

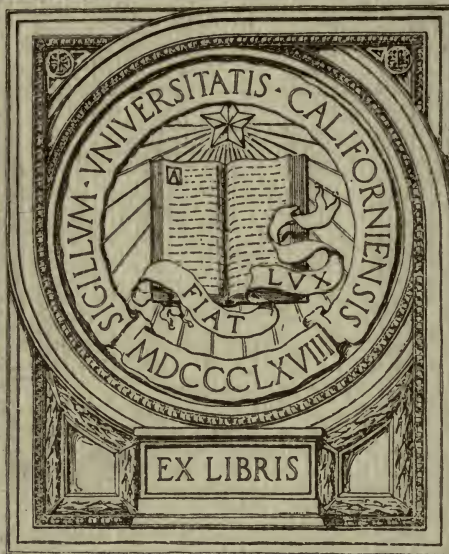
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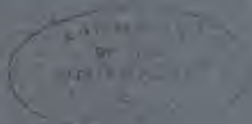
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THE SEMANTIC VARIABILITY AND
SEMANTIC EQUIVALENTS OF
—OSO— AND —LENTO—

BY

EDWARD W. NICHOLS



A THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF
YALE UNIVERSITY IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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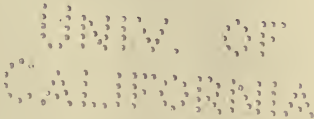
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TO VIALI
ANNO 1870

PREFACE.

This dissertation has been slightly altered from its original form, the principal change being the addition of the section on Semantic Reciprocity. I am indebted to Professor E. P. Morris for the idea which I have endeavored to work out; to Dean Oertel for careful and detailed criticism of the entire paper; to Professor E. W. Hopkins for assistance with the Sanskrit examples; and to Professor C. U. Clark for some valuable suggestions. I take this opportunity of thanking all these gentlemen for their interest and advice.



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INTRODUCTION.

§ 1.

The purpose of this dissertation is to show (1) that an adjectival termination in Latin may have a wide range of semantic variability, determined primarily by (*a*) the stem to which it is attached, (*b*) the noun which the adjective limits; and secondarily (*c*) by the more remote context; and (2) that there may be a large number of semantic equivalents for such a termination, determined in each instance by the factors (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*) above. Nearly every adjective suffix occurs in several different semantic categories, and each semantic category is represented by a number of suffixes.* If semantic categories (Bedeutungsklassen) are to be established under which suffixes may be subsumed, they must of necessity be large and abstract. But each concrete suffix has its meaning determined largely by the forces mentioned above; hence the necessity for examination of a great number of examples before making any general statement about the semantic value of a termination.

The idea developed in the following pages may be found in Morris, 'Principles and Methods in Latin Syntax' (1901), Chap. IV, and is concisely stated by Brugmann, V. G., II, 1 (1906), p. 663: "Die Formantien geben an und für sich kaum mehr als die ganz allgemeine adjektivische Beziehung, die genauere Art dieser Beziehung ist durch die Bedeutung des Grundworts bestimmt worden. So fallen oft zwei Formen mit demselben Formans wegen verschiedenen Begriffs des Stammnomens verschiedenen Bedeutungsklassen zu. Aber auch darauf kam es an, zu welchem Substantivbegriff das Adjektiv attributiv oder prädikativ in Verbindung trat, und hierdurch kann auch dasselbe Adjektiv als verschiedenen Bedeutungsklassen zugehörig erscheinen, z. B. '*agger niveus*' 'ein Damm oder Wall, der aus

* These phenomena parallel those of case-suffixes; vid. Oertel and Morris, Harvard Studies, XVI (1905), p. 85.

Schnee besteht, Schneedamm,' und '*equos niveus*' 'ein Pferd, das wie Schnee aussieht, schneeweisses Pferd,' '*lyra eburna*' 'Leier aus Elfenbein,' und '*digitus eburnus*' 'elfenbeinweisser Finger.'"

§ 2.

The term 'semantic content' applied to suffixes throughout this paper denotes the meaning of a suffix in some particular context. For the general meaning of a suffix which is of course an abstraction, the term 'semantic area' (Gebrauchssphäre) is perhaps as good as any, and will be used in that sense where necessary. The suffix *—oso—* has a semantic area; in the sense here employed it has no semantic content until placed in a definite context which determines such content.

§ 3.

The suffixes chosen for investigation are *—oso—* and *—lento—*. The results obtained, however, are chiefly based on *—oso—*. This fact is due partly to the greater frequency of adjectives in *—oso—*, partly to their wider range of use in individual words. The material for investigation has been gathered from the following authors: Catullus, Caesar, Cicero, Cato, R. R., Comic Fragments (Ribbeck), Horace, Juvenal, Livy, Lucretius, Plautus, Propertius, Quintilian, Sallust, Tacitus, Tibullus, Terence, Tragic Fragments (Ribbeck), Varro, R. R., Vergil, Vitruvius. The mass of examples is so great that it has not been necessary to include any doubtful readings. Over this literature each instance of any adjective in *—oso—* or *—lento—* has been examined, and many adjectives in *—to—*. Adjectives in other terminations have been included only for purposes of illustration; and many examples have been taken from Pliny and Columella, though from these no systematic collection has been made.

Adjectives in *—oso—*, *—lento—*, and *—to—* examined are: Actuosus 1 instance, acerosus, 1, aerosus, 2, aestuosus, 13, aerumnosus, 11, aluminosus, 2, alsiosus, 3, ambitiosus, 45, (inambitiosus, 1), animosus, 31, annosus, 20, aquosus, 30, araneosus, 5, argillosus, 3, argumentosus, 1, artificiosus, 25, aurosus, 2, axitiosus, 2, bellicosus, 24, bellosus, 1, belluosus, 1, bibosus, 1,

bituminosus, 4, bucculentus, 1, cadaverosus, 1, caenosus, 1, calamitosus, 42, caliginosus, 4, callosus, 1, captiosus, 10, cariosus, 2, cerebrosus, 1, cicatricosus, 4, citrosus, 1, clamorus, 3, clivus, 5, confragosus, 17, contumeliosus, 21, copiosus, 52, corpulentus, 2, cretosus, 5, criminosus, 11, cruentus, 107, (incruentus, 24), cuniculosus, 1, curiosus, 22, (percuriosus, 2), damnosus, 36, desidiosus, 4, detrimentosus, 1, dictiosus, 1, dolosus, 11, dumosus, 2, ebriosus, 5, elleborosus, 2, esculentus, 3, exitiosus, 20, fabulosus, 12, facinerosus, 21, factiosus, 10, famosus, 27, fastidiosus, 9, febriculosus, 1, fistulosus, 1, flagitiosus, 14, (perflagitiosus, 1), flexuosus, 1, fluctuosus, 1, formidolosus, 31, formosus, 182, fragosus, 3, fraudulentus, 9, frondosus, 12, fructuosus, 47, fruticosus, 3, fucosus, 2, fumosus, 14, furiosus, 63, funestus, 6, generosus, 50, glareosus, 2, globosus, 8, gloriosus, 74, gratiosus, 39, gravedinosus, 1, gulosus, 1, harenosus, 14, hederosus, 1, herbosus, 15, herniosus, 1, honestus, 70, (inhonestus, 8), hircosus, 1, ieiuniosus, 1, ignominiosus, 17, imaginosus, 1, impendiosus, 1, imperiosus, 20, importuosus, 4, ingeniosus, 54, (peringeniosus, 1), iniuriosus, 6, inlecebrosus, 1, inopiosus, 1, insidiosus, 21, invidiosus, 74, iocosus, 28, iugosus, 2, iuncosus, 1, labeosus, 1, laboriosus, 24, lacertosus, 4, lacrimosus, 10, lapidosus, 9, latebrosus, 8, lacunosus, 3, libidinosus, 32, licentiosus, 1, lienosus, 3, lignosus, 3, limosus, 15, litigiosus, 10, lucrosus, 4, litorosus, 1, luctuosus, 29, (perluctuosus, 1), luculentus, 19, ludosus, 1, luminosus, 2, lusitiosus, 2, lutosus, 4, lotiolentus, 1, lutulentus, 4, luxuriosus, 29, maculosus, 15, malitiosus, 15, mammosus, 3, medicamentosus, 2, mendosus, 10, meticulosus, 2, montosus, 7, monstruosus, 2, morosus, 11, (submorosus, 1), morbosus, 8, muscosus, 6, mulierosus, 4, nebulosus, 9, negotiosus, 10, nemorosus, 10, nervosus, 4, nimbosus, 6, nivosus, 7, nodosus, 9, numerosus, 18, nitrosus, 2, obliviosus, 3, obnoxiosus, 2, obsequiosus, 1, odiosus, 74, (perodiosus, 2, subodiosus, 1) officiosus, 25, (inofficiosus, 2) onerosus, 11, operosus, 28, opiniosus, 1, opulentus, 103, orbitosus, 1, otiosus, 70, obstrudulentus, 1, palmosus, 1, pannosus, 2, paludosus, 2, peculiaris, 1, pecuniosus, 23, perniciosus, 89, pecorosus, 1, perfidiosus, 12, pedicosus, 1, peminosus, 1, periculosus, 95, pilosus, 8, piscosus, 6, pituitosus, 1, pisculentus, 3,

plagosus, 1, plumosus, 2, pomosus, 3, podagrosus, 2, ponderosus, 4, portuosus, 3, portentosus, 2, pretiosus, 31, probrosus, 13, procellosus, 3, prodigiosus, 8, pruinosis, 6, pulverulentus, 14, pestilentus, 1, purulentus, 1, quaestuosis, 18, rabiosus, 6, radicosus, 1, ramosus, 9, religiosus, 98, rorulentus, 3, rixosus, 1, rubricosus, 3, rugosus, 9, ruinosus, 6, repudiosus, 1, robiginosus, 1, ructuosus, 1, sabulosus, 2, saetosus, 5, saeptuosus, 1, salivosus, 3, salebrosus, 1, saltuosus, 3, sanguinolentus, 19, sclerosus, 4, scelestus, 8, scopulosus, 2, scruposus, 4, scrupulosus, 2, seditiosus, 58, senticosus, 1, sententiosus, 1, sinuosus, 5, siticulosus, 1, somniculosus, 2, seniosus, 1, spatiosus, 17, speciosus, 34, spinosus, 8, spumosus, 7, squamosus, 7, stercorosus, 1, stomachosus, 4, strigosus, 2, strumosus, 1, studiosus, 69, (perstudiosus, 1), sumptuosus, 17, superstitiosus, 23, suspiciosus, 19, temulentus, 22, tenebricosus, 5, tenebrosus, 6, torminosus, 1, torosus, 2, tortuosus, 8, truculentus, 20, tumultuosus, 14, turbulentus, 51, varicosus, 1, vadosus, 6, ventosus, 5, ventriosus, 5, venustus, 10, (invenustus, 4), verbosus, 11, vetustus, 22, villosus, 7, veternosus, 1, vinosus, 7, vinulentus, 15, violentus, 45, virosus, 2, vitiosus, 92, ulcerosus, 3, uliginosus, 4, umbrosus, 37, undosus, 2, vultuosus, 1. Total, 3587.

§ 4.

For the determination of the semantic content of *-oso-* and *-lento-* two factors, as observed above, are especially to be studied: the stem on which the adjective is formed, and the noun which it limits. Occasionally the more remote context furnishes a third determining factor.*

The first part of this paper aims to determine the semantic content of *-oso-* and *-lento-* in various contexts, to show their great variety. No emphasis should be laid on the exact English wording given in the various translations. Translation is simply the imperfect medium through which the fact that the

* The etymology of *-oso-* and *-lento-* is of no importance for the purposes of this dissertation. That of *-oso-* is as yet disputed.

See Brugmann, V. G., II, I, § 355, p. 464, and § 536, p. 664. Also Lindsay, Lat. Lang. pp. 352-3. It should be said that no attempt has been made either to trace the historic development of the various uses of *-oso-*, or to discuss the use of adjectives in *-oso-* from a stylistic standpoint. The suffix is treated here from the semantic aspect only.

termination has varying semantic content is indicated. It is further to be noted that the different translations are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

§ 5.

