A COMPREHENSIVE
OF THE
COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
INDO-EUROPEAN, SANSKRIT, GREEK AND LATIN LANGUAGES.

BY
AUGUST SCHLEICHER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE THIRD GERMAN EDITION
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PART II.

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II. MORPHOLOGY.

A. ROOTS AND STEMS.

THE FORM OF INDO-EUROPEAN WORDS. § 80.

The Indo-European language is one of the highest morphological regularity, since, besides the adjunction of sounds indicating relativity, it is also capable of flexion, that is, of regular variation of the root itself for the purpose of expressing relativity; this variation of the root consists in the step-raising of its vowel (§ 2). The addition of sounds expressing relativity is found at the end only of a root, never at its beginning (the augment is an originally independent word, which only coalesces with the verb, and which can therefore disappear without detracting from the force of the word). Every Indo-European word actually employed in the language has a sound expressing relativity after the root, which, moreover, can also be reduplicated, e.g. *da-da-mi* (I give): naked roots do not appear in Indo-European as words (secondary loss of sounds expressing relativity naturally does not come under consideration here).

The unique exception occurs in the vocative of those nouns which possess no stem-formative-element besides their case-suffix, as e.g. stem *vāk*- (speech, *vēk*, speak), nom. sg. *vāk*-s, gen. *vāk*-as, etc., but voc. *vāk*. The vocative is, however, no real word, no element of a sentence, but a word which has
§ 80. assumed the form of an interjection, a gesture translated into sound. Very rarely (and even then due to relatively secondary processes) are relativity-sounds found in the root itself. This happens in the present form, as e.g. Gk. λαμβάνω, √λαβ (έ-λαβ-ον), μ is here a relativity-sound of the present; Lat. iungo, √ιυγ (cf. iug-um), etc. The earlier forms had here also, probably, the nasal after the root-termination, v. post. 'Conjugation.' From this present-stem with medial nasal the nasalization has spread further to noun-stems (e.g. Gk. τύμπ- -avo-ν timbrel, √τυπ strike; Lat. iunc-tu-s, iunc-tura, √ιυγ, etc.).

It is, therefore, a distinctive characteristic of the Indo-European language, that all words belonging to it have one and the same morphological construction; a regularly variable root and a regularly variable relativity-sound affixed thereto. The morphological formula for all Indo-European words is therefore $R^* s^*$ (v. Introd. II.).

§ 81. Root-formation. The earliest component parts of the Indo-European words are the roots. By 'root' we generally understand the meaning-sound, the sound that conveys the force of the word in question (as 'to be' is e.g. the root of as-mi I am, as-ti he is, etc.). But the stem- and word-formative suffixes also in Indo-European have arisen from originally independent roots by coalescence with other roots. Thus every Indo-European word may be treated as a whole which has gradually grown out of several roots, at the least out of two; of these roots one (the first) is the root of the word (in the narrower sense of the word 'root' in which it is generally used), and bears the meaning unaided, whilst the others have sunk to the subordinate position of relativity-suffixes to this chief-root, and have become welded on to it; e.g. as-mi (I am), √as with meaning 'be'; the √ma, here weakened as a suffix to mi, expresses the relation of the 1st pers. (ma as an independent root means 'measure,' 'think,'
"man, 'I'); as-ti (he is) \(\sqrt{as} + \sqrt{ta}\) 'that' dem., 'he'; bhara-ti § 81. (he bears), \(\sqrt{bhar}\) (bear) + \(\sqrt{a}\), here become a suffix, a root of demonstrative function, and ta (as in as-ti); vak-s (speech n. sg.), \(\sqrt{vak}\) (speak), + \(\sqrt{sa}\) demonstrative, here shortened to s, etc. In more simply constructed languages we can see the early steps still preserved, steps which we must pre-suppose in Indo-European (e.g. in the words adduced forms as ma, as ta, bhar a ta, vak sa). Since the suffixes of the Indo-European language arise thus from roots originally independent, it becomes clear why the suffixes, as regards step-formation, are treated in precisely the same way as the chief-roots (e.g. bhar-\(-\ddot{a}\)-mi 'I bear,' with a of stem-formative sf. raised to \(\ddot{a}\), beside bhar-a-ti 'he bears,' without step-formation; ta-nau-ti 'he stretches,' beside ta-nu-masi 'we stretch,' etc.). The exact formula of the Indo-European word is therefore \(Rx^*s^2\). We shall now treat of chief-roots, meaning-sounds, alone.

We have not hitherto any accurate investigation into the laws of root-formation in Indo-European. What sound-combinations occur in the roots of the Indo-European? Could roots change from one vowel-scale to another at a date as early as that of the Indo-European original language? What extension of meaning is permitted by a root, and in what cases must we assume original roots phonetically identical but nevertheless distinct? Several other similar questions hitherto unanswered might be proposed in this place.

Meaning-sounds or roots (chief-roots) are generally separable from the words which they now underlie. The Indo-European roots seem in the first period of the life of the original language to have possessed a sound-form still simpler than that shown by roots existing in the actual language, cf. e.g. \(\sqrt{yu-g}\) beside yu (join), ma-t beside ma (measure), etc. In such cases what we see is probably the welding of a second root on to the first. Original reduplication also appears, e.g. ka-k (cook), gi-g (live). The origin of such secondary root-formations is in a great many
§ 81. cases due to the cohesion of the root and the addition which originally formed the present stem, e.g. $\sqrt{an}$(think) from $ma$, $gan$(be born) from $ga$, $bhandh$(bind) from $bhadh$, etc.; the nasal originally characterizes the present stem only. Hence we divide roots into primary and secondary.

It is an invariable rule that Indo-European roots are monosyllabic.

There is no distinction, as regards form, between the so-called verbal-roots (roots conveying a conception) and the so-called pronominal-roots (roots expressing relativity); the roots $i$, $ka$, $ta$, $ya$, e.g. are pronominal- as well as verbal-roots ($i$ demonstrative, $ka$ interrogative, be sharp; $ta$ demonstrative, stretch; cf. Beitr. zur vergl. sprachforschung, ii. p. 92 sqq. 'wurzeln auf $a$ im Indogermanischen,' by A. Schleicher. We get the root in its fundamental-form when we have taken from a given word all sounds expressing relativity and their possible influence upon the radical sounds (a process generally easy, but sometimes scarcely possible), and reduced the root-vowel to its fundamental-vowel, whenever it appears in a raised form in the word, e.g. $da$ is the root of $da$-$da$-$mi$ (I give), $vak$ of $vâk$-$s$ (speech), $div$ of $daiv$-$a$-$s$ (shining, heavenly, God), $dyu = di$ of $dyau$-$s$ (heaven), $su$ (bear, beget) of $su$-$mu$-$s$ (son), $ta$ of $ta$-$m$ (him), etc.

Indo-European roots may be formed in any way provided they are monosyllabic. The following are the sound-combinations of the root:—

1. Vowel, that is, accurately speaking, spiritus lenis+vowel, e.g. $u$ (dem. pron.), $i$ (go), $u$ (Sk. enjoy oneself, favour, Slav., Lith., and Lat. ind-ure, ex-ure).
2. Consonant+vowel, e.g. $da$ (give), $bhi$ (fear), $hu$ (be).
3. Vowel+consonant, e.g. $ad$ (cat), $idh$ (kindle), $us$ (burn).
4. Consonant+vowel+consonant, e.g. $pat$ (fly, fall), $vi$ (see), $bhugh$ (bend).
5. Two consonants+vowel, e.g. $sta$ (stand), $pri$ (love), $kru$ (hear).
6. Vowel + two consonants, e.g. *ardh* (wax), *ark* (shine; cele- § 81. brate).

7. Two consonants + vowel + consonant, e.g. *star* (strew), *stigh* (ascend).

8. Consonant + vowel + two consonants, e.g. *dark* (see), *vart* (turn).

9. Two consonants + vowel + two consonants, e.g. *skand* (scandere).

In the case of roots of the form consonant + a + consonant, or a + consonant, even when these forms arise through step-formation from *u* and *i*, there occurs frequently a transposition of the sounds, so that *a* comes to be final, e.g. *gan* and *gna* (know, be born); *mar* and *mra* (die); *ghar* and *ghra* (shine, be yellow or green); *par* and *pra* (fill); *ak* and *ka* (be sharp); *i*, raised to *ai*, and *ya* (go); *hu* raised to *hau*, *har*, and *hea* (call); etc. Likewise *div* and *dyu* (shine).

**Note 1.**—Transposition of consonants such as is assumed by Alb. Kühn, über Wurzelvariation durch Metathesis, Bonn, 1868, e.g. in *vid* (see) and *div* (shine), Sk. *paṭ* (bind), origl. *pak*, and Lat. *cap* (take), etc., I cannot consider proved.

**Note 2.**—In a complete grammar of Indo-European this chapter ought to contain a full list not only of those roots which can be proved to be Indo-European, but also of those which are peculiar to individual divisions or families (fundamental languages) of the Indo-European language.

**Note 3.**—Hindu grammar, which is in this respect still followed by many European philologists, assumes no verbal-roots in *a*. Hindu grammarians mark roots ending in *a* either (1) in the raised form (e.g. *dāha* put, *dā* give, instead of *dha*, *dā*), or (2) give to the root final *u* and *y*, which arise from the formation of the present stem, and therefore originally belonged to a suffix (e.g. *gan* be born, instead of *ga*; *hrē* cry, instead of *hra*, *hu*; *rāi* bark, instead of *re*), or (3) mark them with *ō*, which obviously does no more than indicate certain peculiarities of these roots in forming their tense-stems, since in really existing forms *ō* nowhere appears (e.g. *gō* sharpen, for *ga*, *aṣ*). Cf. Beitr. ii. 92 sqq.
§ 82. Stem-formation. From roots arise word-stems (themes), i.e. that part of a word which remains after we have taken away the terminations of conjugation and declension.

Stems are formed:

1. By the bare root raised or not. Since the root vowel occupies a certain step in the sound-scale, it may always appear as the substratum of a certain relation, and thus even by itself express a relation. This often happens in the case of verbs, e.g. ai-, i-, present-stem and root (go), 1 sg. ai-mi, 1 pl. i-masi; as-, present-stem and root (be), e.g. 1 sg. as-mi, 3 sg. as-ši, etc. This kind of stem-formation is less common in the case of nouns, e.g. n. sg. dyau-s, loc. div-i; dyau-š , a raised-form from dyu=diś (shine), is here a noun-stem (heaven), and likewise a root; vāk-š (speech), stem vāk-, is a step-form from v/vak (speak), etc. The expression of relativity by means of step-formation of the root-vowel is symbolical. Moreover the reduplication of the root (with or without simultaneous step-formation), for the purpose of expressing relativity, is of very early date, and, like the simple root, suffices to form a stem, e.g. stem da-da- in da-da-mi, 1 sg. pres.; da-da-masi, 1 pl. pres., v/da (give).

2. By additions made to the end of a simple or reduplicated root whatever step-formation it may occupy. These additions were (as we remarked in § 81) originally independent roots, which, at an earlier period of development in the life of the language, when the language consisted of roots alone, came to be joined to other roots as defining elements; these roots expressing relation gradually lost their independence, and became welded on to those roots which they helped to define more accurately, e.g. daiv-š , n. sg. daiva-s (dinos, deus), v/div raised daiv, +a; bhāra-ya-, causative-stem fr. v/bhar (bhārau-ti he makes to bear), cf. a (pron. demonstr.), ya (relat.); vak-ta-, n. sg. masc. vask-ta-s (dictus), v/vak+t a, cf. v/ta (pron. dem.); vi(d)vid-vant-, pf. part. act. of reduplicated v/vid (see) + vant, etc. Most of these stem-formative elements can be traced as
roots of general and weakened function, that is, as pronominal § 82. roots (thus e.g. a, i, u, ya, ta, ka, etc.).

Note.—By a hyphen - we indicate that the element with which it is used is always in that very place joined to another. Stem-formative suffixes are accordingly to be known by - at the beginning and end, word-formative sff. by - at the beginning (e.g. vark-a-s with sff. -a- and -s). The roots may, we think, be left uncharacterized; it would perhaps be more correct to write them with - at the end (e.g. vark-), but by leaving them thus uncharacterized we wish to distinguish them from those stems which may coincide with them in sound-form.

These are the methods of stem-formation from roots. The language, however, did not remain stationary, but further stems began to be developed from these stems which were sprung directly from roots. Stems of the former kind we call primary stems, and suffixes which are used for their formation primary suffixes; stems of the latter kind, which presuppose other stems for their formation, we call secondary stems, and the suffixes used for their formation secondary suffixes. The latter partly coincide in form with the primary suffixes. In the case of verbs, the same suffixes are added to the derived verbal-stems as to the underived, the verbal-stem being equivalent to a root, whether it be derived or primitive: it is, therefore, right to count all suffixes which are joined immediately to the end of verbal-stems (forming participles, nomina actionis, nomina agentis) as primary suffixes; e.g. -nt-(-ant-) in bharayant-, pres. part. act. causative stem, is no less a primitive suffix than in bharant-, pres. part. act. of the stem-verb. On the other hand, comparative- and superlative-suffixes, diminutive-formations, etc., which presuppose complete noun-stems, are secondary, e.g. Lat. diu-inus stem diuno- (diuos); fæcit-ior stem fæct-ili-, fæce; doct-ior stem doct-o-, fæco; whence again comes the stem doct-is-simo-, in which form -is- is a comparative-suffix (cf. doct-ius), and -simo- = -imo-, f.f. -tama-, the compounded superlative suffix; the stem doct-t-is-si-mo- has thus
§ 82. Four stem-formative elements after the root. Moreover, vowel-raising may be combined with secondary stem-formation, e.g. Sk. stem dāiv-ika- (n. sg. masc. dāiveka-s godlike) stem dēvā-, origl. daiva- (n. sg. dēvā-s, origl. daiva-s god).

The identity with pronominal roots of most elements used as stem-formative suffixes, including the most common ones, ta, ya, ka, etc., arises from the circumstance that this kind of root (i.e. a root whose originally more concrete meaning has sunk into a more general one, so that its meaning has been reduced to a relation), by bearing a general meaning, has become serviceable for the more accurate definition of other roots which convey more concrete meanings.

A further secondary means of stem-formation—one which is essentially distinct from those already mentioned—consists in—


Stem-formation by attachment of relation-elements is distinct from composition in that it originated in the period of the growing language, whereas composition does not occur till the language is actually formed, presupposing, as it does, ready-made word-stems as its materials. Confluence or combination of words is likewise to be separated from true composition: in the case of the former words (i.e. elements of a sentence provided with terminations of case and person) become welded together, while the latter compounds word-stems so as to form a new stem.

Naturally this combination has not occurred till a later period in particular languages, whereas composition must perhaps be ascribed even to the Indo-European original language (the archaic stems āsta- sister, svatō- father-in-law, e.g. are probably compounded; so, too, must we assign to the compound stems of the aor. and fut. a date as early as that of the original language).
Prepositions and the augment before the verb form the com-
monest examples of combination or coalition of words once
independent in our languages; they are adverbs which have
grown on, i.e. they were originally cases, e.g. *abs-tineo* from *abs*
and *tineo*; *abs*, like *ex*, etc., seems to be a gen. case; the loose-
ness of the connexion shows itself in all cases, e.g. *èk-πιπτω*
beside *ἐξ-ἐ-πεσον*, etc. Yet we find combination elsewhere also,
e.g. Lat. *quamuis*, *quamobrem*, etc.; German *frankenland* (*franken*
is gen. pl.), *wolfsmilch* (*wolfs* is gen. sg.), etc. Here the accent
is the only mark of the combination.

True composition has the power of expressing a relation; it
can give the new word a relation which is foreign to the com-
ponent parts taken separately, and which originates only in and
through their composition; e.g. *μακρό-χειρ*, *longi-manus*, i.e.
‘whose hands are long, long-handed’: here the possessive relation
belongs to the composition; *λόγο-γράφο-ς* ‘word-writing’
=*λόγους* γράφων; *iu-dic*- (index) = *ins dicens* ‘indicating, saying
justice,’ etc. In the latter instances the former element of the
compound acts as a case, though it has no case-suffix. A fresh
relation of this kind can never be produced by combination;
for combination is nothing but varied and facilitated utterance
—nothing but union, by means of a common accent, of words
previously separate; it cannot therefore have anything in com-
mon with stem-formation.

An exhaustive statement of Indo-European stem-formation
does not lie within the range of this compendium, since it is
intended to embrace only what is indispensable for beginners
in comparative philology. The science of stem-formation is more-
over full of difficulties, and requires in parts a more detailed
discussion than can be contained in a work which is confined to
the narrowest limits possible. Of this wide range we select
therefore only a few parts, which we shall now proceed to dis-
cuss, viz.: 1. derivative verbal-stems; 2. noun-stems which are
most nearly connected with the verb, i.e. participles and in-
§ 82. Finitives, and a few other noun-stems which are allied to these, or seem to be otherwise noteworthy; 3. comparative- and superlative-stems; 4. stems of cardinal- and ordinal-numbers. The last section, although of subordinate value for the explanation of the construction of language, is appended on account of the high interest of the numerals from other points of view. Hence under this last head we pass over the morphological arrangement, and direct our attention exclusively to the function, by discussing the separate numerals one by one irrespective of their phonetic expression.

Note.—It is obvious that here, in the chapter on morphology, if we had wished to be consistent, no regard should have been paid to the functions of stems, and that, since stems are not yet words, no distinction should have been made between verbal-stems and noun-stems. Likewise, the treatment of stem-formation should include the stem-forms of tenses and moods as well as all other stem-forms. The formation of verb-stems (in the widest sense of the word) does not, of course, belong to the statement of word-formation (conjugation), in which only the subject of person-terminations is to be treated, because the latter are the only elements which make the verb-stem a real member of a sentence, a word. However, in order not to divide the subject-matter in a way hitherto unusual, thereby rendering this work difficult to be used by students accustomed to earlier systems, we determine to leave the theory of tense-stems and mood-elements to the section 'Word-formation' (conjugation), and under 'noun-stems' (in Part II.) to refer now and then to similarly formed verbal-stems.

Hitherto we have no thoroughly scientific arrangement of Indo-European stem-forms. As regards Part II. of our fragmentary exposition of Indo-European stem-formations, in which we shall have to produce at least a fair number of stem-formative suffixes, we shall for the present follow the example of G. Curtius (De nominum Graecorum formatione, Berlin, 1842) in adopting a phonetic principle of arrangement; that is to say, we shall treat successively (1) stems without suffixes; (2) the simplest vowel-suffixes; and (3) suffixes having one or more consonants. Under the last head the suffixes ya and va will come first; after them suffixes with so-called liquids; and, finally, those whose chief element is a momentary sound,
to which has been added the suffix as. Compound suffixes § 82. should strictly form the last division and be treated separately; however, since the question whether a given suffix is simple or compound cannot always be answered with certainty, and since, moreover, compound suffixes often very closely resemble simple ones in function and employment, we here treat compound suffixes under their first elements.

1. Formation of Derived Verbal-Stems. § 83.

On derived verb-stems generally.

Derived verb-stems, though presupposing noun-stems, are here treated before the latter, because, like primary verb-stems and roots, they frequently underlie noun-stems.

All verbs which possess no stem-formative elements, except those which serve for the formation of the tense-stems, have the form of stem-verbs; but those verbs which, in other forms than the present, show besides the root such elements as were not originally used for the formation of present- or other tense-stems, have the form of derived verbs.

At later periods of language-development, present-stem formative elements easily become united with the verbal-root so closely, that they even remain in forms other than those of the present tense, e.g. *iu-n-g-o, *iyug, where n is the present infix; yet perf. is *iu-n-e-si for *iuc-si, even *iu-n-e-tu-s for *iuc-tu-s, cf. iyug-u-m: a verb does not however become in any way a derived one by this union.

Intensive verbs in Sanskrit and Zend must be considered as closely akin to verbs which are reduplicated in their present- or aorist-stems; as we do not, therefore, hold them to be derived, in the stricter sense of the term (they show no constant additional element), we cannot deal with them in this place, but shall do so later on where we discuss ‘present-stem-formation.’

It cannot be denied that sometimes verbs which are obviously derived may assume the form of primary verbs, e.g.
§ 83. Sk. kršṇa-ti (behave like kršṇa-s), from subst. Kṛṣṇa-s (proper n.); Goth. salti-th (he salts), pf. saisalt, from subst. salt (salt), whilst at others stem-verbs appear in the form of derived verbs, as e.g. Lat. habe-t, Goth. habai-th (3 sg. pres.), Lat. habē-bo (fut.), Goth. habai-da (pf.), which we can hardly consider derived, is conjugated just like decidedly derived-verbs, e.g. Lat. mone-t, fut. mone-bo (think), Lat. men (cf. Lat. me-min-i, primary verb from same root), stem of causative verb mānaya-; Goth. veihai-th (hallows), pf. veihai-da from veih-s (holy). In fact the forms of undoubted stem-verbs and those of clearly derived-verbs are so intermingled in certain of the existing languages, that from a purely morphological point of view a sharp and complete distinction between primary and derived verbal-stems is impossible, and not unfrequently it is still doubtful to which class a given verb belongs. Certain tense-stems often have the forms of derived-verbs, whilst others show those of the stem-verbs, e.g. Lat. vidē-mus (pres.) beside vidi-mus (pf.), etc.; v. ‘Conjugation.’

Since we are here considering the form only, not the function of the words, we can arrange derived verb-stems only according to stem-formative elements, not according to the relations which they express. Hence we speak of stem-formation by means of ya, etc., not of intensive, causative, etc., verb-stems. We place first those formations which can be proved most archaic, and let follow in order those which occur in particular languages only of our family, and which must therefore in all likelihood, be considered as later formations.

It is often hard to pronounce with certainty what is the next underlying form in the case of derived verb-stems. We could not venture to decide off-hand whether, e.g. Sk. bhārāyā-mi, Gk. φορέω-με, stem bhāraya-, Gk. φορέε-, is formed by step-formation and by sf. -ya- from verb-stem Sk. bhāra-, Gk. φέρε-, in Sk. bhāra-ti, Gk. φέρε-(τ)ι (3 sg. pres.), or by means of sf.
Ya- from a substantive stem Sk. bhāra-, Gk. φόρο- (n. sg. Sk. § 83. bhāra-s, Gk. φόρο-ς).

Note.—The formation of the present-stem has been considered as the formation of a derived verb whenever it expresses an evident relation, as e.g. the passive or inchoative. This, however, is not admissible, were it only for the reason, that originally every kind of present-stem-formation represented a distinct relation. If this were not so, all verbs would exhibit one and the same present-stem-form. Besides there is no doubt that we count as ‘derived verb-stems’ only such formations as are not confined to the present-stem; and it would, moreover, be impossible to distinguish verbs as stem-verbs and derived-verbs.

Verbal-stems in original -ya- (-a-yā-) with root-vowel § 84. raised to first step, when formed from verbal-stems.

Verbal-stems in non-radical -ya- are found in all Indo-European languages, and must therefore be ascribed to a period as early as that of the original language (their function is manifold, especially causative, transitive, but also durative and intransitive). They naturally lean to verbal-stems and nominal-stems. The formative-element -aya- is probably to be broken up into -a-yā-, a being the final sound of the fundamental nominal- or verbal-stem, while ya is a very commonly used element in stem-formation (cf. pronominal /ya, of rel. and dem. functions). The root-vowel is regularly raised a step.

Indo-European original language. Only one kind of such verbs, and of this only a few forms can be traced, esp. the pres. (and what is akin to it), e.g. 3 sg. pres. bhāraya-ti (= Sk. bhāraya-ti, Gk. *φωρεύεται, i.e. φορεῖ; in Sk. with causative, in Gk. with durative function, from a stem bhāra-, φόρο-, origl. √ bhar, Gk. φέρ ferre); further future bhāraya-sya-ti (Sk. bhārayi-syā-ti, Gk. φορήσεται = *φωρεύεισεν, and lastly the compound aorist a-bhāraya-san (ἐ-φόρησα). So too sāda-ya-ti (he places) = Sk. sādā-ya-ti, Goth. sat-yi-th, √ sad (sit); vaiḍa-ya-ti (foretells) = Sk. vēḍāya-ti (id.), Goth. (fār-)*veitwīth (looks to) for *veit-ya-th, √ vid (see, know), etc.
§ 84. The correspondence between Gk. and Sk. makes it not unlikely that formations such as e.g. maran-ya-ti (dies, durative) from an abstract noun, n. sg. marana-m (whose final a, as often happens, has dropped out before sf. ya, √ mar, die), were not foreign to the origl. lang. In the formation of the remaining tense-forms languages do not agree. Probably the simple aorist was not formed at all, and the perfect expressed by periphrasis. Sanskrit. E.g. bhārāya-ti, 3 sg. pres. causative vb. √bhar, either belonging to a noun-stem bhāra- (load), bhara- (bearing; or the act of bearing), or to a verb-stem bhāra- (bhāra- ti he bears); sādāya- ti, in the same way fr. √sād (sit), cf. stem sāda- (m. placing down, setting); vēdāya- ti (makes to know) similarly fr. √vēd (see, know), cf. vēda- (m. knowledge, holy writ); bōdhdāya- ti (makes to know), √buddh (know), cf. bōdha-, pres.-stem and noun-stem, bōdha-s (knowledge, instruction). Roots in -ar often have no step-formation, e.g. dārāya- and darāya-, √dar (burst, split); vārāya- and vārāya-, √var (cover, choose). Further, before two consonants the step-formn. does not take place, e.g. kalpāya-, √kalp (be in order; kalpa-, adj. fitted, subst. m. order); indeed we actually find weakened root-syllables, e.g. grbhāya-, √grabh (grasp, akin to grbhā-s, gripе); mrdāya-, √mard (grind, both these examples belong to the more archaic language). Elsewhere also unraised a is sometimes found, e.g. damāya-, √dam (be tame, tame; cf. damma-s, the act of taming, breaking in), etc. Roots in i, u, have the 2nd step, e.g. nāyā-ya-ti, √ni (lead); grvārā-ya- ti, √gru (hear). The perf. of these verb-stems is periphrastically formed by means of an abstract-form in ā and the perf. of an auxiliary verb, e.g. vēdavā- -kakāra, lit. ‘notionem feci’; the aorist does not belong to these stems in -aya-, but was formed from the reduplicated root. This reduplication has the force of a causal function, which may be taken as a step-formation of the active, e.g. ā-vivid-ām, pres. vēdāyā-mi; other forms of these verbs lose ya, thus the past formed from the future (the so-called conditional),
e.g. á-vēl-i-śyam, stem vēlāya-, etc. This belongs, however, § 84. rather to Indian special-grammar, as being peculiar to Sk.

Amongst stems clearly formed from nouns are yōkrita-ya-ti (binds round, embraces), noun-stem yōktra- (ntr. band); tulā-ya-ti (weighs), stem tula-, n. sg. tulā (fem. balance, scales), etc.

But before the -ya- the final -a- of the stem is not seldom lengthened to ā (v. supr. § 15, 2, a), e.g. vāśpā-ya-tē (weeps), stem rāśpa- (tear), lōhitā-ya-tī (reddens), stem lōhita- (red), aśeṣa-ya-tī (wishes for horses), stem ṣeṣa- (horse), etc.; cf. rūjā-ya-tī (behaves like a king), stem rūjan- (n. sg. ṛujā king), thus accompanied by loss of final n from the underlying noun-stem. Similar lengthening in the case of i and u before y occurs (cf. § 15, 2, a), e.g. pāti-ya-tī (desires a husband), stem pāti- (husband), asa-ya-tī (snarls, is angry), stem asu- (breath, spirit).

The a also is weakened to i, and then i is lengthened to ī, e.g. putrā-ya-tī (filium cupit), stem putra- (son).

Moreover the stem-termination drops off altogether, e.g. putrakām-ya-tī (desires a son), stem putrā-kāma- (desiring sons, children; putrās son, kāma-s wish, love). Here we must esp. mention the verbs in -anya which occur in the earliest Sanskrit (the Vēdas): they are formed from abstract nouns in -ana- (n. sg. -ana-m, ntr.), e.g. kāraṇa-ya-tī (he goes), stem kāraṇa-(going) vēkar (go); bhūraṇ-ya-tī (quivers, is in motion), stem bhūraṇa- (adj. active), vēbūr (quiver, move rapidly). Cf. Gk. examples such as μαραύεω (makes to wither away), i.e. ma-rana-ū, vēmar origl. (die).

To stems in s, -ya- is added immediately, e.g. tapas-ya-ti (chastises himself), stem tiapas- (mortification); namas-ya-ti (worships), stem niṃmas- (worship). Through the analogy of such forms arose a denominative-form in -syā-, which comes into use also where there is no noun-stem in -as-. In other than present forms, generally, the y only remains (e.g. fut. namasy-īsyā-tī), yet this y also often disappears (namasy-īsyā-tī),
§ 84. so that these stems then coincide with those to be treated in § 85.

It is difficult to explain the suffix -paya-, which is added regularly to verbal roots in a, more rarely to other roots also, and further to monosyllabic, and also less frequently to other noun-stems in a; in function it corresponds perfectly to -aya-, i.e. -ya-. Before this sf. a is regularly lengthened to a, or raised a step, e.g. dā-payā-ti, 3 sg. pres. caus. vb. √da (give); satyā-payā-ti (speaks truth), st. satyā- (true); ar-payā-ti, caus. √ar (rise, go); āya-payā-ti (makes to know), √āya (learn) = āya, origl. āya; also others show a instead of regular ā; hence fms. like āpayā-ti, caus. √āj (conquer), appear to be formed acc. to analogy of the frequent roots in a, and not to assume -āpayā- as an element of formation, before which the final of the root must have been lost.

The attempts to prove the existence of this -paya- in other Indo-European languages seem to me unsuccessful on the whole, so that I prefer to consider it as a new formation in Indian, a view which is borne out likewise by the frequent occurrence of -paya- in the Prākṛt. Probably they are compound-fms. (Benfey, kl. Sanskritgrammatik, § 123), containing a √pa=ap, meaning 'do, make,' cf. āp-ās, Lat. op-ūs, Gk. το-ίεω, f.f āpayā-mi, the latter (connected with √pa by means of a noun-stem *τοιω-, i.e. pā-ya-; cf. Sk. stem dā-ya-, giving, masc. gift, √da) formed from this root; pa-ya- will then be a causative stem of this root, precisely in the same way as the causative kāraya-, √kar (make), often appears in the function of the stem-verb.

Note.—Pālāya-ti, 3 sg. pres. caus. √pa (protect), is not immediately formed from the root, but from a noun-stem pā-lā (n. sg. pā-lā-s watcher, guard), and is therefore perfectly regular.

Greek.1 Original -a-ya- has become *-a-ye-,*-e-ye,*-o-ye-;
according to recognized phonetic laws $y$ is lost between vowels § 84.

(cf. § 65, 1, e), e.g. τιμᾶ (honours) = τιμαίει fr. *τιμαγε-τι fr. τιμη (honour); φοιτᾶ (goes frequently) = *φοιταγε-τι fr. φοιτο-ς (frequent going); δαμᾶ = *δαμαγε-τι (cf. δάμη 

(GK. LAT. 177 108x532) -yd- {a-yC(-).}

verbal-stems after analogy of vowel-stems, etc. These verbs in -eye- are much used in Gk. (in Lat., on the contrary, those in -a-).

