Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages

Michiel de Vaan

LEIDEN INDO-EUROPEAN ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY SERIES

BRILL
Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages

By
Michiel de Vaan
The book is made possible by the financial support of the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO).
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This dictionary forms part of the project *Indo-European Etymological Dictionary*, which was initiated by Robert Beekes and Alexander Lubotsky in 1991. The aim of the project is to compile a new and comprehensive etymological dictionary of the inherited vocabulary attested in the Indo-European languages, replacing the now outdated dictionary of Pokorny (1959). The present work represents the Italic part of the project. Like much of the project, it has had a chequered history. In 1998, my colleague Michiel Driessen started his PhD-project on the etymology of Latin and the other Italic languages. After a few years, he changed his mind about his professional career and left the project, leaving behind a database which mainly contained the entries beginning with *a*- and *b*-, and sporadic entries elsewhere. Other results of his research were published in five articles (Driessen 2001, 2003ab, 2004, 2005). Since the Italic evidence is indispensable to the Indo-European etymological dictionary as a whole, it was decided that I would continue the database started by Driessen. The main body of my text was written in the academic year 2006-2007 during a sabbatical leave from teaching.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the colleagues of the Department of Comparative Indo-European Linguistics of Leiden University who took over my courses and some related obligations during the year 2006-2007: Alwin Kloekhorst, Guus Kroonen, Michaël Peyrot, and Alexander Lubotsky. For logistic support, I am indebted to the Leiden University Center for Linguistics (LUCL) that arranged the assistance of Ms. Marieke Meelen to help me sift through parts of the bibliography. In the Summer of 2007, I had the privilege to spend nearly three months as a visiting researcher at Cornell University (Ithaca, NY) in the United States to further reflect on some aspects of Latin etymology. I have greatly benefited from the assistance of and the discussions with my colleagues Michael Weiss and Alan Nussbaum, specialists in both Italic and Indo-European linguistics. Michael Weiss also read the proofs and his many detailed comments have helped to improve the final result. For technical support, I would like to thank Maarten Hijzelendoorn, who spent many days writing a macro for generating the indices of this book.

Leiden, April 2008.
### ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

#### A. LANGUAGES, TEXTS AND AUTHORS

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<td>Russian Church Slavic</td>
<td>Vest.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Rigveda / Rigvedic</td>
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<td>Sallust</td>
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<td>Valerius Maximus</td>
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<td>SCAsc.</td>
<td>Senatus Consultum de</td>
<td>VOLat.</td>
<td>Very Old Latin</td>
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<td>Serv.</td>
<td>Servius Maurus Honoratus</td>
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### ABBREVIATIONS

#### B. RECONSTRUCTION, GRAMMAR AND TEXT

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<td>H</td>
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<td>I, II, III, IV</td>
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<td>variant</td>
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<tr>
<td>vel sim.</td>
<td>or similarly</td>
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<tr>
<td>viz.</td>
<td>namely, to wit</td>
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<tr>
<td>voc.</td>
<td>vocative</td>
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<td>1s.</td>
<td>first person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p.</td>
<td>first person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lx, 2x, etc.</td>
<td>once, twice, etc.</td>
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</table>

C. SYMBOLS

> becomes by regular phonological development
< reflects by regular phonological development
>> is replaced by way of analogy
<< replaces by way of analogy
→ see also the entries
(?) meaning uncertain or appurtenance uncertain
*X* a reconstructed item of a proto-stage

<X> spelled with the symbol X
/X/ the phoneme X
[X] phonetically pronounced as X
X* X is cp,
`X` X is cp2
INTRODUCTION

1. AIM OF THIS DICTIONARY

This book is not a complete etymological dictionary of Latin. Its main aim is to describe which roots and stems of the vocabulary of Latin and the other Italic languages are likely to have been inherited from Proto-Indo-European. In addition, two sources of loanwords in Latin have been taken into consideration: possible loanwords from Sabellic (cf. Rix 2005: 566-572), and probable loanwords from unidentifiable, but possibly old (Mediterranean) donor languages (cf. Cuny 1910, Biville 1990 II: 501-504).

This approach implies the exclusion of those Latin words which are certainly or probably loanwords from known, non-Italic languages, such as Celtic, Etruscan, Germanic, Greek, and Semitic. The loanwords from Celtic are discussed by Porzio Germia (1981: 97-122), who gives a full list of certain or probable loanwords from Celtic. The Etruscan loanwords are more difficult to establish; see Breyer 1993, Whatmough 1997, and Briquel 1999. The number of Greek loanwords in Latin is very high, the Greek influence lasting from before the earliest Latin inscriptions until after the end of the Roman Empire. See Saalfeld 1884 for a full (though antiquated) collection, and Biville 1990 for a linguistic study of Greek loanwords. Many of the Semitic loanwords have entered Latin through Greek; a study of the Semitic loanwords in Greek is Masson 1967.

I also exclude from the discussion all onomastic material of Latin and Sabellic, with a few exceptions.

2. DEFINITION OF ITALIC

I distinguish the following three branches of Italic: Sabellic, Latino-Faliscan, and Venetic. It is disputed whether Venetic is in fact an Italic language or stems from a different Indo-European branch which happens to be attested close to the other Italic languages (Untermann 1980: 315f., Prosdocimi 1988: 418-420). The number of interpretable Venetic forms is small, but they allow a connection with Latin and Sabellic (van der Staaïj 1995: 193-210); in order to facilitate further research in this direction, I therefore include Venetic. Following Weiss (fthc.a), I give the following overview of the Italic languages known at present:
a. Sabellic (from the 7th c. BC)

1. Oscan (5th – 1st c. BC)
   - Oscan tribes: Samnites (Samnium, Campania)
     - Paelignians, Vestinians, Marrucinians (North-Oscan)
     - Frentanians, inhabitants of Larinum and Teanum Apulum
     - Hirpinians
     - Hernicans
     - Siculians (Eastern Sicily)

2. Umbrian (7th – 1st c. BC): Umbria, northern Latium
   - 2a. Palaeo-Umbrian, Volscian, Marsian, Aequian
   - 2b. Iguvine Tables (3rd – 1st c. BC)


4. Pre-Samnite (6th – 5th c. BC): Campania, Bruttium, Lucania

b. Latino-Faliscan

1. Latin (from the 6th c. BC): Latium

2. Faliscan (7th – 2nd c. BC): the town of Falerii, 50 km north of Rome

c. Venetic (ca. 550-100 BC): northeastern Italy

For the purpose of this book, Messapic (southeastern Italy) is not counted as an Italic language, and its vocabulary has been excluded from the dictionary. The interpretation of the extant Messapic inscriptions is too unclear to warrant the inclusion of Messapic in any Indo-European subfamily. There are obvious onomastic links with other Italic languages and possible lexical ties with Albanian (see Matzinger 2005), but Messapic offers no independent evidence for words of PIE origin.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

It is a cliché that every word has at least ten etymologies. Due to the long time span between Proto-Indo-European and Latin (2500 years for the oldest inscriptions, nearly 3000 years for the main body of literature), and the phonetic changes which took place in that period, we cannot be sure about the exact trajectory which even the most common Indo-European words have taken. Rather than right or wrong, the etymologies in this book must be regarded as points on a scale: some might approach relative certainty and have no competing etymologies beside them, whereas others represent just one among a number of etymologies that 3000 years of formal and semantic change render theoretically possible. For instance, it will be agreed upon by virtually all specialists that Latin negating in- ‚un’ directly continues PIE *n- in compounds (even if it would be hard to agree on a single complete lexical correspondence shared by Latin and at least two other branches of IE). The verb video, to mention another example, will probably be derived from the PIE root *uid-, which also surfaces as *ueid- and *uoid-, by all Indo-Europeanists. But details of their reconstructions may differ: some colleagues would write *wid-, and some
reconstruct the root-final stop as *ʔt̚. Discussion of the present suffix Latin -ē- and the form of the perfect vīdī would bring to the surface still more differences between specialists. Many words have a much less certain etymology, for instance cōleī ‘testicles’: it could be derived from cōlum ‘sieve’, which would be formally satisfactory but semantically not immediately convincing, or from culleus ‘bag’, which suffers the reverse handicap: semantically evident, but formally not so. In a case like cōleī, more than with in- or videō, the assumptions and convictions of the individual researcher play a decisive role. In all cases, the reader must take into account that I adopt a certain systematic conception of Proto-Indo-European and the subsequent linguistic stages leading on to Latin (see below for their justification), which naturally influence the etymological solutions I eventually prefer.

An important article on the method of etymological research in general, and on Latin etymology in particular, was written by Eichner 1992. Here follow his main recommendations and a justification of my approach to them.

1. An etymological discussion should preferably give access to “die volle Fachdiskussion” (p. 61).

The scope of the present book and the limited amount of time that was available made full compliance with this requirement impossible. Complete reference to earlier scholarship would have taken many more years, and the printed version of this dictionary would have become far too heavy and too expensive. Earlier etymological research on Latin has been evaluated by Forssman 1983, while Forssman 2002 has discussed etymology in the TLL. The two main works of references for Latin etymology since the 1960s have been the dictionaries of Walde & Hoffmann (1930-1954) on the one hand, and of Ernout & Meillet (1959, with some corrections in the 1967 edition) on the other. Other etymological dictionaries that preceded WH and EM are Vanček (1881), Regnaud (1908), Muller (1926), Tucker (1931), Juret (1942). Of these, I have only consulted Muller’s study occasionally.

For the purpose of the present dictionary I have consistently made use of WH and EM, who normally summarize the pre-1960 scholarship. Therefore, I usually refrain from quoting literature from before 1960. Each of the two dictionaries mentioned has its advantages and its drawbacks. WH provide a reliable indication of the first attestation of a Latin word in the Latin literature. Subsequently, they present an exhaustive and well-referenced overview of earlier proposals, usually including a long list of cognate forms in other IE languages. Unfortunately, their own opinion on the etymology of a word is usually stated without any explanation, and must be searched in a thicket of words. The dictionary of EM often gives a useful account of the inner-Latin word history. They evaluate the semantic shifts which a word underwent, and how it relates to other Latin lexemes. Their etymological discussion, however, is disappointingly short and very often remains agnostic even in cases where their contemporaries held clear views.

For Sabellic, I have relied on Untermann 2000 for the meaning and etymology of words. Since Untermann provides full references to earlier literature, I do not indicate the authorship of different etymologies for Sabellic words, unless their discussion
contributes to specific issues. Untermann's dictionary displays a great deal of skepticism towards the possibility of knowing the meaning and etymology of many Sabellic words. I have often adopted his agnosticism about the precise meaning of a word, while at the same time retaining the etymological explanation given for it by other contemporary specialists of the Sabellic languages, if a communis opinio could be discerned in the literature.

2. On a synchronic level, etymologies should take into account the phonological system of Latin, and, in our case, the other Italic languages. Since this principle now forms part of every linguist's toolkit, there is little point in elaborating on it here.

3. A reliable etymological discussion must refer to the relative chronology of sound changes between Proto-Indo-European and Latin (termed “Glass-box-Verfahren” by Eichner, p. 72). While this principle is equally uncontroversial, the number of studies elaborating on the relative chronology of more than a few Latin sound changes is small. I have tried to summarize my main guiding principles in the following section.

4. FROM PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN TO LATIN

4.1 Reconstructable stages

The term Proto-Indo-European refers to the last reconstructible common stage from which all known Indo-European languages have evolved. For the period between PIE and Latin, we can reconstruct several intermediate stages through which the language must have passed. If the IE language family is represented as a traditional genealogical tree of descent, we can regard PIE as the trunk, and Latin as one of the branches; the intermediate stages are nodes between the trunk and the Latin branch. We can distinguish at least the following nodes:

Proto-Indo-European (also known as Indo-Hittite): Evidence has recently been accumulated showing that the Anatolian branch was the first of the known IE language to split off PIE; see Rieken 1999, Kloekhorst 2008: 7-11. In fact, this had already been argued by many scholars, e.g. Sturtevant in the 1920s, Pedersen in 1938, Cowgill in 1974; compare Adrados 2007. Accordingly, it must be decided for every reconstructed feature of ‘traditional’ PIE whether it was present before Anatolian split off, or developed afterwards. Subsequently, we should agree on a common terminology for both stages. Such work has yet to begin on a wider scale, and cannot be done here.

(Late) Proto-Indo-European: Since only the earliest node in the tree may properly be called PIE, any posterior common stage must be called differently. Thus, the common stage from which all other IE languages except the Anatolian ones descended could
be called Late PIE. Nevertheless, in view of the absence of agreement on this matter so far, and in order not to introduce novel and confusing terms, I will in practice use the term PIE to refer to “Late PIE” too.

Proto-Italic-Celtic: I acknowledge a separate Italo-Celtic stage, to which a number of phonetic and morphological developments common to the Italic and Celtic languages can be ascribed. The most recent defense of Italo-Celtic is by Schrijver 2006: 48-53 (against Meiser 2003: 36, among others). Here is an eclectic list of the morphological innovations that can be dated to the Italo-Celtic stage, as given by Schrijver 2006 and Kortlandt 2007: 151-157:

- the rise of a superlative suffix *-isimo-
- the introduction of gen.sg. *-i in the o-stems (while maintaining *-osio)
- the substitution of dat.pl. *-mus and abl.pl. *-ios by the ending *-bos (while maintaining ins.pl. *-bi)
- the introduction of gen. *-strom in the 1st and 2nd plural pronouns
- the spread of *s- to the whole paradigm of the *so-/to-pronoun
- (maybe:) the generalization of abl.sg. *-(e)d in all declensions
- the pr. of ‘to be’ is thematic *es-e/o- directly after focussed elements, athematic *es- elsewhere (Schrijver 2006: 58)
- the rise of an injunctive (Kortlandt 2007: 153) or preterite (Schrijver 2006: 60-62) morpheme *-a-
- the rise of sigmatic futures with i-reduplication (Kortlandt 2007: 152)
- the spread of the morpheme *-ro from the 3pl. to other middle endings

Proto-Italic: The concept of Proto-Italic has been challenged at various occasions, but agreement seems to be increasing on the view that there was indeed such a common prestige. Recent discussions of this topic, including enumerations of PIt. phonological and morphological innovations, are Rix 1994b, van der Staaij 1995: 193-210, Heidermanns 2002: 186-189, Meiser 2003: 27-36 and Schrijver 2006: 48-53.

Proto-Latino-Sabellic: Most scholars assume that Venetic was the first language to branch off Proto-Italic, which implies that the other Italic languages, which belong to the Sabellic branch and to the Latino-Faliscan branch, must have continued for a certain amount of time as a single language. In view of the very small amount of Venetic material available, however, the Proto-Latino-Sabellic stage will hardly play a practical role in our discussions.

Proto-Latino-Faliscan: Most of the remaining Italic languages belong to the Sabellic branch, the main characteristic of which is the development of labiovelar stops to labials. The only two languages which are not Sabellic are Latin and Faliscan, which were spoken close to each other and differ from the Sabellic languages by a few common innovations (Baldi 1999: 172-174). Hence, we can reconstruct a common prestige.
4.2 The phonology of Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Italic and Latin

I will use the following reconstruction of the PIE phonological system, based on Beekes 1995: 124. As noted above, at least some of the features reconstructed here might actually belong to the LPIE stage; but since we will be dealing with Italic mainly, this does not affect the discussion to any significant degree.

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<td>Diphthongs</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>oi</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>au</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For Proto-Italic, I assume the following phonological system (van der Staaij 1995: 66):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>k'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laryngeals</td>
<td></td>
<td>(H)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowels</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ē</td>
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<td>ō</td>
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<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diphthongs</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>oi</td>
<td>ou</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>au</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note 1: The series of PIE stops traditionally termed ‘voiced aspirate’ yields voiceless fricatives in word-initial position in Latin and Sabellic, voiced fricatives word-internally in Sabellic, and voiced stops (merging with the old voiced stops) word-internally in Latin. The Latin stops probably go back to voiced fricatives, as is shown by the variant forms of Lat. *ab-* (see s.v.). This points to a complementary distribution of Proto-Italic voiceless word-initial fricatives vs. voiced word-internal ones. In other words, there was one fricative phoneme with two allophones (see Stuart-Smith 2004: 196-198, and the critique of her phonemic interpretation by Kortlandt 2007: 150). I will note voiceless fricatives in my PIt. reconstructions, but it seems likely that they were voiced word-internally. After nasals and sibilants, the PIE voiced aspirates probably did not change into fricatives, but remained stops.

Note 2: Most Italic phonetic developments conditioned by the presence of laryngeals can be dated to the Italo-Celtic period, or before. The argument given by Schrijver 1991: 454 for the retention of *h₃eu- as distinct from *ou- in PIt. on account of bovem, -is and ovis, has been rendered irrelevant by the novel interpretation in Vine 2006a. The different vocalization of PIE sequences *HNC- according to which PIE laryngeal these sequences contained (Schrijver 1991: 56-65) suggests the survival of three different laryngeals until after the Italo-Celtic period; the vocalization may be an early PIt. development. Another phenomenon ascribed to the presence of consonantal laryngeals in PIt. by Schrijver 1991: 473f. is the preservation of mo- in open syllable in mora (I am less convinced about monile), escaping the unrounding to ma-. Mora, however, has beside it the verb morare, in which -o- might have been restored in PIt. as a characteristic of iterative verbs. As a result, laryngeals will play no role in my PIt. reconstructions. That is not to say that they had all indeed disappeared by the Proto-Italic period; but I find no certain traces.

Note 3: The main argument against assuming a PIt. shift *eu > *ou is the form Leucesie in the Carmen Saliare (cf. Leumann 1977: 70f., Meiser 1998: 59). This name with its unclear etymology cannot outweigh the remaining evidence in favour of *eu > *ou. In Venetic, some words are attested with <eu> and with <ou>, whereby the older inscriptions only have <ou>. Van der Staaij (1995: 197f.) cautiously suggests that there may have been an inner-Venetic development ou > eu.

For the sake of reference, I give the following list of the most salient phonologica changes which I assume to have taken place between PIE and (the last stage of Proto-Italic (van der Staaij 1995: 48-66, Schrijver 2006). The first number of each section indicates the order in the relative chronology of sound changes, whereas the second digit stakes no such claim.

A. Before Proto-Italo-Celtic split up:
1.1 PIE *h₁e > *e, *h₂e > *a, *h₃e > *o
1.2 PIE *eh₁ > *ē, PIE *eh₂ > *ā, PIE *eh₃, *oH > *ō before a consonant
1.3 PIE *iH, *uH > i, u before a consonant
1.4 PIE *\( Ti > *t^t \) (and \( *dd^d > *\)'\( d^d -\)?)

2.1 Pretonic shortening of long vowel before resonant (Lat. \( \text{vir}, \text{ferus} \))
2.2 \( *uHiV > *wiHiV \) (pius-rule)
2.3 \( *CHC > *CaC \)
2.4 \( *CRHC > *CRaC \)
2.5 \( *CRHTC > *CRaTC \) (Italic), \( *CRHT/s > *CRaT/s \) (Celtic)
2.6 \( *RHT/s > *RaT/s \) (Italo-Celtic)
2.7 \( *RDC > RaDC \) (Lat. \( \text{magnus} \))
2.8 \( *CCCC > *CaCCC \)

B. Before Proto-Italic split up:
3.1 \( *t^t > *ss \)
3.2 \( *CLHV > CaLV^- \) (e.g. \( \text{cal\'ere}, \text{val\'ere}, \text{palma} \))
3.3 \( *CNHV > [CaNV^-] \) (e.g. \( \text{similis}, \text{sine}, \text{tenuis} \))
3.4 \( *HLC^- > aLC^- \) (argonum)
3.5 \( *h_{1234}NC^- > e/a/oNC^- \) (umbilicus, ambi)
3.6 \( *p^p_{(R)k^w} > *k^w_{(R)k^w} \) (coqu\'o, quinque)

4.1 \( *b^h, *d^h, *g^h, *g^w > *b, *d, *g, *g^w \) after \( *s \) and \( *n^N \)
4.2 \( *g^h > *g \) before \( *l, *r \) (Lat. glaber, gr\'amen, tr\'agula)
4.3 \( *b^h, *d^h, *g^h, *g^w > *f, *p, *\'x, *\'x^w \)
4.4 PIE \( *ouV > *awV \) in pretonic position (Thurneysen-Havet-Vine's law)
   (Lat. lav\'o etc.)

5.1 \( *p^- > *f^- \) (Fal. \( \text{filea}, \) Lat. \( \text{filius} \))

6.1 \( *f^w^- > *f^- \) (Lat. \( \text{forum}, \text{fores} \))
6.2 \( *g^-w^-, -\'x^-w^- > *-w^- /V_\text{V} \) (Lat. voveo, n\'\text{udus} \)
6.3 \( *m^j > *n^j \)

7.1 \( *o > a /b, l, m, w, k^-CV \) (Lat. \( \text{badius}, \text{canem}, \text{lacus}, \text{lanius}, \text{manus}, \text{mare} \))

8.1 \( *ew > *ow \) (Lat. \( \text{novus}, \text{moveo} \))
8.2 \( *t, *l^l > *or, *ol \) (Lat. \( \text{morior} \) etc.)

According to van der Staaij 1995, there is positive evidence that Venetic shared in the following developments: fricativization of PIE 'voiced aspirates', \( *p^- > *f^- \) (Ven. \( \text{vha9}gsto \)), \( *ew > *ow \) and \( *t, *l^l > *or, *ol \). Hence, Venetic did not split off before stage 8.

The phonological developments between Proto-Italic and Old Latin are too numerous to discuss here. For details, I refer to the main handbooks in the field: Sommer 1914, Leumann 1977, Sommer / Pfister 1977, Schrijver 1991, Sihler 1995, Meiser 1998,
Baldi 1999, Weiss fthc.a, to name only the best-known English and German works. Also, the relative chronology of the post-Plt. sound changes has not yet been clarified in all details, and would justify a separate study. Hopefully, the present dictionary may contribute to that aim.

For Old Latin, I assume the following phonological system (van der Staaij 1995: 37, Meiser 1998: 52):

stop & k & k\textsuperscript{w} \\
b & d & g & g\textsuperscript{w} \\
fricative & f & s & h \\
glide & w & j \\
liquid & l & r \\
nasal & m & n \\
vowel & i & i & u & u \\
 & e & e & o & o \\
 & & a & a \\
diphthong & ei & eu & oi & ou \\
 & & ai & au

As to accentuation, we can posit the following three phases of accent placement (van der Staaij 1995: 65, Meiser 1998: 53):

1. Mobile stress inherited from PIE. The presence of the inherited PII accentuation in (early) Proto-Italic is required for Vine's reformulation (2006) of Thurneysen-Havet's Law *ou > *au, which would in his account have taken place in pretonic position. This sound law can be assigned to an early period in the relative chronology of Plt. changes.

2. Word-initial stress. Word-initial stress is assumed to have applied in Etruscan and in Latin, Faliscan, and the Sabellic languages. The main Sabellic clues to initial stress are the occurrence of syncope of short vowels in front of word-final *s (Meiser 1986: 59-62), which may date to the Proto-Sabellic period, and syncope c word-internal short vowels in front of single consonants and *-SC- in the different Sabellic languages individually (Benediktsson 1960, Meiser 1986: 131f.). In VOLat we find syncope of short vowels in final *-tos, *-tis, *-ros, *-ris, and maybe in final *-li and *-ri (Meiser 1998: 73f.). In internal syllables of VOLat., the effects of initial stress are syncope of short vowels in open medial syllable, and weakening (merger) c short vowels and diphthongs in non-initial syllable. For the Sabellic language:
3. Penultimate / antepenultimate stress as in CLat. From about 300 BC (thus Radke 1981: 30 on the basis of *elephantus* and *Italia*, and *in- ‘in’*), vowel weakening ceased to work in Latin, and we may assume that the accentual system known from CLat. had been established: accent on the penultimate syllable if it was metrically long, otherwise, accent on the antepenultimate syllable.

5. The entries

5.1 Selection of entries

The entries were selected by means of a comparison between the two major etymological dictionaries WH and EM, the comprehensive Indo-European dictionaries IEW and LIV, and the Oxford Latin Dictionary. I have not done an additional exhaustive search for words attested only in glosses. Since such words are not normally included in the OLD, this implies that only those have been taken into account which are discussed in WH and EM, or in other etymological discussions. Personal names, place names and other toponyms are not included into the present dictionary. A few exceptions are made for names which are widely agreed to be Indo-European (e.g., *Monēta, Nerō*), or names for which an alleged Indo-European etymology must be dismissed (*Abella*).

5.2 The entries

The entry usually represents the derivationally most opaque member of a Latin word family: a present stem (quoted in the first person singular active), a noun or adjective (in the nominative singular or plural), an adverb or a cardinal numeral. I provide the English meaning of the word as given by the Oxford Latin Dictionary. Since the aim is merely to identify the word in question, not the whole range of meanings of a word is given. I provide the gender and stem type (*o, ā, ē, u, ū*, or a consonant) of nouns, the conjugation (I, II, III, IV) of verbs, or another word type label. I also add deviant forms which do not conform to CLat. morphology of the inflectional or conjugational type given for the entry.

Latin entries are given in bold without a preceding abbreviation. The small number of inherited Venetic and Sabellic entries without cognate forms in Latin is preceded by the abbreviation of the respective language.

5.3 Dating

Between brackets, I indicate in which author or text the word given in the entry is first attested in Latin. A plus (+) after a given author means that the word can be found also in one or more later authors.
INTRODUCTION

The main lexicographical sources for dating the age of a Latin word have been OLD and TLL; yet by means of random comparisons, I found that neither of these sources is exhaustive, and that quite often an older attestation can be found than would appear from TLL and OLD. In most cases, in fact, it turns out that WH are far more reliable. I have therefore turned to concordances of the older inscriptions, Livius Andronicus, Gnaeus Naevius (self-made) and Plautus (Lexicon Plautinum) in order to ascertain the first date of attestation of a given word. For the remaining words (appearing in Ennius, Cato, Terence or later), I have relied on the data provided by the OLD.

5.4 Derivatives

The section ‘Derivatives’ provides derivatives of the head entry, and other closely related Latin forms. Since the dictionary only has about 1850 Latin entries, the section ‘derivatives’ contains many more Latin lexemes than the section ‘entry’. Any reader familiar with Latin derivation will easily find most of the derivatives under their head entry. In addition, words can be retrieved via the Latin index at the end of the book.

The list of derivatives is restricted to words which make their first appearance before Cicero; in most cases, the last author to precede Cicero is Varro or Lucretius. In this way, the dictionary also provides information about the productivity and semantics of certain suffixes and preverbs in pre-Ciceronian times. From Cicero onwards, several suffixes become hugely productive while their inclusion into the dictionary would add nothing to our knowledge of OLat. or earlier stages. Only a few words which appear to contain an unproductive suffix, have no synchronic derivational basis, or appear to go back to OLat. for other reasons, are listed even if they first appear in or after Cicero. Some examples are adūlor (Cic.+), bēs (Cic.+), sūbula (Sen.+), taxāre (Sen.+).

Additional morphological information is given between square brackets, but only when needed to disambiguate two or more categories. The following endings are used as shorthand for their respective categories:

-ae f. noun, gen.sg.
-āx f.pl. noun, gen.pl.
-ēō f. noun, n-stem, gen.sg.
-ēs f. noun, ē-stem, gen.sg.
-iō f. noun, n-stem, gen.sg.
-is noun, i-stem, gen.sg.
-is adj., i-stem, f. -is, n. -e
-or m. noun, r-stem, gen.sg.
-tās f. noun, t-stem, gen.sg.
-tūdō f. noun, n-stem, gen.sg.
-tūs f. noun, t-stem, gen.sg.
-um n. noun, o-stem, gen.sg.
-us m. noun, o-stem, gen.sg.
-us adj., o/ā-stem, f. -a, n. -um
Some words which are listed as separate lexemes in OLD have been excluded because they belong to categories listed otherwise:
- n. nouns in -um or -e derived from attested adjectives or ppp.: to the adjective in -us or -is, or the ppp. in -us
- adverbs in -(i)ter: to the adj. they are based on
- adverbs in -ē: to the adj. in -us or -is
- nominal compounds with a noun or an adj. as the first member: to the respective noun or adj.

5.5 Proto-Italic

If possible, I provide a Proto-Italic reconstruction of the stem of the Latin entry, and occasionally of other Latin or Italic words which may plausibly go back to Proto-Italic. See section 1.4 for the phonological system of Proto-Italic.

5.6 Italic cognates

This section exhaustively lists all Faliscan, Sabellic and Venetic word forms which are or may be cognate with the Latin entry. All Sabellic forms are cited from Untermann 2000; I have usually adopting his rendering of the meaning and his morphological interpretation of the forms. Alternative interpretations of the meaning and etymology of Sabellic words are not usually discussed; instead, the reader is referred to the relevant section in Untermann. The Faliscan forms are cited according to Giacomelli 1963, and the Venetic forms according to Lejeune 1974, with additions as per Marinetti 1999, 2004 (to the exclusion of the Tavola da Este, which requires more detailed linguistic study). I have refrained from citing any Sicel forms, since their interpretation still seems too uncertain to me; the only exception is πίβε ‘drink!’.

5.7 Proto-Indo-European

I reconstruct the form of the stem from which the Latin entry can be directly or indirectly derived. In some cases, there is more than one theoretical possibility.

5.8 Indo-European cognates

This section provides the main cognates of the Latin entry in the main languages used for reconstructing Proto-Indo-European. Since the details of the formation type often differ from language to language, non-specialists in Indo-European reconstruction may want to concentrate mainly on the identity of the root. Cognates from Celtic (Continental Celtic, Irish, Welsh, Cornish, Breton) are adduced first because of their relevance for the reconstruction of a Proto-Italo-Celtic stage. Subsequently, I provide the cognates from Anatolian (Hittite, Palaic, Luwian, Lydian, Lycian) because this branch first split off PIE. The remaining branches of IE are adduced in the following order: Indic (Sanskrit) – Iranian (Avestan, Old Persian, etc.) – Greek – Phrygian –
Armenian – Albanian – Baltic (Old Prussian, Lithuanian, Latvian) – Slavic – Germanic (Gothic, North Gm., West Gm.) – Tocharian. For the collection and interpretation of the cognate words, I have relied heavily on the work of colleagues in the IEED project: Kloekhorst 2008 for Anatolian, Alexander Lubotsky’s Indo-Iranian database, Robert Beekes fthc. for Greek, Derksen 2008 for Slavic and Derksen fthc. for Baltic. Obviously, the responsibility for the selection and analysis of the forms as given here is entirely mine.

5.9 Etymology

If the etymology is undisputed and requires no further explanation – that is, if it can be understood applying the usual sound changes from PIE to Latin –, I refrain from a discussion. The etymology should then be clear from the reconstructed Proto-Italic and Proto-Indo-European forms. In the case of an uncertain, disputed or disputable Indo-European etymology, I discuss some of the options which must be rejected and/or those which seem likely to me. If some of the Latin derivatives are unproductive formations, I shortly discuss their linguistic history.

The main handbooks consulted for reference are IEW (1959), Leumann (1977), Schrijver (1991), Sihler (1995), Meiser (1998, 2003), Untermann (2000), LIV (2001). Other secondary literature is only mentioned where it adds extra arguments or information to the discussion. As stated in 1.3 above, the discussion is not exhaustive. In the case of etymological proposals which seem wholly unconvincing to me, or which have been discussed and refuted by one of the handbooks cited in the entry’s bibliography, I generally refrain from mentioning them. This might have the unfortunate effect that this dictionary will not prevent future scholars from repeating proven errors of the past, but the alternative would have been a dictionary several times as thick, loaded with obsolete theories. It may be remarked that WH, who very often mention and reject former proposals, generally give short qualifications, such as “falsch”, without stating their reasons; this I try to avoid.

If a word has not been given an IE etymology yet, or if the available etymological proposals all seem implausible to me, and I have no better solution to add myself, I usually state “Etymology unknown” or words of similar meaning.

5.10 Bibliography

I refer in all cases to page numbers in IEW, WH and EM, and to the PIE entry in LIV. In many instances, I refer to the page in Leumann (1977), Schrijver (1991), Sihler (1995) and Meiser (1998, 2003) on which the entry or its derivatives are discussed. I also provide the reference to the source of the Sabellic (Untermann 2000), Faliscan (Giacomelli 1963) and Venetic (Lejeune 1974) forms. Other secondary literature is only mentioned when it plays a role in the etymological discussion.
6. PERIODIZATION OF LATIN

Following Weiss (fthc.a), I adopt the following periodization of Latin:

- **6th century – 240 BC**: Very Old Latin (VOLat.)
- **240 – 50 BC**: Old Latin (OLat.)
- **50 BC – 3rd/4th c.**: Classical Latin (CLat.)
- **3rd/4th c. – 5th/6th c.**: Late Latin (LLat.)

Although the term ‘Very Old Latin’ has a clumsy ring to it, it avoids the ambiguity which would follow from using ‘Early Latin’ versus ‘Old Latin’, or ‘Archaic Latin’ versus ‘Old Latin’. There is no natural chronological distinction between ‘early’ and ‘old’, while ‘archaic’ is also used for indicating the relative age of linguistic forms with respect to each other.

For the purpose of determining the first attestation of a Latin word, I use the following relative chronology of texts:

I. Very Old Latin

In view of the different provenance of the inscriptions, and the uncertain dates of many of them, the order in which the texts appear is not intended as a relative chronology.

- Older inscriptions: Lapis Niger (Forum Inscription), Lapis Satricanus, Duenos inscription, Corcolle Altar, Garigliano Bowl, the Tibur Base, the Madonnetta inscription (all 6th or 5th c.). The Praenestine Fibula is excluded since it is probably a forgery (cf. Baldi 1999: 125).
- Texts preserved (usually fragmentarily) in later sources: Lex Regiae, Law of the Twelve Tables, Carmen Saliare, Carmen Arvale.
- Single words or phrases preserved by lexicographers: Nonius, Festus, Paulus Diaconus.

II. Old Latin

The order in which the authors appear here is intended as a relative chronology:

- Livius Andronicus (±284 – 204)
- Naevius (±270 – 201)
- Plautus (died 184)
- Ennius (239 – 169)
- M. Porcius Cato (234 – 149)
- Terence (±195 – 159)
- Pacuvius (220 – ±130)
- Caecilius Statius (died 168)
- C. Lucilius (±180 – 102)
- Accius (170 – ±85)
- Sempronius Gracchus (trib. pl. 123, 122)
- Afranius (born ±150)
- Cassius Hemina (mid 2nd c.)
INTRODUCTION

Cn. Gellius *hist.* (late 2nd c.)
Sextus Turboilius (died 103)
Titinius (2nd c.)
L. Pomponius *com.* (2nd – 1st c.)
Sempronius Asellio (2nd – 1st c.)
Laevius (early 1st c.)
Helvius Mancia (early 1st c.)
Novius (early 1st c.)

Quadrigarius (early 1st c.)
*Rhetorica ad Herennium* (early 1st c.)
Sisenna (praetor 78)
M. Terentius Varro (116 – 27)
Laberius (+115 – 43)
Lucretius (+194 – 55)
Catullus (+84 – 54)

inscriptions:
Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus
CIL 364+365 from Falerii
Lex Sacra from Spoletium
other inscriptions from the 2nd and 1st c. BC.

Many Latin words make their first appearance in the comedies of Plautus. Steinbauer (1989: 39-40) regards the language of Plautus as older than that of Ennius for the following three reasons:

1. The plays of Plautus (maybe an Umbrian) were staged from at least 200 (but maybe earlier) until his death in 184. We know that Ennius (a Messapian) came to Rome in 204, and worked there till his death in 169. Thus, Ennius lived 15 years longer, and did not come to Rome earlier than Plautus.

2. The metre which Ennius uses (dactylic hexameter) excludes about 10% of the Latin vocabulary from occurring in it (according to Skutsch 1985), whereas no such restrictions seem to be imposed by Plautus’ metre.

3. The genre of comedy allows for the use of a much broader spectre of the vocabulary.

III. Classical Latin
Cicero (106 – 43)
Caesar (100 – 44)
Sallust (86 – ±34 BC)
Cornelius Nepos (±99 – 24 BC)
Virgil (70 – 19 BC)

Horace (65 – 8 BC)
Ovid (43 BC – ±17 AD)
L. Annaeus Seneca (±5 BC – 65 AD)
Columella (mid 1st c. AD)
estc.

I place the caesura between OLat. and CLat. before Cicero. This arbitrary division has a practical background: whereas Varro (who died later than Cicero) shows an explicit interest in archaic language, we find that many formations increase greatly in productivity from Cicero onwards, especially *u*-stem nouns and nouns in *-tiō* and *-tās*. The inclusion of words attested in but not before Cicero would imply the enumeration of a lot of new, predictable Latin formations which do not add to our knowledge of pre-Latin stages.
DICTIONARY
O. **aapam** [acc.sg.], **aapas** [gen.sg. or acc.pl.] ‘water’, ‘water basin’ vel sim. (inscriptions on water-basins).

Plt. *āpā-* [f.].


In theory, O. -p- could correspond with -qu- in Lat. *aqua* ‘water’; but in view of long initial /a-/ in Oscan, it seems preferable to derive it from PIE *h₂ep- ‘water’ as attested in Ilr., Baltic and Tocharian.

Bibl.: IEW 1135f.; EIEC 636, Untermann 2000: 42f. → amnis

**ab, abs, as-, ā-, af-, au-** ‘from; off, away’ [prep.; prev.] (Elog.Scip., Naev.+)

In compounds: **ab**- before vowels, **h**-, voiced dentals (i-, d-, l-, n-, r-) and **s**- (pronounced **ap-s-**); **ā**- before voiced labials (e.g. āmoveō, āfluō, āvellō, ābilō); **abs**- before voiceless stops: aspellō, asportāre, asperrāri, abstineō, abstulī, abstrahō, abs tē, abscedō; au- only in auferō ‘to carry away’ (Pl.+), aufugīō ‘to run away’ (Pl.+). The distribution of the simplex **ab, abs, ā** follows the same rules as above, except that **abs** is rare, and we usually find **ā** in front of stops and **s**.


PIE *h₂ep-. IE cognates: Skt. āpa ‘away, off’, apa- ‘without’, Av. apa-, OP apa- ‘away, from’, Gr. ἀπα, ἀπο ‘far (from), away (from)’, ἄψ ‘back, again’, Latv. ap ‘beneath’, Go. af, af- ‘from, since’.

Latin **ab** and **af** go back to an **s**-less preform. **Ab** is explained by Leumann 1977 from voicing in front of a voiced stop, e.g. in abdere, obdūcere, sub dīvō. The original locus of **af** was in front of **l-** and **v-** followed by a back-vowel; this implies that the bilabial stop was assimilated to the following labial(ized) continuant, and **af** was probably pronounced as [aβ]; thus Vine 1993: 188. By the time of Cicero, **af** was considered to be archaic, and used only sporadically in account books. The form **abs** is probably a Latin or Italic creation on the model of **ec** vs. **ex**; it might also be compared with Gr. ἄψ. Its occurrence in front of **p,t,c** is understandable, but not its occurrence (surfacing as **ā-**) in front of voiced labials as opposed to **ab**- before voiced dentals. It is unlikely that Plt. *ap would have been replaced by *aps only in front of
dentals. It is therefore conceivable that *- in front of voiced labials goes back to s-less *ab-. The variants af- and au- suggest that this *ab- underwent a dissimilatory lenition to *af- before the labial consonant, with subsequent simplification of the consonants and vowel lengthening.

The variant au- is usually regarded as identical with the first element au- in aut and autem from PIE *h₂eu ‘away, off’. However, preverbal au- replaces ab- ‘away’ only before two verbs in f-. Usually, it is said that *au- was retained for the purpose of avoiding confusion between ad- and ab- in front of f, but this is more than questionable: ab- and au- would have coexisted for a while with the same meaning, and au- would have been lost without a trace except in front of f. The complementary distribution is conspicuous, and suggests that au- developed out of ab-. In view of Vine’s demonstration that af was probably pronounced as [aβ], it is likely that au- was the regular outcome of [aβ] in front of f-. The explanation of au- as regular from *ab goes back at least to Bréal 1894. Younger formations such as a-fuit and a-fore to abesse form no counter-argument, since a- was productive in front of labials.


**abdomen**, -inis ‘the fat lower part of the belly, paunch, abdomen’ [n. n] (Pl.++; originally said of pigs)

It has been suggested that *abdomen* derives from the verb *abdere* ‘to conceal’ as *ap-d⁰ oh₁-mn, since abdomen would originally mean ‘hidden part’. The latter assumption is unfounded, however. The Germanic cognates which are adduced by WH (OHG intuoma, MLG ingedōme ‘intestines; furniture’) may rather have been derived from the verb ‘to do’ within Germanic. Thus, the origin of *abdomen* remains unclear.


**Abella** ‘Town in Campania (near Nola)’ [f. ā] (Verg.+)

Derivatives: *abellāmus* [adj.] in *nux abellāmus* ‘hazelnut’ (Cato+).

It. cognates: O. *abellanús* ‘inhabitants of Abella’, [adj. nom.pl.m.].

According to Virgil, the town of Abella abounded in fruit-trees (apple, nuts). EM and WH agree on the fact that *Abella* contains the ‘apple’ etymon, but this is very uncertain. It is a place-name, and its original meaning is unknown. The town was also known for other fruits than apples: *nux abellāmus* ‘hazelnut’ (lit. ‘nut from Abella’). Furthermore, it is uncertain how PIE *h₂b-e/ol- would yield Abella by regular phonetic development. The name of the ‘apple tree’ can be reconstructed as PIE *h₂(e)b-ol-n- on the basis of Celtic and BSl. cognates, but the outcome of Pit. *-ln- in Oscan is unknown.


**abiēs**, -etis ‘fir-tree’ [f. l] (Pl.+)

Plt. *abiēts* (nom.sg.), *abiet-* (obl.).

Lat. abiēs resembles Gr. ἄβι (acc.sg.) ‘fir-tree’ (Hsch.) < *abi-. For the formation,
compare Lat. *pariēs* ‘wall’ and Lat. *ariēs* ‘ram’. The fact that *abi-* is confined to the Mediterranean, and the extreme rareness of the phoneme *b* in PIE, point to a non-Indo-European origin. Moreover, it is uncertain that ἰβὶν is Greek.

Bibl.: WH I: 4, EM 3, IEW 1ff.

**aboleō** ‘to destroy; banish; abolish’ [v. II; pf. abolēvī, ppp. abolitum] (Col.+)

Plt. *olē-*. It. cognates: maybe U. *holu* ‘?’ (cursing an enemy while praying) [3s.ipv.II], if from *olatōd < *h₂elh₁-tōd.

PIE *h₂olh₁-eie- ‘to bring down’. IE cognates: see s.v. *dēlēre*.

WH and EM wonder whether aboleō might have been formed as antonym to *adoleō* ‘to grow up’. LIV assumes an origin as a causative *h₂olh₁-eie- to the root of Gr. ὀλλωμ. This seems more likely to me. As Praust 2005 and Neri 2007: 31-33 have independently concluded, Latin aboleō and Gr. ἀπόλλυμι may reflect the PIE combination *po + *h₂lhr with replacement of the preverb *po- by *h₂ep(o)-.

Bibl.: WH I: 4, EM 3f., IEW 26f., 777, Untermann 2000: 328, Meiser 2003: 139, LIV *h₂elh₁-. → *dēlēō

**accipiter, -tris** ‘hawk’ [m. (f. Lucr.) r?] (Pl. +)

Plt. *aku-petri- ‘having swift/pointed wings’.

It is generally assumed that accipiter contains *acu- < PIE *h₂ek-er ‘sharp’ and *petro- or *petri- ‘wing’; compare Gr. ὀκύπτερος ‘with swift wings’ < Gr. ὐκυπτερος, ὀκυπετῆς and Skt. ṛṣu-pàtvan- ‘flying swiftly’, all of which are used as epithets to birds of prey. Initial acc- would be due to association with the verb Lat. accipere, whence also Lat. acceptor (Lucil.) ‘falcon’. Alternatively, accipiter could contain *acu- ‘sharp’ and reflect a cp. ‘with pointed wings’.


**aceō** ‘to be acid, sour’ [v. II] (Cato+)

Derivatives: acētum ‘sour wine, vinegar’ (Pl.+), acētābulum ‘vinegar container’ (Cato+); acīdus ‘acid, sour’ (Pl.+); acor [m.] ‘acid’ (Col.+); aciēs [f.] ‘sharp edge’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *akēje/o-.

PIE *h₂ek-eh₁- ‘to be sharp’. IE cognates: see s.v. *acu-*.

The Latin verb has been derived from the PIE nominal root; its derivatives in Latin belong to a productive Latin system of derivation. The meaning and later attestation of acor suggest that it was derived from aceō.

Bibl.: WH I: 6, EM 5f., IEW 18ff. → *ācer, acu-, acus, occa, ocris

**acer, -eris** ‘maple-tree’ [n. r] (Ov.+)

Derivatives: acernus ‘made of maple’ (Verg.+).

Plt. *ak-er-.

IE cognates: OHG ahorn [m.] < PGm. *axurna-, ODan. ær, NHG Acher (dial. ‘maple-tree’ < PGm. *aqira-.

acer
The Latin tree can be connected with PGm. *<axiur-, but further connections are uncertain. In Greek, we find tree-names with a similar form in ἀκαστός ‘maple’ (Hsch.) (from *<akap-<τος?) and Gr. ἀκάρνα ‘laurel-tree’ (Hsch.). This may well be a non-PIE tree name which was borrowed into Greek and Latin.

Bibl.: WH I: 6, EM 6, IEW 18ff.

ácēr, -is, -e ‘sharp’ [adj. i] (Naev.+; ácer [nom.sg.f.] Naev., acri [nom.sg.m.] Enn.)

Derivatives: acrimónia ‘sharpness’ (Naev.+); ācritās ‘force’ (Acc.); ācritūdō ‘harshness’ (Acc.+); acrifolius ‘tree with prickly leaves, holly’ (Cato).


PIE *h₂ek-ro- ‘sharp’. IE cognates: Gr. ἀκρός ‘highest, outermost’, OLith. aštras, Lith. aštris, Latv. ass, OCS ostrb, Ru. ōstryj ‘sharp’ < BSI. *ašro-.

As against the PIE o-stem, the i-stem of Latin may have been caused by analogy with the noun ocris and the adj. medi-ocris. Long a is unexplained, especially since the other derivatives of the root *<h₂ek- in Latin all have short a-. Schrijver 1991: 134 suggests that *ākris was made to the adj. *akro- ‘sharp’ (as in acerbus) on the model of sacer ‘holy’ versus sācris (Pl., Cato) ‘holy’.

Bibl.: WH I: 7, EM 5ff., IEW 18ff., Untermann 2000: 77. → aceō, occa, ocris

acerbus ‘harsh to taste, bitter, sour, briny’ [adj. o/a] (Pl.+


PIE *h₂ok-ri- ‘sharpness’ or *<h₂ek-ro- ‘sharp’. IE cognates: see s.v. acer.

Nussbaum 1999a: 392-400 assumes that Lat. acerbus contains the same PIE suffix which in other adj. yields Lat. -idus; its origin is disputed. While Nussbaum reconstructs -idus as PIE *-id’o-, Balles (2003: 22) proposes to derive the suffix from PIE *X-i- ‘X-ness’ + *-d’h₁-o- ‘putting’. If the i-stem noun had o-grade in PIE (cf. ocris), acerbus must be a secondary creation ofItalic or Latin on the basis of (the short-vowel preform of) ácer. If the i-stem noun had e/o-ablaut in the root in PIE, as Nussbaum assumes, acerbus might directly continue the PIE abstract noun. The following development may then be reconstructed: Plt. *akri-po- > *aṣpōs (syncope) > *akerpos (vocalization) > *akerfōs > Lat. acerbus.

Bibl.: WH I: 8, EM 5ff., IEW 18ff. → ácer, acu-, acus, occa, ocris

acerra ‘casket for incense used in sacrifices’ [f. ā] (Lex XII+)

No related forms have been found in other Italic languages. A loan from Etruscan seems conceivable. No Etruscan vase name that might be the source of Lat. acerra has been found, but there are Etruscan containers ending in the adjective suffix -ra, cf. Etr. capra ‘container’ vel sim., Etr. malehvra ‘amphora’ vel sim.

Bibl.: WH I: 8, EM 6.

acervus ‘heap’ [m.? o] (Pl.+

Uncertain etymology. Rix 1981: 118 posits Pre-Lt. *akesuo-, connecting it with Lat. acus ‘awn, chaff’. While formally conceivable, the required shift in meaning (*akes-
'chaff' > *akes-u- 'heap of chaff' > 'heap') is just a guess.

**aciu** 'thread or yarn' [f. ā] (Titinius+)

It is generally assumed that **aciu** must be derived from **acus** 'needle', but the semantics are not obvious: a thread is not sharp. One may think of a meaning 'which belongs to a needle', of course; but then one would rather expect *aku-jā-.
Bibl.: WH I: 8, EM 5f., IEW 18ff.

**acu-** 'sharp' [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: **acus**, -ūs 'needle, pin' (Pl.+), **acīnūs** 'pointed, sharp' (Pl.+), **acuerē** 'to sharpen' (Ter.+), **acūmen** 'sharp point' (Enn.+); **aculeus** 'sting, thorn' (Cic.+); **acupedīus** 'quick-footed' (Paul. ex F.), **acupēnser** (Lucil.+), * acipēnser* (Hor.+), 'a fish, probably the sturgeon' (Pl.+); **acinus** [m./n.] 'grape or other berry; also the seeds of grapes' (Cato+).

Plt. *aku-.

PIE *h₂ek-u- 'pointed'. IE cognates: Lith. āšutas 'hair of a horse's tail or manes', OCS osťrb thistle' < BSI. *ašuto-.

It is likely that the PIE u-stem adj. was retained in **acu-pedīus** and **acuerē**, while **acus** 'needle' was an independent formation on the nominal root *ak-*. Schrijver 1991 separates **acu-pedīus** from the Latin words in ac- 'sharp', which seems unwarranted since **acu-pedīus** is a hapax, and its meaning may just as well be 'with sharp feet' (i.e. volatile, fast) instead of 'with fast feet'. The form **acupēnser**, with regular u in front of p, is attested with older authors than **acipēnser**. Forms in aqui- (aquipēnser Paul. ex F., aquipedīus gloss.) are thought to be recent (possibly formed on the basis of **aqua** 'water' by folk etymology). Similarly **aquifolium** to older acru/ifolius/m, see ācer. The pointed beak of a sturgeon and/or its elongated form make a derivation from *acu- 'pointed' likely. Oniga 1999 and Guasparri 2000 independently argue that the nom.sg. Mart. **acu-pensis** probably was the original form, which acquired an inflection in -is, -eris, and then generalized -penser, the form found in most authors. The element -pensis can then be regarded as an i-stem to pensum ‘weight’. Guasparri ultimately reconstructs a poss. cp. 'who possesses a weight of needles', based on the 'needle-shaped barbels' of the sturgeon. Lat. **acinus** is generally regarded a loanword from an unknown Mediterranean language; since the seeds of grapes are rather bitter, I see no reason to reject a derivation from the root *ak- 'sharp'.

Bibl.: WH I: 8-11, EM 5-7, IEW 18-22, Oniga 1999. → aceō, ācer, occa

**acus**, -eris 'husks of grain or beans; chaff' [n. r] (Cato+)

Derivatives: **acerōsus** 'having the husks included' (Lucil.+).

Plt. *akos, -es-.

PIE *h₂ek-os [n.] 'sharpness' > 'chaff'. IE cognates: Gr. ἀκοστή 'barley', ὄμφηκις 'cutting on both sides', τανυήκης 'with thin edge'; Go. ahs, OHG ehir 'ear of corn'; ToA āk, ToB āke 'end, tip'.

The Greek compounds have a secondary lengthened grade, but otherwise point to a
PIE s-stem ‘sharpness’, also found in the word for ‘barley’. The Toch. words may continue the same abstract noun.

Bibl.: WH I: 11, EM 7, IEW 18-22, Stüber 2002: 97f. → aceō, acu-

ad ‘to, up to, into’ [prep.] (Andr. +)


PIE *h2ed ‘to’. IE cognates: Olt. ad-, Gaul. ad-, W. add- [pref.], W. â, before vowels ag ‘with’; Phryg. oδ-δακετ ‘he makes’; Go.  at ‘at, near’, Olt. at, OE æt, OS at, OHG az < PGm. *at-.

It is disputed whether atque, ac ‘on the other hand, as; and’ belong here or to at ‘on the other hand’. The latter seems more likely, since one might expect ad to have been restored in original *ad-que.


adeps, -ipls ‘fat, lard’ [m. or f. p] (Cato+)

Derivatives: adipatus ‘containing fat, rich’ (Lucil. +).

The Lat. word is often connected with U. ařepes, ařipes [dat.abl.pl.] < *adepā-. Meiser 1986: 216ff. considers a possible Plt. form *ad-leip-a ‘sticking onto’ > Sab. *ad-řep-a >> ař-řep-a > *ařepa-, which was then borrowed into Latin, where it was interpreted as a consonant stem. Others have regarded adeps as borrowing from Greek ἀλειφα[ρ] ‘unguent, oil’ via Etruscan. Yet Weiss (fthc.b) argues that there are no contextual indications that ařepes is connected with adeps, so that a different etymology must be found.


adminiculum ‘prop, support, pillar’ [n. o] (Cato+)

Derivatives: adminiculāre ‘to support’ (Varro+).

Plt. *mino- ‘structure, support’.

PIE *(H)mī-no-.

EM and Leumann 1977: 313 prefer to derive adminiculum from the root *men- ‘to protrude’ as in minae ‘protruding part’ > ‘threat’ and e-menere. WH and Serbat 1975: 144 explain adminiculum as *(H)mī-no- to moenia ‘defensive walls’ from the root *(H)mī- ‘to build’. In view of the preverb ad-, the latter solution seems more likely.

Bibl.: WH I: 13, EM 9, LIV 1. *mej- → moenia

adoleō ‘to burn (as an offering)’ [v. II; ppp. adultum] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: altāria [n.pl.] ‘altar; offerings’ (Pac+ ‘offerings’, Cic+ ‘altar’); sg. altare (Paul. ex F.), altāri (Petr., Apul.).

Plt. *oleje- ‘to feed (the fire)’, *alto- ‘fed’. It. cognates: U. uřetu [3s.pr.ipv.] ‘?’ < *olē-tōd. The verb takes the objects pir ‘fire’ and [abl.sg.] esuku esunu ‘at this esunu’.

PIE *h2ol-eie- [pr.] ‘to feed’, *h2l-to- [ppp.]. IE cognates: see s.v. alō.

LIV explains the shift from ‘to cause to feed’ to ‘burn’ by the specialized use in
offerings as ‘to feed the fire’. This would match the etymology of *altēre as a derivative from *alto- ‘fed’ (Schrijver 1991: 71): semantically, altāria is primarily connected with ad-oilēre. The suffix *-āli- dissimilated to -āri- due to l in the root.

Bibl.: WH I: 13, 32, EM 9, 24, IEW 24, 26-27, Schrijver 1991: 70f., LIV *h₂el-. → álō

adōr, -oris ‘coarse grain, spelt, barley’ [n. r] (Hor.+)
Derivatives: adōreus ‘pertaining to spelt, consisting of spelt, barley’ (Cato+).
Plt. *adōś, -os-.

PIE *h₂ed-ōs (coll.) ‘grain (dried stuff)’. IE cognates: Hit. hāt-/*hat- ‘to dry up, become parched’ (< *h₂0d-/*h₂d-), Gr. ἀιθόμαι ‘to dry up’, Arm. hat ‘grain’, hačar ‘barley’, Go. atisk ‘grainfield’ < *h₂ed-.

Lat. adōr probably reflects a neuter collective *ad-ōs or *ad-ōr. If it reflects an s-stem, one could connect Go. atisk ‘grainfield’ < PGm. *ates(s)ka-, probably a (s)ko-derivative of PIE *h₂ed-es- ‘grain’. Arm. hat may reflect *h₂ed-(e)s-.

Bibl.: WH I: 14, EM 9, IEW 3, Watkins 1973a, LIV *h₂ed-.

adūlōr, -āri ‘to fawn (upon), court’ [v. I] (Cic.+)
The formation is that of a denominal verb, and scholars have compared Lith. valaï ‘horse’s tail’, Skt. vālā-, vāra- ‘tail-hair’. Yet these seem to continue an anīt root, which would not yield Latin ā. The etymology is uncertain. In de Vaan 2007, I have proposed a connection with aveō ‘to be eager’ and avidus ‘eager’. Starting from an adj. *ad-awĩbo- > syncopated *ad-audo-, the second d might have been dissimilated to l, yielding a stem *adūlo- ‘who is eager towards something’, ‘flatterer’. From this, the verb adūlārī would have been derived.

Bibl.: WH I: 14, EM 9f. → aveō

aedēs, -is ‘dwelling-place; temple’ [f. i] (Lex XII, Andr.+; nom.sg. also aedis)
Derivatives: aedicula ‘small room, small house’ (Pl.+); aedilis (Pl.+ ‘magistrate, aedile’ (Elog.Scip. aedilis), aedilicus ‘of or connected with an aedile’ (Pl.+), aedītās ‘the office of an aedile’ (Pl.+); aedicāre ‘to build’ (Pl.+), aedificium ‘building’ (Pl.+), aedicātor ‘builder’ (Cato+), aedicātiō ‘building’ (Cato+); aedītu/imus ‘who has charge of a temple’ (Pl.+).


PIE *h₂(e)d₃h₃ ‘burning’. IE cognates: Olr. āed ‘fire’; Skt. -idh- ‘igniting’, Gr. αἴθω ‘to burn’, OE ād, OHG eit ‘pyre’.

The noun originally denoted the fireplace, but came to be used for the room with a fireplace, and then also for a small temple consisting of a single room. The plural aedēs denoted the house. Schrijver (1991: 373f.) concludes that neither the ē- nor the i-stem are original, but rather a root noun. This adopted the ē-inflection, and the latter type was in historical times influenced by the i-stem inflection. The early start of this influence in the case of aedis is attributed by Schrijver to the semantic split of nom.sg. *aedēs/aedis, gen.sg. *aedis, nom.pl. *aedēs into two words: aedis, -is ‘temple’ and
aeger (pl.) ‘house’. This split is not so clear from the attestations, however.

Bibl.: WH I: 15, EM 10, IEW 11f., Giacomelli 1963: 243f., LIV *h₂eídʰ-.

aeger ‘ill, sick’ [adj. o/ä] (Pl.+) Derivatives: aegrotus ‘sick, diseased’ (Pl.+), aegrotäre (Pl.+) ‘to be sick’; aegrère ‘to be sick’ (Lucr.), aegrescere ‘to become sick’ (Lucr.); aegrimònia ‘mental distress’ (Pl.); aegritūdō ‘illness, grief’ (Pl.).

Plt. *aigro-[adj. / n.]

PIE *h₂eig-ro-.

Neither -ōtus nor -ōtare are productive types in Latin, so that aegrotus must be regarded as an old form. Within Nussbaum’s theory of possessive de-instrumental formations such as those in Latin -itus, -ītus, and -ētum, aegrotus could be analysed as *aigroh₁-to- ‘with sickness’ to a noun *aigro- that may be present in Lat. aegrum ‘distress, grief’ (Pl.). Although aegrum could just be the n. of aeger, its meaning is slightly removed from corporeal ‘sick’, so that it might be an older noun. Other IE languages show derivatives in *-oH-to- too, e.g. Lith. raguotas ‘horned’ to rāgas ‘horn’, Gr. χολώτος ‘angry’ to χόλος ‘anger’. The connection of ToA ekār, ToB aik(a)re ‘empty’ with aeger is less probable because of the semantics.


aemidus ‘swollen’ [adj. o/ä] (Paul. ex F.)

Plt. *aid(s)mn- [n.]

PIE *h₂eíd-m(n)- ‘swelling’. IE cognates: Gr. oïdēo ‘to swell, become swollen’, oïdānō ‘to (make) swell’, oïdμα ‘the surging (of waves)’, Arm. aytnowm ‘to swell’, OHG eiz ‘Eiterbeule’.

The word is isolated within Latin. The final part probably contains the suffix -idus. Possible preforms include *aidmidos (cf. caementum < *kaid-mentom) and *aidsmidos, which allow for a connection with the root *h₂eíd- ‘to swell’. According to Nussbaum 1999a: 405, the ultimate starting-point could be *h₂eíd-m(n)-, similar to Gr. oïdμα which has o-grade. For Latin, we might reconstruct a derivational basis *h₂eíd-m(n)-i- or *h₂eíd-sm-i-.


eaemulus ‘emulous, rival’ [adj. o/ä] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: aemulus [m.] ‘rival’ (Ter.+), aemula (Pl.+ ‘female rival’, aemulāri ‘to rival, emulate’ (Pl.+

Plt. *aimo-.

PIE *h₂ei-mo- ‘imitation’. IE cognates: Hit. himma- ‘imitation, substitute’ (< *h₂im-no-?).

Diminutive *aimelo- of a noun *aimo- ‘imitation’. Maybe the Latin noun ‘rival’ is original with regard to the adj.

Bibl.: WH I: 17, EM 10f., IEW 10f., Neumann apud Oettinger 1976: 64. → imāgō
aequus ‘level, equal’ [adj. o/a] (Andr.+; SCBac. aiquom, OLat. aecus)
  Derivatives: adaequē [adv.] ‘to the same extent’ (Pl.+); aequor, -oris [n.] ‘level surface, the sea’ (Enn.+); aequāre ‘to make level, make even’ (Varro+), aequālis ‘equal, even’ (Pl.+), aequābilis ‘equal, uniform’ (Cato+), aequābilitās ‘analogy, equability’ (Varro+), aequāmen ‘instrument used for levelling’ (Varro); inīquus / inīcūs ‘unfair, unequal, uneven’ (Pl.+), inīquāre ‘to ruffle (the mind)’ (Lab.).
  Probably *aikwos, but there is no convincing etymology available.
  Bibl.: WH I: 17f., EM 11.

aerumna ‘task; distress’ [f. ā] (Pl.+)
The word is often regarded as a loan from Greek αἰρομένη, but there is no example in Greek of the use of the f. of this participle as a noun meaning ‘burden’. Borrowing from an Etruscan source has been claimed repeatedly, but is impossible to prove.
  Bibl.: WH I: 18f., EM 12, Biville 1990 II: 103f.

aeruscō, -āre ‘to beg’ [v. I] (Gel., Paul. ex F.)
  Plt. *iske/o- ‘to demand’, *aisos(ko)- ‘demand(ing)’. It. cognates: U. eiscurent [3p.fut.II] ‘they will demand/provide/take’ (< *e/- ‘out’ + *h2is-ske-?).
  PIE *h2is-ske/o- [pr.], *h2eis-os- [n.] ‘request’. IE cognates: Skt. iḍǎtī, YAv. isaite ‘to seek’, Arm. hayc’ем ‘to beg’ < *h2eis-ske-, ayc ‘investigation’; Lith. ieškoti, Latv. īeskāt, OCS iskati ‘to look for, seek’ < BSl. *iʔskaʔ-; OHG eiscon ‘investigate, demand’ < PGm. *aisk-.
  Probably denominal from an adj. *aisos-ko-, to PIE *h2eis-os- ‘request’. The U. form eiscurent might directly reflect a PIE verb *h2is-ske-. A similar vacillation between a zero grade pr. *h2is-ske/o- (Iir., Sl.) and a denominal full grade of the root in pr. *h2eis-ske/o- (Arm., Baltic, Gm.) is found in other branches of IE.

aes, aeris ‘copper, bronze, brass; money’ [n.] (Lex XII+, CIL 1.383 aired [abl.sg.])
  Derivatives: a(h)ēnūs / a(h)ēneus ‘made of bronze, brazen’ (Pl.+ -eus, Enn.+ -us).

It is not entirely clear how Latin aes, aeris can be phonetically derived from earlier *ajos or *ajes-, since there are no entirely parallel words; cf. Schrijver 1991: 39. Most likely, nom.acc.sg. *ajos was replaced by *ajes, and the word regularly remained uncontracted in this disyllabic form. Initial ae- may then have been restored in the oblique case forms. As for ahêmus, it has been suggested that the spelling with h to fill the hiatus was adopted from Umbrian, and that the word itself may be a loanword from Umbrian. If it is a Latin word, the absence of contraction may be explained from the restoration of *ajes which also seems to have taken place in the oblique forms of
aes, aeris 'bronze'.
Bibl.: WH 1: 19, EM 12f., IEW 15f., Untermann 2000: 63f., 74. → ahēnūs

aesculus 'kind of oak-tree' [f. o] (Varro+)
IE cognates: perhaps Gr. αἰγίλωψ 'haver-grass, Turkey oak', PGm. *aik- 'oak'.
The form and function of the suffix, if PIE, are unclear. It is possibly a substratum word, maybe Mediterranean, although in that case the presence of a Germanic cognate is surprising.

aestās 'summer' [f. t] (Pl.+) 
Derivatives: aēstus, -ūs 'heat; fervor; swell (of the sea)' (Naev.+); aēstivus 'of summer, summery' (Pl.+), aēstivāre 'to spend the summer' (Varro+). Plt. *aissāt-, *aissū-.
PIE *h₂eīdʰ-teh₂t-, *h₂eīdʰ-tu- 'burning, heat'. IE cognates: see s.v. aēdēs.
Most handbooks assume that aestās and aēstus show the regular development of PIE *-dʰ- in Latin, but this is unlikely: the usual reflex of dental clusters is -ss-. Hill (2003: 246f.) assumes that the Latin nouns in aēst- were derived from a PIE reduplicated thematic present with i-reduplication *h₂e-h₂idʰ-e/o- > Lat. *aītʰ-tu- > *aistu-. But the assumed PIE present, its i-reduplication and the alleged bisyllabicity of the root are all unfounded. It seems more likely that aestās and aēstus go back to regularly developed forms *aissāt- and *aissū-, in which the suffixes -tāt- and -tu- were restored, yielding -st-; cf. Bammesberger 2003 (who assumes *aissatāt- for aestās).
Bibl.: WH 1: 20, EM 13, IEW 11f., LIV *h₂eīdʰ- → aēdēs

aestimō, -āre 'to estimate' [v. l] (Pl.+) OLat. aestumāre) 
Derivatives: existimāre 'to esteem, judge' (Pl.+).
PIE *h₂eis-?
The explanation by Havet from aes 'bronze' and *temos 'cut' is not very credible. It is still followed by Hamp 1990, who posits a nominal form *aiges-tomo- 'who cuts the metal'. If it continues an inherited word, it seems more likely that aestumāre is connected with the root PIE *h₂eis- 'to seek' found in aeruscāre 'to beg'.
Bibl.: WH 1: 20, EM 13, IEW 15f.

O. aeteis [gen.sg.], aļittīum [gen.pl.] 'part (of a possession)'; U. aitu, aitu [3s.ipv.II], altuta [3p.ipv.II] 'to select, separate' (?) < *ai-je/o-?
Plt. *ai-i- 'part', *ai-je- 'to select'.
PIE *h₂ei- 'to give'. IE cognates: Gr. αἴνωμαι 'to take, seize', εξ-αίτος 'selected', αἶω 'share, destiny' < *aītʰ-i-, αἴτος 'guilty, responsible', αἰτέω 'to ask, beg', ToB ai-, ToA e- 'to give [act.], take [med.]'. Unrelated: Hit. pai-/ pi- 'to give, pay', cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 614-616. YAv. aētahmāitiš does not contain a noun aēta- 'punishment' but the pronoun aēta- 'that', cf. Fischer-Ritter 1991.
Bibl.: IEW 10f., Untermann 2000: 55f., LIV 1.*h₂ai-.
aevus / aevum ‘period of time; past; future’ [m. (Pl., Lucr., CIL.); n. (mostly) o] (Pl.+

Derivatives: aetās, -ātis ‘age’ (Pl.+) < aevitās (Lex XII, Var.); aeternus ‘eternal’

(Pl.+) < aeviternus (Pac.+

Plt. *aiwo- [m.] ‘period, age’, *aiwo-tāt- [f.] ‘age’. It. cognates: O. aitateis


< *aiyes-, aiów [m.] ‘lifetime, time, duration’, Gr. οὖ, Arm. oč’, Alb. as ‘not’ < *h₂oiu(-kʷe); Go. aiwam [dat.pl.], aiwins [acc.pl.] ‘times’, Go. aiweins, OHG ēwig ‘eternal’.

Lat. aetās < *aiotās < *aiwotāt-s (with Schrijver 1991: 39); this would mean that aevitās has restored aevi- on the basis of aevus) or aetās < *ajītās < *aiwītās < *aiwotāt-s. The suffix of aeviternus may have been adopted from hesternus and (especially) sempiternus. The Latin noun is a substantivized adj. in *-o-, derived from the u-stem *h₂e/o-i-u- seen in Skt. āyu. Masculine aevus is probably older, its replacement by aevum may have been triggered by n. tempus.

Bibl.: WH I: 21, EM 13f., IEW 17f., Untermann 2000: 70f. → iunen

ager, -grī ‘piece of land, territory’ [m. o] (Pl.+

Derivatives: agrārius ‘of land, agrarian’ (Lucil.+); agrestis ‘of fields, rural, wild’ (Pl.+), agrestis [m.] ‘peasant’ (Acc.+); agricola [m.] ‘farmer’ (Pl.+); peregrī [adv.] ‘away from home, abroad’ (Naev.+, peregrē [adv.] ‘abroad’ (Naev.+), peregrinus ‘foreign, alien’ (Pl.+


PIE *h₂eɡ-ro- ‘uncultivated field, pasture’. IE cognates: Skt. ájra- [m.], Gr. ἀγρός, Myc. a-ko-ro /agros/, Arm. ar, Go. akrs, OHG ackar, ahhar ‘field’.

The suffix of agrestis was dissimilated from *agre-estris. The element -es- in this suffix stems from terrestris (cf. Leumann 1977: 352), where it may continue a PIE or Plt. s-stem (see s.v. terra). Lat. peregro- < *pere-agro- is ‘what is beyond the land or village’. The noun *h₂eɡ-ro- was derived from PIE *h₂eɡ ‘to drive, lead’.

Bibl.: WH I: 22, II: 286, EM 14f., 498, IEW 4-6, Untermann 2000: 60f., LIV 1.*h₂eɡ-. → agō

agna ‘an ear of grain’ [f. ā] (Paul. ex F.: pennatas inennatasque agnas)

If agna represents *akna, Greek ἀχνη ‘foam, froth; chaff’ (< *aksnā-) and Go. ahana ‘chaff’ can be connected: they might go back to a PIE derivative in *-n- of the root *h₂eɡ- ‘sharp’ (cf. aceō and acu-). On the other hand, the Greek is not a perfect formal match, and agna might equally well represent a loanword from a non-IE Mediterranean language.

agnus 'lamb' [m. o] (Cato+)

Derivatives: avillus (Paul. ex F.), agnellus 'young lamb', ambiegmus (Varro; ambasmus Paul. ex F.) 'sacrificial animal which is flanked on both sides by lambs'.

PIt. *ag* "no- [m.] 'lamb', dim. *ag* "nelo-.

PIE *h2eg* "no- 'lamb'. IE cognates: Olr. úan, W. oen, OCo. oin, Bret. oan 'lamb' < *Hog* "no-, Gr. άμβος < *h2eg* "no-, OCS agne [n. nt], ORu. jagnja, SCr. jōgne [n.] 'lamb' < *h2eg* "-ent-; OE čanian 'to yean' < *aun-.

It is uncertain whether U. habina 'sacrificial animal' belongs here, since the exact meaning does not appear clearly from the context. It has been suggested that the preform was *ag* "nīna > *abina with dissimilation of the first n, and then the addition of h- on the analogy of [the unattested U. cognate of Latin] haedus 'goat'. That is rather speculative, of course. The stop in agnus developed from a labiovelar, judging by the diminutive Lat. avillus. Despite WH I: 84, Lat. avillus does not belong to ovis 'sheep': a- and o- are incompatible, and geminate ll would remain unexplained. A PIE labiovelar lost its labial feature before consonants, but the v of Lat. avillus < *ag* "ulo- < *ag* "nelo- demonstrates that the labial feature in *-g* w- must have been present up to the Latin syncope at least. Greek and Latin together point to PIE *h2eg* "no- and *g* w is confirmed by BSI. If *g* w lost its labial feature at a very early stage in Pre-Celtic, Hog" no- would have yielded PCI. *agno- which regularly yields Olr. úan, MW oen. PGM. *awna- seems to require *g* wh, but *aw- may also be due to contamination with *awi- 'sheep'; in that case, Germanic does not disprove *g* w.


agō, -ere 'to drive' [v. III; pf. ēgī, pp. āctum; OLat. pr.sb. adāxint, axim, axii] (Lex XII, Naev.+)

Derivatives: (1) actor 'performer, pleader' (Pl+);actus, -ās 'driving of cattle or carts, motion, activity' (Cato+), actūtum 'immediately' (Naev.+); actīō 'activity, action' (Varro+); (2) agitāre 'to stir, drive, disturb, be occupied, aspire to' (Naev.+), agitātor 'driver, charioteer' (Pl+); agmen (Enn.+)'stream, crowd'; exāmen 'swarm (of bees) (Pl+); needle of scales (Verg+); ammentum / āmentum 'thong or loop attached to a spear' (Caes.+); agilis 'swift, agile' (Sis.+); agolum 'shepherd's staff' (only Paul. ex F.); rēmex 'oarsman, rower' (Pl+); coāgulum 'bond, tie; rennet, curdled milk' (Var+); ambāgēs 'detour, meanderings, circumlocution' (Pl+); indāgō, -inis 'ring of huntsmen' (Verg+); (3) abigere 'to drive away, reject' (Pl+), adigere 'to drive, force into' (Pl+), ambigere 'to dispute' (Ter.+), ambiguus 'undecided, doubtful' (Pl+), cōgere 'to collect, compel' [pf. cōgī, pp. coāctum] (Pl+), cōgitāre 'to think, consider' (Pl+), dēgere 'to spend one's life, live' (Pl+), exigere 'to drive out, remove' (Naev+), exiguum 'small, scanty' (Lucr.+), exīlis 'thin, slender' (Lucil.+), inigere 'to drive in, push' (Varro+), prōdigere 'to waste, squander' (Naev.+), prōdigus 'wasteful, extravagant' (Pl+), prōdigium 'unnatural event, wonder, marvel' (Pl+), prōdigiālis 'of prodigies' (Pl+), redigere 'to send back, restore, bring under control' (Pl+), subigere 'to bring under, subdue, constrain' (Naev+), subigitāre 'to excite sexually by fondling' (Pl+), subigitātrix (Pl+), subigitātīō 'erotic fondling' (Pl+); circumagere 'to drive round, wind' (Cato+),
peragere ‘to perform, finish’ (Enn.+); (4) iūrigare ‘to quarrel’ (Pl. +); litigare ‘to litigate’ (Pl. +); nāvīgare ‘to go by ship’ (Pl. +); pūrigare ‘to clean, purify’ (> purgo) (Pl. +); fasīgare ‘to tire, exhaust’ (Pac.+); castīgare ‘to reprimand, reprove’ (Pl. +); vectīgal (Cato+) ‘revenue, income’; aurreax (Paul. ex F.) / aurīga (Var.+). “charioteer”.


PIE *h2e-g-e/o - ‘to drive, lead’. IE cognates: Olr. aigid*, aig ‘to drive’, OW a, hegit, MW eyt, MCs. OBret. a ‘goes’, Gaul.(-Lat.) ambactus, W. amaeth ‘servant’ < *amb(i)-akto-; Skt. ājati [3s.act.], ējate [3s.med.] (< *h2i-h2g-e-toi) ‘to drive’, YAv. ∂sa- ‘to drive (away)’, Arm. asem, Gr. ἀγω ‘to drive, go’; Olc. aka ‘to ride’; Toch. ἀκ- ‘to lead’.

According to Meiser 1998: 211, the pf. ēgī has been adopted from the original pf. of aiō ‘to say’ (< *h1g-), due to the identity of some pr. forms (*agis, agit) at an earlier stage. However, LIV reconstructs *h2e-g- for the root of aiō, in which case this theory does not work. The alternative is to regard ēgī as analogical after e.g. faciō – fecī. (2) agmen < *ag-men and ex-āmen probably < *ex-ag-(s)men. Ammentum / āmentum is problematic next to agmen; EM explain it from *ap-mentum ‘attachment’. But maybe agmen has restored ag-? Lat. agilis can reflect *ag-li- or *agVli-. Lat. agulum is a hapax in Paul. ex F.; it might be an Old Latin spelling for CLat. *agulum, thus *age-lo-. Long ā in coagulum may be analogical, as in ambāgēs, indāgō, after prōpāgēs, contāgēs. (3) The adj. exigus was derived from exigere, and exilis must (if it belongs here) also have been built directly on exigere (as *exig-(s)li-), since *ex-ag(s)li- might be expected to yield **exēlis. (4) These forms show the root of agō as a second member of compounds. Dunkel 2000a explains the derivatives in -igare, -igium from consonant stems + *h2(e)g-, *h2g-o-: nāuig- to *nav-ag- ‘ship-driver’, pūrigare from *pur-ag-o- ‘leading the fire’; iūrigare from *ieu(o)s-agCh ‘bringing the oath’; maybe litigare < *stfi(i)-ag-. The derivatives in -igare, -ig- are based on i-stems: faīgare < *fati- + *h2g-o- (cf. affatim); faīgare < *brsti-h2g-; castīgare < *khsti-h2g-o; vectīgal < *ueg̩-ti-h2g- ‘(fee for) vehicle-driving, toll’. For the analysis of U. ahtis and ahtim, cf. Weiss 2007a: 369.


aiō, aīs ‘to say’ [v.]; pr.ind. aiō or aiio, ais (āis Pl. 1x), ait, aiunt or aiiunt, ipf. aiēbam or aībam, ptc. aieni; pf. aisti, ait. (Naev. +)

Derivatives: axāre ‘to name’ (Paul. ex F.), axāmenta [pl.] ‘carmina Saliiaria’ (Paul. ex F.).

Plt. *ag-e/o- [pr.], *ag-s- [pr.]

PIE *h1e-g-ie/o- ‘to say’. IE cognates: Gr. aor. ἢ ‘said’ (< *h1e-h1g-t) > ἤμι ‘I say’, pf. ἤθω < ‘I order’, Arm. ar-ac ‘proverb’, asem ‘to say’ (s < *k), ToAB aks- ‘to announce, proclaim, instruct, recite’ < PTo. *āks- < PIE *h1g-s-.
Originally, only a pr. *ajj-; the 3s. ait could also be interpreted as a perfect form, whence aisti. Greek, Armenian and Tocharian point to a root *h2eg- or maybe *h2eg-. If *h2eg-, this is generally assumed to be a different root than PIE *h2eg- ‘to drive’. In Latin, the sequence *HgiV- may have regularly developed into *agTV- according to Schrijver 1991: 485, but the details remain difficult. It seems unlikely that adagium (Gel., Apul.) and adagiō, -nis ‘proverb’ (Varro) were derived from Plt. *ag- ‘to say’: word-internal a and their sporadic, relatively late attestation suggest that they were derived from adigō ‘to drive, force’, sb. ad-āxim. Very uncertain is U. aitu [nom.pl.], meaning unknown. The s-formation axāre is explained by Nussbaum 2007b as Latin sā-present possibly rooted in a PIE s-present, cf. Toch. āks-.


alacer, -cris ‘lively, active’ [adj.i] (Pl.+.; alacris [nom.sg.m.] (Enn.+)

Plt. *ala- ‘to wander’.

PIE *h2(e)Ih2- [pr.] ‘to wander, roam’. IE cognates: see s.v. ambulō. 

The adj. could be derived from the root *h2elH- of ambulāre ‘to walk about’, although the semantics do not compel us to assume that these words are cognate. Formally, the connection would imply a suffix *-kri-, which is rare. Its two other occurrences are in words derived from a verbal stem, viz. volucer ‘flying’ and lūdicre ‘playfully’. Viewed in this light, deriving alacer from (amb)ulāre is not such a strange idea. It may then serve as support for the view that ambulāre represents an athematic stem *ala-. The question remains how the suffix *-kri- came about. The a in the second syllable of alacer has been maintained unreduced due to vowel harmony across a resonant, as in alapa, anas, calamitās; cf. Leumann 1977: 100).

Bibl.: WH I: 25, EM 19, IEW 28. → ambulāre

albus ‘white’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+) 

Derivatives: albēre ‘to be(come) white’ (Sis.+), albēscere ‘to become white’ (Lucr.+), albicāre ‘to have a whitish tinge’ (Varro+), albus ‘white’ (Varro+).


Paul. ex F. mentions that the Sabini used to say alpus for albus. Several toponyms may belong to albus: Alba, a town, Albula, earlier name of the Tiber, O. alafaternum, Pael. alafis. Indo-European forms with a suffix *-d- as in the word for ‘swan’, e.g. OHG albiz, OCS lebedb, probably do not belong here. Also uncertain is the appurtenance of many other IE geographical names such as the river-names Gr. Ἀλφέιός, Lat. Albula, Lat. Albis = NHG Elbe, Otc. elfr ‘river’, and the mountain range of the Alps (Lat. Alpis, -is). Hittite alpa- ‘cloud’ cannot reflect *h2e-, but could continue a PIE noun *h2elb̪-o-, with different root ablaut than the adjective preserved in Latin and Greek (Alexander Lubotsky, p.c).

āleia ‘gamble; the die’ [f. ā] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: āleō ‘gambler’ (Naev.+).
No known etymology. The suggestion that it was borrowed from Gr. ἄλεος ‘distraught, crazed’ (Dor. *āleōς) is better dismissed. Since knuckle-bones (tālī) were used as dice, āleia might speculatively be derived from āla ‘wing; arm-pit’: it would then have referred to other kinds of bones, or wings.
Bibl.: WH I: 28, EM 20, IEW 27f. → axis

algā ‘sea-weed’ [f. ā] (Turp.+)
No known etymology. Since Lat. ulva ‘various grass-like or rush-like aquatic plants’ (Cato+) has a very similar meaning, it is often connected. This is plausible, but the variation in forms (al- vs. *o/ul-, -g- vs. -v-) renders an origin as a foreign loanword likely. Alga is often connected with a number of words in *vl- for ‘putrid, rotten’: Norw. ul ‘mouldy’, dial. also ‘disgusted’, Dutch uilig ‘mouldy’ (of wood). This base appears with many different enlargements in Germanic: verbal *k, *g (Norw. dial. olga ‘to loathe’, elgja ‘to feel like vomiting’), *h, nominal *t, *d, *m (Norw. dial. ulma ‘to get mouldy’, MLG olm, ulm ‘rottenness, esp. of wood’). In Lith., we find ėmēs, ahmens ‘ichor, sanies’. But why would ‘sea-weed’ be called ‘filthy’?
Bibl.: WH I: 28, II: 813, EM 20, IEW 305.

algeō ‘to be cold, freeze’ [v. II; pf. alsī] (Pl.+
Derivatives: algor [m.] ‘cold’ (Pl.+), algus, -ūs ‘id.’ (Pl.+), algidus ‘cold’ (Naev.+).
PIE *h2el'g- ‘(to be) cold’. IE cognates: Mole, elgur ‘frozen snow’?
Uncertain etymology. If these reflect an s-stem *algos- (which is uncertain), and if Latin algor is old and was not secondarily made to algeo, one could reconstruct a PIE s-stem (Schrijver 1991).
Bibl.: WH I: 29, EM 21, IEW 32, Schrijver 1991: 70, LIV ?*h2el'g-h-.

alica ‘emmer groats’ [f. ā] (Cato+)
The form and meaning are almost the same as in Gr. ἀλίκα, -κος ‘groats of rice-wheat’, a word of unknown etymology. Possibly, the Latin word was borrowed from Greek; or both are loanwords from another Mediterranean language.
Bibl.: WH I: 29, EM 21, IEW 28f.

ālium ‘garlic’ [n. o] (Pl.+; allium in inscriptions from the 1st century AD onwards)
No accepted etymology. One may speculate on a derivation from āla ‘wing’, with the image of the garlic bulb being divided into several ‘wings’. For a similar image, compare OHG klobalouh, OS kluflok ‘garlic’ in which *kluhō ‘toe’ is derived from the verb to clove, PGM. *kleoban ‘to cleave’. Lat. ālium is also compared with the Greek gloss ἀλλην ‘vegetables’ ‘among the Italians’, which may stem from another Italic language. If so, it does not bear directly on the etymological analysis of ālium.
Bibl.: WH I: 30, EM 21, IEW 133. → axis
alius ‘other’ [adj. o/ā; nom.acc.sg.n. aliud] (Andr.+; alid for aliud Cat.)

Derivatives: aliēmus ‘belonging to others’ (Lex XII+); aliquis ‘someone’ (Pl.+), aliciubi ‘somewhere’ (Ter.+); alter [o/ā] ‘second, other’ (Naev.+), adulter ‘clandestine lover’ (Pl.+), alternus ‘alternate’ (Pl.+), altercārī ‘to dispute’ (Ter.+).

Pit. *al-jo- ‘another’; *al-tero- ‘the other’. It. cognates: U. arsir [nom.sg.m.] < *aljos, SPic. alies [gen.sg.m. or n.] ‘another’; O. alttram [acc.sg.f.], altrei [loc.sg.n.], altrei [dat.sg.m.], atrud [abl.sg.m.] ‘id.’ < *alt(e)ro-.


The form alid must be an allegro form, or analogical to quid, id. The stem ali- in aliquis and aliciubi may have been truncated from ali-us, or be an allegro form for *alie-guis. The suffix in aliēmus is unclear: dissimilation from *ali-ino-, as Leuman suggests, seems unlikely, since nouns in -ium normally take -imus: compare Samnium > Sabīmus. One would expect a Latin outcome *alīmus or (*alio-no- >) *alienus (cf. pius – pietās). Nussbaum apud Livingston 2004: 53 (and fn. 29-31) suggests that aliēmus might reflect *aliai-no- , a decasative adj. from a loc.sg. *aliai ‘elsewhere’. For Latin alter, many scholars reconstruct *ali-tero-, but, from the PIE point of view, a first member *h2el- makes less sense, whereas *h2elio-tero- would not yield lose its second syllable. It is therefore simpler to assume *h2el-tero- (maybe on the example of *h2en-tero- as reflected in Gm. and Ilr.), as was seen by EM. Lat. adulter is regular from *ad-alteros.

Bibl.: WH I: 30, EM 21f., IEW 24-26, Coleman 1992: 408f. → ille, olle, uls, O. allo

O. allo [nom.sg.f.], allam [acc.sg.f.] ‘whole, entire’ [adj. o/ā].

Pit. *al-no-.

PIE *h2el-no- ‘that, yonder’. IE cognates: Gaul. allos, Ofr. all- [pref.], W all- ‘other, second’ < PCl. allo-; Go. ala-mans [m.pl.] ‘all of humanity’, alakjo [adv.] ‘together’, OHG alawār ‘wholly true’, OS alajuŋ ‘very young’, OE el-tew ‘all sound’ < PGM. *ala-, Go. alls, Ols. allr, OHG OS al, OE eall ‘all, every’ < PGM. *all- < *h2el-no-; ToA ālak, ToB allek, alek [adj.] ‘other’ < PTO. alle-kē < *alno- or *aljo-.

The reconstruction *alno- is rejected by Untermann on the grounds that PIt. *-In- would yield -mn-, but the latter rule has been established by Meiser 1986: 164f. only for U. ampentu < *an-pelnVTōd and endendu < *en-teinVTōd, where -In- occurs outside the initial syllable. It is possible that, in these verb forms, syncope of *V-yielded a cluster *-Int- which was simplified to *-nt-.

Bibl.: IEW 24-26, Untermann 2000: 81. → alius, olle/ollus, uls

alnus ‘alder’ [f. o] (Cic.+)


Pit. *alsno- ‘alder’.

1E cognates: Lith. ėiksni, ėiksni, dial. aliksnis ‘alder’, dial. ėiksna, ėiksna ‘alder thicket, marsh, dale’ < BSI. *a/el(i)snio-; Ru. ol’xá ‘alder’, dial. ėlxá, elxá, Bulg. elxá
'alder, spruce' < BSL. *a/elisaH; OIC. qler, OE alor 'alder' < *aluz- < *al-s-, OHG elira, MoDu. els, Spanish aliso < Go. *alisa < *alis/zö.

The immediate preform must be *alsnos. As argued by Derksen 2008: 370, the vacillation between initial *e- and *a- in BSL, as well as the suffix variation *-s- / *-is- in BSL and Germanic, point to an originally non-IE loanword in BSL, Gm. and Italic.


alē, -ere 'to suckle, nourish' [v. III] (Andr.+; pf. alūi, pps. altum, altum)

Derivatives: adultus 'full-grown, adult' (Pl.); alitis 'fattened, fat' (Pl.); alumnus 'nursling' (Pl.); alimentum (Lucr.) 'food'; alimōnia 'id.' (Varro+); alēscere 'to grow up' (Var.); adolōscere 'id.' (Pl.; pf. adolēvi Pl.), adu/olēscēns 'youthful; youthful person' (Naev.+), adulescentia 'youth, young manhood' (Pl.), adulescentiātrī 'to behave in a youthful manner' (Varro), adulescenturīre 'to want to behave in a youthful manner' (Lab.), adulescentulus 'very young; young man, woman' (Naev.+); exolēscere 'to grow up' (Pl.), 'fade away' (Liv.+), exolētus 'adult, old, faded' (Pl.+); alimus [adj.] 'providing nurture, fostering' (Pl.).

Plt. *aleo- 'to feed', *alto- 'fed, raised', *alē- 'to be raised', *almo- 'fostering'.

PIE *h2el-o-/-, *h2j/to-,. IE cognates: Olr. no-rail, pret. alt 'to feed, raise', MW alu, MBret. halaff 'to calve', Olr. comaltae 'comrade', MW cyfeillt 'serf', W. cyfailll 'friend' (< *komal-tjoc), Gr. ἀναλτός 'insatiable', ἀλαίνω 'to make grow, strengthen' (< *h2el-Ω), νεοάλης 'fresh, powerful, rested' (< *νεο-αλ-ής 'newly fed'), Go. OE alan (pret. òl) 'to grow up', OIC. ala, OE alan 'to raise', Go. alands 'growing up', alīps 'fattened' (to a verb *aljan).

The pps. altus, ad-altus reflects *al-to- < PIE *h2l-to-,. whereas alitus is a more recent formation of CLat. The noun alumnus reflect the pr.pte.med. *h2el-o-mhno- 'feeding, being fed'. Adolōscere betrays an earlier stative *alēre 'to be growing up'. Lat. -ol- (instead of -e-) in front of -e- therefore reflects not only *-ol- (cf. aboleō), but also *-al-; probably, this reflex was conditioned by -e-. The adj. alimus can reflect *h2(e)l-mo-.


altus 'high' [adj. o/aß] (Andr. ; 'old' in Acc.)

Derivatives: altitudō 'height, depth' (Cato+).

Plt. *alto- 'high'.

PIE *h2el-to-? IE cognates: Olr. alt 'height, bank, coast', W. allt 'hillside', OCo. als, Bret. aot, aod 'coast'; OS ald, OHG alt 'old', Go. als [f.] 'age, period', OE iald, OIC. old; Go. alpeis 'old'; OIC. aldr [m.] 'age, lifetime', OE ealdor 'life' < *alto-.

The form is identical to the participle of ald 'to feed', but the meanings are difficult to connect. EM and IEW simply assume identity, but the connection is termed 'unlikely' by Schrijver 1991: 66, 71. The Gm. word for 'old' might belong here if it results from a semantic development 'high' > 'of high stature, grown tall' > 'old'.

alümen, -inis ‘alum’ [n. n] (Quad.+
Derivatives: alüta ‘a piece of soft leather’ (Caes.); alüm/s ‘symphytum officinale = comfrey’ (Plin.).

Plt. *alu- ‘bitter substance’.

IE cognates: Gr. ἀλοῦδ(o)μον ‘sharp, bitter (in Sophron)’ (Hsch.); Lith. alius ‘beer’, RuCS ORu. ols ‘fermented liquor, strong drink’ < BSl. *alu-; OIc. ol [n.] ‘beer, drink feast’, OE ealu(d) [n.], MDu. aal ‘beer’, OS alo-fat, MHG al-schaf ‘drinking bowl’ < PGm. *alu(h)- ‘beer’.

The word alum refers to the plant symphytum officinale, the medicinal effects (especially the healing of wounds) of which were known to Pliny. These effects are somewhat similar to the properties of the material alum; in fact, alum was being used in antiquity among other uses as an adstringent medicine (Der neue Pauly, s.v. Alaun). The initial vowel of alum is often written long in the secondary literature because it is connected with alium ‘garlic’, but we simply do not know the quantity of the initial a-. In view of the shared properties of alum and comfrey, it seems more likely that they contain the same root *alu-, and are not connected with ahum. Alumen may have been formed to *alu- like bitümen to *bitu-, and alüta (sc. mäteria) as ‘which has been treated with alum’. In theory, Latin *alu- may be cognate with Greek ἀλοῦδ(o)μον for ‘bitter’, since alum is a salty matter. Then, the Germanic-BSl. word for ‘beer’ might also be connected. It seems less likely that ‘bitter’ can be derived from PIE *h2el- ‘to feed’; hence, it might have belonged to a European substratum language.


alvus ‘belly; bee-hive (Varro+), hull (of a ship) (Tac.)’ [f. (m.) o] (Pl.+: m. gender is older, occurring from Plautis to Laberius)

Derivatives: alveus ‘cavity’ (Pl.+)

Plt. *aulos.


The connection of alvus with Gr. and BSI requires a metathesis of *aulos to *alwos. There is no other example in Latin with l, but there are two with r: nervus < *neuros and parvus < *pauros.


U. am-, an-, an-, O. avo- ‘up, onto’ [prep.]: in U. am-paritu, am-pentu, an-seriato, an-stintu, an-stiplatu, an-tentu, O. avo:faxet.

Plt. *ana ‘up’.

PIE *h2yen-(e)h2 ‘up’. IE cognates: OIr. an- ‘from’, as in annall [adv.] ‘thence’, anis ‘from below’, aniar ‘from the west’ < PCI. *an(V)-; Gr. ἀνά [adv., prep.] ‘up along’; Go. ana [prep.], Olc. á, OHG an(a) , OE on ‘on’ < PGm. *ana.

Unrelated are: Lat. anheläre (from *anēlos ‘breath’), antestārī (if from *anti-testārī),
anquiērere (from *ambi-quaeerere).

amārus 'bitter' [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+
Derivatives: amāritūdō 'bitterness' (Varro+), amāror [m.] 'bitter taste' (Lucr.).
Plt. *o/ām-?
PIE *h₂h₃m-ro-? IE cognates: Skt. amlā- 'sour, acid', OIc. apr 'sharp, cold', OE ampre 'sour one', MDu. amper 'bitter, sour'< PGM. *am(p)ra- 'sour'; ? OIr. om 'raw', W. of possibly <*h₂h₃-em-, Skt. ámā- [adj.] 'raw, uncooked', Gr. ὀμός 'raw', Arm. hōwm <*h₂eh₃m-o-.
The suffix -arus is only attested as a primary derivative in avārūs 'greedy' to aveo, but there is no verb to which amārus might belong. Kortlandt 1980a connects it with Greek and Armenian words for 'raw' and reconstructs *HHm-, but Schrijver 1991: 77 argues that the semantics are not compelling. The connection with Skt. and Gm. 'sour' is semantically more convincing; these might go back to PIE *h₂em-ro-. In that case, Latin must have replaced the suffix *-ro- by *-āro-. Thus, some details remain unclear. It is also possible to reconstruct earlier *om- 'raw' for Italo-Celtic, and posit unrounding of *#omV- > amV- as per Rasmussen 1993: 181.

ambi-, amb-, am-, an- 'round, about' [pref.] (VOLat.+
Normally amb- in front of vowels (ambāctus, ambiguus, ambīō, ambustus), and am-, an- in front of consonants (ambāriam, amplector, amputō, ancīsus, ancilla, anquīrō). The stop was lost in amicīre (Naev.+)'to cover, clothe' < *amb-jaciō.
Derivatives: ambi- only in glosses and grammarians: ambiaxiō-que (Paul. ex F.), ambiegmts (Van, but Paul. ex F. ambegnus), ambecisus 'an incision on both sides' (Var.). Other cp. in ambi- are not old: ambidēns 'with teeth on both jaws' was formed to bidēns, ambifāriam 'in a contradictory way' to bifāriam.
Plt. *ambi. It. cognates: U. am-, O. am-, am- 'around'.
PIE *h₂mbʰi 'to, around'. IE cognates: Gaul. ambi-, OIr. imb- [pref.] 'around'; Skt. abhi 'to, towards, against, upon', abhi 'surrounded by, directed to, very', OAv. aibi, YAv. aifī, auui, OP abiy [adv., prev.] 'towards, against, upon', Gr. ἄμφι [adv., prep.] 'on both sides, around', OHG umbi, OIc. umb, OE ymb, ymbe 'around'.
EM mentions alleged traces of the independent use of am as a preposition (in glosses am fines, am segetes, in Paul. ex F. am praeposito loquearis significat circum), but these do not seems very reliable: they may be based on a contemporary analysis of the compounds. The PIE preverb might have developed from *h₂nt-bʰi, ins.pl. of the noun *h₂ent- 'front' (→ ante).

ambō, -ae, -ō 'both' [adj. o/ā] (Naev.+
Plt. *ambō [du.].
PIE *h₂(e)nt-bʰoH 'both'. IE cognates: Skt. ubhā, ubhāu [du.m.], ubhé [du.f.] 'both',
ubhāya- [adj.] ‘on both sides, in both ways’, OAv. uba-, YAv. uua- ‘both’ < *(h₂u)-bʰdh-; Gr. ṣουφω ; Lith. abu, OCS oba, obē; Go. bai [m.], ba [n.] ‘both’, bajops, OS bē thie, OE bā pā, OHG beide, bēde, OIC. bādir, gen. begga; ToA ānpī, ToB āntpi, antapi ‘both’.

The ending -ō reflects the PIE ending of the dual. Greek, Latin and Tocharian show an initial syllable in *aN(t)-. Toch. -t- suggests that the word may have started life as a b²-case form of the word *h₂ent- ‘face’, cf. Jasanoff 1976.

Bibl.: WH I: 37, EM 27, IEW 34f., Schrijver 1991: 60, Coleman 1992: 392f. → ante, duo

ambricēs ‘roof-beams’ (Paul. ex F.: regulae quae transversae asseribus et tegulis interponuntur)

According to EM, ambricēs might be a dialectal variant of imbrex, -icēs ‘special tile, placed over the joints between roof tiles’; ‘a curved plate’ (Cato). The different initial vowels are reminiscent of the relationship between O. anafriss and Latin imber.

Bibl.: WH I: 37, EM 27. → imber

ambulō, -āre ‘to walk’ [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: ambulācrum ‘promenade’ (Pl.+), ambulator [m.], -trīx [f.] ‘who walks about’ (Cato+), ambulātō ‘promenade, walk’ (Varro+); dēambulāre ‘to go for a walk’ (Cato+), dēambulātīō ‘a walk’ (Ter.), inambulāre ‘to pace up and down’ (Pl.+), obambulāre ‘to walk up to’ (Pl.+), perambulāre ‘to roam about’ (Pl.), redambulāre ‘to walk back’ (Pl.).


PIE *h₂elh₂- > *ala-. Since presents in -ere are often replaced by the ā-conjugation in a compound (e.g. in sternere : consternāre), the sg. *alati may lie at the basis of ambulāre; similarly Schrijver 1991. An additional argument for *ala- can be found in alacer, see s.v.


amma ‘mother’ [f. ā]. The word is only found in one Isidorus gloss, but has served as the basis for PN (Amma, Ammium, Ammia, Ammiānus) and survives in Romance.

Derivatives: amita ‘paternal aunt, father’s sister’ (Cic.+).

Plt. *amma-. It. cognates: O. ammaī ‘mother’ [dat.sg.]

PIE *h₂em(m)-h₂. IE cognates: Gr. ἀμμά ‘mama, mother, nurse’ (EM), ἀμμία (Hdt.), Alb. amē ‘mother’, OIC. ama ‘grandmother’, OHG amma ‘mother, nurse’.

The quantity of the word-internal nasal or stop in the nursery words for ‘father’ and ‘mother’ vacillates in IE languages. Amita can probably be regarded as a diminutive to amma, although the suffix -itus/a is not usually used for this purpose. Hamp


amnis ‘river’ [f. i] (Naev.+

Plt. *afni- ‘river’.


Anatolian shows both o- and n-stem derivatives with the meaning ‘river’. The n-stem is shown by Celtic, with different ablaut grades of the suffix. Latin also continues an n-stem, with an added *-i-.

Bibl.: WH I: 40, EM 28f., IEW 1; 51f.

amōs, -āre ‘to love’ [v. I] (Naev.+

Derivatives: amāscere ‘to begin to love’ (Naev.), amāsīus ‘lover’ (Pl.+); amīcus ‘friend’ (Naev.), ‘friendly’ [o/ā] (Pl.+), amīca ‘female friend’ (Naev.+), inimīcus [adj. / m.] ‘unfriendly; an enemy’ (Pl.+), inimīcītia ‘enmity, ill will’ (Pl.+); amor ‘sexual passion, love’ (Naev.+).

Plt. *ama- ‘to take, hold’. It. cognates: Marr. amatens ‘they have received’.

PIE *h₁mh₁- ‘to take hold of’. IE cognates: Olr. nāmæ ‘enemy’ (< *n-h₁m₃h₁(e)n-t-); Skt. pr. amīṣi, amānti ‘to take hold of; swear’, áma- [m.], OAv. ēma-, YAv. ama-[m.] ‘attacking power’; Gr. ὀμνύμι ‘to swear’ [aor. ὀμόσαι, fut. ὀμόΰμαι], ὀνόματος ‘not under oath’.

The Latin meaning has developed from ‘to take the hand of’ > ‘regard as a friend’.

Plt. *ama- could reflect PIE *h₁mh₁- in front of a vowel, cf. Schrijver 1991: 318. Schrijver 1991: 398ff. argues that the stative meaning of amāre and the presence of a derivative amor point to a stative verb *ama-ē-. Its formation must then post-date Plt., since Marr. amatens is not likely to have a stative suffix *-ē-, and has the transitive meaning ‘receive’ of the IE cognates. The form amāsīus, because of its s, seems to be dialectal; maybe it is the same suffix as CLat. -ārius. The adjectival function of amīcus is original; the suffix -icus might be decasual from an ins. in *-ih₁ plus *-ko- (parallel cases in Latin are pudicus ‘chaste’ and mendicus ‘needy’). The PIE root is reconstructed with initial *h₂ in LIV, but Gr. points to *h₃-.

Bibl.: WH I: 40, EM 29, IEW 778, Rix 1999: 523-24, LIV *h₂emh₂- → amplus

amoenus ‘beautiful, charming’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+

The presence of oe in the second syllable of a Latin word is rare: the only other case is oboedio, which seems to be a compound of *ob-audiō. Original *oi would almost certainly have yielded ū in this position, cf. commūnis. The oe could result from a recent contraction. One of the consonants that may have dropped is *w and Meiser 1998: 71 hence reconstructs *ama-wen-o- > *amuweno- > *amueno- > amoenus. The
original form would have been *h₂emh₃-yen-o-, thematic adj. derived from a noun *h₂emh₃-ur/n- ‘the grabbing’. But there is no proof for the existence of the latter, one would rather expect a derivative *h₂emh₃-urq-o-, and it seems unlikely that *amueno- would yield amoenus (rather than *amunus). Hence, amoenus remains unexplained. It is conceivable that it is a loanword, given the similarity with Gr. antonyms such as σμοῦς, μοῆς ‘terrible’, ἰμοῦς ‘bad’ (among the Sicilians).

Bibl.: WH I: 41, EM 29, IEW 36.

amplus ‘large, big’ [adj. olā] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: ampla ‘opportunity, handle’ (Cic.); ames, -itis ‘pole for supporting bird-nets; cross-bar’ (Hor.+)?

PIt. *am-lo- ‘seizable’.

PIE *h₂emh₃- [pr.] ‘to grab’.

The derivation from the root *am- ‘to grab’ presupposes a change *-ml- > *-mpl- which we also find in exemplum to emere. However, *amalos would not normally be syncopated to *amlos early enough to undergo the same change: compare famulus, similis, Siculus, and others. Maybe the root PIt. *ama- was analysed as *am-a- at a certain point; cf. amicus. The meaning of ampla must represent some idiomatic use of amplus. Whether ames belongs here too, is uncertain.

Bibl.: WH I: 41,42, EM 30, IEW 35, LIV *h₂emh₃-. → amō

amprüō, -āre ‘to execute a figure or movement’ [v. I] (Pac., Lucil.)

Derivatives: redamprüāre (also -ant-) ‘to dance in response to the steps of a leader’ (Pac.+).

PIt. *ambi-drewo- ‘running around, servant’.

PIE *h₂emh₃-i-drewo-o-. IE cognates: Skt. pr. drāvati, aor. ādudrot [3s.act.], caus. drāvāyati ‘to run, hurry’, dravā- [adj.] ‘running’.

If from *ambi-truāre, word-internal -tr- can be explained as the result of devoicing in the cluster *-dr-, compare taeter and uter, -ris. A PIt. preform *ambi-drew-a- ‘to run around’ could be a denominative of *ambi-drew-os ‘running around’, ‘servant’, comparable in form and meaning with anculus.


amussis ‘mason’s ruler’ [f. (dub.) i] (Varro+)

Derivatives: examussim [adv.] ‘exactly, regularly’ (Pl.+), ad( )amussim ‘with precision, exactly’ (Var.+).

Leumann 1977: 204 rejects an explanation of ad amussim as borrowed from Gr. ἀνασύκτις ‘tearing, rending’. Biville (1990 I: 302) supports an etymology *ad-mod-ti- to *med- ‘to measure’; yet a PIE formation *mod-ti-, with o-grade, is questionable.


an ‘really? maybe? or; whether, if’ [ptcle.] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: amne < an + ne (in double questions, before a vowel, after a first an).
PIE *h₂en ‘there, on the other side’? IE cognates: OPr. anga-anga ‘whether’, Lith. angu ‘or’, Go. an ‘so? now?’. May be compared with Go. an ‘so? now?’. Less certain is the appurtenance of Gr. ἀν: Lee 1967 is in favour of this assumption, whereas Forbes 1958 rejects it. Possibly from the same root as the demonstrative Skt. anā, OAv. anā ‘through this’, Lith. anas, OCS om> ‘that, he’ < PIE *h₂en-o-.


anas, -atis ‘duck’ [f. i] (Pl. +; nom. pl. anites Pl., gen. pl. anitum Cic.)

Derivatives: anatīmus ‘of a duck’ (Pl. +).

PIE *anatī-.

PIE *h₂ennh₂-ti- ‘duck’. IE cognates: Skt. ātī- [f.] ‘duck’, Gr. (Ion.) νῆσσα, (Att.) νῆτα [f.] < PGr *nāτa, OPr. antis, Lith. āntis [f.], CS őťy, Ru. útka, SCr. útnua ‘duck’ < BSL. *anʔ-t-. The forms in anit- show regular weakening of the unstressed vowel; anat- may preserve the original medial vowel, or it has assimilated the unstressed vowel after initial aR- (as in alacer, calamitās and others).


anculus ‘man-servant’ [m.; f. o/a] (Paul. ex F.)

Derivatives: ancilla ‘maidservant’ (Andr.+); anc(ul)lāre ‘to serve (the gods)’ (Andr.+), anclābris ‘for serving (the gods)’ (Naev., Paul. ex F.).

PIE *ambi-kwōlo-.

PIE *h₂mbh₂-ti- ‘going towards/around’. IE cognates: OIr. buachail [m.] ‘cowherd’; Skt. abhicārā- ‘witchcraft’ (AV+), abhicara- ‘servant, companion’ (cf. pari-carā- ‘servant’), OP abhīcaris [acc.pl.] ‘place inhabited/tilled by servants/slaves’ (presumably derived from *abicara- ‘servant’); Myc. a-pi-quo-ro, Gr. ἄμφιπολος ‘moving around someone; (female) servant’, βοῦκόλος [m.] ‘cowherd’.

The word anculus apparently got restricted to liturgical use, and is hence preserved only by glossators. It was replaced in daily speech by famulus and servus. The word was reanalysed as a diminutive anc-ulus, to which a new dim. *ank-elela > ancilla was formed, which is the normal female counterpart of servus in Latin.


ancus ‘with crooked arms’ [adj. o/a] (Paul. ex F.)

Derivatives: PN Ancus (fourth king of Rome) (Enn.+).

PIE *h₂enk-o- ‘bended’.


Bibl.: WH I: 46, EM 32, IEW 45f., Schrijver 1991: 43, LIV *h₂enk-.- → uncus
angō, -ere 'to strangle, choke' [v. III; pf. anxĭ, ppp. anctum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: angustus 'narrow' (Pl.+); angor 'suffocation; anxiety' (Cic.+); anxius 'worried' (Cic.+); angiportum / angiportus, -ūs 'a narrow passage' [m.] (both Pl.+).

Plt. *ange/oe- [v.], *angos-
[adj.], *angu-
[adj.].

PIE *h2emgʰ-e/o- 'to tie, tighten'; *h2emgʰ-os 'narrowness, anxiety', *h2emgʰ-os-to-'characterized by narrowness', *h2emgʰ-u- 'narrow'. IE cognates: Hit. hamank- / home/ink- 'to tie, betroth' < *h₂m-ón-ghʰ / *h₂m-n-ghʰ-; Skt. amhū-, Av. aṣū- 'narrow', Gr. ἐγχω 'to squeeze, strangle', Arm. anjówk 'narrow', OCS uvešti, 1s. uvežo 'to tie' (< *h₂eu-h₂mghʰ-), RuCS οζίτι 'to constrain, torture', Ru. úžit' 'make narrow, straiten' (< *h₂emgʰ-), OHG angust, OFr. ongost 'fear'.

The attestation of angor is relatively late, but since an s-stem must have formed the basis for angustus (with outer-Italic cognates in Gm. and Slav.), it seems that we can still reconstruct an s-stem for Proto-Italic. The formation of anxius is unclear: was it based on the PIE s-stem? Angiportō/u- is a compound of *angu- 'narrow' and portus 'passage' (here inflected as an o-stem, Wachter 2004: 375).


anguis 'snake' [m., f. i] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: anguí̄mus 'of a snake' (Cato+), anguilla 'eel' (Varro, Sen.+), anguila (Pl.).

Plt. *angʰ-ĭ- 'snake'.

PIE *h₂(e)ngʰ-wĭ- 'snake'. IE cognates: Mr. escung 'eel' (lit. 'water-snake'), OPr. angis, Lith. āngis, acc.sg. āngi 'snake' < *h₂e/ongʰ-, Ru. už', gen.sg. užá, Po. wąž 'id.' (< PSl. *ožů < *h₂e/ong⁵-wĭ-jo-), OHG unc 'id.' < *h₂ng⁵-wĭ-.

Anguis can be derived from PIE *h₂(e)ngʰ-wĭ- 'snake'. Several IE languages reflect a similar preform *h₂e/ogʰ-wĭ- without an internal nasal: Gr. ἐχῖς 'snake', Arm. iž, Gr. ὠζ 'snake', Skt. āhi-, Av. aži- 'snake, dragon'. Maybe *n was introduced into this stem by analogy with verbs for 'to twist, wind'. From anguí̄mus, anguilla can be derived as *anguin-lā. Katz 1998b: 322ff. analyzes anguilla as anguis 'snake' + Lat. illa 'worm' (gloss CGL II 77.10). He reconstructs illa as *ēlyā- 'eel', based on an imaginative comparison with Gr. ἑλκελαύ� 'eel' and Hit. Illuyankaš 'mythical dragon' which is rightly rejected by Driessen 2005: 42f. Driessen suggests that the Plautine variant anguíla is older, and contains *-illa 'worm' from *īlelā > *illā- ('little) snaky creature'. Yet in this analysis, the origin of hypothetical *īlā- 'snake' remains unexplained too.


angulus 'angle, corner' [m. o] (Pl.+)

Plt. *ang(e)lo-.

PIE *h₂eng-(e)lo- 'corner'. IE cognates: Arm. ankiwn, OCS ोग्लेव, Ru. úgol, gen. uglá 'corner' < PSl. *ōglů, Olc. ekkja, OHG anchal 'ankle'.

The root is suspiciously close in form and meaning to the root *h₂nk- of ancus, yet there is no regular way to derive one from the other. If their similarity goes back to a
PIE voicing assimilation of the stop to the nasal, it must have occurred very early.


**an nihilus** ‘gasing, panting’ [m. o] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: *anheläre* ‘to breathe hard, pant’ (Caecil.+).

PIt. *anuish- ‘breath’.


All modern etymologies assume that there was no Latin preverb *an- which could be represented in this formation. The *h could be regarded as onomatopoeic, or it was analogically introduced from háläre. Schrijver 1991: 44f. assumes that the basic form was *an[h]ēlus < *aneslo < *anaslo~; this form did not undergo syncope because the second syllable was closed by two consonants. The form and semantics of anheläre show that it is a more recent denominative derived from anhélus.

Bibl.: WH I: 49, EM 34, IEW 38ff., Schrijver 1991: 44, LIV *h₂en₄₁- → *animus, hálō

**animus** ‘mind, spirit’ [m. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *anima* ‘breath’ (Naev.); *animal, -ālis ‘animal’ (Varro+), animālis [adj.] ‘living, animate’ (Pac.+), animulus ‘heart, soul’ (Pl.), examinis [adj.] ‘dead’ (Lucr.+), examināre ‘to prostrate, kill’ (Pl.+), examinābilis ‘as one who is dead’ (Naev.), examinālis ‘dead, deadly’ (Pl.).


In Oscan, syncope yielded *anmo- and subsequent anaptyxis led to *anamo-.


**annus** ‘year’ [m. o] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *annus* ‘yearly’ (Pl.+), annālis ‘annual’ (Varro+), anniculus [adj.] ‘one year old, yearling’ (Cato+), annōna ‘produce, supply, food, corn’ (Pl.+), annōsus ‘full of years, aged’ (Lab.+), perennis ‘that continues the year through, constant’ (Pl.+); biennium ‘period of two years’ (Pl.+).

PIE *h₂et-no-: *h₂et-nio- ‘which goes, a year’. IE cognates: Skt. pr. sám atasi [2s.act.], átámāna- [ptc.med.] ‘to travel, wander’, átya- [m.] ‘steed, runner’, Av. x'āṭra- [n.] ‘well-being’, YAv. apairitāṝṇa- ‘unavoidable’; Go. *aḥn [m.] ‘year’ (only dat.pl. aḥnam) , Go. *aṭ-atni [n.?] ‘year’.

Derived from a PIE root for ‘to go, wander’, hence ‘going around’ > ‘year’. Lat. anniculus has been explained as a derivative of *ännicus, but Leumann regards it as a back-formation to *bienniculus ‘only two years old’.


änsa ‘handle (of a cup or other vessel), loop, clamp’ [f. ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: änsātus ‘with a handle, grip’ (Pl.+).

Pt. *ansā- ‘handle’.

PIE *h₂ens-h₂- ‘handle, grip’. IE cognates: Lith. qšá, Latv. ūosa ‘handle of a pot’ < *ansā; with different suffix Mr. ēisi pl. (f.? ) ‘part of the harness of a chariot-horse, reins’, Gr. ἡνία [n.pl.] ‘reins’, Myc. a-ni-ja lanhiai, dat. pl. a-ni-ja-pi [f.]; OPr. ansis ‘kettle-hook’, Latv. iossa ‘handle’ < *h₂ens-i-, OIc. ǣs ‘hole for shoe-strings’ < *h₂ens-ieh₂-.

The meaning and form of the other IE words for ‘handle, rein’ adduced here suggests that änsa goes back to a PIE preform. Connected with the root *am- ‘to grab’ by Leumann 1977: 212, but since the latter is now reconstructed as *h₂emh₂-, the connection is no longer possible.


änser ‘goose’ [m. (f.) r] (Pl.+

Pt. *yans-.

PIE *gʰh₂ens [nom.], *gʰh₂ns-os [gen.] ‘goose’. IE cognates: OIr. gēiss ‘swan’, Skt. hamsá- [m.], Gr. χῆτα, -ός [m. f.], Dor. Boeot. χάβ, OPr. sansy, Lith. žasis [f.], acc. žāsi, Ru. gus’, Po. gēs’ (< PSI. *gosta), OHG gans, OE gōs ‘goose’.

Initial *h- has been dropped. The length of ā is automatic in front of ns. Leumann 1977: 380 reconstructs *hāns, *hānesem, *hāns-os > acc.sg. *hānerem, which was replaced by *hānerem on the analogy with the gen.sg. *hāns-. From the acc.sg., -er- would have been introduced into the other case forms.


antae ‘square pilasters’ [f. (mostly pl.) ā] (Vitr., CIL)

Pt. *an(ā)tā- ‘post, pillar’.


Latin ant- may reflect either *h₂n(H)t- or *h₂en(H)t-. Trisyllabic *anatā- with subsequent syncope is also conceivable.
ante ‘before; in front of’ [prep.; adv.] (Lex XII+); ante takes the acc., but earlier probably the abl.: antea, antidhac. In compounds antid-, probably on the analogy of postid ‘afterwards’: antideä = antea, antideo ‘to surpass’.

Derivatives: anticus = antiquus ‘lying in front; ancient, early; old’ (Pl+); antēs, -ium ‘files, rows’ (Cato+); antiae [f.pl.] ‘locks of hair that hang in front’ (Apul., Paul. ex P.

Plt. *anti ‘before, in front of’. It. cognates: O. ant ‘up to’.

PIE *h2ent-i, loc.sg. of root noun *h2ent- ‘front’. IE cognates: Hit. hant- ‘front side, face’ < *h2ent-, hanza [adv.] ‘in front’ < *h2ent-i, Skt. anti [adv.] ‘before, near, facing’, Gr. àvri ‘opposed, facing’, Gr. ἀντα ‘over against, face to face’, Arm. and ‘for, instead of’, Go. and(a)- ‘toward, along’.

In word-final position, *-i became -e, but original -i is still visible in antiae, in the inflexion of antēs, and in antiquus. Both antiae and antēs must be regarded as recent nominalizations of *anti; antiae presupposes an adj. *antios. Antiquus reflects PIE *h2enti-h2v-o- ‘facing the front’, cf. Skt. nyânc- ‘facing downward’, adv. nîcā ‘down’, and others. In the nom.sg., the labiovelar was regularly delabialized, leading to anticus and a subsequent paradigm split. In the comp. and sup., antiquus (also) has the meaning ‘better, preferable’ (Lucil.+). According to Szemerényi 1992: 315, this is a calque on the use of Greek πρέσβυς which in the comp. also means ‘more or most important’. Theoretically, the Italic forms can go back to *h2nti; the full grade is reconstructed on the basis of Skt. and Go. (but Go. also has und).

Bibl.: WH I: 53, EM 36f., IEW 48ff. → ambi-, ambō

anus, -ūs ‘old woman’ [f. u] (Pl+)

Derivatives: *anās, -tis ‘senility in women’ (anatem in Paul: ex F.) < *anitātem (thus Leumann 1977:374), anicula ‘old woman’ (Ter.).

Plt. *anu- ‘old woman’.


The origin of the u-stem inflection of anus is unclear: maybe analogy to murus ‘daughter-in-law; young woman’? PIE *h2en- may be a nursery word. For the affectionate nature, compare the geminate of Gr. ὀξυς ‘grandmother’ (Hsch.). Hence, word-internal *-nH-, which is here reconstructed to accomodate Hit. -nn-, is not certain: the geminate may be due to the affective character of the word.

Bibl.: WH I: 55, EM 37, IEW 36f., Schrijver 1991: 45. → mamma, nonnus

ānus ‘ring or link’ (Pl., Var.), ‘anus’ (Cic.+ [m. o]) (Pl+)

Derivatives: ānulus ‘ring (for the finger)’ (Naev.), ānellus ‘little ring’ (Pl+).

Plt. *āno- ‘ring’.

PIE *h1elH-o- ‘ring’. IE cognates: Olr. áinne ‘ring’, Arm. anowr ‘necklace, ring’.

aper, āpři 'wild boar; kind of fish' [m. o] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: āpṛīnus 'of a wild boar' (Lucil. +), aprugnus 'of the wild boar' (Pl. +); PN Āpṛō [cogn.] (inscr.), Āprōnus [gent.] (Livy, inscr.).


PIE *h₂pr-o- (for Latin), *h₁ep-r- (for Germanic). IE cognates: Latv. vepris [m. o] 'castrated boar', OCS vepr', Ru. vepr 'boar' < BSl. *ueprio-; Thracian ēbpoç 'buck'; OHG ebur < PGM. *eburo- 'boar'.

The Italic form *āprōn- is explained as an n-derivative to *apро- by Untermann 2000: 45. Nussbaum 1973: 356f. reconstructs *apро-no- for abrunu, but *apро- for three U. acc.pl. forms. The adj. aprugnus does not mean 'born from a boar', and therefore probably cannot be compared with e.g. privignus 'born separately', benignus 'born with goodness'. Nussbaum 2003 suggests that aprugnus is "a -^o-variant that goes with the -geno/-gino- of caprigertus and capreaginus 'caprine' (whatever that is — Lindner 2002, 224)." In view of Gm. and Sl., one would expect Lat. *epe; maybe the a- was taken from caper 'he-goat'.


aperiō, -īre 'to open' [v. IV; pf. aperuī, ppr. apertum] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: apertāre 'to expose' (Pl.), apertiō 'the act of opening' (Varro).

Plt. *ap-wer-je- 'to open'.

PIE *h₂u-er-i(e/o)- 'to cover'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. vṛṇōti (RV+), uṛnutē, aor. āvar [23s.act.], pf. vavāra [3s.act.], caus. vārāya- 'to cover, enclose', vṛtā- 'enclosed', OAv. vṛṇauauaitē [3s.pr.sb.med.], ni-vuvarānī [1s.aor.sb.] 'to enclose', YAv. aifiv. vṛṇauauaitī 'to hide' < Ilr. *Huar-; Gr. ὄφοω 'crowbar, porch, porter' (Hsch.) (< *h₂uor-o-); Lith. atvėrīti 'to open', (už)vy verti, su-vėrtį 'to shut', OCS za-vrěti 'id.', Cz. otevřiti, SCR. otvěrīti 'to open'; Lith. vartai, SCR. vrāta 'gate'.

Lat. ap- probably continues PIE *h₂(e)p 'off' which is reflected in Lat. ab, O. U. ap-, af-. In Plt. *ap-wer-je-, the *w after the labial stop was lost, cf. oportet < *ap-wort- and U. subocau < *sub-wok'. This loss may have been Plt. according to Meiser 1986: 185, cf. Lat. probus, Paelign. pros < *pro-b'wos. The antonym *op-werje- developed into operīō 'to cover'.


apex, -icis 'kind of mitre; top, point' [m. k] (Lucil. +)

According to EM, it is impossible to say whether the meaning 'top part of a hat' is original (in which case a connection with the verb apiō seems plausible) or the meaning 'point'. A large portion of the nouns in -ex, -icis represents technical terms without IE etymology, also building terminology (Leumann 1977: 375). Since apex refers to, among other things, the 'pinnacle' of a building, it might belong to this category. Theoretically, it might derive from PIE *h₂ep(o)- 'away', cf. the meaning of
derivatives such as Gr. ἀφως ‘far off’, Skt. āpara- ‘next, further, more to the back’; see s.v. ab.

Bibl.: WH I: 57, EM 38, IEW 50f. → ab

apis ‘bee’ [f. ={['a} (Pl.++; nom.sg. apēs (Quint.), gen.pl. apium, acc. apēs)

Derivatives: apicula ‘little bee’ (Pl.++).

Plt. *api-?

No accepted etymology. Vennemann 1998a proposes that apis is a loanword from Semitic, comparing Hieroglyphic Egyptian ‘ff ‘bee’. This is conceivable.


apīscor, -scī ‘to seize; get, obtain’ [v. III; pf. coepī < *co-ēpī, pps. aptum / coeptum]

(Naev.++; In the oldest texts, there is an act. apīscō, and apiscitur in Pl. is passive)

Derivatives: apiō, -ere ‘to tie, fasten’ (Paul. ex F.), aptus ‘tied’ (Pl.++), ineptus ‘foolish’ (Pl.++), aptāre ‘to fit on, fix’ (Pompon.++); coepīō, -ere ‘to begin’ (Pl.++), coeptāre ‘id.’ (Pl.++); cūpula ‘bond’ (Pl.++); adīpīscor ‘to catch up with, obtain’ (Pl.++; pps. adeptus), indīpīscor ‘to overtake, acquire’ (Pl.++; pps. indeptus).

Plt. *ap-(e)i ‘to get, seize’.

PIE *h1p-i- [pr.] ‘to get, grab’, *h1e-h1(0)p- [pf.]. IE cognates: Hit. epp- / app- ‘to take, grab’ (< IE root pr. *h1ep-/*h1p-), pai- / pi-, CLuw., HLuw. pija-, Lyc. pije- ‘to give’, Skt. ṇpa, YAv. ṇpa ‘has reached’ (< IE pf. *h1e-h1(0)p-); OAlb. ep ‘gives’ < *h1op-eie-?; PGm. *geban ‘to give’ < *ga- + *eb-? (Kortlandt 1992).

For the semantics of the PIE root, compare English to get, which originally meant ‘to seize’ but often means ‘to reach’. I see no need to separate apiō from apīscor. The latter continues the more general meaning of the verb, while apiō is used more specifically for ‘tying’. Seen in this light, the double use of aptus as ‘tied’ and ‘obtained’ loses its peculiarity. The pf. -ēpī can be derived from a PIE pf. *h1e-h1p-.

Initial ap- could phonetically have arisen in front of another consonant, e.g. in aptus, as proposed by Rasmussen 1993:180. In the pf., *co-ēp- has apparently contracted to coep-, unless it is due to influence from the pps. coeptus < *ko-aptos; compare cūpula < *ko-apula. The pr. coepīō has been built on the pf. coepī, which was no longer felt to contain the stem ap- or ēp-. We can probably reconstruct an i-present for Plt., cf. Schrijver 2003: 75. Whether this goes back to a PIE i-pr. is uncertain, since other IE languages mainly show a perfect. Kloekhorst 2006a argues that Hit. pāi, pianzi ‘to give’ goes back to a PIE i-pr. 3s. *h1p-ōi-ei, 3p. *h1p-i-ěnti; in that case, the Lat. i-pr. may be cognate.


aprīcus ‘sunny’ [adj. o/a] (Cic.++)

Antonym of opācus ‘shady’. Nussbaum (p.c.) suggests that aprīcus represents a derivative in *-HKʷo- ‘-looking’ to a first member *ap(e)ri- ‘openness’, which could be a substantivization of an adj. *ap(e)ro- ‘open’ from *ap(o) ‘away, off’.

Bibl.: WH I: 59, EM 40, IEW 53-55. → ab
April was the second month of the Roman year. Hence, it is possible to connect it with *ab < *h₂epo ‘away from, off’ as *ap(e)rilis ‘the following, next’. This could reflect the same preform *ap(e)ri- ‘openness’ as posited s.v. apricus. Differently Neri 2007: 67, who posits *h₁p-r- to *h₁(e)p(-i) ‘toward’. The suffix -ilis can be analogical to the months Quintilis and Sextilis (Leumann 1977: 350).

Bibl.: WH I: 59, EM 40. → ab, apricus

apud ‘at, beside’ [prep.] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: apurfinem ‘apud finem’ inscr. from the west bank of Lacus Fucinus, 4th c. BC (Mars.), apor (Paul. ex F.).

Not used in compounds or as an adverb, which may point to a recent origin from a nominal expression. Possibly cognate with apiō ‘to tie’, in which case apud may reflect an old pf. ptc. *ap-wot ‘having reached’ > ‘in close connection’ (IEW, EM). However, the synchronic pf. has long ē: coepī. A different solution would be to derive apud from *ad-pod(V), with the preverb ad ‘to’ and the word for ‘foot’. The latter is found in op-pidum ‘what obstructs the feet, barrier’ > ‘fortress’ < *op-pedo-; for the existence of the o-grade in Italic, cf. tri-pudium ‘three-step dance’ < Plt. *tri-podo-. An original noun *ad-pod- may have meant ‘the foot/side of sth.’ and have come to be used as a preposition (cf. French chez < casa ‘house’). In order to arrive at apud, however, a preform *ad-pod(i) is required, which is difficult, if only since ad synchronically takes the accusative. One might suggest irregular loss of a final syllable from *ad-podV(C) in unstressed position. Another solution would be to compare BSI words for ‘bottom’, Lith. pādas ‘sole, metatarsus, floor of a stove’, Latv. pads ‘stone floor’, ORu. podb, Cz. půda’, SCR. pōd, gen.sg. pōda ‘floor, bottom’ < BSI. *podo-, which Derksen 2008 reconstructs as PIE *h₂po-dh₁h₁-o-. Note that the Russian word pod has come to be used as a preposition ‘under’. If *h₂po- was replaced in a prestige of Italic by its counterpart *h₂epo (cf. ab), this compound would yield Plt. *apo-po- ‘floor, basis’. From this, Latin apud could only be derived under the assumption of irregular vowel loss in, say, an acc.sg. *apodom or an abl.sg. *apoodō.

Bibl.: WH I: 60, EM 40f., IEW 50f.

aqua ‘water’ [f. ā] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: aquola ‘a small stream’ (Pl.+), aquōsus ‘well-watered’ (Cato+), aquālis ‘watery, for water’ (Cato+), aquāriusrius [adj. / m.] ‘of / for water’ (Cato), aquātus ‘mixed with water’ (Cato+), aquātīlis ‘watery, aquatic’ (Varro); aquilex, -gis ‘water-diviner’ (Varro+).

Plt. *akwā- ‘water’.

IE cognates: Go. aha, OHG aha < PGm. *aχʷó ‘water’.

According to Beekes 1998, other suggested cognates, such as Olc. aegir ‘sea, ocean’, are very uncertain. Even if cognate, Germano-Italic *akwā- may well be a loanword from a non-IE language.
aquila 'eagle' [f. ā] (Pl.+
Derivatives: aquilīnus 'like that of an eagle' (Pl.+); aquilō 'the North wind' (Naev.+).
It is possible that 'eagle' was derived from aquilus 'dark' when this had received its colour meaning. It may not be the only dark bird, but it is certainly one of the biggest and most majestic of them. Cohen 2004 compares accipiter < *aku-petri-., and suggests that aquila goes back to a compound of *aku- 'swift' and *(a)wi- 'bird', with a diminutive suffix *-lā-. This seems unlikely for the following reasons: 1. whereas *aku-petri- 'with swift wings' is a possessive compound, *aku-(a)wilā- 'swift bird' would be a determinative compound. Yet this type is very rare (cf. Leumann 1977: 399). 2. The Plt. preform of 'bird' is *awi-, there is no trace of the zero grade PIE *h2u-i--; hence, we would have to posit a cp. *aku-awlā-. 3. From a preform *aku-awlā- > Pre-Latin *akwiwilā-, we can only arrive at aquila via an unwarranted haplology of *-wiwi- > *-wi-. I agree with Cohen 2004: 32f. that the wind name aquilō is most straightforwardly derived from aquila 'eagle', rather than from aquilus 'dark'. As Cohen puts it, the cold north wind may have been personified as "a fast, aggressive raptor".

aquilus 'dark in hue, swarthy' [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+
The Romans derives this colour from aqua 'water', which EM reject because they cannot imagine water being black. Still, this seems a more likely derivation to me than from aquila 'eagle', as assumed by Cohen 2004: 32.
Bibl.: WH I: 60f., EM 42, IEW 23. → aqua

āra 'altar' [f. ā] (Lex Reg., Pl.++; OLat. asa quoted by various CLat. and LLat. authors)
PIE *h2ehs-h2- 'hearth'. IE cognates: Hit. hāsš- [c.] 'ash(es), dust, soap' < *h2eh1s-, Hit. hāsša- [c.] 'hearth' < *h2eh1s-h2-, Skt. āsa- (m.) 'ashes, light dust', Khot. astaucā 'dry land', OHG essa, Runic aRīna 'ash'.
The original meaning 'hearth, fireplace' changed to 'altar' in Proto-Italic. The preservation of intervocalic *s in Umbrian is explained as a remnant of an earlier redaction of the Iguvine Tables by Meiser 1986: 255.

arāneus 'spider' [m. o] (Pl.+
Derivatives: arāneus [adj.] 'of spiders' (Col.+), arānea 'spider's web, cobweb' (Pl.+), 'spider' (Cat.+).
IE cognates: Gr. ἀράχνη 'spider', ἀράχνιον 'cobweb', ἀράχνωτις 'of a spider',
άραχναίη 'spider'.
Possibly a Greek loanword, with Gr. -khn- borrowed as Lat. -gn- and subsequent loss of the velar and lengthening of the preceding vowel. However, the cluster Gr. -khn- was adopted as Latin -cum- in dracuma and Alcumena (cf. Leumann 1977: 103). Alternatively, the Gr. and Lat. words could have been independently borrowed from a common source *araksn-.
Bibl.: WH I: 61, EM 42, IEW 55-61.

arbiter, -tri ‘eye-witness; judge’ [m. o] (Lex XII+)
Derivatives: arbitrárii ‘to witness, judge’ (Pl.+), arbitráitus, -ūs ‘decision, judgement’; arbitrium / arbiterium ‘arbitration, settlement’ (Lex XII, Cic.+).
It. cognates: U. ařputrati [abl.sg.] ‘according to the judgement’.
U. ař- regularly derives from *ad-, and -tl can represent *-tūd; thus, the U. word can match arbitráitus. Since the more basic word arbiter is attested in Latin, we must look for the etymology in Latin. The change of ad > ar- is only attested sporadically, especially outside Rome and in front of labials: arfuise, arvorsum, apurfinem. Possibly, this was a regular change which was later undone in most cases due to analogy with isolated ad and apud. Meiser 1986 considers *ad-bitrátu- or *ad-betrátu- for the Umbrian-Latin correspondence. If we start from arbiter < *ad-biteros, the vowel i may continue any Plt. short vowel. The connection with baetō ‘to go’ is the only straightforward formal connection, but this verb has no certain etymology. The distinction Latin b : U. ď remains unexplained under any theory: maybe the Romans heard Sabellic p after ĭ (a sound unknown to them) as b? In that case, one might connect the root of putâre ‘to reckon’, especially since the U. form is actually spelled with u. Yet since putâre is based on an adj. *puto- ‘cut off, pruned’, the morphological details remain unclear.

arbore, -oris ‘tree’ [f. s] (Pl.+; nom.sg. arbōs (Verg., Ov.), acc.sg. arbosem, nom./acc.pl. arboses Paul. ex F.)
Derivatives: arbusum ‘wood, plantation’ (Naev/+), arbuscula ‘small tree’ (Var.+).
Plt. *arpōs [m.].
PIE *h₃rdʰ-ōs, -os- ‘height, uprightness’.
Arbor can be connected with arduus ‘high’ < *h₃rdʰ- ‘upright, high’, and go back to PIE *h₃rdʰ-ōs. The original meaning could have been ‘uprightness’, which acquired the concrete meaning of ‘upright tree’. The drawback of this solution is that all IE languages which have the adj. ‘high, upright’ from this root continue a stem *h₃rdʰ-u-o- ‘high, upright’, so that Lat. arbor would appear a very archaic formation.

arca ‘chest’ [f. ā] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: arcula ‘small chest’ (Pl.+), arcānus ‘secret’ (Hor.+), arcera ‘kind of
covered carriage’ (Lex XII+).


PIE *h₂r(k)-h₂-. IE cognates: see s.v. arceō.

Derived from the root of arceō ‘to contain’. The noun itself might be PIE, but could also be an inner-Italic formation on the basis of the verbal root. The dim. might be Plt., if U. arçlataf belongs here. It is generally believed that arcera was formed after the example of cumera.

Bibl.: WH 62, EM 43, IEW 65f., LIV *h₂r(k)-. → arceō, arx

arceō ‘to contain; to keep out’ [v. II] (Cic.+)

Derivatives: abarcère ‘to keep away’ (Paul. ex F., CIL), coercère ‘to confine; restrain’ (Cato+), exercère ‘to exercise, keep busy’ (Pl.+), exercitus, -ī/ūs ‘physical exercise, army’ (Naev.+), porcère ‘to prevent’ (Enn.+).


PIE *h₂(o)r(k)-eie/o- ‘to hold’. IE cognates: Hit. har(k)-z ‘to hold, have’ (< root pr. *h₂(e)r(k)-), Gr. ἀρκέω ‘to avert, defend; suffice’ (denom. to ἀρκος [n.] ‘defence’; Arm. argel ‘hindrance’).

Lat. porceō < po + arceō ‘to hold off’. Schrijver considers an original stative verb *h₂r(k)-eh₁-, but in view of the transitive meaning ‘to keep out’, I prefer a causative verb (with generalized root shape arc- for *ork-).


arcessō, -ere / accersō, -ere ‘to summon, send for’ [v. III; pf. arcessivi / -iī, ppf arcessitum] (Pl.+; pr. accers-, arcess- Pl. Ter. Cato, pf. arcess- Cic.+-; several i-conjugation forms, cf. TLL)

Plt. *kers-s-e/o-.

PIE *kers- ‘to run’. IE cognates: see s.v. currō.

The stem occurs in two variants, accers- and arcess-, which suggests that one developed from the other by an unusual metathesis or an analogical replacement. Both variants seem to have been sprachwirklich in Plautus’ times. The pr. is productive from Pl. onwards, whereas the pf. is hardly attested before Cicero. Since the pf. clearly favors the variant arcess-, one might hypothesize that arcess- was in the process of ousting accers-, and that the latter must therefore be the original form Nussbaum 2007b gives two more arguments for regarding accersō as original: the noun dorsum > dossum shows a phonetic change of *rs > ss; a verb in -cessō meaning ‘go get’ would be favoured by its semantic neighbours capessō and (ex)petessī. Nussbaum suggests that accersō may reflect *ad-kers-s-e/o-, an s-present to the root *kers- ‘to run’ (whence Lat. currō).
Leumann's etymology (1977: 155) arcessō < *ar-facesō is unattractive, since nothing points to the presence of earlier *-fā-. Bartalucci 1963: 371f. also suggests that arcessō is the older form, and may be cognate with Hittite ārk-wiz/ark- ‘to chant, intone’, which is reconstructed as *h₁erkw- by Kloekhorst 2008: 205 (Skt. arc-, ToA yärk- ‘to worship’). Yet we would expect Latin *arquesō. Bartalucci argues that the semantics of arcessō may have been influence by accire ‘to summon’ (Pl. +).


arcus, -ūs ‘bow; arch’ [m. (f. 1x in Enn.) u] (Pl. +; gen.sg. arqui Cic., Lucr., nom.pl. arquī Varro)

Derivatives: arquitēs ‘archers’ (Paul. ex F.), arcitēnens/arquitēnens ‘that carries a bow’ (Naev. +), arcūātus, arquātus ‘bow-shaped’ (Var. +).

Plt. *arkwō-/*arkwō- ‘bow’.

IE cognates: Go. arhvazna, Olc. or, orvar, OE earh ‘arrow’ < PGM. *arχʷo-, -az-; Gr. ἄρκενθος [f.], Latv. ėrcis ‘juniper’ [m.], Ru. rakita, Cz. rokyta, SCr. râkita ‘brittle willow’ < PSL. *orkyta.

The derivatives and a few o-stem forms show that the stem must have ended in *-kuo- or *-kʷo-. This matches PGM. *arχʷo well, so that we can assume an Italo-Gm. word for ‘bow’, PGM. *arχʷ-ō- meaning ‘belonging to a bow’ = ‘arrow’. This can be connected with BSL and Greek words for ‘willow’ and ‘juniper’ under the well-founded assumption that the flexible twigs of juniper or willow were used as bows. BSL and Greek point to *arkū-; as with many plant names, this is likely to be a non-IE loanword.


ardea ‘heron’ [f. ā] (Verg. +)

Without a clear etymology. If ardea is related to Gr. ἔρωτες (H.), also ἔρωτες, ἐρωτός (Hipponax), ἐρωτής (Septuaginta) ‘heron’, Latin continues *h₁rd- and Greek *h₁rōd-. But the limited distribution and the unusual vowel vacillation rather point to non-Indo-European origin of this bird-name.


arduus ‘tall, high’ [adj. o/a] (Enn. +)

Derivatives: arduitās ‘steepness’ (Varro).

Plt. *arpwō-.


Celtic and IrL. point to *Hrdʰ-uo-, while Greek shows that the laryngeal was probably *h₃-. Long ū- of Skt. is not explained with certainty, but note that the sequence urC- is extremely rare in Skt. (only in urvārā- ‘field’ < IrL. *Hṛṛ-gar-), so that urdhvā- might be the regular outcome of IrL. *Hrdʰ-uar-. Since *-rā- normally yields Latin -rb-, an explanation must be found for -rd- in arduus. Lubotsky apud Schrijver 1991: 313 suggests that the combination of preceding r and following w may have
arguo

prevented the change to a labial. In that case, Latin, too, may continue *h₃rdʰuo-. PIE *h₃rdʰ- could be a derivative of *h₃r- ‘to rise’ (Lat. orior).

Bibl.: WH I: 64, EM 45, IEW 339, Schrijver 1991: 69, 312f. → arbor

āreo ‘to be dry’ [v. II] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: āridus ‘dry, arid’ (Pl. +; also ar dus Pl.), perāridus ‘very dry’ (Cato +), ardēre ‘to burn’ (Pl. +), ardor ‘a burning, fire’ (Acc. +); ārea ‘open space, clearing’ (Pl. +); ārefaciō ‘to make dry’ (Cato +; also arfaciō Cato, facit are Lucr.); adāreścere ‘to become dry’ (Cato), exāreścere ‘to dry up’ (Pl. +), perāreścere ‘to dry up thoroughly’ (Varro +).

PIt. *āsē- ‘to be dry’.

PIE *h₂eh₁s-eh₁- ‘to be dry’. IE cognates: To A asatar, To B osotār ‘dries up’.

Lat. ardeo is derived from āṛ(i)dus, and ardor from ardeo. The form ārea does not correspond to a regular derivation type from a verb in -eō, and it is therefore uncertain that it belongs here. Semantically, it would mean ‘the area cleared by burning’ > ‘any open area’. Lat. ārea might have been derived from PIt. *āsā- ‘hearth’, or from another derivative of the PIE root noun *h₂eh₁s-.


argentum ‘silver’ [n. o] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: argenteus ‘silver’ [adj.] (Andr.)


PIE *h₂rg₁nt-o- [n.] ‘silver’. IE cognates: Gaul. arganto-(magus), Olr. argat, W. arian ‘silver’, Skt. rajata- ‘silver-coloured; silver’ (Skt. ra- is probably secondary for *r-), Av. ērṣata-, O. rdata-[n.], Arm. arcat ‘silver’ (suffix like erkat ‘iron’).

In theory, the Latin word may have been borrowed into Oscan and Faliscan, but there is no positive proof of this.


arguō, -ere ‘to show; affirm’ [v. III; ppp. argutum] (Pl. +)


PIt. *argu- ‘bright’.


Probably, arguō is a denominative verb ‘to make bright, enlighten’ to an adj. *argu- ‘bright’ as continued in argūtus and outside Italic. A closely similar formation is found in Hittite, but with o-ablaut in the root.

ariešs, -etis ‘ram’ [m. t] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: arietāre ‘to strike violently, ram’ (Pl.).
Pit *a/eriet-s (nom.), a/eriet- (obl.). It. cognates: U. erietu [acc.sg.] maybe ‘ram’.
PIE *h₁r-i-e(t)- ‘certain domestic animal’. IE cognates: Olr. heirp, erb [f.] ‘she-goat, doe, roe’ < PCl. *erbā-; Gr. ἔρφος ‘kid’, maybe Arm. oроj ‘lamb’ (< *er-o-j), erinj ‘young cow’.

Since Pit. *ariet- (or, for that matter, *ariot-) would have yielded *arĩt- by sound law, the sequence -iet- must stem from -*iēt-*, or it was introduced analogically from case-form(s) which contained -*iēt-*. The nom.sg. is normally analysed as Lat. ariess with length due to position, but this seems unlikely. The rare reliable examples of -ss are found in Plautus, e.g. es /ess/ ‘you are’, Lat. miles /miless/. But soon the cluster -ss was shortened: already in Ennius, we find es and miles (Sommier 1914: 276f., Leumann 1977: 222). Since the last syllable of nom.sg. ariës remains long throughout CLat., it is more likely that the length was due to the vowel -ē-. In U. erietu, the -ē-must be the result of restoration, otherwise the outcome would have been U. *eritu (eritomf). The -ē must have been taken from the nom.sg. *eriess, nom.pl. *eriez, thus confirming Latin -ie- (Benediktsson 1960: 273). Lat. a- and U. e- are incompatible phonologically: U. may contain an analogically introduced e-grade, or have vowel assimilation *a-e > e-e*. Alternatively, the original paradigm was alternating: *ar-* next to *er-. The Italic noun may go back to a PIE stem *h₁r-e-, but it is difficult to reconstruct a complete single correspondence.


arma, -orum ‘arms, weapons’ [n.pl. o] (Pl.; gen.pl. armum Pac., Acc.)
Derivatives: armātus ‘armed’ (Pl.+); armentum ‘herd of cattle’ (Var., Lucr.+), armenta ‘id.’ (Enn., Pac.); armiger ‘armour-bearer, squire’ (Pl.+), armāre ‘to arm, equip’ (Cic.+); inermis ‘unarmed’ (Pl.+).
Pit. *armo-, *armnto-.
Lat. arma and armentum seem two independent formations on the basis of the PIE root ‘to join’. The meanings developed from ‘what is fitted together’ or ‘tools’ to ‘weapons’ (arma), and from ‘grouping, joining’ to ‘herd’ (armentum). From arma were derived armātus and armiger.

Bibl.: WH I: 67f., EM 46f., IEW 55, Schrijver 1991: 46, 68, LIV 1.*h₂er-.. → ars, artus, ritus
armus 'shoulder or upper arm (of an animal)' [m. o] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: armilla 'arm-band, bracelet' (Pl. +).

PIE *h₂(ε)R-H-mo- 'arm'. IE cognates: Skt. īrmā- 'arm, shoulder(-joint)', Av. arṣama-, OPr. irmo 'arm', Lith. įrmėdė [f. ] 'gout' ('arm-eating') < PIE *h₂R-H-mó-; OCS ramo, Cz. rámé, Scr. rámé 'shoulder', Go. arms, OHG aram 'arm' < h₂orH-mo-, -mn-.

According to Schrijver 1991: 314, PIE *HrHmo- would yield Lat. *ramus; hence, armus could reflect PIE *h₂erHmo- (> *armo-) or *h₂rHemo- (> *aramo-); the former is more probable in view of the IE cognates, none of which have *-emo-. Since Ilr. and Baltic require *HrHmo-, such a preform cannot be completely excluded for Latin.


arō, -āre 'to plough' [v. I] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: arātīō 'an estate of arable land' (Pl. +), arātor 'ploughman' (Lucr.+), arātrum 'a plough' (Cato+).

PIE *araje/o-.

PIE *h₂erh₂-i-o- 'to plough', *h₂erh₂-tro- [n.]. IE cognates: Mr. airim, W. ardu, Gr. ἄροο, Lith. ėrti, 1s. ėrti, Latv. ērt, OCS oɾati, 1s. orjō, Go. arjan 'to plough'; Mr. arathar, Arm. arawr, Lith. ėrkas 'plough': < BS1. *arH-tlo-, OCS ralo, Cz. rádlo 'id.' < *arH-d'l'o-, Olc. ā_thr < PIE *h₂erh₂-tro-.

The ā in arātrum must be secondary after the verb, since PIE *h₂erh₂-tro- would yield *arātrum.

Bibl.: WH I: 69, EM 48, IEW 62, Schrijver 1991: 45, LIV *h₂erh₂-.

ars, artis 'skill, art; trick' [f. i] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: iners 'clumsy, lazy' [abl.sg. inerti] (Naev.+); sollers 'clever, skilled' (Cato+); all(l)ers 'learned, clever' (gloss); artifex, -ficis (Var. artufices) 'practitioner, craftsman' (Pl. +), artificium 'skill, craft' (Cic.+).

PIE *art-i-.

PIE *h₂r-ti- 'the fitting'. IE cognates: OAv. arōt-, YAv. aši- [f. ] 'reward', Gr. ἀρτί 'just, exactly', ἀρτίο 'correctly' in cp.

Lat. sollers < *soll-arτi- to sollus 'entire'; all(l)ers < *all-arti- to O. allo- 'entire'. According to Untermann 2000, Latin *all- was probably borrowed from Sabellic, since Latin does not have this word in its lexicon. For a word only occurring in glosses, this is of course possible. Others have proposed an etymology *ad-arti- with intervocalic *d becoming l; the spelling allers would then be analogical to sollers.

Bibl.: WH I: 70, EM 48f., IEW 55ff., Schrijver 1991: 68, Untermann 2000: 81, LIV 1.*h₂er-.

artus 'close, firm' [adj. o/ā] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: artē 'tightly' (Naev.+), artīre 'to insert tightly' (Cato+), artāre 'to insert tightly, pack' (Col.+).

PIE *arto- [adj.]

PIE *h₂r-tō- 'fitted'. IE cognates: Skt. ṛtā- 'truthful; truth, agreement', Av. aṣa- [n.]
'truth', YA. *'ārata-.

Theoretically, *ārīre could be derived from *ars, *artis, but it seems more likely that it belongs to the adj. *artus, cf. blandus – blandīri, saevus – saevīre.

Bibl.: WH I: 70, EM 49, IEW 55ff., Schrijver 1991: 68, LIV I.*h₂er-. → *arma, *ars

**artus**, -ūs 'joint, limb' [m. u] (Pl.+; almost always plural; nom.pl. artua 1x Pl.)

Derivatives: *articulus 'joint, limb, juncture' (Pl.+

Plt. *artu- [m.].

PIE *h₂r-tú- 'juncture, ordering'. IE cognates: Skt. ṛtī- [m.] 'fixed time, order, rule', Av. *raťu- 'section of time, period', Gr. ἀρτύς 'arrangement', ἀρτῶν 'friendship and arrangement or decision' (Hsch.), ἀρτῶ 'to arrange', Arm. *ard, gen. *ardow 'order'.

Since *artus came to function as a plurale tantum, it does not seem unlikely that *articulus was especially coined as a singulative.

Bibl.: WH I: 70, EM 49, IEW 55ff., Schrijver 1991: 68, LIV I.*h₂er-.

**aruina** 'fat, lard' [f. ā] (Pl.+

Plt. *arow-ī- 'entrails'?  
Gr. ἀρψία 'sausage' (WH I 71), a title of a comedy by Epicharmus, might attest to a Sicilian form *arudi- or *arudi- (Meiser 1986: 195).

In view of the uncertain etymology of *haru-spex, and the vacillating state of initial h- in Latin, *haru-spex may have hypercorrect h-, or *aruina may have already lost earlier *h-; both could then go back to *aru-.* aru-*. Loss of initial *h- in U. would be unexpected, though. Gr. ἄρβίννη 'meat' among the Siculi (Hsch.) is probably a loan from Latin (or from another Italic language).


**arvum** 'ploughed land' [n. o] (Cic.+

Derivatives: *arua 'ploughed land' (Andr., Naev., Pac.); *aruos (Pl.), *aruus [adj.] 'ploughed, cultivated' (Var., Cic.).


PIE *h₂erh₃-uo- 'ploughable'. IE cognates: OIr. *arbor, gen.sg. *arbae 'grain', W. erw 'acre', Skt. urvārā- 'arable land', Gr. ἄρπορα 'sowing-land' < PIE *h₂erh₃-ur-, -uen-. The adj. *aruus is probably primary, *arua and *arvum are substantivizations. The earliest texts have f. *arua, coinciding with the Umbrian noun. U. *arvia is often translated as 'part of a sacrificial animal', maybe 'entrails', but this is disputed. Others translate the word as 'grain' and derive it from *arvum; see Meiser 1986: 194f. for a discussion. The Italic forms are probably substantivized from a PIE adj. *h₂erh₃-yu- 'ploughable' (or, theoretically, *h₂erh₃-eu-). Other IE languages continue a heteroclitic noun *h₂erh₃-ur-, -un- 'ploughed land'.

arx, arcis 'citadel, stronghold' [f. k] (Pl. +)

PIt. *ark- 'a building'.

PIE *h₂e(n)k-s 'container'.

In view of Lat. arceō 'to contain', arca 'chest', and Oscan *trēb-ark-o- 'house-builder', it seems that the Italic root *ark- was applied not only to small 'containers', but also to 'buildings'. Hence, Lat. arx may continue a (PIE or PIt. or even more recent) root noun *ark- 'building'.

Bibl.: WH I: 63, EM 50, I EW 65, Untermann 1992: 142, LIV *h₂etk₁- → arca, arceō

άs, assis 'copper coin, penny' [m. s; gen.pl. assium] (Cato+)

Derivatives: bēs, bessis 'two-thirds' (Cic.+), sēmis 'one half of an as' (Varro+), tressis 'the sum of three asses' (Varro+), nōmussis 'the sum of nine asses' (Varro+).

The nom.sg. probably was *ass. Originally a rectangular bronze plaque weighing a pound. In imperial times, it became a round coin. EM suspect a loanword, maybe from Etruscan, because libra and nummus would also be loanwords. For bēs, WH assume a compound of *duo + gen.sg. *ass(is) ‘two parts of an as’ > *duass > *duess > *dwess > *bess > bēs.


ascia 'axe; trowel' [f. ā] (Lex XII, Plin.+)

Since a sequence *ks is usually retained in intervocalic position in Latin (cf. axis, texē, auxilium, etc.), ascia cannot go back directly to a PIE form in *-ks-.. Although it is similar in form and meaning to Gr. ἀξίνη [f.], Go. aqizi; OHG acchus 'axe', these forms cannot be reduced to one PIE preform. Hence, it is possible that we are dealing with a loanword in *aks- which underwent metathesis to *ask- before it entered Latin. See s.v. viscum 'mistle-toe, bird-lime' for a similar phenomenon.


asilus 'gadfly' [m. ā] (Nigid.+)

According to EM, probably an indigenous word, but from where? Intervocalic -s- would point to an earlier cluster such as *ss or *ts, but we would expect a long vowel ā. Therefore, probably a borrowing. Greek has οἶστρος 'gadfly', the form of which is not sufficiently similar to asilus to warrant an etymological connection.

Bibl.: WH I: 72, EM 51.

asinus 'ass, donkey' [m. o] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: asina 'she-ass' (Var. +), asellus 'ass, donkey' (Varro+), asinārius 'connected with asses' (Pl. +).

The preservation of intervocalic s points to a recent loanword. Most IE words for 'ass' are loanwords. Some scholars try to trace asinus and Gr. δοῦς back to *os(o)no-, but this is contradicted by Latin a- and by the lack of any trace of word-internal *-s- in Greek. Possibly, HLuw. tarkasna- 'ass' and Sumerian anšu 'ass' contain the basis to which the Gr. and Latin words go back.

asper, -era, -erum 'rough, harsh' [adj. o/a] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: asperāre 'to make rough' (Varro+), exasperāre 'id.' (Liv.+).
Plt. *aspi-ro-?
PIE *h₂esp-i- 'cutting'? IE cognates: CLuw. hašp- 'to cut down'; Gr. ἄσπις, -ίδος 'shield'.
Possibly from *ab-sper-o- 'rejecting, repulsive', similar to Skt. apa-sphūras 'speeding on'. In the absence of further confirmation this is somewhat gratuitous; asper and Skt. apa-sphūras would have to be regarded as two independent formations, since the Skt. vocalism follows that of the present sphurātī. Melchert 2007a: 255 reiterates the semantic difficulties involved in deriving asper from *ab-sper-o-, and proposes to derive it from a root *h₂esp- 'to cut' instead. This root he sees in Luw. hašp- 'to cut down' and in Gr. ἄσπις 'shield' (< 'skin, hide' < 'cut off'). In view of the latter noun, asper might go back to an earlier adj. *aspi-ro-.


assis / axis 'plank, board' [m. i (s?)] (Caes.+)
Derivatives: asser, -eris [m., mainly pl. asserēs] 'wooden beam' (Naev.+), assula 'splinter, chip' (Pl.+).
The spellings assis and axis are variants for the same word; axis seems to be a hypercorrection. EM propose original *assis, gen.sg. *isseris, whence pl. asserēs, backformed to asser. IEW connects *ost- 'bone', but we have o- in Latin os, ossis 'bone', so this cannot be correct. Also, we would need a nom.sg. *asts to get -ss, but asser is an r- or s-stem.

Bibl.: WH I: 74, EM 51, IEW 783.

assyr 'blood' (Paul. ex F.; aser, ascer in glosses)
Derivatives: assarātum 'mixture of wine and blood' (Paul. ex F.).
PIE *h₁ēsh₂-r [nom.acc.], *h₁sh₂-ēn-s [gen.sg.] 'blood'. IE cognates: see s.v. sanguis.
Generally interpreted as Latin /aserl/. No rhotacism because of the -r- in the next syllable, cf. miser. Klingenschmitt reconstructs *h₁s-h₂r on ablaut-theoretical grounds, but in view of femur, icious, one would like a zero grade in the suffix. Schrijver regards assyr as too uncertain to be used, because of the vacillating forms.


assus 'roasted, baked' [adj. o/a] (Pl. +)
Plt. *asso- 'dried, roasted'. It. cognates: U. aso [acc.sg.m.] probably 'ignited, burning'.
PIE *h₂d-to- 'dried up'. IE cognates: Hit. hät- / hat- 'to dry up, become parched' < *h₂d-/*h₂d-, Gr. ἄζω 'to dry' < *h₂(e)d-ie/o-, Cz. ozditi 'to dry malt'.
EM derive assus from *ars[ʃ]us 'burnt', verbal adj. to ardeo; but the latter is derived from āridus. Assus could be a to- ptc. to the root of āreō, in which case the expected
form *astus must have been replaced analogically by assus (cf. Untermann 2000); but on which model? Schrijver (1991: 53) reconstructs *as-d-to-, on the strength of the comparison with Gr. ἄθω ‘to dry’, Cz. ozditi ‘to dry malt’; but these forms can be derived from the root *h2ed- ‘to dry’, in which case assus could be the to-derivative *ad-to- > *asso- (Nussbaum, p.c.). U. aso could go back to the same preform.

Bibl.: WH I: 65, EM 51f., IEW 68, Untermann 2000: 130, LIV *h2ed-.

ast ‘but if, and if; in that case’ [cj.] (Lex XII+)

Because of the meaning, it is suspected that at ‘but’ is hidden in ast, which would then reflect *ast < *at-est ‘but is’.

Bibl.: WH I: 74, EM 52, Leumann 1977: 203. → at

astus, -ūs ‘cunning, craft’ [m. u] (Pl.+) from Plautus to Ovid, only the abl.sg. astū is used)

Derivatives: astūtus [adj.] ‘cunning, clever’ (Pl.+) astūtia ‘cunning, craft’ (Pl.+).

The Romans themselves derive astū, the only OLat. form attested, from Greek ἄστυ ‘town’; according to EM this might be a play on the abl.sg. urbāne ‘wittily, urbanely’ (Cic.+). This may be seriously considered, but the chronology of attestations renders it problematic: the shift of urbāne to ‘wittily’ seems to post-date OLat. Vendryes (1920: 106) proposes to derive ‘astū from a u-stem *ad-štu- < *-sttu2-u- ‘standing by’ to the verb astō ‘to stand by’. In particular, he compares the adv. praestō ‘available’ to praestū to ‘to excel, make available’; some inscriptions show praestū for the adverb. See s.v. tribus for another proposed u-stem noun from a preverb plus a verbal root.


at ‘but, whereas’ [cj.] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: atque (Andr.+), ac (Andr.+) [atque in front of vowels and h-, ac in front of consonant] ‘and ... too, and even, and’, atquī ‘but, nevertheless’ (Pl.+), at-avus ‘great-great-great-grandfather’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *ati. Lt. cognates: Ven. ati- in atisteit ‘adstat’; U. ape, api, appei, ape ‘when, as soon as’ < *at/d-kʷe? is uncertain because of the different meaning.


Final -t in Latin is explained from Plt. *-ti. Lat. atavus occurs in an enumeration: “pater, auos, proauos, abauos, atavos, tritauos”. The use of at in this compound would seem to reflect the earlier use as a preverb/preposition rather than as a conjunction. Dunkel 2000b: 21 interprets atque as *ad-kʷe, citing Ennian atque atque accedit muros, which is not implausible. Latin distinguishes the conjunctions at ‘but’ and et ‘and’, but it is not completely clear which IE cognates belong to each of these two conjunctions. I adduce only the languages which must contain *h2e- (Celtic, Greek) or which show a meaning similar to ‘but’ (BSL., Gm.). IIr. *ati ‘beyond’, which semantically may be connected with either at or et, is adduced s.v. et.

āter, -tra, -trum ‘black’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: ātrium (Pl. +) ‘first main room in a Roman-style house’.

Pīt. *ātro-. It. cognates: U. ātru, adro [acc.pl.n.], ādrīr, adrer [abl.pl.n.] ‘black’ < *ātro-.


The appurtenance of ātrium depends on the interpretation that this room originally contained the fireplace. This etymology was already current in ancient times, but there is no independent evidence for it. Still, there is no good alternative. A semantic shift from *ātr-o- ‘firy, like fire’ to Pīt. ‘black’ does not seem very compelling, since soot is black, but not the fire itself. One might suppose that Proto-Iranian *ātr-originally meant ‘fireplace’ like PCl. *āti-, and that the Pīt. adj. *ātr-o- meant ‘like a fireplace’ > ‘having a fireplace-like colour, black’. LĪV conjectures that *āt- may be cognate with the Pīe root *h₂eh₁s- ‘to dry up’.

Bibli.: WH I: 75, EM 53f., IEW 69, Schrijver 1991: 54, Untermann 2000: 55, LĪV *h₂eh₁-s. → āreō, atrōx

atrōx, -ōcis ‘dreadful, fierce’ [adj. k] (Naev.+)(abl.sg. atrōci passim)

Derivatives: atrōcitās ‘savageness, horror’ (Acc.+).

Pīt. *atrōk-. 

Pīe *h₂eh₁-tr- ‘fireplace’?

Probably a derivative of the adj. āter ‘black’ and the Pīe root *h₂ekʷ- ‘to look’, thus ‘having a black aspect’. In order to explain short initial a-, Schrijver reconstructs *H₂tr-, but the change in ablaut should preferably be motivated. As we posit an *r-stem *h₂eh₁-t-r- ‘fireplace’ for āter ‘black’, this could be analysed as a derivative in *s-tr- to the root *h₂eh₁-s, and we could posit an ablauting noun: *h₂eh₁-tr, *h₂h₁-tr-öś.

The short vowel in atrōx could then be explained from the weak case forms of the IE tr-stem noun. Still, this would require the survival into Pīt. of two forms *ātr-o- ‘like a fireplace’ > ‘black’ and *atro⁻Hkw⁻- ‘looking like a fireplace’ > ‘blackened’, making this hypothesis somewhat cumbersome.

Bibli.: WH I: 77, EM 54, IEW 775ff., Schrijver 1991: 54, 77, LĪV *h₂ekᵘ-. → āter

attra ‘father, daddy’ [m. ā] (Paul. ex F.)

Pīt. *attra-.


A nursery word for ‘father’. It usually has the form TaTa or aTTa, with T being a dental or labial stop.

Bibli.: WH I: 77, EM 54, IEW 71. → amma, anus

audeō ‘to intend, dare’ [v. II; opt. ausim, pf. ausī] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: audāx ‘daring, bold’ (Naev.+), audācia ‘boldness, audacity’ (Pl.+).
augeo 'to increase (tr.)' [v. II; pf. auxi, ppp. auctum] (Pl.+
Derivatives: augēscere 'to increase, grow' (Naev.+); augur, -uris (older auger according to Priscian) 'bird-observer, augur, prophet' (Cato+), augurium 'augury, omen' (Pl.; acc.pl. augura Acc. 1x), augurāre 'to foretell' (Pl.+), augustus 'solemn, venerable' (Enn.+), auxilium 'assistance, aid' (Pl.+); auctāre 'to cause to grow' (Pl.+), auctūrium 'overplus' (Pl., Paul. ex F.), autector 'seller, authoritative person' (Pl.+), auctūritās 'right of ownership, authority' (Lex XII+), auctio 'public sale' (Pl.+), auctus, -ūs 'increase' (Lucr.+); augmen, -minis 'addition' (Lucr.), augmentum 'increase' (Sen.+), augificāre 'to make larger' (Enn. 1x).

Pit. *augeje/o- [v.]; *augos, -es- [n.]; *auktōr [m.]. It. cognates: Ven. augur 'offering' < *aug-ār(i); maybe U. uhūrt [nom.sg.], uhūturu [acc.sg.], which might be the title of a certain official, from *auk-tor. It is disputed whether this is a loan from Latin, or a Pit. formation.

PIE pr. *h2eug-eie- (with e-grade from the aorist?), present or aorist *h2eug-s- 'to grow'. IE cognates: Skt. vakṣ- 'to grow' (pr. ukṣāti; caus. vakṣaya- 'to make strong'),

Bibl.: WH I: 80, EM 55, IEW 77f., Untermann 2000: 135. → aveō

audiō, -ire 'to hear' [v. III] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: oboedire 'to obey' (Pl.+), exaudire 'to hear, heed' (Pl.+), peraudire 'to hear to the end' (Pl.).

PIt. *awizdje/o- 'to hear'.

PIE *h2eu-is 'clearly' + *dhhrie/o- 'to render'. IE cognates: Hit. au- / u- 'to see, look' < *h2ou- / *h2u-, CLuw. aua (interj.) 'look!'; Skt. avīs 'evidently', Av. āvīś < IIR. *Āvaśiš, Gr. ἀο to perceive, hear', ἐπαυστός 'known', αἰσθάνομαι to perceive' < *h2e(ū)yi-s-(d)- 'to make' manifest'; Lith. ovje 'in reality', OCS įjavė 'manifestly' < *h2eū-eis (or loanword from Iranian?).

Audio probably represents a cp. of *h2eui(s) 'manifest' and the root *dēh₁-. Audīre and oboedire can be explained in the most straightforward way if we assume that the Pit. compound originally was *dēh₁-je/o-, in the way argued earlier by Pedersen and Solmsen, see the summary in Märtzloff 2006: 548-555: *awizdijō > *auzdijō (for the syncope, cf. mōnstrum, fenstrum; sēmestrīs) > audiō, and *ob-awizdijō > *obowizdijō > *oboizdijō > oboedīō. In other words, the rare sequence -oe- in non-initial syllable can be explained by assuming that the reduced *-a- in second syllable was rounded and the following *w was lost, before *a could develop into /u/ (as in e.g. dēpuviō to paviō); the resulting diphthong /oi/ was protected by the following *z from monophthongization to ū or ē.


augeo 'to increase (tr.)' [v. II; pf. auxi, ppp. auctum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: augēscere 'to increase, grow' (Naev.+); augur, -uris (older auger according to Priscian) 'bird-observer, augur, prophet' (Cato+), augurium 'augury, omen' (Pl.; acc.pl. augura Acc. 1x), augurāre 'to foretell' (Pl.+), augustus 'solemn, venerable' (Enn.+), auxilium 'assistance, aid' (Pl.+); auctāre 'to cause to grow' (Pl.+), auctūrium 'overplus' (Pl., Paul. ex F.), autector 'seller, authoritative person' (Pl.+), auctūritās 'right of ownership, authority' (Lex XII+), auctio 'public sale' (Pl.+), auctus, -ūs 'increase' (Lucr.+); augmen, -minis 'addition' (Lucr.), augmentum 'increase' (Sen.+), augificāre 'to make larger' (Enn. 1x).

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Aulla 'cooking pot, jar' [f. ā] (Naev. +; <aula> Naev., Plaut., Cato, Paul. ex F., <aulla> rare variant, <olla> after Cato)

Derivatives: auxilla 'small jar' (Paul. ex F.), Aulularia title of a comedy by Plautus (referring to a jar of money).

Plt. *auksla-.

IE cognates: Skt. ukhā-, ukhā- 'boiler, pan'; Gr. ἵπνος 'furnace' (maybe from *ίπνος, cf. Ἴφ-ιπνός, Attic ἰπνε[ῦσθαι]), Myc. i-po-no; Go. aŭhns, OSwe. oghan 'oven' < PGm. *ūyna-, *uyná-; Olt. ofn, OE ofen, OHG ovan < PGm. *ofna- < *ūfnā-.

The dim. auxilla shows that aul(l)a reflects *auk-sla-. It is impossible to unite the Skt., Greek, Germanic and Latin forms under a single preform; they may have nothing to do with each other. For Greek, Vine 1999b has proposed *sp-no- to the root *sep- (IE?) 'to cook' found in ἱψω and Arm. ep'em 'to cook', with *i from the zero grade between two obstruents. Germ., Skt. and Latin might go back to *h2(e)uK-, but the unclear status of the velar (Gm. maybe has labiovelar, Skt. a voiceless aspirate, Latin any velar) renders this very uncertain. Latin and Gm. may continue the same substratum word.


Auria 'charioteer, pilot' [m. ā] (Varro+)

Derivatives: aureax 'charioteer' (Paul. ex F.).

It is often assumed that aurīga contains aureae 'reins' (once in Paul. ex F.), which would be a hypercorrect form for *ōreae 'mouth-pieces' (e.g. Fraenkel 1948: 165). We might then reconstruct with Dunkel 2000a *ōs-ei-h2g- 'bit-driver' yielding aureax. EM reject this hypothesis because of the semantics. Dunkel wants to get aurīga from *ōs-i-h2g-, an ablaut variant of the former, but I doubt whether ablaut would occur in the compound. It seems more likely that aurīga represents the older cp., whereas aureax contains a restored version of both *ōreio- 'mouth-piece' and *-ag- 'driver'.

auris 'ear' [f. i] (Pl.+)  
Derivatives: auricula 'ear' (Pl.+), auscultāre 'to listen' (Pl.+), inaurēs, -ium 'ear-rings' (Pl.+).  
Plt. *aus(i)- 'ear'.  
PIE *h₂eue(-)s- 'ear'. IE cognates: OIr. áu, gen.sg. aue (s-stem) 'ear', Av. uši [du.] 'two ears', Gr. οὖς, οὖςος. Dor. ὡς < *ous, *ous-nto-, Alb. vesh, OPr. āūsinš [acc.pl.], Lith. āūsis [f.] 'ear', OCS ɯox [nom.acc.], ušese [gen.sg.], Go. auso, gen. ausins 'ear'.  
From a PIE stem *h₂eus- (if the o-grade in Greek was taken from 'eye'), which could be a root noun or an s-stem to *h₂eu- 'to see' (cf. audiō). In the latter case, the verb must have shifted to 'hear' after Anatolian split off from the other IE languages. Latin remade the PIE noun into an i-stem. The unrhotacized form *aus- has been preserved in auscultāre. The latter is often explained from *-klut- 'hearing', cf. Skt. śrut-. Klingenschmitt (apud Lühr 2000: 292) reconstructs *h₂eus-klut-en-eyo-. The Latin metathesis to -cult- could be justified via a stage with syllabic *: *aus-klutra- > *ouskτα- > auscultā-. If correct, this explanation would all but prove that auscultāre contains the unenlarged PIE root noun (or s-stem) of 'ear', since *ausi-kluta- would not yield auscultāre.  

aurōra 'dawn' [f. ā] (Pl.+)  
Derivatives: Aurelius 'name of a Roman gens' (Cic.+).  
Plt. *ausōs:  
PIE *h₂eus-ōs, -os-m, *h₂us-s-ōs [f.] 'dawn'. IE cognates: Skt. ूस [nom.sg.], ूस [gen.sg.], Av. ूsah- [f.], Gr. ἡμις, Ion. ἦμις, Dor. ἄρμις, ἄρμορ, Aeol. ἄωρ [f.] 'dawn'.  
Latin aurōra represents an a-stem extension to an original *ausōs, *ausōsem > *aurōs, *aurōrem; probably due to the f. gender of the PIE word. See Driessen 2003b: 357 for an explanation of Aurelius on the basis of a noun *ausēla 'sun' vel sim.  
Bibl.: WH I: 86, EM 60, IEW 86f., Schrijver 1991: 47, 74, LIV 1.*h₂yes-. → auster.

aurum 'gold' [n. o] (Lex XII+)  
Derivatives: aureus 'golden, of gold' (Andr.+), aureohus 'id.' (Pl.+), aurārius 'concerned with gold' (Pl.+), aurātus 'gilded' (Pl.+); aurifex/aurufex, -icis 'goldsmith' (Pl.+).  
Plt. *ausō-. It cognates: Lat. ausum 'gold' from Sabine, according to Paul. ex F.  
PIE *h₂e-h₂us-o- [n.] 'glow'. IE cognates: OPr. ausis, Lith. ėuksas (AP 3), dial. ėušas (AP 1) 'gold'. ToA wās, ToB yasa have been explained as borrowings from Uralic by Driessen 2003b: 349f. (from Proto-Samoyed; Kallio 2004 is sympathetic to this idea.).  
Driessen 2003b reconstructs a reduplicated form in order to get a sequence of laryngeal plus vowel causing the acute intonation of Lith. ėu(k)šas. He ventures the hypothesis that *h₂e-h₂us-o- has its neuter gender from starting out as an attribute of *h₂eies- 'metal'.  
Bibl.: WH I: 86, EM 60, IEW 86, Schrijver 1991: 47, LIV 1.*h₂yes-.
auster, -trī 'south wind; south' [m. o] (Pl.+
Derivatives: austrālis 'southern' (Cic.+
Pt. *aus-ter- [adj.] 'towards the dawn'
PIE *h₂eus-ter-. IE cognates: Skt. usrā- 'red, matutinal', usar-búdh- 'waking at dawn'; Gr. ἁυρᾶνον ‘tomorrow’, ἐγγύ-αυρος ‘near the morning’ < *h₂eus-r-; Lith. aušrā, Latv. austra ‘dawn’, OCS (j)utro ‘dawn, morning, tomorrow’ [n.] < *h₂eus-ro-; OHG öst(a)ra, –ūn ‘Easter’. Although Latin auster indicates a different wind than Germanic *aust- ‘east’, it may still be cognate. Whereas BS1. and Germ. *austra-/*oustro- can go back to an adj. *h₂eus-ro-, we must posit a suffix *-tero- for Latin (since *-sr- would yield -br-). The adj. of BS1. and Gm. was probably derived from an r-stem noun in PIE; we find e-grade in the Greek forms and zero-grade in Skt. usrā-.


aut ‘either...or’ [cj.] (Lex XII, Andr.+
Derivatives: autem ‘on the other hand, but, indeed’ (Andr.+). Pt. *aut ei, *auti ei. It. cognates: O. aut, avt ‘but, or’ (< *aut ei); O. auti, U. ute, ote ‘or’ [cj.] (< *aut ei).
PIE *h₂eu ‘away’. IE cognates: OIr. úa ‘from’, Skt. áva ‘off, down’, OAv. auuā, YAv. auua ‘towards’ < *h₂euuo; Gr. ἀν ‘again, on the contrary’, Gr. ἀντε, ἀντάρ, OPr. Lith. au-, OCS. u- ‘away from’. Lat. aut < *auti or *aut e; autem < *auti + m. Final -em may be the particle *-em found in idem, item, or the regular reflex of PIE *-im (in which case -im in the i-stems must be due to restoration of -i-, whereas the adverbs in -im continue *-im < *-IH + m).


autumnus ‘autumn’ [m. o] (Enn.+
EM and others suppose an Etruscan origin for this word. Although ‘summer’, ‘winter’ and ‘spring’ are inherited IE words in Latin, a foreign origin of autumnus is conceivable, since we cannot reconstruct a PIE word for ‘autumn’; cf. Mallory–Adams 1997: 504.

Bibl.: WH I: 87f., EM 61.

autumō, -āre ‘to allege, say’ [v. I] (Pl.+
Maybe derived from autem, as negō from nec. The word died out at the end of the Republic. See Ernout 1937 for the meaning of the word.


avēna ‘oats; stalk, straw’ [f. ā] (Enn.+
Pt. *aweksna-.
IE cognates: OPr. wyse, Lith. avižā, Latv. āuzas ‘oats’ [nom.pl.], ORu. ovśē, Ru.
ovēs [m.], SCR. òvās ‘id.’ < PSL. *ovēs < PBSL. *awēs(-s).- 

WH assume that *avēna was changed to avēna on the model of arēna ‘sand’ and other words in -ēna, but this is unlikely: the suffix *-ēna occurs in other Latin words too, and arēna is too far removed from avēna in meaning. Probably a non-IE substrate word: the suffix *-i-gh- is strange, Slavic and Baltic do not have the same suffix, and in Latin we would expect the suffix to yield *-îna rather than -ēna. The loanword may have been incorporated into Latin as *aweksna.-


aveō ‘to be eager’ [v. II] (Varro+)

Derivatives: avidus ‘desirous’ (Pl.+), aviditās ‘greed; lust’ (Pl.+), avārūs ‘greedy, stingy (esp. with regard to money)’ (Naev.+), avāritia ‘greed of gain’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *awē- ‘to be eager’.

PIE *h2eu-eh- ‘to enjoy, consume’.

The verb is interpreted as an old caus. by LIV (although the alleged meaning is not specified), and compared with Skt. āvaya- ‘to eat’. Vine 2006a: 226f. argues that a preform *ou-ēite- would confirm his view of *ou > *aui as conditioned by pretonic position. Lat. avārūs is obviously a derivative of (the stem of) aveō ‘to desire’, but the exact formational process is unclear. The only other clear adj. in -ārus is amārūs ‘bitter’, the appurtenance of which to the verb amāre is disputed, and which would in any case have been opaque to speakers of Latin. One might compare ignārūs ‘ignorant’ and gnārūs ‘knowing’ to (i)gnōtus etc.; but since the verb is (i)gnōscō, this yields no model for aveō : avārūs.


avis ‘bird’ [f. i] (Naev.+) 

Derivatives: avīcula ‘little bird’ (Varro+); auspec, -icis ‘augur, bird-diviner’ (Pl.+), auspicium ‘augury, omen’ (Elog., Naev.+), auspicāreī ‘to take the auspices, enter upon’ (Naev.+); auceps, gen.sg. aoccupis ‘bird-catcher’ (Pl.+), aucupāreī ‘to go bird-catching’ (Pl.+), aucupium ‘bird-catching; wild fowl’ (Pl.+); auca ‘bird, esp. goose’ (Avianus [ca. 400 AD], gloss.).


PIE *h2eu-i- ‘bird’. IE cognates: MW hwyat, MBret. houat ‘duck’ < PBr. *swijatV- < (s?-)hui-eto-; Skt. vay- [m.], nom.sg. véh/viḥ, YAV. vaiti- [m.] ‘bird’, Gr. aierc ‘eagle’ < *heuoi-eto-, Arm. haw ‘bird’.

Lat. auspec < *awi-speks, auceps < *awi-kaps. The Italic and Indo-Iranian forms point to an i-stem: PIE nom.sg. *h2eu-i-s, gen.sg. *h2ui-ē-i-s or nom.sg. *h2uôi-s, gen.

aveō ‘to be eager’ [v. II] (Varro+)}
Since Schindler 1969, the word is often interpreted as a root noun, but this is unlikely for the following reasons: 1. The root would have ended in *-ui, 2. We need a full grade *Heu- in Latin and Armenian. If 'egg' is indeed a *yddhi derivative *h2ouio- (see s.v. ōvum), it is likely that an o-grade *h2ou-i- existed at some stage. Lat. *auca is probably a back-formation to *aucula and/or postclassical aucella.


avus 'grandfather' [m. o] (Pl.+

Derivatives: avunculus 'maternal uncle' (Pl.); avia 'grandmother' (Pl.); avitus 'belonging to a grandfather, ancestral' (Cic.+

Pit. *awo-.

PIE *h2euh2- 'grandfather (on mother’s side)', also 'grandmother'? IE cognates: OIr. aue 'grandson' < *aujo-; MW ewyth, Bret. eontr 'uncle' < *auontir < *h2eu-on-tër/tr(i)o- (vel sim.); Hit. huha-, CLuw. hūha-, HLUw. huha-, Lyc. χυγε-, Arm. haw (gen. hawow) 'grandfather', OPr. awis, Lith. avynas, OCS ub, SCr. iyâk 'uncle on mother’s side' < BSl. *aujo-; Go. awo 'grandmother', Olc. â 'great-grandfather'.

Lat. avitus is more recent, and will have been formed after maritus. Avunculus is a diminutive of an original n-stem, which is also preserved in the British Celtic words for 'uncle'. Lat. avia is regarded as a relatively old f. to avus by Leumann 1977, but it may also represent a f. to *awjo- 'grandson/uncle' as in BSl. and OIr. Kloekhorst 2008: 352f. reconstructs an original root noun *h2euh2-/*h2uh2-, in order to explain the difference between a geminate -hh- in Hittite and the single -h- of the Luwian languages.


axiö 'the horned owl' [n] (Pliny)

Pit. *ak(e)s- + -iön- 'the one with tufts'.

Without etymology so far. Some owls have two feathery protuberances on their heads, after which they are named: Dutch ooruil, NHG Ohreule 'ear owl'. Judging by Pliny's description, the axiö belongs to this type of owls, and maybe it was called after its protuberances. Lat. axiö may be derived from the basis *h2eks-os- of acus 'chaff', thus meaning 'the pointed one'.

Bibl.: WH I: 89, EM 62. → acus

axis 'axle; chariot' [m. l] (Pac.+

Derivatives: āla 'arm-pit, wing' (Naev.+), axilla 'arm-pit' (Varro).

Pit. *aksi- 'axle', *akselâ 'arm-pit / wing'.

PIE *h2eks-ı- 'axle, arm-pit'. IE cognates: W. echel, Bret. ahel 'axle, axis', Skt. ákṣa- 'axle', YAv. asā- 'arm-pit', Gr. ἀξίων [m.] 'axle'; Gr. ἀμαξα [f.] 'four-wheeled cart' (< PIE *sm-h2eks-ihr); OPr. assis, Lith. asis [m.], CS osb, Ru. os' [f.] 'axle, axis' < *h2eks-i-; OHG ahsa, OE eax 'axle' < PGm. *a(xs)ō-, Olc. õxull 'id.' (<
*cxsula-), Olc. qxI, OE eaxl, OHG ahsala 'arm-pit'.

As Hamp 1981b: 83 points out, the PIE date of the i-stem is not certain, since Gm., Ilr. and Gr. do not show an i-stem. Lat. āla can have the same Italo-Celtic morphological origin as PBr. *akselo/a-, whence axilla as a secondary diminutive. The root *h₂ek(s)- in 'axle' might be derived from the root *h₂eg- 'to lead'.


bāca 'fruit of tree or shrub, berry, nut, etc.' [f. ā] (Cato+; sometimes bacca)

Derivatives: bācula 'small berry' (Plin.), bacar 'wine-vessel like a bacriō' (Paul. ex F.), bacriō 'kind of vessel with a rather long handle' (Paul. ex F.).

The connection with the Greek god Bάκχος 'Bacchus; also the twig which his followers bear' is uncertain, since the Greek name was probably borrowed from Lydian Baki- in the name Bakivalis = Διονυσικλέους (Beekes fthc.). Boutkan-Kossmann 1999 have suggested a comparison with Berber *bqa 'blackberry, mulberry'. Latin and Berber might have borrowed the word from a substrate language.


baculum 'stick, staff' [n. o] (Cic.+)

Derivatives: bacillum (Afran.+)'small stick'.
Pft. *bak-(k)elo-.

IE cognates: Ir. bacc 'hook, crooked staff', W. bach 'id.' < PCI. *bakko-; Gr. βάκτρον, βακτηρία, βακτηρίου 'stick, staff'; OE pegel 'wine-jug', MDu. pegel 'peg, pin, bolt' < PGm. *pagila- < *bak-eλo-, ME pegge 'peg' < *bak-ion-. Possibly also Lith. bąkstelėti 'to thrust', Latv. bākstit 'to poke'.

A number of languages show words in *bak- meaning some kind of 'staff' or 'peg'. Since *b was very rare in PIE, and Celtic shows an unexplained geminate, we are probably dealing with a loanword from an unidentified source.

Bibl.: WH I: 92, EM 64, 309f., IEW 93, Schrijver 1991: 100.

badius 'brown, chestnut coloured (of horses)' [adj. o/ā] (Varro+; rare)
Pft. *boʃjo-.

The presence of di in badius suggests an original voiced aspirate (as in medius), since PIE *di would have yielded iī (as in pēior). The Latin word can be connected with OIr. buide 'yellow' < PCI. *bod-io-. The limited distribution and initial *b- render PIE origin unlikely. If we assume a preform *badhios, the Irish word must belong to those words in which *o was raised between a labial and a palatal consonant, cf. Thurneysen 1946: 50. Yet such raised forms usually exist side by side with unraised forms in Irish (e.g. moirb/mairb, muig/maig), which is not the case for buide. If we
assume *bodhios, we might assume that Latin *badius represents a case of unrounding of *o after a labial consonant, which Schrijver 1991: 454ff. only assumes after *m, *w and PIE labiovelars. The latter solution seems slightly more attractive; there are no counterexamples with bo- < PIE *bʰo- in Latin.

Bibl.: WH I: 92, EM 64, IEW 92, Leumann 1977: 156.

**baetō, -ere** ‘to go’ [v. III] (Lex XII+; bae- Lex XII, Nonius, bae-, bē- Pac., bē- 4x Pl.)

Derivatives: *adbutere* ‘to approach’ (Pl.), *ebutere* ‘to go out’ (Pl.), *imbutere* ‘to enter’ (Pl.), *interbutere* ‘to fail’ (Pl.), *perbutere* ‘to perish’ (Andr.), *praeterbutere* ‘to go past’ (Pl.), *probute* ‘to go forward’ (Pac.), *rebutere* ‘to return’ (Pl.), *transbutere* ‘to come across’ (Pl.).

The attestations suggest that *baetō* was the original form which sometimes became *beto*, while *bito* was regular in non-initial syllables (especially in Plautus). Where *bito* occurs independently (4x in Plautus), it must be a decompounded form. A possibly cognate form is U. ebetraf [acc.pl.], maybe ‘city border’, if from *ex-bait-ra-* ‘exit’. There is no good etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 92f., EM 64, Untermann 2000: 142, 143, 196. → *arbiter*

**bāiulus** ‘porter, carrier’ [m. o] (Pl.+

Derivatives: *bāuilāre* ‘to carry’ (Pl.+

Theoretically, *bāiulus* could go back to *bagjelos* (thus Schrijver 1991), with a stem *bag-* which might be cognate with Germanic *pak- (ME packe). Romance words such as Prov. *baga* ‘bundle’, Span. *baga* ‘capsule of flaxseed’ are either borrowings from Germanic, or they continue a Celtic form, which could also have been borrowed into Latin and yielded *bāiulus*. In either case, PIE origin seems unlikely.

Bibl.: WH I: 93, EM 64, Schrijver 1991: 100.

**balbus** ‘stammering’ [m. o] (Lucil.+

Derivatives: *balbutīre / balbutīre* ‘to stammer’ (Cic.+

Plt. *balbo-.


Lat. *balbūtīre* presupposes an adj. *balb-ūtus* (cf. *canītus, hirsūtus*). This can go back to a reduplicated PIE formation in *bl-bl-, of onomatopoeic origin, mimicking incomprehensible speech. The exact form of this expression cannot be reconstructed.

Bibl.: WH I: 94, EM 65, IEW 91f. → *blatīō*

**ballaena** ‘whale’ [f. ā] (Pl.+

According to EM, Greek φάλάλανα, φάλλη ‘whale’ and Latin *ballaena* were probably borrowed from a common, unknown source. Leumann 1977, however, thinks that *ballaena* may have been directly borrowed from Greek, since the Gr. f. formation
would be regular from an earlier *φαλλων. It remains unclear why Latin would have rendered Gr. ph- by means of b-. In any case, the borrowing into Latin must have occurred recently enough for -ae- to have been retained in the second syllable.


bålō, -āre 'to bleat' [v. I] (Pl. +; bēlō in glosses)

Derivatives: bālitāre 'to bleat' (Pl.).

The rendering of sheep's bleating in the IE languages seems to vacillate between ā and ē (cf. Eng. baa, Dutch [be]). The suffix -āre is reminiscent of ululāre; since the latter is probably a reduplicated (onomatopoeic) formation ul-ul-āre, bālāre has probably adopted it from there. EM and WH compare IE forms in *blē- but these must be connected with flēre, and hence continue PIE *bʰl-.

Bibl.: WH I: 95, EM 65, IEW 96. → balbus, blatiō, ululāre

barba 'beard' [f. ā] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: barbātus 'bearded' (Elog.Scip., Pl. +), harbula 'little beard' (Lucil.+), barbitium 'a growth of beard' (Apul.+); imberbis [adj.] 'beardless' (Lucil.+).

Plt. *farfā- 'beard'. Modern Italian farfècchie 'moustache' may reflect Sab., probably U. *farfa.

IE cognates: OPr. bordus 'heard', Lith. barzdā (acc.sg. barzdq) , Latv. bārda, OCS brada, Ru. borodā 'id.' < BSJ. *bordā?, Lith. barzdōtas, OCS bradaijy 'bearded'; OHG bart, OE beard, OFr. berd [m.] < Gm. *bard-a-.  

From Plt. *farfa, we expect Latin *farba. WH and EM explain initial b- from assimilation to -rb-. The *a in the PIE root is difficult to explain via ablaut, and rather points to a non-IE borrowing into the European languages. Lat. barbātus 'bearded' and the BSl. forms for 'bearded' might go back to a PIE denominal adj. in -eh₂-to- but may also be independent innovations of the respective branches.


bardus 'stupid, dull' [adj. o/ā] (Pl. +)

WH and EM assume a loanword, possibly from Etruscan.

Bibl.: WH I: 96, EM 66.

bāsium 'kiss' [n. o] (Cat. +)

Derivatives: bāsiāre 'to kiss' (Cat. +).

The recent date of attestation renders a loanword likely. Since Catullus, who introduced the word into the written language, was from Verona, it might have been Celtic. The original meaning of bāsium included an erotic connotation absent from osculum; in Imperial Latin, bāsium became the general word for 'kiss'. Many IE and non-IE languages contain a word for 'kiss' in *bu- plus a sibilant, pointing to onomatopoeic origin: Mlr. bus, pus 'lip', busóc, pusóc 'kiss', MoP bōsīdan, Lith. bučiūoti 'to kiss', NHG Buss, Eng. buss, Swe. puss 'kiss'. It seems likely that bāsium has a similar source.

Bibl.: WH I: 97f., EM 67.
bellum ‘war, warfare’ [n. o] (Naev. +; older duellum, e.g. in Pl.)
Derivatives: bellicus/duelicus ‘of war’ (Pl.), Bellōna ‘Roman goddess of war’ (Pl.), inscr. Duelonai (gen.sg.); perduellis ∗[m.] ‘national enemy’ (Pl.), perduellio ‘(state) treason’ (Valerius Antias+); bellātor ‘warrior’ (Pl.) (Pl. 1x duellator).
The retention of du in perduellis is ascribed to juridical terminology by Meiser 1998. In Plautus, duellum is disyllabic, whereas later poets use it as a trisyllable. This may be either the result of folk etymology with duo, or a regular development (Sihler 1995: 180). The change of ∗dwe- > bo- may not have taken place because of il exilis (Schrijver 1991: 467f.), but Duelona would not fit into this explanation: it would have to be a very recent formation on the basis of duellum. The best etymology for duellum so far has been proposed by Pinault 1987, who posits a dim. ∗duenelo- to bonus. If ∗duenelo- meant ‘quite good, quite brave’, its use in the context of war (bella acta, bella gesta) could be understood as a euphemism, ultimately yielding a meaning ‘action of valour, war’ for the noun bellum.

bēlua ‘beast’ [f. ā] (Naev. +; var. bellua in some mss.)
Derivatives: bēluātus ‘provided with beasts’ (Pl.), bēlūtus [adj.] ‘like a beast’ (Paul. ex F.).
The derivatives would be regular to a u-stem, but they must be more recent, since -lua must go back to earlier ∗-lūwa. The similarity in meaning with bēstia has prompted an etymology as ∗bēstīwa; since words for ‘animal’ can be derived from ‘to breathe’ (cf. Gm. *dius-a ‘animal’ to PIE *dʰus- ‘to breathe’), a preform ∗dʰyes-lo- has been proposed for bēlua. Pokorny 1959 is very sceptical, since initial ∗dʰes- should give Lat.f-.. Meiser 1998: 118 explains b- from word-internal sandhi, but nothing points to this word having formed part of a compound. Thus, the etymology remains uncertain.
Bibl.: WH I: 100, EM 68, IEW 268ff., Leumann 1977: 341. → bēstia, furō

beō, -āre ‘to make happy, gladden’ [v. I] (Pl.)
Derivatives: beātus ‘happy, fortunate’ (Pl.).
Plt. ∗dwejo-?
A connection with bonus < ∗dwenos is semantically attractive, but the morphology is unclear. One might start from an adj. ∗bejo- ‘happy’ (or a noun ∗beja ‘happiness’) from which beāre could be derived. We would then have ∗dwe-no- ‘good’ beside ∗dwe-jo- ‘happy’; for the difficult task of finding a PIE root, see s.v. bonus.
Bibl.: WH I: 101, EM 69, IEW 218f. → bonus

berber ‘?’ [adj. o/ā?] (Carmen Arvale)
The exact meaning of berber is unknown, which renders etymologizing difficult. It only occurs in the following verse in the Carmen Arvale: Satur fu, fere Mars. Limen sali. Sta berber. ‘Be satisfied, fierce Mars. Leap (over) the threshold. Stand berber’. The interpretation of this verse seems strange: why do we twice find the word order Predicat[e]V[erb] (fu, sali), but once VP (sta)? Katz 1998a and 2006 translates berber as
‘firm, still’ and reconstructs *ferbro- < *ferfro- < *ferxro- by postulating two rules:
(a) a Pan-Italic change *rχ > *rf; (b) assimilation of *f- to a following *b preceded by *
*r, as might be assumed for barba < *far(r)bā- < Plt. *far(s)fā-. Both rules are ad
hoc, as Driessen 2001: 58f. rightly points out (see also the reaction in Katz 2006),
and, moreover, the translation of berber as ‘firm’ is a guess. The two other examples
which Katz adduces for his rule (a), viz. masturbor and orbis, are too uncertain to
establish this development.

bēstia ‘beast, animal’ [f. āj] (Pl+)
Uncertain etymology, cf. bēlua.
Bibl.: WH I: 102, EM 69, IEW 268ff.

bi- ‘consisting of two, having two’ [pref.] (Naev.+)
Derivatives: dvi- in dividēns ‘with two teeth’ (Paul. ex F.) (bidens [adj.] Acc.+, bidens [m./f.] Lab.+, dividēns ‘cum altero, id est, cum filio censu’ (Paul. ex F.).
Earliest attested cp. in bi:- bipēs, bipedis ‘two-footed’ (Naev.+). Opaque forms in *
bī-: bigae, ārum ‘pair of horses (rarely other animals), chariot with two horses’
(Enn.+). dvi-jugā- ‘having two yokes’, bīmus ‘two years old, of two years’
Plt. *dwī- ‘two’.
PIE *dui- ‘two’. IE cognates: Skt. dvi-, vi- ‘apart’, Av. bi-, Gr. δι-, Arm. erki (< *ki-
+ analogical *er-), Opr. dwi-, Lith. dvi-, OIr. tve-, tvi-, OE twi-, OHG zwi- ‘two’.

Long i in biduum ‘period of two days’ (Cato+) is ascribed to analogy with trīdium,
where it came from postrī-diē (thus WH). Since the length of the i in bignae cannot
be established, it is uncertain whether it continues *dwi-gno- or *dwis-gno-.
Forms in di- ‘two’, such as diennium, dimus ‘bimus’, divium, dissulcus, difāriam, are only
attested in glosses and have graecizing di-. The comparison of U. difue ‘?’ with Gr.
συγεί ‘with two shapes’ is rejected by Meiser 1986: 185f.; the U. word might be a
loan from Greek (thus Heidermanns apud Untermann 2000: 179). Lat. bi-
regularly reflects PIE *dūi- ‘two’ used as the first member of a compound. The origin of *
i in the PIE formation is not clear. It might be a compositional suffix, but maybe it was
rather added analogically after *tri- ‘three’, where *i belongs to the stem. In Ilr. we
also find the preverb Skt. vi-, Av. vī- < *(H)ūi- ‘apart’, which Lubotsky 1994 has
reconstructed as *dūi- ‘(into) two’.
191ff. → bis, duo

bibō, -ere ‘to drink’ [v. III; pf. bībī, ppp. bibitum] (Andr.+)
Derivatives: bibōsus ‘addicted to drink’ (Lab.+), bibulus ‘fond of drinking, absorbent’ (Lucr.+); adbiber ‘to drink in’ (Pl+), combibere ‘to absorb’ (Cato+),
combibō ‘drinking-companion’ (Lucil.+), ebibere ‘to drink up, swallow’ (Pl+),
perbibere ‘to drink deeply, absorb’ (Pl+).
Pit. *pibe/o-. It. cognates: Fal. pafo, pipafo /p/bafô/, /p/bibâfô/ [Is.fut.] 'I will drink' (Lejeune 1990); Sicel πιβε [2s.ivp.act.] 'drink!'.

PIE *pi-ph3-o- [pr.] 'to drink'. IE cognates: Gaul. ibeti-s 'drink!' < *pibete, Olr. ibid, ·ib, MW yuet, MCo. eva 'to drink', MBret. euaff, yvet < PCl. *piboe/o-; Skt pibati, Arm. ամպե 'to drink' < *pimb- (Klingenschmitt 1982: 156). Less certain OAlb. pii /pî/ 'to drink' (Demiraj 1997: 318f.).

In view of the etymology *pibe-, initial b- of bibô must be due to assimilation to the word-internal -b-. Pit. *pibe/o- is confirmed by Sicel πιβε, if this indeed means 'drink!'. Faliscan pafo and pipafo are ambiguous as regards their stop and the length of α: the interpretation given here is that by Lejeune 1990. The Lat. pf. bibî probably replaces *bebi < *be-b-i (Leumann 1977: 587, Meiser 2003: 210), which must have assimilated initial *p- to word-internal b. Word-internal -b- is probably the result of voicing in the cluster *-phr in PIE times. The root *ph3- 'to drink' is furthermore found in Lat. pōtus and pōculum.


bills 'bile' [f. i] (Pl.+

Pit. *bisti-.

IE cognates: W. bustl, MCo. bystel, Bret. bestl 'gall, bile' < PCl. *bistl-.

Schrijver 1995: 400 has shown that the British Celtic word for 'gall, bile' goes back to *bistlis; the same can be true for Lat. bilis. Comparison with Lat. pilum 'a pounder, pestle of a mortar' < *pisllo- < *pisdlo- < *pistlo- (next to the dim. pistillum 'little pounder < *pistlelo-; cf. Driessen 2004) suggests a development *bistli- > *bislli- > bilis. Since we must posit initial *ό-, and since this word is only found in Italic and Celtic, it is possible that the word is not PIE. But if *bistlis were borrowed from Celtic into Italic, one might think of a preform *bid-tli- to PIE root *bheid- 'to split off, which in Germanic has come to meaning 'bite': 'bile' is a biting substance.

Bibl.: WH I: 105, EM 71, IEW 102. → findō

bis 'twice' [adv.] (Pl.; dvis Cic. Orator 153)

Derivatives: biñi, -ae, -a [adj.pl.] 'two at a time; a set of two' (Pl.+).

Pit. *dvis.

PIE *dus 'twice'. IE cognates: Skt. ḍviṣ, Av. biṣ, Gr. δίς, MHG zwir 'twice'.

The multiplicative *dus may be analyzed as 'twice' plus PIE *-s, or as 'two' plus PIE *-is by analogy with *tris 'thrice'. Lat. biñī < *dvis-no- presupposes earlier *dvi-no-, which can be compared with Gm. *twi-na- in OHG zwînal, zwennel 'twinned'; Gm. *twi-na- in OS twēne 'two', OHG zwēne; Gm. *twiz-na- in OIc. tvenmr, tvinmr 'twofold', pl. tvenmer 'two belonging together', OHG zwirnēn 'to twist together twice'.

Bibl.: WH I: 107, EM 71, IEW 228ff. → dis-

bittmen, -minis 'pitch, asphalt' [n. n] (Cato+)

PIE *gʷet-u- 'pitch, resin'. IE cognates: Olr. be(i)the 'buxus', MW bedw 'birches', Co. bedewen 'poplar', Bret. bezuen 'birch' < PCl. *gʷetujā- (if Olr. was borrowed
from British); Skt. jātu [n.] ‘lac, gum’ (Śū.+), Pash. zāwlā ‘resin’; OE hwīt cuīdu, cweodo, cwudu ‘mastic’, OHG cuti ‘gluten’, NHG küt, kitt ‘mastic’ < PGM. *kʰɛdʰ-; Olc. kvāda [f.] ‘resin’ < *gʷet-. The Latin word presupposes *betu- ‘resin, pitch’, which it must have borrowed either from Sabellic (where *gʷ > b) or from Celtic (compare Lat. betulla ‘birch’ from British or Gaulish Celtic *betuīğa). According to Pliny, pitch was extracted from birch trees in Gallia; but the same procedure may have been practised among Italic peoples. The vowel i for *e may go back to the lending language (in front of a following *u, raising of *e would not be surprising), but it may also be connected with other Latin words in which *e > i was due to a preceding labial (Watkins 1973b: 196), such as firmus, vitulus, fiber/feber, pinna/penna.

Bibl.: WH I: 107, EM 71, IEW 480.

blandus ‘charming, seductive’ [adj. o/a] (Naev.+)
Derivatives: blandīrī ‘to flatter’ (Pl.+), blandīmentum ‘cajolery’ (Pl.+).
Uncertain etymology. The connection with mollis ‘weak’, suggested by WH and IEW, is phonetically impossible. Others have connect Gr. μαλακός ‘soft’ and Olr. mlāth ‘soft’; adopting this connection, Schrijver proposes a preform *mlh₂-d-no- (to PIE *melh₂- ‘to grind’?) > *blādno- > blandus. EM suggest an original meaning ‘having a flattering voice’ in which case a connection with balbus and blatiō comes in view.


blatiō, -ire ‘to prate, babble’ [v. IV] (Pl.+) Derivatives: blat(t)erāre ‘to prate, babble’ (Afran.+).
PIt. *bl-?
The form balbus seems to be (based on) a reduplicated formation *bl-bl-; in blatiō, we could be dealing with the simplex variant *bl- with an extension -at-. The forms blat(t)erāre may go back to *blat(t)elāre with the same -āre as in sibilāre, cuculāre. All Latin verbs which refer to ‘crying’ take -āre, cf. crōciō, garriō, glāttiō, glōciō.

Bibl.: WH I: 109, EM 72, IEW 102. → balbus, bālō

PIE *duh₂-eno-?
Lat. benē < abl.sg. *duenēd shows that the change of *due- > *dūo- was conditioned by a non-front vowel in the next syllable, and prevented by intervening l. Bellus reflects a dim. *duenēlos > *duenēlos > *dēllos > *bēllos. The dim. meaning is the reason why bellus was originally used to refer to women and children; it was applied
to men only ironically. The meaning ‘(little) good (one)’ still shines through in Varro in quo Graeci belliores quam Romani nostri ‘at which the Greeks are better than our Romans’, and Nonius belliores ‘meliores’. The long vowel in *benī-gmus is phonetic from *i in front of gn, cf. Leumann 1977: 113. Nussbaum 2003 points to the unlikeliness of *benī-gmus as a recent formation, and concludes that it must represent an inherited form *dwēnī-gn-o-, in which *dwēnī- yielded *benī-. A derivational relationship of *dwēnō- ‘good’ → *dwēnī-gn(h1)-o- ‘born with goodness, good-natured’ would confirm the pattern of o-adj. → i-stem abstract as first member of compounds. The PIE etymology is disputed. If OLat. due- reflects *duHe-, duenos could belong to Go. ταυγαν, Gr. δύναμαι from PIE *duh2- ‘to join, fit together’, or to Lat. duim from PIE *d(e)h3-u- ‘to give’. It is as yet unclear, however, whether PIE *duHV- would yield bV- just as *duV- does (note *duo, not *bō ‘two’). Of course, one might interpret bonus as the proof that it did. The absence of vowel colouring is another problem: *duh2-enō- is expected to yield *duanos, whereas *duh3-enō- should yield *duonos (Schrijver 1991: 109f.). Morphologically, the role of the suffix *-eno- that is required for these etymologies is unclear. For the moment, I regard the etymology of bonus as unsolved.


Derivatives: bōvile [n.] (Cato+), būbile [n.] (Plaut.+ ‘stall for oxen’, būbula ‘beef’ (Pl.+), būbulus ‘pertaining to, belonging to cattle’ (Naev.+); bubulcus ‘one who ploughs with oxen, herdsman’ (Cato+), bubulcitāre ‘to be a herdsman, keep, feed, drive oxen’ (Pl.+); biucētum ‘pasture’ (Varro+); būcula ‘young cow’ (Cic.+), būculus ‘young bull’ (Col.+); būcaca [m.] ‘ox-slaughterer’ (Pl.+); Būbōna ‘cattle goddess’ (Aug.); būcina ‘shepherd’s horn, trumpet’ (Varro+).

PIt.nom.sg. *gfous / *gūs, acc.sg. *gūm, gen.sg. *gfowos, acc.pl. maybe *gūns. It. cognates: U. bum [acc.sg.], bue [abl.sg.], bue [gen.pl.], buf, baf [acc.pl.] to /bō/- ‘(male) cow’. The appurtenance of Volscian bim [acc.sg.] as /bǐm/ ‘cow’ < *būm is uncertain, since the meaning of the word is not established for certain. If correct, it would imply unrounding of this word in Volscian after earlier raising of *ō to *ū. SPic. bōudiūn ‘?’ has been etymologized as *bou-ed-iō- ‘place where cattle are fed’, but the meaning of the word is unknown.


From PI nominal. *gfous or *gūs, acc.sg. *gūm, we would expect Latin nom.sg.
brevis 'short' [adj. i] (Pl.+) Derivatives: bruma 'the shortest day, winter solstice, mid-winter' (Cato+).

PIE *mreχ-u(-i-) It. cognates: maybe Spic. brimeidinais [dat.pl.f], of unknown meaning, but maybe indicating a time or period (thus Eichner 1993b: 51): *brēmo- would be a sup. to the Sab. correspondence of brevis.


The PIE u-stem (adj. was enlarged by means of *i in the prehistory of Latin, as happened with other u-adj. (e.g. dulcis, gravis, mollis, suavis, tenuis). Like gravis (on which see Fischer 1982), brevis must have introduced the e-grade; Cowgill 1970 and Sihler 1995 suggest that *e comes from the comp. and sup., which, in their turn, must have the suffix -u- from the positive. With Cowgill 1970: 127 we can assume that the positive acquired *e early on, yielding *mṛgh-u-i- > *breghui- > brevis. The original sup. brūma is explained by Cowgill by different scenarios, from which he hesitates to choose. However, his scenario involving a metathesis *morχ- > *mroχ- is unmotivated. Hence, his first solution seems preferable: PIE *mregh-is-mHo-introduced *u from the positive, and then regularly developed via *mreguṣema > *mroṣema > *brousema > *brousma > brūma.

brütus ‘heavy, inert, brute; brutish’ [adj. o/a] (Naev+ ‘brutish’, Lucr.+ ‘heavy’)
Derivatives: obbrütescō, -ere ‘to become dull, brutish’ (Afran.+).
Plt. *gʷrubō.-
PIE *gʷrh₂-u-to- ‘heavy’. IE cognates: Latv. grūts ‘heavy’; see further s.v. gravis.

Generally regarded as a (Sabellic) dialect word with PIE *gʷ- > *b-, and hence derived from the same stem as gravis ‘heavy’. The praenomen Brūtulus is labelled Oscan by Livy. The original meaning ‘heavy’ is rare: it only appears once in Lucr., Hor., Apul. and Paul. ex F. “brutum is what the ancients used for gravem”. PIE *gʷH-u-to- would have regularly metathesised to *gʷruH-to-; Schrijver suggests that this was conditioned by the accent (stressed *Hu yielding ū).

būbō ‘horned or eagle owl’ [m. (f.) n] (Varro, Asellio+)
Derivatives: būbu’ilare ‘to say bū’ (of the owl) (gloss.).
Probably onomatopoeic for the sound [bu:] of the owl, as can be found in other IE languages: MoP būm ‘owl’, Gr. βύας ‘eagle-owl’, Arm. bu ‘owl’. The noun būbō can be regarded as (quasi) reduplicated.
Bibl.: WH I: 119, EM 77, IEW 97f.

bucca ‘puffed, filled out cheek; mouth’ [f. ā] (Pl.+: ‘mouth’ Pompon.+)
Derivatives: buccō ‘fathead, dolt’ (Pl.+), bucculentus ‘having fat cheeks’ (Pl.), buccula ‘cheek; cheek-piece (of a helmet); side-part of a machine’ (Liv.+).
Plt. *bukkā-?
The meaning ‘mouth’ is secondary, and was originally used in a derogatory way. EM suspect Celtic origin, because it resembles beccus ‘beak’ (Suet.+), and because PN such as Buccus, Buccō, Buccō are Celtic names. Similarly Porzio Germia 1981. Sihler (1995: 224) acknowledges two categories of words in which geminates are often found: abusive epithets, and affectionate or hypocoristic forms of names. He ranges bucca with the second category, but to me it rather seems to belong to the first. IEW connects bucca with the Germanic etymon for ‘back’ resp. ‘frog’, PGm. *pukk-, *pük-, *puuggō(n) which might go back to PIE *bukk- (or even *buk-n-). If correct at all, initial b- would point to a non-IE substratum origin.

būfō ‘toad; hamster (vel sim.)’ [m. n] (Verg.+)
Intervocalic f indicates that būfō is a loan from a different Italic dialect. The word apparently referred to a small, creeping animal. Servius glosses it as rana terrestris, while another gloss calls it sorex silvestris. Leumann 1960 argues that būfō, a hapax in Virgil, does not mean ‘toad’ but rather ‘hamster’, or another animal that damages the corn stocks. The word with its -f- is continued in several Romance dialects, e.g. Logodurese (Sardinia) buvone ‘weevil’, Gascon buhun ‘mole’, Sicilian bufuluna ‘turtle’. These diverging meanings render the connection with BS1. words for ‘toad’ (OPr. gabawo, OCS žaba, Ru. žába, SCr. žába ‘toad’) uncertain. In addition, if.
caballus

inherited, BSl. reflects PIE *g*eb-eh₂ according to Derksen 2008; this form cannot be directly related with buʃo.

-bulcus '‘-herd’ [m. o]
Derivatives: aububulcus ‘cowherd’ (CGL V 346, 39), bubulcus ‘who ploughs with oxen’ (Cato+), subulcus ‘swineherd’ (Cato+).
The connection with Gr. φύλαξ, -ακός ‘guard’, accepted in many handbooks, is unconvincing: the suffix being -ακ-, the root would be φυ-, but there is no evidence for a PIE full grade *bʰolko- ‘supporter’ to a root *bʰelk- from which also Lat. fulciō ‘to support’ can be derived. Semantically, a ‘supporter’ is not necessarily a ‘herdsman’, so the etymology remains quite uncertain. Italian bifolco ‘ox-driver’ seems to presuppose a VLat. variant *bufulcus which may hide a Sabellic form with regular f from -bʰ-.

bustum ‘funeral pyre, ruin’ [n. o] (Pl.)
Derivatives: bustirapus ‘grave-robber’ (Pl.), bustuarius ‘connected with tombs’ (Cic.+).
Bustum was derived from compounds of ūro ‘to burn’, ppp. ustum, by metanalysis: amb-ūro was analyzed as am-būro, leading to a ppp. am-bustum. The same metanalysis led to combūro (see ūro).
Bibl.: WH I: 124, EM 79. → ūro

būteō ‘hawk or buzzard’ [m. n] (Plin.+)
Probably onomatopoeic, rendering the call of a hawk or buzzard. Therefore not to be regarded as genetically related to būbō ‘owl’.
Bibl.: WH I: 124, EM 79, IEW 97f.

caballus ‘horse, esp. workhorse’ [m. o] (Lucil.+)
IE cognates: Gr. PN Καβαλλάς (4th cent.), καβάλλης ‘nag’ (Plut., Hsch.), καβάλλ(ε)ιον [n.] ‘workhorse’ (inscr. Callatis 3rd c. BC, Hsch.).
The age of the Greek words shows that they are independent of caballus. Beekes interprets the word as an Asian loanword, and compares Turkish kavall adjunct of at ‘horse’, MoP kaval ‘second class horse of mixed blood’. Although the ultimate source remains unclear, Lat. caballus must also be regarded as a loanword.
Bibl.: WH I: 125, EM 80.
cacı, -äre 'to defecate' [v. I] (Pompon.+)

Pit. *kak(k)-.

IE cognates: Mr. caccaim, W. cachu; Gr. ἐκκάκω 'to shit', κάκη 'human) faeces', Arm. k'akor 'manure', Ru. kaka't, MDu. NHG kacken 'to shit'.

Either a nursery word or an onomatopoeia. Kluge-Seebold 1999 call the verb symbolic, with the velar stop imitating the sound accompanying the action of shitting. The Germanic forms, however, may have been borrowed from Latin.

Bibl.: WH I: 127, EM 80, IEW 521.

cacumen, -inis 'peak, top' [n. r] (Cato+)

IE cognates: Skt. kakūbh- [f.] 'peak, top', kakubhā- 'lofty, excelling', kakuhā- 'id.'; kakūd- [f.] 'peak' (RV+), kakūd-mant- 'having a hump' (RV+); kākūd- [f.] 'throat, mouth' (RV); Gr. κυφός [n.] 'hump, hunch', κύπτω 'to bend forward'.

According to WH, cacumen represents *kakud-, reformed after acumen. For PIE, IEW reconstructs a root *keu(H)- 'to bend'. Connecting cacumen with Skt. kakūbh-, Schrijver 1991 concludes on a possibly reduplicated form *kekubh- of a root *(s)kubh- or *kωubh-. These root structures would be irregular in PIE. Also, the vowels do not match perfectly. Especially in view of acumen, I regard it as uncertain that cacumen goes back to a PIE form.


O. cadeis [gen.sg.] 'enmity'.

Pit. *kād̪o-/i-.

PIE *k(e)h2d-o/i- 'hatred, angriness'. IE cognates: Olr. cais, W. cas 'hatred' < *kad-s/t-i- (LEIA - C22), W. cawdd 'angriness' < *kād-o(s)-, Av. sādra- 'woe', Gr. κηδός [n.] 'care, anxiety', Go. hatis, Olc. hatr, OE hete 'hate' < PGm. *χαττις -[n.].

Bibl.: IEW 517, Untermann 2000: 359, Stüber 2002: 114f., LIV *keh2d-.

cadō, -ere 'to fall, sink' [v. III; pf. cecidi, pps. cāsum] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: caducus 'falling, fallen' (Cato+), cāsus, -ūs 'fall' (Pl.+); cadāver, -eris 'corpse' [n.] (CIL 401, Cic.+), cadāverōsus 'cadaverous' (Ter.); occāsiō 'opportunity, chance' (Pl.+), occāsus, -ūs 'opportunity, chance; the sinking (of the sun)' (Lex XII, Enn.+); cassāre 'to totter' (Plaut.), cassābundus 'staggering' (Naev.+); accidere 'to fall down, be heard, happen' (Andr.+), concidere 'to fall down, collapse' (Pl.+), dēcidere 'to fall off, go wrong' (Pl.+), excidere 'to fall out, escape' (Naev.+), incidere 'to happen, change into, fall' (Pl.+), occidere 'to go down, be ruined, die' (Pl.+), recidere 'to fall back' (Pl.+), succidere 'to give way under one' (Pl.+); gelicidium 'a frost' (Cato+), stillicidium 'a dripping liquid, stillicide' (Varro, Lucr.+).

Pit. *kad-elo-/i-, *kad-s- [pr.]

PIE *(ke-)kḥ2d-? 'to fall'. IE cognates: Skt. śad- 'to fall' (pf. śasāda, fut. śatsyantī); Gr. κεκαδών 'robbing, úπο ... κεκάδοντο 'they receded'.

The form of cadaver is difficult to explain. WH assume a ppa. *kadā-wes- 'having fallen', which is fine semantically; but where would ā come from, and why would the neuter form have been lexicalized? The appurtenance of Gr. pf. κεκάδ- is disputed: 'to
recede' may have developed from 'to fall back', but this would probably imply that the active forms are secondary. The v. cassāre can be a sā-present to *kad-.


caecus 'blind, dark, invisible' [adj. α/α] (Pl.+

Derivatives: caecāre 'to make blind' (Lucr.+), caecilia 'the blind-worm' (Col.), caecitās 'blindness' (Cic.+), caeculus 'small (and) blind' (Lab.+), caecūlāre 'to be blind, see badly' (Varro+), caecultāre 'to be purblind, see badly' (Pl., Paul. ex F.).

Pf. *kaiko-.

PIE *keh2i-ko- / *kh2ei-ko- 'one-eyed'. IE cognates: Olr. cāech 'one-eyed', coeg 'empty', W. coeg-dall, OCo. cuic 'one-eyed' < PCL. *kaiko-, Go. haiks 'id.' < PGM. *χάιγα- . Skt. kekara- is probably not related (Schrijver 1991: 266), nor is Gr. καικίας 'northeast wind'.

Caecultāre probably results from contamination with occultāre 'to hide'. The ko-derivatives have a limited distribution and need not date back to PIE, but the root *k2h2i- probably does and may have meant 'alone, bare'.

Bibl.: WH I: 129, EM 82, IEW 519f., Schrijver 1991: 266. → caelebs

caedō, -ere 'to cut, hew, fell' [v. III; pf. cecīdī, ppp. caesium] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: caedēs, -is 'killing, slaughter' (Cato+), caedātus 'ready for felling' (Cato+); caelum 'chisel' (Varro+), caelāre 'to adorn, engrave' (Enn.); caementum 'small stones, rubble' (Enn.); caestus, -ūs 'strip of leather, boxing-glove' (Pl+); cāia 'cudgel' (Isidorus), cāīare 'to beat, thresh' (Pl); anciaesa 'caelata' (Paul. ex F.), ancīle [n.] 'small shield' (Enn.+), ancīsus 'cut about' (Lucr.+), homicida 'murderer' (Cic.+), homicidium 'homicide' (VMax.+), pāricida/parricida [m.] 'murderer of a near relation' (Pl+); occīlāre 'to smash up' (Pl.), incīle [n.] 'channel, ditch' (Cato+), incīlis [adj.] 'id.' (Cato), incīlāre 'to revile, abuse' (Pac+); abscedere 'to cut away' (Pl+; ppp. -cīsus), circumsīdere 'to prune off, curtail' (Varro+), circumsīdānus 'kind of must' (Cato), conscīdere 'to cut up, kill' (Pl+), decidere 'to cut off, decide' (Pl+), excīdere 'to cut out, destroy' (Pl+), incīdere 'to cut open, engrave' (Cato+), occīdere 'to kill, destroy' (Naev+), occīsor 'killer' (Pl+), praeclīdere 'to cut off, sever' (Naev+), recīdere 'to cut back' (Cato+), succīdere 'to cut from below' (Enn+), succīdānus 'killed as a substitute' (Pl+), trānsclīdere 'to strike across the whole body' (Pl).

Pf. *kaid-e/o-. It. cognates: possibly Hernician kaiti.

PIE *keh2id- / *kh2eit- 'to cut, hew'. IE cognates: Arm. xait'em 'to stab' < *kHei-t-, Alb. qeth 'to shave' possibly < *kaid-; MDu. heien 'to drive piles', OHG heia 'wooden hammer' < PGM. *χαίγαν < *kh2e(i)e/o- or *khOi-.

Lat. caelum < Pf. *kaid(s)lo-, whence caelARE, ancīle < *ambi-kaid-sli-; incīlis [adj.] < *en-kaid-sli- 'cut in, hewn out'; Steinbauer (1989: 196) convincingly explains occīlāre as *occīlāre < *ob-caelāre. Similarly, incīlāre may be explained as 'to hew in onto, scold'. Lat. caementum < Pf. *kaid(s)mento-. A stem *caes- was metanalyzed from the ppp. and led to caestus < *kaissu- < *kaid-tu-, ancaesa <
*ambi-caesa. The forms caĩaře and caia are not well-attested, but seem to be old, with i < *dj: cãia < *kaidjä-, cãiāre < *kaidjä- (for the phonetic change, cf. pēior).


caelebs, -ibis ‘unmarried (usually said of men)’ [adj. b] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: caelibātus, -ūs ‘celibacy’ (Sen.+).

PIE *kaili-b/-i-?

PIE *keh₂i-lo- ‘whole’. IE cognates: OPr. kails ‘hail!’, kailiūstikan ‘health’ [acc.sg.f.], OCS cēh₂, ORu. kēb (Novg.) ‘whole’, cēljo ‘to heal’ < BSI. *kailo-, Go. hails ‘whole, healthy’ < PGM. *χaila-.

The comparison with Skt. kévala- ‘characteristic, own, secluded’ < *kaiyelo- has led to a reconstruction *kaiyelo-lih’- for caelebs (cf. WH), but Schrijver 1991 has argued that it is uncertain that this reconstruction would indeed yield caelebs; it is not impossible though, if we compare Lat. aetās < PIt. *aiwotāt-s. More problematic is the fact that the root and formation of the supposed *kaiyelo- are unclear; also, Germanic ‘to live’ is now reconstructed as PIE *leip-. A good alternative for caelebs is the European word *kailo- ‘whole’, which may have yielded a noun *kail- ‘wholeness’; if this developed to ‘unboundness, celibacy’, it may explain the meaning ‘unmarried’ of caelebs; cf. WH. The origin of the suffix -b- remains unclear.

Bibl.: WH I: 130, EM 83, IEW 520, Schrijver 1991: 267. → caelum

caelum ‘sky, heaven, vault of heaven’ [n. o; often m. caelus, pl. always caelī] (Naev.++; cael [nom.sg.m.] lx Enn.)

Derivatives: caeles, -itis ‘dwelling in heaven’ (Enn.+), [m.] ‘god, divinity’ (mostly pl., gen.pl. -itum; Pl.); caelestis ‘in/from the sky, heavenly’ (Varro+), caerul(e)us ‘blue’ (Pl.+).

PIE *kailo- ‘sky’. It. cognates: O. kaïla ‘kind of building’ may belong here as ‘vaulted’, but may very well be something different.

PIE *keh₂i-lo- ‘whole’.

Lat. caeles < PIt. *kail-it- ‘sky-going, sky-goer’ (Leumann 1977: 372). Lat. caelestis has the suffix *-estris of local adjectives (cf. the antonym terrestris), but adopted the dissimilated variant -estis from agrestis; cf. Leumann 1977: 351f. The colour caerulus / caeruleus has dissimilated from *caelulus, orig. ‘sky-colour’. The variant cael, attested twice, if linguistically real, might have developed regularly from nom.sg. *kailos, cf. Lat. famul beside famulus ‘servant’, and perhaps nom.sg. vigil ‘nightwatch’ < *uigilis. However, in the given passage, Ennius uses more abbreviations: gau for gaudium, dō for domum.

One older etymology, preferred by WH, connects caelum with the Germanic and Baltic words for ‘clear’: OIc. heid ‘clear sky’, heīdr, OHG heitar ‘clear’ < PGM. *hait-, Lith. skaidrūs, Latv. skaids ‘clear’, Lith. skāistas, skaistus ‘id.’ < *skoit/el-. Schrijver 1991 argues that these must continue a PIE root without an internal laryngeal, i.e. *(s)kei-, which renders it difficult to account for Latin -ae-. The alternative etymology, proposed by Schrijver, seems more attractive to me. He
connects *caelum with W. coel ‘presage, omen’, OBret. coel ‘priest’ < PCl. *kailo-/a- ‘presage’. Watching the flight of birds in a demarcated area of the sky as a form of divination played a prominent role in the religion of the Italic peoples. There are some indications that bird watching as a form of divination was practised by the Celts, too. The ultimate origin may be sought in the word reflected as *χαιλα- ‘whole’ in Germanic, OPr. *kailistiskan [acc.sg.] ‘health’, OCS cēh ‘whole, healthy’ < *kailo-: the ‘sky’ can be referred to as a ‘whole’, and so can a ‘presage’ (via ‘truth’; cf. Go. hailags, MoE holy). Possibly, *caelum got its meaning in the augural sphere, as ‘the whole’ in contrast with templum ‘the part’. This etymology would imply a preform PIE *kailo-/ *kailo-, or, if originally a non-IE loanword, *kailo-. If *caelum is related to *kair/so- (cf. caerimônia), a PIE *kailo- seems more likely.


cænum ‘mud, filth, slime’ [n. o] (Pl.+

The relationship of caenum with cūnɪre ‘to shit’, in-quināre ‘to soil’, which has been proposed e.g. by WH and which presupposes original o-grade *koino-, is formally impossible unless by means of speculative assumptions (cf. Schrijver 1991). The connection with Swe.dial. hven, OIC. *hvein (in place-names) ‘low, marshy field’?, Latv. svīni ‘to soil oneself’ is invalidated by the same objections: the Latin form does not point to *k(u)oinom. Obscaerius is probably unrelated, see s.v.

Bibl.: WH I: 131, EM 84, IEW 628, Schrijver 1991: 265. → inquinô

caerimônia ‘sacredness; reverence’ [f. ā] (Cic.+

Plt. *kair/so-mon-?
PIE *kʰ₂i-r/so- ‘whole’?

For the suffix, cf. castimônia, sanctimônía. The Roman belief that the word had to do with the Etruscan city of Caere is a folk-etymology. Probably, caerimônia is derived from an adj. *caerus which also formed the second member of the cp. sin-cërús ‘whole, sound’ < *sm-kair/so- (see s.v.).


caesariês ‘long hair; plume’ [f. ē] (Pl.+

Probably formed on the basis of an r-stem *caesar, which might be identical to the name Caesar. Old word-internal *-ar- would have given -er- (cf. perperī, Numeriō). Word-internal s was preserved because of r in the next syllable. An ingenious etymology was proposed by Pinault 1998, who posits *kaikro-kṣeher- ‘having a combing of the hair’ > *kaikerksas- > *kairksas- > *kairsas- > caesär-. Especially the alleged haplology from *kaikerksas- to *kairksas- is hard to believe, since it would involve a structurally different haplology from the one seen in non-initial syllable in e.g. mediālis, fastūdium, sēmodius. Semantically, the meaning ‘who has combed hair’ is not necessarily the same as ‘having long hair’. A direct connection with Skt. kēsa- ‘hair on the head’ is impossible if this derives from Iir. *kaicā-. Skt. kēsara- ‘hair (of the brow)’, kēsaravant- ‘having manes’ (of a horse) are uncertain: these may belong
to kēša-, with an occasional dissimilation of š to s in some traditions. The appurtenance of Lith. kaštį, -šiu ‘to plane, to polish’ is uncertain too, cf. Fraenkel 1955-1965 s.v.

cæsius ‘grey-eyed, grey’ [adj. o/a] (Ter. +)
IE cognates: Lith. skaidrūs, skūdru ‘clear, bright, skāistas, skaistis ‘bright’ < *skoid--; Go. haidus ‘way, manner’, OHG heitar ‘bright, clear’ < PGm. *haið-/t- < PIE *kōt-/t-.
Possible preforms include *kaid-to- and *kait-to-. The connection with the Germanic and Baltic forms is semantically unproblematic, but the formation in Latin, with a suffix *-to- after the root to indicate a colour, would be unusual. Also, Latin -ae- is difficult to explain from PIE *-oi-.
Bibl.: WH I: 133, EM 85, IEW 916€, LIV ?*keit- (?). → caelum

cæpes, -itis ‘sod, turf’ [m. t] (Cic. +)
The original meaning may have been ‘a cut-off piece’. The etymology is unknown. O. kaispatar (form? meaning?) is too uncertain to be used.
calamitās ‘disaster, ruin’ [f. t] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: calamitās ‘liable to damage or disaster’ (Cato+); incolūmis [adj.] ‘unharmed, safe’ (Pl. +).
The sequence calam- may reflect PIE *kh₂-em-; there is no good alternative explanation for ca-. The second a has been retained unreduced due to influence of the preceding a, as in in alacer, anas. The PIE adjective is also attested in the cp. incolūmis ‘unharmed, safe’ < *enkalamis < *n-kh₂emim-.
calendarēs ‘first day of the month’ [f.pl. ā] (Pl. +; kalendas, usually abbreviated as Kal., K. or Kalend.)
Plt. *kalā-dno-.
PIE *kelh₁-/*kh₁- ‘to call’. IE cognates: see calō.
A substantivized gerundive, meaning ‘(the days which are) called out’ Initial kal- must reflect *kh₁-V-. In the pr. ‘to call’, Latin apparently generalized a paradigm *kala- ‘to call’ while Sabellic used *kalē-, see s.v. calō. The preform *kalā-dno- > *kalāndo- developed to *kalando- by Osthoff’s shortening and subsequent vowel reduction to calend- (Meiser 1998: 75).
caleō ‘to be warm’ [v. II; pf. cahū] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: calēscere ‘to grow warm’ (Cato+); calidus (calculus) ‘hot, warm’ (Pl.+);
calor ‘heat’ [m.] (Pl.+); calē(facere ‘to make hot’ (Pl.+), calefactāre ‘to heat’ (Pl.+).

PIt. *kala-. 

PIE *klH-eh₁ ‘to be hot’. IE cognates: W. clyd, Lith. šiltas, Latv. sīlts ‘warm’ < *kltó-.

Lat. caleō represents a stative verb *klH-eh₁ ‘to be hot’; calidus may be directly from


cālidus ‘with a white mark on the forehead’ [adj. o/ā] (glosses: Isidorus, Chiron)

It. cognates: U. kaleruf, calersu [acc.pl.m.] ‘a certain colour of cattle’.

The length of a cannot be established. Nussbaum 1999a: 382 suggests that a Gr. (Doric) adj. *kālado- ‘spotted’ (cf. Gr. κηλικας, Dor. kālīς ‘stain, spot’) was borrowed into Latin, where it joined the idus-adjectives. U. kal- may also be a borrowing from Greek. Schrijver 1991 reconstructs a PIE root *keL-, based on the comparison with Skt. karkī ‘white cow’, MoP cārma ‘grey horse’, Lith. kalības, kalīvas ‘having a white neck’. Yet the Latin sound change *kel- > kal- which he assumes must probably be dismissed, cf. Meiser 1998: 82f.


calīga ‘boot (esp. of soldiers)’ [f. a] (Cic. +)

Derivatives: PN Caligula (Tac. +).

The earlier etymology as haplology from *calca-liga ‘binding the heel’ has already been refuted by WH. The etymology is unknown: to cālō ‘wooden shoe’ (Paul. ex F.)? Or to calix ‘vessel’?


cālīgō, -inis ‘darkness, obscurity’ [f. n] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: cāligāre ‘to be dark’ (maybe Pac.+ ‘to make dark’ (uncertain attestation), otherwise Cic.+).

PIt. *kāl-i- ‘dark’(?).

IE cognates: Gr. κηλικας, -άδος [f.] ‘mottled, windy’ (epithet of clouds), κηλίκας, -ίδος (Dor. kālīs) ‘stain, spot’, κηλίκη ‘black’ (Hsch.).

Like other nouns in -īgō, it may be derived from an adj. Hence the proposed connection with Skt. kāla- ‘black’, still supported by Leumann 1977, which EWAia I: 343 rejects. The most likely cognate seems to me Lat. cālidus (see s.v.), although the semantics are not perfect. Schrijver 1991 separates cālidus, retains Gr. κηλικας, and reconstructs PIE *keL₂-.


calīx, -icis ‘vessel for food or drink’ [m. k] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: caliculus ‘small cup’ (Cato+).
**callis** 'rough track, path' [m.f. i] (Varro+; inscr.)


IE cognates: Gr. κύλιξ, -ικος ‘(drinking) cup’, maybe Gr. σκάλλιον ‘small cup’, σκαλίς (Hsch.).

A connection of the Italic forms with Gr. κύλιξ would be possible under the assumption that *kWθik- regularly yielded the Greek form (with u-colouring of the anaptyctic vowel to the left of *) and the Italic ones (with *skw- > *sk-, and subsequent spread of the pure velar to the s-less form of Latin); thus Shrijver 1991: 207. The connection of Skt. kalāśa- ‘jar, pot, dish’ is doubtful, since this has a different ablaut structure; possibly, Latin and Greek took the word for ‘vessel’ from a substratum language. Similarly, Beekes (fthc.) argues that κύλιξ has a typical pre-Greek word structure.


**callis** 'rough track, path' [m.f. i] (Varro+; inscr.)

Plt. *kaln/st-?

WH reconstruct *kalnis < *klnis, and explicitly reject appurtenance to callum as ‘terra trita’ (as do EM). To me, this connection seems quite plausible as far as the semantics are concerned.


**callum** ‘hard substance: flesh of animals or fruit; hide; cicatrix, induration’ [n. o; pl. always m. calīt] (Naev.+; callus [m.] Naev., Cels.)

Derivatives: calère ‘to be or grow hard; to know (how)’ (Pl.+), ochcallēscere ‘to acquire a thick skin’ (Pl.+); callidus ‘experienced, clever’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *kaln/so- [adj.] ‘hard’.

IE cognates: Ofr. calath, calad, W. caled ‘hard’ < *kHl-eto-, maybe Gaul. Caleti, Caletes; Ru. kalit‘ to heat, roast’, SCR. kālītī ‘to temper, case-harden’ < *kHl- (?).

Indo-European origin is uncertain. Hamp 1985a reconstructs *kHl-no-. It may originally have been an adj. ‘hard’, which would explain the vacillating gender and the formation of calleō. This accords well with Celtic *kaleto- ‘hard’. If PIE, it might be the zero-grade of the root *kh2l- which can be reconstructed for Latin cāligō (but this might be a loanword). Schrijver (1995: 86) connects W. caled to Lith. šalti ‘to freeze’, which has a PIE palato-velar, and which may have the same root *kh2l- as calleō. But in that case, the -a- of callum is difficult to account for.


**calō, -āre** ‘to announce, summon’ [v. I] (Varro+; Forum cippus kalatorem [acc.sg.] ‘herald’)

Derivatives: calābra [adj.] ‘?’ (Varro nec curia calabra sine calatione potest aperiri), k/calātor, -ōris ‘personal attendant, servant’ (Pl.+), nomenc(u)lātor ‘a slave who informs his master of the names of those he meets’ (Cic.+), calätiō ‘convoking’ (Varro), intercalāre ‘to insert into the calender’ (Cato+); concilium ‘debate; popular assembly, council’ (‘debate’ Pl. Lucil.; the other meanings Lucr.+ and inscr.), conciliāre
calvus 85

‘to bring together, win over, obtain’ (Pl.+), conciliatrix ‘intermediary’ (Pl.+), conciliabulum ‘meeting-place’ (Pl.+), reconciliare ‘to restore, reconcile’ (Naev.+).

Plt. *kela- / *kal- [pr.]. It. cognates: U. kařetu, kařitu, carsitu [3s.ipv.II] ‘he must call’ < *kalē-tōd < *kaleie-.


For the verb, Schrijver 1991: 206, 400 assumes original athematic flection *kelh₁-ti, *klh₁-enti > *kelati, *kalenti. The former would explain the first cj. of calāre, whereas the second would have given risen to the U. ē-conjugation. Apparently, the pl. form *kal- was generalized. The noun concilium may reflect *-kelh₁-io-, *-kolh₁-io- or *-klh₁-io- (Schrijver 1991: 206). The verb is not alive anymore in the classical period with the meaning ‘to call’, but only survives in technical specializations.

Bibl.: WH I: 141f., EM 87f., IEW 548-50, Rix 1999: 528, LIV *kleh₁-. → calendae, clāmāre, clārus

cālō ‘soldier’s servant’ [m. n] (Acc.+)

Etymology unknown.

Bibl.: WH I: 141, EM 87.

calvor, -I ‘to deceive’ [v. III] (Lāx XII, Pl.+; also ‘to be deceived’ Pac.+)

Derivatives: calumnia [f.] ‘false accusation’ (CIL I, Cjc.+).

Plt. *kalwe/o- [pr.].

PIE *kh₂l₁-u- (Schrijver) or *kh₁₁-u- (LIV). IE cognates: Gr. κηλεω ‘to cast a spell’, Go. (af)holon ‘to slander’, Olc. ḥela ‘to praise’, OE hōlian, hēlan ‘to betray’, OHG huolen ‘to deceive’ < *keh₂l₁- (if cognate).

LIV derives calvor from PIE ‘to call’, which is semantically attractive. Lat. calumnia < *kalwомнna to *kalwомнno- ‘deceiving, accusing’. The absence of the development *lµ > Lat. ll suggests either an early variant *kalu- or *kalVw-. If derived from ‘to call’, this could point to a preform *kh₁₁-u- > *kalu-, thematized to *kalu-e- > calvor.

Bibl.: WH I: 143, EM 88, IEW 551, Schrijver 1991: 95, 113, LIV *(k)elh₁-.

calvus ‘bald’ [adj. o/a] (Pompon.+)

Derivatives: calva ‘bald head’ (Pompon.+), calvāria ‘skull’ (Gel.+), recalvus ‘having receding hair’ (Pl.).


Since *lµ yields Lat. ll (cf. most recently Nussbaum 1997: 190-192 in defense of this), calvus must go back to *kalVµo-. For the meaning of YAv. kauruua- and the length of the vowel in Skt., cf. Lubotsky 1997: 142.

**calx, -cis** 'heel; hoof' [f. k] (Pl. +)

- **Derivatives:** *calcăre* 'to trample, tread' (Cato+), *concūlaře* 'to tread underfoot' (Pl.+); *calcitro* 'who kicks with the heels' (Pl.+); *calcar, -āris* 'spur' (Pl. +); *calceus* 'shoe' (Pl.+); *calceamentum* 'id.' (Cato+), *calceolārius* 'shoemaker' (Pl.+).

- **IE cognates:** OPr. *culczi* 'hip', Lith. *kulkšnis* 'ankle(-bone)' [£], Latv. *kulkšnis* 'tarsal joint, hough' [m. ]; Ru. *kolk* (dialect) 'bony stump underneath a horn of a cow or bull', Bulg. *kalka*, SCr. *kūk* 'hip, thigh' < BSl. *kul[k]* [-f. ] < PIE *klHk*- (m.-)?

  The connection with BSI. *kul[k]*- 'some part of the leg' is doubtful at the very best; the vowel -u- might be explained if the second velar was PIE *-kw-* (Lubotsky, p.c.). Some scholars have pleaded in favour of a non-IE (possibly Etruscan) origin of *calx*, but a concrete comparandum is lacking.


**calx, -cis** 'lime, limestone' [f. k] (Cato+; nom.sg. *calx* Varro)

- **Derivatives:** *calcūrios* [m. / adj.] 'lime-burner; for burning lime' (Cato+), *calicăre* 'to coat with lime' (Paul. *ex F.*, CIL I.1529, between 134 and 90 BC).

  A loanword from Gr. χάλιξ, -ικος [m.f.] 'small stone, gravel' (in which case *calicăre* regularly continues the Gr. stem χάλικ-, whereas *calx* shows unexpected syncope) or from a different Mediterranean language, whence it entered Latin and Greek independently.


**campus** 'flat land, field' [m. o] (Andr.+)

- **Derivatives:** *campestris* (-ster) [adj.] 'flat, level, on a plain' (Cato+); *Campānus* 'Campanian' (Enn.+), *campānīcus* 'from Campania' (Pl.+).

  PIt. *kampo- 'field'.

- **IE cognates:** Gr. κάμπτω 'to bend, curve', καμπή 'bow, curvature', Lith. *kūmpas* 'corner', *kūmpti* 'to bend (intr.)', *kūmpas* 'curved', OCS kōto 'corner' [m.] (< *komp-to-*?), Go. *hamfs* 'mutilated, lame', OHG *hamf*.

  Latin *ca-* is difficult to explain; for the Greek forms, Beekes (fthc.) arrives at the conclusion that these words come from a substratum language. This could well be a European substratum word from agricultural terminology.

  **Bibl.:** WH I: 148f., EM 90f., IEW 525, LIV *kamp- 'to bend' (here *campus*), *k(u)emp- 'to tremble' (only Ilr.).

**cancer, -n** 'crab; Cancer' [m. (sometimes n. in nom.acc.sg.) o] (Pl.+; *canceres* [acc.pl.] Cato 'ulcers', *cancrī* [pl.] 'lattice or barrier' Paul. *ex F.*, Apul.)

- **Derivatives:** *cancelli, -drum* 'barrier, grille' (Varro+).

  PIt. *karkro-.

  PIE *kr-kr-o- 'circular'?

  The Latin word can only be connected with evidence outside Italic if we assume a dissimilation of earlier *karkros* 'enclosure' (cf. *cancer*) > *kankros*. Since the pincers of a crab form a circle, this may have been the cause of its denomination. The
apparitenance of Cl.Skt. *karkṛta- 'lobster' (theoretically from *karkṛta-) is rejected by EWAia III: 64. Greek χαρκίνος 'crab' might be from *kr-kr-ino-, according to Schrijver, which would come close to the Latin word.


candeō ‘to shine, gleam’ [v. II; pf. candui] (Enn. + )

Derivatives: candor, -ōris ‘bright light’ (Naev. + ); candidus ‘bright’ (Pl. + ), candidātus ‘dressed in white’ (Pl. + ); candëla ‘candle’ (Varro, Hem. + ), candélabrum ‘stand for burning candles’ (Cato + ); candefaciō ‘to make white’ (Pl. + ), excandēscere ‘to catch fire’ (Cato + ); cicindēla ‘firefly’ (Plin., Paul. ex F. )

Plt. *kand-ē- ‘to shine’.


Lat. candēo, if from PIE *knd-, has an unexpected vowel -a- instead of *-e-. Applying Schrijver’s observation (1991: 495f.) that a cluster of four consonants can be resolved by inserting a after the first consonant (as in castrum, māla, etc.), *kand- may have arisen in PIE formations such as *knd-ro- (cf. Skt. candrá-) or *knd-no- (Alb. hënë).

Bibl.: WH I: 152f., EM 91f., IEW 526, Schrijver 1991: 428, LIV *(s)kend-. → cendo

canēs, -is ‘dog’ [m.f. n] (Pl. + ); nom.pl. usually canis, but ‘older canēs in Enn., Pl., Lucil., Varro (all 1x), abl.sg. cane, gen.pl. canum)

Derivatives: canīcula ‘bitch’ (Pl. + ); dog-star, Sirius; dog-fish or shark’ (Varro + ), canīnus ‘of a dog’ (Pl. + ).


The forms cane and canum show that the word continues an old consonant stem, so that the original nom.sg. will have been canēs rather than canis. To explain the root vowel -a-, one may assume that the development of *wo > *wa in open syllable yielded acc.sg. *kwanem (Schrijver 1991: 461). The resulting paradigm was leveled to nom.sg. *kō, acc.sg. *kanem, and on this acc.sg., a new paradigm was built with nom.sg. canēs, acc.sg. canem, gen.sg. canis. Finally, the nom.sg. was replaced by canis.


canō, -ere ‘to sing’ [v. III; pf. cecini, ppp. cantum] (Carmen Saliare, Pl. + )

Derivatives: cantāre ‘to sing’ (Naev. + ), cantitāre ‘to sing(repeatedly)’ (Ter. + ), cantor ‘singer’ (Pl. + ), cantus, -ūs ‘singing, song’ (Andr. + ), cantiō ‘song’ (Pl. + ); canor, -ōris [m.] ‘song, music’, canōrus ‘resonant, loud’ (Pl. + ); cantilēna ‘refrain’
cānus 'white (esp. of hair)' [adj. o/ā] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: canētus 'grey' (Pl.; uncertain attestation).

Plt. *kasno- 'grey'. It cognates: Pael. casnar [nom.sg.] 'old man' (also in Paul. ex F.) < *kasnāri-.

PIE *kh₂n-e- [pr.] 'to sing', *kh₂n-ei-e- [caus.]. IE cognates: Olr. caínid, -cain, pf. cechain, W. canu, Bret. cana 'to sing', W. g(w)o-gawn, gogoniant 'famous' < *kān/*kōn-; Gr. ἰ-κανός 'singing early' = 'cock', maybe κανωτή 'noise'; Go. hana, OHG hano 'cock', Otc. hæna, OHG huon 'hen' < PGm. *χαν-/*χόν-.

The adj. canōrus is derived from canor 'song'. The verb cantāre was derived from the ppp. cantus. The noun cantilēna is explained by dissimilation from *cantilela (to an unattested *cantilāre) by Leumann 1977: 323. Following Ernout, Leumann 1977: 551 argues that the compounds in -cinor stem from vaticinor, built on a noun *vati-cinium 'what the soothsayer sings'. Lat. carmen is dissimilated from *canmen.

There seems to be no agreement on the PIE form of the root. It is unlikely that Germanic *χαν- renders a root structure *knH-, so that we may opt either for *kan- (in which case it is a non-IE root), or *kh₂n-.

The compounds in -cen all have a noun as their first member (the basis of siticen is unknown) except for oscen, which contains the preverb *obs-. Lindner 2002: 219 regards oscen < *obs-can 'who sings before/in the face', cornicen < *kornu-can and tubicen, tibicen < *tibia-can as the archetypes of these compounds. This type of root noun cp. is probably archaic, but the asigmatic character of nom.sg. -cen is exceptional within Latin, as opposed to e.g. -dex, -ex, -fex. Hence, it is possible to regard the cp. in -cen as analogical to those in -fer < *-foros and -ger 'carrying'.

szary 'grey' < PSL. *xoiro- < *kh₁-o-i-ro-. Thus, the root ultimately was *kh₁-. Bibl.: WH I: 156, EM 94, IEW 533, Lubotsky 1989: 56f., Schrijver 1991: 91, Untermann 2000: 374. → cascus
caper, -rī 'he-goat, buck' [m. o] (Caes.+)

Derivatives: capra 'she-goat' (PL+), caprea 'roe-deer' (Varro+), capreāginus 'resembling a roe' (Pl.), caprinus 'of goats' (Cato+); capricificus [f. o] 'wild fig-tree' (Ter.+).


Schrijver argues that the suffix may have had ablaut *-ro-/éro-, but this might be analogical. One could reconstruct a PIE root *kh₂p-, but it is more likely that we are dealing with a loanword: no single PIE word for 'goat' can be reconstructed, and *kap- is suspiciously close to Celtic *gab-ro- (OIr. gabor, W. gafir [m. f.] '(he-)goat'). Bibl.: WH I: 157, EM 94f., IEW 539, Schrijver 1991: 96, Untermann 359, 368f.
capillus 'hair' [m. o] (PL+; capillum once Pl. apud Nonium)

The attempts to derive capillus from caput 'head' are difficult on the formal side, since *kaput-(s)lo- should yield *capillus. Semantically, a derivation of 'hair' from 'head' is far from compelling, since capillus is a diminutive, and would mean 'little head', which hardly amounts to 'hair'. Phonologically, one expects capillus to be derived from a stem *kap-n- or *kap-r-, but there are no good candidates. The attempts to reconstruct *kapit-lo- (e.g. Nyman 1982, Hamp 1983) are not convincing.

Bibl.: WH I: 158, EM 95, IEW 529f. → capiō
capiō, -ere 'to take' [v. III; pf. cēpī, pps. captus; fut. capsō, -is Pl., Enn.]) (VOLat.+: Foruminscr. kapia(d) [3s.pr.sbl.])

Derivatives: capulus '(sword-)handle; bier' (PL+), capulāris 'ready for the bier' (PL+), mūscipūlum 'mousetrap' (Lucil.+), capulāre 'to attach' (Col.), concipilāre 'to lay violent hands on, seize' (PL+); capāx 'capable of holding' (Lucr.+); captāre 'to try to touch, grasp at' (PL+), captus, -ūs [m.] 'capacity' (Ter.+), captiō 'trick, loss' (PL+), captīvus 'taken prisoner' (Naev.+); anticipāre 'to occupy beforehand' (Varro+), nuncupāre 'to declare, appoint' (Lex XII, Pac.+), occupāre 'to seize to oneself, take possession' (Andr.+); recu/iperāre 'to recover, get back' (Cato+), recipérātor 'assessor' (PL+); capessō, -ere 'to grasp, seize' (pf. -fā, ptc.fut.act. -īturus) (Naev.+; Pac. 1x capissam); praecipuus 'special, exceptional' (PL+); hosticapās 'who captures enemies' (Paul. ex F.), urbicapus 'who captures cities' (Pl.); capistrum 'halter, band' (Cato+); accipere 'to take, receive' (Naev.+), concipere 'to receive, perceive' (PL+), dēcipere 'to deceive' (PL+), incipere 'to start' (PL+), intercipere 'to intercept, steal' (PL+), occipere 'to take up, begin' (PL+), percipere 'to perceive, acquire, earn' (PL+), praecipere 'to seize beforehand, to give notice, advise' (PL+), recipere 'to receive, admit, accept' (PL+). Possibly capula 'sacrificial cup' (Varro), capulāre 'to draw off (oil) from the oil-press' (Plin.), capulātor 'who
draws off oil from the oil-press' (Cato+) belong here too, if built on *kap-elo- 'instrument for seizing'.

Pt. *kap-i-.

PIE *kap-i- / non-IE *kap-i- 'to seize'. IE cognates: Gr. κάπτω 'to gulp down', κοπτή 'grip'; Go. haban 'to have' < *kap-eji-jo-<, Go. hajfan 'to heave, lift', OHG heffen < *kap-eji-o-.

The pf. cēpī was probably formed on the model of fēcī and iēcī, maybe also of ēpī. The ins. meaning of *kap-elo- surfaces in capulus and mus-cipulum. Lat. captāre is based on the ppp. captus, while captivus may have been derived from *kap-ti- (as may be continued in captō). The verbs anticipāre and occupāre are originally nominal, e.g. to a noun in -ceps, cf. Steinbauer 1989: 136. Nuncupāre < *nōmo-capāre 'to take the name' is nominal to a noun *nōmo-kaps 'who takes the office'. The pr. recuperāre goes back to *-kapizā-, showing the suffix *-sā- after the present stem *kap-i-. Nussbaum 2007b explains it as the result of analogical introduction of the suffix *-is- (or > *-ez-) into the ā-present -kapā- which is found in compounds, beside the simplex in *-kapī-. The form capissam shows that capessere goes back to *-kap-i-ss-, showing the suffix *-sa- after the present stem *kap-i~. Nussbaum 2007b explains it as the result of analogical introduction of the suffix *-is- (or > *-ez-) into the ā-present -kapā- which is found in compounds, beside the simplex in *-kapī-. The form capissam shows that capessere goes back to *-kap-i-ss- (Sommer 1914: 585). Lat. capistrum has an unexpected -i-; it could be the same PIt. stem-vowel *-i- of the verb. Serbat 1975: 326 suggests that the uniqueness of an inherited ending -itrum (if the noun goes back to *kap-i-tro-) caused the replacement by -istrum (e.g. on the basis of Greek loanwords in -istrum).

As to the IE etymology, the appurtenance of the Greek verb is regarded as uncertain by Beekes (fithc.) on account of its meaning. The certain forms are Latin and Germanic, but whereas capiō and haban, hafjan require a root *kap-, Latin habeō and Go. giban require *gʰa/ebʰ- (which must be connected with Olr. gaibid). According to Schrijver apud Boutkan-Siebinga (2005), this is reminiscent of the alternation *kap- / *gʰabʰ- in the word for 'he-goat', Lat. caper. Since this is probably a non-IE loanword, capiō might also be one. Schrijver 1991: 411 and 2003: 67 reconstructs a PIE i-present for the Latin verb, 3s.pr. *kapiti, 3p. *kapi(e)nti. Note that also the Italo-Celtic verb *gʰabʰ- was originally an i-present according to Schrijver 2003: 79.


capis, -idis 'bowl, cup' [f. d] (Lucil.+; acc.pl. capidas Lucil.)

It. cognates: U. kapiře, capirse [dat. or abl.sg.], kapiře [abl.sg.], capirso [acc.sg.], kapiř, kapi, capif [acc.pl.], kapiřus [abl.pl.] 'sacrificial bowl' < *kapid-.

Maybe capis goes back to a loanword from Greek σκαφίς, -ίδος 'bowl, drinking vessel' (H.+). Since the Umbrian word already occurs on Iguvine Table I, it seems likely that we are dealing with a parallel borrowing from Greek into various Italic languages.


capsa 'case, box' [f. á] (Cic.+)

Derivatives: capsus 'the body (of a carriage), cage' (Vitr., Fest., Veil.).

