Etymological Dictionary of

Latin

and the other Italic Languages

Michiel de Vaan

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By

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BRILL

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PREFACE

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etymological dictionary of the inherited vocabulary attested in the Indo-European languages, replacing the now outdated dictionary of Pokorny (1959).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.

A. LANGUAGES, TEXTS AND AUTHORS

Acc.	Accius	Cz.	Czech
Aeol.	Aeolic	Dan.	Danish
Afran.	Afranius	Dor.	Doric
Alb.	Albanian	Elog.Scip.	Elogia Scipionum
Andr.	Livius Andronicus	EM	Etymologicum Magnum
Apul.	Apuleius		(after Greek words)
Ar.	Aristophanes	EMoBr.	Early Modern Breton
Arc.	Arcadian	EMoIr.	Early Modern Irish
Arm.	Classical Armenian	Enn.	Ennius
Att.	Attic	ep.	epic
Aug.	Augustine	Etr.	Etruscan
Av.	Avestan	Fal.	Faliscan
AV	Atharvaveda / -ic	Fest.	Sextus Pompeius Festus
Bac.	Bactrian	Galat.	Galatian
Bal.	Balochi	Gaul.	Gaulish
Bel.	Belorussian	Gell.	Cn. Gellius
Boeot.	Boeotian	gloss.	in glosses
Br.	Brāhmaṇa / -ic	Gm.	Germanic
BrCl.	British Celtic	Go.	Gothic
Bret.	Breton	Gr.	Greek
BSl.	Balto-Slavic	Gracch.	C. Sempronius Gracchus
Bulg.	Bulgarian	H.	Homer
Caecil.	Caecilius Statius	Hdt.	Herodotus
Caes.	Caesar	Hem.	Cassius Hemina
Cat.	Catullus	Hern.	Hernican
Cels.	A. Cornelius Celsus	Hit.	Hittite
Celtib.	Celtiberian	HLuw.	Hieroglyphic Luwian
Cic.	Cicero	Hor.	Horace
CLat.	Classical Latin	Hp.	Hipponax
CLuw.	Cuneiform Luwian	Hsch.	Hesychius
Co.	Cornish	IE	Indo-European
Col.	Columella	IIr.	Indo-Iranian
Cret.	Cretan	Ion.	Ionic
CS	Church Slavic	Ir.	Irish

It.	Italic	NHG	New High German
Juv.	Juvenal	Non.	Nonius Marcellus
Khot.	Khotanese	Norw.	Norwegian
Khwar.	Khwarezmian	Nov.	Novius (comm.)
Lab.	Laberius	NPhryg.	New Phrygian
Lac.	Laconian	O.	Oscan
Laev.	Laevius	OAlb.	Old Albanian
Larg.	Scribonius Largus	OAv.	Old Avestan
Lat.	Latin	OBret.	Old Breton
Latv.	Latvian	OCo.	Old Cornish
LCo.	Late Cornish	OCS	Old Church Slavonic
Lesb.	Lesbian	OCz.	Old Czech
Lex Reg.	Lex Regiae	OE	Old English
Lex XII	Lex Duodecim Tabularum	OFr.	Old Frisian
Lith.	Lithuanian	OHG	Old High German
LG	Low German	OIc.	Old Icelandic
LLat.	Late Latin	OIr.	Old Irish
LPBr.	Late Proto-British	OLat.	Old Latin
Luc.	Lucan	OLFr.	Old Low Franconian
Lucil.	Lucilius	OLG	Old Low German
Lucr.	Lucretius	OLith.	Old Lithuanian
Luw.	Luwian	ONorw.	Old Norwegian
Lyc.	Lycian	OP	Old Persian
Lyd.	Lydian	OPhryg.	Old Phrygian
Marr.	Marrucinian	OPo.	Old Polish
Mars.	Marsian	OPr.	Old Prussian
Mart.	Martial	ORu.	Old Russian
MBret.	Middle Breton	OS	Old Saxon
MCo.	Middle Cornish	Oss.	Ossetic
MDu.	Middle Dutch	OSwe.	Old Swedish
ME	Middle English	Ov.	Ovid
MHG	Middle High German	OW	Old Welsh
MIr.	Middle Irish	Pac.	Pacuvius
MLG	Middle Low German	Pael.	Paelignian
MoDu.	Modern Dutch	Pal.	Palaic
MoE	Modern English	PAlb.	Proto-Albanian
MoIr.	Modern Irish	PalU.	Palaeo-Umbrian
MoP	Modern Persian	Pamph.	Pamphylian
MP	Middle Persian	PAnat.	Proto-Anatolian
MW	Middle Welsh	Parth.	Parthian
Myc.	Mycenaean	Paul. ex F.	Paulus Diaconus ex Festo
Naev.	Gnaius Naevius	PBr.	Proto-British
Nem. Cyn.	M. Aurelius Olympius	PCl.	Proto-Celtic
	Nemesianus, Cynegetica	Petr.	Petronius

PGm.	Proto-Germanic	Sis.	Sisenna
Phryg.	Phrygian	Skt.	Sanskrit
Pi.	Pindar	Sln.	Slovene
PIE	Proto-Indo-European	Sogd.	Sogdian
PIr.	Proto-Iranian	SPic.	South Picene
PIt.	Proto-Italic	Suet.	Suetonius
Pkt.	Prakrit	Swe.	Swedish
Pl.	Plautus	ŚBr.	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
Plin.	Pliny the Elder *Naturalis*	ŚrSū.	Śrauta Sūtra
	Historia	Ter.	Terence
Plut.	Plutarchus	Thess.	Thessalian
Po.	Polish	Titin.	Titinius
Pompon.	L. Pomponius	ToA	Tocharian A
Presam.	Pre-Samnite	ToAB	Tocharian A and B
Prisc.	Priscian	ToB	Tocharian B
PRom.	Proto-Romance	Toch.	Tocharian
Prop.	Propertius	Turp.	Sextus Turpilius
PSab.	Proto-Sabellic	U.	Umbrian
PSl.	Proto-Slavic	Ukr.	Ukranian
PTo.	Proto-Tocharian	Ulp.	Ulpian
Quad.	Quadrigarius	USorb.	Upper Sorbian
Quint.	Quintilianus	Vell.	C. Velleius Paterculus
Rhet.Her.	Rhetorica ad Herennium	Ven.	Venetic
Ru.	Russian	Verg.	Virgil
RuCS	Russian Church Slavic	Vest.	Vestinian
RV	Rigveda / Rigvedic	Vitr.	Vitruvius
Sab.	Sabellic	VLat.	Vulgar Latin
Sall.	Sallust	VMax.	Valerius Maximus
SCAsc.	Senatus Consultum de	VOLat.	Very Old Latin
	Asclepiade (CIL I 588)	Vol.	Volscian
SCBac.	Senatus Consultum de	W.	Welsh
	Bacchanalibus	WGm.	West-Germanic
SCr.	Serbo-Croatian	X.	Xenophon
SeCS	Serbian Church Slavic	YAv.	Young Avestan
Sen.	Seneca	Žem.	Žemaitian
Serv.	Servius Maurus Honoratus		

B. RECONSTRUCTION, GRAMMAR AND TEXT

abl.	ablative	id.	idem
acc.	accusative	impers.	impersonal
acc. to	according to	ind.	indicative
act.	active	indecl.	indeclinable
AD	anno domini	inj.	injunctive
adj.	adjective	ins.	instrumental
adv.	adverb	inscr.	inscription(s)
aor.	aorist	int.	intensive
ath.	athematic	interr.	interrogative
BC	before Christ	intr.	intransitive
c.	century	ipf.	imperfect
cf.	compare	ipv.	imperative
cj.	conjunction	ipv.II	future imperative
cogn.	cognomen	irr.	irregular
coll.	collective	lit.	literally
colloq.	colloquial	loc.	locative
comp.	comparative	m.	masculine
conj.	conjugation	med.	middle
cp.	compound	n.	neuter
cp$_1$	first member of a compound	neg.	negative
		nom.	nominative
cp$_2$	second member of a compound	num.	numeral
		obl.	oblique
dat.	dative	opt.	optative
denom.	denominative	p.	page
desid.	desiderative	p.c.	personal communication
dial.	(in) dialects	pf.	perfect
dim.	diminutive	pers.	personal
du.	dual	pl.	plural
dub.	dubious	PN	personal name
e.g.	for example	postpos.	postposition
encl.	enclitic	ppa.	active perfect participle
f.	feminine	ppp.	passive past particple
fthc.	forthcoming	pr.	present
fut.	future	pref.	prefix
fut.II	future perfect	prep.	preposition
gen.	genitive	pret.	preterite
gent.	gentilicium	prev.	preverb
gdve.	gerundive	pron.	pronoun
H	any PIE laryngeal	ps.	passive
h$_{1/2}$	h$_1$ or h$_2$	ptc.	participle
I, II, III, IV	1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th conjugation	ptcle.	particle

red.	reduplicated, -tion	v.	verb
rel.	relative	var.	variant
sb.	subjunctive	vel sim.	or similarly
sg.	singular	viz.	namely, to wit
sing.	singulative	voc.	vocative
sup.	superlative	1s.	first person singular
s.v.	sub voce	1p.	first person plural
them.	thematic	1x, 2x, etc.	once, twice, etc.
tr.	transitive		

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*	a non-attested but certain form of an attested language
<X>	spelled with the symbol X
/X/	the phoneme X
[X]	phonetically pronounced as X
X°	X is cp_1
°X	X is cp_2

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 Gernia (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 Staaij 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)

        3. South-Picene (6th – 4th c. BC): central Adriatic coast

        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 **n̥-* 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 *videō*, 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 *[ʔt]. 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 Vaniček (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 *-*ismo*-
- the introduction of gen.sg. *-*ī* in the *o*-stems (while maintaining *-*osio*)
- the substitution of dat.pl. *-*mus* and abl.pl. *-*ios* by the ending *-*bʰos* (while maintaining ins.pl. *-*bʰi*)
- 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 *-*ā*-
- 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 prestage. 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 prestage.

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.

stops					
	p	t	$\acute{k}$	k	k^w
	b	d	$\acute{g}$	g	g^w
	b^h	d^h	$\acute{g}^h$	g^h	g^{wh}
fricatives		s			
laryngeals			h_1	h_2	h_3
liquids		l			
		r			
nasals	m	n			
semivowels	i	u			
vowels	e	o			
	$\bar{e}$	$\bar{o}$			

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

stops				
	p	t	k	k^w
	b	d	g	g^w
fricatives	f	β	χ	χ^w
		s		
laryngeals			(H)	
glides	w	j		
liquids		l		
		r		
nasals	m	n		

vowels	i	$\bar{i}$					u	$\bar{u}$
			e	$\bar{e}$		o	$\bar{o}$	
				a	$\bar{a}$			

diphthongs	ei			oi	ou
		ai	au		

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 *h_3eu-* 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 *monīle*), escaping the unrounding to *ma-*. *Mora*, however, has beside it the verb *morāre*, 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 eacl section indicates the order in the relative chronology of sound changes, whereas th second digit stakes no such claim.

A. Before Proto-Italo-Celtic split up:
1.1 PIE *h_1e* > *e*, *h_2e* > *a*, *h_3e* > *o*
1.2 PIE *eh_1* > *$\bar{e}$*, PIE *eh_2* > *$\bar{a}$*, PIE *eh_3*, *oH* > *$\bar{o}$* before a consonant
1.3 PIE *iH*, *uH* > *$\bar{i}$, $\bar{u}$* before a consonant

1.4 PIE *Tt > *$t't$ (and *-dd^h- > *-$d'd$-?)

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

B. Before Proto-Italic split up:
3.1 *$t't$ > *ss
3.2 *$CLHV$ > $CaLV$- (e.g. *calēre, valēre, palma*)
3.3 *$CNHV$ > [$C\partial NV$-] (e.g. *similis, sine, tenuis*)
3.4 *HLC- > aLC- (*argentum*)
3.5 *$h_{1/2/3}NC$- > $e/a/oNC$- (*umbilīcus, ambi*)
3.6 *$p\_(R)k^w$- > *$k^w\_(R)k^w$- (*coquō, quīnque*)

4.1 *b^h, *d^h, *g^h, *g^{wh} > *b, *d, *g, *g^w after *s and *N
4.2 *g^h > *g before *l, *r (Lat. *glaber, grāmen, trāgula*)
4.3 *b^h, *d^h, *g^h, *g^{wh} > *f, *$þ$, *χ, *χ^w
4.4 PIE *ouV > *awV in pretonic position (Thurneysen-Havet-Vine's law)
    (Lat. *lavō* etc.)

5.1 *$þ$- > *f- (Fal. *filea*, Lat. *filius*)

6.1 *fw- > *f- (Lat. *forum, fores*)
6.2 *-g^w-, -χ^w- > *-w- /V_V (Lat. *voveo, nūdus*)
6.3 *mj > *nj

7.1 *o > a /b, l, m, w, k^w_CV (Lat. *badius, canem, lacus, lanius, manus, mare*)

8.1 *ew > *ow (Lat. *novus, moveo*)
8.2 *$r̥$, *$l̥$ > *or, *ol (Lat. *morior* etc.)

According to van der Staaij 1995, there is positive evidence that Venetic shared in the following developments: fricativization of PIE 'voiced aspirates', *$þ$- > *f- (Ven. *vhagsto*), *ew > *ow and *$r̥$, *$l̥$ > *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-PIt. 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):

stops	*p*	*t*	*k*	*k*ʷ
	b	*d*	*g*	*g*ʷ
fricatives	*f*	*s*	*h*	
glides	*w*	*j*		
liquids		*l*		
		r		
nasals	*m*	*n*		

vowels   *i ī*   *u ū*
                      e ē   *o ō*
                              a ā

diphthongs   *ui*
                  ei   *eu*   *oi*   *ou*
                              ai   *au*

As to accentuation, we can posit the following three phases of accent placemen (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) o Thurneysen-Havet's Law *ou* > *au*, which would in his account have taken place ii pretonic position. This sound law can be assigned to an early period in the relativ chronology of PIt. changes.

2. Word-initial stress. Word-initial stress is assumed to have applied in Etrusca and in Latin, Faliscan, and the Sabellic languages. The main Sabellic clues to initia stress are the occurrence of syncope of short vowels in front of word-final *-s* (Meise 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 differer 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 fine *-li* and *-ri* (Meiser 1998: 73f.). In internal syllables of VOLat., the effects of initia 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!

syncope is dated between 500 and 400 BC by Meiser (1986: 132), and the same period probably saw the start of syncope and weakening in Latin.

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, i, u, ē,* 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.

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:

-a	f. noun, gen.sg. *-ae*
-ae	f.pl. noun, gen.pl. *-ārum*
-āx	adj., *k*-stem, gen.sg. *-ācis*
-ēdō	f. noun, *n*-stem, gen.sg. *-ēdinis*
-ēs	f. noun, *ē*-stem, gen.sg. *-ēī*
-iō	f. noun, *n*-stem, gen.sg. *-iōnis*
-is	noun, *i*-stem, gen.sg. *-is*
-is	adj., *i*-stem, f. *-is*, n. *-e*
-or	m. noun, *r*-stem, gen.sg. *-ōris*
-tās	f. noun, *t*-stem, gen.sg. *-tātis*
-tūdō	f. noun, *n*-stem, gen.sg. *-tūdinis*
-tūs	f. noun, *t*-stem, gen.sg. *-tūtis*
-um	n. noun, *o*-stem, gen.sg. *-ī*
-us	m. noun, *o*-stem, gen.sg. *-ī*
-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 πιβε '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).

Several shorter inscriptions from Rome and outside (4th – 3rd c.); Elogium L. Cornelii Cn. f. Scipionis (CIL I² 6+7, ca. 260 BC), Elogium L. Cornelii L. f. Scipionis (CIL I² 8+9, ca. 230 BC).

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

Cn. Gellius *hist.* (late 2nd c.)

Sextus Turpilius (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 (±94 – 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)

etc.

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

A

O. **aapam** [acc.sg.], **aapas** [gen.sg. or acc.pl.] 'water', 'water basin' vel sim. (inscriptions on water-basins).

Plt. *$\bar{a}p\bar{a}$- [f.].

PIE *h₂ēp-s [nom.sg.], *h₂ep-, *h₂p- 'water' [f.]. IE cognates: Skt. $\acute{a}p$-/ap- 'water' [f.], $dv\bar{\imath}p\acute{a}$- 'island' [n./m.] < *dui-Hpa- 'having water on two sides', Av. $\bar{a}p$-/ap- [f.] 'water', YAv. $duua\bar{e}pa$- [m.] 'island', OP ap- [f.] 'water' < Ilr. *Hāp-, *Hap-; OPr. ape, Lith. ùpė [f.], Latv. upe 'river, brook'; ToAB $\bar{a}p$ [f.] 'water, river, stream'.

In theory, O. -p- could correspond with -qu- in Lat. aqua 'water'; but in view of long initial /ā-/ in Oscan, it seems preferable to derive it from PIE *h₂ēp- '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. $\bar{a}move\bar{o}$, $\bar{a}flu\bar{o}$, $\bar{a}vell\bar{o}$, $\bar{a}b\bar{\imath}t\bar{o}$); abs- before voiceless stops: $aspell\bar{o}$, $asport\bar{a}re$, $aspern\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}$, $abstine\bar{o}$, $abstul\bar{\imath}$, $abstrah\bar{o}$, abs $t\bar{e}$, $absc\bar{e}d\bar{o}$; au- only in $aufer\bar{o}$ 'to carry away' (Pl.+), $aufugi\bar{o}$ 'to run away' (Pl.+). The distribution of the simplex ab, abs, $\bar{a}$ follows the same rules as above, except that abs is rare, and we usually find $\bar{a}$ in front of stops and s.