Further, χρυσοῖ (gilds) = χρυσόει fr.*χρυσογε-τι fr. χρυσό-ς (gold), etc. The less common verbs in -eye- are mostly formed from noun-stems in i, and are not therefore to be traced back to -a-ya-, e.g. κονίω (make dusty) from *κονιω, *κονιγομι, fut. κονίσω, stem κονι- (κονι-ς, gen. κονιος, κονιες, dust). Some of these derived verb-stems form presents also by means of -shka- (v. post. “Conjugation”), e.g. ηβά-σκε-ι (becomes a man, pubescit) beside ηβά-, ηβά-ει (ηβη manhood), where nevertheless we may perhaps assume that ηβάσκω is formed direct from stem ηβα- (cf. however Lat.); ἀλδη-σκω (wax) beside ἀλδεω, etc.

Since in Gk., after sounds other than origl. $a$, -ya- is confined to the pres., the derived verbal-stems apparently formed by means of it will occur hereafter, i.e. where we speak of those verbs whose stem is the noun-stem without any further addition.

Note.—In Gk. stem-verbs often assume the form of derived verbs in certain tense-forms, e.g. πέρδω, but παρδη-σομαι, v. post. § 165.

Latin. In Lat., and, so far as we can see, in the other Italic languages, we find three forms caused by the splitting-up of
§ 84. The a of original -a-ya- into a, e, and through its being weakened to i.

1. -aya- is contracted into -ā-, e.g. sēda-t (sets, settles) for sēdā-t, *sēdayi-t, f.f. sādaya-ti, cf. *sed in sēd-eo (sit); dōma-t (tames) = Gk. δαμαῦ, Sk. damāya-ti; in 1 sg. -ayō, i.e. -ayāmi, becomes *ao, by elision of y, retained in Umbrian as au in subuoca = Lat. *subuoca, *subuoco; this ao was then further contracted to ō, like Gk. -ao fr. -ayō(μι) to ω, e.g. sēdō for *sēdayō-mi, f.f. sādayā-mi; 2 sg. sēdā-s, f.f. sād-aya-si, etc.; perf. sēdā-vi, part. sēdā-tus. This formation is very common in noun-stems, also in those which end in i no less than those which end in a consonant, e.g. forma-t (shapes) fr. forma (shape); planta-t (plants) fr. planta (plant); fūma-t (smokes) fr. fūmu-s (smoke), st. fūmo-, dōna-t (gives), st. dōno- (dōnu-m gift); formations from participles and the like in -to- are particularly common, e.g. canta-t (sings), st. canto- (cantu-s), past part. pass. of can-it (sings); facta-t (makes, intensive), st. facto-, part. of fac-it (makes); quassa-t (shakes, intensive) fr. quasso-, part. of quat-it (shakes), etc. Of this class are the forms in -tita-, -ita-, like factita-t (makes often), cf. facta-t, dictita-t (says often) beside dicta-t, stem dicto- (dic-it says, dic); volita-t (flies, flits) beside uola-t; vocita-t (calls often) beside uoca-t (calls), etc. Further, piscā-tur (fishes) fr. pisci-s (fish); nōmina-t (names) fr. nōmen nōmin-is (name); rēmīga-t (rows), stem rēmīg- in rēmex, rēmīg-is (rower) [prob. formed fr. stem rēmo- in rēmu-s ear, and iy weakened from ag (ag-ere)]; after the analogy of such forms arose a verbal-termination -igā-, e.g. cast-iga-t, lēu-iga-t, etc., even without a corresponding substantive. A list of verbs in -ā- in Oscan is given by Corssen, Zeitschr. v. 96 sqq.

Note. — In cases like son-ui beside sona-t (sounds) fr. sonu-s (sound), the derivational element is lost, cf. monui in 2.

2. -aya- is contracted to -ē-, e.g. monē-mus fr. *moneyi-mus, f.f. mānayā-masi, 1 pl. pres. caus. verb ā man (think), moneo
VERB-STEMS IN ORIGL. -ya- (-a-ya-). LAT. 179

(not remind), i.e. mānāyā for mānāyā-mi, 1 sg. pres.; 1 sg. pf. monui, § 84. not *monē-UI; past part. pass. moni-tu-s, not *monē-tus (v. post. formation of pf. in Lat.); thus e.g. flāuceo (am yellow) fr. flāuo-s (yellow); cāneo (am grey) fr. cānu-s (grey); saluceo (am hale) fr. saluo-s (hale); flōreo (bloom) for *flōseo from consonantal stem flōs- (flōs, gen. flor-is for *flōs-is, blossom), etc. Underived verbs have very often assumed this form.

3. -aya- contracted to -i-, 1 sg. -i-o = -iyo, -ayā fr. -ayā-mi, e.g. sōpio (make sleepy) = *sōpiyō, f.f. svāpayā for svāpayā-mi, sōpi-mus = *sōpiyi-mus, f.f. svāp-ayā-masi, 1 sg. pl. pres. caus. verb √ repell (sleep); perf. sōpi-ui, past part. pass. sōpi-tu-s; mollē-mus (soften) = *molliyi-mus fr. molli-s (soft), therefore the i is origl. here, as in many other cases, e.g. iūni-mus (we end), iūni-s (end); lēni-mus (we smooth), lēni-s (smooth, mild), etc., yet others are by no means wanting where i is not caused by the termination of the underlying noun-stem, e.g. saeni-mus (we rage), saeno-s (raging); equi-t (wants the stallion), f.f. akeaya-ti, cf. Sk. ačvāya-ti; equo-s (horse), origl. akva-s, Sk. ačva-s; pūni-mus (we punish), poena (penalty), etc. Examples like custōdi-mus (we guard), stem custōd- (custōs guardian), may likewise be reduced to stems in i (custōdi-), because in Lat. all consonantal stems follow the analogy of i-stems in most cases. In this way, by means of i, verbs were formed from the part. (nom. agentis) ending in origl. -tar, Lat. -tūr-, -tūru-s, — retaining the archaic short form of origl. -tar (still found underlying secondary formations such as uic-tr-ic-, doc-tr-ina, fr. *uic-tōr-ic-, *doc-tōr-ina) — e.g. ēsuri-mus (wish to eat), i.e. *ed-tur-ī-mus, f.f. ad-tar-ayā-masi, stem ēsor = *ed-tor-, origl. ad-tar- (ed-o eat); cf. § 77, 1, b), par-tur-ī-mus (wish to bear), fr. *par-tor- (par-io bear), etc.

Note.—Lat. has no verbs corresponding to those of Gk. in -οω: G. Curtius indicates their traces in ‘Ueber die Spuren einer lateinischen o-Conjugation,’ Symbola philologor. Bommens. in honor. Fr. Ritschelii collecta, fasc. i. Lips. 1864, p. 271 sqq.
§ 84. In Lat. the forms of stem-verbs and derived-verbs are mixed in many ways. Often stem-verbs take the form of derived verbs in the pres.; under this head come many cases such as e.g. *unī-nūs beside *uēn-i, unē-tum, re-perī-nūs beside re-p(e)per-i, re-per-tum. Verbs in eo show on the contrary a regular loss of the derivation-element in all stems except the pres., so that here the stem-verbs which assume -ē (=-aya-) in pres. only (as e.g. sed-ē-nūs beside sēd-i, sessum = *sēd-tum; uīd-ē-nūs beside uīd-i, uīsum=*uīd-tum, § 77, 1, b) cannot be distinguished from derived verbs which have lost the same element.

These derived verb-stems may form (in order to express inchoation) their pres. also by means of -ska- (v. post. formation of pres.-stem), e.g. in-ucē-tu-rā-sū = *nēcesā- stem ucē-rā in uctus, ucē-rās (old); flāu-nūs; ob-dornī-sū-tu-rā (grows drowsy), cf. ob-dornī-nū, ob-dornī-tu-m, etc.

§ 85. Noun-stems used as verb-stems without change are found here and there in the languages. These formations are recent.

From this class of stems we must separate those verb-stems (mostly present-stems) which do not presuppose a noun-stem for their formation, though they coincide with one; e.g. tanu- from √ta, tan (stretch); bhara-, √bhar (ferre), etc.; an origl. tanu-tai, 3 sg. pres. med., bhara-ti, 3 sg. pres. act., are not formed from a noun tanu-s (tenuis), bhara-s (φοπός), but both are mere coincidences in their stem-formation. If these verb-stems had been derived from nouns, the characteristic suffix would have remained throughout, whilst in fact it forms only the present (or aorist), but does not exist in the other tense-stems. On the other hand, the formations now in question are closely connected with those treated of in the preceding paragraph, from which sometimes they cannot be clearly separated.

Sanskrit. Rare, e.g. lōhita-ti (is red) fr. lōhita-s (red), etc.

Greek. Here noun-stems are very often used as verb-stems
likewise, in that the present-stem is formed by means of -γα- § 85.

(our class V. of Present-stem-formation), while the noun-stem appears pure in the other tense-stems. To this kind belong the numerous verbs in -ζω and -σσω, e.g., ἑλπίζει (hopes), i.e. *ἑλπιδ- -γα-τι, stem ἑλπίδ- (n. sg. ἑλπίς hope, gen. sg. ἑλπίδ-ος); ἑρίζει (strives), stem ἑρίδ- (ἔρις strife); in these cases, however, ζ, like the δ of the corresponding noun-stems, might be simply = γ, and thus *ἑλπι- -γα-τι, *ἑρι- -γα-τι, be assumed as fundamental forms, cf. § 65, 1, e, note; yet γ between vowels = γ is in my opinion still doubtful); ἑπιμάζει (counts by fives), i.e. *ἐπιμάδ- -γα-τι, stem ἐπιμάδ- (ἐπιμάδ number 5, collection of five); ἑπιτάζει (lashes), i.e. *ἐπιτάδ- -γα-τι, stem ἐπιτάδ- (ἐπιτάδ lash); ἑμπάζει (seizes), i.e. *ἐρπαγ- -γα-τι, stem ἐρπαγ- (ἐρπαγ grasping), fut. in Hom. ἐρπάζω, i.e. *ἐρπαγ- -σσω, but subsequently ἐρπάζω, as though a stem *ἐρπαδ- underlay it, a confusion between -δ- and -γ- stems not uncommon, caused by the identity of the present-tense in each; ἑπιμάζει (counts by fives), i.e. *ἐπιμάδ- -γα-τι, stem ἐπιμάδ- (ἐπιμάδ trumpet), the nasal falling away before γ = γι, just as it does before σ, cf. fut. ἑπιμάζεσσω, i.e. *ἐπιμάζεσσω, etc. From such cases arose the common terminations -ιζω, -αζω, which afterwards came to be used as independent terminations. In like manner was developed the termination -σσω, which arose in the case of stems in τ, θ, κ, χ, e.g. βλάπτω (cut honey), i.e. *μελιτ- -γα- (§ 68, 1, b. f.), *μελιτ- -σσω, stem μελιτ- (μελις, gen. μελιτ-ος honey); κορύσσω (fit with a helm), i.e. *κορυθ- -γα- (κόρυς, gen. κορυθ-ος helm); κηρύσσω (proclaim), i.e. *κηρυκ- -γα-, stem κηρύκ- (κηρυκ, gen. κηρυκ-ος herald); ιμάζω (I lash), i.e. *ιματ- -γα-, stem ιμάτ- (ιμάς, gen. ιμάτ-ος strap); ἀνάζω (am king), i.e. *ἀνακτ- -γα-, with loss of κ in the group κτυ, st. ἀνακτ- (ἀναξ, gen. ἀνακτ-ος lord), etc.

Noun-stems in s are seen in τελείει, τελέει, τελεί (completes), i.e. *τελεσ- -γα-τι, stem τελες- (cf. τε-τελεσ- -μαι pf. pass.) in τέλος, gen. τέλους, i.e. *τελεσ- -σσω (end); νεικείω, νεικέω (wrangle), i.e.,

**NOUN-STEMS USED AS VERB-STEMS. GK.**
§ 85. *neiKes-ya, stem neιKes- (neikos ntr. quarrel); ευνυχέει (is happy), i.e. *ευνυχεέο-ye-τι, stem ευνυχ的真实性 (adj. n. sg. masc. ευνυχής happy), etc.

From origl. -an-stems arise verbs in -aινω, i.e. *-ayγo, e.g. μελαίνει (blackens), i.e. *μελαν-ye-τι, stem μέλαν- (n. sg. masc. μέλας, ntr. μέλαν, gen. μέλαν-ος black); afterwards this termn. extended also to stems which do not end in -an, e.g. λευκαίνει (whitens), i.e. *λευκαν-ye-τι, stem λευκό- (λευκό-ς white), etc.

A similar case occurs in verbs in -υνω, i.e. *-υνυω, *-υνηω; here, however, ν is probably origl. from a present-formation in υα (v. post., present-stem); e.g. ηδόνει (sweetens), i.e. *ηδόν-ηγε-τι, f.f. σκάδυ-νηα-τι, stem ηδύ- (ηδύ-ς sweet), f.f. σκαδύ-; ιθόνει (straightens), stem ιθύ- (ιθύ-ς straight); ευρόνει (broadens), stem ευρύ- (ευρύ-ς broad), etc. This ending also passed over to other stems, e.g. μεγαλόνει (enlarges), st. μεγάλο- (great); λαμπρόνει (brightens), stem λαμπρό- (bright), etc.

From r-stems arise e.g. τεκμαίρομαι (proclaim, infer), i.e. *τεκμαρ-γο-μαι, stem τέκμαρ (aim, mark); μαρτύρομαι (call to witness), i.e. *μαρτυρ-γο-μαι, stem μάρτυρ- (μάρτυς, gen. μάρτυρ-ος witness).

After stem-terminations in vowels γ is entirely lost (as in φύω, earlier φύιω; ὄπιω, earlier ὀπτιω, v. post. § 165), e.g. μεθύει (is drunken), i.e. *μεθυ-γε-τι, f.f. μαθύν-γα-τι, stem μέθυν (ntr. mead); βασιλέαν-(γ)-ε-(τ)ι (is king), stem βασιλέαν- (βασιλέας king); υδελεύ-ει (counsels) from an unused stem *βουλένυ- (formed like φορέυ-ς bearer) and many more.

Frequently the noun-stem loses as a verb-stem the final vowel -o-, e.g. μαλάσσω (soften), i.e. *μαλακ-γο, fut. μαλάξω = *μαλακ-σω, stem μαλακό- (μαλακό-ς soft); ιύξω (scream), i.e. *ιγγ-γο, fut. ιύξω = *ιγγ-σω, cf. ιγγη (shriek); μειλίσσω (soothe, exhilarate), i.e. *μειλίχ-γο, stem μειλίχο- (μειλίχο-ς mild, friendly); καθαίρω (purify), i.e. *καθαρ-γο, stem καθαρό- (καθαρό-ς pure); δαιδάλλω (work cunningly), i.e.
*διαδελ-γο, stem διαδελα- (cunningly wrought); ἄγγέλλω (an- § 85. nounce), i.e. *ἀγγέλ-γο, stem ἄγγελα- (masc. messenger);
ποικίλλω (adorn) fr. ποικίλο-ς (variegated); καμπύλλω (bend) fr. καμπύλα-ς (bent), etc.

Present-stems of similar derived verbs are also formed by means of the stem-formative suffix origl. -skα- (§ 165, VI.), e.g. μεθυ-σκει (makes drunk), f.f. madhu-skα-li, stem μεθυ- (mead).

After labials occurs also the sf. origl. -τα- (§ 165, VII.) similarly used, e.g. ἀστράπ-τω (lighten) from ἀστραπτη (lightning-flash); χαλέπ-τω (press hard) from χαλεπτο-ς (hard), etc., with loss of the vowel stem-termination of the noun, provided these verbs are really derived.

As regards the verbs whose present-stem terminates in origl. -ασνυ-, e.g. στορέννυμι (spread) for *στορος-νυ-μυ, f.f. staras-nau-mi, f.f. of stem staras-nu, stem of remaining tenses στορε-, f.f. staras-,—a stem-form which frequently occurs also among nouns (v. post.),—for these verbs, which belong here by rights, v. post. under 'Present-stem-formation'; they appear as stem-verbs, because the noun-forms underlying them do not really exist in the language.

In Latin a few noun-stems are used as verb-stems; the present is formed, as in Gk., by means of -ya- (§ 165, V.); but the formation is confined to u-stems, e.g. statui-t (sets up), i.e. *statu-yi-t, f.f. statu-ya-ti fr. sta-tu-s (subst. standing); metui-t (fears) from metu-s (fear); acui-t (sharpens) from acu-s (needle); tribui-t (assigns) fr. tribu-s (division); minui-t (lessens) from a non-existent *minu-s (small), of which minus (smaller) for *minius, f.f. *manyans, is the comparative.

Verb-stems, formed by reduplication of the root, § 86. and addition of -sa- or -s- in other tenses than the present (called desideratives from their function).

s frequently appears as an element in stem- and word-formation, and must be traced back either to the pronominal √ sa, or,
§ 86. as is more probable in the case in question, to verbal √as (esse).

Although these formations occur in Sk. and Zend only, yet they depend, like all reduplicated forms, on a very early method of expression, arising in that period of the language when the invariable roots possessed reduplication alone as a means of increasing their power of expressing relativity; Gk. forms such as μν-μνό-σκω, μν-μνή-σκω, correspond with the Aryan languages at least in reduplication, and it is the reduplication of the root only that we consider ancient. We doubt therefore whether the method of formation belonging to the Aryan language, so far as we know it, should be assigned to the origl. language. Here perhaps the reduplication alone, without any special suffix, served to express desiderative relation.

Sanskrit (special grammars must be consulted for further details of Sk. desiderative-stem-formation). Before the s of the sf. there is found an auxiliary vowel i after most root-terminations (§ 15, f). The reduplication is completely retained only in cases of the simplest kinds of root, e.g. ár-ir-i-śa-ti, 3 sg. pres. (he wishes to go), √ ar (go; 3 sg. pres. r-ṇō-tī), cf. ṛp-ṛp-śkō (fit), at least the same root is reduplicated; otherwise, as is usual, only the initial consonant of the root or its representative according to sound-laws (v. post. formation of Perfect) remains with root-vowel, which is weakened to i whenever it is origl. a, e.g. ḥi-ḥā-śa-ti (wishes to know), fut. ḥi-ḥā-s-i-ḥyā-ti, aor. comp. á-ḥi-ḥā-s-i-ḥat, etc., ḥā transposed fr. origl. gan (know); didṛk-śa-tē (wishes to see), ṛ darq, origl. dark, for *di-dark-sa-tāi, kī-kḷp-sa-tī and kī-kḷp-i-śa-tē, kālp (be in order); some verbs lengthen the vowel of the reduplication-syllable (weakened from a), e.g. mī-mā-sa-tē, i.e. *mā-mān-sa-tāi (considers, reflects), ṛ man (think); ṣā-yut-sa-ti (wishes to fight), ṛ yudh; ṛi-vik-śa-ti (wishes to enter), ṛi vē, origl. vik; Ḳi-ḳśip-sa-ti (wishes to throw), ṛ kśip (throw), etc.
2. Noun-stems which are most closely connected with verb-stems § 87. (participles and infinitives) and also certain other noun-stems.

I. The root without suffix is also a noun-stem.

This formation occurs in Aryogrecoïtalic only; it is foreign to Sclavoteutonic.

Indo-European original-language. To the Indo-Eur. origl. lang. have most likely to be ascribed such root-forms as e.g. bhar (bear), vid (see), yudh (fight), etc., in the functions of nomina actionis and nomina agentis. As verb-stems they occur in the simple aorist (§ 164), e.g. da-; in pres. (§ 165), e.g. as- (I. a), ai- and i- (II. a). Reduplicated root without sff. is either perfect-stem (§ 163), e.g. vi-vid-, da-da-; or pres.-stem as dha-dha-, da-da- (III.), or aorist-stem (§ 164).

Sanskrit. The root appears not unfrequently as a nomen actionis and nomen agentis, e.g. in infinitives, as dṛg- (dat. dṛg-ē to see), sad- (dat. ā-sād-ē to seat oneself), kram- (dat. ati-kram-ē transgress); ya- (dat. ā-yāi fr.*ā-ya-ai come); rūbh- (acc. rūbh-am desire, do); idh- (acc. sam-idh-am kindle), etc. Similar roots, acting as verb-stems likewise, are also used in ordinary Sk. as nomina actionis, e.g. yudh- (fem. battle), sam-pād- (fem. happiness; sam- with, pad go); roots with a also raise it to ā, e.g. vāk (speech), ṣvāk (speak). At the end of compounds such stems as coincide in form with roots and primary verb-stems are often found used as nomina agentis, e.g. dharma-vid- (knowing one’s duty), etc. Roots in ā lose it before most cases, or raise it to ā, e.g. viśva-p- (loc. viśva-p-i) and viśva-pā- (e.g. instr. pl. viśva-pā-bhīs), f.f. of stem viśva-pa- (all-protecting), ṣvā pa (protect).

The pure root-forms appear more rarely in this function without composition, e.g. dṛg- (eye, i.e. seeing), ṣvṛg (see); viṛ- (masc. cultivator, husbandman, man), ṣvīṛ (enter, settle, cf. rēc-a- masc., rēc-man- ntr. house); ṭiv-, ṭivu- (m. f. heaven) with different scale-steps, e.g. ṭiv-ī, ṭivāv-ī loc. sg., ṭivāu-s n. sg., ṭiv (shine);
§ 87. mah- (great), / mah (māh wax). Reduplicated roots without sf. are seen in Vēd. infinitive-stems such as gigrath- (dat. gigrath-e), cf. reduplicated pres.-stem gigrath-, / grath (loosen).

In the stems vak-ś- (dat. vak-ś-e), / vak (uchere); ūjē-ś- (dat. ūjē-ś-e) and ūji-ś- (dat. ūji-ś-e), / ūji (conquer); stu-ś- (dat. stu-ś-e), / stu (praise) aorist-stems in s have been rightly detected (Benfey, kurze Sanskritgrammatik, p. 236, § 402, 2)—partly, indeed, non-existent in these forms, but yet possible; cf. e.g. *ā-stu-s-ma 1 pl. act. etc. The s is a relic of /as (be, v. post. § 169) added to the root. We adduce here certain other similar infinitive-stems formed from tense-stems, belonging to the more archaic (Vedic) language, although they partly retain suffixes or their remains; thus vyathīṣya- (dat. vyathīṣyā) like fut. stem vyathīṣya-, / vyath (be vexed, afraid); here -ya- is a suffix (v. post. § 170, Future Tense); muuk- (acc. muuk-ām), whose n comes from pres. stem muuk̑a- (e.g. 3 sg. muuk̑ā-ti), / muk (loose, free).

Greek. The root appears as a noun in cases like Fosπ- (n. sg. ὅψ voice) = origl. væk-, Sk. and Zend væk-, / Fesπ, origl. væk (speak); φλογ- (n. sg. φλόξ flame), / φλεγ (φλέγειν blaze); Zeu- = *Δήειν, ΔιF- (pr. n. of a god, origl. heaven; n. Zeu-s, gen. ΔιF-ός), root origl. div, dny (shine), cf. Sk. dyāu-, div-, etc. This happens more often at the end of compounds, as χέρ-νυβ- (n. sg. χέρνυβ water for handwashing), / νυβ, origl. n̓ίγ (νιξω, νιπτω wash); πρόσ-φυγ- (n. sg. πρόσ-φυξ fugitive), / φυγ (φεύγω flee); ψευσ-στυγ- (n. ψευσ-στυξ lie-hating), / στυγ- (στυγ-έω, ε-στυγ-έωn hate); δι-ξυγ- (δι-ξυξ double-yoked), / ξυγ (ξεύγ-νυμι I yoke, ξυγ-όν yoke); ἀπο-βρόγγ- (n. sg. ἀπο-βροξ for *ἀπο-Φρογ-ς fragment), / Φραγ (break; cf. ἰῃ-νυμι, ἐ-βρογγ-α), etc.

Further, we might here adduce the infinitives of the compound aorist, as e.g. λάναι, λέξαι, which should probably be taken as locatives of stems λάνσα-, λέξα-, i.e. *λεγ-σα- (cf. χαμάλ, stem χαμά-, and infin. in -μέναι, § 91, and in -έναι, § 93, a), scarcely as datives.
of stems \( \text{λν-σ} \), \( \lambda \xi- \), i.e. \( *\text{λγ-ς} \) (cf. Sk.); in any case however § 87. they contain the stem of the aorist compounded with origl. \( \sqrt{\text{as}} \) (be), (e.g. \( \varepsilon\text{λν-σα} \), \( \varepsilon\lambda\xi\alpha \), i.e. \( *\varepsilon\text{λγ-σα} \) as the stem of a nomen actionis which is unused except in this particular case.

Latin. Stems like \( \text{nec-} \) (nec murder), \( \sqrt{\text{nec}} \); \( \text{duc-} \) (dux leader), \( \sqrt{\text{duc}} \); with step-formation \( \text{lég-} \) (lex law), \( \sqrt{\text{leg}} \); \( \text{pāc-} \) (pax peace), \( \sqrt{\text{pac}} \); \( \text{lūc-} \), old Lat. \( \text{lonc-} \) (lux light), \( \sqrt{\text{luc}} \), origl. ruk; \( \text{uōc-} \) (nox voice), \( \sqrt{\text{uoc}} \); \( \text{vēg-} \) (rex king), \( \sqrt{\text{reg}} \). Further, stems used at the end of compounds, e.g. \( \text{in-dic-} \) (iudex judge), \( \sqrt{\text{dic}} \); \( \text{con-iug-} \) (coniux mate), \( \sqrt{\text{iug}} \); \( \text{prae-sid-} \) (praeses president), \( \sqrt{\text{sed}} \) (sed-eo); \( \text{tubi-cin} \) (tubicen trumpeter), \( \sqrt{\text{can}} \) (can-o); \( \text{arti-fic-} \) (artifex skilled workman), \( \sqrt{\text{fac}} \) [on weakening of a to i v. § 32, 2; on e interchanged with i v. § 38], and others show the root as a noun-stem.

II. Stems with suffix \(-a\). § 88.

This is one of the commonest formations; before the sf. \(-a\) the root is sometimes raised, sometimes unraised.

Indo-European original-language. Already plenty of stems in \(-a\) were existent, as \( \text{yug-a-} \), cf. Sk. \( \text{yug-a-} \), Gothic \( \text{yuk} \), etc., \( \sqrt{\text{yug}} \); \( \text{vid-a-} \), cf. Lat. \( \text{vid-o-} \), e.g. \( \text{pro-ui-du-s} \); \( \text{bhag-a-} \) (god), cf. Sk. \( \text{bhaga-} \), Zend \( \text{bagha-} \), Pers. \( \text{baga-} \), O. Bulg. \( \text{bogu} \), \( \sqrt{\text{bhag}} \); \( \text{bhar-a-} \), cf. Lat. \( \text{fer-o-} \), e.g. \( \text{ensi-feru-m} \); \( \text{bhug-a-} \) (god), cf. Sk. \( \text{bhaga-} \), Zend \( \text{bagha-} \), Pers. \( \text{baga-} \), O. Bulg. \( \text{bogu} \), \( \sqrt{\text{bhag}} \); \( \text{vark-a-} \) (wolf), \( \sqrt{\text{vark}} \); \( \text{daic-a-} \) (shining, god), \( \sqrt{\text{div}} \) (shine), etc.

Amongst verb-stems here belong all conjunctive-stems (§ 161), e.g. \( \text{as-a-} \), pres. stem and \( \sqrt{\text{as}} \); moreover simple aorist-stems (§ 164), as \( \text{bhug-a-} \), \( \sqrt{\text{bhug}} \); \( \text{vavak-a-} \), \( \sqrt{\text{vak}} \); so too pres.-stems (§ 165) like \( \text{bhar-a-} \), \( \sqrt{\text{bhar}} \) (I. b); \( \text{srae-a-} \), \( \sqrt{\text{sru}} \) (II. b); thus here also, as in the case of noun-stems, partly with, partly without, raising of root-vowel.

Sanskrit. Stems in \(-a\), identical with verb-stems, are frequently used as nouns, e.g. nomina actionis like \( \text{bhāv-a-} \) (masc. being, origin; cf. 3 sg. pres. \( \text{bhāva-ti} \), \( \sqrt{\text{bhū}} \) (become, be); \( \text{bhār-a-} \) (masc. burden; 3 sg. pres. \( \text{bhāra-ti} \), \( \sqrt{\text{bhar}} \) (ferre); \( \text{gāy-a-} \) (masc. victory; pres. \( \text{gāya-ti} \), \( \sqrt{\text{gī}} \) (conquer); \( \text{bōdh-a-} \)
§ 88. (masc. knowledge; pres. bōdha-ti), √budh (know); bhōg-a- (masc. use, enjoyment; a pres. *bhōga-ti or *bhōjya-ti does not occur), √bhuṣ (enjoy); bhēd-a- (masc. splitting), √bhid (split), etc. The datives of these nomina actionis serve for infinitives, e.g. bharāya, etc.; the accusatives, mostly repeated, for gerunds, e.g. gāmāgāmam (ever going), fr. gam-a-, √gam (go); so bōdha-a-m, √budh (know); bhēd-a-m, √bhid (split); stār-a-m, √stā (praise); kār-a-m, √kar (make, e.g. svādū-kāram bhunākār ‘having sweetened he eats’), etc.

Nomina agentis of similar form are found in e.g. plār-a- (masc. boat; pres. plāra-ti), √plu (float); kar-a- (adj. going; pres. kāra-ti), √kar (go); vah-a- (adj. carrying; pres. vāha-ti), √vah (uchere); dhēr-a- (shining, god), √dhīr (shine); gīv-a- (living; pres. gīva-ti), √gīv (live), etc. This kind of stem-form is preserved most frequently at the end of compounds or words syntactically combined, as ariv-damā- (arī-m acc. sg.; foesubduing), √dam, etc.

In composition with su- (su- and dus- (dus-) adjectives of this kind act like participia necessitatis, e.g. su-kār-a- (easy to be made), dus-kār-a- (difficult to be made), √kar (make), etc.

Feminines of the same kind are e.g. bhid-a- (splitting), √bhid (split; 3 sg. simple aor. ā-bhidā-t); kǒndh-a (hunger), √kǒndh (hunger); mud-a (joy), √mud (enjoy oneself); mṛgya (hunt), verb-stem mṛgya-, 3 sg. pres. mṛgya-ta (track, seek), etc.

