XVIII.—ON LATIN CONSONANT-LAWS. By E. R. WHARTON, M.A.

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(1) COMPARATIVE Etymology is so complex a science that not even a work of genius like Brugmann's 'Grundriss' can exhaust all the problems that arise. We may here confine ourselves to points in the Latin consonant-system in which Brugmann's remarks may be supplemented by fresh ideas, or in which he has too hastily adopted the views of other philologists, or in which—and this is the one defect of his system—he has paid too little attention to the influence of dialect. Latin, like every other language, at least every written language, is a congeries of dialects, each with phonetic laws of its own: no one of the classical Roman writers except Caesar was by birth a Roman, and each doubtless imported traces of his own native idiom, Livy his 'Patavinity,' Catullus his (apparently Gaulish) *bāsium gingiva saliva*.—The references are to the sections of vol. i. of the 'Grundriss.' The references to the Romance languages are from Gröber's articles in Wölfflin's 'Archiv.' 'B.B.' denotes Bezzenberger's 'Beiträge.' The letters are taken in the following order: Semivowels (j, v), Liquids (m, n, l, r), Mutes (labials, dentals, palatal and velar gutturals), and the Sibilant (s). Letters of the 'Ursprache' are given in capitals.

(2) Initial J drops before i, *dējiciō* and other compounds of *jaciō* are properly spelt *dēiciō*, etc. So, I would suggest,

iciō 'strike' stands for **jiciō* from **jeciō* or (with 'pretonic' a, 'Latin Vocalism,'¹ sec. 5) *jaciō* 'throw' (for the meaning cf.

¹ I may be permitted to append a note on some points in that essay. Sec. 2, for *similis* read *simples*: sec. 3 fin., on *calix* see 'Loanwords in Latin' 10. Sec. 6, *aboleō* etc. from *alō* are 'survivals' of the older spelling, in which the unaccented vowel became o (*oppodum Hecoba marmor*), later ū.—The change from u to o was apparently rustic, Cato has *jogālis* beside *jugum*. Sec. 7 fin., add *sevērus*, from SFGV-, see sec. 8 of this essay. Sec. 8, *enc* appears in *juvencus*: the a in *nanciscor* is pretonic. *Congius* shows that o may remain before ng, and that *longus* is pure Latin. Sec. 10, *foetus* is post-classical for *fētus*, root DHĒ-, cf. *fēlō* 'suck': the oe in *foedus* 'dirty' and *soera*, ū in *fūscus sūra*, may be from oi. Sec. 13, to the instances of i from ē add *occīdo* (Plautus) beside *occēdō* 'go

βάλλω, which means both 'throw' and 'strike'): Lucretius' *icit* and *icimur* borrow their long vowel from *icist* (a disyllable in 3. 877) for *ēicist*:

igitur 'therefore' means properly 'it is added,' and stands for *jigitur from *jugitur, an 'Aoristic' form of *jungitur* (as *tagō* of *tangō*):

bigae 'pair of horses' for *bi-igae comes from a form *igum (cf. Old Slavonic *igo*) for *jigum from *jugum* 'yoke'; while *bi-jugus* comes straight from *jugum*:

Iiverna 'Ireland' in Mela beside *Jūvorna* in Juvenal points to an intermediate form *Jiverna.

So New Umbrian *ioengar* 'juvencae' is for *jivengar from *juvengar.

(3) Original J¹ between vowels drops out (134); but in three cases it remains, lengthening (see Seelmann 'Aussprache' p. 104) the vowel before it:

(a) in onomatopoeic words, *ēja* (so it should be written, not *ēia*: a diphthong *ei-* is unknown to classical Latin) and its derivative *ējulō* 'I wail':

(β) in Reduplication: I would derive

jējentō 'I breakfast' (for *ji-jentō, the second j changing the i to e) from *jantō* (another form of the word, see Nettleship's 'Contributions to Latin Lexicography': the third form, *jentō*, is a blending of the two preceding forms, it owes its e to the reduplicated form), which is, I would suggest, from *jam* in the sense of 'at once,' breakfast being a meal taken immediately on rising:

jējūnus 'fasting' (for *ji-jū-nus) beside Sanskrit *yu-* 'to bind,' cf. our 'fast' in the sense of abstinence beside 'fast' in the sense of fixt, strict (see Skeat):

to meet,' and *sin-ciput* from *sēmi-*. The ū from ō was really (cf. sec. 2 fn.) ū, representable by ī, *siēpes* from *sōēpes* and (I would suggest) *renīdēō* 'show the teeth' from *nūdus* i.e. *nōdus, *nō(g)vidus, Lithuanian *nūgas*. *Jocundus* (Catullus) comes from *jedō*, the older form (preserved in Faliscan) of *jueō*. Sec. 14, *plēnus* goes with *plēō* 'I fill' (*Festus* quotes *plen(ur)*).

¹ As distinguished from j before which a g has dropped, *mājor* *ājō*. So *bōja* (as it should be written, not *boia*) 'collar of wood, iron, or leather' (*Facciolati*) may = *bog-ja, though the derivation is quite unknown: the sense, as well as the form, is against any connexion with *βόειος*, quasi 'of cowhide.'—I may observe that e before j becomes g and drops: *pējor* = *pegjor or *pec-jor from *peced*, *pūljum* 'flea-bane' = *pūlegjum (cf. the late form *pūlegium*) or *pūlec-jum from *pūlex* 'flea,' and, I would add, *bājulus* 'porter' = *bagjulus or *bac-ju-lus beside *baculum* 'staff' ('supporter') and Hesychius' *βάρης* 'strong.'

(γ) in terminations, e.g. *plēbējus* (so it must be spelt, not *plēbeius*), *ējus* (whatever the origin of the termination here).

(4) Medial DJ in Latin became di, e.g. *acupediū* (135): prima facie we should expect initial DJ to be treated in the same way, and there is really no proof that it ever became J. Brugmann's only instance is *Jovis* beside *Zeús* (for **Διεύς*); but (1) in no other case does the Latin name of a deity correspond with the Greek name, *Jūnō* cannot go with **Ἥρη* nor *Neptūnus* with *Ποσειδών*, and (2) the spellings *Diovis* for *Jovis* (Gellius 5. 12. 8 derives both 'a juvando'), *Diuturna* for *Jūturna* (Stolz, 'Lateinische Grammatik' 66'), only prove that in some sub-dialect initial j was pronounced like English d in *dew*, as in a late inscription (Seelmann p. 239) we have *codingi* for *co(n)jugi*.—How DJ could become j in *Jovis* (135) but di in *diēs* (188), Brugmann does not explain; not to add that inscriptions and the Romance languages prove the i in *diēs* to have been properly long (which does away with the connexion with Sanskrit *dyāus* 'sky, day').