Plt. *ap(V), *aps 'away, off'. It. cognates: U. **ap-ehtre** 'from outside'. Pael. O. **af-** 'away, off' in cp. (uncertain).

PIE *h₂ep-. IE cognates: Skt. $\acute{a}pa$ 'away, off', apa- 'without', Av. apa-, OP apa- 'away, from', Gr. ἀπό, ἄπο '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 $\bar{a}$-) 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 *ā*- 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 *aβ*- 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 *h_2eu 'away, off'. However, preverbial *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 *ā-fuī* and *ā-fore* to *abesse* form no counter-argument, since *ā*- was productive in front of labials.

Bibl.: WH I: 1f., 79, EM 1f., 55, IEW 53f., 72f., Leumann 1940: 8, 1977: 157f., 561, Schrijver 1991: 46,122, Vine 1993: 175-189, Untermann 2000: 56f., de Vaan fthc. → *aperiō*, *apex*, *po*

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

It has been suggested that *abdōmen* derives from the verb *abdere* 'to conceal' as *ap-d^hoh_1-mn*, since *abdōmen* 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 *abdōmen* remains unclear.

Bibl.: WH I: 3, EM 3, IEW 235ff., Leumann 1977: 370, Schrijver 1991: 147.

Abella 'Town in Campania (near Nola)' [f. *ā*] (Verg.+)
   Derivatives: *abellānus* [adj.] in *nux abellānus* '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 abellānus* 'hazelnut' (lit. 'nut from Abella'). Furthermore, it is uncertain how PIE *h_2b-e/ol- would yield *Abella* by regular phonetic development. The name of the 'apple tree' can be reconstructed as PIE *$h_2(e)b$-ol-n- on the basis of Celtic and BSl. cognates, but the outcome of PIt. *-*ln*- in Oscan is unknown.

Bibl.: WH I: 3, EM 3, IEW 1f., Hamp 1988: 158.

abiēs, -etis 'fir-tree' [f. *i*] (Pl.+)
   PIt. *abiĕts* (nom.sg.), *abiet*- (obl.).

Lat. *abiēs* resembles Gr. ἄβιν (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 ἄβιν is Greek.

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

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

PIt. **ol-ē-*. It. cognates: maybe U. *holtu* '?' (cursing an enemy while praying) [3s.ipv.II], if from **olatōd* < **h₃elh₁-tōd*.

PIE **h₃olh₁-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 **h₃olh₁-eie-* to the root of Gr. ὄλλυμι. 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* + **h₃lh₁-* 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 **h₃elh₁-*. → *dēleō*

accipiter, -tris 'hawk' [m. (f. Lucr.) *ī?*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **aku-petri-* 'having swift/pointed wings'.

It is generally assumed that *accipiter* contains *acu-* < PIE **HHku-* 'swift' and *-piter* < **petro-* or **petri-* 'wing'; compare Gr. ὠκύπτερος 'with swift wings' < **He/oHku-ptero-*, ὠκυπέτης and Skt. *āśu-pátvan-* '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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 6, EM 5, IEW 18ff., Beekes 1972: 126. → *acu-, ōcior, penna*

aceō 'to be acid, sour' [v. II] (Cato+)

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

PIt. **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.+).

PIt. **ak-er-*.

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

The Latin tree can be connected with PGm. *aχi/ur-, but further connections are uncertain. In Greek, we find tree-names with a similar form in ἄκαστος 'maple' (Hsch.) (from *ἄκαρ-στος?) and Gr. ἄκαρνα '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.

ācer, -is, -e 'sharp' [adj. *i*] (Naev.+; *ācer* [nom.sg.f.] Naev., *acris* [nom.sg.m.] Enn.)

Derivatives: *ācrimōnia* 'sharpness' (Naev.+); *ācritās* 'force' (Acc.); *ācritūdō* 'harshness' (Acc.+); *ācrifolius* 'tree with prickly leaves, holly' (Cato).

PIt. *ākri- 'sharp'. It. cognates: O. *akrid* [abl.sg.] 'sharply'.

PIE *h₂ek̂-ro- 'sharp'. IE cognates: Gr. ἄκρος 'highest, outermost', OLith. *aśtras*, Lith. *aštrùs*, Latv. *ass*, OCS *ostrъ*, Ru. *óstryj* 'sharp' < BSl. *aśro-.

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 *ā* is unexplained, especially since the other derivatives of the root *h₂ek̂-* 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 5f., IEW 18ff., Untermann 2000: 77. → *aceō, occa, ocris*

acerbus 'harsh to taste, bitter, sour, briny' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

PIt. *akri-þo- 'having sharpness' or *akro-þo- 'sharp'.

PIE *h₂ok̂-ri- 'sharpness' or *h₂ek̂-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 *-idʰo-, Balles (2003: 22) proposes to derive the suffix from PIE *X-i- 'X-ness' + *-dʰh₁-o- 'putting'. If the *i*-stem noun had *o*-grade in PIE (cf. *ocris*), *acerbus* must be a secondary creation of Italic or Latin on the basis of (the short-vowel preform of) *ācer*. 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: PIt. *akri-þo- > *akṛþos (syncope) > *akerþos (vocalization) > *akerfos > Lat. *acerbus*.

Bibl.: WH I: 8, EM 5f., IEW 18ff.. → *ācer, 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-It. *akesuo-, connecting it with Lat. *acus* 'awn, chaff'. While formally conceivable, the required shift in meaning (*akes-

'chaff' > *akes-uo- 'heap of chaff' > 'heap') is just a guess.
   Bibl.: WH I: 8, EM 6, IEW 18ff., Rix 1981: 118 (= 2001: 286).

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

It is generally assumed that *acia* 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.+), *acūtus* 'pointed, sharp' (Pl.+), *acuere* 'to sharpen' (Ter.+), *acūmen* 'sharp point' (Enn.+); *aculeus* 'sting, thorn' (Cic.+); *acupedius* '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 *h₂ek̂-u- 'pointed'. IE cognates: Lith. *ašutas* 'hair of a horse's tail or manes', OCS *osъtъ* 'thistle' < BSl. *ašuto-.

It is likely that the PIE *u*-stem adj. was retained in *acu-pedius* and *acuere*, while *acus* 'needle' was an independent formation on the nominal root *ak-. Schrijver 1991 separates *acupedius* from the Latin words in *ac-* 'sharp', which seems unwarranted since *acupedius* 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.*, *aquipedius* gloss.) are thought to be recent (possibly formed on the basis of *aqua* 'water' by folk etymology). Similarly *aquifolium* to older *ācru/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. *acupensis* 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 *h₂ek̂-os [n.] 'sharpness' > 'chaff'. IE cognates: Gr. ἀκοστή 'barley', ἀμφήκης '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.+)

PIt. **ad* 'to'. It. cognates: O. *ad-*, U. *ař-, -ař*, Vol. *ar-*, SPic. *ad-* 'towards'; O. *adpúd* 'as long as', *arnipo* 'as long as not' < **ad-(nē-)kʷod*; O. *az* 'by' < **ad-s*.

PIE **h₂ed* 'to'. IE cognates: OIr. *ad-*, Gaul. *ad-*, W. *add-* [pref.], W. *â*, before vowels *ag* 'with'; Phryg. αδ-δακετ 'he makes'; Go. *at* 'at, near', OIc. *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*.

Bibl.: WH I: 11f., EM 7f., IEW 3, Untermann 2000: 46, 53, 120.

adeps, -ipis 'fat, lard' [m. or f. *p*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *adipātus* 'containing fat, rich' (Lucil.+).

The Lat. word is often connected with U. **ařepes, ařipes** [dat.abl.pl.] < **adēpā-*. Meiser 1986: 216ff. considers a possible PIt. form **ad-leip-a* 'sticking onto' > Sab. **ad-řép-a* >> *ař-řép-a* > **ařepa-*, which was then borrowed into Latin, where it was interpreted as a consonant stem. Others have regarded *adeps* as borrowing from Greek ἄλειφα[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.

Bibl.: WH I: 12, EM 9, Untermann 2000: 47f.

adminiculum 'prop, support, pillar' [n. *o*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *adminiculāre* 'to support' (Varro+).

PIt. **mino-* 'structure, support'.

PIE **(H)mi-no-*.

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

Bibl.: WH I: 13, EM 9, LIV 1. **mei̯-*. → *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.*), *altarī* (Petr., Apul.).

PIt. **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 *altāre* as a derivative from *alto-* 'fed' (Schrijver 1991: 71): semantically, *altāria* is primarily connected with *ad-olēre*. 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-. →
alō

ador, -oris 'coarse grain, spelt, barley' [n. *r*] (Hor.+)
Derivatives: *adōreus* 'pertaining to spelt, consisting of spelt, barley' (Cato+).
PIt. *adōs, -os-*.
PIE *h₂ed-ōs (coll.) 'grain (dried stuff)'. IE cognates: Hit. *hāt-ⁱ/hat-* 'to dry up, become parched' (< *h₂od-/*h₂d-), Gr. ἄζομαι 'to dry up', Arm. *hat* 'grain', *hačar* 'barley', Go. *atisk* 'grainfield' < *h₂ed-.

Lat. *ador* 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-.

adūlor, -ārī 'to fawn (upon), court' [v. I] (Cic.+)
The formation is that of a denominal verb, and scholars have compared Lith. *valaĩ* 'horse's tail', Skt. *vālá-, vāra-* 'tail-hair'. Yet these seem to continue an *anit̥* root, which would not yield Latin *ū*. 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-awiþo- > 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.+); *aedīlis* (Pl.+) 'magistrate, aedile' (Elog.Scip. *aidilis*), *aedīlicius* 'of or connected with an aedile' (Pl.+), *aedīlitās* 'the office of an aedile' (Pl.+); *aedificāre* 'to build' (Pl.+), *aedificium* 'building' (Pl.+), *aedificātor* 'builder' (Cato+), *aedificātiō* 'building' (Cato+); *aeditu/imus* 'who has charge of a temple' (Pl.+).
PIt. *aiþ- 'fireplace'. It. cognates: Fal. **efiles, efile** [nom.pl. or sg.]; O. **aidil** [nom.sg.], **aidilis** [nom.pl.], Vol. *aidiles* [nom.pl.] borrowed from Latin.
PIE *h₂(e)idʰ- 'burning'. IE cognates: OIr. *áed* '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

aedēs (pl.) 'house'. This split is not so clear from the attestations, however.
  Bibl.: WH I: 15, EM 10, IEW 11f., Giacomelli 1963: 243f., LIV *h₂eid^h-.

aeger 'ill, sick' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)
  Derivatives: *aegrōtus* 'sick, diseased' (Pl.+), *aegrōtāre* (Pl.+) 'to be sick'; *aegrēre* 'to be sick' (Lucr.), *aegrēscere* 'to become sick' (Lucr.+); *aegrimōnia* '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 *aegrōtus* must be regarded as an old form. Within Nussbaum's theory of possessive de-instrumental formations such as those in Latin *-ītus*, *-ūtus*, and *-ētum*, *aegrōtus* 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. *ragúotas* 'horned' to *rãgas* 'horn', Gr. χολῶτος 'angry' to χόλος 'anger'. The connection of ToA *ekär*, ToB *aik(a)re* 'empty' with *aeger* is less probable because of the semantics.
  Bibl.: WH I: 16, EM 10, IEW 13, Nussbaum 1996: 3, 1998c: 8.

aemidus 'swollen' [adj. *o/ā*] (Paul. *ex F.*)
  Plt. **aid(s)mn-* [n.].
  PIE *h₂eid-m(n)- 'swelling'. IE cognates: Gr. οἰδέω 'to swell, become swollen', οἰδάνω 'to (make) swell', οἶδμα '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 *h₂eid-* 'to swell'. According to Nussbaum 1999a: 405, the ultimate starting-point could be **h₂eid-m(n)-*, similar to Gr. οἶδμα which has *o*-grade. For Latin, we might reconstruct a derivational basis **h₂eid-m(n)-i-* or **h₂eid-sm-i-*.
  Bibl.: WH I: 16, EM 10, IEW 774, Schrijver 1991: 38, Klingenschmitt 1982: 256, Nussbaum 1999a: 379, 401, 405, LIV *h₂eid-.

aemulus 'emulous, rival' [adj. *o/ā*] (Lucr.+)
  Derivatives: *aemulus* [m.] 'rival' (Ter.+), *aemula* (Pl.+) 'female rival', *aemulārī* '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/ā*] (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 / inīcus* '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.*)

PIt. **iske/o-* 'to demand', **aisos(ko)-* 'demand(ing)'. It. cognates: U. *eiscurent* [3p.fut.II] 'they will demand/provide/take' (< **eχ-* 'out' + **h₂is-ske-?*).

PIE **h₂is-ske/o-* [pr.], **h₂eis-os-* [n.] 'request'. IE cognates: Skt. *icháti*, YAv. *isaite* 'to seek', Arm. *hayc'em* 'to beg' < **h₂eis-ske-*, *ayc'* 'investigation'; Lith. *ieškóti*, Latv. *iẽskât*, OCS *iskati* 'to look for, seek' < BSl. **i?ska?-*; 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-* (Ilr., Sl.) and a denominal full grade of the root in pr. **h₂eis-ske/o-* (Arm., Baltic, Gm.) is found in other branches of IE.

Bibl.: WH I: 19, EM 12, IEW 16, Schrijver 1991: 38, Derksen 1996: 337, Untermann 2000: 206f., LIV **h₂ejs-*. → *quaerō*

aes, aeris 'copper, bronze, brass; money' [n.] (Lex XII+, CIL 1.383 *aired* [abl.sg.])

Derivatives: *a(h)ēnus / a(h)ēneus* 'made of bronze, brazen' (Pl.+ *-eus*, Enn.+ *-us*).

PIt. **ajos, -es-* [n.]; **ajes-no-*, **ajes-n-ejo-* [adj.] 'made of bronze'. It. cognates: U. **ahesnes** [abl.pl.] < **-no-*, O. αιζνιω [acc.pl.n.] 'made of bronze' < **-neio-*.

PIE **h₂ei-os*, **h₂ei-es-* [n.] 'bronze', **h₂eies-no-* [adj.] 'of metal'. IE cognates: Go. *aiz* 'bronze', Skt. *áyas-*, Av. *aiiah-* 'metal, iron'.

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 *ahēnus*, 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 I: 19, EM 12f., IEW 15f., Untermann 2000: 63f., 74. → *ahēnus*

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.
  Bibl.: WH I: 20, EM 13, IEW 13.

aestās 'summer' [f. *t*] (Pl.+)
  Derivatives: *aestus, -ūs* 'heat; fervor; swell (of the sea)' (Naev.+); *aestīvus* 'of summer, summery' (Pl.+), *aestīvāre* 'to spend the summer' (Varro+).
  Plt. **aissāt-, *aissu-*.
  PIE **h₂eidʰ-teh₂t-, *h₂eidʰ-tu-* 'burning, heat'. IE cognates: see s.v. *aedēs*.
Most handbooks assume that *aestās* and *aestus* show the regular development of PIE **-dʰt-* in Latin, but this is unlikely: the usual reflex of dental clusters is *-ss-*. Hill (2003: 246f.) assumes that the Latin nouns in *aest-* were derived from a PIE reduplicated thematic present with *i*-reduplication **h₂e-h₂idʰ-e/o-* > Lat. **aidʰ-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 *aestus* go back to regularly developed forms **aissāt-* and **aissu-*, in which the suffixes *-tāt-* and *-tu-* were restored, yielding *-st-*; cf. Bammesberger 2003 (who assumes **aissatāt-* for *aestās*).
  Bibl.: WH I: 20, EM 13, IEW 11f., LIV **h₂eidʰ-*. → *aedēs*

aestimō, -āre 'to estimate' [v. I] (Pl.+; OLat. *aestumāre*)
  Derivatives: *exīstimāre* '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 **ajes-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 I: 20, EM 13, IEW 15f.

O. *aeteis* [gen.sg.], a]**ittiúm** [gen.pl.] 'part (of a possession)'; U. **aitu**, *aitu* [3s.ipv.II], **altuta** [3p.ipv.II] 'to select, separate'(?) < **ai-je/o-?*
  Plt. **ai-ti-* 'part', **ai-je-* 'to select'.
  PIE **h₂ei-* 'to give'. IE cognates: Gr. αἴνυμαι 'to take, seize', ἔξ-αιτος 'selected', αἶσα 'share, destiny' < **aiti-h₂-*, αἴτιος 'guilty, responsible', αἰτέω 'to ask, beg', ToB *ai-*, ToA *e-* 'to give [act.], take [med.]'. Unrelated: Hit. *pai-ⁱ / pi-* 'to give, pay', cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 614-616. YAv. *aētahmāiiuš* does not contain a noun *aēta-* 'punishment' but the pronoun *aēta-* 'that', cf. Fischer-Ritter 1991.
  Bibl.: IEW 10f., Untermann 2000: 55f., LIV 1.**h₁ai-*.

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.+).

PIt. **aiwo-* [m.] 'period, age', **aiwo-tāt-* [f.] 'age'. It. cognates: O. **aítateís** [gen.sg.], **aítatúm** [acc.sg.], Pael. *aetatu* [acc.sg.?], *aetate* [abl.sg.] 'period, age'.

