǐrmus ; infǐrmus.

sǣntio ; consǣntio, dissǣntio.

sǖrvos ; consǖrvos.

fǖndo ; effǖndo, transfǖndo.

cǖrvos ; recǖrvos.

Effect of Analogy and Particular Cases.

§ 14. The regular action of these laws that effected the vowel weakenings was frequently crossed by analogy. Thus, for instance, the compounds *comēdo*, *dedēcus*, *posthābeo*, *perfācilis*, *convōco*, *bifōris*, *dispūto*, *impūdicus*, *illācrimor*, *subrāncidus*, *adōpto*, etc., were remodelled on the simple words *ēdo*, *dēcus*, *hābeo*, *fācilis*, *vōco*, *fōris* (generally in the plural *fōres*) *pūto*, *pūdicus*, *lācrimo*, *rāncidus*, *ōpto*. The form which followed the natural law of sound change is found sometimes retained in

¹ [Properly a neuter noun.]

popular speech. Thus, to take one example, the written language recognised only the form *sep̃aro* (from *s̃ed*, a prefix denoting separation, and *p̃aro*, 'I put on an equal footing'¹ (§ 57)), which was due to analogy. Certain vulgar texts, however, exhibit *sep̃ero*, and their testimony finds confirmation in the Romance languages, *e.g.*, Fr. *sevrer*, 'to wean,' 'to deprive'; *sep̃arare* would have produced **severer* [thus the Romance languages seem to postulate *al̃crem* beside *al̃crem*; *cf.* Grandgent, *Introduction to Vulgar Latin*, § 194].

In *corp̃oris*, gen. of *corpus*, *dec̃oris* of *decus*, *temp̃oris* of *tempus*, which stand for **corp̃eris*, **dec̃eris*, **temp̃eris*, where the *̃* should, according to rule, have been maintained, *̃* comes from the old nominatives **corp̃os*, **dec̃os*, **temp̃os*: the regular vowel has maintained itself in the adverb *temp̃erī* ('at the right time,' 'punctually'). This word was exempted from the influence of analogy by the fact that it did not fall under the regular paradigm.

In other cases the result of the laws of vowel-weakening is obscured by later changes independent of the initial stress accent. In this way we must explain, *e.g.*, *att̃ngo* instead of **att̃ngo*) (*t̃ngo* (§ 16); *ins̃ulsus* instead of **ins̃ulsus*) (*s̃ulsus* (§ 17); *secl̃udo* instead of **s̃ecl̃udo*) (*cl̃udo* (§ 22)). With regard to the last example, it should be noted that of the two factors in the diphthong *au* in *cl̃udo*, the former was the more emphasised; hence, the second, *u*, instead of being prolonged was dropped immediately, or, in other words, this *u* became consonantal (§ 6, iv. 2). Thus the *̃* of *cl̃udo* stood before two consonants (*vd*), and the compounds of this verb consequently take, according to rule, the form **cl̃udo*,

¹ [For *paro* in this sense *cf.* *Pl. Curc.*, 4, 2, 20: *eodem hercle vos pono et paro: parissumi estis iibus.*]

which, as already mentioned, passed, at a later period, into *-clūdo*. Compare also:—

caus(s)a ; *accūs(s)o*.

caedo (O.L. *caīdo* (§ 20)); *cecīdi* : intermediate stage **ceceīdi* (§ 19).

laedo (O.L. *laīdo*); *illīdo* : intermediate stage **illeīdo*.

Syncope.

§ 15. In contrast with vowel-weakening syncope does not seem to have been brought about merely by initial stress accent, though it is certain that this was the principal factor in the process. The examples to be cited immediately show indeed that the complete loss of the short medial vowel was often connected with the length of the following syllable. But it is not sufficient to hold quantity as responsible for all the phenomena of syncope. There must have been other factors as well, but in the present state of our knowledge, we can say nothing decisive concerning their character.

Syncope has not always entailed the loss of a syllable. In fact, in those words where syncope took place in immediate proximity to a *j* or a *v*, these last sounds became vowel sounds, and, unless following a vowel, maintained in the word the original number of syllables.

EXAMPLES.

(*α*) Syncope is caused by the combined action of the stress accent, and the length of the following syllable:—

ardēre)(*arīdus*.

disciplīna)(*discipūlus*.

infṛā)(*infṛus*, ‘lower’ (*e.g.*, *mare inferum*, ‘the lower,’ *i.e.*, ‘the Tyrrhenian Sea’).

suprā)(*supṛus*, ‘upper’ (*e.g.* *mare superum*, ‘the upper,’ *i.e.*, ‘the Adriatic Sea’).

valdē)(*valīdus*.

Thus the paradigm of a word like *calĭdus* was originally:—

Nom. *calĭdus.*
Acc. *calĭdum.*
Gen. *calĭdĭ.*
Dat. and Abl. *calĭdō.*

But this original condition did not remain unchanged. On the one hand analogy extended the syncopated form to the nominative and accusative, and thus produced the duplicate form *calĭdus*; a form used, according to Quintilian (*Instit. Orat.*, i. 6, 19), by the Emperor Augustus in preference to *calidus* which he considered pedantic and affected: ‘sed Augustus quoque in epistulis ad C. Caesarem¹ scriptis emendat quod is *calĭdum* dicere quam *calĭdum* malit, non quia id non sit Latinum, sed quia sit otiosum.’ On the other hand analogy restored the syncopated vowel in the genitive, dative, and ablative. The explanation given above of *calĭdus* holds equally good for *soldus*, ‘solid,’ ‘complete,’ ‘the whole sum’ (*cf. e.g.*, Horace, *Sat.* i. 2, 113:

Quaerere plus prodest et inane abscindere soldo?
 and ii. 5, 65:

Filia Nasicae metuentis reddere soldum).

as against *solĭdus*; *raucus*, ‘hoarse,’ from **rāv(ĭ)cus*, derived from *rāvis*, ‘hoarseness,’ etc.

(*b*) Syncope is caused by the combined action of the stress accent, and of a second factor other than the length of the following syllable, but which cannot be defined more precisely.

ābicio from **abj(ā)cio*.
auceps from **av(ĭ)ceps*.
concūtio from **conqu(ā)tio*.

¹ [Son of M. Vipsanius Agrippa, grandson of Augustus.]

junior from *juv(ē)nior > *jūūnior.

(for the contraction of *jūūnior to jūnior see § 32).

reccīdi, reppūli, rettūli perfects of recido, repello, refero, from *rec(ē)cīdi, *rep(ē)pūli, *ret(ē)tūli (tetuli as perfect of fero is often found in Old Latin).

In the compounds of *jacio*, the regular form according to the law of sound change, *-icio*, was replaced from the classical period onwards by the form *-jicio*, if not written, at least pronounced in this way, as the metrical scansion of *abicio*, *adicio*, *conicio*, *obicio*, *subicio* proves; the prefix of these words is always long by position in lyrical poetry and in the classical period. Vergil, for instance, begins a hexameter with *obicit*, *Aen.*, vi. 421, and vii. 480, and Aulus Gellius expressly remarks of *subicit* that the *i* of the root syllable 'vim consonantis capit et idcirco ea syllaba productius latiusque paulo pronuntiata priorem syllabam brevem esse non patitur, sed reddit eam positu longam,' *Noct. Att.*, 4, 17, 8. This innovation was due to analogy: *conjicio* for *conicio*, for example, was formed on a model like *conficio* according to the formula *facio*: *conficio* = *jacio*: *x*.

Changes Independent of Initial Stress Accent.

A. Changes of the Acoustic Quality in Syllables not Final.

§ 16. *ē* before a guttural nasal became *ī*.

EXAMPLES.

septingenti from *septēmcenti.

confringo from *confrēngo, from *confrāngo (§ 14).

suppingo ('I fasten underneath,' 'I beat'), from *subpēngo, from *subpāngo (§ 14).

dignus from *dēgnos, from *dēnos (belonging to the root of *dēcet*): *c* > *g* according to § 62.

lignum from *lĕgnom (connected with lĕgo, 'I gather'; lignum meant originally 'gathered wood.') [The jurist Gaius connected it with lego, cf. Giles, § 195, but the derivation accepted by Walde is from a word akin to Gk. λιβός 'smoke,' 'reek.']

For the representation of the guttural nasal by *g* in the last two cases, see § 6 note iii., and § 69.

§ 17. *ĕ* became *o* before *l* followed by one of the vowels *ĕ*, *ā*, *o*, *ū*. In the combination *-ĕl-* followed by a consonant, except in the case of *-ll-*, it passed first into *o* and then into *ū* (see the following paragraph).

EXAMPLES.

hōlus, O.L. *hēlus*.

The verb *vĕlle* from **vĕlse* (§ 74), root *vĕl-*; *vĕlo*, *vĕlebam*, *vĕlam*, *vĕlui*; but *vĕlim*, *vĕllem*, *vĕlle*.

exsūlto from **exsĕlto*, from **exsālto* (§ 14).

pālsus, perf., part. pass. from *pĕllo*.

§ 18. *o*, both original *o* and when substituting *ĕ* (§ 17), became *ū* before *l* *consonant (except in the combination *-oll-*).

EXAMPLES.

cūlmen) (*cōlumen*, a height.

pūlvis) (*pōllen*.

stūltus) (*stōlidus*.

§ 19. *ei* became *ī* after the second century B.C.

EXAMPLES.

dīco from *deico* (*deicerent* is found in an inscription of the year 186 B.C., the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*, given in the Appendix).

diffīdens from *diffeidens* (found on an inscription dating from the beginning of the second century B.C.).

incīdo from *inceido* (*inceideretis* in S. C. de *Bacchanalibus*).

§ 20. *ai* became *ae* from the beginning of the second century B.C. [pronounced like -ai- in 'Cairo'].

EXAMPLES.

aedes, 'temple,' from *aīdēs* (*aīde* = *aedem* is found on the burial inscription, belonging to the third century B.C., of L. Cornelius Scipio, consul 259 B.C.; while the S. C. de Bacchanalibus (186 B.C.) exhibits already *aedem*).

quaero from *quairo*: *quairatis* appears as an archaic form beside *aetatem* on the burial inscription of a Scipio, dating probably from 130 B.C.

In the low country round Rome *ae* ceased at an early period to be a diphthong. Indeed Varro informs us that the peasants in his time said *Mesius* and *edus* for *Maesius* and *haedus*: (de lingua Latina vii. 96: *rustici pappum Mesium non Maesium; cf. also v. 97*). [An attempt to change the name *Caecilius* to the popular form *Cecilius* (like *Claudius* to *Clodius*), was successfully laughed down by *Lucilius*: 'Cecilius pretor ne rusticu' fiat,' Lindsay, *S. H. Gr.*, § 2 note]. Under the Empire this pronunciation gradually gained ground, and finally became general. The *ē*, arising from an older *ae*, was open (*ē̄*), in contrast with the original *ē*, which was close (*ē̄*). Thus, when towards the end of the Empire Latin ceased to distinguish the quantity of the vowels and retained merely the differences of acoustic quality, *ae* became completely assimilated to *ě* (i.e., *e*), while on the other hand original *ē* (i.e., *e*) remained always sharply distinguished from it. This is proved by the Romance languages in which *ae* and *ě* led to the same result, whereas *ē* was treated differently: *cf.* Lat. *quaerit* > Fr. *quiert*; Lat. *hēri* > Fr. *hier*, as against Lat. *cēra* > Fr. *cire*.

§ 21. *oi* from the beginning of the second century B.C. passed first into *oe* and then into *ū*.

EXAMPLES.

ūnus from *oīnos* (*oīno* = *unum* in the burial inscription of L. Cornelius Scipio, mentioned above); *oenus* in Plautus, *Truculentus*, 104.

communis from *commoīnis* (*commoīnem* in S. C. de Bacchanalibus, 186 B.C.).

ūsus from *oīsos*; cf. Martianus Capella,¹ iii. 236: *oīsus etiam dicitur; sic enim veteres usum dixere.*

In a certain number of words the spelling *oe* was maintained even long after the pronunciation was *u*. Thus *murus* is often written *mœrus* as late as the manuscripts of Vergil. Finally, by a reaction of the written language on the pronunciation, *oe* was restored in pronunciation in cases like *poena* ()(*punire*), *moenia* ()(*murus*), etc.

In the case of *coepi* the *oe* does not represent the Indo-European diphthong *oi*, but is a later contraction of *ō + ē*: *coepi* from *cō - ēpi* (for the trisyllabic scansion $\sim - \simeq$ cf. Lucretius, iv. 619, *si quis forte manu premere ac siccare coepit*, cf. Monro *ad loc.*), contains the perfect of a verb *apio*, 'to join,' which seems to have become obsolete at an early date [hence *apiscor* and *aptus*].

§ 22. *eu* passed into *ou* and later into *ū* (see § 23). As the transition from *eu* to *ou* took place before the commencement of written tradition, Latin itself shows us no example of the original diphthong *eu*. But on the one hand, comparison with the related languages compels the conclusion that the *ū* of *dūco*, for example, goes back to a primitive *eu* (the intervening grade *ou* is guaranteed by the form

¹ [(Flor. circ. 410-427 A.D.). The African scholar who wrote the *Encyclopedia of the Seven Liberal Arts*.]

abdoucit found in a sepulchral inscription belonging to the beginning of the second century B.C. Secondly, the laws of vowel-weakening entitle us to trace back *accūs(s)o*, for example, to **adceus(s)o*; which in its turn arose regularly from **adcaus(s)o*, derived from *caus(s)a*, 'a lawsuit' (§ 14).

For the apparent exceptions *ceu*, *neu*, duplicate form of *neve*, *seu* of *sive*, and *neuter*, the remarks made on *coepi* apply. In all these words *eu* arises from a later contraction of *e + u*. As to *neuter* it is not even certain that this word was ever pronounced in prose in any other way than as a trisyllable, *ne-uter*.

§ 23. *ou* passed into *ū* towards the end of the third century B.C.

EXAMPLES.

lucus, 'grove,' properly, 'clearing in a wood' [*cf.* *collūcare*, 'to make a clearing,' connected with *lūceo*], from *loucos*, which is found in an old inscription from Spoletium.

Nūtrix, 'nurse,' from *noutrix*, found in an old dedicatory inscription, from Nemi [*cf.*, however, Lindsay, *S. H. L. G.*, p. 153].

§ 24. *au* was maintained in the written Latin of Rome. But in the dialects of the adjacent districts, and in the popular language of the capital itself, *au* passed into *ō* at an early period. This double treatment of *au* sometimes caused confusion, as in instances containing *ō* it naturally remained doubtful if the *ō* represented a primitive *ō*, or an *au* which had become *o* in popular speech. Suetonius in his biography of the Emperor Vespasian, § 22, tells the following anecdote on this point: (*Vespasianus*) *Mestrium Flōrum* *consularem*,

admonitus ab eo *plaustra* potius quam *plōstra* dicenda, postero die *Flaurum* salutavit. In doubtful cases those who prided themselves on correct pronunciation, preferred *au*, even at the risk of introducing it into words where properly it did not belong.

In this way *plau*do replaced *plō*do, although the latter word contained an original *ō*, as is shown by the compounds *complō*do, *displō*do, *explō*do. In fact, if *plau*do contained an original *au*, we should have the forms **complū*do, **displū*do, **explū*do (§ 14). [*au-* of *aufugio*, *aufero* represents an Indo-European preposition *āwē*, which was used in these compounds before an initial *f* to avoid confusion with the compounds of *ad*, e.g., *affero*, Lindsay, *S. H. L. G.*, p. 129.—Umbrian and Faliscan had *o* in place of Latin *au*: so, in general, the dialects of Northern and Central Italy. Grandgent, § 211.]

B. Changes of Quantity in Syllables not Final.

(a) *Lengthening of Short Vowels.*

§ 25. A short vowel received compensatory lengthening—

(1) In cases of the loss of an *s* before voiced consonants (§ 86).

EXAMPLES,

*dī*nosco from **dīs*nosco.

*ē*duco from **ēx*duco (*x=cs*).

*ī*dem from **īs*-dem (*is+dem*).

*pō*no from **pōs*(i)no; cf. the participle *positus* = *pō* (prefix) + *sītus*, perf. part. pass. of *sī*no.

*sē*decim from **sēx*decim.

(2) Before *-nf-* and *-ns-*, because in this combination the nasal lost its character as stop, and the vibrations

of the ligaments of the glottis that caused the sound were added to the preceding vowel (§ 87).

Cicero, *Orator*, 48, 159: quid vero hoc elegantius, quod non fit natura, sed quodam instituto, indoctus dicimus brevi prima littera, insanus producta, inhumanus brevi, infelix longa et, ne multis, quibus in verbis eae primae litterae sunt quae in 'sapiente' atque 'felice,' producte dicitur *in*, in ceteris omnibus breviter: itemque cōnposuit, cōnsuevit, cōncrepuit, cōnfecit: consule veritatem, reprehendet; refer ad aures, probabunt. These remarks of Cicero are confirmed by the inscriptions which show at the same time that the lengthening process in question was not confined to the *ī* of the prefix *in-* and the *ō* of the prefix *cōn-*. In fact, in the Latin epigraphic records, every kind of vowel occurring before one of the two combinations *-nf-* and *-ns-* is frequently marked as long by a special sign, the so-called apex. Further, as the Greek alphabet possessed two different letters for *ē* and *ē̄* and also for *ō* and *ō̄*, the Greek transcription of Latin words in inscriptions and in authors may also to some extent give us information as to the quantity of vowels before *-nf-* or *-ns-*, and this evidence is absolutely in favour of their having been long.

Amongst other instances which might be cited, a passage in Quintilian (*Instit. Orat.*, i. 7, 29) proves that the foregoing are really cases of compensatory lengthening. He remarks that in the word *cōnsūles* the nasal *n* was not pronounced (. . . *consules* exempta *n* littera legimus) [just as it disappeared in O. Eng. *fif* (Germ. *fünf*), *gōs*, 'goose' (Germ. *gans*), Lindsay, p. 11].

§ 26. Irrespective of the lengthening by compensation, a short vowel was lengthened in perfect participles passive,

in the case of verbs whose root ended with a voiced consonant, and again in the verbal and noun forms derived from these participles (§ 62, 1).

EXAMPLES.

āctus, lēctus, part. from *āgo, lēgo*.

(The length of the root syllables in these two participles is proved by the testimony of Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, ix. 6, and xii. 3, and also by the apex in numerous inscriptions).

cāsus, vīsus, participles from *cādo, vīdeo* (§ 83), but *fāctus* (participle of *fācio*).

(If the *a* of *factus* had been long, the compounds would have been **cōnfactus, *effactus*, etc., instead of *cōnfectus effectus*, as is the case, *cf.* *ādactus*.)

mēssus, part. of *mēto* (§ 83).

(That the *ē* in *messus* was short may be shown as follows: towards the end of the first century B.C., -*ss*-following a long vowel was simplified into -*s*-; consequently had *messus* contained a long *e*, it would have at that period appeared in the form **mesus*, which is not the case (§ 58).)

In the same way we have *āctito*, frequentative of *āgo* [*cf.* *ambāges*], *protāctor*, as against *fāctito, sēctio*.

Exceptions like *sēssus*, part. of *sēdeo*, *fōssus*, part. of *fōdio*, arose probably under the influence of analogy.

(b.) Shortening of Long Vowels.

§ 27. In the classical period every long vowel that was followed, but not preceded by another vowel, was shortened.

EXAMPLES.

fīnīo) (the infinitive *fīnīre*.

pīus (in O.L. *pīus*: a hexameter of Ennius begins with the words *pectora pia tenet desiderium*).

rēi gen. of *rēs* (but *dīēi* gen. of *dīēs*, *glaciēi* gen. of *glaciēs*, because in these words the *ē* was not only followed but also preceded by a vowel).

fĭo) (the imperfect flēbam.

grŭis, gen. of grŭs, 'a crane.'

sŏo) (sātor, 'a cobbler' [sābula, 'an awl']).

The classical poets scan as a rule illŭs, ipsŭs, unŭs; but in prose the accepted pronunciation, at least in Quintilian's time, was illĭus, ipsĭus, unĭus (*Instit. Orat.*, i. 5, 18, unŭs extra carmen non deprendas). The reasons for the restoration of the long quantity in these genitives have not been sufficiently elucidated. [It has been suggested that they may be due to the long vowel \bar{i} in the datives illĭ, ipsĭ, unĭ.] On the other hand when Servius, the commentator on Vergil, informs us that in the perfect of audĭre and lenĭre prose writers insisted on audĭt, lenĭt, in opposition to the scansion audĭt, lenĭt of the poets, the influence of analogy is obvious: audĭt and lenĭt are formed after their duplicate forms audĭvit, lenĭvit, in which cases the \bar{i} was not followed by a vowel, and hence could not be shortened. In the same way fĭo is a case of substitution for *fĭo, following fĭs, fĭmus.