Pt. *kap-s-o-.

capsa 'case, box' [f. á] (Cic.+)

Derivatives: capsus 'the body (of a carriage), cage' (Vitr., Fest., Veil.).

Pt. *kap-s-o-.
carbo 91

Probably derived as *kapso- ‘container’ from capio, or built directly on a Plt. s-pr. *kap-s(-e/o)-.

Bibl.: WH I: 162f., EM 97, IEW 527f., LIV *keh2p-. → capio

cāpus ‘capon, castrated cock’ [m. o] [Varro, Col.]

A variant is cāpō (Mart+) or rather *cappō, as continued in Romance and borrowed into Germanic. Comparing OCS skopēc ‘eunuch’, skopiti ‘to cut off, castrate’, IEW derives cāpus from a root *skVp- ‘to cut off, hew’; from the same root, scapulae would be derived. As argued s.v. scapulae, there are reasons to reconstruct a non-IE root *skap-. Alternatively, cāpus might be connected with caper ‘he-goat’, another male animal of the domestic sphere, which may be a substratum word. In both cases, the ablaut a : ā could be of substratum origin.

Bibl.: WH I: 161, EM 98, IEW 930-933. → scapulae

caput, -itis ‘head’ [n. l] (Lex XII, Andr.+)

Derivatives: captālis ‘punishable by death, fatal’ (Naev.+), capītō ‘big-headed’ (Cato+), capitulum ‘(little) head, end’ (Pl.+); anceps, -cipitis ‘two-faced, two-edged’ (Pl.+)(nom.sg.f. ancipes 1x Pl.), biceps ‘two-headed’ (Varro+), praeceps ‘headlong, precipitous’ (Pl.+)(nom.sg. praecipes Pl., acc.sg. praecipem Laev., abl.sg. praecipe Enn.); occipitum ‘the back of the head’ (Pl.+); sinciput, -tíis ‘half-head, cheek’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *kaput [n.] ‘head’, *prai-kaput-i-.

IE cognates: Olr. cúāch, W. ćawg ‘cup’ < *kapuko-, Ėo. haubīb ‘head’, Olc. hofuō, Olt. haufuō, OE ħēafōd, OFr. haved, OHG houbīt, NHG Haupt ‘id.’ < PGm. *haubid-, *haubud-; *hafud-; OE hafola:< *kapu-lon-.

While sinciput < *sēmi-caput retains the u-vowel in the suffix, Lat. ancipit-, bicipit- and praecipit- show vowel weakening. The nom.sg. of the type anceps is sometimes regarded as lacking the suffix -(u)t-, but since all other derivatives of caput show *-ut-, it seems just as likely that the suffix vowel was lost analogically after the type in -ceps ‘taking’ (anceps, -cipis etc.). Occasional forms such as ancipes, praecipes also point in this direction. Parker 1988: 237f. argues that anceps, praeceps are i-stem compounds *ambi-kaput-i-, *prai-kaput-i-, regularly weakened to *prai-kepeti-s > *praekepetis > praecipes. The n.pl. -ia, gen.pl. -ium of these compounds would prove their i-stem character. Since words meaning ‘cup’ frequently become ‘head’, it is not unlikely that caput and its Germanic counterparts are derived from the root of capiō ‘to seize’, which would point to a substratum form *kap-ut- ‘cup’ > ‘head’. Germanic shows a vacillation between *kap-ut- and *kaup-ut-, which may be due to some kind of u-infection. The Celtic form *kapuko- and OE hafola may continue an earlier form *kap-u-, a u-extension to a substratum root *kap-.


carbō ‘piece of charcoal’ [m. n] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: carbōnārius ‘charcoal-burner’ (Pl.+); carbunculus ‘a coal; variety of sandstone; tumour’ (Pl.+).
The root which Pokorny 1959 postulates as 'to burn' is now no longer regarded as a verbal root (Lith. kirti is simply 'to make'). The meaning of carbo is quite specific, and the suffix not attested in the words outside Italic which are usually compared (e.g. Go. hauri 'charcoal', OIc. hyrr [m.] 'fire' < PGm. *hurja-), so that PIE origin is uncertain. Lat. carbo may go back to pre-syncope forms *kar(a)b(ō)dō or *kar(a)dō.


carcer, -is 'jail, prison' [m. r] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: carcerarius 'of a prison' (Pl. +).
Pt. *karkr(o)-.
PIE *kr-kr- 'circular'? IE cognates: Gr. καρκίνος 'crab'.

It seems best to connect carcer with other IE words for 'circle, round object', such as Latin. curvus, Gr. κίρκος 'ring', OIc. hringer, although not all of these have a good IE etymology. The reduplication in Latin carcer could be iconic; thus, the original meaning would have been 'enclosure'. In cancī, cancellī, *kar-kr- has dissimilated to *kan-kr-. Latin -a- could have arisen phonetically in a cluster *krkr-, cf. Schrijver 1991: 495f.

Bibl.: WH I: 166, EM 99f. → cancer

cardō, -inis 'pivot, axis' [m. n] (Pl. +)
Uncertain etymology. We find semantically comparable forms in Germanic, OE heorr(a), OIc. hjarrri 'hinge' < *xerzan- < IE *ker-s-n-, OHG scerdo 'hinge' < *sker-t-ôn, OIc. hrata, OE h ratian 'to reel, stagger' < *krod-; but there is no complete formal match, so that these connections remain gratuitous. The meaning of the Greek words compared by Pokorny 1959, such as Gr. κράδη 'spray at the end of a branche, twig, esp. of figs' < *krd- and κόρδαξ 'name of a dance', is not specific enough to warrant a relationship.


careō 'to lack, be without' [v. II; pf. caruī] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: castus 'free from, pure, chaste' (Pl. +), castus, -ūs 'state of abstinence' (Naev.+), castigāre 'to correct, reprimand, chasten' (Pl. +), castigātor 'one who reproves' (Pl. +); cassus 'devoid of, lacking' (Pl. +).
Pt. *kas-e- 'to lack', *kas-so-. It. cognates: Fal. carefo 'I will lack' [ls.fut.] < *kas-e-; O. kasit [3s.pr.] 'is necessary, must' < *kasēt.

The relationship careō : castus proves an original root *kas-, with castus as the ppp. *kas-to-. The other forms in cast- have been built on castus. Lat. cassus can be understood as a case of analogical introduction of -sus in the ppp. (Sommer 1914: 608; usually, this happens when the pf. ends in -si), or as an original form *kas-s-o-. There are no certain IE cognates of the root. The connection with *kes- 'to cut', retained in LIV, does not explain Latin -a- and is semantically not obvious (note the stative in Latin: 'to be cutting' = 'to lack'?). A mechanical reconstruction would be PIE *kHs-ehr (Schrijver 1991), but there are no certain solutions for this form: to IIr. *kaH- 'to desire'? Verbs of this type may also be denominal ('to be in a state of
lacking’). Latin castīgāre is explained by Dunkel 2000a: 95 from *ḱHs-ti-h2g-o- ‘carrying out a rebuke’, thus resuming the connection favoured by WH with the root of Skt. śās- ‘to teach, correct’. This would imply an earlier form *castis ‘reprimand’ in Latin. The original meaning assumed here departs from the meaning ‘lacking, pure’ which is clearly basic to the other Latin forms of this word family, and I see no way to derive the meaning ‘lacking, pure’ from ‘to teach, reprimand’.


cārex, -icis ‘reed-grass or sedge’ [f. k] (Verg.; nom.sg. also cārix)

Muller 1926 suggests a connection with carrere, *cārere ‘to card’. The suffix -ex, -icis is found in many tree names and plant names, many of which have no etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 167, EM 100.

carīēs ‘decaying, rot’ [f. ē] (Varro+; sg.tantum)

Derivatives: carīōsus ‘decayed, rotten’ (Cato+).

Plt. *kas- ‘to lack, be missing’ (carīēs probably post-Plt.).

The suffix -īēs to derive verbal abstracts is not productive anymore in Latin. The isolated formation carīēs points to an earlier verb *kar- or *kas-. Earlier dictionaries have derived carīēs from PIE *krh2- ‘to break’, as in Skt. śrnāti ‘breaks’, Av. asarata- ‘unbroken’, sari- [m.] ‘piece, sherd’; Gr. καραῖω ‘to ravage’. Yet, semantically, carīēs may just as well belong to carēō ‘to lack’ as defect, state of defectiveness’; since careō is attested in Latin (cf. aceō > aciēs) while no other derivatives of *krh2- ‘to break’ are known, the derivation from carēō is more straightforward.


carīna ‘keel or hull of a ship; the half of a walnut shell’ [f. ā] (Pl.+)

Plt. *ker- or *kar-.

IE cognates: Ὠ. ceri ‘stone of a fruit’ (< *ka/e/ori), Gr. κάρυον ‘nut’, Myc. ka-ru-pi ins.pl., Gr. καρόνιος ‘of nuts, nut-brown’.

The earliest and usual meaning refers to ships; only from Pliny onwards do we find ‘walnut shell’. WH consider borrowing as ship’s terminology from Greek καρόνιος *‘like a nutshell’ likely, because the ship’s connection is attested earlier. EM, on the contrary, argue that the chronology is accidental, and that ‘nutshell’ must be the original meaning. They suspect an inherited word, maybe to cancer if this is from *ker- ‘hard’ (but see s.v. cancer). Schrijver 1991 also considers *ker- ‘hard’ as a possible source, but argues that it is possibly a non-IE word.


carīnō, -āre ‘to use abusive language’ [v. I] (Enn.)


IE cognates: OIr. caire [f.], W. caredd, MBret. carez ‘blame, disapproval’ < *kr-jeh₂; Gr. κάρνη ‘penalty’, αὐτόκάρνος ‘self-punishing’ (Hsch.); Lith. kāirinti ‘to
provoke’, Latv. *karināt* ‘to pester’, CS *kor* (dial.) ‘reproach’, OHG *harawēn*, OE *hierwan* ‘to mock’; ToA *kärn*-, ToB *karn-* ‘to vex’ < PIE *kr-n-.

The verb occurs twice in lines from Ennius, *Annales* 458 (564) *neque me decet heme carinantibus edere cartis* and 576 (563) *contra carinantes verba atque obscena profatus*. Skutsch 1985 argues quite convincingly that 576 contains a long *i*, which was therefore the original vowel, which was shortened to *carinantibus* in 458 for metrical reasons. The verb was probably derived from an adj. *karīno- ‘abusing, insulting’, which itself might be derived from an ins.sg. *karīth*; to an i-stem noun *karī- ‘abuse, insult’, To this, we can connect PCI. *krīā- ‘blame’. There appear to be several IE forms of the type *kor-, *kr-n-, but these do not yield a clear etymology for *carināre.*


Derivatives: *carnārium* ‘meat-rack’ (Plt.+), *caruncula* ‘small piece of flesh’ (Varro+); *carnu/fex, -ficus* ‘executioner; scoundrel’ (Naev.+), *carnu/ficīna* ‘the work of an executioner, execution’ (Plt.+), *carna/ficus* [adj.] ‘of a hangman’.


According to EM, the Italic noun would be an n-stem built on a root noun; yet I find no good evidence pointing to a root noun. Sihler 1995: 295 suggests that the acc.sg. and nom.pl. are syncopated from *karonem, *karones*, “in view of the especial readiness of vowels to drop in Latin after *r*”. If accepted, this may also apply to Oscan, where the acc.sg. *carnom* is the only attested form with possible *-Vn-; cf. von Planta 1892: 223 for syncope in front of resonants. A PIE ablauting paradigm nom. *kerH-ōn, acc. *krH-on-m, would yield Plt. *kerō, *karonem; apparently, the stem form of the acc.sg. was generalized.


carpinus ‘hornbeam’ [m. o] (Cato+)

Plt. *karp-i/eno-.


Since these trees are characterized by their serrated leaves, it is possible that they derive from a root ‘to cut’. In that case, *carpinus* can be derived directly from *carpō.*
cārus

to pluck, gather [v. III; carpsi, carptum] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: dēcerpō ‘to remove by plucking’ (Cato+), discerpō ‘to tear to pieces’ (Enn.+), excerpō ‘to select, pick out’ (Ter.+).

Pit. *karp-.

PIE *kerp-e/o- ‘to pick, pluck’. IE cognates: Hit. karp(ie/a)-zi ‘to take (away), lift, pluck’, Lyd. fa-korfid ‘to undertake’ (vel sim.) < *krap-iē/-ē-, *k(e)rp-; Gr. καρπός ‘fruit’, Myc. k-apo, Lith. kerpiu, kirpti ‘to chop, cut’, Latv. cirpt ‘to shave’, OCS počrēti ‘to scoop, draw’ < *(s)k(ē)rp-; OHG herbist, OE herfest ‘autumn’ (‘time of reaping’ < *karpistos), OIc. harfr [m.], herfi [n.] ‘harrow’ < *korp-. Compare *sker-bh- in OE sceorfan ‘to bite’, OHG scirbi ‘sherd’, scerf ‘halfpenny’.

Latin -a- is problematic. Instead of assuming a sound change PIE *ke- > ca-, as per Schrijver 1991: 429f., I prefer to explain -ar- from vocalization of a zero grade *krop- in front of another consonant (Schrijver 1991; 495f.), e.g. in the ppp. *krop-to- or aor. *krop-s-. The Greek noun might point to a non-IE word because of its a, but since both Latin and BS1 have verbs, non-IE origin is unattractive. Therefore, one may conjecture that Greek *καρπος was remade into καρπός on the analogy of the verb *kerp-.

Bibl.: WH I: 172-173, EM 102, IEW 938-947, Kloekhorst 2008: 452, LIV *(s)kerp-.

scirpus

carro, -crc ‘to card (wool)’ [v. III] (Naev., Pl.)

Derivatives: carmen ‘iron comb for wool’ (Claudianus+), carmināre ‘to card wool’ (Varro+), carduus ‘thistle’ (Verg.+).

Pit. *kars-e-.

PIE *(s)ker-s- ‘to comb (wool)’. IE cognates: Lith. kars-ti, karsiu, Latv. kāršt ‘to card, comb’ < *kors-; OHG skerran ‘to scratch’ < *skers-.

EM explicitly point out that carro is not attested in the texts: Varro has carō, the Plautus mss. cārp-, the glosses cario or carrīō. Thus, carro is a correction by modern editors. WH derive carduus from *caridus ‘scratching’, which seems less likely (the -idus adj. are predominantly formed to verbs in -ere, nouns in -or). The root form *(s)ker-s- can semantically be understood as an extension of *(s)ker- ‘to shear’, cf. *(s)ker-H- ‘to separate, cut’.

Bibl.: WH I: 173, EM 101, IEW 532f., EIEC 570, Schrijver 1991: 430, LIV *(s)kers-.

cārus ‘dear, precious, esteemed; affectionate’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: cāritās ‘dearness; love’ (Cato+).


PIE *keh₂-ro- ‘desired / desirable’. IE cognates: Gaulish PN in Caro-, -carus, Latv. kārs ‘lustful’, Go. hors ‘adulterer’ < PIE *keh₂-ro-; OIr. carae ‘friend’ < *kh₂r-ent-
casa

to love*, W. caru); Skt. pr. kāyamāna-, pf. cakē ‘to wish, love, desire’, Av. pr. kāia- ‘to love’; ToA obl. krant, ToB krent ‘good’ < *krh₂-ont-.

A PIE ro-derivative with full grade of the root. Ven. *kāri- recalls Lat. *sakro- vs. *sākri- [both adj.], Gr. *akro- vs. Lat. *ākri-. It thus seems likely that karis represents an original adjective, which was substantivized in Venetic. As for knei, it might belong to a different root, viz. Ilr. *kan(H)-, LIV *k(e)n/-. The Venetic form would show that this root did not contain a labiovelar.


casa ‘cottage, hut’ [f. ā] (Ter.+)

According to WH, casa reflects a dialectal development from *kat-ja (to *kat- ‘to plait’). This is of course conceivable, but a connection with European words for ‘hut, dwelling place’ (*ket-, *kot-) is also envisageable: Av. kāta- ‘chamber’, CS kots(-) ‘cell, nest’, OCz. kot ‘booth, stall (market)’, Scr. kot (dial.) ‘sty for domestic animals’, OE heador [n.] ‘incarceration, jail’. Still, because of Latin -a- and single s after short vowel, it seems more likely that casa is a loanword.

Bibl.: WH I: 175f., EM 103, IEW 534.

cascus ‘old’ [adj. o/a] (Enn.+)

PIt. *kas-ko- ‘grey’.

PIE *kʰ₁s-ko- / *kʰ₂(e)s-ko-. IE cognates: see s.v. cānus.

Possibly, cascus was used pejoratively, cf. caecus ‘blind’, luscus ‘one-eyed, cross-eyed’, which also have *-ko-. The meaning ‘old’ probably developed from ‘old of age’ < ‘having white hair’; compare NHG Greis, MoDu. grijsaard ‘old man’. Lat. cascus never occurs in Latin texts: all attestations are glosses. According to Varro, the word is Sabine and Oscan.

Bibl.: WH I: 176, EM 103, IEW 533, Schrijver 1991: 91. → cānus

căseus ‘a cheese’ [m. o] (Pl.++; căseum ‘cheese’)

PIt. *kās(s)ɛjo-?

IE cognates: Latv. kūsāt ‘to boil’, OCS kvasę ‘leaven, fermented drink’, Scr. kvās ‘sour milk’, OCS vę(s)-kysniţ, -kyseti ‘to turn sour’, kysěî ‘sour’, Cz. kysati ‘to turn sour, rot’ < BS1. *kuš-.

This word has mostly been reconstructed as *kwāt-so- and connected with the root *kuathr2 ‘to boil, bubble’ (LIV); cf. Go. ūapō ‘foam’, Skt. kvāthant- ‘fuming’. Yet *y should not be lost in Latin, and the discussion in Schrijver 1991 shows that no etymology can be found which does not require some poorly-founded assumptions. In Schrijver’s view, intervocalic -s- does not have to point to *ss, but may be explained as a dialectal characteristic in urban Latin. He argues in favor of a connection with the Slavic words for ‘sour’ and Latv. ‘to boil’, for which he reconstructs a root *kʰu₃-, to which an s-stem *ku(ə)H-s- would have been formed. Latin cās- would go back to a nom.sg. *kʰu₃-ōs > *kayōs; yet the subsequent contraction to *kās- seems uncertain to
castrum

me. The s in Sl. kys- is also problematic, and is explained as analogical (to kvas) by Schrijver. All in all, the etymology of cāseus must still be regarded as unknown; it may well be a loanword.


cassis, -idis ‘metal helmet’ [f. d] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: casilam ‘metal helmet’ (Paul. ex F.).


Only the Gm. words for ‘hat’ in *xōd- and *kad- would be semantically credible cognates of cassis, but a PIE root *kad- would violate the root structure constraints. If cassis was a loanword, the type -is, -idis would seem Greek. The form casilam in Paul. ex F. is explained by WH as *casidam with dialectal *d > l.


cassis ‘hunting-net’ [m. i] (Verg. +)

Lat. cassis can go back to * kat-ti- or * kat-s-i- - The meaning makes a connection with catēna ‘chain’ very attractive, and maybe also with caterva ‘band’. If catēna reflects *kat-es-na, a preform *kat-s-i- is more likely. The basic meaning of *kat- might be ‘to string together, plait’. A connection with the forms for ‘hut, cabin’, advocated in IEW, seems unlikely.

Bibl.: WH I: 177, EM 103, IEW 534. → caterva

castrō, -ăre ‘to castrate; to thin out (plants)’ [v. II] (Pl. +)

Plt. *kastro-.

PIE *ks-tro- ‘knife’. IE cognates: Skt. śas- ‘to slaughter’, śāstra-[n.] ‘knife, dagger’ (Br.+); Gr. κεάζω to split’, Myc. ke-ke-me-no- /kekesmeno-? divided’, Alb. thādēr ‘double-sided axe’, CS kosa ‘scythe’.

According to most scholars, this verb is derived from a noun *kas-trom ‘instrument for cutting’ to the PIE root *kes- ‘to cut’. If connected with Skt. sāstrā- < *ke/os-tro-, Latin castr- must reflect *ks-tro- with a vocalization *CCCC- > *CaCCC- (Schrijver 1991: 496).


castrum ‘fortified post or settlement’ [n. o] (Pl. +; mostly pl. castra, -örum ‘id.’ Pl.+)

Derivatives: castellum ‘fortified settlement’ (Sis.+); prōce/astria ‘buildings outside the city gate’ (Paul. ex F.).


WH and EM interpret castrum as ‘cut-off part’, whence ‘fenced area, property’ >
'camp'. The root could be PIE *kers- ‘to cut off’ or *kes- ‘to cut’. The latter seems more likely since it has provided the basis Plt. *kastro- ‘knife’ for the derivation of *kastro-. Lat. prócestria is a hypostasis from pro castris.


caténa ‘chain’ [f. ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: catélla ‘light chain’ (Cato+).

Plt. *kates-nā-?

Caténa might be derived from a form *kat-es-, also attested in caterva (see s.v.).

Bibl.: WH I: 177f., EM 105, IEW 534, Schrijver 1991: 430. → cassis, caterva

caterva ‘company, band’ [f. ā] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: catervātim [adv.] ‘in bands or herds’ (Lucr.+).


IE cognates: OE heador [n.] ‘enclosure, prison’?

Semantically, a connection with cassis ‘net’ and caténa ‘chain’ is possible; at the basis there may be an s-stem *kates- ‘node, connection’. Caterva is usually reconstructed as *kates-owa, which is morphologically strange. Rix 1981: 119 (= 2001: 287) proposes *kates-wā- with the sound law *sw > rv which he discovered. There is no PIE root to which *kat-es- can safely be linked.


catinus ‘deep vessel, bowl, dish’ [m. (n. in Cato) o] (Cato+)

Derivatives: catillus/-um ‘bowl, dish’ (Cato+), catillāre ‘to lick plates’ (Pl.).

Plt. *katino-.

This word has been connected with Greek forms such as κοτύλη ‘bowl, dish’. Yet the Greek word is no perfect formal match, and words for types of vessels are very often loanwords. It seems best to assume this for catinus too.

Bibl.: WH I: 182, EM 105, IEW 587.

catulus ‘young of an animal, puppy’ [m. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: catellus ‘puppy’ (Pl.+).


IE cognates: MHG hātele ‘goat’, Olc. hadra ‘young goat’, SCr. kōt ‘(time of) having young, litter, breed’, Po. kōt (dialect). ‘place where forest animals young’.

Catulus also means ‘(iron) fetter’ (Lucil., Paul. ex F.), as does catellus. According to Szemerényi 1992, the meaning ‘fetter’ is a calque on Gr. σκύλαξ ‘little dog; iron neck-chain’. Although we find a word of the form *ka/ōT in Latin, Germanic, and Slavic, Indo-European origin seems unlikely. The Slavic forms indicate that *a does not reflect a laryngeal, and they do not match perfectly semantically.
caulae


catus ‘clever, shrewd’ [adj. o/ã] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: Catō [cogn.] (Fasti Consulares Capitolini+).
Plt. *ka-to-
PIE *kʰ3-to- ‘sharpened’. IE cognates: OIr. cath ‘wise, able’, Skt. sītā- ‘sharpened’. Adj. derived from a PIE root for ‘to sharpen’; in Italic, it has developed from ‘sharp’ to ‘clever’. According to Varro, catus is Sabine, which is possible, but would not affect the Plt. reconstruction.
Bibl.: WH I: 183f., EM 106, IEW 542, Schrijver 1991: 91, LIV *kʰ3-. → cós

cauda ‘tail’ [f. ø] (Acc.++; also cōda)
Plt. *kau-dā- ‘part, tail’
PIE *kʰ2u-d- ‘cleaved, separate’.
The forms caudeus and cōdētum suggest that cauda could refer to a certain tail-formed plant, which is unsurprising. Since words for ‘piece, part’ are often derived from ‘to cut, cleave’, the tail may have been referred to as the loose ‘part’ of the animal. Thus, cauda can be derived from the same root as the verb cūdō. The diphthong au could hardly have been formed on the basis of cūdō or its derivatives. As Vine 2006a: 232f. (fn. 65) points out, cauda and caudex may derive from the unmetathesized variant of the root *kʰ2u-, hence *kʰ2u-d- > *kaud-. Incidentally, this would prove that the dental involved was *d and not *t, since the latter would yield Latin *kauba.
Bibl.: WH I: 185, EM 106, IEW 535, LIV 2.*kʰ2u-. → caudex, cūdō

caudex, -icus ‘tree-trunk; wooden tablets forming a book’ [m. k] (Pl.+)
Plt. *kau-d-ek-
PIE *kʰ2u-d- ‘cleaved, separate’.
Since there is no way in which caudex could have been formed to cūdō at a recent stage, it is likely that it was derived from (the stem of) cauda. Cōdex is a younger development from caudex and always refers to ‘books, codices’.

caulae ‘railing or lattice barrier; pores (of the skin)’ [f.pl. ā] (Lex Cornelia (81 BC)+; Lucr.)
A connection with cōlum ‘sieve’ is not very likely, since there are no spelling variants
caulis, and also no spelling variant caulum for cōlum. The latter must first of all be compared with quālum. Lat. caulae may be an original diminutive *kahola ‘little tie, juncture’ < *kaX-ela (thus IEW). See cohūm for the further etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 187f., EM 107, IEW 518, Untermann 2000: 363. → cohūm

caulis ‘stem, stalk, penis’ [m. i] (Cato+)

Derivatives: cauliculus ‘small stalk, sprout’ (Cato+); cōleī, -ōrum ‘testicles’ (Lab.+), cōleātus ‘provided with testicles’ (Pomponius).


PIE *(s)keh₂-l-i- ‘stem of a plant, stalk’. IE cognates: Olr. cūal ‘faggot, bundle of sticks’ < *kāulā, Gr. κυνάκος ‘stem, stalk, pole’, Arm. c’awl ‘stalk, straw’ < *sk-, OPr. kaulan, Lith. kāulas ‘bone’, Latv. kāils ‘stem, bone’ < *keh₂uló-.

The variant cōlis ‘penis’, with -ō- for -au-, is regarded as a borrowing from a neighbouring non-urban dialect. The suffix *-li- instead of *-lo- as found in the other languages is likely to be a Latin innovation.


caupo ‘shopkeeper, innkeeper’ [m. n] (Pl+)

Derivatives: caupōnāri ‘to traffic in’ (Enn.), caupōnius ‘of a tavern’ (Pl.).

IE cognates: Gr. κάπηλος ‘huckster, innkeeper’.

Borrowing from an unknown source; in view of the Greek form, probably from a Mediterranean language.

Bibl.: WH I: 189, EN 107.

caurus ‘north wind; the north-west wind’ [m. o] (Lucr.+; also cōrus)

Plt. *kawero-.

PIE *khw₁-u-er-o- ‘northern (wind?)’. IE cognates: Lith. šiauré ‘north’ < *keh₂ur-, šiūras, šiūrus ‘cold, northern’ << *kuHr- < *kh₂ur-; OCS sēverb ‘north’, Scr. sēvēr, Slv. sēver < *keh₂u-er-o-.

If the Latin and BSl. forms are cognate, caurus can derive from *khw₁-u-er-o- with vocalization of the laryngeal. The ablaut *-r/-er- shows that *-(u)r- is a suffix, the root being *kh₁u-(r-). WH and EM also adduce Go. skūra windis ‘storm (of wind)’, OHG skūr ‘rain shower’ and Arm c’owrt ‘cold’. As argued in de Vaan 1999: 40f., these forms are probably not cognate. The connection of caurus with MW cawad ‘gust, shower’, OBret. couatou ‘showers’ (but not Olr. cūa, which is a ghost word) is confirmed by Schrijver 1995: 337, who reconstructs PIE *k(e/o)uH-Vt- > PCl. *kouVt- or *kuuVt-. This would confirm that *-r- in Latin and BSl. belongs to the suffix.


causa ‘legal case, trial; cause, purpose’ [f. ā] (Lex XII, Naev.+; caussa in inscr. until 1st c. BC)

Derivatives: causārī ‘to plead a cause’ (Pac.+); accusāre ‘to blame, charge’ (Pl.+), accusātōr ‘prosecutor’ (Mancia+), excusāre ‘to excuse, justify’ (Pl.+), incusāre ‘to
make answerable for, reproach' (Pl.+), récūsāre 'to object, reject' (Pl.); causidicus 'advocate' (Lucr.+), causificārī 'to allege a reason' (Pl.+).

Plt. *kaud-tā?*

Intervocalic s from ss points to earlier *ss, *ts or *tt. WH consider 'a strike as cause' as the original meaning, hence they connect cūdō 'to strike'. This would imply *keh₂udʰ-t-. EM are more sceptical about possible IE origin.

Bibl.: WH I: 190, EM 108. → cūdō

caveō 'to take care, beware' [v.; pf. cāvī, ppp. cautus II] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: cautus 'on one's guard, wary' (Pl.+), cautiō 'care, precaution' (Pl.+), cautor 'one who takes precautions' (Pl.+), cautiēla 'caution' (Pl.); praecaveō 'to be on one's guard' (Pl.+).


PIE *kouh₁-éie- 'to perceive'. IE cognates: Skt. á-kāvātē 'intends', á-kūta- 'intention'; Skt. kāvī-, Av. kauvi- [m.] 'seer, poet, wise man' < *kouH₁-i-; Gr. κοιο 'to perceive, understand', Gr. ὑσκός (priest) who observes the sacrifice', Scr. cūti 'to hear', OHG scōwen 'to watch' < *(s)kouh₁-.

The pr. *kaw-e- can be explained from pre-Plt. *kou(H)-éie- by means of Thurneysen-Havet-Vine's unrounding of PIE *ou in PIE pretonic position (Vine 2006a: 225). The pf. cāvī can be phonetically regular from *kawewai, ppp. cautus < *kawitos < *kouH₁-e-to-. The U. form *kawetē- must be derived from a nominal form *kawe-to- (a Plt. innovation) which also yielded Lat. cautus.


cavus 'hollow, excavated, concave, deep (of water)' [adj. o/a] (Enn.+

Derivatives: cavum [n.] 'a hole, hollow' (Pl.+), cavātus 'hollow' (Varro+), cavāre 'to make hollow' (Lucr.+), caverna 'cave, hole' (Varro, Lucr.+), cavea 'cage; auditorium of a theatre' (Pl.+); maybe cavilla 'jesting, banter' (Pl.), cavillātōr 'jester, banterer' (Pl.+).

Plt. *kavo- < *kawō-.

PIE *kouH₁-ó- 'hollow'. IE cognates: OIr. cúa 'hollow', Bret. keo, kev 'cave' < PIE *kouio-; Gr. pl. κότοι 'hollows, excavations, gaps, crevices, gorges' (Hsch.) < *kóyw-, Gr. κούλος 'hollow' < *kórfōlóς; Arm. soyl 'cavity' < *keulo-; maybe Alb. thellē 'deep'.

If cavus belongs to Av. sūra- 'hollow', Skt. śūna- 'emptiness', Gr. κύαρ 'hole, eye of a needle' < PIE *kuH₁- 'to swell', we must reconstruct *kouH₁-o- for the Latin form. Vine 2006a: 235f. posits a PIE oxytone adj. *kouH₁-ó-, since he reformulates Thurneysen-Havet's Law in the sense that unrounding of *ou > *au only occurred in pretonic position (with regard to the PIE place of the accent). Greek κόσι, in his view, would have retracted the stress due to substamplization. Lat. caverna seems to follow the example of cisterna, taberna, lanterna. The noun cavea presupposes an adj. *caveus 'hollow'. The etymology of cavilla as *calvilla was proposed in Antiquity (to calvōr 'to deceive', calumnia 'deceit'), but has little to recommend itself. Since
jokes are ‘unserious’ speech, \textit{cavilla} may well derive from \textit{cavus} ‘hollow’. The etymology as *keuh2i-d’h1-(s)leh2- ‘striking joke’ by Hackstein 2002a: 18 is impossible: this would yield *kewipa(s)la-, and the change of pre-Latin *ou > *ay chronologically precedes that of PIE *eu > *ou (Schrijver 1991: 454).


-\textit{ce} ‘here, there’ [ptcle.]. Lat. -\textit{ce} or -\textit{c} in: ecce ‘look!’ (s.v.), hic(e), hicine, hoce [pron.adj.] ‘this’, hinc(e) ‘hence’, hic, hicine ‘hither’ (s.v. hic), illic [pron.adj.] ‘that’, illic ‘there’, illuc ‘thither’ (s.v. ille), istic [pron.adj.] ‘that (of yours)’, istinc ‘from there’, istuc ‘to there’ (s.v. iste), sic ‘thus’ (sicine), nunc ‘now’, tunc ‘then’. Archaic forms are \textit{ipsiusce} [gen.sg. to ipse], cuitusce [gen.sg. to qui]. According to Watkins 1973b: 205, Marsian Latin \textit{ceip} ‘here’ reflects *ke+i-p(e).


Adverbs from case-forms: O. *ekss, ex ‘thus’ < *ekso (+ -s?); U. esuk, esu, esoc, eso ‘thus’ < *ekosdae [nom.acc.sg.n.] or *eksa(e)ke [pl.]; U. isek, iseke [adv./cj.] ‘then’ vel sim. < *ekseki-k(e) [loc.sg.]; U. *isunt ‘in the same way’ < *ekso + ptc. -hont. O. *ekkum ‘similarly’ (*ek-de-om?). A suffix -k also in: O. *izic, U. *erek ‘this’ (s.v. is).

Initial -\textit{ce}-: O. cebmust ‘he will have come over’ < *ke-ben-us- (to ben- ‘come’).

PIE *\textit{ke} / *\textit{ki} ‘this, here’. IE cognates: Hit. *ki ‘this’, ki-nun ‘now’; Gr. *\textit{ke} in k\textit{en}voc, k\textit{e}v\textit{vo}c, Dor. Lesb. k\textit{e}voc ‘that one’ < *(e)ke-evoc; Arm. *\textit{ays} ‘this’, *sa ‘he’, *soyn ‘the same’, OPr. schis, Lith. *s\textit{is}, Latv. *sis, OCS *\textit{sb} ‘this’, Gm. *\textit{χι}-, *\textit{χε}– ‘this’.

Theoretically, -\textit{ce} might come from *-\textit{ki}, but cedo points to *-\textit{ke}. Closely related is the stem *\textit{ki}, found in cis, citr\textit{a}. The productive usage in Italic apparently was suffixation to the demonstrative pron. In Sabellic, *is, ea, id also takes this suffix, but in Latin, it does not. Maybe the demonstrative meaning had developed too much toward a personal pronoun. The particle *\textit{ke} is found in word-initial position in cedito, cett\textit{a} and in \textit{ceterus} (s.v.). PIE *\textit{ke} / *\textit{ki} displays the rare ablaut *\textit{e}/i. The Sab. pronoun *ek\textit{o}, *ek\textit{a} [nom.acc.] was built from PIE *e- + *-\textit{ke}, which became inflected as a pronoun. The variants O. ek\textit{so}-, U. eso- found in the oblique cases reflects the addition of the pronoun *so / *s\textit{a} to this stem: PSab. *e-ke/o-so.


cedo ‘give, tell’ [v. ipv.] (Naev.+) Derivatives: cett\textit{e} ‘give, tell’ [pl.] (Naev.+

Plt. *ke-d\textit{o}, *ke-date ‘give here!’
The original form was probably *cedō, to which iambic shortening applied. The form is generally interpreted as the original ipv. to the root aorist of *deh3- 'to give', Latin dare. The forms cedo and cettē have probably arisen as univerbations of the syntagms *ke *dō and *ke *date 'give here!'. A similar univerbation from 'come here' could lie at the basis of O. cebnust 'he will have come over' to the root *gʷm- 'to come'. Cedo apparently survived the generalization of *da-je- as the present 'to give' in Latin.


cēdō, -ere 'to go, proceed' [v. III; cessī, cessum] (Pl.+

Derivatives: cessāre 'to hold back, hesitate; desist, rest' (Pl.+), cessātiō 'rest, respite' (Pl.+); abscedere 'to go away' (Naev.+), accēdere 'to approach' (Pl.+), accessīre 'approaching; addition' (Pl.+), accessitāre 'to approach repeatedly' (Cato), antecēdere 'to surpass, precede' (Pl.+), concēdere 'to go (away), give way' (Pl.+), concessāre 'to desist' (Pl.+), décēdere 'to go away, yield' (Pl.+), excēdere 'to retire, depart' (Pl.+), incēdere 'to arrive, walk' (Andr.+), intercēdere 'to intervene' (Pl.+), intercessīō 'veto' (Sisenna+), occēdere 'to go so as to confront' (Pl.+), prōcēdere 'to progress' (Pl.+), recēdere 'to withdraw' (Pl.+), recessim 'in retreat' (Pl.), sēcēdere 'to draw aside' (Pl.+), succēdere 'to succeed; come under' (in Pl. and Ter. only 'succeed'); necesse [adv.] 'essential, inevitable' (Naev.+), necessus/um esse 'to be indispensable' (SCBac.+), necessitās 'constraint, need' (Pl.+), necessārius 'necessary' (Pl.+).

Plt. *kesd-e/o- 'to go away, avoid'.

PIE *kiesd- 'to drive away; (intr.) go away'. IE cognates: Skt. sedhati (< *śiazd-) 'to drive, chase away', OAv. sīiazdāt [3s.aor.sb.] 'will chase away', sīōzdām [2p.aor.ipv.] 'banish', sīzhidma- 'withdrawing', YAv. *(fra)sīiazdaiia- 'to chase away' < Ir. *śiazd-/*śiżd-.

This verb is often explained as a univerbation of *ke 'here' plus *sd- 'to sit', but this is semantically not convincing. Also, the frequentative cessāre and Lat. necesse (see below) point to 'cede, desist' as the original meaning, which developed into a more general 'to go' in OLat. Lubotsky 2004 connects cēdō with Av. sīiazdr, Skt. sedh- (< *śiazd-) 'to chase away, (intr.) withdraw' from PIE *kiesd-, possibly an original cp. *kies-dh1-. The Latin development of *-ezd- > -ēd- matches the similar development of *-Vzd- in audiō and crēdō.

Lat. necesse is generally regarded as the n. to *ne-cessis < *ne-cēd-tis 'no avoiding' (used as a noun phrase). The variant necessus/m est would have been modelled on opus est 'to be needed'. But necessus esse already occurs in the SCBac., and, furthermore, necessis does not occur independently. Pariente 1975: 24 therefore assumes that *necessum est phonetically yielded *necessest, and that necessis was extracted from this by metanalysis. He also points to the fact that cēdō is intransitive, and that *cessus cannot therefore be the ppp. of this verb, since necessus would then mean *'there is no having gone'. He (p. 35) therefore proposes a compound of ne and cassus 'it is not contingent, not casual', but this is semantically unattractive: it lacks
the compelling connotation of ‘inevitable’. Maybe the original noun was *cessus, -ūs
‘the going (away)’, ne cessus (est) ‘there is no going (from), no escape’?
Unfortunately, a noun cessus, -ūs is only attested in later imperial times (Iulius
Paulus, 2/3c. AD).

**celeber, -bris, -bre** ‘frequent(ed); famed, loud, clear’ [adj. i] (Pl.+
Derivatives: *concelebrāre* ‘to celebrate’ (Pl.+), *celebrēscere* ‘to become famous’
(Acc.), *celebrēre* ‘to celebrate, praise’ (Acc.+).
Plt. *kelisri-?
The etymology of celeber is unknown, cf. Nussbaum 1999a and Bader 1983.
Phonetically, *kelesri-, *kelisri-, maybe *kelVd’li- are possible. The earlier date of
attestation and the morphology (con- -are) show that *concelebrāre* is the oldest
derivative of celeber, from which *celebrēre* was back-formed. Bader shows that,
semantically and in view of the attestations, a connection with *calāre* ‘to call out’
 esp. for religious occasions) is possible. But a suffix *-dhli- is unlikely, since celeber
does not show the instrumental meaning which adj. in -bilis and -bris usually have
Thus, Nussbaum 1999a: 388 is probably right in positing *kelisris which yielded a
non-velarized *l, and with lowering of *izr > *-ezr-.
LIV *kel- ‘to incite’.

**celer, -is, -e** ‘fast’ [adj. i] (Andr.+; nom.sg.m. also celeris Naev.)
Derivatives: Celerēs ‘the historical precursors of the Equites’ (Liv.+); celerāre ‘to
hasten’ (Lucr.+), celeranter ‘speedily’ (Acc.), accelerāre ‘to quicken’ (Acc.+); celōx,
-ōcis ‘a light and fast boat’ (Pl.+
Plt. *keli-r/li- ‘fast’.
PIE *kel- ‘speeding’. IE cognates: Gr. κέλωμαι, aor. (έ)κέκλετο ‘to spur on’, κέλλω
(< *kel-je/o-) ‘to drive on’, κέλλης, -ήτ- ‘racehorse’, Go. haldan ‘to tend cattle’.
nouns, and in view of the regular dissimilation of -ālis and *-plis in Latin to -āris and
*-pris when the root contains l, the PIE suffix may have been *-li-. The noun celōx
represents a loan from Gr. κέλης with influence from vēlōx, or is a rhyming formation
to vēlōx with ce- from celer; cf. Nussbaum 1999a: 388.
Bibl.: WH I: 194f., EM 110, IEW 548, LIV *kel- ‘to incite’.

**cella** ‘store, larder’ [f. ā] (Naev.+
Derivatives: cellārius [adj.] ‘of a store-room’ (Pl.), [m.] ‘storekeeper’ (Pl.+), cellula
‘small room’ (Ter.+).
Plt. *keli/elā-. It. cognates: maybe Fal. cela [nom.sg.] PN (cf. Giacomelli 1963:
239f.); maybe O. kellaked [3s.pf.] ‘he has stored (?)’, denom. to *kella-.
PIE *kēl- ‘hiding’? IE cognates: Skt. sālā- ‘large tent, building’?
In theory, cella may go back to *cēla by means of the littera-rule: a sequence of long vowel plus simple consonant can be replaced by a short vowel plus a geminate consonant (Leumann 1977: 183, Meiser 1998: 77). In that case, cella would preserve the long-vowel base of cēlāre ‘to conceal’. Cella could also be a dim. *kēl-elā > *kēllā > cella. If cella is an original diminutive to a root form *kel-, the relative chronology demands *kel ila (with every other internal vowel, we expect *colla; cf. Nussbaum 1997: 397). The cluster -ll- can arise in various ways: other possibile preforms from a root *kel- are *kelnā-,*kelsā- and *keldā-.


-cellō, -ere 1 ‘to raise oneself’ [v. III; (excellui), -celsum] (Naev.+) only in compounds

Derivatives: celsus ‘high, tall’ (Andr.); antecellere ‘to surpass, excel’ (Cic.+), excellere ‘to be higher; surpass’ (Cato+), excelsus ‘high, tall’ (Cato+), praececellere ‘to be superior, surpass’ (Pl.).

Plt. *kelne/o- [pr.], *k(e)lto- [ppp.]. It. cognates: SPic. eselsit [3p.pr.?] ‘they have erected’?

PIE *kēl-n-H- (thus Schrijver) << *kl né/n-H- (thus LIV) ‘to rise’. IE cognates: Lith. kēlti, Is. kēlti ‘to lift’, kilti, Is. kylī ‘to stand up’.

The pr.ind. is sometimes attested with -ē- (2nd cj.): Pl. praecellēt lx, Cic.+ excélle, -ent, -eas. WH and EM assume that -celsus shows an original dental-final root *keld-, but the d-extension does not occur elsewhere in IE derivatives of this root, and -ls- can be analogical in Latin for *-lt-. The root is reconstructed as *klh3- by Schrijver on the basis of Gr. κολώνη, Κολωνός ‘hill’, but the suffix is productive in Greek. The full grade root in nasal presents is frequent in Latin (e from the aorist?).


-cellō, -ere 2 ‘to hit’ [v. III; pf. -culī; ppp. -culsum] (Naev.+) only in compounds

Derivatives: percellere ‘to strike down’ (Naev.+), prōcellere ‘to throw violently forward’ (Pl.), procella ‘violent wind, storm’ (Pl.+), recellere ‘to swing back, recoil’ (Lur.+).

Plt. *kelne/o- [pr.].


The noun procella was probably derived from prōcellō. Schrijver 1991: 174 dismisses a reconstruction with PIE *-d(h)- on the grounds that a dental enlargement is absent from the IE cognates, and is not needed for explaining the Latin verb. The pf. -culi may be regarded as the regular reflex of PIE *-kolh2- (see also Meiser 2003: 187), whereas -culsum has replaced *lt by *ls on the example of verbs such as fallō fellī falsum, which did contain a dental. The e in the present may stem from the aorist.

Bibl.: WH I: 225f., EM 111, IEW 545-547, Schrijver 1991: 173-175, LIV *kelh₂-. → calamitās, clādēs
cēlō, -āre ‘to conceal’ [v. I.] (Pl. +)

Plt. *kēl-ē/o-.


Most scholars assume that the verb is denominal to a noun with ē-grade, cf. Steinbauer and Schrijver. The obvious candidate for such a noun would be a root noun *kēl- // *kel-. Germanic shows a few forms from *χēl-, but these could be inner-Germanic innovations. A PIE thematic present *kēl-e- is continued in Latin occulere.


cēna ‘meal’ [f. ā] (Carmen Saliare, Naev.+; cēsnās Paul. ex F. 2x)

Derivatives: cenāre ‘to have dinner’ (Naev.+), cenāticus ‘of a dinner’ (Pl.+), cenātus ‘having dined’ (Pl.+), cenāculum ‘top-story, attic’ (Pl.+).


PIE *kert-s-nh2- ‘portion’. IE cognates: Skt. kṛntāti ‘to cut’, Arm. k'ert'em ‘to skin’, Lith. kėrti ‘to cut off’; maybe Alb. qeth ‘to cut’, OHG scrītan ‘to burst, split up’.

The phonological form (Latin sn > n, Sab. rsn) suggests that a vowel was lost between r and s or between s and n, or that a fourth consonant was lost, yielding rsn after original *rsn had become rn (as in perna ‘ham’ < *tpērsna). The traditional etymology *kert-snā- (Leumann) chooses the latter solution, and assumes a semantic development ‘cut part’ > ‘meal’, which seems unproblematic. The PIE root *kṛt- might be an extension of the root *kṛ-, which lies at the basis of Latin carō ‘meat’. Schrijver, however, regards the semantics as unlikely, and proposes an alternative connection with Cērēs, reconstructing *ker-s-inā-, from a derived adj. to *kērH- ‘fruit, grain’. Semantically, this does not seem better than the traditional etymology.


-cendō, -ere ‘to ignite, set to fire’ [v. III; pf. -cendī, ppp. -cēnsum] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: ascendere ‘to set on fire’ (Andr.+), incendere ‘id.’ (Pl.+), incendium ‘destructive fire’ (Pl.+), succendere ‘to set alight’ (Lucr.+).

Plt. *-kend-e/lo-.

PIE *(s)kend- [aor.] ‘to shine, appear’. IE cognates: Skt. chadāyati, Av. saūdiiya- < *sknd-eie-, aor. Skt. achañ ‘to appear, please’ < *sknd-s-, pf. Skt. sāsad-, Gr. κέκαδ- ‘to excel’ < *(s)ke-(s)kond-.

The Latin present -cendō is derived from a PIE present by LIV, and the perfect -cendī from a PIE perfect. In view of the Ir. evidence, it seems more likely that -cendō is
Based on a PIE root aorist *(s)kend-, to which a new perfect was formed within Latin. See Lubotsky 2001: 32f. and 49f. on the development of the words in Indo-Iranian. Lubotsky’s analysis of the palatalization in Ir. strongly suggests that candeō and -cendo derive from one PIE root.

Bibl.: WH I: 151f., EM 92, IEW 526, Schrijver 1991: 428, LIV *(s)kend- → candeō

cēnseō ‘to estimate, think, give an opinion; recommend, decide’ [v. II; pf. cēnsuī, ppp. cēnsum] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: cēnus, -ūs ‘registration; wealth’ (Pl. +); cēnsor ‘magistrate’ (Elog.Scip. +); censōrius ‘of a’ censor’ (Pac. +); cēnsiō ‘assessing, rating’ (Pl. +); cēnsūra ‘the office of censor’ (Cic. +); accensus [m.] ‘supernumerary, attendant’ (Pl. +), percensēre ‘to survey, inspect’ (Varro +), suscensēre ‘to be angry with’ (Pl. +).


PIE *kns-eh-, / *kns-eiē- to announce’. IE cognates: Skt. śaṁś-, Av. sẖh- ‘to speak solemnly’, OAv. pr. sẖhā-.

According to García-Ramón 1993b: 124, the ē-conjugation of Latin censēre results from a transitive pr. *kns-eiē- ‘estimates’ or from a stative *kns-eh₁- ‘to be estimated’, or both. Later, a diathesis opposition would have been created by opposing censē + -tur to censē-t.


centō ‘blanket, patched cloth’ [n. n] (Pl. +)

Plt. *k(e)nt-n~ / *k(e)ntH-n-. IE cognates: Skt. kantha- [f.] ‘rag, patched cloth’.

If Skt. kantha-, continues an original n-stem, centō and kantha- can reflect *kentH-o/en-. However, it is quite possible that both words have nothing to do with each other. Other forms which are adduced by IEW, such as OHG hadara ‘rags’, and Arm. k’ot’anak ‘cloth’, show no trace of the nasal of Lat. centō and Skt. kantha-.

Bibl.: WH I: 200, EM 113, IEW 569, EWAia III: 55.

centum ‘hundred’ [num. indecl.] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: centēsimus ‘hundredth’ (Pl.), centēnī ‘one hundred each’ (Cato +), centēni(n)s ‘a hundred times’ (Pl. +); centuria ‘unit of a hundred men’ (Cincius +), centuriō ‘centurion’ (Lucil. +); decemcenti ‘200’ [adj.] (Pl. +), trecenti ‘300’ (Pl.), quadringenenti ‘400’ (Pl. +), quingenenti ‘500’ (Pl. +; Paul. ex F. cites quincent-), sescenti ‘600’ (Pl. +), octingenenti ‘800’ (Pl. +), nongenti ‘900’ (Cic. +), centumplex ‘hundredfold’ (Pl.).

Plt. *kntom.
**PIE** *dkmto*- ‘hundred’. IE cognates: Olr. cēt, MW cant, Skt. satá-, Av. satóm ‘hundred’, Lyc. sīṭa ‘unit of ten or hundred’, Gr. ἕκατόν, Lith. šimtas, OCS sùto, Go. hund, OHG hund, ToB kante, ToA kánt ‘hundred’.

The form *centum* directly goes back to PIE. Lat. -centī functions as an adj., and surfaces as -gentī after nasals. The -g- must have originated in ‘700’ and ‘900’. The ordinal *centēsimus* must be a remake of *cēsimus* (< *kent-tamo-*) on the basis of *vigēsimus* etc. The initial du- of ducentī has been influenced by duo and/or by compounds in du-. The absence of lengthening in front of -centī suggests that the hundreds were formed when ‘hundred’ was not longer *dkmto* but already *kmto*. PIE *dkmto*- ‘hundred’ probably derives from PIE *dekm* ‘ten’ as the ordinal ‘tenth’. Hence, ‘hundred’ was the ‘tenth ten’.


**cēpa** ‘onion’ [f. ā] (Naev.+; also caepe)

Derivatives: cēpe [n.] (Enn.+).

IE cognates: Gr. καπια ‘onions’ among the Κηρυνηται (Hsch.).

Probably a loanword from an unknown language; the same word might be reflected in Gr. καπια.

Bibl.: WH I: 201, EM 114.

-cepts, -cu/ipis ‘taking’ [m./f., adj. p.]: auceps, -cupis ‘bird-catcher, fowler’ (Pl.); deinceps [adv.] ‘in succession, next’ (Var.); forceps, -ipis ‘tongs, pincers’ (Cato+); inceps [adv.] ‘subsequently’ (Fest., gloss.); manceps, -u/ipis ‘contractor, agent’ (Pl.); mūniceps, -ipis ‘citizen or native of a community’ (Lucil.); particeps, -ipis ‘participant, sharer’ (Andr.+); princeps, -ipis ‘first; initiator’ (Pl.); quarticeps, -ipis, quinticeps, sexticeps, terticeps ‘fourth, fifth, sixth, third in order’ (Varro); vesticeps, -ipis ‘sexually mature’ (Paul. ex F., Apul.+

Derivatives: mancu/ipium ‘confiscation, ownership, slave’ (Lex XII+), mūnicipium ‘community, municipality’ (CIL+), participium ‘participle’ (Varro+), prīncipium ‘start, origin’ (Pl.+

Plt. -*kap-s* ‘seizing’.

The oldest form may be princeps (with syncope) ‘first’; on this model, deinceps ‘next’ (*dein(de)-kap-s*) was created, and also the forms with an ordinal number as their first member. Particeps belongs to this semantic sphere, too. Forceps ‘pliers’ is etymologized as quae forma capiunt by Festus, which would imply *formo-kap-s*. Manceps < *mānu-kap-s*, which may belong to the same legal-social sphere as princeps, particeps: the expression manu capere still existed. Mūniceps may have been back-formed to mūnicipium, or directly from *mūnia-kap-s*, cf. mūnia capessere (Col.). Vестиiceps < *vesti-kap-s* (or more recent) ‘who takes the toga virilis’.

Bibl.: EM 96, Benedetti 1988: 60-71. → capiō

**cēra** ‘beeswax, wax’ [f. ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: cērātus ‘coated with wax’ (Pl.+).
IE cognates: Gr. κηρός, Dor. καρός ‘wax’, Gr. κηριόν ‘honeycomb’, Lith. korės ‘honeycomb’, Latv. kāres ‘id.’.

Probably a loanword from an unknown language, or a direct borrowing into Latin from Greek. If the Doric form in ἄ is reliable, Latin would have borrowed the Ionic-Attic variant, and remade it into a fem. in -a (which is not trivial). If the Baltic forms are cognate, the substrate word might have been *kār-.

Bibl.: WH I: 202, EM 114, IEW 532.

cerda ‘faecies’ [f. ἄ]: mūscerdae [f.pl.] ‘mouse droppings’ (Plin., Fest.), sucerdae [f.pl.] ‘pig’s dung’ (Titin.+), ovicerda ‘sheeps’ droppings’ (Fest.)

Plt. *(s)ker-d- ‘excretion’.

PIE *(s)ker-(d-) ‘part, excretion’. IE cognates: OIr. scerdaid*, sceird* ‘to plane, scratch off’ < *sker-(d-)e/o-; Gr. κείρω, Arm. k’erem, OIr. skera ‘to cut, shave’.

Most dictionaries assume original *sker-d-, in which case mūscerdae must be the older form (*mūs-skerd-) which gave rise to sucerdae. The word might be a derivative of the PIE root *(s)ker- ‘to cut, tear, separate’, with a suffix -d- from PIE, or which arose by analogy with Lat. merda ‘dung’ (Hor.+). If PIE, the dental suffix may be compared with OIr. *skerd(h)-.

Bibl.: WH II: 133f., 621, EM 114, IEW 947f., Schumacher 2004: 582, LIV 2. *(s)ker-

cerebrum ‘brain’ [n. o] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: cerebellum ‘brain’ (Titin.+), cerebrōsus ‘passionate, enrag ed’ (Lucil.+).

Plt. *kerasro-.


Ceres, -eris ‘goddess of grain and fruits’ [f. r] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: Cerus manus ‘creator bonus’ (Paul. ex F.), Varro duonus Cerus ‘good Ceres’; Ceriālis ‘of Ceres, of wheat’ (Pl. +); Oscan caria ‘panis’, carenīssēs ‘pistores’ (gloss.).


PIE *kerh13-os [n.] 'nourishment' (> 'grain'); adj. *kerh13-ēs 'with nourishment'.

IE cognates: Gr. κορέννυμι 'to satiate, feed', Lith. šėrti, ls. šeriu 'to feed'; OHG hierso, OS hirsi [m.] 'millet' < PGm. *kersja- < *kerh13-s-io- 'like grain'.

The spelling Cerus might reflect Cerrus, which would better reflect the Sabellic forms. Eichner (1993b: 84f.) reconstructs *kerh1-ēs, *kerh1esos, a poss.adj. of the type ψευδής, to a noun *kerh1os 'growth' (Arm. ser, seroy). Sab. *kereso- can then be a simple thematization of the s-stem. Whereas Eichner's morphological analysis is attractive, I agree with Hill 2006: 197-200 that a connection of *kerh13- 'to feed' with *k(ʷ)reh1- 'to grow' is difficult because of the schwebeablaut and the different semantics. Thus, Cerēs derives from *kerh13- 'to feed', while crešcō belongs to a different IE root.


cernō, -ere 'to sift, distinguish, decide' [v. III; pf. crēvi, ppp. crētum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: dēcernere 'to decide, determine' (Pl.+), dēcretum 'idea, decision' (Cato+), discernere 'to separate, distinguish' (Varro, Lucr.+), discerniculum 'hair-needle' (Lucil.+), incernere 'to sprinkle on with a sieve' (Cato+), incerniculum 'vessel for collecting sieved materials' (Cato+), sēcernere 'to detach, discard' (Egn.+), sēcūtus 'separate, withdrawn, secret' (Pl.+); crīmen, -inis 'indictment, accusation' (Pl.+), crīmināre/i 'to accuse' (Pl.+), crīminātor 'accuser' (Pl.+), discrīmen 'separating line, distinction' (Varro, Lucr.+), discrīmināre 'to divide up' (Varro+).


PIE pr. *kr-n-i-, aor.(?)*krei- 'to sift, separate', ppp. *krito-; *(k)krei-mn [n.]. IE cognates: OIr. ar-a-chrin 'to perish' (< *k to shake it?'), W. crynu, MCo. krena, MBret. crenaff 'to shiver' < PCl. *krini- [pr.] 'to sift, shake', Gr. κρίνω 'to separate (< *krinje/o-), κριτός 'separate'; OCS krai 'edge, end, shore' < *kroh1i-, Latv. krijāt 'skin', Ru. kroit', SCr. krōjīti 'to cut into pieces' < *kroihj-.

The form crētus replaces the original ppp. certus < *kritos, which got detached from the verbal paradigm. The PIE root of cernō has been variously reconstructed as *krh1(i)- or *krih1-, beside *kri- which must in any case be assumed for certus and Gr. κριτός. Seldeslachts 2001 claims that a single root *kri- suffices to explain all attested forms, with the exception of crēvi, which he explains as analogical to lēvī, the pf. to linō. The ppp. crētus would be analogical to crēvī.


cernuus 'head foremost' [adj. o/a] (Lucil.+)  
Derivatives: cernuāre 'to fall head first' (Varro+).
cervus

Plt. *kēro-nowo-.
PIE *kēr(h2)-o- ‘skull, head’. IE cognates: see s.v. cerebrum.

Explained by Nussbaum 1986 as *kēro-no-noy- ‘inclining the head’ > *kēro-noyo- > *kēr(y)noyo- > cernuus. The first member would be identical to YAv. sāra- ‘head’.


certus ‘fixed, certain’ [adj. o/ô] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: certāre ‘to contend for superiority’ (Pl.+), certāmen, -inis ‘competition, contest’ (Pl.+), certātim ‘with rivalry’ (Pl.+), certātō ‘contention’ (Enn.+), concertāre ‘to contend’ (Ter.+), dēcertāre ‘to fight an issue out’ (Asellio+), incertus ‘not fixed, uncertain’ (Pl.+), incertāre ‘to make uncertain’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *krito- ‘distinguished’.
PIE *krito- ‘sifted’. IE cognates: Gr. κριτός ‘separate’.

The adj. certus continues the earlier ppp. to cernere ‘to distinguish’. EM dismiss the view that certāre would be denominative to certus, and argue that it is an iterative to cerno. However, the iteratives are built on ppp. in *-tos, so the explanation is essentially the same. The meaning of certāre can be based on the original ppp-meaning ‘distinguished, decided’ of *kritos, before it acquired the meaning ‘certain’.


cervix, -icis ‘neck’ [f. k] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: incurvicervicus ‘having the neck arched’ (Pac.).

WH suggest original *kers-yeik-s ‘head band’ to vincire, but this is semantically very doubtful. The suffix recalls that of coxendīx ‘hip’, but the analysis of cerv- does not yield clear results (cf. Nussbaum 1986: 5).


cervus ‘stag, deer’ [m. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: cerva ‘hind, doe’ (Pl.+), cervīnus ‘of a deer’ (Varro+).

Plt. *ker(a)wo- ‘horned animal, stag’.


Originally ‘horned (animal)’; this derivative from ‘horn’ seems to be Italo-Celtic. The different ablaut grades (e/o/zero) found in the root of the -u-derivative in the IE languages suggest that many forms were influenced by the noun *ker-h2- ‘horn, bone’.

ceterus 'the rest, the other' [adj. o/ə] (Pl.+

PIt. *etero- 'other'. It. cognates: U. etrama [acc.sg. + adv], etru [abl.sg.m.], etre [loc.sg.m./n.], etraf [acc.pl.f.], etres [abl.pl.m/n.] 'second, other' < *etero-.

PIE *h₂e-tero- 'the other (of two)'. IE cognates: Av. atāra- 'this one (of two)', Alb. jetēr, tjeter 'other', OCS eter, jeterb 'someone'.

A compound of the particle ce 'here' (prefixed, as in cedo) and PIt. *etero- 'other'. The latter goes back to a PIE adj. of comparison in *-tero- derived from the pronoun *h₂e- 'this, here'.


ceu 'as, like' [ptc.] (Enn.+)

PIt. *keiwe.

PIE *ke 'here' + *(h₁)i-ye 'as'. IE cognates: Skt. iva 'like, as'.

WH assume *kei 'here' + *ye 'or', but Watkins 1973b compares Skt. iva, which seems morphologically more convincing. Hence, ceu can be explained from the particle *ke (Lat. -ce) and PIE *(h₁)i-ye 'as'. With Watkins, we can posit a development *keiwe > *keiw > *kēw > ceu. The development *-iweV- > *-iweV- did not take place because of the early apocope of *-e; compare seu next to sive.


cēveō 'to shake the hips' [v. II] (Mart.+)

PIE *keh₁u-e/o- 'to throw, shake'. IE cognates: OCS kyvati, Cz. kývati, Sl. kivati 'to nod' < *kū-.

Schrijver suggests that cēveō reflects a causative verb with e-grade in the root, of which there are more examples in Latin. But the meaning is iterative rather than causative. If the word originally had an o-grade (as LIV assumes), it is difficult to see why this was replaced by an e-grade.


cibus 'food' [m. o] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: cibārius 'of food' (Pl.+) cibātus, -ūs 'food, fodder' (Pl.+).

A root structure *k- is not allowed in PIE, whereas *b is an exceedingly rare phoneme. Hence, a PIE etymology would have to start from a root *k₁-, with a suffix *-ḅ-. No good match was found. It may very well be a loan word, for instance, from Gr. κίβος, κίβισις 'box, chest', as proposed by Thurneysen 1907 (cf. WH).


cīcāda 'cicada, cricket' [f. ā] (Lucr.+)

Probably an onomatopoeic formation, with reduplication. Compare cicōnía 'stork', a bird also characterized by its clapping sound. Maybe, but not necessarily, a loanword.

Bibl.: WH I: 211, EM 119. → cicōnía
cicatrix, -icis 'scar-tissue, cicatrice' [f. k] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: cicatrīcosus 'scarred' (Pl. +).

Etymology unknown.

cicer, -eris 'chick-pea' [n. r] (Pl. +)
Plt. *kiker-.
IE cognates: Gr. κίκερροι 'pale' (Hsch.); Arm. siserš 'chick-pea', Alb. thjer 'lentil'.
Alb. thjer might reflect *kiker- (cf. Demiraj 1997), but the initial syllable *ki- is of course not warranted by the Albanian word. The preform of Latin and Albanian might be derived from *kerh3- 'to feed', as Jokl assumes — I do not share the semantic objections voiced by Demiraj. On the other hand, Arm. siserš could reflect *ke/oiker-n-, which together with Latin would rather point to a loanword from an unknown source. Gr. κριός 'ram; kind of chick-pea' is unrelated: it is named after its curved shell.

cicōnia 'stork' [f. ā] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: cōnea 'stork' (Pl. Truc.: 'Praenestinis cōnea est cicōnia').
Cannot be connected with canire 'to sing', unless via *kph2n-. But I doubt that anyone would refer to the bill-clattering of a stork as 'singing' — unless in a very ironic way. The reduplication is probably part of the onomatopoeic formation, as in cicāda.
Bibl.: WH I: 212, EM 119, IEW 525f., Leumann 1977: 382. → cicāda

cicur, -is 'tame, mild' [adj. r] (Enn.+)
Derivatives: cicurāre 'to tame' (Pac.+).
The alleged cognate Skt. sakura- 'tame, quiet' (only in Harṣa carita) is attested too late to be credible. The etymology of cicur remains unknown.
Bibl.: WH I: 213, EM 119.

cieō 'to move, stir up' [v. II; pf. cīvī, pp. citum] (Pl. +; variant ciō, -ere)
Derivatives: accīre 'to summon' (Pl. +), concīre 'to stir up' (Pl. +), excīre 'to cause to move away, summon' (Pl. +), perciēre 'to stir up' (Pl. +), citus 'quick, rapid' (Andr.+), citō [adv.] 'quickly, fast' (Naev.+), incitae [f.pl.] 'checkmate' (Pl. +), incitus 'set in rapid motion' (Lucr.+); citāre 'to set in motion, summon' (Pl. +), concitāre 'to set in rapid motion, stir up' (Acc.+), excitāre 'to rouse' (Pl. +), suscitāre 'id.' (Pl. +); sollicitus 'restless, uneasy, anxious' (Pl. +), sollicitāre 'to disturb' (Pl. +), sollicitūdō, -inis 'anxiety' (Pl. +), sollicitūtō 'vexation' (Ter.+).
PIE aor. *k(e)(h)2- 'to start to move', ppp. *(k)ih2- to-. IE cognates: Gr. aor. ἔκκιε 'started to move', xîrito 'they moved' (Hsch.), pr. κίνομαι 'to be moved' < *(k)ih2-.
The verb -cieēr has become obsolete in CLat., and was replaced by the frequentative citāre. Solli-citus derives from sollus 'entire' and citus 'stirred'. LIV interprets cieō as
a secondary causative present with zero grade of the root; as García-Ramón 1993a argues, it may have been grafted on ci-tus. The long vowel -i- of accīre surfaces in the pf. (which might have *kei-w-, and concur with the Greek aorist). For citus, we must posit a preform without laryngeal (cf. Schrijver), or assume that the ppp. was grafted relatively recently on the pr. *ki-e-.


→ concinnō, cunctus

cilium ‘the eyelid’ [n. o] (Plin.+)

Derivatives: supercilium ‘eyebrow’ (Pl.+).

PIt. *kel-jo- [n.] ‘eyelid’.
P1E *kel-io- ‘hiding’. IE cognates: see w.v. cēlō, occulō.

Since cilium is more recent than supercilium, the former can be interpreted as a back-formation to the latter (WH, EM). If indeed derived from the root *kel- ‘to hide’, we must still assume that a noun *kilium ‘eyelid’ existed, since the eyelid can ‘hide’ the eye, whereas the eyebrow does not have such a function. Thus, supercilium may originally have meant ‘what is above the cilium’.

cimex, -icis ‘bed-bug’ [m. k] (Andr.+)

For the suffix, cf. culex, pulex. The etymological connection with IE words for ‘black, dark-coloured’ such as Skt. śvāvā- ‘dark, black’ < *kēh₁-ya- (thus e.g. IEW) is not compelling. The etymology must be regarded as unknown.

Bibl.: WH I: 216, EM 121, IEW 540f.
cingō, -ere ‘to surround, gird’ [v. III; pf. cinxī, ppp. cinctum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: cingulum ‘belt’ (Varro+), cingillum ‘woman’s girdle’ (Varro+), cinctus, -ūs ‘the means of girding up clothes’ (Lucil.+), cincticus ‘belt or girdle’ (Pl.); accingere ‘to gird, surround’ (Ter.+), discingere ‘to remove the belt’ (Pl.+), praecingere ‘to encircle, gird’ (Pl.+), succingulum ‘garment round the loins’ (Pl.+), succinctus ‘gathered up, girded’ (Pl.+).

PIt. *keng-? It. cognates: *kink-to- in U. sihitu anšihitu, sihitu anšihitu [acc.pl.m.], sihitir anšihitir, sihitir anšihitir, šitir anšihitir [dat.pl.m.] ‘girded ungirded’? These words refer to certain high officials, but meaning and etymology are uncertain.

Uncertain etymology. Of the possible cognates adduced in IEW, Lith. kinkýti ‘to bridle horses’ fits semantically, but requires a root *kin-k-, which cannot be PIE because of its structure, and which conflicts with Meiser’s explanation of the Italic words (from *kenk-). Skt. kaṅcate ‘he ties’, kaṅcuka- ‘armour’ do not help much, cf. EWAia III: 42-45: the words are attested at a late date, and present formal irregularities.

cinis, -eris 'residue of fire, ashes, ashes of a dead person' [m. r] (Pl.++; sometimes f.)
Derivatives: cinerarius [m.] 'hair-dresser' (Lucil.+).
Plt. *kenis- 'ashes'.
PIE *k/kon(H)-i-, *k/kon(H)-i- 'residue of fire, ashes, dust'. IE cognates: Gr. κόνις, gen. -ος, ἔος (-εος) [f.] 'ashes, dust', κονιῶνος 'cloud of dust', κονίῳ 'to cover with dust', κόνιος 'dusty', ToB kentse 'dust' < *koniso-.
Lat. *kenis > cinis by assimilation, cf. similis < *semili- < *semali-. Whereas Latin seems synchronically to reflect a normal s-stem (except maybe for cinisculus), Greek contains an original *-is-stem, which was secondarily interpreted as i-stem. Latin *ken-i- may reflect either *ken(H)-i- or zero-grade *knH-i-. ToB kentse seems to reflect *kon-is-o-. If PIE, this would have to be a very early s-extension of an i-stem *kon-i-. Thus, there may have been a PIE i-stem noun *kon(H)-i- / *ken(H)-i- 'dust', of which Latin cinis continues the e-grade. IEW connects cinis to PIE *kneh2- 'to plane, rub' (Gr. -κναίω), which is not compelling.
cippus 'boundary stone' [m. o] (Lucil.+; Mars., CIL 5: Ceip.apur(|)finem)
Plt. *keipo-?
PIE *(s)keip-o- 'pole, stick'? IE cognates: Skt. śépa-, śepha- 'tail, penis'.
If the attestation ceip does indeed represent ceipus, or if it is directly cognate with scipiō 'stick', later cippus is an instance of the littera-rule (see s.v. cella). Together with the s-variants, discussed under scipiō, Plt. *keipō- can then go back to a noun *ke/oip-o- 'pole, stick'.
circus 'circle; circus' [m. o] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: circum [prep.] 'round about, near' (Pl.+), circā [prep.] 'round, about' (Lex Repetund.), cicerter [adv.; prep.] 'nearly; near' (Pl.+), circumcircā [adv.] 'round about' (Pl.+), idcircō [adv.] 'therefore' (Pl.+), quōcircā 'on account of which' (Varro+); circulus 'circle, ring' (Acc. +).
Circum is the old acc.sg. of circus; circā is a more recent formation (end 1st c. BC). Circus is probably a loanword from Gr. χρίκος 'ring', also χρίκος (Hell.), χρικόω 'to hoop round, secure with rings' (Aeschylus), of uncertain origin. EM suggest that circus shows 'partial reduplication' of the element *kr- in curvus 'curved', hence *ki-kr-o-, but this is speculative.
cis 'before, within; on this side of' [prep.] (+ acc.) (Pl.+)
Derivatives: citer 'nearer' (Cat), citerio- 'nearer, earlier' (Cic.+), citimus 'nearest' (Cic.+), citra [prep. + acc.] 'on this side of' (Lucr.+), citro- [adv.] 'to this side; on both sides' (Cat+).
Plt. *ki 'here, by', *ki-tero- It. cognates: U. cimī, simo [adv.] 'back' < *ki-mo- 'on this side', U. ciive 'outside, in front' < loc.sg. of *kiyo-. Theoretically, a preform *keimuyo- is also possible.
PIE *ki ‘this here’. IE cognates: Hit. kā- / kū- / ki-, Pal. kā- ‘this’, kījat ‘here’, CLuw. zā- / zi- ‘this’ < PIE *ko-, *ki-, OPr. schis, Lith. šis, OCS së ‘this’; Go. himma ‘to this’, hina ‘this’ [acc.], Go. hidre ‘hitherto’.

The older system is cis – citer (citro) – citimus; Lat. citerior is a more recent remake of citer. Final -s in cis (as in uls) may be analogical to abs, usque, ex. That would imply that *ki remained alive as a separate word until quite recently; it shifted from being a pronoun to a preposition. PIE *ki is a variant of *ke ‘here, this’, as represented in Latin by -ce. For the IE background, see Kortlandt 1983b.


citrus ‘citron-tree (citrus medica cedra); African tree (thuia articulata)’ [f. o] (Varro+)

Derivatives: citrum ‘the wood of the citron-tree’ (Cato+), citrosus ‘smelling of citron-wood’ (Naev.).

IE cognates: Gr. κέδρος ‘juniper-berry, cedar-cone’; κίτριον (Hell.) ‘citron-tree’.

Probably, Gr. κίτριον was borrowed from Latin citrus, which itself may have been borrowed from Gr. κέδρος and underwent the Latin change of *dr > tr (later, the word was again borrowed, now surfacing as Latin cedrus). But the initial vowels of κέδρος and citrus differ, and there may have been an Etruscan intermediate between Greek and Latin. Alternatively, both citrus and κέδρος might have been borrowed from a third (Mediterranean?) language.


O. ceus was probably borrowed from Latin *cēvis before this became civis; hence, between 250 and 150 BC. The Lat. i-stem inflection is mostly explained from analogy to the word hostis, but it could also be older. Vine 2006b assumes a PIE i-stem abstract noun ‘society’ derived from the adj. *ki-uo- ‘socially close’ continued in other IE languages. This would also explain why the derivatives cīvicus, cīvīlis mean ‘pertaining to society/the civic order’ rather than ‘pertaining to a citizen’. Lat. civis resulted from the singulative use of the abstract, as in optīō [f.] ‘choice’ > [m.] ‘assistant’. The IE root behind this formation is often assumed to be *kei- ‘to lie’, but this is semantically difficult. Vine 2006b: 148 embroders on an earlier suggestion by Bader: he proposes a derivative in *-uo- from the pronominal stem *ki- ‘this (here)’ (> Skt. śivā-), with full grade *kei-uo- ‘close’.

Bibl.: WH I: 224, EM 124, IEW 540, Untermann 2000: 395, LIV *kei-.
clādēs, -Is 'destruction, disaster, defeat' [f. ē/i] (Pl.)

PIt. *klādē-, obl. *klād-.

PIE *klh2-dʰeh₁- 'beating, destruction, disaster'. IE cognates: Gr. κλάω 'to break', Lith. kálti 'to beat (with a hammer)', Ru. kolót', SCr. klati 'to slaughter'.

Schrijver 1991 has argued that no cognate forms of the root *klh₂- 'to beat' can be found outside Italic with a certain dental enlargement. Hence, he reconstructs a PIE compound of the type Skt. śraddhā- 'trust, belief' < *kṛed-dʰeh₁-. In view of the circumflex accentuation of Lithuanian nouns in -dē, one might also envisage *-dʰeh₁- for the Latin nouns in -dēs (cf. Kortlandt 2005: 169).

Bibl.: WH I: 225, EM 124, IEW 545-547, Schrijver 1991: 173-175, LIV *kelh₂-.

-clam 'secretly' [adv.] (Pl.)

Derivatives: clandesfinus 'done in secret' (Pl.+), clanculum 'secretly' (Pl.+).

PIt. *klām.

PIE *kl-eh₂- 'concealment'.

For the suffix, cf. palam, córam. Clanculum is a dim. in -culus directly built on clam (cf. plūsculum). Clandestinus presupposes an earlier adv. *clam-de (cf. quande), to which the suffix *-stīno- was added (see s.v. intestīnus). The form calim in Paul. ex F. 'antiqui dicebant por clam' is probably corrupt (thus; WH I: 138). It seems to be mostly agreed that clam derives from *klām, but the PIE origin is less clear. Schrijver assumes a root variant *kelh₂-, the final laryngeal of which would be necessary for καλύπτω. Yet this stem has variants with different labials in Greek (καλυπ/β/φ-), and no forms without this suffix, or with e-grade. The Greek forms are not taken into account by LIV, who reconstruct only an anit root *kel-. Under these circumstances, a reconstruction as acc.sg. *klh₂-m is hard to justify. The zero grade in cl- cannot be secondary within Latin, and probably reflects PIE *kl-. The best option is to assume a stem *kl-eh₂- 'concealment', and regard clam as its original acc.sg.

Bibl.: WH I: 226f., EM 111, IEW 553f., Schrijver 1991: 175, 209, LIV *kel-.

-clámō, -āre 'to shout' [v. I] (Pl.+

Derivatives: clāmor 'shout, cry' (Pl.+, clamōs Enn. Lucr.); clāmitāre 'to shout repeatedly' (Pl.+), clāmitātō 'shouting' (Pl.); exclāmāre 'to cry out' (Pl.+), inclāmāre 'to call out to' (Pl.+), reclāmāre 'to call out in response' (Lucr.+).

PIt. *klām-o/a- 'shouting(ing)'.

PIE *klh₁-m(o)- . IE cognates: see calō.

Lat. clāmāre looks like a derivative of a noun, maybe *klāmā- or *klāmo- 'shout, shouting', which was later replaced by clāmor.

Bibl.: WH I: 227, EM 124, IEW 548ff., Schrijver 1991: 175, LIV *kleh₁-.

-calārās 'to shout out' (Pl.)

Derivatives: clārāre 'to shout out' (Enn.+), clārēscere 'to become loud or clear'
(Lucr.); cláritūdō ‘fame; brightness’ (Cato); clárāre ‘to make clear’ (Enn.+), dēclárāre ‘to make known’ (Lucr.); praeclārus ‘outstandingly bright’ (Lucil.+).

Pf. *klāro- ‘loud’ > ‘clear’.

PIE *kläh₁-ro- ‘loud, sonorous’. IE cognates: see calāre.

The semantic shift from ‘loud’ to ‘clear, bright’ is also found in OHG hel ‘loud’, NHG hell ‘clearly resounding; shining’.

Bibl.: WH I: 228, EM 125, IEW 548f., Schrijver 1991: 175, LIV *kläh₁-. → calendae; calō; clāmō

classis ‘(social) class; levy; fleet’ [f. i] (Andr.)

Derivatives: classicus ‘of the highest class; of the fleet’ (Cato+).


PIE *kläh₁-d⁽ᵇ⁾-ti- ‘a call’

EM regard ‘roll-call, appeal’ as the oldest meaning. The word has been connected with Gr. κέλαινος ‘noise’, but this is semantically unattractive. If we accept the native Roman etymology with calāre, we can reconstruct a derivative in a double dental, yielding *clāsis > classis. Obviously, without external support for this morphological build-up, it remains a paper reconstruction. Also, one would expect a simplification of the geminate ss to s after -ā-. The meaning would have been the calling, call-out’, which developed through ‘class of soldiers being called out’ to the later Latin meanings.

Bibl.: WH I: 228, EM 125, IEW 548ff., Schrijver 1991: 185, LIV *kläh₁-. → calō

claudō, -ere ‘to close’ [v. Ill; pf. clausī, ppp. clausum] (Cato+)

Derivatives: claustrum ‘bolt, bar; prison’ (Pl.); conclūdere ‘to shut up, confine’ (Pl.), disclūdere ‘to separate’ (Varro+), exclūdere ‘to keep out’ (Pl.), exclusīō ‘debarring’ (Ter.+), inclusīō ‘to insert, shut up’ (Varro+), interclūdere ‘to block, cut off’ (Pl.), occlūdere ‘to block access, to stop’ (Pl.), reclūdere ‘to open’ (Pl.).

Pf. *kläu₁d-e/o-.

PIE *kläh₂₁u-d- ‘to shut’. IE cognates: see clāvis.

Note that the simplex does not yet occur in Plautus, but some compounds do. Lat. claustrum < *kläu₁d-tro-. See clāvis for the reconstruction of the root. Latin claudere might reflect *klāw-V-d-, in which case it can be a derivation of a d-stem to clāvis or clāvus, or from their earlier basis *kläw-. But claudere may also reflect *kläw- < *kläh₂₁u-d-, in which case it would be rather close to OHG slōzan ‘to shut’ < *skleud-. Obviously, the Gm. verb must have a secondary e-grade. I prefer the second, verbal solution for claudere.


claudus ‘lame, limping’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl. also clōdus)

Derivatives: claudère ‘to limp’ (Caecil.+), claudicāre ‘to be lame’ (Pl.).

The etymology is uncertain. Many scholars have tried to connect claudus with clāvis
clémens 'mild, lenient' [adj. nl] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: clémentia 'clemency' (Ter.+), inclémenter 'rudely' (Pl.+

WH adopt an earlier suggestion by Bréal and Osthoff, positing *klejomenos 'leaning' > *klémenos > *klémens, with analogatical shift to nt-inflation. Yet the contraction in initial syllable of *ejo > e is doubtful, and the disappearance of o-stem inflection
completely unexpected. In view of *vehemēns 'violent', with its clear reference to *vehō 'to move', EM's suggestion that *clēmēns is its antonym, and that both are compounds with *mēns 'mind' as their second member, is attractive. In order to connect *clēmēns with *clīnō, one might reconstruct *kλoi-wo-ment-, compare the most productive nominal derivative of this root in Latin: *clīvus, *prōclīvis 'slope, hill'. Latin *oi under stress between l and *w developed via *ē to i (as in *clīvus), but in front of *-wo-, it remained at a stage *ē, cf. *deus < *dēos < *dēwos < *deiuos 'god'. Thus also *oleum, balneum. But the examples of shortening of *ē > e all occur in front of word-final -us, -um. The answer will thus depend on the relative chronology. If the reduction of the medial vowel precedes the loss of *-w-, we expect an outcome *kλēwoment > *kλēwiment > *kλīwiment- > *climent-. An ad hoc solution to our problem might be an analogical remodelling of *climent- into clēment- on the example of vēment-*. If the reduction of medial vowels occurred after w-loss, the result might have been *kλēwoment- > *kλēomment-. The outcome of the latter is uncertain, but contraction to e in the first syllable seems possible (cf. *dēgō < *dē-agō).

Bibl.: WH I: 231ff., WH 126, IEW 600ff. → *clīvus

clepō, -ere 'to steal' [v. III; pf. *clepsī, ppp. *cleptum] (Pl.+

Derivatives: Lat. *cleps is attested once in a gloss, translated as 'thief'. Whether this is an old form is impossible to say.


PIE *klep-e/o-, *kolp-o- 'thief'. IE cognates: Mr. *kluain 'deceit' Gr. *kλέπτω 'to steal', *kλόπος [n.] 'thief', kλοπή 'theft, secret act', *ει-κλοπος 'deceitful', kλοπός, kλώψ 'thief', OPr. *aʊklɪpʦ 'hidden', Go. *hlfan 'steal', ToB sb. kālypī- 'steal'.

Bibl.: WH I: 232, EM 127, IEW 604, LIV *klep-.

cliēns, -tis 'client, vassal' [m., f. plt] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: clienta [f.] 'female dependant' (Pl.), clientēla 'clientship' (Ter.).

PIt. *klient- 'who supports' or 'who depends'.

PIE *kli-ent- 'who leans'. IE cognates: Skt. aor. *śret 'leaned', YAv. ni-*śrīta 'is handed over', Skt. *śrayate 'to lean', Alb. *fle 'to sleep' (< *kλoi-eie-?), Lit. *sielt, 3s. sielėja 'to lean, rest (against)', *sielti, 3s. *sielėja 'id.', Latv. *siet, Is. sienu 'to support, erect, (-ties) lean' < *klei-.

PIE *kli-ent- is in origin an act. ptc. of the root aorist *kλei/*kli- 'to lean'.


cļngō, -ere 'to gird / close' [v. III?] (hapax legomenon: Paul. ex F. 'clingere, cingere, a Graeco κυκλούν dici manifestum est')

PIt. *kļeng-e/o-?

IE cognates: Lith. *kļenkiti 'to walk with difficulty', Latv. *kļences 'to hobble', OCS *kļčēsta [nom.du.] 'kneeling', Scr. *kļēcati 'to kneel' < *kļenkw-; OHG *lenk, lenc*
chtellae 121


The precarious transmission of this word in Latin renders its linguistic reality uncertain. If taken seriously, clingō might go back to a root *kleng- ‘bent’, as found in Germanic nouns and adjectives. BSL has a verb with a different final stop, but similar semantics. Possibly, U. *kreng/kā-trō- ‘girdle’ (?) is cognate.

Bibl.: WH I: 233f., EM 127, IEW 603. → U. krenkattrum

-clipseus ‘round shield’ [m., n. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: cliu/peātus ‘armed with a shield’ (Pl.+), cliu/peāre ‘to provide with a shield’ (Pac.).

The vacillation between i and u is observed especially after l-, and in front of labials; cf. libet. The etymology of clipesus, however, remains unknown.


clītellae 121

‘pack-saddle’ [f.pl. ā] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: clītellārius ‘used for carrying a pack-saddle’ (Pl.+).


PIE *klei-trō/h2- ‘instrument for leaning, supporting’. IE cognates: Mfr. clithar ‘shelter’, Go. hleipra ‘tent’ < *-tro-; OHG (h)leitara, OE hlæ(d)er ‘ladder’ < *-dʰro-.

Lat. clītella < *klei-tre-la, the Latin diminutive of Plt. *kleitra-, which is also continued in Umbrian. Peruzzi 1992 assumes that clītella had the form of two L-shaped supports which were jointly placed over the back of the pack animal.

clivus 'hill, slope, declivity' [m. o] (Pl.+; clīva [n.pl.] Cato)


Pkt. *klei/oiwo-.

PIE *kλ̣oι-uo- ‘slope, hill’ or *klei-uo- ‘sloping’. IE cognates: Lith. šleivas ‘bow-legged’, Go. hlaiw, Old Norse hlaiwa, OHG OS hléo ‘grave mound’. Lat. clivus was used in the religious practice of auspicias (auguria clivia Paul. ex F.) and referred to birds (avis clivia Plinius) that entered the augur’s templum from the left side. It thus shifted from ‘sloping’ through ‘awkward, wrong’ to ‘ominous’.

Bibl.: WH I: 236, EM 127ff., I EW 600ff., LIV *klei- → cliēns, -clīnō, clītella

cloaca ‘sewer, underground drainage’ [f. ā] (Pl.+; clouaca Varro, inscr.)

Derivatives: Cloācīna ‘cult-title of Venus’ (‘the Purifier?’) (Pl.+), cluere ‘to purify’ (1x Plin.), cloāre ‘purify’ (1x Serv.).

Pkt. *klowā-.

PIE *kλ̣euH-o- ‘clean’. IE cognates: W. clir ‘clean’ < *klHuH-ro-, Gr. κλύζω ‘to wash’ < *klu-, Lith. šlioti ‘to sweep’, šliota ‘broom’ < *kλ̣ẹH-u-tei or *(ke-)kloH-tei, Go. hlūtrs ‘clean’ < *klHuH-d-ro-.

Since an original sequence *klowV- would have yielded *clau- (at least, in pretonic position), Vine 2006a: 217f. posits an adj. *kleuH-o- ‘clear, clean’ from which a factitive pr. *kleuH-eH-je/o- > *klewāje/o- > *klowā could have been derived. This verb might be preserved in the Servius gloss cloare, although its reliability is often doubted. From *klowā-, the noun cloaca can then be explained. WH and Rix argue that cluō may have been invented by Plinius to explain Cluācīna; but it might also derive from *clauere < *klowere < *kleuH-eH-o-. For the root, Derksen (1994) reconstructs *kλ̣ẹH-u-, whereas Rasmussen posits *kλ̣ẹH-i-. If one accepts such a root structure, the ablaut *kle/ou(H)- of Latin must represent a secondary full grade based on a zero grade *kλ̣uH- < *kλ̣uH-eH-. The short vowel of Greek κλύζω remains unexplained under any account.


clueō ‘to be known’ [v. II] (Pl.+; cluere only Sen.)

Derivatives: inclitus, inclutus ‘famous, renowned’ (Naev.+).

Pkt. *klu-e- ‘to be known’, *klu-to- ‘known’. It. cognates: SPic. kduiû [ls.pr.] ‘I am called’ < *kλ̣ẹH-ō-.


Both inclitus and inclutus are found in inscriptions and in the mss., but inclitus seems
more frequent in the older authors, cf. TLL. Since, next to clueō, inclitus is also the lectio difficilior, it seems likely that the latter represents the regular Latin development; inclutus may be due to restoration of the \( -u \)\. Among the other IE languages, only Latvian also has a stative \( *\text{e}-\) present, but this is probably an independent innovation. The use of \( \text{in-} \) in inclutus probably indicates intensification of the sound, as in increpäre and insonāre.


cłūnis ‘buttocks, haunch (of animals)’ [m.f. i] (P1. +)

PIE \( *\text{klou}-ni- \) ‘hip, buttock’\. IE cognates: W. clun ‘haunch’, Skt. śrōni- ‘buttock, hip, loin’, Av. sraoni- ‘id.’, Lith. šlaunis ‘haunch, hip’, Olt. hlaun ‘buttocks, loin’. Maybe Gr. κλόνος ‘haunch’; it cannot continue \( *\text{kloun}- \), but is often assumed to have undergone contamination with κλόνος ‘excitement’. This is an imaginative hypothesis, but rather gratuitous.

The morphological formation of \( *\text{klou}-ni- \) is unknown, there is no good PIE root etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 239, EM 129, IEW 607f.

cohors, -tis ‘farmyard, contingent, cohort’ [f. i] (P1. +)

Derivatives: cohortārī ‘to exhort, encourage’ (Cato+).

PIE \( \text{kom} + *\text{orti}-. \)

PIE \( *\text{g}^\text{h}-\text{tiri} \) ‘enclosure’ or ‘bundle’. IE cognates: Skt. hārati ‘takes, brings’.

Cohors looks like a ti-derivative to a verbal root, possibly to PIE \( *\text{g}^\text{h} \text{er}-. \) ‘to take, grab’, maybe even a compound \( \text{kom-}\text{g}^\text{h} \text{er}-. \)

Bibl.: WH I: 242f., EM 131, IEW 442f., Leumann 1977: 345, LIV ?2. *\text{g}^\text{h} \text{er}-. \rightarrow hortus

cohum Varro: ‘the hollow in the middle of a yoke’, Paul. ex F.: ‘leather strap, by which the pole of a plough-beam is connected with the yoke’ [n. o] (Varro+)

Derivatives: cohun ‘vault of the sky’ (Enn.); incohāre ‘to start making’ (Enn.+), incohātus ‘unfinished, only begun’ (P1. +).

PIE \( *\text{koxo}- \) ‘hole’ or ‘tie, juncture’. It. cognates: O. kahad [3s.pr.cj.], kuhac [2s.pr.cj.?] maybe ‘to take’ < *ka\text{g}^h \text{-}? U. cehefi [inf.ps.], kukehes [com + 2 or 3s.fut.] ‘to take/get’ < *\text{kox}-je-‘ (M. Weiss, p.c.).


The word cohun, coum “is not attested outside glosses, and its primary meaning is obscure” (Schrijver 1991: 441). Varro seems to be influenced by folk etymology with cavus, whereas Paulus invokes cohībēre. It has been derived from \( *\text{couom} \) ‘hollow’ by Thurneysen, but he later dropped this explanation. In fact, it is extremely unlikely for chronological reasons. On the other hand, incohō is a frequent verb, and its meaning can easily have derived from ‘to yoke a plough to a team of oxen’ vel sim.,
in other words, 'to start work'. Thus, there might be a core of truth in the ancient connection of *cohum with a yoke. In order to connect *cohum with the Sabellic root *kax- 'to take', only *kh₂gʰ- would be possible, but such a root violates the PIE root structure constraints. Since we further only find Germanic and Celtic nominal forms in *kagʰ-, we are probably dealing with a loanword into Germanic and Italo-Celtic.


coinquō, -ere 'to prune' [v. III] (Acta Arvalia, Paul. ex F.)
The Acta Arvalia speak about lūcō co(i)nquendī 'of pruning in the grove'; Paul. ex F. defines coinquere as coercere and deputare. WH propose an etymology *co-in-sec-ō to secāre 'to cut', via *co-inscō > *coincō. This would have secondarily got -uō, as in instinguō next to instigō; yet see s.v. stinguō, where it is assumed that -uō was original.

Bibl.: WH I: 244, EM 131.

cōleī 'testicles' [m.pl. o] (Lab.+
Derivatives: cōleātus 'provided with testicles' (Pompon.).

WH derive cōleus from cōlum 'sieve' as original 'sieve-sack', but an adjective *cōleus derived from cōlum would rather have meant 'made of a sieve', which makes less sense. It seems preferable to connect culleus 'bag', but the details are unclear; an IE origin seems distant anyway.

Bibl.: WH I: 244, EM 131. → culleus

collis 'hill' [m. i] (Pac.+
Derivatives: collinus 'belonging to hills' (Varro+).

PIt. *koli-ni-.

PIE *koltH-n- 'hill'. IE cognates: Gr. κόλωνη 'hill', also κολωνός (Hymn to Ceres+) < *koltH-ōn-o/h, Lith. kalnas 'hill', Latv. kalns 'mountain' < *koltH-no-, Lith. kalvā [f.] 'small hill', Latv. kalva 'hill, island in a river'; Go. hallus 'rock' < *koltH-nu-, OE hyll 'hill' < *koltH-ni-.

The root is PIE *klH- 'to lift' as in -cellō 1. The cognate Greek, BSl. and Germanic words for 'hill' or 'mountain' are built on an n-stem *koltH-ōn-, which itself is not preserved, but Greek does preserve the ō-grade of the nom.sg. suffix. The other languages have the zero grade *-n- plus an extra suffix -i-, -u- or -o-. In Latin, *koltHni- would be expected to yield *kolanis whence *colnis. Therefore, collis may be an instance of the disappearance of *H when bordering a resonant which in its turn borders on an o-grade (the so-called 'de Saussure effect'). Of course, *H may regularly have been lost in front of the suffix variants *-ōn and *-on. Nussbaum 1997 considers the alternative etymology *kolt(H)u-i- equally possible; this is true as far as the phonetics are concerned, but the pervasive n-stems in the other languages (only Baltic has *koltH-u-) render the traditional etymology more likely.

**colo**

*colō, -ere* 'to live in, inhabit; to take care of, honour' [v. III; pf. colōḥ, ppp. cultum] (Naev.+

Derivatives: *colōnus* 'cultivator, farmer; colonist' (Cato+), *colōnia* 'settlement, colony' (Pl.+), *colōnicus* 'of a colony' (Varro+); *incultus* 'not cultivated' (Pl.+); *cultur* 'inhabitant, cultivator' (Pl.+), *cultus, -īis* 'habitation; cultivation' (Pl.+), *cultūra* 'cultivation, care' (Cato+); *accālere* 'to live near' (Naev.+), *accola* [m.] 'neighbour' (Pl.+), *incolere* 'to dwell' (Pl.+), *incola* [m.] 'inhabitant' (Pl.+), *excolere* 'to cultivate, develop' (Varro+), *recolere* 'to resume, practise again' (Pl.+); *agricola* [m.] 'farmer' (Pl.+), *caelicola* [m.] 'inhabitant of heaven' (Enn.+), *latebricola* [m.] 'who skulks in concealment' (Pl.), *silvicola* 'inhabiting woodlands' (Naev.+); *inquilimis* 'inmate, lodger' (Cic.+). Maybe *Exquiliae* 'one of the hills of Rome' (Varro+).

Plt. *kʷele-/o- [pr.], *kʷolo-/o-? It. cognates: U. *arpeltu* [3s,ipv.II]?

Pie: *kʷe/ol/H-o-/o- 'to go round'. IE cognates: Skt. *kvaritī 'goal', Lith. *kelisįs* 'knee' < *kʷel/-; OCS *kolo* 'kneel, descent', OCS *kolese* 'wheel' < *kʷol-es- [n.].

The change of *e to o was conditioned by initial *kʷ- and a back vowel in the next syllable, and/or by the intermediate velarized *l. The vowel -o- was retained in open syllable, and shifted to u in front of -IC-. If *inquilimus* (which is not attested before Cicero) is to be trusted, it probably shows the development *-kʷ-e-/i- (no change to *-kʷ-o- because of the palatal l, reduction to i in medial syllable). Since there is no vowel reduction in *incola, agricola*, these nouns must have restored -o- from the simplex *colere*. The suffix of *col-ōnus* is explained by Leumann 1977: 323 as an antonymous formation versus *patrōnus*, grafted on the stem of *agri-cola*. Alternatively, one might regard *colōnus* as a deinstrumental noun in *-no-* from an ins.sg. *kʷolh₁-o/₁-oh₁ 'with cultivation', i.e. from an earlier action noun *kʷol-h₁-o- 'going round'. The agent noun *kʷolh₁-ō- is represented in Latin *anculus*.

**color** 'colour' [m. r] (Pl.+: nom.sg. colōs Pl.+)

Derivatives: *colōrāre* 'to give colour' (Cato+).

Plt. *kelōs*- [m.] 'outside, aspect'.

PIE *kel-ōs*, acc.sg. -os-m 'cover, covering'. IE cognates: Skt. sāras- 'skin on milk', OHG *hulis(a)* 'hull, shell', MHG *hulst* 'cover'.

Latin *kelos* is an animate collective, built to an s-stem PIE *kel-os* 'cover'. This might be directly preserved in Skt. sāras-, although this is semantically not compelling (cf. Stüber). Germ. *xulisjō* has also been derived from the PIE s-stem. In Latin, the word shifted its semantics from 'covering' to 'colour' (cf. Skt. vārna-).


**colubra** 'snake, serpent' [f. ă] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *colubrīnus* 'snake-like' (Pl.+), *coluber, -brī* 'snake' (Verg.+).

Plt. *kolos-ro-*?

WH and IEW propose a preform *(s)kelo-ḍro*- 'winding itself', whereas EM consider *colubra* a possible loanword from Gr. χέλυδρος 'amphibious serpent' (Nicander, Th.411). The etymology with the suffix *-ḍro*- is difficult, since this usually makes instrument nouns. A borrowing from Gr. χέλυδρος is very unlikely, since the word is attested too recently, and its meaning 'serpent' is probably secondary; note that χέλυς means 'kind of) tortoise'. In view of the meaning, one might connect *colubra* with *colus* *distaff* < *kʷelh₁-u*. A distaff is used to wind a thread or fibre around it. Hence, a preform *kolos-ro-* would mean 'distaff-like' or 'of a distaff' (cf. *tenebrae*), and since a snake also winds around its own axis, it might have been called 'distaff-like animal'. Morphologically, this solution is not straightforward, since *colus* probably continues a u-stem. We would have to assume that an s-stem *kʷelh₁-os*- existed beside it, which is unwarranted – but not impossible, cf. Slavic *kolo* 'wheel' (<< *kʷolh₁-o*).

Bibl.: WH I: 248, EM 133, IEW 928. → *colus

**cōlum** 'strainer, sieve' [n. o] (Cato+)

PIE *kʷot-slo-*?

Since the oldest form of a sieve was a wicker basket, it has been assumed that *cōlum* is identical to *caulae* 'railing, lattice barrier'. In that case, o would be a non-urban monophthongization of au, but it seems strange that au is not once attested in *cōlum*. Since Lat. quāhūm 'basket' denotes more or less the same object as *cōlum*, it seems preferable to look for a joint solution for both. See s.v. *quālus/m*

Bibl.: WH I: 248f., EM 134, IEW 518, Schrijver 1991: 462. → quālus/m

**columba** 'pigeon, dove' [f. ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *columbus* 'male pigeon' (Pl.+), *columbīnus* 'of pigeons' (Cato+), *columbār(e)* [n.] 'compartment for pigeons' (Pl.+), *columbārium* 'id.' (Varro+), *columbārius* 'pigeon-keeper' (Varro).

IE cognates: OPr. golimban 'blue', Lith. gelumbē 'cloth', OCS golŏbъ 'pigeon,
dove', Ru. gólub' 'id.'; Ru. golubój 'pale blue'. Further removed in meaning is Gr. κόλυμβος 'small diver'.

The BS1. forms presuppose a form *ge/ol-o/embi/o- 'blue', whence 'dove'. Whereas a suffix *-bho- is often found in PIE colours and animals, the preceding syllable with a nasal consonant does not make a very IE impression. If columba is cognate, we would have to posit an irregular consonant alternation in anlaut. Latin palumbēs 'wild dove' may have replaced an earlier *paleś (vel sim.) 'gray/blue dove' on the example of columba, cf. Lockwood 1990.

Bibl.: WH I: 249, EM 134, IEW 547f. → palumbēs

columen, -inis 'top, summit' [n. n] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: culmen, -inis 'summit (of a building), peak' (Varro+); columna 'column, pillar' (Pl.), columella 'small upright post' (Cato+), columnātus 'supported by pillars' (Pl.+).

Plt. *kelamen-.
PIE *kelH-men- 'top, summit'. IE cognates: OS holm 'hill', NHG Holm, OE holm 'island', Olc. holmr, hotmi 'small island' < *χυλμα- < *kllH-mo-.


On the basis of the oblique forms, a new nom.sg. culmen was then created. But it seems difficult to derive columna from culmen by any normal process. WH reconstruct *kel-o-men- 'who towers up' to ex-cellō. Yet this verb goes back to *kel-n-, and there is no other evidence for a present PIE *kelH-(e/o-) in Italic with the meaning 'to rise'. There is a present *k welH-e/o- 'to turn', of course, but the semantic shift from 'going around' to 'pillar' is difficult (although not impossible: the pillars of a portico or a temple together usually 'surround' the sanctuary).


colus, -i/ūs 'distaff' [m./f. o/u] (Pl.+)

It. cognates: *kēl-e/u-.
PIE *kewelH-u- 'turning'. IE cognates: see s.v. colō.

Has been compared with Gr. πόλος 'axis, pivot', but WH are hesitant, because a distaff itself does not spin around.


colustra 'beestings, first milk of a milking' [f. ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: colostrum 'beestings' (Mart.+).

The older form colustra (Pl., Lucil., Lab.) has developed into colostra in more recent texts, probably by progressive vowel assimilation of the type alacer, vegetus (cf. Sommer 1914: 66f.). The etymology is uncertain. It is tempting to connect colustra with colōr 'colour' < *'cover', and to postulate a semantic link between 'colour' or
‘cover’ and ‘beestings’. Yet this is not semantically straightforward (see WH), nor is the suffix -tero- normally used to derive comparatives from any adjective.

Bibl.: WH I: 247, EM 133. → color

com-, con-, co-; cum ‘ready, completely; with’ [pref.; prep.] (VOLat.+: Garigliano Bowl kom). Variants: com- before p/b/m-, con- before t/d/n/s/f/v-, con- [kön-] before c/qu/g-, cor- before r-, col- before l-, co- before vowels and h-.


PIE *kom ‘with’ (+ ins.). IE cognates: Olr. con- ‘with’, pref. Gaul. com-, Olr. com- (proclit. con-), W. cyf-, cyn-, Co. kev-; Hit. -kkan ‘?’ (locatival sentence particle); Gm. *ga-.

Rosén 1992 distinguishes the perfective-valency prefix co- from the comitative-sociative postposition and prefix cum, cu, co-. He shows that in the oldest texts, co- does not contain the notion of ‘together’, but only perfectivizes the verb: concēdere vs. cēdere, complēre vs. plēre, colloquī vs. loquī, combibere vs. bibere, etc. Only from the end of the Republican era do we find co(n)- in the function of an adverb ‘together’: concadere (older concidere), compugnāre, etc. Also, the word-final nasal is absent in front of vowels, where we most expect it. Yet we cannot reconstruct a different preform for this perfectivizing co(n)-, such as *kʷo, which would match Celtic forms. Attractive as this may seem, it does not explain why Sabellic does not continue a labiovelar stop, while it does show a final nasal. Also, Latin q- should have been retained in initial position. Thus, it seems better to stick to the traditional etymology *kom, and to assume that com- and cum ‘with’ are the same words. The ‘perfective’ meaning of co(m)- present in older Latin is unproblematic (compare Slavic st- and Lithuanian su-); nor is it problematic that a preverb meaning ‘towards’ when movement or action of two or more people is referred to, comes to mean ‘together’ at a later stage. The disappearance of -m before vowels (and *w-?) and h-points to word-final sandhi behaviour, *kom a- > *kō a- > co-a-. In words in which the morpheme boundary after com- has become obscure, m remains: comes, -itis, comedō.


combrētum ‘some kind of aromatic plant with thin leaves’ [n. o] (Plin.+)

Probably, a plant collective in -ētum. In Latin, the o of combrētum is probably secondary, or reflects *-we-. IEW connects combrētum with Molr. cuinneog, Gael. contrán ‘Angelica silvestris’, Lith. pl. švęndrai ‘reed, reed-mace, Typha latifolia’, MoDan. quander ‘Angelica silvestris’, OIC. hvonn ‘Angelica silvestris’. These alleged cognates have been studied in detail by Heiermeier 1980, who concludes that the evidence is uncertain or simply does not exist. Therefore, this connection can be abandoned. No alternative etymology is available.

comes, -itis 'companion' [m. f.] (Pl.+
Derivatives: comitium (Lex XII+), pl. comitia 'people’s assembly' (Pl.+) comitārī 'to accompany, attend' (Lucr.+), comittālis 'of the comitia' (Pl.+) comitātus, -ūs 'an assembly of the people' (Lex XII+), incomitāre 'to revile, abuse' (Pl.+).
Plt. *kom-i-t- 'going together' or (pl.) 'who come together'.
PIE *h₁i-t- 'going, goer'.

A compound of com- plus the root for 'to go', enlarged with a PIE suffix *-t-. The nom.sg. -es must be due to analogical replacement of *-is by -es on the model of i-stem nouns.

cōmis 'kind' [adj. i] (Naev.++; Duenos inscription cosmis)
Derivatives: cōmitās 'friendliness' (Pl.+
Plt. *kom-smi-?
PIE *smi- 'smile'? IE cognates: Skt. smayate 'smiles', Gr. φιλο-μμειδής 'who likes to laugh', Latv. smiēt 'to laugh', OCS smiští sē, ToB smiyām 'smiles'.
The etymology *ko-smi- (cf. WH) is based on an interpretation of cōmis as 'smiling (to/along)'. Eichner 1993a: 212, 230 proposes to derive VOlat. cosmos from a verb *ko-smēit- 'to contract the face to a smile, smile'; but he leaves open the possibility of a prefixed possessive adj. 'who has a smile, who is accompanied by a smile'. In my view, only the latter option can explain why cōmis is an adjective. Still, this would require a root noun *smi- 'smile' for which there is no supporting evidence in IE, and which, in the absence of a cognate Latin verb, cannot be a recent formation. Therefore, I regard the proposed etymology as uncertain.

concinnus 'set in order, neat' [adj. ɔ/ɑ] (Pl.+
Derivatives: concinnāre 'to make ready, make into' (Naev.++), excconcinnāre 'to embellish' (Pl.+), rēconcinnāre 'to refurbish' (Pl.+), cinnus/m 'grimace' (Sen.).
Plt. *kom-kid-no- 'set in motion'.
PIE *kid-no- 'which started to move'.
WH derive concinnāre from cinnus 'mixed drink' (Nonius), but EM are probably right when they point to the rare and late attestation of cinnus, see also Haug 2004: 24f. Leumann suggests that concinnus might be a back-formation to concinnātus. Latin -nn- may reflect *-tn-, *-dn- or *-nn-. Hence, a connection with caedō 'to hit', which is mentioned but rejected by WH, seems quite possible: *kom-kid-no- 'hit, arranged'. Since the root is reconstructed as *kh₂id-, this would imply a development *kom-kh₂id-no- > *kom-kīno- > concinnus. Haug also rejects this etymology, since it would require an intermediate step 'to cut', for which there is no evidence. But in fact, I do not think that this step is necessary. Haug 2004 proposes a different etymology: a root *keid- 'to set in motion', which would be a variant of *keih₂- 'to start to move'. He then derives concinnus from *kom-kid-no- and -cinnāre from an adj. *kid-no-, which would survive in cinnus 'grimace'. This etymology is attractive on the formal
side; it would imply that the Germanic forms reflecting PIE *keid- ‘to call’ (Go. haitan) and Latin *kidno- would derive from a variant of *k/keih2- ‘to set in motion’.

Bibl.: WH I: 218f., EM 136, Leumann 1977: 268, Haug 2004, LIV *k(e)j2e-. → caedō, cieō

condiō, -äre ‘to season, flavour (food)’ [v. IV] (Pl.+)


Probably a derivation from condere ‘to put; store up (e.g. food)’ (see s.v. -dō, -dere) by analogy with another verb in -ōre (but which one is uncertain).

Bibl.: WH I: 258f., EM 137. → -dō

cōnīveō ‘to be tightly closed, close (of the eye)’ [v. II; pf. cōnīxī, more recent variant cōnīvī] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: nictāre ‘to blink, signal with the eyes’ (Pl.), adnictāre ‘to wink (to)’ (Naev.), nictus, -īs ‘a wink’ (Caecil.+).

Plt. *knekt-ē- ‘to blink’, or ‘to draw together (the eyes)’, *knikto-. It. cognates: uncertain U. kuniakaz, conegos [ppp., nom.sg.m.] ‘?’ (‘kneeling’?) < *kom-nīga-tos.

IE cognates: Go. hneiwan, OHG nīgan ‘to bow, be inclined’, caus. Go. hnaīwjan ‘to humiliate’, OHG neigen.


The root has the structure *T-Dh, which was rare or absent in PIE; therefore, and since the word occurs only in Germanic and Italic, we may be dealing with a loanword from an unknown, ‘European’ language. The vowel -ī- in medial syllable points to *-ei-, not *-oi-, hence the verb may have been a stative ‘to be blinking, drawing the eyes together’.


cōnōr, -āřī ‘to make an effort, attempt’ [v. I; ppp. conātum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: cōnātus, -ūs ‘effort, attempt’ (Ter.+), cōnāmen ‘effort’ (Lucr.+).

Plt. *kōnāje/o- ‘to attempt’.

PIE *kōn- ‘ascent’? IE cognates: MW di-gawn, di-chawn ‘works; is able’, Av. āsonaocī ‘ascends’, sanāt ‘ascended’, Gr. ἐγκονέω ‘to be quick and active’, διάκονος ‘servant’, Arm. med. snaw ‘was raised’, SCR. kāniti ‘to intend’.

LIV reconstructs PIE *kōnhr-je-, adopting a specific type of presents posited by Klingenschmitt 1978. In my view, the existence of this type is unwarranted. Isebaert reconstructs *kōn-eh2je-, whereas Tremblay, who connects Iranian *san-, reconstructs the root as *ken- ‘to be raised, moved’. Tremblay assumes that this type of verbs derives from lengthened-grade thematic adjectives which in their turn are based on nouns with o-grade. Hence, *kōn-o- >> *kōn-o- [adj.] >> *kōn-eh2-je- [v.]. This analysis is attractive, but it is uncertain at which stage the denominal adj. and hence
the verbs were derived: it may have been a post-IE process. Also, the original PIE formation may rather have been a root noun *kōn- ‘ascent’ > ‘effort, attempt’, with regular development of a long vowel in the monosyllabic nom.sg.


**conquinscō, -ere** ‘to crouch down’ [v. III; pf. conquexi] (Pl., Pompon.)

Derivatives: *occuinscere* ‘to bend over before someone’ (Pompon.).

The pf. -quex- contains an original long vowel, since short *kʷeks- would yield -*cōx-*. From a stem *kʷeg-, we can explain the present via *-kʷeg-no- > *-kʷigno- > *-quin-, remade into -quiūscō. That is, if -quiū- has long i, which is not certain – the dictionaries give it as short. For the adv. cossim, see s.v. coxa. The IE etymology is unknown.

Bibl.: WH I: 262, EM 138, Leumann 1977: 536, LIV *kūjejt-, *kyenk-

**cōnsulō, -ere** ‘to consult’ [v. III; pf. consulī, ppp. consultum; SCBac. co[n.]soleretur, consolerunt] (Pl+)

Derivatives: *cōnsul, -is* ‘consul, magistrate’ (Naev.+), Elog.Scip. consol; *cōnsilium* ‘debate, advice’ (Pl+), consiliārius [adj.] ‘advising’ (Pl+), consiliōsus ‘instructive’ (Cato apud Gell.+); *cōnsultum* ‘decision, decree’ (Pl+), incōnsultus ‘thoughtless, rash’ (Pl+), incōnsultus, -īs ‘lack of consultation’ (Pl); ĉōnsulāre ‘to deliberate, consult’ (Pl+), consiliātiō ‘deliberation consultation’ (Pl+).

Plt. *kom-seol-e/o- ‘to consult’, *kom-sel- [m.] ‘advisor’.

PIE *s(e)lh₁-e/o- ‘to take’. IE cognates: OIr. adroilli, dosli ‘to earn’, MW dyrllid ‘id.’, MCo. deleth ‘to be appropriate’, MBret. dellit ‘to earn’ (< *tu-ari(ro-) < PCl. *-slije/o- (<< *s(e)lh₁-e/o-). Gr. ειλον ‘took’ < *selh₁-, Go. saljan ‘to sacrifice’, Olc. selja ‘to sell, hand over’ < *solh₁-eie-.

The oldest inscripional evidence predates the change *-ol- > -ul-. The noun *cōnsilium < *kom-sel-io- was derived from ĉōnsul. Since consulere does not look like a derivative of ĉōnsul (we would rather expect consulāre), it appears that the verb was original and meant ‘to get together, deliberate’. This might have been a full-grade present, or a zero-grade present or aorist. The noun ĉōnsul can be a root noun of the productive type which was made to verbs (cf. -fexs). The alternative etymology *kom-se/od- ‘to sit together’ is based on the dialectal change of intervocalic *d* to *l* in Latin. This proposal is semantically attractive but formally less so: it would require a verb *kom-se/od-e/o-, but as a present to this root, Latin only has sedeō. If the noun *kom-se/od- was original, the change of *d* to *l* would be unlikely in view of the retained *d* in obses, -idis and others.


**contāminō, -āre** ‘to pollute, spoil’ [v. I] (Ter.+

Derivatives: incontāminātus ‘uncorrupted’ (Varro+).

Plt. *tag(s)men* ‘contact’.
The original meaning was ‘to come into contact with’. In view of the other verbs in -minō and -minor, contāminō is most likely based on a noun *tāmen ‘contact’. The fact that contāminātus serves as the antonym to integer has led to the etymological connection with *tag- already in Roman times. We may thus reconstruct *-tagmen or *tagsmen-; the latter form would be parallel to exāmen < *ex-agṣmen, but note that it is impossible to prove the presence of *s in this formation; cf. agō. In theory, long ā could stem from contāgiō, tāctus, but this seems unlikely since no -g- is synchronically present in the verb. Verbs in co(m/n)- can be formed either from a prefixed noun (often with sociative meaning), or from an uncompounded noun, com- giving the verb its telic meaning (cf. Haug 2004: 44). The meaning of contāmināre points to the second alternative: *tagmen ‘contact’ > *con-tagmen-ā- ‘to make contact with’.

Bibl.: WH I: 266f., EM 139f., IEW 1054f., Leumann 1977: 208, 371, LIV *teh₂g̣-.

→ tangō

contiō ‘meeting, assembly’ [f. n] (Pl. +; coventionid [abl.sg.] SCBac.)
Plt. *ko(m)-wentiōn-.

The PIE ti-stem was remade into an ōn-stem in Latin, and prefixed with sociative *kom-. Lat. contiō and curia (see s.v.) show the loss of the final nasal of *kom in front of *w-, which is probably the older development in contrast with the ClLat. sequence con-v-. Subsequently, contraction of *kowenti- (with unsyncopated *e in a closed syllable) yielded -ó-.


contrā ‘in front of, against’ [prep. + acc., adv.] (Naev. +)
Derivatives: contrārius ‘opposite’ (Varro, Lucr.+).
PIE *kom- ‘with’.

Latin has contrō- in the cps. contrōversia and contrōversus, see s.v. vertō. The existence of O. contrud suggests that the Latin forms are not merely recent innovations on the model of other adverbs in -trō, -trā, but continue a Plt. adj. *kom-ter-. Whereas contrā continues the abl.sg.f. in *-ād, contrō- represents the abl.sg.m.n. in *-ōd, as does O. contrud. There is no evidence for a PIE formation in *-tero- to this preposition, hence we must interpret it as an Italic innovation.


contumāx, -ācis ‘proud, stubborn’ [adj. k] (Cic.+)
Derivatives: percontumāx ‘very stubborn’ (Ter.).
Although *percontumāx* is attested significantly earlier than *contumāx*, this does not guarantee that the latter was back-formed from the former. *Contumāx* may be derived from a verb *con-tumeō* ‘to be proud’ (also presupposed by *contumēlia*, see below) to *tumeō* ‘to be swollen’.

Bibl.: WH 1: 267, EM 140, Leumann 1977: 376. → *tumeō*

**contumēlia** ‘insulting language or behaviour’ [f. *ā*] (Pl.+

Derivatives: *contumēliōsus* ‘insulting, outrageous’ (Ter.+).

Plt. *tumē-*. Notably substantivization of an adj. *contumēlis* ‘insulting’, which suggests a derivational basis *contumē*- ‘to insult’. This would formally be easiest to derive from the present *tumē*- ‘to be swollen’, via ‘boasting’ > ‘insulting’. Possibly, the prefix *con-* was added in analogy with *contemnō* ‘to scorn, despise’, which is semantically very close.


**convexus** ‘curving outwards, arching’ [adj. *o/ā*] (Cic.+

Derivatives: *dē vexus* ‘sloping downward, inclined’ (CIL 1.583+), *subvexus* ‘sloping upwards from below’ (Liv.).

Plt. *wek-so-?*

PIE *ueg*- ‘to carry’. Lat. *-vexus* may contain *-veK*- or *-vaK*-.

The connection, made by WH, with Skt. *vāñcāti* ‘staggers, sways’, *vakrā-* ‘curved’ is implausible, since these words are now derived from PIE *uenk-*, a root with a nasal which could not have disappeared in Latin. A connection with the word-family of *vacāre, vacus* seems difficult semantically. Nussbaum 2007b connects OIr. *fān* ‘a slope, a hollow’ < *yōgno-*, OW *guoin*, W. *gwaum* [f.] ‘lowland, meadow’ < *yōgaŋn-. Judging by the meaning, -vexus would best be connected with *vehō* ‘to convey’, cf. English *way* from ‘to move’. Latin *convexus* might be ‘moving along’ (with outward movement), *dē vexus* ‘moving down’. I do not understand WH’s blunt rejection of this etymology, which was proposed by Thurneysen 1907. He interprets *convexus* as ‘moved together’, but ‘moving along’ seems preferable to me. The form -vexus could represent *-vekt-to-*, a ppp. to a verb *vektere* (attested is *vectāre*, but this is irrelevant), or the ppp. *vectus* might have been changed to *vexus* by analogy with *flexus, nexus*. A third possibility is inherited *-ueg*- ‘to carry’. *-vexus* could represent *-veK*- or *-vaK*.

Bibl.: WH I: 268f., EM 141,IEW 1134f., Leumann 1977: 617, LIV *ueg*- → *vehō, vexō*

**convicium** ‘angry noise; mockery’ [n. *o*] (Pl.+

Derivatives: *conviciāri* ‘to scold’ (Varro+).

Etymology disputed. The older suggestion that it represents *yēk*- to *vōx* ‘voice’ is untenable for morphological reasons. Leumann suggests a denominal origin to a noun *convīt* ‘house-mates’, but this is far-fetched. Semantically, I find a connection with *vincīō* ‘to tie’ much more attractive: mockery and scolding can be described as
'encircling' someone. In that case, *kom-uoik-io-?


coquō, -ere 'to boil, bake' [v. III; pf. coxi, ppp. coctum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: coquus, cocus 'cook' (Naev.+); coquināre 'to cook' (Pl.); coquīnus [adj.] 'of cooks' (Pl.), coquīnāris 'belonging to a kitchen' (Varro); cocolum 'cooking vessel' (Pl.+); coctilis 'baked' (Varro+); praecox, -ocis/-oquis 'early ripening, premature' (Enn.+); concoquere 'to cook down, digest, ripen' (Pl.+), décoquere 'to diminish by boiling, melt away' (Cato+), excoquere 'to remove by cooking, melt down' (Cato+), percoquere 'to cook or ripe thoroughly' (Pl.+); popīna 'eating-house, bistro' (Pl.+); aulicoquis/-cocius 'cooked in a pot' (inscr. Pratica di Mare, 3d c. BC, dat.abl.pl. auliquoquībus, Paul. ex F. auliccūs exīτa); culīna 'kitchen' (Pl.+).

Plt. *kʷeκʷe-o/ 'to cook', *kʷokʷ-o-[m.] 'a cook'.

PIE *pekʷ-ε/-o/ 'to cook'. IE cognates: MW pobi, MBret. pibi, poba, Co. pobas 'to bake, cook' < PCl. *kʷeκʷ-o/ < *kʷekʷ-o/, MW poeth, MBret. poaz 'hot' < *kʷokʷ-to/-; Skt. pācanti 'they cook', YAv. pacaiti 'bakes', Skt. pācyate 'ripens'; Gr. πέξσω, Att. πέςτω < *pekʷ-ε-., Myc. a-to-po-qa, Gr. ἀρτο-κόπος 'bread-baker', Alb. pjeκ, Lith. kępti, OCS pešti, Is. pekō 'to bake', ToAB pák- 'to cook, ripen'.

The oldest forms are probably coquere (< *pekʷ-ε/-o/), the noun coquus (< *pekʷ-os), and maybe the ppp. coctus (< *pekʷ-to-). The mutation of *e > o seems to be regular in front of o in the next syllable, thus e.g. in coquō, from where it would have spread to 2ss. *quequis etc. But -o- may also stem from the noun coquus. The cp. praecox contains a root-noun *-pokʷ-s, probably with o-grade, since there would not have been many case-forms with a back vowel in the final syllable in order to cause vowel mutation. Alternatively, one might assume that *-kʷekʷ- yielded *-kʷokʷ- anyway. The length of the i in the verb coquināre is not unambiguously ascertained. Most likely, it is a short vowel, cf. Leumann 1977: 551 and Steinbauer 1989: 165ff. Steinbauer therefore posits a noun *coquō, -inis 'cook' (not *-o-, -onis), from which the verb was derived as *kʷokʷ-e/ε̂n-α̂ 'to be a cook'. The noun popīna must reflect *kʷokʷ-īna, and hence represent the Sabellic development of the same preform as Latin coquīna 'the art of cookery' (Apul.). Probably unrelated is Lat. cōciō 'dealer' (Lab.+). The form culīna cannot be derived in a regular way from coquō. EM suggest that it was formed from *kʷokʷ-īna under the influence of cūlus 'arse', "les latrines étant le plus souvent attenantes à la cuisine." This explanation is not credible.


cor, cordis 'heart' [n. d] (Andr.+; long scansion lcōrl < Icorrl in Pl. is uncertain)

Derivatives: corculum 'little heart, sweetheart' (Pl.+), cordātus 'sensible, judicious' (Pl.+); cordolum 'heartfelt grief' (Pl.+); concors, -dis 'agreeing, harmonious' (Naev.+), concordia 'harmony, agreement' (Pl.+), concorditās 'id.' (Pac.), concordāre 'to be on good terms, agree' (Ter.+); discors, -dis 'disagreeing' (I.lucr.+), discordia 'discord' (Pl.+), discordābilis 'disagreeing' (Pl.); discorditās
disagreement (Pac.), discordare 'to disagree' (Pl.); excors 'senseless' (Pl.), misericors 'tender-hearted' (Pl.), misericordia 'compassion' (Pl.), socors 'inert, inactive' (Pl.), socordia 'lack of energy' (Pl.), vècors 'mad, demented' (Andr.), vècordia 'frenzy' (Ter.); praecordia, -èrum 'lower part of the chest, body-parts in that area' (Pl.); recordâri 'to call to mind' (Pl.).


PIE nom.sg. *kèrd, gen.sg. *kèd-o/es 'heart'. IE cognates: OIr. cride 'heart', W. craidé (< PCI *kred-ı̯-); Hit. (uzu) kerd / kard(i)- [n.] 'heart, center', Pal. kârt-, CLuw. zârt-, HLuw. zarti(ı̯) - < *kèr, gen. *krdios, Skt. hîd- 'heart', nom.sg. hârdi, Gr. κήρ, καρδία (Att.), κραδίη (H.), Arm. sîrt, Lith. širdis, Go. heirto, OHG herz, Olc. hjarta 'heart', ToA kri 'will', ToB pl. kâryaŋ 'hearts'.

The Latin paradigm of cor was built on the oblique case forms in *krd- of the PIE noun. The dim. corculum represents *kord-kelo-, which means that the athematic stem was used as a derivational basis. Leumann 1977: 295 assumes that cordolium goes back to *kordi-doliom, but Kümmel 2004b: 348 objects that compounds in cordi- are generally more recent, and that cordolium shows that we may just as well posit *kord-dolium. For so-cors < *swe-kordr or *sèd-kord-, see s.v. sè-.


côram 'face to face' [adv.] (Pl.); also prep. 'in the presence of' (Cic.+

A compound of co- 'with' + òs; òris 'mouth, face'. WH explain côram from an adj. *co-òs-o- 'in front of the face', which adopted the ending of its antonym clam 'secretly' and its synonym palam 'overt'. Hence, we might posit *ko-òs-om >> *ko-òs-àm > côram.

Bibl.: WH I: 272, EM 142, IEW 612f., Leumann 1977: 119. → òs

corbis 'basket' [f., m. i] (Pl.+

Derivatives: corbita 'ship-load; cargo ship' (Pl.), corbula '(small) basket' (Pl.).

PIt. *k(o)rbi- 'basket'.

PIE *k(o)rbh-i- 'basket, wickerwork'? IE cognates: Lith. kârbas 'basket', Latv. kârba 'bag made from alder or birch bark', Ru. kórob 'box, basket', Sln. kraha 'box' < PSl. *kôrbh, *korba.

The Balto-Slavic words might go back to a similar preform as corbis; in that case, the circumflex accentuation of Lith. and Slavic would point to aspirated *b̥. The root structure *k-b̥ was irregular in PIE, and would point either to a loanword, or to an original root *skrb̥. But many scholars argue that the BSI. words have been borrowed from Germanic (cf. NHG Korb), which itself has borrowed the word from Latin. Thus, the whole question is undecided. Words for 'basket' are frequently loanwords. Very questionable is the comparison with Gr. κάρφος [n.] 'dry stalk, dry twigs' and its Greek cognates.

Bibl.: WH I: 272, EM 142, IEW 948f.
If inherited, *cordus* must go back to *k(o)rd-o-*. WH compare OE *scort*, OHG *scurz* 'short' < *skr-d-* if from the root *s(k)er-* 'to cut'. The semantic motivation would be 'which stayed behind in growth, withered'. Yet there is no indication in the texts that *cordus* has a negative connotation, it merely concerns products with late ripening, or (with hay) from a second harvest. Etymology unknown.

Bibl.: WH I: 273, EM 142f.

*corium* 'skin, animal hide' [n. o] (Pl.; rarely -*us* 2x Pl., Varro)

Plt. *körjo-*.  
PIE *k(o)rjo- 'torn off'. IE cognates: Skt. *cárman-', Av. *carman- 'hide, skin', OCS *kora*, Cz. *kůra* 'bark, crust' < PIE *s(k)or-h₁-*.  
Probably a derivative of PIE *kór-o- 'which is torn off, peeled off' > 'bark, skin'.  
Bibl.: WH I: 274, EM 143, IEW 938ff., LIV 2.*(s)ker-.*  → *coró, cortex, curtus, scortum*

*cornix, -iscis* 'crow' [f. k] (Pl+)

Derivatives: *Cornišcae* [f.pl.] 'local deities' (Paul. ex F.).  
Plt. *kornik-, *kornāk- 'crow'. It. cognates: U. *curnaco* [acc.sg.], *curnase* [abl.sg.] 'crow' < *kornāko-*.  
PIE *korn-o- 'crow, raven'. IE cognates: Gr. *kōρώνη* 'crow; shearwater', *kóραξ*, -*ακος* 'raven', OPr. *sarke*, Lith. *šārka* 'magpie', CS *svraka*, Ru. *soróka* < PSI. *s(v)rėka* 'magpie' < *kornako-*.  
The suffix -*ik-* occurs in f. agent nouns, and in f. individuals, as here in 'crow'. The alternation between Lat. -*ik-* and U. -*ak-* points to a recent date of these formations (although U. may have suffix substitution for -*ik-*). Maybe the vowel -*ā-* is preserved in Ital. *cornacchia* < *cornacula*. All IE languages show words in *kr-* denoting 'crow', 'raven', 'magpie' or similar birds, which clearly are onomatopoeic. The suffixes usually are productive, as here in the case of *cornix*.

Bibl.: WH I: 275, EM 143, IEW 567, Leumann 1977: 377.  → *corvus, crūciō*

*cornū, -ūs* 'horn' [n. u] (Pl.; *cornus* Varro, *cornum* Ter.+)

Derivatives: *cornūtus* 'horned' (Acc.+); *cornicen* 'trumpeter' (Varro+), *cornifrons* 'with horns on the forehead' (Pac.), *corniger* 'having horns' (Lucr.+).  
Plt. *kornu-, *korn-o- 'horn'.  
The quantity of the vowel in *cornū*, and in other n. *u*-stems such as *genū, verū*, is uncertain. See Klingenschmitt 1992 for a detailed account of the (im)possibilities to
use the metre as indication for the vowel length in *cornū. If the original form was cornū, word-final -u instead of *-e might be due to restoration of -u on the basis of the acc.sg. If ũ is original, cornū may reflect the nom.acc.dual ending *-u-h₂; especially for cornū *pair of horns’ > ‘horn’ and genu *pair of knees’ > ‘knee’, this would be attractive. Others (e.g. Klingenschmitt 1992: 125) posit an original n.pl in *-u-h₂. Klingenschmitt mentions as an alternative explanation metrical lengthening in sequences short-short-short (e.g. in *genu, if followed by a following short syllable). Obviously, this would not work for cornū.

Many languages show an n-extension of the root *kr- ‘horn’, but only Celtic and Gm. seem to share *kr-n-o-, whereas no other language has a u-stem. It thus appears most likely that Latin has switched from o-stem to u-stem at an earlier stage, maybe on the example of pecū, or of a derivative *kr-n-(o)u-o-, which may be regarded as the source of W. Cernyw, Co. Kernow, Bret. Kerne < *kor-ou-(i)ĩ, cf. Schrijver 1995: 54. There may also have been influence from the noun *ker-u-o- ‘horned animal’ > Latin cervus, see s.v. The root *kr- is usually regarded as the derivational basis for *krh₂- ‘head, skull’, from which Latin cerebrum is derived. This presupposes that *kr- indicates the material (‘bone, horn’), with *ker-h₂ indicating a collective ‘head’ or ‘made of bone’ (or ‘top’?), and *kr-n- an individual ‘horn’.


corpus ‘body, substance’ [n. r] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: corpusculum ‘small body, small object’ (Pl. +); corporeus ‘corporeal, material’ (Varro, Lucr. +), corporāre ‘to kill’ (Enn.); corpulentus ‘corpulent’ (Pl. +); bicorpor, -is ‘double-bodied’ (Naev. +).

body'; OE hrif 'belly, womb', OHG href 'lap', OFr. rif, ref 'belly, abdomen' < *χref-aes-. Italo-Celtic and Germanic point to a PIE (palato)velar, and to an ablaut *r- vs. *re-.
Since palatovelars were depalatalized in Ilr. in front of PIE *r (unless this was followed by *i or *H – Weise's Law), the Ilr. noun can also go back to *krp-.


corrugia 'shoe-lace' [f. ā] (Varro+)
Plt. *kom-rig-jo- 'tying together'.
PIE *Hrig-(i)o- 'stretching'. IE cognates: OIr. do-rig* 'to lay bare', con-rig 'to tie together', MW gwarae, chwarae 'to play' (< *μo-rig-), MBret. aeren 'to bind' (< *ad-rig-).

Corrigia is the only Latin survivor of the compound verbs in Proto-Italo-Celtic *rig- 'to stretch, bind', cf. Schumacher 2004: 543-548. Another derivative of this root in Latin is rigeō.

Bibl.: WH I: 278f., EM 144, IEW 861f., LIV *rej[ē̃]. → rigeō

cortex, -icus 'bark of a tree' [m. (f.) k] (Cato+)
Derivatives: corticeus 'made of bark' (Varro+).
Plt. *k(o)rt-ek-. 
PIE *k(o)rt- 'a cutting'. IE cognates: Skt. kṛntati, YAv. karanta- 'to cut', Arm. k'ert'em 'to peel off the skin', Lith. kiršti (kertas) 'to hew off, cut', OHG herdo 'skin, hide', OE heorda 'hide'.

Within Latin, cortex can be explained as cort- plus the productive suffix -ek-, which is also found e.g. in caudex 'tree-trunk', frutex 'shrub' and many plant-names. The element cort- is similar to corium 'skin, hide' and can go back to the same PIE basis *(s)ker- 'to cut off', but with a root enlargement *-t- which is found in Gm. nominal forms *χerðō- 'skin', and in verb forms in other branches of PIE. The exact basis for cortex is unknown. In view of vortex > vertex 'vertebra', cortex might be built to a verbal form of *(s)kert-, which has disappeared from the language. But since verbal forms are absent, cortex may be more safely derived from a PIE nominal form of the root, such as *kert-hr which is shown by Gm., and Lat. cēna, based on *kert-sn-.

Bibl.: WH I: 279, EM 144, IEW 938ff., LIV *(s)kert- 'to cut'. → scortum

cortīna 'rounded pot, cauldron; arch' [f. ā] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: cortīnipotēns 'master of the cauldron, Apollo' (Lucil.).

WH and IEW accept a connection with curvus as 'curved'; the original form of the pot or archetypical cortīna would then be based on a ppp. *krt-to- 'bent'. Yet there are no IE verb forms justifying the reconstruction of a verbal root *(s)ker- 'to turn' (cf. LIV), so that this etymology remains unfounded.

Bibl.: WH I: 279, EM 145, IEW 935ff. → curvus

corulus 'hazel-tree, hazel-wood' [f. o] (Cato+)
Derivatives: columnus 'of hazel' (Verg., Paul. ex F.).
**coruscus** ‘moving rapidly; flashing’ [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: *coruscāre* ‘to move rapidly’ (Pac. +).

WH consider appurtenance to *(s)ker-* ‘to jump’ as in Gr. σκαίρω ‘to skip, dance’, LIV I.*(s)(icW-. This seems a long shot. There may be a connection with *queror, questus sum* ‘to lament’, if initial *coru-* reflects *k*”eru-. But the details are unclear, as is the suffix. The only word which formally comes close as far as the suffix is concerned is the verb *aeruscō* ‘to beg’, maybe from *h₂eis-os-ko-.*

Bibl.: WH I: 280, EM 145.

**corvus** ‘raven’ [m. o] (Pl. +)

Plt. *korwo-.*

PIE *k(h₂)-uo-* ‘crow, raven’. IE cognates: see s.v. *dorritx.*

All IE languages show words in *kr-* denoting ‘crow’, ‘raven’, or similar birds, and thus are clearly onomatopoeic. The many Latin colour adjectives in -vus show that the suffix *-uo-* must once have been productive. There is no good match for the formation of *corvus* outside Italic. WH connect it with Mlr. *crū*, glossed as ‘raven’, but this word is only found twice in the expression *crū fechta* i. *badb* ‘raven of battle?’ This expression may just as well mean ‘blood of battle’, in which case it would be identical with *crū, W. cri* ‘blood’ (C. aan de Wiel, p.c.).

Bibl.: WH I: 275, EM 145, IEW 567. → *cornīx, crōciō*

cōs, -tis ‘whetstone’ [f. i] (Cic. +)

Derivatives: *cōtēs, -is [f.] ‘rock, cliff’ (Enn. +), spelled with ǭ until Vergil, then *cautēs* with hypercorrect *au; decōtēs [pl.]* ‘togaet detritae’ (Paul. ex F.).

Plt. *kōt-* ‘whetstone’; *kōti-* ‘sharp point, rock’.


EM suggest that *cō/autēs* might have been the old plural to cōs, hence ‘sharp points, prominenties’; this seems plausible. In that case, we are dealing with a PIE *t*-stem ‘the sharpening one’, of the type *sacer-dōt-;* the sg. *i*-stem would have been formed secondarily.

costa 'rib' [f. ã] (Pl.+)  
Derivatives: costatus 'having ribs' (Varro+).  
Plt. *ko(n)r)stā-.  

Costa has been compared with Slavic *kost-i- 'bone', yet it is unlikely that it is cognate. In Slavic, kosti may be the reflex of PIE *HOST- 'bone', since there is no other word which qualifies for this. This would then be a unique case of kV- < *HV- in Slavic. Yet in Latin, PIE *HOST- is reflected by os, ossis, so that costa cannot reflect the same etymon. Since it also does not mean ‘bone’ but ‘rib’, which may have different semantic roots, we must regard costa as an isolated word without etymology.  

Bibl.: WH I: 281, EM 146,IEW 616.

coxa 'hip of a human, haunch of an animal' [f. ã] (Nigidius+)  
Derivatives: coxendīx, -īcis 'hip, hip-bone' (Pl.+); cossim / coxim ‘squatting on the haunches’ (Pompon.+); incoxāre 'to squat on the haunches' (Pompon.); coxus 'lame' (Maecenas).  
Plt. *koksa-, *koksednī-k- 'hip'.  


WH object to the connection of coxim with coxa, but I see no semantic problems: ‘to crouch’ can easily be called ‘to sit on the thighs’. Furthermore, the verb incoxāre occurs in the same text of L. Pomponius as coxim, both referring to the action of defecating. Lat. coxa has switched from m. to f. gender, maybe under the influence of other body parts.IEW and others also connect the Germanic family of OHG hāhs(i)na ‘Achilles tendon’, but these reflect *hanhs- < *kon(H)k-s- and do not belong here. There is no Latin suffix -endīx. Pinault (1999) connects coxendīx with ToA kapšaṇi, ToB kektseṇe ‘body’ < PIE *koksedon-. The Latin word may then represent a feminine derivative *kokse-dn-ih₂.  


crābrō ‘hornet’ [m. n] (Pl.+)  
Plt. *krāsrōn-.  

PIE *krH-s-r-on- ‘the one with antennae, hornet’. IE cognates: OPr. sirsilis, OLith. širšu, Latv. siršuonis, CS sieršnu, SCR. siśljénę; OHG hornuz, NHG Hornisse, MoE hornet; MoDu. horzel, all ‘hornet’.  

PIE *kr-h₂-s- meant ‘head’, whence *kr-h₂-s-ró- ‘what is in/on the head’ > ‘antennae, horns’. Lat. crābrō and the cognates here given (*krHs-r-en- with dissimilation of the second *r in Balto-Slavic) indicate ‘the one with antennae, hornet’.  


crās ‘tomorrow’ [adv.] (Pl.+)  
Derivatives: crastinus ‘of tomorrow’ (Pl.+).  
PIE *kr-eh₂ [nom.], *kr-eh₂-os [gen.], *kr-ēh₂ [loc.], *kr-ēh₂ [coll.] ‘head’? IE
cognates: Hit. ketak [adv.] 'at the head (of), on top' < PIE *k'ed + *kr(h)₂, Gr. ἐπι κάρ 'head down', ἄνα κάρ 'upwards' < *kr; κάρφα [n.], κάρη (ep.) 'head' < *kr-eh₂-.

There is no way in which crās can be formally connected with Av. sūram 'early in the morning', sūrīṁ 'breakfast' (as advocated by WH). In general, no PIE word for 'tomorrow' can be reconstructed, but Latin crās could still be an old formation. In theory, it could be represent *krās < *krēh₂(e)s, gen.sg. (maybe replacing earlier *krēh₂ōs) of the PIE stem *kēr-h₂- 'head' which is reconstructed by Nussbaum 1986. The word for 'head' could have shifted to 'front' (cf. ante), which, used as a partitive genitive, might have been used for 'up front, at the front' → 'tomorrow'. The reconstruction *kr-eh₂-s has already been put forward in a footnote by Eichner 1978: 160, who compares Hit. karū 'early'. But the latter is cognate with HLuw. rawan- 'formerly', and is therefore reconstructed with initial *gʰr- by Kloekhorst 2008: 458.


crassus 'thick' [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: crassitudō 'thickness' (Pl.+,) crassundia [n.pl.] 'fat pork' (Varro).

WH and IEW derive crassus from a root *kert- 'to wind', but this is semantically gratuitous (WH assume *tied together > *clenched > 'thick'). The comparison with crātis can also be rejected. Formally, crassus might go back to a form *krHt-to- using Schrijver's rule (1991: 191) that *CRHTC yields Latin CraTC. Yet no root of the structure *KrHt- is known which would match the meaning of crassus. Since crassus belongs to a category of pejorative adjectives indicating human shapes (flaccus, grossus, gibber), all of which show intervocalic geminate, it is conceivable that the older form was *crasus. This, however, does not clarify the etymology.


crātis, -is 'construction of wickerwork, hurdle' [f. i] (Pl.+

Derivatives: crāticula 'grid-iron' (Cato+), crātire 'to bush-harrow' (Plin.).

Plt. *krātī- 'wickerwork'.

IE cognates: OPr. corto 'fence'; Go. haurds 'door', OHG hurd 'hurdle'.

If from PIE, crātis must continue either *Kreh₂-ti- or *KrHti-. The Germanic forms for 'door' or 'hurdle' might go back to *krH-ti-, but in that case, they must be separated from the PIE root *kert- 'to turn, spin'. OPr. corto 'hedge' might reflect *korH-th₂. But since no PIE root of the form *KrH- with an appropriate meaning is known, chances are that the Latin-Gm.-OPr. correspondence is non-IE.


crēdō, -ere 'to entrust, give credence' [v. III; pf. crēdidi, ppp. crēditum; pr.sub. crēduam, -s, -t, pr.sub. crēduis, -t (Pl.]) (Andr.+

Derivatives: crēdibilis 'credible' (Pl.+,) incrēdibilis 'unbelievable' (Pl.+); accrēderea 'to believe' (Pl.+,) concrēderea 'to entrust' (Pl.+, pf. concrēdui).

Plt. *krezde/o-.

PIE *kred-dʰh₁- 'to place (in?) the heart' > 'believe'. IE cognates: Olr. creitid*, creiti, W. credu, Co. krysi, cregy, OBret. critim, Bret. creddif < PCI. *kred-dʰ-
'believe'; Skt. śraddhā-[f.] 'confidence, devotion', Av. zrađaiti-[f.] 'trust, confidence, belief', OAv. zrađa-[adj.] 'affectionate, trusting, believing'; YAv. zras-ca dāj['and'] may she believe'.

In view of Avestan -zd- (< *ddh-) and Celtic unlenited *-de-, we may well assume that *-ddh- yielded pre-Latin *-zd-, whence *zd. Hence, we can reconstruct *kred-<d>h₁-e/o- (pace Schrijver 1991: 134f.). It cannot be excluded that the second part of the compound was replaced by *-deh₂- 'to give', in view of the pr.sub. stem *-du- found in Plautus. The root form *kred- of 'heart', with -e- between the second and third consonant, is unexpected next to Gr. κηρ, Arm. sirt, and Go. hairto 'heart', all of which continue *kērd-. Tremblay 2004: 581-585 explains *kred- as an original loc.sg. *kr-ed of a d-stem, which is worth considering.


cremō-, -āre 'to burn' [v. I] (Enn.++)

Derivatives: cremitāre 'to cremate' (Enn.), cremor 'a thick juice made by boiling grain' (Pl.++). It. cognates: possibly U. krematra, krematru, krematru [acc.pl.] '? < *krema-tro-?

IE cognates: Gaul. curmi, κόρμα, κούρμι, Olr. cuirm, W. cwrwf, OCo. coref, coruf 'beef < PCl. *kormi-.

Probably a denominative present. The connection with carbō is possible in theory (*krbn- > *karbn-, *krebm- > crem-), but neither *krb- nor *krbʱ- can be further connected; nor do they look like well-formed PIE roots. The only forms worth comparing with cremāre seem the Celtic words for 'beef' from PCl. *kormi- (to which compare Lat. cervesia 'beef' borrowed from a Celtic form *kerβə- < *kerm-), but the alternation Latin *krem- / Celtic *korm- is in need of an explanation.


U. krenkatrum, krikatru, cringatro [acc.sg.] 'an object which the priest wears across his shoulder', maybe 'belt, girdle'.

Plt. *krenkʰ-tro- [n.].

PIE *krengʰ-o- 'round, curved'. IE cognates: OCS kroɣa, Cz. kruh, SCR. krug 'circle' < *krongʰ-o-, Olr. hringr, OHG OS OE hring 'ring', Go. hrugga 'staff', OE hring [f.] 'rung (of a ladder), spoke'.

The U. noun could be derived from a verb in *-ējelo- which in its turn was derived from a PIE adj. *krengʰ-o- 'round'.

Bibl.: IEW 935-938, Meiser 1986: 75, Untermann 2000: 404, LIV ?*(s)krenʰ-. →

crēō-, -āre 'to procreate; be born; cause' [v. I] (Pl.++)

Derivatives: creātrix 'mother, creatress' (Lucr.+); prōcreāre 'to bring forth, produce' (Pl.+), recreāre 'to re-create, restore' (Pl.+).

Plt. *krē-jā- [v.].

IE cognates: see crēscō.
The original meaning was ‘to make grow’, which can still be found in older texts: aliudstercus herbas creat (Cato) ‘another dung makes the grasses grow’. According to WH, creāre is a denominative to a noun *krejā. Hill (2006: 190ff.) interprets creāre as an inner-Latin back-formation on the model of the more numerous presents in -ēscere with a pf. in -uī, to which synchronically a factitive pr. in -āre belongs: albēscere, albuī ‘to become white’, albāre ‘to make white’. Hence, to crēscere, creuī ‘to grow’ would have been made a new pr. cre-āre ‘to procreate’. Yet since the type albāre is denominal, while no noun/adj. *creus existed, this solution seems too far-fetched.


creper ‘obscure, uncertain’ [adj. o/a] (Pac.+)
Derivatives: crepusculum ‘twilight, dusk’ (Pl.+).
Plt. *krepos, -es- [n.] ‘twilight’; *krepeso- [adj.]?

According to Leumann 1977, *kreperos ‘uncertain’ was derived from abl.sg. *krepero ‘in the twilight’ of *krepos; Lat. crepus-culum would be another derivative of this s-stem. Unfortunately, there is no known root of the form *krep- from which the extant meanings can be derived.


crepō, -āre ‘to make a sharp loud noise’ [v. I; pf. crepui, ppp. crepitum] (Pl.++; Varro 1x percrepis)
Derivatives: crepundia, -drum ‘child’s rattle’ (Pl.+); crepitus, -ūs ‘short sharp sound’ (Naev.++), crepitāciolum ‘child’s rattle’ (Lucr.+), crepitāre ‘to rattle, crackle’ (Andr.++); perterrīcrepus ‘making a crackling sound’ (Lucr.); concrepāre ‘to make a noise’ (Pl.+), discrepāre ‘to differ in sound or opinion’ (Acc.+), discrepitāre ‘to be out of harmony’ (Lucr.), increpāre ‘to make a sharp or loud noise’ (Pl.+), percrepāre ‘to resound, speak loudly’ (Lucil.+).
Plt. *krepa-; *kropaje-.

Varro’s per-crepis may be an old remnant of a 3rd-conj. verb crepere, or a back-formation to crepuī. The root vowel of crepāre may be analogical to the perfect (< PIE aor.), cf. Isebaert 1995. It may have replaced an original zero grade (as reflected in Skt. and in Hittite) or o-grade (though less likely). The initial velar of the root was depalatalized in Slavic and Ilr., and the zero grade was generalized in Hittite (Kloekhorst 2008: 452). Latin -āre has been interpreted as a reflex of a root-final laryngeal, but it may also be iterative -āre.

**crescō, -ere** ‘to be born; increase’ [v. III; pf. crēvī, ppp. crētum] (Cato+)

Derivatives: crēber [adj. oā] ‘at frequent intervals, numerous’ (Pl.+), crēmentum ‘increase’ (Varro+); accreścere ‘to increase, grow larger’ (Pl.+), concrēscere ‘to harden, congeal’ (Cato+), concretus ‘composed; solid’ (Lucr.), dēcrēscere ‘to grow less, decline’ (Pl.+), excrēscere ‘to grow out, grow larger’ (Cato+), incrēbrēscere ‘to increase in frequency’ (Pl.+), incrēbrāre ‘to multiply’ (Pl.), prōcrēscere ‘to grow up’ (Lucr.+), succrēscere ‘to grow up from below’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *krē- ‘to grow, increase’, *krē-pro- ‘growing, in large numbers’.

PIE *k(w)reh₁- [pr./aor.] ‘to become bigger, stronger’. IE cognates: SeCS okrijati ‘to recover’, OCz. krāti, pr. krēji, Ru.dial. krejat’ ‘to heal’, Ukr. krijaty ‘to become healthy’, Bulg. kreja ‘to become weak, be ill’ < PSl. *křej ‘to heal’.

The adj. crēber and the ppp. crētus suggest that the present stem was *krē-, from a PIE root present or aorist. From this, the Latin skel/o-present and the v-perfect could be derived. The long vowel does not require a PIE lengthened grade (pace Rieken 2003: 47). It is tempting to derive crēscō from PIE *krēh₁- ‘to feed’, but the position of the ablaut vowel is problematic; cf. s.v. Ceres. Hill 2006: 196 derives crēber from *k(w)rešro-, a ro-adj. built to an earlier s-stem *k(w)reh₁-eos- [n.] ‘growth’.

Bibl.: WH I: 288f., EM 150, IEW 577, Schrijver 1991: 124, Hill 2006, LIV *kerh₁-.

→ Ceres, creō, prōcērus

crēta ‘fine clay’ [f. ā] (Pl+)

Derivatives: crētātus ‘whitened with chalk’ (Lucil.+), crēteus ‘made of clay’ (Lucr.), crētōsus ‘abounding in clay’ (Cato+).

Plt. *krēt-? *krēyVt-? ‘clay’.


The word has formerly been regarded as a possible substantivization of (terra) crētā ‘sifted (earth)’, ppp. of cernere. This is phonetically possible but semantically un compelling, since ‘clay’ is not ‘sifted earth’, but at most ‘fine sand’, ‘as fine as sifted earth’. More attractive is Pedersen’s connection (apud WH) of crēta with the Celtic words for ‘mud, clay’ in initial *k(w)r-. Celtic and Latin can jointly go back to a PIE stem *k(w)reh₁-i-e/lot-, but the root is unknown in PIE, and the morphology is not straightforward. It is conceivable that Latin borrowed ‘clay’ from Celtic (as it did with some other technical words) before the shift of *ē to *ᵊ in PCl. or in Lepontic. As suggested by Pedersen, the Italo-Celtic correspondence might be a loanword from an unknown third party.


crēbrum ‘sieve’ [n. o] (Pl+)

Plt. *kreipro-.


crīnis 'hair of the head' [f. ē] (Pl.+, m. Pac.; usually pl.)
Derivatives: crīnītus 'having hair' (Enn.+).
Plt. *krisni-.
PIE *kris-ni-. IE cognates: Go. af-, us-hrisjan 'to shake off, out', OE OS hrissan 'to shake, shiver'; Olc. hris 'shrubs', OE hrīs 'branch, brush'.

One may detect a Latin stem *kris- 'crest, plume, hair' in crīnis and in Lat. crista and crispus. IEW compares Celtic and Gm. verbs in *kris- or *krīs- 'to swing, shake', under the assumption that the hair was referred as 'what you can shake back and forth'. This is possible, but not very appealing; and in Germanic, the vowel is long.

Bibl.: WH I: 292, EM 151, IEW 937. ➔ crīsō, crispus, crīsta

crisō, -āre 'to move the haunches as in coitus' [v. I] (Lucil.+)
IEW proposes *kreits-e/o- or *krūse/o-, but the comparative evidence is small. It seems more straightforward to connect the Celtic and Germanic verbs in *kris- or *krīs- 'to swing, shake' discussed s.v. crīnis. We would have to assume that the *s was geminated in Latin, yielding *krīss- ➔ crīs-.

Bibl.: WH I: 292f., EM 151, IEW 935-938. ➔ crīnis

crispus 'curly, curled (of hair)' [adj. o/a] (Pl.)
Plt. *krispo- 'curly, crumpled, twisted'.

Many scholars (e.g. IEW, Meiser 1998) assume Plt. *krispo- on account of the cognate Celtic forms: W. cych, Bret. crec'h 'curly, wrinkled' (< *krispo- or *krīspo-). Schrijver 1995, however, has shown that intervocalic ps and sp give the same result in British Celtic. Since crispus can be connected with other forms in *kris- in Latin, especially crīnis and crīsta, it seems more likely that the original form was Italo-Celtic *kris-po-.


crista 'crest on the head of a bird or beast, plume' [f. ē] (Lucr.+)
Plt. *kristā-.
PIE *kris-th2-.

Derived from the same stem *kris- 'crest, plume, hair' as crīnis and crispus.
Bibl.: WH I: 292, EM 151, IEW 938. ➔ crīnis

croció, -āre 'to croak' [v. IV] (Pl.; variant crocciō)
Plt. *kro-k-.

IEW cognates: Skt. kroś- 'to call', Av. xraos- 'cry' < *kreu-k-, Skt. ḍkara-, ḍkara-, ḍkana- [m.] 'kind of partridge', Av. kahrkatā- 'cock'; Lith. krokti, ORu. krokti 'to croak', OPr. krocto 'black woodpecker', Lith. kr(i)ōkti 'to rattle, grunt', OCS krōknōti 'to squeak'.

Most IE languages contain words in (e)k(V)r- indicating a creaking, croaking sound, but the formations are largely independent and are constantly renewed. In crocio, one
may see onomatopoeic reduplication of the type kr-kr-. A random selection of other IE forms which also have a second syllable in initial dental is given above.

Bibl.: WH I: 293, EM 151, IEW 567ff. → cornix, corvus

**crūdus** ‘raw, bloody, rough, cruel’ [adj. o/a] (Pl.+

Derivatives: crūditās ‘indigestion’ (Varro+); crūdēlis ‘cruel’ (Enn.+), crūdēlitās ‘cruelty’ (Acc.+).

Plt. *krowofo-.

PIE *kreuh₂-odʰ-o- (?) ‘raw’. IE cognates: Mlr. cruaid ‘hardy, harsh, stern’.

If the root had zero grade, crūdus can reflect a dissimilation of *kruhrro- > *kriiro- > *krudo- (cf. Av. xṛura- ‘bloody’ < *kruhr-ro-); thus EIEC 71. However, the assumed dissimilation is unusual and cannot be accepted without further support. In view of cruory and the frequent connection of nouns in -idus (Nussbaum 1999a), crūdus might reflect *kreuh₂-idʰ-o-, but this would only work via *krewipo- > *krowido- with syncope of *i, since unsyncopated (or restored) *-owi- yields -ō- (Schrijver 1991: 272-282). Yet syncope is not common in the adj. in -idus, so that we may still look for an alternative solution. One of the possible reconstructions for niidus ‘naked’ is (and has usually been) *ne/logʷ-odʰ-o-, which would lead to a reconstruction *kreuh₂-odʰ-o- for crūdus; note the semantic relationship between ‘naked’ and ‘raw’. For Mlr. cruaid, Driessen (p.c) suggests the loss of *u between two identical rounded vowels with resulting vowel contraction: *kreuh₂-odʰ-i- > PCl. *krouod-i- > *krōd’i- > cruaid.


**cruentus** ‘bloody, blood-thirsty, cruel’ [adj. o/a] (Enn.+

Derivatives: cruentāre ‘to cause to bleed; stain with blood’ (Enn.+).

Plt. *kruwnto- [adj.].

PIE *kruh₂-(e/o)nt- ‘bloody, raw’.

The closest comparandum in form and meaning is YAv. xruuant- ‘bloody, gory’, which may be a derivative in possessive *e/ont- to PIE *kruh₂- ‘blood, gore’ (Olr. crū, OCS kry [f. ü]). According to Nussbaum (p.c.), the neuter *kruh₂-nt- of this adj. could have functioned as a collective ‘blood, goriness’, whence with thematicization a new adj. *kruh₂-nt-o- ‘blood, gory’ > Lat. cruentus. Alternatively, it might be assumed that cruentos was built on a PIE loc.sg. *kruH-en- to the root noun *kruH-. The formation may be compared with that of Skt. hemantā- *wintry > ‘winter’ as per Nussbaum 2004b: *kruH-en ‘in blood’ > *kruH-en-t- [noun] ‘bloodiness, cruelty’ > *kruHent-o- [adj.] ‘with bloodiness, bloody, cruel’ = Lat. cruentus.

Bibl.: WH I: 294, EM 152, IEW 621f., Leumann 1977: 360. → crūdus, cruor

**cruor, -ōris** ‘blood from a wound; bloodshed’ [m. r] (Acc.+

Plt. *krawōs [m.] ‘blood’.

PIE *kruh₂-ōs ‘blood’. IE cognates: Olr. crū ‘id.’, W. crau, Mlr. cruaid ‘hardy, harsh, stern’, Skt. kraviṣ- ‘raw meat’, Gr. κρέας ‘id.’, OPr. kravian, crauyo, Lith. kraūjas,

The fact that we find a PIE s-stem *kreuH-s continued in Ilr. and Gr. lends credibility to a reconstruction *kruH-ōs for cruor.

Bibl.: WH I: 294f., EM 152, IEW 621f. → crūdus, cruentus

crūs, -ris (lower) leg, shank’ [n. r] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: crūsculum/-s ‘little shank’ (Pl.); crūricrepida [m.] ‘one who has chains clanking about his legs’ (Pl.), crūrifragius [m. PN] ‘broken-shin’ (Pl.).
Plt. *krūs-.

Together with Arm. srunk’ [pl.] ‘calf, shin’, Lat. crūs could go back to a root *kruH-; but the Armenian form might also represent a loanword from Iranian *sraun-, as argued by Georgiev 1962 and Beekes 2003: 175. Georgiev tries to derive crūs from the same stem as clūnīs, but this requires too many unwarranted assumptions.


crusta ‘crust, shell; thin slab, leaf’ [f. ā] (L uncr.+)


In spite of WH, I think that crusta is best connected with PIE *kruś- ‘to thrust, pound’ (attested in BSl. and Gr.), since a ‘crust’ can easily be referred to as the ‘hardened’ part (hardened by battering or pounding). Beekes (fthc.) rejects the traditional connection with the Gr. words for ‘ice, frost’ since there is no indication that crusta originally referred to ice or cold. The position of the Germanic words is uncertain: what is their original meaning? It is possible to connect Ilr. *kruzd- ‘hard’, as reflected in the Avestan words in xruzd-, although the origin of -d- would remain unclear.


crux, -cis ‘wooden frame, cross’ [f. k] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: cruciāre ‘to torture, cause pain’ (Pl.+), cruciābilitās ‘torment’ (Pl.), cruciābiliter ‘with torture’ (Pl.), cruciāmentum ‘a torture’ (Pl.+), cruciātus, -ās ‘the act of tormenting, pain’ (Pl.+); excruciāre ‘to torture’ (Pl.+), excruciābilis ‘deserving torture’ (Pl.); crucius [adj.] ‘cross, bad’ (Lucil. apud Paul. ex F.).
Plt. *kruk(-i)-?

'heap', OE hrēac, MoDu. rook.

Originally an i-stem? Leumann explains the suffix of cruc-iāre as based on the dat.sg. crucī, and crucius as a back-formation to cruciāre; but this is not a common procedure in Latin. The Celtic and Gm. forms are often reconstructed as *kr(e)u-k-, but we find vacillating vocalism within Gm.; also, the meanings 'backbone' and 'heap' are not necessarily connected. Even if the words in *kruk- from Latin and Italo-Celtic belong together, the root structure does not look PIE (and a root enlargement k is unknown), and might be interpreted as a non-IE substratum word borrowed into Italo-Celtic. But Latin may also just have borrowed the word from a contemporary language.


cubitus 'elbow, forearm' [m. o] (Pl.+; cubitum Lucil.+)

This word has generally been regarded as a derivative of a PIE root *keu-b-, like the verb cubāre. Cognate nouns outside Italic would be Gr. κόβος 'hollow above the hip (with cattle); cube, dice', W. gogof, Bret. kougoñ 'hole, hollow' (< *upo-kubā), Go. hups (< *hupi-) 'hip'. Yet the first meaning of the Greek word is clearly secondary to 'dice', the Celtic words have a meaning not remotely similar to cubitus, and Gm. 'hip' is also quite a different body part. Even if cubitus were to be derived from a PIE root *kub-, the morphology would remain unclear. Furthermore, none of the possible root structures *kub-, *kubh- or *kudh- is regular in PIE. It seems much safer to assume that cubitus 'elbow' is a specific instance of the ppp. cubitus of the verb cubāre 'to lie down'. People lie down on their elbow if they sleep on their side, and the Romans even reclined when dining. It matters little whether the original meaning was 'forearm' or 'the elbow joint'. One may even suggest that the verb cubitäre 'to lie down' (Pl.+ ) is not (only) a frequentative to cubāre, but (also) arose as a denominative 'to rest on the elbow' to cubitus.

Bibl.: WH I: 297, EM 153, IEW 588-592, LIV ?*(k}eubh2-. → -cumbō

cuculus 'cuckoo; fool' [m. o] (Pl.+; variant cucullus) IE cognates: Mlr. cūach, W. cog 'cuckoo'; Skt. koki-lā-, kōka-[m.] 'id.' < *kouk-; Gr. κόκκις, -ύγος [m.] 'id.' (dissimilated from *kōkko-), κόκκος 'cry of the cuckoo'; Lith. kukuoti, lett. kūkūt 'to cry cuckoo'; NHG Kuckuck, MoE cuckoo (unshifted k).

An onomatopoeic form "saying cucu" which can be found in many IE languages. Within Latin, compare cucubāre 'to hoot' (of owls).

Bibl.: WH I: 299, EM 154, IEW 627.

cucumis, -eris 'cucumber' [m. r] (Pl.+; cucumis, -is Plin.)

Probably a loanword from a non-IE language. The original form may have been *kuku(m)-, cf. Gr. κύκκον and σίκκον 'fig'.

cucurbita 'gourd' [f. ā] (Varro+)

Derivatives: cucurbitīvus 'a variety of pear or fig' (Cato+).

Probably a loanword. Compare cucumis with the same initial sequence cucu-, and a similar meaning.

Bibl.: WH I: 300, EM 154.

cūdō, -ere 'to beat, hammer' [v. III; pf. cūdi, spp. cūsum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: accūdere 'to coin in addition' (Pl.), prōcūdere 'to forge' (Pl.+), excūdere 'to hammer out' (Pl.); incūs, -dis 'anvil' [f.] (Pl.+), subscūs, -dis 'wooden peg, dowel' (Pl.+).

Pīt. *kūd-e/o-.

PIE *kuh₂-d-e/o- 'to hit'. IE cognates: Gr. κέασσαι 'to cleave', Lith. kauči, kalju, Latv. kaut 'to hit', OCS kovati, Is. kov 'to forge' < *kouH-, Olc. hggga, OHG houwan 'to hew, beat' < *kouH-; ToA kau-, ToB kau- 'to kill' < *keh₂u--; ToA kot-, ToB kaut- 'to split' < *keh₂u-d'-e-.

In non-initial syllable, a change *au > ā took place in Latin. It is often surmised that this happened in the compounds in -cūdō, from which ā was then introduced in the simplex. Schrijver 1991: 285 objects that the attestations of the simplex are too early for this to be true. He proposes to explain cūdō from *keuh₂r-d'-ō > *keyad'-ō > *koyad'-ō > *koud'-ō > cūdō, whereas caudex would reflect *kouhr-d'-ek- > *koyad'ek- > *kaudek- (if *u and *d' were contiguous, *d' would yield b (cf. iūbeō). Since the unrounding of *oyV > *aV must be placed in the relative chronology before the Pīt. change of *eu > *ou, this forces Schrijver to reconstruct a separate o-grade for caudex. Such an alternation is of course possible, especially in view of the iterative *kouhr- attested by other IE languages; but it does make the reconstruction less certain. Hackstein 2002a: 15 gives the alternative etymology *ke/ouhr-d'h₁-r-o- 'placing a strike' > with laryngeal loss *ke/ou-d'h₁-r-o-, from which (when verbalized) cūdō would derive; yet in *d' was in direct contact with *u, we would expect a Latin outcome *cūbō. Hackstein and LIV assume a PIE root enlargement *-d'- because of Tocharian -t-, but it is possible that Tocharian and Latin generalized two different dental stops here. It is therefore easier to assume that cūdō reflects *kuh₂-d- (with laryngeal metathesis), while cauda and caudex reflect *keh₂u-d-; see also Vine 2006a: 232f.


cūius 'whose' [adj. o/ā, OLat. quoius] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: cūiās, -āis [adj.] 'of what country, from which place?', cūiusnam 'of whatever person?' (Pl.).


PIE *kʰosjo [gen.sg.]. IE cognates: Gr. ποῖος [adj.] 'what kind of'.

Built on the gen.sg. cuius of qui 'who, what', which was taken as a new nom.sg. of a possessive adj. The same process can be observed in Sabellic, so that it will have been
Pit. Gr. ποιός < *k\'osios is probably the result of an independent development in Greek on the basis of PIE gen.sg. *k\'osio 'of whom'.

culcita 'cushion' [f. ā] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: culcitula 'small mattress' (Pl. +).
No etymology. The Skt. word kūrcā- 'bunch, bundle (of grass)' is unrelated (cf. EW Aia I: 386).

culex, -icis 'gnat, midge' [m. k] (Pl. +)
Pit. *kul-i-k-?
PITIE *kuH-lō- 'sharp'. IE cognates: OIr. cuil [f.] 'fly', W. cylionen 'midges' < *kūli-; Skt. śūla- [m. / n.] 'spear'.
Due to Dybo's shortening of long pretonic vowels in front of resonants (cf. Schrijver 1991: 343), Italic-Celtic *kūlVy- would yield Latin culV-. Of course, the place of the accent is uncertain: Skt. would point to initial accent, but since śūla- is a noun, it may have secondarily acquired initial accentuation.

culleus 'leather sack' [m. o] (Pl. +; Cato n.pl. cullea, gen.pl. culleum)
Derivatives: culleāris [adj.] 'holding a culleus' (Cato +); cōlei, -ōrum 'the testicles' (Lab. +).
IE cognates: Gr. κολεόν 'sheath of a sword' (possibly < *κολερ-όν).
Probably a loanword from a non-IE language, independently into Latin and Greek. Lat. cōlei is probably a variant of *culleī.
Bibl.: WH I: 303, EM 155, IEW 553f.

culmus 'stalk, stem, straw' [m. o] (Varro +)
Pit. *kol(a)mo-.
PITIE *kōlh₂-mo- 'stalk, stem, straw'. IE cognates: Gr. κύλαμος 'reed, straw', κυλάμη 'stubble' < *kūl₂-em-, Latv. sāms, OPr. salme, CS slama, Ru. solóma, Scr. slāma 'straw' < *kōlh-m-emh₂; OHG hal(a)m 'stalk, straw'.
Greek requires *kīlh₂-em-h₂-, whereas BS l. and Gm. agree on *kōlh₂-m-. In Latin, this would yield *kōlamos, which Nussbaum argues may have given *kōlmos > culmus. Schrijver, however, is very reluctant to assume that *a would be syncopated in a trisyllabic word with a short-vowel stem. One might assume that the laryngeal was never vocalized because it was dropped between resonants after an o-grade (the so-called de Saussure effect; Nussbaum, too, allows for this scenario). For the root etymology, a connection with */:///- 'to rise' is impossible if the latter really has a pure velar; but semantically, it would be attractive.
culpa 'blame, guilt' [f. ē] (Pl. +; older colpa, Prisc.)

Derivatives: culpāre 'to blame' (Pl. +), culpitāre 'to censure' (Pl.).
PIt. *kwel-/oll(ŷ)pā́- 'wrong, mistake'.
PIE *kuolp-h₂- 'bend, turn'. IE cognates: Gr. κόλπος [m.] 'bosom, lap' < *kuolp-o-; OPr. ppp. po-quelbton 'kneeling'; OIc. ppp. holfinn 'vaulted', hvelfa 'to make vaulted, turn over', OHG bewelben [v.], OIc. hualf, OE hwealf[f.] 'vault'.

The original meaning of culpa is 'a state of error' rather than 'an error committed', according to EM. We might then connect culpa with PGm. *hwelf-a- 'to wind, bend', maybe also OPr. po-quelbton 'kneeling', for which LIV reconstructs PIE *kuelp- 'to wind, turn'. A noun *kuolp-h₂ may have indicated a 'wrong', cf. the etymology of this English word.

Bibl.: WH I: 304, EM 155, IEW 630, LIV *kuelp-.

culter, -trī 'knife' [m. o] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: cultellus 'small knife' (Asellio+).
Plt. *k(e/o)l-tro- 'knife'.
PIE *(s)kolh₂-tro- 'instrument for cleaving'. IE cognates: Hit. ḫskall-á / ḫskal- 'to slit, split, tear' < *skolh₂t / *sklh₂t; Gr. ἐκκάλλω to stir up, hoe' (if from *sklh₂t-je-o- > *sklje-o-), Arm. c'elaw 'split, tore' [pret.], Lith. skliti 'to strike fire', skēlti 'to cleave, strike fire'.

If connected with a root in -l, culter might belong to the root PIE *(s)kelh₂t- 'to split, cleave'; the ablaut of the root cannot be decided for culter. Some (Leumann 1977) prefer to explain culter as the result of a dissimilation from *kei/ortro-, in which case it may have been derived from the root *(s)ker- 'to shear, cut off' (Gr. κεῖρω 'I shear'; cf. Latin carō). But since this explanation requires an extra assumption, and since a dissimilation might equally well have yielded *certulum, a PIE root in *-l- seems preferable.

Bibl.: WH I: 304, EM 155, IEW 923-927, Leumann 1977: 313, LIV *skelH-.

cūlūs 'anus, arse' [m. o] (Catullus+)
Plt. *kūlo- 'back'.
PIE *kuH₁-lo- 'backside, rear'. IE cognates: Olr. cūl 'back', OCo. chil, W. cil 'corner, angle' < PCl. *kūlo-.

The original accentuation of Italo-Celtic *kuH₁lo- is unknown. Pokorny 1959 connects these words with a PIE root *(s)keu- 'to cover', but as a verbal root, this reconstruction has been abandoned by LIV. Lat. cūlus might be connected with Gm. 'hide' (*Aw₁-), Latin cutis. That word is reconstructed (implicitly) as *kHu-ti- by Kortlandt (1980a: 15). If it is accepted that these are cognates, cūlus would continue *kHu₁-lo- with barytonesis, with (by Kortlandt's rule) subsequent laryngeal metathesis to *kuH₁lo-. This implies that the PIE root may have had the form *kHu-. This might be identified as the root PIE *khe₂u- 'to cleave', from which I also derive cauda 'tail' and caudex 'tree-trunk'.

cum 'when' [adv.] (Lex XII+; older form quom, before Cicero)

Derivatives: -cumque 'ever, soever'; quondam 'formerly' (Naev.+), quoniam 'as soon as; because' (Andr.+).

Plt. *kʰom 'when'. It. cognates: U. pumpe 'whenever' < *kʰom-kʷe; O. pún, pun, pon, U. pun, puni, poner, pone 'when' < *kʰom-de; O. punum 'id.' < *kʰom-de + -um.

PIE *kʰom [acc.sg.m.]. IE cognates: OPr. kan, Lith. (dial.) kq 'when'; OCS ko-gđa < *ko-g(o)da; Go. hvan 'when'.

Lat. quoniam < *quom iam.


-cumbō, -ere; cubō, -āre 'to lie down, recline; be lying' [v. III; I; pf. cubuī, ppp. cubitum (for both)] (Plt.++)

Derivatives: cubiculum 'bedroom' (Plt.+), cubiculāris 'of a bedroom' (Varro+); cubile [n.] 'bed, couch; den' (Plt.+); cubitāre 'to recline; have intercourse with' (Plt.+), cubitus, -īs 'reclining, resting' (Cato+), cubitūra 'reclining' (Plt.); accubāre 'to lie, recline' (Plt.+), accumbere 'to lie down' (Plt.+), concumbere 'to lie together' (Ter.+), concubīna 'concubine' (Plt.+), concubinātus, -īs 'concubinage' (Plt.+), concubitus, -īs 'sexual intercourse' (Plt.+), concubitus [adj.] 'of the bed, of lying down' (Plt.+), dēcumbere 'to lie down' (Plt.+), discumbere 'to lie down' (Plt.+), excubiae [f.pl.] 'the keeping of a watch, vigil' (Plt.+), incubāre 'to lie or recline on' (Plt.), incubitāre 'to lie on, sit' (Plt.+), prōcumbere 'to lean forward, fall down' (Lucr.+), recubāre 'to lie back' (Lucr.+), recumbere 'to lie or lay back' (Enn.+), succumbere 'to sink to the ground, give way'.

Plt. *kumbe/o- 'to lie down', *kubāje/o- 'be lying'. It. cognates: Fal. cupat, cubat, cupa [3s.pr.], cupat, (cupa)nt [3p.pr.] 'to lie down', Pael. incubat [3s.pr.], SPic. qupat [3s.pr.], Marr. cibat, encubat [3s.pr.] 'lies (buried)'.

IE cognates: MW kyscu, MCo. koska, MBret. cousquet 'to sleep' < PCI. *kug-ske/o- < *kub-ske/o-.

Because of *b and the restriction to Italo-Celtic, PIE origin of *kub- is uncertain. If PIE, the nasal present and class I conjugation point to a laryngeal-final root *kubH-. However, -āre is strange for a stative meaning; for this reason, LIV considers *(k)ubh₁-ēh₁-le- > *kubā(i)e-.


cumulus 'heap, pile' [m. o] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: cumulāre 'to gather, pile up' (Plt.+), accumulāre 'to pile up' (Lucr.+).

Plt. *kumo-.

PIE *kuH₁-mo- 'heap'. IE cognates: Gr. κῦμα, -ατός 'wave, breakers; foetus, sprout'. It is striking that cumulāre is attested significantly earlier than cumulus. Cumulus presupposes earlier *kumos. Schrijver 1991 doubts the connection with *kuH₁- 'to swell', because short u would then be difficult to account for. However, if pretonic
long vowels were indeed shortened in front of resonants in Pit. (Schrijver 1991: 343), a preform \*kūmóς would phonetically yield \*kumos. Another possible explanation for cumulus, if it does reflect \*kūmóς, is analogy with tumulus ‘heap, mound’, which must have had a short vowel from the outset.


cūnae ‘cradle’ [f.pl. ā] (Pl.\+)

Derivatives: incūnābula, -ōrum ‘(apparatus for the) cradle’ (Pl.\+).

Pit. \*koina- ‘cradle’.

Pie \*koi-no- ‘lair, cradle’ (vel sim.). IE cognates: Hit. ki-\-no\-(\-)i, Pal. kī-, CLuw. zi-, Lyc. si- ‘to lie’ < \*kēi-(\-)o; Skt. šāye, šere, Av. saēte, sōre; Gr. κείμενος ‘to lie’, κοῖτος [m.], κοῖτη ‘lair’, ἀκοίτης ‘spouse’, Olc. hīd, hīdi [n.] ‘a bear’s lair’ (< \*kēi-to-); PIE \*koi-mo- in OIr. cóim, cóem ‘dear’; Latv. sāime ‘family’, OCS sēmoja ‘household, slaves’; Go. haim’s ‘village’, Olc. heimr ‘home, world’, OE hām, OS hēm, OHG heim ‘home, house’.

Lat. incūnābula does not necessarily presuppose a verb \*incūnāre ‘to lay in a cradle’, but may have been formed directly on cūnae (Serbat 1975: 45). WH derive cūnae from PIE \*kēi- ‘to lie’, but EM reject this comparison, on the grounds that this root is not otherwise attested in western IE languages. This is not a strong objection, and we may accept the etymology as an -\-h2-derivative with o-grade in the root.

Bibl.: WH I: 306f., EM 157, IEW 539f., Leumann 1977: 314, 320, LIV 1.\*kēj-.

cūncor, -ārī ‘to be slow, hesitate’ [v. I] (Pl.\+; Pl., Enn., Acc. also active cūntāre)

Derivatives: cuncūtiō ‘hesitation’ (Acc.+).

Pit. \*konkito- ‘hanging (intr.)’

Pie \*konk-(e)ie- ‘to hang (tr.)’. IE cognates: Hit. kānk\-i, kank- ‘to hang (tr.), weigh’ < \*konk- / \*knk- (Kloekhorst 2008: 437); Skt. śāṅkate ‘is afraid, fears’ (< \*kānk-to), Go. hāhan ‘to leave in uncertainty’, OE hōn ‘to hang (tr.)’ (< \*konk-), Olc. hengja ‘to hang, suspend’ (< \*konk-eie-).

Usually, a cluster \*-nkt- develops into -\-nt- (quaňtus), unless the velar was restored. Since there was no model for restoration in the case of cūncor, Sihler suggests that this is the phonetic outcome, and that simplification of the cluster only took place regularly after a front vowel. This seems counter-intuitive, since the position of the tongue is closer to the velum in the case of back vowels than front vowels. Leumann’s explanation (p. 217) seems more likely: the earlier form was \*cunctā-. This is in line with the standard etymology, viz. a frequentative in -\-itare to a stem \*konk-e\-lo- ‘to hang’, or a derivative of a ppp. \*konk-e\(-\)i-to-. The semantic shift from ‘be suspended’ to ‘hesitate’ is unremarkable. Most cognate IE verbs show an o-grade in the root, as does Latin.

cunctus 'whole, all' [adj. o/ā] (Carmen Arvale (acc.pl.m. conctos), Pl.+

PIt. *kom-kito- 'collected'.

PIE *ki-to- 'stirred up'.

The traditional etymology is *kon-kitos, ppp. to con-ciere, hence 'collected, called together'. This is semantically not completely straightforward, and EM reject it; on the other hand, such a development does not seem impossible. A preform *konkitos is formally attractive, because in order to explain the preserved cluster -net-, we must assume earlier *-nkVto- (see s.v. cunctor). Since syncope in medial syllable is unusual in o-stems, it may be proposed that the frequent use of cunctus as a plural cuncti, -orum, with corresponding final long vowels, caused the syncope of *i. For the short vowel in the ppp. citus, see cieō. Sihler adopts the connection with Hit. pa-an-ku-uš 'assembly', but this must be given up, since the Hit. word has a gen.sg. pankašas, and is more likely to be cognate with Skt. bahu- 'many, much'.


cuneus 'wedge, plug; closely packed formation' [m. o] (Pl.+

WH and IEW support the connection with culex 'gnat' and Skt. śūka- 'sting (of an insect)', Av. sūkā- 'needle', but these presuppose a root *kūH- which would yield Lat. **cūneus. Long *ū might have been shortened in pretonic position, but in the absence of any clear cognates of cuneus, this explanation is too uncertain. Lat. -eus usually forms adjectives of appurtenance or renders loanwords, e.g. such in Greek -ίος. Therefore, EM propose to see in cuneus a rendering of an Etruscan word borrowed from Greek γώνιος (pap.), γωνία 'corner' (Hdt.+). But the Gr. m. word is attested very late, and the quantity of the first vowel does not match. Hence, a Gr. origin is unconvincing (cf. Biville 1990 I: 228).

Bibl.: WH I: 308, EM 157, IEW 626f.

cūniō, -ire 'to shit' [v. IV] (Paul. ex F. 'cunire est stercus facere')

The length of u is unknown. WH and IEW assume long ē, and by means of an ingenuous (but not impossible) hypothesis connect cūniēre with caenum 'mud, filth' and Gm. words continuing *kūoin-. Schrijver rejects this as too speculative. Indeed, nothing is certain. For all we know, cūniō is a derivative of (the stem of) cunnus 'vagina'; for the semantics, cf. Dutch kont 'arse', Eng. cunt 'vagina'.


cunnus 'vagina' [m. o] (Cat.+

PIE *kut-no- 'scrotum, vagina'. IE cognates: W. cwd 'bag, scrotum'; Gr. κυσός 'vagina, buttocks, bladder' (< *kut-so-?), maybe κύνος [n.] 'hollow, vessel'; Lith. kūtyš 'moneybag'; OHG hodo, OFr. hotha 'testicles' < *χυβ-an-.

We may distinguish a root *kut- meaning 'bag', 'scrotum', and metaphorically also 'female pudenda'. Lat. cunnus could be a thematization of an n-stem, such as found in Germanic 'testicles' (thus Leumann 1977: 320).
cūpa ‘cask, tub, barrel’ [f. ā] (Cato+; variant <cuppa>)

Plt. *kūp-.

IE cognates: Skt. kūpa- [m.] ‘pit, hole’ (EW Aia I: 385); Gr. κόπη ‘gap, hole’ (Hsch.) (όη̑), κύπελλον ‘beaker’, κύπρος [m.] ‘corn measure’; OIc. hūfr ‘ship’s hull’, OE hūf ‘beehive’ < PGm. *χūfa-.

Probably a non-IE loanword *kūp- which was borrowed by and from many languages. This explains, among others, the vacillating length of the ā.


cupīō, -ere ‘to desire’ [v. III; pf. cupī(v)ī, ppp. cupītum] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: cupiēnter ‘eagerly’ (Pl.), cupidus ‘longing, eager’ (Pl.), cupidītās ‘greed’ (Pl.), cupīdō, -inis ‘passionate desire; Cupid’ (Pl.); cuppēs, -ēdis ‘gluttonous’ (Pl.), cuppēdia, -ōrum [n.pl.] ‘delicacies’ (Pl.+) [var. cūpē/-cūpī-], cuppēdō, -inis ‘desire; gourmanderie’ (Varro+), cuppēde/inārius ‘confectioner’ (Ter.); concupīscere ‘to desire ardently’ (Lucil.+, discupere ‘id.’ (Pl.+) percupere ‘to desire strongly’ (Pl. +).


 PIE *kup-(ε)i- [pr.], *kup-ehr, [aor.] ‘to tremble, desire’, *kup-ehr- ‘desirable’? IE cognates: Olr. ad-cōbra ‘wants’, accōbor [vn.] ‘desire’ (denomin. to *kupro-?); Skt. akupyant- [neg.ptc.act.], kupyati [3s.act.] (ep.), caus. kopāyati ‘to make quake (RV); to make angry (ep.)’; pra-kupita- ‘trembling, quaking’; Lith. kūpėti, 3s. kūpa, OCS kypēti ‘to simmer, to boil’ < BSl. *kup-; Oic. hjūfa ‘to lament’ < *keup-e/o-?

Whereas the 3rd conjugation with zero-grade root suggests a present *kup-i-, the pf. in -ēν-, the inchoat. in -iscere and cupīōpō point to a stem *kup-i-, which may reflect *kup-ei- (cf. Schrijver 2003: 74). The stem *kup-i- may also be present in cupidus, cf. Nussbaum 1999a. In Skt., the PIE i-present was apparently thematized to *kup-i-e-. As Schrijver (2003: 79) notes, i-presents can occur beside ē-stative (aorists). The ē of cuppēd- may therefore reflect PIE *kup-ehr-. Double -pp- in cuppēs can be explained from *cūpēd- < Plt. *koup-ēd- ‘gluttonous’ by means of the littera-rule (see s.v. cella).


cūr ‘why?; why’ [adv.; rel.] (Naev.+; quōr 12x Pl., Varro, Lucr., Cic., mss. variants qūr, quīr)

Plt. *kʷōr.

 PIE *kʷōr < *kʷor ‘where?’. IE cognates: Skt. kār-hi ‘when?’, Go. hvar, Oic. hvar ‘where’< *kʷor, OE hwær, OS OHG hwār ‘where’< *kʷōr. From the stem *kʷu-,
cura

compare Alb. kur ‘when’, Lith. kur ‘where’.
For the phonetics, cf. für ‘thief’ < *bʰör. Apparently, the raising to -ūr only took place in stressed syllables, since the final -ūr of auctōr, uxör etc. (shortened to -or around 200 BC) did not take part in it. PIE *kʰwōr can be explained from a PIE adverb in *-r ‘where’ to the interv. pronoun *kʰw-o-, with lengthening in a monosyllable [and] in front of word-final resonant. The original meaning ‘where?’ has developed via ‘whence?’ to ‘why?’.


cura ‘anxiety, care’ [f. ā] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: curāre ‘to watch over, care for, take care of’ (VOLat.+ [coira- and coera- in inscr. from the 2nd and 1st c. BC; courare 2x; ciura- not before 1st c. BC], cūratiō ‘treatment, business’ (Pl.+), cūrātor ‘supervisor’ (Pl.+), cūrātūra ‘treatment’ (Ter.+), cūriōsus ‘careful, curious; careworn’ (Pl.+); incūria ‘neglect’ (Cato+), sēcūrus ‘free from anxiety, safe’ (Naev.+); accūrāre ‘to give attention, attend’ (Pl.+), excūrāre ‘to take good care of’ (Pl.), prōcūrāre ‘to look after’ (Pl.+), prōcūrātor ‘superintendent’ (Pl.+), prōcūratiō ‘car, responsibility’ (Varro+).

Pl. *kwōis-ā- ‘care, watch’. It. cognates: Pael. coisatens [3p.pf.], U. kuraia [3s.pr.sb.], kuratu si [3s.pf.sbz.p.s.], kuratu eru [inf.pf.p.s.] ‘to provide’, denom. of a noun *koisā-. Untermann assumes that the verb was borrowed from Latin into Sabellic in pre-rotacism times.

PIE *kwe-i-s- [pr.] ‘to heed’. IE cognates: Gaul. *ad-pis-e/o- ‘to see’, pissiiumi ‘I will see’, Olr. ad-ci* ‘to see’, do-éci* ‘to regard’ (< *de-en-) < PCl. pr. *kʰis-e/o-; Olr. sb. ce- (dep.) < *kʰweis-se/o-; OAv. coišt, 2p. coištiā, YAvc. coišta ‘to grant, allot’, OAv. cinas, cīsmahi, YAvc. cinahmi, cinasti, cīsmaide ‘to decide, allot’ < *kʰ(e)iš-< *kʰins-; Av. ıkēša- [m.] ‘teacher; teachings’ < *kwoiš-.

Leumann 1977: 341 explains cūriōsus as a back-formation to incūriōsus; Lat. sē-cūrus seems to have been formed directly to cūra. If the Sabellic forms were indeed borrowed from pre-Latin *koisa-, possible etymologies for cūra are Plt. *kois- and *kwois- (if *kʷo- > co- preceded *wōi- > *wei-) ‘care’. Semantically, cūra would fit the meaning of the PIE root *kʷei- ‘to take notice, heed’, and the o-grade would be fitting for a noun in *-h₂. The s-present *kʷei-s- ‘to heed’ of this root may have been interpreted as a separate root in PIE already (thus LIV), and is well represented in Celtic. The o-grade formation *kʰweis- is also found in Iranian: Av. ıkēša-.


curculiō ‘corn-weevil’ [m. n] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: curculiunculus ‘small weevil’ (Pl.).

Apparently, a noun formed by means of intensive reduplication, accompanied by a dissimilation of r-r to r-l: *kur-kur- > curcul-. WH connect curvus and a (now abandoned) PIE root *ker- ‘to curve’, but it is not certain that curculiō refers to a ‘coiled’ insect. It seems more likely that curculiō in some way relates to gurguliō ‘gullet, throat’.

Bibl.: WH I: 314, EM 159, Leumann 1977: 231. → gurguliō
cūria ‘division of the Roman people; meeting-place’ [f. ā] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: cūriālis ‘of a cūria’ (Pl. +), cūriō ‘priest presiding over a cūria’ (Pl. +); excūriāre ‘to expel from the senate’ (Varro).

It cognates: Vol. couehriu [abl.sg.] ‘some kind of state institution with sacral duties’ (uncertain).

Mostly etymologized as *ko-wir-ija ‘assembly of men’ derived from a cp. *ko-wir-ijom to vir ‘man’, cf. convivium, contiugium, consortium, etc. Since the usual reflex of cum in front of v- is con- (convivium, convenire), the development in cūria must be older.


currō, -ere ‘to run’ [v. III; pf. cucurrī (oc-cecūrī Gel., cecurrī inscr.), ppp. cursum] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: currus, -ūs ‘chariot’ (Naev. +), curriculum ‘the run, race’ (Pl. +); cursus, -ūs ‘the action of running, course’ (Pl. +), cursāre ‘to rush to and fro’ (Ter. +), cursim ‘rapidly’ (Pl. +), cursīō ‘the running’ (Varro), cursor ‘runner’ (Pl.), cursitāre ‘to run about’ (Ter. +), cursūra ‘running’ (Pl. +); accurrerē ‘to run up to, help’ (Pl. +), concurrēre ‘to hurry together, rally’ (Enn. +), concursāre ‘to run together’ (Acc. +), concursus, -ūs ‘running to and fro; concourse’ (Pl. +), dēcurrēre ‘to run down; travel’ (Lucr. +), dēcursus ‘downrush, course’ (Lucr. +), excurrēre ‘to run out’ (Pl. +), incurrerē ‘to rush in, meet’, incurssim ‘precipitately’ (Caecil. +), incurssēre ‘to charge at’ (Pl. +), incurssus ‘attack’ (Lucr. +), intercurrere ‘to run, hasten’ (Lucr. +), intercursāre ‘to run in between’ (Lucr. +), intrōcurrere ‘to run inside’ (Naev. +), occurrēre ‘to hurry to meet, meet’ (Pl. +), occursāre ‘to run up repeatedly’ (Pl. +), percurrere ‘to run through’ (Ter. +), praeccurrēre ‘to run ahead, precede’ (Pl. +), prōcurrere ‘to run forward’ (Lucr. +), recurrerē ‘to run back’ (Pl. +), recursāre ‘to keep running back’ (Pl. +), succurrēre ‘to run to the rescue of’ (Ter. +), transcurrere ‘to hurry across’ (Pl. +).

Pft. *korso- [pri] ‘to run’; *korso- ‘chariot’.

PIE *krs-e/o- ‘to run’; *krs-o- ‘running > chariot’. IE cognates: Gaul. *karros (> Lat. carrus) , Olr. carr ‘vehicle’, W. car < PCl. *korso-; Gr. ἑπίκουρος ‘helper; helping’ < *epi + *korso- ‘running towards’; OHG hros, OIc. hross, OE hors ‘horse’ belong here too, if from PGm. *hursa- (not *huras-) < *krs-o-.

The old pf. cecurrī (< pf. *ke-kors-ai) was assimilated to cucurrī. The ppp. cursus must be secondary for **kostus < *korstus < *krs-to- (for the phonetics, cf. tostus < *tst-to-); the model was provided by stems in -lt/d and -rt/d (cf. Leumann 1977: 616). The nouns in curs- have been built on the ppp. cursus. In general, the verbal compounds in -currō more often have a figurative sense, while those in -cursō, being more recent, always show the concrete sense of ‘running’. The appurtenance of curūlis [adj.] ‘of state, or curule office, of curule rank’ (Cato+) is uncertain. Derived from the u-stem currus, *curr-ūlis would be a regular adj. derivative (cf. currūlis ‘of chariots’), with regular pretonic simplification of the geminate. Yet the semantic link with ‘chariot’ is not clear; some therefore regard it as a loanword from Etruscan.
(office terminology). Pft. *-or- is reflect both as or and as ur in Latin; no phonetic conditioning has been found. We may therefore accept the traditional etymology *k̞rs- > *kors- > *kurs- > curr-. It is somewhat troublesome that only Latin attests a verb, but since currō is of a primary derivation, it cannot be derived from the noun and must be original. The Gr. adj. might then reflect PIE *kors-o-.


curtus ‘mutilated, circumcised; imperfect’ [adj. o/a] (Lucil.+)

Plt. *korto-.


Lat. curtus seems to reflect *kr-to- > *korto- > *kurto-, with the development *orC > urC (see s.v. currō for this problem). WH derives curtus from the root *(s)ker- ‘to cut off’, whereas EM and Meiser 1998 connect it with *k’er- ‘to cut’, on the basis of Hit. kuerzi. The verbal forms of *k’er- mainly mean ‘to cut’ (Hit. kuerzi) or ‘to make’ (in IIr., Skt. kṣṇoti), whereas the forms of *(s)ker- are given as ‘to shave’, ‘to scratch off’. In view of the meaning ‘mutilated, circumcised’ of curtus, I prefer to connect it with *(s)ker-.


curvus ‘curved, bent’ [adj. o/a] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: curvor ‘curvature’ (Varro); concurvāre ‘to bend down’ (Lab.); incurvecere ‘to become curved’ (Enn.), incurvus ‘crooked’ (Ter. +).

Plt. *kutorwo-.

PIE *kur-uo-? IE cognates: OIr. corr, MW cwrr ‘hooked’ < *kurso-; Gr. κυρτός ‘curved’.

The etymology is uncertain. WH and IEW mention a host of possible cognates, all from a root *(s)ker-, under the assumption that curvus goes back to *k̞-uo-. Yet the words connected are of very different forms and meanings, and there is no verbal root PIE *(s)kr- meaning ‘to turn’. The best connection seems to be with the Celtic words for ‘hooked’ from *kurso-; Gr. κυρτός might continue the same root. Yet *kur- is not a valid PIE root structure, it would have to be analyzed as *k(e)u- plus a root enlargement *-r-.


O. kúru, SPic. qora [nom.sg.], koram [acc.sg.], O. kúrass, SPic. qoras [acc.pl.] ‘stone object’.

Plt. *kōrā-. 
PIE *kor-h₂-* ‘piece’?

By way of conjecture, it has been suggested that *korā- was derived from the verb *(s)ker- ‘to cut’. This is conceivable, since words for ‘stone’ or ‘stone objects’ are often derived from meanings such as ‘piece’, which can be referred to as a ‘piece cut off’ (cf. Lat. *carō*). But since the real meaning of *korā- remains uncertain, so does its etymology.

Bibl.: Untermann 2000: 420ff., LIV 2.*(s)ker-.

cuspis, -dis ‘sharp point, spear’ [f. d] (Varro+)


Szemerényi 1989: 26 etymologizes cuspis as *kuri-spid-, a compound of *curis ‘spear’ and a Plt. noun *spis, spidos ‘lance’, which would be cognate with Gm. *spit-u- (OHG *spiz, OE *spitu*). However, a dvandva compound ‘spear-lance’ would be abnormal in Latin. The origin of curis is unclear (Sabine according to Paul. ex F.). In theory, it might reflect *kusi- and go back to the same stem as cuspis. No further etymology.


custōs, -ōdis ‘guardian’ [m., f. d] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *custōdēla* ‘custody’ (Pl.+); *custōdia* ‘protection, guard’ (Naev.+); *custōdīre* ‘to keep safe, guard’ (Pl.+); *concustōdīre* ‘to watch over’ (Pl.+); *subcustōs* ‘deputy keeper’ (Pl.).

The currently accepted etymology is *kusto-sd- ‘who sits near the hidden/near the treasure’, proposed by Nowicki 1978. The element -sd- would be the zero grade of *sed- ‘to sit’, and *kusto- < *kud*-to- ‘hidden’ as in Go. *huzd, OHG *hort and Gr. *kevō ‘to hide’. Apart from the difficulty of a development *d*- > -st-, this seems semantically far-fetched. There is no textual evidence for custōs being the guardian of something hidden: as the text samples adduced by Nowicki show, it concerns known persons who need to be guarded, or known contents of a cellar. Morphologically, this etymology is also unlikely. The expected ablaut of the second member would be nom.sg. *-sed-, gen.sg. *-sd-os, and Nowicki assumes that the oblique case form was generalized. But in view of the other Latin compounds containing this root (*subses, praeses, obses*), it seems more likely that the full or lengthened grade would have been introduced in all forms, thus retaining the connection with *sed- ‘to sit’. The zero grade has only survived in (PIE) thematized *ni-sd-o- ‘nest’ > *nidus. Finally, the uninflected state of the first member *kusto- does not suggest the meaning ‘by the hidden’ as hypothesized by Nowicki. In Ilr., compounds in *-s(e)d- indicating where something or someone is placed have a preverb as their first member, or a locative of a noun. I conclude that the etymology of custōs is still unknown. In view of herēd- and cuppēd-, one might surmise a stem *kustō-, maybe originally an ins.sg. of a noun or adj., to which *-d- was suffixed.

cutis ‘skin’ [f. i] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: intercus, -tis [adj.] ‘subcutaneous’ (Pl. +).

PIE *kHu-t-i- ‘skin, hide’. IE cognates: MW eskit, Co. eskit, esgis ‘shoe’ (< *ped-skit-); Gr. σκότος [n.] ‘leather, skin’, Gr. ἐγκυτό ‘onto the skin’ < *kHut-; OPr. keuto ‘skin’, Lith. kiąutas ‘shell, rind’ < *keHu-to-; OIC. hūd, Oe. hýd, OHG hūt, ToA kāc ‘skin’ (< *kwač) < *(s)kuHt-(i/-es-).

Latin cutis exactly matches the Germanic forms and ToA kāc ‘skin’; it is an i-stem based on an i-stem. Greek and Celtic show s-mobile, as does Baltic indirectly, by means of the pure velar. In the originally barytone s-stem and in Gm., accented *Hu-was metathesized to -uH-, whereas in Latin and in Gr. ἐγκυτό, we may assume oxytonesis (thus Schrijver), which is why a short vowel resulted. The nom.sg. intercus was backformed to inter cutem according to WH, but might also phonetically continue *enter-kutis (Forssman 1998: 123).


D

-dam -dē -dō -dum [suffix, prep., pref.]: 1. quīdam, quaedam, quoddam [adj.; declension like qui] ‘a particular, a certain’ (Pl. +); quīdam, quaedam, quuddam ‘a certain’ (old nom. or acc.sg. quersdam lx Acc.) (Pl. +); quandam ‘formerly, once’ (Naev. +); 2. dē [prep. + abl., pref.] ‘from, off; without’ (Lex XII, Andr. +); dēnique ‘finally, at last’ (Pl. +). 3. dōnec [cj.] ‘until, while’ (Lex XII +), dōnicum ‘until’ (Andr. +), quandō ‘when’ (Andr. +). 4. dūm [adv.; cj.] ‘in the meantime; as long as’ (Pl. +), (c-)cum enclitic particle of stress.

Derivatives: (2) dehinc [adv.] ‘from now on, next’ (Pl. +), dein, deinde ‘then, next’ (Lex XII +), dēnum ‘at last, only’ (Andr. +; Andr. also has dēmus), dēnique ‘finally’ (Pl. +), deorsum [adv.] ‘down’ (Pl. +), dēsubitō ‘suddenly’ (Naev. +); dēterior [comp.] ‘worse’ (Pl. +); dēbilis ‘weak’ (see s.v.) (3) quandōque ‘whenever, some day’ (Lex XII, Cato +), quandōquidem ‘seeing that’ (Pl. +) (4) dūdum ‘just now; for a long time’ (Pl. +), etiamdum ‘yet, already’ (Pl., Ter.), interdum ‘sometimes’ (Pl. +), nēdum ‘still less’ (Ter. +), nequecum or neccum ‘and not yet’ (Pl. +), nōndum ‘not yet’ (Pl. +), primumdum ‘in the first place’ (Pl. +), quīdum ‘why?’ (Pl., Ter.), vixdum ‘scarcely’ (Ter. +).


These are inflected forms of the PIE particle *de, *do:

1. -dam < *dām [acc.sg.f.] ‘as far as this, in this respect’ (cf. quam).

2. dē < *dē [ins.sg.] ‘with this, as far as this is concerned, (viewed) from here’. Lat. dénum/s is an old sup. to dē, ‘last, farthest’.

3. dō < *dō [ins.sg.] ‘to this, until’. Lat. dōnec < *dō-ne-kʷe and dōnicum < *dō-ne-kʷom. Lat. dōnelique is probably a recent remake on the model of nec/neque.

4. dum < *dom [acc.sg.m/n.] ‘as far as this, as long as’. The temporal specialization may have occurred under the influence of tum and cum.

PIE probably had an indeclinable particle *de, *do ‘here, there’, see s.v. -de and endo. Like some of the other particles (*ke/*ki, *h₂-eu, *gʰ-e/*gʰ-o), it acquired (pro)nominial inflection in some of the daughter languages. In Italic, we find traces of an ins.sg. *do₁₁₁, and *deh₁₁₁, of an acc.sg.f. *dām, of an abl.sg.f. *dād, of an acc.sg.m/n. *dom. The o-grade *do is found in endo, and may also go back to PIE. Some have assumed that the root might be the same as in *h₂ed- (Latin ad), but with an ins. case-ending *-eh₁₁₁. Yet this does not explain the e/o-ablaut after the d. The origin of -dem in idem etc. is disputed: some scholars regard it as another reflex of *de/do, but there is no phonetically regular way to arrive at -dim. Alternatively, it may reflect *-Vm with metanalysed d; see s.v. -dim.


damnum ‘loss, expense’ [n. o] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: damnósus (Pl.+) ‘detrimental, causing loss’, damnāre (Pl.+) ‘to penalize, condemn’; condemnāre (Pl.+) ‘to pass sentence, condemn’; damnās estō (Cato+) < *damnātus estō ‘he must be condemned to’.

Plt. *dapno-.

PIE *dh₂p-no- ‘expense, investment’.

Bibl.: WH I: 322, EM 163f., IEW 176f., LIV *deh₂p-. → daps

daps, -is ‘sacrificial meal, feast’ [f./p.] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: dapsólis ‘sacrificial’ (Cato+), dapsilis ‘plentiful, abundant’ (Naev.+).

Plt. *dap-.


PIE *dh₂p- is attested for the specific meaning of ‘cutting pieces of meat from a victim, preparing a sacrificial meal’. The meaning suggests that it might be an enlarged variant of the root *dh₂- ‘to allot’, although *-p- is rarely found as a root extension.

Bibl.: WH I: 323f., EM 164, IEW 175-179, 196f., LIV *deh₂p-. → damnum

dautia, -ōrum ‘the entertainment provided for foreign guests of the state at Rome’ [n. o] (Paul. ex F.)

Derivatives: lautia (SCAsc., Livy several times, Apuleius 1x).
PIE *dawetio- ‘gift’.

PIE *douH-ó- ‘giving, bestowing’. IE cognates: OIr. diás ‘gift, reward, recompense given to poets’; Skt. diivas- [n.] ‘gift, sacrifice, hommage’ < *dúH-es-.

Lat. dautia only occurs in Paulus ex Festo, where it is adduced as another example of the ancients saying d- for more recent l-, as in Livy’s dacrimas pro lacrimas (Paul. ex F.). The form lautia occurs a few times in the literature (mostly in Livy), and always in the expression locus lautiaque or loca lautia (Apul.), as TLL observes. Therefore, the d- of dautia might have been replaced by l- under influence of locus in order to create alliteration (thus WH I: 324, following Schrijnen). In addition, the adj. lautus ‘washed; splendid; sumptuous’ may have played an attracting role, too. If Vine’s formulation of Thurneysen-Havet’s Law is correct (unrounding in PIE pretonic position), dautia might be explained with him as deriving from a them. adj. *douH-ó- ‘bestowing’ > *dayo-, whence a t-stem *daw-et- ‘bestowal’ was formed, ultimately concretized as *dawet-jo- ‘gift’. The PIE root *duH- ‘to give’ refers not just to the act of giving, but to the act of honouring with gifts.


— ptcl.: quamde, quande ‘than’ (Andr.+), inde ‘thence’ (Pl.+), deinde ‘afterwards’ (Lex XII+), exim, exin, exinde ‘thereafter’ (Pl.+), unde ‘whence?’ (Pl.+), undique ‘from every side’ (Pl.+

PIE *de ‘here, there’. IE cognates: MW hwnn, OIr. sund < PCL *so-de ‘this’, OIr. suide, n. sodain < *so-de-so ‘that’, *sin-de (anaphoric pronoun) > article *sindos, f. sindā, OIr. fein, fadēin ‘own, self’ < *sue-de-sin, OIr. céin, cadēin, cadesin < *ke-de-sin ‘even, namely”; Gr. -ΣΕ ‘towards; this’, ÓΕ ‘but’.

Lat. quande < *quām ‘than’ + -de, vide s.v. quam. Lat. inde < *im-de ‘that one there’ with acc.sg. PIE *im (cf. is). Lat. unde next to ubi ‘where’ was probably modelled on inde next to ibi ‘there’, although unde might also have been formed directly to the interrogative (post-PIE) stem *ku-. Furthermore, -de is contained in clandestīnus ‘done in secret’, built on *clande < *clam-de (see s.v. clam). PIt. *-de represents an indeclinable deictic particle; an ablaut variant *-do is preserved in endo ‘in’. Bibl.: WH I: 325f., 692, II: 818, EM 164, 315, 747, IEW 181-183, Watkins 1962: 26-28, Schrijver 1997b: 131-146, Untermann 2000: 604-6, 609. → -dam, endo

dēbeō ‘to be under an obligation, owe’ [v. II; pf. dēbuī (Pl. 1x. dēhibuisti), pp. dēbitum] (Pl.+


dēbilis ‘weak; crippled’ [adj. i] (Pl.++; dēbil [nom.sg.m.] Enn.) Derivatives: dēbilitāre ‘to weaken’ (Varro+). PIt. *dē-be/oli- ‘without strength’.
The expression débil homō in Enn. may have been formed on the model of vigil (thus Leumann). Originally, débilis is a compound of the denominative type in-ermis ‘unarmed’ to arma ‘arms’. Although this type retained productivity into Latin, the isolation of débilis in the Latin lexicon indicates that it cannot have been formed very recently. Hence, dé-nilis may contain an old i-stem abstract. While Skt. bāla- and Gr. βέλτερος contain the e-grade *bel-, the isolated Slavic comparative shows the o-grade. Since no verbal forms are known and the meaning is adjectival, the root *bl- may have had the ablaut properties of an adjectival root. Hence, Skt. *bel-o- and Gr. *bel- may show the ablaut *e: zero of the root noun ‘strong one’, whereas the o-grade of Slavic cannot stem from the root noun, but must be explained on the basis of an adnominal adjective *bol-o- ‘strong’. Latin débilis can contain either *bel-i- or *bol-i- ‘strength’; in view of Slavic, the o-grade has the better odds.


decem ‘ten’ [num. indecl.] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: undecim ‘eleven’ (Pl. +), duodecim ‘twelve’ (Pl.), tredecim ‘thirteen’ (Livy. +), quattuordecim ‘fourteen’, quīndecim ‘fifteen’, sēdecim ‘sixteen’, septem/ndecim ‘seventeen’; decim/imus ‘tenth’ (Nacc. +), decimus/ma ‘a tenth part, tithe’ (Pl. +), decumānus [adj.] ‘related to the tenth’ (Lucil. +); decius/num [adv.] ‘ten times’ (Pl. +); december ‘the month December, the tenth month’ (Cic. +); dēnī [pl.adj.] ‘ten at a time’ (Pl. +), dēnārius [adj.] ‘containing ten’ (Varro +), dēnārius/m [m./n.] ‘Roman coin’ (Cic. +); decuria ‘group of ten men’ (Pl. +).

Plt. *dekm ‘ten’; *dekm-o- ‘tenth’; the ordinal *dekmto- may be preserved in O. *dekmtāsio-; *dekuria ‘group of ten’, *oinos/m-dekm ‘eleven’. It. cognates: U. desenduf [acc.pl.f.] ‘twelve’ < *desen ‘ten’ + duf < *duōns ‘two’ [acc.pl.mf.]; O. δέκαμας ‘a tithe’ < *dekm-o-; O. dekmānīus [dat.abl. or loc.pl.] ‘? ’ probably < *dekmānjo- ‘who guards the tithes’; maybe O. degetasīs [nom.sg.m.], degetasīs [nom.pl.m.], dektasīs [dat.sg.m.], dektasīs [dat.pl.m.] ‘?' (attr. to meddiss), probably *dekm-to- ‘tenth’ + *-āsios ‘who is responsible for a tenth’. U. tekurias, dequrier [dat.abl.pl.] ‘? ’; also U. tekvias [nom.pl. or gen.sg.] ‘?’

PIE *dekm ‘ten’, *dekm-to- ‘tenth’. IE cognates: OIr. deich, W. deg, Skt. dāśa, YAv. dasa, Gr. δέκα, Arm. tasn, Go. tāθun, ToA sāk, ToB sāk ‘ten’; Gaul. decamētos, Celtib. tekmam, Skt. dāsāmā-, Av. dasāmā-, Gr. δέκατος ‘tenth’.

Lat. decem, U. desen < Plt. *dekm. In -decim, the i is not well explained. It is often believed to be due to a metathesis of *-dicem > *-decim, but a metathesis of two vowels is extremely rare in IE languages, and hence unlikely. The numerals in decim probably have -dec- from decem ‘ten’ and -im on the model of the ordinal numbers in -decimus. The ordinal *dekm-o- yields decumo- or decimo-, and from it, decumānus is derived. The distributive dēnī might be from *deksno-, with the suffix *-sno- which was metanalyzed from the lower numerals (especially ‘five?’). The noun decuria,
cognate with or borrowed as U. *tekuries*, must go back to *dek-ur-ia*, see Leumann 1977: 292. Ultimately, the suffix derives from the paradigm of *kʷ*ē-tur-‘four’.


decet ‘to add grace; be right’ [v. II; pf. decurr; only in 3s. and 3p.] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: de cus, -oris [n.] ‘high esteem, dignity’ (Pl.+), decor [m.] ‘beauty’ (Naev.+), decorāre ‘to embellish, honour’ (Naev.+), decōrus ‘handsome, decent’ (Pl.+), cond ecorāre ‘to embellish’ (Pl.); dīgnus ‘appropriate, worthy’ (Pl.+, dīgnāre ‘to consider worthy’ (Pac.+), dignitās ‘dignity, excellence’ (Pl.+); dēdecus, -oris ‘discredit’ (Pl.); conducet ‘it is fitting for’ (Pl.+).

PIt. *dek-ē- ‘fits, is right’, *dek-no- ‘worthy’, *dek-ō/es- ‘dignity’. It. cognates: U. tīcit [3s.pr.] ‘ought to’ < *dek-ē-ti; U. derscor [nom.pl.n.] maybe ‘required’ < *de-de-ko- . In the second syllable, e would have been restored.

PIE *dek-eh₁-, *dek-es- ‘which is received’ > ‘decoration’ > ‘dignity’, *dek-no-. IE cognates: OIr. dech ‘best’ < *dek-os: Skt. pr. ḍāṣṭi, ḍāṣat- [ptc.act.]; pr. ḍāṣati [3s.act.]; pr. ḍāśnīt [3s.act.]; ḍāś- [f.] ‘worship’, ḍāśyāti ‘to render service’ < dekè-ι/ο-; Gr. pr. δέχομαι / δέκομαι, aor. δέχαται, ep. aor. ptc. δέχμενος, ind. δέχημιν ‘to take, accept’, Myc. de-ka-sa-to /deksatol [3s.aor.med.], Arm. etes ‘saw’.

Lat. decōr- ‘beauty’ may have been formed productively to de cet. In its turn, this noun must be the source for the long -ō- of decōrus ‘handsome’ (*dekōs-o- ‘with beauty’). According to Leumann 1977: 278, indecorus (Cic.+) was the starting point for decōrus; but the more recent date of indecorus does not support this scenario.


dēcrepitus ‘worn out (with age), decrepit’ [adj. o/a] (Pl.+)


A compound formed after adjectives like dē-bilis, dē-mēns, dē-formis, with dē- ‘off, away’ and a nominal second member. Yet -crepitus was not made into an i-stem like -bilis and -formis, nor does it show word-internal vowel reduction. Hence, dē-crepitus must be a recent formation containing a noun or adj. *krevpVt(0)-. WH and EM explain it from the ppp. of crepāre ‘to make a cracking sound’, hence they interpret dē-crepitus as ‘rattled off’. This is not inconceivable, nor is it immediately convincing. M. Driessen (p.c.) suggests a different etymology: -crepitus might be from a root *kr(e)p-‘strong’ found also in Celtic, Slavic and Germanic.

Bibl.: WH I: 332, EM 167.
delicus 'weaned' [adj. o/a] (Varro, Rust. 2.4.16: cum porci depulsi sunt a mamma, a quibusdam delici<e>i appellantur neque iam lactantes dicuntur [mss.: deliti, delicti]; Cato, Agr. 2.7: boves vetulos, armenta delicula, oves deliculas, lanam, pellem, ... vendat.)

Derivatives: delicuus 'lacking, missing' (Pl.+), deliculus 'having a small defect' (Cato).

Several explanations have been put forward, but none is obviously correct. WH and IEW opt for a connection with lac 'milk', hence *dē-lak-o- 'who has been taken away from the milk'. A connection with laciō 'to entice' is semantically less
straightforward, whereas a connection with delinquō ‘to be lacking, fail’ (Pl.+) does not explain the form deliculus, according to WH.

Bibl.: WH I: 337, EM 168, IEW 400f. → laciō

-dem [ptcle.]: ibidem ‘in the same place’ (Andr.+), idem ‘the same’ (Andr.+), identidem ‘repeatedly’ (Pl.+), itidem ‘in the same way’ (Pl.+), quidem ‘certainly, surely’ (Pl.+), prīdem ‘previously’ (Pl.+), tandem ‘really; at last’ (Pl.+), tantusdem ‘just as much’ (Pl.+), totidem ‘just as many’ (Pl.+

Plt. *-im. It. cognates: see s.v. idem for the Sabellic cognates with *-om.

PIE *im ‘this’.

Originally a suffix -em indicating emphasis or focus, as in aut-em, quid-em. This was metanalysed from the n. idem ‘the same’ (analysed as id-dem), or, according to Sihler, from the abl.sg. eōdem, eādem < *eōd-em, *eād-em, which came to stand beside simple ēō, ēā < *ēōd, *ēād. But I see no great problems in assuming a metanalysis of *idem as /id-dem/.

Latin suggests a particle *im, which was the PIE acc.sg. of anaphoric *h₁e ‘he, that one’ (Beekes 1995: 203), and is found as im, em in Old Latin (see s.v. is, ea, id). Sabellic has a suffix *-om attached to the (reduplicated) pronoun (O. isidum, esidum etc.), and one would naturally prefer a common Italic ancestor; but this appears to be impossible. If Paul. ex F. emem is reliable, and O. ēdik, idik, idic, U. eřek reflect *id-id-ke, it is possible that Latin changed *imim [acc.sg.m.], *idid [n.] to *imim, *idim, with *-im being reanalysed as a fixed suffix.

Bibl.: WH I: 326, 671, II: 406, EM 168, IEW 181-183, Sihler 1995: 392. → aut; -dam – dē – dō – dum, -de; idem; ita; -nem, quis, quid; tam
dēns, -tis ‘tooth’ [f. t] (Lex XII+; abl.sg. dentē, gen.pl. dentium, Varro dentum)

Derivatives: dentātus ‘with teeth’ (Pl.+); ēdentāre ‘to knock the teeth out of’ (Pl.+), ēdentulus ‘toothless’ (Pl.+), dentifrangibulus ‘that breaks teeth’ (Pl.+), dentilegus ‘one who collects teeth’ (Pl.+); bidens, -ntis ‘with two teeth or points’ (Acc.+), bidens, -ntis [m./f.] ‘sacrificial animal, esp. sheep’ (Lab.+).

Plt. *dent-. It. cognates: O. dunte[ (Capua 37) is regarded by some scholars as the word for ‘tooth’, but the actual meaning is uncertain.

PIE *h₃d-nt- ‘tooth’. IE cognates: OIr. dōt ‘tooth’, W. dant < *h₃dnt-; Skt. dānt- (nom.sg. dān, acc.sg. dāntam, gen.sg. datās), Av. dātika- [m.] ‘wild, undomesticated animal’, YAv. vimītō dantan- [adj.] ‘with shapeless teeth’, MoP dandān ‘tooth’; Gr. Ionic ὀδον, later ὀδοῦς ‘tooth’, νοὸς ‘toothless’ < *n-h₃d-o-; Ael.Greek ἔδοντες ‘teeth’ (only in a 12th-c. AD gloss which states that “the Aeolians say édontas for ὀδοντας, and édōnas for ὀδήνας”), Arm. atamn ‘tooth’; OPr. dantis, Lith. dantis ‘tooth’, gen.pl. dantū, Ru. desná ‘gum’, Go. tunbus, OHG zand. From the same root: Lith. úodos, Latv. uōds ‘gnat’ < *ūdās < *ūdais < *h₃e/odos, Gr. ὀδύνη ‘pain’.

The initial laryngeal of the PIE preform can only be decided on the basis of Armenian and Greek. In Greek, Aeolian ed- is found versus od- in Ionic-Attic. Sihler aptly summarizes the possibilities: either *ed- is archaic, and odont- was assimilated from *edont-; or od- is archaic, and *odont- was changed analogically to edont- in Aeolic
under the influence of εδω ‘to eat’. In Armenian, at- can reflect *h₂d- or *h₃d-, which confirms that Gr. odont- is original.


dēnsus ‘dense, thick, closely packed’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.)

Derivatives: densāre ‘to thicken, condense’ (Enn.+), densēre ‘id.’ (Lucr.+); condēnsus ‘dense, tightly packed’ (Lucr.+).

PIt. *d(e)nso-?

PIE *d(ē)ns-o- ‘thick’. IE cognates: Gr. δασύς ‘hairy, thick with leaves; aspirated’. Kloekhorst 2008: 853ff. reconstructs *dens-u- for Hit. daššu- ‘strong’ and derives it from the root *dens- ‘to be skilled’. This is semantically somewhat removed from the Latin and Greek adj., so that the connection is uncertain.

The factitive densed is regarded as a nonce-form instead of dēnsāre by Sihler 1995: 531. If connected with the Greek adj., Latin has a different stem formation, *d(e)nso-o- or *dns-uo- (since from *d(e)nso-u- one would expect *dēnsuis). The connection with δασύς can only be upheld if PIE *s was indeed retained after *ŋ in Greek, which is disputed.


deus ‘god, deity’ [m. o] (VOLat+: nom.sg. deiuos (Dūenos inscr.), deiva (Pisaurum, 3d c.); CLat. deus, nom.pl. di, dei, diī, gen.pl. deōrum, deum, dat abl.pl. dis, deis, diis, dibus)

Derivatives: dea ‘goddess’ (Pl.+); dīvus [m./adj.] ‘a god; godlike’ (CIL, Andr.+), dīus [adj.] ‘divine’ (Enn.+); dīvinus ‘id.’ (inscr., Pl.+) (variants: deinus, dinus CIL, Pl.), dīvinitus [adv.] ‘by divine inspiration’ (Pl.+).

PIt. *deiwo-. It. cognates: Ven. deivos [acc.pl.] ‘god’; O. deiwai [dat.sg.f.], deivas [gen.sg.f.], Vol. deuve [dat.sg.m. or f.] ‘goddess’ or ‘godlike’; O. deiuatut [3s.ivp.II], deiuaut [3s.pr.sb.], deiuast [3s.fut.], deiuaut<n>s [ppp., nom.pl.m.] ‘to swear’, denom. verb to *deiwo-. Probably O. deiavinais [dat abl.pl.f.] ‘of the Deiva’ < *deiwo- + -ino-.


PIt. *deiwo- monophthongized to *dēw-, at which stage a split occurred: *w was lost before back vowels, but not before front vowels. Hence, ē was retained in front of u < *wo, yielding *dēwos > *dēus > deus, *dēwom > deum, and similarly dat.sg. deō; but the long vowel was raised to ĭ where *y had remained: gen.sg., nom.pl. *dēwī > *dīwī, dat abl.pl. *dīwīs. Eventually, the two different reflexes were semantically differentiated: deus, dei ‘god’, but dīvus, dīvī ‘godly, heavenly’. The latter stem changed from noun to adj., probably in appositional position (e.g. et Manibus dīvīs inferiās mittunt Lucr. 3.5.2). A subsequent sound-law (thus Nussbaum 1999b) brough
about the loss of \(^*w\) between two identical vowels (often, this law is restricted to certain positions of the stress). This yielded e.g. nom.pl. \(\textit{dīwī} > \textit{dīi},\) dat.abl.pl. \(\textit{dīs},\) which formed the basis for the creation of a new adj. \(\textit{dīus},\) with basically the same meaning as \(\textit{divus}.\) Note that, under this analysis, the adj. \(\textit{dīus}\) ‘divine’ is not the same word as \(\textit{dīus}\) ‘daylit’ (see s.v. \(\textit{diū}\)).

\(\text{PIE *deiuo-}\) is a derivation from \(\text{PIE *di-u-}\) ‘God of the sky, divine sky’, with introduction of e-grade in the root, and o-suffixation.


dexter, -(e)ra, -(e)rum ‘right (opposite of left)’ [adj. o/a] (Andr.+; comp. dexterior, sup. dextimus;)

Derivatives: \(\textit{dext(e)ra}\) [f.] ‘right hand’ (Pl.), \(\textit{dext(e)rā}\) ‘on the right-hand side’ (Pl.+), \(\textit{dextrōrsum, dextrōfursum}\) (Pl.+) [adv.] ‘toward the right-hand side’.

\(\text{Plt. *dēksterø-} ; *\text{deks}(\text{i})wō-\). It. cognates: U. \(\textit{destrame}\) [acc.sg.f. + -en] , \(\textit{testru}\) [abl.sg.m/n.], \(\textit{testraku, destruko}\) [abl.sg.m. + -com] , \(\textit{testre e, destre}\) [loc.sg.m. + -en] , O. \(\textit{déstrest}\) [nom.sg.f. + ĭst] ‘right’; U. \(\textit{desua, dersua, tesvam}\) [acc.sg.f.], \(\textit{dersua}\) [abl.sg.f.] ‘right’ [adj.] (o/a) \(\langle *\text{deksjo}-\text{or }*\text{deksiyo-}\).\n
On the basis of syncopated forms such as \(\textit{dextrum}\) (in which \(*-ter- \rightarrow -tr-\), Beekes 1994: 88 assumes that the preform had no \(*i,\) hence was \(*\text{dēksteros}\) in Latin; this is in agreement with the Sabellic forms, cf. Meiser 1986: 41, 169. The stem \(*\text{deks(i)wō-}\) found in Umbrian can be connected with PCl. \(*\text{deks-wo-}\) and with Germanic \(*\text{tekswō(n)-}.\) For PIE, Beekes assumes doublets \(*\text{deks}\) and \(*\text{deks-i ‘right(-hand side)’, from which \textit{tero-}derivatives could be derived. Stüber (2002: 77) suggests that \(*\text{deks}\) might contain the s-stem noun \(*\text{dekos ‘what is fitting, proper’ (see s.v. \textit{dece}\). In Stüber 2006, she proposes to regard \(*\text{deks}(i)yo-\) as analogical to the word for ‘left’ \(< *\text{skeh2iuo-} \text{and *leh2iuo-}\) (see s.v. \textit{scaevus, laevus}). PIE \(*\text{deksitero-}\) would be a more recent derivative in \(*-tero-\) on the basis of \(*\text{deksiyo-}.\)


\(\text{Diāna ‘goddess’ [f. ā]}\) (Naev.+; insc. also \textit{Deana, Deuiana}. In older scansion \textit{Diāna}, with long \(\dot{i}\))

Probably derived from \(\textit{dīus ‘godly’}. Explained from \(\textit{diwja-na}\) by Solmsen, as ‘the one who belongs to the moon goddess \(\textit{Divia}\) (the Shiner)’. Leumann 1977 explains the name as a derivation from \(\textit{sub dīī ‘in the open air’}.\n
Bibl.: WH I: 347, EM 172, IEW 183ff., Leumann 1977: 106, 325. \(\rightarrow \textit{deus, diēs, diū}\)
Derivatives: (1) indicens ‘without (my) speaking’ (Ter.+), indictus ‘not said’ (Cato+); addicere ‘to assign, award’ (Lex XII+), addictus ‘enslaved person’, condicere ‘to engage oneself in, fix by contract’ (Pl.+), conducor ‘one who fixes’ (Pl.), edicere ‘to proclaim’ (Naev.+), edictio ‘decree’ (Pl.), edictum ‘to declare’ (Pl.), indicere ‘to proclaim’ (Pl.), indicatus ‘publicly proclaimed’ (Varro+), interdicere ‘to forbid’ (Pl.+), praedicere ‘to prescribe; say beforehand’ (Naev.+), praeocō ‘crier, announcer’ (Andr.+), praecūnium ‘declaration, auctioneer’s function’ (Pl.+), ἁπλοὺς to notice’ (CIL 583, Varro+); bene dicere ‘to speak well of’ (Pl.+), maledicere ‘to insult’ (Pl.+), maledicāx ‘slanderous’ (Pl.+); (2) dicāre ‘to assign, dedicate; indicate’ (Pl.+), abdicare ‘to deny, renounce’ (Pac.+), dedicare ‘to declare, dedicate’ (Cato+), indicare ‘to make known, reveal’ (Pl.+), indicatio ‘valuation’ (Pl.+), praedicate ‘to make known’ (Pl.+), praedicitio ‘special mention, statement’ (Pl.+); (3) dicāx ‘having a ready tongue’ (Pl.+), dicaculus ‘talkative’ (Pl.+), praedicare ‘to make known’ (Pl.+), praedictio ‘special mention, statement’ (Pl.+); (4) dicax ‘one who says’: bene dicere ‘with friendly words’ (Pl.), causidicus ‘advocate’ (Lucr.+), maledicus ‘evil-speaking’ (Pl.+), -dex, -dicis ‘one who indicates/declares’: index (Acc.) ‘revealing, a sign’, indicium ‘disclosure, sign’ (Pl.+), iūdex ‘judge’ (Lex XII, Pl.+), iūdicium ‘legal process, trial; decision’ (Naev.+), iūdicare ‘to judge, try’ (Pl.+), iūdicatum ‘judgement debt’ (Lex XII+), iūdiciātio ‘judicial power’ (CIL 1.583+), vindex ‘surety, defender’ (Lex XII, Pl.+), vindiciae [f.pl.] ‘interim possession’ (Lex XII, Cato+), vindicta ‘the claiming of liberty’ (Pl.+), vindicare ‘to lay claim to’ (Lex XII, Pl.+); (5) dicās ‘one who says’: bene dicere ‘with friendly words’ (Pl.), causidicus ‘advocate’ (Lucr.+), maledicus ‘evil-speaking’ (Pl.+), -dex, -dicis ‘one who indicates/declares’: index (Acc.+); (6) indicare ‘to indicate, dictate’ (Cic.+).
The relative chronology shows that *dictator* and *dictatrix* (8) are independent of the verb *dictare*, which was formed later. The verb *dicare* may well have been backformed from compounds in -dicare. This verb in its turn may derive from the root noun -dic-. In (7), nom.sg. -dex is analogical for *-dix*, probably on the model of -spex (to -spicio) and -fex (to -ficio). Lat. *iūdex* < *iōus-dik-*, *vindex* from vindicit (Lex XII) < *vim dicit*, and *index* analogical to indicāre. Praecō shows syncope from *praeditō > *praedkō > praecō.


diēs, *diei* ‘day, daytime’ [m. (f.) ē] (Lex XII, Andr.+)

Derivatives: *diēcula* ‘brief day’ (Pl.+); *hodie* ‘today’ (Naev.+), *meridiē ‘midday’ (Pl.+), *cotidiē ‘daily’ (Pl.+), *perendiē ‘on the day after tomorrow’ (Pl.+), *postridiē ‘on the following day’ (Pl.+), prīdiē ‘the day before’ (Pl.+); *diālis* ‘of Jupiter’ in *flāmen Diālis* (Varro, Cic.+), and in *novendiālis* ‘lasting nine days’ (Cic.+).


Lat. *diēs* is based on the disyllabic Plt. acc.sg. *dijēm* (Lat. *diem*) < PIE *di(i)eu-m ‘(god of the) sky’, with *di- analogically from gen.sg *diwos*. A new stem *dijē- was created on the basis of this acc.sg., and became one of the sources for the fifth declension: the endings were largely adapted to those of the first declension (ā-stems). Oscan *dijē-kelo- shows the monosyllabic variant of the stem. The semantic shift to ‘day’ is based on the period in which the sky is clear, i.e. the day. The original meaning together with the form diē- has been preserved in *Diespiter*, cf. *Iūpiter.* Oscan *iuklei < *dijou-kelo- may have been built on the Italic stem *djou- from loc.sg. *djeu ‘in the sky’, see s.v. *diū.*


digitus ‘finger, toe’ [m. o] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *digitābulum* ‘finger-stall’ (Varro), *digitulus* ‘finger, toe’ (Pl.+).

The meaning makes a connection with *dīcō* very attractive, which is why many scholars prefer to explain the *g* of *digitus* from assimilation to the preceding *d* (thus Meiser), or dissimilation from the following voiceless *t* (Sommer 1914: 213, WH, IEW). Yet distant voicing assimilation or dissimilation is otherwise unknown in Latin (Leumann 1977: 232 does not have a single other example), and the semantic connection of a hypothetical form *dicitus* with *dīcō* and *dīcō* would have remained
clear throughout the prehistory of Latin. Unfortunately, no PIE root of the form *d(e)ig- is with certainty attested. IEW reconstructs *doig- for Go. taikns ‘sign’, but k might be due to Kluge’s Law in Germanic.


-dinus ‘day’ [adj. o/ā]: diēs perendinus ‘the day after tomorrow’ (Pl.+), mündinae [f.pl.] ‘a market-day, occurring every ninth day’ (Lex XII, Cic.+), mündinālis ‘of market-days’ (Pl.+), mündinum [n.] ‘the period from one market-day to the next’ (Cic.+ noundinum [gen.pl.] (SCBac.)

Plt. *perno-dino- ‘of the foremost day’ > ‘of the day after’, *noweno-dino- ‘of the ninth day’.

PIE *di-n- ‘day’ (>> *-dino- ‘of a day’). IE cognates: Olr. demus ‘period of time’, trēdeus ‘period of three days’; Skt. madhyāmādīna- [m.] ‘midday, noon’, su-dīna- [n.] ‘dawning beautifully, light of the day’; OPr. deinan [acc.sg.], Lith. dienā, Latv. diena, OCS dīmν ‘day’ [m.], dīne [gen.sg.], Ru. dēn’ [m.], gen.sg. dnja < BSl. *d(e)in-; Go. sinteins ‘always, daily’ < *sem-deino-.

These are petrified occurrences of the adj. *di-no- ‘of a day’. The BSI. forms show that this was probably a PIE n-stem, whereas the widespread o-stem must have arisen in compounds.


dīrus ‘awful, dreadful’ [adj. o/ā] (Cic. +)

Derivatives: dīrae [f.pl.] ‘bad omens’ (Cic.+), Dīrae ‘the Furies’ (Verg.+).


A religious term. Mostly reconstructed as *dweí-ro-, in which case initial d- instead of b- < *dv- is unexpected. Dīrus is therefore explained as a dialectal form (EM, IEW), which seems to be confirmed by Serv. auct. Aen. 3, 235 Sabini et Umbri, quae nōs mala, dīra appellant; cf. Rix 2005: 569. The recent date of appearance, and the absence of any derivatives within Latin, might also be interpreted as a support for this explanation. We may accept it, but with the necessary precautions, since it remains an explanation ex obscuo. Since intervocalic *s yields r in Latin and in Umbrian, one might also posit original *dweis-o- ‘hateful / to be hated’.

Bibl.: WH I: 353f., EM 176, IEW 227f., LIV *dwej-.

dis- ‘away, apart’ [pref.] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: di- (in front of b,d,g,l,m,n,v,r; dismota SCBac.), dir- (in front of vowels), dif- (in front of f).

Plt. *dis- ‘in two, apart’; *dus- ‘bad’ (in difficilis). It. cognates: possibly U. disleralinsust [3s.fut.pf.] ‘will have gone wrong’ < *dis-leis-?

PIE *dus ‘into two > bad’, *dui- ‘two, into two’. IE cognates: Gr. ὃτά ‘in two, apart,
through’ [adv.], ‘through’ [prep.] < *διο-α; also δια- in δαφοινός, esp. from animals, ‘very red’, δάσκιος ‘very shady’, developed from δια-, or Aeol. ζα-. Borrowed into Gothic as the prefix dis- ‘apart’. Lat. dis- seems to be cognate with Gr. διά < *διο-α. Whereas διά can function both as a preverb and as a preposition, in Latin, dis- is only a preverb. In the older texts, it is nearly always prefixed to verbs, with the exception of the adj. difficilis. Exactly in this compound, dis- does not mean ‘away, apart’, but rather ‘non-, opposite’. Therefore, it may well be that difficilis contains PIE *dus- ‘apart; bad’ (thus Wackernagel and Leumann 1977: 400), which is otherwise unattested in Latin. Yet Forssman 1992: 309 maintains that difficilis was built from dis + facilis on the example similis : dissimilis. Even if difficilis does not directly continue *dus-, the restriction of dis- to (verbal) compounds would suggest that all of Latin dis- is a remake of *dus- by analogy with *dūi- ‘into two, apart’. Another possibility is a dissimilation *dwis- > *dis- in front of verbs starting in *w-, especially in the compounds dividere ‘to divide’ and diventerere ‘to divert’. Yet a separation of dis- from δια- is unattractive; and in Greek, δυο- has remained alive as a prefix – but meaning ‘bad’. Hence, Proto-Greek may have had all three forms: *dus- ‘bad’, *dūi- ‘two’ and *dis-(α-) ‘into two, apart’. Whereas *dus- developed from ‘into two’ to metaphorical ‘bad’, the novel form dis- retained the literal meaning ‘into two, apart’.

Bibl.: WH I: 354f., EM 176, IEW 232, Untermann 2000: 180f. → bis

WH derive discipulus from *dis-capio > *dis- to assume mentally, interpret’ (cf. discepiare ‘to negotiate, decide’ Cic.+), which is semantically not compelling. EM are very hesitant about it. On the other hand, -pulus is difficult to explain on the basis of discō.

Bibl.: WH I: 355, EM 176. → capiō
disco, -ere ‘to learn’ [v. III; pf. didici] (Pl.+) PIt. *dikske/o- [pr.], *de- doḳ- [pf.] (>> *di-doḳ- after the present, Leumann 1977: 586).

PIE *di-dks-eḳ-e/o-, pf. *de-doḳ- ‘to take, accept’.

The present is reconstructed by LIV (after Leumann 1977: 586) as a desiderative pr. *di-dk-se- > pre-Lat. *dik-se- > *dik-ske- > disce-, but this seems unwarranted. The meaning is not ‘desire to observe’ vel sim., but ‘to take in (repeatedly)’. Thus, I reconstruct an iterative suffix *-ske/o- plus reduplication.

diū, diu ‘by day; for a long time’ [adv.] (Naev.+) Derivatives: (1) nūductūsterius ‘three days ago’ (Pl.+), Diūs Fidius ‘god of oaths’ (Pl.+); (2) dius [adv.] in noctū neque dius ‘by night nor day’ (Pl.); (3) diū ‘by day’ (usually together with noctū ‘by night’) (Pl.+), diū [adv.] ‘for a long time’ (Andr.+),
comp. *diūtius, interdiū [adv.] ‘by day’ (Cato+), interdius [adv.] ‘by day’ (Pl.+), quamdiū ‘how long, as long as’ (Pl.+); (4) diurnus ‘of the day; daily’ (Cic.+), diutinus ‘lasting for a long time’ (Pl.+); bidsum ‘period of two days’ (Cato+), tridūnum ‘period of three days’ (Pl.+), quadrīdūnum ‘period of four days’ (Pl.+); (5) diūs [adj.] ‘daylit’ (Enn.+).

Plt. nom. *di(j)ous, gen. *diwos, loc. *di(j)ou / *djowi ‘day’; ad. *-diwo- ‘of the day’.

PIE *di-eu- ‘day; sky’; ad. *-diwo- ‘of the day’.

(1) The form dīus, which is suspected to be attested in nudiustertius and mediufidius, might be the old nom.sg. *dīueus > *dījeus (syllabic *di- analogically from the gen.sg.), with monophthongization of *eu > ù.

(2) The adverb dius can directly represent the PIE gen.sg. *diuos ‘of the day’; maybe noctii also replaces an older gen.sg. *nox used as a temporal adverb. (3) The disyllabic form dī, with iambic shortening du, can represent the loc.sg. *dijeu > *dijiu > *diiu. It also occurs as dm, with long ι imported from divus. Nussbaum analyzes interdiū as a sequence of two originally independent adverbs, ‘in the meantime by day’. The comp. diūtius might have its t from diūtius (thus Leumann 1977: 322; this would be unique); WH I: 358 assume that the suffix was taken from setius, citius. (4) The adj. diurnus has probably adopted -urnus from nocturnus ‘by night’. The adj. diutinus has the suffix *-tinus which is also found in other temporal adj., e.g. crastinus. Maybe it is PIE *-t-ino- (cf. vermus, Gr. έαρπtος ‘in the spring’). The adj. in -duiim is from *-diuom, n. of the adj. *-diyo-. WH I: 104 explain i from analogy with *postrōdē, but the model is not perfect, since *bidius is an adj. One might consider analogy with bimus ‘lasting two years’ < *bi-him-o-. (5) The adj. diūs (often substantivized to diūm ‘the open sky’) may be compared to Sab. *dīowjo- ‘of Jupiter’; it may thus reflect *diujjo- (cf. Gr. dioc, and Gaius < OLat. kavios), unless it is identical with diūs ‘god-like’ after all.


O. diuvil(i)u, īuvilu, īuvil(ū) [nom.sg.], diuvilam, iūvilam [acc.sg.], iūvilas, iuvilas [nom.pl.] ‘kind of stele, image’ < *djowjela-?

Since (d)iuvila- is the name for stone or clay steles found in a Capua necropolis, it is tempting to derive it from the name of Jupiter. Since a preform *djow-eilā- would undergo syncope in open second syllable, the suffix -ila- could be explained from *-iēlā-, from *-eljā- or from *-jelā-. The latter option would enable us to derive (d)iuvila- from the adj. (d)iuvio-, U. iuvio- ‘belonging to Jupiter’; hence *djowje-lo- ‘which belongs to the (feast?) of Jupiter’.

Bibl.: IEW 183-187, Untermann 2000: 188. → lūpiter

dives, -itis ‘wealthy, rich’ [adj. l] (Pl.+; contracted dīs Ter., dītis, comp. diūtor Naev.+) Derivatives: divitia [f.pl.] (Pl. Ter. also diūtiae) ‘abundance, riches’ (Pl.+), divitare ‘to enrich’ (Acc.+), ditescere ‘to grow rich’ (Lucr.+); Dīs, Dītis [m.] ‘ruler of the underworld’ (Cic.+).

Lat. dives is an adj. which was probably derived from divus as *deiu-(o/e)t- ‘who is
like / protected by the gods. The older paradigm was nom. *dives, gen. *divitis, which contraction *-*wi- > *i. This led to the creation of two new, full paradigms, one in *divit-, one in *dit- (with nom.sg. *dis). The occurrence of the deity Dis together with *pater may be due to association with *Di(e)spiter.


dividō, -ere ‘to separate, divide’ [v. III; pf. dividī, ppp. dividīsum] (Pl.+
Derivatives: dividia ‘vexionation’ (Naev.+), dividus ‘separated’ (Acc.+) dividus ‘divided into two or more parts’ (Pl.+
Pt. *dis-wi-*p-e/o-
PIE *(d)ui-d hhr ‘to separate, distinguish’. IE cognates: Skt. avidhat [3s.aor.act.] ‘allotted’, OAv. ṣīda- ‘to devote oneself to’; ToAB wēt– ‘to separate, distinguish’ < *uīḍ(h)i-šk-e/o-.
The original PIE verb *(d)ui-dh₁- (which became thematic in Latin) meant ‘to divide in two, separate’. It lost initial *d- through dissimilation in front of the next dental stop, and was reinforced by *dis– in Latin, which itself is another reflex of *duis ‘two’.

dō, dare ‘to give’ [v. I] (VOLat.+: 3s.pf. dedet (Elog.Scip. 230 BC), dedit (211 BC), Tibur dede, Tusculum deded, dedet, Minturnae dede, Cales ded, Praeneste dedit, 3p. Praeneste dedrunt, Paestum dedere; datu [nom.n. of ppp.] in Faliscan inscr.). In OLat.: pr. dō, dās, dat, damus, datis, dant; damun ‘dant’ (CIL 1.1531.7, Naev., Pl. Paul. ex F.); pf. dedi, ppp. datum, fut. dābō, ipv. dā, date.
Derivatives: datāre ‘to be in the habit of giving’ (Pl.+) datātim ‘from hand to hand’ (Naev.+); datīō ‘the act of giving’ (Varro+), datum ‘present; debit’ (Pl.+) dator ‘a giver’ (Pl.+) datum, -ūs ‘the act of giving’ (Pl.); dōs, -īs [f.] ‘dowry, endowment’ (Pl.+) dōīālis ‘forming part of a dowry’ (Pl.+) dōīātus ‘provided with a dowry’ (Pl.+) circumdare ‘to place round’ (Pl.+) dedere ‘to surrender’ (Naev.+), didere ‘to distribute’ (Pl.+) ēdere ‘to eject, emit’ (Pl.+) interdare ‘to place between’ (Pl.+) prōdere ‘to project, betray’ (Pl.+) prōdītor ‘traitor’ (Pl.+) reddere ‘to give back’ (Naev.+), trādere ‘to hand over, deliver’ (Naev.+), trādītō ‘delivery’ (Varro+), vendere ‘to sell’ (Naev.+), venditāre ‘to offer for sale’ (Pl.+) Forum inscr. dotau[re?] ‘he gave/they gave (as a privilege).’
PIE pr. *di-(e)h₁- ‘to give’, pf. *de-dh₁-, pf.sb. *de-dh₁-ih₁-; root aor. *deh₁-m,

The form damunt must be secondary. Sommer has proposed an equation situs : sinunt = datus : X, X = danunt; this is accepted by Livingston 2004: 15, who argues that the other 3p. forms in -nunt(ur) were modeled on damunt. But Sihler 1995: 544ff. rightly objects that this equation renders the restriction to the 3p. difficult to understand. In view of the pervading short vocalism in the present of dare, the two forms dās and dā! are probably analogical (thus Schrijver). Due to the merger of *(d)idare and *d₄id₄are in compounds, the appurtenance of all compounds in -dere to either dō or -dō (see the following lemma) is not always certain. Judging by their meanings, circumdare and interdare may represent *-dare, with hypercorrect -are. Vendere may reflect *venum dare ‘to put up for sale’. The reduplicated present generalized the zero grade of the root in Italic, hence *dida- in all forms. In Sabellic, this was preserved, whereas in Latin, a new present was created on the basis of the pl. of the root aerist. Possibly, the loss of the reduplication syllable in compounds led to the analogical loss of *di- in the present stem. The root aerist was preserved in Venetic.


-dō, -dere ‘to put’ [v. III; pf. -di-dī, ppp. -ditum; pr.sb. sometimes -duim, -duis, -duit, -duint in Pl.]: abdere ‘to conceal’ (Pl.+), addere ‘to add’ (Lex XII, Pl.+), condere ‘to put, insert, establish’ (Pl.+), indere ‘to introduce, apply’ (Pl.+), perdere ‘to destroy; lose’ (Naev.+), subdere ‘to place under, subject’ (Andr.+)

Derivatives: additio ‘addition’ (Varro); condīre ‘to season, flavour’ (Pl.+), condimentum ‘seasoning, spice’ (Pl.+), conditīō ‘method of preserving food’ (Varro), conditāneus ‘suitable for preserving’ (Varro), condītīvūs ‘suitable for preserving’ (Cato+); perditus, -ūs ‘ruination’ (Pl.); subditivūs ‘spurious’ (Pl.+).


Verbal compounds in -dō can represent either PIE *deh₃- ‘to give’ or *d₄eh₁- ‘to put’.
Since the simplex of ‘to put’ is not retained in Latin, I here give the verbs of which WH and EM suggest that they may be ascribed to PIE *dʰe₁h₁-. The Latin reflex -d- is regular only after certain consonants, but not in absolute anlaut, where f- results from *dʰh₁-. Thus, -dere may reflect an athematic aorist *-dʰh₁-si, possibly thematized to *dʰh₁-e/o-. It is also possible that the forms go back to the PIE reduplicated present, e.g. 1p. *-dʰi*-dʰh₁-mes > PIt. *-iḥames > *-iḥames.


doceō ‘to tell, inform; teach’ [v. II; docuī, doctum] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: docilis ‘ready to learn’ (Cic.+), doctor, -ōris ‘teacher’ (Lucr.+), doctōra ‘teaching, instruction’ (Pl.+), doctus ‘learned, wise’ (Pl.+), documentum ‘example’ (Pl.+), documen, -inis [n.] ‘warning, caution’ (Lucr.); perdocēre ‘to inform, instruct’ (Naev.+).

PIt. *dok-eje-.

PIE *dok-eje/o- ‘to have someone accept sth.’. IE cognates: Hit. dākki, takkanzi ‘to seem, be similar’ < *dokh₁-/*dikh₁-1-1-, Gr. δοκεῖ ‘it seems’.

All nominal derivatives are productive formations. Leumann 1977: 96 assumes doctus < *dok-i-tos.

Bibl.: WH I: 331, EM 180ff., IEW 189-191, LIV *dek-. → decet, discō
doleō ‘to be in pain, feel painful’ [v. II; pf. doluī, ppf. dolitūrum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: dolor, -ōris ‘pain’ (Pl.); dolitāre ‘to be painful’ (Cato+).

PIt. *dolē- ‘to pain, cause pain’.


Derived from the root *delh₁- ‘to chop’ under the assumption than ‘pain’ was expressed by the feeling of ‘being torn apart’. A causative *dolh₁-eie- ‘to make somebody (feel) split’ could have become ‘to cause pain’. The experiencer must originally have been expressed in the dative.

Bibl.: WH I: 364, EM 181, IEW 194-96, Rix 1999: 528, LIV *delh₁- → dolō
dōlium ‘large earthenware vessel’ [n. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: dōliāris [adj.] ‘of or like a dōlium’ (Pl.).

IE cognates: maybe Ir. delb ‘form’ [f.], OCS dbly ‘barrel’ [f. ū], dblyve [gen.sg.] < *dl(H)-u-.

The connection with dolāre ‘to chop’ is doubted by EM and Schrijver because the root of dolāre usually refers to woodwork, not earthenware. To me, this does not seem a decisive objection, but the long ō cannot be regularly explained. Since it is a pottery term, it may be a loanword.

dolō, -āre ‘to hew or chop into shape’ [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: dolābra ‘a pick or similar tool’ (Liv.+).
PIE *dolaje-.

PIE *délh₁-ie(o)- ‘to cut repeatedly’ or *d(e)líh₁-ie/o- ‘to cut’. IE cognates: Lith. dílti, 1s. dëltë ‘to wear off, disappear’ (Žem.), Latv. dílt, 1s. dëlu ‘to decrease’ < pr. *délh₁-e-.

Lat. dólā- may reflect *délā- or *dolā-. LIV posits a pr. *délh₁-ie(o)-, whereas Rix 1999 considers a zero grade of the root possible. Rix also regards the instrument noun dolābra (for *dolābra < *délh₁-o′reh₇-r) as evidence for a primary verb, since a denominative verb would have us expect a noun **dólamentum. Schrijver 1991: 215 reconstructs an o-grade, which he derives from the basic noun (if dolāre is a denominable), but which may as well stem from an iterative verb in PIE. The PIE root *délh₁-h- ‘to cut, hew’ (Olr. as-dloing ‘split’, OIr. telgja ‘to cut up’) has a very similar meaning, but the root forms cannot be reconciled.


dólus ‘unlawful intention, malice’ [m. o] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: dolósus ‘sly, deceitful’ (Pl.+); subdólus ‘id.’ (Pl.+); sédulō ‘sincerely; diligently’ (Pl.+), sédulitās ‘painstaking attention’ (Varro+).


PIE *dol₁-o- [m.] ‘pain’? IE cognates: Gr. δόλος ‘bait, trick’, OIr. tal [n.] ‘account, number’.

For sē- ‘apart, away’ < *sēd-; in sédulō < *sē dolōd [abl.sg.] ‘without malice’, cf. Meiser 1998: 157f. IEW argues that dolus was borrowed from Greek; others have compared Gm. *tala- ‘reason, account’. In view of doleō ‘to feel pain’ and dolor ‘pain’, an inherited word *dol₁-o- ‘pain/which pains’ > ‘deceit, malice’ cannot be dismissed.

Bibl.: WH I: 366, II 509, EM 182, IEW 193, Untermann 2000: 189. → doleō

dóminus ‘master of a household, ruler’ [m. o] (Pl.+

Derivatives: domina ‘female head of the household, mistress’ (Pl.+), dominium ‘rule, dominion’ (Laev.+), dominicus ‘of a master’ (Afran.+), domināri ‘to rule, be in control’ (Acc.+).

PIt. *dom-ō/u-no- ‘of the house’.

Pinault 2000: 90-91, building on a suggestion by Schindler, reconstructs *dom-h₃en-, thematized as *dom-h₃n-o- ‘who profits of the house’. Since Skt. dāmīnas- ‘lord of the house’ probably goes back to *dom-u-h₃n-o-, Pinault suspects that both words go back to the same PIE word; Skt. introduced the u-stem into the noun. But since Skt. and Lat. have independent remodellings anyway, and since dominus can go back to *domHno- or *domVno-, there is no way to exclude that dominus continues *domu-no- or *domo-no-. Semantically, dominus can simply be ‘he of the house’ (like Go. kindins ‘he of the gens’, thiudans ‘he of the people’), and does not have to mean ‘he who possesses/profits from a house’ (like Bellōna, Portūnus, colōnus).

domō, -āre ‘to subdue’ [v. I; pf. domū, spp. domītum] (Pl.+
Derivatives: domitāre ‘to subdue by taming’ (Verg.+), domitor ‘a trainer (of
animals); conqueror’ (Cic.+
Plt. *domaje-.
PIE *domh2-eie/o- ‘to tame’. IE cognates: OIr. daimid*, *daim ‘to allow, give in’,
MW adefs ‘to confess’ (< *ad-), MCo. godhaff, MBret. gouzaff ‘to suffer’ < PCl.
*dam-je/o-, OIr. damnaitd*, *damna* ‘to bind, subdue’ < PCl. *dam-na-; Hit.
tamāsš-/tame/iss- ‘to (op)press’ < PIE *dmēh2-s- / *dmh2-s-, Skt. dam ‘to control’,
caus. damāyati (RV+), damitār- [m.] ‘tamer, subduer’, Gr. δάμνημι ‘to tame, subdue,
conquer’, Go. ga-tamjan ‘to tame’.

Lat. domitāre was either built directly to domāre as an iterative, or to the spp. domitus
as a denominal verb. Theoretically, Lat. domāre might reflect *demā-’, but the absence
of a nasal present or -ā-suffix, and the suffix -ā-, suggest an original causative. The
perfect domū < *doma-wai was built secondarily on the basis of the present, which
was reanalyzed as *doma-je-.


domus, -ī / -īs ‘house, home; household’ [f. o/u] (Andr.+); sg.nom. -us, voc. -us, acc.
-um, gen. -ī (usually in Pl.) >> -īs, dat. -ui, also -ō, abl. -ī, also -ū, loc. -ī; pl.nom. -ūs,
acc. -ūs or -ōs, gen. -uum, -ōrum, dat.abl. -ibus. The abl.sg. domū once in Pl. (fugere
... ex hac domū), otherwise domō as adv. (domō abeas); 1x acc.pl. domōs in Pl.
Derivatives: domesticus ‘of the household’ (Varro+); domicilium ‘habitation,
 dwelling-place’ (Pl.+
Plt. *domo- [f.] ‘house’.
PIE *dōm, *dem- ‘house’; *dom-o-? IE cognates: Skt. dām- [n.], Av. dam-, Skt.
dāma- [m.] ‘house’, Gr. δόμος ‘house, layer of bricks’, Lith. nūmas ‘house’ <
*dom-o-; Gr. δμός, -ος [m.] ‘slave, servant’ < *dmou-, OCS dom [m. u/o]
‘house’, Ru. dom, loc.sg. na domu ‘at home’ < *dom-u-, Ru. domovyy, domovoj [adj.]
‘house-‘.