PIE **h₂ó/éi-u-, *h₂i-éu-* 'a long time, lifetime' >> **h₂ei-uo-* 'time'. IE cognates: Skt. *áyu* [n.] 'life, lifetime', *āyú-* [adj., m.] 'full of life, lively', Av. *āiiu-* [n.] 'life, lifetime, time', OAv. *yauuaē-jī-* [adj.] 'living forever', Gr. αἰϝεί, αἰές, αἰῶ, αἰέν [adv.] 'forever' < **aiu̯es-,* αἰών [m.] 'lifetime, time, duration', Gr. οὐ, Arm. *oč'*, Alb. *as* 'not' < **h₂oiu(-kʷe)*; Go. *aiwam* [dat.pl.], *aiwins* [acc.pl.] 'times', Go. *aiweins*, OHG *ēwīg* '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* < **ajitās* < **aiwitās* < **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/oi-u-* seen in Skt. *áyu*. 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. → *iuvenis*

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.+), *peregrīnus* 'foreign, alien' (Pl.+).

PIt. **agro-* [m.] 'field'. It. cognates: U. *ager* [nom.sg.], *agre* [gen.sg.], SPic. *akren* 'piece of land' [loc.sg. + **en*].

PIE **h₂eǵ-ro-* 'uncultivated field, pasture'. IE cognates: Skt. *ájra-* [m.], Gr. ἀγρός, Myc. *a-ko-ro* /agros/, Arm. *art*, Go. *akrs*, OHG *ackar, ahhar* 'field'.

The suffix of *agrestis* was dissimilated from **agr-estris*. The element *-es-* in this suffix stems from *terrestris* (cf. Leumann 1977: 352), where it may continue a PIE or PIt. *s*-stem (see s.v. *terra*). Lat. *peregro-* < **pere-agro-* is 'what is beyond the land or village'. The noun **h₂eǵ-ro-* was derived from PIE **h₂ǵ* 'to drive, lead'.

Bibl.: WH I: 22, II: 286, EM 14f., 498, IEW 4-6, Untermann 2000: 60f., LIV 1.*h₂eǵ-. → *agō*

agna 'an ear of grain' [f. *ā*] (Paul. *ex F.*: *pennatas inpennatasque agnas*)

If *agna* represents **akna*, Greek ἄχνη 'foam, froth; chaff' (< **aksnā-*) and Go. *ahana* 'chaff' can be connected: they might go back to a PIE derivative in **-n-* of the root **h₂ek-* '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 22, EM 15, IEW 18ff.

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

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

PIt. **agʷno-* [m.] 'lamb', dim. **agʷnelo-*.

PIE **h₂egʷ-no-* 'lamb'. IE cognates: OIr. *úan*, W. *oen*, OCo. *oin*, Bret. *oan* 'lamb' < **Hogʷno-*, Gr. ἀμνός < **h₂egʷno-*, OCS *agnę* [n. *nt*] , ORu. *jagnja*, SCr. *jågne* [n.] 'lamb' < **h₂egʷ-n-ent-*; OE *ēanian* '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 **agʷnīna* > **abīna* 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* < **agʷnlo-* <**agʷnelo-* demonstrates that the labial feature in **-gʷn-* must have been present up to the Latin syncope at least. Greek and Latin together point to PIE **h₂egʷno-*, and **gʷ* is confirmed by BSl. If **gʷ* lost its labial feature at a very early stage in Pre-Celtic, *Hogʷno-* would have yielded PCl. **ogno-* which regularly yields OIr. *úan*, MW *oen*. PGm. **awna-* seems to require **gʷʰ*, but **aw-* may also be due to contamination with **awi-* 'sheep'; in that case, Germanic does not disprove **gʷ*.

Bibl.: WH I: 23, 37, EM 15, IEW 9, Meiser 1998: 125.

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

Derivatives: (1) *actor* 'performer, pleader' (Pl.+); *actus, -ūs* 'driving of cattle or carts, motion, activity' (Cato+), *actūtum* 'immediately' (Naev.+); *actiō* '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. *coēgī*, ppp. *coāctum*] (Pl.+), *cōgitāre* 'to think, consider' (Pl.+), *dēgere* 'to spend one's life, live' (Pl.+), *exigere* 'to drive out, remove' (Naev.+), *exiguus* '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.+), *subigitātrīx* (Pl.), *subigitātiō* 'erotic fondling' (Pl.); *circumagere* 'to drive round, wind' (Cato+),

peragere 'to perform, finish' (Enn.+); (4) *iūrigāre* 'to quarrel' (Pl.+); *lītigāre* 'to litigate' (Pl.+); *nāvigāre* 'to go by ship' (Pl.+); *pūrigāre* 'to clean, purify' (> *purgō*) (Pl.+); *fatīgāre* 'to tire, exhaust' (Pac.+); *fastīgāre* 'to taper, make pointed' (Caes.+); *castīgāre* 'to reprimand, reprove' (Pl.+); *vectīgal* (Cato+) 'revenue, income'; *aureax* (Paul. *ex F.*) / *aurīga* (Var.+) 'charioteer'.

PIt. **ag-e/o-* 'to do, act', **akto-* [ppp.], **akti-* [f.] 'act'. It. cognates: O. *acum* [inf.], *actud* [3s.ipv.II] 'to act (legally)'; Marr. *agine* [abl.sg.], O. **aginss** [acc.pl.] 'case, action, ritual' < PIt. **ag-ion-*; U. **ahtisper** [abl.pl. + *-per*] 'acts' (< **ag-ti-*), **ahtimen** [acc.sg. + *-en*] .

PIE **h₂eǵ-e/o-* 'to drive, lead'. IE cognates: OIr. *aigid**, *·aig* 'to drive', OW *a*, *hegit*, MW *eyt*, MCo. OBret. *a* 'goes', Gaul.(-Lat.) *ambactus*, W. *amaeth* 'servant' < **amb(i)-akto-*; Skt. *ájati* [3s.act.], *ījate* [3s.med.] (< **h₂i-h₂ǵ-e-toi*) 'to drive', YAv. *aza-* 'to drive (away)', Arm. *acem*, Gr. ἄγω 'to drive, lead, go'; OIc. *aka* 'to ride'; Toch. *āk-* 'to lead'.

According to Meiser 1998: 211, the pf. *ēgī* has been adopted from the original pf. of *aiō* 'to say' < **h₁ǵ-*, due to the identity of some pr. forms (**agis*, *agit*) at an earlier stage. However, LIV reconstructs **h₂eǵ-* 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. *agolum* is a hapax in Paul. *ex F.*; it might be an Old Latin spelling for CLat. **agulum*, thus **age-lo-*. Long *ā* in *coāgulum* may be analogical, as in *ambāgēs*, *indāgō*, after *prōpāgēs*, *contāgēs*. (3) The adj. *exiguus* was derived from *exigere*, and *exīlis* 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 *-igāre*, *-igium* from consonant stems + **h₂(e)ǵ-*, **h₂ǵ-o-*: *nāuig-* to **nav-ag-* 'ship-driver', *pūrigāre* from **pūr-ago-* 'leading the fire'; *iūrigāre* from **ieu(o)s-ago-* 'bringing the oath'; maybe *lītigāre* < **stlīt(i)-ag-*. The derivatives in *-īgāre*, *-īg-* are based on *i*-stems: *fatīgāre* < **fati-* + **h₂ǵ-o-* (cf. *affatim*); *fastīgāre* < **bʰrsti-h₂ǵ-*; *castīgāre* < **kHsti-h₂ǵ-o*; *vectīgal* < **ueǵʰ-ti-h₂ǵ-* '(fee for) vehicle-driving, toll'. For the analysis of U. **ahtis** and **ahtim**, cf. Weiss 2007a: 369.

Bibl.: WH I: 23f., 427, EM 15-18, 205f., IEW 4-6, Leumann 1977: 303, Dunkel 2000a, Schumacher 2004: 189-192, LIV **h₂eǵ-.* → *ager, gerō*

aiō, **aīs** 'to say' [v.]; pr.ind. *āiō* or *aiio*, *ais* (*āis* Pl. 1x), *ait*, *āiunt* or *aiiunt*, ipf. *aiēbam* or *āībam*, ptc. *aiens*; pf. *aisti*, *ait*. (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *axāre* 'to name' (Paul. *ex F.*), *axāmenta* [pl.] 'carmina Saliaria' (Paul. *ex F.*).

PIt. **agje/o-* [pr.], **ag-s-* [pr.].

PIE **h₁/₂eǵ-ie/o-* 'to say'. IE cognates: Gr. aor. ἦ 'said' (< **h₁e-h₁eǵ-t*) > ἠμί 'I say', pf. ἄνωγα 'I order', Arm. *aṙ-ac* 'proverb', *asem* 'to say' (*s* < **k*), ToAB *āks-* 'to announce, proclaim, instruct, recite' < PTo. **āks-* < PIE **h₁ǵ-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 *h₁ǵ- or maybe *h₂ǵ-. If *h₂eǵ-, this is generally assumed to be a different root than PIE *h₂eǵ- 'to drive'. In Latin, the sequence *HǵiV- may have regularly developed into *agjV- 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 PIt. *ag- 'to say': word-internal *a* and their sporadic, reletively late attestation suggest that they were derived from *adigō* 'to drive, force', sb. *ad-āxīm*. Very uncertain is U. **aiu** [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-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 24f., EM 18f., IEW 290f., Leumann 1977: 531, Schrijver 1991: 26ff., 485, LIV 2.*h₂eǵ-. → *agō*

alacer, -cris 'lively, active' [adj. *i*] (Pl.+; *alacris* [nom.sg.m.] (Enn.+)
PIt. *ala- 'to wander'.
PIE *h₂(e)lh₂- [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+), *albulus* 'white' (Varro+).
PIt. *alfo- 'white'. It. cognates: U. **alfu** [acc.pl.n.], *alfir, alfer* [abl.pl.n.] 'white'.
PIE *h₂elbʰ-o- 'white'. IE cognates: Gr. ἀλφούς 'white' [acc.pl.] (Hsch.), ἀλφός 'dull-white leprosy', ἄλφι 'barley-groats', pl. ἄλφιτα, Alb. *elb* 'barley' (unless borrowed from Greek).

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 *lebedъ*, probably do not belong here. Also uncertain is the appurtenance of many other IE geographical names such as the river-names Gr. Ἀλφειός, Lat. *Albula*, Lat. *Albis* = NHG *Elbe*, OIc. *elfr* 'river', and the mountain range of the Alps (Lat. *Alpis, -is*). Hittite *alpa-* 'cloud' cannot reflect *h₂e-, but could continue a PIE noun *h₂olbʰo-, with different root ablaut than the adjective preserved in Latin and Greek (Alexander Lubotsky, p.c.).
Bibl.: WH I: 26, EM 20, IEW 30, Schrijver 1991: 66.

ālea 'gamble; the die' [f. ā] (Pl.+)
  Derivatives: āleō 'gambler' (Naev.+).

No known etymology. The suggestion that it was borrowed from Gr. ἠλεός 'distraught, crazed' (Dor. *ᾱλεός) is better dismissed. Since knuckle-bones (tālī) were used as dice, ālea 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

alga '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 elmės, almens '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.+).
  PIt. *alg-.
  PIE *h₂(e)lgʰ/ǵ- '(to be) cold'. IE cognates: MoIc. 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 algeō, one could reconstruct a PIE s-stem (Schrijver 1991).
  Bibl.: WH I: 29, EM 21, IEW 32, Schrijver 1991: 70, LIV ?*h₂elˈǵʰ-.

alica 'emmer groats' [f. ā] (Cato+)

The form and meaning are almost the same as in Gr. ἅλιξ, -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 kluflōk 'garlic' in which *klubō 'toe' is derived from the verb to clove, PGm. *kleoban 'to cleave'. Lat. ālium is also compared with the Greek gloss ἄλλην '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 33. → axis

alius 'other' [adj. *o/ā*; nom.acc.sg.n. *aliud*] (Andr.+; *alid* for *aliud* Cat.)

Derivatives: *aliēnus* 'belonging to others' (Lex XII+); *aliquis* 'someone' (Pl.+), *alicubi* 'somewhere' (Ter.+); *alter* ₁[*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.], **alttrei** [loc.sg.n.], *altrei* [dat.sg.m.], *atrud* [abl.sg.m.] 'id.' < **alt(e)ro-*.

PIE **h₂el-io-* 'another'; **h₂el-tero-* 'the other (of two)'. IE cognates: OIr. *aile* [m.], *aill* [n.] 'other', W. *ail*, Bret. *eil* < PCl. **alio-*, Gr. ἄλλος, Arm. *ayl*, Go. *aljis* 'other', *alja-leikō* 'elsewhere', OS *elilendi* [n.], OHG *elilenti* 'foreign country' < **alja-landja-*, OE *elles*, MoE *else* 'otherwise', ToB *alye-k*, ToA *ālak* (depalatalized) 'another'.

The form *alid* must be an allegro form, or analogical to *quid*, *id*. The stem *ali-* in *aliquis* and *alicubi* may have been truncated from *ali-us*, or be an allegro form for **alie-quis*. The suffix in *aliēnus* is unclear: dissimilation from **ali-īno-*, as Leuman suggests, seems unlikely, since nouns in *-ium* normally take *-īnus*: compare *Samnium* > *Sabīnus*. 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 *aliēnus* might reflect **aliai-no-*, a decasuative adj. from a loc.sg. **aliai* 'elswehere'. For Latin *alter*, many scholars reconstruct **ali-tero-*, but, from the PIE point of view, a first member **h₂eli-* 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*, OIr. *all-* [pref.], W *all-* 'other, second' < PCl. *allo-*; Go. *ala-mans* [m.pl.] 'all of humanity', *alakjo* [adv.] 'together', OHG *ala-wāri* 'wholly true', OS *ala-jung* 'very young', OE *æl-tæw* 'all sound' < PGm. **ala-*, Go. *alls*, OIc. *allr*, OHG OS *al*, OE *eall* 'all, every' < PGm. **alla-* < **h₂el-no-*; ToA *ālak*, ToB *allek, alek* [adj.] 'other' < PTo. *alle-kə* < **alno-* or **aljo-*.

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

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

alnus 'alder' [f. *o*] (Cic.+)

Derivatives: *alneus* [adj.] 'of alder' (Acc.+).

PIt. **alsno-* 'alder'.

IE cognates: Lith. *alksnis, elksnis*, dial. *aliksnis* 'alder', dial. *álksna, élksna* 'alder thicket, marsh, dale' < BSl. **a/el(i)snio-*; Ru. *ol'xá* 'alder', dial. *ëlxa, elxá*, Bulg. *elxá*

'alder, spruce' < BSl. *a/elisaH; OIc. ǫlr, OE alor 'alder' < *aluz- < *al-s-, OHG elira, MoDu. els, Spanish aliso < Go. *alisa < *alis/zō.

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.

Bibl.: WH I: 31, EM 23, IEW 302ff., Schrijver 1991: 40-42. → farnus, fraxinus, ornus, quernus

alō, -ere 'to suckle, nourish' [v. III] (Andr.+; pf. aluī, ppp. altum, alitum)

Derivatives: adultus 'full-grown, adult' (Pl.+); altilis 'fattened, fat' (Pl.+); alumnus 'nursling' (Pl.+); alimentum (Lucr.+) 'food'; alimōnia 'id.' (Varro+); alēscere 'to grow up' (Var.+); adolēscere 'id.' (Pl.+; pf. adolēvī. Pl.), adu/olēscēns 'youthful; youthful person' (Naev.+), adulescentia 'youth, young manhood' (Pl.+), adulescentiārī '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.+); almus [adj.] 'providing nurture, fostering' (Pl.+).

PIt. *ale/o- 'to feed', *alto- 'fed, raised', *alē- 'to be raised', *almo- 'fostering'.

PIE *h₂el-e/o-, *h₂l-to-. IE cognates: OIr. no-t-ail, pret. ·alt 'to feed, raise', MW alu, MBret. halaff 'to calve', OIr. comaltae 'comrade', MW cyfeillt 'serf', W. cyfaill 'friend' (< *komal-tio-), Gr. ἄναλτος 'insatiable', ἀλδαίνω 'to make grow, strengthen' (< *h₂el-d-), νεᾱλής 'fresh, powerful, rested' (< *νεο-αλ-ής 'newly fed'), Go. OE alan (pret. ōl) 'to grow up', OIc. ala, OE alan 'to raise', Go. alands 'growing up', aliþs 'fattened' (to a verb *aljan).

The ppp. altus, ad-ultus reflects *al-to- < PIE *h₂l-to-, whereas alitus is a more recent formation of CLat. The noun alumnus reflect the pr.ptc.med. *h₂el-o-mh₁no- 'feeding, being fed'. Adolēscere betrays an earlier stative *alēre 'to be growing up'. Lat. -ol- (instead of -il-) in front of -ē- therefore reflects not only *-ol- (cf. aboleō), but also *-al-; probably, this reflex was conditioned by -ē-. The adj. almus can reflect *h₂(e)l-mo-.

Bibl.: WH I: 14, 31f., EM 3f., 23f., IEW 26-28, Leumann 1977 passim, Schrijver 1991: 42, 66, LIV *h₂el-. → adoleō, -olēs

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

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

PIt. *alto- 'high'.

PIE *h₂el-to-? IE cognates: OIr. alt 'height, bank, coast', W. allt 'hillside', OCo. als, Bret. aot, aod 'coast'; OS ald, OHG alt 'old', Go. alds [f.] 'age, period', OE ield, OIc. ǫld; Go. alþeis 'old'; OIc. aldr [m.] 'age, lifetime', OE ealdor 'life' < *altro-.