(For a difficult case of the shortening of a long vowel in a syllable not concluding a word see below, § 55).

C. Changes of Acoustic Quality in Final Syllables.

§ 28. In cases where \check{a} absolutely terminates a word it remains unchanged; compare gener \check{a} , frigor \check{a} , nom. and acc. plur. of genus and frigus; it \check{a} ; where the short quantity of final \check{a} is proved by the evidence of the other Indo-European languages to be original. In other cases final \check{a} is secondary, *i.e.*, it comes from the shortening of an \bar{a} (see pŭt \check{a} below, §31, 3).

With regard to the other original short vowels when absolutely final, they seem one and all to have taken on

the acoustic quality of *e*. Linguistic testimony, however, is too scanty to provide positive proof except in the case of *ĩ*, *cf.* *marĕ*, nom. and acc. sing.)(*marĭa* nom. and acc. plur. ; *lenĕ*, neuter)(*lenĭs*, masc. and fem.

§ 29. When not absolutely final, the short vowels were treated quite differently. In the case of words of one syllable they underwent no change. In words of two or more syllables *ĩ* and *ũ* remained, and likewise *ĕ*, except before *s*, when it became *ĩ*; *ă* before two consonants developed in the same way as in a medial syllable, *i.e.*, it passed into *ĕ*; as to its treatment before a single consonant, nothing certain can be said in the absence of decisive examples. Finally, *o* became *ũ* in the nom. and acc. sing. of the 2nd declension, in the nom. and acc. sing. of neuter substantives of the 3rd declension, and in the 3rd pers. plur. indic. of the present and perfect of verbs. This change of *o* goes back to the end of the third century B.C., in words where *o* was not preceded by *u* or *v*. After *u* and *v*, *o* changed to *ũ* only after the beginning of the Empire.

EXAMPLES : MONOSYLLABLES.

nĭx, *nĭvis*; *pĭx*, *pĭcis*; *mĕl*, *mĕllis*; *nĕx*, *nĕcis*; *lăc*, *lăctis*
făx, *făcis*; *o*s, *o*ssis; *nŏx*, *nŏctis*; *nŭx*, *nŭcis*; *trăx*,
trăcis.

DISSYLLABIC AND POLYSYLLABIC WORDS.

- (a) (1) *ĕnsĭs* (stem *ĕnsĭ-*; *cf.* gen. plur. *ĕnsĭ-um*); *calĭx*,
calĭcis; *agilĭs* (stem *agilĭ-*).
 (2) *turtŭr*, *-ŭris*, turtle-dove; *magistratŭs*, *-ŭs* (stem
magistratŭ-); *redŭx*, *redŭcis*.
 (b) *flumĕn*, *-ĭnis*; *forfĕx*, *-ĭcis*; *hiĕms*, *hiĕmis*; *hăruspĕx*,
-ĭcis (*spĕcio* in O.L.); *but gĕnĕrĭs* from* *gĕnerĕs*, gen.
 of genus; *ordinĭs* from* *ordinĕs*, gen. of *ordo*; just
 as in the genitives attested by old inscriptions
Apolones = *Apollinĭs*, *Cereres* = *Cererĭs*, *Salutes* =
Salutĭs, *Veneres* = *Venerĭs*.

Cases like *dēsēs*, *-sīdis*, *divēs*, *-ītis* are merely apparent exceptions. In fact *dēsēs* goes back to a form **desəd-s*, and *divēs* to a form **divēt-s* (§ 68). Thus the *ē* of words of this type did not, as in the examples just given, stand originally before *s*; and this fact explains its retention.

(c) *aucēps* from **āv(i) -cāp-s* (*avis* + *capio*).

rēmēx from **rem-āg-s* (*remus* + *ago*).

aurifēx from **aurī-fāc-s* (*aurum* + *facio*).

(d) *filiūs*, from *filiōs*, nom. sing.

virūm from *virōm*, acc. sing. of *vir*.

donūm from *donōm*, nom. and acc. sing.

ōpūs from *ōpōs*, nom. and acc. sing.

consentiūnt from *consentiōnt*, 3rd pers. plur., present indic. *consentio*.

dederūnt from *dederōnt*, 3rd pers. plur., perf. indic. of *dō*.

The forms *filiōs*, *virōm*, *donōm*, *ōpōs*, *co(n)sentiōnt*, *dederōnt*, are testified to partly by inscriptions, partly by quotations in Latin authors, *cf.*, for example, Quintilian, *Instit. Orat.*, i. 4, 16. With regard to words like *biduōm*, *equōs*, *vivōnt*, modern editions of Caesar, for example, ought not to give the forms *biduum*, *equus*, *vivunt*. Inscriptions prove unmistakably that these forms with *u* were later than the Republican era; thus their introduction into a text like the *Bell. Gall.* is an anachronism.¹

§ 30. Long vowels, whether absolutely final or in the last syllable, suffered no qualitative changes. On the other hand, the diphthongs which occurred in either of these positions became long vowels. Of these it is especially important to note (i.) that *ei*, *ai*, *oi* became *ī*; and (ii.) that *ou* became *ū*.

EXAMPLES.

sibī, dat. of the reflexive pron. from *sibei*.

abīs, 2nd pers. sing. pres. indic. of *abeo* from **abeis*.

tutudī, perf. of *tundo*, from **tutudai*.

¹ [But the pronunciation from the third century B.C. was probably *u* not *o*, *cf.* *Velius Longus*, vii. p. 48, 4k, Hermann.]

rosīs, dat. and abl. plur. of rosa, from *rosais.
 virī, nom. and voc. plur. of vir, from *viroi.
 donīs, dat. and abl. plur. of donum, from *donois.
 currūs, gen. sing. of currus, from *currous.

Sometimes the original diphthong is attested by inscriptions (*e.g.* sibeī appears in the S. C. de Bacch.), or by quotations made by grammarians (as by Paulus Diaconus,¹ p. 14, 17 Th.: ab oloes dicebant pro ab illīs), but generally speaking its existence is revealed only by a comparison with the other Indo-European languages.

As then *ai* was represented by *i*, the termination *ae* in the gen. and dat. sing. and in the nom. and voc. plur. of words of the 1st declension cannot have arisen from *ai*. As a matter of fact it represented rather an older *āī*; *cf.* the archaic gen. aulāī in Vergil, *Aen.*, iii. 354, aulai medio libabant pocula Baccho, and again pictāī, *Aen.*, ix. 26; aurāī, vi. 747, aquāī, vii. 464, all gen. sing. [so Iphianassāī in *Lucret.*, i. 84, 6; Martial ridicules the form *ai* as affected, xi., 90, 5; attonitusque legis 'terrai frugiferai,' see *S. H. L. G.*, p. 44].

D. Changes of Quantity in Final Syllables.

§ 31. The vowel element of a final syllable tended to undergo abbreviation of length. This is shown in the following cases:—

1. Every short vowel standing absolutely last was reduced to a fraction of the unity of length, and accordingly showed a tendency to disappear entirely.

EXAMPLES.

The imperatives dīc, dūc, fāc, fēr) (cāpž, mittž, tundž, etc.

The duplicate forms āc (§ 82) and atquž; nēc (§ 82) and nēcquē (it should be noted that ac and nec were generally

¹ [Paulus Diaconus, 725-797 A.D., a Benedictine monk who wrote a summary of Festus' (second century A.D.) abridgment of Verrius Flaccus (circ. 10 B.C.) *De Verborum Significatu.*]

used before a word that began with a consonant, and that hence the disappearance of terminal *ě* cannot be due to elision); neu and nevě.

tot from *totĭ; cf. totĭdem.

2. Every long vowel was shortened before any consonant other than *s*.

EXAMPLES.

animāl, gen. animālis; calcār, gen. calcāris.

lictōr, gen. lictōris.

cantabām, but cantabās; punit, but punīs; spēm, acc. of spēs.

3. In cases of absolute finals of iambic dissyllables Old Latin poetry could count every long vowel as short; and there is no doubt that this rule of scansion reflected the ordinary pronunciation of the age. On the other hand, the classical usage admitted the scansion ∪∪ only in the case of certain words used to help out a phrase, and so constantly employed that they were actually pronounced less completely than the other words in the phrase.

EXAMPLES.

beně, malě)(catē, slyly, ferē.

citō, modō)(eō, 'thither,' retrō.

putā, 'for instance,' properly 'bring into a line of reckoning,' imp. of putāre; havě, 'hail!', properly 'rejoice,' imp. from (h)avēre (the pronunciation avē was characterised by Quintilian as pedantic, *Instit. Orat.*, i. 6, 21), but amā, docē.

quasī, adv. and conj. from quasī (quaseī is found on several inscriptions of the second century B.C.; *ei* > ī (§ 19).

[Cf. also such scansions as cavě-fācijas, vōlō-scīre, as well as vōlōptatem, ěgěstatem, ferěntarium, where the syllable scanned as a short syllable is long, not by nature, but by 'position'; this shortening process which turns an

iambus into a pyrrhic in the Latin dramatists is called the law of the Brevis Brevians. An example is found in Catullus (lxi. 77)—

virgo adest, vīdēn ut faces
splendidas quatiunt comas.]

E. Contraction of Vowels.

§ 32. When two adjacent vowels made a hiatus, that is to say, when the change from the first to the second was brought about by a sharp interrupted movement in the utterance, they were as a rule contracted, *i.e.*, they coalesced into a single vowel or a diphthong. That was the case in combinations of the type *i + i*, *e + e*, *a + a*, *o + o*, *u + u*, *o + i*, *o + e*, etc. When, on the other hand, the transition was effected by a light gliding movement without break of continuity—in other words, when there was no hiatus—the two vowels remained uncontracted. This was the treatment of the combinations *i + any other vowel except i*, and *u + any other vowel except u*. However, the combinations *ē + ā* and *ē + ō*, although belonging to the former of the two categories just mentioned, seem never to have undergone contraction.

The most obvious and common examples of this process are the following:—

ī + ī = ī.

nīl from nī(h)īl; mī from mī(h)ī.

ē + ē = ē.

nēmo from * nē-(h)ēmo (hemo = homo is attested by Paulus Diaconus, p. 71, 18 Th.).

dēmo from * dē-ēmo; dēgi, perfect of dēgo (contracted from * dē-āgo (see below) from * dē-ēgi).

ā + ā = ā.

lātrina from lā(v)ātrina.

ō + ō = ō.

cōpia from * cō-ōpia (*cf.* in-ōpia).

cōram, adv. and from Cicero's time preposition, from **cō-*
ōram (the second part of the compound is connected
with *ōs*, *ōris*; for the termination *cf.* *clam* and *palam*).
[These terminations are adverbial acc. sing. fem. forms.]

$\check{u} + \check{u} = \bar{u}$.

junior, comparative from *juvenis*, from **jūŭnior* (§ 15*b*).

$\bar{e} + \check{a} = \bar{e}$.

dēgo from **dē-ǎgo*.

$\check{v} + \check{i} = oe$.

coetus, a gathering, from *cō-itus*.

$\check{v} + \check{e} = \bar{o}$.

cōmo from **cō-ěmo*; *contio* from **cō(v)ěntio* (§ 50).

$\check{v} + \bar{e} = oe$.

coepi from *cō-ēpi* (§ 21).

$\check{v} + \check{a} = \bar{o}$.

cōgo from **cō-ǎgo*.

cōpula, from **cō-ǎpula* (*ǎpĕre* in O.L. meant 'to fasten'
(§ 21).

In a number of cases analogy restored the uncontracted form. Thus *mĭhĭ* was contracted according to rule to *mĭ*, but restored later on the analogy of *tibĭ* and *sibĭ* which always remained disyllabic.

The same remark applies to *dĕŕsse* beside *dĕsse*, *dĕŕmo*) (*dĕgo*, *cōŕlesco*) (*cōgo*, etc. The contrast between the present *cōgo* and the perfect *cōĕgi*, the latter of which was restored by analogy, while the former escaped this influence, may be due to the fact that in *cōgo* the contraction goes back to a very old date, while the coalescence of $\check{v} + \bar{e}$ into *oe* seems, on the contrary, to be comparatively recent; thus the perfect was more accessible to the influence of analogy than the present. It should be added, however, that generally speaking the chronology of the laws of Latin contraction is an exceedingly obscure subject, and it seems improbable that it will ever be satisfactorily elucidated.

Synizesis must not be confused with contraction. By

synizesis is meant the liberty taken in prosody, according to which two vowels in juxtaposition, although both pronounced, count in scansion as a single syllable : *cf.* Vergil, *Georgics*, iv. 34 :

Seu lento fuerint alvêaria vimine texta.

Aen. vii. 190 :

Aurêa percussum virga versumque venenis.

Ovid, *Met.*, ix. 143.

diffudit miseranda suom ; mox dêinde quid autem.

Vergil, *Aen.*, i, 131 :

Eurum ad se Zephyrumque vocat, dêhînc talia fatur ;
but compare, *e.g.*,

Vergil, *Georg.*, iii. 167.

cervici subnecte ; dêhînc, ubi libera colla.

Ablaut or Vowel Gradation.

§ 33. Besides the vowel weakening apparent in *confîcio*) (*facio* ; *exsulto*) (*salto* ; *volo*) (*velim* ; *infra*) (*infêrus* ; *rêm*) (*rês*, etc., which, as we have already seen, have their origin in the separate development of Latin, and consequently are peculiar to this language, there are other vowel changes which are found also in the allied languages, and presumably go back to the Indo-European. As a matter of fact, from the period when the Indo-European stock was still undivided, each of the three component parts of a word, *i.e.*, root, suffix, and termination (pp. v, vii) could assume different types of vowel system to indicate different types of formation. This morphological process, originally closely adhered to, is known under the name of *ablaut* or vowel gradation.

Ablaut is strongly marked in Greek ;¹ in Latin its influence has been largely obscured. As a consequence of

¹ [As also in German and, to a less extent, in English.]

circumstances which we cannot examine here, the original conditions obtaining in this particular branch of the Indo-European family of languages have been so greatly changed that the system of its vowel gradations has become unrecognisable. We must therefore content ourselves with the mere enumeration of a few of the most characteristic instances.

EXAMPLES.

- (i.) The ϵ^1 grade combined with the δ grade.
 p̄ndo, 'I weigh'; p̄ndo, indecl. 'in weight,' abl. of an obsolete substantive *pondus -ī.
 t̄go; t̄ga.
 eqū, voc.; eqūs, nom.
- (ii.) The ϵ grade combined with the nought grade.
 ̄do, I eat; d-ens, tooth, orig. pres. part. of ̄do.
 est; s-unt.
 ḡn- ui; gi- gn—o.
- (iii.) ϵ -grade δ -grade and nought grade combined.
 O.L. f̄ido (Class. Lat. fido (§ 19); O.L. f̄idos (the abl. foidere is found in an old inscription. Class. Lat. foedus); fides.
- (iv.) The $\bar{\epsilon}$ grade combined with the ϵ grade.
 ̄mi perf.; ̄mo pres.
 t̄gula; t̄go.
- (v.) The ϵ grade, $\bar{\epsilon}$ grade, δ grade and nought grade are combined in s̄d̄eo s̄des s̄lium (for $d > l$ see § 37) sido from *si-sd-o (a formation like gi-gn-o above): *sisdo > *sizdo > sido according to §§ 25 and 86.
- (vi.) The \bar{o} grade combined with the ϵ grade.
 O.L. maj̄sem (Class. Latin maj̄rem); maj̄stas (the δ grade is concealed in the neuter majus, older *maj̄s).
 O.L. *hon̄sem, Class. Lat. hon̄rem; hon̄stus.
- (vii.) The \bar{o} grade combined with the δ grade.
 f̄di perf.; f̄dio pres.
 ̄di; ̄dium.

1 [The ϵ and α grades are known as High, the \bar{o} grade as Low, the nought grade as Weak. The last was due to stress accent.]

- (viii.) The *ō* grade combined with the nought grade.
 ne- pōtem, acc. sing. of nepōs (' grandson ' or ' nephew ');
 ne-pt-em. acc. sing. of neptis (' granddaughter ' or ' niece ').
 genitōrem ; gene-tr-icem.
- (ix.) The *ē* grade combined with the *ǎ* grade.
 fēci ; fǎcio.
 sēmen ; sǎtus.
- (x.) The *ō* grade combined with the *ǎ* grade.
 cōs, a hone ; cǎtus, properly ' sharpened, ' and so ' sly. '
 dōnum ; dǎtus.

HISTORY OF THE LATIN CONSONANTS.

Single Consonants.

Stops.

§ 34. When between two vowels, the Latin stops, more especially the breathed stops, underwent but few changes.

The following are worthy of remark :—

Breathed Stops.

§ 35. From the end of the second century B.C. the fashion became prevalent of introducing into a number of genuine Latin words the aspiration of the three kinds of breathed stops. Before that date this peculiarity was confined to loan-words from Greek (§ 6, note iv. 4). When Greek civilisation was transplanted to Rome, and attracted a constantly-increasing number of adherents, certain Roman families thought it elegant to give their names a Greek stamp by adorning them with aspiration. Thus Sempronius altered his cognomen *Graccus*, 'a jay,' into *Gracchus*, to rhyme with *Bacchus*: we find on coins of the year 103 B.C. *Pulcher*; and again the names *Cetegus*, *Oto*, *Torius* became *Cethegus*, *Otho*, *Thorius*. From proper names this habit spread to common nouns. Thus instead of *ancora*, *lacrima*, *pulcer*, *sepulcrum*, *sulphur*, etc., it became the fashion to say *anchora*, *lachrima*, *pulcher*, *sepulchrum*, *sulphur*, etc. We possess a body of instructive evidence on this practice in passages from ancient authors, of which we may cite the two most important: Cicero, *Orator*, 48, 160; *quin ego ipse, cum scirem ita majores locutos, ut nusquam nisi in*

vocali aspiratione uterentur, loquebar sic, ut pulcros, *Cetegos*, triumphos, Kartaginem dicerem; aliquando, idque sero, convicio aurium cum extorta mihi veritas esset, usum loquendi populo concessi, scientiam mihi reservavi. Orcivios tamen et Matones, Otones, Caepiones, sepulcra, coronas, lacrimas dicimus quia per aurium iudicium licet: Quintilian, *Instit. Orat.*, i. 5, 20; diu deinde servatum, ne consonantibus [veteres] adspirarent, ut in Graccis et in triumphis, erupit brevi tempore nimius usus, ut *choronae*, *chenturiones*, *praechones* adhuc quibusdam in inscriptionibus maneat, qua de re Catulli nobile epigramma est. The epigram of Catullus referred to by Quintilian is No. 84, which begins with the words:—

*Commoda dicebat si quando comoda vellet
dicere, et insidias Arrius h'insidias.*

[*Cf.* also Quintilian, xii. 10, 27, and Lindsay, *S. H. L. G.*, p. 16: 'Nigidius, a grammarian of Cicero's time, emphasised the importance of accuracy in the use of the letter *h*: rusticus fit sermo si adspires perperam; St Augustine says the dropping of *h* was a sign of vulgarity; Gellius says *ahenum*, *vehemens*, *incohare* are archaic, see Grandgent, *Introduction to Vulgar Latin*, p. 106.]

No trace of this affectation remains in the Romance languages; thus we may probably conclude that the fashion, after degenerating into a mania, eventually fell into complete disuse.

It is important to note that the sound of Latin *ch*, *ph*, and *th* was the same as that of German *k*, *p*, *t* before vowels; [*i.e.*, the aspiration was similar to, but not so strong as, that heard in *park-head*, *top-hat*, *foot-hold*.] We must therefore reject the pronunciations *filtrum*, *limfa*, *sulfur*.

*Voiced Stops.**b.*

§ 36. *b* became a spirant from the second half of the first century A.D., and was pronounced like the N. German *w* in words like *Wein*, or the French *v* in words like *vin*. This change first set in when *b* was in the middle of a word between two vowels, but afterwards also when *b* was initial, though only in one part of the Roman Empire. Hence on inscriptions we find constant interchanges of *b* and *v* (*i.e.*, consonantal *u*), which also about the same period had become a spirant (§ 52). Thus we find, for instance, *incomparavilis* for *incomparabilis*; *libertavus* for *libertabus*—from *liberta*; *vene* for *bene*, and, on the other hand, *beni* for *veni*, *bixi* for *vixi*, *lebare* for *levare*. This confusion increased as time went on, so that in the fifth century A.D. a grammarian found it necessary to write a special treatise entitled ‘*De b vocali et v vocali.*’ This change is reflected, too, in the Romance languages, *cf.* Fr. *Besançon*, from Lat. *Vesuntionem*; *devoir* from *debere*; *fève* from *fāba*.¹

d.