Before proceeding to the business of precise delimitation of the suffixes, it might be well to dissect one or two examples, so that the method of determination may be seen. In this way the reason for the translation used will be clearer. The word 'ventosus' as used by Tacitus, *G.*, V, 3, means 'exposed to winds.' The sentence is "terra umidior qua Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum aspicit." The wind does not necessarily blow all the time; but when it does the land is swept by it. The meaning 'exposed to' is forced on —*oso*— by 'ventus' and 'terra.' In Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 392, 'primaque ventosis palma petetur equis,' —*oso*— means 'swift as.' The word 'ventus' connotes several qualities, either one of which may furnish the *tertium quid* comparationis between 'ventus' and another noun. Consequently the precise content of —*oso*— cannot be known until the noun limited is known. In Pliny, *N. H.*, XVII, 5, 'terram cariosam cave,' while the noun is 'terra,' as above, the meaning of —*oso*— is certainly not 'exposed to.' So in the following example of 'vinosus,' "laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus." *Hor.*, *Ep.* I, 19, 6. The meaning is 'addicted to wine.' It is not 'under the influence of wine, intoxicated.' Why? In the first place the verse quoted is opposed to that interpretation, for Homer's 'laudes vini' are not the work of a drunken man. Further, the opening sentence of the epistle is discussing not temporary conditions but permanent habits; "prisco si credis, Maecenas docte, Cratino | nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt | quae scribuntur aquae potoribus." 'Aquae potoribus' here is paralleled by and opposed to 'vinosus,' that is, 'vini potores.' So the 'male sanos' of verse 3 indicates a permanent state, and "vina fere dulces oluerunt mane Camenae," denotes a continued habit also.

The various elements, then, the stem on which the adjective is formed, the noun limited, and the more remote context, must in each instance be examined before the exact interpretation of an adjective termination is attempted.

CHAPTER I.

§ 6.

THE SEMANTIC VARIABILITY OF —*oso*— AND —*lento*—.

—*Oso*— (or where words of that termination may be used —*lento*—) may mean:

I. 'Causing.' "lacrimoso non sine fumo | udos cum foliis ramos urente camino." Hor., Serm. I, 5, 80. "caepis omnibus odor lacrimosus." Pliny, N. H., XIX, 6, 32. It may be noticed here that both noun limited and stem are required to determine fully the causative force. "et scopulos lacrimosis vocibus implent."* Verg., Aen., XI, 274. Here the causative force is not so distinctly felt. The reason is, that there is nothing which absolutely defines it. The cries may 'cause tears,' or be 'accompanied by tears,' or both. "finis vitae eius nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis non sine cura fuit." Tac., A., XLIII, 1. "aurum autem et argentum in urbibus et privatim et in focus invidiosa res est." Cic., L., II, 45. "damnosus pecori curris, damnosir oagris." Ov., Am., III, 6, 99. Ovid is speaking of a river.

'Causing' is of course recognized as an active meaning of —*oso*—. It may not be so generally recognized that an adjective usually passive becomes active upon being used with a suitable noun. "ut Terentiam unam omnium aerumnosissimam sustententes tuis officiis." Cic., A., III, 23, 5. "si . . . nec tam aerumneso navigavissem salo." Cic., T., III, 67.

For a complete definition of causative force by more remote context and contrast the following example will suffice: "sine virtute certe, nullo modo; virtus autem actiosa, et deus vester

* It is interesting to note here a Sanskrit parallel to 'lacrimosis vocibus': "tato bāṣpākulām vācam Damayanī . . . pratyāharanī." MBh., III, 2177, "then Damayanti uttering a tearful voice." In Sanskrit the termination —*ākula* is regularly used with nouns as here with 'bāṣpa,' 'tear' to form adjectives. It is one of the many adjective-forming elements that will be noted as parallel to —*oso*—.

nihil agens." Cic., N., I, 110. The contrast with 'nihil agens' determines the active force of —oso— beyond any doubt.

II. 'Suffering,' the passive meaning is also very common.* "non patitur hominem calamitosum uno malo adfectum uno in luctu perire." Cic., Sulla, 91. But with a different noun an active meaning may occur: "sed vis calamitosa est quam illis intulerunt." Cic., Phil., XIV, 9. "accipe, aerumnosam et miseriarum compotem mulierem retines." Plaut., Epid, 559.

III. 'Fraught with.'

"Video quanta et quam periculosa quaestio . . . temptetur." Cic. Cluent., 157.

"exercitum novo periculoso itinere inter exteras gentes duceret." Livy, XLIII, 1.

The question here arises, why translate 'fraught with' rather than 'causing'? The answer is, that the 'iter' does not necessarily cause 'periculum' but may do so. So in "morbi perniciosiores pluresque sunt animi quam corporis." Cic., T., III, 5. The 'morbi' of the mind do not necessarily cause 'perniciēs,' but may. This meaning is borne out in "post ludos contiones seditiosae tribunorum plebis fuerunt, obiurgantium multitudinem." Livy, IV, 35, 5. "Unde seditiosa colloquia et inter paganos corruptior miles." Tac., I, 53, 14. "per conciliabula . . . seditiosa disserebant de continuatione tributorum." Tac., 3, 40, 10. "sive culpa sive infelicitate imperatorum tam ignominiosa clades accepta esset." Livy, V., 9, 1.

IV. 'Mixed with.' † "(aes) fit et e lapide aereo, quam vocant

* Aulus Gellius (IX, 12) pointed out the difference between the active and passive force of —oso—, but did not indicate what made the difference: "ut 'formidolosus' dici potest et qui formidat et qui formidatur, ut 'invidiosus' et qui invidet et cui invidetur, ut 'suspiciosus' et qui suspicatur et qui suspectus est, ut 'ambitosus' et qui ambit et qui ambitur, ut item 'gratiosus' et qui adhibet gratias et qui admittit, ut 'laboriosus' et qui laborat et qui labori est, ut pleraque alia huiusmodi in utramque partem dicuntur, ita 'infestus' quoque ancipiti significatione est. nam et is 'infestus' appellatur, qui malum infert cuiquam, et contra cui aliunde impendit malum, is quoque 'infestus' dicitur."

† From the Rig Veda two different compounds have been chosen to illustrate the meaning of —oso—, 'mixed with.' They are "śrita," past participle of the verb 'śri,' 'to mix'; and 'sakhi,' 'friend,' or 'companion.' The stem on which the adjective is formed is in each instance 'go,' 'cow,' but here used

cadmean." Pliny, XXXIV, 2. "(aurum) aerosum contrahit se, hebetaturque et difficulter feruminatur." id., XXXIII, 29. "tantum nivosae grandinis deiecit ut omnibus omissis procumbent homines tegminibus suis magis obruti quam tecti." Livy, XXI, 58.

V. 'Living in' is justified by "tu mihi iuratus per numina matris aquosae." Ovid., Her., 3, 53. Briseis is speaking to Achilles, and Thetis is 'aquosa.'

"ille paludosos memoret servire Sicambros." Prop., IV, 6, 77.

VI. 'Growing in.'

"fortunate senex, ergo tua rura manebunt et tibi magna satis, quamvis lapis omnia nudus limosoque palus obducat pascua iunco." Verg., Ecl., I, 48. 'iuncus limosus' means 'the rush that grows in the marsh.'

It may be worth noticing that here again the shift of meaning is quickly marked upon a change of the noun limited. "neque figi limosa humo poterant (aquilae)." Tac., I, 65, 20. To get the meaning 'growing in' two things are required, (1) a noun limited, meaning some sort of plant, (2) a stem for the *osus* adjective that shall mean soil, or ground. Presumably adjectives like 'montosus' or 'iugosus' in that sense might be expected to supply an example, but none have been found.

"tu modo duritiam silvis depone iugosis." Ov., Her., 4, 85. "quis probet in silvis Cererem regnare iugosis." id., Am., I, 1, 9. In these examples the emphasis is rather such as to make the correct translation 'hilly woods,' or 'hills and woods.' Here can be plainly seen the fact that —*oso*— is practically a function of the adjective stem and the noun limited.

VII. 'Clear as.'

"crystallusque meas ornet aquosa manus." Prop., IV., 3, 52.

in the special sense of 'milk.' "*gōśrītā matsarā ime sōmāsaḥ*," "the soma-drinks mixed with milk are maddening." R. V., I, 137, 1. Also "*sōmam pībati gōśakhāyam*," ib., V, 37, 4. "he drinks soma mixed with milk." There is a quite different use of 'gōśakhi' in "*stotā me gōśakhā syāt*," R. V., VIII, 14, 1, "my worshipper would be rich in cows." For this meaning of 'gōśakhi' no precise parallel has been found in Latin, for 'pecorosus' has not been found limiting a word meaning a person. On the other hand, 'pecuniosus' is usually used with such words, and thus has been found to mean only 'possessing money,' as 'gōśakhi' here means 'possessing cows.'

The gem 'crystallus' is clear as water.

A case like this gives a good opportunity to point out the fact that in all instances where the stem of an adjective denotes some substance that has several qualities of equal or nearly equal prominence, some one quality forms the tertium quid comparationis between the stem of the adjective and the noun limited. Which quality this shall be is in each instance determined, so far as has been observed, by the noun limited. Water is wet, fluid, unstable, and numerous other things. None of these qualities has anything to do with a gem. Water is also—*theoretically*—clear; this clearness furnishes the bridge from the idea of gem to that of water. (See examples under 'ventosus' below.)

VIII. 'Round as,' as is found in globosus.

Here the quality of roundness in 'globus' is so marked that this meaning is the only one met with. "quae (mundi volubilitas) in globosa forma esse non posset." Cic., N., II, 49. "et globosum (i. e. mundum) est fabricatus quod σφαιροειδές Graeci vocant." id., Tim., 17. "terra solida et globosa et undique ipsa in sese nutibus suis conglobata." id., N., II, 98. "quae (stellae) globosae et rotundae . . . circulos suos orbisque conficiunt celeritate mirabili." id., R., VI, 15. "globosos turbines | existere istos undis concursantibus." id., N., II, 89. "scilicet esse globosa (corpora) tamen cum squalida constant | provolvi simul ut possint et laedere sensus." Lucr., II, 469. In every case the tertium quid comparationis is the same—the roundness of the 'globus.' This is the dominant quality.

IX. 'Provided with.'*

* Some Sanskrit parallels to such words as 'pecuniosus' or 'copiosus' may be noted here. The word 'dhana,' 'wealth,' is used with the terminations —*vat*, —*in*, and —*stha* (the latter a verbal from the root *sthā*), in suitable contexts without any difference in semantic content. MBh., 12, 3331, "aṅgametan mahad rājye, dhanino nāma, bhārata." "This is a great thing in a state, rich people namely." The passage continues, "kakudam sarvabhūtānām dhanastho, nā'tra samśayah," "Top of all creatures is the rich man, no doubt." 'Dhanasthaḥ' here equals 'dhaninaḥ' above except, of course, for the difference in number. Further, M., 40, 3, 40, speaking of sons "dhanavanto, yaśasvinaḥ . . . dharmiṣṭhā jīvanti ca śatam samah," "Wealthy, glorious, law-abiding, and who live a hundred years." Here 'dhanavantaḥ' is equivalent to 'dhaninaḥ' and 'dhanasthaḥ' above. There seems not much difference between

“oppido longe maximo ac copiosissimo.” Caes., B. G., I, 23. “L. Memmius, numquid copiosior, cum copiosissimam urbem funditus sustulisset?” Cic., O., II, 76. “Antiochae, . . . celebri quondam urbe et copiosa.” id., Arch., 3. “mercatura, si tenuis est, sordida putanda est; sin magna et copiosa, . . . videtur iure optimo posse laudari.” id., O., I, 151.

It is interesting to note how by a change of noun limited ‘copiosus’ becomes a quite different word.

“vestra oratio in causis . . . potest esse vehemens et gravis et copiosa.” Cic., D., I, 80. “Quos . . . Gn. Pompeius copiosa oratione et gravi secum . . . contendere iubebat.” id., Balb., 59. “illa elegantissima viri Crassi copiosa magis quam sapiens oratio ‘eripite nos ex servitute.’” P., V, 41.