(5) The existence of a 'spirant' J (our authorities do not tell us how they would have us pronounce it), distinct from the original semivowel J, is neither proved nor probable. Greek in some six words¹ represents original initial J by ζ, *ζεῖα ζέω ζημία ζυγόν ζύμη ζώνη* go with Sanskrit *yavas yas- yam- yugam yūshas* and Zend *yāh-* respectively; but in these words I would rather suggest the presence of some alien language, the ζ need no more be original than Lat. dj for j in *Diovis* (above). A peculiarity confined to one out of the eight branches of the Aryan family—and in all the other branches this 'spirant' J is treated in just the same way as the ordinary semivowel J—may fairly be assigned to foreign influence.

(6) Latin V, whether original or from Gv, after ū remains in

¹ Stolz adds *Dianus* (in an inscription) for *Jānus*; but in *Diānus* the i must have been long, as it was in *Diāna*.

² To these I would add the terminational -ζε 'at' (in *ἐπαζε χαμάζε* 'on the ground,' *θύπαζε* 'to the door,' *Ἀθήναζε* 'to Athens') or -ζην (in Thucydides' *βύζην* 'closely') beside Latin *jam* 'now, at this time.' The common view is that *θύπαζε* stands for **θύπαs-δε*, and that *ἐπαζε χαμάζε* follow its analogy: but (1) no instance of ζ from *sd* is worth much, *δζος* (593) may go with Lithuanian *ūgis* (B.B. 4. 369), *ζζω* for **ζζω* is no more strange than *ἴσως* beside *equus* (in which Brugmann, 387, sees nothing surprising), *Διδότορος* is only a Boeotian form for *Διδόδορος* (Gustav Meyer 'Griechische Grammatik' 2 283), and (2) 'analogy' hardly enables us to conceive a *Plural* from *ἐπα*, a form **ἐπαs-δε* becoming *ἐπαζε* (or **χαμάs-δε* becoming *χαμάζε*).

classical Latin only if *j* precede, *juvenis juvō*, or if *i* from original *J* follow, *exuviae fluvius* (cf. Vergil's *fluvjorum*) *pluvius puvio* ('strike,' Festus); otherwise it drops, *exuō fluō pluī*, *duo* beside Umbrian *tuva*, *dēnuō* for *de novo* (modern Latin, not classical), *viduus* from **viduvus* for **videvos* (cf. *ἡθεος*, i.e. **ἡ-FideFos*). So *sovos* beside *ē(F)ōs* became **suvus* and then *suus*, **tovos* beside *te(F)ōs* became **tuvus* and then *tuus*, *pover* (Corssen 'Aussprache' 1. p. 362) became **puver* and then *puer*.

(7) The assimilation of *V* to a preceding *L* (170) must have been Oscan: *sollus* 'whole' (Oscan according to Festus) must = **solvus* and go with *οὔλος* (i.e. **ὄλFos*). So *mella* for **melva* from **medva* seems to go with *μέθυ* 'wine' and Lithuanian *medus* 'honey' (Stokes, Neoceltic Verb Substantive, p. 7); *mollis* is for **molvis*, see sec. 21; *palleō* for **palveō* goes with Anglosaxon *fealu* 'yellow' and English *fallow*. So, I would suggest, the late form *milliō* 'a kind of hawk' beside *mīlous* 'kite' must stand for **mīlvio*: for the terminations cf. *pūmiliō* beside *pūmilus*.

(8) The fortunes of *V* after *D* or *S* (170, cf. Fröhde in B.B. 14. 108–113) are very complex, and show the influence of several different dialects.

(a) *dv-* might either remain or become *du-* or *d-* or *b-*. Thus:

dvellum (Plautus) becomes in Ennius and Horace *duellum* (in Cicero and Livy we may of course read the word either way), in ordinary Latin *bellum*:

**dvis* (corresponding to *δῖς*) becomes in Festus *duis* (his words, 'et pro *δῖς* ponebatur et pro *dederis*,' show that he took it as a disyllable), in ordinary Latin *bis*: the older form was *dis*, which remains in compounds to denote 'division,' and with it go (I would suggest) *dē* 'from' (denoting 'separation') and *dīrus* 'evil' ('different' from what should be), while *dēs* (Varro L.L. 5. 172) and *dīmus* (Stolz 66) were the older forms of *bēs* and *bīmus*:

dvonus (so apparently in early inscriptions; there is no proof that it was ever a trisyllable) became in ordinary Latin *bonus*. The derivation of both this and *dvellum* is wholly unknown, no etymology yet given is worth reviving.

Similarly medial *dv* became *du* (cf. *duellum duis* above) in *arduus* beside Sanskrit *ardhvas* (Brugmann should not, 306, have added *ὀρθός*, as this stands for **Fopθός*, Gustav Meyer 9): *svāvis* (cf.

ἡδύς) must be dialectic for *svābis, as *svādvīs would become in ordinary Latin.

(β) sv- might either remain or become su- or s-. It remains in (a) *svāvis* (as it must be written), which becomes *suāvis* (trisyllabic) in Sedulius (fifth century of our era) and the Romance languages, while a form *sāvis appears in *sāvillum* 'cake of flour, cheese, and honey,' and *sāvium* 'kiss' (also spelt *svāvium*), a popular perversion of *vāsium (see sec. 16) or *bdāsium* (itself apparently Gaulish, 'Loanwords in Latin' 12), as though from *svāvis*; and (b) the Reflexive Pronoun Adjective *svos* (answering to *śv* 'his,' as *sovos* does to *śós*, i.e. **śFós*: Lucretius has *svēmus* from *svos*, while *suēmus suēvi suētus* are from *suus*) in Plautus, cf. Lucr. l. 1022 *svō*, while Festus quotes old forms *sam sās sīs* from it.—In all other words the *v* drops, leaving however a trace of its presence in the change of *ś* to *ō*, *socer* beside *ēxupós* (172. 3'): *sē* 'himself' is for **svē* (cf. Sanskrit *sva-*), *sī* for **svī* (Oscan *svai*, 'Latin Vocalism' 15), *sordēs* for **svordēs* (the *or* representing a 'sonant' *r*: the fuller form SVARD- appears in *svāsium* 'dark colour,' sec. 15, cf. Gothic *svarts* 'black,' and, I would add, *āpða* 'dirt').

(9) In (apparently) the popular dialect *vi* when unaccented (i.e. when not in the initial syllable) fell out, wholly or partially; but why sometimes wholly, *amāstī* from *amāvistī*, *trahō* from *trāvehō*, sometimes partially, *claudō* from **clāvidō* (cf. *clāvis*), *gaudeō* from **gāvideō* (cf. the Participle *gāvissus*), our authorities do not stoop to explain. I can only suggest that the older dialect changed *āvi* to *au*, *claudō gaudeō* (*clāvis gāvissus* must belong to some other dialect), the later to *ā*, *amāstī trahō* (from **trāhō*, an intermediate *h* not preventing the usual shortening of vowel before vowel).