§ 37. *d* was replaced by *l* in O.L. *dacrīma* > Class. Lat. *lacrima* (*cf.* Paulus Diaconus, p. 48, 15 Th.: *dacrīmas pro lacrimas* Livius [Andronicus] *saepe posuit*), O.L. *dautia*, -iorum, hospitality offered to foreign ambassadors > Class. Lat. *lautia*. Paulus Diaconus says that Livius Andronicus often used this word for *lautia*, p. 48, 16 Th.; *lautia* is frequently used by Livy, *cf. e.g.* xxx. 17, 14. O.L. *dīngua* > *līngua* (Marius Victorinus,² vi.

¹ [See Grandgent, p. 134. *b* is substituted for *v* much oftener than *v* for *b*; other common instances are *salbum*, *serbus*, *solbit*: App. Prob. ‘*alveus non albeus.*’]

² [Marius Victorinus, a grammarian and rhetorician of African origin, flourished *circ.* the middle of the fourth century A.D.]

p. 9, 17k, says : nos nunc . . . *linguam per l potius quam per d* [scribamus]). In some of these cases it is supposed that analogy has been operative, as in the case of *d*ingua, possibly influenced by *lingo*, 'I lick'; *lautia* by *lautus*, 'dainty'; it has also been thought that the substitution of *l* for *d* was due to Sabine influence.

Sometimes *d* and *l* change in forms which belong to the same root; e.g., *odor*, *olere* [perhaps influenced by *oleum*], *sedeo*, *solium* (for the vowel gradation, see § 33).

§ 38. Final *d* remained after a short vowel; but after a long vowel it disappeared from the beginning of the second century B.C.

EXAMPLES.

1. *ad* prep., *aliūd*, neuter of *alius*; *illūd*, neuter of *ille*; *sēd*, conjunction.

2. The ablative singular of all five declensions [and of *ego*, *tu*, *se*]; the 2nd pers. sing. and 3rd pers. sing. and plur. of the imperative of verbs.

(a) *praedā*, abl. sing. of *praeda*, O.L. *praidād*.

meritō, earlier *meritod*.

aerī (replaced at an early date by *aerē*, which, like all ablatives in *-ē* of the third declension is really an old instrumental case), abl. sing. of *aes*, O.L. *airīd*.

magistratū, abl. sing. of *magistratus*, O.L. *magistratūd*.

die, abl. sing. of *dies*, O.L. **dieđ*.

Praidād, *meritod*, *airīd*, *magistratūd* are attested by old inscriptions; for the fifth declension we have no evidence. Cf., too, Naevius, *Bellum Punicum*, 7 m. :—

Noctu Troiād exhibant capitibus opertis.

[*mēđ*, *tēđ*, *sēđ*, old forms of abl. sing.; for long vowel, see Giles, § 328, iv.]

(b) *dato*, 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. of the imperative of *dare*, from original *datōđ*.

suntō, 3rd pers. plur. imp. from esse, from original suntōd. [This -tōd seems originally to have been the abl. sing. of the demonstrative pronoun -to- 'from that,' 'thereon,' and hence abito will mean 'go away at once,' or 'be sure you go away,' a stronger form of command than abi (see Lindsay, *S.H.G.*, p. 103; Giles, § 519).] datōd and suntōd are attested by inscriptions.

The negative *haud* maintained its *d*, although the preceding diphthong *au* was in the duration of its pronunciation equivalent to a long vowel, because the word was proclitic; *i.e.*, attracted into the following word, so that its *d* was not final.

g, g^v.

§ 39. The pure voiced guttural *g* suffered no changes. On the other hand, the labialised voiced guttural which we represent by *g^v*, and which the Latin orthography represented by *gu*, was replaced by *v* whenever it occurred between two vowels.

EXAMPLES.

nivis, from *nix*, which goes back to an original form, **nig*'s (§ 82),)(*ninguit*, 'it snows.'

struvo, written *struo* (§ 47),)(*structum*, the supine, which developed from **strug^v tum* (§ 82).

It is important to note that *g^v* and *q^v*, written in ordinary spelling *gu* and *qu*, must not be regarded as consonantal combinations. They were not groups formed of a guttural stop and the semi-vowel *v*, but guttural stops with a labial aftersound; the latter receiving a very much weaker articulation than the semi-vowel *v*.

Thus *qu* standing alone is not sufficient to make a syllable long by 'position' (§ 95), as would be the case if the combination were regarded as one of two independent

consonants: *cf.* Vergil, *Aen.*, ii. 15, *Instar montis æquom
divina Palladis arte.*

Spirants.

f.

§ 40. *f* was not tolerated in the middle of words; for the medial *f* of the other Italian dialects, Latin substituted *b* or *d*. Still there are a few cases in which *f* is actually found in this position, *cf. e.g.*, *fefelli*, *defero*, *reficio*, *rufus*, *scrofa*, *vafer*.

The explanation of these exceptions is simple. Cases like those of *fefelli*, *defero*, *reficio* are to be explained by analogical restoration, and *rufus*, *scrofa*, *vafer* are loanwords from neighbouring dialects adopted into the language of Rome. We find such loanwords frequently in the language of the people, where the literary language maintained the genuine Latin form. Thus we gather from a passage in Nonius Marcellus,¹ (p. 531, 2 m.), that the educated Romans pronounced *sibilare*, while the people said *sifilare*: *sifilare quod nos, vilitatem verbi vitantes, sibilare dicimus*. From the form *sifilare* came the French word '*siffler*.' In the same way the Latin writers call the truffle *tuber*, while the Romance languages, as the French word *truffe* proves, imply the existence of a duplicate vulgar form **tuf'er*.

s.

§ 41. The breathed dental spirant *s*, when beginning a word, remained unchanged. On the other hand, when occurring between two vowels in the middle of a word, it

¹ [Nonius Marcellus, a native of Numidia, floruit *circ.* 323 A.D. He is the author of an encyclopaedic work called *De compendiosa doctrina*. See Sandy's *History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. i. p. 209.]

first became voiced, and then passed into *r*. Instances of this process, commonly known as rhotacism, are very numerous. *Cf.* *aeris*, gen. of *aes*; *juris*, gen. of *jus*; *operis*, gen. of *opus*; *feriae*, 'holidays,' (*festus*; *heri*) (*hesternus*; *haurio*,) (*supine haustum*; *queror*,) (*questus sum*; *erit*, future,) (*est*, present; *dirimo*, older form **disemo*; *amare*, *delere*, *legere*, *audire*,) (*esse*).

We may compare Varro, *de lingua Latina* vii. 26: in multis verbis, in quo antiqui dicebant *s*, postea dicunt *r* . . . foedesum, foederum; plusima, plurima; meliosem, meliorem; asenam, arenam; Quintilian, *Instit. Orat.* i. 4, 13: nam ut Valesii Fusii in Valerios Furiosque venerunt, ita . . . lases et asa fuerunt; and again Paulus Diaconus, p. 359, 1 Th.:—*s* pro *r* littera saepe antiqui posuerunt, ut majosibus, meliosibus, lasibus, fesiis. [Livy expressly remarks that the name *Furius* was by certain old writers written *Fusius* (iii. 4, 1).]

We are enabled to fix the approximate date when rhotacism set in by means of two special passages. Cicero, *ad Familiares*, ix. 21, 2, states that L. Papirius Cursor, dictator B.C. 339, was the first person to bear the name of *Papirius* instead of the former *Papisius*: and the Digests (1, 2, 2, 36) mention that Appius Claudius Caecus (Censor in 312 B.C., and Consul in 307 B.C. and 296 B.C.) changed the spelling *Valesii* and *Fusii* to *Valerii* and *Furii*. Now, as we know that of all the words in any language proper names are the least accessible to change, we cannot go far wrong in assuming that rhotacism in common nouns had finally set in somewhere about the year 350 B.C.

The apparent exceptions to the universal application of rhotacism admit of several explanations. Such compounds as *desuper*, *nisi*, *resēdo* are evidently restored forms after

the model of *super, si, sedo*. In other cases where *s* between two vowels appears unchanged, we have to deal with an old *-ss-*, which, after a long vowel or diphthong, was simplified into *-s-* (§ 58). Thus *causa, casus, divisio* were written and pronounced till Cicero's time, and even later, *caussa, cassus, divissio*; *cf.* Quintilian, *Instit. Orat.*, i., 7, 20: *quid? quod Ciceronis temporibus paulumque infra fere quoties s littera media vocalium longarum vel subjecta longis esset, geminabatur? ut caussæ, cassus, divissiones: quomodo et ipsum et Vergilium quoque scripsisse manus eorum docent.* Finally we meet *s* between two vowels in a number of loanwords which found their way into Latin after 350 B.C., and so escaped the influence of rhotacism; *cf.*, *e.g.*, *cisium*, 'a light, two-wheeled carriage,' *gaesum*, 'a heavy iron javelin,' both Celtic words; *basis*, 'foundation,' *nausea*, 'sea sickness,' *pausa*, 'stoppage,' which are of Greek origin; and *asinus* which seems to have come from Asia Minor through some Thracian dialect.¹

§ 42. If we disregard words of the type of *milēs, ōs* a bone, etc. (for which see § 56, 4), the law holds good that final *s* in Old Latin was dropped when standing after a short vowel, and when the following word began with a consonant; *cf.* Cicero, *Orator*, 48, 161: *quin etiam quod jam subrusticum videtur, olim autem politius, eorum verborum quorum eadem erant postremae duae litterae quae sunt in optimus, postremam litteram detrahebant, nisi vocalis insequabatur.* And in fact the dental spirant under these conditions is seldom written in the oldest inscriptions. The Old Latin poets also generally treated it in this position as not affecting the scansion; thus, for instance,

¹ [Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, p. 475, assumes the derivation of *asinus* to be from the Hebrew *athôn*.]

Eunius writes 'Ancu' reliquit,' and Lucilius, 'Aeserninu' fuit.' When, however, the following word began with a vowel, a process of liaison, as in French, set in; *i.e.*, final *s* was separated from the previous word and connected with the initial vowel of the following word; this prevented its being dropped (*cf.* optimos[—]omnium like French mauvais[—]esprit). Analogy, however, gradually introduced regularity into the treatment of final *s* by restoring its value in all cases alike. In Lucretius it is proved by statistics that the cases in which the presence of a final *s* before a word beginning with a consonant makes a preceding short vowel long by position, are more numerous than those in which it is neglected. Catullus shows but one instance of final *s* which has not caused a lengthening by position before a word beginning with a consonant. This example is in *Carmen*, 116, 8: at fixus nostris tu dabĩ(s) supplicium.

The disappearance of final *s* in Old Latin, of which we have just spoken, explains the presence of duplicate forms like magis and mage, amaris and amare (thou art loved). The old pronunciation was really, *e.g.*, magis elegans, but magi' saepe. Since, as we have seen (§ 28), every absolutely final *ĩ* became *ě*, *magi' became magě. Once this change had taken place there was naturally no restoration of final *s* possible; hence the two parallel forms magis and mage survived side by side; similarly with amaris and amare. Analogy, however, interfered with the original conditions; the use of magis and amaris soon ceased to be connected with position before a vowel, and in like manner the use of mage and amare was no longer connected with position before a consonant; the initial letter of the following word ceased to play any part in the choice of one or the other

of the two forms [*cf.* also *potis*, *pote*; *sive* = **sivis*; *neve* = **nevis*].¹

§ 43. Sometimes final *s* was replaced by *r*. Thus the word *labōr*, as it is written in Classical Latin, took the place of the archaic form *labōs* (for the shortening of the *ō* in *labōr* see § 31, 2); and similarly *vapōr* replaces *vapōs* (*cf.* Quintilian, *Instit. Orat.*, i. 4, 13: *nam ut Valesii Fusii in Valerios Furiosque venerunt, ita arbos, labos, vapos, etiam . . . fuerunt*).

This change must not be considered as the result of a regular sound-development; the final *r* of the nominative case *labor*, *vapor*, etc., is simply the *r* of the oblique cases, which has extended its influence beyond its original limits owing to the analogy of *nomina agentis* such as *dator*, *tonsor*, whose *r* was Indo-European. It is worth noting, too, that although the nominative *honōr* is found on an inscription as early as 130 B.C., *honōs* is unquestionably the prevailing form in the best MSS. of Cicero, Livy and Horace, and that Vergil employs exclusively the form *arbōs*, and never *arbōr*.

h.

§ 44. From the beginning of the literary period, the breathed guttural spirant *h* (the sound in Scotch 'loch') was still merely a breathed sound in the larynx, produced by the friction of the breath against the borders of the vocal chords. Thus the Latin grammarians never speak of the symbol *h* as a *littera*, but only as a *nota aspirationis*. Lightly pronounced when initial, and almost inaudible when medial, this breathed sound fell into complete

¹ [In the greater part of Italy, and probably in Dacia, final *s* disappeared once for all from the common pronunciation in the second and third centuries A.D., except in monosyllables; see Grandgent, *Introduction to Vulgar Latin*, § 29.]

disuse in both positions at an early date. We know that words beginning with *h* were treated in prosody in precisely the same way as words commencing with a vowel; and that medial *h* had no power to prevent the rhotacism of *s* in **dishibeo*, 'I separate,' which became *diribeo* (§ 41), nor the contraction of *nihil* and *nehemo* to *nil* and *nemo* respectively (§ 32). In spite of this, educated society re-introduced the aspiration of this symbol under the influence of orthography, and in classical times neglect to aspirate the *h* was regarded as a sign of bad education or low origin. But as this was a purely artificial pronunciation, many people introduced *h* wrongly even into words where it did not belong, *cf.* the well-known epigram of Catullus, in which the poet derides a certain Arrius who instead of *insidias* said *hinsidias* (§ 35). Under these circumstances an uncomfortable uncertainty crept in even into the orthography, as in many cases no sure criterion was at hand for distinguishing the words which rightly took the aspiration from those where it was incorrect. Thus it became customary to write, instead of the correct form *hanser*, 'a goose,' the rural and plebeian form *anser*.¹

On the other hand the customary orthography spelt *umerus* as *humerus* adding an *h* which had no right to be there. This explains, too, the inconsistencies in the old texts, and consequently also in the modern editions, which hesitate between *irpex* and *hirpex*, 'harrow'; *erus* and *herus*, 'master'; *arundo* and *harundo*, 'reed'; *olus* and *holus*, 'vegetable,' etc.

It is therefore not strange that the Roman grammarians from the earliest times made it one of their principal occupations to lay down clearly the correct facts as to aspiration. These efforts, for the most part futile, may

¹ [Or perhaps through analogy of *anas* which never had an *h*.]

be compared with those of French teachers who give themselves much unnecessary trouble in impressing on their pupils the difference between *h* aspirate and *h* mute, although *h* aspirate has been unknown in France for at least two centuries, except in some local dialects such as those of Normandy and Lorraine.

Trills and Divided Consonants.

§ 45. When two *r*'s or two *l*'s are in close proximity their tendency is to suffer differentiation; *i.e.*, the articulation of one of the two sounds is modified, or actually suppressed under the influence of the other. This characteristic, known under the name of **Dissimilation**, follows certain principles which are analogous to the other phonetic laws, but much more difficult to formulate. It seems, therefore, best to confine ourselves here to an enumeration of the actual changes attested by historical evidence.

(1) $l-l > l-r$:

The suffix *-ālis* was replaced by *-āris*, whenever the word, to which it was attached, already contained an *l*, *cf.* *auxiliāris*, *consulāris*, *lunāris*, *militāris* as against *mortālis*, *navālis*, *regālis*, *venālis*, and similarly *pulvinār* (a cushion on which the effigies of the gods reclined during a lectisternium) as against *cervicāl* (pillow), *cubitāl* (elbow-cushion). These substantives are neuters from adjectives in *-alis*, used as substantives; for the loss of final *ē* see § 31, 1; for the shortening of *ā* see § 31, 2.

For the same reason the suffix *-crum* has taken the place of *-clum* in the words *fulcrum*, *lucrum*, *sepulcrum* as against *periculum*, *poclum*, *vinculum*. [*Cf.*, too, *lavacrum*, *simulacrum*.]

(2) $l-l > r-l$:

Caerulēus, 'blue,' from **caeluleus* from *caelum*; *Parilia*, -ium (the festival of Pales) from *Pañilia*.

(3) $r-r > l-r$:

Lemuria, -iorum (Roman festival held on 9th May to

propitiate the dead and the evil spirits) from *Remuria according to Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 479 sqq.

The Vulgar Latin form *pelegrinus* for *peregrinus* (cf. the English *pilgrim*, and French *pèlerin*).

Fragrare, to cause a smell of burning, from *fragrare*, cf. French *flairer* [which means at present 'to scent,' but which formerly signified 'to spread a smell'].

(4) **r - r > r - nil :**

crebesco, *crebui* from *crebresco*, *crebui*.

praestigia, 'juggler's tricks,' connected with *praestringo*, 'I dazzle.'

Vulgar Latin *propius* and *propietas* from *proprius* and *proprietas* (cf. Fr. *propriétaire*, a common mispronunciation for *propriétaire*).

r - r > nil - r :

Fabaris, an affluent of the Tiber in the Sabine territory (Vergil, *Aen.*, vii. 715), called by the Oscans *Farfarus*, Ovid, *Met.*, xiv. 330; for the treatment of Latin *b* as against Oscan *f* see § 40.

Nasals.

§ 46. The treatment of final *m* is the only point which calls for remark.

We have four different authorities on which to base our conclusions as to the value of final *m* in Latin :

- (1) The statements made by the Latin grammarians;
- (2) the orthography of the inscriptions;
- (3) metre;
- (4) comparison with the Romance languages.

(1) Of the passages in grammarians in which the definition of the nature of final *m* is attempted, the following three seem of the greatest importance for our purpose :—

(a) Quintilian, *Instit. Orat.*, ix. 4, 40: *atqui eadem illa littera (i.e., m) quotiens ultima est et vocalem verbi sequentis ita contingit, ut in eam transire possit, etiam*

si scribitur, tamen parum exprimitur, ut *multum ille et quantum erat*, adeo ut paene cuiusdam novae litterae sonum reddat; neque enim eximitur, sed obscuratur et tantum in hoc aliqua inter duas vocales velut nota est, ne ipsae coeant.

(b) Velius Longus, vii. p. 78, 19 k [a grammarian who lived in Trajan's time]: cum dico *etiam nunc*, quamvis per *m* scribam, nescio quomodo tamen exprimere non possum.

(c) Priscian [about the beginning of the fifth century A.D.], ii. p. 29, 15 k: *m* obscurum in extremitate dictionum sonat, ut *templum*; apertum in principio, ut *magnus*; mediocre in mediis, ut *umbra*.

(2) In the Old Latin inscriptions final *m* is very often dropped. Thus we read in the sepulchral inscription in saturnine verses of L. Cornelius L. F. Scipio, consul 259 B.C., oino for oinom (= unum); dvonoro for dvonorom (= bonorum); viro for virom (= virum); aide for aidem (= aedem); but also Luciom = Lucium. This habit of dropping final *m* was continued during the following centuries on plebeian inscriptions, and indeed became more and more frequent, whilst in the orthography of the official inscriptions the insertion of final *m* was practically never neglected from the second half of the second century B.C. In rare cases we find a final *m* replaced by *-n* (e.g., salvon for salvom, tan for tam).

(3) In poetry if a word ends in *-im*, *-em*, *-am*, *-om*, *-um*, and the following word begins with a vowel, there is always elision just as if no *m* were there; on the other hand, these syllables are scanned as long if the following word begins with a consonant; cf. Vergil, *Aen.*, ii. 101 :

Sed quid ego haec autem nequiquam^{am} ingrata revolvo ?

4. The Romance languages show no trace of final *-m*, except in a small number of stressed monosyllables like

the French *rien* from *rem*. [The Romance languages point to a loss of *-m* in all words but monosyllables; see Grandgent, *Introduction to Vulgar Latin*, § 309.]

These different statements can be reconciled only by assuming that as early as the pre-literary period of Latin, final *m* was reduced to a mere nasalisation of the vowel preceding it. As the Latin alphabet, like the English, possessed no special symbol for the representation of nasal vowels, spellings like *viro*, *equom*, and *salvon* represented three different phases in the attempts at denoting nasalisation in writing. This enables us to understand why Velius Longus called the sound in question 'undefined,' and also why Quintilian spoke of it as 'paene cuiusdam novae litterae sonus.' As nasal vowels preceding a consonant were always long, it is natural that scansions like

Urbem quam dicunt Romam, Meliboe, putavi

represent the normal treatment in scansion of the groups *-em*, *-am*, etc., before a word beginning with a consonant. And, finally, this explains the elision of these same groups before a following vowel; for, since the nasalisation was produced during the utterance of the vowel, and not afterwards, the poets could not do otherwise than put these groups on the same footing, as regards liability to elision, with the pure mouth-vowels.