To a theorist who looked for a bridge across the gap, it might be interesting to note such examples as: “mihi, non copioso homini ad dicendum.” Cic., Caecen., 64. Here the ‘ad dicendum’ takes the meaning of ‘eloquent’ out of ‘copiosus,’ and leaves it ‘well provided’ or some such meaning. It would be easy to leave out ‘ad dicendum,’ and put the whole force of the meaning ‘eloquent’ into ‘copiosus.’ The change would be similar to that which takes place when ‘sermo’ absorbs all the force of ‘sermo religiosus.’ A second example is “quorum Graecorum copiosior est lingua quam nostra.”

A well-equipped tongue must be eloquent. To determine the historical development of meaning here would require a detailed semantic study of ‘copiosus’ beyond the limits of this article.

‘Opulentus’ has this meaning usually. “cum ad praedam opulentissimae gentis ire vidissent.” Livy, XL, 57. “urbs maxima opulentissimaque Italiae.” id., VII, 31. “virtute ac dis volentibus magni estis et opulenti.” Sal., Jug., 14. “qui ignoratione virtutis . . . opulentos homines et copiosos . . . esse optimos putant.” Cic., R., I, 51. Note here the content of copiosus is determined by opulentus.

X. ‘Subject to.’ “dicimus gravedinosos quosdam, *quosdam* torminosos, non quia iam sunt, sed quia saepe.” Cic., T., IV, 27.

these words and *mahādhana*’ in R., II, 36, 3, “*vaṇijās ca mahādhanaḥ*,” “and rich merchants.”

The phrase 'non quia iam sunt, sed quia saepe' shows that 'gravedinosus' and 'torminosus' are here used of those who sometimes have, but are not necessarily at the time of speaking afflicted with, the diseases in question.

XI. 'In need of.' This is the obvious meaning of —*oso*— in "senex hic elleborosus est certe," Plaut., *Most.*, 952, and of "quaeso, sanus es? elleborosus sum," id., *Rud.*, 1005-6. He who is insane needs hellebore for his cure.

XII. 'Celebrated in.' This is the meaning of —*oso*— in "Ulixem quidem opinantur longo illo et fabuloso errore in hunc Oceanum delatum." Tac., *G.*, III. So also in "vel quae loca fabulosus | lambit Hydaspes." Hor., *Carm.*, I, 22, 7. And in "me fabulosae Vulture in Apulo | . . . palumbes." id., III, 4, 9.

The wanderings of Ulysses, the river Hydaspes, and the doves, are all 'celebrated in story.' That there is any difference in semantic content between —*oso*— in 'fabulosus' and in 'famosus' (see XIII below), is, in the examples quoted, due to the stems. In 'fabula' there is, in the instances given, some of the verbal force of 'fari' which is absent in 'fama.' A thing is not 'celebrated in' 'fama,' the 'fama' is itself the celebration. It is by careful examination of examples such as these that the slight and almost indefinable psychological differences that determine the content of verbal symbols can be best seen.

XIII. 'Known to.'

"famosam veneficiis Martinam." Tac. 3, 7. "Placentiae, famosam mulierem, cuius amore deperiret in convivium accersitam scribit." Livy, XXXIX, 43. "eaeque velut censura in Sarioleum Voculam et Nonium Actianum et Cestium severum acerrime incubuit crebris apud Neronem delationibus famosos." Tac., IV, 41. "quod moechus foret aut sicarius aut alioqui | famosus." Hor., *Serm.*, I, 4, 5. "tandem nequitiae fige modum tuae | famosisque laboribus." id., *Car.*, III, 15, 3.

XIV. 'Composed of.'

"dives curalio fragili et lacrimoso electro." Verg., *Cir.*, 434. Here according to the story the electrum was made of the tears of Phaethon's sisters.

“verbera pellitus saetosa movebat arator.” Prop., IV, 1, 25. The whips used at the Lupercalia were hair whips.

“‘non pudet herbosum’ dixi ‘posuisse moretum.’” Ov., Fast., IV, 367.

XV. ‘Fond of, addicted to.’ This meaning is found in ‘vinosus,’ ‘virosus,’ ‘mulierosus.’ “sit quoque vinosi Teia Musa senis.” Ov., Ar. Am., III, 330. “cur anus hoc faciat, quaeris? vinosior aetas | haec erat.” id., Fast. III, 765. “laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus.” Hor., Epist., I, 19, 6. “virosa non sum, et si sum non desunt mihi qui ultro dent.” Afranius, Divortium, VIII. “hunc (Stilponem) scribunt ipsius familiares et ebriosum et mulierosum fuisse.” Cic., Fa., 10. “homo mulierosus confert me alio ilico.” Afranius, Vopsicus, XVI. “addidit (mulierosum) esse Socratem.” Cic., Fa., 10. “memini quae plagosum mihi parvo | Orbilium dictare.” Hor., Epist., II, 1, 70. It may be worth noting here as an instance of the semantic field to which some adjectives are limited by the stem, that in general none of the adjectives in XV (or XVI) is used except with a word denoting a person or persons; and of course ‘virosus’ is used to limit some woman’s name, or might be used of a collective noun meaning women; while mulierosus applies only to men.*

XVI. ‘Under the influence of.’

Where ‘vinosus’ is used of one actually intoxicated, it has the definite semantic content given here. Hor. Ep. I, 13, 14, may be quoted here as it is only the name Pyrrha that is in doubt, and the meaning of ‘vinosa’ is plain: “ne forte sub ala | fasciculum portes librorum ut rusticus agnum | ut vinosa glomus furtivae Pyrrha lanae.” So —*lento*— in ‘vinolentus’ and ‘temulentus’: “haec utrum esse vobis consilia siccorum an vinolentorum . . . videntur?” Cic. Leg. Agr., I, 1. “cum in publico epulatus reverteretur domum temulentus, prosequentibus mollibus viris.” Livy, XXXIII, 28. The man comes home drunk. The definite semantic content is given by the whole setting. “Vitellius . . . medio diei temulentus et sagina gravis.” Tac., I, 62, 8.†

* Sanskrit parallels ‘mulierosus’ with a compound of ‘*strī*’—‘a woman,’ and ‘*kāma*,’—‘passion.’ T.S., 6.1.6.5, “*strīkāmā vāi Gandharvāḥ*,” “the Gandharvas are fond of women.”

† Fay’s etymology of ‘vinolentus,’ K. Z., 1912, has been noted but is not of

“vocem Claudii, quam temulentus iecerat, . . . metuens.” Tac., 12, 64. “Vitellius . . . ad omnis nuntios . . . trepidus, dein temulentus.” id., III, 56, 8. “visa inter temulentos arma cupidinem sui movere.” id., I, 80, 8. Enough examples have been given to show the specific meaning of “under the influence of liquor” attached to temulentus.

“pressa voce et temulenta.” Cic., sen., 13. Here ‘temulentus’ is simply a transferred epithet.

XVII. ‘Prone to.’

“ego P. Claudium arbitror . . . civem . . . libidinosum.” id., Phil., VIII, 16. “cum te . . . tyrannum libidinosum . . . praeberis.” id., Verr., I, 82. “libidinoso et intemperans adulescentia effertur corpus tradit senectuti.” id., C., 29. “Carthaginenses fraudulentum et mendaces non genere sed natura loci.” id., Leg. Agr., II, 95. “malitiosum? non negas. fraudulentum? iam id quidem arrogas tibi et praeclarum putas.” id., Quint., 56. In the examples given here the persons concerned are not at any particular moment specified under the influence of passion or perpetrating any fraud; but they are inclined to act under the influence of passion or fraud or deceit as the case may be.

XVIII. ‘Afflicted with.’

“podagrosi estis, ac vicistis cochleam tarditudine.” Pl., Poen., 532. “sed tamen podagrosis pedibus esset Eutyclus.” id., Merc., 595. “insomnis si quis est vel seniosus, hac eadem curatione sanum facies.” Cato, R. R., 157, 8. “est limus salivae sub lingua rabiosi canis.” Plin., XXIX, 5, 32. “nam dudum uxorem aiebat rabiosam canem.” Plaut., Men., 936. “hac rabiosa fugit canis, hac lutulenta ruit sus.” Hor., Epist., II, 2, 75. “Hegio istic homo rabiosus habitus est in Aulide.” Plaut., Capt., 547.

In each of these examples it is to be noted that to get the meaning ‘afflicted with’ two things are necessary: first, a stem for the adjective denoting some kind of disease; second, some noun limited which must be affected by the disease.

importance for this discussion. There is further an interesting parallel in Sanskrit for these ‘vinum’ words, which will be noticed in chapter II of this thesis under the termination —*biba*.

In IX above 'gravedinosus' means, as was pointed out above, 'subject to' and the exact semantic content was defined by the context. So here "vicistis cochleam tarditudine" makes it clear that the person addressed is laboring under the disease at that very time.

XIX. There is a shift of meaning to 'diseased in' (sc. spleen) in 'lienosus.' This fact is of course due to the change of the stem from the name of the disease (XVIII) to the name of the organ diseased. "sicut Pyrrho regi pollex in dextro pede cuius tactu lienosis medebatur." Plin., N. H., VII, 20.

XX. 'As tough as.'

"haec fert in Aegypto Syriaque . . . lignosum fructum, maiorem galla, asperum tactu." Plin., XXIV, 42. "sylvestri folia eleliphaci, alta, ramis lignosis." id., XXV, 73.

In the first case 'lignosum' must mean 'tough as wood,' because toughness is what is always thought of when fruit is spoken of as woody. In the second case the meaning is clear; the branches of the shrub are like wood in consistency, not soft or pithy.

XXI. 'Near.'

"callais sappirum imitatur, candidior, et litoroso mari similis." Plin., XXXVII, 10, 56.

This is a peculiarly good instance of the exact delimitation of semantic content by the limited noun and the remoter context. 'Litorosum mare' might mean "a sea with a shore," though this would be a rather pointless phrase; the callais is a precious stone, the turquoise; it is like sapphire, but clearer and like the sea—the sea 'with a shore' is an impossible meaning—and the meaning must be 'near the shore.'

XXII. 'Open, or exposed to.'

This is a common meaning of ventosus. "ubi satis foderis tum fornaci locum facito, uti quam altissima et quam minime ventosa siet." Cato, R. R., XXXVIII, 3. "terra umidior qua Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum aspicit." Tac., G., V, 3. "et est ventosissima regio inter Cyclades." Livy, XXXVI, 43. "stabula idoneo loco ut sint, ne ventosa, quae spectent magis ad orientem." Varro, R. R., II, 2, 7. "nam loca declarat sursum ventosa patere." Lucr., VI, 468.

XXIII. 'Tossed by.' In some cases 'ventosus' used with a noun denoting the sea means more than 'open to'; "qui mare temperat | ventosum." Hor. Carm., III, 4, 46. Here the exact definition comes through 'temperat.' "aut ubi ventosum superaris naufragus aequor." Ovid, Ibis, 593. Here 'naufragus' requires a stronger term than 'open to' in 'ventosus.'

XXIV. 'Fickle as.'

"pars altera regiae adulationis erat quos aes alienum et desperatio rerum suarum eodem manente statu praecipites ad novanda omnia agebat; quosdam ventosum ingenium quia Perseus magis aurae popularis erat." Livy, XLII, 30. "non ego ventosae plebis suffragia venor." Hor., Epist., I, 19, 37. "Romae Tibur amem ventosus Tibure Romam." id., I, 8, 12. "extraordinarium imperium populare ac ventosum est." Cic., Phil., XI, 17.

XXV. 'Swift as.*' "primaque ventosis palma petetur equis." Ovid., Fasti, IV. 392. "idem non frustra ventosas addidit alas." Prop., II, 12, 5.

The combination of swiftness and fickleness may be found in "tu levis es, multoque tuis ventosior alis." Ovid, Am., II, 9, 49. The reference is to Cupid, and he is fickle, while the wings are swift. It might seem an easy thing to find such shifts of the tertium quid comparationis in words like 'ventosus' which combine several qualities of about equal prominence; but examples have not been forthcoming.