In PIE, there was a root noun nom.sg. *dōm, gen. *dem-s. Probably, a u-stem
derivative also existed (yielding Slav. *domu- ‘house’ and Gr. δμός ‘slave’ <
*dm-u-). There are o-stems in Lithuanian and Hr., but they appear to be independent
innovations of those branches. The f. gender of domus probably is due to the original
root noun. Old Latin mainly has o-stem forms; the change into a u-stem which some
case forms show may be explained from an attempt to adapt the declension type of
domus to its f. gender, which is unusual for Latin o-stems (apart from tree-names) (M.
Weiss, p.c). Pace Gerschner 2002: 172, the loc.sg. domi does not warrant an original
loc. *dem-ei of a root noun, but can represent a genuine o-stem form *domoi. Plt.
*-om-, *-oNC- mostly became -um-, -uNC- in Latin, but this change is sometimes
impeded by a preceding dental: domāre, tongeō, longus. Hence, domus may be the
regular outcome of Plt. *domos.

The adj. domesticus cannot contain an s-stem *domes- (for which there is no
evidence), but was rather formed to its antonym *rowestikos (> rūsticus), cf.
dormio 179

Leumann 1977: 339. For *domicilium*, WH suggest an abstract *domo-kol-io-* ‘house-dwelling’ from *domo- + *k’el- + -ium*. Phonologically more regular would be *-kol-oi-, since *-k’el-oi-* would yield Lat. *-quillum*. EM suggest that Lat. *domicilium* might be based on Lat. *domicola* ‘house-dweller’. But such a noun is unattested, and if Lat. *domicilium* is a relatively late creation, one would rather expect *domicolum*. A third etymology, dismissed by WH as less likely than *domokolio-* (see above), entails a reconstruction *domu/o-kel-io-* ‘domestic shelter, cover of the home’, from *domus* + the root of *celare* ‘to cover, hide’, *cella*. This reconstruction seems both semantically and morphologically plausible and is phonologically impeccable: *domo-kel(H)-io-* regularly yields Lat. *domicilium*.

Instead of initial *dom-*, there are several forms in *dem-*: *demi* Mi. 738, *demum* Am. 654, Au. 326, Ep. 452, each time only in one ms. branch (Gerschner 2002). It seems to me that these are too few to warrant a linguistically real stem *demu-* at the time of Plautus. The three instances of *demum* occur in sentences where one can imagine that a writing error *de-* for *do-* might not have been corrected because *demum* would also fit the context (though not the metre, which requires a short penultimate): Am 654 Edepol me uxori exoptatum credo adventurum domum /, Ep 452 Immo si audias / meas pugnas fugias manibus dimissis domum /, Ba 326 ut illud reportes aurum ab Theotimo domum /. In Mi 739 this argument does not hold, but *demi* is found in only one of the 4 main mss.: ut ... / meae domi accipiam benigna, lepide et lepidis victibus.


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dōnum ‘gift, present’ [n. o.] (Pl.+; VOLTat. *donom* [acc.])

Derivatives: *dōnāre* ‘to present, give’ (Pl.†), *dōnābilis* ‘worthy to be the recipient of’ (Pl.), *dōnātīcus* ‘formally presented’ (Cato†).


The verb *dōnāre* is derived from *dōnum*. In view of the Oscan and Venetic verb forms, this derivation may go back to Plt.; but it cannot be excluded that these are separate innovations of the different languages (thus Untermann 2000: 195).


dormiō, -ire ‘to sleep’ [v. IV] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *dormitāre* ‘to feel sleepy’ (Pl.+), *dormītātor* ‘one who sleeps all day’ (Pl.); *obdormīre* ‘to fall asleep’ (Pl.+).
PIE *dormje/o-.
PIT *dormje ‘to sleep’. IE cognates: CS drēmati, RU. dremät’, SCR. drijèmati ‘to doze, slumber’ < *drēm-, GR. δρέανον ‘to fall asleep’.
The PIE roots *drem- and *dreh- both have two meanings: ‘run’ and ‘sleep’. The meaning ‘sleep’ is only found in Latin and Slavic for *drem, in Indic for *dreh, and in Greek for *dr-. The accentuation of the Slavic verb points to *drem-; this may be regarded as an inner-Slavic formation with lengthened vowel (Klingenschmitt 1989: 81, Derksen 2008: 117).

dorsum ‘the back, a ridge’ [n. o] (Pl. +; dorsus [m.] Pl. 1x; A variant doss- occurs for both words, and is due to a recent assimilation.)
Derivatives: dorsuarius ‘that carries a load on its back’ (Varro).
A compound of dé- ‘away from’ and versus ‘turned towards’, as the Romans themselves thought: Paul. ex F. equals dorsum with deorsum ‘down, below’. This is phonologically impeccable: *dē-worsum ‘turned away from’ > *dēorsum > deorsum (cf. deus). As in seorsum ‘apart’ < sé-worsum, a recent change has reduced -eo- to -o- in front of rs, hence sorsum ‘apart’ and dorsum *‘turned away from’ > ‘back’. Apparently, lexical differentiation made the spelling deorsum canonical for the adv. ‘down’ (but inscripational evidence for dorsum does occur), whereas the noun ‘back’ is always spelled dorsum/dossum. I do not understand WH’s statement that “herabgewandt den Bedeutungskern des vulgären Wortes nicht trifft”: the ‘back’ is precisely what is ‘turned away’ from the viewer.

dubius ‘hesitant, in doubt’ [adj. o/a] (Andr. +)
Derivatives: dubat ‘dubitat’ (Paul. ex F.;) dubitāre ‘to be in doubt’ (Pl. +), dubitātim ‘hesitatingly’ (Sis. +), dubitātiō ‘doubt, hesitation’ (Varro +); addubānum ‘dubium’ (Paul. ex F.).
Plt. *du(i)-fwo-.
PIT *dui-b²h₂u-o- ‘double’.
These forms presuppose an adj. *dubos ‘in doubt’, from which a denom. verb *dubēre and a new adj. dubius were derived. The origin may have been *du-b²Hu-o- ‘of two forms, double’. Leumann 1977 suggests an original ins.pl. *du-b²i ‘on two sides’, remade into an adjective; yet in view of Gr. ἰψψάον ‘with two shapes’, a connection with *b²h₂u- ‘to be(come)’ seems more likely. The forms may be the same as in probus and superbus. The form du- must represent an inner-Italic abstraction from duō, *dui- (as in ducentē, duplex); the older form of ‘two’ in possessive compounds was *dui-.
düçö, -ere ‘to lead, conduct’ [v. III; pf. düçöri, ppp. ductum] (Lex XII+; Elog.Scip. 3s. abducit)

Derivatives: dux, -cis ‘leader, guide’ (Pl. +); ductäre ‘to conduct, lead’ (Pl. +), ductus, -üs ‘military leadership; motion’ (Pl. +), ductabilitias ‘gullibility’ (Acc.), duc tum ‘in draughts’ (Pl. +), ducittäre ‘to regularly lead off’ (Pl.); abducere ‘to lead away’ (Elog.Scip. +), adducere ‘to lead, bring’ (Pl. +), conducere ‘to bring together’ (Pl. +), conducticus ‘hired’ (Pl. +), conductor ‘hирer’ (Pl. +), dèducere ‘to lead away’ (Andr. +), dìducere ‘to divide’ (Cato +), èducere ‘to lead out’ (Pl. +), èducäre ‘to bring up, rear’ (Pl. +), ëductiö ‘the leading out (of troops)’ (Cato), indúcere ‘to lead, bring’ (Pl. +; indouc- CIL 586), introudúcere ‘to introduce’ (Pl. +), obducere ‘to lead towards’ (Pl. +), obductiäre ‘to introduce before’ (Pl. +), perducere ‘to conduct, bring’ (Pl. +), perdúcäre ‘to conduct’ (Pl. +), perductor ‘who conducts’ (Pl. +), pròducere ‘to bring forth’ (Pl. +), pròductiäre ‘to prolong’ (Ter. +), redúcere ‘to lead back’ (Pl. +), redux, -ucis ‘leading back home, returning’ (Naev. +), sédúcere ‘to draw aside’ (Pl. +), tràducere ‘to bring across, convert’ (Pl. +), tràdus, -ucis [m./f.] ‘side-branch of a vine’ (Varro +).

Pl. *douk-e-, *(douk-)aje- [v.], *(duk-) [m.].

PIE *deuk-e/o- [pr.] ‘to draw’, *(duk- [in compounds]. IE cognates: MW 1s. dygaf, 3s. dwc ‘to lead, bring’, OBret. 3s. duc ‘carries’, MCo. 3s. dek, deg ‘takes’ < PCL. *duke/o-; Hit. tukzi-, tukkanzi ‘cultivation of plants and animals’ [c.] < *duk-(ent)-i- (Melchert 1999), Oss. duc-Idoc- ‘to milk’, Gr. δα-δύσσομαι ‘to be distracted’, éνδυκεως ‘kindly, greedily’, Alb. n-duk ‘to pull’, Go. tiuhan ‘to draw’.

All forms in duct- (except ductor) are derived from the ppp. ductus. The zero grade and the agentive meaning of dux suggest that it was taken from compounds (cf. OHG heri-zogo). The type éducäre probably also goes back to such nominal forms.


düdum ‘some time ago’ [adv.] (Pl. +)

Pl. *düi? [adv.].

PIE *dûh2- (aç. *dùeh2m, gen. *dùh2-os?) ‘far, long’. IE cognates: Hit. tûyan ‘to this side’, tûqaž ‘from afar’ < PIE *dùeh2m, Skt. dâvîyas- ‘further, more distant’, sup. davištâ-, OP davaîstam [adv.] ‘very long, very far’, Gr. δῆν ‘long, far’ (< *ðpáv), Dor. δ履约, δ履约 < *dûeh2-m; Arm. tev ‘duration’ < *deuh2; Ru. dave (dial.) ‘recently, yesterday’ [adv.] < PS1. *davë < PIE *dûeh2, Ru. davnô ‘long ago’, SCR. dâvan ‘ancient’.

Consists of the root dü ‘long (time)’ (see dûrus) plus enclitic -dum. Latin dü- might represent the zero grade of the root noun which is also reflected in Gr. δῆν and in the Hit. adverbs. This root is homonymous with the verbal root *deuh2- ‘to fit together’. It seems to show schwебе-ablaut: *dûeh2m and *dûeh2-ro- (cf. dûrus) next to *deuh2- and *dûh2-. Indo-Iranian (Old Persian) suggests that *deuh2- is the older variant.

**duim** 'that I give' [pr.sb.]: Lex XII duit, Pl. duim, duis, duit, duint 'dem, des, det, dent'; duas 'des'; duis 'ederis' (Paul. ex F.), prōduit 'porrō dederit' (Fest.)

Derivatives: Pl. concrēduō 'concēdidero' is a secondary form, based on the (secondary) pf. concrēduī; Pl. interduō from interdire is an uncertain form; if real, it will be based on the sb. interduim. The occurrences of *duim* etc. in the verbs with -dō, -dere 'to put' are analogical.


PIE aor. *d(e)uh₁- to *dū₁- 'to give'. IE cognates: CLuw. tua-, HLuw. tua(s) -, Lyc. taw- 'to put, place', Skt. dāvisa- [n.] 'gift, obligation, favour' < *dū₁-as-<, Lith. daviaū, dāvē 'I, he gave', dovanā 'gift', Latv. dāvāna 'gift', OCS -davati, Ru. davāt 'to give' < BSL. *do?ua?-

Latin *duim* is explained by Meiser 1998 as an original opt.aor. of a stem *deuH-. This stem may be based on a zero grade *dHu-C- > *dū₁-C- of *dū₁- <, that is, the root 'to give' plus a -u-extension. The present stem *dowja- of Sabellic and Faliscan may reflect a secondary present *deh₁- > *doui-, cf. LIV.


**dulcis** 'sweet' [adj. i] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: dulciculus [adj.] 'sweet little' (Pl.+), dulcitās 'sweetness' (Acc.+), dulcēdō, -inis 'sweetness' (Lucr.+); dulcifer 'containing sweetness' (Pl., Enn.).

Plt. *dulkwi- 'sweet'.

IE cognates: Gr. γλυκός [adj.] 'sweet', Myc. de-re-u-ko perhaps /deleukos/, Gr. γλυκός [n.] 'sweet wine' (Arist.; recent); ἐγλυκής 'sour' (Epich.).

Since Latin i-stem adj. are often formed from u-stems, it is often assumed that *dulcis* represents *dulkwi-; yet the disappearance of the second *u is unexpected: *dulquīs would be unproblematic. Greek γλυκός is explained as an assimilation from *dλκυς, while Lat. could show *dlik- > *dolk- > *dulcis; but the explanation for Greek is ad hoc. Even if it were correct, we would still not have an etymology for Graeco-Latin *dl(u)ku-. It is likely that we are dealing with a common borrowing from an unknown source. Since 'milk' is termed a 'sweet' substance in languages, there may be a link with lac, lactis, Gr. γάλα < *glg-t.

Bibl.: WH I: 379f., EM 186f., IEW 222.

**dūmus** 'shrub' [m. o] (Andr.+; sg. only in Ov., usually pl. dūmi Cic.+

Andr. apud Paul. ex F.)

Derivatives: dūmētum 'thicket' (Cic.+).

Derivatives: *duodecim* ‘twelve’ (Pl.+), *ducentī* ‘two hundred’ (Pl.+), *duumvirī* ‘board of two men’ (CIL, Cic.+).

Plt. *duōsmo*.


A Latin-OIr. correspondence *dusmo-*, without further connections.


**duo** has become *duo* by iambic shortening. A hapax *duō* is sometimes alleged for Plautus (Mil. 1384), but the example is not probative (WH I: 382). The Latin forms other than the nom.m., and all the other Italic forms of the cardinal, must have been modeled on the nominal and pronominal plural endings. The retention of *-u-* shows that the syllabification was *duo* rather than *dwo*. The noun *duumvirī* goes back to a syntagm *duum virum* ‘of two men’. U. *dupursus* has replaced PIE *dui-pod-* by *du-podr* or *dwo-podr*. Latin has replaced *dui-* by *du- in a number of transparent possessive compounds containing ‘two’: *dubius*, *duplex*, *duplus*, *dupondium*, *ducentī*.

Greek *dōs* beside the dual *dōw* must be old, and the existence of a form with final short vowel is confirmed by Arm. *erko-tasan* ‘twelve’ and Skt. *dvā* ‘two’, *dvā* ‘twice’, Lyc. *kbi- ‘(an)other* < *dui-; Skt. *dvāu* / *dvāvā* / *dvā* [nom.acc.d.m.], *dvē* / *dvē* [nom.acc.d.f.n.], YAy. *duva* [nom.d.m.], *dva-ε-ca* [n.], *duie* [acc.d.f.]; Gr. *dóo*, *dōw*, Arm. *erku* ‘two’, *erkotasnon* ‘twelve’, Alb. *dy*, Lith. *m. dū*, OCS *dwa* ‘two’ < PIE *duo-h₁*; Lith. *dvi*, OCS *dvē* < PIE *duo-h₁; Go. *twai*, OĒ *m. tū*, Olc. *m. tveir* ‘two’; ToA m. *wū, w. we*.

Original *duō* has become *duo* by iambic shortening. A hapax *duō* is sometimes alleged for Plautus (Mil. 1384), but the example is not probative (WH I: 382). The Latin forms other than the nom.m., and all the other Italic forms of the cardinal, must have been modeled on the nominal and pronominal plural endings. The retention of *-u-* shows that the syllabification was *duo* rather than *dwo*. The noun *duumvirī* goes back to a syntagm *duum virum* ‘of two men’. U. *dupursus* has replaced PIE *dui-pod-* by *du-podr* or *dwo-podr*. Latin has replaced *dui-* by *du- in a number of transparent possessive compounds containing ‘two’: *dubius*, *duplex*, *duplus*, *dupondium*, *ducentī*.

Greek *δῶς* beside the dual *δῶο* must be old, and the existence of a form with final short vowel is confirmed by Arm. *erko-tasan* ‘twelve’ and Skt. *dvā-kā- ‘joined as a pair’. The vacillation between PIE *dwo* and *dwa* seems also to have been of PIE age, at least, it appears in Rigvedic, in Greek *δῶδεκα* ‘twelve’ and in Latin (bis but *duo*). Different solutions are conceivable. Lindeman 1965 has posited a phonetic origin, and this was accepted by Schindler 1977.

**dūrus** 'hard, solid, endurable' [adj. o/ā] (Pl.)

Derivatives: dūriter ‘harshly’ (Enn.+), dūritia ‘hardness’ (Pl.+), dūritūdō ‘insensibility’ (Cato), dūracinus ‘having a hard berry or fruit’ (Cato+), dūramaen ‘hard growth’ (Lucr.+), dūrāre ‘to harden; hold out, endure’ (Pl.+); obdūrāre ‘to be persistent’ (Pl.+), obdūrēscere ‘to become hard’ (Pl.+), perdūrāre ‘to hold out’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *dūro-.


The meaning of dūrāre must have evolved from ‘be hard’ to ‘endure, last’. The difference in root ablaut between PIE *duh₂-ro- (Ilr., Latin) and *dueh₂-ro- (Greek, Arm.) is explained by Vine 2002 from the original substantival value of the latter. He adds textual evidence from Homer to show that δηρός was actually a noun δηρόν ‘extent, duration’, and this seems convincing.


**U. duti** [adv.] ‘for the second time’.

Plt. *du-tjo-m.


Bibl.: WH I: 376, EM 188, IEW 228ff., Untermann 2000: 193f. → Lat. duō

**ēbrius** ‘drunk’ [adj. o/ā] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: ebrācūs ‘intoxicated’ (Lab.), ebriolus ‘tipsy’ (PL), ebriolātus ‘id.’ (Lab.).

Plt. *ēξʷrio-.

PIE *h₁ēgʷro- or *h₁ēh₁gʷ-ro- (or *h₁(o)gʷ-r-o-) ‘drinking’. IE cognates: Hit. eku-‘/akur /ēgʷ-’, ɬʷ- / ‘to drink, drink to, toast’, Pal. ahu- ‘drink’, CLuw. ɬ- 2s.pr.act. ǔtis ‘drink(?)’, HLuw. inf.gen. BIBERE-u-na-sa ‘drink’; Gr. νήφω ‘to be sober’, Dor. ναφε (να- is of secondary origin, cf. Weiss 1994: 97) < *néhʷō < *ne-h₁(ë)h₁gʷ-e/o- ‘not-drink’; ToAB yok- ‘to drink’, yokiye ~ yoko [n. f.] ‘thirst; desire’ < PTo. *yok- < *yekʷ- < PIE *h₁e-h₁gʷ-.

_Ebrius_ can be derived from PIE *h₁ēgʷ- ‘to drink’. The phonetic development of
*-g^wh^-r- to Latin -br- is also attested in febris. Weiss (1994) posits *h1eg^wh^-r-io- << *h1eg^wh^-r-o-, derived from a PIE r/n-stem which would also be continued in Greek vīqon, -ονευ (whence the verb vīqetm). Long *e would be due to Narten ablaut in the verb. But there is no long vowel in Hittite (which continues a normal root present), and, in general terms, the long vowel may just as well reflect reduplication: *h1eh1eg^wh-, cf. Schrijver 1991: 139. Since we do not in principle expect reduplication in a ro-derivative, Latin ēbrius must have its ē- from a disappeared verb form.

Bibl.: WH I: 387f., EM 190, Schrijver 1991: 54, 139, LIV *h1eg^wh- → sōbrius

ebulus ‘dwarf elder, danewort (a plant)’ [f. o] (Cato+; also ebulum)

PIt. *eplo-.

PIE *h1edh^-l(o)- ‘kind of tree’. IE cognates: OPr. addle, Lith. ėglę ‘spruce, fir’; Ru. ćel’, OCz. jedl ‘spruce, fir’ [f. ļ], OPo. jedl [f.], jedla < BS1. *edlí- < PIE h1edh^-l- ‘pine’; maybe with root ablaut Gaul. odicos ‘elder’ (borrowed into Gm. > OHG attuh, attah ‘dwarf-elder, danewort’).

Bibl.: WH I: 388f., EM 190, IEW 289f.

domus ‘to eat’ [v. irr.: edō, ēs, ēst, edimus, ēstis, edunt; ēstur; inf. ēsse, pf. ēdi, ppp. ēsum] (Andr.+

Derivatives: edāx ‘voracious’ (Pl.+), edācitās ‘voracity’ (Pl.+), edō ‘glutton’ (Varro), edulīa, -ium [n.pl.] ‘eatables’ (Afran.+), ellum ‘spoon’ (gloss.); ēsca ‘food; bait’ (Andr.+), ēscārius [adj.] ‘of food’ (Pl.+), inescāre ‘to entice with bait’ (Ter.+), ēsitāre ‘to feed on’ (Pl.+); ēsus, -ūs ‘the eating’ (Novius+); ēsurīre ‘to be hungry’ (Pl.+), ēsurō ‘a hungry man’ (Pl.), ēsurigō ‘hunger’ (Varro), ēsuridās ‘of famine’ (Pl.+); inedīa ‘starvation, fasting’ (Pl.+); adēsse ‘to eat into’ (Lucr.+), ambēsse ‘to consume’ (Pl.+), ambēstrīx ‘gluttoness’ (Pl.), comēsse ‘to eat up, spend’ (Pl.+), comedō ‘a glutton’ (Lucil.+), exēsse ‘to eat up’ (Pl.+), exēsor ‘which eats away’
obēsus 'fat, thick' (Laev. apud Gell.), perēsse 'to eat up' (Pl.+), subēsse 'to eat away below' (Pl.+); vēscus 'thin, attenuated' (Lucil.).


PIE *h₁éd-mi, *h₁d-énti [pr.] ‘to eat’, pf. *h₁e-h₁d-. IE cognates: Olr. ithid, ʿith ‘eats’, ethait ‘they eat’ < *ed-, sb. estir < *ed-; MW ṣ ‘eats’ (denominal); Hit. ed₂t / ad₁t, Pal. ad₁t, CLuw. ād₃-ad₃ ‘to eat’, HLuw. ād₂t, Skt. āḍmi, āṭṭi, ṛḍanti ‘id.’, Gr. ἔδω ‘to eat, devour’, inf. ἔδεμαν (H.), fut. ἔδομα, Arm. owtem, OLith. edmi ‘to eat’, Lith. ėsti ‘feeds’ (of animals), ėskà ‘food’, OCS jasti ‘to eat’, 1s. jamb, 3s. jastb < *h₁ed-tei, jadc ‘poison’ < *h₁ed-o-, Go. itan, OHG ezzan, Ols. etā < *ed-e/o-, ToB māts- ‘to starve’, ToA nātsw- < PTo. *nātsw- < PIE *n₁h₁d-tu-ie/o-, ToB yesti ‘food, meal’.

Long e in the present paradigm and in ēsus is due to Lachmann’s law in the sequences *edt- (> ēßt-) and *eds-. Lat. ellum < *edlo-, ēsca < *ed-sk-a. The derivational basis for edulis is unknown. According to Risch 1954, ēsu̱rē was formed as an antonymous formation to *satur-ūre ‘to be satisfied’, giving rise to the class of desideratives in -ūre. Like Keller 1982: 88f., I doubt whether the adj. vēscus is related to vēscor, since the meaning can only be connected via a complicated chain of shifts. One may alternatively suggest a compound of vē- (taken from vēsāmus, vēgrandis) ‘unlike, under/over-’ and ēsko- ‘nourishing’ or ēskā- ‘food’.

For PIE, the assumption of a long vowel in the root (as per Meiser 1998 and LIV) is unnecessary: the long vowel in Latin is due to Lachmann’s Law, the long vowel in Lithuanian to Winter’s Law. In Hittite, the normal root present ablaut is found. For Old Irish, Schumacher’s assumption (2004: 378) of an original ablaut *iď- : *ed- is not compelling, as the extant forms can also be explained on the basis of original *ed-in sg. and pl. (Kortlandt 2007: 137).


egeō ‘to need, want’ [v. II] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: egēnus ‘lacking, in need of’ (Pl.+), egestās ‘extreme poverty’ (Pl.+); indīgērē ‘to need, lack’ (Pl.+), indīgem [acc.sg. of *indigitās] ‘bereft’ (Pac. apud Cic.), indīgus ‘needy’ (Lucr.).


PIE *h₁eg-es- ‘lack, need’. IE cognates: Ols. ekla ‘lack’, OHG eko-rōdo ‘only’; ToAB yāk- ‘to neglect, be careless about’, ToB sb. yōknantār ‘they must neglect’.

The noun eges-tās and the adj. egēnus < *egesno- betray an old s-stem *egos, -es-. The compounds *indigitās and indigus < *endego- contain *endo ‘in’. Untermann suggests that O. *egmā- ‘case, question’ may be derived from ‘what one needs’, hence from the root of ‘to want, need’ attested in egeō. The pair egērē : *egos- matches part of the ‘Latin Caland system’ as described by Nussbaum 1999a. Either of these forms may be old. The root etymology and the cognates are not tremendously convincing, Tocharian ‘to neglect’ seems to match best. Hit. ăk-/ akk- ‘to die, be
'killed' is reconstructed as \( *\hbox{h}^3\text{e}^\prime \text{k}\)-\text{ei}, \( *\hbox{h}^3\text{e}^\prime \text{k}-\text{enti} \) to a root \( *\hbox{h}_1\text{e}\text{g}- \) by Kloekhorst (2008: 167f.), and must thus be separated. Latin also continues a (probable) root \( *\hbox{h}_1\text{e}\text{g}- \) in \( \text{aiō} \) 'to say'; it is possible to derive the meaning ‘case, question’ (O. *eg-\text{mà}-) from ‘to say’, but a connection of ‘to say’ and ‘need’ (Latin *egos-) is much more difficult.

Bibl.: WH I: 394, EM 192, IEW 290, Schrijver 1991: 35, Untermann 2000: 198, LIV \( ?*\hbox{h}_1\text{e}\text{g}^\prime \text{H}^\prime \)-\text{aiō}

ego 'I' [pron. pers. Is. nom.] (VOLat.+; Ardea, vase inscr. (CIL 474) ego; ego Pl.+)

Plt. *ego. It. cognates: Ven. ego, Fal. eko, eco '1', Spic. ekú 'I (?)'.

PIE *\hbox{h}^2\text{e}^\prime \text{g}^\prime \text{(o)H}, *\hbox{h}_1\text{e}\text{g}-\text{H}-\text{om} 'I'. IE cognates: Hit. ūk; Skt. ahám, OAv. azám, as-ců, YAV. azom, OP adnam < \( \hbox{h}_1\text{e}\text{g}\text{H}-\text{om} \); Gr. ἐγώ, Lesb. ep. Dor. also ἐγών, Lac. Tarent. ἐγώνη < *\hbox{h}^3\text{e}^\prime \text{g}- + -\text{oH}; Arm. es; OPr. es, as, Lith. ėis, OLith. ėis, Latv. es, OCS asb, Ru. ja, ORu. (j)azb < BSI. *e2\text{-}(-um); Go. ik, OHG ih, OS ic, Runic ek, ik, OSc. ek, encl. -ika < PGM. *ēkān; ToA ūnas [m.], ūnk [f.], 'ToB ūnas 'I'.

The stem *\hbox{h}^2\text{e}^\prime \text{g}^\prime - without enlargements is found once in OAv. as, in Baltic, and maybe in Hittite. Elsewhere, either a suffix yielding long -δ- was added (Latin, Greek), or a suffix yielding aspiration of the velar in Sanskrit and an ending *-\text{om} in Ir., Sl. and Gm. Probably, several variants of this pronoun existed side by side in PIE.


U. eikvasatis [abl.pl.], eikvasee [abl.pl. + postpos. -\text{en}] ‘gathering, meeting’.

May reflect an adj. /eik\hbox{wa}\hbox{ssāti}-/, while eikvases- may represent a noun /eik\hbox{w}\hbox{ā}ssī-/. The forms probably go back to a compound with a second element *wassī- and *wasso- (> *wassāto-). Meiser 1986 interprets eikvasesī as ‘containing a formula’, and etymologizes eik- as *agiko- ‘speech, formula’ and vasi-< *wassī- < *\hbox{h}^2\text{e}\text{g}(e)\text{d}-\text{ti}- ‘speaking’ (to Skt. vádāti). Yet this does not explain the -a-, and is furthermore tautological. Weiss 2007a: 367-369 suggests that the second elements *-wassī- and *-\hbox{w}\hbox{ā}ssāti- derive from a ti-abstract *\hbox{w}\hbox{ā}ssī- < *ueh\hbox{2}dh-\text{ti}- and a to-verbal adjective *\hbox{w}\hbox{ā}sso- < *ueh\hbox{2}dh-\text{d}-\text{to}- to the root of vádō ‘to go’, cf. Lat. con-ven-tio, con-ven-tus, con-gressus for the semantics. The first element eik- could reflect, according to Weiss, \( \ast V^\prime_{\text{\hbox{f}\text{-}\text{backj}}}\text{Kei}^\prime \text{K} \), but he finds no good candidates for etymologizing this part. The sequence -\text{KV}- could reflect *ko- ‘together’, as in cóntiō and maybe curiā, U. ko-, kom-. This would leave initial \( \ast V^\prime_{\text{\hbox{f}\text{-}\text{backj}}}\text{Kei}^\prime \) to be explained: it could be etymologized as *h\hbox{1}\text{e}\text{g}-\text{jo}- ‘speech’, as in U. au [nom.pl.] (Meiser 1986: 205). The cp. would then reflect Plt. *\text{ajjo}- + *ko-\hbox{w}\hbox{ā}ssī-.

Bibl.: Meiser 1986: 250ff., Untermann 2000: 204-206. \( \rightarrow \text{aiō}, \text{vādō} \)

O. eitiuvam, eituam [acc.sg.], eituas [gen.sg.], ei(tuo) [nom.sg.], eitiuvad [abl.sg.]; Marr. eituam ‘money’ [acc.sg.] < *eituā- [f.]

Etymology uncertain. Possibly to *\hbox{h}_1\text{e}\text{i}- ‘to go’: ‘that which goes’ > ‘livestock’ > ‘money’ (cf. pecūnia). Semantically, a connection with Lat. ʰūtor < *oit- would be
emō, -ere 'to take (Paul. ex F.), buy (Pl.+) [v. III; pf. ēmī, pp. ēmptum] (Pl+)

Derivatives: (1) em particle 'here you are', emāx 'fond of buying' (Cato+), emptūcius 'obtained by purchase' (Varro+), emptor 'buyer' (Pl.+), emptūrire 'to hanker after buying things' (Varro), emptus, -ūs 'the purchasing' (Varro); maybe ellen 'there he is!' (Pl., Ter.) and ellam 'there she is!' (Pl.) is from *em-illi/am; (2) Compounds based on the meaning 'to take': adimere 'to take away, take away' (Naev.+), cōmēre (pf. cōmpsi) 'to adorn, arrange' (Pl.+), comptus, -ūs 'adornment' (Lucr.+), dēmēre, pf. dēmpsī 'to remove' (Pl.), dēmpūriō 'removal' (Varro), vindēmia 'vintage' (Pl.+), vindēmiōtor 'grape-picker' (Naev.), vindēmiōtor 'grape-picker' (Varro+), virgūdēmia 'a harvest of rods' (Pl.+), dirimere 'to pull apart, separate' (Lucr.+), eximere 'to take out, omit' (Pl.+), exīmius 'excepted; exceptional' (Pl.+), exemptūō 'removal' (Varro+), exemptūōsum 'example' (Pl.+), exemplar, -āris 'typical instance' (Lucr.+), interinīmēre 'to kill, destroy' (Pl.+), perimere 'to destroy' (Cato+), praevium 'payment, reward, booty' (Pl.+), praeemiōsus 'profitable' (Cato+), praeemīator 'who collects rewards' (Naev.), prōmēre, pf. prōmpsi 'to bring out, forward' (Pl.+), promptūs, -ūs 'the action of maming available' (Lucr.+), prōmus 'steward' (Pl.+), supplōmus 'assistant steward' (Pl.), promptūāre 'to be in charge, be steward' (Pl.), promptūārius 'that serves for storing' (Pl.+), exprōmēre 'to bring out, reveal', șiūmēre, pf. surēmi, surēmpsit (Andr. apud Paul. ex F.) and sūmpsi 'to take up, seize' (Andr.+), sumptūō 'the taking' (Cato+), sumptūōsum 'expensive, lavish' (Pl.+), sumptus, -ūs 'spending, expense' (Pl.+); absūmēre 'to use up' (Pl.+), absūmēdō 'act of squandering' (Pl.), assumūmēre 'to take, add' (Varro+), consumēre 'to consume, destroy' (Cato+), résūmēre 'to pick up again, put on again' (Enn.+); (3) Compounds based on the meaning 'to buy': coemēre 'to buy' (Ter.+), comptionālīs 'suitable for purchase in batches' (Pl.+); redimēre 'to buy back; make good' (Pl.+), redemptūāre 'to redeem' (Cato), redemptūō 'contractor' (Cato+).


PIE pr. *h2em-e/o- 'to take', pf. *h2e−h₂m-. IE cognates: OIr. arfoim 'to receive, allow' < *ari-wo-em-, 3s.sb.rel. ar-afōima < *ari-wo-em-, pret. arfoiē < BSl. *em-o-; OFr. imit, Lith. i̞mīt, 3s.pr. ima, 3s.pret. ēmē, Latv. ēmi̞tī 'to take', OCS jēti, Is. ɪm, Ru. jatī (dial.) 'to take, begin', ORu. jati < BSl. *im- < PIE *h₁m-.

The pcl. em < ipv.sg. *eme 'take!'. The pf. in -(p)sī has secondarily been created in those roots which did not synchronically seem to belong to emēre anymore, such as dēmēre. The pf. suremit 'sumpsit' and surempsis 'sustulerit' are of uncertain origin: they might continue *suz-ēm- < *subs-ēm-, but they may also have introduced *sus- more recently on the model of other verbs, such as suscipiō. The long vowel in ēmptus may be phonetic (as in front of nct in iūncius), but there is no other example;
in theory, ē may stem from the perfect. Lat. praemium < *pra-em-io-, vindēmia < *wīno-de-em-ia ‘wine-reaping’. The forms prōmus, praemium and vindēmia point to an agent noun *emo- ‘who takes’. The noun exemplum < *ex-em-lo- ‘what is taken out, highlighted’.


ēn ‘ever?; behold!’ [interj.] (Pl.+; in OLat. ēn only occurs in ēn umquam ‘ever’)
PIE *h₁ēn? IE cognates: Gr. ἦν, ἡν [interj.] ‘hey!’.

Interjection which calls the attention. At least a part of the Latin attestations, esp. from Verg. on, will represent the identical Greek word ἦν. According to Leumann, ēn derives from *est-ne ‘is it not?’. For the OLat. usage with umquam, this seems quite conceivable; the blunt rejection by WH is unmotivated. But it seems doubtful whether all syntactic uses in Lat. can be explained either from *estne or from the Greek use of ἦν; hence, it remains possible that Latin inherited a particle *ēn.


endo, indu(-), indi- ‘in, on, to’ [pref., postpos.; prep.] (Duenos inscr. ted endo ‘to you’, Lex XII endo ‘within, onto, thereupon’, OLat. endo, indu [prep.] from Ennius to Cicero, as an archaism)

Derivatives: indolēs, -is [f.] ‘nature’ (Pl.+); indotētur ‘watches’ (Enn.); induere ‘to put on’ (Pl.+); indugregor ‘ingredior’ (Lucr.); indupedire ‘to hinder’ (Lucr.); induperātor ‘imperator’ (Enn., Lucr., Juv.), induperāre ‘imperare’ (Enn.); industrius ‘diligent’ (Pl.+); induvolare ‘involare’ (Enn.); indigēna [f.] ‘native’ (Verg.+); indiggere ‘to need, require’ (Pl.+), *indigis ‘bereft of’ (Pac.), indigus ‘needy’ (Lucr.); indigès ‘native (deity)’ (Verg.+); indipiscō/or ‘to overtake, acquire’ (Pl.+).

Pīt. *(e)nndo ‘in, into’.

PIE *h₁(e)n-do ‘inside’. IE cognates: OIr. and ‘in it’, Hit. anda ‘into, within’, andan ‘within, inside’, CLuw. ānta ‘into’, HLuw. anta ‘within’, Lyc. īne ‘inside’ < *h₁ndo(m); Gr. ἐνδo ‘inside, at home’.

Word-final short -o after a heavy first syllable can only be explained as a retention of PIE *-o, since iambic shortening does not apply. It must be assumed that the shift of *-o > *-e (whence indi-gena; cf. 2s.ipv.med. -re < *so) was relatively recent. Sommer 1914 argues that -o was also supported by Greek reminiscences (like ἐνδo). Leumann (1977: 562) assumes that endo altogether was borrowed from Greek, first into indigena as a calque on Gr. ἐνδoγενής, then becoming separated. This seems unlikely in view of the recent date of indigena, and because of the generally archaic look of the words in which indi/u- occurs. The vowel raising of endo to indo can be explained as part of the general raising of *e in front of nasal + consonant, or from pretonic vowel reduction, as must in any case be assumed for in ‘in’.

enim ‘well; for’ [ptcle.] (Naev.+)

Plt. *enο- ‘that one’, *enim [acc.sg.]. It. cognates: O. inim, inim, inim, ini, εινεμ, inim, Pael. inim (f.:m.)/m/, U. ene, eipe, enem ‘and’ /énem/ < *enim; in U. only connecting two sentences. The first element also in O. e-tanto. With a different suffix vowel: Pael. inom ‘and’ < *enom (or spelling error for inim) . U. enu, ennom, enno, enom, eno ‘(and) then’ < *endom < *eno-dom; U. enuk ‘then’ < *en-dó(d)-k(e); U. enumek ‘then’ < ennom-ek; inumek, inumk, inuk ‘(and) then’ < inom + -ek, or spelling variant for enumek.

PIE *h₁e-no-. IE cognates: Gr. ἐκείνος ‘that’ < *e-ke-eno-.

IEW derives enim from the stem of Lith. anās ‘that’, OCS om> ‘he’. Yet I reconstruct this pronoun as *h₂en-. Since Gr. ἐκείνος seems to contain a stem *en(ι/o)-, Beekes (1995: 202) suggests that *h₂en- was “transformed in *eno-” in Greek. Initial *e-, I presume, would have been taken from the pronoun *h₁e, *h₁i ‘this’ (see Lat. is, ea, id). This is possible. Alternatively, PIE *h₁e might have acquired a suffix *-no-, directly yielding Plt. *eno-. This is reminiscent of Skt. anā [adv.] ‘thus’, OAv. ana, YAv. ana [ins.sg.] ‘with this’ (Fischer-Ritter 1991: 10). Since Sabellic also shows evidence for a stem *eno-, this may have been the Plt. stem. The isolated Plt. form *enim may point to the earlier existence of pronominal variants with an additional *-i, as found e.g. in Hittite aši / uni / ini ‘that (one)’ < *h₁ós+i, *h₁óm+i, *h₁i+m+i (Kloekhorst 2008: 220ff). If interpreted as an accusative of direction, *eni-m can be explained from a semantic shift ‘to that’ > ‘in addition’ > ‘and’.


ensis ‘sword’ [m. i] (Cato+; almost only in poetry)

Derivatives: ēnsiculus ‘toy sword’ (Pl.).

Plt. *ens- ‘sword’.

PIE *(h₁)e)ns-i- ‘sword, large knife’?

All the alleged IE cognates are uncertain: the connection with Skt. asī- [m.] ‘sword, slaughtering knife’ is doubted by EWAia I: 145; in Palaic hašira- ‘dagger’, there is no trace of a nasal. The appurtenance of Gr. ἄρο ‘sword’, allegedly an Aeolic reflex of *ns- yat, is also disputed. Morphologically, *ns-(o)r in Greek vs. *ns-i in Latin would be difficult to account for.


enubro ‘restraining, prohibitive (in augury)’ [adj., dat.sg. o/ā] (Paul. ex F. 76)


Plt. *n-xafr- ‘inhibiting’.

The meaning suggests a derivation from (the same preform as) inibeō ‘to hold back, prevent’. We find once <enubro> and several times <enibr-> (gloss.) and <inembr-> (Paul. ex F.). These point to a stem *en(u)bro-, nom.sg.m. *en(u)iber. The forms in unraised en- are the oldest, while the vowel quality -u- is determined by the following
labial. If cognate with *en-habère, the source form was *p-χafros > *en-habros > nom.sg.m. OLat. en-uber. In the oblique cases, *a in a closed syllable regularly gave e, hence inebr-. The resulting alternation *enu/iber : *enebr- was levelled in different directions.

Bibl.: WH 1: 406, EM 197. → habeō

eō, fre ‘to go’ [v. irr.] (Lex XII, Pl.+). Forms: pr. eō, īs, it, īmus, ītis, eunt; ptc. iēns, euntis; 3p.pr.ind. obiūnunt, prōdīnunt, redīmunt (Enn.); pf. IV: īī / īīī (both Pl.+), ppp. itum.

Derivatives: itus, -ūs ‘the going’ (Lucr.+); abīre ‘to go away’ (Naev.+), abītīō ‘a departing’ (Pl.+), abītus, -īūs ‘departure’ (Pl.+), adīre ‘to approach’ (Pl.+), adītīō ‘the act of approaching’ (Pl.+), adītāre ‘to approach often’ (Enn.), adītus, -ūs ‘approach, access’ (Pl.+), ambīre ‘to solicit (for); go round’ (Pl.+), ambītīō ‘soliciting, candidature’ (Pl.+), ambitus, -ūs ‘circuit, cycle’ (Varro+), ant(e)īre ‘to surpass; precede’ (Pl.+), anticūrīe ‘to surpass’ (Pl.), circumūre ‘to go round’ (Pl.+), circu(m)itīō ‘circumlocution, rotation’ (Ter.+), circu(m)itus, -ūs ‘cycle’ (Varro+), coīre ‘to come together, have sexual intercourse’ (Pl.+), coetus, -ūs ‘encounter, assembly’ (Pl.+), coītīō ‘meeting, partnership’ (Ter.+), exīre ‘to come out’ (Naev.+), exitīō the going out’ (Pl.), exitus, -ūs ‘departure, conclusion’ (Lucil.+), exitium ‘destruction, death’ (Pl.+), exitābīlis ‘causing death’ (Pl.+), exitālis ‘causing death’ (Lucr.), inūre ‘to go into; begin’ (Pl.+), initiāre ‘to enter habitually’ (Pac.), initus, -ūs ‘entry’ (Lucr.), initium ‘start, original form’ (Ter.+), initiāre ‘to admit; introduce’ (Ter.+), interīre ‘to die, be lost’ (Pl.+), introīre ‘to enter’ (Pl.+), introitus, -ūs ‘entry’ (Lucr.+), obīre ‘to meet, visit’ (Pl.+), obitus ‘a dead person’ (Laev.+), obitus, -ūs ‘approach; death’ (Ter.+), perīre ‘to vanish, perish’ (Andr.+), disperīre ‘to perish’ (Pl.+), praeīre ‘to go in front, dictate’ (Pl.+), praetor ‘leader, magistrate’ (Naev.+), praetōrius ‘of/by a praetor’ (Varro+), praeītra ‘the office of praetor’ (Pl.+), praetērie ‘to go past, pass’ (Pl.+), praetēritis [adj.] ‘past’ (Lucr.+), prōdīre ‘to come forward, advance’ (Pl.+), redīre ‘to come back, return’ (Andr.+), reōtīō ‘return’ (Pl.+), redītus, -ūs ‘return’ (Lucil.+), sēdītō ‘violent discord, rebellion’ (Pl.+), sēdītīōsūs ‘factions’ (Varro+), subūre ‘to go underneath, undergo’ (Lex XII+), subitus ‘sudden’ (Pl.+), subītō ‘suddenly’ (Pl.+), subĭtārius ‘requiring prompt action’ (Pl.+), trānsīre ‘to cross over, transfer, pass’ (Naev.+), trānsītīō ‘the passing’ (Varro+); similīū [adv.] ‘at the same time, together’ (Pl.+).


PIE pr. *h₁ei-/*h₁i- ‘to go’. IE cognates: *Celtib. (ne-)ito ‘must not go’, Olr. ethae*, eth ‘someone went’, do-eth ‘someone came’ < *i-to-; Hit. i-<i> , CLuw. HLuw. i- ‘to go’ < *h₁ei-/*h₁i- , Hit. i̯ianna<i> / i̯ianni- ‘to march’, Hit. je(a-n)fr) ‘to go, come, walk’
< *h₁i-e/o-, paíi-/z ‘to go, pass’, HLuw. pa- ‘to go’ < *h₁pōi + *h₁(e)i-, we- / uwa- ‘to come’ < *h₂ou + *h₁(e)i-; Skt. pr.3s. ēti, 3p. yánti ‘to go’, pf. iyāya, YAv. aēiti ‘id.’; Gr. ἐὰς; OPr. 3s ēit, OLith. ėimì, OGS iti, Is. idq ‘to go’; Go. iddja ‘went’; ToB yam ‘goes’, ToA yiṁc ‘they go’.

In the pr., Latin and Sabellic seem to have generalized the full grade *ej-; with Dunkel 1998: 97, this can be explained from the use of the sb. *ej-e/o-. In the pf., the form īī is recent. Whether the pf. īī continues an old pf. is disputed, but in view of the limited likelihood that *h₁i- had a pf. in PIE, it seems more likely that it is a recent formation. The Ennian pl. forms in -munt are also recent, probably on the model of damunt ‘they give’. Lat. praetor < *prai-itor; similī < *sem-eitu-. For an explanation of the pr.ptc. iens, euntis, see Beekes 1985. The nouns comes and pedes, -itis probably contain a noun *-is, -itis < *h₁i-t-, see s.v. comes. The U. deity puemunes [gen.sg.], puemune [dat.sg.], Mars. poimunien [dat.sg.], is one of the two chief honorands of the New Year’s festival, as interpreted by Weiss 2007b. He posits *po-ei-món ‘the goer’ or ‘who has a going’ (*po-ei-mn), which came to mean ‘(of the) year’, as often happens with words meaning ‘to go’.


epulum ‘public feast’ [n. o] (Naev.+


PIE *h₁ep-lo-; IE cognates: OHG uoba ‘festival’ (deverbal to uoben?).

There is no hard evidence that epulum referred to a religious or sacrificial banquet: all attestations can mean just ‘banquet, large meal for celebrating’. If derived from a verb, the only good candidate within Latin is apiō < *h₁p- ‘to seize’: a ‘banquet’ as an ‘opportunity to grab food’. In fact, Nussbaum 1997: 188 has proposed the etymology *h₁ep-lo-; he sees the same stem reflected in sollemnis. Since the cognate forms (if they are cognate) in Gm. contain a different root vowel, and since it is uncertain that epulum has anything to do with ‘taking’ or ‘seizing’, the connection with *h₁ep- ‘to take’ remains a root etymology. WH and EM connect epulum with ops ‘work’, but this is semantically uncompelling, and it has now formally become impossible in view of the reconstruction *h₁ep- for ops.


equus ‘horse’ [m. o] (Andr.+

Derivatives: equa ‘mare’ (Pl.+, equola ‘young mare’ (Pl.+, eculus ‘foal, pony’ (Varro+); equīle ‘stable for horses’ (Cato+), equīnus ‘of horses’ (Acc.+); equīsō ‘horse groom’ (Varro+); equāria ‘herd of horses’ (Varro), Equirria/Ecurria, -ērum [n.pl.] ‘annual horse races’ (Varro+); eques, -itis [m.] ‘horse rider; knight’ (Pl.+); equītāre ‘to ride a horse’ (Lucil.+), equītānus, -ās ‘cavalry’ (Cato+).

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erpetars, ecupetars, ekpetars, eppetars, epetars [nom.sg.m.] ‘of a horse-rider’ < *ekwo-pet-āri-, presupposing *ekwo-pet-o- ‘horse-rider’ or ‘charioteer’.


The original Latin paradigm must have been *ekos, acc.sg. *ekom, gen.sg. *ekwōri; the stem equ- was generalized from the oblique cases. The noun eques < *ekwō(o)-it- may have been formed on the model of pedes ‘pedestrian’ < *ped-it- ‘going on foot’. Kloekhorst 2008: 237ff. argues that the Anatolian forms point to an original PIE u-stem *h₁ek-u- ‘horse’, which was thematized to *h₁ekui- in the other branches of IE.


ēr, -is ‘hedgehog’ [m. r] (Pl.+-; <irim> Capt. 184; <erem> Nemes. Cyn. 57)

Derivatives: ēricius ‘hedgehog; spiked barrier’ (Varro+).

PIt. *χερ-.

PIE *gʰer- ‘hedgehog’. IE cognates: Gr. χήρ ‘hedgehog’ (only attested in Hesych), χοίρος ‘porcupine’ < *ghorio-, Alb. derr ‘pig, swine’.

The form ēricius suggests that Pl. īrim is a mistake of the transmission for *erim. In that case, the original stem may have been /ēr(-i)-/, which can be connected with Greek χήρ if Latin earlier had *hēr < *gʰer(-). This may reflect a PIE root noun nom.sg. *gʰer-i to the root *gʰer- ‘to be excited, be bristly’ found in horior and others.

Bibl.: WH I: 413f., EM 200, IEW 445, LIV *gʰers-. → hircus, hirsutus, hordeum, horior, horreo

ercīscō, -ere ‘to divide (an inheritance)’ [v. III] (Cic.+-; usually only in gdv. ercīscundus. Sometimes spelled herc-, probably under the influence of hērēs).

Derivatives: ertzum (cière) ‘inheritance, inherited part’ (Cic.+), inercta ‘indivisa’ (Paul. ex F.), īsērtiones ‘divisiones patrimoniorum inter consortes’ (Paul. ex F. 72) (if *dis-erctiones).

PIt. *erk-i-.

PIE *h₁rk-i- ‘to divide’? IE cognates: Hit. ārk- / ark- ‘to cut off, divide’ < PIE *h₁rk-i- / *h₁rk-i-.

The Latin formation suggests an original present *ercīre. According to Eichner 1982: 23, this may be connected with Hit. ārki, which would point to a root in *h₁rk-. He suggests original *orc- for Latin, which was analogically changed to erc-. LIV, on the other hand, reconstructs a preform *h₁rk-jē- which would phonetically yield arc- (thus Schrijver 1991: 72f.); in view of existing arceō, it seems unlikely that *arcīre would have been changed to *ercīre. Hence, the preform for Latin *ercīre may have been an i-present *h₁erk-i-. Yet all of this remains rather uncertain. Petit 2004 argues that Lith. aršyti ‘to tear up’ < *h₁ork- also belongs here.

Bibl.: WH I: 640f., EM 200, Leumann 1977: 536, LIV ?*h₁erk-.
ergō ‘on account of; therefore’ [prep. (+ gen.); ptcl.] (Lex XII+)
Derivatives: ergā [prep. + acc.] ‘next to, towards’ (Pl.+), corgō ‘forwards’ (Paul. ex F.).
Plt. *re/ogo- ‘direction’.
PIE *h3re/og-o-. IE cognates: see s.v. regō.
In the collocation *ēre/ogo ‘from the direction of’, the middle vowel was syncopated, whence ergō. Lat. corgō < *com re/ogo ‘with the direction’. Since no other IE language shows a thematic noun *h3ro-g-o-, this may be an inner-Italic formation. In that case, the root vowel may also have been *e.
Bibl.: WH I: 273, 415, EM 143, 201,IEW 854ff., Leumann 1977: 239, LIV *h3reg-.

errō, -āre ‘to roam; waver’ [v. I] (Andr.+)
Derivatives: errantia ‘misguided condition’ (Acc.), errābundus ‘wandering’ (Lucr.+), errāticus ‘wandering, wild’ (Cato+), errātīō ‘the roaming’ (Pl.+); error ‘doubt; mistake’ (Pl.+); aberrāre ‘to wander away, stray’ (Pl.+), dēerrāre ‘to wander off’ (Pl.+).
Plt. *ers-āje-.
PIE *h1ers-o/h2- ‘erring, error’. IE cognates: Arm. eram ‘to boil; be restless’ < *ersā-; Go. aieren ‘mistaken’, airenjan, OHG irren ‘to be mistaken; lead into mistake’ < *erz-(i)io-. Both Latin and Armenian seem to continue a denominative verb *ers-āje- ‘to be restless’ to a noun *erso- or *ers-h2-. Although these words are not discussed in LIV, their phonological shape matches PIE *h1ers- ‘to flow’ (Skt. ārṣati). If the noun meant ‘flowing to and fro, uncontrolled flowing’, it is conceivable that a derived meaning ‘erring, error’ arose already in PIE. Nussbaum (2007b) connects the PIE root *h1ers- ‘to arrive, reach’, and compare the s/c-present *h|r-ske/o- (Skt. prchāti, Gr. ἔρχομαι).

ērūca ‘caterpillar; rocket (kind of herb)’ [f. ā] (Moretum++; a variant is ūrūca)
The most likely analysis is ēr-ūca. If the basis is indeed the same is ēr ‘hedgehog’, the caterpillar was denominated for its rugged back, as it often is. The suffix was probably adopted from a semantically close word, cf. especially verrūca ‘wart; hillock’.

erūs ‘master, lord’ [m. o] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: era ‘woman, mistress’ (Pl.+), erīlis ‘of a master’ (Pl.+).
Plt. *eso- ‘master’.
PIE *h1es-h2-o- ‘master’. IE cognates: Gaul. Esus, Aesus ‘important god of the Gauls’; Hit. išhā- ‘master, lord’ [c.].
The most obvious connection is with the Gaulish deity *Esu/o-; Lucian indicated that
the e- of the Celtic word equals Latin ē, but that does not mean much historically. IEW connects erus with Gr. ἑός ‘good, noble’ < *h₁-su-. If Ilr. *āsu- ‘life’ also belongs to this root, Latin erus might also continue *h₁es-u- ‘the good one’ > ‘master’. Yet the u-stem would have switched to an o-stem in the prehistory of Latin, which is unusually early. Also, the semantics are not compelling. Hit. išhā- would match perfect semantically, as well as phonetically (if the reconstruction of Hit. is correct), and this option is preferred by Schrijver. Still, the word remains isolated within IE.


ervum ‘a kind of cultivated vetch’ [n. o] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: ervilia ‘cultivated vetch’ (Varro+).
Plt. *erVgʷ-o-?
IEW cognates: Mr. orbaind ‘grains’; Gr. ὀρὸς, Gr. ἐρέβινδος ‘chick-pea’; OHG araveiz, OS erwit ‘peas’ < PGm. *arwai-.

The Latin, Greek and Gm. words clearly belong together, but a common phonological preform cannot be reconstructed. Since the morphological make-up of these words is different (Gr. -νδος, Gm. *-ait; presence vs. absence of a medial vowel) and the word refers to an autochthonous crop, it may represent a loanword from a non-IE substratum language.


et ‘and what is more, too; and’ [cj., adv.] (Lex XII, Andr.+)
Derivatives: etiam ‘still, also’ (Andr.+), etenim ‘and indeed’ (Pl.+), etsi ‘even if’ (Pl.+).


PIE *h₁eti ‘still, also’. IE cognates: Gaul. eti ‘yet, still, equally’, etic ‘and’ < *eti-kʷe; Skt. āti, Av. aiti ‘beyond, over, to’, Gr. ἄτι ‘still, also, further’, NPhr. eti-’and’; Go. ɸb ‘but’, id-weit [n.] ‘reproach’, Olc. ɸja-greimm ‘green again’, OHG it(i)-wiz [n.], OE ed-wīð [n.] ‘disgrace’ < PGm. *ip(i), OHG it-māli ‘festival, solemn’, MDu. ad’t-mael [n.] ‘period of the day’, OFr. et-mēl [n.] ‘half or whole a day’, OE ed-mǣle [n.] ‘feast’ < PGm. *id(i).

Originally used to add something to a previous utterance, or to indicate the sequence of different actions. Later on, it replaces -que. Possibly, PIE *h₁eti is an old loc.sg. to a root noun from *h₁et- ‘go beyond’ (reflected in Skt. at- ‘to travel, wander’).


ex, ē, ec- ‘out of, away’ [prep., prev.] (Lex XII, Andr.+). In composition, we find ex- in front of vowels, e-, qu-, t- and s-; in front of p-, ex- is normal except for ępāscere and ěpōtāre. Lat. has ē- < *egz- before voiced b-, d-, g-, l-, m-, n-, r-, i- u-; Lat. ec-only occurs in compounds front of f-, and even there, it is often assimilated to ef-.)

Derivatives: exter(us) ‘external; foreign’ (Lucr.+), extrā [adv., prep.] ‘outside, apart from’ (Pl.+), extrārius ‘external’ (Pl.+), extrīnsecus [adv.] ‘from without; on the
outside’ (Cato+); *externus ‘on the outside, extraneous’ (Lucr.+); *extrimus ‘outermost, farthest’ (Pl.), *extrāmus ‘situated at the end, last’ (Cato+).


PIE *h₁egʰ, *h₁egʰ’s ‘out’. IE cognates: Olr. ess-, W. eh- ‘out’, OIr. echtar, MW eithyr ‘outside’; Gr. ἡξ ‘from, out of’, ἐξχατος ‘outmost, last’ (< *ekʰ-s-katos); OPr. is, assa, assae, Lith iš, Latv. iz ‘from, out of’, OCS iz ‘out’ < BSl. *iž (*iš) < *h₁egʰ(s) [*i- of BSl. is unexplained].

Pit. *eks-preto- or *eks-spreto-.

In the literature, exprētus only occurs in Plautus, in the line it magister quasi lucerna / uncto expretus linteo. Equating linteus with the wick of a candle, Klingenschmitt (1989: 95) translates the line as follows: ‘The teacher withdraws like an oil lamp, extinguished, when the wick is still drenched [scil. with oil]’. Hence, exprētus would mean ‘extinguished’. K. assumes a word play with linteum, which can also mean ‘hair’, which, in the given context, may be drenched with blood from a wound inflicted on the teacher. K. assumes that a candle was usually ‘extinguished’ by means of blowing it out, and hence he suggests that exprētus belongs to a root *preh₁- ‘blow’, which LIV and others reconstruct for Gr. πίμπρημι. Yet a derivation from spernere, spretus *to disdain, scorn* cannot be dismissed as easily as K. does. He doubts that spernere, which originally meant ‘to kick, tread’, would have undergone a semantic shift from ‘kicked out’ to ‘blown out’. Yet in view of the sudden extinction of a flame when blown out, I think that such metaphorical usage cannot be excluded.


ex(s)ul, -is ‘banished person’ [m. f] (Pl.)

Derivatives: ex(s)ulāre ‘to be banished’ (Pl.), ex(s)ilium ‘exile’ (Pl.) [only <exul-> and <exil-> in inscr.].

Pit. *ek(-)s(-)VL- (or derived from a verb in *ek(-)s(-)VL-).

Several etymologies are possible. It might be a derivative of a verb *ex-sulere ‘to take out’ to the root *selh₁- ‘to take’, cf. cōnsul and cōnsulere; hence exsul ‘the one who is taken out’. It might belong to amb-ulāre < *-al- ‘to walk’, hence ‘who walks out’. It might even belong to *h₁elh₂-‘, the root of Gr. ἔλαυνω ‘to drive’: ex-ul ‘who is driven
out’ (cf. proelium).

F

faba ‘bean’ [f. ā] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: fabulus ‘bean’ (Pl. +), fabāginus ‘of beans’ (Cato), fabālia ‘bean-stalks’ (Cato +), fabālis ‘of beans’ (Varro +), fabārius ‘of/for beans’ (Cato +), fabātus ‘made of beans’ (Varro +).
Pīt. *fa-fā- ‘bean’. It. cognates: Fal. haba ‘bean’ [Velius Longus, 2nd c. AD].
IE cognates: OPr. babō ‘bean’, Ru. bob; OIc. baun, OHG bōna, OE bean ‘bean’ < PGM. *baunō < *bab-nō? Farther removed are Gr. φακός ‘lentil’ and Alb. bathē ‘horse-bean’ < *b(ă)ak-.
No PIE word can be reconstructed. Since the Italic, Slavic and Germanic words are similar in form and meaning, they are probably independent loanwords from a European substratum word of the form *bab- (or similar) ‘bean’.

faber, -brī ‘craftsman, artisan’ [m. o] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: fabrē ‘skillfully’ (Pl. +), infabrē ‘unskillfully’ (Pac. +), fabrīlis ‘of a workman’ (Varro +); fabrica ‘workshop; craft; plan’ (Pl. +), fabricāreī ‘to fashion, build; devise’ (Pl. +), perfabricāre ‘to fashion completely’ (Pl.), fabricātor ‘maker’ (Lucr. +).
Pīt. *fa-fro-. It. cognates: Pael. faber [nom.sg.?] is probably a loan from Latin.
The noun fabrica suggests the earlier existence of a feminine noun to which an adj. *fabrike- referred; maybe ars ‘art, craft’. According to Leumann 1977: 337, fabrica was formed after a Greek example, e.g. νειτυξι (τέχνη). The closest cognate is Armenian darbin; together with faber, it could reflect PIE *dʰH₁bʰ-. The BS1. words meaning ‘nature’ and ‘good’ (with short vowel in front of b < *b₁) and the Gm. words *dab-, *dōb- could go back to PIE *dʰabʰ-. Their connection with faber is possible, but semantically not compelling. Beekes (1996: 230) argues that, if all these words are cognate, they can only be explained from a non-IE root *dʰabʰ-.
fació, -ere 'to make' [v. III; pf. fecit; ppc. factum. sb. fació, facim, facís, pr.ipv. fac] (VOLat+: Duenos inscr. feced Ifekedi 'fecit', Praeneste (315BC) fecid, Corchiano (4th c. BC) feced, Lacus Fucinius fecrond, Paestum fecere 'feerunt'; Lex XII+)

Derivatives: facilis 'easy' (Pl.+), facul 'facile' (Pac., Acc., Lucil.), facilitās 'ease' (Ter.+), facultās 'easiness; ability, skill, chance' (Ter.+), difficilis 'difficult' (Pl.+; difficul Varro), difficultās 'difficulty' (Pl.+); faciēs 'appearance, face' (Naev.+, superficiēs 'top, surface' (Varro+); facinus, -oris [n.] 'deed, act; crime' (Pl.+); factor 'maker, perpetrator' (Pl.+), factum 'deed' (Naev.+), prōfectō [adv.] 'undoubtedly' (Pl.+), factus, -ūs 'a pressing of olives' (Cato, Plin.), factō 'the making; group, party' (Pl.+), factōsus 'busy; factious' (Pl.+);

prōficiscor 'to start on a journey, start' (Pl.+); facessō, -ere 'to carry out, perform; depart' (Pl.+); factitāre 'to do frequently' (Pl.+); calefactāre 'to heat' (Pl.+);

-fex, -fiscis 'maker': artifex 'practitioner of an art, craftsman' (Pl.+), aurifex 'goldsmith' (Pl.+), carnifex 'executioner, murderer' (Naev.+), opifex 'craftsman' (Pl.+), pontifex 'priest' (Cato+); derived from the cp. in -fex are: -ficus 'doing, making', -ficium 'the office of...';

afficere 'to have an effect on, influence' (Pl.+), afficīcītus 'attached' (Varro+), affectāre 'to try to accomplish, aspire' (Ter.+), conficere 'to do, perform, complete' (Andr.+), confector 'destroyer (Lucil.+), maker (Cic.+)', dēficere 'to be lacking, fail; defect' (Cato+), efficere 'to make, cause' (Pl.+), inficere 'to dye, colour; infect' (Pl.+), infector 'a dyer' (Pl.+), interficere 'to kill, destroy' (Naev.+), afficere 'to stand in the way' (Varro+), perficere 'to bring to an end, achieve' (Pl.+), perficus 'that completes' (Lucr.), perfactor 'who brings to completion' (Ter.+), praeficere 'to put in charge' (Pl.+), praefica 'woman who leads the funeral mourning' (Naev.+), praefectīō 'appointing as leader' (Varro), praepectūra 'command; rank or duty of a praefectus' (Pl.+), praefectus 'person in charge; praetor' (Pl.+), prōficere 'to make progress' (Lucil.+), prōfectō 'departure' (Pac.+), reficere 'to restore, repair' (Lacr.+), sufficere 'to supply; provide; be sufficient' (Lacr.+).


PIE *dʰeh₁- 'to put' [aor.]; *dʰh₁-k- 'to make', *dʰh₁-k-i- [pr.]. IE cognates: Gr. aor. ἔθηκα 'I put, placed', Phryg. ᾧδ-δακέτ 'afficite', middle ᾧδ-δακέτωρ.

The Italic evidence mainly continues a root *fak, pf. also *fēk- 'to make'. Probably, the root-final k has arisen in the PIE root aorist of *dʰeh₁-, and can be equated with Gr. -k- in the aor./pf. of these verbs, and with Phrygian ᾧδ-δακέτ(όπ). In Italic, the
stem *fak-, in the pf. also *fêk-, was generalized in the whole paradigm. For difficilis see s.v. dis-.


faex, -cis 'wine-lees, dregs' [f. k] (Cato+)

Derivatives: faeçarius 'used for lees' (Cato), faeçatus 'made from lees' (Cato), faeceus 'resembling dregs, foul' (Pl.), faeçula 'dried lees of wine' (Lucr.); deœaeicâre 'to remove the dregs' (Pl. +).

No etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 444, EM 213.

fâgus 'beech' [f. o] (Varro+)

Derivatives: fâgineus 'beech-' (Cato+), fâgûtâlis 'of the beech-grove' (Varro+).

Plt. *fâgo-.

PIE *bh2g-o- 'oak' / 'beech'. IE cognates: Gaul. *bâgos 'beech' (in French place names), Gr. φῦγος, Dor. φογός [f.] 'kind of oak, acorn'; OHG buoh 'written document, book', OHG buohstap 'letter' < *piece of beech for writing', Oic. bôk, OE bôc, bêce (< *bôkôn-), OHG buohta 'beech', Go. boka 'letter'. Unrelated: Alb. bung 'kind of oak' and Slav. *buzo 'elder'.

The adj. fâgûtâlis presupposes a derivative *fâgûtum 'beech-grove'. The restriction to western IE languages and the reference to different trees have suggested to some scholars that this word was not PIE, but a later loanword. In the Balkans, from which the beech started to spread after 6000 BC, the Gr. word means 'oak', not 'beech'. Yet 'oak' and 'beech' are both 'fruit-bearing trees', so that a semantic shift from 'oak' to 'beech' appears quite conceivable. The word itself may then have been PIE after all.


fallô, -ere 'to deceive' [v. III; pf. fefellë; ppp. falsum] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: fallâcia 'deceptive behaviour, trick' (Pl. +), fallâx 'deceitful' (Lucil. +); falsus 'erroneous, untrue' (Lex XII +), falsârius 'a forger' (Cato +); falsidicus 'lying' (Pl.); falsificus 'acting deceitfully' (Pl.), falsiûrius 'swearing falsely' (Pl.), falsiloquus 'speaking deceitfully', falsimônia 'deception' (Pl.); refellere 'to refute' (Ter. +).

Plt. *fal-s-e/o- [pr.], *fal-s- [pf.].

PIE *sgw2h2(e)l-n- 'to stumble'. IE cognates: Skt. (Br. +) skhalate [3s.pr.med.] 'to stumble, fail', MP škarvîdan 'to stumble, stagger'; Gr. σφάλλω 'to bring down', σφάλλωμαι 'to fall', aor. σφάλλων 'I fell down', Arm. sxalem 'to stumble, fail'.

The pr. may represent either *fal-d-, *fal-n- or *fal-s-. The pf. fefellë is a recent formation *fe-fall- on the basis of the pr., as shown by word-internal -f- and by -ellë (instead of -elî < *-Vl-ai, cf. pellô - pepuli). The original pf. may have been *fal-s-ai; thus Meiser 1998 and 2003. The ppp. can have been formed analogically after e.g.
sallō -salsus. The Ilr., Arm. and Gr. forms are very close in meaning and form, and can be connected if Gr. continues a labiovelar. The correspondence is irregular inasmuch as it seems to require a PIE voiceless aspirate stop, but this might be due to an original heavier cluster of consonants in (pre-)PIE, cf. Lubotsky 2006 on PIE *TsperH- ‘to kick with the heel’ possibly from *pds-per(H)-. If fallō belongs here, it has developed metaphorically from ‘stumble’ to ‘deceive’ (the tr. semantics are explained by the nasal present, as in Greek).


falx, -cis ‘hook, scythe, sickle’ [f. k; gen.pl. -ium] (Cato+)
Derivatives: falcula ‘pruning-knife, bill-hook’ (Cato+).
The suggested connection with Sicilian Ζάγκλη, Δανκλε” ‘sickle’ (thus still IEW) is too uncertain. EM suspect a loanword origin, which in case of a technical word like this would not be surprising. Semantically, the comparison with Olr. delg, Olc. dālkr seems acceptable, but Latin -al- cannot be derived from a root *dʰlɡ-, nor can word-final k. So at most, falx is a borrowing from a non-Latin IE language of Italy.

fames, -is ‘hunger’ [f. ē >> i (gen.sg. fami Cato, Lucil., famis more recent; abl.sg. famē, later famē)] (Andr.+) Derivatives: famēlicus ‘starved’ (Pl.+).
The noun is shifting from the fifth to the third declension type. Lat. famēlicus presupposes an earlier adj. *famēlis ‘hungry’. WH and, hesitatingly, IEW, reconstruct *dʰH-m-, connecting Latin fatīgō, Olr. ded- ‘to vanish’, and Olc. dāsi ‘slow’, MiE dosen ‘to deafen, daze’. Yet this comparison is too vague, both semantically and formally. The formation of fam-ē might point to a root *fam-.

fāmex/-ix, -icis ‘swelling, abscess’ [m.] (Col.: acc.sg. famicem)
Etymology unknown.
Bibl.: WH I: 452, EM 215, IEW 111f.

famulus ‘servant, slave’ [m. o] (Pl.+; nom.sg. famul Enn., Lucr., gen.pl. familum Verg.)
Derivatives: famula ‘serving woman, maid’ (Cic.+), famulanter ‘in the manner of a servant’ (Acc.), famulitās ‘servitude’ (Pac.+); familia ‘household, servants’ (Lex XII+; gen.sg. usually familiās), familiāris ‘of one’s household, private’ (Pl.+), familiāricus ‘of household slaves’ (Varro+), familiāritās ‘close friendship’ (Ter.+).

Rix 1994a interprets Plt. *famelio- as a back-formation to *famelia ‘household’, f of an adj. *famelio- ‘basic; of the house’ which could belong to a pre-form PIE *dʰh₁-m-elo- ‘fundament’. The latter was probably a diminutive to *dʰh₁-mo- ‘basis’. This explanation implies that a semantic shift from ‘basis’ to ‘house, dwelling-place’ took place at some point; compare the meanings of Skt. dhāman- ‘law; dwelling-place’.


fānum ‘shrine, temple, consecrated place’ [n. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: hāmula (Paul. ex F.) ‘small temples’, fānāre ‘to dedicate’ (Varro+), fānāticus ‘of a temple; enthusiastic’ (Cic.+); profānum ‘secular, not religious’ (Pl.+), profānāre ‘to offer in front of a temple; to desecrate’ (Cato+).


PIE *dʰh₁s-no- ‘divine, holy; consecrated place’. IE cognates: see s.v. fēriae.

Fānum represents a derivative in *-no- from the root *dʰh₁s- ‘gift’ which is also reflected in fēriae (see there for the further etymology). According to Schrijver, U. fesna- may continue an original plural (collective) *dʰh₁s-n-h₂ to the sg. *dʰh₁-s-no-. Alternatively, one might assume that Sabellic has adopted the full grade *fēs- from *fēs-io-., cf. Lat. fēriae. The form hanula is probably a dialectal form, with *f > h-.


far, -rris ‘husked wheat, emmer; grain, flour’ [n. r] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: farīnā ‘flour’ (Pl.+) (< *farrīnā), farināriūs ‘of flour’ (Cato+), farāceus ‘of emmer’ (Varro+), farāgō, -inis ‘mixed crop of inferior grains’ (Varro+), farāriūs, farreariūs ‘for grain’ (Cato).


Italic and Slavic can continue a stem *bʰars-, which Gm. has remade into an s-stem
with ablauting suffix. Celtic may have the same root, but the suffix does not contain *-s-. In view of the vowel *a and the semantic field (grains), it may well be a loanword *bʰars- ‘primitive kind of cultivated wheat, emmer, spelt’ from a non-IE language.


farcio, -ire ‘to fill completely, stuff’ [v. IV; farsi, fartum] (Enn. +)

Derivatives: 'farcimen ‘sausage’ (Lab. apud Gell.+); *fars, fartim [acc.], farte [abl.] ‘stuffing, mincemeat’ (Pl.), fartim [adv.] ‘tightly, densely’ (Lucil.+), farticula ‘small dish of stuffing’ (Titin.), fartor ‘one who fattens birds for table’ (Pl.+), fartum ‘sausage; stuffing’ (Varro+), fartūra ‘the stuffing’ (Varro+); confercère ‘to pack closely together’ (Varro+), confertus ‘thronging’ (Enn.+), effercère ‘to cram’ (Pl. +), suffarcināre ‘to stuff a person by padding out his clothes’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *fark-je- ‘to stuff’, *fark-to-, *fark-ti-.

IE cognates: Gr. φράσσω, Att. φράττω ‘to fence in, surround’?

The verb suffarcināre will be based on a noun *suf-farkōn, -inis ‘who stuffs’. Latin *fark- may reflect *frk-je/o- or *frk-to-, cf. Schrijver 1991: 495. The appurtenance of frequēns is uncertain, see s.v. The only conceivable cognate is the Gr. verb for ‘to surround’, which does not completely concur in semantics with ‘to stuff’. Also, it is unclear whether it continues *k or *g. LIV reconstructs a labiovelar in order to include frequēns, but a structure *bʰ-kʷ (*Dʰ-T) is non-PIE. This might be a reason to reconstruct *bʰreg-, or to regard the word as non-IE.


-fāriam ‘in n parts’ [adv.]: bifāriam ‘in two parts or places, in two ways’ (Pl.+), quadrīfāriam ‘in four ways’ (Varro+), multīfāriam ‘in many places’ (Cato+)  

Plt. *X-ḫo- ‘having X parts’ >> *X-ʰāsjo- ‘having X parts, in X ways’.  

 PIE *-dʰh₁-o-. IE cognates: Skt. dvidhā [adv.] ‘twofold, in two ways’, tridhā ‘threefold’.

Lat. -fāriam has been derived from fārī ‘to say’ as -fās-io- ‘having n utterances’, but the alleged semantic development to ‘in n ways’ is obscure. Much more attractive is the solution proposed by Weiss 2007a: 373f. He posits a Plt. or PIE adj. *tri-โดยเฉพาะ ‘having a tripartite division’ to explain tribus (see s.v.), and from the same adj., Latin could have derived an adj. in -ārius, cf. primus beside primārius. Since Lat. -f- would not arise from Plt. *bʰ after ā and before i, the -f- must be explained differently. Weiss adopts the solution which has been generally accepted for āferus, viz., that *-bāsi-o- was interpreted as being in word-initial position because *dui-, *tri-, etc. were analyzable first members.

Bibl.: WH I: 105, EM 70, 217. → tribus
farnus ‘ash-tree (?)’ [f. o] (Vitr.)

The meaning of this near-hapax cannot be ascertained. As Schrijver 1991 shows in detail, it is very difficult to connect farnus with fraxinus by means of a common preform or a common PIE root. The word cannot be derived from PIE *bʰṛH₂- ‘birch’ by means of known phonetic rules and without a number of ad hoc assumptions, and the meaning is uncertain anyway. It is best to regard the etymology as unknown.


fās ‘what is right by divine law, morally right’ [n. (indecl.) s] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: nefās tus ‘contrary to law, unfit’ (Pl.+), nefās ‘offence’ (Varro+), nefārius ‘wicked, immoral’ (Cato+); fāstus ‘lawful’ (Varro+), fastī, -ōrum [m.pl.] ‘days on which business may be done, list of festivals, list of consuls’ (Cic.+).

Pl. *faos > *fās.

PIE *bʰeh₂-os, -es- [n.] ‘saying, utterance’.

The noun originally survived only in the sequence fās est ‘*the saying exists’ > ‘it is right’. From this, *fās-to- and *fās-io- were derived.

Bibl.: WH I: 105, 458, EM 70, 217, IEW 105f., LIV 2.*bʰeh₂-. → for, fārī.

fascinum/s ‘evil spell; penis’ [n./m. o] (Paul. ex F., Verg.+) IE cognates: Gr. βάσκανος, -οῦ ‘sorcerer, slanderer’ (Att.), βάσκειν ‘to say, slander’ (Hsch.).

If βάσκανος and fascinum are indeed related, they would point to a meaning ‘curse, spell’ in a loanword from an unknown third language.


fascis ‘bundle, faggot; (symbol of) power’ [m. f] (Pl.+

Derivatives: fascia ‘ribbon, band’ (Varro+), fasciculus ‘bundle, bunch’ (Cato+), fascina ‘bundle’ (Cato), fasciola ‘ribbon, band’ (Varro).

Pl. *faski- ‘bundle’.

IE cognates: ŌIr. basc ‘necklace’, W. beich ‘burden’, Bret. bec’h ‘load’ < PCl. *bʰaskio-.

An Italo-Celtic correspondence *bhask(o)- ‘bundle’, for which no PIE etymology is available. Greek words such as φάκελος ‘bundle’ and βάσκιοι ‘bundles of osiers’ (Hsch.) are probably unrelated, since they show irregular alternations within Greek, and do not have exactly the same preform *bhaski(o-).


fastīgō, -āre ‘to make pointed, taper’ [v. I] (Caes.+

Derivatives: fastīgium ‘sharp point, tip, roof; height, depth’ (Varro+).

Plt. *fastīgī-/*fastī-ag-

PIE *bʰrs-ti- ‘top, point’. IE cognates: OHG burst, borst, OE byrst ‘bristle’ < *bʰrs-ti-; Skt. bhṛṣṭi- ‘point’, YAv. vouru.barāṣṭi- ‘name of a part of the earth which
lies in the northwest' are derived from a root *bhfrs ‘to whet’ by EWAia II: 273, 277, but this does not seem certain.

EM suppose that fastigāre was backformed from fastigātus ‘pointed’, but this would presuppose a noun *fastigum, for which there is no evidence. Still, fastigium is older than fastigāre, which induced Leumann to suggest that the verb was derived from the noun in -ium. The PIE form *bhrs-ti- would yield pre-Latin *bharstih by means of Schrijver’s rule that *r > ar in front of CCC. The (nominal) root *bhrs- is found without suffix in Celtic: Ir. barr, W. bar, Bret. barr ‘top’ < *bhrs-o-.


fastus, -ūs ‘pride’ [m. u] (Cat. +)

Derivatives: fastidium ‘disdain, aversion’ (Pl.+), fastidiōsus ‘critical, squeamish’ (Pl.+), fastidire ‘to show aversion to, scorn’ (Pl.+), fastidiliter ‘in the manner of one who is hard to please’ (Varro).

Plt. *fars-tu-?
PIE *bhrs-tu- ‘top, point’?

Lat. fastidium reflects a cp. *fastu-taid-o-, with haplology, to taedet ‘to be averse’ (Pl.+). The only reasonable connection of fastus is with *farsti- ‘top’; this would imply a semantic shift from ‘top’ to ‘haughtiness’ which is conceivable, but the u-stem is not attested independently. Also, fastidium would be a tautology.


fateor ‘to acknowledge, admit’ [v. II; ppp. fassum] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: confiterī ‘to admit’ (Lex XII+), infītiās ēre ‘to deny; disown’ (Pl.+), prōfitēri ‘to declare, promise’ (Pl.+).


PIE *bhrs-to- ‘spoken’ and/or *bhrs-t- ‘who speaks’. IE cognates: Gr. -φατος ‘said’.

At first sight, fatērī seems based on *fa-to- ‘said’, but Leumann avows his reticence to derive an ē-verb directly from a ppp. EM regard confiterī and prōfitēri as older than fatērī, and based on nominal compounds of the type *kom-fat-, *prō-fat-. This type of cp. does occur in Latin in roots in PIE *-H, but the ē-type of verbs is rare; it occurs in tateri. The noun *infitiae may continue *in-fato- ‘unsaid’. The ppp. fassus < *fat-to- must be a recent derivative from *fat-; the old ppp. of fārī survives in fātus, with introduction of the full grade from the present.


fatīgō, -āre ‘to tire out, harass’ [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: affatim, ad fātim ‘amply, sufficiently’ (Andr.+), fatīscere/-scī ‘to split open; become weary’ (Pac.+), dēfē/fastigāre ‘to exhaust, tire out’ (Pl.+), dēfēsitī (ppp. dēfessus) ‘to suffer exhaustion, become worn out’ (Pl.+), fessus ‘tired, exhausted’ (Varro+).
Faunus

All based on a noun *fatis ‘exhaustion, fill’, preserved in affatim. The verb fatigāre is explained by Dunkel 2000a from *fati-h2e- to agere. The verb fatiscor was probably built on the cp. dēfetiscor. In the latter, the reduction to e is irregular, since we expect *dēfatiscor from *dē-fati-. Probably, the e was taken from dēfessus. In dēfessus < *dē-fat-to-, the reduction to e is regular; from this cp. adj., fessus has later been detached. All of this implies that the oldest system was a noun *fati- and a ptc. *fasso-, hence, there must have existed a root *fat-. Wachter 2004: 378 interprets PL Cist 654 fossa as ‘tired, exhausted’, and as the only preserved instance of *fat-to- > *fassiisy which was replaced by fessus, which is taken from compounds elsewhere. The reconstruction of a PIE root *dʰH- ‘to vanish’ by WH is gratuitous. Theoretically, we would need a form *bʰHt- or *dʰHt- to explain fat-. Unfortunately, no cogent etymology is available.


fatuus ‘silly, foolish’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+
Derivatives: Fataus (Varro) an oracular god.


PIE *bʰh₂-tu- ‘speech’.

Lat. fatus looks like a derivative from a nominal or verbal stem *fat- or an adj. *fatulo- but neither pre-Latin *fati- ‘exhaustion’ nor *fato- ‘said’ provide an understandable semantic basis. However, if we connect the fact that Fataus is said to be an alternative name for Faunus, and that he predicted the future, and that this god is attested on an Etruscan mirror as Fatuvs in a clear oracular function (Weiss 2007b), we may venture a derivation from for ‘to say’ (Untermann 2000). The name of the god would then have come to be used pejoratively as ‘silly’.


Faunus ‘mythical king; (pl.) deities of the countryside’ [m. o] (Enn.+
Derivatives: Funa ‘a rustic goddess’ (Var.); Favōnius ‘the west wind, Zephyr’ (Pl.+

Pit. *fave/ono-; *fawin(-jo)-. It. cognates: U. fons, fos [nom.sg.m.], foner [gen.sg.f.], foner [nom.pl.] ‘merciful’ < *fVu(V)ni- (Schrijver).

PIE *bʰh₂u-n- ‘favourable’. IE cognates: OIr. bían ‘good, favourable; firm’, MW bun ‘maid, sweetheart’.

Formerly, there was no good comparison for Faunus. Since Lat. fāvēō and U. fons ‘merciful’ are now derived from the PIE root *bʰh₂u- ‘to become’, it becomes possible to derive Faunus from a similar preform as fons, viz. Pit. *fauYno- < *bʰh₂u-e/ono- ‘favourable’. Theoretically, *bʰh₂eu-no- would also yield Pit. *fauno-, but we have no other evidence for an ablaut grade *bʰh₂eu- in Pit., nor would it be expected in view of *bʰeh₂u- in other IE branches.

If Favōnius is indeed cognate, it would most likely go back to an earlier noun
*favo₂, -ōnis ‘who favours’, an individualizing form of a PIE n-stem adj. as attested in Umbrian and Celtic. This also yields a good semantic motivation: the wind that stimulates vegetation can be called favourable. *Favōnius was regarded by the Romans as the herald of spring and the start of new vegetation (e.g. Cato Agr. 50.1, Cicero Ver. 5.27, Lucretius 1.11, Vitruvius 2.9.1). The connection of *Favōnius with *foveře ‘to warm up, heat’, supported by WH, is not compelling, and yields insurmountable phonetic difficulties in explaining the -a-.


faveō ‘to be favourably inclined, to approve’ [v. II; pf. fāvī, ppp. faustum] (Naev. +; fove CIL I² 573)

Derivatives: fāventia ‘auspicious behaviour’ (Acc.), fāutor ‘supporter, partisan’ (also fāvitor) (Pl. +), fāutorix, -icis ‘female supporter’ (Ter. +); faustus ‘fortunate; favourable’ (Pl. +); maybe favea ‘maidservant’ (Pl.).

Pit. *faw-e-.

PIE *b h₂u-ehr ‘to be favourable to’. IE cognates: Olr. bāe ‘profit, benefit’ < *bʰeh₂u-i-o-, Skt. bhūṣ- ‘to exert oneself for someone’.

Because of the rule *-ouV- > -avV-, faveō might reflect *foueo, but the hapax fove is unreliable (see also Vine 2006a: 225ff.). Lat. faustus << *fouestus << *faves-to-. Schrijver 1991 rejects the etymologies *bʰouH-eie- ‘to make someone grow’ (for semantic reasons) and *dʰogʷh-eie- ‘to make warm’ (for phonetic reasons). He opts for PIE *gʷʰou-eie- ‘to worship’, derived from PIE *gʷʰu- ‘to heed, worship’. Lubotsky 1995 points out that the semantics of *gʷʰu- hardly compel us to derive faveō from it, and, furthermore, that it is not necessary to derive -eře from a causative verb: it can also be a stative suffix. Lubotsky then supports Kortlandt’s suggestion that the original shape of the root of ‘be(come)’ was actually *bʰu₂-, from which Olr. bāe ‘profit, benefit’ can be derived as *bʰeu₂-i-o-. This comes close to faveō in meaning, as do, in Lubotsky’s view, some of the Skt usages of bhū- and bhūṣ-. Hence, faveō may reflect *bʰu₂-ehr-.


favilla ‘ashes’ [f. ā] (Ter. +)

Pit. *fawV-.

PIE *dʰouH-V- ‘smoke / smoking’.

WH and EM do not doubt the appurtenance of favilla to foveō ‘make warm’ < ‘burn’; WH reconstruct *fouilla, EM *dʰgʷh- > fav-. Schrijver 1991 argues that “the obscure formation” (in -illa) “and technical meaning of the word” render it likely that it is a non-native word. In any case, the sequence fav- would conflict with fov- if both were from *dʰogʷh-, and none of the proposed solutions to this problem has been satisfactory. The suffix is reminiscent of scintilla ‘spark’, but difficult to explain historically. Vine 2006a: 241-243 now offers a new etymology: a derivation from *dʰuH- ‘to smoke’. If Thurneysen-Havet’s Law applied in Vine’s formulation (i.e. in
pretonic position with PIE place of the accent), *favilla must reflect a stem form *dʰouH₂-V- with unaccented first syllable. Of the various possible scenarios to arrive at such a form, Vine’s first proposal is the following: PIE *dʰouH₂-i- ‘smoke, soot’, ins.sg. *dʰouH₂-iH₁, ‘with smoke, with soot’ > deriv. Plt. *pouH₁-nó- ‘smoky, sooty’ > *paumó- > deriv. *faum(e)lā- ‘(small) smoky stuff’ = ‘ashes’. Another possible starting point would be a PIE o-stem *dʰouH₂-ō- ‘smoking’, whence an adj. in *-iH-no- could be derived. In any case, Vine’s etymology seems more likely than the earlier proposals.

Bibl.: WH I: 466, EM 221, IEW 240f., Schrijver 1991: 442f., LIV *dʰegʰ-, *dʰyeh₂-. → foveō, fūmus

favus ‘honeycomb’ [m. o] (Varro+)

Etymology unknown. One might follow WH and derive favus from PIE *bʰuH₁- / *bʰH₂u- ‘to dwell’, in the sense that the honeycomb is (part of) the ‘dwelling’ of bees. Applying Vine’s (2006) formulation of Thurneysen-Havet’s Law, favus could then reflect a preform *bʰouH₂-ō-, but final accentuation usually indicates an agent noun, whereas favus would rather require a resultative noun ‘building’. Alternatively, one may think of a formation *bʰueH₂-uo- > *fyauo- ‘being’ > *fauo- ‘building’, but this reconstruction is unsupported by other evidence.


faux, -cis ‘pharynx, throat’ [f. i] (Pl. +; usually pl. fauces, -ium; only sg. case form abl. fauce)

Etymology unknown.

Bibl.: WH I: 469f., EM 222.

fax, -cis ‘torch; a light’ [f. k] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: facula ‘torch’ (Pl. +); facēs (Paul. ex F.; meaning not indicated); facētus ‘clever, adept’ (Pl. +), inficētus ‘boorish, humourless’ (Pl. +), facētia ‘cleverness, joke’ (also pl. -ae) (Pl. +).

Plt. *fwak(w)- (ē-).

IE cognates: Lith. žvākė ‘candle’; Gr. φῶψ ‘light’?

The derivation of facētus from *fake- (whence also facēs) was doubted by EM, but would morphologically be sound. Semantically, one may envisage a shift from ‘enlightened’ to ‘clever’. Whether facēs is a remnant of the stem *fak-ē- is uncertain, since its meaning is unknown. It would fit, though. Schrijver 374f. is unsure whether *fak- or *fake- must be regarded as the oldest nominal stem in Latin – it is hard to decide. The appurtenance of Gr. φῶψ is uncertain, since it is a hapax from Hesych. Schrijver (p. 461) conjectures that it represents a remake of Gr. φῶς ‘light’ on the model of ὁψ ‘eye’, in which case it would not belong here. Since the Lith. form, might reflect PIE *gʰuok-, this removes the need to reconstruct a root-final labiovelar, though it is still a possibility. In Latin, *fuo- would have been unrounded to *fuo- in open syllable, i.e. in the oblique case forms. The root structure *Dʰ-T does not occur in certain PIE words, nor can *k(w) be regarded as a root extension: this would imply a
suffix ablaut *-ok(h) after a root *gʰu- (homonymous with ‘to pour’?), which would be unique. Hence, if this connection of two isolated words in Latin and Baltic is correct at all, it probably reflects a later loanword.


febris ‘fever’ [f. i] (Pl.+
Derivatives: febriculōsus ‘fever-ridden’ (Pl.+
Plt. *fexri-
PIE *dhegwh-ro- ‘burning’ > *dhegwhri- ‘burn, fever’. IE cognates: Gr. τέφρα ‘ashes’.


februum ‘means of purification, expiatory offerings’ [n. o] (Varro+; februm Varro, pl. februa, -orum Ov., Paul. ex F.)
Derivatives: februäre ‘to purify’ (Varro, Paul. ex F.), februālis ‘concerned with purification’ (said of luno, Paul. ex F.), Februārius [adj.] ‘(the month) February; of February’ (Varro, Cic.+), februātio ‘ceremony of purification’ (Varro), februātus ‘concerned with purification’ (Varro, Paul. ex F.)
Plt. *f(w)esro- or *fexro-
PIE *dʰues-ro- ‘the smoking’ or *dʰegʷh-ro- ‘the burning’.

Februum, -ua represent a substantivized adj. *februus ‘purificatory’, which in its turn presupposes earlier *febro- ‘purification’. This would match WH’s reconstruction *dʰues-ro- ‘smoking’ more or less: we would only need to assume a semantic shift from ‘the smoking’ to ‘the purifying’. The development *dʰye- > fe- is generally accepted, although there are no completely certain instances. If correct, this preform would be another instance of an e-grade in a substantival ro-formation, cf. Vine 2002. However, I see no way to exclude root identity of februus with febris < PIE *dʰegʷhri-. That is, *febro- might have meant ‘a burning, offering’, whence *febrowo- ‘belonging to an offering, means of purification’.


fecundus ‘fertile’ [adj. o/a] (Pl.+
Plt. *fek-odno-
PIE *dʰeh₁-k-? IE cognates: see fēmina.
Latin has seven gerunds in -cundus: secundus (< *sekʷ-omeno-?), facundus, fecundus, irācundus, iūcundus, verēcundus and rubicundus. Apart from secundus (which can hardly have led to the recognition of -cundus), the only form which may have had an original *k is fēcundus. It is usually derived from *dʰeh₁-(i-) ‘to suck’, but this verb is homophonous to *dʰeh₁- ‘to put’, and may well in origin be the same verb. Since ‘to put’ takes a k-suffix in some Italic, Greek and Phrygian forms (see s.v. Lat. faciō), some of the forms meaning ‘to suckle’ may also have had this suffix. In view also of fēlix ‘fortunate’, fēnum and fēmus, it seems that fē(k)- had developed from ‘suckling’ to ‘bringing forth, giving birth to’ (maybe already in PIE), hence fēc-undus
fel, fellis 'bile, gall' [n.] (Pl.+)  
IE cognates: Gr. χόλος 'gall, wrath', χολή 'bile'; Lith. tūžis, Latv. žūl(k)ts 'bile' < gʰl̥r̥3; OCS želč '<bile' [f.], Ru. želč', Scr. žūč, gen.sg. žūči; Olc. gall, OHG OS galla 'gall, bile' < PGm. *gallōn-.

Etymology uncertain. The nom.sg. must be from *fell, since it did not change to *fol (Cowgill 1978: 38). *Fell was analogically introduced for the original nom.sg. (*fello?), and then -l was simplified to -l. The gen.sg. fellis might reflect *fel-n-os. But intervocalic -ll- can also stem from *-l̥w-. Alternatively, fell and its paradigm may have been analogically influenced by mel, mellis 'honey', cf. Cowgill. Yet the root is uncertain: the closest cognates which also mean 'bile' have *gʰ-, but if fell is from from *gʰelH- 'yellow', initial f- instead of *h- must be a dialectal feature. If the root was *bʰl(l)-, it is possible to derive fel from a Latin root for colour terms (flavus) For the meaning of the Greek forms, see Diissen 2003a: 287ff.


féles, -is 'small carnivora, such as 'marten', 'wild cat' [f.] (Pl.+)  
IE cognates: W. bele 'marten': < *bʰlelego-?

The connection with W. bele is possible, but féles can go back to other preforms than *bʰel-. The inflection may represent an earlier -e-stem, but also an n-stem with nom.sg. *-ēn, or maybe a root noun. The e-stem inflection may have been productive in wild animal names, cf. mēlēs, volpēs, verrēs. No etymology.


félix, -īcis 'fruitful; fortunate' [adj. k] (Pl.+)  
Derivatives: felicitās 'luck' (Ter.+), infélīcis 'unlucky, unhappy' (Pl.+), înfelīcitās 'misfortune' (Ter.+), infélīcāre 'to bring bad luck' (Pl.+).

Plt. *fél(w)i- 'suckling'.

PIE *dʰeh₁-l(u)-i-. IE cognates: Olr. deil 'female pig', dela, delech 'having udders, milch cow' < *dʰeh₁-l-o/h₂; Skt. dhārī- [adj.] 'sucking' (AV) < *dʰeh₁-l/ru-, Gr. θῆλυς 'female' < *dʰeh₁-lu-, θηλή 'breast, nipple', Arm. dayl 'beestings' < *dʰh₁-l-i-, Latv. dēls 'son', dēle 'leech', Lith. dėlė 'id.' < *dʰh₁-l-o/-l-h₂.

Lat. félix developed from 'suckling' or 'with young' to 'fruitful' and 'fortunate'. We find different extensions (*-u-, *-i-, *-o-, *-h₂-) of a nominal stem *dʰeh₁-l-, which in itself must have meant 'sucking animal' (cf. also fīlius). This means that félix may be a very old f. of an l-stem adj., or a relatively early (hyper)femininization to *dʰeh₁-li- or *dʰeh₁-lu- to *dʰh₁-l(u)-iH. The fem. suffix *-ī- was extended by means of *-k- in Latin, cf. Schrijver 1991: 148-154. The development *-lwi- > *-lī- is assumed to be regular, and was confirmed by Nussbaum 1999a: 387, 410.

Bibl.: WH I: 474f., EM 224, IEW 242, Schrijver 1991: 139, 149, 344, LIV *dʰh₁(-i)- 'to suck, suckle'. → fēcundus, fēláre, fēmina, fēmus, fētus, fīlius
fēlo, -āre 'to suck (milk)' [v. I] (Varro+)

Derivatives: fēlāre 'to suck (sexually)' (Cat.+).

Plt. *fēlo-. It cognates: U. fēlīuē, fēliu [acc.pl.m.] 'suckling' < *fēlio-.
PIE *dʰeh₁-l-o- 'suckling'. IE cognates: see fēlīx.

The derivation of fēlāre and U. fēlio- from a noun *fēla- 'breast' is not very plausible (pace Untermann 2000). Since there is ample evidence for an adj. *dʰeh₁-l-(o/h₂)-, it seems more likely that the Latin verb 'to suckle' derives from an adj. 'who suckles', whereas the Umbrian adj. can simply have replaced the suffix *-lo- by *-lio-.


fēmina 'woman, female' [f. ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: fēminīnus 'female, of a woman' (Titinius+).

Plt. *fēmanā-.
PIE *dʰeh₁-mh₁n-h₂- 'the (one) nursing, breastfeeding'. IE cognates: PIE *dʰeh₁- in Skt. pf. dadhīr 'they have sucked', caus. dhāpāya-, inf. dhātave 'to drink', (payo)-dхā- [adj.] 'sucking (milk)'; Gr. pr.inf. ὑθοςόν, aor. ὑθοστο 'he sucked', Latv. dēt, dēju 'to suck', OCS đëva 'virgin, maiden', CS đētė, Ru. dēti 'children'. PIE *dʰeh₁-i- in Skt. pf. dhiyati 'sucks, drinks mother's milk', dēnā- [f.] 'stream of milk', Oss. đejyn / đejun 'to suck', Arm. diem 'id.', OCS đoitī, Is. dojǭ 'to breast-feed, nurse' (< *dʰoh₁- or dʰoh₁i-), Go. daddjan, OHG tāju 'to suck'; OIr. denaid*, -den*, pret. did, W. dynu 'id.' < PCl. *di-na-.

An original pr.ptc.med. of the root *dʰeh₁- 'to nurse', without the i-extension which many IE languages show.

Bibl.: WH I: 476f., EM 224, IEW 241f., Schrijver 1991: 344, LIV *dʰeh₁(i)-. → fēcundus, fēlix, fēlāre, fēmus, fētus, fīlius

femur, -inis 'thigh' [n. n] (Pl.; secondary forms: nom.sg. fēmen Ampellius, fēmus Apul., gen.sg. femoris Cic.)

PIE *dʰen-ur?

An isolated r/n-stem, which must be an archaic formation. EWAia I: 773f. follows a suggestion by Steinbauer 1979, who derives femur from PIE *dʰen-ur, -uen-s 'bow'. Semantically, this is not problematical; cf. also Janda 1998. Yet phonetically, there is no indication that *ny yielded (n)m in Latin.


-fendo, -ere 'to hit, strike' [v. III; -fendi, -fensus]: dēfendere 'to ward off, defend' (Lex XII+), offendere 'to strike against; encounter' (Pl.+), ĵfēnsus [adj.] 'aggressive, hostile' (Pl.+)

Derivatives: dēfensāre 'to protect' (Pl.), dēfensor 'protector, defender' (Ter.+), offensiō 'obstacle, offence' (Varro+), offensāre 'to collide with' (Varro+), offensus, -īs 'collision' (Lurc.+).

Plt. *χʷ (e)nē-.
PIE *gʰen-dʰ- 'to hit, strike' or ipv.sg. *gʰn³h-i. IE cognates: OIr. gōnaid, 'goín
feralis 'of the dead, funerary' [adj. i] (Verg.+
Derivatives: Fèrâlia, -ium [n.pl.] 'festival of the dead (21 Feb.)' (Varro+)
Plt. *fè-s-âli- 'religious'.
PIE *d^h_e_h₁-s-o- 'divine, holy'. IE cognates: see s.v. fèriae.

fènum / faenum 'hay' [n. o] (Cato+)
Derivatives: faeñarius 'of hay' (Cato+); faenisex, -cis 'a mower' (CIL, Varro+), faenisicia 'the mowing' (Cato+); faeniculum 'fennel' (Pl.+
Plt. *fèno- [n.].
PIE *d^h_e_h₁-no- 'yield'.
Because of an inscriptional form faenisicei in 117 BC, TLL and Leumann 1977 assume that fæ- is the oldest spelling. If so, the etymology is unknown. Others, e.g. WH, assume that fae- is a hypercorrect spelling for original fê-. In that case, we can reconstruct *fê-no- < *d^h_e_h₁-no- 'the yield' to the root *d^h_e_h₁-. This would confirm that the root 'to suckle' also meant 'to bring forth'; hence the noun means 'produce, yield' > 'hay'.

Bibl.: WH I: 479, EM 225, IEW 242, Leumann 1977: 68, LIV *d^h_e_h₁(i)-. → -dô, -dere, ñecnundus, félix, fêmina, filius

fènus / faenus, -oris 'interest (on capital)' [n. r] (Pl.+; the spelling fae- seems to be prevalent, TLL; it occurs beside fê- and fœ-; abl.sg. -ori)
Derivatives: fæénerâre 'to lend money at interest' (Cato+), fæéneratô [adv.] 'with interest' (Pl.), fæénerâtor 'money-lender' (Cato+); fæénsusculum 'a small sum of interest' (Pl.).
Plt. *fènos- [n.].
PIE *d^h_e_h₁-ne-os- [n.] 'yield'.
If fê- is the original form, we can assume the same semantic origin as a noun 'yield' as in fènum 'hay'.

Bibl.: WH I: 479, EM 225, IEW 242, Manessy-Guitton 1964, LIV *d^h_e_h₁(i)-. → fènum

wounds, kills', W. gwan 'to thrust, hit', MCo. gwana 'to sting', OBret. goanaff 'to punish, sting' < *gʷ-an-ë/o-; Hit. kue(n)-²/ kun- / kava(n)- 'to kill', LyC. 3p qâñti 'they destroy'; Skt. pr. 3s. hânti, 3p. ghmânti 'to kill'; Gr. οὐκο, Arm. jnem 'to strike'; Lith. ginti 'to protect, defend', 3s. gina (the acute is unclear), OCS guñati 'chase, persecute' < BSI. *gʷ-n-. This inherited verb is only preserved in compounds. The adj. ñìnënsus presupposes an earlier verb *in-fendere 'to strike into, attack'. PIE had a root present *gʷ-en-/*gʷ-n-, from which -fendō was derived either by suffixation of PIE -d(h)-, or the whole paradigm was derived from an original pr. ipv. sg. *fende < *gʷ-dî 'strike!' (thus LIV).


feralis 211
WH and Leumann 1977 assume that *fēralis is without a derivational basis in Latin, but a connection with *fériae ‘religious festival’ seems quite plausible to me. WH assume that such a connection would imply a semantic shift from ‘festival of the dead’ to ‘any festival’, but this is not necessary. Lat. *fériae and *festus point to bases *fēs-o-, *fēs-to- ‘divine, holy’; from the former was derived *fēs-āli- ‘religious’ which has been narrowed down to ‘funerary’ in *fēralis. WH connect *fēralis with words for ‘to breathe, rage’, and reconstruct *dʰyēs-o-ā- ‘soul, ghost’, but the lengthened grade remains unaccounted for.


*fērē, ferme ‘approximately, nearly’ [adv.] Naev.+)

PIE *dʰer-o- ‘holding’, ‘tight’. IE cognates: see firmus.

Fermē seems to be a more archaic form, which disappears after the Republic. There is no difference in meaning with fērē, hence it is preferable to regard fermē as an abl.sg. in -ē to the superlative *ferimo- of fērē, rather than as a variant of firmus ‘firm, strong’. If the original meaning was ‘holding’ or ‘fixed’, the semantic change implies a hyperbole (‘certainly’ > ‘nearly’). The use of the sup. suffix *-amo- would point to *fero- having an (adverbial or adjectival) meaning of place or time, such as ‘close by’.

Bibl.: WH I: 480, EM 226, IEW 253, LIV *dʰer-. → firmus

fer(c)tum ‘a kind of sacrificial cake’ [n. o] (Cato+)

PIE *bʰer gö-to- ‘roasted’? IE cognates: Skt. pr. bhṛjjāti ‘to fry’ (Middle Indic for *bhṛjjāti?); bhṛjjana- [n.], bhṛṣṭra- ‘frying-pan’ [n.] (metathesized from *bharṣtra?); Khot. bhṛṣ-, MP bṛṣṭan ‘to fry, roast’; Lith. būrgelas ‘kind of beer’.

The cluster reu can be regarded as a case of archaic spelling; but in view of -fortus, it may also carry restored -c-. Skt. and Baltic may reflect *bʰr-g- (but only if the velar was depalatalized in Baltic, for which there seems to be no context available; and the Lith. circumflex does not fit), and Latin *bʰer- gö- ‘to roast’ (Vine 1986). This root might be an enlarged variant of PIE *bʰr- ‘to boil, seethe’, reflected in ferveō. Yet the semantic origin of fer(c)tum is unknown, and it may also be connected with farciō ‘to stuff’. In that case, it would represent a full grade *bʰerg- gö- ‘stuffed’ > ‘cake’.


fériae ‘religious festival’ [f.pl. ā] (Pl.; Paul. ex F. *fériae)

Derivatives: *fériātus ‘keeping holiday’ (Pl.+); *fēstus [adj.] ‘holiday’ (Pl.+), festīvus ‘festal, excellent’ (Pl.+), festīvitās ‘festivity, charm’ (Pl.+), prōfēstus ‘ordinary, working’ (Pl.+).

PIE *fēs-to- ‘holiday’, *fēs-to- ‘holiday’. It. cognates: O. filiās, filis, fisīs [dat.abl.pl.] ‘(religious) holidays’ < *fēsa-.


fēriatus ‘keeping holiday’ {f!+; jestus [adj.] ‘holiday’ (P1.+), fēsīvus ‘festal, excellent’ (P1.+), fēsīvitās ‘festivity, charm’ (P1.+), prōfēsītus ‘ordinary, working’ (P1.+).

PIE *fēs-to- ‘holiday’, *fēs-to- ‘holiday’. It. cognates: O. *fēsīs, fisīs, fisīs [dat.abl.pl.] ‘(religious) holidays’ < *fēsa-.

PIE *dʰel₁-s-to- ‘divine, holy’. IE cognates: Skt. dhīśā ‘approximately: with impetuosity”; Gr. θεός ‘god’, θεοφατός ‘decreed by a god’ < *dʰel₁-s-o-, Arm. pl.
These words seem to be derived from a PIE s-stem *dʰeh₁-s- ‘religious gift’ or ‘rite’ (cf. Av. dāh- ādah- ‘gift’ < IIr. *dʰaH-as-), cf. Benveniste 1969 II: 13. Apparently, the different derivatives with suffixes such as *-o-, *-io-, *-to- came to mean ‘divine’ at an early stage.


Derivatives: referire ‘to strike in return’ (Pl.+

Pf. *fer-je-o-.

Pf. *bʰerH- ‘to pierce, strike’. IE cognates: Alb. bie, bjerrē ‘to fall, get through’ < *ber(-je)-.

The etymology is based on the assumption that feriō belongs to the root for ‘to pierce’, attested with o-grade in forāre and several BS1. and Gm. cognates. Since this was a laryngeal-final root, feriō cannot go back directly to a PIE e-grade, since *bʰerH-je- would yield Latin *feraje- > *ferā- (as per Rix 1999, Meiser 1998: 186f.). Also, since most languages continue the o-grade of *bʰerH-, the e-grade of Latin and Albanian is diverging. Possibly, the root-final laryngeal was lost in prevocalic position, and the resulting form *bʰer- was recharacterized with *-ie/o-.


fermentum ‘ferment; yeast’ [n. o] (Pl+)

Derivatives: fermentāre ‘to cause fermentation’ (Varro+).

Pf. *fer(a)mentom.


Form and meaning of the original root are not clear. Semantically, it is most attractive to regard fermentum as a derivative of the primitive root *bʰr(H)- underlying the extended root *bʰrH-u- or or *bʰr-u- ‘to boil’ reflected in ferveō and défrutum.


ferō, ferre ‘to carry, take’ [v. irr.] (VOLat+: CIL 560 (Prænestè) asom fero). Forms: pr. ferō, fers, fert, ferimus, fertis, ferunt, ipv. fer! ferte!, pf. (te)tuli, ppp. látus; OLat. sb. abstulas, attulas (Nov.) attolat (Pac.).

Derivatives: fērāx ‘bearing rich crops, productive’ (Pl.); fērenmārius ‘light-armed soldier’ (Pl.); cp. in -fer, -era, -erum ‘bringing, carrying’; afferre ‘to bring, deliver’ (Pl.); auferre ‘to take away’ (Naev.+), circumferre ‘to carry round, spread’ (Pl.); conferre ‘to bring, bestow, collect’ (Naev.+), déferre ‘to bring down, transfer’ (Pl.); differre ‘to carry away, spread, put off’ (Pl.); efferre ‘to carry out, bring forth’ (Pl.); interre ‘to carry into, bring forward’ (Pl.); inferius ‘used in offerings’ (Cato+), inferiae [f.pl.] ‘offerings made to a dead person’s manes’ (Lucr.+), offerre ‘to put in someone’s path, offer, provide’ (Pl.); perferre ‘to carry, deliver’ (Pl.); praeferre ‘to
carry in front of, exhibit' (Aeditus+), prôferre 'to bring forth, display, utter' (Naev.\+), referre 'to bring back, withdraw, return; record' (Naev.+), réfert 'it makes a difference, is important' (Pl.+), sufferre 'to offer; submit to' (Pl.+), trânsferre 'to transport, transfer' (Pl.+).


PIE pr. *bher-e/o- 'to carry', ppp. *tlh2-to- 'lifted'. IE cognates: Olr. beirid, -beir 'to carry', OW beryt [3s.], MBret. beraff 'to flow' < PCl. *bere/o-, Skt. bhara-, Av. bara-, Gr. φέρω, Phryg. αβ-βερετ, Arm. berem, Alb. bie 'to bear, carry', Lith. berî, berîû 'to scatter, OCS bûratî, 1s. berô 'to gather, select', Go. bairan, ToB act. parûm, ToA med. pârtûr; see tollô for the cognates of tulû, lûtus.

Pres. pers < *fere<, fert < *fert, fertis < *fertis, inf. ferre < *feres, ipv. fer < *fere. The cp. réfert contains a case form of ré̄s 'case, thing' in the first member, most likely the abl.sg. ré̄. The suffix -tilis instead of -ilis in fertilis is striking. Szemerényi 1989: 38 derives fertilis via dissimilation from *fer-tr-ī, which he compares with Av. barathlete- 'giving birth', i.e. *b\<\h>er-tr-iH-. But fertilis is attested so recently (Cic.+\+) that this seems a moot possibility. It seems more likely that -tilis was taken from other adj. in -tilis (built to ppp. in -tus), e.g. fictilis, plectilis, textilis. Also its antonym sterilis 'barren' (Pl.\+) may have played a role.


ferrum 'iron, steel' [n. o] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: ferreus 'made of iron' (Pl.+), frrâementum 'iron implement' (Pl.+), frrâtus 'bound or covered with iron' (Pl.+), frrârius 'iron-' (Pl.+), frrâria 'iron-mine' (Cato+), frrrâtis 'connected with iron-working' (Pl.\+), frrûgineus 'having a dark purplish colour' (Pl.+), frrûgimus 'id.' (Lucr.), frrûgô 'iron-rust' (Cat.+).

Loanword from an unidentified source. Possibly, from a Phoenician dialect: ferrum < *fer-s-o-, cf. Phoenician barzel, Syriac parzlâ 'iron'.

Bibl.: WH I: 485f., EM 229f.

ferula 'giant fennel' [f. ã] (Varro+)

Under the assumption that the 'giant fennel' was named for its long stalks, ferula may be connected with festûca, showing a stem *fes- in both words. Without further etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 487, EM 230. → festûca
**ferümen, -inis** 'cement, glue' [n. n] (Petr. +; most texts and mss. have *ferrumen*)

Derivatives: *offerrümenta* 'seam, joint' (Pl.).

If the spelling *ferrumen* was influenced by *ferrum* (another building material), the form *ferümen* can be regarded as the oldest. The suffix -ümén may contain the stem *bhero-* of *fervere*, if one assumes that 'glue' was obtained by heating and therefore melting a gluing substance, like resin. Still, referring to this as 'which is to be made hot' is not as specific as 'glue'. The suffix -ümén also occurs *bitümen* 'pitch' and *alümen* 'alum'. In its use, *ferümen* is not unlike *bitümen*, hence it may have been influenced by it. But *ferümen* can also be regarded as a semantic neighbour of *fermentum* 'yeast', in which case both nouns could continue *femen*. Thus, the precise origin is unclear. The form *offerrümenta* in Pl. is probably a nonce-formation.

Bibl.: WH I: 486, EM 230, 459. → *fermentum, ferveö*

**ferus** 'wild, savage, brutal' [adj. o/ā] (Carmen Arvale, Naev. +)

Derivatives: *fera* 'wild animal' (Pac. +), *ferinüs* 'of wild beasts' (Lucr. +), *ferox* 'fierce, arrogant' (Pl. +), *ferocia* 'fierceness, arrogance' (Cato +); *efferus* 'untamed, wild' (Lucr. +), *perferus* 'completely wild' (Varro).

Plt. *χββηρο-.*

PIE *δββηρ- 'wild animal' (> *gββηρ-ro-).* IE cognates: Gr. ὄξ, ὄς, OPr. [acc.pl.] *swirins*, Lith. žveris, Latv. žvērs, OCS žvērb, Scr. žvijer [i], Bulg. žvar 'wild animal' < Bsl. *žvetři-; ToB šërve 'hunter' (< *gββηρ-wo-).*

The retention of -rus (as opposed to *vir < *viros*) must be due to the influence of f. *fera*, n.pl. *fera*. The adj. *fer-ox* may be (one of) the source(s) of the suffix -ox, if from *[f]ero-hykw- 'having a fierce aspect'. This can be disputed, but I see no better source for this suffix. The short -e- of *ferus* can be explained from pretonic shortening in front of a resonant, as per Schrijver's formulation of Dybo's Law in Latin (1991: 343).


**ferveö** 'to be intensely hot, boil' [v. II; pf. *ferbüi* (Hor. +)] (Varro +). Also pr. *fervere*, pf. *fervi* (Naev. +)

Derivatives: *fervêscere* 'to become hot' (Pl. +), *fervêfacere* 'to make very hot' (Pl. +), *fervidus* 'hot' (Acc. +), *fervor* 'heat, ardor' (Varro +); *confervêscere* 'to make thoroughly hot' (Lucr. +), *défervêscere* 'to boil thoroughly' (Cato +), *défervêscere* 'to come to a full boil; cool off' (Cato +), *efferv(e)ö* 'to boil up/over' (Lucr. +), *effervêsce* 'to boil up or over' (Cato +), *infervêscere* 'to bring to the boil' (Cato +), *infervère* 'to come to the boil' (Cato +), *infervêsce* 'id.' (Cato +), *perfervêferi* 'to become very hot' (Varro +), *praefervidus* 'exceedingly hot' (Acc. +).

Plt. *ferwe/o-.*

PIE pr. *b˘heru-e/o- 'to be hot, boil'. IE cognates: Ork. *berbaid*, W. berw 'to boil' < *b˘her-u-.*

*Fervere* occurs mainly from Pl. to Verg., whereas *fervère* occurs mainly from Verg. onward (with the exception of *infervère*). This suggests that *fervere* was replaced by *ferveö* in the course of time. Still, it is likely that *fervère* had been around longer,
since we find infervere in Cato, and since fervescere (whence fervéfacere) and fervidus are most likely to be derived from a verb in -ēre. This begs the question of the original semantic distribution. LIV hesitatingly assumes that fervere goes back to *fervère from a caus. *b'or-u-eie; the e-grade would then have been adopted from fervere. Yet there is no discernable difference in meaning between fervo and serveo, and Latin would have tolerated a difference in vocalism if there was one in meaning.

It seems more likely that the original verb was fervere, after all, but that it was replaced (or, initially: joined) by fervere before the time of Plautus. The rise of fervere can be ascribed to the stative meaning ‘to be hot, be boiling’.


festínō, -āre ‘to make haste, hurry’ [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: festinus ‘quick, in a hurry’ (Sall.+), praefestīnāre ‘to make great haste’ (Pl.+), praefestinātim ‘in great haste’ (Sis.); confestim ‘immediately’ (Naev.+).

Plt. *fristi- ‘haste’.

PIE *b'risti-. IE cognates: W. brys ‘haste; speedy’, MBret. bresic, brezec ‘swift, hurried’ < *b'ris(s)ti-.

The form confestim points to an earlier noun *festi-. Schrijver 1990 reconstructs a noun *festi- ‘hurry’ from a root *b'ris- which he also finds in Celtic, and compares it with Skt. bhrī-. Vine 1999c assumes that festimus is older than festināre, in spite of its more recent attestation. In that case, there would have been an ins.sg. *frisi- ‘with haste’ from which *frisi-no- was derived. Even if the actually attested festinus is regarded as a more recent creation, Vine argues, festināre may have been built on an earlier adj. *festīno-. Vine’s explanation is attractive semantically, since the earlier explanation of festināre as a denominative to an alleged noun *festi-on- ‘haste’ does not explain the meaning ‘to make haste’ (one would expect ‘to be a haste’, which is nonsense). Italo-Celtic *b'risti- might be connected with *b'ris(s)-H- ‘to cut’ (Skt. bhrināti ‘they wound’, YA vern. pairi.bhrin'ha ‘you have cut’, RuCS brijp, briti ‘to shave’). The bare root would be *b'ri-, with a suffix *s-. But the semantic connection with ‘haste’ is hardly compelling, so this etymology remains gratuitous.


festūca ‘stalk, straw; ram, pile-driver’ [f. ā] (Pl. +; in ClLat. sometimes fistūca)

Derivatives: festūcāre ‘to ram down’ (Cato+), festūcula ‘chaff’ (Varro).

If ferula ‘giant fennel* < *fes-ela is cognate, this would point to PLat. *fes-. The suffix -ūca, -ūcus is found in several plant names (sambucus, albūcus, lactūca), which points to *festo- as the earlier stem. No etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 489, EM 231. → ferula

fētiālis ‘one of the college of twenty priests of Rome’ [m. ī] (Varro+)

Plt. *fētī-āli-.

PIE *d'hēti-i-ti- ‘the putting, making’. IE cognates: Skt. -dhiti- [f.] ‘id.’, Av. ni-dāiti-
'concealment', Gr. ἰέσις [f.] 'setting, position', Lith. détis 'load', OCS blago-dětj 'benediction', Go. gadeds 'adoption', missadehs 'crime', Oic. dād, OHG tāt 'deed'.

A substantivized adjective meaning 'of the (religious) congregation'. Thus, the inherited noun *fěti- < *dʰeʰ₁-ti- 'putting, placement' came to mean 'prescription, law', and eventually 'body of priests'.


fétaus 'having recently given birth; fertile' [adj. o/ā] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: fěta 'a female animal which has just given birth' (Pl.+), fětūra 'breeding, parturition' (Var.+), fětus, -ūs [m.] 'parturition, breeding, offspring' (Pl.+); effětus 'that has borne fruit; exhausted' (Lucr.+).

Plt. *fěto-.
PİE *dʰeʰ₁-to- ‘having given birth’.

Risch 1984: 189-191 has shown that the earliest meaning attested for fětus is 'having given birth', 'breeding' (of birds), from which 'fertilized, fertile' was derived by means of a metaphor mainly applied to the earth and to plants. Only rarely does it mean 'pregnant'. For the semantics of the root, see fěnum. Probably, fětus is an inner-Italic formation, as is fěcundus.

Bibl.: WH I: 490, EM 231, IEW 242, LIV *dʰeʰ₁(α)-. → fěcundus, fělix, fělāre, fěnum, fětus, fliiūs

fīber, -brī 'beaver' [m. o] (Pl.+; also fēber Varro+)

Plt. *fīfe-ro- / *fēfrō- 'beaver'.
PİE *bʰe-bʰr-ū-, *bʰe-bʰr-o- (or *bʰ-i-bʰr-o-) 'brown; brown animal, beaver'. IE cognates: Gaul. bebru- (in PN); Skt. babhri- 'red-brown; brown horse', Av. baṣhra- 'beaver', OPr. bebrus, Lith. bēbras, bēbras, bebrus, bēbrus, Latv. bèbrs, CS bebrós, Ru. bōbr, gen.sg. bobrá, SCR. dābar, Sln. bōbar, bēbar 'beaver' < BSI. *bebrus, *bobros; OHG bībr, OS bībar, bever, OE befor, bēr, bebir < Wgm. *bebru-, OIC. bjōrr, ONOrw. bīfr-, OSwe. bīūr, ODan. biever < North-Germanic *bebru-.

It is not clear whether the few attestations of fēber, fēbr- in glosses and in Varro represent a linguistically real, older form. In any case, the IE cognates all continue *bʰe-bʰr-, so that fīber can be interpreted in two ways: either its initial vowel was raised to -i- in Latin at some stage; or it alone continues *bʰibʰr-. In view of the vacillation between the reduplication vowels *e and *i in PIE, the matter cannot be settled. In IIr. and BSI, o- and u-stems occur side by side, whereas Gm. has only a u-stem and Latin an o-stem. If the word is cognate with PIE *bʰruH-no- 'brown', the u-stem may be older (for this type, cf. Skt. dādru- 'skin disease', -ta-m-u- 'spanning'); but the o-stem was probably PIE too.


fibra 'radical or sheathing leaf; lobe, division, section' [f. ā] (Cato+)

Derivatives: fimbriae [f.pl.] 'fringe on a garment, fringe of curly hair' (Varro).
Fimbriae can easily be interpreted as a specialized meaning of *fibra. It has been assumed that fibra < *fisra would be cognate with filum ‘thread’ (WH, EM), but the latter is now reconstructed as *gwh!Ih-lo-. PIE *gwh!Ih-s-ro would yield a form *fisra, in contrast with the short i of fibra. The nasal of fimbriae is unexplained; WH assume a different etymon *d’uensria- ‘falling off’ or ‘spraying’, but this is semantically unwarranted. The irregular alternation may point to a loanword.

Bibl.: WH I: 491, EM 232, IEW 268ff.

ficus ‘fig-tree; fig’ [f. o] (Pl.; ficus, -ūs Varro+)

Derivatives: ficula ‘fig’ (Pl.), fículneus, fículnus [adj.] ‘of figs’ (Cato+), fícédula ‘small bird feeding on figs, beccafico’ (Lucil.+), fícédulensēs, -ium [pl.] ‘beccafico-men’ (Pl.), fícētum ‘fig-orchard’ (Varro+).

IE cognates: Gr. σύκον, Boeot. τυκον, Arm. t’owz ‘fig’.

Loanword from another language in the Mediterranean. The word may have been adopted into pre-Latin in the form *fiūko- or *fiīko-.

Bibl.: WH I: 492, EM 232.

fidō, -ere ‘to trust’ [v. III; pp. fīsum] (Pl.−)

Derivatives: fīdus ‘faithful, reliable’ (Pl.+), ἱνfīdus ‘faithless, treacherous’ (Pl.+); fīdūcia ‘guarantee, confidence’ (Pl.+); fīdēs ‘trust, guarantee’ (Pl.+), fīdēlis ‘faithful, loyal’ (Naev.+), fīdēlitās ‘faithfulness’ (Pl.+), ἱνfīdēlis ‘disloyal’ (Pl.+); (Dius) Fīdūs ‘a god sworn by in oaths, maybe Jupiter’ (Pl.+); foedūs, -eris [n.] ‘treaty, agreement’ (Pl.+; fīdus Enn. Apud Varro, Em. fīderātus ‘bound by treaty’ (SCBac. foederaetui +), cōnfoedustī, -ūrum [m.pl.] ‘allies’ (Paul. ex F. ); fīdusta ‘trustworthy’ (Paul. ex F. ); perfīdīa ‘faithlessness’ (Pl.+), perfīdīōsus ‘treacherous’ (Pl.+); confīdere ‘to put one’s trust in, be sure’ (Pl.+), confīdentiā ‘self-confidence’ (Naev.+), confidentiōquus ‘speaking audaciously’ (Pl.), differdī ‘to have no confidence in’ (Pl.+).


The oldest forms are fidere < pr. *b’eidh-e-, the adj. fīdus < *b’eidh-o- and the noun
fflius 219

fides < *bhidh-ehr. The noun fides was derived from fides. This noun was interpreted by Meillet as a remake of PIE *kred-dhehr 'trust, belief' because of the closeness in meaning; this would explain why we find -ē as a suffix vowel. However, this stretches the imagination too far. Hamp 1999 compares Gr. πειύώ 'persuasion' < *-o(i) and proposes a stem *bhidh-Hi-, with different paradigmatic ablaut: *Hō, -Hōi-m, *Hei-s in Greek, *Hēi-s, *Hei-m, *i-ós in Latin. I do not see the need to reconstruct a laryngeal: nom.sg. *bhidh-ei, acc.sg. *bhidh-ei-m would also work. The s-stem foedus has probably replaced *fidos, -eris, since Varro reports an Ennian form fidus, and Paul. ex F. mentions an adj. fidustus, of the type of adjectives usually built to s-stems. The o-grade seen in foedus may result from contamination with an o-stem noun *bhidh-o-, the f. of which is preserved in Alb. bē and Slav. běda.


figō, -ere 'to drive in, insert; to fasten' [v. III; fixī, fictum] (SCBac., Pl. +; fivere Paul. ex F.)

Derivatives: affivēbant 'they shut with bars' (gloss); affigere 'to fix, attach' (Pl. +), cōnfigere 'to fasten together; pierce' (Pl. +), dēfigere 'to plant, stick' (Pl. +), infigere 'to drive, implant' (Lucil. +), offigere 'to drive in, fasten' (Pl. +), suffigere 'to fix beneath' (Pl. +); fixus [secondary ppp.] 'set, established' (Lucr. +); fibula 'bolt, peg, pin' (Cato +). It. cognates: possibly O. fīlikus [2s. fut. pf.] 'to make(?)' < *fi-fig-us-s (Kortlandt 2007: 153); reluctantly Untermann 2000 for Us. fiktu, afikta [3s. ipv. II] '?.

PIE *d'higw-e/o- or *d'hHgw-e/o-. IE cognates: Lith. dįgti 'to plant, sting'; maybe ToB 3s. f. tsākam 'bites'.

The forms fivere and affivēbant retain the regular intervocalic reflex of *gʷ. The g was later introduced analogically from the perfect. Fibula < *fiwibula < *fiue-ctla. LIV explains fivō from the thematization of the weak stem *d'hHgw-w of a PIE root present (or rather a root aorist?). The reconstruction of the root-internal laryngeal is based on Toch. tsāk-, which may rather belong to a root in PIE *d-. The acute and the long vowel of Lith. dįgšti 'to sprout' can be explained from Winter's Law. For Baltic and Latin, a root *d'higw- would suffice.


filius 'son' [m. o] (Lex XII, Andr. +)


A PIE l-adj. meaning 'suckling' can be reconstructed both from the PIE root *d'hH1- and from its extended variant *d'hH1-i-. The U. suffix *-io- after *d'h1-i- is matched in Latin by fil-ius after *d'h1-i-. Although Latin fil- can reflect *feit-, Faliscan fileai shows PIt. *fil-.
**filix**, -cis *large fern, bracken* [f. k] (Vitr. +; var. *felix*)

Derivatives: *filicula* *small kind of fern* (Cato +)

PIt. *fel-e/ik-.*

PIE *bh*el-e/ik- *henbane*. IE cognates: W. *bele, bela* *henbane* < MW *beleu* [pl.] < LPBr. *bel- *henbane*; Gaul. deity *Belenos, Brit. *Belinos* in PN; RuCS *belim*, MoRu. *belená, Cz. bión, blin* *henbane* < *belno-*, SCR. *bún* < *blno-*; OHG *bilisa, bilesa, bilisa*, MDutch *bilse* *henbane* < *belos-*; OE *beolone, belene*, OS *bilene* < *belun-ôn*, Dan. *bylne* < *buln-.*

It is uncertain which spelling is the oldest, but since *filix* might be an assimilation from *felix*, the latter form might be original (or *felex*). The suffix -ik- or -ek- is found in other plant names (*larix* *larch*, *carex, rumex*), and can have been added secondarily. The stem *fel-* has been identified with PIE *bh*el- *henbane* in Celtic, Germanic and Slavic, which was rejected by WH on semantic grounds. Schrijver 1999: 37f rightly restores this connection: the stems of henbane show a superficial resemblance to the feathered leaves of fern, and both plants have well-known medicinal properties. This often suffices to create formal similarities in languages.


**filum** *thread, line; build (of a person)* [n. o] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: *filátim* *thread by thread* (Lurcr.).

PIt. *fi(s)lo-.*

PIE *gwhH-(s-)lo- *sinew, sinew thread*. IE cognates: MW *gieu, W. *gíau* *sinew, nerves*, OCo. *göuen*, MCo. (lenited) *leyw* < *gíi- < *gi-* < PIE *gwhH-*; Skt. *jyya- *tendon, bow-string*, Av. *jïya- *bow-string* < Ir. *jïHHaH-*, Gr. *bóç* *bow; bow-string* < *gwhH-o-; Arm. *jil* *sinew, cord* < *gwhH-sli-; OPr. *pettégiso* *back vein*, Lith. *gësla, Latv. džikjsla* *vein, sinew* < Proto-Baltic *gïHla, OCS *žïla, Ru. *žïla*, SCR. *žïla, Slm. žïla* *vein* < PSl. *žïla.*

The unenlarged root is shown by Ir. and Greek, but they also have initial *gwh-* instead of *gwh-*. In BSl. and Celtic, the velar is uncertain, whereas Arm. needs *gwh* like Latin. Some languages show the suffix *sleH2-* (Baltic, Armenian), some do not (Slavic). In Latin, this is impossible to determine.


**flum** *excrement, dung* [n. o] (Cato +; var. *fimus* [f.])

EM assume that the m. form is older, the n. being influenced by *stercus, -oris* *dung*. If cognate with *fimus* and *suffiō* *to smoke*, Lat. *fimus* *stinking* was probably derived from the verb *fīō* at a stage when this had already acquired the form *fi-.*

Bibl.: WH I: 499, EM 235, IEW 261-267. → *suffiō*
fingo, -ere  'to split, cleave' [v. III; pf. fidi, ppp. fissum] (Pl+)

Derivatives: fissum 'cleft, split' (Pl+), fissilis 'split' (Pl+); diffindere 'to divide, split off' (Lex XII+), īnfindere 'to cleave' (Acc+).

PIE *find-e-. It. cognates: maybe Hern. hvidas /fidas/ [2s.pr.sb.] 'to break'.

PIE pr. *bʰi-n-d- 'to cleave'. IE cognates: Celtib. bidetud [3s.ipv.] 'to split?', robiseti [3s.sbp.] < PCI. *bid-e/o-, *bid-se-; Skt. pr. bhīnāti, aor. abhedam, pf. bibhēda 'to split', bhinnā- 'split', bhīd- [f.] 'splitting', pūr-bhīd- 'breaking the walls', YAv. astō.bid- 'who breaks a bone'; Gr. φείδομαι 'to spare', Go. beitan, OE bītan, NHG bieten 'to bite'.

WH and EM suspect that the pf. was *fīfdī. Fissilis was derived productively from the ppp.


fingo, -ere 'to form, fashion' [v. III; pf. finxi, ppp. ficturri] (Pl+)

Derivatives: figulus 'potter' (Varro+), fig(i)linae [f.pl.] 'potter's workshop' (Varro+), figūlāris 'of a potter' (PL); figūra 'form, appearance' (Ter+), figūrāre 'to shape, fashion' (Varro+), figūrātor 'who shapes' (Varro); fìctor 'id.' (Pl+), fictrix 'deceiver' (Lucil.), fictilis 'made of pottery' (PL); affingere 'to add, attach' (Varro+), cōnfingere 'to form; invent, fabricate' (Pl+), effigia (Pl+) / effigēs (Cic+) 'statue, portrait', effingere 'to wipe clean (Cato+), to shape, reproduce (Cic+); fitilla 'kind of cake offered in sacrifices' (Sen., Plin.).


PIE pr. *dʰi-n-gʰ-, aor. *dʰ(e)igʰ%; noun *dʰeigʰ-(o-) 'wall'. IE cognates: Verb: Celtib. inf. ambi-tinkounei 'to build', Olr. dingid*, *ding 'to oppress' < PCI. *dinge/o- 'to press, form'; Skt. deh- 'to smear, to anoint, to plaster' [pr.], YAv. pairi.daēzaia- 'to embank', uz-daštā- 'piled up'; Arm. dīzānem, aor. edēz 'to pile up'; Lith. žiēstį, žiēdiu 'to mould (from clay)', OCS zedati, zidq 'to build', Go. digan 'to form mould', Toch. tsik- 'to form'; Noun: Skt. dehī- 'embankment, dam, wall', Av. uz-daēza- 'id.', pairi.daēza- 'wall', OP didā-, MP diz, MoP diz 'fortress', Bact. λιζα / λιζο 'id.'; Gr. τέξιος [n.], τοίχος [m.] 'wall', OPr. seydis 'id.', Cz. zed', gen.sg. zdi, SCR. zid 'stone wall'; Go. daijgs 'dough', ToA tseke 'sculpture'.

The presence of g in figulus suggests an origin as *dʰigʰ-lo-; in fig-ūra and effig-ia, also with g instead of h, the element fig- must be analogical from fingō. Lat. fitilla < *dʰigʰ-lla-, cf. Vine 1986, who explains fitilla for *fictilla as a dialectal form. The O. noun *fēihō- 'wall' matches nouns in *dʰeigʰ-(o-) 'wall' found in other IE languages. For PIE, LIV acknowledges an s-aorist, a root present and a nasal present. But the s-aorist is based on finxi only, which clearly is secondary to fingō. Hence, the original
forms may be a root aorist and a nasal present.


**finis** 'boundary, limit; territory [pl.]' [m. i (acc.pl. fineis in inscr., abl.sg. finī Pl.+)]

(Pl.+; f. in Acc.+

Derivatives: finitimus 'living near the boundary' (Lucr.+); fināre 'to draw boundaries, limit' (Varro+), finītor 'one who marks out boundaries' (Pl.+); affinis 'bordering on, connected' (Pl.+), affīnis [m.] 'a relation by marriage; neighbour' (Pl.+), affīnitās 'relationship (by marriage)' (Pl.+), confinī 'adjacent, akin' (Varro+), confinium 'common boundary' (Pl.+), dēfinire 'to fix, settle, define' (Pl.+), dēfinitiō 'definition, marking' (Varro+), infinitus 'indefinite, unlimited' (Varro+), praefinīre 'to prescribe, determine' (Ter.+); perfinēs 'perfringās' (Fest.).

Plt. *finī-? *fi/eig"sni-?

The etymology is disputed. WH reconstruct *fig-s-ni- 'driven in, implanted', as referring to a material boundary marker (a standing stone, a pole). Another possibility would be *bhīniH- to *bhīH- 'to hit, strike', especially in view of perfinēs 'you must strike'. Bammesberger 1990 connects PGm. *baina- 'bone, leg' and OIC. beinn 'straight', which may suggest that *baina- originally referred to a pole or an upright boundary mark. Whereas PGm. *baina- could go back to *bhīoiH-n-o-, Lat. finis could reflect *bhīH-n-i-.


**fiō, fieri** 'to happen, become' [v. IV] (Andr.+). Forms: pr. fiō, fis, fit, finus, fītis, fiunt, ipv. fi, fite, fiō, ps. fitur, fitum est; inf. fiere (Enn.), fieri (elsewhere), sb. fiām, ipf. fiēbam.

Derivatives: dēfierī 'to be lacking' (Pl.+), infit 'begins' (Pl.+), superfierī 'to be superfluous'. As pr. to -factō: cōnfierī 'to be done, happen' (Ter.+), interfierī 'to be destroyed' (Pl.+).

Plt. *fwije/o-. It. cognates: O. fīet, fīlet [3p.pr.], U. fūia [3s.pr.sb.], fuiest [3s.fut.], fīto [ppp., acc.sg.n.] 'to take place, happen' < *fī-je/o-. The vowel i can be directly from *ū, or from the pīus-rule. The U. ppp. fīto- may reflect *fū-to-.

PIE *bhīu-ie/o- 'to become'. IE cognates: Gaul. biiete 'you are/must be', OIr. biiu 'I am', bīid, bīith, bī 'is', MW byd 'I am', byōd, byt, OW -bid 'is' (cj.), MBret. bezaff, bezaf 'I am', bez, MCo. bethaf, bythaf 'I am', beth, byth, OBret. -bid 'is' < *bīje/o- < PCl. *būije/o-; ?Gr. Att. φούμαι 'to grow, become'.

Originally an active verb with a stem *fi-, the inf. of which (fiere) acquired a ps. ending -ī. Used as an intransitive counterpart to facere 'to make'. To explain the stem fi-, Schrijver mentions two possible scenarios: 1. Thurneysen's rule *-uīV- > *-iīV-, or 2. a development (e.g.) 3s. *bhīu-ie-ti > *bhīyieti > *fügieti > *fūit > fīt. See also Schrijver 2003: 77, for Celtic. Kortlandt 2007: 136 now opts for the second possibility, especially in view of the Celtic cognates. *fi- would develop phonetically in the 23s. and 12p. pr. forms, and then spread to the other forms of the paradigm. The inf. fiere shows its recent date by the absence of contraction, and it and fiō, fiunt
retain the long vowel in front of hiatus. Maybe U. *fuia* retains *fu- in front of *-iā-? Since *fierī* does not normally have a pf., the form *fitum* in Andr. must be a nonce-formation, cf. Meiser 1986.


**firmus** ‘firm, stable, strong, reliable’ [adj. o/a] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: *firmitās* ‘strength, stability’ (Pl. +), *firma* ‘firmly’ (Pl. +), *firmitūdō* ‘firmness’ (Pl. +); *firmāre* ‘to confirm, make strong’ (Ter. +), *firmāmentum* ‘support, prop’ (Afran. +); *affirmāre* ‘to add strength, confirm’ (Pl. +), *cōfirmāre* ‘to strengthen, encourage’ (Pl. +), *infirmus* ‘weak’ (Ter. +), *infirmitās* ‘weakness’ (Ter. +), *infirmāre* ‘to weaken’ (Acc. +), *affirmāre* ‘to make obdurate’ (Pl. +).

PIt. *fermo-.*

The i of *firmus* may go back to *e* and be due to raising after a labial, cf. Watkins 1973b: 196. It seems less likely that the raising can be ascribed to a cluster *rg*, as Leumann 1977: 45 suggests: in the cases which he adduces, the velar is still present, and *Mīrqrīos* and *commircium* also have a preceding labial; only *stircus* does not. WH reject a preform *ferGmo- because they reject an outcome *rm-.*

Bibl.: WH I: 505f., EM 237, IEW 253, LIV 145ff. → *jērē, fortis, frēnum, frētus*

**fiscus** ‘basket, money-bag’ [m. o] (Lucil. +)
Derivatives: *fiscella* ‘small basket’ (Cato +), *fiscina* ‘basket of rush, wickerwork’ (Naev. +).

Theoretically, a derivation *fid-skō- from *findō* ‘to cleave’ is envisageable, but gratuitous, as is the connection with *fidēlia* ‘large pot’ (Pl. +). No etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 506, EM 237, IEW 153.

**fistula** ‘pipe, tube’ [f. ā] (Cato +)
Derivatives: *fistulōsus* ‘full of holes; tubular’ (Cato +).

No certain etymology. The best comparison seems to be with *festūca* ‘stalk, straw’ and maybe *ferula* ‘giant fennel’ (if from *fesula*): the forms of a ‘pipe’ and a ‘stalk’ are similar. The vacillation between *fest-* and *fist-* occurs within *festūca* itself, and might be dialectal, or allophonic within Latin.

Bibl.: WH I: 506f., EM 238. → *festūca*

**flaccus** ‘lop-eared’ [adj. o/ā] (Varro +)
Derivatives: *flaccērēre* ‘to decline in strength’ (Acc. +), *flaccēscere* ‘to languish’ (Pac. +), *flaccidus* ‘weak, drooping’ (Lucr. +).

For the meaning of *flaccus*, see Parker 2000. *Flaccus* belongs to a category of adj.
with (expressive?) internal geminate, hence from *flako- or *flāko-. No etymology. All etymologies based on a development *ml- > fl- must be discarded.


flagitō, -āre 'to beset with demands, summon' [v. I] (Pl.+

Derivatives: flagittum 'demonstration of disapproval; disgrace' (Pl.+, flagitātor 'one who makes importunate demands' (Pl.+

Plt. *flāg-e/o- 'to whip'.

PIE *bhl(e)g-e/o-? IE cognates: O. blaka, blakra 'to hit back and forth', blak 'a blow', blekkja (< *blakjan) 'to hit'; Lith. blikštai, blaškiū 'to swing back and forth'.

All built on an iterative flāg-itāre to an earlier, unattested verb *flāg-ere. The original meaning was 'to whip somebody as a punishment', whence 'to scold'; cf. WH. This means that this word family is connected with flagrum 'whip', and that the stem appears as flag-r- in the latter and flāg-V- here. This would match Schrijver's rule (1991: 191) of a development *CRHCC > CRAACC as opposed to *CRHC > *CRAČ. If correct, this inference would support the likelihood of an early (PIE?) origin of these words. If *flāgere contains a PIE full grade, we may reconstruct *h₂; but the situation does not seem certain enough: it might be zero grade, and the cognates in Gm. and Bl. are not certain.

Bibl.: WH I: 508f., EM 238, IEW 154, Schrijver 1991: 185, LIV *bhle(g)-. → flagrum

flagrō, -āre 'to be ablaze, burn' [v. I] (Cic.+

Derivatives: flagrantia 'blaze, passionate glow' (Pl.+


PIE *bhlg-ro- 'burning', *bhlg-mh₂- 'flame'. IE cognates: see fulgō.

The verb is probably a denom. of an adj. *flagro- 'burning'. Schrijver (1991: 485) posits a rule PIE *RDC > Latin RaDC, which serves to explain *flagro- < *bhlg-ro-, among other forms. The noun flamma reflects a noun *flag-ma from a zero grade *bhlg-m- which is striking next to PIE *bhl-log-mo- > Gr. φλωμός 'flame'.


flagrum 'whip' [n. oj] (Pl.+

Derivatives: flagellum 'whip, lash' (Cato+); flagritrība 'one who wears out whips by being flogged' (Pl.+

Plt. *flagro- 'whip'.

PIE *bhlHg-ro-.

See s.v. flagitō.

Bibl.: WH I: 511f., EM 238, IEW 154, Schrijver 1991: 185, 191, LIV *bhl(e)g-.
flămen, -inis 'certain kind of priest, flamen' [m. n] (Varro+)

Derivatives: Flăminius 'a Roman gentilicium' (Varro+).

Pt. *flă(ā)d-men-? *flăsmen-? ‘sacrificial act’.

PIE *bʰleh₂(d)-mn ‘sacrifice’? *bʰlg-s-mn ‘burnt offering’? IE cognates: Go. blotan ‘to honour through sacrifice’, OHG bluozan ‘to sacrifice’, Olc. blóta ‘to sacrifice’ < *bʰleh₂zd-.

The old connection of flămen with Skt. brahmán- is highly problematic, and has been dismissed by Schrijver. As WH surmise, the ending -en points to an archaism, probably a n. noun ‘sacrificial act’ which changed its semantics to ‘priest’; for a similar shift, cf. augur ‘bird-observer’, see s.v. augē. The only viable comparanda are found in Gm., but they show root-final (or suffixal) *-d-. In Latin, it is impossible to decide whether flămen reflects *flă-men, *flăd-men, *flăsmen, or yet another preform. Schrijver reconstructs PIE *bʰleh₂-mn (a n. with e-grade), but *bʰleh₂-d-mn is also possible. A connection with *bʰlg- ‘to shine, burn’ would yield *bʰlg-s-mn ‘burning, burnt offering’ > *flăsmen as a possible preform.


flăvus 'yellow, blonde' [adj. a/d] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: flăvēscere ‘to turn yellow’ (Cato+).

Pt. *flăwo-.

PIE *bʰleh₃-uo- ‘yellow’? IE cognates: Mir. blá ‘yellow’; OHG blāo, OE blāw, Olc. blār ‘blue’ < PGm. *blēya-.

Schrijver derives flăvus from a root *bʰlh₃- which he also sees reflected in flōs and flōrus. The only way to connect flăvus and the Germanic words for ‘blue’ (if they are cognate) is to posit a development *bʰleh₃-uo- > *bʰleh₁z-uo- (loss of labialization in *h₁) for both Gm. and Latin, as Schrijver does (p. 300). This seems a hazardous assumption, but there is no better alternative, unless one separates flăvus from the Gm. words. In that case, one could posit PIE *bʰlh₁-uo- > flăvus. Of course, it is uncertain whether flăvus is related to flōrus to start with.


flectō, -ere ‘to bend, curve; modify, soften’ [v. III; pt. flexī, pps. flexum] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: flexāre ‘to bend’ (Cato), flexibilis ‘easily bent, flexible’ (Lab+), flexus, -ūs ‘the bending, turn’ (Andr+), flexūsūs ‘winding’ (Cato+), flexūra ‘curve; inflexion’ (Varro+); inflectere ‘to bend (inwards), turn’ (Pl+), inflexus, -ūs ‘winding’ (Naev+), reflectere ‘to bend back, turn around’ (Ter+); flexanīmus ‘persuasive; distracted’ (Pac+).

Pt. *flekt-.

Form and meaning render it possible that flectō contains a suffix *-t- which was added on the model of plectō ‘to plait’, maybe also of nectō. Possible preforms of the root are *bʰleK-, *dʰleK-, *gʰleK-, none of which has obvious IE comparanda.

fleō ‘to weep, cry’ [v. II; pf. flevī, ppp. flētum] (Naev.)

Derivatives: flēbilis ‘worthy of tears; causing tears’ (Lucil.), flētus, -ūs ‘weeping’ (Enn.); afflēre ‘to weep at’ (Pl.), défлēre ‘to mourn the loss of’ (Pl.).

Pl. *fle(g)e/o-.

PIE pr. *bʰle₁h₁-/*bʰl₁h₁- or *bʰle₁h₁-ie/oe- ‘to bleat, cry’. IE cognates: Hit. pahyae- ‘to cry out, shout for joy’ (< *bʰl₁h₁-u-o-jé-?; cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 623); RuCS blējati, Ru. blējat ‘to bleat, (dial.) ‘speak, chatter, cry’, Cz. bleti (arch.), Latv. blēt ‘to bleat’ < *b³le₁h₁-; MGH blejen ‘to bleat’ < *blé-; OHG blāzzen, OE blætan, MDu. blāten < *blé-t- < PIE *-d-.


flīgō, -ere ‘to strike down’ [v. III; pf. flīxī, ppp. flīctum] (Andr., Acc.)

Derivatives: flīctus, -ūs ‘collision’ (Pac.+); affīgīre ‘to strike, cause destruction’ (Pl.+,) affīctāre ‘to strike repeatedly, vex’ (Pl.+,) cōnvīgīre ‘to collide, argue’ (Lucil.+), cōnaffīctāre ‘to contend; harass’ (Ter.+), effīgīre ‘to strike dead’ (Pl.+), effīctāre ‘id.’ (Pl.), affīctīm (Naev.), affīctīm ‘passionately’ (Pl.+,) prōffīgāre ‘to crush, overwhelm’ (Pl.).

Pl. *flīg- or *flēg-.

PIE *b³liH-g-e/oe- or *b³liH-g-e-relative- ‘to hit, crush’. IE cognates: Gr. φλίβω ‘to rub, crush’; Lith. bląžyti ‘to tear off’, Latv. blaizit ‘to squeeze, beat, rub’, blięzti ‘to beat, hew’ < *b³liH-g-, CS blizb ‘near, close’, Ru. blizyj (dial.) ‘short-sighted’, Ru. blizkij ‘near, close’ < *b³liH-g-. Less certain: Go. bliggwan, OHG bliuwan ‘to hit’ < PGM. *bliuwan-< *b³liH·u-?

The meaning of flīgīre, the Gr., BSl. and Gm. words is close enough to render a correspondence in form likely, but the preforms cannot be identical. Greek requires a suffix *gʷ, Latin and BSl. can have *g, Gm. has no velar but probably needs *-H-. The long vowel in Latin can be from *IH or *ei, Greek may have secondary lengthening, BSl. does not need a laryngeal because the acute and the Slavic long vowel can be explained from Winter’s Law. Hence Schrijver’s suggestion that the root was *b³li- with different enlargements in different branches.

Bibl.: WH I: 517, EM 240, IEW 160f., Schrijver 1991: 230f., LIV *b³le₁g-.

flō, flāre ‘to blow’ [v. I] (Pl.+

Derivatives: flābllum ‘fan’ (Ter.+), flābellifera ‘maid holding a fan’ (Pl.), flābellulum ‘small fan’ (Ter.+); flābrum ‘gust of wind’ (Lucr.+), flāmen ‘gust, wind’ (Enn.+), flānus, -ūs ‘blowing, blast, breath’; affīlāre ‘to breathe, blow’ (Varro+), affīlātus, -ūs ‘breath, breeze’ (Varro+), conflāre ‘to blow on, bring about’ (Pl.+), défīlāre ‘to blow away’ (Varro+), dīflāre ‘to disperse by blowing’ (Pl.+,) effīlāre ‘to emit, breathe out’ (Pl.+), inffīlāre ‘to fill with air, blow on’ (Pl.+), perfīlāre ‘to blow through’ (Varro+), reflāre ‘to blow back, blow out again’ (Acc.+), suffīlāre ‘to puff up’ (Pl.+).

PIE pr. *b³le₁h₁-/*b³l₁h₁- ‘to blow’? IE cognates: see fleō.

It is possible to derive suffflāmen ‘bar used for breaking wheeled vehicles’ (Juv.+).
from *sufflāre. It can then be detached from *fulciō. If *flāre is related to *fleō, the root was probably *blh₁-t-. The ppp. might directly reflect *bh₁h₁-t- to-, as Schrijver posits, but of course it can be secondary. The pr. is explained by Schrijver (1991: 402) from *bh₁h₁-C-, the zero grade of the PIE root present (accepted by Meiser 1998), because he expects *falje/-o- as the outcome of the latter. LIV reconstructs *bh₁h₁-je-, but does not say how *flaje- > flā- arises from this preform. Alternatively, one might separate ‘to blow’ from ‘to cry’, since the semantics are sufficiently different, and reconstruct PIE *bh₁h₁- for *flāre; yet this would leave PGm. *ē in OHG bläen, Go. blesan ‘to blow’ unexplained.


floccus ‘tuft of wool’ [m. o] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: flocces [pl.] ‘lees of wine’ (Caecil. +); defloccāre ‘to rub the nap of clothes, strip of possessions’ (Pl.).

The appurtenance of flocces to floccus seems reasonably certain. There is no etymology. The connection with OHG blaha ‘coarse linen cloth’ is much too imprecise to inspire confidence.


flōrus ‘light coloured, fair’ [adj. olā] (Naev. +)

Plt. *flōro-.

PIE *bh₁h₁h₃-ro- or *bh₁h₁h₁-ro- ‘blossoming’. IE cognates: Olr. blár, W. blawr ‘grey’; Mlr. bláth, W. blawd ‘flower’; Alb. blertē, dial. blerē ‘green’, OHG bluojan ‘to blossom’.

If flōrus is related to flāvus, there might be reason to posit a root *bh₁h₃-, in the vein of Schrijver 1991 (see s.v. flāvus), but for flōrus itself, a root *bh₁h₁- would also do.

Bibl.: WH I: 513, EM 241, IEW 160, Schrijver 1991: 177, 298, 301, LIV *bh₁h₃- → flāvus, flōs

flōs, -ris ‘blossom, flower’ [m. s] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: Flōra ‘the goddess of flowers’ (Varro +), flōrālia, -ium [n.pl.] ‘flower-gardens’ (Varro +), flōrēre ‘to blossom, bloom’ (Cato +), flōrēns, -nts ‘prosperous’ (Pl. +), flōrēscere ‘to begin to flower’ (Varro +), flōridus ‘flowery’ (Varro +); flōrifer ‘producing flowers’ (Lucr. +).


The derivation of Flōra from flōs is reminiscent of aurōra to earlier *ausōs. Oscan fluusa- shows that the cult of this goddess was known more widely among the Italic

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peoples. The ablaut grade of the root in the PIE s-stem cannot be determined with certainty.


fluō, -ere 'to flow, run (of waters)' [v. III; pf. flūxī, ppp. flūctum (younger flūxum); inscr. (CIL 584) conflouont] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: fluentum 'a stream' (Lucr.), flu(u)idus 'flowing, liquid' (Lucr.); flu(u)itāre/flūtāre 'to flow, run' (Lucr.); flūctus, -ūs 'wave, billow' (Pl. +), flūctuāre 'to surge, be in agitation' (Pl. +), flūctūōsus 'agitated' (Pl. +); flūctifragus 'that breaks the waves' (Lucr.); flūmen 'river, stream' (Enn. +); flūvius 'river' (Naev. +; fluvia [f.] Acc. Sis.); flūstra, -ōrum 'calm (of the sea), swell' (Naev. +); affluere 'to flow towards; be rich' (Laev. +), āfluere 'to flow away; abound in' (Pl. +), cōnfluere 'to flow together, assemble' (Pl. +), cōnfluviōn 'place where streams meet' (Varro), cōnflīgēs 'meeting place of rivers' (Andr.; conflāgēs in Paul. ex F. may be a mistake for *conflīgēs), dēfluere 'to flow down, away' (Cato +), diffluere 'to flow away in all directions, dissolve' (Ter. +), effluere 'to flow out, escape' (Cato +), īnfluerre 'to flow in' (Varro +), perfluere 'to stream' (Ter. +), perflīctuāre 'to flood over' (Lucr.), prōfluere 'to flow forth, overflow' (Naev. +), prōfluvius 'fluctuating' (Cael. +), prōfluvium 'a discharge' (Lucr. +).

Plt. *flow-e/o/.

PIE *bhleuH-(e/o-) 'to flow (over)'. IE cognates: Gr. ἄρα 'to abound', ἄρκο 'to seethe, boil over'; Lith. bliauti, 3s. bliūuna 'to beat, sob, weep', Latv. blautu 'to beat, bellow', OCS bluviati, Is. blujō 'to vomit', Ru. blévát (vulg.) < PIE *bhleuH-.

Leumann regards the spelling ψ/ω as irregular for *flow-, having been introduced from compounds where *-flow- was in non-initial syllable. Leumann 1977: 279, 436 explains fluentum as a singularized form of a n.pl. fluenta to fluers, -nitis. The verb form conflouont points to a pr.stem *flux- < *flow-, but confluēges and the pf. flūxi seem to require a stem *flūγ-. Hence, Meiser reconstructs *bhleugw-. Yet, as EM have already pointed out, PIE labiovelars lost their labiality after *-u-. Weiss 1994 shows that both flūxi and the noun cōnflūgēs can easily be explained as secondary creations by means of proportional analogy, cf. contāmen : contāgēs for cōnflūgēs, and strūō : strūxi for flūxi. The same goes for flūctus.


focus 'hearth, fireplace' [m. o.] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: foculus 'small stove' (Cato +).

A connection with Lat. fāx 'torch' and Lith. zvākë 'candle' is formally impossible, since Pre-Lat. *fwakV- would not yield foc-. Any etymology positing PIE *Dh-k(w) would violate the PIE root structure constraints. Hamp 1992 proposes to explain focus as a back-formation to foculus, which he explains from *fweklo- < *d'h-<e-tlo- 'hearth'. Yet this is chronologically difficult: initial *gH > Plt. *χH- is expected to yield *fe-, and could only yield *fo- if the simplification of *χH- > f- were dated after *-we- >
-wo-, which happened in the fifth c. BC. But that is rather late for the change *χ”- > f.

fodiō, -ere ‘to pierce; to dig’ [v. III; pf. fōdī, ppp. fōssum; fōdīri Cato 1x] (Pl.+
Derivatives: fodicāre ‘to stab, prick’ (Pl.+); fossa ‘ditch, trench’ (Cato+), fossula ‘small trench’ (Cato+), fossicūs ‘obtained by digging’ (Varro+), fossīlis ‘obtained by digging’ (Varro+); circumfodere ‘to dig round’ (Cato+), confodere ‘to dig up; pierce’ (Pl.+), deformere ‘to bury, insert in the ground’ (Pl.+), effodere/ecfodīri ‘to dig up, gouge out’ (Pl.+), infodere ‘to place in the earth’ (Cato+), interfodere ‘to pierce’ (Lurcr.), perfodere ‘to make a hole through’ (Pl.+), perfessor ‘burglar’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *fōb-i–
PIE *bōd-h-i– ‘to poke, dig’. IE cognates: Hit. padda- / padd- ‘to dig (the ground)’ < *bōd-h₂-; OPr. bōadīs ‘stab’ [m.], embaddusisis ‘they stick’, Lith. bēsti, 3s. bēda ‘to
stick, drive (into), dig’, Latv. best ‘dig, bury’, Lith. badūti, Latv. bādīt ‘to butt, prick’; OCS bosti, 1s. bodq, 1s.aor. bas ‘to stab’, SCr. bōsti, bōdēm < BSL. *bed-, *bud–; ToA pātar ‘they ploughed’ < *bōd-h–.
The long -ō- in the pf. is probably analogical to pr. fod-, for instance on the model of venīō : vēnī. Since all languages show verb formations with o-grade (Hit., Latin, BSL., Toch.), the original formation may have been iterative or intransitive: *bōd-h(i–). The Latin i-stem conjugation might be a rest of the PIE suffix, which surfaces as *-ie/o- in this category in other branches of,IE.

foedus ‘foul, unclean; fearful, repugnant’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: foedāre ‘to wound, dishonour, make unclean’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *fo(j)ipo– ‘afraid’.
PIE (*b’e-)b’oiH-b’iH– [pf.] or *b’oH-i– [pr.] ‘to be afraid’. IE cognates: Skt. bibhāya ‘is afraid’, ptc. bibhīvāns-, YAv. biṣīnuā ‘afraid’; OPr. biātwei, Lith. bibūt(i)s, Latv. būtēs ‘to fear, be scared’, OCS bojati se ‘id.’ < BSL. *b(o)i(ʔ)-aʔ–; OHG bībet (< PGm *bi-bai-) [3s.pr.act.] ‘to tremble’ (from an old pf.).
If the original meaning was ‘awful, frightful, terrible’ (thus surmised by WH, and reiterated by Nussbaum), the adj. can be derived from PIE *b’iH– ‘to be afraid’. Since there is no productive adjectival suffix *-d(ō)o-, and since foed- may represent either *foid- or *fojid-, Nussbaum interprets foedus as an idus-adj. He does not dwell on the o-ablaut, but since idus-adj. are often derived from stative verbs (pr. in -ē-), foedus may be based on the PIE pf. (*b’e-)b’oiH– (preserved in Skt. and Slavic) ‘to be afraid’, or from an o-grade i-present *b’oH-i– (cf. Hamp 1985b).
Bibl.: WH I: 522f., EM 244, IEW 161f., Nussbaum 1999a: 390f., LIV *b’eih₂–.

foeteō ‘to stink’ [v. II] (Pl.+; variants faet-, fēt–)
Derivatives: foetidus ‘stinking’ (Pl.+).

PIE *dhuoh₂-i– ‘to smoke’. IE cognates: OIr. dé [f.], gen. diad ‘smoke’, Mr. dethach
folium

‘id.’ < *dui̯ot- < *dʰu₂-i-ot- (see s.v. suffiō for the phonetics); Hit. tuhhu₃aị / tuhhu₁ [c.] ‘smoke’ < PIE nom. *dʰu₂h₁-u-ōi-s, acc. *dʰu₂h₁-u-ōi-m, gen. *dʰu₂h₁-u-ō-ūs.

EM suggest that faeṭeō may be the original form, but also consider a relationship with foedus ‘repulsive’. If we apply the rule that *oi yielded oe after a labial (Poenus) except in front of i in the next syllable (pūnicus), then foetidus cannot be old, or proves faetidus. But if foete- is more original, we can posit earlier *f(w)oit- or *f(w)ojčt-, which enables a connection with Olr. dé ‘smoke’. Tocharian and Hittite show that the full grade of *duh₂- was of the type *dueh₂-, so that we could assume a basis *dʰu₂h₂-i-t- (> *fwoit-) or *dʰu₂h₂-i-e/ot- (> *fwoje/ot-) for the verb foetere. The i-stem derivative which forms the basis of Italo-Celtic *dʰu₂h₂-i-t-, *dʰu₂h₂-i-ot- may be attested in Hit. tuhhu₃aị / tuhhu₁ ‘smoke’.


folium ‘leaf’ [n. o] (Pl.+)

Plt. *folio-.


Folium has often been compared with Gr. φύλλον ‘leaf’ < *bʰol-io- (with raising of *o in Gr. between labial and resonant). Beekes 1991 considers the possibility that OS blad, OHG blat ‘leaf’ is a t-derivative from the stem *bʰl-.[. Yet there is no verbal stem from which the noun could have been derived. Michiel Driessen (p.c.) proposes to connect folium with the root *dʰlH- ‘to sprout, blossom’. The colour of the laryngeal might be determined as *h₁ on the strength of ὑάλερός, but this might be a recent formation to the stem *dʰaļ-.[. Possibly, the o-grade and the suffix of folium are also preserved in Gr. ὑάλλα ‘foliage’, although this is a hapax from Hsch.


follis ‘bag, sack; ball, testicles’ [m. i] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: follitus ‘enclosed in a sack’ (Pl.), folliculus ‘bag, skin, husk’ (Lucil.+). The meaning suggests a connection with PCI. *böl- as in Olr. ball [m.] ‘member, body part’, W. balleg ‘sack, purse’; W. dyrm-fol ‘glove’, arfolli ‘to become pregnant’ (LEIA B-12). No further etymology.


fōns, fontis ‘spring, well’ [m. i] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: Fontānālia, -ium [n.pl.] ‘the festival of Fons’ (Varro).

Plt. *fonti-. It. cognates: possibly U. funtlere, fondlire [abl.pl. + -en] ‘?', a certain locality; maybe *fontelo-.

PIE *dʰonḥ₂-i- ‘flowing’. IE cognates: Skt. ḍhan ‘to run, to flow’, pr. ḍhāṅva
forceps, -ipis ‘tongs, pincers’ [f. p(i)j] (Cato+; gen.pl. -ium Lucil.)

Since the meaning is the same as with forfex, it is often suggested that one arose from the other by way of metathesis. The first member is regarded as a reduced form of
formus ‘warm’ on account of Paul. ex F. 91: *formucapes forcipes dictae, quod forma capiant, id est ferventia. Since the first member of cp. in -ceps are normally nouns, this requires a substantivized adj. *forma ‘warm things’ as the first member: *forma-kap- > *formkap- > *forkap-. The formation gives an artificial impression, and even if formucapes ever existed, it may well have been a folk etymology. There are several alternatives. Forceps might reflect *foro-kap-, in which the second vowel would syncopate in the foursyllabic case forms (cf. auceps, manceps, etc.). The element *foro- might reflect *bhor-o- ‘burden’ to the root of feró. Another option would be that for- is cognate with ferrum ‘iron’, a word with an uncertain etymology, but possibly a loanword. Note that forceps often occurs as the instrument of a smith.


forda ‘carrying, pregnant (of cows)’ [adj. ā] (Varro+; also horda)

Derivatives: *fordicidia, -ōrum [n.pl.] ‘festival at which pregnant cows were sacrificed’ (Varro+).

Plt. *for(i)dā-. 

PIE *bhori-d- ‘giving birth’? IE cognates: Lith. bē(g)ždēias ‘barren (of a cow)’, bēr(g)ždē ‘barren cow’, RuCS brēžda, brēz(d)a ‘pregnant’, Ru. berēžaja (dial.) ‘mare in foal’ < *bherdio- ‘carrying, pregnant’.

The initial syllable of the BSL words is circumflex (suggesting *-dh- in the suffix rather than *-d-), but Latin forda cannot reflect *-rdh- (which would yield *forba). Thus, Latin and BSL continue two independent formation on the basis of PIE *bhr-. Nussbaum 1999a proposes that Latin forda was built on an i-stem *bhor-i- ‘birther, who gives birth’, which was enlarged by *-d- (as often in Greek, and as in Latin pecu-d- of the same semantic sphere) and finally hypercharacterized by adding fem. *-a. Pre-Latin *forida > forda.

Bibl.: WH I: 527, EM 228, IEW 128ff., Nussbaum 1999a: 381, 406, LIV *bher-.

forfex, -sicis ‘tongs, pincers; shears, scissors’ [f. (m.) k] (Celsius+; also forpex)


PIE *bhrd-o- [adj.]. IE cognates: Gr. πέρδοω ‘to capture, take in’, πτολίπορυος ‘capturing cities’, πορθεω ‘to pillage’.

Either a noun with a word-internal cluster -rf-, which is irregular according to the standard Latin sound laws, or a compound in -fex ‘making’. However, since cp. in -fex normally do not show syncope (aurifex, opifex, etc.), the latter is less probable. Also, the recent date of forfex makes a foreign origin more likely. An old connection is with U. furfa-, which is often translated as ‘to shear’ (e.g. Meiser 1986: 101). One might connect Gr. πέρδοω ‘to capture, take in’, πτολίπορυος ‘capturing cities’ (Janda 2000: 230-240), in which case the U. verb could be denominal to an adj. *bhrd-o- ‘capturing, harvesting, shearing’.

foria 'diarrhoea' [f. ā] (Varro)
Derivatives: foriolus 'suffering from diarrhoea' (Lab.); cōnforiōre 'to defile with ordure' (Pompon.).

PIt. *foriā-

WH tentatively propose a connection with a PIE root *dʰer- 'to shit', which is otherwise only attested in enlarged form in other branches of IE: Lith. derkī 'to make dirty' < *dʰer-k-, Olc. drita (driet), OHG trīzan 'cacāre' (maybe a Gm. rhyming formation to *skūt- 'to shit'), Ru. dial. dristātu 'to suffer from diarrhoea', Bulg. driskam, drīšta. WH admit themselves that this renders it uncertain that Latin would continue an unenlarged root form. Since 'to defecate' is often referred to by means of euphemisms, a derivation from the root *bʰer- 'to carry', e.g. iterative *bʰer-bʰor-je- 'to bring (away) repeatedly' seems at least equally likely; or foria might be a derivative from forāre 'to pierce', as 'piercing' (cf. German Durchfall).

Bibl.: WH I: 527f., EM 247, IEW 256. → fērō, forō

foris 'door' [f. i] (Pl.++; rarely sg., usually pl. forēs, -iūm ('folding doors').

Derivatives: forās 'to the outside' (Naev.+), forīs 'on the outside' (Pl.++), foricula 'window-shutter' (Varro+).

PIt. *fwor-(i-) > *for-i-; *for-ā-

PIE *dʰuōr-, *dʰur- 'door'. IE cognates: Olr. dorus [m. u], Dor, Duir [toponyms], W. dor, Bret. dor < PCl. *duor-, ḫuoro- 'door'; Hit. andurza [adv.] 'inside, indoors' < *h₁m- dúr-, Skt. dvār- [f. (du.pl.)] 'door, gate', YaV. duuar-, OP duvar(a)- 'gate', Gr. ḫuρᾶ 'door', Myc. o-pi-tu-rajo ḫopithuratōiō 'door-keeper', Arm. dowr-k' [pl.] 'door', Alb. derē < *d(y)ōr-omā, Lith. pl. dūrys, OCS dūrb < BS1. *dūr-, *dur-; Go. dōr [n.], OHG tūr < *dʰur-(i-), ToB twere 'door' < *dʰuoro-.

Lat. forās and forīs reflect the acc.pl. and loc.pl. (>> ins.pl.) of an ā-stem *forā-: hence, these developed from 'to the door' and 'at the door', respectively. The evidence points to a PIE root noun *dʰuōr, *dʰur- 'door', maybe used as a plural or dual tantum; Greek, Albanian (possibly) and Latin (and Celtic) show an additional derivative *dʰu(o)r-h₂- '(set of) door(s)'. The Latin i-stem was probably derived from *dʰur- (cf. Schrijver 1991: 472) and may originally have been used as a singular, but it usually occurs as a plural from the earliest literary texts onwards. Sihler assumes that foris is a back-formation to the pl. forēs, which cannot be ruled out. In view of the zero grade which is reflected e.g. in Germanic and Slavic, however, the original pl. or du. seems to have had *dʰur-, which would yield Latin *fur-ēs (the inf. forē < *fuse has lowering in front of r < *z < *s). Also, the sg. foris is attested in the oldest literature (Plautus).


fōrma 'form, contour, appearance; beauty' [f. ā] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: formāre 'to mould, fashion' (Lucr.+), formāmentum 'arrangement' (Lucr.), formaster, -tri 'kind of pastry' (Titin.), formātūra 'the shaping' (Lucr.), formōsus 'beautiful' (Ter.+), formula 'pretty appearance; register, formula, document' (Pl.+); déformis 'misshapen, disfigured' (Lucil.+); dēformāre 'to design, sketch;
spoil’ (Pl.), Īnformāre ‘to fashion, sketch’ (Varro+).

EM stress the length of o in fōrma, but there seems to have been a recent lengthening of short *o in front of -rC- (Leumann 1977: 114). Leumann derives formaster (with the pejorative suffix -aster) from formus ‘hot’, but it seems more likely that forma was its basis. Since formīca ‘ant’ and formīdō ‘ghost, scarecrow’ point to a dissimilation *m – m > *f – m, forma might go back to *morma. Maybe forma and Gr. μορφή ‘form, shape, contour’ were borrowed from a third party; or the Greek word was borrowed into another language, such as Etruscan, and passed thence into Latin as *morma.


formīca ‘ant’ [f. ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: formīcīnus ‘ant-like, crawling’ (Pl.).

Pl. *mormikā-.

PIE *moru-oĭ- (?.) IE cognates: Oir. moirb, W. myr, Bret. merien ‘ant’ < *morui-; Skt. vamrā- ‘ant’, valmīkā- [m.] ‘ant-hill’; Av. maoiri-, Oss. mælzyg/mulzug, Pašto mežay, Sogd. ym’wrc < Plr. *muryi(ka)-, Sogd. zm’wrk, Khwar. zmwrk, MP, MoP mōr < *muryaka-; Gr. μυρμηξ-ής < *moryak-; μύρμος, βύρμαξ βόρμαξ, δρμικας (with β- and zero < *f-); RuCS mavieť, ORu. morovej, Po. mrówka, SCr. mrav < *muru-iH-; Olt. marr < *mou-r-o-, Far. meyra < *mavrōn-, Dan. myre, OE myre, ME mire, MDu. mieire, Crimean Go. miera < *meur(foy)ôn- [f.] ‘ant’; ToB warme*, nom.pl. warmi ‘ant’ < *wrmo-.

The word for ‘ant’ is difficult to reconstruct because of the deviating forms; probably, taboo distortions took place in many languages. This process can still be observed in modern dialects, for instance of Dutch and German. Latin f- might go back to *m- via a dissimilation of *m– – m > *f – m. Meillet (1918) assumes an intermediate stage *[b] (voiced labial fricative), which he regards as an argument for the view that all PIE *bʰ changed to *b before yielding Latin f-. In the IE branches, we find the stem structures *moru-oĭ- (Celtic, Iranian, Slavic, Gm.), *mormo/i- (Greek) and *uormo/i- (Skt., Toch., Greek?). Since the latter is quite similar to PIE *u(o)ro/i- ‘worm, insect’ (see s.v. vermis), it may have been influenced by it; consequently, for ‘ant’ the form *moruo/i- is more likely to be old.


formīdō, -inis ‘fear, alarm, awe; bogey’ [f. n] (Pl.+

Derivatives: formīdāre ‘to fear, dread’ (Naev.+), formīdo/ulōsus ‘alarming; frightened’ (Naev.+).

Plt. *morm-idō/en-?

PIE *mor-mo- ‘fear’? IE cognates: Gr. μορμῶ, -oῖς ‘bogey, monster’, μορμύσσομαι ‘to frighten’, μύρμος, μύρμος ‘fear’; maybe to Gr. μορμύρω ‘to roar and boil’?

Leumann (1977: 341) regards formīdulōsus as a rhyming formation to peric-ulōsus ‘dangerous’. The noun formīdō can be interpreted as the antonym of cupīdō ‘desire’ and lubīdō ‘lust’, which may explain the suffix. Since there are no verb forms *form-{-i}- indicating ‘to fear’, Latin form- might go back to *morm-, in which case a
connection with the Greek words is possible. This would imply a noun *mormo- ‘fear’ as is reconstructed by IEW. There is no PIE etymology for this connection, if it is correct.


formus ‘warm’ [adj. o/a] (Paul. ex F.)

Derivatives: formidus ‘warm’ (Cato apud Paul. ex F.).

PIt. *χʰormo-.

PIE *gʰw/o-erm- ‘warm’. IE cognates: Skt. gharmá- ‘heat, glow’, Av. garma- ‘warm; heat’, OP garma-pada- ‘the fourth month (June-July)’ < *gʰw-erm-; Gr. ψερμός, Arm. .jetbrains ‘warm’ < *gʰw-erm-; maybe Alb. zjarm ‘heat’ < *gʰw-erm- (cf. de Vaan 2004b: 82); OPr. gorme ‘heat’, Latv. garme ‘warmth’ *gʰw-or-mó-.

The adj. formidus can be explained as modelled on its antonym frigidus. Theoretically, formus may reflect *gʰw-ormos or *gʰw-ormos; but since no other language shows a zero grade, *gʰw-ormos seems more likely. The PIE vacillation in the root vowel between *gʰw-erm- and *gʰw-ormo- may be due to the different verbal formations of the root, of which we find bot *gʰw-erm- to ‘heat’ and *gʰw-erm- to be hot’, cf. LIV.


fornus ‘oven’ [m. o] (Varro; usually furnus Pl. +)

Derivatives: fornāx [f.] ‘furnace’ (Cato+), fornācālia, -ōrum [n.pl.] ‘Baking Festival’ (Varro+); praefurnium ‘furnace-entrance’ (Cato+).

PIt. *χʰorno-.

PIE *gʰw-r-o- ‘heat’ or ‘oven’. IE cognates: Olr. gorn ‘fire’ < *gʰw-or-no-; Skt. ghṛma- ‘heat, glow’ [n.], ghṛni- ‘hot time, heat’ [f.], Alb. zjarrē ‘fire’ < *gʰw-er-no- [n.] or *gʰw-eros- [n.] (de Vaan 2004b: 82), RuCS grono ‘cauldron, pot, oven’ [n.], Ru. gorn ‘blacksmith’s hearth’ [n.], gen.sg. gorna; gorno < *gʰw-ros- (cf. de Vaan 2004b: 82), Ru, gorn ‘blacksmith’s hearth’ [n.], gen.sg. gorna; gorno ‘blacksmith’s hearth, clay-oven’ < *gʰw-ros-.

The original form must have been forn-, which became furn- in part of the Roman speech. The raising of -or- in front of a consonant seems to have been an ongoing process; it might have been dialectal, since it is regular in Sabellic. Since Skt. and Slav. show zero-grade *gʰw-r-o-, this is also the most likely reconstruction for formus. Of course, in view of formus with a PIE o-grade, it is conceivable that PIt. or Latin introduced the o-grade into the noun, which would give *gʰw-or-no > formus.


forō, -āre ‘to bore through, pierce’ [v. I] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: forāmen ‘aperture, hole’ (Cato+); inforāre ‘to bore into’ (Pl. +), perforāre ‘to make a hole, pierce’ (Varro+).

PIt. *forajel-o-.

PIE *bʰorH-ie/o- ‘to pierce, strike’? Or a noun *bʰorH-h2- ‘hole’? IE cognates: Lith.
bārti, 3s. bāra ‘to scold, accuse, forbid’, Latv. bārti ‘to scold, blame’, OCS brati (sг), 1s. borjo ‘to fight’, Ru. borōt ‘to overpower’ < *bʰorH-, Ols. berja ‘to beat, hit’, OHG berjan ‘to hit, pound, knead’ < PGru. *barjan-.

Regarded as a nominal verb by WH and I EW. This is conceivable, but the o-grade presents in other branches of IE suggest a different solution: an iterative verb *bʰorH-(i-) ‘to pierce many times, bore’. If the final laryngeal was vocalized in Latin, we can assume a phonetic development *bʰorHie- > *foraj- > fora-.


fors, -tis ‘chance, luck’ [f. i] (Pl.+; only nom. fors and abl. forte ‘by chance’)

Derivatives: forsitan ‘perhaps’ (Ter.+); fortasse (Pl.+), fortassīs ‘id.’ (Pl.+); fortuitus ‘by chance, random’ (Pl.+), fortūna ‘fortune, favourable outcome’ (Naev.+), fortūnātus ‘fortunate, lucky’ (Naev.+), fortūnātim ‘prosperously’ (Enn.), fortūnāre ‘to make fortunate’ (Pl.+), infortūnātus ‘unfortunate’ (Pl.+), infortūnium ‘misfortune’ (Pl.+).


PIE *bʰr-ti- ‘luck, case’? IE cognates: see s.v. ferō.

The adv. forsitan derives from *fors sit an ‘perchance it be that’. The origin of fortasse seems to be *forte an sī/s, but the phonetics (especially the short final vowel) are unclear. The noun fortūna and the adj. fortu-itus presuppose a u-stem *fortu- ‘chance, luck’, whence an adj. *fortūno- ‘lucky’. The precise origin of -itus in fortu-itus and in its semantic neighbour gratu-itus ‘free of charge’ is unclear. The semantic shift from ‘load’ or ‘the carrying’ to ‘chance, luck’ is not obvious, and EM go so far as to reject the connection between fors and ferō. Yet the co-occurrence of ti- and u-stems seems old, and there are many ways in which a meaning ‘chance, luck’ can originate.


fortis ‘strong, robust’ [adj. i] (Lex XII+; variant horctus, forctus, forctis ‘good’ Festus 348, Paul. ex F. 84, 102)

Derivatives: fortitūdō ‘strength, courage’ (Ter.+).


The form and meaning are not specific enough to decide on the etymology. In view of the adj. meaning, one would expect the suffix to have been *-to- rather than *-ti-. The root may have a structure *b\(^h\)/d\(^h\)/g\(^h\) + (o)r + K\(^h\). Within Latin, färčīō 'to stuff' seems the best semantic match which would also satisfy the phonetics: PIE *b\(^h\)org- would yield *förcto-. A connection with PIE *b\(^h\)erg\(^h\) 'high, elevated' (WH) does not explain the meaning of fortis. Alternatively, one might connection fortis with the Ir. and Baltic forms for 'to make firm, become hard'; but only if these continue PIE *d\(^h\)-, not if they continue PIE *d\(^h\)- (as LIV suspect). Semantically, this would be satisfactory.

Bibl.: WH I: 535f., EM 249f., IEW 140f., Untermann 2000: 304f., LIV *b\(^h\)erg\(^h\) / *d\(^h\)erg\(^h\). → firmus

forum 'market place, public space; place where the fruit was laid for pressing (Cato+)' [n. o; forus Lucil., Pompon., CIL] (Lex XII+).

Derivatives: forus 'deck (on a ship); passage (in a beehive); rows of benches (in a stadium)' (Enn.+), forōnsis 'of the forum, public' (Varro+).

Plt. *f\(w\)oro- 'room near the door'. It. cognates: U. furu, furo [acc.sg.] 'forum'. PIE *d\(^h\)uor-o- 'room near the door'. IE cognates: Skt. dvāram [n.] 'door, gate, passage', Lith. dväras [m.] 'estate; court', OCS dvoro 'court', PTo. *t\(w\)ere 'door'.

WH interpret forum as 'fenced area' to the root of forāre, but Pokorny 1959 rejects this. Forum is generally regarded as a derivative of PIE 'door', and connected with other IE forms from *d\(^h\)uor-o-. The required semantic development is 'area at the doors' > 'entrance room, vestibule' > 'public room' > 'public space'; this is not so problematic as to overrule the formal correspondences with Lith. dvāras.


fovea 'pit' [f. ā] (Pl.+).

Derivatives: favisaeflavissae [f.pl.] 'vaults, subterranean chambers' (Gel.+).

The connection with Gr. χεῖα, Η. χεῖή 'serpent's den' must be dismissed. It is uncertain that fovea and favisa belong together, as their etymology is unknown.


foveō 'to make or keep warm; to relieve' [v. II; pf. fōvī, ppp. fōtum] (Pl.+).

Derivatives: fōculum 'device for warming' (Pl.), fōculāre 'to revive, cherish' (Varro+); fōmentum 'soothing application, remedy' (Hor.+), fōmes, -itis [m.] 'chips of wood' (Verg.+), fōtus, -ūs 'heating' (Plin.).

Plt. *f\(o\)w\(e\) o-.

PIE *d\(^h\)og\(^h\)-eie- 'to burn'. IE cognates: Mfr. daig, gen.sg. dega 'fire, pain'; Skt. dāhati, caus. dāhāyati, YAv. dāzaiti 'burns', Gr. τέφρα 'ashes', Alb. djeg 'to burn', n-dez 'to ignite'; Lith. dėgti 'to burn', OCS žešti, 1s. žēgę, Toch. tsāk- 'to burn up, consume by fire', tsāk-1 'to illuminate'.

Schrijver 1991: 278 concludes that fō- probably reflects unsyncopated *fowi- < *fowe-. Thus, fōculum < *fowe-culum, fōmentum < *fowe-mentum. Apart from
fracēs, -um ‘fragments of olive pulp left after pressing’ [f.pl. k] (Cato+; sg. frax (gloss.), pl. also flaces)

Derivatives: fracidus ‘soft, pulpy’ (Cato), fracēscere ‘to become soft’ (Cato+), cōnfracēscere ‘to putrify, rot’ (Varro).

Pit. *frak-.


The spelling fracc- may have been influenced by flacceō ‘to decline in strength’, flaccus ‘drooping, floppy’, which are semantically quite close. Fiacēs may have -l- from floccēs. The Gm., BSl. and Latin words for ‘dregs’ clearly belong together, but their vowels do not match, and point to a non-IE *a. The velars do not match either, but Latin voiceless *k may have arisen in the nom.sg. *fraks and thence spread through the paradigm. It appears that we are dealing with a loanword from an unknown, non-IE language, or from a lost IE language in which the root *dʰregʰ- ‘to drag’ or *dʰreghʰ- ‘to soil’ yielded a form *dʰragʰ- ‘dredges of wine, oil, fat’.


fragrō, -āre ‘to smell strongly’ [v. I] (Cat.+)

Pit. *fragro-.

Pie *bʰrh₁g-ro- ‘smelling’. IE cognates: Mfr. brēn ‘putrid, foul’, MW braen, B brein ‘putrid, corrupt’ < PCL. *braγno- < *bʰrh₁g-no-; Ofr. braig(a)id*, ·braig ‘to fart, break wind’ < *brag-ie-, OIr. broimm, W. bram, Co. Bret. bramm ‘fart’ < *brag-smn; MHG brahen < *brēkjan ‘to smell’ < *bʰregh₁g-, OHG braccho, MLG, MDu. bracke ‘hound’ < *bʰrh₁g-n-.

Schrijver adopts the etymology preferred by WH and IEW, viz. of an adj. *fragros from which the verb fragrāre was derived. The postulated *fragros can reflect PIE *bʰrHg-ro-; if one connects the Gm. words cited here, the laryngeal is *h₁. Leumann has proposed a connection with Skt. ava-ghrāti ‘smells’, abhi-jighrant- ‘smelling’, but Schrijver shows that this is formally very difficult. In 1995, Schrijver connects the Celtic words cited. Schumacher is hesitant to build on MHG brahen, and reconstructs the root as *bʰrHg-.

frága, -őrum 'strawberry' [n.pl. o] (Vergilius+)

Plt. frágo-.

IE cognates: Alb. (Eastern Geg) dřathe, (Tosk) dředhė 'strawberry'.

The meaning of frága closely matches that of Alb. dředhė, and the two may reflect *dʰrHg-ό-. It seems unlikely that the word indicated 'strawberry' in PIE, however, and it may well be a loanword. An alternative connection of frága with Gr. ἄραξ, ἄρος 'grape', ἁρῶ 'grape' is possible if one starts from *sřag-; both the phonological form and the diverging meanings 'strawberry' and 'grape' would then point to a third (non-IE?) language from which the word was borrowed.


frangō, -ere 'to break' [v. III; pf. frēgē, ppp. frāctum] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: frāgēscere 'to become subdued' (Acc.), frāgilis 'fragile, crackling' (Lucr.+), frāgen 'a piece broken off' (Sis.+), frāgmentum 'fragment' (Lucil.+), frāgor 'the breaking, crash, roar' (Lucr.+), frāgosus 'brittle, rugged' (Lucr.+); cōnfringere 'to destroy, ruin' (Andr.+), cōnfrāgosus 'uneven, difficult' (Pl.+), dēfringere 'to break off' (Cato+), diffringere 'to break up' (Pl.+), effringere 'to break open' (Pl.+), īnfringere 'to break, crush, deprive of' (Pl.+), interfringere 'to break (here and there)' (Cato), offringere 'to break up by cross-ploughing' (Varro+), perfringere 'to break, fracture', (Lucr.+), praefringere 'to break at the end' (Pl.+), refringere 'to break back, force open' (Pl.+), suffringere 'to break the lower part of' (Pl.+); compounds in -frāgium 'the breaking', -fragus 'who breaks'.

Plt. *frang- [pr.], *fragto- [ppp.].

PIE *bʰr-n-g- [pr.], *bʰrg-to- [ppp.]. IE cognates: Go. brikān, OHG brehhan 'to break' < *bʰreg/g-.

The long vowel of frāctus is due to Lachmann's Law. Schrijver 1991 argues that Latin and Irish have continued a PIE root present *bʰreg-g- in different ways, whereas LIV opts for an old athematic aorist. The latter seems more likely in view of the meaning. Since the Irish forms which Schrijver connected in 1991 are now connected with fragrāre, it may be that Gm. continues the old root aorist, and Latin the nasal present.

Bibl.: WH I: 539, 541, EM 251, IEW 165, Schrijver 1991: 137, 478, 483f., LIV *bʰre(g)-. —→ suffrāgium

frater, -trils 'brother; member of a fraternity, friend' [m. r] (Naev+). Derivatives: frāterculus 'little brother' (Pl.+), frāterculāre 'to swell up (of a boy's breasts at puberty)' (Pl.); frāternus 'of a brother' (Pac.+).


PIE *bʰrēh₂-tr- 'brother'. IE cognates: OIr. bráthair, W. brawd; Skt. bhrātar-, Av. OP brātar- 'brother', Gr. φράτηρ [m.] 'member of a fraternity', ἀφρήτωρ 'not
bound by social ties’, Phryg. ἰπρατεί ‘brothers’, Arm. elbayr ‘brother’, OPr. bräti, brote, Lith. brūlis, Latv. brālis, OCS bratř, bratř, Go. bropar, OHG bruoder, OIC. bróðir, ToB procer, ToA prācar ‘brother’.

For PIE ‘brother’, Pinault (2007: 276f.) assumes an etymology *bʰr̥-ēh₂- ‘group of males borne by the same mother’ > *bʰr̥ēh₂-tr ‘belonging to the *bʰr̥ēh₂’. In his view, kinship terms in PIE *-t(e)r- contain the “contrastive” suffix *-t(e)r which is also found in adverbs, e.g. Latin subter.


**fraus, -dis** ‘harm, danger; deceit’ [f. d] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: fraudāre ‘to cheat, swindle’ (Pl.+)(pf. fraudāvi and frausus sum), fraudātiō ‘cheating’ (Pl.+), défraudādre ‘to cheat’ (Pl.+); fraudulentus ‘dishonest’ (Pl.+), fraudulentia ‘dishonesty’ (Pl.); frāstra ‘in vain’ (later frāstrā) (Pl.+), frāstrāri ‘to delude; frustrate’ (Pl.+), frāstrātiō ‘deception, trick’ (Pl.+), frāstrātus, -ās ‘deception’ (Pl.), frāstrāmen ‘id.’ (Lucr.), défrastrāri ‘to foil completely’ (Pl.).


PIE *dʰrou-Õ-d(h)ə-? IE cognates: Skt. dhru-ti- ‘deception, error’, -dhrūt- ‘deceiving’, YAv. drāunatiāt ‘will deceive’, Parth. drw- ‘to seduce’ < *dʰr(ō)u-.

Lat. frāstra is pl. of *frāstrum < *fraud-tro-. Szemerényi 1989: 33ff. and Schrijver 1991: 444, independently of one another, derive fraus from PIE *dʰreugə- ‘to deceive’, but not in the same way. Szemerényi posits an abstract *dʰreugə-əs, which would have yielded a paradigm *fros, *froris, whence with diss. *frodis, and with hypercorrect *au for urban *o finally *fraus. These assumptions (*eu > *o, the dissimilation and the hypercorrection) are ad hoc and render the solution unlikely. Schrijver postulates that ‘fraus derives from a PIE root *dʰru- as reflected in Skt. dhru-ti- ‘deception’, varuna-dhru-t ‘deceiving Varuna’, Parth. drw ‘to deceive’. He then posits *dʰrou-Õ-də(h)ə- whence *frowdə- and with unrounding of *ow > *frawdə- > fraud-. For frīstra, Schrijver reconstructs *dʰrou-C- or *dʰreu-(V)C-. This solution is relatively elegant on the phonetic side, but the status of the reconstructed suffix remains unclear. According to the rule established by Vine 2006a, the first syllable should have been pretonic: *froɣ-.


**fraxinus** ‘ash-tree’ [f. o] (Enn.+)

PIE *bʰr̥Hg-s-e/ino-. IE cognates: Skt. bhūrja- ‘kind of birch’, Oss. bærz / bærze ‘birch’, OPr. bærse, Lith. bėrzas, Latv. bērzs, CS brēza, Ru. berēza, OIC. bjork, OHG biriha ‘birch’.

The quantity of the a is unknown, but Schrijver convincingly argues that short å is more likely. All existing etymologies start from the assumption that fraxinus is cognate with the word for ‘birch’ in other IE languages. Schrijver proposes the
following scenario: a PIE root noun *bʰerH₃g-/*bʰrH₃g- ‘birch’ acquired the meaning ‘ash-tree’, and became formally influenced by the PIE paradigm of *Heh₃-s- ‘ash’ (Lat. *ornus). The new s-stem *bʰerH₃g-(0)s, gen.sg. *bʰrH₃g-s-os ‘ash’ was extended by means of the suffix *-eno- or *-ino- (cf. *alnus, *farnus, *ornus, *quernus). The resulting *bʰrH₃g-s-e/ino- yielded *frak-s-e/ino- by means of Schrijver’s vocalization rule of *CRHDC > *CrāCC. If PIE ‘birch’ is indeed derived from the root *bʰreh₁g- ‘to shine’, it probably refers to the white bark of the birch. But the full grade in the word for ‘birch’ (in BSI and Gm.) would have schwebe-ablaut with regard to the verbal forms Skt. *bhrāja-, YAv. *bṛṛa- ‘shines’.


fre₇mō, -ere ‘to utter a deep dull continuous sound’ [v. III; *fremī, *fremitum] (Enn.+

Derivatives: *fremitus, -ās ‘roar, rumble’ (Pl.+, *fremitīndus ‘roaring, growling’ (Acc.+); *perfremere ‘to fill a place with roaring’ (Acc.).

Plt. *fremē/o-.


The reconstruction of the PIE root is not completely certain: especially from the point of view of Latin morphology, a *ṣēg root is also conceivable (Meiser 2003).

Bibl.: WH I: 544f., EM 252f., IEW 142f., Meiser 2003: 125, LIV *bʰrem-.

fre₇ndō, -ere ‘to grind one’s teeth’ [v. III; p. *fresum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *nefrēns, -nēdis ‘not able to chew yet, infant’ (Andr.+).

Plt. *nefrēn-o-


The morphology of the adj. *ne-frend- ‘not grinding its teeth’ is odd: one would expect *in-frend- (Bader 1962: 37). Livingston 2004: 67f. argues that *ne-frend- is a recent reformation of *in-frend-, to avoid semantic ambiguity with *frendere *in ‘biting (on)’. She assumes that *nefrēns was modeled on *deprāns ‘not eating’ (Naev.+). For PIE, it is impossible to unite the Latin, Baltic and Gm. words under one certain preform: Gm. must have *-dʰ-, whereas Baltic need *-d- (Winter’s Law). Are these different dental suffixes to an earlier root *gʷhrrend-?


frēnum ‘horse’s bridle or harness’ [n. o; nom.acc.pl. usually *frēni, *frēnōs] (Acc.+

Derivatives: *infrenāre ‘to curb, restrain’ (Acc.), *effrēnātus ‘unrestrained’ (Acc.+), *refrēnāre ‘to hold back, restrain’ (Varro+).

Plt. *frēno-

 PIE *dʰr-eh₁-no- ‘holding’.
The nom.pl. frēnī (usual in prose instead of frēna) possibly continues a PIE n. dual ending *-oih₁ (Sommer 1914: 335). EM propose an etymology *freds-no-m (to frendo) ‘what the horses chew on’, viz. ‘what they have in their mouth’. This is possible, but not very straightforward. Also, this presupposes that frendere has a nasal infix to a root *fred-, which is uncertain (see s.v. frendo). WH in their turn connect frēnum with frētus ‘relying on’, which EM reject without telling why. I think that it is semantically and formally more straightforward. It would presuppose a stem *frē- ‘to support, rely’, for which see s.v. frētus.

Bibl.: WH I: 546, EM 253, IEW 252ff., LIV *dʰer- → frētus

frequēns ‘occurring at close intervals’ [adj. nt] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: frequentāre ‘to populate, occupy, visit’ (Pl.+), infrequens ‘not crowded, absent’ (Pl.); fraxāre ‘to go the watchman’s rounds’ (Paul. ex F.), flāxāre ‘id.’ (gloss.).

Nussbaum 2007b connects frequēns with fraxāre. Semantically, this is quite attractive. Formally, the forms could go back to a root *bʰrkʷ-: frequēns < *bʰrekwʷ-, whereas the zero grade *bʰrks- would yield *farks- (> farsā-) by Schrijver’s rule (1991: 495f.). The preform *farks- could then have been leveled to *fraks- by analogy with *frēkw-. Note that a *bʰrekwʷ- would have an unusual PIE root structure *Dʰ-T. Alternatively, frequēns has been connected with farcīo (WH, Eichner 1982: 19), which is semantically less straightforward. See s.v. farcīo for further considerations.

Bibl.: WH I: 456, EM 253, IEW 110f., LIV *bʰrekwⁿ- → farcīo

fretum ‘sea strait’ [n. o] (Naev.+: also fretus, -ūs / -ī)

Derivatives: fretāle ‘frying-pan’ (Apicius)?

Schrijver defends the etymology *bʰr-eto- ‘which seethes’ to the root of fermentum, ferveō, but I see little support for it. The meanings ‘raging, swelling’ (Lucr.) are clearly derived from ‘strait, channel’. Formally, the suffix *-eto- usually takes the zero-grade of the root only in compounds (cf. Vine 1998a), or when derived from existing nouns (νιφετός). No good other etymology exists. Note that PIE *Dʰ-T is not a canonical root structure, so that we cannot reconstruct a root *bʰr-t-.


frētus ‘relying on’ [adj. o/ā] (Naev.+)

Plt. *frēto-. It. cognates: U. frite [abl./loc.sg. or adv.] ‘relying on’ or ‘with the aid of’ from *frēt(o)-.

PIE *dʰr-eh₁-to-. IE cognates: see s.v. firmus.

Since the PIE root did not end in a laryngeal, the only way to explain frētus as a ptc. is to a (stative) verb ‘to rely’ in *-ē-, like EM suggest. This would require *-eh₁-to- in the vein of Nussbaum 1999a: 409, who discusses the type ačētum ‘vinegar’ to acēre ‘to be sour’. The basic verb might be *dʰer- ‘to hold’, unattested as a verb but continued in firmus and fērē, or *bʰer- ‘to bear’ as in ferre. Semantically, since *dʰer- is an aoristic root, it seems more likely that this would have served to derive a stative verb: ‘to be holding’.
friō, -are 'to pulverize, crumble' [v. I] (Varro+)

Derivatives: infriāre 'to crumble ingredients in or on' (Cato+); fricāre 'to rub, chafe' (Pl.++; pf. fricāvi, fricātum), circumfricāre 'to rub round about' (Cato), cōnfricāre 'to rub, massage' (Pl.+, défricātē [adv.] 'sharply, keenly' (Naev.), perfricāre 'to rub all over' (Cato+), refricāre 'to rub again' (Cato+); frīvolus [adj.] 'worthless, insignificant' (Phaedrus+), fřivolāria 'a play about trifles' (Pl. apud Varronem), fřivusculum 'slight quarrel' (Ulp.), refrīvus 'shredded' (Fest., Plin.).

Plt. *frīō-, *frīk-, *fři-wo-.

PIE *bʰrīH-o-, *bʰrīH-uo- 'cut'. IE cognates: Olr. brielid*, -bria 'to hurt, damage' <
frōns, -ondis 'foliage, leaves' [f. nd] (Enn.+; var. fruns, frund- a few times in Enn.)

Derivatives: frondēre 'to have leaves' (Cato+), frondēscere 'to become leafy' (Enn.+), frondōsus 'leafy' (Enn.); frondifer 'leaf-bearing' (Naev.+).

WH hesitatingly connect Germanic words in *bhrmn- for 'brim, bud', whereas EM regard the etymology as unsure. Solmsen (ZVS 35, 474ff.) compared Ru. dērn 'lawn, grass', Gr. ἄρόνα 'herbs, flowers', which might go back to a stem *dhr(o)n-. Yet in order to connect Lat. frond- to this, a suffix *-d- or *-di- must be added, which makes the comparison less likely. Of course, the Greek and Latin forms might go back to an identical Mediterranean substrate word of floral character. Alternatively, one might think of a stem *bhr-n- 'load, yield, fruit' to the root *bhr-, the nom.sg. of which would have been *bhr(e)ron. To this, a suffix *-dh- could have been added (as in glāns 'acorn'), yielding *bhr-on-dh-.

Bibl.: WH I: 550f., EM 255, IEW 142.

frōns, -onitis 'forehead, brow; front' [f. nt(i)] (Naev.+; Pl.+ also m.; gen.pl. 'frontium')

No plausible etymology. WH and IEW connect several Celtic and Germanic words in *bhrmT- meaning 'side' or 'steep', but their meaning is not specific enough. Semantically, it is tempting to compare frōns with PIE *h₃bhrH- 'eyebrow', but a putative formation *h₂bhrōH-nt- > *frōwant- would have a suffix *-nt- that remains unaccounted for, and might phonetically rather be expected to yield *frūnt-. If frendō 'to grind one's teeth' is indeed an extension of a root *gwmerc-.*, front- might reflect *g²wrn-t- 'the side where the mouth is, front', vel sim. But this is very speculative, of course.


fruor, frut 'to enjoy (the produce of)' [v. III; ppp. fructum] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: fructus, -ās 'enjoyment, revenue; fruit, produce' (Lex XII+), fruictūarius 'fruit-bearing, usufructuary' (Varro+), fruictōsus 'fruitful, profitable' (Varro+); frūx, -ūgis [f.] 'crop, yield (sg.), fruit(s) (pl.)' (Lex XII+; esp. pl. frugēs), frūgī ['dat.sg. of frūx] 'having merit, good, valuable'; frūgāliter 'economically' (Pl.+), frūgālor 'having more merit, more honest' (Pl.+); frumentum 'fruit of plants, corn, grain' (Pl.+), frumentārius, *frumentarius of corn' (Cato+), frumentārius [m.] 'a dealer in corn' (Pl.+); frūniscere, frūnitus sum 'to enjoy' (Pl.+); frūgifer 'fruitful, productive' (Enn.); frūgiferēns 'fruitful' (L cruc.), frūgiparous 'giving birth to fruits' (Lucr.).

Plt. pr. *frūg-je-/o-, root noun *frūg-. It. cognates: U. frif, fri [acc.pl. 'fruits' < *bhr-; O. fruktatiuf [nom.sg.] 'usufruct' < *frugtatiōn- built to *frūg-i-tā- < *bhrūg-it-o-, ppp. of *bhrūg-it-o- 'to use'.

*brei-ase/o- [pr.sb.], Skt. pr. bhrinānti, YAv. pairi.brīna- 'to cut (around)', brōidra- 'blade'; OCS brīti, Cz. břítí (arch.) 'to shave'.

The verb friāre can be denominal to an adj. *frio- < *bhr̂iH-о-, while re-frīvus and frīvulus continue an adj. *bhr̂iH-uo-. The v. fricāre presupposes an adj. *fri-ko-, which was probably built secondarily to *frio-.

Bibl.: WH I: 549, EM 255, IEW 166f., Schumacher 2004: 235, LIV *b⁰rejH-.
fucus 245

PIE pr. *bʰruHg-ie/o- ‘to use’. IE cognates: Go. brukjan, pret. bruhta, OE brūcan, OHG brūhhan, OS brūkan ‘to use’, Go. brūks, OHG brūhhi, OE bryće ‘useful’.

Fruor reflects a development *frug-ie- > *fruje- > *früwe- > *früe-. The stem *frug- appears in the root noun frūx (from Pit. date, as U. fri(f) shows), and in frümentum < *früg-men- and frūmiscere < *früg-n-. The latter can reflect an earlier nasal present stem *früg-n-e/o-, which may be compared with Go. us-brüknan ‘to break off’, even though -nan-inchoatives are productive in Gothic. The restriction to Gm. and It., and the pervading zero grade, may cast doubts on a PIE origin; yet there is no decisive argument against it.


frustum ‘crumb, fragment’ [n. o] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: frustulentus ‘full of crumbs’ (Pl.), frūstātim ‘in little pieces’ (Pompon.+), frustillātim ‘id.’ (Pl.+).
PIE *frusto-.

Latin frustum could represent an isolated Latin reflex of a root *bʰrus- ‘to break’ found in Celtic and Germanic (and maybe Albanian). It has also been connected with Lith. druska ‘salt’, Latv. druska ‘crumb, scrap, bit’, Go. draуhsos ‘crumbs, lumps’, W. dryll ‘piece, lump’ < *dʰrus-.. This is phonetically equally possible, but the presence of verb forms from *bʰrus- in Celtic and Germanic renders a derivation of frustum from *bʰrus- more likely (because of -to-).

Bibl.: WH I: 553, EM 257, IEW 171, Schrijver 1995: 341, LIV *bʰræus-.

frutex, -icis ‘shrub, bush; shoot, ‘blockhead’’ [f. k] (Pl. +)
PIE *fruto-.
Since the root of OE breowan ‘to brew’ is now reconstructed as *bʰrēuH- ‘to sprout’, frutex can only be connected through a shortening from *frūto-, but Schrijver 1991 acknowledges no shortening of long pretonic vowels in front of stops. Also, the semantic link between ‘to boil’ and frutex is not obvious. Alternatively, frutex may be connected with OIr. broth ‘awn, hair’ (possibly from *bʰruto-'), but PIE origin is uncertain; it might be a borrowed word for a plant.


fucus ‘drone, gadfly, hornet’ [m. o] (Pl. +)
PIE *bʰoi-ko-? *bʰou-ko-? IE cognates: OIr. bech ‘bee’ [m.] < *bʰek-o-; OPr. bitte, Lith. bitė, Latv. bite < *bʰi-t-, OCS bučěla, bуčěla ‘bee’ < *bʰ-i-kel-e₂h₂; OIc. bý [n.], MoDu. bїj, OHG bиni [n.], OHG bиa [f.], OE bёo ‘bee’ [f.] < *bʰi-ōn-, *bʰi-ni-. OE bёaw ‘gadfly’, MoFr. bau ‘hornet’?
If from *f*oi*ko-*,- *f*icus can be cognate with the Celtic, Gm. and BSI. words for ‘bee’. But the ablaut grade *b*h*oi- does not occur elsewhere. Since Celtic has *b*he- in Olr. bech, it might be the case that we are dealing with an onomatopoeic word *b*h*e/i-; Latin *b*h*oi- can be a separate ablaut variant. There is another possibility, which was favoured by WH: a connection with Gm. *b*au-a- (?) ‘hornet, gadfly’. In fact, *f*icus does not refer to the drone only, because it is said to be black by Varro, and Plautus says that it *apibus peredit cibum*. This would point to one of the bee’s enemies, such as a wasp or a hornet. Instead of WH’s reconstruction *b*h*ouk*o-*, which is unlikely (cf. Weiss 1995), *b*h*ou-ko- would do.

Bibl.: WH I: 555, EM 258,IEW 163.

**fugiō**, -ere ‘to run away, flee’ [v. III; fugi, fugitum] (Lex XII, Andr.+)

Derivatives: fuga ‘the running away, fleeing, escape’ (Pl.†), fugāx ‘fugitive, elusive’ (Pl.†), fugāre ‘to cause to flee’ (Pl.†), fugēl(l)a ‘flight’ (Cato†), fugitāre ‘to run away from, avoid’ (Pl.†), fugitor ‘who runs away’ (Pl.†), fugitivus ‘runaway, fugitive’ (Pl.†), fugitivārius ‘who recaptures runaway slaves’ (Varro†); aufugere ‘to run away’ (Pl.†), confugere ‘to flee for protection’ (Pl.†), defugere ‘to make one’s escape’ (Pl.†), diffugere ‘to scatter’ (Lucr.†), effugere ‘to flee, escape’ (Naev.†), effugium ‘means of escape’ (Lucr.†), perfugere ‘to take refuge’ (Sis.†), perfugium ‘refuge, shelter’ (Pl.†), prōfugere ‘to run away’ (Pl.†), refugere ‘to turn back and flee, recoil’ (Enn.†), suffugere ‘to escape from under’ (Lucr.†), trānsfugere ‘to go over to the other side, desert’ (Pl.†); lucrifuga ‘a spendthrift’ (Pl.).


Bibl.: WH I: 556f., EM 258, IEW 152, Schrijver 2003: 66, LIV 1.*b*h*eug-.

**fuī** ‘to be(come)’ [v. pf.] ind. fuī, fuistī, fūit, fūimus, fuistis, fuērunt; sb. fuā, fuat; ptc.fut. futūrus, inf.fut. fore (Lex XII, Andr.+)

Derivatives: futāre ‘saepius fuisse’ (Cato apud. Paul. ex F.); for the preverbal cp., see s.v. sum.


PIE aor. *b*h(e)h₂u- ‘to become’, pf. *b*h-e-b*h₂u(o)u-, -ppp. *b*h₂u-tō- (> futūrus). IE cognates: Olr. 3s. boi ‘was’, 3p. ātār, MW bu, MCO. bue, OBret. a-bu ‘was’ < pf. *bu-b(u)-; Skt. ābhūt ‘has become’ [3s.aor.]; Gr. ἐψῆν ‘grew, became’; OLith. bit(i) ‘he was’, Lith. būtī ‘to be’, OCS 23s. bystrā ‘was, became’, OCS bytī ‘to be’.

Original *fū-ī, with shortening of long ū in front of the next vowel. The form fu- was generalized quite early, yielding fu-tūrus and fore < *fu-se. The forms fuās, fuat
fulgō

represent an old aor.sb. in -ā.-


fulcō, -ēre ‘to support’ [v. IV; pf. fulsi, ppp. fultum] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: fulcrum ‘head- or back-support of a couch’ (Varro+), fulmenta ‘prop, support’ (Pl.+), fulmentum ‘support’ (Varro+); confulcre ‘to press together’ (Lucr.), praefulcre ‘to place as a support, prop up’ (Pl.+), suffulcre ‘to prop from below’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *dʰ/bʰ-(o)-k-

Lat. fulcrum < *fulk-(t)lo-, fulmentum < *fulk-rnen-to-, pf. fulsi < *fulk-s-aI. The etymology is unclear. It is often assumed that Latin fulk- is cognate with Gr. φάλκης [m.j ‘rib (of a ship)’, φάλαγξ, -γγος ‘beam’ and OIc. bjalki [m.], OHG balko ‘beam’ (< PIE *bʰelgʰ- ‘to swell’, from which words for ‘beam’ seem to be derived in Baltic: Lith. balžiena ‘longbeam’, Latv. bāžiens, bēžiens ‘prop’. Yet the semantic connection of ‘beam’ or ‘prop’ to ‘swell’ is unclear to me, and the velar suffixes of Gr. and Baltic do not match; at most, we could posit a root *bʰel- with different velar suffixes.

Bibl.: WH I: 559, EM 258f., IEW 122f., LIV ?*bʰelk-

fulgō, -ēre ‘to shine brightly’ [v. III; pf. fulsi] (Pac.+)

Derivatives: fulgēre (Lucil.+), refulgēre ‘to shine brightly’ (Lucr.+), fulgens ‘flashing, gleaming’ (Enn.+), fulgetrum ‘lightning’ (Varro+), fulgidus ‘shining’ (Lucr.), fulgor ‘brightness; flash’ (Lucr.+); fulgor, -uris [n.] ‘flash of lightning’ (nom.sg. fulgus Paul. ex F.; also -eris Lucr.), fulgurator ‘one who interprets omens from lightning’ (Cato+), fulgurēre ‘to send lightning’ (Naev.+; Naev. fulgorivit); fulmen, -inis ‘lightning, thunderbolt’ (Naev.+), fulmineus ‘of/like lightning’ (Lucr.+).

Plt. *folg-e/o- ‘to shine’, *folg-os- [n.] ‘brightness’.

PIE *bʰlg-e/o- ‘to shine’. IE cognates: Skt. bhārgas- ‘radiance, splendour’ (appurtenance uncertain; schwebe-ablaut?); Gr. φλέγω ‘to burn’, Gr. φλόξ, -γός ‘flame’, φλόγςς ‘flame’; OHG blecchen ‘to make visible’ < PGm. *blakjan; ToAB pālk- ‘to shine’, ToB pāketār ‘burns’ < *bʰlg-.

From VOLat. *folg- from *flg-. For the primarity of fulgere over fulgēre, compare the similar situation with fervere and fervēre. Yet the attestations allow no certain order, and the ptc. fulgēns (the oldest attested form) is ambiguous. Fulgidus and fulgor are recent derivatives of fulgēre following the productive pattern. The zero grade in fulgur < *flgos, -es- suggests that this noun was derived from the verb fulgēre at an earlier stage; for fulmen < *fulmen, the deverbal origin is certain, since the sound laws would have us expect **flagmen as the outcome of PIE *bʰlg-men-. If fulgēre is indeed more recent than fulgēre, the cause for the zero grade in Latin (and in Tocharian) remains somewhat unclear. LIV assumes a PIE athematic present, but only Tocharian possibly presents evidence for such a formation.

fulica ‘a water-bird (the coot?)’ [f. ā] (Afran. +)
Derivatives: fulix, -icus ‘heron’ (Cic.).
The suffix -ik- is found in other bird-names too. Fulica is often compared with OHG belihha, -o, NHG Belche ‘coot’ < PGm. *bel-ik- < *bʰel-ig- ‘having a white spot’; but Latin ful- can only reflect *-ol- (unless it is a form from a different dialect, which is an ad hoc assumption), and the suffixes do not match completely. The basic word is assumed to be *bʰe/o/olH- ‘white’ (Lith. bālas, OCS bēl- ‘white’, Gr. φαλός ‘white’ Hsch.), but there is no guarantee that the Latin words refer to a bird with white characteristics. I conclude that the origin of fulica and fulix remains unknown.

Bibl.: WH I: 559ff., EM 259, IEW 118ff.

fülgō, -inis ‘soot’ [f. n] (Pl. +)
PIt. *füli- ‘smoke’.

Latin derivation to an original i-stem *dʰuH-li- ‘dust’, which may be derived from an adj. *dʰu₁₂-lo- ‘smoking, dusty’.


fullō, -nis ‘fuller, launderer; kind of beetle’ [m. n] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: fullōnia ‘the fuller’s trade’ (Pl.), fullōnica ‘a fuller’s shop’ (Lab. +), fullōnius [adj.] ‘of for fulling’ (Pl. +).

Since *o does not become u in front of ll, fullō must represent PLat. *fü-. There are many combinations which would yield -ll-, but no root is available which contains *-u- and would provide a probable basis for fullō. Etymology unknown.


fulvus ‘brown, sandy, gold-coloured’ [adj. o/ā] (Enn. +)
PIt. *fe/olawo-?
PIE *dʰe/o/lH-uo- ‘yellow’?
The theoretical preforms for fulvus were listed by Driessen 2005: *bʰ/dʰ/gʰwh/gʰu- + *-e/o- + *-HVu-/*-H[u- + -os. Unless, of course, *-wo- (which is also found in other colour adjectives) was a recent addition. The often cited connection with Lith. gelūs ‘yellow’ < PIE *gʰelH- is not possible, see s.v. helvus. Driessen connects fulvus with EMoDu. deluw, MoDu del ‘yellow(ish)’, which could, among other forms, go back to *t/delH-uo-. Latin fulvus could, in theory, reflect the same preform *dʰelH-uo-. Yet in view of the isolated position of the Dutch word within Gm., and the presence of rhyming colour words in -uw in Dutch, it seems a hazardous assumption. More promising is the connection with Armenian dalowkn ‘jaundice’, deti “yellow”, detb ‘yellow, blond’, which could point to a root *dʰelH-, *dʰelH- for ‘yellow’.

**fīnumus** ‘smoke, fumes’ [m. o] (Pl+)

Derivatives: *fīmāre* ‘to emit smoke or steam’ (Pl+), *fīmōsus* ‘smoky’ (Cato+), *fīmidus* ‘smoking, smoky’ (Lucr.+); *fīmigāre* ‘to treat with smoke’ (Var.+); *fīmificāre* ‘to make smoke’ (Pl+), *fīmificus* ‘making smoke’ (Pl+).

Pl. *fīmō-.*


In a preform *dʰuHMó-* we would expect Dybo’s shortening (of pretonic shortening of long vowels in front of resonants in Proto-Italic-Celtic-Germanic) to have taken place. The long vowel of *fīmus* is explained by Schrijver 1991 from (possible) analogy with the (*ě) in *fūlgō* and *suffiō*. The reconstruction of root-final *-h₂* is based on Hit. *antuwahhaś* ‘human’ and *tuhae-* ‘to cough’.


**fīnus**, -ere ‘to pour, let go, emit’ [v. III; pf. *fīdō, ppp. *fīsum*] (Pl+)

Derivatives: *fīsus*, -ūs ‘a pouring’ (Varro), *fīsus* ‘spindle’ (Lucr.+), *fundīāre* ‘to pour out continuously; shoot at with slings’ (Pl+); *affundere* ‘to pour onto’ (Varro+). *circumfundere* ‘to pour round, distribute’ (Cato+), *confundere* ‘to pour together, mix, confuse’ (Pl+), *confīsīcus* (Pl) ‘confused’, *confīsīm* ‘confusedly’ (Varro), *defundere* ‘to pour out’ (Cato+), *diffundere* ‘to spread widely, diffuse’ (Cato+), *diffundīāre* ‘to dissipate’ (Pl+), *diffūsilis* ‘diffusive’ (Lucr.), *affundere* ‘to pour out, shed, utter’ (Pl+), *infundere* ‘to pour in’ (Pl+), *infundībulum* ‘funnel, hopper’ (Cato+), *offundere* ‘to pour, extend’ (Pl+), *prōfundere* ‘to pour forth’ (Naev+); *fūtis*, -is ‘water-vessel’ (Varro), *exfūti* ‘effusi?’ (Paul. ex F.).


See Kümmel 2004b: 357 on *confīsīcus*. Initial *f- < PIE *gʰ- is only attested in *fundō*, and might be conditioned by the vowel *u* (labial assimilation). Germanic also shows the root extension *-d-*. In Latin, the *d-*present was remade into a nasal present. The
forms *fūtis and *ex-futus could continue the d-less form of the root, with *fūtis < *gʰeu-ti-. Note, however, that the semantics are not perfect (*fūtis is not an abstract) and that the noun appears only in Varro.


fundus ‘bottom’ [m. o] (Pl.+
Derivatives: funditus [adv.] ‘completely; from the bottom’ (Pl.+) fundare ‘to lay the foundations’ (Pl.+), fundamentum ‘foundation, basis’ (Pl.+); profundus ‘very deep, boundless’ (Pl.+).


The Latin form is due to metathesis of PIE *bʰudʰnó- to Italo-Celtic *bʰu<kʰ>-.


fungor, -I ‘to perform; go through, enjoy; die; function’ [v. III; functus sum] (Pl.+
Derivatives: defungi ‘to be quit, settle; come to an end; [pf.] die’ (Ter.+), perfungi ‘to carry through one’s part, be done’ (Ter.+).

PIE *fung-e/o-.

PIE pr. *bʰu-n-g- ‘to be of use, be used’. IE cognates: OIr. bongaid*, -boing ‘to break, harvest’, pf. bobaita, MW defynaf ‘to rush forward’ (< *di-bunge-) < PCl. *bunte/o-; Skt. pr. bhūjātē, bhūjātē [3p.], -bhūjan- [ptc.act.], aor. mā bhojam [1s.inj.act.] act.: ‘to benefit, make benefit; atone’; med.: ‘to benefit, enjoy, consume’, OAv. būj-[f.] ‘atonement, expiation’; Arm. bowcanem ‘to feed’, aor. bowci.


fungus ‘fungus, mushroom’ [m. o] (Pl.+
Derivatives: funginus ‘like a mushroom’ (Pl.).

IE cognates: Gr. σπόγγος ‘fungus’, Arm. sownk/g ‘mushroom’.

Probably a loanword from a non-IE language, borrowed independently into Greek, Latin and Armenian in a form *spʰong- vel sim.

Bibl.: WH I: 566f., EM 262.

fundis ‘rope, cable’ [m. f.] i] (Cato+; gen.pl. fūnium, abl.sg. fūne, acc.sg. fūnem, abl.sg. fūnī lx Cato)

Derivatives: fūniculus ‘thin rope, cord’ (Cato+); fūnambulus ‘tightrope walker’ (Ter.); sēmifunium ‘half-length of rope’ (Cato).

PIE *xʰomin-.

PIE *gʰoH-ni- or *gʰoHi-ni- ‘rope’. IE cognates: see s.v. filum.

Since the meaning is very close to filum, fundis might represent an o-grade derivative.
of the root *gʰwHi- or *gʰwHi- which can be reconstructed for *filum.

fūnus, -eris ‘funeral rites’ [n. r] (Lex XII+; one gloss has ex libris antiquis ... pro
funus fo<i>nus, but whether the addition of <i> is correct is uncertain.)
Derivatives: fūnestus ‘concerned with death or mourning, lamentable’ (Acc.+),
fūnebris ‘funerary’ (Cic.+).
If the form fōnus attested in the gloss is to be restored to *foinos, the noun might be
derived from the PIE root *bʰeih₂- ‘to be afraid’, viz. as *bʰeih₂-nos- [n.] ‘fear’ →
‘mourning’. But this is not very compelling, of course. If the spelling fōnus represents
a real form fōnus, it could represent a non-urban monophthongization of *founus >
Lat. fūnus. One could then reconstruct PIE *dʰe/ou-nes- ‘the passing away’ from the
root *dʰeu- ‘to go, pass away’. Watkins 1990 compares Hit. tuhuš-zi ‘to end’,
tuhhu(i)ša ‘has ended’ < PIE *Teuhr₂ or *Tuehr₂ (Kloeckhorst 2008: 890). Latin fūnus
would then continue PIE *dʰeuh₂-nes- ‘closing ceremony’. Other derivatives from this
root are uncertain: Watkins connects *dūno- ‘hill-fort, enclosure’, but this may also
contain PIE *d-.
Bibl.: WH I: 568, EM 262, IEW 260f.

fūr, -is ‘thief’ [m. r] (PL+)
Derivatives: fūrāx ‘given to stealing’ (PL+), fūrinus ‘of thieves’ (PL), fūrārī ‘to steal’
(Cato+), furtificus ‘thievish’ (PL), furtim ‘secretly’ (PL+), furtum ‘thief, deception’ (Lex XII+), fūrīvus ‘stolen, stealthy’ (PL+); suffūrārī ‘to steal
unobtrusively’ (PL+).
PLt. *fōr-.
PIE *bʰōr ‘thief’ [m.]. IE cognates: Gr. φῶρ ‘thief’.
It has been assumed that fūr was borrowed from Greek. Yet it is questionable whether
Greek φ- would be rendered with Latin f- so early: in view of the many derivatives,
the word seems to have been in the language well before Plautus. Also, PIE *-dr turns
into -ūr in Latin around 200 BC (cf. cūr), so that the vowel of fūr is no compelling
argument for a Greek origin. Finally, the noun furtum can hardly be explained as a
derivative from fūr. According to Forssman 1992: 309, furtum originally had a short
vowel and reflects *bʰrtom, with the zero-grade of the root of fūr. Lat. furtivus would
have been formed on the basis of *bʰrts > *furtos.
LIV *bʰer-... → ferre

furca ‘fork or similarly shaped instrument’ [f. ē] (PL+)
Derivatives: furcifer ‘one who is punished with the ‘fork’, scoundrel’ (PL+); furcilla
‘wooden pitchfork’ (Varro+), furcillāre ‘to impugn’ (PL), furcillātus ‘forked’ (Varro).
All etymologies adduced in WH presuppose PIE *gʰ-, which yields Latin h- in front
of vowels except in fundō. In furca, just as in fundō, we find -u- after the velar stop.
Yet Lith. žergti ‘to spread the legs’, zirklės ‘scissors’ presuppose a root *gʰ(e/o)rg-,
whereas for furca would require old *-u-, since it is inconceivable that the recent
change of *-orc- > -urc- (ca. 200 BC) would have been able to influence the outcome of the initial stop. One might assume a development *gʰorka > *fo/urca in a different dialect, from which Latin then borrowed the word; but this is an emergency scenario.

Bibl.: WH I: 569f., EM 263.

furfur, -is 'husks of grain, bran' [m. r] (Pl. +)
The derivation from a root *gʰer- 'to rub', as advocated by WH and IEW, is phonetically impossible. Furfur might derive from a root *gʰur- (unattested). The form looks like a reduplicated formation, which is possible in the case of a small object always occurring in large numbers.

Bibl.: WH I: 570, EM 263, IEW 439f.

furō, -ere 'to be mad, rave' [v. III] (Enn. +)
Derivatives: furia 'fury, rage; Fury' (Enn. +), furīōsus 'mad' (Lex XII, Cic. +), furōr 'violent madness' (Lucr. +); perfurere 'to rage' (Lucr. +).

Many etymologies have been proposed, but none is clearly the best. In view of the rule *i, *u > e, o in front of *-rV-, a preform in *-us- or *-ur- (or PIE *uH- > *-ū-), with subsequent shortening as per Dybo) must be excluded (Parker 1988: 230).

Bibl.: WH I: 570f., EM 263, IEW 268-271, Puhvel 1998, LIV *bherh₂-.

furvus 'dark-coloured, dusky' [adj. o/ā] (Varro +)
Plt. *fuswo-.

PIE *dʰus-u0- 'dark, black, brown'. IE cognates: Olr. donn 'dun, light brown', MW dwnn 'dun. dusky', OE dōx 'dark-haired, dusky', MoE dūsk, OE dōsen 'dun, dingy-brown, dark coloured'.

For furvus, Leumann 1977 assumes *fusuo-ös. More satisfactory is Rix 1981: 199 (= 2001: 287) who posits *dʰus-u0- > *furuo-, with the suffix *-u0- which is also found in many other colours (flāvus, fulvus, helvus, etc.). The root *dʰus- is found in several colour adjectives referring to a brown, dark colour, all with suffixes that are abundant in colour adjectives. It might be connected with PIE *dʰues- 'to fume, breathe; dust', hence 'dusty, mirky colour'.


fuscus 'dark-coloured, dusky; (of persons) dark-skinned' [adj. o/ā] (Varro +)

Derivatives: infuscāre 'to darken; contaminate' (Pl. +).
Plt. *fusko-.

PIE *dʰus-ko- 'dark-coloured'.

The suffix *-ko- was used, among others, to indicate physical properties of people: cascus, mancus. Hence, EM suppose that fuscus, as opposed to furvus, was originally used for this purpose.

Bibl.: WH I: 572, EM 263, IEW 268-271. → furvus
fūtīs 'stick, rod' [m. i] (Lex XII+; abl.sg. fūsti Lex XII, PL.)
Derivatives: fūstitūdīnus [adj.] 'stick-beating' (PL.).
Plt. *fūsti- / *fēusti- / *fōusti-.

The most obvious connection would be with Latin -fūtāre. Since the usual outcome of PIE *-TT- in Latin is -ss- (cf. Hill 2003: 221ff), fūtīs was an exception. Latin fūtīs might reflect *fū-ti- > *fussi- with subsequent reintroduction of the suffix *-ti-. Hill 2003 does not discuss the possible connection with fūtāre, and starts from a root ending in PIE *-d. In view of Dutch and German *būsk-, he (p. 236) reconstructs the root with a full grade *bʰHud-, but I am not convinced that long ū in the WGm. words is old: there is a productive ablaut pattern u : ū : au : iu in West-Germanic, so that *būska- might be explained as a secondary formation *būḍ-sk-. Hill needs a dissyllabic base *bōud- to explain the rise of -st- from *-dt- in Latin, but if the root was merely *bʰud-, this does not work. Still, I think that the connection with the Gm. words is possible; see s.v. fūtō.


O. futīr [nom.sg.], fuutrei, futreī [dat.sg.], futrefīs [gen.sg.?] 'daughter'.

PIE *dʰugther-tēr-, -tr-os 'daughter'. IE cognates: Gaul. dutir, Celtib. tuater; Hit. MUNUS duttarriyita/i- [c.] a female functionary, Hlue. tuwarta/i-, Lyc. kbarra- 'daughter' < PAnat. *dueγtr-, *dueγtr- (Kloekhorst 2008: 902ff), Skt. duhitrār-, OAv. dugdar-, YAv. dyuγdar-, Gr. dūγτηρ, -τρός, Arm. dowstr, Opr. dučkti, Lith. dukę-, OCS dušti, gen.sg. dušiere, Ru. doč', gen.sg. dočeri; Go. duohtar, Oic. döttir, OHG tohter, ToB tkäcer 'daughter'.
The Oscan forms point to /f(u)tr- < *fyxt-. Apparently, the PIE laryngeal remained unvocalized in Sabellic; Schrijver 1991: 105 suggests that this was caused by the following cluster TC. The absence of h in all Oscan attestations is striking, but not so problematic as to raise doubts about the etymology.


-fūtō, -āre 'to strike (vel sim.)' [v. i]: confūtāre 'to abash, restrain' (Pl.+), refūtāre 'to check, refute' (Lucr.+); fūtilis/futtilis 'brittle, fragile, in vain' (Pl.+), effūtāre 'to utter foolishly, babble' (Ter.+)
Plt. *fūt-?

IE cognates: OE bēatan, OHG bõzzan 'to strike' < Gm. *bautan-, Oic. beysta < *baustjan-, MHG büssch 'stick', MDu. buaschen 'to strike' < *būsk- 'blunt end of a stick'.
The meaning of the forms renders it attractive to connect Gm. *baut- 'to hit', but Latin has final *-t-. Root identity could be saved by assuming a PIE root *bʰH- 'to hit' with different dental enlargements in Latin and in Gm.; but this is unattractive. It is possible to posit a substrate root *būt- 'to strike', with different realizations per IE branch. The words fūtilis and effūtēre are separated from -fūtāre by Vine 2004, who translates fūtilis as 'leaky' and propose an etymology *gʰeu-ti- to the root of fundō. Note that fūtis 'vase' might show this very formation, but see s.v. fundō.

futuð, -ere ‘to fuck’ [v. III] (Cat.+)

Might be derived from the root -fut- ‘to strike, hit’. The formation in -uere suggests an original noun or adj. *futu-, which may have meant ‘a strike, a get-together’ vel sim. In his PhD dissertation (to be published), Romain Garnier proposes an alternative etymology: a noun *futu- ‘capacité d’éjaculer’ < *g²h²tu- to the root *g²h²eu- ‘to pour’. As García-Ramón (2006: 88f.) argues, this root may be the source of several words for ‘force’ and ‘manly vigour’ such as OIr. gus ‘force’. Earlier, the same etymology was proposed in a short note by Forssman (1972: 669).

Bibl.: WH I: 574, EM 264, IEW 112. → -futò

G

gallus ‘farmyard cock’ [m. o] (Pl.+

Derivatives: gallina ‘hen’ (Pl.+), gallinaceus ‘of poultry’ (Pl.+), gallinarius ‘one who looks after poultry’ (Varro+).

IE cognates: W. galv ‘to call’ < PCL. *galvo-; OCS glas, Ru. gólós ‘voice’ < *ga/olo-, OCS glagoli ‘word’ < *ga/ol-ga/ol-, glagolati ‘to speak’; OIC. kalla.

Theoretically, the bird could have been denominated ‘the Gaulish one’ (Gallus), but there are no indications that chicken were regarded as having come from Gaul. WH prefer the connection with Gr. καλάς, -ίδος ‘precious stone; cock’, but this does not have the same velar, and may be connected within Greek with καλέω. IEWs and Schrijver’s connection with a root *glHf- ‘to call’ seems much better; gallus would have been the ‘caller’. Formally, though, there are difficulties: can gallus represent *glH-o- > *galos, whence *gal-n-o- > gallus? Since the root represents a sound, and is attested only in Slavic, Grm. and Italo-Celtic, it might reflect an onomatopoeia *gal-


gāneum ‘tavern, eating-house’ [n. o] (Pl.+

Derivatives: gānea ‘tavern’ (Cic.+), gāneō ‘pub-crawler’ (Naev.+).

Probably a loanword. In form and meaning, one might connect West-Semitic *gann ‘garden’ (Ugaritic, Aramaic gn, Hebrew gan ‘garden’), whence also Gr. γάνος ‘pleasure-garden’ (on Cyprus), γάνεα ‘gardens’ (Hsch.); for the semantics, compare French restaurant and German Bier-garten.


gannio, -ire ‘to whimper, snarl’ [v. IV] (Pl.+

Derivatives: oggannire ‘to speak menacingly, growl’ (Pl.+), gannitus, -ūs ‘whimpering, snarling’ (Lucr.+).

IE cognates: RuCS gognati ‘to whisper, grumble’, Ru. gogniti ‘to tell, speak’, OCS
Most of the other IE forms mentioned by IEW are of the structure $gVn$-$gn$- and mean ‘to mock’, except for the Slavic forms. In Latin, the onomatopoeic aspect seems primary (‘to growl’ rather than ‘to mock’). Thus, the Slavic forms are the most likely comparanda. But Plt. *$gangn$- (in which *$a$ would be difficult to explain) would not normally develop to $gann$-. WH therefore invoke onomatopoeic change in this word, which is possible.

Bibl.: WH I: 582, EM 267, IEW 352.

garriō, -ire 'to chatter, jabber' [v. IV] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: garrulus ‘talkative’ (Pl.+).

PIE *gārje/o-?
PIE *$g$($\varepsilon$)h2r-ie/o- ‘to shout’? IE cognates: OIr. $gairid$*, *gair; MW $gar$ù ‘to shout’ < PCl. *gar-je/o- < PIE *$geh2r$-, OIr. $gawr$ ‘shout’ < PCl. *$g$ār- ‘shout, call’; OIr. $gairm$ ‘shouting, calling’, W. Bret. $garm$ < PCl. *$garsman$- ‘cry, shout’; Khot. yrsär- ‘to sing’, Sogd. z’ry, z’r$k, z’r’y ‘compassionate; pitiful’, Khwar. zry- ‘to announce, reveal, speak about (sorrow)’, OSS. Iron za$ly$n/za$ld$ ‘to sound’, (caus.-iter.) Iron zar$yn$/zar$d$, Digoron zarun/zard ‘to sing’ < PIr. *za$H$r- (*zarH$?$?) ‘to bewail the deceased’; Gr. γῆρας f. ‘voice, speech’, Dor. γῆρας, -ως < *$geh2r$u$-$; OHG $chara$ ‘mourning, complaint’, Go. $kara$, OE ce$aru$ ‘worry, care’ < PGM. *karô-, OS karm, OE ce$arm$, ci$erm$ ‘shouting’ < *$karma$-.

Latin garriō might reflect earlier *$g$āriō by means of the $litteral$-rule (see s.v. cella). An original long vowel would match that of Greek and (partly) Iranian. Yet the OIr. verb has short $a$, and cannot contain old long *$â$. In Gm., we find a short *$a$. An alternation between *$geh2r$- and *$gh$2r- could explain all the forms, but we may equally well be dealing with independent onomatopoeic formations in $går$- of the individual languages.


gau$de$ō ‘to be glad, rejoice’ [v. II; ppp. $gavī$sus (pf. $gavī$sī in Andr. and Hem.)] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: gaudium ‘joy, delight’ (Pl.+).

PIE *$g$aw$\varepsilon$p-é- [v.] or *$g$aw$\varepsilon$p[|$-$o- [adj.]

PIE *$geh2u$-ed$-$h- ‘to rejoice’ or *$geh2u$-i-d$|$h$1-o- ‘rejoicing’. IE cognates: Gr. γα$ν$ωμα ‘to brighten up, be glad’ < *$gh2r$-m$u$-, γα$ν$ ‘to take pride in’ < *γα$ρ$-; γη$θ$έω ‘rejoice’, Dor. γη$θ$$\varepsilon$ω, pf. γη$θ$$\varepsilon$$\nu$ ‘$*$geh2$\varepsilon$ ‘rejoicing’; Toch. $k$$\varepsilon$$k$$\varepsilon$- ‘to rejoice’. Gaudeō was contracted from *$g$aw$V$d- with a short second vowel. Since a disyllabic base *$g$aw$V$d$|$-$(-$|$-$b$) was probably denominative, or contains the present suffix *$-(e)$|$dh$-., the participle $gavī$sus is probably a secondary formation. Its $i$ may continue an earlier short vowel which was analogically lengthened (after the verb videō : visus). Forssman 1972: 668 suggests an original adj. *$g$avidus ‘rejoicing’ on which $gavidēre$ was built (like är$ē$ to burn’ to är$idus$), and the same is proposed by Nussbaum 1999a: 392 and Livingston 2004: 37f. This seems a good option, and it
would allow for an adj. in *-idʰo- (Nussbaum 1999a). If the present was built on a suffix *-dh-, the vowel of the second syllable was probably *e. The rise of the ppp. can then be dated after the vowel reduction of *e to i in unstressed syllables.

Bibl.: WH I: 584, EM 268, IEW 353, Schrijver 1991: 289, LIV *(g)ēh₂u-.

gāvia ‘sea-bird, possibly a tern’ [f. ā] (Plin., Apul.)


The length of the a is uncertain. Lat. gāius ‘jay’ is close in form and meaning, which would point to a (onomatopoeic?) root *gē-. If one assumes a short vowel in gavia, it can be derived from *gou-i-ēh₂-, and connected with a PIE root *guh₂-. This remains uncertain.

Bibl.: WH I: 584, EM 268, IEW 403, LIV *geuh₂-.

gelus, -ūs ‘cold, frost, ice’ [m. u] (Andr.+; gelum [n.] Cato+, marginally gelū [n.])

Derivatives: gelidus ‘cold, icy’ (Cato+), gelāre ‘to freeze’ (Sen.+); gelicidium ‘a frost’ (Cato+); congelāre ‘to cause to freeze’ (Varro+).

PIt. *gelus, *gel-ou-[m.].

PIE *gel-u-[m.] ‘cold, frost, ice’. IE cognates: Go. kalēs ‘cold’, OE calan ‘to freeze’, OIC. kala ‘to freeze’ < PIE *göl-to-; Gr. γέλανδρόν ‘cold’ (Hsch.) is uncertain. OCS xlabō ‘coolness, cool breeze’, Ru. xólod ‘cold’ < PSl. *xōldb ‘(the) cold’ << PIE *golβo-?

For the interpretation of the stem form throughout the Latin period, cf. Nussbaum 1999a: 380. By sound change, *gelu(-) should become *golu(-), but we may assume that e was restored on the basis of gelidus < *gel-i-, cf. Nussbaum 1999a: 387.


geminus ‘born at the same time, twin-born’ [adj. o] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: gemini̱re ‘to repeat, double’ (Ter.+), congemināre ‘to double’ (Pl.+), congeminātio ‘doubling’ (Pl.), geminītūdō ‘likeness’ (Pac.); trigeminus ‘threefold’ (Pl.+), quadrigeminus ‘fourfold’ (Naev.+).

PIt. *jemno- ‘paired’.


Traditionally, geminus is connected with Ilr. *iamá- ‘twin’ because of the meaning; this is supported by the OIr. cognate, which still shows je-. If correct, Latin has analogically introduced g- from elsewhere, probably from gignō ‘to give birth to’, genus ‘offspring’.

**gemma** 'bud or eye (in trees); jewel' [f. ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: gemmāre 'to come into bud' (Varro+), gemmāns 'decorated with gems' (Locr.+).

Plt. *gebma*- ‘bud, sprout’.

PIE *geb-m- ‘sprout, bud’. IE cognates: Lith. žėmbėti ‘to germinate, sprout’, 3s. žėmbi, OCS prožebṇoti ‘to germinate’.

The meaning ‘bud, sprout’ is primary. There are two competing traditional etymologies. WH and IEW prefer a derivation *gemḅh-na to the root *gemḅ ‘to bite’, whereas others have suggested a connection with *gem- ‘to press’ (Lat. gemō). The second etymology is semantically unconvincing, and leaves the geminate -mm- unexplained. The first etymology is based on (or at least thought to be strengthened by) the similar forms of Lith. žėmbti (colloq.) ‘to cut slantwise, sharpen’, 3s. žėmbia, OCS žėbomi ‘to pull out’ on the one hand, and Lith. žėmbėti ‘to germinate, sprout’, 3s. žėmbi, OCS prožebṇoti ‘to germinate’ on the other. Yet the accentuation of these verbs is different, a problem which was seen by IEW, but solved in an unsatisfactory way, viz. by assuming a lengthened grade present for Lith. žėmbėti. Since the meanings ‘to cut’ and ‘to germinate’ are difficult to derive from one another, and since the accentual difference may go back to different root-final consonants, we can reconstruct *gemḅ for the circumflex root ‘to cut’, and *geb- for the acute root of ‘to germinate’ (thus Schrijver, without references). Latin gemma can then reflect a noun *geb-ma of the deverbal type (as in fāma, flamma). Whether Germanic words can be connected (OIC. keppr ‘stick’, OE cipp ‘beam, ploughshear’ < *PGm. *kippa-) is uncertain.


**gemō, -ere** ‘to groan, moan’ [v. III] (Pl.+

Derivatives: gemitūs, -ūs ‘groaning, moaning’ (Pl.); ingemere ‘to moan’ (Locr.+).

Plt. *gene/o/-?

PIE *Gen(H)- ‘to call’? IE cognates: Gr. γέγωνα [pf.] ‘to shout so as to make oneself heard’, ToA ken- ‘to call’.

Lat. gemō has been connected with Gr. γέμω ‘to be full’ by most scholars, but the assumed semantic change from ‘to grasp; to press’ to ‘groan, moan’ is hard to imagine. This point is stressed by Vine 2007, who instead proposes to connect Gr. γέγωνα and ToA ken- ‘to call’ < (*ge-)gon-. He posits an original root *Gen(H)- / *Gon(H)- (with unspecified initial velar stop), which would have acquired -m- for *-n- in Latin on the model of semantically similar verbs such as fremere ‘to roar’, tremere ‘to tremble’.


**gena** ‘cheek, side of the face’ [f. ā] (Lex XII; usually pl. genae)

Derivatives: genuīns (dēns) [m./adj.] ‘back tooth, molar’ (Cic.+).

Plt. *gemu-.

*\( j^\ell anu- \) (with unclear aspirate in Skt.); Gr. γένυς, -ους [f.] ‘jaw’, γένεον (< *γενεφ-ου) ‘chin, beard’; Arm. cnawt ‘jaw, chin’; Lith. žàndas [m.] ‘cheek, jaw’, Latv. žuôds < *gonh-dʰ-o- or *gón-d-o-; Go. kînus [f.] ‘cheek’, Oic. kîn [f.] ‘slope’ < PGm. *kînu- (< *genu-/*ger-); ToA sanwêm [du.f.] ‘jaws’ < PIE *gênu- (root vocalism after ToA kanwêm ‘knees’).

Originally the same word *genu- as ‘knee’, meaning ‘curve’? The adj. genu-inus ‘molar’ would indeed suggest this. Original *genus has apparently changed to gena because it was f., and maybe under the influence of māla.

Bibl.: WH I: 589f., EM 269, IEW 381f., Leumann 1977: 327. → genu

gener, -erī ‘son-in-law’ [m. o] (Pl.+

Plt. *g(e)mro-.


The m of Ilr. and Greek cannot go back to n, and the Greek form can hardly reflect a set root. If the root was *gém-, we can explain gener from *gmmros > *gemros > *genros > gener.


gêns, -ntis ‘race, nation, people’ [f. i] (Naev.+

Derivatives: gentilis [m.] ‘a member of the same gens’ (Lex XII+), gentilitâs ‘members of a gens’ (Varro+), gentilicîus ‘of a gens’ (Varro+).

Plt. *genti-.


The original meaning is ‘clan’, that is, ‘people of the same descent’. Schrijver argues that Lat. *genti- is a relatively recent formation, since PIE *gênh₁-ti- is continued in Latin by nātīō. A different approach is chosen by Beekes 1969, and, for instance, Schaffner 2001. They argue that the PIE paradigm had ablaut, and that gêns reflects the full grade case forms, whereas nātīō stems from a zero-grade case form. However, the large amount of e-grade forms across the IE languages suggests that maybe PIE already had two stems, *gênh₁-ti- ‘child’ and *gênh₁-ti- ‘offspring’. Since some of the extant forms can be explained secondarily (e.g. Skt. prá-jāti-, see de Vaan 2004a), a alternating paradigm in PIE is not a necessary assumption.

genu, -ūs 'knee' [n. u] (Andr.+); mainly pl. genua in the oldest sources; also sg. genus (Lucil.+); and maybe genum (Fronto). Nom.sg. also genu in Verg., Ov. (before caesura).

Derivatives: geniculum 'small knee; joint' (Varro+), congenuclāre 'to fall on one’s knees' (Sis.+).

Pit. *genu-.

PIE *gen-u(-h! dual), *gen-u- (obl.) 'both knees'. IE cognates: Ofr. glīn [n.], W. pen-(g)lin, Co. penglin, Bret. penn-glin 'knee' < *glīn-; Hit. (uzu) genu-/ gumu- [n. > c.] 'knee' < *genu-/* gn-eu-; Skt. jánu-, in cp. jñu-, Av. zánu-, fra-śnu- 'holding the knee forward'; Gr. γόνος 'knee', γνυς [adv.] 'with bent knee' (IL), πρόχνυ 'kneeling', Arm. cownr < *genu-, with an r-addition to older u-stem; Alb. gju / gjū [m.] 'knee', Buzuku pl. glunj < PAlb. glun-; Go. kniu, OHG chniu, OEc. kné < PGm. *knewa-; ToA kanwem [m.du.], ToB keni* [m.du.] 'knees' < PTo. *kenw- < PIE *genu-.

The PIE paradigm seems to have been nom.acc.sg. *genu, gen.sg. *genu-s, but *gn-eu-s also occurred; probably, *-gn-u- was the form in several compounds. The dual ending *-uh} may also be seen in PCI. *gl-u-n-.


gerō, -ere 'to bear, carry' [v. III; gessf, gestum] (Naev.+) Derivatives: gestōre 'to carry', (Pl.+), gestītāre 'to carry habitually' (Pl.+), gestor 'who carries' (Pl.+), gestus, -ūs 'movement, gesture' (Ter.+), gestīre 'to desire eagerly, be elated' (Pl.+); cp. in -ger, -era, -gerum 'bearing' (Pl.+); salūtīgerulus 'employed to carry salutations' (Pl.), scūtīgerulus 'shield-bearer' (Pl.); gerulīfigulus 'accessory, hodman vel sim.' (Pl.); aggerere 'to bring; pile up' (Pl.), agger, -is [m.] (Lucil.+) 'piles of earth, ramp', congerere 'to bring together, collect' (Pl.+), congestus, -ūs 'heap, pile' (Lucr.+), digerere 'to carry away, distribute' (Cato+), ĕgerere 'to carry away, remove; bring forth' (Cato+), ĭnerere 'to heap on, pour into' (Pl.+), oggerere 'to place in large quantities on/before' (Pl.+), suggerere 'to supply, pile up' (Ter.+), suggestus, -ūs 'platform' (Cato+).

Pit. *ges-e/o-.

PIE *h2g-es- 'to carry'. IE cognates: see s.v. agō.

The meaning of gestīre presupposes the meaning 'gesture' of gestus (i.e. *'to make wild gestures'). The compound agger < *ad + -ger cannot contain a PIE root noun, since the stem *-ges- < PIE *h2g-es- is of post-IE date (pace Benedetti 1988: 107f.). The derivation from the root of agō was proposed at an early date (by Osthoff), but has only gained acceptance since the laryngeal theory has become endorsed, cf. Schrijver.


gibber, -is 'hump' [m./n. r] (Lucil.+) Derivatives: gibber [adj.] 'hump-backed' (Varro+); gibbus 'hump' (Juv.+), gibbus [adj.] 'bulging' (Cels.).

Pit. *gīfrī- 'hump', *gīfro- 'hump-backed'.

Lat. gibb- can continue earlier *gīb-, an interchange which we find in many words for bodily defects. Nussbaum 2004a interprets the facts in the sense that the PIE adj. in *-ro- yielded an abstract noun in *-ri-. In theory, *giber and the Baltic forms could reflect *geibȟ-, but the meanings are not identical. The distribution of these forms is very restricted, and the etymology therefore remains very uncertain. The Gmc. forms in *-k- also occur with sk-.


gignō, -ere ‘to create, engender; to be born’ [v. III; pf. genuī, ppp. gentium] (Pl. +; OLat. pr. also genō, -ere until Varro)

Derivatives: genitor ‘father, creator’ (Enn. +), genētrix ‘mother’ (Enn. +), geneīvus ‘of birth, acquired at birth’ (Varro+), genētālis ‘of (pro)creation’ (Enn. +), genitābilis ‘having the power of creation’ (Varro+); ēgignere ‘to bring forth’ (Lucr.), pēgignere ‘to bring into being, come into existence’ (Pl. +), prōgenēs ‘offspring, descent’ (Enn. +), prōgenitor ‘ancestor’ (Acc. +), regignere ‘to bear again’ (Lucr.); ingenius ‘free-born, liberal; native’ (Pl. +); genus, -eris ‘origin, offspring, race, gender’ (Naev. +), generāre ‘to beget, father’ (Pl. +), generālis ‘shared by all, general’ (Varro+), generāscere ‘to come to birth’ (Lucr.), generātīm ‘by classes’ (Varro+), con generāre ‘to bind by kinship; give birth at the same time’ (Acc. +); genius ‘the male spirit of a gens’ (Pl. +); ingenium ‘natural disposition, character’ (Naev. +), ingeniātus ‘endowed with a special character’ (Pl. +); germen, -inis ‘shoot, sprout’ (Lucr. +), germānus ‘having the same father and mother; true’ (Pl. +); maybe germināscere ‘to sprout’ (Cato; uncertain reading, cf. Keller 1992: 302); bigener [adj. o/a] ‘hybrid’ (Varro, Paul. ex F.), multigener, -is ‘of many different sorts’ (Pl. +); -gena ‘born person’ in indigena ‘native, indigenous’ (Ov. +), aliēnēgina ‘a stranger’ (Varro+); -genus in caprigenus ‘sprung from goats’ (Pac. +), prīmigenus ‘of origination’ (Lucr.); -genius in prīmigenius ‘first of its kind’ (CIL 1.60 primogenia, Varro+); -gnus ‘born, originated’ in benīgnus ‘kind, generous’ (Pl. +), bignae ‘twins’ (Paul. ex F.), malignus ‘ungenerous, grudging’ (Pl. +), prīvīgnus ‘stepson’ (CIL 1.583.22 +).

It. cognates: O. genetāi [dat. sg.] ‘daughter’ (?) < *genȟ-to-. Second -e- is problematic: because of the general Sabellian syncope of word-internal vowels, one would expect *genatā- > *gēntā-.

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The pr. genere seems secondary, built on the aor. *gen-. The ppp. genitus is relatively recent, replacing *gnātos on the model of the aor. genui. The truth of this view is confirmed by the pair prōgenigō : prōgnātus, cf. Schwyzer 1929. The noun prōgeniēs derives from prōgignere, as does prōgenitor. The noun genitor seems to be inherited, but it cannot be excluded that it was derived from the ppp. genitus. One argument for a recent origin is the medial vowel: in *genatōr-, the *a would have been syncopated in most case forms. The form, genetrix shows that we must go back at least to *genetor- < *genator-, but this may still be built on *gienatos. The adj. genetwus also preserves medial -e- from the stage *gene-tos of the ppp.; according to Leumann, its preservation in genettivus may be due to the specific sequence of vowels in this word. The words in gener- are derived from genus, -eris. The noun germen < *gen-men lies at the basis of germānus < *germn-āno-, even if the noun is attested significantly later than the adj. The original form of the noun must have been *genamen < *gienh₁-men; apparently, the a was syncopated in foursyllabic oblique caseforms. Still, an inner-Latin formation on the pr.stem gen- cannot be excluded. Of the compounds in -gena, -genus, -genius, -gnus, only the last type seems to be inherited: the meaning has moved away from literal ‘to beget’, the morphology is synchronically opaque, and the other three types are only attested in CLat. The noun genius is derived from PIE by IEW, who compares among others Gm. *kunja- (Go. kuni ‘race’), but the meaning of genius clearly shows its dependance on genus and/or the verbal stem, and it can easily be secondary. The cp. in -gena are regarded as calques on Greek -γενής by Leumann 1977: 280. Malignus was created as an antonym to benignus, as the exclusive meaning ‘ungenerous’ (not: ‘unkind’) indicates; thus Nussbaum 2003. Privignus < *preiuo-gno- ‘born separately’ > ‘stepson’; the reflex -ignus instead of expected *prīvognus is explained by Nussbaum from analogy with bigno- ‘twin’.

gingiva 'flesh around the teeth, the gum' [f. ʔa] (Cat.+)

Etymology unknown.IEW compares words such as Gr. γογγύλος ‘round’, Lith. giunga ‘hunch, lump’ and Germanic words meaning ‘ball’ and ‘winding’: Of. kôkkr ‘ball’, MLG kinke ‘bend’. Yet the semantic connection of ‘gums’ with ‘winding’ is not compelling (it is not the most typical aspect of the gums), and alternative analyses are possible for the compared forms (Lith. may have *u, for instance). For the suffix, cf. saliva.


-ginta ‘decade’ [num. indecl.]: triginta ‘thirty’ (Pl.+), quadrāgintā ‘forty’ (Pl.+), quīnquāgintā ‘fifty’ (Pl. +), sexāgintā ‘sixty’ (Cato+), septuāgintā ‘seventy’ (Varro+), octōgintā ‘eighty’ (Cic. +), nōnāgintā ‘ninety’ (Varro+). Derivatives: tricēni [pl.adj.] ‘thirty apiece’ (Varro+), trīcē(n)simus ‘thirtieth’ (Cato+), quadrāgenārius ‘of, containing forty’ (Cato+), quadrāgēni [pl. adj.] ‘forty at a time’ (Cato+), quadrāgēsimus ‘fortieth’ (Varro+), quīnquāgēni(n)s ‘forty times’ (Varro+), quīnquāgēnius ‘of, containing fifty’ (Cato+), quīnquāgēsiēs ‘fifty times’ (Pl.), quīnquāgiēi(n)s ‘fifty times’ (Varro+); sexōgēnius ‘of, containing sixty’ (Varro+), sexāgēni ‘sixty apiece’ (Pl. +), sexāgē(n)simus ‘sixtieth’ (Ter.+); septuāgēni ‘seventy apiece’ (Varro+); octōgēni ‘eighty apiece’ (Lucil.+); nōnāgēsimus ‘ninetieth’ (Varro+).

PIE *trigmta ‘thirty’, *kʷadrāgmta ‘forty’.