Semi-vowels.

§ 47. In the sound combinations forming two syllables *i* + any other vowel than *i*, and *u* + any other vowel than *u*,¹ after *i* and *u* respectively the semi-vowels *j* and *v* developed as transition sounds. These parasitical sounds

¹ [*i* + *i* was contracted to *ī* and *u* + *u* to *ū* (§ 32).]

were not commonly denoted in writing at all. Thus the written form was *pius*, *via*, *duo*, *pluit*, but the pronunciation was *pi-j-us*, *vi-j-a*, *du-v-o*, *plu-v-it*. The suppression of *v* after *u* in the written language was actually extended to *v* when organically correct, as in words like *fluere*, 'to flow' (which comes from **flug^vere* (§ 39); *confluvont* appears on an old inscription); *fruvor*, 'I enjoy' (from **frug^vor* (§ 39); these were written *fluere*, *fruur*. But since the Latin alphabet did not distinguish between *i* and *j*, and between *u* and *v* (§ 6, note iv, 2) the ambiguity of spellings like *IVENTA*, 'youth,' which might be read either as *juventa* or as **iventa*, or of *PLVIA*, 'rain,' which could stand for either *pluvia* or **pluja*, caused toward the end of the Republic the restoration or introduction of the symbol *v*, in the form *V*, of course, in these words and in some others of the same kind as for example *fluivus*.

Note.—The appearance of the parasitic semi-vowels *j* and *v* after *i* and *u* followed by vowels is found also in modern French, *cf.* *plier*, pronounced *pli-y-er* and *bourard*.

§ 48. *j* between two vowels was pronounced *i+j*. For this reason Cicero, in order to reconcile the spelling with the pronunciation, wrote *aiio*, *Aiiax*, *Maiia*, instead of *aio*, *Aiax*, *Maia*, the way in which these words were ordinarily written, *cf.* Quintilian, *Instit. Orat.*, i. 4, 11: *sciat etiam Ciceroni placuisse aiio Maiiamque geminata i scribere*, and Velius Longus, vii. p. 54, 16 k, in *plerisque Cicero videtur auditu emensus scriptionem, qui et Aiiaem et Maiiam per duo i scribenda existimavit*. Forms like *aiiunt*, *eiius*, *maiiozem*, are found also in inscriptions and in a number of our oldest MSS.

§ 49. *v* occurring between two vowels whose acoustic quality was essentially identical was regularly lost, and the two vowels were contracted (§ 32).

EXAMPLES.

dītis, genitive of dīves, from dīvītis; in the same way we have dītior, comparative, and dītissimus, superlative, from dīvītior and dīvītissimus.

sīs, 'pray,' from si vis.

latrina, from lavatrina.

introrsum, retrorsum, dextrorsum, from *introvorsum, *retrovorsum, *dextrvorsum (vorsum is an archaic form from versum). [*Cf.* our 'Hawarden' pronounced with loss of *w*, Lindsay, *S.H.L.G.*, p. 14.]

The duplicate forms dīvītis, dīvītior, dīvītissimus, and lavatrina are due to analogy. Thus the genitive dīvītis is clearly a new formation after the analogy of the nominative dīves, where the *v* had to be maintained. On the other hand, the oblique cases dītis, dīti, dītem, dīte have called into existence a nominative dīs along with dīves.

§ 50. In the same way *v* was lost in the combinations -ōvĕ- and -ĕvĕ- before a consonant, but with this restriction, that the second of the two vowels did not stand in the final syllable. ō+ĕ were then contracted into ō, while ĕ+o did not undergo contraction (*cf.* § 32).

cōntio from cōvĕntio (coventio is attested in S. C. de Bacch.).

nonus from *novĕnos; novem for *noven owes its -m to decem.

dĕorsum, sĕorsum from *dĕvorsom, *sĕvorsum (for the shortening of the ĕ after the loss of *v*, see § 27).

but

fovea (ditch) and novem, retain the *v*, since in the former the combination -ove- stands not before a consonant but before a vowel, and in the latter the second of the two vowels belongs to the final syllable.

§ 51. In Vulgar Latin the disappearance of *v* between two vowels seems to have set in on a much larger scale than in the literary language. The ancient grammarians state that the people said *failla* for *fāvilla*, *paor* for *pāvōr*, *probai* for *probāvi*. The inscriptions preserve forms like *paimentum* for *pāvimentum*, *dedicait* for *dedicāvit*. The Romance languages seem also to testify to the loss of *v* in this position; *cf.* Fr. *paon* from **paonem*; *peur* from **paorem*; and the so-called past definite tenses like *chantai*, *prouvai*, which presuppose a Latin **cantai*, **probai*.

§ 52. The semi-vowel *v* became a spirant from the end of the second half of the first century A.D. Thus after this date we find the inscriptions hesitating between it and *b*, which also became a spirant (§ 36) [further instances from inscriptions are *biginti*, *bixit*, *botum*, *vene*; *Baleria*, *bictor*, *bōs*; *bivere* for *vivere* is very common. See Grandgent, § 316].

§ 53. Some four centuries later *j* in its turn became a spirant, with the sound *dž* which it had in Old French and still has in modern Italian. As the Latin alphabet had no special sign to represent this new sound, we find no less than four different symbols on the inscriptions, *i.e.*, *z*, *s*, *gi*, *di*; *cf.* forms like *Zulia* = *Julia*; *Zanuarius* and *Gianuarius* = *Januarius*; *Sustus* = *Justus*; *Giove* = *Jove*; *codiux* = *co(n)jux*, found in Low Latin inscriptions belonging to the beginning of the Middle Ages.

Double Consonants.

§ 54. When in articulating a consonant special muscular energy is called into play, and the interval which normally passes between the time when the organs assume the necessary position and when they abandon it, is prolonged,

the ear in such a case fancies that it catches separately the noise made by the closing and opening movements. In this case we speak of a *double* consonant. In writing, double consonants were represented in Latin from the second century B.C. by a repetition of the symbol employed for a single consonant. It is, however, specially to be remarked that from a physiological point of view they do not denote two separate sounds, but only the doubled time of articulation. The double consonants consist merely of one single articulation, strengthened and prolonged. Thus when the Roman grammarians lay it down that in words like *assiduus*, *siccus*, *currit*, *fallit*, two successive movements of the organs of speech were necessary to the production of the consonants *s*, *c*, *r*, *l*, they were misled by their imperfect auditory impressions and by the customary spelling. This explanation will enable us without any fear of misunderstanding to continue to employ the inexact but convenient and generally used term *double consonant*.

A. *Doubling of Simple Consonants.*

§ 55. In a certain number of Latin words a breathed stop between two vowels, when it terminated the initial syllable and followed a long vowel, was doubled with a shortening of this long vowel. We may regard it as certain that this doubling was due in the first place to the initial stress accent of pre-literary Latin (§ 7), but at the same time the process is obscure, firstly because it seems to be absolutely sporadic, and secondly because nearly always the original form with the single consonant after a long vowel remained in use side by side with the later form which had the double consonant after a short vowel. This extremely delicate and complex question

will no doubt have to wait some considerable time for its solution.

EXAMPLES.

cūppa, 'tub,' 'cask,' beside cūpa (the two variants are represented in French where coupe came from cūppa and cuve from cūpa.

Jūppiter beside Jūpiter.

littera ,, litera.

littus ,, litus.

bācca ,, bāca.

mūccus ,, mūcus.

B. Simplification of Double Consonants.

§ 56. Every double consonant was reduced to a single consonant :—

(1) After a short vowel of the initial syllable in polysyllabic words in which the second syllable was long either naturally or by position.

EXAMPLES.

cānālis, derived from cānna, 'reed.'

cūrūlis, derived from cūrrus.

dīsertus, perf. part. pass. of dīssero.

ōfella, 'a small cake,' dim. of ōffa.

sācellus, dim. of sāccus.

As we might naturally expect, analogy re-introduced double consonants into a large number of words, *cf.*, *e.g.* :

gāllina for *gālina, on the model of gāllus.

īnoxius for *īnoxius, on the model of īnnōcuos.

sērrātus for *sērātus, on the model of sērra 'a saw.'

(2) Before a consonant.

EXAMPLES.

pergo from *perrgo, *perr(e)go (per + rego : for the syncope, see § 15), *cf.* the perfect perrexi.

aspiro from *asspiro, which itself stands for atspiro, adspiro (ad + spiro (§ 68)).

discindo from *discindo (dis + scindo).

dispicio from *dispicio (dis + specio; for the vowel-weakening, see § 10, 1, b).

disto from *disto (dis + sto).

but

perrumpo, dissimilis, dissocio.

New formations due to analogy: *accresco*, *opprimo*, *attraho*, on the model of *accedo*, *oppugno*, *attingo*. The spellings *discindo*, *dispicio*, etc., insisted on by certain Latin grammarians are purely artificial, and depend not so much on current pronunciation as on considerations of etymology; cf. on this point Cassiodorus,¹ vii. p. 205, 18 k sqq.: *disspicio* verbum . . . per duo s scribendum est, non per unum, quoniam ex praepositione et verbo constat esse compositum, quemadmodum et *conspicio*, *aspicio*, *despicio*, ac per hoc per duo s *disspicio* scribi debet, et ita dividi, *dis* et *spicio*.

(3) After a consonant.

EXAMPLES.

corcūlum, 'little heart' (used especially as a term of endearment), from *corculom; original form *cordculom (cf. gen. of cor, cordis) > *cortculom (§ 62) > *coreculom (§ 76).

sarmentum, 'twigs,' from *sarmmentom; the original form was *sarpmentom, belonging to the same root as the verb sarpere, 'to lop off,' 'prune' > *sarbmentom (§ 62) > *sarmmentom (§ 70).

arsi, perfect of ardeo, from *arssi, which itself came from *artsi, *ardsi (§ 68).

¹ [Died at the end of the sixth century A.D. Author of *De Orthographia*, borrowed from the works of twelve grammarians, beginning with Donatus and ending with Priscian. Cf. Sandy's *Hist. Class. Scholarship*, vol. i. p. 244.]

sensi, perfect of sentio, from *senssi, which itself came from *sentsi (§ 68).

but

siccus, summus, pessimus.

The double consonant was restored to gain etymological clearness in cases where the prefix *ex-* was connected with a word beginning with *s*. Thus the forms *exsatio*, *exsolvo*, *exsomnis* became, according to rule, **exatio*, **exolvo*, **exomnis*; but since the simplification of the double consonant seemed likely to obscure the etymological construction of these words, *exsatio*, *exsolvo*, *exsomnis* were restored, in spelling at least. For the same reason the words *exculpo*, *expolio*, *extruo*, which represent the correct forms (*cf.* 2 and 3 above), are commonly replaced by *exsculpo*, *exspolio*, *exstruo*.

(4) When final.

EXAMPLES.

ēs, 'thou art,' from **ess* (**es-s*, 2nd pers. sing. pres. indic. of *es-se*, like *ama-s*, 2nd pers. sing. pres. indic. of *ama-re*).

fēl, 'gall,' from **fell*, *cf.* gen. *fellis*.

hōc, nom. acc. sing. neuter, from **hocc* (original form **hodce* > **hocc*) (§ 31, 1; § 76).

milēs, from **miless*, which itself came from **milet*s (§ 68).

ōs, 'bone,' from **oss*, *cf.* gen. *ossis*.

It is, however, to be remarked that even though the spelling no longer exhibits any traces of final 'double consonants,' we find a certain number indicated by the usages of prosody. Thus Plautus scans *es* as long, and *miles* as a spondee (*milēs*), and Vergil quite commonly begins hexameters with words like *hoc erat* (*Aen.*, ii. 664) *hoc illud* (*ib.* iv. 675), *hoc opus* (*ib.* vi. 129): these scan-sions testify to the pronunciation *ess*, *miless*, *hocc*. On

the other hand, it must be observed that *miles* forms a trochee as early as the time of Ennius, and Terence never scans the last syllable of words like *ades* and *potes* as long except when the following word begins with a consonant.

These apparently contradictory pieces of evidence may perhaps be explained in the following way. Originally, final double consonants were, as a rule, simplified only before a pause (*i.e.*, at the end of a sentence), and before a word which began with a consonant; while before words commencing with a vowel they remained, as a rule, unchanged. Scansions like *ess*, *milless*, *hocc*, are the last traces of this original condition. Analogy effaced it by gradually bringing about, in all cases, the simplification of the final double consonants. Hence came the scansion *milēs*, *adēs*, *potēs* with the last syllable short.

It is important to note that the final *s* of words like *ēs*, *milēs*, *ōs* is in Old Latin never silent like the same letter in *amicus*, *civis*, *manus*, *spes*, etc. (§ 42); *i.e.*, when followed by a consonant it always made a preceding short vowel long by position.

§ 57. The double stops were simplified after a long vowel.

EXAMPLES.

secubo, from **seccubo*, which itself goes back to **seteubo*, **sedcubo* (§ 76).

separo, from **sepparo*, older **setparo*, **sedparo* (§§ 14 and 76).

§ 58. *-ss-* remained intact in every case till the end of the first century B.C., but after that time was reduced to *-s-* when following a long vowel or diphthong; see Quintilian, *Instit. Orat.*, i. 7, 20 (the passage already quoted in § 41). Thus the pronunciation of Cicero, and of Vergil also, was as

given below ; we may infer this not merely from the testimony of Quintilian, but also from contemporary inscriptions and the best manuscripts of these authors.

classis ; *esse* ; *gessi*, perf. of *gero* (from **geso*, § 41) ; *missus*, perf. part. pass. of *mitto* (§ 83) ; *cassus -ūs*, from **cadtus* (§§ 26 and 83) ; *divissio*, from **dividtio* (§§ 26 and 83), *caussa*.

On the other hand, in Quintilian's time the pronunciation was :

classis, *esse*, *gessi*, *missus* ; but *casus*, *divisio*, *causa*.

As regards this last example, *caussa* seems to have remained in use, together with *causa*, during the whole of the first century A.D. This seeming anomaly is to be explained by the fact that we are dealing with a term belonging especially to legal phraseology which affected archaisms.

In view of the linguistic facts thus stated it were to be wished that modern editors would make up their minds to avoid such spellings as *casus*, *divisio*, *causa* in texts of Cicero, Caesar, Vergil, etc. *Cassus*, *divissio*, *caussa* are the only forms that correspond to the pronunciation of the republican era.

§ 59. *-ll-* was simplified to *-l-* :

- (1) After a long vowel, when the following syllable contained an *i*.
- (2) After a diphthong.

EXAMPLES.

- (1) *mīlia*, nom. and acc. plur. of *mīlle*.
stīlicidium, 'dripping,')(*stīlla*, 'a drop,' from **stīr-la*
 (§ 73), cf. *stīria*, 'a drop,' or 'an icicle.'
vīlicus,)(*vīlla*.
stēlio, 'spotted lizard,')(*stēlla*.

The length of the root-vowel in *mille*, *villa*, *stēlla* is vouched for by the evidence of the Romance languages.

(2) *aula*, 'a pot,' from *aulla* (attested by the oldest Plautine MSS.) (the Vulgar Latin duplicate form *olla* (§ 24).

caelum, 'chisel,' from **caellum*, from **caedlom* (§ 71) belonging to the root of *caedo*,) (*rāllum*, 'instrument for scraping ploughshare,' from **rādlo*m (§ 71).

§ 60. *-mm-* after a long vowel or diphthong was reduced to *-m-*.

EXAMPLES.

gluma, 'husk of corn,' from **glumma*, **glubma*; *glubo*, 'I peel' (§ 70).

ramentum, 'shavings,' 'chips,' from **rammentom*, **radmentom* (§ 70).

caementum, 'cement,' from **caemmentom*, **caedmentom*; *caedo* (§ 70).

COMBINATIONS OF CONSONANTS.

A. Groups of Two Consonants.

1.—Assimilation.

§ 61. In any language when two consonants of different acoustic quality come into contact, there is a tendency to suppress, or at least modify, the transition from the first to the second by an entire or partial levelling of their respective natures. This linguistic phenomenon is known under the name of **assimilation**. Assimilation can affect breath and voice (*i.e.*, if two consonants, one breathed, the other voiced, are in combination, they are likely to become both either breathed or voiced). It affects also the manner and the place of articulation. It is *progressive* or *regressive*, according as to whether it is the first or second consonant from which the process of levelling proceeds, or, in other words, whether the *assimilating consonant* is the first or the second. In Latin, regressive assimilation was much more common than progressive.

*(a). Breath and Voice Assimilation.***Regressive Assimilation.**

§ 62. Every stop or spirant becomes breathed before a breathed stop or spirant, and voiced before a voiced stop or spirant.

EXAMPLES.

(1) *āctus* (for the lengthening of the *a*, see § 26), perf. part. pass. of *āgo*.

scrīptus, perf. part. pass. of *scrībo*.

rexī (*i.e.* *rexi*), perf. of *rēgo*.

nūpsi, perf. of *nubo*.

(2) *abduco*,) (*aperio*.

obdo,) (*operio*.

segmentum, belonging to the root of *seco*.

§ 63. In other cases the results of this law are latent, *i.e.*, obscured by further changes. Compare:—

**clautsi*, perf. of *claudo*, which became *claussi* (§ 68), and from the Augustan period, *clausi* (§ 58).

**submos* superlative, 'the highest,' from **supmos* (*cf.* the comparative *superior*), which became *summus* (§ 70).

**izdem*, 'the same,' from **isdem*, which became *idem* (§ 25, 1 and § 86).

For further examples see §§ 66 sqq. and § 86.

§ 64. If in ordinary spelling a voiced consonant precedes a breathed, as in words like *obtineo*, *subtilis*, *plebs*, *urbs*, the violation of the rule is only apparent. A considerable mass of evidence from the Roman grammarians establishes the fact that these words were always pronounced *optineo*, *suptilis*, *pleps*, *urps*; *cf.* for example, Quintilian, *Instit. Orat.*, i. 7, 7: *quaeri solet in scribendo praepositiones sonum quem junctae efficiunt, an quem separatae observare conveniat, ut cum dico obtinuit (secundam enim b litteram ratio postulat, aures magis audiunt p)*. By *ratio*, of course, we must understand analogy: *obtineo*, *subtilis* were written after the analogy of *obduro*, *subdolos*, and *plebs*, *urbs* after the analogy of their oblique cases *plebis*, *plebi*, *urbis*, *urbi*, etc.

Progressive Assimilation.

§ 65. Its operations are always latent.

Under the influence of a preceding trilled or divided consonant, a voiced spirant was substituted for a breathed spirant.

EXAMPLES.

*ferze ('to carry'), from *ferse (compare esse, 'to be'), which became ferre (§ 74).

*velze ('to wish'), from *velse, which became velle (§ 74).

*ferze and *velze are not attested forms, but the physiological analysis of pronunciation proves that the combinations *-rs-* and *-ls-* could not become *-rr-* and *-ll-* without a previous change of the breathed *s* into the voiced *z*.

(b) *Assimilation of the Manner of Articulation.*

§ 66. Assimilation of the manner of articulation was very common in Latin. Hence we can give only a selection of the most characteristic examples, leaving the student to multiply the number in the course of his reading. It should be noted also that it is often impossible to determine the constituent elements of a combination assimilated from this point of view without the help of the other Indo-European languages. Thus *-ll-* arises from *-dl-*, *-nl-*, *-rl-*, *-ld-*, *-ln-*, *-ls-*, and so it is only the comparison of the German *Hals* that enables us to recognise that the Latin *collum* ('a neck') is developed from **colsom*.¹

If one of the two consonants in combination was voiced and the other breathed, or vice versa, the assimilation of the manner of articulation was preceded by that of their acoustic quality, according to the laws formulated in § 62. The double consonant that resulted from the assimilation of the manner of articulation was reduced to a single consonant in all the cases provided for by the formulae in § 56 *sqq.* It should be added, however, that apart from a few rare exceptions the double consonant, which was simplified after a short vowel in polysyllabic words with a long second syllable (§ 56, i.), was re-established by analogy.

¹ See *Giles*, § 184.

Regressive Assimilation.

Stop + Spirant.

§ 67. In combinations formed of a labial, dental or guttural stop followed by *f*, the stop is changed to *f*. Thus here the assimilation of the manner is combined with that of the place of articulation; the three kinds of stops not being replaced by corresponding spirants but changing *all* to *f*.