The four meanings of 'ventosus' given above are worthy of notice. Each one is carefully limited by stem and noun. 'Swiftness' and 'fickleness' are more peculiarly thought of as inherent in the stem 'vento'; because these are qualities belonging to wind. Yet here the fact that with a change of context the content changes, shows clearly that both factors—stem and noun limited—must be taken into consideration. So with the meaning 'tossed by,' or 'open to.' Sea and land cannot put these contents into —oso— without a proper stem for the ad-

* Sanskrit parallels 'ventosus equus' by a construction in which 'ventosus' is represented by a compound 'vāta,' 'wind,' and 'vāja,' 'swiftness.' MBh., 3, 2898, "hayā vātavājāh," "wind-swift horses." The word 'vātavega,' composed of 'vāta' and 'vega,' 'swiftness,' is usually the name of a hero, but in MBh., 5, 3595, is used as an epithet of *Garuḍa*.

jective. The sea may be tossed by the wind, but there must be wind to toss it; and 'mare litorosum' gives a quite different force to —*oso*— from 'mare ventosum.' So 'campus aquosus' gives a different content to —*oso*— from 'campus ventosus.'

It may here be pointed out again, at the risk of repetition, that to impose any one general meaning on —*oso*—, or even on 'ventosus,' is a begging of the question. The general meaning, where it can be imposed, is imposed by the neglect of the distinctive elements in any definite context. In particular in the case of such expressions as 'equus ventosus,' without the proper *tertium quid* comparationis, there is no possibility of correct interpretation.

XXVI. 'Susceptible to, injured by.'

"seritur autem semine melius quam radice aut surculo, semine quoque non sine negotio; plantaria transferuntur . . . sic et Adonium . . . utrumque aestate: alsiosa enim admodum sunt, ut sole tamen nimio laedantur." Plin., XXI, 10, 34.

Here the slips are liable to injury by either heat or cold. "stabulatur pecus melius ad hibernos exortus si spectat, quod est alsiosum." Varro, R. R., II, 3, 6.

XXVII. 'Fit for.'

"omnis autem aqua calida ideo quidem est medicamentosa." Vitruvius, 193, 4. "haec avis scribitur (conchas) . . . evomere atque ita eligere ex eis quae sunt esculenta." Cicero, N., II, 124. "in ea parte oris qua esculentis et potulentis iter natura patefecit." id. 141.

In each instance the substances spoken of are fit for medicine, for food, or for drink as the case may be.

XXVIII. 'Clothed in.'

"pannosus vacuis aedilis Ulubris." Juv., X, 102.

"paucis pannosis linea lanterna." Cicero, A., IV, 3, 5.

In these examples "pannosus" denotes "clothed in shabby garments."

XXIX. 'Smelling of.'*

"si ligno contigatur vas, adustum et fumosum fieri putant,"

* See Sanskrit parallel, R.V., I, 162, 15. "Agnīr . . . dhūmāgandhiḥ,"—"Agni smelling of smoke."

i. e., defrutum. Plin., XVIII, 31, 74. "vestemque citrosam." Naev., I, 10. Baeh. Frag. Poet. Rom. (vid. Macr., 3, 19, 5.).

XXX. 'Colored like.*'

"obrepisti ad honores errore hominum, commendatione fumosarum imaginum, quarum simile habes nihil praeter colorem." Cic., Piso, I.

XXXI. 'Full of.' This is the meaning most commonly given to *-oso-* in grammars and dictionaries. Yet *-oso-* denoting actual physical fulness is rare. The two following examples are perhaps as good as any to illustrate that meaning: "et in primis terram fac ut esse rearis | supter item ut supera ventosis undique plenam | speluncis, multosque lacus multasque lacunas | in gremio gerere et rupes, deruptaque saxa," Lucr., VI, 537. "alii ventosis follibus auras | accipiunt." Verg., Aen., VIII, 449. In the latter example, however, *-oso-* means rather 'containing' than 'full of.' There are further very many instances in which by some ingenuity *-oso-* can be translated 'full of' in some metaphorical sense. In Cic., N., I, 54, "quis enim non timeat . . . curiosum, et plenum negotii deum?", *-oso-* is paralleled by 'plenus' but 'plenus' is here of course not physical. There are, however, instances in which *-oso-* is translated by commentators as 'full of' where it seems hard to find a justification for the translation even though it be regarded as metaphorical. For instance, 'fabulosus' in Tac., G., V, 3, "ceterum et Ulixen quidam opinantur longo illo et fabuloso errore in hunc Oceanum delatum"—is translated as 'full of legends.' But the 'error' is not full of legends in any sense, literal or figurative. If the phrase 'full of' is to be used at all, it would be more proper to say that the legends are 'full of' the 'error,' but the expression would never have occurred here, were it not for the preconceived notion that *-oso-* must in some fashion be connected with the adjective 'full.'

* The following Sanskrit parallels are noted: MBh., 13, 3769. "*dhūmrā dhenuḥ*"—"smoke-colored cow." Here the suffix *-ra* performs in Sanskrit the function performed in Latin by *-oso-*. '*Varna*' in Sanskrit means 'color'; and this word is added to *dhūmra*, which may already mean "smoke-colored," without any change of semantic content. MBh., 3, 16348, "*ṛkṣānām dhūmravarṇānām*,"—"of the smoke-colored bears."

The consideration of the semantic variability of *—oso—* and *—lento—* might be extended. The difference of semantic content is great; and careful examination of all concrete instances of the occurrence of these terminations shows an almost infinite diversity. The aim of the first part of this dissertation, however, is to set forth a number of examples in which the differences are clear and striking. It is not desirable to create differences where none exist, to force into wider divergence very minute differences which might offer some chance for discrimination in translation or, generally, to dwell too strongly on every slightest variation. To do this would lead to a separate statement of each of the three thousand odd examples. It is believed that the conclusion so far reached is, that it is useless to load *—oso—*, *—lento—*, or indeed any other termination, with a large and general meaning, and then try to force the suffix into that meaning in each particular instance of its occurrence; and that the true way to consider such a termination is as a transparent and fluid thing that takes shape and color from its environment.

CHAPTER II.

§ 7.

THE SEMANTIC EQUIVALENTS OF —*oso*— AND —*lento*—.

The first feature of comparison between case suffixes and adjective terminations lies in the fact that a variety of semantic content may be found in one suffix according to its context. The second is, that several terminations may be used with one and the same semantic content, also according to context. That is, there are many contexts where the necessary content is simply forced upon the termination. The result is then, that any termination in such context must have the required meaning. The number of suffixes that thus clearly interchange with —*oso*— and —*lento*— is, as far as has been discovered in this investigation, fourteen; to which has been added one example wherein the prefix *in*— equals —*oso*—.

This identity of semantic content may be seen most clearly where the same stem uses two or more terminations with the same or a similar noun limited. Equivalence may be shown in those instances where one stem confines itself to one termination, while a similar stem uses a different termination with the same or a similar noun limited. Examples of each kind are considered valid for the purpose of demonstrating parallelism with case suffix phenomena, and are used indifferently wherever convenient.

§ 8.

The following terminations are used with semantic content equivalent to that of —*oso*— as illustrated in the parallel passages quoted.

I. —*bili*—.

“nec vero dubito quin exitiosum bellum impendeat.” Cic., A., IX, 9, 2. “bellum terra et mari comparat, non iniustum ille quidem, sed cum pium, tum etiam necessarium, suis tamen civibus exitiabile, nisi vicerit, calamitosum, etiamsi vicerit.” id., A., X, 4, 3.

These two examples go well together. There is no difference between 'bellum exitiosum' and 'bellum exitiabile.' The termination —*bili*— is often regarded as a passive termination; add it to a stem 'exitio,' and use it to limit a noun 'bellum,' and it can no more retain a passive force than wax in a mould can retain an independent shape. So in the second example though 'calamitas' and 'exitium' are words of the same general type, and though 'exitiosus' is a good Ciceronian adjective, 'exitiabile' is used to limit 'bellum' followed immediately after by 'calamitosum.' The only possible difference in the 'exitiabile' and 'exitiosum' quoted is that 'exitiabile' is followed by a dative. But 'exitiosum' may be followed by a dative also; as in "quibus a servis atque a servorum ducibus caedem fieri senatus et bonorum rei publicae exitiosum fuisset." Cic., Planc., 87. "bellum Hernumduris prosperum, Chattis exitiosius." Tac., 13, 57. "exitiosum adversus veteranos proelium." id., I, 68. "(proelium) his, rursus illis exitiabile," id., III, 22. "exitiabilem in suos, infensum rei publicae animum obiecit." id., 6, 24. "morbo exitiabili correptos." id., 16, 5. "quod reus . . . sibi exitiabile intellegit." id., 3, 15. "exitiabile id rei publicae, ingratum militi." id., II, 69. "exitiabilis superstitio." id., 15, 44. "quod maxime exitiabile tulere illa tempora." id., 6, 7. "ne vana et reo non profutura, intercessori exitiosa inciperet." id., 16, 26. "nec cuiquam mortem Germanici exitiosam esse." id., 3, 8. "desererent regem saevum in pace et adversis proeliorum exitiosum." id., 6, 36. "pestilentia gravis incidit in urbem, . . . quae tamen magis in morbos longos quam in perniciosos evasit." Livy, XXVII, 23. "pestilentia coorta minacior tamen quam perniciosior." id., IV, 52. "morbi perniciosiores pluresque sunt animi quam corporis." Cic., T., III, 5.

The following examples are of —*bili*— and —*oso*— used on similar stems limiting the same noun or similar nouns.

"quae (opiniones) honestae, quae laudabiles, quae gloriosae sint." Cic., F., II, 77. "quod tale . . . (est) id etiam gloriosum, si vero gloriosum, certe laudabile; quod laudabile autem, profecto etiam honestum." id., T., V, 43. "quid habet ista res aut laetabile aut gloriosum." id., T, I, 49.

II. —*ri*—, —*li*—.

“in quo genere omnia (i. e. animalia) magis exitialia si suum genus edere antequam noceant.” Plin., Nat. Hist., X, 72, 93. “perditae civitates, desperatis omnibus rebus hos solent exitus exitiales habere ut damnati in integrum restituantur, vincti solvantur, exules reducantur, res iudicatae rescindantur.” Cic., Verr., II, 12.

“pars stupet innuptae donum exitiale Minervae.” Verg., Aen., II, 31.

In each case there is an active meaning in the *-alis* adjective, as in ‘exitiosus’ and ‘exitiabilis’ above.

“erat forte brumae tempus et nivalis dies.” Livy, XXI, 54. “insignis annus hieme gelida ac nivosa.” id., V, 13. “maxime tamen curavit historiae fabularis notitiam.” Suet., Tib., 70. “Marsyas amnis fabulosis Graecorum carminibus inclutus.” Curt., III, 1. “tuus videlicet salutaris consulatus, perniciosus meus.” Cic., Phil., II, 15. “hic magna quaedam exoritur, neque ea naturalia sed artificiosa somniorum interpretatio.” id., Div., I, 116. “duo enim genera divinandi esse dicebas, unum artificiosum, alterum naturale.” id., II, 26. “ea genera divinandi, non naturalia sed artificiosa dicuntur.” id., I, 72.

III. —*eo*—, —*aceo*—, —*uceo*—.

The word ‘robustus’ is used in the sense of ‘oaken.’

“eo capitulum robustum indito.” Cato, R. R., 18. “robustam materiam.” Col., 2, 15. “robusto carcere.” Plaut., Curc., 5, 692. “robusti caudices.” Plin., XI, 37, 55. “robusta repagula.” Ov. Met., V, 120. In the same sense are used “axibus roboreis.” Col., VI, 19, 1. id., VI, 30, 2. In these examples —*to*— is used in the orthodox sense of —*eo*—. “nascitur (smyrion) et in saxosis collibus et in terrenis.” Plin., XXVII, 109. “gignuntur in sinu Adriatici maris, non procul a Timavo fonte, saxoso colle.” id., XIV, 8. “phyllon a Graecis vocatur herba in saxosis collibus.” id., XXVII, 100. “reliquae tres, quae orbem terrarum implevere fama, sane conspicuae undique adnavigantibus, sitae sunt in parte Africae monte saxeo sterilique inter Memphim oppidum et quod appellari diximus Delta.” id., XXXVI, 16. “erat inter ceteram planitiem mons saxeus.”