The form is identical to the participle of alō '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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 32, EM 24f., IEW 26f.

alūmen, -inis 'alum' [n. *n*] (Quad.+)

Derivatives: *alūta* 'a piece of soft leather' (Caes.+); *alum/s* 'symphytum officinale = comfrey' (Plin.).

PIt. **alu-* 'bitter substance'.

IE cognates: Gr. ἀλύδ(o)ψμον 'sharp, bitter (in Sophron)' (Hsch.); Lith. *alùs* 'beer', RuCS ORu. *olъ* 'fermented liquor, strong drink' < BSl. **alu-*; OIc. *ǫl* [n.] 'beer, drink feast', OE *ealu(đ)* [n.], MDu. *aal* 'beer', OS *alo-fat*, MHG *al-schaf* 'drinking bowl' < PGm. **alu(þ)-* '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 *ālium* '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 *ālium*. *Alūmen* may have been formed to **alu-* like *bitūmen* to **bitu-*, and *alūta* (sc. *māteria*) as 'which has been treated with alum'. In theory, Latin **alu-* may be cognate with Greek ἀλύδ(o)ψμον 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 34, EM 25, IEW 33-34, Schrijver 1991: 42-43.

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.+).

PIt. **aulos*.

PIE **h₂eulo-* 'tube, cavity'. IE cognates: Hit. *auli-* [c.] 'tube-shaped organ in the neck' (< **h₂ouli-*); Gr. αὐλός [m.] 'hollow tube, pipe, flute'; OPr. *aulis* 'shin', Lith. *aũlas*, Latv. *aũle* 'leg of a boot', Lith. *aulỹs*, Latv. *aũlis*, RuCS *ulii* '(bee)hive', Sln. *úlj* 'hollow tree, (bee)hive', Ru. *úlica* 'hollow road' < PIE **h₂eul-o-, -io-*.

The connection of *alvus* with Gr. and BSl. 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*.

Bibl.: WH I: 34, EM 25, IEW 88f., Schrijver 1991: 43.

U. am-, an-, *an-*, **O. ανα-** 'up, onto' [prep.]: in U. **am-paritu, am-pentu,** *an-seriato*, **an-stintu,** *an-stiplatu*, **an-tentu,** O. ανα:φακετ.

PIt. **ana* 'up'.

PIE **h₂en-(e)h₂* 'up'. IE cognates: OIr. *an-* 'from', as in *anall* [adv.] 'thence', *anis* 'from below', *aniar* 'from the west' < PCl. **an(V)-*; Gr. ἀνά [adv., prep.] 'up along'; Go. *ana* [prep.], OIc. *á*, OHG *an(a)* , OE *on* 'on' < PGm. **ana*.

Unrelated are: Lat. *anhelāre* (from **anēlos* 'breath'), *antestārī* (if from **anti-testārī*),

anquīrere (from **ambi-quaerere*).
  Bibl.: IEW 39f., Untermann 2000: 94f.

amārus 'bitter' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)
  Derivatives: *amāritūdō* 'bitterness' (Varro+), *amāror* [m.] 'bitter taste' (Lucr.+).
  PIt. **o/am-?*
  PIE **h₂h₃m-ro-?* IE cognates: Skt. *amlá-* '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-emo-*, Skt. *āmá-* [adj.] 'raw, uncooked', Gr. ὠμός 'raw', Arm. *howm* <**h₂eh₃mo-*.

The suffix *-ārus* is only attested as a primary derivative in *avārus* '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.
  Bibl.: WH I: 35, EM 25, IEW 777f., Kortlandt 1980a, Schrijver 1991: 43, Heidermanns 1993: 99f.

ambi-, amb-, am-, an- 'round, about' [pref.] (VOLat.+)
  Normally *amb-* in front of vowels (*ambāctus, ambiguus, ambiō, ambustus*), and *am-*, *an-* in front of consonants (*amfāriam, amplector, amputō, ancīsus, ancilla, anquīrō*). The stop was lost in *amicīre* (Naev.+) 'to cover, clothe' < **amb-iaciō*.
  Derivatives: *ambi-* only in glosses and grammarians: *ambiaxiō-que* (Paul. *ex F.*), *ambiegnus* (Var., but Paul. *ex F. ambegnus*), *ambecīsus* '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*.
  PIt. **ambi*. It. cognates: U. *am-*, O. *am-, am-* 'around'.
  PIE **h₂mbʰi* 'to, around'. IE cognates: Gaul. *ambi-*, OIr. *imb-* [pref.] 'around'; Skt. *abhí* 'to, towards, against, upon', *abhi* 'surrounded by, directed to, very', OAv. *aibī*, YAv. *aiβi, auui*, OP *abiy* [adv., prev.] 'towards, against, upon', Gr. ἀμφί [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 praepositio loquelaris 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*).
  Bibl.: WH I: 36, EM 26, IEW 34f., Schrijver 1991: 59, Untermann 2000: 83.

ambō, -ae, -ō 'both' [adj. *o/ā*] (Naev.+)
  PIt. **ambō* [du.].
  PIE **h₂(e)nt-bʰoH* 'both'. IE cognates: Skt. *ubhā́, ubhā́u* [du.m.], *ubhé* [du.f.] 'both',

ubháya- [adj.] 'on both sides, in both ways', OAv. *uba-*, YAv. *uua-* 'both' < *(h₂u-)bʰóH-; Gr. ἄμφω ; Lith. *abù*, OCS *oba, obě*, Go. *bai* [m.], *ba* [n.] 'both', *bajoþs*, OS *bē thie*, OE *bā þā*, OHG *beide, bēde*, OIc. *báðir*, gen. *beggja*; ToA *āṁpi*, 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 *bʰ*-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. **anafríss** and Latin *imber*.

Bibl.: WH I: 37, EM 27. → *imber*

ambulō, -āre 'to walk' [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *ambulācrum* 'promenade' (Pl.+), *ambulātor* [m.], *-trīx* [f.] 'who walks about' (Cato+), *ambulātiō* 'promenade, walk' (Varro+); *dēambulāre* 'to go for a walk' (Cato+), *dēambulātiō* '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.).

PIt. **ala-* 'to wander'. It. cognates: U. *amb-oltu* 'must go around' < **-ala-tōd*.

PIE **h₂elh₂-* / **h₂lh₂-* [pr.] 'to wander'. IE cognates: Gr. ἀλάομαι 'to wander, roam', Latv. *aluôt* 'to roam'.

Lat. *(amb)ulāre* and Umbrian **ala-* can both continue a PIE root present **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.

Bibl.: WH I: 38, EM 27, IEW 27f., Meiser 1986: 270, Schrijver 1991: 40, 400ff., Rix 1999: 525, Meiser 2003: 70, LIV **h₂elh₂-*. → *alacer, pālor*

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

Derivatives: *amita* 'paternal aunt, father's sister' (Cic.+).

PIt. **ammā-*. It. cognates: O. **ammaí** 'mother' [dat.sg.].

PIE **h₂em(m)-h₂*. IE cognates: Gr. ἀμμά 'mama, mother, nurse' (EM), ἀμμία (Hdt.), Alb. *amë* 'mother', OIc. *amma* '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

1982-1983a: 97 connects *amita* with *amāre*, and reconstructs a ppp. *h₂emh₂-th₂-
'beloved'. Yet in a Latin word of the structure *amatā-, we would expect syncope of
the second syllable, yielding *amtā- > *antā-.
  Bibl.: WH I: 39, EM 28, IEW 36.

amnis 'river' [f. *i*] (Naev.+)
  PIt. *afni- 'river'.
  PIE *h₂ebʰ-n- 'river'. IE cognates: OIr. *aub*, gen. *abae* 'river' < *abō, -en-s, OIr.
abann, MW *afon* 'id.' < PCl. *abon-*; Hit. *hapa-* [c.] 'river', *hapae-ⁿ* 'to wet,
moisten', Pal. *hāpna-* [c.], CLuw. *hāpa/i-*, HLuw. *hapa/i-* 'river', Lyc. *χba(i)-* 'to
irrigate' < PAnat. *h₂ebo- 'river' < PIE *h₂ebʰ-o-.

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.

amō, -āre 'to love' [v. I] (Naev.+)
  Derivatives: *amāscere* 'to begin to love' (Naev.), *amāsius* 'lover' (Pl.+); *amīcus*
'friend' (Naev.+), 'friendly' [o/ā] (Pl.+), *amīca* 'female friend' (Naev.+), *inimīcus*
[adj. / m.] 'unfriendly; an enemy' (Pl.+), *inimīcitia* 'enmity, ill will' (Pl.+); *amor*
'sexual passion, love' (Naev.+).
  PIt. *ama- 'to take, hold'. It. cognates: Marr. *amatens* 'they have received'.
  PIE *h₃mh₃- 'to take hold of'. IE cognates: OIr. *námae* 'enemy' (< *n-h₃mh₃-(e)nt-);
Skt. pr. *amīṣi, amánti* 'to take hold of; swear', *áma-* [m.], OAv. *āma-*, YAv. *ama-*
[m.] 'attacking power'; Gr. ὄμνῡμι 'to swear' [aor. ὀμόσαι, fut. ὀμοῦμαι] , ἀνώμοτος
'not under oath'.

The Latin meaning has developed from 'to take the hand of' > 'regard as a friend'.
PIt. *ama- could reflect PIE *h₃mh₃- 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 PIt.,
since Marr. *amatens* is not likely to have a stative suffix *-ē-, and has the transitive
meaning 'receive' of the IE cognates. The form *amāsius*, 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 *-īcus* might be decasuative from an ins. in *-ihₗ plus
*-ko- (parallel cases in Latin are *pudīcus* 'chaste' and *mendīcus* '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 *h₂emh₃-. → *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-u̯en-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-ṇ-o-, and it seems unlikely that *amueno- would yield amoenus (rather than *amuinus). Hence, amoenus remains unexplained. It is conceivable that it is a loanword, given the similarity with Gr. antonyms such as ὁμοιός, μοιός 'terrible', ἄμοιος 'bad' (among the Sicilians).

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

amplus 'large, big' [adj. o/ā] (Andr.+)

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

PIt. *am-lo-* 'seizable'.

PIE *h₃mh₃- [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. *amīcus*. 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

amptruō, -āre 'to execute a figure or movement' [v. I] (Pac., Lucil.)

Derivatives: *redamptruāre* (also *-ant-*) 'to dance in response to the steps of a leader' (Pac.+).

PIt. *ambi-drewo-* 'running arond, servant'.

PIE *h₂mbʰi-dreu-o-. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *drávati*, aor. *ádudrot* [3s.act.], caus. *drāvávati* 'to run, hurry', *dravá-* [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-ā- 'to run around' could be a denominative of *ambi-drew-os 'running around', 'servant', comparable in form and meaning with *anculus*.

Bibl.: WH I: 42, EM 30, IEW 205f., Leumann 1977: 198, Hamp 1978: 189, LIV *dreu̯-.

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. ἄμυξις '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 43, EM 30.

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

Derivatives: *anne* < *an* + *ne* (in double questions, before a vowel, after a first *an*).

PIt. *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. ἄν: 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. *anàs*, OCS *onъ* 'that, he' < PIE *h₂en-o-.

Bibl.: WH I: 44, EM 30f., IEW 37f., Schrijver 1991: 43.

anas, -atis 'duck' [f. *i*] (Pl.+; nom.pl. *anites* Pl., gen.pl. *anitum* Cic.)
Derivatives: *anatīnus* 'of a duck' (Pl.+).
PIt. *anati-.
PIE *h₂enh₂-ti- 'duck'. IE cognates: Skt. *ātí-* [f.] 'duck', Gr. (Ion.) νῆσσα, (Att.) νῆττα [f.] < PGr *nātja, OPr. *antis*, Lith. *ántis* [f.], CS *ǫty*, Ru. *útka*, SCr. *ȕtka* 'duck' < BSl. *anʔt-.

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).
Bibl.: WH I: 44, EM 31, IEW 41, Schrijver 1991: 95.

anculus 'man-servant' [m.; f. *o/ā*] (Paul. *ex F.*)
Derivatives: *ancilla* 'maidservant' (Andr.+); *anc(u)lāre* 'to serve (the gods)' (Andr.+), *anclābris* 'for serving (the gods)' (Naev., Paul. *ex F.*).
PIt. *ambi-kʷ⁽ʷ⁾olo-.
PIE *h₂mbʰi-kʷolh₁-os 'going towards/around'. IE cognates: Olr. *buachail* [m.] 'cowherd'; Skt. *abhicārá-* 'witchcraft' (AV+), *abhicara-* 'servant, companion' (cf. *pari-cará-* 'servant'), OP *ābicarīš* [acc.pl.] 'place inhabited/tilled by servants/slaves' (presumably derived from *abicara-* 'servant'); Myc. *a-pi-qo-ro*, Gr. ἀμφίπολος 'moving around someone; (female) servant', βουκόλος [m.] 'cowherd'.

The word *anculus* apparently got restricted to lithurgical 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.
Bibl.: WH I: 45, EM 32, IEW 639f., Rix 1994a: 30-34, LIV *kʷelh₁-. → *colō*

ancus 'with crooked arms' [adj. *o/ā*] (Paul. *ex F.*)
Derivatives: PN *Ancus* (fourth king of Rome) (Enn.+).
PIt. *anko- 'bended'.
PIE *h₂(e)nk-o- [adj.] 'bending'. IE cognates: Skt. *áṅkas-* [n.] 'turn (in a road)', *aṅkasá-* [m./n.] 'side, groin (of a horse)', YAv. *ąxnah-* [n.] 'rein', *aka-* [m.] 'hook', Gr. ἄγκων 'bend (of the arm), nook', ἄγκος 'valley', OIc. *angr* 'bay'. Hit. *hai(n)k-ᵗᵘ⁽ʳⁱ⁾, hink-ᵃ⁽ʳⁱ⁾, hi(n)k-ᶻⁱ* 'to bestow, bow' reflects *h₂/₃einK- and is unrelated, cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 268-271.
Bibl.: WH I: 46, EM 32, IEW 45f., Schrijver 1991: 43, LIV *h₂enk-. → *uncus*

angō, -ere 'to strangle, choke' [v. III; pf. *anxī*, ppp. *anctum*] (Pl.+)

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

PIt. **ange/o-* [v.], **angos-* [n.], **angosto-* [adj.], **angu-* [adj.].

PIE **h₂emǵʰ-e/o-* 'to tie, tighten'; **h₂emǵʰ-os* 'narrowness, anxiety', **h₂emǵʰ-os-to-* 'characterized by narrowness', **h₂emǵʰu-* 'narrow'. IE cognates: Hit. *hamank-ⁱ / hame/ink-* 'to tie, betroth' < **h₂m-ón-ǵʰ- / *h₂m-n-ǵʰ-*; Skt. *aṃhú-*, Av. *ązu-* 'narrow', Gr. ἄγχω 'to squeeze, strangle', Arm. *anjowk* 'narrow', OCS *uvęsti*, 1s. *uvęzǫ* 'to tie' (< **h₂eu-h₂mǵʰ-*), RuCS *ǫziti* 'to constrain, torture', Ru. *úzit'* 'make narrow, straiten' (< **h₂omǵʰ-*), 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? *Angiporto/u-* is a compound of **angu-* 'narrow' and *portus* 'passage' (here inflected as an *o*-stem, Wachter 2004: 375).

Bibl.: WH I: 47ff., EM 33, IEW 42f., Schrijver 1991: 43, Lindner 2002: 218, LIV **h₂emǵʰ-*.

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

Derivatives: *anguīnus* 'of a snake' (Cato+), *anguīlla* 'eel' (Varro, Sen.+) / *anguīla* (Pl.).

PIt. **angʷ-i-* 'snake'.

PIE **h₂(e)ngʷʰ-i-* 'snake'. IE cognates: MIr. *escung* 'eel' (lit. 'water-snake'), OPr. *angis*, Lith. *angìs*, acc.sg. *ãngį* 'snake' < **h₂e/ongʷʰ-*, Ru. *už*, gen.sg. *užá*, Po. *wąż* 'id.' (< PSl. **ǫžь* < **h₂e/ongʷʰ-io-*), OHG *unc* 'id.' < **h₂ngʷʰ-*.

Anguis can be derived from PIE **h₂(e)ngʷʰ-i-* 'snake'. Several IE languages reflect a similar preform **h₂e/ogʷʰ-* without an internal nasal: Gr. ἔχις 'snake', Arm. *iž*, Gr. ὄφις 'snake', Skt. *áhi-*, Av. *aži-* 'snake, dragon'. Maybe **n* was introduced into this stem by analogy with verbs for 'to twist, wind'. From *anguīnus, anguīlla* can be derived as **anguīn-la*. Katz 1998b: 322ff. analyzes *anguīlla* as *anguis* 'snake' + Lat. *illa* 'worm' (gloss CGL II 77.10). He reconstructs *illa* as **ēlua-* 'eel', based on an imaginative comparison with Gr. ἔγχελυς 'eel' and Hit. *Illuyankaš* 'mythical dragon' which is rightly rejected by Driessen 2005: 42f. Driessen suggests that the Plautine variant *anguīla* is older, and contains **-illa* 'worm' from **īlelā* > **īllā* '(little) snaky creature'. Yet in this analysis, the origin of hypothetical **īlā-* 'snake' remains unexplained too.

Bibl.: WH I: 48, EM 33, IEW 43ff., Schrijver 1991: 43f.