Practically there are no examples save for the group *-pf-*, *-df-*, *-cf-*.

$$\begin{array}{c}
 -pf- \\
 -df- > * -tf- \\
 -cf-
 \end{array}
 \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{c} -pf- \\ -df- \\ -cf- \end{array}} \right\} > -ff-$$

EXAMPLES.

officina (a workshop) from *op(i)ficina* (*opificina* is found in Plautus *Miles*, 880); compare also *opifex*.

offero from **opfero*.

affero from *adfero*, the intermediate stage being **atfero*.

effero from *ecfero* (*ecferet* is found in Plautus *Aulularia*, 664, *ecfari* in a quotation from Ennius in Cicero, *De Legibus*, iii. 9; the triple form of the preposition *ē-*, *ēc-*, *ex-* corresponds exactly with *ā-*, *āb-*, *abs-*).

Restorations due to analogy: *obfero*, *adfero*, *obfundo*, *adfigo*, which are duplicate forms of *offero*, *affero*, *offundo*, *afigo*. *Offundo* and *afigo* in their turn are re-established by analogy of *offero*, *affero*, and other words of the same type. The only regular forms are **ofundo*, **afigo* (§ 56, i.). The pronunciation of *obfero*, *adfero*, *obfundo*, *adfigo* was, of course, *opfero*, *atfero*, *opfundo*, *afigo*; the spellings *obfero*, *adfero*, *obfundo*, *adfigo* correspond precisely with *obtineo*, *subtilis*, etc. (§ 64).

§ 68. A combination of a dental stop followed by *s* became *ss*.

$$ds > \left. \begin{array}{l} ts \\ ts \end{array} \right\} > ss$$

EXAMPLES.

- concussi, perfect of *concutio*, from * *concutsi*.
 messui, perfect of *meto*, from * *met sui*.
assequor, from *adsequor*, the intermediate stage being * *atsequor*.
assum, from * *atsum*, from *adsum*.

Double *-ss-* was reduced to single *-s-* :—

(1) After a short vowel in the first syllable of polysyllabic words where the second syllable was long naturally or by position (§ 56 (1)).

There are no examples; analogy everywhere introduced the double *-ss-* and effaced the results of this law (see below).

(2) In a final position (§ 56 (1)).

EXAMPLES.

- miles* from * *milet s* (compare gen. *militis* from * *miletis* (§ 10, i., b)), *miless*.
pēs from * *pēds* (compare gen. *pēdis*), * *pēts*, * *pess*. (For the long vowel of the nom. *pēs*, see § 12.)

(3) After a long vowel or diphthong, from the end of the first century B.C. (§ 58).

EXAMPLES.

- lusi*, perfect of *ludo*, from * *ludsi*, * *lutsi*, *lussi*.
plausi, perfect of *plaudo*, from * *plaudsi*, * *plautsi*, *plaussi*.

Restorations due to analogy: *adsequor*, *adsum*, duplicate forms of *assequor*, *assum*; *assigno*, *assisto* which have supplanted the regular forms * *asigno*, * *asisto* ((1) above).

Stop + Nasal.

§ 69. Under the action of a following *n*, each kind of stop was changed into the nasal produced by the same organ. Thus:—

- bn*- > -*mn*-
- pn*- > -*mn*- passing through -*bn*-
- dn*- > -*nn*-
- tn*- > -*nn*- passing through -*dn*-
- gn*- > -*ñn*-
- cn*- > -*ñn*- passing through -*gn*-

EXAMPLES.

scamnum ('a stool,' 'a bench') from **scañnom* (compare the diminutive *scabellum*).

Samnium (the district in Central Italy whose inhabitants were descended from the Sabines) from **Sabñiom* (which belongs to the same root as *Sabini*, *Sabelli*, 'the Sabines').

somnus from **sopnos* (*cf.* *sopor*, 'deep sleep'), by an intermediate stage **sobnos*.

annoto from *adnoto*.

penna from **petna* (which belongs to the root of *peto*, 'I direct myself towards,' the oldest meaning of which was 'I fly'), through an intermediate stage **pedna*.

As for the group -*gn*-, representing partly an older -*cn*- (*cf.* § 62), writing has not been able to reproduce its development into -*ñn*-, because, as we have seen (§ 6, note 3), the Romans did not possess a special letter to denote the nasal guttural. Thus they continued to write -*gn*- while pronouncing -*ñn*-.

Compare:—

liñnum, written *lignum*, 'firewood'; primitive form **legnum* (§ 16).

dinnus, written *dignus*; primitive form **decnos* (§§ 16, 62); intermediate stage **degnos*.

The proof that in *lignum* and *dignus* *-gn-* was pronounced *-ñm-* is provided by the radical *ñ* of these words, which comes from an original *ě*, the change of *ě* to *ñ* in a closed syllable being the rule before a nasal guttural (§ 16).

Restorations due to analogy: *abnuo*, *abnego*, which have almost entirely ousted the regular forms *amnuo*, *amnego*; *adnoto*, a duplicate form of *annoto*; *annecto*, *annitor* for **ānecto*, **ānitor* (§ 56 (1)).

§ 70. Omitting the combination *guttural stop+m*, the treatment of which has not yet been established, all the stops followed by *m* became *m*. This development presupposes the earlier change of *d* and *t* to *b* and *p* in consequence of an assimilation of the place of articulation. (§ 78). Hence:—

$$-dm- > \left. \begin{array}{l} -bm- \\ -bm- \end{array} \right\} > -mm-$$

$$-tm- > \left. \begin{array}{l} -pm- \\ -pm- \end{array} \right\} > -mm- \text{ passing through } -bm-$$

For *-tm-*, it is true, we have no examples, but it is beyond doubt that this combination developed in the way indicated wherever it presented itself.

EXAMPLES.

ammoveo from *admoveo*.

summus from **subinos* from **supinos* (§§ 62, 63).

Double *-mm-* was simplified later to *-m-* (§§ 56 (1), 60) after a short vowel in the initial syllable in polysyllabic words whose second syllable was long by nature or

position, and in all words where it followed a long vowel or diphthong.

EXAMPLES.

omitto from **op*mitto (*op* being the original form of the preposition *ob*; § 62 (2)), **ob*mitto, **om*mitto.

glūma ('husk') from **glu*bma, **glu*mma (glūbo, 'peel').

caementum ('hewn stone') from **caed*mentom, **caem*mentom (*caedo*, 'break').

Restorations due to analogy: *ad*moveo, duplicate form of *amm*oveo (see above); *sub*mitto, duplicate form of *sum*mitto, which is itself of analogical origin, the correct form being **sum*mitto (compare *om*itto above).

Stop + Divided Consonant.

§ 71. The voiced dental stop *d* followed by the divided consonant *l* is assimilated to it.

-*dl*- > -*ll*-

EXAMPLES.

*al*loquor from *ad*loquor.

*gra*llae ('stilts') from **gra*dlae (*gradior*).

*ra*llum (instrument for scraping earth off a ploughshare) from **ra*dlom (*rado*).

*se*lla from **se*dlā (*sedeo*).

After a diphthong double -*ll*- is simplified (§ 59 (2)).

EXAMPLE.

caelum (a sculptor's chisel) from **caed*lom > **caell*um (*caedo*).

Restorations due to analogy: *al*loquor, duplicate form of *ad*loquor; *ad*latus, perf. part. pass. of *ad*fero, *affero* (§ 67), duplicate form of *al*latus, which in its turn analogy substituted for **al*atus (§ 56 (1)).

Nasal + Trilled or Divided Consonant.

§ 72. Nasal *n* is assimilated to a following trilled or divided consonant.

-nr- > *-rT-*

-nl- > *-l-*

EXAMPLES.

(i.) *corripio*, from **conrapio* (with umlaut, § 10, i. c).

irrevocabilis, from *irrevocabilis*.

(ii.) *colloquium*, from *conloquium*.

vilum ('a sup of wine'), from **vin(o)lum* (diminutive of *vinum* with syncope, § 15).

Restorations due to analogy: *irrevocabilis*, *conloquium*, duplicate forms of *irrevocabilis*, *colloquium* (see above); *corumpo*, *illatus* (perf. part. pass. of *infero*), which have replaced the regular forms *corumpo* and **ilatus* (§ 56 (1)). Of *corumpo* there remains a last trace in Lucretius, vi., 1135:

An coelum nobis ultro natura cōruptum.

Trilled + Divided Consonant.

§ 73. A trilled followed by a divided consonant is changed by the latter into a divided consonant.

-r|- > *-l-*

EXAMPLES.

age|lus, from **ager|los* (diminutive of *ager*).

pel|licio, from **perlacio* (with umlaut, § 10, i. c).

satu|lus ('satisfied') from **satur|los* (derived from *satur*).

Restorations due to analogy: *perlucio*, duplicate form of *pellicio* (see above), *perluceo*, duplicate form of *pelluceo*, which is itself substituted by analogy for **pelluceo* (§ 56 (1)).

Progressive Assimilation.

Trilled or Divided Consonant + Spirant.

§ 74. A trilled or divided consonant assimilates a following *s* after having first changed it into *z* (§ 65).

-rs- > -rr-

-ls- > -ll-

EXAMPLES.

ferre from *ferze, from *ferse (compare esse).

velle from *velze from *velse.

To the same category belong words like collum, torreo, verres which come from *colsum, *torseo, *verses. These original forms, however, are proved only by a comparison with the other Indo-European languages (§ 66).

To this rule there are exceptions, *i.e.*, words which show the combinations -rs- and -ls- without assimilation. Compare for example arsi, farsi, mulsi, the perfects of ardeo, farcio, mulceo; pulsus, perf. part. pass. of pello. Of course this different treatment of the same combinations of consonants only apparently violates the principle of the constancy of phonetic laws. The formulae of these laws, in fact, apply only to sounds or combinations of sounds of perfectly identical nature. Now in arsi, the combination -rs- comes from -rss- (§ 89); farsi and mulsi stand for *farsi, *mulsi (§ 90), and the simplification of the combinations -rcs and -lcs- to -rs- and -ls- came only after the assimilation of original -rs- and -ls- to -rr- and -ll-. Finally, pulsus is an analogical creation that has replaced the regular form *pultus. Of this there remains a last trace in the verb pultare ('strike') used by Plautus, *Captivi*, 832, *cf.* also Quintilian, *Instit. Orat.*, i. 4, 14: nam *mertare et pultare dicebant*. Pulsus was substituted for *pultus at a

time when the assimilation of original *-rs-* and *-ls-* was equally an accomplished fact. None of these forms thus corresponds exactly with **ferse* or **velse*.

(c.) *Assimilation of the Place of Articulation.*

§ 75. Assimilation of the place of articulation was always regressive. All the remarks made above (§ 66) with regard to the assimilation of the manner of articulation are true of this process also. The student must therefore refer to them before beginning to study the following laws.

Assimilation between Stops.

§ 76. Before a guttural stop every dental or labial stop is changed into a guttural stop; dental stops are also assimilated to a following labial stop. The following table summarises these changes :—

- (1)
- | | | | | | |
|--------|-----|--------|---|-----|--------|
| $-dg-$ | $>$ | $-dg-$ | } | $>$ | $-gg-$ |
| $-tg-$ | $>$ | $-dg-$ | | | |
| $-pg-$ | $>$ | $-bg-$ | | | |
-
- | | | | | | |
|--------|-----|--------|---|-----|--------|
| $-dc-$ | $>$ | $-tc-$ | } | $>$ | $-cc-$ |
| $-bc-$ | $>$ | $-pc-$ | | | |
| $-pc-$ | $>$ | $-pc-$ | | | |
-
- | | | | | | |
|----------|-----|----------|---|-----|--|
| $-dq^v-$ | $>$ | $-tq^v-$ | } | $>$ | $*-q^v q^v-$, which became $-cq^v-$ (§ 82). |
| $-bq^v-$ | $>$ | $-pq^v-$ | | | |
| $-pq^v-$ | $>$ | $-pq^v-$ | | | |
- (2)
- | | | | | | |
|--------|-----|--------|---|-----|--------|
| $-tb-$ | $>$ | $-db-$ | } | $>$ | $-bb-$ |
| $-db-$ | $>$ | $-db-$ | | | |
-
- | | | | | | |
|--------|-----|--------|---|-----|--------|
| $-dp-$ | $>$ | $-tp-$ | } | $>$ | $-pp-$ |
| $-tp-$ | $>$ | $-tp-$ | | | |

Some of the instances of assimilation shown in this table rest, it is true, only on analogical induction, as there are no examples. The following are attested historically :—

aggero, from *adgero*.

oggero, from **opgero*, *obgero*.

siccus, from **si(i)cos* (which belongs to the same root as *sitis*).

succido, from **supcado* (with umlaut, § 10, i. c.).

quicquam, from *quidquam*, **quitquam*.

ocquinisco ('stoop'), from **opquinisco* (compare *conquinisco*; the simple verb is not used).

quippe, from **quidpe* (*quid*, neuter of *quis* + *pe*, a particle found also in *nempe*), **quitpe*.

A double guttural (*i.e.*, *-cc-*, *-pp-*, etc.) was simplified in a final position (§ 56 (4)), and in a medial syllable after a long vowel (§ 57).

EXAMPLES.

hoc, from **hodce* (**hod*, neuter, like *id*, + *ce*, a demonstrative particle; old inscriptions have *honce* = *hunc*, *hance* = *hanc*, etc.), **hotce* **hocce*, and with the loss of the final vowel (§ 31 (1)), *hocc*. (On this form, see § 56 (4)).

secubo ('I lie alone or apart'), from **sedcubo* (the prefix *sēd* denoting separation, *cf.* *seditio*), **setcubo*, **seccubo* (§ 57).

separo, from *sedparo*, **setparo*, **sepparo* (§ 57).

Restorations due to analogy: *adgero*, *obgero*, *quidquam*, duplicate forms of *aggero*, *oggero*, *quicquam*; *adbibo*, which has ousted **abbibo* doubtless owing to the latter's ambiguity; *iccirco* for **icirco* (§ 56 (1)), arising from *idcirco*, which was re-established and existed as a duplicate form along with *iccirco*.

**Assimilation between a Stop and a Spirant produced
by Different Organs.**

§ 77. Before the labial spirant *f* every dental or guttural stop was changed into a labial stop.

This assimilation is latent because the labial stop was later changed into a spirant owing to assimilation of the manner of articulation (§ 67).

**Assimilation between a Stop and a Nasal produced by
Different Organs.**

§ 78. Before the labial nasal *m*, every dental stop was changed into a labial stop.

As in § 77, this assimilation is latent, and its results altered by a secondary assimilation of the manner of articulation (§ 70).

Note.—In this instance the reconstruction of the latent assimilation of the dental stops to labial stops before *m* is based partly on the physiological difficulty of a direct change from *-dm-* and *-tm-* to *-mn-*, and partly on the very pronounced tendency to labialise a dental stop followed by *m*, which is seen in other languages as well as Latin. Thus in the Swiss pronunciation of modern German, written words like *Badmeister* ('bath-attendant'), *Mitmensch* ('fellow-creature'), we seem to hear *Bapmeister*, *Mipmensch*.

Assimilation of Dental Spirant *s* to Labial Spirant *f*.

§ 79. The dental spirant *s* of the prefix *dis-* is assimilated to a following *f*:

-sf- > -ff-

Compare : *difffero*, from **disfëro*.

diffficilis, from **disfäcilis* (with umlaut)
(§ 10, i. c).

Restorations due to analogy: *diffido*, *diffundo*, which have replaced **difido*, **difundo*, the only regular forms (§ 56 (1)).

Assimilation between Nasals and Stops.

§ 80. Only the corresponding nasal, *i.e.*, formed by the same organ as the stop, can precede a stop.

EXAMPLES.

The prefixes *cōm-* (comes), *in-* (ineo) and the negative particle *in-* (*in-ūtilis*) end in *m* before a labial stop, in *n* before a dental stop, and in *ñ* (written *n* owing to the lack of a special letter to denote the nasal guttural (§ 6, note 3)) before a guttural stop; compare:—

- (i.) *compono*, *contexo*, *concenatio* pronounced *coñcenatio*.
- (ii.) *imbuo*, *induro*, *ingenuos* pronounced *iñgenuos*.
- (iii.) *imbellis*, *intactus*, *inquietus* pronounced *iñquietus*.

Moreover, the change from *m* to *n* before a dental stop and to *ñ* before a guttural stop is seen in the following cases:—

- eundem*, *eandem* (*eum*, *eam* + *dem*).
- eorundem*, *earundem* (*eorum*, *earum* + *dem*).
- quandiu* (*quam* + *diu*).
- septendecim* (*septem* + *decem*).
- clanculum* (adv. 'secretly' and prep. 'without the knowledge of,' found in Plautus and Terence) pronounced *clañculum*; *cf.* *clam*, which has the same meanings.
- tunc*, pronounced *tunñc* (*tum* + enclitic *ce* (§ 31 (1))).
- tanquam*, pronounced *tañquam* (*tam* + *quam*).

Restorations due to analogy: *eundem*, *eamdem*, *eorundem*, *earundem*, *quamdin*, *septemdecim*, *tanquam*, duplicate forms of *eundem*, etc.; *sumptus* (with development of a parasitic *p* (§ 85)), perf. part. pass. of *sumo* for *suntus*. The latter form, however, existed in Vulgar

Latin and survives in certain Romance forms. It is, moreover, probable that the restoration of the etymological forms *eundem*, etc., was at first purely literary, that is to say, the same people who wrote with the *m* none the less continued to pronounce the words *eundem*, etc.

Assimilation of the Nasal Dental to the Nasal Labial.

§ 81. The nasal dental *n* is assimilated to the nasal labial *m* wherever the preposition or negative particle *in-* precedes a word beginning with *m*.

$nm > mm.$

EXAMPLES.

immolo from *inmolo* (properly, 'I sprinkle the head of the victim with the sacred flour called *mola*).

immerito from *inmerito*.

Restorations due to analogy: *inmolo*, *inmerito*, duplicate forms of *immolo*, *immerito*; *immuto*, *immitis*, the phonetic forms being **imuto*, **imitis* (§ 56 (1)).

II. Treatment of g^v and q^v before a Consonant.

§ 82. Before a consonant the labialised guttural stops g^v and q^v (written *gu* and *qu* (§ 39)) lost their labial appendix and were changed into pure gutturals *g* and *c*. Moreover, if the following consonant was breathed—and that is true of all the examples that can be adduced of the combination $g^v + \text{consonant}$ —the voiced *g* became a breathed *c* (§ 62). Hence:—

$g, q^v + \text{consonant} > c + \text{consonant}.$

EXAMPLES.

- extinxi, written *extinxi*, perfect of *extinguo*.
 nix, written *nix*,)(the genitive *nivis* that goes back to
 **nig^vis* (§ 39).
 unctio,)(*unguentum*.
 assecla ('a hanger-on'),)(*assequor*.
 coctus, perf. part. pass. of *coquo*.
 delictum,)(*delinquo*.

This law explains also *ac* and *nec*, duplicate forms of *atque* and *neque*, and used when the following word begins with a consonant. After the loss of the final *e* of *atque* and *neque* (§ 31 (1)) the labialisation of *qu* disappeared under the influence of the following consonant. Hence **atc* and *nec*; **atc* was then assimilated into **acc* (§ 76), and finally the double *cc* was reduced to a single *c* (§ 56 (4)).

III. Treatment of the Combination Dental Stop + *t*.

§ 83. From the Indo-European epoch the combination of a dental stop and *t* gave rise to the development of a medial parasitic *s*. Hence the combination *tst*, which in Latin became *ss* by a double assimilation.

$$d, t + t > tst > ss.$$

EXAMPLES.

cāssus from **cādtus* (*cādo*; for the lengthening of the radical vowel in this word and the two following, see § 26).

divīssio from **divīdtio* (*divīto*).

ēssus, perf. part. pass. of *ēdo* ('I eat') from **ēdtos*.

plausus, perf. part. pass. of *plaudo*, from **plaudtos*.

sessus, perf. part. pass. of *sedeo*, from **sedtos* (on the probable reason why the radical vowel in *sessus* is not lengthened, see § 26).

mēssis from **mēdtis* (*mēto*).

passus sum, perfect of *patior*, from **pattos sum*.

quassus, adj. old perf. part. pass. of *quatio*, from **quattos*.

After a long vowel and diphthong the double *ss* was reduced to a single *s* from the end of the first century B.C. Cicero still pronounced and wrote *cassus*, etc., but in Quintilian's time these words were spelt *casus*, etc. (§ 58).

§ 84. In a certain number of cases the combination *dental stop + t* was formed afresh after the development traced above which ended well before the historical period. The result of this second evolution was not now *-ss-* but *-tt-*. This happened especially when the prefix *ad-* was combined with a verb that began with *t*; cf. :—

attenuo from *adtenuo*.

attuli, perfect of *affero* (assimilated from *adfero*, § 67) from *adtuli*.