(10) To Brugmann's instances (208) of the change of MJ to ni I would add *lanius* 'butcher,' one who breaks up meat, from a root LAM- 'to break,' which appears in Old Slavonic *lomiiti* 'to break,' English *lame* ('broken') and the slang verb *lamm* 'to beat' (for which Johnson quotes Beaumont and Fletcher).

(11) MN is a favourite combination in Latin, e.g. *alumnus lāmna*:

¹ *Sevērūs* 'stern' ('fixt') must go with Lithuanian *segu* 'I fix,' not with *śėbu* 'I worship' (as though this were from **śFēγFw*), or we should have **sovērūs*. *Sev* is not for **svex* (170), it has not lost a *v* any more than *śē* or Gothic *svihs* has, though there are perplexing by-forms SVEKS (Welsh *chwecch*), VEKS (*Féē* and Armenian *vethe*), and KVSVEKS (Zend *kshvrash*).

its change to **nn** must be dialectic, cf. Umbrian *uno* (for **unne*) beside *umna* 'unguent.' In Varro L.L. 5. 168 for *scannum* one manuscript has *scannum*; *ante-mna* 'yard-arm' ('opposite' the mast, *ante*, cf. *avri* 'against') and *soll-ennis* 'appointed' (from *sollus* 'whole,' see sec. 7, +**amnus* 'circuit,' Oscan *amno*-) are also written *antenna* and *sollennis*.

(12) **NM** in compounds (e.g. *immītis*) becomes **mm**, in derivatives **rm**: *carmen* must go with *canō*, *germen* with *genus* and *gignō*, *nōrna* (as I have suggested, 'Loanwords in Latin' p. 4) with *nōna*, the carpenter's square being shaped like the letter L, the 'ninth' in the Faliscan and Etruscan alphabets. In some Sabellian dialect **m** before **f** seems similarly, even in compounds, to have become not **n** but **r**: *Corfinium*, the capital of the Paeligni, must, I would suggest, have been named from its situation on the 'confines' of the Vestini and Marrucini.

(13) In one dialect **r** must have been dropt after **st**: hence the spellings *frūstum mediastinus praestrigiae* beside *frūstrum medias-trinus praestrigiae*, and the epigraphic *miniatorum* (Corssen i. p. 245) *stavit* (Seelmann p. 330) for *ministrōrum strāvit*. *Mediastri-nus* 'hobbledehoy, between boyhood and manhood,' comes from **medi-aster* (which stands to *medius* as *surdaster* to *surdus*: both on the analogy of Greek Verbs in -άζω, e.g. *μητράζω* 'take after my mother') as, I would suggest, *clandestinus* (for **clandestrinus*) from **clandester*, **clandus* (*clam*): *praestrigiae* 'glamour,' comes, I would suggest, from *striga* 'witch.'—So (see Kluge in Paul's 'Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie' p. 332-3) **spr-** in some Teutonic dialects became **sp-**, German *sprechen* = Eng. *speak*.

(14) In some nine words we find **er** from original **ri** (which sometimes stands for **ru** with a 'modified' **u**, 'Latin Vocalism' 1) or **ri**: both (1) in the accented syllable, *ter torni* beside *tri- trini*, *tēstis* (i.e. **terstis*) beside Oscan *tristaamentud*, and, I would add, *cevi-x* 'neck' beside Old Slavonic *krivŭ* 'bent' (so Old Slavonic *vratŭ* 'neck' is from *vratiti* 'to turn'), *terō* beside *tritus* (i.e. **trŭtus*) and *rpŭw*: and (2) in the unaccented syllable, *acerbus* beside Old Slavonic *ostrŭ* (with inserted *t*), *hibernus* (for **hIm-ri-nus*¹) beside

¹ In Latin **m** before **r** becomes **b**, *brevis* for **mregvis* goes with Gothic *ga-maurg-jan* 'to shorten'; and so, I would suggest, before **r** (see below), *tŭber* for **tŭmp* beside *tumēō*.

χειμερινός (which differs only by having a fuller stem), *nov-er-ca* beside *vit-ri-cus* (on this see sec. 22), *quater* beside *quadru-*, *sacerdōs* for **sacridōs* from **sacrodōs*. Two other instances commonly given must be rejected: *cernō tergō* cannot go with κρίνω τρίβω, or the Perfects would be not *crēvī tērsī* but **crīvī *trixī*.—Brugmann (33), following Osthoff ('Morphologische Untersuchungen' 4. 1-3), would confine this phenomenon to unaccented *ri* between consonants,¹ supposing, e.g. *tēstis* to follow the analogy of *contēstor*. But (1) it cannot seriously be pretended that *tēstis* is a younger word than *contēstor*; (2) unaccented *ri* remains between consonants in *vitricus*, as unaccented *rī* does in *apricus*; (3) in *terō* the *er* is not between consonants, and yet this word cannot go with τρίβω, or we could not account for *trivī* or *tritūs*. I would rather suggest that the retention of *rī*, accented or unaccented, may be due to Oscan influence, cf. *tristaamentud*, and its change to *er* to some other dialect, which preferred close syllables as conversely (281) Old Slavonic prefers open ones. In Umbrian, as in Latin, both dialects appear, we have *tripler* beside *tertiam*.

Similarly Brugmann explains the Nominatives *ager ācer* as standing for **agros *ācris*, the *er* representing a sonant *r*. I would rather suggest that in these words the *e* was originally long (with **ācēr* cf. *patēr* in Aen. 5. 521), and that the termination is due to the desire to distinguish Nominative from oblique cases by forming it from a fuller stem. So in Umbrian we have Nom. Sing. *pacēr* 'pacified' from the longer stem, Nom. Plur. *pacr-er* from the shorter: conversely in ἀγρός, Gothic *akrs*, Sanskrit *ajras*, the Nominative follows the analogy of the other cases. On Brugmann's principles it is difficult to see why, if **agros* became *ager*, **agrom* (*agrum*) did not become **agerm* (or **agerem*).