Sal., Jug., 92. In Ovid occur "sanguineus" and "sanguinolentus" with no distinction.

"si manus haec aliquod posset committere crimen, | morte foret dominae sanguinolenta meae." Her., XIV, 60. "sanguineaque manu crepitantia concutit arma." Met., I, 143. "haec sanguineum sucum emittit." Plin., N. H., XXV, 6, 32. "colores vinis quattuor, albus, fulvus, sanguineus, niger." id., XIV, 9, 11.

"ille color vere sanguinolentus erat." Ov., Am., I, 12, 12.

The word 'spumeus' interchanges with 'spumosus.'

"ad medicinae usus antiqui Tarentinum (sal) maxime laudabant, ab hoc quemcumque e marinis, ex eo genere spumeum praecipue." Plin., XXXI, 86. "(torrens) spumeus et fervens." Ov., Met., III, 571. "magna differentia et in colore suci: sanguineus moris, cerasis, cornis, uvis nigris; idem albis candidus, lacteus in capite ficis, in corpore non item, spumeus malis, nullus Persicis, cum praesertim duracina suco abundant." Plin., XV, 28. "pauca cum (i. e. pulmonem), ut dictum est, habent aquatilia, cetera ova parientia exiguum spumosumque nec sanguineum." id., XI, 188. "dant sonitum spumosi amnes et in aequora currunt." Verg., A., XII, 524. "(quid ferret aut) recusaret collis, quid campestris positio, quid cultus, quid silvester ager, quid humidus et graminosus, quid siccus et spurcus." Col., I, praef. 25. "hoc pius Aeneas misso certamine tendit | gramineum in campum." Verg., Aen., V, 287. "pannosus vacuis aedilis Ulubris." Juv., X, 102. "dum ne deterius sapiat pannucia Baucis." Pers., IV, 21. "spelunca alta fuit, vastoque immanis hiatu | scrupea." Verg., A., VI, 238. "inde Aetnam montem advenio in scruposam specum." T. F. Pac. Niptra, VI.

IV. —*estro*—.

"palustribus locis atque uliginosis nati, habent ungulas molles." Varro, R. R., II, 8, 5. "(locis) montuosis . . . et silvestribus." Cic., Lael., 68. In this example one might naturally expect 'silvosis' instead of 'silvestribus'; both by analogy with 'montuosis,' and because if the idea of 'abundance' so often said to belong to —*oso*— were really inherent in it, it would seem more appropriate that —*oso*— should be joined with 'silva' than with 'mons.' But Cicero has used the two terminations with no apparent difference.

“saltus duo alti angusti silvosique sunt.” Livy, IX, 2. The following example repeated from the preceding section is too striking to be omitted here: “(quid ferret aut) recusaret collis, quid campestris positio, quid cultus, quid silvester ager, quid humidus et graminosus, quid siccus et spurcus.” Col., I, praef., 25. In this example ‘silva,’ ‘humor,’ and ‘gramen,’ are used to form adjectives with the terminations respectively —*estro*—, —*do*—, and —*oso*—, all limiting the noun ‘ager.’ It would be impossible to find any difference in the semantic content of these terminations in the sentence quoted except such as is imposed upon them by the character of the stems to which they are attached. “a Cypselis via decem milium fere silvestris, angusta, confragosa excipiebat.” Livy, XXXVIII, 40.

V. —*undo*—, —*cundo*—, —*tundo*—. “quae (stellae) globosae et rotundae . . . circulos suos orbesque conficiunt celeritate mirabili.” Cic., R., VI, 15. “nec . . . hunc ipsum mundum pro certo rotundum esse dicitis.” id., N., II, 48. “Epicurus dicit se non posse intellegere qualis sit volubilis et rotundus deus.” id., N., II, 46. “(animantem) globosum (deus) est fabricatus, quod *σφαιροειδής* Graeci vocant,” i. e., ‘mundum.’ id., Tim., 17. ‘Iracundus’ falls under the meaning ‘prone to,’ as does ‘libidinosus.’ “nam timidus terri, stultus decipi, iracundus concitari, ambitiosus inflari.” Quint., Inst. Orat., V, 7, 26.

“hominem esse barbarum, iracundum, temerarium.” Caes., B. G., I, 31. “Armeniaeque tigris, iracundique leones.” Ov., Met., XV, 86. “iracundaque mens facile effervescit in ira.” Lucr., III, 295. “quo saepius monuerit, hoc rarius castigabit. minime iracundus.” Quint., II, 2, 5. “libidinosum et iracundum . . . censem esse sapientem.” Cic., T., IV, 57.*

Most of the examples quoted are self-evident. It might be worth while here again to call attention to the fact that nouns like ‘globus’ and ‘rota,’ which have one very prominent quality, inject the force of that quality into any termination whatever. It may be questioned whether ‘globosus’ or ‘rotundus’ occurs

* The Sanskrit parallel to ‘libidinosus’ is ‘*kāmaṛṛta*,’ a compound of ‘*kāma*,’ ‘passion,’ and ‘*ṛṛta*’ past participle of ‘*ṛt*,’ ‘to turn.’ “*kṣatriyāḥ kāmaṛṛtāḥ*,” “libidinous warriors.” MBh., I, 6507. Also *kāmin* (*Gandharvah*) M., 3, 159, 17.

in any other sense than 'round' either literal or metaphorical. On the other hand, as has been seen, any word which connotes a number of qualities of relatively equal prominence is apt to occur in contexts which require the force of any one of the different qualities to give character to the suffix. Which quality it is, is usually determined by the noun limited.

VI. —*ario*—.

"ut furti reum cupidum, adulterii libidinosum, homicidii temerarium." Quint., IV, 2, 52. "hominem esse barbarum, iracundum, temerarium." Caes, B. G., I, 31.

The strongest argument is of course to be found in the example from Quintilian. There is here absolutely no difference in the terminations —*do*—, —*oso*—, and —*ario*—, except such as may be given them by the stems. 'Cupidus' is one who is prone to greed; 'iracundus,' one prone to anger; 'temerarius,' one prone to rashness.

VII. —*do*—.

"herbosissima . . . stramenta." Cato, R. R., 54. (vid. Forcellini, "quae herbas multas permixtas habent.") "segetes herbidas reddant." Col., I, 6, 22. "pascabant herbosa palatia vaccae." Tib., II, 5, 25. "maiores herbida tauros | non habet Epiros." Ov., Met., VIII, 282. "quem ceperant exules montem herbidas aquosusque est." Livy, XXIX, 31, 9. "iacet inter eos satis patens clausus in medio campus herbidas aquosusque." id., IX, 2, 7. "fumidis cautibus." Plin., V, 9, 10. "item infimi lapides cocti cadent, et flamma minus fumosa exhibit." Cato, A. C., 38, 4. "Pitheus doliorum cernitur figura in concavo fumidae lucis." Plin., II, 25, 22. "terra umidior qua Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum aspicit." Tac., G., V, 3.

Each of the words 'lucidus,' 'luminosus,' 'luculentus' is used both literally and figuratively. 'Luculentus' is often found in a generalized sense of "excellent" which has not been noted in either of the others. "hereditas | magna atque luculenta." Plaut., Truc., 345. "qui ex naufragio luculenti patrimonii ad haec Antoniana saxa proiectus est." Cic., Phil., XII, 19. This word is concrete in "camino luculento utendum censeo." id., Ep., VII, 10, 2. Also in "omniaque aedificia ut luminosa sint oportet curari," Vitruv., 148, 6, 'luminosa' is used concretely.

Also 'lucidus' though in a different context: "insequitur candens confestim lucidus aer." Lucr., IV, 340.

Each of these words is used in connection with oratory. "sunt maxime luminosae et quasi actuosae partes duae." Cic., Orat., 125. "Tullius . . . orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem rei publicae." Sal., Cat., 31. "manifesta et lucida ratio." Quint., IV, 5, 3. "(oratores) tenues . . . lucidos et significantes." id., XII, 10, 21. "L. Caelius Antipater . . . scriptor fuit ut temporibus illis luculentus." Cic., Bru., 102.

VIII. —*eno*—.

"nascitur (smyrnion) et in saxiosis collibus et in terrenis." Plin., XXVII, 109. Here again there is no possible difference in the semantic content of the terminations —*oso*— and —*eno*— except such slight difference as may be imposed on them by the nouns 'saxum' and 'terra.'

The meaning of 'living in' is often found in 'terrenus.' "idem tradit in Paphlagonia effodi pisces gratissimos . . . terrenos . . . quicquid est hoc, certe minus admirabilem talparum facit vitam, subterranei animalis, nisi forte vermium terrenorum et his piscibus natura inest." Plin., IX, 83. —*Oso*— parallels —*eno*— nicely in "sin autem terrenum aut harenosum erit solum." Vitr., 207.

IX. —*ico*—.

"hic Favonius serenust, istic Auster imbricus." Plaut. Merc., 876.

"saepe notavi | alba procelloso vela referre Noto." Ov., Her., II, 12. "haec e tartarea tenebrica abstractum plaga eduxit." Cic., T., II, 9. "qui nunc it per iter tenebricosum." Cat., III, 11. "postquam Saturno tenebrosa in Tartara misso." Ov., Meta., I, 113. "podagrosi estis et vicistis cochleam tarditudine." Plaut, Poen., 532. "feminae podagricaе calvaeque." Sen., Ep., XV, 3, 21.

X. —*io*—. "et ex hac vel optimatum vel factiosa tyrannica, illa vel regia, vel etiam persaepe popularis." Cic., R., I, 45. Here 'rex,' 'tyrannus,' 'populus,' 'factio,'—each word might have either of the terminations —*io*—, —*ico*—; —*ri*—, —*oso*—, with the same noun limited—for instance, 'dominatio,'—with no

difference in the semantic content of the termination. The passage occurs after a break in the MS., and the noun is not known; but its general nature—a word denoting some kind of authority or rule—is quite evident.

The terminations so far considered as equivalents of *—oso—* are those which, whatever their origin, do not carry with them any distinct force due to etymological connection with any living word. Four more remain to be considered, *—fer*, *—ger*, *—ficus*, and *—biba*, each of which is connected with a verb. It is quite easy, however, to find instances in which these terminations are paralleled by *—oso—*. When this occurs it is because *—oso—* stands in a context where it can take on the ordinary signification of the other termination. Sometimes the stem on which the adjective is formed is such that the adjective itself has usually only the meaning of 'causing' or 'suffering.' In such instances, an adjective in *—fer* is always theoretically possible and often found. How far the original content of *—fer* is or may be in some instances changed is a subject beyond the limits of the present paper. The termination *—fer* is chosen to illustrate what is found in all the other suffixes derived from verbs that are cited above.

XI. *—fer*.

There is no difference between *—oso—* and *—fer* when used with stem *umbra—* and names of trees. "inque Academia umbrifera." Cic., D., I, 22. Here *—fer* is probably passive. "nos . . . aurigeris divom placantes numina tauris, | sub platano umbrifera." id. II, 63. "circiter meridianos aestos, dum deferrescant sub umbriferas rupes et arbores patulas subiciunt oves." Varr., R. R., 2, 2, 11. "sic umbrosa tibi contingant tecta Priape." Tibul., I, 4, 1. "cui folium maximum umbrosissimumque, et ideo supra id pomum." Pliny, XVI, 113. "nullae ideo pestes nec luctifer ingruat annus." Val. Fl., III, 454. "qui (dies) fuit . . . omnibus bonis luctuosus." Cic., Sest., 53. "praetereo illum luctuosum populo Romano diem." id., Fr. B., VIII, 19.