Such noun-stems in -a- serve for periphrasis of the perfect, and in Vēd. also of the aorist, in many verbs, especially all derived verbs, by being placed, in the acc. sg. fem., before the perfect, in Vēd. also before the aorist of an auxiliary verb (kar make; bhu become, be; as be), e.g. st. būbōdhiśa-, 3 sg. pf. babōdhiśā kākāra or babhūva or āsa, cf. 3 sg. pres. babōdhiśa-ti, intensive √budh (know); st. bōdhaya- (e.g. bōdhayā kākāra, 3 sg. perf.), 3 sg. pres. bōdhaya-ti, caus. √budh; st. vidā- (3 sg. perf. vidā kākāra, Vēdic aor. vidām akar), √vid (see, know), etc.
Greek. Here also nouns in -a- are common, as Fépy-o- (neut. § 88. work), Ἑψεργ (ἕργ-άζοι-μαυ I work); φορ-ό- (adj. bearing), φόρ-ό- (tribute), φορ-ά (fem. payment; quick motion), ϕερ (ferre); τόμ-ο- (masc. cutting, piece), τομ-ή (cutting, stump), τεμ- (τέμ-νο, ἕ-τεμ-ον cut); κυρ-ό- (neut. yoke), κυρ (bind together); φυγ-ή (fem. flight), ϕυγ (ϕευγ-ω, ϕυγ-ον flee); πλόφο-ο- (masc. voyage), πλαίον (πλαό-ω sail); ἱρό- ἐ-τί (stream), ἱρ, origl. ἱρό (ἱρός, origl. ἱρα-άμι flow); σπουδ-ή (haste), σπουδ (σπεύδω hasten); λοιπ-ό- (adj. remaining), λιπ (λείπ-ω, ἕ-λιπ-ον leave); ἄκ-ωκ-ή (point) reduplicated ἄκ (be sharp), etc. These forms are mostly not distinguished from the pres.-stems ϕερ-, λειτ-, πιλεό-έ, except by the stronger step-formation of the root-vowel (perhaps in an unoriginal manner, cf. e.g. Sk. bhara- plava-, etc.).

In compounds also these nouns with suffix origl. -a-, are used, as in Sanskrit, e.g. ἰππ-ό-δαμ-ο- (masc. horse-taming); even the peculiar relation of these noun-stems after δυσ- and εὐ- is not wanting, e.g. δυσ-φορ-ό- (hard to bear)=Sk. ἱρ-βαρ-α- (cf. supr.).

Concerning the infinitives of the aorist, as e.g. λόςαι, λέγαι, which must be taken as locatives from stems like λό-α- and λέγα- = *λεγ-σα, v. supr. § 87.

Latin. Suffix -a- is found in uad-o- (ntr. uadum ford), uad (go); fid-o- (fidus faithful), fid; iug-o- (iugum yoke) iug; son-o- (sonus sound), son; coqu-o- (coquus cook), coqu; merg-o- (mergus gull), merg; uiu-o- (adj. living), uiu (live; 3 pres. uiu-i); mú-o- (godlike), déo- (god) fr. *dēu-o-, *deiu-o-, origl. div (shine); rutf-o- (red), rub, ruf, origl. rdāl (be red), etc.

A great many nouns of this sort occur at the end of compounds, as eausi-die-o- (causidicus), die; miri-fic-o- (mirificus), fac; male-ul-o- (maleulus), uol; ensi-fèr-o- (ensifer), fer; armi-ger-o- (armiger), ger, ges, etc.

Not unfrequently stems of this kind appear with lengthened
§ 88. Stem-terminations, although expressing masculine relations, as *collég-a* beside *sacri-lég-o* (sacrilegus), √*leg*; *trans-fug-a* beside *pro-fug-o* (profugus), √*fug*; *parri-cid-a*, √*caed*; *ad-uen-a*, √*uen*; *indi-gen-a*, √*gen*; *agri-col-a*, √*col*, etc. In Gk. a perfectly corresponding formation is e.g. *ebpó-oτ-a*.

Feminines of this sort are *mol-a* (mill), √*mol* (molere grind); *töy-a* (upper garment), √*teg* (tegere cover), etc.

As a secondary suffix -a- occurs, mostly accompanied by step-formation of the stem-vowel, e.g. Sanskrit stem *āyasá-* (adj. iron), stem *āyas-* (iron); *cairá-* (masc. Čiva-worshipper), stem *cīva*, (nom. propr. of the god); the secondary suffix -a-becomes amalgamated with final a when the underlying stem ends in a, so that practically no fresh suffix is here added; *dānihitrá-* (masc. daughter's-son), stem *dāhitár-* (daughter); *mānacā-* (masc. man), stem *manū-* (masc. prop. noun of the primeval man), etc.

Greek. e.g. in Íγεμώνη (leader fem.), stem Íγεμών- (masc. Íγεμών leader); ὀ-πατρο- (having same father), stem *πατέρ*-; here, as often, shortened to *πατρ* before suffix -o-; ἰστ-ό- (masc. citizen, burgher), ἰσ-τυ (city), which has lost its termination before suffix -a-, etc.

Latin. Here belong cases like decóro- (decorus graceful, decent, adj.) fr. *decus*, gen. *decor-is* (ornament, dignity); honóro- (honourable) fr. *honós*, gen. *honór-is* (honour), and their like.

§88a. III. Stems with suffix -i-.

Suffix -i- is on the whole rare. In Indo-Eur. *ak-i-* (eye) is capable of proof, √*ak* (be sharp, see; cf. Joh. Schmidt, d. wurzel AK, Weimar, 1865, p. 38); *agh-i-* (snake; cf. Sk. āh-i, Zend, až-i-, Gk. ἄχ-ε, Lat. angu-i-, Lith. ang-i-), √*agh*.

Sanskrit. Nomina actionis and agentis, without, and more rarely with step-formation, also with weakening of root-vowel, e.g. *kīś-i-* (fem. ploughing), √*karś* (plough); *sák-i-* (fem. friendship), √*sak* (follow); *lip-i-* (fem. writing), √*lip* (smear); *yā́y-i-* (masc. sacrificer), √*yāy* (sacrifice); *khid-i-* (fem. axe), √*khid*
(split); āk- (adj. pure), √āk (shine); bodh-i- (adj. wise), §88a.√budh (know); gir-i (masc. mountain), √gar (be heavy), etc.; with reduplicated root, e.g. já-gm-i- (going, hastening), √gam (go); ja-glu-i- (striking, slaying), √han, i.e. ghan (slay); sā-sah-i- (bearing), √sah (bear), etc.

Greek. e.g. *ōk- (ntr. eye); retained in dual ḍoṣe = *ōke, *ōke, √ origl. ak (be sharp, see); πóλ- (fem. city), origl. √par (fill, be full); τρόχ- (masc. runner), √τρέχ (τρέχ-ω I run), etc.

Latin. scob-i (scobis, scobs, fern, sawdust, shavings), √scabo (scrape); trud-i- (trudis fern, punting-pole), √trud (trudo push); ou-i-(ouis fem. sheep, cf. ὕφ-ς, Sk. āv-i-s, Lith. av-i-s) fr. a √u, av (perhaps in sense of 'clothe,' in which it appears in Lat. and Slavonic), etc.

IV. Stems with suffix -u.- §88b. This suffix, though not very common, is yet on the whole commoner than -i-; in some languages it is much used, in others but little.

Indo-Eur. origl.-lang. āk-u- (adj. swift), √ak (be sharp, swift); prath-u- (adj. broad), √prat; par-u- (adj. full), √par (fill); svād-u- (sweet), √svad; rāgh-u- (light), √rāgh; pak-u- (cattle), √pah (perhaps 'bind').

Sanskrit. The suffix -u- occurs very often, mostly in formation of adjectives, e.g. āc-u- (swift), √ac (reach), origl. ak; prath-ū-usually prth-ū- (broad), √prth (extend oneself, spread); par-ū (much) for *par-u-, √par (fill; 1 sg. pres. pi-par-mi); svād-ū- (sweet), √svad; mrd-ū- (soft), √mrd (crush), etc. Similar adjectives from stems of desiderative verbs are especially common (§ 83), e.g. didrks-u- (wishing to see), cf. didrksa-tē (wishes to see), √darç (see), origl. dark; dits-ū- (wishing to give), cf. ditsa-ti for *di-da-sa-ti (wishes to give), √da, etc. Substantives: e.g. bāndh-u- (masc. relative), √bandh (bind); bhūd-ū- (masc. thunderbolt), √bhū (split); tan-ū- (fem. body), √tan (stretch), etc.

Greek. *ōk- (swift) = Sk. āc-ū-, origl. √ak; πλατ-ū-
§88b. (broad) = Sk. prth-ū-, origl. √prat; τολ-ū- (much) = Sk. pur-ū-, origl. par-ū-, √par; ṣīd-ū- = Sk. svād-ū-, √svad; βap-ū- (heavy) = Sk. gur-ū- for *gar-u-, origl. √gar (be heavy); νέκ-υ- (mase. corpse) = Zend naţ-u-, origl. √nak (die); θρασ-υ- (daring), √θαρς, θρας (be bold; cf. θάρσος boldness), etc.

Latin. These stems have generally been completely shifted to the analogy of the i-declension, by an i having simply been added to the originally final u- e.g. tenu-i- (tenuis thin) from *ten-u-u-, f.f. tan-u-, origl. √tan (stretch); breu-i- (short) for *breigu-i- (§ 73, 1) from *bregu-u-, cf. Gk. βρέχει-ū-, root not otherwise traced; leu-i (light) for *legu-i- from *leg-u- = Gk. ἐλαχεῖ-ū-, Sk. lagh-ū-, origl. ṭαγ in (spring, despise; rāh haste), grau-i- (heavy) prob. for *garu-i- from *gar-u-, Gk. βαπ-υ-, Sk. gur-ū-, origl. gar-υ-; suāu-i- (sweet) for *suādu-i-, from *suād-u-, cf. Gk. ἱδ-υ-, Sk. and origl. svād-ū-. The u-form has been retained in ae-u- (aeus fem. needle), origl. √ak (be sharp); id-u- (fem. the 13th or 15th day of the month), probably from origl. √idh (burn, in sense of ‘be bright,’ thus lit. ‘full-moon’) and other stems of somewhat obscure derivation.

§89. V. Stems with suffix -ya-.

This suffix is very common; it occurs in all Indo-European languages. In Sanskrit by means of it the participium necessitatis is formed.

Like most stem-formative suffixes of Indo-European, the common primary and secondary relative suffix -ya- appears in several functions (cf. pronominal-root ya with demonstr. and relative function, e.g. in nom. sg. masc. Sk. ya-s qui, Lith. ji-s ille, is). Indeed the stem-formative elements of the more simply organized languages are applied in more ways than one; as also are the auxiliary roots which are loosely added to the end of the meaning-sounds (simple roots) of monosyllabic languages. The suffix -ya- has, of course, belonged, even in early times, to the Indo-European.
In Sk. this suffix forms regularly a participle of necessity; § 89. a function of which traces only are found in the other languages. It is a frequent phenomenon to find a certain suffix developing itself in a particular language, so as to become a regular kind of formation, with a peculiar function, whilst in the kindred languages it is otherwise employed; thus e.g. -ya- as the formation of the passive in Sk.; the nasalized present-stems in Sclavonian, Lith., and Gothic as intransitives and passives; -la-, origl. -ra-, as past part. act. in Selav., etc.

1. -ya- as a primary suffix.

Indo-European original language.

It is hard to find examples which can with certainty be traced to the origl. lang. A perfectly trustworthy example of this suffix -ya- would be seen in madh-ya-, if it were certain that madh is the root of Sk. madh-ya= Gk. μέσοο- for *μεθ-γο-; Lat. med-iο-, Goth. mid-ja-. If we may venture to draw an inference for the origl. lang. from the correspondence of Greek and Sanskrit, we may ascribe to it yag-ya- also (to be revered, holy), √yag (revere).

This sf. is common in verb-stems, as e.g. in stems of derived verbs (§ 84) ending in -a-ya-, e.g. bhāra-ya-, √bhar; here belong all optative-stems in -ya- (mostly raised a step to -yā-), e.g. stem as-ya- (§ 162), root and pres.-stem as; moreover many present-stems (§ 165 V.), as e.g. svid-ya-, √svid.

Sanskrit. The function of this sf. -ya- as a primary sf. is by no means exclusively that of a part, necessitatis, cf. e.g. vid-ya (fem. knowledge), √vid (know); vāk-ya- (intr. speech), √vāk; etc. As a rule 1st step-formation of root-vowel occurs before this sf. when it forms a part, necessitatis, e.g. kē-ya-, √kī (gather); yög-ya- and yöḥ-ya-, √yuḍ (iungere); pāk-ya- and pāk-ya-, √pak (cook); har-ya-, √har (take); garīg-ya-, √garīg (roar), etc.; but vīdh-ya-, √vardh (wax); gūh-ya- and gōh-ya-, √guḥ (hide), etc. Instead of the regular contraction to ē, ō, there occurs, in many roots in -i, and in all roots in -u, an unusual
§ 89. loosening of ai, au, into ay, av; e.g. ἱαγ-ya-, √γι (conquer);
κᾶγ-ya-, κῖ (destroy) and σᾶγ-ya-, σᾶγ-ya- (2nd step), √στυ (praise). For details of this formation see special Sk. gramm.

Stems of derived-verbs in -aya- only show the root-vowel raised before sf. -ya-, while the sf. of the verb-stem disappears, e.g. ἱκώρ-ya- fr. verb-stem ἱκώρα- (steal), etc.

Greek possesses no regular participle in -ya-; -ya- as a primary suffix, not uncommonly in the same function as in Sk., nevertheless occurs in cases like ἀγ-ιο- (holy), f.f. yag-ya-, cf. Sk. γαγ-ya- (teneandus), √γαγ (worship); στάγ-ιο- (detestable), √στυ (ἐ-στυν-ου I detested); πάγ-ιο- (firm), √παγ (πριγ-νυμι fasten); πάγ-ος, masc. thing fixed, hill, frost); ἐπείπ-ιο- (ntr. ruins), √ἐπιπ (ἐπείπ-ω, ἐπ-ἐπιπ-το destroy); γλῶσσα (tongue) for γλῶξ-ya- (§ 68, 1, e, β), cf. γλῶξ-ν, gen. γλῶξ-νος (point), μοῦρα = μουρ-ya (§ 26, 3; part, share), √μαρ, cf. μέρος (part); ὁσσα (voice), i.e. *Φοκ-ya (§ 68, e) origl. √φακ, etc.

Latin likewise has no regular participle in -ya-. The suffix appears often primarily, e.g. in ad-ag-iо- (adagium proverb), √αγ (say, cf. αῖο for *αγ-ιο; § 39); ex-im-iо- (eximius excelling), √ἐμ, ἐμ (ἐξ-im-ο pick out); gen-iо- (genius), in-gen-iо- (ingenium), pro-gen-iе- (progenies offspring), √γεν (gen-us, gi-g(e)no-); in-ed-ia (fasting), √ἐδ (ἐδ-ο); per-nic-iе- (destruction), √νε (νεκ-αρε, νοε-ερε); flun-iо- (river), √flυ (flυ-ο); con-ing-iо (coniugium wedlock), √ing (ιυνγ-ο, ιυγ-ιμ); ob-sequ-iо- (obsequium obedience), √σεκ, σεκ (σεκ-ορ); od-iо- (odium hatred), √οδ (οδ-ι); sacr-iс-iо- (sacrificium sacrifice), √σαι; ob-sid-iо- (obsidium siege); in-sid-iа (insidiae ambush), √σεδ (σεδ-εο), etc.

These formations are sometimes hard to distinguish from secondary ones, e.g. con-ing-iо-, which has to be traced back to the noun con-ing- (n. sg. con-ingx spouse), rather than to √ιυng.

The suffix -iо-ni-, -ио-n- is probably a further formation made by means of sf. -ni-, e.g. leg-iоn-, leg-iоn-и, fr. √leg (legere); reg-iоn-, reg-iоn-и (direction, region), √reg (reg-ere make straight); ob-sid-iоn-, ob-sid-iоn-и, beside the above-mentioned
SECONDARY SF. -ya-. SK.

ob-sid-iо-; con-tag-iоni-, -iоn-, beside con-tag-iо- (touching), § 89.
\( \sqrt{tag} \) (tangere touch), etc. Cf. suffix -tiоn-, -tiоni- under -ti- (§ 98).

2. -ya- as a secondary suffix.

-ya- is frequently used as a secondary suffix in every Indo-European language, and hence must have existed as early as the date of the original-language.

Sanskrit. E.g. div-ya- (adj. heavenly), st. div- (heaven); цун-ya- (canine), st. цун- (dog); pitr-ya- (fatherly), st. питар- (father); rahas-ya- (secret), st. rahas- (ntr. secrecy). Stems in -a lose their final a before -ya-, e.g. dhān-ya- (rich), st. dhāna- (ntr. riches), etc. By means of step-formation of the underlying stem are formed stems like rtav-ya- (adj. seasonable) from rtа- (season); мādhur-ya- (ntr. sweetness), st. madhurā- (sweet); kāur-ya- (ntr. thief) st. kōrā- (masc. thief), etc.

This sf. is added to a nomen actionis in -tu- (v. post.); this -tu- is thereupon mostly raised to -tav-, but more rarely remains unraised. Thus by the raising of -tu- arises the compound suffix -tav-ya- so commonly used; with unraised -tu- arises the form -tvyа-, which occurs in the more archaic period; from this latter there arises, by evaporation of the v from the group tvy, the sf. -tya- used in certain cases in the ordinary lang.; by loss of the y arises the form peculiar to the Vēdic lang. -tva-. These sff. -tav-ya-, -tv-ya-, -t-ya-, -tva-, originally identical, have the same function as simple -ya-, namely that of a participium necessitatis.

Before -tav-ya- (or -tav-ya-) most root-vowels are raised, thus all final vowels, and also medial i and u, e.g. dá-tavyа-, \( \sqrt{da} \) (give); ē-tavyа-, \( \sqrt{e} \) (go); stō-tavyа-, \( \sqrt{stu} \) (praise); kēttavya- for *kēd-tavyа-, \( \sqrt{kēd} \) (split); yōk-tavyа- for *yog-tavyа-, \( \sqrt{yug} \) (iungere); but pak-tavyа-, \( \sqrt{pak} \) (cook); kār-tavyа-, \( \sqrt{kār} \) (make), etc., without step-formation of root-vowel, because in Sk. a was felt to be a raised vowel, in contradistinction to its weakenings (§ 6). There is found also, in certain cases, the auxiliary vowel
§ 89. \(i, i\), between the end of the root and the suffix, e.g. \(b\ddot{o}dh-i-tav\ddot{y}a-,\sqrt[4]{budh}\) (know); \(grah-i-tav\ddot{y}a-,\sqrt[4]{grah}\) (take). Examples of the shortened form of the sff. are found in Vēdic \(k\ddot{i}-t\ddot{y}a-,\) later \(k\ddot{i}-t\ddot{y}a-,\sqrt[4]{kar}\) (make); therefore we must probably assume \(-t\ddot{y}a-\) to have arisen from \(-t\ddot{y}a-,\) also in forms in \(-t\ddot{y}a-,\) which have no parallel Vēdic \(-t\ddot{y}a-,\) e.g. in \(i-t\ddot{y}a-,\sqrt[4]{i}\) (go); \(st\ddot{u}-t\ddot{y}a-,\sqrt[4]{stu}\) (praise); \(bhr\ddot{t}-t\ddot{y}a-,\sqrt[4]{bhar}\) (bear), and the like. It is however strange to find such root-vowels unraised or weakened.

Vēdic \(k\ddot{a}r-t\ddot{y}a-\) (faciends, as ntr. subst. \(k\ddot{a}r-t\ddot{y}a-m\) opus) is accordingly to be explained as formed from \(*k\ddot{a}r-tv\ddot{y}a-\), stem \(k\ddot{a}r-tu-\) (v. post.) by means of \(-t\ddot{y}a-\); here \(y\) has been lost, whilst \(r\) is retained. The function of this form distinctly points to this explanation.

Since \(-\ddot{y}a-\) is identical with \(-\ddot{i}ya-,\)—the vowel being lengthened before \(y\), as happens frequently (§ 15, 2, a)—and since \(-\ddot{i}ya-\) may moreover stand for \(-ya-\) (§ 15, 2, b), we may confidently assume that the participia necessitatis in \(-an\ddot{y}a-\) correspond in their sf. to a fundamental form \(-an-ya-\) from \(*an-ya-\) (the loss of final \(a\) in \(-ana-\) before \(-ya-\) is regular, cf. § 14, 1, b), and therefore are formed by means of the same sf. \(-ya-,\) which we have already found used in this function, cf. \(bhr\ddot{a}t\ddot{r}-\ddot{i}ya-\) (brother’s son, origly. ‘fraternal’) and \(pit\ddot{r}-\ddot{y}a-\) (paternal); \(par\ddot{v}at\ddot{i}ya-\) (hill) from \(par\ddot{v}ata-\) (hill), and \(r\ddot{a}th-\ddot{y}a-\) (waggon-) from \(r\ddot{a}hta-\) (wagon); etc. The sf. \(-i\ddot{y}a-\) is thus \(=\ddot{y}a-\). This sf. \(-\ddot{i}ya-\) \(=\ddot{y}a-\) is added to a nomen actionis in \(-ana-\) (as in \(-\ddot{a}r-\ddot{y}a-,\ -t\ddot{v}-\ddot{y}a-,\) it is to a similar one in \(-tu-\); on nouns in \(-ana-\ v. post.), which, as aforesaid, regularly loses its final \(a\) before \(-ya-.\) This sf. \(-an\ddot{y}a-\) also has the root-vowel almost always raised a step, e.g. \(st\ddot{v}-an\ddot{y}a-,\sqrt[4]{stu}\) (praise); \(j\dot{a}y-an\ddot{y}a-,\sqrt[4]{ji}\) (conquer); \(d\ddot{a}-an\ddot{y}a-\ = \*d\ddot{a}-an\ddot{y}a-,\sqrt[4]{da}\) (give); but \(k\ddot{a}r-an\ddot{y}a-,\sqrt[4]{kar}\) (make); \(pak-an\ddot{y}a-,\sqrt[4]{pak}\) (cook), etc. Verb-stems in \(-\ddot{a}ya-\) lose this whole sf. before \(-an\ddot{y}a-,\ e.g. \(k\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{o}}r}-an\ddot{y}a-,\ st. \(k\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{o}}r}-\ddot{a}ya-\) (steal).

In the Vēdic we find also sf. \(-\ddot{e}n-\ddot{y}a-\) thus employed; herein we can hardly fail to recognize a variation of f.f. \(-an-\ddot{y}a-\;\ddot{e}n-\ddot{y}a-\)
has arisen from *να probably through the influence of the fol-
§ 89. lowing y, e.g. *ν-ἐνα-, √ες (wish); yet we find also νά-ἐνα-, 
√εα (choose) with accented root.

Greek. Here too -ya- as a secondary sf. is very common, e.g. πάτρ-ιο- (paternal), πατρ-ία (f. race), from stem πατέρ-
(father); σωτήρ-ιο- (saving), σωτήρ-ία (rescue), stem σωτήρ-
(saviour); τέλεο- for *τέλεο-γο- (§ 65, 2, c; complete), stem 
τέλεο- (ntr. sg. τέλος end); ἀλήθεια, i.e. ἀλήθεο-γα (truth), stem 
ἀλήθεο- (adj. true); θαυ-μάιο- (wonderful) for *θαυματ-ιο-
(§ 68, 1, e), stem θαυματ- (ntr., n. σθαμα wonder); δίκα-ιο- 
(just), stem δίκα- (fem., n. σθίκη justice); πήχυ-ιο- (adj. ell-
long) from πήχυ- (masc., n. σθήχυ-ς cubit), etc. Here also, 
before sf. -ιο- = origl. -γα-, the stem-termination ι=origl. a is 
lost, e.g. οὐρά-ιο- (heavenly), stem οὐρανό- (masc., heaven); 
ποτάμ-ιο- (river-), stem ποταμό- (masc. river), etc. Here belong 
also the stems of participes and other consonantal stems used 
in fem. alone, like φέρουσα, i.e. *φεροντ-γα; λεοντιού, i.e. 
*λεοντιονγα-γα; δότειρα, i.e. *δοτερ-γα; μέλαινα= *μελαν-
-γα, etc.

The form exactly corresponding to the Sk. part. in -ίαν-γα- is 
in Gk. -τιο-, i.e. *-τιο-γα-, e.g. δο-τιο-, Sk. δατιο-γα-, √δο 
give); ι-τιο-, √ι (go); πλέκ-τιο-, √πλέκ (twist); θρεπ-τιο-, 
√θρεφ (rear); πεισ-τιο-, √πεισ, pres. πεισ-ω, aor. ε-πεισ-ου (per-
suade); etc. Perhaps we ought to place here the forms in -στα 
for -στα, e.g. εὐφρενσία from -στία, cf. εὐφρένητ-σ; ἀκαθαρσία, cf. 
ἀκαθαρτο-ς, etc.; this -στα may in other cases have also been 
developed from origl. sf. -τι- (§ 98).

Latin. -γα- as secondary suffix, e.g. in patr-ιο- (adj. 
patrius), fem. subst. patr-ία, from pater-, praetor-ιο- from 
praetor-, victor-ία from victor-, scient-ία from scient- (sciens), 
regn-ιο- from regn- (rex); audac-ία from audae- (audax); princip-ιο-
from princip- (princeps), nefar-ιο- from nefas, sacerdot-ιο- 
from sacerdot-, etc. Here also the origl. final a of stem is lost before 
-γα-, e.g. domin-ιο- (dominium) from domino- (dominus), somn-ιο-
§ 89. (somnium) from *somnus* (somnus), collegio- (collegium) from collega, etc.

**Note 1.**—Adjs. in -tuno-, as nā-tuno-, ac-tiun-, have been compared to Sk. -tavya-, though they do not coincide in function. From -tarya- is said to have arisen -taicya-, by insertion of i (from y following) into the preceding syllable, thence -taica-, -teico-, -tiun-. However there is no very strong reason for identifying Lat. -tuno- with Sk. -tavya-, a comparison which is moreover phonetically very doubtful. It is possible that they are new formations in Latin, from stem nāto-, acelo-, etc.; cf. noc-tuno- beside nocuo-, and mortu- for the form *mor-to-, which we should have expected.

**Note 2.**—In Latin the participium necessitatis ends in -endo-, earlier -undo-, e.g. dicendo-, dicundo-, etc. In the former part of this sf., en, un, hence earlier on, we may probably recognize the an of the Sk. an-iya-: the -do- is prob. the sf. -do- so common in Latin, e.g. cali-do-, vali-do-, timi-do-, etc., beside calère, valère, timère, etc.; in uiri-di- beside uvère, -di- appears. This -do- probably is derived from the same verb-root da (Lat. dare, which has, however, apparently become confounded with origl. √dha 'facere'), which we see in cre-do, con-do, etc. Cf. formations like ira-c-un-do-, rubi-c-un-do-, uerc-c-un-do-, fā-c-un-do-, in which the relation of necessity is not found,—a relation which is not really essential to forms in -un-do-, -en-do-, -n-do- (Corssen, Krit. Beitr. 120 sqq., and Krit. Nachtr. p. 133 sqq.); -bu-n-do- in fiur-i-bu-n-do-, trem breathing-bu-n-do-, must be treated as a part. necess. of origl. √bhū, Lat. fu. Accordingly we recognize in -do-, the latter part of this sf., a new formation in Latin. We can scarcely assume that the f.f. -an-ya- (v. supra) has in an exceptional way in the first place become *-an-dya- by insertion of d before y, as not unfrequently happens in the languages, e.g. middle-Lat. mātius for earlier mātus, Gk. ζυγώ, i.e. *ζυγω, Sk. and f.f. yugám; from which form *-an-dya- the loss of y would then have to be assumed in the same way as perhaps in minus for *ménias, -bus sf. of dat. abl. pl. for *-bius (v. post. declension), so that e.g. coqu-en-do- (coquendus) would stand for *coquen-dyo-, *coquen-ya-, f.f. kukan-ya- = Sk. pakaniya- (G. Curt. Gk. Etym. 2 590 sqq.). However, as regards Lat., interchange of d and y is not capable of proof; on the contrary, this language shows a tendency towards accumulation of suffixes and suffixative composition with verb-roots, as e.g. -cro- (luna-cru-m, sepul-cru-m), √kar (make); -bo- (acer-bu-s, mor-bu-s, super-bu-s) for *bheo-
from blu (be); here probably we must reckon -bili- (sta-bili-s, § 89. fle-bili-s, comprehensi-bili-s, flexi-bili-s) and -bulo- (sta-bulu-m, fa-bulu), further formations of this -bo- (these forms are otherwise explained by others); -bro-, -bra- (candela-bru-m, light-bearer; in this example probably no one will deny the derivation of -bro- from √bhar (bear); uerte-bra, late-bra), from √bhar (bear); -gno- (mali-gnu-s), √gan (beget); -ig- (rem-ig-, n. sg. remex), √ag (drive, do).

VI. Stems with suffix -va-.

Stems with sf. -va- are found in every Indo-Eur. language; in Lat. and Scelavonic, amongst others, it is a favourite suffix. Stems in -van- are akin to these, and are seen especially in Sk. The sf. -vant- we treat hereafter separately.

Indo-European original language. Certainly demonstrable is ak-va- (masc. horse), √ak (run; cf. āk-u- quick).

Sanskrit. āç-va- (masc. horse), √aç (cf. āç-ū- quick); t-va- (masc. going), √t (go); pād-va- (masc. way, waggon), √pad (go); pak-vā- (adj. cooked), √pak (cook); urdh-vā- (directed upwards, raised), i.e. *ardhva- (§ 7, 2), √ardh (grow), etc.

-van- is akin, e.g. pād-van- (masc. way), cf. pād-va-; mād-van- (intoxicating), √mad (become intoxicated); rik-van- (praising), beside rik-vant and rk-vā-, √ark (praise), etc.

Greek. On account of the loss of v in Gk. the sf. in question are hard to recognize. Clearly we may place here e.g. ἵππος (horse) for *iç-Fo- = Lat. equo-, origl. ak-va-, etc.; πολλό- (many, collateral form to πολύ-) from *πολ- Fo-, f.f. par-va-, √par (fill); in some other cases the root cannot be further traced, as e.g. οὔω-Fo- = Lat. lae-u- (left); ὀλο-, Ἰόν. ὀμο- (whole), f.f. *όλ- Fo- = Lat. sollo- from *sol-va-, Sk. sūr-va-, etc.

The sf. -van- is seen in ai-Fōv- (aiōv lifetime, time), a lengthening from a presupposed ai-van- (cf. Lat. ae-u-, Goth. a-va-, Sk. ē-va-), √l (go); perhaps also πέπον- (n. sg. masc. πέπων ripe) stands for *πέπ- Fov-, cf. Sk. pak-vā-, √πεπ, origl. kak (cook).

Latin. The sf. origl. -va- is common; besides eq-uo- (horse)
§ 90. = origl. ak-va-; ard-uo- (steep) = Zend eredh-va-, Sk. ārdh-vā-; ae-uo- (ntr. lifetime, age) = Sk. ē-va- (masc. going), occur many other formations like noce-uo- (hurtful), √noe (noce-ōre hurt); uac-uo- (empty), √uac (cf. uacare be empty); per-spic-uo- (perspicuous), √spec (specere see); de-cid-uo- (falling off), √cad (cadere fall); re-sid-uo- (remaining), √sed (sedere sit); ar-uo- (ploughed, ar-uo-m ploughed field), √ar (arāre plough); al-uo- (fem. belly), √al (alere nourish), etc.