(15) The combination *rs* (571) before a consonant loses the *r*,

¹ Stolz in 'Wiener Studien' 9. 304 sq. holds that *er* represents a sonant *r* developed within the Latin language, or or *ur* one inherited from the Ursprache: I would rather suggest that, as in other cases of the change from *o* to *u* ('Latin Vocalism' 2 fin., cf. *similis* beside *δμῶς*, *ilicō* from *locus*), so here also the *u* was a 'modified' *u*, representable by *i*, which in the unaccented syllable would before the *r* become *e*, as in *über* beside *oidap*, *inferus* compared with *infrū*, and (see sec. 22) *iterum uterus*. So *i* is represented by *oi*, *ul*, or *il*, e.g. *stabilis* (beside *stabulum*) *rutilus* (see sec. 22).—It is only in the unaccented syllable that the combination *ir* is forbidden ('Latin Vocalism' 6): hence we may see that this change from *ri* to *er* is no metathesis, or we should have **tir* **tistis* **cirvix* **tirō* instead of *ter tēstis cervix terō*.

and in compensation the preceding vowel is lengthened: *fāstigium* 'top' = **farstigium* (cf. Anglosaxon *byrst* 'bristle'), *pōscō* = **porscō* from **porc-scō* (cf. *precor*): while before *n* the *s* also goes, *cēna* = **cēsna* from **cērsna* (Umbrian *çersna*-). Before a vowel the *rs*, if original, becomes *rr*, *horreō* 'bristle' = **horseō* (Sanskrit *harṣh*); but if the *s* represent either *x* (from original *kth*, 554 fin.) or *ss* (from original *tt* or *dt*), the *rs* remains, *ursus* beside *ἄρκτος* and Sanskrit *ṛkṣas*, *dorsum* (I would suggest) for **dort-tum* (cf. Irish *druim* for **dort-men*: *δειρή* 'neck' can hardly be connected), *morsus* for **mord-tus*. But in some (perhaps rustic) dialect *rs* from *rss* (for *rtt*) before a vowel was treated just as before a consonant, the *r* dropping and the preceding vowel lengthening, *prōsa rūsum sūsum* for **prōrsa rūsum sūsum* from **prōrt-ta* **rūrt-tum* **sūrt-tum* (contractions, i.e., of *prō-vorsa* *re-vorsum* *sur-vorsum*, all from *vortō*), and see *svāsum* (i.e. **svard-tum*) sec. 8: later the *s* was written double and the vowel before it pronounced short, *russum*, *dossum*, *pessum* (from **persum*, as Plautus 'Persa me pessum dedit,' Persa 737, proves: the further derivation is not so clear, if it = **perd-tum* from *perdō* it is difficult to get for it the meaning 'down,' which seems to have been the original one).

(16) Apparently one dialect made *B* into *ṽ*, another made *V* into *b*; but many of the words in which these changes occur are etymologically so obscure that we cannot always tell which sound was the original one. The commonest change was from *V* to *b*: for *bovile* (quoted from Cato) the ordinary form was *bubile*, and from **bovulus* (from the same root) must have come *bubulus*: the change was most common after *r*, *arvina* 'fat' (i.e., I would suggest, 'accretion,' from **arvus* Adjective of *ar*, *ad*) appears in Festus as *arbilla*, *corvus* has another form *corbus* (which reappears in the Romance languages), *curvus* must also have (according to the Romance languages) been spelt *curbus*, *ferveo* seems more original than *ferbeō* (the Perfect however is always *ferbuī*, a dialectic form retained to avoid the collocation *vu*), *sorvum* ('service-berry'; so spelt in one manuscript of Pliny) if it goes with Sanskrit *śravā* 'a plant' must be older than *sorbum*, *urvum* 'ploughshare' (Oscan *uruvū* 'bent') than *urbum*: so *gilvus* is in late Latin spelt *gilbus*. On the other hand *sēbum* 'tallow,' if it is really a dialectic spelling for **sasbum* and goes with our *soap* (see Kluge under *saife*), must be

more original than *sēvum*; and *morbus* than *moreus*, the spelling substantiated by the Romance languages. But whether *bāsium* (apparently Gaulish), *batillum* ('fire-pan'), *berbēx* ('wether': so one manuscript has in Petronius 57), are more original forms than **vāsium* (whence *sāvium*, if I am right above, sec. 8), *vatillum*, *vervēx*, etymology does not tell us.

(17) The combination *bl* in Latin is found at the beginning of a few words, *blaesus blandus blaterō blatiō blatta*, and in compounds, *ē-blandior ab-lātus* etc.; but otherwise in no pure-Latin word but *publicus*, in which it represents *BD*, as Umbrian *pup̄ṣike* shows (*poplicus*, from *populus*, must be quite another word).—The combination *bl* is common enough in terminations, where ('Grundriss' 2, p. 202) it represents original *DHL*, e.g. *stabulum stabilis*;¹ otherwise it is found only in *scabellum* or *scabillum* 'bench' (presupposing a form **scabulum*, whence would come *scabel-lum*, the second vowel becoming *e* before a double consonant), where it represents original *BH-L*, cf. Sanskrit *skabh-* 'to support.' But what are we to make of *scamillus* in Vitruvius, and Terentius Scaurus' 'alii scamillum [*scapillum* is only a conjecture, and apparently a figment] alii scabillum dicunt'? I can only suggest that before terminational *l* one dialect retained the *b* at the end of the root (*scabellum*), another changed it to *p* (*scapulæ* 'shoulder-blades,' i.e. as I would suggest, 'supporting burdens'), a third made it into *m* (*scamillum*): thus I would connect (α) *stipula* 'stalk' and *stimulus* 'stake' (so Caesar uses the word) beside Old Slavonic *stǫblo* or *stǫblo* 'stalk, trunk of a tree'; (β) *con-cipulō*² 'finish off' and *cumulus* 'heap' (both from *KVUB-*, cf. *KVOUB-* in Anglosaxon *heāp*, English *heap*), cf. *cumulō* in the sense of 'finish.'

(18) An epigraphic form of *et* is *ed* (Corssen l. p. 194); it appears, I would suggest, in *edepol* as a condensed expression for 'ē Castor ed e Pol,'³ O Castor and O Pollux, and in *ideō* 'therefore' for *ed eō* 'and by that.' This change of final *t* to *d* seems to be Oscan,

¹ Cf. Umbrian *staf̄lare*. There is no particular reason in such cases for supposing the forms with *l* to be younger than those with *l*: rather they belonged to a different dialect.

² Plaut. Truculentus 621 (Schoell) quem ego jam jam concipulabo (another reading concipilabo). Festus takes the word as = 'seize,' *corripio*, apparently deriving it from *conciplō* 'take hold of'; but there are no parallels to such a formation.

³ With *ē*, *ē*, cf. the Greek interjections *hē*, *ē*, respectively.

Corssen l. 195: parallel to it is the Latin change of *ap (whence *aperiō*) *op (whence *opīnor* 'I put before myself, think,' and, I would suggest, *oportet* 'the occasion arises, it is necessary,' from *orior*) *sup (whence *supīnus*) to *ab ob sub*; *volup* on the other hand has preserved its p.