So in many cases there is no difference between *—lento—*, *—fer*, *—lent—*. "loca . . . 'pulverulenta' et 'pestilenta'." Gell., XIX,

7. "tu unus pestifer civis." Cic., Dom., 85. "hominem pestilentio-rem patria sua." id., Fam., VII, 24. "accessum ad res salutare, a pestiferis recessum." id., N. D., II, 34. "inter locorum naturas quantum intersit videmus; alios salubris, alios pestilentis." id., Fat., IV, 7. "et Memphin, palmiferamque Pharon." Ov., Am., II, 13, 8. "palmiferae . . . Thebai." Prop., IV, 5, 25. "teque datis linquo ventis, palmosa Selinus." Verg., Aen., III, 705.

XII. —*ger*.

"setosii apri." Verg., Ecl., 7, 29. "saetigeri fetum suis intonsamque bidentem | attulit (sacerdos)." id., Aen., XII, 170. "nam saetigeris subus acre venenumst." Lucr., VI, 974. In every case '*saetiger*' is used of the whole animal, '*setosus*' is often used of a part. "setosam laevi frontem turpaverat oris." Hor., Serm., I, 5, 61. "(tauri) torva fronte, auribus setosis." Plin., VIII, 45, 70.

XIII. —*biba*.*

"nomen leaenaest—multibiba atque merobiba—PA. quasi tu lagoenam dicis, ubi vinum Chium | solet esse. PH. quid opus verbis? vinosissimast." Plaut. Curc., 75. Here —*oso*— expresses the same relation to 'vinum' that —*biba* expresses to 'merum.'

XIV. —*ficus*.

"luctifica clades, nostro infixata est corpori." Cic., T., II, 25. "vocem dolori lingua luctifico negat." Sen., Phaed., 995. "at mihi luctificum venit iubar." Val., Fl., III, 292. "at tibi luctificis pulsat clangoribus urbem." Stat., Th., X, 552. "non noctem illam . . . luctuosam perhorrescet?" Cic., Cael., 60. "huius luctuosissimi belli semen tu fuisti." id., Phil., II, 55. "o diem illum . . . rei publicae luctuosum." id., Sest., 27. Throughout all these examples the meaning is simply the active one, 'causing grief.' †

* The Plautine '*merobiba*' has an exact parallel in Sanskrit, M., 9, 20 "*madyapāḥ kiṃ na jalpanti?*"—"What nonsense do not wine-drinkers talk?" *Madya* means 'wine,' and —*pa* is, of course, the same as —*biba*.

† Sanskrit has a good parallel to —*ficus* in —*kar*, verbal from '*kr*,' 'to make.' It is active, and easily paralleled by —*oso*—. "*akṣadyūte samāhvānaṃ . . . jānann api kṣayakaram*," "even though knowing that in dice-play the challenge brings destruction." This sentence may be compared with "si damnosa senem juvat alea, ludit et heres." Juv., XIV, 4.

XV. 'in—.' Tacitus gives one instance of —*oso*— exactly paralleled by 'in—.' "isque infamen veneficiis ea in provincia et Plancinae percaram, nomine Martinam in urbem misit." Ann., 2, 74. "a Gn. Sentio famosam veneficiis Martinam subita morte Brundisii extinctam." id. 3. 7. The equivalents could not possibly be closer in semantic content.

The following passage from Lucretius is added here because it furnishes an interesting variety of terminations. He is speaking of the mixture of 'calor,' 'vapor,' 'aer' and the fourth nameless element in the mind; and of the proportion of each in the minds of various animals.

"sed *calidi* plus est illis quibus acria corda
iracundaque mens facile effervescit in ira;
 quo genere in primis vis est *violenta* leonum,
 pectora qui fremitu rumpunt plerumque gementes,
 nec capere irarum fluctus in pectore possunt.
 at *ventosa* magis cervorum *frigida* mens est
 et *gelidas* citius per viscera concitat auras,
 quae tremulum faciunt membris existere motum.
 at natura boum *placido* magis aere vivit
 nec nimis irai fax unquam subdita percit
fumida, suffundens caecae caliginis umbra,
 nec *gelidis* torpet telis perfixa pavoris,
 interutrasque sitast, cervos, saevosque leones."

Lucr., III, 294.

Perhaps this example illustrates this section of the thesis as well as any other connected passage would. By studying such a passage it is easy to see the fact that has been already quite frequently stated, viz. that the semantic content of an adjective termination depends chiefly on the stem upon which the adjective is formed, and the noun it limits.

The conclusion of this section seems as good a place as any to bring together some interesting Sanskrit parallels that have been observed. The word 'dharma,' 'law, virtue,' furnishes in its compounds fair parallels to 'religiosus': "*mahiṣī dharmacārīnī*," MBh., 3, 16637, "a virtuous queen"; '*cārin*' is verbal

from 'car,' 'to go.' Compare "illam feminam esse putatis quam religiosam." Cic., Verr., IV, 102. "yatrákr̥ṣṇan dharmadhṛto námānsi," "where the virtuous ones made obeisance," A. V., I, 25, 1. Here compare "ita (te) rogandum ut religiosum testem arbitratur." Cic., Vat., I. See also "dhanavanto yaśasvinah | . . . dharmiṣṭhā jīvanti ca śatañ samāḥ." M., 3, 40. "(sons who are) wealthy, glorious, law-abiding, and who live a hundred years." "Vidarbho rājā dharmātmā," "virtuous king of Vidarbha." MBh. 3, 691. In the latter examples —*stha* is a verbal from 'sthā,' 'to stand,' 'ātman' means 'soul, self.' Other examples are; "yo vanaspatīnām phalagrahiḥ," T. S., 5, 1, 1, 4, "whichever of the trees is fruitful." Compare "(ulmus) nulla potior serenda quod maxime fructuosa." Varro, R. R., I, 15. The verbal 'grahi' is from 'grah,' 'to seize'; 'phala' means 'fruit.' No exact parallel has been found in Latin for 'bahuparṇa' in the sentence "bahuparṇam tasmāi bahuśākhā viṣcet," "let one break off for him (a tree) having many leaves, many boughs," T. S., 6, 3, 3, 4. The word 'bahu' means 'much,' 'parṇa' 'a leaf,' 'śākhā,' 'a limb.' In "quaeque regis Golgos, quaeque Idalium frondosum," Cat., 64, 96, 'frondosum' does not make a parallel, because 'Idalium' does not mean a tree of any sort, but a mountain and city. In "nam et maiores et magis ramosas arbores caedebant." Livy, XXXIII, 5, 6, 'frondosae' furnishes an appropriate approximate parallel to 'bahuśākhā.' A much better parallel is 'ramosa' in "sed neque ramosa numerabis in ilice glandes." Ovid, Ar. Am., III, 149.

The variety of Sanskrit suffixes or independent words that give the semantic content given in Latin by —*oso*— is, as may be seen in the examples quoted, great. Of suffixes, strictly speaking, four have been found: —*ra*, —*vat*, —*in*, —*na*; of verbals, eight, —*dhṛt*, —*kar*, —*stha*, —*pa*, —*śrita*, —*grahi*, —*cārin*, —*vr̥tta*; of living independent words, nine: *gandhi*, *vāja*, *ātman*, *sakhi*, *bahu*, *kāma*, *maha*, *vega*, *varṇa*.

This chapter has so far been employed in discussing adjective terminations equivalent in semantic content to —*oso*, or —*lento*— with suggestive examples from the Sanskrit. The remainder of it will be devoted to a consideration of semantic equivalents for

—*oso*— and —*lento*— other than adjective terminations. Parallels are added, which, through not strict equivalents, are often very suggestive.

In nouns formed with the agent suffix —*tor*, there can seldom be exact equivalence with —*oso*—, but that fact is due to the nature of the stems on which the suffixes are formed. These stems usually require a different meaning in their respective suffixes. For instance, ‘*amator*’ and ‘*vinosus*,’ which are often found in close conjunction, differ chiefly in the fact that here the verb stem requires in its suffix some meaning which shall represent the doer or sufferer of the action expressed, in this case the former. But if for ‘*vinosus*’ be substituted ‘*bibosus*’ (non mammosa, non annosa, non bibosa, non procax, Dec. Lab., Sal.) the equivalence of —*oso*— with the —*tor* of ‘*amator*’ becomes exact.* “*invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator.*” Hor. Epist., I, I, 38. Here the difference in —*do*—, —*cundo*—, —*oso*—, and —*tor*, such as it is, must clearly lie in the stem. In each instance a certain permanent type is denoted. “*si de damnoseis aut si de amatoribus.*” Plaut., Pseud., 415. This is not so good a parallel, because ‘*damnum*’ is a quite different sort of thing from ‘*vinum*.’ “*utrum te perfidiosum an praevaricatorem existumari mavis.*” Cic., div. Caec., 58. Here the parallel is close.

Not only is it true that the noun suffix —*tor* may thus function as an equivalent to —*oso*—; the participial terminations —*ant* and —*ent* often function in the same way. “*utimur exemplis somniantium, furiosorum, ebriosorum.*” Cic., A., II, 53. In this example —*ant* corresponds as closely to the different instances of —*oso*— as they do to each other.

“*dormientium et vinulentorum . . . visa imbecilliora esse dicebas et furiosorum quam vigilantium.*” Cic., A., II, 88. “*quamvis sis, ut es, vinulentus et furens.*” id., Phil., II, 68. “*nihil eminens, nihil lacunosum.*” id., N., II, 47. “*ut (id)*

* If the time for the formation of the compounds could be pushed back before the clear differentiation of nouns and verbs, the parallel with ‘*vinosus*’ would be complete; and as it stands the meaning ‘*addicted to*’ is expressed in both terminations. See Whitney’s review of Delbrück’s Vedic Syntax. A. J. P., 1892, p. 274.

haberet . . . nihil eminens nihil lacunosum." id., Ti., 17. "semper audax, petulans, libidinosus." id., Sulla, 71. "cupido autem et expetenti et libidinoso et volutabundo in voluptatibus." id., R., II, 68. "superbiam, verborum praesertim, iracundi oderunt, prudentes irident." Livy, XLV, 23. "bonum et innocentem principem pro pessimis et flagitiosissimis expetitur." Tac., II, 37, 10. "(fluvius) spumosis volvitur undis." Ov., Met., I, 570. In the following example 'spumans' is exactly equivalent to 'spumosus.' "quod mare conceptum spumantibus expuit undis." Catul., 64, 155. "recentem | caede locum et plenos spumanti sanguine rivos." Verg., Aen., IX, 456.

The characteristics of *-oso-* and *-lento-* which made it possible to parallel them by case suffixes were: (1) variability of semantic content; (2) variety of terminations with identical semantic content with which they may be paralleled.

It is well known that the genitive case performs the functions of an adjective.* It is true, too, that a descriptive ablative, so-called, may perform a similar function. Also an ablative or dative may equal a prepositional phrase. This variety of expression of one semantic content is quite familiar to anyone who has read any Latin. Therefore, to perfect the parallel, there should be instances in which *-oso-* is equivalent to other things besides terminations, either colorless or colored by verbal connection. This is precisely what occurs; and in the following pages examples have been chosen to illustrate this fact. *-Oso-*, *-lento-*, or *-to-* may closely parallel:

1. A perfect participle. "neque jejuniosorem nec magis ecfertum fame | vidi." Plaut., Capt., 466. 'Ieiuniosus' is paralleled with 'ecfertus fame.' i. e., *-oso-* with 'ecfertus.' "quinam inlustriores sunt in urbe, non solum apud negotiosos et rebus intentos, sed etiam apud vacuos et adulescentis." Tac., D., 7, 13. Here *-oso-* is equivalent to 'intentus.' "respersusque ipse cruore tota in se castra convertit." Livy,

* See Wackernagel, "Genitiv und Adjektiv," in "Mélanges de Linguistique offerts à M. Ferdinand de Saussure," Paris, 1908, p. 125 ff., and "Das Verhältniss des Genitivs zum Adjektiv im Griechischen," a dissertation by Paul Neumann, Münster, 1910.