The ordinal -c/gesimus reflects < *-gessamo- < *-genftamo- < *-gipt-tamo-. Distributive -ēni spread analogically from the lower numerals, e.g. septēni and novēni, cf. Leumann 1977: 495. Originally, the numerals in -gintā are compounds of the lower numerals (in the zero grade) and the nom.acc.pl. of the n. noun *dkmt- ‘decad’. In ‘thirty’ and ‘forty’, initial *?- of the second member probably became a glottal stop, and lengthened the preceding vowel. In ‘forty’, this vowel was a secondary prop vowel a. The *t in original *kʷ-tr-dkmt- was lenited (voiced) in the consonant cluster, as was the *k in the second member in all forms. Final -ā for expected *-ā is explained by Klingenschmitt (1992: 92) as analogical to final -ī in vigintī ‘twenty’. The higher decades have adopted -agintā from ‘thirty’ and ‘forty’. The expected form of ‘fifty’ would have been *penkʷe-dkmt-h2 > *quīnquēgintā, of ‘sixty’ *sexgintā/sēgintā. Octōgintā is regular and nōnāgintā probably for *mūnagintā < *h₁:neun-dkmt-. The number septuāgintā is explained by Meiser from remodelling of *septāgintā < *septm-h₁:kmt-h₂, in other words, he assumes a prior development to *septma-h₁:kmt-a. Others have assumed that -uāgintā was taken from ‘eighty’, which would then have had an earlier form *octuāgintā < *okitōvā- or *oktō-ā-. This question is not settled yet; cf. also septuennis ‘of seven years’, attested early in the literature. Other IE languages (Celtic, Greek) have o-grade, which suggests that the noun had ablaut in PIE: -dkomt-/*-dkmt-.

glaber, -bra, -brum ‘without hair, smooth, bald’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)

PIE *ghl₂-ro- ‘smooth’. IE cognates: Lith. glūdis, Latv. glūošs ‘smooth’, OCS gladok, Ru. gladkij, Scr. gladak ‘smooth, even’ < PIE *g₁ḥ₂-d₁-h-; OHG glat ‘smooth, shiny’, Olc. glādr ‘shiny’ < PIE *g₁ḥ₂-d₁-h-.

Schrijver regards glaber as the phonetic outcome of the PIE preform, by a vocalization rule *CRHTC > *CRA(T)C. Since the usual reflex of *CRHC is *CRA(C), this may imply that the laryngeal was actually ousted before the putative allophonic prop vowel was phonologized. The acute accent of the BSl. forms points to the presence of a laryngeal.


glacies ‘ice’ [f. ē] (Varro+)

Derivatives: conglaçiare ‘to freeze’ (Cic.+).

The meaning is the same as that of gelus, but glacies cannot be derived from a root *gl- ‘to be cold’ in any meaningful way.

Bibl.: WH I: 603, EM 275, IEW 366. → gelus

gladius ‘sword’ [m. o] (Pl.+; n. in Lucil., Var.)

Derivatives: gladiātor ‘who fights with the sword’ (Cato+), gladiātōrius ‘of gladiators’ (Ter.+).

IE cognates: W. cleddyf, Co. clethe, MBret. clezef ‘sword’ < *kladimo- (Olr. claideb is a loanword from W.).

The close connection with Celtic words for ‘sword’, together with the imperfect match of initial consonants, and the semantic field of weaponry, suggests that Latin borrowed a form *gladio- or *kladio- (a hypothetical variant of attested British Celtic *kladimo- ‘sword’) from PCl. or from a third language.

Bibl.: WH I: 603, EM 275f., IEW 545ff.

glãns, -andis ‘acorn’ [f. nd] (Pl.1+)

Derivatives: glandium ‘delicate kernel (in meat)’ (Naev.); glandifer ‘acorn-bearing’ (Lucr.); iüglãns ‘walnut’ (Varro+).

Plt. *g₁-wland(i)- < *g₁-wland-.

PIE *g₁w₁h₂n-d₁-b₁(-i)- ‘acorn’. IE cognates: Skt. gula- ‘acorn, penis, clitoris’ (uncertain); Gr. βάλανος ‘acorn’, gen. kalnoy ‘acorn’ (but *g₁w₁h₂n-d₁- would give -an- in Arm.); maybe Alb. lênd, Tosk lëndë ‘acorn’; OPr. gîle ‘acorn, oak’, Lith. gilė ‘acorn’, gyliê (diaL.), Latv. zīle < *g₁w₁h₁-r₁h₁; RuCS želūd, Ru. želud’, Scr. žêlûd ‘acorn’ < PSI. *žêlôdb < *g₁w₁h₁-r₁h₁-d₁(-i)-.

Beside Latin, only Slavic shows a dental stop in the suffix. In view of mēns, mentis < *mn-ti-, glãns may reflect an old i-stem, which would match Slavic. Yet the endings of e.g. the abl.sg. do not point in this direction, so it is safer to assume a consonant stem. The other languages either continue an original n-stem (Arm., Gr.) or a different formation. Lat. iüglãns is probably a calque on Greek Δίος βάλανος ‘chestnut’, with
the gen.sg. *djowes (> Iovis), or with iū- taken from Iūpiter.


glārea ‘gravel’ [f. ā] (Cato+)

Might be derived from the same root as grānum via a dissimilation: PIE *grH-ro-> *grāros ‘pebble, corn’ > deriv. *grārejos of pebbles’ > diss. *glārejos. But this depends on the original meaning of grānum: if this was ‘ripened, aged’, it is unlikely that glārea is cognate.

Bibl.: WH I: 605, EM 276, IEW 390f. → grānum

gleba ‘lump of earth, clod’ [f. â] (Cato+; <glaeb-> mainly in Pliny)

Derivatives: glēbārius ‘who cuts off lumps’ (Varro).

IE cognates: Lith. glēbtı, 3s. glacba ‘to embrace, clasp, (dial.) take care of’, Lith. glarebs ‘embrace, armful’, Latv. glēbt ‘to guard, protect’ < *gлēbı-. If gleba is older than glaeba, one might posit a root noun *gлēb- vs. an o-stem *gлobo-. The Gm. forms which are often compared (OHG klōfrı) do not mean ‘round’, and are better ignored. Only the Baltic words are likely to be cognate. In theory, Latin and Baltic may continue a root *gлeb(⁰)-, *glob(⁰); yet because of the restricted distribution, and the existence of deviant vocalism within Baltic, a PIE origin is not very likely.


glis, -ris ‘dormouse’ [m. r] (Pl.+)

Prt. *gлиs.

PIE *glh₂-i- ‘husband’s sister, aunt’ > ‘weasel’. IE cognates: Skt. giri- [f.] ‘sister-in-law’, Gr. γαλέη, γαλὴ (Ar.+ ‘weasel, marten’ (the word originally indicated the skin), γαλάννις ‘weasel-eyed’, γαλάστηκον ‘with an arm like a weasel’, γαλαδεύς ‘young weasel’ (Crat.), γαλάτω ‘to be mad’ (Hsch.); γάλις ‘γαλαός’ (Hsch.); Arm. tal ‘husband’s sister’. Skt. giri-, girikā- [f.] ‘mouse’ probably did not exist.

According to Szemerényi 1995, Lat. glis was borrowed from Gr. γαλέη ‘weasel, marten’, with Hellenistic pronunciation as [gali:]. This seems unlikely: it has a different meaning, and [gali:] does not explain the form of glis. The semantic distance between ‘dormouse’ and ‘weasel’ also mars the comparison with Skt. giri-‘sister-in-law’ < *glh₂-i-, which would formally be attractive. Cuesta Pastor (1996) argues that the Gr. gloss γάλις ‘husband’s sister’ together with Skt. giri- and Arm. tal, points to a PIE stem *glh₂-i- ‘sister-in-law’, and, since ‘aunt’ is often used metaphorically for ‘weasel’, Latin glis can represent the same PIE stem. Oettinger 1998, too, points out that in Romance languages and dialects often ‘weasel’ and ‘aunt’ are homonyms, because of the behaviour of the aunt; similarly for Baltic Nepokupnyj 2002.

glīscē, -ere 'to swell, increase' [v. III] (Pl.)
   Derivatives: conglīscere 'to blaze up' (Pl.), reglīscere 'to grow' (Pl.).
No certain cognates.

globus ‘round and compact mass’ [m. o] (Pl.)
   Derivatives: globōsus 'round' (Pac.+).
Probably a loanword, see s.v. glēba.
Bibl.: WH I: 608, EM 277, IEW 359f., Schrijver 1991: 125. → glēba, glomus

glomus, -eris ‘ball-shaped mass’ [n. r] (Varro+)
   Derivatives: glomerēre ‘to form into a ball, collect’ (Varro+), glomerāmen 'aggregation' (Lucr.+); conglomerēre ‘to concentrate, heap up’ (Enn.+).
PIt. *glemos, -es-.
PIE *glem-o/es- [n.]. IE cognates: OIr. glomar ‘gag, curb’; Lith. glomōti ‘to embrace’, glemžti ‘to grab together, rumple’, Latv. glemzt ‘to eat slowly, talk nonsense’; OE clam(m) ‘tie, fetters’, OHG klamma ‘trap, gorge’.
Since some Romance forms seem to continue *glem- (Rom. ghem, Venetian gjemo), it is assumed that the original Latin form was *glemus, which was able to survive in parts of the Latin speech area. The change of *glem- to glom- was conditioned by the preceding velarized l and the non-front vowel in the next syllable (see Schrijver 1991: 468). According to Schrijver, the Romance form *glem- may be a remnant of the oblique case forms, which must originally have had e-grade in the root: *glem-es-os etc. There might also have been a PIE o-stem *glom-o-, the o of which was then introduced into an s-stem *glemos, *glemesos. But since there is no synchronic evidence for an o-stem, it seems preferable to reconstruct only an s-stem. Semantically, only the connection with OIr. glomar and Gm. *klam-b- makes reasonable sense, although Gm. and Celtic fit better together than with Lat. glomus. If Baltic is cognate, we would have a verbal root *glem- ‘to contain, embrace’. Within Latin, globus and glēba seem the closest connection to glomus, and they may go back to (substrate?): *gle/ob-. Hence, there may have been a substrate word ‘ball’ vacillating between *glem- and *gleb-; or glomus is from *glob-mo-. The words for ‘slimy mass’, connected by IEW, are much more remote.

glōria ‘praise, glory’ [f. ā] (Pl.)
   Derivatives: glōriāri ‘to pride oneself, boast’ (Ter.+), glōriōsus ‘glorious, boastful’ (Naev.+).
PIt. *gnōsia / *gnōria ‘knowledge, fame’.
PIE *gnēh3-s- ‘to recognize, know’ or *gnē/oh3-ri- ‘knowledge’.
The etymology as *gnōria ‘knowledge, fame’ to gnārus ‘known’ and i-gnōrēre has been acknowledged by some scholars, and rejected by others. In its favour speak the semantics of words for ‘glory’, which in Indo-European societies mostly have to do
with ‘spoken praise’, ‘reputation by hearsay’. Against the assumed etymology speak the phonetics. A dissimilation *gnôr- (> *grôr-?) > *glôr- is contradicted by gnârus and ignôrâre. On the other hand, gnârus kept its gn- on the model of ignârus, so that the retention of gn-r- in gnârus and ignôrâre may be due to non-initial (= VOLat. unstressed) position of the syllables in question. In *gnôria, the stress may have played a part in the dissimilation. It may be assumed that the semantic connection of glôria to ‘to know’ was no longer perceived, hence no restoration of gn- took place. Glôria could be a derivative of Plt. *gnôs- ‘to know’ (see s.v. ignôró) or of PIE *gnê/oh3-ri- ‘knowledge’, cf. Gr. γνώριμος ‘well-known, familiar’.

Bibl.: WH I: 609f., EM 277. → gnârus, ignôró

glôs, -ris ‘husband’s sister, brother’s wife’ [f. r] (Pl. +)

Plt. *glôs-.


As Schrijver points out, it is impossible to derive glôs directly from a form *glîH-ô-. His own tentative solution of a preform *glîH-ôu- with early loss of *H is ad hoc, but possible. Alternatively, one may observe that none of the branches of IE completely agree on the stem suffix, and that PIE may have had a root noun *glôh2-, or a u-adj. *glôh2-u-. Latin may then reflect *glöh2-(u-).


glûbô, -ere ‘to peel, strip the bark from’ [v. III; pf. glûpsi, ppp. glûptum] (Cato +)

Derivatives: glûma ‘husk, chaff’ (Enn. +); dêglûbere ‘to skin, strip’ (Pl. +); glûbêre ‘to shed its bark’ (Cato).

Plt. *gloufe/ô- [v.], *glouf(s)ma-.

PIE *glêubh-e/o- ‘to split’, *gle/oubh-(s)mh2-. IE cognates: Gr. γλύφω ‘to carve out’, OHG klîoban, OE clêofan, Olc. klîúfa ‘to cleave’ < *gleubh-e/o-.

The noun glûma can continue e- or o-grade. It may contain *s-, but not necessarily. If the connection with glûbô is correct, its meaning would be ‘skin, hull’ of the corn. The intr. verb glûbêre can be interpreted as ‘to be in a state of peeling, losing its bark’.


glûten, -inis ‘glue, paste’ [n. n] (Varro, Lucr. +)

Derivatives: glûtînum ‘glue, paste’ (Lucil. +), glûtînâtor ‘person who glues papyri’ (Lucil. +); aggĩltînâre ‘to glue together, attach’ (Pl. +), congîltînâre ‘to stick together’ (Pl. +); glittus ‘sticky, cohesive’ (Cato, Paul. ex F.).

Plt. *glöiten- ‘glue’; *glîtos?

PIE *glöh1-i-t- ‘slime, glue’. IE cognates: OIr. glenaid, -glen; glîed*, *glia* [sb.], W. glynu, MCo. glena, Bret. englenaff ‘to stick, glue’ < *(en-)*glî-na- [pr.], *glei-ase/o-
gnārus


Latin presupposes a stem *gloit- with a suffixal *-t- which is otherwise unattested, but which might be connect with glittus. The latter is basically a hapax; by means of the littera-rule (see s.v. cella) it might go back to *glit-.* With laryngeal metathesis, or < *gleh₁i-to-. The n-stem inflection in Latin *gloiten- might be secondary after unguen ‘ointment’, or hide an earlier r/n-stem ‘glue’. The Hesych gloss γλύττον is conspicuously similar to glittus, maybe it is based on the Latin form or was taken from another Italic language.


gluttō, -nis ‘glutton, gourmand’ [m. n] (Paul. ex F.)

Derivatives: gluttōre ‘to swallow’ (Pl.); inğluviēs ‘gullet, crop, throat’ (Varro apud Serv.); singultus, ās ‘sobbing; hiccough’ (Lucr.).

In theory, Latin might contain the same stem *glut- as found in PSl. *glūtō ‘gullet’ < *gul-to-, see s.v. gula. But in inğluviēs, the t is absent. We seem to be dealing with an onomatopoeic formation of the form *gul-/*glu-.


gnārus ‘knowing, experienced’ [adj. o/a] (Pl.+. nārus Varro)

Derivatives: ignārus ‘having no knowledge, ignorant’ (Pl.); prōgnāriter ‘with full knowledge’ (Pl., Enn.); gnārumis [adj.] ‘having knowledge’ (Pl.); gnārigāre ‘to publish’ (Andr. apud Paul. ex F.); narrāre ‘to relate, tell’ (Andr.+); narrātiō ‘story’ (Ter.+), dēnarrāre ‘to relate in full’ (Pl.+), ēnarrāre ‘to recount’ (Pl.+), praenarrāre ‘to explain in advance’ (Ter.).


PIE *gnhr- ‘knowing’. IE cognates: Gr. γνώριμος ‘well-known’, γνωρίζω ‘to make known’ (< *gne/oh3-ri- ‘knowledge’).

The adj. gnārus kept its g- on the model of ignārus; while narrāre lost it, because no compounded counterpart with -gn- was available. The verb narrāre can be explained from *nārāre via the littera-rule. The verb itself must have been Plt., judging by the U. forms; it is denonational to the adj. *gnāro-. Leumann 1977: 550 interprets gnār-igāre as a rhyming formation to clārīgāre to clārus.

(g)nāvus 'busy, diligent, assiduous, active' [adj. o/a] (Pl.; in Pl. only adv. nāvē; CLat. nāvus)

Derivatives: īgnāvus 'lazy, indolent' (Ph+), īgnāvia 'idleness' (Naev.+), īgnāvāre 'to dispirit' (Acc.).

Plt. *gnāwō-. PIE *gn(e)h3-uō- 'knowing'. IE cognates: Ir. gnó 'business', W. go-gnaw 'active, persistent', MBret. gnou 'obviously', OBret. bodo-cnous, Mfr. gnou 'excellent'; uncertain: OIc. knār 'hardy, vigorous', Crimean Go. knawen 'good'.

If a development *-ōw- > -āw- is acknowledged, gnāvus can reflect *gnōwo- or *gnāwō- < PIE *gnēh3-uō- or *gnh3-uō- 'knowing'. The semantic shift from 'knowing' > 'experienced' > 'busy' is unremarkable. It is also possible that *gnāwō- was formed on the model of gnārus.


gracilis 'slender, slight' [adj. i] (Ter.+; f. gracila in Ter.)

Derivatives: gracilentus 'slender' (Enn.+), graciēns 'id.' (Laev.), gracilitās 'slenderness' (Varro+), gracilitūdō 'id.' (Acc.); cracēns, -ntis 'slender' (Enn.).

It. cognates: possibly U. kurčlāsiu [abl.sg.m.], attr. of 'moon': *k(o)rkelāsi-o-'waning' (M. Weiss, p.c.).

Leumann holds that gracilentus was created as an antonym to corpulentus. The form cracēns is only preserved in Paul. ex F.; it may be the original form, which was subsequently dissimilated to grac- in Latin. Lat. *krakilis would reflect PIE *kṛk- and be cognate with Skt. kṛṣā-, Av. karaśa- 'lean, meagre', OIc. horr (*hurha-) 'leanness', Lith. karšeti, karštī 'to grow old'. Yet PIE *kṛk-ī- would normally yield Latin **corci- and the alleged dissimilation of velars is unwarranted.


grāculus 'jackdaw' [m. o] (Varro+)

IE cognates: RuCS, ORu. grakati, 1s. graču 'to caw, croak' < PSI. *grakati; RuCS, ORu. gṛkati 'to coo', Ru. (dial.) gōrkāt < PSI. *gvrkati; OIc. krāka 'crow', krākr 'raven', OE *crācian, cracettan 'to crow (of raven)' < pre-Gm. *grāg-.

Lat. grāculus could formally correspond with Slavic *grā-k-, but in view of the obviously onomatopoeic character of grā-, this does not suffice to prove PIE origin. One might reconstruct a PIE stem *greh₂- for Lith. grōtī 'to caw, croak', PSI. *grajati 'to caw, croak', but the same objection applies.


gradior, gradī 'to step, walk, proceed' [v. III; ppp. pressus] (Pl.+). Forms of the 4th cj.: adgredēmur (Pl.), aggredētur (Pac.).

Derivatives: gradibilis 'able to tread' (Pac.); gradus, -ūs 'step, pace' (Pl.+); gradātim [adv.] 'by steps, progressively' (Varro+), praegradāre 'to go in front of' (Pac.); gradlāe [f.pl.] 'stilts' (Varro), grallātor 'who walks on stilts' (Pl.+); grassāri 'to press on, march, proceed' (Pl.+), grassātor 'vagabond, highway robber' (Cato+);
gressīō ‘stepping’ (Pac.), gressus, -ūs ‘step, walk’ (Acc.+); aggredi, -gressus ‘to advance, approach’ (Pl.+), congrēdi ‘to meet, join battle’ (Pl.+), congressus, -ūs ‘meeting, encounter’ (Lucr.+), dēgressi ‘to depart, go down’ (Pl.+), digredi ‘to go away’ (Ter.+), ingredi ‘to enter, begin’ (Pl.+), indugredi ‘to enter’ (Lucr.), prōgressi ‘to advance, proceed’ (Pl.+), regredi ‘to go back’ (Pl.+); aggretus ‘departure’, ēgretus ‘surge’? (Paul. ex F.).

Pit. *grad-(e)i-.

PIE *g(h)rd(h)-(e)i-, IE cognates: Olr. in*greinn* ‘to chase’, do-greinn* ‘to chase, drive’, MW grynnyaw ‘to press, thrust’ < PCl. *grinde/o- (BrCl. *grindie/o-), Olr. sb. do-grē < *greid-se/o-.

All based on a stem *grad-, yielding the noun gradus (whence gradātim, praegraddēre), the noun grallae < *grad-(s)la-, and the verb gradi/gradiru. The ppp. gressus for *grassus < *grad-to- is based on the compounds ag-gressus etc., with regular -e- in non-initial syllable. The meaning of the verb suggests that it was initially used mainly with preverbs in the pf, because of the perfective aspect. The present form -gradior may also be due to analogy with gressus. The iterative verb grassāri was regularly built on the ppp. *grasso-. The fact that all fourth-cj. verb forms are made from compounded verbs, conforms to the pattern of uncompounded third-cj. and compounded fourth-cj. i-stem verbs as in pariō – experīri. The noun grallae, precludes a preform *gradī-lā- (which would yield *grableae), unless the noun was derived from *grad- after PIE *-dI had become *-fl- (> Lat. -bul-).

IEW and other earlier reference works assume that grad- derives from a PIE root *ghredh- attested, among others, in Go. grid ‘step’, Olr. ad-greinn ‘to track, follow’ and OCS grędq, gresti ‘to come’. Yet the Gm. and BSl. forms are now unanimously derived from a PIE root *ghridh-, and the same has been proposed for the Celtic verb (LIV, Schumacher 2004). Schrijver 1991 proposes *grn(d)-n- for Celtic, which has the disadvantage that the OIr. sb. gré < *greid- must be explained as a secondary form. If originally from PCl. *grd-, this would, together with Lat. grad-, point to an Italo-Celtic root *ghrdh-, from which Celtic would have a nasal present, and Latin an i-present. The forms aggrētus ‘departure’ and ēgretus ‘surge’ (?), attested only in Paul. ex F., are unclear. Sommer 1914: 609 considers the possibility that they represent something old, possibly from a different root. Paul. ex F. explains the two words as borrowings from Greek -γρητος ‘awake’, but this is unlikely to be true.


grāmen, -inis ‘grass’ [n. n] (Cato+)

Pit. *grā(s)men- / *grasmen-.

PIE *ghr1-(s)-mn- ‘grass’. IE cognates: Go. gras, OHG gras, Ols. gras ‘grass’; OE grōwan, Ols. grōa, OHG gruon ‘to grow’ < *ghroh1-ie/o-; OS grōni, OHG grouni ‘green’ < *ghroh1-ni-.

Latin grāmen can be from *ghr1-mn-, but the connection with Gm. *grasa- point to *ghr1-s-mn- as another possibility. PGm. *grasa- ‘grass’ cannot be derived by
regular rules from \( *g^{h}r_{1}-s^{b} \), but it might contain a secondary full grade which was made to the lengthened grade of the verb \( *g^{h}r_{1}-i^{e} \). The restricted distribution (Latin and Gm.) and the difficult \( a \) of Gm. \( *gras_{a} \) render a substratum origin conceivable.


**grāmiae** 'rheum in the eye' [f.pl. ā] (Pl.+-; Pl. grāmae)

Derivatives: grammōsus 'rheumy' (Caecil.).

IE cognates: RuCS grōmēdā 'pus in the eyes', SCR. kāmēlī, kāmēlī 'fester in the corners of the eyes'; OIC. kramr [adj.] 'damp', Go. grammiḥa 'moisture' (if for *krammīha).

EM suggest that the original noun was \( *gramma \). The meaning and form of Latin and Slavic are remarkably close; the appurtenance of Gm. is semantically less compelling. It is impossible to reduce these forms to a common PIE protoform, so if related, they will represent a common loanword from a third source. In that case, Gr. γλάμων, -ωνος 'blear-eyed' may also be cognate, with liquid dissimilation. The latter stem was borrowed into Latin as glamae 'rheum in the eye' (Paul. ex F.).


**grandis** 'grown up, big, tall' [adj. i] (Pl.+-)

Derivatives: grandiculus 'fair-sized' (Pl.+-), grandire 'to make large' (Pl.+-), grandēscere 'to increase in size' (Lucr.+-), granditās 'advanced condition' (Sis.+-); grandaevitās 'agedness' (Pac., Acc.), grandaeven 'of great age' (Lucil.+); pergrandis 'very large' (Pl.+-), pergrandēscere 'to grow very large' (Acc.), praegrandis 'exceptionally large' (Pac.+-), vēgrandis 'far from large' (Pl.+-).

WH and IEW connect Gr. βρένυος 'pride' and OCS grōdō 'breast' < \( *gr\text{-}ond-i^{b} \). Yet Latin grand- cannot be explained from a root \( *g^{w}m\text{-}d^{h} \), and the semantic connection between 'breast' and 'pride', and between 'breast' and 'large', is gratuitous. Vennemann 1998b proposes to regard grandis and Basque handi 'big' as two survivors of an earlier Vasconian substrate; yet the number of ad hoc assumptions which is necessary to explain the Basque side of this comparison is rather large.

Bibl.: WH I: 617f., EM 281, IEW 485.

**grandō, -inis** 'hail' [f. n] (Pl.+-)

Derivatives: grandinat 'it hails' (Pac.+).

Pth. \( *\text{gr}^{\text{and}}-\text{/}\text{građn}? \)

PIE \( *\text{g}^{\text{reh}}_{3}-\text{d-ōn}, *\text{g}^{\text{rh}}_{3}-\text{d-n} \) 'hail'. IE cognates: Skt. (RV+) hrādūni- 'hail', Sogd. žyōn 'hail'; Arm. karkowt, gen.dat.sg. karkti, ins. karktiw 'hail'; OCS grāda, Ru. grad, SCR. grād, gen.sg. grāda 'hail' < BS1. *groAd-o-.\n
Rasmussen 1984 explains the BSl. cognates from nom.sg. *grōHd-ōn, remade into an o-stem; I would prefer *grēHd-ōn. Latin would have metathesized e.g. the gen.sg. *grHd-n- > *grādn into *grand- (cf. unda < *ud-n-); paradigmatic leveling then yielded a paradigm grand-ō, grand-in-. Rasmussen explains Armenian karkut from *karkrut < *gr-grōd-i- < *gr-grōHd-i-, a reduplicated i-adjective. This, then, would point to an originally verbal root *grh3d-. Since two plain voiced stops cannot
co-occur in one PIE root, and since *-d- is often found as a root enlargement, the root is likely to have been *grH2-. If the Ilr. words for ‘hail’ are cognate, they would require a palatal velar (which could have been depalatalized in BSl. and Arm. in front of putative vocalic *j); but they may also belong to Skt. hrād- ‘to resound’.


grānum ‘grain, seed’ [n. o] (Pl.+
Derivatives: grānārium ‘granary’ (Pl.+), grānātus, -ūs ‘the production of a crop’ (Cato), grānea ‘pap made from pounded corn’ (Cato).

PIE *grH2-no- ‘which has ripened, fruit, grain’. IE cognates: OIr. grán [n.], W. grovn, Co. gronen, Bret. greun ‘grain’ < PCl. *grāno-; Pashto zafai, zarai ‘kernel, seed’, OPr. syrne ‘grain’, Lith. žīnis [m.], Latv. ziīnis [m.] ‘pea’, OCS zr̥no [n.], Ru. zerno [n.], SCr. zīno [n.] ‘grain’ < BSl. *žīrn-; Go. kaurn, OHG korn ‘grain’ < PGm. *karna-.

There are two possible root etymologies: either *grH-no- means ‘which has ripened’, and belongs to the root ‘to be(come) old, ripen’ (Skt. járanti ‘they let grow old’), or it means ‘which has been pounded, ground’ and belongs to a root ‘to rub, ground’. Yet in the latter case, the root would be without attested finite verb forms, and also, the semantics would be less evident: ‘grains’ and ‘seeds’ can be ground, but are not by definition. Hence, I prefer the former solution.


grātus ‘thankful, grateful; pleasant, charming’ [adj. o/α] (Pl.+
Derivatives: grātāři ‘to congratulate’ (Pac.+), grātēs, -ium [f.pl.] ‘thanks’ (Pl.+), grātia ‘favour, goodwill’ (Pl.+); ingrātus ‘ungrateful’ (Pl.+), ingrātīus ‘against the wishes of’ (Pl.+), ingrātificus ‘ungrateful’ (Acc.); grātulāři ‘to give thanks, congratulate’ (Naev.+), congrātulāři ‘to congratulate’ (Pl.+); grātūtus ‘free of charge’ (Pl.+).

PIE *gwrato- ‘grateful’, *gwrat- ‘mercy, grace’, *gwrati- ‘mercy’; *gwratu- ‘grace’?

lt. cognates: O. brateis, brateis, βρατηις, βρατηισ, Vest. brat., Pael. brat., brais [gen.sg.], O. βρατωμ, Pael. bratom [acc.sg.] to brāta- or brāti- ‘grace, mercy’ < *gwr-t-.

Most forms are built on the inherited adj. *grātus* and the noun *grātēs*. According to Leumann 1977: 551, *grātāri* was backformed to *grātulāri*, but I see no compelling reason to assume this. Leumann also assumes that *grātia* is secondary from *ingrātia*, replacing *grātēs*. The adj. *grātūtus* seems to presuppose a u-stem *grātūtus*, which is attested in Celtic. For *grātulāri*, an intermediate stage *grātti-tulāri* is assumed (Leumann), but this is unnecessary: a derivation *grātus* > *grātulāri* is unproblematical. Maybe there was an intermediate adj. *grātulus*, as EM propose.


**gravis** 'heavy; serious, weighty' [adj. i] (Pl.+

Derivatives: *gravāre* 'to make heavy, oppress' (Pl.+), *gravātim* 'grudgingly' (Lucr.), *gravēšōdo, -inis* 'a cold in the head' (Pl.+), *gravēscere* 'to become stronger; be weighed down' (Lucr.+), *gravidus* 'pregnant, laden' (Pl.+), *gravidaře* 'to make pregnant' (Caecil.+), *gravitās* 'heaviness' (Lucil.+), *graviter* 'heavily' (Pl.); *aggravēscere* 'to become heavy' (Ter.+).

Plt. *g"ra(w)u*-. It. cognates: maybe O. *bravūs* ['heavy?'] < *g"reh2-u-o*.

PIE *g'hreh2-u*- 'heavy'. IE cognates: Skt. *gṛma-* ['heavy', Khot. *ggrka-* 'heavy, respectable', Gr. βαρύς 'heavy'], Latv. *grūts* 'heavy, pregnant' (< *g"rh2-u-to*), Go. f.pl. *kaurjos* 'weighty, oppressive', ToB *kramar* 'weight, heaviness', ToA *kramarts* 'heavy'.

As with other PIE u-stem adjectives, Plt. *g"rau*- < PIE *g'hreh2-u*- 'heavy' was remade into an i-stem within Italic. In view of the o-stem O. *bravis* < *g"rho* << *g"rau*-, this development must post-date the split of Sabellic and Latino-Faliscan.


**gremium** 'lap or bosom; interior' [n. o] (Pl.+

Plt. *grem-o*-.

PIE *h2gr-em* ‘to gather’? IE cognates: Skt. *grāma-* [m.] 'train, troop', *grām admon- 'relating to a village', Sogd. *yr'm* 'riches', MP *grāmag* 'wealth, property', Khwar. *yr'm* 'weight, burden' < IIr. *(H)grāma-'; Gr. ἀγείρω 'to gather'; Lith. grūmulas 'jump', OCS *gramada* 'heap, pile', Scr. *gramāda* 'clod, pile of firewood' < SPl. *gramada* < PIE *h2gr-om*; OHG *krimman* 'to press, grab', OIc. *kremja* 'to press', Norw. dial. *krem(m)e* [f.] 'handful, fist' < *kremm-j*-

The original meaning is believed to be ‘armload, embrace’. The retention of *m* in front of i-, as opposed to *veniō, quoniam* and compounds in *con-iV*-, may be due to a suffix *-iō-; alternatively, *gremium* could be a more recent derivative of *gremo*-postdating the change *-mj- > -mj-. None of the alleged IE cognates show *grem-* (different vocalism in IIr., Lith., OCS) except Germanic, but here, the semantics are not compelling. If the original meaning was ‘what is grabbed, a handful’, the vacillation *grom- / *grem-* in the attested forms may be explained from a derivative *h2gr-o/em-* to the root of Gr. ἀγείρω.

Bibl.: WH I: 621, EM 283, IEW 382f., Sommer 1914: 216ff., LIV ?*h2(ğ)er-*. 
græx, -gis 'flock, herd, troop' [m. (f.) g] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *grexi-, gregālis 'of a flock' (Varro+), gregātim 'in a flock' (Varro+); *ēgregius 'outstanding, excellent' (Enn.+), congregrāre 'to bring together' (Lucr.+), sēgregāre 'to separate' (Pl. +).

Plt. *g*reg-..

PIE *g*reg- 'group, herd'. IE cognates: Khot. ham-grīs-, (caus.) hamga’j- (hamggalj-) 'to gather, assemble', Gr. γάργαρα [n.pl.] 'heaps, lots (of people)', γέργερα 'heaps' (Hsch.), γρηγορό to swarm', Lith. gūrguolė 'heap'. Probable loanwords from Latin are Olr. graig [n. i] 'flock of horses', MW gre 'herd' < *gregi-.

The cp. ēgregius is based on a prepositional phrase *ē grege, while sēgregāre was built on *sē grege 'beside the herd'. Lat. grex might contain the unrecombined variant of the stem *g(w)reg( w)- found reduplicated in Baltic and Greek. Khot. ggalj- can be reconstructed as a denominate verb based on the root noun reflected by grex: *g*reg-je/o- > Pllr. *grj-ya- >> *grj-aya- > Khot. ggalj-.


grossus 'immature fig' [m. o] (Cato+), 'thick, unripe' [adj.] (Col.+)

IEW connects grossus with W. bras 'thick', but this is reconstructed as *brs-t/so- by Schrijver 1995: 55. The Romance languages continue the adj. grossus 'thick': Italian grosso, Spanish grueso, etc. »


grūmus 'heap of earth, hillock' [m. o] (Acc. +)

Derivatives: *dēgrūmāre 'to level off' (Enn.+).

Plt. *grūmo- 'heap'.

PIE *h2gr-ūm-o-. IE cognates: see s.v. gremium.

Lat. grūmus could be connected with gremium < *grem- and OCS gramada 'heap, pile' < *grōm-. A preform *grōmos may have turned into grūmus phonetically: the change of *ōm > ǔm might also found in hūmānus (see s.v. homo). The words that retain -ōm- either have a following front vowel (abdōmen, nōmen, fōmes, mōmentum, tōmentum, ōmen, vōmer, cōmis) or are due to a contraction of *o+e (pōmum, prōmus); the only exception is Rōma. Thus, the raising of *ō in front of m may require the additional condition of a following back vowel (no exceptions) or non-front vowel (exception Rōma; but being a name, this may have escaped the sound change). For the relevance of the vowel in the next syllable for the a vowel change, compare the change *e > o /m,w - CV[non-front] discussed by Schrijver 1991: 466-470. Note also that the raising of *ē to Lat. ī is conditioned in a similar way, viz. by -i- in the next syllable.

Bibl.: WH I: 623, EM 283, IEW 376ff. → gremium

grunda 'roof' [f. ā] (only in glossaries)

Derivatives: suggrunda 'projecting ledge or sill on a building' (Varro+), suggrundium 'id.' (Vitr., Plin.).
PIE *χρόνδα-.  
PIE *gʰrendʰ-h₂- 'beam, bar, bolt'. IE cognates: Lith. grindą (dialect.) 'flooring of a bridge, (pl.) wooden floor in a barn', Ru. grrjada 'ridge, bed (of flowers)', Scr. grêda 'garden bed, ridge' < *gʰrendʰ-h₂-, Oic. grnd 'gate made of spars or bars, fence, dock, store-houses' [f.], OE grindel, OS grindil 'bolt', OHG grintil 'bolt, plowbeam' < *gʰrendʰ-.  

Grunda is probably a backformation to suggrunda. As for the IE cognates, the existence of three different ablaut grades of a h₂-stem is striking. Possibly, Latin -grunda is a collective derived from an o-stem *gʰrendʰ-o-.  


grundiō, -ire 'to grunt' [v. IV] (Caecil. +; the more recent variant is grunmīre)  
IE cognates: Gr. γρυ 'certain sound, among others, the grunting of swine', γρύζω 'to grunt', γρύλλος 'piglet'; OE grun(n)ian, OHG grunzian, NHG grünzen, OE grunnettan, MoE to grunt < PGm. *grunnatjan-.  
The suffix -ire also occurs in other verbs of sound, such as glöcire and hinnire. Probably, an onomatopoeic formation *gʰru(n)- which may or may not be cognate with the similar words in Greek and Gm.  


-gruō, -ere 'to rush' [v. III] (only in one gloss)  
Derivatives: congruere, pf. -uti 'to unite, correspond, agree' (Pl.+), congrus 'according' (Pl.+), ingruere, pf. -uti 'to attack, make an onslaught upon' (Pl.+).  

Pflt. *χρινυσ-.  
PIE *-gʰru(n)-e/o- 'to rush in'. IE cognates: Gr. ἓχραον 'attacked', ζα-χρής 'furious' if from *χρόφ-; Lith. griauti, Is. gríaufu 'to destroy', griūti, Is. griyvu 'to crumble'.  

Although -gruō is only attested in cp., there are enough good examples of word-initial *gʰr- > Latin gr- to assume that it would be the regular reflex in the simplex, too.  

Bibl.: WH I: 700, EM 284, IEW 460, Sihler 1995: 158, LIV *gʰre(h)u-. → ruō

grūs, -uis 'crane' [f. u] (Lucil. +)  
Derivatives: gruere 'to crunkle' (Suet., Paul. ex F.).  
Pflt. *grū-.  
PIE *gérh₂-ōu-s, *gérh₂-ce-, *gérh₂-u-os 'crane'; also *g(e)ṛh₂-n-. IE cognates: W. Co. Bret. garan 'crane', Gaul. tri-garanos 'with three cranes' < PIE *gérh₂-no-; Gr. γέρανος [f.(m.)] 'crane', maybe Myc. ke-re-na-i dat.pl. /kerenāhí/ < *gérh₂-n-; Gr. γέρην (or γερήν) < *gérh₂-ên; Arm. krownk; Lith. gervę, Latv. dzērve < *gérH-ueh₁, Ru. žuravl' [m.], ORU. žeravl' [m.], Scr. žeravā 'crane' < PIE *gérh₂-ōu-; Oic. trani [m.], OLG crano, OE cran [m.] 'crane' < PGm. *krana(n)- < *greh₂-u-n?-; OHG chrmanh [m.], OE crano, cormac [m.] 'id.' < *kranaka-.

The PIE cognates point to a u-stem *gṛh₂-u- 'crane'. Lat. grūs can be the phonetic result of metathesised *gṛuh₂- in a nom.sg. *gṛh₂-u-s, which introduced the zero grade
from the oblique case forms.

gula ‘throat, gullet’ [f. ą] (Pl.+)
   PIt. *gula.
   IE cognates: Arm. ekowl ‘devoured’ (pr. klanem secondary?); OCS gltáti, Ru. glótá ‘
to swallow’, Ru. glöt, glótók ‘gulp, mouthfull’, Cz. hlt, maybe < PBSl. *gul-to-

The traditional etymology *gwl-h2 > gula is morphologically unlikely, and will
phonetically not work: such a preform would yield *gla, *gala, *guala or *vala,
maybe *vola; cf. gláns, gravis from roots with a labiovelar. A preform *gel-
is impossible too, since this would yield Lat. **gola. Hence, LIV posits a root *guel-,
with a zero grade *gul-. The schwebe-ablaut is conspicuous, as is the absence of
direct evidence for *guel-. Hence, the root may be onomatopoeic, having only the
shape *gul-. In fact, all forms may have arisen in the separate branches. Relatedness
of gula to the stem glut- is possible, but cannot be demonstrated.
211f., LIV 1.*guel-. → gluttō

gumia ‘glutton’ [f. ą] (Lucil.+)
   PIt. *gem-e/o- ‘to be full, loaded’. It. cognates: U. kumiaf, gomia [acc.pl.f.] <
   *gom-ijo- ‘pregnant’ (of pigs).
   IE cognates: Gr. γέναρ ‘he took’ (H.), γέμω ‘to be full (of)’, γόμως ‘freight, cargo’;
   Arm. čim, čem ‘bridle’, čémel ‘to compress’; Latv. ģunt ‘to seize’, SeCS žeti, Is.
   žmēp ‘press, squeeze’, Ru. žat’, 3s. žmēt ‘press, squeeze’ < PSL. *žeti < BSL. *gem-
   *gm-ti; Lith. gāmalas, gāmulas ‘lump, chunk’; RuCS gomola, gomula, ORu. gomola
   ‘lump’, Cz. homole ‘cone’, Scr. gómola ‘pile (of cheese)’ < BSL. *gomolu(-o, -ą); OE
   cumbol ‘wound, ulcer’, OIC. kumla ‘to crush’; Toch. pret. /kāmā/-, past ptc. /kākāmā/-
   ‘to carry, wear’ < PTo. *kemā-

Lat. gumia is often explained as a borrowing from Umbrian *gomio-, but the meaning
is not the same as ‘pregnant’.
Bibl.: WH I: 626, EM 285, Untermann 2000: 310, Meiser 2003: 229, LIV *gem-

gurdus ‘blockhead, dolt’ [m. o] (Lab.+)
   PIt. *g*ord-o- ‘heavy, stubborn’.
   PIE *g*rd-o-. IE cognates: Gr. βράδυς ‘slow’, Lith. gurdus ‘id.’, Latv. gurds ‘tired’,
   OCS groud, Ru. górdyj ‘proud, haughty’ < BSL. *gurdu-

Quintilian calls gurdus of Spanish origin; while this might of course be true, there is
no proof of this. Latin sometimes shows -ur- < *-r- after a labiovelar (Meiser 1998:
63), so that *g*rd-o- ‘slow’ > ‘heavy’ could have given gurdus. This would imply
two different adj. in PIE, however: a u-stem and an o-stem.

gurges, -itis ‘swirling mass of waters’ [m. f] (Lucil.+)
   Derivatives: ėgurgitāre ‘to pour forth in floods’ (Pl.), ingurgitāre ‘to pour in by
streams, drench’ (Naev.+); *gurguliō ‘gullet, throat’ (Pl.+).

PIE *gʷ̥r[rh₃]gʷ̥[rh₃]-et- ‘devouring’?

Both *gurges and *gurguliō might represent a reduplicated form of the root ‘to devour’, but the morphology is unclear. The suffix of *gurguliō is otherwise only found in *curculio.


**gustus, -ūs** ‘taste’ [m. u.] (Pl.+; rarely gustum Fronto+)

Derivatives: *gustāre ‘to taste, have some knowledge of’ (Pl.+), *dēgustāre ‘to take a taste of, glance at’ (Cato+); *dēgūnere ‘to taste’ (Paul. ex F.).

Plt. *gus-tu- [m.]. *gusto- [adj.], *gus-n- [v.].


The old them. pr. *geus- was apparently replaced by the intensive *gustāre, built on the ppp. *gusto-. In *dēgūnere, the zero grade *-gus- (from the PIE root aorist) was preserved in front of the nasal suffix.


**gutta** ‘drop (of liquid)’ [f. ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: guttātim ‘drop by drop’ (Pl.+), guttula ‘small drop’ (Pl.).

No etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 629, EM 286.

**guttur, -is** ‘throat’ [n. r] (Naev.++; also m. Naev. to Varro)

The ur-stem is difficult to explain from a known PIE inflectional type: *guttur can hardly be interpreted as a yer/uen-stem, since the base is unknown. The geminate tt is also problematic: it either belongs to the group of expressive / iterative words showing this characteristic, or it reflects earlier *gūt-, Note that gula, glut- and *gurguliō also refer to the ‘throat’ and ‘swallowing’, and also contain gl(l)u-. Guttur may belong to this same family, which has no PIE etymology. IEW connects Hit. kutter- [(n.)] ‘strength, force, power; back of neck, top of shoulders’ and MLG koder, NHG dial. Köderl, Goderl ‘double chin, goitre’ < *gut- (to OE cēod(a) ‘bag’, OHG kiot ‘bag’). Yet the connection of the Hittite word is semantically unconvincing.

The Gm. words might be related if the ‘throat’ was referred to as ‘goitre’; but Gm.
might also continue *gudʰ-.


Habeō ‘to have, hold’ [v. II; pf. habuī, ppp. habitum] (Lex XII, Andr. +)

Derivatives: habēna ‘rein, strap’ (Varro +), habitis ‘easy to handle’ (Enn. +), habītāre ‘to live in, dwell’ (Pl. +), habitātiō ‘residence’ (Pl. +), habitūdō ‘physical condition’ (Ter. +), habitūriēre ‘to be eager to have’ (Pl.), habitūsus [adj.] ‘in a good physical condition’ (Pl. +), habitus, -īs ‘condition, character, dress’ (Lurc. +); abhībēre ‘to hold at a distance’ (Pl.), adhībēre ‘to apply, bring into play, consult’ (Pl. +), cohībēre ‘to hold together, contain, restrain’ (Pl. +), divībēre ‘to distribute’ (Varro +), excitībēre ‘to produce, exhibit’ (Pl. +), inhībēre ‘to exert; restrain, check’ (Pl. +), perhībēre ‘to bestow; regard as, call’ (Pl. +), posthībēre ‘to treat as less important’ (Ter. +), praebēre ‘to put forward, present, provide’ (Pl. +), praebītū ‘prophecy, omen’ (Naev. +), praebītū ‘the supplying’ (Varro +), praehībēre ‘to provide’ (Pl.), prōhībēre (also probēre Lucr.) ‘to keep off, prevent, forbid’ (Pl. +), redhībēre ‘to return; take back’ (Pl. +); manubiae [f.pl.] ‘prize-money, gain’ (Naev. +), manubīārius ‘concerned with booty’ (Pl.); manubrium ‘handle, haft’ (Pl. +).


The pr. habitāre is a frequentative of habēre. The noun manubiae < *manabiai < *manu-habiāi may well stem from a singular *manu-habiēs (the form is not discussed
by Schrijver 1991: 382ff.); Leumann posits an intermediate adj. *manu-habo-, which accords well with Schrijver’s findings. Whether manubrium is really derived from habère is uncertain; but in view of embrô, inebra, and the adj. *en-habro- which possibly underlies that formation, manubrium may well continue a form *manu-habro- ‘held by hand’. Schrijver 1991 separates the Italo-Celtic forms from Gm. and most of Baltic, but connects Lith. dial. at-gébau ‘I have brought’. Because of the acute accent in Lith. and the long e in the Oscan pf., Schrijver reconstructs the root as *gʰ(e)h₁bhʰ-. Yet long e in Oscan can also be explained analogically from other perfects. See Kortlandt 1992 for a rejection of the appurtenance of PGm. *geban ‘to give’. LIV reconstructs root-final *b, which is possible but less likely since *b was a very rare phoneme in PIE. The suggestion in LIV that these roots show an onomatopoeic structure is incomprehensible to me: ‘taking’ or ‘having’ is not normally associated with a specific sound. Italo-Celtic *gʰeh₁b(-h) and BSl. *gab-, *gē/āb- point to a PIE root *gʰeh₁b- or a non-IE loanword *gʰeh₂(-h)-; Ilr. *gab₁h- could only be cognate if reflecting *gʰe₁h₁b-.


haedus ‘young goat-buck, kid’ [m. o] (Pl. +; variants ē dus, fē dus (Varro), aedus, faedus)

Derivatives: haedillus ‘kid’ (Pl.), haedimus ‘of a kid’ (Varro+).
Pf. *χaid-o-.
IE cognates: Go. gaits [m.], OHG geiz, OS get, OIc. geit ‘goat’ < PGm. *gait-s [nom.]. The restricted distrubution, together with the impossibility to derive this word from a known IE root, suggest a loanword *gʰaid- ‘goat’.

haereō ‘to adhere, stick’ [v. II; pf. haesi, ppp. haesum] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: haerēscere ‘to stick together’ (Lucr.), haesitāre ‘to stick, hesitate’ (Ter.+); adhaerēre ‘to cling, adhere to’ (Pl.+), adhaerēscere ‘to become attached’ (Pl.+), adhaesus, -uis ‘adhesion’ (Lucr.), cohaerēre ‘to stick, adhere, be consistent’ (Ter.+), obhaerēscere ‘to become stuck’ (Lucr.+).
Pf. pr. *χais-e-; aor. *χais-s-.
The pf. and the ppp. show that -r- goes back to *-s-. The connection with Lith. gaištì ‘to linger, be slow’, which was supported by WH and IEW, is rejected by Fraenkel 1955-1965. Mechanically, one might think of an s-present to a root *gʰeh₂-i-, but no credible comparanda are available.

(h)aHus/x ‘the great toe’ [m.?] (Paul. ex F., gloss.)
The original form is unclear (probably hallus or hallux); hallux would have a unique suffix, only hallus has a structure that might be IE. But no etymology is available.
**hālō, -āre** 'to emit, be fragrant' [v. I] (Lucr.)

Derivatives: **hālitāre** 'to exhale' (Enn.+), **hālitus, -ūs** (m.) 'an exhalation, vapour' (Lucr.+); **exhalāre** 'to exhale' (Pac.+), **redhalāre** 'to breathe back' (Lucr.).

Plt. **anaslo-** 'breath' > **anaslāje-** 'to breathe'.

PIE **h2enhslo-** 'a breathing'. IE cognates: Ofr. **anaid, -ana** 'to wait, remain', MW **kynhamu** to pronounce', MBret. **ehanaff** 'to dwell' < PCL **ana-**; Skt. pr. **āniti** [3s.act.], **ānī** [3s.ipf.act.] 'to breathe', YAv. **āntiā parāntiā** [gen.du.] 'breathing in, breathing out', Go. **uz-anan** 'to breathe out'.

Schrijver 1991: 44f. regards **hālāre** as an early denominative from a noun **anaslo-** 'breath', with regular syncope of the second syllable in front of the long third syllable (in a foursyllabic word): **anaslāje-** > **anślā-** > **ālā-**. The **h-** was added as an onomatopoeic element, or it is hypercorrect (initial **h-** tended to be lost in the historic period), as in **hūmor** next to **ūmor**.


**hāmus** 'hook, fish-hook' [m. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: **hāmātilis** 'employing hooks' (Pl.), **hāmātus** 'furnished with hooks' (Lucr.+), **hāmiōta** 'member of the 'fishing fraternity' (Pl.+).

Only the Gr. words **χαμός** and **χαβός** 'curved' are close in form and meaning, but the formal vacillation within Greek is unexplained, and the vowel length of Latin cannot be explained from a loan. No etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 633, EM 289.

**hara** 'small enclosure for domestic animals, pigsty' [f. ā] (Pl.+)

The preform ***g hr-h2-** (morphologically difficult) to the root ***gber-** 'to grab' (cf. **cohors**) as given by WH, is impossible: this would yield **hora**. No etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 634, EM 289.

**harēna** 'sand' [f. ā] (Cato+; variants asena, 'Sabine' fasena Var.)

Derivatives: **hārēnātus** 'sandy' (Cato+), (h) **arēnōsus** 'sandy' (Cato+).

The suffix might reflect a derived adj. in ***es-no-** (cf. **aēmus, terrēmus**), a derivation from a verb in **-ē-**, or something else. No etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 634, EM 289.

**h(arundō, -inis** 'reed, cane, rod' [f. n] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: (h) **arundinētum** 'reed-bed' (Cato+).

Plt. ***xarund-en-**.

One might connect Gm. ***hreud-** or ***hreup-** 'reed' and ToB **karwa** (n.pl.), ToA **kru-** 'reeds', but this does not lead to a common preform. M. Driessen (p.c.) proposes to connect **harundō** with Gaulish **garunda-** for 'shallow water-course, river, river bank' (with regular ***nd > nn** in Celtic), as reflected in many names in Southern France and northern Spain: Gasc. **Garouno** 'water-course', the river **Garonne** in France,
Provencal *garouno* ‘drainage canal’, the Guareca (Garonna 1156 AD) in the Spanish province Zamora. Since reed thrives excellently in shallow water, it is conceivable that Lat. *harundō* derives from the same source as Gaul. *garunda-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 634, EM 289, IEW 68.

**haruspex, -icis** ‘diviner, priest who inspects the organs of sacrificial animals’ [m. k] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: *haruspica* ‘female diviner’ (Pl.); *(h)ariolus* ‘soothsayer’ (Naev.+), *hariola* ‘female soothsayer’ (Pl.), *(h)ariolārī* ‘to prophesy’ (Pl.+), *hariolātīō* ‘prophecy’ (Enn.+).


There is vacillation between *haruspex* and *(h)arispex*, but *(h)-* is earlier and better attested; also, Hellenistic Greek has borrowed the word as ἀρούστηκα. *Harus/pex* has been assumed to be a loanword from Etruscan, in which case the vacillation may be due to the source language. On the other hand, we find several IE forms from a root *gʰrh-* ‘intestines’ to which *haru-* can be connected as a u-stem. The dim. *hariolus* might be based on a preform *hari-* or on *haro-* >> *hario-*.  


**hasta** ‘spear, staff’ [f. ā] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *hastātus* ‘spearman, soldier’, *hastīle* ‘(shaft of a) spear’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *χαστā-. The comparison with U. *hostatu* [acc.pl.m.], *hostatir* [dat.pl.m.] ‘?’ is problematic because of the unknown meaning, and U. o which does not regularly correspond to Latin a.


**hauđ** ‘not’ [ptcle.] (Andr.+; variants hau before consonant, haut Andr., Naev.)

IE cognates: Olr. *gau*, gó, acc. *goi* ‘falsehood’, ME *geu*, W. *gau* ‘lie, deceit’ < *goyā-*. According to Leumann 1977: 229, hauđ was used proclitically and was subject to word-internal sandhi: *hauđ alter* but *hauđ temere*. Eichner 1995: 66ff. proposes that VOLat. *hauelod* (Forum cippus) represents an abl.sg. in -ōd of an original adj. *haued-o-* ‘false, insufficient, lacking’; the latter would be the source of hauđ. Note that irregular apocope of an ending *-os* or *-om* is needed for this explanation to be correct. Since Latin *-awV-* can result from (pretonic) *-owV-*, the preform may have been *gʰōu-i-dʰō- ‘false’, which could be compared with PCI. *gowā- ‘lie, deceit’ (as
Eichner does). The root could be identified as *gʰeEu- 'to hide', which we find with different enlargements in Ilr. *gʰaуй- (Skt. gūhā [adv.] ‘in secret’, gūhate, YAv. guza-, OP apa-gaudaya- ‘to hide’) and Gr. κεύω ‘to hide’ if from PIE *gʰeud-. In view of the uncertainties surrounding the meaning of hauelod and the form of haud, this remains a speculative etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 636, EM 290, IEW 414, LIV *g(y)heugh^-.

hauriō, -ire ‘to draw, scoop up’ [v. IV; hausī, haustum] (Cato+)

Derivatives: hastrum ‘a scoop on a water-wheel’ (Lucr.), haustus, -ūs ‘the drawing, scooping’ (Lucr.); dēōriō ‘to drain off’ (Cato), exhauriō ‘to draw off, exhaust’ (Pl.+).

Pl. pr. *aus-je-, pf./aor. *aus-s-.

PIE *h2eus-ie/о- ‘to scoop’. IE cognates: Gr. αὐω ‘to get a light, light a fire’ < *αὐσω or *<χŬσω (with secondary limitation of ‘to scoop’ to ‘fire’), OĪc. ausa ‘to scoop’ < *ausanαn.

Since initial h- may be hypercorrect, the original form may be *ausje- or *hausje-. LIV assumes that hauriō and Gr. αὐω have secondary e-grade of the root (possibly taken from the s-aorist, Meiser 2003: 121), whereas the aorist *h2eus- would be continued by the pf. hausī.

Bibl.: WH I: 637, EM 290, IEW 90, LIV *h2us-ie- ‘to scoop’.

hebes, -etis ‘blunt, weak’ [adj. t]. (Pl.+, Caecil. acc.sg. hebem)

Derivatives: hebēre ‘to be blunt, be inactive’ (Verg^+), hebēscere ‘to grow blunt, become feeble’ (Lucr.).

The acc.sg. hebem in Enn. and Caecil. is probably analogical to the nom. hebes, compare the rise of requiēm, requiē (Cic.+). It seems impossible to derive the verb from the adj., but also, to derive the adj. from the verb (one would rather expect *hebidus, for instance). Hence, we must posit a stem *heb-, whence the verb *heb-ē- ‘to be blunt’ and the adj. *heb-et- ‘blunt’. Other t-stem adjectives are teres ‘round’ and dīvēs ‘rich’. The -e- in -et- (instead of regular -it-) will be due to vowel assimilation to the first syllable. No etymology.


hedera ‘ivy’ [f. ā] (Lab.+)

Derivatives: hederāceus ‘of ivy’ (Cato+)

IEW and Meiser explain hedera from the root *gʰe'd- ‘to grab’ of prae-hendo. Whereas IEW assumes a thematized s-stem *hedes-o-, Leumann posits PIE *-er-o-.

The connection with -hendo is suggested by the gloss Paul, ex F. ‘quod edera vincit ad quodcumque se applicat’, but this is not enough evidence. Of course, ivy is a climbing (or ground-creeping) plant, and one may surmise that its name means ‘the grabbing one’, but this is just a guess, especially since the morphology is uncommon: no s-stem of this root is attested elsewhere in IE. Adjectival *hed-ro- ‘grappling’ > m. *heder would be slightly better.

hel(ī)uō ‘squanderer, glutton’ [m. n.] (Ter.+; the oldest texts have hell-)

Derivatives: (h)elluārī ‘to spend immoderately on eating and other luxuries’ (Cic. +).

Pflt. *xelsvwo-.

In spite of its earlier attestation, helluō is probably a derivative to helluor. This verb suggests an earlier noun or adj. *helluvus or *hellua ‘luxury, spendthrift’ vel sim. This would require a preform *xelsvwo-, which yields no promising etymology. Initial h- seems secure, so WH’s etymology from *ē-luō ‘to bathe abundantly’ can be rejected already for this reason. Knobloch 1973: 63 proposes to connect helluō with U. felsva ‘banquet, ceremonial meal’, but U. f- normally reflects *b̥, *d̥ or *g̥w, not *g̥.

Bibl.: WH I: 638f., EM 291.

helvus ‘yellow, dun’ [adj. ā/a] (Varro+)

Derivatives: helvolus [adj.] ‘a variety of wine and grape’ (Cato+), helvius ‘id.’ (Varro), helvella ‘a pot-herb’ (Titin. +).

Pflt. *xeliwo-.

PIE *g̥helh3-i-uo- ‘yellow, green’. IE cognates: Skt. hāri-, Av. zairi- ‘yellow, greenish’ < PIE *g̥hel(h3)i- or *g̥holh3i-, Skt. hiri- ‘yellow’ (in cp.) < *g̥h₁h₃i-; Gr. χλωρός ‘pale green, greenish yellow’ < *g̥hlh₃-ro-; Lith. želvas ‘greenish’ < *g̥helh3-uo-, želti ‘to grow, flourish’, Latv. zelt, OCS zelens ‘green’, Ru. zelényj < *g̥helh3-en-; OHG gelo < PGm. *gelva-, Olc. gulr ‘yellow’ < PGm. *gula-.

Ilr. shows an i-stem adj., which must also be assumed as the basis for the Latin form. The latter was extended with *-uo-, as in some other colour adjectives. Leumann and Sihler reconstruct *g̥elswo- > *hellwo- > helvus, but the PIE preform is based only on Lith. gelsvas, with a productive suffix in Lith. Meiser suggests that helvus was borrowed from a Sabellic dialect, but gives no arguments. Rix (2005: 567) just states that helvus, if it were an originally Latin word, should have u instead of e in front of velarized l. An additional argument seems to be that other colour terms for animals {rufus, callidus) are also suspect of borrowing.


herba ‘small plant, weed’ [f. ā] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: herbeus ‘grass-green’ (Pl.), herbidus ‘grassy’ (Varro+), herbilis ‘that is fed on grass’ (Lucil.+), herbōsus ‘grassy’ (Cato+).

The reconstruction *g̥her-dh- posited by WH and IEW is impossible if the root of grāmen is *g[h₁]. No viable alternative is available.


hērēs, -ēdis ‘heir’ [m. d] (Lex XII+; Naev. acc.sg. hērem)

Derivatives: hērēditās ‘inheritance’ (Pl.+), hērēdium ‘hereditary estate’ (Lex XII apud Plin., Varro+); exhērēs, -ēdis ‘disinherited’ (Pl.+).

Pflt. *xērēd-.

PIE *g̥her₁ro- ‘derelict’ + -ēd-. IE cognates: Gr. χήρος ‘orphaned, empty’, χήρα
\textit{heri} ‘yesterday’ [adv.] (Naev. \textit{hiri}; also \textit{here} Ter.+, 1x \textit{heri} Ter.)

Derivatives: \textit{hesternus} ‘of yesterday’ (Pl.\textit{+}).

Pit. \textit{**hes-**i}.


The form \textit{heri} in Ter. is generally explained as analogical from other adverbial expression (\textit{domi}, \textit{rūrī}). Since PIE word-final \*-i usually appears as Lat. -\textit{e} (ante, OLat. \textit{poste}) or \textit{is} lost altogether, the form \textit{here} must reflect Pit. \*-\textit{si}. This means that \textit{heri} must be understood as the result of iambic shortening from *\textit{heri}. Lat. \textit{hesternus} from *\textit{hes-tr-ino-} shows the same adj. stem *\textit{ghes-tro-} as attested in Germanic. It is uncertain whether word-internal \*-\textit{i} belongs to the original form, since it is only attested in IIr. Since most of the words involving a difficult dental+velar cluster go back to an original sequence of dental (± vowel) + velar, the same may be true for ‘yesterday’. It has been suggested that the original PIE form was *\textit{gh\textsubscript{3}di-es} ‘at that day’ with the pronominal stem *\textit{gh\textsubscript{3}elo-} and the gen.sg. of *\textit{di-} ‘day’, the stem possibly reflected in Skt. \textit{sadyāḥ} ‘within one day’. The zero-grade of the pronoun *\textit{gh\textsubscript{3}elo-} would then be a very archaic trait of the compounds. In simplifying the initial cluster *\textit{gh\textsubscript{3}dje}-, most languages have ousted one of the two stops.

hie, haec, hoc ‘this’ [pron.adj.] (Lex XII, Andr.+); ho[n/dce] ‘this’ (Forum cippus), hoe ‘here’ (Tiburbasis), honce [acc.sg.m.], hec [nom.sg.m.] (Elog.Scip.). See Leumann for other attestations.

The classical paradigm is recent as regards the presence or absence of -c(e). In inscriptions and OLat., the vowel -e is preserved in several forms. Nom.sg.m. also hec. Nom.acc.sg.n. also hōc < hoec < *hod-ce. Without -c(e): nom.pl.m. hi, nom.pl.f. hae (and paradigm). Petrified forms: hāc ‘by this way, in this manner’ (Pl.+)*[abl.sg.f.], hic, hicine, hicin ‘here’ (Naev.+)*[loc.sg. *hoi], hinc ‘hence’ (Pl.+), hōc ‘hither’ (Pl.+)*[ins.sg.mn.], hūc ‘hither, to this amount’ (Naev.+)<*hoi-ke (or *hou-ke? thus Nussbaum, p.c.).


PIE * g/ghe/o- ‘this’ * -ke ‘here’. IE cognates: Ski gha, gha [ptcle.] ‘certainly, at least’, OCS že ‘now, and, even’; or Skt. hi, Av. zi ‘then, well, indeed’, Gr. vuĩ-ches ‘surely, indeed, well’ < PIE * g/hi.

The forms are mostly adopted from the o/ cà-stem adj., nom.sg.f. haec from f. quae. Nom.sg.m. hic, hec < *hi-ke with nom.sg. * hi < Plt. * xo as in ille, ipse, iste. The form hec in CIL I9 is interpreted by Hamp (1993: 157f.) as hēc < *heic < *ghei-ke. Pl. hicine < *hi-ce-ne. If U. -hont, -hu is indeed a petrified form of the same stem, a Plt. origin would be proven. It is explained as a m.sg. * xom, to which * t was added for unclear reasons (van der Staaij 1995: 137). The stem * g/h- seems to be one of the many deictic elements of PIE, which could become pronominal stems in the daughter languages (cf. Kortlandt 1983b).


hiems, -mis ‘winter, storm’ [f. m] (Pl.); Also nom.sg. hiems)

Derivatives: hiemālis ‘wintry’ (Varro+), hiemāthō ‘passing the winter’ (Varro); hibernus ‘of winter’ (Pl.), hibernāre ‘to spend the winter’ (Varro+); bīmus ‘two years old’ (Cato+), trīmus ‘three years old’ (Pl.+), quadrīmus ‘four years old’ (Pl.+), quadrīmulus ‘only four years old’ (Pl.).


e.g. Lex Salica *aingim- ‘one year old’; ToA šarme ‘winter’ $\prec \ast \h{v}{i}\h{h}{e}\h{m}\h{r}\h{o}\h{m}< \ast \h{v}{i}\h{h}{e}\h{m}\h{r}\h{o}\h{m},$ ToB *šišč- ‘winter’ $\prec \ast \h{v}{i}\h{m}\h{a}\h{h}{č}$.  

Lat. *hibernus $\prec \ast \h{h}{e}\h{r}{i}\h{b}{r}{i}\h{n}\h{o}< \ast \h{h}{e}\h{i}\h{m}\h{r}\h{i}\h{n}\h{o}$. The solution given by Sihler 1995: 211 ($\ast \h{h}{i}\h{e}\h{m}\h{r}\h{e}\h{n}\h{r}\h{o}$) is very unlikely because of the phonetic development that would have to be assumed. Probably, *hiems represents an original m-stem with hysterodynamic (amphidynamic) inflection. Latin – like Celtic – generalized the ablaut grade $\ast \h{v}{i}\h{h}{e}\h{m}\h{r}\h{o}\h{m}$ of the acc.sg., but retains full grade of the root in the derivation $\ast \h{h}{e}\h{i}\h{m}\h{r}\h{i}\h{n}\h{o}$ ‘wintry’. The double zero grade $\ast \h{h}{i}\h{m}$ is preserved in the compounds with numerals. 


**hilum** ‘a minimal quantity’ [n. o] (Pl.+)

*Derivatives:* nihilum, nilum ‘nothing, by no degree’ (Pl.+), nihil, nil ‘nothing’ (Pl.+).

Usually employed with a negation. The form nihil must have developed in unstressed position from nihilum $\prec \ast \h{v}{e}\h{h}{i}\h{l}\h{o}$ ‘not a bit’. The short second vowel in nihil can be due to shortening of long *i in front of final -l, or iambic shortening. No etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 646, EM 294f.

**hiō, hiāre** ‘to be wide open, gape’ [v. I] (Pl.+)

**Derivatives:** hiscere ‘to open (the mouth)’ (Pl.+); hietāre ‘to open the mouth wide’ (Pl.+); hiāscere ‘to open out’ (Cato), hiātus, -ās ‘opening, gaping’ (Varro+); hiulculus ‘having the mouth wide open’. (Pl.+); inhiāre ‘to open one’s mouth, be avid’ (Pl.+).

**Plt. **$\ast \h{v}{i}\h{a}\h{a}$** [v.]. It. cognates: U. erom ehiato [inf.fut.ps.] maybe ‘to procure’ $\prec \ast \h{e}\h{h}{i}\h{a}$ ‘to crave for’ or $\ast \h{k}\h{e}\h{s}\h{i}\h{h}{a}$ ‘to spit out’.

PIE $\ast \h{v}{h}\h{h}\h{i}\h{h}\h{t}\h{o}$-eh2-; $\ast \h{h}{h}\h{i}\h{h}\h{t}\h{o}$-skē ‘to gape, be wide open’. IE cognates: OCS zinoti ‘to open (one’s mouth)’, Ru. razinut, SCr. zînuti ‘to yawn’, Lith. žiōti, OCS zįjati, Is. zėjo / zįjač ‘to open (one’s mouth)’, Ru. zįjut ‘to yawn’, SCr. zįjati ‘id.’ $\prec$ BSl. $\ast \h{z}\h{i}\h{a}\h{a}-2$-; OIC. gîna ‘yap, yawn’, gîne, OHG gînên ‘to be wide open’; OHG gîwên, gîwôn ‘to yawn’, OE gîwian, giowian, giwan ‘to request’.

The verb hietāre is probably based on a stem *hieto- $\prec$ *hiaito-$, which may have been formed to pr. hiāre (instead of *hıto-) on analogy with stare, status, cf. Steinbauer 1989: 127 and Schrijver. The noun hiulculus suggests an earlier adj. *hiulus (Fruyt 1986: 167). As to the PIE reconstruction, see Rasmussen 1989: 52 for a discussion and more forms. Lat. hiāre might reflect PIE $\ast \h{v}{h}\h{i}\h{h}\h{i}$- plus *-eh2-, like Lithuanian žiōti. Since PIE $\ast \h{h}\h{h}\h{i}$eh1- means ‘to leave, allow’, it is conceivable that $\ast \h{v}{h}\h{i}$hi represents an earlier i-present $\ast \h{v}{h}\h{i}$-i-.

Bibl.: WH I: 647f., EM 295, IEW 419ff., Schrijver 1991: 243, LIV $\ast \h{v}{h}\h{h}\h{i}$eh1-.

**hīra** ‘intestine’ [f. ō] (Pl.+)

**Derivatives:** hillae [f.pl.] ‘small intestine, sausage’.

The only way WH can connect this formally to haru- is by assuming *hēra with a Sabellic or rustic development to hīra. This is ad hoc. No etymology.

**hircus** 'he-goat' [m. o] (Pl.; variants *ircus, Sabine *fircus Varro)

Derivatives: *hircimus* 'like a goat, of a goat' (Pl.), *hircōsus* 'smelling like a goat' (Pl.); *hirguitallus* 'adolescent boy' (Paul. ex F.); maybe *hirpus* 'wolf' (Samnitic).

WH and IEW lump together a larger number of words, the connection of which is unwarranted. The combination of *hirc- : hirqu- :* Sab. *hirp-* is used to suggest a preform *herk-*-, but 'goat' and 'wolf' are no good friends. In general, words for 'goat' lack a PIE etymology. A possible source is the word for 'rough-haired', see *hirtus*.

Bibl.: WH I: 649, EM 296, IEW 445f. → *hirtus*

**hirtus** 'hairy, shaggy' [adj. o] (Lucil. +)

Derivatives: *hirsūtus* 'hairy, rough' (Cic. +).

Plt. *xe/irk-to-, *xe/irk-so- 'rough-haired'? These forms may represent *herto-, with dialectal raising of *e in front of rC. They are connected with horreō 'to be stiff', which is semantically in order; but since the PIE root was *gʰers-, it is unclear how -s- could be lost from a preform *gʰers-to- > *hersto-. Alternatively, *herto- might belong to the s-less variant of the root, *gʰer- (cf. ēr, horior). In any case, *hirsūtus probably goes back to an o-stem *hirso-, which is explained variously as a dialectal development from *hirtio- (Leumann 1977: 334), a consonant group such as *-rks-, or analogy to participles of the type pulsus (to pullare). Since -rt- can reflect *-rkt- and -rs- can reflect *-rks-, the stem may be *hi/erk- 'rough-haired', which may then indeed be connected with *hircus* 'he-goat'. *Hirtus* would be a to-derivative of this. The preform *herso- (>> *hirsūtus) might be analogical to other adj. in *-so- which indicate physical properties of people: *russus, grossus, crassus.*

Bibl.: WH I: 650, EM 296, IEW 445f, LIV *gʰers- → horreō*

**hirūdō, -inis** 'leech' [f. n] (Pl. +)

WH and EM assume that *hirūdō* has the same suffix as *testūdō* 'tortoise', but whereas the latter can be explained from the stem *testu- 'pot', no stem *hiru- is known. A u-stem *haru- 'intestines' is (maybe) attested in haruspex, whereas *hīra 'intestines' shows hūr-, and semantically these would fit: the 'intestines' have the same worm-like shape as leeches. Bu these two forms cannot be united with *hiru- under one reconstruction. Thus, they may be cognate, but then they are almost certainly non-IE loanwords.

Bibl.: WH I: 652, EM 296. → haruspex, *hīra*

**hirundō, -inis** 'bird-name (swallow, martin, et sim.)' [f. n] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: *hirundinīmus* 'of a swallow' (Pl. +).

WH assume onomatopoeic origin from *hirriō 'to snarl' (Paul. ex F.). This is possible, but the suffix remains unclear. Lockwood 2001 convincingly argues that the most likely naming motive for a 'swallow' is its forked tail, and he gives examples from Germanic and Celtic etymology. For *hirundō, he suggestst earlier/standard *herundō,
which he connects with *harundō ‘reed’; he compares Go. *wandus, Olc. *wendr ‘rod, stick’ which are derived from Gm. *wendr- ‘to wind’. Unfortunately, the proof that Lat. *harundō could also refer to a ‘forked’ stick is missing.

Bibl.: WH I: 652, EM 296.

*hodiē ‘today’ [adv.] (Naev. +)


A compound of *hie ‘this’ plus *diēs ‘day’. The second member probably continues an abl.sg. *diēd, although this remains uncertain since final -d is nowhere attested. Fal. *foied suggests that Latin -d- is due to a replacement of original *hōiē by *hodiē. The interpretation of the first member ho- is disputed. It is reconstructed as *ho (the bare stem), *hōd (abl.sg.) or *hoi (loc.sg.; thus Meiser, who then regards *diēd as the replacement of an older loc.sg.). I see no way to decide this point. In any case, a preform *hō diēd could have yielded *hōdiēd in the syntagm. The adj. *hodiierms is analogical after *hesterrms.


(h)olus, -eris ‘vegetable(s)’ [n. r] (Pl.+; OLat. nom.acc.sg. helus, nom.acc.pl. helusa Paul. ex F.; dial. folus Paul. ex F.)

Derivatives: (h)olitor ‘vegetable-grower’ (Naev. +), (h)olitōrius ‘of vegetables’ (Varro +), (h)olerare ‘to plant with vegetables’ (Cn. Matius).

Plt. *xełos- [n.].

PIE *gheldh3-os, -es- ‘green things’. IE cognates: see s.v. helvus.

In the oblique cases, *holor- regularly developed into holer-. There are some doubts as to the linguistic reality of Paulus’ forms helus and helusa (cf. Nussbaum), but we have no choice but to take them seriously. It seems unlikely that they show a PIE *us-stem, so helus probably has -us for *-os, and helusa may have been provided with the same vowel in the transmission of these old words (for a really early form, one would expect to find *helosa or *helesa).


homō, -inis ‘human being, man’ [m. n] (Lex XII, Andr. +; acc.sg. hemōnem Paul. ex F. 100, homōnem Enn. 1x, homōnēs Andr. 1x)

Derivatives: nēmō, -inis ‘nobody’ (Andr. +); homullus ‘a mere man’ (Varro +), homunculus ‘id.’ (Pl. +), homuncūō ‘id.’ (Ter. +); hūmānus ‘of a human being, human’ (Andr. +; Paul. ex F. hemōnem), hūmānītus [adv.] ‘in the manner of human beings’ (Enn. +), inhūmānus ‘inhuman, uncultured’ (Ter. +).


The suffix *-ōn- is the older variant, which was replaced by -ōn- in some forms on the analogy with the type sermō, -ōnis. Lat. *hemō nem seems to show that original *χεm- developed into *χοm- due to the following m (plus a back-vowel); unless hemonem was back-formed to nēmō ‘nobody’ as *ēmō ‘somebody’. Nēmō can reflect *ne-hemō or *ne-homo. Sabeltic, however, shows *χοm-, which could match PCI. *don-jo-‘man’ if from *dʰg₇m-om-io-. Thus, we arrive at a Plt. stem *xe/om-on- ‘man’, which may with Nussbaum 1986: 187fff. be explained as PIE *dʰg₇(e)m-ōn [nom.sg.], *dʰ₂g₇m-on-m [acc.sg.] ‘earthing’, derived from a loc.sg. in *-ēn to the word *dʰg₇₄m- ‘earth’ (see s.v. humus). In view of the cognate Baltic and Germanic words for ‘man’ which also require a structure *dʰg₇m-on-, this n-stem derivative seems to be of pre-Italo-Celtic date.

The explanation of hūmāmus is unknown. Neither *-oi- nor *-eu-, *-ou- nor *-uh-yield an acceptable etymology. Leumann 1977: 117 conjectures a nom.sg. *hūm ‘earth’ < *hōm (Gr. χθων), with a development similar to für < *för. Yet the word-final nasal is always dropped after long *ō, so that it would have to have been restored from the oblique cases, in particular the acc.sg. *hōm >> *hōmem. Also, in für and cūr, the labial consonant may have determined the vowel shift. Since the meaning is now ‘human’, *hūm-ōno- would be a later instance of the semantic shift ‘earth’ > ‘of the earth’ > ‘human’ which homō underwent much earlier. Another solution is offered by WH, and accepted by Schrijver 1995: 310: together with OrIr. doini ‘persons’ (the pl. of duine), hūm-āmus would go back to a stem *g₇₄d₇oim-. But where, then, does -oi- come from?


honōs, -ōris ‘honour’ [m. r] (Pl.+; nom.sg. also honor)

Derivatives: honorārius ‘supplied voluntarily, complimentary’ (Cato+), honorātus ‘honoured’ (Pl.+); honestus ‘honourable’ (Pl.+), honestāre ‘to honour’ (Pl.+), honestitātis ‘honourableness’ (Acc.), honestās ‘honour, integrity’ (Sis.+); inhonestus ‘of ill repute, shameful’ (Pl.+), co(ho)nestāre ‘to pay respect’ (Acc.+).

Lat. honestus < *hones-to-. Latin hon- can hardly reflect anything but *g₇₄on- or *g₇₄on-, but no further etymology is known.


hordeum ‘barley’ [n. o] (Pl.+; dial. fordeum)

Derivatives: hordeāceus ‘of barley’ (Cato+).

Plt. *xor(s)td-ejo- ‘barley’.

IE cognates: Hit. karāṣ- [n.] ‘wheat, emmer-wheat’ (< *g₇₄ers-d-), Gr. κρήθι, ep. nom.acc.sg. κρῆ ‘barley’, Arm. gari, gen. garwoy ‘wheat’ < *g₇₄rio-; Alb. dritē ‘cereal, grain’ < *g₇₄r(i)D-; OS OHG gersta ‘barley’.

The form fordeum probably has a hypercorrect f-. Latin -eum suggests a stem *hord- with the adj. suffix *-ejo-. Lat. hordeum can be connected with Greek, Albanian and Gm. words for ‘barley’ or ‘grain’, and maybe with Arm. and Hit. words for ‘wheat’.

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Yet it is difficult to derive them all from one common preform: Latin and Gm. can go back to *gh(e/o)rds-, but Greek has no -s-and the vowel can hardly reflect PIE *e or *r. Greek and Albanian could reflect *grhriT- (Armenian too?). Since barley was known in Europe from the seventh millennium BC, and since at least two main types of barley were in use, it is quite conceivable that the different IE dialects adopted ‘barley’ as a loanword when they migrated into Europe and Asia Minor.


horior ‘to encourage, urge’ [v. III] (Enn. *horitur)

Derivatives: hortāri ‘to incite, urge on’ (Pl.); Enn. 1x horitātur; hortāmentum ‘encouragement’ (Pl.); hortātor ‘inciter, encourager’ (Pl.); hortātrīx ‘female inciter’ (Pac.); adhortāri ‘to urge, exhort’ (Pl.); cohortāri ‘to exhort, rouse’ (Pl.+), dēhortāri ‘to discourage, dissuade’ (Pl.+).


The frequentative hortāri is based on a ppp. *hortus, or has been syncopated from horitāre, which is attested in Ennius. Skt. and Sabellic require a full grade present; since this is unusual in ie/o-presents, and since Sabellic is best interpreted as having a suffix *e or *i (along Schrijver’s lines), a PIE i/ei-present is the best solution. Latin horior will have the zero-grade root from the forms with a full grade of the suffix.


hörnus ‘grown, produced in this year’ [adj. o] (Hor.+)

Derivatives: hörnō [adv.] ‘this year’ (Pl.+), hörnōtinus ‘of this year’s growth’ (Cato+).

Most scholars assume that hörnus is a derivative in *-ino- of *ho-jōr(o)- ‘this year’, from PIE *(H)ie/oH-r ‘year’. Yet the uninfluxed state of *ho- is strang: maybe one
could posit a loc.sg. *hoi jōrm > *hojōroi > *hōrī, whence *hōrino- was derived; but why with a short suffix vowel? Szemerenyi (1960a: 114) has suggested that "hōr(i)mnus is from a Gr. *δόρμος, or transformed in Latin from the attested διόρμος 'ripe, timely'. Note that hōrmus is mainly used of crops and yield, and thus seems to mean 'of the season' more than 'of this year'.


**horreō** 'to be stiffly erect, shudder' [v. II; pf. -uī] (Pl.+

Derivatives: horrēscere 'to stand up stiffly, shudder' (Pl.+, horribilis 'inspiring fear, monstrous' (Acc.+), horror 'dread, trembling, roughness' (Pl.+), horridus 'rough, crude, horrible' (Pl.+), horridulus 'upstanding, unkempt' (Pl.); horrifer 'dreadful' (Pac.+), horricicubus 'frightful' (Acc.+), horrisonus 'making a dreadful noise' (Lucr.); abhorrere 'to shrink back from' (Pl.+), inhorreōscere 'to become restless, become stiff' (Pac.+

Plt. *ḥōrs-e- 'to be stiff'.

PIE *g hrs-eh₁- 'to be stiff, surprised'. IE cognates: Skt. hārṣate, ḥṛṣyati 'to be delighted', pf. jāḥṛṣānā- [ptc.med.], caus. hāṛṣyati; ḥṛṣita- 'glad, excited', ghṛṣu- 'lively, agile', YAv. zarṣiṣaṁma- 'excited', Sogd. wṛṣ- 'to be glad'.

The verb can be old, and so can the derivative in *-ōs-, horror. Still, the meaning shows that horror was probably derived from horreō, since a direct shift from the root 'to be stiff' to horror seems less likely. The root *ghrs- may be an s-extended variant of PIE *g hr- 'to stick out; be excited' which is found in horior. The palatovelar was depalatalized in 1pr. in the zero-grade *g hr-.

Bibl.: WH I: 659, EM 299f., IEW 445f., Schrijver 1991: 495, LIV *g bers-. → horior

**horreum** 'storehouse for grain' [n. o] (Pl.+

No agreed etymology. It is tempting to compare the preforms *g h(o)r-to- and *g h or-dḫo- (> Lat. hortus) and *g h rti- (> cohors) from a root *ghrer- 'to grab'. Even though no s-formations from this root are known (as WH point out), it does not seem impossible that horreum goes back to a preform *g h ṛ-so- > PIt. *χ oр-so- 'enclosed'. Since derivatives in *-so- were productive for a certain amount of time (cf. Nussbaum 2007b).

Bibl.: WH I: 659f., EM 300, LIV ?2.*g b r-

**hortus** 'garden' [m. o] (Lex XII+; in OLat. probably also 'villa', Pliny)


PIE *g h(o)р-to- and *g h or-dḥo- 'enclosure'. IE cognates: OIr. gort 'field, standing crop', MW garth 'pen, fold', Gr. χόρτος 'enclosed place, feeding place'; maybe Go. garda 'pen', OFr. garda, OHG garo 'garden'; Skt. grha- 'house', YAv. garođa- 'dwelling-place of the daevas' < PIE *g h rdḥo-; Go. gards 'house', OIC. garor 'fence, yard', OE gerd, OHG gart [m.] 'circle'; Go. garda 'fence, cattle-yard', OFr. garde 'garden', OS garđo, OHG garto < *PIE *g hordho- / *g hortο-; Lith. gardas 'pen, enclosure', gardis 'fence'; OCS gradb 'town, garden', Ru. gōrođ 'town' < PIE
For PIE, we can reconstruct two nouns, *gʰ(ə)rto- and *gʰ(ə)rdo-, with exactly the same meaning ‘enclosure; house’. Ilr. deviates in having the zero-grade of the root, whereas this is also possible but never seriously considered for Latin and Oscan. The noun in *-to- might be regarded as a verbal adjective to a root *gʰr- ‘to enclose’. Within Latin, hortus may be connected with cohors, a stem in *-ti-, which would then be a derivative *gʰr-ti-; unless the i-stem inflection is recent, and cohors was built on hortus. The o-grade in the root is conspicuous; this might be explained by reconstructing *gʰr-to- ‘enclosed’ and *gʰor-dho- ‘enclosure’, and subsequent contaminations in the various languages (or already in PIE?).


hospes, -itis ‘guest, visitor; host, entertainer’ [m. f.] (Naev. +; gen.pl. hospitum)

Derivatives: hospita ‘female guest, stranger; landlady’ (Pl. +), hospítālis ‘of hospitality; hospitable’ (Pl. +), hospitium ‘hospitality; guest accommodation’ (Pl. +).

Plt. *xostipot-. It. cognates: Pael. hospus [nom.sg.] ‘stranger’ (< *-pot-(i)js). IE cognates: OCS gospod-, Ru. gospód’ ‘the Lord, god’ < *gʰost(i)-pot- (Slav. -d- from the voc.sg. *-poti?).

Compound of hostis and the root of potis. It is inflected as a consonant stem, and the stem in -pot- ‘able’ seems to be confirmed by impos, compos (see s.v. potis). However, *compoitire shows that the latter may still contain an i-stem.


hostis ‘foreigner, enemy’ [m., f. i] (Lex XII+; also fostis Paul. ex F. 84, probably hypercorrect(f-)

Derivatives: hosticus ‘foreign, of the enemy’ (Pl. +), hostīlis ‘of an enemy’ (Pl. +), hostificus ‘hostile’ (Acc. +).

Plt. *xosti-.

PIE *gʰost- ‘stranger, guest’. IE cognates: OCS gost-, Ru. gost’, SCr. gôst, gen. gôsta, Go. gasis, OHG gast, OIC. gestr ‘guest’.

In theory, ‘guest’ could be derived from the root *gʰ(es-) (in that case, rather *gʰes-) ‘to eat, devour’ of Skt. ghas-. Yet a suffix -ti- does not normally indicate an agent noun, nor is o-grade common in this type of derivative. Heidermanns 2002: 190 proposes *gʰer-sth₂-i- ‘standing apart’, from the stem *gʰer-e/o- ‘this’ (cf. hic) and *sth₂- ‘to stand’. Semantically and phonetically this seems impeccable, but the use of a pronominal stem as the first member of a (verbal governing) compound has no parallels in other PIE reconstructions. Vine 2006b: 144 returns to the idea (found e.g. in WH) that hostis was derived from the same root *gʰes ‘to take, give in exchange’ as hostus (see below). In that case, hostis would have developed from an earlier abstract noun ‘exchange’ vel sim.

Bibl.: WH I: 662, EM 301, IEW 453, LIV ?1.*gʰes-. → hospes
hostus ‘the yield of olive from a single pressing’ [m. o] (Cato, Varro)

Derivatives: hostire ‘to recompense, requite’ (Pl.+), hostimentum ‘recompense, requital’ (Pl.+), redhostire ‘to requite’, (Naev.+); hostia ‘sacrificial animal’ (Pl.+) [hostia in Paul. ex F.], hostiatus ‘provided with a sacrificial victim’ (Pl.).

Pf. *χοστο-.
PIE *gʰosto- ‘yield’?

See Eichner 2002 for a discussion of the attestations of hostus. He suggests that hostire was derived directly from hostus, and explains hostia as the substantivized f. of an adj. *hostius ‘substitute’ (e.g. in *hostia ovis), which was formed on the basis of hostus. Maybe the gloss hostorum ‘lignum quō modius aequatur’ also belongs here, if this referred to a ‘branch’ or ‘bunch’ of olives. Eichner derives the Latin words from a PIE root *gʰes- ‘to take, give in exchange’, with which he connects the word for ‘hand’ PIE *gʰes-r, and Greek ξένος ‘foreign; guest’ < *gʰes-en-uo-.

Bibl.: WH I: 661, EM 301f., Eichner 2002, LIV ?1.*gʰes-.

humus ‘earth, ground’ [f. (m.) o] (Pl.+; loc.sg. humī)

Derivatives: humare ‘to bury’ (Varro+), inhumātus ‘unburied’ (Pac.+), humilis ‘low, humble’ (Ter.+), humilitās ‘lowness, humbleness’ (Acc.+).

Pf. *χοντο-. It. cognates: O. ħīnttrim [acc.sg.f.], huntrus [nom. or acc.pl.m.], huntras [gen.sg., nom. or acc.pl.f.], huntus [dat.pl.m.] ‘who is below’ < *gʰom(i)-tero-; U. ħutra, hondra ‘underneath’ [prep. + acc.], petrified case-form of *hom-tero-; U. hondomu [abl.sg.m.] ‘who is most below’ < *gʰom-tmHo-. Possibly the deity U. ħunte, honde [dat.sg.] < *gʰom-to- ‘who is below’.

PIE *d hgh-6m [nom.sg.], *d hgh-em-m [acc.sg.], *d hgh-m-os [gen.sg.] ‘earth’. IE cognates: Olr. dū ‘place, spot’, Hit. tēkan / takn- [n.], CLuw. tijam(i)-, HLuw. takam ‘earth’, Skt. ksāh, gen.sg. jmās, Av. zā, acc.sg. zām, Gr. χθάμαλος ‘near the ground, humble’ seems accidental; in any case, humilis presupposes the Italic introduction of the o-grade into the root.


iacio, -ere ‘to throw’ [v. Ill; pf. iēcī, pps. iactum] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: iactus, -ūs ‘throw, cast’ (Pl.+), iaculus [adj.] ‘used for throwing’ (Pl.), iaculum ‘throwing-spear’ (Sis.+), iaculāri ‘to throw, shoot’ (Lucr.+); iacere ‘to lie’
(iacuī, iacitum) (Pl.), adiacēns ‘neighbouring’ (Caecil.+), obiacēre ‘to lie nearby, obstruct’ (Enn.+); abicere (abiēci, abiectum) ‘to throw away’ (Naev.+), ad(i)icere ‘to throw at, add, attach’ (Pl.+), amicēre (amicuī/amixi, amictum) ‘to cover, clothe’ (Naev. +), amicitus, -īs ‘garment’ (Titin.+), amiculum ‘cloak’ (Pl.+), circumicēre ‘to put round’ (Varro+), circumiectus, -īs ‘wrap’ (Varro+), co(n)icere ‘to throw, dispatch, form’ (Pl.+), coniectus ‘soothsayer’ (Pl.+), coniectrix ‘female interpreter’ (Pl.), coniectūra ‘inferring, reasoning’ (Pl.+), coniectus, -īs ‘te throwing’ (Lucr.+), dēcere ‘to throw down’ (Pl.+), disicere ‘to break up, disperse’ (Enn.+), disiectus, -īs ‘dispersal’ (Lucr.), ēicere ‘to throw out, remove’ (Pl.+), ēiectus, -īs ‘expulsion’ (Lucr.), inf(ic)icere ‘to throw in, put on’ (Pl.+), intericere ‘to throw between’ (Varro+), obicere ‘to throw in the way, put before’ (Pl.+), obiectus, -īs ‘interposition’ (Lucr.+), porricere ‘to offer as a sacrifice’ (Pl.+), prōicere ‘to throw forth, fling’ (Naev.+), prōiectus, -ūs ‘projection’ (Lucr.), reicere ‘to throw back, reject’ (Pl.+), reiculus ‘discarded’ (Varro+), subicere ‘to throw from below, make subject’ (Lucil.+), trāicere ‘to thrust, transport’ (Cato+), trāiectus, -īs ‘crossing’ (Acc.+); iactāre ‘to throw, toss, brag’ (Pl.+), coniectāre ‘to infer’ (Ter.+), disiectāre ‘to set, scatter’ (Lucr.+), obiectāre ‘to object’ (Pl.+), prōiectāre ‘to banish’ (Enn.), réiectāre ‘to repulse’ (Lucr.+), subiectāre ‘to throw up from below’ (Pac.+); ódex, -icis [m.] ‘bolt, barrier’ (Verg.), subicēs, -um [f.pl.] ‘underlying parts’ (Enn.+).

PIE aor. *(H)ieh₂r, pr. *(H)ihrk- (i-) ‘to throw, let go’. IE cognates: Hit. peje-²/pej- (>> peije/a-) ‘to send’) < PIE *hi₁poتروح + *hi₁tieh₁-ti, *hi₁tieh₁-enti; Gr. ἤμα ‘to send (away), let go, throw, hurl’ < pr. *(H)i-(H)ieh₁-, aor. ήκα, ήκα, inf. ήμενα, είναυ, fut. ἤμω, Myc. (jo-)i-je-si [3p.pr.].

In Schrijver’s view (1991: 411, 2003), amicēre may show thematicization of *ambic-i-. Lat. iacēre can be interpreted as the stative counterpart of iaciō ‘to throw’; hence, the meaning was ‘to be thrown down’ > ‘to lie’. The meaning shows that iaciō must have been primary, as is also shown by -k-. The nouns continue *iak-s, -īk-os. It is possible that iac- is the phonetic outcome of PIE *(H)iḥ₁k- (Schrijver 1991: 171), compare vacuus; iac- is the only form in ia- of this structure. If not phonetic, iaciō might be explained analogically from the proportion iaciō = fēci : *ićiō = iēci.


iam ‘now, already’ [adv.] (Lex XII, Andr.+)

PIE *h₁i₁h₂-m [acc.] ‘this’. IE cognates: see s.v. is.

Probably *iām. Since the meaning of the adverbs in *-ām (acc.sg.f.) was ‘as far as, in respect of’, *iām meant ‘as far as this is concerned’ > ‘now’. Possibly, *iām is a remake of PIE acc.sg. *im ‘he, she’, with *-ām from other inflected pronouns (quam etc.). Later, the form was replaced by eam.

Bibl.: WH I: 668, EM 304, IEW 281ff. → is; -dam, nam, quam, tam
ianitrices, -um 'wives of brothers' [f.pl. k] (only in LLat. glosses. The vowel length in the initial syllable is therefore unknown.)

Pit. *jener-?


PIE *ienh2-ter- would have regularly resulted in *ienater- > *ieniter-. Schrijver’s conjecture of a development *inHtr- > *iantr- is ad hoc. In front of -tr-, we would expect *ienetr-, but the suffixation of -ik- may be recent, and *ienitrik- may have adopted -i- from an earlier form *ie/aniter-. Alternatively, the f. iānitrīx ‘portress, gate-keeper’ (Pl.+?) may have influenced our noun, but this seems far-fetched. In view of the changes from iānuarius > iēnuarius and iātus > iētus in Imperial Latin, ianitrices (which does not seem to have been a commonly used word anymore) may be a hypercorrection for *ienitrices. Differently, Hamp 1982-83a: 102 starts from an ablauting paradigm *ienatr- beside *inatr-; the latter form would have received a secondary full grade *ianatr- by analogy. Yet it is unclear what the model for the introduction of *ia- would have been.


ianus ‘arched passage, doorway; god of gates and doors’ [m. o] (Pl. ; u-stem only in Fest.; VLat. iēmārius, PRom. *īmua)

Derivatives: iāmua ‘door, entrance’ (Pl.+), iāmāliis ‘of Janus’ (Varro), iēmārius [adj.] ‘(month) of Janus’ (Varro+), iānitor ‘doorkeeper’ (Pl.+), iānitrīx ‘female doorkeeper’ (Pl.+).

Pit. *jēm- ‘door’.


Although all old attestations show iāmus as an o-stem, the derivative iāmua suggests that the earlier noun was a u-stem. Iāmua can be an original plural (or dual?) to this stem. The oldest meaning will have been ‘passage, corridor’. The n-derivative might be a shared inheritance ofItalic and Tocharian.

Bibl.: WH I: 668f., EM 305, IEW 296, Schrijver 1991: 142, LIV I. *ieh2-.
**Idus**

*Idūs* ‘there’ [adv.] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: *ibīdem* ‘in that very place, in the same place’ (Naev. +), *inibi* ‘there’ (Pl. +).

Plt. *ipēi / *ipēi* ‘there’. It. cognates: U. *ife, ife* [adv.] ‘there’ < *ībdēi; U. *ifont* [adv.] ‘at the same place’ = *ife + particle -hont.*

PIE *h₁-i-dʰe*i or *h₁-i-bʰe*i. IE cognates: Skt. *ihā, idha* ‘here’, OAv. *idā, YAv. iā* ‘here, in the same way’ < PIE *h₁-i-dʰe; possibly Gr. *tōa(ι)γένης ‘born from a lawful marriage, indigenous’; OCS *k deber* ‘where’ < *kʷu-dʰe.*

Theoretically, *ibī* can directly reflect *ībdēi*, with a suffix that recalls the ins.pl. ending *-bʰi*. It is also possible that *ibī* has adopted *b-* from *ubī* ‘where’, in which *b* can reflect *dʰ*. In that case, the deictic suffix *-dʰi* (also *-dʰe*) is the origin. In view of the closely parallel formation of Skt. *ihā*, I have a slight preference for a preform in *-dʰei*.


**Īcō, -erc** ‘to strike, smite’ [v. III; pf. *īcē, ppp. ictum*] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: *ictus, -ūs* ‘stroke, blow’ (Pl. +).

Plt. *īke/o- [pr.].


**Idem, eadem, idem** ‘the same’ [pron., adj.] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: *identidem* ‘repeatedly’ (Pl. +).

It. cognates: comparable formations are O. *isidum, isidu, esidum, esidum [nom.sg.m.], iüssu, iüssu, iüssum [nom.pl.m.] ‘the same’ < *is-id + particle *-om (sg.), *ejōs + *-o(m) (nom.pl.).

Conflation of the pronoun *is, ea, id* with enclitic -(d)em. VOLat. *isdem* yields *idim.* The element -dem was metanalysed from n. *id-em*, analysed as *id-deml*. In other case forms with s (*eösem etc.*), s has been restored.


**Idōneus** ‘suitable, appropriate’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl. +)

No etymology. The morphology can be interpreted as an adj. in -neus to *īdō* (‘there?’) or *īdo-, or as an adj. in -eus to *īdōn*. But neither form yields a probable etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 671f., EM 306.

**Idūs, -uum** ‘15th or 13th day of the month (depending on the month)’ [f.pl. u] (Cato +)

It. cognates: O. *eiduis, eidūis, [abl.pl.] probably the 13th or 15th day of each month.
iecur 'liver' [n. r/h] (Pl.): nom.voc.acc.sg. iecur (passim), nom.sg. iocur (1x Plin.), gen.sg. iocineris (Liv., Larg., Celsus), iecinoris (Larg.), iecoris (Cic. 1x, Liv. 1x), abl.sg. iecore (Pac.), iecinore (VMax.), iecinore (Larg.), dat.sg. iecori, nom.acc.voc.pl. iocinera (passim), dat.abl.pl. iocineribus (passim), gen.pl. iecorum (Cic. 1x), iocinerum (Plin. 1x)

Plt. *jekw-oro [n.], *jekw-en-. 
PIE *iekw-r/n- [n.] ‘liver’. IE cognates: Skt. yakrU gen.abl.sg. yaknas ‘liver’ (RV+), loc.sg. yakani (AV), Av. yakara (see de Vaan 2003: 68f.), Khot. gyagarra (< *jakna-), MP jagar, MoP jigar, Oss. iGer ‘liver’; Gr. ἱπάτος ‘liver’, OCS ikra ‘roe’, Ru. ikra ‘roe, spawn, caviar, calf (of the leg)’, ilkró (dial.) < PSI. jokra, jokro < PIE *ikw-r-eh2; OPr. yccroy ‘(anat.) calf’, Lith. ikras [m.] ‘fish-egg, (anat.) calf, [pl.] roe, spawn, caviar’; OPr. lagno [iagno], Lith. jėknos (dial.) [m.], jekanas (Bretkūnas) ‘liver’ [m.], Latv. akenas [nom.pl.f.] < PIE *iekw-p-n-h2-.

The attestations show ie- in all di- and trisyllabic forms (one exception: iocur in Pliny), and io- in most four- and fivesyllabic forms (two exceptions: iecinere and iecinoris in Larg.). This points to a phonetic ratio: in pretonic position, we find io-, whereas the syllable that was stressed in pre-classical and in CLat. has ie-. Thus, one might regard only ie- as old, and io- as a weakening in pretonic position, compare ianitrices < *ienitrices. Yet such a weakening seems strange, and we have no way to verify it since io- further only occurs in the disyllable iocus. Klingenschmitt 1992 assumes a metathesis of the first and third vowel in *iecineris to iocineris, a metathesis which would have served the goal to restore the ending -ineris which occurs in itineris. In that case, one wonders why the Romans did not make *iecineris, but introduced a strange o. Rix 1965 proposes to explain the -o- on the basis of a PIE locative *iokw-en-. This seems hazardous to me on comparative grounds (no evidence for o-grade elsewhere) and because of the distribution within Latin as described above.


ieiOnus ‘fasting, hungry’ [adj. o/a] (Pl.+: phonologically lieii-f)

Derivatives: ieiOnitas ‘soberness, hunger’ (Pl.+), ieiOtium ‘fasting’ (Pl.+), ieiOtiOus ‘hungry’ (Pl.+); ieiOetare ‘to have breakfast’ (Afiran.+), ieiOetaculum ‘breakfast’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *jagje/o-, *jagju-, *jagjuHo-.


In the oldest layer of Plautus mss., Skutsch 1892 has found iai-, a spelling which also
ignorōro, -āre 'to have no knowledge, be ignorant' [v. I] (Pl.+
Derivatives: ignōranta 'ignorance' (Lucr.+).
Plt. *gn̂ndos-(e/ō̞ɔ̞).
PIE *ǵn̂eh3-s- 'to recognize, know'. IE cognates: Hit. kane/išš-zi 'to recognize, acknowledge' < *ǵn̂eh3-s-ti, *ǵn̂h3-s-enti; Skt. s-aor. ajñāsām, ajñāsthās 'to recognize', ToA khasāst 'you recognized'.

The verb ignōrare has been regarded as a denominal verb to ignārūs; according to this view, the vowel *ā was replaced by ō on the model of ignōtus. Yet it seems highly unlikely that *en-gnārāre was replaced by *en-gnōrāre, while the adj. gnārūs 'knowing' itself was left unchanged. Nussbaum (2007b) has proposed a more likely solution: ignōrāre reflects a sā-present *gn̂ō-sā- 'to know' of the once productive Latin type, derived from a noun *gn̂ō-sā- 'knowledge', or more directly from its source, a PIE s-present as found in Hittite.

Bibl.: WH I: 614, EM 279, IEW 376-378, LIV *ǵn̂eh3- → glōria, gnārūs, nōscō

probably the post-tonic development of *agetor 'it is done' (> agitur) after e.g. quid.
Bibl.: WH I: 675, EM 307, Leumann 1977: 82. → agō

ignis 'fire' [m. i] (Lex XII+)
Derivatives: ignēscere 'to catch fire' (Lab.+) igneus 'of fire, fiery' (Lucr.+), ignifer 'bearing fire' (Lucr.+).
Plt. *nĝ̄w̄ni- 'fire'.
PIE *hnĝ̄w̄ni- 'fire'. IE cognates: Hit. akniš 'a deity' (borrowed from I Ir.), Skt. aγ- 'fire', Lith. ugnis, OCS ̣ogni, Ru. ogón', Scr. ògāni 'fire' [m.] < Late-BSl. *ungi- < Early-BSl. *ungn̂̄i-. < PIE *hnĝ̄w̄ni-; Skt. āngāra- 'coal', Sogd. 'nak'yr 'hearth' < *āngārījā-, Arm. acowl 'coal', Lith. anglis [m.], Latv. iogle, OCS ̣ogī [m.], Ru. ̣uogol' 'coal' < BSl. *on̂ḡlis < PIE *h1onĝ̄w̄-i-. Lat. ignis shows a development from PIE *Hnĝ̄w̄ni- > *Hngn̂̄i- > *engn̂̄i- > with dissimilation *egn̂̄i- (or *ingn̂̄i- > igni-).

ignōro, -āre 'to have no knowledge, be ignorant' [v. I] (Pl.+
Derivatives: ignōrantia 'ignorance' (Lucr.+).
Plt. *gn̂̄s- (e/ō̞ɔ̞).
PIE *ǵn̂eh3-s- 'to recognize, know'. IE cognates: Hit. kane/išš-zi 'to recognize, acknowledge' < *ǵn̂eh3-s-ti, *ǵn̂h3-s-enti; Skt. s-aor. ajñāsām, ajñāsthās 'to recognize', ToA khasāst 'you recognized'.

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Bibl.: WH I: 614, EM 279, IEW 376-378, LIV *ǵn̂eh3- → glōria, gnārūs, nōscō
Ilex, -icus 'holm-oak, ilex' [f. a] (Enn.+)
Derivatives: ilignus 'of the holm-oak' (Ter.+), iligneus 'of the holm-oak' (Cato+).

No etymology. The adj. ilignus reflects *iliknos < pre-syncope *ilik-ino-s.


Ilia, -ium 'side part of the body, from the hips to the groin' [n.pl. io] (Cat. +)
No etymology. The Gm. words adduced by WH (cf. OFr. ili, OE ile 'footsole', MLG ēle 'calculus', Olc. il 'footsole') have short *i-. Gr. ἴλα [n.pl.] 'female body-parts' (Hsch.) might be a loan from Latin.

Bibl.: WH I: 678, EM 308, IEW 499.

Ille, illa, illud 'that' [pron.adj. o/a] (Lex XII+)
Derivatives: illic, -aec, -uc 'that, the following' (Pl.+); adverbs: illā 'by that way, there' (Pl.+), illāc 'by that way' (Pl.+), illī 'there' (Pl.+), illīc 'there, then' (Naev.+), illim 'thence' (Pl.+), illinc 'from that place' (Naev.+), illō 'thither' (Naev.+), illōc 'thither' (Andr.+), illūc 'thither' (Pl.+).

This pronoun replaces olle / ollus. The change of o- to i- is generally explained from analogy with iste, although Sihler 1995 considers a proclitic form *elle, which turned to ille by phonetic influence of l exilis. If ollus derives from *ol-no-, the original nom.sg.m. must have been ollus. Lat. olle may go back to nom.sg.m. *ol-so, as in iste < *es-to.


Imágō, -inis 'picture, image' [f. n] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: imitāre (Andr., Var.), imitāri 'to copy, imitate' (Pl.+).
Plt. *imā(je)-.

PIE *h2i-m-h2- 'image'. IE cognates: Hit. himma- 'imitation, substitute'.

Both the frequentative imitāre/i and imágō can be derived from an earlier verb *imā-je/o-. If this is cognate with aemulus (< *h2eim-elo-, probably dim. to earlier *h2eim-o-), it suggests a noun *imā- from which the verb was derived, since thematic stems do not normally have ablaut. The PIE root is poorly attested; we only find a few nominal derivatives. Devoto 1967 suggests a deverbal origin from *imāre 'to copy' from a root aor. *im-e- to a root *iem- which he sees in Skt. yamā-, OAv. yāma- 'twin'; but no verbal forms which could be cognate have been discovered.


Imbécillus 'physically weak, fragile' [adj. o/a] (Afran.+; also i-stem)
The word has been etymologized as *n-bak(t)lelo- 'without a (walking) stick' > 'weak' because of a Juvenal scholia: imbécillis: quasi sine baculo. The meaning is hardly compelling: it seems to me that exactly the persons who can walk without a support are the stronger ones. In addition, imbécillus has long ē in Lucr. and Horace.
EM suggest original *imbeccillus, which would have arisen on the model of vaccillō vs. vaccillo. This is very far-fetched. I conclude that the word is without etymology.
Bibl.: WH I: 92, EM 309f., IEW 93. → baculum

imber, -bris ‘rain, rain shower’ [m. i] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: imbrex, -icus ‘semi-cylindrical tile, placed over the joints between roof-tiles’ (Pl. +), ‘a curved plate’ (Cato), imbricus ‘rainy’ (Pl. +), imbricitor ‘who causes rain’ (Enn. +).
Pt. *fr- ‘cloud’. It. cognates: O. anafriss ‘to the rain deities [dat.pl.].
 PIE *nb-r-o- ‘(rain) cloud’. IE cognates: Skt. abhrā- ‘cloud’, Av. aśra- ‘rain, rain-cloud’, Khot. orā- ‘sky’; Gr. ἄφρός [m.] ‘foam, saliva’ (the appurtenance of the Gr. word is less certain because of the meaning; still, it is conceivable); Arm. amb, amp ‘cloud’.
The adj. imbricus corresponds to a productive type in -icus, whereas imbric-itor is a typical Ennian neologism. The vowel e in imbrex < *imbri-k-s is irregular (Leumann 1977: 375) for *-ix, but can easily be explained from analogy, as indeed can the whole suffix. Most of the nouns in -ex/-ix, -icus are non-IE, and in the technical sphere we also find, e.g., pūmex, apex, irpex, silex, calix, fornix. Especially fornix ‘vault, arch’ (Enn. +) and apex ‘top, crown’ (Lucil. +, Varro) are close to imbrex. For PIE we can reconstruct an o-stem *nhb-ro- ‘cloudy, misty’, from which an i-stem noun was derived.

imbuō, -ere ‘to drench, wet; to fill’ [v. III; pf. imbui, ppp. imbūtum] (Pl. +)
Pt. *enb-.
 PIE *h₁en-dʰh₁-u- ‘in-placement’.

Weiss 2007a: 374f. observes that most of the OLat. forms of this verb concern the ppp. or the passive, so that the etymological analysis should start from imbūtus. This could be a deinstrumental adj. *en-dʰh₁uh₁-to- ‘having in-placement’ to a u-stem *en-dʰh₁-u- ‘in-placement’; the latter noun Weiss regards as a substantivization of an earlier adj. compound *en-dʰh₁-o- ‘placed/placing in’. The verb imbuō, then, continues an etymon made up of *h₁en ‘in’ and *dʰeh₁- ‘to put’, which apparently was applied especially to drenching something or someone in a liquid, steeping clothes in dye, etc. The reflex b of *dʰ in front of vocalic *u may have been regular; it is supported by Weiss’ analysis of tribus (see s.v.). A different etymology was proposed by Panagl-Lindner 1995: 167ff., who separate ‘to drench’ from ‘to fill with’. As they show themselves, however, this is not supported by the chronology of the attestations. For imbuer ‘to fill with’, Panagl-Lindner posit *en-bʰuh₁-je/o- ‘to plant; attach (oneself)’, cognate with Gr. ἐμφύω ‘to grow on; to plant’. Formally this is possible, although Latin normally has fu- for this root; but semantically I see no reason why we should connect ‘to drench’ with ‘to grow’.
Bibl.: WH I: 682, EM 310.
immo 'rather, on the contrary' [ptcle. introducing the correction of a preceding statement, giving a negative answer to a question] (Naev.+)

PIE *immo(C)

PIE *im-moH? IE cognates: Hit. imma 'truly, indeed', Cluw. imma, Hl.uw. ima [adv.] 'indeed'.

Etymology uncertain. Semantically, an abl.sg. *imō to imus 'lowest, last' would be a good candidate, but the scansion as immō would be irregular. Could it be due to the expressiveness of the negative semantics? The Anatolian forms immō look suspiciously similar in form and meaning; they might contain PIE *im [acc.sg.] plus a form *moh₂ (thus Kloekhorst 2008: 384), or maybe *moh₁, an o-grade variant of *meh₁ 'not', which has a similar contrastive meaning. Yet for Latin, the preservation of geminate *-mm- up to the literary period would be unexpected.

Bibl.: WH I: 682f., EM 310, Melchert 1985. → immo, inde

imus 'lowest, deepest, innermost' [adj. o/a] (Naev. +)

It. cognates: perhaps O. imad [abl.sg.f] 'i?' (if 'down below').

PIE *ndh-mHo-?

The explanation is disputed. WH and Meiser assume that imus somehow represents a remodelling of infimus (syonym with imus, and the more usual word) after summus. In view of summus < *supemo- < *sup-mHo-, one could envisage a phonetic development *infimos > *infmos > *immos > imus. The co-occurring form infimus would be due an earlier paradigmatic alternation of syncopated forms (in front of a long-vowel ending) and unsyncopated ones, e.g. nom.sg. *infimos, gen.sg. *infmi. Cowgill 1970: 130 proposes a proportion *su-perior : su-mmus = in-ferior : X, X = *in-mmus, but this morphological analysis is too artificial.


in 'into, in' [prep., prev.] (VOLat. +; Dueños inscr. en, Lex XII+ in)

Derivatives: intus [adv.] 'inside, within' (Pl. +)


PIE *h₁(en)'in', *h₁entos '(from) inside'. IE cognates: Olr. in-, en-, i, OW, OBret. en, in 'in', W. yr-; Skt. śiṅka-, YAv. aśīka- [m.] 'face' < *h₁iṇi-h₁kʷ-< o-; Gr. ἐν, ἐνι, Arm. i, OPr. en, Latv. ie- 'in', Lith. i 'in(to)' [prep. / pref.], OCS νη(n), Ru. ν(o), Scr. u 'in(to)' < BSL. *in-; Go. in, OHG OS OE in, Olt. i; ToAβ yer-, yen-, ToB in-'in'. Gr. ἐντός 'inside' [adv., prep.].

The change en > in is regular in unstressed position and in front of several consonants. From there, in was generalized. Whereas most IE languages continue PIE *h₁en, BSL requires a zero grade *h₁ηn.

indiges, -etis 'epithet of certain gods' [m., adj. f.] (Verg.+)

Derivatives: *indigitarē 'to invoke (deities) by certain formulas' (Varro+), *indigitāmenta [n.pl.] 'certain formulas used in invoking deities' (Paul. ex F.).

Plt. *end[o]-ag-et- 'working within'.

The noun *indiget- can be a derivative in *-o/et- of a compound *endo-ag-o- 'working within (the community)', cf. inter-pret- 'go-between', praestes, -stit- 'witness'. The

in- ‘not, un-’ [pref.] (Lex XII+); assimilates to following consonant: *im- in front of *b-/p-/m-, il- before l-, ir- before r-, i- before g-.

Plt. *in-. It cognates: O. ana-, am-, U. a-, an-, a-. Only before adj. and to-participles.

PIE *in- ‘not, un-’. IE cognates: Olrr. in-, ēr-, an-, W. Co. Bret. an- ‘not, un-’; Skt. Av. OP a-, in front of vowels an- ‘un-’, less’, Gr. α-, in front of vowels άν-; also νη-, νά-, νο- < *h₁2C; Go. OHG OS un-, Olc. ó-, ʔ-; ToAB a(n)-, am-, e(n)-, on-.

The form in- has regularly developed in front of consonants; from there, it replaced antevocalic *en-. PIE *in- is the zero grade of the negative ptcle. *ne 'not'.


inānis ‘empty, hollow’ [adj. i] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: inānīa [f.pl.] ‘nothingness’ (Pl.), inānīre ‘to make empty’ (Lucr.+); inānīlogista [m.] ‘babbler’ (Pl.).

The chronology of attestations suggests that ‘empty, devoid of’ is older than ‘hollow’. No certain etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 688f., EM 314.

inciëns ‘big with young (of a female)’ [adj. m.] (Varro+)

On the strength of the comparison with Gr. κυέω ‘to be pregnant’, inciëns is mostly analysed as a derivative of the PIE root *kuH- ‘to swell’. The formal aspects of this etymology are disputed. According to Thurneysen’s rule (cf. Meiser 1998: 86 and Schrijver 1991: 322-324), *u became i before *j, yielding a phonetic change *kuH-je- > *kūje- > *kīje-. Yet according to Schrijver 2003 and 2006: 50, the sequence *kuH-je- would undergo a development to *kwīje- in Proto-Italo-Celtic, whence we expect Lat. *quī-. This problem is absent from the other examples for Schrijver’s rule (*pūs, suffīre, fierī) since *w might have disappeared after the labial obstruent. An alternative etymology is the following. The attestations show that inciëns meant a woman ‘at the verge of parting’ (Paul. ex F. inciëns propinqua partui) as opposed to gravīda and praegnāns, which were more general terms for ‘pregnant’. Of course, this might be a recent semantic specialization. Nevertheless, if inciëns derives from a verb *incīere of the same semantic structure as incipere ‘to take in hand, start, begin an action’, it could mean ‘starting to give rise to, giving birth’. In that case, it would be a simple and recent derivative of cieō.


indiges, -etis 'epithet of certain gods' [m., adj. f.] (Verg.+)

Derivatives: *indigitarē 'to invoke (deities) by certain formulas' (Varro+), *indigitāmenta [n.pl.] 'certain formulas used in invoking deities' (Paul. ex F.).

Plt. *end[o]-ag-et- 'working within'.

The noun indiget- can be a derivative in *-o/et- of a compound *endo-ag-o- 'working within (the community)', cf. inter-pret- 'go-between', praestes, -stit- 'witness'. The
verb *indigitāre* will then be a recent derivative from the noun, meaning ‘to turn to the *indigites*’.

Bibl.: WH I: 693, EM 315. → *agō*, *endō*

**indulgeo** ‘to be indulgent’ [v. II; pf. *indulsi*, pps. *indultum*] (Ter. +)

Derivatives: *indulgītās* ‘leniency’ (Caelius, Sisenna).

PIt. *-doly-ē*.


Probably a compound verb, with as a first member *en-* ‘in’, *n-* ‘not’ or *end(o)- ‘in’, and as the second member *dVlg-* or *Vlg-* or (after *end-*) *(d)Vlg-*. *Indulgere* has been compared with *longus*, under the assumption that ‘to be indulgent with someone’ can mean ‘to show perseverance, wait a long time’. But the nasalless variant of this adj. (PIE *dlHgh-*) is not attested in Italic. A connection with *langueō* has been proposed, and is semantically better, but the root was *slHgh-*. *Liv* connects the root *dolgʰ*- ‘to be hard, get fixed’. If the verb was a causative *dolgʰ*-eie, one could posit a semantic shift from ‘let so. become hard’ to ‘let so. get his way, be indulgent toward so’. Yet initial *in-* remains hard to explain. If analysed as a stative verb in *-ehr-, indulgeo* might be derived from a negated form of an adj. *n-dlghʰ-ro-* ‘not hard’. Thus *n-dlghʰ-ehr-* ‘not to be hard toward’ = ‘to be lenient toward, indulge’.


**indūtīae** ‘armistice, truce’ [f pl. *ā*] (Pl. +)

The noun suggests an adjectival base *dūto-*. Michael Weiss suggests to me a possible connection with PIE *dugh₂- ‘to be able, arrange’, hence *n-dugh₂-tio-* ‘inability’. This would be interesting in view of the possible derivation of *bellum* from *bonus* (see s.v.), which also concerns the context of war and battle.

Bibl.: WH I: 696, EM 316.

**inferus** ‘lower’ [adj. *ā*] (Pl. +; Cato nom.sg.m. *infer*)

Derivatives: *inferī, -ōrum* [m.pl.] ‘the inhabitants of the underworld’ (Pl. +), *inferior* ‘lower’ (Pl. +); *infimus* ‘lowest’ (Pl. +), *infu/imātis* [adj.] ‘of the lowest rank’ (Pl.); *infernum* ‘of the underworld; further down’ (Pac. +); *infrā* [adv.; prep.] ‘below’ (Pl. +).


Nom.sg. *inferus* must have restored -us on the basis of the other case forms. According to Giacomelli, the Fal. form confirms that the *f* in Latin can be a dialectal form. Others (WH, Leumann, Meiser) assume that *dʰ* underwent treatment as if in anlaut because *en-* was metanalysed as the preposition ‘in’ and *-dʰero- as a separate
stem. This view can be supported by *suf-fō (where the primary status of the simplex is clear) and maybe -fāriam, where \( f < *-d^b \) also occurs word-internally.


Infestus ‘hostile, aggressive’ [adj. o/a] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: manu/ifestus ‘caught in the act, plainly guilty; obvious’ (Lex XII+), manifestārius ‘caught in the act’ (Pl.+).

Pf. *en-fristo- ‘rushing in’?

According to Leumann 1977: 390, manu/ifestus derives from *manu вестus with iambic shortening of the first element. If manifestus may be interpreted as ‘caught by hand’, the meanings seem to point to ‘grabbing’ or ‘attacking’ for -festus. The connection with PIE *dʰers- ‘to be bold’ is not very compelling. Latin -fest- may stem from *fast-, -st- may be from -Rst-, -RSTst- or -Tst-. Closest in form would be fastigium ‘top, summit’, fastus ‘pride’ < *bʰr-st-, but this yields no sense. The etymology of infestus as ‘implacable’ < *n-gʷedʰ-to-, still supported by Leumann 1977: 168, is semantically farther off, and phonetically possible only if we assume restoration of *-to- after dental clusters became ss (unlikely) or if we assume a suffix *-sto-. If festūnāre, confessim contain a noun *festi- ‘hurry’ < *fristi-, this would match infestus (‘rushing in’), but not so well manifestus. Thus, maybe the two must be separated.

Bibl.: WH I: 698f., EM 317, 385, IEW 259. → festīnō ;

ingēns, -entis ‘huge, vast, numerous’ [adj. nt] (Pl.+)

Pf. *mgānt-.

PIE *mg-(e)h₂-(e)nt-. IE cognates: Skt. mahāntam [acc.sg.f.], mahāti [f.] ‘great, big’, YAV. mazānt- ‘id.’ < Ilr. *maj(a)H-ant- < PIE *mēg-h₂-nt-.

WH’s explanation as in-gēns ‘wovon es kein Entstehen gibt’ is incomprehensible to me: it cannot be compared with Skt. ābhva-, since the latter is endocentric, whereas ingēns would have to be exocentric. Muller’s proposal (1926) of a derivative in *-{nt-} to PIE *mg- is more promising. Since a theoretical preform *mg-nt- ‘great’ would yield Lat. *magent- (cf. magnus < *mg-no-), we may derive ingēns from PIE *mg-h₂-ent- (> *ingant- > ingent-) or *mg-ēh₂(e)nt- (> *ingānt- > *ingant > *ingent-). Thus, the Latin form would have the same two suffixes as Ilr.


inguen, -inis ‘swelling on the groin, bubo; groin’ [n. n] (Lucil.+

Pf. *ngʷen-.

PIE *ngʷ-ēn, -n-os ‘the nude one’. IE cognates: Gr. ὀδήν, -ένος [f., m.] ‘gland’.

Schrijver 1991 and Beekes (fthc.) separate the Greek word from Latin and North-Germanic (OIr. ǣkkvrmn ‘thick, clotted’, Molc. ēkkr [m.] ‘glans, gland, tumour’ < PGM. *enkwَا- < IE *engʷo-), because Greek cannot have had an initial laryngeal, whereas in meaning, Latin and Gm. are closer to each other. Yet both Greek ‘gland’ and Latin ‘groin’ can be explained semantically on the basis of ‘naked’,
the meaning of PIE *negʷ- (see nūdus). Hence, we may rather discard the Germanic forms (they primary meaning seems to be ‘swelling, ulcer’), and reconstruct a PIE n-stem derived from ‘nude’.


inquinō, -āre ‘to make dirty’ [v. I] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: coinquināre ‘to pollute’ (Acc. +); cūnīre ‘to defecate’ (Paul. ex F.); ancumulentae ‘women having their period’ (Paul. ex F.).

Plt. *kʷinā-je/o-, *kʷoin-je/o-

The word cannot be connected with caenum; see s.v.


insece / inquam ‘to say’ [v. irr.] (Andr. +); pr. ipv. insequ, inseque (Andr., Enn.), pf. insexit (Enn.) ‘to tell’; pr.ind. inquam (Pl. +) ‘I say; of course’, inquis, -i-, -imus, -itis, -iumt ‘says’ > ‘said’, ipv. inque, inquitō ‘say!’; other moods and tenses follow conjugation IIIb (Pl. +).

Derivatives: insectō ‘story’ (Gel.).

Plt. pr. *en-sekw-e/o-/?, aor. *en-skʷ-e/o-.

PIE aor. *skʷ-e/o- ‘to follow’. IE cognates: Olr. insce ‘discourse’ < *en(i)-skʷ-iā, Olr. seichikʷ-, seich* ‘to say’, OW MW hebu ‘to say’, MCo. gorathybi ‘to answer’, OBret. hep ‘says’ < PCI. *sekʷ-e/o-; Gr. pr. ἥν(v)έπω < *en-sekwʷ-; aor. ἤνιοπείν, ipv. ἀπετεί < ἤν·σπ·ετε; ἔνισσω < *si-sekwʷ-/skʷ-; Lith. (dialect.) sėkti, 3s. sėka ‘to tell’; OIC. segia, OS seggiian ‘to say’ < IE *sekʷ-eje-.

The shift from ‘follow’ to ‘tell’ can be explained via ‘repeat, relate’. The forms insece and inseque occur in texts modelled on Greek epic, and might be calques on ἤνιοπείω, using Latin *in-sequō. But they can also be regarded as inherited from the PIE present; the delabialized velar would have been generalized (*insequ > insece). Latin inquam < *en-skʷ-ā– (original ls.sb. ‘I will say’) and inquit < *en-skʷ-e-t, probably from the PIE ( THEMATIZED) aorist. To inquit, a complete verbal paradigm was then built. The disappearance of *s in *en-skʷ- is difficult to account for, but must be accepted. The only possible parallel is tranquillus, but its etymology is uncertain. Much more problematic is the assumption of a reduplication present *en-si-skʷ-e- (Hackstein 1997: 37–42), since this would in addition require syncope in a closed syllable.


insolēscō, -ere ‘to become overbearing’ [v. III] (Sall. +)

Derivatives: insolēns, -ntis ‘unaccustomed, unfamiliar’ (Ter. +), ‘immoderate, haughty’ (Cic.+), insolentia ‘unfamiliarity’ (Turp.+), ‘extravagance, arrogance’ (Cic.+).

The older etymology says that these words are derived from soled ‘to be accustomed’, via a semantic shift from ‘be accustomed’ to ‘be out of the ordinary, exaggerated’. This is actually supported by the chronology of the meanings of insolēns and insolentia. The pr. insolēscō would then be a more recent derivative
from *insolēns* (Sall.+). Another etymology, first proposed by Prokrovskii in 1898, separates *insolēscō* from *soleō*, and connects it with IE verbs for ‘to swell’ such as German *schwellen*, whence with a frequently observed semantic shift ‘to brag’. Melchert 2005 has taken up this proposal, connecting *insolēscō* with Hit. *sulle-śulla-* ‘to become arrogant’, *śullatar* ‘swollenness; wantonness’ < PIE *sulH-eh₁-  ‘to be(come) swollen’. Similarly LIV. To my mind, the inner-Latin chronology of the meanings points to the derivation from *soleō*.

Bibl.: WH I: 704, EM 318f., LIV *?suelH-*. → *soleō*

**Instar** ‘counterpart, the equivalent’ [n. only as nom. or acc.] (Varro+)

It is tempting to see in *instar* a derivative of *in-stāre* [inf.] ‘to stand in’ > ‘balance’ (WH), but the use of an inf. as a n. noun is not ancient in Latin. Also, the apocope of -e is unusual (even if it might be regular originally). Finally, the semantic motivation is weak: *instar* + gen. simply means ‘the equivalent of’ whereas *instāre* means ‘to assail, take a stand’. The origin would have to lie in an earlier period, when *in + stāre* meant ‘to stand in’. One might think of an original cp. *(hj)e*n-stēhy-os* ‘the standing in’ > *in-stās* ‘the cost’ vel sim. Compare *iubar* for the phonetics of -ar.

Bibl.: WH I: 705, EM 319. → *stō*

**Instaurō, -āre** ‘to repeat, restore’ [v. I] (Cic.+)

Derivatives: *restaurāre* ‘to restore, rebuild’ (Tac.+).

Plt. *stauro- ‘big, strong’.


If the word is inherited, the composition of *in + staurāre* must be recent, otherwise we would expect *instaurāre*. According to EM, *restaurāre* replaced *instaurāre* because the meaning ‘re-’ is unusual for *in-*. A nominal form *stauro-* could reflect PIE *sth₂u-ro-,* which reminds us of Skt. *sthūrā- ‘big, strong’ < *sth₁₂-ro- < *sth₁₂-ro-,* to the root *sth₂- ‘to stand’. Thus, pre-Latin *stauro-* would have meant ‘strong, big’, from which ‘to restore’ is easier to understand than from words for ‘pole, staff’ adduced by WH (Gr. *σταυρός*, Olc. *stauurr*). The full grade can be due to influence from the verb.

Bibl.: WH I: 705f., EM 319, IEW 1004ff. → *stō*

**Instigāre** ‘to incite, provoke’ [v. I] (Ter.†)

Plt. *steig- (e/o-).*

Probably a denominal verb to *steig-(o-) ‘sharp point’, or a Latin compound verb in -äre derived from an earlier present *stēge/o- < *steig-(e/o-).

Bibl.: WH I: 706f., EM 649, IEW 1016f., Cheung 2007: 361f., Lubotsky (fthc.), LIV *(s)teig-. → stinguō

**insula** ‘island’ [f. a] (Naev. +)


The etymology as *en-sal-o- ‘what is in the salt(y)’ > ‘in the sea’ > ‘island’ is theoretically possible as far as the phonetics go, but being ‘in the sea’ is not a very precise description of what an island is; furthermore, the Indo-Europeans seem to have indicated with ‘island’ mainly ‘river islands’. One might connect Lat. solum ‘soil, ground’, but a formation *en-sol-hēr with a preverb would be hard to explain. Since no other etymology is obvious, it may well be a loanword from an unknown language. The same language may be the source for the Celtic and Greek words, which also contain *n and *s.

Bibl.: WH I: 707, EM 319, IEW 878f.

**inter** ‘among, between’ [prep.] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: interior ‘inner, internal’ (Ter. +), intrā [prep., adv.] ‘within, inside’ (Pl. +), intrō [adv.] ‘inside’ (Pl. +); intrārē ‘to enter’ (Pl. +); interātīm ‘interim’ (Pl. +), interēā(d) ‘in the meantime’ (Andr. +), interim ‘meanwhile’ (Pl. +); intimus ‘inmost, closest’ (Pl. +).


PIE *h₁(e)nter [adv.] ‘between’, *h₁(e)n-tero- ‘situated within’, *h₁(e)n-tmHoes-‘innermost’. IE cognates: Olr. eter, OW ithr, Co. ynter, yntre, Bret. etre ‘between’ < PCl. *enter, Skt. antār, OAov. antarō, YAv. antara ‘between, within’ < *enter, Skt. antara-, YAv. antara- ‘interior’ < *entero-; Skt. antama-, YAv. antama- ‘most intimate’; Gr. ἐντερα [pl.] ‘intestines’, Arm. ənderk’; RuCS jatro ‘liver, (pl.) entrails’, SCR. jētra ‘liver’ < PSl. jētrō < *h₁en-tr-o; OIC. ēdhar [pl.] ‘intestines’ < PGm. ēnberōz, Go. undaurni-mat ‘midday meal’, OIC. undorn ‘before midday’, OHG untorn ‘midday’ < *npurnā- < *ntrnō-, OE OS undern ‘before midday’ < *nternō-; Go. undar, OHG ıntar ‘between’ < PGm. unōdr < *nter-, OPr. intran ‘fat’ < *n-s-tro-, Lith. jscios [f.pl.] ‘womb, entrails, interior’, Latv. lekšas ‘entrails’ < *n-s-tio-

Lat. inter continues the PIE locativial adverb derived from *h₁en ‘in’. The adj. in *-tero- is continued in the original abl.sg. forms intrā and intrō, and in inter-ior. The sup. intimus is also inherited from PIE. The n. of *h₁en-tero- was apparently lexicalised to ‘entrails’ in PIE already.

invitusus

interpres, -tis ‘intermediary, agent’ [m. t.] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: interpretāri ‘to explain, interpret’ (Pl. +), interpretātiō ‘explanation’ (Varro +).

PIt. *-pore-t- ‘who crosses’.
PIE *por-o- ‘crossing’? IE cognates: Gr. πόρος [m.] ‘passage, ford, road; means’, ἔπορος ‘with no way out, impassable;’ see s.v. portō.

WH propose that interpres is a backformation to interpretāri, which would mean ‘to determine the mutual value’ to pretium. Yet in that case, one would expect *interpretāri. A root *pret- has been proposed for Go. frahjan and Lith. prāstį ‘to understand’, but ‘understanding’ is a secondary meaning of the Latin forms. Forms such as super-stēs to stāre bring Nussbaum 2004b to the following analysis: the second member contains a t-stem derivative to the IE root *per- ‘to come over, cross’. Hence: *enter-poro- ‘going between’ >> *enter-pore-t- ‘who goes between’, then syncope nom.sg. *enterpōress > *enterpress > interpres. A thematized compound *enter-pr-o- may also be envisaged.

Bibl.: WH I: 710f., EM 320, LIV I.*per-. → portō, pretium

intestīnus ‘internal, civic, domestic’ [adj. o/a] (Varro+)
Derivatives: intestīnum ‘intestines, guts’ (Pl.+), ‘alimentary canal’ (Lucr.+).
PIt. *inter-sto- ‘internal’.
The meaning ‘intestines’ in the earlier attested intestīnum, and the meaning ‘domestic’ of the later adj., suggest that we are dealing with an adj. originally meaning ‘internal’. WH seem to assume a derivative in *-tio- to PIE *entos ‘inside’, which is possible, but not the best solution. Leumann 1977 reconstructs *inter-stūno- with regular development of *-rst- to -st-, referring to Forssman 1965. This would mean that interstes has restored r, which is unproblematic. The suffix can be reconstructed as *-stūno-, which Forssman regards as the noun *-stē2-i- plus the suffix *-no-. Maybe more likely is *-sth2-o- (based on compounds in *-steh2- as in IIr.) with subsequent replacement of the suffix *-o- by *-ino-.

Bibl.: WH I: 712, EM 313f., IEW 311-314, Leumann 1977: 327. → inter, stō

invītō, -āre ‘to entertain, invite’ [v. I] (Pl.+)
PIt. *wītā-jel/o- ‘to pursue’.
PIE *uīh₁-to- ‘pursued’. IE cognates: see invitus.

We may posit a derived verb *wītāje- ‘to pursue’, prefixed with in- ‘in’. Job 1999 proposes to derive invītāre from *in-wiiwitāre < *en-ueh₂-i/etā-, a frequentative of the root of voveō. Yet the frequentatives are normally built on the ppp., but vōtus < *yoveto- shows o-vocalism.

Bibl.: WH I: 713f., EM 321, IEW 1123f., Schrijver 1991: 231, LIV *yeih₁-. → invitus

invitus ‘unwilling’ [adj. o/a] (Pl. +)
PIt. *n-wītō- ‘unwilling’.
strive after, wish'; Lith. *vįti ‘to drive, pursue’.


iocus 'joke, jest' [m. o] (Pl.+; also ioca, -drum [n.pl.])

Derivatives: iocārī ‘to jest, joke’ (Pl.+), iocōsus ‘fond of jokes, funny’ (Varro+), ioculāris [adj.] ‘laughable’ (Ter.+), ioculārius ‘id.’ (Ter.), ioculus ‘joke’ (Pl.).


ipse, ipsa, ipsum ‘himself, herself, itself’ [pron. adj.] (Lex XII, Andr.+; nom.sg.m. ipsus Andr. to Cato)

Derivatives: ipsissimus ‘the very same’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *so-pe-so >> *e(s)-pe-so. It. cognates: O. essuf, esuf, U. esuf [pron.] ‘(he) himself’ or ‘there’, maybe < *eps(o) + -ōn-s.

PIE *soso ‘that’.

The oldest forms are compounds of inflected is, es, id + -pe, probably < *-pe-so, with the PIE pronoun *so: eapse, eumpse, eāpse. Some forms have double inflection in Plautus and other OLat. authors: eumpsum, eapso; but Jiménez Zamudio 1989: 120 argues that these forms are erroneous spellings for eumpse, eāpse. There are also a few isolated forms with *so- in both members: nom.sg.f. sapsa (Enn.Pac.), acc.sg.m. sumpe (Pl.). Meiser regards -p- as an anaptyctic consonant between two m’s in the acc.sg. (*sumsum, *samsam), but it may have been the particle *-pe: *so-pe-so, etc. In that way, the Sabellic forms can be connected more easily.

Thus, we may posit the following chronology: PIE *soso ‘this’ (cf Lat. -so) was replaced in Plt. by *so-pe-so (> Lat. sapsa) and *e(s)-pe-so (> *ipsa, eapse, eumpse etc.). Both members of this reduplicated pronoun were originally inflected. In the nom.sg.m., final *-so gave Lat. -se, medial *-e- was syncopated (as it was in Sab.) and initial i- was not recognized as a pronoun anymore. Final -se seems to have been generalised in the pronouns attested in Plautus, but it is doubtful whether this happened in the whole language. In post-Plautine Latin, initial i- spread to the other forms of the pronoun, and the inflection was restricted to the ending of the word: ipse, ipsa, ipsum.


īra ‘anger, rage’ [f. ā] (Naev.++; Pl. <eirā>)

Derivatives: īrācundus ‘irascible’ (Pl.+), īrācundia ‘hot temper, passion’ (Pl.+);
irasci 'to be(come) angry' (Pl.+), iratus 'angry' (Pl.+).

Plt. *eis/ra-.

PIE *h₁eis-h₂- ‘anger’. IE cognates: Av. aeṣma- ‘wrath’, Gr. oĩma ‘spring, rush’ < *h₁ois-mo-; Skt. īs- ‘refreshment, strength’, ToB aise ‘power’.

The spelling eira is found in a word-play with īra ‘mistress’, which might point to an (archaic) pronunciation [e:ra] of the word ‘anger’. In that case, the word must contain Plt. *ei. The suffix -cundus is rare, but cannot be original in iracundus; it must have been adopted from other adj. in -cundus. The adj. iratus was formed directly from Tra; the verb irascl, on the other hand, cannot be derived from the noun, and must be a back-formation to iratus. It is uncertain that īra contains intervocalic *-s- 9 and also the semantic connection between the surmised PIE root *hiois- ‘to urge’ and words for ‘anger’ is hardly compelling. Thus, I accept this etymology in the absence of a better one.


irrēthä, -äre ‘to provoke, annoy, excite’ [v. I] (Pl.+)

Plt. *rūto- ‘stirred’.


Probably, a denominal verb from *rūto- ‘stirred’. A frequentative would be possible only if we assume haplography from *rūtāre.

Bibl.: WH I: 718f., EM 323, IEW 326-332, Schrijver 1991: 24, LIV *h₃reiH-.

is, ea, id ‘this, that’ [pron. adj.] (Lex XII, Andr.+); sg. nom.m. is (1x eis), acc.m. im, em (Lex XII) >> eum, nom.acc.n. id, gen.m.n.f. eius (= eius), dat.m.n. *eiiei > īe > ei, abl.m.n. eōd > eō, nom.f. ea, acc.f. eam, dat.f. eae >> ei, abl.f. eād > eā; pl. nom.m. eēs (CIL), eī, eës (Pl.) >> īi, īs, acc.m. īōs, nom.acc.n. ea, gen.m.n. eum (Paul. ex F., CIL) >> ēōrum, dat.abl.m.n. eiēs (CIL) >> īīs, >> ībus (Pl.+), nom.f. eae, acc.f. īās, gen.f. ēārum, dat.abl.f. īēs (Pl.) >> īēs, >> ēābus (Cato)

Derivatives: eā ‘along that path’ (Cato+), ēō ‘thither’ (Cato+), ‘therefore’ (Pl.+), ideō ‘for the reason (that)’ (Pl.+).

'this' < stems *i-,*ejo-,*eiso-,*esmo- with or without particle *-ke:*i- in nom.sg.m., nom.acc.sg.n; *ejo- in nom.sg.f., acc.sg.pl.f.; *esm- in dat.loc.sg.m.n.; *eiso- in remaining case forms. Nom.sg.acc.sg. *id-id-k(e), the second syllable of which spread to the nom.sg.m. and sometimes gen.sg.  
PIE *(h])i- [nom.acc.sg. m.f.n.], *h]e-sm-/si-/i-/ (elsewhere) 'he, she, it'. IE cognates: Ofr. é (hé) 'he' < *e(i)j or *em, ed (hed) 'it', si 'she', gen.sg.m.n. ai, áe 'his (one)', MW eid-aw 'his' < *esjo; Gaul. eiabi [ins.pl.f.], eianom [gen.pl.f.] < *e(s)åjæ; Hit. aši / uni / ini 'that (one)' < *hios + i, *h]om + i (hio- << *h]e- according to Kloekhorst 2008), *h]i-, dat.loc.sg. edí < *h]i-e; Skt. i]yām [nom.sg.f.], i]dām [nom.acc.sg.n.m.]; i]dām [acc.sg.m.] 'this here', he', OAv. ij [nom.acc.sg.n.], YAv. im [nom.sg.f.], imañ [acc.sg.m.], OP i]yām [nom.sg.m.f. < *h]i-; Skt. a]yām [nom.sg.m.], ásmāi [dat.sg.m./n.], a]smāt [abl.sg.m./n.], ásya [gen.sg.m./n.] 'this here, he', Av. aëm [nom.sg.m.], OAv. a]iśm [nom.sg.m.], a]hmāi [dat.sg.m.], a]hmāy [abl.sg.m.]; ahi]ā, a]xiācā [gen.sg.m./n.], YAv. a]he [gen.sg.m./n.] < PIE *h]i-e-; Gr. (Cypr.)  tvb 'eum, eam', Gr. iuv, vuv; Lith. i]s 'he', ji 'she', OCS i 'that, he, who', ja 'she', je 'it' < PIE *(h]i)j-(o)-; Go. is 'he', acc.sg. ina, n. ita, acc.sg.f. i]ja, OHG er, ir [nom.sg.m.]. In Latin, the stem *i- survives in is, id, and archaic im, em, whereas *ei- from the plural and from gen.sg. has become the basis for the other case forms. Beeckes (1995: 203) explains nom.sg.m. is < *es, with unstressed development of the vowel. This is possible, but not compelling. Gen.sg. *esjo[s] has been used as a new stem for the whole pronoun. The gen. ei]i]us itself is difficult to explain. In Sabellic, we find remains of PIE *e-sm- in the oblique case forms, the partial spread of *eis- and also of *ejo-.


iste, ista, istud 'that of yours' [pron., pron. adj.] (Naev.+); gen.sg. istius, dat.sg. isti, but Pl.Cato also gen.sg.m. isti, dat.sg.f. istae

Derivatives: istic, -aec, -uc [pron. adj.] 'that of yours' (Pl.+); istic 'over there' (Pl.+), istinc 'from over there' (Pl.+), istō (Pl.+), istōc (Pl.+), istūc (Pl.+)'to where you are', istorsum 'in your direction' (Ter.).


IE cognates: see s.v. is and so-.

Latin iste and Sab. *esto- may go back to the same preform *es-to- if Latin has replaced *es- by is-. The first element might be the same *es- found in the oblique case forms of *e-/i-, dat. *esmōi, etc. The second element can be identified with the PIE pronoun *so-/*to- (see Lat. so-). The asigmatic nom.sg.m. *so was apparently replaced (maybe already in Italo-Celtic) by *to. It has been proposed that, alternatively, this may have been the uninflected particle *-te, but since all Italic
languages show inflection (unlike with *-ke), this seems less likely.


ita ‘in the same way as, thus’ [adv.] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: itaque ‘in consequence, so’ (Pl.+), item ‘in the same way’ (Pl.+), itidem ‘in the same way’ (Pl.+).

Pft. *i-to-. It. cognates: U. itek [adv.] ‘thus, as said’ < *itei + -k(e).

Itidem < *ita-.dim. Theoretically, ita may represent *itā with iambic shortening, but item and itidem cannot have *itā. When we compare Skt. itī ‘in this manner’, Lith. it [adv.] ‘just like, in a manner of speaking’ < *hīti (?), Skt. itthā, itthād ‘here, there’, Av. itpā ‘thus’, Lat. ita could reflect PIE *hīith2. Alternatively, we may compare -ta with the second element of is-te, and regard it as the original nom.acc.pl.n. *teh₂ ‘those’, which acquired short *-a as the other neutrals, and was used as acc. of extension: ‘in this respect’ > ‘in this way’. In origin, then, ita could go back to a compound pronoun from PIE *hīi ‘it’ and *to- ‘that’.


Pft. *eitor, *iten(o)s?

PIE *hīei-tr, gen.sg. *hīi-tēn-s, loc.sg. *hīi-tēn ‘way, journey’. IE cognates: Hit. itar [n.] ‘way’ (< *hīi-tēr, *hīi-tēn-s? cf. Rieken 1999: 374-377); YAv. pariitna- ‘due lifetime’ (< PIlr. *pari-itna- < PIE *hiiit-n-o-); ToB ytārye ‘road, way’, ToA ytār ‘road, way’ < *hīi-tōr. The nom.sg. in -er seems to point to *-ēr, which would be unique. Lat. */aserl ‘blood’ (if this is the right reconstruction) would be the only other r/n-stem in -er, but its IE cognates point to a proterodynamic neuter. For iter, Tocharian seems to continue a collective in *-ōr, but Hittite -t-/d/ may be best explained by assuming an original PD paradigm. For Latin, one could assume that the nom.acc.sg. iter replaces earlier *itor < *iitor << *hīi-tēr. Klingenschmitt and Meiser assume a paradigm with nom.sg. *hīi-tēr, gen.sg. *hīi-tēn-és, which would be unique for a n. noun. The loc.sg. *hīi-tēn which Meiser 1998 assumes to have served as the basis for itin-eris, is consistent with either kind of paradigm. The syllable *-en- can be the source for the analogical -e- in the nom.acc. iter. Willi 2004: 326 assumes that the oblique ending -neris was adopted as such from the neuter abstracts in -mus, -neris such as facimus ‘crime’. Obviously, there is no perfect model for such a replacement, but it seems the best explanation for itineris so far.


iterum ‘again, for the second time’ [adv.] (Pl.+

Derivatives: iterāre ‘to repeat’ (Pl.+).
PIE *i-tr̥- ‘the other’.
PIE *(h1)i-tr̥-ero-. IE cognates: Skt. ītara- ‘the other (of the two), another’.
Bibl.: WH I: 723f., EM 325, IEW 281f.-286, Sihler 1995: 429. → cēterus, is

iuba ‘mane; plume’ [f. ā] (Enn.+)  
Derivatives: iubātus ‘having a mane’ (Naev.+).
PIE *(h1)i-tero-. IE cognates: Skt. itara- ‘the other (of the two), another’.

iuba ‘mane; plume’ [f. ā] (Enn.+)  
Derivatives: iubātus ‘having a mane’ (Naev.+).
PIE *(h1)i-tero-. IE cognates: Skt. itara- ‘the other (of the two), another’.

iubar, -aris ‘the first light of day; brightness’ [n. r] (Enn.+; lx iubār Enn.)
PIE *diu-bh-e2-es- ‘having/bringing the light of daytime’. IE cognates: Olr. bān ‘white’; Skt. bhās- [n.] ‘light, radiance, gleam, glow’ < *b̥eh₂-s-, bhāsas- [n.] ‘splendour’, maybe HLuw. piḥas- ‘splendor, might’ < *b̥eh₂-o-; Skt. bhāti, YAv. fra-tuātti ‘to shine’; Gr. φάε ‘lighted up, appeared’, φαίνω ‘to shine, reveal’.
The -a- in gen.sg. iubaris must have been adopted from the nom.acc.sg.; conversely, the -r- in the nom.acc.sg. must have originated in the oblique case forms. Dunkel 1997 summarizes the earlier proposals to see in iubar a compound of *diu- with the root *b̥eh₂-, and gives a convincing etymological analysis. Since it is a n. noun, the original cp. iubar must originally have been an epithet to a n. head noun, but which one is uncertain.

iubeō ‘to order’ [v. II; pf. iussī, ppp. iussum; SCBac. ioub-, ious-] (Andr.+)
Derivatives: iussus, -ūs ‘bidding, command’ (Pl.+), iniussū [adv.] ‘without orders’ (Cato+).
PIE *ioub̥-eje/o-.  

The oldest pr. form ioub- matches the reconstructed PIE causative type. It has been replaced by iub- on the model of the short vowel in the pf. and ppp. The pf. ious- has been replaced by ius- on the model of the ppp.; but OLat. ious- itself must be secondary for *iub̥-s-, the expected s-perfect to a secondary verb stem. The Latin meaning has developed from ‘to cause to move’ > ‘order’.

iūbilō, -āre 'to let out whoops' [v. I] (Varro+)
Derivatives: iūgere 'to utter its natural cry': milvi dicuntur cum vocem emittunt (Paul. ex F.).
Plt. *iū.
PIE *iū. IE cognates: Gr. ἰύ 'interjection of amazement', ἰυγή, ἰυγμῶς 'crying', ἰῦξω (fut. ἰῦξο) 'to cry aloud'; MHG jū, jüch 'exclamation of joy' whence MHG jüwen, jüwezen 'ju rufen, jubeln', jüchezen, MoDu. juichen < *jū(χ)an, OIc. ĺa, MoE yowl 'to howl' < *jūljan.
Probably, a derivative in -bilāre (as in sībilāre 'to whistle') from an exclamation of joy *iū. There seems to be enough evidence to reconstruct a PIE exclamation *iū, even though this is obviously an onomatopoeia.
Bibl.: WH I: 725f., EM 326, IEW 514, Schrijver 1991: 75. → sībilāre

iūgis 'constant, continuous' [adj. i] (Pl.+)
Plt. *(j)u-gi.-
PIE *h2iū-gwīh3- 'having eternal life, living forever'. IE cognates: Av. yauvaējī- 'living forever'; Gr. ἰγγής 'sound, healthy'; Go. ajukdups 'eternity' < *ǎuki-dūpi-, OE ēce, ace 'eternal' < *ǎuki-.
Usually used of waters ('overflowing'). Traditionally, iūgis is regarded as a derivative of iugum 'yoke', in the sense 'connected to each other'. This etymology was rejected by Weiss 1994, since the meaning points rather to 'continually' from the start, and long -ū- is difficult to explain from iugum. Weiss proposes an etymology as 'having eternal life', a combination found in other IE languages as a compound *h2iū-gwīh3-. Weiss assumes that *gʷ was delabialized in PIE after *u (which is conceivable), and that the final *-i which should have resulted from *-H- was reintegrated as a short i-stem, since Latin had no long i-stems. The long ā instead of u he explains from the introduction of the full grade *Hjieu- on the basis of the putative comp. and sup. containing such a full grade. Alternatively, one could derive the full grade from the paradigm of the noun *h2i-u-, as found in Av. āīiu, gen. yaoš < *Hoi-u-, gen.sg. *Hī-eu-s.

iuncus 'reed, rush' [m. o] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: iuncus 'of like rushes' (Pl.+), iuncētum 'bed of rushes' (Varro); ēuncidus 'soft like a rush' (Varro+); īūpine/irus, -ī[f.] 'juniper-berry; juniper-tree' (Cato+).
Plt. *joiniko-.
IE cognates: Mlr. ain 'reeds, rushes' (< Olr. *oin < *ioini-); OIc. einir, Swed. en 'juniper' if from *jainia-.
According to WH, iuncus derives from *ioini- by means of the common ko-suffix. It developed from *ioiniko- > *ioinka- > *iůnko- > iuncus. The stem *ioi-ni- gives the impression of being non-IE. If īūpine was derived from the same stem, we must explain why syncope took place in iuncus but not in īūpine. One would expect the reverse, if anything: retention in *ioiniko-, syncope in *ioini-pVro-.
Bibl.: WH I: 729f., EM 328, IEW 513.
Derivatives: (1) *adiungere* ‘to join, combine, attach’ (PI.+, *adiungere* ‘to connect’ (PI.+, *coniunctio* ‘joining, union’ (Varro+), *coniugulus* [adj.] ‘name of a species of myrtle’ (Cato+), *deiungere* ‘to unyoke’ (Varro+), *di(s)iungere* ‘to separate, unyoke’ (PL+), *seiungere* ‘to separate, exclude’ (Lucr.+), *subiungere* ‘to harness, attach’ (Varro); *iunctus, -us* ‘the joining’ (Varro); (2) *coniugus* (PL+) ‘husband, wife’ (P1.+), *coniugium* ‘marriage’ (Ter.+), *coniugalis* ‘marital’ (Varro+), *coniugus* [adj.] ‘name of a species of myrtle’ (Cato+), *deiungere* ‘to unyoke’ (Varro+), *di(s)iungere* ‘to separate, unyoke’ (PL+), *seiungere* ‘to separate, exclude’ (Lucr.+), *subiungere* ‘to harness, attach’ (Varro); (3) *iugus* [adj.] ‘yoked, yoked together’ (Cato+), *btagae* [f.pl.] ‘pair of horses’ (Enn.+), *biiugus* ‘yoked in pairs’ (Lucr.+), *quadriiugus* ‘drawn by four horses’ (Enn.+), *quadriga* ‘a chariot with its team of four horses’ (PL+), *quadrigarius* ‘charioteer’ (Varro+); (4) *iugera* [n.pl.] ‘a measure of land’ (Cato+; sg. *iugerum* Varro+); (5) *iugum* ‘yoke’ (P1.+), *lora* ‘yoke-straps’ (Cato+); *iugare* ‘to fasten’ (Laev.+), *iugatid* ‘the training of vines along crossbeams’ (Varro+), *abiugare* ‘to separate’ (Pac.), *adiugare* ‘to attach’ (Pac.+), *deiugare* ‘to disconnect’ (Pac); (6) *iugulum* (also *-us*) ‘throat’ (P1.+), *iugulae* [f.pl.] ‘name for part of the constellation of Orion’ (P1.+), *iugula* [adj.] ‘to kill by cutting the throat’ (PL+); (7) *iuges, -etis* [adj.] ‘relating to yoked animals’ (said of *auspicium*) (Cic., Paul. ex F.); (8) *iumentum* ‘beast of burden’ (Pl.); *Forum cippus ioumenta* *adiumentum* ‘assistance’ (Pl.); (9) *iug(um)mentum* ‘lintel’ (Cato.+).

Derivatives: *Diespiter [nom. Praeneste], Dispiter, -tris (Pl., Var.); Dispiter (Paul. ex F.) ‘father Jupiter’; Vediovis, Veiovis ‘an ancient deity, considered to be an underworld counterpart of Jupiter’, Vēdius ‘name of a Roman gens’ (Sen.).


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iūs, -ris 'broth, sauce' [n. r] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: iūsculum 'broth, soup' (Cato).

Pt. *jowas- or *jūs-.

PIE *i(e/o)uH-s- 'broth, soup'. IE cognates: Skt. yūś- 'soup, broth', Khot. yūs 'id.', Gr. ζόμη 'leaven, beer-yeast' < *iūHs-mehr- (more difficult to connect: Gr. ζομος [m.] 'sauce, soup'); OPr. juse [f.], Lith. jūšė 'broth, soup'; CS juxa 'broth', Ru. ушá 'fish-soup', Cz. jicha 'liquid, sauce, (arch.) soup' < PSl. *jūxā < PIE *ie/iouH-s-.

Whereas Skt. and Lith. point to *iH-s-s-, Slavic requires *ious- < *ieuH-s-s-. Latin could have either the full grade or the zero grade. Hence, we seem to be dealing with an original s-stem. The appurtenance of Gr. ζόμη is not completely certain because of the deviant meaning. The root is often analysed as *ieu- 'to hold tight, fasten', as attested in Skt. yautī, Lith. jautī, but the semantics are remote, and the root does not contain a final laryngeal (unless, of course, 'soup' would be analysed as *iu-H-).


iūs, -ris 'law' [n. r] (Lex XII+; in VOLat. inscr. ious)

Derivatives: iūstus 'lawful, just' (ioustod iūstō Forum inscr.+, iouistē Paul. ex F.), iūstitia 'justice' (Ter.+); iūrāre 'to take an oath, swear' (Pl.+), iūvesat 'swears', Duenos inscr., iūrātor 'certain official' (Pl.+); abīūrāre 'to deny knowledge of' (Pl.+), adīūrāre 'to swear' (Pl.+), eīū/erāre 'to reject under oath', pēei/urāre 'to swear falsely' (Pl.+), pēitūriōsus 'addicted to perjury' (Pl.+), pēitūrium 'perjury' (Pl.+), pēiūrus 'perjured' (Pl.+); iniūrātus 'unsworn' (Pl.+), iniuria 'unlawful conduct, injustice' (Lex XII+), iniūrus 'lawless, unjust' (Naev.+), iniūrius 'unjust' (Naev.+); iūr(i)gāre 'to quarrel' (Pl.+), obiūr(i)gāre 'to reprovec (Pl.+), iūrgium 'quarrel, dispute' (Pl.+); iūdex 'judge' (Lex XII, Pl.+), iūdicum 'legal process, trial, decision' (Pl.+), iūdicāre 'to judge, try' (Pl.+), iūdicātum 'judgement of debt' (Lex XII+), iūdicāto 'judicial power' (CIL 1.583+).

Pt. *jowos, *jowes- 'oath, law', *jowesto- 'just', *jowes-ā-je- 'to swear', *jowesago- 'dispute', *jowes-dik- 'judge'.

PIE *h2oi-u, gen.sg. *h2eu-s 'vital force, eternity' >> s-stem *h2ieus-os, -es-. IE cognates: OIr. uisse 'just, right, fitting' (< *iu-s-t-io-); Skt. yōś(-) 'of life', Av.yaoz-dā- [adj.] 'possessing power (of life)'; OAv. yaoś 'life, health'; Skt. āyuś- 'life, life span', Av. āītu- [n.] 'life, lifetime, time' (gen.sg. OAv. yaoś, dat.sg. OAv. yauoī, yauū, Yav. yauu) , yauuā-sū- 'thriving forever', OAv. yauuā-jī- 'living forever' < PIE *h2oiu- (gen.sg. *h2ēus / *h2ēus; in compounds ~*h2i-); Gr. οὐ, Arm. ǭč', Alb. as 'not' < *h2oiu(-k"e).

The noun iūs probably reflects an s-stem *ieyos > *ioyos > iūs, with iūstus as a
The verb *iūrāre* reflects a denominative verb PLt. *jowes-ā-je-. The verb
(ob)īūrgāre, with spellings (ob)iūrigāre in PL, and iūrgium, seem to be based on a
noun *iūrago- < *iōsus-ago- < *iēyos-h2ē-o- 'bringing the oath' vel sim. According to
Leumann 1977: 546, the alternation between -ierāre and -iūrāre in dē-, ē-,
pē/pe-i/īūrāre is due to contamination of per-iūrāre with peierāre 'to worsen' to
peius. The noun ĭūdēx has analogical -ex instead of -ix; it probably reflects
*iēyos-dīk-*, or it has been formed from ĭūs plus *dīk- after the contraction of *iōwos
> ĭūs. The Latin word goes back to a PIE s-stem, which apparently was derived from
an ablauting u-stem *h2oi-u, gen.sg. *h2i-eu-s, as reflected in Av. ĭiūn-.

Bibl.: WH I: 733, EM 329, IEW 512, Leumann 1977: 96, 391, 546, Schrijver 1991:

### ĭuvenis

**‘young bull’ [m. o] (Lucr.+)**

Derivatives: ĭuvenca ‘young cow, heifer’ (Varro+).


PIE *h2iu-hn-ko- ‘young one, young animal’. IE cognates: Otr. ōac, W. ieuanc
‘youth’ < PCl. *juuanko-, Skt. yuvaśā- ‘young’, Go. jugga-laufs ‘youth’, OHG jung,
Olc. ungr ‘young’.

A derivative in *-ko- of the PIE word reflected in ĭuvenis. The sequence -enc- instead
of -inc- is unexpected. ĭuvenicus can be explained as a Sabellism, or as influenced by
 średni and ĭuventus.

Untermann 2000: 354. → ĭuvenis

### ĭuvenis

**‘young man’ [m. i] (Pl.+)**

Derivatives: ĭuventūs ‘youth’ (Pl.+), ĭuventa ‘youth’ (Lab.+), ĭuventās ‘youth’
(Lucr.+); ĭunior ‘younger’ (Pl.+); ĭūnīx, ĭūnis ‘young cow, heifer’ (Persius Flaccus,
hapax), ĭūnīus [adj.] ‘the month of June’ (Enn.+), ĭūnō ‘the goddess Juno’ (Pl.+).

[acc.pl.] ‘?’, party of able-bodied men: *ieu-īe-?

PIE *h2iu-hn-ēn- ‘who possesses vital force’ > ‘young’; comp. *h2iu-hn-iōs. IE
cognates: Skt. yuvan- ‘young; young man’, YAv. yuvānām [acc.sg.], yūnām [gen.pl.]
‘youth’, yōiśta- ‘youngest’; yauua [m.] ‘youth’; Lith. jáunas ‘young’, OCS jumī <
PIE *h2iou-Hn-o-; Go. jund- [f.] ‘youth’ < *h2iou-hn-ti-.

The original n-stem *juwen- was made into an i-stem. The e instead of i in the second
syllable of ĭuvenis is probably due to ĭuventūs, where -e- was phonetically retained.
The comparative ĭunior occurs beside ĭuvenior, suggesting that it represents a
contraction of the latter. The abstract ĭuventūs is clearly more original than ĭuventa
and ĭuventās. Lat. ĭūnīx is derived from *h2iu-Hn-h2- by Rix 1981: although ĭūnīx is a
comparatively recent hapax, it is difficult to see how it could have arisen secondarily.
Rix assumes that the Etr. counterpart uni of Lat. ĭūnō reflects a borrowing from Latin
*iiuni- before the suffix *-k- was added. The goddess ĭūnō will then represent a
different extension of the stem *iiun- ‘young’. The month name ĭīnīus might be a
derivative of f. *iiuni-, as Rix p. 279 proposes. Fortson 2002 connects the family name

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**Note:** The text is a detailed linguistic analysis of the Latin words *ľuvenis* and *ľuvenis* as part of a larger discussion on Indo-European etymology. The analysis includes a look at the etymology of related terms in other languages, such as Latin *ľuvenis* 'young', *ľuventus* 'youth', and its derivatives in various Indo-European languages.
iuñius as from *iou-.


iuvō, -āre 'to help, assist' [v. I; pf. iūvī, ppp. iūtum] (Carmen Arvale+, Pl.+; CIL sb. iouent, also pr. iuvere Acc.)

Derivatives: iūcundus 'agreeable' (Pl.+); adiuvāre 'to help' (Pl.+), dēiuvāre 'to refuse help to' (Pl.); adīūtāre 'to help' (Pl.+), adiūtābilis 'helpful' (Pl.+), adīūtōr 'helper' (Pl.+), adīūtrīx 'female helper' (Pl.+).

Pit. *i[j]ow-.

PIE *h₁-i- Hew-(e/o-) [pr.] 'to help'. IE cognates: OIr. con-ōi, -oat 'to protect'; Skt. pr. āvati, pf. āva [3s.act.], ta- ptc. āta- 'to help, protect', OAv. auuāmī [1s.pr.] 'to help, care', uz-ūuhiōi [inf.] 'to protect'.

Pf. iūvī < *iūwa-wī, iūtus < *iūwartos. This suggests an earlier stem *iūwa-, as is preserved in some forms of the verb iuvere < Pit. *i[j]ewa-. Lat. iuvere has replaced *iowere by analogy with iuvāre. Lat. iuvāre may be a secondary iterative to (the predecessor of) iuvere, or it has been backformed from ad-iuvāre (cf. pellere – appellāre); in the first case, iuvāre has its -u- (for *iovāre) by analogy with ad-iuvāre. The pf.sb. forms iūverit, iūverint could be replacements of *iūveri(n)t on the model of fuerit (thus Leumann), or they reflect a Plt. reduplicated s-present *H₁-HewH-es- (as O. didest 'will give'; cf. also monerint < *-es-).


iuxtā 'near by, equally; next to' [adv.; prep.] (Pl.+) Derivatives: iuxtim [adv.] 'in close proximity' (Andr.+). Pit. *jougVsto-. PIE *(H)ieug-s- 'yoke'?

The preservation of the cluster -kst- points to syncope from *iūgVstād, abl.sg.f. of *iūgVsto-. One might posit an adj. *ieug-s-to- 'yoked' derived from *ieug-e/os- [n.] 'team of animals, yoke' which is preserved in Lat. iūgera. This would have to be a rather old derivative, from before the generalization of the full-grade suffix *-es/-os-. This hypothesis seems more likely than to posit *iug-isto- 'most connected with, closest' with the PIE superlative suffix *-ist(H)o-, since this suffix is not otherwise found in Latin, and also, *iug- is not an adjective.

labium 'lip' [n. o] (Pl++; mostly pl. labia)

Derivatives: labia / labea 'lip' (Pl+), labeösus 'thick-lipped' (Lucr.); labrum 'lip, brim' (Naev.+), labellum 'lip' (Pl+), collabellāre 'to make by putting lips together' (Lab.).

Pt. *labjo-, *labro-

IE cognates: OE OFr. lippa 'lip' < PGm. *lepjan-, OLFr. lepor, OFr. lepur 'lip', OHG lefs < PGm. *lep-e/os-. Less certain: Gr. *lob- in λοβός [m] 'lobe, lap, slip', πρόλοβος 'crop of birds, Adam's apple', προλόβιον 'the front part of the lobe of the ear'.

Lat. a in labrum might be due to the development *(C)RDC > *(C)RaDC proposed by Schrijver 1991 (cf. magnus < *mg-no-). Yet nominal cognates of *lb- 'lip' are only found in Germanic, and *b is a rare PIE phoneme. It is furthermore uncertain that 'lip' can be derived from the verb forms for 'to waver' (It.+Gm. *lab-, LIV *lembH- 'to hang loosely'), as IEW assumes. Hence, *lab- 'lip', may be a borrowing from an unknown adstrate.


→ labō, lambō

labō, -āre 'to stand unsteadily, waver' [v. I] (Pl+)

Derivatives: labāscere 'to become uncertain; dissolve' (Pl+), collabāscere 'to waver at the same time' (Pl), labefacere 'to make unsteady, weaken' (Ter+), labefactāre 'to undermine' (Pl+), collabeseriī 'to collapse' (Lucr+); lābi, pf. lāpsus 'to glide, slip' (Pl+); lābes, -īs 'fall (of earth), landslip; disaster' (Pl+), lābōsus 'slippery' (Lucil.), lābundus 'gliding' (Accr.), lapsus, -ūs 'the gliding, falling' (Andr+); collābī 'to slip, collapse' (Pl+), dēlābī 'to slip down, drop' (Varro+), dilābī 'to flow away, perish' (Naev+), perlābī 'to glide along, skim' (Lucil+), prōlābī 'to slide forwards' (Acc+).

PIE *lh₂b-eh₂-, *leh₂b-e/o-, *leh₂b-eh₁- 'weak'. IE cognates: OCS slab, Ru. slabyj, SCR slāb 'weak' < PIE *slob-(n)o- (according to Derksen 1996: 83, Latv. slābs, slābens 'weak', and Lith. slāb纳斯 (Žem.) 'weak' were borrowed from Slavic); OHG slef, MoDu. slap.

Schrijver regards labāre as the regular reflex of a zero-grade of a root *(s)lh₂b-. For the assumed cognates of labō, a different solution is proposed by LIV: *leh₁b-. With some additional assumptions, this would explain all the cognates, but it cannot explain the Latin ablaut lab- : lāb-. Even if lab- < *lh₂b- were the oldest form within Latin, it is difficult to imagine lāb-e/o- as a secondary full grade to this root. There is one other way out: the meanings 'to waver' and 'to slip' are not necessarily connected. Thus, one might separate labāre and connect it to the Baltic and Germanic
labor ‘work, labour’ [m. r] (Naev. +; nom.sg. labos Pl. +)
Derivatives: laboräre ‘to toil, labour, be worried’ (Pl. +), labörìöös ‘toilsome’ (Pl. +).

Often connected, albeit hesitantly, with labō ‘to waver’, under the assumption of a semantic shift from ‘nearly collapsing under a load’ > ‘burden’ > ‘labour’. This seems unconvincing to me.

Bibl.: WH I: 739 f., EM 333 f., LIV 163 f., 179, 378 f., LIV 2.5.

lac, -tis ‘milk’ [n. l] (Pl. +; nom.acc.sg. also lacte Pl. +, lact Varro, Plin.)
Derivatives: lactēs, -ium ‘the small intestines; chitterlings’ (Pl. +), lacteus ‘of milk’ (Andr. +), lactārius ‘sucking’ (Varro +), lactēns ‘unweaned, sucking; full of milk’ (Andr. +), lactēns ‘unweaned, sucking; full of milk’ (Cato +), lactūca ‘lettuce’ (Varro +).

PIE *glg-t- ‘milk’. IE cognates: Gr. γάλα, γάλακτος/γλάγος [η. ] ‘milk’ < *glg-(t-), γαλαι5ήνος ‘sucking milk’, Arm. kaxc ‘(dial.) < *glgt-s, kat’n ‘milk’ < acc.sg. *glgt-m. The semantics of Hit. kala(n)kr ‘to soothe, satisfy’ (3s. ipv.act. kalankaddu, etc. kalankant-) are too far removed to warrant a connection.

The a of *lakt- can be explained by Schrijver’s rule of a development *CRaDC > *CRaDC. The loss of initial *g- is explained by distance dissimilation by Meiser, whereas e.g. Sihler reconstructs the word with initial *dl-, in which case Greek and Armenian would have undergone assimilation to the following velar. Leumann regards lac as a loanword from Greek *glakt-. To my mind, the last explanation is very unlikely (Greek has a different nom.sg. form), and original *dl- is not supported by any evidence. Thus, Lat. lact- goes back to *glgt- > *glaugt-, and initial *g- has been lost in Latin through dissimilation.


lacer ‘mutilated’ [adj. o/a] (Lucr. +)
Derivatives: lacerēre ‘to tear, torment, ruin’ (Pl. +), dilacerēre ‘to tear to pieces’ (Pl. +); lacinia ‘the edge of a garment’ (Pl. +); lacinia ‘to tear in pieces’ (Cat. +).

Pl. *lak(V)-ro- ‘torn, ragged’, *lank- ‘to tear’.

PIE pr. *lh2-n-k- ‘to tear’, adj. *lh2-k-(V)-ro-. IE cognates: Gr. [aor.] ἀπέληκα ‘I have torn off’ among the Cyprians (Hsch.; for *ἀπέλεικα); λακίς, -ίος ‘rent, rending; tatters of clothes’, λακίζω ‘to tear’, λάκη ‘rags’ among the Cretans (Hsch.), λάκημα ‘rent, piece, fragment’ (pap.); Po. lach, Ru. lachon ‘rag’?

(Di)lacerēre is denominal to lacer, even if lacer is attested much later. The pr. lacinēre looks like a contamination of a pr. *lank- with a nasal stem *lak-e/on- (which sometimes gave rise to verbs in -ināre), from which also lacinia must be derived. While Meiser 1998 reconstructs *lh2k-e/on-, Melchert 2007a: 257 suggests...
that λακίς was made from an earlier noun *Ih2ki- 'tearing', and that lacer represents a derived adj. *laki-ro- 'torn'.


lacertus 'upper arm' [m. o] (Lucil.++; also n. lacertum)

Derivatives: lacertōsus 'muscular' (Varro+), lacerta / lacertus 'lizard; Spanish mackerel' (Cic.+).

IEW proposes a connection with Gr. λάξ, λάγδην [adv.] 'with the foot', λάκτις, -ιος 'pestle' on the one hand, and OIc. leggr 'lower leg, bone', arm-, hand-leggr 'arm', fōt-, ler-leggr 'calf of the leg' (< *lagi-), Langob. lagi 'thigh' on the other hand. None of these connections is semantically convincing. The connection with λικερτίζειν 'to jump, dance' (Hsch.) is adopted by WH.

Bibl.: WH I: 743f., EM 336, IEW 673.

lacio, -ere 'to entice' [v. III(?)] (Paul. ex F. lacit)

Derivatives: (1) allicere 'to entice, attract' (Pl.+, pf. -lexī, ppp. -lectum), délicere 'to lure' (Titin.), délicātus 'luxurious, self-indulgent' (Pl.+), déliciae [f.pl.] 'pleasure, luxuries' (Pl.), élicere 'to coax, draw forth' (Pl.+, pf. élicui), inlicīre (Naev.), illicere 'to entice' (Pl.+, pf. illexī), illicium 'lure' (Varro+), pellicere 'to win over, seduce' (Lex XII+), prólicere 'to lure, forward' (Pl.); lactāre 'to entice' (Pl.+), délectāre 'to charm, entice' (Pl.+), delectāmentum 'instrument of pleasure' (Ter.+), délectātiō 'source of delight' (Ter.+), élēctāre 'to worm out (information)' (Pl.+), oblectāre 'to delight' (Pl.+), prólectāre 'to induce to do' (Pl.+), sublectāre 'to coax' (Pl.); lascere 'to challenge, provoke' (Pl.+, pf. -ivī, ppp. -itum); lax 'deceit' (Paul. ex F.); illex 'who attracts' (Pl.+); élēcebra 'a means of wheedling something out of a person' (Pl.+), illecebra 'enticement' (Pl.+), illecebrōsus 'enticing' (Pl.), pellecabra 'decoy' (Pl.); pellācia 'seductiveness' (Lucr.+); (2) colliciae [f.pl.] 'furrow in a corn field for draining off water' (Ov.+); sublica 'woodeji stake or pile' (Naev.+), sublicius 'supported on wooden piles' (esp. of bridges) (Varro+).


WH connect *lak- to the root *lak" of laqueus 'loop, rope'. Whereas *kʷt > ct and *kʷs > x are unproblematic, the supposed development *kʷi > ci (in lacit, déliciae) is uncertain; one would rather expect -qui-, as in reliquium. Similarly, one would expect *laquessere and -lequebra. Therefore, we must assume a Plt. stem *lak-. It is possible to connect this with lacer 'torn, tearing' if laciō originally meant 'to draw, attract'. Note that the simplex verb is only attested by Paulus ex F., and hence likely to be a nonce form. The others are all compounds, in which -lak- may simply have meant 'to draw'. The technical words collic-, délic- and élīx are usually derived from liqueō 'to liquify'. None of them is attested before CLat, except colliciāris. EM ascribe the spellings with -c- instead of -qu- to analogy with adjectives of the type élīcīus. It
seems uncertain to me that they derive from *liqu-* at all: they may also be derived from *laciō*. Formally this is easier because of -c-, and semantically it is more straightforward: gutters, corner-beans and furrows are not made for 'making something liquid', but for 'draining', thus 'drawing away', rain and other liquids.


**lacruma** 'tear' [f. ā] (Andr.+)

Variant forms: dacrima (Andr., Paul. ex F.), lacrima (Andr., Naev.). According to EM, the Pl. mss. often have -uma; TLL does not give the distribution of -ima and -uma.

Plt. *d(r)(k)akrunā-?

PIE *drk-h2(e)kru- 'eye-bitter'. IE cognates: Olr. dér, W. deigr 'tear', Hit. išhahru-[n.] 'tear(s), weeping' < *s + *h₂ekru-?, Skt. ášru-, YAv. asrū [pl.], Gr. δάκρυ, Arm. artasuk' [pl.], Lith. ėsara, OHG zahar, ToB akrūna [obl.pl.] 'tear'.

Many investigators regard the word as a loanword from Greek δάκρυμα / δάκρυμα 'tear'. EM give the following arguments for this view: if the form were genetically related to the Greek form, i.e., Plt. *dakrumen, one would expect Latin *dacrumen. The suffix -ma is not productive in Latin, and there are no examples of a suffixation -u-mo Latin. Lat. -ma only occurs in flamma < *flag-ma, where it is found directly after the root, as expected from a PIE point of view (Gr. φλόγμος). But Hamp 1972 points out that Greek δάκρυμα / δάκρυμα itself is relatively recent (unattested before the fifth century), and it never becomes the normal word for 'tear' in Greek (which is δάκρυον). If the Latin word was inherited, the origin is still problematic: PIE *drk-h₂(e)kru- + -mo-? To explain -ma, Hamp 1972: 296 suggests an original n.pl. *dakruna, in which *n assimilated to u to give *dakruma. To me, this assimilation and initial *d- seem unlikely. A good alternative would be to suppose a distant dissimulation of *d-n to *d-m, thus *dakruna > *dakroma; compare the reverse in *temabrae > tenebrae. Obviously, this solution is speculative. For the IE words in initial *rfr, the solution proposed by Kortlandt 1985b is attractive: the more archaic form *h₂ekru- has been replaced by the compound, or perhaps syntagm, *drk-h₂kru- 'eye-bitter'. The plural to this word must have been *(drk-)h₂ekru-n-h₂, which is reflected in ToA obl.pl. akrunt, ToB obl.pl. akrūna and Lat. dacruma.


**lacus**, -ūs 'lake' [m. u] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: lacūna 'hollow, pit, pond', lacūnar, -āris [n.] 'a panel in a panelled ceiling' (Cic.+).

Plt. *lakv-.

PIE *lok-u- 'lake'. IE cognates: Olr. loch < PIE *lok-u-; Bret. lagen 'small lake'; Gr. λάκκος 'pond' < *lk-o-<, OCS loky, gen.sg. lŏkve 'puddle, pool, reservoir' [f. ĭ], SCr. lŏkva < *lok-uH-; OE lagu < *lokuv-.

Lat. lacūnar apparently means 'which contains hollows'. Its meaning renders it comparable to laqueānus, but this will be a coincidence. The a in lacus can be
understood as the product of unrounding after a velarized [f], cf. Schrijver 1991: 475 and *lanius.


**laedō, -ere** ‘to injure, damage’ [v. III; *laesī, laesum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *elīdere* ‘to crush, force out’ (Pl.+), *allīdere* ‘to strike against, crush’ (Acc.+), *illīdere* ‘to injure by crushing, beat’ (Varro+).

IEW connects some Greek and Baltic words. The connection with Gr. λίστρον ‘spade, shovel’, however, is very uncertain. The Baltic words (Latv. līst, Is. līdu ‘to clear (land)’, Lith. lyčmas, lydimas ‘clearance’) have been connected with Lith. léisti ‘to let’ < PIE *lid- by Fraenkel 1955-1965. Hence, no certain cognates remain.

Bibl.: WH I: 749, EM 337, IEW 652.

**laetus** ‘flourishing, rich; happy’ [adj. o/ā] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *laetāre* ‘to gladden’ (Andr.+), *laetārī* ‘to be glad’ (Pl.+), *laetitia* ‘joy’ (Pl.+), *laetitīdō* ‘joy’ (Acc.+, *laetiscere* ‘to delight’ (Sis.); *laetificāre* ‘to gladden, fertilize’ (Pl.+), *laetificus* ‘joyful’ (Enn.+). Under the assumption that ‘fat, rich’ is the older meaning, WH and IEW connect *lār(i)du* ‘bacon’ and *lārgus* ‘generous’, which would contain *lai-es-; laetus would then be *lai-to-. This is a very artificial reconstruction.

Bibl.: WH I: 750, EM 337f., IEW 652.

**laevus** ‘left’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *laeva* ‘the left hand; the left’ (Pl.+).

PIt. *laiwo-.

PIE *lehi2-u- or *lehi2-e-u- ‘left’. IE cognates: Gr. λαυ(φ)ός ‘left’, OCS lęvə, Ru. lęvij, Scr. ljevij ‘id.’, ToB laiwo ‘lassitude’ (< *-vehr-).

The original meaning may have been ‘curved’, although this can hardly be considered proven by the quotation from Servius: *lævi (sc. boves) quōrum cornua ad terram spectant.* Steinbauer (apud Stüber 2006: 68) proposes to derive *leh2i-uо- (if this was the original form) from the root *leh2- ‘to hide’ that we find in Lat. lateō. The left hand would be called ‘the hidden hand’, similarly to the ‘shaded’ hand that can be reconstructed for *scaevus.* If the original meaning indeed was ‘curved’, we may look for a root *le(h2(-i)- that fits this meaning, but none is immediately convincing. LIV has a root *leih2- ‘to stop, stop doing’, and also *leho2- ‘to hide’. The PIE preform of *laevus* is reconstructed as *lehi2-eiuо- by Schrijver 1991 on account of the accentuation of the Slavic forms (thus also Derksen 2008: 275); but for Latin, Greek and Toch., *lehi2-uо- would also work.


**lallō, -āre** ‘to sing a lullaby’ [v. I] (Persius Flaccus+)

Plt. *lala* (vel sim.).

IE cognates: Gr. λαλέω ‘to talk, chat, prattle’, λάλος ‘chattering’, λαλία ‘talk’; Lith.
laluōti 'to babble', NHG lallen.

Onomatopoeic, reduplicated imitation of a baby's sound.


lāma 'marshy place, bog' [f. ã] (Enn. +)

IE cognates: Lith. lomà 'hollow, valley, plot, lump', Latv. lāma 'hollow, pool', SCR. lām (diaL.) 'knee-joint, underground passage', Bulg. lam 'pit, (diaL.) quarry'.

In theory, Latv. lāma and Latin lāma may both go back to *leh₂-mo-, but the isolated position of lāma and the possibility that the Baltic words derive from the root *lem- 'to break' render the connection rather uncertain.


lambō, -ere 'to lick' [v. III; pf. lambi?, ppp. lambitum] (Lucil. +)

Derivatives: lamberāre 'to beat, defeat' (Pl., Paul. ex F.?)

PIE *lamb-.

PIE *lh₂-m-P- 'to lick'. IE cognates: Gr. λαφύσσω 'to devour', λάπτω 'to lick', λάψειν, λάψαι; Arm. lap'el 'to lick; Alb. lap 'to lick up water'; Lith. lapënti 'to absorb greedily' (of swines), Ru. lópat 'to gobble up', Bulg. lapam 'to eat greedily', OHG laffan (luof) 'to lick', leffil 'spoon', OE lapian 'to drink'.

Lamberāre occurs in Pl. in the expression meō mē lūdō lamberās 'you lamberā- me at my own game' Ps. 743. In Lucil 585, lamberat is plq.pf. Unlike for labium, where one might reconstruct a (non-IE?) root *lb-, the correspondences seem to require a root *lh₂b- if it is reconstructed for PIE. In fact, the word is so widespread that a PIE origin seems likely. I posit a PIE form *lh₂P- (*P being any labial stop). Since the labials do not regularly correspond (*b in Latin and Grm., *p in Alb., BSI. and probably Greek, p' in Arm.), these words probably were onomatopoeic.


lamenta, -orum 'wailing, groans' [n. o] (Lucr. +)

Derivatives: lāmenta 'wailing' (Pac.), lāmentāri 'to (be)wail, lament' (Pl.+), lāmentātiō 'wailing' (Pl. +), lāmentārius 'dealing in lamentation' (Pl.); lātrāre 'to bark, bay (of dogs)' (Pl.+), lātrātus, -ūs 'barking' (Acc.+), oblātrātrīx 'female yapper, shrew' (Pl.).

Plt. *lāmōnto- 'howling', *lātro- 'barking'.

PIE *leh₂-mn-to- 'howling, crying', *leh₂-tro- 'barking'. IE cognates: Skt. rāyati 'barks', YAv. gādrō.rāitīnt- 'shouting songs' (if from PIE *l₁-); Arm. lam 'to weep, bewail'; Lith. lōtis, 1s. lōju, OCS lajati, 1s. lajo 'to bark, scold'; Go. laitoun 'they scolded'. Uncertain is Gr. λαίειν 'to resound' (Fsch.).

Derived from a verb *lā(-je)- 'to wail'. Since Lat. lām- can reflect *lasm-, Schrijver argues that lāmentum can either be connected with IE reflexes of PIE *leh₁- 'to wail, weep' (as PIE *lh₁-s-m-) or with PIE *leh₂- 'to bark, howl' (as *leh₂-m- or *lh₂-s-m-). Since there is no indication for an *-s- having been part of this formation, I prefer the
connection with the other IE words as *leh₂-mn-to-. The same root has also yielded Lat. lātrāre, as a derivative of *lātro- ‘barking’.


lämina ‘thin sheet of metal’ [f. ā] (Pl.+: also lammina, lamna)
Plt. *stlāmen-?

The only serious etymology offered is a connection with lātus ‘wide’ < *stlātos.

Bibl.: WH I: 755, EM 339, IEW 1018f. → lātus?

lāna ‘wool’ [f. ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: lānāris ‘woolly’ (Varro), lānārius ‘wool-’ (Pl.+), lāneus ‘woollen’ (Pl.+); lānitia ‘wool (as an article)’ (Lab.), lānūgō, -inis ‘down, first hair’ (Pac.+); lānificium ‘the working of wool’ (Pl.+), lāniger ‘wool-bearing’ (Enn.+).

Plt. *wlānā-.

PIE *h₂ulhrneh₂- ‘wool’ (lit. ‘plucked material’). IE cognates: OIr. olann, W. gwlan, Hit. hulana-, CLuw. *hulana/- [c.], Hit. hulija- ‘wool’; Skt. ārñā, Av. varanā- ‘wool’, Gr. λήνος [n.] (<< *h₂ulhrneh₂-, or < *h₂ulhrn₁-νo-), OPr. wilna ‘skirt’, Lith. vilna ‘wool’, OCS vlna, Ru. vlna (diaI.) /volná (diaI.), SCr. vīna, Go. wulla, OHG wolla, Otc. ull ‘wool’.

The connection of lāna with vellus and vellō was rejected by Schrijver 1991, but is retained by Meiser 1998. According to Kloekhorst 2008: 357ff., the appurtenance of the Hittite words is uncertain.


langueō ‘to be sluggish or faint’ [v. II] (Acc.+)

Derivatives: languor ‘faintness, exhaustion’ (Pl.+), languēscere ‘to grow weak, fall ill’ (Lucr.+), languidus ‘faint, exhausted’ (Acc.+).

Plt. *(s)lāng-u-.

PIE *sl-n-g-u- ‘weak, faint’? IE cognates: Skt. ślaksṇā- ‘slippery, meagre, thin’ (if from *slaksy-); Gr. λαγαιων ‘to release’, λαγαρός ‘slack, emaciated, thin’, λάγυνον ‘thin cake’, λάγυς [v. n.] (<< *sl¹n₁-νo-, or < *sl₁n₁-νo-), OPr. wilna ‘skirt’, Lith. vilna ‘wool’, OCS vlna, Ru. vlna (diaI.) /volná (diaI.), SCr. vīna, Go. wulla, OHG wolla, Otc. ull ‘wool’.

The basis was probably an adj. *lang-u(o)- ‘faint, weak’, a nasalized variant of the root *lag- found in laxus. The IE forms are reconstructed either as *sl(n-)-g- (e.g. LIV), or as *sl₂g- (by Schrijver 1991). Latin *lag- can be explained via Schrijver’s rule *RDC > *RaDC in laxus < *lagso- < *slg-so-. In *langu-, -a- may have arisen phonetically in front of three consonants in *slngw- (if *u counted as a consonant), or it was analogically adopted from *lag-.

This would mean e- or ø-grade for the Skt. adj., o-grade for Gm. Tocharian needs *slHg-, but the meaning differs, especially that of ToB slakkare. It is not certainly cognate.

lanius ‘butcher’ [m. o] (Pl.+

Derivatives: laniārium ‘butcher’s shop’ (Varro), laniēna ‘id.’ (Pl.+), laniēmus ‘of a butcher’ (Varro), laniāre ‘to wound savagely, cut up’ (Quad.); lanista ‘trainer of gladiators’ (Cic.+).

Plt. *lanio- ‘breaker’.

PIE *h3lomH-io-. IE cognates: Olr. ro-laimethar ‘to dare’ < *lamjelo- < *ImH-je-, W. llafasu ‘id.’, Co. lauaosos ‘to be allowed’; Gr. νωλεμές ‘without pause’ < *h3lem-?; Lith. lėmti ‘to decide, determine’, OCS lomiti, Ru. lomit ‘to break’; OHG lam ‘lame’ < *lom(H)-.

Leumann explains the suffix of laniēna from dissimilation of *lani-īna, whereas WH regard it as Etruscan. Since lanista is explained as Etruscan by the Romans, WH regard the whole word family lani- as Etruscan. This seems somewhat rash to me. A connection with *lem(H)- ‘to break’ is semantically attractive, viz. lanius as ‘the breaker (of bones)’, cf. Dutch beenhouwer ‘butcher’. A development *lomio- > *lanio- can be regarded as the same unrounding after l- which Schrijver 1991: 475 posits for lacus ‘lake’. Since m generally has a rounding influence on a preceding vowel (cf. later *em > om), it follows that *lomio- became *tonio- before the unrounding took place.


lanx, -cis ‘metal dish, tray’ [f. k] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: lancula ‘plate’ (Varro+).

Lanx is connected by WH and IEW with Greek words meaning ‘crooked, bent’ (λοξός ‘bent, crooked, slanted’, λέχριος ‘slanted’), and with Gr. λέκος [η.], λεκάνη ‘dish, pot, pan’. A meaning ‘crooked’ is not immediately convincing for ‘plate’ (one would rather expect ‘flat’), and the Latin vocalism is difficult to explain (though not impossible). EM’s explanation of a Mediterranean loanword for the object ‘plate’ seems more likely.


lapis, -dis ‘stone, pebble’ [m. d] (Naev.v+)

Derivatives: lapideus ‘of stone, stony’ (Pl.+), lapidārius ‘of stone-cutting’ (Pl.+), lapidōsus ‘stony’ (Varro+), lapillus ‘small stone’ (Varro+); lapicida ‘stone-cutter’ (Varro+), lapicidinae [f.pl.] (Cato+), lapidicinae [f.pl.] (Varro+) ‘stone-quarries’.


IE cognates: Gr. λέπας [n.] ‘bare rock, mountain’, λεπάς, -άδος [f.] ‘limpet’, λεπάδες ‘molluscs which stick to rocks’ (Hsch.).

Probably a Mediterranean loanword of the structure *IVpVd-.

lapit ‘affects’ [v. III/TV] (Pac. 1x: lapit cor cura, aeurumna cor conficit, Paul. ex F. 1x ‘dolore afficit’)

It is argued by WH and IE that lapit may belong to Gr. λέπω ‘to peel’ and Lat. lepidus ‘charming’. Yet I see no obvious semantic connection between lapit and ‘to peel’, and formally, lep- and lap- are difficult to combine into one etymology (possibly, via unrounding of *lop-). Hence, the etymology lapit is still unknown.

Bibl.: WH I: 762, EM 341, IEW 678, LIV *lep-.

laqueus ‘loop of rope, noose, trap’ [m. o] (Pl.+

Derivatives: laqueātus ‘panelled (of a roof)’ (Enn.+); ablaqueāre ‘to loosen and weed the soil’ (Cato+), illaqueāre ‘to entangle’ (Pac.+).

Unlike WH and IEW, I do not regard a derivation from laciō ‘to entice’ as likely, because the phonetics do not fit. Also, the meaning ‘loop, noose’ does not logically derive from ‘to tear’. No other etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 745, 748, EM 337, 341, IEW 673f.

Lär, Lärís ‘tutelary god’ [m. r] (Carmen Arvale, Pl.+; Lasēs, Lasibus)

Derivatives: Lārentia ‘the reputed foster-mother of Romulus and Remus’ (Varro+), Lārentīnae [f.pl.] ‘festival in honour of Lārentia’ (Varro), Lārunda ‘name of an Italian goddess’ (Varro).

It is not certain that Lārentia and Lārunda belong to Lär. The ablaut lär : lär- does not correspond to any productive pattern, and must have developed phonetically, or be the result of sound substitution in a loanword. A connection with lascivus is theoretically possible, but not very likely. Lat. lārua ‘evil spirit’ (< *lär/s-(V)y-) may be a derivative of Lär.

Bibl.: WH I: 762f., EM 341, IEW 654. → lārua

lārgus ‘generous, bountiful’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: largirī ‘to give generously’ (Pl.+), largiter ‘abundantly’ (Pl.+, largitās ‘generosity’ (Caecil.+); largiloquus ‘talkative’ (Pl.), largificus ‘bountiful’ (Pac.+), largifluus ‘flowing copiously’ (Lucr.); dīlargirī ‘to give away freely’ (Cato+).

The long ā is explicitly indicated in one inscription. Since we find several lengthened forms of *-VrD- in Romance (e.g. orbūs ‘blind’ for orbus), it is not certain that the ā was original in Latin. This compromises the etymology given by WH and IEW. They suggest an original form *lajes-ago- ‘carrying fat’ with a stem *laj-es- ‘fat, bacon’ which they also perceive in lāridus and maybe laetus. Yet it is wholly uncertain that lār- in these words goes back to *lās-V-, it is furthermore uncertain that Gr. λαρινός contains *laiye(s)-, and the semantics are not compelling.

Bibl.: WH I: 764, EM 342, IEW 652.

lāridum ‘bacon’ [n. o] (Pl.; Lucil. lārdum)

The etymology as *lajes-idos (see s.v. lārgus) would normally yield *laueridus (cf. Meiser 1998: 88). The Attic adj. lārīnōs ‘fatted, fat’ may well be derived from lārōs
(II.) 'delicious, sweet', sup. λάρωτατος. Beekes (fhc.) proposes a base *λα(ρ)αρος or *λα(ρ)ερος, and a possible connection with ἀπολαύω 'to enjoy' < *lh2u-. It seems likely that Latin lāridum is a loan from Greek *lārinos with suffix substitution (assimilation of nasal n to oral d because of r?) or from a Greek dialect form with a different suffix.

Bibl.: WH I: 764, EM 342, IEW 652. → lärgus

larix, -cis 'larch-tree' [f. k] (Vitr.+)

Loanword from an unknown language, with the frequent plant suffix *-i/ek-. The suggestion by WH that the word continued PIE *dr-u- 'tree' in the donor language is gratuitous.


lārua 'evil spirit, demon' [f. ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: lāruātus 'possessed by evil spirits' (Pl.+

Pit. *lā<s>V₁w</s>?

Schrijver assumes that *Cu was realized as Cu(w) after a long vowel in VOLat. and OLat., and as Cw after a short vowel. If this is correct, lārua can reflect earlier *lār/s-Vw- or *lār/s-w-. A form *lā<s>- could be connected with Lār, Laris 'tutelary god', which is quite attractive semantically.


lascīvus 'playful, unrestrained' [adj. o/ā] (Andr.+

Derivatives: lascīvīa 'play, fun, wantonness' (Pl.+, lascīvībundus 'frisky' (Pl.), lascīvīre 'to frisk, play' (Lucil.+), lascīvolus 'playful' (Laev.).

Pit. *lasko-.

PIE *lh₂s-ko- 'desirous'. IE cognates: OIr. lāinn 'eager' < *lasni- < *lh₂s-n-; Gr. λάλαιμαι 'to desire strongly' < *li-las-je-, ληνίς 'a Bacchante'; Lith. lokšnūs 'sensitive' < *le₂h₂s-n-, Ru. ласый 'greedy, eager, affectionate' < *leh₂s-o-. Derivative of a stem *lasko-, which can be regarded as the phonetic reflex of the PIE preform since Schrijver 1991. A connection with laciō 'to pull' is possible (*lak-sko-, thus Leumann p. 341), but is semantically less straightforward than with PIE *lh₂s- 'to desire'.


lassus 'tired, weary' [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: lassitūdō 'tiredness' (Pl.+); délassāre 'to tire out' (Pl.+

Pit. *lasso-.

PIE *lh₁d-to- 'tired'. IE cognates: Gr. ληθείν 'to get/be tired' (Hsch.), Alb. lodhem 'to be tired' (< *lēd-), Go. letan 'to let' < *le₂h₁-d-, lats 'slow' < *lh₁d-o-. The PIE root is formed with a d-enlargement to *lh₁- 'to let'. The reflex *lad-to- can be explained from *Ihd- > *laC- or from *RHDC- > *RaDC-.
látus 329

Bibl.: WH I: 767f., EM 342, IEW 666, Schrijver 1991: 137, 166, LIV *leh₁d- → lénis, létum

lateō ‘to hide, shelter, be hidden’ [v. II; pf. latui] (Pl.)

Derivatives: latebra ‘hiding-place, lair’ (Pl.+), latēbricola [m.] ‘one who skulks in concealment’ (Pl.), latēbrösus ‘secret, hidden’ (Pl.+); latibelāre ‘to lie in hiding’ (Laev.+); latitāre ‘to be/remain in hiding’ (Pl.+); delitūlescere ‘to go into hiding’ (Pl.+), oblivescere ‘to become hidden’ (Varro+).

Pit. *latē-.

PIE *lh₂-to- ‘hidden’. IE cognates: Gr. λανθάνω, λήδω, aor. λαθεῖν ‘to be hidden’, λάθρη, -ū ‘secretly’ < *I(e)h₂-dh₁; λήςτο/ λήςτο ‘he forgot’ (Hsch.) < *leh₂-; OCS lajati, OCz. lákati, USorb. łakać ‘to lie in wait for’.

Latère represents a stative verb in *-ē- derived from *latos ‘hidden’. Since the -e- of latebra was short (see Serbat 1975: 62f.), it is best explained by analogy with tenebrae; if the noun were deverbal, one would expect *latēbra.


later, -is ‘brick, block’ [m. r] (Pl.)

Derivatives: laterculns ‘block; small brick’ (Pl.+), latericius ‘made of brickwork’ (Varro+).

If the original meaning was ‘piece, part’, later may be cognate with latus ‘side’.

Bibl.: WH I: 769, EM 343, IEW 1018f. → latus

latex, -icis ‘water, liquid’ [m. k] (Acc.+)

If latex was borrowed from Gr. λάταξ, -άγος [f.] ‘drop of wine’, the suffix -αξ could have been changed to -ex to file the word with the other nouns in -ex. EM rightly remark that the semantic shift from the specific ‘drop of wine’ in Greek to a general ‘water, liquid’ in Latin seems strange. It might be conceivable in the case of a strongly metaphorical use of ‘drop of wine’ for ‘water’. Note that the use of latex is mainly poetic.

Bibl.: WH I: 770, EM 343, IEW 654f.

látus ‘broad, wide’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.)

Derivatives: lātītūdō ‘breadth, broadness’ (Cato+); dīlātāre ‘to make wider, spread’ (Varro+); slatta ‘large cargo-boat’ (Gel., Paul. ex F.), silātārius ‘conveyed by a slatta’ (Enn.+).

Pit. *slāto-.

IE cognates: OIr. con-slá* ‘to go away’.

WH and Meiser 1998 posit a form *sílH-to- ‘spread’ to Gr. στέλλω ‘to prepare, dispatch’, OCS stblati ‘to spread’, but this root is now reconstructed without a final laryngeal (LIV: *stel- ‘to place’). Alternatively, one could connect látus with PCl. *-slā- ‘to go away’ (< pr. *slā-(ie/o)-) as attested in OIr. con-slá. In that case, the spelling stla- in Latin could be interpreted as in the case of līs ‘dispute’ (see s.v.),
where *stl- yielded l- but was retained as stl- in archaisms. Latin *slāto- would have developed from ‘going apart, spreading’ to ‘wide’.


→ latus

latus, -eris ‘side, flank’ [n. r] (Pl.)

Derivatives: laterālis ‘of the side of the body’ (Lucil.+), latuscuhum ‘a side’ (Lucr.+), laterāmen ‘pottery’ (Lucr.).

An original s-stem to a root *lat-. No good etymology available. Semantically, it is attractive to connect OIr. sliss₁ W. ystły ‘side’ (< *s(t)liuss-), maybe also W. łyys-, Bret. lez- ‘half, somewhat’, if Schrijver 1995: 439 is correct in deriving these from lenited *hlissu-. But while the Celtic forms could go back to *s(t)lt-tu-, such a preform would give *s(t)oltu- in Latin. Lat. latus might be derived from a preform *lot-os- (cf. lacus, lanius < *ło-), but this would still be an irregular ablaut form next to PCl. *stlt-. Another alternative is to derive latus from latēō ‘to be hidden’, if latus originally referred to the ‘hidden’ (invisible) part of a body (cf. the discussion s.v. laevus). The s-stems were marginally productive still in a more recent period of the prehistory of Latin, cf. pondus, -eris to pendeō, and maybe vellus, -eris to vellō (Stüber 2002: 57).


→ later

laus, -dis ‘praise’ [f. d] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: laudäre ‘to praise’ (Naev.+); allaudäre ‘id.’ (Pl.), allaudābilis ‘praiseworthy’ (Pl.+), collaudäre ‘to eulogize’ (Naev.+).

Plt. *lau(V)d-.


The only connection put forward is with Gm. *leub-a- ‘song’ < *leu-t-. If cognate at all, laus must reflect *lou-Vd(b)-, cf. Schrijver. Vine 2006a: 238, who assumes *øy > *au in PIE pretonic position, sketches a possible scenario: PIE *lou-ó- ‘praising’ > Plt. *lawo- could have given rise to a d-stem *law-ed- ‘song of praise’ (or analogically changed a stem *lou-ed- to *lawed-).


lavō, -äre ‘to wash, bathe’ [v. I; pf. lävi, ppp. latus, lōtus (Pl.+), lavātum] (Naev.+); from OLat. onwards, pr. lavere ‘to wash (sth./so.)’ beside lavāre ‘to wash oneself’

Derivatives: lātrina ‘washing-place’ (Varro+), lavātiō ‘washing’ (Pl.+), lavandāria, -ōrum [n.pl.] ‘dirty linen’ (Lab. apud Gel.), lābrum ‘large basin’ (Cato+), lavābrum ‘bath-tub’ (Lucr.), lābllum ‘bowl, basin’ (Cato+); lōtium ‘urine’ (Cato+), lōtiolentus ‘defiled with urine’ (Titin.); abluerre (ablūi, ablūtum) ‘to wash off, cleanse’ (Pac.+), abluvium ‘inundation’ (Lab.+), dēlūbum ‘temple, shrine’ (Pl.+), dīluere ‘to dissolve, dilute’ (Pl.+), dīluiēs ‘flood’ (Lucr.), dīluviāre ‘to flood’ (Lucr.), ēluere ‘to wash out,
wax clean’ (Pl. +), ēlūācrum ‘wash-tub’ (Cato), ēlūtriāre ‘to put into a vat or bath’ (Lab. +), ēluviēs ‘the washing away’ (Lucil. +), illōtūtus ‘unwashed, dirty’ (Pl. +), illūviēs ‘dirtiness, filth’ (Pl. +), interluere ‘to flow between; wash during’ (Pl. +), mallūviae [f.pl.] ‘water in which the hands have been washed’ (Fest., Paul. ex F.), pellūviae [f.pl.] ‘water in which the feet are washed’ (Fest., Paul. ex F.), pollūbrum ‘wash-basin’ (Andr. +), prōluere ‘to wash away, wash clean’ (Pl. +), prōluviēs ‘flood’ (Lucr. +).


The pr. lavere shows PIE *louH-C- > Plt. *lowa- > *lawa-. The same verb is also contained in the compounds in -luere. Meiser suggests an original reduplicated *le-louh3-, which seems semantically attractive. Schrijver 1991: 397 suggests that lavāre reflects *lawa-ē-, a stative verb to the tr. stem *lawa-. This explanation is rejected by Meiser 1998: 187 because he assumes that *a-ē- contracts to -ē-; but the alleged evidence for this is the pr.sb. of the first conjugation, which must be explained differenty from than from *ajē-. Also, Meiser’s explanation of lavāre as an intensive *louh3-ējelo- does not explain the intr. semantics. Vine 2006a: 239 suggests that lautus may reflect the verbal adj. *louh3-etō- > *laveto-. For the present stems, he notes that lavere is very frequent in compounds in -luere, while lavāre hardly ever occurs in compounds. Vine proposes that unrounding of unaccented *ow took place in verbal compounds with an accented preverb of the type *x-louh3-elo- > *x-lawelo-. This would then be the main source of the -a- in lavere and lavāre. The instr. noun lābrum < *lawāpro- and -lībrum < *-lawāpro- can have been formed independently in Italic or Proto-Latin; in view of *louh3-tro- in Celtic, Gr. and Gm., Italic probably replaced the original suffix by *dētro-. The ppp. lautus changed to -lītus in non-initial syllable; at a more recent date, lautus > lōtus, whence e.g. ētium. Here maybe also Andr. aureo eclutro as /ė-lēttrōl ‘bath’. See Serbat 1975: 276 for a possible analogical origin of the -ā- in ēlūācrum.


laxus ‘spacious, wide, loose’ [adj. o/a] (Cato+)

Derivatives: laxāre ‘to make larger; undo, relax’ (Lucr. +), collaxāre ‘to make loose’ (Lucr. +), dilaxāre ‘to stretch apart’ (Lucil.), rēlaxāre ‘to loosen, relax’ (Varro +).

Plt. *(s)lakso-.

PIE *slg-so- ‘weak, faint’. IE cognates: see langueō.

Schrijver’s rule *RDC > *RaDC can explain laxus < *lagso- < *slg-so-.

lectus ‘bed, couch’ [m. o] (Pl+)

Derivatives: lectulus ‘couch, bed’ (Pl+), lectica ‘litter’ (Semp. Gracchus+); lectisterniator ‘one who spreads couches’ (Pl.), lectisternium ‘festival with couches for the gods’ (Liv.+).

Plt. *lexe/o- ‘to lie down’, *lektos/-bed’. It. cognates: Fal. lecet [3s.pr.] ‘lies’ (with a stop, of analogical origin?). SPic. veiat ‘lies’ < *lexja-.


WH rightly notice that a nominal formation *legh-to- ‘bed’ would be strange, but it does not seem impossible: ‘lied upon’ > ‘bed’. The form could be interpreted as a nominalized verbal adj. with regular e-grade in the root. WH suggest dissimilation of the second *l in a preform *legh-tlo-, but Gr. λέκτρον and the root-inherent l- would rather have us expect *legh-tro-. An alternative solution is to posit a tu-stem *legh-tu- the lying’, which could have switched to the o-stem inflection by the time of Plautus.


legō, -ere ‘to gather, collect; to read’ [v. III; pf. lēgi, ppp. lēctum] (Lex XII+) Derivatives: lēctor ‘reader’ (Sis.+); legiō ‘legion, group of supporters’ (Naev.+); legulus ‘a picker’ (Cato+); dentilegus ‘who collects teeth’ (Pl.), sacrilagus ‘who robs sacred property, sacrilegious person’ (Pl.), sortilegus ‘soothsayer’ (Varro+); legumen ‘leguminous plant, pulse’ (Varro+); ablegmina ‘partes extorum quae dis immolabant’ (Paul. ex F.); colligere ‘to gather, collect’ (Naev., déligere ‘to pick off, pick out’ (Pl.), deligere ‘to love, hold dear’ (Pl.), dīligenter ‘carefully’ (Pl.+), dīligentia ‘carefulness’ (Pl.), dīlectus, -ūs ‘recruitment, selection’ (Varro+), èligere ‘to select’ (Pl.+), èlectilis ‘of special quality’ (Pl.+), èlegans ‘careful, delicate’ (Pl.+), èlegantia ‘choosiness, refinement’ (Pl.+), intellegere ‘to understand’ (Pl.+), intellegentia ‘keenness’ (Ter.+), neglegere ‘to ignore, neglect’ (Pl.+), neglegentia ‘carelessness’ (Pl.+), neglectus, -ūs ‘neglect’ (Ter.+), per/llegere ‘to attract; read over’ (Lex XII+), praeliganeus ‘made from fruit picked before the crop’ (Cato), relegere ‘to pick up again’ (Cato+), sèligere ‘to weed out, select’ (Enn.), sublegere ‘to steal away, appoint’ (Pl.+), trānslegere ‘to read out to so. else’ (Pl.+).


PIE pr. *leg-e/o- ‘to collect’, ppp. *leg-to-. IE cognates: Gr. λγω, aor. λέξα ‘to collect, count; speak’, λγος [m.] ‘account, word’; Alb. mb-leadh ‘to collect’. Possibly, also OIr. legaid, lēga* ‘to melt (tr. and intr.), destroy, extinguish’ < *leg-ā-, MW dilein ‘to destroy, chase away’ < *di-leg-nā-, go-leith ‘to fear, avoid’ < *u-o-leg-tV-; MW leith ‘wet, moist’ < *leg-to-. The evidence for a separate PIE root ‘to trickle’ (thus LIV) is extremely weak, whereas one might envisage a shift from ‘to collect’ to ‘gather’ (intr.) = ‘melt, dissolve’ on the one hand and (with preverbs) ‘destroy’ and
A connection of *intel-legere and *neg-legere with Gr. ἀλέγω ‘to heed’ is problematic, see Schrijver 1991: 22. The -e- in -legere shows that these are relatively recent compounds, which were probably formed with legere ‘to collect’. As for *diligere, I see no semantic need to connect it with any other verb than legō ‘to collect’. Long e in lectus is probably the result of Lachmann’s Law. All compounded verbs contain *-legere except for elegāns which betrays a verb *ex-legāre (of the type oc-cupāre). The semantic shift probably went from ‘gather, collect’ (also in *disligere ‘to pick out’ > ‘love’) to ‘watch out for, care for’ (neglegere), ‘concentrate on’ (intellegere) and finally to ‘read’. A similar shift took place in Greek. Legūmen can be interpreted as a plant ‘to be picked’.


lemurēs, -um ‘evil spirits of the dead’ [m.pl. r] (Hor.+)

Derivatives: lemurīi (Varro apud Non.) ‘lemurēs’, Lemūria, -ōrum [n.pl.] ‘festival to appease the spirits of the dead’ (Ov.).

The long ā in Ovid can be explained as metrical lengthening in the four short syllables of *le-mu-ri-a (Leumann 1977: 115). A connection of lemurēs with Gr. λαμυρός ‘voracious’, λάμω [f.], ‘name of a man-eating monster, of a shark’, λάμα ‘crevices’ (Hsch.) is formally impossible, unless Latīn has *lem- and Gr. *lm-. The further connection with Baltic and Celtic forms made by IEW (Lith. lemōti ‘to lick’, W. llef, Bret. leñv ‘voice, cry’) is gratuitous. In view of the meaning and the imperfect formal correspondence, it is more likely that Greek and Latin have both borrowed a non-IE (e.g. Anatolian/Etruscan) denomination for these spirits.


lēnis ‘soft, mild, easy, calm, moderate’ [adj. i] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: lēnīre ‘to appease, mitigate’ (Pl. +), lēnitās ‘mildness’ (Ter. +), lēnitūdō ‘id.’ (Pac. +); délēnīre ‘to soothe down, bewitch’ (Pl. +), délēnīmentum ‘blandishment, consolation’ (Afran. +), délēnificus ‘soothing’ (Pl. +).

PIt. *lēni-. PIE *leh₁-n(o/i)- ‘lazy, slow’. IE cognates: Lith. lēnas, Latv. lēns, lēns ‘lazy’, OCS lēm, Ru. ljānoj (dial.) / lenoį (dial.), OCz. léný, SCR. lijen ‘lazy, slow’ < BSl. *leʔnos / *lēnos < PIE *leh₁-(e)n-.

The semantic proximity of ‘soft, calm’ to ‘lazy, slow’ is close enough to retain the connection with BSl. *lēnos ‘lazy’. The i-stem in Latin has apparently replaced an earlier o-stem (as in hilaris / hilarus, and viridis for *viridus). It is also possible that lēnis was built on an original n-stem *leh₁-n-, since the BSl. hesitation between acute and circumflex may be explained in this way: *leh₁-n- yielded an acute root, but *leh₁-e/on- a circumflex.

lēnō ‘brothel-keeper’ [m. n] (Pl.+

Derivatives: lēna [f.] ‘brothel-keeper’ (Pl.); lēnōnius ‘of a pander’ (Pl.), lēnǔlus ‘pander’ (Pl.), lēnuńculus ‘id.’ (Pl.), lēnōginium ‘brothel-keeping, allurement’ (Pl.+

WH and Leumann 1977: 284f. regard lēna as older than lēnō, but the texts give no such hint, and derivationally it is unconvincing. Several interpretations are possible. The vacillating suffixes could represent different remodellings of an original n-stem, for instance *lēn- ‘who lets’ < *lēh₂-ōn, -on-, -n-. This stem could be identical to the possible n-stem identified as the source for the adj. lēnis ‘calm’, BSL. *lēno- ‘lazy’.

Bibl.: WH I: 782, EM 351. → lēnis

lēns, -endis ‘nit’ [f. d] (Plinius+)

Plt. *dlind-?

PIE *d ś (o)n-i-d- ‘nit’. IE cognates: OLr. sned [f.], W. nedd, nedden, Co. nedhen [sing.], Bret. nez, nezzenn < PCL. *snidā- ‘nit’; Gr. κονίδες ‘eggs of lice, nits’ [f.pl.], Arm. anic ‘louse’ < *Hnid- < *knid-?; Alb. (Geg) thēnī < *kon-íd-; Lith. glinda, Latv. gnīda, Ru. gnīda, Scr. gnīda, Sln. gnīda ‘nit’ < BSL. *gnī?daī < *knid- < PIE *knid-; OE hnitu [f.], OHG (h)niz ‘nit’ < *knid-.

The IE cognates differ in anlaut to such an extent that the reconstruction of one PIE preform is very difficult. Gr. and Alb. reflect *konid-, while Gm., Slavic, and, with some special pleading, also Armenian, reflect *knid-. These two forms obviously seem related. In Baltic, we find a second nasal after *i, and (probably) dissimilation of the first *n to *l. Like Baltic, Latin also has a postvocalic nasal, but the first nasal has disappeared. A problematic feature is the vowel e, since PIE *e is often raised to i in Latin before nC, but *i never appears to be lowered in front of nasals. Finally, Celtic *snid- is comparable to Latin in that it has a dental obstruct in front of -n- while Latin has l-, which also has a dental point of articulation. In order to explain the Italo-Celtic forms from the stem *knid-, one might assume influence from other nouns for small insects (for lēns one may think of PIE *luHs- ‘louse’ – unattested in Italic), but, alternatively, there could also be a phonetic reason. For instance, if PIE had an initial consonant cluster, e.g. *dknīd-, this could have been dissimilated in various ways: Italic *dknī-n-d- > *dkлин- > *dlind- > regular *lind-; Celtic *dknīd- > *dnid- > *snid-. Armenian anic, with irregular an- < *kn-, may then reflect *dknīd- > *chnid- > *hjnid- > *anid- (but one would expect *enid-). The noun may be related with PIE *knid- ‘to scratch’ as reflected in Gr. κνίζω ‘to prick, irritate’, OItc. hnita ‘to thrust’.

Bibl.: WH I: 783, EM 351, IEW 436f., 608, LIV *knei∂-. → nīdor

lēns, -tis ‘lentil plant, lentil’ [f. (m.) i] (Cato+; acc.sg. lentim, abl.sg. lentī, nom.pl. lentīs)

IE cognates: Gr. λάδιορος ‘pulse, chickling’, OCS lešta, Ru. ljač, OHG linsa ‘lentil’.

The similarity between Slavic, Gm. and Latin seems too great to be coincidental, but a common preform cannot be reconstructed. Like other agricultural terms, ‘lentil’ may have been borrowed from a non-IE language in Europe.

Bibl.: WH I: 783, EM 351.
**lentus** 'pliant, flexible; tough; sticky; slow' [adj. o/o] (Pl.)

Derivatives: *lentère* 'to proceed slowly' (Lucil.).

Pit. *lento-* 'soft'.


Bibl.: WH I: 784, EM 351f., IEW 677.

**lepōs, -ōris** 'charm, grace' [m. r] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: *lepūdus* 'charming' (Pl.), *illepūdus* 'lacking grace' (Pl.), *perlepīdē* 'very charmingly' (Pl.); maybe *lapit* 'causes pain or grief' (Pacuv. and Paul ex F.).

Pit. *lep-i-po- 'peeled; charming?; *lop-i- 'to peel'?

PIE *lep-os- [n.] and/or *le/op-i- 'peel, rind'. IE cognates: Gr. λέπω 'to peel', λεπτός 'peeled, unveiled; thin, delicate', λεπτίς, λοπίς 'rind, peel', λοπός [m.] 'scale, rind', λεπός 'scaly, coarse'; Alb. *lapē' 'rag, leaf; Lith. *lapas* 'leaf', Latv. *lapa* 'leaf', Ru. *lëpest* 'petal'; Lith. *lepūs* 'weak, soft'.

These words disappear from usage after Cicero. Whether *lepōs* was the derivational basis for *lepūdus*, or vice versa, is uncertain. Stiiber 2002: 67 opts for the second solution because of the meanings: The rare form *lapit* could only belong here if from *lopit* (cf. *lanius* maybe from *lomio-). The semantics could then be interpreted as 'peels off, unveils' > 'affects, damages'. The semantic connection with the Gr. words is not compelling, but the change in meaning of Gr. λεπτός from 'peeled' to 'refined' renders the change of Lat. *lepōs* from 'what has been peeled' to 'refinement' conceivable.

Bibl.: WH I: 785, EM 352, IEW 678, Stiüber 2002: 67, LIV *lep-.

**lepus, -ōris** 'hare' [m. r] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: *lepūrīmus* 'of/like a hare' (Varro +), *lepūrorīrium* 'game-preserve for hares' (Varro), *lepusculus* 'small hare' (Varro +).

According to Pliny, Gr. λῆβηρίς 'rabbit' is from Massilia. This has given rise to the idea that *lepus* is an Iberian loanword in Latin, which is possible but not certain: it could also belong to the substrate in Italy itself. Not of Indo-European origin.

Bibl.: WH I: 775, 786, EM 346, 352.

**lessus** 'funeral lamentation' [m./n.? u/o?] (Lex XII, Cic. *lessum* [acc.sg.])

No etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 787, EM 352.

**lētum** 'death' [n. o] (Pl.)

Pit. *lēto-.

PIE *le-h₁-to- [n.]. IE cognates: OCS *lětb* 'it is possible, allowed' [f.], Ru. *let' (arch.) 'it is possible, allowed' < *leh₁-ti-; OCS *lěto* 'summer, year', Ru. *lēto* 'summer, (pl.)
levir

levir/laevir ‘husband’s brother’ [m. o (r)] (Paul. ex F. +)

Only attested in glosses, with vacillating spelling lae- / le-. The latter would allow for an interpretation as levir, with monophthongization of ae.

Plt. *daiwēr.

PIE *deh₂i-uer- ‘husband’s brother’. IE cognates: Skt. devār-, Pashto lēvar, Gr. δῆρ, Arm. taygr, Lith. dieveris / dieveris, Latv. diēveris, Ru. дēver’, SCR. djēvēr < BSL. *daiwēr-; OHG ziēhhur, OE täcor ‘husband’s brother’ < PGm. *taïkura- (?)

Lat. lēvir is often regarded as a loanword from a non-urban Latin dialect, because of initial l- and ē for *ai. But l- for d- is also found in lingua and lacrima, so there is no compelling reason to regard this as non-urban. Final -vir instead of -ver is probably due to influence of Lat. vir ‘man’. In theory, the PIE noun *deh₂i-uer- ‘husband’s brother’ could be a derivative of *deh₂i- ‘to distribute’, but there is no obvious semantic connection.


levis ‘light in weight, slight, weak’ [adj. i] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: levitās ‘lightness’ (Lucr.+), levāre ‘to relieve, lessen, lift up’ (Pl.+); sublevāre ‘to alleviate, assist’ (Varro+); levīfīduš ‘untrustworthy’ (Pl.), levīpes ‘light-footed’ (Var.+), levīsommus ‘sleeping lightly’ (Lucr.).

Plt. *legu- >> *legwī-.


There appear to be two PIE forms of the root, *h₁legʷh- and *h₁legʰ-; Latin continues the latter one. PCL. has *lag-u- (cf. Schrijver 1995: 302-305), which is difficult to explain from either of these PIE forms, but seems closest to Latin levis. The shift from *gʷh to *gʰ in (Italo-)Celtic can be due to delabialization in front of *-u-. The nasalless root would then seem oldest, and the *-n- found in most languages must be secondary; EIEC explained it from influence of the PIE verb *h₁lengʷh- ‘to move fast, easily’ (Skt. rāmhate ‘hastens’, Ofr. ·ling ‘to leap’). Like most u-stem adjectives, levis was remade into an i-stem in Latin.


levis ‘smooth’ [adj. i] (Cato+)

Derivatives: lēvāre ‘to polish’ (Varro+), lēvāmentum ‘a means of obtaining a smooth
surface’ (Varro), *levigare* ‘to make smooth’ (Varro+), *levitas* ‘smoothness’ (Varro+), *levor* ‘id.’ (Lucr.-l··)*

Following Schrijver, we may assume that *levis* is an old *u*-stem adj. From a preform PIE *leh₁-i-u-* we can explain the result *léju- > *léiw-i- > lèvis* by normal syllabification rules. Most of the other connections within Latin which were proposed (especially with *limo* and with *limus*) must then be discarded; but *ob-liviscor* ‘to forget’ may still be cognate.


### lex, legis ‘law’ [f. g] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *légare* ‘to send as an envoy, bequeath’ (Lex XII+), *légātus* ‘envoy, deputy’ (Pl.+); *légitimus* ‘legal, legitimate’ (Varro+); *collēga* [m.] ‘colleague, fellow’ (Pl.+, *collēgium* ‘guild, board’ (Pl.+); *ablégare* ‘to send away on a mission’ (Pl.+), *allégare* ‘to send as a representative, employ’ (Pl.+), *allégātus, -ās* ‘instigation’ (Pl.+), * délégare* ‘to appoint, assign a task to’, *relégare* ‘to banish’ (Cic.); *légerupa* [m.] ‘law-breaker’ (Pl.), *légerupiō* ‘law-breaking’ (Pl.).


PIE *lég*- ‘collection’?

The verb *légare* and its compounds all have a meaning which involves a ‘task, assignment’, and can therefore be interpreted as derivatives of *léx* ‘law’. The Plt. root noun *lég- ‘law’ can be interpreted as a ‘collection’ of rules. Whether the root noun existed already in PIE is uncertain for lack of precise cognates.


### liber, -brī ‘bark of a tree; book’ [m. o] (Pl.+

Derivatives: *libellus* ‘document, pamphlet’ (Pl.+), *libellīō* ‘bookseller’ (Varro+); maybe Paul. ex F. 73 délibrātum, hoc est décorticātum.

Plt. *lubro-.*


Since several IE languages show forms in *lub⁴-* meaning ‘bast, leaf’, *liber* has been reconstructed as *lubro-*, and compared with the vacillation in Latin between *lubet*
and liber, clupeus and clipeus. For liber, however, no form in -u- is attested. Still, for want of a better alternative, we may surmise that liber is cognate with *lubh- and goes back to a PIE word or a European word 'leaf, rind'.


liber ‘free’ [adj. o/a] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: libērāre ‘to free, release’ (Pl.+), libertālis ‘of free men, generous’ (Naev.+), libertātīs ‘generosity’ (Ter.+), liberātor ‘one who sets free’ (Pl.+); libertās ‘freedom’ (Naev.+), libertus [m.] ‘freedman’ (Pl.+), liberta ‘freedwoman’ (Pl.+), libertina ‘freedwoman’ (Pl.+), libertinus ‘freedman’ (Pl.+); Liber, -erī ‘Italian god of vegetation’ (Andr.+).


The spellings loebesum and loebertatem adduced by Varro and Paul. ex F. confirm the diphthong -oi- found in Faliscan, and show a phonetic change in Latino-Faliscan of *louβ- > *loīβ-. This can be explained as a dissimilation of u to i in front of the bilabial fricative. Leumann explains libertus as a backformation to libertas on the model of honestus vs. honestas. The BSIL and GM noun *h₁leudh- ‘people’ derives from a verb *h₁leudh- ‘to grow’; the deity Liber shows that *h₁leudh- originally meant ‘to grow’ in Latin too. The derived adj. *h₁leudh-ero- originally indicated one ‘belonging to the people’, hence ‘free’ in Latin liber and Gr. ἔλευθερος. The change of the pl. liberī to ‘children’ is explained by Benveniste (1969 I: 324) from legal terminology, in which the legitimate ‘children’ of a free couple were denominated as ‘free ones’.


libet ‘it is pleasing’ [v. II (impers.), pf. libuit / li/hubitum est] (Pl.); the older variant is lubet

Derivatives: libērē ‘to be willing’ (PL), lu/libēns ‘pleased, willing’ (Andr.+; lub- mainly in inscr. from outside Rome), lu/libentia ‘pleasure’ (Pl.+), Libentia ‘title of Venus’ (Varro+), lu/libidō [f.] ‘desire, lust’ (Pl.+), libidinitās ‘lustfulness’ (Lab.); prōlubium ‘desire’ (Naev.+); allūbēsic ‘is pleasing’ (Pl.+); Lat. -libet ‘any, whichever’ in quilibet ‘whoever/whatever you please’, etc.

Plt. *lubh- ‘to desire’. It. cognates: O. loufir ‘or’ [pr.sb.impers.] < *loubh-æ/i-r.

PIE *lubh-eh- ‘to please’. IE cognates: Skt. lohbhāya- ‘to make crazy’, pf. lulobha ‘is in disorder’, MoP āluftan ‘to be tangled, be hit down, be in love’ < IIr. *l(a)ubh-; OCS
ljubò ‘sweet, pleasant’, Ru. ljubój ‘any, either’ < *leubʰ-o-, CS ljuby [f.], gen.sg. ljubovь ‘love’ < *leubʰ-uH, OCS ljubo, Ru. либо ‘or’; OCS ljubiti, Ru. ljubit’ ‘to love’ < *leubʰ-; Go. liufs, OHG liub [adj.] ‘sweet, sweet’.

Original *u has been unrounded between velarized l and b. The suffix of the derived noun probably was *-ēdon (from the v. *lub-ē-) but it was influenced by cupīdo. For the semantics of O. loufir and Lat. -libet ‘any’, cf. OCS ljubo ‘or’. The original meaning of O. loufir may have been ‘is wanted, one wants’.


Libо, -ître ‘to pour a libation’ [v. I] (Andr.+) Derivatives: libāmentum ‘sacrificial offering, taste’ (Varro+), libum ‘sacrificial cake’ (Enn.); délibāre ‘to remove, take a small piece from’ (Enn.+), délibūtus ‘thickly smeared, imbued’ (Pl.+).


Steinbauer 1989: 120-122 regards libāre as an original denominal verb ‘to make a sacrificial cake’ to libum. It is uncertain, then, whether the noun continues *leib- or *loib-, with the change of *oi > i between velar l and a labial. The ppp. délibūtus has short i; it indirectly points to a denominal verb *dēlibūere to an adj. *libu- ‘greasy, dripping’. Gr. λείψω ‘to pour’ and λουβή ‘offering’ are not cognate, but have undergone the same semantic shift(s). The root *h₂libʰ- which libum and Gr. ἀλείφω share might be an enlarged variant of *h₂li- ‘to anoint’, ἀλειφάρ ‘unguent’.


Libra ‘pound (measure of weight) (Lex XII, Pl.+)’ pair of scales (Varro+)’ [f. ā] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: librāre ‘to make level, balance’ (Cato+), librārius [adj.] ‘of a pound’s weight’ (Cato+), libella ‘small silver coin; plumb-line’ (Pl.+); sēlibra ‘half a libra’ (Cato+), simbella ‘a coin worth half a libella’ (Varro); collibāre ‘to measure’ (Cato), déliberāre ‘to consider carefully, consult’ (Pl.+); libripēns, -ndis ‘one who holds the balance’ (Lex XII+).

Pit. *leiбра- ‘pound’.

Déliberāre must be due to influence of liberāre ‘to free’ on *dē-librāre ‘to weigh’. The weight sēlibra was probably derived from libra on the model of sēmodius ‘half a modius’ < *sēmi-modius. Libella < *librala. Simbella < *sembella < *sēmbella < *sembella, with haplology < *sēmilibella. The Greek coin λίτρα ‘name of a Sicilian coin’ was probably borrowed from an Italic language at the stage containing *-dr-. In theory, an etymon with the PIE suffix *-dr̩ro- is possible, but the root is unidentified. Of course, a coin may well be a loanword.

licet, licēre 'it is permitted' [v. II; licitum est] (Naev.+
Derivatives: licēre 'to fetch (a price)' (Pl.+), licēri, licītus sum 'to make a bid' (Pl.), licītāri 'to make a bid, compete' (Pl.+), licentia 'freedom, licence' (Pl.+), licentiātus, -ūs 'permission' (Lab.); pollīcēri 'to promise; offer' (Pl.+), pollīcētāri 'to promise (assiduously)' (Pl.+), pollīcētārio 'promise' (Pl.); ćīcet 'you may go; that's the end!' (Pl.+), scīcēt 'obviously, to be sure' (Pl.+), vidēcēt 'evidently, of course' (Pl.+).

Plt. *lik-e- 'to be available, have the value of'. It. cognates: O. likitūd, licitūd [3s.ipv.II] 'it is permitted' (borrowed from or calqued on Latin); maybe O. λευκετη [3s.pr.?] < *lik-ē-ti.
The verb licētāri is the frequentative to licet. The form ćīcet < ěre licet contains the infinitive plus licet. The original meaning of *likē- seems to have been 'to be available, be offered for sale, have the value of'. The deponent is interpreted as 'to make oneself available', whence 'offer, promise, make a bid' by Nussbaum 1994: 171. There are no certain cognates of the root *lik- outside Italic.


licium 'thread, cord' [n. o] (Lex XII, Lucil.+
Derivatives: bilix, -īcis 'having a double thread' (Verg.), trilīx, -īcis 'having a triple, thread' (Verg.).

Eichner 1995: 68f. interprets the form louiquiod on the Forum cippus as a mistaken rendering of *loiquiod = *loikwiōd, abl.sg. of *loikwio- 'thread'. No IE etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 798, EM 357, IEV 307-309. → oblāquis

liēn, -ēnis 'spleen' [m. n] (Pl.+; nom.sg. liēn (Prisc.); nom.sg. liēn, -ēnis (Pl.) with iambic shortening
Derivatives: liēnōsus 'affected by a disorder of the spleen' (Pl.+).

Plt. *liēnēn-.


Long -ē- is claimed by grammarians (Servius, Priscian) and said to be attested in the writer Serenus (4th century AD), but the Plautine occurrences of liēn(-) can be read either as two shorts or as a long syllable with synizesis (M. Weiss, p.c). In Italic, PIE *splīgh- was apparently replaced by *(s)lijkh-, maybe for reasons of taboo; but the model for introducing -i- is unknown.


lignum 'wood' [n. o] (Pl.+
Derivatives: ligneus 'wooden' (Pl.+), ligneolus 'id.' (Lucil.+), lignārī 'to collect firewood' (Pl.+).

Plt. *legno-.

PIE *leg-.
If derived from *leg- ‘to collect’, lignum must originally have indicated ‘wood collected for firemaking’, from the root *leg- ‘to collect’. The full grade might have been adopted from the present. The phonetic change of *-egn- [ẽm] > -ign- is regular. Ritter 2004 prefers to derive lignum from *leg- ‘to lie’, as ‘stray wood’. Both etymologies seem equally possible.


ligō, -āre ‘to fasten, bind’ [v. I] (Cat. +)

Derivatives: alligāre ‘to tie, fetter’ (Pl. +), colligāre ‘to tie up’ (Naev. +), dēligāre ‘id.’ (Pl. +), obligāre ‘to tie up, assign, oblige’ (Pl. +), praeligāre ‘to tie round, fasten’ (Pl. +), religāre ‘to make fast, tie out of the way’ (Andr. +), subligāre ‘to fasten, gird up’ (Cato +), subligācem ‘sort of loin-cloth’ (Varro +); līctor ‘attendant to a magistrate’ (Pl. +); religiō ‘taboo, impediment, sanction; religious practice’ (Pl. +), religiōsus ‘scrupulous, devote, religious’ (Pl. +).

Plt. *-lig-ā-.

PIE *lig- ‘to tie’? IE cognates: Alb. lidh ‘to tie’.

The appurtenance of līctor and of religiō to this verb is uncertain. The fact that the simplex ligāre does not occur before Catullus, all the earlier verbs being compounds, suggests a basis *lig-e/o- or *leg-e/o-. Semantically, the root *lig- ‘to tie’ is a more likely source. Rather than being a denominal verb, *-lig-ā- seems to be of the factitive type (capere – occupāre). Apart from Alb. lidh, which can be explained in various ways, there are no certain cognates.

Bibl.: WH I: 800, EM 357f., 569, IEW 668, LIV *leg-.

lilium ‘lily’ [n. o] (Varro +)

Probably a borrowing from an (eastern) Mediterranean language, compare in the first place Gr. λίττον ‘lily, narciss’. A similar designation is Coptic hrēri, hlēli ‘lily’.

Bibl.: WH I: 801, EM 358.

lima ‘(carpenter’s) file’ [f. ā] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: līmāre ‘to rub smooth, polish’ (Andr. +).

The etymology accepted by WH and IEW connects lima with lēvis ‘smooth’ and OHG slīm ‘mud, slime’, sfīmen ‘to polish, rub smooth’, from a root *slei-. Alternatively, it could belong to linū < *h2li-n-, hence *h2le/o-ī-mh2- (Seldeslachts 2001: 91). But a ‘file’ itself is not ‘smooth’, at most it ‘makes smooth’, which does not fit the morphology of lima < *-ma-.


limbus ‘ornamental border, fringe’ [m. o] (Var. +; Varro also lembus)

Derivatives: limbalūrius ‘concerned with making fringes’ (Pl.).

PIE *lemb-ā-. IE cognates: Skt. rāmbate (RV), čāmbate ‘to hang down limply’; OE (ge)limpan ‘to happen, succeed’; Eng. limp [adj.] ‘limp’, MHG lampen, slampen ‘to hang down limply’; ToB lýama, ToA lýam ‘sat’ [v. pret.].
In view of the phoneme *b, the very specific meaning of *limbus and its absence from the oldest literature, the etymology remains uncertain.

Bibl.: WH I: 802f., EM 359, IEW 655-657, Schrijver 1991: 179, LIV *lembH-.

**îmen, -inis** ‘beam in a doorframe, threshold, lintel’ [n. n.] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: *êliminâre* ‘to go outdors, let out’ (Enn. +); *lîmes, -itis* [m.] ‘boundary strip of land, boundary; road’ (Varro +), *lîmitâre* ‘to define, line off’ (Varro +), *lîmitâris* ‘of a boundary’ (Varro +).


Derived from (the base of) the adj. *limus* ‘transverse, oblique’, possibly *îlîm-en-* ‘crossbar’. *lîmes* can be from *îlîm(o)-it-* ‘going transverse’ (thus WH), but more likely seems a derivational analysis as *îlîmo-* ‘oblique’ >> *îlîm-et-* ‘the oblique one, boundary’.


**limpidus** ‘clear, transparent’ [adj. o/a] (Cat. +)

Derivatives: *limpor* [m.] ‘a clear liquid’ (Lucil.).

Since *limpor* is attested earlier than *limpidus*, the latter may well have been derived from the former by a productive pattern. According to Solta 1967, who follows an earlier idea by Ernout, *limpidus* may be a dialectal (Sabellic) form in Latin, derived from a verb *limp-e-* ‘to be liquid’ << *li-n-k*-ê- (which Solta regards as identical with the root of *linguê* ‘to leave’, rather than from *glink*-). The nasal present of ‘to be moist’ can be recognized in *pol-lingê* (see s.v.), and would then indirectly also be attested for Sabellic, viz. in *limpor*. This account seems possible; but it would presuppose that Sabellic introduced the nasal infix into the stative ê-present which Latin retains unchanged in *liqueô*, since *limp-or* is easier to derive from a pr. in ê-than from a nasal present such as *pol-lingê*.


**îmus 1** ‘mud, slime’ [m. o] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: *lîmâx, -âcis* ‘slug, snail’ [f. (m.)] (Pl. +).

Plt. *(s)le/oîmo-.

PIE *loîmo-* ‘loam’ or *sle/ohî-mo-* ‘slime, slimy’. IE cognates: OS lêmo, OE lâm, OHG leim ‘loam’ << PGm. *laiimâôn-; OPr. slayx, Lith. sliekas, Latv. slieka ‘earth-worm’ << *soiHk-; Latv. slîēnas, OCS slîny [nom.pl.], Ru. dial. slîna, SÇr. slîna ‘saliva’ << *sleHî-n-hû; Ru. slimâk (dialect.) ‘snail, slug’ << *sleHî-m-; OIC. OE MHG slîm ‘slime’. Gr. λείμαξ ‘snail’ (Hsch.) is probably (borrowed from) Latin. Lat. *limus* could belong to PGm. *laiimâôn-* ‘loam’ << PIE *loîmo- (to PIE *hîli-* ‘to smear’) or to BSl. *sloîH-*/sleHî-, PGm. *slîma- ‘slime, saliva’.


**îmus 2** ‘transverse, oblique’ [adj. o/a] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: *îlimus* ‘oblique’ (Pl.); *sublîmen* [adv.] ‘in a lofty position’ (Naev. +),
*sublīmis* ‘high, elevated’ (Naev.+; also *sublīmus* Enn.), *sublīmare* ‘to raise, send up’ (Enn.+).

Plt. *(s)limo-*?

Latin continues *(s)limo-* ‘transverse’ and a compound *(s)ub-lim-i-* ‘transverse from below upward’ with the original meaning ‘upward’ of *sub*. The adv. *sublīmen* originally occurred mainly in *sublīmen auferre* ‘to carry away aloft’ vel sim., and probably represents the acc.sg. *(s)ublīmē* of the adj. None of the cognates adduced for *līmus* in IEW is convincing by its semantics, nor does the vowel always fit: Gr. *λεμών* ‘meadow’, *λιμήν* ‘harbour’, Thess. ‘market’, *λίμνη* ‘lake’; OIc. *limr* (u) [f.], OE *lim* [n.] ‘member, twig’, OIc. *limi* [m.] ‘bundle of twigs, broom’.

Bibl.: WH I: 805, II: 618f., EM 359, 661, IEW 307-309. → *līmen, lītus*

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lingō, -ere ‘to lick’ [v. III; pf. *līxi*, ppp. *līctum*] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: *ēlingere* ‘to lick up, off’ (Pl.+), *sublingulō* ‘under-dish-licker’ (Pl.); *ligurrire* ‘to lick, sponge’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *(s)ling(e-o)-.*

PIE *(s)li-n-gh-* [pr.] ‘to lick’. IE cognates: OIc. *ligi(<s)*, *lig*, MW *lyu*, MBret. *leat* ‘to lick’ < PCl. *(s)ig(e-o)-;* Skt. *ṛēdhī/ṛēdhī* [3s.pr.], ppa. *ṛirhvāms-,* Gr. *λεῖξο>* Arm. *lizanem*, Lith. *liežti*, OCS *lizati*, 1s. *ližo* ‘to lick’ < BSI. *(s)leiz-*, OE *liccian*, OHG *leckōn* < *leīg*-n-.

Bibl.: WH I: 806, EM 360, IEW 668, Schumacher 2004: 450, LIV *(s)leig*-h-.

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lingua ‘tongue’ [f. ā] (Lex XII+; *dingua* Mar. Victorinus VI 26.2)

Derivatives: *(s)lin(g)a* ‘short sword, tongue-shaped object’ (Naev.+), *lingulāca* (Pl.+ ‘talkative person’; *bilinguis* ‘of or with two tongues’ (Pl.+), *ēlinguis* ‘speechless’ (Pac.+), *ēlinguāre* ‘to tear the tongue out of’ (Pl.).

Plt. *(s)ling(u)x(υ)wā-.* It. cognates: O. *fangvam* [acc.sg.], *fancua* [nom.pl.] ‘tongue’ < *(s)fangvā- < *(s)ling-.*


The *l- of lingua has been adopted from lingō ‘to lick’, not from Sabellic, which has *f-.* The form *dingua* is poorly attested, but would match the evidence of the other IE branches. Sabellic *f- presupposes *(s)hn-, which must be due to association with another word in *(s)d-*. (but which?), cf. van der Staaij 1995: 23. The absence of the development *(s)gn^b > b in Oscan suggests that ‘tongue’ had the structure *(s)gn^h^uH- in at least some forms of the paradigm, cf. Weiss 2007a: 368. Kortlandt 1997b: 160 assumes original proterodynamic inflection in PIE; but this does not exclude the rise of, say, a gen.sg. *(s)dngh^-h^-uh2-os at a later, pre-Italic stage. We find tabooistic or simply associative (with ‘to lick’) changes of the phonological form of ‘tongue’ in many Indo-European languages.

linō, -ere 'to smear, seal, rub' [v. III; pf. lēvī, pp. litum] (Cato+)
Derivatives: circumlinere 'to smear round, decorate' (Cato+), ēlinere 'to smear all over' (Lucil.+), oblinere 'to smear over, close' (Pl.+).
Plt. *lina- 'to smear'.

PIE *h2li-n-H- [pr.], *h2li-to- [ppp.]. IE cognates: OIr. lenaid, ḍen 'to stay, glue, follow', W. llũu 'to besmear' < PCI. *lina-; Hit. ḍalina- 'clay (?)' < *h2liH-no-; Gr. ὀλίβευν 'to smear' (Hsch.).

Schrijver (hesitantly) reconstructs a lengthened grade in the pf., whereas Meiser 1998: 88 and LIV explain -ē- in lēvī from contraction of *leja-. Neither of these explanations carries conviction. Seldeslachts 2001: 80 accepts a specific phonetic development *leiw- > lēv- (rather than > lív-), which would explain the pf. lēvī on the basis of a root aorist (cf. Meiser 1998: 86). In that case, litum can regularly go back to a root *h2li- without final laryngeal. For the pr. linō, however, the PCI. cognate *lina- suggests a laryngeal-final stem.


linquō, -ere 'to leave' [v. III; pf. líquī, pp. -lictum] (Naev.+)
Derivatives: délincquare 'to be lacking, err' (Pl.+), déliquō 'failure; eclipse' (Pl.+), délīctum 'misdeed, offence' (Pl.+), délīcua- 'lacking' (Pl.+), délēlinquere 'to abandon' (Varro+), relinquere 'to leave' (Pl.+), reliquiae [f.pl.] 'remnants, remains' (Pl.+), reliquis 'left, remaining' (Pl.+).
Plt. *linkw-(e/o-) > *(le-)loikw- > 'to leave'; -likw-e/o- > 'remaining'.

PIE pr. *linkwe/o-]. Skt. rihka, YAv. pr. irinaxti 'to leave'; Gr. λιμάνω, λείπω [pr.] 'to let, leave'; Arm. lk'anem 'id.', OPr. po-linka 'stays', Latv. likt, Is. lieku 'to leave, put'; Go. leihevan 'to lend'.

The verb forms are inherited from PIE. The older form of reliquis was *reliku vos, as in délīcua-. Similarly, reliquiae < *relikuwia. These, then, reflect -likw-e/o-.


linum 'flax plant, linseed; linen' [n. o] (Naev.+)
Derivatives: linea 'string, cord; line' (Pl.+), lineāre 'to make straight' (Pl.+); linteum 'piece of linen cloth, towel, sail' (Pl.+), linteolum 'piece of linen' (Pl.+), lintēō 'weaver of linen' (Pl.).
Plt. *līnō- [n.]

IE cognates: Gr. λίνον 'linen', OPr. lynnō 'flax', Lith. līnas 'flax (plant)', [pl.] linaĩ 'flax (fibres)', Latv. līni 'flax' [pl.], CS līms, Ru. lēn, gen.sg. l'na 'id.' < BSI. *līnos. The noun linea can be understood as a substantivization of the adj. līnēus 'made of flax or linen', which itself is not attested before Verg. The alternative adj. *linēus is somewhat surprising, and suggests an unattested noun *linto- 'linen' as its basis. The variation between *līno- and *linto- in Latin, to which *līno- from Greek and BSI.
can be compared, makes it impossible to reconstruct a common PIE protoform. Probably, it was a loanword meaning 'flax'.


**lippus** ‘having watery or inflamed eyes’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: lippūre ‘to have watery or inflamed eyes’ (Pl.+), lippītūdō ‘inflammation or watering of the eyes’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *l(e)ipo-?

PIE *l(e)ip-o- ‘sticky, fat’? IE cognates: Gr. λίπος [η.‘fat’, λιπαρός ‘fat, greased’.

One of the many adjectives of physical defect with geminated stop. Might belong to PIE *leip- ‘to be sticky, be fat’, but the semantics are not compelling.

Bibl.: WH I: 811, EM 362, IEW 670f., LIV 1. *leip-.

**liqueō** ‘to be clear, evident’ [v. II; pf. licuī/liquī] (Pl.+

Derivatives: liquor ‘a liquid; fluidity’ (Pl.+), liquidus ‘liquid; evident’ (Naev.+), liquidusculus ‘milder’ (Pl.), liquēscere ‘to become liquid, melt’ (Naev.+); liquī ‘to become liquid, dissolve’ (Pl.+); colliquēscere ‘to melt, liquefy’ (Varro+), eliquēscere ‘to become liquid’ (Varro+), liquefacere ‘to melt’ (Lucr.+), colliquefacere ‘id.’ (Varro+), dēliquāre ‘to make clear, strain’ (Pl.+) eliquāre ‘to purify by straining’ (Varro+), liquāre ‘to make liquid or clear’ (Hor.+).

Plt. *(w)leik-w-e/-o- ‘to make/become liquid’, *(w)likw-'ê- ‘to be liquid’;


The verbs in -āre are compounded factitives to the stative ĕ-verb. The set liqueō — liquor — liquidus is of a productive type; beside liquī < *uleikw-, lique- is probably the old stative. The old nasal present changed to -lingō, see s.v. pollinguō.

Bibl.: WH I: 244f., 812, II: 618, EM 131f., 362, 661, Leumann 1977: 117, LIV *uleikb- → līxa, pollinō

**līra** ‘furrow’ [f. ā] (Columella+)

Derivatives: délīra ‘insane’ (Lucr.+), délīrilāre ‘to be mad; deviate from the balks (in ploughing’ (Pl.+), délīriās ‘insanity’ (Lab.), délīrāmentum ‘nonsense’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *loisā-. It. cognates: possibly O. luisarīfs [abl.pl.f.] month-name (in which the furrows are drawn’?).

PIE *lois-h2- ‘furrow, track’. IE cognates: OPr. lyso ‘field bed’, OCS lēxa ‘field bed, furrow’; OHG leisa ‘track’.

Lat. dē-līrus probably developed from *dē līrād(īre) ‘(to go) off the track’.

Bibl.: WH I: 338, 812f., EM 362f., IEW 671, LIV *leis-.

**līs, -tis** ‘lawsuit; dispute’ [f.] (Lex XII+; arch. Cic. et aliter stlis, inscr. stl.ivč = stlitibus iudicandinis)

Derivatives: litigāre ‘to go to law, dispute’ (Pl.+), litigium ‘quarrel, lawsuit’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *sli-ti- ‘accusation, dispute’.

**liș**
PIE *sliH-ti-? IE cognates: OIr. liíd*,  lii* ‘to accuse’, MW lliw ‘proof, accusation’ < PCl. *lije/o- < *sliH-e/o-, OIr. liethech ‘accused person’ < *lii-ti-ko-.

Joseph 1986 connects stlis with OIr. liithech and the verb liid ‘to accuse’. He reports (p. 122) a suggestion made by Jochem Schindler during a presentation in 1980, to the effect that Lat. stlis, as found in one inscription from the 2nd c. BC, might be older than stlis. Initial stl- could be the contemporary phonetic rendering of the rare sequence sl-, which only survived in archaisms, but had otherwise changed to initial l-. If this is correct, we could reconstruct an Italo-Celtic root *sliH- ‘to dispute, accuse’. OIr. liithech would contain the same nominal ti-stem as Latin. Gusmani 2002 connects Lat. līs with PGm. *sleitan ‘to split’, OHG hari-sliiz ‘splitting the army, desertion’, which would seem to derive from a form in a final *-d-. He is hesitant about connecting the Celtic forms. Yet we also find PGm. *sleīpa- or *slih- ‘bad’ in Go. sleips or sleideis ‘pernicious, fierce, dangerous’, gasleipjan ‘to damage’, so that, if at all related, we may posit PGm. *sliH- with different dental enlargements.


litō, -āre ‘to obtain or give favourable omens’ [v. I] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: lūtātō ‘obtaining favourable omens’ (Pl. +).

Denominative to a noun *līta, which was probably borrowed from Gr. λἰτη ‘request’ < *λιτά, cf. λίσσομαι, λίτομαι ‘to pray, beg’.

Bibl.: WH I: 814, EM 363.

littera ‘letter of the alphabet; a writing; erudition’ [f. ā] (Naev.+; older lītera, disputed by EM)

Derivatives: litterārius ‘of writing’ (Pl.+), litterātus ‘marked with letters; cultured’ (Pl.+).

WH reconstructs *lītes-ā, which would derive from an earlier adj. *lei-to- to the root of līnō ‘to smear’: the semantics would be ‘smeared sign’ > ‘letter’. Yet morphologically, this scenario is completely unconvincing. The ppp. of līnō is lītus with a short vowel, and it is unlikely that from a ppp. *l(e)i-to- an s-stem *leit-e/os- would be derived without other cognate forms.

Bibl.: WH I: 814, EM 363.

litus, -oris ‘sea-shore, coast’ [n. r] (Pl.+)

PIt. *leītītos [n.].

PIE *leit-os- ‘going”? IE cognates: Av. irīđīa- ‘to die’, ppa. irīridus- ‘dead’, Go. ga-leiĥan ‘to go’, ToB līta, ToA līt [pret.], ToB laiţam, ToA letas [sb.] ‘to go away’.

A connection with *leiH- ‘to pour’, as is hesitantly accepted by WH, does not make sense semantically. Somewhat better would be a connection with *lih2- ‘to stop, disappear’ (Skt. -īyate ‘dissolves’, Gr. λίναμαι ‘I avoid’, OE linnan ‘to stop’), but the morphology would remain difficult. The root *leit- ‘to go (away)’ seems to be a better candidate: *leit-os- ‘the going away’ > ‘end, side’.

Bibl.: WH I: 815, EM 364, IEW 664f., LIV 1.*leit-.
litus ‘curved trumpet, curved staff’ [m. o] (Enn.+
Derivatives: *liticen ‘trumpeter’ (Cato+).
Etymology unknown. If the meaning ‘curved’ is original, one could connect Go. 
*lifus, OIr. *lidr ‘member, part, lid’ (thus IEW) and posit *litu- ‘curve(d)’.

līvidus ‘of a dull or greyish-blue colour; envious’ [adj. o/a] (Pl.+
Derivatives: *līvēscere ‘to become dull blue’ (Lucr.+), līvor ‘bluish discoloration, 
envy’ (Pl.+).
Plt. *(s)le/oiwo- or *(s)līwo-. 
PIE *(s)le/oiH-u- ‘plum-coloured, blueish’. IE cognates: OIr. *liw ‘colour’
< *(s)liH-u-; Ru. sliva ‘plum’, Scr. *slīva ‘id.’ < *sliH-ueh₂, OHG slēha, OE slah, 
MoDu. (dial.) slieww ‘sloe’ < PGm. *slaiH(y)aH-. 
Since the other IE languages point to a derivative in *-uo-, the Latin word family
must be based on *līvēr(e) (only attested after Cic.) or on *līvidus, which replaced *
*līgōs. The original ablaut grade of Latin *līv- cannot be determined.

līxa ‘water, lye’ [f. ā] (Nonius)
Derivatives: līxīvus ‘(probably) liquid, flowing’ (Cato+); ēlixus ‘boiled’ (Pl.+),
prōlixus ‘having extensive growth, extended, long’ (Ter.+), prōlixitūdō ‘great length’ 
(Pac.); maybe līxula ‘kind of cheese pancake’ (Varro). 
Plt. *wl(e)ik"so- ‘fluid, flowing’.
PIE *ul(e)ikw-s-.
The noun līxa is probably a f. of the adj. *lixus ‘fluid’ which is contained in the other 
derivatives. This *lixus probably represents an adj. in *-so- to the root of liqueō. In
prōlixus, the original meaning was ‘flowing forth, continuing’, in ēlixus it must have 
been ‘boiling out’.
Bibl.: WH I: 816f., II: 370, EM 364, 538, LIV *uleiko- → liqueō

locus ‘place’ [m. o] (Andr.+; stlocus (Quint., Paul. ex F.); pl. locū/loca)
Derivatives: ilicō ‘on the spot, there’ (Naev.+); locāre ‘to place, award, hire out’ 
(Pl.+), locārium ‘rent for a market stall’ (Varro), locitāre ‘to be in the habit of letting 
out’ (Ter.), locculus ‘small place, box’ (Pl.+), loculātus ‘divided into compartments’ 
(Varro); collocāre ‘to put, set up’ (Andr.+), illocābilis ‘that cannot be married’ (Pl.).
WH and IEW derive stlocus from the root *stel- ‘to place’, but this does not make 
sense morphologically: there is no suffix *-oko-. In view of the possibility that initial
stl- goes back to *sl- (see s.v. *lis), one might also consider a preform *slok-o-. The 
further etymology remains unclear.

locusta ‘locust; lobster’ [f. ā] (Naev.+
The quantity of the first syllable is not completely certain: we also find lue- and lōc-.
The only word similar in form and meaning is *lacerta* ‘lizard; mackerel’, but there is no common preform in sight. Lat. *lacerta* may have unrounding of *loc- > lac-* (cf. *lacus*), but in that case the rounded vowel in *locusta* must be explained from borrowing. Thus, they could be cognate words in the language from which Latin borrowed these forms.

Bibl.: WH I: 818, EM 365, IEW 673. → *lacertas*

**lolium** ‘kind of grass, darnel’ [n. o] (Pl.+

Derivatives: lolleāceus ‘made of darnel’ (Varro).

No etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 819, EM 365, IEW 650f.