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

PIt. **ang(e)lo-*.

PIE **h₂eng-(e)lo-* 'corner'. IE cognates: Arm. *ankiwn*, OCS *ǫgъlъ*, Ru. *úgol*, gen. *uglá* 'corner' < PSl. **ǫglъ*, OIc. *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.

Bibl.: WH I: 48, EM 33, IEW 45ff., Schrijver 1991: 43. → *ancus*

anhēlus 'gasping, panting' [m. *o*] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: *anhēlāre* 'to breathe hard, pant' (Caecil.+).

PIt. **anaslo-* 'breath'.

PIE **h₂enh₁-slo-* 'a breathing'. IE cognates: OIr. *anaid*, *·ana* 'to stay, wait', Skt. *ániti* [pr.] 'to breathe', *prāṇá-* [m.] 'breath, breathing out, air', Go. **-anan* 'to breathe', pret. *uz-on*, ToB *anāṣṣāṃ* 'breathed in'.

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 *hālāre*. 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 *anhēlāre* show that it is a more recent denominative derived from *anhēlus*.

Bibl.: WH I: 49, EM 34, IEW 38ff., Schrijver 1991: 44, LIV **h₂enh₁-*. → *animus*, *hālō*

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

Derivatives: *anima* 'breath' (Naev.+); *animal, -ālis* 'animal' (Varro+), *animālis* [adj.] 'living, animate' (Pac.+), *animulus* 'heart, soul' (Pl.), *exanimis* [adj.] 'dead' (Lucr.+), *exanimāre* 'to prostrate, kill' (Pl.+), *exanimābilis* 'as one who is dead' (Naev.), *exanimālis* 'dead, deadly' (Pl.).

PIt. **anamo-* 'breath, spirit'. It. cognates: O. **anams** [nom.sg.], **anamúm** [acc.sg.] 'courage, energy' or 'breath'.

PIE **h₂enh₁-mo-* 'breath'. IE cognates: OIr. *anim* [f. *n*] 'soul', gen.sg. *anme*, Gr. ἄνεμος [m.] 'wind', Arm. *holm* 'id.' < **h₂onh₁-mo-*.

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

Bibl.: WH I: 49, EM 34, IEW 38f., Schrijver 1991: 317f., Kortlandt 1980b: 127f., Peters 1980: 2, LIV **h₂enh₁-*. → *anhēlus*

annus 'year' [m. *o*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *annuus* '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.+).

PIt. **atno-* 'year'. It. cognates: O. *aceneis* [gen.sg.], *acenei*, **akenei** [loc.sg.], *acunum* [gen.pl.], **akun.** [acc. or gen.pl.], U. *acnu* [acc.sg./pl.] 'year' < PSab. **akno- < PIt. **atno-*. Possibly also in U. **peraknem, perakne** [acc.sg.m.], **perakre** [acc.sg.f.], *peracri, peracrei* [abl.sg.m.], *peracnio, peracrio* [gen.pl.], **perakneu** [nom.acc.pl.n.], *peracris* [abl.pl.] < **perakni-* 'a certain quality of sacrifial animals', maybe 'more than a year old'. Probably also in U. **sevakne, sevakni** [acc.abl.sg.m.n.], **sevaknef**, *seuacne* [acc.pl.f.], **sevakne** [abl.pl.n.] 'sollemnis' < **seu̯o-akni-* 'in every single year'.

PIE *h₂et-no-; *h₂et-nio- 'which goes, a year'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *sám atasi* [2s.act.], *átamāna-* [ptc.med.] 'to travel, wander', *átya-* [m.] 'steed, runner', Av. *xᵛaðra-* [n.] 'well-being', YAv. *apairiiaðrq-* 'unavoidable'; Go. *aþn* [m.] 'year' (only dat.pl. *aþnam*) , Go. *at-aþni* [n.?] 'year'.

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

Bibl.: WH I: 51, EM 35, IEW 69, Leumann 1977: 209, Sommer-Pfister 1977: 188, Rix 1978: 149ff., Meiser 1986: 96, Schrijver 1991: 501, Untermann 2000: 74f., 533, 674f., LIV 1.*h₂et-.

ānsa 'handle (of a cup or other vessel), loop, clamp' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)
   Derivatives: *ānsātus* 'with a handle, grip' (Pl.+).
   PIt. *ansā- 'handle'.
   PIE *h₂ens-h₂- 'handle, grip'. IE cognates: Lith. *ąsà*, Latv. *ùosa* 'handle of a pot' < *ansā; with different suffix MIr. *éisi* pl. (f.?) 'part of the harness of a chariot-horse, reins', Gr. ἡνία [n.pl.] 'reins', Myc. *a-ni-ja* /anhiai/, dat. pl. *a-ni-ja-pi* [f.]; OPr. *ansis* 'kettle-hook', Latv. *ùoss* 'handle' < *h₂ens-i-, OIc. *œs* 'hole for shoe-strings' < *h₂ens-ieh₂-.

The meaning and form of the other IE words for 'handle, rein' adduced here suggests that *ānsa* 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 *h₃emh₃-, the connection is no longer possible.
   Bibl.: WH I: 51, EM 35, IEW 48, Schrijver 1991: 45, 61.

ānser 'goose' [m. (f.) *r*] (Pl.+)
   PIt. *χans-.
   PIE *ǵʰh₂ens [nom.], *ǵʰh₂ns-os [gen.] 'goose'. IE cognates: OIr. *géiss* 'swan', Skt. *haṃsá-* [m.], Gr. χήν, -ός [m. f.], Dor. Boeot. χᾱν, OPr. *sansy*, Lith. *žąsìs* [f.], acc. *žąsi*, Ru. *gus'*, Po. *gęs'* (< PSl. *gǫsь), 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 *hānserem on the analogy with the gen.sg. *hāns-. From the acc.sg., -*er*- would have been introduced into the other case forms.
   Bibl.: WH I: 52, EM 36, IEW 412, Kortlandt 1985a: 119, Schrijver 1991: 113.

antae 'square pilasters' [f. (mostly pl.) *ā*] (Vitr., CIL)
   PIt. *an(a)tā- 'post, pillar'.
   PIE *h₂enHt-h₂- 'door-post'. IE cognates: Skt. *átā-* [f.] pl., YAv. *qiðiiā-* [f.pl.] 'door-post', *aðā-* [pl.] 'house' < IIr. *HanHt-, *HnHt-; Arm. *drand(i)* 'doorpost, threshold'; OIc. *ǫnd* 'porch' < *and-ō-.

Latin *ant-* may reflect either *h₂n(H)t- or *h₂en(H)t-. Trisyllabic *anatā- with subsequent syncope is also conceivable.

Bibl.: WH I: 52, EM 36, IEW 42, Schrijver 1991: 311.

ante 'before; in front of' [prep.; adv.] (Lex XII+); *ante* takes the acc., but earlier probably the abl.: *anteā, antidhāc*. In compounds *antid-*, probably on the analogy of *postid* 'afterwards': *antideā = anteā, antideō* 'to surpass'.

Derivatives: *antīcus = antīquus* '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 F.*).

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. *ánti* [adv.] 'before, near, facing', Gr. ἀντί 'opposed, facing', Gr. ἄντα 'over against, face to face', Arm. *ənd* '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 *antīquus*. Both *antiae* and *antēs* must be regarded as recent nominalizations of **anti*; *antiae* presupposes an adj. **antios*. *Antīquus* reflects PIE **h₂enti-h₃kʷ-o-* 'facing the front', cf. Skt. *nyàñc-* 'facing downward', adv. *nīcā́* 'down', and others. In the nom.sg., the labiovelar was regularly delabialized, leading to *antīcus* and a subsequent paradigm split. In the comp. and sup., *antīquus* (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'.

PIE **h₂enH-o-* 'old woman'. IE cognates: Hit. *hanna-*, Lyc. *χñna-*, Arm. *han* 'grandmother', OPr. *ane* 'old mother', Lith. *anýta* 'mother-in-law', OHG *ana* 'grandmother'.

The origin of the *u*-stem inflection of *anus* is unclear: maybe analogy to *nurus* 'daughter-in-law; young woman'? PIE **h₂en-* may be a nursery word. For the affectionate nature, compare the geminate of Gr. ἀννίς '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 **h₁eh₂no-* 'ring'. IE cognates: OIr. *áinne* 'ring', Arm. *anowr* 'necklace, ring'.

Bibl.: WH I: 55, EM 37, IEW 47, Schrijver 1991: 53.

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

Derivatives: *aprīnus* 'of a wild boar' (Lucil.+), *aprugnus* 'of the wild boar' (Pl.+); PN *Aprō* [cogn.] (inscr.), *Aprōnius* [gent.] (Liv., inscr.).

PIt. **apro-*; **aprōn-*. It. cognates: U. **abrunu** [acc.sg.], **apruf**, *abrof*, *abrons* [acc.pl.] < **aprōn(o)-* 'boar'.

PIE **h₁pr-o-* (for Latin), **h₁ep-r-* (for Germanic). IE cognates: Latv. *vepris* [m. *io*] 'castrated boar', OCS *veprь*, Ru. *vepr'* 'boar' < BSl. **ueprio-*; Thracian ἔβρος 'buck'; OHG *ebur* < PGm. **eburo-* 'boar'.

The Italic form **aprōn-* is explained as an *n*-derivative to **apro-* by Untermann 2000: 45. Nussbaum 1973: 356f. reconstructs **aprō-no-* for **abrunu**, but **apro-* 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. *prīvignus* 'born separately', *benignus* 'born with goodness'. Nussbaum 2003 suggests that *aprugnus* is "a -*gno*-variant that goes with the -*geno*-/-*gino*- of *caprigenus* and *capreāginus* 'caprine' (whatever that is – Lindner 2002, 224)." In view of Gm. and Sl., one would expect Lat. **eper*; maybe the *a*- was taken from *caper* 'he-goat'.

Bibl.: WH I: 56, EM 38, IEW 323, Leumann 1977: 200, Schrijver 1991: 29f., Untermann 2000: 44ff. → *caper*

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

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

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

PIE **h₂uer-i(e/o)-* 'to cover'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *vṛṇóti* (RV+), *ūrṇuté*, aor. *ávar* [23s.act.], pf. *vavāra* [3s.act.], caus. *vāráya-* 'to cover, enclose', *vṛtá-* 'enclosed', OAv. *vɘrɘnauuaitē* [3s.pr.sb.med.], *ni-uuarānī* [1s.aor.sb.] 'to enclose', YAv. *aiβi.vɘrɘnuuaiti* 'to hide' < IIr. **Huar-*; Gr. ἄορον 'crowbar, porch, porter' (Hsch.) (< **h₂uor-o-*); Lith. *atvérti* 'to open', *(už)vérti*, *su-vérti* 'to shut', OCS *za-vrěti* 'id.', Cz. *otevříti*, SCr. *otvòriti* 'to open'; Lith. *var̃tai*, SCr. *vráta* 'gate'.

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

Bibl.: WH I: 56, EM 38, IEW 1160ff., Leumann 1977: 202, Meiser 1986: 185, Schrijver 1991: 472, Lubotsky 2000, Untermann 2000: 845f., LIV **Huer-*. → *operīre*, O. **veru**

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. ἄπιος 'far off', Skt. *ápara-* 'next, further, more to the back'; see s.v. *ab*.
 Bibl.: WH I: 57, EM 38, IEW 50f. → *ab*

apis 'bee' [f. *i*] (Pl.+; nom.sg. *apēs* (Quint.), gen.pl. *apum*, sec. *apium*, acc.pl. *apēs*)
Derivatives: *apicula* 'little bee' (Pl.+).
PIt. **api-*?

No accepted etymology. Vennemann 1998a proposes that *apis* is a loanword from Semitic, comparing Hieroglyphic Egyptian *'fj* 'bee'. This is conceivable.
 Bibl.: WH I: 57, EM 39, Schrijver 1991: 374.

apīscor, **-scī** 'to seize; get, obtain' [v. III; pf. *coepī* <*co-ēpī, ppp. *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.+); *coepiō*, *-ere* 'to begin' (Pl.+), *coeptāre* 'id.' (Pl.+); *cōpula* 'bond' (Pl.+); *adipīscor* 'to catch up with, obtain' (Pl.+; ppp. *adeptus*), *indipīscor* 'to overtake, acquire' (Pl.+; ppp. *indeptus*).
 PIt. **ap-(e)i-* 'to get, seize'.
 PIE **h₁p-i-* [pr.] 'to get, grab', **h₁e-h₁(o)p-* [pf.]. IE cognates: Hit. *epp-ᶻⁱ* / *app-* 'to take, grab' (< IE root pr. **h₁ep-/*h₁p-*), *pai-ⁱ* / *ɪpi-*, CLuw., HLuw. *ɪpiɪa-*, Lyc. *ɪpije-* 'to give', Skt. *ā́pa*, YAv. *āpa* 'has reached' (< IE pf. **h₁e-h₁(o)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 ppp. *coeptus* < *ko-aptos; compare *cōpula* < *ko-apula. The pr. *coepiō* 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 PIt., 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. *hₗp-ói-ei, 3p. *hₗp-i-énti; in that case, the Lat. *i*-pr. may be cognate.
 Bibl.: WH I: 57f., EM 39, 130, IEW 50f., Leumann 1977: 67, Schrijver 1991: 28f., Sihler 1995: 54, 123, Meiser 2003: 197, LIV **h₁ep-*. → *epulum, optō*

aprīcus 'sunny' [adj. *o/ā*] (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*

aprīlis 'April' [adj. *i*] (Varro+)

Plt. **ap(e)ro-.*

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)rīlis* 'the following, next'. This could reflect the same preform **ap(e)ri-* 'openness' as posited s.v. *aprīcus*. Differently Neri 2007: 67, who posits **h₁p-r-* to **h₁(e)p(-i)* 'toward'. The suffix *-īlis* can be analogical to the months *Quintīlis* and *Sextīlis* (Leumann 1977: 350).

Bibl.: WH I: 59, EM 40. → *ab, aprīcus*

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 BSl. words for 'bottom', Lith. *pãdas* 'sole, metatarsus, floor of a stove', Latv. *pads* 'stone floor', ORu. *podъ*, Cz. *půda*, SCr. *pôd*, gen.sg. *põda* 'floor, bottom' < BSl. **podo-*, which Derksen 2008 reconstructs as PIE **h₂po-dʰh₁-o-*. Note that the Russian word *pod* has come to be used as a preposition 'under'. If **h₂po-* was replaced in a prestage of Italic by its counterpart **h₂epo* (cf. *ab*), this compound would yield Plt. **apopo-* '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. **apodō*.

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+), *aquātilis* 'watery, aquatic' (Varro); *aquilex, -gis* 'water-diviner' (Varro+).

Plt. **akwā-* 'water'.

IE cognates: Go. *ahva*, OHG *aha* < PGm. **aχʷō* 'water'.

According to Beekes 1998, other suggested cognates, such as Olc. *ægir* 'sea, ocean', are very uncertain. Even if cognate, Germano-Italic **akwā-* may well be a loanword from a non-IE language.

Bibl.: WH I: 60, EM 41, IEW 23, Beekes 1998.

aquila 'eagle' [f. $\bar{a}$] (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-awilā-*. 3. From a preform **aku-awilā-* > 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".

Bibl.: WH I: 60, EM 42, IEW 23, Cohen 2004.

aquilus 'dark in hue, swarthy' [adj. $o/\bar{a}$] (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*

ara 'altar' [f. $\bar{a}$] (Lex Reg., Pl.+; OLat. *asa* quoted by various CLat. and LLat. authors)

Plt. **āsā-*. It. cognates: O. **aasaí** [loc.sg.], **aasas** [nom.pl.], **aasass** [acc.pl.]; U. **asam-**, *asam-* [acc.sg.]. **asa**, *asa* [abl.sg.], **ase** [loc.sg.] 'altar'.

PIE **h₂eh₁s-h₂-* 'hearth'. IE cognates: Hit. *hāšš-* [c.] 'ash(es), dust, soap' < **h₂éh₁s-*, Hit. *hāššā-* [c.] 'hearth' < **h₂eh₁s-h₂-*, Skt. *ā́sa-* (ın.) 'ashes, light dust', Khot. *astaucā* 'dry land', OHG *essa*, Runic *aRina* '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 61, EM 42, IEW 68-69, Harðarson 1994: 35-39, Untermann 2000: 43f., Kloekhorst 2008: 318, LIV **h₂eh₁s-*. → *āreō, assus*

araneus 'spider' [m. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *araneus* [adj.] 'of spiders' (Col.+), *aranea* 'spider's web, cobweb' (Pl.+), 'spider' (Cat.+).

IE cognates: Gr. ἀράχνη 'spider', ἀράχνιον 'cobweb', ἀραχναῖος 'of a spider',

ἀραχναίη '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. -*khm*- 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, -trī 'eye-witness; judge' [m. *o*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *arbitrārī* 'to witness, judge' (Pl.+), *arbitrātus*, -*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 *arbitrātus*. 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-bitrātu*- or **ad-betrātu*- for the Umbrian-Latin correspondence. If we start from *arbiter* < **ad-biteros*, the vowel *i* may continue any PIt. 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. *p* remains unexplained under any theory: maybe the Romans heard Sabellic *p* after ř (a sound unknown to them) as *b*? In that case, one might connect the root of *putāre* 'to reckon', especially since the U. form is actually spelled with *u*. Yet since *putāre* is based on an adj. **puto*- 'cut off, pruned', the morphological details remain unclear.