Here belong also formations in -iuo-, like noci-uo- (hurtful); uaci-uo- (empty), capti-uo- (captive), etc., which are formed as if there were parallel forms *noci-re, *uaci-re, *capti-re.

The suffix -vant-, forming a past part. act., whose original existence is proved by the correspondence of the Aryan, Greek, and Slavonic, is probably compounded of -va- and -nt- = -ant- (§ 101). With -vant- may be compared the origl. sf. -yant-, which also probably consists of -ya- and -ant- (v. post. ‘Comparative’), and sf. -mant- (§ 91), which is similarly formed from -ma- and -ant-, so that we have a scale -ant-, -yant-, -vant-, -mant-, to which -an-, -yan-, -van-, -man-, and -a-, -ya-, -va-, -ma- are parallel.

The function of this -vant- is (like that of -mant-) that of expressing the ‘having,’ the possession of something. The perf. part. and the perf. itself are in many languages expressed by means of possessive elements (e.g. Finnish, Magyar, the Cassian language, etc.), as is indeed the case also in the periphrasis by means of the auxil. verb ‘have.’ A form vi-cid-vant-, lit. ‘having knowing or knowledge,’ is not originally different, in point of suffix, from arka-ta-vant- ‘bear-having.’

The sf. -vant-, which, as forming participles, is a primary sf., occurs also as a secondary suffix, e.g. Sanskrit ágva-vant- (provided with horses; n. sg. masc. ágva-vān, acc. sg. ágva-vant-ām, gen. sg. ágva-vat-ās, n. pl. masc. -vant-ās, etc.), fem. ágva-vati, i.e. -vat-yā (cf. § 15, e), with loss of ū, as in similar cases; rāsva-vant- (furnished with riches); virú-vant- (possessed of
heroes); pād-vant- (having feet), stem pad- (foot). The sf. § 90.
mant- is employed in similar functions, e.g. Sk. agni-mánt-
(possessed of fire), v. post.
The sf. vant- has also a special use in Sk., that of giving
active force to past part., e.g. kṛtā-, (√kurt, make) = ‘made,’ but
kṛtā-vant- ‘having made’; bhagnā- (broken), √bhau, bhaṅγ, but
bhagnā-vant- ‘having broken,’ etc.

Greek. The suffix -vant- becomes -Fevt- (the digamma being
retained); n. sg. masc. -Feus, ntr. -Fev), fem. -Feσσα, i.e. *-Feται
= Sk. -vatī, i.e. -vattyā, e.g. ὀμπηλό-Fevt- (having vines), ὀμπηλό-
(fem. vine); ᾳθυό-Fevt- (having fish), ᾳθυ- (fem. fish); μητύ-
-Fevt- (having wisdom), μητί- (fem. wisdom); νυφό-Fevt- (snowy),
st. νυφ- (snow, acc. νφ-α), etc. Thus all stems follow here the
analogy of stems in -o-, origl. a-, which is also the case else-
where in Gk. (e.g. in gen. dat., dual, v. post.); yet χαπί-Fevt-
(graceful), χάρι- (fem. grace), and perhaps some few others.

In Latin vant- has become -vans-, and passed over to the
analogy of a-stems, so that we must here assume a f.f. -vansa-, from which -vansa- and -voso- must have arisen; this -vansa- has, however, throughout lost its v (the suffix could scarcely have been -ans-, since the loss of the v does not occur in this function of the suffix, and the existence of the full form of the sf. in the S.W. division of the Indo-European languages is moreover proved by the occurrence of the well-preserved form in Gk.
-Fevt-); e.g. fructu-oso-, lumin-oso-, *forma-oso-, whence (§ 37)
formaoso-, later formoso-.

We must now treat of the employment of the sf. vant- (-vans-) in forming past part. act.

Indo-European original-language. e.g. vivid-vant-,
√vid (see, know); dadha-vant-, √dha (set), etc. These stems coincided in the three genders.

Sanskrit. The origl. sf. vant- appears before the different
case-suffixes as -vat-, -vā-, i.e. -vans- and -us- (v. post. Declen-
sion); -vans-, from origl. vant-, became -vas- by loss of n
§ 90. before s, and this was weakened to -us- by loss of a (§ 6); -vās-, i.e. -vāns-, is a lengthening or step-formation of -vans-. The suffix is added to the reduplicated root, to the perf.-stem in its weaker form (v. post. 'Conjugation'), e.g. rurud-vānt-, v rud (weep), fem. rurud-ūṣi, from *vanṭyā, *vansyā, *vāsyā, *usyā; tēn-i-vānt- from *tān-i-vant-, with auxil. vowel i, v tan (stretch); the shortened st.-forms have not this i, e.g. dat. sg. masc. tēnūṣ-e; n. sg. fem. tēnūṣi, etc.; vid-vānt (knowing, origl. 'having seen'), with loss of reduplication of vid (see, know), etc.

Greek. The origl. final t of the sf. has been almost always preserved, while the n is lost; in mase. and neut. it is -vōt- = -va(n)t-; in n. sg. -Fōs for *-Fot (§ 69), mase. -Fōs for *-Fot-s with compensatory lengthening. The fem. is -vāa, i.e. -usyā (§ 65, 2, c) from -vāsyā, and this from -vansyā, f.f. -vanṭyā. This sf. is added to all perf.-stems ending (1) in case of simple perfects in the final letter of the root, (2) in the case of compound perfects in κ; e.g. (1) λελουπ-ōt-, n. sg. masc. λελουπ-ως = λελουπ-Fot-s, ntr. λελουπ-ος = *λελουπ-Fot, fem. λελουπ-vāa = *λελουπ-usyga, √λπ (leave); likewise (2) *λελυκ-Fot- (n. sg. masc. λελυκ-ως, etc.), √λυ (loosen), etc. After roots ending in vowels perhaps the v of the sf. held its place longer; thus ēsτa-Fōt- (Hom.) from perf.-stem ēsṭa- (Ēsṭa-mεν 1 pl.), √sṭa (stand); γεγα-FFot-, perf.-stem γεγα-, γγα, γεν (pres. γήγομαι become), etc. We must leave undecided the question whether the stems γεγα-FFot-, τεθυν-FFοt-, etc., retain in ω a relic of the former n in *-Fοντ- = -vōnt-, or whether we should see in it an unorigl. lengthening from -Fot-.

Archaic forms show the root-vowel still un-raised, especially in fem. stems, e.g. Fidūia (usually eidūia, st. *Fειδ-Fot-, from Fειδα, f.f. vicāida 'I know,' √vīd, see, know), i.e. *vid-usyā = Sk. vidāśi from *vid-vaṇṭ-ya.

Latin shows no such formation.

§ 91. VII. Stems with suffix -ma-, and sf. whose first element is -ma- (-man-, -ma-na-, -man-); on secondary sf. -ma- cf. § 107,
where also are treated the sff. *ma-ma- and *ma-ta-, which all § 91. of them form superl.); and especially the participle in *ma-, *ma-na-, of passive and middle use.

Participles in *ma-na- appear in the Asiatic and S.-European division of the Indo-European, in the Sclavo-Teutonic *ma- replaces it. Both forms we hold to be original, since it is common enough to find a simple and a compound suffix used alike.

*ma- is a frequent element in stem-formation (in word-formation it indicates 1 pers.). As a secondary suffix we shall find it employed to express the superlative.

Primarily it occurs e.g.

**Indo-European.** ghar-ma- (warm, heat), */ghan*; dhu-ma-, or probably dhau-ma- (smoke), */dhau*.

Sanskrit. In *tig-má- (adj. sharp, pointed), */tíj* (become sharp); bhī-má- (adj. fearful), */bhi* (fear); idh-ḿa- (masc. firewood), */ídʰ* (burn); ghar-má- (masc. warmth), */ghan*; dhū-má- (masc. smoke), */dhū* (move); yug-má- (ntr. pair), */yug* (join), etc.

Kindred to this is sf. *-man-, which apparently must be separated into *-man-, i.e. *m(a)-an-, and is accordingly closely parallel to the participial *ma-na-.*

**Indo-European.** e.g. gnā-man- (name), */gna=gan* (know); ak-man- (stone), */ak*; etc.

Sanskrit. In *gán-man- (ntr. birth), */gán* (gignere); áç-man- (masc. stone), */áç*; eíc-man- (ntr. house), */eíc* (enter); nā-man- (ntr. name) for *gnā-man-, */gna=gan* (know); ȗś-man- (masc. summer), */ȗś* (burn). With auxil. vowel i, in Vēd. also i (§ 15, f), it appears e.g. in star-i-má- (masc. bed), */star* (ster-nere); dhar-i-má- (masc. forma), */dhar* (hold); ján-i-man- (ntr. birth) beside ján-man-, from which it is distinguished by the i alone. Side by side we find dhár-man- (masc. bearer; ntr. law) and dhār-ma- (masc. right, duty); é-man- (ntr. going) and é-ma- (masc. id.), */i* (go), etc.
§ 91. -mant- is a secondary suffix, e.g. γάρα-mant- (possessing barley), γάρα- (barley); mādhu-mant- (possessing honey), mādhu- (honey); ṣṣṭiti-mant- (shining), ṣṣṭiti- (light), etc. 

-min- also is secondary, e.g. vāg-min- (possessing speech, eloquent) for *vāk-min-, stem vāk- (speech); gō-min- (masc. cattle-owner), gō- (cow, bullock) etc.

άς-man-ta- (nttr. furnace) must not be overlooked, from άς-man- (stone); cf. Lat. *men-to- and O.H.G. *munda-.

Greek. Sf. *ma-, e.g. in θερ-μο- (adj. hot), θερ-μή (fem. heat), θερ (θερ-μαα grow hot), origl. ἡναρ (§ 64, 2, n); φλογ-μό- (masc. brand), φλεγ- (φλεγ-ειν burn); κεφ-μό- (masc. lair), κυθ (κεφ-ο hide); κομμό- (masc. planctus) for Κοπ-μο- (§ 68, 1, a), κοπ (κόπ-τω, κε-κοπ-ός strike); αυ-μο- (masc. wind) with an inserted ε (§ 29) from origl. αυ (blow); χό-μο- (masc. sap), χυ (χόρ-ω pour); θυ-μό- (masc. mind, spirit), θυ (θυ-ω fume); ἕνι-μη (opinion), ἕνε (ἵνι-νε-σκω, origl. γαν (to know); μνή-μη (memory), μνα (μν-μνή-σκω), origl. man (think); τί-μη (price, honour), τι (τί-ω (honour); όλ-μο- (masc. fem. way, course, stripe), ει (ει-μο go), etc.

As secondary sf. also -μο- occurs, e.g. ἀλκι-μο- (strong), ἀλκή (strength); νόστι-μο- (belonging to return), νόστο- (masc. return); φυζει-μο- (whither one can flee, avoidable), φυζει- (fem. flight), etc.

The sf. origl. man- appears in Gk. as -μον- and -μεν-, e.g. ἄκ-μον- (masc. n. sg. ἄκ-μον anvil) = Sk. άς-man-, beside ἄκ-μή (point, sharpness); ιδ-μον- (adj., n. sg. masc. ιδ-μον, ntr. ιδ-μον, skilful, belonging to later period), ιδοδ, origl. ιδε (see, know); τλή-μον- (n. sg. τλή-μον suffering, wretched), τλα (endure, cf. τε-τλα-θλ, τλή-σομαι); γνώ-μον- (masc., n. sg. γνώ-μον knower), γνο (γνω-σκω), origl. γαν (know), cf. γνω-μη; μνή-μον- (mindful), cf. μνή-μη, μνα, origl. man (think), etc. In the form -μον- we recognize an unorigl. lengthening of the same sf., cf. κεφ-μον (masc., gen. sg. κεφ-μονος lair), κυθ, raised to κεφ (κεφ-ο, ε-κυθ-ον hide), cf. κεφ-μό-ς; θή-μόν (masc., gen. sg. θή-μόνος, heap), θε (τε-θη-μί), etc.
Sf. -μεν-, e.g. in πνο-μέν- (masc., n. sg. πνο-μέν- bottom, foun- § 91. dation), √πνο (cf. O.H.G. bol-an; πνο-μέν- (masc., n. sg. πνο-μέν- shepherd) = Lith. πέ-μεν- (n. sg. πέ-μεν-), root accordingly πι, perhaps a weakening from πα (protect).

Closely connected is the sf. -μονη, e.g. φλεγ-μονη (inflammation), √φλεγ (φλέγ-ω burn); χαρ-μονη (joy), √χαρ (χαίρω rejoice), etc.

Here too probably belong sff. -πόρε- and -πό-νο-, e.g. ῥηγ-μίν- (masc., gen. sg. ῥηγ-μίν-ς surf, breakers), √ραγ (in ῥήγ-νυμ break); ῥο-μίν- (dat. sg. ῥο-μίν-) and ῥο-μίν (strife), √ῥθ, Sk. and origl. γνθ (strive); also as secondary sf., e.g. in κυκλά-μίνο- (masc. and neutr., name of a plant, cyclamen), from κύκλο- (κύκλος circle).

Also the very common sf. -ματ- (ntr.) is related to the sff. above named; e.g. εἰ-ματ- (garment), Aiol. Φέμματ-, i.e. *Φεσ-ματ-, √Feς (ἐννυμμι, i.e. *Φεσ-νυμμι clothe); ὄματ-, i.e. ὄτ-ματ- (eye), Aiol. ὄτ-πατ-, ὄτ (ὅψομαι, ὄτ-ωπ-α see); cf. δέσ-ματ- (bond) beside δεσ-μό- (masc. id.) and δεσ-μή (bundle), √δε, δες (δέω bind); βαδισ-ματ- (going) beside βαδισ-μό- (masc. id.) from βαδιζω (step, go); χάρ-ματ- (joy) beside χαρ-μονη (v. supr.); ῥηγ-ματ- (fracture) beside ῥηγ-μίν- (v. supr.); εἰ-ματ- beside ἀν-εἰ-μόν- (garmentless); πράγ-ματ- (deed), √πραγ (πράσσω), beside πολυ-πράγ-μον- (busbody); μυή-ματ- (memorial) beside μυή-μη and μυή-μον- (v. supr.); σπέρ-ματ- (seed), √σπερ (σπείρω sow), beside σπερ-μαίνω, i.e. *σπερ-μαν-γω (sow), and the like.

In Latin also the sf. origl. -μα- occurs, as Lat. -μο- (-μυ-) in an-i-mo- (n. sg. animus spirit), origl. √an (blow); fū-mo- (fumus smoke), origl. √dhu (move); fū-mo- (fumus firm), probably Sk. √dhar (hold); cf. frē-n-um bridle, from same root); for-mo- (formus warm), √for (for-neo); aλ-mo- (almus nourishing), √al, nourish; an-i-ma (life), cf. an-i-mo-, origl. √an (breathe, blow); fū-ma- (fame) = Gk. φύ-μη, √fū (fū-ri say); for-ma (form), cf. Sk. dhar-i-mān- (v. supr.), etc.
PARTICIPIAL SF. -mana-. INDO-EUR. SK.

§ 91. Sf. origl. -man-, Lat. -men-, is common; e.g. ger-men (ntr. germ, shoot), /ger, origl. ghar (be green); *gnō-men (nō-men, co-gnō-men name), /gnō, origl. gan (know); sē-men (seed), /sā (sow), teg-men, teg-i-men (covering), /teg (cover); ag-men (troop, crowd), /ag (drive); solā-men (solace), verb-stem sola- (solari console); certā-men (contest, match), verb-stem certa- (certare struggle); moli-men (effort), verb-stem moli- (moliri undertake), etc.

This sf. is lengthened into -mōn-, e.g. in ser-mōn- (n. sermo masc. speech), /ser (arrange, put together; in ser-o, ser-tum); ter-mōn-, cf. ter-men, ter-min-o- (border), /ter, Sk. and origl. tar (exceed, come to the end); often moreover increased by -to-, e.g. in co-gnō-mento-, in-crē-mento, teg-i-mento-, aug-mento- beside aug-men, seg-mento- beside seg-men, etc.; this -mento- is particularly common in case of derived verbs, e.g. arma-mento-, nutri-mento-, experī-mento-, etc. (ntr., n. acc. sg. -mentu-m); to this sf. -mōn- was added the suffix origl. -ya- also, likewise attended by lengthening (or step-formation), whereby consequently arose sf. -mōnio-, f.f. -mānya-, which is mostly a secondary suffix, e.g. quer-i-mōnia (complaint), quer-or (complain); acrī-mōnia (sharpness) from stem ācī- (ācer, ācī-s sharp); testi-mōnio- (testimony) from testi-s (witness); mātrī-mōnio- (wedlock) from stem mātrī-, from māter-, origl. mātar- (mother), etc.

Participial suffix -mana-.

Indo-European. -mana-, in the function of forming participles, appears originally annexed to the stems of the present, future (formed indeed by means of a present), aorist, and perfect, thus e.g. /dha, pres.-stem dhadha-, dhadha-mana-(τιθε-μενο-), fut. dhā-sya-mana (δη-σά-μενο-), aor. dha-mana- (Θε-μενο-), perf. (from /dha this part. would coincide with the pres. part. in form), e.g. bha-bhar-mana- or bhabhār-mana- from /bhar, perfect-stem bhābhar-, bhabhār-.

Sanskrit. This sf. is here sounded -māna-, wherein we recognize an unoriginal lengthening or step-formation of origl.
-mana- (cf. Zend -mna-, Gk. -μενο-, Lat. -mino-, -mno-, all with § 91. vowel unraised), just as in Lat. -mōn-, -mōn-ia-, Gk. -μον- stand contrasted with sf. -man-, which is proved to be the original form by the correspondence of the languages. It occurs as part. med. and pass., added to present- and future-stems as well as to the perfect-stem (the latter however almost exclusively in the earlier stage of the language). Instead of this -māna- there mostly appears in those present-stems which do not end in stem-formative a (except na), and in the perfect, a form -āna-, which appears to be a later, secondary form for -māna-, just as -ē for -mē, origl. -mai, in 1 sg. med., -a for -ma in 1 sg. act. pf. (v. post. Personal-terminations of the verb). The possibility that -āna- for earlier -ana- may be a sf. distinct from -mana- cannot nevertheless be denied, only in that case -na- would be expected rather than -āna-.

Examples. 1. Sf. -māna-, e.g. pres. bhāra-māna-, pres.-stem bhāra- √ bhar (bear); nahyā-māna-, pres.-stem nahyā-, in pass. function, med. on the other hand nāhyā-māna-, pres.-stem nāhyā-, √ nah (tie), etc. Fut. dāsyā-māna-, fut. stem dā-syā-, √ da (give); perf. sasr-mānā-, perf. stem sasar- √ sar (go); īga-māna- (Ved.) with stem-termination a affixed to perfect-stem, according to analogy of other tense-forms; perf.-stem here īga- for īya- from īya, yaya (§ 6), √ ya (offer, worship).

2. Forms with -āna-, e.g. pres. lih-ānā-, root and pres.-stem lih- (lick); gāy-āna-, pres.-stem cay-, ē (ē-lē he lies), √ ē; kīn-ānā-, pres.-stem kī-ṇu-, kī (gather); yunānd- from *yu-na-ānā-, pres.-stem -yuna-, √ yu (join); dādāna-, pres.-stem dada-, dad-, √ da (give), etc.; perf. dūdr̥-āna- (Vēd.), perf.-stem dūdar-̥, √ darr (see); ighir-ānā-, perf.-stem īghir-, √ gri (go); bhubhū-ānā, √ bhu (bend), etc. In nom. sing. these sf. are masc. -māna-s-, āna-s; ntr. -māna-m, -āna-m; fem. -mānā, -ānā.

In Greek we find everywhere -μενο- = origl. -māna- (n. sg. masc. -μενο-ς, ntr. -μενο-ν, fem. -μενη), and this in regular use after
§ 91. pres., fut., perf., and aor. stems; e.g. pres. φερό-μενο-, pres. stem φερε-, φερο-, origl. bhara-, bhara-, φερ, φερ, origl. bhur (bear); διδό-μενο-, pres. stem διδο-, √δο, origl. da (give); δεικνύ-μενο-, pres. stem δεικνυ-, √δικ (show), etc.; fut. δωσό-μενο-, fut. stem δωσο-, √δο; perf. λελυ-μένο-, perf. stem λελυ-, √λυ (loose); λελειμ-μένο- for *λελειπ-μενο-, perf. stem λελειπ, √λιπ (leave); simple aor. δό-μενο-, aor. stem and √δο-, λιπ-μένο-, aor. stem λιπε-, λιπο-, √λιπ; compound aor. λυ-σια-μενο, aor. stem λυσα-, √λυ, etc.

The sf. origl. -mana- appears in early Gk. (Hom.) also in the function of a nomen actionis or infinitive in loc. sg. fem. -μεναι (cf. χαμαι loc. from stem χαμα-), shortened to -μεν (also in Dör. and Αιολ. in verbal stems after the root-termination and aor. pass.), e.g. pres. εδ-μεναι, f.f. of stem ad-mana-, root and earlier pres. stem εδ-, origl. ad (cat.; the pres. stem in use is εδε-, εδο-); αμμέ-μεναι, αμμέ-μεν, pres. stem αμμέ- (ward off); φορή-μεναι, f.f. of stem βαραγα-μανα-, pres. stem φορη-, φορεε-, f.f. βαραγα-; fut. άδε-μεναι, άδε-μεν, f.f. of stem αγια-μανα-, fut. stem άδε-, i.e. *άγσε-, *άγσε, f.f. αγ-σα-, √αγ, origl. αγ (agere); pf. τεθνά-μεναι, τεθνά-μεν, pf. stem τεθνα-, √θνα=θαν (die); Φίδ-μεναι with lost reduplication, as Φοίδα, f.f. (ei)φαίδα, f.f. of particip. stem thus vicid-mana-, √Φίδ (know); aor. simp. δόμεναι, aor. stem and √δο-; ειπέ-μεναι, ειπέ-μεν, aor. stem ειπε-, f.f. ειπεκα-, √Φεπ, origl. τακ (speak); ελθέ-μεναι, ελθέ-μεν, aor. stem ελθε- ( δάθο-ν, έλθο-ν), √ελθυ (come); aor. pass. μιχθή-μεναι, μιγή-μεναι, φανή-μεναι, etc. Cf. also § 93, a.

Note.—The (Vēd.) forms adduced by Benfey (Or. u. Oec., i. 606; ii. 97. 132) in Sk., such as dā-man-ī, cf. δό-μεναι, vid-mān-ī, cf. Φίδ-μεναι, as also the Zend ζταο-μαν-ē (ζτον praise), are indeed datives of a neut. subst. stem Sk. dā-man- (gift), vid-mān-, Zend ζταο-man- (praise); notwithstanding which we believe that we must adhere to our explanation as regards Gk., on account of the parallel participles in -μενο-, and moreover from want of evidence for the dat. sf. ai belonging to consonantial stems in Gk. It is possible that the Gk. sf. -μανα- stands parallel to the
Aryan sf. -man-, besides the examples adduced—at least the two § 91. which I have met with (dāmanē and cētumānē)—do not by any means correspond with the Gk. infin. in function.

Latin. The sf. origl. -mana- is retained only in relics, which yet show that it was once more generally used, and perfectly in accordance with Gk. analogy.

Substantives like alu-mno-, fem. alumnæ (nursling); vertu-mno- (Vertumnus, name of a god), probably from early Lat. *alo-meno-, *al (nourish); *uerto-meno-, *urt (turn), have lost the e of -meno-=mevο=-mana-; the ending is here regularly added to the pres.-stem, just as in Sk. and Gk. The termination is added immediately to the final of the root in ter-mino- (bound), *orignl. tar; also fē-mina (woman) belongs here, though there may be some doubt as to the root of the word; further, da-mno- (damnun loss; Ritschl, Rhein. Mus. für Philol. N. F. xvi. pp. 304–308), pres.-stem and *da (da-mns, etc.; the change of meaning is shown by Ritschl in the passage quoted; perhaps also *da (cut) or dha (set, make) and not da (give), may here be fundamental, so that this has no bearing on the explanation of the form given by Ritschl).

The nom. pl. masc. of the sf., thus -mini- from earlier *-menei, *-menei-s (v. post. Declension), has remained as a periphrastic 2 p. pl. of med. pass., with auxil. vb. lost; the i for e (cf. Gk. -μενο-) is probably caused by following ni (§ 38), and here we find Lat. i corresponding to Gk. e, as not unfrequently, e.g. in forms like homin-is, flāmin-is, and ποιμέν-ος. Accordingly Lat. feri-mini corresponds exactly to Gk. φέρω-μενοι, f.f. of the stem bhara-mana-, pres.-stem feri-, origl. bhara-, *fer, origl. bhar. This -mini is simply added to tense- and mood-stems, also in the latest new-formations, e.g. pres. ind. amā-mini, monē-mini, audī-mini; opt. and conj. ferā-mini, monēa-mini, amē-mini, etc.; amā-bā-mini, amā-rē-mini, amā-bī-mini, etc.

The singular of this kind of the middle form, which in an earlier stage of the language probably coexisted with the other
§ 91. (v. post.) in all forms (thus e.g. a *ferimus sum, — es, etc.), has been retained as 2 and 3 p. sg. imper. of the earlier lang., where it ends, however, not in os, but in o, probably after the analogy of the other real imperative endings in o (final s may be lost in Old-Lat., v. supr. § 79); e.g. fā-mino, frui-mino, pro-gredi-mino, arbitrā-mino, profitē-mino, to which we must supply es or esto: thus the underlying forms are probably such as *fāminos esto, etc.

§ 92. VIII. Stems with sf. origl. -ra-.

Noun-stems with sf. -ra-, -la-, occur in the separate Indo-Eur. languages, and consequently it is certain that this formation belonged to the period of origl. language. To show that l is a particularly common element in sf., it is enough to mention the diminutives in l (for Lat. and Gk. cf. L. Schwabe, de diminutivis Graecis et Latinis liber, Gissae, 1859). On -ra- as compar. sf., v. § 105.

Indo-Eur. origl.-lang. rudh-ra- (red), v/rudh (become red); sad-ra- (seat), v/sad (sit); ag-ra- (masc. field), v/ag.

Sanskrit. Sf. -ra-, -la-, sometimes occurs with auxil. vowel i (§ 15, f). rudh-i-ra- (v. supr.); dāp-rā- (shining), v/dāp (shine); kid-rā- (pierced; ntr. defect, flaw), v/kid (split); āg-ra- (masc. plain, field), v/āg (go, drive); an-i-lā- (wind), v/an (blow), etc.

Greek. ἐρυθ-ρό- (red); λαμπ-ρό- (shining), λάμπ-ω (shine); φαιδ-ρό- (bright), cf. φαιδ-ιμο- (gleaming); λυπ-ρό- (grievous), v/λυπ (λύπ-η grief); ἀκ-ρο- (highest, topmost; ntr. ἀκ-ρο-ν top, point; ἀκ-ρα fem. top), v/origl. ἀκ (be sharp); πτε-ρό- (ntr. feather, wing), v/πτε (πτε-ομαι fly); ἄγ-ρό- (masc. field), v/ἀγ; δω-ρο- (ntr. gift), v/δο (give); ἑδ-ρα (fem. seat), v/ἐδ (ἐξομαι sit), etc.; δηψ-ρό- (thirsty), verb.-stem δηψα- (δηψῶ thirst); συγ-λό- (silent), verb-stem συγα- (be silent); ἀπατη-λό- (deceitful), verb-stem ἀπατα- (cheat); δει-λό- (timid), v/δεi (fear, e.g. δέ-δι-μεν, δέ-δοι-κα); μεγ-άλο- (big), v/origl. μαγ or mak (wax, thus origly. ‘grown’); ὀμήχ-η (mist), v/μήχ (moisten); βη-λό- (threshold), v/βα (go); φῦ-λο- (ntr. race), φῦ-νή (tribe),
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√φυ (beget, grow), etc. As primary and secondary sf. -epo- § 92. often occurs, e.g. φανερό- (clear), √φαν (φανέω show); δροσερό- (dewy) from δρόσο-ς (fem. dew); φοβερό- (fearful), φόβο-ς (masc. fear), etc.; also in other sf., e.g. -υρο-, -ωρη-, -ωλο-, -ωλη-, -ιλο-, we find origl. sf. -ra-.

Latin. rub-ro- (rubber red), √rub, origl. rudh; scab-ro- (scaber rough), √scab (scabo scratch); sac-ro- (sacer holy), √sac (sancire); gnā-ro- (gnarus knowing), √gna (know); plē-ro- (full), √ple (fill); ag-ro- (ager field), √ag (agere); selē (stool) for *sed-la = ἕδ-πα, √sed (sedere sit); sf. -la- is frequently added to derived verbal-stems, e.g. candē-la (lamp), stem cande- (candere glow, be white); medē-la (remedy), stem medē- (medēri heal), etc., whose analogy, as in impf. (v. post. § 173, 7), is followed by the formations of stem-verbs, as e.g. sequē-la (following), sequi (follow); fugē-la (flight), fugere (flee); loquē-la (speech), loqui (speak); querē-la (complaint), queri (complain). Hence we see here, as in the Selavonic participle, clearly an addition to verbal-stems, which occurs in Greek as well. -la- is also a common element in Latin in sf. -ulo-, -ula-, -ili-.

IX. Stems with sf. origl. -an-. § 93.

These stems occur in all Indo-Eur. languages, but rarely, it is true, in some of them, while in others they are very common -e.g. Teutonic; but I know of no example which we may confidently ascribe to Indo-European except rud-an- (masc. stone), and ak-an- (masc. stone; cf. Sk. ας-an- and Goth. aινμα-, which may very probably be derived from an older consonantal stem).

Sanskrit. rāg-an- (n. sg. rājā, n. pl. rājān-as, loc. sg. rājī-ι, rājān-i, king), √ra (rāg-ati shines, rules); snē-han- (friend), √snih (love); ērš-an- (rainer; bull), √earś (rain) and other like nom. agentis; ās-an- (masc. stone, rock), √ā (strike); ud-ān- (masc. stone, not used in all cases), √ud (wet), probably arising from vad.

The very frequent Sk. sf. -in- is probably akin, e.g. primary
§ 93. in math-in- (beside mánth-an-, churning stick), √math (move, stir); exceptionally common as secondary sf., e.g. dhan-in- (rich), dhána- (ntr. possession), etc.

Greek. The sf. corresponding to origl. -an- are here not uncommon, e.g. τέρ-εν- (n. sg. masc. τέρην tender), √τερ (τερ-οω rub); ἀρηγ-όν- (masc., n. ἀρηγ-οω helper), cf. ἀρηγ-οω (help); εἰκ-όν- (fem., n. εἰκ-όν image), cf. εἰκ-οο-α (perf. am like) and the like; more frequently still is found the sf. -ων-, which must be considered a lengthening or step-formation of -αν- e.g. aίθ-οω- (glowing), cf. aίθ-ω (kindle), √ιθ; κλῦδ-ον (masc. wave, surge), √κλῦδ (κλῦδοω rinse, wash); πόρδ-ον (masc. farter), √πορδ (πόρδοω fart), etc. In πεωθ-ήν (masc. inquirer), √πυθ (πυνθάνομαι, fut. πεω(θ)-σομαι inquire); λεικ-ήν (scale), √λικ (λεικ-οω lick), etc., we see the rarer -ην-.origl. -αν-. As secondary sf. -ον- appears in ἄνδρ-όν (men’s apartment), stem ἄνδρ- for *ἀνρ-, ἄνερ- (n. ἀνήρ, gen. ἄνδρ-ος man); ἰπτόν (masc. stable), ἰπτο- (horse), etc.