(19) The change of *d* to *l* in Latin must have come from some neighbouring sub-dialect, beside Umbrian *fameḏias* 'families' we have Oscan *famel* 'slave,' whence Latin *famulus*: in Umbrian, *tribḏicu* 'trebling' and *tripler* 'three' (cf. Latin *triplex*) appear on the same tablet of the Eugubine Tables, but whether they are dialectic forms from the same stem it is hard to say, nor does the termination *bdo* (or *plo*) appear in other languages. Brugmann (369) gives nine examples of the phenomenon, *lacruma lēvir limpa* (i.e. *lympha*) *oleō solium solum-solea ūlīgō* (doubtful: why not from **ūvilis* rather than *ūvidus*?) *mālus*: Stolz (51 and 9) has nine more, *alīpēs calamitās impelīmentum larix laurus lingua mulier praesilium mīles* (from *μισθός*, Bartholomae in B.B. 12. 90; but on Brugmann's principles, 594, the Latin form should be **mistes*): other philologists have added (besides proper names, *Aquilōnia Capitōlium Novensiles Pollūx Silicīno*: in *Ulixēs* the change was apparently already made in Greek, *Ὀλυτεύς*, Gustav Meyer 171) the following fifteen instances, *an-cile* (caedō) *balīolus* ('dark,' *badius*) *cassila* (cassida 'helmet') *con-sul* (sedeo) *dēlicō* (dēdicō) *largus* (cf. *δολεχός*) *lautia* ('banquet,' *dautia*: *lautus* 'sumptuous' must be connected) *melipontus* ('rope,' also spelt *medipontus*) *reluvium* ('agnail,' cf. *reduvia*) *simila* ('wheat-flour,' *σμιδάλης*, itself doubtless foreign) *almus* (cf. New Umbrian *arsmor* 'ceremonies': it must go with *ad*, not *alō*) *mella* (μέθυ, see sec. 7) *pūblicus* (see above) *sella* (sedda, Terentius Scaurus in Keil 7. 13) *ūltrā* (cf. Sanskrit *ud* 'out'). I would further add the following 18 instances, making altogether (without proper names) 51 or, excluding doubtful cases, 48:

ad-ūlor from *audiō*, cf. *ob-oediō*:

al-acer from *ad*+a byform (with short vowel) of *ācer*; *al-apa* 'slap' from *apiscor* 'reach'; *al-ūta*, 'Loanwords in Latin' 3:

lanīsta beside *danīsta*, 'Loanwords' 7:

mīlvus 'kite,' for **smīdvus*, cf. English *smite* (?):

poliō, cf. *σποδέω* 'beat':

scālae, **scādae*, cf. *scandō*:

sileō 'settle down' from *sedeō*; and *sili-cērnium* 'feast (see sec. 15 on *cēna*) at which they sat':

soleō 'go my way,' and *solvō* 'let go,' beside *ὁδός* 'way':

aquālor (i.e. **squādor*) beside *squā-ma* 'scale' (for **squād-ma*):

strigilis 'flesh-brush' from **στρεγιδα* Accusative of **στρεγίς*, a by-form of *στρεγγίς*, see Liddell and Scott under *στλεγγίς*:

with *d* from *DH*,

caelebs 'bachelor' from *caedō* in the sense of 'separate,' cf. Gothic *skaidan* 'to divide':

melior beside *medius*, 'moderate' (a *λιτότης*, saying less than one means):

stilus 'stake,' for **studus*, cf. Anglosaxon *studu* 'pillar':

and, with *d* from *sd*, *ZDH*,

mēlēs or (Caper in Keil 7. 110) *mālēs* 'marten' beside Anglo-saxon *meard*.

(20) The change of *d* to *r* appears in Umbrian (Old Umbrian has both *teḡtu* and *tertu* 'dato'; New Umbrian has *arfertur* 'adfertor' beside *arsfertur* and Old Umbrian *aḡfertur*, and *tribrisine* beside Old Umbrian *tribḡiḡu*), Marsian (*apur*), and Volscian (*ar*); it remains in the modern Neapolitan dialect, Seelmann p. 311. Brugmann's instances (369) in Latin are

apor (Festus) for *apud*:

ar (for *ad*), used by Plautus, and familiar in the compounds *arbiter* *arcēsō*: Priscian's *arger* for the ordinary *agger* (i.e. **ad-ger*) reappears in the Romance languages: I would add *arma* and *armentum* 'cattle,' both meaning 'appendages.'

Stolz (51) gives five more words: *cūr* for **quō-d* Ablative of *quī* or *quis*; *maredus* for *madidus*; *meridiēs* for *medidiēs* (which Varro L.L. 6. 4 had seen at Praeneste: on this see below); *quirquir* Varro L.L. 7. 8 for *quidquid*; *simitur* in an inscription for **simītū-d* (cf. *simītū* 'together'). He might have added *glārea* 'gravel' beside *χλῆδος* 'rubbish,' and *medula* (Isidore, Origines 12. 7. 69) for *merula* 'blackbird' (which unhappily does away with the ingenious connexion of *merula* with our *ousel*). In these two, as in *Larinum* for Oscan *Ladino-*, the *r* (instead of *l*) from *d* might be accounted for by a desire to avoid two *l*'s close together; but our other

instances are against this explanation, and show that this *r* from *d* is merely dialectic. Varro L.L. 5. 110 derives *perna* ('ham') 'a pede,' which must point to a dialectic form *pero*: Consentius (Keil 5. 392) marks *perēs* as barbarous, but it remains (see Seelmann as above) in the Neapolitan dialect. I would add the following 12 instances:

careō 'want' beside *κεκαδών* 'depriving':

hirūdō 'swallow' for **hedūndōn* beside *χελιδών* for **χεδūdōn* (it seems impossible to dissociate the words): with *λ* from *δ* see sec. 19 on *Ὀλυτεύς*, with *t* from a long 'modified' *u* cf. *ι* from a short modified *u* in Lesbian *ἔψοι* for *ῥψοι*:

mereō 'have measured out to me, earn,' from MED-, Gothic *mitan* 'to measure':

plōrō 'beat the breast' beside *plōdō* 'beat':

varius 'dappled' beside *badius* 'brown' (whence also *baliohus*, see sec. 19) and Irish *buidē* 'yellow': the original form must have been *grodíōs*:

accērsō 'summon' for **ac-cēd-sō* from *cēdō* 'go':

mergus 'diver,' Sanskrit *madgus*: to suppose (590) that *dg* here comes from ZGV is preposterous:

virga 'wand' for **vidga*, German *wisch* 'whisk' (see Kluge), our *whisk* ('the *h* is intrusive,' Skeat) and *wisp* (596):

and, with *d* from DH,

caerimōnia 'veneration' from *caedō* (see above, sec. 19, on *cacēbs*), with the idea of separation, exclusiveness:

merus 'simple,' i.e. 'central, essential,' for **medus* 'middle,' whence *medulla* 'marrow' ('in the middle' of the bone), and, I would suggest, *medeor* 'heal, stand in the way of the disease.' Irish *medōn* 'μέσον,' and the town-names *Μεθώνη* and *Ἀθήναι* (the latter from the shorter form MDH-, sec. 26), prove that in *medius* and its cognates (as in *ali-us* beside *al-ter*) the *i* or *j* is terminational. From *merus*, not from *medius*, comes *meridiēs*, formed from the Locative *meri-diē* (cf. *quoti-diē*):

ergā 'opposite,' and *ergō* 'on account of,' from EDH- in Sanskrit *adhi* 'up' and (with 'pretonic' *a*) Latin *ad* in *adimō* *adurgō* *ascendō* *attollō*, + a termination GVO ('Grundriss' 2. 91):

firminus (the *i* is short in the Romance languages, but in the town-name *Firmum*, which must have meant 'the strong-hold,' Latin inscriptions make it long) from *fidō*, 'trust-worthy.'

(21) There is no proof that *LD* ever became *ll* in Latin (369). *Sallō* 'I salt' stands for *sal-nō as *fallō* (Stolz 103) for *fal-nō (the Participle *salsus* no more proves that *sallō*=*saldō than *falsus* proves that *fallō*=*faldō, which nobody has yet pretended): it is very unlikely that Latin had two words for salt, *sal* and *saldus. So *percellō* 'throw down'=*per-cel-nō, cf. Lithuanian *kálti* 'to strike' (Fröhde in B.B. 3. 306): *perceldō could not give a Perfect *perculi*. *Mollis* for *molvis, see sec. 7, goes with Gothic *ga-malvan* 'to crush' and English *mellow*, not with Sanskrit *mṛdus*, with which Brugmann connects it (though this on his principles could only give *mollvis, *molvis, and he has before, 170, doubted whether *lv* ever becomes *ll*).

(22) On the Latin aversion to the combination *dr* I have touched in 'Latin Vocalism' 5 note: the aversion appears even in borrowed words, *κέδρος* became in Old Latin *citrus* (Naevius has *citrōsus*: *cedrus* first in Vergil), *Cassantra* and (with *t* from the oblique cases) *Alexanter* were the old forms of *Cassandra Alexander* (Quintilian 1. 4. 16): *quadru-* may be Celtic, and to it *quadra* owes the preservation of its *d*, in all other words the *d* before *r* becomes *t*. Thus I would explain

atrōx from *at-rus (as *ferōx* from *ferus*: the *a* is 'pretonic') beside *odium*:

nūtrix or *nōtrix* (Quintilian) from *nōt-rus beside *νήδυμος* (*ō* an Ablaut of *ē*) 'refreshing' and Sanskrit *nand-* 'to enjoy':

taetrum 'foul' beside *taedet* 'it wearies':

ūtrem (from *ōtrem) 'skin' beside Lithuanian *ūda*:

and, with *d* from *DH* (as it may be in *ūtrem* also),

palpetra 'eyelid' (Caper in Keil 7. 110, beside *palpebra*, which must belong to another dialect: the Romance languages substantiate both forms) with a termination *DHRĀ*, 'Grundriss' 2. p. 202:

vitricus 'stepfather,' which I would explain as 'belonging to the widow,' *vit-ra a byform of *vidua* from a root *VIDH-*.

The same law obtains before a sonant *r*, represented (see sec. 14, note) by *er*: *uterus* is for **ud-rus* beside Sanskrit *udaram*, and, I would suggest, *itorum* 'again' (coming back) for **ed-rum* (with *d* from *DH*) beside Anglosaxon *ed-* 'back' and Sanskrit *adhi* 'up' (see sec. 20, fin., on *ergā*, and for the transition of meaning cf. *āva* 'up, back'). So, I would add, *d* (from *DH*) before *l* became *t*, *rutilus* is for **rudlus* (cf. *ῥυθρός*).

(23) The Oscan assimilation of *x* to *ss* ('Loanwords in Latin' 7) appears in *assis* (Vitruvius, see Key) *nassa* (whence the Romance forms) *tossillas* (see Nettleship: the form *tonsillas* is due to a popular connexion with *tonsa* 'oar,' the tonsils being compared to poles) *trissāgō* ('germander,' Facciolati; the form does not seem to occur in Pliny) beside *axis naxa toxillas trixāgō*, *amuesis* from *ἀμυξίς*, *pausillus* (for **paussillus*) beside *pauzillus*, and, I would suggest, *possimus* for **peximus* from *peccō* (see sec. 3, note, on *pējor*). So, I would suggest, the curious triple forms *ascula astula acsula* 'splinter,' *possulus pestulus pexulus*¹ 'bolt,' point respectively to originals **ad-tla* ('rising up,' from *ad-*, see above) **ped-tlus* (the bolt being the 'foot' of the door), in which either

(α) the *dt* became as usual *ss*, *ascula possulus*: or

(β) *dtl* became *stl* as *dtr* became *str* (e.g. *monstrum* from *MONDH-*, cf. *μαθεῖν*), *astula pestulus*: or

(γ) by a 'contamination' of *ss* (from *dt*) and *cl* (from *TL*) we get **ascula* **pesculus*, and by metathesis (see next paragraph) *acsula pexulus*.

One dialect must have changed *x* (of whatever origin) to *sc*: cf. Lesbian *σκιφος* for *ξίφος*, Old French *vesout* 'lived' from Latin **viscūtum* for *vixūtum* (Seelmann p. 339), as conversely Anglosaxon *vaxan* for *vascan* 'to wash' and our dialectic *ax* for *ask*. Thus *aesculus* 'winter-oak' is for **aeg-s-ulus* from *AIG-*, Eng. *oak*: *ascia* 'axe' = **axia*, Eng. *axe* (Gothic *aqisi* is from the longer stem *AGV-ES-I*):

luscus 'one-eyed,' I would suggest, = *luxus* 'dialocated,' beside *λοξός* 'slanting,' and (with the same Metathesis as in *luscus*) Irish *lose* 'lame, blind':

viscum 'mistletoe,' cf. *ῥσκαί* 'fungus,' goes with *ῥξός* 'mistletoe':

¹ Caper in Keil 7. 111 *possulum* (another reading *pexulum*) non *pestulum*.

viscus 'inner parts' with *ἰζύς* 'waist,' from the idea of softness, fleshiness.