Bibl.: WH I: 62, EM 42f., Untermann 2000: 53f., Meiser 1986: 53, 272, Sihler 1995: 151. → *ad, baetō*

arbor, -oris 'tree' [f. *s*] (Pl.+; nom.sg. *arbōs* (Verg., Ov.), acc.sg. *arbosem*, nom./acc.pl. *arboses* Paul. *ex F.*)

Derivatives: *arbustum* 'wood, plantation' (Naev.+), *arbuscula* 'small tree' (Var.+).

PIt. **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.

Bibl.: WH I: 62, EM 43, IEW 339, Leumann 1977: 379, Schrijver 1991: 69. → *arduus*

arca 'chest' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *arcula* 'small chest' (Pl.+), *arcānus* 'secret' (Hor.+), *arcera* 'kind of

covered carriage' (Lex XII+).

PIt. *arkā- 'container', *arkelā- [dim.]. It. cognates: U. arçlataf [acc.pl. 'unidentified sacrificial gift' < *arkelātā- 'small chest-like object'?

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

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

Bibl.: WH 62, EM 43, IEW 65f., LIV *h₂er⁽ḱ⁾-. → arceō, arx

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

Derivatives: abarcēre 'to keep away' (Paul. ex F., CIL), coercēre 'to confinε restrain' (Cato+), exercēre 'to exercise, keep busy' (Pl.+), exercitus, -ī/ūs 'physicα exercise, army' (Naev.+), porcēre 'to prevent' (Enn.+).

PIt. *ark-eje/o- 'to contain, keep out', *ark-o- 'who builds'. It. cognates: C tríbarakavúm [inf.], tríbarakattíns [3p.pf.sb.], tríbarakattuset [3p.fut.pf.] 'to buil (houses)' < *treb-ark-ā- [v.], probably derived from a noun *treb-ark-(o- 'house-builder'; O. tríbarakkiuf [nom.sg.] 'building' < *treb-ark-iōn-s.

PIE *h₂(o)r⁽ḱ⁾-eje/o- 'to hold'. IE cognates: Hit. har(k)-ᶻⁱ 'to hold, have' (< root pι *h₂(e)rk-), Gr. ἀρκέω 'to avert, defend; suffice' (denom. to ἄρκος [n.] 'defence'; Arm. argel 'hindrance'.

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

Bibl.: WH I: 62, EM 43f., IEW 65, Klingenschmitt 1982: 236f., Schrijver 1991: 66f Untermann 2000: 762f., Meiser 2003: 225, Neri 2007: 77f., LIV *h₂er⁽ḱ⁾-. → arcc arx, parcō

arcessō, -ere / accersō, -ere 'to summon, send for' [v. III; pf. arcessīvī / -iī, ppf arcessītum] (Pl.+; pr. accers-, arcess- Pl. Ter. Cato, pf. arcess- Cic.+; several ī-con forms, cf. TLL)

PIt. *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 on developed from the other by an unusual metathesis or an analogical replacemen Both variants seem to have been sprachwirklich in Plautus' times. The pr. i productive from Pl. onwards, whereas the pf. is hardly attested before Cicero. Sinc the pf. clearly favors the variant arcess-, one might hypothesize that arcess- was i the process of ousting accers-, and that the latter must therefore be the original forn Nussbaum 2007b gives two more arguments for regarding accersō as original: th noun dorsum > dossum shows a phonetic change of *rs > ss; a verb in -cessō meanin 'go get' would be favoured by its semantic neighbours capessō and (ex)petessō Nussbaum suggests that accersō may reflect *ad-kers-s-e/o-, an s-present to the roc *krs- 'to run' (whence Lat. currō).

Leumann's etymology (1977: 155) *arcessō* < **ar-facessō* is unattractive, since nothing points to the presence of earlier **-fa-*. Bartalucci 1963: 371f. also suggests that *arcessō* is the older form, and may be cognate with Hittite *ārku-ᶻⁱ/ ark-* 'to chant, intone', which is reconstructed as **h₁erkʷ-* by Kloekhorst 2008: 205 (Skt. *arc-*, ToA *yārk-* 'to worship'). Yet we would expect Latin **arquessō*. Bartalucci argues that the semantics of *arcessō* may have been influence by *accīre* 'to summon' (Pl.+).

Bibl.: WH I: 63, EM 44, Bartalucci 1963, Meiser 2003: 237, LIV 1.*⁽ḱ⁾ers-. → *currō*

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

Derivatives: *arquitēs* 'archers' (Paul. *ex F.*), *arcitenens/arquitenens* 'that carries a bow' (Naev.+), *arcuātus, arquātus* 'bow-shaped' (Var.+).

PIt. **arkuo- / *arkʷo-* 'bow'.

IE cognates: Go. *arƕazna*, OIc. *ǫr, ǫrvar*, OE *earh* 'arrow' < PGm. **arχʷō, -az-*; Gr. ἄρκευθος [f.], Latv. *ērcis* 'juniper' [m.], Ru. *rakíta*, Cz. *rokyta*, SCr. *ràkita* '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. **arχʷō* 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 **arkū̆-*; as with many plant names, this is likely to be a non-IE loanword.

Bibl.: WH I: 64, EM 44, IEW 67f., Schrijver 1991: 46, 67, Untermann 2000: 119.

ardea 'heron' [f. *ā*] (Verg.+)

Without a clear etymology. If *ardea* is related to Gr. ἐρῳδιός (H.), also ἐρωδιός, ῥωδιός (Hipponax), ἀρωδιός (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.

Bibl.: WH I: 64, EM 45, IEW 68, Schrijver 1991: 65,73.

arduus 'tall, high' [adj. *o/ā*] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *arduitās* 'steepness' (Varro).

PIt. **arþwo-*.

PIE **h₃rdʰ-uo-* 'high, upright'. IE cognates: OIr. *ard*, W. *ardd* 'high' < PCl. **ard-uo-*, Skt. *ūrdhvá-* 'tending upwards, upright, high', YAv. *ərəδβa-* 'risen, upright, erect', Gr. ὀρθός 'upright, standing', OIc. *ǫrðugr* 'steep'.

Celtic and IIr. point to **Hrdʰuo-*, 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 *urvárā-* 'field' < IIr. **HrH-ṷar-*), so that *ūrdhvá-* might be the regular outcome of IIr. **Hrdʰṷa-*. Since **-rdʰ-* 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

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*

āreō 'to be dry' [v. II] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *āridus* 'dry, arid' (Pl.+; also *ardus* 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.); *adārēscere* 'to become dry' (Cato), *exārēscere* 'to dry up' (Pl.+), *perārēscere* 'to dry up thoroughly' (Varro+).

PIt. *ās-ē- 'to be dry'.

PIE *h₂ehᵢs-ehᵢ- 'to be dry'. IE cognates: ToA *asatär*, ToB *osotär* 'dries up'.

Lat. *ardeō* is derived from *ār(i)dus*, and *ardor* from *ardeō*. 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 *h₂ehᵢs-.

Bibl.: WH I: 65, EM 45, IEW 68-69, Schrijver 1991: 53f., Harðarson 1994, LIV *h₂ehᵢs-. → *āra, assus*

argentum 'silver' [n. *o*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *argenteus* 'silver' [adj.] (Andr.)

PIt. *argento-. It. cognates: Fal. **arcentelom** [acc.sg.n.] 'small silver coin', O. **aragetud** [abl.sg.], *arage*['money'.

PIE *h₂rǵ-nt-o- [n.] 'silver'. IE cognates: Gaul. *arganto-(magus)* , OIr. *argat*, W. *arian* 'silver', Skt. *rajatá-* 'silver-coloured; silver' (Skt. *ra-* is probably secondary for *r̥-*), Av. *ərəzata-*, OP *rdata-* [n.], Arm. *arcatʿ* 'silver' (suffix like *erkatʿ* 'iron').

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

Bibl.: WH I: 66, EM 45, IEW 64, Schrijver 1991: 67, 72f., Untermann 2000: 116f.

arguō, -ere 'to show, affirm' [v. III; ppp. *argūtum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *argūtus* (Naev.+) 'clever; producing sharp or clear sounds', *argūtiae* (Pl.+) 'sophistry, cleverness', *argūmentum* (Pl.+) 'proof, argument'.

PIt. *argu- 'bright'.

PIE *h₂erǵ-u- 'white'. IE cognates: Hit. *arkuṷae-ᶻⁱ* 'to make a plea' (< * *arkuṷe/a-ᶻⁱ* < *arkuịe/a-*, Melchert 1998, < PIE *h₂orǵ-u-ịe- 'to make clear', Kloekhorst 2008: 206); Skt. *árju-na-* 'white, light', Gr. ἄργυρος, Myc. *a-ku-ro* 'silver', Gr. ἄργυφος 'gleaming white', ToA *ārki*, ToB *ārkwi* 'white'. Messapic *argorian* was probably borrowed from Gr. ἀργύριον, cf. Parlangèli 1960: 265.

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.

Bibl.: WH I: 66f., EM 46, IEW 64f., Schrijver 1991: 67. → *argentum*

aries, -etis 'ram' [m. *t*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *arietāre* 'to strike violently, ram' (Pl.).

PIt. **a/eriēt-s* (nom.), *a/eriet-* (obl.). It. cognates: U. **erietu** [acc.sg.] maybe 'ram'.

PIE **h₁r-i-(e)t-* 'certain domestic animal'. IE cognates: OIr. *heirp, erb* [f.] 'she-goat, doe, roe' < PCl. **erbā-*; Gr. ἔριφος 'kid', maybe Arm. *oroǰ* 'lamb' (< **er-oǰ*), *erinǰ* 'young cow'.

Since PIt. **ariet-* (or, for that matter, **ariot-*) would have yielded **arīt-* 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. *mīles /mīless/*. But soon the cluster *-ss* was shortened: already in Ennius, we find *es* and *mīles* (Sommer 1914: 276f., Leumann 1977: 222). Since the last syllable of nom.sg. *ariēs* remains long throughout CLat., it is more likely that the length was due to the vowel *-ē-*. In U. **erietu**, the *-e-* must be the result of restoration, otherwise the outcome would have been U. ***eritu** */eritom/*). The *-e-* 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 **h₁er-*, but it is difficult to reconstruct a complete single correspondence.

Bibl.: WH I: 67, EM 46, IEW 326, Untermann 2000: 229, Schrijver 1991: 65f., Leumann 1977: 222, 433.

arma, -ōrum '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-*.

PIE **h₂(e)r-mo-* [adj.] 'fitting', **h₂er-mn-to-* [n.]. IE cognates: Skt. *r̥tá-* [adj., n.] 'truthful; agreement, (world-)order; oath', *ará-* [m.] 'spoke of a wheel', Skt. *áram* [adv.], OAv. *arə̄m*, YAv. *arəm* [adv.] 'fitting, just', Av. *aša-* [n.] 'truth', Gr. ἀραρίσκω 'to fit together', aor. ἄρσαι, ptc.med. ἄρμενος 'fitting, equipped', Myc. *a-ra-ro-wo-a* /ararwoha/ [n.pl.], *a-ra-ru-ja* /araruia(i)/ [f.sg.] 'fitted' [ptc.pf.act.], Gr. ἄρμα, -τος [n.] 'wagon, chariot', Myc. *a-mo* /armo/, dat. *a-mo-te-i*, pl. *a-mo-ta* 'wheel', Gr. ἁρμόζω 'to fit together, connect'; Arm. aorist *arari* 'I made' (pr. *aṙnem*) .

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, rītus*

armus 'shoulder or upper arm (of an animal)' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

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

PIt. **ar(a)mo-*.

PIE **h₂(e)rH-mo-* 'arm'. IE cognates: Skt. *īrmá-* 'arm, shoulder(-joint)', Av. *arəma-*, OPr. *irmo* 'arm', Lith. *ìrmėdė* [f.] 'gout' ("arm-eating") < PIE **h₂rH-mó-*; OCS *ramo*, Cz. *rámě*, SCr. *rȁme* '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 69, EM 47, IEW 58, Schrijver 1991: 194, 197, 313-318.

arō, -āre 'to plough' [v. I] (Pl.+)

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

PIt. **araje/o-*.

PIE **h₂erh₃-ie/o-* 'to plough', **h₂erh₃-tro-* [n.]. IE cognates: MIr. *airim*, W. *arddu*, Gr. ἀρόω, Lith. *árti*, 1s. *ariù*, Latv. *aȓt*, OCS *orati*, 1s. *orjǫ*, Go. *arjan* 'to plough'; MIr. *arathar*, Arm. *arawr*, Lith. *árklas* 'plough' < BSl. **arH-tlo-*, OCS *ralo*, Cz. *rádlo* 'id.' < **arH-dʰlo-*, OIc. *arðr* < PIE **h₂erh₃-tro-*.

The *ā* in *arātrum* must be secondary after the verb, since PIE **h₂erh₃-tro-* would yield **aratrum*.

Bibl.: WH I: 69, EM 48, IEW 62, Schrijver 1991: 45, LIV **h₂erh₃-*. → *arvum*

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

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

PIt. **arti-*.

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

Lat. *sollers* < **soll-arti-* to *sollus* 'entire'; *al(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-*. → *arma*

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

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

PIt. **arto-* [adj.].

PIE **h₂r-tó-* 'fitted'. IE cognates: Skt. *r̥tá-* 'truthful; truth, agreement', Av. *aṧa-* [n.]

'truth', YAv. *ǝrata-.

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

Bibl.: WH I: 70, EM 49, IEW 55ff., Schrijver 1991: 68, LIV 1.*h₂er-. → *arma, ars*

artus, -ūs 'joint, limb' [m. *u*] (Pl.+; almost always plural; nom.pl. *artua* 1x Pl.)
  Derivatives: *articulus* 'joint, limb, juncture' (Pl.+).
  PIt. **artu-* [m.].
  PIE **h₂r-tú-* 'juncture, ordering'. IE cognates: Skt. *r̥tú-* [m.] 'fixed time, order, rule', Av. *ratu-* 'section of time, period', Gr. ἀρτύς 'arrangement', ἀρτύν 'friendship and arrangement or decision' (Hsch.), ἀρτύω '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 1.*h₂er-.

aruīna 'fat, lard' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)
  PIt. **arow-i-* 'entrails'?
  Gr. ὀρύα 'sausage' (WH I 71), a title of a comedy by Epicharmus, might attest to a Sicilian form **aru̯i-* or **oru̯i-* (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 *aruīna* may have already lost earlier **h-*; both could then go back to **aru-*. Loss of initial **h-* in U. would be unexpected, though. Gr. ἀρβίννη 'meat' among the Sicilians (Hsch.) is probably a loan from Latin (or from another Italic language).
  Bibl.: WH I: 71, IEW 68, EM 49, Campanile 1969: 318f., Meiser 1986: 194f., Untermann 2000: 125f. → *haruspex*

arvum 'ploughed land' [n. *o*] (Cic.+)
  Derivatives: *arva* 'ploughed land' (Andr., Naev., Pac.); *aruos* (Pl.), *aruus* [adj.] 'ploughed, cultivated' (Var., Cic.).
  PIt. **ara/owo-*. It. cognates: U. **arvamen** [acc.sg. + -*en*] , **arven** [loc.sg. + -*en*] [f.] 'field' vel sim. U. **arvia, aruvia, arviu,** *aruio* [acc.pl.] 'grain' < **aruio-*.
  PIE **h₂erh₃-uo-* 'ploughable'. IE cognates: OIr. *arbor*, gen.sg. *arbae* 'grain', W. *erw* 'acre', Skt. *urvárā-* 'arable land', Gr. ἄρουρα 'sowing-land' < PIE **h₂erh₃-ur, -uen-*.
  The adj. *aruus* is probably primary, *arva* 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-uo-* 'ploughable' (or, theoretically, **h₂rh₃-euo-*). Other IE languages continue a heteroclitic noun **h₂erh₃-ur, -un-* 'ploughed land'.
  Bibl.: WH I: 71, EM 50, IEW 63, Schrijver 1991: 250f., Untermann 2000: 124f., LIV *h₂erh₃-. → *arō*

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

PIt. **ark-* 'a building'.

PIE **h₂(e)r⁽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, IEW 65, Untermann 1992: 142, LIV **h₂er⁽ᵏ⁾-.* → *arca, arceō*

ās, 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+), *nōnussis* '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 *lībra* 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*.

Bibl.: WH I: 71, 101, EM 50, 69, Leumann 1977: 489, Untermann 2000: 41.

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

Since a sequence **ks* is usually retained in intervocalic position in Latin (cf. *axis*, *texō, 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 71, EM 50, IEW 9.

asīlus 'gadfly' [m. *o*] (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 *asīlus* 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. ὄνος 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 72, EM 51, IEW 301f., Leumann 1977: 179, EIEC 34.

asper, -era, -erum 'rough, harsh' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *asperāre* 'to make rough' (Varro+), *exasperāre* 'id.' (Liv.+).
PIt. **aspi-ro-*?
PIE **h₂esp-i-* 'cutting'? IE cognates: CLuw. *hašp-* 'to cut down'; Gr. ἀσπίς, -ίδος 'shield'.