The prefixes attached to verbs were in fact originally independent words, and this character had not yet been lost completely in Plautus' time; cf. *Trinummus*, v. 833 :

dixtraxissent disque tulissent . . .

Thus the combination *-dt-* in *adtenuo*, *adtuli*, was too recent to be affected by the law that caused for example the change of **sedtos* to *sessus* (see above). Hence we get *attenuo*, *attuli*. It should be added that by the side of *attenuo*, *attuli*, restored duplicate forms, *adtenuo*, *adtuli* are also found in inscriptions and manuscripts.

IV.—Development of a parasitic sound in certain combinations of two consonants.

§ 85. Between the two elements of the combinations *sr* (as far as it represents an earlier *dtr*, see §§ 56 (2), 83), *ml*, *ms*, *mt*, a parasitic transitional sound developed, which in the case of *sr* was a *t*, and in that of *ml*, *ms*, *mt* a *p*.

- (i.) *sr* > *str*.
 (ii) *ml* > *mpl*.
 ms > *m ϕ s*.
 mt > *m ϕ t*.

EXAMPLES.

- (1) *claustrum*, from **clausrom*, **claudtrom* (*claudio*).
 rastrum, from **rasrom*, **radtrom* (*rado*).
 tonstrix, from **tonsrix*, **tondtrix* (*tondeo*).
 (2) *exemplum*, from **exemlom* (properly 'that which is taken out as a sample,' from **exemo*, which became *eximo* (§ 10, i. *b*)).
 compsi, *dempsi*, *prompsi*, *sumpsi*, perfects of *como*, *demo*, *promo*, *sumo*, from **comsi*, **demsi*, **promsi*, **sumsi* (*cf.*, for example, *dixi*, *i.e.*, *dicsi*, perfect of *dico*).
 comptus, *demptus*, *promptus*, *sumptus*, from **comtus*, **demtus*, **promptus*, **sumtus*.

In popular speech a parasitic *p* developed also in the combination *-mn-*, as is shown by the spellings, such as *autumpnus*, *contempno*, *sompnus*, which are found frequently in vulgar texts. Educated people absolutely eschewed this pronunciation.

NOTE.—(i.) **comtus*, **demtus*, **promptus*, **sumtus* ought to have become **contus*, **dentus*, **prontus*, **suntus* (§ 80); but the *m* was restored by analogy.

(ii.) If the parasitic consonants were relatively few in Latin, French, on the other hand, is rich in them, *cf.* O.F. *ancestre*, *estre* from Latin *antecess(ō)r*, **ess(ē)re*; mod. Fr. *combler* from Latin *cum(ū)lare*, *nombre* from *num(ē)rum*, *pondre* from *pon(ē)re*, etc.

V.—Loss of the first element of a combination of two consonants.

§ 86. Before a voiced consonant, *s* changed to *z* (§ 63), and then was lost with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel if the latter was short (§ 25 (1)).

EXAMPLES.

idem, from *īsdem (īs + dem), which became first *īdem.
 jūdex, from *jūsdex ('quod jūs dicat'); -dex for -dix by analogy of the second element of compounds like auspex, opifex, etc., according to the proportional formula, auspex, opificis : auspex, opifex = judicis : x, *jūzdex.

trēdecim, from *trēsdecim, *trēzdecim.

prēlum ('wine-press'), from *prēsłom (*cf.* přēs-si, perfect of přemo), *prēzłom.

prīmus, from *prīsmos (*cf.* prīscus), *prīzmos.

ĕgēnus, from *ĕgēsnos (*cf.* ĕgēstas), *ĕgēznos.

pono, from *pōs(i)no (§ 25 (1)), *pōzno.

Cf. also diduco, digero, dilanio ('I tear in pieces'), dimitto, dīnosco, as against dīstorqueo, dīscedo, dīspōno, dīssocio.

Restorations due to analogy : ejusdem, quibusdam, after ejus and quibus.

§ 87. Before *f* and *s* the nasal dental *n* lost its stop character at an early date; the vibrations set up in the glottis during this sound were then attracted to the preceding vowel, lengthening it by way of compensation when it was short (§ 25 (2)).

The loss of *n* in this position is proved (i.) by spellings like iferos, cesor, cosol, found frequently on archaic inscriptions; (ii.) by the abbreviation cos. for cōsul; (iii.) by the testimony of Quintilian (§ 25 (2)); (iv.) by 'inverse spellings' in vulgar texts, *e.g.*, occansio, thesaurus for occasio, thesaurus; (v.) by the Romance languages, *cf.*, for example, the French épouse, mois, toise 'fathom'), which go back to spōsa, mēsem, tēsa. But at an early period etymological considerations caused the restoration of *n*, first in the spelling, and then, owing to the instinctive popular tendency to harmonise the spoken with the written language, partially at any

rate in pronunciation. This happened especially in the case of compounds with *con-* and *in-*. Hence the French *conseil*, *enfant*, *ensemble*, that develop from *consilium*, *infantem*, *insinul*.

B. Combinations of Three Consonants.

§ 88. Combinations of three consonants were reduced most frequently to two consonants, but occasionally even to one. The simplification to two consonants was due—

- (1) To the assimilation of two consonants of the combination, after which the double consonant was made a single one.
- (2) To the loss pure and simple of a consonant under conditions formulated below.

The simplification to a single consonant was due (*a*) to the combination of the one or other of these two causes with the loss of an *s*, or (*b*) to the loss of *ns* before a voiced consonant.

Assimilation and Simplification of a double consonant along with a possible loss of an s.

§ 89.—EXAMPLES.

- (*a*) *aspiro* from *adspiro*, **asspiro* (§§ 68, 56 (2)).
asto from *adsto*, **assto* (§§ 68, 56 (2)).
corculum, from **corculom*, **corculom* (§§ 76, 56 (3)).
sarmentum, from **sarmentom*, **sarmmentom* (§§ 70, 56 (3)).
arsi, from **ardsi*, **arssi* (§§ 68, 56 (3)).
sensi, from **sentsi*, **senssi* (§§ 68, 56 (3)).
nox (*i.e.*, *noes*), from **noctis* (*cf.* *gen. noctis*), **nocss* (§§ 68, 56 (4)).
testis, from **terstis* ('*qui tertius stat*'), **tesstis*.
tostus, perf. part. pass. of *torreo* (originally **torseo* (§ 74)), from **torstos*, **tosstos*.

The two last examples might seem to violate the law laid down in § 74. But for an *r* to assimilate a following *s*, the latter must first become voiced, which in the case of *terstis and *torstus was impossible owing to its position before the breathed *t* (§ 62). Hence the assimilation has been regressive.

Superstes is a restoration due to analogy; the phonetic form *supestes* is found frequently on vulgar inscriptions.

(*b*) pone, prep. and adverb, from *postne (*cf.* *superne*), *posne, *posne (§§ 69, 56 (3), 86).

Loss of a consonant together with a possible loss of an s.

§ 90. A guttural stop is lost between *r* or *l* on the one hand, and *t*, *s*, *m* or *n* on the other, and also between *n* and a dental stop.

EXAMPLES.

farsi and fartus (*farcio*) from *farsi, *fartos.

sarsi and sartus (*sarcio*) from *sarsi, *sartos.

fulsi and fultus (*fulcio*) from *fulsi, *fultos.

ultus (*ulciscor*) from *uletos.

tormentum, from *torq^vmentom, *tormentom (§ 82; derived from the root of *torqueo*).

fulmen, from *fulgmen (*fulgeo*).

quernus, 'oaken,' from *quernos (*quercus*).

quindecim, from *quinq^v(e)decim, *quindecim, *quingdecim (§§ 15, 82, 62).

quintus, from *quinq^vtos, quinctos (§ 82).

The combination *-nct-* was restored by analogy in *junctus*, *unctus*, *vinctus*: *quinctus* is also found by the side of *quintus* especially in proper names, *Quinctus*, *Quinctius*, *Quinctilis*.

§ 91. Every labial or guttural stop was lost before *s* followed by another consonant. When the final consonant

of the combination was voiced, *s* was lost in its turn along with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel if it was short (§ 86).

EXAMPLES.

(a) *asporto*, from **apsporto*.

ostendo, from **opstendo*.

suscipio, from **supscapio* (with umlaut (§ 10, i. c.)).

The prefixes *ops-* and *sup-* are copied from *aps-* according to the proportional formula *ap-* (*ab-*): *aps-* = *op-* (*ob-*), *sup-* (*sub-*): *x*.

sescenti from *sexcenti* (*x* = *cs*).

Restorations due to analogy: *abstuli* (the phonetic form *astuli* is attested by the grammarian Charisius,¹ 1, p. 237, 2 k), *dexter*, *juxta*, *sextus*, etc. These restorations, however, belonged exclusively to the literary language; the people generally knew only *dester*, *justa*, *sestus*, etc., as is shown (i.) by numerous inscriptions and manuscripts written in the common language, and (ii.) by the Romance tongues (*cf.* Old French, *destre*, *jouste*, *sistes*).

Note.—It is interesting to find the same simplification of the combinations *guttural stop* + *s* + *breathed consonant* into *s* + *breathed consonant* in modern popular French (*cf.* the common pronunciations *esclure*, *espliquer*, *estraire*).

(b) *amitto*, from **apsmitto*.

ebibo, from *exbibō*.

sumo, from **sup(s)mo* (with syncope (§ 15)).

jumentum, from *jouzmentum* (a form attested by the most ancient Latin inscription found in 1899 in the Roman Forum; *ou* > *ū* (§ 23)).

sedecim, from **sezdecim*.

tela, from **tezla* (*texo*).

¹ [Charisius was a grammarian of the fourth century A.D., who transcribed passages of Palaemon (35-70 A.D.), the author of the *Ars Grammatica*.]

Loss of the Combination -ns- before a Voiced Consonant.

§ 92. The examples of this modification, which is due to the combination of the laws formulated in §§ 86 and 87, are almost exclusively furnished by the prefix *trans-* when it precedes a voiced consonant, *e.g.* :—

traduco, from *transduco*.

trameo, from *transmeo*.

trano, from *transno*.

The restorations *transduco*, *transmeo*, *transno*, etc., were employed by the side of these phonetic forms.

APPENDIX.

THE SYLLABLE.

Division of Syllables.

§ 93. The combinations of sounds that we call words are divided into as many sections as they contain vowels (or diphthongs). These sections, separated from each other by a complete or partial movement of closing, or simply by a cessation of the vibrations in the glottis, are called syllables.

In Latin the end of the syllable lay immediately after the vowel (or diphthong) when this was followed by another vowel or single consonant. When the vowel (or diphthong) was followed by two consonants or a double consonant, the consonantal element was as a rule divided between the preceding and following syllable. An exception was made only for the combination *stop + trilled* or *divided consonant*, both of which were attached to the following syllable. Lastly, of three consonants the first and the second belonged to the preceding, the third to the following syllable unless the combination was terminated by a *stop* followed by a *trilled* or *divided consonant*. In this case the break came after the first of the three consonants.

EXAMPLES.

- (i.) (a) me-us, qui-es, quo-ad.
 (b) ca-do, pau-per, cae-cus, ro-sa, do-mus, si-nus,
 a-ra, cae-lum.
- (ii.) (a) ag-men, pug-na, prop-ter, tec-tum, ip-se, aes-tas,
 pis-cis, am-bo, om-nis, men-sa, or-do, pul-vis,
 but
 qua-drans, a-trox, fe-bris, su-pra, ae-gre, lu-crum,
 locu-ples.

We must set aside compounds like *abrumpo*, *sublatus*, in which the combination between the stop and

the trilled or divided consonant was much less strong, because the prefixes formed for a very long time distinct words (§ 84). Hence these words were divided, *ab-rumpo*, *sub-latus*.

(b) *ag-ger*, *gib-bus* (a hunch), *sic-cus*, *pos-sum*, *anus*, *il-le*.

(iii.) *abs-temius*, *cons-picio*, *ins-tituo*, *temp-to*, *sanc-tus*,
but
spec-trum, *plaus-trum*, *mem-brum*, *tem-plum*.

Such is, at least, the method followed by the best inscriptions and manuscripts, which reflects, no doubt faithfully, the phonetic division. The principle laid down by the Roman grammarians from the fifth century of our era stipulates, it is true, that all the combinations which can begin a word must be joined to the second syllable (*e.g.*, *a-spice*, *a-mnis*, *ca-stra*). Their remarks, however, are merely subtleties of the imagination, devoid of any linguistic interest.

Duration of Syllables.

§ 94. A syllable is short when it contains a short vowel followed by a single consonant—*e.g.*, the first syllable of *cădo*, *căquo* (*qu* being a single sound (§ 39)) :

A syllable is long :—

- (i.) When it contains a long vowel or a diphthong, whatever the nature of the consonantal element that follows—*e.g.*, the first syllable of *paene*, *ăctus* (§ 26), *faustus*.
- (ii.) When it contains a short vowel, followed by a double consonant, or a combination of consonants—*e.g.*, the first syllable of *messis*, *cf.* *măto* (§ 83); *sella*, *cf.* *sădeo* (§ 71); *neptis*, ‘grand-daughter’ or ‘niece,’ *cf.* *năpos* (§ 33); *tango*, *cf.* *tetăgi* from **tetăgi* (§ 10, i., c.). An exception is formed by the syllables containing a short vowel followed by the combination *stop + trilled or divided consonant*, which with the early Latin dramatists are always short,

e.g., pātrēm, löcūplēs. The poets of the classical period, it is true, reckon them sometimes short, sometimes long *e.g.*, Ovid, *Met.*, xiii. 607 :—

Et primo similis volūcri, mox vera volūcris.

The lengthening in this case, however, is known to be due to erudite imitation of Greek prosody.

[In repeating a word the Roman poets constantly vary the quantity in order that the ictus may fall differently on it. *Cf.* Vergil, *Aen.*, 2, 663: gnatum ante ora pātris, pātrēm qui obruncat ad aras; Hor., *Od.*, i. 32, 11: et Lycum nigris oculis nigroque. *Cf.* Monro on *Lucr.*, 4, 1259: crassane conveniat liquidis et liquida crassis.]

§ 95. According to the Roman grammarians, the syllables which are long in spite of the short quantity of the vowel they contain, are long *positione* or *positu*. *Cf.* Quintilian, *Instit. Orat.*, 9, 4, 86: certe in dimensione pedum syllaba quae est brevis insequente vel brevi alia, quae tamen duas priores consonantes habeat, fit longa, ut: *agrestem tenui musam . . . a* brevis, *gres brevis*, faciet tamen longam priorem. dat igitur illi aliquid ex suo tempore. Quo modo, nisi habet plus quam quae brevissima, qualis ipsa esset detractis consonantibus? nunc unum tempus accommodat priori et unum accipit a sequente; ita duae natura breves *positione* sunt temporum quattuor; *cf.* also Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Attic.*, iv. 17, 8, who says, in reference to *subicit*, that the *i* vim consonantis capit et idcirco ea syllaba productius latiusque paulo pronuntiata priorem syllabam brevem esse non patitur, sed reddit eam *positu* longam. The terms *positione* or *positu*, translated from the Greek, like the majority of the technical terms of Latin grammar, mean properly ‘*by convention.*’ The Greek scholars of rhythm, in fact, imagined that the syllables which enclosed a long vowel were naturally long by themselves; while the syllables which enclosed a short vowel followed by a double consonant, or a combination of consonants, were long through an arbitrary whim—a free and

voluntary arrangement. But the Romans, who were indifferent to the question discussed by the Greek philosophers, as to whether names have been attached to things through natural inspiration or artificial convention, soon misunderstood the meaning of *positione* or *positu*, and used these terms in the sense 'by position,' *i.e.*, by the position of the vowel before a repeated consonant or a combination of consonants.

The explanation of the lengthening 'by position' lies in the phonetic division of the syllables. A consonantal element shared between two syllables lengthens the preceding syllable, a consonantal element not shared between them leaves it short. It is not the consonants which add length, but the pause which separates them. Note also that it is not the vowel but the syllable which is long by position.

[SPECIMENS OF OLD LATIN.]

I.

From the Laws of the Twelve Tables, 451 B.C. (see Wordsworth, *Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin*, p. 254).

(1) Si in ius vocat, ito. Ni it, antestamino; igitur em capito. (2) Si calvitur pedemve struit, manum endo iacito. (3) Si morbus aevitasve vitium escit (qui in ius vocabit) iumentum dato; si nolet arceram ne sternito. *i.e.*, (1) If he (the accuser) summons (him, the accused) before the law let him go. Unless he goes let him (the accuser) summon him (a bystander) to witness; thereupon let him (the accuser) take him (arrest him). (2) If he (the defendant) tries to shirk or runs away let him (the accuser) lay his hand upon him. (3) If illness or old age shall be his weakness, let him who summons him grant him a vehicle; if he is not willing let the accuser not prepare an ambulance.

II.

SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTION IN SATURNIAN VERSE.

L. Cornelius L. f(ilius) Scipio, Consul 259, Censor 258 ;
C. I. L., i. 32.

honc oino ploirume cosentiont Romai
 duonoro optumo fuise uiro
 Luciom Scipione. filios Barbati
 consol censor aidilis hic fuet apud uos
 hec cepit Corsica Aleriaque urbe
 dedet Tempestatebus aide meretod.

*hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romae
 bonorum optimum fuisse virum
 Lucium Scipionem. filius Barbati
 consul, censor, aedilis hic fuit apud vos ;
 hic cepit Corsicam Aleriamque urbem,
 dedit Tempestatibus aedem merito.*

III.

Senatusconsultum de Bacchanalibus of the year 186 ;
C. I. L. i., 196.

Q. Marcius L. f. S. Postumius L. f. cos. senatum con-
 soluerunt N. Octob. apud aedem Duolonai. Sc. arf. M.
 Claudi M. f. L. Valeri P. f. Q. Minuci C. f. de Bacana-
 libus quei foideratei esent ita exdeicendum censuere.
 neiquis eorum Bacanal habuise uelet. seiques esent quei
 sibi deicerent necesus ese Bacanal habere eeis utei ad
 pr. urbanum Romam uenirent deque eeis rebus ubei
 eorum uerba audita esent utei senatus noster decerneret
 dum ne minus senatoribus C adesent quom ea res coso-
 leretur. Bacas uir nequis adiese uelet ceiuis Romanus
 neue nominus Latini neue socium quisquam nisei pr.
 urbanum adiesent isque de senatuos sententiad dum ne
 minus senatoribus C adesent quom ea res cosoleretur
 iousiset. censuere. sacerdos nequis uir eset. magister
 neque uir neque mulier quisquam eset. neue pecuniam

quisquam eorum comoinem habuisse uelet neue magistratum neue pro magistratod neque uirum neque mulierem quisquam fecisse uelet. neue post hac inter sed coniurare neue comouisse neue conspondisse neue compromesisse uelet neue quisquam fidem inter sed dedisse uelet. sacra in oquoltod ne quisquam fecisse uelet neue in poplicod neue in preiuatod neue exstrad urbem sacra quisquam fecisse uelet nisei pr. urbanum adieset isque de senatuos sententiad dum ne minus senatoribus C adessent quom ea res cosoleretur iouisisset. censuere. homines plous V oinuorsei uirei atque mulieres sacra ne quisquam fecisse uelet neue inter ibei uirei plous duobus mulieribus plous tribus arfuisse uelent nisei de pr. urbani senatuosque sententiad utei suprad scriptum est. haice utei in couentionid exdeicatis ne minus trinum noundinum senatuosque sententiam utei scientes esetis. eorum sententia ita fuit sei ques esent quei aruorsum ead fecissent quam suprad scriptum est eis rem capitalem faciendam censuere. atque utei hoc in tabolam ahenam inceideretis ita senatus aiuom censuit uteiue eam figier ioubeatis ubei facilumed gnoscier potisit atque utei ea Bacchanalia sei qua sunt exstrad quam sei quid ibei sacri est ita utei suprad scriptum est in diebus X quibus uobeis tabelai datai erunt faciatis utei dismota sient.