**longus** ‘long’ [adj. o/a] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: longē [adv.] ‘far, for a long while’ (Naev.+); longinquus, longincus ‘long; remote, distant’ (Pl.+), longinquitās ‘distance, duration’ (Ter.+), longiscere ‘to become long’ (Enn.), longituōdo ‘length’ (Cato+), longulē [adv.] ‘at a distance’ (Pl.+); perlongus ‘very long’ (Pl.+

Pīt. *(d)longo-.*

PIE *dlongʰ-o-.* IE cognates: PIE *dólugʰ- in Hit. *taluki- / talugai- [adj.] ‘long’; Hit. *zaluknu-* ‘to lengthen’ < *dλugʰ-n(e)u-;* PIE *dlh₁gʰ-o- in Skt. dīrghā-, ŌAv. daraga-, OCS dlugb, Scr. dūg, Lith. ilgas, Alb. giātē ‘long’ (+ *-tā-); Gr. δολιχός (< *dolh₁-i-gʰ-o-?); ἐνδελεχής ‘lasting long, uninterrupted’ < *delh₁gʰ-; PIE *dlongʰ-o- in Go. laggs, ŌHG lang, OSc. langr, MP drang ‘long’. Gr. λόγχη ‘spear’ would theoretically go back to *dlongʰ-o- (if *dl- > l- in Greek), but it is rejected by Beekes (fthc.).

The adj. *longinquus* was probably formed on the basis of *longē* (thus EM) as an antonym to *propinquus*. A major question is whether PIE *d(o)lugʰ- (Hit.), *dolihʰ-, *delgʰ- (Gr.), *dlongʰ- (Lat., Gm.) and *dlh₁gʰ- (Ilr., BS1., Alb.) are different variants of what was originally a compound petrified in the meaning ‘long’ (Kloeckhorst 2008: 819f. compares cases such as MoE high and dry, safe and sound). The first member could be *de/ol(h)i-,* compare Cz. dél (poet.) [f. i] ‘length’ < PSI. *dulb, OCS prodbljō ‘I prolong’, Ru. dlit’sja, Cz. dlti ‘to last’, Ru. dliná ‘length’; the second member containing *gʰ-.

Bibl.: WH I: 820, EM 366, IEW 197.

**loquor, loqui** ‘to talk, speak’ [v. III; ppp. locútum] (Naev.+

Derivatives: loquitārī ‘to talk constantly’ (Pl.+, loquāx ‘talkative’ (Pl.+, loquāculus ‘gossiping’ (Lucr.), loquēla ‘speech, utterance’ (Pl.+); alloquī ‘to speak to, invite’ (Naev.+), colloquī ‘to speak to, with’ (Pl.+), ēloquī ‘to utter, tell’ (Pl.+), ēloquentia ‘eloquence’ (Ter.+), interloquī ‘to speak between’ (Ter.+), obloquī ‘to interrupt’ (Pl.+, praeloquī ‘to speak first’ (Pl.+, prōloquī ‘to speak forth, announce’ (Pl.+), prōloquium ‘axiom, statement’ (Varro+), trānsloquī ‘to go through the whole tale’ (Pl.+

Pīt. *(l)lokwʰ-e/o-.*

PIE *tlōkwʰ- ‘to talk’. IE cognates: OIr. ad-thuchedar ‘gives thanks’, do-thuchedar
‘demands’; Ru. *tôlk* ‘meaning’.

The ppp. *locûtus* must be analogical after e.g. *solû : solûtus*.


**lôra** ‘drink made from watered grapeskins’ [f. *ā*] (Cato+; variant *lôrea* Gell.)

A derivation from *lavô* as *lowerâ*, as proposed by WH, is unlikely for phonetic reasons, since *lowera* would normally yield Lat. *litûra*. For a form *lôra* to emerge, a sequence *low*– would have to be restored, which is unlikely in view of the Plt. unrounding in *lavô*. Morphologically, *louH-ro-* is not very convincing. Semantically, *lôra* could be many things; there is no obvious connection to ‘washing’.

Bibl.: WH I: 821, EM 366.

**lûrum** ‘leather strap, thong’ [n. o] (Pl.+-)

Derivatives: *lôreus* ‘made of strips or thongs’ (Pl.+-), *lôrica* ‘corselet or cuirass’ (Pl.+-), *lôricare* ‘to cover with a cuirass’ (Varro+); *lôripês, -dis* ‘having deformed feet’ (Pl.+-).

IE cognates: Gr. *εὐληρα, Dor. αὐληρα* [pl.], Hsch. *ἀβληρα* ‘reins’ (< *ā-φληρο-?), Arm. *lar* ‘cord’.

Beekes (fhc.) regards the alternation ε-/α- within Greek as inexplicable; he therefore suspects Pre-Greek origin. If *ευληρα* reflects *ηυληρα* (which would not fit the hexameter), Proto-Greek may have had *ἀγλêra*. Theoretically, this might reflect a PIE form *h2e-h2ul-ër-, but the suffixation is strange. Thus, we may indeed be dealing with a loanword, but the ablaut Gr. ē vs. Lat. ō does look Indo-European. Maybe the giving language was a now extinct IE language? For *lôrica*, a separate loanword etymology is often proposed, viz. from Gr. *δώρατα* ‘cuirass’, Ion. *δώρης*, or both could be from an unknown Mediterranean language. Yet WH reject this solution, arguing that *lôrica* was originally made from leather, and hence belongs to *lûrum*.


**lûbricûs** ‘slippery’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)

Plt. *(s)loufro/o-ko-.*

PIE *sle/oubh-rp-* ‘gliding’. IE cognates: Go. *slûpan* ‘to creep, slide’ (with *p < *pp < *-bn*), OE *slûpan* (with secondary ā) ; OE *sliefe* [f.] ‘sleeve’.


**lûcum** ‘material gain, profit’ [n. o] (Pl.+-; *lucrî facere* ‘to make a profit’ Pl.+-)

Derivatives: *lucrifer* ‘bringing gain’ (Pl.), *lucrificâbilis* ‘profitable’ (Pl.), *lucrifuga* [m.] ‘spendthrift’ (Pl.), *lucripeta* [adj.m.] ‘avaricious’.

Plt. *luklo-* > dissim. *lukro-.*

PIE *lh2u-tlo-* ‘seizure, gain’. IE cognates: Gr. *ἀπολαύω* ‘to enjoy’, λεία, Dor. λαία (< *λαφ-ιά) ‘booty’; Go. *laun* [n.] ‘reward’ < *leh2u-no-.*

Short *lu-* would be regular from pretonic *lh2u-* according to the rules of Schrijver 1991: 248f. The PIE basis *h(e)h2u-* found in *lûcum*, as well as in Gr. ‘to enjoy’, Go. ‘reward’, could formally be connected with HIt. *lahu-llahu-* ‘to pour, cast’ <
luctor, -ārī 'to wrestle, struggle' [v. I] (Pl.:+; active luctāre in OLat., dep. luctārī in CLat.)

Derivatives: luctātor 'wrestler' (Pl.+); deluctārī 'to fight it out with' (Pl.).

PIE *lukto-. PIt. *lukto-.

PIE *lug-to- 'bent'. IE cognates: Olr. fo-loing 'supports', in-loing 'connects', MW ellwng- 'to set free' < PCI. *-lunge/o- 'to place', Gr. λύγος [f.] 'withy, twigs', Go. ga-lukan 'to shut', us-lukan 'to open'.

Frequentative verb based on a ppp. *luktos 'bent'. If the etymology is correct, it is striking that there is no (visible) reflex of Lachmann's lengthening in luctor nor in luxus. Since Celtic shows a nasal present, the short reflex may have been restored from this present; but this is speculative, since no trace of such a present exists in Latin.


luxus 'sacred grove, wood' [m. σ] (Pl.+, CIL 1.366 loucom)

Derivatives: lūcar, -āris [m.] 'sacred grove' (CIL 1.401, 1.1730); collūcāre 'to thin out (trees)' (Cato+); Lūcīna 'cognomen of Iūnō, invoked by women when giving birth' (Pl.+).


PIE *louko- [m.] 'light place'. IE cognates: Skt. lokā- [m.] 'free space, world', Lith. laūkas 'field, land', Latv. laūks 'field, clearing in the woods', OHG lōh 'clearing'.

For the derivation of Lūcīna from lūcus 'sacred grove', cf. Leumann 1960.


lūdō, -ere 'to play, sport' [v. III; pf. lūsi, pps. lūsum] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: lūdus (arch. inscr. loed-, loid-) 'sport, play, jest' (Naev.+); lūdibrium 'plaything, ridiculous thing' (Pl.+), lūdibundus 'merry' (Pl.+), lūdicer [adj. o/ā] 'of the stage, of sport' (Pl.+), lūdicrē [adv.] 'playfully' (Enn.+); lūdificārī 'to make an object of sport, play with' (Pl.+), lūdificātor 'who plays with' (Pl.), lūdificātus, -ās 'the teasing' (Pl.), lūdificābilis 'suitable to play with' (Pl.); lūsiō 'play, sport' (Varro+), lūstārē 'to amuse oneself' (Pl.+), lūsor 'player' (Pl.+); allūdīāre 'to play with' (Pl.+), allūdere 'to play, jest' (Ter.+), collūsor 'fellow gambler' (Lucil.+), collūsim 'in collusion' (Pl.+), dēlūdere 'to deceive' (Pl.+), dēlūdificāre 'to make a complete fool
lumbncus 'earthworm, intestinal worm' [m. o] (Pl.+

IE cognates: see s.v. *lumbus.

The meaning 'earthworm' is more frequent and more ancient in the texts than 'intestinal worm'. The only OLat. place where *lumbricus is translated as 'intestinal worm' by OLD refers to the form of the worm: *lumbricus is translated as 'intestinal worm' by OLD refers to the form of the worm: *lumbricus is translated as 'intestinal worm' by OLD refers to the form of the worm: "Ad tormenta et si alvus consistet et si taeniae et lumbrici molesti erunt 'For gripes, for loose bowels, for tapeworms and stomach-worms, if troublesome' (Cato, Agr. 126). The word *lumbrici will have been used metaphorically to indicate the form of the worm plaguing the patient; compare *taenia 'ribbon, string; (here:) intestinal worm'. The suffix recalls *umbilicus (also
situated in the lower belly) and _formica_ ‘ant’ (also an insect). WH assume that _lumbus_ reflects *londr-, and derive the word from a root *Indh-, see s.v. _lumbus_. But since the PIE voiced aspirates normally yield stops after a nasal in all Italic languages, thus bleeding the specifically Latin change *-dhr- > -br- (cf. Meiser 1986: 75f.), *londr- would yield Latin *lundr-. As Latin does not possess a productive suffix -ricus, the origin of _lumbicus_ remains unclear.

**Bibl.:** WH I: 831, EM 369, IEW 960f.

**lumbus** ‘hips, loins’ [m. o] (Pl.; usually pl.)

Derivatives: _lumbifragium_ ‘loin-wreckage’ (Pl.).

PIE *lonbw- ‘loins’.

PIE *londh-u-o-. IE cognates: HLuw. _la-tara/-landri(ya)-_ ‘to expand (a country)’, Skt. _rändhra- ‘loin (of animals); weak spot on the body; cavity’ < *lonh-ro-; OCS _ledvię_ [f.pl.] ‘loins, insides, kidneys’, Ru. _ljádveja_ (arch.) ‘thigh’ < *lendh-; Ofc. _lend_, OHG _lentin_ ‘kidneys’, OE _lend_ ‘loins’ < *lonh-; OIr. _lendem_ ‘loins’ < *lonh-; OIr. _land_ ‘free space’, MW _llan_ ‘area’, Co. _lan_, Bret. _lann_ ‘heath’ < *londh-g2-; OPr. acc.sg. _lindan_ ‘valley’; Ru. _ljáda_, Cz. _lada_, _lado_ ‘fallow land’ < *lendh-; Go. OIr. OS OE _land_, OHG _lant_ ‘land’ < *lonh-o-; Lith. _lendę_ ‘to creep, sneak (into)’.

Goté 1985 has argued that Skt. _rändhra-_ can be connected with _lumbus_ and with Gm. *_landa-_ ‘land’, under the assumption of a PIE verb *lendh-e- ‘to sink, go down’ (Lith. _lenda_ ‘to creep into’) which was adopted as such by LIV. Oettinger 2007 has made the comparison more explicit and has clarified the semantics and the morphology. Adding HLuw. _lata-ra/-landri(ya)-_ to the dossier, he posits an original meaning ‘to enter, penetrate’ for PIE *londh-. This would be continued (in a specific usage) in Lith. _lenda_, whereas ‘land’ in BSL, Cl. and Gm. can be understood as ‘the area which is entered’. The HLuw. verb ‘to expand’, a denominative to *_landra-_ < *_loncfro-_ ‘free space’, could be understood as ‘to make into one’s (own) land’. The Skt. meaning ‘weak spot on the body’ and ‘loin’ would have developed in hunter’s jargon for the spot where a hunted animal was the most vulnerable, viz. below the ribs. This, then, would explain Gm. and Latin ‘loins’, Sl. ‘thigh’. The _wo_-stem of Latin could be built on the _u_-stem *lendh-u- still visible in Slavic. The development *ndw- > -mb- would be parallel to initial *dw- > Lat. _b_.

**Bibl.:** WH I: 832, EM 369, IEW 675, Meiser 1998: 120, LIV *lendh- _→_ lumbicus

**lúna** ‘moon’ [f. ã] (Pl.; Praeneste _losna_)

Derivatives: _lúmula_ ‘crescent-shaped ornament’ (Pl.).


The base *leouk-s- is also found in _lúmen_ and _lústrum_ (see s.v. _lúx_). It might be derived from the _s_-stem *leuk-os-. The word *leouk-s-no- was probably used as an epithet for the moon in PIE.

**Bibl.:** WH I: 833, EM 373, IEW 687-690, Meiser 1998: 62, LIV *leuk- _→_ lúcus, _lúx*
lunter / linter, -tris 'trough, vat, tank; small boat' [f. (m.) r] (Cato+)

No etymology.
Bibl.: WH I: 809f., EM 370.

luō, -ere 'to suffer, make amends for' [v. III; pf. luī (lūī Varro)] (Acc.+

Derivatives: luella 'expiation' (Lucr.), luēs, -is 'plague, affliction' (Cic.); reluere 'to redeem' (Caeceil.).

Plt. *luwelo/o-.

PIE aor. *(e)luH- 'to cut loose', pf. *louH-? IE cognates: OIr. as-loi* 'to flee' < PCl. *eks-luwe/o-; Skt. luni 'cuts off', ālūna- 'not shaved'; Gr. λύω 'to loosen, liberate', aor. midd. λύμην, λύ(ν)το; OE lē [m.] 'sickle'; ToB lywwa, ToA lyu 'sent'. If Lith. liūuti 'to stop', PSI. *levitti 'to diminish, weaken' are cognate, the root was *ih1u-.

The thematic pr. of Italo-Celtic and Greek is probably secondary to the root aorist (LIV). The Latin form lūi might preserve a trace of earlier *lou-w-.


lupus 'wolf' [m. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: lupa 'whore' (Pl.+, 'she-wolf' (Prop.), lupānar 'brothel' (Pl.+), lupāri 'to prostitute oneself' (Lucil.+), lupimus 'of a wolf' (Pl.+), lupinum 'the lupin (plant)' (Cato+), lupinārius 'of lupins' (Cato), lupiltum's 'lupin-seed' (Pl.).

Plt. *lukw'o-? *lupo-?

PIE *ulkw'o- 'wolf'. IE cognates: Skt. vīka-, YAv. vahrka- [m.], MP gurg, Gr. λύκος [m.], Lith. vilkas, Latv. vilks, ORu. völę [m.] < *ylk'o-, Go. wulfōs [m.], ToB walkwe [m.]'wolf'.

The earlier derivation of lupus from PIE *ulkw'o- 'wolf' requires two ad hoc assumptions: metathesis to *lukw'o- in Italic (as is often assumed for Gr. λύκος 'wolf'), and borrowing by Latin of the Sabellic outcome *lupo-. This is conceivable. Alternatively, one could derive lupus from PIE *ulp- / *lup- 'marten' (whence, among others, 'Av. urupi-, Lat. volpēs 'fox'); cf. de Vaan 2000: 289. This would amount to a semantic shift from 'marten' to 'fox' to 'wolf', the latter one maybe by tabooistic replacement of an earlier word for 'wolf'. The disadvantage of this approach is that the stem *ulp- is already continued in Lat. volpēs, so that an additional reflex in lupus would require further special pleading.


lurcō 'glutton, gourmand' [m. n] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: lurcāre/i 'to eat greedily' (Lucil.), lurcinābundus 'eating greedily' (Cato apud Quint.).

According to Steinbauer 1989: 168, lurcō was derived from lurcāre, while from the nominal stem *lurk-e/on- a new verb *lurke/on-ā- 'to be a glutton' was derived. The further etymology is unclear. WH and IEW suggest a preform *hurgiko-, the element
*lurg-* being cognate with MHG slurc ‘glutton’, slurken ‘to swallow’. But since Gm. has different root enlargements (with a labial, we find MoDu. slurpen), and the syncope assumed for Latin is uncertain, this is probably a chance similarity.

Bibl.: WH I: 837, EM 371, IEW 965f.

lūridus ‘ghastly yellow, colour of bruises’ [adj. o/a] (Pl+)

Derivatives: lūror ‘sickly yellow colour’ (Lucr+); ēlūrēscere ‘to become pale’ (Varro apud Non.); lūtum ‘yellow dye, colour’ (Verg.+), lūteus ‘pink, pale-red’ (Pl+). Plt. *(s)louis-? *(s)loiro-? *(s)loito-?

The exact source and etymology are very uncertain. Schrijver 1995: 332 suggests that lūridus belongs to MW lieu ‘light’, MW lloer ‘moon’ < */e/ous-, while Nussbaum 1997: 199f connects it with Lat. īvīdus (see s.v. for IE cognates). In the latter case, Lat. ī- can reflect *(s)loiH-. For the meaning ‘pink’ (not ‘yellow’) of lūteus, see Edgeworth 1985.

Bibl.: WH I: 837f., 841, EM 371f. → līvidus

luscus ‘blind in one eye’ [adj. o/a] (Pl+)

Derivatives: luscìōsus ‘suffering from night-blindness’ (Var+), luscìtiōsus ‘suffering from night-blindness’ (Pl+), luscìniola ‘nightingale’ (Pl+), luscìniu ‘id.’ (Hor+).

Plt. *luk-sko- ‘with partial sight, visually handicapped’.

PIE *luk-(e/o-) ‘to see’.

The derivatives suggest the previous existence of a v. *luscōre ‘to be night-blind’. The nightingale might be explained with haploglossy from *lusci-cania ‘singing in the night’ or ‘blind singer’, but this is speculative. Alternatively, it may be based on an n-stem *lusk-e/on- ‘blind one’. WH hesitantly explain luscus from *nuk-sko-, which they connect with Lith. niūkti ‘to make a dull sound’; Latin would have changed *n- > l- under the influence of lūx. Yet the semantics of the Baltic forms do not match very well. Lat. nuscìtōsus is a variant of luscìtōsus, only attested in Paul. ex F. Fruyt (1986: 162) suggests that Lat. luscus could reflect *luk-sko- derived from the root *leuk- ‘light’. In this respect, compare the cognate PCl. verb *luk-e/o- ‘to see’, as in MW adolfwīn ‘to beseech’, gorlhwīn ‘to expect, observe’ (Schumacher 2004: 459f.); also MW llygat, MCo. lagas [m.], MBret. lagat ‘eye’ < *luk-ati- ‘seer’ (Schrijver 1995: 166). This explanation seems more attractive to me.

Bibl.: WH I: 838, EM 371, IEW 768, Leumann 1977: 556. → lūx

lūstrum ‘ceremony of purification; five-year period’ [n. o] (Cato+)

Derivatives: lūstrāre ‘to purify ceremonially, move round, spread light’ (Andr+); circumlūstrāre ‘to pace round’ (Lucr+); armilūstrum ‘ceremony of purifying the arms’ (Varro+), tubilūstrum ‘festival at which the sacred trumpets were purified’ (Varro+).

Plt. *lūstro- ‘expiation’.

According to WH and IEW, lūstrum ‘purification’ is based on an earlier meaning ‘illumination’ < *(e/o)uk-s-tro-, to Lat. īlux. Yet there is no good evidence for ‘enlightening’ in the meaning of the lūstrum. One might connect it with lavō ‘to
lux 355

wash’ – but still, no clear passages exist which link the *lus-*, viz. that *lus-* was derived from *lus-*, ‘to set free’, Lat. *luo*. The suffix *-stro-* is also found e.g. in *mönstrum*, cf. Leumann 1977: 313.

Bibl.: IEW 687-690, Serbat 1975: 310-312. → *luo*

**lustrum** ‘otter’ [f. ā] (Varro, Plin. +)

Plt. *udrā-.*


The change of PIE *dṛ* to Latin *tr* is regular. At some stage, initial *l-* was added, maybe taken from the verb *lāvō* ‘to wash’. But since an otter is a carnivore, the *l-* may also have been taken from *lupus* ‘wolf’. Otters are known for their playfulness, so that one might also consider influence from *ludere* ‘to play’, viz. at the stage *udrā*. The f. gender in BSl. and Latin (and partly in Greek) is probably due to the generalization of the fem. of the adjective.


**lutum** ‘mud, dirt, clay’ [n. o] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: *lütāre* ‘to cover, with mud’ (Cato +), *lutāmentum* ‘coating of mud’ (Cato), *lutes* ‘worthless, dirty’ (Pl. +), *lutitāre* ‘to drag in the mud’ (Pl. +), *lutos* ‘very muddy’ (Enn. +); *lustrum / lustra* [n. pl.] ‘muddy place, den of vice’ (Pl. +), *lustrō* ‘a frequenter of brothels’ (Naev. +), *lustrāri* ‘to haunt brothels’ (Pl. +).

Plt. *luto-, *lusto-.*


Bibl.: WH I: 839f., EM 371, IEW 681, Schrijver 1991: 241, LIV *leu-*. → *polluō*

**lux**, -ecis ‘light’ [f. k] (Lex XII +)

Derivatives: *lucēre* ‘to emit light, dawn; to ignite, cause to shine’ (Pl. +), *lūcīdus* ‘bright, shining’ (Lucr. +), *lūcēscere* ‘to begin to shine, dawn’ (Pl. +); *lūcubrāre* ‘to work by lamplight’ (Varro +), *lūcubrātiō* ‘work done by lamplight’ (Cato +); *lūculentus* ‘excellent, splendid’ (Pl. +), *lūculentītās* ‘splendour’ (Caecl. +), *lūculentaster* [m.] ‘a kind of confection’ (Titin.); *lūmen, -inis* [n.] ‘light, daylight’ (Naev. +), *lūmināre* [n.] ‘lamp’ (Cato); *lucerna* ‘oil-lamp’ (Pl. +); *Lūcius* praenomen (Sis. +); *allūcēre* ‘to light; be lit’ (Pl. +), *dilūcēre* ‘to be clear’ (Varro +), *dilūcēscere* ‘to dawn’ (Lucr. +), *dilūcīdus* ‘clear, lucid’ (Ter. +), *dilūculum* ‘daybreak’ (Pl. +), *illūcēre* ‘to shine (on)’ (Pl. +), *illūcēscere* ‘to begin to shine’ (Pl. +), *perlūcēre* ‘to transmit light’ (Pl. +), *perlūcīdus* ‘transparent, clear’ (Pl. +), *relūcēre* ‘to shine out’ (Varro +), *lūcifer* ‘light-bringing, the morning star’ [m.] (Acc. +), *lūcifugus* ‘avoiding the light of day, skulking’ (Lucil. +); *illūstrīs* ‘bright, famous’ (Pl. +), *illūstrāre* ‘to illuminate’ (Lucr. +).
luxus

Plt. *louk- ‘light’, *loukeje- ‘to make shine’, *l(ε)ukē- ‘to be light’.


Lat. lūx is a root noun, also attested in vestiges in Skt. The transitive meaning of lūcēre only occurs in Plautus, but may be old. Stative lūcēre has an unexpected full grade in the root which may have been adopted from causative *louk-eie-, or from the root noun (Nussbaum 1994: 168). Lūcubrāre is a denominative of a noun *lūkubro- ‘lamplight’ < *lūkV-ōro-. Lat. lūmen < *lousmen < *le/ouk-s-mn. Lucerna seems to have the suffix of lanterna, but its short -u- is unexplained.


luxus ‘dislocated, sprained’ [m. o/α] (Cato+)

Derivatives: luxāre ‘to spray, dislocate’, luxārī ‘to live riotously’ (Pl.), luxuria/luxuriēs ‘indulgence, immoderate growth, unruly behaviour’ (Pl.), luxuriōsus ‘given to luxury, excessive’ (Cato+), luxus, -ūs ‘extravagant living, opulence’ (Ter.).

Plt. *lukso-.

PIE *lug-so- ‘bent’. IE cognates: see luctor.

If the etymology is correct, the absence of Lachmann’s lengthening must be explained; see s.v. luctor. From an original meaning *lug-so- ‘bent’, we can explain the semantic shift to ‘sprained’ on the one hand, and to luxus [m.] ‘the bending’ > ‘lack of restraining, exaggeration’ on the other. The noun luxuria/-ēs is probably based on an adj. *luxuros.

Bibl.: WH I: 841, EM 374, IEW 685f., LIV 2.*leu(γ)-. → luctor

macer, -a, -um ‘thin, lean’ [adj. o/α] (Pl.+

Derivatives: macellus ‘rather thin’ (Lucil.+), macēre ‘to be thin’ (Pl.), macēscere ‘to become thin, shrivel’ (Pl.+), maciēs ‘thinness’ (Lucr.+), maculentus ‘thin’ (Pl.+), macor ‘thinness’ (Pac.), macrittūdō ‘thinness’ (Pl.); permacer ‘very lean’ (Cato+).

Plt. *makro- ‘long, lean’.

PIE *mḥ2k-ro- ‘long’. IE cognates: Ofr. do-formaig ‘to add, increase’, MW magu,
macerē, -āre 'to make wet, soak; to worry' [v. I] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: maceria 'wall of brick or stone' (Pl. +; also mācerēs Varro+), mācerēscere 'to become soaked' (Catō).

PIt. *mākero- 'soaked / kneaded'.

PIE *meh₂g-? IE cognates: Gr. μάσσω, Att. μάττω 'to knead' (for *μαξιω on the basis of the aor. ἔμαξα), aor. ps. μαγηνα, Gr. μάγμα [n.] 'kneaded mass, smear'; Arm. macanum 'to thicken, stick together'; OCS mazati 'to anoint', CS mazb 'unction' [f.]; Molc. maka 'to smear', OHG mahhon^ OS makon 'to make'.

The attested words presuppose an adj. *mākero- 'soaked' or 'kneaded'. The verb mācērē could be interpreted as 'to soak, soften by soaking', and māceria as 'wall (of kneaded material, clay)'. This meaning would fit PIE *meh₂g- 'to knead' well, but Latin -k- does not correspond.

Bibl.: WH II: 2-4, EM 375, IEW 698, Schrijver 1991: 142, 384, LIV *mag-.

mactus 'honoured; smitten' [adj. o/a] (Catō +)

Derivatives: macte [indecl.] 'honoured, blessed, bravo' (Catō +); mactāre 'to afflict, honour, sacrifice, kill' (Pl. +), mactābilis 'able to kill' (Lucr.), mactātus, -ūs 'sacrificial slaying' (Lucr.); magmentum 'part of a sacrificial animal' (Varro +), magmentārium 'shrine for the reception of the magmentum' (Varro +).

PIt. *mako- 'honoured, blessed', *mak-mn(-to) 'offering, sacrifice'.

PIE *mh₂k-(e/o-)'to make long'.

Driessen (p.c.) proposes a connection with PCL *make/o- 'to raise, nourish' from 'to make long' (see s.v. macer). Latin 'honoured' (e.g. macte esto 'be honoured') could be understood as 'made long, made bigger'. This seems slightly more attractive than a derivation from *mag- as in magnus 'big', since one might expect Lachmann's lengthening to yield *mag-tos > *mactus. The noun magmentum could also have been derived from a verbal stem *mak(e/o)- 'to honour'. Risch 1979 explains macte esto from a contamination of mactus esto and *macte fertō; the denominal verb mactāre he understands as *'to pronounce the macte-formula'. Szemerényi 1989: 29f. regards macte as the oldest form in the expression macte uirtute esto which he translates as 'be (provided) with power (and) virility'. Macte would be the abl.sg. of an i-stem *mactis < *magʰ-tis, while mactus would be the thematic variant *magʰ-to-. This is far-fetched, if only because there is no evidence for the meaning 'power'.

Bibl.: WH II: 4f., 10, EM 376, IEW 708f. → macer

macula 'stain, spot' [f. ā] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: maculōsus 'stained, spotted' (Pl. +).
PIE *smatlo-.
PIE *smh₁-tlo- ‘wiping’? IE cognates: Gr. σμάω ‘to cleanse, wipe clean’, σμημα ‘ointment’ < *smēh₂-mn.

The connection with the Greek verb is possible if *smHtlo- would yield Latin *(s)matlo- > *makulo-. For the likelihood of the first step in this development, see Schrijver 1991: 171. Semantically, an etymology of ‘stain’ as ‘smearing’ is not compelling, but it is conceivable. LIV adopts Chantraine’s suggestion that the Gr. forms with -a- are secondary, and the root may have been *smeh₁-.

Bibl.: WH II: 5f., EM 376, IEW 966f., LIV *smeh₁-.

madeō ‘to be wet’ [v. II; pf. machû] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: madidus ‘soaked, drunk’ (Naev.+), madulsa ‘state of drunkenness’ (Pl. +); madefacere ‘to make wet, soak’ (Cato+), madefactâre ‘to soak’ (Pl.), permadefacere ‘to soak thoroughly’ (Pl.); commadère ‘to become tender’ (Cato).

PIE *madē-. 

The Plautine invention madulsa is said to have been formed invoke mulsus ‘honeyed’, f. mulsa (pōtiō). I agree with Schrijver that the connection of mad- ‘wet’ with Olr. madid- ‘breaks, bursts’ is unconvincing. The Ilr. and Gr. words can be connected under the assumption that Ilr. mad- reflects PIE *meh₂d- (cf. Lubotsky 1981) and Gr. and Latin mad- are the regular outcome of *mh₂d-.


maereō ‘to be sad, mourn’ [v. II] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: maeror ‘grief’ (Pl. +), maestus ‘sad, mournful’ (Pl. +), maestiter ‘sadly’ (Pl.), maestitia ‘sadness’ (Pl. +), maestitûdō ‘id.’ (Pl.), maestâre ‘to make sad’ (Acc.+).

PIE *mais-.
PIE *meh₂is-?

It seems likely that *mais- ‘sad, grief’ is connected with the adj. miser, but no acceptable PIE pedigree has been found. It is possible to reconstruct *mais- < *meh₂i-s- and miser < *meh₂i-s-ró- if one accepts Schrijver’s hesitant conclusion (1991: 248) that pretonic *HI yields short i in Latin. Yet there is no evident candidate for a PIE root *mh₂(-i)-. In theory, it might be an i-present to the root *mh₂- ‘to beckon, give a sign’, reconstructed by LIV for CS manpti ‘to beckon’, Gr. μηνύω, Dor. μανῦω ‘to indicate, make known’, and for OCS namajati ‘to nod, beckon’, Lith. mòti ‘to beckon’ (possibly also in PGm. *mōjan- ‘to tire oneself’, OHG muoan).

Bibl.: WH II: 8f., EM 377. → miser

magnus ‘great, big, large’ [adj. o/a] (Lex XII, Andr.+)
Derivatives: (1) magnitās ‘size’ (Acc.), magnitūdō ‘size, extent’ (Varro+), magnūlīicus ‘splendid, proud’ (Pl. +), magnificāre ‘to prize’ (Pl. +), magnificentia ‘boastfulness, majesty’ (Ter.+), magnanimus ‘brave, generous’ (Pl. +), magnidicus
mala [359]

'boastful' (Pl.); permagnus 'very large' (Lex XII+); dēmagis 'furthermore' (Lucil.+); maior [maior Pl.], -ōris 'greater, older' (Lex XII+), māiestās 'dignity, majesty' (Andr.+), māiusculus 'somewhat older' (Pl.+); maxu/imus 'greatest, biggest' (Pl.+), maximītās 'hugeness' (Lucr.); magister 'commander, teacher' (Pl.+), magistra 'female teacher' (Pl.+), magisterium 'instruction, control' (Pl.+), magistrātus, -īs 'the office of a magistrate' (Pl.+); (3) Māitus [adj.] 'name of the fifth month, May' (Varro+).

Plt. *magno-/ā- 'great', *magjōs-, -jo/es-, -is 'greater', *magisamo- 'greatest'. It. cognates: Ven. magetion 'offering' (?) ; maisteratorbos [dat.pl.] 'to the *magisteratōrs' (cf. Marinetti 2004: 395-399); O. mais 'more', U. mestru [nom.sg.f.] 'bigger' < *ma(g)is-tero-; O. maiamis 'biggest' < *ma-i-mo-.

PIE *mg-no-/a- 'great', *mgjōs-, -jo/es-, -is 'greater', *mgisamo- 'greatest'. IE cognates: Olr. maige 'large' < *magio-, magdae 'vast', māl 'prince' < *mag-lo-; Olr. moigid or mogaid 'to add', MW moi 'to give birth to a foal' < *mog-; Hit. mekk-, mekki- l mekkai- 'much, many, numerous', Cluw. maia- 'much, many' (?) < nom.acc.sg.n. *megh2-; Hit. makkeš-z3 'to become numerous', maknu-z4 'to multiply' < *mgzh2-; Skt. māhi- 'large', mahānt- 'great', Av. maziiiah- 'bigger', more', maziśta- 'biggest', OAv. mazoi [dat.sg.], mazbīs [ins.pl.], YAv. mazānt- 'big', Gr. μέγας, Arm. mec, Alb. madh 'large', Go. mikils, OE micel, OInc. mikill 'large, great, many', ToB māka, ToA māk 'many'.

For maximus < *magisVmo-, see Cowgill 1970: 125. The reflex magnus < *mgno- is explained phonetically by Schrijver by his rule *RDC- > RaDC-. The zero-grade suffix -is of magis is quite archaic from a PIE point of view; see also satis. It cannot reflect *mages, pace Meiser 1998: 195; cf. Schrijver 2003: 61, 65. The noun māiestās retains the suffix variant *-jes-.


māialis 'gelded boar' [m. ī] (Titin.+)

The Roman etymology (in Varro etc.) which states that māialis was thus named because it was sacrificed to the deity māia would fit the morphology, but is suspect for obvious reasons: it may be a mere popular etymology. The alternative etymology as *māsdi-ālī- by Schrijver 1991 connects Olr. māt, māta 'pig', but the morphology remains unclear. Also, it is uncertain that *-sdi- would really yield Latin -i- (or [-ii-]).


māla 'cheeks, jaws' [f. ā] (Pl.+; usually pl.)

Derivatives: maxilla 'lower part of the face, jaws' (Cic.+).

Plt. *smaksla-.

PIE *smk-slo/h2- 'beard, Chin'. IE cognates: Olr. smeč 'chin', Hit. zamakur, zamankur 'beard' < *smok-ur (with secondary nasalization, and z- for *š-); Hit. šamankurant- [adj.] 'bearded'; Skt. śmśrū- [n.] 'beard', Arm. mawrow-k 'beard', Alb. mjekrē 'chin, beard' [f.], Lith. smākrais, smakrā 'chin', Latv. smaks 'chin'< *smok-ro-.
Māla reflects *smaks(Vis)la, whereas maxilla can be from *smakslela, or has the productive suffix -illa. Plt. *smaksle- is explained from *smksla- by Schrijver 1991: 496, with anaptyctic a in front of three contiguous consonants. The a cannot reflect *o with the unrounding of *mo- > ma-, since this unrounding only took place in open syllable or in front of r.C. Leumann 1977 adopts Thurneysen’s alternative etymology as *mand-sla ‘chewing parts’ to mandere ‘to chew’. To its advantage, one may adduce the fact that *-slo- is usually deverbal; to its disadvantage, that maxilla would have secondary -xilla on the example of āla – axilla (also a body part).


malleus ‘hammer, mallet’ [m. o] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: malleolus ‘fire-dart, mallet-shoot’ (Sis. +), mallō ‘kind of tumour on the knees (with animals)’ (Chiron. +); marculus ‘small hammer’ (Lucil. +).

PIE *molH-lo-, *molH-tlo- ‘crushing instrument’. IE cognates: OCS mlats, Ru. mólot, Cz. mlat ‘hammer’ < *molH-to-.

Malleus could be derived from the root for ‘to grind’; for the semantics, cf. Ru. mólot ‘hammer’ to PIE *mlH-. Schrijver 1991 shows that malleus must be an independent formation of Latin: an adj. in -eus built to a form *malalo- < *molalo- (unrounding of *o after m-) < *molH-lo-. In foursyllabic *malaleos, syncope yielded malleus. Schrijver also argues that marculus must be a diminutive of a noun in *-CK. He assumes a dissimilation l > r from *malakelo- > *malkelo- > *markelo-. The original form may have been *molH-ko-. Or, if the dim. was formed more recently, *malalo-kelo- > *malkelo- > marculus. The dissimilation of the first */ to r would have to precede the unrounding *mo- > *ma-, and thus be rather early. Of course, *molklo- could have acquired ma- analogically from *malalo- as above. In view of the parallel formation of *molH-tlo- in BSL, this explanation for marculus seems preferable.

Bibl.: WH II: 16, 37, EM 380, IEW 716-719, Schrijver 1991: 455-457, LIV *melh2-.

→ molō

malus ‘unpleasant, bad’ [adj. o/a] (Duenos inscr., Andr. +)

Derivatives: malignus ‘mean, unkind’ (Pl. +), malignitās ‘meanness’ (Pl. +), malitia ‘vicious character, vice’ (Pl. +), malefacere ‘to do wrong, harm’ (Pl. +), malevolus ‘ill-disposed’ (Pl. +), other cps. in male-.


The etymology given here is proposed by EM. It is semantically fine, but since it concerns a collection of largely isolated words in different IE branches, it remains uncertain.

mālus ‘pole, mast’ [m. o] (Pl.+)  
Plt. *məsdo-.  
PIE *məsdo- ‘pole, mast’? IE cognates: Mic. maide ‘stick’ < *məzdo-; OIr. mātán ‘club, stick’; OHG mast ‘pole, mast’, OE mast.

If cognate with the Gmc. and Irish forms, mālus must reflect *mādos, with *d > l. Schrijver 1991 regards a connection with mās, maris ‘man’ as attrative, in which case ‘man’ must be a metaphor for ‘penis’. The original meaning would be ‘pole, stick’. Although conceivable, I regard this as uncertain. If rejected, no morphological analysis of the Italo-Celtic-Germanic element *məs- remains. It may be a non-IE loanword from the technical vocabulary.


malva ‘mallow-plant’ [f. a] (Varro+)

Probably a borrowing from a Mediterranean language, maybe Semitic: Hebr. malluah ‘name of a plant’. See also the vacillation in the vocalism of Gr. μαλάχη (also attested as μαλόχη, μολόχη) ‘mallow’.


mamma ‘breast, udder; mother’ [f. a] (Pl.; Varro+)

Derivatives: mamma ‘breast’ (Pl.), mammeātus ‘full-breasted’ (Pl.), mammosus ‘large-breasted’ (Lab.); mammula ‘nipple’ (Varro+), mamilla ‘nipple, spout’ (Varro+).

Plt. *mam(m)a


Nursery word, reduplication of labial nasal plus a.

Bibl.: WH II: 21, EM 381, IEW 694. → anus, mätér, nonnus

mancus ‘maimed, crippled (at the hand)’ [adj. o/a] (Pl.+)  
Plt. *manko-?

If cognate with manus ‘hand’, mancus must contain the athematic stem *man- ‘hand’. This etymology would imply a semantic shift *man-ko- ‘handy’ > ‘handicapped, having a defect of the hand’.

Bibl.: WH II: 23, EM 382, IEW 740f. → manus, pecco

mandō, -ere ‘to chew, bite’ [v. III; pf. mandi, ppp. mānsum] (Andr.+)  

Derivatives: mandō ‘glutton’ (Lucil.); mandūcus ‘masked figure with champing jaws’ (Pl.), manducāre ‘to chew, eat’ (Lucil.), manducō ‘glutton’ (Pompon.+), commanducāre ‘to chew up’ (Lucil.); māsucius ‘voracious’ (Paul. ex F.).  

Plt. *mand-n- ‘to stir > chew’.

PIE *mt-n(é)-h₂- [pr.] ‘to stir, whirl’. IE cognates: Skt. mānthanti [3pl.act.], aor. āmanthis-, pr.ps. mathyā- ‘to whirl round, rub, rotate stick to produce fire, shake’,
**maneo** ‘to remain in the same place’ [v. II; pf. mānsī, pps. mānsum] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: mantāre ‘to remain, wait’ (Pl.+), ommentāre ‘to tarry’ (Andr.), permanēre ‘to remain, continue to be’ (Ter.+), remanēre ‘to remain, be left’ (Acc.+); mānsiō ‘staying, lodging’ (Ter.+).

Plt. *m(o)n-e-.


The pps. mānsus (whence mānsī) is a secondary formation; the original form was *mantos, as visible from mantāre. The meaning ‘remain’ shows that manēre probably continues a PIE stative in *-eh₁-; but the morphology of the root is disputed. LIV assumes zero-grade *mn-, but Schrijver objects that we would expect an outcome *menē-. He proposes that manē- represents *monē- with unrounding of *o in open syllable after m; the o-grade would stem from the perfect *me-mon-. For this pf., however, there is no certain evidence in the IE languages. LIV furthermore objects that moneō ‘to admonish’ did not undergo unrounding, but Schrijver (1991: 472) obviates this drawback by assuming that o-vocalism was restored in moneō but not in manē-. Obviously, this is ad hoc, but so is a vocalization *mn-e- > manē-. Sihler assumes that the a in maneō is a replacement for *meneō on the model of habeō, iaceō, placeō, etc., but I see no motive for this replacement: Latin also has teneō, mereō, sedēō with e-vocalism. There is one other conceivable solution, viz. that maneō does reflect *mn-e-, and that the regular vocalization of this sequence was *monē- in Plt., at a stage preceding the Latin unrounding of *mo- > *ma- in open syllables. In particular, initial m- could have played a rounding role in this process.

mānō, -āre 'to flow, pour, run, spread' [v. I] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: permānēre 'to flow through, diffuse' (Pl.+), permānāscere 'to seep through' (Pl.), remānāre 'to flow back' (Enn.+), summānāre 'to flow underneath' (Pl.+); mānābilis 'seeping' (Lucr.), mānālis 'of a spring, of rain' (Varro+).

PIE *māno-?

PIE *meh₂-no-? IE cognates: OIr. móin (for *máin, cf. gen.sg. mana; see Schrijver), W. mawn ‘peat-bogg, moss’, Bret. man ‘moss’ < *māni-.

Denominal to a noun *māno-ā-? Latin *māno- and Celtic *māni- could go back to a PIE root *meh₂-, but no good candidate is available. This connection thus remains isolated.


manus, -ōs 'hand' [f. u] (Lex XII, Andr.+)

Derivatives: manicae [f.pl.] 'handcuffs, sleeve' (Pl.+), manicula ‘small hand’ (Pl.+), manuālis ‘held in the hand’ (Sis.+), mumuārī ‘to steal’ (Lab. apud Gell.), mumuārius ‘thief’ (Lab. apud Gell.), manuleus ‘a long sleeve’ (Pl.+), manuleātus ‘having long sleeves’ (Pl.+), manuleōrius ‘maker of sleeved garments’ (Pl); comminus ‘at close quarters, close at hand’ (Enn.+), ēminus ‘at long range’ (Sis.+); mandāre ‘to hand over, commit, command’ (Pl.+), commendāre ‘to entrust, recommend’ (Pl.+), praemandāre ‘to recommend beforehand’ (Pl.+); manceps, -cipis ‘contractor, agent’ (Pl.+), mancipium ‘confiscation, ownership, slave’ (Lex XII+), mancipiare ‘to transfer, sell’ (Pl.+), ēmancipāre ‘to release, make subservient’ (Pl.+); manu/ip(ū)lus ‘handful, bundle, unit’ (Pl.+), manu/ip(ū)lāris [m.] ‘common soldier’, mani/p(ū)lātim ‘in companies’ (Pl.+); mallu/liae [f.pl.] ‘water in which the hands have been washed’ (Fest., Paul. ex F.); mantēllum ‘hand-towel, napkin’ (Lucil.+), mantēlium (Varro+) ‘hand-towel, napkin’; manubiae [f.pl.] ‘prize-money, gain’ (Naev.+), manubiārius ‘concerned with booty’ (Pl.); manubrium ‘handle, haft’ (Pl.+); manupretium ‘payment for workmanship’ (Pl.+), manu/i festus ‘caught in the act, evident’ (Lex XII+), manifestārius ‘caught in the act’ (Pl.+); manūmittere ‘to free’ (Varro+).


PIE *mon-u- ‘hand’. IE cognates: Olr. muin ‘protection, patronage’, Hit. mani/jahh- ‘to distribute, entrust’ < *mn-ih₂-, OHG munt, Olc. mund ‘hand’, Olc. mundr ‘the sum which the bridegroom has to pay for his bride’ < *mn-to-.

All Latin forms contain the stem *manu- ‘hand’. Schrijver argues that mancus ‘maimed’ proves a stem *man-, but this is uncertain. The nouns manicae and *manulus (in manuleus) are regular derivations, and in comminus and ēminus, we have *-man-. The verb mandāre corresponds with Oscan *manef- from *manu- + *(d’e)-d’h₁- ‘to put’ = ‘to put at hand, commit’. Manceps belongs to capio ‘take’, and manip(ū)lus might be from *manu-plo- < *-plh₁-o- ‘a hand-ful’ (see pleō). For mallu/liae, see lavō, for manubiae etc. see habeō. Lat. mantēllum probably reflects
It is disputed whether the Plt. stem was *man- or *manu-. The only form which seems to be impossible from *manu- is the U. acc.pl. manf, which Schrijver argues to be a consonant stem: *man-ug > *man-Vns > *manuf > manf. Weiss (1993: 46) explains it as analogical to ped-, with which it cooccurred in the set phrase manibus pedibusque 'with all one's strength'. Schrijver compares Olr. moan 'protection' < *moni- and Hit. maniathh- 'to hand over', and reconstructs *mon- for Latin, with *mo- > ma- in open syllable. This seems possible, although the semantic connection with Irish is not very compelling. The closest semantic and formal match is with OIr. mund, OE mund, OHG munt 'hand' < *mn-tô-. The morphology is strange: is Plt. *monu- an original adjective?


Derivatives: mánì (Pl., Lucil.), mánė (Pl.+-) 'early in the day, morning', Mânës, -ium [m.pl.] 'the spirits of the dead' (Lucr.+), Mánia 'the mother of the Lares; (pl.) bogies' (Varro+); immánis 'savage, brutal (Pl.+), enormous (Varro+)'.

Plt. *máno-.

PIE *mêh₂-no- 'good'. IE cognates: Olr. maith, W. mad, Bret. mat 'good' < *mh₂-ti-.

A Latino-Celtic correspondence with regular ablaut, but the root etymology is uncertain. LIV has a root *mêh₂- 'to give a sign, wink', which might have developed into 'be favourable'. But this is very speculative.


marceô 'to be withered, droop' [v. II] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: marceôscere 'to wither' (Varro+); permarcêre 'to be very weak' (Ene.+-); murcidus 'lazy' (Pompon.), murmido 'faint-hearted' (Pl.+-).

Plt. *mark-ë- [v.], *morko- [adj.].

PIE *mrk-ëh₂- 'to be soaked, be weak', *mork-o- 'weak'. IE cognates: Hit. markiië/a-zi 'to disapprove of, refuse' < *mrk-ie/o-; Skt. pr. pra-mryati, caus. marcâyati, aor. mṛksêṣṭa 'to damage, hurt', mṛktó- 'hurt', markâ- [m.] 'destruction, death', mîc- 'the injuring, injure', OAv. mārcâ- / mārâng- [pr.], marâxšaitê [3s.aor.sbm.Š] 'to destroy'; maroka- 'ruin', YAv. mahrka- [m.] 'death', ahu-marâxš [nom.sg.] 'destroying life', Oss. marg 'poison'; Lith. mîktî 'to become weak, soaked', měrkî 'to soak', Ukr. morokvá (dial.) 'quagmire, swamp', MHG meren 'to dip bread into water or wine' < *mërzen < *merk-, Maybe here Mr. brén, W. braen, Bret. brein 'rotten, foul' < *mërkeno-, *mrán(n)i-o-; but these may also contain *br'r-, and belong to OHG braceho 'hound', Lat. fragrō.

If marceô belongs here it must reflect PIE *mork- with unrounding of *mo- > *ma-, or PIE *mrk- with vocalization to *mark- in front of another consonant, or as a secondary full grade (thus Rix 1996: 61). Since murcidus and murmido (maybe a corruption of murcidus) are semantically very close to marceô (see Meiser 1998: 84), and since they probably reflect *mork-, it is preferable to assume *mrk- for the verb.
maritus 365


mare ‘sea; sea-water’ [n. i] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: marinus ‘of the sea’ (Pl.+), sēnimarīnus ‘half belonging to the sea’ (Lucr.), trānsmarīnus ‘of overseas’ (Varro+), maritimus ‘of the sea, nautical’ (Pl.+), mariscus ‘rash’ (Plin.+), marisca ‘large and inferior kind of fig’ (Cato+).

Pit. *mari- ‘sea, lake’, *marisko- [adj.].


Mare has resulted from unrounding of *mo- in open syllable. The adj. mariscus is considered to be obscure, but may well be a derivative of mare. Note that *mor-i- referred to any large body of water, e.g. a lake. Lat. mari-timus may have been modelled on fini-timus and ex-timus. If the isolated Ossetic form is a loanword from Gothic, the etymon *mori is restricted to the European languages.


margo, -inis ‘retaining wall, border, margin’ [m. n] (Varro+)

Pit. *marg-en-.


Schrijver explains margō and marceō from a change *mo- > *ma- in front of r + velar, but see s.v. marceō. Since margō continues an n-stem, we may also explain mar- as the regular vocalization of a zero grade in *mrg-n-.


maritus ‘married, marital; husband’ [adj.; m.] (Pl.+

Derivatives: *maritāre ‘to mate, provide with a husband or wife’ (Varro+), commaritus ‘fellow husband’ (Pl.).

Pit. *maritei- / *marīto- ‘having a young woman’.

PIE *mor-(e)i- or *mor-ih2- ‘young woman’. IE cognates: W. morwyn, OCo. moroin ‘girl, maiden’ < PCI. *moreinā-, MW merch ‘daughter’ < *mer-k-; Skt. mārya- ‘young man’, YAv. mairiia- [m.] ‘scoundrel, villain’, Bac. μαρηγο ‘servant’, Gr. μαρηγεζ [m./f.] ‘girl, boy’ < *mer-jo-; OPpr. mergo, -u, -a ‘maid’, Lith. marti ‘girl, bride (without children)’ < *mor-t-iH-, Lith. mergā ‘girl’ < *merg-h2-.

Derivation with possessive *-to- from a stem *morei-/ *morī- > *mārī- ‘young woman’; Latin shows unrounding of *mo- to *ma- in open syllable. The o-grade can be reconstructed for Latin based on the fact that Celtic and Lith. also have *mor-. No zero grade is attested for the root of this stem.

Mārs ‘the god Mars; martial prowess, warfare’ [m. i] (VOLat.+; Lapis Satricanus mamartei [dat.sg.], CIL 49 (Tusculum) maurte [dat.sg.])

Derivatives: Mārsplet ‘Father Mars’ [qnyl nom.] (Varro+), Māvors, -tis ‘the god Mars, warfare’ (Pl.); Marmar, Marmor ‘Mars’ (Carmen Arvale); Mārtius ‘of Mars, of March, martial’ (CIL 1.1513, Varro+); Māmers, -tis ‘the Oscan form of Mars’ (Varro+).


The forms Marmor and Marmor of the Carmen Arvale cannot be trusted, and are better left out of consideration. WH assume Māvors to be the oldest form, but the Lapis Satricanus now shows that mamart- is older. The extant forms show a development within Latin from *māmart-, which agrees with O. mamert-, via *māuo/ert- (Mavort-, maurte) to Mārt-. The latter change would be regular if interpreted as *māwarts > Mārs (loss of *w between two identical vowels); dat.sg. maurte must be from a different dialect, or maybe shows the development in threesyllabic forms of the paradigm. The o in Māvors must then be secondary. Yet the preceding change of intervocalic *m > *w is unique; it could be interpreted as a dissimilation to the first m-, but it is still completely isolated. Hence, one might consider a foreign origin of the name *māmart-, possibly with a sound in the second syllable which was neither m nor v, written with m in VOLat. and in Oscan.


mās, maris ‘male, masculine; a male’ [adj.; m. i] (Pl.+; gen.pl. marium Cic.)

Derivatives: masculus [adj.] ‘male’ (Varro+), masculus [m.] ‘a male’ (Pl.+), masculimus ‘of the male sex’ (Varro+); sēmimās ‘half-male’ (Varro+).

Plt. *mās-/*mas-.

PIE *meh2-(ō)s/*mh2-ēs, *mh2-es-m, *mh2-s-os?

The ablaut mās vs. maris is explained by Schrijver from an abluting paradigm *meh2-(o)s, *mh2-(e)s-. Adams 1985b: 246 has suggested that mas- in masturbor ‘to masturbate’ contains the same word, the original meaning having been ‘penis’. This would have been used metaphorically for ‘male, man’. According to Adams, mālus ‘pole’ could belong here too. Watkins 1995: 535f. and Katz 1998a: 211f. have suggested that masturbor contains a PIE element *mos(t)- ‘marrow’; but it seems preferable to restrict the development *mo- > ma- to open syllables (cf. Schrijver 1991: 474 and the discussions of marceō and margō above).

Bibl.: WH II: 46f., EM 388, Schrijver 1991: 167f. → mālus

mateola ‘wooden hammer’ [f. ā] (Cato)

Plt. *mateja-.

PIE *mot-(i-?) ‘club, hoe’. IE cognates: Skt. matyā- ‘club, harrow, roller’, mati-kar
mē ‘me’ [pron. pers. 1s. oblique] (VOLat.): acc.abl. mēd, mē (med Duenos inscr., Garigliano Bowl, Tibur base, Pl., Enn.), dat. mihei, mihi, mī, gen.sg. meī.

Derivatives: poss. adj. meus ‘my’ (VOLat.+: Garigliano Bowl meois [abl.pl.m.]).
medeor


PIE acc. *h₁mē, *h₁mē, dat. *h₁megʰio, abl. *h₁med, gen.loc. *h₁mōi 'me'; *h₁mo-[adj.] 'my'. IE cognates: Skt. māṃ [acc.], māyā [ins.], māḥyam [dat.], māt [abl.], māma [gen.], māyī [loc.], mā [acc.], me [gen.dat.encl.]; Gr. ἡμέ [acc.], με [acc.encl.], μοι [dat.]; OCS mē 'me'; Go. mik 'me', NHG mich [acc.], Go. meina [gen.], mis [dat.].

The -d in the abl. can be inherited from PIE. In the acc. it can be the abl. form which was used as the acc. The long vowel will stem from the stressed acc.sg. *me > *mē. The dat.sg. goes back to *mēxei as shown by Umbrian mehe. The gen.sg. mei is really the gen. of the poss. meus 'my' < *meio-, a thematization of *mei, which may be a remake of PIE *h₁mōi [gen. loc.].


medeor 'to heal, cure' [v. II] (Cato+)

Derivatives: medicus 'doctor' (Pl.+), medicāre 'to cure, heal', medicāri 'to cure' (Pl.+-), medicīna 'surgery, remedy, healing' (Pl.+), medicīnus 'of healing' (Varro+-), medicāmentum 'medicament, drug' (Pl.+-); remedium 'remedy' (Cato+).

Pt. *med-ē-.

PIE *med- 'to measure'. IE cognates: Olr. midithir 'to measure, judge', MW medū 'to think, possess, distribute', MCo. medhes 'to say' < PCl. *mede/o-, Olr. mess 'judgement' < *med-tu-, airmed. 'measure'; YAv. vi-mādaiaiata 'they must measure', vi-mad. 'healer, physician'; Gr. μέδω 'to rule', μέδουμα 'to care for, think of', μήδουμα 'to consider'; Go. mitan, miton 'to measure, consider', OE metan, NHG messen.

The meaning of medeor is based on a semantic shift from 'measure' to 'distribute a cure, heal'. For a PIE stative verb (as assumed by LIV) or a frequentative, the e-grade in med- would be surprising. If the intermediate phase was 'to judge' (cf. meditor), medeor and its e-grade may have been grafted on the noun *medo(s)- 'judgement, law' (> modus) seen in U. meřs, mers 'law'. We can then regard it as a stative verb *med-ē- 'to be a judge' > 'to be a healer, to heal' which was formed withinItalic.

Bibl.: WH II: 54f., EM 392, IEW 705f., Schumacher 2004: 478ff., LIV 1.*med-. → meditor, modus

meditor, -āri 'to think about constantly, contemplate, exercise' [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: permedītātus 'well rehearsed' (Pl.+-).

Probably derived from the ppp. *meditos belonging to medeor 'to be a judge, give a judgement' (see s.v. medeor). Hence, *med-ītājel/o- meant 'to judge constantly, contemplate'.

Bibl.: WH II: 55f., EM 392f., IEW 705f., Leumann 1977: 548, LIV 1.*med-. → medeor, modus
meiōd 'central, middle' [adj. o/ā] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: mediast(r)īnus 'servant employed on general duties' (Cato+); dimidius 'half, divided medially' (Pl. +), dimidītus 'halved' (Pl. +); medioxūimus 'middle' (Pl. +); meridiēs 'midday, noon' (Pl. +), meridiāmus 'of midday, southern' (Varro+).


PIE *medi̱i-o- 'middle'. IE cognates: Gaul. Medio-lānum, -mātrici, Olr. mid-(*medhu-) 'mid-', Mr. mide 'middle', OIr. i-mmedōn 'in medio', Skt. mādhyā-, OAv. maidīa-, YAv. maiḍiia- 'middle', Gr. μέσος, μέσσος [adj.] 'middle', OIC. midr, OHG mitti [adj.] 'located in the middle'.

Lat. dimidius < *dis-medius. Wachter 2004: 377 explains medioxumus as *medi-o- + *ksomo- 'earth' < *dʰgʰomo-, but there is no evidence that PIE *dʰgʰ could yield ks in Latin (texō is not a good example, see s.v.). The adj. is more easily understood as a derivative in -xumus to mediocris, or to in medio (thus Leumann). Since *-dʰi occurs as a recognizable suffix in some adverbs of place (Skt. ādhi 'on', Gr. -θί), it might be hidden in medius. A meaning 'middle' for *me can be supported by Gr. μετά 'with', Go. mib < *me-t-.


medulla 'marrow, pith, interior' [f. ā] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: medullitus [adv.] 'inwardly, from the marrow' (Pl. +).

Plt. *(s)meru-lo-?

PIE *smer-u- 'marrow'. IE cognates: Olr. smiur (u), W. mer, Bret. mel 'marrow' < PCl. *sm eru-, OIC. smjor [n.], OE smeor, OHG smero 'fat' < *smeru̯a-.

Semantically, the connection with *smer-u- is the most attractive one, but it requires a change r > d which is the opposite of what one might expect. It could be interpreted as a hypercorrection in view of *d > r in meridiēs (where it is a dissimilation) and arbiter, arfuisse (where it is often interpreted as a dialecticism). Also, u in -ulla does not necessarily reflect *-u-. Still, the meaning is the same, so we may accept this explanation for the time being.

Bibl.: WH II: 58f., EM 393f., IEW 970f.

meiō, -ere 'to urinate' [v. III; pf. mi(n)xī, ppp. mi(n)ctum] (C. Titius orat. +)

Derivatives: permeiere 'to urinate all over' (Lucil. +); circummingere 'to piss round' (Petr.).

Plt. *meix(j)e-, *(−)ming-e/o-.

PIE pr. *h₁meigʰ(j)e-, pr. *h₁mi-n-gʰ- 'to urinate'. IE cognates: Skt. áva mehanti [3p.act.] 'they piss', amiham [1s.aor.], mehayati [caus.], mihē [inf.], Av. maēza-, Gr. υφεξώ, Lith. myžti, Latv. mīzī, SCR. mižati 'to urinate', Sln. m(ə)žēti 'to flow, trickle, drip', OE mīgan 'to urinate'.

WH regards -mingere as a secondary present form, based on the pf. mīnxī; others, e.g. LIV, regard mingō as old.

Bibl.: WH II: 60f., EM 394, IEW 713, Schrijver 1991: 24, LIV *h₁meigʰ-.
**mel, mellis** 'honey' [n. l] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: *melculum* ‘sweetheart’ (Pl.), *mella* ‘hydromel’ (Pl. +), *mellarius* [m.] ‘bee-keeper’ (Varro+), *mellarium* ‘apiary’ (Varro), *mellitus* ‘honey-sweet’ (Varro+), *mellina* ‘sweetness’ (Pl.), *mellilla* ‘sweetheart’ (Pl.), *mulsum* ‘drink made from honey and wine’ (Pl.+).

PIt. *meli*.


The origin of *mel, mellis* is disputed. Leumann 1977: 213 regards *mell* - as secondary on the model of *fel, fellis* ‘bile’. Sihler posits a paradigm nom. *melid, gen.*melites > *mled, *melites >> *meld, melides > *mell, melles. It is uncertain whether *i in *meloid would be syncopated, but one may salvage Sihler’s solution by assuming that *melles regularly developed in the gen.sg., and *mell was then introduced into the nom.acc.sg. Meiser reconstructs an n-stem *mel-n- in order to arrive at *mell-; since there is no supporting evidence for an n-suffix, this would imply that Latin secondarily made a new oblique stem *mel-n- to the nom.acc. *mel < *meli. Latin *mulsus* probably has -sus for -tus on the model of *salsus* ‘salted’, but it may also be original *m(o)l-t/d-to- ‘provided with honey’.


**melior, -órís** ‘better’ [adv. r] (Naev.+; acc.sg. *meliösem* (Varro); n. *melius*)

Derivatives: *melius* [adv.] ‘better’ (Pl.+), *melisculus* ‘somewhat better’ (Pl.+).

PIE *mel-i-os, -ios-. IE cognates: Gr. μάλα ‘very, quite’, μάλλον ‘more, rather’ (for *μέλλον?), μάλιστα ‘mostly, quite especially’.

The PIE etymology is weak, since Gr. μάλα shows no trace of an e-grade, and the root is not attested in other derivatives. Words for ‘good’ can have many origins, and are frequently renewed. Alternatively, one might connect μέλω ‘be anxious, care for’, Hit. māl ‘mind’, CLuw. māl- ‘thought, idea’ < *mol- (Kloekhorst 2008: 545f.).

BibL: WH II: 63, EM 394f., IEW 720 → *mulier, multus

**membrum** ‘body part, limb, member’ [n. o] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *membrātim* ‘limb by limb’ (Varro+), *membrāna* ‘membrane, skin’ (Varro+).

PIt. *mensro-.

To B miśa [pl.] ‘meat’.

Most IE forms for ‘meat’ can go back to a n. *mēnso-, but Skt. shows traces of an athematic form *mēs- without internal nasal. It is unclear how -m- entered this root: was the original form a reduplicated *me-ms-? Slavic, Irish and Latin continue *mēms-ro- with the derived meaning ‘body part, membrane’. According to Vine 2002: 333, the original PIE form may have been a collective *mēms-reh₂, from which *mēmsrom was back-formed. Whether Gr. μήρα also continues this noun seems to be disputed; as for the meaning, it would perfectly fit. If PIE had *mēs- in alternation with *mēms-, Greek may have used *mēs- as the basis to derive *mēs-ro- ‘body part’.


meminī ‘to remember’ [v. pf.] (Naev. +; ipv. mementō)

Derivatives: commeminisse ‘to remember’ (Pl.+), comminīscī [pf. commentus sum] ‘to think up, invent, feign’ (Pl.+), recomminīscī ‘to recollect’ (Pl.), reminīscī ‘id.’ (Ter.+), commentum ‘scheme, device’ (Pl.+), commentāri ‘to think about, prepare’ (Pl.+), commentārius/m ‘notebook, record’ (Varro+), recommentāri ‘to recollect’ (Pl.); memor, -oris ‘mindful’ (Pl.+), memorāre ‘to say, tell’ (Pl.+), memorātus, -ās ‘account’ (Pl.+), memorābilis ‘remarkable’ (Pl.+), commemorāre ‘to recall’ (Pl.+), commemorābilis ‘remarkable’ (Pl.+), commemorāmentum ‘reminder’ (Caecil.+), commemorātiō ‘id.’ (Ter.+), immemor ‘forgetful’ (Pl.+), immemorābilis ‘not fit to be repeated; unable to recollect’ (Pl.+); memoria ‘memory, remembrance’ (Pl.+), memorīter ‘accurately’ (Pl.+). Lat. minīscī, and mentus (Paul. ex F.) are not trustworthy.

Plt. pf. *me-mon-, *me-mn-, ppa. *me-mn-os-, ppp. *mn-to-, pr. *men-i(e)-:. It cognates: maybe Ven. metlon ‘offering’ if from *men-ilo-; maybe O. memnim [acc.sg.] ‘?’ < *me-m(e)n-i(H)o-.


The pf. ipv. reflects *me-mn-tōd. The inchoative -minīscī suggests an earlier present formation *men-i- or *mn-ie-, which is confirmed by other IE languages (cf. Schrijver 2003 for the i-present). The noun commentum can be interpreted as a substantivized ppp. The older etymologies (WH, EM) derive memor from the root *(s)mer- ‘to remind’. More recent works (from Leumann 1977: 610 on) agree on a derivation *me-mn-os- > *memnor- >> *memor-. This is more attractive from the point of view of PIE morphology: for *(s)mer-, the only certain reduplicated formation is a pr. *(s)mi-(s)mer-, which would not yield memor. The price we must pay is an ad hoc dissimilation or analogical change from *memnor to memor. Meiser 2003: 47, however, returns to the root *(s)mer-, but does not explain the derivation.
mendum 'physical blemish or fault; error' [n. o] (Varro+)

Derivatives: menda 'fault; blemish' (Lucil.+-), mendāx 'untruthful, lying' (Pl.+-), mendāciōnum 'a lie' (Pl.+-), mendācioliquas 'lying' (Pl.); mendicus 'beggarly, destitute' (Pl.+-), mendicus [m.] 'beggar' (Pl.+-), mendicimōnia 'beggary' (Lab.), mendicitās 'destitution' (Pl.+-), mendicāre 'to beg, be a begger' (Pl.+-), mendicābulum 'a beggar's instrument' (Pl.+-), mendiculus 'beggarly' (Pl.).

Plt. *m(e)ndo-/ō-.

IE cognates: OIr. *menmar 'blemish' (< *mend-rā-), mind 'sign, mark' (< *mđdu?), W. mann 'place', mann geni 'birthmark'; Hit. mant- 'something harming', Lyd. mēli- (something negative), Lyc. mēte- 'harm' (< *mond- (?)].

Probably, menda is based on the old plural of mendum, even if menda is attested somewhat earlier. If OIr. mind is cognate, we have an Italo-Celtic correspondence *m(e)ndo-+-o-. If the original meaning was 'sign, mark', one might tentatively derive the noun from PIE *mn- 'to think', as *mn-d- or as *mn-īdh- ‘to set the mind, be attentive’. Obviously, these are just theoretical possibilities.


mēns, mentis 'mind' [f. i] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: āmens 'insane, frantic' (Pl.+-), āmentia 'madness, frenzy' (Ter.+-), dēmens 'mad' (Pl.+-), dēmentia 'madness' (Pl.+-), dēmentīre 'to lose one's mind' (Lucr.+-), mentīō 'mention' (Andr.+-); mentīrī 'to lie' (Pl.+-), ēmentīrī 'to falsify, invent' (Pl.+-).

Plt. *mpti-.


By its fourth conjugation, mentīre still shows its origin as a denominative to *mnti-.

The meaning 'to lie' derives from a semantic change 'to have second thoughts, be inventive' > 'conjure up, lie'.

Bibl.: WH II: 68-70, EM 396f., IEW 726-728, LIV 1. *men-. → memini, moneō

mēnsa 'table (for sacred offerings, for meals)' [f. ā] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: mēnsula 'small table' (Pl.+-).


The Latin noun is probably the feminine of the ppp. mēnsus 'measured' to mētiōr, which was formed by analogy with pēnus 'weighed' < *pend-to-. If U. mefa < Plt. *mēns-sā- (Meiser 1986: 77) is cognate with mēnsa, its phonological form would show that the analogical participle 'measured' had already been formed in Plt. (cf.
Meiser 1986: 164). In Latin, the meaning then shifted from the offering itself to the object on which the offerings were placed.

Bibl.: WH II: 70, EM 397, IEW 703f., Untermann 2000: 463f. → mētor

mēnsis ‘month’ [m. s; abl.sg. mēnse, gen.pl. mēnsum] (Pl.+

Derivatives: menstrua ‘of a month, monthly’ (Varro+), menstruum ‘menstrual discharge; monthly payment’ (Lucr.+), mēnstruālis ‘lasting for a month’ (Pl.); bimē(n)stris ‘of two months’ (Varro+), internēstris ‘interlunar’ (Cato+), quadrimē(n)stris ‘lasting four months’ (Varro+), sēmē(n)stris ‘of six months’ (Varro+), trimē(n)stris ‘of three months’ (Cato+).


The adj. -mē(n)stris presupposes *mēns-tri-, since *-sr- would yield -br- (cf. membrum). The word for ‘month’ continues a PIE s-stem with nom.sg. in *-s reflected in Ilr., Greek and Italic. It was probably derived from the root PIE *mēh₁- ‘to measure’.


mentum ‘chin’ [n. o] (Pl.+

Plt. *mnto-.

PIE *mn-to- ‘chin, mouth’. IE cognates: W. mant ‘mouth, jaw, beak’, Hit. mēn-[n.], mēna- ‘face, cheek’ < *mēn-ih₁, *mēn-eh₂, Go. munhs [m.], OIC. munnr, OE mūd, OHG mūnd ‘mouth’; OHG mindel, OIC. mēl [n.] ‘mouth-bit of a bridle’.

Possibly cognate with the verbs ē-, prōmineō, which points to a verbal root *men- ‘to rise up, protrude’. An original verbal adj. *mn-to-, used with different nouns (e.g. *geru- [n.] ‘jaw, cheek’), would explain the gender difference between m. in Gm. and n. in Italo-Celtic. Hit. mēni- might continue an old dual, cf. Rieken 1999: 56f.

Bibl.: WH II: 72f., EM 398, IEW 968, LIV 73.*men-. → minae, mōns

meō,-āre ‘to proceed, traverse’ [v. I] (Naev.+

Derivatives: meātus, -ās ‘movement, course’ (Lucr.+); commeāre ‘to go regularly, travel’ (Pl.+), commeātus, -ās ‘passage, supplies’ (Pl.+), praeferreāre ‘to move past’ (Lucr.+), remeāre ‘to return, recede’ (Pl.+); commētāre ‘to go constantly’ (Pl.+); sēmitā[t] [f.] ‘side-path, track, pavement’ (Pl.+), sēmitātim ‘by side-roads’ (Titin.+), trāmes, -ātis [m.] ‘footpath, track, course’ (Pl.+).
merda

PIE *h₂mei-o- ‘to (ex)change’. IE cognates: MW tre-myn- ‘to go past’; Skt. ví mayante ‘they alternate’, ápa mayeta ‘he should loan’, máyas- ‘refreshment, enjoyment’, YAv. fra-mita- ‘changed’, maitha-. [n.] ‘satisfaction, pleasure’; Gr. ὀμείβω (< *h₂mei-g”) ‘to exchange, change’; Lith. mūt ‘to exchange’; Lith. maïnas ‘exchange’; OCS měna ‘exchange, change’; OCS minšti, Ru. minút ‘to pass’, OCS mimo ‘by, past’, Cz. mihet, Po. mijat ‘to pass’.

The verb -meare might be denominal to a noun ‘movement, passage’; a deverbal verb of the type occupäre is less likely, since -meare is intransitive. Commētāre can be from *kom-mej-e-tā-, frequentative to meāre. The nouns trāmit- < *trans-mit- ‘going across’ and sēmita < *sē-mit- ‘going aside’ may show a t-suffix added to the compounded root noun. The etymology is based on the assumption of a semantic shift ‘to change’ > ‘change places’ > ‘go past’ (*mi-n- in BSl., Celtic), ‘change places’ > ‘go on, proceed’ (Latin). The Latin verb would derive from a noun *h₂mei-o- ‘change, movement’, which is not attested outside Latin. LIV reconstructs this root without initial laryngeal, but then Gr. ὀμείβω has to be separated.


merda ‘dung, excrement’ [f. ā] (Hor.+)

Plt. *(s)merd-ā-.

PIE *smerd-h₂- ‘stench’. IE cognates: Lith. smirdētī, 3s. smirdi / smirda ‘to stink’ < *smrd-, smardas, Latv. smařds ‘smell, odour’ < *smordo-o-, Ru. smórod (dialect.), Ukr. smórid, gen. smórodu ‘stink’ < *smrd-o-s.

Latin presupposes a semantic development of a collective *smerd-h₂- ‘what stinks’ to ‘excrement’.

Bibl.: WH II: 74f., EM 399, IEW 970, LIV *smerd-.

mereō ‘to earn, gain (act.); to deserve (dep.)’ [v. II; pf.act. meruī, pf.dep. meritum sum] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: merenda ‘light afternoon meal’ (Pl.+), meretrīx ‘courtesan’ (Pl.+), meretrīcula [f.] ‘courtesan’ (Pl.+), meretrīcius ‘of a courtesan’ (Pl.+), meritum ‘service, reward’ (Pl.+), meritāre ‘to earn, draw pay’ (Cato apud Paul. ex F., Cic.+); commerēre ‘to commit; merit fully’ (Pl.+), dēmerēre ‘to earn, oblige’ (Pl.+), ēmerēre ‘to serve out, complete’ (Pl.†), immēritō ‘unjustly’ (Pl.+), immērens ‘undeserving’ (Pl.+), prōmerēre ‘to merit, deserve’ (Pl.+); Morta ‘Fate’ (Andr.).

Plt. *mer-ē- ‘to earn’, *mor-to- ‘earned’.


Schrijver (2004: 293) considers it likely that the verb is denominal because it shows
e-grade *(s)mer- instead of zero-grade (as in the statives) or o-grade (causatives). Yet denominal verbs of the second conjugation usually are intransitive, and in most cases their derivational basis can still be seen. Thus, merēre remains problematic. One might envisage an original denominal *mor-eie- ‘acquire a share’ with introduction of the e-grade from a noun such as *mer-os- (Gr. μέρος), but this remains a mere hypothesis. Livingston (2004: 9) regards mereor as an original stative verb, because of the equation with Gr. μείρομαι. Livingston plausibly interprets Andronicus’ form Morta as the f. of *mf-to- ‘received as one’s share’; this would be a close match to the Celtic words *mf-stoi- discussed by Schrijver 2004. A derivation from 1. *(s)mer- ‘to remember’ seems unlikely for semantic reasons.

Bibl.: WH Π: 75f., EM 399, IEW 969f., Schrijver 2004, LIV 2. *smer-.

mergae ‘reaping-board’ [f.pl. ā] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: merges, -itis ‘sheaf of corn (Verg.+).

Mergae can be understood as ‘what one can take with the mergae’. Leumann 1977: 372 has turned the meanings around (merges ‘Heugabel’, merge ‘Garbe’), but this is not supported by the texts. Many scholars doubt the connection with Gr. ἀμέργω ‘to pluck (flowers), squeeze olives’, but the two are quite similar. It is a different question whether these two forms stem from PIE *h2^mer/lg- ‘to wipe’ (Skt. marī-, Av. marz-, Gr. ὀμόργνυμι ‘to wipe’ maybe Gr. ἀμέλγω ‘to milk’), since the semantic connection is not straightforward. Lat. mergae and Gr. ἀμέργω may continue a separate PIE root *h2merg-, or they might go back to a non-IE loanword of agricultural terminology.


mergō, -ere ‘to plunge, immerse’ [v. III; pf. mersī, ppp. mersum] (Cic.+)

Derivatives: mergus ‘certain sea-bird’ (Lucil.+); mertāre ‘to submerge, overwhelm’ (Acc.+), mersōre ‘to dip, submerge’ (Lucr.+); émergere ‘to come out of, emerge’ (Ter.+), immergere ‘to dip, plunge into’ (Pl.+), submergere ‘to cause to sink’ (Lucr.+).
Plt. *mezge/q-.

PIE *mesg-e/o- ‘to sink, wash’. IE cognates: Skt. mājjanti [3p.pr.] ‘to sink, plunge under’; Lith. mązgoti, Latv. mazgāt ‘to wash’ < *mozg-.

Probably, mergus is deverbal to mergō: the bird which ‘dives into’ the water.

Bibl.: WH ΠII: 76f., EM 399, IEW 745f., Meiser 1998: 119, LIV *mesg-.

merula ‘blackbird’ [f. ā] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: meruleus ‘coloured like a blackbird’ (Pl.+).
Plt. *mesVla- ‘blackbird’.

IE cognates: W. mywylch ‘blackbird’, Bret. moualc’h < PBrit. *mijalx < *meisal-(s)kā; Oirl. stmolach, EMolIr. smólach, MolIr. smól ‘blackbird’, MolIr. smaol ‘thrush’ < OIr. *smölach, gen. smólchae, < *smoilax borrowed from Old British *moialx; OHG amsla, ama/i/usa, OE ösle ‘blackbird’ < WGm. *anslōn-, *ama/e/uslōn-. Maybe OHG meisa, OS mēsa, OE māse < PGm. *maisōn- ‘tit’ is also
cognate.
The British and Latin forms go back to *mesVL-, the Gm. forms to *amsI-, *amsVL-. Schrijver 1997a argues that this points to a loanword from a non-IE substratum language in Europe.


merus 'pure' [adj. o/a] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: merēcālus 'undiluted' (Pl.+); merobibus [adj.] 'that drinks unmixed wine' (Pl.); submerus 'nearly undiluted' (Pl.).

PIt. *mer-o-.

PIE *merH-o- 'remaining, pure'. IE cognates: Hit. marri [adv.] 'just so, gratuitously'.

The word has been compared with Gr. μαρμάρω 'to flash, sparkle', but even if 'pure' can sometimes be paraphrased as 'clear' (thus EM), there is no compelling reason to derive 'pure' from 'shining'. Puhvel connects Hit. marri, which he translates as 'just like that, at random'; this seems a better solution than Kloekhorst's (2008: 557) 'with a glimpse', who identifies marri as the hapax marra/i- '(sun)light'. If marri 'just so' goes back to a n. *morHi, it could be related to Lat. merus if from *merH-o-. The original meaning of the root may have been 'remaining, core, pure'. This, then, enables a connection with Lat. mora 'delay' < *morH-hr- 'stiffening, remaining'.

Bibl.: WH II: 78, EM 400, IEW 734, Schrijver 1991: 20, Puhvel 2006. → mora

merx, -cis 'commodity, goods, merchandise' [f. k] (Pl.; nom.sg. mers Pl.)

Derivatives: mercārī 'to buy, trade' (Pl.+), mercātus, -ās 'market' (Pl.+), mercātor 'merchant' (Pl.+), mercātōrius 'mercantile' (Pl.), mercātūra 'trade' (Pl.+); mercimōniūm 'merchandise, enterprise' (Pl.+); commers, -rcis 'friendly intercourse' (Pl.), commercārī 'to buy' (Pl.+), commercium 'trade, relationship, sexual intercourse' (Pl.+), praemercārī 'to buy in advance' (Pl.+); mercēs, -ēdis 'payment' (Pl.+), mercēn(n)ārius [adj./m.] 'working for pay; hired worker' (Pl.+), mercēdēmerus 'working for hire' (Lucil.); Mercurius 'the god Mercury' (Andr.+); Mercuriālis 'of M/mercury' (Cato+).


All derived from a stem *merk- also found in Faliscan and Oscan. The god Mercurius was probably the god of exchange. According to WH, the god's name was borrowed from Etruscan; in principle, the same is possible for the stem *merk- altogether.

Bibl.: WH II: 74, 78f., EM 400, IEW 739, Untermann 2000: 85f, 479.

-met '!' [ptcile. of emphasis] (Pl.+: egomet 'I', nōsmet 'we', vōsmet 'you', sēmet 'themselves', ipsemet 'he himself')

PIt. *-meti?
PIE *-me-ti ‘with’?

Uncertain. One might think of PIE *me ‘with’ plus an added *-ti (as in Latin aut), or of PIE *me, as in Skt. sma, smā ‘just, really’, smāt ‘together’, Av. maτ ‘with’, Gr. μᾶν (Dor. Aeol. μάν), μέν ‘certainly, true’.


mēta ‘cone; cone-shaped turning point; limit’ [f. ā] (Cato+)

Derivatives: mētāri ‘to measure off, lay out’ (Caes.+).

PIE *mētā-.

PIE *meh₁-to- ‘measure, measurement’.

Mētāri is a denominal verb to mēta: ‘use turn-posts to mark off the land’. WH andIEW surmise a connection with PIE *meith₂- ‘to exchange, remove’, but this is semantically unconvincing: the principal meaning of mēta is ‘cone’ or ‘post’. Also, the required reconstruct *mēith_o- with its lengthened grade is morphologically unattractive. If the ‘cone’ or ‘post’ was used as a mark for measuring distance or height from the beginning, mēta could be derived from the root *meh₁- ‘to measure’.

Bibl.: WH II: 80f., EM 401, IEW 709, LIV *meh₁- → mētior

mētior, -īrī ‘to measure’ [v. IV; ppp. mensus (mētītus)] (Pl.+

Derivatives: admētīrī ‘to measure out’ (Cato+), cōmētīrī ‘to pace out, measure’ (Pl.⁺), dīmētīrī ‘to measure out, weigh out’ (Pl.⁺), permētīrī ‘to traverse, measure exactly’ (Pl.⁺); mensor [m.] ‘land-surveyor, measurer’ (Lucil.+), immēnsus ‘immeasurable’ (Lucr.+).

PIE *mētī-.


Denominal to a noun *mētī- ‘measurement’. The ppp. must be analogical; Sommer 1914: 610 explains it from analogy with pensus to pendō ‘to weigh’.

Bibl.: WH II: 81f., EM 401, IEW 703f., Schrijver 1991: 139, LIV *meh₁- → mēnsis, mōs

metō, -ere ‘to reap, harvest’ [v. III; pf. messuī (rare), ppp. messum] (Pl.+

Derivatives: messis, -is [f.; acc. messem, abl. messē] ‘reaping, crop’ (Pl.⁺), messiō ‘harvesting’ (Varro), messor ‘reaper’ (Pl.⁺); dēmetere ‘to mow, pick, reap’ (Cato+).

PIE *mēt-e- ‘to reap’.

PIE *met-e- ‘to measure’. IE cognates: W. medi ‘to mow, harvest’, MBret. midiff ‘to harvest’ < PCl. *met-o-; Lith. mėstis, 1s. metù ‘to throw’, Lith. mētas ‘year, time’, mūtas ‘measure’; CS mesti ‘to throw, sweep’ (1sg. meto), Ru. mesti ‘to sweep’.

Unrelated: Hit. ān-, hane/iśṣ₂ ‘to wipe’, CLuw. am(ma)iśṣa- / am(ma)iśṣi(j)a- ‘to wipe’ < *h₂(0)mēh₁-s-, hameśha- ‘spring, time of harvest’ < *h₂mēh₁-sh₂-o-, Gr. ἄμη
'shovel', ἀμάω 'to mow, cut' (< *h₂m₁-eh₂je/-o-), διηροες [m.] 'harvest'; OE māwan, OHG māen 'to mow', MHG mät, OE mǣd 'reaping'.

According to Sommer 1914: 568, messmi replaced *messi on the model of its antonym serui 'I sowed'. The root etymology is disputed. Schrijver hesitantly posits a root *h₂m- with different suffixes: *h₂m-et- in meto and PCI. *met-, *h₂m-eh₁- in Greek ἀμάω and Germanic. Yet the Anatolian words for 'to wipe' show that the root of that verb and Greek ἀμάω was triconsonantal *h₂mhr. LIV derives *met- 'to throw' from 'measure' (via 'to aim'), but separates 'to reap'; to my mind, a semantic shift from 'measure, measure off to 'reap, harvest' is conceivable, so that we need only one root *met-.


metus, -ūs 'fear, alarm' [m. u] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: metuere (metui, metuītum) 'to be afraid of, fear' (Pl.+), praemetuere 'to dread in advance' (Lucr.+); metū/ıcūlōsus 'apprehensive, awful' (Pl.+).

Pf. *met-u-.

Lat. metūcūlōsus was formed on the basis of perīculōsus 'dangerous', which is situated in the same semantic sphere. Klingenschmitt (2004: 241f.) connects metus with OIr. moth [m.] 'astonishment' < *moto-, denom. mothaiTedar 'to be astonished'. While semantically attractive, this explanation does not address the phonetic aspects of the etymology. Schrijver (1991: 467-470) posits a rule according to which *e yields Lat. o after m, w in front of CV, if C is not r, l and V is not a front vowel. Metus would then be an exception, since all forms in the paradigm would have VOLat. *-tu- or *-tou-. Schrijver's rule is contested by Meiser 1998: 82, who regards several forms in mo- as analogical. In his view, metus can be regular from Pf. *metus.


mīca 'grain, crumb' [f. ā] (Cato+)

Pf. *meik-ā-.

PIE *meik-h₁- 'blinking'.

Nyman 1987 shows that mīca originally referred to a 'grain of salt', and subsequently to any 'glittering crystal(line) particle'. These semantics lead him to derive mīca from the same root as micāre 'to quiver, dart, flash', viz. as the 'glittering' particle. This explanation is formally more attractive that the traditional connection with Gr. (σ)μίκρός 'small'. Semantically, I see no objections.

Bibl.: WH II: 85, EM 402, IEW 966f. → micō

micō, -āre 'to quiver, dart, flash' [v. I; pf. micui] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: dīmicāre 'to fight, contend' (Sis.+), ēmicāre 'to dash out, jump forth' (Pl.+), prōmicāre 'to sprout, shoot forth' (Naev.+).

Pf. *mikajē-.

PIE *mikH-(e)ie- 'to blink'. IE cognates: OIr. de-meccim 'despise', W. ed-mygaf 'I admire'; Ru. mīkat' (dialect) 'to stuff (a bag)'; Cs. mikati 'to move abruptly', USorb. mikač 'to blink' < PIE *meik-, CS měčta 'vision, apparition', Ru. měčta 'dream,
The pf. *mikV- suggests a stem *mikV-, hence a laryngeal-final root. The basic meaning of Latin is ‘to dash, spring forth, move fast back and forth’. In Slavic, the same meaning co-occurs with ‘to blink’ and ‘to see’. In Celtic, only the latter is attested. Hence, the PIE meaning may have been ‘to blink’.

### Bibl.:
- WH I: 353, II: 86, EM 402, IEW 712f., Meiser 2003: 138, LIV *meIh2-

### migrō, -āre
- Meaning: ‘to change residence, move’ [v. I] (Pl.+
- Derivatives: *admigrāre ‘to go and live with’ (Pl.), *commigrāre ‘to migrate’ (Pl.+), *dēmigrāre ‘to go away, depart’ (Pl.+), *ēmigrāre ‘to move out’ (Pl.+), *immigrāre ‘to go and take up residence’ (Pl.+), *remigrāre ‘to move back to one’s home’ (Pl.+).
- PIt. *migro-

Probably a denominal verb to *migro-, which can be a ro-adj. to the same stem *h2migʷ- as reflected in Gr. ἀμείβο. A labiovelar suffix is rare in PIE.

### Bibl.:
- WH II: 86, EM 402, IEW 713, Schrijver 1991: 20, LIV *h2meigy-.

### miles, -itis
- Meaning: ‘soldier’ [m. I] (Pl.+; /mīless/ Pl. Aul.528)
- Derivatives: *militāre ‘to serve as a soldier’ (Pl.+), militāris ‘of the army, of soldiers’ (Pl.+), militārius ‘soldierlike’ (Pl.); militia ‘military service’ (Pl.+).

*Miles* was the common foot-soldier. The semantic sphere recalls pedes ‘pedestrian’ and eques ‘rider’ (*-it- < *h1-i-t- ‘who goes’), but the first element *mīl- is unclear. It is tempting to connect *mīlīta [pl.] ‘thousand(s)’, hence *mīlit- ‘who goes with/by the thousand’ (with simplification of *mīlit- to *mīlit- by analogy with the other nouns); or, if the literal meaning of the suffix –it- was already opaque, ‘thousand-man’.

### Bibl.:
- WH II: 87, EM 402. → mille

### milium
- Meaning: ‘millet’ [n. o] (Cato+)
- Derivatives: *miliāria ‘bird fattened for eating, ortolan; dodder’ (Varro+).
- PIt. *meljo-
- PIE *mēlh₂-i [n.]? IE cognates: Gr. μελάνη [f.] ‘millet’, Lith. mālnos f.pl. ‘kind of millet’.

If from *meliom with i-mutation (of the type nihil, similis), milium can be cognate with Gr. μελάνη. The Latin, Gr. and Lith. words could be independent derivatives of *mēlh₂- ‘to grind’ (e-grade in Gr. and Lat., o-grade in Lith.), thus ‘the grain which can/is to be ground’; or they could be three derivatives of a common ancestor nom.acc. *mēlh₂-i, maybe gen.sg. *mēlh₂-n-ós / *mēlh₂-n-s.

### Bibl.:

### mille
- Meaning: ‘thousand’ [n.; adj. i; sg. indecl., pl. millia, militia, gen. millium] (Pl.+
- Derivatives: *miliārium ‘milestone, column, vessel’ (Cato+), *miliārius ‘of a thousand, belonging to the thousands’ (Varro+), mīliē(n)s [adv.] ‘a thousand times’ (Pl.+).
PIE *smīxesli<

PIE *sm-ih2-ghes-l-ih2 'having one thousand'. IE cognates: Skt. sahasra-, Av. hazayra- < Ilr. *sāḷhāsra- < PIE *sm-gheslo- 'having one thousand'; Gr. χίλιοι, Ion. χεῖλιοι, Aeol. χέλλιοι 'thousand' < PGr *kl'ēhlijo- < PIE *ghesli(H)o- 'of a thousand'.

Double -ll- in mille can be interpreted as indicating palatal l, not necessarily double *-ll-. The mostly accepted etymology as *sm-ih2-ghes-l-ih2 'one thousand' is based on the comparison with the Ilr. forms for 'thousand' which reflect *sm-ghes-lo-< and with the Greek form. Adjectival *ghes-lo- 'heap' was substantivised to f. gheslih2-, and 'one' consequently acquired the f. form. Meiser 1998 posits a phonetic development from *sm-ih2-ghes-l-ih2 > Pit. *smi̯xesli > *mi̯heli > *mi̯hile > mille. He attributes final short *-i in Pit. to loss of the final laryngeal in *-ih2, but this development is not certainly attested (its reconstruction for the 5-stems is uncertain). Alternatively, Pit. may have analogically changed the inflectional category of 'thousand' to a n. i-stem; the model may have been centum 'hundred'. Sihler explains n. -e as a back-formation to the pl. mīlia (cf. mare - maria).


minae 'threats; protruding parts of a wall' [f.pl. ā] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: (1) minārī 'to threaten' (Pl. +), mināx 'menacing, threatening' (Pl. +), mināciae [f.pl.] 'threats' (Pl.); comminārī 'to issue threats' (Pl.), ēminātīō 'the act of threatening' (Pl.), interminārī 'to utter threats' (Pl. +); minitāreī 'to threaten' (Andr. +), minitābiliter 'menacingly' (Pac. +); (2) ēminēre 'to stick out, protrude' [pf. ēminuī] (Pl. +), ēminulus 'projecting' (Lucil. +), minēre 'to lean forward, project' (Lucr.).

PIE *(eks-)menē- 'to stick out', *(men-ā- 'part which sticks out' > 'threat'.

PIE *m(e)n-e-h₁-

In theory, these forms could reflect *min- or a stem *men- which changed to -min- in non-initial syllable, and was thence imported into minae and minārī. The fact that ē-minēre can be connected with mentum and mōns makes the second solution more attractive. Thus, the root *men- 'to stick out, protrude' is preserved in stative ē-min-ēre. We may assume minae < *men-ā- meaning first 'protruding part' and then 'threat', and from minā- was derived minārī. The verb served as the basis for mināx and for the frequentative minitāre. Lucr. minēre is a recent back-formation to ēminēre. The e-grade in *men-ē- might be from *mn-eh₁- (unless *mnV- yielded Latin *monV- or *manV-, see s.v. maneō).

Bibl.: WH II: 90, EM 403, IEW 726, LIV ?3.*men-. → mentum, mōns

Minerva 'goddess of handicrafts' [f. ā] (VOLat. (menerva, menerva Veii, 6th c., menerva CIL 2498 Praeneste, Pl.)

Derivatives: minerval [n.] 'fee for tuition' (Varro), Minervius 'of Minerva' (Varro +), promenervat 'promonet' (Carmen Saliare apud Fest.).

PIE *menes-wo- 'intelligent, understanding'. It. cognates: Fal. menerua [nom.], menerua [gen. or dat.], meneruai [dat.], Paol. minerua [dat.sg.?], mineruai [dat.sg.],
O. *menere(vas) [gen.sg.].


Meiser 1998: 117 adopts the etymology *menes-yehe ‘provided with a mind, intelligent’. It was proposed by Rix 1981: 117ff., who posited a sound law *-su- > Latin -rv-, also for acervus, protervus, caterva and furvus. Since the deity Menerva is attested in Etruscan from the sixth c. onwards, the sound law must have taken place before that time. Rix admits that beside Latin, also Faliscan and Umbrian qualify as possible sources for the Etruscan word, and hence for *su > rv. The raising of *men- to min- is regarded as irregular, but in view of the same problem found in minaе, minārī, and since no inherited words are attested with Latin /menV/, it is possible that *menV- regularly turned to minV- at a certain point in VOlat. Compare Watkins 1973b: 196 for the raising of *e to i after word-initial labials. The gloss promenervat would testify to a denominal verb *prō-menervāre ‘to warn’.


**minor, -or, -us** ‘smaller, less, inferior’ [adj. r] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: minuus, -ōris [n.] ‘smaller number, less’ (Pl.+), minus [adv.] ‘less’, minuscūlus ‘somewhat smaller’ (Pl.+), mīnuimus ‘smallest, least’ (Pl.+), miscellus ‘very small; miscellaneous’ (Cato, Varro, of uva and vitis: ‘an inferior type of grape and the vine producing it’), minister ‘helping; servant, assistant’ (Varro+), ministerāre ‘to wait on, provide’ (Pl.+), ministra ‘provider, female servant’ (Varro+), ministerium ‘service, attendance’ (Varro+), ministerātor ‘attendant’ (Naev.+); administrēre ‘to assist, perform’ (Pl.+), administrator ‘helper’ (Varro+), administrā ‘female helper’ (Varro+); (2) minuere [minui, minūtum] ‘to reduce in size, lessen’ (Pl.+), minūtus ‘small, short’ (Pl.+), minūtus ‘very small’ (Pl.+), minūtum ‘gradually’ (Cato+), minūtātum ‘id.’ (Varro+); comminuere ‘to break into pieces, smash’ (Pl.+), dēminuere ‘to diminish, deduct’ (Pl.+), dēminūtīō ‘reduction, deduction’ (Varro+), immīnuere ‘to diminish, reduce’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *minōs-, *minos ‘less’, *minos-tero- ‘smaller’, *minu-je/o- ‘to lessen’. It. cognates: O. minstreis, mistreis [gen.sg.f.] ‘smaller’ < *min-Vs-tero-; O. min[s] [adv.] ‘less’ < *minVs; O. menvum [inf.] ‘to lessen’.

PIE *moih ruo- ‘small, little’, comp. *meih-¡ōs-, -is- ‘less’, *mi-n(e)-h₁- ‘to make less’ >> *mi-n(e)-u-. IE cognates: Skt. mināti, minānti ‘to damage, diminish’, Gr. μείων ‘smaller’, μινύω ‘to disappear, to lessen’; OCS mnjii ‘smaller, lesser, younger’, mnjši [f.], mnje [n.], Ru. měn’sij [m.] ‘smaller, lesser, younger’ < *mi-n(i)/e/o)s-jo-, Go. mins ‘less’, minniza ‘smaller, lesser’ < *minuiza-; ToB maiwe ‘small, young’.

Lat. minimus, minister (< *minos-tero-) are derived from *minōs, -os- by means of productive processes. Lat. miscellus < *minuscūlus, dim. to minuscūlus. The meaning ‘miscellaneous’ seems to have come about due to the semantic influence of miscere. For the PIE etymology, I follow Meiser’s argument that minor cannot be based on an
old κ-stem. The Gm. and BSl. adj. meaning ‘less’ are built on a form *minu-is-, which also looks quite secondary. Hence, the original comp. *meih-iōs- was apparently influenced by the nasal present *miq-(je-) in Italic, yielding *mi-n-ōs, -es-, -os- ‘smaller’.


mīrus ‘remarkable, astonishing’ [adj. o/a] (Andr.; usually predicative mīrum est)
Derivatives: mīrāri ‘to be amazed’ (Pl.), mīrāculus [adj.] ‘freakish’ (Pl.), mīrāculum ‘wonder, marvel’ (Cato+), mīrābilis ‘marvellous’ (Pl.+); admīrāri ‘to be surprised, admire’ (Pl.+), dēmīrāri ‘to wonder, be utterly astonished’ (Pl.); permīrus ‘very remarkable’ (Pl.); mīrificus ‘amazing’ (Ter.+); mīriō ‘an ugly mask’ (Acc. apud Varro).  

PIt. *smēiro-.

These words are often connected with PIE *smei- ‘to laugh’, but EM and Sihler are sceptical about the semantic justification. Indeed, it is difficult to arrive from an adj. PIE *smei-ro- ‘laughing’ or ‘ridiculous’ at ‘remarkable’. Vine 2002: 334 solves this problem by observing that the oldest form was probably mīrum, from which the adj. mīrus was back-formed. Thus, we may be dealing with an original collective noun *sme-ri-o ‘laughter, smiling’.


mīscē ‘to mix, blend’ [v. II; pf. miscūi, ppp. mixtum] (Pl.+; CIL 560 Praeneste misc [2s.ipv.act.])
Derivatives: mixtūra ‘the mixing, combining’ (L cruc.+), mixtim ‘in an intermingled manner’ (L cruc.), mixtārius ‘mixing-vessel’ (Lucil.); admiscere ‘to add, include’ (Pl.+), admixtūrī ‘admixture’ (Varro+), commiscere ‘to mix together, combine’ (Pl.+), commixtūra ‘mixture’ (Cato), immiscere ‘to mix in, merge’ (L cruc.+), impermixtus ‘unmixed’ (Lucil.), permiscere ‘to mix well, combine’ (Cato+), prōmiscuē [adv.] ‘without distinction, commonly’ (Varro+), prōmiscam [adv.] ‘without distinction’ (Pl.+).

PIt. *mēk-sk-e/o- ‘to mix’.

The reason why this verb takes the 2nd cj. is unclear. It is also unclear whether Praenestine misc is a remnant of a simple thematic stem *mīscel/o-. The adv.
prōmiscam in Pl. seems to point to an adj. *prōmiscus, hence also a simple thematic stem. Prōmiscuus is regularly derived from (prō)miscēre. Mixtum may reflect *mixitum (with syncope before long-vowel endings). The pf. miscuī has an unusual u-pf. after a heavy stem, while Meiser 2003 attributes to euphonic reasons, miscuī replacing an earlier s-pf. *missī < *miksk-s-. But it seems more likely that the pf. to this pr. is recent altogether.

Bibl.: WH II: 95f., EM 406, IEW 714, Meiser 2003: 247f., LIV *meik-.

miser, -a, -um ‘poor, unfortunate’ [adj. o/a] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: miseriter ‘pathetically’ (Lab.), miserītūdō ‘pity’ (Acc.), miserēreī ‘to feel or show compassion’ (Pl.+), mē miserēscit ‘I feel sorry’ (Pl.+), miserāri ‘to feel sorry for’ (Pl.+), miseria ‘woe, distress’ (Pl.+), miserulus ‘somewhat unfortunate’ (Laev.+); misericordia ‘compassion’ (Pl.+), misericors ‘merciful’ (Pl.+), miserimōnium ‘misery’ (Lab.).

Plt. *misro-.

PIE *mh2isro-? IE cognates: ToA msēr ‘difficult’ (Pinault 1998: 17).

Possibly connected with maereō, but no acceptable PIE pedigree has been found; see s.v. maereō.

Bibl.: WH II: 8f., EM 407. → maereō

mitat ‘gives, donates’ (Duenos introcr., Tibur base)

Plt. *miuto- ‘exchanged’.

PIE *(h2)mi(H)-to-.

Lat. mitat /mīt(t)āl is explained convincingly by Vine 1999d: 297 as a 3s.pr.ind. to mitā- ‘to give (in exchange)’, a denom. verb to a ppp. *mīto- ‘exchanged’; see meō for the PIE root.

Bibl.: Untermann 2000: 469.

mittis ‘sweet and juicy, soft, gentle’ [adj. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: mittescere ‘to become soft, grow mild’ (Pac.+); commitigāre ‘to soften’ (Ter.).

Plt. *mīti-.

PIE *m(e)h1i-ti- ‘soft’. IE cognates: W. mwydion ‘soft parts’ < *meit- < *meh1i-ti-, OIr. min ‘soft’ < *miHni- < *meh1i-ni-, W. mwyn ‘tender, mild’, Bret. moan ‘thin, fine’ < PCI. *meino/āi- < *meh1i-n-; Skt. māyas- ‘refreshment, enjoyment’, YAv. maiiah- [n.] ‘satisfaction, pleasure’ < *meiH-os-, OPr. mijs, Lith. mielas, Latv. miļš ‘nice, sweet, dear’, OCS miλ ‘pitiable’, Ru. miļyj ‘sweet, dear’ < *m(e)iH-lo-.

Possibly, Plt. *mīti- and the other nominal forms in IE languages are derived from a (verbal) derivative *mh1-i- to *mh1- ‘to measure’.


mittō, -ere ‘to release, let go; send, throw’ [v. III; pf. mīsi, ppp. missum] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: missus, -ūs ‘shooting, sending’ (Lucr.+), missiculāre ‘to send frequently’ (Pl.), missile [n.] ‘missile’ (Cato+), missilis ‘that may be thrown or shot’
modus

(Lucr.); admittere ‘to admit, allow’ (Pl.), admissarius [m. / adj.] ‘stallion, ass; kept for breeding’ (Pl.), admissio ‘controlled mating’ (Varro), admissum ‘crime’ (Laev.); admissūra ‘copulation, breeding’ (Varro+), ἀδιμίττε ‘to send away, release, lose’ (Naev.+), committere ‘to entrust to, bring about, commit, join’ (Pl.), commissum ‘crime’ (Pl.), commissūra ‘joint, juncture’ (Cato+), ἀδιμίττε ‘to drop, shed, send down’ (Naev.+), δεμισσίων ‘reaching to the ground’ (Pl.), δίμιττε ‘to send away, dismiss, give up’ (Pl.+), ἐμιττε ‘to send out, release’ (Pl.+), ἐμισσίων ‘sent out as a spy’ (Pl.), ἐμισσός, -ίους ‘emission’ (Lucr.), immittere ‘to cause to go, send, let in’, intermittere ‘to interrupt, leave open’ (Pl.+), omissere ‘to release, abandon, omit’ (Pl.+), permittedere ‘to allow, cede, leave to’ (Pl.+), praetermissere ‘to overlook, neglect’ (Ter.+), prōmissere ‘to send forth, promise, guarantee’ (Pl.+), remissere ‘to send back, release, relax’ (Pl.+), remissarius ‘that can be slid back easily’ (Cato), remissió ‘sending back, cancellation’ (Varro+), reprēomissere ‘to promise, guarantee’ (Pl.+), trasnmissus, -ίους ‘bequest, crossing’ (Pac.+); cosmittere (Paul. ex F.).

Plt. *meit-e/o-*, ppp. *m/7-fo-. It. cognates: SPic. meitims [nom.sg.], meitimum [acc.sg.] ‘monument’ <*meit-mo-.*

PIE pr. *m(e)ith2- ‘to exchange, remove’. IE cognates: Skt. pr. methete [3s.med.], mimetha [pf.] ‘to become hostile, quarrel’, OAv. aor. hām.āibī.ṃīst ‘joins’, mōlīq ‘robs’, YAv. pr. paiti-miṇāti ‘sends away’; Go. in-maidjan ‘to change’. From original ‘exchange’, the meaning developed to ‘give, bestow’ (attested in VOLat. mitat) and ‘let go, send’. The hapax cosmittere in Paul. ex F. is not trustworthy enough to warrant an etymology with *sm-. The pr. mittere is often explained from *mītere by the littera-rule (see s.v. cella); this is possible, but cannot be ascertained. Note that in most instances of this rule, the old and the new form are attested side by side; with mittō, there is no trace of *mitō.


modus ‘measured amount, size, limit’ [m. o] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: (1) modō ‘just, only’ (Pl.+), admodum ‘to a great extent, completely’ (Naev.+), commodum ‘even now, just’ (Pl.+), praemodum ‘exceedingly’ (Andr.+), quomodō ‘how’ (Pl.+), modulus ‘unit of measurement’ (Varro+), modicas ‘moderate, limited’ (Pl.+), commodum ‘convenient, favourable’ (Pl.+), commodō ‘to provide, put at the disposal’ (Pl.+), commoditās ‘opportuneness, advantage’ (Pl.+), commodulum ‘e [adv.] ‘fairly suitably’ (Pl.+), accomodare ‘to fit, apply’ (Pl.+), incommodus ‘troublesome, unpleasant’ (Pl.+); (2) modestus ‘restrained, mild’ (Pl.+), immodestus ‘lacking in restraint’ (Pl.+), modestia ‘restraint’ (Pl.+), immodestia ‘lack of restraint’ (Pl.+); moderāre ‘to control, rule, restrain’ (Pl.+), moderātor ‘wielder, ruler’ (Naev.+), moderātrix ‘who restrains, female manager’ (Pl.+), moderātium ‘gradually’ (Lucr.), moderant er ‘in a controlling manner’ (Lucr.), admoderāri ‘to control’ (Pl.); (3) modius ‘measuring-vessel’ (Pl.+), modiohus ‘bucket, vessel’ (Cato+), trimodia ‘vessel with the capacity of three modii’ (Varro+), trimodus ‘the measure of three modii’ (Pl.), modiālis ‘holding a modius’ (Pl.), sēmodius ‘half a
moenia’ (Cato+).


PIE *med-o- ‘measure’, *med-o/es- ‘measure’. IE cognates: Gr. μήδεα ‘counsels, plans’, Arrm. mit ‘thought’ < *méd-os-.

Schrijver rejects the earlier explanation of modus < *mod-o- on the strength of O. meddiss < *med(V)-dik-. In his view, *medo- turned to Lat. *modo- phonetically, and similarly in the nom.sg. of the s-stem *med-os > *modos. The rounded vowel then spread in the s-stem paradigm. To his advantage one may adduce the fact that U. meřs can be the nom.sg. of the m. o-stem *medo-; but O. meddiss may contain a root noun *med-. A conclusive argument in favour of *medo- may be that *modo- would regularly yield *mado-, at least, by Schrijver’s rules. From the s-stem, Latin modestus < *medes-to- was derived (matched by U. mersto-), as well as moderare < *medes-ā-. The e-grade in Greco-Armenian *męd-os- can stem from the verb, cf. Gr. μήδομα. This is uncertain, but it is irrelevant for Italic, unless Sabell. *med-dik- represents *mèd-dik-.


moenia, -ium ‘defensive walls’ [n.pl. i] (Naev. +; sg. moene in Naev.)

Derivatives: moenire, mūnire ‘to fortify, safeguard’ (Lex XII+; moen- in Pl.), mūnitiō ‘defence work, fortification’ (Sis. +); admoenire ‘to besiege’ (Pl. +), circummoenire ‘to surround with a wall’ (Pl. +), commoelonīre ‘to surround with fortifications’ (Pl. +).

PIt. *moini- ‘protective wall’.


The retention of oe in moenia (as opposed to the usual change to u) is ascribed to fear of polysemy with regard to mūnīa ‘achievements’. A connection with mūnus ‘charge, duty’ < *moin-os- cannot be rejected with certainty: a wall has defensive duties.
mölēs, -is 'large mass, heap' [f. i] (Acc.+

Derivatives: *mōlīrī 'to labour, build up, strive' (Pl.+), *mōlītus, -īs 'strenuous effort' (Pl.), *mōlīmen 'force, effort' (Lucr.), *mōlīmentum 'effort, labour' (Sis.); *āmōlīrī 'to remove, obliterate' (Pl.), *admōlīrī 'to exert oneself, lay violent hands on' (Pl.+), *commōlīrī 'to construct, set in motion' (Caecil.+), *dēmōlīrī 'to throw off, demolish' (Naev.+), *ēmōlīrī 'to carry through'; *molestus 'troublesome, tiresome' (Pl.+), *molestia 'distress, annoyance' (Pl.+).

Plt. *mōlo- 'labour, effort', *mōl-i-je- 'to labour', *mel-e/os- [n.] 'trouble'.

PIE *mel-e/os- [n.], *mōl(-o)-.

There is a slight possibility that *molestus reflects *mōlesto- with pretonic shortening of *-VH- in front of a resonant. More likely is an original s-stem *melos, -es- 'trouble, obstacle' > *molos, from which mo- was introduced into *melesto- (thus Schrijver 1991: 469f.). The absence of unrounding to *malesto- confirms this analysis. This also discredits an origin as *m(e)h3-l- (thus LIV), which would not yield Plt. *mel-. Schrijver argues that mölēs has replaced a root noun, the nom.sg. of which may have been *mōl. However, the later attestation of mölēs means that it could also be deverbal to *mōlīrī. The whole group could then be based on an adj. or noun *mōlo- 'labour, effort'. The PIE root is unclear: to Gr. μόλος [m.] 'battle' ← *mole-, μόλος 'enervated, weak', μόλας [adv.] 'hardly'? Or to Gr. βλώσκω (< *μλώ-σκω), aor. μωλένι 'to go, come' < PIE *mλh3-? Or to Gr. μέλω 'to be anxious, care for'?*?

mollis 'soft, gentle' [adj. i] (Pl.+

Derivatives: *mollitia 'softness, luxury' (Pl.+), *mollicus 'soft, tender' (Pl.+), *mollīre 'to make soft' (Ter.+), *mollūtūdō 'softness' (Pac.+), *mollēscere 'to become soft' (Lucr.+); *molluscus 'having a thin shell' (Pl.+).

Plt. *molv-(i-).

PIE *mld-u- 'soft'. IE cognates: W. blydd 'soft', Skt. mṛdu- 'delicate, soft', Gr. βλάδύς 'powerless' (in βλάδεϊς Hsch.) The appurtenance of the Gr. forms is uncertain. *Mollis < *molwi- < *molwi- < *moldwi- < *mldui-.. The u-stem adj. were remade into i-stems in Latin. Lat. molluscus and molluscum 'kind of fungus that grows on maple-trees' (Plin.) shows the older u-stem: *mldu-skō > *moldusko- > molluscus.


mölō, -ere 'to grind in a mill' [v. III; pf. molui, pps. molitum] (Pl.+

Derivatives: *mola 'millstone; cake of ground barley and salt' (Naev.+), *mōlārius 'of a mill' (Cato.+), moletrīna 'milling-place' (Cato), *mōlle component of a mill' (Cato), *mōlitum [n.] 'flour' (Pl.); immolāre 'to sacrifice, sprinkle with flour' (Naev.+).

Plt. sg. *mela-, pl. *mal-enti. It. cognates: U. kumaltu, kumultu, comoltu...
kom-m(o)lH-e/o- > ‘to crush’. Maybe U. maletu [acc.sg.m.], attribute to ‘salt’, PIE *melh2-/*mlh2- [pr.] ‘to crush, grind’, *molh2-h2- [f.] ‘mill(stone)’. IE cognates: OIr. meilid-: meil, W. mala, MBret. malaff ‘to grind’ < PCl. *male-o- (e-grade in OIr. from sb.), Hit. malla- ‘to mill, grind’ < *molh2-, CLuw. mal(h)u- ‘to break’ < *melh2-u-, Myc. me-re-ti-ri-ja ‘woman grinders’, me-re-u-ro ‘flour’, Gr. µύλη ‘handmill, mill’, Arm. malem ‘to crush’, Lith. mūtis, Latv. mālš ‘to grind, mill’ < *molH-, OCS mlēti, Ru. molot’, Is. meljú ‘to grind, mill’ < *mēH-, *melH-, Go. malan < *molH-. Skt. mṛñāti, mṛñāti ‘to crush, grind’ < *ml/r-n-H-.

Immolare is a derivative from mola. In the athematic paradigm of the PIE verb, *melh1-ti gave Plt. *melati, whence with rounding in front of velar l > VOLat. *molati. The noun mola is either derived from this stage, or reflects PIE *molh1-h2- (preferable in view of Gr. µύλη < *mol-ā), in which case the expected unrounding of *mo- > *ma- might not have happened because the first syllable was originally closed by the cluster*-IH-. LIV reconstructs final *-h2 on the strength of CLuw. mālhiṭa ‘broke’ and other forms, in which case the second e in Myc. ῥμελε- would be secondary.


moneō ‘to remind, tell (of)’. [v. II] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: monētrā [f.] ‘adviser’ (Pl.), monitor ‘adviser’ (Ter.+), monu/imentum ‘statue, memorial, tomb’ (Pl.+); admonēre ‘to advise, warn’, commonēre ‘to remind’ (Pl.+), communēfacerē ‘id.’ (Pl.+), prōmonēre ‘to warn openly’ (Pl.+), submonēre ‘to advise privately’ (Ter.); mōnstrum ‘prodigy, sign, monster’ (Pl.+), mōstēlaria ‘a play about ghosts’ (Pl.+), mōnstrāre ‘to point out, reveal’ (Pl.+), mōnstrātiō ‘showing’ (Ter.+), mōnstrīficasībilis ‘strange’ (Lucil.); communestrāre ‘to point out, reveal’ (Pl.+), dēmōnstrāre ‘to indicate, describe’ (Pl.+), praemōnstrāre ‘to show beforehand, foretell’ (Pl.+), praemōnstrātor ‘guide’ (Ter.); monēr/ūla ‘jack-daw’ (Pl.+); Monētā ‘title of Juno; temple where money was coined’ (Andr.+).


Lat. mōnstrum < *mone-stro-. In regular *mōstro-, n was reintroduced. Mōstellāria < *mone-stro-lāri- has the regular outcome. The name Monētā is a derivative in *-ēto- from moneō, created on the model of the stative verbs in -ēre : *-ēto-; its original meaning can be interpreted as ‘who reminds’ = ‘the memory’ (Livingston 2004: 23-30). The absence of the change *mo- > ma- in open syllable is conspicuous. Schrijver suggests that o-vocalism was restored in monēre on the model of other causatives.

moni[e] ‘necklace, collar’ [n. i] (Afran.+)

PIE *monjo- ‘neck’.


Since there existed a productive pattern of deriving -i-adj. with a preceding long vowel from short-vowel i- and u-stems (Leumann 1977: 350), moni[e] can be derived directly from a preform *moni- ‘neck’. In that case, the absence of unrounding to *ma- is unexpected. If the PIE i-stem was thematized to Plt. *monxo-, the first syllable was closed, and *mo- would be retained.


mōns, -tis ‘mountain’ [m. i] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: montānus ‘of the mountains, mountainous’ (Lucil.+), montivagus ‘mountain-ranging’ (Lucr.+); prōmuntū/orium ‘headland, promontory, spur’ (Pac.+).

Plt. *monti-.


The meaning of prōmuntū/orium makes it attractive to derive it from mōns, but the morphology is unclear: *prō-mont-ōrium? The suffix -ōrium is usually derived from nouns in -tor which belong to verbal stems (Leumann 1977: 301), hence one might adopt an alternative etymology as *prō-moni-tōr ‘warner’ (to moneo and regard a promontory as a clear ‘signpost’ in the landscape. This would require syncope of medial *-e- in prōmonetōrium. In mōns, the o-grade is unexpected; the Latin noun looks like a cross of *mn-ti- and *mon-i(o)-.

Bibl.: WH II: 108f., EM 413, 538, IEW 726, LIV 3. *men-.. → mentum, minae

mora ‘delay, lapse of time’ [f. ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: morāreī [act. Naev.Enn.Pac.] ‘to delay, hold back, remain’ (Naev+); commorārī ‘to detain, remain’ (Pl.+), dēmorārī ‘to keep waiting, linger’ (Pl.+), remorārī ‘to wait; hold up’ (Pl.+), remora ‘hindrance, delay’ (Pl.+).


PIE *morH- in -tor which belong to verbal stems (Leumann 1977: 301), hence one might adopt an alternative etymology as *prō-moni-tōr ‘warner’ (to moneo and regard a promontory as a clear ‘signpost’ in the landscape. This would require syncope of medial *-e- in prōmonetōrium. In mōns, the o-grade is unexpected; the Latin noun looks like a cross of *mn-ti- and *mon-i(o)-.

Bibl.: WH II: 108f., EM 413, 538, IEW 726, LIV 3. *men-.. → mentum, minae

Morārī could be a denominal verb to mora, or it could represent an old iterative *morH-eie- as proposed by Schumacher. Incidentally, this would point to root-final *-h2. If *mo- regularly became *ma- in open syllable, mora cannot regularly reflect
*mor- in open syllable. The vowel o might have been restored in the iterative verb. One might with Schrijver 1991 posit *morH-, with the laryngeal closing the syllable in Plt. – but see section 4.2, note 2, of the introduction.


**Morbus** ‘disease, illness’ [m. o] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: morbidus ‘sick’ (Varro+), morbösus ‘sickly’ (Cato+); remorbescere ‘to fall ill again’ (Enn. apud Paul. ex F.).

Plt. *mor-fa-?

PIE *mor-b′o-?

Morbus cannot continue an adj. in *-id′ o-, such as acerbus ‘sour’, since *moribo- would normally yield *moridus. Thus, the suffix is more likely to be PIE *-b′o-, which surfaces especially in “adjectives specifying something’s appearance” (Nussbaum 1999a: 393, e.g. albus, sorbum). Morbus could be ‘looking like death’ to the root *mor- of mors and morīrī. Morphologically, however, a PIE formation *m(o)r-b′ o- is somewhat strange. An alternative basis would be *mor-, *mōr-, the (non-IE?) root of ‘bramble’ (Gr. mőrōn ‘black mulberry’, W. merwydden).


**Mordeō** ‘to bite’ [v. II; pf. memordi, momordi, ppp. morsum] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: mordicus ‘with the teeth, by biting’ (Naev.+), morsus, -ūs ‘bite, wounding’ (Cato+), mordāx ‘prone to bite, biting, sharp’ (Pl.+), morsuincula ‘a little bite’ (Pl.+); admordere ‘to bite, extract money from’ (Pl.+), praemordere ‘to bite at/from the end’ (Pl.+), remordere ‘to bite back, gnaw’ (Lucr.+).

Plt. *mord-eje-.


An iterative present (biting is typically a repeated action) with PIE o-grade. Apparently, the simple thematic present was ousted in Latin. Final *-d might be a root enlargement if Gr. ὀμείρω is old (but it might be secondary after the aor. ἔμερω).

Bibl.: WH II: 111f., EM 414, IEW 735-737, Leumann 1977: 604, LIV *h₂merd-.

**Morior, mori** ‘to die’ [v. III; ppp. mortuam] (Lex XII+; also (ē)morīrī Pl. Enn. Ter. +)

Derivatives: commorī ‘to die together with’ (Pl.+), dēmori ‘to die’ (Pl.+), ēmori ‘to perish, die out’ (Pl.+), intermori ‘to perish, die off’, praemori ‘to die beforehand’ (Varro+), moribundus ‘dying, decaying’ (Pl.+); mors, -tis [f. i] ‘death’ (Naev.+), mortālis [adj.; m.] ‘mortal, perishable; human being’ (Naev.+), immortālis ‘immortal, eternal’ (Pl.+), immortālitās ‘immortality, being a god’ (Pl.+), mortīcīmus ‘that has died a natural death’ (Pl.+), mortifer ‘deadly’ (Enn.+); mortuus ‘dead, done with’ (Naev.+), mortuālia ‘mourning garments, funeral dirges’ (Naev.+), ēmortuālis ‘of one’s death’ (Pl.).
**mortarium** 'bowl, mortar' [n. o] (Pl+)

**PIt. *morto-* 'crushed'?** IE cognates: Hit. marrije/-a(r), marr−a(r)- 'to melt (down), dissolve, boil' < *me/orH-je-; Skt. prá ni mr̥̄n̥̄i [2s.ipv.act.], mr̥na- 'to grab, crush', Gr. μάρναμαι 'to fight, battle', μαραίνω 'to quench, destroy', OIc. merja 'to hit, destroy'.

Could be based on a PIt. form *mor-to- 'ground' < *mr-to-, derived from the same root *mr- 'to disappear' as morior. We find the meaning 'to destroy' or 'to crush' in various IE words from *mrh2-, which could be interpreted as a root extension *-h2- to the root *mr-.

Bibl.: WH II: 112, EM 415, IEW 735-737, LIV *merh2-. → morior

**mōs, mōris 'custom, usage' [m. r] (Naev.+)**

Derivatives: morātus 'endowed with certain manners' (Pl.+), morigerus 'compliant' (Naev.+), morigerāre/i 'to be compliant' (Pl.+), morigerātiō 'indulgence' (Afran.); mōrōs 'hard to please' (Pl.+).

**PIt. *mōs-**

**PIt. *m(e)h1-ōs, -os- 'manner'.**

The meaning of mōs is sufficiently close to 'measure' to derive it from PIE *mh1- 'to measure'. In theory, alternative reconstructions would be *meh3-os-, or a root noun *mōs (cf. flōs 'flower', mīs 'mouse').


**moveō 'to move (tr. and intr.)' [v. II; pf. mōvī, ppp. mōtum] (Pl+)**

Derivatives: mōtus, -ūs 'motion, movement' (Acc.+), mōmentum 'movement, power,
short period, event' (Ter.+), mōmen [n.] ‘movement’ (Lucr.+), mōbilis ‘quick in movement, movable’ (Pl.+), mōbilitās ‘quickness of movement’ (Lucr.); admovēre ‘to move near, apply’ (Pl.+), āmovēre ‘to remove, get rid of’ (Pl.+), commovēre ‘to stir up, agitate, rouse’ (Pl.+), commōtus, -ūs ‘movement’ (Varro), dēmovēre ‘to divert, remove’ (Pl.+), dīmovēre ‘to cleave, part’ (Lucr.+), ēmovēre ‘to remove, expel’ (Pl.+), obmovēre ‘to offer up’ (Cato+), prōmovēre ‘to propel, push forward’ (Ter.+), removēre ‘to remove, banish’ (Pl.+), summovēre ‘to drive off, dispel, remove’ (Pl.+), trānsmovēre ‘to transfer’ (Ter.+).


Lat. mōtus < *mowe-to-, mōtus [m.] < *mowe-tu-, mōbilis < *mowe-bli-, and mōmentum < *mowe-mnto- have restored *-owe- (as far as -e- was syncopated by rule) after the change of *-oweV- > -ū- seen in rūrsus, nūndinae. In movēre, mo- must be more recent than the change of *-owV- > -aw-. Hence, we posit *meuH-, which could be the PIE root pr. or aorist. The suffix -ē- could have been adopted from the old caus.pr. *moweje- < PIE *mouH-eie (cf. Vine 2006a), or from other stative presents in -ēje-.


mox ‘soon’ [adv.] (Pl.)

Pīt. *moks(u)₂:


It is unclear whether the PIE word is an old loc.pl. in *-su, or whether it contains a PIE u-stem. The root, too, is uncertain. In theory, Lat. mox and the Ilr. forms could be derived from *moğ-s(-), o-grade of the root *mg- ‘great’ of magnus; the semantic development would have been ‘(in) much, many’ > ‘quick, soon’.

Bibl.: WH II: 117, EM 417, IEW 747.

mūcrō ‘point (of a sword, etc.)’ [m. n] (Enn.)

Pīt. *m(e/o)uk-ro-?

PIE *(h₂)můk-ro-: IE cognates: Gr. ἀμύσσω ‘to scratch, tear’, ἀμυχή ‘rent, wound’, ἀμυγμα ‘rending’; ἀμυκάλαι ‘arrow-tips’, ἀμύσχεσθαι ‘to scratch the flesh with one’s nails’ (Hsch.); Lith. mūsti, 3s. mūša ‘to beat’, Latv. mustavas [nom.pl.] ‘warping beam’.
The vowel length of *mu-* is disputed: the syllable is long in OLat. poetry, which seems to point to *mū* crō. The appurtenance of Lith. *muštis* is uncertain, since the meaning is not ‘to scratch’. Greek and Latin might go back to PIE (in which case Greek has some secondary consonant variation from an original stem *amuk-,* or be borrowings from an unknown language. If *mu-* has a long vowel, the Latin form would reflect *melouk-ro-.*


**mūcus** ‘mucus, snot’ [m. o] (Pl.+

Derivatives: *mūcēre* ‘to be mouldy’ (Cato), *mūcīdus* ‘snotty, mouldy’ (Pl.); *ēmungere (ēmūnxī, ēmūntcum)* ‘to wipe one’s nose; trick’ (Pl.); *mūgil(is)* [m.] ‘sea-fish, grey mullet’ (Varro+).

Plt. *mung-* ‘to wipe’.


It is not certain that *mungō* and *mūcus* belong to the same root. *Mungō* can be compared with the nasal presents in Skt. and BSl and with the meaning of Gr. *μύσσομαι*. Lat. *mūcus* would have to be an old derivative of the same root; but it can also belong to IE words for ‘moist’, ‘moor’: Mfr. *mocht* ‘weak’ < *muk-to-;* Olc. *mjúkr*, Latv. *mūkls* ‘marshy’.

Bibl.: WH I: 402f., EM 417, 421, IEW 744f., LIV *meük-.*

**mūgiō, -īre** ‘to low, moo, bellow’ [v. IV] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *mūgiānāri* ‘to roar, hum and haw’ (Lucil.+), *mūgītus, -ūs* ‘lowing, roaring’ (Varro+).

Plt. *mūg-*. It cognates: maybe U. *mugatu* [3s.ipv.II], *muēto fust* [3s.fut.pf.ps.] ‘?’: *muie- < *mug-je-?*


Onomatopoeic form, imitation of a cow’s lowing.


**mulcēō** ‘to stroke, caress’ [v. II; pf. *mulsi]* (Pl.+; in Pl. only *mulsus*)

Derivatives: *dēmulcēre* ‘to stroke, entrance’ (Ter.+), *permulcēre* ‘to rub gently, soothe’ (Pac.+); *mulcāre* ‘to handle roughly, damage’ (Pl.+

Plt. *molk-eje-* ‘to stroke, rub’, *molk-ā-* ‘stroke’?
PIE *m(o)lk-eie- ‘to touch repeatedly’. IE cognates: Skt. mṛṣāse [2s.med.], s-aor. mṛṣasta, pf. māṃṛṣūr, caus. mṛṣaya-; Sogd. mṛws- ‘to touch’.

The verb mulcāre can hardly be derived from *molk-eje-, so it may rather be denominal to a noun *molkā-. LIV reconstructs initial *h₂- for PIE because of a possible connection with *h₂melg- ‘to milk’ (then *h₂ml-g/k-). This is possible, but unproven.

Bibl.: WH II: 120f., EM 418, IEW 724, Untermann 2000: 484, LIV *Hmelk-.

mulgeō ‘to milk’ [v. II; pf. mulsi, ppp. mulctum] (Cato+)

Derivatives: immulgēre ‘to milk (into)’ (Andr.); prōmulgāre ‘to make widely known’ (Cic.); mulctra / -um [f./n.] ‘milking-pail’ (Verg.).
Pt. *molgeje-.

PIE *h₂mlg-eie- ‘to milk’. IE cognates: OIr. mligid* ‘to milk’ < PCI. *mlige/o- < *h₂mlg-; Gr. άμέλγω ‘to milk’, Alb. mijel, Lith. mielzu < *h₂melg-, OCS mltsq < *h₂mlg-, OHG melchan, OE melcan, ToA målkant (ptc.).

Originally a PIE iterative pr. ‘to milk’; in view of the OIr. cognate, mulgeō most likely continues a zero grade of the root. The verb prōmulgāre can be interpreted as a factitive to mulgēre: ‘to milk forth’ > ‘make known’. Lat. multra was not based on the pr., but seems to continue an earlier *m(e/o)lg-tro- (cf. Serbat 1975: 313).


mulier, -eris ‘woman’ [f. r] (Lex XII, Andr.+)

Derivatives: muliebris ‘of a woman, female’ (Pl.+), muliercula ‘little woman’ (Pl.+), mulierōsus ‘addicted to women’ (Pl.+), mulierāre ‘to use as a woman’ (Varro).

Muliebris < *mulies-ri- proves an original s-stem. Thus, nom.sg. *mulies or *muliēs >> *mulīer > mulier. The older etymology (Sommer 1914: 454, WH, IEW) interprets mulier as an original comparative to the stem of mollis ‘soft, weak’, namely as *ml-ies-ī; more correct would be *mld-ies-ī, but this would yield *mollieri > *mullier with a palatal l. Klingenschmitt 1992: 130 proposes a comparative to the stem of melior ‘better': *ml-lēs-īH ‘the better one, chief spouse’ > *molìesī >> nom. *moliesis. This requires two more assumptions which are without a parallel: firstly, *olj > ulj. This is unlikely, since *j has turned to i in all of OLat. (mulier), whereas the change olC > ulC is dated to the second century BC (Meiser 1998: 84). Secondly, the nom. *moliesis would have analogically been remade into *molies/r, which is unlikely (cf. neptis). Hence, there is still the possibility that mulier has a different etymology.


→ melior, multus

mulleus ‘red-coloured (said of shoes)’ [adj. o/ā] (Cato+; mullōs [acc.pl.] Vopiscus)
Pt. *molwo-.

PIE *ml-uo-? IE cognates: Lith. mūvas ‘reddish, yellowish’.
Driessen 2005: 45 holds that the original form may have been *mullus* (possibly retained by Vopiscus) which was remade into *mulleus* on the model of *calceus* 'shoe', with which it always occurs. Driessen rejects the connection with adj. in *-no-* meaning 'black' (e.g. Gr. μέλας, Latv. *mēns* 'black') since Plt. *melano-* would not yield Lat. *mullus*; he proposes *ml-uo-* instead.

Bibl.: WH II: 122f., EM 419, IEW 720f.

**multus** 'numerous, many' [adj. o/a] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *multēsimus* 'infinitesimal' (Lurc.), *molta* (CIL.), *multa* 'penalty' (Pl.+), *multāre* (CIL. moltāre) 'to fine' (Naev.+), *multītūre* 'to fine habitually' (Cato), *multītūdō* 'abundance, (large) number' (Varro+).

Plt. *molt(o)-.* It. cognates: O. *molt* [nom.sg.], *moltam* [acc.sg.], *moltas* [gen.sg. or acc.pl.], U. *mutu, muta* [nom.sg.], *muta* [acc.sg.], *motar* [gen.sg.] 'a fine'; O. *mūltasikad* [abl.sg.f.], *moltas(ikud)* [abl.sg.n.] 'cashed as a fine', derivative in *-isko-* of a form *moltāsio-* 'fine-like'; O. *moltaum* [inf.] 'to fine'.

 PIE *m(o)l-to-* 'good, big'? IE cognates: Gr. μάλα 'very, quite', μάλλον 'more, rather' (for *μέλλον?), μάλιστα 'mostly, quite especially'; Latv. *mils* 'very many'.

The appurtenance of *multa* here is not certain, but can be justified: a fine is a 'quantity' one has to pay. *Multus* may formally be explained from *ml-to-* or *mol-to-* as 'good' or 'strong' vel sim., but the function of *-to-* remains unclear. As argued s.v. *melior*, the IE root etymology is not very strong.

Bibl.: WH II: 123-125, EM 419f., IEW 720, Untermann 2000: 482-484. → *melior*

**mulus** 'mule' [m. o] (Pl.+


Plt. *musklo-* / *mukslo-.*

IE cognates: Gr. μυκλός 'lascivious; pack-mule', μυχλός 'Phocaean name of a breeder-ass' (Hsch.) < *μυκσλός> Alb. *mushk*, ORu. *mşkb*, RuCS *mesk* 'mule'.

Probably a loanword which entered Europe from Asia Minor in the form *musk-* or *muks-.*


**mundus** 'clean, elegant' [adj. o/a] (Pl.+

Derivatives: *munditia* 'cleanliness, elegance' (Pl.+, *mundulus* 'elegant' (Pl.); *immundus* 'unclean, squalid' (Pl.+), *immunditia* 'dirtiness' (Pl.+), *permundus* 'very clean' (Varro).

Plt. *mudno-.*

PIE *mudno-* 'happy'? IE cognates: Skt. *mūd-* [f.] 'joy, delight', *mōda-* [m.] 'joy, delight', *módate* 'to be happy', Lith. *mudris*, Latv. *muds* 'cheerful'?

Could be derived from the PIE root *meud-* 'to rejoice', although the semantics are not compelling.

Bibl.: WH II: 126f., EM 420, IEW 741-743.
murmur, -is ‘low, continuous noise’ [n. r] (Pac. +)

Derivatives: murmure ‘to rumble, mutter, grumble’ (Pl.), commurmure ‘to mutter, murmur’ (Varro +), murmurillare ‘to mutter faintly’ (Pl.), murmurillum ‘a

mundus ‘heavens, sky; world, earth; subterranean vault’ [m. o] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: mundus [m.] ‘a woman’s toilet articles’ (Acc. +).

It is not certain that mundus ‘sky, world’ and mundus ‘toiletry’ are identical, but semantically, they seem close enough. A woman’s toiletry can be interpreted as her ‘equipment’, which may be derived from ‘world’. The Latin usage may have been influenced by Gr. κόσμος ‘order; ornament, jewelry’. The etymology is unknown: the connection with Etruscan mund- cannot be established as long as its meaning is unknown.

Bibl.: WH II: 127f., EM 420f.

mūnus, -eris ‘function, task, duty’ [n. r] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: mūnusculum ‘small gift’ (Pl.), mūnerāre ‘to bestow’ (Pl.), mūnerālis ‘relating to the giving of presents’ (Pl.), mūnerigerulus ‘bearer of presents’ (Pl.); moe/uīna, -ōrum ‘duties, functions’ (Pl. +); commūnis ‘common, general’ (Naev. +; OLat. comōin-), moe/uīnis ‘obliged, indebted’ (Pl. +), commūnitus [adv.] ‘jointly’ (Varro), commūnicāre ‘to share, communicate’ (Pl. +); mūnicēps, -ipis ‘native, citizen of a municipium’ (Lucil. +), mūnicēpitum ‘community, municipality’ (CIL +), mūnificus ‘dutiful, generous’ (Pl. +), mūnificāre ‘to enrich’ (Lucr.); immūnis ‘not paying a share, exempt’ (Pl. +).


All words are based on two stems, *mūnos- and *mūni- ‘function, obligation’. A mūnicēps is one who ‘takes an obligation’, commūnis ‘who partakes in the duties’. The i-stem in the adj. could in theory have been created in Italic after adjectives such as inermis ‘unarmed’; on the other hand, Gm. shows the same compound in Go. gamains. Mūnis can be a back-formation to commūnis. Probably Lat. mūnus is based on a thematic noun *moi-no-; compare fénum [n. ] beside fénum. Vine 1999d: 300f. connects <meinom> on the Duenos inscription, reconstructing *mei-no- ‘gift’, which would occur in a figura etymologica with the verb form mitat on the same inscription.

faint mutter’ (Pl.).

PIE *mo/ur-mo/ur-ā-. IE cognates: Skt. mūrmura- [m.] ‘crackling fire’, -ā [f.] name of a river, marmara- ‘roaring’, Gr. μορμοῦρο ‘roar and boil’, Arm. mīrī-am, -im (< *mūrmur-), Lith. murmētis, murn(l)ęnti ‘to grumble, murmur’, Cz. mrmrati, SCr. mrmrati, Bulg. marmôrja ‘id.’ < PSI. *mrm(ə)ra, Ru. mormułit’ (dialect) ‘grumble, chatter’, SCr. mrmljiti ‘to grumble, grumble’ < PSI. *mrm-l-; OHG murmulōn ‘id.’.

Since murmur is attested later than murmurāre, and since we find reduplicated verbs everywhere in IE, murmur may well be a deverbal derivative. Latin murmur is regarded as a reflex of earlier *mormor- < PIE *mrmr- or *mormor- (the change of *mor- > mur- being irregular), but it may also have onomatopoeic *-u-.


mūrus ‘defensive wall’ [m. o] (Pl.); moerus / moirus CIL, Enn., Acc.)

Derivatives: mūrālis ‘of a wall; turreted’ (Lucr.), pomērium / pomoerium ‘strip of land round the walls, town boundary’ (Varro+).

PIE *(H)moi-ro-.

PIE *(H)moi-ro- ‘building’.

Pōmērium < *posmoirio- < *post-moirio- ‘what is behind the wall’. It did not undergo the expected change of *oi to i in non-initial syllable; hence, it may be an archaism.


mūs, mūris ‘mouse’ [m. r] (Pl.)

Derivatives: mūscipulum ‘mousetrap’ (Lucil.), mūsculus ‘mussel, small fish, small rodent; muscle’ (Pl.), mūrūnis ‘of a mouse’ (Varro+), mūscerdae [f.pl.] ‘mouse droppings’ (Plin.); possibly mūrex, -icus ‘shellfish yielding purple dye; its shell’ (Lucil.); mūstēla / mūstella ‘weasel; certain fish (prop. burbot)’ (Pl.), mustēlinus ‘of a weasel’ (Ter.), mustricula ‘a shoemaker’s last’ (Afran. apud Paul. ex F.).

PIE *mūs ‘mouse’, *mūs-trā- ‘mouse-like animal’.


Since musculus also means ‘mussel’, it is conceivable that mūrex belongs here. It may also be a loanword, cognate with Gr. μῶς ‘mussel’. Lat. musculus ‘mussel’ can be derived from ‘mouse’ (cf. musculus ‘muscle’, named after the form of a muscle), but may also be cognate with Gr. μῶς and Lat. mūrex. The noun mūstēla is discussed elaborately by Schaffner 2006a, who holds that the original form of the noun was mūstella from *mūs-tre-lā- ‘small mouse-like animal’. He analyzes it as a diminutive of an earlier noun *mūs-trā- ‘mouse-like animal’ which can be compared with OHG fledare-mustra ‘bat’ < PGm. *mistrō-, mūstro ‘bat’ < *mistran-. The preform *mūstro- is also found in Lat. mūstricula < *mūstro-ke-lā- according to Schaffner, which would be due to the comparison of a shoemaker’s last with the teeth of a
weasel. This seems convincing. The use of the dim. for the weasel can be due to its small size compared with other similar animals (marten, polecat) or because it was domesticated and used as a pet animal (Schaffner 2006a: 39).


**musca** 'fly' [f. á] (Pl.+

Plt. *musko/á*.

PIE *mu-s-. IE cognates: Gr. μυῖα < *μυογα 'fly'; Arm. mown, Gen. mnóy 'mosquito', Alb. myzê, nizë; OPr. muso, Lith. muse, muso, Latv. mūsa, musa 'fly'; OCS mūxa, Ru. mūxa, Cz. moucha 'fly' < *mousā, OCS mūšica 'mosquito, locust', Ru. (dial.) mūšica 'midge, gnats, small insects'; OIr. my [n.] < *mūja- 'mosquito', OE mycg, OS muggia, OHG mucka.

Quite possibly an onomatopoeic form *mu* for the humming sound which flies and mosquitoes make. The s-extension is found in Latin, BSl., Greek and Gm.

Bibl.: WH II: 133, EM 424, IEW 752.

**mūsceus** 'moss' [m. o] (Cato+)

Derivatives: muscósus 'mossy' (Varro+).

Plt. *mūsko-*.  

PIE *mūs-ko- 'moor, moss'. IE cognates: Lith. mūsai [m.] / mūsos [f.] 'mould', Ru. mōx 'moss' [m.], ORu. mēx, mōxh 'marsh overgrown with moss', SCr. māh 'moss, mould, bloom' [m.], māha [gen.sg.] < BSl. *mūs-o-; OIr. mosi 'moss, moorland' [m.], OHG mos 'moss, marsh' [n.] < *mus-, OHG mios, OE mēos 'moor, marshland', OIr. myrr [f.] < *meus-.

It is uncertain whether there is a connection with *mustus*.

Bibl.: WH II: 134, EM 424, IEW 741-743.

**mustus** 'fresh, young' [adj. o/á] (Naev.+

Derivatives: mustum 'unfermented grape-juice, must' (Cato+), mustulentus 'full of unfermented wine' (Pl.+), musteus 'fresh, juicy; kind of pear' (Cato+), mustārius 'used for must' (Cato), mustāceus 'cake made with must' (Cato+).

In theory, *mustus* may be derived from *mud-s-to- to the root *mud- 'to be cheerful', but the semantic connection is quite gratuitous. Bettini 2000 derives the name for the 'weasel' from *mustus*, via a dim. suffix -ella; but see s.v. mūs.


**mutulis** 'mutilated, truncated' [adj. o/á] (Varro+)

Derivatives: mutilāre 'to mutilate, cut off' (Ter. +), admutilāre 'to cut loose, fleece' (Pl.).

IE cognates: Ir. mut, Gaelic mutach 'short' < *mutt-.

No etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 136, EM 425, IEW 753.
mūtō / mūttō 'penis' [m. n] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: mūttō/ūnium 'penis' (Lucil.+), mū/oeitūnus 'phallic' (Lucil.).

PIE *mūt-o-.

PIE *mHu-to- 'strong one'. IE cognates: OIr. moth 'male organ'; Hit. miiya- [c.] an awe-inspiring quality (loanword from Luw.), CLuw. mūya- 'to overpower (vel sim.)' (3sg.pr.act. mu-u-ya-i) (< *mouH-?), HLib. muwa- 'to dominate(?), to attack(?)', *mūwita- [c.] 'seed(?), nimuwina- [c.] 'child', Lyc. mūwēte- 'descendance?'; Hit. mūrī- 'bunch'; Gr. μύριος [adj.] 'countless, immense' < *muH-ri-.

Since the penis is often referred to with euphemisms, one may derive mūtō from the adj. mūtus. On the other hand, one may also look for an external etymology. The closest comparandum of mūtō seems to be OIr. moth. Applying the rules for pretonic absence of lengthening in Italo-Celtic sequences of the type *CHu- (Kortlandt 1980a, Schrijver 1991: 248, 534), we might explain moth < *mHu-tō- while mūtō would be based on a form *mHu-to-.. Weiss 1996a: 207-209 connects mūtō with Hit. mūrī- 'bunch' and mūwa- 'awe-inspiring quality', positing a PIE root *muH13- 'reproductive power'. In view of the meaning of CLuw. mūya- 'to overpower (vel sim.)' and Gr. μύριος 'countless (connected by Weiss), the original meaning of the root may have been 'to be powerful / abundant'; the sexual connotation would then be specifically Italo-Celtic, or even older if HLib. mūwita- means 'seed' and belongs here.


mūtus 'inarticulate, dumb' [adj. o/a] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: obmūtēscere 'to become dumb, silent' (Ter.+); mūtēre 'to mutter' (Pl.+), mūtītō 'muttering' (Pl.).

PIE *mūt-o-.

PIE *mū-to-. IE cognates: Skt. mūka- 'dumb', muni- [m.] 'ascetic, hermit', Gr. μῦκος, μῦτις, μυττός, μῦδος, μυναρός, Hsch. μυνδός 'dumb, speechless', Arm. mownj 'dumb'.

Mūtus must be understood as 'he who cannot say anything but mū'. If we take mūtēre as a direct derivative of *mūt-o- (with expressive gemination), both meanings 'to say mu' and 'to be dumb' are represented. The root *mū is found with various extensions in the IE languages. Within Latin, we also find it in mūgiō.

Bibl.: WH II: 139f., EM 426f., IEW 751f. → mūgiō

mūtuus 'on loan, reciprocal' [adj. o/a] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: mūtuāre/i 'to borrow' (Cato+), mūtuitāri 'to try to borrow' (Pl.), mūtuiter 'reciprocally' (Varro); mūtāre 'to exchange, replace' (Pl.+), mūtātō 'exchange, change' (Pl.+), mūtābilitās 'liability to change' (Lucr.+), commūtāre 'to change, alter' (Pl.+), commūtābilis 'variable' (Varro+), commūtātō 'change, reversal' (Acc.+), commūtātus, -ās 'change' (Lucr.), commoetāculum 'kind of rod used during a ceremony' (Paul. ex F.), dēmūtāre 'to transform, deviate' (Pl.+), immūtāre 'to alter, modify' (Pl.+), immūtābilis 'liable to be changed' (Pl.), permūtāre 'to exchange, sell' (Pl.+), trānsmūtāre 'to change into' (Lucr.+).
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PIE *moito-to- ‘(object of) change’. IE cognates: see s.v. mūmus.

Both mūtus and mūtāre presuppose a nominal stem *mūto- ‘(object of) change’ [m.]. Several etymologies are possible for PLt. *moito-. It may be *moith₂-o- from the root *mith₂- ‘to exchange’, or *h₂moit-o- from a different root for ‘to exchange’. LIV favours the former option, but the meaning of mittō (the certain Latin reflex of *mith₂-) is much further removed from mūtāre than mūnus < h₂mī-is.

Bibl.: WH II: 137f., 140, EM 426, IEW 715, Schrijver 1991: 20, LIV *meith₂- → meō, mittō, mūnus

nam ‘certainly, for, well’ [ptcle.] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: namque ‘certainly, for, well’ (Pl.+, numnam [interr.ptcl.] ‘...not?’ (Pl.+), quianam ‘why ever?’ (Naev.+), utinam ‘if only!’ (Pl.+).

PLt. *no/e- ‘that’.

IE cognates: If to PIE *h₂n-: Skt. anā [adv.], anēna [instr.sg.m.], anāyā [instr.sg.f.], anāyōs [gen.loc.du.] ‘through this’, OAv. anā [instr.sg.], anāiś [instr.pl.], YAv. ana [instr.sg.]. Arm. ayn ‘ille’, na ‘is’, noyn ‘idem’, Lith. anās ‘that’, OCS om ‘that, he’ [nom.sg.m.], ona [f.], ono [n.] < *h₂en-o-. If to PIE *ne ‘like’: see s.v. ne- and -ne.

It might be an original acc.sg.f. *nām to a thematic stem *no/e- ‘that’, from which also the particles nem(-) and num might be derived. The stem *no/e- can be interpreted in different ways: as an Italic inflected continuant of a PIE particle *ne ‘like’ (see s.v. ne, cf. Beekes 1995: 222), or as reflex of the PIE deictic pronoun/particle *h₂(e)n- ‘that’ (Beekes 1995: 202).

Bibl.: WH II: 140f., EM 428, IEW 319-321. → -dam, -ne, nem-, num

nanciscor, -i ‘to acquire, get’ [v. III; ppp. nactum >> nāntum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: nanciō, -ere / nancor, -ī ‘to acquire’ (Lex XII, Grach., Fest.).

PLt. pr. *nank-(i-), ppp. *nak-to-.

PIE pr. *h₂n-n-k- ‘to reach’, pf. *h₂ne-h₂no(n)k-, ppp. *h₂nk-to-. IE cognates: OIr. ar-ic* ‘to decide’, do-ic* ‘to come’, ro-ic* ‘to reach’, MW renghi, rynghu ‘to reach’, kyfrang, kyfreing ‘meets, fights’ < PCl. pr. *-an-n-ke-o-, OIr. ro-ánaic* [3s.pf.] ‘to reach’ < PCl. *-ánonk-. Skt. pr. aśnōti, aor. ānāt, nat, prá ṅak [3s.inj.] (< IE *h₂é-h₂nekt-), Skt. pf. ānāmsa (IE *h₂e-h₂no(n)k-e) ‘to reach, attain’, Skt. ppp. ā-sam-aṣṭa- ‘not yet reached’; OAv. frōṣṭā [3s.aor.med.], frōṣtīḥ /fra ḥṣāṭ/ [3s.aor.opt.act.], nāṣāma [1p.s-aor.sb.] ‘to reach’, aṣṭa- ‘arrived’, YAv. anna.ānaoiti [pr.] ‘to reach, hit’; Gr. θν-ηνεκής ‘reaching down to the feet’, δινεκής, Att. δινεκής ‘continuous’; Arm. hasanem ‘to arrive’; Lith. nōkti, 3s. nōksta ‘to grow ripe, (dial.) grow weak, wither’, dial. ‘to pursue, chase’, Latv. nākt ‘to come’ (with
elimination of the second n) .

The pr. *nanciscor was built on an i-stem present, which is still feebly attested by grammarians and glossators. The oldest system seems to be a pr. *nank-i- and a ppp. *nakto-. The a-vocalism of *nakto- must be secondary. The pr. is doubly characterised by a nasal infix and a suffix -i; since Celtic shows a nasal present, this will be the older variant. The pf. of Ilr. and Celtic shows that -*n- must have become a fixed part of the root at an early date, hence there was a root pr. *h2ne(n)k-. The Italo-Celtic nasal present *h2n-ne-k- may have phonetically yielded Plt. *nank- (Schrijver has a phonetic rule for this, cf. p. 491ff.), and if a concurring form pr. *h2n-ne-k- > **anek- ever existed, it was ousted with the support of the perfect *anonek-. The a-vocalism of the pr. Plt. *nank- was then imported into the ppp. *anko- >> *nakto-.


nāris ‘nose; pl. nostrils, nose’ [f. i; pl. nārēs, -ium] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: nāsus/m [m./n.] ‘nose’ (Naev.+), nāsītus ‘having a long nose; witty’ (Lucil.+), Nāsō ‘Roman cognomen’ (Ov.+).

PIt. *nās- [f.], *nāsī-, *nāso- ‘nose’.


Latin has two derivatives of the (pre-)Plt. stem *nās-, an i-stem and an o-stem. It appears that the PIE word was often used in the dual (‘the nostrils’), and the dual of a f. root noun in PIE would have ended in nom.acc. *-e > Plt. *-e. When the dual (lost in Latin) was reinterpreted as a plural, *nāse may have been remade into *nāses (with the regular pl. ending of C-stems) or *nāsoi (as an o-stem). Other scenarios may be envisaged. The non-rhotacized -s- is difficult to explain, other than possibly being a remnant from pre-rhotacism times, from a different social layer. The PIE root cannot be identified with that of anhelus and animus (as proposed by Fritz 1996), which I reconstruct as *h2nh1- ‘to breathe, blow’.


nāscor, nāsci ‘to be born’ [v. III; ppp. (g)nātum] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: (g)nātus ‘son’, pl. ‘children’ (Naev.+), (g)nāta ‘daughter’ (Andr.+), nātālis ‘of birth’ (Pl.+), nātīō ‘people, race’ (Pl.+), ‘birth of a child’ (CIL 1.60 nationu gratia ‘nationis gratia’, Varro+), nātīvs ‘original’ (Varro+), nātū [abl.sg.m.] ‘of age, by birth’ (Pl.+), nātūra ‘conditions of birth, character’ (Pl.+), nātūrālis ‘natural’ (Varro+); agnāsci ‘to be born in addition’ (< *ad-gn-) (Varro+), aognātiō
agnation' (Varro+), *agnātus 'younger child; blood relation on father’s side’ (Lex XII+), cognāta 'kinswoman' (Pl.+), cognātus 'male relation' (Pl.+), cognātus ‘related by birth’ (Ter.+), cognātō 'blood-relationship' (Varro+), dēnāscī 'to lose vigour' (Varro+), ēnāscī ‘to arise’ (Varro+), innāscī ‘to be born, arise’ (Pl.+), innātus ‘innate’ (Ter.+), prōgnātus ‘originated, sprung forth’ (Elog.Scip., Naev.); praegnās, -tis (also -ns, -ntis) ‘pregnant’ (Naev+), praegnātīō ‘pregnancy’ (Varro+).


The basic formations are the pr. *gnāskelo-/, the ppp. *gnātos ‘born’, probably the tu-abstracts *gnātu- and *gnātī-, and the extended ti-stem *gnātjon-. The latter is also attested in Umbrian with different suffix ablaut, suggesting that Pit. still had an ablauting suffix. Lat. praegnās is explained by Schwyzer 1929: 10 from a possessive cp. *prai-gnāti- ‘who has birth ahead of her’. The nom.sg. in *-ātis > -ās later gave rise to an oblique stem praegnant-, whence a new nom.sg. in -āns.


nassa ‘fish-trap made of wickerwork’ [f. ā] (Pl.+)

Pit. *nasso-.

PIE *nHd-to- ‘tied, knotted’. IE cognates: Olr. nascaid*, MBret. naska ‘to bind’ < PCl. *nad-sk-, OIc. nassae ‘bound’ < *nad-to-, Go. nati, OHG nezzi, OE, OIc. net ‘net’ < *nad-i-.

If the root etymology given here is correct, Skt. nāhya- ‘to tie together’ must be explained differently. However, it is disputed which forms belong together. If Lat. nōdus is cognate, it must reflect *nōHd-o-, but Schrijver explains it from *nōd-o-, and connects OIc. nist ‘brooch, pin’, OHG nestilo ‘string’, which are easier to derive from a root *nd-/. Even PGm. *nat-i- ‘net’ would be easier from PIE *nōd-i- than from *nHd-i-, morphologically. If PGm. *nati- belongs to nassa, we have a Germano-Italo-Celtic root *nad- ‘to bind, plait’, which may go back to PIE *nHd-.


nātnor, -āri ‘to be busy’ [v. I] (Cato apud Fest.)

Derivatives: natinatio dicebatur negotiatio et natinatores ex eo seditiosa negotia gerentes (ibidem).

Pit. *gnātī-.
natis *gnh₁-ti- ‘birth, production’.

A possible origin from *nāyūtinor was rejected by WH, hesitantly retained by Leumann, and adopted by Flobert 1975:94. Vine 1999c, inspired by these accounts, gives an alternative which seems preferable. He starts from a ti-stem PIE *gnh₃-ti- ‘knowledge’ or *gnh₁-ti- ‘production’ (the latter one suggested by Michael Weiss) > Plt. *gnāti-, from which an adj. *gnātīno- ‘energetic, busy’ was derived (maybe still attested in the gloss natinia ‘discordia’). From this adj. the verb nātinārī would then derive. For the basic root, *gnh₁- seems semantically more straightforward.

Bibl.: WH II: 146, EM 431, Leumann 1977: 551, Vine 1999c. → (g)nāvus, nāscor

natis ‘buttock’ [f. ī] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: mostly pl. natēs, -ium.

Plt. *(g/s)nati-.

PIE *nHt-? IE cognates: Gr. vōrov [n.] ‘back; wide surface’.

The connection between natis and Gr. vōrov, two isolated words, is certainly possible from the semantic side, but remains formally uncertain. Schrijver reconstructs a root noun *(e)h₁t- from which Latin would have derived an i-stem *nh₁-t-i- and Greek an o-stem *ne/oht-o-. Another possibility is a root *nh₂t- (Greek *noh₂-o-) or *nh₂- (Latin *nh₂-ti- and Greek *noh₂-to-). But the etymology remains very uncertain.


natrix, -icis ‘water-snake; penis’ [f. ī] (Lucil.+)

Plt. *(s)natriks.


Derived from the root of sneō ‘to spin’. For the outcome *nāt- < *(s)nHt-, cf. Schrijver 1991: 170f.

Bibl.: WH II: 147, EM 431, IEW 767, Schrijver 1991: 149, 169, LIV *snehr- -> nēō

naucum ‘trifle, worthless thing’ [n. o] (Naev.+)

Naucum is discussed by Strunk 1993, who returns to the ancient (folk etymological?) connection with nux. He argues that naucum may have meant ‘nutshell’. Semantically this is attractive, but there is no explanation for the -an- in naucum.

Bibl.: WH II: 147ff., EM 431, Strunk 1993. → nux

nāvis ‘ship’ [f. ī] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: nāvicula ‘small ship’ (Afran.+), nāviculārius ‘ship-owner’ (Varro+), nāvālis ‘of a ship, naval’ (Pl.+, nāvīgāre ‘to go by ship, sail’ (Pl.+), nāvīgium ‘vessel, boat’ (Lucr.+); naufragus ‘shipwrecked’ (Varro+), naufragium ‘shipwreck’ (Pac.+), nāviger ‘navigable’ (Lucr.+).

Plt. *nau-, *nāw-.
PIE *neh₂-u- 'ship'. IE cognates: OIr. náu, nó 'ship', Skt. náu- [f.] (nom.sg. náus, acc. návam, gen. návás), Khot. no, Oss. naw/nawae 'boat' < IIr. *naHu-, Skt. návyá-, YAv. náu(a)iia-, OP návīyā [adj.f.] 'to be crossed only by boat' < IIr. *naHu-iHa-; Gr. ναῦς, Ion. νῆςς, OIC. nór 'ship'.

Probably a PIE u-stem noun or adj. *neh₂-u- derived from 'to swim': 'the swimming, floating one'. In the oblique case forms, *neh₂uV- yielded *nawV-, whence the long vowel was imported into the nom.acc.sg. Finally, the stem was remade into an i-stem. Schrijver 1991 reconstructs a lengthened grade *nēh₂-u-, but there is no need to.


ne- 'not, un~' [pref.] (Foruminscr.+

Derivatives: nōn 'not' (Naev.++; Pl. noenum, Lucil. noenum); nec, neque 'not, and not, not either' (Lex XII, Andr.+) negāre 'to deny, refuse' (Naev.+), negitāre 'to deny repeatedly' (Pl.+) .

Pit. *ne 'not', *ne-kʷe 'and not'. It. cognates: O. nep, U. nep 'not' maybe < *ne-kʷe. The Sab. continuants of *ne and *nē are not easy to distinguish (see s.v. nē).

PIE *ne 'not'. IE cognates: OIr. na, nach, MWe. nac 'not' < *ne-kʷe, Skt. nā 'not', naca 'and not', Lith. nē, Latv. ne, OCS ne 'not', Go. ni 'not' < *ne, nih 'strongly) not' < *ne-kʷe.

Neque < *ne-kʷe 'and not', nōn < *ne-oilm 'not one'. In the latter form, apocope of -um is irregular (maybe due to unstressed use of the word), and -ō can only be explained from a contraction *ne-oilm- > *nōlm- > nōn. The form nec has two functions: 1) apocopated form of neque 'and not', 2) simple 'not' (esp. Volat.). They may be etymologically identical, but the second nec could also reflect *ne-ke (cf. the suffix *-ke in hic); in that case, negāre and neglegere can be directly explained from this nec. If they were formed from neque, they would postdate the apocope of neque > nec.


-ne 'then? or, whether' [ptcile.] (Andr.+

Derivatives: Is sometimes apocopated to -n: ain, satin, videm, audem.

Pit. *ne.

PIE *-né. IE cognates: Skt. nā 'as, like', Av. yaḥ-na 'namely', Gr. Thess. ὤν, τόν, τὸν, ὅτα, ὅτη, OLith. ne 'as', Lith. nē, nėgi, nėgu 'than' (after comp.), néi 'as', Latv. ne 'than'; OCS, SCR. neže 'than' < *ne-gr(w)hē.

May ultimately be the same word as PIE *ne 'not'. The scepticism towards this view uttered in WH and EM is excessive.


nē 'not, that not' [ptcile., cj.] (Duenos inscr., Lex XII+)

Derivatives: neu, nēve 'nor, and not' (Pl.+).

PIE *nē. IE cognates: OIr. nó, W. neu, OBret. nou ‘or’ < *ne-ye; Skt. návā ‘or not’, Av. nauā.

Lat. neu, nēve < *nē-we. The apocope of final -e led to *nēu > neu. Long ē can be explained in two ways: either it is the PIE stressed reflex of *ne ‘not’, or it was remade from PIE *meh1 ‘(that) not’ by replacement of the m- by n-. Since Plt. *nē-we can be compared with Celtic *ne-ye < PIE *ne-ye, it appears that Latin has introduced the variant *nē into original *ne. This, in turn, suggests that *nē is a stressed variant of *ne, rather than a continuation of *meh1.


nebula ‘mist, fog’ [f. ē] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: nebulōsus ‘foggy’ (Cato+), nebulō ‘worthless person, scoundrel’ (Ter.+).
Plt. *nefelā-.


Bibli.: WH II: 151, EM 434, IEW 315, Meiser 1998: 103, LIV 1.*neb h-. → imber, nimbus

nectō, -ere ‘to weave, twine together’ [v. III; pf. nex(u)i, ppp. nexum] (Lex XII, Pl.+)

Derivatives: nexilis ‘plaited, intertwined’ (Varro+), nexus, -ūs ‘binding, bond’ (Lucr.+), nexere (also -āre) ‘to bind, plait’ (Andr.+); adnectere ‘to tie on, attach’ (Varro+), cōnectere ‘to join, relate’ (Pl.+), cōnexus, -ūs ‘connection’ (Lucr.+), innectere ‘to fasten’ (Varro+), obnectere ‘to entwine’ (Acc.+).

WH follow the etymology first proposed by Osthoff in 1890, viz. that nectere is a remake of earlier *nedere under influence of pectere. The root would be that of nōthus ‘knot’, and may be connected with Skt. nāhyantī ‘to bind together’, sām-nadhā-‘bound together’ (RV+), upānāh- [f.] ‘shoe, sandal’, YAv. naska- ‘collection of texts’, nada- ‘headgear’ < Ilr. *Hnad h-,. This remains a remote possibility since there is no evidence for *-<fh)- in Latin. An alternatively etymology would be to connect nectō with the root *h2nek- ‘to reach’ (see s.v. nanciscor), for which LIV reconstructs a root aorist *h2nek-.

Bibli.: WH II: 155f., EM 435, IEW 758f. → flectō, plectō

nefrōnes, nefrundīnes ‘kidneys, testicles’ [m.pl. n(d)] (Paul. ex F.)

Derivatives: nefrundīnes, nefrundīnes (Lānuvīnī), nefrōnes (in Praeneste); Paul. ex F. nefrendīes is probably due to confusion with nefrōnes ‘toothless’.
Plt. *nēxöm-. 

PIE *negwh-ro- ‘kidney’. IE cognates: Gr. νεφροί ‘kidneys’, OHG nioro, Oic. nýra, OSwe. niūre ‘kidney’ < PGm. *neurōn-.

The Latin evidence points to o-vocalism: *nefrōn(d)-. This can be connected with a PIE stem *negwh-ro- ‘kidney’, extended by an n-stem (as in Gm.), to which Latin then added a suffix *-d(h)-. Judging by febris ‘fever’ < *dēgwh-ri-, the cluster *-gwhr- > Plt. *xwhr- developed into PLat. *-fr-. The Latin result -fr- (instead of *-br-) is attributed
by Leumann to reanalysis: *ne- was regarded as the negation ne- ‘not’, and *fr- was treated as if in anlaut, where the development to fr- is regular.


nem- ‘of course, certainly’ [ptc.] (Naev.): nempe ‘of course, to be sure’ (Pl. +), nemut ‘unless’ (Naev. +)

IE cognates: see s.v. nam.

For the etymology of the stem, see s.v. nam. The ending -em in nem- is probably the same as in -dem, viz. *-im; see s.v. -dim.


nemus, -oris ‘wood, forest’ [n. r] (Enn. +)

Plt. *nem-os-.


The meaning ‘forest, (holy) clearance’ is shared by Greek, Celtic and Italic. It originates from ‘sacrifice’; > ‘the place of the sacrifice’. In Ilr., the s-stem means ‘worship’. LIV assumes two different roots, *nem-1 ‘to distribute’ and *nem-2 ‘to bend’, but the meanings are distributed complementarily across the IE languages: Ilr. and Toch. have ‘to bend’, the European languages ‘to distribute’ or ‘to take’. Since the s-stem is attested in all languages and presupposes the verbal meaning ‘distribute’, there can be little doubt that PIE had only one root *nem-.


neō ‘to spin’ [v. II; pf. nēvī, ppp. nētum] (Pl. +)

Plt. *(s)nēj(e)-.

PIE *(s)nēh₁-/*(s)nh₁- [pr.] ‘to spin’. IE cognates: Mbr. sniid, -snī ‘spins, restores’, W. nyddu, MCo. nedha, MBret. nezaff ‘to spin’ < PCI. *snijelo/-; Gr. 3s. νηῡ, 3p. νῦσι, inf. ἕβην (Aeol.), inf. νηῡ ‘to spin’, beside νηῡω; Latv. snāju, snāt ‘to wind together loosely, braid’; OHG nāen ‘to sew’.

It is impossible to say whether Latin continues the PIE root present or a (Italo-Celtic?) derivative in *-jē/o-.


nepōs, -ōtis ‘grandson, -daughter; descendant; playboy’ [m. (f.) f] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: nepōtulus ‘grandson’ (Pl.), neptis, -is [f.] ‘granddaughter, female descendant’ (Afran. +).

Plt. *nepōt- [m.], *nepti- [f.].

PIE *h₂nep-ōt- ‘male descendant other than son, grandson, nephew’, *h₂nep-t-ih₁/2
'female descendant', *h₂nep-t-iHo- [adj.] 'of the descendant'. IE cognates: (1) m.: Olr. *nía, gen. *niad 'cousin', W. *nei, nai 'cousin', Skt. *nápat [nom.sg.], *nápatam [acc.sg.], napáthi [gen.abl.sg.] 'descendant, grandson', OAv. *napśu [loc.pl.m.] (< PIlr. *napś-su), YAv. napá, napášē (t-) [nom.sg.], *napśtam [acc.sg.], napāram [acc.sg.], *napādrē [gen.sg.] (< *napātras), OP napā 'grandson' < Ir. *nápōt-; Alb. nip 'grandson, nephew'; OLith. nepuotis 'grandson, granddaughter', neptis 'grandson' [m.], OE nefa, OHG nevo 'nephew' (2) f.: Olr. necht 'niece'; Skt. napti- 'daughter, granddaughter', YAv. napti [f.] 'granddaughter' < Ir. *(H)napt-iH-, Alb. mbesē 'niece', OLith. neptė 'granddaughter', RuCS nestera 'niece', OHG nftp(a) 'niece'; (3) adj.: Skt. naptriya- 'belonging to the grandson', OAv. naptiia- 'belonging to the offspring?', YAv. navua.naptiia- [n.] 'the kinsmen of the nine degrees of kinship of a family'; Gr. ἄνεψιός 'cousin, son of sister', CS ORu. netii 'nephew', SCr. nēćak 'sister's son', netjak 'sister's son'.

The meaning 'cousin' does not appear in Latin before 150 AD, and is therefore secondary (Beekes 1976). The f. neptis was not remade into an -ēk-stem or an ia-stem like other f. nouns. The nom.sg. is reconstructed as asigmatic *nép-ōt by Beekes 1995: 178. The only indication for the initial laryngeal is Gr. ἄνεψιός.


Neptūnus 'Neptune; the sea' [m. o] (Naev. +)
Derivatives: Neptūnālia, -drum [n.pl.] 'the festival of Neptune' (Varro+).

Pit. *nepūno-?

PIE *nēbʰ-tu- 'moisture'? IE cognates: YAv. napta- [adj.] 'moist', aifpios.naptim [absol.] 'moistening'.

Rix 1981: 123 (= 2001: 291) supports the derivation from an abstract *nēbʰ-tu- 'moisturing' with a suffix *-h₃n- for indicating 'rulers': hence 'Lord of moisturing' > of irrigation, of wells, of rivers. Yet the existence of this suffix is not established. Alternatively, one might posit a de-instrumental derivative *nēbʰtuh₁-n- 'who is with moisture' in the vein of Nussbaum 1996. The Etruscan form Neţhuns would be borrowed from Umbrian because of the dental fricative, which might be rendering a hypothetical U. cognate *Nehtuns.

Bibl.: WH II: 162f., EM 438, IEW 315f., LIV 1.*nēbʰ- → nimbus

Nerō 'Nero' [m. n] (Liv. +)

Derivatives: Nerō / Neria / Neriennis 'Roman goddess, wife of Mars' (Pl. +), neriosus 'strong, resistant' (gloss.); Suet. nero 'lingua Sabina fortis ac strenuus', Lydus (de mensibus): νερίκη - ανδρία, νέρωνας - ανδρείους... οἱ Σαβίνοι; Suet. nero 'Sabinum verbum est eoque significatur virtus et fortitudine'.


PIE *h₂nēr [nom.sg.], *h₂ner-, *h₂nr- 'man'. IE cognates: W. ner 'hero', CLuw. ānnara/i- 'virile', Skt. nar- 'man, hero' (nāram [acc.sg.], nāras [nom.pl.], nṛ́n
nex, necis ‘violent death, murder’ [f. k] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: necāre ‘to kill’ (Pl. +), dēnicālis ‘reserved for the purification of the family of a deceased person’ (Cic. +), ēnilecāre (ppp. ēnectus) ‘to kill’ (Pl. +),

If derived from PIE *h2ner- ‘man’, the PN Nerō originally meant ‘the manly, strong one’. Sab. /něr/ retains the long vowel in the nom.sg. A cognomen Nero is reported for the gens Claudia from Varro onwards. Since it is mainly restricted to onomastics, Nerō could be a Sabellic loanword.


nervus ‘sinew, muscle, nerve’ [m. o] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: nerviae [f.pl.] ‘strings of a musical instrument’ (Varro +), nervia, -örum [n.pl.] ‘sinews or tendons’ (Varro +), Nervolāria title of a lost play ascribed to Plautus (Varro +).

Plt. *(s)neuro-.


Nervus probably stems from *neuros by metathesis. A similar development can be seen in parvus < *pauro-. Plt. *(s)neuro- is a thematization of PIE *(s)nehjur.

Bibl.: WH II: 165, EM 439, IEW 977, Schrijver 1991: 269, LIV *(s)neh₁- → natrix, neō


Plt. *ness- ‘next’


Since the Ilr. forms in *n(e)zd- are the closest in form and meaning, it seems preferable to derive nesismo- from the same root. Cowgill 1970: 131, 138 reconstructs Plt. *ness-isamo-, with haplology > *nessamo-. Yet this does not explain suffixal -i- in Oscan, which should continue a long vowel. Van der Staaij therefore reconstructs *-io- or *-iH-mo-, but refrains from a further explanation.

internecāre ‘to exterminate’ (Pl.+), interneciō ‘extermination’ (Lucil.+), pernicīēs ‘destruction, ruin’ (Pl.+).


The meaning of *nek presupposes a semantic development from ‘disappear’ to ‘die’ at an earlier stage. I regard nequalia ‘detrimenta’ (Fest.) as a likely derivative of quālis. This removes the Latin evidence for a PIE stem *nek-u-. The ppp. e-nectus could imply that necāre arose in compound verbs, esp. e-necāre, and substitutes an earlier verb *necere. But necāre could also be denominative in origin. For pernicīēs, see permitiēs.


nì ‘not, that not, that, unless’ [ptcle.; cj.] (VOLat.+: Duenos inscr., Garigliano Bowl, SCBac. nei)

Derivatives: nīve, neive ‘if not’ (Pl.+, nīsī ‘unless, but that, except’ (Naev.+).


A combination of ne ‘not’ and a deictic particle *-i.


nīdor ‘strong smell, fumes’ [m. r] (Lucr.+

Derivatives: nīdōricupius ‘who loves the smell of cooking’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *knei/id-os-.


Under the assumption that Gr. κύδη- continues *knid-s-<, and that a ‘strong smell’ is derived from a verb ‘to itch, sting’, nīdor could belong here. The vowels are difficult to reconcile: Lat. and Gm. can have *iH, *eiH or *ei, Baltic can have *ei(H), but Greek has *iH in *knid-< and *knid-< in κβίζω.


nīdus ‘nest’ [m. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: nīdāmenta, -örum [n.pl.] ‘nesting materials’ (Pl.), nīdulārī ‘to build a nest’ (Varro apud Non.+).
ningit 409

Pit. *nizdo-.  
PIE *nisdo- 'nest'. IE cognates: Mlr. net, W. nyth 'nest, dwelling', Skt. niṣā- [m.] 'nest, lair', Arm. nist 'residence, settlement', Lith. lizdas, Latv. līzds 'nest', OCS gnězdо, Ru. gnezdao, Scr. gnijězdo 'nest', OHG nest 'nest'.

A PIE compound consisting of *ni 'down' and the root *sd- 'to sit'.
Bibl.: WH II: 167, EM 441, IEW 884-887, Meiser 1998: 29, LIV *sed-. → sedeō, südō

niger 'black, dark' [adj. o/a] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: nigellus 'blackish' (Varro+), nigror 'blackness' (Pac.+), nigrāre 'to be black' (Varro+), nigrēre 'to grow dark' (Pac.+), nigritia 'black(ish) colour' (Varro apud Plin.+), nigriculus 'a little dark' (Varro); denigrāre 'to blacken' (Varro+); perniger 'very dark' (Pl.).
Unknown etymology.
Bibl.: WH II: 168, EM 441.

nimbus 'rain-cloud, shower' [m. o] (Pac.+)
Derivatives: nimbātus 'stormy' or 'clouded, shrouded in mists' (of a girl) (Pl.).
Plt. *nef(os)-
PIE *nēbḥ-os [n.], gen. -ē-ös 'cloud'. IE cognates: Hit. nēpiš [n. > c.], Cluw. tappaś- [n.], HLuw. tipas- [n.] 'sky, heaven', Skt. nābhah [n.] 'cloud, sky', Av. nabah- 'sky', Gr. νεφος [n.] 'cloud', OCS nebo, Lith. debesis 'sky'; MP namb, MoP namb 'dew, haze', nem 'moist'.

Nimbus might be connected to nebula 'cloud' and imber 'shower of rain' < *n(e)b h-. One might explain the -m- in nimbus by assuming that nimbus continues *nēbḥ-os- but was reshaped under the influence of imber, which has a similar meaning to nimbus. This is possible, but gratuitous.

nimis 'too much' [adv.] (Andr.+)
Derivatives: *nimium/s [adj.] 'excessive, too much' (Naev.+).
Plt. *ne *meijis (or *ne *miš) 'not too little, quite a lot'.
PIE *m(e)imh-is- 'less'. IE cognates: see s.v. minor.

Nimus must be a recent adjectivization of nimis. In the account of Meiser 1998, nimis < *nimis (iambic shortening) continues *ne meis 'not too little', with adverbial *meiH-is of the adj. *meiH- 'little, few' (cf. magis, satis). Since e.g. magis 'more' shows the zero grade of the root, one may also reconstruct *miH-is.
Bibl.: WH II: 169, EM 441, IEW 711, Meiser 1998: 154, LIV 1.*meiH-. → minor, ne

ningit, -ere 'it snows' [v. III] (Acc.+; nīvīt 'it snows' Pac.)
Derivatives: nix, nivis [f.] 'snow' (Pl.+), ninguis [f.] 'snow' (Lucr.+), niveus 'of snow, snow-white' (Naev.+).
Plt. *sneīwe/o- 'to snow' [pr.], *sningʷ- 'to snow', *sn(e)iw- 'snow' [m.].
PIE pr. *sneigʷ-e/o- 'to snow', *sn(e)igʷ- [m.] 'snow'. IE cognates: OIr. snigid,
nītelā 'kind of rodent' [f. ā] (Plin. +)

Derivatives: nītelūla 'kind of dormouse' (Cic. +).

A connection with nītor 'to lean, exert' is unlikely for semantic reasons. Nītor does not mean 'to climb', as WH argue in order to support this etymology. It is formally more attractive to look for a base *nītē-, but I see no good candidate. Maybe nītelā can be connected with nīdor 'smell' and its IE cognates meaning 'to scratch'. This makes non-IE origin possible.

Bibl.: WH II: 170, EM 442.

nīteō 'to be radiant, shine' [v. II; pf. nītuī] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: nītōr [m.] 'brightness, elegance' (Pl. +), nītīdus 'bright, elegant' (Pl. +), nītīdāre 'to make bright' (Enn. +), nītīdīusculus 'a little bit more shiny' (Pl.), nītīditās 'elegance' (Acc.), nītēscere 'to become bright' (Enn. +), ēnītēre 'to shine forth' (Acc. +).

The Latin words are easiest understood as building on a ppp. *nītos 'made bright, shining', but there is no known IE verbal root which fits the form and meaning. If renīdeō is connected, the root would be *nēit-, *noit-, *nīt-. The appurtenance of Skt. nīta- 'dark-coloured' < *nei(H)-? is very uncertain.

Bibl.: WH II: 171, EM 442, IEW 760. → renīdeō

nītōr, -ī 'to lean on, support oneself; strive, strain' [v. III; ppp. nīxus, nīsus; Paul. ex F. gnītor, gnīxum] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: nīsus, -ūs 'advance, pressure' (Pac. +), nīxārī 'to support oneself' (Lucr. +), nīxus, -ūs 'straining, travail' (Lucr. +), adnītī 'to exert oneself, lean' (Pl. +), conītī 'to strain, strive' (Pl. +), ēnītī 'to struggle out, give birth' (Pl. +), ēnīxīm 'strenuously' (Sis.), obnītī 'to thrust, make a stand' (Enn. +), obnīxe 'strenuously' (Pl. +), subnīxus 'propped up, assisted' (Pl. +).

Plt. *knīx̣-et- [pr.], *knīx̣-s-.

IE cognates: see s. v. cōnīveō.

The original meaning could be 'lean on' but also 'exert pressure'. Since the original meaning is unclear, the connection with Skt. yat- 'to be/put in place, line up' (thus LIV) remains gratuitous. Even for 'lean on', it would not be compelling. Furthermore, note that *ni does not occur as a preverb in Latin. Lat. nīxus (possibly for *nīctus, cf. Leumann 1977: 615) is difficult to explain secondarily, and points to a velar-final
root. Thus, the connection with *cōnīveō ‘to be tightly closed’ put forward by WH and IEW still seems preferable; in that case, gr- in Paul. ex F. could be etymologically justified. Nītor is explained as a back-formation to nīsus by Leumann 1977: 188, but there is no good model for such replacement. Phonetically, nītor could reflect *(g)nīwet-e-o- < *kn(e)g-w-e-t-; but the origin of -t- remains unclear.

Bibl.: WH II: 171, EM 442, IEW 608, Sihler 1995: 163, 208, LIV *jet- → cōnīveō

nā, nāre ‘to swim’ [v. I; pf. nāvī] (Pl.+

Derivatives: natāre ‘to swim, float’ (Pl.+) natātor ‘swimmer’ (Varro+); ēnāre ‘to swim out, forth’ (Pl.+) trānsnāre ‘to swim, sail across’ (Enn.+).


PIE pr. *(s)neb2-(ie/o-) ‘to swim, float’, ppp. *(s)nh2-to-. IE cognates: OIr. snaid, :snā* ‘to swim’ < PCl. *(s)nāj-(ie/o)-, Skt. pr. snātās [3d.act.], snātī- [ptc. act.], caus. snāpāya-, ta-ptc. snātā- ‘to bathe, wash’, YAv. us...snaiia- ‘to wash out’, fra-snaiia- ‘to wash clean’, fra-snāta- ‘washed’, usnāti- [f.] ‘washing off’, Gr. νήξω, Dor. νάξω ‘to swim’, Gr. νέω, ipf. νένεω, aor. νεύσαμαι ‘to swim’ < *snā-; ToB nāsk- ‘to bathe’.

Natāre was built to a ppp. *nātōs. Whether its preform was *nh2to- or *snh2-to- is hard to say (cf. Schrijver 1991: 171). The PIE present was probably a root present, to which Italic added *(i)je/o-. The meaning and therefore the appurtenance of the U. forms is uncertain; they refer to vessels used in connection with sacrifices, maybe with ointments.


noceō ‘to hurt, damage’ [v. II; pf. nociū, ppp. nocitum; s-sb. noxit (Lex XII, Lucil.)] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *innocēns ‘not guilty, virtuous’ (Naev.+), innocentia ‘innocence’ (Caecil.+); nōxa ‘injurious behaviour, punishment, harm’ (Andr.+), noxia ‘wrongdoing, damage’ (Lex XII+), noxius ‘guilty, harmful’ (Pl.+, innoxius ‘innocent, harmless’, noxitūdō ‘wrongdoing’ (Acc.), obnoxius ‘indebted, liable, submissive’ (Pl.+), obnoxiosus ‘subject, subordinate’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *nokēje- ‘to cause death’.

PIE *nok-eie- ‘to make disappear, cause death’. IE cognates: Skt. nāsāya- ‘to make disappear, destroy’, OP vinādayatiy [3s.pr.act.] ‘to damage’.

The s-sb. noxit and the noun noxa betray an earlier s(e/o)-present, but it must have been formed secondarily to noceō, since it has the meaning and the root vowel of that verb. Lat. obnoxius is generally explained as deriving from the syntagm ob noxiam esse ‘to be involved in misdemeanour’. Noxius could be a backformation to obnoxius (Leumann 1977: 290), and noxia can be the f. to noxius. All of these can be derived from noxa.

Bibl.: WH II: 153-155, EM 440, 455, IEW 762, LIV *nek-. → nex
nodus ‘knot, node’ [m. o] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: nōdāre ‘to furnish with joints, tie in a knot’ (Cato+); ōnōdāre ‘to prune surplus nodes from, unravel’ (Cato+), inōnōdābilis ‘that cannot be disentangled’ (Acc.+), internōdium ‘internode’ (Varro+).

PIE *nōdo- / *nΩHdo- / *neh3do- ‘knot’. IE cognates: Olc. nót ‘net’; see s.v. nassa.

The root etymology is uncertain; apart from the possible PIE preforms, an analysis as a loanword is also possible. See s.v. nassa.

Bibl.: WH II: 172f., EM 443, IEW 758f., Schrijver 1991: 125, 481. → nassa

nōmen ‘name’ [n. n] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: nōmināre ‘to name, designate’ (Pl. +), nōminītāre ‘to call’ (Lucr.+), nōminālis ‘of nouns’ (Varro), nōminātīm ‘by name, specifically’ (Pl. +), nōminātus, -ūs ‘noun’ (Varro), nōminātīvus ‘nominative’ (Varro+); cognōmen ‘surname, sobriquet’ (Pl. +), cognōmentum ‘surname, cognomen’ (Pl. +), cognōminis [adj.] ‘having the same name’ (Pl. +), cognōmināre ‘to give a (sur)name’ (Varro+), ignōminia ‘disqualification, disgrace’ (Lucil.+), prae(n)ōmen ‘personal name’ (Varro+), prae(n)ōmināre ‘to name with the prenomen’ (Varro), prōnōmen ‘pronoun’ (Varro+); nuncupāre ‘to declare, pronounce, appoint’ (Lex XII+).


The g in agnōmen and cognōmen was introduced on the model of a-, cō-gnōscō ‘to know, recognize’. The verb nuncupāre must be denominal to a noun *nōmiceps ‘taking a name, declaring’ > *nōmicupāre > *nōmucupāre > *nomucupāre > nuncupāre. The reconstruction of the root is disputed. Originally, PIE *(H)nōm- was posited, thus still by Sihler. Yet this does not explain Latin and Germanic unless by an unmotivated ơ-grade. Thus, the root structure was *HnǚH-. Many scholars now seem to agree on the identity of the second laryngeal as *h3, and this had led to an identification with the verbal root attested in Hit. hamma- / ham- ‘to judge, sue’ (< *h3ne-h3noh3-) and Gr. ὄνομα ‘to blame, repudiate’. LIV reconstructs initial *h2-, which requires that Gr. o- be secondary (assimilation to the second o?). Beekes reconstructs initial *h3- for ὄνομα and Arm. anown, which seems compelling: Arm. can have *h2 or *h3, but Greek only *h3. Others have reconstructed initial *h1- on the strength of Gr. personal names ὄνομα-κρατίδας and ὄνομα-κρατίδας attested in Doric dialects, which would contain *enoma- ‘name’. But these (partially restored) readings cannot be proven to contain the word for ‘name’, and thus do not outweigh the evidence of ὄνομα and Arm. anown.

nonnus ‘monk, nun’ [m. f. o, a] (Ecclesiastical Lat.)


Nursery word meaning ‘daddy, nanny’, reduplication of dental nasal plus (mostly) /a/. Bibl.: WH II: 175, EM 444, IEW 754. → anus, mamma

nos ‘we’ [pron. pers. lp.] (Naev. +; nom.acc. nōs, dat abl. nōbīs; gen. nostrum, nostrī; nostrōrum [m.], nostrārum [f.])

Derivatives: nos ter ‘our’ (Andr.+), nostrās, -tis ‘native, of our country’ (Cato+), nostrātim ‘in our manner’ (Varro).

Plt. *nōs ‘we, us’, *nōfei ‘us’, *nos-toro- ‘our’.

PIE acc. *nōs(ī), gen. *no(s)īs, adj. poss. *ns-toro-. IE cognates: Olr. snī ‘we’ (< *snēs? *snoi?), -nn ‘us’ < *(s)nōs, nāθar ‘ours’ < *nōstrom, ar n- < *nstrom; Hit. anz- ‘us’ [acc. an-za-as (OS), an-za-a-as, gen.sg. an-ze-el (OS)], Luw. āńza ‘we, us’, HLuw. anzz- ‘we, us’ < PIE *ns-ū, enclitic Hit. =nnaš ‘(to) us, our’, HLuw. =nzs ‘us’ < *-nos; Skt. nās [acc.], nas [gen. dat.] ‘us’, OAv. nās [acc.] < *nās, nō [gen.dat.] < *nas, YAv. nō [acc.gen.dat.] < *nas; Av. āhma ‘us’ < *ns-me; Gr. nom. ἡμεῖς, ace. ἡμας, Ion. ἡμεῖς, Dor. nom. ἡμεῖς, acc. ἡμε, Aeol. nom. ἡμείς, acc. ἡμε < PGr. *âme < PIE *ns-me; Alb. na < *nōs; OCS nom.pl. my, ny, gen.pl. nās, Go. uns < *gs-, ToA nās.

The original nom. *uei(s) was replaced by the stressed acc. form *nōs, apparently already in Plt. The gen. nostrum is originally the gen.pl. of noster; after Plautus it was replaced by nostrī. The opposition between stressed *nōs and enclitic *nos may date back to PIE.


nosco, -ere ‘to get to know’ [v. III; pf. nōvī, ppl. nōtum] (VOLat.+; SCBac. gnoscer, Pl., Caecil. also gn-)

Derivatives: ignōtus ‘ignorant; unknown’ (Naev.+); noscitāre ‘to investigate, recognize’ (Pl.+); nōtīō ‘acquaintance, examination’ (Pl.+), nōttīa / nōtītiēs ‘acquaintance, knowledge’ (Ter.+; -īēs Lucr. +), (g)nōbilis ‘familiar, famous, noble’ (Andr.+), nōbilitās ‘renown, nobility’ (Pl.+), nōbiliāre ‘to make noted’ (Ter.+), ignōbilis ‘unknown; of low birth’ (Andr.+), ignōbilītas ‘humble origin; obscurity’ (Lucil.+); agnoscre ‘to recognize, acknowledge’ (Pl.+), cognōscere ‘to get to know’ (Pl.+), cognōbilis ‘understandable’ (Cato+), cognitus ‘known (from experience)’ (Pac.+), incognitus ‘unheard, uninvestigated’ (Cic.+), ignōscere ‘to forgive’ (Pl.+), internōscere ‘to know apart’ (Pl.+), perrōscere ‘to get to know well’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *gnāske- | *gnōske-.

*gnh₃-to-. IE cognates: Olr. ad-*gn* ‘to recognize’ < *ati-gni-na-, W. atnabot (3s. atwaen) , Co. aswomos ‘to know’ (3s. aswon) < *ati-wa-gn--; Hit. kane/išš-zi ‘to recognize, acknowledge’ < *gnh₃-s-, Skt. pr. jānāti, pf. jajñivas-, jānis- [ptc.], aor. ajñāyi ‘to know, recognize’, ppv. ā-jñāta- ‘unknown’, jñātā- ‘known, recognized’; YAv. paiti.zana- ‘to acknowledge, comprehend’, žnātar- [m.] ‘knower’, žnōišta- ‘who knows the best’; OP dān- [ppf.], xšnāsa- [pr. sb.] ‘to learn, know’, Khot. paysān- ‘to recognize’; Gr. γιγνώσκω ‘id.’, aor. ἔγνων, ppv. γνωτός ‘known’, often γνωστός; γνώμων ‘knower’, γνώσις ‘inquiry, knowledge’; Arm. ğanač’em < *gnH₃r-sk-i- (assimilated from *canač’em), Alb. njoh, 23s.pr. njeh < *gnV-sk-, Lith. žinoti ‘to know’, OPr. posinnat, Latv. zināt ‘to confess’; OCS znati, 1s. znaj, Ru. znat’ ‘to know’; Go. kunnan, OHG kunan ‘to know, be able’; ToA āknats, ToB aknatsa ‘foolish, stupid; fool’ < PTo. *āknātsā- < *g-ğuḥ₂₃-to-.

Originally, gnōscere meant ‘to get to know’, and nōvi ‘to know’. The adj. gnōbilis is explained by Leumann 1977 as a backformation from ignobilis, a negated derivative of *gnō-bulum ‘landmark, recognition sign’. The verb ignōscere contains the preverb *en- ‘in’. By regular sound change, the pr. *gnh₃-sk- and the adj. *gnh₃-to- would have become *gnascō, *gnatus, which would have been homonymous with nāscō ‘to be born’, nātus ‘born’. This may have been the reason why the full grade was introduced in ‘to know’: *gnh₃-skē- > gnascō, *gnh₃-to- > gnōtus. The full grade may stem from the aorist, or maybe from the perfect. For the form -gnitus in cognitus, see the discussion in Schrijver 1991: 199ff. This form can hardly be explained on the basis of *gnh₃-to-. Schrijver concludes that it may reflect *genotos < *-gnu₃-et-, for which he adduces two different morphological solutions. The first one, proposed by Beekes, assumes the suffix *-eto- which is often found in Greek; hence, *gnu₃-et- ‘which is to be known’ > *genoto-. The second one, proposed by Schrijver loc.cit., starts from a PIE t-stem *-gnu₃-t-, found in compounds such as Gr. αγνώς, ἀλλόγνως, ἀλλόγνως, the acc.sg. of which would be *-gnu₃-et-m. By means of thematization, this stem would have yielded an adj. *-gnu₃-et-o-.


nota ‘mark, sign’ [f. ā] (Lucil.+) Derivatives: notāre ‘to mark, indicate’ (Cato+).

Schrijver 1991 has clearly shown that it is impossible to derive nota from either *gnu₃- ‘to know’ or from the root of Gr. aor. ὁδόος(σσ)ῳδᾶτ ‘to blame’. Schrijver hesitatingly proposes to derive nota from *snot-ā ‘mark’ as a derivative of the root *snt- ‘to notice’ which is reflected in Lat. sentiō. Semantically, this would work, but if Go. sandjan ‘to send’ is cognate, the Latin form would have schwebe-ablaut, which makes this solution less attractive.

Bibl.: WH II: 177f., EM 446, IEW 377, Schrijver 1991: 197ff., LIV *snt-.

novācula ‘razor’ [f. ā] (Cic.+) PIt. *(ks)nowātlo-.

Instrument noun *sneuāklo- < *ksneuāklo- based on a verb stem *(ks)neuā-, which is itself derived from a PIE stem *ksneu- ‘to scrape (so as to make smooth), sharpen’. The retention of -ov- proves PIE *-euV- rather than *-owfS which would have yielded *-tvv- (at least, in pretonic position). Vine (2006: 214-216) posits an original deverbal adj. *ksneu-o- ‘(scraped) smooth’ whence a factitive ‘to make smooth’ or denominative present *ksneu-eh2-ie/o- would have been formed in Italic. In view of the meaning, Ilr. and Latin *ks-n-u- is likely to be an original nasal present to *kseu- ‘to scrape, make smooth’ (see s.v. saucius) rather than a u-extension to the stem *ks-en- ‘to comb, card’. Both probably go back to a single PIE root *kes- ‘to scratch, dig, order’ and/or *kse- ‘to cut off’ (Lat. casträre, careō). The latter two roots may in origin be identical.


novem ‘nine’ [num. indecl.](Naev.+) Derivatives: november, -bris-[adj.] ‘the ninth month’ (Cato+), novēnārius ‘ninefold’ (Varro+), novēni [pl.adj.] ‘nine each, nine at a time’ (Varro+), noviē(n)is [adv.] ‘nine times’ (Varro+); nōmus ‘ninth’ (Cato+), Nōnae [f.pl.] ‘the ninth day before the Ides’ (Enn.+), nōnālis ‘of the Nones’ (Varro), nōnāgintā ‘ninety’ (Varro+), nōnāgēsimus ‘ninetieth’ (Varro+), nōmussis ‘the sum of nine asses’ (Varro+); nūndinae [f.pl.] ‘market day (held every ninth day)’ (Lex XII+), nūdinālis ‘of market-days’ (Pl.+-), internūndinum (Lucil.+) ‘period of nine days’.

Pt. *newy ‘nine’. PIE *h₁neu-n ‘nine’, *h₁neu-o- ‘ninth’. IE cognates: OIr. nói n-, W. Co. naw, Skt. nāva, Av. nāwa, Gr. ἅνα, Arm. inn, Alb. nēndē, Lith. devyni, OCS devět, Go. OHG niun, Tēch. ūnu ‘nine’.

Nūndino- goes back to *noweno-dino- ‘of the ninth day’, with *di-n- ‘day’ (cf. diēs). Internūndinum must be explained as an univerberation of inter nūndinās ‘between market-days’ (Risch 1985: 333). The existence of a sg. nūdinum ‘the period from one market day to the next’ (SCBac.; noun- SCBac.) has been refuted by Risch 1985, who shows that all old attestations of trīnūm nūdinum (in laws, in Cicero) ‘period comprising three market-days’ must be understood as gen. of pl. nūdinae. In nōmus ‘ninth’, *-owe- was restored after regular syncope of *noweno- > *noumo- had taken place; the contraction product of this later sequence *-owe- was ō, not ū. Nōnāgintā is either based on *nōngintā, or was formed secondarily to the ordinal nōmus.

**novus** ‘new’ [adj. o/a] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: *dēnū* [adv.] ‘anew, once more’ (Pl. +); *novellus* ‘young, tender’ (Varro+), *novālis* ‘left unploughed, fallow’ (Varro+), *novitās* ‘novelty’ (Lucr.+), *novāre* ‘to make as something new, renew’ (Lucr.+), *noverca* ‘step-mother’ (Pl. +), *novicius* ‘newly imported, recently discovered’ (Pl.+); *renewāre* ‘to restore, renew’ (Acc.+); *novēnsidēs* ‘title of an obscure set of deities’ (Varro+).


The adv. *dēnū* goes back to abl. *dē *nowo* ‘a-new’ > *dēnunuō. Whereas Latin continues PIE *neuo-*, Sabellic has reflexes of *neuio-. The noun *noverca cannot be directly linked with the Armenian or Greek r-derivatives, since *nerv-* would yield Latin *niir-* (or *nerv-*, and so would *neuvr-*. Hence, *noverca is probably a recent formation made to *novus; the suffix is unclear. PIE *neuo- may originally be derived from the word *nu ‘now’.


**nox** ‘night’ [f. /] (abl.sg. *nocte*, gen.pl. *noctium*) (Naev. +)

Derivatives: *nox* ‘by night’ (Lex XII+); *noctū* ‘at night’ (Naev.+), *noctua* ‘night bird, little owl’ (Pl.+), *noctuimus* ‘of the little owl’ (Pl.), *nocturnus* ‘of the night’ (Naev.+); *pernoctāre* ‘to spend the night’ (Pl.+); *aequinoctium* ‘equinox’ (Cato+), *aequinoctiālis* ‘of the equinox’ (Varro+); *noctuvigilus* ‘wakeful’ (Pl.), *nificolor* ‘night-coloured’ (Laev. apud Gell.), *nocitūlica* ‘that shines by night’ (Laev.+). *noctipuga* ‘the female genitals’ (Lucil.), *nificagus* ‘roaming by night’ (Lucr.+).

Plt. *noκ(w)-t-


The form *nox* ‘at night’ is regarded as the remainder of an old gen.sg. *nok*-t- (< *nok*-t-), but phonetically more likely is a gen.sg. *nok*-t-s, as Meiser assumes. Pinault 2006a explains *nox* ‘at night’ from an old loc.sg. *nok*-t > *nok, which was remade into *nox by analogy with *dius* ‘by day’. He also assumes that *nocitū
and noctūnus presuppose a loc.sg. *noκ"t-eu, which was made at an earlier stage on the example of loc.sg. *dieu ‘by day’. Noctua is derived from nox ‘night’ or noctū ‘at night’. Nocturnus follows diurnus ‘daily’, vespernus ‘of the evening’, and probably reflects *noctū-rino- (or it has acquired -rnus directly at a more recent stage). Verbal forms are only attested in Anat., the word for ‘night’ must be an old root noun from this root. On the strength of the lenis consonant -k- in Hittite (normally from *gʷ or *gʰ) and Greek -νυχ-, Kloekhorst 2008: 602 reconstructs the root as *ngʷ-.


nūbēs, -is ‘cloud’ [f. (m.) i] (Andr.+; nūbs [nom.sg.] in Andr.)

Derivatives: nūbilus ‘cloudy, hazy, dark’ (Pl.+), nūbilāre/i ‘to become cloudy, overcast’ (Cato+), innūilibus ‘cloudless’ (Lucr.), nūbilārium ‘shelter from the rain’ (Varro+); obnūbere ‘to veil, cover’ (usually the head, but also other objects) (Varro+).

Plt. *(s)nουp-(i-).

PIE *(s)noup-e/o-. IE cognates: W. nudd ‘haze’; YAv. snaoda- ‘clouds’, snaością- ‘weeping’ (vel sim.), Bal. nod ‘(rain-)cloud’.

If mubs, -is is the old inflection, this may be a root noun or i-stem. The only direct cognate is W. nudd, which would imply an etymology *(s)noup-e/o-. In Latin, obnūbere suggests that the stem nūb- meant a ‘cover’; note that ‘clouds’ are often denominated as ‘cover’. This renders a connection possible with the word nūbere ‘to marry’ (said of the woman), see there. An alternative analysis is as *sn-eu- + *-dʰ-, to be compared with Skt. prā-snauti ‘drips, drops’, prā-snuta- ‘releasing mother’s milk’, see s.v. nūtrīx.


nūbō, -ere ‘to get married’ [v. III; pf. nūpsi, ppp. nuptum] (Naev.+

Derivatives: nuptiae [f.pl.] ‘marriage, wedding’ (Pl.+), nuptialis ‘of a marriage or wedding’ (Pl.+), nupta ‘bride’ (Pl.+), nuptula ‘young bride’ (Varro); cōnūbium ‘intermarriage; marriage’ (Lucr.+), innuba ‘unmarried’ (Varro+).

Plt. *(s)nū/ouf-e/o- / *(s)nū/ouf-e/o-.

Long ō in cōnubium is supposed to prove original *sn-. A connection with Gr. νύμφη ‘bride’ must be dismissed. Nūbere has been compared with RuCS snubiti ‘to court, love’ (e.g. in LIV), but EM object that this verb is used for the man seeking a bride, not for a woman marrying. Hence, this connection becomes less certain. EM favour an interpretation of nūbere as ‘to take the veil’, especially in view of obnūbere ‘to cover’ (see s.v. nūbēs). Semantically this is attractive, although it cannot be proven. Morphologically, however, an etymology involving root-final *-dʰ is difficult, since the ppp. is nuptum rather than *nussum (cf. iubeō – iussus). Thus, nuptum would have to be a fairly recent formation on the basis of the present stem.

Bibl.: WH I: 268, II: 183f., EM 449, IEW 977f., Leumann 1977: 190, LIV *sneubʰ-.

nūdus ‘naked’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: nūdāre ‘to make naked, strip’ (Enn.+), dēnūdāre ‘to lay bare, strip’
Pit. *nowo/epo-* ‘naked’.

PIE *nogws* [nom.], *negws* [gen.] ‘naked’; >> Lat.Gm. *nogodh-*. IE cognates: OIr. nocht, W. noeth (< *nogw*-to-), Hit. nekumanza, Skt. nagná-, YAv. mayna-, Khot. biunaa- (< PIr. *bagnaka-*) ‘naked’, Gr. γυμνός (< *gogwno- < *nogwno-), Arm. merk (< *megwro- < *negwro-), OPr. nognan ‘leather’, Lith. nūgas ‘naked’, OCS nagb ‘naked’ (< PIE *nogw-o-); OIc. nakinn, OFr. naken (< *nogw-no-?).

The adj. can be explained via a phonetic development *nogw-oph* > *nowodo-* > *noodo-* > *nūdus* (Schrijver 1991). The Pit. form is based on a PIE root adj. which acquired different extensions in different IE languages (cf. Beekes 1994).


*nūgæ* ‘worthless things, nonsense’ [f.pl. či] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: nūgārī ‘to speak without seriousness, tell stories’ (Pl. +), nūgātor ‘one who trifles, romancer’ (Pl. +), nūgāx ‘incompetent, farcical’ (Pl. +), nūgātorius [adj.] ‘futile, romancing’ (Pl. +); nūgigerulus ‘who peddles trumpery’ (Pl. +). 

Pit. *knūg-.*

No PIE etymology. Since words for ‘trifle’ are sometimes formed from words for ‘nut’ or ‘seed’, a connection with Lat. mnx is quite likely. In view of the difference in vowel length (ū vs. u) and in the velar (g vs. k) between nūgæ and mnx, this might be a foreign loanword in Latin.

Bibl.: WH II: 185, EM 450. → mnx

*nūm* ‘I suppose, whether’ [ptcle.] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: nunc ‘now’ (Naev.+), munciam ‘here and now’ (Pl. +); nūper [adv.] ‘recently’ (Pl. +), nūperus ‘fresh’ (Pl. +).

Pit. *num* ‘now’, *nū* ‘now’.


Like some other languages, Latin preserves traces of the PIE adv. *nū* (in nūper) and of extended *nū-n-(V) in (nunc < *num-ce). In (*num), final -m might reflect PIE *-n* (for which hardly any good evidence is available in Latin), or a remake of earlier *num on the analogy of nam and -nem. For nūper, two etymologies have been proposed: an original adj. *newo-paro-* ‘bringing forth new things’, or an adv. *nū* ‘now’ + *-per. Phonetically, it is impossible to decide; but semantically, the latter is definitely more likely, since nūper does not have an active meaning (thus WH). Also, if the adj. was older (nūperus), one would expect an adv. *nūperum. Probably, PIE *nu turned to *nū in stressed position in many individual languages.

numerus ‘number, rank, category’ [m. o.] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: numerāre ‘to reckon, count’ (Pl. +), Numeria ‘goddess of delivery and counting’ (Varro); adnumerāre ‘to tell out, reckon’ (Pl. +), dēnumerāre ‘to pay in full’ (Pl. +), dīnumerāre ‘to calculate’ (Pl. +), ēnumerāre ‘to count up, enumerate’ (Pl. +), pernumerāre ‘id.’ (Pl. +), renumerāre ‘to pay back, report’ (Pl. +); innumerus ‘countless’ (Lucr. +), innumerālis ‘id.’ (Lucr. +), innumerābilis ‘id.’ (Lucr. +).

Plt. *nemos-o-.

PIE *nem-e/os- [n.] ‘apportioning, sacrifice’, *nom-o-. IE cognates: Hit. lammar / lamn- [n.] ‘moment’, Hλwv. lam(i)ni ‘at the time’ < *nóm-r, *n(o)m-n-ós; Gr. νέμω ‘to dispense, distribute’, νομή [f.] ‘pasture’, νομός [m.] ‘pasture, habitation, province’, νόμος [m.] ‘custom, usage, law, composition’.

Probably a thematicized form of the PIE s-stem *nem-os seen in nemus. The o-grade in numeros must be due to analogical replacement of the e-grade of the root by the o-grade on the model of *nom-o- ‘rank, number’, Lat. *nemos, -esos >> *nomos, -esos (cf. pondus, -eris for the same development). Subsequently, the gen.sg. *nomen-os must have been reinterpreted as the new nom.acc.sg. *nome-so-s, yielding a thematic paradigm.


nuntius ‘messenger; message’ [m. o.] (Naev. +; grammarians nontius, CIL nontius)

Derivatives: nuntiāre ‘to bring word of, deliver a message’ (Pl. +), nuntium ‘message’ (Varro +); ēnuntiāre ‘to make known, express’ (Pl. +), internūntius ‘messenger’ (Pl. +), internūntia ‘female messenger’ (Pl. +), obrnuntiāre ‘to announce’ (Ter. +), praenūntius [adj./m.] ‘heralding; herald’ (Lucr. +), renūntius ‘reporter’ (Pl.), remūntiāre ‘to report, announce, renounce’.

Probably *nuntio-, but the further etymology is unclear. It has been derived from the root *neuH- ‘to cry’ (Skt. návate), unattested in Latin, but also from novus ‘new’. But in the latter case, a reconstruction *no(wo)wentio- does not make sense morphologically.


-nûô, -ere ‘to nod’ [v. III; pf. -nû, ppp. -nûtum] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: nûmen ‘motion of the head, nod; divinity’ (Acc. +); abnuere ‘to refuse, deny, forbid’ (Pl. +), abnuère ‘id.’ (Enn.), adnuere ‘to nod, permit’ (Pl. +), innuere ‘to nod, beckon’ (Pl. +); nūtāre ‘to nod with the head, bend forward, sway’ (Pl. +), nütus, -ūs ‘nod’ (Lucr.), abnuītāre ‘to disapprove’ (Pl. +), adnūtāre ‘to nod, assent’ (Naev. +), renūtāre ‘to refuse’ (Lucr.).

Plt. *nowe/o-.


-νûô
**nurus** -ūs ‘daughter-in-law’ [f. u] (Lex Reg., Ter.+)


The noun has shifted from o-stem to ū-stem inflection under the influence of socrus, -ūs ‘mother-in-law’. Possibly, PIE *smu-s-o- is a derivative of the same root *snu- ‘to drip, nurse’ from which nūtrix is often derived.

Bibl.: WH II: 190, EM 452, IEW 978, LIV *sneu- (?). → nūtrix

**nūtrix** ‘child’s nurse’ [f. k] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: nūtrire ‘to suckle, nourish’ (Cat. +); nūtricula ‘child’s nurse’ (Lucil. +), nūtricāre ‘to suckle, nourish’ (Pl. +), nūtrīcātus, -ūs ‘nurturing’ (Pl. +), nūtrīcātiō ‘suckling, rearing’ (Varro +), nūtrīcius ‘foster-father, guardian’ (Var. +).

PIE *(s)noutrī.

The verb nūtrire was derived from *noutrī before this acquired the suffix *-k-. Afterwards, from *nūtrīk- the verb nūtricāre was derived (thus Steinbauer 1989). It has been proposed that the PIE root *sneu- is cognate to *sneh2- ‘to bathe, swim’, pointing to an analysis *sn-u- and *sn-h2-.


**nux**, -cis ‘nut’ [f. k] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: nuceus ‘of a nut-tree’ (Cato), nuc(u)leus ‘kernel, stone (of fruit)’ (Pl. +); nucifrangibulum ‘nutcracker’ (Pl. +).

PIE *knuk-.


Lat. nuc(u)leus presupposes a diminutive *nuculus/-a. As argued s.v. nūgae, the irregular alternations within Latin between nūgae and nux already suggest a non-IE loanword. To this we may add the different suffixes in Celtic (*-H-?) and Germanic (*-d-) and the sequence *knu-, which does not look very Indo-European (only with a full grade *knev-, but this is not attested). In combination with the restriction to
Italo-Celtic and Gm., and the semantic field of trees and fruits, we may safely assume non-IE origin.


O

**ob** 'towards, in front of; with regard to, because of' [prep.] (Lex XII+); variants: *ob* in isolation and as a preverb in front of vowels, *s-, t-, h- and all voiced consonants except *g- (variants *ops-, *opt- especially in inscriptions); *oc- in front of *c-; *of- in front of *f-; *og- in front of *g-; *o- in front of *m- (only in *omittō), more usually *obm- or *om-; *op- (in front of *p-).


PIE *h₁opi ‘at, by’. IE cognates: Lith. *ap(i)- ‘around’ < *h₁öpi; Skt. *āpi, Av. *aipi, OP *apiy ‘also; by, in’, Gr. ἀπό, ἐπί ‘on, at’, Arm. ʿep ‘also, and’ < *h₁épi.

The variant *obs- only occurs in a few forms, and seems to be relatively recent and short-lived. Older are *oscen, *ostendō, *ostentō and derivatives. Original *opw- gave *op-, as preserved in *opportet and *operiō. Cowgill 1970: 116f., 147, Leumann 1977: 317f. and Sihler 1995 regard *optumus as a sup. to *ob, meaning ‘uppermost’. Since *ob does not mean ‘up, above’ in Latin but ‘towards’, one may also conjecture a meaning ‘foremost’. WH explain *optumus as a sup. *opi-tVmo- ‘most powerful’, but this is much less likely. Lat. *ob and Lith. *ap(i)- can be taken to reflect *h₁op(i)- ‘at, by’ (the Italic forms might be better explained from a monosyllable *h₁op), an ablaut variant of *h₁épi as seen in IIt., Gr. and Arm. Kloekhorst 2008: 194 argues on semantic grounds that Hit. ṣappā, CLuw. ṣappā ‘back, again’ probably reflect *h₂op-, and go together with Gr. ἀπό-σεν ‘(from) behind’, Myc. ὀπί, ὀψώ ‘afterwards’, ὐψι(-) (Aeol. and in cp.).


**obliquus** ‘slanting, transverse’ [adj. o/ā] (Cato+)

The etymology is unknown. Closest in form and meaning are *limus ‘transverse’ and *sublimis ‘transverse from below upward’, and the latter would be morphologically similar to *obliquus. Yet a root *lī- with different suffixes *-mo- and *k”o- does not immediately make sense, and has no clear connections outside Italic.

Bibl.: WH II: 194f., EM 455,IEW 307-309. → *limus 2
oblívís-cor, -í 'to forget' [v. III; pf. oblítus sum] (Andr.+; pr. also oblící Pl., Acc.)
Derivatives: oblívium ‘forgetfulness’ (Lucr.+), oblívius ‘lost in oblivion’ (Varro),
oblíviósus ‘forgetful’ (Pl.+), oblívió ‘forgetting, oblivion’ (Varro+).

Schrijver follows Sommer 1914: 602 in assuming an original verb *ob-lívere 'to be
smooth' < *ob-leiwe- < *-lehj-i-y-ehj-, a stative verb derived from the adj. *lehj-i-y-
'smooth' which yielded Lat. lèvis. Yet a semantic shift from 'to be smooth' to 'to
forget' is not very convincing. Keller 1992: 254 connects ob-lítus with Gr. λίγαμαι 'to
dodge', Gm. *linnan 'to stop', Skt. -hyate 'dissolved' < PIE *lih₂- 'to stop /
disappear'; but the weaknesses of her theory have been addressed by Seldeslachts
2001: 89. The latter returns to the adj. lèvis, and proposes to regard oblívís-cor 'to start
being erased' as an inchoative deponent to a denominative verb *oblivire 'to make
smooth, erase' < *ob-lévi-je/o-. The ptc. oblítus would stem from *ob-lítus, the ptc. of
ob-línere 'to smear, stop', taking its -í- from the pf. ob-lívi of that same verb. The
second part of the hypothesis is weak: why would the ptc. of oblinere have been
applied to oblívís-cor?


lèvis

obscaenus 'unpropitious, ill-omened; indecent' [adj. o/á] (Pl.+; the second vowel
vacillates between ae and e)
Ptł. *skai-no- 'left, unpropitious'.
Pīe *skeh2-i-no- 'shaded; left'. IE cognates: see s.v. scaevus.
Since e can be a phonetic development for ae in second syllable (*ai > *e > í)
whereas ae cannot be explained if the original vowel was e, obscaenus must be the
original form. EM propose to compare scaevus 'left, bad', and analyse *ob-skai-no-
'coming from the left side'. This seems worthy of consideration: semantically it
would fit perfectly, and, formally, a Pīt. formation *skaino- would be quite close to
Balto-Slavic *skeh3i-n(-i)- 'shadow'.

Bibl.: WH I: 131, EM 456, IEW 628, LIV *skeH(j)-. → scaevus

obscurus 'dark, gloomy' [adj. o/á] (lbnn.+
Derivatives: obscurāre 'to obscure (heavenly bodies or sources of light), darken'
(Pl.+), obscuridicus 'speaking obscurely' (Acc.), obscuritās 'darkness, obscurity'
(Varro+).
Ptł. *skoi-ro-.
Pīe *skoh2-i-ro- 'dark, shady'? IE cognates: Gr. oxipov [n.] (description of a white
parasol or canopy); Oīc. skirr, NHG schier 'clear, bright' < *skiro-.
The original meaning seems to be 'darkened, covered'. It is disputed whether we must
analyse the word as ob-scūrus or obs-cūrus, since oc- is productive in Latin in front of
c-, but oscen shows *obs-. If ob-scūrus, Schrijver supports the derivation of *skiro-
from a preform *skuHro- 'roof, cover'; but this is semantically questionable, since the
compound would then mean '(what is) toward/in front of the cover', which is not
what obscurus means, or a pleonastic 'against-cover', which is a rare type of
formation. If obs-cūrus, Schrijver (p. 462) cites Hamp's etymology (1982-1983a: 99)
*obs-k"ois-o- ‘obstructing one’s sight’, the phonetic weakness of which Schrijver points out himself. Among the possible phonetic preforms of non-initial -ūrus are PIE *-uHro-, *-e/o(H)uro- and (maybe) *-o(H)iro-. Also, a word in *sk- seems to me more probable than a word in *k-, since sk- could then have been restored after a phonetic change to *ose-. If the etymology of scaevus < *skeh2iuo- and obscaenus < *op-skeh2ino- ‘shaded, left’ is accepted, one might posit an ablaut variant *skoir-o- < *skoh2i-ro- ‘dark, shaded’. Semantically this would be fine; morphologically, there is no exact cognate in the other IE languages.

Bibl.: WHII: 196, EM 456, IEW 951-953, Schrijver 1991: 246f., LIV *(s)keuhrh1-

obtūrō, -āre ‘to block, stop up’ [v. I] (Pl.+

Derivatives: retūrāre ‘to unplug’ (Varro).

The stem -tūrā- seems to presuppose a Plt. nominal form *tūro-, *tVu(V)ro-, or *toiro-. WH and IEW connect -tūrō with PIE *tuh₃- ‘to swell’, which is semantically possible (*tūro- ‘swelling’ > ‘plug’), but since obtūrāre can also be interpreted as ‘to seal, protect’, it can also be connected with tūtus ‘safe’ < *tuH-. But obviously, any plug-like object with the required phonological form could be the input for -tūrāre, so that all remains uncertain.

Bibl.: WH II: 197, EM 456, IEW 1080-1085. → turgeo

occa ‘harrow’ [f. ā] (LLat. texts and glosses)

Derivatives: occāre ‘to harrow, break up the ground’ (Pl.+), occātor ‘harrower’ (Pl.+), occillāre ‘to break in pieces’ (Pl.).

Plt. *oketā-?

PIE *h₂ok-et- [f.] ‘harrow’. IE cognates: W. Bret. oged ‘harrow’, Gr. ὀξίνα ‘an agricultural implement with iron teeth, drawn by oxen’ (Hsch.); OPr. aketes, Lith. akėčios, dial. ekėčios [nom.pl.f. ā], Latv. ecē(k)šas ‘harrow’, Ru. осёт ‘granary, rack for drying grain’ [f.], Pl. jesić (dialect.) ‘grain sieve’ < BSl. *es-et-i-, OHG egida, OE egeðe < PGm. *aþepō-.

Since the verb occāre and other derivatives are attested much earlier and better than the noun, TLL suggests that the noun was back-formed to the verb. But since the verb is of the first class, it would still seem to be formed on the basis of a noun. The Latin cluster cc may derive from secondary *tk, which led Hirt (1916-17: 230) to posit a development PIE *oketa > pre-Latin *okita > *otika > syncope *otka > occa. In view of the closely matching Celtic, Germanic and BSl. forms which have the same meaning, this idea is appealing; but the assumed metathesis is not supported by other evidence. Alternatively, occa may be a borrowing from a hypothetical (Italic) dialect in which *kt developed into kk. In that case, we can posit *oketā- > *oktā- > occa.


occūlō, -ere ‘to hide, conceal’ [v. III; occulinā, occulum] (Pl.++; SCBac. [o]quoltod)

Derivatives: occultāre ‘to conceal’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *kele/o-.
PIE *kel-e/o- 'to hide'. IE cognates: Olr. ceilid*, ceil, OW kelu, MBret. keles 'to hide' < PCl. *kel-e/o-, OE helan 'to hide'; Go. huljan 'to shroud' < *kl-je-.

Present from ob + *kele-. The spelling *quel- in SCBac. is hypercorrect for -cul-.

Bibl.: WH II: 198, EM 111, IEW 553f., Schumacher 2004: 394f., LIV *kel-. -> cella, célare, clam, color

öcior 'faster, swifter' [adj.comp. r] (Andr.+

Derivatives: sup. öcissimus (Ter.+)/ öximē (Paul. ex F.).

Plt. *ōkr-.

PIE *h₁oh₁-k-u- 'quick', *h₁oh₁-k-ios- 'quicker'. IE cognates: OW diauc, MW diawg, Co. dioc, OBret. diochi, Bret. diek 'lazy' < PCl. *di-akV- 'lazy', lit. 'un-swift'; Skt. aśi- 'quick', comp. āśiyas-, sup. āśīṣṭha-, Av. āṣu- 'quick, fast', comp. āśīṭah-, sup. āśiṣṭa-, Gr. ὀκύς 'fast, swift', ὀκκιστός 'fastest'; Ru. jastreb, ORu. jastrjabъ, jastrebъ, Po. jastrąb 'hawc', Scr. jāstrījeb 'kite' < PSl. *jastrebъ.

The etymology *h₁K- rests on the identification with PIE *h₁eku(-o)- 'horse'. If this is abandoned, *h₂K- is also possible.

Bibl.: WH II: 198, EM 457, IEW 775, Schrijver 1991: 54f. -> accipiter

ocris 'rugged mountain' [m. i] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: mediocris 'of medium size, moderate' (Pl.+), mediocriter 'moderately; on a large scale' (Pl.+).


PIE *h₂ok-r-i- 'sharp edge'. IE cognates: Mfr. ochair 'edge', W. ochr; Skt. cātur-aṣtri̇- [adj.] 'four-angled' (RV); aṣrī- [f.] 'sharp edge, angle' (Br.+); Gr. ὀκρίς [m.] 'point, sharp edge', ὀκρίς [f.] 'summit'.

Ocris is found as an independent word only in a few instances; it was apparently ousted by collis. It has been preserved in the compound mediocris, orig. 'situated at the middle, half-way of the top'. Probably an i-derivative of the adj. PIE *h₂ek-ro-'sharp'.


octō 'eight' [num. indecl.] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: octāvus 'eighth' (Cato+); octōgintā 'eighty' (Cic.), octōgēnī [adj.pl.] 'eighty each' (Lucil.+), octōber [adj.] 'the eighth month' (Cato+), octōnī [adj.pl.] 'eight each' (Pl.+), octōnārius 'containing eight, eight long' (Varro+), octingenti 'eight hundred' (Pl.+), octingēnārius 'consisting of 800 each' (Varro).

Plt. *oktō 'eight', *oktāwo- 'eighth'.

PIE *h₂(e)kthē̄ī, *h₂kt(e)h₃-ū- 'eighth'. IE cognates: Olr. ocht n-, W. wyth, Bret. eiz '8', Olr. ochtmad '8th'; Skt. aṣṭā, aṣṭā [nom.acc.] '8', aṣṭamā- '8th', aṣūl- '80', YAv. aṣṭa '8', aṣṭama- '8th', aṣṭānti- '80', Gr. ὀκτίω '8', ὀγδόος, ὀγδοος '8th', ὀγδοόκοντα '80', OPhryg. otuvi velei 'in the eighth year', Alb. tetē '8'; Lith. ašiwoi
The ordinal seems to show a change of *-ō̄os > *-ā̄os, which is reinterpreted by Schrijver 1991: 300 as a delabialization of PIE *-eh₃-uo- (with labialized laryngeal) to *-eh₂-uo- due to the following *-u-.


**oculus** ‘eye’ [m. o] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *ocellus* ‘little eye’ (Pl. +), *ocellatum* ‘a stone with small spots’ (Varro +), *oculátus* ‘having sight’ (Pl. +), *oculitus* [adv.] ‘as dearly as one’s eyes’, *oculissimus* ‘dearest apple of my eye’ (Pl. +), *oculeus* ‘made of eyes’ (Pl. +); *únoculus* ‘that has one eye’ (Pl. +); *exoculare* ‘to deprive of eyes’ (Pl. +).


Since most IE languages have a root noun or an i-stem ‘eye’, the Latin formation probably does not go back to PIE. *Oculus* could be derived from a PIE root noun (*ʔh₃e/okʷ*-), from a PIE thematic noun (probably *ʔh₃okʷ*-o-) or from an earlier verb ‘to see’.


**ōdl** ‘to hate’ [v. pf. only, ppp. ōsum] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *ōdibilis* ‘odious’ (Acc.), *odium* ‘hatred, boredom’ (Pl. +), *odiōsus* ‘offensive, boring’ (Pl. +), *odiōscus* ‘disagreeable’ (Pl.).


The pf. was used to convey the resultative/stative meaning. Therefore, LIV posits as the basic meaning of the root ‘to develop hatred against’, which is possible but not necessary.


**odor** ‘smell, odour’ [m. r] (Pl. +; nom.sg. odös Pl.)

Derivatives: *odorārī* ‘to smell, scent’ (Pl. +), *odōrus* ‘having a smell’ (Varro +), *odōrisequus* ‘following the scent’ (Andr. [uncertain]); *olēre* [pf. oluī] ‘to smell’ (Pl. +), *olor* [pf. oluī] ‘to smell’ (Pl., Afran., Pompon.), *olor* ‘smell’ (Varro: littera
commutate dicitur odor olor), ol(e)facere ‘to smell, hear about’ (Pl.+), odefacere ‘olefacere’ (Paul. ex F.), ol(e)facture ‘to smell at, sniff’ (Pl.+), ol(e)factus, -tus ‘th smelling’ (Pl.+); inolēs ‘odourless’ (Lucr.), oblōre ‘to smell, stink’ (Pl.+), perolēre ‘to emit a penetrating smell’ (Lucil.+), praeolēre ‘to send out an odour ahead’ (Pl.+), subolēre ‘to smell faintly’ (Pl.+).


Some forms show the change of intervocalic *d > l, the exact conditions of which are unclear. In this word, it seems that d was preserved in front of ō, but changed to l in front of ē. In view of fulgēre / fulgere, fervēre / fervere, it seems likely that olēre is older than olere (cf. Leumann).


-olēs, -is ‘feeding, nursing’ [f. i]: indolēs, -is f. (Pl.+ ‘nature, character’; prōlēs (Lucr.) ‘offspring’, subolēs (Pl.+ ‘young growth of a tree; offspring; generation’

Derivatives: prōlētārius ‘belonging to the lowest class of citizens’ (Pl., Lex XII in Gell.).

This noun only occurs as the second member of compounds. It reflects *al-i- or *al-ē- ‘upbringing; offspring, descendant’ to alerē ‘to feed’. The vowel was weakened in non-initial syllable to a, but not further to u. Leumann 1977: 553 assumes that these nouns were built to a stative verb *alēre ‘to grow up’ (as reflected in ad-olēscō). An old i-stem *h₂el-i- or *h₂ol-i- is difficult because one would expect a phonetic outcome *-ilēs, -is. Thus, *ol-i- is probably an inner-Latin formation. The early attestation of prōlētārius, as well as its meaning which differs from prōlēs, show that prōlēs must have existed a long time before its first attestation in the first century BC.


olle / ollus ‘that; he, she, it’ [pron., pron. adj. o/a] (Andr.+. Forms: dat.sg. olli, dat.pl. ollis, nom.pl.m. olli, nom.acc.pl.n. olla)

Derivatives: olim [adv.] ‘formerly, once; one day, in future’ (Pl.+).


PIE *h₂ol-no- ‘that, yonder’. IE cognates: Gaulish ollo-, Oltr. ol ‘beyond’; OCS lani, Cz. lóni ‘last year’ < PSI. *olni.

The oldest Latin form was ollus [o/a] which acquired pronominal endings as in iste: ollus >> olle, ollum >> ollud. The stem oll- only survives in old formulae and in hexameter poetry, but was already replaced at the beginning of the literary period by ille on the example of is,ea, id and iste. Olim seems to be formed off the pronominal stem *olla- with the suffix -im (productive in VOLat.) for adverbs of time and place. For the Plt. preform, both *olo- or *olso- are conceivable; but the Celtic and Slavic
evidence points to *olno-. For olim, Schrijver 1991 (passim) reconstructs *h2ol- for the root; although this seems highly irregular from a morphological point of view, note that U. also requires *ơ.


olor ‘swan’ [m. r] (Verg.+)

Plt. *elōr.

IE cognates: Ofr. elu, MIr. elae [f.] < PCI. *elja?, W. alarch, pl. eleirch ‘swan’ < *alarko- << *elar-sko- < *el-r-sko-; Ru. lēbed’ [m.], Cz. labut’, SCR. lābūd ‘swan’ < *h2elbh-ond-i- (?); Olc. elptr, olpt [f.], OHG albiz, elbiz, OE ealbitu, ielfetu [f.] ‘swan’ < *albit-.

The preform was probably *elōr (with regular e > o before velarised l), but *olor cannot be completely ruled out, since the evidence for the development of *olV- is scarce: the loanword Ulixes has u-, the verb volvō < *voluō has o, but in a special phonetic surrounding. The nom.sg. may have regularly been *elōr < *el̯r, after which an -or-stem was created. Together with Ofr. elu and W. alarch, olor goes back to an Italo-Celtic word for ‘swan’. The closest connection in form and meaning is with Ru. lēbed’; OHG albiz ‘swan’, which seem to go back to a root *h2elbh- (as in albus ‘white’), but with difficulties, since the Slav. accentuation does not match. Maybe *h2el- in Slav. and Gm. is a suffix (as more often in animals and colours), and the root was *h2el-, or, if non-IE, *Vl-. If it were *h2el-, it would be impossible to connect Italo-Celtic *el- ‘swan’. If a common word *Vl- for ‘swan’ is accepted, it must be a foreign loanword into the IE languages. The appurtenance of Gr. ἕλεα [f.] kind of singing-bird, perhaps reed-warbler’ is very uncertain.


ōmen, -inis ‘omen, augury’ [n. n] (Pl. +; older osmen according to Varro)

Derivatives: omenārī ‘to know or tell from omens, predict’ (Pl. +), omenātor ‘one who makes prognostications’ (Pl.).

Plt. *okws-imn- ‘sighting, omen’?

PIE *h3ekw- ‘to see’ [pr.].

It is uncertain whether Varro’s osmen ever really existed, or was invented by folk etymology. Benveniste 1962: 10f. connects Hit. hā-zi / h- ‘to believe, trust’ < *h2eH. Oettinger 1979: 361 reconstructs *h2e/oh2-s-mn ‘trust’. Yet semantically I am not convinced by this etymology. Others have reconstructed *h3ekw- ‘saying’, the meaning of which seems closer to ‘omen’. Note Gr. ὀμμα, ὀματός ‘eye’ < *ọpma < *h3ekw-; Latin would have added an *s, as it often does in front of the suffix *-mm. The only drawback is that the suffix -men nearly exclusively occurs after Latin verb stems or verb stems of an earlier period. For *h3ekw- ‘to see’, we have no evidence in Latin that a verb existed; for PIE, LIV reconstructs a reduplicated perfect and an s-present (whence Av. āśaita- ‘to watch’, Gr. fut. ὁψαίμα ‘to see’). Thus, omen could be formed from a PIE s-present. Meier-Brügger 1992 derives omen from *h12egeom-men ‘speech, what was predicted’ to aiō < *h12e̯g-. This is semantically
omentum 'fatty membrane of caul, covering the intestines' [n. o] (Cat. +)

It. cognates: U. umen [acc.sg.], umne [abl.sg.] 'ointment' < *omben < *ong'en-. I see no semantic support for WH's hypothesis that *omentum is derived from the verb -uō 'to put on/off'. Also, *owe-mento- would phonetically yield *immentum, whence o- could only arise by restoration of *ow-; but there was no word to restore this sequence from. EM suspect that it is a loanword, in which case the source might have been (a cognate or derivative of) U. umen /omen/ 'ointment' < *omben, the Sab. cognate of Lat. unguen.

Bibl.: WH II: 208, EM 461, IEW 346, Untermann 2000: 796f. → unguen

omnis 'the whole of, all, every' [adj. i] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: omnīnō [adv.] 'in every respect, entirely' (Pl. +), omnipotēns 'almighty' (Pl. +).

Plt. *op-nī-?

PIE *h₁/3e/op-ni- 'working'.

Omnīnō is a petrified case-form of *omnī-no- 'wholly'. The absence of the change *omn- > *umn- (a likely but not completely certain change) can be explained if mn arose from a different sequence, such as *oPn-. WH propose *op-ni- with the stem op- 'wealth', the stem of which is regarded as verbal PIE *h₂ep- 'to make' by LIV. In fact, a verbal adj. in *-ni- can be reconstructed for other Latin words too (cf. lēnis, sēgnis). The verbal root might be *h₁op- 'to take' (optō) or *h₂ep- 'to work' > 'possess'. The former seems slightly more likely for semantic reasons.


onus, -eris 'burden, load' [n. r] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: onerāre 'to load with goods' (Pl. +), onerārius 'for carrying loads' (Naev. +); exonerāre 'to discharge, unload' (Pl. +); omustus 'loaded, laden' (Naev. +).

Plt. *ones- [n.].

PIE *h₂en-os, -es- [n.] 'load'. IE cognates: Hit. anije/a-zl 'to work; to carry out, to produce, to treat', Pal. aniye/la- 'to work', CLuw. ānni- 'to carry out' < *h₂n-je/o-; Skt. ánas- 'heavy cart', anaqvāh- [m.] 'ox, draught animal' < *anas-vah- 'pulling a cart'.

The adj. omustus is a to-derivative of the s-stem: *onas-to-. If the Hittite verb belongs here (semantically this is not compelling), the root must rather be *h₁enH₁-, according to Melchert 1994: 85. This is adopted by Janda 1999 and Stüber 2002: 88, who reconstruct *h₁enH₁-. The reconstruction with final -₃ is based on a comparison with Gr. ένοσίχεων, which I find unconvincing. Kloekhorst (2008: 179ff.) argues that Melchert's scenario is problematic within Anatolian, and instead proposes to regularly derive an(n)iia- from PIE *h₃n-jé/ó-.

opācus 'sheltered, shady' [adj. o/ā] (Lucr. +)
  Derivatives: opācāre ‘to make shady; darken’ (Pac. +).

Opācus has since long been compared with Skt. āpāka- ‘turned away from’ and OCS opaky ‘the other way round, behind one’s back’, Ru. ōpāk(o) (dial.) ‘back’, but these must be reconstructed as PIE *h2epo-h3kw- ‘turned away from’, which would yield Latin *apōcus. Klingenschmitt 2004: 249 proposes a metathesis from *apōkos to *opākos, but this seems unlikely; see the discussion of undecim s.v. decem. It seems more promising to compare the root *(h1)ueh2- ‘to abandon, leave empty’ found in vāmus, vāstus, vacuus, maybe also in vāginā ‘sheath’: *op-wāko- ‘situated towards the empty side’ > *opāko-. Obviously, this is just a theoretical possibility.


operiō,-ire ‘to shut, close, cover’ [v. IV; pf. operuī, ppp. opertum] (Naev. +)
  Derivatives: operīāre ‘to cover habitually’ (Enn. +), operculum ‘lid, cap’ (Cato +), operimentum ‘covering, cover’ (Cato +); cōperīre/cooperīre ‘to cover completely’ (Pl. +), adaperīre ‘to open wide, uncover’ (Varro +).
  Pkt. *op-wer-i(e)- ‘to cover up’.
  PIE *h2uer-i(e)- [pr.] ‘to cover’. IE cognates: see s.v. operiō.


ōpiliō ‘herdsman; kind of bird’ [m. n] (Pl. +; also ūpiliō Verg., Serv. +)
  Derivatives: opilius, opilia (Praeneste).
  Pkt. *owi-pol-o- ‘sheep-driver’.
  PIE *h3eui- ‘sheep’ + *polh2-o- ‘driver’. IE cognates: see ovis resp. pellō.

The distribution of ĭ- (Verg. et al.) and ő- (Pl., CIL) could point to a Sabellic origin of the variant ōpiliō; this would have the regular Sab. outcome of *ou- < *owi-. In Latin, the expected outcome would be ūpiliō. The element -piliō can contain a derivative in -*io- to a PIE noun *polh2-o- ‘who impels’ to the root of pellō ‘to impel’. The compound is probably not of PIE date. Vine 2006a: 234 interprets ūpiliō as a possible ‘rustic’ Roman reflex of *aupoliō << *awi-polo- < *owi-polhyō- ‘sheep-driver’ (or *oui-ph2-lō- ‘sheep-protector’), with *ou- > *au- due to Thurneysen-Havet’s unrounding of *ou in pretonic syllable.


opīmus ‘which is taken as trophy, glorious; rich, sumptuous’ [adj. o/ā] (Lex Reg., Pl. +)
  Derivatives: opīmitās ‘prosperity’ (Pl.).
  Pkt. *opī [ins.sg.]?

The older etymological connection with pinguis, Skt. pivan- ‘fat’ must be dismissed. Form and meaning suggest that opīmus was derived from Lat. ops ‘power, resources’ which almost certainly continues a Pkt. i-stem *op-i-. We must assume suffixation of
opinor, -ārī 'to think, believe, suppose' [v. I] (Naev.+; also opināre in Pl. to Caecil.)

Derivatives: opinātus, -ūs 'supposition' (Lucr.+), adopīnārī 'to conjecture' (Lucr.), opinīō 'opinion, imagination' (Pl.+).

Steinbauer 1989 proposes a derivative *op-eina- 'to try to achieve' to a noun *eino- 'purpose', but this noun is as yet illusive. Schrijver stresses that the semantic link between 'to believe' and 'to choose' is weak, and so is therefore the traditional etymological connection with the root of optāre. Vine 1999a argues that it is difficult to reconstruct a stem *opīn-/*opīn- from which opin-ā- could have been derived, as others had proposed. He argues that the Praenestine spelling opēnɔr in a third-century inscription proves that the word contains Pfl. *-ei- and not even *-i-, which reduces the chances of finding a PIE etymology.


oportet 'it is proper, right' [v. II; pf. oportuit] (Naev.+

Pfl. *op-wort-(ē-).
PIE *ue-u(o)rt- [pf.] 'to turn'.

The original meaning is thought to be 'it befits, it comes to one', and the form is derived from *op 'towards' plus a form of the root *uert- 'to turn'. WH assume an original causative *uort-eie-, yet a transitive form does not fit the meaning. Therefore, *op-uort-ē- (> *oport-ē-, with a sound change dated to Pfl. by Meiser 1986: 185) may contain the perf. stem *ue-u(o)rt-, which is assumed to be attested in CIL aduortit 'advertit'. Thus, 'it has turned toward someone' > 'it befits, it is proper'. The ē-conjugation would be a secondary addition in connection with the stative meaning of *oport-.


oppidum '(fortified) town; barriers' [n. o] (Naev.+

Derivatives: oppidō 'utterly, entirely' (Pl.+).
PIE *ped-o- [n.] 'stepped' > 'place, step'. IE cognates: Hitt. peda- [n.] 'place', HLuw. LOCUS-ta- [n.] 'place', Skt. padā- [n.] 'footstep, piece of ground', OAv. padā-, YAv. padā- [n.] 'footstep', OP pati-padam kar- 'to retreat', Gr. πέδον 'ground, earth', Arm. het 'footprint', OPr. pedan 'ploughshare', Lith. pėdą, (dial.) pėdas 'footprint', Latv. pēda 'foot-sole, footstep' < *ped-o-; OIC. fet 'step'.

adjectival *-mo- together with vowel lengthening of *i to *ī; this recalls the process leading to adj. in */V:no/-, */V:to/-, which Nussbaum explains as derivatives from ins.sg. forms in */-hī. Since Lat. has no productive adjectival suffix other than -(t)(i)mus in the superlatives, it might be just this process by which the language created *opī 'with power, with riches' >> *opī-mo- 'abundant'.

Bibl.: WH II: 211f., EM 462, IEW 793f., Leumann 1977: 319. → ops
U. *pedom* 'ground’ can be interpreted as *pedô- [n.], nominalization of *ped-ô- ‘stepped, trodden’, or *péd-o- [n.], with accent retraction of the adj. *ped-ô-; thus Nussbaum, who assumes that the derivational basis was the verb *ped- ‘to step’ rather than the noun *ped- ‘foot’. Latin oppidô might be explained as *to the ground’ > ‘utterly’ (Nussbaum). For the noun oppidum, the meanings ‘barriers’ (in a circus) and ‘fort’ are both attested in Naev. (the former one in a quotation from Varro). In connection with ‘foot’, a meaning ‘barriers’ is easier to understand than ‘fortification’, so chances are that WH are right in assuming original *op-pedo- ‘what is in front of the feet, obstructing the way’.

Bibl.: WH II: 214ff., EM 463, IEW 790-792, Untermann 2000: 524ff., LIV *ped-. → ob, pês

opts, opis ‘power, ability, resources’ [f. i] (Andr.+; abl.sg. opid CIL 1.364, opi Varro)

Derivatives: Opis/Ops, gen. Opis ‘a Roman goddess’ (Pl.+), cop(is)s, cópis ‘rich, wealthy’ (Pl.+), cópia ‘abundance’ (Pl.+); inops ‘poor, powerless’ (Pl.+), inopiosus ‘deselect’ (Pl.+); opulentus ‘wealthy, rich’ (Pl.); opulentitas ‘richness’ (Pl.), opulenter ‘richly’ (Pl.); officium ‘service, duty’ (Pl.); officiosus ‘dutiful, attentive’ (Afran.+); opitulare/ř ‘to help, bring relief’ (Andr.+), opitulus ‘cult-title of Jupiter’ (Paul. ex F.), opiparus ‘sumptuous, rich’ (Pl.+), opifex ‘craftsman, inventor’ (Pl.+), opificium ‘the performance of constructive work’ (Varro+), opificina ‘performance’ (Pl.).

Plt. *opis–*

PIE *h3e/op-(i-) ‘ability, force’. IE cognates: Hit. happina- ‘rich’, happinant- ‘rich (person)’ < *h3ep-en-o-; Skt. āpnaś- ‘possession, property’ [n.], YAv. afrin’hant- ‘rich in property’ < *h3ep-nos-, Gr. δμπνη [f.] ‘food, corn’ < *h3ep-n-h2-?

Lat. officium < *opi-fak-io-. The existence of different derivatives in the IE branches, and also of an s-stem (see s.v. opus), may point to a PIE root noun *op-*. Livingston (2004: 73-82) explains opulentus and the other adj. in -ulentus as dissimilated from *-owent-o-, on the model of the semantic proximity of adj. in -us to those in -ulus.


optō, -āre ‘to desire, pray for’ [v. I] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: optō ‘choice, option; junior officer’ (Pl.+), optiōnantus, -ōs ‘the rank of optio’ (Cato+), optābilis ‘desirable’ (Andr.+); adoptāre ‘to associate, adopt’ (Pl.+), adoptātičus ‘adopted’ (Pl.+), exoptāre ‘to long for’ (Pl.+), exoptābilis ‘desirable’ (Pl.), praeoptāre ‘to prefer’ (Pl.+).


PIE *h1op-eie–* ‘to choose, grab’. IE cognates: Hit. epp-z1 / app- ‘to take, grab’ (< PIE root pr. *h1ep-/h1p–), Hit. pai- / pi- ‘to give’, CLuw., HLuw. piä-, Lyc. pije– ‘to give’, Skt. āpa, YAv. āpa ‘has reached’ (< IE pf. *h1e-h1(o)p–); maybe Alb. (j)ep ‘gives’, Is. (j)ap.
Vine 1999a: 520f. explains U. *upetu from a PIE iter. *op-eie-; to the resulting pr. *opē-, Latin could have made a ppp. *opto-, from which optāre was derived as a frequentative. The connection with opinor ‘to suspect’ is difficult for semantic reasons; EM regard it with sceptis. A connection with ap- as in apiō, apīscor ‘to take’ < *h₁p- would be possible if the latter indeed started from the meaning ‘to reach, get’. U. upetu might then point to a caus. or iter. *op-eie- > *opē- ‘make a choice’. A root *h₁p- is more attractive than *h₃p-, since there is no connotation of ‘work’ in optō and upetu. LIV and Meiser 2003 assume that a verb form oper /opēti/ is contained in the Duenos inscr. sequence noisiopetoitesiai, which is merely a guess. The original form of the hapax praeoutiont in Festus, glosses with praeoptanf, is too uncertain to be taken into consideration; Vine 1999a: 522f. suggests that the original form may have been *preponont ‘they prefer’.


opulus ‘kind of maple’ [f. o] (Varro+)

Since Pliny assigns this tree name to the Mediolanenses ‘Milanese’, it might be a Celtic word.


opus, -eris ‘work’ [n. r] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: opera [f.] ‘effort, activity’ (Naev.+, opella ‘little effort’ (Lucr.+), operārius ‘labourer’ (Pl.+), operāria ‘woman who hires out her services’ (Pl.), operātus ‘busy, occupied’ (Lucil.+), operāri ‘to be at work’ (Plin.+).


Postgate 1899 has shown that operātus must be a derived adj. ‘full of opera, absorbed in’ to opera, whereas operāri was back-formed to operātus more recently. This means that PSab. *opesā- ‘to erect’ was an independent creation of Sabelic.


orbis ‘disc, flat round object, circle’ [m. i] (Cato+; abl.sg. orbī)

Derivatives: orbiculus ‘small disc’ (Cato+), orbiculātus name of a pear (Varro); orbita ‘track made by a wheel; path of a heavenly body’ (Var.+, orbitus ‘circular’ (Varro); orbīle ‘rim’ (Varro).
PIE *h₃orbʰ-i- 'turning thing'. IE cognates: Hit. ḫarp-, ḫarp-zi 'to change allegiance, join' < *h₂erbh-, Gk. ὠρφάον 'disc (in Lydian) (Weiss 2006: 261); ToAB yerpe 'disc / surface / image' (vel sim. = Skt. bimba) < *h₃erbʰo-.

The etymology of orbis is much disputed, seeUntermann 2000. Klingenschmitt 1980: 214ff. reconstructs *h₂(0)-r-dʰ₁-i-, which he interprets as 'where the spokes (of a wheel) are attached' = 'felly' to Skt. ará- 'spoke of a wheel'. While formally possible, this explanation lacks formal matches in other IE languages, and is therefore less attractive. Driessen 2001 posits *h₁₀rbʰ-(i-) for Latin, with shortening by Osthoff's law. But it may also be *h₁₀rbʰ-i-, if the Tocharian long vowel is secondary. Driessen rejects the connection with urbs. This solution is developed by Weiss 2006. He assumes that orbis derives from PIE *h₂erbh- 'to turn' (*h₂erbʰ- cannot be completely excluded), a meaning he arrives at by comparing the Hit. verb harp- 'to change allegiance, join'. Latin orbita and U. urfeta can go back to the same Pit. preform *orfi/eta-, with vowel restoration in the second syllable in Umbrian. Weiss 2006: 252f., 261 analyzes this as a fem. of an original i-stem *orfi-t- 'wheel-like (one)', which in its turn was derived from an i-stem noun *orbʰ-i- 'turning thing, wheel' from which orbis can be directly derived.


**orbus** 'deprived of, childless, orphaned' [adj. o/ā] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: orbitās 'childlessness' (Pl. +), orbitītō 'bereavement' (Pac. +), orbāre 'to deprive of, rob' (Pac. +); orbīficāre 'to bereave of children' (Acc. +).

Plt. *orfo- 'heir, orphan'.

PIE *h₃orbʰ-o- 'turning, what/who is turned over' > 'inheritance / heir'. IE cognates: OIr. orb [m.] 'heir; inheritance' < *orbo-, orb(b)ē, orpe [n.] 'inheritance' < *orbiō-, Hit. ḫarp-, ḫarp-zi 'to change allegiance, join' < *h₂erbh-to [med.], harpa/i- 'pile, mound', Gr. ὄρφανος 'orphaned', ὀρφόβωη 'orphan's guardian' (Hsch.), ὀρφώσεων 'made into an orphan' (Hsch.), Arm. orb, -oy 'orphan', OCS rabō, ORu. robō, Cz. rob 'servant, slave' [m.] < *orbo-, Olc. arfr 'heir' < *arbaz, Olc. arfi, OSwe. arve 'heir' < *arban-., Go. arbi, OHG arbi, OS erbi [n.] 'inheritance' < *arbija-, Go. arbija, OHG arpeo, OE irfa 'heir' < *arbijan- 'having the inheritance'.

According to Weiss, the root *h₃rbʰ- 'to turn' here had the specific meaning 'to change membership from one social class to another'. Armenian and Greek can have *h₃rbʰ-, *h₃orbʰ- or *Horbh-, the other languages *h₃orbʰ- or *Horbh-.


**ördior, -īrī** 'to lay the warp (of a web); begin to speak or write; begin' [v. III; pf. ērsus sum] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: exördior 'to lay the warp; begin' (Pl. +), exördium 'the warp set up on a loom before the web is started; the beginning' (Enn. +), redoördior 'to unweave'
ordo (Plin.), prīmordium 'beginnings, source' (Pac.+); ordia prīma (Lucr.), orsa, -ōrum 'undertakings; words' (Verg.+); orsūs, -ūs 'web; beginning' (Cic.+).

Plt. *ord-i- 'row, arrangement'.

PIE *h₂or-d-?

Long initial ō- must be secondary (see s.v. ōrdō). The original meaning seems 'to be put in a certain order' (medium tantum), especially as a weaving term, of the threads which are laid in a pattern. The verb can be interpreted as a denominative to a stem *ordi-, or as a derived present *ord-je-. Lat. exordium must be derived from exordīrī, cf. Leumann 1977: 294, unless there was an original stem *ord-, from which exordium and ordō were independently derived. The forms orsa and orsūs are recent derivatives from the ppp. For further etymology, see ōrdō.

Bibl.: WH I: 221, EM 467,IEW 55-61, Leumann 1977: 294. → ōrdō

ōrdō 'row, line, rank; series, pattern, routine' [m. n] (Naev.+

Derivatives: ordināre 'to place in rows, arrange' (Cic.+), ordinārius 'regular, normal' (Cato apud Fest., Liv.+); ornāre 'to prepare, equip, adorn' (Pl.+), ornātus 'well-equipped' (Ter.+), ornātus, -ūs 'equipment, adornment' (Pl.+), ornāmentum 'equipment, ornament' (Andr.+); adornāre 'to prepare (tr./intr.); adorn' (Pl.+), exornāre 'to equip, prepare; adorn' (Pl.+), subornāre 'to supply, equip' (Cic.+).

Plt. *ord-n- 'row, order'.

PIE *h₂or-d-?

The length of the initial ō- is probably secondary, as in other words with *VrC-; cf. Leumann 1977: 114. The original denom. to ōrdō was ornāre < *ord-n-āre < *ordē/on-ā- (cf. type nomināre); this has retained the specialized meaning of 'to adorn'. The more recently attested ordināre was made as a denominative to ōrdō when the link between the latter and ornāre had become opaque; it accordingly has the more general meaning 'to put into order'. Semantically, a connection with PIE *h₂er- as in Lat. artus 'joint, limb' is attractive; thus also IEW. This would imply a reconstruction *h₂or-d-, with a d-extension which is not otherwise attested for this root. The o-grade might then stem from the original perfect. Pokorny considers a caus. *ord-ēo-, but this should yield *ordēre.


orior, -īrī 'to appear above the horizon, rise' [v. IV; pr. orītur, ppp. ortum] (Pl.+

Derivatives: origō, -inis [f.] 'beginning, source' (Cato+), aborīginēs, -um [pl.] 'race of pre-Roman people' (Cato+); aborīrī 'to pass away, be aborted' (Varro+), abortūō 'miscarriage' (Pl.+), abortūs, -ūs 'failure to fertilize, miscarriage' (Lucr.+), aborītūre 'to cast its young' (Varro), aboriscere 'to fade away' (Lucr.+), adorīrī 'to attack, assail' (Naev.+), coorīrī 'to spring forth, be born' (Pl.+), exorīre 'to appear, arise' (Pl.+), exortūs, -ūs 'rising, emergence' (Pac.+), oborīrī 'to rise up, occur' (Pl.+), suborīrī 'to come into being' (Lucr.+).

Plt. *or-i- 'to rise', *orto- 'risen'. It. cognates: U. ortum est, orto est [3s.pf.], urtu fēfure [3s.fut.pf.?], uertas [ptc.pf., nom.pl.f.], urtes [ptc.pf., abl.pl.f.] 'to arise, occur'
< *orto- U. urnasîer [abl.pl.], urnasîaru [gen.pl.f.] name of an early spring month < *orn-ásío- to a stem *r-no- 'shoot' (M. Weiss, p.c.).

PIE *h₃r-i- 'to rise'. IE cognates: Hitt. arat⁻ / ari- 'to (a)rise, to lift; raise', CLuw. arit(ā)- 'to raise', Lyc. erije- 'to raise, levy' < PIE *h₃r-oi- / *h₃r-i-; Hitt. hardu- [n.], CLuw. hardu- 'brood, descendence' < *h₃r-er-tu-; Skt. iyarti [3s.pr.act.], īrtē [3s.pr.med.] (< PIlr. *Hi-Har-, *Hi-Hr-), pōti [3s.pr.act.], aor. (ūd) ārta [3s.med.], (sām) šārata [3p.med.], pf. (vy) ārā [3s.act.] 'to set in motion, move', OAv. pr. īrā-, aor. (ūz)ārēsūtā [2s.ipv.med.], YAv. arnaão *to set in motion'; Gr. ὄρνυμι 'to urge, incite' (< *h₃r-n(e)u-), ὄρτο [3s.aor.med.] 'to rise, rush on', Arm. ӯռնամ 'to rise'.

The length of the stem vowel is fluctuating: orūrī, adorītur but orītur. Meiser interprets this in such a way that adorītur has a regular Sievers variant *-je- > *-ije- after two syllables, whereas orītur has retained *-je-. Yet even *-je- would be expected to yield -r̚, as Schrijver 2003 objects. Hence, the original stem may have been *or-i- / *or-ei-, he argues. This is confirmed by the Hittite paradigm, which, according to Kloekhorst 2006a: 115 and 2008: 200, reflects an i-pr. *h₃r-oi-/*h₃r-i-. It cannot be decided whether orior and ortus continue PIE *h₃r- or *h₃er-, but the former is more likely for morphological reasons.


ornus 'kind of ash-tree' [f. o] (Verg.+)

PI. *ös Vno-.

PIE *Hh₃₁-o/es-. IE cognates: OIr. (h)uinnius 'ash' < *ōnnist-su-, MW coll. onn, sing. onnen, OCo. onnen, Bret. coll. onn, ounn 'ash-tree' < *ōsna/-os-; OPr. woosis (< *ōs-s), Lith. uōsis [m.], Latv. uōsis [m.], Ru. jās'en, Cz. jasan, SCR. jās'en 'ash-tree' < BSl. *ōs-es- (> Slav.), *ōs-i-o- (> BALT.) < PIE *Hēh₃-s-; Arm. hac'i 'ash-tree', Alb. ah 'beech' [m.], OIC. askr, OHG asc 'ash-tree' < *Hh₃₁-o/es-ko-, Gr. ὀξία 'beech' << *ös-k-.

The vowel difference between BSl. and the other languages is understandable if BSl. has the full grade of a root *Hh₃₁-, followed by *-s-, whereas the other languages have the zero grade followed by *-*es-/*os-. This would imply that the original noun was an s-stem. Latin has suffixed *-V.no- (as in other tree names, cf. fraxinus) whereas Celtic added *-*no-.


ōrō, -āre 'to pray to, beseech' [v. I] (Lex XII, Andr.+)

Derivatives: orāculum 'divine utterance, oracle' (Pl.+), orātiō 'speech, utterance' (Naev.+), orātor 'envoy, public speaker' (Naev.+), orātrix 'female suppliant' (Pl.+), ōrātus, -ūs 'request' (Pl.+); adōrāre 'to plead with, address, pray to' (Lex XII+), exōrāre 'to persuade' (Pl.+), exōrābula, -ārum 'means of winning over' (Pl.+), exōrātor 'successful suppliant' (Ter.), perōrāre 'to plead, argue' (Lex XII+), inōrātus 'not pleaded' (Enn.+), inexōrābitis 'relentless' (Ter.+).