(24) The reason why final *ga* in trisyllables became *ca* I have explained in 'Loanwords in Latin' 7 γ: Latin had in such cases an ending *ca*, *fabrica pedica juvenca* etc., but no ending *ga*, and hence trisyllables in which the *g* was part of the root were treated as if it were part of the ending, and changed it to *c*. Thus we may explain (I do not know whether any one has done it before: in such matters it is difficult to be as cocksure¹ as our masters the Germans always are) not only the loanwords *amurca spēlunca* beside *ἀμόργη σπήλυγγα*, but also

fulica 'coot' for **fuliga* beside German *belche* (on which see Kluge):

pertica 'pole' beside *pertingō* 'reach':

sublica 'stake' (according to Festus a Volscian word) beside

subligō 'bind on': and, I would suggest,

præfica 'hired mourner' beside *finḡō* 'pretend.'

The only exception I know of is *caliga* 'sandal,' which I would suggest is borrowed from **κάλυγα* a by-form (cf. *ῥοτυγα* beside *ῥοτυκα*) of *κάλυκα* 'husk,'² and as a Greek word retained its *g*.

(25) Why does *g* sometimes remain before *m*, sometimes drop? Brugmann (506) derives *agmen* from *ǞG-*, *ezāmen* from *ǞG-*: but (1) there is no particular reason why the root-vowel should be short in the one case and long in the other, and (2) a vowel before *gm* was always long by position (Marx, 'Hilfsbüchlein' 2 p. 2), the *a* in *agmen* was just as long as the *a* in *ezāmen*. The real difference, I would suggest, was that the *a* in *agmen* was accented, the *a* in *ezāmen* was not (according to the Latin system, in which the first syllable had the stress-accent, whatever the quantity of the second

¹ 'I wish I was as cocksure of anything as Tom Macaulay is of everything' (Lord Melbourne).

² This may be added to my list of instances of Roman wit, such as it was, in 'Loanwords' p. 4: together with

abdōmen 'holder, belly,' see sec. 27:

emolumentum 'grinding out, gain':

faenus 'harvest (from *faenum* 'hay'), interest':

lacertus 'lizard, muscle of the arm,' from some fancied resemblance:

rabula 'mad dog (from *rabio* 'rave'), advocate':

sartāgō 'putting things in good order (i.e., I would suggest, making them *sarta*), frying pan':

scabellum 'bed-step' and so 'castanet,' inserted in the performer's shoe:

venter 'wind-bag (i.e., I would suggest, from *ventus*), belly.'

syllable). So we have *augmen figmentum fragmen magmentum pigmentum sagmen segmen strigmentum tegmen*, but *contāminō*¹ *subtēmen* (from *tegō*) *sufflāmen* ('clog,' going with Anglosaxon *bale* 'beam'). On the other hand *ablegmina antepagmentum coagmenta exagmen* (another spelling of *exāmen*) owe the retention of their *g* to 'Re-composition' (see 'Latin Vocalism' 9) and so do not come under our rule; while

flāmen 'priest' is not for **flagmen* (Sanskrit *brahman-*), but for **flād-men*, cf. Gothic *blōtan* 'to worship':

flamma not for **flagma* (*flagrō*), but, I would suggest, for **flāma* ('blast') from *flō* (for the spelling cf. *dumma* beside *dāma*):

jūmentum, originally 'a carriage,' Gellius 20. 1, not for **jugmentum*, but (as Columella suggests) from *juvō* 'help,' or rather from a by-form **juvō* whence the Perfect *jūvī*:

plūma 'feather' not for **plūgma* (Anglosaxon *flēogan* 'to fly'), but from *PLŪ-*, cf. Sanskrit *plu-* 'float.'

Exactly similar is the fate of *g* before *n*: it remains in the accented syllable, *cygnus dignus*, drops in the unaccented, *arānea* ('Loanwords' 7 β) *inānis* (from, I would suggest, **āgnis*, going with *ἀχῆν* 'poor,' and, with a nasal, *angustus* 'narrow': the *in* meaning no more than in *incānus inclutus incolumis* beside *cānus elutus columis*, or, I would add, *invidus* 'jealous, standing aloof' beside *dī-vidō*, *invitus* 'forced' beside *vis*). On the other hand *apru-gnus* (Plautus: Pliny's *aprunus* or *aprinus* must be a different word, a direct derivative from *aper*) and *beni-gnus* keep their *g* to show that they are Compounds.

Before *M*, which in Latin in the unaccented syllable may be written *um* or *im*, a 'fixt' velar *g* (represented in Sanskrit by *g*, and not labialised in any language) remains, *tagumen* or *tegimen*; a labialisable velar is represented by *v*, which in all extant Latin drops with the following *i*, *flūmen frūmentum ūmeō* from **fluvimen* **fruvimentum* **ūvimeō*, see sec. 9.

(26) The Latins modified all the original Aspirates. In their method of doing so we may trace three different dialects:

(a) The proper Roman dialect represented all but the Dental

¹ *Festus* *tāminō* is a grammarians' word formed out of *attāminō* *contāminō*: the proper form would be **tagminō*.

Aspirate by *h*, itself in the popular dialect omitted: BH *hariolus* 'soothsayer' (Irish *bar* 'sage'), GH *holus* 'vegetables' (Old Slavonic *zeliže*) *vehō* (cf. ὄχος), GHV *hīlum* 'gut' (Varro L.L. 5. 111, cf. Lithuanian *gyala* 'sinew'), cf. *ariolus olus via ilia* respectively.

(β) The Oscans represented all the Aspirates without exception by *f*: the classical Roman dialect kept this when initial—whether for BH *faba* (Old Slavonic *bobā*: the old Latin form was *haba*) *frangō* (Gothic *brikan*), DH *felō* 'suck' (cf. ὀγλή 'breast'), GH *fovea* 'pit' (χεῖά *flūvus* (χλωρός), or GHV *flūm* (see *hīlum* above) *fremō* (Old Slavonic *gromū* 'thunder')—but when medial reduced it to *b*, for BH *glūbō* (γλίφω) *ambō* (ἄμφω), DH *rubeō* (ἐρεῦθω) *umbra* (cf. Sanskrit *andhas* 'blind') *arbor* (Sanskrit *ardh-* 'thrive'), GHV *nebrundinēs* 'kidneys' (νεφρός, German *niere*).—The *f* retained for DH in *rūfus* and (I would suggest) in *infīl* 'begins' ('interposes,' MDH-, cf. MEDH- *medius*), and for GH in *infūla* 'fillet' (NGH-, cf. NEGH-, Sanskrit *naḥ-* 'to tie,' Lat. *nectō*), must belong to the stricter Oscan dialect.