Possibly from **ab-sper-o-* 'rejecting, repulsive', similar to Skt. *apa-sphúras* 'speeding on'. In the absence of further confirmation this is somewhat gratuitous; *asper* and Skt. *apa-sphúras* would have to be regarded as two independent formations, since the Skt. vocalism follows that of the present *sphuráti*. Melchert 2007a: 255 reiterates the semantic difficulties involved in deriving *asper* from **ab-spero-*, 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. ἀσπίς 'shield' (< 'skin, hide' < 'cut off'). In view of the latter noun, *asper* might go back to an earlier adj. **aspi-ro-*.
Bibl.: WH I: 73, EM 51, IEW 992f., Leumann 1977: 203, Meiser 1998: 117, Melchert 2007a, LIV **spʰerH-*. → *ab*, *spernō*

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. **asseris*, 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 **h₁ésh₂-r* [nom.acc.], **h₁sh₂-én-s* [gen.sg.] 'blood'. IE cognates: see s.v. *sanguis*.

Generally interpreted as Latin /*aser*/. No rhotacism because of the *-r-* in the next syllable, cf. *miser*. Klingenschmitt reconstructs **h₁s-h₂ēr* on ablaut-theoretical grounds, but in view of *femur*, *iecur*, one would like a zero grade in the suffix. Schrijver regards *assyr* as too uncertain to be used, because of the vacillating forms.
Bibl.: WH I: 72, EM 52, IEW 343, Leumann 1977: 360, Schrijver 1991: 29, Klingenschmitt 1992: 118. → *sanguis*

assus 'roasted, baked' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **asso-* 'dried, roasted'. It. cognates: U. *aso* [acc.sg.m.] probably 'ignited, burning'.
PIE **h₂d-to-* 'dried up'. IE cognates: Hit. *hāt-ⁱ* / *hat-* 'to dry up, become parched' < **h₂ód-/*h₂d-*, Gr. ἄζω 'to dry' < **h₂(e)d-ie/o-*, Cz. *ozditi* 'to dry malt'.

EM derive *assus* from **ars[s]us* 'burnt', verbal adj. to *ardeō*; 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. ἄζω '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 *adto- > *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 *atst < *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-stu- < *-sth₂-u- 'standing by' to the verb astō 'to stand by'. In particular, he compares the adv. praestō 'available' to praestō '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 74f., EM 52f., Leumann 1977: 334.

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. It. 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.

PIE *h₂et(i) 'back, away'. IE cognates: Gaul. ate-, OIr. aith- 'again', Gr. ἀτ-άρ 'nevertheless, but', Lith. at-, ata- 'back', OCS otъ, Ru. ot(o) 'from', Go. aþ-þan 'but'.

Final -t in Latin is explained from Plt. *-ti. Lat. atavus occurs in an enumeration: "pater, auos, proauos, abauos, atauos, 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 75, 421 f., 863, EM 53, IEW 70f., Lejeune 1974: 331, Schrijver 1991: 46, Untermann 2000: 113f. → et

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

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

PIt. **ātro-*. It. cognates: U. **atru**, *adro* [acc.pl.n.], *adrir*, *adrer* [abl.pl.n.] 'black' < **ād/tro-*.

PIE **h₂eh₁-t(-)r-* 'fireplace'. IE cognates: OIr. *áith*, W. *odyn* 'furnace, oven' < PCl. **āti-*; Pal. *hāri*, [3s.], *hānta* [3p.] 'to be warm', Av. *ātarš*, gen.sg. *āϑrō* 'fire' < PIr. **ātr-*.

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 PIt. '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 PIt. adj. **ātr-o-* meant 'like a fireplace' > 'having a fireplace-like colour, black'. LIV conjectures that **āt-* may be cognate with the PIE root **h₂eh₁s-* 'to dry up'.

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

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

Derivatives: *atrōcitās* 'savageness, horror' (Acc.+).

PIt. **atrōkʷ-*.

PIE **h₂h₁-tr-* 'fireplace'?

Probably a derivative of the adj. *āter* 'black' and the PIE root **h₃ekʷ-* 'to look', thus 'having a black aspect'. In order to explain short initial *a-*, Schrijver reconstructs **HHtro-*, 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 **-tr-* to the root **h₂eh₁-*, and we could posit an ablauting noun: **h₂éh₁-tr, *h₂h₁-tr-ós*. 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 PIt. of two forms **ātr-o-* 'like a fireplace' > 'black' and **atro-Hkʷ-* 'looking like a fireplace' > 'blackened', making this hypothesis somewhat cumbersome.

Bibl.: WH I: 77, EM 54, IEW 775ff., Schrijver 1991: 54, 77, LIV **h₃ekʷ-*. → *āter*

atta 'father, daddy' [m. *ā*] (Paul. *ex F.*)

PIt. **atta-*.

PIE **h₂et-o-* 'daddy'. IE cognates: Hit. *atta-*, CLuw. *tata/i-*, HLuw. *tati-*, Lyd. *taada-* 'father', Gr. ἄττα 'little father', Alb. *at*, OCS *otьcь*, Go. *atta* 'father'.

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

Bibl.: 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.+).

Derived from *avidus* 'greedy'; see under *aveō* for the further etymology. The semantics of *audeō* differ somewhat from its base. Originally, **awid-ēje/o-* must have meant 'to be greedy, to want very much', as shown by the relic form *sōdēs* 'if you please' < **sī audēs* 'if you want very much' in Plautus, and in a few other usages of *audēre* in the oldest texts. *Audeō* then developed the meaning 'to dare'.

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

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

Derivatives: *oboedīre* 'to obey' (Pl.+), *exaudīre* 'to hear, heed' (Pl.+), *peraudīre* 'to hear to the end' (Pl.).

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

PIE **h₂eu-is* 'clearly' + **dʰh₁-ie/o-* 'to render'. IE cognates: Hit. *au-ⁱ / u-* 'to see, look' < **h₂ou- / *h₂u-*, CLuw. *aua* (interj.) 'look!'; Skt. *āvíṣ* 'evidently', Av. *āuuiš* < IIr. **Hāuiš*, Gr. *ἀΐω* 'to perceive, hear', *ἐπαιστός* 'known', *αἰσθάνομαι* 'to perceive' < **h₂(e)ui-s-(dʰ)-* '(to make) manifest'; Lith. *ovyje* 'in reality', OCS *(j)avě* 'manifestly' < **h₂ēu-eis* (or loanword from Iranian?).

Audiō probably represents a cp. of **h₂eui(s)* 'manifest' and the root **dʰehₗ-*. *Audīre* and *oboedīre* can be explained in the most straightforward way if we assume that the PIt. compound originally was **auis-þ-ie/o-*, in the way argued earlier by Pedersen and Solmsen, see the summary in Martzloff 2006: 548-555: **áwizdijō > *auzdijō* (for the syncope, cf. *mōnstrum, fenstram, ṣēmestris*) > *audiō*, and **ób-awizdijō > *obowizdijō > *oboizdijō > oboediō*. 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*.

Bibl.: WH I: 80, EM 55, IEW 78, Meier-Brügger 1980: 257ff., Schrijver 1991: 76,135, Meiser 1998: 71. → *auris*

augeō 'to increase (tr.)' [v. II; pf. *auxī*, 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.+), *auctārium* 'overplus' (Pl., Paul. *ex F.*), *auctor* 'seller, authoritative person' (Pl.+), *auctōritās* 'right of ownership, authority' (Lex XII+), *auctiō* '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. **augar** 'offering' < **aug-ār(i)*; maybe U. **uhtur** [nom.sg.], **uhturu** [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. *ukṣáti*; caus. *vakṣaya-* 'to make strong'),

Av. *uxšiia-* 'to grow', aor. *vaxš-*, caus. *vaxšaiia-* 'to let grow'; Gr. αὔξω, ἀέξω, αὐξάνω 'to increase', Lith. *áugti*, Go. *aukan*, OIc. *auka*, Go. *wahsjan* 'to grow'; Skt. *ójas-* [n.] 'strength', Av. *aojah-*.   ₁

The *s*-stem which we find in IIr. is preserved in *augur* < **augos* 'reinforcement, confirmation' with *r* from the oblique cases. The abstract noun then developed into concrete 'who makes grow'. The Priscian form *auger* may preserve the ablaut **-es-* of the oblique cases. Lat. *augurium* is derived from *augur*, whereas *augustus* is a **to-*derivative to **aug-os* (cf. *honustus*). The old pl. of **augos* is preserved in Acc. *augura*, which has the meaning of *augurium*. The analysis as **au-gus-* 'bird-taster' (cf. Lindner 2002: 232 with further references) seems wholly unmotivated. According to EM, *auxilium* is a back-formation to *auxilia*, pl.n. to **auxilis* < **aug-s-ili-*, which must be built on the *s*-variant of the verb (cf. *faciō – facilis*).

Bibl.: WH I: 82, EM 56ff., Lejeune 1974: 331, Leumann 1977: 379, Schrijver 1991: 47, Untermann 2000: 788f., Morani 1984, LIV **h₂eug-*.

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.*), *Aululāria* title of a comedy by Plautus (referring to a jar of money).
PIt. **auksla-*.
IE cognates: Skt. *ukhá-*, *ukhā́-* 'boiler, pan'; Gr. ἰπνός 'furnace' (maybe from **ἰπνός*, cf. Ἔφ-ιπνος, Attic *ἱπνε[ύεσθαι]*) , Myc. *i-po-no*; Go. *auhns*, OSwe. *oghn* 'oven' < PGm. **úχna-*, **uγná-*; OIc. *ofn*, OE *ofen*, OHG *ovan* < PGm. **ofna-* < **úfna-*.

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 ἕψω 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.
Bibl.: WH I: 84, EM 59, IEW 88, Schrijver 1991: 47.

aurīga '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'.
Bibl.: WH I: 85, EM 59, IEW 784f., Dunkel 2000a: 95, Lindner 2002: 217. → *agō*

auris 'ear' [f. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *auricula* 'ear' (Pl.+), *auscultāre* 'to listen' (Pl.+), *inaurēs, -ium* 'ear-rings' (Pl.+).

PIt. **aus(i)-* 'ear'.

PIE **h₂eu(-)s-* 'ear'. IE cognates: OIr. *áu*, gen.sg. *aue* (*s*-stem) 'ear', Av. *uši* [du.] 'two ears', Gr. οὖς, οὔατος, Dor. ὦς < **ous, *ous-n-to-*, Alb. *vesh*, OPr. *āusins* [acc.pl.], Lith. *ausìs* [f.] 'ear', OCS *uxo* [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-k̑lut-eh₂-ie/o-*. The Latin metathesis to *-cult-* could be justified via a stage with syllabic **ḷ*: **aus-klut-ā-* > **áuskḷtā-* > *auscultā-*. If correct, this explanation would all but prove that *auscultāre* contains the unenlarged PIE root noun (or *s*-stem) of 'ear', since **ausi-klutā-* would not yield *auscultāre*.

Bibl.: WH I: 85, EM 59f., IEW 785, Leumann 1977: 101, Schrijver 1991: 47.

aurōra 'dawn' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *Aurēlius* 'name of a Roman gens' (Cic.+).

PIt. **ausōs*:

PIE **h₂éus-ōs, -os-m, *h₂us-s-ós* [f.] 'dawn'. IE cognates: Skt. *uṣā́s* [nom.sg.], *uṣás* [gen.sg.], Av. *ušah-* [f.], Gr. ἕως, Ion. ἠώς, Dor. ἀϝώς, ἀϝώρ, Aeol. αὔως [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 *Aurēlius* on the basis of a noun **ausēla* 'sun' vel sim.

Bibl.: WH I: 86, EM 60, IEW 86f., Schrijver 1991: 47, 74, LIV 1.*h₂ues-*. → *auster*

aurum 'gold' [n. *o*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *aureus* 'golden, of gold' (Andr.+), *aureolus* 'id.' (Pl.+), *aurārius* 'concerned with gold' (Pl.+), *aurātus* 'gilded' (Pl.+); *aurifex/aurufex, -icis* 'goldsmith' (Pl.+).

PIt. **auso-*. It. cognates: Lat. *ausum* 'gold' from Sabine, according to Paul. *ex F.*

PIE **h₂é-h₂us-o-* [n.] 'glow'. IE cognates: OPr. *ausis*, Lith. *áuksas* (AP 3), dial. *áusas* (AP 1) 'gold'. ToA *wäs*, 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. *áu(k)sas*. He ventures the hypothesis that **h₂é-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.*h₂ues-*.

auster, -trī 'south wind; south' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *austrālis* 'southern' (Cic.+).

PIt. **aus-tero-* [adj.] 'towards the dawn'. ,

PIE **h₂eus-tero-*. IE cognates: Skt. *usrá-* 'red, matutinal', *uṣar-búdh-* 'waking at dawn'; Gr. αὔριον 'tomorrow', ἄγχ-αυρος 'near the morning' < **h₂eus-r-*; Lith. *aušrà*, Latv. *àustra* 'dawn', OCS *(j)utro* 'dawn, morning, tomorrow' [n.] < **h₂eus-ro-*; OHG *ōst(a)ra, -ūn* 'Easter'.

Although Latin *auster* indicates a different wind than Germanic **aust-* 'east', it may still be cognate. Whereas BSl. 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 BSl. 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. *usrá-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 87, EM 60, IEW 86f., Schrijver 1991: 47, Driessen 2003b: 356f., LIV 1.*h₂ues-. → *aurōra*

aut 'either...or' [cj.] (Lex XII, Andr.+)

Derivatives: *autem* 'on the other hand, but, indeed' (Andr.+).

PIt. **aute/i, *autī/ei*. It. cognates: O. *aut*, avt 'but, or' (< **aute/i*); O. *auti*, U. **ute**, *ote* 'or' [cj.] (< **autī/ei*).

PIE **h₂eu* 'away'. IE cognates: OIr. *úa* 'from', Skt. *áva* 'off, down', OAv. *auuā*, YAv. *auua* 'towards' < **h₂euo*; Gr. αὖ 'again, on the contrary', Gr. αὖτε, αὐτάρ, OPr. Lith. *au-*, OCS. *u-* 'away from'.

Lat. *aut* < **auti* or **aute*; *autem* < **auti* + *m*. Final *-em* may be the particle **-em* found in *īdem, 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 **-īm* < **-iH* + *m*).

Bibl.: WH I: 87, EM 61, IEW 72f., Schrijver 1991: 48, Sihler 1995: 65, Untermann 2000: 136f. → *vē-*

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.

Bibl.: WH I: 88, EM 61.

avēna 'oats; stalk, straw' [f. *ā*] (Enn.+)

PIt. **aweksnā-*.

IE cognates: OPr. *wyse*, Lith. *avižà*, Latv. *àuzas* 'oats' [nom.pl.], ORu. *ovьsъ*, Ru.

ovēs [m.], SCr. *ôvas* 'id.' < PSl. **ovьsъ* < PBSl. **awiź(s)-*.

WH assume that **avīna* 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 substratum word: the suffix **-iǵʰ⁻* is strange, Slavic and Baltic do not have the same suffix, and in Latin we would expect the suffix to yield **-īna* rather than *-ēna*. The loanword may have been incorporated into Latin as **aweksna-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 81, EM 56, IEW 88, Leumann 1977: 323, Schrijver 1991: 46f.

aveō 'to be eager' [v. II] (Varro+)

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

PIt. **awē-* 'to be eager'.

PIE **h₂eu-eh₁-* 'to enjoy, consume'. IE cognates: W. *ewyllys*, Co. *awell* 'will' < **awi-sl-* (thus Schrijver 1991); Skt. *avasá-* [n.] 'refreshment, food', *aviṣyánt-* 'longing for food', *aviṣyā́-* [f.] 'gluttony', *aviṣyú-* 'gluttonous', *ávayat* [3s.ipf.act.] 'to eat, digest', YAv. *auuaŋha-* [n.] 'provision'; Arm. *aviwn* 'lust'; maybe Alb. *ha* 'to eat'.

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 **oṷ-éie-* would confirm his view of **oṷ* > **aṷ* as conditioned by pretonic position. Lat. *avārus* 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 *amārus* '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 *ignārus* 'ignorant' and *gnārus* 'knowing' to *(i)gnōtus* etc.; but since the verb is *(i)gnōscō*, this yields no model for *aveō : avārus*.

Bibl.: WH I: 79, 81, EM 55f., IEW 77f., Leumann 1977: 315, Schrijver 1991: 47, LIV **h₂eṷ-*.

avis 'bird' [f. *i*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *avicula* 'little bird' (Varro+); *auspex, -icis* 'augur, bird-diviner' (Pl.+), *auspicium* 'augury, omen' (Elog., Naev.+), *auspicāre/ī* 'to take the auspices, enter upon' (Naev.+); *auceps*, gen.sg. *aucupis* 'bird-catcher' (Pl.+), *aucupāre/ī* 'to go bird-catching' (Pl.+), *aucupium* 'bird-catching; wild fowl' (Pl.+); *auca* 'bird, esp. goose' (Avianus [ca. 400 AD], gloss.).

PIt. **awi-* 'bird'. It. cognates: U. **avif, avef**, *auif, aueif, auuei* [acc.pl.], **avis, aves**, *aueis* [abl.pl.] 'bird' (< **aui-*); *auie* [dat./loc. sg.] 'bird-watching'; **aviekate** [dat.sg.f., analysis uncertain]; **aviekla**, *auiecla* [abl.sg.f.], **avieklufe** [acc.pl.m. + *-en*], *auiehclu, auieclu* [acc.pl.m.], *auieclir, auiehcleir* [abl.pl.m.] 'auguralis' < **awjē-klo-* < **-tlo-*?

PIE **h₂eu-i-* 'bird'. IE cognates: MW *hwyat*, MBret. *houat* 'duck' < PBr. **swijatV-* < *(*s-?)h₂ui-eto-*; Skt. *váy-* [m.], nom.sg. *véh/vih*, YAv. *vaii-* [m.] 'bird', Gr. αἰετός 'eagle' < **h₂eui-eto-*, Arm. *haw* 'bird'.