Q. Marcius L. f(ilius), S(purius) Postumius L. f(ilius) cons(ules) senatum consuluerunt N(onis) Octob(ribus) apud aedem Bellonae. Sc(ribendo) adf(uerunt) M. Claudi(us) M. f(ilius), L. Valeri(us) P. f(ilius), Q. Minuci(us) C. f(ilius). de Bacchanalibus qui foederati essent ita edicendum censuere. nequis eorum Bacchanal habuisse uellet. siqui essent qui sibi dicerent necesse esse Bacchanal habere, ei uti ad pr(aetorem) urbanum Romam uenirent, deque eius rebus, ubi eorum uerba audita essent, uti senatus noster decerneret, dum ne minus senatoribus C adessent cum ea res consuleretur. Bacchas uir nequis aduisse uellet ciuis Romanus, neue nominis Latini, neue sociorum quisquam, nisi pr(aetorem) urbanum adissent, isque de senatus sententia, dum ne minus senatoribus C adessent cum ea res consuleretur, iussisset. censuere. sacerdos nequis uir esset. magister neque uir neque mulier

quaequam esset. neve pecuniam quisquam eorum communem habuisse vellet, neve magistratum, neve pro magistratu neque virum neque mulierem quisquam fecisse vellet. neve posthac inter se conjurasse neve convovisse neve conspondisse neve compromisisse vellet neve quisquam fidem inter se dedisse vellet. sacra in occulto ne quisquam fecisse vellet, neve in publico neve in privato, neve extra urbem sacra quisquam fecisse vellet, nisi pr(aetorem) urbanum adisset, isque de senatus sententia, dum ne minus senatoribus C adessent cum ea res consuleretur, jussisset. Censuere. homines plus V universi, viri atque mulieres, sacra ne quisquam fecisse vellet, neve interibi viri plus duobus mulieribus plus tribus adfuisse vellent, nisi de pr(aetoris) urbani senatusque sententia, uti supra scriptum est. haec uti in contione edicatis ne minus trinum nundinum, senatusque sententiam uti scientes essetis. eorum sententia ita fuit: siqui essent qui adversum ea fecissent, quam supra scriptum est, eis rem capitalem faciendam censuere. atque uti hoc in tabulam ahenam incideretis, ita senatus aequum censuit, utique eam figi jubeatis, ubi facillime nosci possit, atque uti ea Bacchanalia, siqua sunt, extra quam siquid ibi sacri est, in diebus X quibus vobis tabellae datae erunt faciatis uti dimota sint.

IV.

A CHRISTIAN EPITAPH TO A HUSBAND.

(in *Museo Laterensi: de Rossi*, n. 62) Fourth Century A.D.

Deposio Iuniani pri idus Apriles
 Marcellino et Probino cons.
 qui bixit annis XL. in pace decissit et
 amator pauperorum vixit
 cum Birginia annis XV. benemerenti Birginia sua Bictora
 Benemerenti fecit amatrix pauperorum et operaria.

i.e.

Depositio Juniani, pridie idus Apriles, Marcellino et Probino consulibus, qui vixit annos XL. In pace decessit et amator pauperum vixit cum Virginia annos XV. Bene merenti Virginia sua Victoria bene merenti fecit amatrix pauperorum et operaria.]

INDEX.

[*The references are to the sections.*]

A

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <p>a, 67
 ab, 67, 91
 abdoucit, 22
 abduco, 62
 abeis, 30
 abeo, 30
 abicio, 15
 abies, 12
 abietis, 12
 abigo, 10 (1) <i>c</i>
 abis, 30
 abjectus, 13 (1)
 abnego, 69
 abnuo, 69
 abs, 67
 abstineo, 10 (1) <i>b</i>
 abstuli, 91
 ac, 31 (1), 82
 accedo, 56 (2)
 accipio, 10 (3)
 accresco, 56 (2)
 accus(s)o, 14, 22
 actito, 26
 actus, 26, 62 (1)
 ad, 33, 56 (2)
 adactus, 26
 adbibo, 76
 ades, 56 (4)
 adfero, 67, 71
 adfigo, 67
 adgero, 76
 adhibeo, 10 (3)
 adicio, 15
 adlatus, 71
 adloquor, 71</p> | <p>admoveo, 70
 adnoto, 69
 adopto, 14
 adsequor, 68
 adspiro, 56 (2), 89
 adsto, 89
 adsum, 68
 adtenuo, 84
 adtuli, 84
 aedem, 20, 46 (2)
 aedes, 20
 aedificium, 10 (1) <i>c</i>
 aedus, 20
 aere, 38
 aeri, 38
 aeris, 41
 aes, 33, 41
 Aeserninu(s), 42
 affero, 67, 71, 84
 affligo, 67
 ageps, 6 (iii.)
 agcora, 6 (iii.)
 agellus, 73
 ager, 73
 aggero, 76
 agglulus, 6 (iii.)
 agilis, 29 (<i>a</i>)
 ago, 10 (1), 26, 29 (<i>c</i>),
 62 (1)
 ahenum, 35
 aide, 20, 46 (2)
 aides, 20
 Ai(i)ax, 48
 ai(i)o, 48
 aiiunt, 48
 airid, 38
 aliud, 38 (1)</p> | <p>alius, 38 (1)
 allatus, 71
 alloquor, 71
 alvearia, 32
 ama, 31 (3)
 amare, 41, 42, 56 (4)
 amaris, 42
 amas, 56 (4)
 ambages, 26
 amitto, 91
 ammoveo, 70
 amnego, 69
 amnuo, 69
 anas, 44
 anceps, 6 (iii.)
 anchora, 35
 ancora, 6 (iii.), 35
 Ancu(s), 42
 angulus, 6 (iii.)
 animal, 31 (2)
 animalis, 31 (2)
 annecto, 69
 annitor, 69
 annoto, 69
 annus, 13 (1)
 anser, 44
 ap-, 91
 apere, 32
 aperio, 62
 apio, 21
 apiscor, 21
 Apollinis, 29 (<i>b</i>)
 Apolones, 29 (<i>b</i>)
 appeto, 1
 aps-, 91
 aptus, 13 (1), 21
 aquai, 30</p> |
|---|---|--|

G

arbor, 43
 arbos, 43
 arceo, 13 (1)
 arcubus, 10 (3)
 arcus, 10 (3)
 ardeo, 56 (3), 74, 89
 ardere, 15 (a)
 arenam, 41
 aridus, 15 (a)
 aries, 12
 arietis, 12
 arsi, 56 (3), 74, 89
 arundo, 44
 asa, 41
 ascendo, 13 (1)
 asenam, 41
 asinus, 41
 aspiro, 56 (2), 89
 asporto, 91
 assecla, 82
 assequor, 68, 82
 assigno, 68
 assisto, 68
 assum, 68
 asto, 89
 astuli, 91
 atfero, 67
 atfigo, 67
 atque, 31 (1), 82
 atspiro, 56 (2)
 attenuo, 84
 attingo, 14, 56 (2)
 attraho, 56 (2)
 attuli, 84
 auceps, 10, 15 (b),
 29 (c)
 aucupis, 10
 audiit, 27
 audire, 41
 audivit, 27
 aufero, 91
 aula, 59 (2)
 aulai, 30
 aulla, 59 (2)
 aurai, 30
 aurea, 32
 aurifex, 10, 29 (c)
 aurufex, 10
 aurum, 29 (c)

auspex, 1, 10 (1) b,
 86
 auspiciis, 1, 10 (1) b,
 86
 autumnus, 85
 auxiliarius, 45 (1)
 avo, 31 (3)
 avere, 31 (3)
 avis, 29 (c)

B

bac(c)a, 55
 Bacchus, 35
 barba, 13 (1)
 basis, 41
 benes, 31 (3), 36
 beni, 36
 hictor, 52
 biduom, 29
 biduum, 29
 biennium, 13 (1)
 biforis, 14
 biginti, 52
 bixi, 36
 bonorum, 46 (2)

C

cado, 10 (i.) c, 26, 83
 caedo, 14, 59 (2), 60,
 70
 caelum, 45 (2), 59 (2),
 71
 caementum, 60, 70
 Caepio, 35
 caeruleus, 45 (2)
 calcar, 31 (2)
 calcaris, 31 (2)
 caldus, 15 (a)
 calicis, 29 (a) (1)
 calidus, 15 (a)
 calix, 29 (a) (1)
 canalis, 56 (1)
 canna, 56 (1)
 cano, 10 (1) c
 cantabam, 31 (2)

cantabas, 31 (2)
 cantai, 51
 cape, 31 (1)
 capio, 10 (3), 29 (c)
 capitis, 10 (1) c
 caput, 10 (1) c
 carpo, 13 (1)
 cas(s)us, 26, 41, 58,
 83
 cate, 31 (3)
 catus, 33 (x.)
 caus(s)a, 14, 22, 41,
 58
 -ce, 76
 cecidi, 10 (1) c
 cecidi, 14
 cecini, 10 (1) c
 cena, 6 (i.)
 cera, 20
 Cereres, 29 (b)
 Cereris, 29 (b)
 cervical, 45 (1)
 cesor, 87
 Cetegus, 35
 Cethegus, 35
 ceu, 22
 chenturio, 35
 chommoda, 35
 chorona, 35
 chorus, 6 (iv.) 4
 cineris, 11
 cinis, 11
 cisium, 41
 cithara, 6 (iv.) 4
 cito, 10 (1) a, 31 (3)
 civis, 6 (i.)
 clam, 32, 80
 clanculum, 80
 clas(s)is, 58
 claudo, 14, 63, 85
 clausi, 63
 claustrum, 85
 coalesco, 32
 coctus, 82
 codiux, 53
 coegi, 32
 coepi, 21, 32
 coerceo, 13 (1)
 coetus, 32

cogo, 32
 coitus, 32
 colligo, 1, 10 (1) *b*
 colloquium, 72
 collum, 66, 74
 columen, 18
 com-, 80
 comedo, 1, 14
 comes, 80
 comminuo, 10 (1) *a*
 commoda, 35
 commoinis, 21
 communis, 21
 como, 32, 85
 comoinem, 21
 compitum, 10 (1) *b*
 complodo, 24
 compono, 80
 compsi, 85
 comptus, 85
 con-, 25
 concenatio, 80
 concino, 10 (1) *c*
 concrepuit, 25
 concussi, 68
 concutio, 15 (*b*), 68
 confeci, 15
 confecit, 25
 confectum, 15
 confectus, 26
 conficio, 10 (1) *c*, 15,
 33
 confiteor, 10 (1) *c*
 conflovent, 47
 confringo, 16
 conicio, 15
 conjeci, 15
 conjectum, 15
 conjicio, 15
 co(n)jux, 53
 conloquium, 72
 compono, 80
 conposuit, 25
 conquinsco, 76
 conscendo, 13 (1)
 consentio, 13 (3), 29
 (*d*)
 co(n)sentient 29 (*d*)
 consentiunt, 29 (*d*)

conservos, 13 (3)
 consilium, 87
 conspicio, 56 (2)
 constitui, 1
 consuevit, 25
 consul, 87
 consularis, 45 (1)
 consules, 25
 contempno, 85
 contexo, 80
 conticesco, 10 (1) *c*
 continuos, 10 (1) *b*
 contio, 32, 50
 contubernalis, 10 (3)
 convoco, 14
 copia, 32
 copula, 32
 coquo, 82
 coram, 32
 corculum, 56 (3), 89
 cordis, 56 (3)
 corniger, 10 (1) *e*
 cornu, 10 (1) *e*
 corona, 35
 corporis, 14
 corpus, 14
 corripio, 72
 corrumpo, 72
 corumpo, 72
 corruptus, 72
 cos, 33 (*x*.)
 cosol, 87
 coventio, 32, 50
 crebesco, 45 (4)
 crebresco, 45, (4)
 crebrui, 45 (4)
 crebui, 45 (4)
 cubital, 45 (1)
 culmen, 18
 cumulare, 85
 cup(p)a, 55
 currus, 30, 56 (1)
 curulis 56 (1)
 curvos, 13 (3)

D

dabi(s), 42
 dacrima, 37

dare, 11, 38 (2) *b*
 dato, 38 (2) *b*
 datod, 38 (2) *b*
 dator, 43
 datus, 10 (1) *c*, 33 (*x*.)
 dausia, 37
 deamo, 32
 debere, 36
 decem, 50, 80
 decet, 16
 decido, 10 (1) *c*
 decoris, 14
 decus, 14
 dedecus, 14
 dederont, 29 (*d*)
 dederunt, 29 (*d*)
 dedi, 10 (*i*.) *b*
 dedicavit, 51
 dedisco, 13 (3)
 deesse, 32
 defero, 40
 degi, 32
 dego, 32
 dehinc, 32
 deicerent, 19
 deico, 19
 deinde, 32
 delere, 41
 delictum, 82
 deligo, 10 (1) *b*
 delinquo, 82
 -dem, 80, 86
 demo, 32, 85
 dempsi, 85
 demptus, 85
 dens, 33 (*ii*.)
 deorsum, 50
 descendo, 13 (1)
 deses, 29 (*b*)
 desidis, 29 (*b*)
 desilio 10 (2)
 despicio, 56 (2)
 desse, 32
 dexter, 91
 destiti, 10 (1) *b*
 desuper, 41
 detrecto, 13 (1)
 dexter, 91
 dextrorsum, 49

dic, 31 (1)
 dico, 19, 85 (2)
 dici, 85 (2)
 dictus, 85 (2)
 diduco, 86
 die, 38 (2) *a*
 diei, 27
 dies, 27, 38 (2) *a*
 diffeidens, 19
 diffeido, 19
 differo, 79
 difficilis, 10 (1) *c*, 79
 diffido, 19, 79
 diffiteor, 10 (1) *c*
 diffundo, 79
 digero, 86
 dignus, 6 (iii.), 16, 69
 dilanio, 86
 dimico, 10 (1) *a*
 dimidius, 10 (1) *b*
 dimitto, 86
 dingua, 37
 dinosco, 25 (1), 86
 diribeo, 44
 dirimo, 41
 dis, 49
 dis, 56 (2)
 discedo, 86
 discerpo, 13 (1)
 discindo, 56 (2)
 disciplina, 15 (*a*)
 discipulus, 15 (*a*)
 disco, 13 (3)
 disertus, 56 (1)
 dispicio, 56 (2)
 displodo, 24
 dispono, 86
 disputo, 14
 disque tulissent, 84
 disscindo, 56 (2)
 disseco, 1
 dissentio, 13 (3)
 dissimilis, 56 (2)
 dissocio, 86
 dissipicio, 56 (2)
 disto, 56 (2)
 distorqueo, 86
 dite, 49

diti, 49
 ditior, 49
 ditis, 49
 ditissimus, 49
 diu, 80
 dives, 29 (*b*), 49
 divido, 83
 divis(s)io, 41, 58, 83
 divitior, 49
 divitis, 29 (*b*), 49
 divitissimus, 49
 dixi, 85 (2)
 doce, 31 (3)
 documentum, 10 (3)
 donis, 30
 donom, 30
 donum, 30, 33
 duc 31 (1)
 duco, 22
 duo, 47
 duvo, 47
 dvonoro(m), 46 (2)

E

e-, 67
 eam, 80
 eamdem, 80
 eandem, 80
 earum, 80
 earundem, 80
 earundem, 80
 ebibo, 91 (*b*)
ec-, 67
 ecfari, 67
 eferet, 67
 editus, 10 (1) *c*
 ědo, 1, 14, 33 (ii.), 83
 educo, 25 (1)
 edus, 20
 effectus, 13 (i.), 26
 effero, 67
 efferus, 11
 effundo, 13 (3)
 egenus, 86
 egestas, 31 (3), 86
 eijs, 48
 ejus, 86
 ejusdem, 86
 emi, 33 (iv.)
 emico, 10 (1) *a*
 emo, 33 (iv.)
 endo, 13 (2)
 endostruos, 13 (2)
 ensium 29 (*a*)
 ensis 29 (*a*)
 eo, 31 (3)
 eorum, 80
 eorundem, 80
 eorundem, 80
 eqne, 33 (i.)
 equom, 39, 46 (4)
 equos, 29, 33 (1)
 equus, 29
 erigo, 10 (1) *b*
 erit, 41
 erus, 44
 es, 56 (4)
 esse, 38 (2) *b*, 41, 56 (4), 58, 65
 est, 33 (ii.), 41
 essus, 83
 etiam nunc, 46 (i)
 eum, 80
 eundem, 80
 eundem, 80
 evidens, 10 (1) *a*
ex-, 56 (3), 67
 excerpo, 13 (1)
 excito, 10 (1) *a*
 exemplum, 85 (2)
 exerceo, 13 (1)
 exilium, 10 (2)
 eximo, 85 (2)
 explodo, 24
 exsatio, 56 (3)
 ex(s)culpo, 56 (3)
 exsilium, 10 (2)
 exsolvo, 56 (3)
 exsomnia, 56 (3)
 ex(s)polio, 56 (3)
 ex(s)truo, 56 (3)
 exsulans, 10 (2)
 exsulto, 17, 33
 extinguo, 82
 extinxi, 82
 exulans, 10 (2)

F

faba, 36
 Fabaris, 45 (5)
 fac, 31 (1)
 facetus, 10 (1) *c*
 facilis, 14
 facio, 10 (1) *c*, 26, 29
 (*c*), 33, 33 (ix.)
 facis, 29
 factito, 26
 factus, 13 (1), 26
 failla, 51
 Falerii, 11
 Falisci, 11
 fallo, 13 (1), 40
 familia, 10 (2)
 famulus, 10 (2)
 farcio, 74, 90
 Farfarus, 45 (5)
 farsi, 74, 90
 fartus, 90
 fateor, 10 (1) *c*
 favilla, 51
 fax, 29
 feci, 33 (ix.)
 fefelli, 13 (1), 40
 feido, 33 (iii.)
 fel, 56 (4)
 fellis, 56 (4)
 fer, 31 (1)
 fere, 31 (3)
 ferentarium, 31 (3)
 feriae, 41
 ferimus, 10 (3)
 fero, 15 (*b*)
 ferre, 17, 65, 74
 ferrus, 11
 fesiis, 41
 festus, 41
 fhefhaked, 6 (iii.)
 fides, 33 (iii.)
 fido, 33 (iii.)
 filios, 29 (*d*)
 filius, 29 (*d*)
 fimus, 27
 finio, 27
 finire, 27

fio, 27
 fis, 27
 firmus, 13 (3)
 flagrare, 45 (3)
 Flaurus, 24
 flebam, 27
 fleo, 27
 Florus, 24
 fluere, 47
 flumen, 10 (1) *b*, 29 (*b*)
 fluminis, 10 (1) *b*,
 29 (*b*)
 fluvere, 47
 fluvius, 47
 fodi, 33 (vii.)
 fodio, 26, 33 (vii.)
 foederum, 41
 foedesum, 41
 foedus, 33 (iii.)
 foidere, 33 (iii.)
 foidos, 33 (iii.)
 fores, 14
 forfex, 29 (*b*)
 forficis, 29 (*b*)
 foris, 14
 fossus, 26
 fovea, 50
 fragrare, 45 (3)
 frigora, 28
 frigus, 28
 fruontur, 13 (2)
 fruor, 47
 fruuntur, 13 (2)
 fruvor, 47
 fulcio, 90
 fulcrum, 45 (1)
 fulgeo, 90
 fulsi, 90
 fulmen, 90
 fultus, 90
 fundo, 13 (3)
 Furi, 41
 Fusii, 41

G

gaesum, 41
 gallina, 56 (1)

G *

gallus, 56 (1)
 genera, 28
 generis, 29 (*b*)
 geneticem, 33 (viii.)
 genetrix, 33 (viii.)
 genitor, 33 (viii.)
 genitorem, 33 (viii.)
 genui, 33 (ii.)
 genus, 29 (*b*)
 gero, 58
 gessi, 58
 gigno, 33 (ii.)
 Ianuarius, 53
 Giove, 53
 glacies, 27
 glaciei, 27
 glubo, 60, 70
 gluma, 60, 70
 Gracchus, 35
 Graccus, 35
 gradior, 71
 grallae, 71
 gruis, 27
 grus, 27

H

habeo, 10 (3), 14
 haedus, 20
 hanc, 76
 hance, 76
 harundo, 44
 haruspex, 29 (*b*)
 haruspiciis, 29 (*b*)
 haud, 38
 haurio, 41
 haustum, 41
 have, 31 (3)
 havere, 31 (3)
 hemo, 32
 heri, 20, 41
 herus, 44
 hesternus, 41
 hic, 56 (4), 76
 hiemis, 29 (*b*)
 hiems, 29 (*b*)
 hinsidias, 35, 44
 hirpex, 44

hoc, 56 (4), 76
 holus, 17, 44
 homo, 32
 honce, 76
 honestus, 33 (vi.)
 honor, 33 (vi.), 43
 honorem, 33 (vi.)
 honos, 43
 humerus, 44
 hunc, 76

I

iccirco, 76
 id, 76
 idcirco, 76
 idem, 25 (1), 63, 86
 iferos, 87
 ilico, 10 (1) *d*
 illacrimor, 14
 illatus, 72
 ille, 38 (1)
 illi, 27
 illido, 14
 illis, 30
 illius, 27
 illud, 38 (1)
 imbellis, 80
 imberbis, 13 (1)
 imbuo, 80
 immerito, 81
 imminuo, 10 (1) *a*
 immittis, 81
 immolo, 81
 immuto, 81
 impudicus, 14
 in-, 25, 80
 inceideretis, 19
 inceido, 19
 incido, 10 (1) *c*
 incido, 19
 incohare, 35
 incomparabilis, 36
 incomparavilis, 36
 indoctus, 25
 induro, 80
 industrius, 13 (2)
 inco, 80

ineptus, 13 (1)
 infantem, 87
 infelix, 25
 infero, 72
 inferus, 15 (*a*), 33
 inficetus, 10 (1) *c*
 infirmus, 13 (3)
 infra, 15 (*a*), 33
 ingenuos, 80
 inhumanus, 25
 immolo, 81
 innocuus, 56 (1)
 innoxius, 56 (1)
 inopia, 32
 inquietus, 80
 inrevocabilis, 72
 insanus, 25
 insidias, 35, 44
 insimul, 87
 insulsus, 14
 intactus, 80
 intibum, 10 (3)
 introrsum, 49
 intubum, 10 (3)
 inutilis, 80
 invicem, 10 (1) *a*
 Iphianassai, 30
 ipsi, 27
 ipsius, 27
 irpex, 44
 irrevocabilis, 72
 irrigo, 10 (1) *a*
 irriguos, 10 (1) *a*
 irritus, 10 (1) *c*
 is, 86
 ita, 10 (1) *c*, 28
 itidem, 10 (1) *c*

J

jacio, 15
 jactus, 13 (1)
 Januarius, 53
 jouxmentom, 91 (*b*)
 Jove, 53
 judex, 86
 iudicis, 86

Julia, 53
 jumentum, 91 (*b*)
 junctus, 90
 jungo, 90
 junior, 15 (*b*), 32
 Jup(p)iter, 53, 55
 juris, 41
 jus, 41
 justa, 91 (*a*)
 Justus, 53
 juvenis, 32
 juventa, 47
 juxta, 91 (*a*)

K

K = Kaeso, 6 (i.)
 K or Kal = Kalendae,
 6 (i.)
 KA = capitalis, 6 (i.)
 kaput, 6 (i.)
 karus, 6 (i.)
 Kartago, 35
 KK = castrorum, 6 (i.)