§93a. Latin. Sff. with short vowel are not very common, e.g. n. sg. a-sperg-o gen. -in-is (fem. besprinkling), stem thus -sperg-on-, -sperg-en-, √sperg (sperg-o sprinkle, scatter; a-sperg-o besprinkle); com-pag-en- (fem., n. com-pag-o fastening), √pag (pang-o fix, com-ping-o fix together); pect-en- (masc. comb; gen. pect-in-is), pect-o (comb); on the other hand, -ον- is common, as in Gk. -ον-, e.g. ed-ον- (masc., n. edo, gen. edon-is eater), com-ed-ον- (devourer), √ed (ed-o eat, com-ed-o eat up); com-bib-ον- (fellow-drinker), cf. com-bib-o (drink with); ger-ον- (bearer), cf. ger-o (bear, bring) and the like.

X. Stems with sf. -ana-.

The sf. -ana-, which in Sk., Zend, Gk., and Gothic forms stems used as infinitives, belongs to the period of the Indo-Eur. origl. language, in which formations such as bhav-ana-, √bhaw (bear); vagh-ana-, perhaps vagh-ana- (uectio, ntr. waggon), √vagh (uehere), and the like must be presupposed. Cf. moreover over the mod. participles of Sk. and Zend in -ana-, -āna- (§ 91),
STEMS WITH SF. -ana-. SK. GK.

which perhaps belong here; the Gk. pres.-stems such as ik-ave-, §93 b. μανθ-ave-, and Sk. e.g. ἵς-ἀνά-, grh-ἀνα- (§ 163, iv. b).

Sanskrit. Sf. -ana-, with root-vowel i, u accompanied by step-formation of root-vowel, forms nomina actionis and nomina agentis (also adjectivals). The dat. and loc. sg. of the abstracts in -ana- (-anāya-, -anē-) are used as infinitives, e.g. dat. γὰμ-ἀναγα, loc. γὰμ-ἀνē, stem γάμ-ἀνα-, n. sg. γάμ-ἀνα- (ntr.), γάμ (go); likewise ἅβαρ-ἀνα- (bear, hold), ἅβαρ (bear); ἅβεδ-ἀνα- (split), ἅβδι; ἅβαρ-ἀνα- (be), ἅβα (giving, gift), i.e. *daemon, ἅ daemon (give); ἅκαρ-ἀνα- (cause), verb-stem ἅκαραγα- (caus., ἅκαρ make), etc. The sf. appears as fem. also in this function, e.g. ἄἈ-ἀνά- (stay), ἄἈ- (sit); ὑΑ-ἀνά (begging), ὑΑ (beg).

Nomina agentis of this form are e.g. ἁν-ἀνα- (ntr. eye ‘the guiding thing’), ἁν (lead); ἁῦ-ἀνα- (ntr. mouth, ‘the speaking thing’), ἁῦ (speak); ἁὐℏ-ἀνα- (ntr. waggon, ‘the carrying thing’), ἁὐ (carry); ὑάτ-ἀνα- (masc. tooth, ‘the biting one’), ὑάτ (bite); ὑάν-ἀνα- (masc. delighter), verb-stem ὑάναγα (delight), ὑαν (rejoice), etc. Fems. of this function are e.g. ἱɣ-ἀνι (genetrix), ἱɣ (be born; beget), etc.

As adjs. are used e.g. ἱγαλ-ἀνα- (burning), ἱγαλ (burn); ὑβ-ἀνα- (pretty), ὑβ (sparkle), etc.

Greek. Here belong the nouns in -avo-; thus neuters κόππ-ἀνο- (pestle), κόπ (κόπ-τω, κέ-κόπ-ώς strike); ὑργ-ἀνο- (tool), ὑργ (umbnail work); ὑχ-ἀνο- (handle), ἵχ (χ-ο have, hold), ὑττ-ἀνο- (sickle), ὑττ (ττ-ομαι pluck), etc.; τύμπ-ἀνο- (ntr. drum, cudgel) with nasalized τύττ (ττ-τω beat), which often happens in the stems of this formation used as pres.-stems; mascelines, e.g. στεφ-ἀνο- (crown) στεφ (στεφ-εν gird, crown); χόδ-ἀνο- (Hésuch. podex), χέδ (χέω caco); feminines like ἁδ-ονή (pleasure), ἁδ (ἀδ-ἀνω, ἁδ-ήσω, ἁδ-ου please), origl. ἁδ; ἁγχ-ονη (strangling, hanging), ἁγχ (ἁγχ-ο throttled, ἁγνο-μαι am pained), etc.; ὑττ-ἀνη (id. q. ὑττ-ἀνον); ὑγ-ἀνη
§93b. (whetstone, also *θυγ-avo-ν is attested), √θυγ (θυγ-ο what); στεφ-άνη (encircling, crown), cf. στέφ-avo-ς, etc. Adjectival, e.g. σκεπ-ανό- (covering), √σκεπ, cf. σκέπ-η (cover); κ-ανό- (sufficient), √κ (κ-νόμαι, κ-όμην come), etc.

As from sf. -as- arises Lat. infin. in -re-, and from -mana- Gk. infin. -μεναι (v. § 91), so also from -ana- comes Gk. infin. in -εναι, which we consider as loc. sg. of a fem.-stem. A form λειτουρ-εναι points to a stem origl. rivāikanā-, i.e. a nom. agentis in -ana- formed from perfect-stem; φέρειν for *φερείν, *φέρειν (§ 26, 3), with shortened ending for *φερείναι, to a stem bharana- from pres.-stem φερε = bhara-, whose termination -a serves likewise as initial sound of sf. -ana-. Stems ending in a vowel mostly do not assume -ana-, but only -na-, hence διδό-ναι, ἴστα-ναι, δεικνύ-ναι; yet θείναι = *θεείναι, δούναι = *δούναι.

Latin. A formation quite corresponding to origl. -ana- does not occur to me. As Gk. μηχανή appears in Lat. as máchina, we may probably place here the Lat. forms with sf. -ino-, -ina, whose i therefore, as often in Lat., is weakened from a; thus, e.g. páγ-ina (fem. leaf, page), √pág (fasten, join, pres. pang-o); sae-ina (fem. bundle, load), √sarc (sarc-o patch, repair); dom-in-o- (lord), fem. dom-ina, √dom (dom-o subdue, tame), cf. Sk. dom-ana- (taming, subduing).

§ 94. XI. Stems with sf. -na-.

These stems, used in all Indo-Eur. languages, are much employed as past part. pass., in meaning like those in -tu-.

As a regular formation this part. occurs only in certain Sk., Slc. and Teut. verb-stems, whereby its existence in Indo-Eur. is sufficiently proved.

Indo-Eur. The frequent use of -na- in noun-stems appears from words such as svap-na- (masc. sleep), √svap (sleep); stá-na- (ground, place), √sta (stand).

Sanskrit. svap-na- (as orig.); yaq-ñā- (masc. offering, worship), √yag (offer, worship); ána- (ntr. food) for *ad-na-


§ 94. belong adjs. like e.g. σεμνό- for *σεβ-νό- (§ 68, 1, c) ‘revered,’ √σεβ (σεβ-ομαν revere); ὤγ-νό- (worshipper, hallowed), √/umd (/umd-μαν revere); στυγ-νό- (hated, detested), √/στυγ in ε-στυγ-ον (στυγ-είν hate); στεγ-νό- ‘covered,’ √/στεγ in στέγ-οω (cover); δει-νό- ‘feared,’ √δι (fear, cf. δει-λαξ cowardly, δε-δου-κα); ποθεί-νό- ‘longed-for,’ verb-stem ποθεόν- (ποθεόν long for), etc. Substantially used is τέκ-νο- ‘thing born, bairn,’ √/τεκ (bear, cf. τέ-τεκ-ον, τέ-τοκ-α).

Latin. Not as regular participial formation. Relics are e.g. ple-no- (filled) √/ple-πλα, origl. par (fill); mag-no- ‘increased,’ √/mag=Sk. mah (wax); δο-νο- ‘gift,’ √/da (give); reg-no- ‘ruled thing,’ √/reg (rule), etc.

§ 95. XII. Stems with suffix -ni-.

Sf. -ni- is much like -ti- in use and function, but rarer. Like -ti- it appears added to other sff. (cf. § 98, Lat. sf. -tiō-ni-). Generally speaking, there stand side by side the suffix-scales -na-, -ni-, -nu-, and -ta-, -ti-, -tu-. Sf. -ni- is origl. Indo-Eur. ag-ni- (fire), √/ag?, is the only trustworthy example; yet it is highly probable that abstracts in -ni- were formed before the division of languages, because they occur in all Indo-Eur. languages.

Sanskrit. E.g. glā-ni- (fem. fatigue, exhaustion), √/glā (lose strength); hā-ni- (fem. abandonment), √/ha (leave); yīr-ni- (weakness from age) for *gar-ni- (§ 7), √/yar (to age), etc., which all form their p.p. pass. in -nā-; all, however, do not take sf. -ni-, the majority take -ti-, e.g. khin-nā- (splitten), but khit-ti- (splitting, n.), √/khīd.

The datives of these abstracts in -ni-, like those in -ti-, can serve as infinitives.

Greek. Sf. -ni- is rare in Gk.; e.g. μῆ-νι- (μῆνις, g. μῆνος, fem. wrath), √/origl. ma (think); σπα-νι- (fem. want), √/σπα.

Note.—Benfey, followed by Leo Meyer (Vgl. Gramm. ii. 141), explains the much-debated Gk. forms in -ω, such as ῥυθ-ω (echo),
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\( \pi \epsilon \theta \omega \) (persuasion, earlier \( \omega \)), etc., voc. \( \pi \epsilon \theta \omega \delta \), g. \( \pi \epsilon \theta \omega \delta \mu \sigma \) from § 95.

*\( \pi \epsilon \theta \delta \omega \delta \), etc., as stems in -ou-, f.f. thus -ani- (*\( \pi \epsilon \theta \omega \delta \omega \)), whence \( \pi \epsilon \theta \omega \omega \), as e.g. \( \mu \epsilon \xi \omega \) from \( \mu \epsilon \xi \gamma \omega \). G. Curtius (Erläuterungen, p. 50 sqq.) on the other hand, as stems in -ofr-, probably rightly (cf. their Ion. acc. in -ouv).

Latin. Masculines only, e.g. ig-ni- (ignis fire) = Sk. ag-ni-; pā-ni- (bread), \( \sqrt{pa} \) (cf. pa-sec); pē-ni- for *pes-ni- (§ 77, 1, a), \( \sqrt{v} \) orincl. pas (gignere?), cf. Sk. pāas-as (ntr. pēnis), Gk. πέος for *πεοσ-ος, M.H.G. vis-ellin (pēnis); probably also crī-ni-, jū-ni-, fī-ni- and le-ni-, seg-ni-, the roots of which are difficult to trace.

XIII. Stems with sf. -nu-.

Indo-Eur. ta-nu- (stretched; body), \( \sqrt{ta} \) (stretch); su-nu- § 95a. (one born, son), \( \sqrt{su} \) (bear, beget). The stems in -nu- are also used as pres.-stems (§ 165, iv. a), e.g. ta-nu-, \( \sqrt{ta} \); ar-nu-, \( \sqrt{ar} \).

Sanskrit. ta-nū- (thin; fem. body), \( \sqrt{ta} \); sā-nū- (son), \( \sqrt{su} \); bhā-nū- (sun), \( \sqrt{bha} \) (shine); tras-nū- (fearful), \( \sqrt{tras} \) (tremble); gridh-nū- (greedy, eager), \( \sqrt{gardh} \) (seek, strive), etc.

Greek. Sf. -nu- is very rare, e.g. \( \theta \rho \gamma -\nu\nu \)- (footstool), \( \sqrt{\theta \rho \gamma} \) (\( \theta \rho \gamma -\rho \alpha \sigma \delta \omega \alpha \) seat oneself; \( \theta \rho \alpha -\nu\gamma \) seat), orincl. dhra, dhar (set, fix); \( \lambda \gamma \gamma -\nu\nu \) (fem. smōke, mist), root doubtful.

Latin. Sf. -nu- very rare, as in Gk.; te-nu-i-, like adj.-stems in -u- generally (§ 88, b), has passed into the i-form; *te-nu-=origl. ta-nu-. Probably ma-nu- (fem. hand) belongs here, \( \sqrt{v} \) orincl. ma (measure, shape).

XIV. Stems with sf. -ta-.

The participle in origl. -ta-, the past part. pass. comes under special notice here.

The element -ta- (cf. the pronominal root of like sound), one of the commonest sf. of our language, is multifariously used in stem- and word-formation (for the formation of the 3 pers. of the verb, probably also for the ablat. sg., as case-sf.). The sf. -ta- forms not only the adj. discussed hereafter, which must probably have had a more general meaning originally (cf. e.g. Sk. stem sthi-tā- ‘standing,’ \( \sqrt{stha} \) stand, like Gk. στα-τό-; \( \gamma \kappa -\tau \kappa \) ‘powerful, mighty,’ \( \sqrt{\gamma \kappa} \) ‘be able, capable’), and have been
§ 96. hardened into a regular means of expressing p.p. pass. only at
a later period of the Indo-Eur. lang.—but nouns also substan-
tively used are formed by -la-, e.g. Gk. koilos- (masc. couch, bed), koil-\(\tau\eta\) (fem. id.), \(\sqrt{\kappa}\iota\) (\(\kappa\iota\iota \tau\iota \iota\) lies); \(\phi\o\rho\-\tau\o\-\) (masc. load, burden), \(\sqrt{\phi}\\\iota\iota\) (\(\phi\iota\iota \-\nu\) bear); \(\pi\o\-\tau\o\-\) (masc. draught), \(\sqrt{\pi}\o\-\) (drink); \(\delta\rho\-\tau\o\-\) (masc. ploughing), stem \(\delta\rho\-\) (plough); here belong nomina agentis masc., with stem termination raised to -\(\tau\eta\-) as \(\kappa\rho\-\tau\iota\-\) (n. \(\kappa\rho\iota\-\nu\) judge), \(\sqrt{\kappa}\iota\) (\(\kappa\iota\-\nu\) silt); \(\delta\e\k-\tau\eta\-\) (receiver), \(\sqrt{\delta}\e\k\) (\(\delta\e\k\iota\mu\) receive); 
\(\pi\omega\-\tau\iota\-\) (maker, poet), verb-stem \(\pi\omega\-\) (\(\pi\omega\iota\e\) make); \(\pi\rho\iota\-\phi\iota\-\tau\iota\-\) (prophet), \(\sqrt{\phi}\a\) (\(\phi\iota\-\mu\i\) say); \(\tau\o\xi\e\-\tau\iota\-\) (bowman), verb-
stem \(\tau\o\xi\e\-\) (\(\tau\o\xi\e\o\) shoot arrows), etc., which end in -\(\tau\a\), some-
times in nom. case, in Hom.; Latin \(n\o\z\a\) (hurt), i.e. *\(\nu\o\-\tau\a\), 
\(\sqrt{\nu}\o\) (\(\nu\o\e\) hurt) ; \(s\e \-\tau\a\) (mode of action, sect), \(\sqrt{\s\e}\) (\(\s\e\) follow) ; and in Zend, Scl., and Lith.

As a secondary sf. -\(\tau\a\-) often occurs, thus in function of forming superl. (v. post. § 106), moreover in Gk. -\(\tau\eta\-\) (as pri-
marily), forming nomina agentis, e.g. \(\tau\o\xi\o\-\tau\eta\-\) (bowman), \(\tau\o\xi\o\-\) (bow, ntr.); \(\i\pi\pi\o\-\tau\eta\-\) and -\(\tau\a\) (horseman), \(\i\pi\pi\o\-\) (horse); 
\(\pi\o\l\i\-\tau\eta\-) (burgher), \(\pi\o\l\i\-) (fem. city), etc.; further often forming fem. abstracts, e.g. Sk. \(p\r\t\h\-\tau\a\) (breadth), \(p\r\t\h\u\-\) (broad); 
Gk. \(\beta\o\o\-\tau\eta\-) (life), \(\beta\o\o\-) (masc. life); Scl. and Goth.

Sf. -\(\tau\a\-) forms moreover one kind of pres.-stem (§ 165, vii.), 
e.g. Gk. \(\tau\o\nu\-\tau\iota\-\), \(\sqrt{\tau\o\nu}\eta\); often it stands combined with other sf. 
also added. These combinations will be collected at the end of this 
section.

Indo-Eur. The sf. -\(\tau\a\-) forming the p.p. pass., occurs immediately at the end of the fundamental form of the root in case of stem-verbs, in case of derived verbs at the end of the verb-stem, e.g. da-\(\tau\a\-) (datus), n. sg. masc. da-\(\tau\a\)-s, ntr. da-\(\tau\a\)-\(m\), 
fem. da-\(\tau\a\), \(\sqrt{\d}\a\) (give); kru-\(\tau\a\-) (*clutus), \(\sqrt{\kru}\) (hear); kak-\(\tau\a\-) (coctus) \(\sqrt{\kak}\) (cook); s\(\dd\a\y\a\-\tau\a\-) (fixed, set), stem s\(\dd\a\y\a\-, \(\sqrt{\sa}\) 
(sit), etc.

Sanskrit. Sf. -\(\tau\a\-\), n. sg. masc. -\(\tau\a\-\s\), ntr. -\(\tau\a\-\m\), fem. -\(\tau\a\),
e.g. *gru-tá-, √gru (hear); ma-tá-, √ma, man (think); *yáà-tá-, § 96. √yáà (know); bhár-tá-, √bhar (bear); yuk-tá-, √yuµ (join); bad-dhá- for *badh-ta-, √badh, bandh (bind); lab-dhá- for *labh-ta-, √labh (get); viśtā- for *vīṣ-tá-, √vīṣ (enter), etc.

The contact of the sf. with consonantal root-terminations brings many sound-laws into play (cf. §§ 58, 59, for details a Sk. special grammar). Several roots have auxil.-vowel i (§ 15, f), e.g. pat-i-tá-, √pat (fall); rarely i, e.g. grh-i-tá-, √grah, grabh, (seize, grasp); stems in -aya- always have i, which is probably a relic of -ya-, e.g. vēdi-tá-, stem vēdaya-, or perhaps from a stem *vēd-yā- (make known) √vid (perceive).

Roots ending in nasals, which did not become amalgamated with the origl. root vowel-termination till a later date, show their shorter primitive form before the sf., e.g. ga-tá-, √ga (go), which appears mainly as gam; ta-tá-, √ta, which appears mostly as tan (stretch), etc. On the other hand, e.g. kān-tá-, with nasal retained and root-vowel lengthened, √kam (love).

Before this sf. weakening or loss of root-vowel a is very common, e.g. kr-tá-, √kar (make); prś-tá-, √prakah (ask); shi-tá-, √stha (stand); hi-tá- for *dhi-tá-, √dha (set); pā-tá-, √pa (drink), etc.; dattā- for *dad-ta- retains pres.-reduplication (cf. 1 pl. pres. dad-más damus), √da (give). Particulars of this formation would be out of place here.

Greek. Sf. -tó-, n. sg. masc. -tó-ς, ntr. -tó-ν, fem. -τή; e.g. κλυ-τό-, √κλυ (hear); step-formn. of root-vowel remains the same as in pres.-stem, φευκ-τό-, 1 sg. pres. φεύγ-ω, √φύγ (flee), at an earlier period φυκ-τό- still existed; λειπ-τό-, pres. λειπ-ω, √λειπ (leave); other pres. formns. however are not retained in these forms; σπαρ-τό-, √σπερ (sow), pres. σπείρω=σπερ-γω; στα-τό-, √στα (stand), pres. ἵστημι; θε-τό-, √θε (set), pres. τίθη-μι; γνω-τό-, √γνο (know), pres. γνω-νώ-σκω; Φρηκ-τό-, √Φρακ (break), pres. Φρήγ-νυμι; τιμή-τό-, verb-stem τιμη- (honour), pres. τιμάω, etc. Acc. to Leo Meyer (Vgl. gr. ii. 318 sqq.) in like compound forms there occurs -τ- also, instead of
§ 96. complete -το-, e.g. ἀglyνωτ- (n. ἀγνωσ, gen. ἀγνωτ-ος unknown), cf. γυνώ-το--; ἀβλητ-, ἀβλητ-το- beside ἀβλητ-το- (unstruck), and a few similar cases, wherein τ follows a long root-vowel.

Latin. Sf. -τυ-, earlier -το-, n. sg. masc. -τυς, earlier -τος, ntr. -τυμ, earlier -τομ, fern. -τα, e.g. de-το-, ὑ-το- (give); sta-το-, ὑ-το- (stand); i-το-, ὑ (go); ἀ-το-, ὑ (put on; ex-το- put off), im-βα-το-, etc.; coc-το-, κοκ (cook); rup-το-, ὑ (break); strε-το-, στε (spread); pas-το- for *παντ-το-, παντ (suffer), etc.; (the sound-laws in cases where final consonants of roots come into contact with τ of sf. -το- are treated of in § 77, 1). With active function, a tolerably common use of this sf., pö-το- (drunken), ὑ (go); pranσ-το- for *πραντ-το- (having dined), ὑ (prand) (prandere), etc. These participles are often used substantively, e.g. stems dic-το- (dic-τυμ saying), gnα-το- (nα-τυς son), faç-το-, νο-το-, etc.

Screip-το- (cf. Umbr. screib-το-) may come from the pres. screib-ο, scribo (write), like iunc-το- from iung-ο (join). The lengthening of vowel in ac-το-, lεc-το-, strεc-το-, iunc-το-, etc., not universally marked in pronunciation (Corssen, Aussprache und Betonung, i. 156, 158, sqq.), is a late-formation in Latin, or perhaps nothing more than a result produced by the influence of grammarians upon the language. In secα-το-, ὑ (follow); locα-το-, ὑ (logus, origl. rak (speak); ὑ has been developed out of the v following guttural k (§ 71, 1), after the analogy of derived verbs; the origl. *sec-το- occurs clearly in e.g. sectari (Pauli, Geschichte der Lateinischen Verba in -uo, Stettin, 1865, p. 17).

Not unfrequently there occurs the auxiliary vowel i (§ 43), e.g. in nom-ι-το-, ūομ (spue), beside em-π-το-, ūem (buy; for -π- v. § 77, g); gen-ι-το-, ūgen (produce), 1 sg. pres. gi-g(v)n̆-o; amα-το-, sopα-το-, acε-το-, from verb-stems amα-, sopα-, acε-, but mon-ι-το-, ace-το-, etc., according to the class of stem-verbs, not *monε-το-, *augε-το- (moneo, augeo), yet délε-το-, suε-το-, etc.
The sf. *-ta- often occurs, as we have already remarked, as the § 96. first element of compound suffixes; thus in *-ta-ta-, forming superl. in Gk. (§ 106); *-ta-ti- in the Sanskrit (Vēd.) secondary sf. *-tā-tī- (fem.), in which we have probably to recognize a further formation of the above-mentioned sf. *-ta-, fem. *-tā, which is used in a similar function to form abstracts, e.g. sārva- *tātī- (totality), st. sārve- (all); devā- *tātī- (godhead), stem dēvā- (masc. god); vasū- *tātī- (wealth), stem vāsū- (possession), etc. The rarer sf. form *-tā-t-, e.g. dēvā- *tātī- = dēvā- *tātī-; satyā- *tātī- (truthfulness), stem satya- (true), etc., is clearly a shortening of *-tā-tī-. With regard to sf. *-ti- we shall see that even by itself it is shortened to *-t- in Sk., Zend, Gk., and Lat.

In Greek this *-tāt- is much used in a similar function in form *-τητ-, e.g. νεό-τητ- (n. sg. νεότης fem. youth), stem νέο- (new, young); φίλο-τητ- (love), φίλο- (dear); βράδυ-τητ- (slowness), βράδυ- (slow); ἐνό-τητ- (oneness), stem ἐν-; παντό-τητ- (universality), stem πάντ-, etc. Thus here also, as in not a few other cases (e.g. gen. dat. dual.; before sf. *-ἐπετ- § 90), the consonantal stems follow the analogy of the a-stems. In Latin the sf. becomes *-tā-tī-, *-tā-t-, e.g. dūrā- *tātī- (hardness), dūro- (hard; on i for o, v. § 40); anxio- *tātī- from anxio- (on i for ii, v. § 38); cīnī- *tātī-, cīnī-; uetus- *tātī-, uetus, etc.

Note.—Acc. to Benfey (Or. und Occ. ii. 521 sqq.) Lat. salāt- is from *salo-t-, itself a shortening of *salo-vāt-, like Zend haʊrvat- from haʊrvat-.

A secondary sf. *-ta-na- occurs in Sk. e.g. hyas-tana- (yesterday’s), hyas (yesterday), to which Lat. *tīno- in such forms as oras-tīno-, sērō-tīno-, closely corresponds; cf. Iran. *-ta-na-, Zend ɢaḥ-, Lith. *tīna-.

Concerning sf. *-ta-ma-, forming superl. like *-ta- and *-ta-ta-, v. § 108; on *-ta-ra- used in comp. degree, v. § 105. It may be that the sf. *-tar-, *-tra-, which will be handled in the next section, are likewise contracted forms of *-ta- and *-ra- combined, for archaic abbreviations of the elements of suffixes are undeniable in some cases.
§ 97. Stems with sff. -tar-, -tra-; -tar- forms a nomen agentis and fut. part. aet.; -tra- forms nouns which mostly signify an instrument.

That the nouns in origl. -tar- in Indo-Eur. were even at that period employed as pres. and fut. participles, we cannot prove with certainty, because those functions are found only in the Asiatic and S. European divisions of the speech-stem. There was no doubt originally only one formation, whose earliest form has held its ground in those nouns of this kind which are used as words of kinship, i.e. -tar- for all genders, n. sg. masc. and fem. -tar-s, neut. -tar-. This sf. is added immediately to the root, which mostly is raised one step; in case of derived verbs it is added to the verb-stem, e.g. mā-tar- (the 'female producer,' mother), ṣma (produce, bring forth); pa-tar- (father), ṣpa (protect, rule); bhrā-tar- (brother), ṣbhrā, bhra (bear, preserve); dā-tar- or perhaps da-tar- (giver), ṣda (give); probably su-tar- (woman), ṣsu (produce, bear), whence sea-sutar- (woman related, i.e. sister); gan-tar- (begetter), ṣgan (beget), etc.

The correspondence between the languages tends to prove that already in early times there existed a kindred form in *-tara- (for -tara- used to form comparative, v. post.), whence came -tra-; whilst -tar- represents persons, this -tara-, -tra- was used of things, and hence does not form nomina agentis, but usually indicates the instrument. *Formations such as dak-tra- (tooth), ṣdak (bite); gā-tra- (limb), ṣgā (go); krau-tra- (ear), ṣkṛu (hear), etc., can scarcely have been wanting in the origl.-language.

The origin of the suffix -tar-, -tra-, is obscure. We conjectured (§ 96), that it is composed of two suffixes -ta- and -ra-, as -mana- from -ma- and -na-; we might make an equation thus, -tar- : *-ta-ra- (tra) :: -man- : ma-na- (mna). As -mana-, -man-, is raised to -māna-, -mān-, so also -tara-, -tar-, is raised in the languages to -tāra- (Lat. -tūro-), -tār- (Lat. -tör-).
Sanskrit. Suffix -tar-, n. sg. -tā for -tar-s (§ 15, d), acc. § 97.

sg. -tar-am, in words expressing kinship, e.g. pi-tār- for *pa-tar-(father), mā-tār- (mother), bhṛ-tār- (brother), etc. The formations of this kind which were felt as nomina agentis are distinguished by a higher step-formation of -tar- to -tār- (n. sg. mase. -tā- for -tar-s, but acc. sg. -tār-am); this is also shared by svāsar- (sister), for *sva-star-, *sva-su-tar- (literally kinswoman). The suffix -tar- belonging to nomina agentis is added to the end of the root. With the exception of medial a, the root vowels are raised one step before this suffix, e.g. dā-tār- (dator), √da (give). The fem. affixes -ya, e.g. n. sg. dā-trī, i.e. *da-trīya (§ 15, c), from *dā-tar-yā; instead of the primary form of the suffix, which has held its ground in words expressing relationship (mā-tar- fem., but may be mase. as well) also in feminines, a further formation has here worked its way in; cf. forms such as pi-tr-ya- (fatherly), from pi-tar- (father); kar-tār-, √kar (make); pak-tār-, √pak (cook); bōddhār- for *bōdh-tar- (§ 59, 2), √budh (know), etc. Before this suffix, as e.g. in past part. pass. and elsewhere, many roots show an auxiliary vowel i, more rarely i, e.g. ījan-i-tār-, √ījan (beget); grah-ī-tār-, √grah (seize), etc.

These stems in -tar- serve for a periphrastic future, in such a way that the mase. is used for all genders; in pers. 1 and 2 the nominative form of the singular has become stationary (thus passing over likewise into the dual and pl.), and is welded together with the pres. of the verb as (be), while the 3rd pers. does not require the verbal form, e.g.

Sing. 1. dātāsmi from dātā asmi (I am [about] to give).
2. dātāsī from dātā asi.
3. dātā (rarely dātāstī from dātā astī).

Plur. 1. dātāsmas from dātā (we might have expected dātāras) smas.
2. dātāstha from dātā stha.
3. dātāras.
§ 97. In the earliest Sanskrit (Vēd.) these forms appear also accented on the root, e.g. da-tar-, etc., wherein we ought perhaps to recognize an earlier system of accentuation, since the rule is for accent and stem-formation to go together.

Suffix -tra-, almost always neut., n sg. -tra-m, rarely fem., n sg. -trā, e.g. ṭrā-tra- (ear), ṭrā-tra- (hear); ga-tra- (limb), ṭga (go); vās-tra- (garment), vās (clothe); vak-tra- (mouth), vak (speak); ṭaś-tra- masc., and ṭaś-trā fem., acc. to sound-laws for *dāg-tra-, -trā (tooth), ṭdag, dāg (bite), etc. Also with auxil. vowel i, e.g. khan-i-tra- (shovel), ṭkhan (dig), etc. Moreover the root sometimes appears furnished with the stem-termination a, as in pres., e.g. pāta-tra- (wing), ṭpat (fly), pres. stem pāta- (3 sg. pāta-ti); kīnta-tra- (plough), ṭkīrt (split), pres.-stem kṛnta-tra- (3 sg. kṛnta-ti), etc.