Plt. *ös- 'mouth'. It. cognates: maybe O. uruṣt [3s.fut.pf.] 'to prosecute (orally)' < *or-us-ī.
The chronology of the attestations shows that 'to plead, speak openly' is the original meaning of *orāre*; see also Gavoille 2001 on the difference between *orāre* and *dicere* in OLat. A denominative verb to ὀσ is deemed unlikely by WH and EM, but I fail to see why: English has a verb 'to mouth', and -āre is the productive suffix also after root nouns; thus also Untermann 2000: 809. The alternative etymology, which is supported by LIV, seems very unlikely to me: a connection with Skt. ā-aryanti 'they acknowledge' and Ru. orát 'to shout', since nothing suggests a meaning 'to shout' for the Latin verb, nor does it seem onomatopoeic. If *orāre* is from ὀσā-, it would have to be separated from O. urst. Rix (1993: 331-335) tries to derive both from a root *h2er-* 'to speak solemnly', O. from a reduplicated perfect and Latin from a root noun *h2or-; this solution is adopted by LIV. It is possible within Italic, but the outer-Italic evidence for a root *h2er-* 'to speak solemnly' is very weak.

Bibl.: WH II: 224, EM 469, IEW 781, Untermann 2000: 809, LIV ??3.*h2er-. → ὀσ

**ὀσ, ὀρίς** 'mouth' [n. r] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: ὀρεα [f.pl.] 'mouthpiece, bit' (Naev.+), ὀσελπον 'kiss' (Pl.+), ὀσκυλαρί 'to kiss' (Pl.+), ὀσκυλλεία 'kissing' (Pl.), ὀδόσκυλαρί 'to kiss warmly' (Pl.+), ὀστία 'port at the mouth of the Tiber' (Enn.+), ὀστύμ 'door, entrance; aperture, mouth' (Pl.+), ὀστίαρις 'janitor' (Varro+), ὀσκύλλεια 'to gape, yawn' (Pl.+).

Plt. *ὀσ-.

PIE *h2eh1-os, -es- [n.] 'mouth'. IE cognates: Olr. ā 'mouth', Hit. aîś / īś- [n.] 'mouth' (< *h2eh1-os, gen. *h2h1-s-os?), CLuw. āāś- [n.] 'mouth', Skt. āś- [n.] 'mouth', āś-ā [instr.sg.] 'with the mouth, before one's eyes, present, visible', Av. āh-.

Ostium presupposes an adj. *ὀσ-το- 'having a mouth/like a mouth' (cf. iūs-tus, etc.), from which a n. noun in *-io- was derived


**ὀσ, ὀσσίς** 'bone' [n. ss] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: ὀσσωμ 'bone' (Acc.+), ὀσσῳα, -ουμ [n.pl.] 'bones' (Pac.+), ὀσσεύς 'of bone' (Pl.+), ὀσσικολαίτιμ 'bone by bone' (Lucil.); ὀσσιφραγα 'kind of vulture' (Lucr.+), ἔξω 'boneless' (Lucr.+), ἔξωσαρε 'to remove the bones from' (Pl.+).


PIE *h3o/est- [n.] 'bone'. IE cognates: MW ascurn, ascwrn, OCo. ascorn 'bone' < *ast-k-, MW asen [f.], OCo. ase, Mlr. ase 'rib' < *astvín- (appurtenance uncertain, see below); Hit. ēstāti / ēstāti- [n.] 'bone(s), strength', CLuw. hāś- 'bone' < *h2esth1-ōi, -i-, Skt. āsthi- [n.] 'bone' (ins.pl. āsthābihis, gen.sg. āsthānās, gen.pl. āsnām < *asthmān), asthanvānt- 'having bones', OAv. aṃstānt- [f.] 'materialness', YAv. ast- 'bone, body with bones' (gen.sg. astō, astasca, nom.pl. asti, gen.pl. astam, instr.pl. azdabās-ca), Av. astaunant- 'having a body with bones', Sogd. 'stk- 'bone' < Ir. *ast-H/n-; Gr. ὀστέον [n.] 'bone', Arm. oskr < *ost-u-; OAIm. asthe [n.] 'bone' < *ost-.

According to the theories of Steinbauer and Schrijver, the nom.sg. *ὀστα < *HostH
was replaced by *ost to avoid homonymy with the nom.acc.pl. *osta, and the new form *ost was furnished with an extra *-s. Plt. *osts, *ostos would then have yielded *oss, *ostos, which was remodelled to *oss, *ossos. Yet the introduction of an ending *-s into a nom.acc.sg. neuter is hardly credible: a n. paradigm *ost, gen. *ostos would have been fine, and the ptc. *ferens is not a good comparandum, since it stands within a paradigm with m. and f. Thus, I wonder whether oss directly reflects the nom.sg. *ost of the PIE root noun; the sequence -ss- would then have been introduced into the other case-forms. The stem ossum may be a secondary o-stem *osso-, or it hides a u-stem *ossu-, in which any case we need for Pac. ossuum. The u-stem can be due to analogy with artua ‘lamps’ or maybe cornua ‘horns’. Armenian o- can be from *h2-o- or *h3(o)-. Only in the former case can the Celtic forms be cognate, viz. from *h2-e- (Schrijver 1995: 53). This is surprising, since o- seems to be prevailing in the other languages (although we cannot tell for Ir.). An ablaut *h2est-/*h2ost- would point to a root noun, and the suffixes *-h2- (also *-i-) and *-n- would originally be different extensions. The suffix *-n- seems to be attested in Ir., Celtic and Venetic. If the hypothetical PIE root noun was an acrostic n. noun one may reconstruct nom.acc. *h2ost, gen. *h2est-s > Plt. *öst, *ass, from which with leveling maybe Lat. oss may be explained. This is very speculative, of course.


ōtium ‘spare time, relaxation’ [n. o] (Pl.+) Derivatives: ótōsus ‘at leisure, inactive’ (Pl. +); neōtium ‘work, business, difficulty’ (Pl. +), neōtiolum ‘little business, slight difficulty’ (Pl. +), neōtiōsus ‘occupied, busy’ (Pl. +).

For ōtium, an etymology involving *au- is unattractive, since there is no evidence for *au-. Benveniste 1951 argues that neōtium must have been a nominal cp. *nec-ōtium from the start, with the meaning ‘non-loisir’, that is, ‘obstacle, empêchement’. It would have been a Latin calque on Gr. ἀ-σχολία ‘absence of spare time’ > ‘occupation’. This leaves unanswered the question of why the Romans not translate the Gr. word as *in-ōtium. The word remains without etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 157, 228f., EM 436, 471.

ovis ‘sheep’ [f. (m.) i] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: ovile [n.] ‘sheepfold’ (Cato+), ovilhus [adj.] ‘of sheep’ (Cato+), oviāria ‘flock of sheep’ (Varro); suovetaurīlia, -ium [n.pl.] ‘purificatory sacrifice, consisting of a boar, a ram and a bull’ (Cato+); aububulcus ‘pastor bovum’ (CGL V 346, 39).


awistr, OHG ewist ‘sheepfold’ < *oui-stH-; ToB awi [nom.pl.f.] ‘ewe’.

Ovis can reflect Plt. *ówis under the assumption put forward by Vine 2006a that stressed *ów- did not undergo unrounding to *aw-. The appurtenance of aububulcus is extremely uncertain according to Schrijver (1991: 439), but Vine (2006: 233) adopts the view that the original gloss may have run aubulcus ‘pastor ouium’, in which case au- could reflect pretonic *oui- ‘sheep’ under Vine’s formulation of Thurneysen-Havet’s Law; see also Lindner 2002: 218f. Some scholars assume initial *h2o-, ignoring or explaining away Armenian ho-. See Pinault 1997: 191ff. for arguments against *h3e- and in favour of *h2e- (Toch. *ā-). The only alternative to *h3e- would be a static paradigm *h2oui-/*h2eui-, while assuming that Arm. and Anat. have the o-vocalism of the former variant, and the h- of the latter; this seems less plausible.


ovō, -āre ‘to celebrate a minor triumph, rejoice’ [v. I] (Pl.+

Plt. *ōwā-.

The Gr. verb εύάζω ‘to cry for joy’ is probably denominal to cries such as εῦα (H.), εῦαι (-αί) (Ar.), εὕαν (E.). Yet the Latin word cannot be a borrowing, since it requires the Plt. change of *eu > *ou.


ōvum ‘egg’ [n. o] (Enn.+

Plt. *ōw(ī)om.

PIE *h2ōuiom ‘egg’. IE cognates: OW ui, MW wy [m.], OCo. uy, Co. oy, Bret. uy, vi ‘egg’ < PCl. *āyo-; Av. āem (acc.sg.), Khot. āhaa-, MP xāyag, Khwar. y’k < Plr. *āya-(ka)-; Gr. φῶν (Ion.-Att.), ωόν (Hell.), ὄφων (Sappho); Arm. jow, gen. jowoy < *iōio-<< *iōio-; Po. jajo; jajo (obs.), SCR. jāje ‘egg’ < PSl. *āje, OCS ajce, Ru. jajcó, Cz. vejce ‘egg’ < PSl. *ajčce; Alb. ve, voe; Crimean Go. ada, Olc. egg, OHG ei, OE āg ‘egg’ < PGM. *a(j)aζ-.

Schindler 1969 reconstructs *ō-h2uiom, with a preposition *ō. Yet apart from IIr. *ā ‘toward’, such a preposition is unknown, and its existence in PIE is doubtful. Moreover, the meaning ‘which is near the bird’ is not very convincing for an ‘egg’: it is actually ‘in’ the bird, or, when it is breeding, ‘under’ it. I prefer the explanation of ōvum as a vṛddhi-derivative of ‘bird’, hence ‘which belongs to a bird’. Morphologically, this would imply lengthening of an o-grade of ‘bird’, for which – admittedly – there is no evidence: *h2eu-i- ‘bird’ > *h2ōu-i-o- ‘egg’. On the other hand, it is not unlikely that an earlier ablaut *e/o/zero in ‘bird’ would have disappeared, leaving only e/zero.

paedor ‘dirt, filth’ [m. r] (Acc.)
Etymology unknown.
Bibl.: WH II: 233, EM 474.

paelex, -icis ‘mistress’ [f. k] (Pl.+; also pēlex, pellex)
Usually compared with OIr. airech ‘a type of concubine’, Gr. παλλακή ‘concubine’, πάλαξ ‘young woman’, Av. pairikā- ‘witch’. But Irish has -r-, Av. has *parikā-, and Gr. has a and l, none of which match the Latin form. Within Latin, it seems more straightforward to derive paelex from *paed-Vk-s, to paedor ‘dirt’. But even this is only a guess which cannot be substantiated. Levin 1983 regards paelex as a borrowing from a Mediterranean language, maybe Semitic, in view of Hebrew plgs lpi(y)leyesl ‘concubine’.

paene ‘almost, practically’ [adv.] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: paenitère (pf. -uir) ‘to cause dissatisfaction, cause to regret’ (Pl.+), paenitūdō ‘regret’ (Pac.), pae/enuria ‘shortage, want’ (Ter.+).
The basic meaning of the stem *paen- seems to be ‘missing, lacking’. IEW connects paene with Skt. pīyati ‘scorns’, which would fit if we posit *ph2-i-; but the root is reconstructed as *ph1-i- in LIV, which does not explain Latin -ae-. Also, the semantics do not match well. Neri (2007: 78f.) takes up a suggestion by Vine and proposes *p(e)-ai-ni- ‘not entirely’ < *‘from whom has been taken away’ or *‘who takes away’, from a preverb *pe ‘away’ and a verb *hjai ‘to give, take’. A PIE phoneme sequence *hjai- is in my view not possible, however, and the existence of a PIE preverb *peis uncertain (see s.v. pālor).
Bibl.: WH II: 234, EM 474, IEW 792f.

palam ‘openly, publicly’ [adv.; prep. + abl.] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: prōpalam ‘openly, evident’ (Pl.+).
Plt. *palām?
PIE *ph2-em-i?
The use of palam as a prep. postdates that of clam. Schrijver gives three possible etymologies: (1) an analogical ending -am was taken from clam; (2) a locative *ph2-em-i ‘in the flat (hand)’ to palma; this might have yielded *palem, however; or a loc. *ph2-em > *p(al)ām; (3) an adverbialised acc.sg. of a h2-stem of the same root: *ph2-emh > *palām > palam. Since palma and its cognates provide evidence for a PIE m-stem, hypothesis (2) is slightly more likely.
palātum 'roof of the mouth; dome, vault' [n. o] (Varro+)

Derivatives: Palātium 'the Palatine' (Naev.+), Palātīnus 'Palatine' (Varro+), Palātūna 'tutelary goddess of the Palatine' (Varro), Palātūnālis 'of Palātua' (Varro+).

Plt. *palāto-.

PIE *plh₂-o/u- 'flat, wide'?

Since the 'palate' can be referred to as a 'flattened' or 'vaulted' part, and since hills are also often referred to as 'flat' or 'vaulted' (if their form so suggests), a derivation of Palātium from palātum is quite conceivable. Palātum could be an adj. in *-āto- to a stem *pal-(V-) 'flat, broad', e.g. *plh₂-o- or *plh₂-u-, cf. Hit. palhī- 'broad' < *plh₂-i-.

Bibl.: WH II: 237, EM 475f. → plāmus

palea 'chaff, husk' [f. ā] (Cato+)

Derivatives: uncertain are palea 'the wattles of a cock' (Varro+), palear, -āris [n.] 'dewlap' (Varro+).

Plt. *paleāja-[f.].

PIE *p(e)lh₁h₁- 'chaff'. IE cognates: Skt. palāva- 'chaff, husk' < *pelH-ū(-), OPr. pelvo, Lith. pēlūs, Latv. peīus [pl.] 'chaff', OCS plěvy [nom.pl.f.], Ru. polóva, SCr. pljěva 'chaff' < PIE *pelH-u(eh₂); Gr. πόλλα 'to swing, sway' < *plh₁-n-, aor. πόλτο (άν-, κοτ-έπάλτο), redupl. āμ-πεπαλών, πόλος [m.] '(shaken) lot'.

Palea could be cognate with the stem *pelH-u- 'chaff' found in Skt. and BSl. Since 'chaff' are the parts of the corn which are separated by threshing them off, these stems might result nouns derived from PIE *pelh₁- 'to swing'.


palla 'mantle' [f. ā] (Naev.+)/

Derivatives: pallula 'little mantle' (Pl.+, pallium 'mantle, garment' (Naev.+), palliātus 'wearing a pallium' (Pl.+), palliolium 'small pallium' (Pl.+), palliolātim 'in/with a pallium' (Pl.+).

No etymology. A PIE preform could for instance be *pH₁l-n/d/s/u-, or a secondary full grade a of a root *pelC- as in pellis. But it may well be a loanword.

Bibl.: WH II: 238f., EM 476, IEW 803f.

palleō 'to be pale' [v. II; pf. palluī] (Pl.+)/

Derivatives: pallēscere 'to grow pale, fade' (Acc.+), pallidus 'pale, dim' (Pl.+), pallor 'paleness' (Lucr.+).

Plt. *palwo- 'pale, grey'.

IE cognates: Lith. palvas 'light yellow, straw-coloured', RuCS plavā 'white', Ru. polóvij 'pale yellow, sandy', SCr. plav 'pale blue, with light hair' < BSl. *polo-, OIC. feīr, OHG falo 'faded' < PGm. *falwa-.

Nussbaum 1997 assumes a suffix *-uo- on account of the BSl. and Gm. cognates; he explicitly separates *pallo- denoting a pale colour from the adj. *pollo- (Lat. pullus)
denoting a dark one. BSl. and Gm. suggest a preform *polyo-, but this would not explain Latin -a-. One might posit *ph2el-, but that would be ad hoc. Alternatively, we are dealing with a loanword *paluo- ‘pale, grey’ into the European languages.


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palma ‘front part of the hand; palm-tree’ [f. ṡ] (Pl.+) Derivatives: palmula ‘palm; an oar’ (Varro+), palmus ‘width of a palm’ (Cato+), palmāris [adj.] ‘the width of a palm’ (Varro+), palmārium ‘master-stroke’ (Ter.), palmipedālis ‘measuring a palm and a foot’ (Varro+).

Pft. *palamā-.


The analysis of the root as *plh2- and the vocalization in Latin and Greek, which does not fit the regular outcome of *plHC- in these languages, suggest an m-stem with full grade of the suffix in Lat. and Gr. Others have assumed that palma was borrowed from Greek, but this does not explain Lat. palmus, nor can Gr. -αλα- be explained from *CIHC-. Admittedly, the fact that four branches show a h2-stem but seem to have different ablaut of the primary suffix (*-m- in Celtic and Germ., *-em- in Lat. and Gr.), and especially the separation of Celtic and Italic, are embarrassing.


pālor, -ārī ‘to wander, stray’ [v. I] (Pl.+) Derivatives: dispālārī ‘to stray off’ (Sis.+), dispālēscere ‘to be spread about’ (Pl.).
Pft. *pālāje/o-.

The stem pālā- ‘to wander’ is explained from *pand-slo- by WH, but Weiss 1993: 53-56 rightly objects that it is somewhat complicated to arrive from an instrument noun ‘spreading, spreader’ at a verb ‘to wander’; and, furthermore, that one would expect to find other traces of the alleged noun *pālo-. Weiss proposes the alternative etymology *pe-h2lh2- ‘to wander off’; this would semantically be perfect, and links up with the existence of amb-ulāre. However, the existence of a PIE preverb *pe is uncertain: the only independent witness for this form would be Hit. pe ‘away, thither’, which rather reflects *(hi)poi, cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 660.

Bibl.: WH II: 241, EM 477, LIV *h2elh2-.

palpō, -āre ‘to stroke, soothe’ [v. I] (Pl.+) Derivatives: palpus ‘front or palm of the hand’ (Pl.+), palpitāre ‘to beat, pulsate’ (Cic.+), palpātiō ‘caress’ (Pl.), palpātor ‘cajoler’ (Pl.), palpebra ‘eyelid; pl. eyelashes’ (Caecil.+); suppulpāri ‘to wheedle’ (Pl.).

No etymology. PIE origin is not easy for a sequence palp-. To explain the second vowel of palpebra and palpitāre, Serbat 1975: 107 posits a verb *palpere ‘to move repeatedly’. If correct, we could reconstruct a noun *palpo- ‘front of the hand’ and a verb *palp-e/o- ‘to move’ at an earlier stage.

Bibl.: WH II: 241f., EM 477, IEW 798-801
palumbēs, -is ‘wood-pigeon’ [m., f. i] (Pl.+; palumbus Cato+)
Gr. πελεια, πελειας ‘wild pigeon’ to πελε- ‘grey’ and OPr. poalis ‘pigeon’ < *pōli- ‘grey’ render it conceivable that palumbēs was named after its colour (see palleō), with the same suffix as in columba. Of course, we cannot be certain.
Bibl.: WH II: 242, EM 478, IEW 804f. → columba

palūs, palūdis ‘fen, swamp’ [f. d] (Pl.+
Derivatives: palūster [adj.] ‘marshy, fenny’ (Sis.+).
Plt. *palūd-.
If the Baltic words for ‘swamp’ are cognate, Latin palūs could be connected with pall- ‘grey, pale’. However, Schrijver rightly objects that the semantic connection between ‘grey’ and ‘swamp’ is un compelling.

pandō, -ere ‘to spread out, extend’ [v. III; ppp. passum] (Naev.+
Derivatives: pandiculāri ‘to contort one’s face in a grimace’ (Pl.+), passus ‘extended, free; dry, wrinkled’ (Naev.+), passim [adv.] ‘here and there, indiscriminately’ (Pl.+), passum ‘raisin-wine’ (Pl.+), passus, -īs ‘step, pace’ (Pl.+, pandus ‘arched, bowed’ (Enn.+), Panda ‘a Roman goddess’ (Varro+); dispandere ‘to open out’ [Pl. dispenmite, ppp. dispessum] (Pl.+), expansere ‘to spread out’ (Caecil.+), praepandere ‘to spread in front, reveal’ (Laev.+), repandus ‘flattened back’ (Lucil.+), repandirōstrus ‘having a flattened snout’ (Pac.).
PIL *pt-n(ā)-h2- [pr.] ‘to spread’. IE cognates: Gr. πίττανημι ‘to spread out, open’, aor. πέταναμ(α).
I assume that the PIE nasal pr. yielded (pre-)Plt. *pnd-n-, with vocalization to *pandn- according to the observations in Schrijver 1991: 486-504. The adj. pandus seems to be a novel creation on the basis of pandere. A dim. *pandicum ‘little bending > grimace’ is behind pandiculāri. Outside the present, *pt- acquired the secondary full grade *pat-, which is attested in the stative pateō (see s.v.) and the ppp. passus < *patto-, and which was reintroduced in Pl. dispenmite < *dis-pat-n-, and O. patensins (Kortlandt 1999: 248).

pango,-ere ‘to insert firmly, fix’ [v. III; pf. pepigī, ppp. pāctum] (Naev.+
Derivatives: (1) compingere ‘to shut up, fix, build’ (Pl.+), dépangere ‘to drive down’ (Varro+), impingere ‘to fix on, strike against’ (Pl.+), suppingere ‘to attach below’ (Pl.+), antepagmentum ‘the facing of a door- or window-frame’ (Cato+); (2) compāgēs, -is [f.] ‘framework, joint’ (Pac.+), prōpāgēs [f.] ‘which continues’ (Pac.+),
pannus ‘piece of cloth, rag’ [m. o] (Pl.+)

IE cognates: Gr. πηνός [n.], πηνή [f.] ‘woven cloth’ (Hsch.) < *pán-, Go. fana [m.] ‘cloth, towel’, OHG fano ‘cloth’, NHG Fahne, OE fana ‘banner’ < *fan-ōn.

If the Gr. and Gm. words listed are related, they probably represent loanwords from an unknown source. The vacillation between a and ā, and Latin -a- and -nn-, cannot
be explained from a common PIE preform.

Bibl.: WH II: 247f., EM 479, IEW 788.

pañus 'spool with thread; abscess; main stalk of a panicle' [m. o] (Lucil+; Afran.+; Plin.)

Derivatives: pâni/ucula 'the feathery head of certain reeds and grasses, tuft; kind of wart' (Plin.+).

In the meaning 'spool with thread', pánus may well be a loanword from Doric Greek *pâvoc, cf. Att. πήνει, πῆνος 'yarn'. In the meaning 'abscess', pánus is compared with Ru. pâk 'bunch, bundle', OCS pôčiti se 'be inflated', Ru. pâčit 'become swollen' < *ponHk-; a root *ponHk- is reconstructed from which Schrijver phonetically derives pánus. This is conceivable, but it is just as likely that the word for 'spool' was metaphorically used for 'abscess', and certainly for 'tuft' of reed (pânica); cf. the range of meanings of German Klotz.


pâpiliò 'moth, butterfly' [m. n] (Ov.+)

Plt. *pV(l)pVl-.

IE cognates: OPr. penpalo 'quail', OPr. pepelis, [pl.] pippaloins 'bird', Lith. piepala, Latv. piāpala, Ru. pârepel, Cz. pîrepel, krepel 'quail', OIC. fîfrîldi, OE fîfealde, OHG fîfaltra, MHG fîfalter 'butterfly' < PGm. *fâfaldrôn-.

Pâ-piliò can reflect reduplication of a root *pl- 'to fly, flutter', which has also served to build the word for 'quail' in BSL and 'butterfly' in Gm. It seems unlikely that this root *pl- is a very early variant of PIE roots such as *pleu- 'to swim, wander', *pleh- 'to swim, float', *pelh- 'to swing'.

Bibl.: WH II: 249f., EM 480, IEW 798-801.

pâr, paris 'equal, matching' [adj. i] (Pl.+; sup. parisuma Elog.Scip.)

Derivatives: parilis 'equal, similar' (Lucil.+); compar 'fellow, similar, equal' (Pl.+), comparâre 'to align, match, evaluate' (Pl.+), dispâr 'unequal, different' (Acc.+), disparâre 'to be different' (Pl.+), disparâlis 'different' (Varro+), disparâlitas 'difference' (Varro+), impâr 'unequal' (Cato+); aequiperâre 'to compare, become equal' (Pl.+), aequiperâbilis 'comparable' (Pl.+).

Plt. *parVl? *pâs-i-? It. cognates: U. pars (est) [nom.sg.] '(it is) prescribed' < *pares or *paros.

The origin of ā in pār is disputed: WH regard it as an ancient lengthened grade, whereas Leumann and e.g. Untermann explain it from *parVl > *pars > *par. In view of U. pars, the latter seems more attractive, but it is strange that a similar lengthening cannot be observed e.g. in ter 'thrice' < *ters. Sab. *parVl may stem from PIE *prH-V-, but no good etymology is available. WH connect *perH- 'to sell', but 'selling' does not mean 'matching'. Alternatively, Latin may be separated from U. pars and go back to *pâs-, *pas- < PIE *pHs-; see pâreō for a possible candidate.

pario, -ere 'to act sparingly, refrain from' [v. III; pf. peperci (parcuīt, parsi)] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: parcus 'economical, stingy' (Pl.); parciter 'sparingly' (Pompon.+), perparcē 'very stingily' (Ter.), parsimōnia 'thrift' (Pl.); compercere 'to refrain from; save up' (Pl.), impercere 'to spare' (Pl.), reparcere 'to be sparing with' (Pl.); compescere 'to confine, restrain' (Pl.); dispescere 'to divide' (Cato+).

Pit. *pe-ark-e/-o- [pr.].
PIE *h2er(lc)(e/oO *to hold'.

LIV's connection of parcio with Skt. prk- 'to fill, mix with' is unconvincing semantically. Keller 1992: 164 (fn. 21) and Weiss 1993: 49-53 propose *pe-h2erk- 'to hold off' > *pārk- + -e/o- > parcio to the root of arceō; Weiss suggests that the opaque *parke/o- was replaced by *po-ark- > porceō in the meaning 'to hold off'. Parsimōnia was built on the pf. parsī, which was more common in OLat than in CLat. The compounds in -pescō probably represent *-park-sk/e/o-.


pāreō 'to submit, obey' [v. II; pf. pāruī, pps. paritum] (Andr.+

Derivatives: pāret 'appears, seems' (Cic.+); appārēre 'to be visible, appear' (Naev.+), appāritor 'attendant', (Cato+), compārēre 'to be seen, appear' (Pl.+).

Pit. *pās-e-.
PIE *peh2-s- [pr.] 'to watch, see'. IE cognates: Arm. hayim 'to see', Alb. aor. pashē 'I saw'.

Within Latin, it is possible to connect pār: pārēre would then be a stative verb *pārē- or *pāsē- 'to be visible', and maybe *pār-i- 'visible, obvious' > 'seeming' > pār 'equal' (cf. German gleich). If the meaning of the root *pHr/s- was 'to see', the obvious connection is with PIE *pHs- as in Albanian aor. pashē 'I saw', of which we would then be able to prove *h2. For pār, paris, an ablaut *peh2s-/*ph2s- would have to be assumed. The meaning of this preform would be so close to *peh2s- 'to protect, observe', an s-present to *peh2- 'to protect', that one may consider their original identity.

Bibl.: WH II: 252f., EM 482, IEW 789, LIV *peHs- -> pār, pāscō

parīēs, -etis 'wall' [m. f.] (Lex XII++)

IE cognates: OIc. sparri [m.] 'pillar, beam', OHG sparro 'roof-beam, pole' < *sporH-en-?

The alleged connection with Gm. words in spar- 'beam' < *spor- is a mere paper reconstruction.


pariō, -ere 'to give birth to, bear' [v. III; pf. peperī, pps. partum] (VOLat.+: Garigliano nei pari [2s.ipv.act. /pari/ or /parī/] 'do not appropriate', Lex XII, Andr.+

Derivatives: (1) parēns, -ntis [m./f.] 'parent, father or mother' (Pl.); parentāre 'to perform the rites at the tombs of the dead' (Varro+), parenticīda [m.] 'parent-killer'
parō

(par.), parentātiō ‘celebration of the family dead’ (Cato+); partus, -ūs ‘the giving birth, birth, progeny’ (Pl+), partīō ‘the giving birth’ (Pl+), partitūdō ‘the giving birth’ (Pl+), partūra ‘the giving birth’ (Varro), partūrire ‘to be in labour, give birth’ (Pl+);
(2) perīculum ‘trial, danger’ (Pl+), perīculāřī ‘to try out, risk’ (Cato), perīclītāřī ‘to try out, risk; be in danger’ (Pl+), perīculōsus ‘dangerous’ (Cato+); perītūs ‘experienced, expert’ (Pl+), imperītūs ‘unexperienced’ (Pl+); comperīrī ‘to find out, discover’ (Ter.+), experīrī (pf. expertus sum) ‘to put to the test, attempt’ (Naev.+), experimentīa ‘trial’ (Varro+), experimentum ‘test, trial’ (Varro+), opperīrī ‘to wait, await’ (Pl+), reperīrī ‘to recover, discover’ (Pl+) [pf. repperī, ppp. repertum].

Plt. *per(e)i-, *par(e)i-; or. *par(e)i-nt- ‘to bear; find, experience’; *per(e)i-tlo-‘experience’. It. cognates: Fal. pe:para[i] [1s.pf.] ‘I have procured’; U. amparītu [3s.ipv.II.], amparīmu [3s.ipv.II.ps.] ‘to erect’? < an- ‘on’ + *parē/i/-je-.

PIE pr. *pērbh3-i- ‘to provide’, *prh3-ēi-, or. *p(ē)rh3-, pf. *pe-porh3-e. IE cognates: see s.v. parō.

(1) Schrijver 1991 explains par- from antevocalic *prH-, which is more attractive than the older assumption of an umlaut *pera- > *para-. The old root aor. might be conserved in parēns. The pr. partūrire is one of the two oldest presents in -urīre, and may have been formed on the model of ēsurīre (Risch 1954). (2) The semantic connection between parīō ‘to bear, produce’ and -perīre/i ‘to find, experience’ is explained by Schrijver 2003: 79 in the sense that ‘to discover’ can be interpreted as ‘I bring about that sth. is produced or produces itself to me’; he therefore leaves open the possibility that these compounds contain the thematic suffix *-je/o-. One might also start from ‘to bear’, from which the deponent verbs meaning ‘to experience’ are easily understood (in which case thematization is not necessary). The identity of the pf. and ppp. also speaks in favour of the identification of these two verbs as one. The noun perīclum < *perī-tlo- can hardly have been built to the compound verbs, but must represent an older formation. Probably *perēi-tlo- ‘experience’ > ‘trial, danger’, although, in theory, i in perīclum can also be due to a Sievers-like development from *perio-tlo-. But since i can be linked to the -i- in parīō, the word family of parīō and -perīre/i provides support for the reconstruction of an *i/ei-present. Of course, for the compounds in -perīre/i we cannot be sure whether they contain *par- or *per-.


parō, -āre ‘to furnish, provide’ [v. I] (Pl+). Derivatives: (1) parātiō ‘obtaining’ (Afran.+), paritāre ‘to prepare, arrange’ (Pl+); apparāre ‘to prepare, provide’ (Pl+), comparāre ‘to prepare, buy, obtain’ (Pl+), dispersāre ‘to divide’ (Pl+), imparātus ‘not ready, unprepared’, imperāre ‘to demand the production or payment of, order, command’ (Naev.+), imperātōr ‘who gives orders, ruler’ (Pl+), imperium ‘supreme power, authority, dominion’ (Pl+), imperīōsus ‘commanding’ (Pl+), praeparāre ‘to furnish beforehand, prepare’ (Varro+), sēparāre ‘to divide, separate’ (Cato+); (2) properus ‘quick’ (Cato+),

(Pl.), parentātiō ‘celebration of the family dead’ (Cato+); partus, -ūs ‘the giving birth, birth, progeny’ (Pl+), partīō ‘the giving birth’ (Pl+), partitūdō ‘the giving birth’ (Pl+), partūra ‘the giving birth’ (Varro), partūrire ‘to be in labour, give birth’ (Pl+); (2) perīculum ‘trial, danger’ (Pl+), perīculāřī ‘to try out, risk’ (Cato), perīclītāřī ‘to try out, risk; be in danger’ (Pl+), perīculōsus ‘dangerous’ (Cato+); perītūs ‘experienced, expert’ (Pl+), imperītūs ‘unexperienced’ (Pl+); comperīrī ‘to find out, discover’ (Ter.+), experīrī (pf. expertus sum) ‘to put to the test, attempt’ (Naev.+), experimentīa ‘trial’ (Varro+), experimentum ‘test, trial’ (Varro+), opperīrī ‘to wait, await’ (Pl+), reperīrī ‘to recover, discover’ (Pl+) [pf. repperī, ppp. repertum].

Plt. *per(e)i-, *par(e)i-, or. *par(e)i-nt- ‘to bear; find, experience’; *per(e)i-tlo-‘experience’. It. cognates: Fal. pe:para[i] [1s.pf.] ‘I have procured’; U. amparītu [3s.ipv.II.], amparīmu [3s.ipv.II.ps.] ‘to erect’? < an- ‘on’ + *parē/i/-je-.

PIE pr. *pērbh3-i- ‘to provide’, *prh3-ēi-, or. *p(ē)rh3-, pf. *pe-porh3-e. IE cognates: see s.v. parō.

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properiter ‘quickly’ (Pac.+), properäre ‘to incite; to hurry’ (Pl.+), properätim ‘hastily’ (Caecil.+); puerpera ‘woman in labour or who has delivered’ (Pl.+), puerperium ‘childbirth’ (Pl.+), opiparus ‘sumptuous, rich’ (Pl.+).


PIE *prH3-o- ‘providing’. IE cognates: Olr. ernaid*, *ern* ‘to grant’ << PCl. *φαρα- (e- from the sb.), Olr. rath [n.], MW rat ‘mercy’ << *φrato-; Skt. र्नाति [3s.act.], aor. pūrdhi [2s.ipv.act.], pf. -pupūrāyas [2s.opt.act.] ‘to give, grant’, sadā-ṛṇā- [adj.] ‘granting continually’ << *prH-; Gr. aor. ἔπορον ‘provided, gave’, pf.med. ἔπρωται ‘it has been fated’.

Mostly explained as a denominal verb to a noun *paro- << *prH-o/ho- (cf. puer-pera), but Rix has proposed that it continues *prHje- > *paraje-. This is accepted by LIV. This will not work with our phonetic rules: *prHje- is expected to yield *parie-, cf. Schrijver 1991: 293 (but *priō, *prīre according to Schrijver 2003: 78). The verb imperāre is different in its semantics and because of its -e-; this it has in common with properāre. Panagl-Lindner 1995: 173 interpret properare as an old compound *prō-parāre ‘to bring to the fore’ > ‘incite’, an ā-intensive to parere. They explain properus as a back-formation to this verb. Similarly, imperāre would stem from *in-parere ‘to bring in > command’. Opiparus must be a more recent formation to parō.


parra ‘kind of bird (of ill omen)’ [f. ā] (Pl.+


PIE *sprH-e/os-? IE cognates: Co. frau, Bret. frao ‘crow’ << *spraya- << *spreh2-u-?; Gr. σπαργίλος ‘sparrow’, OPr. spurglis ‘sparrow’ (<< *sprg-), MHG sperke, Go. sparwa, OE spearwa, OHG sparo << *spor(H)y-en-, Oec. sporr << *spor(H)u-o-.

Plt. *parVsā- may reflect earlier *pHr-Vs- or *prHV-s-. This might be an s-less variant of the forms *sprH- for (mainly) ‘sparrow’ in other European languages; but since none of the other forms matches exactly, the etymology remains uncertain. Like other bird-names, these could be loanwords from a non-IE language.


parricida ‘murderer of a near relation’ [m. ā] (Pl.+; also pāricīda; nom.sg. paricidas
Lex reg. apud Fest.)

Derivatives: parricidium ‘murder of a near relation’ (Pl.+).

The original word may have been *pāri-kaida, with the same development to parr- as in lupiter, etc. The connection with Gr. παρσός, Dor. πᾶός ‘kinsman by marriage’ << *paso- is not convincing, since the etymology of the Gr. word is unknown, and since a word *paso- ‘relative’ is otherwise unknown in Latin. Still, the absence of syncope to *pārkaida suggests that parricida is a relatively recent compound. For a recent
formation, pār ‘equal’ is the most obvious candidate: *pāri-kaid-a ‘who kills an equal’.

pars, -tis ‘part, piece’ [f. i] (Lex XII, Andr. +)
Derivatives: partim [adv.] ‘partly’ (Andr.+), partīre/i ‘to share, divide up’ (Andr.+), particula ‘small part’ (Varro+), particulātim ‘bit by bit’, particulō ‘a coheir’ (Pompon.+); expres ‘having no share, free’ (Pl.+); particeps ‘participant’ (Andr.+), participāre ‘to share’ (Pl.+), particpium ‘participle’ (Varro+), participālis ‘participial’ (Varro+); dis pertīre ‘to separate, divide up’ (Pl.+), imperīre ‘to give a share, present with’ (Pl.+), bipertītus ‘bipartite’ (Varro+), tri pertītus ‘tripartite’ (Varro+); portiō ‘degree, portion’ (Pl.+).

Pit. *parti- ‘part’.

Schrijver 1991 explains pars as a recent (e.g. PIt.) but pre-Latin formation based on the present stem par- ‘to bring forth’, just like the ppp. partus and the noun partus [m.] (see s.v. pariō). The original meaning of *par-ti- would have been ‘lot, portion, fate’, whence ‘part, piece’. The latter shift separated the noun from the verb pariō, which is why (in S.’s view) *parti- was not replaced by *pariō like many other *ti-stems in Latin. All agree that portiō must have a secondary origin. In its oldest attestations, it is only found in the abl.sg. prō portiōne ‘proportionally’. It would have arisen either from *prō ratiōne ‘per part’ > *prōrtiōne > with dissimilation pōrtiōne, or from *prō par(ti)tioni. Since paritītio is not attested before Cicero, whereas ratiō is fully present from Plautus onwards, the former etymology seems more likely.


parvus ‘small’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: parvulus ‘very small, tiny’ (Pl.+), parum [n./adv.] ‘too little, not enough’ (Pl.+), parumper ‘for a short while’ (Pl.+).

Pit. *pauro-.

PIE *peh2-u-ro- (or *ph2eu-ro-). IE cognates: Gr. παύρος ‘little’, Go. fawai [nom.pl.] ‘few’, Olc. fār ‘little’, OE fēa < PGm. *fawa- < *ph2(e)u-o-.

With regular metathesis of *-yr- from *pauros, see nervus. The n. parum retains the phonetic reflex from *parom < *paruom, while -v- has been restored in parvus. With different suffixes, the same stem pau- is found in paucus and pauper.


pāsco, -ere ‘to feed, pasture’ [v. III; pf. pāvi, ppp. pāstum] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: pāscuus ‘used for pasture’ (Pl.+), pastus, -ūs ‘feeding’ (Varro+), pāstiō ‘feeding, pasturing’ (Varro+), pāstoer ‘shepherd’ (Pl.+), pāstorūcisci ‘of herdsmen’ (Varro+), pāstorālis ‘of animal husbandry’ (Varro+), pāscālis ‘pasturing, grazing’ (Cato+); dēpāscere ‘to eat up, graze down’ (Lucr.+); pābulum ‘fodder, food’ (Pl.+), pābulāri ‘to graze, forage’ (Varro+), pābulātiō ‘pasture; collecting fodder’ (Varro+).

Pit. pr. *pācke/o-, pr. *pās-, *pāphlo- [n.]

Latin pāustum, pāstor are probably based on the PIE s-pr. which is also found in Hit. and Slavic. The sk-present of Latin and Toch. appears to be an enlarged variant of the earlier s-present. The noun pābum continues the unenlarged variant of the root.


passer ‘small bird’ [m. r] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: passerculus ‘little sparrow’ (Pl.+), passerīnus ‘of sparrows’ (Pompon.).
Plt. *pattro-.
PIE *p(e)t-tro- ‘who flies, bird’. IE cognates: see s.v. penna.

Schrijver proposes *pttro- ‘bird’ > *pattro- > nom.sg. *passros, gen.sg. *passrī > *passys, *pazri > *passer, *pārī. This paradigm would have been skewed, yielding two nouns: passer ‘sparrow’ and pārus ‘tit’. It must be remarked that the expected meaning of a form *pt-tro- would rather be ‘instrument for flying, wing’ vel sim. Also, accipiter may contain *pet-ro- ‘wing’, although this is uncertain. Hence, the etymology remains uncertain.


pateō ‘to be open, gape’ [v. II; pf. patuī] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: patēscere ‘to open, be revealed’ (Varro+), patefacere ‘to open up, reveal’ (Pl.+); patulus ‘wide-open, gaping’ (Varro+), patibulum ‘horizontal beam, cross-bar’ (Pl.+), patibulātus ‘fastened to a yoke’ (Pl.+), patera ‘broad shallow bowl’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *patē-. It. cognates: Probably O. pat ‘is open, is broad’ < *patēt. Less certain U. arpatitu [3s.ipv.II] ‘?’. 
IE cognates: see s.v. pandō.

For the meaning of patibulum, see Serbat 1975: 55-58. Pateō is an inner-Italic formation on a basis *pat-, the development of which is explained s.v. pandō.

Bibl.: WH II: 262, EM 486f., IEW 824f., Untermann 2000: 120, 515, LIV 1.*peth2- → pandō

pater, -tris ‘father’ [m. r] (Lex XII, Andr.+)
Derivatives: patriäre ‘to accomplish’ (Pl.+), patrius [adj.] ‘of a father, ancestral’ (Pl.+), patria ‘native land, city’ (Naev.+), patermus ‘of a father’ (Pl.+), patricē [adv.] ‘in a patrician manner’ (Pl.), patricius [adj.] ‘patrician’, patritus ‘of one’s father’
patior, pati

"to undergo, experience" [v. III; ppp. passum] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: patientia ‘endurance, tolerance’ (Pl. +), passio ‘passion’ (Varro +); perpeti ‘to undergo to the full, put up with’ (Pl. +).

Plt. *patai-.

It has been suggested that patior belongs to Gr. πῆμα ‘suffering’ < *peh₁-mm, which would point to a basis *ph₁-t- > *pat-. Yet patior cannot be a denominative to a ppp.

*pḥ₁-t- or an i-stem *pḥ₁-ti-, so the morphological part of the analysis remains unclear. Alternatively, one might consider a derivation from the root *pet- ‘to fly, fall’, e.g. *p(e)t₁-i- ‘to befall’, intr. ‘it befalls me’ > ‘I experience’.

Bibl.: WH II: 264, EM 488f., IEW 792f., Schrijver 1991: 93, LIV *pet₁- → petō

paucus ‘few, small in number’ [adj. o/a] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: pauciëns ‘rarely’ (Titin.+), paculus [adj.] ‘a small number’ (Pl.), paullus (> paulus) ‘little, small’ (Ter. +), paulum [n./adv.] ‘a little bit / to a small extent, for a short while’ (Pl. +), paulātīm ‘little by little’ (Pl. +), paul(l)īisper ‘for a brief while’ (Pl. +), paululus ‘little, small’ (Pl. +), paululum [n./adv.] ‘a little; to a small extent’ (Pl. +), paullulus ‘little, small’ (Naev. +), paullulus ‘tiny’ (Naev. +), paull(l)atīm ‘by slow degrees’ (Pl. +), paull(l)īisper ‘bit by bit’ (Pl. +); perpauci [adj.pl.]
extremely few’ (Ter.+), *perpauxillum ‘an excessively tiny amount’ (PL); *pauciloquium ‘the fact of saying little’ (PL).

PIE *pauko- ‘few’, *paurelo- ‘a little bit’.

PIE *peh2u-IE cognates: see s.v. parvus.

The cooccurrence of *paucus, paullus and *pauxillus seems to suggest that paullus developed from *pauk-slo- and *pauxillus from *paukslelo-, cf. *āla < *aksla ‘wing’ next to axilla. This is accepted by WH. However, the suffix *-slo- is otherwise only used for instrument nouns, and only after consonant stems; both are reasons to reject a preform *pauk-slo- derived from *pau-ko-. Thurneysen (1907: 177) therefore suggests that pausillus would be an ana logical form made to paullus, and paullus itself a *o-derivative *pau-re-lo- of parvus < *pauro-.


pauper ‘poor’ [adj. r] (PL+)

Derivatives: pauperiēs ‘poverty’ (Lex XII+), pauperium ‘id.’ (Caecil.), pauperītās ‘id.’ (PL+), pauperculus ‘poor’ (PL+), pauperīnus ‘poverty-stricken’ (Varro+), pauperāre ‘to impoverish, despoil’ (PL+); perpauper ‘very poor’ (Afran.+).

PIE *pau(o)-pa/oro-. IE cognates: see s.v. parvus.

Originally a thematic adj., which probably switched to the third declension by analogy with its antonym dives. The PIE form may have contained final *-prh3-o- > *-aro- or *porh3-o- > *-oro-.


paveō ‘to be frightened’ [v. II; pf. pāvi] (PL+)

Derivatives: pavitāre ‘to dread’ (Ter.+), pavor ‘sudden fear, terror’ (Andr.+; Naev.Pac. -ōs), pavidus ‘frightened’ (PL+); expavidus ‘terrified’ (Laev.+), perpavefacere ‘to make very frightened’ (PL).

PIE *paw-e- ‘to be frightened’.

PIE *pou-eh₁-<∗to fear’. IE cognates: Olr. omun, MW ouyn, MCo. own, Bretain. oun ‘fear’ < PCI. *efno- < *pou-no- (McCone 1992b), Olr. uthā ‘fear’ < *pou-to-, W. uthr ‘terrible’ < *pou-tro-.

WH and EM regard paveō as the stative counterpart ‘to be struck’ > ‘to fear’ of pavire ‘to hit, strike’. This is possible, but of course one may look for more straightforward semantic cognates. Schrijver prefers a connection with Celtic nominal forms in *pou- meaning ‘fear’. With the PIE change of *ow > *aw, this would yield Lat. pav- – at least, in pretonic position. The pf. pāvi is not attested before Ovid, and may have been taken over from pāviō.

Bibl.: WH II: 266, EM 489, IEW 827, Schrijver 1991: 446. —> paviō, pudeō

paviō,-ire ‘to thump, pound, strike’ [v. IV] (Cato+)

Derivatives: pavimentum ‘pavement’ (Cato+), pavīcula ‘rammer’ (Cato+); dépavire ‘to beat thoroughly’ (Naev.+).
Plt. *pāwje/o-. Itl. cognates: O. pavmentúm borrowed from Latin.

PIE *ph2u-ie/o- ‘to hit’. IE cognates: Gr. παίω ‘to strike, hit’ < *ph2u-ie/o-, Lith. pjauti, 3s. pjauina ‘to cut’, Latv. plaikt ‘to mow, harvest’ < *peh1u- (or *pah2-u-). Maybe ToB 3p. pyakar ‘they struck down’, Gr. παίω ‘to hit’, ToAB putk- ‘to divide’.

LIV follows Hackstein 1993: 161 in reconstructing a pr. *p(e)h2u-ie/o- which would have lost the first *j in Plt. due to dissimilation (LIV) or simple phonetic loss (Hackstein). Root-initial *pj- is reconstructed on the strength of Gr. and Toch. forms. Yet Lat. putāre also shows simple pu-. This cooccurrence recalls Lat. movēre and the (PIE?) developments of the pr. *mih1u-, which can be explained from *mih1u-C- > *miuhr-C- > *muHC-: A similar development may account for *pih2u-j- > *ph2u-j-; the absence of laryngeal metathesis may be due to the following *j instead of a stop. Janda 2000: 42-46 separates paviō from *pah2u-, and posits *peh2u-ie/o- ‘to strike’; see also s.v. pūrus.


pāx, pācis ‘peace’ [f. k] (Pl.1+)

Derivatives: pacere ‘to come to an agreement (Lex XII+), pactum ‘agreement, means’ (Lex XII+), pactīō ‘agreement, settlement’ (Pl.1+), pācāre ‘?’ (Duenos inscr.?), ‘to impose a settlement’ (Cic.+), pācātus ‘peaceful, settled’ (Pl.1+), paciscere ‘to arrange by negotiation, betroth’, pf. pactum (Naev.+), compacisci ‘to make an agreement’ (Pl.), compa/ectum ‘agreement’ (Pl.1+), dépecisci ‘to come to terms, agree’ (Ter.+), pācificāre ‘to be reconciled’ (Pl.); pactō ‘pactio’ (Fest.).


PIE *peh2k- ‘agreement’, *ph2k-(e/o-) ‘to make an agreement’. IE cognates: Skt. pāśa- [m.] ‘snare, noose’, Khot. pāsa- ‘fastening, cord’, Go. fūhan, OS fangan ‘to catch’ < *pank-, OHG fuogen, OS fōgian ‘to join’ < *pāk-.

The verb pācāre, maybe already attested in the Duenos inscr. (but this is uncertain), must be derived from the noun pāx. The pr. pacere is explained as thematization of an earlier root aorist by Meiser 2003. We must exclude Hit. pāsk- / pašk- ‘to stick in, plant, set up’ < *PósK- (Kloekhorst 2008: 651) from the IE cognates.


-pe [ptc. encl.]

Derivatives: nempe ‘of course, to be sure’ (Pl.1+), quippe ‘for, indeed’ (Pl.1+), quispiam ‘some, someone’ (Naev.+), uspiam ‘somewhere, anywhere’ (Pl.1+).

Plt. *pe.

PIE *pe. IE cognates: CLuw. HLuw. pa-/ppa [encl. advers.], Lith. kaip ‘how?’.

Lat. -pe can be connected with Lith. -p, and will reflect a discourse particle; -piam
pectus, -oris 'breast, chest' [n. r] (Andr.+)
Derivatives: pectorālis 'of the breast' (Varro+).
Plt. *pektos-.
IE cognates: Olr. ucht 'breast, chest' [n., m. u] < *paktu-.

Olr. ucht < *paktu- provides a likely cognate, if it reflects earlier *pektu-. The earlier connection with Toch. pāštāmy must be given up, since this belongs to PIE *psten- 'breast'. Skt. pākṣa- 'wing' is quite removed semantically, and does not explain the suffix.
Bibl.: WH II: 270, EM 491, IEW 792.
pecu (pecū) ‘flock, herd’ [n. u] (Naev.; pl. pecua; sg. in quot. only in abl.)

Derivatives: pecuāritus ‘of cattle or sheep’ (Pl.), pecūinus ‘of sheep, cattle’ (Cato+), pecus, -udis ‘any animal of a farm’ (Pl.), pecus, -oris [n.] ‘farm animals, livestock’ (Andr.+), peculium ‘money or property in possession’ (Pl.), peculiāris ‘personal, private’ (Pl.), peculiōsus ‘well provided with peculium’ (Pl.), peculiāre ‘to provide with peculium’ (Pl.), peculātus, -iús ‘embezzlement of public money or property’ (Pl.), dépeculātus, -iús ‘the act of defrauding’ (Pl.), pecūinia ‘property, money’ (Lex XII), pecūniōsus ‘well provided with money’ (Varro+).


The origin of -d- in pecus, -udis is unclear. The origin of final -ū in pecū is also uncertain, and must be linked with other u-stem nouns showing the same characteristics. An old dual ending seems less likely in the case of *pek-u-. Pinault 1997 suggests that -ū may phonetically derive from *-ēu in a collective *pkēu/*pu-, ‘small cattle’ (for which he sees evidence in Tocharian *sa (ToB sānta) and ToA soš ‘id.’). He compares Latin diūs < *dieus, but this has a following -s (and hence the long vowel occurred in front of two consonants) and may actually reflect short *dieus. Peculium probably hides an adj. *pecū-li-s ‘of cattle’, whereas pecūinia was probably built on an adj. *pecūnus ‘having cattle’. Peculātus may have been derived directly from a dim. *peculum ‘little money’ > ‘embezzled money’.


pedis ‘louse’ [m. i] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: pēdicōsus ‘full of lice’ (Titin.+).

Plt. *pezd-.

PIE *pesd- ‘annoying insect’. IE cognates: Skt. pedū- PN (of a man, protected by the Aśvins, by whom he was presented with white snake-killing honey), paśdā- [m.] ‘the snake-killing horse of Pedu’, ‘an insect harming horses’, YAv. paśdu- [m.] ‘beetle, maggot’.

Lat. pēdicōsus shows an original basis *pēdi/ek-, which implies that pēdis might be a remake of *pedex. The etymology as *pe-hed-i- ‘who eats away’ (Weiss 1993: 53-56, Neri 2007: 71) is unspecific and unconvincing; more likely, pēdis is cognate with Ilr. *paśdu- ‘beetle, maggot’.

Bibl.: WH II: 272f., EM 493, IEW 829.

pēdō, -ere ‘to fart’ [v. III; pf. pepēdī, ppp. pēditum] (Hor., Mart.)

Derivatives: pōdex, -icus ‘the anus’ (Lucil.+).

Plt. *pezd-e/o-.
**pello** 455

PIE *pesd-e/o- 'to fart'. IE cognates: Gr. βδέω 'to fart' < *βζδέω < *psd-e-, Lith. bezdēti, 3s. bėzda, Latv. bezdēt, Ru. bdzēt', SCr. bázdjeti 'to fart'.

The structure of the root suggests an onomatopoeic formation. There is no guarantee that pōdēx was derived from *pesd- 'to fart'. If not, it might go back to *po-sd-o- 'what you sit on' (pace WH), or have another origin.

Bibl.: WH II: 273f., EM 493, IEW 829, LIV *pesd-.

peior 'worse' [comp.] (Andr.+

Derivatives: pessimus 'worst' (Naev.+).

Plt. *pedjōs, *ped-isamo-.

IE cognates: see s.v. pessum.

The superlative can be explained by the development *ped-is-mHo-> *pedisamo-> *pessamo-> pessimus, in which Lachmann's Law did not apply because d and s were originally not in contact; this explanation can be applied if we regard the once attested inscriptive length in māximus < *magisamos as secondary. If not, we may with Jasanoff 2004: 412 explain pessimus from *pēssimos with analogical retention of ss and subsequent shortening of e to e. Since comparatives and superlatives are usually derived from adj. or adverbs in Latin, either *ped- 'foot' or *ped- 'to fall' would be unexpected derivational bases. It may therefore be the case that from (the prestage *ped-tu- of) the adv. pessum 'bad', the stem *ped- was abstracted in the meaning 'bad', on which peior and pessimus were grafted.


pellis 'skin, hide' [f. i] (Pl.+

Derivatives: pellicula 'skin, hide' (Lucil.+), pellitus 'covered with skins' (Varro+), pellīō 'tanner' (Pl.); pellesuina 'shop for skins and hides' (Varro); tentipellium 'device for stretching skins' (Titin.+), versipellis 'one who can metamorphose himself' (Pl.).

Pft. *pelni-.

PIE *pel-ni- 'skin, hide'. IE cognates: Lith. plēnē 'membrane', Ru. plenō 'membrane' < *pl-ēn-(i)ā-; OCS pelena 'band for swathing children', Ru. pelenā 'shroud, (dial.) nappy', Sln. plēna 'bandage' < *pel-en-h2-, OHG fell, -lies, OE fell, OIC. fjall [n.] 'hide' < PGM. *fel-n-.

The structure of the IE derivatives suggests a root *pel-, which may have meant 'to strip, skin', but no independent forms of such a root are attested.


pellō, -ere 'to beat against, push, strike' [v. III; pf. pepulī, ppp. pulsum] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: (1) pulsus, -ūs 'beat, thrust' (Enn.+), appellere 'to drive to, touch' (Pl.), aspellere 'to drive away' (Pl.), compellere 'to drive together, force' (Pl.), dépellere 'to drive off, repel' (Cato+), dispellere 'to drive apart' (Pl.), expellere 'to drive out, banish' (Pl.), expulsim 'with the action of propelling away' (Varro+), impellere 'to drive against, impel' (Pl.), impulsor 'instigator' (Pl.), impulsus, -ūs
shock, incitement’ (Pl.†), *perpellere ‘to prevail on, constrain’ (Pl.†), *pröpellere ‘to push forward, drive on’ (Pl.†), *repellere ‘to push away, drive back’ (Pl.†), *repulsäre ‘to drive back’ (Lucr.), *repulsus, -ūs ‘counterpressure’ (Lucr.†); (2) *pultäre ‘to knock at’ (Pl.†), *pultätō ‘knocking’ (Pl.); *pulsäre ‘to strike, beat’ (Pl.†), *pulsätō ‘striking, knocking’ (Pl.†), *dēpulsäre ‘to push away’ (Pl.), *pröpulsäre ‘to beat off, repel’ (Ter.†); (3) *appelläre ‘to speak to, appeal’ (Naev.+), *appellätō ‘designation, term’ (Cato†), *compelläre ‘to address, call upon’ (Naev.+), *interpelläre ‘to interrupt, obstruct’ (Pl.†), *interpellätō ‘interruption, lawsuit’ (Pl.†).


PIE *pl-n(e)-h2- [pr.] ‘to approach’, *plh2-to-. IE cognates: Olr. *ad-ella* ‘to visit’ < *-elna- < *-elna- Olr. fut. *elaidâ ‘will drive’ < PCL *φi-φl-ase-, sb. MW el, MCo. ello [3s.], MBret. yel, yal ‘to go’ < PCL *φel-ase-; Gr. πίλναμαι ‘to approach’, aor. ἐπέλασσα ‘drew near’, πλήτο ‘he approached’.

Semantically, the appurtenance to PIE forms meaning ‘to approach, go to’ can be justified by assuming a shift from ‘to approach sth., bring closer to’ > ‘push, impel’. The frequentative *pultäre (2) and Ven. *polto points to an original pp. *pultos < *polto, which was replaced by *pulsus. Plt. *polto must replace an earlier *platos (Steinbauer 1989: 149, 249) since the root had a final laryngeal. *Pultäre was later replaced by the new frequentative *pulsäre. The present *pelle ‘to approach’ is confirmed by the U. nasal present, and goes back to *pel-n-a-C. As Schrijver has argued, this can be the phonetic outcome of the PIE athematic nasal present. The compound verbs in -pelläre (3) are explained by Schrijver from thematization of *-pelna- to *pelna-je-. Meiser (1998: 187) gives a less attractive explanation: -pelläre would preserve the full grade preforms in *-neh2-, which would have been confined to compound verbs by analogy with the i/i-present of the type *ortitā : adoritār. Yet these are not nasal presents. The meaning of the pr. in -pelläre is ‘to speak to, address’, which suggests that the derivational basis *pelna- still meant ‘to approach’ rather than ‘to push, impel’. Driessen 2004: 38f. suggests that *pelō is the result of a merger of two different present stems, Plt. *pelna- (ppp. *pelto < *plato-) and Plt. *pelto-e/o- (ppp. *polsto-). The main reason for this scenario is the fact that he finds *pulsus hard to conceive of as a secondary formation.


*pêluis ‘shallow bowl or basin’ [f. i] (Cato†; trisyllabic *pêlui- in the oldest attestations)


pendō, -ere ‘to weigh, pay’ [v. III; pf. pependī, ppp. pēnsum] (Pl.+

Derivatives: (1) pēnsum ‘allotment of spinning or weaving, task’ (Pl.+), pēnsūra ‘the weighing’ (Varro), pēnsiō ‘payment’ (Varro+), pendulus ‘hanging down’ (Varro+); appendere ‘to hang, weight out’ (Pl.+), compendere ‘to weigh together’ (Varro), dēpendere ‘to pay down’ (Pl.+), dispenderē ‘to distribute by paying or weighing out’ (Varro+), expendere ‘to weigh, judge’ (Pl.+), impendere ‘to pay out, expend’ (Pl.+), perpendere ‘to estimate carefully’ (Lucr.+), perpendiculum ‘vertical line, plumb-line’ (Cato+), suspendere ‘to hang, leave hanging’ (Pl.+); compendium ‘gain, saving’ (Pl.+), compendiarius ‘short’ (Varro+), comperdium ‘expense, cost’ (Pl.+), dispensātor ‘administrator’ (Varro+); appendi-, -ids ‘anything subordinate’ (Varro+); lībridens, -ndis ‘one who holds the balance, paying salary’ (Lex XII+); (2) pendēre ‘to be suspended, hang’ (Pl.+), pēnsīlis ‘hanging down, suspensible’ (Pl.+); dēpendēre ‘to hang down’ (Pl.+), impendēre ‘to be suspended, lour’ (Pl.+), prōpendēre ‘to hang down, incline’ (Pl.+); (3) pondo ‘in weight, by weight’ (Lex XII+), pondus, -eris ‘weight, mass’ (Pl.), ponderāre ‘to weigh, form an opinion’ (Pl.+), ponderōsus ‘weighty’ (Pl.+), ponderitās ‘weightiness’ (Acc.); praependāre ‘to incline towards, outweigh’ (Varro+); dupondius ‘the sum or weight of two asses’ (Lucil.+), assīpodium ‘the sum or weight of one as’ (Varro+).


PIE: *(s)pnd-e/-o- ‘to spin’, *(s)pnd-o- // *ped-/pd- [aor.] ‘to fall’. IE cognates: if to PIE *(s)pnd-: Lith. spęsti, 3s. spęndžia ‘to set a trap’, OCS pęba, Ru. pijat ‘span’ [f.] < *p(e)nd-i-, CS pōditi ‘to push, chase’, Ru. pydīt’ / pūdīt ‘to scare, chase’, Po. pėdzić ‘to chase’ < *pondi-; if to PIE *ped-: see s.v. pessum.

(1) The transitive verb pendere ‘to put in a hanging position’ > ‘weigh out’ > ‘pay’, (2) the stative verb ‘to be hanging’, (3) the o-grade nominal forms *pondo- and *pendos- (<<c*pendos-) ‘weight’. The ppp. pēnsūra can be from *pend-tō-, hence has been formed secondarily to the present, as has the pf. The root is regarded as a variant of *(s)penuh₁- ‘to spin, weave’ by nearly all handbooks. LIV regards *-d- as part of the root, whereas Meiser 2003 cautions that it may rather be a suffix *-d(ō)-. The latter view seems more likely; the suffix might also be conserved in BSL, in which case the Lith. acute suggests PIE *-d-. The semantic justification would be a shift from ‘to spin’ > ‘to stretch a string’ > ‘to leave hanging down’. This is possible, but not obvious. All derivatives (*pondo-, *pendos-, *-pend-s) would have been made on the basis of the present stem. An alternative etymology is possible: *ped-n-e/o- ‘to make fall’ > *pende/o- ‘to put in a hanging position’. The root would be PIE *ped- ‘to fall’ (Skt. padyate, etc.); since no nasal present is otherwise attested, it would have to be an (early) Italic innovation. Apart from (maybe) pessum, peiior, the verbal root *ped- ‘to fall’ is not attested in Latin.

**pennis** 'tail, penis' [m. i] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: *pennis* 'furnished with a tail' (Naev. apud Fest.), *peniculus* 'brush, sponge' (Pl. +), *pénículamentum* 'train (of a garment)' (Enn.).

PIt. *petsni- 'tail'.

It is generally assumed that *pennis* directly reflects PIE *pes-ni- 'penis', as attested in Hit. *pešan- / pešr- / pišen- 'man, male' [c.] < *pēs-ōn, *pes-(e)n-; Skt. pāsas- [n.], Gr. πέος [n.] 'penis' < *pes-os-; maybe also OHG fasel 'seed, fruit, descendant', OE fæst. However, the meaning of *pennis* as well as general semantic considerations suggest that the meaning 'tail' is original, and 'penis' metaphorically derived from it. WH solve this problem by assuming that the word 'penis' came to mean 'buttock' too, whence 'tail'. But this is in conflict with the Latin chronology of *pennis*, because 'tail' (Naev.+) is older than 'penis' (Catul.+). One might consider the following alternative: *pennis* 'tail' derives from *pesnis* 'feather', cognate with OLat. pesna, allegedly 'penna'. In addition, this would solve the origin of *penna* (see below): *penna* goes back to *petna*, whereas *pennis*, and its OLat. precursors *pesnas* and *pesnis*, goes back to *petsna/-.

Bibl.: WH II: 281, EM 496, IEW 824.  → pennā

**penna** 'wing, feather' [f. ā] (Pl.+; *pesnas* 'petnās', *pesnis* 'pennis' Paul. ex F. 209, 312)

Derivatives: *pennātus* 'winged' (Pl.+), *bipennis* 'having two wings' (Varro+); *pinna* 'feather, wing, fin, parapet' (Pl.+), *pinnātus* 'feathered, winged' (Lucil.+), *pinnula* 'little wing, little feather' (Pl. +); *pinniger* 'carrying feathers, winged' (Acc.+).

PIt. *petnā-.

PIE *pet-n-h₂- 'wing, feather'. IE cognates: OW eterin 'bird', atan 'wing' < *pt-r/h-; Hit. pattar / pattan- or pettar / pettan- [n.] 'wing' < *póth₂-r, *pθ₂-r-n-s or *pθ₂-r(ō)r, *pθ₂-r-; Skt. pātra- [n.] 'wing (of a bird), feather', pataṅgā- [adj.] 'flying', [m.] 'bird', Av. patar-a- 'winged', NHG Feder 'feather'.

The form *pesnis* cannot be derived from the same preform as *penna*, unless via several ad hoc assumptions (cf. EM). Meiser 1998: 118 adopts the etymology *pet-s-no-, but lūna < *louksna and pānis < *pastnis suggest that *pet-sno- would have become *pēno-. Therefore, I assume that the attested forms in -sn- belong to *pennis*, while *penna* reflects *petn-*. Lat. pinna can be regarded as a dialect form of *penna*.


**penus, -ūs / -oris** 'food, provisions' [f. (m.) / n. u / r] (Pl.+; also *penus* Lucil+, *pernum* Pl. +)

Derivatives: *penārius* 'used for storing food' (Cato+), *Penātēs, -ium* [m.pl.] 'tutelary gods of the household, home' (Naev.+), *penātor* 'who obtains provisions' (Cato+); *penes* [prep. + acc.] 'in the hands, under the control of' (Pl.+); *penitus* [adv.] 'from within, deeply' (Pl.+), *penitus* [adj.] 'interior' (Pl.+), *penetrāre* 'to cause to go in, penetrate' (Pl.+), *penetrālis* 'penetrating, innermost' (Lucr.+).
Plt. *penos, loc.sg. -es? m. *pen-o-?

PIE *pen-os, -es- [n.] ‘food’, *pen-o-? IE cognates: Lith. penėti, Is. penū ‘to feed’.

The semantic appurtenance to ‘feed’ is explained by Stüber as ‘what one feeds with’ (‘food’) > ‘the place one feeds at’ > ‘interior, home’. It is unclear which noun is older: penus, -oris or penus/m (the vacillation between second and fourth declension is trivial), or both. Penetrāre may have been formed to penitus on the model of intrāre to intus. Penes is explained as an endingless loc.sg. *pen-es of the s-stem, but the ending -es instead of -is is unexpected, and rather suggests *pen-et-s. Thus, penitus, penetrāre and penes could point to a stem *pen-et- ‘food’ > ‘stock’ > ‘interior’.


per ‘through, across’ [prep. + acc.] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: per- + adj. ‘very’; -per [suffix] ‘number of times or duration’ (Andr. +): aliqvantisper ‘for some time’ (Pl. +), muper ‘recently’ (Pl. +), parumper ‘for a short while’ (Pl. +), paulisper ‘id.’ (Pl. +), pauxillisper ‘bit by bit’ (Pl. +), quantisper ‘for how long?’ (Caecil. +), semper ‘always’ (Naev. +), tantisper ‘for such time’ (Pl. +), topper ‘quickly’ (Andr. +).


PIE *péri ‘across’. IE cognates: Skt. pári [adv.] ‘(a)round, about, away from, because of, according to’, OAv. pairi, YAv. pairi, OP pariy ‘over, about, concerning’, Gr. περί ‘round about, around, extremely, with regard to’, Lith. pėr ‘over, around, through’, OCS pré-, Ru. pėre- ‘over, through, very, exceedingly’ < *per-, OCS prėdb ‘in front’, Ru. pėred(o) ‘before, in front of’ < *per-dh₁-h₁-om; Go. fairra ‘far’.

Latin shows the following different usages: the prep. per ‘through, across’, which also occurs as a verbal prefix (peragō, percipiō, etc.); a prefix per- ‘very’ suffixed to adjectives: perbonus, pertristis, etc.; finally, -per suffixed to adverbs indicates the number of times or duration. The meaning of -per accords well with the preposition ‘through’, and has arisen from the use of per as a postposition; this usage is confirmed by the Sabellic evidence. The ‘intensifying’ prefix per- ‘very’ is explained by Leumann from metanalysis of the postposition -per, which seems unlikely in view of the different meanings. These adj. show the same semantics of per- as in verbal compounds, viz. ‘thoroughly’: percellō ‘to knock down’, percoquo ‘to cook thoroughly’, etc. Hence, I assume that per-bonus etc. were modelled on the verbs in per-. Dunkel (2005: 179-181) prefers to separate -per from the preposition, and regards it as cognate with Gr. enclitic περ as in μάλα περ, δὲ περ. Yet his analysis as *pe + *r does not explain the specific semantics of Latin -per.

perendie ‘on the day after tomorrow’ [adv. J (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *perendinus [adj.] ‘the day after tomorrow’ (Pl.+).
PIE *per(H)no- ‘past, last’. IE cognates: Lith. pėrni ‘last year’, Go. fairneis ‘far’.
From a preform *perno-die(d), syncope to *perdie and subsequent syllabification as -en- explain the outcome perendie.

*perfinäre ‘to break’ [v. I} (perfines ‘perfringas’ Fest.)
Plt. *fina-.
Especially in view of the Olr. nasal present, it seems likely that this hapax continues a nasal pr. ‘to break’. Possibly the noun *finis ‘border’ also belongs here.

pergula ‘attachment to the front of a building’ [f. ā] (Lucil.+)
PIE *perg-

Theoretically, perg-ula could be a diminutive of *pergo- ‘pole, frame’ vel sim., and be cognate with several BS1. and OIc. words: Lith. pėrągas ‘(fishing) canoe’ < *pergo-, OCS *praga, Ru. porog ‘threshold’, OIc. *forkr ‘bar, stick’ < *porgo-. But the meanings are so divergent that nothing definite can be said.
Bibl.: WH II: 288, EM 498, IEW 819f.

permitīēs ‘deadly harm, ruin’ [f. ē] (Pl.+
Derivatives: permitālis ‘destructive’ (Lucr.+).
Forssman 1999 assumes an original adj. *per-em-o- ‘destroying’, to which an abstract *perem-itiē- was formed. Syncope yielded permitīēs. Wachter 2004: 376 (who does not cite Forssman) reconstructs *per-mit-iēs to a verb *per-mit-(a-) ‘to send to ruin’, cognate with OLat. mitat and CLat. mittō. Forssmann explains perniciēs as an analogical remake of permitīēs on the basis of the roots nex and necare.
Bibl.: WH II: 289, EM 499, Forssman 1999. → emō, mittō, nex

perna ‘(upper) leg, thigh’ [f. ā] (Naev.+)
Derivatives: *pernīx, -īcis ‘swift, agile’ (Pl.+), pernōnīda [m.] ‘son-of-a-ham’ (Pl.); *compernis ‘having the thighs close together’ (Pl.+).
PIE *persnā-.  
Pertica 461.  
PIE *tspersn-h₁ 'heel'. IE cognates: Hit. parśna-[c.] 'unknown body-part, heel?' < *p(e)rsno-, parśnae-H 'to squat down, crouch (?)' (denom. to parśna-), Skt. pārśnī-[f.], YAv. pāśṇa-[n.], Khot. pārṛ-, Gr. πτέρνη [f.]; Go. fairzna [f.], OS fersna 'heel' < PGm. *fersnō-, OE fers(i)n < *fersnī-.  
Instead of *pertos one would rather expect *pertos, but there is no other candidate for the etymology of *pertos. The word for 'heel' underwent a shift to 'haunch, upper leg' in Latin. See Lubotsky 2006 for the PIE etymology. He connects 'heel' with *Tspersn- 'to kick with the heel' (cf. sperno); in *tspersn- 'heel', the first s would have disappeared through dissimilation. The words may go back to a compound of *pd- 'foot' and *per(H)- 'to beat, kick', 'heel' being a derivative stem in *-sn- to the compound verb.  

perperus 'perverse, wrong-headed' [adj. o/a] (Acc.)  
Derivatives: perperītūdō 'wrong-headedness' (Acc.), perperam [adv.] 'incorrectly' (Pl. ).  
Plt. *pero-'on the other side'.  
PIE *per-o-.  
Possibly an adv. in *ₐm to *pero-, the adj. continued in O. perum 'without' < *pero- 'on the other side' (see s.v. per). This would then have been prefixed with per- when the original meaning of *pero- became opaque. But per- may also be original, as in Nussbaum's analysis (2004b) as *per-poro- 'going wrong'.  
Bibl.: WH II: 290f., EM 499, IEW 810-816, Leumann 1977: 269. → per

U. perstu, pestu [3s.ivp.II], peperescust, pepescus [3s.fut.pf.] 'to put'.  
Plt. *per-ske/o- 'to provide'.  
IE cognates: see s.v. pariō.  

See Untermann, who dismisses the proposed identity with the root of parcō (thus still LIV) on formal grounds; semantically, it is not convincing either. Untermann derives a sk-pr. *per-ske- from the root *perh₃- 'to provide'. From this root, we find the Lat. pr. pariō < *perh₃-i-. The sk-present could have been formed within Italic from the root, explaining why we do not find a laryngeal reflex from PIE *perh₃sk- > *perask-.  
Bibl.: Untermann 2000: 542f., LIV *perk-.  

pertica 'long straight shoot of a tree, rod, wand' [f. ā] (Pl.+).  
Plt. *pertika-? It. cognates: O. perrek, per 'measure of length' < *pertikā or borrowed from Latin; U. percam, perca [acc.sg.], perkaf, perca [acc.pl.] 'badge'.  
Pertica has been connected with Gr. πτόρθος [m.] 'sprout, twig', Skt. kāptth- 'penis', but neither of these etymologies is even remotely convincing.  
pēs, pedis ‘foot’ [m. d] (Lex XII, Andr.+)

Derivatives: pedica ‘fetter, shackle’ (Pl.+), pedicus, pedicillus ‘ground-anchor of a press’ (Cato), pecholus ‘footstalk’ (Cato+), peciolus ‘little foot’ (Afran.+), peda ‘footprint’ (Fest.), pedālīs ‘measuring a foot’ (Cato+), pedāmentum ‘prop, stake’ (Varro+), pedānus ‘having feet’ (Varro+), pedānus, ās / pedātum ‘stage, step’ (Pl.+), pedes, -itis ‘foot-soldier; pedestrian’ (Cato+), peditātus, ās / pedītātum ‘infantry’ (Cato+), peditastellus ‘infantrymen’ (Pl.+), pedārius ‘of lower standing’ (Lab.+); repedare ‘to go back’ (Pac.+); compedes, āsurn ‘fetters’ (Lex XII+), compeditāre ‘to shackle’ (Pl.+), expeditāre ‘to release, make ready, achieve’ (Pl.+), expeditīō ‘military operation, raid’ (Naev.+), impestrāre ‘to restrict, obstruct’ (Pl.+), impedimentum ‘obstacle’ (Pl.+), indupedīre ‘to obstruct’ (Lucr.), praepedīre ‘to bind, hinder’ (Pl.+), praepeditamentum ‘obstacle’ (Pl.); bipēs ‘two-footed’ (Naev.), tripedāneus ‘three feet long’ (Cato+), quadrupēs ‘four-legged; domestic animal’ (Lex XII+), quadrupedus ‘of galloping’ (Pl.+), quadrupedāns ‘moving like a galloping horse’ (Pl.+); tripulāre ‘to perform a tripudium’ (Carmen Arvare tripodāre, Acc.+), tripudium ‘ritual dance in triple time; ominous noise’ (Cic.+); pedisequus ‘male attendant’ (Pl.+), pedisequus ‘female attendant’ (Pl.+); pedetemptim ‘step by step’ (Pl.+).


Since an ablaut grade *ē is not attested for the IE paradigm of ‘foot’ other than maybe in the loc.pl. *pēd-su, the isolated Latin nom. pēs is probably best explained from Lachmann’s Law: ped-s > pēs (Jasanoff 2004: 414). The e-grade in the Latin paradigm was taken from the acc.sg. *ped-m or the loc.sg. *ped(-i). The U. compounds in -purus ‘fetters’. The ablaut grade *pōd- was preserved into Plt. Most other derivatives are transparent. Peciolus is probably from *pediciolus. The meaning of -pedire seems to be derived from -pedēs ‘fetters’. Repedāre might be built on peda ‘footprint’, although this is only attested in Festus; alternatively, it may belong to a Plt. form *pedo-, if O. pedú goes back to such a stem.

pessum ‘to the bottom, to destruction’ [adv.]: pessum ire ‘to go down, be destroyed’, pessum däre ‘to destroy’ (Pl. +)

Plt. *ped-tu- or *pet-tu-.

PIE *ped-tu- or *pet-tu- ‘falling’. IE cognates: (1) Skt. pádyate ‘moves, falls’, aor. pad-, nis-pád- [f.] ‘excrement’, YAv.paiǫ́iia- ‘to go in’, ni .. paiǫ́iia- ‘to lie down, copulate’, OP ni-pády ‘in ambush’, OCS pasti, Is. padq ‘to fall’ < *pod-, OE ge-fetan ‘to fall’; (2) for *pet-, see s.v. petó.

Probably the acc.sg. of a u-stem *ped-tu- or *pet-tu- ‘the falling’. According to Schrijver, who assumes *ped-tu-, the expected result *pêsum would have been remade into pessum to avoid homonymy with pêsum ‘fart’. Yet the latter is unattested. Kortlandt 1999: 248 suggests that the preform may as well have been *pet-tu-, to the root of Skt. pátati ‘flies, falls’. Yet in view of peiior ‘worse’ < *ped-iös, chances are higher that pessum reflects *petdum.

Bibl.: WH II: 296, EM 502, I EW 790-792, Schrijver 1991: 135, LIV *ped- or *peth₁-. → peiior

pestis ‘death, plague, pestilence’ [f. ï] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: pestilentus ‘unhealthy’ (Laev.), pestilëns ‘unhealthy, insalubrious’ (Cato+), pestilentia ‘pestilence, insalubrity’ (Varro+), pestilitas ‘pestilence’ (Lucr.).

The suggestion that pestis continues *persstis < *per-stitis ‘very thirst(y)’ (see e.g. WH) does not carry conviction. YAv. kapastis [nom.sg.] ‘name of an illness’ could be analysed as a compound of pejorative ka- ‘bad’ and *pesti- ‘illness’ (thus Bartholomae 1904: 436).

Bibl.: WH II: 296, EM 502.

petilus ‘thin, slender’ [adj. o/á] (Pl. +)

WH and I EW hesitantly propose to derive petilus from the root *pet- ‘to spread, expand’, with a basic meaning ‘stretched out, thinned’. This seems a mere guess.

Bibl.: WH II: 297, EM 503, I EW 824f.

petō, -ere ‘to make for, reach out for, move towards’ [v. Ill; pf. petivē, ppp. petitum] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: petessere ‘to strive, reach’ (Lucr.+), petitus, -īus ‘moving forward, request’ (Lucr.+), petulāns ‘aggressive, insolent’ (Pl.+), petulantia ‘aggressiveness, immodesty’ (Pl.+), petulcūs ‘butting, wanton’ (Afran.+), petimen ‘ulcer’ (Naev., Lucil.); impes, -tis ‘onset, assault’ (Laev., Lucr.+), impetus, -ūs ‘violent thrust, attack’ (Pl. +), praepes ‘flying straight ahead, favourable’ (Enn. +), perpes ‘continuous, livelong’ (Pl. +), perpetuus ‘continuous, permanent’ (Pl. +), perpetuāre ‘to continue without pause’ (Pl. +), perpetuātus ‘enduring’ (Enn. +), dēpetīgō ‘kind of skin eruption’ (Cato+), impetīgō ‘scaly skin eruption’ (Plin.+); appetere ‘to stretch out for, seek, attack’ (Pl. +), appetō ‘one who is covetous’ (Lab.), appetissere ‘to seek eagerly’ (Acc.), competere ‘to meet, coincide’ (Varro +), competītor ‘fellow candidate’ (Varro+), compitum ‘crossroads’ (Cato +), Compitālis ‘of crossroads, worshipped at crossroads’ (Naev. +), expetere ‘to ask for, request’ (Pl. +), expetissere ‘to seek


**picus** 'woodpecker' [m. o] (Pl.+

Derivatives: *pica* 'jay, magpie' (Varro+).


The f. form can be interpreted as a vṛddhi derivative of m. *(s)piko- 'woodpecker' (Meiser 1986). In its turn, the long vowel of *picus* may have been adopted from f. *piča*. All other IE forms point to a short vowel. The words could be onomatopoeic (in view of the shrill, 'laughing' sound which a woodpecker makes). The appurtenance of Skt. *piča- is uncertain in view of the different meaning.


**piger, -gra, -grum** 'torpid, inactive' [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: *pigrērē 'to be reluctant' (Acc.), *pigror, -ōris 'sluggishness' (Lucil.), *pigrāre 'to hesitate' (Acc.+), *pigritia 'sluggishness, laziness' (Pl.+), *impiger 'active, brisk' (Pl.+); *piger 'affects with revulsion, irks' [pf. *piguit, ppp. *pigitum] (Pl.+),
pigret ‘affects with revulsion’ (Enn.).

Plt. *pig-ē- ‘to fill with revulsion’, *pig-ro- ‘inactive’.

The root etymology is unknown. Since OIr. feikn ‘crime’, OE fācen, OS fēcan [n.] ‘treason, anger’ probably belong to PGM. *faīx- as in OE fāh, fāg ‘estimated’, NHG feige, they cannot be directly compared with Lat. pig-.

Bibl.: WH II: 300f., EM 506, IEW 795, LIV ?2.*pei(́)g-.

**pignus** -eris/ -oris ‘pledge, surety, hostage’ [n. r] (Pl.+)

Plt. *peg-nos-.

PIE *peh₂g-n-? IE cognates: Skt. pajrā- ‘solid, rocky’; see also s.v. pangō.

The etymology is uncertain, since one can imagine a meaning ‘pledge, surety’ to have originated from many different concrete usages. WH and IEW favour *pik/g-no- ’festgestecktes’ to pingō (also Manessy-Guittion 1964), Knobloch 1977 proposes *pek-nos- ‘amount of cattle’, whereas de Lamberterie 1996: 138 suggests *peg-no- to pangō ‘to insert, fix’. The latter proposal seems more likely to me from the semantic side, but it is not certain. Also, it would require a PIE sound change *peh₂g-no- > *pegni-, which is not generally accepted. De Lamberterie proposes an original r/m-stem from which pignus was derived.

Bibl.: WH II: 301, EM 506, IEW 794f., LIV *peM”·+ pangō

**pila** ‘squared pillar or column’ [f. ā] (Cato+)

Derivatives: pilāre ‘to fix firmly’ (Enn.+). It. cognates: O. ehpeflatasset [3p.pf.ps.] ‘to erect (a stele)’ < *ē- ‘out’ + a denom. verb to *pila-.

Etymology unknown.


**pilleus** (-m) ‘felt cap’ [m. (n.) o] (Pl.+)

IE cognates: Ru. polst’, Po. pilšć, SCR. pišt (dialect.) ‘felt’ < Psl. *polstå, OHG filz ‘felt’ [m.].

Driessen 2004:30 considers pilleus to be unrelated to Gr. πῦλος ‘felt’ (< *pis-lo-), and etymologically obscure.

Bibl.: WH II: 303f., EM 507, IEW 830.

**pilus** ‘hair’ [m. o] (Varro+)

Derivatives: pilā ‘ball’ (Pl.+), pilōsus ‘hairy’ (Varro+); dēpilātus ‘having one’s hair plucked’ (Lucil.+); compilāre ‘to rob, steal’ (Pl.+).

The appurtenance of pilā requires an interpretation of ‘ball’ as ‘bundle of hair’.

Bibl.: WH II: 302, 304f., EM 506f., IEW 830.

**pingō, -ere** ‘to colour, paint’ [v. III; pf. pīnxī, ppp. pictum] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: pīctor ‘painter’ (Pl.+), pictūra ‘painting, picture’ (Pl.+), pigmentum ‘paint, tint’ (Pl.+); appingere ‘to paint on, add’ (Varro+), dēpingere ‘to paint, describe’ (Pl.+).
Plt. *ping-e/o- 'to paint', *pikto- 'painted'.

PIE *pi-n-ḱ- 'to paint, adorn'. IE cognates: MW goruc [3s.], MCo. gruk 'made' [suppl. pret. to 'make'] < *yor-uŋ- < Pl. *pi-quoik- [pf.]; Skt. pimsatī [3s.act.] 'to adorn, carve out', aor. piśānā- 'adorning', piśṭā- 'adorned', YAv. fra-piśṭata- 'id.', piś- 'adornment', YAv. anku.pāṇsmaṇa- 'adorning herself with hooks', OP apinḍa [3p.ipf.act.] 'to adorn', ni-piṣṭa- 'written down', Gr. ποικίλος 'multicoloured, coloured, stitched with many colours', Lith. piĕšti 'to draw lines, adorn', OCS pisastī 'to write', OHG fēh 'multicoloured' < PGm. *faīx-; ToB pīkmen, ToB A pikiņc 'they paint, write'.

Most IE forms show a root *pik-; Latin seems to require *pi(g)-, but can also go back to a nasal present *pi-n-ḱ-n- (cf. pandō, mungō). A nasal present is also attested in Skt. and Toch.


pinguis 'fat, greasy' [adj. i] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: pinguēdō 'fatness' (Varro+), pinguitūdō 'fatness, greasiness' (Cato+), pinguēscere 'to grow fat' (Lucr.+).

Plt. *pingu-?

PIE *piH-n- 'fat'? IE cognates: Skt. pīvan- 'fat, swollen' [adj.], pāyas- [n.] 'milk', Av. paēman- 'mother's milk' [n.]. MoP pīmu 'sour milk', Gr. πιαρ [n.] 'fat, tallow' (< *piH-yr), Lith. pienas, Latv. piēns 'milk' (< *pol/eiH-no-).

Since adj. in -uí- mostly go back to u-stems, the earlier form may have been *pingu-. The etymologies put forward so far can be discarded. There is no adj. *pimo- in Latin (cf. opinus s.v. ops), nor can a contamination of *piHyo- 'fat' with *funguis < *bhngh-u-i (Gr. παχύς 'thick') seriously be considered (WH). Pinguēs can only continue PIE *bhngh-ng-u-i- if we assume that a version of Grassmann's Law also operated in a prestige of Latin (*fɪnxu- > *pnxu-), which is unwarranted. Semantically, it would be most attractive to derive pinguis from the PIE root *piH- 'to increase, be abundant', from which e.g. Lith. pienas 'milk', the n. IIR. *paiH-as- 'milk', and the adj. PIE *piH-uen- /-uer-ih2- 'fat, fertile' are derived. Latin pin- could go back to an n-stem *piH-n- (with Osthoff's shortening of the long vowel in front of resonant plus consonant), but the element -gui- remains unclear.


pinsō, -ere 'to pound, crush' [v. III; ppp. *pistum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: pīnsitāre 'to pound continually' (Pl.), pīlā 'mortar' (Cato+), pilum 'pestle, pounder' (Pl.+), pilum 'javelin, pike' (Pl.+), pistillum's 'pestle' (Pl.+), pistor 'pounder, miller, baker' (Pl.+), pistrix 'female pounder' (Lucil.), pistrinum 'mill / bakery' (Pl.+), pistrina 'id.' (Lucil.+), pistrilla 'id.' (Ter.).

Plt. *pins- 'to grind', *pistlo- 'pounder, mortar'.

PIE *pi-n-s- 'to grind' [pr.]. IE cognates: Skt. pīnastī [3s.act.], pīṃsāntī [3p.act.] 'to crush, grind', piṣṭā- 'ground', YAv. piṣant- 'crushing, bruising', piṣṭra- [m.] 'bruise, injury', MP pist 'flour', Gr. πίσσω 'to winnow grain, bray', ἀπιστός 'unground',

Lat. pilum probably reflects *pīs-lo-, as shown by pist-illum. Whether pilum ‘javelin’ is really the same word is uncertain, but can be defended: ‘javelin’ would be a secondary development from ‘pestle’.


-pinus ‘pine-tree, pine-wood’ [f. u/o] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: pineus ‘of the pine-tree, of pine-wood’ (Cato+).

Several etymologies are possible. One may think of the same basis as Gr. πίναξ, -ακος ‘wooden board, plank’, or the same root as Gr. πίτυς, -υος ‘pine-tree’, Alb. pishe. This may well be a non-IE tree name. Lat. -in- may also continue a complex consonant cluster, such as *pit-sno- or *pik-sno-. The latter could be connected with pix ‘pitch, resin’, which is attractive from the semantic side: pine-trees are characterised by their resin.


-pīpō, -āre ‘to chirp, cheep (of birds)’ [v. I] (Lucil.+) 

Derivatives: pīpātus, -ās ‘the cheeping of young birds’ (Varro), pīpulus/m ‘shrill sound’ (Pl.+), pīpiō ‘to cheep’ (Cat.+). 

Plt. *pīp-.

IE cognates: Skt. pippakā- ‘a species of bird’, Gr. πιπάς(π)ίξειν ‘to squeak, peep’; Lith. piępti ‘to squeak, peep’, NHG piepen ‘to squeak, peep’.

An onomatopoeic formation, imitating the sound of young birds.


-pīrum ‘pear’ [n. o] (Pl.+

Derivatives: pīrus [f.] ‘pear-tree’ (Cato+).

IE cognates: Gr. ἄπαξ ‘pear’, ἄποκς [f.] ‘pear-tree’.

Loanword from a Mediterranean language. Steinbauer 1989: 69 proposes to derive the Latin and Greek words from PIE *h₂pis-o-, but this does not explain why Latin has piru- instead of *peru-. In a loanword, it may be due to the borrowing scenario. Also, a PIE root *h₂pis- would be in conflict with the observation that PIE roots usually show decreasing sonority towards the left and right borders (the only possible exception in LIV is *h₂teug-). One might assume a root *h₂p- with a suffix *-is-, but this is an unusual suffix form.


-piscis ‘fish’ [m. i] (Pl.+

Derivatives: piscāri ‘to fish’ (Pl.+), piscārius ‘of fish’ (Pl.+), piscātor ‘fisherman’ (Pl.+), piscātorius ‘of catching and selling fish’ (Pl.+) , piscātus, -ūs ‘the fishing’
(Pl.†), pisciculus 'little fish' (Ter.†), piscina 'fishpond, pool' (Pl.†), piscinarius 'of fishponds' (Pl.†), piscinensis 'haunting swimming-baths' (Lucil.), pisculentus 'teeming with fish' (Pl.†).

Pt. *pisiki- *fish*.

PIE *pisk- 'fish'. IE cognates: Olr. īasc < *peisko-, gen. sg. ēisc 'fish'; Go. fiskr [m.], Ols. fiskr, OHG OE fisk 'fish' < *pisko-.

The apparent ablaut between Italic and Gmc. *pisk- and Celtic *peiskr is difficult to account for: a root noun *pis-/*peis-? We find words denoting 'loach, gudgeon' of a similar form in Slavic: Ru. piskár 'peskár' [m.], Po. piskorz, Bulg. piskál 'gudgeon', Scr. piskor 'muray' < PSl. *peis-(s)k-. Yet these could also be derived from the verb 'to squeak' (OCS piskati, Ru. piščát'), cf. Lith. pyplys 'loach, gudgeon' vs. pyppi 'squeak' or Pl. sykawiec 'loach' vs. sykač 'hiss' (Vasmer 1950-58 s.v. piskár).

Bibl.: WH II: 310, EM 510, IEW 796.

pituuta 'mucus, phlegm, purulent discharge' [f. ā] (Cato†)

WH and EM connect Skt. pītu-dāru 'kind of tree' (ŚBr.+), which is just a wild guess (cf. Schrijver). Lat. pītus- may belong to the root *piH- 'to be fat, abound', but this is without any morphological support, nor is it semantically obvious. Finally, one may derive it from the same root as pīnus, hence *pī-tu- 'resin-like substance'. In short, the etymology is unknown.

Bibl.: WH II: 311, EM 510, IEW 793f., Schrijver 1991: 231. → pīnus

pius 'faithful, conscientious' [adj. o/ā] (Pl.†)

Derivatives: impius 'disrespectful' (Andr.+); pietás 'dutiful respect' (Naev.+), impietās 'failure in respect' (Pl.†), piāre 'to propitiate, cleanse by expiation' (Pl.†), piāculum 'sin, victim, expiatory offering' (Pl.†), piāculāris 'expiatory' (Pl.†), piāculāre 'to make atonement to' (Cato†), expiāre 'to make atonement for, expiate' (Cato†).


PIE *puH-io- 'purifying'. IE cognates: see s.v. pūrus.

Lat. pius is regularly scanned with a short first syllable in the OLat. literature (thus TLL); only a few inscriptions show a long first vowel. The exact development leading from *puH-io- to pius is disputed. Schrijver 1991 and Meiser 1998 favour Thurneysen's pius-rule, according to which *puH- was unumlauted to *puH-. Yet Schrijver 2003: 77 objects that this seems unlikely, since short *u does not undergo umlaut by a following *j. Alternatively, a preform *pwijo- has been proposed, cf. Leumann 1977: 187. Schrijver 2003: 77f. and 2006: 50 proposes a sound law *(C)RhjV > *(C)Ri(j)V which would fit the sequence of *puH-io- (u standing for R), hence > *puHijo- > *pwiHjo- > *pwijo- > *piHjo-. See the discussion s.v. fīō.
plango, -ere 'to beat, strike; mourn, bewail' [v. III; pf. plānxī, ppp. plānctum] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: plāga 'blow, stroke, wound' (Pl.); plāgiger 'much-beaten' (Pl.).

Plt. *plāng-e/o- > *plāng-e/o- 'to hit', *plāg-ā-.

PIE *plh2-n-g- [pr.] 'to hit', *pl(e)h 2g-hr [f.]. IE cognates: Gr. τιλάζω 'to drive off course', aor. ἐπλήγη 'was beaten', Gr. πλάθω 'to drive off course', aor. ἐπλήγη 'was beaten', Go. faiflokun 'to hit, flog', OS
flōkan ‘to curse’.

Plango can be derived from PIE ‘to hit’ via a semantic shift to ‘to hit oneself on the breast’, whence ‘to wail, mourn’.

Bibl.: WH II: 315, EM 511f., IEW 832f., Schrijver 1991: 223, LIV *ple̱h2-g-.

planta ‘sole of the foot’ [f. ā] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: déplantāre ‘to break off, sever’ (Varro +), supplantāre ‘to trip up, cause to stumble’ (Cic. +); planta ‘young, shoot (of a plant)’ (Cato +).

Plt. *plāntā-.

PIE *pl(e)h2-nt- ‘the flat one’ or ‘the approaching one’. IE cognates: see s.v. plāmus and pellō.

WH and EM agree that planta ‘shoot of a plant’ was back-formed to an unattested verb *plantāre ‘to level the earth’ or ‘to plant crops with the sole of the foot’. In either case, both words planta go back to the same preform. Planta has been derived from *plth2- ‘flat, wide’, but a nasal infix would lead to *plt-n-h2- > *pland-. Furthermore, a nasal infix would be without support elsewhere in IE. In view of palma ‘handpalm’ < *plh2-em-, planta might also be derived from the root ‘flat, wide (part of the foot)’. Possible preforms would be *plh2-nt- and *pleh2-nt-, both yielding Plt. *plānt-, shortened to *plant- in accordance with Osthoff’s Law (cf. Schrijver 1991: 223). Since the suffix usually indicates an agent, the noun might also be derived from *plh2- ‘to approach’. Since this verb mainly means ‘to push, thrust’ in Latin (cf. pellō), the sole of the foot might be denominated as the part which ‘beats’ against the ground when walking.


plānus ‘level, flat’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: plānitiēs ‘flatness, level ground’ (Sis. +); displānāre ‘to flatten’ (Varro +), explānāre ‘to spread out, explain’ (Ter. +); plāniloquus ‘outspoken’ (Pl. +).

Plt. *plāno-.


plaudē, -ere ‘to clap, pat’ [v. III; plausī, plausum] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: plausus, -ūs ‘clapping of hands, approval’ (Naev. +); applau̱ōdere ‘to clap the hands, strike’ (Pl. +), displō̱ōdere ‘to spread out, burst apart’ (Varro +), explō̱dere ‘to reject off the stage by clapping, reject’ (Afran. +); ap(p)lūdā ‘chaff’ (Naev. +).

Plt. *plau̱ō-d-e/o- ‘to clap the hands’.

PIE *plh2-u- ‘palm of the hand, sole of the foot’.

It is uncertain whether ō is the original vowel (and -au- a hypercorrect restoration) or whether au is original, and ō arose secondarily. In view of the cognate form plaustus, it
plecto

seems more likely that au was original. Livingston (2004: 52) explains ap(p)lūda from *at-plaud-a ‘what is beaten out, off’. Oettinger 1979 and Meiser 1998 reconstruct *plh₂-u-h₂- ‘palm of the hand’, whence a denom. verb *plh₂-u-d- ‘to clap the hands’ was derived in Latin. Against the appurtenance of Hit. paluae-zi ‘to cry out, shout for joy’, see Kloekhorst 2008: 623. If Hittite is left out, the stem may have been *plh₂-u- ‘palm of the hand’, from which the Latin verb was derived. The same basis can be found in Plt. *plauto-.


plautus ‘flat, with flat feet’ [adj. o/a] (Paul. ex F.; var. plōtus)

Derivatives: Plautus PN (Pl.+).

Plt. *plauato- ‘flattened, with flat feet’. It. cognates: O. plavtad [abl.sg.] ‘sole of the foot or of a shoe’ < *plautā-, U. preplotatā, preplotohatā [3s.ipv.II] ‘must crush, stamp down’, denom. verb to *plautā-.

PIE *plh₂-u- ‘palm of the hand, sole of the foot’. IE cognates: Lith. plaıksta ‘flat of the hand, palm’, Ru. pljušna ‘metatarsus’, pljušk ‘flattened spot’ < *pleh₂-u-k-? The vowels do not fit completely.

Bibl.: WH II: 320, EM 513, IEW 838, Untermann 2000: 563, 573f. → plaudō

plebēs, plebēī ‘citizens, the common people’ [f. ē] (Pl.±; the var. plēbs, -is is somewhat more recent). Derivatives: plebēius ‘of the common people’ (Pl.±), plebitās ‘the rank of a plebeian’ (Cato+), plēbiscitum ‘resolution of the plebs’ (Pl.±).


PIE *plēh₁-d₇-uh₁ [nom.], -uh₁-m [acc.], *-ueh₁-s [gen.] ‘fullness’. IE cognates: Gr. πλήθος, -ύος [f.] ‘crowd’.

Schrijver 1991 reconstructs a Plt. hysterodynamic paradigm nom. *plēfus, acc. *plēfem, gen. *plēfes, with an early replacement of the nom.sg. by *plēfēs on the model of the accusative. Kortlandt (1997b: 160) objects that Latin -b- < *-bw- can hardly be explained from a HD paradigm, and instead proposes a proterodynamic inflection. The Oscan adj. goes back to *plēbriko- ‘of the people’, which suggests an earlier adj. *pleh₁-d₇-ro-. The noun may have been formed on the basis of the present stem *pleh₁-d₇- attested in OAv. frāda- ‘to stimulate, thrive’, Gr. πλήθω ‘to fill oneself, become full’. The interpretation as a u-stem given in Klingenschmitt 1992: 127 and Meiser 1998 does not explain the f. gender.


plectō, -ere ‘to plait, twine’ [v. III; plexī, plexum] (Laev.±)

Derivatives: (I) plectilis ‘plaited’ (Pl.±); amplexī [pr.ptc. amplexēns Andr.] ‘to hold in the arms, grasp, embrace’ (Andr.+), amplexus, -īs ‘clasping, embrace’ (Lucr.+), amplexāri ‘to clasp, welcome’ (Pl.±), complectū-/ere [pf. complexus] ‘to
embrace, include, seize' (Pl.+), complexus, -ūs ‘encircling, embrace’ (Pac.+), implectere ‘to interlace’ (Lucr.+), perplexārī ‘to muddle up’ (Pl.), perplexus ‘entangled, complicated’ (Lucr.+), perφlexābilis ‘puzzling’ (Pl.), perplexim ‘id.’ (Pl.); (2) plicāre ‘to fold, twine’ (Lucr.+), plicātrīx ‘who folds clothes’ (Pl.); applicāre ‘to bring in contact with, apply’ (Pl.+), complicāre ‘to fold together’ (Pl.+), disPLICaRe ‘to scatter’ (Varro), explicāre ‘to unfold, disentangle, extend’ (Pl.+), implicāre ‘to entwine, enfold, involve’ (Pl.+), implicāscere ‘to seize’ (Pl.+), perplicātus ‘tangled’ (Lucr.), replicāre ‘to fold back, bend back’ (Cato+); (3) supplex, -icis [adj.] ‘suppliant’ (Pl.+), supplicāre ‘to entreat, worship’ (Pl.+), supplicium ‘satisfaction, entreat’ (Pl.+).

plect-, -plek-ā-.

PIE *plek-t-e/o- ‘to plait, twine’. IE cognates: Skt. praśna-[m.] ‘turban’, YAv. arzatō,fraśna- [adj.] ‘having a golden helmet/coat of mail’ < *plek-o-k-, Gr. πλέκω ‘to braid, wind, twine’, πλόκος [m.] ‘twine, wreath’, πλοχμοί [m.pl.] ‘locks of hair’, OCS plesti, 1s. plētō ‘to plait’, Ru. plésti, Scr. plēstis ‘to plait’, OIC. plētta, OHG flihtan ‘to plait’.

Lat. plectere represents an inherited verb *plek-t-, also attested in Gm. and BSI. Amplēcti contains the preverb amb-. In -plicāre < *-plek-ā-, we are probably dealing with denominal verbs to compound adj. The simplex plicāre was backformed to these compound verbs, and is attested more recently. Supplex < *sub-plVk- may contain a root noun to -plicare, with the meaning ‘to bend upwards, beg’, but it has also been interpreted as a derivative of the root *plak- of placeō. A possible group of cognates was seen by Szemerényi 1989: 27f. in Germ. *flīκ- or *flēκ-, as reflected in Go. ga-plainhan ‘to entreat’, OHG flehon, flehe ‘desire’ [f.], but this would render supplex isolated within Latin.


plector ‘to be punished, be beaten’ [v. III] (Pl.+

IE cognates: Lith. plėkti ‘to beat’, plākti ‘to beat’?

The proposed IE etymology is weak. It cannot be excluded that this verb is just a specific semantic development of plectō ‘to plait’.


-pleō ‘to fill’ [v. II]: complēre ‘to fill, complete’ (Naev.+), déplocker ‘to drain, empty’ (Cato+), explēre ‘to fill up, satisfy, achieve’ (Pl.+), implēre ‘to fill out, cover’ (Pl.+), explemunt (Paul, ex F.), plenter (Paul, ex F.), replōre ‘to fill (up), stuff’ (Pl.+), supplerō ‘to fill up, complement’ (Cato+).

Derivatives: plēnus ‘full’ (Pl.+); plērus ‘the greater part, most of’ (Cato, Pac.), plērusque [adj.; usually pl.] ‘greater part of, most of’ (Naev.+), plērumpque [adv.] ‘mostly, often’; explēmentum ‘filling’ (Pl.+); locuplēs, -ētis ‘wealthy’ (Pl.+), locuplētāre ‘to make wealthy’ (Acc.+), collocuplētāre ‘to enrich’ (Ter.+).


PIE *pleh₁-t- [aor.] ‘to fill’, *plh₁-nō- ‘full’, *pl(e)h₁-to- ‘full’, *-pleh₁-t-. IE

The pr. plēre may reflect Plt. *plē- or *plē-je-, probably built on a PIE root aorist *pleh₁-. The full grade -ē was introduced into the adj. *plh₁-no-. The full grade may have been inherited in the *ro-adj., and was certainly inherited in the t-stem *plē-t. According to Leumann 1977: 275, locuplēt- contains *loculus ‘money-bag’ as its first member. But it may simply be ‘rich in lands’.


-plex “times” [adj. k]

Derivatives: simplex ‘consisting of a single one, simple’ (Pl.+), simplicitās ‘singleness’ (Lucr.+); duplex, -icis ‘double’ (Pl.+), duplicāre ‘to double’ (Naev.+), duplicārius ‘who receives double rations’ (Varro+), conduplicāre ‘to double’ (Pl.+); triplex ‘triple, threefold’ (Pl.+), quadruplex ‘multiplied by four’ (Pl.+), quadruplicāre ‘to quadruple’ (Pl.+), decemplex ‘tenfold’ (Varro+), decemplexare ‘to multiply by ten’ (Varro), centum(m)plex ‘hundredfold’ (Pl.), multiplex ‘many together, consisting of many’ (Pl.+).


Probaby, duplex was the archetype of this category of compounds. In duplex, du- is the productive form of ‘two’, taken from duo. EM derive -plex from *plek- ‘to plait, twine’, hence ‘-fold’. Semantically this seems a good match. WH argue that -plex did not derive from *plek- ‘to plait’ but from (the root of) plaga ‘surface, area’, but this seems much less likely to me. Full grade duplex is probably cognate with zero-grade *du-i-plk- in Greek. The appurtenance of the U. form -plak, the meaning of which is unknown, is difficult from a root *plk-.


plörō, -āre ‘to cry, weep’ [v. IV] (Lex XII, Pl.+)

Derivatives: plörātillus ‘inclined to weep’ (Pl.), plörātus, -ūs ‘wailing, crying’ (Lucr.+); implörāre ‘to make supplication for, invoke’ (Pl.+), explörāre ‘to inspect, inquire’ (Pl.+), explörātor ‘investigator, spy’ (Pl.+).

No etymology. WH and EM regard the ancient explanation as not unlikely, viz. that the verb explörāre originally meant ‘to scout the hunting area for game by means of shouting’. Leumann follows Szemerenyi in suggesting a dissimilation from *prōrāre (< *prō órāre?). This seems less likely: the type of compound is strange, and one
might just as well expect *prōlāre.


**plūma** ‘feather’ [f. ā] (Pl. +)


PIE *ple/ou-(k)-(s)mo-.

Probably a deverbal noun in *-mo-*, possibly from a root *pleu- or *pleu-k- ‘to swim, float (in the air)’. *Plūma* could go back to PIE *pleu-mo- or *plou-mo- ‘flying’, to *pleou-smo- ‘flying instrument’, or to *ple/ouk-smo-. In view of OPr. *plauxdine ‘featherbed’, Lith. *plūnsna ‘feather’ (< *plunHk-neH2-), WH and EM seem to favour a derivative in *-smo-.

Bibl.: WH II: 324f., EM 516, IEW 838, LIV *pleu-, ?*pleuk- → *plūō

**plumbum** ‘lead’ [n. o] (Pac. +)

Derivatives: *plumbeus ‘made of lead* (Pl.), *plumbāre ‘to fasten with lead* (Cato +).

IE cognates: OIr. *lúaidh ‘lead’.

Beekes 1999 has persuasively shown that *plumbum* can hardly be related to Mycenaean *mo-ri-wo-do, Gr. μόλυβδος ‘lead’, but more probably to Celtic *pl(e)u(d)̣o- – which was borrowed into Germanic as *laud-. This has been etymologised as ‘the flowable (metal)’ to the root *pleu-. This is formally possible for Celtic, but not for *plumbum since *plu-ḍ- would yield Lat. *plub-, and the -m- must also be explained. Thus, ‘lead’ may well be a loanword from a different language. Boutkan-Kossmann 1999: 92 point to the Berber word for lead (*βāfd/m, *bulūdn), which they consider a loanword into Berber. This, then, may have been the same word which eventually entered into Latin as *plumbum. 


**pluō, pluit** ‘to rain’ [v. III; pf. *plūt*] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: *pluvius ‘of rain, rainy* (Lex XII +), *pluvia ‘rain* (Cato +), *pluor [m.] ‘rain’ (Lab.); *compluit ‘rain-water runs together* (Varro +), *compluvium ‘rain-opening in the roof* (Varro +), *compluvium ‘shaped like a compluvium* (Varro +), *impluere ‘to rain (upon, into)* (Pl. +), *impluvium ‘basin in the atrium, rain-opening in the roof* (Pl. +), *impluviatus ‘like an impluvium* (Pl.), *perpluere ‘to rain through, leak* (Pl. +).

PIE *plow-e/o- ‘to rain*.

It is mostly assumed that *pluit was backformed from the compounded verbs, since one would otherwise expect *plovit; cf. *fluō. The semantics presuppose a metaphorical use of 'to swim, float' for the action of (pouring) rain.


-plus ‘times’ [adj. o/a]
Derivatives: *simplus [adj.] ‘the simple amount’ (PI+), *duplus [adj.] ‘double, twofold’ (PI+), *duplō [f.] ‘twice as much’ (Lex XII+), *quadruplus ‘four times as much’ (Lex XII+), *quadruplāre ‘to quadruple’ (PI+), *quadruplātor ‘bringer of a criminal accusation, multiplier’ (PI+).

PIt. *dwiplo- >> *duplo-. It. cognates: U. *tupler [dat.abl.pl.m.], *dupla [acc.pl.f.] ‘two at a time, bini’, tripler [abl.pl.m.] ‘three at a time’.


Lat. manip(u)lus might be from *manu-plo- < *ph₁-o- ‘a hand-ful’ (see pleō). For ‘double’, the other IE languages and the general usage in compounds point to *dii-pl(H)-o-; hence, Italic has replaced *dii- by *du-, as it has in other possessive compounds containing ‘two’ (duplex, ducenti). The identity of the root is uncertain. Whereas *ph₁ ‘to fill’ makes good sense for manipulus, it is less attractive for the compounds with numerals (‘filling two’ > ‘twofold’?). Lindner has a root *pelh₂- ‘to fold’, a root which LIV does not acknowledge. One might compare the root *pelh₂- ‘to approach’ (see Latin pellō and planta), assuming *dii-ph₁r-o- ‘in two goes’ > ‘double’. This remains speculative.


plús, -ris ‘more’ [n. i?] (Lex XII+; plous SCBac.,)
Derivatives: *plūrēs [adj. pl.] (Carmen Arvales pleonis [acc.pl.], Cic. 1x ploeres) ‘more (in number)’ (PI+), plūrimus (ploirume CIL 9, ca. 230 AD, plourama CIL 1861, plūsimā Varro, plūsimā Carmen Saliae apud Fest.) ‘the greatest number of’, most’ (Andr.+); plūrālis ‘of more than one’ (Varro+), plūsculus [adj.] ‘a somewhat larger amount of’ (Ter.+), plūsculum [adv.] ‘to a rather greater degree, a little longer’ (PI+); complūrēs ‘a fair number, several’ (PI+), complūsculi ‘several, more than one’ (PI+), complūrē(n)ls ‘several times’ (PI+).

PIt. *ple(o(H))is [comp. n.] >> *plow-is, sup. *ple(H)isamo- >> *ploisamo-. 
PIE *ph₁-u- ‘much, many’, comp. *ph₁-ios-, sup. *ph₁-ist(h)₂-o-. IE cognates: OIr. lia ‘more’ (<< *lēs < *pleh₁-is, cf. Jasanoff 1988-90); Skt. prāyah, prāyena [adv. < comp.] ‘for the most part’, Av. frāiiha- ‘more, too much’, fraēsta- ‘most’; Gr. πλέον ‘more’, πλέιστος ‘most, biggest’ < *pleh₁-is-, -istHo-; OIr. fleirí ‘more’, fleistr ‘most’ < *ph₁-is-, -istHo-.

It is uncertain whether plús and plūrimus reflect *plous- or *plois-. The texts contain several archaic or pseudo-archaic spellings (plous, pleor-, plōer-, ploir-, plour-, plús-,
plūs-) which cannot all be regular. There seems to be agreement on the fact that plūsima must be a very archaic form, directly reflecting the e-grade in *pleh₁-ismHo-. Similarly, pleōres in Carmen Arvælæ might continue the PIE comp. *pleh₁-ōs, although the interpretation of this text is difficult. Lühr (2000: 33) derives plūs from *ploh₁-is (with o-grade as in Germanic; this is unexpected from the PIE point of view but might have come from the positive *polh₁-u- as in Gr.) and plūrīmus from *ploh₁-ismh₂o-. In that case, we would have to assume a development *plois > plūs. The spellings plouas and plour- would be hypercorrections, whereas ploīrume would have to be very archaic. Weiss (forth.), on the other hand, follows Nussbaum in assuming that the PIE u-adj. of the positive *plh₁-u- received a full grade (by analogy with the verb, as in plēmus?), and then got the i-stem extension which all Latin u-adj. show: *pleh₁-u-i-. For the n. of the comp. he posits *pleu-is, which would mean a stem *pleu- plus the suffix *-is. Thus: *pleh₁-u- > *pleu- > comp. *pleu-is. Via *plois > *plois this would yield plūs. For the superlative ploir- > plurīmus, one could assume a contamination of *pleisamously- with the comp. *plous, yielding *ploisamously-.


pluteus ‘movable screen of wood or wickerwork, parapet’ [m. o] (Pl. +)

Pit. *pluto-


The connection with the BSl. and Gm. words is possible if Latin has an adj. in -eus to an earlier noun *pluto- or (with ablaut, even less likely) *plouto- ‘woodwork, beam’

There is no verbal root with which we can connect these formations. In fact, the whole etymology remains in the air; note that words for ‘beam, shelf’ can have many origins.

Bibl.: WH II: 328f., EM 518, IEW 838.

po- ‘off, away’ [pref.]

Derivatives: Lat. pōnō, po-situs < *po-s[i]nō, *po-situs, porcēt < *po-arcaet (see s.v. arceō). According to Leumann, polire is a back-formation from the pf. po-līvē.

Pit. *po-

PIE *h₂p-o. IE cognates: OCS Ru. SCR. po [prep.] ‘after, by, at’, Lith. pa- (perfective prefix).

Does not occur as an independent word in Latin. Probably cognate with the root of Latin ab.


polio, -īre ‘to polish’ [v. IV] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: polītīō ‘glossy surface; the weeding of cornfields’ (Cato+), polītor ‘polisher, weeder’ (Cato+); dēpolītīō ‘careful cultivation’ (Varro), expolīre ‘to smooth
down, finish off, adorn' (Pl. +), *perpolire ‘to polish up’ (Varro+); *interpolis [adj.; also -us] ‘made as new, refurbished’ (Pl. +), *interpolare ‘to make as new, touch up’ (Pl. +). 

Pit. *pol(e)i- ‘to swing’? *pol-i(e)/o- ‘to make flat’?

*Interpolis with velar -o/- in front of -is is suspect, and the adj. might be a recent transfer from o-stem *interpolus. *Interpolare can be a denominal verb to that adj. Vendryes 1929 assumes that *polire belonged to the jargon of the fullers, and that *interpolare meant ‘to repair’ a piece of clothing. The old explanation that *polire would be a back-formation to the pf. po-līvī of po-linere ‘to besmear’ has been rejected by WH and EM. It was reinstated by Seldeslachts 2001: 85-87; yet although the hypothesized semantic shift from ‘besmear, polish’ is conceivable, it remains unclear why the language did not keep *po-linō – after all, linō was still around. Vendryes suggests that pol- goes back to a verbal stem *pel-, which would be reflected in Germ. *felt, *falt- ‘to beat’ (Eng. felt). Yet this is not recognised as a verbal root by LIV. Alternatively, *polī could be derived from *pelh-i- ‘to swing’ (as in Gr. πάλλω ‘to swing, shake loose’): part of a fuller’s activity is beating hides to clean them and work them into clothing. Latin pol- could have the o-grade of an iterative present to this root. Yet another possibility is that *polire is denominal to an adj. *poli- < *polh ri- ‘flat’ (adopting Schrijver’s 2003 interpretation of the presents in -i- < *-i(e)/o-), if the original meaning was ‘to make flat, make smooth’.


pollen, -inis ‘flour, powder’ [m./n. n] (Ter.+; nom.sg. pollis grammarians) 

Derivatives: *pollinarius ‘of flour’ (Pl. +), *poll(l)enta ‘hulled and crushed grain, barley-meal’ (Pl. +), *pollentarius ‘of polenta’ (Pl. +).

Pit. *pol-ën, *pol-n-?

PIE *pol(H)-n-? *pol(H)-u-? IE cognates: Gr. πάλη ‘fine flour, dust’, πόλτος [m.] ‘thick pap of flour’.

The noun *poll(l)enta has a collective suffix -ta. Probably from an original paradigm *polen, *pollis < *polnos. Within Latin, puls < *polt- ‘porridge’ might be cognate, the original meaning being ‘flour’. Outside Latin, there are possible Greek cognates but no close morphological matches. One might consider a derivation from the root *pelh₁- ‘to swing’ (cf. s.v. palea), but this remains very speculative. A direct connection with pulvis ‘dust’ and pælea ‘chaff’ seems unlikely, since ‘flour’ is much more valuable than ‘chaff’. Only via a primary meaning ‘to pulverize, grind’ vel sim. can both meanings be united.


polleō ‘to be strong, potent’ [v. II] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *pollentia ‘power, domination’ (Pl. +).

Pit. *polnē- ‘to be full’ > ‘to be strong’.

PIE *pl-n-eh₁- ‘to fill’. IE cognates: see s.v. -pleō.

McCone 1991: 21 and Rix 1995a: 401 propose to derive polle- from *polnē- <
pollex, -icis 'thumb, big toe' [m. k] (Cato+)

PIt. *-lìx-s.

The alleged connection with CS palbcь, Ru. палец ‘finger’, Scr. pālac ‘thumb, big toe’ < PSI. *palbcь < *p dél- does not explain Lat. pollex. Meier-Brügger 1990 proposes to explain pollex from *por-likʰ-s ‘which is licked over’ to the root *leigʰ- ‘to lick’ (see Lat. lingō). The nom.sg. could have analogically acquired -lex on the model of other body parts inflecting in -ex, -icis (e.g. vortex).

Bibl.: WH II: 332f., EM 519, IEW 840f., LIV *uleikʰ-. → lingō

pollingō, -ere ‘to prepare for the funeral, lay out’ [v. III; pollīnixī, pollictum] (Pl.+

Derivatives: pollīnctor ‘who prepares a corpse for the funeral’ (Pl.+

PIt. *(por-)(w)li-n-kʰ-e/o-.

PIE *uleikʰ- [pr.] ‘to make moist’? IE cognates: see s.v. liqueō.

Compound of por- and a nasal present. Instead of the older theory of a verb *ni-n-gʷ- ‘to wash’ with dissimilation of *por-ning- > *porling- > pollingle-, the etymology as *por-nilinkʷ- ‘to make moist’ proposed by Hackstein 1995: 123 is more attractive. The nasal present was probably an Italic innovation. Final -ng- for *-nqu- must be analogical, probably after the ppp. *(por)likto-.


pollūceō ‘to offer as a sacrifice’ [v. II; pf. pollūxi (Naev.), ppp. (pol)lūctum ‘served up’] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: pollūcilītēr ‘sumptuously’ (Pl.), pollūctūra ‘a serving’ (Pl.).

PIt. *loik-eje- ‘to make available, offer’.

PIE *loik-eie- [pr.]

The traditional connection with *leuk- ‘to shine’ is semantically unconvincing. Nussbaum 1994 instead proposes an analysis as a causative *por-loik-eie- to the stem *lik- ‘to be available’ seen in licet. He interprets the form poloucta ‘pollūcta’ (CIL 1531) in an inscription from Sora from around 150 BC as a hypercorrect spelling for a monophthong /ð/ or /l/.

polluō, -ere 'to make dirty, infect' [v. III; polluī, pollūtum] (Cic.+
Plt. *lowe/o- or *lawe/o-.
PIE *leu-e/o- or *IHu-e/o- 'to soil'. IE cognates: see s.v. lutum.

Compound of *por- plus *Iawō. Long ū in the ppp. may be secondary, following a productive pattern of inf. in -iere, ppp. in -ūtum. Apart from polluō, the IE languages contain only nominal derivatives of the root *I(H)u- 'to soil'.

Bibl.: WH II: 334, EM 520, IEW 681, Schrijver 1991: 241, LIV *leu-. → lutum

pomus / pōnum 'fruit-tree, fruit' [m./n. o] (Cato+)
Derivatives: pōmārius 'of fruit' (Cato+), pōmārium 'orchard' (Varro+), Pōmōna 'Roman goddess of fruit' (Varro+), Pōmōnālis 'of Pomona' (Enn.+).
Plt. *po-e/omo- 'taken off, picked'?
PIE *hje/om-o- 'what is (to be) taken'.
Possibly from *po-em-o- 'taken off, picked'; *po-omo- or *pe-omo- are also conceivable. U. puemun- probably does not belong here, cf. s.v. eō.


pōnō, -ere 'to place, set, put' [v. III; pf. posīvī / posūī, ppp. positum] (Naev.+
Derivatives: antepōnere 'to place in front, above' (Pl.+), appōnere 'to place near, serve, add' (Pl.+), circumpōnere 'to place round' (Cato+), compōnere 'to place, match, arrange' (Pl.+), compos(i)tūra 'assembling' (Cato+), composītius 'compound' (Varro), dēpōnere 'to put down, lay down' (Pl.+), dispōnere 'to arrange, distribute' (Cato+), dispositūra 'arrangement' (Lucr.), expōnere 'to put out, expose' (Pl.+), expositūs 'foundling' (Pl.), impōnere 'to place in or over' (Pl.+), imposītius 'arbitrarily bestowed' (Varro+), impositō 'arbitrary bestowing' (Varro+), impositor 'who assigns' (Varro), appōnere 'to place in front, interpose, deposit' (Pl.+), praepōnere 'to prefer, place in front' (Pl.+), repōnere 'to put back, down, replace' (Pl.+), supplōnere 'to place under, substitute, smuggle in' (Pl.+); positūra 'position, arrangement' (Lucr.+).
Plt. *po-sine/o-.
PJE *tk-i-n-(e/o-) [pr.] 'to build, live'.
From *poznō < *po-snō < *po-sinō 'to put down, place'. The old pf. was (-)po-sīvī, the regular pf. to sinō. When the connection with sinō had become opaque, posuī was backformed to positus as a new pf.

Bibl.: WH II: 335f., EM 520, IEW 889-891, Sihler 1995: 501, LIV *tkei-. → po-, sinō

pons, -tis 'bridge, plank' [m. i] (Enn.+
Derivatives: deponentē 'to throw from a bridge' (Varro); pontifex, -ficis 'one of the college of priests of Rome' (Pl.+), pontificālis 'of a pontifex' (Varro+), pontificius 'of a pontifex' (Cato+).
Plt. *pont-.
PJE *pont-h₁-s, *pnt-ēh₁-m, *pnt-h₁-ós 'road'. IE cognates: Skt. pānthā- [m.] 'road, path, course' (pānthās [nom.sg.], pānthām [acc.sg.], pāthās [gen.abl.sg.], pathi [loc.sg.]),

Developed from PIE 'road' to Latin 'bridge'. The PIE paradigm would have yielded a pre-Latin inflection *pont(a)s, *pontēm, *pontos >> nom.sg. *pontes (> -is), which, according to Schrijver 1991: 372, “could easily have been attracted to the inflection of the ti-derivatives.” Pontifex has been much discussed, especially the first member. There seems to exist consensus among a majority of scholars that it must indeed be interpreted as 'bridge-maker', in the sense of 'who negotiates between gods and men'.


poples, -itis 'knee-joint, back of the knee' [m. t] (Acc. +)

No certain etymology. It has been assumed that poples was borrowed from a Sabellic outcome of PIE *kʷe/o-kʷlo-m ‘neck’ (> Lith. kąklas ‘neck, throat’, Skt. cakrā- ‘wheel’) but there is no support for viewing poples as a loanword in Latin.


populus ‘human community, people’ [m. o] (Naev.+; Carmen Saliare poploe [nom.pl.], poplois [dat.abl.pl.] (apud Fest.), CIL. ]popif, populo, poplo, poplus)

Derivatives: populāri ‘to ravage, plunder’ (Naev.+), populābundus ‘engaged in ravaging a territory’ (Sis.+), populāris ‘of the people, public’ (Pl.+), populāris [m./f.] ‘fellow citizen, partner’ (Naev.+), populāritās ‘fellow-citizenship’ (Pl.+), populātim ‘universally’ (Caecil.); dēpopulāri ‘to sack, plunder’ (Enn.+), dēpopulātor ‘who sacks’ (Caecil.); Popli̱gungia, -drum ‘annual festival in Rome’ (Varro+); Publius PN (gen.sg. popli̱sio Lapis Satricanus, Cic.+).


The meaning ‘to devastate’ for the deponent probably developed through the usage ‘to have an army pass through’. The derived adj. publicus has a long -ū that cannot belong to the same stem as *poplo-; see s.v. pūbes. The etymology of Pit. *poplo- ‘army’ (thus Watmough 1997: 69-81) is unknown. One might suggest appurtenance to *plh₁- ‘to be full’, but a reduplicated form *po-plh₁-o- would be strange, and its meaning not evident. Watmough 1997: 91-102 posits an Etruscan noun *puple ‘?’ on the basis of the toponym puplema, but this gives little grip on the matter.

Bibl.: WH II: 339, EM 521f., Untermann 2000: 609-611. → pūbes

pōpus ‘poplar-tree’ [f. o] (Cato+)

Derivatives: pōpuleus ‘of a poplar-tree’ (Enn.+), pōpuleus ‘derived from poplar’ (Cato+), pōpulum ‘id.’ (Pl.).
No etymology. The Greek forms Gr. πτελέα, Myc. pte-re-wa ‘elm-tree’ have *p and *l in common, but if they are cognate at all, no regular correspondence can be discovered.


**por-** ‘forth, forward’ [pref.]

Derivatives: porrō [adv.] ‘straight on, forward, further’ (Pl. +; porod Praeneste, CIL 560).

PIt. *por-*. It. cognates: Fal. por- in porded, U. pur- in pur-doui-.

PIE *pr- ‘forth’. IE cognates: Gr. παρ ‘further, beside’ (Ion.Att. >> παρά) , Go. faur, OS for, fur ‘for, before’; Gr. πόρρω, πόρσω (Pindar) ‘forth’ (but H. πρόσ(σ)ω).

Latin por- regularly continues PIE *pr-, while porrō could reflect *p(a)rso(d). The Praenestine form is not an ablative. Nussbaum (1994: 173) tentatively suggests a preform *pr-s (with adverbial *-s) >> *prs-ō (cf. contrō(versus), intrō, retrō, ultrō) > *porsō > porrō.


**orca** ‘ridge of soil between furrows’ [f. ā] (Cato+)

PIt. *pork-ā- ‘furrow’.


Bibl.: WH II: 340, EM 522, IEW 821, Untermann 2000: 615, LIV *perk- → porcus

**porcus** ‘male pig’ [m. o] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: porca ‘sow’ (Cato+), porculus ‘little pig’ (Pl.+), porcellus ‘piglet’ (Varro+), porcinus ‘of a pig’ (Naev.+), porcinarius ‘pig-butcher’ (Pl.), porculātiū ‘pig-rearing’ (Varro+), porcetra ‘a sow which had young once’ (Pompon. apud Gell.).

PIt. *pork-ō- ‘digger, pig’. IE cognates: Av. parasa-, Khot. pāsa (< *parsa), Kurd. purs, OPr. prastian, Lith. paršas, CS prase [n. nt], gen.sg. prasešte, Ru. porosja, porosēnok [m.], porosjāta [nom.pl.], Scr. prase, gen.sg. prāšeta ‘piglet’ < PSl. *pōrs-nt-, OHG far(a)h [n.], OE fearh [m./n.] ‘pig’ < PGm. *fārxa-.

Original meaning ‘digger’, from the same root ‘to dig up, cut’ as the word for ‘furrow’. A semantic parallel for this derivation is provided by W. twrch, Olr. torc ‘boar’ < *turk-o- to the root *tuerk- ‘to cut’, cf. McCon 1992a, Schrijver 1995: 65.

Bibl.: WH II: 341, EM 523, IEW 841, Hoffmann 1976: 491, LIV *perk- → porca, scrōfa

**porrum** ‘leek’ [n. o] (Cato+)

Derivatives: porrīna ‘bed of leeks’ (Cato+).

PIt. *porso-. 
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PIE *prso-. IE cognates: Gr. πράσον [n.] ‘leek’; also Skt. parśā- ‘sheaf, bundle’, YAv. parśa- [m.] ‘ear (of corn)’, Gr. Περσεφόνεια PN?

The Latin and Greek words have mostly been regarded as an agricultural borrowing from a Mediterranean language. Botanists think that this vegetable has originated in the Mediterranean, and spread across Europe from the Roman period. *Porrum and Gr. πράσον ‘leek’ can go back to *prso-. Weiss (apud Wachter 2006) proposes to connect *porram with PIE *perso- ‘ear of grain’ or ‘sheath’, as attested in Ilr and possibly in the theonym Περσεφόνεια, for which Wachter 2006 assumes a first member *Περσο- ‘ear of grain/sheath’. Whereas this may seem formally attractive, it is unclear what the meaning of the root *prs- would have been, and how ‘leek’ could be derived from either ‘ear of grain’ or ‘sheath’.


porta ‘gate’ [f. ā] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: portitor ‘customs-officer, ferryman’ (Pl.+), porticus, -ūs [f.] ‘colonnade, portico’ (Pl.+), portisculus ‘who beats the time for rowers, hammer used for this purpose’ (Pl.+); portus, -ūs ‘harbour, refuge; door’ (Lex XII+), portōrium ‘duty, toll’ (Pl.+), Portūmus ‘deity of harbours’ (Cic.+), Portūnālis ‘of Portunus’ (Varro+), Portūnium ‘temple of Portunus’ (Varro+), importūnus ‘unfavourable, troublesome’ (Andr.+), importūnitās ‘unreasonableness’ (Pl.+), opportunūs ‘favourable, convenient’ (Pl.+), opportūnitās ‘opportuneness, chance’ (Pl.+); angiportum/s, -ūs ‘narrow passage, lane’ (Pl.+).


PIE *pr-to- ‘crossed’, *pr-tu- ‘crossing, ford, bridge’. IE cognates: Gaul. ritu-, OW rit, W. rhyd, Co. rit ‘ford’ < PCI. *φrītū-; Av. paratv- [m.] ‘crossing, bridge’, MP puhl ‘bridge’; OHGfurt, OE ford < PGm. *furū́-, OIt. fgrdr ‘bay, fjord’ < *fरd/ṛur. Porta is probably the f. to a PIE ppp. *pr-to- ‘passed, crossed’; from this stem, the verb portāre was probably also derived. Portus continues a PIE u-stem ‘passage, crossing’. Portūnus must be derived from *portu- with the suffix *-Hn- or as a deinstrumental derivative *prtuH₁-no-. Op-portūnus has the productive lengthening of the stem vowel for derivatives from u-stems.

Bibl.: WH II: 343-345, EM 523f., IEW 816f., Untermann 2000: 546, 615f., LIV 1.*per- . → per, por-, portō

portō, -āre ‘to transport, carry’ [v. I] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: apportāre ‘to carry, bring’ (Pl.+), asportāre ‘to carry off, remove’ (Pl.+), comportāre ‘to carry, transport’ (Pl.+), dēportāre ‘to bring, convey’ (Pl.+), dēportātiō ‘taking home’ (Cato+), exportāre ‘to carry out, export’ (Pl.+), importāre ‘to bring in, cause’ (Pl.+), reportāre ‘to bring back’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *porto/a-. It. cognates: U. purtatu, portatu [2/3s.ipv.II], portaia [3s.pr.sb.], portus [3s.fut.pf.] ‘to bring, carry’ < *portā-je-.

PIE *prto- ‘passed, crossed’ or *porto- ‘passage, crossing’. IE cognates: Skt. pr. piparti [3s.act.], aor. pārś- ‘to bring across’, Av. (fra)frā [1s.sb.aor.act.] ‘to cross’,

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YAv. pāraia- ‘to bring, lead’; Gr. πείρω ‘to pierce, penetrate’.

Probably denotional to *porto-/ā- ‘passage, crossing’. The theory of WH and Leumann, viz. that portāre goes back to a frequentative *poritāre built to a PIE o-grade *por-eie/o-, requires an unwarranted shift from *por-eie- (which would normally yield a second-conjugation verb Lat. **porē-) to *por-i-.


poscō, -ere ‘to ask for, demand’ [v. III; pf. poposcī] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: exposcre ‘to ask for, demand’ (Pl. +), reposcere ‘to demand back’ (Pl. +); postulāre ‘to ask for, demand, claim’ (Lex XII.), postulātīō ‘demand, protest’ (Pl. +), postilīō ‘sacrifice demanded by the gods’ (Varro +), expostulāre ‘to remonstrate, complain about’ (Pl. +).


PIE *prk-sk-e/o- [pr.], *pr(e)k- [aor.] ‘to ask’. IE cognates: OIr. arcaid*, airc ‘to ask’ < PCI. *parske/o- < *prsk-, OW MW erchi, MCo. erghi ‘to order’, MBret. archaff ‘to ask, beg’ < PBr. *ark-i- << PCI. *parske/o-, Skt. pr. prchāmī, Av. pārasa- ‘to ask’, OP pati-prsa- ‘to read’, prsa- ‘to interrogate, punish’, Arm. (e-)harc [aor.] ‘asked’, Lith. prašyti, OCS prositi; Go. fraihnan; ToA prak-, ToB prek- ‘to ask’.

Lat. poscō < *pork-sk- continues a PIE sk-present. Schrijver 1991: 497 doubts whether poscō contains the regular outcome of *prksk-, or whether we should expect *parksk-. The latter might be found in O. comparascuster, in which case Latin poscō must contain a secondarily restored *f > or. WH and Meiser 2003 explain postulāre from *posk-to- << *pork-to-, ppp. to poscō. Yet the alleged ppp. itself is unattested. Leumann 1977: 208 and Sihler derive postulāre from a noun *posculum or *postulum ‘query’ < *pork-sk-tlo-. In view of the co-occurrence of postulāre and postilīō, it would be attractive to assume a preform *post-elo- ‘asking’, from which both forms can be explained.


post ‘in the rear, behind, after’ [adv.; prep. + acc.] (Lex XII+; var. poste Pl. Enn. Ter.)

Derivatives: pőne ‘from behind, in the rear of’ (Pl.+), posticus [adj.] ‘at the back’ (Pl.+), postīculum ‘small back shed’ (Pl.), posterus ‘later, next’ (Sis.+), posteri [m.pl.] ‘descendants, successors’ (Pl.+), posterior ‘later, younger, inferior’ (Pl.+), postrēmus
postis

postis 'last, final' (Pl.+), postumus 'last-born, final' (Cic.+), Postumus PN (Pl.+).

Pit. *posti 'behind, after', *posteo- 'later'. It. cognates: O. püst, post, pust, U. pus, post, pos [prep. + abl.] 'after, behind' < *posti; O. püstin, U. pustin, pusti, posti, SPic. postin [prep. + acc.] 'along, according to' < *posti en; U. postne [dat.sg.n.?] 'which is behind' < *postino-; U. pustnaiaf [acc.pl.f.], pusaes [abl.pl.f.] < *postiniao- 'which is behind'; O. püstrêi, püstr. [loc.sg.m.], U. postra [acc.pl.f.]

Pit. *posti 'behind, after', *postero- 'later', maybe 'second' < *postero-; U. pustra, pustru, postro [adv.] 'back, backwards' < nom.acc.pl.n. *postera; O. püstris [adv.] 'later' < nom.acc.sg.n. *posterios; O. posmom [acc.sg.n.], pustmas [nom.pl.f.] 'last' < *pos(t)i?tmHo-.

Pit. *pos(t)i- 'after'. IE cognates: Skt. paścā [adv.] 'behind, after, back', paścāt 'from behind, afterwards, backwards', YAv. pasca 'after, behind, later'; paskāt 'from behind, afterwards', OP pasā 'after', pasāva 'thereupon, then' < Ilr. *pa(s)(t)-sk/čā(t) < *pos(s)-sk"-eh1 'following'; Gr. (dial.) πός 'at, to'; Lith. pās 'at, on'; OCS pozđe 'late', Ru. pózdý (dial.) < *pos(t)-d'h1-o-.

Whereas posterus seems to be the old comparative, matched by Sabellic forms, posterior must be a secondary formation built on it. Nevertheless, it too can be found in O. püstris. Lat. postrēmus reflects *poster-isamo-, while pōne was formed from *post-ne. Lat. posticus reflects PIE *posti-h3kw-o- 'facing the back', cf. anticus. The primary PIE form seems to have been *pos, extended by means of *-ti in PIE or in Plt. The model probably was the antonym *h2entī 'in front of'.


postis 'door-post, stile' [m. i] (Pl.+; mostly pl.)

Pit. *po(r)sti-.

Pit. *pr-sth2-i- 'standing forth' or *po-sth2-i- 'standing upright'. IE cognates: (1) Skt. prsthā- 'back, mountain-ridge, top', YAv. parśta-[m.] 'back, spine, support in the back', Lith. pirštas, OCS prstv 'finger' < *pr-sth2-o-; (2) Olc. fastr, OHG fast, OE fast 'firm, fixed' < PGm. *fasta-.

Originally a compound of PIE *pr- 'forth' or *po 'up' (thus Heidermanns 2002: 191) and the root *steh2- 'to stand'.

Bibl.: WH II: 349, EM 527, IEW 810-816. → per, po-, por-, porta

potis, pote 'able, having the power' [adj. indecl. i] (Naev.+: potis esse)

Derivatives: (1) potis esse 'to be master, be capable' > posse >> potisse; pf. potui; utpotē [adv.] 'as one might expect, as is normal' (Pl.+); (2) potior, potius 'better, more powerful' (Naev.+), potissimus 'most powerful' (Pl.+), potiēre 'to put under the power of' (Pl.+), potifrī) 'to become master, obtain control' (Naev.+), potestās 'command, power' (Lex XII+); compos 'endowed with, having command' (Naev.+), compotīre 'to put in possession, attain' (Pl.+), impos 'not having control or possession, demented' (Pl.+); (3) potēns 'powerful, capable, provided' (Pl.+), impotēns 'powerless, lacking control' (Ter.+), impotentia 'weakness, violence' (Ter.+), praepotēns 'outstandingly powerful' (Pl.+).

Pit. *poti- 'master, in control of', *pot-e- 'to be master'. It. cognates: O. pūtiad,
putiad [3s.pr.sb.], pútians, putiians [3p.pr.sb.] ‘to be able’ < *pot-e-.

PIE *pót-i-. IE cognates: Skt. páti- [m.] ‘lord, master’, Av. paiti- [m.] ‘lord, husband’, OP *daus-pati- ‘commander of ten soldiers’; Gr. πόσις [m.] ‘husband’; OLith. pats, Lith. pats [m.] ‘id.’, Go. bruḫ-faḥs [m.] ‘bridegroom’, ToA pats ‘husband’.

The PIE noun *pot-i- ‘master, lord’ has become adjectival in combination with the verb esse (1), and in prepositional compounds (2). The adj. then acquired a comparative and superlative, and the verb poti-ie- > potire was derived from it. Potens probably derives from a Plt. verb *pot-ē- with the stative meaning ‘to be master’; this seems a better explanation than a causative or iterative *pot-eie- which Meiser 2003 posits. Its pf. potuí was later reanalysed as the pf. to posse. The exact process leading from potis + esse to the paradigm of posse is disputed. There may have been a regular development from *potis est/pote est > *poti/est, leading to the analogical introduction of *potsum > possum, or maybe *potis sum regularly developed to possum.


pōtus ‘drunk’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+) Derivatives: pōtus, -ās (m.; Varro+) ‘drinking, drink, draught’, pōtīō (Lex XII+) ‘id.’, pōtāre (Pl.+) ‘to drink’, pōtātiq ‘drinking party’ (Pl.+) pōtātor ‘drinker’ (Pl.+) pōtītāre ‘to drink habitually’ (Pl.+); ēpōtāre ‘to swallow, drink down’ (Pl.+); perpōtāre ‘to drink heavily’ (Pl.+); pōsca (Pl.+) ‘acid drink of vinegar and water’ pōcūlum (Pl.+) ‘drinking vessel’, pōcūllum ‘little cup’ (Cato+), dépōcūlare ‘to ruin by expenditure on cups’ (Lucil.), compōtrīx ‘female drinking companion’ (Ter.).


The full grade of pōtus ‘drunk’ must have been introduced from the root aorist. Pōtus and pō-cūlum have caused the spread of pō- in the other derivatives. The noun pōsca was probably formed on the model of ēsca.


prae ‘in front of, before’ [adv., prep. + abl.] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: praeter [prep. + acc.] ‘past, beyond, besides’ (Naev.); praestō [adv.] ‘available, ready’ (Pl.+).


PIE *preh2i ‘before’ (loc.sg. *preh2-i?). IE cognates: Gr. πάρα ‘besides, by, from,
praestōlor, -āre/-ārī 'to wait for, expect' [v. I] (Andr.+)  

Pit. *stūlo-?

PIE *stōl-o- ‘being ready, waiting’? IE cognates: Gr. στελλω ‘to put in order, make ready’, στόλος ‘equipment (of a campaign), troop’, στολή ‘armor, dress’, στολμός [m.] ‘equipment, clothing’, Arm. stelcamem ‘to create’, Alb. stiell ‘to wind up, reel up, collect’ (< *stel-n-); OPr. stallit ‘to stand’, OCS postolati, Is. posteljč, Ru. stlat ‘to spread’; PGm. *stalla- ‘place, stable’ (whence *stati-ija- ‘to place’) < *stol-no- or *sth₂-d³-lo-?

IEW explains the verb as *praestōdārī, built directly on the abl.sg. *praistōd > praestō [adv.] ‘ready, available’; thus also Steinbauer 1989: 255. This is ingenious, but a derivation from an abl.sg. form would be rather unique. Livingston 2004: 65f. proposes to analyse praestōlāre as a compound of (an originally directive adv.) praestō ‘to the ready’ and *al- ‘to wander’ (as in amb-ulāre). This is based on one Plautine instance where the verb means ‘to go to meet’ rather than ‘to wait’. Yet ‘to wander’ is a rather unspecified movement to convey the sense of ‘going to meet’, and the compounding process involved (with a ready-made adverb) is not impossible, but rare. An alternative analysis would be to derive -stōlā- from the PIE root *stel- ‘to arrange, place, spread’, the present being of the type cōnārī. The basis could have been an adj. *stōl-o- ‘being ready, waiting’ > *praistōlāje- ‘to wait for’.

Bibl.: WH II: 356f., EM 532, IEW 1004-1010, LIV *stel-... → praestō

prandium ‘lunch’ [n. o] (Pl+)

Derivatives: prandēre ‘to eat one’s morning or midday meal’ (Pl++; prandrī, prānsum), prānsor ‘who takes lunch’ (Pl+); imprānsus ‘not having had breakfast’ (Pl+), deprāns, -ndis ‘fasting’ (Naev.).


PIE *prh₁-mo- ‘first’. IE cognates: OPr. pirmas, Lith. pirmas ‘first’, Go. fruma, OS formo, OE forma ‘first’.

Prandium < *pramo-ed-io- ‘first meal’. Livingston 2004: 68 explains deprāns from an agent noun *prāns < *pram-ed-s ‘eating first’. The resulting stem *prand- could have formed the basis for the formation of prandēre.

prätum 'meadow' [n. o] (Pl.+)

PIt. *prâto-.

PIE *prh₁-to- ‘allotted’?

WH and IEW connect OIr. ráith, ráth ‘earthen wall’ < *(p)rāt-, but this is semantically un compelling. Steinbauer 1989: 252, note 14, has suggested PIE *prh₁-to- ‘what has been allotted’, which is more attractive from the semantic side (cf. the etymology of Eng. meadow).


prävus ‘crooked, awry’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: prāviūs ‘crookedness, wickedness’ (Ter.+), dēprāvāre ‘to distort, pervert’ (Ter.+).

No etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 358, EM 533, IEW 843f.

prehendō, -ere ‘to grasp, seize’ [v. III; prehendī, prehēnsum] (Pl.++; contracted prendō Ter.+)

Derivatives: praeda ‘booty’ (Andr.+), praedārī ‘to acquire loot, plunder’ (Pl.+), praedātor ‘plunderer’ (Pl.+), praedātus, -īs ‘robbery’ (Pl.+), praedō ‘brigand, pirate’ (Pl.+), praedōnulus ‘little brigand’ (Cato); apprehendere / apprendere ‘to grasp, seize, attach’ (Pl.+), compre(he)ndere ‘to seize, find, embrace’ (Pl.+), dépre(he)ndere ‘to intercept, come upon’ (Pl.+), repre(he)ndere ‘to grasp, hold back, censure’ (Pl.+).

PIE *(prai-)xend- ‘to seize’ [pr.], *(prai-)xod-ā- ‘booty’.

PIE *g₃n(e)d- [pr.] ‘to grab’ >> *g₄nd-, *g₃od-h₂- [f.]. IE cognates: OIr. ro-geinn, MW genni ‘to be situated’ < PCI. *gan-n-d-e/o-; Gr. χανδάνω ‘to grab’, Alb. gjen ‘finds’, med. gjindet ‘is situated’; Go. du-ginnan ‘to begin’.

Praeda is usually explained as *prai-xed-ā- ‘what one acquires’, but Livingston 2004: 52 convincingly argues that the compound may rather contain an o-grade noun, thus *prai-xod-ā-. She explains prehendō as follows: *prai-xend- regularly contracted to *praind-, and further developed to *-prend- after preverbs: *kom-prend-. For the vowel development, cf. obscaenus, maybe aliēnus. From *-prend-, a new simplex *prendere resulted, which could alternatively be spellend prehendere, as in vehemens next to vēmens. Finally, shortening yielded prendere. The pf. and ppp. can be recent formations.


premō, -ere ‘to press’ [v. III; pf. pressī, ppp. pressum] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: pressāre ‘to press, weigh down’ (Pl.+), prēlum ‘wine or oil press, other kind of press’ (Cato+); comprimere ‘to press together, copulate, hold back’ (Pl.+), compressiō ‘sexual embrace, squeezing’ (Pl.+), compressus, -īs ‘sexual intercourse’ (Pl.+), dēprimere ‘to press down, sink’ (Pl.+), exprimere ‘to squeeze, stamp, express’
(Naev.), *imprimere* ‘to press, imprint’ (Enn.), *opprimere* ‘to squeeze, crush, overpower’ (Pl.), *oppressio* ‘taking by surprise, overpowering’ (Ter.), *oppressuncula* ‘a light squeeze’ (Pl.), *oppressus, -ūs* ‘crushing’ (Lucr.), *reprimere* ‘to check, repress’ (Pl.), *supprimere* ‘to hold back, withhold’ (Pl.).

Pit. *pres-.*


The pr. requires a stem *prem-*, whereas the pf. and ppp. seem to have *pres- or maybe *preT-*. Since the verb ‘to shiver’ shows the allomorphs *trem-* and *tres-* in PIE, most handbooks assume that *premō* : *press-* was formed on the model of *tremō* : *press-* (» *tremui*). *Prēlum* cannot reflect *premslo-*, so it must reflect *preslo-*. Leumann’s proposal *premslo-* is not very likely, since one would expect *premslo-*. Thus, the original stem would have been *pres-*, the pr. *prem-* being an innovation on the basis of *tremō*. Italic *pres-* might be an s-present to PIE *per-* ‘to hit’, but this remains guesswork.


**pretium** ‘reward, prize; penalty’ [n. o] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: *pretiosus* ‘expensive, precious’ (Pl. +).

Pit. *preti-o-* ‘exchange value’.


WH and IEW derive *pretium* from a preposition *preti*, with e-ablaut for *proti*. There is no viable alternative; see s.v. *interpres, -lis* ‘intermediary’ for the difficulties involved in the connection via a common preform.


**prex, -cis** ‘prayer, supplication’ [f. k] (Pl. +; usually pl. *precēs*)

Derivatives: *precāri* ‘to ask, pray’ (Andr. +), *precāriō* [adv.] ‘as a suppliant, asking a favour’ (Pl. +), *precātor* ‘suppliant’ (Pl. +); *comprecāri* ‘to pray to, invoke’ (Pl. +), *dēprecāri* ‘to beg the removal of, beg mercy’ (Pl. +), *dēprecātiō* ‘entreaty, plea’ (Pl. +).

Pit. *prek-.*

PIE *prek- [f.] ‘question’. IE cognates: W. *rheg* ‘gift; curse’ < PCI. *φρεκ-* (Hamp 1977); Skt. *prāś- [f.] ‘dispute, questioning, statement or assertion in a debate or lawsuit’, OAv. f(φ)rasā- [f.] ‘question’.

Root noun *prek-* to the root of *poscō* and *procus*.

Bibl.: WH II: 346, EM 534, IEW 821f., Sihler 1995: 116, LIV *prek-*. → *poscō,* *procus*

**prior** ‘in front, ahead, earlier’ [adj. comp. r] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: (1) *prīusuquam* [cj.] ‘earlier then, before’, *prīdem* [adv.] ‘formerly, long
ago' (Pl.+, prōdē [adv.] 'the day before, in the time preceding' (Pl.+); (2) prīmus 'furthest in front, foremost' (Naev.+), adprīmus 'the very first' (Andr.+), prīmāmus 'belonging to the first legion' (Cato+), prīmārius 'leading, excelling' (Pl.+), prīmatūs, -ūs 'supremacy' (Varro+), prīmitus [adv.] 'at first' (Lucil.+), prīmulus 'first' (Naev.), primōris [adj.] 'first member or part, nearest' (Cato+), princepš, -cipis 'fist, earliest, leading' (Pl.+), principium 'start, origin' (Pl.+), apprīmus 'very first, most excellent' (Andr.+); (3) prīscus 'ancient, of old' (Emn.+), prīstinus 'antique, ancient, previous' (Pl.+).


PIE *pr(e)i- [adv.]: (1) *prī-sam 'earlier, former', n. *prī-is, sup. *prī-isamo- 'first'...
at first’ < *pro-mom ‘primum’; O. pruter [adv.] ‘before’ < *prō-ter.


The form prōd- is recent and was probably built after re-C- : red-V- ‘back’. Short pro- occurs in some forms as a variant of prō-, but also in some older compounds, such as procul, probus, proprius, etc. Most of the Sabellic forms also go back to *prō-. Leumann regards *prō as the most original form, which was shortened to *pro already in PIE. Schrijver 1991, however, follows Beekes in assuming an ins.sg. *pro-h₁ (or *pr-oh₂?) beside *pro; Untermann 2000: 582 also assumes an ins.sg. Alternatively, one might suggest that *proH arose when *pro- stood before roots in *HC-.


**probrum** ‘abuse, reproach, insult’ [n. o] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: probra [adj. nom.acc.pl.n.] ‘degraded’ (Gell.); exprobrāre ‘to bring up as a reproach’ (Pl. +), exprobrātō ‘reproach(ing)’ (Ter. +), opprobrāre ‘to bring up as a reproach’ (Pl. +), opprobrāmentum ‘scandal’ (Pl.), opprobrium ‘reproach, insult’ (Lucr. +).

PIt. *pro-fr-o-.

PIE *bhr-o- ‘to bring’. IE cognates: Skt. pra-bhar-, Av. fra-bar- ‘to bring, offer’.

Originally an adj. *pro-fro- < PIE *pro-bhr-o- ‘what is brought up against someone (as a reproach)’.

Bibl.: WH II: 365f., EM 537, Hamp 1997: 125, LIV *bhr-er. → ferō

**probus** ‘excellent, good’ [adj. o/ā] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: (1) probitās ‘honesty, integrity’ (Pac. +); appropos ‘excellent’ (Caecil. +), improbus ‘of. poor quality, improper, greedy’ (Lex XII +); probāre ‘to approve of, commend, prove’ (Naev. +), probātō ‘approval, proof’ (Varro +), probābilis ‘commendable, plausible’ (Afran. +); appropos ‘to commend, endorse’ (Pl. +), comprobāre ‘to confirm, justify’ (Pl. +), improbāre ‘to reject, repudiate’; (2) superbus ‘proud, haughty’ (Naev. +), superbia ‘pride, disdain’ (Pl. +).


PIE *pro- *bhr-o-. IE cognates: Skt. pra-bhū- [adj.] ‘excelling, excellent’; Gr. υπέρφευ ‘excessively’ (Att.), υπερφυής ‘excessive’, υπερφιάλος ‘arrogant’ (if
< *-phuwalos with de Lamberterie), ύφεαρ ‘mistletoe’ (< *h₂iu-bʰe₂h₂u-r or *h₂iu-bʰē₂y-r (?) ‘ever-growing’).

The Sab. forms show that there was a Plt. form *profo-; hence, we must start from a thematized form in *-bʰy-o- < *-bʰHu-o-, with loss of the PIE laryngeal in the compound. In or after Plt., *w was lost after a labial obstruent (cf. aperio, operio). Skt. has a u-stem which might be an internal formation of Skt. Superbus is not found in Sab., which may be coincidental; but since superbus functions more or less as an antonym to probus, superbus might be an inner-Latin formation. De Lamberterie 1994: 334 has suggested that Gr. ύπέρφευ ‘excessively’ represent the same formation as superbus.


procerēs, -um ‘leaders, society’ [m.pl. r] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: proci, -um [pl.] ‘class of leading citizens in the Servian constitution’ (Cic., Fest.).

Plt. *proko- ‘who is at the front, leader’?

PIE *pro-k(o)- . IE cognates: Gr. πρόκα ‘immediately’, OCS prokB ‘remaining’, procb ‘remaining’ [adj.]; proče ‘further, then’ [adv.], Ru. prok ‘use, benefit’ [m.], próčij ‘other’ [adj.]; proč ‘away’ [adv.] < PIE *pro-k-(i)о-.

Unclear formation. According to WH, the gen.pl. procum shows that the stem was *prok(o)-, to which -er-es was added by analogy with pauperēs ‘the poor’. This explanation is of course ad hoc, but *prok(o)- does seem to be the older stem. Maybe procerēs did not replace *prok-ī, but *prok-erī, the pl. of the ero-derivative of the stem *prok(o)-.

Bibl.: WH II: 367, EM 537, IEW 810-816. → pro

prōçērus ‘tall, lofty’ [adj. o/ā] (Enn.+

Plt. *k(r)ēro-. :

PIE *kreh₁-ro- ‘growing’. IE cognates: see s.v. crēscō.

Schrijver regards the usual connection with crēscō as very uncertain, since it is not compelling that ‘tall’ derives from ‘growing upward’. I think this is too pessimistic. Rieken 2003: 45 reconstructs a PIE adj. *kērh₀ ‘growing’ which she recognizes in HLuw. zi+raɪ-la-mi-i ‘fruitful, thriving’ < *zīra- ‘growth’ < *kēro-. She analyzes prōcērus as orig. *‘having a high growth’ and sincērus *of one growth, unmixed, real’. This is possible, but the meaning ‘fruitful, thriving’ of HLuw. is less clearly connected with ‘to grow, increase’ than prōcērus. Hence, I still regard a dissimilation of *prō-krēros > prōcērus quite possible.


prōcul ‘some distance away, (far) away, apart’ [adv.] (Pl.+

Plt. *pro-k(w)o- ‘at the front’?

PIE *pro ‘in front of’.
Lat. *procul* might be a derivative of PIE *pro-ko- 'at the front', hence *prokelo-*. Schaffner 1996 compares PGm. *niyuula- 'down, directed downwards' < *ni-kue-lo- and Skt. *vīṣva- 'all, whole' < *ui-kṣo-, and posits *proculo- < *prokulo- < PIE *pro-kue-lo- 'somewhat to the front'. The only problem is the zero ending of *proculom* should yield *proculum*. Schaffner 1996: 163 suggests that *-um* may have dropped as in nihil and donec (this does not seem likely, since it only happens in frequent forms) or by analogy with simul and facul < n. *-li-. In that case, a preform *prokelom << *proko- would also be possible. Thus, this aspect of the etymology remains open.

Bibl.: WHII: 368, EM 537, IEW 810-816, Schaffner 1996: 162-171. → prō, re-

**procus** 'suitor, wooer' [m. o] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: procāre 'to urge, woo' (Andr. +), procāx 'impudent, undisciplined' (Pl. +), procītum 'to ask' (Andr.).

Plt. *prok-o-.

PIE *prok-o- 'who asks'. IE cognates: see s.v. poscō and prex.

Originally, *procus* meant 'who asks for marriage'. The form *procītum* points to a denom. *proctūre*.

Bibl.: WHII: 346, EM 534, IEW 821f., LIV *prek*-. → poscō, prex

**proelium** 'battle' [n. o] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: proeliāre 'to engage in battle' (Lucil. +), proeliāris 'of battles' (Pl. +).

Klingenschmitt 1980 posits a sound law *oweli > *owili > *oiili > -ễel-, for which only the PN Cloelius, Coelius and Boelius are adduced as evidence. *Proelium* would continue a form *pro-gwelio-*, with cognate forms such as MW ryvel, W. rhyfel 'war' < PCI. *ro-bel-, bel 'hits, strikes', erdīfel 'smites' (< *ari-dī-bel-), Lith. gēlti, 3s. gēlia 'ache, sting, bite', and OHG quelan 'to be in pain', OE cwelan 'to die'. Yet in the relative chronology, the Plt. lenition of *g* to *w* precedes the Latin development of *-owe/oCV- > *-ouCV- > -tiC-, so that one would expect *pro-gwelio- to yield *prūlium* or, like mōtus, *prōlium*. Klingenschmitt's proposal may be salvaged if the root sequence *wel-* was restored at a later stage, but no cognate forms are extant in Latin that would seem to conserve such a root. If we are to explain *proel-* from an earlier disyllabic sequence, the syllable boundary must have been present until quite recently. An alternative candidate would be a preform *pro-xel-io-*, but there is no PIE root *g-hel(H)- that comes to mind as a likely root.


**prope** 'near, near by, close' [adv.] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: propior 'nearer, closer' (Pl. +); proximus 'nearest, next' (Lex XII +); propter [adv; prep. + acc., + abl.] 'near, close by; because of, for the sake of' (Naev. +); propinquus 'near, neighbouring' (Pl. +), propinquāre 'to approach, be near' (Lucr. +), propinquitās 'nearness, kinship' (Pl. +); propitius 'well-disposed' (Naev. +), propitiāre 'to win over, soothe' (Pl. +), propitiābilis 'able to be propitiated' (Enn.).
The etymology of these forms has been solved by Dunkel 1980, who convincingly argues that *prope reflects an iterative preverb *propro ‘very much in front, near’, with dissimilatory loss of the second *r. Propior is its regular comparative, and proximus < *propsamo- may be explained as a replacement of the unusual sequence *psimos by *ksimos (British Celtic shows a sound change *ps > *ks in W. uchel ‘high’ < *oupselo-, but an Italo-Celtic date for this change would place the loss of the second *r in *propro very early, which is unlikely). The adv. propter < *prope-ter cannot be separated from prope semantically. Dunkel’s explanation of propitius < *prope-tio- also seems superior to previous explanations of this adj. The suffix of propinquus is not completely clear: was it built as an antonym to relinquere ‘to leave, abandon’?

Bibl.: WHII: 371-373, EM 538f, IEW 810-816, Dunkel 1979, 1980. → prō, re-

proprīus ‘one’s own, peculiar, specific’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+) Derivatives: proprītīm ‘particularly’ (Lucr.), proprīassit ‘proprium fecerit’ (Fest. 229M). PIt. *prījo- ‘own, dear’, *prījāje/o- ‘to make one’s own’.


Forssman 2004 has elaborated the connection with *priH- ‘to be dear’, Slt. priyā-, which seems the most likely etymology. Since pro- can hardly be explained as a nominal prefix, he argues that it was prefixed to *prīus from the verb *pro-priāre, of which the hapax propriāsīt in Festus (belonging to the s-pr. in -ass- which was unproductive in CLat.) would be a remnant. The adv. proprītīm might conceal an old ti-stem *priH-ti-, which is also continued in Ir.

Bibl.: WHII: 373f., EM 539f., IEW 829, Forssman 2004, LIV *preiH-.

prosperus ‘prosperous, successful’ [adj. o/ā] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: prosperāre ‘to succeed, further’ (Pl.+).

PIt. *pros-paro-.


A combination of pro plus PIE *sph₁-ro- ‘thriving’, or a ro-derivative of a PIE compound verb *pro-sph₁- ‘to thrive’.

Bibl.: WHII: 375f., EM 540, IEW 983f., Schrijver 1991: 93, LIV *sp₁eh₁-. → spēs
protervus 'bold, violent; impudent' [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+; var. proptervus (Pl., Pac.) is older)

Derivatives: protervitās 'boldness' (Ter.+).

Plt. *propetes-wo-.

PIE *pet-os, -es- [n.] 'impetus, haste'. IE cognates: Gr. -πέτης 'flying'; see s.v. peto.

The older etymologies with *pet-r/n- 'wing' are semantically unsatisfactory. Rix 1981: 118 (= 2001: 286) proposes a preform *propetes-yo- with regular change of *su to rv. The preform would be a contamination of *pro-petēs 'inclined, hasty' (Gr. προπετής 'falling down, precipitate') and *petes-yo- 'provided with impetus'. This seems at least better than other solutions.

Bibl.: WH II: 377, EM 541, IEW 825f., LIV 2.*peth2-.

prūna 'hoar-frost, rime' [f. ā] (Pac.+)

Plt. *prus-wo- 'freezing'.


Hamp 1973 discusses the etymology at length, and concludes that the most likely development is the following: *pruṣūna > *pruṛwīna > *pṛawīna (dissimilation of r) > *priūna > pruīna. Skt. pruśvā may preserve the nominal basis, derived from the verb which is still attested in Germanic (see prūriō); from this nominal basis, an adj. in *-iηο- was derived in Latin.


prūrlō, -ire 'to itch, tingle' [v. IV] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: priūna 'glowing charcoal' (Cato+).

Plt. *prus-je/o- 'to itch', *prus-no- 'itching'.

PIE *preus-i-, *prus-no- '(cold and) wet, itching'. IE cognates: W. rhew, Bret. rev, reo 'frost' < *preuso-, Skt. pruṣumvānti [3p.act.], pruṣnute [3s.med.], aor. pruṣā [1s.sb.act.], ppp. pruṣitā- 'to (be)sprinkle, wet'; maybe Lith. praūšti 'to wash', SCr. piskati, Sln. piskati 'to splash' < *prus-sk-; Go. frīus [m./n.] 'frost', Olc. frjósa 'to freeze' < Pgm. *freus-, Olc. OHG OE frost < Pgm. *frusta- 'frost'.

The meaning 'to be wet, itch' was metaphorically also applied to high temperatures, hence 'burning' in priūna.

Bibl.: WH II: 379, EM 541, IEW 846, Hamp 1973, LIV *preus-. → prūna

-ptē 'emphasis' [ptc.] (Naev.+: meōpte, meāpte, tuōpte, tuāpte, etc.)

Plt. *-pe/o-te.

PIE *-pe/o + *-te. IE cognates: Lith. -pāt.

Occurs mainly after poss. adj. (meus, tuus, suus) and sporadically after personal pronouns and is. Traditionally, -pte is explained as a syncopated form of *-pote < *poṭi 'master', in the sense of 'self'. Dunkel 2005 rejects this derivation because "no
specific parallel for the bleaching of ‘master’ to limiting ‘exactly, precisely, just, -self’ or even a plausible ambiguous environment in which this change might have occurred has ever been suggested” (p. 182). Instead, he proposes to connect -pte with Latin -pote in utpote (but to me the indefinite analysis of -pote here seems preferable), with Gr. “emphatic or limiting” pote (which Dunkel separates from interrogative/indefinite pote), Hit. -pat < *pat(V) (not *-i), Lith. -pât and BrCl. *-pVtV as per Klingenschmitt 1980: 218-220. Kloekhorst 2008: 652f. argues that the spelling of Hit. -pat after vowels indicates that it contained a lenis first consonant, and hence cannot reflect PIE *p-. Kloekhorst proposes *-ḅod. The British forms on which Klingenschmitts reconstruction is based (nom.sg.m. MW hunnoid, Bret. hennenh ‘that’) have received a different explanation by Schrijver 1997b: 66-70. That Gr. note represents two different words is uncertain and uneconomical. Still, for Latin and Lithuanian, Dunkel’s analysis could be right. Ultimately, he analyzes *-pote as “an extension of adversative 2. *pó- by means of the adverbial ending *-te.” This analysis is worth considering, especially since *poti ‘master’ is indeed awkward for Latin; but in view of Latin -pe, an origin *-pe-te is also conceivable.


pubēs, -is ‘adult population, company; puberty; private parts’ [f. ē] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: pubēs, -eris ‘grown-up, adult’ (Cic.+); impubēs, -eris/-is [adj.] ‘who has not reached puberty’ (Lucr.+); pubēscere ‘to come to maturity, ripen; grow to manhood’ (Enn.+); pubertās ‘puberty, virility’ (Cic.+); publicus ‘of the people, public, state’ (Naev.+), publicāmus [adj.] ‘contractor, publican’ (Pl.+), publicitus ‘publicly, at public expense’ (Pl.+), publicāre ‘to make public property, exhibit’ (Naev.+).

IE cognates: Skt. pūmāṃs- ‘male, man’ (nom.sg. pūmān, acc. pūmāṃsam (< *pu-mos-m), loc.pl. pumāṃsā), Shughnī pūm ‘down’ (< Plr. *paumāh < IE *pēumōs?).

The adj. publicus has adopted ū from pubēs, with which it was secondarily associated. Originally it was *popliko-, as shown by the OLat. spellings poplicod, publicai (CIL), and was derived from populus. Since pubēs, -eris probably continues an s-stem, and since poss.-s-stem adjectives with the ablaut nom.sg. *-ēs, gen.sg. *-es-os were compounds in PIE, it is assumed that impubēs was the older form, from which pubēs was back-formed. Adams 1985a has proposed to connect pubēs with Skt. pūmāṃs- ‘man, male’, deriving both from a root *pu- ‘pubic hair’. The meaning ‘man’ could then be explained from ‘having pubic hair’. Latin -b- would have arisen from the PIE adj. *pumrō-, replaced by full grade *peumrō- whence phonetically Lat. *peubro- > püber- arose. The -b- was then introduced into *(im)pūmēs. The main inner-Latin drawback of this explanation is the chronology of attestations: pubēscere and publicus are attested in OLat., whereas (im)pubēs only appear from Lucr. onwards. Stüber 2002 adduces further arguments against Adams’ expanation from Skt. and PIE morphology. Schrijver 1991 favours the older explanation by Pedersen from a compound of *pu- ‘man’ (as in Skt. pūmān?) and *dēh₁- ‘to put’ (for the formation, cf. plēbēs), e.g. *pe/ou-dēh₁; but the analysis of the first element remains unclear.

pudeō ‘to be ashamed’ [v. II; pf. pudui] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: pudor, -ōris ‘shame, decency’ (Pl. +), pudicus ‘sexually pure, chaste’ (Pl. +), pudicitia ‘chastity, virtue’ (Pl. +), impudēns ‘shameless’ (Andr.+), impudentia ‘shamelessness, immodesty’ (Pl. +), impudicus ‘unchaste, immoral’ (Pl. +), impudicitia ‘unchastity’ (Pl. +); dépudicāre ‘to violate the chastity of’ (Lab.), dispudet ‘to be utterly ashamed’ (Pl. +), propudium ‘shameful creature or action’ (Pl. +), propudiōsus ‘shameful’ (Pl. +), repudium ‘rejection, divorce’ (Pl. +), repudiāre ‘to reject formally, refuse’ (Pl. +), repudiōsus ‘liable to be rejected’ (Pl. +).

Plt. *pud-ē- ‘to be ashamed or shy or honourable’.

WH connect paviō ‘to hit’, whereas EM hesitatingly refer to PIE *speud- ‘to press, hurry’. The latter is semantically more attractive, but this root is not otherwise attested without initial *s-. Another conceivable semantic connection would be with paveō ‘to be frightenened’. But the root *pu- itself is not certainly reconstructed for PIE, and we would have to add a root enlargement *-d-.

Bibl.: WH II: 381, EM 542f., 571, IEW 827.

puer ‘boy’ [m. o] (Andr. +; also puerus Pl., Caecil.)

Derivatives: puera ‘girl’ (Andr. +), puerculus ‘little son’ (Pl. +), puerīlis ‘of a boy/child’ (Pl. +), puerīlitās ‘childhood’ (Varro+), pueritia ‘boyhood’ (Ter. +), puella ‘girl, young woman’ (Pl. +), puellula ‘girl’ (Ter. +), puellāscere ‘to become girlish’ (Varro), puellitāri ‘to act like a girl’ (Lab.), puellus ‘young boy’ (Pl. +); repuerāscere ‘to become a boy again’ (Pl. 1x).

Plt. *puwero-.

PIE *pha₂u-ero- ‘smaller’. Lat. puella < *puere-la ‘little girl’. Since PIE *pha₂u-ero- would possibly yield pre-Lat. *pawero-, puer may have been built more recently to the Plt. root *pau-, *pu- ‘small, young’. Alternatively, puer was built to a stem ‘masculine / pubic’ possibly found in pūbēs.

Bibl.: WH II: 382, EM 543, IEW 842f. → paucus, pūbēs

pulcher ‘beautiful’ [adj. o/a] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: pulchrālia [n.pl.] ‘delicacies’ (Cato), pulchritūdō ‘beauty’ (Pl. +), pulchritās ‘beauty’ (Caecil.+); perpulcher ‘very beautiful’ (Ter.+).

Maybe earlier polcher, according to Prisc. and CIL. The spelling -ch- is Hellenizing, hence we can posit a stem *polkro- or *pelkro-. WH and IEW assume that this belongs to PIE *perk- ‘variegated’ with a dissimilation of *perk-ro- to *pelk-ro-, but one would rather expect a dissimilation of the second *r to *perko- in such a case. No etymology.


pūlex, -icis ‘flea’ [m. k] (Andr. +)

Plt. *pulxl-.

PIE *plus- ‘flea’? IE cognates: Skt. plūṣi-, Sogd. ỉβ̣s’h < Plr. *frsā-, Yidgha friyō < Plr. *fruši-kā-, Gr. γύλλα (< *psul-), Arm. low (< PIE *plus); Alb. plesht [m.]; Lith.
The many different forms of ‘flea’ seem to belong together, but it is impossible to reconstruct one PIE preform. Taboo deformation and folk etymology often interfere with the names of insects. Latin pul- might reflect *pusl-, with metathesis from *plus-.

Bibl.: WH II: 385, EM 544, IEW 102.

**pullus** ‘drab-coloured, sombre’ [adj. o/ə] (Andr. +)

Plt. *polwo-.

PIE *p(o)i-l·-u-o- ‘gray’. IE cognates: Skt. parusā- ‘grey, grey-brown’, YAv. pouruša- ‘grey (of hair)’ < *pelo/lo(H)-u-so-, Gr. πολιὼς ‘grey, grizzled’ (< *πολ(ε)-)δο-).

Has been derived from the same root as palleō (itself not completely clear), but the semantics of ‘pale’ and ‘sombre’ are not necessarily connected, and the sequence pull- is difficult to combine with pull-. IEW states that (expected) *pol- < *pl- was changed into pul- under the influence of p-, but this is an ad hoc assumption which is furthermore contradicted by polluiceō and polluō (to mention only the examples of *poll- plus a back vowel). Nussbaum 1997 proposes to connect pullus with PIE *pelo/lo-(i/ν- ‘gray, dark colour’ found in other languages; this seems the best solution proposed so far. Similarly, Driessen 2005: 46f:


**pulmo** ‘lungs’ [m. n] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: *pulmoneus ‘consisting of the lung’ (Pl. +).

Plt. *pleu-mōn?


Two etymologies are mostly found in the handbooks. It has been suggested that pulmo goes back with metathesis to *pleu-mō, and was borrowed from Gr. πλευμόνων. This has the disadvantage that we expect a long vowel *plūmō, and furthermore, that the word for ‘lung’ is not often borrowed (which does not exclude the possibility, of course). The other option is that pulmo continues an inherited adj. *pleu-mō ‘the floating one’ (since lungs float on water); we would then still expect an outcome *plūmō, maybe with metathesis *pulmō. Alternatively, one could posit *pleu-mōn with the zero grade of *pleu-; still, a metathesis to *pulmōn would have to be assumed.


**pulpa** ‘fleshy parts of a body, best part of the meat’ [f. ə] (Cato +)

Derivatives: *pulpāmentum ‘small piece of meat’ (Andr. +), pulmentum ‘small portion of meat or fish to start a meal’ (Pl. +), *pulmentārium ‘condiment of a pulmentum’ (Cato +).

U. shows that the vowel in the first syllable was *e, hence *pelpa- and *pelp-mento-

puis, -ltis 'kind of porridge' [f. t] (Cato+)
Derivatives: *pultipagus 'eating porridge' (Pl.).
Plt. *polt-i-.
IE cognates: Gr. πόλτος 'porridge'.
Since *pult- can reflect *polt-, puis is suspect of being a loan from Gr. πόλτος 'porridge'. Yet Gr. o-stems are usually borrowed into Latin as o-stems, so there must be more to puis. EM consider an Etruscan mediary, which cannot be ascertained. Since πόλτος itself does not have an IE etymology, both words may go back to a basis *polt-, Latin to an i-stem *polli-. The root *pol(H)- 'flour' can then be compared with *pollen < *pol(H)-n-. Putative *pol(H)- 'flour' might be a loanword from a Mediterranean language, or belong to as yet unknown PIE root.
Bibl.: WH II: 387f., EM 545, IEW 802. → pollen

puvis, -eris 'dust' [m. r] (Pl.+
Derivatives: pulvisculus 'dust' (Pl. +), pulverāre 'to be dusty; pulverize' (Pl. +), pulverulentus 'dusty' (Varro+), pulvīnus 'cushion, pillow' (Pl. +), pulvīnāris [n.] 'support for a beached ship; cushioned couch' (Pl. +), pulvīnāris 'of a cushion' (Varro+); dispersūlēre 'to pulverize' (Naev.).
Plt. *pe/olH-u-('chaff'). IE cognates: see s.v. palea.
Pulvis may reflect *pe/ol(V)w-is-, with a rare is-stem which may have been adopted from cinis, -eris 'ashes'. WH and IEW derive pulvis from PIE *peH-u- (h2) 'chaff' seen in Skt. paḷāva- 'chaff, husk', OPr. pelwo, Lith. pėlūs 'chaff', Ru. polova (see s.v. palea), but Schrijver 1991 objects that the semantic connection of 'dust' with 'chaff' is uncompelling. In my view, it is also difficult to connect 'flour' and 'chaff', since they are each other's opposite when processing grain. Of course, via a primary meaning 'to grind' or 'fine dust', they may be connected. Thus, it remains possible to derive pulvis from *pe/olH-u- (> Plt. *pe/olHw-), but not from *polHu- > PIE *polu- (Saussure's effect), since *polw- would yield Lat. *poll-. The noun pulvīnus can stem from *polHis-no-: a pillow used to be filled with straw or chaff.

pūmex, -icus 'pumice' [m. k] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: pūmecus 'of pumice' (Pl. +), pūmicāre 'to rub smooth with pumice' (Lucil. +).
Plt. *pōim-Vk-.
PIE *(s)pōH-im- 'foam'.
EM argue that the close similarity of pumice with a sponge explains why *(s)pōim- 'foam' was used for 'pumice'. But since spūma does not mean 'sponge', one might more
safely argue that pumice looks like petrified foam, and that this explains the metaphor.

Bibl.: WH II: 388f., EM 545, IEW 1001. → spūma

pūmīlus 'dwarf, pygmy' [adj. o/a] (Mart.+)  
Derivatives: pūmīliō 'dwarf, midget' (Lucr.++; CIL poum-).  
IE cognates: Gr. πῦγμαίος 'as large as a fist, dwarf-like; pl. pygmies' (from πυγμή ‘fist’); Πυγμαλίων PN, maybe originally a non-IE loanword.

According to EM, pūmiliō was the primary form, from which pūmīlus was back-formed. For pūmiliō, the morphology suggests a borrowing from the Greek PN Πυγμαλίων, but this was rejected by WH, who doubt the change of *-ugm- > -iūm-. If direct borrowing from the Greek PN is rejected (note that pūmiliō is not a PN), one might save the borrowing hypothesis by supposing that the Romans borrowed πυγμή ‘fist’ as *pūmē and derived pūmiliō ‘who is only of the size of a fist’ from it, or that they borrowed an (unattested) Greek noun *πυγμιλός. For Latin gm > mm, cf. flamma. Quite differently, Adams 1985b: 244 interprets pūmiliō as ‘little hairy one’ and connects it with pūbēs ‘pubic hair, body hair’ which might reflect *peum-. Morphologically, this interpretation would be easier.

Bibl.: WH II: 389, EM 545. → pūbēs

pungō 'to pierce, sting' [v. Ill.; pf. pugūgī, ppp. pūnctum] (Naev.+)  
Derivatives: pūnctáriola ‘skirmish’ (Cato apud Fest.), expungere ‘to prick thoroughly; cancel a debt’ (Pl.⁺); pūgūo ‘dagger, poniard’ (Cic.⁺); pugil, -is [m.] ‘boxer’ (Ter.⁺), pugilicē ‘like a boxer’ (Pl.), pūgilātus, -ūs ‘boxing’ (Pl.⁺), pugilātorius ‘used in boxing’ (Pl.); pūgnus ‘fist’ (Pl.⁺), pugillus ‘handful’ (Cato⁺), pugillāris ‘writing-tablet (small enough to hold in the hand)’ (Lab.⁺); pūgna ‘fight’ (Naev.⁺), pūgnāre ‘to fight, combat’ (Pl.⁺), pūgnāculum ‘bulwark’ (Pl.), pugneus ‘made of fists’ (Pl.), dēpūgnāre ‘to fight, do battle’ (Pl.⁺), dēpūgnātio ‘method of fighting a battle’ (Cato), expūgnāre ‘to capture, storm’ (Pl.⁺), oppūgnāre ‘to attack, oppose’ (Pl.⁺), prōpūgnāre ‘to fight in defence of’ (Varro⁺), prōpūgnāculum ‘bulwark, defence’ (Pl.⁺), repūgnāre ‘to fight back, defend’ (Pac.⁺).

Plt. *pung- ‘to pierce, sting’, *puk/g-n(o)- ‘fist’.  
PIE *pu-n(e)-g/k-. IE cognates: Gr. πυξ ‘with the fist’, πυγμή [f.] ‘fist, fist-fight’, πυγών, -όνος [m.] ‘certain measure, distance from the elbow to the first finger-joint’; ἔχε-πυκης ‘with a point’, πεύκη [f.] ‘pine-tree’.

The nasal present can go back to a root *pug- or to *puk-, with voicing of the velar stop between nasals. In the latter case, pugil and pūgīo would have secondarily adopted this g; yet in view of the difference in meaning, *pug- seems to have been present separately from pungō, and with the meaning ‘fist’. The noun pugillus presupposes *pug-en-lo- and hence an original n-stem; Lat. pūgnus and pūgna (length of ū is automatic in front of -gn-) may then be derived from the n-stem. But they may also reflect *puk/g-no-. The meaning of pugnāculum suggests that it is an abbreviated form of prōpugnāculum, rather than an immediate derivative of pugnāre (Serbat 1975: 194).

Bibl.: WH II: 383f., EM 543-546, IEW 828, Meiser 2003: 189, LIV *peu(g)².
pūpa 'girl; doll' [f. ē] (Varro+)

Derivatives: pūpus 'boy' (Varro+), pūpula 'little girl, pupil of the eye' (Iucr.+), pūpulus 'little boy' (Cat.+), pūpilla 'little girl; pupil of the eye' (Iucr.+), pūpillus 'minor, ward' (Cato+).

According to EM, the f. forms are original, while the m. forms are sporadic derivatives from them. This remains uncertain. The forms pūpal/us seem to be a reduplicated form of *pū- as found in puer.IEW derives pūpa from a root for 'to inflate', which is theoretically possible; but in view of the productivity of reduplication in Latin when it comes to affective words ('father', 'mother', etc.), a connection with other words in *pū- seems preferable.

Bibl.: WH II: 389f., EM 546, IEW 847f. → puer

puppis 'stem of a boat, poop' [f. i] (Pl.+)

No etymology.


pūr(i)gō, -āre 'to clean, clear' [v. I] (Pl.+; pūrigāre in Pl., Varro)

Derivatives: pūrgāmentum 'means of cleansing; that which is cleaned away, rubbish' (Varro+), pūrgātiō 'ridding, clearing' (Cato+); expūrgāre 'to free from dirt or blame, purify' (Pl.+), expūrgātiō 'cleaning, excuse' (Pl.+), perpūrgāre 'to clean thoroughly, purge' (Pl.+; Pl. perpūrigāre).


PIE *pēh₂-ur [nom.acc.], ph₂-uen-s [gen.] 'fire'. IE cognates: Hit. pahhur / pahhuen-[n.] 'fire, embers, fever', CLuw. pāhur- [n.] 'fire?' < *pēh₂-ur, *ph₂-uen-; Gr. πῦp, gen. τοῦρος, Arm. howr, Go. fon, gen. funins, Olc. funi [m.] Olc. fūr, fyrr, fyri, OHG OS Fr. fiur, OHG also fuir 'fire'; ToA por, ToB pwār, pwār 'fire'.

Since Lat. pūrigāre does not show a medial long vowel which one would expect from *pūro-ago-, it will contain the word for 'fire' *pūr- (rather than *pūro- 'clean') and have meant 'to lead the fire about' (so as to purify); thus Dunkel 2000a: 94. The noun 'fire' is also attested in U. pir, pur-. According to Janda 2000: 44-46, PIE *pēh₂ur 'fire' might refer to the 'striking' of sparks used to light a fire.

Bibl.: WH II: 390f., EM 546f., IEW 828, Untermann 2000: 557f., LIV *pjeh₂-. → paviō, pūrus

pūrus 'clean, pure' [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: impūrus 'dirty, foul' (Pl.+), impūritia 'impurity' (Pl.+), impūrātus 'filthy' (Pl.+).

Plt. *pūro- 'pure'.

PIE *ph₂-u-ro- 'clear, cleansed'. IE cognates: OIr. úr, W. ir 'green, fresh' < *pūro- 'clean', Skt. pávate [3s.med.] 'to become clean', punāti [3s.act.] 'to clean', YAv. pūtika- 'serving for purification', OHG fouwen, fewen 'to sieve, to sift'; Lith. pūras, pūrai 'winter corn', Latv. pūrs 'grain measure', RuCS pyro 'spelt', Ru. pyřej 'couch-grass', Gr. πῦρ, Dor. σπῦρος 'wheat' [m.] < *pHro- 'wheat' (< *clean?).
Latin and Celtic show a stem *pūro- ‘clean’ which is cognate with Ir. *puH- ‘to clean’. Janda 2000: 39-43 connects this with the Gr. and BSl. words for ‘wheat’. He argues that wheat was referred to as ‘pure’ or ‘cleansed’ because the grains could be separated from the hulls more easily than in the case of other, older kinds of grain. He connects Lat. paviō and posits an original root *peh₂- ‘to strike’, with u-extension *peh₂u-. The meaning ‘to clean’ would have developed through cleaning by means of striking. Thus, we would have *peh₂u- ‘to strike’ > ‘to clean’, *puH-ro- ‘clean’ > Gr., BSl. ‘wheat’.

According to Weiss 1996b, the hapax salapūtium in Catullus may also belong here. He explains it as a loanword from O. *salapūtim ‘purification of salt’ < *sal-pūt-io-, derived in Oscan from a cp. *sal-pūt- ‘purifier of salt’ < *-puH-t- ‘who purifies’. In the Catullus passage, ‘purification of salt’ would be a metaphor for ‘refinement of wit’.


pūs, pūris ‘pus’ [n. r] (Lucil.+

Derivatives: pūrulentus ‘with much pus’ (Cato+); suppūrāre ‘to fester under the surface’ (Cato+); pūtēre ‘to rot, stink’ (Pl.+), pūtīdus ‘rotting, rotten’ (Pl.+), pūtēscere ‘to begin to rot’ (Cato+), expūtēscere ‘to rot away’ (Pl.+), pūtor ‘rottenness’ (Cato+); puter-, -tris [adj.] ‘rotten, foul, crumbling’ (Andr.+), putrēre ‘to be in a state of decay’ (Pac.+), putrēscere ‘to decay, toisintegrate’ (Varro+), putrefacere ‘to cause to rot’ (Varro+), putridus ‘rotten’ (Caecil.+


Nom.acc.sg. pūs may be due to generalization of *puH-s- from the gen.sg., or to a phonetic development *puus > *puus > pūs in the nom.sg. The forms pūtēre etc. are probably based on a ppp. *pu to- to the root *puH-. For puter and its possible Olr. cognate othar, Schrijver 1991 is hesitant to choose between *Hū-tro/i- and *puH-tro/i-. In either case, the short vowel resulting in Italo-Celtic is surprising.


pustula ‘blister, pustule, bubble’ [f. ā] (Tibullus+; variants pūsula, pussula)

Derivatives: praepūtium ‘foreskin of the penis’ (Varro+).

IE cognates: PIE *pūs-: Skt. pu yatı ‘thrive, flourish’, Lith. pūstē ‘blister, bladder’, Ru. pu xlyj ‘chubby’, puxmut ‘to swell’, Norw. føy sa ‘swell’; PIE *put-: Lith. pūst i, 3s.pr. pu nta, pret. pūto ‘to swell’, Lith. pūsti, 3s. pūc ia ‘to blow’ (with analogical long vowel).
Might be related to PIE words continuing *put- ‘to blow’ or *pus- ‘to blossom, swell’, but nothing specific can be said about the relationship, which in any case is uncertain because the semantics are not compelling. The appurtenance of praepūtium *what is at front of the *pūt(o)-’ (Weiss 1996b: 355) here is uncertain, but a denomination of ‘penis’ as ‘which swells’ is conceivable.

Bibl.: WH II: 392, EM 547, IEW 847f.

puteus ‘well (for water), pit’ [m. o] (Pl.+)  
Derivatives: puteālis ‘of a well’ (Lucr.+), puticuli [m.pl.] ‘a pauper’s graveyard’ (Varro+), Puteoli [m.pl.] ‘town near Naples’ (Varro+), Puteolānus ‘of Puteoli’ (Cato+).

Short u makes it impossible to directly derive puteus from paviō ‘to strike’. It might be related to putāre ‘to prune’, but this is semantically less attractive, and the suffix -eus can then hardly be interpreted as indicating a material. Therefore, puteus may well be a loanword.

Bibl.: WH II: 393, EM 547, IEW 827.

putā-, -āre ‘to prune (trees), scour (wool); make up (accounts), think, reckon’ [v. I] (Pl.+)  
Derivatives: putus ‘pure, genuine’ (Pl.); putātor ‘who trims trees or bushes’ (Varro+), putātiō ‘pruning, opinion’ (Varro+), putāmen ‘outer cover, shell’ (Pl.); amputāre ‘to cut off, prune away’ (Lucil.), computāre ‘to calculate, reckon’ (Pl.), dēputāre ‘to complete the pruning; regard as, assign’ (Pl.), disputāre ‘to argue, debate’ (Pl.), exputāre ‘to cut off; examine thoroughly’ (Pl.), interputāre ‘to prune here and there’ (Cato+), perputāre ‘to give a clear outline of’ (Pl.), suppūtāre ‘to prune below, reckon’ (Cato+).

Plt. *puto- ‘cut off, clean’.  
PIE *pHu-tō-.

The adj. putus must be the primary word of this family, putāre the verbal derivative. Its original meaning clearly was ‘to cut off unwanted branches, prune a tree’, whence ‘to ponder over, reckon’. On the hapax perputāre, see Kümmel 2004b: 353. The short vowel in putus is ascribed to original oxytonesis by Schrijver 1991. For the reconstruction of the root, see s. v. paviō. If Lith. pjauti goes back to *paut-, the root must be *phu-; but LIV posits *phu2- on account of Gr. πταίω ‘to thrust’, ToB pjakar ‘they struck down’. Latin putus does not allow to decide between *h₁ and *h₂.

Bibl.: WH II: 393f., EM 548, IEW 827, Schrijver 1991: 241, LIV *pieh₂-. → paviō

putus ‘boy’ [m. o] (Verg. – a conjecture)  
Derivatives: putillus ‘very young, tiny’ (Pl.); pullus ‘foal, chick, young of an animal’ (Pl.), pullittra ‘young chicken’ (Varro), pullārius ‘of chickens’ (Pl.); pūsus ‘boy’ (Varro+), pūsa ‘girl’ (Varro+), pullūsus ‘very small, tiny’ (Naev.+).


Lat. pullus < *put-slo-, as shown by the dim. pusillus < *pussillo- < *putslo-lo-. Thus, whereas Sabellic continues PIE *putlo-, Latin has inserted an -s-. The dim. putillus was productively built to putus. The latter seems the most basic form *puto-, but it is attested only in Empirical Latin in a conjectural form. The form pūsus might be a back-formation to pusillus. Romance continues a VLat. preform *pūtus with the characteristic geminate consonant of expressive words. A connection of the stem *put- with puer is difficult to establish.


quaerō, quaesō ‘to seek, request’ [v. III; pf. quaesīvī, ppp. quaesītum] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: quaerītāre ‘to keep looking for, seek’ (Pl.+); quaesitiō ‘searching’ (Pl.+), quaesitiō ‘examination, inquiry’ (Pl.+), quaestōr ‘magistrate, quaestor’ (Pl.+), quaestus, -ūs ‘the gaining or pursuit of income’ (Pl.+), quaestuōsus ‘lucrative, successful’ (Pl.+), quaesticulus ‘petty profit’ (Lucil.+); quaeserē [pr. tantum] ‘to seek, request’ (Naev.+); conqūrēre ‘to collect, hunt down’ (Varro+), conqūsītor ‘inspector’ (Pl.+), exqūrēre ‘to ask about, inquire’ (Pl.+), exqūsītim ‘with diligence’ (Varro), inqūrēre ‘to investigate’ (Pac.+), inqūsītus ‘unexamined’ (Naev.+), perqūrēre ‘to search everywhere’ (Pl.+), perqūsītor ‘one who hunts out’ (Pl.), requīrēre ‘to seek, inquire’ (Pl.+), requīrītāre ‘to seek repeatedly’ (Pl.).


PIE *kueh2-i- [pr.] ‘to acquire’. IE cognates: Gr. πεπάμαι (Dor. Argos), fut. πάσομαι ‘to get, acquire’; OPr. qui ‘I, you want’, quāits ‘desire’, Lith. kvēsti ‘to invite’; Possibly also OAlb. 3s. kaa ‘he has’ < PIE *kuois-e [pf.] ‘has got’ (thus Matzinger 2003).

The etymology as *kuois- to *kueis- ‘to seek’ is deemed uncertain by Schrijver 1991. LIV adopts the etymology proposed by Szemerényi 1960b: 232, viz. as *ko-a-is-(s)-e/o- to PIE *h2eis- ‘to ask, seek’. Yet the preverb *ko(m)- is usually still recognizable as such. Nussbaum (2007b) proposes to analyze quaerō as a selo-pr. to an i-pr. *kueh2-i- to a root *kueh2- ‘to acquire’. For this root, he compares Gr. πέπαμαι (Dor. Argos), fut. πάσομαι ‘to possess, to acquire’ < *kueh2-. The pr. quaesō can be interpreted as a recharacterized, new desiderative *kuaes-s-e/o-. This seems to

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me the best proposal to date. Leumann 1977: 591 suggests that the suffix -Γ- in quaesivi, -ίτος would have been analogically adopted from semantic neighbours such as cupiēre and petere, -ίβι. But the -ί-pf. is well-established in Plautus for quaesivi, whereas it is found only a few times with petō and not at all yet with cupiō. Hence, things may be reversed: quaerō seems to be the origin of the -ί-pf. in petō and cupiō. The -s- in quaesivi can then continue an s-aorist *kyais-s-. The original ppp. must have been *kwaistos.


quālus/m ‘wicker basket’ [m./n. o] (Pl.+; pl. quāla Cato)
Derivatives: quasillum/s ‘small wicker basket’ (Cato+).
Plt. *kwat-slo- ‘sieve, filter’?
PIE *kwot-i-?

Lat. quasillum < *quats-l-e-lo- (for the phonetics, cf. pullus vs. pusillius; Leumann 1977: 208). Lat. quālus has often been compared with OCS košt ‘big basket of wickerwork’ < *kʷos-jo-. In that case, Lat. quālus /cōlum would go back to *kʷos-lo-, with *uo > *ua in the case of quālus. But it is unlikely that *sl had become *l before this unrounding (which was Proto-Italic, cf. Schrijver 1991: 475), in which case the condition for the unrounding (viz. an open syllable) was not given. A connection with quatiō ‘to shake, toss’, which is rejected by WH, is advocated by Leumann 1977: 208, and seems quite conceivable to me: cf. Dutch door-slag ‘sieve’ to slaan ‘to beat’. This would imply an instrument noun *kwat-slo- ‘sieve’, which would have been formed after PIE *kwot-i- ‘to shake’ became Plt. *kwat-i- (Schrijver 1991: 462f.). Whereas Schrijver reconstructs PIE o-grade, LIV assumes a secondary a-grade present to an ē-aorist (unattested in Latin). The only way which I see to connect cōlum with these forms, is by assuming that a slo-derivative was formed from *kwot- before the sound change to *kwat-, and another one after this sound change. Thus: *kwot-slo- > *kyosslo- > *kyõlo- > cōlum; and *kwat-slo- > *kyasslo- > quālum. Obviously, this whole story hinges on the likelihood of the connection with ‘to shake’, so that a completely different origin remains possible.

Bibl.: WH II: 397, EM 551, IEW 635, Schrijver 1991: 462, LIV *(s)küh2- → cōlum, quatiō

quatiō, -ere ‘to shake, toss, hurry along’ [v. III; ppp. quassum] (Pl.+) 
Derivatives: quassus, -ūs ‘shaking’ (Pac.+), quassāre ‘to shake repeatedly, damage’ (Naev.+), conquassāre ‘to shake violently’ (Cato+); concutere ‘to agitate, strike’ (Pl.+), discutere ‘to shatter, disperse’ (Lucil.+), excutere ‘to shake out, throw off’ (Pl.+), percutere ‘to strike heavily, kill’ (Pl.+). 
Plt. *kwat-i-.

PIE *(s)kwot-i-? IE cognates: Lith. kūisti, 3s. kūnta ‘to recover’, kutēti, 3s. kiuta ‘to thrive, prosper’ < *kut-; OS scuddian, OHG scuten ‘to shake’ < *skut-, Olc. hossa ‘to throw’ < *kut-s-.

Together with the Gm. words for ‘to shake’, and maybe Lith *kut- ‘to recover’, quatiō
may point to a root *ku(o)t-, with awkward schwebe-ablaut. It might be a non-IE word in origin. The appurtenance Gr. πάσσω ‘to sprinkle’ is possible from the semantic side, but since complicated and unwarranted analogies are necessary to explain Greek -a-, Latin and Greek would almost certainly point to non-IE *kuat- ‘to shake, strew’.


**quattuor** ‘four’ [num. indecl.] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: **quattuordecim** ‘14’; **quater** [adv.] ‘four times, on four occasions’ (Pl. +), **quaterni** ‘four at a time’ (Cato+); **quadrui-** ‘four’ (in compounds) (Naev. +), **quadrōns**, -ntis [m.] ‘one quarter (of an ass, of a pound, etc.)’ (Lucil. +), **quadrantāl** [n.] ‘measure of the volume of a cubic foot’ (Pl. +), **quadrātus** ‘divided into four parts, square’ (Afran. +), **quadrāginta** ‘40’ (Pl. +), **quadrāgēsimus** ‘fortieth’ (Cato+), **quadrāgēnī** ‘forty at a time’ (Cato+), **quadrāgēnārius** ‘holding 40 units’ (Cato+), **quadrāgiēns** ‘40 times’ (Varro+), **quadringerentī** ‘400’ (Pl. +), **quadrīnī** (Cato) ‘four at a time’ (Cato+); **quārtus** ‘fourth’ (Pl. +; Quorta Praeneste, CIL L 3.282), **quārtārius** ‘a quarter of a sextarius’ (Cato+), **quārτātō** ‘for the fourth time’ (Cato).


PIE *kwe/tefur* [nom.n.], *kwe/teiores* [nom.m/f.], *kwe/teurm* [gen.], *four*, *kwe/turó-* (»*kwe/tur-tó-*) ‘fourth’, *kwe/turs* ‘four times’; *kwe/tur- in compounds; *kwe/t(u)r-dkmt- ‘forty’. IE cognates: OIr. *ceth(a)ir* [m.], *cetheoir* [f.], MW *pedair* [f.] ‘four’; Skt. *catvāra* [nom.m.], *catāras* [acc.m.], *catvāri* [nom.acc.n.], *cāturēs* [nom.acc.f.] ‘four’, *catir* [adv.] ‘four times’, YAv. *cabśarō* [nom.m.], *caturō* [acc.m.], *catūrQM* [gen.], *catapyrō* [acc.f.], ‘four’, *cabśarasat- ‘forty’, *cabśu-dasa- ‘fourteenth’, *cabśuš* [adv.] ‘four times’; Gr. *tētopes* ‘four’ (Dor.), πόνωρ [H.] [nom.pl.], *tētopes* [dat.pl.], *tētopos* ‘fourth’, *tpu- ‘four’; Arm. *ćork*, Lith. *keturi*, OCS *četyre*, Go. *fiatw*, ToA *stw*, ToB *stwer ‘four’.

**quattuor** as opposed to Sab. **pet-** has introduced *kwe/at- with secondary -a- from the oblique case forms with PIE *kwe/t-; and from the other usages of ‘four’ with a zero-grade root, such as in compounds *kwe/tru-. The ending -or can directly reflect PIE *-dr-, but maybe also *-or-es*. The form **quadru-** found in ‘40’ and in compounds is explained by Schrijver from voicing of *t* between *C and *CCC, e.g. in *kwe/tr-dkmt- ‘40’ and in the ordinal ‘fourth’. The same element **quadru-** was then used in other compounds. For ‘fourth’, Schrijver posits *kwe/tyroto- > *kwe/tygto- > *kwe/agyra- **quadruorto-**; and then loss of *d in front of *y, as in saūvis, hence *kwe/aorto- > quārtus. The long a in **quadraginta** must be phonetic, and can be explained from *kwe/tr-dkmt- > **kwadr-Hkmr- (Kortlandt 1983a), and subsequent *-drHkm- > *drāk. In **quadringenti**, medial -n- must be analogical to **quingeni**. Most of the secure **quadru-** spellings occur in front of a labial, cf. Coleman 1992: 424. For **quater**, Coleman suggests PIE
que

*kturs (Skt. catuh) > *quaturs > *quatrus > *quatrs > quater.


→ triquetrus

-que 'and' [cj. postpos.] (VOLat. (Madonnetta-inscr.+) )

Derivatives: quisque, quaeque, quidque [pron.] 'every', quodque [adj.] 'every'.


PIE *-k'eqe 'and, -ever'. IE cognates: Hit. -kku 'now, even, and', Pal. -ku 'and?', CLuw. -ku 'and, furthermore?'; Skt. -ca, Av. -ca, OP -cā 'and, also, if', Gr. -tē 'and', Myc. -qe 'and'; Go. -uh 'and, also', nih 'if not'.

After pronouns and adverbs, -que can also have a generalizing meaning.


queō, quire 'to be able' [v. II/IV; pf. quīvī; forms pr. queō, quīs, quīt, quīmus, quītis, queunt, ipf. quībam, fut. quībō, ps. quītur] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: nequeō, nequīs, nequit etc. 'to be unable' (Pl. +; Andr. nequīnoni), ptc. nequienis, -euntis.

IE cognates: see s.v. eō.

The alternation between 1s. -eō, 3p. -eunt and the i-conjugation in most other forms points to the verb eō, īre 'to go' as a basic element of these forms. It is generally accepted that the verb was derived from a contracted form of 3s. *neque īt or *neque ītur 'it does no go', 'it is impossible' > 'he is unable' > nequitinequitur. By removing the negative element ne-, reanalysis led to a new verb queō, quire 'to be able'.


quercus 'oak-tree' [f. u] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: querneus 'of oak' (Cato+), querquētūm 'a wood of oaks' (Varro+).

PIt. *kʷerkwuo-. 

PIE *perkw-o/u- 'kind of oak'. IE cognates: OHG fereih, Langob. fereha 'kind of oak', OLC. fjorr [m.] 'tree, man' < PGm. *ferχu-; OHG forha, MHG vorhe, OE futh, OLC. fura [f.] 'fir-tree' < *furkō-; OLC. fyr [n.] 'fir forest', NHG Föhre, MoDu. vuur-hout < *furk-in-. The word for 'fir-tree' is unrelated according to Kluge-Seebold 1999, but in my view the similarity in form is too close to keep them apart. Still, the root ablaut is strange.

The Latin word shows the regular Italo-Celtic assimilation of *p – kʷ – *kʷ – kʷ-. The oldest attestations are of a u-stem, but since the cognate Gm. forms can also be explained from a stem in *-χʷa-, since m. and f. u- and o-stems tend to influence each other in nom. and acc.sg., and since o-stem tree names tend to be feminine, it cannot be excluded that quercus continues a Pit. o-stem. IEW and other handbooks also connect Go. fairhun 'world', OHG fer(a)h, OE feorh 'life, soul' < *perkw-o-, but Schaffner 2001 convincingly rejects this connection. His alternative etymology of the
latter words as belonging to the root *perk- ‘to plough’ (see Lat. porca) is attractive. Gothic faiguni [n.] ‘mountain’ must also be separated; Schaffner 2001: 193 connects Av. pauruuata- ‘mountains’, Gr. πειροπ ‘end, border’, Hit. pi-e-ru-ni [dat.sg.] ‘stone’ < PIE *per-ur, -un-, which is semantically much more straightforward than a connection with ‘oak’. Finally, also unrelated to quercus are probably the BSl. words for the ‘god of thunder’: OLith. perkūnas, Lith. perkūnas ‘thunder’, perkūnija f. ‘thunderstorm’, Latv. pērkuņs ‘thunder, god of thunder’, ORu. Perum ‘god of thunder’, Ru. perin ‘thunder, lightning’. This means that only Latin and Gm. contain certain reflexes of a stem *perk*-u/o- ‘oak’.


queror, -i ‘to complain, protest’ [v. III; ppp. questum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: querēla ‘complaint, lament’ (Pl.+), querimōnia ‘complaint, protest’ (Pl.+); conqueri ‘to utter a complaint, bewail’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *k"-es-e/o- / *kweš-e/o-.


WH, IEW and LIV derive Lat. queror from a PIE root *k規es- ‘to hiss’ via ‘to sigh’. This is possible, but semantically by no means compelling. EM are very hesitant about this etymology. Note that the Gm. forms in *hwōs- and *hwēs- may also belong to the root *k"wēhš- ‘to cough’ which is reflected in Gm. (OHG huosto, OE hwosta ‘cough’), BSl. (kōsēti ‘to cough’, Ru. kāšljat ‘to cough’) and Celtic; queror cannot be derived from this root. There is no alternative etymology, however.

Bibl.: WH II: 402f., EM 555, IEW 631f., LIV *kweš-.

qui, quae, quod ‘what, which? who, that’ [pron. relat., indef.] (VOLat.+: Forum cippus quoī ‘qui’ (sg. and pl.), quos ‘quōs’. Paradigm: nom.sg.m. quī, nom.sg.f. quae, indef. quā, nom.acc.sg.n. quōd; gen.sg. quoīus (Elog.Scip.) > cuius (lcuius), dat.sg. quoiei > cui, acc.sg.m. quem, acc.sg.f. quam, abl.sg.m.n. quōd > quō, abl.sg.f. quē; abl.sg. quīn; nom.pl.m. quī, VOLat. quēs (indef.), f. quae, nom.acc.pl.n. quae, qua, gen.pl.m.n.: quōrum, f. quārum, dat.abl. quibus, VOLat. queis > quīs, acc.pl.m. quōs, f. quās)

Derivatives: (1) quā ‘by which road or means, how?; inasmuch as’ (Lex XII, Pl.+), quāqua ‘in every place’ (Pl.+), quasi (CIL quansei, quasei) [cj., adv.] ‘as if, like; practically’ (Andr.+), quō [adv.] ‘where to, what for?’ (Andr.+), quō [cj., adv.] ‘whence, whereby, that’ (Lex XII+), quōquo ‘to whatever place’ (Pl.); quoque ‘also’ (Andr.+); (2) quālis ‘what kind of?; such as’ (Pl.+); (3) quam [adv.] ‘how?; as’ (Lex XII, Andr.+), quamde, quande ‘than’ (Andr.+); quamquam ‘however much, although’ (Pl.+), nēquam ‘bad, useless’ (Naev.+; comp. nēquior, sup. nēquissimus), nēquiter ‘badly, wickedly’ (Pl.+), nēquitia ‘moral worthlessness, villainy’ (Pl.+); quantus [adj. interr., rel.] ‘how great, how many’ (Naev.+; comp. nēquior, sup. nēquissimus), nēquiter ‘badly, wickedly’ (Pl.+), quantusquantus ‘however great’ (Pl.+), quantillus [adj.] ‘how little?’, quantisper ‘how long?’ (Caecil.+), quantulus ‘how small’ (Lucr.+); quandō ‘when’ (Andr.+); quisquam, quisquam ‘any, anyone’ (Naev.+); (4) A number of compound indefinite pronouns is discussed s.v. their
quiēs

second member: -cumque, -libet, -nam, -vis.


PIE sg. nom.m. *kʷo+i, f. *kʷeh2, n. *kʷod, acc.m. *kʷod, gen.m.n. *kʷoso, dat.loc. *kʷosm-, ins. *kʷōi; pl. nom.m. *kʷoi, n. *kʷ(e)h2. IE cognates: Skt. ka- 'who, which, someone', OP kaś-ciś 'someone', Gr. τέο [gen.sg.] 'whose', πό-ύι 'where'; Lith. kās 'who', OCS k̥-to 'who', ēceso [gen.sg.] 'whose'; Go. huas 'who'.

The paradigm of the relat. and indef. pronoun in Latin is a mixture of reflexes of *kʷo- and *kʷi-; for the forms of the latter (in the paradigm of Latin qui, these are quem, quēs, quibus, abl.sg. quīt), see s.v. quis. The acc.sgm. *kʷom has been preserved as quom > cum in the conjunction. The gen.sg. cuiitus must be from *kʷosio + -s. The dat.sg. *kʷoiei is probably analogical to the gen.sg. Sabellic retains the older PIE form. The adv. quasi and quoque (< *quō-que) show shortening of the first long vowel in front of the originally enclitic -si and -que, and then shortening of the final long vowel through iambic shortening. Lat. quālis < *kʷehr2-li-, quantus < *kwanto- < *kwehra-nt. -ni.-


quiēs, -ētis 'sleep, rest, repose' [f. ἐ] (Pl.+) [abl. quiē Laev.]

Derivatives: quiēs, -tis [adj.] 'quiet, peaceful' (Naev.+), quiētus 'at rest, peaceful, quiet' (Pl.+); quiēscere 'to repose, rest, sleep' (pf. quīvī, ppp. quiētum) (Pl.+, acquiēscere 'to rest, find peace' (Pl.+), conquiēscere 'to take repose, go to sleep' (Pl.+), requiēscere 'to rest, be idle' (Pl.+), requiēs, -ētis 'rest, relaxation' (acc. requiem, dat. requiei, abl. requiē) (Lucr.+).

Plt. *kʷiē-ti- [f.], *kʷiē- [aor.].

PIE *kʷi(e)h1-ti- 'rest, peace', aor. *kʷi(e)h2 'to rest'. IE cognates: Av. š(ii)ā- [pra.] 'to be calm, glad, rest', OP š(i)yāita- 'peaceful, happy (on earth)', š(i)yāti- 'welfare, peace
quīnque 'five' [num. indecl.] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: quīndecim 'fifteen' (Lex XII+), quīnquāgintā 'fifty' (Pl.+, quīnquāgēnārius 'containing fifty of anything' (Cato+), quīnquāgēsiēs 'fifty times' (Pl.), quīngēntī 'five hundred' (Pl.); quīnquātrīs, -uam [f.pl.] ‘festival of Minerva, lasting five days in March’ (Pl.+), quīnquērītō ‘one who competes in the pentathlon’ (Andr.); quīnī 'five at a time' (Pl.+), quīnārius 'containing five each; coin worth five asses' (Varro+), quīnāvīcēnārius 'relating to twenty-five' (Pl.), quīncunx, -ncēs 'a pattern of five, five-twelfths' (Varro+); quīn(c)ātus 'fifth' (Pl.+), quintānus 'of the fifth' (Varro+), Quīntīlis 'name of the fifth month' (Varro+).


Plt. *kʷenkwē yielded *kʷinkʷe by regular sound change. Subsequently, the *k in the ordinal *kʷinkto- was spirantized and the preceding vowel phonetically lengthened: *kʷinxto-. Finally, the spirant was lost, yielding quīntus. From the ordinal, i was analogically introduced into the cardinal *quinque >> quīnque. Lat. quīnī < *kʷenkw-(s)no-, quīncunx < *quīnqua- + uncia. The -ā- in quīnquāgintā for *quinquāgintā was drawn from ‘forty’. In Sabellic, the surrounding stops *kʷ apparently had a rounding effect on the vowel, yielding *pomē, which is attested indirectly through its derivatives.


quirīs, -ītis ‘name for Rome’s citizens in their peacetime functions’ [m. i] (Enn.+; usually pl.)

Derivatives: quirītāre ‘to make a public outcry’ (Lucil.); Quīrinus a god worshipped on the Quirinal hill (Lex Reg., Lucil.+, Quīrinālis ‘of Quirinus’
quis, quae, quid ‘who? what?’ [pron. interr.] (Lex XII, Andr.⁺; forms: sg. m.nom. quis, acc. quem, abl. qui, n.nom.acc. quid, pl. m.nom. quēs (rarely), m.f.n dat.abl. quibus)

Derivatives: quī [adv.] ‘in what way, how? in that way’ (Naev.⁺), quia ‘because’ (Pl.⁺), quisquis, quidquid ‘whoever, whatever’ (Andr.⁺), nēquīquam ‘in vain, without cause’ (Pl.⁺); A number of compound indefinite pronouns is discussed s.v. their second member: -cumque, -dam, -dem, -nam, -pe, -piam, -quam, -que, -vis; for aliquis ‘someone’, see s.v. alius.


The paradigm of the indef. pronoun is a mixture of reflexes of *kwe₁ and *kwe₂; for the forms reflecting *kwe₀- and *kwe₁-; for the forms reflecting *kwe₁- (among others, all fem.sg. forms, and the m.n. gen.dat.sg.) see s.v. qui. The abl.sg. form and adv. qui ‘how’ probably reflects an old ins.sg. *kwi₁ < *kwi₁. It is also found in some compound adverbs, such as nēquīquam. The cj. quia continues the PIE nom.acc.pl. n. *kwi₂.
racēmus 511


quot ‘how many?, as many as’ [adj. indecl.] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: cottiē ‘every day, daily’ (Pl. +), cottiēnus ‘normal, regular, daily’ (Pl. +), quotannis [adv.] ‘annually’ (Pl. +), quotēns ‘how many times?, as often as’ (Pl. +), quotquot ‘however many’ (Varro +), quotumus [adj.] ‘the howmanieth?’; quotus [adj.] ‘howmanieth, in what proportion?’ (Lucr. +).

PIt. *kʷoī.

PIE *kʷe/o-ti ‘how many’. IE cognates: Skt. kāti ‘how many’, YAv. caitī ‘how much, how many times?’ < Ilr. *čati < PIE *kʷeti?; Gr. πόσος ‘how great, how many’ < *kʷotjo-, Bret. pet ‘how many’.

Cottiē from *kʷoī diēs ‘how many days?’, with influence from postrīdiē. The reflex co- < *kʷo- is regular; in quot, qu- has been restored on the model of quantus or other related words in qu-.


rabīō, -ere ‘to be frenzied, rave’ [v. III] (Caecil. +)

Derivatives: rabīēs ‘savageness, passion’ (Ter. +), rabidus ‘raging, mad’ (Lucr. +), rabiosus ‘rabid, mad’ (Pl. +).

PIt. *rab- / *raf-.

Schrijver 1991 rejects the connection with Skt. rabh- ‘to grab’ and proposes to connect ToA rapurē ‘desire’ and maybe Gr. ἕρωμαι ‘to desire, love’ instead. Yet this etymology is not very convincing from the semantic side. LIV connects Parth. rf- ‘to attack’, MoP rav- ‘to go’. Cheung 2007 derives the latter from a root *rabh- ‘to be in violent commotion’, which may be seen also in Khot. ārūh- ‘to move, shake’ (+ *a-), bārāh- (brāh-) ‘to soar up’ and in other Iranian languages. In theory, Iranian could reflect *(H)rebh- while Latin would have a secondary full grade *rab- << *el/lorebh- (< *Hrbh-). Since we are dealing with two isolated verbal stems, however, this etymology remains uncertain. MHG reben ‘to move’ is isolated within Germanic, and may belong to *reiban ‘to rub’.

Bibl.: WH II: 413, EM 562, IEW 852, Schrijver 1991: 305f., LIV 1.*rebh-.

racēmus ‘bunch, cluster (of grapes or other fruit)’ [m. o] (Bibaculus +)

IE cognates: Gr. ἰπάξ, ἰπύγος ‘grape’, ἰπόξ, ἰπάγος ‘id.’, Alb. rrush ‘resin’.

Probably a loanword from a Mediterranean language.

radius ‘ray of light; spoke’ [m. o] (Pl.+

Derivatives: radiōsus ‘radiant’ (Pl.+) radiātus ‘radiant; with spokes’ (Varro+), radiāre ‘to shine’ (Lucr.+

It is unlikely that radius belongs to rādix ‘root’, as WH and IEW suggest: the meaning is completely different. Initial rad- may reflect a root *(H)rHdʰ-, for which there is no clear candidate. The element *-dʰ- might be a root enlargement.


rādix, -icis ‘root’ [f. k] (Pl.+

Derivatives: rādīcitus [adv.] ‘by the roots, completely’ (Pl.+), rādīcula ‘a little root’ (Laev.+), ērādicāre ‘to tear by the roots, exterminate’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *wrad-i-.


In view of the ablaut, it seems likely that PIE *-d- was a suffix, but this cannot be ascertained.


rādō, -ere ‘to scrape, scratch, shave’ [v. III; pf. rāsī, ppp. rāsum] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: rāstrum ‘drag-hoe’ (Pl.+), rāstelius ‘wooden rake’ (Varro+), rāmentum ‘shaving’ (Pl.+), rāmenta ‘shaving’ (Pl.+), rāsus, -ūs ‘shaving, scraping’ (Varro), rāllum ‘a scraper’ (Plin.); abradere ‘to rub away, knock off’ (Ter.+), corrādere ‘to rake together, amass’ (Pl.+), dērādere ‘to scrape, shave off’ (Cato+), ērādere ‘to scrape away, erase’ (Varro+), irrādere ‘to scrape (onto)’ (Cato); rāllus ‘sheer, fine’.

Plt. *rasd-e/o-.

IE cognates: W. rhathu, Bret. rahein ‘to scrape, shave’ < PCl. *rasd-e/o- ‘to scrape, scratch’.

Lat. rāmentum < *rād-m-, rāllum < *rād-lo-. The adj. rāllus is used with tunica, and it may belong here if it meant ‘smoothly woven, polished’ < *rād-lo-; but note that this is morphologically a strange formation. EM derive rāllus from rārus, but then one would rather expect *rārulus. Lat. rāstrum has often been explained from *rād-tro-, but Serbat 1975: 316 points out that the length of ā is unproven, and that rāstrum could go back to *rad-tro- < *rHd-tro-. Since this word family is only found in Italo-Celtic, a PIE origin is uncertain. If *rasd- is a secondary full grade for *rsd-, one might consider an original root present *r(e)sd- (thus Meiser 2003); but not *Hrsd- which would give Lat. *Vrsd-.


raia ‘a sea-fish, ray’ [f. ā] (Plin.)

Plt. *ragā- or *rajā-.

IE cognates: MDu. rogghhe, rochghe, MoDu. rog, MLG rugge ‘ray’ < PGM. *rugg-,
OE reohhe (once in a gloss), ME rezge, reyhhe ‘ray’ < *regxe (or *raxyja-?).

Raia must be interpreted as /rajjal/. Whether the English words for ‘ray’ can go back to *raγxe- is disputed; if they do, we have an interchange a/u within Germanic. In the absence of any further cognates and in the semantic field of animals, this could point to a loanword from a substrate language. The similarity between the Gm. words and raia is striking, and since Latin /ij/ can reflect *gi, we might posit *raK-∗ruK- ‘ray’.

Bibl.: WH II: 415, EM 563.

rāmus ‘branch, twig’ [m. o] (Cato+)

Derivatives: rāmōsus ‘with branches, branching’ (Lucr.+), rāmulus ‘little branch’ (Cato+); rāmes, -ītis [f.] >> rāmex, -īcis ‘the lungs; varicocele’ (Pl.+).

PIt. *wrā(d)mo-?

PIE *ur(e)h2-(d-)mo-? IE cognates: see s.v. rādīx.

Possibly from *rād-mo- < *wrād-mo-, if cognate with rādīx ‘root’. The semantics can be justified by referring to Gr. ἱδωξ, -ίκος ‘branch, twig’, showing that *ur(e)h2-d- could mean either ‘branch’ or ‘root’. Gr. ἱδαμινός [m.] ‘branch, twig’ is probably not cognate, cf. Schrijver. Of course, if the PIE root was merely *urh2-, rāmus can also go back to *ur(e)h2-mo-. The noun rāmes seems to be older in its t-stem appearance (Pl.) than as a k-stem rāmex. According to EM, the lungs were called ramiṭēs ‘branches’ due to the similarity of their form with the branches of a tree.


rāna ‘frog’ [f. ā] (Varro+)

PIt. *rā-na-?

Onomatopoeic form, probably from a sound “rā”. In theory, the root could be *rēh2(i)- ‘to roar’ as reconstructed by LIV for BS1. Since Gm. contains forms for ‘to roar’ with a final velar (MHG ruohen, ruohelen, rüehelen), a preform *rak-snā- is also conceivable, although the Gm. suffix can easily be secondary; and Latin ragit ‘brays’ (of a foal), found in one gloss, is hardly a trustworthy comparandum.

Bibl.: WH II: 416, EM 564, IEW 859f.

ranceō ‘to be rotten’ [v. II] (Lucr.+

Derivatives: rancidus ‘rotten’ (Lucr.+).

No etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 417, EM 564.

rapiō, -ere ‘to seize, take away’ [v. III; pf. rapūī, ppp. raptum] (Naev.; surrapsit [s-fut.] Pl.)

Derivatives: rapidus ‘strong-flowing, quick’ (Pl.+), rapāx ‘greedy, rapacious, predator’ (Pl.+), raptiō ‘carrying off’ (Ter.+), raptor ‘robber, abductor’ (Pl.+), raptāre ‘to carry away by force, drag off’ (Pl.+), rapister, -tré ‘robber’ (Lucil.), raptim ‘in a rush’ (Lucr.+), rapinātor ‘pillager’ (Varro+); abripere ‘to snatch away, kidnap’ (Pl.+), arripere ‘to grasp, get hold of’ (Pl.+), corripere ‘to grab, hurry off’
(Pl.), dēripere ‘to tear off, pull down’ (Pl.), diripere ‘to tear to pieces, run after’ (Pl.), ēruipere ‘to seize away’ (Pl.), prōripere ‘to snatch forth, rush forth’ (Pl.), surruipere, surpere ‘to steal’ (Pl.), subreptīcius ‘stolen’ (Pl.); rapsāre ‘to hurry along’ (Caes.).

Plt. *rap-i- ‘to seize’.

PIE *h₁rep-i- [pr.] ‘to seize’. IE cognates: Gr. ἐρήπτομαι ‘to devour, snatch away’ < *rep-je/o-ero, aor. 3. pl. ἄν-νηρέψαντο, Alb. rjep ‘tear of, away, rob’, Lith. ap-répti ‘to take, catch’ (< *(H)reHp-).

If to a PIE root *h₁rep-, rapiō could reflect the zero grade *h₁rep- > *erp-, then with a secondary zero grade *rap- (to full grade *rep-). Differently Schrijver 1991, who posits a separate root *h₁r₁p- for rapiō and Lith. répti; yet both roots would have an identical meaning.


rāpum ‘turnip’ [n. o] (Cato+)

Derivatives: rāpicius ‘of turnips’ (Cato+), rāpa ‘turnip’ (Varro+), rāpīna ‘turnip-crop, turnip-field’ (Cato+), rāpula ‘small turnip’ (Titin.+).

Plt. *rāpo-.


This cannot be a regular PIE word: Latin, Baltic and OHG ruoba require *aH, Slavic has lēl, and Greek single -a-. There is no prothetic vowel in Greek, and the vacillation between n and φ also suggests a loanword.


rāurus ‘of loose structure, sparse, rare’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: rārō ‘seldom’ (Pl.+, rāre ‘seldom; sparsely, loosely’ (Pl.; Col.), rāreenter ‘seldom’ (Andr.+), rāritūdō ‘looseness, openness’ (Lucr.+), rārēscere ‘to thin out, open out’ (Lucr.+), rarēfacere ‘to make less solid’ (Lucr.+).

Antonym of dēnsus. EM state that Lat. rāreenter was formed on the example of frequenter. Rāurus has been connected with PIE *h₂erH- ‘to disappear, perish’ by EM, but this is not obvious semantically. Others connect Gr. ἔρημος ‘lonely’. Schrijver is critical of all proposals: “The connection of retē and rāurus must be given up on formal grounds, and that of rēte and ἔρημος on semantic grounds.”


ratis ‘collection of wooden beams, raft; boat, ship’ [f. i] (Naev.+

Derivatives: rātītus ‘bearing the figure of a raft’ (Lucr.+).

Plt. *ratii-.

PIE *h₁r₁ti- [f.] ‘rowing’?

Uncertain. Ratis has been connected with Lat. rētae ‘trees in the bed of a stream’ and/or with OHG ruota, OIC rōda ‘rod, pole’, OE rōd, but neither is semantically
compelling. If cognate, this etymology would imply *Hrh₁ti- > Lat. ratis. Since the PIE root for ‘to row’ is reconstructed as *h₁r₁h₁- (see s.v. rēmus), ratis might be interpreted as *Hrh₁-ti- ‘the rowing’ > ‘raft, boat’; note that rafts are normally propelled and steered by means of a pole.

Bibl.: WH II: 420, EM 565, IEW 866, Schrijver 1991: 306ff., LIV 2.*h₁r₁h₁-. → rēmus

raudus, -eris ‘rough piece, lump; bronze coin’ [n. r] (Lucil.+; var. rōdus, rūdus, rōdus Paul. ex F.)

Derivatives: raudusculum ‘bronze coin’ (Varro+).

IE cognates: Skt. lohā- [m.] ‘reddish metal’, MP ṛo ṭy ‘copper, brass’ < PIE *h₁r₁oud₁₂-o-, OCS ruda, Ru. rudá, Scr. rūdā ‘ore’ < PIE *h₁r₁oud₁₂-h₂-, Olc. rauði ‘red iron ore’.

Because of -au- and intervocalic -dr, raudus cannot be an inherited word from PIE *h₁r₁(ə)oud₁₂-os ‘red’; we would expect Lat. *rūbus. Raudus is probably a loanword from another IE language, in which *-d₁₂- became -d₁. The other IE languages show that the colour ‘red’ was used to refer to reddish ore, whether copper or iron or another metal.


raucus ‘hoarse’ [adj. o/a] (Paul. ex F.)

Derivatives: raucus ‘hoarse, harsh-sounding’ (Pl.+), ravis [f.] ‘hoarseness’ (Pl.+), rāviāre ‘to be hoarse’ (Pl.+), rausūrus ‘about to become hoarse’ (Lucil.).

Plt. *rawo-.


If raucaus reflects *rawvko-, all forms can go back to Plt. *rawo- or *rowo-. Schrijver dismisses rāviāre (or rāvirē?) from the evidence since it occurs only once in Pl. in a corrupt passage. For *rawo- or *rowo-, he considers two possible etymologies: (1) to a root *Hrēh₁- ‘to shout, sound’ (Skt. rāyati ‘barks’, OIC. rāmr ‘hoarse’) as *Hr₁r₁u₁-o-, or to a root *Hrēu- ‘to roar’ (Skt. rāuti, ruvati ‘to roar’, OE rēon ‘to wail’) as *Hr₁o-.. The latter form yields a better connection with forms outside Italic, and a better explanation for -a-. Vine 2006a: 237 therefore reconstructs *h₁r₁ouH₁-ó- ‘roaring’ > *rawo-, whence the abstract *rawi- would be derived. Raucus could then reflect *rawi-ko-.


rāvus ‘tawny, grey’ [adj. o/a] (Varro+)

Derivatives: (g)rāvāstellus ‘old man’ (Pl.).

IE cognates: OIC. grār, OE grāg, MoE gray, OFr. grē, OS grā, grē, OHG grāo ‘grey’ < *grē-yo-.

The form (g)rāvāstellus (mss. rāvistellus and grāvāstellus) presupposes *(g)rāvāster.
With van der Staaij 1995: 57, I assume that PIE *\(gh\)- became Latin gr-. Hence, the variant grävästells becomes the original Latin reflex of the colour adj., whereas rävus could be explained as a loanword from Sabellictic - although the reflex in Sab. is also uncertain. We could posit *\(gh\)-h-uo- for Italic beside *\(gh\)-h-uo- for Germanic, but the ablaut would be disturbing. If a full grade, Schrijver suggests that original *\(gh\)-h-uo- may have been delabialized to *\(gh\)-h-uo- in Latin and to *\(gh\)-h-uo- in Germanic. This is hazardous, and quite ad hoc. There may have been influence on ablaut and suffix from other colour terms, cf. flävus.


re-, red- ‘back, reverse’ [pref.] (red- in front of vowels and h-)

Derivatives: retrō [adv, prep.] ‘backwards, to the rear’ (Ter.+++); reciprocus ‘moving backwards and forwards, moving in the opposite direction’ (Acc.+++), reciprocāre ‘to move a thing backwards and forwards’ (Enn.+++), reciprocicornis ‘with the horns turned around’ (Lab.).

Plt. *\(wr\). It cognates: U. re- ‘again’ in restatu, revestu.

PIE *\(ure\) ‘back’. IE cognates: Alb. rrē- [prev.] ‘back’; Ru. rāk, gen.sg. rāka, SCr. rāk, Sl. rāk < PSl. *\(r\)ākt ‘crayfish, lobster’ < PIE *\(h\)r\(k\)w- ‘looking backwards’ (Klingenschmitt 2004).

The only acceptable etymology has recently been proposed by Klingenschmitt 2004, who reconstructs *\(ure\) ‘back’. The form red- is analogical to prōd- beside prō-, and from metanalysis in verbs such as reddō < *re-di-dō. Dunkel 1979 explains reciprocus as a nominalization of *re-k\(w\)e *pro-k\(w\)e ‘both backwards and forwards’, and connects it with other Skt. and Gr. instances of two semantically opposed preverbs coordinated by *-k\(w\)e ‘and’. The first labiovelar was apparently delabialized in front of the following p and *k\(w\); if Klingenschmitt’s etymology of re as *\(ure\) is correct, there would even have been a fourth labial consonant in the word *yre-k\(w\)e *pro-k\(w\)e. The resulting *(u)reke-prok\(wo\)- did not yield *recupricus because its two elements were for a long time recognised as two separate words, so that they developed as *reke-proko- until after vowel weakening (Cowgill apud Dunkel 1979: 189).


recēns, -ntis ‘of recent origin, new, fresh’ [adj. nt] (Pl.+++)

Plt. *\(wr\)-*kent(i)-.

PIE *\(ken\)-t- ‘young, new’. IE cognates: Ml. cana, cano ‘wolf cub’; Gaul. Cintu-gnatus, Olr. cēt- ‘first’, MW cymt, MCo. kens, Bret. kent ‘earlier’ < PCI. *kontu-; Skt. kanyā-, Av. kaine, kainin- ‘girl’ < kaniHn- < PIE *\(ken\)-Hn- (or *keniH-n-?), Skt. kanśa- ‘young’, Gr. \\(\kappa\)αν\(\varepsilon\) ‘new, unheard of’ < *\(km\)-io-; ORu. konь [m.] ‘start’, OCS is-koni ‘from the start’ < *\(kon\)-; maybe Go. hindumists ‘last’, OHG hintana, hintar ‘behind’, OE hindema ‘last’ < *\(ken\)-t-.

Probably a compound of re- ‘again, back’ and *kent(i)- ‘young, first’.

Bibl.: WH II: 423, EM 566, IEW 563f.
redimīō, -re ‘to encircle with a garland, surround’ [v. IV] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: redimīculum ‘a band to the back of a woman’s head-dress’ (Pl.+).

PIt. *do/em-o/i- ‘binding, band’.

PIE *do/emh2-o/i-. IE cognates: see s.v. domāre.

The isolated position of this word makes it difficult to establish the etymology. It has been connected with Skt. yam- < PIE *iem-, in which case we must analyse the word as *red-im-, and suppose a zero-grade form *im-i- ‘binding, garland’, or reduction of *-iem- in non-initial syllable to -im-. But the original meaning of yam- seems to have been ‘to reach, obtain’, which makes a connection more difficult. EM note that redimīculum is attested earlier than redimio, and suggest that it was based on amiculum ‘cloak’, prefixed with red- and with analogical lengthening of the vowel in front of -culum. Yet the use of red- in nominal cp. is secondary to verbal compounds (see s.v. re-), and lengthening to -i- in this position is not trivial. Also, the difference in dates of attestation is not decisive (thus also Serbat 1975: 185). Alternatively, Latin -i- in redimīō may reflect any short vowel in open syllable, which makes a connection with domāre ‘to tame’ possible. If re-dimīre is a denominative to a noun *dom-o/i- or maybe *dem-o/i- ‘binding, band’, it can be explained through regular sound change.

Bibl.: WHII: 424, EM 567, IEW 505. → domō

regō, -ere ‘to direct, guide, govern’ [v. III; pf. rexi, ppp. rectum] (Pl.++; rected [adv.] in a Faliscan inscr.)

Derivatives: regillus ‘upright, vertical’ (Varro+), regimēn [n.] ‘control, steering’ (Enum.+, regō ‘district, region; direction, line’ (Pl.+, rēgula ‘rod, rule’ (Varro+), rectā ‘directly’ (Pl.+), rector ‘ruler, guide’ (Cic.+); ergō [adv., prep.] ‘therefore, then; on account of’ (Lex XII+), ergā [prep.] ‘against, next to; towards’ (Pl.+, corgō [adv.] ‘forwards’ (Paul. ex F.); arrigere ‘to make to stand upright, raise’ (Pl.+), corrigere ‘to make straight, put right’ (Pl.+), corrector ‘who sets right’ (Ter.+), dērigere (> dērigere 4th c. AD) ‘to align, steer, direct’ (Andr.+), ērigere ‘to raise, erect’ (Lucil.+), pergere ‘to move on, proceed’ (Naev.+), por(r)igere ‘to extend, hold out’ (Andr.+), subrectitāre ‘to get up frequently from table’ (Cato), surgere ‘to get up, rise, emerge’ (Andr.+), consurgere ‘to stand up, rise’ (Lucr.+); expergere ‘to awaken’ (Lucil.++; -i-, -itus), expergīscor, -sci ‘to wake up, become awake’ (Pl.++; III; ppp. -perrēctus and -perritus sum), expergēfacere ‘to stir up, arouse’ (Pl.+).


The ppp. has -e- due to Lachmann’s law. The pf. rexi continues a PIE s-aorist *h3rēg-s-. Corgō and ergō reflect *co-rogō and *ē-rogō ‘from the direction of’, from a noun or adj. *rogo- ‘direction’ or ‘stretching’, which seems to be continued by the
verb rogāre 'to request' too. The etymology of *expergiscor is still disputed. Its ppp. experrectus contains the ppp. -rēctus of *rego, and there is a cp. pergere 'to move on', which is why some regard it as a compound *ex-per-rego- 'to move on up, wake up'. On the other hand, YAv. frayrisamna- 'waking up' seems to continue the root PIE *h3reg- 'to wake up' with a suffix *-iske/o-, which is why some have regarded expergiscor as a reflex of PIE *h3gr-iske/o-. The most recent discussions are by Keller 1980 and Klingenschmitt 1982. Keller shows that expergō is probably a recent formation grafted on expergiscor. Klingenschmitt duely mentions the arguments for both solutions, and then opts for the latter; his discussion is adopted by LIV. His main argument for the separation of expergiscor from regō is the suffix -īscō, which, as Klingenschmitt mentions (p. 74), is mostly used for inchoative verbs derived from basic verbs in -ī-. He observes that regō does not have such a suffix, and that hence expergiscor must contain a PIE sequence *-i(H)sk-, i.e. *eks-per/pro-h3gr-iske/o- (*eks-pro- would match the Av. form better). Yet since the verb 'to wake up' is not otherwise attested with a suffix *-ī-, we are free to look for other solutions. Klingenschmitt himself notes that verbs in -īscō sometimes alternate with verbs in -ēscō (conticisc- Pl., perdolisc- Acc.); the origin of this alternation is uncertain, but in view of tacēre, dolēre, it seems that -ē- was original. The verbs in -ēscō have spawned new compound verbs in -ēfaciō in OLat., cf. Leumann 1959: 277ff.: calēscō > calēfāciō, etc. All these verbs conform to the same pattern, except expergēfāciō, attested from Pl. onward, which is built on a verb in -īscor. Leumann 1977: 258 has noted the irregularity, and notes "expergef- (statt *expergif-)". But there is no indication that *expergifaciō ever existed. The question is now: do we assume that expergificiō was changed to expergēfāciō because of the pressure from the group in -ēfaciō? Or do we assume that expergiscor has replaced *expergēscor on the model of the group in -īscō? In view of the ppp. experrectus, I favour the latter explanation.


rēmus 'oar' [m. o] (Andr.+

Derivatives: rémex, -iges 'oarsman, rower' (Pl.+), rēmigium 'outfit of oars; rowing' (Pl.+); birēmis 'having oars arranged in pairs' (Sis.+), triresmos [acc.pl.f.] (CIL 1.25, Columna Rostrata), trirēmis (Caes.+) 'having three oars', [quinqueresmos]os 'ship with oars arranged in five' (CIL 1.25), septeresmom 'ship with oars arranged in seven' (CIL 1.25).

Palt. *rē(s)mo- 'oar'.

PIE *h₁rēh₁-(s)mo- 'oar'. IE cognates: OIr. raid, rā 'to row' < *rā-je- < *h₁rōh₁-ielo-; Skt. aritār- 'rower, ferryman', aritra- [n.] 'oar' < *h₁rēh₁-ter-, -tro-, Gr. ἑρέτης [m.] 'rower', ἑρέσσω 'to row', ἑρέμων 'oar', Lith. įrī 'to row', įrklas 'oar'; Ols. rō, OE rōwan, MHG rüjen 'to row', OHG ruodar, OE rōðor 'rudder' < *h₁rōh₁-.

The forms in -resmo- from the Columna Rostrata, an inscription from 260 BC which
was probably renewed in the first century AD (Diehl 1964: 36) seems to show that rēmus reflects *rēsma-. On the other hand, the same inscription has primos ‘first’ and not *prismos. This is one of the reasons for assuming that the whole inscription is archaizing (cf. Leumann 1977: 7), in which case -resmo- is uncertain evidence. If the s is old, we may reconstruct *h₁rēh₁-smo- ‘oar’ (thus Schrijver 1991: 19). This has the disadvantage of schwebe-ablaut when compared to Skt. āritār-, but it would fit the place of the o-ablaut in Germanic and Celtic, which may well be an iterative o-grade. If the s of CIL 1.25 -resmo- is hypercorrect, rēmus may reflect *h₁rēh₁-mo-. Since the other IE languages show instrument nouns in *-tlo- or *-tro- (maybe remade to *-tmo- in Greek), I have a slight preference for *-sma- in Latin, since this is more typically an instrumental suffix. Lat. rēmex, rēmigium contain (the root of) agō ‘to do’.


dēns, -ium ‘kidneys’ [m.pl. i] (Pl.+)
PIt. *rēn-.

PIE *h₂r-ēn-, -en- ‘kidney’? *sṛēn- ‘loins’? IE cognates: Olr. āru [f. n] ‘kidney, gland’, W. aren [f.] ‘kidney, testicle’ < PCI. *āron-; Hit. (uzi)hah(ha)ri- [c./n.] ‘lung(s), midriff’ [nom.sg.c. hāhrīš, nom.sg.n. hāhrī, hāhrī, dat.-loc.sg. hāhrīšni]; ToB arańce ‘heart’ (both the physical heart and the seat of the emotions), ToA ārińc ‘id.’ < PTo. *āráńce < PIE *h₂e₂h₂(e)ri- (EIEC 329).

Mastrelli 1979 connects rēnēs with OPr. straunay, Lith. strēnos [f.pl.] ‘loins’, dial. also sрēnos, Latv. striena ‘loins’ < Proto-Baltic *srēn-?, Av. rāna- ‘thigh’ < *srēna-? < *srēn- ‘hip, loins’ (IEW 1002). The semantic shift from ‘loins’ to ‘kidneys’ is quite conceivable. Less certain seems the connection with Gr. ράχις ‘spine’, since there is evidence for a PGr. anlaut cluster *yr-?. Alternatively, one could connect the Celtic words for ‘kidney’. The etymology as unreduplicated *h₂r-en- next to PCI. *āron- from reduplicated *h₂e₂h₂r-en- is possible in theory, but the difference in reduplication remains unexplained.


renidēō ‘to shine, reflect’ [v. II] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: renidēscere ‘to grow bright’ (Lucr.).

Could be cognate with niteō if the root was *(H)ni(H)-, with different suffixes -t- and -d-. IEW connects OP naiba- ‘beautiful’ and Olr. nóib ‘holy’, but this remains a mere root comparison.

Bibl.: WH II: 429, EM 570, IEW 760. → niteō

reōr, rēri ‘to think, believe’ [v. II; ppp. ratus ‘constitutional, determined’] (Pl.+

Derivatives: ratiō ‘calculation, account, reason’ (Pl.+), ratiuncula ‘small account’ (Pl.+), irritus ‘not ratified, unrealized’ (Pl.+).
Plt. *rē-(felo-) ‘to think’, *rato- ‘thought, counted’.

PIE *Hreh₁- [aor.??], *Hrh₁-to- [ppp.]. IE cognates: Go. raḥjo ‘number, account’,
The original meaning 'to count' was preserved in ratus 'counted' > 'legal', esp. in expressions with pars: pro rata parte 'in proportion' (Cic.+), rata pars 'a fixed proportion'. The noun ratiō was derived from ratus, either directly (cf. the model nātus : nātiō) or via an earlier ti-abstract *ratis 'reckoning'. The PIE root *Hreh- might also be the basis of PIE *(H)reh₁tʰ- 'to bring in order, arrange'. Schrijver ascribes the root to PIE *h₂r- 'to fix'; another candidate would be *h₁rēh₁- 'to ask, investigate' (Hit. ar(īie/a)-zi 'to consult an oracle' < *h₁rēh₁-je/ø-), for which LIV reconstructs a root aorist.


repens, -ntis 'sudden, unexpected' [adj. nt] (Turp.+
Derivatives: repente 'suddenly, at once' (Pl.+) dērepente 'suddenly' (Pl.+, repentīnus 'sudden, without warning' (Pl.+).

Plt. *rep-nt-.
PIE *h₁rēp-nt- [aor.ptc.] 'seizing'.

WH, IEW and Leumann assume *yrep- to the root *uerp- 'to twist', positing 'with a sudden move' as the original semantics. This has the disadvantage of schwebe-ablaut in the root, so that an alternative solution would be welcome. EM consider the preverb re- plus a root *pen- to pendō, but the semantics are unclear, and the root enlargement *-t- is ad hoc. I am more sympathetic towards a connection with rapiō, at least as far as the semantics are concerned; for a reconstruction, see s.v. rapiō.

Bibl.: WH II: 429, EM 570, IEW 1156, Leumann 1977: 190. → rapiō

repid, -ere 'to crawl, creep' [v. III; pf. rēpēti, ppp. rēptum] (Enn.+
Derivatives: réptāre 'to crawl, move furtively'; adrépere 'to creep up to' (Varro+), conrépere 'to move stealthily' (Pl.+), dērépere 'to crawl down' (Varro+), étēpere 'to creep out' (Pl.+), obrēpere 'to creep up, sneak in' (Pl.+), obrēptāre 'to creep up' (Pl.+).

Plt. *rép-e/o-.
PIE *h₁reh₁p- or *h₁rēp- 'to creep'. IE cognates: Lith. réplioti 'to creep', roplōti, Latv. rāpāti, rāpt 'to creep'; OHG rebo, reba, repa, MHG rebe 'offshoot, bud', MLG wīnra 'vine'.


rēs, reī 'property, goods, thing, affair' [f. ē] (Lex XII+; acc.sg. rem)
Derivatives: récula 'small amount' (Pl.+).


PIE *Hreh₁i- 'wealth, goods' (nom.sg. *reh₁-i-s, acc.sg. *reh₁-i-m, dat.sg. *reh₁-i-ei). IE cognates: Skt. rayi- [m. (rarely f.)] 'property, goods' (rayim [acc.sg.], rāyāh [gen.abl.sg.]), Av. raii-i- 'wealth' (OAv. rāiō [gen.abl.sg.], YAv. raēm [acc.sg.]).
The nom.sg. *reh₁-ś would have become Lat. *reis > *rīs, the acc.sg. *reh₁-i-m > *rim. The dat.sg. *reh₂iei > *rējëi > reī is regarded as the regular reflex by Meiser 1998; one might also adduce the gen.sg. *reh₁-i-os (if with full grade root) > *rējos >> *rēj-i. The new stem *rēj- would yield an acc. *rējem > *rēm, and this in turn may have prompted a new nom.sg. rēs. The root may be the same as the root *(H)reh₁- of the Ilr. aor. *ra-s- 'to bestow'.


restis 'rope, cord' [f. i] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: restīō 'dealer in rope' (Pl.+, restīcula 'small cord' (Cato+).

PIt. *reskti- 'rope'.

PIE *Hres-g-ti- 'rope, cord'. IE cognates: Skt. rāju- [f.] 'rope, string', Sogd. ryzyl (rāyzil) '(woollen?) cloth' < Ilr. *Hrazγu- / *Hrazju-, Lith. rezgu, rezgiu 'to braid, bind', OLith. rekstis 'basket'.

Bibl.: WH II: 431, EM 571f., IEW 874, LIV *resg-.

rēte / rētis 'net' [n./f., m. i] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: rētīculum 'small net' (Varro), rētīculātus 'covered with a net, like a net' (Varro+).

PIt. *rēti-.

Maybe original m. *rētis, pl.n. *rētia; thus Niedermaier apud EM 572. The sg. rēte would then be a back-formation. Schrijver argues that the proposed connection with rārus must be given up on formal grounds. If BSl. forms such as Lith. rētas 'rare, thin, slow', rētis 'sieve', rēsti, Is. rentū 'to become rare', Latv. rēns 'standing apart', OCS rēdōka 'rare' (< BSl. *rēto-, *re-t-, *re̞d-) are cognate, we would posit a root *re̞t-, not *reh₁-t- (Slav. has *-d-). But in view of the isolated position and the exclusively nominal meanings, rēte/-is might wel be a loanword. Rosén 1995 suggests borrowing from a Semitic source, cf. Biblical Hebrew reṣet 'net (for fishing and bird-catching)', Ugaritic ṭūt '(probably) id.'.


reus 'party in a lawsuit; defendant' [m. o] (Lex XII+)
Derivatives: rea [f.] 'female defendant'.

PIt. *rei-wo- 'of wealth' >> 'of a case'?

PIE *Hreh₁-i-unt- 'possessing wealth'?

WH supports the ancient connection with rēs 'case' and posits *rē-i-o- 'connected with a court case', whereas EM term the semantic connection with rēs weak. I do not share their pessimism. For a suffix *-o- to have this derived meaning, the derivation must be very old, which makes the etymology *rē-i-o- somewhat less attractive. But one may also posit a suffix *-yo-, whence *reh₁-i-yo- > *reǐwo- > *rēwo- > reus, with the same phonotactics as in deus 'god' < *deiwos. Since *-yo- does not appear to function as a productive denominal suffix in Latin, *reh₁-i-yo- might be a remake of *reh₁-yent- as attested in Skt. rāy-vānt- and Av. rāeuuānt- 'rich'; its meaning would
have been renewed within Latin.

Bibl.: WH II: 432, EM 572, IEW 860, Schrijver 1995: 186, LIV 1.*reh₁+ → rēs

rēx, rēgis ‘king’ [m. g.] (VOLat.+: Forum cippus receive ‘rēgī’, refrēj ‘rēx’)

Derivatives: rēgulus ‘petty king’ (Varro+), rēgālis ‘of a king’ (Naev.+), rēgius ‘of a king, by a king’ (Andr.+), rēgia ‘royal residence, capital’ (Acc.+), rēgīna ‘queen’ (Andr.+), regillus ‘of the queen’ (Pl. Epid. 223 acc.sg.f. regillam); rēgiticus ‘royal, sumptuous’ (Enn.+); regnum ‘kingship, reign, kingdom’ (Naev.+), regnāre ‘to rule as a king’ (Pl.+), regnātor ‘who rules as a king’ (Naev.+).


PIE *h₂reg-s, *h₂reg-m [m.] ‘ruler, king’. IE cognates: OIr. ri (gen.sg. rig) [m.] ‘king’, rīga ‘kingdom’ (= Skt. rājyā- [n.] ‘rule, reign’); Skt. rāj- ‘king’ (nom.sg. rāt), OAv. rāzar- / rāzan- [n.] ‘rule, direction’ (YAv. only rāzar-); YAv. bārāzi-rāz- ‘reigning in the height’.

Nowicki 2002: 337ff. argues that rēgīna is based on an adi. *regnō- ‘regal, meant for the king’. The adj. rēgillus would be a derivative of rēgīna.


rīca ‘garment to cover the head’ [f. ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: rī/ećinium ‘kind of shawl’ (Lex XII+), rīcīmus ‘made from a rīca’ (Varro+).

Plt. *wreikā-.

PIE *ureik-h₂-. IE cognates: Av. uruuisiia- ‘to rotate, revolve’ < *urik-je/o-, Gr. ὅυκός ‘fluid, flabby’ < *uəoik-ο--; Lith. rūši, 3s. rūša ‘to tie, bind’, OHG riho [m.] ‘knee-bend’, MDu. wrēgh ‘instep of the foot’ < *uərēik-ō, gen.sg. *-k-n-os; ME wrah ‘wrong’ < *uəroik-ō-.

Bibl.: WH II: 433, EM 573, IEW 1158f., Schaffner 2001: 573f., LIV *urej̥k-.

ridica ‘wooden stake for supporting vines’ [f. ā] (Cato+)

The connection with Gr. ἐπειδῶ ‘to prop, support’ is very uncertain.


rideō ‘to laugh’ [v. II; pf. rīsī, ppp. rīsum] (Naev.+

Derivatives: ridibundus ‘in a state of laughter’ (Pl.+), rīsiō ‘laughing’ (Pl.), rīsus, -ūs ‘laugher’ (Pl.+), rīcusulus ‘funny, absurd’ (Pl.+), ridiculārius ‘concerned with jokes’ (Pl.+), rīsītāre ‘to laugh repeatedly at’ (Laev.); adridēre ‘to smile at’ (Pl.+), dēridēre ‘to laugh at’ (Pl.+), dēridiculum ‘a ridiculous thing’ (Pl.+), irrīdēre ‘to make fun of’ (Pl.+), irrildiculum ‘laughing-stock’ (Pl.+), conridēre ‘to laugh together’ (Pl.+), subridēre ‘to smile’ (Varro+).

The old connection with Skt. vṛidate ‘is shy’ is semantically gratuitous, and this word has no good PIE etymology, cf. EWAiIII: 482f.

**nma**

Derivatives: *rigor* ‘stiffness, cold’ (Lucr.+), *rigidus* ‘stiff, inflexible’ (Enn.+).

PIt. *rig-e-.


IEW derives *rigeo* from *regō* ‘to stretch, rule’, in which case ‘stretch’ would have been the earlier meaning, and the vowel *rig-* would have developed in non-initial syllable. This seems unlikely, especially since *rigidus* is attested earlier than *rigeo* and *rigor*. WH derived *rigeo* from *srig-*, the root that also yields *frigus* ‘cold’: the original meaning would have been ‘stiff from the cold’. But since its root is reconstructed as *sriHg-*, this would leave short *rig-* ‘stiff’ unexplained, LIV connects two verbs *reiğ-* ‘to stretch, bind’, which are probably just one PIE verb, as Schumacher argues. If the original meaning was ‘to stretch’, we can posit a stative verb *rieg-e-* ‘to be stretched, be stiff’.


**rigo** ‘to irrigate, make wet’ [v. I] (Lucr.+

Derivatives: *irrigare* ‘to make wet, irrigate’ (Pl. +), *irriguus* ‘flooded, drenched’ (Pl. +), *irrigivus* ‘well-watered’ (Cato), *irrigatiō* ‘irrigation’ (Varro+).

PIt. *rig-ā- ‘to lead toward’. It. cognates: maybe O. *regaturei* [dat.sg.] m. epithet of Juppiter, *regā-tor-?

PIE *Hrig-* ‘to stretch’. IE cognates: see s.v. *rigeo*.

Quite clearly, the form *in-rigāre* is older than *rigāre*. Hence, it is conceivable that the verbal root was that of *regō* ‘to lead’: *in-rigāre* ‘to lead water onto (the fields)’ (thus Panagl 1991). The *ā*-conjugation can be denominative to a noun *in-relogo- ‘drainage channel’ (vel sim.), but maybe it was built by a productive process to *regere* like *occupāre* to *capere*. Connecting Alb. *rrjedh*, one might posit a different root *reįg-* ‘to flow’, as LIV does; but this does not change the problem of Latin -/-.

Finally, it is conceivable that *ir-rigāre* belongs to the root *rig-* ‘to stretch’ reflected in *rigeo*. Semantically this is quite satisfactory; it would then be a fairly old (frequentative) derivative *in-rig-ā- ‘to lead into’. This etymology yields the most straightforward explanation of -/-.


**rīma** ‘narrow cleft, crack’ [f. ā] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *rīmāre/i* ‘to examine, scrutinize’ (Pac.+).

Several etymologies are theoretically possible. To the root *hreik-* ‘to tear, break’ (see s.v. *rīxa*), a preform *hreik-sm- *sm* ‘breach, fissure’ would yield *rīma*; but also *reiPMā-, *reidmā-, and roots in *wr- would lead to the same Latin form. For
*wreid-*, cf. Gm. *wrišan* 'to write'. Thus, the etymology remains unclear.

Bibl.: WH II: 435, EM 574, IEW 857-859. → *rixā*

**ringor**, -i 'to show the teeth' [v. III; ppp. *richtum*] (Ter.+)

Derivatives: *richtus*, -ūs 'the open mouth' (Pompon.+).

PIt. *wreng-* 'to turn, curve'. IE cognates: OE *wrencan* 'to turn', OHG bi-renken 'to sprain' < *yurong-eie-.

If *ringor* is from *rengor*, it can be connected with Gm. forms continuing a root *yur(e)n*-.

The ppp. *richtus* must then have secondary -i-. The meaning would be derived from 'to curve one's lips, draw up the nose' = showing the teeth.

Bibl.: WH II: 436, EM 574, IEW 1154, LIV *wreng-*. 

**ripa** 'river bank' [f. ā] (Pl.+)

PIt. *riepā-.*

PIE *h2reip-h2- 'steep slope'. IE cognates: Gr. ἔρειπω 'to throw down, fall down', ἔριπνη 'slope', Olc. *rifa* 'to demolish, tear down', ONorw. *rip* 'upper side of a boat', East Frisian *rip(e)* 'shore'.


**rītus**, -ūs 'religious observances, rites' [m. u] (Pl.+) 

Derivatives: *rite* 'with the proper rites, duly' (Pl.+).

PIt. *reitu-, *reiti- 'rite'.

PIE *h2re(i)-'to count, observe carefully'. IE cognates: OIr. renaid*-, *ren 'to sell, exchange' < PCl. *rina- < *h2ri-n-H-; OIr. *rim, W. *rhif 'number' (maybe borrowed from Gm. according to Schrijver 1991); Gr. ἀριθμός 'number, payment', νήριτος 'countless'; Old Norwegian *rim* [n.] 'account', OHG *rim* [m.] 'row, number'.