(γ) A third dialect reduced the Aspirates—as do all Aryan languages but Greek and Sanskrit—to Mediae: hence

BH initial=*b*, *barba* (Eng. *beard*) *battuō* 'beat' (cf. Anglo-saxon *beadu* 'combat') *bullā* (cf. *folia*) *im-buō* (ἐμ-φύω) *blaterō* (Old Norse *blaðr* 'nonsense'):

DH medial¹=*d*, *gradus* (Gothic *grids*) *arduus* (Sanskrit *ūrdhvas*), and *russus* (= *rud-tus, ἐρυθρός); becoming *r* in *ergā firmus* (see sec. 20 fin.):

GH=*g* in *gilvus* beside *helvus* and Eng. *yellow*, and so, I would suggest, in *geminī* 'twins' beside *hemō* 'man' ('fellow': for the terminations cf. *terminus termō*), *gutta* 'drop' for *gū-ta beside χέω 'pour' and Sanskrit *hu-*: *glūrea* (χληρός) *grandō* (Sanskrit *hrād-* 'rattle') *figmentum* (Sanskrit *dih-* 'smear') *angō* (ἄγχω):

¹ Initial DH also might=*d*, but no instances seem to appear: *crēdō* beside Sanskrit *crad-dhā-* ('put the heart to') may have been regarded as a word of the Ursprache and not as a compound (of course Verbs in composition keep their initial unchanged, as a compound the word would be *crēfō from *creffō, *cred-fō), *abdō* etc. I would derive from Adjectives *ab-dus etc., cf. *condō* from *condus*.—Brugmann (370) makes DH after *u* always=*b*, *jubeō rubeō ūber*; but this must be merely dialectic, *jussi* can only come from *jud-si (*jub-si would give *jupsi, cf. *nūpsi*), see *russus* above, and *rutilus* sec. 22 fin., *stilus* sec. 19 fin.

GHV=**g** *glaber* (Lithuanian *glodus*) *gradus* (Old Slavonic *gręda* 'I come') *indulgeō* (Sanskrit *dirghas* 'long') *tergum* (στέρφος 'skin'): so KHV *congius* 'quart' (Sanskrit *çankhas* 'cockle').

The classical forms show a strange mixture of these three dialects:

BH=**h** *hariolus herba horreum*, **f** *fabā fānum fortis*, **b** *barba* etc. (see above):

DH medial=**b** *jubeō ruber ūber*, **d** *gradus* etc. (above):

GH=**h** *haedus holus homo*, **f** *fovea*, **g** *gilvus* etc. (above):

GHV=**h** *hilum hordeum*, **f** *filum*, **g** *glaber* etc. (above).

(27) To Brugmann's instances (510) of the loss of initial **h** I would add

abdōmen or *abdūmen* from **habdus* (cf. *albūmen* from *albus*)
**habidus* 'holding':

abundō (in Plautus also *habundō*, see Key, who rightly remarks that *ab-undus* from *unda* should mean 'without water')
from **habundus* Gerundive of *habēō*:

ālūcinor (also spelt *hālūcinor*) 'prate' from **hālūcus* Adjective of *hālō* 'breathe out': for the form cf. *cadūcus* from *cadō*.

The Romans made several attempts to represent by their spelling the quantity of a vowel. One resource, apparently borrowed from Oscan (Corssen l. 15-17) was to double the vowel: besides epigraphic forms, for which see Corssen, we have *bee* (Varro, to express the cry of the sheep, for which the Greeks used βῆ): hence came the form *bēlāre* 'to bleat,' which remained in the Romance languages instead of *bālāre*) *peena* (Festus, for **pēna*, i.e. *penna*) *veemens* (= *vēmens*): cf. Oscan *aasas tristaamentud eestint teer-* beside Latin *ārae tēstamentō exstant* (or rather **ēstant*) *terra* (for **tēra*), Faliscan *vootum* for *vōtum*.—Another method, found also in Umbrian, was to employ **h** as a mark of vowel-length:

(a) The **h** was written after the vowel: the Interjections *ā ō prō* are also written *ah oh proh*, for **vā* we have *vah*. So in Old Umbrian we have *ah-* for Lat. *ā* (Preposition), *ahtu*¹ for Lat. *actui*; in New Umbrian *trah-* for Lat. *trā-* (i.e. *trans*), *aviehclu* 'augural' beside *aviēclu*, *eh-* for Lat. *ē* (Preposition), *screhto* for **scrētō* (Lat. *scriptum*); in Volscian *covehriu* 'meeting' for **co-vērīō* **co-vīrīō*

¹ In this, as in *screhto*, the **h** seems a mere mark of vowel-length.

(on the dialectic change of *i* to *ē* see 'Latin Vocalism' 11) from **vīros* (Sanskrit *vīras* 'hero,' cf. Lat. *vīr* 'man'):

(β) The two methods were combined, the vowel written twice and *h* inserted: *aha* (in Plautus a monosyllable) was another way of writing the Interjection *ā*, *vaha* must stand for **vā* or *vah* (see above),¹ *ehem* (when a monosyllable) = *ēm* (Interjection), *mehe* (Quintilian) = *mē*, *vehemens* (in poetry always a disyllable, Lachmann on Lucr. 2. 1024) = *vē-mens* ('senseless,' cf. *vē-cors*). So in New Umbrian we have *aha* for Lat. *ā* (Preposition), *trahaf* beside *trāf* = Lat. **trās* (*trans*), *eho* = Lat. *ē*, *comohota* = Lat. *co(m)mōta*, *prephohotatu* beside *preplōtatu* 'captivity' = Lat. **praeplōtātū* ('treading down,' from *plautus* 'flat-footed').

(28) Despite Stolz ('Lat. Gramm.' 60) intervocalic *s* after *r* + a vowel, instead of as usual becoming *r*, drops entirely, to avoid two *r*'s so close together: *Cereālis* must be for **Cererālis*, *cruor* 'blood' ('curdled,' thicker than water) for **crūr*-or beside *crūs-ta* 'crust,' *pruīna* 'hoar-frost' for **prūrīna* beside Gothic *frīus* 'frost';² and, I would add, *prior* for **prīr*-or beside *prīs-cus* and Paelignian *pris-mu* 'first,'³ with *proprius* 'special' ('set in front') for **pro-prīr*-us from the same root. Later, *s* in such a position became *r* as usual, *prūriō* 'itch' ('burn') beside *pruīna* above ('cold performs the effect of fire'): *crūra* and *rūra* are due to analogy.

¹ A grammarian in Keil 4. 255 says "*vah sive vaha ex brevi et longa constat*," apparently taking *vah* (as Priscian does) as an abbreviation of *vaha*, and wrongly connecting the final *a* of *vaha* with the Interjection *ā*.

² *Friō* however is not for **frīrō*, or the derivative would be **friscō* not *fricō*: forms like *χρίσμα* (beside *χρίμα*) must come not from *χρίω* but from a by-form **χρίζω*.

³ *minor* is another instance of a Comparative—originally doubtless a Positive, with the sense of comparison only implied by the order of the words—ending in -or not -ior.