Greek. The suffix original -tar- does not serve to express the future-relation; it appears as -tep- in words of kinship, as -tēr-, -ter-, when forming nomina agentis, in the latter of which formations the feminine is distinguished by the affix -ya- here also (cf. § 97). 1. Words of kinship, e.g. πα-τέρ- (father, acc. πατέρ-a); μη-τέρ- (mother, acc. μητέρ-a); 2. nomina agentis, e.g. δο-τή-ρ- (giver, acc. δο-τήρ-a), also δω-τή-ρ, δο (give); the fem. is formed from unraised suffix -tār-, δο-τείρα, i.e. *δο-τερ-ya, f.f. da-tar-yā; σω-τήρ (saviour), stem σω, fem. σώ-τείρα, etc. Forms like γενε-τήρ, γεν (beget), must probably be held to have stems in original a underlying them (cf. Sanskrit). Beside these also is -tōr=origl. -tār-, ḍō-ṭōr- (speaker, acc. ḍō-τόρ-a),  progressDialog (known, witness), δο (know); δω-τόρ- (δώτωρ Hom. Od. = δώτηρ), etc.; φρά-τόρ- (n. pl. φράτορ-ες), origl. bhṛā-tar- (brother), has become removed from words of kinship in form as well as in meaning (member of a φράτα). In -tōr- we see almost certainly a further formation from -tōr-, after the analogy of the a-stem, thus in διάκ-τόρ- (guide, Hom.); α-λάσ-τόρ- beside ṭα-λάσ-τόρ- (malignant, avenger), λαθ (forget); a solitary
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-τυρ-, -τυρο-, is found in μάρ-τυρ- (gen. μάρτυρος witness), § 97. μάρτυρο-, \( ' \) originally smar (remember).

The feminines in -τρια are distinguished from those in -τειρα only by the loss of the a of the suffix original -χαρ-; from -ταρ-ya came -τρια, i.e. ποίη-τρια, verbal-stem ποίη- (make). The secondary formation by suffix -γα- is generally very common here, as e.g. from stem πα-τέρ- is formed a stem πα-τρο-νο- (paternal), fem. πα-τρ-ιά (origin, race); 6σ-τήρ-ιο- (saving), stem σω-τήρ-; these secondary formations intruded into the fem. and supplanted the original stem in -ταρ- with few exceptions.

The feminines in -τρίδε- (n. sg. -τρίς) are either late-formations peculiar to the Greek, formed by means of a later suffix -δε-, or (cf. G. Curtius Gk. Etym. 3 p. 583 sqq.) -τριδε- is merely a phonetic variation from *τριγα-, so that here a suffix -τρι- would have to be presupposed, e.g. αὐλη-τρίδε- (flute-player, fem.), verbal-stem αὐλη-; πα-τριδε- (fatherland) from stem πα-τέρ-, etc.

The suffix origl. -τρα- appears as -τρο-, -θρο- (neut.), -τρα, -θρα (fem.); the aspiration is probably caused by the r, e.g. νιμ-τρο- (neut. washing-water) for *νῦθ-τρο-, \( νυθ \), original νιγ (retained in νιγω, wash, =*νυγ-γω, § 63, 1); ἄρο-τρο- (neut. plough), from verbal-stem ἄρο- (plough, in ἄρο-ω, ἄρο-σω, ἄρο-σαι), \( \sqrt{\text{αρ}} \). In ἰα-τρό- (masc. healer), verbal-stem ἰα- (ἰαωmai heal); δαι-τρό- (masc. carver), cf. δαι-ομαι (divide), nomina agentis are formed in -τρο- (cf. -τορο- above). Further βά-θρο- (utr. base, step), \( \sqrt{\text{βα}} \), original γα (go); ρή-τρα (fem. agreement), \( \sqrt{\text{ρη}} \); μάκ-τρα (kneading-trough), \( \sqrt{\text{μακ}} \) (knead, μάσω = *μακνω, generally softened into μαγ); φρα-τρα, ἴδων. φρή-τη (clan), \( \sqrt{\text{φρα=φερ}} \), origl. bhra, bhav, cf. 6φα-τρο=origl. bhav- 6ταρ-; κοιμή-θρα (sleeping-place), verbal-stem κοιμα- (κοιμω put to rest), etc. The suffixes -τλο-, -θλο-, fem. -τλη-, 6θη-, e.g. χύ-τλο- (neut. liquor, fluid), \( \sqrt{\text{χυ}} \) (pour); 6θυ-θλο- (neut. implement for Bacchus-worship), \( \sqrt{\text{θυ}} \), the \( \sigma \) appears in other
§ 97. formations also from this root; ἔχε-ται (plough-tail), verbal-stem ἔχε- (cf. ἔχε-ται), ἐχε (have, hold); ἐγεν-θαι (birth), stem ἐγεν- (cf. ἐγεν-σις, ἐγεν-σται, etc.), ἐγεν- must be treated as parallel forms of the above.

Latin. Words expressing kinship have suffix -ter-, whose e is lost in almost all cases; the nomina agentis in -tor-, with step-formation of original -tar-, like Greek -τη-; for the paraphrasis of the future is used the suffix -ται- from *-ται-, f.f. -ται-, raised from original -tar- and + suffix -α-, as in suffix -taro-, f.f. -tra-, likewise frequently used. The suffix *-ται- occurs as fem: -τα in forming nomina actionis as well. The fem. -τρι- is a further formation by means of -c-, and perhaps presupposes -τρια-; a similar further formation is found in -τρι-νο-, -τρι-να-; cf. with -τρι-να- such formations as -ι-νο-, -ι-να-.

1. Words of kinship, e.g. pa-ter, mā-ter, frā-ter (but sorōr-from *sosōr-, and this from *sos-tar-, *seus-tar-, as in Sk. svā-sar-, acc. svā-sar-am); 2. nomina agentis, e.g. uic-tor-, uic (uinco, uic-tus); censōr- for *cens-tor-, cens (censeo); sponsōr- for *spond-tor- (§ 77, b), spond (spondeo); balnea-tor-, verbal-stem *balnea, which is not used, however; moni-tor-, moni-tus (monere); da-tor-, da, etc.

Suffix -tāra-, forming fut. part., e.g. da-tāro-, da; uic-tāro-, uic, etc.; as a fem., forming nomina actionis, e.g. sepul-tāra-, cf. sepul-tus (sepelio bury); usūra (use, interest) for *ūt-tāra (§ 77, 1, b), cf. āt-or (use); censūra for *cens-tāra, cens, etc.

Suffix -taro- (cf. Corssen, Krit. Beitr. 366 sqq.), e.g. in rōs-taro-(rostrum beak) for *rōd-taro- (§ 77, 2), rōd (rōdo gnaw); claus-taro- (lock, barrier) for *claud-taro- (§ 77, 2), claud (claudio shut); arā-taro- (plough), verbal-stem arā- (plough), ar; this suffix seldom appears as fem., as in fulgē-tra- (Plin. = fulgor brightness), verbal-stem fulgē- (shine, gleam).

Further formations of this suffix original -tar-. 1. Through -ya-, esp. -trio- and -tērio, e.g. in pa-tr-io- from pa-ter; audi-tōrio- from audi-tor-; légā-tōrio- from légā-tor-; uic-tor-ia
from uic-tör-, etc. 2. Through -ic-, e.g. uic-tric- from uic-tör-, § 97, or rather from an older unraised form of the suffix original -tar-, which lost its vowel before -ic-; imperā-tric- from imperā-tör-, ex-pul-tric- likewise from an unused *ex-pulltör-; pis-tric- from pis-tör-, √pis (pinso, pistus), etc. 3. Through -ina, e.g. pis-trīno- (pistrinum), pis-trīna from pis-tör-, √pis; doc-trīna from doc-tör-, √doc, etc.

Note.—In some cases at least Lat. -bro- appears to be = Gk. -θρο- (medial b corresponds of course by rule to Gk. θ; cf. § 77, 1, c), which, as we saw, arose from -τρο-, -tra- (cf. Leo Meyer, Vergl. gr. der griech. u. lat. Sprache, ii. 233, 241; Ebel, Zeitschr. xiv. 77 sqq.; Kuhn, ib. p. 215 sqq.). If this assumption is well founded, this -bro- = f.f. -tra- has become mixed in Lat. with -bro- = f.f. -bhra- (yh/bhar bear; cf. supr. § 89, n. 2), precisely as in Lat. the root original dha has become confounded with root original du (§ 73, 2). As examples of Lat. -bro- = -tra- we adduce crī-bro- (cribrum sieve), √kri (cf. kpl-vo, kpl-sv-s) = O.H.G. hrī-tara, M.H.G. rein-ter, f.f. therefore krai-tra-; tere-bra (fem. borer), cf. τέφε-τρο-ν (id.); palpe-bra (eyelid) bes. earlier and more vulgar palpe-tra, as in Gk. φέπε-τρο-ν bes. φέπε-τρο-ν; tene-bræ (darkness) for *tenes-bræc, *tenes-bræc (§ 77, 1, a), *tenes-θrae, = Sk. tāmis-rā (dark) for *tamis-τρα = O.H.G. dins-tar, M.H.G. dins-ter, dins-ter (Kuhn, Zeitschr. xv. 238), f.f. tams-tra- from tamas-tra-. The mainstay of these explanations lies in consobrīno- (consobrinus cousin on mother’s side), which is explained as = Sk. so-brīno- = so-brīno- from stem *so-stor- = original so-sor- (sister). So that in consobrinus the t of seastar- would be retained, which is lost in soror- = *sosor. Corss. (Krit. Nachtr. 186 sqq.), however, does not allow Lat. -bro- = -tro-; he explains so-brīno- from *so-brī-no- (§ 77, 1, a), and this from *soror-brī-no- (§ 77, 2). This difficult question has been handled at length by Ascoli, Studj. crit. ii. p. 33 sqq.; he pronounces in favour of Lat. -bro- = original -tra-. Cf. § 89, Lat. n.

XVI. Stems with suffix -ti-. § 98.

The suffix -ti- is often used to form verbal-substantives, which serve in several languages (Sanskrit, Zend, Sclavonian, Lithuanian) as infinitives and gerundives in certain cases. The
§ 98. Suffix \(-ti\) has besides—like suffix \(-a\)—the function of forming nomina agentis, but is more rarely so employed. The suffix is at home in all Indo-European languages, and was therefore already in existence in the original-language. It occurs also as a secondary suffix, cf. \(t\-a-ti\) (§ 90), \(t\-a-ti\) (§ 99) and the numeral (§ 109 sqq.).

Indo-European original-language. From each verbal-stem might perhaps have been formed a nomen in \(-ti\), e.g. 
\[ma-ti\] (thought), \[\sqrt{ma}\] ; \[bh\-u-ti\] (\(\phi\-\sigma\-u\-\varsigma\)), \[\sqrt{bhu}\] (become, be) ; 
\[ka\-k-ti\] (\(\kappa\-\kappa\-\tau\-\omega\)), \[\sqrt{kak}\] (cook) ; \[ma\-r-ti\] (death), \[\sqrt{mar}\] (die), etc.

In the function of a nomen agentis a certain example in the original-language is found in \(pa-ti\) (lord), \[\sqrt{pa}\] (protect).

Sanskrit. The suffix \(-ti\) forms:

1. Nomina actionis feminina, e.g. 
\[ma\-t\-i\] (meaning, thought), \[\sqrt{ma}\] (man think) ; \[st\-t\-i\] (stand), \[\sqrt{stha}\] (stand) ; \[gr\-u-ti\] (hearing), \[\sqrt{gru}\] ; \[bh\-u-ti\] (being), \[\sqrt{bhu}\] (be) ; \[pa\-k-ti\] (coctio), \[\sqrt{pak}\] (cook) ; \[\kappa\-t\-i\] (speech), \[\sqrt{vak}\] (speak) ; \[y\-k-ti\] (iunctio), \[\sqrt{yug}\] (join), etc.

Infinitive functions are found in the dative of these nomina actionis in \(-ti\), thus \[y\-k\-ty\-a\], etc.

2. Nomina agentis, e.g. 
\[pa\-t\-i\] (masc. lord), \[\sqrt{pa}\] (protect) ; 
\[\kappa\-a\-t\-i\] (masc. kinsman), \[\sqrt{\kappa\-a\-\tau}\] from \[\sqrt{\kappa\-\alpha\-\tau}\] (gignere).

A shortening of this \(-ti\) (cf. suffix \(-t\-a-t\=-t\-a-ti\) § 96) is found in suffix \(-t\-\), which occurs especially in those roots which terminate in a short vowel, e.g. 
\[ma\-h\-k\-\kappa\-t\] (ruling the land), \[\sqrt{k\-\kappa\-\iota}\] (rule) ; 
\[sa\-ru\-g\-i\-t\-\] (conquering all), \[\sqrt{\gamma\-\gamma}\] (conquer) ; likewise \[sr\-u\-t\-\] (flowing), \[\sqrt{sr\-\tau}\] ; 
\[kr\-t\-\] (making, fashioning), \[\sqrt{kar}\] (make), etc.

In gerundive use we find a shortened instrumental from nomina actionis in \(-ti\), i.e. \(-ty\-a\) (from \(-ty\-\dot{a}\), v. post. Declension), which originally had probably a wider employment, but is confined in the actual state of the language to roots in \(i\), \(u\), and \(ar\), and is moreover only used where prepositions have become welded on before them, e.g. 
\[s\-\gamma\-\kappa\-\tau\-\tau\-\alpha\], \[\sqrt{\gamma\-\tau\-\tau}\] (hear) ;
ri-ji-tya, √ji (conquer). If the root end in other sounds, the § 98.
t of suffix -ti- is lost, so that -ya only remains; the cause of
this loss may possibly be seen in the frequent position of t
after consonants, and the weakened termination of the word
due to the prefixed, originally adverbial, elements (the preposi-
tions). A similar unusual loss of consonants in the case of
person-terminations (v. post. in loco). E.g. a-dā-ya from a-da
(take), √da (give); ni-vice-ya from ni-vice (settle down), √vice
(go in), etc. Stems in -aya lose this first a of the suffix, e.g.
pra-bōdh-ya from stem pra-bōdhaya- (awaken, remind). Details
of this formation would be out of place here.

In the earlier language this formation of the gerundive
occurs also in case of uncompounded verbal-stems; on the other
hand there are traces of the more complete -tya-, even after
consonantal root-terminations (cf. post. -teā used with uncom-
pounded verbal-stems).

Perhaps -tya-, fem. -tyā, is a further formation of the suffix
-ti-, e.g. in kr-tyā (deed, doing), √kar (make); i-tyā (going),
√i (go); āi-tyā (gain, victory), √āi (conquer); ha-tyā (slay-
ing), √ha, han (kill), etc.

Greek. The suffix -τι-, regularly -σι- (§ 68, 1, e), which
has arisen from the earlier -τι- (preserved in Dōrie), is fre-
cently used, and forms nomina actionis fem. from verbal-
stems, e.g. μὴ-τι- (wile), √ma (think); φα-τι- (speech, report),
√pha (say), beside φά-σι- (speech, saying); φύ-σι- (nature),
√phu (be, grow); πέψι-, i.e. *πεπ-σι- from earlier *πεπ-τι-
occio), √πεπ (cook); ζεψι-, i.e. *ζεψυ-σι- (joining), √ζψυ
(join); ἡψω-σι- (knowing), ἠψω, etc.

Nomen agentis, e.g. πό-σι- (lord)=Sk. and original πά-τι-,
√pa; μάν-τι- (seer), √man (think).

τ only has remained in ὠμο-βρῶ-τι- (raw-eating), √bro, bor
(βυ-βρῶ-σκω eat, bor-á food), and perhaps in a few others.

-σια fem. is a further formation through combination of a
with -τι-=-τι-, e.g. θυ-σια (sacrifice), √θυ (sacrifice); δόκιμα-σια
§ 98. (test), verbal-stem ὀκιμαδ- (ὀκιμαύζω for ὁκιμαδύω test), etc. Cf. Sk. -tya.

Latin. The primary suffix -ti- has mostly been shortened to -t- in consequence of the confusion of the i-forms and the consonantal stems, e.g. dō-ti- (dos dower), /da (give); men-ti-(mens mind), /men (think, cf. memin-i); mor-ti- (mors death), /mor (mori); the i is retained e.g. in messi-, i.e. *met-ti- (harvest, § 77, 1, b), /met (metere); ues-ti- (cloak), root original ras (clothe).

Suffix -ti- appears as forming nomina agentis here too, in po-ti-, nom. sg. poti-s (powerful, capable), which however serves for all genders, Sk. and origl. pā-ti-, Gk. πό-σι-; cf. the compound of this poti-, com-po-ti- (compos), in-po-ti- (impos); further in super-sti-t- (superstes remaining over), /sta; sacer-dō-t- (sacerdos), root probably original dha (set, do), which is confused in Lat. with da (give; thus 'sacrificium perficiens' or 'dans'; cf. Benfey in Kuhn's Zeitschr. ix. p. 106); com-i-t- (comes, mate), /i (go), etc. -ti- is kept whole in ucc-ti- (masc. lever), which can scarcely have been derived from any other root except /ueh (originally carry), and originally probably meant something like necto (bearer, carrier).

A further formation of -ti- is -tio-neut., -tia fem., both generally secondary; thus here an o, origl. a, has been added to the earlier suffix, cf. Sk. -tya; e.g. stem ini-tio- (beginning), primary formation from /i (go); but servui-tio- (slavery) from stem servuo- (slave); justi-tia (justice) from justo- (just); duri-tia and duri-tie-, stem duro- (§ 38; on weakening of final -o to -i, § 40), etc.

For the formation of abstracts the suffix -ti- has regularly given way to -tion-, earlier prob. -tiôni-, e.g. coc-tiôni-, collisione- from *hd-tiôn- (§ 77, 1, b; cf. collul-o), sta-tiôn-, nā-tiôn-, etc. Note also the diminutives in -tiun-cula formed from these stems, e.g. ora-tiun-cula, sessiun-cula, i.e. *sed-tiun-cula.

The suffix -tiôn-, -tiôni-, is probably (Leo Meyer, Or. und Occ. ii. p. 586) a further formation from -tyâ-, Lat. -tiô-, -tia
STEMS WITH SF. -tu-, ETC. INDO-EUR. SK. 231

(v. supr.), by means of suffix -ni-, cf. -tā-ti- from -ta-; the sff. § 98.
-na-, -ni-, often indeed run parallel to -ta-, -ti-. As -tā-ti- was
shortened to -tā-t, so was -tiq-mi- to -tī-; indeed in Latin
the consonantal-stems are mostly like the i-stems.

XVII. Stems with suffix -tu- and kindred suffixes.

Stems in -tu- serve as verbal-substantives in Sk., Lat., Sclav.,
Lith.

Indo-European original-language. The suffix is § 99.
undoubtedly original, and must probably have been in use in
the case of each verb, as Sk., Lat., Lithuano-Sclav. testify to
this employment, e.g. da-tu- or dā-tu-, √da (give); bhar-tu-,
√bhar (bear), etc. These stems in -tu- were nomina actionis
capable of complete declension.

Sanskrit. The suffix -tu- forms nomina actionis, with step-
raising of root-vowel u, i, medially and finally, whilst a is rarely
raised except when it is final; after the auxil. vowel i was often
introduced before this suffix. These stems serve in ordinary
Sanskrit in the accusative, but in the older language of the
Vēdas, in the dat. and gen. sing. also, as Infinitive, e.g.
dā-tu-m, √da (give); sthā-tu-m, √stha (stand); ġē-tu-m, ġā (conquer);
ṛāy-ī-tu-m, ṛā (enter); stō-tu-m, √stu (praise); bhār-ī-tu-m, √bhū (become, be);
vēt-tu-m, √vīd (see); yōk-tu-m,
√yug (join); pāk-tu-m, √pak (cook); kār-tu-m, √kar (make);
kōrayi-tu-m, verbal-stem kōraya- (steal), etc.

Vēdic dat.; e.g. dā-tar-ē, ē-tar-ē, kār-tar-ē, etc.; there is
found a dative form also in āi, e.g. yā-tar-āi (with two accents,
a very exceptional circumstance), from √ya (go); kār-tar-āi,
√kar (make); yām-ī-tar-āi, √yam (subdue); moreover the gen.
occurs, e.g. sthā-tō-s, √stha; ē-tō-s, ē (go); kār-ī-tōs, √kar
(go).

As ordinary nomina actionis there are in use e.g. r-tū (masc.
definite time, season), √ar (go); gā-tū- (masc. going, place),
√ga (go); gā-tū- (masc. singing), √ga (sing; 3 sg. gā-yati);
gān-tū- (masc. creation, being), √gān (beget).
§ 99. From this abstract in -tu- a participium necessitatis is formed by means of -ya-, v. supr. § 89.

-tu- rarely forms nomina agentis, e.g. yā-tu- (wanderer), √ya (go); bhā-tu (sun), √bha (shine), etc.

Suffix -teva-, near akin to suffix -tu-, and perhaps sprung from it; cf. -tya- beside -ti-, -tra- beside -tar-, -antu- beside -ant-.

A gerundive in -tevā (used in case of verbal-stems not compounded with prepositions) shows by its accent, and the weakening of the root-vowel, that it is formed from -teva-, not -tu-; it is an instrumental of a stem-form in -teva-. In the Vēd. there appears also -te, which must therefore be taken to stand for *teyā (§ 15, c), and this *teyā most prob. (Benfey, Kl. gr. § 389) by loss of a from *teyā, *tey-ā is however likewise only another form of the instrum. sing., i.e. one formed through y according to the frequent stem-extension. In the Vēd. also occurs the dat. from -teva-, viz. -tevāya. Exx. sthī-tevā, √stha (stand; cf. infin. sthā-tu-m); dat-tevā, from present-stem dād, √dā (give; cf. infin. dā-tu-m); ī-tevā, √ī (conquer, infin. ī-tu-m); bhū-tevā, √bhu (be, infin. bhāv-i-tu-m); uk-tevā, √vak (speak; infin. vāk-tu-m); kr-tevā, √kar (make; infin. kār-tu-m); pak-tevā, √pak (cook); the auxil. vowel i occurs, e.g. in vid-i-tevā √vid (know; inf. vēt-tu-m); likh-i-tevā, or lēkh-i-tevā, √likh (scratch, write); kōrayi-tevā, verbal-stem kōraya- (steal), etc.

Vēdic forms in -tevā are found in e.g. kr-tevā, √kar (make); Vēd. dat. e.g. ga-tevāya, √ga (go); dat-tevāya (cf. supr. dat-tevā), √dā (give); kr-tevāya, √kar (make), etc.

Suffix -teva- appears also in the function of forming a participium necessitatis (Benfey, Volst. gr. § 904; also in Böhtlingk and Roth’s Dictionary), e.g. kār-teva- (to be made; neut. work to do, task), √kar (make); ī-teva- (to be gained, captured), √ī (conquer); vāk-tevā-, √vak (speak); sā-teva-, √sā (bathe), etc.

The suffix -tevā- (neut., n. sg. -tevā-m) is very frequent as secondary suffix, forming abstracts, e.g. nag-na-tevā- (nakedness)
from *nagnā- (naked); *pati-tevā- (wedlock), from *pāti (lord, § 99. husband); *pankā-tevā- (five); bahu-tevā- (plurality) from bahu- (many), etc.

In Vedic is also found *tevā-nā- (neut.), a further formation by means of suffix *-na-, in a like employment, e.g. *sukhi-tevānā- (friendship) from sākhi- (friend); *vasu-tevānā (wealth), stem *vasu- (id.), etc.

Also suffix *-tevān- occurs in stems which serve as adjectival nomina agentis, e.g. *kṛ-tevān- (causing, effective, active), √kār (make); another stem, whose f.f. is *kār-tevā-rya-, serves as fem., nom. sing. *kṛ-tevārī; both stems occur side by side in *jī-tevān-, *jī-tevāra, fem. *jī-tevārī, i.e. *jī-tevāryā (victorious), √jī (conquer); *i-tevān- (*i-tevāra-, fem. *i-tevārī (going), √i (go).

Greek. Nomina actionis fem. like ὑπό-τος (food), √ὑπό (cf. ὑπό-τος, ὑπό-μα, ὑπό-σκω, ὑπό-σωμα); *bou-τύ- (fem. crying), verbal-stem *boua-, *bou- (bōw-, bṓ́sōma cry); ἑδ-τύ- (food), √ἑδ (eat), originally from a stem ἑδ-, which also occurs elsewhere; *γέλασ-τύ- (laughter), stem γέλασ- (cf. γέλασ-τός, ἱγέλασ-σα); Φάσ-τυ (city), root original ἑις (dwell), etc.

*σύ-νη stands for *-τύη (like σύ for τύ; cf. § 68, I, c) as a secondary suffix, cf. Vedic. -teva-na-, Zend -thva-na-, e.g. δικαίο- 

 Latin. The suffix *-tu- is a very favourite one, and serves regularly to form a nomen actionis (masc.), which is called supine in acc. and abl. sg., e.g. stā-tu-, n. sg. stā-tu-s (standing), acc. as supine stā-tu-m, abl. stā-tū, √sta (stare, sistere); itu-, /i (go); dic-tu- √dic (say); uic-tu- (as subst. victuals), /ui, uig (uiuo live); tac-tu- (subst. touch), /tag (tango touch); cur-su- for *cur-tu- (as subst. course), √cur (curro run); ues-tu- for *aed-tu- (heat, tide), root original idh (burn); āsu- for *ūt-tu- (as subst. use), cf. āt-or (use); gressu- for *gred-tu- (as subst. going, step), √grad, gred (gradior step); căsū- for
§ 99. *cad-tu- (as subst. fall), /cad (cado fall), etc. Sound-laws of combination of t with other consonants are stated § 77, 1, b, 2. appar-tu-, magistr-tu-, son-i-tu-, audt-tu-, etc., are referred to derived verbs, which are moreover partly not in use.

Suffix -tei- is rare, e.g. mor-tuo- (dead), /mor (mori die); mu-tuo- (borrowed, interchanged), probably from /mi (exchange), therefore for *moi-tuo-, which may be traced in other languages (e.g. Old Bulgarian mē-na change, Lith. mai-na-s exchange); sta-tu (fem. statue), /sta (stand); fū-tuo- (foretelling), /fū (fari utter).

As a secondary suffix, in formation of abstracts is found not -tu-, but -tā-ti- and -tā-don-, -tā-din-, further formation from -tu- (the latter is obscure in its second element), both fem., e.g. servit-tūtī- (fem. slavery), stem servuo- (slave), gen. pl. servit-tūtī-um (Plaut.); sencet-tūtī- (old age), stem sencē- (senex old man); iuuen-tūtī- (young age), stem iuuen- (earlier than iuueni-s youth, cf. Sk. stem yuwan-); vir-tūtī- (manhood, valour), probably from *uiri-tūtī-, stem uiro- (uir man). Concerning this suffix cf. Karl Walter, Zeitschr. x. 159. -tūdin- is more common, e.g. altī-tūdo (height), altō- (high); turpi-tūdo (loathsome-ness, ugliness), stem turpi- (hateful, loathsome); consuetūdo for *consuetūtūdo (§ 77; wont), stem consuēto- (wont), etc.

§ 100. XVIII. Stems with suffix -dhi-.

Not vouched for except in Aryan and probably in Greek; it is therefore doubtful whether it can be ascribed to a date so early as that of the original-language.

Sanskrit. In the earliest period of the language only a dat. fem. (v. post. Cases) of the suffix -dhi-, -adhī-, i.e. -dhāi, -adhāi, is added to the verbal-stem of the present; where this ends in a, -adhāi only is added, in the other cases -adhāi; e.g. yāga-dhāi, pres.-stem yāga-, /yāg (sacrifice); sāha-dhāi, pres.-stem sāha-, /sah (subdue, endure); pība-dhāi, pres.-stem pība-, /pā (drink); mādayā-dhāi, verbal- and present-stem mādaya- (cheer), /mad (rejoice); pruñā-dhāi, present-stem pruñā-, /par
(fill); duh-ādhyāi, present-stem duh- (3 sg. med. dug-dē for §100. *duh-tē), √duh (milk); gay-ādhyāi, present-stem ġē-, gay- (3 sg. med. ġē-tē), √giene (lie, rest); vārdh-ādhyāi, intensive-stem vārdh-, √varden (wax), etc.

The suffix appears added to the aorist-stem in ġarā-ādhyāi, cf. 3 sg. aor. ā-ṣara-t, √ṣara (become rotten, grow old); 3 sg. pres. ārya-ti, ārya-ti); huvā-ādhyāi, aorist-stem huvā- (present-stem Ved. hava-), √hu (cry); probably also gamādhyāi, aorist-stem gama- (ā-gama-t, present-stem gākha-, √ga, gam (go).

These forms serve as infinitives.

Greek. -sθai corresponds to this -dhyāi; it is, however, difficult to decide whether the s has here been tacked on at the beginning, or whether it has been lost in Aryan, in which case -sdhyāi would be the general fundamental form; the y is lost, as frequently, in Greek. It is not unlikely that the σ in -sθai owes its origin to the analogy of the medial forms in σθ (σθe, -sθouv, -sθην, -sθον); besides σ is a very favourite sound before dentals in Greek. Also as regards the final a, which does not appear elsewhere in Gk. as the dative suffix of i-stems, we may fall back on the analogy of the infinitive -eναι, -μεναι. This form serves for the med. In Greek -sθai only appears as a suffix, not -eθai (cf. the perfect), as in Sk. -adhyāi. This -sθai is added to the different tense-stems; e.g. pres. φερ-εθαι=Sk. bhāra-ādhyāi; τθε-εθαι, διδο-θαι, aor. τθε-σθαι, δό-σθαι; fut. εως-σθαι, Sk. *dāśya-ādhyāi; perf. λειεψθαι for *λειεπ-σθαι, i.f. *rivaik-ādhyāi, etc.

XIX. Stems with suffix -ant-, -nt-.

§101.

The suffix -ant-, when added to vowel-stems -nt-, forms active participles from the present-stems, and therefore also from the stems of the future (which is formed by means of a present-form of √as), and of the aorist. The suffix -ant-, -nt-, occurs in all Indo-European languages.

Indo-European original-language. Pres. as-ant-, pres.-stem and √as (be); bhara-nt-, pres.-stem bhara-, √bhar
§101. (bear); *starna-nt*, pres.-stem *star-na*, √*star* (strew, sternere), etc.; future *dāsya-nt*, future-stem *dā-sya*, √*da* (give); simple aorist *vavaka-nt*, aorist-stem *vavaka* √*vak* (speak); compound aorist *diksa-nt*, aorist-stem *diksa*, √*dik* (show), etc. These stems served originally for all genders.

Sanskrit. *-ant* is added also to the pres.-stem in *-nu* (-*u*), whilst to other vowel-stems *-nt* is added. The formation from aorist-stems is unknown except to the earliest language. Reduplicated-stems lose the *n* of the suffix, and thus end in *-at*, *-t*. In fem., as frequently, a stem further formed by *-ya* is used, and this *-ya*—in fem. therefore *-ya*—is not seldom contracted to *i* (cf. § 15, c).

Examples: *ad-ánt*, root and present-stem *ad-* (eat); *s-ant*, root and present-stem *as-*; the initial *a* is lost also in other forms of this root; *kine-ánt*, √*ki* (gather), present-stem *kīnū*; *tudá-nt*, √*tud* (strike), present-stem *tudā*; *nāhya-nt*, √*nāh* (tie), present-stem *nāhya*; *yuná-nt*, √*yu* (join), present-stem *yunā*; but *dúdha-t*, √*dha* (set), present-stem *dúdha*, etc. The *n* which is lost in most cases never appears at all in neut., e.g. *ad-út*, etc.; fem. *ad-ált*, *s-ált*, *kine-ált*, *tudá-ntī* or *tuda-tī*, *nāhya-ntī*, etc.