III, L, 3. "cruentam cervicem eius amplexa servabat sanguinem et vestes respersas." Tac., Ann., XVI, 10. "non patitur hominem calamitosum, uno malo afflictum, uno in luctu perire." Cic., Sulla, 91. In this example —*oso*— is parallel to 'afflictus.' "mentiri noctem, promissis ducere amantem, | hoc erat infectas sanguine habere manus." Prop., II, 17, 2. Here —*oso*— is equivalent to 'infectus.'

2. A present participle. "otioso . . . et nihil agenti privato." Cic., Phil., XI, 20. This is a very close parallel. "videtis ut senectus sit operosa et semper agens aliquid et moliens," id., Cato, 26. Here the equivalence is by no means so nearly exact. The reason is that 'aliquid' is colorless, and the idea of labor is in 'agens et moliens,' while with 'operosus' the idea of labor is in the stem. In the same way, in "industrios homines studiosos vel potius amantes doloris appellant, nos commodius laboriosos," Cic., T., II, 35, an equation between 'amantes doloris' and 'studiosus' is impossible, because the idea of desire in 'amans' is in the stem of 'studiosus'; but the —*oso*— of 'laboriosus' in this context is practically equivalent to the 'amans' of 'amantes doloris,' because 'dolor' and 'labor' are alike in having no element of desire.

3. The genitive case. "quae seditiosa et corrumpendae disciplinae mox in praedam vertebat." Tac., Hist., III, 49, 10. quae postquam gloriosa modo neque belli patrandi cognovit." Sal., Jug., 88. It is as if there were an adjective 'bellipatranda.' In this connection it may be noted that —*oso*— is sometimes equivalent to a connective, as in "Arminium potius gloriae ac libertatis quam Segestum flagitiosae servitutis ducem sequeretur." Tac., I, 59, 21.

4. The ablative case. "maculentis malis, rufulus, aliquantum ventriosus." Plaut., Asin., 400. "valgus, ventriosus, genibus magnis, talis, turgidis." Novius, Mil. Pom., I. "rufus quidem, ventriosus, crassis suris, subniger." Plaut., Pseud., 1218. Here might be noted also instances in which —*oso*— parallels, or is exactly opposite in meaning to, some preposition with the ablative case. "vel vitiosum, vel sine vitio, vel probum, vel improbum." Plaut., Curc., 469. In this example —*oso*— is

opposed squarely to 'sine' with the ablative; in the following, —*oso*— is flatly contrasted with '*de*.' "cur neque deformem adulescentem quisquam amat, neque formosum senem." Cic., T., IV, 70. "finis vitae eius nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis. extraneis non sine cura fuit." Tac., Ag., XLIII, 1. Here —*oso*— equals 'non sine.' "quasi corneolos habent introitus, multis cum flexibus." Cic., N. D., II, 144." flexuosum iter habet aditus, ne quid intrare possit." id. In the preceding two examples it is clear that —*oso*— of 'flexuosus' is equivalent to the ablative case in 'multis cum flexibus.' "incruentam et sine luctu victoriam." Tac., Hist., III, 8, 16. Here 'in' parallels 'sine.'

5. An adjective. "Vitellius, . . . medio diei temulentus et sagina gravis." "heavy with food and wine." Tac. Hist., I, 62, 8. "quis non timeat curiosum, et plenum negotii deum." Cic., N., I, 54. Here —*oso*— equals 'plenus,' but 'plenus' is not used literally. "mare saevum, importuosum, ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infecundus, caelo terraque penuria aquarum." Sal., Jug., 17. One might represent 'frugum fertilis' by 'fructuosus,' but 'fertilis portuum' is an expression too violent to be pressed. "accipe, aerumnosam et miseriarum compotem | mulierem." Plaut., Epid., 559. In this example —*oso*— is equivalent to 'compos.' "Meander . . . ita sinuosus flexibus ut saepe credatur reverti" Plin., N. H., V, 29, 31. "(Taurus mons) flexuosus." id., 27, 27. —*Oso*— of the second example is equal to 'sinuosus' of the first. The only reason for any difference between 'flexuosus' and 'flexibus sinuosus' is that 'flexuosus' is applied to 'mons,' and 'flexibus sinuosus' to 'Meander.' There is no *a priori* reason why 'flexuosus' should not be applied to 'Meander,' but it is not; nor has it been found attached to the name of any other river. "The expression 'sinuosus flexibus' seems as natural a term to apply to 'mons' as 'flexuosus,' but it has not been found with that noun.

6. A noun. "nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt | quae scribuntur aquae potoribus." Hor., Epist., I, 19, 2-3. "laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus." id., 6. 'Potor' of line 3 is the exact equivalent of —*oso*— in line 6.

7. A verb. Perhaps the strangest parallel for —*oso*— is found in Pliny, XXI, 10, 34. Speaking of slips of plants for

transplanting purposes he says: "alsiosa enim admodum sunt, ut sole tamen nimis laedantur." Here 'alsiosa sunt' is balanced with 'sole laedantur.' An equation might be worked out thus: stem of 'alsiosus' equals 'sol.'

'Sunt' equals the inflectional termination of 'laedantur.' —*oso*— equals laedere.

It may be of some use in illustrating the fact that a termination varies greatly in semantic content, according to stem, to add a few examples in which the variation and contrast are clearly shown. "locis . . . montuosis et silvestribus (delectamur)." Cic., Lael., 68. In this instance there is no difference in the semantic content of —*estro*— and —*oso*—. But in "(apes) silvestres minores sunt magnitudine et pilosae, sed opifices magis." Varro, R. R., III, 16, 19, the same terminations, though the adjectives limit one and the same noun, differ widely in semantic content, simply on account of the difference in stem. —*Estro*— must mean 'living in'; —*oso*—, 'having, covered with.' "non mammosa non annosa, non bibosa, non procax." Dec. Lab. Sal. In 'mammosa' —*oso*— means 'having,' in 'annosa' perhaps 'having lived,' in 'bibosa,' 'addicted to.' "vivendi artem tantam tamque operosam et perinde fructuosam." Cic, F., I, 72. Here the —*oso*— of 'operosus' means 'requiring,' of 'fructuosus,' 'yielding.' See also "sunt maxime luminosae et quasi actuosae partes duae." id., Orat., 125.

The primary object of this paper, to show the semantic variability and equivalents of an adjective suffix (and hence by implication its similarity to a case-suffix) is clear, and, with the material under investigation, not difficult to develop and understand. It has been shown that the termination means whatever the stem to which it is attached and the noun which the adjective limits may require it to mean. If this is so, it would seem that whatever termination is caught between stem and noun limited must be forced into the required meaning. This has been found to be true. The equivalence of —*oso*—, —*lento*—, and —*to*—, of course excites no comment; but —*li*—, —*bili*—, —*eo*—, —*eno*—, —*fer*—, —*ger*—, the prefix *in*—, any element, wherever it comes from, seems to satisfy the demand equally well.

CHAPTER III.

§II.

I. SEMANTIC RECIPROCITY.

Such suffixes as have been considered thus far in connection with *-oso-* were introduced because each suffix in suitable context was the semantic equivalent of *-oso-* in a similar context. It is natural to expect that other terminations will interchange with each other in suitable contexts as they do with *-oso-*. This is the fact; and the following collection of examples taken at random illustrates such equivalences in semantic value.

The equivalence of *-io-*, *-eno-*, *-estro-*, *-titi-*, is illustrated by the following passages from Cicero: (a) "bestiarum terrenae sunt aliae, partim aquatiles, aliae quasi ancipites in utraque sede viventes." Cic., N. D., I, 103. (b) "vescimur bestiis et terrenis et aquatilibus et volantibus." id., II, 151. (c) "animantum genera quattuor, . . . unum . . . caeleste, alterum . . . aerium, tertium aquatile,* terrestre quartum." id., Tim., 10. In these examples the various examples are each and all used with the sense of 'living in' or 'living on.' The only reason why the participial termination in 'volantibus' does not mean the same thing is, that its stem is a verb with a semantic content that does not permit that meaning in the termination.

Various other interesting parallels have been found for the suffix *-eno-* or *-ino-*. It may equal *-icio-*: "greges . . . armenticios ac caprinos. Varro, R. R., II, 10, 3. "si figit adamantinos | summis verticibus dira necessitas | clavos." Hor., Carm., III, 24, 5. "atque adamanteis discordia vincta catenis." Manil., I, 921. It may equal *-illo-*. "quod ver attulerit ex suillo, oவில், caprino, boவில், grege." Livy, XXII, 10. "Cassius secundum columbinum (i. e. stercus) scribit esse

* 'Aquatile' here is a conjecture of Lambinus, but the use of the same word in (a) and (b) makes its presence or absence here in (c) immaterial to the argument.

hominis, tertio caprinum et ovillum et asinum, minime bonum equinum, sed in segetes." Varro, R. R., I, 38. "stomacho accomodatissimum caprinum (i. e. lac), quoniam fronde magis quam herba vescuntur, bubulum medicatius, ovillum dulcius et magis alit, stomacho minus utile, quod est pinguius." Plin., N. H., XXVIII, 9, 33. In the last example —*bulo*— is used as equivalent to —*eno*—, as also in the following: "venio ad macellum, rogito pisces: indicant | caros: agninam caram, caram bubulam, | vitulinam, cetum, porcinam, cara omnia: | atque eo fuerunt cariora, aes non erat." Plaut., Aul., 372–6. Compare also "ius e carne vaccina." Plin., N. H., XXVIII, 12, 50, and "ad hominis morsus carnem bubulam coctam." id., 43. The following example is interesting, because it shows the terminations —*eno*—, and —*esti*—, which were semantically equivalent in the examples from Cicero above, in a context where they may or may not be equivalents according to the interpretation of 'terrenum': "cur, eodem volente deo qui fecit hoc animal, non poterit terrenum corpus in caeleste corpus attoli, si animus omni, ac per hoc caelesti corpore praestabilior, terreno corpori potuit inligari?" Aug., De Civ. Dei, XXII, 4. If 'terrenum corpus' means 'vile tenement of clay,' —*eno*— will not here parallel —*esti*—, which cannot mean 'made of' in this context, because 'caelum' is not something from which anything can be made; if, on the other hand, it means a 'body which dwells on earth,' —*eno*— will parallel —*esti*—, as 'corpus caeleste' must mean 'a body which dwells in heaven,' or something equivalent.

—*Ico*— is sometimes paralleled by —*eo*—, —*ri*—, —*io*—; —*icio*— by —*ensi*—. "viderat Iasium Cretaea diva sub Ida, | fingentem certa terga ferina manu." Ovid, Amor., III, 10, 25. "misis amicus tristitiam et metus | tradam protervis in mare Creticum | portare ventis." Hor., Carm., I, 26, 2.

"unde mora in Atellanico exodio." Suet., Tib., 45. "miscibat Atellanios versus." Petr., 68. "totum omnino fatum Atellanio versu jure mihi esse inrisum videtur." Cic., Div., II, 10. "Mummius quoque qui post Novium et Pomponium diu iacentem artem Atellaniam suscitavit." Macr., Sat., I, 10, 3. "ab aliis Iberi-

cum aut Balearicum." Plin., Nat. Hist., 3, 74. Pliny is here speaking of seas, and the noun to be supplied is '*mare*.' Compare "Baliares (insulae)," id., 76, and passim. "Atilius Ligusticum sinum, Pomponius Gallicum obsedit, Torquatus Balearicum Tiberius Nero Gaditanum fretum." Florus, I, 41, 9. "non secus exarsit quam cum Balearica plumbum | funda jacit." Ov., Met., 2, 727. "Balearis verbera fundae." Verg., Georg., I, 309. "hunc ego hominem . . . nisi ex domesticis insidiis in castrense latrocinium compulsissem." Cic., Cat., III, 17.