According to EM, final -e of *ripe* is always short, which would point to a stem *rīti- or *rīt-*. Since root nouns are rare in Latin (except in compounds), the former seems more likely. It has been suggested that the root is laryngeal-final, but it is impossible to explain the Greek forms in that case. Germanic could have *h2rei-m-. A root *h2ri- is not recognized by LIV, but in view of the meaning, we could analyse it as the root *h2er- 'to join, arrange' with a suffix *-i-, which came to mean 'to count'. Thus, *rītus* may be cognate with *artus* 'limb, member'.


**rīvus** 'small stream, brook, channel' [m. o] (CIL 4, Enn.+; abl.pl. riuois Duenos inscr.)

Derivatives: *rivālis* 'who shares the use of a stream; rival' (Naev.+), *rivulus* 'small stream' (Varro+), dērivāre 'to divert, pass on' (Ter.+).

PIt. *riwor- 'stream'.

PIE *h2riH-u0- 'whirling'. IE cognates: Mlr. *rīan* 'river, sea' < *reino-; Skt. pr. *rīyate* 'to flow (producing whirlpools), whirl', *rīnāti* 'to make flow, make run', *rī-
'flowing, dripping', rīti- [f.] 'stream, motion', YAv. aïti.iritim ah- 'to defile with dirt'; aunu...iriti 'crapped on', airiti- [f.] 'crapping on'; Gr. ὀφθω, Lesb. ὀφνω 'to whirl, stir', Ru. réjat 'to stream fast, flow' < PIE *h₃roıH-, Ru. rénut', Cz. řinouti se 'to stream, flow' < PIE *h₃r(e)H-; OE rið 'stream, brook', OHG rinan 'to drip'.

Steinbauer (1989: 35) interprets the sequence riuois at the end of the second line in the Duenos inscription as VivZy* = 'with streams'. If this is correct (Eichner 1993a: 211, 214 slightly differently translates 'Duftströme'), long i was original and does not go back to a Pit. diphthong.


rīxa 'noisy quarrel, brawl' [f. ā] (Cic.+)

Derivatives: rixāri 'to quarrel violently, struggle' (Varro+).

Plt. *rīk-s-h₁-

PIE *h₁rīk-s- 'to break, fight'? IE cognates: MW rwygaw, MBret. roegaff 'to tear apart' < PCl. *reiıkə/-; Skt. pr. riśāmahe [1p.med.], vi liśate [3s.med.] 'to tear off, pluck', rīštā- 'jerked, torn, broken' < *h₁rīk-; ā rikha [2s.ipv.], likhā- (AV+) 'to scratch', rekḥā- [f.] 'streak, line'; Gr. ἔρεικω 'to break (up), tear (up)'; OHG rīga, MHG rīhe 'row'.

The v. rixāri is probably denominal to rīxa, which itself may have been derived from an s-present PIE *h₁r(e)H-.


rōbus, -oris 'oak-tree; strength' [n. r] (Cato+; nom.acc.sg. rōbus Cato, rōbor Varro)

Derivatives: rōbus 'made of oak; strong' (Cato+), rōborāre 'to give strength to' (Varro+); robōsem [acc.sg.] (Paul. ex F.).

Plt. *roups [n.] 'red substance'.

PIE *h₁rōuδh-os, -es- [n.]. IE cognates: Gr. ἐρευνός 'redness'.

The inner part of the oak was apparently referred to as 'red'. The vowel ō must be interpreted as a non-Roman dialectal trait, showing that the word was borrowed from the surrounding dialect area. The form robōsem shows an animate s-stem in -ős-; or is it a pseudo-archaism?

Bibl.: WH II: 439, EM 575, IEW 872f., Stüber 2002: 140f. → rōbus, ruber

rōbus 'kind of red' [adj. o/ā] (Juv.+)

Derivatives: rōbus 'kind of wheat' (Col.), rōbīgō 'rust, rust-like coating' (Pl.+), rōbigōnūs 'rusty' (Pl.+), Rōbigus 'deity supposed to avert rust from crops' (Varro), Rōbigālia [n.pl.] 'festival in honour of Rōbigus' (Varro+).

Plt. *roups- 'red'.

PIE *h₁roupsδh-o- 'red'. IE cognates: see s.v. rūfus.

A dialectal form (with ō instead of ū) of the adj. found in rūfus.

Bibl.: WH II: 438f., EM 575, IEW 872f., Sihler 1995: 141. → raudus, rūfus
rōdō, -ere 'to gnaw, erode' [v. III; pf. rōsi, ppp. rōsum] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: rōstrum 'snout, beak; speakers' platform in Rome' (Pl.+), rōstrātus 'having a beak, beak-shaped' (Enn.+); abrēdere 'to gnaw off' (Varro+), obrēdere 'to gnaw at, chew' (Pl.), praerēdere 'to bite away the end' (Pl.+).

Plt. *(w)rōde/o-.

PIE *Hreḥ3d-e/o- or *ureḥ3d-e/o- 'to gnaw, furrow'. IE cognates: Hit. ardu- 'to saw' < *Hrḥ3d-u-?, ardēl(a)- [n.] 'a saw' (< *-dyol-); Skt. rādati [pr.], rārāda [3s.pf.] 'to dig, furrow, open the way', raditā- 'gnawed, bitten', YAv. rādāiti 'to prepare (the way)', Khot. varrad- (< *ava-rad-a-) 'to scratch'; or OE wrētan 'to dig, rummage', Olc. rōta 'to stir, upset', OHG ruozen 'to rummage', OE wrōt, MHG ruozel, rīzel 'trunk'.

The root etymology is uncertain. Schrijver connects Skt. rādati, which may reflect *raHd- with laryngeal loss in front of *-dC- (but in which form? it is a thematic present), or it can be connected with the Gm. root *yṛōt- 'to dig, rummage' < PIE *yōre/oHd-.


rogō, -āre 'to ask' [v. I] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: rogātīō 'request' (Varro+), rogātor 'beggar, proposer' (Lucil.+), rogātus, -ās 'request' (Pl. +), rogātāre 'to ask frequently or insistently' (Pl.+); abrogāre 'to repeal, ignore, take away credit' (Pl.+), arrogāre 'to put a supplementary question; lay claim to, adopt' (Pl.+), ērogātāre 'to ask pressingly' (Pl.+), interrogāre 'to ask, examine' (Pl.+), irrogāre 'to demand, impose' (Pl.+), prōrogāre 'to prolong, extend' (Pl.+).

Plt. *rogo- 'request' or 'stretching out'.

PIE *h3rog-o- [n./adj.] 'stretching'. IE cognates: Olc. rakr, Fri. MLG rak 'straight' < *rogo-.

Probably a denominal verb to a noun *rog-o- [n.] 'directing (oneself towards someone)' > 'request' or adj. *rog-o- 'stretching' (of the arms, when begging). The same is continued in rogus 'funeral pile', and may be hidden in ergō 'therefore, then', ergā 'against, next to; towards' and corgō 'forwards', see s.v. regō.

Bibl.: WH II: 440, EM 575f., IEW 854-857, LIV *h3reg-., → regō, rogus

rogus 'funeral pyre' [m. o] (Lex Reg., Lex XII+)

Plt. *rog-o- 'what is erected, pile'.

PIE *h3rog-o- [adj.] 'erected'.

Derived from regō 'to erect'.

Bibl.: WH II: 440f., EM 576, IEW 854-857. → regō, rogō

rōs, rōris 'dew' [m. r] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: rōscidus 'wet with dew, dewy' (Varro+), rōrulentus 'wet with dew' (Cato+), rōrāre 'to shed moisture, drip' (Varro+), rōrifer 'bringing light rain or dew' (Lucr.+).
Pit. *rōs.

PIE *h₁rōs, *h₁rōs- 'dew, juice'. IE cognates: Skt. rāsa- [m.] ‘juice, liquid’, YAv. rānha- [f.] ‘name of a mythical stream’, Sogd. r’k ‘vein, blood vessel’ (< PIr. *raha-ka-), Lith. rasā, OCS rosa ‘dew’; Hit. ārš-/*arš- ‘to flow’, aršanu-* ‘to let flow’, Cluw. āršsija- ‘to flow’ < *h₁(e)rs-, Skt. ārṣati ‘to stream, flow’.

If the word for ‘dew’ is indeed derived from ‘to stream’, we must assume schwebe-ablaut. The resemblance in form and meaning is too great to reject this etymology.

Bibl.: WHII: 442, EM 577, IEW 336ff., LIV *h₁ers-.

rota ‘wheel’ [f. ā] (Pl.+) Derivatives: rotula ‘small wheel’ (Pl.+), rotundus ‘round’ (Cato+).

PIt. *rot-ā- ‘wheel’, *re/ot-e/o- ‘to run, roll’.


The noun rota can be regarded as the f. of the original adj. ‘revolving’. Lat. rotundus may have been derived directly from the pr. *rete/o- (with replacement of *ret- by *rot- under the influence of rota) or from an o-grade pr. *(re-)rot- ‘to roll’, which disappeared from the language afterwards.


ruber, -bra, -brum ‘red’ [adj. o/ā] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: rubēre ‘to be red’ (Lucr.+), rubicundus ‘ruddy, reddish’ (Pl.+), rūbidus ‘reddish’? (uncertain meaning) (Pl.+), rubor ‘redness’ (Acc.+), rubrica ‘red ochre, red clay’ (Pl.+), rubricōsus ‘rich in red clay’ (Cato+); russsus ‘red, red-haired’ (Enn.+), russeścere ‘to turn red’ (Enn.); rutilus ‘of a warm or glowing red colour, ruddy’ (Pl.+), rutilāre ‘to glow with a red colour’ (Acc.+).


PIE *h₁rudh-ro- [adj.] ‘red’. IE cognates: Skt. rudhirā- ‘red, bloody’, Gr. ἐρυθρός, RuCS rodre, ToB ratre ‘red’; OIr. ronaidh*, rōin* ‘to paint red’ < PCl. *rundel/o-.

Hill 2003: 224f. explains russsus from *rudh’-to- to rubeo, because thematization of an s-stem is expected to yield *rūsus < *reudh’s-o-. The verbal use of the root *rudh- in Italo-Celtic is also apparent from PCl. *ru-n-d-e/o- ‘to paint red’. There is no good explanation for rutilus.


rudis ‘unwrought, not cultivated, crude’ [adj. i] (Varro+)

Derivatives: rūdus, -eris [n.] ‘broken stones, rubble’ (Lucil.+), rūdectus ‘full of small stones’ (Cato+).
There are two competing etymologies. The connection with OHG *grioz 'sand, gravel' and Lith. *grudas 'corn' would presuppose the disappearance of initial *gʰ- in Latin, which is questionable. Most handbooks prefer a derivation from the word for 'red'.

This has been argued most extensively by Risch 1979, who suggests that *rudis might continue the PIE i-stem adj. *h₁rudʰ-i- taken from compounds. Yet there is not a shimmer of a meaning 'red' in *rudis or in *rūḍus 'rubble', so that the supposed shift from 'crude (meat) > 'crude' rests in the air.


**rūdō, -ere** 'to roar, bellow' [v. III; pf. *rudīvī (Varro+)]

Plt. *raud̆-/*rud̆-.

PIE *h₃r(е)ud-H- [pr.] 'to weep, roar'. IE cognates: Skt. *rudanti [3p.act.], rodiṣi [2s.act.] 'to weep, bewail', OAv. raostā [aor.], urudōiitā [pr.] 'laments'; OLith. rausti 'weepes', Lith. raudā 'lamentation', raudōti 'to weep, lament', OE rēotan 'to complain, weep'.

The reconstruction of the (suffix?) *-H- is based on Skt. rodiṣi. In view of Skt. ruvāti 'roar', Gr. ὤρυχθομεν 'to howl, roar', Lat. rūmor < *h₃rų-, final *-d- may have been a suffix, and the initial laryngeal may be *h₃-.

Bibl.: WH II: 447, EM 579, IEW 867f., LIV *reudH-. → rausus, rūmōr

**rūfus** 'red, tawny, red-haired' [adj. o/ā] (PI+)]

Derivatives: rūfōsis 'reddish' (Pl.).

Plt. *rōf-o- 'red'. It. cognates: U. rofu [acc.pl.m.], rofa [acc.pl.f.] 'red'.

PIE *h₁roudʰ-o- 'red'. IE cognates: OIr. rūcōd, OW rūd, MW rhudd, Co. rud, OBret. rud, Bret. ruz 'red' < PCl. *rōrado-; Lith. rāūdas, Latv. rāūds 'reddish brown, bay, reddish', Ru. rūḍyj (dialect.) 'blood-red', rūdōj (dialect.) 'red, red-haired, dirty', Go. raufs 'red'.

A borrowing from a Sabellic language with PIt. *-p- > -f-.

Bibl.: WH II: 448, EM 579, IEW 872f., Untermann 2000: 638. → raudus, rōbus

**rūga** 'crease, shallow groove' [f. ā] (Titinius+)

Derivatives: rūgāre 'to become creased' (Pl.+), rūgōsus 'full of wrinkles' (Lucil.+).

Plt. *rouģ-a-.

PIE *h₁roug-h₂- 'wrinkle'. IE cognates: see s.v. -rūgō.

A connection with runcāre and Lith. rāūkas 'wrinkle' is not directly possible because of the different velar. Since words for 'wrinkle' and 'crease' are often derived from 'to be rugged', from which also 'to belch' is often derived (cf. de Vaan 2001: 169), the most obvious connection is with ē-rūgere 'to belch'.


**rūgīō, -iere** 'to bellow, roar (e.g. of lions or deer)' [v. IV] (Suet.)

IE cognates: Gr. ἔρυγομαι 'to roar', aor. ἔρυγγεν (H.), ὀρυμαχῶ [m.] 'noise', ὀρυγῆ 'noise, roaring', ὀρυγόμαι 'to roar'.
Identity with ē-rūgō ‘to belch’ seems unlikely, since ‘belching’ hardly sounds like ‘roaring’. There is a PIE root *(H)ru- ‘to roar’, to which various consonants have been appended in the different IE branches (cf. rūdō). Greek has a g-extension in ὥρυγῇ, but there is also ἔρεύγωμαι ‘to roar’ (unless the translation is wrong, and we are dealing with the homophonous verb ‘to belch’). For Latin rūgiō, the late date of attestation renders it conceivable that it was influenced by mūgiō.

Bibl.: WH II: 449, EM 579ff., IEW 867ff., Schrijver 1991: 18, LIV *(h)reug-. → mūgiō, rūdō

-rūgō, -ere ‘to belch’ [v. III; ppp. -ructum]: ērūgere ‘to belch’ (Enn.+)

Derivatives: ructāre/i ‘to bring up noisily, belch’ (Pl.+, ructus, -ūs ‘belch’ (Pl.+), ēructāre ‘to throw up, belch’ (Varro+); rūmen [n.] ‘first stomach of a ruminant’ (Pompon.+), rūmināre ‘to chew, ruminate, meditate’ (Andr.+), rūmāre ‘to chew’ (Paul. ex F.).

Plt. *roug-e/o-.


The noun rūmen can reflect *rūg-mn or *rūg-smn.


rūmis ‘teat, nipple’ [f. i] (Varro+)

Derivatives: rūma ‘teat, nipple’ (Varro+), Rāmīna ‘goddess associated with suckling’, Rūminālis ‘name of a fig-tree under which Romulus and Remus were supposed to have been suckled’ (Varro+); subrūmus ‘suckling, under the udder’ (Varro+).

IEW regards these words as identical to rūmen ‘throat, first stomach’, but the meaning is quite different. No etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 446ff., EM 580, IEW 873.

rūmor ‘noise, rumour’ [m. r] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: rūmitāre ‘to gossip’ (Naev.); rūmiferāre ‘to carry reports of’ (Pl.).

Plt. *roumōs-.


WH and IEW derive rūmor from the root of Skt. ruvāti ‘to roar’. If correct, the etymology would imply *re/ou-mo- ‘shouting’ > Plt. *reu-m-ōs [coll.] ‘shouting, rumour’.

Bibl.: WH II: 450ff., EM 581, IEW 867ff., LIV *(h₃)reug-. → rarus

rumpō, -ere ‘to burst, break open’ [v. III; pf. rūpī, ppp. ruptum] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: rūmentum ‘breaking off’ (Fest.); abrumpere ‘to break, burst’ (Enn.+), corrumpere ‘to damage, spoil’ (Pl.+), corruptēla ‘corruption, bribing’ (Pl.+), corruptor ‘perverter, seducer’ (Pl.+), dēruptus ‘steep’ (Lucr.+), dǐrumpere ‘to break
apart' (Pl.+, ērumpere ‘to burst out, sprout’ (Cato+), ēruptīō ‘sudden rush, discharge’ (Sis.+, ēruptīō ‘violent entry, assault’ (Pl.+), internarrumperī ‘to break up, interrupt’ (Pl.+); rūpēs, -is ‘cliff, crag’ (Acc.+, rupex, -icus ‘uncivilized person’ (Lucil.+).


Possibly, rupex was built directly on an inherited zero-grade variant *Hrup- of the root.

Bibl.: WH II: 451, EM 581f., IEW 868-871, Meiser 2003: 203, LIV *reup-.

rupōs-āre ‘to grub up (plants), weed’ [v. I] (Cato+)

Plt. *runk-ā-.

PIE *H3ru-n-k- ‘to dig out’. IE cognates: Skt. luṅcati ‘to pluck’ (ep.), Gr. ὤρυσσω, Att. ὤρυττω ‘to dig, grub’.

The verb seems to be denominal, maybe to a noun or adj. *runk-o- which in its turn was derived from a PIE nasal present. Lat. runcina ‘a carpenter’s plane’ (Plin.) and runcināre ‘to plane (as a carpenter)’ (Varro), dēruncināre ‘to plane off’ (Pl.) probably rest on the borrowing of Gr. ὤρυκάνη ‘plane’ influenced by runcāre ‘to grub up’.

Bibl.: WH II: 452, EM 582, IEW 868-871, Steinbauer 1989: 254, LIV *H3reuk-.

ruōs-ere 1 ‘to rush, hurry on; tumble down, collapse’ [v. III; pf. ruī, ppp. rūtum] (Pl.+

Derivatives: ruīna ‘headlong rush, collapse, remains’ (Laev.+), rūna ‘kind of weapon’ (Naev.); corruere ‘to collapse’ (Andr.+), obruere ‘to cover, overwhelm’ (Enn.+), prōruere ‘to hurl forward, overthrow’ (Varro+).

Plt. *rowe/o-.

PIE *H3reue-o- ‘to run, hurry’. IE cognates: OIr. rūathar ‘assault’; Gr. ὤροὺο ‘to hurry’, Alb. ra [3s.aor.] ‘to fall (down); strike, hit’ (< PAlb. *(a)ru-?); Bel., Ukr. rux ‘movement, bustle’, gen.sg. rīxu, Cz. ruch ‘movement’ < *(H)rīous-o-.

Meiser 2003 considers the possibility that the root *H3reue- ‘to run, hurry’ was ultimately derived from *H3r- ‘to set in motion’.


ruōs-ere 2 ‘to churn or plough up, dig out’ [v. III; ppp. rūtum] (Varro+)

Derivatives: rūtus, -ūs ‘digging, rushing’ (Cato+), rūtābulum ‘long stick with a flattened end’ (Naev.+, rūtellum ‘small shovel’ (Lucil.+, rūtrum ‘shovel’ (Cato+); arruere ‘to heap up (earth)’ (Varro+), diruere ‘to pull down’ (Ter.+), ēruere ‘to dig up, tear out’ (Cato+); rītā caesa ‘minerals and timber already quarried and felled at the time an estate is put up for sale’ (Paul. ex F., Cic.+).

Plt. *rowe/o-.

sabulum 'coarse sand, gravel' [n. o] (Varro+)
   Derivatives: sabulōsus 'gravelly' (Varro+), sabulō 'sand' (Varro+); saburra 'gravel'
   (Verg.+), saburrāre 'to fill with ballast' (Pl. +).
   Plt. *(p)saplo- / *(p)saflo- / *(p)sablo-.
   IE cognates: Gr. ψάμμος [f.], (ψ)άμαΰος, Aeol. ψόμμος; Olc. sandr, OHG sant,
   MHG samt 'sand'.
   A substrate word *(p)sam- or *sab(ŋ)-.
sacer 'sacred, votive, holy' [adj. olā] (VOLat+: Forum cippus sakros 'sacer')

Derivatives: (1) sacellum 'shrine' (Ter.+), sacrāmentum 'solemn oath' (Varro+), sacrārium 'sanctuary' (Cato+); cōnsecrāre 'to dedicate' (Sis.+), obsecrāre 'to beseech, pray' (Andr.+), resercrāre 'to implore again' (Pl.+); sacrificāre 'to perform or offer a sacrifice' (Pl.+), sacrificium 'sacrifice' (Varro+), sacrilegus 'sacrilegious, impious' (Pl.+); (2) sācer, -cris 'worthy to be sacrificed' [sacrem Cato, sacres PL·, Varro]; (3) sancire [pf. sānxi, pf. sāntuum] 'to confirm, ratify solemnly' (Andr.+), sāncēscere 'to acquire sanctity' (Acc.+), sāncitūdō 'sanctity' (Acc.+); Sancus, -ūs 'deity of contracts' (Cic.+); (4) sagmen 'sacrificial bundle of grass' (Naev.+).


IE cognates: *sh2k-oro- 'sacred', *seh2k-r-i-, *sh2-n-k- 'to make sacred, sanctify'. IE cognates: Hit. šāklī- [c] 'custom, rites' (<*seh2k-lōi-), zankilā- / zankil- 'to fine, punish' (<*sh2nk-i + *I(o)hr?) 9 Celtib. sancillasta 'money-fine'?

According to Forssman 1992: 308, sācer is a vṛddhi-formation to sacrum 'act of sacrifice'; but it seems preferable to assume ablaut in the root *s(e)h2k-, especially in view of the cognate Hittite forms. The verb continues a nasal present *sank- with i-suffix in the present; the pf. and ppp. were made from the pr. stem *sank-. The ppp. underwent the Pit. development to *sankto- > *sā(n)xto-, after which Latin restored -nk-.


sacerdōs, -ōdis 'priest' [m. (f.) t] (Pl., SCBac.+; gen.pl. sacerdōtum)

Derivatives: sacerdōtula 'a minor priestess' (Varro).

Pit. *sakro-dōt- 'who has sacred endowments'.

PIE *deh3-t- 'gift'.
Earlier etymological works derive -dōs from PIE *dʰoh₁-t- ‘who places/perform the sacrifice’, e.g. WH, EM, Leumann 1977, Sihler 1995. But for such a meaning, the morphology (o-grade in the second member of a governing compound) would be strange. Strunk 1994 and Nussbaum (apparently independently) 1999 derive -dōs from the root *deh₃- ‘to give’, in which an e-grade can be reconstructed. Strunk translates ‘he who has the gift of the sacred’, whereas Nussbaum posits ‘having contributions intended for the sacrifice’, ‘having sacred endowments’. Since Latin has a stem dōs, dōtis ‘dowry’, it seems most straightforward to interpret sacerdōs as sacer-dōt- ‘who has a sacred endowment’. But an analysis as an original governing compound is not excluded. Nussbaum (p. 415, fn. 107) offers philological arguments to show that the combination of *sakros plus *dehr(u-') ‘to give’ was known in Italic; compare Cato (extra et) vinum dato, and the fact that U. uses the verb purtuvitu [3s.ipv.II] ‘present’ when the text speaks about offers which are being presented in the ceremony.


**saeculum** ‘generation, breed, lifetime’ [n. o] (Pl.+

Pflt. *sai-i-.


**saepēs**, -is ‘hedge, fence’ [f. l] (Varro+; saepṣ [nom.sg.] Varro, Cic.)

Derivatives: saepīre [pf. saepṣi, ppp. saemptum] ‘to surround, enclose’ (Pl.+

saepimento ‘enclosure’ (Varro+), saepuṭosus ‘recondite’ (Pac.); cōnsaepīre ‘to hedge in’ (Enn.⁺), praesaepēs/-e, -is [f./n.] ‘stall for cattle or horses; brothel’ (Pl.+

praesēpium ‘id.’ (Varro+), saepe ‘often’ (Naev.⁺), saepiculē ‘repeatedly’ (Pl.+


PIE *seh₂- ‘to tie’. IE cognates: Gr. αἰπυς, also αἰπός ‘steep’? αἰψα [adv.] ‘quickly’.

The adv. saepe < *saepi [n.] is the result of a semantic shift from ‘closely packed’ > ‘close to each other’ > ‘often’ (cf. Italian spesso ‘often’ < spissus ‘thick, dense’). In view of the meaning ‘to bind’ of *sh₂e-, it is tempting to derive *saepi- ‘packed, fenced’ from PIE *seh₂-e-, but a (productive) suffix *-p- is unknown.


**saeta** ‘hair of an animal; fishing-rod’ [f. ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: saetiger ‘bristly’ (Lucr.⁺).

Pflt. *saitā-.
PIE *séḷi-to- or *ś2ei-to- ‘cord’. IE cognates: Skt. sétu- [m.] ‘band, fetter, bridge’, YAv. haēru- [m.] ‘dam’, OPr. saytan ‘strap, belt’, Lith. siētas, saūtas ‘tie’, OCS sēło ‘snare, trap’, Cz. sír ‘net’, OIC. seidır [m.], OHG seid ‘cord’ [n.].

Most handbooks derive saeta from *sh2i- ‘to bind’, but Schrijver deems the semantic link extremely doubtful. Yet there are many accepted derivatives of this root meaning ‘strap’, ‘cord’; by metaphorical use, a meaning ‘hair’ can easily have developed.

Bibl.: WH II: 462, EM 588, IEW 891f., Schrijver 1991: 270, LIV *ś2ei- → saeculum

saevus ‘harsh, savage, ferocious’ [adj. o/a] (Andr.+

Derivatives: saevire ‘to rage, be violent’ (Pl.+), saeviter ‘savagely’ (Pl.+), saevitía ‘savageness’ (Ter.+), saevitūdō ‘savageness’ (Pl.).

Plt. *saiwo- ‘savage’.

PIE *sēhi-uo- ‘savage’. IE cognates: Ofr. sáeth, W. hoed ‘sorrow’ < *saitu-; Hit. šā-i2 ‘to become sullen, angry’, Gr. αἰνείς ‘irritating’ < *saiu-, Go. sair, OHG sēr ‘pain’ < PGm. *sairo-.

Since ‘to rage’ an ‘to be in pain’ are sometimes expressed by means of ‘to be tied, to be controlled by an outer force’, it is conceivable that the PIE root *sh2i- ‘to rage, be in pain’ is ultimately the same as *sh2i- ‘to tie’.


sagitta ‘arrow’ [f. ā] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: sagittārius ‘archer’ (Sis.+), sagittātus ‘barbed’ (Pl.).

No etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 464, EM 588.

sagum ‘coarse woollen cloak’ [n. o] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: sagulum ‘small cloak’ (Varro+), sagátus ‘wearing a sagum’ (Afran.+).

No etymology. WH consider a loan from Gaulish.

Bibl.: WH II: 464, EM 589, IEW 887f.

sāgus ‘prophetic, prescient’ [adj. o/a] (Statius+)

Derivatives: sāga ‘witch, wise woman’ (Lucil.+), sāgīre ‘to perceive’ (Cic.+), sāgāx ‘keen-scented, perceptive’ (Pl.+); praesāgīre ‘to foresee, portend’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *sagāk- ‘perceptive’, *sāg-ije/o- ‘to seek, perceive’.

PIE *sēh2g-i- [m./f.] ‘tracking’? IE cognates: Olr. saigid, *saig ‘to try to reach’ < PCl. *sag-(i)e/o-, MW haeðu ‘to strive, earn’, denom. to a PCl. noun *sag-iā [f.]; Hit. šāgāi- ‘omen’, šākīe/a-zi ‘to give a sign, reveal’; Gr. ἵγεσις ‘to direct, lead’, Go. sokjan, MoE seek ‘to search’ < *sēh2g-, Go. sakan, pret. sok, OHG sahhan ‘to quarrel’ < *sh2g-.

The compound praesāgīre is attested earlier than the simplex, which may well be a back-formation to praesāgīre. Since sāgus also appears only in post-Republican
Latin, prae-sagire has no obvious derivational basis within Latin, and may reflect a Plt. verb in *-je-. Kloekhorst 2008: 697 assumes that šakije/a- is denominal to šāgāi-; for the noun, he posits a PIE paradigm *sēh₂g-ōi-s, *sh₂g-ōi-m, *sh₂g-ō-ōs with generalization of the full-grade root in Hittite. This would mean that Latin sāgīre and Go. sokjan cannot be directly compared to the Hit. verb. Instead, they may both be denominal presents to a noun *sēh₂g-(o)jī-. This might also explain why the IE cognates show an ablaut *sēh₂g-/ *sh₂g-.


sāl, salis ‘salt’ [m. (n.)] (Pl.+; nom.acc.sg. sale Enn., Cato)

Derivatives: salīnum ‘salt-cellar’ (Pl.+), salinatar ‘operator of a salt-works’ (Cato+), salilium ‘little salt-cellar’ (Pl.+), salārius ‘of salt’ (Varro+); salere [ppp. salsum] ‘to salt’ (Lucil.+), salīre ‘to salt’ (Cato+), salus ‘salted, salty’ (Pl.+), salāmentum ‘salted food, esp. fish’ (Ter.+), salītra ‘salting, pickling’ (Pl.+), salum ‘sea’ (Enn.+), Salacia ‘name of a sea-goddess’ (Pac.+).


PIE *sēh₂-l-s [nom.], *sh₂-el-m [ace.], *sh₂-l-ōs ‘salt’; *sh₂l-d- (or *sh₂l-d- or *sēh₂l-d-) ‘salt’. IE cognates: OIr. salann ‘salt’ [n.], W. halen; Gr. ὅς ‘salt’ [m.]; Latv. sāls ‘salt’ [f.], Lith. Žem. sōlymas [m.] ‘saltpan’ < nom.sg. *sēh₂l-s, OPr. sal, OCS solb, Ru. sol ‘salt’ [f.] < *sēh₂l-; Lith. salūsis ‘sweet’, OCS slūdka, Ru. solōdkij (dial.) ‘sweet’ < *sh₂el-d-u-, Go. salt, OHG salth ‘salt’ [n.].

The PIE ablaut was retained into Latin. The stem *sal-d-e/o- yielded sallere, and the ppp. *salto- regularly developed into *salso-. It is possible that salum is a loanword from Greek; if inherited, it must be an inner-Italic derivative *sal-o- ‘salty’ > ‘sea’.


saliō, -īre ‘to jump, leap’ [v. IV; pf. salīt/salīi, ppp. salītum] (Pl.+

Derivatives: salitus, -ūs ‘jump, leap; narrow passage, woodland’ (Naev.+); absilīre ‘to rush away’ (Lucr.+), désilīre ‘to jump down, dismount’ (Pl.+), dissilīre ‘to burst apart’ (Lucr.+), insilīre ‘to jump on’ (Pl.+), prōsilīre ‘to rush forth, gush’ (Pl.+), resilīre ‘to jump back, recoil’ (Lucr.+), subsilīre ‘to jump up’ (Pl.+), trānsilīre ‘to leap over, skip’ (Pl.+); saltāre ‘to dance’ (Pl.+), saltātīō ‘dancing’ (Pl.+), désulta ‘jumping down’ (Pl.), dissultāre ‘to spring apart’ (Lucr.+), exsulāre ‘to spring up, run riot’ (Lucr.+), insultāre ‘to leap in; mock’ (Enn.+), persulīre ‘to leap over’ (Lucr.+), resultāre ‘to jump away, echo’ (Lucil.+), subsulīre ‘to keep jumping up’ (Pl.); praesul [m.] ‘dancer at the head of a religious procession’ (Lucil.+).


salāte 'jumped', ToB salamo, ToA salat 'flying' < *sl-, *sel-, *sol-.

It is assumed e.g. by LIV that Latin sal- arose from *sl- in front of -i- or -j-. Yet in view of horiōr and moriōr < *-tiē/o- it seems that *slj- would phonetically yield *solj-; similarly, for Celtic, *sfjro- would yield *siltro-, but we find *saltro-. One might explain Lat. sal- as a secondary full grade beside earlier *sel-, but the e-grade is not attested in Italic nor in Celtic. A root *sh2l- would match the Greek verb, but Skt. and Toch. cannot go back to *sh2l-. Hence, I regard the reconstruction of the root form as uncertain.


salīva 'salive, spittle' [f. ā] (Varro+)

Derivatives: salebra 'unevenness' (Cic.+).
Pt. *sal-īwo-, *sal-es-ro- 'dirty yellow'.

PIE *slH-V- 'dirty yellow'. IE cognates: Ir. sal [f.] 'dirt', salach, W. halawg 'dirty' < *sal- < PIE *slH-V-; OPr. solowis, Ru. solověj, Scr. slávůj 'nightingale' < *sal-u- (< *solH-uo- 'grey'?); Ru. solóvyj 'light bay', solovój 'yellowish grey', CS slavoočije 'state of having green eyes, glaucitas' [n.]; OHG salo, gen. salwes 'dirt', Olc. sōhr 'dirty yellow' < PIE *solH-u-.

If salīva is indeed cognate with BS1. and Gm. *solH-u- 'grey', it may be built on an earlier adj. *saluus, compare Lat. -īvus in irrigīvus to irriguus, vocīvus to vacuus.


salīx, -īcis 'willow, osier' [f. k] (Pl.+

Derivatives: salīctum 'group of willows, osier-bed' (Pl.+), salīctarius 'of osier-beds' (Cato+), salīgnus 'made of willow-wood' (Cato+), salīgneus 'of willows' (Cato+).
Pt. *salik-.

IE cognates: OIr. sail, gen. sailech, W. helyg 'willow' < *salik-, Myc. e-ri-ka, Gr. Arc. Ālikē 'willow' (Boeot. peλικόν does not certainly contain the same word); OHG salaha, Olc. selja < *salkiōn-?, OE sealh 'willow' < *salko-.

Italo-Celtic *salik- may reflect PIE *slH-ik- or *sh2l-ik-, but Gm. would require *sh2l-k-. The suffix interchange *-ik- vs. *-k- is hardly IE; in combination with the restricted distribution, the possible appurtenance of Greek *helīkā- with -e- in the first syllable (which cannot go back to *sh2l-) and the fact that it is a tree name, this suggests non-IE origin.


salītem 'at least, anyhow' [adv.] (Pl.++; var. salītim Ov.+)

WH accept the etymology *sī alītem 'if otherwise', but the shortening and disappearance of initial -i- would be strange, and so would syncope (cf. alīter). Syntactically, salītem is often followed by a clause in sī 'if', so the presence of *sī in salītem is the opposite of what we expect: if containing a hypothetical form *alītem 'otherwise', we expect *sī non alītem 'if not otherwise', 'at least'. Mechanically, one
could reconstruct an i-stem *sal-ti- 'jump' to salād; as an adverb, the acc.sg. could have meant 'by leaps' > 'certainly, at least'. Thus, the etymology remains uncertain.

Bibl.: WH II: 470, EM 591.

sālvus ‘safe, secure’ [adj. o/ā] (Naev.++; salvar ‘hello! hail! farewell!’ Naev.++)

Derivatives: salvēre ‘to greet’ (Naev.++); sālitās, -ītis [f.] ‘well-being, safety, greeting’ (Pl.++), sālitāris ‘salutary, wholesome’ (Pl.++), salūtāre ‘to greet, hail’ (Naev.++), salūber-bris, gen. -bris ‘healthy, beneficial’ (Cato+), salūbritās ‘wholesomeness, good health’ (Cato+).


Sālus and salūbris seem to presuppose a verb *saluere, etc. *salūtos, which in turn would be regular to a u-stem noun or adj. *salu-. Yet Lat. salvus has cognates in other IE languages which point to *sol(H)u-. Hence, Schrijver 1991 assumes that PIt. had *salu- and *solv–, and that the latter adopted the -a- from the former, yielding *salwo-.

Yet *salwo- would probably yield Latin *sallo-, in spite of Schrijver’s efforts to render this uncertain. If Pre-Latin *salwo- is related to Lat. sollus (cf. Nussbaum 1997), it may be due to an inner-Italic thematization of the adj. *salu-. This thematization must post-date the change of *-lw- > *-ll-. Both PIt. *salu- and Ilr.Gr. *solv– can be interpreted as deriving from a n. noun *sollH-u– / *sllH-u– ‘wholeness’, with an ins.sg. *sllH-u-HI from which salū-t- and *salu–pli– were derived (Pike 2007).


sanguis, -inis ‘blood’ [m. n] (Pl.+; nom.acc.sg. sanguen Enn.)

Derivatives: sanguinolentus ‘bloody’ (Varro+).

PIt. *sangwen-/*sanguen-.

PIE *h₁esḥ₂-r [nom.acc.], *h₁esh₂-én-s [gen.] ‘blood’ [n.]. IE cognates: Hit. ešhar / išhan- ‘blood; bloodshed’ [n.] (< *h₁esḥ₂, *h₁esḥ₂enōs), CLuw. āšhar- ‘blood’, Skt. áṣṛj- (āṣṛk nom.sg., asnas gen.sg.), Gr. ἅπαι, Latv. asins, ToA ysār, ToB yasar ‘id.’.

It is disputed whether sanguen is the oldest form, or whether *sanguin-s was remade into sanguen on the example of unguen, -inis ‘fat, grease’; the expected outcome of *en-s would be *-ēs. The reconstruction PIE *h₁esḥ₂-n-h₁g”-øi- ‘shining like blood’ by Balles 1999 is too far-fetched. The element san- may well go back to PIE
saniēs ‘ulcer, wound matter’ [f. ē] (Enn.+)  
Saniēs might be a derivative in -iēs to the stem *san- of the word for ‘blood’ sanguīs; but the formation type rather points to a deverbal abstract. Klingenschmitt (1992: 128) reconstructs *hIsh2en-ih2- ‘blood-like matter’.

Bibl.: WH II: 475, EM 593. → sanguīs

sānus ‘healthy’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)  
Derivatives: sānitās ‘health, good sense’ (Pl.+, sānāre ‘to cure’ (Caecil.); īnsānus ‘mad’ (Pl.+, īnsānire ‘to be mad, rave’ (Pl.+), īnsānia ‘madness’ (Pl.+).  

PIE *seh2-no-. IE cognates: Skt. ava-sātār- [m.] ‘liberator’, ava-sāna-, OAv. auuanhāna- [n.] ‘resting-place’ (*’unharnessing’) < *seh2- ‘to tie’.  
The reconstruction *seh2-no- is purely mechanical. Sānus might be derived from the root *seh2- ‘to tie’, meaning ‘which is in place, in order’, or maybe from the root *sh2- ‘to satisfy’ seen in satis ‘enough’, Lith. sotūs ‘satisfied’.


sapa ‘new wine boiled down to a proportion of its original volume’ [f. ē] (Cato+)  
IE cognates: Skt. sabardūhī- [epithet, esp. of a dairy-cow], OAv. hōbuant- [adj.] ‘juicy?’ < *sab-uant-, Arm. ham, Olc. safe, OHG saf ‘sap’ < *sap- (OE sēp, MoDu. sap < Lat. sapa) .  
It seems unlikely that sapa is derived from sapīō ‘to taste, know’, as advocated by IEW and EM: the Gm. and Arm. cognates also mean ‘sap’. If the Ir. forms belong here too, there is an interchange between *sap- and *sab- pointing to a loanword. If Ir. is excluded, we have *sap- (Latin, Arm.?) against *sab- (Germ.) which still points to a non-IE loanword.


sapiō, -ere ‘to taste, be intelligent, know’ [v. III; pf. sapī(w)i (>> sapui)] (Naev.+).  
Derivatives: sapor ‘flavour, taste’ (Varro+); dēsipere ‘to lose one’s reason’ (Pl.+), insipientia ‘folly’ (Pl.+), īnsipiens ‘unwise, foolish’ (Pl.+), resipere ‘to recall the flavour of’ (Varro+), resipiscere ‘to regain consciousness, come to one’s senses’ (Pl.+).  
Plt. *sap-i--; pf. *sēp-? It. cognates: O. sipus [nom.sg.m.], Vol. sepu [abl.sg.] ‘knowing’ < ptc.pf.act. *sēp-wōs < *sehip- to sapere, or with analogical ē-grade in the perfect. Nussbaum (p.c.) suggests that the preform may have been an adj. *sēp-uwo-.
sāriō

PIE *ṣh₁p-ı- 'to notice'. IE cognates: OS an-sebbian 'to remark, notice', OHG int-seffen 'to remark, taste', OIC. sefi 'thought' < *ṣaf-ı- < PGm. *ṣaf-, *śab-.

Root-internal *h₁ is uncertain: it hinges on Sabell. *sēp-, but this may be analogical. In that case, the root must be left at *ṣHp-. Latin pf. sapīvī and Sabell. *sēp- might (very speculatively) be interpreted as proof for earlier ablaut *sēhp-ı- / *ṣHp-ei-.


sārciō, -āre 'to mend, repair' [v. IV; pf. sarsī, pps. sartum] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: exsārcäre 'to patch up' (Ter.+), resārcäre 'to mend, restore' (Cato+);
sarcina 'bundle, pack' (Pl.+), sarcīnātus 'loaded with a pack' (Pl.+), sarcīnātor 'mender of clothes' (Pl.+), sarcīnātrix 'woman who mends clothes' (Varro+); sarcta tecta 'mended roofs' (Paul. ex F.).

Plt. *sark-je/o-. It cognates: U. sarsīte '?'.

PIE *sark-je/o- 'to make good, mend'. IE cognates: Hit. šarni(n)k-zī 'to compensate, replace' < *sr-nēn-k-, šarku- / šargau- 'eminent, powerful' < *s(o)rk-(e)u-, šarkištke/a-zī 'to be powerful', Gr. ἔρκος [n.] 'fence, enclosure, net', ὄρκάνη 'fence'; maybe also ὄρκος [m.] 'oath', ToB sārk- 'to surpass, be better'.

Latin -ar- can be the product of a vocalization *CtCC > CarCC-, cf. Schrijver 1991: 498.

Bibl.: WH II: 478f., EM 595, IEW 912, Schrijver 1991: 492f., LIV *serīk-.

sāriō, -āre 'to hoe, weed' [v. IV] (Pl.; sarr- Cato)

Derivatives: sartor 'a hoer' (Pl.+), sarculum 'hoe' (Pl.+).

Plt. *sars-je/o- 'to hoe, weed', pps. *sartso-, n. *s(e)s-tlo-.

PIE *srs-je/o- 'to cut off, weed'. IE cognates: Skt. sṛnī-[f.] 'sickle', Khot. harraa-saw' (< Plt. *hṛmaka-).

Schrijver (1991: 493) regards sarr- as the older variant in view of Romance *re-sarrīō and the noun sarrītōr. If so, *sarrī- would have changed to sāri- according to the mamilla-development, cf. Leumann 1977: 184. This, however, does not explain long ā. In view of narrāre < *gnārāre it seems more likely that sāriō is old and sarrī new. On the other hand, both variants may have been exchangeable for a while, so that we cannot really tell which one is older. The best argument for *sarr- is the possible cognate word serra 'saw'. Schrijver assumes *sarr- < *sars- < *sṛs-je/o-, *sṛs-to- 'to hoe, weed'; maybe the root is *ser- 'to cut off', found with different extensions in Skt. 'sickle' and in Latin sarp(i)ō 'to cut off the vine'. LIV's connection with Hit. šarihje/a-zī 'to attack(?)' and Gr. ἄρωμα to hurry, rush forward' is less attractive semantically, and presupposes /sar-/ not sarr- or sār-. Pinault (1998: 24f.) has a different solution: according to him, sāriō is denominative to a noun nom.sg. *sar, obl. *sarr- < *sās- < *kseh- res- 'comb' vel sim. Yet this solution requires an earlier date for the shortening of *-ār > -ar than is normally assumed, viz. around 200 BC (Leumann 1977: 111). Also, deriving a fourth-conj. pr. from nouns other than i- or o-stems is unusual (cf. Leumann 1977: 556).

Bibl.: WH II: 479f., EM 595, IEW 911f., LIV *sēh₁p-ı- → sarp(i)ō, serra
sarp(i)o, -ere 'to prune (a vine)' [v. III; ppp. sarp(um)] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: sarnentum 'cut twigs, brushwood' (Pl. +).

Plt. *serp-(i)o-e/o-?, *sarpt-o-.

PIE *s(e)r-p(e)-o- 'to cut off'. IE cognates: Gr. ἄρπη 'sickle', Latv. sirpis, OCS sr̥p̥, Ru. serp 'sickle'.

The -a- in the verb may stem from preconsonantal position, e.g. in the ppp., or be analogous to sarriō.


sāriō

satis, sat 'enough, sufficient' [adv.] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: satiās, -ātis 'abundance, repleteness' (Pl. +), satietās 'satiety, abundance' (Pl. +), satiāre 'to satisfy, content' (Lucr. +), insatiētās 'greediness' (Pl.), insatiābilis 'insatiable' (Lucr. +); satisfacere 'to give satisfaction' (Pl. +); sator [adj. o] 'well-fed' (Pl. +), saturiās 'fullness, satiety' (Pl. +), saturaēre 'to fill, satisfy' (Varro +), satullus 'replete' (Varro +), satullāre 'to satiate' (Varro +).

Plt. *sati- 'satisfaction, satiation', *satura-ro- 'well-fed'.

PIE *sh2-ti- 'satisfaction, satiation', *s(e)h2-tu- 'satiety'.

WH interpret satis as a petrified nom.sg. of a noun *sati- 'satisfaction', while sat would hail from anteconsonantal *satis > *sati > sat. One might also invoke potest < *potis est, implying a development (with reanalysis) *satis est > satis't > sat est. In this way, we need to posit only one pre-Latin construction *satis esse. Meiser assumes that satis reflects a comparative *satis 'more satisfied', but there is no indication to be found in the meaning. The adj. *satur- 'well-fed' may contain the same u-stem as Lith. sōtus, although this type of adj. is productive in Lithuanian. The Latin form may rather be a ro-adj. derived from a u-stem noun.


saucius 'wounded' [adj. o/ā] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: sauciāre 'to wound, cut into' (Pl. +).

Plt. *(k)sawo- 'wound', *(k)saweje/o- 'to wound'. It. cognates: possibly U. sauitu [3s.ipv.II], a damaging act in a curse (Vine 2004).

PIE *(k)sou-ô- 'scraping', *(k)sou-εi/e/o- 'to scrape'. IE cognates: Skt. ksura- [m.] 'razor, sharp knife', Gr. ξύω 'to plane, scratch', ξύρων, ξύρος 'razor', Lith. skūsti 'to plane'.

Vine 2004: 624 compares U. sauitu, and posits and adj. *(k)sou-ô- 'scraping', whence a derivative *(k)sou-Vk- 'a scrape, wound' would be derived. With unrounding of *ow > *aw in open syllable, and addition of *-io-, this would yield *sawVkio- > saucius.
scaevus 541

Vine 2006a: 237 argues that the unrounding would have applied in pretonic syllable, hence the preform was *ksou-ō-.

Bibl.: WH II: 483, EM 597, IEW 585f., LIV *kseu-. → novācula

saxum 'rock, boulder' [n. o] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: saxeus ‘of stones and rock’ (Andr.+), saxātilis ‘living among rocks’ (Pl.+).

PIt. *saks-o-.

IE cognates: OIC. sax, OHG sahs ‘knife’?

PIt. *saks- cannot go back to the root *sek- of secāre, since -a- would remain unexplained. Saxum can only be cognate with the Gm. words for ‘knife’ if these reflect a root *shy2k-. However, the Gm. words can also reflect *sok-s-, and there is no other evidence for a root *shy2k- ‘to cut’. Since the semantic connection between ‘rock’ and ‘knife’ is also not evident, saxum has no certain etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 484, EM 597, IEW 895f.

scabō, -ere 'to scratch' [v. Ill; pf. scābī] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: scabīēs ‘roughness of the skin’ (Cato+), scaber [o/a] ‘rough, scurvy’ (Pl.+), scabraē ‘to be rough’ (Emn.), scabrēs [f.sg.] ‘roughness’ (Pac.); scobis [f.] ‘sawdust, peelings’ (Varro+), scōbīna ‘tool for scraping, rasp’ (Varro+), dēscōbīnāre ‘to scrape off’ (Varro+).

PIt. *skaf-e/o- ‘to scratch’, *skafro- ‘rough’, *skof-i- ‘sawdust, what is scratched off’.

PIE *skbh-ro- [v.] ‘to scratch, plane’, *skobh-i-. IE cognates: Lith. skōbtī, 1s. skabīū ‘to plane’, Go. skaban ‘to shave’, OHG scaban ‘to plane’.

There exists agreement on the secondary character of pf. scāb-, which was made by lengthening the vowel of the present, following the same pattern in other verbs. Meiser 2003 assumes that scāb- replaces an earlier perfect *skēb- < pf.pl. *ske-skbh-, but it is not certain that this verb originally had a pf. at all. Cognate forms are PGM. *skabanan ‘to plane’ and Lith. skōbtī, which in view of their meaning and the sixth class of Gm. *skabanan may well continue an iterative stem *skobh-. LIV adds Gr. σκάπτω ‘to dig (but)*, σκάφη ‘trough, basin’, but I agree with Schrijver that these are semantically more remote from ‘to plane’, so their appurtenance is uncertain. For scabere, Schrijver posits *skeb- > *skab- by a rule *e > a after pure velar, but this has rightly been contradicted by Meiser, who points to the many exceptions which this rule would have. Latin scab- may have originated in the adj. *skbro- ‘rough’, with insertion of -a- between two consonant clusters (cf. Kortlandt 1989: 104).


scaevus 'left, inauspicious' [adj. o/a] (Vitr.+)

Derivatives: scaeva ‘omen; left-hand side’ (Pl.+), scaevola ‘phallus-like charm’ (Varro); obscaevāre ‘to constitute a good or bad omen’ (Pl.).

PIt. *skaiwor-.

PIE *skheh2-i-u- ‘shaded; left’. IE cognates: Gr. σκαιός ‘left’ < *skaiyos; Skt. chāyā- ‘shadow, reflection’, YAv. a-saiia- [adj.] ‘that does not cast a shadow’, Gr.
σκιά [f.] ‘shadow’, Gr. σκιήνη, Dor. σκάνδα ‘tent, booth, stage’, Alb. hije ‘shadow’, Latv. seja, dial. seija ‘face’; OCS се́нь, Scr. сьен ‘shadow’, ORu. стень ‘shadow, vision’ [f.]; ToB skiyo [f.] ‘shadow’; Go. skeinan ‘to shine’, OCS си́яти ‘to shine’ < *skiH-.

There are a few rhyming formations meaning ‘left, sinister’ in the IE languages; Latin has laevas and scaevas. As per Steinbauer 1996 (unpublished presentation, cited in Janda 2000: 118 and Stüber 2006: 68), the root could be identified as PIE *sk(e)h2-(i-) ‘to shine’, from which we find derived words for ‘shade’. A derived adj. ‘shaded’ may have come to mean ‘western’ but also ‘the shaded hand, the improper hand = left hand’.


scalpo, -ere ‘to scratch, carve’ [v. III; pf. scalpsi, ppp. scalptum] (Sis.+)

Derivatives: scalpurrire ‘to keep scratching’ (Pl.), scalprum ‘tool for scraping’ (Cato+), scalptūra ‘art of carving’ (Carmen Arvale+), scalpōneae [f.pl.] ‘wooden shoes, clogs’ (Pl.); exculpere ‘to care out, dig out’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *skalp-?

PIE *sk(e)lp- ‘to split off’? IE cognates: Lith. sklembti ‘slide off, slide down’?; OHG scelifa ‘outer skin’, MLG schelver ‘peeled off part’, schulvern ‘to flake off’; OE scielfe ‘floor, planks’, scielf [m.] ‘top rock’ < PGm. *skelf- ‘to split (off)’.

Latin scalp- might be cognate with Lith. *sklemb- and PGm. *skelf-; Latin could have a secondary full grade scalp- from *sklp-, or phonetic *sklp- > *skalp- in preconsonantal position.


scamnum ‘stool, bench’ [n. o] (Cato+)

Derivatives: scabi/ellum ‘low stool; foot-clapper’ (Cato+).

Plt. *skambno-.


If scamnum reflects *skab-no-, it is likely that the original dim. was scabellum < *skabnelo-. If cognate with IIr. *skmbh-, the noun may be reconstructed as *skmbh-no-, with vocalization of *CRCC- > *CdRCC- yielding *skambhno-, as per Schrijver 1991: 498.


scandō, -ere ‘to ascend, mount’ [v. III; pf. scandrē, ppp. scānsum] (Cato+)

Derivatives: scālæ [f.pl.] ‘ladder, stairways’ (Pl.+), scānsiō ‘climbing’ (Varro+); ascendere ‘to go up, rise, attain’ (Andr.+), ascēnsiō ‘ascent’ (Pl.+), coascendere ‘to go on board, mount, climb to’ (Pl.+), deascendere ‘to go down, descend’ (Pl.+), ēscendere ‘to go up, mount’ (Pl.+), inscendere ‘to climb up, mount’ (Pl.+), inscēnsiō
‘embarking’ (Pl.), *trānscendere ‘to go beyond, cross’ (Lucr.+


If Schumacher is right in reconstructing *skand- for Celtic, we have an Italo-Celtic pr. *skand- vs. Skt. aor. *skend- and a pr. *skend-e/o-. But the sequence sk- must have been restored in Skt. from either pr. or aor., since the pf. is judged to be secondary, cf. Kümmel 2000: 572. The trigger to restore sk- must have been a zero-grade form in the aor. (*sknd-?) or in the present (*sknd-e/o-?), or an o-grade iterative. Since Italo-Celtic has a present *skand-, it seems more likely that it was the present which has *sknd-; the -a- could then be explained from vocalization of *sknd- in preconsonantal position.


scapulae ‘shoulder-blades’ [f.pl. ā] (Naev.+

PIE *skap-elo-. It. cognates: U. *skapla [acc.sg.] ‘shoulder(-blade)’.

A semantic connection between ‘shoulder-blade’ and ‘shovel, spade’ is quite natural, due to the form of a shoulder-blade. LIV derives scapulae from a root *(s)kep- from which Gr. κόπτω ‘to hit’, Slav. kapati ‘to dig’ are derived, but Latin -a- cannot be explained from such a root. Scapulae may belong to Gr. σκάπτω ‘to dig (out), work the earth’, σκάφη [f.] ‘winnow, bowl, trough, dish’, also ‘ship’, but this root probably has final *-b̂-, as the majority of derivatives within Greek indicate. Beekes (flthc.) assumes that σκαφ-/σκαπ- are of European substratum provenance, in which case scapulae may also belong to such a non-IE root *skap-.

Bibl.: WH II: 489f., EM 600, IEW 930-933, Untermann 2000: 684f., LIV 1.*(s)kep-.

scatō, -ere ‘to gush forth, swarm’ [v. III] (Pl.+

Derivatives: scatebra ‘gush of water, spring’ (Acc.+) scaturrex, -icis ‘gushing stream’ (Varro).

PIE *skat-.

For the semantic link between ‘to jump’ and ‘gush forth’, cf. English spring. Schrijver 1991 hesitantly considers original *sket-, but admits that there is no evidence for e-grade. LIV proposes a root *skHt-, which would in theory yield *skat- in Baltic and Italic. I think that scat- could also reflect secondary vocalization of the sequence *skt-, compare pat- < *pt- (s.v. pandō).

Bibl.: WH II: 490, EM 600, IEW 950, Schrijver 1991: 432, LIV ?*skHt-.
**scaurus** ‘deformed at the feet; cognomen’ [adj. o/ä] (Cic. +)

Derivatives: *scauripedea* ‘deformed at the feet’ (Varro).

No etymology. The isolated comparison with (late Vedic) Skt. *khora-* ‘limping, lame’ is inconclusive. According to EM, Gr. *σκαῦρος* ‘with deviating hoof’ has been borrowed from Latin.

Bibl.: WH II: 491, EM 600.

**scelus, -eris** ‘curse, crime’ [n. r] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: *scelestus* ‘doom-laden, wicked’ (Pl. +), *scelerōsus* ‘wicked’ (Ter. +), *scelerātus* ‘accursed’ (Pl. +).

Plt. *skelos* [n.].


Presupposes a semantic shift ‘crooked’ > ‘wicked, bad’, for which see Stüber. Since Skt. *skhalate* ‘to stumble, trip’ belongs to Gr. *σκάλλωμαι* from PIE *skh2el-*, there is no need to reconstruct *skh2el-* with Schrijver 1991. According to Nussbaum 1999a: 390, *-el- > *ol* did not take place because the initial cluster *sk-* fronted the -k-.


**scindo, -ere** ‘to split, cleave’ [v. III; pf. *scicidi, ppp. *scissum*] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: *consindere* ‘to tear to pieces’ (Naev. +), *disscindere* ‘to cut apart’ (Cato +), *discidium* ‘discord, separation’ (Pl. +), *excidium* ‘military destruction’ (Pl. +), *excissātus* ‘cut off’ (Pl. +), *perscindere* ‘to cleave through’ (Lucr. +), *proscindere* ‘to plough, slit’ (Pl. +), *rescindere* ‘to cancel, remove by hewing’ (Ter. +); *scindula* (var. *scandula*) ‘wooden slat, shingle’ (A. Hirtius +).


The absence of Lachmann’s Law in the ppp. is ascribed either to the short vowel in the pf. (Meiser, Sihler), to neutralization of the glottal component of *-d- in the nasal present, which then analogically spread to the other verb forms (Kortlandt 1999, Schrijver) or to general shortness of high vowels (Jasanoff 2004). On justifying the reading *excissātus* rather than *excisātus* in Pl., Cist. 383, see Kümmel 2004b: 355.

scintilla ‘spark of fire’ [f. ā] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: scintillāre ‘to send out sparks, glitter’ (Pl.+).
IEW connects scintilla with the root *ski- ‘to shine’, now *skH(i)- in LIV. Whereas the suffix can be a diminutive in *-lelo- or *-n-lo-, the stem form *scint- cannot be explained: does it somehow derive from scindō?
Bibl.: WH II: 494f., EM 602, I EW 917f.

sció, scire ‘to know’ [v. IV; pf. scí(v)i, ppp. scítum] (Naev.+)
Derivatives: scítāri ‘to inquire about’ (Pl.+), scítulus ‘nice-looking’ (Pl.+), scítula ‘delicacies, refinements’ (Pl.+), scius ‘cognizant, skilled’ (Pac.+), scientia ‘knowledge’ (Varro+); sciscere (scívī, scítum) ‘to get to know, approve’ (Pl.+), sciscitāri ‘to try to get to know, inquire’ (Pl.+); nescius ‘unknown, not knowing’ (Pl.+), nescire ‘not to know; some-’ (Naev.+); cónscius ‘sharing knowledge, conscious’ (Pl.+), īnscīēns ‘not knowing, stupid’ (Pl.+), īnscientia ‘ignorance’ (Caecil.+), inscitus ‘ignorant’ (Pl.+), īnscītia ‘ignorance’ (Pl.+), inscius ‘ignorant, unaware’ (Varro+); cónsciscere ‘to decree for oneself, ordain’ (Pl.+), praesciscere ‘to get to know beforehand’ (Ter.+), resciscere ‘to get to know of’ (Naev.+).
PIE *skije/o- ‘to know’.
LIV *skH-je/o- ‘to incise’. IE cognates: Skt. chyáti [3s.act.] ‘to cut open, skin’, āva-chita- ‘pulled off (skin)’, Bal. sáyag ‘to shave’, Gr. σχάω ‘to make an incision, slit open’.
Sciō is probably a back-formation on the basis of nescire. If ‘to know’ developed from ‘to distinguish, make a decision’, -scire can belong to a root meaning ‘to cut off, incise’. LIV derives -scio from *sekH- (as in secēre) which, in view of its meaning, may well be the same root as the one given by LIV as *skh2(e)i- ‘to cut’, which is more likely *skh2-. Thus, the ya-present of Skt. chváti and Lat. sciō may both go back to the same PIE present. LIV (following Rix 1999) assumes that -scirc arose in a compound because a simplex *sekH-je/o- would yield pre-Latin *sekaj/e/o-. But if the suffix was athematic, *skH-i- would yield *-sci-. On the basis of the Hittite paradigm, Kloekhorst 2008: 695f. argues that the final laryngeal was probably *h1.
Bibl.: WH II: 495, EM 602f., I EW 919-922, Rix 1999: 526, LIV *sekH-, *skh2(e)i-.
→ secō

scipio ‘stick’ [m. n] (Pl.+)
PIE *skεip-?
PIE *skεip-o- ‘pole, stick’. IE cognates: Gr. σκέπων ‘staff, stick’, σκούπος probably ‘supporting beam on which the tiles rest’ (Hsch.).
The appurtenance of Skt. ṣe̱pa- ‘penis’ is a wild guess. Latin cippus and scipiō may belong to the Greek words cited, but the family is isolated, and may well go back to loanwords.
Bibl.: WH II: 496, EM 603, I EW 543. → cippus
**scirpus** 'bulrush or similar plant' [m. o] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: *scirpeus* 'woven from bulrushes' (Pl. +), *scirpiculus* [adj. / m.] 'of/for bulrushes; a basket from bulrushes' (Pl. +).

Pt. *skerpo-*?

No etymology. Formally, it might go back to *skerpo-* (cf. *firmus* and inscr. *Mirqurios, stircus*), in which case it can be derived from the root *skerpo-* 'to pluck, cut off' as in *carpo*.

This leaves the semantics to be explained: *skerpo-* might mean 'what is picked' or 'to be picked', but I see no compelling connection with the bulrush.

Bibl.: WH II: 496, EM 603. → *carpo*

**scöpae** 'branches of a plant, broom' [f.pl. ā] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: *scöpiō* 'stalk (of a plant)' (Cato+), *scöpus* 'stalk' (Varro), *scāpus* 'stem, stalk, shaft' (Varro+).

Pt. *skop-ā*.

IE cognates: Gr. οξάπος 'stick' (Hsch.), οξίπτομαι 'to support oneself' < *skāp-; Latv. šķēps 'spear, javelin', CS šaprib 'stick' < *skęp-?; OHG skaft [m.], OWN skapt [n.] 'shaft'.

Latin *scāpus* might be a borrowing from Gr. οξάπος, but *scōp-* must be older, and both could go back to ablaut within a PIE root *sk(e/o)h2p-*. Yet a verbal root of this form is not attested, and the words might also be (independent?) borrowings.

Bibl.: WH II: 490, 497, EM 600, 604, IEW 930-933.

**scortum** 'skin, hide; prostitute' [n. o] (Pl. +; 'skin, hide' only in Varro)

Derivatives: *scortāri* 'to consort with prostitutes' (Pl. +), *scortātor* 'who consorts with prostitutes' (Pl. +), scortēs 'goat-head skins' (Paul. ex F.), scortēus 'made of hide' (Varro+).

Pt. *skort-o-.

PIE *sk(o)rt-o- 'cutting'. IE cognates: see s.v. *cortex*.

The word for 'skin' was used as a euphemism for 'prostitute'. Since no verbal forms of *krt-* or *skrt-* remain within Latin, the cooccurrence of nominal derivations of both PIE root variants (cēna, cortex from *krt-; scortum from *skrt-) is striking.

Bibl.: WH II: 497, EM 604, IEW 938ff. LIV *(s)kert-* → cēna, corium, cortex

**scribō, -ere** 'to write' [v. III; scripsti, scriptum] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: *scriba* 'writer, secretary' (Pl. +), *scriptūra* 'writing, text, tax' (Pl. +), *scriptūrārius* 'of a certain tax' (Lucil. +), *scriptor* 'writer' (Lucil. +); a(d)scribere 'to add in writing, reckon' (Pl. +), ascriptūvus 'enrolled in addition' (Pl. +), cōnscībere 'to enroll, compose' (Pl. +), cōnscībellāre 'to cover with scribbling' (Varro+), dēscribere 'to draw, mark, describe' (Pl. +), discībere 'to allot, separate' (Ter. +), exscribere 'to write out, transcribe' (Pl. +), inscribere 'to inscribe, record' (Pl. +), praescībere 'to lay down, prescribe' (Ter. +), subscriptere 'to append, sign, write under' (Pl. +).

PIE *skrebʰ-e/o- ‘to carve’, *skribʰ-to-? IE cognates: Latv. skrīpāt ‘to scratch, scribble, write down’; OIC. hrīfa ‘scratch, tear’ < *krīpʰ/bʰ-. Unclear: MLr. scrip(a)id ‘scratches’, Gr. σκαριφός ‘outline, sketch’, σκαριφάμαι ‘to tear up the surface of a body, scratch’ (depending on whether -a- is a late anaptyctic vowel, or old).

The ppp. has adopted the full grade *ei from the pf. and pr.


scrinium ‘receptacle for letters or papers’ [n. o] (Sall.+)

In theory, it might be a derivative of a root *(s)krei- for which IEW adduces Lith. skrieti ‘to rotate, circle, fly’, OCS krilo ‘wing’, Lith. kriiąs ‘crooked, curved, wrong’, Ru. krivoj ‘crooked’ < *krei-yo-. Yet there is no indication that scrinium must be derived from a root meaning ‘crooked’ or ‘to rotate’, so that we cannot go further.

Bibl.: WH II: 500, EM 605, IEW 935-938.

scrobis ‘hole in the ground, pit’ [m., f. i] (Pl.+

Derivatives: scrobiculus ‘small planting-hole’ (Varro+).

Plt. *skroβ-i-


BSL. points to a root in *-bʰ-, with which Gm. only partly agrees; but this may be due to secondary developments of the Gm. stops.

Bibl.: WH II: 500, EM 605, IEW 938-947, LIV *(s)kreβ-. → scrofa

scrōfa ‘sow’ [f. ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: scrōfipascus ‘that feeds sows’ (PL).


PIE *skrobʰ-h₂-. IE cognates: see s.v. scrobis.

WH and IEW’s suggestion that scrōfa was borrowed from Gr. γρομφάς, -άδος ‘old sow’ (Hsch.) cannot be accepted: it does not explain the Latin form, and there is no guarantee that the word existed early enough in Greek. It seems much more likely that scrōfa is a non-Roman dialect form from *skrōf-ā- ‘scratcher, digger’, since pigs are often denominated on account of the rummaging way they search for food; see s.v. porcus. If scrōfa is a borrowing, we cannot be sure about its original vowel: it might have been *o, which the Romans borrowed as o. A preform with short *o would be more in line with PIE morphology.

Bibl.: WH II: 500f., EM 605. → porcus, scrobis

scrūpus ‘sharp stone’ [m. o] (Cic.+)

Derivatives: scrūpeus [adj. / f] ‘of sharp rocks; obstacle’ (Enn.+), scrūpōsus ‘full of sharp rocks’ (Pl.+), scrūplus ‘worry, precaution’ (Ter.+), scrūpulōsus ‘jagged;
minutely careful’ (Varro+); *script(ulum) ‘certain small unit of measurement’ (Varro+).

It is assumed that *script(ulum) got its -i- (and sometimes -t-) under the influence of *scriptum. No etymology.


*scruta, -orum ‘discarded goods, junk’ [n.pl. o] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: *scrūtillus ‘kind of sausage’ (Pl.+), *scrūtārius ‘second-hand dealer’ (Lucil.), *scrūtāri ‘to examine, investigate’ (Pl.); *scrātum ‘skin used for storing arrows, quiver’ (Paul. ex F.), *scrōtum ‘the scrotum’ (Cels.).

PIt. *skrout-?


Certainly not borrowed from Gr. γρύτη [f.] ‘woman’s dressing-case, tool-bag, frippery’ as assumed by WH. In theory, a preform *skrouto- may have developed to *scrūt- in Rome and to *skrōt- in Latium; *skrout- would then be a hypercorrect form for *skrōt-.

It is not certain, however, that *skroutum and *scrotum semantically belong to *skrōt- ‘discarded goods, trifles’. The further etymology is uncertain: only Germanic contains words matching in form and possibly in meaning.


*scurra ‘fashionable city idler’ [m. ā] (Pl.+)

Whereas WH regard scurra as a borrowing from Etruscan, IEW and Meiser 1998 propose an etymology *skrōt-a to a root *skers- ‘to jump’. Yet this is a mere root etymology, without obvious cognates, and semantically un compelling. Furthermore, m. nouns in -a, if inherited, tend to be etymologically transparent (cf. Leumann 1977: 280).


*scutra ‘shallow dish, pan’ [f. ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *scūta [f.] ‘shallow dish, pan’ (Lucil.), scutella ‘small shallow dish’ (Cic.+), scutriscum ‘small scutra’ (Cato), scutula ‘scutra-like figure; small shallow dish’ (Pl.+

WH regard *scūta as a back-formation to scutella, with long ā introduced from *scūtum. A connection with *scūtum ‘shield’ seems possible: a shield turned upside down may be used as a dish or pan. Yet the suffix -ra would be an unusual addition to derive a noun from *scūtum. Hence, it may well be a loanword.

Bibl.: WH II: 503, EM 606.

*scūtum ‘shield’ [n. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *scūtārius ‘maker of shields’ (Pl.+

PIt. *skoito- [n.] ‘shield’.

The ablaut *skeito- / *skoito- within BSL and within Italo-Celtic is striking, and points to productive derivatives from verbal forms (verb *skeit-, noun *skoito-?). The root *ski- might be an unenlarged variant of the root *skid- ‘to split’ found in scindo.


sē ‘(him, her, it, them)self/ves’ [pron. reflexive] (Lex XII, Andr.): acc. abl.sg. sē (OLat. inscr. sed, Pl. sēd), gen. sg. sūi, dat. sg. sibi (inscr. sibei)

Derivatives: suus [adj. poss.] ‘his, her, its, their’ (OLat. inscr. soueis ‘suins’).


The -d in the abl. can be inherited from PIE. In the acc., it can simply be the abl. form which was used as the acc. The long vowel will stem from the stressed acc.sg. *s(u)e > *sē. The gen.sg. sūi continues the gen. of the poss. suus ‘his, her’ < *seuo-. The PIE acc. probably was *se, which took *u from the poss. *suos, whence acc. *syē, at least in stressed position. The possessive then introduced the first vowel from the gen. *seue: *suos >> *seyos > Plt. *sowos.


sē-, se-, sō-, so- ‘away, without’ [pref.] (mostly sē-; se- in seorsum (cf. vertō), so- in socors, soluō, sō- in sobrius)

Derivatives: sed ‘but’ (Andr. +; set Cato+), sē, sed [prep. + abl.] ‘without’ (Lex XII+).

Plt.acc. *se, abl. *sed (>> *sēd). It. cognates: U. seipodruhpei [adv.] ‘to both sides’
The abl.sg. (*swēdi?) > *sēd originally meant ‘per se, for itself’, whence ‘however, but’ as cj. and ‘without, away’ as prep.; see s.v. sē for the loss of *-w-. In isolation, the preposition is preserved in Lex XII sē fraude and e.g. in Paul. ex F. As a separate word, the final -d was lost, yielding sē, or the vowel was shortened, yielding the conjunction sed ‘but’. The variant sē- in compounds can directly stem from *sēd- in front of consonant-initial heads. The variants se- and so- are rare, and can be explained in two ways. It is possible that they continue an acc. *swe ‘toward oneself > ‘per se, separately’, as Meiser 1998: 158 argues. Loss of *w led to se-, which may have been assimilated to so- in socors, and underwent the regular change of *el to ol if l was velar, in soluō (Weiss 1994: 94). The disadvantage of this solution is that we must assume the coexistence of *swe and *sēd as prefixes meaning ‘away’; also, there is no hard evidence for *sw- in Italic, Latin may just continue PIE *se. Alternatively, seorsum contains *sē- with shortening in hiatus, and se- was then analogically introduced in *se-kors and *se-luō. Meiser assumes dissimilatory loss of *w in *swe-woro-.


sēbum ‘hard animal fat, tallow’ [n. o.] (Pl.+)

The word is attested too early to be a loan from Germanic. WH and IEW suggest that it and Germanic *saip- ‘soap’ may reflect a common etymon. LIV reconstructs a root *seib- ‘to drip’, but *-b- is extremely rare in PIE, and the meaning of sēbum is not necessarily connected with ‘to drip’. No etymology.


secō, -āre ‘to cut, sever’ [v. I; pf. secui, ppp. sectum] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: sectula ‘sickle/scythe’ (Varro), sectīō ‘cutting, castration, buying up’ (Varro+), sector ‘who cuts, who buys up’ (Pl.+), sectūra ‘cutting, quarry’ (Varro+), secūris [f.] ‘axe’ (Pl.+), sectūrica ‘small axe’ (Pl.+), secespita [f.] ‘kind of sacrificial knife’ (Suet., Paul. ex F.); f(a)enisex ‘mower’ (Var. +); exta, -ōrum ‘upper internal organs’ (Naev.+); circumsecāre ‘to cut round; circumcision’ (Cato+), dēse/icāre ‘to cut off, mow’ (Varro+), disse/icāre ‘to cut apart’ (Varro+), exsel/icāre ‘to cut out’ (Pl.+), insecāre ‘to make an incision’ (Cato+), insicium ‘rissole’ (Varro+), praese/icāre ‘to cut at the end’ (Varro+), praeseicmen ‘a clipping’ (Pl.+), proṣe/icāre ‘to cut off, sever’ (Pl.+), prosiēs ‘severed portion’ (Lucil.+), rese/icāre ‘to cut back, prune’ (Cato+), subsicāre ‘to cut away’ (Varro+), subsicivus ‘left over, spare’ (Lucil.+).

Pit. *sekajelo-. It. cognates: U. prusekatu, prusektu [3s.ipv.II], prusectu, proseseto [ppp. acc.pl.n.], proseseto [gen.pl.n.], prusecete, prosesetir, proseseter [dat.pl.n.] ‘to cut out’ (the entrails of the sacrificial animal) < *prō-sekā-, sup. *prō-sekē-to-; U. prusecia [acc.pl.n.] < *prō-sejoto- ‘(entrails) which have been cut out’.

PIE *sekhl-ije/o- ‘to cut off’ IE cognates: Hit. šākk-ī/-šakk- ‘to know, pay attention
to' < *sokʰ₁-/*skʰ₁-, OCS sēšiti, Is. seko ‘to cut’, Ru. seeč ‘to cut to pieces, beat’, Scr. sjecti ‘to cut’.

The long e in sēcula is striking, and recalls that of régula and tégula. Varro mentions that sēcula is found in Campania, which may mean that it is a dialect form, and that its long e in Latin does not prove long *e in Pit. The noun s(a)cēna [f.] ‘sacrificial axe’ (Andr., Paul. ex F.) is only attested in quotations by Festus and Paulus, and its form vacillates; still, the fact that it was borrowed into Celtic (OIr. scián ‘knife’) shows that it was alive during the Roman era. The solution put forward by Rosén 1994, viz. that s(a)cēna must be compared with Heb. šakkîn, Aram. sakkîn ‘slaughtering-knife’, is attractive. In Rosén’s view, both words are probably borrowed from an unknown third source.


secus ‘otherwise; alongside’ [adv., prep. + acc.] (Andr., Naev., Pl.; CIL)

Derivatives: sequius [comp.] ‘unfavourably, differently’ (Afran.+), sequester [adj.] ‘depository, intermediary, trustee’ (Pl.+), altrim secus, altrinsecus [adv.] ‘on the other side’ (Pl.+), extrinsecus [adv.] ‘from without, on the outside’, utrimque( )secus [adv.] ‘on both sides’.

Pit. *secvos [nom.sg.m.] ‘separate’.

PIE *se-kuo- ‘for/by oneself, separate’. IE cognates: OIr. sech (+ acc.) ‘past; without’, W. heb, Co. heb, OBret. hep ‘without’ < PCI. *sekʰā ‘separately’ [ins.sg.?].

The older explanation is that secus continues a ppa. *(se-)sekʷ-os- ‘following’. Klingenschmitt 1980 objects that Celtic ‘without’ can hardly be explained on the basis of the meaning of *sekʷ-, and furthermore that the lenition which the preposition causes in OIr., W. and Co. suggests a vowel-final form in *-ā or *-o. Klingenschmitt proposes an adj. *se-kuo- ‘separate, by itself’, with the element se- ‘apart’ of Latin sē-, se-, so-, and the suffix *-kuo- from Skt. viśva- ‘all’. The suffix -ester in sequester (‘the third party’) follows the example of equester and others.


sedeō ‘to sit, be seated’ [v. II; pf. sēdi, pp. sessum] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: sēdēs, -is [f.] ‘seat, dwelling-place’ (Andr.+), sediculum ‘seat’ (Varro+), sedile [n.] ‘seat, chair’ (Varro+), sedentarius ‘sitting’ (Pl.+,) sēdāre ‘to restrain, cause to lie down’ (Pl.+,) insēdābiliter ‘unassuageably’ (Lucr.+,) sēla ‘seat, chair’ (Pl.+), sessibulum ‘seat’ (Pl.+), sessiō ‘sitting’ (Varro+); assidēre ‘to sit by, dwell close to’ (Pl.+), assidius ‘wealthy, constantly present, incessant’ (Lex XII+,), cōnsēdāre ‘to check, stop’ (Cato+), cōnnesus, -ūs ‘gathering’ (Afran.+,) désidēre ‘to remain seated, be idle’ (Pl.+), désidia ‘idleness’ (Pl.+), désidiābula, -ōrum ‘a life of idleness’ (Pl. Ix), désidiōsus ‘idle’ (Varro+), insidiae [f.pl.] ‘ambush, trap’ (Pl.+), insidiāri ‘to lie in wait, lie in ambush’ (Pl.+), obsidēre ‘to occupy, blockade’ (Pl.+), obsidiiō ‘siege, blockade’ (Pl.+), obsidium ‘siege, blockade’ (Pl.+), obses, -idis
seges

'hostage, surety' (Elog.Scip., Naev.+), obssessor 'who takes possession; besieger', possessor 'occupier, tenant' (Var.+), possidere 'to hold land or property' (Pl.+), prae sidere 'to keep watch, govern' (Pl.+), praseses 'guardian, custodian' (Pl.+), praesidium 'protection, garrison' (Pl.+), residere 'to be left over, remain seated' (Pl.+), reses [adj.] 'listless, torpid' (Lucil.+), residuus 'left over; idle' (Acc.+), subsidium 'assistance, support, reinforcement troops' (Pl.+), supersedère 'to abstain from' (Pl.+).

Pit. *sed-ē- 'to be seated', *sēd-(i-) 'seat', *sed-lā- 'seat'. It cognates: U. sersi [loc. or abl.sg.] 'seat' < *sēd-i-, sersitu [3s.ipv.II], zeřef, serse [pr.ptc.act., nom.sg.m.] 'to sit' < *sēd-ē-.

PIE *sēd-eH1- 'to be seated' [pr.], *sēd-/*sēd- 'seat'. IE cognates: Olr. saidid, 'said to sit', MCo. hedhi, MBret. hezəfəf 'to stop' < *sede/o-, Olr. sidl 'peace', W. heddl 'peace', Skt. pf. sasaḍa [3s.act.], them.aor. āsadaṭ [3s.act.], aor.ps. āsāḍi, ppp. satta- 'to sit down, settle down', OP niyāṣādaya 'to set down, establish', Gr. ἐζομα 'to sit down', Lith. sėdėti, Latv. sēdēt, OCS sēdēti, Go. sitan 'to sit'.

Latin and Sabellic continue a stative pr. *sēd-ē- 'to be seated'; the other independent Latin forms are sella, sēdēs and sēdāre. The latter must have meant 'to make someone sit down, appease'. The noun sēdēs (a Pit. /-stem?) is probably built to the PIE root noun, but may also continue a PIE h₁-stem according to Schrijver. On dēsidābula, see Serbat 1975: 47f.


solium

seges, -etis 'field of corn, arable land' [f. i] (Lex XII+)

Pit. *seg-et- 'seed' > 'sown land'.

PIE *seg-e/o- 'to adhere, fasten'. IE cognates: MW héu, I. hēaf 'to sow, throw on, strewn' < PCl. *seg- (j)e/o-; Skt. pr. sājāmī, pf. sasāṇja 'to adhere, hang on', āsakti- [f.] 'pursuit, devotion, adhering', nisāṅgin- 'carrying a quiver', OP frāh(o)jam [1s.ipf.act.] 'to hang out', Lith. sēgti, 3s. sēga 'to fasten, pin', OCS prīsešti 'to touch, Sln. sčči 'hold out one's hand, try to keep up with' < BSI. *seng-, Ru. posjagat 'to encroach, infringe', OCz. sahati 'to touch, reach for' < PSI. *segati.

Schumacher 2004: 563 justifies the semantic shift from 'to adhere' to Celtic 'to sow' via the steps 'to imprint' > 'put in' > 'sow'. The tutelary goddess of corn at the time of sowing Sēia (Pliny) could be derived from *Seg-ja.

Bibl.: WH II: 509f., EM 611f., IEW 887, LIV 1.*seg-.

sēgnis 'slothful, inactive' [adj. i] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: sēgnītial/-ēs [f.] 'inertia, sluggishness' (Pl.+), sēgnītās 'sluggishness' (Acc.+).

Pit. *sēk/g-ni-.

An adj. in *ni-, cf. lēnis, omnis. The root is identified as the root of Gr. ἐκα 'slightly, softly', ἠπτω, Ion. ἠσσων 'smaller, weaker', sup. ἐκιστος 'least', which can reflect PGr. *sēk-. This might derive from PIE *sek- 'to dry out, coagulate' or from a root
senex

*seh_jk-. Yet the latter is translated as ‘to arrive’ by LIV, which does not fit sēgnis nor Gr. Ἰκ- ‘little’. If sēgnis is separated from the Greek forms, it may also belong to *seg- ‘to adhere, stick’ (‘sticky’ > ‘inert’). In case the root was *sek- or *seg-, the long vowel is problematic: does it stem from an original root noun? This would be an ad hoc assumption, since there is no direct evidence for it.

Bibl.: WH II: 510, EM 612, IEW 896.

sem-, sim- ‘once, one’ [pref.] (Pl.+

Derivatives: semper ‘always’ (Naev.+), sempiternus ‘everlasting’ (Pl.+), sincinia ‘a single song’ (Paul. ex F.), similī [adv.] ‘at the same time, together’ (Pl.+), simplex, -icis ‘having a single layer, simple’ (Pl.+), simplicitās ‘singleness, ignorance’ (Luct.+), simplus [adj.] ‘single, simple amount’ (Pl.+); semel ‘once’ (Pl.+).


sēmi- ‘half’ [pref.] (Pl.++; sēm_— before vowels, sometimes sē- before m-)

Derivatives: sēlibra ‘half a 1 libra’ (Cato+), sēmodius ‘half a modius’ (Cato+), sēstertius ‘having the value of two-and-a-half’ (Varrō+), simbella ‘coin worth half a libella’ (Varro+), sīnciput, -ītis ‘a half-head’ (Pl.+), sīncipitāmentum ‘a half-head’ (Pl.); sēsque- ‘one and a half’ (<*sēmis-que).

Plt. *sēmi-. It. cognates: U. sēhemu, semu [abl.sg.n.] ‘single, separate?’ <*sēm-o-?


The meaning shifted from ‘(in) one’ > ‘one of the two’ > ‘half’.


senex, senis ‘old man’ [m. k/i] (Naev.+

Derivatives: senior ‘older; a man of older age’ (Pl.+), senātus, -ūs ‘political assembly at Rome, senate’ (Pl.+), senecta ‘period of old age’ (Pl.+), senectus ‘old’ (Pl.+), senectūs, -ūtis ‘old age’ (Pl.+), senēre ‘to be old’ (Pac.+), senēscere ‘to grow old, fade away’ (Varro+); senius ‘old man’ (Ter.+), senilis ‘of an old man’ (Naev.+), senium ‘old age, decay, melancholy’ (Pl.+), seniōsus ‘affected with weakness’ (Cato+), senica ‘old man’ (Pompon.+), seneciō ‘old man’ (Afran.+); senātor ‘senator’ (Cic.+), senāculum ‘place where the senate assembled’ (Varro+).


'old' < *sen-o-, Go. sineigs 'old, elder', sinista 'the eldest'.

It has been argued that Latin shifted from thematic *seno- to athematic *sen- under the influence of iuvenis, but this is hardly credible. We may posit thematic *seno- (as in Celtic), which changed to an i-stem in Latin under the influence of iuvenis. The adj. senilis can also derive from an o-stem noun (cf. erilis, servilis, puerilis; iuvenilis not attested before Cic.), as can senis, senium. The nom.sg. has introduced a suffix *-ek-.


sentūna 'bilge-water, bilge of a ship; the scum of society' [f. ā] (Cic.+)

Derivatives: sentināre 'to bale out' (Caecil.+), sentīnōsus 'full of bilge-water' (Cato); persillum 'small pitch-flavoured ladle, used by the flamen Portunalis to anoint the equipment of Quirinus' (Fest.).

Pit. *sem-t?- *s(e)m-e/o-* [pr.]

PIE *semH- 'to scoop'. IE cognates: OIr. do-essim* 'to pour out' (< *tu-eks-sem-e/o-), MW gwehynnu 'to pour out, empty' (< *uo-), OBret. douohinnom 'to scoop(?)' (< *tu-yo-sem-de/o-); Lith. sėmti 'to scoop'.

There is no obvious formal or semantic obstacle to the etymological connection with PIE *semH-, but in the absence of other cognate forms in Latin, it is still basically a root etymology. The instrument persillum could reflect *per-sem-lo- or *per-sm-e/o-to a verb *per-s(e)m-e/o- 'to pour over'.


→ simpu(v)ium

sentīō, -āre 'to sense, feel' [v. IV; pf. sensī, ppp. sensūm] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: sensīm 'slowly, tentatively' (Pl. +), sensibilīs 'perceptible' (Lucr.+), sēnibilīs 'capable of sensation' (Lucr.+), sensūs, -ās 'sensation, sense' (Varro+); sententia 'opinion, intention, decree' (Pl. +), sentīscere 'to begin to beware of' (Lucr.+); assentāri 'to agree, flatter' (Pl. +), assentātiō 'flattering' (Pl. +), assentātrīx 'woman who flatters' (Pl.), assentātiuncula 'piece of flattering' (Pl.), assentīre 'to agree, approve' (Pl. +), cōnsentānēs 'fitting, appropriate' (Pl. +), cōnsentīre 'to agree, be in harmony' (Lucr. +), dissentīre 'to disagree, differ' (Pac. +), dissēnīō 'disagreement' (Varro+), persentīre 'to be fully conscious of' (Acc. +), persentīscere 'to become fully conscious of' (Pl. +).

Pit. *s(e)nt-ije/o-/*s(e)nt-(e)i-.

PIE *snt-ie/o- or *sēnt-i/*snt-ei- 'to notice'. IE cognates: Lith. sinėtī, 3s. siṇṭi 'to think', OCS sēṣṭī 'sensible, wise' < BSl. *s(e)nt- 'think'; *sent- 'go' in OIr. sēt 'road' < *sentu-, PGm. *sandjan- 'to send', *siṇha- 'road', *sindō- 'travel'.

Since the pr.ptc.act. is sentient-, Leumann explains the noun sentent-ia by means of a dissimilation of the first *i in *sententia. In principle, it could also be a remnant of a PIE root aorist. The meaning shows the connection with BSl. *snt- 'to think'; whether this root is the same as *sent- 'to go' is doubtful.

sequor, -ire 'to bury' [v. IV; sepelī(v)i, sepultum] (Lex XII+)
Derivatives: sepelībilis 'in conditions to be buried' (Pl.); sepulcrum 'tomb, grave' (Pl.), sepulta 'burial' (Lucr.).

Plt. *sepel-je/o- 'to bury', *sepel-to- 'buried', *sepel-tlo- 'grave'.
PIE *sepel-je/o- 'to honour'. IE cognates: Skt. saparyāti 'to honour, worship'; Skt. pr. sāpanti [3p.act.], pf. sepur 'to take care, honour', OAv. hapī [3s.pr.act.] 'watches, restrains himself, preserves'; hapsī [2s.pr.act.] 'you hold(?)'; Gr. ἔπω 'to take care of, commit, do'.

The presence of -e- instead of -i- in the second syllable in front of l exilis may be due to assimilation to e in the first syllable (cf. teget-). Whereas sepelire could be a denom. to an adj. *sepe-lo-, this cannot be the case for Skt. saparyāti; and I find it unlikely that an *sepel-elo- yielded a noun *sepel- in PIE already from which, also in PIE, a verb *sepel-je/o- was derived. Hence, the formation *sepel-je/o- must be old. Lat. sepultus and sepulcrum probably have analogical sepul- < *sepel-to-, -tlo- (on the model of, e.g., haurio - haustus).

Bibl.: WH Π: 517, EM 615, IEW 909, Meiser 1998: 196, LIV *sep-.

septem 'seven' [num. indecl.] (Pl+)
Derivatives: septemdecim 'seventeen' (Pl.+), septimus 'seventh' (Naev.+), septimānus 'on the seventh day' (Varro+); septingenti '700' (Pl.+), september, -bris [adj.] 'of the seventh month' (Afran.+), septemtrōniēs [m.pl.] 'Ursa Maior; the north' (Pl.+), septemtrōnālis 'northern' (Varro+), septuinx, -unīcis 'seven-twelfths' (Varro+), septēnī [adj.pl.] 'seven apiece' (Pl.+); septuāgintā 'seventy' (Varro+), septuennis 'seven years old' (Pl.+).

Plt. *septm-, *septmo-.
PIE *septm 'seven', *s(e)ptm-o- 'seventh'. IE cognates: OIr. secht n-, W. saith, Hit. šptamiya- [n.] 'liquid from seven substances' < *septm-io-, šaptaminzu [adj?] 'sevenfold?' < *septm-in-; Skt. saptā 'seven', saptathā-, saptamā- 'seventh', Av. hapta- 'seven', haptādā- 'seventh', Gr. ἕπτα 'seven', Lith. septyni, OCS sedma, Go. sibun 'id.'.

In septuāgintā < *septm-dk(o)mt-, the -ā- stems from the other decads, but -u- most likely arose phonetically: *septmā- > *septumā- > *septuāvā- (Coleman 1992: 402).

A similar antevocalic development is found in septuennis. Septingenti can be phonetic from *septengentoi < *septm-dkmt-oi.


sequor, sequē 'to follow' [v. III; pf. secūtus sum] (Naev.+)
Derivatives: sequāx 'following closely' (Lucr.+), secta 'course, line, system' (Naev.+), sectāri 'to pursue, accompany' (Pl.+), sectārius 'a wether followed by the flock' (Pl.+), seeṭātor 'follower, attendant' (Lucil.+); assequē 'to go after, achieve' (Pl.+), assecue 'attentively' (Pl.), assecetāri 'to follow closely, escort' (Pl.+), cōsequē 'to follow, overtake, achieve' (Pl.+), cōsectāri 'to seek, pursue' (Pl.+), cōsequē 'consequently' (Lucr.), essequē 'to follow, pursue, carry out' (Pl.+), exsequiae [f.pl.] 'funeral procession' (Ter.+), īnsectāri 'to chase, harry', īnsequē 'to follow closely'
(Lucr.+), obsequē ‘to comply with, devote oneself’ (Pl.+), obsequium ‘compliance, service’ (Pl.+), obsequella ‘compliance, obedience’ (Pl.+), obsequiōsus ‘compliant’ (Pl.), obsecula [f.] ‘devotee’ (Laevi), pedisequus ‘male attendant’ (Pl.+), pedisequa ‘female attendant’ (Pl.+), persectāri ‘to follow up, investigate’ (Pl.+), persequī ‘to follow persistently, seek out’ (Pl.+), prósequī ‘to accompany, furnish’ (Pl.+), subsequī ‘to follow close behind’ (Pl.); secundus ‘following, second’ (Pl.+), secundārius ‘of the second grade or size’ (Cato+), insecundus ‘next in order’ (Pl.), obsecundāre ‘to act in compliance’ (Ter.+).


PIE *sekʷ-e/o- [med.] ‘to follow, accompany’. IE cognates: OIr. seichidir* ‘to follow’ < *sek n-i- « *sek w-e/o-; Skt. pr. sácate, sísakti ‘to follow, go after’, Av. háca- ‘to accompany’, Gr. ἔπομαι ‘to follow’; Lith. sėkti, Latv. seki ‘to follow, go after’; Go. saihjan ‘to see’.

The original ppp. *sekto- yielded the denominal verb sectāri and its derivatives, and was subsequently replaced by seciūtus on the model of the verbs in -υό. The adj. secundus < *sekwo-ndo- ‘following’ came to be used as the ordinal ‘second’.

Bibl.: WH II: 519, EM 616, IEW 896f., Schumacher 2004: 564, LIV 1.*sekʷ-. → insec, secus, socius

serēnus ‘clear, unclouded’ [adj. o/a] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: serēscere ‘to become dry’ (Lucr.).

PIt. *(k)sero- ‘dry’.


Both forms seem to be built on an unattested stative pr. *serē- ‘to be dry’. Lat. *ser- < *sēr- can be due to shortening in pretonic syllable (Dybo’s Law). The explanation for the short vowel in Gr. ξερόν is less clear.


sērius ‘important, serious’ [adj. o/a] (Naev.+)

PIt. *sēr-jo-.

PIE *seh₁-ro- ‘slow, heavy’.

Schrijver subscribes to WH and IEW’s etymology as *swēr- ‘weighty’. This begs the question of the reflex of *sw- in Latin: *swe- yields so-, *swā- yields suā-, and suēscō seems to show that *swē- yields suē-. This means that sērius is more likely to reflect *sē- without *-w-. The long vowel can hardly stem from compensatory lengthening of a lost consonant in front of -r-. In view of the meaning ‘weighty, serious’, it is tempting to link sērius with sevērus, and assume contraction across *-w-: *sēwērio- > *sērio-. However, according to the established rule (cf. Meiser 1998: 92), the preform accented as *sēwērio- would not lose *-w-. The following alternative may be considered: since ‘important’ can be derived from ‘weighty’, sērius may derived from sērus ‘slow’, via a shift from ‘slow’ to ‘tiring’ to ‘heavy’.

**serō**

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**serō, -ere 1** ‘to plant, to sow seeds’ [v. III; pf. sēvī, ppp. satum] (Pl.+

Derivatives: sēmen [n.] ‘seed, semen, offspring’ (Pl.+, sēminium ‘procreation, breed’ (Pl.+, sēmināre ‘to procreate; sow’ (Pl.+, sēminarius ‘of seed’ (Cato+), sēmentis [f.] ‘sowing, crop’ (Pl.+, sēmentīvus ‘of sowing-time’ (Cato+); sator ‘sower, founder’ (Pl.+, satīvus ‘cultivated’ (Varro+), satīō ‘sowing, planting’ (Cato+); asserere ‘to plant near’ (Cato+), cōnserere ‘to plant, strew thickly’ (Pl.+, disserere ‘to plant at intervals’ (Varro+), ĵnserere ‘to plant, graft on’ (Andr.+), interserere ‘to plant between’ (Lucr.+), obserere ‘to sow, plant’ (Pl.+, reserere ‘to replant’ (Varro+); Čonsīvius ‘a god who presided over procreation’ (Varro).


According to Leumann 1977: 345, sēmentis may have been reshaped from earlier *sēmentom. The reduplicated present is traditionally reconstructed as *si-s(ē)h₁r₁; its development to *sirō > serō (lowering of *i and *u in front of r) was established by Parker 1988. LIV chooses a different solution and reconstructs an iterative pr. *sē-soh₁h₁r₁; yet such presents usually show the o-grade in the daughter languages.


**serō, -ere 2** ‘to link, join’ [v. III; pf. seruī, ppp. sertum] (Pl.+

Derivatives: (1) seriēs ‘series, sequence’ (Varro+), serilia [n.pl.] ‘plaited material’ (Pac.+); asserere ‘to lay claim to’ (Pl.+, cōnserere ‘to join, engage in’ (Pl.+, dēsērere ‘to leave, abandon’ (Pl.+, disserere ‘to set out in words, discuss’ (Varro+), disertus ‘skilled in speaking, plain’ (Pl.+, disertim ‘plainly’ (Andr.+), disertāre ‘to discuss, talk about’ (Pl.+, ēdisserere ‘to expound, relate’ (Pl.+, ēdisserēre ‘to relate in detail’ (Pl.+, ĵnserere ‘to put in, introduce’ (Andr.+; Andr. ĵnserimuntur), trānsserere ‘to insert and pass through’ (Cato+), praesertim ‘above all, especially’ (Pl.+); (2) sera> detachable bar, rail’ (Pl.+, obserere ‘to bolt, fasten’ (Ter.+); (3) sermō ‘speech, talk’ (Pl.+, sermōcīnārī ‘to hold a conversation’ (Cato+), sermōnātus, -ūs ‘talk, conversation’ (Pl.).

Plt. *sere/o-, ppp. *(s(e))rto-. It. cognates: O. aserum [inf.] ‘to lay onto’ (with object manim ‘hand’) < *ad-ser-om.

PIE *ser-e/o- ‘to thread, tie together’. IE cognates: Gr. eîρω ‘to knit together’, aor. eîρομ, ἐρωμ, ἐρματα pl. ‘earhangers’; OLith. sēris ‘thread’; OIC. sērvī [n.] ‘collar’ < PGm. *sāriuia-, Go. sarwa [n.pl.] < PGm. *saryā?- ToB śarm [n.], ToA śurm ‘motive, cause; basis, ground’ < *s(υ)er-mn.

Sermō cannot be connected with O. sverruneī [dat.sg.] because of initial sv- (*svermōn would have yielded Latin *sormō). The derivation from a root ‘to link, put on a string’ is not compelling, but can be defended with parallel etymologies of words for ‘speech’ in other languages. Barton 1987 argues that PIE had a root aorist and a
serpō, -ere ‘to crawl, glide’ [v. III; pf. serpsi, pps. serpentum] (Lucil. +)

Derivatives: serpēns [f./m.] ‘snake, serpent’ (Cato+), serpūllum ‘any sort of thyme’ (Cato+); disserpere ‘to spread outwards’ (Lucr.+), prōserpere ‘to creep out’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *serpo/o-.

PIE *serp-e/o- ‘to creep’. IE cognates: Skt. sārpati ‘to creep, crawl’, sarpā- [m.] ‘snake, adder’, Gr. ἔρπω ‘to creep, crawl, go’, ἔρπετον [n.], Aeol. ὑρπετον ‘animal that goes on all fours’, ἔρπυλλος [m. f.] ‘tufted thyme’, Alb. gjarpēr ‘snake’ (< *sérip/e/on-).

Serpullum was probably borrowed from Greek as *herpullum, and provided with s- from serpō.

Bibl.: WH II: 524, EM 619, IEW 912, LIV *serp-.

serra ‘saw; serrated battle formation’ [f. ā] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: serrula ‘small saw’ (Varro+).

Plt. *sersā- ‘saw’.

PIE *sers-h2- ‘cutting off’.

Within Latin, the best connection is with sāriō ‘to hoe, weed’, which would point to a root *srs-.

Bibl.: WH II: 524, EM 619, Schrijver 1991: 493. → sāriō

serum ‘whey; any similar fluid’ [n. o] (Cat.+)

Plt. *sero- [n.] ‘liquid’.


Serum could be cognate with Skt. sarā- and Skt. si-sar- ‘to flow, run’, although these are usually derived from PIE *sel- (see s.v. saliō). Otherwise, we have only a Latin action noun with e-grade and a Gr. agent noun with o-grade.

Bibl.: WH II: 525, EM 619, IEW 909f.

sērus ‘belated, slow’ [adj. o/ā] (Lucil. +)

Derivatives: sērō [adv.] ‘late, too late’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *sēro- ‘(too) late’.


The root cannot be identified as the root of Skt. sā-, sva- ‘to tie’, which is *sh2-.

Bibl.: WH II: 526f., EM 620, IEW 889-891, Schrijver 1991: 140, 527, LIV l.*sērh(i)- → sērius, sētius
servus 'slave' [m. o] (Lex XII, Andr.)

Derivatives: (1) *serva 'female slave' (Pl.+), *servolus 'young slave' (Pl.+), *servola 'slave-girl' (Pl.+), *servitium 'slavery, slave class' (Pl.+), *servitūs, -tūtis 'servitude' (Naev.); *conservus 'fellow slave' (Pl.+), *conserva 'female fellow slave' (Pl.+), *conservitium 'fellowship in slavery' (Pl.); (2) *servire 'to serve as a slave, be subject' (Pl.+), *servīlis 'of a slave' (Lex XII+), *servilicus 'mean and cringing' (Pl.); *inservire 'to attach oneself to, take care of' (Pl.+), *praeservire 'to be in attendance as a slave' (Pl.+), *subservire 'to behave as a servant' (Naev.); (3) *servāre 'to watch over, look after; observe' (Pl.+), *servātor 'saviour, preserver' (Pl.+), *servātrix 'protectress' (Ter.+); *asservāre 'to keep safe, watch' (Pl.+), *conservāre 'to keep from danger, keep unchanged' (Pl.+), *observāre 'to observe, watch, abide by' (Pl.+), *observātiō 'surveillance, observance' (Pl.+).


PIE *ser-uo- 'guardian', *ser-u-o/h₂- 'protection'. IE cognates: Av. haraiti 'heeds, protects', hauruua- 'id.', hauri̯ua- 'protecting' (pasuś-hauruuō spā 'sheep-dog'), haratar- 'guardian', hāra- 'guarding'; possibly Gr. οὕρος [m.] 'watcher, guardian' < *sor-uo-, Gr. ὀράω 'to look, perceive, see', Ion. also ὀρέω (Hdt.), Aeol. ὐρημύ, Myc. o-pi ... o-ro-me-no 'watching' < *sor-?

Rix 1994a argues that the original meaning of *serwo- probably was 'guard, shepherd', which underwent a pejorative development to 'slave' in Italy between 700 and 450 BC. Servīre would be the direct derivative of servus, hence 'be a slave'; servāre would in his view be derived from an older noun *servā- or *serwom 'observation, heedance'. The stem *ser-u- would be a u-stem to the root *ser-, which is also found in Avestan.


sētius 'later, to a lesser degree' [adj. o/a] (Pl.+

PIt. *sēto-.

PIE *sch₁-to- 'late, slow'. IE cognates: OIr. *sith- 'continuous', *sithithir 'as long as', W. hyd, Co. Bret. hes 'length' < *situ/- 'length'; OE sīd 'long', OHG sītō 'lax' < *s(e)h₁-i-to-., OE sīd, OS sīth, OHG sīd 'since' < *s(e)h₁-i-to-.

Sētius can be regarded as an io-derivative to an adj. *sēto- 'late' or 'slow', which may be formed from the same root as *sēro- 'to (too) late'.

Bibl.: WH II: 527, EM 621, IEW 889-891, Schrijver 1991: 140, LIV 1.*sch₁(i)-. → sērus
**sevērus** 'stern, strict, severe' [adj. o/a] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: sevēritās 'sternness, seriousness' (Ter.+), sevēritūdō 'seriousness' (Pl.+), assevērāre 'to declare, affirm' (Pl.+).

Plt. *sevävēro-* 'steadfast'.

PIE *segʰ-ur/-un- 'holding'. IE cognates: Skt. sāhuri- 'victorious, strong' (RV) < PIE *sogʰ-ur, Skt. sāhvan- 'powerful', Gr. ἕχορος 'strong, secure', ἑνεχορον 'pledge, security', ὕχορος 'strong, secure', maybe σθένος [n.] 'strength, power' < *sēgʰ-œn- (Nussbaum 1998b: 525).

WH and Meiser 1998 explain sevērus as a compound of *swe- 'apart, away' and *wēro- 'true' < *wē 'friendly, nice'. However, the semantics are difficult. Lat. vērus means 'real, true', and in view of the Celtic, Gm. and BSI. adjectives for 'true' which also go back to *ueh₁-ro-, this meaning must be old. And even if WH's conjecture, viz. that *wēro- also meant 'friendly' in a prestage of Latin, were true, a meaning 'stern, strict' hardly equals a description as 'not friendly'. For this reason, Nussbaum's solution (1998b: 536) is attractive: sevērus could reflect "PIE *segʰ-uer-o-* [adj.] 'steadfast, tough', a possessive o-derivative of a hysterokinetic nom.-acc. *segʰuër 'steadfastness, toughness"'. The latter formation can be interpreted as a collective derived from a n. *segʰ-ur/-œn- 'holding'.

Bibl.: WH II: 528, EM 621, IEW 1165f., Meiser 1998: 82, LIV *segʰ-.

**sex** 'six' [num. indecl.] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: sexāgintā 'sixty' (Cato+), sexāgēsimus 'sixtieth' (Ter.+), sexāgēnī [pl.adj.] 'sixty at a time' (Pl.+); sexennis 'six years old' (Pl.+), sēnī [pl.adj.] 'six at a time' (Pl.+), sēdecim 'sixteen' (Pl.+), sescentī [pl.adj.] 'six hundred; innumerable many' (Pl.+), sēmesstrīs 'of six months, lasting six months' (Varro+); sextus 'sixth' (Pl.+), sextīlis [adj.] 'name of the sixth month' (Varro+), sextāns [m.] 'one-sixth' (Varro+), sextārius [m.] 'measure of one-sixth' (Cato+).


PIE *(s)ueks 'six', *uks-ū- 'sixth'. IE cognates: Olr. sé, MW chwech 'six', Skt. sās- 'six', sōḷasa 'sixteen', YAv. xśuuaš 'six', xśuuaś.dasa- 'the sixteenth'; Gr. ἕξ, Dor. ἑξ, Arm. vec', Alb. giašhtē, Lith. šėsi, OCS šestb, Po. sześc, Go. goś. 'six'.

The forms sēdecim, sēnī and sēmesstrīs show voicing and loss of *ks in *-ksd-, *ksn, *ksm. In sexāgintā, -ā- has been inserted into *seks-g- (which would have yielded *sēgintā) on the analogy of quadrāginta. The Plt. form *seks has analogically dropped *w- from *swēks by analogy with *septm 'seven'.


**sexus** 'gender, sex' [m. n] (Pl.; n. 1x in Pl. Rud. 107)

Derivatives: secus [n.; only nom.acc.] 'sex' (Sis.+ ) (always used with adj. muliebre, femineum, virile).
Secus seems the more original formation, but it is strange that the older texts only know sexus. The modern meaning of sectio ‘division’ suggests that sec/xus might derive from secäre ‘to sever’, but the morphology remains unclear: does sexus go back to an s-present *sek-s- ‘to cut up’, or was it derived from a form *sek-s- of the putative s-stem underlying secus?

Bibl.: WH II: 529, EM 621f. \(\rightarrow\) secō

si, sic ‘if’ [cj.] (Lex XII, Andr.+; CIL sei, nisei)

Derivatives: sīc ‘thus, so’ (Naev.+), sīn ‘but if’ (Pl.+), sīve, seu ‘or if, whether’ (Pl.+), nisi ‘except if, unless, but that, but’ (Pl.+).

PLt. *sei [loc.sg.] ‘in this’ > ‘thus’. It. cognates: Vol. sepis ‘if someone’ < *sei pis; U. sopir ‘id.’ < *suepis < *suai pis; O. svai, svai, suae, U. sve, sue, SPic. suai [cj.] ‘if; whether’ < *suai [loc.sg.f.?].

PIE *so- ‘this’.

Lat. sīve, seu < *sei-we, sīn < *sei-ne, sīc < *sei-ke. The original meaning of PLt. *sei was ‘so’, which developed into a conditional. The older meaning is preserved in the expression sī dis placet, cf. English so help me God. *Sei may be loc.sg. of *so-, since Sabellic has *swai, which may be loc.sg.f. of *swo-. Lat. seu reflects *sēw < *sēwe, with apocope preceding the change of *ē (< *ei) > ī.


sibilus ‘hissing sound’ [m. o] (Pac.+)

Derivatives: sibilāre ‘to hiss’ (Pl.+), sūbulō ‘flutist’ (Enn.+).

The date of attestation suggests that sibilāre is older than sibilus. Probably onomatopoeic for a sound sūb- (or sī-, with a suffix *-b̥lo-). Lat. sūbulō from *soi- could point to *sī- beside *soi-. Watmough 1997: 53-68 is adamant that sūbulō was borrowed from Etruscan, but the original meaning of the alleged source, the gent. suplu, is unknown.


sibus ‘clever’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: persibus ‘very shrewd’ (Naev.+).

In view of the meaning, and since a ppa. *sēp-us- occurs in Sabellic (O. sīpus), sibus may well represent a borrowing from a Sab. ppa. ‘knowing’. In that case, however, Latin -b- needs an explanation.

Bibl.: WH II: 477, EM 622, IEW 880, Leumann 1977: 610, Untermann 2000: 678. \(\rightarrow\) sapiō

sīca ‘dagger’ [f. ā] (Enn.+

Derivatives: sīcārius ‘assassin’ (Cic.+); sīcīli[s] [f.] ‘sickle’ (Enn.+), sīcīlicula ‘small sickle’ (Pl.), sīcīlēre ‘to go over with a sickle’ (Varro+), sīcīmenta, -ōrum ‘sickle-cuttings’ (Cato+).
There is no way to connect *sfc-* ‘dagger, sickle’ with the root *sec-* ‘to cut’, nor is there an alternative etymology. The noun may well be a loanword.

Bibl.: WH II: 533, EM 623, IEW 895f.

**siccus** ‘dry’ [adj. *o/*a] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *siccāre* ‘to dry (tr./intr.)’ (Cato+), *siccitās* ‘dryness’ (Pl.+, *siccoculus* ‘having dry eyes’ (Pl.); *exsiccāre* ‘to make dry, drain’ (Enn.+).

Prt. *siskwō-?


The other IE languages point to a root *sek-* ‘to dry up’, from which Skt. has, among others, an aor. *se-sk-us-<, whereas Avestan and Celtic rather point to an adj. *siskw-<. The latter would normally yield *siscus in Latin, or, if thematized (as happened in Celtic), *siskawos. How this would result in *sikko- is unclear, so that the whole etymology must of necessity remain uncertain. Differently, EM and IEW connect *siccus with PIE *seikw~ ‘to pour’, positing *sikw-ko- ‘defective as regards water, dried out’ (cf. Fruyt 1986: 164). Yet this is semantically cumbersome, and morphologically unusual.

Bibl.: WH II: 533, EM 623, IEW 893f., Sihler 1995: 200, LIV *sek-.

**sīddō, -ere** ‘to sit down, settle’ [v. III; sēdī/sīdī, ssessum] (Lucil.+

Derivatives: *assīdēre* ‘to sit down’ (Pl.+, *cōnsīdēre* ‘to sit down, settle’ (Varro+), *dēsīdēre* ‘to sink, settle down’ (Cato+), *ınsīdēre* ‘to sit or settle upon, penetrate’ (Naev.+), *obsvīdēre* ‘to besiege’ (Lucr.+), *persīdēre* ‘to sink right in’ (Lucr.+), *possīdēre* ‘to take hold of’ (Naev.+), *resīdēre* ‘to take one’s seat, sink back’ (Pl.+), *subsīdēre* ‘to squat, settle down’ (Pl.+).

Prt. *szd-e/o- ‘to sit down’. It. cognates: U. *sīstu, andersīstū* [3s.ivp.II], *sesust, anderssesus<]> [3s.fut.pf.] ‘to sit down’, with *ander- ‘to sit down between’.


The compound verbs are attested earlier than the simplex *śīdō*

Bibl.: WH II: 509, EM 610f., IEW 884-887, Untermann 2000: 680f., LIV *sed-. → sēdō

**śīdus, -eris** ‘heavenly body; star’ [n. r] (Acc., Varro+)

Derivatives: *consīderāre* ‘to examine, contemplate’ (Pl.+), *dēsīderāre* ‘to miss (Pl.); to desire (younger), *dēsīderium* ‘desire’ (Enn.+).

Prt. *śīd/poṣ- [n.] ‘mark, target’.

The old connection with *syeid- ‘to shine’ is not very specific. According to Rix 1985: 345ff., *śīdus and Gr. ἱδός ‘straight, just’ represent a secondary development of the root PIE *seHdh- ‘to achieve a goal’. The verb *consīderāre would mean ‘to concentrate on
a goal', dēsiderāre 'to come off a goal'. Nyman 1990 develops this line of thought, and adduces Finnish parallels for the semantic shift from 'mark, target' to 'star', which previously was not well understood. Nyman starts from a Plt. noun *sipos 'mark, target', and supposes the verbs to stem from hunters' jargon: con-sider-āre 'to direct one's missile', dē-sider-āre he interprets as denominial from a cp. *dē-sides- 'mark-less, missing the mark'. This explanation is semantically satisfactory, but the connections outside Latin are unclear. Rix connects Gr. ἄνθος, but this just means 'straight, just', without a clear connotation of 'mark, target'; furthermore, Cretan f. eisdeia may point to PGr. *eisdoς (De Lamberterie 1990: 287f.). Formally, Rix considers a derivation from a PIE reduplicated form *si-sHdʰ-u- > *sisdʰu- > *sizdu- > *sīdu-, whence analogical introduction of *sīd- into an s-stem *sēHdʰos- 'goal' (to Skt. sādhate 'to reach the goal' < IIr. *saHdʰ-). Yet the PIE date of the development to *sīdʰ- as assumed by Rix seems unlikely, and, in any case, IIr. does not show it. So we must look for an alternative etymology. By way of speculation, one might think of a derivative *sh₂i-dH₁-ō- 'binding' to *sh₂i-ī- 'to tie, fasten' (cf. saeculum), whence a n. s-stem *sh₂idH₁ōs- 'binding post, pole' > Plt. *sīpos- 'goal'.

Bibl.: WHII: 534, EM 623f., IEW 1042, LIV *seHdʰ-.

signum 'mark, sign' [n. o] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: sīgnāre 'to mark with a sign, indicate, seal' (Plt. +), sigillum 'statuette, relief' (Varro +), sigillātus 'decorated with figures in relief' (Varro +); insīgnis 'clearly visible, remarkable' (Ter. +), insigne [n.] 'personal decoration, mark' (Plt. +), insīgnītus 'marked, remarkable' (Plt. +); cōnsignāre 'to seal (a document)' (Plt. +), dēsīgnāre 'to mark out, plan' (Plt. +), dēsīgnātor 'who assigns seats' (Plt. +), exsīgnāre 'to certify (by seal) as authentic' (Plt. +), obsīgnāre 'to affix a seal to' (Plt. +); significāre 'to indicate by signs, mean' (Plt. +), significātīō 'meaning, sense' (Varro +).


PIE *sek(h2)-no- 'cut' [adj./n.]. IE cognates: see s.v. secō.

The etymological appurtenance to seco 'to cut' implies a semantic shift of *sek-no- 'what is cut out', 'carved out' > 'sign'. Sigillum is the diminutive *segno-lo- 'small sign'. Sīgnāre and in-sīgni- are also derived from *signo- 'mark'. There is no certain trace of a root-final laryngeal. Since in a PIE preform *sekh₂no- > Plt. *sekano-, the *-a- would not have syncopated, the derivative *sek-no- may have been formed at a more recent stage from the synchronic root *sek-.


sileo 'to be silent, be quiet' [v. II; pf. silui] (Plt. +)

Derivatives: sīlescere 'to become silent' (Ter. +), silentium 'silence, quiet' (Plt. +), silentus 'silent' (Laev. apud Gell.), consilescere 'to fall silent' (Plt. +).

Plt. *silo- 'quiet, silent', *silē- 'to be quiet, silent'.
silex

PIE *sh₁₂i-lo- ‘silent’. IE cognates: Go. ana-silan ‘to become quiet’ (pret.3s. sa winds ana-silaida ‘the wind dropped’) < *sil-ē-, OE sālnes(s) [f.] ‘silence’ < *sail-.

WH and EM assume that the original meaning may have been ‘to come to rest’ rather than just ‘to remain silent’. WH and IEW connect sileō with Latin sinō ‘to let’, from a root which is now reconstructed as *sh₁₂i- (or *sh₂i-). This requires a trivial semantic development from ‘to let go’ > ‘to come to rest’. If sileō was based on an adj. *sil- ‘letting go, quiet’, this could be phonetically derived from *siH-lo- or *siH-ló- (cf. Schrijver 1991: 248ff., 343), with a pretonic first syllable. In Gm., we find a root *sil- *sail- meaning ‘quiet, silent’, which can be from PIE *siH- or *siH- if in pretonic position. Hence, Italic and Germanic can both reflect a PIE adj. *sh₁-lo-.

Bibl.: WH II: 535f., EM 625, IEW 889-891, LIV 1.*sh₁(i)-.

silex, -icis ‘hard rock, flint, lava’ [m. k] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: siliceus ‘of silex’ (Cato+), siliqua ‘pod; carob-tree’ (Varro+), silícula ‘small pod’ (Varro+), silīgō, -inis [f.] ‘soft variety of wheat’ (Cato+), silīgineus ‘made from siligo’ (Cato+).

WH and IEW assume a dissimilation of *skelik- to silik- in silex and siliqua, but this is only induced by the comparison with OCS skolbka ‘muscle’, which rather belongs to Lith. skalò ‘match, rod’, OHG scala, Alb. halē < *skol-; cf. Vasmer 1950-1958 III: 647. Since the ablaut grade is different, and the meaning would only match siliqua (which has an unusual suffix), it is better not to assume an unwarranted dissimilation on the basis of this comparison. It seems uncertain that even silex and siliqua belong together, in view of their diverging meanings. For silīgō, the meaning of siliqua is sufficiently close to suggest that sil-iūgō is derived from (the same root as) siliqua.

Bibl.: WH II: 536, EM 625, IEW 923-927.

silva ‘forest, wood’ [f. ā] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: silvāticus ‘of woodlands or scrub’ (Cato+), Silvānus ‘god of forests and uncultivated land’ (Pl.+), silvester/-tris ‘wild, not cultivated; of/in woodlands’ (Acc.+); silvicola ‘inhabiting woodlands’ (Naev.+).

No etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 537, EM 626.

similis ‘similar, like’ [adj. i] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: simul (var. semul Pl., CIL) [adv.] ‘together, simultaneously’ (Andr.+), simultās ‘animosity, quarrel’ (Pl.+), simulter ‘in the same way’ (Pl.), simulāre ‘to pretend, imitate’ (Pl.+), simulācrum ‘likeness, image’ (Pl.+), simulātīo ‘pretence’ (Ter.+), simulātīs ‘resemblance’ (Caecil.+), similitūdō ‘resemblance, image’ (Pac.+); assimilis ‘closely resembling’ (Pl.+), assimulāre ‘to pretend, feign, copy’ (Pl.+), cōnsimilis ‘similar’ (Pl.+), dissimilis ‘unlike’ (Pl.+), dissimulāre ‘to conceal, disguise’ (Pl.+), insimulāre ‘to accuse, charge’ (Pl.+).


PIE *smh₂-el-ı-. IE cognates: OIr. salmuil, W. hafal ‘similar, like’, Gr. ὀμαλός
'equal, level, smooth', Go. *sime 'one time, once', OE *simel, OHG *simbel 'always'.

Simul and semul reflect *semali [n.], with more recent sim- probably stemming from similis. Similis < *semilis < *semalis.


**Simpu(v)ium** ‘earthenware ladle used in religious ceremonies’ [n. o] (Acta Arvalia, Varro+).

Derivatives: simpulum ‘earthenware ladle’ (Plin.+).

IE cognates: Gr. συτύη (-ύα) ‘box for keeping flour and bread’.

Leumann suggests that simpulum is a remodelling of earlier simpu(v)ium, which seems likely. If so, the p in simp- cannot be explained from anaptyxis in *sem-lo-, and the etymological connection with the root *semH- ‘to scoop’ (thus Meiser 1998) must be dismissed. The form and meaning of Gr. συτύη are close enough to suggest borrowing from Greek, or from a Semitic language, from which Greek also took the word. Adoption into the Latin vocabulary would account for the introduction of the nasal.


**Sinčerus** ‘sound, whole, pure’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: sincēris ‘pure’ (Varro+).

PIt. *sm-kair/so- ‘whole, intact’.

PIE *keh2i-r/so- ‘whole’? IE cognates: see s.v. caelum.

Has often been connected with prōcērus, but the semantics hardly allow for this possibility (cf. Hill 2006: 194). The i-stem variant sincēris is argued to be old by Hiltbrunner 1958: 114f. Formally, sincērus cannot be explained from a dissimilation of r's, as is the case with prōcērus. Hiltbrunner 1958: 146-54 returns to an old suggestion by Corssen from 1868 to connect caerī-mōnīa ‘purity’, and posits an earlier adj. *caerus ‘whole, intact’. Indeed, this seems semantically very attractive, and formally, it is without problems. The adj. could be Plt. *kairo- or *kaiso-; in either case, we are reminded of *keh2i-lo- as attested in PGm. *χαίλα- and OCS cēlb ‘whole’, and maybe in Lat. caelum.

Bibl.: WH II: 541f., EM 627, Hiltbrunner 1958: 106-154. —> caerimonia, caelum, sem-

**Sine** ‘without’ [prep.] (Pl.+

Plt. *sn(H)i.

PIE *snH₁-i [loc.sg.?]. IE cognates: Olr. sain- ‘especially, different’, W. han- ‘separate’ < PCl. *sani < *snHi; Skt. samūtār [adv.] ‘away, aside’ < s(e)nH-u-, OA v. hanara ‘without’, Gr. ἀνευ [adv.] ‘far from, without’ < *saneu < *snH₁-eu; Go. sundro ‘apart, aside’, OHG suntar ‘without’, ToA sne, ToB snai ‘id.’ < PTo. *snai < *snHi.

**singed** 'one apiece, single' [adj.pl. o/ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: *singulārius* ‘separate’ (Pl.+), *singulāris* ‘of a particular person; singular’ (Varro+), *singillātim* ‘one by one’ (Pl.+).

Pit. *sem-g-(lo-).

PIE *s(e)m-g²- ‘single’.

The older etymology as *sem-ţno- to the root *ţenhr- ‘to be born’ must be dismissed. Meiser suggests that *singuli* contains a distributive particle *-gʰ-, and was later suffixed with *-lo-.


**singultus** ‘sobbing, hiccough’ [m. u] (Lucr.+

Derivatives: *singultāre* ‘to catch the breath, gasp’ (Verg.+).

Pit. *sengʷ-ol-to-?

PIE *sengʷ(h)-.

Leumann suggests an original verb *sing-ulāre with the same suffix found in other verbs of sound, e.g. *sibilāre, and the same kind of derivative as in *tumultus. Lat. *singultus cannot represent a ppp. *singulitus under the normal rules of syncope (cf. Schrijver 1991: 273). Thus, it may have been built directly on the model of other words in *-ultus. The root *sing- has been compared with PIE *sengʷ- ‘to sing’ (which shares with sobbing the fact that a sound is produced; but ‘sobbing’ is seldom referred to as ‘singing’...); but one might also compare PIE *sengʷ- ‘to fall down, sink’: coughing and sobbing are characterized by violent movements of the throat and often the entire head.


**sinister** ‘left, on the left-hand side, adverse’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: *sinist(e)ra* ‘the left hand, the left’ (Pl.+).

Pit. *senis-tero-?

PIE *senh₂-is- [adj.] ‘more obtaining’? IE cognates: Skt. pr. sanōti, pf. sasāna ‘to win, gain’, *go-sāni- [adj.] ‘winning cows’, Av. *hana- ‘to obtain’.

Next to *laevus* and *scaevus*, the meaning ‘left’ for *sinister* must be a more recent development. If -is- represents the PIE comparative suffix *-is-, to which an extra *-tero- was added, the root can be *sin(H)- or *sen(H)-. WH connect the root *senh₂- ‘to obtain’ (Skt. sanōti), which would imply something like ‘the more favourable (side)’ for *senH-is-tero- > sinister. This remains gratuitous, because the semantics are not specific enough.


**sinō, -ere** ‘to leave alone, let be, allow’ [v. III; pf. sī(v)i, pps. siti] (Lex XII+; pf.sb. sīrīs, sīrit etc. Lex XII, Pl.-Pac.)

Derivatives: *situs* ‘placed, built, deposited’ (Pl.+); *dēsinere* ‘to leave off, cease’ (Naev.+

Pit. *sine/o- ‘to put in place’, *siot- ‘placed’.

PIE *tkei- / *tki- ‘to build’. IE cognates: Skt. pr. kṣēti [3s.act.], kṣiyānti [3p.act.],...

Note the difference in meaning between the adj. situs ‘placed’ (which matches that of póno < *po-sino) and the meaning of the verb and its ppp. ‘to leave, let’. The pf.sb. sīr-ē is explain by Meiser 2003 from *sei-s-ē, whereas Leumann 1977 regards it as a contracted form of the pf.sb. sīverēs etc. The root reconstruction is disputed. LIV hesitates between a root *sh1- ‘to let go’, for which the IE evidence is slim (the IIr. forms rather mean ‘to bind’, and can be reconstructed as *sh2i-), and *tkei- ‘to build’, with a semantic shift from ‘to let someone dwell’ > ‘leave in peace’ > ‘leave, let’ or ‘to let dwell’ > ‘put in place’, and *po-sine- ‘to offload, put’ > pónerē ‘put’. In view of situs, which clearly preserves an older meaning than sinō, we may combine these two paths: *tkei- ‘to build’, factitive *tki-n- ‘to have so. build sth.’ > ‘to put in place’ (situs, póno) > ‘to let, allow’ (sinō). Thus, I prefer the derivation from PIE *tkei- ‘to build, dwell’; this can be regarded as an i-present to the root *tek- ‘to make’.


sinus ‘cavity, fold, breast’ [m. u] (Ter.+)

Derivatives: insinuāre ‘to work oneself into favour, make one’s way in’ (Pl.+).

Pit. *sinu-.

PIE *sinu-? IE cognates: Alb. gi, -ri ‘breast’ < PAlb. *gjin- < *sin-.

Probably to be connected with Alb. gji ‘breast’; if so, Skt. sānu- ‘back’ cannot be cognate, since this does not contain *-i-. No further etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 546, EM 629.

sistō, -ere ‘to cause to stand, set up’ [v. III; pf. stēti, ppp. statum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: assistere ‘to stand by, attend, bring to a halt’ (Pl.+), cōnsistere ‘to stop moving, take a position, arise’ (Pl.+), dēsistere ‘to leave off, cease’ (Pl.+), insistere ‘to stand on, proceed with’ (Pl.+), resistere ‘to pause, offer resistance’ (Pl.+), subsistere ‘to stand firm, stop short’ (Pl.+).

Pit. *s(t)i-sta/o- [pr.], *stato- [ppp.]. It. cognates: U. sestu [1s.pr.], sestu [3s.ipv.II], seste [23s.pr. or 3s.pr.ps.], O. statūs [ppp nom.pl.m.], Vol. statom [nom.acc.sg.n.] ‘to place, put, found’, maybe ‘determinate’; Vol. sistatiens [3p.pf.] ‘they have established’ (to *statu-je-, Beckwith 2005: 155), U. restatu [3s.ipv.II], restef, reste [ptc.pr. nom.sg.m.] ‘to place, put’ < *sista- derived from *sista/o-.

PIE *sti-sth2-(e/o-) ‘to put up, make to stand’. IE cognates: Celtib. sistat ‘erects (?)’, OIr. sissidē*, -sissedar ‘to stand strong’ < PCI. *sista/o-, OIr. sessam ‘standing’, MW gwaessaf ‘support’ < *sistamu- [m.]; Skt. pr. tiṣṭhati, YAṣ. hiṣtaiti ‘to stand’, OP aśtatas (< *a-hiṣtata-) [3s.ipf.]; Gr. ἱστάω, Dor. ἱσταμι ‘to (make to) stand’.

Whether the Italic present was thematic or athematic is uncertain. As Schrijver observes, there is no compelling argument against an original athematic verb.

sitis 'thirst' [f. i] (Pl.+)
  Derivatives: *sifire 'to be thirsty' (Pl.+).
  PIt. *(k)siti-.
  PIE *dʰgʷʰi-ti- 'destruction, perishing'. IE cognates: Skt. kṣay- 'to destroy, perish',
  YAv. jināti 'destroys', aqīiamma- 'undiminish', Gr. hom. φθίνω, Att. φθίνω 'to
  vanish, perish', aor. ἐφθάνοντο.
Apparently, the PIE cluster *dʰgʷʰ- metathesized into *gʷʰdʰ- in a prestige of Italic,
yielding *kʰ- and finally s-.
Bibl.: WH II: 548, EM 629f., IEW 487, Meiser 1998: 96, LIV *dʰgʷʰi-.

situs 'neglect, disuse, rot' [m. u] (Pl.+)
  Derivatives: siticen, -inis [m.] 'player on some kind of musical instrument' (Cato+).
  PIt. *(k)situ- 'funeral'?
  PIE *dʰgʷʰi-tu- 'destruction, perishing'. IE cognates: see s.v. sitis.
If siticen originally referred to musicians playing at funerals (as Gellius' explanation
of siticen claims), it may reflect *situ-kan- 'who plays at the funeral'. But this is of
very course very speculative.
Bibl.: WH II: 549, EM 630, IEW 487, Meiser 1998: 96, LIV *dʰgʷʰi-.

so- 'this, that' [pron.] (Enn.: acc.sg.m. sum, acc.sg.f. sam, acc.pl.m. sōs)
  PIt. *so- / *sā-. It. cognates: O. eks-, ex-, U. es(s)-, Marr. es- 'this' < *ekso-/ā-
  'this' < *e-ke-o-so (see s.v. -ce) ; Spic. praitakla-sa [nom.acc.pl.n.].
  PIE *so [nom.sg.m.], *seb₂ [nom.sg.f.], *tod [nom.acc.sg.m.] 'this, that'. IE cognates:
  Celtib. şomui [dat.sg.m.], şomei [loc.sg.], OIr. so, -so, -siu 'this, that' (< PIE *so), Skt.
  sā-htā-, Av. hā, ha-/ha- 'this, he', Gr. ὁ [m.], ὡς [m.], ἡ [f.] 'this, he, she', oblique and n.
  τ-; Lith. tūs, tū, OCS ῥo, to 'this, that'; Go. sa [m.], so [f.] 'this, he, she', obl. and n. õ;
  ToB se [m.], sā [f] 'this, the'.
  PIE *so/-t- 'this, that' originally had *s- only in the nom.sg.m.f. In PIt. or maybe
  already in Italo-Celtic, *s- spread to all case-forms. Of this paradigm, Ennius retains
  three acc. forms, and OLat. has a few reduplicated forms, for which see s.v. ipse. The
  cj. sī < *sei probably was a loc.sg. of the same paradigm. In Sabellic, *so/sā- is found
  inflected in the pronoun *ekso/ā-. As an uninflected element, *so is found in Lat. ipse.
  The variant *to-, originally of the oblique cases, is found in Lat. iste and in the adv.
  tam, topper, tum. It is likely, then, that *to- also had an inflected paradigm in PIt.
  216-218. → -ce, ipse, iste, sī, tam, topper, tum

sōbrius 'sober, not intoxicated' [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+
  Derivatives: sobrietās 'sobriety' (Sis.+).
  PIt. *se-obri-(o-) 'away from drunkenness'?
  PIE *h₁ogʷʰ-r-i- 'drinking'.
The adj. probably continues the negating prefix sē- plus (the preform of) ēbrius
socius 'companion, comrade' [m. o] (VOLat+: Garigliano Bowl sokiois [abl.pl.]; gen.pl. socium; in verse and fixed formulas.

Derivatives: socia 'female partner' (Pl.); sociennis 'partner' (Pl.), societatis 'partnership, fellowship' (Enn.); cōnsociāre 'to bring into alliance, associate' (Pl.), disconsociāre 'to separate' (Lucr.).

Plt. *sokjo-. It. cognates: Fal. sociāl [dat.sg.f.], sociāl [voc.pl.f.] 'girlfriend, concubine'.

PIE *sok̑h₂-i-o- 'companion'. IE cognates: Skt. sakhə́y- [m.] (sākhā [nom.sg.], sakhə́yam [acc.sg.], sakhya [dat.sg.]), Av. haxi- (YAv. haxa [nom.sg.], haše [dat.sg.]) 'friend, companion' < PIE *sokh₂-oi-; Oic. seggr 'man, warrior'; OE secg 'man, fellow, warrior' < PGM. *sayja- < *sokh₂-io-.

The suffix of the hapax sociennis is unique; it is mostly explained as an Etruscan suffix which was added to the Latin base (Leumann 1977: 321). Whereas Ilr. contains an i-stem derived from a collective *sokh₂- 'comrades', there is no certainty that Germ. and Latin are also derived from the same h₂-stem, since we are unable to discern a trace of the laryngeal. It is equally possible that socius and Gm. sayja- are
sodális 'member of a fraternity' [m. i] (VOLat.+: nom.sg. suodales Lapis Satricanus)

Derivatives: sodálitas 'association, group' (Pl.+), sodállicium 'fraternity, partnership' (Lucil.+).

Pf. *swepáli-.

PIE *sue-dʰ₁- 'custom, to get accustomed'. IE cognates: Skt. svadhá- [f.] 'custom, peculiar nature' < *sue-dʰ₁- (or *sue-dʰ₁-eh₁-?), Gr. ἔθνος [n.] 'custom, usage' < (diss.) *βέθος < *φέθος; Go. sidus [m.] 'custom' (< *s(u)e-dʰ₁-u-?).

An Italic derivative in *-āli- of a stem *swedʰ₁- < PIE *sue-dʰ₁- 'custom', a syntagm which is also reflected in Skt. and Gr. With a first member *suē or *sueh₁, it is also found in suēscō (see s.v.). An alternative etymology would be *swe-d-āli- to Gr. ἵδιος, Dor. ἱδιος, Arg. ἰδιος 'own, private' < PGr. *pheδι-< *swedio-.


söl, sōllis 'sun' [m. I] (Lex XII, Naev.+).

Derivatives: sōlārium 'part which is exposed to the sun, sundial' (Pl.+); sōlstitium 'solstice' (Cato+), sōlstitiālis 'of the summer solstice' (Pl.+).

Pf. *saul?

PIE *sēh₂u-l [nom.acc.], *sh₂u-én- [obl.] 'sun' [n.]. IE cognates: W. hauλ 'sun'; Olr. sūl [f.] 'eye' > *sūl-i-, Skt. svār- (sūvar-) [n.] 'sun' (nom.sg. svār (< *sūHṛ < *sHur < *sh₂uI), gen.sg. sūras, dat.sg. sūrē) , OAv. huuarā [n.], gen.sg. xāŋŋ < *hyanh; YAv. huuara, gen.sg. hū / hūro; Skt. sūrya- [m.] 'sun, deity of the sun', Gr. ep. ἵλιος, Dor. Aeon. ἰλίος, Dor. (trg.) also ἰλιος 'sun' < PGr. *sōφελιος < *sēh₂-u-el-io-; Lith. sūlė, Latv. saules, OCS šunce [n.], Ru. sōlne < BSl. *saʔul-/*s'ul-; Go. sauil [n.], OIc. OE sōl [f.] < *sēh₂-u-el-o-, Go. sunno, OE sunne 'sun'.

The IE languages point to an ablauting n. /n/ stem meaning 'sun', and a derivative in *-i- or -io- to the l-stem. Since Latin does not show a trace of a derivative suffix, it is plausible that söl continues the old n. nom.acc.sg., which later became m. (because of the gender of mēnis?). It is uncertain, however, how Latin acquired -ā-. A preform *sēh₂ul > *saul would normally be preserved as saul and *sh₂u-l would yield **sūl. Kortlandt apud Beeckes 1984: 6 suggests that *saul would have given söl by sporadic development, conditioned by -l. Any form with *sēh₂u- > *sāu- would be expected to yield **sāl.


soleō 'to be used to, be liable, cohabit with' [v. II; pf. soluī (Enn., Cato) / solitus sum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: assolère 'to usually accompany' (Pl.+), īnsolēns 'unaccustomed,
unfamiliar' (Ter.+), obsolēscere ‘to be forgotten about, become tarnished’ (Varro+), obsoletus ‘worn-out’ (Cic.).

PIE *sol-ē- ‘to occupy’.

The etymology is disputed. The meaning is closest to suēscō and sodālis, so that WH and IEW prefer *suēdō-ē- > *sodē-, which then underwent the irregular development of intervocalic *d to l. However, *swe- > so- would be blocked by a following front vowel such as ē; hence this etymology must be rejected. LIV, adopting a much earlier proposal, posits a PIE iterative *sol-eie- ‘to be accustomed’, cognate with Go. saljan, and maybe with Latin solum ‘ground’. Stüber 2002: 147 assumes that the root originally meant ‘to come to a standstill’, whence frequentative ‘to keep returning to’ > ‘dwell at’ > ‘have the custom to’. This is quite a complicated chain of shifts. The nominal derivatives (OCS selo ‘land, village’, OHG sal ‘home, room’) rather point to an original meaning ‘to occupy, inhabit’, from which soleō can easily be understood as ‘to occupy habitually’; or, if the Latin verb was derived from solum ‘ground’, it could mean ‘to be inhabiting’ > ‘be accustomed to’.

Bibl.: WH II: 555, EM 456, 632, IEW 882-884, LIV 2.*sel- → solum, suēscō

solidus ‘solid, thorough’ [adj. o/a] (Pl.)

PIE *solibo-.

The difference in semantics renders a derivation from soleō ‘to be accustomed’ unlikely, even though -idus adjectives often co-occur with statives in -ere. It seems more likely that solidus derives from the same root *solh2- ‘whole’ as salvus and sollus.


solium ‘high-backed chair, throne; bath-tub; sarcophagus’ [n. o] (Pl.)

Derivatives: soliar, -āris [n.] ‘covering for a throne’ (Varro+).

PIE *sod-jo- [n.] ‘seat’. IE cognates: OIr. suide [n.] ‘seat’ < *sodio-.

Probably from *sodio- ‘seat’ with the change of intervocalic *d > -l-. WH’s rejection of this etymology is not credible: a ‘bath-tub’ (Cato+) may originally have been a simple seat in a bathing-house, and the meaning ‘sarcophagus’ (1st.c. AD+) may be metaphorical from ‘throne’. It is possible but uncertain that ob-sidium, sub-sidium also contain *sodium; alternatively, they have been grafted on sed-eō.


sollus ‘unbroken, complete’ [adj. o/a] (Lucil., Fest.)

Derivatives: sollistimum ‘satisfying the rites’ (Cic.+), sollemnis ‘performed in accordance with the prescriptions, solemn, customary’ (Cato+), sollemnis [adv.] ‘solemnly’ (Andr.); sollers ‘clever, skilled’ (Cato+), sollicitus ‘wholly curious’ (Liv. apud Fest.), solliferreum ‘kind of javelin made wholly of iron’ (Liv.+); sollicitus ‘restless, troubled, anxious’ (Pl.+), sollicitāre ‘to disturb, worry, tempt’ (Pl.+)
sölör

söllicitātō ‘vexation, temptation’ (Ter.+), söllicitūdō ‘anxiety, concern’ (Pl.+); sōłōx [adj.] ‘coarse, raw’ (Lucil.+).

PIt. *solno- ‘whole’. It. cognates: O. sullus [nom.pl.m.], sullum, sulum, solu [gen.pl.m.], sullus [acc.pl.f.], Pael. solois [dat.pl.m.], O. sůllad [abl.sg.f.], O. soluh [adv.] ‘each, all, whole’; O. sůl[a]m[n.]aís [abl.pl.f.] ‘connected with the yearly cult feast’ < *sollo-amno-.

PIE *sol(h2)-no- ‘whole’. IE cognates: W. Bret. holl, Co. oll ‘all’ < *sol-no-, OIr. slán ‘whole, sound’ < *sIhH-no-.

Nussbaum 1997 has convincingly argued that Pit. *sollo- can reflect PIE *sollauo-; since there is no trace of a form *solaýo- with regular vocalization of the laryngeal, we must conclude that *h2 was lost due to the de Saussure effect. Alternatively, Pit. *sollo- could reflect PIE *sol(H)-no-, to be compared with BrCl. *sol-no- and OIr. slán (Nussbaum 1997: 189, Driessen 2005: 47). This solution would relieve us of the inconvenience of deriving both salvus and sollus from a Pit. preform in *-uo-.

The adj. söllicitus ‘wholly anxious’ contains citus ‘stirred’, see s.v. cieō. In söllers we find ars ‘skill’. For söllemnis, Nussbaum 1997: 188 proposes a new etymology which seems more likely than the previous one: *soll-epli- ‘with all (due) religious performances, with all due rites’. Dissimilation of the last i would have given *soll-epmi-, whence söllemnis. The adj. sōlōx ‘coarse’ (of wool and sheep) might represent *soll-ók- ‘whole’, in the sense of ‘not yet processed’.


sölör, -ārī ‘to give solace, comfort’ [v. I] (Pl.+

Derivatives: sölācium ‘solace, comfort’ (Pl.+, cōnsōlārī ‘to offer consolation, compensation’ (Pl.+).

PIt. *söl-.

PIE *sōlh2- ‘mercy, comfort’. IE cognates: Gr. ὑάσκομαι /hilā-/, ὑάμαι ‘to appease’, maybe Arm. alac’em ‘to pray’.

Schrijver interprets sölör as denominal to a root noun *sōl-; although we have no independent evidence for a preform *sōl-, this is the best way to explain -ārī- from a known morphological type. Sölācium presupposes an adj. *sōlōx ‘comforting’.

Bibl.: WH II: 556, EM 633f., IEW 900, Schrijver 1991: 126-128, LIV *selh2-.

solum ‘base, foundation; sole of the foot’ [n. o] (Pl.+

Derivatives: solea ‘sandal; sole (fish)’ (Pl.+), soleārius ‘sandal-maker’ (Pl.+, soleātus ‘sandalled’ (Afran.+).

PIt. *se/olo- ‘base, sole’.

PIE *se/ol-o- [n.] ‘place, habitation’. IE cognates: Lith. salā ‘island, field surrounded by meadows, village’, OCS selo [n.] ‘field, village’, OHG sal [m.] ‘habitation, room’, OIc. salr ‘hall, room, house’.

Since *selo- would regularly yield Lat. solu-, it is uncertain whether solum continues PIE *sel- or *söl-.

Bibl.: WH II: 554, EM 634, IEW 1046, LIV 2.*sel- → soleo
**solvō, -ere** 'to loose (an object bound), release, set free' [v. III; pf. solvī, ppp. solūtum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: solūtiō 'payment, unfastening' (Varro+); absolvēre 'to pay off, finish, acquit' (Pl.+), dissolvēre 'to set free, pay, break into pieces' (Pl.+), exsolvēre 'to release, perform, pay' (Pl.+), resolvēre 'to pay back, loosen, free' (Pl.+).

Compound of *se- 'away' and -luō 'to loosen'. For the explanation of so-, see s.v. sē-.

The ppp. solūtus may have long ū from PIE *luH-to-, or it may be following the productive pattern for Latin u-stem verbs.

Bibl.: WH I: 834, II: 557, EM 634, IEW 68 If., Schrijver 1991: 246, 469, LIV *leuH-. → luō, sē-

**sōlus** 'alone' [adj. o/a] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: sōlitūdō 'loneliness, emptiness' (Pl.+), sōlitās 'loneliness' (Acc.+), sōlītārius 'solitary, single' (Varro+).

The etymological connection with *s(w)e9 *sed 'away, apart' which WH, IEW and EM propose is hardly possible. Only an ins.sg. *s(u)ohr- would yield sō-, but there are no indications that such a form of the reflexive pronoun ever existed. One might connect Gk. sels 'happy' < *sēl-, OE sēlra 'better' < *sōlīca-, but the semantics are uncompelling and the root is not otherwise attested. Semantically, sōlus could be connected with the PIE root *sIH- found in salvus and sōlus 'whole'; it could reflect a thematic derivative *sōlIH-o- with vrddhi, or an original root noun *sōlH- 'the whole, the one' with vowel lengthening in a monosyllable.

Bibl.: WH II: 557, EM 634, IEW 882-884.

**somnus** 'sleep' [m. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: somnium 'dream, vision' (Pl.+), somniāre 'to dream, day-dream' (Pl.+), somniŏlusus 'sleepy' (Pl.+), somnurnus 'occurring during sleep' (Varro); insomnis 'sleepless' (Cato+).

Plt. *swepnō- [m.] 'sleep', *swe/opnjo- 'dream'.

PIE *suépno-/*suopno- 'sleep'. IE cognates: OIr. suan, W. hun 'sleep' < *suopno-; Hit. *suppa-rjō- 'to sleep' < *sup-(r)jō, šuppar/tie/a-zī 'to sleep' < *sup-r-je/o-, šuppapiant-, 'sleepy?'; Skt. svāpna- [m.] 'sleep, dream', svāpnya- [n.] 'dream, vision', dāsvāpnya- 'nightmare', Av. x'afna- [m.] 'sleep, dream', Gr. ἕπνος [m.] 'sleep', ἔπαρ 'reality', Arm. k'own, Alb. giumē 'sleep', Lith. sūpnas, Latv. sūpns 'dream', OCS sŭmb, Ru. son 'sleep'; OIc. svefn, ToA spām, ToB spane 'id.'.

Plt. *swepnō- > *swopno- would regularly yield Latin somnus. It is uncertain whether a preform *swopno- or *sopno- would have yielded somnus too: Latin shows a change *o > u in front of velar and labial nasals (uncus, numerus), but this change is mostly blocked by a preceding dental consonant: tongeo, domus. Thus, in somnus the change to u might also have been blocked by s-. In view of the Celtic forms, I have a slight preference for Plt. *swopnō-. Lat. somnium may go back to a PIE io-derivative (as proposed by Schindler) or be an inner-Latin formation. PIE *suēpno- is probably a thematized derivation of the r/n-stem *suep-r/n- (see s.v. sopor); the same preform yielded OIc. svefn, and maybe Ilr. *syapna-. Other languages show *syopno- (Baltic,
Celtic) or *suipno- (Greek, Albanian, Slavic).


sonō, -āre ‘to sound’ [v. I; pf. sonuī, pps. sonitum] (Pl. +; OLat. sonere Enn.– Lucr.)

Derivatives: sonus ‘sound, utterance’ (Enn.+), sonor, -ōris ‘sound’ (Lucr.+), sonitus, -ūs ‘sound, noise’ (Naev.+), sonīvius ‘making a rattling sound’ (Cato+); consonāre ‘to resound, sound together’ (Pl.+), obsonāre ‘to interrupt by speaking’ (Pl.), resonāre ‘to resound, make an echo’ (Pl.+; resonere Enn., Pac., Acc.); sonipēs ‘making a noise with the feet’ (Lucil.+).


The older class III present sonere is replaced in the course of Latin by sonāre. Schrijver doubts that this could have arisen from athematic *suinh-, and hesitatingly adopts Steinbauer’s suggestion of an original causative; he leaves open the possibility that sonāre is denominal to sonus. Instead of a causative, one may rather expect an iterative *suonh₂-eie- ‘to resound, sound many times’, as LIV posits; this is also reflected in MW homni ‘to announce’. The noun sonus could be old, or be deverbal to sonere.


sōns, sōntis ‘guilty’ [adj. nt] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: sōnticus ‘genuine, valid’ (Lex XII+); īnsōns ‘innocent’ (Pl. +).

Plt. *sont- ‘being’.


The original meaning ‘being, real’ of the pr.ptc. *sont- can still be seen in the derivative sōnticus ‘real, genuine’, said of morbus ‘disease’ and causa ‘cause’ in the oldest attestations.

sopor, -ōris ‘sleepiness, sleep’ [m. r] (Pl.+

Derivatives: sōpīre ‘to cause to sleep’ (Lucr.+, cōnsōpīre ‘to send to sleep, make unconscious’ (Lucr.+).

Pit. *swēp-ōs [m.] ‘sleep’ / *swōp- ‘sleep’ [m.].

PIE *suēp-/*sup- ‘to sleep’, *suōp-s, *suōp-m, *suop-s [m.] ‘sleep’; *suō/ep-r, *sup-n-os [n.]. IE cognates: OIC. sēfa ‘to kill’ < *sūōp-je/o-; further see s.v. somnus.

Since there was a root aor. PIE *su(e)p- (according to LIV), sopōr might be regarded as an original s-stem collective *suēp-ōs. The fact that somnus ‘sleep’ goes back to PIE *su/opno-, a no-stem with different ablaut grades in the daughter languages, suggests that the original nominal form was a root noun *su(ō/e)p- ‘sleep’ or an n-stem *su(e)p-n-. In the latter case, this might have had a nom.acc.sg. *suep- which would yield Lat. sōpor. The consistent -ōr-inflexion in the rest of the paradigm could have arisen analogically. Gr. ὄναρ might be quoted in support (but this could be analogical to ὄναρ ‘dream’), as well as Hit. ṕuparije/a- ‘to sleep’ < *sup-r-je/o-, ṕupparyant ‘sleepy?’. Yet the fact that all no-derivatives are m. may suggest that the base noun was also m. Thus, sōpor could also be derived from a PIE root noun ‘sleep’. Such a root noun could have had a nom.sg. *suēp-s, explaining why we find -ōr in sōpīre (thus Nussbaum 1976: 250, Bammesberger 1980). The late attestation of Latin sōpīre is remarkable; but in view of its factitive meaning, unique for a verb in -īre, it is still likely to be an old verb. Sōpīre was explained as a causative PIE *suōp- ie/o- by Klingenschmitt;1978, but the existence of this verbal type is uncertain. The same PIE root noun is probably the source of the ablaut in *su(e/o)pno--.


sorbeō ‘to drink, suck up’ [v. II; sorbuī, sorbitum] (Pl.+

Derivatives: sorbilō [adv.] ‘by sips’ (Pl.+, sorbilāre ‘to sip’ (Ter.+, sorbitiō ‘broth, liquid food’ (Pl.); absorbēre ‘to engulf, swallow up’ (Pl.+, exsorbēre ‘to swallow’ (Pl.+), obsorbēre ‘to gulp down’ (Naev.+

Pit. *sorfēie-.


If one assumes that this root had a full grade *srebh- in PIE (as Lith. and Gr. seem to indicate), Latin sorb- must be secondary, since original *srobh- would have given *frob- (cf. frigus) or maybe *strob-. The PIE form, with the ablaut vowel between the second and third consonant, can easily be due to onomatopoeic symbolism. It is assumed that Lat. sorb- must be the reflex of a zero grade *srhb-, or it has analogically introduced -or- on the model of other iteratives, such as torqueō and mordeō (thus Tichy 1983: 82). A similar process must account for Albanian and Slavic *sVrbh-.

Bibl.: WH II: 561f., EM 636, IEW 1001, Klingenschmitt 1982: 272f., LIV *srebh-.
sorbus ‘service-tree’ [f. o] (Veranius+)

Derivatives: sorbum ‘service-berry’ (Cato+).

No etymology. The connection with Ru. sorbalīna ‘rose hip, blackberry’, Lith. serbentā, serbentās ‘redcurrant, blackcurrant’, sīrbti ‘to ripen’ is possible but does not point to a PIE root *sVr- ‘red’, as IEW holds. At most, they show a non-IE word *sVrb- for ‘berry’.

Bibl.: WH II: 562, EM 636, IEW 910f.

sordēs, -is ‘dirt, filth, stain’ [f. i/e] (Pl.+: abl.sg. sordē Pl.)

Derivatives: sordēre ‘to be dirty, seem unworthy’ (Pl.+), sorditūdō ‘dirt’ (Pl.+), sordidus ‘dirty, squalid’ (Pl.+), sordidulus ‘shabby’ (Pl.+), sordidātus ‘shabbily dressed’ (Pl.+).


PIE *sword-o/i-. IE cognates: Go. swarts, OIr. svart, OE swart, OHG swarz ‘black’.

If an original i-stem, sordēs might reflect *sord-i- ‘dirt(iness)’, according to Nussbaum 1999a: 403. This might go back to *swoord- and be compared with PGm. *swart- ‘black’. No further IE etymology.


sōrex, -icis ‘shrew-mouse’ [m. k] (Ter.+)

Derivatives: sōricīmus ‘of a shrew-mouse’ (Pl.).

Probably related to Gr. ὅραξ ‘shrew-mouse’; I regard these words as reflexes of a common loanword of the structure *sVr-Vk-. It is often assumed that sōrex is related to the onomatopoeia susurrus ‘whisper, rustling’, but in that case the relationship with the Greek word becomes less direct.


soror, -ōris ‘sister’ [f. r] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: sororcūla ‘little sister’ (Pl.+), sorōrius ‘of a sister’ (Pl.+), sorōriāre ‘to swell’ (of the breasts) (Pl.+); sobrīmus ‘second cousin, son of a person’s first cousin’ (Pl.+), sobrīna ‘female second cousin’ (Pl.+), cōnsobrīmus ‘mother’s sister’s son, cousin’ (Ter.+).


Latin has generalized the suffix -ōr- throughout the paradigm; sobrīmus shows the change of intervocalic *-sr- > *-fr- > -br-. Since it has been established that *Cwe > Co- only occurs in front of a non-front vowel in the next syllable, sobrīmus cannot be phonetic, but has adopted *swo- or so- from soror. The PIE *suesr- may be a
compound of *sue ‘self’ and a PIE word *sōr, *sr- for ‘woman’.

sors, -rtis ‘lot, lottery ticket, voting tablet’ [f. i] (Pl.+; nom.sg. sortis Pl., abl.sg. sorti)
Derivatives: sortire/ī ‘to draw lots, cast votes, acquire’ (Pl.+), sortītō ‘lottery’ (Varro+), sortītus, -ūs ‘lottery, lot’ (Pl.+).
Plt. *sorti- ‘joining, joint’.
PIE *sr-ti- ‘joining, joint’. IE cognates: see s.v. serō.

sospes, -itis ‘safe and sound’ [adj. i] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: sospitāre ‘to preserve, defend’ (Pl.+), sospitālis ‘salutary’ (Pl.+); Sospita / Sīspita ‘cult-title of Juno at Lanuvium’; Lanuv.inscr. Sei/spit-.
Plt. *swe-spat- ‘self-prospering’?
PIE *-sph1-t- ‘prospering’. IE cognates: see s.v. spēs.

An earlier connection with Skt. sva‘asti- ‘welfare, happiness’ was rejected by WH, but has been revived by Meier-Brügger 1979, who posits PIE *h₁su-ps-ti- ‘good return’ for both of them. Latin sospes would be from a compound *h₁su-ps-ti- + *potī- ‘lord’. Yet his solution is impossible for various reasons. First of all, he compares *gʰosti-potī- (> Lat. hospes, -itis), but this is a noun, not an adj. Secondly, *su-ns-ti- would normally yield Latin *sunsti-. In Skt., the compound could be syllabified as *Hsu-ps-ti- because both *Hsu- ‘good’ and the verb *ns-, *ns- were synchronically existing elements in the language, but neither of them is found in Latin. Thirdly, the phonetic changes posited by Meier-Brügger are unwarranted in the order in which he posits them. Especially the alleged paradigm split into *suensti-pit- and *suinsti-pit- (with pre-syncope vowel assimilation) is fanciful. Steinbauer 1989: 260 suggests that sospes is for /sōspes/ from *soispes; next to Sīspita, this would show an alternation *oi / *ei which would be reminiscent of *इ / *ो. Yet there is no second case of *oi > Lat. ɸ, so that this remains speculative.

Since the attempts to see a variant of *potī- in the second element have so far been unsuccessful, another possibility may be proposed here. In view of locu-plēt- and antistes, praestes, superstes < *-stat-, Latin inherited from PIE governing compounds with a laryngeal-final second member, to which *-t- was suffixed. In the case of sospit-, a good possibility seems PIE *spēh₁t- ‘to swell, prosper, ripen’ (Lat. spēs). A form *-spḥ₁t- would have yielded Plt. *-spat- whence Lat. -spit-, as in *-stat- > -stit- ‘standing’. A preform *sue-spḥ₁t- could have meant ‘self-prospering’, although it seems unlikely that *sue- would have entered such a compound already in PIE. More likely, it would be an Italic formation of *sue ‘(for) oneself’ and *-spat- ‘prospering’. The change of *swe- > so- would be regular in front of pre-weakening *-spat-, but possibly also in front of the weakened (central?) vowel at the stage -spit- (cf. Schrijver 1991: 468).
spargō, -ere ‘to scatter, shower’ [v. III; pf. sparsi, ppp. sparsum] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: a(d)spergere ‘to sprinkle on, scatter’ (Pl. +), aspergō, -inis ‘sprinkling’ (Cato+), conspergere ‘to besprinkle, intersperse’ (Pl. +), dispergere ‘to spread about’ (Ter.+), perspergere ‘to cover, sprinkle’ (Cato+), respergere ‘to sprinkle with liquid’ (Acc.+).
Plt. *sparg-.
PIE *sp(e)r-g- ‘to strew’. IE cognates: Hit. išpār- / išpar- ‘to spread out, strew’ < *spōr- / *sp-, išpamu- ‘to strew’, Gr. σπείρω ‘to strew, sow’.
Most handbooks connect spargō with Skt. śpūrijati ‘to roar, thunder’, Gr. σφαραγέομαι ‘to hiss, crackle’, OIc. sprika ‘to crackle, crash’, Lith. spirgti ‘to hiss (of roasted meat)’, from PIE *sp h/bhfti2g-. This is semantically not immediately convincing, since these words clearly refer to a sound, whereas no such connotation seems to be present in Lat. spargō. Also, PIE *CrHC should yield Latin *CrāC, which definitely renders this etymology impossible. Schrijver 1991 connects only Eng. sprinkle, Du. sprenkelen < *spreng-*, which have the same meaning as spargō. Yet it is difficult to separate these Gm. forms from OIc. sparkr ‘lively’ and OE spearca ‘spark’. These belong to a large group of Gm. words, for which it is difficult to establish the original ablaut. In any case, Lat. spargō may with Schrijver be regarded as a g-extension to the root *sper- ‘to spread, sow’; in Schrijver’s view, a preform *sprg-C- (in athematic conjugation) would have yielded *sparg-.

sparus ‘hunting-spear, javelin’ [m. o] (Lucil. +; also spatum)
Plt. *sparo- ‘spear’.
Only found as a nominal form in Germanic, Latin and Albanian. Possibly a loanword, or an isolated reflex of a lost root.

spatium ‘racing ground, course, area’ [n. o] (Pl. +)
Theoretically, an etymology *sphr-t-o- ‘prospered, fattened’ > ‘extended’ is possible, from which spatium would be a derivative. But this cannot be confirmed. It is difficult to connect spatium with pateō ‘to be open’, since this derives from the root *peth2- of which we have no variants in s-mobile.
Bibl.: WH II: 568f., EM 639, IEW 983f., Schrijver 1991: 94. → spēs

speciō, -ere ‘to see, observe’ [v. III; pf. spexī, ppp. spectum] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: (1) speculum ‘mirror, looking-glass’ (Pl. +), specula ‘look-out post’ (Varro+), speculātor ‘scout, spy’ (Varro+), speculāri ‘to observe, explore’ (Pl. +), specimen ‘sign, evidence’ (Pl. +), speciēs ‘view, aspect, appearance’ (Andr.+), specillum ‘instrument for examining wounds’ (Varro+); spectus, -ūs ‘facial
expression’ (Pac.+), spectiō ‘observing’ (Varro+), spectāre ‘to look at, watch’ (Naev.+), spectāculum ‘sight, performance’ (Pl.+), spectāmen ‘criterion’ (Pl.+), spectātor ‘who watches, observer’ (Pl.+); -spex in auspex (see s.v. avis), haruspex (see s.v.); vestispica ‘female servant looking after clothes’ (Pl.+); (2) aspicere ‘to behold’ (Naev.+), aspectus, -ūs ‘seeing, sight’ (Pl.+), circumspicere ‘to look round, survey’ (Pl.+), conspicere ‘to catch sight of, discern’ (Pl.+), conspectus, -ūs ‘sight, view’ (Pl.+), conspiciō ‘looking’ (Varro+), conspicāri ‘to catch sight of, perceive’ (Pl.+), conspicillum ‘lookout-post’ (Pl.), déspectus, -ūs ‘view from a height’ (Lucr.+), dēspicere ‘to look down on, despise’ (Pl.+), déspicāri ‘to despise’ (Pl.+), déspicātus, -ūs ‘contempt’ (Pl.+), déspicus ‘looking down’ (Naev.), dispicere ‘to investigate, discern’ (Pl.+), inspicere ‘to look at, investigate’ (Pl.+), perspicere ‘to scrutinize, perceive’ (Pl.+), perspicāx ‘having keen sight’ (Ter.+), perspicuus ‘transparent, evident’ (Varro+), prōspicere ‘to see before one, look ahead’ (Pl.+), prōspectus, -ūs ‘view’ (Pl.+), prōspicus ‘looking ahead’ (Naev.), suscipere ‘to look up at, admire’ (Pl.+), suspicāre/i ‘to imagine, suspect’ (Pl.+), suspiciō ‘suspicion’ (Pl.+), suspiciōsus ‘wary, suspicious’ (Ter.+); (3) aspectāre ‘to look at, regard’ (Pl.+), circumspectāre ‘to look round, examine’ (Pl.+), circumspectātrix ‘female spy’ (Pl.+), expectāre ‘to wait for, hope for, expect’ (Pl.+), expectātiō ‘prospect’ (Pl.+), inspēctāre ‘to watch’ (Pl.+), perspectāre ‘to examine carefully’ (Pl.+), suspetāre ‘to gaze up at, be suspicious of’ (Ter.+); (4) specus, -ūs [m./f.] ‘cave, hole’ (Egn.+).

Plt. *spekje/o- [pr.], *speks- [aor.], *spekto- [ppp.], *pek- [m.]. It. cognates: U. spektrum [dat.sg.].

PIE *spek-īe/o- [pr.] ‘to look’, *spek-s- [aor.], *pek- [m.] ‘who sees’. IE cognates: Skt. pr. pāśayati, aor. āspaśa [3s.aor.med.], pf. paspaśa [3s.med.] ‘to look at, guard, notice’; ānu-spaśa- ‘guarded’; spās- [m.] ‘spy’; Av. spasiia- ‘to discover, perceive’, auui.spaśa- ‘threatened’, spas- [m.] ‘spy’, spaśtar- [m.] ‘spy’; Gr. σκέπτομαι ‘to look around, look at’ (metathesis *sp...k > sk...p) ; OHG spehōn, NHG spähen ‘to spy’.

Probably, speculum reflects an instrument noun *spek-īlo-. The u-stem specus ‘cave’ is usually derived from *spek- ‘to see’, but the semantics do not impose this view. See Kümmel 2004b: 350 for justifying the reading conspicillum in Cist.95 of Plautus; he regards it as a neologism on the basis of specillum ‘medical device’, dim. to speculum.


spernō, -ere ‘to dissociate, reject, spurn’ [v. III; pf. spīrēvi, ppp. sprētum] (Pl.+

Derivatives: aspernāri ‘to scorn, reject’ (Pl.+) aspernābilis ‘negligible’ (Acc.+) Pt. *spere/o-.

PIE *sp Esper-n-h23- [pr.] ‘to beat, kick’, *sp(h)b(e)r23- [aor.]. IE cognates: Hit. išparra- / išpar- ‘to trample’ < *spörb23-; Skt. pr. sphurāti, aor. sphařit [2s.inj.act.] ‘to push away with the foot’, YAv. spara- ‘to tread’, fra-spara- ‘to speed on’, vi-spara- ‘to trample down’; Gr. ἅσπαίρω ‘to sprawl, flounder, lie in convulsions’, Arm. sparna- ‘to threaten’; Lith. spiriti ‘to kick out (of horses), defy, sting’, Latv. sperē ‘to kick out, push’, Olc. sperma, OHG spurnan ‘to kick out with the feet’.

sperno
Meiser 2003 argues that the full grade of this root is usually \(*sper(H)\)-, so that the pf. sprēvī cannot continue a PIE formation, but must have been formed after another verb, e.g. \(*pleh₁- ‘to fill’. The original ablaut in the aor. may have been \(*sperH- : *sprH- > *spera- : *sprā-, the first member of which was replaced by \(*sprē-. If this is correct, the quality of the PIE laryngeal cannot be determined. Aspernāri < \(*ad\-spernārī shows the productive ā-conjugation of derived prepositional verbs. A nasal present is also found in Armenian and in Germanic. Lubotsky 2006, noticing the irregular correspondences in the anlaut of the IE verbs, reconstructs the verb as \(*TsperH- ‘to kick with the heel’; in \(*tpsērsn- ‘heel’ (> Lat. perna), the first s would have disappeared through dissimilation. The words may be compounds of \(*pd- ‘foot’ and \(*per(H)- ‘to beat, kick’.


\(spēs\), \(spēē ‘hope’ [f. ē] (Pl.; acc.sg. \(spērem\), nom.pl. \(spērēs\) Enn.)
Derivatives: \(spēcūla\ ‘a slight hope’ (Pl.+), \(spērāre ‘to hope, look forward to’ (Naev.+), \(spērābilis ‘that may be hoped for’ (Pl.), \(înspērātus ‘unexpected’ (Pl.); \(exspēs ‘hopeless’ (Acc.).
Plt. \(*spēs\).
PIE \(*spēh₁-s\, \(*spēh₁-m\, \(*spēh₁-ōs ‘prosperity’. IE cognates: Hit. \(iśpāi⁻¹ / iśpi⁻ ‘to get full, be satiated’ < \(*spēh₁-ōi- / \(*spēh₁-ì-, Skt. \(spirā- ‘fat’, \(spēhātai [3s.sb.med.] ‘to become fat, increase’, Lith. \(spētī ‘to be in time, be capable’, OCS \(spēti ‘to succeed’, Ru. \(spet⁻ ‘to ripen’ < PIE \(*spēh₁-, OE \(spōwan ‘to prosper’.

The s-stem forms such as \(spērem and \(spērēs must be secondary; Schrijver considers the possibility that they stem from a compound adj. in PIE nom.sg. \(*-ēs.


\(spēca\ ‘ear of corn; spike, head (of a plant)’ [f. ā] (Varro+; also \(spīcum\)
Derivatives: \(spīcīlegium ‘the gathering of ears of corn’ (Varro+).
Plt. \(*spēkā⁻/*spēkā-.
PIE \(*spēg⁻/*spēHg-. IE cognates: Lith. \(spēgliāi ‘thorns’; OHG \(spēihha, OS \(spēca [f.], MDu. \(spēke, OE \(spēca [m.] ‘spoke’ < \(*spākōn-, OIc. \(spikr, MHG \(spicher, MoDu. \(spijkər ‘nail’ < \(*spētica-.

Can be compared with Germ. and maybe Lith. words in \(*sp-i-g- which also denote a sharp object. No further etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 574, EM 642, IEW 981f.

\(spīna\ ‘thorn, prickle’ [f. ā] (Cato+; var. \(spīnum Varro)
Derivatives: \(spīnōsus ‘thorny’ (Varro+).
Plt. \(*spēnā⁻/*spīna-. It. cognates: maybe U. \(spinia, \(spina [acc.sg.], \(spiniama, \(spinamař [acc.sg. + -ad] ‘?’. 
PIE \(*spīn-/*spīHn-. IE cognates: Latv. \(spīna ‘rod’, OPo. \(spīna ‘spine’, Ru. \(spīnā ‘back, spine’; OS OHG \(spīnela, \(spenula ‘hairpin’, MHG \(spenel ‘needle’.

\(spēs\)
Might be derived from the same basis *sp-i(H)- as spīca.

spīrō, -āre ‘to breathe’ [v. I] (Pl.)
Derivatives: spirāmen ‘breathing, exhalation’ (Enn.), spīritus, -ūs ‘breath, spirit’ (Pl.); spirāre ‘to blow, breathe, approach’ (Lucil.), conspirāre ‘to agree, conspire’ (Acc.), expirāre ‘to breathe out, die’ (Acc.), inspirāre ‘to breathe deeply, blow in’ (Lucr.), respirāre ‘to recover one’s breath’ (Pl.), suspirāre ‘to sigh’ (Pl.), suspīritus, -ūs ‘sighing’ (Pl.).
Plt. *spīr/s-.
Possibly an onomatopoeic formation imitating the sound of breathing. There are no direct cognates. In BS1., we find words of a structure *p(e)is-k- ‘to squeak’ (Lit. pyškēti ‘to click, snap, crack’, OCS piskati, Ru. piščāt’ ‘to squeak’); these look somewhat similar, but the meaning is different, and they may just as well have been formed within BS1. The same goes for Germ. *fis- ‘to fart’, adduced by WH and IEW.
Bibl.: WH II: 575, EM 642, IEW 796.

spissus ‘laborious, slow, dense’ [adj. o/a] (Naev.+)
Derivatives: spissēscere ‘to thicken’ (Lucr.+); spissigradus ‘slow-paced’ (Pl.).
Plt. *spisso-.
PIE *spid-to-? IE cognates: Gr. σπίδιος ‘extensive, wide’, σπιδόν ών ‘thick, coagulated’, σπαδόευν ‘black, big’ (Hsch.); Lit. spisti (< *spit-), Is. spintū ‘to begin to swarm (of bees), gather’.
The most likely cognate seems to be the Greek word family in σπιδ - ‘thick, wide’; spissus might be a derivative in *-to- to this basis. The meaning of Lith. spisti is further removed. Since spissus is reminiscent of crassus, grossus, it may contain an expressive geminate – hence a possible preform would also be *spīsus.
Bibl.: WH II: 576, EM 643, IEW 983f.

splendeō ‘to shine; be bright’ [v. II] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: splendidus ‘bright, brilliant’ (Enn.+), splendor ‘brightness, brilliance’ (Pl.).
Plt. *splnid/pē-.
PIE *splnd(2)-eh₁- ‘to be manifest’. IE cognates: OIr. sluindid ‘to express, declare, name’, OW istlinnit ‘profatur, loquitur’, W. ysthwn ‘kind, connection’ < *splondeie- ‘to make manifest’.
The semantic development seen in Celtic renders it conceivable that *splnd(h)- is related to PIE *s)pelH- ‘to speak in public’ which LIV reconstructs for Arm. ara-spel ‘legend, proverb’, Go. spill [n.] ‘tale’, ToB pālältar, ToA pāl exists ‘to praise’.

spolium ‘skin, hide; arms, spoils’ [n. o] (Pl.)
Derivatives: spoliāre (Enn. 1x -rī) ‘to strip of clothing or arms, rob’ (Pl.+); despoliāre ‘to plunder, strip of’ (Pl.+), despolfījātor ‘plunderer’ (Pl.), exspoliāre ‘to
plunder, despoil’ (Pl.+).

PIE *spoli(o)- ‘skin, hide’.

PIE *spol(H)-i(o)- ‘what is split, stripped off’. IE cognates: Gr. σπολάς, -άδος ‘leather garment’, σπόλα ‘wool from sheep’s legs’ (Hsch.), Lith. spālis ‘beard (= part of the stalk of flax)’, pl. spāliai ‘parts of the stalk’, OCS potě ‘sex, half’, NHG spalten ‘to cleave’, Go. spilda ‘writing tablet’.

Probably a derivative *spol-(i-) from a PIE root *(s)pel(H)- ‘to split, cleave’, but the exact form of the root and the number of its derivatives is difficult to establish. LIV reconstructs a root *(s)pelH-, but Skt. phalati ‘bursts’ can hardly be connected with it. We find many o-grade derivatives (Gr., BSL, Germ.), which may point to an iterative verb (as fits the meaning of ‘to cleave, strip of skin’) or, in the case of Latin spolium, a noun *spol-i-.

Bibl.: WHII: 577f., EM 643, IEW 985-987, Schrijver 1991: 22, LIV 2.*(s)pelH-.

sponda ‘bed or couch, or its frame’ [f. ā] (Varro+)

PIE *spond-h2-. IE cognates: Olr. sond, W. ffon [f.] ‘stick’ < *spond-; OCS pěde, Ru. pijad’ ‘span’ < *p(e)nd-i-.

An Italo-Celtic correspondence *spond-ā-, probably derived from the root for ‘to spin’. See s.v. pendō for other cognates. Because of PIE *-d-, the Germanic words for ‘bucket’ (OIC. spann) are not cognate; their meaning is also deviant.

Bibl.: WH II: 578, EM 643, IEW 989, LIV 3.*(s)pend-. → pendō

spondeō ‘to pledge, promise, make a contract’ [v. II; pf. spopondī (spe-), ppp. spōnsum] (Pl.++; pf.sb. spōnsis Fest.)

Derivatives: spōnsiō ‘wager, pledge’ (Pl.+), spōnsus ‘affianced husband’ (Titin.+), spōnsor ‘surety’ (Varro+), spōnsa ‘woman promised in marriage, fiancée’ (Naev.+), spōnsālis ‘of betrothal’ (Varro); kölnspondere ‘to exchange pledges’ (Naev.+), despondere ‘to promise in marriage, to despair’ (Pl.+), respondere ‘to reply, react’ (Andr.+), respōnsiō ‘answering’ (Pl.+), responsāre ‘to give an answer, satisfy’ (Pl.+), responsōr ‘who answers’ (Pl.).


The pf. spopondī may originally have belonged to a pr. *spend-e/o-, which is now lost from Latin but might be present in O. spentud. Spopondī may be the phonetic reflex of spepondi, cf. Schrijver 1991: 468; but -o- may also have been analogically introduced into the reduplication syllable.

spōns, -ntis ‘will, volition’ [f. τ(i?)] (Pl.); only gen.sg. spontis, abl.sg. sponte attested

Spōns has been derived from the root *(s)penh₂- ‘to spin’, but this is only based on the similar shape; semantically, this derivation is hard to defend.

Bibl.: WH II: 579, EM 644, IEW 988.

spūma ‘foam’ [f. ą] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: spūmāre ‘to foam, froth’ (Enn.+).

PIE *spoiṃā- ‘foam’.

PIE *spoHi-m- / *speh₂j-m- ‘foam’. IE cognates: Skt. phēna- ‘foam’ [m./n.], OPr. spoçy, Lith. spāinė, OCS pēna, Ru. pēna, Scr. pjēna ‘foam’ < *(s)poHi-nh₂- or *(s)peh₂j-nh₂-; OE fām [n.], OHG feim ‘foam’ [m.] < PGm. *faima- < PIE *poHi-mo-.

The different IE reflexes can be interpreted as derivatives in *-m- and *-n- from a root *spoHi- or *speh₂j-; the *-i- may be a present suffix. Alternatively, with Matasović 2004: 126, one may posit a PIE neuter mn-stem: nom.acc.sg. *spoHimn 9 gen.sg. *spHimnos.

The only disadvantage of the latter solution is that no language retains a trace of the suffix *-mn- in tact.

Bibl.: WH II: 580, EM 644, IEW 1001, Schrijver 1991: 270. → pūmex

spuō, -ere ‘to spit’ [v. III; pf. spuī, ppp. spūtum] (Varro+)

Derivatives: spūtāre ‘to spit out, at’ (Pl.), spūtātor ‘who habitually spits’ (Pl.+), spūtum ‘spittle’ (Lucr.+), spūtātilicus ‘detestable’ (Sis.+); dēspuere ‘to spit on the ground, spurn’ (Naev.+), esxpuere ‘to emit, spit out’ (Pl.+), ἵνσpūtāre ‘to spit upon’ (Pl.+), respuere ‘to reject, repel’ (Lucr.+).

PIE *spū-.je/o-*/spūto-

PIE *sp(i)uH-ic/o- ‘to spit’, *sp(i)Huto- ‘spat’. IE cognates: Skt. sthiVati, aor. asthaviṣam ‘to spit’, Gr. τιόω ‘to spit’, Arm. t'owk ‘spittle’, t'k'anem ‘to spit’, Alb. pshiyj, Lith. spiauti, Latv. spiauti, CS pl'vati, Is. pl'jujo, Ru. plevát', Go. speiwan, Olc. spyya, OE OS OHG spīwan ‘to spit’.

Lat. spuō belongs to a PIE onomatopoeic formation meaning ‘to spit’. Especially the anlaut of the word has probably been subject to onomatopoeic reformation; but also the stem is not identical in all languages. For Latin, both the pr. and ppp. may be old, but the pr. alone would have sufficed to form the attested paradigm which is that of a regular verb in -ere.


squālus ‘unkempt, dirty’ [adj. o/a] (Enn.)

Derivatives: squālēre ‘to be caked with dirt, covered with a rough layer’ (Pl.+), squālōr ‘filth, roughness of surface’ (Pl.+), squālēs, -is [f.] ‘dirt, filth’ (Pac.+), squālītās ‘dirtiness’ (Acc.+), squālītūdō ‘dirtiness’ (Acc.+), squālīdus ‘rough, filthy’ (Pl.+); squāma ‘scale (of a fish or reptile), scale-like object’ (Pl.+), squāmōsus ‘scaly, scurfy’ (Pl.+), dēsquāmāre ‘to remove scales or skin’ (Pl.+).
squalus

No etymology. In view of the sequence *squal-*, probably not an inherited word.

Bibl.: WH II: 582, EM 645.

*squalus* 'unidentified sea-fish' [m. o] (Var., Plin.)

Derivatives: *squatus* 'a fish' (Plin., Fest.).

IE cognates: OPr. *kalis* 'catfish'; OIC. *hwelr* [m.], OE *hwel*, OS OHG *hwel*, OHG *hwelira* 'whale'; Finn. *kala*, Northern Lappish *guolle* 'fish'.

Since the word only occurs in prose, the quantity of the first vowel is unknown. Therefore, it might as well be *squalus*/*r* with the stem *squal-* 'scale' which is found in the previous etymon. The fish would be denominated after its scales. In that case, the explanation as a loanword from an unknown language, cognate with the Gm. words for 'whale', OPr. 'catfish' and Uralic 'fish' (for which see Schrijver 2001: 423) must be dropped; and *squalus* is not an example of the sound change *-kʷo- > -qua-.


**Ven. sselboisselboi** [dat.sg.] 'for oneself'.

PIt. *selfo*- 'self'.

IE cognates: OPr. *supjs, subs* 'own' < *su-bʰo-; Go. *silba, OIC. *sjálf, OE self, OHG *selb* < PGm. *selba-* 'self' < *s(ų)elbʰo-.

The pronoun seems to originate from suffixation of *-bʰo- to the pronoun *s(ų)e* 'self', but the origin of *-l- is unclear. IEW suggests a contamination of *sue* with the pronoun *ol(o)-, but this seems implausible.


**(s)ta-** 'to steal' [v. (Duenos inscr. <nemedmalostatod>)]

PIt. *(s)ta(je)-tōd* 'must steal'.

 PIE *(s)θh₂-ie/o- 'to steal'. IE cognates: OIr. *tāid* 'thief' [m.], Hit. *tāje/a-zī 'to steal' < *teh₂-je/o-, Skt. *stāyāt* [adv.] 'secretly', *stāyū* [m.] 'thief, pickpocket', *stēna- [m.] 'thief, robber', *stēya- [n.] 'theft', OAv. *taiā* [adv.] 'secretly', YAv. *tāia-, taiia- [n.] 'theft'; OCS *taji*, 1s. *tajo* 'to conceal', *tato* 'thief'.

It is disputed whether the final words of the Duenos inscription, which probably mean 'a bad one must not steal me', must be read as *inē mēd malos tātōdl or inē mēd malo stātōdl*. The second option is favoured by Rix 1985b: 200-211, the first one by Eichner 1988-90. Eichner argues that metrical analysis would support his view (which is rather questionable) and that an original root form *sta-* meant that the root was homonymous with *stā-* 'to stand', which is indeed a valid argument. Of course, we cannot exclude an analysis as *malos statōdl*. In the end, the analysis remains uncertain. The verb could be a root present or a verb *(s)θh₂-ie/o- of the type *dāre, stāre: since IIR., Slavic and Hit. show a suffix *-ie-, we may assume this for Latin, too. In view of the IIR. evidence, the PIE root must be reconstructed with s-mobile.

Bibl.: IEW 1010, Meiser 1998: 4, LIV 1.*teh₂-.
stāgnum ‘standing water, pool’ [n. o] (Enn.+

PIE *stāgno-?

PIE *steh₂g-. IE cognates: OBret. staer, Bret. ster ‘river, brook’ (< *stagrā); Gr. σταγών, -όνος [f.] ‘drop’, στάζω ‘to let drip, shed’.

LIV (hesitantly) posits a PIE root *steh₂g- to account for stāgnum, Celtic *stagrā- and Gr. στάζω, but we find no matching formations, and the Greek word is semantically somewhat removed (though the connection is possible). If the etymology is correct, Latin would have a full grade and Greek and Celtic a zero grade.

Bibl.: WH II: 584f., EM 645, IEW 1010, LIV ?*steh₂g-.

stèlla ‘star’ [f. ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: stèllāns ‘starry’ (Lucr.+, stèllumicāns ‘shining with stars’ (Varro), stēl(i)ō ‘kind of lizard, gecko’ (Verg.+).

Pl. *stèrlā-.

PIE *h₂stēr-s, *h₂stér- [m.] ‘star’. IE cognates: OIr. ser, W. seren (pl. ser) , Co. sterenn (pl. steyr) , Bret. sterenn ‘star’ < PCl. *ster-; OIr. sell [m.] ‘iris’ < *stillo-, Mr. sellaid ‘to see’, MW syllu ‘to gaze’, Bret. sellout ‘to watch’ < PCl. *stōrlo- ‘star’ < *h₂stēr-lo-; Hit. hašter(a)- [c.] ‘star’ (nom.sg. hašterza /Hsterfl/ < *h₂ster-; Skt. tārah [nom.pl.], sṛbhith [instr.pl.], Av. star- [m.] (YAv. acc.sg. stāram, nom.pl. stārō, acc.pl. strāūs for *strōs, gen.pl. strām) , Khot. stāraa- ‘star’; Gr. ἄστυρπ, -έρος, Arm. astī, Go. stairno, ToB șcirye ‘star’.

Schrijver 1995 has established that OIr. sell ‘iris’ can go back to PCl. *stōrlo-; together with Lat. stella, this points to an Italo-Celtic formation *stēr-lo/a~ ‘star’.


stercus, -oris ‘excrement of animals, dung’ [n. r] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: stercoreus ‘like dung’ (Pl.+), stercoro/erāre ‘to supply with dung, manure’ (Cato+), stercorōsus ‘rich in manure’ (Cato+), stercro/erārius ‘of dung, manure’ (Cato+), stercro/erātūō ‘manuring’ (Varro), sterculīnum (or sterculīnum) ‘manure-heap, midden’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *sterkos- [n.].


According to WH and EM (the latter based on Cato mss. readings), the best reading of ‘manure-heap’ is sterculīnum, which invalidates the theory that stercus reflects *sterk-*. British Celtic contains words of the structure *(s)tro(n)k-*, which has the vowel on the wrong side; also, Lith. tešti ‘to soil’ has been compared, but there is no guarantee that ś in this verb reflects PIE *k* rather than *s. If it does, Lith. has PIE *terk- without s-mobile; and Celtic may have a new full grade on the basis of the zero grade PCI. *(s)trik-. Kloekhorst 2008: 416-418 proposes to connect the Hit. forms mentioned.

sterilis ‘barren, sterile, without offspring’ [adj. i] (Pl.+)


Plt. *ster-eli-? *ster-i-?


The IE cognates show a semantic development from ‘sterile’ via ‘which has not yeaned yet’ to ‘young animal, lamb, calf’. In Latin, -ili- may be a dim. suffix *-eli-, but it is also conceivable that original f. *ster-i- was suffixed with *-li-, and analogically shortened the penultimate syllable. According to Eichner 1974, the root may have been PIE *ster- (Skt. stṝṇṭi ‘lays down, destroys’). This would require a semantic shift from ‘to lay down’ > ‘to make stiff’ > ‘make infertile’. Yet the adjectives in *ster- mean ‘infertile’, not ‘making infertile’. Semantically, the best candidate for a root etymology seems to be Gr. στέρομαι ‘to be robbed, lack’ < *sterh₁-, which is said to have no cognates outside Greek.

Bibl.: WH II: 589, EM 647, IEW 1031, Eichner 1974: 37, LIV *ster-, ?*sterh₁-.

sternō-, -ere ‘to lay out, spread’ [v. Ill; pf. strāvī, ppp. strātum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: strāgēs, -is [f.] ‘devastation, destruction’ (Lucr.+), strāgulum ‘rug, blanket’ (Varro+), strāmentum ‘straw’ (Pl.+), strāmentūris ‘of straw’ (Cato+), strāmentūcīus ‘made of straw’ (Varro+), strātus, -ūs ‘spreading’ (Varro+); cōnsterne ‘to cover, bring down’ (Emn.+), īnstrātum ‘saddle-cloth’ (Cato), substernere ‘to underlay, spread under’ (Cato+), substrāmen ‘litter’ (Varro+); cōnstrānāre ‘to confound, compel’ (Pac.+).

Plt. *sterna- [pr.], *strāto- [ppp.].


The pf. was probably formed after the ppp. *strāto-. The pr. sternere can be explained from vocalization of interconsonantal laryngeal in e.g. *-n-h₃-ti. The origin of ā in con-sternāre is disputed: Schrijver 1991 posits a thematic verb in *-n-h₃-ie/o-, whereas Meiser 1998 derives -nā- from the full grade of the suffix *-nh₃- (with a replacement of *-nō- by *-nā- in con-sternāre). Meiser’s solution does not explain why -nāre is restricted to compounds. The stem strāg- seems recent, since strāg-ēs and strāg-ulus are not attested before Varro. They probably have -g- in analogy to other nouns such as com-pāgēs and amb-āgēs.

sternuō, -ere ‘to sneeze’ [v. III; pf. sternuī, ppp. sternūtum] (Pl.+

Derivatives: stertere (pf. stertui) ‘to snore’ (Pl.+

Plt. *(p)sternu-.

PIE *(p)st-(e)r-nu- ‘to sneeze’. IE cognates: Mlr. sreod ‘sneezing’, W. trew, ystrew ‘sneezing’, LCo. striwhi, Bret. streviai ‘to sneeze’ < *stry-?, Gr. πταρμός [m.] ‘the sneezing’, aor. πταρείν, πτάρνυμαι ‘to sneeze’, Arm. p’ringam, p’rinem ‘to sneeze’. Latin and Greek (and maybe Armenian) both show a nu-present, but in Greek, it is secondary to the thematic aorist. The initial clusters might go back to PIE *pst-, but this is also uncertain. Onomatopoeic deformation may have affected all cognates in the IE languages. However, it seems unlikely that all languages would have invented a form with internal *-r- to render the sound of sneezing, so Latin may well have inherited a PIE word of the form *(p)st-r-.


stilla ‘drop of liquid’ [f. ā] (Cic.+)

Derivatives: stillicidium ‘the falling of drops, trickle, drip’ (Varro+), stillāre ‘to fall in drops, drip’ (Varro+), stillātim ‘drop by drop’ (Varro); dēstillāre ‘to drop down, off’ (Varro+), extstillāre ‘to drip away, water’ (Pl.+), ĭnstillāre ‘to pour in drop by drop’ (Cato+); sfiria ‘icicle’ (Verg.+).

Plt. *stī/eir-(lā-).

IE cognates: Gr. στίλη ‘drop1; Lith. stūrti ‘to become stiff’, Norw. stīra, Oic. stīra ‘to be(come) rigid, stiff’. Stilla can be regarded as a diminutive *stīr-lā- to sfiria, even though the latter is only attested in Imperial Latin. WH and IEW mainly compare Gm. and Baltic words in *stīr- meaning ‘stiff’, but it is uncertain whether ‘stiff’ was the original meaning on which sfiria was based. In view of stilla ‘drop’, sfiria may have referred to the form of drops and icicles, which would leave the connection with ‘stiff’ unfounded. Gr. στίλη ‘drop’ cannot be directly compared with stilla; at most, there would be a (IE or European?) base *stī-.

Bibl.: WH II: 595, EM 648, IEW 1010f.

stilus ‘pointed piece of metal, stem, stylus’ [m. o] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: stimulus ‘goad, spike’ (Pl.+), stimuleus ‘inflicted with the goad’ (Pl.), stimulāre ‘to urge forward, incite’ (Pl.+), stimulātrīx [f.] ‘who incites’ (Pl.); sfīva ‘shaft of a plough-handle’ (Cato+).

It is uncertain whether Latin stilus, stimulus and sfīva all belong together, but one might see a root stī- ‘sharp object’ in them. It has been argued that they contain the core of the root *stig- ‘to sting’ (see s.v. stinguō), the -g- of which would be a root enlargement; although this is not completely impossible, there are no positive indications in this direction. Another possible cognate might be Av. stāera-, taēra-[m.] ‘mountain-top’ < *(s)te/oir/lo-, if to stilus. But since the root cannot be determined, this etymology remains gratuitous.

Bibl.: WH II: 592, 595, EM 648f., 651, IEW 1015.
stinguō, -ere ‘to extinguish’ [v. III; -stånxī, stånxtum] (Lucr.+

Derivatives: distinguere ‘to keep separate, mark off, distinguish’ (Pac.+), distinctus ‘different’ (Acc.+), extinguere ‘to extinguish, kill, wipe out’ (Pl.+, interstinguere ‘to extinguish temporarily; mark off’ (Lucr.), restinguere ‘to extinguish, suppress’ (Pl.+


PIE *stengʷ*-e/o- ‘to push, thrust’. IE cognates: Go. stigqan ‘to thrust’, caus. ga-staggjan.

There is no reason to posit a separate verb *stingere, as EM do. The attestations of *stingere will have originated e.g. in the 3p. stinguunt > stingunt. The meanings of ex- and restinguere ‘to extinguish’ and distinguere seem quite distinct, but can be understood if the root meant ‘to press’ or ‘push’: ex-stinguere ‘to put a fire out’, re-stinguere ‘to push back, suppress’, and dis-stinguere ‘to push apart > distinguish, mark off’; cf. Klingenschmitt 1989. Umbrian *ana-sting- ‘to connect’ is also unproblematic from ‘to push’. The verbal stem in *-uje/o- cannot be explained as denominal, which is why the etymological connection with Go. stinga is attractive: root final *-gʷ- could have brought about the u-stem conjugation. It does not appear possible to link in-stigāre with -stinguere, since it presupposes root-internal *-i-. U. anstintu may belong here (< *-stimbtu < *stimbetō), or to the root *stig- ‘sharp’ of in-stigāre.


stipō, -äre ‘to compress, surround’ [v. I] (Varro+)

Derivatives: stipātor ‘bodyguard, attendant’ (Varro+); obstīpus ‘slanted, inclined’ (Enn.+), ĭnstipāre ‘to pack closely’ (Cato); stipes, -itis [m.] ‘tree trunk, stick’ (Cato+).

Plt. *stei/ipo-.

PIE *steip-o- ‘stiff, erect’. IE cognates: Lith. stipti, Is. stimpū ‘to stiffen, grow rigid’, stiprūs ‘strong’, stīępī ‘to stretch’; OE stīf, MHG stīf ‘stiff, erect’ < *steifa-, MLG stīvele ‘support’, Olc. stīla ‘to dam’.

Seems to be based on an adj. *stīpo- ‘erect, rigid’ < *stęipo-, on the evidence of the Gm. accent. The noun stīpet- can be interpreted as a deadjectival t-stem *steip-elo- ‘the stiff one’. There are possible cognate forms in Baltic and Germanic from a root *stip-.

Bibl.: WH II: 593, EM 650, IEW 1015f., LIV ?*steip--. → stips

stips, -is ‘small offering of money, alms’ [f. p] (Pl.+

Derivatives: stipula ‘stalk, straw, reed’ (Ter.+), stipulārī ‘to exact a solemn promise’ (Pl.+), stipulātiō ‘demanding a guarantee’ (Varro+), ĭnstipulārī ‘to stipulate for’ (Pl.+); stipendium ‘regular cash payment, campaign’ (Pl.+; stipendium metri causa in Enn.).


PIE *stip- ‘stalk’? IE cognates: see s.v. stipō.
The noun *stipendium* derives by haplology from *stipi-pendium*. *Stipulāri* can be derived from the noun *stipula*, the original meaning of the verb was ‘to draw/cut straws’. In view of U. ste/iplā-, this must have been an early development. The noun *stip-* must have developed from a concrete object that was used for payments, but the nature of the object is unknown: a certain stalk of a plant? a measure of corn? Since the root meant ‘to be stiff, erect’, the meaning ‘stalk’ is attractive.

Bibl.: WH Π: 594, EM 650, IEW 1015f., Untermann 2000: 703f., LIV *steip-*. → *stipō*

*stirps, -pis* ‘stem, stump, stock, ancestral race’ [f. (m.) p] (Pl.++; m. archaic)

Has been compared with Lith. stīrpti ‘to grow up, grow high’, stērptis ‘to stiffen’, which is a possible but not compelling semantic connection. This etymology would require that Lat. *stirps* reflect *sterp-*, which is possible, but less likely than *stirp-*. Bibli.: WH II: 595, EM 651, IEW 1022-1027.

*stō, stāre* ‘to stand; to halt’ [v. I; pf. steti, ppp. statum] (Naev.++)

Derivatives: (1) *statim* [adv.] ‘unyieldingly, immediately’ (Pl.++), *stattō* ‘halting-place, standing, guard’ (Lucr.+), *statārius* ‘quiet, stationary’ (Ter.++), *staticulus* ‘a pose’ (Pl.++), *statīvus* ‘standing still, permanent’ (Varro+), *stator* ‘who establishes’ (Varro+); *abstāre* ‘to keep at a distance’ (Pl.++), *a(d)stāre* ‘to stand by, stand waiting’ (Naev.+), *antestāre* ‘to surpass’ (Enn++), *cōstāre* ‘to stand together, remain; cost’ (Pl.++), *distāre* ‘to be distant, different’ (Lucr.+), *exstāre* ‘to exist, protrude’ (Pl.++), *înstāre* ‘to set foot on, press, be urgent’ (Pl.++), *obstāre* ‘to meet, stand in the way, obstruct’ (Pl.+), *obstretrix* ‘midwife’ (Pl.++), *praestāre* ‘to be superior, furnish’ (Andr.+), *praestābilis* ‘outstanding’ (Ter.+), *praesto* [adv.] ‘ready’ (Pl.++), *prōstāre* ‘to offer for sale’ (Pl.++), *restāre* ‘to remain, stand firm’ (Pl.++), *restitūre* ‘to lag behind, keep offering resistance’ (Pl.++), *substāre* ‘to hold one’s ground, remain’ (Ter.+), *superstitāre* ‘to cause to remain in existence’ (Pl.++); (2) *status, -ūs* ‘standing, position’ (Pl.++), *statuere* (statiu, statutum+) ‘set, erect, establish’ (Pl.++), *statūra* ‘body height, stature’ (Pl.++), *statua* ‘statue’ (Pl.++); *a(d)stituere* ‘to place near’ (Pl.+), *cōstituere* ‘to place, arrange’ (Pl.++), *dēstituere* ‘to set up, abandon’ (Naev.+), *înstituere* ‘to organize, establish’ (Pl.++), *praestituere* ‘to fix’ (Pl.++), *prōstituere* ‘to expose, prostitute’ (Pl.++), *restituere* ‘to set up again, restore’ (Pl.+); (3) *superstes, -stitis* ‘standing by, surviving’ (Pl.++), *superstitōsus* ‘ecstatic, full of credulity’ (Pl.++), *solstitium* ‘solstice’ (Cato+), *solstitialis* ‘of the summer solstice’ (Pl.+); (4) *stabulum* ‘stable, shed’ (Pl.++), *stabulāre* ‘to house (animals)’ (Varro+); *stabilis* ‘steady, firm’ (Pl.++), *înstitāre* ‘unsteady, inconstant’ (Pac.+), *stabilire* ‘to fix, make firm’ (Pl.+), *stabilimen* ‘support’ (Acc.++), *stabilitātem* ‘which gives stability’ (Pl.+); *cōstabilitāre* ‘to establish, strengthen’ (Pl.+), *cōstibilis* ‘strong’ (Cato), *prōstibilis* ‘available as a prostitute’ (Pl.++), *prōstitulum* ‘prostitute’ (Pl.++), *restibilis* ‘sown or planted every year’ (Cato+), *restilibīre* ‘to re-establish’ (Pac.); (5) *dēstināre* ‘to arrange the purchase of (Pl.) determine, settle (Cic.++)’, *obstināre* ‘to set one’s mind on’ (Naev.+), *praestināre* ‘to bargain for, buy’ (Pl.++); (6) *stāmen, -inis* [n.] ‘thread, loom, warp’ (Varro+);
stolidus


PIE *sth 2-eh rie/o- ‘to stand’, *st-n(e)-h 2- ‘to place’, *sth 2-to- ‘placed’, *sth 2tu- ‘placement’, *sth 2-dhlo- ‘a place’, IE cognates: Olr. ad-ta ‘to be (situated)’, OW -tau ‘is’, MCo. otte, atta ‘there is’, OBret. to ‘it is’ < PCl. *ïa-je-o-; Arm. stamam [med.] ‘to acquire’, Alb. shton ‘to add’, OPr. postät ‘to become’, Lith. stōt ‘to stand’, OCS stati, Is. stanč ‘to stand, become’, stojati, Is. stojä, OGH stëän/stān, OFr. stān, Go. stādan, OIC. standa, OS OE stādan ‘to stand’. The inherited formations are: (1) a stative present *stā- < *stāje- < *sta-ēje-, which is also found in Sabellic (U. stahi/e-, O. sta(h)i-), a to-ptic. *stato- ‘placed’, (2) a tu-stem noun *statu- ‘the erecting’ (also in Sab.), (3) maybe a t-stem noun *stat- ‘who stands’ in compounds, (4) a PIt. instr. noun in *-plo- (also in Sab.), and (5) a nasal present *stane/o- ‘to place’. Of the latter, only the derived ā-stem verb in prepositional compounds has been preserved. Lat. prōstibilis and prōstibulum are derived from the verbal base *prō-sta- rather than from stabulum (Serbat 1975: 65).


stolidus ‘insensible, dull, stupid’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+) Derivatives: stultus ‘stupid’ (Naev. pl.), stultitia ‘stupidity’ (Pl.+)

Whereas stolidus might belong to a verb *stolere ‘to be insensible’, stultus < *stolto- might reflect *stl-to-. The further etymology is uncertain. IEW derives them from the root *stel- ‘to place’, so that stolidus and stultus could be interpreted as originally meaning ‘inert’ (< ‘standing’).


stolō ‘shoot, sucker (in plants)” [m. n] (Varro+)

Plt. *stel-ōn- or *stol-ōn-.

PIE *stel-n- ‘shoot, stem’. IE cognates: Gr. στόλος ‘equipment, armament; ship’s
prow' [m.], στελεά [f.] ‘shaft of an axe, hammer’, στέλεχος [n. (m.)] ‘the end of the stem at the root of a tree, stump, log’, Arm. stehn ‘trunk, branch’; OE stela [m.] ‘stalk of a plant’, Norw. stjel ‘stalk’.

We find a matching noun in Armenian, and Greek has a few nouns with similar form and semantics. The meaning of Lat. stolā, Gr. στέλεχος and OE stela can be well understood on the basis of the PIE root *stel- ‘to place’.

Bibl.: WH II: 599ff., EM 655, IEW 1019ff., LIV *stel-.

**strēna** ‘auspicious sign’ [f. ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: strēnuus ‘active, vigorous’ (Naev.+), strēnuítas ‘activity’ (Varro+), strēnuōsus ‘active’ (Pl.), instrēnuus ‘inactive’ (Pl.+), Strēnia ‘goddess of health and luck’ (Varro+).

PIt. *stregsnos-?

PIE *streg-sno-?

Often compared with Gr. στρηνής ‘rough, harsh’, στρήνος [n.] ‘passion, pride’, but the semantics are unconvincing. If the original adj. was *strēnos (as one Pl. attestation seems to suggest), strēnuus is due to the influence of the adj. in -uus, in particular *endōstruos > industrius (see s.v. strud). The Romans regarded strēna as a Sabine word. Szemerényi 1989: 23f. connects OIr. trén ‘strong’ < *treg-sno-, and (if cognate) Olc. þrek(r), OE þracu ‘force’ < *treg-, Olc. sterkr < *sterg-. There are no good verbal cognates for these nominal forms *(s)terg-, hence the PIE character remains uncertain.


**strepō, -ere** ‘to make a loud noise’ [v. III; pf. strepui, ppp. strepitum] (Sall.+)

Derivatives: strepitus, -ās ‘noise’ (Pl.+); perstreperē ‘to make a loud noise’ (Ter.+).

PIt. *strepe/o-.


It is uncertain that *strep- goes back to PIE, since it is only found in Latin and Germanic.

Bibl.: WH II: 602, EM 656, IEW 1037, LIV *(s)trep-.

**strīdō, -ere** ‘to make a shrill sound’ [v. III; pf. strīdā] (Enn.+; strīdēre Luc.+)

Derivatives: strīdor ‘squeak, shriek’ (Pac.+).

IE cognates: Gr. τρίζω ‘to squeak*, pf. τέτριγα, τόσο to resound’.

Onomatopoeic formation of str- and -i- rendering a high, thrilling tone. In Gr. and Toch., we find initial tr-.

Bibl.: WH II: 603, EM 656, IEW 1036.

**stringō, -ere** ‘to bind fast, tighten; to strip off’ [v. III; pf. strīnxī, ppp. strictum] (Cato+)

Derivatives: (1) strictūra ‘hardened mass of iron’ (Lucil.+), strictim ‘closely,
slightly' (Pl.+), stringor 'contracting quality' (Locr.); adstringere 'to tie up tightly, commit' (Pl.+), distingere 'to stretch apart' (Pl.+), interstringere 'to throttle' (Pl.), obstringere 'to tie around, confine' (Pl.+), praestringere 'to blunt, tie up at the ends' (Pl.+), restringere 'to draw back, fasten' (Pl.+); stringor 'brute, man of solid strength' (Pl.+), obstringilläre 'to cause obstruction' (Enn.+), obstringillātor 'who hampers' (Varro+); (2) strictor 'a picker' (Cato), strictivus 'picked (of fruit)' (Cato), strigilis [f.] 'oil-scraper' (Pl.+), praest(r)igiae [f.pl.] 'trick, deceit' (Pl.+), praestigiātor 'trickster, juggler' (Pl.), praestigiātrix 'female trickster' (Pl.); stria 'channel, furrow' (Varro+), strītatus 'furrowed, grooved' (Pl.+); strīga 'strip, row' (Paul. ex F. et al.), striguare 'to stop, halt' (Verg.+).
Pi. *string-, *strenge/o- 'to tie' [pr.], *string-to- [ppp.], *string-ā- [f.] 'strip, row', *-streig-io-.
PIE *streig-, *strengh-e/o- 'to draw, tie' [prj, *strig-to- [ppp.], *strig-a- [f.]
*string to strip off, *strenge/o- 'to tie' [prj, *strengh-e/o- 'to draw, tie' [prj, *strig-to- [ppp.], *strig-a- [f.]
IE cognates: OCS stristi, Is. strig$ 'to cut, shave', OHG strīhan 'to brush', OE strīcan 'to brush (past), rub, wander' < *strig-; Mfr. strengim 'to draw, drag', Khot. strīs- (strīs-, str(r)i-) 'to become stiff', pastranj-' to repress' < Plr. *stranj-, Gr. στραγγίζειν twisted, crooked', OIs. *strēngja 'to bind together', OE strengan 'to attach' < *streig-.
The simplex stringō has two meanings: (1) 'to tie, tighten', as in all the compounds of -stringō; the same meaning may account for stringor ('who holds'), obstringilläre and praest(r)igiae (with dissimilation of the second r). (2) 'to strip off, bare; to scratch, shave, etc.', which is difficult to derive from 'to tie' or 'stretch'. To this second meaning belong the instrument strigilis and possibly also stria 'furrow' (< *strig-ia; but it might also belong to 'stretch') and strīga 'strip, row'. It appears that a merger occurred of two different PIE verbs, *string- 'to brush, strip' and *strengh- 'to tie' (> Lat. string- by phonetic development). The verb striguare 'to stop' is best interpreted as a denominative to stria and strīga: 'to draw furrows' > 'stop and turn at the end of the field' > 'to halt'.

Bibl.: WH II: 356, 602-605, EM 656f., IEW 1028f., Meiser 2003: 113, LIV 1.*streig-, *strengh-.

strūma 'swelling of the lymphatic glands' [f. ā] (Cic. +)

In theory, a connection with Gm. words in PIE *strūd- (OIs. strūtr 'top', OE strūtan 'to stand still', NHG strotz 'stiff', MHG strüz 'resistance') is possible, but the semantic link is not compelling, and the late attestation in Latin makes an IE etymology less certain.

Bibl.: WH II: 606f., EM 657, IEW 1022-1027.

struō, -ere 'to arrange, construct, compose, build' [v. III; pf. strūxī, ppp. strūctum] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: struēs, -is [f.] 'heap, pile; row of sacrificial cakes' (Cato+), struix, -īcis [f.] 'heap, pile' (Andr.+); construere 'to pile up, arrange' (Sis.+), exstruere 'to heap up, construct' (Pl.+), instruere 'to build, arrange, equip' (Pl.+), instrumentum 'equipment' (Cato+), industria 'diligent activity' (Pl.+), industrius 'active' (Pl.+), industriōsē 'diligently' (Cato+), indostruum 'industrium' (Paul. ex F.).
**stumus** 593

Plt. *storw-e/o-. It. cognates: U. *struhça, struçla, strušla, strusla [acc.sg.], struhças [gen.sg.] f. ‘kind of sacrificial cake’ < *struwi-k-elă?**


Lat. *struô* can reflect a PIE thematic pr. *streu-e/o-. The velar in the pf. and ppp. must be analogical to *fluô*, where -glir- disappeared regularly between vowels. If *industriaus* goes back to *endo-struwo-*, this was probably directly built to the verb.


**studeô ‘to devote oneself, strive after’ [v. II; pf. *studui] (Pl.+)**

Derivatives: *studium ‘zeal, enthusiasm, study’ (Pl.+), studiōsus ‘eager, zealous’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *stud-ē-. * *stud-e-.

PIE *stud-e/-h₁- ‘to thrust, hit’. IE cognates: see s.v. *tundô.*

Lat. *studère* can be understood as a stative to *(s)tud- ‘to thrust’, with the meaning ‘to be thrusting’ > ‘strive after’.

**Bibl.: WH II: 608, EM 658, IEW 1032-1034, LIV 1.*(s)teud- → tundô**

**stupeô ‘to be(come) numb, amazed’ [v. II] (Ter.+)**

Derivatives: *stupidus ‘dazed, stunned, foolish’ (Pl.+), stupiditās ‘stupidity’ (Acc.+); *obstui/pēscere ‘to be stunned’ (Pl.+), *obstupīdus ‘astounded’ (Pl.+), obstupefacere ‘to strike dumb, stun’ (Ter.+); *stuprum ‘dishonour, illicit sexual intercourse’ (Naev.+), *stuprāre ‘to have illicit sexual intercourse with’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *stup-ē- ‘to be stunned’, *stup-ro- ‘struck, hit’.

PIE *stup-e/-h₁- ‘to hit, push’, *stup-ro-. IE cognates: CLuw. *dup(a)i-, Lyc. *tub(e)i ‘to strike’, Gr. τύπτω ‘to hit, strike, sting’, aor. ēτύπη ‘was hit’, τύπος ‘stroke, impression’; Alb. *pērtyp ‘to chew’, *shtyp ‘to crush’; Gr. *στύπος [n.] ‘stick, shaft’.

The PIE verbal meaning ‘to hit, push’ explains the Latin stative ‘to be stunned’ as well as the nominal form *stup-ro- ‘struck, stunned’ > ‘dishonoured’.

**Bibl.: WH II: 609£, EM 658£, IEW 1032-1034, LIV 1.*(s)teup-.*

**sturnus ‘starling’ [m. o] (Plin.+)**

Plt. *storno- ‘starling’?

PIE *(h₂)st(o)r-n(o- ‘starling’? IE cognates: Gr. ἀστραλός ‘starling’ (Hsch.), OE *stearn, MoDu stern ‘tern’, OPr. *starnite ‘seagull’ (ms. *stamite) ; OHG *star(a) , NHG Star, MDu. *sterre, Olc. *stari, OE *steor, dim. steirling ‘starling’.

**Sturnus** can be connected with Gm. words in *stern- and *stor-n- meaning ‘tern’ and ‘starling’, and maybe with OPr. *starnite. The Greek gloss word ἀστραλός would prove *(h₂)str-, but it stands isolated.

suāsum ‘dirty grey colour’ [n. o] (Pl., Fest.)

PIE *swarso-?

IE cognates: see s.v. sordēs.

The meaning has suggested a connection to sordēs < *suord-o/i-, but the exact form is unclear. A preform *suord-to- would probably yield *sorso-, whereas *suerdto- would yield *suerso- > *sorso- too. Only if *suord-to- regularly developed into *suarso- could suāsum result; this would match the rule *RD*T > *RaD*T posited by Schrijver 1991: 485. Without external support for this morphological analysis, this etymology remains un compelling.


sordes

suavis ‘sweet, pleasant’ [adj. i] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: suāvitūdō ‘sweetness’ (Pl.), suāvitās ‘pleasantness, charm’ (Pl.+), suāvisōviātiō ‘amorous kissing’ (Pl.), suāvisōnus ‘sweet-sounding’ (Naev.+); sāvium ‘kiss’ (Pl.), sāvillum ‘kind of cheesecake’ (Cato); suādēre [suāsī, suāsum] ‘to recommend, advise’ (Pl.+), cōnūsūdēre ‘to recommend strongly’ (Pl.+), dissuādēre ‘to advise against’ (Pl.+), persuādēre ‘to induce, convince’ (Pl.+), persuāstrīx ‘persuasive woman’ (Pl.), suādēla ‘persuasion’ (Pl.), suāsor ‘who advises, advocates’ (Pl.+), suāsus, -ās ‘advising’ (Ter.+), suāda ‘persuasiveness’ (Enn.+).

PIE *swādu- ‘sweet’, *swādeje- ‘to render agreeable’.


The PIE u-stem adj. yielded Plt. *suādu-, which was then rendered into an i-stem as all other u-adj. were: *suādwi-. Subsequently, -d- was lost in front of *-w-. The verb suādēre shows by its meaning that it is a causative, but *suohd-eie- would have yielded *sōde-. Hence, the root form of the adj. was probably introduced into the verb (Schrijver 1991: 148). The semantics ‘to recommend’ can be understood from earlier ‘to make sweet, render agreeable’. In sāvium and sāvillum < *swāwio-, the first *-w- was dissimilated.


sub, su(b)s ‘under, below; reaching from below, up to’ [prep., pref. + acc. (movement), + abl. (position)] (Elog.Scip., Naev. +); distribution: sus- < *subs- in front of p,t,c,gu, su- in front of sp-; sub- in front of vowels, h-, i-, u-, b-, d-, l-, n-, r-, s-, t-; suc- in front of c-, suf- in front of f-, sug- in front of g-, sup- in front of p-, often also sum- in front of m- and sur- in front of r-. The meaning ‘movement upwards’ can be seen e.g. in suspicio, sublevō, surgō, sublātus.

Derivatives: subter ‘underneath’ [adv.]; ‘towards/in a position at the base of, under’ [prep.] (Varro+), subtus ‘underneath, below’ (Cato+); supīmus ‘lying face upwards’
(Pl. +), resupínare 'to tilt back, lay face upwards' (Ter. +), resupínum 'lying face upwards, sloping upwards' (Acc. +).

Plt. *supV* (probably *supo* 'down, below; upwards', *supíno* 'upwards'. It cognates: O. suπi (+ loc.), U. su (+ abl.) 'under', as a preverb U. sub- (before vowel), su- (before vowel or consonant: sumtu < *sup-emtu, sutentu < *sup-tentu). Probably also U. supu (+ loc.) 'at the foot of'; maybe U. subahutu, subotu [3s.ipv.II], subator sent [3p.pf.ps.] 'to lay aside'.

PIE *(hi)upo 'up, from below'. IE cognates: Gaul. vo-, Olr. fo 'under', OW guo-, gu-, gua-, W. go-, gwa- < PCl. *wpo-; Skt. úpa 'towards, together with, under, near to, onto, on', OAv. upā, YAv. upa, OP upā 'towards, with, on, in'; Gr. ὑπό, ὑπό 'under, below'; Go. ufa 'on, under', OHG oba, MHG obe, ob 'over', Olc. of 'over, on, in', OE ufe-, OHG ūf (ūfan) 'on'.

Final -b may have arisen in front of voiced stops. Lat. subtus < *sub-tos (cf. intus). The theory that supínum contains the root *ei- 'to go' (Leumann 1977: 328) is unattractive: it will be a simple adjectival derivative in -imus, which shows the old meaning 'upwards' of *sup(o). Initial *s- in Italic (in sub and super) and in Greek cannot be explained by comparing sine with *en- as EM do, since sine is now etymologized differently. Whatever the origin of the s-, the Celtic forms show that it was a specific Italic development.


süber, -ris 'cork-oak' [n. r] (Verg. +)

Derivatives: sübermus 'of the cork-tree' (Varro), süberiēs 'cork-oak' (Lucil. +). No etymology. A borrowing from Gr. σουφρ [n.] 'wrinkled skin', as proposed by WH, is doubtful on account of the deviant meaning. Latin and Greek might have borrowed a word in *sūh*- with a common semantic core from a third language.

Bibl.: WH II: 617, EM 661.

U. sukatu [3s.ipv.II], prusikurent [3p.fut.pf.] 'to declare', SPic. persukant [3p.pr.] 'id.'

Plt. *soiko- 'swearing', *(se-)sik- 'to swear'.

PIE *se-s(o)ik- [pf.] 'to reach', *soik-o- [m./n.]. IE cognates: Gr. ἵκω, ἵκνω, ἱκνέωμαι [pr.], ἵκεσθαι [aor.] 'to come, reach', ἑνέκα 'to carry off' < *en-sek-; Lith. siekti, 3s. siekia 'to try to reach, strive for', saikas, siekas, Latv. sieks 'unit of dry measure'; ToB siknam, sb. saikam 'to set a foot'.

The older etymology with *sek*- 'to say' was dismissed by Meiser, who instead derives pf. *prō-sik-us- from PIE *seik- 'to reach'. Meiser posits a semantic change from 'to reach' > 'to reach after, seek' > 'swear'. He explains the stem suka- in U. and SPic. as denominal *soikāje/o- to a noun *soiko- 'delegation'.

sucus 'juice' [m. o] (Pl. +)  
Derivatives: sūcīdus 'fresh, juicy' (Varro+), cōnsūcīdus 'fresh, juicy' (Pl.).  
Plt. *souko-.

PIE *souk-o- 'juice' (or *seuk-o-?). IE cognates: W. sugno 'to suck', MBret. sunaff 'juice', W. sugnedyd 'pump' (< *seuk-n-?); Latv. sūkt, OCS svasati, Is. svęsp, Ru. sosār 'to suck' <*suk-; Olc. sūga, OHG OE sūgan 'to suck' <*sūgan, OE sūcan, MDu. sūcen <*sūkan <*suk-n-?

We find the root for 'to suck' as *suk- in Celtic, BSl. and in some Germanic forms, and as *sug- in other Germanic forms and in Latin sūgō. It is unlikely that this goes back to a root *su- with different root enlargements, so we must surmise that the root originally was *suk- or *sug-, and changed to *sug- or *suk- in certain phonetic environments. Both Latin and Germanic conserve both variants. Schrijver 2001: 423 regards the vacillation in root-final stop as a sign that these words for 'to suck' and 'juice' were borrowed from (a) substrate language(s). In its turn, this might have got the word from Uralic, since Proto-Uralic *sōxi or *sūwe 'mouth' looks quite similar to IE *sūk/g-.

Bibl.: WH II: 622f., EM 662, IEW 912f., LIV *seuk-. → sūgō

sudor 'sweat' [m. r] (Pl. +)  
Derivatives: südāre 'to sweat' (Naev.+), südātorius 'inducing sweat' (Pl. +); cōnsüdāre 'to sweat well' (Pl. +), dēsüdāscere 'to sweat away' (Pl.).  
Plt. *sweid-s-ös-.

PIE *sueid-s- 'sweat' (coll.), *suoid-o- [m.] 'sweat'. IE cognates: W. chwys, Co. whys, Bret. chouez 'sweat' <*syidso-?, Skt. svēdā- [m.], YAv. x'āēḍa- 'sweat', x'īsa-'to start sweating'; Gr. ἱδρός, ἥτος [m.], ep. acc. ἱδρό 'sweat' <*syid-r-os-; ἱδώ 'to sweat', εἶδος (Hsch.), Ἠδόν [n.] 'sweat' <*syeidos-; Arm. k'irtm, Alb. dīrsē <*syid-r-; Latv. svīēdri [pl.] 'sweat' <*syoidro-; OHG sweiz, OE swat; ToB syelme 'id.'

Südāre was probably formed on the basis of a m. *swoido- 'sweat', as attested in Ilr. and Germ. The noun südor can be inherited from *sweidōs if Rix is correct in assuming a phonetic change of *swei- > *swoi-. Otherwise, the noun can be explained from the introduction of süd- (or *swoid-) into the s-stem.


sūdus 'clear, bright (weather), dry' [adj. o/ā] (Pl. +)  
Plt. *swoido-.

PIE *suoid-o- 'bright'.  
According to Lubotsky 1985, followed by Schrijver 1991: 54, sūdus belongs to the IE adj. for 'dry' such as Lith. saūsas, and reflects *h₂sus-do-. Nussbaum 1999a: 381 stresses that sūdus refers to bright skies rather than to the absence of rain, and proposes an etymology *suoid-o- 'bright', which he connects with Lith. svištis, Is. svindū 'to dawn', svidēti, syvdēti (Daukša) 'to shine', Latv. svīst, Is. sviđu 'to dawn' < PIE *suid-. The root would thus be homophonous with 'to sweat' (Lat. südāre).

suēscō, -ere 'to become accustomed to' [v. III; pf. suēvī, ppp. suētum] (Lucr.+
Derivatives: assuēscere 'to become or make accustomed' (Pl.+), assuētūdō 'custom, intimacy' (Varro+), cōnsuēscere 'to become or make accustomed' (Pl.+, cōnsuētiō 'sexual intercourse' (Pl.), cōnsuētūdō 'custom, disposition, intimacy' (Pl.), cōnsuēfacere 'to make accustomed' (Ter.+)/, désuēscere 'to disaccustom, become disaccustomed' (Titin.+), dissuēfieri 'to be disaccustomed' (Varro+), mānsuēscere 'to become accustomed' (Pl.+)/, mānsuēs, -ētis 'mild, tame' (Pl.), mānsuētus 'tame, mild' (Ter.+)/, mānsuēscere 'to become tame' (Lucr.+)/, mānsuēfacere 'to tame' (Varro+).

Plt. *swē(p)-sk-e/o-.

PIE *sueh₁-dʰh₁- 'to make one’s own, get accustomed'. IE cognates: Gr. εὐωδα ‘to be used, use’, Lesb. εὐωδα < PlGr. *se-σφων-α < *se-suoh₁-dʰ- (thus Schrijver; or from *se-sueh₁-dʰ- with analogical -o-?), Gr. ἱδος [n.] ‘custom, usage’ < *sueh₁-dʰh₁-os-; Go. swes ‘own; property’ [adj./n.], OHG OS swās, OE swēs, OIc. svāss ‘dear’ < *suēdʰ-s-o-.

Suēscere is an inchoative formation in *-ske/o- based on a PIE syntagm *suē-dʰh₁- or *sueh₁-dʰh₁- ‘to make into one’s own’, which may have as its first member the acc.sg. *sue ‘self, own’ (> *suē in monosyllable) or the ins.sg. *sueh₁-. In Latin, the compound verbs are clearly older than the simplex suēscere, which must be regarded as a back-formation. The adj. mansuētus < *manu-suēto- is probably older than mansuēs, which was formed on the model of inquiēs : inquietus (thus WH).


suffiō, -ire 'to fumigate' [v. IV] (Cato+)

Plt. *-pūje/o-?

PIE *dʰuh₂-ie- IE cognates: Hit. tuhhae-ai ‘to produce smoke’ < PIE *dʰuh₂-o-jē/o- (denominal to a noun *dʰuh₂-o-), Hit. antu₇haṣ- / antuḥṣ- ‘man’ < nom. *h₁n-dʰuehr₂-ōs, gen.sg. *h₁n-dʰuhr₂-s-ōs; Gr. ὅω ‘to sacrifice’, CS dūti ‘to blow’, Sln. dūti ‘to smell, blow’, ToB twasastār ‘burns, shines’, ToA twāsis ‘burns’.

Exfir might be a corrupted form or a derivation of *exfiō. The phonetic development leading from PIE *dʰuh₂-je/o- to -fiō is disputed. Most scholars seem to assume *dʰuh₂-ie- > *dʰuije- > *fiuje- > fiye- (unrounding by means of the ‘pius-Law’); whereas Kortlandt (2007: 136) posits a development *dʰuHje/o- > *-dʰwiō > -fiō.


suffrāgiōm ‘vote cast in an assembly, voting’ [n. o] (Pl.+
Derivatives: refrāgāre/i ‘to oppose’ (Pompon.+), suffrāgāre/i ‘to express public support’ (Sis.+), suffrāgō, -inis ‘joint in the hind leg of a quadruped; sucker shoot’ (Col.+)/, suffrāgātōr ‘one who gives support to a candidate’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *-frāg-.

Clearly, these forms are based on a verb *sub-frāgere or a noun *sub-frāg-o-
'support'. Since the oldest meanings all refer to the process of voting for or against a candidate, one might support the view that *sub-frāg- belongs to frangere 'to break': *sub-frāg- 'who shout in support of a candidate' (but frāgor 'noise' is not attested before Lucr.). This view is advocated in detail by Vaahteraa 1993, who explains long -ā- analogically on the model of e.g. tangō – contāgium. Szemerényi 1989: 31f. derives -frāgium from a (substratum?) root *b'rāg- 'hind part, tail-bone', which he connects with Celtic brākā and Germanic *brōk- 'tail-bone'. He hypothesizes for suffrāgium a semantic change from 'support under the hind part' to 'political support'. This is too fantastic to be credible (cf. Vaahteraa 1993: 70).

Bibl.: WH II: 625f., EM 663, IEW 165. → frangō

sūgō, -ere 'to suck' [v. III; pf. sūxi, ppp. sūctum] (Novius+)

Derivatives: sūctus, -ūs 'sucking' (Varro+), sūmen, -inis 'sow's udder' (Pl.+); sūgillāre (also sugg-) 'to mark with bruises, insult' (Varro+); sanguisūga [f.] 'leech' (Plin.+); assūgere 'to suck towards' (Lucr.+), exsūgere 'to suck out' (Pl.+).

Plt. *souge-o/ - to suck', *soug(s)mn- 'udder'.

PIE *soug-e/o- 'to suck'. IE cognates: OE sūcan 'to suck', socian (< *suk-) 'to suck up'.

See s.v. sūcus.


sulcus 'furrow' [m. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: sulcāre 'to plough, draw furrows' (Varro+); bisulcis / bisulcus 'divided into two parts, forked' (Pl.+).

Plt. *solk-.

PIE *solk-o- 'furrow'. IE cognates: Gr. ἥλκω 'to draw, drag', ὀλκός [adj., m.] 'attractive, trailing; hauling-engine for ships; furrow', Alb. helq, heq 'to draw' (< *solkeje-o-), OE sulh [f.] 'plough' < *slk-, ToB sālk- 'to draw out'.

In theory, sulcus can reflect PIE *sjk-o- or *solk-o-. In view of Gr. ὀλκός, the latter seems more likely.

Bibl.: WH II: 627, EM 664, IEW 901, Meiser 1998: 84, LIV *selk-.

sulpur, -uris 'sulphur' [n. r] (Cato+)

Derivatives: sulphureus 'containing sulphur' (Enn.+).

Plt. *solpor / *sulpor.

PIE *sulp-o- 'fat'. IE cognates: Skt. sarpiś- [n.] 'melted butter, lard', sṛprā- [adj.] 'greasy, smooth, sleek', Gr. ἰδαν [f.] 'oil-flask', Alb. gjalpē 'butter', OHG salba 'ointment, salve', ToA sāłp, ToB sälpy 'butter, oil'.

The best spelling is sulphur. The Seneca mss. mostly have sulphur, those of Pliny have sulphur and sulphur. Szemerényi (1995: 410) suggests that sulphur derives from *sulp/os < *sulp/os, as in sulcus. The preform *sulp/os would ultimately derive from *selpos 'oily substance', with cognates in Greek, Tocharian and Germanic. The development of *sulpos to *sulp/os would be irregular, however, and final -ur instead of -or is also unexpected. Maybe the PIE preform was *sulp-r?

Bibl.: WH II: 628, EM 665, IEW 1046.
sum, esse 'to be' [v. Irregular. pr.ind.: sum, es, est, sumus, estis, sunt. pr.sb. fuï, fut. futúrus sum, inf. fore] (VOLat.+: Forum cippus esed 'erit', Duenos inscr. sied, Garigliano Bowl esom 'sum', Elog.Scip. fuit, fuïse, fuet, Lex Sacra (CIL 401) estod)

Derivatives: escit (Lex XII, Lucr., Paul. ex F.), escunt 'will be' (Cic.), obescet (Paul. ex F.) 'oberit vel aderit', superescit (Enn., Acc.) 'supererit'; absëns, -tis 'absent' (Pl.+-), cönsëns, -tis [adj/noun] (Var., CIL; only in Ði cönsëntes 'the twelve major deities'), præsëns 'present, ready' (Lex XII+), praesentärius 'in ready money' (Pl.+), praesentia 'presence' (Ter.+); abesse 'to be absent, different', adesse 'to be present' (Naev.+-), ëdesse 'to be lacking' (Pl.+), inesse 'to be in or on' (Naev.+-), interesse 'to lie between, make a difference; attend' (Pl.+), obesse 'to be a hindrance' (Pl.+), præesse 'to be in charge' (Pl.+-), prödesse, prösum 'to be of use' (Naev.+-), subsesse 'to be underneath' (Pl.+), superesse 'to be higher, remain'.


PIE pr. *h1es-/*h1is- 'to be'. IE cognates: Gaul. iymi, imi 'I am', OIr. is; W. ys [3s.pb.], oedd [pret.], Co. us, vs, OBret. is 'is' < PCI. *es-; Hit. eš-zi / aš- 'to be, be present', Pal. CLuw. aš- / aš-, HLuw. aš- / s-, Lyc. es- / ah- 'to be', Skt. as 'to be' [pr. āsti, sānti, opt. syāt, pf. āṣa], Av. ah- / āh-, OP ami 'I am', hašibi 'they are', Gr. Att. eimi (= ēmi, Acol. ēimu, Dor. ēmi), 2s. ei, 3s. εστι, 1p. ειμι, 2p. εστε, 3p. εισι (Dor. εϊτι) 'to be'; Alb. jam 'I am', 2s. je, 3s. īshē / ā(n)štē; 2s.pb. (ē) jesh, 1s.pf. jeshē; OPr. ašñai [1s.], ast, est [3s.], OLith. esmi, Lith. ėsti OCS jesmu, jëst; Ru. est' , Cz. jsem, jest, OPo. jesm; Po. jest; Bulg. e; SCR. jèsam, sam, jëst; Sln. sòn, jë; Go. im, is, ist [123s.], sind [3p.] 'to be'.

In cönsëntes, the pr.ptc.act. may have been preserved. The development of the present paradigm in Italic is disputed. Joseph-Wallace (1987) argue for phonetic development of *esmi > esom > sum because of the enclitic status of the verb 'to be' in some contexts, but Dinkel 1998 contradicts this, joined by Schrijver 2006: 58. They explain Plt. *esom as a reflex of the original thematic subjunctive *es-e/o- which is also found in Celtic.

**summus** 'highest' [adj. o/ā] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: *summa* 'total number, amount, whole' (Pl. +), *Summānus* 'the god of high places' (Pl. +), *summātim* 'summarily' (Lucr. +), *summātus, -ātūs* 'being chief' (Lucr. +), *summās, -ātīs* [adj.] 'of the first rank' (Pl. +).

Plt. *sup(a)mo- 'highest'. It. cognates: U. *sume* [loc.sg.], *somo* [acc.sg.m.], *somo* [abl.sg.m.] 'upper' < *sup-mo-.

PIE *h₁up-m(H)>- 'highest'. IE cognates: Skt. *upamā-, YAv. *uvam- 'upmost, highest, closest' < IIr. *(H)upmHa-, Gr. ὑπάτος 'upmost, highest'; OE *ufemest 'highest'.

The IIr. cognates suggest a superlative formation *supamo > *summo-. Yet a preform *sup-mo- cannot be excluded, cf. Gr. πρόμος.


**suō, -ere** 'to sew' [v. III; pf. suī, pps. sūtum] (Ter. +)

Derivatives: *sūbula* 'shoemaker's awl' (Sen. +), *sūtor* 'shoemaker' (Pl. +), *sūtōrius* 'of a shoemaker' (Varro +), *sūtrānas* 'of shoemaking' (Varro +), *sūlēla* 'cunning device' (Pl. +); *pellesuīna* 'shop where skins are sold' (Varro); *cōnsuere* 'to sew together, plan' (Pl. +).

Plt. *s(j)iije/o-, *s(j)uto-.*


Skt. contains traces of the original sequence *siHu- which was metathesized to *siuH- under certain conditions, probably in front of consonants. The resulting present *siuH-ie/o- lost its first *-i- (by means of dissimilation?) and subsequently developed to *sūje/o-; the form sū- was then also introduced into the ppp. The absence of the development of *ū to i in front of *i (cf. *pius, inciens) is explained by Meiser from 'dissimilatory retention' of ā between two *j’s (2003: 236; until after the fronting of *ū), but maybe ā was simply restored on the model of the derivatives in *sū-.


**super** 'over, above, beyond' [adv., prep.] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: *superus [nom.sg.m. super Cato] 'upper, situated above' (Andr. +), *suprā [adv, prep.] 'at a higher level; on top of, above' (Andr. +), *insuper [adv., prep.] 'on top; above, over' (Pl. +), *superāre 'to surpass, defeat, climb over' (Naev. +), *superior 'higher, stronger' (Pl. +), *suprēmus 'highest, last' (Lex XII +), *supernē [adv.] 'at a higher level, on top' (Lucr. +), *supernus 'situated at a higher level' (Lucr. +).

suppus [abl.sg.] 'upper' < *sup-ero-.

PIE *(h)uper(i) [adv.] 'over, above', *uper-o- [adj.] 'above'. IE cognates: Celtib. ueramos 'highest', Gaul. uer- 'high', OIr. for(-) 'up, over, beyond', W. gor-, gwar- 'over', OW guar, MW ar, MCo. ar, OBret. guar, Bret. war 'on' < *uper-; Skt. upâri, YAv. upari 'above, over', OP upariy 'over, on', Skt. upara- [adj.] 'below, under, later', YAv. upara- 'upper, higher', Gr. ὑπέρ, ἰπερ 'over, above', Gr. ὑπερος [m.] 'pestle', Arm. i ver 'up', OHG ubir 'over', Go. ufar, OE ufera 'higher'.

For the addition of s- in Latin super as opposed to PIE *up-, see s.v. sub. Suprā < abl.sg.f. *superād. The sup. developed from *supresmos < *suprismos < *superisamos. The adv. superne probably contains the suffix *-ne (cf. pōne < *postne); from it, supernus was backformed.


supō, -āre; -sipō, -āre 'to pour, strew' [v. I] (Paul. ex F. supāre 'to throw')

Derivatives: dissu/ipāre 'to disperse, shatter' (Pl.+), īnśipere, -sipiō (Cato+), īnsu/ipāre (Paul. ex F.) 'to throw in', obsi/pāre 'to scatter' (Pl., Paul. ex F.).

Plt. *sup-i-, -sup-āje- 'to throw'.

PIE *sup-i- 'to throw'. IE cognates: Lith. sūpti, 3s. sūpa 'to rock, cradle'; OCS suti, 1s. sūpco, Cz. souti (obs.), SCR. sāsūti 'to pour, strew' < BSl. *soup-, ORu. sūr 'embankment, hill, mountain'.

The analysis of these verb forms is somewhat uncertain. The simplex supāre is only attested in Paul. ex F., and it cannot be excluded that it was backformed from īnsu/pāre and dissu/pāre; hence, its -u-colour does not prove a Plt. root *sup-. Lat. īnśipere might be showing a simplex *sVpere, to which -sui/pāre may have been made by a productive process. In that case, the oldest reconstructible stem is *sYp-i(e/o)-. The root vowel may have been any short vowel, but if the original meaning was 'to throw', Slavic *soup- 'to pour, strew' is clearly the closest semantic match.

Bibl.: WH I: 356f., EM 668, IEW 1049, LIV *seup-.

suppus 'lying on one's back, upside down' [adj. o/a] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: suppāre 'to turn on their back' (Acc.+).

Plt. *soupo- 'on the top, upside down'. It. cognates: U. sopam, sopa [acc.sg.], supaf, supa [acc.pl.f.], supes [abl.pl.f.], supa, sopo, supo [acc.pl.n.], supa [acc.sg.f. or pl.f. or n.]. 'part of the sacrificed animal, guts'.

PIE *h₁eup(o-) 'up, above'. IE cognates: Gaul. Uxello-dumum, Uxama [topon.], OIr. úasal, W. uchel, Co. huhel, Bret. uhel 'high' < PCI. *ou(x)selo- 'high' < PIE *h₁oup-s- 'high', Gaul. (a) uz, OIr. ós [+dat.], W. uch, Co. (a) ugh 'above' < PCI. *ouxso- < PIE *h₁oups-o-; Hit. ūpp-zi 'to come up (of the sun) < *h₁eup-ti; Gr. ὑψι [adv.] 'on high, above'; Ru. више, SCR. више, Sln. више 'higher', Ru. выс 'f. 'height' < *уп-s- (Derksen 2008), OCS vysokb, Ru. въсок 'high' (anal. въ-), Go. iupa 'above', iup 'upward' < *eup-.
Weiss (fthc.b) discusses earlier etymologies, and argues that Sabellic /sõpəl/ can reflect Plt. *soup-, *soip- or *sop-. If Latin suppus stems from *sūpus via the lettera-rule, then both may reflect Plt. *soup-o- < PIE *seup-o-, an internal derivative to *sup ‘below, upwards’. The meaning of Plt. *soup-o- would have been ‘on the top’ = ‘upside down’. This would explain U. ‘guts’ from the supine position in which animals are mostly slaughtered. Weiss compares Gr. ύπτιος ‘supine, upside down’ from ὑπό, with the pl. τά ὑπτια often referring to the belly of quadrupeds. This solution would imply that Italic also evidences the full grade of PIE *ʰ₁up- which is furthermore found in Hittite, Germanic, Slavic and Celtic.

Bibl.: WH II: 634, EM 660, 669, IEW 1106f. → sub

**surdus** ‘deaf; muted’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: **absurdus** ‘ridiculous, awkward’ (Pl.+

Since ‘deaf’ often has two semantic sides, viz. ‘who cannot hear’ and ‘who is not heard’, **ab-surdus** can be explained as ‘which is unheard of’, and regularly belongs to **surdus**. According to WH and IEW, **surdus** might belong to the PIE root *suer- ‘to sound’, but this leaves the semantics unexplained, since **surdus** means ‘unheard’ or ‘not hearing’. If **ab-surdus** was original, it may have meant ‘off hearing’ (> ‘unheard of’), in line with other compounds in ab-. Then **surdus** would have originally meant ‘hearing’, but changed its meaning to ‘not hearing’ under the influence of **absurdus**. This is very speculative, of course.


**suër-**.

**sūrus** ‘post, stake’ [m. o] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: **surculus** ‘twig, stick’ (Cato+), **surculārius** ‘living among twigs’ (Varro+); **sūra** ‘calf of the leg’ (Pl.+

No certain etymology. The length of the first vowel in **sūrus** is uncertain; if it was long, it may be connected with **sūra** ‘calf of the leg’: the ‘post, stake’ would have been denominated after the body-part, as is often the case. If it was short **sūrus**, it might be cognate with Skt. svār- ‘sacrificial post, stake’.

Bibl.: WH II: 634f., EM 669f., IEW 1050.

**susurrus** ‘whisper, soft rustling’ [m. o] (Pl.+

Derivatives: **susurrāre** ‘to whisper, make a soft rustling sound’ (Ter.+).

Plt. **su-sur(r)-o-**, **swεr-**. It. cognates: O. sverrunē [dat.sg.] name of an official of the town Abella.


An onomatopoeic formation, using reduplication, a hissing sibilant and -rr- to reflect the sound of whispering and rustling. Still, the word may be formed on the basis of a
PIE root *suer- 'to resound'. O. sverrun- could mean 'speaker' < 'resounder'; possible reconstructions are then *suer-es-ôn- or *suer-jôn-.


sús, suís 'pig, sow' [m., f. ú] (Pl. +; acc. suem, acc.pl. suës, dat.abl.pl. súbus, súbus, suibus)

Derivatives: suïle [n. ] 'pigsty' (Varro+), suillus 'of pigs, pork' (Pl.+), súcula 'a windlass' (Pl.+); subulculus 'swineherd' (Cato+), suerda 'pig's dung' (Lucil.+), súcida/succidia 'joint of pork' (Cato+), suovetaurilia, -ium 'purificatory sacrifice of a boar, a ram and a bull' (Cato+).


PIE *suh₁s [nom.], *suh₁so [gen.] 'pig, swine' (orig. 'sow'). IE cognates: Skt. sükara- [m.] 'wild boar', YAv. hū-, MP xūg, Gr. úç, gen.sg. úç, Alb. thi 'pig'; OHG, OE sū 'sow', OIc. syr 'sow'.

According to Schrijver, the alternation between nom.acc. sū-s, -m and oblique case forms sū- led to the introduction of su- in compounds such as su-bulculus (formed after bubulculus) and su-berda. The PIE word *suH- probably meant 'sow', since it can be connected with IIr. *suH- 'to give birth' (Skt. sūte 'gives birth', sū- [f.] 'mother', a-sū- 'bairren', YAv. pr. hunāmi 'I give birth', haota- [n.] 'race, family'). In its turn, 'to give birth' can be derived via 'to be pregnant' from the PIE root *suh₁s- 'to be full' which Kloekhorst 2008: 785-798 reconstructs for Hit. ñuna- / ñun- [pr.] 'to fill' (< *su-nó-h₁s, / *su-n-h₁s), sūw- / sūayı- 'full' (< *souh₁s-(o)u-) and Hit. ñuë/ñu-zí, HLuw. swa- 'to fill' (< *Shu-je/o-).


tābeō 'to rot away, decay' [v. II] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: tābûm 'gore, putrified fluid matter' (Enn.+), tābēs, -is [f.] 'wasting, decay' (Lucr.+), tābēscere (pf. tābui) 'to melt away, waste away' (Andr.+); contābēscere 'to waste away, pine' (Pl.+), contābēfacere 'to make to waste away' (Pl.); tābificus 'causing decay' (Lucr.+), tābificabilis 'causing decay' (Acc.).

Plt. *tāj-ē- 'to be melting'.

PIE *teh₂-bʰ-eh₁- 'to be melting'. IE cognates: OIr. taíd*, .taa* 'to melt, dissolve' < *tā-je/o-, MW todi, OBret. teuzzif 'to melt' < *tā-de/o-, Oss. taj- 'to thaw, melt', Gr.
The original meaning 'to be melting' is only attested in Andr.; from 'melt away', the meaning developed to 'waste away', which is the basis of all subsequent attestations in Latin. In theory, the root enlargement reflected in Latin -b- could be PIE *b or *bh; since *b is a very rare phoneme in PIE, *bh is much more likely.


taberna 'inn, shop' [f. ā] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: tabernāculum 'tent' (Pl. +), tabernula 'small shop' (Varro +); contubernium 'comradeship' (Cic. +).

A derivative *trab-erna to trabs 'tree-trunk, beam', with dissimilation of the first r. The original meaning was probably 'wooden shed'. The reluctance expressed by EM to accept this derivation is unfounded, since dissimilations in general are irregular.


tabula 'board, plank' [f. ā] (Pl. +; SCBac. tabola)
Derivatives: tabella 'wooden tablet, board' (Pl. +), tabulātum 'floor made of boards, stage' (Enn. +), tab(ū)limum 'room between the atium and the peristyle' (Varro +).
Plt. *tafl/bla- 'board'. It. cognates: U. tafl e [loc.sg. + -en] [f.] 'instrument for transporting the sacrificial fire'.

PIE *th2-dhlo-?

The etymology is uncertain. If the original form was Plt. *tafla-, one may analyze it as a root *ta- plus the instrument suffix PIE *-dlo-. As proposed by Southern (2000: 97, 128), the root could be s-less *teh2- 'to stand'; we find PIE *stehr in Latin stāre, but compare PTo. and PCl. *tā- 'to stand'. The original meaning would be 'which stands' > 'board, tablet'. For the suffix, compare stabilis derived from stāre.


taceō 'to be silent' [v. II; pf. tacui, ppp. tacitum] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: taciturnus 'maintaining silence' (Pl. +), taciturnitās 'the maintaining of silence' (Pl. +), tacitus 'silent' (Varro); conticēscere 'to stop talking' (Pl. +), conticinium 'the quiet of the night' (Pl. +), obticēre 'to remain silent' (Ter. +), obticēscere 'to answer with silence' (Pl. +), reticēre 'to keep silent, leave unsaid' (Pl. +), reticentia 'silence' (Pl. +).

Plt. *tak-ē- 'to be silent'. It. cognates: U. taçeze, tases, tasis [ppp. nom.sg.m.], tasetur [nom.pl.m.] 'tacit' < *takēto-.

PIE *Thk-eh1- 'to be silent'. IE cognates: Go. pahan 'to keep secret', Olc. ἐγγία, OS thagian, OHG thagēn < PGm. *paxe-je-.

LIV follows Klingenschmitt 1982: 78 in assuming that the Latin and Gm. words for...
'to keep silent' belong to Gr. πτήσσω, πτώσσω 'to duck (for fear)', aor. ἐπτήξα, Dor. ἐπτάξα, and Arm. タル 'he hid himself'. This seems implausible. Formally, it is unknown whether PIE *pt- would yield Germ. *p- and Latin t- (the case of perna, Germ. *fersn- < *tspersn-h2- 'heel' rather suggests that *pt- would yield Germ. *f-, Lat. p-). The Greek and Armenian words have a different meaning, and are better connected with *pet- 'to fall'.


taedet 'to be tired of' [v. II; pf. taeduit, ppp. taesum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: taeter [adj. o/a] 'foul, horrible' (Pl.+), taetrae 'to make loathsome' (Pac.), taetridō 'loathsome condition' (Acc.); pertaedēre 'to fill with disgust' [Pompon.+; ppp. pertisum Lucil.+] , pertaedēscere 'to begin to fill with disgust' (Cato).

Pt. *taid-ē- [v.], *taid-ro- [adj.]

Taeter may regularly reflect *taidro-, but there is no good etymology for Pt. *taid-.

Bibl.: WH II: 642f., EM 673. → fastus

tālea 'cutting, thin piece of wood' [f. ā] (Cato+)

Has been connected with Gr. ταλίς -ίδος 'young girl, bride' on the assumption of a basic meaning 'green, to sprout'. This seems a wild guess. There is no viable etymology for tālea, unless it is a derivative of tālus 'ankle, knuckle'.

Bibl.: WH II: 643, EM 674, IEW 1055.

tālis 'of such kind' [adj. i] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: tāliō 'exaction of compensation' (Lex XII+).

Pt. *tāli-.

PIE *tēh2-li- 'such'. IE cognates: W. talu 'to pay', Gr. τῆλικος 'of such an age', Lith. tōleι 'until', OCS toli 'to such a degree', tolē 'so much, many', tolīko 'id.'.

If taliō is correctly interpreted as tāli-ōn- 'compensation with the same' (Leumann 1977: 366), it is derived from tālis.


talpa 'mole' [f. ā] (Varro+)

No etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 644, EM 675.

tālus 'ankle, knuckle' [m. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: taxillus 'a die, cube' (Pompon.+); subtel 'the hollow of the foot' (Prisc.).

Pt. *takslo-.

If taxillus is old, and not a recent analogical form on the model of āla – axilla, māla –
maxilla (but these are ā-stems), as EM object, taxillus would prove that tālus goes back to *tākslo-. The suggested connection with W. sawdl, Ofr. sâl ‘heel’ < PCl. *stâltâ- is difficult, cf. Schrijver 1995: 421. It would only work in the case of an s-less variant of the root PIE *(s)teh₂-, and an (unknown) suffix *-k- added to it. Cowgill 1978: 38 accepts the explanation of subtel from *subtēle < *sub-taksli, n. of *subtaksli- ‘under the heel’.


tam ‘so, so much’ [adv.] (Naev.+

Derivatives: tamen ‘yet, nevertheless’ (Andr.+

tandem ‘after all, at last’ (Pl.+

tamquam ‘just as, as though’ (Naev.+

tantus ‘so great, as much’ (Naev.+

tantillus ‘so small’ (Pl.+

tantīisper ‘for so long as, all the time’ (Pl.+

Pit. *tām ‘so’, *tānto- ‘so great’. It. cognates: O. etanto, U. etantu [nom.sg.f.] ‘so great’ < *e-tant-o-; maybe U. -ta, -tu, -to [postp. + abl.] ‘from, away’ < *tā, poss. to PIE *to/-tā-.

PIE *teh₂m, *teh₂nt-(o-). IE cognates: see s.v. so-.

Tamen < *tam-em, tandem < *tam-dem with the secondary particle -dim. The form *tām might be an Italic creation, s.v. quam, -dam; but tantus probably reflects a PIE formation type of adjectives in *-nt(-o) derived from pronominal stems.


tango, -ere ‘to touch’ [v. III; tetigī, tāctum; sb. OLat. tag-α-, Pac. also taxis] (Pl.+

Derivatives: dumtaxat ‘at most, up to; as long as’ (Pl.+

taxim ‘gropingly’ (Pompon.+

taxāre ‘to assess (the worth of)’ (Sen.+

tagāx ‘light-fingered, thievish’ (Lucil.+

tāctīō ‘touching’ (Pl.+

tāctillus ‘able to be touched’ (Lucr.+

tactus, -ūs ‘touch’ (Lucr.+

Pit. *tang-e- [pr.], *tag-s- [pr.], *te-tag- [pf.], *tagto- [ppp.], *ntagro- ‘untouched’. It. cognates: U. antakres, antakre [abl.pl.] probably ‘untouched’ < *n-tag-ro-; maybe Marr. taa [3s.sb.] ‘to touch’ or ‘to take away’ < *tag-a-f-; maybe Vol. atahus [3s.fut.pf.] ‘?’ < *ad-tah-us-t or ā-. The reflex h < *g is irregular, cf. Untermann.


The OLat. sb. forms in *tag-ā- can be regarded as remains of an earlier aorist paradigm, either root aor. or redupl. It is likely that tagāx (although attested relatively recent) and integer were also derived from this stem. The finite forms in tax- and taxāre point to an earlier s-present (cf. fākō, fāxim to fāciō), as is the clearest in the petrified expression dumtaxat. The length in tāct- stems from Lachmann’s Law. The
long ā in contāgēs and contāgiō and -ium is most disputed: it could phonetically continue a full grade *teh₂g- origin, or be due to analogy with other compounds having -āg- in the second membre (indāgēs, compāgēs, etc.).


tardus 'slow' [adj. o/ā] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: tarditūdō 'slowness' (Pl.+), tardāre 'to cause to slow down, delay' (Pl.+), tardor 'slowness' (Varro+), tardēscere 'to become slow' (Lucr.+), tardiusculus 'rather slow' (Pl.+).

On the formation of tardiusculus, the date of which is difficult to ascertain, see Kümmel 2004b: 354. Tardus has no etymology; the connection with Gr. τέρυ 'weak' and Skt. tārūna- 'young, fresh' proposed by WH is semantically unconvincing, and formally impossibly (if the latter forms continue PIE *teru-).

Bibl.: WH II: 648f., EM 677, IEW 1070f.

taurus 'bull' [m. o] (Pl.+

Derivatives: taura 'barren cow' (Varro+), taureus 'derived from a bull' (Lucr.+), taurus 'of a bull, of ox-hide' (Pl.+).

Plt. *tauro- 'bull'. It. cognates: U. turuf, toru [acc.pl.], tures [abl.pl.] [m.] 'a certain sacrificial animal', 'bull?'.

IE cognates: OIr. tarb, W. tarw, Gr. ταῦρος 'bull' [m.], Lith. tauras, Latv. tāurs [m.] 'aurochs', OCS tūr 'bull', Ru. tūr (gen. tūra) , SCR. tūr 'aurochs'.

It is striking that Latin does not show the change of *-aur- > *-ary- as in parvum, and with -e- in nervus. This might indicate that taurus is a loanword post-dating the metathesis *-ur- > *-ry-, but Greek does not appear an obvious candidate for the lending language, in view of the semantic field. The earlier history of the word is uncertain: there is no cognate in IIr. or Tocharian, whereas there are Semitic words for 'bull' which are conspicuously similar. Hence, it may have been an early loanword of the form *tauro- into the western IE languages.


taxus 'yew-tree' [f. o] (Enn.+)

IE cognates: Gr. τόξον 'bow', Myc. to-ko-so-wo-ko /tokso-worgos/ 'bow-maker'.

Since yews are the usual wood for making bows from Mesolithic times onward, taxus must be connected with Gr. τόξον, which was regarded as a loanword from Scythian *taxša- 'bow', but is already present in Mycenaen. Yet taxus cannot be a direct borrowing from Greek, nor (as far as the meaning is concerned) from Scythian. Watkins (1985: 69) derives Gr. τόξον as PIE *tokʷ-so-from the root *tekʷ- 'to flow, run, flee', which is some contexts is used as 'to shoot'. Latin taxus could then be from a zero-grade *tk²- s-o- with secondary full grade -a-. Alternatively, taxus could be a loanword from a different IE dialect.

Bibl.: WH II: 653, EM 678, IEW 1059f., EIEC 654f.
tēgō, -ere 'to cover' [v. III; pf. tēxī, ppp. tēctum] (Pl.+

Derivatives: teges, -etis [f.] 'piece of matting, covering' (Naev.+), tegeticula 'small piece of matting' (Varro+), tegimen 'cover' (Lucr.+), tēctum 'roof, ceiling, dwelling' (Pl.+), tēctor 'plasterer' (Varro+), tēctōrius [adj.] 'of plaster, stucco' (Varro+), tēctārium 'cover, lid' (Cato), tēgula 'roof-tile' (Pl.+), tēgilium 'piece of rush matting' (Pl.); toga 'formal outer garment, toga' (Pl.+), tōgālis 'of togas' (Cato), togātus 'wearing a toga' (Varro+), togula 'a (bad) toga' (Titin.); contegere 'to cover over, conceal' (Ter.+), circumtectus 'covered' (Naev.), detegere 'to remove the roof, uncover' (Pl.+), integere 'to cover, roof' (Pl.+), integumentum 'shield, wrapping' (Pl.+), obte:iger 'to cover, protect, conceal' (Pl.+), pertegere 'to cover completely' (Pl.+

Pit. *teg-e/o- 'to cover', *tekto- 'covered', *tege-t- 'covering', *toga- 'cover, cloak'.

It cognates: SPic. tokam [acc.sg.] 'grave stone' or 'figure' < *tōgā-; possibly U. tettome [acc.sg. + -en] '?' , a certain locality < *tek-to-? U. tehteřim [acc.sg.] '?' < *teg-t-ed/lio-?

PIE *(s)teg-e/o- [pr.] 'to cover', *(s)tog-h2- [f.], *(s)teg-ilo- [n.]. IE cognates: Olr. teg, gen.sg. tige 'house' < *tēgos- [n.], in-tuigethar 'to cover', imthach 'a cover', W. to [m.] 'covering, roof', amdo 'shroud', Bret. to 'roof'; Gr. στέγω 'to keep off, keep in', στυγνός 'covered, waterproof', τέγος [n.] 'roof, house', OPr. stogis, Lith. stōgas [m.], Latv. stāgs 'roof' (< PIE *stogo-); OHG dah, OIC. ḫak [n.] 'roof' (< *togo-), Ḫekja 'to cover'.

Latin shows a thematic present, a t-stem noun, an ā-stem *toga-, and the noun tēgula. Long ē in tēctum is due to Lachmann's lengthening.

tellūs, -ūris 'ground, earth' [f. r] (Varro+)

Derivatives: meditullium 'the interior of a country, centre' (Cic.+).

Plt. *teln-(ū-?)-

PIE *telh2-o- 'ground'. IE cognates: Olr. talam 'earth' < *telamon-, Gr. τελαμών 'strap' < *telh2-mon-; Skt. tala- [n.], Gr. τέλος 'surface, bottom' (SrSu.?), Lith. tilės 'bottom of a barge, flooring', OCS tēlā [pl.], O Ru. tēlo 'foundation, bottom' < PIE *telh-o-; OPr. talus 'floor', Lith. pātalas 'bed, (pl.) feather-bed', Ru. potolok 'ceiling' < PIE *h2po-tolH-o-; maybe OIC. bil(i) [n.] 'board', pilja [f.] 'deal, plank', pel [n.] 'floor', OE dille 'deal', OHG dil, dilo 'wall, deal'.