Future *-syá-nt*, neut. *-syá-t*, fem. *-syá-ntī* or *-syā-tī*; e.g. *kariśyá-nt*, fem. *kariśyá-nti* or *kariśya-tī*, √*kar* (make), future-stem *kariśyá*, i.e. √*kar* + aux.-vowel *i* (§ 15, f) and present-stem in *-ya* of √*as* (be).

Examples of 2 aor. are (acc. to Benfey) e.g. *vrdhá-nt*, √*vrdh* (wax), aor.-stem *vrdhā*; *saniśá-nt*, √*san* (uphold, love), aor.-stem *saniśa*, i.e. √*san*, aux.-vowel *i* and past tense of √*as*.

In *nandaya-ntā*, verbal-stem *nandaya*, al. lect. *nanda-ntā*, present-stem *nanda*, √*nand* (rejoice); *gaya-ntā* (nom. propr. and in other meanings), present-stem *gaya*, √*gī* (conquer, capture), is probably a further formation of this suffix by means of *a*; the same holds good of *dánta* beside *dant* (tooth; yet probably from √*da* 'cut', 'part', not from √*ad* 'cat'), and
of *rāγaτā (white, neut. silver), cf. argento-, /rāγ/, f.i. rāγ, arg § 101. (gleam).

Greek. -ουντ- and -ουντ-; the ν is here fixed, and never lost; fem. *-ουντα, *-ουντα, -σα, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel; e.g. ἑόντ- (later ὄντ-), i.e. *ἐσ-ουντ-, fem. ἐδώσα = *ἐσ-ουντ-α, /ἐς (be), present-stem ἐσ-; φέρο-ουντ-, fem. φέρο-ουντα from *φερο-ουντα, *φερο-ουντα, /φερ (bear), present-stem φερο-, φερο-; τιθε-ουντ-, /θε (set), present-stem τιθε-; διδό-ουντ-, /δο (give), present-stem διδο-; ἵστα-ουντ-, /στα (stand), present-stem ἵστα-, δεικνύ-ουντ-, /δεκ (show), present-stem δεικνυ-, etc.

Likewise in the future, e.g. λύσο-ουντ-, /λυν (loosen); future-stem λύσο-, etc.

Simple aorist, e.g. θέ-ουντ-, root and aor.-stem θε- (set); δό-ουντ-, root and aorist-stem δό- (give); στά-ουντ- root and aorist-stem στά- (stand); φυγό-ουντ-, /φυγ (flee), aorist-stem φυγο-, φυγε-, etc.

Compound aorist, e.g. λύσα-ουντ- /λυν, aor.-stem λύσα-, etc.

The further formation in -γα which occurs in fem., appears also in the noun subst. γεροντια (senate) = *γεροντια, from stem γεροντ- (v. sqq.).

These formations have sometimes no corresponding verbs extant, e.g. γέφο-ουντ- (old), /γεφ, Sk. γαρ, original γαρ (grow old); ἕκ-ουντ- (willing), /ἐκ, Sk. γας, original γας (will); ἄκ-ουντ- (masc. dart), /άκ (be sharp), cf. ἄκ-η, ἄκ-ωκ-η, ἄκ-μη (point); ὀ-δόντ- (tooth) = Sk. dant-

Latin. -ent-, earlier *-ont-, -unt-, but mostly -nt-, because almost all present-stems in Latin end in vowels. The same stem serves for all genders; e.g. (praes)ent- (present) for *-es-ent-, root and present-stem es; i-ent-, e-ent-, i.e. *e-ont-, /i (go), present-stem ei-; *vul-ont-, vul-unt-, present-stem and /vul (vul-t he wills), is retained in vulunt-arius beside the ordinary vul-ent-; uehe-nt-, /ueh (carry), present-stem uehe-, etc. Like all consonantal stems, these also in most cases revert
§ 101. to the analogy of the i-stems (uehenté-s, uehenti-bus, etc.). The further stem-form in -ya-, found in Sk., Zend and Gk. as fem., and possessing a yet wider range in Slav. and Lith., is found substantively used in Latin, e.g. silent-iu-m, sapient-ia, licent-ia, abundant-ia, lubent-ia, prudent-ia, Constant-iu-s, Fulgent-iu-s, Florent-ia, Lenses-io-s = *Leonent-io-s (present *lenco, /luc, v. § 36), Prudent-iu-s, etc. No verbs are found parallel to such formations as frequent-, recent-, petulant-, dent- = Sk. dant- (tooth). Here belongs also parent-, as the aorist, to which its form and function point us (cf. § 36), is no longer extant (cf. parient- from the present stem).

The further formation by means of suffix -a-, Lat. -o-, is seen in argent-o- (neut. silver) = Sk. raga(n)ta-; unguento- (neut. ointment), cf. unguent- part., from present ungni-t, ungi-t (he anoints); fluento- (neut. stream), beside participle fluent-, present flui-t (flows).

§ 102. XX. Stems with suffix -as-.

Stems in origl. -as-, common to all Indo-European languages, serve mostly as neutral nomina actionis, more rarely as nomina agentis.

This suffix forms Infinitives in Sanskrit and Latin.

Indo-European original-language. e.g. gan-as (genus), √gan (beget); ap-as (opus), √ap (do); man-as (mind), √man (think); nabh-as (cloud, sky), √nabh; vak-as (voice), √vak (speak); krav-as (utterance, word), √kru (hear), etc.

Sanskrit. Substantives in -as-, before which root-vowels i and u are raised a step, e.g. ýán-as (genus), √ýan (beget); mán-as (mind), √man (think); sud-as (seat), √sad (sit); vák-as (speech), √vak (speak); ēd-as (garment), √vas (clothe); két-as (mind), √kít (think); gráv-as (car), √gru (hear); áp-as (work), √ap, etc.

These substantives are mostly neut., like the above, but there occur also nomina agentis, e.g. us-us- (fem. dawn), √us (burn); this stem had in the earlier language step-formation of the
suffix besides, e.g. acc. sg. uṣ-ās-am (the instr. pl. uṣād-bhis §102. arises from another stem of the same meaning, uṣat-, uṣant-; § 101). In the earliest Sanskrit adjectives of this form also occur (nomina agentis), e.g. tar-ās- (quick) beside tār-ās (neut. quick advance), √tar (arrive at); ap-ās- (active) beside āp-ās (work), etc. This formation is founded on the present-stems of verbs; if they end in a, -s- only is added for -as-, i.e. the final a of the present-stem serves at the same time for the initial of the suffix (cf. the formation of pres. participle act., the 3 pl. pres., etc.); present-stems which do not end in a retain -as-. This form in dat. is used as infinitive, e.g. ġūcā-sē from pres.-stem ġīca-, 3 sg. pres. ġīca-ti, ġīv (live); kūra-sē, 3 sg. pres. kūra-ti, ġkar (go); dhrurā-sē, 3 sg. pres. dhrūrā-ti, ġdhru (be firm); kākšas (lustre, glance, eye), dative=infinitive kākšas-ē, pres.-stem kākṣa-, ġkakš (see); puṣyās-e, 3 sg. pres. puṣya-ti, ġpuṣ (nourish); but in the pres. formation adduced, 'thrive'); rūgās-ē, pres.-stem rūga-, ġarj (strive), etc.; but āy-as-ē, pres.-stem āi-, 3 sg. ēti for *āi-ti, ġi (go).

Greek. μέν-εσ-, μέν-ος (mind, bravery, anger), ġμεν, origl. man; γεν-εσ-, -ος (race), ġγεν, original gan (beget); Fεπ-εσ-, ος- (word), ġFεπ, original vak (speak); έο-εσ-, -ος (seat), ġέο, original saul (sit); κλες-εσ-, -ος (sound, glory), ġκλες original kru (hear); παύθ-εσ-, -ος (suffering), ġπαύθ (παύθ-ου suffer); μήκ-εσ-, -ος (length), ġμακ (in μακ-ρό- long); ġπευθ-εσ-, -ος (redness), ġέρυθ (έρυθ-ρό- red), original rudd (be red), etc.

The Sanskrit and Zend stem uṣ-ās-, uṣ-ās- (dawn), corresponds in like function, however, with the raised stem of the Gk. stem f.f. aus-ōs- (fem.), Lesb. Aiol. n. sg. aŭwōs, with regular loss of s, Dor. ōs, Ep. ἄος from *āF-ōς, aŭw-ōs, and this from *aŭs-ōs, with lengthened a after the loss of the following sound, Att. ἄος without this lengthening, and with the asp. prefixed to the beginning (§ 62, 2).

The suffix -εσ- forms adjectives (nomina agentis), e.g. ψευδές-, n. sg. masc. fem. ψευδής, neut. ψευδές (untrue), these adjectives
§ 102. appear especially as the second member of compounds, e.g. ἀθυετικός (sharp-sighted), ἀθυετικός, original dark (θυετικός, et al. see); ἀ-λυθέσα (not hidden, true) beside λυθέσα, -ος (forgetfulness), ἀ-λαθος, escape notice, etc.

In ἀ-λυθεία (truth), i.e. ἀλαθεία-ia; εὐ-μένεια, Ἰόν. εὐ-μενή (goodwill), from εὐ-μενεσ-ia, f.f. αὐ-μαν-ας-γά, cf. μέν-ος, origl. μαν-ας, and the like, we see a further formation of the suffix by means of -γα-.

Latin. E.g. γεν-ας (race), early Lat. *gen-os, Sk. γάν-ας, γέν (gignere); op-ας (work), early *op-os═Sk. ὀπ-ας; corp-ας (body), root Sk. καρπ; foed-ας, early foed-os (treaty), ἀφίλ (fido); ἴας (right), f.f. *ίου-ος, ἴν (join); πᾶς (matter), f.f. *που-ος, πυ (be foul; on these formations cf. § 36), etc.

Here also belong ῥόβ-υρ (strength), early ῥόβ-ας, gen. ῥόβ-ορ-ις =Sk. ράδυ-ας, gen. ράδυ-ας-ας (vigour, wealth), cf. ρόδυσ-τυς, with change of s to r, etc. Fems. Βεν-ας, Κερ-ας, and probably also masc. ιν-ερ- (ash), n. sg. ιν-ας; πυλυ-ερ- (dust), n. sg. πυλυ-ας, as also adj. υετ-ας (old), gen. υετερ-ας.

Moreover the numerous masculines in -ος, as sop-ορ- (sop-ερε), root original swap; od-ορ, ὁ ὀδ (ολ-ερε for *οδερε § 72, 2), with lengthening or raising of the suffix (on ῥ=s cf. 77, 1, e), f.f. e.g. of sop-ορ- is therefore swap-ος-, etc. This -ορ- is also used as a secondary suffix, e.g. alβορ- (whiteness) from alβο- (white), etc.

In aurora (dawn), i.e. *αυσ-ος-α, the suffix original -ας-, Latin -ος-, ὀρ-, is still further formed through -α (cf. Greek *αυ-σως-, Sk. υς-ας-, υς-ας-).

In nom. sg. alone the suffix is retained in fem. forms like sεδες (seat), i.e. *sεδες-s (§ 39, 1), cf. sed-εο; caed-ες (overthrow, slaughter), cf. caed-ο; láb-ες (slip, fall), cf. láb-ι, etc. In most cases there are i-stems underlying these words (e.g. ac. sεδε-μ, gen. pl. sεδε-υμ), a very favourite formation in Latin. This explanation of the n. sg. is supported above all by the parallel sεδε-ες-, Gk. εδ-ερα- and Sk. σαδ-ας-. In Selav. also and Teutonic the aς-stems show parallel forms without this suffix; the Selav.
shows suffixes -as- and -i- interchanged in some stems, just as §102. in Latin.

The dative of such nouns in -as-—no longer felt to be a case, and hence shortened—serves as an infinitive in Latin; e.g. uher-e, f.f. vaghas-ai, Sk. vāhas-ē, present-stem uhe-, original vagha-, root original vagh; dicer-e, f.f. daikas-ai, present-stem dice-, f.f. daika-, vēdie; monē-e, f.f. mānayas-ai, present- and verbal-stem monē-, f.f. mānaya-, root original man, etc. In fieri, fierci (also fīere), both from *feies-ei, f.f. dhayas-ai, āi has, as often, been retained beside ē (e) =original ai. This form is in nowise distinct from the usual infinitive active (cf. L. Lange, über die bildung des lateinischen Infinitivus Praesentis Passivi. Denkschriften der philos. histor. Classe der Kaiserl. Akad. der Wiss. in Wien, Bd. x., and published separately there); fīo has indeed mainly an active form; the root of this word is dha (set, do), and fīo a present formation in -ya- of intransitive-passive function; the f.f. of fīo is therefore *dha-yā-mi, in Sk. with unoriginal weakening of a to ā and middle termination dhīya-te from *dhaya-te, or else the final-sound of the root is lost in Sk. and -iya- stands for -ya- (§15, b). In either case the Sk. form is late and not original, and useless for the explanation of the Latin. From dha-yā-mi arose regularly in Latin *fī-oi-mi, *feio, fīo; f.f. of fieri, fīere, is therefore *dhayas-ē; in fieri fī has become fī, not an original shortening, the older fieri being retained by Naevius, Plautus, Pacuvius.

This formation is in Latin so closely joined to the pres.-stem that, except where the stem has the stem-addition -a-, it omits the -a- of the original suffix -as-, e.g. es-se (posse = pot-esse), f.f. as-s-ai (not *as-as-ai, which would have produced *ese-re, *ere-re), esse for *ed-se, f.f. ad-s-ai, vēt (eat); fer-re for *fer-se; vēl-le for *uel-se (§ 77, 1, b); da-re, root and pres.-stem da; fo-re for *fu-re, vēt, u having become o under the influence of the r; i-re, early *ei-re, f.f. ai-s-ai, pres.-stem i, ei, original ai, vē. The analogy of the present has here throughout exercised
§ 102. its influence, and has called forth these new formations peculiar to Latin (perhaps the forms cited were at an earlier period of the language *eses-e, *edes-e, *feres-e, *ueses-e, *gies-e, which would correspond exactly to Sk. forms like asas-e, adas-e, bharas-e, varas-e, ayas-e).

This -se is added also to the perf.-stem in -is-, which is found in Latin only (v. post.), e.g. peperis-se, dedis-se, fecis-se, etc. Forms like dixe, uexe, seem to be syncopated, like dixti for dixisti; possibly however they are older forms from the perf.-stem without -is- (v. post.), and thus stand for *didic-se, *ueug-se. Whether the full suffix -es- = -as- (*didic-es-e, *dicsis-es-e) ever existed or not, depends on the antiquity of these formations.

Note.—Impetrasse-re, leuasse-re and the like (used only in case of derived-verbs in a, and peculiar to the earlier language only) are used as fut. inf.; 1 sg. would be *impetrasso, etc., cf. facesso, incipisso, etc. The peculiarity of these forms lies therefore not in the suffix, which is the usual one, but in the verbal-stem.

The infinitive forms of the medio-passive in Latin are hard to explain. The assumption of Bopp offends against the sound-laws (vgl. Gramm. iii. § 855, p. 273 sqq.); the form in -i ( dici) is held by Bopp to be a curtailed form of the earlier -i-er (dic-i-er), whose er he thinks is a transposition of re=se (acc. of the reflexive; cf. amo-r = *amo-se), thus explaining dici-er from *dici-se; *dici would correspond to Sk. forms like drç-ê (§ 87), unless dicier were a shortening of *diceri-er from *diceri-re, *dicesi-se (i.e. *daikusai-seam), just as laudari-er is produced by dissimilation from *laudare-er, *laudare-re, *laudase-se, i.e. from inf. act. with se attached, which forms the middle voice in Latin. Notwithstanding that this view recommends itself in that it makes the inf. med. to be formed from inf. act. precisely as the med. generally was formed from the act. in Latin (*amari-se : amare :: *amo-se : amo), it is difficult to see the reason of the transposition of se, re, to er (from *laudare-se,
*dici-se, there would have arisen according to Lat. sound-laws §102. perhaps a form *laudare-s, *dice-s or dici-s, like laudaris, 2 sg. med., from *laudas-i-se; or also *laudare-re, *dici-re or *dice-re). Pott (the last time in 'Doppelung, etc.,' Lemgo and Detmold, 1862, p. 266 sqq.) makes the division laudarie-r, earlier *laudasic-se, thus assuming no transposition of -se, -re, to -er; -sie he holds to be an earlier termination of the active -re. But how is -ie then to be explained? In legier and the like, Pott assumes loss of the first r in consequence of dissimilation; *agerie-r (this -rier is preserved in fer-rier), thence *agrier and agier by loss of the first r, finally *agie, agi [or perhaps *agir, agi?; cf. sīs, Umbr. sīr, sī, from sīs]. Also Leo Meyer (vergl. Gr. der griech. und lat. Spr. ii. 124) explains legier from *legerie-r, *legerie-se; laudarier from *laudasic-se, which -sie, -sye, he holds to be "nothing else than a peculiar early infinitive-termination, which may perhaps be closely connected with Sk. -syāi, in Vēd. rauhishyāī [in our spelling rōhiśyāī],—for rauhisyāī— (increase), and á-ryathishyāī,—for á-ryathisyāī (not tolerate)." But we hold with Benfey (v. supr.) these infinitives in -syāi to be inf. from fut.-stems rōhiśya-, ryathisya-. Leo Meyer, raising this objection himself, adds: "Possibly this infinitival sye or more fully esye is likewise an early dative of an old suffix formation asya, a further formation, by means of suffix ya, of the old suffix as, well known in the Lat. act. infin." Moreover Leo Meyer holds it conceivable that forms like ducier may be not shortened from *ducier, but derived from stems like ducio- (f.f. daukya- therefore). We should then have to assume fundamental forms perhaps such as *daukyāi svam [dat. + acc. of reflexive]. From this very uncertainty on Leo Meyer's part it is obvious that none of his conjectures are upheld by any decisive arguments. We should scarcely venture to maintain datives in ī, ē (ei), from a-stems in Latin; in the dative the forms in question could only have been laudario-r, *ducio-r, earlier *laudasio-se, doucio-se. Also the separ-
§102.ation of the med. (pass.) inf. from the act. will not approve itself to us. Lange (in his above-named work) takes forms like legier as shortenings for *legi-fier, i.e. as compounded of the pres.-stem legi- (legi-t), with infin. fieri, fieri; medial loss of f occurs e.g. in lupis for *lupois from *lupo-fios (v. post. Case); amani for *ama-fui, amasti for *ama-fuisti (v. post. §173, 2). Forms like amar-rier, dar-rier, he explains from *ama-siere, *da-siere, i.e. from the present-stem and an infinitive *siere, f.f. *syas-ai, for *esiere, f.f. asya-s-ai, formed from /es (be), pres.-stem *asya- (with passive function), like fieri from /dha, pres.-stem dhaya-. The present-formation in -ya- appears indeed in /es in Latin, but has a future, not a passive relation (v. post. §165 Lat. V.). So also according to Lange ferrier is formed (f.f. therefore probably *bhar-syasai or perhaps *bharasyasai), whilst in other cases this *-sier, -rier, is added to pres.-stems only which end in a vowel (amā-rier, monē-rier, molē-rier).

The forms legi, amari, are explained by Lange from *legies (from *legi-fiese), *amusies (from *ama-siese), with frequent loss of final s (§79), and contraction of ie to i, like later sim, sīs, for siem, siēs. Thus from common fundamental forms have been developed (1) legier, amarier, with the s- of the presupposed *-fiese, *-siese, changed into r, and (2) legi, amari, where the s has been lost.

Accordingly in the Lat. inf. pass. also we should see nothing but infinitives in -se, because they all would be compounded with either infin. fieri, f.f. dhayas-ai, or *siere, f.f. (a)syas-ai. This view also is suspicious in some respects; above all we cannot conceive an inf. of /es (be) with passive function.

G. Schönberg (Zeitschr. xvii. 153 sqq.) has recently explained forms like amārie-r as dat. of stem *amāsi+se, from *amāsiai-se, forms like legie-r, on the other hand, as dat. of stem legi- (representing stem leges- of the act.) +se, from *legiai-se, thus separating the latter from as-stems, probably correctly, like Leo Meyer (v. sup.); he has recourse to an interchange of consonantal-
stems with i-stems, and of suffix -as- with suffix -i- (adducing §102. examples). It must, however, be allowed that the like dat. forms of i-stems are otherwise unauthenticated.

Thus Latin infinitives passive (med.)—clearly a recent formation of the language—must probably be treated as not hitherto explained with certainty.

XXI. Stems with suffix -ka-.

The suffix -ka- (cf. pronominal-stem ka-) is not common primarily, but secondarily is on the contrary a very favourite one (e.g. in the function of forming diminutives, cf. Lud. Schwabe, de deminutiuis graecis et latinis liber. Gissae, 1859, p. 44 sqq.). The numerous other suffixes, whose principal element is k, need not be considered here, excepting -ska- (whose s, it is true, is obscure), because it formed one kind of present-stem as early as the original language (§ 165, VI.), e.g. ga-ska-.

Sanskrit. Very rare as a primary-suffix, e.g. in guś-ka- (dry) for *sus-ka (§ 55, 2, n), √guś (guś-yati dries), original sus (cf. Lith. suas-a-s, Sclav. such-ū dry, Zend hus-ka-; dhā-kā- (masc. receptacle), √dha (set). As secondary suffix common, e.g. sindhu-ka- (adj. derived from Sindhu), stem sindhu- (nom. propr.); putra-kā- (masc. little son), putrā- (masc. son), etc.

Greek. Primary in θη-κη (store-place), √θε (place, lay); very common secondarily (cf. Budenz, das Suffix κός im Griechischen. Göttingen, 1858), e.g. φυτι-κό-, φυτε-, θηλυ-κό-, θηλυ-, καρδια-κό-, καρδία, λογι-κό- (if rightly separated thus) λόγο-, etc. Suffix -ισκο- here forms diminutives, e.g. παιδ-ισκο-ς, παιδ-ισκη, stem παιδ-, etc.

Latin. Here also but few primary formations can be pointed to with certainty, as pau-co- (adj. few), cf. Gk. παι-πο- (small), Goth. fav-a (adj. few); lo-co-, early stlo-co- (masc. place), from √stal, stla, further formation from √sta. Secondarily very common, as in Gk., e.g. ciui-co-, stem ciui-, urbi-co-, stem urbi-, belli-co, stem bello-, etc.
§ 104. 3. Formation of Comparative- and Superlative-Stems.

Comparative-stems.

1. Suffix original -yans-.

This suffix is perhaps a variation from a still earlier -yant-, and akin to -ant-, -mant-, -vant- (§§ 101, 91, 90); in these suffixes also we see t frequently passing over into s, and this change seems to have taken place in the case of -yans- as early as the original-language, since a *yant- appears nowhere (e.g. vaidrād-bhiṣ, but yavīyō-bhiṣ, i.e. *yavīyas-bhiṣ). The suffix is a primary one, and is added directly to the final of the root. Like most primary-suffixes it is in its use confined to a few particular roots.

Indo-European original-language. E.g. nav-yans-, from nav-a- (new); magh-yans-, from magh-ant- or perhaps also magh-ara- (great); scād-yans-, scād-u- (sweet); ak-yans-, āk-u (swift), etc.

Sanskrit. In later Sanskrit the early form -yans- is retained as -yās- only after vowels, but in the earlier language (Vād.) also after consonants, in which case the later Sk. substitutes -iyās- for -yās-, y being split up into iy (§ 15, b) and the short vowel being lengthened before y (§ 15, a). The Sk. form -iyās- shows its modern date also by the fact that it is still wanting in a language so closely akin as Zend.

Suffix -yās-; e.g. Vād. nāv-yās- from nāva- (new); Sk. bhā-yās- from bhā-ri- (much); āgyā-yās- (older) āgya (grow old), positive not used; sthēyās-, i.e. *stha-iyās- or *stha-iyās-, from sthirā- (firm) for *stha-ra- (§ 7), √stha (stand); sphēyās-, i.e. *spha-iyās-, sphi-rā- (swollen), for *spha-ra-, √spha (wax, swell); prē-yās- from priy-ū- (dear), with root-vowel raised a step (or perhaps from an older root-form prā, etc).

Suffix -iyās-; e.g. vār-iyās- (better), vār-u- (good) and urū- for *var-ū (broad, wide); dvār-iyās-, dvār-ū- (long) for *dargh-ū- (§ 8), √*dargh (dark), *dragh, and with many other adjectives
formed with suffix -a-; gár-iyás-, from gur-ú- (heavy) for §104.

*gar-ú- (§7), like it, from √gar; lágh-iyás- from lágh-ú- (light);
áç-iyás-, Véd. from áç-ú- (swift), and so with other adjs. formed
with suffix -u-; kšóð-iyás- from kšud-rá- (small, scanty) from
√kšud with step-formation; yár-iyás- from yúvan- (young), √yu
with step-formation; máh-iyás- from mah-ánt-, Véd. mah-
(great), √mah.

As a secondary suffix -iyás- appears in certain cases only, e.g.
matiyás- from mati-mant- (intelligent), má-ti- (mind, insight,
√ma + suffix -ti- + also -mant-), etc. These words are treated
according to the analogy of the above-mentioned, as if e.g.
mat were root of mati-.

Greek. The s of the suffix -yans- (the s is retained in the
superlative, v. post.) is lost, and the y changed to i or combined
with a preceding consonant into στ, ζ (§68, 1, d. e), e.g.
kák-iov- (n. sg. masc. kaików) from kak-ó- (bad), √kak; ἕλασσον-,
i.e. *ἐλαχ-ιον-, ἑλαχύ (light), √ἐ-λαχ-; ἥδ-ιον- from ἥδ-ú-
(sweet), √ήδ, ἄδ; ἐχθ-ιον- from ἐχθ-ρό- (hostile), from ἐχθ-,
which serves here as a root; μεγ-ιον-, i.e. *μεγ-ιον-, from μεγ-ας,
μεγ-άλο- (great), √μεγ; πλειον-, πλεόν-, f.f. pra-yans-, πολ-ú-
(much), f.f. par-ú-, √pra=par; so too με-Ιον- (less), f.f. ma-yans,
from a root ma, which mostly appears weakened to mi, mi-n (cf.
Sk. mi-ná-mi, mi-nó-mi, pf. ma-má, ma-máu, fut. má-syámi (throw
down, annihilate).

Latin. -yans- became -yons- and subsequently -iós- (e.g.
ma(g)iositus; §77, 1, a), later -iór-; in acc. n. neut. the later
language also shows still the old s in the form -ius, i.e. -yas
with loss of the n. In Lat. the comparative is regularly formed
by means of this suffix, which is therefore used as a secondary
one also. E.g. *mag-iór-, hence má-iór- (§77, 1, a), n. neut.
má-ius, but adverb mag-is for *mag-ius, mag-no- (great); plús,
plóüs (more) from *pló-ius=πλε-ιον, f.f. pra-yans-, √pra=par
(fill), pleores (carmen Aruale) for *ple-iór-es, √ple=pló, original
pra, compar. of plé-ro- (plerus Cato, pleri-que), plé-no- (full);
§ 104. leu-iör-, i.e. *legu-iör-, can come equally well from *leg-iör- (§ 73, 1), √leg-, f.f. lagh, or, though less probably, from adjective-stem legu- in leui- (light), i.e. *leg-ui-, a further formation of *leg-ui-, Sk. lagh-ū-, Gk. ἐλαχ-ū; min-iör- (smaller), from a root min, stands for *min-iör-, min-us for *min-us-, f.f. man-yans-; doct-iör- from docto- (doctus learned, √doc), which loses its final vowel only before the suffix, like all adjs. in vowels; faciil-iör- from facil-ibr- (easy to do; √fac), etc.

§ 105. 2. The suffix -tara- and -ra-.

The suffix -tara- is the ordinary comparative suffix in Sk., Zend, and Greek; it is also found here and there in the other languages. It is a secondary suffix; primary but rarely.

The suffix -tara- is very probably compounded of the two frequent stem-formative suffixes -ta- and -ra-; -ra- occurs also alone in the function of comparative formation, e.g. Sk. úva-ra- (lower), from úva (prep. of), ápá-ra- (hinder, latter), ápá (prep. of) = Zend apa-ra- from apa; cf. Lat. sup-er-nus, sup-er, inf-er-nus, inf-er (sup-er-iour, inf-er-iour, add to the older comparative element —which has lost its comparative force—the ordinary comparative suffix).

Indo-European original language.

The suffix -tara- was, it seems, already applied to the function of forming comparatives from pronominal-stems and the like; thus an undoubted primitive stem is found in an-tara- (interior) from pronominal √an, stem ana- (demonstr.), where exceptionally the suffix is probably primary; moreover ka-tara- (uter), pronominal-stem and √ka- (interrog.).

Sanskrit. -tara- (masc. -tara-s, fem. -tarā) is added to the end of nominal-stems simply (used also in case of substantives); variant nom.-stems have their shorter stem-forms before this suffix, e.g. pūnya-tara- from pūnya- (pure); ka-tarā- (uter, interrog.), ka- (quis); ya-tarā- (uter, rel.), ya- (rel.); i-tara- (other), √i (is); čuki-tara- from čuki- (pure); agnimāt-tara- from agnimānt- (being with fire); vidvāt-tara-, Vēd. also vidūr-
STEMS WITH SF. -tara-. GK. LAT.

-tara-, stem vidvant-, videans-, weakened to vidus- (part. pf. act.; § 105. knowing, cunning); dhanī-tara-, Vīd. also dhanīn-tara-, dhanīn- (rich). In án-tara- (interior) -tara- is primary, √an, stem ana- (demonstr.); -tara- is found after comparatives in -yans-, and after superlatives in -iṣ-tha- also, e.g. ēvēṣtha-tara- from ēvēṣtha- (best; cf. 'Superlative')

Greek. Suffix -τέρο- = original and Sanskrit -tara-, e.g. κονόφο-τερο-, κονφο- (light), πό-τερο- for κό-τερο- (uter) from root and pron.-stem πο-, κο- (quis), but after a short vowel preceding, with final o, original a, lengthened, e.g. σοφό-τερο-, σοφό- (wise); γλυκύ-τερο-, γλυκύ- (sweet); χαρι Féσ-τερο- for *Feτ-τερο- (§ 68, 2) from χαρι-Feντ-, in shorter form χαριFετ, etc.

Cases like φιλ-τερο- from φιλο- (dear) treat -τερο- as primary suffix, whilst in φιλαι-τερο-, ἴσαι-τερο-, μεσαι-τερο-, and the corresponding superlatives, φιλαι-τατο-, μεσαι-τατο-, etc., there is an underlying stem different from that of the regularly-formed φιλώ-τερο-, etc.

Note.—Benfey (Or. u. Occ. ii. 656) assumes as a basis for this formation an early locative in au, since in Sk. in certain cases before -tara-, -tama-, the locative case occurs instead of the stem, e.g. aparahne-tara- beside -na-tara-, from aparahṇa- (masc. afternoon).