L

labor, 43
 labos, 43
 lac, 29
 lachrima, 35
 lacrima, 35, 37
 lacrimo, 14
 lactis, 29
 laedo, 14
 lases, 41
 lasibus, 41
 latrina, 32, 49
 lautia, 37
 lautus, 37
 lavacrum, 45 (1)
 lavatrina, 32, 49
 lebare, 36
 lectus, 26
 legere, 11, 41
 legerupa, 11
 legifer, 11

legimus, 10 (3)
 lego, 1, 10 (1) *b*, 16,
 26
 Lemuria, 45 (3)
 lene, 23
 leniit, 27
 lenire, 27
 lenis, 28
 lenivit, 27
 levare, 36
 liberta, 36
 libertabus, 36
 libertavus, 36
 libet, 10 (3)
 lictor, 31 (2)
 lictoris, 31 (2)
 lignum, 16, 69
 limpha, 6 (iv.) 4
 lingere, 37
 lingua, 37
 lit(t)era, 55
 lit(t)us, 55
 locus, 10 (1) *d*
 loucos, 23
 lubet, 10 (3)
 Luciom, 46 (2)
 Lucium, 46 (2)
 lucrum, 45 (1)
 lucus, 23
 ludo, 68 (3)
 lunaris, 45 (1)
 lusi, 58 (3)

M

machina, 6 (iv.) 4
 Maesius, 20
 mage, 42
 magis, 42
 magistratu, 38 (2) *a*
 magistratud, 38 (2) *a*
 magistratus, 29 (*a*),
 38 (2) *a*
 magnus, 33 (vi.), 46
 (1)
 Maia, 48
 Maia, 48
 maiiorem, 48

majestas, 33 (vi.)
 majorem, 33 (vi.)
 majosem, 33 (vi.)
 majosibus, 41
 majus, 33 (vi.)
 male, 31 (3)
 manceps, 10 (3)
 mancipis, 10 (3)
 mancupis, 10 (3)
 manibus, 10 (3)
 manica, 10 (1) *e*
 manifestus, 10 (3)
 manifestus, 10 (3)
 manus, 10 (1) *e*, 10 (3)
 mare, 28
 maria, 28
 Mato, 35
 maximus, 10
 med, 38
 medius, 10 (1) *b*
 mel, 29
 meliorem, 41
 meliose, 41
 meliosibus, 41
 mellis, 29
 merito, 38 (2) *a*
 meritod, 38 (2) *a*
 meritum, 38
 mertare, 74
 mesem, 87
 Mesius, 20
 messis, 83
 messui, 68
 messus, 26
 meto, 26, 68, 83
 mi, 32
 mico 10 (1) *a*
 mihi, 32
 miles, 42, 56 (4), 68
 (2)
 milia, 59 (1)
 militaris, 45 (1)
 militis, 68 (2)
 mille, 59 (1)
 minimus, 10
 minuo, 10 (1) *a*
 missus, 58
 mitte, 31 (1)
 mitto, 58

modo, 31 (3)
 moenia, 21
 moerus, 21
 mola, 81
 mons, 13 (2)
 mortalis, 45 (1)
 muc(c)us, 55
 mulceo, 74
 mulsi, 74
 multum ille, 46 (1)
 munire, 21
 murus, 21

N

nausea, 41
 navalis, 45 (1)
 nec, 31 (1), 82
 necis, 29
 nemo, 32, 44
 nempe, 76
 nepos, 33 (viii.)
 nepotem, 33 (viii.)
 neptem, 33 (viii.)
 neptis, 33 (viii.)
 neque, 31 (1), 82
 neu, 22, 31 (1)
 neuter, 22
 neve, 22, 31 (1)
 nex, 29
 nihil, 32, 44
 nil, 32
 ninguit, 39
 nisi, 41
 nivis, 29, 39, 82
 nix, 29, 39, 82
 noctis, 29, 89
 nonus, 50
 noutrix, 23
 novem, 50
 novitas, 10 (1) *d*, 12
 novos, 10 (1) *d*, 12
 novus, 10 (1) *d*
 nox, 29, 89
 nubo, 62 (1)
 nucis, 29
 numerum, 85
 numerus, 11

nupsi, 62 (1)
nutrix, 23
nux, 29

O

ob-, 70, 91 (a)
obdo, 62 (2)
obduro, 64
obfero, 67
obfundo, 67
obgero, 76
obicio, 15
obicit, 15
obsideo, 10 (1) b
obtego, 1
obteneo, 64, 67
obtrecto, 13 (1)
occa(n)sio, 87
occupo, 10 (3)
ocquinisco, 76
odi, 33 (vii.)
odium, 33 (vii.)
odor, 37
oenus, 21
ofella, 56 (1)
offa, 56 (1)
offero, 67
officina, 67
officio, 10 (1) c
offundo, 67
oggero, 76
oino(m), 21, 46 (2)
oinos, 21
oisos, 21
olere, 37
olla, 59 (2)
oloes, 30
olus, 44
omitto, 70
op-, 70, 91 (a)
operio, 62 (2)
operis, 41
opfero, 67
opfundo, 67
opifex, 67, 86
opificina, 67
opificis, 86

opos, 29 (d)
opprimo, 56 (2)
oppugno, 56 (2)
ops, 91 (a)
optimus, 10, 42
optineo, 64
opto, 14
optumus, 10
opus, 29 (d), 41
Oreivius, 35
ordinis, 29 (b)
ordo, 29 (b)
oris, 32
os, 29, 56 (4)
os, 32
ossis, 29, 56 (4)
ostendo, 91 (a)
Otho, 35
Oto, 35

P

paimentum, 51
palam, 32
Palilia, 45 (2)
pango, 10 (1) c
paor, 51
paorem, 51
Papisius, 41
parco, 13 (1)
paries, 12
parietis, 12
Parilia, 45 (2)
pario, 11
paro, 14
passus sum, 83
patior, 83
pausa, 41
pavimentum, 51
pavor, 51
-pe, 76
pedis, 12, 68 (2)
pelegrinus, 45 (3)
pellicio, 73
pello, 17, 74
pelluceo, 73
pendo, 33 (i.)
penna, 69
peperci, 13 (1)
peperi, 11
pepigi, 10 (1) c
per-, 56 (2)
perdisco, 13 (3)
peregrinus, 45 (3)
perfacilis, 14
pergo, 56 (2)
periculum, 45 (1)
perlicio, 73
perluceo, 73
perrexii, 56 (2)
perrumpto, 56 (2)
pertinax, 10 (1) b
pervideo, 10 (1) a
pes, 12, 68 (2)
pessimus, 56 (3)
peto, 1, 10 (1) b, 69
pethrum, 6 (iv.), 4
pictai, 30
picias, 29
pietas, 12
pijus, 47
pios, 12
pius, 12, 27, 47
pix, 29
plando, 24, 68 (3), 83
plausi, 68 (3)
plaus(s)us, 83
plaustra, 24
plebi, 64
plebis, 64
plebs, 64
pleps, 64
plodo, 24
plostra, 24
pluit, 47
plurima, 41
plusima, 41
pluvia, 47
pluvit, 47
po-, 25 (1)
poelum, 45 (1)
poena, 21
Poenus, 21
pollen, 18
pondo, 33 (i.)
pone, 89
pono, 25 (1), 86
porrigo, 10 (1) b

positus, 25 (1)
 possumus, 10 (3)
 posthabeo, 14
 potes, 56 (4)
 praecho, 35
 praecino, 10 (1) *c*
 praedā, 38 (2) *a*
 praesideo, 1, 10 (1) *b*
 praestigiae, 45 (4)
 praestringo, 45 (4)
 praidad, 38 (2) *a*
 prelum, 86
 premo, 86
 pressi, 86
 primus, 86
 priscus, 86
 probai, 51
 probavi, 51
 prodigus, 10 (1) *c*
 proditus, 10 (1) *c*
 profiteor, 10 (1) *c*
 prohibeo, 10 (3)
 promo, 85
 promontorium, 13 (2)
 prompsi, 85
 promptus, 85
 promunturium 13 (2)
 propietas, 45 (4)
 propius, 45 (4)
 proprietas, 45 (4)
 proprius, 45 (4)
 protector, 26
 providus 10 (1) *a*
 pudicus, 14
 pulcer, 6 (iv.), 35
 pulcher, 6 (iv.), 35
 Pulcher, 35
 pulsus, 17, 74
 pultare, 74
 pulveris, 11
 pulvinar, 45 (1)
 pulvis, 11, 18
 Punicus, 21
 punire, 21
 punis, 31 (2)
 punit, 31 (2)
 puta, 28, 31 (3)
 putare, 31 (3)
 puto, 14

Q

quae, 6 (i.)
 quomes, 6 (i.)
 quaerit, 20
 quaero, 20
 quairatis, 20
 quairo, 20
 quam, 80
 quamdiu, 80
 quandiu, 80
 quantum erat, 46 (1)
 quasei, 31 (3)
 quasi, 31 (3)
 quassus, 83
 quatio, 83
 quercus, 90
 quernus, 90
 queror, 41
 questus sum, 41
 qui, 6 (i.)
 quibus, 86
 quibusdam, 86
 quicquam, 76
 quid, 76
 quidam, 86
 quidquam, 76
 Quinctilis, 90
 Quinctius, 90
 Quinctus, 90
 quindecim, 90
 quintus, 90
 quippe, 76
 quod, 6 (i.)
 quodlibet, 10 (3)
 qura, 6 (i.)

R

rado, 59, 60, 71, 85 (1)
 rallum, 59, 71
 ramentum, 60
 rancidus, 14
 rapio, 10 (3)
 rastrum, 85 (1)
 ratus, 10 (1) *c*
 raucus, 15 (a)
 ravis, 15 (a)
 reccidi, 15 (b)

recido, 15 (b)
 recipero, 10 (3)
 recupero, 10 (3)
 recurvos, 13 (3)
 reddere, 11
 reddidi, 10 (1) *b*
 reducis, 29 (a) 2
 redux, 29 (a) 2
 refectus, 13 (1)
 refero, 15 (b)
 reficio, 40
 regalis, 45 (1)
 rego, 10 (i) *b*
 rei, 27
 rem, 33, 46 (4)
 remex, 29 *c*
 remus, 29 (c)
 repello, 15 (b)
 reperio, 11
 reppuli, 15 (b)
 res, 27, 33
 resedo, 41
 restiti, 10 (1) *b*
 restituo, 10 (1) *c*
 reticeo, 10 (1) *c*
 retro, 31 (3)
 retrorsum, 49
 rettuli, 15 (b)
 rexi, 62 (1)
 rigo, 10 (1) *a*
 romphaea, 6 (iv.), 4
 rosa, 30
 rosis, 30
 rufus, 40

S

Sabelli, 69
 Sabini, 69
 saccus, 56 (1)
 sacellus, 56 (1)
 salio, 10 (2)
 salsus, 14
 salto, 33
 Salutes, 29 (b)
 Salutis, 29 (b)
 salvom, 46 (2)
 salvon, 46 (2) (4)
 Sannium, 69

- sarcio, 90
 sarmentum, 56 (3), 89
 sarpere, 56 (3)
 sarsi, 90
 sartus, 90
 satullus, 73
 satur, 73
 satus, 33 (ix.)
 scabellum, 69
 scamnum, 69
 scando, 13 (1)
 scindo, 56 (2)
 scribo, 62 (1)
 scriptus, 62 (1)
 scrofa, 40
 se-, 10 (2)
 secludo, 14
 seco, 26, 62 (2)
 sectio, 26
 secubo, 57, 76
 sed, 38 (1)
 sed, 14, 76
 sedecim, 25 (1), 91 *b*
 sedeo, 1, 10 (1) *b*, 26,
 33 (v.), 37, 71, 83
 sedes, 33 (v.)
 seditio, 76
 sedo, 41
 sedulo, 10 (2)
 segmentum, 62 (2)
 seligo, 10 (1) *b*
 sella, 71
 semen, 33 (ix.)
 sensi, 56 (3), 89
 sentio, 13 (3), 56 (3), 89
 seorsum, 50
 separare, 14
 separo, 14, 57, 76
 sepero, 14
 septem, 80
 septemdecim, 80
 septendecim, 80
 septingenti, 16
 sepulchrum, 6 (iv.)
 4, 35
 sepulcrum, 35, 45 (1)
 sequontur, 13 (2)
 serra, 56 (1)
 serratus, 56 (1)
- servos, 13 (3)
 sescenti, 91
 sessus, 26, 83
 sestus, 91
 seu, 22
 sextus, 91
 si, 41
 sibi, 30
 sibi, 30, 32
 sibilare, 40
 siccus, 56 (3), 76
 Sicilia, 10 (2)
 Siculus, 10 (2)
 sideo, 33 (v.)
 sifilare, 40
 similis, 10 (2)
 simulacrum, 45 (1)
 simulo, 10 (2)
 sis (= si vis), 49
 sitis, 76
 situs, 25 (1)
 soldus, 15 (a)
 solidus, 15 (a)
 solium, 33 (v.), 37
 somnus, 69
 sompnus, 85
 sopor, 69
 specimen, 10 (3)
 specio, 29 (b), 56 (2)
 spem, 31 (2)
 spes, 31 (2)
 -spicio, 56 (2)
 spiro, 56 (2)
 sposa, 87
 statuo, 10 (1) *c*
 stella, 59 (1)
 stelio, 59 (1)
 steti, 1, 10 (1) *b*
 stilicidium, 59 (1)
 stilla, 59 (1)
 stipes, 10 (1) *b*
 stipitis, 10 (1) *b*
 stiria, 59 (1)
 stlocus, 10 (1) *d*
 sto, 56 (2)
 stolidus, 18
 structum, 39
 struo, 13 (2), 39
 struvo, 39
- stultus, 18
 sub-, 91 (a)
 subdolus, 64
 subicio, 15
 subicit, 15
 subjectus, 13 (1)
 submitto, 70
 subrancidus, 14
 substituo, 10 (1) *c*
 subtilis, 64, 67
 subula, 27
 subvenio, 1
 succido, 76
 succiduos, 10 (1) *c*
 sulphur, 6 (iv.) 4, 35
 sulphur, 35
 summitto, 70
 summus, 56 (3), 63, 70
 sumo, 80, 85, 91 (b)
 sumpsi, 85
 sumptus, 80, 85
 sunt, 33 (ii.)
 sunt, 38 (2) *b*
 suntod, 38 (2) *b*
 suntus, 80
 suo, 27
 sup-, 91 (a)
 super, 41
 superne, 89
 superstes, 89
 superior, 63
 superus, 15 (a)
 supestes, 89
 suppingo, 16
 supra, 15 (a)
 sups-, 91 (a)
 suptilis, 64
 surripio, 10 (3)
 surrupui, 10 (3)
 suscipio, 91 (a)
 suscito, 10 (1) *a*
 sustineo, 1, 10 (1) *b*
 Sustus, 53
 sutor, 27
- T**
- taberna, 10 (3)
 taceo, 10 (1) *c*

tam, 46 (2), 80
 tamquam, 80
 tan, 46 (2)
 tango, 10 (1) *c*
 tanquam, 80
 ted, 38
 tego, 1, 33 (i., iv.)
 tegula, 33 (iv.)
 tela, 91 (*b*)
 temperi, 14
 templum, 46 (1)
 temporis, 14
 tempus, 14
 teneo, 1, 10 (1) *b*
 tesa, 87
 testis, 89
 tetigi, 10 (1) *c*
 tetuli, 15 (*b*)
 texo, 91 (*b*)
 thensaurus, 87
 thesaurus, 6 (iv.) 4,
 87
 Thorius, 35
 tibi, 32
 tibicinium, 10 (1) *c*
 toga, 33 (i.)
 tondeo, 85 (1)
 tonsor, 43
 tonstrix, 85 (1)
 Torius, 35
 tormentum, 90
 torqueo, 90
 torreo, 74, 89
 tostus, 89
 tot, 31 (1)
 totidem, 31 (1)
 tracto, 13 (1)
 tradere, 11
 tradidi, 10 (1) *b*
 traduco, 92
 trameo, 92
 trano, 92
 transduco, 92
 transfundo, 13 (3)
 transigo, 10 (1) *c*
 transmeo, 92
 transno, 92
 tredecim, 86
 triumphus, 35

Troiad, 38 (2) *a*
 trucis, 29
 trux, 29
 tuber, 40
 tum, 80
 tunc, 80
 tunde, 31 (1)
 tundo, 30
 turturis, 29 (*a*)
 turtur, 29 (*a*)
 tutudi, 30

U

ulciscor, 90
 ultus, 90
 umbra, 46 (1)
 umerus, 44
 unctio, 82
 unctus, 90
 unguentum, 82
 unguo, 90
 uni, 27
 unius, 27
 unum, 21, 46 (2)
 unus, 21
 urbi, 64
 urbis, 64
 urbs, 64
 urps, 64
 usus, 21

V

vafer, 40
 valde, 15 (*a*)
 Valerii, 41, 43
 Valesii, 41, 43
 validus, 15 (*a*)
 vapor, 43
 vapos, 43
 varietas, 12
 varios, 12
 varius, 12
 vehemens, 35
 velim, 17, 33
 velle, 17, 65, 74
 vellem, 17

venalis, 45 (1)
 vene, 36
 Veneres, 29 (*b*)
 Veneris, 29 (*b*)
 veni, 36
 venos, 13 (2)
 venustus, 13 (2)
 verber, 11
 verberis, 11
 verres, 74
 Vesuntionem, 36
 via, 47
 vicis, 10 (1) *a*
 viden, 31 (3)
 video, 10 (1) *a*, 26
 vija, 47
 vilicus, 59 (1)
 villa, 59 (1)
 villum, 72
 vincio, 90
 vinclum, 45 (1)
 vinctus, 90
 vinum, 72
 vir, 29
 viri, 29
 viro, 46 (2, 4)
 viro(m), 29, 46 (2)
 virum, 29 (*d*), 46 (2)
 visus, 26
 vivont, 29
 vivunt, 29
 vixi, 36
 voco, 14
 volam, 17
 volebam, 17
 volneris, 11
 volnus, 11
 volo, 17, 33
 volui, 17
 voluptatem, 31 (3)
 vomer, 17
 vulnus, 17

Z

Zanuarius, 53
 zephyrus, 6 (iv.), 3
 zophyrus 6 (iv.), 3
 Zulia, 53

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