In the following examples —*tili*— equals —*tico*—: "mollis est oratio philosophorum et umbratilis, nec sententiis nec verbis instructa popularibus." Cic., Or., 64. "nisi forte . . . scholasticas tibi, atque, ut ita dicam, umbraticas litteras mittere." Plin., Epist., 9, 2. The suffix —*li*— is used as an equivalent to —*bro*— and —*eo*— in such contexts that the two latter are also mutually equivalent: "sed iam non voce virili | Hermaphroditus ait." Ov., Met., 4, 382. "quae dum feminea modulatur carmina voce." id., 14, 341. "sin is virilem sexum non reliquisset." Nepos, Ag., 1. "is (magnes) qui *in* Troade invenitur, niger est et feminei sexus, ideoque sine viribus." Plin., N. H., 36, 16, 25. "sunt enim certa vitia, quae nemo est quin effugere cupiat, mollis vox aut muliebris aut quasi extra modum absona atque absurda." Cic., De Or., III, 11, 41. "sumpsisti virilem, quam statim muliebrem togam reddisti." Cic., Phil., II, 44. —*Li*— equals —*ano*— in: "dein quantum expressere adiciunt vinaceis aquae puteanae." Plin., N. H., 14, 9, 11. "multi praecipites lymphis putealibus alte | inciderunt ipso venientes ore patente." Lucr., VI, 1174. In some instances it seems immaterial whether the adjective is used with or without a special suffix. Either 'invidus' or 'invidiosus' may be used in some contexts without difference in semantic content. "tempus edax rerum, tuque invidiosa vetustas." Ov., Met., 15, 234. "o fortuna viris invida fortibus." Sen., Her. Fur., 524. "num sibi collatam doluit Venus? illa peraeque | prae se formosis invidiosa dea est." Prop., II, 28, 10; "dum loquimur fugerit invida aetas." Hor., Carm., I, 11, 7.

'Pluvius,' 'pluvialis,' 'pluviatilis,' and 'pluviosus' furnish

interesting material. "et si naturalis defuit aqua, vel inducitur fluens, vel infossi lacus Signino consternuntur, qui receptam pluviatilem contineant." Col., IX, 1. "aqua levissima pluviialis est." Cels., II, 18. "sed ea spuma ex aqua pluviatili coquitur." id., VI, 6, 16. "si aqua pluvia nocet." Twelve Tables, VII, 8. "tu (caves) ut aquae pluviae arceantur." Cic., Mur., 22. "ita nubilo occasu pluviosam hiemem denuntiat." Plin., N. H., 18, 25, 60. "quaedam pluviis diebus." Col., II, 15. "arcturum, pluviasque Hyadas, geminosque triones." Verg., A., 3, 516. "quantus ab occasu veniens pluviatilibus haedis." id., 9, 668.

Although this dissertation has been confined almost entirely to the treatment of adjectives formed on noun stems, it may not be out of place to bring in the word 'admirabilis,' which is quite frequently used in such a way as to parallel exactly the gerundive 'admirandus.' "(philosophus) in edito stat, admirabilis, celsus, magnitudinis verae." Sen., Epist., III, 3. "egregium . . . hominem et admirandum." Cic., De Or., I, 76. "qui admiranda virtute ex suis navibus in hostium naves transilire non dubitabant." Caes., Bell. Al., 46, 4. "admirabili incredibilique virtute libertatem populi Romani defenderit." Cic., Phil., 14, 36.

The collection of examples to illustrate semantic reciprocity may be concluded with three passages which show the equivalence of —*urno*—, —*bundo*—, and —*vago*—. "cum complicarem hanc epistolam, noctuabundus ad me venit cum epistula tua tabelarius." Cic., ad Att., 12, 1, 2. "nocturnum furem quoquo modo, diurnum si se telo defenderet, interfici impune." id. Mil., 9. "et adiunctis arcet sua nubila castris | noctivagi vis blanda dei." Stat., Theb., X, 158. The god here is not wandering by night any more than the letter-carrier or the thief; the only possible difference in these terminations used here is that it is a permanent characteristic of the god (Somnus) to wander; not so of the thief or the letter-carrier. There is nothing in the original force of the verb 'vagari' to denote permanence, and if the adjective in the example has such force it gains it from the noun limited.

§ 12.

Roughly speaking, it might be said that all the terminations dealt with above are semantic equivalents of —*oso*—. But such a statement would be vague and liable to misinterpretation. It is true that —*bili*— in ‘bellum exitiabile’ has the same semantic content as —*oso*— in ‘bellum exitiosum,’ and that this content is not different from that of —*li*— in ‘scelus exitiale.’ But in ‘hiems pluviosa,’ ‘aqua pluviatilis,’ and ‘Auster pluvialis,’ the terminations —*li*—, —*oso*—, and —*tili*—, formed on the same stem, are used with quite different semantic content. This fact is due in this instance to the difference in the nouns limited. So —*oso*— in ‘mons silvosus’ is the semantic equivalent of —*estro*— in ‘mons silvester,’ and —*oso*— in ‘collis saxosus’ is the semantic equivalent of —*eno*— in ‘collis terrenus’; but it is not on that account justifiable to make any deduction as to the relation of —*eno*— and —*estro*—, because —*oso*— has a different semantic content in the two contexts quoted. The semantic area of any termination is made up of the sum of the various different semantic contents; and equivalence between terminations can be asserted only in as far as semantic contents in suitable contexts are concerned. There will be portions of the area of each termination that coincide with portions of the area of other terminations. To decide how far terminations thus coincide it is necessary to observe the various equivalences in content. The problem of the extent to which each termination occupies territory which is occupied also by other terminations and of the amount of territory which is peculiar to each termination I hope to take up in the near future.

§ 13.

2. THE EMOTIONAL QUALITY OF —*oso*—.

It is significant that if all the words in —*oso*— are examined, very many of them have a meaning necessarily unpleasant. There are also some that may be pleasant or unpleasant, some that may be pleasant, unpleasant, or neutral, and at least one that is always complimentary. It seems sufficient for present

purposes to point out some instances which illustrate the various classes mentioned, and also the shift in emotional quality due to change of context.* To begin with those that are always unpleasant: in most instances the unpleasantness resides in the stem. Characteristic words of this class are: *aerumnosus*, *calamitosus*, *contumeliosus*, *criminosus*, *damnosus*, *exitiosus*, *flagitiosus*, *iniuriosus*, *invidiosus*, *libidinosus*, *luctuosus*, *odiosus*, *perniciosus*, *perfidiosus*, *scelerosus*, *sediciosus*, and of course disease words, as *podagrosus*.

Words which may be pleasant or unpleasant are such as: *ambitiosus*, *gloriosus*, *gratiosus*, and generally any adjectives whose noun stems may be used in two senses distinctly different in emotional element. In these examples there is not much to be learned from observation of the change in emotional ingredient of *-oso-* due to context. The difficulty is, that in each instance the noun itself may bear all the shift of meaning. For example n "*simula Silena ac saturast, labeosa philema.*" *Lucr.*, IV,, 1169, '*labeosa*' obviously means 'thick-lipped.' Here, however it would be wrong to attribute the meaning 'thick' to *-oso-*. The word '*labeum*' is used *pregnantly*, as is the word 'feet' if one should say "that man has feet" when looking at a person whose pedal extremities were enlarged. So '*gloria*' is a different word in '*miles gloriosus*' and '*victoria gloriosa.*' It may be worth while, however, to examine the shift in the emotional element of '*gloriosus.*' This word may have its emotional element defined: (1) by its noun: "*gloriosissimas victorias,*" (splendid), *Suet. Tib.* 52. "*milites gloriosi*" (boastful). *Cic.*, *Lael.*, 98. (2) By other adjectives limiting the noun or pronoun qualified: "*qui (convenire vult) mendacem et gloriosum*" (boastful, emotional element from *mendax*). *Plaut.*, *Curc.*, 471. "*quod nobis quidem egregium et ad immortalitatem memoriae gloriosum*" (glorious). *Cic.*, *L.*, III, 21. (3) By contrast: "*nisi forte*

* See in general Jaberg, 'Pejorative Bedeutungsentwicklung im Französischen,' *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 25, 1901. Seck, in his discussion of the suffix *-astro-* *A. L. L.*, I, seems to take the 'deteriorative Grundbedeutung' of the suffix for granted. See page 391, "Die deteriorative Grundbedeutung tritt deutlichst hervor in denjenigen Bildungen, welche zur Bezeichnung einer *Stiefverwandschaft* auf Inschriften begnegen." On emotional quality in *-oso-* see also *Aulus Gellius*, IV, 9, 12.

quod gloriosum sit in vulgo, id honestum velimus dicere." Cic., A., II, 140. "earum oppressionem taetram et detestabilem gloriosam putat." id., O., III, 83. (4) By a verb: "mihi crede, homini non glorioso," id., Ep., XI, 14, 1. In the example last quoted it is easy to see that 'non glorioso' means 'not boastful.' The only words in the sentence which determine this fact are 'mihi' and 'crede.' 'Mihi' cannot be definitive, and the determining factor is 'crede.'

Of adjectives of the third class which may be pleasant, unpleasant, or neutral, any adjective having as its stem a concrete noun without strong emotional element is a good example. 'Aquosus' will show the following variations: "redeo ad sementim; ubi quisque locus frigidissimus aquosissimusque erit, ibi primum serito." Cato, A. C., XXXIV, 2. Here 'aquosus' is neutral. "quem ceperant exules montem herbidus aquosusque." Livy, XXIX, 31, 9. Here 'aquosus' denotes a desirable quality of the mountain, and the emotional element is pleasant. "crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops, | nec sitim pellit nisi causa morbi | fugerit venis, et aquosus albo | corpore languor." Hor., Carm., II, 2, 15. There is no question as to the unpleasantness of 'aquosus' in this example: it means 'dropsical.' How does it get that unpleasantness? The first obvious suggestion is from its noun, but here the difficulty arises that 'languor' follows a few words later, and that nobody is in the slightest doubt as to the emotional element of 'aquosus' when it is reached. The unpleasantness is in the whole situation. But there is one phrase that definitely pitches the key to the passage. 'dirus hydrops' first clearly defines it, though 'indulgens sibi' is suspicious; 'dirus' is unmistakable in quality, and 'hydrops' looks forward to 'aquosus.'

'Pecuniosus' is about colorless in emotional quality. It is frequent in the Verrine orations. "omnibus pecuniosissimis Siculis metum propositum." Cic., Verr., V, 24. Here colorless. "Attalus, homo pecuniosus"—"the wealthy gentleman, Attalus." id. IV, 51. Here complimentary. "hominem pecuniosum . . . electum ad tam credibile crimen." id., V, 24. "hominem pecuniosum" is defined by the following prepositional phrase, and

means "a wealthy rascal." "homo nocentissimus pecuniosissimusque." *id.*, Pr., I, 47. Here 'pecuniosus' is defined by the preceding adjective, and the phrase means "a malefactor of great wealth."

It is in words of this latter class that the shift in the emotional quality of *-oso-* may best be studied. In words of the type of 'gloriosus,' as was pointed out, the entire semantic content of the word may shift; or at least it cannot be shown that it does not shift. The 'gloriosus' of 'milites gloriosi' is a quite different thing from the 'gloriosus' of 'victoria gloriosa.' In 'aqua,' or even 'pecunia' there is always in the last analysis the concrete fact: the water, or the piece of money.

The only word that has been found of an invariably pleasant emotional quality is 'generosus,' and it must evidently be formed from the stem *genes-* in a specialized use.* Corresponding to 'generosus' there are adjectives of an unpleasant signification formed from neutral stems; and further when two meanings are possible in a noun, *-oso-* is much more apt to be formed upon the stem in its unpleasant meaning. For instance, 'pannus' may mean 'cloth' or 'rags'; 'pannosus' in the examples collected, is formed on the stem in its latter meaning: "pannosus vacuis aedilis Ulubris," *Juv.* X, 102, "pauci pannosi, linea lanterna." *Cic.*, A., IV, 3, 5.†

* E. g. 'genus' in the sense of 'good birth,' as in Horace, *Serm.* II, 5, 8: "et genus et virtus nisi cum re vilior alga est," and *passim*.

† In "Untersuchungen zur Kasusyntax der indogermanischen Sprachen," Strassburg, 1911, Havers shows that where genitive or dative may be used, the dative is used with more emotion than the genitive. The only point of interest for this discussion in Havers' work is, that if his contention is sound the emotional quality of a case-suffix would be a further parallel between it and an adjective termination.

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