The termn. -έσ-τερο-, e.g. εὐδαιμον-έσ-τερο- from εὐδαιμον- (fortunate), appears to have been transferred from adjs. in -σ-, e.g. σαφέσ-τερο-, σαφές- (clear), to other stems; whilst in -ισ-τερο-, e.g. λαλ-ισ-τερο- from λάλο- (talkative), we can hardly be mistaken in seeing a combination of the suffix -yans- in its shortest form -iṣ-, with the more recent comparative-ending -tara- (cf. superlative -σ-το-, and Lat. superlative in *-iṣ-tama-, -issumo-, as well as Lat. -is-tero-).

Latin. The suffix -tara- appears only exceptionally, e.g. in u-tero- for *cu-tero- or *quo-tero-, n. sg. masc. u-ter (whether, i.e. which of two), neut. u-tro-m, fem. u-tra, e of the suffix
§ 105. *tero-, original *tara-, being ejected; *dex-ter- (right), cf. δεξίος, Sk. dákš-ina-; in-ter (between), cf. Sk. án-tara-, and the like.

In min-is-tero- (minister servant), Osk. min-s-tro- (lesser; gen. sg. masc. neut. minstreis is attested), and mag-is-tero- (magister master), Umbr. mès-tro- (greater) from *ma-is-tro-, *mag-is-tro-, and probably in sin-is-tero- (sinister left), the suffix -tara- has been added to the comparative suffix -is- from -yans-, as in Gk. λαλ-ισ-τερο-; in Sk. also the comparatives in -yans- and -tēha- were sometimes further raised by means of -tara- and -tata-.

§ 106. Superlative-stems.

For the purpose of expressing the superlative were used the suffixes -ta- and its compound -tama-, in Gk. and Erse also -mata-, and reduplication -tata-, in Erse also -mama-, all of which, as well as the simple -ta-, often appear in other functions also (cf. § 91). These are secondary suffixes often joined to the end of comparative-stems.

1. Suffix -ta-, alone used especially in ordinal-numbers (q. v.); added to the end of comparatives in original -yans-, it forms their superlative. The reduplication -ta-ta- occurs in Gk. as the regular superlative-formation beside comparatives in -ta-ra-.

Indo-European original-language. It is not easy to decide whether here we must suppose a complete magh-yans-ta- (μέγ-ισ-τος), to which the Goth. -ōs-ta- would seem to testify, and āk-yans-ta- (ὁκιστος), etc., or magh-is-ta-, āk-is-ta-, with -yans- shortened to -is-. The former assumption seems to me the best supported.

Sanskrit. Suffix -ta- added to the word-stem itself, e.g. in ordinals śaś-thā- (sixth), with -tha- for -ta- on account of the foregoing ś (§ 59, 1), śaś (six), katur-thā- (fourth), with -tha- for -ta- (§ 52, 2), katur- (four).

After the comparative-suffix -yās- (-iyyās-) -ta- appears as the
regular formation of the superlative, -yās- being subsequently §106. shortened to -is-, but -is-ta- changed into -iś-tha- (§ 59, 1); thus e.g. māh-iśtha-, yāv-iśtha-, lāgḥ-iś-tha-, gār-iś-tha-, kśod-iś-tha-, etc., sthēśṭha-, sphēśṭha-, ēyēśṭha- are *sthā-iś-tha-, *sphā-iś-tha-, *ēyā-iś-tha-; prēśṭha- either stands for prē-iśṭha-, in which case the i of -is- would have disappeared in the ē, or, as I think more likely, an earlier āpra is underlying, and it must be divided *pra-is-ta- (cf. the comparative, §104, with this superlative); in bhūyāśṭha-, beside the comparative bhū-yaś-, -yās- has arisen for -is- by an unusual splitting-up of i to yi.

Greek. Suffix -to-=Sk. -ta- is common in ordinal numbers, thus πυρω-το- (first), τρι-το- (third), τέταρ-το- (fourth), πέμπτ-το- (fifth), ἐκ-το- (sixth), ἐνα-το- (ninth), δεκα-το- (tenth), εἰκοσ-τό- (twentieth), etc.

-ta-=ta-, when added to -ισ-=yans-, forms superlatives to comparatives in -ιον=origl. -yans-, e.g. κάκ-ισ-το-, εἶλαχ-ισ-το-, ἡδ-ισ-το-, ἐθ-ισ-το-, μέγ-ισ-το-, πλε-ισ-το-, etc. (cf. §104).

The reduplicated form of the suffix, -ta-ta-=Gk. -τα-το-, appears as the regular superlative formation beside the comparatives in -ta-ma-; e.g. κουφό-τα-το-, σοφό-τα-το-, γλυκί-τα-το-, χαρίFεό-τα-το-, φίλ-τα-το-, φιλαί-τα-το-, εὐδαμον-έσ-τα-το-, λαλίσ-τα-το-. These superlatives were formed, as the adduced examples show, corresponding to the parallel comparative forms in -τερο-, which may be compared (§105).

Latin. Suffix -to-, -tu- = Sk. and original -ta-, rarely serves as superlative-suffix in Latin, where -mo-=Sk. -ma-, and -ti-mo-, -si-mo-, f.f. -ta-ma-, is preferred; e.g. quar-to- (fourth); quo-to- (which in order or number), stem and āquo-, original ka-.

After -is-=yans- is found not -to-, but only the representative of original -ta-ma- (q. v.).

2. Suffix -ma- and ma-ta- here and there in Gk. §107.

I have not before me any perfectly certain example of suffix -ma- used to express the superlative in the original Indo-European; however, as -ma- appears in three divisions of the
§ 107. speech-stem in this function, it must be presupposed as existent in the original-language. Perhaps sapta-ma- (seventh) and akta-ma- (eighth) must be ascribed to the fundamental-language, because in these numbers this method of forming the ordinal is almost universal.

Sanskrit. Suffix -ma- forms the superlative in ava-má- (undermost, next, last), from áva- (as prep. ‘from’), a pronominal-stem (demonstr.); madhya-má- (mid-); para-má- (furthest, last, best); pára- (removed, excellent); aði-má- (first), aði (beginning); sapta-má- (seventh), saptán- (seven); aśta-má- (eighth), aśta- (eight); nava-má- (ninth), návan- (nine); đaça-má- (tenth), đaçan- (ten).

Greek. The superlative suffix -μο-, f.f. -ma-, is not frequent, it forms ἔβδο-μο- (seventh) alone, from ἐπτά, with a remarkable softening of πτ to βδ in the stem of the word.

In ἐβδο-μα-το- (seventh) we find suffix -ma-ta-, as in Keltic, which is seen unmistakably in πῦ-μα-το- (last) also.

Latin. Suffix -mo-, f.f. -ma-, is a favourite means of forming superlatives, e.g. sum-mo- from *sup-mo- (highest), sup-, cf. sup-er, comparative; infi-mo-, cf. comparative infi-ro-; mini-mo-, cf. min-ôr-; moreover the ordinals pri-mo-, septi-mo-, deci-mo-.

In plurimo- (most), earlier plusimo-, plourumo-, ploirumo-, plî-sî-mo-, a f.f. *pra-yans-ma- seems to be underlying; between s and m the auxiliary vowel u occurs (cf. s-u-m, § 43), later i (§ 43); thus by the usual shortening of -yans- to -is-, arose *plo-is-u-mo-, i.e. ploirumo-, and by coalescence of oi to ei, i (as in dat. abl. pl. of the o-stem, e.g. nounis, noneis from *nouois), *plisimo-; in plourumo-, later plurimo-, y may have been lost (as in minus for *min-yus), so that this form points back to a form *plo-yus-u-mo-, like plus, plous, to *plo-yus.

§ 108. 3. Suffix -ta-ma- occurs in Sk., Zend, Gk., Lat. and Gothic, and dates therefore from the common original-language.

Indo-European original-language. Although the suffix -tama- was in existence, we can hardly point to any
word-stems provided with this suffix; a form nav-yans-ta- (per- §108. haps beside nav-yans-ta-) may be merely conjectured.

Sanskrit. -ta-ma- is the regular superlative formation beside the comparatives in -tara-, thus e.g. pūnya-tama-, ka-tamā- (one of many, interrog.), ya-tamā- (which of many, rel.) gūkī-tama-, aghināt-tama-, viṣati-tamā- (twentieth) from viṣati-, etc. Suffix -tama- occurs also after comparatives in -yans-, and superlatives in -īṣṭha-, e.g. āgyāṣṭha-tama-.

Greek. Wanting. Latin. The suffix original -tama- occurs somewhat seldom added directly to the root or stem of the adj.; but it is the regular means of forming superlatives, in which case it is added to the comparative in -yans-; f.f. -ta-ma-, i.e. Lat. -tu-mo-, -ti-mo-, after gutturals -si-mo- (§77, 1, d) is added to the root in maximo- (greatest), i.e. *mag-timo-, cf. mag-is, mag-nus; op-timo-, op-tumo- (best); ul-timo- (last); in-timo- (inmost), etc. Suffix -timo-, or more probably -simo- (cf. mac-simo-), is directly added to adj.-stems only when they end in r or l, stems ending in a vowel lose that vowel; thus ueter-rimo- for *ueter-simo-, from *ueter-timo-, stem ueter- (old; cf. torreo for *torseo and the like), pulcher-rimo-, stem pulcher- (beautiful); facil-timo- for *facil-simo- from *facil-timo-, unless indeed these forms be for *ueter-is-timo-, *facil-is-timo-, whence *ueterstimo-, *factualimo-, *ueterinosimo-, *facilinosimo- (cf. uellem from *uel-sem).

From the f.f. *-is-tama-, the combination of the comparative suffix -is=-yans- with the -tama- of the superlative, arose next -is-tumo-, -is-timo-, retained in the archaic soll-is-timo-; from -is-tumo-, -is-timo-, arose -issumo-, issimo-, by regular assimilation, e.g. doct-is-simo-, etc. Cf. mag-is-ter, min-is-ter, which show the combination of the comparative suffix -yans++tara- (cf. §105), and therefore stand parallel to superlative -yans++tama-, and the corresponding Sk. superlative formations. Cf. the suffix -timo- in other functions, mari-timo- (maritime), stem mari- (neut. mare, sea); fini-timo- (neighbouring), fini- (finis masc. bound); legi-timo- (lawful), stem lég-, légī- (lex, fem. law).
§109.

4. Stems of Numerals.

Stems of Fundamental Numbers.

Simple numbers 1-10.

1. Indo-European original-language.

The stem for the first numeral cannot be determined with absolute certainty, because the several Indo-Eur. languages differ greatly in the way they express the number one. Various stems in Indo-Eur. indicate the notion of the No. 1, but yet they are all alike formed from √i; ai-na- has most in its favour, because it serves to indicate the number one in the two European divisions of the Indo-European, and is likewise found in the Aryan in another function.

Sanskrit. ēka-, probably a stem-formation by means of suffix -ka- from pronominal suffix i, or, what is not very different, a compound of ai from i with pronominal √ka.

Greek. Nom. sg. m. ēs, i.e. *ēv-, ntr. ēv, gen. ēv-ós, fem. μία (cf. Leo Meyer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. v. 161 sqq., viii. 129 sqq., 161 sqq.; id. vgl. Gramm. der griech. u. lat. Spr. ii. 417 sqq.). Stem ēv-, f.f. sam-, is considered as standing for sam-, and this sam (cf. Lat. sim-plex, sem-cl, sin-guli), after losing a final a, as corresponding to Sk. samá- (similar, like ; a superlative of demonstr.-stem sa-). This view is especially supported by fem. μία, which probably stands for *μία, i.e. sm-ya- = sam-ya- (a ya-stem, fem. only, as frequently). It cannot well be doubted that ēv- contains the pronominal-root sa-; however, we hold that the final n is a later formation in Greek, cf. stem τι-ν- = original ki- (pron. interrog.), because a change of suffix -ma- to n is unexampled. So we conjecture for masc. neut. a stem sa-n-, developed from sa-, but recognize in fem. a f.f. sa-myā, thus varying from that of masc. and neut., i.e. a superlative-stem in -ma-, fem. -myā, from same √sa.

Latin. Early Latin oi-no-, whence ā-no-, f.f. ai-na-, is, like
Sk. pronominal-stem ē-na- (this), a stem in -na- from demonstra- § 109.

tivo-pronominal ūi.

2. Indo-European original-language dua- or dea-; Sanskrit dea-; Greek δύο- = dea-; Latin duo- = δύο- (duō-bus like ambī-bus is probably caused by the nom. dual duō, ambī, f.f. deā, ambhā).

3. Indo-European original-language tri-; -i- is a suffix and tar, tra, the root (cf. the ordinal); tr-ī- is therefore probably shortened from *tar-ī-, or perhaps from *tra-ī- by loss of the a; the assumption that tri- is an archaic weakening from tra- is, I think, less likely; Sanskrit trī-, the fem. having the stem -ti-sar-, in which Bopp conjectures a reduplication, and which he imagines to have arisen from *ti-tar-; Greek τρε-; Latin tri-.

4. Indo-European original-language katvar-; Sanskrit katvār-, shortened kātvār-, fem. kātavār- (clearly formed after the analogy of 3, according to Bopp compounded with it, in which case ka = 'unum'); Greek τέτταρ-, τέσσαρ-, for *τετφαρ-, κέτφαρ-, Dór. τέτορ- for *τετφορ-, with τ = original k (§ 62, 1), Boiot. τέτταρ-, Hom. and Aiol. πύσιρ-, f.f. katur-, π = k (§ 62, 1), and σ before v = τ, as in σύ for τύ; Latin quatuor-, the best authenticated spelling quattuor is unsupported etymologically (inscriptions have also quattor, quator).

5. Indo-European original-language kankan-, an obviously reduplicated form; Sanskrit pāṅkan-, with p = k (§ 52, 1); Greek πέντε, Aiol. πέμπτε, π and τ = k (§ 62, 1); Latin quinque.

6. Indo-European original-language. By combining the Zend kḥśvas on the one side with the Greek, Latin and Gothic form with final ks on the other, the resulting f.f. would be ksvaks for Indo-European (Ebel, Beitr. iii. 270; Zeitschr. xiv. 259 sqq.), which likewise seems to be reduplicated, perhaps original *ksva-ksva-; Sanskrit śaś, probably immediately from *kṣaḥś for *ksa-ks (§ 55, 2); Greek and Latin with dissimila-
§109. tion of the initial sound from a.f. *scaks for *ksvaks, Gk. ἕξ, Dór. Ἐξ, like Lat. sex, both therefore from *sveks (Leo Meyer, Zeitschr. ix. p. 432 sqq.; cf. Lat. se for *sce, etc.).

7. Indo-European original-language probably sap-tan-; Sanskrit saptan-, later sáptan-; Greek ἑπτά, i.e. *saptan- (a=an § 19); Latin septem, i.e. *septim. Bopp supposes that the m of septe-m has worked its way in from the ordinal septi-mo-, because it would be unlikely that n should change to m; possibly however an otherwise unusual sound-change is found in it, and we should not cut the Latin numeral adrift from the Erse and the Greek.

8. Indo-European original-language. Stem aktu-; Sanskrit aṣṭān-, later ᾄταν-, probably after the analogy of 7 and 9, and aṣṭā- (the latter in the nom. acc. aṣṭānu, probably shortened from *aktv- as or *aktv-as, apparently a dual-form, as also in Gk. and Lat.); Greek ἀκτώ, Latin octō, dual-forms arising just like Sk. aṣṭānu through loss of the termination, in which respect the notion of 4 + 4 may have assisted; in ὀκτοο-, octān-o-, the f.f. of the stem aktu- is unmistakable; it occurs also in Goth. and Lith.

9. Indo-European original-language nāvan-; Sanskrit nāvan-; Greek ἐννέα, i.e. *veFα(ν) with ε prefixed, and unoriginal doubling of initial consonant ν; Latin novem (on the m cf. 7).

10. Indo-European original-language dakan-; the conjecture that dakan stands for *dvā-kan- (kan for kan-kan), i.e. 2 × 5, is not proved, but it is too tempting to be passed by; Greek δέκα, i.e. *dekkα; Latin decem, i.e. *decim (cf. 7).

§110. The numerals 11–19. They were formed by joining the number 10 to the units; in some languages we clearly see a mere addition.

Indo-European original-language. Originally the two words would probably exist separately, e.g. perhaps 12 duā dakan; 13, tray-as dakan, etc.
Sanskrit. 11, एका-दाङ- (one); 12, द्वादशानस्कृत, -दाङ-, द्वादशानस्कृत, probably must be considered a dual; 13, त्रयो-दाङ-, later त्रेशो-दाङ-, n. pl. त्रयो-दाङ--; 14, कातुर-दाङ-; 15, पानका-दाङ-; 16, द्वादशानस्कृत, -दाङ-; 17, सप्त-दाङ-; 18, आषादी-दाङ- (with dual-form आषादी; 19, नव-दाङ-.

Greek. 11, εν-δέκα; 12, δώδεκα; from 13 the words originally separate are merely joined together, e.g. in τρισ-καί-δέκα, τρις must be taken as a shorter form for τρεῖς; 14, τεσσαρες-καί-δέκα, etc.

Latin. un-decim for *uni-decim; 12, duo-decim; 13, trē-decim, perhaps with older stem-form tru-, cf. ter-tius, or else tre- is a shortening from τρēς; 14, quatuor-decim, etc.

The numerals 20–90 (the intermediate numerals do not need §111. discussion here; they are clear in all languages, and mostly quite uncomounded). In Aryan and South-European 20–90 were expressed by means of units compounded with a substantive formed from daka-, mostly shortened or otherwise altered. Whereas in the North-European division units and tens are separate words, at most joined together. The contrast between the two closely-related branches of the speech-stem—Aryan and Graeco-italo-keltic—and the Scand-teutonic is here clearly shown (cf. Introduction, IV.). It is scarcely to be supposed that in the original-language composition had already taken place; but the tens and units would still be separate words.

Sanskrit. The tens were originally expressed by daga-iti-, daga-ta, the units being prefixed. Of daga-iti, however, -git- and even -ti- only remains, of daga-ta- only -git-; so strong is the tendency to diminution in words so much used.

20, vi-γάτι- for *dvē-दागति-, the nasal of vi = *dvē and the corresponding nasal of the two following numerals is obscure; perhaps we may detect in it the remains of a case-ending. It is shown by the Zend to be a late formation. 30, trē-γατ-, probably for *trēni daghata, whence probably the nasal arose
§111. which worked its way into 20 and 40 by analogy; 40, katévārī-
-ցալ-; 50, panḵā-ցալ-; 60, šaš-ti; 70, sapta-ti-; 80, aši-ti-, a
form widely differing from the original; 90, naea-ti-, all with
-ti- for *daŋti.

Greek. Except in 20, where likewise a form daka-ti appears, -կունτա appears as the second part of the compound, probably a neut. pl., f.f. dakan-ta, from a sg. *dakan-ta-m. 20, եի-կունτա (§ 68, 1, c), Hom. եիկուντά, earliest form Dör.
Feίκατι, Նիκαտ; Φίκατι stands for *դեի-դակա-ti, the length of i may have its origin in an earlier case-ending, whence may come also եի; եիկունտ, i.e. ե-Feίκικοւντ, with the frequent vowel-
prefix before consonantal beginning (§ 29, 2). 30, թրիա-կունտա, i.e. *
triā-դական-ta, similarly with the following; 40, տեսսարա-
-կունտա; 50, փենթ-կունտա; 60, եզի-կունτա; 70, եզդումի-կունտա, formed with the ordinal, like 80, օրդոն-կունտа, and probably also 90, եվենի-կունտա, Hom. also եվենի-կունτա, which we should accordingly take for a shortening of եվենի-կունտա; եվենի-կունտա=Lat.
nōnā-գինտա; the ordinal *եվե-նς- from *եվեFeա-նς-, it is true, presupposes a strong shortening; the suffix -նς-, as in Lat. 
-նո- (v. Ordinals), we must treat as having arisen from -մո-
through assimilation to the initial sound.

Latin. Except -գին-ի in 20, -գին-ta generally appears, probably a neut. pl.; -գին-ի and -գին-ta stand for *degin-ți, *
*degin-ta, and those for *decen-ți, *decen-ta, the f.f. of these stems is dakan-ti, dakan-ta-; c has here become g, even as 
վեճեսիմուս from a form *վեճենտի has stood its ground beside the
unoriginal վեճեսիմուս. Accordingly 20, վե-գինթի from *dei-deci-
(cf. Gk.; on the form, which seems to be a neut. dual, cf. Corssen, Krit. Nachtr. p. 96 sqq.); եր-գին-տա=*
*triā decintā, *
*triā becoming *trīę, and this becoming և, like s-յա-և, sič, sît
(3 sg. opt., ևֶ); 40, quadrā-գին-ta, with softening of t to d, for *quatuorā decintā; 50, quinquā-գին-ta; 60, sesā-գի
-nta; 70, septuā-գին-ta from a stem septuo-, which does not appear else-
where; 80, octō-գին-ta; 90, nōnā-gi
nta, from the ordinal, cf. the
Greek, with which the Latin essentially coincides in these formations.

§111. Numerals 100–1000.

100. Indo-European original-language. Probably stem kan-ta- neutr., acc. n. sg. kan-ta-m, a shortening of *dakan-takan-ta-, i.e. dakan- + subst. dakan-ta- which forms the tens; we found it already shortened to kan-ta- (Zend -gata-, Greek -kouta, Latin -ginta). (dakan-da)kanta- thus means *ten-ty, *δεκαγίντα, *decaginta. The n of kan-ta is kept in Lat., Kelt., Lith. and Goth., but is lost elsewhere.

Sanskrit gāta-; Greek ἐ-κατό-, ἐ can be nothing else than a diminished form of ἐν- (one); Latin cento-.

200–900. Originally expressed in two words. Sanskrit by two words, or by ordinary composition (e.g. dvē gatē or dvēgatē- neut.); Greek from stem katō- or koto-, f.f. ka(n)ta-, cf. Sk. gata-, was formed a derivative in -ya-, before which according to rule (§ 89) the stem-termination is lost, thus *-κατιο-, *-κοτιο-, f.f. *-kat-ya-; in Doric -κατιο- remains unchanged, whereas elsewhere the *-κοτιο- passes regularly (§ 68, 1, e) into -κοτιο-. So from a hypothetical *τριά-κατά or -κοτά, f.f. triā kantā 300, arose Doric τρια-κατο-, Attic τριά-κόσιο-, these forms being used as adjs. and in the pl.

The Latin proceeds in a way similar to the Greek, employing as it does the stem cento- as the second member of the compound adjectivally in the plural, e.g. 200, du-cento-, du shortened from duo; 300, tre-cento-; 500, quin-gento- for *quince-cento-, with softening of c to g after n, as in 400, 700, 800, 900 (cf. -ginta); 600, sex-cento-; 900, non-gento-, from ordinal-stem nonō-. The numerals 400, quadrin-gento-; 700, septin-gento-; 800, octin-gento-, show an analogy, which perhaps may be traced to septin-genti; septin-, f.f. septant-, octin- also corresponds to f.f. aktan-, cf. Sanskrit aštan-, and so also a stem quadrin- has arisen from quadro-, shortened from quatuor (cf. quadra-ginta). Pott (Zählmethode, p. 149) conjectures
§112. distributive in these forms, thus *quaterni (quadrini), octóni, etc.

1000. The Indo-European original-language seems not to have possessed a word to express 1000.

The two Aryan languages have a common word, Sanskrit sahásra- (masc. neut.), Zend hāzāra- (neut.).

Greek χίλω-, Hom. in compounds χιλο-, Boiot. χειλω-, Lesb. χέλιω-, Dór. χηλω-, which points to a f.f. *χελυο-, i.e. *gharya-, of obscure origin.

Latin. St. mill-, milli- (neut.), obscure.

Stems of the Ordinal Numerals.

§113. The ordinals are, except 2, superlatives, partly however with peculiarities distinguishing them from other superlatives. The forms of the Indo-European original-language for the most part cannot be restored, because the different languages frequently do not coincide in the choice of the suffix.

1-10.

1. Original-language probably pra-ma-, stem pra- (before); Sanskrit pra-thamā- from pra- (as prep. ‘before’) + -thama-, with th for l (§ 52, 2); Greek πρότο-, Dór. πράτο-, from προ- + suffix -τα- (§ 106), and with step-formation or lengthening of stem-vowel; Latin prī-mo-, with suffix -mo- (§ 107), probably from *pro-imo-, so that *imo- not *mo- has here been added, according to the analogy of other forms in *-timo-; according to Pott (Etym. Forsch. I. ² 560) from *prīs-mo- (§ 77, 1, a), *prīs = prius, f.f. pra-yans, comparative of pra-, cf. pris-tino-, prī-die, for *pris-die; according to Corssen (Krit. Beitr., 433) prī- is an archaic form (attested) = prae (prep. ‘before’), which is however clearly a case form, and would scarcely have admitted a superlative formation, cf. Umbr. pra-mu- pro-mo-; it would perhaps be difficult to come to a certain decision on this point.

2. Original-language (?); Sanskrit devi-tiya-, i.e.
*dei-tya- (§ 15, 2, b), probably therefore a further formation by § 113.
means of -ya- from *dei-ta-; Greek δεύ-τερο-, a comparative
(§ 105) δεύ- appears to be a raised-formation from *du from
deω; Lat. secundo- is formed not from stem deω-, but from √sec,
seq (sequi); on the suffix cf. § 89, 2, n. 2.

3. Indo-European original-language probably
tar-tya- or tra-tya-, -tya- being here also a further-formation of
-ta-; Sanskrit tr-tiṣa, i.e. *tar-tya-, (§ 15, 2, b), as it appears
to belong to the root of the stem tr-i-, i.e. tar or tra (v. sup.
cardinal 3); Greek τρι-το-, with superlative suffix -ta-, which
helps to form all other ordinals in Greek except 7 and 8; Aiol.
tέρ-το-; Lat. ter-tio-, like Sanskrit.

4. Original-language probably katar-ta-; Sanskrit
katur-thā- (tha=ta), also tār-ya-, tar-īya-, for *katur-ya-, with
loss of initial and suffix -ya-, not elsewhere used by itself to
form superlatives; we have already noted the combination of
-ya- with -ta-; here also we see the frequent phenomenon of
two suffixes occurring combined,—as here -t-ya-, i.e. -ta-ya,—
either of which can exercise the same functions as the com-
 pound; Greek τέταρ-το- for *τετάρτο-; Latin quattuor-to- for
*quatuor-to-, quattor-to- (on these forms cf. Corss. Krit. Nachtr.,
p. 298, 3).

5. Original-language probably kankan-ta- or perhaps
already kan-ta-; Sanskrit pāṇkā-mā-, Vēd. pāṇkā-thā-, with
well-known suffixes; Greek πέμπτο-το-; Latin quin(c)-to-.

6. Suffix -ta- throughout, which therefore must be ascribed
to the original-language with certainty, thus perhaps
ksraks-ta-; Sanskrit śaś-thā-; Greek ἐκ-το-, probably for
*ἐκ-το-, cf. Latin sex-to.

7. Indo-European original-language sapta-ma-, or
saptan-ta-, or perhaps saptan-ta-?; Sanskrit saptamā-; Greek
ζβόω-μο- for *ἐπτο-μο-, with irregular softening of mutes πτ
into sonants βδ, according to the conjecture of G. Curtius and
Leo Meyer (cf. Curt. Gr. Et. 3 p. 488), through the influence of
§ 113. the μ, before which o forced its way as an auxiliary vowel at a later date (cf. Old Bulg. "sed-mū" for "sept-mū"); archaic and poet. form ἐβδο-ματο-; Latin septi-mo-.

8. Original-language perhaps aktu-ma-; Sanskrit aśṭamā-; Greek ὥγοθόοο-, with the same weakening as in the case of ἐβδο-μο-, for ὥκτοοο-, which, as Curt. conjectures, arose from ὥκτοοο-, and whose weakening of κτ to γό must be ascribed to the F (cf. No. 7); on the other hand ὥγοθοοο- and Latin octāuo- point to a common f.f. aktāv-α-, which is opposed to Curtius' supposition. The suffix here is therefore only -α-, which is added to the raised stem aktu- (consequently we must not assume either suffix -να- as in *par-να-, or still less -μα- changed into -να-).

9. Indo-European original-language doubtful whether with suffix -μα- (nava-ma-), or with -τα- (navan-ta); Sanskrit nava-mā-; Greek ἐνα-το-, ἐννα-το-, probably shortened from *ἐννεά-το-; Latin nō-no- from *noun-no-, *noun-no-, probably from *noun-mo- by assimilation to the initial sound.

10. Original-language doubtful, as in the case of 9, whether daka-ma- or dakan-τα-; Sanskrit daṣca-mā-; Greek δέκα-το-; Latin deci-mo-.

11-19. Originally by means of two words.—Sanskrit. Here, as in other compounds, the final a of the second element of daṣca-τα-, which has lost its n, serves likewise for an adjective-forming suffix, e.g. 11, ἐκά-daṣca-, from ἐκά-daṣcan-; 12, dvā-daṣca-, etc. Here consequently we see suffix a also serving to form a superlative (as in Gk. Lat. *aktāv-α-, 8). Greek throughout -δέκα-το-; 11, ἐν-δέκα-το-; 19, ἐννεά-και-δέκα-το-. Latin. 11, un-deci-mo-; 12, duo-deci-mo-, and the remaining numerals by separate words.

20-90. Originally by two words.—Sanskrit either with -tama-, e.g. 20, viṣati-tamā-; 30, trīṣati-tamā-; or by suffix -a- like 11-19, with loss of final -t, -ti, e.g. viṃā, triṃā-. Greek.
To *-kot-, *-konta-, was added suffix *-to-, in such a way that § 113, *-kot- and *-konta- were shortened to *-kot-; hence arose *-kot-to- and by rule (§ 68, 2) *-kos-to-, thus 20, eikos-to-; 30, triakos-to-, etc. Latin. Suffix -tumo-, -limo-, added to the suffix *-cinti-, *-cinta-, which loses its final; or rather to an earlier *-centi-, *-centa-; thus *-cent-tumo- and thence regularly (77, 1, b) -censumo-, -césimo-, and -gésimo- with c softened to g. E.g. 20, early vicensumo-, hence vicésimo-, vigésimo-, etc. would therefore be some such form as *dei-(da)kanti-tama-; 40, quadra-gensimo-, -gésimo-, etc.

100–1000. 100. Sanskrit gata-tamd-; Greek, with suffix *-sto-, apparently through the analogy of *-sto- (§ 106), formed from *-to-, ékato-στό-; Latin, according to analogy of the tens, cent-ésimo-, as though -ésimo- were the suffix (from *cent-tésimo- would have arisen *censésimo-, § 77, 1, b).

200–900. Sanskrit with gata-tamā-; Greek with -sto- (v. 100); e.g. 200, diákosio-στό-; Latin with centésimo, e.g. 200, du-centesimo-, octin-gentésimo-, etc.

1000. Sanskrit sahasra-tamā-; Greek with -sto-, χιλιo-στό-; Latin with -ésimo-, mill-ésimo-.
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