We find an ablaut alternation *e : *o between *tellū- and the compound *medi-toll-io- which recalls that of terra : extorris. Tellūs is unique in being the only polysyllabic (original) s-stem with long ū in the suffix. If it goes back to PIE, -ūs- may reflect *-uHs- (cf. crūs), or maybe an old u-stem with case forms in *-e/ou- (> Lat. -ū-), which was extended by means of an s-suffix. The root could be PIE *telh2- 'to bear, carry', from which Olr. talam 'earth' can also be derived (cf. Stüber 1998: 150f.). In fact, Sabellic shows a pr. *teln(e/o- where Latin has tollō 'to bear'; this stem *teln- may have been the derivational basis for tellūs (and *tohn- for medi-tullium, unless *ill- was taken from tellūs), since tell- cannot directly reflect Plt. *tela- < *telH-. Thus, the
earth would have been referred to as ‘bearer’ or ‘support’ (of the sky, or of the creatures and objects on the earth); the o-stem *t(e)lH-o- ‘ground, bottom’ found in Skt., BSI. and Gm. could have the same origin.


tēlum ‘spear, missile’ [n. o] (Lex XII+)
Form and meaning allow for several etymologies, of which *ten(d)slo- ‘with which one aims’ (to tendō) or *teks-lo- ‘which has been built’ (to texō ‘to weave’) are mostly given. None of these is completely convincing.

Bibl.: WH II: 656, EM 679, IEW 1058f.


A petrified loc.sg. from a noun *temes- < *temH-o/es- [n.] ‘darkness’ with clear cognates in the other IE languages and in Lat. tenebrae. The reconstruction *temH-ro- in Schrijver 1991: 105 is probably a lapsus when compared with p. 415 in the same book.


PIE *tēmH- ‘intoxication’. IE cognates: Skt. pr. tāmyati [3s.act.], aor. tamat [3s.sb.act.], tāmārā- ‘dark red, copper-red’, Arm. t'mrim ‘to become stunned’ < *tēm-; NHG dämisch, dämlich < PGm. *pēm-i-.

Lat. abstēmius can be regarded as a hypostasis from *abs tēmō; together with tēmulentus ‘containing tēmo’- this points to an original o-stem *tēmo- ‘intoxication’, which may continue a PIE root noun. Long ĕ is confirmed by Armenian and Germanic, but Skt. tāmyati probably has secondary -ā-.


temnō, -ere ‘to scorn, despise’ [v. III] (Lucr.) Derivatives: contemptere ‘to despise, scorn’ [pf. contemptsi, ppp. contemptum] (Pl.+), contemptim ‘contemptuously’ (Naev.), contemptrix ‘she who despises’ (Pl.+), contemptificus ‘scornful’ (Lucil.).

PIt. *(kom-)tmnne/o-.

PIE *tm-n(e)-h₁- ‘to cut’. IE cognates: Mfr. tamaid ‘cuts’ (prob. nominal), Gr.
τόμω, Att. τέμνω 'to cut', aor. έταμον, Lith. tinti, 3s. tina 'to whet, (colloq.) beat', Ru. jat ' (arch.)', Is. tnu 'to beat', Sln. léti, 1s. mêm 'to chop' < Bsl. *tin?tei; Gr. στέμβω 'to shake about, agitate'.

The compound contemnere is the older verb, from which temnere has been backformed more recently. The etymology is disputed: the meaning 'scorn' has probably developed from a more concrete meaning, for which two candidates have been advanced: PIE *stemb- 'shake violently, pound' (WH, EM, Szemerényi 1995: 414; in fact, it is likely that this is a non-IE root, because of *-b-, because of the unexplained variants in Greek and because it has few reliable cognates outside Greek) and PIE *temh- 'to cut' (LIV, Sihler, Meiser). Semantically, both can be defended: 'to shake' or 'crush' > 'despise' for the former (cf. the shift in spernere from *'to trample' > 'reject'), and 'to cut' > 'cut off' > 'despise' for the latter. Formally, the present -temnere would best match *temh-, of which Greek and Celtic show a nasal present *tm-n-h-1, and because Latin lacks the initial s- of *stemb-. For the pf., Meiser assumes (influence of) a preform aor. *stemb-s-, but the -p- would automatically arise in a preform *kom-temsí, and the latter can simply be a Latin innovation on the basis of the present stem tem-. Note also that the oldest attestations are all of the compound verb: contempsi. Latin has made an s-pf. to all nasal presents with word-internal nasal (cf. Meiser 2003: 112-114), whence pr. temnō > pf. *tem-sí. The other presents in -nere (cernere, linere, spernere, sternere) synchronically show a perfect in -Vvi.


tēmō 'pole or yoke-beam of a cart or a plough' [m. n] (Enn.+)

Pft. *ten(k)smōn- 'pole'.

PIE *ten(K)s(-)m-n- 'to pull'. IE cognates: OHG dihsala, OE þísl, Olc. þísl 'pole, thill' (<PGm. *penxslō-).

The etymology is disputed. In view of the Germanic word for 'pole', which reflects *tenkslā-, Sommer 1914: 259 reconstructs *tenksmō for Latin. Meiser 1998, comparing the Slavic verb forms in *tengh-, reconstructs *tenghsmō-, whereas Eichner 1992: 72 posits *tensmō. The question cannot be definitely solved, since PIE shows various verbal roots meaning 'to pull' which would fit the phonetics: *ten- 'to stretch, tend' (LIV), *tens- 'to pull' (LIV) and *tengh- 'to pull' (IEW 1067, de Vaan 1999: 15-17).


templum 'area for auspices, shrine' [n. o] (Andr.+; templa, -ōrum 'plank, purlin' Lucr.+

Derivatives: contemplāre 'to gaze at, observe' (Naev.+), extemp(u)lō [adv.] 'immediately' (Naev.+); maybe antenna 'yard of a sailing-ship' (Pl.+).

PIt. *(e)mpl-ō- [n.].

PIE *(e)mpl-ō-. IE cognates: Lith. tempti 'to pull, stretch', 3s. tēmpia, Olc. þomb 'bow', ToB campām, A càmpās 'is able'.
Probably from the root *temp- ‘to stretch, string’, hence ‘stretching’ > ‘measuring’. The adv. extemp(u)lō might be based on the verbal meaning ‘to stretch’, as ‘tightly’ (cf. Flemish straks ‘immediately’ to Dutch strak ‘tightly’). The appurtenance of antemna to a root *temp- is disputed; it has also been analysed as *anti-mno- (cf. Leumann 1977: 322, Forssman 1965).


temptō, -āre ‘to feel, test’ [v. I] (Pl. +; also tentāre)
Derivatives: pedetemptim ‘cautiously’ (Pl. +); attemptāre (-nt-) ‘to lay hands on, attack’ (Pac.+), pertemptāre (-nt-) ‘to try out, feel all over’ (Ter. +).
Plt. *t(ε)mpto- ‘touched’.
PIE *t(ε)mpto-. IE cognates: see s.v. templum.

Probably an iterative based on a ppp. *tempto-. This presupposes a verb meaning ‘to touch, feel’, for which the root *temp- ‘to stretch’ seems a good candidate. Szemerényi 1995: 414 reconstructs an iterative *temb-itā- to the root *(s)temb- ‘to shake violently’, which is less likely formally, see the discussion s.v. temnō.


tempus, -oris ‘time, moment’ [n. r] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: temp/orī [adv.] ‘at the right time’ (Pl. +), temperius [adv.] ‘earlier’ (Cic. +), temporālis ‘denoting time, temporary’ (Varro +), tempestās ‘occasion, season, weather, storm’ (Lex XII +), tempestīvus ‘ready at the proper time, ripe’ (Cato +), tempestūs, -ūtis ‘tempestās’ (Varro), intempestus ‘at the wrong time, nightly’ (Enn. +), intempestīvus ‘at the wrong time, ill-timed’ (Pl. +); temperāre ‘to restrain oneself, modify, blend’ (Pl. +), temperantia ‘self-control’ (Varro +), temperātūra ‘mixture, constitution’ (Varro +), intemperāns ‘unrestrained’ (Pl. +), interperia [f.pl.] / interperiēs ‘immoderateness, rage’ (Pl. +), obtemperāre ‘to obey’ (Pl. +); tempora, -ōrum [n.pl.] ‘side of the forehead, temple’ (Pl. +; rarely sg. tempus).
Plt. *tempos- [n.] ‘stretch, measure’.
PIE *tempōs-, -es- [n.] ‘stretch’. IE cognates: see s.v. templum.

All forms are based on a PIE s-stem ‘stretching, what is stretched’ > ‘stretch (of time)’ > ‘time, occasion’. PIE *tempos- formed the basis for the abstract tempes-tāt-, the adj. tempes-īvus and the verb *tempes-āje- > temperāre. The meaning ‘to restrain, modify’ of the latter shows the semantic shift from ‘stretching’ to ‘measuring’ which we also find in templum. This means that the noun *tempos- still meant ‘measure’ in Plt. The noun tempora ‘side of the forehead’ is also generally accepted to be the same word, having developed from ‘stretchings’ to ‘stretched skin’ > ‘temple’. IEW and Stüber compare OIc. punn-angi, OHG dunwangi ‘temple’, lit. ‘thin cheek’.

tendō, -ere ‘to extend, stretch’ [v. III; pf. tетendi, ppp. tentum/tensum] (Pl.+

Derivatives: tentipellium ‘device for stretching skin or leather’ (Afran.+); attendere ‘to pay attention, listen’ (Ter.+), contendere ‘to contrast, contend, assert’ (Naev.+), distendere ‘to stretch out, fill’ (Pl.+), extendere ‘to extend, arrange’ (Pl.+), intendere ‘to stretch, strain, direct’ (Pl.+), ostendere ‘to show, reveal’ (Pl.+, pertendere ‘to continue resolutely’ (Ter.+), portendere ‘to indicate, reveal’ (Pl.+, subextendere ‘to stretch out underneath’ (Cato+); extentäre ‘to stretch, exert to the full’ (Pl.), ostentäre ‘to exhibit, demonstrate’ (Pl.), ostentátor ‘who displays ostentatiously’ (Pl.); prótelē ‘to drive forth, beat back’ (Ter.+).

Plt. *tend- [pr.], *tendo- [ppp.]. It. cognates: U. ustentu, usteta, ostendu [3s.ipv.II], ustentuta [3p.ipv.II], ostensendi [3p.fut.ps.] maybe ‘to prepare, lay ready’. Untermann is hesitant about the connection with ostendere because of the semantics. Meiser (2003: 192) thinks that these forms belong to tollē.

PIE *tend-d(h) [pr.], *tendo- [ppp.]. IE cognates: See s.v. teneō. See Kümmel 2005 on Skt. tandate as a secondary formation to -tandra-.

The root *ten- ‘to stretch’ has yielded two Latin presents, teneō and tendō; both share the ppp. tentus. The pf. tетini of teneō can go back to PIE *te-ton-, whereas tendō has acquired a novel perfect te-tend-. The root-final dental of the PIE present cannot be identified. The noun prótelēum probably represents *prō-tend-slo- ‘instrument for pulling forth’; but *-tens-lo- to the root variant PIE *tens- is also possible, cf. iōles.

tenebrae ‘darkness’ [f.pl. ā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: tenebrōsus ‘dark’ (Varro+), tenebriō ‘who operates in the dark, dishonest person’ (Afran.+), tenebricus ‘shrouded in darkness’ (Pac.+), tenebricosus ‘dark’ (Varro+); contenebrāscere ‘to become completely dark’ (Varro+).

Plt. *temasra- ‘darkness’.


Dissimilated from *tenebrai < *temasro- < *temHs-ry₂-, the f. of a ro-adjective which is a derivative of the PIE s-stem *temH-os-, reflected in Latin temere.

teneō ‘to hold, grasp’ [v. II; pf. tетini (=> tenui), ppp. tentum] (Naev.+

Derivatives: tenāx ‘holding tight, stubborn’ (Pl.+), tenācia ‘stubbornness’ (Enn.), tenor, -ōris [m.] ‘sustained movement, course’ (Varro+), ŭensa ‘wagon used for transporting images of gods’ (Titin.+), tenus, -oris [n.] ‘kind of snare’ (Pl.), tenus [adv., prep.] ‘as far as, up to’ (Lucr.+); attinēre ‘to hold, delay, concern’ (Pl.+), continēre ‘to hold together, keep, comprise’ (Pl.+), continuus ‘uninterrupted’ (Pl.+),
detinère 'to keep, retain' (Pl.+), obtinère 'to maintain, occupy, achieve' (Pl.+), pertinère 'to be concerned with, belong to, reach' (Pl.+), pertinax 'stubborn, tenacious' (Pl.+), pertinacia 'stubbornness' (Pl.+), retinère 'to detain, retain' (Pl.+), retinaculum 'rein, rope' (Cato+), retentäre 'to keep hold of' (Pl.+), sustinère 'to support, preserve' (Pl.+), sustentäre 'to keep from falling, maintain' (Pl.+), *transinère 'to provide a link' (Pl.).

PIt. *t(e)nē- [spr.], *tenos- [n.] 'snare, stretch'. It. cognates: U. tenitu [3s.ipv.II] 'to hold' < *ten-ē. PIE *tn-ch- 'to hold', *ten-os- [n.] 'stretch'. IE cognates: MW tannu 'to spread out', MCo. tan 'take!' < PCl. *tan-nu-; Skt. pr. tānōti [act.], tānutē [med.], root aor. ātan [3s.act.], pf. tātāna 'to stretch, extend', tātā- 'extended, skilled, performed', OAv. us-tāna- 'stretched out', YAv. pairi.tanuiia [1s.opt.med.], pairi .. tanauua [1s.sb.act.] 'to keep away (from)'; Gr. τενω 'to stretch, pull tight', τάνεται 'to stretch (intr.)', τόνος [m.] 'tension, cord, string, tone, sound', ὀλι-τενής 'extending to the sea'; Go. ufsjanjan 'to extend', OHG dehnen 'to stretch'.

Stative present to the root *ten- 'to stretch'. In Latin, ten- may derive from a full-grade form or from the expected PIE zero grade, but U. has a full grade. Latin furthermore continues an s-stem in tenus [n.] and its petrified form tenus. Meiser (1998: 183) explains tenus from a ppa. *tn-yos 'stretching to', but this seems less likely: the meaning does not point to an original perfect, and reduplication is absent whereas tetiti retains it. The -ā- in retinaculum is unexpected: was it influenced by tenāx and tenācia?

tener, -a, -um 'soft, delicate' [adj. o/a] (Pl.+

Derivatives: tenelhus 'delicate' (Pl.+), tenellulus 'tender' (Laev.+), *teneritūdō 'tenderness' (Varro+), tenerēscere 'to become soft' (Lucr.); terenus 'mollis' (Favorinus).

PIt. *terVno- (*teru-no- or *teren-o-) 'soft'. PIE *teru-no-/: *ter-en- 'tender'. IE cognates: Skt. tārūna- 'young, tender, fresh', Av. tauruna- 'young'; [m.] 'boy', Oss. teryn, tyrn/tērna 'boy'; Gr. τέρπω 'weak, soft' (Hsch.), τερόνης 'worn-out ass, infirm old man' (Hsch.), Gr. τερῆν 'soft, delicate'.

Since IIr. and Gr. show adjectives *teru-, *ter-en- and *teru-n-, it is tempting to derive *tenVro- via consonant metathesis from *terVno-. The 'Sabine' word terenus 'soft' which Macrobius (late 4th c. AD) ascribes to Favorinus would match such a reconstruction quite well.

Bibl.: WH II: 665, EM 684, IEW 1070f.

tenuis 'slender, thin, fine' [adj. i] (Pl.+

Derivatives: tennuitās 'scantiness, thinness' (Cato+), temūāre 'to make thin, reduce, narrow' (Lucil.+); subtenuis 'rather fine in structure' (Varro); attenuāre 'to make slender, weaken' (Lucr.+), extenuāre 'to make thin, diminish' (Varro+).

The Pit. u-stem adj. was remade into an i-stem, yielding *tn(a)ui- > *ten(a)ui- > tenuis. The PIE root form *tnh₂- might be an extended variant of *te⁻ to stretch’, but this cannot be certified.


tepeō ‘to be warm’ [v. II] (Cato+)

Derivatives: tepidus ‘warm’ (Enn.+), tepor ‘warmth’ (Varro+), tepefacere ‘to make fairly hot’ (Varro+).

Pit. *tep-ē- ‘to be warm’.


Latin only has productive derivatives. Tepor might be a continuation of the PIE n. *tepos-, but since it is not attested before Varro, it may just as well be a recent formation. The verb tepeō might be older, but it has no direct cognates in other IE languages except maybe in Albanian fioh ‘to cool down’ if from *tpe-sk-.


tergeō ‘to rub clean, polish’ [v. II; pf. tersi, pp. terrsum] (Pl.+) ; pr. also tergō, -ere

Derivatives: abstergēre ‘to wipe clean, wipe off’ (Pl.+, circumtergēre ‘to wipe round about’ (Cato), détergēre ‘to wipe away, trim’ (Andr.+), extergēre ‘to wipe clean’ (Pl.); mantēlum ‘hand-towel, napkin’ (Lucil.+), mantēlum (Varro+) ‘hand-towel, napkin’.


Mantēlum < *manu-terg-slo-. LIV opts for teregere as the original verbal formation, but especially the compounds show that -tergērė was more common. Since this is not a stative verb, one might expect an iterative *torg-ē-, but this is not attested. There are no certain cognates of the form *terg-. One might connect Skt. tarh- ‘to crush’ < PIE *(s)tergʰ- (if *-rgʰ- > Lat. -rg-); but Kloekhorst 2008: 411 reconstructs the Skt. words as *stelgʰ-, in order to connect Hit. īstalk-zi ‘to flatten’.

tergum ‘back’ [n. o] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: tergus, -oris [n.] (Enn. +), tergīnum ‘raw-hide whip’ (Pl. +), tergiversārī ‘to show reluctance’ (Sis. +).

WH and IEW interpret tergum as *terg-o-, from a root *(s)ter- ‘to be stiff’ with a suffix *-g-. The underlying assumption is that tergum originally indicated the stiff hair on the back of animals (IEW). This, however, is not supported by any evidence. Thus, the etymology remains unclear.


U. terkantur [3p.pr.sb.] ‘to check’ or ‘to confirm’.

PIt. *derk-e/o- [pr.].


termen, -inis ‘boundary-stone’ [n. n] (CIL, Acc. +)

Derivatives: terminus ‘boundary-post’ (Naev. +), termō ‘finishing-post in a race’ (Enn. +), terminālis ‘marking a boundary’ (Varro +), termināre ‘to mark the boundaries, limit’ (Lucr. +); dētermināre ‘to delimit’ (Pl. +).


PIE *ter-mn- [n.] ‘peg, post’. IE cognates: Hit. tarmha- [c.], CLuw. tarmha/i- ‘peg, nail’ < *t(o)r(hi)-mo-, Gr. τέρμα [n.] ‘goal, end-point’, τέρμον [m.] ‘boundary’.

Latin termen, together with the base *ter-mon- of Venetic and *ter-mn- of Sabellic, shows that PIt. still had an ablauting suffix in the n-stem. From this, Latin derived *termn-o- > terminus, with zero grade of -*mn- in view of Sabell. *ter-mn-o-. The word termō might have been borrowed from Greek. The Hittite noun and the usage in Latin suggest that the PIE word denoted a concrete object which came to refer to a boundary-stone. For this reason, the etymology deriving termen from the PIE root *terh2- ‘to pass, cross over’ (with a mn-stem in Skt. su-tārm(an)- ‘which provides a good passage’) is unattractive. The PIE root is unclear: maybe *ter-, an anīf variant of *terh1- ‘to rub’?


ternes -itis ‘bough cut from a tree’ [m. l] (Hor. +)

No etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 670, EM 686, IEW 1070f.
terō, -ere ‘to rub’ [v. III; pf. trīvī, ppp. trītum] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: trītor ‘who rubs or grinds’ (Pl. +), trīturā ‘rubbing, threshing’ (Varro +), terrebra [f.] ‘drill’ (Pl. +), terebrāre ‘to drill a hole’ (Pl. +), exterebrāre ‘to extract with an auger’ (Pl. +), termentum ‘sore caused by friction’ (Pl. +), tribulum ‘threshing-sledge’ (Varro +, Varro trivolum), tribulāre ‘to press, squeeze’ (Cato +), trīticum ‘wheat’ (Pl. +), trīticeus ‘of wheat’ (Pl. +), atterere ‘to rub, grind, wear’ (Pl. +), conterere ‘to pound to pieces, wear out, use up’ (Naev. +), dēterere ‘to wear down, rub off’ (Naev. +), dētrimentum ‘harm, diminishment’ (Cato +), exterere ‘to thresh out, elide’ (Varro +), extermentārium ‘lintel quod teritur corpore’ (Varro), interere ‘to crumble on, up’ (Cato +), intertrīgō ‘sore place caused by rubbing’ (Cato +), intertrimentum ‘wear and tear’ (Ter. +), obterere ‘to crush, destroy’ (Naev. +), praeterere ‘to rub away the end’ (Pl. +), retrimentum ‘scrapings’ (Varro), subterere ‘to wear away below’ (Pl. +); tarmes, -itis [m.] ‘woodworm’ (Pl. +).

Plt. *tera- [pr.], *trei- [pf.], *tersaro- ‘drill’.


The Latin present is isolated among the other IE languages, who show a ie/o-present or, in the case of Greek, the extension -ib-. Since Latin also shows i in the preterite, it seems that PIE had an athematic present *tērh-i- / *trh-i- , which was either thematized or otherwise enlarged. The Latin pr. can therefore hardly go back to a PIE thematic present, but at most to a root present, or, maybe more likely, a root aorist. Latin -i- in the pf. and ppp. could go back to *treh-i- , since *trh-i- would yield *tarei- ; or trē- arose in the ppp. from *trh-i-to-.

terra ‘dry land, earth’ [f. ā] ( Andr. +)

Derivatives: terreus ‘earthen’ (Varro +), terrestris ‘on/of land, earthly’ (Pl. +), territōrium ‘territory’ (Varro +), terrēnus ‘of dry land, of earth’ (Lucr. +); extorris ‘exiled, banished’ (Acc. +).


PIE *ters-h2- ‘dry land’. IE cognates: OIr. tir ‘territory; dry’ [n.], OW tir < *tērs-o/les- (or *-r-, Thurneysen 1946: 49).

Lat. extorris goes back to *eks-t(o)rs-i-. Since -tōrium is a productive suffix only after verbal stems, the rise of terri-tōrium is unexplained. Plt. *ters-o-lā- is generally derived from the root *ters- ‘to dry out’ (s.v. torreō): ‘dry land’. If OIr. tir, W. tir are cognate, they represent either an s-stem *tērs-os-, or a derivative in *-r-. Nussbaum apud Livingston 2004: 56 (fn. 31) suggests that terrēnus could be derived from a loc.sg. *terrai.

Bibl.: WH II: 673f., EM 687f., IEW 1078, Untermann 2000: 736, 745, LIV *ters- → torreō
terreō 'to terrorize, deter' [v. II; terruī, territum] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: territāre 'to (try to) scare' (Pl. +), terribilis 'frightening' (Enn. +), terriculā/-um 'object of terror, bogey' (Lucil. +), terror 'terror, extreme fear' (Naev. +); terrificus 'terrifying' (Lucr. +), terrificāre 'to alarm' (Lucr. +); absterrēre 'to frighten away, deter' (Pl. +), deterrēre 'to discourage' (Pl. +), extererrēre 'to scare' (Enn. +), perterrēre 'to terrify' (Pl. +), perterrēfacere 'to make extremely frightened' (Ter. +).


PIE *tros-eje- 'to make scared'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. trāsanti [3p.act.], caus. trāsaya- 'to tremble, be afraid', YAv. ḍrāghaiia- 'to scare', torśa- 'to be afraid', tarśa- 'scared, afraid', OP trsā- 'to be scared'; Gr. ἥπεω 'to be scared, tremble, flee', ἀπρεστος 'fearless'; Lith. trišėti 'to tremble, to shiver'.

Since the other IE languages show an ablaut *trs- : *tres-, terreō can reflect neither PIE *ters- nor *tors- (with replacement of *turr- by *terr- on the model of terror, as assumed by WH and EM). LIV compares tertius 'third' < *tritiio- and reconstructs *tros-eje- > (post-)Pflt. *tseje- > Sab. *tors-eje-, Lat. *terseje- by regular phonetic development. This seems to be the best option.


tescum 'certain augural term; wild land' [n. o] (Acc. +; n.pl. tesca Var. / tesqua Hor. Luc., dat.abl.pl. tesquis)

The vacillation between tesc- and tesqu- points to *teskw- or *teskw-, which yielded tesc- in the nom.acc.sg. The meaning is established by Chanut 1980 as 'terrain of difficult acces, crags, maquis'. He argues that the use of tescum as an an augural term originates in the designation of the unusable side slopes of the Capitol, where the main templum was situated. The connection with Skt. tucchya- 'empty' is impossible, since the root has ablaut grade I *teus-. Dunkel 2000b: 21 posits *tues-k"o-, which would have yielded *teskw"o- by dissimilation of the first labial glide; but the ablaut and the meaning make a connection with *teus- difficult. Alternatively, one might think of *ters-kwo- to torreō, that is, 'arid soil' vel sim.


testa 'earthenware vessel, tile, sherd, shell' [f. ā] (Cato+)

Derivatives: testātīm 'in fragments' (Pompon. +), testū, -ūs [n.], testum 'earthenware pot' (Cato+), testūcium 'cake baked in an earthenware pot' (Varro), testūdō 'tortoise, shell, roof' (Lucil. +), testūdineus 'of a tortoise; of/with a tortoise-shell' (Pl. +).

Derivation from the root *tek- 'to build' is unlikely for semantic reasons; also the outcome of PIE *-tk- (if we would reconstruct a reduplicated form *te-tk-o-) in Latin is uncertain (s seems most likely, cf. situs); see also s.v. texō. The word testa is probably a loanword, as words for vessels often are.

Bibl.: WH II: 675f., EM 688f., IEW 1058f.
testis ‘witness’ [m. i] (Pl.+

Derivatives: testēs, -ium [m.pl.] ‘testicles’ (Pl.+) testiculī [m.pl.] ‘testicle’ (Varro+), testimōnium ‘evidence in court, testimony’ (Lex XII+), testārī ‘to invoke as a witness, testify’ (Lex XII+), testāmentum ‘will, testament’ (Pl.+), intestātus ‘without having made a will, without having called a witness’ (Lex XII+), intestābilis ‘disqualified from calling witnesses, shameful’ (Lex XII+), dētestātum ‘testatione denuntiatum’ (Lex XII), obtestārī ‘to beseech, invoke’ (Pl.+).


PIE *trito-sth2-o- ‘third standing (by)’. IE cognates: Olr. tris, tres ‘third’ < *tristo-.

The direct preform must be *tri-sth2-i-, but the generally accepted meaning was ‘third standing (by)’ > ‘witness’, which would rather require the ordinal *trito-. Hence, Italo-Celtic *tristo- may be the result of haplological loss of the syllable *-to- from the original cp. The verb testārī can have been derived directly from testi-. For the use of ‘witness’ in the meaning ‘testicle’, cf. Gr. παραστάται δύο. Leumann 1977: 234 explains antestārī from *anti-testārī.


tetricus ‘frowning, stern’ [adj. o/ā] (Varro+)

The connection with terō ‘to rub’, proposed by WH and IEW, is semantically unconvincing. Possible preforms are *tetr- and *tedr-, but there is no good etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 677, EM 689, IEW 1071-74.


Plt. *toutā- ‘town, society’, *toutiko/ā- [adj.]

IE cognates: OIr. tíath ‘people, tribe’, W. tud ‘land’, Co. tus, MBret. tut ‘people’; OPr. tutto, Lith. tauta, Latv. tauta; Go. piuda, OHG diot(a), OS thiðo(a), OE ðed, Olc. þjōð ‘people’ < PGm. *beþþō-, OE gepēdān ‘to translate’, Olc. þyða ‘to interpret, mean’, Go. þiudans ‘king’, Olc. þjōðann, OE ðedan, OS thiðan < *teutono-.

A western IE word (Italo-Celtic, Germanic, Baltic). Gm. and Italic point to *-eu- and Baltic to *-ou-, whereas Celtic cannot be decided. Beckes 1998 explains *teutā- from
tignum 619

a non-IE substratum language, since it cannot be derived from a known PIE root. The word denotes a social group larger than any for which a PIE etymon is reconstructed; furthermore, terms meaning 'people' are often loanwords.


texō, -ere 'to weave, construct' [v. III; pf. texū, pp. textum] (Pl.+

Derivatives: textīlis 'woven, plaited' (Lurc.+), textor 'weaver' (Pl.+), textrīnum 'place of weaving, of constructing' (Enn.+), textus, -ūs 'structure' (Lurc.+), textūra 'structure, weaving' (Lurc.); tēla 'cloth on a loom, spider's web, plan' (Pl.+), subtilis [adj.] 'fine in texture, precise' (Lurc.+), subtēmen [also subtegmen] 'weft, threads in a loom' (Pl.); extexere 'to unweave' (Pl.), praeertexta 'toga with a purple border' (Lurc.+

Plt. *tekse/o-.

PIE *tek-s- [pr.] 'to fashion'. IE cognates: Hit. takš-zi 'to devise, undertake' < *teks-/iks-, MHG dehsen 'to break flax'; Skt. pr. tāksati [3p.act.], tāḍhi [3s.ipv.act.], tāṣṭi [3s.act.], pf. tattāṣa [3s.act.], ppa. tāṣṭā- 'to hammer, form, fashion', tāśṭar-[m.] 'carpenter, master', Av. tāṣat [3s.aor.inj.], OAv. tāst [3s.pr.inj.] 'to fashion', tāṣṭa- 'created'; YAv. awuī... tāṣṭi [3s.pr.act.].

Lat. tēla < *teks-lā-, subtilis < *subtēli-. Meiser 1998 argues that texō does not belong to the pr. *te-tk- 'to build' but to a root *tek-s-, seen in Gr. τέχνη 'skill', OHG dehsala 'axe', OIr; tal 'axe'; but the latter root may simply be *tek-s-, that is, the root 'to fashion' with an s-suffix. Meiser 2003 points to the possible PIE formulaic expression 'weaving words' (sermōnes texere Pl.), which involves in Skt. and Gr. the verb *te-tk- 'to fashion'. For Latin tex-, this implies that it can either go back to PIE *tek-s-, or to *te-tk- 'to fashion'. Since the outcome of word-internal *-tk- is uncertain, but might rather be single -s- (in ursus, where the cluster is preceded by r), I have a preference for *tek-s-.


*tīgnūm* 'piece of timber, building-wood' [n. o] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: tīgilum 'small plank' (Pl.+

Plt. *teg/k-no- 'plank, timber'.
PIE *(s)teg-no- ‘covering’ or *tek-no- ‘product’.

Lat. *tignum probably represents *(s)tegno-. The derived dim. tigillum could phonetically reflect *(s)tegno-lo- if the raising of *e in front of a velar nasal preceded vowel reduction in non-initial syllable (with the inverse chronology, one would expect *tegillum). As for the PIE etymology, WH and IEW derived *tignum from a word *(s)teg- for ‘stake’, which is unattractive since this root is not otherwise attested in Italic. It seems more likely that *tignum derives from *(s)teg- ‘to cover’, which yields other constructional terminology such as tectum ‘roof, ceiling, dwelling’ and tegula ‘roof-tile’. However, since tignum has no evident connotation of ‘cover’, one could also connect it with *tek- ‘to fashion’, but this has the preform *teks- in all certain Latin derivatives (see s.v. texō).

Bibl.: WH II: 681, EM 691, IEW 1014, Meiser 1998: 81, 122. → tegō, texō

tilia ‘lime-tree’ [f. ā] (Verg.)

IE cognates: Gr. πτελέα ‘elm-tree’, Myc. /pterewal.
The only close cognate seems to be the Greek word for ‘elm-tree’. Both may be borrowings from a third language, or Latin has borrowed the Greek word as *teliia and changed its meaning to ‘lime-tree’.

Bibl.: WH II: 681f., EM 691, IEW 847.

timeō ‘to fear’ [v. II; pf. timuī] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: timor [m.] ‘fear’ (Naev. +; timōs Naev. apud Non.), timidus ‘afraid, timid’ (Naev. +), timiditas ‘proneness to fear’ (Pac. +), timēfactus ‘intimidated’ (Lucr. +), extimēscere ‘to be alarmed, dread’ (Pl. +), pertimēscere ‘to become very scared’ (Pl. +), praetimēre ‘to worry’ (Pl. +).
The connection with words for ‘stiff’ (thus hesitantly WH and IEW) is hardly possible in view of the modern reconstruction of this root as *stieH- (LIV); if indeed initial *s- were mobile, we would expect PIE *tiH-m- > Lat. *tīm-.

Bibl.: WH II: 682, EM 691f.

tingō, -ere ‘to wet, imbue, dye’ [v. III; pf. tīnxī, ppp. tinctum] (Lucr.+; var. tinguō Varro)

Derivatives: attingere ‘to smear on’ (Rhet.Her. +), inting(u)ere ‘to plunge in, colour’ (Pl. +).

Plt. *teng-e/o-.

PIE *teng- ‘to make wet’ [pr.], maybe *teng-s- [aor.]. IE cognates: Gr. τέγγω ‘to make wet’, aor. τέγγα, OHG thunkōn, dunkōn ‘to immerse’, Swiss German tink ‘wet’.
The variant tinguō is due to analogy with unguō ‘to anoint’.

Bibl.: WH II: 684, EM 692, IEW 1067, Meiser 2003: 110, LIV 1.*ten(ā).*

titō ‘piece of burning wood’ [m. n] (Varro +)

Plt. *ti-ti- ‘heating’.

úathad [n.] ‘small quantity’, MW ođit [m.] ‘rarity’ < *au-ti-to- ‘melting away’; Hit. zē-ard / z- ‘to cook (intr.), be cooked’ < *tjēh₁-o-, zamur-zi ‘to cook (tr.)’ < *tih₁-neu-, zinni-zi / zinn- ‘to end, finish’ < *ti-n(e)-h₁-; OE dīnan ‘to wet; become wet’, Olc. piôr ‘melted, thawed’ < *tih₁-tō-.

Maybe derived from the PIE root *teihr- ‘to become hot, melt’, according to LIV. In that case, it would be a ti-stem ‘heating’. Kloekhorst 2008: 1036f. argues that the original meaning of the root was ‘to end, finish’, on account of Hit. zinni-.


tōfus ‘volcanic rock, tufa’ [m. o] (Verg.)

Probably a loanword from Sabellic, because of -f-

tölēs, -ium ‘goitre’ [f.pl. i] (Fest.)
Derivatives: tōnsillae [f.pl.] ‘tonsils’ (Cic.+).
Pt. *ton-sli- ‘goitre, tonsil’.
PIE *ton-sl-i-. IE cognates: see s.v. teneō.

Generally, tölēs is explained as the pl. of *tonsli- ‘what is/can be stretched’ (vel sim.), and tōnsillae as its diminutive *tonsli-lā-. Lat. *tonsli- can be regarded as l-derivative to *tens- ‘to stretch’, or as an instrument noun in *-slo/i- to *ten- ‘stretch’. It must be pointed out that the semantic connection to ‘stretch’ is possible, but hardly compelling; one might sooner expect a basic meaning ‘to swell’ to account for ‘goitre’ and ‘tonsils’. Since we often find the meaning ‘to expand’ for derivatives of *ten-, not for those of *tens-, the analysis *tonsli- seems preferable. The o-grade of the noun remains unexplained, however.


tollō, -ere ‘to pick up, raise, remove’ [v. III; pf. sustuli, ppp. sublātum] (Lex XII+; pr.sb. tulat Acc.)

Derivatives: tolerāre ‘to support, endure’ (Andr.+), tolerābilis ‘tolerant, bearable’ (Ter.+), intolerandus ‘unbearable’ (Pl.+), pertolerāre ‘to endure to the end’ (Acc.+); tolūtim [adv.] ‘at a trot’ (Pl.+), atolūtilis ‘moving at a trot’ (Varro); abstulās ‘you take away’ (Pl.), attollere ‘to lift, erect’ (Pl.+), contollere ‘to step up’ (Pl.+), extollere ‘to raise, praise’ (Pl.+), prōtollere ‘to stretch forth, prolong’ (Pl.+); opitulus ‘who brings help’ (Paul. ex F.), opitulāriē ‘to give help’ (Andr.+).

PIE *tl(n)-h₂ [pr.] ‘to carry’, *tel-h₂ [aor.], *te-tollh₂ [pf.], *tolh₂-to- [ppp.]. IE cognates: OIr. *tlenaid ‘to lift, take away’ < PCI. *tilna-; Gr. aor. etlηv, Dor. etlαν ‘to endure, endeavour’, aor. etlάλασσα ‘endeavoured’, τάλαντα [n.pl.] ‘scales’, Go. *pulan ‘to endure, bear’, ToB *talman ‘raises’.

The PIE nasal present yielded Latin *toln- > toll-, whereas Umbrian introduced the e-grade of the root (from the aorist). Thematization may go back to Pf. The aorist root *tel(a)- seems to be preserved in U. pf. entel-, and is seen in Lat. sb. -tulās, -tulat < *tel-a-. The pf. tetulī (to ferō) may reflect the PIE perfect, whereas lātus < *lāt-o- continues the PIE to-adj. The verb opitulari is regarded as denominal to opitulus, which is only attested in Paul. ex F.; it may reflect *opi-tolH-o-. To explain tolerāre, Nussbaum 2007b proposes a Latin s<5-present built to the root *telh₂-, hence *telh₂-s- > *telasā- > tolerā-. Finally, tolūtīm can be interpreted as ‘lifting its feet’ > ‘at a trot’, and would seem to require a stem *tolu-.


tomentum ‘flock, stuffing material’ [n. o] (Varro+)

Pf. *towamn?

PIE *tēuh₂-mn [n.] ‘swelling’? *tuh₂-eie- [pr.caus.?] IE cognates: see s.v. tueor.

WH and IEW assume tomentum < *tovementom to the root *teuh₂- ‘to swell, increase’ (a caus.pr. *toulH-eie- ‘to stuff’?). A preform *teuh₂-mn would yield Pf. *towamŋ > *towamen > *tomen. A preform *towamentom would yield *tūmentum, but *towamŋ- could have been restored on the model of still present verb forms (cf. Schrijver 1991: 279-82). Thus, tomentum can be explained on the basis of earlier *tomen, or on the basis of verb forms. Of course, no verb continuing *teuh₂- is actually attested in Latin, which weakens this explanation. EM hesitantly suggest a connection with tondeō ‘to shear’, which is possible, but would be less direct than from a verb meaning ‘to stuff’.


tondeō ‘to cut the hair, shear’ [v. II; pf. totondi, ppp. tōnsum] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: tōnsilis ‘made smooth by clipping’ (Pl.+), tōnsus, -ās ‘style of haircut’ (Pl.+), tōnsor ‘barber’ (Pl.+), tōnstrōx ‘female barber’ (Pl.+), tōnstrīna ‘barber’s shop’ (Pl.+), tōnsūra ‘shearing, clipping’ (Varro+), tōnsitāre ‘to shear’ (Pl.+); attondēre ‘to strip of, shear’ (Pl.+), dētondēre ‘to shear, prune’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *tond-eje-.

PIE *tond-eie- ‘to shear’. IE cognates: OIr. teinnid* ‘to break, cut’ < *tend-e/o- or *tan-n-d-e/o-, pret. tethainn < *te-tond-, Gr. τέννω ‘to gnaw at’.

The pf. totondi can be recent, or continue an old pf. *te-tond-. It cannot be proven that the root *tend- was derived from *tem- (as in *temh₂- ‘to cut’), but the meaning suggests a connection.

**tongēre** 'to know' [v. II] (Paul. *ex F. tongere*, Enn. (apud Paul. *ex F.*) tongent)

- **Derivatives:** tongitio 'notio' (Fest.: Praenestian).
- Pft. *tong-e-jē- 'to know', *tng-in- 'opinion'. It cognates: O. tanginom [acc.sg.], tangineis [gen.sg.], tanginud, tanginūd, tanginud, tanginud, tāŋinōδ, tāŋinōτ [abl.sg.] 'opinion, decision' < *tng-in/iōn-.
- PIE *tong-e(i?)- 'to think, know'. IE cognates: Go. *paggkjan 'to think' < *tong-(e)ie-, OIC. *pekkja 'to understand, know', OHG *denchen, OE *dencan 'to think', Go. *puggkjan 'to appear, think'.

In view of the meaning which is stative rather than iterative, and in view of Gmc. *punk-i- 'to appear (to so.)', it seems possible that tongēre continues a PIE i-present with o-grade of the root.

- **Bibl.:** WH II: 690, EM 695, IEW 1088, Untermann 2000: 733f., LIV 2.*ten(ǥ)-.

**tonū, -āre** 'to thunder' [v. I; pf. tomū, ppp. tonitum] (Pl.+.; Ip.act. tonimus Varro)

- **Derivatives:** tonitrus, -ūs [m.] 'thunder' (Pl.+), tonitr(ū)dīlis 'of thunder' (Lucr.+), tonēscere 'to begin to thunder' (Varro); continat 'it thunders violently' (Pl.); Quomme tonas (Carmen Saliare).
- Pft. *tene- [pr./aor.], *tonaje- [pr.].
- PIE *(s)tenh2- [aor.] 'to thunder', *(s)tonh2-eie/o- [pr.]. IE cognates: Skt. pr. stanāya- (intr. in RV), tanya-, aor. stanihi [2s.ipv.act.], stan [3s.inj.act.] 'to thunder', ta-ptic. stanita-, also [n.] 'thunder'; OE *punor 'thunder'.

Probably, tonere was the older present (or aorist, as Skt. suggests), which was replaced by tonāre. The vowel o was introduced from tonāre into *tenere > tonere.

The origin of tonāre is disputed: an original causative *(s)tonh2-eie- (Eichner 1974: 58; but the meaning of tonāre is not causative), a derivative from the noun tonus (Schrijver 1991: 396, as one of the possibilities; but tonus does not mean 'thunder', and is attested too recently), or an iterative *(s)tonh2-eie/o-, as Skt. stanāya- would suggest. The noun tonitrus has an unexpected suffix -tru-; Serbat (1975: 331) explains it from an original tu-stem *(s)tona-tu- > *tonitū- which was affected by a “popular” tendency to replace suffix-initial -t- by -tr-. One may think especially of influence by fulgetrum 'lightning'. The PIE root *(s)tnh2- 'to thunder' might be cognate with PIE *sten- 'to sigh, groan'. Hit. *tīh- 'to thunder' cannot be connected with this root in any meaningful way.


**tōnsa** 'oar' [f. ā] (Enn.+)

- **Derivatives:** tōnsilla 'mooring-stake' (Enn.+).

No good etymology. WH and IEW derive tōnsa from tondēō, but this does not make any sense semantically.

**Bibl.:** WH II: 691, EM 695, IEW 1062f.
topper ‘quickly’ [adv.] (Andr. +)

PIt. *tod? *tot?

Lat. topper is generally regarded as a unverbation of *tod (nom.acc.sg.n. of the stem *to- ‘that’) and the suffix -per. Whether the first element really was *tod remains uncertain: in view of the meaning, initial tot ‘that many’ seems equally possible.


torpeō ‘to be numb, paralysed’ [v. II] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: torpor ‘numbness, drowsiness’ (Luc. +), torpēdō ‘lethargy; black ray (fish)’ (Cato +).

PIt. *torp-e- ‘to be stiff’.

PIE *trp-eh₁- ‘to be stiff’. IE cognates: Lith. tīrpti ‘to coagulate, grow stiff’, OCS trvpēti ‘to suffer’; OHG derþ/p, OE þeorþ, OSc. þjarfr ‘unleavened’ < PGM. *þerba-‘stiff’ < *terp-ō-.

Bibl.: WH II: 692, EM 696, IEW 1022-27, LIV 2.*terp-.

torqueō ‘to twist, wind’ [v. II; pf. torsī, ppp. tortum] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: torquēs, -is [f.] ‘collar of twisted metal’ (Pl. +), torculus ‘of a wine- or olive-press’ (Cato +), torculus ‘press’ (Varro +), torculārium ‘pressing-room, press’ (Cato +); tortūvus ‘obtained from pressing’ (Cato +), tortāre ‘to torture, twist’ (Pompon. +); tornina, -ōrum [n.pl.] ‘gripping pains in the bowels’ (Cato +), tormentum ‘rope made of twisted hair, ballista, torture, pain’ (Pl. +); contortuēre ‘to make twisted, turn about’ (Enn. +), contortor ‘a twister’ (Ter. +), contortiplicātus ‘compounded in an involved fashion’ (Pl.), distortuēre ‘to distort, torture’ (Ter. +), extortuēre ‘to wrench away, sprain’ (Pl. +), extortor ‘one who extorts’ (Ter.), pertoquēre ‘to hurl, twist strongly’ (Afran. +), praeortuēre ‘to twist, wring’ (Pl. +).

PIt. *torkʷ-eie- ‘to twist’, *torkʷ-to- [ppp.]. It. cognates: maybe O. turumiiad [3s.pr.sb.] ‘may he tremble/suffer’ (vel sim.) if denom. to a noun *torkʷ-mo- ‘vexed’ (but see also s.v. tremō).


A causative verb *torkʷ-eie-; the noun tormentum reflects *torkʷ-mn-to-.

Bibl.: WH II: 692f., EM 696, IEW 1077, Untermann 2000: 778, LIV *terkʷ-.

torreō ‘to scorch, roast’ [v. II; pf. torruī, ppp. tormentum] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: torrēns ‘burning, hot; flowing, torrential’ (Lucr. +), torrēscere ‘to be scorched’ (Lucr.), torrus (later torris) [m.] ‘piece of firewood’ (Acc. +), torridus ‘dried, parched’ (Acc. +), retorridus ‘dried up, shrivelled’ (Varro +).

PIt. *tors-eje ‘to scorch’, *tors-e- ‘to be dry’, *tors-to- ‘scorched’.

PIE *tors-eje ‘to make dry’, *trs-eh₁-, *trs-to-. IE cognates: Hit. tarš- ‘to become dry’ or ‘to make dry’? < *ters-, Skt. ṭṝṣant- [ptc.act.], aor. ṭṝṣa- ‘to be thirsty’, root

As M. Weiss points out to me, Lat. torrēns can be explained as a ptc. ‘the dry one’ to a stative pr. *trs-ehr- ‘to be dried out’. This obviates the need for positing a semantic shift from ‘burning’ to ‘torrential’ as assumed by LIV.

Bibl.: WH II: 694, EM 696, IEW 1078f., LIV *ters- → terra

torus ‘strand, thong, muscle’ [m. o] (Cato+)
Derivatives: torulus ‘thong, cord, muscle’ (Pl.+).

Has been derived from sternō (Leumann 1977: 276), but WH are hesitant. One would expect a verb like ‘to turn’ or ‘knot’. In theory, torus might go back to *torh2-o- to the root *terhr- ‘to cross, go through’, which would be semantically acceptable; but this cannot be further ascertained.

Bibl.: WH II: 694f., EM 697.

torvus ‘grim, fierce’ [adj. o/ā] (Pac.)
Derivatives: torviter ‘grimly’ (Enn.+).
Plt. *torgʷ-o-.
PIE *torgʷ-o- ‘grim, angry’, IE cognates: Hit. tarkiűant- ‘looking angrily’ < *trgʷ-ant-, tarkuã [adv.] ‘angrily’, Epic Skt. tarjati ‘to threaten’ (EWAia III: 238), Gr. ταρβέω ‘to be startled’.

WH connects torvus with trux, which seems formally difficult.


tot ‘that many; as many’ [adj. indecl.] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: totidem ‘as many (as)’ (Pl.+), totie(n)ς [adv.] ‘so often’ (Pl.+).
Plt. *toti- ‘so many’.
PIE *to-ti. IE cognates: Skt. tāti [adv.] ‘so many’, Gr. τόσος, τόσος [adj.] ‘so big, so much’ < *toti-ō-.


tōtus ‘the whole of, all’ [adj. o/ā] (Andr.+)
The etymology *touH-eto- ‘stuffed’ accepted by WH is a moot possibility; the assumed semantic shift from ‘stuffed’ to ‘whole’ is neither trivial nor convincing. Zimmer 1985 discusses all previous attempts to etymologize tōtus, and finds them unconvincing. His own solution *to-ielot-ē- ‘sich fest dazu stellend, vollständig’ (to PIE *jet-) is hardly more plausible: the preverb and the verbal root are otherwise unattested in Latin (see s.v. nītor for the alleged occurrence of this root), and the semantic shift to ‘all’ is not straightforward.

trabs, -is ‘tree-trunk, beam’ [f. b/i] (Pl.; nom.sg. trabēs Enn., Varro)

Derivatives: trabēcūla ‘small wooden beam’ (Cato+), trabica ‘kind of boat’ (Pac.+), trabālis ‘of/for wooden beams’ (Enn.+


The nom.sg. trabēs is an innovation with regard to trabs. Sabellic points to a stem *trēb- ‘house, building’ but it is uncertain whether *treb- and Latin trab- originally belonged to one nominal paradigm, or whether they represent different derivatives of a root *trb-. Schrijver 1991 argues that a possible original ablaut nom.sg. *trēs, obl. *tṛb- > *torb- may have been replaced by *treb- vs. *trab-, but there are no direct models for such a replacement; all of Schrijver’s examples concern verb forms. Since Schrijver sets up a rule according to which *RDC developed into Lat. *RaDC, trabs might stem from a paradigm with *trb- in some case-forms. U. has a present in *treb- ‘to dwell’; since the meanings of the Sab. forms are closer to this verb than to trabs, they may have been derived from the verb. We furthermore find a noun *tr(e)b- in Celtic, *trb- in Germanic and *trob- in Baltic. Maybe the full grade is also attested by Sabellic names such as Lat. Trebulāmus, U. treblanir (the name of several minor settlements in Sabellic territory) ‘village (vel sim.)’. In view of the difficulties of reconstructing common preforms for more than one subbranch, of the presence of *-b-, and of the European distribution of the root, *trb- may belong to the vocabulary borrowed from a non-IE language. O. tribuf seems to be built on Sab. *treb- ‘house’, either with the suffix of Lat. tribūnus, or with PIE *-ōn- (cf. Adiego 2001).


trahō, -ere ‘to pull, drag, haul’ [v. III; pf. trāxī, pps. tractum] (Pl.)

Derivatives: trahāx ‘grabbing’ (Pl.); trāgula ‘spear, sledge, dragnet’ (Pl.+; tractim [adv.] ‘in a long-drawn-out manner’ (Pl.+), tractum ‘a thin sheet of pastry’ (Cato+), tractus, -ūs ‘drawing, trail, track’ (Lucr.+); dērāhere ‘to pull off, remove’ (Pl.+), distrāhere ‘to pull apart’ (Pl.+), intertrāhere ‘to draw away’ (Pl.); tractāre ‘to drag along, handle’ (Naev.+), attrēctāre ‘to touch, handle’ (Pl.+), attrēctātus, -ūs ‘the handling’ (Pac.+), pertra/ectāre ‘to pass the hand over, handle’ (Pl.+), pertractātē in a hackneyed manner’ (Pl.); trāma ‘warp’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *traxelo-.

IE cognates: OIr. tethraig* [pret.] ‘ran away, receded’ < PCL. *te-trāg-, OIr. trāig ‘ebb, beach’, MW trei, OBret. tre (< *tragio-), MW treul ‘trouble, weakness’ (<
The form trahāx appears to be a nonce-formation of Plautus (thus EM). The g in trāgula must have been retained in *trāglā; it can be compared with MW treul if from *trāglo-. Long -ā- in trāgula might be analogical after coāgulum, repāgula. Tractāre was derived from the ppp. tractus. Trāma can reflect *trax(s)mā-

Semantically, the closest cognates are found in Celtic: OIr. tethraig and the words for 'ebb' can all be explained from a meaning 'to pull away' (cf. Schumacher 2004: 636). Formally, Go. pragjan 'to walk' (and cognates) and OIr. traig, W. troēd, Bret. troad 'foot' could be cognate; semantically, they require some special pleading (but a connection is not impossible). This would point to a root *trHgh- or *trāg-, with a non-IE root structure *T-Dh and maybe root-internal *-a-. Thus, this could be an Italo-Celtic (and Germanic?) loanword. A connection with Germanic *dragan 'to drag, draw' (Go. -dragan 'to carry', OIr. draga 'to pull, ride') is formally impossible, unless this is another reflex of a European loanword. The connection with Ir. trōg 'offspring', SCr. trāg 'family, race' is dismissed by Schrijver 1991: 349 for semantic reasons.


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tranquillus 'calm, still' [adj. olā] (Pl.+

Derivatives: tranquillitās 'calmness, quiet condition' (Pl.+, tranquillāre 'to make calm' (Pl.+).

The etymology as *trān 'across' + *kʷilno- 'quiet' (root *kʷih₁- 'be quiet') is semantically vague (the meaning of trāns does not fit); phonetically, the assumed development of *-nскʷ- > -nqu- is disputed. Also, the suffix is unclear.


*trāns 'across, through' [prep. +acc., adv.] (Pl.++; trā- in front of d-, j-, l-, m-, n-, v-)

PIt. *trān(t)s. It cognates: U. trahaf, tra [prep. + loc.], trahe, traf, tra [prep. + acc.]

'on the other side of'; U. trah- prefix.

PIE *trh₂-nt-s 'crossing' [nom.sg.m/f.]. IE cognates: MW tarðu, MCo. tardha, OBret. tardom 'to spring up, burst out' < PCI. *tarjelo- < *trh₂-ie-; Hit. tarhu₂-i 'to prevail, be able' < * térh₂-u-iti, *trh₂-u-enti, *Tarhumna-, CLuw. *Tarhayant- / Tarhunt-, HLuw. Tarhunt- / Tarhuanza-, Lyc. Trqqñt- 'the Storm-God' < *trh₂-uénts-, *trh₂-unt-ós; Skt. pr. tára-, -tirá 'to pass, overcome', tarantā- [m.] PN, tārva- 'to overcome', YAv. titara-, tauruuaia- 'id.', Gr. τραγίς 'pervasive' → 'clear, distinct'.

Since U. has /trāf/, the final cluster must have been PI. *-ns, which cannot be directly derived from PIE *-nt (pace Schrijver). Thus, we must assume a m/f. form of a pr.ptc.act. *trh₂nts 'crossing' > PI. *trān(t)s 'across'. Dunkel 2000b: 24 posits *trh₂m-skʷ-e, an instrumental in his view, but in view of the meaning I would rather expect an acc. – which agrees with the ending *-m.

tremō, -ere 'to tremble' [v. III; pf. tremūl] (Pl. +; tremonti [3p.pr.?] Carmen Salire)

Derivatives: tremor 'trembling, terror' (Pl. +), tremulus 'trembling, shaking' (Pl. +), tremebundus 'id.' (Lucr. +), tremēscere 'to tremble' (Lucr. +); contremere 'to tremble violently' (Pac. +), contremulus 'shimmering' (Varro), contremēscere 'to shake violently' (Enn. +).

Pit. *trem-e/o- [pr.], *trom-eje- [pr.caus.]. It. cognates: U. tremitu [3s.ipv.II] maybe 'to scare' < *trem-eie-tōd, with -e- from the present.; O. turumiaid [3s.pr.sb.] 'may he tremble/suffer' (vel sim.) (but see also s.v. torqueō).

PIE *trem- 'to tremble'. IE cognates: Gr. τρέμω 'to tremble', Lith. tremti 'to shake up', tremti 'to tremble'.


trepidus 'fearful, anxious' [adj. o/ā] (Lucr. +)

Derivatives: trepidāre 'to act in a state of alarm, be anxious, hurry' (Pl. +), trepidulus 'trembling with apprehension' (Enn. +); attrrepidāre 'to bestir oneself' (P1. +); trepit 'turns' (Paul. ex F.).

Pit. *trep-.

PIE *tr(e)m- 'to tremble'. IE cognates: OCS trepetb 'trembling, fear', trepetati 'to tremble'.

The appurtenance of trepit here is uncertain: it might be a nonce-formation based on Gr. τρέπει 'turns', or it might go back to PIE *trep- 'to turn', but have nothing to do with trepidus. In fact, neither the root *trep- 'to tread, crush' nor *trep- 'to turn', which are acknowledged for PIE by LIV, are obvious candidates for the etymology of trepidus. In view of its meaning, Latin-Slavic *trep- 'tremble' may rather be compared with PIE *trem- (see s.v. tremō) and *tres- 'to tremble'.

Bibl.: WH II: 701f., EM 700f., IEW 1094, Nussbaum 1999a: 380, LIV 1.*trep-. → tremō

trēs 'three' [num. adj. m.f. trēs, n. tria] (VOLat. (Garigliano Bowl trifos [abl.pl.m.]), Lex XII +; acc.mf. trīs, gen. trium, dat.abl. tribus; tri-, trī- 'three' in compounds)

Derivatives: tertius 'third' (Lex XII, Andr. +), tertīārius [adj.] 'one-third' (Cato +), tertīāre 'to plough/attempt for the third time' (Cato +); ter 'thrice' (Pl. +); ternī 'three at a time' (Pl. +), trīnī 'three at a time, three' (Cato +), trīginta 'thirty' (Pl. +), trecentī [pl.] 'three hundred' (Pl. +), triēnī 'three hundred each' (Varro +), triēns, -ntis [m.] 'a third part' (Varro +), triumābulum 'property in the value of a third of a debt' (Lex Agraria +); tertius 'coin weighing three unciae' (Pl. +).

Pit. nom.m.f. *trejes, acc.m.f. *trins, nom.acc.n. *triā, dat.abl.pl. *trīfos 'three', *tritio- 'third', *tris 'thrice'. It. cognates: maybe the Ven. theonym tribusiai-contains *tri- 'three'; O. trīs [nom.pl.f.], trīs [acc.pl.f.], trium [gen.pl.], U. trif, tre, tref, tre, trif [acc.pl.m.], tres, tre, trif [acc.pl.f.], tria [acc.pl.n.], triuiper, trioper [acc.pl.n. + -per(o)] , trīs [abl.pl.] 'three'; U. terti, tertim [acc.sg.m.n.], tertiam [acc.sg.f. + -ad], tertiam [acc.sg.f. + -en], tertiu, tertii, tertio [abl.sg.m.n.], tertie [loc.sg.m.n.] 'third' < *tri-tio-; U. tripler [abl.pl.m.] 'three at a time' < *tri-plo-. U.
tribřiču [nom.sg.], tribrisine [abl.sg.] f. maybe ‘three, trio’ < *tri-+?

PIE nom.m.f. *treies, acc.m.f. *trins, nom.acc.n. *trih₂, gen. *triom ‘three’, *trio-
[n.] ‘one third’, Skt. trīṣ, YAv. ṯṛīṣ ‘thrice’; Gr. τρεῖς, Cret. τρεῖς [nom.pl.m.], Gr. *τρινς (OAtt. τρις) [acc.pl.], τρία [nom.pl.f.]; Lith. trīs, OCS truje [m.], tri [f.]; Oic. prir [nom.pl.m.], Go. prins [acc.pl.m.f.]; ToB trey, trai [m.], ToB tarya [f.], ToA tre [m.], tri [f.] ‘three’.

According to Coleman, it is unclear whether ternī or the rare trīnī regularly reflect *trisno-. But maybe they go back to different preforms: ternī < *tri-no- (as expected from PIE) and trīnī < *trisno- (a more recent formation, as bimī).


tribus ‘division of the people, tribe’ [f. u] (Varro+)

Derivatives: tribuere ‘to divide, bestow’ (Acc.+, tribūnus ‘magistrate, commander’ (Pl.+,), tribūtus ‘levy, tax’ (Pl.+,), tribulis ‘fellow tribesman’ (Ter.+,), tribūtīm ‘by tribes’ (Varro+); attribuere ‘to assign, appoint’ (Varro+), retribuere ‘to hand back duly’ (Lucr.+).


PIE *tri-dʰh₁-u- ‘tripartite division’.

Weiss (2007a: 369-376) bases his account of the etymology of tribus on a PIE or Plt. adjectival compound *tri-dʰh₁-o- ‘rendered in three, tripartite’, which could be compared e.g. with Skt. multiplicatives in -dḥā < *-dʰeh₁- such as tridhā ‘threefold’, and with thematized derivatives of it such as Lith. įndas ‘plate’ < *-dʰh₁-o-. The adj. *tridʰh₁-o- would have been substantivized by conversion to a u-stem *tri-dʰh₁-u- ‘tripartite thing’, ‘a third’, yielding Plt. *tribu- (the u-stem points to a rather old formation; cf. Lith. vidūs ‘middle’). Since we have no other certain evidence for the development of Plt. intervocalic *p in front of vocalic *u, we may as well assume that it is identical to the development after *u, where it yields Latin -b-. Hence, Plt. *tribu- would regularly yield U. trīfu- and Latin *tribu-. Unlike in tertius and ter, *tri- was not reduced to ter- because it was supported by other compounds in *tri-.


trīcae ‘complications, tricks; trifles’ [f.pl. ě] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: trīco ‘twister’ (Lucil.+), trīcōsus ‘given to trickery’ (Lucil.+); extricāre ‘to set free, solve’ (Pl.+), intricāre ‘to entangle, embarass’ (Pl.+).

Uncertain etymology. One might compare Toch. *treiK- in ToB aor. traiksa ‘missed,
did not succeed’, sb. triśām ‘must miss’, but Tocharian allows for several different phonological reconstructions. If the meaning ‘trifles’ was the oldest, then one might think of an original meaning ‘crumbs, seeds’ (cf. nugae ‘nuts’ > ‘trifles’), and compare the derivatives of terō ‘to rub’ in trī-, esp. trīticum ‘wheat’ and intertrīgō ‘sore place from rubbing’. A k-extension to the pr. *trh₁-i- ‘to drill’ (see s.v. terō) would yield *trī-k-.


triquetru ‘triangular’ [adj. o/ā] (Lucr.+) Maybe from *tri-quadro- with the noun *quadro- ‘rectangle’. The date of attestation and the use of *quadro- in a novel meaning ‘angle’ would suggest a recent date of this compound, but the reduction of word-internal *a to e in closed syllable, and the change of *-dr- to -tr-, go back to the VOlAt. period. However, *quadro- itself is from *kʷtyr-, so its *d- seems relatively recent. Alternatively, *triquetru might contain (a form of) quater ‘four times’. An alternative etymology derives -quetrus from the same root as Germ. *χʷ-at- ‘to whet, sharp’ (thus WH, IEW), a root without further IE connections. While this is phonologically possible, the semantics are not straightforward.

Bibl.: WH II: 706, EM 703, IEW 636, Leumann 1977: 198. → quattuor

tristis ‘depressed, unhappy’ [adj. i] (Pl.+) Derivatives: trīstitās ‘gloom’ (Pac.-t), trīstitia ‘unhappiness, gloom’ (Ter.+). IE cognates: OHG dūsti, OS thristi, OE dūst ‘audacious’?

Hill 2003: 128 considers the possibility that tristis goes back to *trenksti- and is cognate with the Gm. words such as OE thriste. But in view of tēmō < *tenksmōn-, the raising of *e > i post-dates the cluster simplification, so that *trenksti- could at most yield *trēsti-. No good other etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 706f., EM 703, IEW 1092.

trūdō, -ere ‘to thrust, push’ [v. III; trūsī, trūsum] (Pl.) Derivatives: (mola) trūsātīs [adj.] ‘pushing-mill’ (Cato+); contrūdere ‘to thrust, cram’ (Lucr.+), dētrūdere ‘to push away, compel’ (Pl.+), obtrūdere ‘to thrust, push down the throat’ (Pl.+), retrūdere ‘to thrust back’ (Pl.+). Plt. *treude-o/-. PIE * treud-(e/o-) ‘to push, thrust’. IE cognates: W. cythrudd ‘to vex’, Lith. triūšas ‘work, effort, pains’, OCS trūdb ‘labour, work’, Scr. trūd ‘effort, labour, work’ < *troud-o-; Go. us-*priutan ‘to maltreat’, OIC. *prjota ‘to lack’, OHG -driozan ‘to cause sorrow’; Alb. tredh ‘castrates’ (uncertain).

The Latin verb can be compared to Gm. *preutan, suggesting a thematic verb with e-grade.

Bibl.: WH II: 710, EM 704, IEW 1095f., LIV *treūd-.

truncus ‘mutilated, maimed, trimmed’ [adj. o/ā] (Varro+) Derivatives: truncus ‘trunk, torso’ (Lucil.+); contruncāre ‘to hack to pieces’ (Pl.+),
truncāre ‘to chop in half’ (Pl. +), obtruncāre ‘to cut to pieces, kill’ (Pl. +).

In spite of the fact that the adj. ‘maimed, trimmed’ is attested later than truncus ‘trunk, torso’ (which can be interpreted as ‘maimed or beheaded tree/body’) and the compound verbs, it seems that the most original form was the adj. *tru/önko- ‘maimed, robbed of its branches or head’. This may or may not be another adj. of ‘physical impediment’ in *-ko- . I see no compelling reason to connect *tru/önko- with Go. preihan ‘to push’ or Lith. trīkkti ‘to thrust’ (see LIV s.v. *trenk- ‘to push’). The meaning of truncus is clearly not ‘compressed’ but ‘maimed, missing some of its original parts’. Similarly, the etymology as *druni/o-ko- ‘pertaining to a tree’ by Hamp 1978: 186 is unsupported by the actual meaning of the word.

Bibl.: WH II: 710f., EM 704f., IEW 1093.

trux, -cis ‘harsh, savage’ [adj. k] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: trunculentus ‘ferocious’ (Pl. +), trucidāre ‘to slaughter, butcher’ (Lucr. +), trucidātiō ‘slaughter’ (Cato +).

IE cognates: MW drwg, MCo. drok, MrIr. droch- ‘bad’ < PCl. *druko-.

If we follow Hamp 1978 in positing PIE *dr- > Latin tr- also in initial syllable, trux can be connected with PCl. *druko- ‘bad’. The verb trucidāre has been variously explained as a haploglottized form of *truki-kādāre, a denominal verb to a compound *truki-kaido- ‘hacking savagely’ (to caedō); or from *k"truki-kaidāre ‘hacking in four pieces’, with the reduced form of ‘four’. Yet a form *k"trux- ‘four’ is unattested elsewhere in Latin (in itself not really a counterargument), and the meaning of underlying *k"trux-kaid-o- would be a ‘(having) four hackings’; why ‘to slaughter’ was expressed by means of the numeral ‘four’ would remain unexplained. Hence, I derive trucidāre from *truk(o)-kaidro-.

Bibl.: WH II: 709, 711, EM 704f., IEW 1102, Schrijver 1991: 496. → caedō

tū ‘you’ [pron. pers. 2s. nom. tū, tūte, acc. abl. tē(d), gen. tuĩ, tīs (Pl.) dat. tībei, tībī] (VOLat. +)

Derivatives: tuus ‘your’ (Andr. +).


PIE *ti(H) [nom.], *tue [acc.], *toi [gen.dat.], *teue [gen.], *tued [abl.] ‘you’, *tu-o- ‘your’. IE cognates: Hit. zik [nom.], tu- [abl.], CLuw. tī, tu- < *tiH, *tu-; Skt. tūjām [nom.], tūjām [acc.], tūbhyā(m) [dat.], tūjā [abl.], tāva [gen.], tūvā [acc.encl.], te [gen.abl.dat.encl.], OAv. tuaṅm [nom.], ṭāgām [acc.], taibiiō, taibiā in *dat. , tuaṅā [gen.], ṭāba- [adj.posss.]; OP tuaṃ [nom.], tuvaṃ [acc.] < Icr. *tuH-am [nom.], *tuH-am [acc.], *tua in *dat. ; Gr. τū (Dor), τῶνη (Dor, Hom), ὥ, τφ [acc.], τεός, σος [adj.]; Lith. tū, OCS ty [nom.]; Go. pu; ToB τω, ToA tu ‘you’.

As argued by Kloekhorst 2008: 111-115, the vowel i in the nom.sg. forms of Anatolian is difficult to explain secondarily. Hence, the PIE nom.sg. may have been
*ti(H), which was replaced by *tu(H) after the Anatolian branch split off PIE.

tuba ‘trumpet’ [f. ā] (Pl.+
Derivatives: tubus ‘pipe, tube, trumpet’ (Varro+), tubulus ‘small pipe’ (Varro+);
tubicen ‘trumpeter’ (Cato+).
Meaning and form recall tibia ‘reed-pipe; shin-bone’, which, if Gr. σίφων ‘tube, siphon’ is cognate, might reflect *twē-. These forms point to a non-IE loanword; see s.v. tibia.
Bibl.: WH II: 712, EM 705.

tüber, -eris ‘swelling, tumour’ [n. r] (Ter.+
Derivatives: tüberōsus ‘covered with lumps or tumours’ (Varro+);
tuburcināri ‘to eat greedily, gobble’ (Pl.+).
Might be related to other words of the structure TuP, especially Gr. τύφη ‘a plant used for filling pillows and beds’ (probably with õ), Oιc. θύφα ‘knoll, hillock’. Yet the Greek word has a very different meaning, whereas Gm. has a different suffix. These forms do not make an IE impression, and there is no good etymology. Tüber might reflect the root *teuH- ‘to swell’, but the extension -ber is difficult to explain. The verb tuburcināri is of uncertain appurtenance: in the very uncertain case that it meant ‘to be(come) a fat, stuffed person (by eating greedily)’, it could be built on an earlier verb *tuburkā- to a noun *tūb>Vrko- ‘fat person’ (thus hesitantly Steinbauer 1989: 254). This is of course very speculative.
tueor ‘to look at, watch over’ [v. II; ppp. tuitum, tūtum] (Pl.+; var. tuor, tuī Enn., Lucr.)
Derivatives: tūror ‘guardian’ (Pl.+), tūtāreīi ‘to watch over, protect’ (Naev+),
Tūtānum ‘deity giving protection’ (Varro+), Tūtīlīna ‘goddess giving protection’ (Varro+), tūtēla ‘guardianship, protection’ (Pl.+); contuērī [also contui Pl. to Lucr.] ‘to look at, see’ (Pl.+), contuitus, -ūs ‘gaze’ (Pl.+), induētur ‘?’ (Enn. Ann. 70),
intuērī [also intui] ‘to look at, consider’ (Pl.+), obtu(ēr)i ‘to look at’ (Pl.+
Plt. *-tow-ē- ‘to protect’.
 PIE *touh2-eie- [pr.caus.]}? *te-touh2- [pf.}? IE cognates: Skt. pr. ut taviti, pf. tuśava ‘to be strong’, tavīs- ‘strong, powerful’, OAv. tauā [ls.pr.sb.act.], YAv. fra-tuitā [2s.pr.opt.act.]} ‘to be able’, tuvant- ‘capable, competent’; tūtāuma [pf.]} ‘is possible’;
Gr. τόφι ‘great, much’ (Hsch.), σῶς, σάος ‘safe and sound’ (< *tueh2us, *tuh2-u-os);
Lith. tūkti ‘to become fat (of cattle)’, RuCS tyti ‘to become fat’.

Tūtus is the old ppp. belonging to tuor (whence tūtāre, tūtor). Tuor and tueor might reflect earlier *tu(w)V-, or *teuV-, *towV- in non-initial syllable. In view of the old derivatives, the original meaning was probably ‘to watch over, protect’, whence ‘to look at’ in the compound verbs (see Garnier 2004: 282f.). This renders a derivation from the root *tu(w)2- ‘to be strong’ attractive: *teuH-ii ‘is strong’ > ‘keeps strong,
protects' (thus Garnier 2004: 284, in which case tuor is older), pr.caus. *touH-eie- 'keeps strong, protects' (> *tawē-), or a pf. *(te-)touh₂-e 'is strong' > 'protects', cf. the Ilr. pf. of this root. The pr. tueor could reflect the introduction of the pr. or pf. vocalism *tow- into the caus. *tawē-.

Bibl.: WH II: 713f., EM 706, IEW 1079f., Leumann 1977: 544, LIV ?*teyH-. → tōmentum

tum, tunc 'at that moment, then' [adv.]: tum (Andr.+), tunc (Naev.+)

Plt. *tom.

PIE *tom [acc.sg.m.].

Tunc < *tom-ke was originally more emphatic than tum < *tom.


tumeō 'to swell, be swollen’ [v. II; pf. tumui] (Pl.)

Derivatives: tumor 'tumour, swollen condition, passion' (Cato+), tumidus 'swollen, inflated' (Lurcr.+), tumulus 'knoll, burial-mound' (Pac.+); extumère 'to swell up' (Pl.), extumidus 'convex' (Varro+); tumulus, -īs 'commotion, uproar' (Naev.+, tumultuōsus 'disturbed and noisy' (Pl.), tumultuāri 'to make uproar' (Pl.).

Plt. *tum-ē-.


The noun tumulus is explained by Leumann 1977: 354 from *tumulitus to a verb *tumulāre, which seems unwarranted. WH II: 716 suggest imitation of singulatus ‘sighing’, but a clear-cut proportion cannot be set up, since there is no verb *singeō. Nevertheless, the meaning of tumulus does suggest that it belongs here. Tumeō goes back to a root *tum-, which has a closely similar meaning to the root *tuH- 'to swell'. The short vowel in tum- is explained by some from an o-grade form *touH-m- with de Saussure’s effect, but since we find tum- also in Ilr., Baltic and Celtic, this would require a PIE generalization of a novel laryngealless ablaut variant *tum-, which seems a lot to ask for. Alternatively, one might think that *tuH- and *tu-m- are two different suffixations of one and the same root *tu- (cf. *gʷm- and *gʷʰr- 'to come').


tundō, -ere 'to strike, beat’ [v. III; pf. tutuđi, pp. tunsum (tūsum)] (Pl.)

Derivatives: tudes, -itis [m.] ‘hammer, mallet’ (Paul. ex F.), tuditāre ‘to strike repeatedly with a hammer’ (Enn.+), tudiculāre ‘to crush with a small hammer’ (Varro); contundere 'to crush, bruise' (Pl.), dētūdēs [acc.pl.] ‘a piece struck off’ (Paul. ex F.), extundere ‘to extort, wring’ (Pl.), obtundere ‘to beat, assail, make blunt’ (Pl.+), pertundere ‘to bore a hole through’ (Pl.+), retundere 'to beat flat, repress' (Pl.+).

Plt. *(s)tund-(e/o-) 'to thrust'. It. cognates: maybe U. tuder [acc.sg.], tuderor
With Schumacher 2004: 645, we can interpret U. *tud-er as the place where two areas 'hit' each other, that is, border on each other.


turba 'commotion, upheaval' [f. ā] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: (1) turbulentus 'disturbed, stormy' (Pl. +), turbēlae [f.pl.] 'petty disturbance' (Pl. +), turbāre 'to upset, agitate, revolt' (Pl. +), turbō, -inis 'spinning-top, eddy, whirlwind' (Pl. +), turbicus 'wild, disordered, murky' (Pl. +); conturbāre 'to confound, dismay' (Pl. +), disturbāre 'to demolish, upset' (Pl. +), obturbāre 'to interrupt, dazzle' (Pl. +), perturbāre 'to upset, disrupt' (Pl. +); (2) turma 'small squadron, company' (Cato +), turmtātim 'in troops' (Lucr. +).

(1) The connection with Skt. tvarate 'to hurry' and PIE *tuer-, which IEW and Meiser adhere to, seems very uncertain. Not so much semantically, but formally: the suffix (*ō? *ōΛ?) would have been added to the bare root, of which no other forms occur in Italic. There is also no known PIE root *s)terb h- with the appropriate meaning. One might think of Gr. στρέφω 'to turn': a zero-grade form *(s)trb h-hr 'turmoil > Pit. *trf-a- > pre-Latin *torbā- > *torba, with a dialectal variant turba (normally, -orb- remains, cf. orbis, morbus, with p torpeō). Yet there are no other known cognates of Gr. στρέφω, and – as indicated – Latin turba would be deviant for *torba. Turba seems most similar to Gr. σύρβη, Att. τύρβη 'noise, commotion', σύρβα, Att. τύρβα [adv.] 'confused' (< PGr. */rfi/ro~? *tuorb-) 9, which are probably loanwords. In that case, Latin would have borrowed the word from a Greek dialect, or both Greek and Latin borrowed it from a third source. In view of the quite well-developed word family already in Plautus, which suggests that turba had been in the language for some time, the latter option seems preferable. (2) The noun turma may or may not be related to turbā. If related, it might point to both words being loanwords, with b and m as different renderings of a labial consonant in the donor language. Turma is compared by IEW to OIc. pruma, prymr 'noise, racket', OE drymm 'troop, crowd', OS heru-thrum 'sword-violence', which does not explain the different order of r and u.


turdus 'thrush (or similar bird)' [m. o] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: turdārium 'enclosure for thrushes' (Varro), turdelīce 'magpie (?)' (Varro).

Pl. *torzdo-.

PIE *(s)tr(o)sdh-o- 'thrush'. IE cognates: Olr. truit, -d ‘thrush’ [f.] < *trodī-, W.
tresglen; Arm. tordik, OPr. tresde ‘thrush’, Lith. strāzdas, Latv. strazds ‘thrush, blackbird, (dial.) starling’, Ru. drozd, gen.sg. drozdá ‘thrush’, čėrmij drozd ‘blackbird’ < BSl. *(s)trozdo- < PIE *(s)trozdʰ-; Oic. *prstr ‘thrush’ [m.] (< *prastu- < *trosdʰ-), OHG drosela, OS throsla, MHG drostel, OE *hrôstle (< *hristlō-), OE drysce, MoE thrush (< *pruskjón).

Since *or and *ɾ merge in pre-Latin, turdus could reflect *torzdo- or *trzdo-; but since Celtic, BSl. and Gm. have *-ro-, chances are that turdus continues *trzdo-. The hypothesis by Bracchi (1999: 87) that *t(o)rzdo- would reflect a compound *trs-sdr ‘sitting (nestling) on the dried (mud)’ has little to recommend itself. If thrushes make their nests from mud and twigs, it seems to me that their nests are less prone to be called ‘dry’ than the nests of birds who weave only twigs, without mud.


turgeō ‘to swell’ [v. II; pf. tursī] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: turgēscere ‘to begin to swell’ (Pl. +), turgidus ‘swollen’ (Pl. +), obturgēscere ‘to begin to swell’ (Lucil. +).
The meaning renders a connection with -tūrāre ‘to block, impede’ possible. A derived verb from an adj. *tūr-ago- ‘swelling’ (as given by WH as one possible etymology) seems unlikely, since such adj. always yield verbs in -igāre. No clear etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 718f., EM 708, IEW 1080-85. —→ obtūrō

turpis ‘disgusting, foul’ [adj. i] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: turpiculus ‘somewhat indecent’ (Varro +), turpitūdō ‘ugliness, indecency’ (Pl. +), turpāre ‘to pollute, disgrace’ (Enn. +).

WH and IEW compare Epic Skt. trapate ‘to be ashamed’ from PIE *trep- ‘to turn’, and interpret turpis as ‘repelling’. This is too constructed a meaning to be credible: one would expect a different suffix to express the deontic meaning here implied. *T(o)rp-i- could mean ‘turning’, which is not ‘turning away’, which is not ‘making so. turn away from sth.’, which is not necessarily ‘disgusting’. One would sooner connect torpeō ‘to be numb‘ or ‘stiff’, but this too does not yield a smooth explanation for the semantics of turpis.

Bibl.: WH II: 719, EM 708, IEW 1094.

tussis ‘cough’ [f. i] (Ter. +)
Derivatives: tussīre ‘to suffer from a cough’ (Pl. +).

Semantically, the connection with tundō ‘to beat’ is conceivable, but since the ppp. of tundō is tūsum < *tud-to-, with vowel lengthening according to Lachmann’s Law, we would expect *tūsis from an old formation *tud-ti-. Tussis might be explained from onomatopoeic consonant gemination in an earlier form *tūsis. Alternatively, it was not derived from tundō at all but represents a pure onomatopoeia. Note that the PIE root *kʷeh₃s- ‘to cough’ also ends in -s-.

über, -ris 'breast, udder' [n. r] (Enn.+

Derivatives: über, -eris [adj.] 'abundant, rich' (Pl.+, übertās 'abundance' (Enn.); exüberāre 'to flow copiously, be abundant' (Acc.+

PI. *oup-r-

PIE *h₁ouHdʰ-r 'udder', *h₁euHdʰ-n-s? IE cognates: Skt. údhar / údhan- [n.] 'udder' < Ilr. *HuHdʰ-ār-; Gr. οὐδαρ, -ατός [n.], Ru. vymja, gen.sg. vymeni 'udder' < PSl. *vymē, Ru. údit 'to ripen, fill (with)' < PIE *HouHdʰ-?-; OHG ütrin [dat.sg.], MHG üter, iuter, OS OE üder [n.] 'udder' < *ūdʰ-, Olc. ju(g)r, OE ieder, OFr. iader < *eudʰ-

According to Schrijver, *HuHdʰ- would have become *wap-, whereas *He/ouHdʰ- > *owap- would have yielded *ūd-. Hence, we must posit the loss of the second laryngeal before it could vocalize. For this loss to happen, the root must have had o-grade. The adjective über is mostly explained from the use of the noun as an adjective (as in vetus 'old' < *yetos 'year'), but Sihler posits an i-stem *ouc?-ri- 'abundant'.


ubi 'where' [adv.] (Naev.+

Derivatives: alicubi 'somewhere' (Pl.+, nuncubi 'whether...anywhere' (Varro+), necubi 'that nowhere' (Varro+), sicubi 'if anywhere' (Cato+); ubicumque 'wherever' (Pl.+, ubinam 'where in the world?' (Pl.+, ubiquāque 'everywhere' (Pl.+, ubīque 'anywhere' (Lucil.+, ubivīs 'whenever, anywhere' (Ter.+

PI. *kʷu-b/fei 'where'. It. cognates: O. puf, U. pufe, pufe [adv.] 'where' < *kʷu-b-d'ei

PIE *kʷu-d'í/i-b'í 'where'. IE cognates: Skt. kūha, OAv. kudā 'where', YAv. kudāt 'where from', OCS kōde 'where, when' < *kʷu-d'b'e.

Theoretically, ubi can reflect *kʷu-b'e or *kʷu-d'e. The suffix *-b'í would be the PIE ins. ending, whereas *-d'ei could be an Italic innovation for *kʷu-d'-e 'where' as encountered in Ilr. and Slavic. In view of the latter correspondence, a preform PI. *kʷu-p'ei seems slightly more likely. Hit. ku-wa-p'ī 'where, when' reflects *kʷu-o-b'í, cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 490.


ulciscor, -scf 'to take revenge' [v. III; ppp. ultum] (Pl.+

Derivatives: utor 'avenger; person avenged' (Acc.+), inultus 'unpunished, unavenged' (Pl.); ullō 'I will have avenged' (Acc.).
Plt. *ol-k- 'to destroy, take revenge'.

PIE *h₁elh₁- [aor.] 'to perish'. IE cognates: see s.v. *deleō.

The form ulla is generally reconstructed as *uls₃ < *ul₃-; this would imply that extant -ls- in other forms, e.g. the pf. fulsī to fulcīre, is secondary. The ppp. ultus can reflect *ulk-to-. LIV's etymology as *h₂elk- 'to ward off' (to Gr. ἀλκή 'resistance, courage') is semantically uncompelling. The traditional etymology is a derivation of ulcus 'ulcer', assuming a semantic development 'to grow sores (against someone)' > 'avenge one's griefs'. This is not compelling either (cf. Keller 1992: 257). Schrijver is reluctant to accept an equation with Gr. ὀλέκω 'to destroy', a *-enlargement to the root *h₂lh₁-; but semantically, this seems the best option. PIE *h₂lh₁-k- would yield Lat. *lak- according to Schrijver's rules (1991: 304ff.), but *h₂olh₁-k- > *h₂olk- (with de Saussure's effect) would yield ulc-. Since a PIE o-grade is not easy to justify in a preform *h₂olh₁-k-, one could assume *h₂elh₁- > *-ol- with a more recent addition of *-k-.

Bibl.: WH II: 810ff., EM 743, IEW 310, Schrijver 1991: 70, LIV *h₂elk-.

ulcus, -eris 'sore, ulcer' [n. r] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: ulcerōsus 'full of ulcers' (Pl. +); exulcerāre 'to make sore, wound' (Varro +).

Plt. *elkos.

PIE *h₁ēlkos- 'ulcer'. IE cognates: Skt. ārṣas- [n.] 'hemorrhoids', Khot. āṣī 'itch', Sogd. 'rśx, 'rs ‘hemorrhoids', Gr. ἐλκος [n.] 'wound, ulcer'. Less certain: OIr. olc 'bad' > *h₁olk-o-, OIr. illr 'bad' > PGm. *elh-ila-.

Plt. *elkos regularly developed into *olkos and then ulcus.


ulmus 'elm-tree, elm-wood' [f. o] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: ulmeus 'of elms, of elm-wood' (Pl. +); ulmitriba [m.] 'one who wears out elms' (Pl.).

Plt. *el/mos.

IE cognates: OIr. lem 'elm' < PCl. *limo-, Gaul. Lemo-uces [ethnonym] > Limoges, W. lyferen 'elm' < PCl. *lēmo- < PIE *h₁l(e)im-; Ru. il'em 'common elm', il'm 'wych elm', gen.sg. il'ma, Cz. jilm, jilma 'elm' < PSl. *jelm- < PIE *h₁lmo- (?); OHG ēlmboam, MoE elm, OIr. almr (NHG Ulme, MoDu. olm borrowed from Latin and Old French).

Ulmus can reflect Plt. *elmos > *olmos > ulmus (cf. Leumann 1977: 47). The restricted distribution (Italo-Celtic, Gm., Slavic) and the difficulty to reconstruct a PIE form suggest non-IE origin. Schrijver 1997a posits two forms *V-lm- (> Gm., Lat.) versus *Ilm- (Celtic). The Slavic word may also reflect the former, if it is not a loan from Germanic. In theory, one may try to derive PCl. *limo- and Slavic from a zero grade PIE *(H)lmo-, with secondary *leimo- developing in British Celtic. But this would still imply a PIE ablaut *(h₁)elmo-, *(h₁)olmo- *(h₁)lmo-, which is hardly credible.

ulna ‘forearm’ [f. ā] (Catullus+)

PIt. *olenā- ‘forearm’.


Many languages show an n-stem, but Ifr. and BSl. have different suffixes. Also, there is ablaut *öl- (acute) vs. *al- (circumflex) within BSl. Hence, the word may have been a PIE l-stem *Heh₃-l- (or *HoHl-₁), *HH₃-el-, to which an n-stem was made already in PIE. It is unclear whether this n-stem followed the regular ablaut rules of PIE n-stems (as Schrijver assumes), or whether different n-stems were made to different ablaut forms of the l-stem. The preform *ol-ēn- shared by Italo-Celtic and Gm. could have been built on a stem *HH₃-el- (or *HH-0l-), or be explained from pretonic shortening of a long vowel in front of a resonant (Dybo’s shortening: *ölü-en- > *ol-en-).


uls ‘on the far side of, beyond’ [prep. + acc.] (Varro, Gel., Paul. ex F.)

Derivatives: ulterior (Pl.+) ‘farther away’; ultrō ‘to a point farther off, conversely’ (Naev.+); ultrā (Cato+) ‘on the far side, beyond’; ultimus ‘farthest away’ (Pl.+).


PIE *h₂ol-tero- ‘further’, *h₂ol-tmHo- ‘furthest, last’. IE cognates: see s.v. olle.

The prep.uls is rare, and probably not ancient. According to Leumann 1977: 220, uls was formed to ultrā on the example of cis versus citrā. The forms ultrā, ultrō and ulterior presuppose a stem *ultero- < *ol-tero- ‘more to that side’, and ultimus < *ol-tamo- < *ol-tmHo- ‘most to that side’. These words contain the same root as olle/ollus > ille.


ululō, -āre ‘to howl’ [v. I] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: ulula ‘the tawny owl’ (Varro+).

IE cognates: Skt. ultika- [m.] ‘owl’, Gr. ὑλάω, ὑλακτέω ‘to bark’, Lith. ulula baṅgos the waves are howling’, OHG ūla ‘owl’.

Onomatopoeic verb for a u-like sound. Possibly, *ul- or *ulul- was already PIE, but this cannot be proven.

Bibl.: WH II: 813f., EM 744f., IEW 1105.
umbilicus 'navel, centre' [m. o] (Pl.+)

PIE *omb-(e/o)-l- >> *omb-elo- (or *ombi- >> *ombi-lo-).

PIE *h₃nbʰ-(e/o)- 'navel'. IE cognates: OIr. imbliu 'navel' < PCl. *embl-jon- < PIE *h₃nbʰ-li-; Skt. nābhya- [n.] 'hub (of wheel)', nābhi- [f.] 'hub, centre, navel (of the body or the world), origin, relationship, family', YAv. nabānazdiśta- 'next-of-kin', nāfa- [m.] 'navel, origin, blood relationship', MP nafag 'navel', nāf 'family' < PlIr. *Hnābʰ-, *Hnabʰia-; Gr. δίμαφαλός [m.] 'navel, navel string; knob, center'; OPr. nabis 'hub, navel', Latv. naba 'navel', OHG naba, OE nafu, Oic. nafj 'hub', OHG nabalo, nabulo, napulo, OE nabula, nafele, Oic. naflī 'navel' < PGm. *nabulōn-.

Latin umbilicus has a complex suffix, which in theory can be explained in several ways. In view of the l-suffixes in Celtic, Greek and Gm., it seems likely that umbilicus too contains an original l-stem. This was then thematized to *-(e)lo-, after which the suffix *-iko- was added.


umbō 'boss (of a shield); protuberance' [m. n] (Enn.)

PIE *omb-n-.

PIE *h₃nbʰ-n- 'hub, navel'. IE cognates: OHG amban, ambon [m.], OS ambon [acc.pl.] 'belly' < PGm. *amban- < *h₃e/onbh-n-.

Either an Italic formation on the basis of a PIE root noun *h₃nbʰ-, or a shared innovation with Germanic.


umbra 'shadow, shade' [f. ā] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: umbraticus 'that lives in the shade' (Pl.+), umbraticus 'lazy-bones' (Pl.), umbrāculum 'shelter, shade' (Varro+), umbrāre 'to cast a shadow' (Varro+); umbrifer 'shady' (Varro).

IE cognates: Lith. unksmē, paimksmē 'shade', uŋksne = paimksni, imksna 'shade', maybe Latv. ūksme 'hiding-place'.

Generally connected with Lith. inksna 'shade', and reconstructed as *untsrā-. This is the only word for which a cluster *-nksr- is reconstructed, but in view of tēmō < *tensm- < *tenksmōn, it is conceivable that *untsrā- would have yielded > *unsrā- > *unfrā- > umbra. This etymology suggests that the root was *(H)unk- (full grade *(H)unenk-), but the only root of that form in LIV is *uenk- 'to bend', which does not seem a likely semantic candidate. No other root etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 814f., EM 745, IEW 1173f.

ūmeō 'to be wet' [v. II] (Verg.)

Derivatives: ūmidus 'wet, moist' (Pac.+), ūmiditās 'moisture' (Pl.+), ūmor 'moisture, fluid' (Pl.+), inūmīgāre 'to make wet' (Andr.), ūmectus 'moist, wet' (Cato+), ūmectāre 'to make wet' (Lucr.+); ūlīgō 'waterlogged ground, marsh' (Cato+), ūlīginōsus 'ill-drained' (Varro+).

PIE *ūmo- 'wet'.

PIE *uh₁-mo- 'wet'. IE cognates: see s.v. ūrīna-.
WH and EM derive *um- from an extension in *-(s)m- to the root *u(e/o)gʷ- seen in Lat. *ūvidus, Gr. ὑγρός ‘wet’, etc. Weiss 1994 rejects this for semantic reasons, but to me the semantic difference between *ūvidus and derivatives on the one hand, and *ūmidus and derivatives on the other, does not seem large enough to warrant their separation. The formal objections are bigger: the root *ugʷ- is not well-established, being based mainly on Germanic forms (OIC. *fork ‘wet’). Weiss therefore derives *ūmidus and *ūmor from an adj. *uh₁-mo-, which he also sees in Lith. ūmas ‘quick’, dial. ‘fresh, not dried out’. If ūrīna and Skt. vār- ‘water’ are also derived from this root, it provides a solid etymological basis for *uh₁-mo-. The appurtenance of ūligō is uncertain: according to Weiss (p. 145), ūligō was probably created analogically to *ūmidus and *ūmo- on the model of fulīgō. Yet we cannot exclude that ūligō was grafted on *ūvidus > ūdus, with a change of intervocalic *-d- > -l-.


umerus ‘shoulder’ [m. o] (Pl.+)

PIt. *omes-o-. It. cognates: U. uze, onse [loc.sg.] /ontsel/ ‘shoulder’ < *omes(e)i.

PIE *h₂om-es- ‘shoulder’. IE cognates: Skt. ámsa- [m.] ‘shoulder’, Oss. (Iron) on ‘shoulder-blade’ < PIr. *anha-, Gr. ὀμος [m.] ‘shoulder, armpit’ < *omso-; Arm. ows, Go. amsans [acc.pl.], ToA es [m.], ToB ánise [m.] ‘shoulder’.

Hit. anass(a)- ‘lower part of the back’ cannot be connected with this reconstructed word for ‘shoulder’ (Kloekhorst 2008: 178).


umquam ‘ever’ [adv.] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: nunquam ‘never’ (Andr.+).

PIt. *kʷum.

PIE *kʷom.

Probably from *kʷum + -quam, *kʷum replacing *kʷom ‘when’ [acc.sg.] (see s.v. cum) on the model of ubī < *kʷu-; a similar replacement took place in uter << *kʷo-tero-, see s.v.

Bibl.: WH II: 821, EM 746, IEW 644-648, Leumann 1977: 482. → cum, usquam

uncus ‘hook’ [m. o] (Cato+)

Derivatives: uncus ‘curved, hooked’ adj. (Lucr.+), aduncus ‘id.’ (Enn.+); inuncāre ‘to catch on a hook’ (Lucil.+).

PIt. *okŋo-.


Bibl.: WH II: 816, EM 746, IEW 45-47, Schrijver 1991: 51, LIV *h₂enk-. → ancus
unda ‘wave, sea (Pl.+), river, running water (Acc.+’) [f. ē] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: undāre ‘to rise in waves, gush’ (Pl.+); abundāre ‘to overflow, be plentiful’ (Pl.+).


The r-stem nom.acc.n. has survived in U. utur. The r-stem from the oblique cases survives in une and has probably been anticipated in Latin *uđ-n– > *und-n–. The a-stem inflection and the diverging meaning ‘wave’ may point to an original collective *uđ-n-om ‘body of water’, pl. *udna, which was reinterpreted as an individualized singular ‘wave’.


unguis ‘finger-nail, claw’ [m. i] (Pl.+

Derivatives: unguiculus ‘finger- or toenail, tip’ (Pl.+), ungula ‘hoof, claw’ (Pl.+

Pit. *ongu(-i)-, *onglā–.


The PIE u-stem was remade into an i-stem in Latin.


ungulus ‘ring (on the finger)’ [m. o] (Pac. Plin. Paul. ex F.)

Derivatives: unguitus ‘crooked stick’ (Paul. ex F.).

Pit. *ongelo–:

PIE *h2ong-elo– ‘angle’. IE cognates: see s.v. angulus.

These words are close in meaning to angulus ‘corner’ and uncus ‘hook’. WH regards unguus as a diminutive to uncus, which would have acquired -ng- under the influence of ungula ‘nail’. This cannot be proven or falsified, but there is some internal evidence that the word was unusual to the Romans: Pliny says that the priscī called a ring (anulum) unguulis, whereas Festus calls it an Oscan word. Alternatively, unguus could represent a preform *ongelo– ablauting with angulus. The noun unguus recalls the adjectives in -us-tus, but we have no noun *o/ungos– ‘corner’.


unguō, -ere ‘to smear, grease’ [v. III; pf. ūnxī, pp. unctūm] (Pl.+

Derivatives: unguuen [n.] ‘fat, grease’ (Cato+), unguentum ‘ointment’ (Pl.+), unguentātus ‘anointed’ (Pl.+), unguentārius ‘concerned with ointments’ (Pl.+

unguitāre ‘to be in the habit of smearing’ (Cato); unctor ‘anointer’ (Pl.), unctūō
unus 'one' [adj. num. o] (Lex XII+, Elog.Scip. oino [acc.sg.m.], SCBac. oiniovorsei ‘universi’; gen. unīus, dat. unī; n. ūnum)

Derivatives: ūnā [adv.] ‘together, at the same time’ (Pl.+, ūllus ‘any’ (Pl.+), nūllus ‘not any, no’ (Andr.+), nōmnūllus ‘a little, a few’ (Pl.+), ūnīcus ‘sole, unique’ (Pl.+), ūnōsē [adv.] ‘all together’ (Pac.), uncia ‘one twelfth’ (Pl.+), uncīātīm ‘in amounts of one twelfth’ (Ter.+), deuṅx, -ncis [m.] ‘eleven-twelfths’ (Varro+).

PIE pr. *o/əw-.

It. cognates: U. anouihimu [3s.ipv.II.ps.] ‘to put on’ < prev. an- + *owē-. Untermann 2000 suggests that it may be a denominative to a verbal noun with
the same suffix as in Lat. *exuviae, *induviae.

PIE *h3eu-e/o- 'to adorn, wear'. IE cognates: Hit. *unu-zi 'to adorn, decorate, lay (the table)' < *h3u-neu-; Av. aôvra- 'shoes', Arm. haganim 'to put on', Lith. aûti, 3s. aûna, 3s.pret. avë, OCS obuti 'to put on footwear' < PSL *obuti < BS1. *(--)outei.

Compounds of preverbs plus the verb -uô 'to put on'. The ppp. *-itus is more likely to be a productive derivative of the present stem than to reflect the PIE zero grade *-h2u-to- with laryngeal metathesis. Similarly for the nominal forms. The -u- in *exuviae, *induviae can be analogical to -uô (for *-oviae or *-iviae). The formation of *ind-, *exuviae next to -uô is conspicuous, since we would hardly expect an adjective *(ex)ovios. But nouns in -iës are usually formed from verbs, and Leumann 1977: 285 indeed (but for metrical reasons) surmises that *exuviae goes back to a stem *exuvies. But it could also reflect a paradigm with a vacillation -ia- / -ië- (cf. *effigies / *effigiae). The form *exdutae (Paul. ex F.) 'exuviae' is the result of metanalysis of *ind-uô as in-duô. See WH I: 695 against a connection with *indusium, which has short u. The original meaning of the root seems to have been 'to adorn', which developed into 'put on' after Anatolian split off the IE family.


upupa 'hoopoe; kind of pickaxe' [f. ē] (Varro+; Pl.)

IE cognates: Gr. ἐπόποι ὄποιο 'cry of the hoopoe', ἔποψ, ὀπός 'hoopoe', Arm. *porpop, Po. hupek, LG Hupphupp, OHG wituhopfo, OŚ widohopa 'hoopoe'.

Onomatopoeic word, found in many languages in a similar form.

Bibl.: WH II: 837, EM 754, IEW 325.

urbs 'city' [f. ē] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: urbāmus 'of the city' (Pl.+).

Plt. *worf-(i-) (> urbs), *werf-ā- (> uerfale). It. cognates: U. uerfale 'area for taking auspices' [loc. or abl.sg.?] < *werf-ālī [n.].

PIE *u(o)rbug (&i-) 'enclosure'. IE cognates: Hit. *yarpa- [n.] 'enclosure', *yarpaiz-i 'to suppress, conquer' < *yorP-o-; ToA warpi, ToB werwiye 'garden' < *yorP-o-, ToA wärp- 'to surround', ToB wärp- 'to enclose'.

The three most frequent pre-2000 etymologies (connecting urbs with PIE *gordh- 'enclosure', Latin orbis 'circle', and PIE *brugh- 'fortress', respectively) are dismissed by Driessen 2001, who presents a novel etymology (foreshadowed by a remark in Meiser 1998). Basing himself on the meaning of U. uerfale, he hypothesizes that urbs may originally have referred to an 'enclosed area for taking auspices' (p. 50), which gradually came to indicate the inhabited settlement when this extended more and more across the original templum. Latin urbs may phonologically reflect PIE *u(o)rbh'/d'/ (&i-), whereas U. uerfale can continue *verbh'/d'/h-z-. Since Hittite and Tocharian contain words of the form *VrP- meaning 'to enclose', 'garden', Driessen decides that urbs is from a root *u(e/o)rbh-.

urgeo 'to press, push' [v. II; pf. ursi] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: exurgère 'to squeeze out' (Pl. +).
PIE *worg-e-e/o-.

PIE *u(o)rģ-eie-? IE cognates: Lith. veţti, 3s. veţia 'to string, tighten, squeeze',
CS otsvředstii, Is. otrvrzę 'to untie', Ru. otvėrţi (poet.) 'to open', OHG wurgen 'to
strangle', OS wurgill, Oic. virgill 'noose'.

LIV assumes that urgeo belongs to a root *ureg- 'to follow a track', which via 'to
hunt down' would have developed into 'to press, push'. While not completely
inconceivable, this semantic shift seems far-fetched. Note furthermore that the oldest
authors (Pl.) use urgeo in a more literal sense of 'to weigh down on', from which 'to
insist' and 'to impel' are more easily derived. I therefore agree with Schrijver 1991,
who connects urgeo with BSl and Gm. words for 'to tie, bind'. Latin could continue
the zero-grade of the root, or possibly an o-grade causative or iterative. If correct, this
etymology would show that PIE *rģ-h- yields Latin -rg-.

Bibl.: WHII: 839, EM 754f., IEW 1181, Schrijver 1991: 76, LIV *ureg-, *uergh-.

urina 'urine' [f. ā] (Varro, Cat. +)
Derivatives: urinari 'to plunge under water, dive' (Varro, Cic. +), urinātor 'a diver'
(Varro, Liv. +).
Plt. *ūr-i-no- 'watery'.
PIE *u(e/o)h₁-r [n.] 'water'. IE cognates: Olr. ūr 'milk', OW gwir(-awt) 'strong
drink' < *uēhr₁-r-ō- 'milky', CLuw. ūar 'water', Skt. vār- [n.] 'water' (often disyllabic
in RV), YAv. vāra- 'rain' (m.) < PIlr. *uaHr- < PIE *uē/oh₁-r; Oic. ūr [n.] 'drizzle'
→ ŭra [w.v.i.] 'drizzle' < PGm. *ūra-; Oic. ūrigr, OE ūrig < PGm. *ūraga- 'dewy';
Oic. aurrr 'wet', OE ear 'sea' < PGm. *aura-.

The meaning of the verb shows that 'urine' is a secondary development; the older
word for 'to piss' is meiō, mingō, apart from onomatopoeia like *pisso. According to
WH, the meaning 'urine' of urina may have been influenced by Gr. oōpov 'urine'.
The original meaning must then have been 'water' vel sim. Leumann 1977: 552 and
328 regards urina as a back-formation to the verb, which would be a latinization of
Gr. oúpēv 'to piss'. Yet this does not explain the meaning 'to dive' which the Latin
verb has. Oleson 1976 points out that divers typically suffer diuresis (they produce
more urine) while diving, and that this may explain the meaning 'dive' of urinātor.
In that case, 'urine' is indeed the oldest meaning of urina. Oleson surmises that the
Greek verb was borrowed into Latin via Etruscan, where it lost its original *w-. But if
the verb was borrowed after the fifth century from Attic, this is not necessary. If urina
'water' is old, it presupposes an adj. *ūr-i-no- 'watery' formed from a noun *ūr(o)-
'water'. Similarly Vine 1999c. If the root of urīna was indeed *u₁h₁- (not *u₁h₁r-), we
find two PIE r-stem neuters meaning 'water', viz. *u₀d-r and *u₁/oh₁-r. These look
very similar, and we know that *h₁ can result from *d in anteconsonantal position, as
in *dkintom 'hundred', *-dkomth₂ '-ty' and *du₁-dʰh₁- 'to divide'.
urvum 'to burn, scorch' [v. III; pf. ussi, ppp. ustum] (Lex XII, Naev.+)

Derivatives: adürere 'to scorch, burn' (Cato+), ambürere 'to burn all over, around' (Pl.+), ambustulātus 'scorched around' (Pl.), combūrere 'to burn, cremate' (Pl.+), exūrere 'to burn completely, parch' (Pl.+), perūrere 'to burn up, scorch' (Varro+).

PIt. *ouse/o- 'to burn', *usto- 'burnt'.

PIE *h₁eus-e/o- 'to burn'. IE cognates: Skt. osati 'to burn, scorch', usna- 'hot', Gr. εὖω 'to singe' (< *evoh); OIC. usli [m.], OE ysle f. 'hot ashes', OIC. yṣja f. 'fire'.

Combūrere arose secondarily through metanalysis of as am-būrere.

Bibl.: WH II: 841, EM 755, IEW 347f., Schrijver 1991: 74, LIV *h₁eus- - bustum

ursus 'bear' [m. o] (Quinctius Atta+)

PIt. *orsso-?

PIE *h₂rtko- 'bear'. IE cognates: Olr. art [m.] 'bear, hero, warrior', W. arth, OBret. Ard., Arth-, Bret. arz, Gaul. Artio [Theonym] < PCl. *arto- 'bear', Hit. hartakka- [c.] 'bear', Skt. ḫṣa- [m.], Yav. arṣa-, Khot. arrā, MoP xirs 'bear' < Ilr. *Hrtc-, Gr. ἅρκτος 'bear', also 'Ursa maior', Arm. ărj, Alb. āri [m.] 'bear'.

The cluster -rs- must be the result of the PIE constellation *-rtk- that we can reconstruct on the basis of the other IE branches. Latin ursus instead of *orsus was explained by Kortlandt 1983c: 12 from analogy with urcāre 'to roar'; of course, this is just a guess. But even *orsus itself would be unexpected: *h₂rtc- normally yields arC-. Thus, some kind of tabooistic distortion probably affected the word for 'bear'. If the word was subject to PIE ablaut, the preform might have been *h₂ortko-, but this would be completely isolated compared to the cognate words for 'bear'.


urvum / urbum 'curved part of a plough' [n. o] (Varro+)

Derivatives: urvāre 'circumdare', 'to mark out boundaries by means of a furrow' (Enn. apud Fest., Sex. Pomponius).

PIt. *worw-o- 'plough' or 'furrow'? It. cognates: O. uruṿú [nom.sg.f] 'broad' or 'belonging to the boundary' < *urvā.

PIE *u(o)ru-o-?

The etymology of urvum is disputed. The original meaning may have been 'plough' (thus Rix 1995b, Driessen) or 'furrow', and it has mostly been compared with Gr. ὅρος [m.], ὕρος (Il.), ὅρος (Core.), ὤρος (Cret., Arg.), ὀρος (Herakl.), Myc. wo-wo /worwos/ 'boundary, term, limit' < PGr. *μορυο-, which itself can be derived from ἐρύω 'to draw, tear'. The semantic shift 'drawing' > 'boundary' would thus have a parallel in Greek. The actual preform of urvum may have been *wórw-o- 'furrow', *worw-ó- 'plough' or even *urw-o- 'plow' (thus Driessen). The appurtenance of O. uruṿú is uncertain because its meaning is unclear; if 'broad', if could belong to PIE *h₁urH-ú- 'broad'.

usquam 'anywhere, in any situation' [adv.] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: *usquam 'nowhere' (Pl. +), *uspiam 'somewhere, anywhere' (Pl. +).

Probably compounds of *us < *ut-(V)s 'so that, as' plus indefinitizing -quam and -piam < *pe-iam (see s.v. -pe). The sigmatic extension to ut is also found O. puz, U. puze 'ut', see s.v.

Bibl.: WH II: 844, EM 755f. → ut

ūsque 'up to, as far as' [adv. (prep.)] (Naev. +)

Derivatives: *usquequāque 'everywhere, always' (Pl. +).

PIE *(H)ūs'kwe're. It. cognates: Ven. u [prep.] < *(H)ūd 'out, for'.

(PIE)*(H)ūd(s) 'up, out'. IE cognates: PCl. *ud-, *uss- 'out' < PIE *ud-, *uds-; Skt. uccā 'from above, upwards', YAv. usca [adv.] 'above', uskāṭ [adj.] 'high, high up' < *(H)ud-(s)kwe; Skt. ud, Av. us, uz, OPG ud- 'up, out'; OCS Ru. Cz. vy- < PSI. *vy- < *(H)ud-; Go. ut, OE ùt, OHG üz, NHG aus 'out' < PGm. *ūd, Go. us (uz-, ur-), OIC. or, or-, or-, OE or-, OHG ur, ar, ir 'out, out of' < *uz < *uds-.

The length of the initial vowel is uncertain: the Romance languages seem to continue variants with short and long vowels. Since shortening is in this position more understandable than lengthening, this speaks for ūsque. Long ā may be due to Lachmann's Law; but it might also reflect PIE *ūd, a variant of *ud which is attested in Germanic and Slavic. Dunkel 2000b proposes *uds-kwe for ūsque and Av. usca, which was secondarily remade into instrumentals or ablatives in IIR. Skt. uccā is in Dunkel's view from *uds-kwe, with lengthening of IIR. *-a by analogy with the instr. in -cā of adj. in -(y)jaic. For ūsque, the analysis may also be *uds-kwe, in view of PCl. *uss- 'out' < *uds-s.

Bibl.: WH II: 844, EM 756, IEW 1103f., Russell 1988. → uterus

ut, utf 'how, as, so that' [adv., cj.] (utf Lex XII+), ut Andr.+)

Derivatives: utinam 'if only' (Pl. +), utique 'absolutely, certainly' (Varro +), utpote 'as one might expect' (Pl. +), utut 'however' (Pl. +).

PIE *(k)wto(V)s 'how'. It. cognates: O. puz, pus, pous, U. puze, puse, pus, pusei 'that' [+ sb.], 'as' < *(k)wut-i-s (O.), *(k)wut-i-s-i.

PIE *(k)wut- 'where, how'.

Whereas Sabellic points to *(k)wutVs (Untermann probably posits *-i- because of Lat. uft), Latin utf may reflect *(k)wutei or *(k)wuti. The latter form might have -i in analogy to qui 'how' (see s.v. qui, quae, quod). The original stem may then have been *(k)wutos, with -tos 'from' as in intus and Skt. kuttas 'where from?'; the semantic shift from interrogative to relative is trivial. But other options are conceivable, e.g. *(k)wuti-ti 'how?' with *-ti as in et < *eti and aut < *auti.


uter, utra, utrum 'which of the two' [adj. o/a] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: uterque 'each of the two' (Naev. +), utrimque [adv.] 'on both sides' (Enn. +), utrimquesecus 'on both sides' (Cato +), utrinde 'from either side' (Cato),
uterīs ‘whichever of the two you please’ (Ter.+), utrubī ‘in which of two places?’ (Naev.+), utrubīqve ‘in both places, on both sides’ (Pl.+), neuter ‘not one nor the other, neither’ (Pl.+), neutrubī ‘in neither place’ (Pl.).

PIt. *kʷ*ōter-o- (>> Lat. *kʷ*utero-). It. cognates: O. pūterelpīd [loc.sg.m.], pūtūrūspīd [nom.pl.m.], pūtārū[pmpīd [gen.pl.m.], U. putrespe [gen.sg.?] ‘both’ < *potero-kʷid.

PIE *kʷ*ō-tero- ‘which (of two)’. IE cognates: Skt. katara-, Av. katāra- ‘which of two’, YAv. kataras-ciį ‘each of the two’, Gr. πότερος, Lith. katrās ‘which’, OCS kotor(i) , koteri ‘which, what’, Ru. kotóryj, Go. kāpar ‘which’, OHG hwedar ‘who, which from two’, MoE whether.

Inherited PIE *kʷ*ō-tero- ‘which of two’ is regularly reflected in Sab. *potero-, but has been replaced by *kʷ*utero- in Latin on the model of the interrogative stem *kʷ*u-in ubī, unde, ut.


uter, utrīs ‘leather bag’ [m. i] (Varro+; nom.pl.n. utra in Lucil.)

PIt. *ud-ri-.

PIE *ud-r-i- ‘water vessel’. IE cognates: OIr. ore ‘goatskin bottle’, Gr. ὕθρια ‘water-vessel’.

EM consider this a possible borrowing from Greek, via Etruscan. They assume this trajectory because of tr, but in our view, tr can have developed regularly within Latin from *dr. In that case, uter may be an inherited word *udrī- ‘water vessel’.


uterus ‘belly, womb’ [m. o] (Pl.+; n. uterum Pl.+)

PIt. *(H)udero-.

PIE *(H)ud-er-o- ‘outer, sticking out’. IE cognates: Skt. udāra- [n.] ‘belly, womb’, YAv. udārā.ṛṛṣa- ‘crawling on the belly (of snakes)’, Khot. ura-, ūra- ‘stomach’, Gr. ὄδερος ‘dröpsy’, Hsch. ὄδερος ‘stomach’ [with ho- for *hu-], ὑστέρα [f.] ‘womb’; OPr. weders ‘stomach, belly’, Lith. vēderas, vēdaras [m.] ‘sausage; intestines, stomach, lower abdomen’, Latv. [m.] vēdars ‘belly’, OCS vědro ‘barrel’, Ru. vedró < PSI. *vēdro [n.] ‘belonging to the belly’. WH suggest that *uderos may have analogically become *uteros when *udris became *utrīs phonetically. But according to Hilmarsson 1993: 215, tr can have arisen in the oblique cases where syncope took place in front of a long vowel: *uderī > *udrī > *utrī. Semantically, the shift from ‘outer part’ or ‘protruding’ to ‘belly’ seems to be PIE.


ūtor, utī ‘to use’ [v. III; ppp. ụsum] (Pl.+; oitile CIL 586, oeti (2x) ‘ūti’ CIL I 756, Furfo, oeses ‘ūsus’ Cic.)

Derivatives: ụtīlis ‘useful’ (Pl.+), inītīlis ‘useless’ (Pl.+), ụtībilis ‘serviceable’ (Pl.+),
ū́tīlītās ‘quality of being useful’ (Pl.+, āūtēnsilīs ‘that can be made use of’ (Varro+); āúsus, -āús ‘use, need, value’ (Pl.+, āūsūra ‘use, enjoyment; interest’ (Pl.+, āūsurārius ‘provided on loan’ (Pl.+, āūsurāpāre ‘to carry out, make use of, take possession of’ (Pl.+), āmūūtātīs ‘unusual’ (Lucil.+); abūtī ‘to use up, exploit, abuse’ (Pl.+).


PIE *h3eit- ‘to take along’? IE cognates: CLuw. hīza(i)- ‘to fetch’ < *h3eit-s-e/o-; Gr. oīσω, -oμα ‘I will fetch, take along’, oιστός ‘bearable’.

Tichy 2002 argues that Plt. *oit- ‘to use* may have developed from ‘fetch (in one’s own interest)’ to ‘use’. In that case, it might be cognate to Gr. oίσ- < *ois-, which Tichy explains as a possible s-present *oit-s-. This theory is attractive. Melchert 2007b adds Luwian hīza(i)- to the dossier, which was previously translated as ‘to bring’, but rather means ‘to fetch’.

Bibl.: WH II: 847f., EM 757f., IEW 293-297, Untermann 2000: 790f., LIV ?*h3eit-.

ūva ‘bunch of grapes; raisins’ [f. ā] (Lucil.+

Plt. *oiwā-.

PIE *h1oiH-uh2- ‘kind of tree, probably with berries’? IE cognates: Gr. οἴη, οη, δα ‘elderberry tree’ < *oiuā; Arm. aygi ‘vine’; Gaul. ivo-, Lith. ievā, Latv. īva ‘bird-cherry’; Ru. ἰva ‘willow’ < PSL. *j̆va; PGm. *ina- ‘yew’ < h1eiH-uh2-.

We find different tree-names which in Latin, Greek and Armenian go back to *oiwā-, in BSL and Germ. to *eiwā-. A PIE origin is difficult because of the root ablaut. This, in combination with the semantic field of tree names, may point to a loanword from a non-IE language.


ūvidus ‘wet, soaked’ [adj. o/a] (Pl.+

Derivatives: ûvor ‘moisture’ (Varro), uvēscere ‘to become wet’ (Lucr.+), āūdus ‘liquid, wet, drunken’ (Varro+), ūdor ‘moisture’ (Varro).

IE cognates: Gr. ὑγρός ‘wet’ < *ugro- < *ugw-ro-, OLc. vokr ‘wet’ < *ugw-o-.

The order of attestation suggests that āūdus is a recent contraction of āvidus, although Weiss 1995 reckons with the possibility that āūdus was older, and that āvidus was back-formed to it as a hyperarchaism. Lat. āūdus might reflect *we/ogw-ibō-, *ugw-ibō or *uhr-ibō-. Alternatively, Weiss suggests that āvidus acquired ū- from its close semantic cognate āumīdus, thus hiding an earlier stage *uvīdīs. In any case, ūvor (hapax) and uvēscere (rare) were formed secondarily to āvidus.


uxor, -ōris ‘wife’ [f. r] (Naev.+

Derivatives: uxorius ‘of a wife’ (Pl.+), uxorcula ‘little wife’ (Pl.+), uxorculāre ‘to play the part of a wife’ (Pl.).

WH explain *uxor- ‘who is being inseminated’ to Skt. *uksán- ‘bull’, which we can safely dismiss. Moussy 1980 assumes *ugh-sor- ‘convey-woman’, which is impossible morphologically and far-fetched semantically. Mastrelli 1980 and van Windekens 1984 assume that *uxor simply continues PIE m. *uks-on-, with a semantic shift from ‘ox’ to ‘wife’, explained by van Windekens from the wish to indicate the married woman who had to work hard. Final *-n would have been replaced by *-r. This is another fanciful proposal than can be dismissed.


V

vacca ‘cow’ [f. ā] (Varro+)

Has been connected with Skt. *vasā ‘cow’ < *uek-eh₂ (if PIE), but Latin would require o-grade, and Schrijver has established that *o > ā only occurred in open syllables. Thus, the connection cannot be maintained unless one is prepared to reconstruct Plt. *waka— which somehow acquired geminate *kk-. Muller 1926 suggests a preform *vākā and connects Skt. vāsati ‘roars’ and Lat. vāgiō. If we posit the (onomatopoeic?) root as *ueh₂—, vacca could be analyzed as *vā-kā- ‘the bellowing one’.

Bibl.: WH II: 722, EM 710, IEW 1111, Schrijver 1991: 463. → vāgiō

vacillō, -āre ‘to stagger, waver’ [v. I] (Lucr.+; var. vaccillāre)

No good etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 268f., EM 710, IEW 1135.

vacō, -āre ‘to be empty’ [v. I] (Pl.++; also vocō Pl.)

Derivatives: vacus ‘empty, hollow’ (Pl.; vocus inscr.), vocīvus ‘vacant, free’ (Pl., Ter.) (vocīvus Gell.), vacīvitās ‘state of being empty’ (Pl.), supervacānemus ‘additional, extra’ (Cato+), vacātiō ‘exemption’ (Cic.+; vocātiō inscr. 123 BC+); vacēfierī ‘to become empty’ (Lucr.).


PIE *h₁ueh₂-ko-.

The forms in voc- are due to a change vac- > voc- in pretonic syllable (Sommer 1914: 110). For Plt., we can reconstruct an adj. *wako— ‘empty’, on which the verbs *wak-āje-, *wak-ē — ‘to be empty’ and the adj. *wako-wo- were built. Nussbaum 1998a reconstructs the root as *h₁ueh₂-.
vādō

Untermann 2000: 111f., 820f., 825, LIV *ueh₂*- → vānus, vāstus

vādō, -ere 'to advance, proceed' [v. III, ppp. -vāsum] (Enn.+

Derivatives: ēvādere 'to escape, end up, pass' (Pl.); vādum 'shallow water, ford'
(Pl.) (vādus Varro et al.).

Plt. *wāže/o- [v.], *wapo- [n.].

PIE *ueh₂dh- [v.] ‘to advance’, *ueh₂dh-o- [n.]. IE cognates: W. go-di-wawd.
‘overtook’ < *ueh₂dh-, OHG watan, OFr. wada, Olc. vada ‘to wade’ < *ueh₂dʰ-,
Olc. vād, OE wāed [n.] ‘water, lake’, OE gewād, OHG wat ‘ford’ < *wāda-.

Since vādāre is rare and evidently denominal to vādum, we must concentrate on
vādum and vādere. The short vowel of vādum matches that of the Germanic verbs,
whereas the long ā of vādāre corresponds with Welsh -au-. This suggests a PIE root
present with ablaut e : zero, and possibly the presence of a derivative *ueh₂dh-o- in PIE
already.

Bibl.: WH II: 723f., EM 710f., IEW 1109, Schrijver 1991: 170, 339, Meiser 2003:
120, LIV *ueh₂dh-.

vaer, -fra, -frum 'clever' [adj. o/ā] (Afran.+

Derivatives: vabrum ‘varium, multiformem’ as a variant of
vafrum (gloss.).

If the gloss form vabrum is trustworthy, it could be the original Roman form, vafer
being a borrowing from a neighbouring dialect (cf. būfo). Lat. *vaber could regularly
reflect Plt. *wasro- ‘versatile’, cognate with varius ‘variegated’ which could reflect
*was-io-. Another possible etymology would be *wag-ro- ‘moving along’ to vado ‘to
proceed’.

Bibl.: WH II: 724f., EM 711.

vāgīna ‘sheath, scabbard’ [f. ā] (Varro+)

Plt. *wāg-īnā-?

If cognate with Lith. vōšti ‘to cover’, the original meaning of vāgīna would be
‘cover’. Obviously, this is a gratuitous proposal.

Bibl.: WH II: 725, EM 711, IEW 1110, Schrijver 1991: 146, LIV *ueh₂g-.
vāgiō, -ire ‘to cry’ [v. IV] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: vāgor ‘loud crying’ (Enn.+), vāgītus, -ūs ‘cry of distress’ (Lucr.+), vāgulātiō ‘questiō cum conviciō’ (Fest.), vāgulus ‘wandering’ (or ‘crying’?) (Hadrianus); obvāgūre ‘to cry importunately’ (Pl.), obvāgulāre ‘to make a loud noise’ (Lex XII apud Fest.).

Plt. *wāg-ije/o-?

Panagl/Lindner 1995: 172 posit a derivational chain vāgiō —► vāgulus —► *vāgulāre —► vāgulātiō. The etymology is uncertain: Skt. vagnu- ‘sound, call’, vagvana- ‘talkative’ may have *-g-, but are connected with the root *uek*- by EWAla (II: 491). There is also Lith. vāgraudi ‘to weep, cry’. Greek ἱαχε [aor.] ‘shouted’, ἵχη, Dor. ῥχά ‘resounding’, Go. ga-swogjan ‘to sigh’ have a voiced aspirated stop, which does not match Latin -g-. A solution would be to assume a root *ueh2- ‘to cry’, with different enlargements in different IE branches.

Bibl.: WHII: 726f., EM 711, IEW 1110, Schrijver 1991: 146, LIV ?*ueh2(g)h-.

vagus ‘roaming, wandering’ [adj. o/a] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: vagāre/i ‘to wander, roam’ (Pl.+)(act. until Varro), vagātrix ‘female wanderer’ (Sis.).

Plt. *wag-o-.

PIE *Huog-o-? IE cognates: OIc. vakka, OHG wanken ‘to totter, stagger’, OHG winkan ‘to waver, stagger, wink’, OE wincian ‘to nod’ < *Huo/e-n-g-.

The Germanic comparanda could reflect a nasal present *Hu-en-g-. Latin vagus would then continue a PIE form *Huog-ō- with *wo- > *wa- in open syllable. The Celtic forms adduced by WH (OIr. fán ‘slope, declivity, hollow’, OW guown [f.], MW gwawn, gweun, OCo. guen, OBret. goen, MBret. gueun ‘meadow’ < PCI. *wāgno/a- ‘slope, hollow’) are not easy to connect semantically.

Bibl.: WHII: 726, EM 711, IEW 1120, Schrijver 1991: 463f., LIV ?*yeng-.

valeō ‘to be strong, healthy’ [v. II; pf. valū, pps. valitum] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: valentia ‘power’ (Naev.+), valentulus ‘sturdy’ (Pl.+), valēscere ‘to become sound in health’ (Lucr.+), validus ‘strong, vigorous’ (Pl.+), val(i)de ‘greatly, extremely’ (Pl.+), valētūdō ‘soundness, good health’ (Pl.+), valētūdinarius ‘incapacitated’ (Varro+); convalescere ‘to grow strong, recover’ (Cato+); volae/emum ‘large kind of pear’ (Cato+).

Plt. *wal-e-. It. cognates: O. ραλε, Marr. uali, Pael. ual/ [2s.ipv.] ‘farewell’ < *uale (or loanword from Latin); maybe O. ualaenom [nom.acc.sg.n.], valaimas [gen.sg.f.], SPic. velaimes [gen.sg.m.?] ‘best’ < *ua/eloima- (< *ua/elaisVmo-?). The appurtenance of Presam. ρολος [adj?] and ρολαιςυμος [sup.?] is unclear.

PIE *h2ulh₁-e₁h₁- ‘to be strong’. IE cognates: OIr. fallnaithir ‘to rule’ < PCL. *yalna-, W. gwaladr ‘ruler’ < *ulh₂-etro-, OIr. flaith ‘rule’, OW gulat [f.], MW gwlad ‘country’, Co. gulat, OBret. guletic < PCL. *ylati- ‘sovereignty’ < *ulHti-, OIr. fal ‘rule’, Connal [PN], OW Con-gual [PN], Bret. Conual [PN] < *kuno-walo- < PCL. *yalo- ‘prince, chief’; Hit. hulle₂⁺ / hull- ‘to smash, defeat’ < *h₁ul-né-h₁-ti, *h₂ul-n-h₁-énti, OPPr. weldisnan ‘inheritance’ [acc.sg.], Lith. veldēti, 3s. vėldi ‘to
inheri, (OLith., dial.) acquire, attain, rule’ < *ųelH-dʰ-; Lith. valdyti, 3s. valdo ‘to rule, govern, wield’, Latv. vāldīt, CS vladēti ‘to rule’, Ru. vladět’ and volodēt’ (dial.) ‘to own, control, wield’ < *ųol(H)-dʰ-, OCS vlasti, 1s. vladq ‘to rule’ < PIE *uolH-dʰ-; Go. waldan ‘to rule’, OHG walten ‘to dominate’ < *ųol(H)-t/dʰ-; ToA wāl, gen.sg. lānt, ToB walo, gen. lānte ‘king’ < PIE *ųlH-nt-.


valgus ‘bow-legged, with x-formed legs’ [adj. o/a] (Pl.+)

Has been connected with Skt. vālgati (AV+) ‘to move up and down’, Khot. volf- ‘to go astray, be deceived’, OE wealcian ‘to roll, move to and fro’ < *ųol(H)g-. Yet the main characteristic of ‘bow-legged’ is the crookedness of the legs, not ‘going up and down’ or ‘to and fro’. In addition, valgus cannot phonetically continue *wolgr.


vallēs, -is ‘valley’ [f. i] (Varro+; nom.sg. also vallis)

Derivatives: vallēcula ‘small valley’ (Paul. ex F.).

No certain etymology. The connection with Gr. ἡλικ-, -δος region in the western Peloponnese, Elis ραλεῖς ‘Elean, Elans’ < *fūλας ‘lowland’ (if that is the original meaning of the toponym) is possible, but requires additional suffixation for Latin. Several Germanic and Baltic words for ‘round’ have been connected (OIc. valr ‘round’, Go. wālus ‘stick’, Lith. apvalis ‘round’, Ru. օբլъ ‘rounded’); if Gm. and Baltic continue *ųol-, Latin val- would have originated from unrounding in an open syllable, but vālīs < *wałs/n- did not have an open syllable. Also, the Gm. and BSL words for ‘round’ can alternatively be connected with Slavic ‘wave’, and derived from PIE *uIlH- ‘to turn’ (see volvō). From such a root, it is even more difficult to explain vālīs.


vallum ‘palisade’ [n. o] (Cato+; also vallus Caes.+)

Derivatives: vālūs ‘stake’ (Caes.+), vallāre ‘to surround with a palisade’ (Caecil.+); circumvallāre ‘to form a blockade, surround’ (Ter.+), intervallum ‘distance, gap, break’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *walso-?

PIE *uH₂lso-? IE cognates: Gr. ἱλος, Dor. ἀλος ‘nail’, Aeol. γάλλοι (Hsch.) < *yals/no-?

Schrijver favours the connection with Greek words for ‘nail’, which is possible but not compelling.

valvae ‘leaf of a door, folding-door’ [f.pl. ā] (Pac. +)
Derivatives: valvātus ‘provided with a folding-door’ (Varro +), valvolī [m.pl.] / -ae [f.pl.] ‘shell or husk of beans’ (Col. +).
Pit. *wolVū- ‘leaf of a door’.
PIE *uol-eu-o- ‘turning’.

Since the root is reconstructed as *yel-, valvae could go back to unrounding of *wo-
in open syllable, hence *wolVū- ‘folding’; this could represent an adj. *yol-eu-o-
derived from the u-present *yel-u- (see s.v. volvō).

vannus ‘winnowing-basket’ [f. o] (Col. +)
Derivatives: vannāre ‘to winnow’ (Lucil.), vallus, -ī-ūs (f.) ‘implement for winnowing corn’, var. vallum (Varro +); vatillum ‘small shovel or pan’ (Varro +)?

Connected with ventus by WH, who also derive vatillum from *watnelo- (thus Leumann 1977: 200). The connection with vatillum is rejected by EM on account of the different meaning. Schrijver agrees on formal grounds: it is hard to believe that vallus would be a late formation. Schrijver (1991: 309) proposes to derive vannus from the PIE word for ‘wind’ by means of *-no-; the word ‘wind’ would have been in the zero-grade: *h₂uh₁-nt-no- ‘with wind’ vel sim. This does not seem very plausible, since ‘wind’ is attested with a full grade in the root or in the suffix in all IE languages (cf. ventus), and even if we concede that the weak cases once had *h₂uh₁-nt-, the derivation in *-no- would have occurred in PIE already, which is hardly credible. Moreover, positing ‘the one of the wind’ is not a compelling semantic explanation for ‘winnowing-basket’. The only advantage of positing vannus < *wamo-no- would be that the diminutive becomes easier to explain: *wantnelo- > *wanno- > *wanno- > *wando- > *wanlo-.

vānus ‘hollow, devoid’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl. +)
Derivatives: vānāre ‘to use empty words’ (Acc.), vānitās ‘emptiness, falsity, foolishness’ (Ter. +), vānitūdō ‘falsehood or emptiness of speech’ (Pl. +); vānidicus ‘chattering’ (Pl.), vānilloquus ‘speaking idle words’ (Pl. +); ēvānescere ‘to disappear, vanish’ (Ter. +).
Pit. *wano- or *wāsno-.

If cognate with vastus ‘empty, desolate’, vānus could go back to *wās-no-; other theoretical options are *wāno- and *wāsno-.
Bibl.: WH II: 731f., EM 713, IEW 345, Schrijver 1991: 146, 308, Nussbaum 1998a, LIV *h₁ueh₂- → vastus
vapöräre ‘to cover with a vapour, be hot’ (Lucr.+).

PI. *kwap-ōs ‘vapour’.

PIE *kʷuh₂ep-s- ‘smoke’. IE cognates: Gr. καπνός ‘smoke’ [m.] < *kwaṇvōς, ὥπο ... ἐκάψεν ‘breathed forth’, καπνόσων ‘breathing out’, κάπνος ‘breath’; Lith. kvāpas ‘smoke’ < *kʷh₂uop-o-, Ru. kópot ‘soot, (dialect.) smoke, dust, hoarfrost’, Ukran. kópit ‘dust (in the air)’, Pl. kapieć ‘soot, fumes’ [m.]; Lith. kvēpt, 3s. kvěpia ‘to inhale, breathe in’, Latv. kvēpt ‘smoke, smell < PIE *kʷu̯h₂ep-; Go. af-hwajjan ‘to suffocate, extinguish’, af-hwaipnan ‘to extinguish’ < *kʷap-n-.

Schrijver revives the comparison with BSL words for ‘to smoke’ and Gr. καπνός ‘smoke’ by means of a PIE root *kʷuh₂ep- > Plt. *kʷap- > *wap- > Lat. vap-. The first part of the root may ultimately be the same as PIE *kʷeh₂-s- ‘to cough’. Beekes (f/m.) rejects PIE origin: the root structure is unusual, and Greek does not prove *ku-.


vāpulo, -āre ‘to be beaten’ [v. I] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: vāpulāris ‘who is frequently flogged’ (Pl.).

Because of the similarity with Gm. words for ‘to cry’ (Go. wopjan) it has been assumed that vāpulō originally meant ‘cry’, and only subsequently ‘be beaten’. Parallels for such a change can be adduced, and it would explain why ‘be beaten’ is expressed by a verb in the active. Also, obvāgulāre ‘to make a loud noise’ shows the same suffix *elo-.. Thus, there would have been a nominal form *vāpelo- ‘crying’ vel sim. The root *vāp- may be regarded as onomatopoeic.


varius ‘having two or more colours, variegated’ [adj. o/a] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: variāre ‘to variegate, diversify’ (Varro+), variētās ‘diversity, changeable nature’ (Pac.+).

A possible etymology is *wasio- if connected with vafer, but this is rather speculative. One might posit *wa-ro- to the root *h₁uh₂- ‘to let, leave’, but this is also not quite convincing semantically.

Bibl.: WH II: 734, EM 713. → vafer

varus ‘pimple, inflamed spot on the skin’ [m. o] (Cels., Plin.)

Pt. *war-o-.


Possible protoforms (if inherited from PIE) are *urH-o- and *uor(H)o-. These could be connected with words for ‘pimple’, ‘wart’ and ‘lip’ in other European languages, and maybe with Toch. words for ‘blister’.

vārus ‘bent outwards, bow-legged’ [adj. o/a] (Pl.+
Derivatives: vāricāre ‘to straddle’ (Varro+), vāricōsus ‘suffering from varicose veins’ (Lucil.+), Varrō [cognomen] (Varro+), obvārāre ‘to cross, thwart’ (Enn.), varix, -cis ‘a varicose vein’ (Varro+).
Plt. *wā-ro-?
PIE *h₁ueh₂-ro-?
If the original meaning was ‘with the legs opened’, vārus might be compared with vānum and vāstus, and reflect *wā-ro- ‘going apart, letting go’. In any case, none of the other etymologies proposed seems plausible.
Bibl.: WH ΠI: 734f., EM 714, IEW 1108f. → vānum

vas, vādis ‘surety (in court)’ [m. d] (Lex XII, Pl.+
Derivatives: vadārī ‘to accept sureties from’ (Pl.+), convadārī ‘to make a person give a surety’ (Pl.); vadimōnium ‘guarantee, fulfilment’ (Pl.+); praes, -dis ‘one who acts as surety or security’ (Pl.+; nom.pl. praeuides CIL 1.585.46); ?praedium ‘estate, land; pledge consisting of land’ (Pl.+).

vās, vāsis ‘container, vessel’ [n. s] (Pl.+
Derivatives: vāsum ‘container, vessel’ (Naev.+), vāsculum ‘small vessel’ (Pl.+), vāsārius ‘of equipment, of vessels’ (Cato+); convāsāre ‘to pack up’ (Ter.+).
No good etymology beyond the Plt. (or common Sabello-Latin) preform *wāss-.

vāstus ‘empty, desolate’ [adj. o/a] (Pl.+
Derivatives: vāstāre ‘to make desolate, lay waste’ (Naev.+), vāstitās ‘desolation’ (Acc.+), vāstitīs ‘desolate condition’ (Pl.), vāstitūdō ‘ravaged condition’ (Cato+), vāstēscere ‘to become desolate’ (Acc.).
Plt. *wāsto-.
PIE *h₁u(e)₂h₂-sto-. IE cognates: OIr. fās ‘empty’, OHG wuosti, OE wōsti, OE wēste ‘empty, barren’ < PGm. *yōsti-.
The long vowel is not certain: WH write vās-, EM vas-. Some authors separate vastus ‘enormous, wide’ from vāstus ‘empty, desolate’. But the descriptive dictionaries do
not make such a distinction, and it cannot be determined by the metre or by Romance reflexes. Puhvel 1992 has proposed a connection with Hit. wašta-i / wašr- ‘to sin, offend’, which Kloekhorst 2008: 985f etymologizes as *uosth₂ / *usTh₂. Obviously, although Puhvel argues that the Hit. verb means ‘to miss (a target)’ and the derivative waštai- ‘emptiness’, the meanings are not compellingly close.

Bibl.: WH II: 737, EM 714f., IEW 345f., Schrijver 1991: 146, 308, 464, LIV *h₁ueh₂. → vānum

vātxā ‘having a deformity of the feet’ [adj. k] (Lucil.)
Derivatives: vātius ‘knock-kneed’ (Varro+).

Pit. *wat-?

IE cognates: OIC. vōdvi [m.] ‘muscles’, OHG wado [m.] ‘sura, suffragio’, MHG wade ‘calf (of the leg)’, OS wathan ‘calves’ < PGm. *waphan- ‘curve, bend’ > ‘calf of the leg, knee’.

A stem vat- can be connected with PGm. *uap- found in words for ‘calf (of the leg)’, but the further etymology remains unclear. Short -a- makes it less likely that these words are to be connected with vānum and vārus from a root Pit. *wā-.

Bibl.: WH II: 737, EM 715, IEW 1113.

vātes, -is ‘prophet, seer’ [m. ē] (Pl.+; nom.sg. vātīs Pl., acc.sg. vātem, dat. vārī, gen. vātis, gen.pl. vātum)
Derivatives: vāticinārī ‘to foretell, rage’ (Pl.+).

Pit. *wāt-(ē)i-.


-ve ‘or’ [cj. encl.] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: nēve (Lex Sacra CIL 401, Lex XII+), neu (Pl.+ ‘or not’, sīve (Lex Sacra CIL 401 seive, Lex XII+ sīve), seu (Pl.+ ‘or if, whether’).

Pit. *-we.

PIE *-we ‘or’. IE cognates: OIr. nó [cj.] ‘or’, W. nei, nou ‘id.’ < *ne-ye, Skt. vā, Av. vā [encl.] ‘or’; Gr. ἢ ‘or’, ‘as’ < ἦ, ἤ (ep.) < *ēlē, *ēlē. See s.v. ceu ‘as, like’ for its etymology as *ke + *i(-)we.

Bibl.: WH II: 740, EM 716, IEW 73-75. → ceu

vē- ‘faulty, far from’ [pref.]: vēcors ‘mad’ (Andr.+), vēcordia ‘frenzy’ (Ter.+), vēgrandis ‘undersized, extensive; very great’ (Pl.+), vēṣāmus ‘mad’ (Pl.+), vēscus ‘thin, attenuated’ (Lucil.+), maybe Vē(d)jouis ‘certain deity of the underworld’ (Varro+)
It. cognates: maybe U. ve(n)persuntra ‘without *personro*.

It is striking that *vecors* and *vesānus* have a very similar meaning, which is literal in the case of *vē-sānus* ‘far from healthy’, but less transparent in *vē-cors* ‘far from heart’ > ‘mad’. The analysis of Guiraud 1975 suggests that *vē-* meant ‘unlike, over- / under-’. Semantically, it would be attractive to derive *vē-* from *s(w)ēd* ‘per se’ > ‘away from’, which normally surfaces as the preposition *sē*. In that case, *vē-sānus* might be the original form which underwent dissimilation from *sve-sānus*. Yet the survival of such an isolated form beside productive *sē* seems doubtful, as is the *-w-* in the alleged preform *swē-. Alternatively, we could follow Niedermann (1899), who argues that *vehemēns* > *vēmēns* ‘who gets carried away > mad’ provided the model for the extension of *vē-* to *vē-cors* and *vē-sānus*. Reinterpretation of *vē-* as meaning ‘abnormal’ could then explain the formation of *vē-grandis*, *vēscus* and *vē-pallidus* (Hor.). The appurtenance of *vesper* here seems unlikely: the vowel has a different length, and *vē-* means ‘hyper / hypo-’, which does not match the alleged meaning of *ve-* in *vesper*.


**vegeo** ‘to enliven’ [v. II] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *vegetus* ‘vigorous, lively’ (Var.+), *vegetāre* ‘to invigorate’ (Sen.+).

Prt. *weg-eje/o-.


Lat. *vegeo* died out after the Republic: Lucretius is the last author to use it. The meaning ‘to be cheerful’ is a phantom, cf. EM 716. Since short *-e-* in non-initial open syllable does not normally occur (except in front of *r* and in *sepelire*), *vegetus* can hardly contain an unweakened vowel; at most, its *-e-* is due to progressive assimilation after initial *ve-* (thus Leumann 1977: 100): *vegitus > vegetus*. *Vegetus* is often compared with the retained or restored second *a* in *alacer* and some other words in (-)aRa-, but *vegetus* is different in having an intermediate stop. Furthermore, *vegetus* does not have the passive meaning displayed e.g. by *monitns* (to *moneō*). Added to the relatively recent appearance (Varro+) of *vegetus*, this renders it less likely that *vegetus* retains an old internal *-e-*. The e-grade of the root is unexpected in a causative in *-eje/o-*, just as it is in the cognate stative *vigeō* < *weg-ē-*. This may point to an original adj. *weg-o- ‘active, awake’ from which both verbs were derived in Italic (Nussbaum, p.c.). Somehow, *vegetus* may also be derived from such an adj. Does it continue *vegētus*?

Schrijver connects *vegeo* with Go. *wahsjan* ‘to grow’, which would imply that the latter continue *h₂ueg-s-*. However, it is conspicuous that all the s-formations mean ‘to grow (up)’, a meaning which is not represented in the family of *vegeo*. LIV reconstructs *ueg-*, stating that there is no evidence to support the reconstruction of an initial laryngeal. Since *ve-* can come from *vo-, Watkins 1973b: 198 has reconstructed *uog-eie-* > *wego > uegeo*, thus expanding the accepted rule that *wo-* > *ve-* in front of dentals and apical clusters (*vetō, vester, versus*, etc.). Sihler and
LIV adopt this explanation. Indeed, this would fit the causative meaning very well: the adj. *vigil is certainly cognate, and probably also *vigeō. Yet the phonetic development assumed by Watkins is ad hoc, and he leaves undiscussed the counterexamples in voCV- (volāre, vorāre). Another problem concerns the sound law *woCV- > *woCV- posited by Schrijver 1991: 460-475; this would have us expect a development *wog-eie- > *wag-eie-, which would not lead to vigeō. Hence, original *weg- is still the most likely option.


vehō, -ere ‘to convey, carry’ [v. III; pf. vēxī, ppp. vectum] (Andr.+

Derivatives: vehiculum ‘wheeled vehicle’ (Pl.+), vector ‘who carries; passenger’ (Lucil.+), vectōrius ‘used for transport’ (Varro+), vectūra ‘carriage, transport’ (Pl.+, vectāre ‘to transport, convey’ (Pl.+, vectaculārius ‘of a cart’ (Cato), vectitāre ‘to carry habitually’ (Cato+), vehis [f.] ‘waggon-load’ (Cato+); vectīs [m.] ‘wooden or metal bar, lever’ (Cato+), vectīgal, -ālis [n.] ‘tax, revenue’ (Cato+); vehemēns ‘violent’ (Pl.+; vēmēns Cic.+); advēhere ‘to convey, travel’ (Pl.+, advectus, -ūs ‘importation’ (Varro+), circumvectāri ‘to travel round’ (Pl.+)”, circumvehī ‘to travel round’ (Pl.+)”, convehere ‘to collect’ (Varro+), ēvehere ‘to carry out, away’ (Cato+), invehere ‘to drive or sail in to attack’ (Pl.+, pervēhere ‘to transport’ (Naev.+), prōvehere ‘to convey out to sea, carry forward’ (Pl.+), subvehere ‘to convey upwards’ (Lucr.+), subvectēre ‘to convey upwards’ (Pl.+).


The noun vectīgal presupposes a compound *vectīgo- ‘(fee for) vehicle-driving’ < *wękti-hęg-o-, cf. Dunkel 2000a: 95. This would contain a noun *wekti- ‘levy, yield’, which was later renewed as vectis ‘bar, lever’. The adj. vehement- is explained by WH as an original pr.pct.med. *węg-hemenos which cannot be upheld anymore. Guiraud 1975: 86 confirms that vehemēns is the older form and not vēmēns, since it basically means ‘who gets carried away, loses himself in temper’, rather than ‘who has lost his mind’. The form veiatura (Paul. ex F.) is interpreted by Leumann 1977: 315 as an error for vēlātūra ‘the business of a carrier’ (thus attested in Varro, Plut.) from *vehēla < *wex-ēlā- ‘transport’; this is accepted by Nieto 1988: 39. For the reading vectaculārius instead of attested vecticulārius in Cato, cf. Wyatt 1984.

Bibl.: WH II: 741-743, EM 717, IEW 1118-20, Unterrann 2000: 830f., LIV *węg-h-.

→ convexus, vēna
vēles, -ītis ‘foot-soldier’ [m. t] (Pl.+
Derivatives: vēlitātiō ‘the method of fighting of a veles’ (Pl.+) vēlitāri ‘to fling abuse, attack’ (Pl.+
I agree with WH that a connection with vēlum ‘sail’ stretches the imagination too far. It does not seem plausible, pace WH, to derive vēles from a preform *vegʰ-slo- ‘driving’. If vēles is at all derived from *vegʰ- ‘to convey’, it seems more likely that *vegʰ-slo- meant ‘carrier, soldier carrying goods’. The ending would have been adopted from other soldiers’ terms, such as pedes and eques. This etymology would render a connection with vēlōx ‘fast’ less attractive, since a ‘carrier’ is not necessarily ‘fast’.
Bibl.: WH II: 744, EM 718, IEW 1118-20.

vellō, -ere ‘to pull out’ [v. III; pf. vellī or vulsī, ppp. vulsum] (Cato+)
Derivatives: vellus, -eris ‘wool, fleece’ (Varro+), volsella ‘tweezers’ (Pl.+), vulsūra ‘plucking’ (Varro+), vellicāre ‘to pinch, peck’ (Pl.+), convellere ‘to dislodge, shake’ (Cato+), ēvellere ‘to pluck bare’ (Pl.+), ēvellere ‘to uproot’ (Pl.+), praevellere ‘to pinch’ (Pl.+), raevellere (meaning indeterminable) (Lab.), revellere ‘to tear down, remove’ (Enn.+), subvellere ‘to pluck hair from the under-parts’ (Lucil.)

Pf. PIE *weln- (H)-, aor. *uelh₁- ‘to strike’. IE cognates: Hit. *uelh₁- ‘to hit, strike’ < *uel(e)H₁-, Gr. ὠλίσκωμαι ‘to be caught’, Thess. Ṿλίσκεται, Gr.aor. ᾠλὼν < *i-Γόλω- (*Γλω- before consonant and παλ- before vowel), ToA wāllāstār ‘dies’.
According to Schrijver, vell- reflects *yelkʰ- because this does not meet with any definite obstacles, as do in Schrijver’s view the reconstructions *yeln- and *yels-. Yet the argument against a nasal present (*Huel-n-H₁-) is unconvincing. Schrijver argues that there are no parallels for the introduction of -ll- from the present into the pf. (vellī) if another pf. was originally present (pepuli, tetuli, -culi). Yet vellō may simply have had no reduplicated perfect, in which case vellī would be a regular choice for a new perfect. Thus, Latin may go together with Tocharian in showing a nasal present. The e-grade in the root is unexpected from a PIE point of view; it might have been taken from the root aorist continued in SPic. ehueli and in Hittite and Greek.


vēlōx ‘swift, speedy’ [adj. k] (Enn.+)
Derivatives: vēlōcitās ‘speed’ (Sis.+)
Pf. *wēlo- ‘wind’ (?).
Pf. PIE *h₂uel₁-i- ‘wind’. IE cognates: Hit. hui(a)- ‘to run, hurry’, CLuw. huija- ‘to run’ (< *h₂uhi₁-oi-ei, *h₂uhi₁-i-enti); Skt. vāti, YAav. vāti, Gr. οποιος, OCS vējati, Ru. vējat’, Go. waian, OHG wāen ‘to blow (of wind)’ < *h₂uel₁-.

Lat. vēlōx could be ‘wind-like’, derived from a noun *vē-lo- ‘wind’ to the PIE root *h₂uel₁- ‘to blow (of the wind)’ (cf. ventus). Several IE languages continue a PIE root
velum 'sail; sheet, cloth' [n. o] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: velære *to cover, clothe* (Pl.+), velāmentum *cover* (Varro+), Vēlābrum 'a low-lying district in Rome' (Pl.+), vēlābra [pl.n.] 'instruments used for ventilating the corn' (Paul. ex F.); vexillum 'military standard, banner' (Pl.+).

Plt. *wekslo-.

PIE *ueg-slo-? IE cognates: Olr. figid*, fig*, W. gwēu, L.Coi. gwīa, Bret. gueaff 'to weave' < PCl. *ueg-jo- 'to weave, compose'; OE wice [m.] 'wick', wōcig [f.] 'trap'.

The dim. shows that at least part of the input for velum had the form *ueKslo-, which could contain the root *uegʰ- *to convey (semantically less attractive) or *ueg- 'to weave' attested in Celtic and Germanic. Peruzzi 1969 argues that in velum may have merged two different preforms, *ueKslo- and *yeslo- *sail, cloth", to *yes- 'to clothe'.

Bibl.: WH II: 745f., EM 718f., IEW 1117, Schumacher 2004: 660f., LIV ?*ueg-.

vēna 'blood-vessel' [f. ā] (Cato+)

Plt. *wes-noā- [adj./f.] 'blood-vessel'.

PIE *ues-no- *of blood'. IE cognates: Av. vanhu-tāt- 'blood', vanhuββa- [n.] 'bloodshed', vohuna- [m.] 'blood' < *yes-u-; Skt. vāsā, vasā 'fat, lard' (hesitantly EWAII: 533).

No agreed etymology. Muller 1926: 531 points to an old belief that the veins may be compared to air pipes (Cato Agr. 157, 7: venae ubi sufflatae sunt ex cibo, non possunt perspirare in toto corpore), and suggests that vēna might be derived from *h2ueh1- 'to blow'. Alternatively, one might think of a root *ueK to convey, for instance PIE *ueKd- 'to lead' or *uegʰ- 'to convey', with a suffix *-sno-. Yet in both cases, we face the semantic objection that it would be unclear why a 'blood-vessel' would come to have been denominated as the 'conveyor' par excellence. Alternatively, one might connect vēna with Av. *vahu- 'blood', and posit *uesnā-.

Bibl.: WH II: 746, EM 719, IEW 1134.

venēnum 'potent herb, poison' [n. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: venēnāre 'to bewitch, poison' (Pl.+); venēficus 'of sorcery, of poison' (Pl.+), venēficium 'sorcery, poisoning' (Pl.+), trivenēlica 'treble-dyed witch' (Pl.+).

Plt. *wenes-no-.

IE cognates: see s.v. venus.

The form suggests Plt. *wenes-no-, a derivative of venus 'desire, love' (cf. catēna < *kates-nā-). WH interpret the original meaning as 'love drink', which would imply that the term arose in the context of sorcery. If the original meaning was a more neutral adj. *wenes-no- 'poisonous', it might have developed from 'with desire' via 'addicting' to 'pernicious, poisonous'.

Bibl.: WH II: 747, EM 719.
venio 'favour, permission' [f. ā] (Pl. +)

Pit. *wen(i)jā-.


A derivative of the root *wenH- 'to desire'.

Bibl.: WH II: 747, EM 719, LIV *wenH-. → vēnor, venus

venīō, -īre 'to come' [v. IV; pf. vēnī, ppp. ventum] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: ventīō 'the coming' (Pl. +); adventīre 'to arrive, reach' (Andr. +), adventāre 'to approach' (Pl. +), advenĭtor 'stranger, customer' (Pl. +), advenitus, -ūs 'arrival' (Pl. +), adventīcūs 'casual, external' (Varro +), antevenīre 'to arrive first, anticipate' (Pl. +), circumvenīre 'to cheat, surround' (Naev. +), convenīre 'to meet, visit, agree' (Naev. +), conventus, -ūs 'assembly' (Andr. +), conventīcīus 'met by chance' (Pl. +), convenae [m.pl.] 'persons who meet, strangers' (Pl. +), dēvenīre 'to arrive, land' (Andr. +), ēvenīre 'to emerge, happen' (Pl. +), ēventus, -ūs 'issue, result' (Pl. +), infrēnīre 'to meet, find' (Naev. +), inventor 'discoverer' (Enn. +), inventus, -ūs 'finding', (Pl. +), intervenīre 'to occur, intervene' (Pl. +), interventus, -ūs 'occurrence, intervention' (Pl. +), obvenīre 'to be assigned, happen' (Pl. +), prēvenīre 'to get to, reach' (Pl. +), praevernīre 'to arrive or occur first' (Pl. +), prōvenīre 'to come forward, grow' (Naev. +), revenīre 'to return' (Pl. +), subvenīre 'to come to help' (Pl. +), subventāre 'to come to the aid of' (Pl. +).

Pit. *gʷn-jel-o- 'to come', *gʷn-to- 'having come', *gʷ(e)m-ti-, *gʷem-tu- 'the coming'. It. cognates: U. menes [2s.fut.] (uncertain because of m-), benus [2 or 3s.fut.pf.], bemust [3s.fut.pf.], benurent, benurent [3p.fut.pf.], benusō [?], O. kumbened [kom- + 3s.pf.], O. cebnust [ke- + 3s.fut.pf.] 'to come' < *ben- < *gʷen-.


PIE *gʷm-ie/o- 'to come', *gʷm-to-, *gʷm-ti- [f.], *gʷem-tu- [m.] 'coming'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. gacchati, aor. āgān [3s.act.], pf. jagāma [3s.act.] 'to move, come', gatā- [ppp.], gāti- [f.] 'going, motion', gāntu- [m.] 'walk, road', YAv. jasa- [pr.], OAv. aor. jōn [3s.ind.act.], gamon [3p.ind.act.], YAv. gata- [ppp.], aifisi.gaiti- [f.] 'coming towards', Gr. βαίνω 'to go' (< PGr. *βαμ-ι-ω), βάσκε [2s.ivp.act.] 'go', Go. qiman 'to come' (< PIE sb. *gʷem-e-), ToB šman-, ToA šmās [sb.] 'will come'.

The present and the ppp. are inherited; the same could be true for the nouns -ventus [u] and -ventīō (< *-venti-), but these could also be recent formations following the productive pattern. Lat. advena and convena cannot be recent derivatives from venīō, but their -n- does betray them as are secondary creations of the type incola. Apparently, the phonetic rise of Pit. *gʷn-jel-o- and *gʷn-to- with n for PIE *m caused the replacement of *m by *n in the other derivatives of the root too, esp. the Italic pf.

vēnōr, -āri ‘to hunt’ [v. I] (PL+)
Derivatives: vēnātōr ‘hunter’ (PL+), vēnātus, -ūs ‘hunt’ (Naev+), vēnātūra ‘hunting game’ (PL+), vēnābulum ‘hunting-spear’ (Varro+), vēnātīcus ‘used in hunting’ (PL+), vēnātīo ‘hunting, hunt’ (Varro+).
Pt. *wēn-o/ā- ‘hunting’ >> *wēnā-je/o- ‘to hunt’.
PIE *(H)uēnh₁- / *(H)unh₁- ‘desire’. IE cognates: Hit. yen₂ / uya- ‘to copulate’ < *h₁u₂uēnh₁-; Skt. vānate (RV) [3s.med.], vaṁchati [3s.act.], aor. vanāti ‘to love, desire’, vāmā- ‘sweet, precious, noble, beautiful’, YAv. vanta- [f.] ‘beloved one, wife’; (?) Alb. ū(n) [m.] (Geg), uri [f.] (Tosk) ‘hunger’ < *un-; Go. wēns ‘hope’ [f], Owc. vān, OE wān ‘supposition, opinion’ < *yēnh₁-; OHG wunschen ‘to wish’; Go. winnan ‘to suffer’, Owc. vinna ‘to labour, overcome’ < *yēnh₁-; ToA wānī, ToB wīna ‘joy’ < PIE *(H)uēnh₁- (*unh₁-).
Probably a denomitive verb to an adj. *wēno- ‘searching, hunting’ or a noun *wēnā- ‘hunt’, which must themselves be derivatives from a PIE root noun with a long vowel which is also seen (albeit thematized) in Germanic. The PIE root had final *-h₁ if the Hittite verb is cognate. Kloekhorst 2008: 999f. reconstructs an initial laryngeal, too, on the strength of the Hit. spelling ū-.

venus
ventus ‘wind’ [m. o] (PL+)
Derivatives: ventōsus ‘windy’ (Cato+), ventūlus ‘light breeze’ (PL, Ter.), ventilāre ‘to expose to a draught, ventilate’ (Var.+), ventilābrum ‘winnowing-shovel’ (Var.+).
Pt. *wente-?
PIE *(H)uēnd-ro- ‘belonging to the belly’.
Possible preforms include *wenti- and *wendri-. Hamp 1978: 190 suggests that it is originally the same word as utes < PIE *(H)u(e)d-ér-o- ‘sticking out, belly’. Semantically, this is of course attractive; and formally, especially BSI. *(ʔ)uēd-ero- ‘(belonging to the) belly’ is close to venter. Hamp explains the internal nasal as analogical from vēsīca ‘bladder’, which is ad hoc and uncertain since the nasal is a recent addition to vēsīca (see s.v.).
Bibl.: WH II: 751, EM 721, IEW 1104f. → utes
*HyeHento-*, with syllabification of the nasal, and then contraction of *-eHe- > *-ē-. This would match the伊r. development of ‘wind’. Yet since Germanic and Celtic unambiguously show the retention of consonantal *n* throughout, it seems safest to assume the same for Latin.

Bibl.: WH I: 751-752, EM 721, IEW 81-84, Schrijver 1991: 159f., LIV *h₂yeh₁- ‘to blow (of the wind)’. → vannus, vēlōx

**vēnus/m** ‘sale’ [m./n. o] (Lex XII+; only in acc.sg. vēnum and dat.sg. vēnō / vēnui)

Derivatives: vēnālis ‘for sale, on hire’ (Pl.+), vendere (vendīdī, vendītūm) ‘to sell’ (Naev.+), vendītō ‘sale’ (Varro+), vendītor ‘vendor’ (Varro+), vendibilis ‘that can be sold’ (Varro+), vendāx ‘addicted to selling’ (Cato+), vendītāre ‘to offer for sale’ (Pl.+); vēneō (vēniī, vēniō) ‘to be sold’ (Pl.+).


PIE *ues-no- ‘price’. IE cognates: Hit. usniē/a- ‘to put up for sale’ < *us-n-ie/o-, Skt. vasnā- [n.] ‘price, value’, MP wahāg ‘trade’, Gr. ὅνος [n.] ‘price’ (denom. ὅνεομαι ‘I buy’) < *fōνος, Arm. gin *bride-price?’ (< *yesnō-).

The verb vēnīre ‘to be sold’ reflects earlier *vēnum ēre ‘to go on sale’, whereas vendere is a syncopated variant of *vēnum darē ‘to give for sale’. Kloeckhorst (2008: 930f.) assumes that Hit. *usn-ie/o- shows that the noun for ‘sale’ originally was an *n-stem *uos-n, *us-en-s, which was thematized by the other IE languages. This would nicely explain the different root vowels of Armenian, Greek and Latin.

Bibl.: WH II: 753f., EM 721, IEW 1173, Untermann 2000: 834f., LIV 2.*ues-. → villis

**venus, -eris** ‘goddess Venus, love, charm’ [f. r] (Naev.+; nom.sg. CIL venos)

Derivatives: venustus ‘attractive, charming’ (Pl.+), venustūlus ‘charming’ (Pl.), invenustus ‘unattractive’ (Pl.+), venustās ‘charm, grace’ (Pl.+), venerīus ‘of Venus, erotic’, venerāriē ‘to worship, pay homage’ (Naev.+), venerātiō ‘adoration’ (Varro+).


PIE *uenh₁-os [n.] ‘desire’. IE cognates: see s.v. vēnor.


**vēr** ‘spring’ [n. r] (Pl.+

Derivatives: vermus ‘occurring in spring’ (Andr.+), verculum ‘a little spring’ (Pl.), vernō ‘in spring’ (Cato+); vēr sacrum ‘sacrifice of all living beings born in the spring of a certain year’ (Sis.+).

Plt. *wes-or [nom.acc.], *wes-n- [gen.].


An original paradigm *yesr, *yesnos would yield Latin *veror (since the vocalization of *r to *or was Proto-Italic), gen.sg. *vēnos. The gen.sg. was replaced by *vēros,
and subsequently, long ɛ has been introduced into the nom.sg. and final -or was analogically removed. Schrijver, differently, reconstructs nom.sg. *yēsr, but an ablaut *ē : *e in a n. word seems unlikely. Lat. vermus may reflect *yesinos, or, with Nussbaum, be delocatival from *vēri-no-. Not to PIE *h2ues- ‘to spend the night; dawn’ because of the initial laryngeal. Skt. vasar-hā (RV), of the wind (meaning uncertain), and vāsara- ‘of the morning’ may belong here too, their meaning having been influenced by usra- ‘matutinal’, uṣar- ‘at dawn’ (Alexander Lubotsky, p.c.).


**verbera** ‘twigs for flogging, whip, lashes’ [n.pl. r] (Pl.+; sg. in quotations, and nom.sg. verber in glossaries.)

Derivatives: verberō ‘one who deserves flogging’ (Pl.+), verbereus ‘associated with flogging’ (Pl.), verberetillus ‘quite associated with flogging’ (Pl.), verberāre ‘to flog, hammer’ (Pl.+), verberābundus ‘occupied in flogging’ (Pl.), verberābilis ‘ready for beating’ (Pl.), verbitāre ‘to frequently flog’ (Cato apud Paul. ex F.); dēverberāre ‘to flog soundly’ (Ter.), dīverberāre ‘to cleave’ (Lucr.+), subverbustus ‘loaded with floggings’ (Pl.+); verbēna ‘leafy branch or twig’ (Naev.+).

Plt. *werb/fos [n.] ‘twig, whip’.


The pl. verbera, the adj. -verbustus and the derivative verbēna < *werbes-na- all point to an s-stem *werbos, -es-. The BSL words for ‘twig’ and ‘stick’ may be derived from the same root. Slavic seems to point to a root *urb-, but Baltic to *urbh-.

Bibl.: WH II: 756, EM 722f., IEW 1153.

**verbium** ‘word’ [n. o] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: verbōsus ‘containing many words’ (Varro+); praeverbium ‘prefix’ (Varro+); verbificātiō ‘speechifying’ (Caecil.), verbivēlītiō ‘verbal skirmish’ (Pl.).

Plt. *werbo-[n.] ‘word’.

PIE *uerh₁-dʰ₁-o- ‘making a statement’. IE cognates: Hit. yerite-ži, yerit- ‘to fear, be frightened’ < *y(e)rh₁-i- + *dʰeh₁- ‘to place a call’ (?; Kloekhorst 2008: 1003f.); OPr. wīrds. Lith. vārda-s, Latv. vārds; Go. waurd, OHG wort ‘word’ < *yr-dʰ-o-; Hit. yerijē/a- ‘to call, name, summon’, ptc. yerant < *uerh₁-(ie/o-), Hit. -ya(r)- (particle of direct speech), Pal. -yar-, CLuw. -ya- (sentence initial particle), HLuw. -wa-, Lyc. -we- < PANat. *yor, Skt. vratā- [n.] ‘vow, religious observance, commandment’, OAv. urunata- [n.] ‘rule, order, indication’, YAv. urunataṭ.nara- [m.] MoP, Oss. iṛād/aerwed ‘bride-money’ < PLIr. *urata-, Gr. εἰρω, ἐρέω ‘to say’ (< *yerh₁-), ῥητός ‘appointed’ (<*yrh₁-to-).

Lat. verbum and the Baltic and Gm. words point to *u(e)rdʰ-o-, which Hackstein 2002a: 14 analyses as an original compound of *uerh₁- ‘to say’ and *-dʰ₁-o- ‘putting’; the first laryngeal would have been lost already in PIE between -r- and *-dʰ₁-. Yet it is awkward that the three branches have different ablaut of the first member; or is verbum an early instance of *vor- > ver-? In that case, Latin could have
*urh₁-dʰ₁-o- as Germanic and OPr. The Hit. verb yerite- 'to fear' could also continue the same syntagm although the meaning requires some special pleading.

Bibl.: WH II: 756f., EM 723, IEW 1162f., Untermann 2000: 843f., LIV *yərh₁-.

vereor 'to show respect, fear' [v. II; pf. veritus sum] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: verécundus 'restrained, modest' (Pl. +), verécundia 'shame, modesty' (Pl. +); reverēri 'to have regard for' (Pl. +), reverēcunditer 'reverentially' (Enn. +).

Pf. *wer-e- 'to be wary'.

PIE *u(e)r-eh r 'to note, sense'. IE cognates: Olr. cóir, coair [adj. i] 'just, rightful', W. cyweir 'ready, equipped' < PCl. *ko(m)-wari-; Go. wars, OIC. varr, OE wer 'careful, attent' (< PGm. *wara-), Go. warei 'cunning, trick', OE waru, OHG wara 'attention'; ToB wār-sk- 'to smell', ToA wār- < PTo. *wār- < PIE *wer-; ToA wraš-, ToB wārš- 'to pity' < PT. *wārš- or *wraš- < *wer-s-; ToB were, ToA war 'smell' < PIE *woro-.

Disputed: Gr. ὀράω 'to look, perceive, see', οὐρος [m.] 'watcher, guardian' < *wer- or *ser-.

WH and EM suggest that veretrum 'penis' (Varro+) belongs here, but Serbat 1975: 332f. is much more sceptical. I regard its etymology as unknown.

Bibl.: WH II: 757f., EM 723, IEW 1164, LIV 3.*yər-.

vergō, -ere 'to slope down, sink' [v. III] (Varro+)

Derivatives: Vergiliae [f.pl.] 'the constellation of the Pleiads' (Pl. +); invergere 'to tip (liquids) upon' (Pl. +); vermina, -um [n.pl.] 'griping pains' (Lucr. +).

Pf. *werg-e/o-.

PIE *h₂uerg- 'to turn'. IE cognates: Hit. hurki- 'wheel' < *h₂urg-i-; Skt. vṛnākti 'to turn (around), ward off', OP hauma-varga- [name of a Scythic tribe] 'laying Haoma-plants around the fire', OE wrencan 'to turn, wring'.

The noun vermina suggests a sg. *werg-mn 'turning, contraction' (of the belly). It was secondarily associated with vermis 'worm' by the Romans.

Bibl.: WH II: 758-760, EM 723f., IEW 1154, Leumann 1977: 218, Schrijver 1991: 75f., LIV *h₂uerg-.

vermis 'worm, maggot' [m. i] (Cato+)

Derivatives: vermiculus 'larva, maggot' (Lucil. +), vermiculātus 'arranged to give a wavy effect' (Lucil. +).

Pf. *wermi- 'snake, worm'.

PIE *urgmi- 'snake, worm'. IE cognates: Go. waurms [m.] 'snake', OIC. ormr, OE wyrm, OFr. wirm 'snake', OS wormo, OHG wurm [m.] 'worm' < PGm. *wurmal-i-.

It is striking that other branches of IE continue a form *kʷrm- 'worm': Olr. cruim, MW pryf, Bret. pryf 'worm'; Skt. krm- 'worm, maggot', Sogd. krm- 'snake', MP klm /kirm/ 'worm, dragon, snake', MoP kirm, Lith. kirmis 'worm, snake', OCS črvm 'worm', Alb. krim(b) 'worm, maggot, caterpillar'. This distribution might be the result of a development of *kʷrm- > *wrm- in Latin and Germanic.

Bibl.: WH II: 760, EM 724, IEW 1152.
verrēs, -is ‘boar’ [m. i] (Pl.+

PIE *h₂urs- en- ‘male’. IE cognates: Skt. vṛṣan- [adj./m.] ‘manly, powerful; male animal (bull, stallion)’, vṛṣabhā- [adj./m.] ‘manly, powerful; bull, boar, husband, ruler’, YAv. varaśna- ‘manly’, varṣa- [m. PN], varṣmi- [m. PN] ‘ram’; Gr. ἄρος [adj.] ‘manly’; Lith. veńsis ‘bull, ox, ox calf’.

Verrēs must be a recharacterization of *verre9, the expected(?) outcome of a nom.sg. *werrēn. The PIE root might be *yers- ‘to rise’, cf. Kümmel 2000: 476f., unless the word for ‘male’ had an initial laryngeal.


ve/orrō, -ere ‘to sweep clean’ [v. III; ppp. vo/ersum] (Pl.+; Pl. vor-, pf. -orrī, elsewhere ver-)

Derivatives: convo/errere ‘to sweep together’ (Pl.+), dēverrere ‘to sweep away’ (Lucil.+), ēverrere ‘to sweep out (a room)’ (Titin.+), revorrere ‘to sweep back again’ (Pl.); āverruncāre ‘to ward off’ (Cato+), verruncāre ‘to turn out (in a specified way)’ (Pac. Acc. Liv.).

PIE *wors-e/o- ‘to wipe’. IE cognates: Hit. warś- ‘to reap, harvest, wipe’ < *yers-, RuCS warxu ‘to thresh’.

The reflex verr- is due to the change of *vo- > ve- in front of s, t and rC around 200 BC. The verb verruncāre is probably derived from a noun *verruncus (possibly attested in Varro’s deus Averruncus) < *wrs-on-ko-, which itself presupposes an n-stem *wrs-on- ‘who sweeps / wards off’.

Bibl.: WH I: 82, II: 761f., EM 724, IEW 1169f., LIV 1.*yers- → vestīgium

verrūca ‘wart; hillock’ [f. ā] (Cato+)

PIE *we/ors-u- ‘hill, top’.

PIE *u(e/o)rs-u- ‘height, top’. IE cognates: OIr. ferr ‘better’ < PCl. *werro- ‘high’ < *yerso- ‘peak’, Skt. vāṛṣman- [n.] ‘height, top’ < *yers-mn-, vārśistha- ‘highest. most excellent’; Lith. viršis [m.], Latv. virsus, OCS vorx, Ru. verx, loc.sg. verxū ‘top, upper part’ < *uṛs-u-; OE wearr ‘sill’. Uncertain: Go. wairsiza, OHG wirsio ‘worse’ < *yersizon-.

The suffix -ūcus can be denominal to a stem in *-u-, but it is also found after other types of stems. The original ablaut grade of the root cannot be determined since *melors- and *yers- would all yield OLat. verr-.

Bibl.: WH II: 762, EM 725, IEW 1151f., Leumann 1977: 340, LIV 2.*yers-.

ve/ortō, -ere ‘to turn’ [v. III; pf. vo/ertū, ppp. vo/ersum] (Pl.+

Derivatives: vo/ertex, -iscis [m.] ‘whirlpool, peak, summit’ (Pac.+), vertebra ‘joint, vertebra’ (Lucil.+), vertical/l/us ‘joint, pivot’ (Lucil.+), vertigō ‘whirling movement’ (Afran.+), vo/ersus, -īs [m.] ‘line of verse, phrase, row’ (Pl.+), versūtus [adj.] ‘cunning’ (Andr.+), vo/ersāre ‘to keep turning round, move to and fro, be busy’ (Pl.+), versātilis ‘capable of turning’ (Lucr.+), vo/ersōria ‘certain rope of a ship’
ve/or torto 667

vo/ersūra ‘turning, turning-point’ (Varro+); vo/ersipellis ‘who can change shape’ (Pl+); vo/ersum/s [adv.] ‘in a specified direction, towards’ (Pl+), advo/ersus ‘turned towards, facing, opposite’ (Pl+), advo/ersum/m [adv., prep.] ‘opposite, facing’ [adversus Andr.+; arvorsum SCBac., Lex Sacra CIL 401, adversus Lex XII], contrŏversia ‘dispute, quarrel’ (Pl+), contrŏversus [adv.] ‘in opposite directions’ (Cato), deorsum/s ‘down, below’ [adv.] (Pl+), exadversum [adv., prep.] ‘opposite’ (Pl+), prō(r)sus/m [adv.] ‘straight ahead, absolutely’ (Pl+), prōr sus ‘following a straight line; prose’ (Pl+), retrōrus/m [adv.] ‘backwards’ (Lucr.+), rursus/m, rūs(s)us/m [adv.] ‘backwards, again, besides’ (Naev.+), s(e)orsum/s [adv.] ‘separately’ (Pl+), Acc. seorsum, seorsus ‘separate’ (Cato+), sü(r)sum/s [adv.] ‘upwards, above’ (Naev.+), únivo/ersus ‘whole, entire’ (Pl+; oinovorso- SCBac.);

advertere ‘to turn towards, pay attention’ (Naev.+), advo/ersāri ‘to oppose, resist’ (Naev.+), adversāre ‘to direct’ (Pl), adversārīx ‘female opponent’ (Pl+), advo/ersārius [adj./m.] ‘opposed, rival’ (Pl+), adversābilis ‘prone to opposition’ (Acc.), antevertere ‘to give or take priority’ (Pl+), ōvertere ‘to turn away, divert’ (Pl+), āvo/ersāri ‘to turn away’ (Pl+), āversābilis ‘repulsive’ (Lucr.+), circumvertere ‘to turn round’ (Pl+), circumversāri ‘to turn about repeatedly’ (Lucr.+), convertere ‘to turn back or around, change’ (Pl+), dēvertere ‘to turn off the road for lodging, turn away’ (Pl+), dēverticulum ‘byway, deviation’ (Pl+), dēversōrius ‘which accomodates lodgers’ (Pl), dīvertere ‘to separate oneself, be different’ (Pl+), dīvortium ‘divorce, junction’ (Pl+), dīversum [adv.] ‘in different ways’ (Cato), ēvertere ‘to overturn, expel’ (Pl+), īnvertere ‘to reverse’ (Ter.+), pervertere ‘to overturn, ruin’ (Pl+), pervorsāriō ‘in a wrong-headed manner’ (Pl), praevertere ‘to anticipate, attend firstly to’ (Pl+), revertere ‘to return, go back’ (Pl+), subvertere ‘to overturn, ruin’ (Ter.+).


The Italic cognates and the cp. verbs of Latin show that pr. originally was *wert-, whereas the ppp. was *worso-. The latter became vers- in Latin after 200 BC due to the change of vo- > ve- in front of s,t,rC (Meiser 1998: 84). In view of literary spellings with –vort-, vortex and divortium, it is possible that the pr. had taken over the root variant vort- (from the pf.?) before this was regularly unrounded to vert-.

**veru**, -ūs 'spit (for roasting)' [n. u] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: verūtum 'short throwing spear' (Enn.+), vervīna 'spit (or similar pointed instrument)' (Pl.+).

Plt. *g*ēru- 'spit'. It. cognates: U. berva [acc.pl.], berus [abl.pl.] n. 'utensil used during the sacrifice' < *g*ēru-.

PIE *g*ēr(H)-u- 'spit'. IE cognates: Olr. bi(u)r [n. > f.], W. Co. Bret. ber [f., m.] 'spear, spit' < *g*ēru-.

In theory, Italo-Celtic *g*ēru- could reflect PIE *g*ērh₂-u- 'the heavy one', from which it is not inconceivable that a meaning 'pole, spit' would derive. Nor is it compelling, of course. The Go. word *pairu* n. 'pole, sting' must be read as *pairu* (see Ebbinghaus 1977: 188f.) and does not belong here.


Plt. *wero- 'gate' [n.].

PIE *Huer-o- 'cover, protection'. IE cognates: Skt. valá- [m.] 'cave, enclosure', Av. vara- [m.] 'fenced place, artificial cave' < IIr. *Huara-, ORu. obora 'area for cattle', Cz. obora 'game preserve', Scr. obor 'courtyard' < ob + *Huor-h₂-.

Bibl.: IEW 1160-62, Untermann 2000: 845f., LIV 1.*uer-, *Huer-. → aperiō, operiō

**vērūs** 'real, true' [adj. o/ā] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: vērāx 'truthful' (Pl.+), vērāre 'to speak the truth' (Enn.+), vērātrum 'poisonous or medicinal plant, hellebore' (Cato+).

Plt. *wēro-.

PIE *Huer-o- 'true'. IE cognates: OIr. fir, W. gwir < PCl. *wīro-; OCS vēra, Ru. véra, Po. wiara 'faith, belief' < PSI. *vēra [f.], OHG wär 'true'. Possibly also Gr. ἱπα in (ἐν) ἱπα φέρεν 'to please somebody' [acc. sg. (pl. n.?)] if from *yēr-.

The appurtenance of vērātrum here is uncertain. It would suppose that it was derived from vērāre, in the sense that hellebore was used to restore mental health in patients (this was Isidors etymology); cf. Serbat 1975: 318f.

Bibl.: WH II: 768, EM 727, IEW 1165f., Schrijver 1991: 141. → sevērus

**vervex**, -ēcis 'wether, castrated male sheep' [m. k] (Pl.+)

Plt. *werw-ē-.

PIE *ueru-? IE cognates: Gr. ἐρος [n.] 'wool' < *yeros-, Myc. /werwes-ieial 'women who work the wool', Att. εὔ-ερος 'with beautiful wool', ἐπ-ερός 'sheep'.

Has been connected with PIE *urh₁-en- 'lamb' (to Skt. īrān- [m.] 'lamb' < IIr. *urH-an-, Sogd. wr’n 'lamb' < Plr. *varān-am, Gr. ἀρίμ, Kret. ἀρημ 'lamb', Gr. πολύ-ρην-ες 'possessing many lambs', Arm. garn 'lamb'), but it is hard to think of a derivational scenario by which this could have happened: *uerh₁-u- > *yero- + *-ē- (on the model of verrēs) >> *-ēk- is conceivable, but all other IE languages have the zero grade *urh₁- of the root in this word. A zero grade *urh₁-u- would probably yield Latin *rāw- or possibly *raw-. Instead of with PIE 'lamb', verrēx might be
connected with Gr. ἑφος [n.] ‘wool’ < *yweryos-, which is semantically less attractive, but possible. We could assume *ywery-έ- ‘the male woolly one’ (on the model of verrēs), built on an older u-stem or on the truncated s-stem. The k-suffix must, under any scenario, be a later Latin addition.


**vescor**, vēscī ‘to make use of, enjoy’ [v. III] (Pac.+)


PIE *uēs- ‘pasture, food’. IE cognates: OIr. fess ‘food’ < *yes-th₁-, Hit. uēši- / uēšai-[c.] ‘pasture’ (< *yes-(e)i-), Skt. svāsara- ‘pasture, meadow’ (< *su-uas-ra-), Av. vāstra-[n.] ‘pasture’, vāstar- ‘herd’, OIc. fiš ‘nourishment’ < *yesṭi-, ToA wāsṛ ‘pasture’ < *yesr-.

WH’s derivaton from *vē-ēscor ‘to eat off’ is unconvincing because of the semantic gap with ‘to enjoy’, and because of the passive conjugation of vēscor. Muller 1926 and Keller 1982 assume a merger of two verbs, one being PIE *yes- ‘to wear’, and another verb meaning ‘to use, enjoy’. Yet the contexts where vēscor means ‘to wear’ are very rare, and the oldest attestations adduced by Muller and Keller (vēscor armīs) can just as well mean ‘to use’. The verb vēscor can be compared with IE terms for ‘pasture’ which go back to a root *yes-. Latin could reflect *yes-ske/o-, with introduction of e as (possibly) in Av. vāstra-, vāstar-. In view of the absorption of verbal derivatives of the root outside Latin, this e- would probably have a nominal origin (e.g. from a root noun *uēš, *uēsos). The suffix -sk- would be a Latin addition, or an earlier Italic one, if U. vesklō- ‘vessel’ is cognate, or an even older one (maybe only a suffix *-k-) if Ven. vesket- is cognate.


**vēsīca** ‘bladder’ [f. ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: vē(n)sīcula ‘small bubble’ (Lucr.+).

André 1984 argues, to my mind convincingly, that the original form was vēsīca, which is sometimes spelled vēnsīca because the sequences -ē̱s- and -ē̱ns- started to merge in VL. André compares the fact that the ‘bladder’ is often referred to using words for ‘to blow, inflate’ in different languages, e.g. in Germanic (NHG Blase, En. bladder), which is due to the fact that bladders were often recycled as balloons, lanterns or musical instruments involving air bags. André compares Lat. vīsīre / vissīre ‘to fart softly’ (Lucil.+.) and regards the root *vēēs(s)- as onomatopoeic; the sound of a deflating bladder would thus been compared to the sound of a fart. Indeed, words for ‘to fart’ often show a sequence of a labial obstruent plus a sibilant, cf. Lat. pēdō < PIE *pesd-. The new Latin formation *vēēs(s)- is comprehensible in the light of the development *pesd- > pēd-, which obscured the sound symbolism originally present in that word.

vespa 'wasp' [f. ā] (Varro+)

PIE *(h₁)uebʰ-s-h₂- 'wasp'. IE cognates: OCo. guhi-en 'a wasp', MW gw(ŷ)chi, OBret. guohi 'wasps'; Av. vaṣṭaka- 'scorpion', MP vaṣṭa, Bal. gوابز 'wasp' < PIR. *wabzā-; OPr. wobse, Lith. vapsvā, vapsā (dialect.), Latv. vapsene 'wasp', RuCS osa, Ru. osā, SCr. ṭāsa (< BSI. *ṭapsā); OE wæfs, wæps, wæsp OHG wefsa, wafs, wespa, Bav. webes.

It is questionable whether 'wasp' was derived from PIE *(h₁)uebʰ- 'to weave', since wasps are not typically known for 'weaving'. On the other hand, the way in which they build their nests from paper pulp could be described as 'weaving', or its appearance as a net.

Bibl.: WHII: 770, EM 728, IEW 1179.

vesper, -eri 'evening' [m. o] (Pl.++; also vespera)

Derivatives: vesperna 'the evening meal' (Pl.++), vesperāscere, advesperāscere 'to become evening' (Ter.++), vespertīmus 'of the evening' (Varro+), vespērūgō 'the Evening Star' (Pl.++), vespertīliō 'bat' (Varro+).

PIE *we(k)spero-.

PIE *ue-k(ʷ)sp-er-o- 'evening'. IE cognates: W. ucher 'evening', Hit. išpant-[c.] 'night', Skt. ksāp- [f.], Av. xšap- / xšaṅ-, YAv. xšap- [f.], xšapar-; OP xšap- [f.], xšapar-; Gr. ἕσπερος [m.] 'evening' (< *uekʷsp-ero-); Arm. gišer 'night' (< *uekʷšero-), Lith. vākaras, Latv. vakars, OCS večer, Ru. véčer 'evening' (< *uekspero-).

The PIE word for 'evening' is clearly a compound of an element *ue- and a word for 'night' *k(ʷ)sp- which was simpliﬁed in different ways in the IE languages. The ﬁrst element *ue- is diﬃcult to expain. It has been equated with Lat. vē-, but this has a very restricted distribution, and chances are that it is an inner-Latin development; see s.v. Also, it means 'hyper / hypo-', which does not match the alleged meaning of ve- in vesper. Ve- in vesper has been compared with Latin au-tem, Gr. οὖ 'again', but PIE *h₂ue- would leave other traces in Greek than ε-. Of course, one might assume that the initial laryngeal was dropped in the compound. It is possible that *ue- in *ue-k(ʷ)spero- has a completely different origin, e.g. the reduction of an earlier noun or adjective.

Bibl.: WHII: 770f., EM 728, IEW 1173f. → vē-

vē/spillō [m. n] 'one employed to bury those too poor to afford a funeral' (Mart.+)

PIE *uos-p-? IE cognates: Hit. (TÜ) ुašpa- [c.] 'clothing', CLuw. yaśpant- 'wearing shrouds (?)' < PIE *uos-bʰ-o-?

As argued by Watkins 1969, the original function of a vespillō was to provide the dead with the right clothing for their burial. Since vesp- may reﬂect earlier *vosp-, Watkins hypothesizes that vespillō goes back to a PIE word for 'clothing, shroud' found also in Anatolian. Janda 2000: 85 and 208f. also connects Gr. ὁπριον 'pulse,
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legume’ (*'in a pod’), suggesting an original r̥n-stem *uósp-r ‘cover, pod’. Semantically, this is a convincing etymology. The main problem is the source of the suffix *-p-, which is an infrequent suffix in PIE.

Bibl.: WH II: 772, EM 728, Watkins 1969. → vestis

Vesta ‘goddess of the domestic hearth’ [f. ḍ] (Enn.+; Pocula Deorum Vestai dat.sg.)

Derivatives: vēstālis ‘of Vesta or her cult’ (Varro+).

The closest cognate seems to be Gr. ἔστια ‘hearth, fireplace’, Ion. ἱστίη, which has *حرية- in πιστίῳ (PN, Mantinea), γιστία ‘hearth’ (Hsch.). This cannot be derived from PIE *h2ues- ‘to spend the night, stay’, since *h2- would have yielded α-. Possibly a loanword.

Bibl.: WH II: 772f., EM 729, IEW 1170, LIV 2.*h2ues-.

vestibulum ‘fore-court’ [n. o] (Pl.+)

Plt. *wesTV-plo- ‘place of feeding’.

PIE *ues-ti- ‘feeding’ or *ues-to- ‘fed’. IE cognates: See s.v. vēscor.

Many different etymologies have been proposed. The most popular ones have been reviewed by Serbat 1975: 50-53, who points out that all of them are semantically unsatisfactory. Serbat himself argues that the vestibulum may have referred to the courtyard of the pre-classical farm, where the domesticated animals were kept and fed. This leads him to derive vestibulum from the root *ues- ‘to pasture, graze’, its original meaning being ‘which permits feeding’. For the suffix, compare Lat. sessibulum.

Bibl.: WH II: 774, EM 729, Leumann 1977: 314, LIV 3.*ues-.

vestigium ‘footprint, track’ [n. o] (Pl.+) (Pl. +)

Derivatives: vēstīgāre ‘to follow the trail, search out’ (Pl. +), vēstīgātor ‘who tracks down’ (Varro+), investīgāre ‘to track down, search out’ (Pl. +).

Plt. *w(e/o)rsti-Hg-.

PIE *u(e)rs-ti- ‘furrow’. IE cognates: see s.v. verrō.

It is often assumed that vestigium was primary and vestibulare secondary, but this is uncertain. Since a connection with vestis ‘clothes’ does not make much sense, the suggestion that vestigium continues *verstigium, which was defended by Muller 1926: 539 but rejected outright by WH, seems attractive. If connected with verrō ‘to sweep’ < *yrs-, vestigium may originally have meant a ‘track’ or ‘furrow’. The verb vestibulare can reflect *w(e)rsti-Hg- ‘to draw a furrow’, from a noun *uers-ti- (or *uers-ti-) ‘furrow’.

Bibl.: WH II: 774f., EM 729, Dunkel 2000a: 95, LIV 1.*yers-. → vo/errō

vestis ‘clothes’ [f. ī] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: vēstīre ‘to clothe, dress’ (Pl. +), vēstitus, -ūs ‘dress, clothes’ (Pl. +), vestīmentum ‘clothes, blanket’ (Pl. +), vestīarius ‘of or concerning clothes’ (Cato+); consvestīre ‘to clothe, cover’ (Enn.+), investīre ‘to clothe, cover’ (Enn.+).

Plt. *wes-ti- ‘clothes’.
PIE *ues-til. IE cognates: Hit. yeśṣ-, yassē-/aṣ̌ī- ‘to be dressed, wear, put on’, CLuw. yass- ‘to wear’ < *yes-to and *us-ī-til-; Skt. vāste ‘to wear’, vāsana- [n.] ‘garment, cloth’, vastī-varna- ‘colour of the garment’, OAv. vaste, YAv. vaste ‘is clothed’, vahhana- [n.] ‘clothing’, vastrā- [n.] ‘garment, cloth’, Gr. ἐνυμμ ‘to clothe, put on’ < *yes-n(e)u-, aor. ἐνυμμ, ἐνύμμος < *yes-; ἐνύματα [pl.] ‘clothes’ (< *yes-mn-), Arm. z-genowm ‘clothe oneself’ < *ues-nu-, z-gest ‘cloth(es)’ < *ues-tu-, Alb. vesh ‘to clothe’, Go. and-wasjan ‘to take off’, OE werian ‘to clothe’ < PIE *uos-eie-; ToB wās ‘to wear; put on’.

Probably an independent formation of Latin, since Skt. vasti- is only attested in the Taittirīya Āranyaka.

Bibl.: WH II: 774f., EM 729,IEW 1172f., LIV 1.*yes-.

ve/ōtō, -āre ‘to forbid’ [v. I; pf. vetui, pps. vetitum] (Pl.:+; votō in Nonius)
Plt. *we/ot-a(je)-/*wotaje-.

PIE *uet(h2)-/*uoth2-eie/o-/*ue/ot-eh2- ‘to say’. IE cognates: OW guetid ‘says’, MW dy-wedaf ‘I say’ < PCI. *yete/o-; MW gwadu ‘to deny’, gwad [m.], OBret. guad ‘denial’ < *uot-.

If the hapax vo- in Nonius is the oldest form, we must reconstruct Plt. *wot-; since this did not undergo unrounding to *wa-, it would imply a Plt. preform *wotH- with a closed initial syllable (Schrijver 1991). The verb could be equated with MW gwadu ‘to deny’ < *uot-. Rix 1999 argues that the original construction was vetāre nē ‘to say that not’, which came to mean ‘to forbid that’; this development might have been Italo-Celtic, in view of the MW meaning of gwadu ‘to deny. But other solutions are equally possible. Lat. votō could be a deliberate archaism; compare the change vo- > ve- in front of s,t,rC from the second century onwards. Or Lat. votō could be a phonetically regular remnant of the change *e > o after *w and before a back vowel in the next syllable (as in vomō, soror, etc.). In that case, we can reconstruct Plt. *wet-ā- ‘to say’ to an aniti root *yet-.


U. vētus, ahauentu, preuentu [3s.ipv.II, +ā-, +praɪ-] ‘to turn’.

Plt. *wende/o-.

PIE *(H)uendh-e/o- ‘to wind’. IE cognates: Skt. vandkur- [m.] ‘seat of carriage, frame-work of carriage’ (< ‘plaited thing’?), Go. -windan, OE windan, NHG winden ‘to twist, wind’; ToB wāṇtrā ‘disguises himself (?)’.


vetus, -eris ‘old’ [adj. r] (Pl.:+; Enn. nom.sg. veter)

Derivatives: vētulus ‘elderly, ageing’ (Pl.:+), veterānus ‘mature, experienced’ (Varro+), vētustus ‘ancient’ (Pl.:+), vētustās ‘being old, age, antiquity’ (Pl.:+), vēternus ‘torpor, lassitude’ (Pl.:+), vēternōsus ‘lethargic’ (Cato+), vēterātor ‘an experienced practitioner’ (Ter.+); inverterāscere ‘to grow old’ (Ter.+); veterīnus [adj.] ‘used for draught, draught-animals’ (Cato+).

PIE *uet-os- ‘year’ [n.], *uet-s-o- ‘of the year’. IE cognates: Hit. uitt- (< *yet-) [c.] ‘year’, CLuw. ušša-/-, HLuw. usa/i- ‘year’ (< *ut-s-o-), Hit. šaudišt- / šautišt- ‘weanling, young calf’ (< *so-ut-es-t- / *so-yet-es-t- ‘the one of this year’), Skt. vatsara- [m.] ‘year’, Gr. ἕτος [n.], dial. ἑτος ‘year’, Myc. we-to, we-te-i (< *yetos, yeteh-i) [n.] ‘year’, Alb. vit, pl. (also sg.) vjet ‘year’; Lith. vėtūšas, OCS vetčihe ‘old’, Ru. větxij ‘old, ancient, decrepit’ < PIE *yetus-o-. Go. wiprus ‘year-old lamb’, Ols. vëdr, OHG widar ‘wether’.

Adams 1992 observes that veterînus usually refers to equines, and suggests that these came to be seen as ‘the old stock’ because by nature they lived longest of all cattle, and because the Romans did not as a rule eat horse meat. Hence, especially equines could be referred to as ‘old’.


vexō, -āre ‘to agitate, damage’ [v. I] (Cato+)

Derivatives: vexāmen ‘disturbance’ (Lucr.), dīvexāre ‘to ravage, drag about’ (Pl.+).

If convexus and dēvexus go back to a ppp. *vexus ‘moved’ to vehō (whatever its precise explanation, see s.v. convexus), vexāre can be a simple iterative built to that ppp., of the type flexāre, nexāre. Alternatively, it could represent an s-pr. *weg-s-independent of -vexus.

Bibl.: WH II: 778, EM 730f. → convexus, vehō

via ‘road’ [f. ā] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: viālis ‘of roads’ (Pl.+), viāticās ‘off for a journey’ (Pl.+), viāticātus ‘furnished with supplies for a journey’ (Pl.), viātor ‘traveller, agent’ (CIL I.583+); obviam ‘in the path of, facing up’ (Naev.+), obvius ‘in the path of, confronting’ (Pl.+), pervius ‘passable’ (Pl.+), praevius ‘leading the way’ (Pl.+); viocūrus ‘who has charge of roads’ (Varro+); veia ‘plaustrum’ in Oscan (Paul. ex F.), veiār(i)i ‘stipites in plaustrō, veiāutra ‘vectura’ (ibidem).


According to Nieto 1988, Paul. ex F. veia ‘waggon’ is a VLat. development from via, and the following form in the same gloss veiārī represents *viārī ‘of the road’; both would have VLat. lowering of i in hiatus. This is confirmed by the form veham ‘viam’ given by Varro as a ‘rustic’ form. The meaning ‘waggon’ could be directly preserved in Italian veggia ‘waggon; barrel’. This, in turn, means that the etymology *yegʰjā
can be discarded, and we may rather posit Plt. *wijke-. This may derive from PIE *ueih₁- 'to strive after, try to get', as has been suggested by WH and others. The same root is reflected in Latin viis 'you want' and invitus 'unwilling'.

Bibl.: WH II: 778f., EM 731, IEW 1123f., Untermann 2000: 93, 860f., LIV *ueih₁-.

**vibícēs**, -um 'weal, scar' [f. k] (Cato+; only pl.)

Plt. *weib-i- 'the swinging / trembling (one)'.

PIE *ueib-. IE cognates: see s.v. vibrō.

If the original meaning was 'whiplash' or 'wound', vibik- might be cognate with vibrāre, but from a full grade root *weib-.

Bibl.: WH II: 779, EM 731. → vibrō

**vibrō**, -āre 'to move to and fro, flash' [v. I] (Lucr.+

Derivatives: vibrissāre 'to sing with vibrato' (Titin. apud Paul. ex F.).

Plt. *wib-ro- 'trembling'.

PIE *uip/b-ro-. IE cognates: Skt. vipra- [m. / adj.] 'trembling, seer', YAv. vipra-[adj.] 'ecstatic'; Skt. pr. vēpate 'to tremble', vipāya- 'to become inspired', aor. vipāna- [ptc.med.], pf. vivipre [3p.med.] 'they have become excited', vip- [f.] 'inspired speech', OAv. vaēpiia- 'catamite, pathetic', YAv. apa vaēpa- 'to yield, give off', vaēpāia- 'to be homosexual', Go. weipan 'to crown', faur-waijan 'to bind', Oic. veīfa 'to swing'; ToB waryp- 'to shake, swing', 3s. wīpā(śśām) , ToB waipe* [m.sg.] 'banner', obl.sg. waipe, ToB waipealau 'vertigo'.

Derived from an adj. *wibro- 'swinging, agitated', which can be connected to IE words of the same meaning from *ueip- (Gm. *weib- may also go back to PIE *ueip-, cf. LIV). The outcome of PIE *-pr- in Latin can be seen in caper, capra, although these words may be loanwords. The PIE root-final consonant apparently varied in voicing, consider also the root *k(w)sueib/p- 'to swing' in Skt. kṣipāti 'to hurl', Av. xśuuaebxaiat.astra- 'swinging the whip', Skt. kṣiprā- 'quick, fast', YAv. xśuubra- 'quick', xśuufi-išu- 'with fast arrows'. The IIr. root *kš(y)ip/b(h)- looks like a compound with *uib/p- as its second member.

Bibl.: WH II: 780f., EM 731f., IEW 1131f., LIV *ueip-.

**vicis** [gen.sg.] 'turn, occasion' [f. k] (Pl.+; acc. vicem, abl. vice, nom.pl. vicēs, dat.abl.pl. vicibus; not attested in nom.sg. and gen.pl.)

Derivatives: vicissātim 'in turn(s)' (Naev.+), vicissim 'in turn' (Pl.+), vicissitās 'alternation' (Acc.), vicissitūdō 'reversal, alternation' (Ter.+), vicārius [adj./m.] 'substitute, deputy' (Pl.+).

Plt. *wik- 'turn'.

PIE *uík- 'a turn'. IE cognates: see s.v. vinciō.

As to the PIE root, this may well have been *uík- 'to tie, turn'. All simplex forms point to a root noun vik-, but for vicissim, an i-stem is mostly assumed. Schrijver judges the etymology *viki-dtim < *-dh3t-im 'given, giving in turn' not impossible. This would derive from a ti-stem *dh3ti-, whereas vicissātim points to a *vicissus <
*-dh-to- ‘given in turn’. The alternative solution *vici-cessim ‘im Wechsel
schreitend’ (Leumann 1977: 234, 501) also seems possible: via haplology, *vici-ssim
would have arisen. None of these etymologies is immediately convincing.

vinciō, víx

**victima** ‘sacrificial animal’ [f. ā] (Naev.+)  
Plt. *wiktV-mā-. It. cognates: U. eveietu, e.veietu [acc.sg.m. of ppp.] ‘?’.  
If vic-is ‘turn, occasion’ derives from a root meaning ‘to turn’, the application of
‘turn’ in a context of exchange can easily lead to a meaning ‘exchange’, as in the Gm.
cognates. The **victima** could then be the ‘exchange’ with the gods, hence *yikti-
‘exchange’ + *-mo-. But there are other options. **Victima** may also be connected with
PIE *ueik- ‘to select, sift’, as in Skt. vec- ‘to sift, to separate, to winnow’, prá-vikta-
vaēcāia- [caus.], MP wēxtan/wēztan ‘to sift, select, winnow’, Khwar. prwycī ‘to
sift’. One could connect Go. weihs, OHG wih ‘holy’, in the same field of religious
terminology as **victima**.

Bibl.: WH II: 782, EM 732, IEW 1128, LIV ?1.*uiek-.

**vīcus** ‘village, block of houses’ [m. o] (Pl.+-; OLat. ueicus, uecus, uecos CIL)
Derivatives: vicātim ‘street by street’ (Sis.+), vicīnum [adj./m.] ‘neighbour,
neighbouring’ (Naev.+), vicīnia ‘adjoining land, neighbourhood’ (Pl.+), vicīnitās
‘proximity, neighbourhood’ (Cato+), villa ‘rural dwelling, farm’ (Pl.+), villāticus ‘of
a farmstead’ (Varro+), vīlicus ‘farm- Overseer’ (Pl.+), vīlica ‘wife of a farm-Overseer’
(Cato+), vīlicāre ‘to perform the duties of a farm-Overseer’ (Cato+).


viśa- ‘to get ready’, Skt. veśā- ‘inhabitant’, YAv. vaēsa- [m.] ‘servant (who lives in
the master’s house)’, Skt. viś- [f.] ‘settlement, dwelling-place, people’, YAv. viś- [f.]
‘homestead, community’, OP viṭ- [f.] ‘royal house, palace, house, farm’ < ltr. *yīc-<
PIE *uik-; Gr. fōikoς, οίκος [m.] ‘house, household’, Myc. wo-i-ko-de /woikon-del
‘home’, Lith. viēšpats ‘lord’, OPr. waispattin ‘mistress’ [acc.sg.] < *uoik-poti-; OCS
uvsb [f.], Ru. ves’ (obs.) ‘village’ < PIE *ui̯k-, Go. weihs [n.] (gen. weihsis) ‘village,
settlement’.

It is generally assumed that *woik- yielded vīc- instead of **vīc- due to initial *w-,
which would have exerted a dissimilatory influence on the diphthong or the long
vowel. This is uncertain, since the OLat. spellings ueic- and uec- could also represent
Plt. *weik- and since there is no other example of a development *woi-> vī-. In view
of Go. weihs, an ablaut grade *ueik- was also present in PIE; in fact, the original noun
may have been a root noun *ueik- / *uik-, with a thematic derivative *uoik-o- in
Greek. The noun villa < *weik-sla- was probably derived from the verb *ueik- ‘to
settle’ or from the root noun; from villa was then derived vīlicus, with simplification
of the geminate -tt-.

Bibl.: WH II: 782f., 790f., EM 732f., IEW 1131, LIV *uiek-.
videō 'to see' [v. II; pf. vidi, ppp. visum] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: vidēlicet [adv.] 'evidently, of course' (Pl.+); prūdēns 'well aware, clever' (Pl.+), imprūdēns 'ignorant, unaware' (Pl.+), imprūdentia 'ignorance' (Ter.+); invidēre 'to be jealous of, refuse' (Pl.+), invidius 'malevolent, envious' (Pl.+), invidia 'dislike, jealousy' (Pl.+), invidiosus 'unpopular, enviable' (Cato+), pervidēre 'to discern, see fully' (Varro+), prōvidēre 'to foresee, see to it' (Pl.+), imprōvisus 'unexpected' (Pl.+), revidēre 'to pay another visit' (Pl.+); vīsō, -ere 'to go and look, visit' (Pl.+), vīsus, -ūs 'sight, vision' (Lucr.+), visitare 'to see frequently, visit' (Pl.+), circumvisere 'to look round at' (Pl.+), convīsere 'to watch, visit' (Acc.+), intervīsere 'to go and see' (Pl.+), prōvisere 'to be on the look-out' (Pl.+), revisere 'to pay another visit' (Pl.+).

Pit. *wid-e- 'to see', *weidr-s- 'to see (in future)'. It. cognates: U. urisseto auirseto [ppp. nom.sg.] 'seen unseen', SPic. videtas [2p.pr.?] 'to see' < *uid~e~; U. urissetu [3s.ipv.ll] 'to check' < *re-ueid-s-e-tdd.

PIE *uid-eh r 'to see'. 1. IE cognates: Olr. ro-finnadar* 'to find out' < PCI. *wind-e-o-, W. gwybot, 1s. gwnn, Co. godhvos, Bret. gouz(o)ut, 1s. goun, gonn 'to know' < *wind-mu- < *wind-e-o-; Ofr. rofrîr 'to know', MW gwyrr, MBret. goar, MCorn. gor 'knows' < PCl. *yid- < PIE *yoid-/*yid- [pf.]; MW gwydyat, MC. goze, OBret. gozye [3s.ipf.] 'knew' < *yaid- < *yaid-s-; Ofr. adfêt < *ad-weid-e-o- 'to tell, relate' (< *yinde-o-); Skt. ved- '1. to find, discover, desire, 2. to know, be acquainted with' [pr. vindáti, aor. vidáti, pf. véda, ppa. vidvânta-], OAv. vînastí 'finds', vîdat 'finds', vîsta- 'found', vâdâ [pf.] 'I know, he knows', ppa. vîduuah- 'knowing, capable'; ā-uuaēdaiamahi 'we announce'; YAv. vinda- 'to find' [3s. vînastí] ; OP vindafrâ (PN), MP windâdan/wind- 'to find, desire', Parth. wynd- 'to find'; Gr. οἶδα 'I know' [pl. ήμεν (Att. ήμεν), ipv. ήζεθ, ptc. ήζος], iōtō [m.pl.] 'witnesses', aor. ήζειν 'to behold, recognise', ἤζομαι 'to seem, appear', ἤζος 'species, appearance'; Arm. egit 'he found', 3s.aor. gt-i, pr. gstanem < *h₂-e-uid-et, gitem 'to know' < *uoid-; Lith. veizdėti, 3s. veizdî 'to look (for)' < BSl. *uyeitd-; OCS viděti, Ru. videt', Scr. vidjeti 'to see' < PSl. *viděti; OPr. waist 'know', OCS věděti, 1s. věm, 3s. věst 'to know', Ru. vědat' 'to manage, (obs.) know', Cz. věděti 'to know' < PSl. *věděti < BSl. *uoidz-; Go. wait, witum 'I know, we know', weitwophs 'witness', fraweitán 'to take revenge', in-weitán 'to worship', OE gewitan 'to die', Go. fairweitjan 'to observe, heed'; Go. witan, -aida 'to heed'.

Prūdens regularly reflects *provīdēns, *provīdent- > *prōud- > prūd-. The pr. vīsō reflects an s-desiderative *weid-s-ô. The pf. vīdē could formally reflect a root aorist *uyeit- or a pf. *uyeit-; in view of the perfective meaning ('I saw'), LIV opts for a root aorist. The stative pr. *uyeit-is confirmed by Umbrian and South Picene; we also find it in Gothic and in Lith. pavydēti, 1s. -vydējū 'to envy', but these can easily be independent formations.


viduus 'deprived of husband or wife' [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)
vigeō 'to be active, flourish' [v. II; pf. vigū, no ppp. attested] (Naev.+

Derivatives: vigor 'vigour' (Caes.+, vigēscere 'to acquire strength' (Lucr.+, vigil, -is [m.] 'guard, sentry' (Pl.+)) [gen.pl. vigilum], vigil, -is 'awake, wakeful' (Lucr.+), vigilāta 'the act of keeping watch, patrol' (Pl.+), vigilium 'the action of keeping watch' (Varro), vigilāre 'to stay awake' (Pl.+); advigilāre 'to be on the watch' (Pl.+), obvigilāre 'to be watchful' (Pl.+), pervigilāre 'to stay awake all night' (Pl.+).

Plt. *wegē-, *wegli-.

PIE *wegēh₁- 'to be strong', *weg₁- ‘strong’. IE cognates: Skt. vāja- 'contest, reward', vājāyati 'impels', Go. -wakjan 'to waken', OHG wāhhēn 'to be awake'.

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Derivatives: vidua [f.] 'widow' (Naev.+), viduitās 'state of being deprived, widowhood' (Pl.+), vidertās 'dearth' (Cato+), viduāre 'to deprive of' (Lucr.+).

Plt. *wībowo- [adj.].

PIE *wībowo- 'separated'. IE cognates: OIr. fedb, Skt. vidhāvā- [f.] 'widow', a-vidhāvā- [f.] 'not a widow', YAv. vidaua [nom.sg.f.], MP wēwag, MoP bēwa, Oss. ideez 'widow' (< Plr. *vidauaēi) < Plr. *Hūid'auaH- 'widow, deprived of a partner'; Gr. ηίύεος [m.] 'unmarried young man'; OPr. widdewū, OCS vědova, vědova [f.], Ru. vědová (acc. vědová) < PSI. *vědovā; Go. wīdwo, OHG wītawā 'widow'.

Latin and Greek show a them. adj. used for both sexes, whereas the other languages have a fem. noun. Since the word came to be used for women more often than for men (in most IE societies), it is unlikely that the f. noun was original, and adjectivized without any suffix in Latin and Greek. I therefore assume the primacy of the o-stem adj. in PIE. Initial *du- was dissimilated to *h₁u- in front of *-d₁-; cf. Lubotsky 1994.


vieō 'to plait, weave' [v. II] (Enn.)

Derivatives: viētōr/vītōr 'basket-maker' (Pl.+), vīmen [n.] 'flexible branch, used for wickerwork' (Cato+), vīminēus 'made of wickerwork' (Pl.+), vīminālis 'of/for withies; hill of Rome' (Varro+), vīdulūs 'kind of carrying-bag' (Pl.); viēscere: [ppp. viētus, Ter.+] 'to shrivel' (Col.); vitta 'linen headband, woollen band' (Pl.+).

Plt. *wijjele/lo- 'to plait', *weimn- 'branch for plaiting'.

PIE *wēg₁- 'to plait', *wijhe₁- 'plaiting'. IE cognates: OIr. ar-fen 'to close off, immfer* 'to enclose' < PCl. *-wi-na-; Skt. vyāyati 'to wind, wrap', ppp. viťa-, Gr. ἧμις, -υος, Aeol. ἧμις 'felloe, rim of a shield', Lith. vytis, Latv. vē, OCS vīt, SCR. vīti 'to twist, wind' < *uhi-, Lith. vyti 'twill', SCR. pāvit 'vine' < *uhi-ti-; OCS vēja, Skt. vajā- 'branch, twig' < *uoH-iH-eh₂-, Av. vaēhti- 'willow', Go. waddjus < *uoH-iH-u-.

The appurtenance of viēscō and viētus here is disputed. If one assumes that viētus is a (secondary) ppp. to vieō meaning 'plaited, woven' > 'wrinkled', viēscō can have been formed as an 'inchoative to vieō but with the meaning of viētus, thus 'to become wrinkled, shrivel'. The noun vitta, if from *vita, may continue an older -to-ppc. *uHiH-to- of the root. For vīdulūs, we must assume an extended root *uHiH-d-.

The PIE etymology with *ueg- is adopted by all scholars. The i in vigeo may be explained as analogically adopted from the vigil (LIV adduces “Homonymenflucht von vegere” as a possible impetus), or from raising of *e to i after a preceding labial, as in firmus, vitulus, villus, fiber, pinna, according to Watkins 1973b: 196. The latter explanation seems more likely, since vigil and vigeo are not closely associated in the synchronic semantics of Latin (thus also Watkins 1973b: 197), so that analogical introduction of vi- from vigil seems less likely. Together with vegetal, vigil is the only stem in *-lis which shows the regular development *-lis > *-ls > -l. The nom.sg. vigil must have caused the (partial) switch from i-declination to a consonant stem (gen.pl. vigilum), which in its turn explains why we find vigilare already in the earliest literature. Initial vi- in vigil can be explained from assimilation to the i of the second syllable, as in nihil, similis, cinis. Final -il instead of *-ul in the nom.sg. must be due to analogy with other case forms (*veglim, *vegleis, *vegli), where l was exilis, yielding a stem *vegili-.

Bibl.: WH II: 788, EM 735, IEW 1117f., Sihler 1995: 40, 497, Niedermann 1945: 69, LIV *ueg-. → vigeo

viginti ‘twenty’ [num. indecl.] (Lex XII, Pl.+)
Derivatives: vicē(n)simus ‘twentieth’ (Pl.+; <vīg- > Sall., Col.), vīciē(n)s ‘twenty times’ (Cic.+), vīcēnī ‘twenty at a time’ (Varro, Cic.+); duodēvīgintī ‘eighteen’ (Pl.+), ündēvīgintī ‘nineteen’ (Cic.+).

Plt. *wikentī (>> *wigentī), *wikensamo-.
PIE *dūi-dkmnt-ih1 ‘twenty’. IE cognates: OIr. fiche, fichit [dat./acc.], OW uceint, MW figgit; Skt. viṃśati- [f.], YAv. viśaiti, Khot. bistā, MP wīst, OSS. ysexez/insajɛ, Gr. ēikos, H. also ēixos, Dor. ἰκας, Arm. k’san, Alb. zet, ToB ikām, ToA wiki ‘twenty’.

The unexpected voiced g in Latin vigintī is explained by Kortlandt 1983a: 101 from voicing after a nasal in the words for ‘70’ and ‘90’, and subsequent analogical introduction in the other decads. The i of -int- must be secondary for *-ent-, it may have arisen phonetically between the i’s of the surrounding syllables (thus Coleman). Lat. vicēsimus from vikēnsumo- (CIL 6.7872) shows the same PIE suffix *-tmHo- as Indo-Iranian. Originally, ‘twenty’ was formed as a dual form meaning ‘two teens’. PIE *dūi-dkmnt-ih1 is redundantly marked as a pair by *dūi- ‘two’ and the dual ending.


vilis ‘cheap, worthless’ [adj. i] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: vilitās ‘cheapness’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *wesli-.
PIE *yes-li- [adj.]. IE cognates: Hit. yāš-i ‘to buy’ (< *uos- / *us-).

A deverbal adj. in *-li- with passive meaning: *yes-li- ‘what can be bought’. The expected outcome *velis was raised to vilis, possibly under the influence of the the preceding labial (thus Watkins 1973b: 196).
vincō, -ire 'to tie up, bind' [v. IV; pf. vīnxt, ppp. vinctum] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: vicia 'vetch' (Cato+), vinctum 'bond, chain' (Pl+), vinctō 'binding together' (Varro+), vinctūra 'which binds' (Varro+), vinctus, -ūs 'tie' (Varro+); circumvinctūre 'to bind round' (Pl+), dēvincēre 'to tie fast, bind' (Pl+); prōvincia 'special task of a magistrate, command, district' (Pl+), prōvinciālis 'of or belonging to a province' (Varro+).

PIt. *wink-(e/o~) 'to tie, bind'. It. cognates: U. preuīšlatus, preuīlatu [3s.ivp.II] 'to tie' < *prai-ynkēlō-tōd, denom. to *ui(n)k(e)lo-.

Pie *ui-n-k-. IE cognates: see s.v. vincō.

Lat. vicia 'vetch' (< 'winding plant') may continue the nasalless root *uik-. The noun vinculum is derived from the verbal stem *yink- (either with *-(e)lo- or with *-i/o-). The nasal spread from the present to the pf. and ppp., whereas vincō itself can be a derivative of the earlier pr. *yink- (cf. vincō), or from a nominal derivative *yink-i(o)-; Meiser 2003: 122 explains it as a back-formation to the pf. vinxī. Lat. prōvincia seems based on an adj. *prō-wink-io- 'load, burden, charge' > 'task', cf. Hamp 1997: 124f. The reconstruction of the root with a final labiovelar is based on the very uncertain appurtenance of Gr. ἱψον 'ivy; prison' here; but Lat. vicis, U. preuīšlatus (thus Meiser 2003: 122) and the Gm. forms cited s.v. vincō point to a non-labialized velar.


vincō, -ere 'to conquer, overcome' [v. III; pf. vīcī, ppp. victum] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: victor 'winner, conqueror' (Naev.+), victōria 'victory' (Naev.+), victōriātus 'with an image of Victory' (Cato+), victrix 'victorious' (of a woman) (Pl+), vincibilis 'that can be won' (Ter.+); convincere 'to prove wrong, find guilty' (Pl+), pervicāx 'stubborn, determined' (Ter.+), pervicācia 'resolution' (Enn.+), pervicus 'stubborn' (Acc.), pervincere 'to prevail over' (Pl+), invictus 'invincible, not overcome' (Pl+).

PIt. *wink-(e/o-) 'to tie, bind' > 'tie in, overcome', aor. *weik-. It. cognates: O. uincter [3s.pr.ps.] 'to prove someone's guilt', probably borrowed from Latin; Pael. uiciturei [dat.sg.] 'winner' < Lat. victōr-; O. vikturrai [dat.sg.] 'Victoria', loanword from Latin.

PIE *ui-n-k- [pr.] 'to bend, tie', *uik-to- [ppp.]. IE cognates: Ofr. fichid* 'to battle' < PCl. *yihe-to-, Ofr. fecht [f. ā], MW gweith [f.], OBret. gueth 'battle' < *yik-tā-; Skt. pr. vivikτās [3du.act.], pf. vivyāca [3s.act.] 'to contain, embrace', vyācas- [n.] 'extent, content', MP winj-, ps. winjih- 'to be contained' < IIR. *yik-tē-, *yikak-tē-; Gr. εἴκο 'to give way, yield' < *yiēk-; Lith. veikti, 1s. veikiū 'to work; overcome', Latv. vīksu, vik 'to give way, bend', viksts 'yielding, soft', Lith. vikrus 'agile, swift, skilful', vēikus / veikius 'quick, strong, firm', Latv. vēiks 'diligent, agile, skilful, limited', OIr. vega 'to battle, kill', Go. -waih, OIr. vá 'battled', Go. wigana [dat.sg.] 'battle'; Go. waihsta 'corner', MHG weigen 'to wav'er, OE wicga 'beetle', OEf. OE
wāg, OE wēg ‘wall’ (< *wōk-o-); Omc. gīfə-vīxəl ‘gift-exchange’, OE wehsāl ‘commerce, money’, OHG wehsal, wehsil ‘exchange, commerce’; OHG wehha, wohha, OS wika, OE wucu, wicu, Omc. vīka ‘week’ (< *‘change’) < *yik-n-.

Probably from the same root as vincō, pace LIV: ‘to bend’ can easily develop into ‘overcome, conquer’ (one bending the other) or ‘give in, yield’ (the one being bent by the other). Intransitive use can explain the meaning ‘to fight, contend’ (e.g. in Celtic). The pf. vīcī could directly reflect a PIE root aorist *yeik-.


vīnum ‘wine’ [n. o] (Andr. +)

Derivatives: vīnea ‘vines in a vineyard; moveable penthouse’ (Lex XII, Pl.+), vīnēaticus ‘connected with vine-growing’ (Cato+), vīnētum ‘vineyard’ (Varro+), vīnāceus ‘the refuse from wine-pressing’ (Cato+), vīnālia, -ium ‘the name of two wine festivals’ (Varro+), vīnāritus ‘for/of producing wine’ (Pl.+), vīnolentus ‘of immoderate wine consumption’ (Pl.+), vīnōsus ‘immoderately fond of wine’ (Pl.+), villum ‘small quantity of wine’ (Ter.); vīnībua ‘female tippler of wine’ (Lucil.).


For vīndēmia, see s.v. emō. The IE words for ‘vine’ and ‘wine’ go back to an n-stem derived from the root ‘to weave, wrap’, hence ‘wine’ was referred to as ‘the weaving one’ (Beekes 1987b: 24). Whereas Hittite preserves the n-stem, it has been thematized outside Anatolian, either with (Gr., Arm., Alb.) or without (Latin) introduction of an o-grade into the root. This explanation renders Oettinger’s explanation for the Anatolian forms (2003: 143) superfluous. He assumes a development *uoiniōn- > *uoino- > *uēno- > *uīyana- with diphthongization of *ē, but the Italic forms would remain unexplained in his scenario.


violō, -āre ‘to violate, disturb’ [v. I] (Lex Sacra CIL 1.366, Pl.+)

Derivatives: violentus ‘violent’ (Pl.+), violēnter ‘violently’ (Ter.+), violēntia ‘violence’ (Pl.+), inviolābilis ‘indestructible’ (Lucr.+).

Plt. *wijelo- ‘chasing, violating’.

PIE *uiH-elo-. IE cognates: see s.v. via.

Probably derived from a deverbal adj. in -elo- to the root *uiH- ‘to strive after, chase’. Since the root *uiH- of viś ‘power’ is only nominal in the IE languages, it is less attractive to derive *vielo- from that root. Still, the Romans must have associated violō with viś, since derivatives in -(u)lentus are characteristically made from nouns (cf. opulentus).
**vireo** 'to be green' [v. II; pf. virul] (Lucr. +)

**viper** 'poisonous snake' [f. ā] (Cic.+)

Derivatives: *viperīnus* 'of a viper' (Acc.+).

Plt. *weip-es-ā-?

PIE *ueip-es-?

There are two competing etymologies. Pliny’s explanation as *vīvo-para* ‘who gives birth to living young’ has been adopted by WH and Leumann, but it has several drawbacks. Semantically, *vīvo-para* would mean ‘who gives birth to a living one’ (cf. *puerpera* ‘who gives birth (to a child)’), but this goes for all mammals too, and is therefore hardly a specific description of snakes. It is clear from Pliny, *Nat.* 10, 62 (82) that the Romans knew that snakes lay eggs (*ova pariunt serpentes*), but observed the hatchlings as coming out of their eggs in the snake itself (*dein singulis diebus singulos partit*). Formally, since the stress would be on the penultimate syllable, *wīwo-para* would not contract (cf. Meiser 1998: 92); the loss of *-wo-* could be due to haplophony, but this is unattractive since *vīvus* was always present in the language, and Apuleius even has an adj. *viviparus* ‘giving birth to live young’. Thus, this explanation is better dropped. The alternative etymology is that *vīpera* continues *weip-es-ā* to the root *wip/b-* ‘to swing, agitate’ (cf. *vibrāre*), which makes semantic sense. Formally this solution is not completely transparent (*weipes-* ‘swing, agitation’ > *snake’, >> *weipesā-?), but it is conceivable. The name for the viper may have referred to its behaviour (curling, hissing) or its form (patterns on the snake, form of the head) which leaves many possibilities for etymologies.

Bibl.: WH II: 796, EM 738, Leumann 1977: 394, LIV *ueip-*. → vibrō

**vir** 'man' [m. o] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *virīlis* ‘of a man, male’ (Pl.+), *virāgō, -inis* [f.] ‘strong or warlike woman’ (Pl.+), *virācitus* ‘manly’ (Varro), *virūtim* [adv.] ‘man by man, individually’ (Pl.+), *virōsus* ‘having an excessive sexual craving for men’ (Lucil.+), *virtūs, -tūtis* ‘manly qualities, valour’ (Andr.+); *ēvirāre* ‘to unman’ (Varro+).


The short vowel in Latin is due to Dybo’s law, cf. Schrijver 1991: 340. Since nouns in *-āgō* are usually built to nouns or verbs in *-ā-*, Leumann 1977: 369 suggests that *virāgō* might be built to the form *vīra* ‘femina’ found in Paul. ex F. Alternatively, WH wonder whether *virāgō* ‘warlike woman’ was formed after *imāgō* ‘image’ – thus meaning ‘man-like’. The adj. *virīlis* may be formed on the basis of the gen.sg. *vīrī*; thence was formed *virī-tim*.

Derivatives: *virēscere ‘to turn green’ (Lucr.+), *viridīs [adj.] ‘green’ (Cato+), *viridāre ‘to be green’ (Acc.+), *viridulus ‘young and tender’ (Naev.); praeveridāns ‘very green’ (Lab.).

Plt. *w(e)is-?

IE cognates: OPr. wēisin ‘fruit’ [acc.sg.], Lith. veist, 3s. veisia ‘to breed, rear’, visti, 3s. vįsta ‘to multiply, breed’, vašius ‘fruit’; OIc. visir ‘sprout’ [?]; OE wīsē ‘sprout, stem’ [f.]; OHG viša ‘meadow’ [f.].

Uncertain etymology. None of the adduced set of cognates (Lat. ‘green’, Baltic ‘multiply, fruit’, Gm. ‘sprout, meadow’) undoubtedly belong together.

Bibl.: WH II: 797, EM 739, IEW 1133, Schrijver 1991: 238, LIV 1.*weis-.

**virga** ‘shoot, twig, rod’ [f. ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: virgeus ‘made of twigs’ (Cato+), virgātor ‘who wields a rod’ (Pl.+), virgula, -ōrum ‘brushwood’ (Cato+); virgōlēm ‘a harvest of rods’ (Pl.+).

Plt. *wizg-?


*Virga* has been derived from *wizg-ā- and connected with other IE words of the form *uisk- which refer to sticks, bundles or similar objects. Yet the connection with the root *uiH- ‘to weave’, upheld in prelaryngealistic studies, must now be abandoned. Also, the velar consonants do not always agree, and the meaning of verbs of the type ‘to quiver, shake’ (Lith. vizgi, vizgēti ‘to tremble’, vizgoti ‘to waver’) is too far off. Only the Germanic forms in *uisk- are close enough to inspire some confidence in their connection with *virga*. The adj. *virgultus*, attested as a noun from Cato onwards, presumes the dim. *virgula*, which is only attested from Cicero onwards.

Bibl.: WH II: 797f., EM 739, IEW 1133f.

**virgō, -inis** ‘girl of marriageable age; virgin’ [f. (m.) n] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: virginālis ‘of a girl of marriageable age’ (Pl.+), virginārius ‘concerned with girls of a marriageable age’ (Pl.+), virginus ‘of a girl; virgin’ (Lucr.+).

WH interpret *virgō* as an individuation of *virga* ‘twig, rod’, implying a shift from ‘young, virgin’ > ‘young plant’. Ledo-Lemos 2002 posits a compound *wir-g-ōn- ‘young woman’, with an unacceptable formal and semantic analysis of the word for ‘man’ (recte PIE *uHro-) and formally of PIE ‘woman’.

Bibl.: WH II: 799, EM 739f., IEW 1133f.

**virus** ‘venom, poison’ [n. o] (Lucil.+; almost restricted to nom.acc.sg.)

Derivatives: *virosus ‘with an unpleasant smell or taste’ (Cato+).

Plt. *weis-o-(s-) [n.] ‘poison’.

The restriction to nom.acc.sg. may mean that *vīrus is an original n. s-stem *uiros-; the origin of the s-stem inflection is unclear. Szemerényi reconstructs *üeisos for Latin, and argues that the Greek word (Pindar+) has secondary lengthening in hiatus. Matasović argues that the length of -i- is best accounted for by positing an original root-noun *veis / *uis-os; Lat. preserved the stem of the nominative, whereas the other languages generalized the stem of the oblique cases.


**vis, vis** ‘strength, force’ [f.] (Andr.+; acc.sg. vim, nom.pl. vīrēs, gen.pl. vīrium)

Derivatives: For vindex, see s.v. dicō.

Plt. *wīs.


Traditionally analysed as an s-stem *uiH-s- with the same root as in *uiH-ro- ‘man’. The Gr. and Lat. cognates, however, are more easily explained from an original root noun. If this is correct, the Skt. formation and the Lat. plural forms must be secondary. Any relation to *ueh₁-i- ‘to wind’ or to *ueh₁- ‘to hunt, pursue’ is uncertain.

Bibl.: WH II: 793f., 800f., EM 737, 740, IEW 1123f., Untermann 2000: 146. → dicō, vir

**viscum** ‘mistletoe; bird-lime from the berries of the mistletoe’ [n. o] (Pl.+; Pl. also nom.sg. viscus)

Derivatives: viscātus ‘ smeared with bird-lime’ (Lucil.+).

Plt. *wisko-?

IE cognates: Gr. ἴς [m.] ‘mistletoe, -berry, the bird-lime prepared from it’, OHG wihsela ‘morello’, Ru. višnja ‘cherry’.

A PIE word or a European loanword indicating ‘mistletoe’ or another fruit-bearing tree. The original form may have been *wiks- (in which case Latin has undergone a metathesis) or *wiKsk-, with various simplifications of the medial cluster in the different languages.

Bibl.: WH II: 801f., EM 741, IEW 1134.

**viscus, -eris** ‘fleshy parts; entrails’ [n. r] (Pl+)

Derivatives: viscerātīm ‘piecemeal’ (Enn.); ēviscerāre ‘to disembowel’ (Enn.+).

No clear etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 802, EM 741, IEW 1133f.

**vītis** ‘grape-vine’ [f. i] (Enn+)

Derivatives: vitilis ‘made of wickerwork’ (Cato+), vīteus ‘of a vine’ (Varro+), vitigineus ‘of a vine or its wood’ (Cato+), vītārium ‘nursery for vines’ (Cato+).

Plt. *wīt-.

PIE *uh₁-i-ti-. IE cognates: see s.v. vieū.
Derivative in *-ti- from the root *uh₁-i- 'to weave, wrap', hence 'weaving'. Compare the PIE etymology of *vīnum.


**vitium** 'defect, fault' [n. o] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *vitiāre* 'to spoil, invalidate' (Ter.+), *vitiōsus* 'faulty, defective' (Pl.+), *vitiīgō*, -inis 'a form of skin eruption, psoriasis' (Lucil.+), *vitiuperāre* 'to declare invalid, find fault with' (Pl.+).

Plt. *vitiō- 'deviation, fault'.

PIE *(d)ui-tio- 'apart, wrong'. IE cognates: see s.v. duo.

WH reconstruct a PIE adj. *(d)ui-om* 'separation, deviation' to *(d)ui- 'apart', comparing Skt. nitya- 'down'. This would amount to a similar dissimilation of two dentals as in PIE *duitero-* > Ilr., Gm., Slav. *(H)ui-tero- 'second, following'. Indo-Iranian, Tocharian and Umbrian have a form *du(i)-tio- 'second', but this is an io-derivative of *du(i)-to-, and hence does not invalidate the solution for *vitium*. The verb *vitiuperāre* presupposes an adj. *(d)iti-paro- (with regular simplification of the to-stem in the first member to -i-) or *(d)ito-paro- 'bringing up a fault'. *Vitiīgō* belongs to the names of diseases in -īg<, but cannot be directly derived from *vitium* since -l- would remain unexplained.


**vītō, -āre** 'to move out of the way, avoid' [v. I] (Pl.+)  

Derivatives: *dēvīāre* 'to avoid' (Pl.+), ēvīāre 'to avoid' (Varro+); *Vītula* 'goddess of joy' (Varro).

Plt. *vīto- 'wanted'.

PIE *(d)uēh₁-to- 'wished for'. IE cognates: see s.v. via.

WH assume *(d)ui-itō 'to go out of the way', with a preverb *(d)ui- 'apart' < *(d)ui- as in Ilr. Yet frequentative verbs in -īāre are generally recent, which excludes an early dissimilation *(d)ui-itā- > *(d)ui-itā-. The alternative connection with Lat. invitus 'unwilling' (< *(n)-uiH-to-), viēs 'you want' seems formally more probable to me. Semantically, we must then assume that *vītōs* was back-formed to *(d)de-vītōs* 'avoiding'. Whether *vītulārī* 'to utter a cry of joy' (Naev.+), also belongs here is uncertain.

Bibl.: WH II: 805, 807, EM 742, LIV *uēh₁-.

**vitricus** 'stepfather' [m. o] (CIL 1.583, Cic.+)  

WH and IEW derive *vitricus* from PIE *(d)ui-tero- 'second, other' (as attested in Ilr., Germanic, Slavic), but this does not explain long i. I have no other solution.


**vitrum** 'glass; the plant 'woad' (*isatis tinctoria*), from whose leaves blue dye was produced' [n. o] (Lucr.+)
vivō

Derivatives: *vitreus* ‘resembling glass; made of glass’ (Varro+).
Plt. *wedro- ‘glass’.
PIE *ued-ro- ‘water-like’. IE cognates: see s.v. unda.

Szemerényi 1989: 24f. derives *uitrum* from *ued-ro- on the basis of a semantic parallel in Middle Iranian, where *‘glass’* is derived from the word for *‘water’: āp-aka- ‘water-like’ > *‘glass’. The Latin change of *dr > tr is regular. The change of *wet- > wit- is also found in *vitulus* ‘calf’ and in other Latin words with a labial preceding *e.* The plant and its dye will have been denominated after the colour of glass (in antiquity, a transparent green with a yellowish to blueish paleness).

Bibl.: WH II: 805f., EM 742. → unda, uter

vitulus ‘calf’ [m. o] (Cato+)
Derivatives: *vitellus* ‘little calf’ (Pl.), *yolk of an egg’ (Varro+), *vitulinus* ‘of a calf’ (Pl.+).
PIE *wet- ‘year’. IE cognates: see s.v. vefts.

Bibl.: WH II: 807, EM 742, IEW 1175, Untermann 2000: 859f. → vetus

viverra ‘ferret (or similar animal)’ [f. ā] (Plin+)

Irish, BSI. and Gm. point to a word *{(we(r)}-wer- ‘squirrel’, and Lith. vaiveris shows that a shift to a meaning ‘marten’ is conceivable. In spite of their different status as herbivore vs. carnivore, they may have been compared due to their similar darting movements and their tree habitat, or on account of the fur for which they were hunted. Folk etymology may explain the ultimate outcome vī-ver-ra.

Bibl.: WH II: 808, EM 742f., IEW 1166, EIEC 540.

vivō, -ere ‘to live’ [v. III; pf. *vixi, ppr. *victum] (Lex XII+)
Derivatives: *vivus* ‘alive’ (Naev+), vivēscere ‘to come to life’ (Lucr+), vivāx ‘long-lived, energetic’ (Afran+), *vividus* ‘full of vital force’ (Lucr+), *vīctus, -ās* ‘food, way of life’ (Pl.+), vīcitāre ‘to keep oneself alive’ (Pl+); convīva [m.] ‘guest’ (Pl+), convivium ‘dinner-party’ (Pl+), convivāri ‘to feast’ (Enn+), revivēscere ‘to come to life again’ (Ter+); vīta ‘life’ (Pl+), *vītālis* ‘of life, life-giving’ (Pl+), evītāre ‘to kill’ (Enn+).

'making alive', OP ɟɪva- 'to live', jɪva- 'alive'; Gr. ἐβίων, βιώναι [aor. 'to live' (< *gʷih3-et), βιος 'life' (< *gʷiH-o-), βιοτή 'life', βιοτος [m.] 'id.' (< *gʷih3-eto-); OPr. ɟiwans [acc.pl.] 'alive', gīwasi [2s.pr.] 'you live', Lith. gūvas, Latv. dzīvs 'alive', Latv. dzīvus [1s.pr.act.] 'to live', OCS žīvъ, Ru. žīvō 'alive'; Lith. gyvata 'life', OCS žīvotъ [m.] 'life'; Lith. gūtī, 3s. gūja 'to recover, heal (intr.)', Latv. dzūt 'to heal (intr.)', OCS žūti, 1s. žīvō, Ru. žīt 'to live' < *gʷHi-.

The adj. vīvus and the pr. vīvere are both inherited. The pf. and ppp.-stem vīc- is analogical after verbs in which *-eugʷ- yielded *-ūw- and then -ū-, giving the impression that the velar stop had disappeared (Meiser 1998: 208), for instance fluō. The noun vīta 'life' could reflect *wīwita < *gʷiH-yo-t-ā-, cf. Lith. gyvata 'life'; thus Meiser 1998: 92. But vīta could also directly reflect *gʷiH-t-h₂, which would enable us to derive O. bītām from the same PIt. noun (Leumann 1977: 335).


vix 'hardly' [adv.] (Pl.+

PIE *uik- 'a turn, bend'.

A derivation from *uiki- 'turn, occasion' seems semantically possible ('only occasionally' > 'hardly'), but a nom.sg. *uikis is morphologically not the most straightforward candidate, and we would not expect *-kis > -ks after a short vowel in an open syllable. We may therefore adopt WH's solution of deriving vix from the root of vincō. A preform *uik-s could be the nom.sg. of a root noun *uik- 'bond, tie' or 'victory'; clearly, the former meaning can lead to 'hardly' in a more straightforward may: 'bond' > adv. 'within bonds' > 'hardly'. As an alternative, we may consider a loc.pl. *uik-su 'with ties, within bonds', compare mōx 'soon' < PIE *moksu for the loss of the final short vowel.

Bibl.: WH II: 810, EM 743, I EW 1128f. → vicis, vincīō, vincō

vola 'hollow in the palm of the hand or the sole of the foot' [f. ā] (Varro+)

PIE *welā-?

PIE *wel-h₂ 'round'? IE cognates: OIc. valr 'round' < *yol-o-.

Semantically, a connection with volvō 'to turn' < PIE *uel-u- is attractive. Lat. vola can go back to *uelā-, not to *yolā- (which would yield *vala). The connection preferred by IEW, viz. with Gr. γόναλον 'a hollow', is improbable.

Bibl.: WH II: 825, EM 749, I EW 393ff. → volvō

volgus 'common people, crowd' [m./n. o] (Ter.; CLat. vulgus)

Derivatives: volgō [adv.] 'publicly, commonly' (Pl.+), vulgāre 'to make available to all, make public' (Pl.+), vulgārius 'ordinary' (Afran.+); divulgāre 'to make public' (Lucr.+), pervulgāre 'to make generally available' (Pl.+).

May go back to PIt. *welgo- and/or *welgos-. No further etymology.

**volō**, **velle** 'to want' [v. irr.; pf. **volui**; pr. forms: **volō**, **vis**, **volo**, **volumus**, **voltis**, **volunt**; sb. **velim**] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: **volūtāris** 'his will, choice' (Andr.+); **benevolūs**, **malevolūs** 'kind; ill-disposed' (Pl.+), **benevolus**, **malevolus** 'kind; ill-disposed' (Pl.+); **nōle** [nōlō, nevīs, nevolt, nolui] 'not to want' (Naev.+); **mālle** [māvolō/mālō, mālui] 'to prefer' (Naev.+); **vel** 'if you wish; or' (Naev.+), velut(i) 'for instance, just as, as if' (Pl.+).

PIE *wel-mi, -si, -ri* [pr.], *wel-e/o-* [sb.], *wel-i-* [opt.]. It. cognates: Ven. **leno** [ins.sg.] 'voluntary act' < *wel-e/o-; **voltio** [ins.sg.n.] 'voluntary' < *wel-ti-({i})- of the will', **volterkon** [acc.sg.n.] 'voluntary' < *wel-tr-iko- to a noun *wel-tro-. Maybe O. **velliam** [acc.sg.] 'legal demand' < *wel-jō-; U. **veltu**, **ehveltu** [3s.ipv.II] 'to order', **ehvelku** [acc.sg.] 'vote'.

**PIE** *welh₁- [aor.], *welh₁- 'to strive after, pursue'. IE cognates: Skt. **vṛṇāḥ** [3s.med.], aor. **vṛta** [3s.inj.med.], pf. **vanqṣē** 'to choose, prefer', **vṛṣṭa- 'chosen, picked, picking', **vāra-** [m.] 'wish, desire', OAv. **vār-** [pr.] 'to choose', Av.-**vairīia-** 'preferable', **vāra-** [n.] 'wish, desire', **frāunāti-** 'tutelary spirit', **OP avrnavātā** [3s.ipf.med.] 'to choose' < PIlr. **uarH-;** Gr. **λῶ, λῆς λῆ, λωμες** 'to want, wish', **λῆμα** [n.] 'will, courage, insolence', **λῆς** (also **λῆς** Dor.) 'will, choice' (if related, the Greek root reflects earlier *φλη- which probably originated in the root-aorist); Lith. **vėlti** 'to wish, prefer' (1s. OLit. **velmi**), OCS **veleti**, 1s. **veljavu**, Ru. **velēt** 'to command, order', Sln. **veleti** 'to want, order, say', 1s. **velim** < PSl. *velēti, OCS voliti* 'to want, wish', Cz. **voliti** 'to choose' < PSl. *voliti, OCS volja, Ru. volja 'will, wish, freedom' < PSl. *volja* [f. jā], Go. **wiljan** 'to want', OHG **wala** [f.], Oic. val [n.] 'choice'.

The pr. shows the regular change of *-el- > *-ol- before non-front vowels. According to Dunkel 1998: 97, **volō** and **volumus** may continue the pr.sb. *wel-ō, *wel-o-mos. The conjunction **vel** retains the original 2s. *welsi > *well > vel. The 2s. **vis** is explained from *welh₁-s 'you wish' to the root *uiH- 'to strive after' by Meiser 1998: 224; Cowgill 1978 derives **vis** by phonetic development from *wells, but this involves a lot of special pleading. The negated verb **nolō** is contracted from *ne + volō, vis, volt, while **mālō** 'I prefer' and its older counterpart **māvolō** reflect *mags-welō < *magis-welo 'I want more'.


**volō, -āre** 'to fly' [v. I] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: **volātus** 'flying' (Pl.+), **volātūra** 'flight' (Varro+), **volitāre** 'to fly about, move swiftly' (Enn.+), **volucēr, -cris** 'able to fly, swift' (Naev.+), **volucris** [f.] 'winged creature' (Pac.+); **vēlīvōlus** 'speeding along under sail' (Enn.+), **ēvōlāre** 'to
fly up or out, escape' (Pl.+), "trānsvolāre 'to fly across' (Pl.+), "trānsvolitāre 'to fly across' (Lucr.+).

PIt. *g"ela-je/o-.

PIE *g\"elh\textsubscript{1}-ie/o- 'to raise the arm, throw'. IE cognates: Olr. a-t\textsubscript{1}-baill 'to die' < *eks-bal-ni-, MW ballaf 'to die' < PCl. *bali- 'dies' < *\"e\"ithrow it'? (the appurtenance to PIE *g\"elh\textsubscript{1}- is not certain); Skt. gar' 'to raise the arm (for striking), to raise a weapon' (ud-gurāmāna- [ptc.pr.med.], apa-jārgurāna- [ptc.int.med.]), Gr. βόλλω 'to throw, to hit', βλέπω [n.] 'throw, hit'.

Muller 1926: 213 derives volāre from the root *g\"elh\textsubscript{1}- 'to throw' whereas WH reject this. Yet if the original meaning was 'to raise the arm', a shift to 'fly' is quite conceivable in the connection with birds. Morphologically, one could reconstruct a je/o-present *g\"elh\textsubscript{1}-je/o- > *welaje- > *welā- (cf. arāre), or maybe an originally reduplicated intensive *g\"e(l)-g\"o\"lh\textsubscript{1}-je/o-. WH regard volucer as an old l-stem *voluclus, but the vowel -u- remains unexplained.

Bibl.: WH II: 828, EM 751, Schrijver 1991: 470, Schumacher 2004: 211f., LIV *g\"elh\textsubscript{1}-.

volpēs, -is 'fox' [m. i] (Pl.+; CLat. vulpēs)

Derivatives: volpīnāri 'to behave like a fox' (Varro+).

Plt. *wolp-\textsubscript{i}- 'fox'.

PIE *(H)ulp-i- 'marten, cat, vel sim.' IE cognates: Av. raopi- 'fox' < Ilr. *laupi-, Av. urupi- 'marten' (vel sim.) < Ilr. *lupi-, MP gurbag, MoP gurba 'cat' < *u\lpa(ka)-; Lith. vilpi\textsubscript{\textgreek{si}s} 'wild cat' < *\lpa(-i-; Skt. lopāśā- 'jackal', Khot. rrūvāśa- 'jackal', MP rōpās, Oss. ruvas/robas 'fox' < Ilr. *laupā\textsubscript{\textgreek{ca}}- ( < *h2loup-\textsubscript{\textc{\textgreek{n}}}?-). Probably unrelated: Gr. ἀλώπης, -εκος [f] 'fox', Arm. alowēs, gen. -esow 'fox', Lith. lāpē, Latv. lapsa 'fox', W. llywarn, MCo. lowarn, Bret. louarn < PCl. *lo-perno- < *h2lōp- 'fox'.

In theory, from *uelp-i- or *u(o)lp-i-. Since we find *ulp- in Baltic and in Persian 'cat', volpēs probably continues the zero grade of the root. In Ilr., metathesis to *ulp-i- took place ( > Av. urupi-), whence *laupi- was derived.


voltur, -ris 'vulture' [m. r] (Enn.+; CLat. vultur)

Derivatives: vultūrius [m.] 'vulture' (Pl.+), subvultūrius 'of a vulture' (Pl.).

Could belong to vellō, as 'the tearing bird'. In that case, the suffix -ur- is surprising. Muller 1926: 530 questions whether it could be a rhyming word with its "antonym" turtur 'dove'. The original form could then have been *u\textsubscript{1}elH-tor- 'tearer'. While conceivable, this does not appeal much to me.

Bibl.: WH II: 830f., EM 751, IEW 482. → *we/olt(o)r-

voltus, -ūs 'facial expression, face' [m. u] (Pl.+; CLat. vultus)

Derivatives: volta, -ōrum [n.pl.] 'face, look' (Enn., Lucr.).

Plt. *we/oltu-.

PIE *u(e)l-tu- 'gaze, view'. IE cognates: Olr. *fil, *feil/-fail 'there is', MW gwelet,
volvo, OBret. guelet 'to see' < PCl. *wel-e/o-; OIr. fili, filed 'seer' < *wel-ēt- (Irslinger 2002: 56); Go. wulþus [m.] 'wealth' < *yl-tu- 'respect'.

Probably from *vel-tu- 'gaze, view' > 'look' > 'face', thus Hamp 1984a: 149.


volup 'with pleasure' [adv.] (Naev.+) [Naev. volop)

Derivatives: voluptās 'pleasure' (Pl.), voluptābilis 'causing pleasure' (Pl.), voluptārius 'of or devoted to pleasure' (Pl.), Volupia 'goddess of pleasure' (Varro+).

PIt. *we/olpi.

PIE *u(e/o)lp-i [n.] 'hope, pleasure'. IE cognates: Gr. ἔλπις 'to expect, hope, think', pf. ἔλπισσα, ἔλπωρη 'hope' (for *ἔλπωρη?), ἔλπις, -ίδος [f.] 'hope'.

The ms. variant volupe has probably arisen in volupest 'volup est', cf. Torzi 1991. Nevertheless, volup might reflect Plt. *w(e/o)lp-i 'hopefully', which could continue the n. of a PIE i-stem 'hope' (which also Gr. ἔλπις- could reflect). An apocopated Proto-Latin form *we/olp could have acquired an anaptyctic vowel between l and p. Admittedly, there is no anaptyxis in volt 'he wants', but 3s. *wel-t could have been restored on the model of the other paradigmatic forms. In order to explain -u- from a real Plt. vowel, Hamp 1980 reconstructs *welh-p- 'desire reaching', i.e. 'attaining one's wish', a cp. from the root of volō (*uelh₁) and the root of apiō 'to reach'. In a syntagm *uel-h₁p *₁h₁esti 'there is desire-reaching' with enclitic copula, Plt. *welap-est would have given *velup(est) > volup. Yet in the absence of any evidence for the combination of *uel₁h₁- plus *₁h₁p-, of a root noun *uel₁h₁-, and of the forced semantics, this etymology does not seem likely.

Bibl.: WH II: 834, EM 752, IEW 1137f., LIV *yelp-.

volva 'womb' [f. ă] (Varro+; CLat. vulva)

Derivatives: volvula 'small womb' (Naev.).

PIt. *we/olwā-.

PIE *u(e/o)l-ą- *₁h₂-. IE cognates: see s.v. volvō.

The connection with PIE *gelb₃- 'womb' (Gr. δελφύς) is only possible for the spelling volba, bulba, but this appears late in Imperial times, and cannot be relied on. Hence, we need an etymon in VOLat *-w-. Since the womb 'envelopes' the foetus, a derivation from volvō is only natural, and it also explains the suffix *-w-. The ablaut can be assumed to have been the same as in the verb.

Bibl.: WH II: 831f., EM 751, IEW 1140-44, LIV 2. *yel-. → valva, volvō

volvō, -ere 'to (cause to) go round, roll' [v. III; pf. voluī, ppp. volūtum] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: volūbilis 'rolling, spinning' (Pac.+), volūmen 'roll of papyrus' (Varro+), volićra / -is 'caterpillar on vines' (Col.+), involución-um [n.] 'cover, wrap' (Pl.+), volūtāre 'to think over, roll' (Pl.+); convolulus 'caterpillar' (Cato+), involvulus 'caterpillar' (Pl.+); convolvere 'to roll up, churn' (Varro+), ēvolvere 'to evict, unfold, roll out' (Pl.+), involvere 'to wrap up, cover' (Varro+), pervolvere 'to roll over' (Ter.+), prōvolvere 'to roll forward' (Ter.+), revolvere 'to roll back, relapse' (Ter.+).

PIt. *welu-e/o-.

**vömer** ‘ploughshare’ [m. r] (Cato+; also nom.sg. *vomis Verg. Col., *vomeris Cato) PIt. *wöy-smi-?

PIE *uog- ‘coulter, ploughshare’? IE cognates: Gr. όφνίς ‘ploughshare’ (Hsch.), OPr. *uognis ‘coulter’, OIc. *vangsni, OHG *waganso ‘ploughshare’. Greek and Old Prussian point to a possible preform *uog-whni-; one could then posit *uog-whmi- for Latin. Yet the latter would probably yield *uommi- > *uommi- (unless there was a phonological constraint on *ūū-, and *uommi- regularly yielded *vomi-). Alternatively, one might posit a suffix *-smi-, hence *uog-wh-smi- > *uogzsmi- > *vomi-. We more often find an s-stem for an earlier i-stem, cf. *cinis. The nom.sg. *vomis seems to retain the old nom. PIt. *wemehr-

**vomē, -ere** ‘to vomit’ [v. III; *vomui, vomitum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *vomitus, -iis ‘vomiting’ (Pl.+), *vomica ‘gathering of pus, abscess’ (Pl.+); *évomere ‘to vomit out’ (Pl.+).

PIE *wemehr-

PIt. *görerā.


**vorā, -āre** ‘to swallow, devour’ [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *vorāx ‘devouring’ (Acc.+); *dēvorāre ‘to swallow up’ (Pl.+).

PIt. *gō'orhā-.

vōx 'you (pl.)' [pron. pers. 2p.] (Lex XII, Andr.+; nom.acc. vōs, dat.abl. vōbis; gen. vestrum Pl.+; vestrī. Ter.+; vōstrōrum [m.]; vōstrārum [f.])

Derivatives: voster (before 150 BC) / vester (after 150 BC) 'your' [pron. poss. 2p.] (Naev.+).


The original nom. *iuH(s) was replaced by the stressed acc. form *wōs, apparently already in PIt. The gen. vestrum is originally the gen.pl. of vester; it was replaced by vestrī. The e of U. uestra probably shows PIt. *westero-, while Latin has analogical voster after noster. In Faliscan, the e spread to the accented personal pronoun.


voveō 'to promise, vow' [v. II; pf. vōvī, spp. vōtum] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: vōtum [voortum in a Fal. inscr.] 'vow, prayer' (Naev.+); convōvēre 'to join in taking a vow' (SCBac.), dēvōtāre 'to put a spell on' (Pl. +).

Pit. *wow-eje/o- 'to promise'. It. cognates: maybe U. vufru [acc.sg.m.] 'fulfilling an oath' < *uogwh-ro-; also U. vufetes [dat.abl.pl.n.] 'votive?' < *uogwheto-?

PIE *h₁uogwh- -eie- 'to promise'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. ohate [3p.med.], ohāna- [ptc.med.] 'to praise, announce', ὦχα- [m.] 'praising', ὦχα- [n.] 'praise', OAv. aogdā [3s.inj.med.], pairīaoyzą [2s.inj.pr.med.], YAv. aoxta [3s.inj.med.], aojana-[ptc.med.] 'to say, announce' < Ir. *H(a)uHug < PIE *h₁eh₁uHug[wh]- [pr.red.]: Skt. vāghāt- [m.] 'singer, priest' < PIE *h₁uogwh- -et/-nt-; Gr. εὔχομαι 'to pray, vow, boast' < *h₁eueg[wh]-e-, Myc. e-u-ke-to 'εὔχεται 'to declare', Gr. pret. εὔκτο; Gr. εὖχος 'glory'; Arm. gog 'say!'.

The causative voveō < *uogwh- -eie- shows that the lenition of medial *g[wh]- > *w- postdates the change of PIE *-ow- > *-aw-. Since PIE *y- generally developed into va- in open syllable, voveō must have restored the e-vowel after this sound change took place, on the model of other causative verbs. The spp. vōtum was contracted from *wowito-y, in which -i- is the unsyncopated reduced medial vowel.


vōx, vōcis 'voice' [f. k] (Pl. +)

Derivatives: vocula 'soft voice' (Titin.+), vōcalis 'able to speak, with a voice' (Varro+), vocāre 'to call, summon' (Lex XII+), vocābulum 'name, noun' (Pl. +),
vocāmen ‘designation’ (Lucr.+), vocitāre ‘to call’ (Pl.+); vociferāre/i ‘to shout, cry’ (Varro+), vociferātiō ‘clamour’ (Afran.+), vocificāre ‘to utter loud sounds’ (Varro+); advocāre ‘to call upon, summon’ (Pl.+), arvocitat ‘summons often’ (Paul. ex F.), convocāre ‘to convoke’ (Pl.+), évocāre ‘to evoke, summon’ (Pl.+), invocāre ‘to call upon, pray for’ (Naev.+), prōvocāre ‘to call forth, challenge’ (Andr.+), prōvocātor ‘challenger’ (Pl. +), revocāre ‘to summon back, recall’ (Pl.+).


The verb vocāre must be a denominative from the oblique stem *uokʷ- of vōx. Possibly, it went through an intermediate derivative *yokʷ-ā- ‘voices, call’.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS OF LITERATURE

CGL  Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum
CIL  Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
EIEC  Mallory-Adams 1997
EM  Ernout-Meillet 1979
EWAia  Mayrhofer 1986-2002
IEW  Pokorny 1959
LEIA  Lexique Étymologique du Vieil-Irlandais
LIV  Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben, 2. Auflage
OLD  Oxford Latin Dictionary
Paul. ex F.  Paulus Diaconus: Excerpta ex libris Pompeii Festi de significatione
 TLL  Thesaurus Linguae Latinae
WH  Walde-Hoffmann 1930-1954

ABÄG = Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik.
AJPh = American Journal of Philology.
BSL = Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique.
ECIEC = East Coast Indo-European Conference.
HS = Historische Sprachforschung.
HSCP = Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.
IBS = Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft.
IF = Indogermanische Forschungen.
JIES = Journal of Indo-European Studies.
MSS = Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft.
NOWELE = North-Western European Language Evolution.
NTS = Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap.
TPS = Transactions of the Philological Society.
ZVS = Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung.
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