Lat. *auspex* < **aui-speks*, *auceps* < **aui-kaps*. The Italic and Indo-Iranian forms point to an *i*-stem: PIE nom.sg. **h₂éu-i-s*, gen.sg. **h₂u-éi-s* or nom.sg. **h₂uói-s*, gen.

*h₂uéi-s. 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 *vṛddhi* derivative *h₂ōuio- (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*.

Bibl.: WH I: 79, 84, EM 58, IEW 86, Schindler 1969: 158f., Schrijver 1991: 30, 1995: 102, Beekes 1995: 175, Untermann 2000: 140f. → *ōvum*

avus 'grandfather' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *avunculus* 'maternal uncle' (Pl.+); *avia* 'grandmother' (Pl.+); *avītus* 'belonging to a grandfather, ancestral' (Cic.+).
PIt. *awo-.
PIE *h₂euh₂- 'grandfather (on mother's side)', also 'grandmother'? IE cognates: OIr. *aue* 'grandson' < *auio-; MW *ewythr*, Bret. *eontr* 'uncle' < *auontīr < *h₂eu-on-tēr/tr(i)o- (vel sim.); Hit. *huhha-*, CLuw. *hūha-*, HLuw. *huha-*, Lyc. *χuge-*, Arm. *haw* (gen. *hawow*) 'grandfather', OPr. *awis*, Lith. *avýnas*, OCS *ujь*, SCr. *ūjāk* 'uncle on mother's side' < BSl. *auio-; Go. *awo* 'grandmother', OIc. *ǣ* 'great-grandfather'.

Lat. *avītus* is more recent, and will have been formed after *marītus*. *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.

Bibl.: WH I: 88, EM 61f., IEW 89, Beekes 1976, Leumann 1977: 307, Schrijver 1991: 48, Schrijver 1995: 326, 360, 366.

axiō 'the horned owl' [n] (Pliny)
PIt. *ak(e)s- + -iōn- '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 *axiō* belongs to this type of owls, and maybe it was called after its protuberances. Lat. *axiō* may be derived from the basis *h₂ek-os- of *acus* 'chaff', thus meaning 'the pointed one'.
Bibl.: WH I: 89, EM 62. → *acus*

axis 'axle; chariot' [m. *i*] (Pac.+)
Derivatives: *āla* 'arm-pit, wing' (Naev.+), *axilla* 'arm-pit' (Varro).
PIt. *aksi- 'axle', *akselā- 'arm-pit / wing'.
PIE *h₂eks-(i-) 'axle, arm-pit'. IE cognates: W. *echel*, Bret. *ahel* 'axle, axis', Skt. *ákṣa-* 'axle', YAv. *aša-* 'arm-pit', Gr. ἄξων [m.] 'axle'; Gr. ἅμαξα [f.] 'four-wheeled cart' (< PIE *sm-h₂eks-ih₂-); OPr. *assis*, Lith. *ašìs* [m.], CS *osь*, Ru. *os'* [f.] 'axle, axis' < *h₂eks-i-; OHG *ahsa*, OE *eax* 'axle' < PGm. *axsō-, OIc. *ǫxull* 'id.' (<

*aχsula-), OIc. ǫxl, 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/ā-, whence *axilla* as a secondary diminutive. The root *h₂eḱ(s)- in 'axle' might be derived from the root *h₂eǵ- 'to lead'.

Bibl.: WH I: 25, 89, EM 19, 62, IEW 4-6, Schrijver 1991: 48.

B

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 Βάκχος '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 *bqā 'blackberry, mulberry'. Latin and Berber might have borrowed the word from a substrate language.

Bibl.: WH I: 91, EM 63, Boutkan-Kossmann 1999: 28f.

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

Derivatives: *bacillum* (Afran.+) 'small stick'.

PIt. *bak-(k)elo-.

IE cognates: Ir. *bacc* 'hook, crooked staff', W. *bach* 'id.' < PCl. *bakko-; Gr. βάκτρον, βακτηρία, βακτήριον 'stick, staff'; OE *pægel* 'wine-jug', MDu. *pegel* 'peg, pin, bolt' < PGm. *pagila- < *bak-elo-, ME *pegge* 'peg' < *bak-ion-. Possibly also Lith. *bãksteleti* 'to thrust', Latv. *bakstît* '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)

PIt. *boþjo-.

The presence of *di* in *badius* suggests an original voiced aspirate (as in *medius*), since PIE *di* would have yielded *ii* (as in *pēior*). The Latin word can be connected with OIr. *buide* 'yellow' < PCl. *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, *u̯ and PIE labiovelars. The latter solution seems slightly more attractive; there are no counterexamples with bo- < PIE *bʰ⁾o- 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., bī- 4x Pl.)

   Derivatives: adbītere 'to approach' (Pl.), ēbītere 'to go out' (Pl.), imbītere 'to enter' (Pl.), interbītere 'to fail' (Pl.), perbītere 'to perish' (Andr.+), praeterbītere 'to go past' (Pl.), prōbītere 'to go forward' (Pac.), rebītere 'to return' (Pl.), trānsbītere 'to come across' (Pl.).

The attestations suggest that baetō was the original form which sometimes became bētō, while -bītō was regular in non-initial syllables (especially in Plautus). Where bītō 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 *eχ-bait-rā- '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: bāiulāre '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: balbuttīre / balbūtīre 'to stammer' (Cic.+).
   PIt. *balbo-.
   PIE *bl-bl- 'meaningless twaddle, stammering'. IE cognates: Skt. balbalā-karóti 'stammers', Gr. βαμβαλύζω 'to have chattering teeth', Lith. balbãsyti, blebénti, blebéti 'to chatter', Ru. bolobólitъ, Bulg. blaból'ъ, bъlból'ъ 'to blether', SCr. blàbositi, Cz. beblati, blblati 'to stammer'.

Lat. balbūtīre presupposes an adj. *balb-ūtus (cf. canūtus, 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.. → blatiō

ballaena 'whale' [f. ā] (Pl.+)

According to EM, Greek φάλλαινα, 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 94, EM 65, IEW 120ff., Leumann 1977: 158f.

bālō, -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 [bɛ]). The suffix *-lāre* 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.+), *barbula* 'little beard' (Lucil.+), *barbitium* 'a growth of beard' (Apul.+); *imberbis* [adj.] 'beardless' (Lucil.+).
PIt. **farfā-* 'beard'. Modern Italian *farfecchie* 'moustache' may reflect Sab., probably U. **farfa*.
IE cognates: OPr. *bordus* 'beard', Lith. *barzdà* (acc.sg. *bar̃zdą*) , Latv. *bàrda*, OCS *brada*, Ru. *borodá* 'id.' < BSl. **bordá?*, Lith. *barzdótas*, OCS *bradatyi* 'bearded'; OHG *bart*, OE *beard*, OFr. *berd* [m.] < Gm. **bard-a-*.
From PIt. **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 *-ehₓ-to-* but may also be independent innovations of the respective branches.

Bibl.: WH I: 96, EM 66, IEW 110, Schrijver 1991: 488, Kuiper 1995: 66.

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 *ōsculum*; 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: MIr. *bus, pus* 'lip', *busóc, pusóc* 'kiss', MoP *bōsīdan*, Lith. *bučiúoti* '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/duellicus* 'of war' (Pl.+), *Bellōna* 'Roman goddess of war' (Pl.+), inscr. *Duelonai* (gen.sg.); *perduellis* ⎿ [m.] 'national enemy' (Pl.+), *perduelliō* '(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 *ll* 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*.

Bibl.: WH I: 100, EM 68, IEW 179ff., Schrijver 1991: 251. → *bonus*

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 **-lVwa*. The similarity in meaning with *bēstia* has prompted an etymology as **bēslVwa*; since words for 'animal' can be derived from 'to breathe' (cf. Gm. **diusa-* 'animal' to PIE **dʰus-* 'to breathe'), a preform **dʰues-lo-* has been proposed for *bēlua*. Pokorny 1959 is very sceptical, since initial **dʰu̯-* 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 P[redicate]V[erb] (*fu, sali*), but once VP (*sta*)? Katz 1998a and 2006 translates *berber* as

'firm, still' and reconstructs *ferbro- < *ferfro- < *ferχro- 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- < PIt. *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.

Bibl.: WH I: 101, EM 69.

bēstia 'beast, animal' [f. ā] (Pl.+)

Uncertain etymology, cf. bēlua.

Bibl.: WH I: 102, EM 69, IEW 268ff.

bi- 'consisting of two, having two' [pref.] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: dvi- in dvidēns 'with two teeth' (Paul. ex F.) (bidens [adj.] Acc.+, bidens [m./f.] Lab.+), dvicēnsus 'cum altero, id est, cum filio census' (Paul. ex F.). Earliest attested cp. in bi-: bipēs, bipedis 'two-footed' (Naev.+). Opaque forms in *bi-: bīgae, -ārum 'pair of horses (rarely other animals), chariot with two horses' (Enn.+) < *dwi-jug-ā- 'having two yokes', bīmus 'two years old, of two years' (Cato+) < *dwi-χimo- 'having two winters', bignae [f.pl.] 'twins' (Paul. ex F.).

PIt. *dwi- 'two'.

PIE *dui- 'two'. IE cognates: Skt. dvi-, vi- 'apart', Av. bi-, Gr. δι-, Arm. erki (< *ki- + analogical *er-), OPr. dwi-, Lith. dvi-, OIc. tve-, tvi-, OE twi-, OHG zwi- 'two'.

Long ī in bīduum 'period of two days' (Cato+) is ascribed to analogy with trīduum, 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, dīmus 'bīmus', divium, dissulcus, difāriam, are only attested in glosses and have graecisizing di-. The comparison of U. difue '?' with Gr. διφυής '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 *dui- '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)ui- 'apart', which Lubotsky 1994 has reconstructed as *dui- '(into) two'.

Bibl.: WH I: 104-107, EM 70, IEW 228ff., Leumann 1977: 487f., Meiser 1986: 185f., Coleman 1992: 422, Lubotsky 1994, Sihler 1995: 408, Untermann 2000: 178f., 191ff. → bis, duo

bibō, -ere 'to drink' [v. III; pf. bibī, ppp. bibitum] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: bibōsus 'addicted to drink' (Lab.+), bibulus 'fond of drinking, absorbent' (Lucr.+); adbibere 'to drink in' (Pl.+), combibere 'to absorb' (Cato+), combibō 'drinking-companion' (Lucil.+), ēbibere 'to drink up, swallow' (Pl.+), perbibere 'to drink deeply, absorb' (Pl.+).

PIt. *pibe/o-. It. cognates: Fal. **pafo, pipafo** /p/bafõ/, /p/bibãfõ/ [Is.fut.] 'I will drink' (Lejeune 1990); Sicel πιβε [2s.ipv.act.] 'drink!'.

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

In view of the etymology *pibe-, initial *b-* of *bibō* 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 *a*: the interpretation given here is that by Lejeune 1990. The Lat. pf. *bibī* probably replaces *bebī < *be-b-ī (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 *-ph₃- in PIE times. The root *ph₃- 'to drink' is furthermore found in Lat. *pōtus* and *pōculum*.

Bibl.: WH I: 103, EM 70, IEW 839f., Leumann 1977: 92, 580, Schrijver 1991: 412f., Praust 1998, Schumacher 2004: 516f., LIV *peh₃(i)-. → *pōtus*

bīlis 'bile' [f. *i*] (Pl.+)
  PIt. *bistli-.
  IE cognates: W. *bustl*, MCo. *bystel*, Bret. *bestl* 'gall, bile' < PCl. *bistli-.

Schrijver 1995: 400 has shown that the British Celtic word for 'gall, bile' goes back to *bistlis; the same can be true for Lat. *bīlis*. 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- > *bisdli- > *bislli- > bīlis. Since we must posit initial *b-, 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: *bīnī, -ae, -a* [adj.pl.] 'two at a time; a set of two' (Pl.+).
  PIt. *dwis.
  PIE *du̯is 'twice'. IE cognates: Skt. *dvíṣ*, Av. *biš*, Gr. δίς, MHG *zwir* 'twice'.

The multiplicative *du̯is may be analyzed as 'twice' plus PIE *-s, or as 'two' plus PIE *-is by analogy with *tris 'thrice'. Lat. *bīnī < *dwis-no- presupposes earlier *dui-no-, which can be compared with Gm. *twi-na- in OHG *zwinal, zwenel* 'twinned'; Gm. *twai-na- in OS *twēne* 'two', OHG *zwēne*; Gm. *twiz-na- in OIc. *tvennr, tvinnr* 'twofold', pl. *tvenner* 'two belonging together', OHG *zwirnēn* 'to twist together twice'.
  Bibl.: WH I: 107, EM 71, IEW 228ff. → *dis-*

bitūmen, -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. *gʷetu̯ā- (if Olr. was borrowed

from British); Skt. *játu* [n.] 'lac, gum' (Sū.+), Pash. *žāwla* 'resin'; OE *hwīt cuidu*, *cweodo, cwudu* 'mastic', OHG *cuti* 'gluten', NHG *kütt, kitt* 'mastic' < PGm. *$*k^wetu$-; OIc. *kváða* [f.] 'resin' < *$*g^wet$-.

The Latin word presupposes *$*betu$*- 'resin, pitch', which it must have borrowed either from Sabellic (where *$*g^w$ > b*) or from Celtic (compare Lat. *betulla* 'birch' from British or Gaulish Celtic *$*betu\d{i}ā$*). 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/ā*] (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 OIr. *mláith* 'soft'; adopting this connection, Schrijver proposes a preform *$*mlh_2$-d-no-* (to PIE *$*melh_2$*- 'to grind'?) > *$*bl\ddot{a}dno$*- > *blandus*. EM suggest an original meaning 'having a flattering voice' in which case a connection with *balbus* and *blatiō* comes in view.
  Bibl.: WH I: 108, EM 71, IEW 716ff., Schrijver 1991:223. → *blatiō*

blatiō, -īre '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 -*lāre* as in *sībilāre, cuculāre*. All Latin verbs which refer to 'crying' take -*īre*, cf. *crōciō, garriō, glattiō, glōciō*.
  Bibl.: WH I: 109, EM 72, IEW 102. → *balbus, bālō*

bonus 'good' [adj. *o/ā*] (VOLat.+: *duenos, duenoi* 'bonō' CIL 1.4, Duenos inscription, *duonus* Carmen Saliare, *duona* Andr., *duonoro* Elog.Scip.)
  Derivatives: *benĕ* 'well' (Pl.+), *bellus* 'pretty, fine' (Pl.+); *benīgnus* (o/ā) 'kind; generous' (Pl.+).
  PIt. *$*dweno$*- 'good'. It. cognates: Fal. **duenas** [gen.sg.f.], **duenom** [nom/acc.sg.n.] 'good, brave'.
  PIE *$*duh_2$-eno-?

Lat. *benē* < abl.sg. *$*duenēd$* shows that the change of *$*due$-* > *$*duo$-* was conditioned by a non-front vowel in the next syllable, and prevented by intervening *ll*. *Bellus* reflects a dim. *$*duenelos$* > *$*duenlos$* > *$*duellos$* > *$*bellos$*. 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 *benīgnus* is phonetic from **i* in front of *gn*, cf. Leumann 1977: 113. Nussbaum 2003 points to the unlikeliness of *beni-gnus* as a recent formation, and concludes that it must represent an inherited form **dweni-gn-o-*, in which **dweni-* yielded **beni-*. A derivational relationship of **dweno-* 'good' → **dweni-ǵn(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. *taujan*, Gr. δύναμαι from PIE **deuh₂-* '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-eno-* is expected to yield **duanos*, whereas **duh₃-eno-* 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 101, 111, EM 73, IEW 218f., Giacomelli 1963: 243, Lindner 2002: 224. → *bellum*, *duim*

bōs, bovis 'bovine animal, cattle; ox, bull; cow' [m., f.] (Naev.+). Variants: nom.sg. *būs* Varro 1x, *bouis* Varro 1x, Petr. Ix, abl.sg. *bouid* CIL 11.4766, gen.pl. *bouerum* Cato, Varro, *bouum*, *bouom* Varro. Quint., Fest., *būbum* Ulp., dat.abl.pl. *būbus*, *bōbus* passim.

Derivatives: *bovīle* [n.] (Cato+), *būbīle* [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.+); *būcētum* 'pasture' (Varro+); *būcula* 'young cow' (Cic.+), *būculus* 'young bull' (Col.+); *būcaeda* [m.] 'ox-slaughterer' (Pl.+); *Būbōna* 'cattle goddess' (Aug.); *būcina* 'shepherd's horn, trumpet' (Varro+).

PIt.nom.sg. **gʷous* / **gʷōs*, acc.sg. **gʷōm*, gen.sg. **gʷowos*, acc.pl. maybe **gʷōns*. It. cognates: U. **bum** [acc.sg.], *bue* [abl.sg.], *buo* [gen.pl.], buf, *buf* [acc.pl.] to /bō-/ '(male) cow'. The appurtenance of Volscian *bim* [acc.sg.] as /bīm/ '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. **bouediín** '?' has been etymologized as **bou-ed-io-* 'place where cattle are fed', but the meaning of the word is unknown.

PIE nom.sg. **gʷeh₃-u-s*, acc.sg. **gʷeh₃-u-m* or **gʷh₃-eu-m*, nom.pl. **gʷh₃-eu-es*, dat.pl. **gʷh₃-u-bʰos* 'cow'. IE cognates: OIr. *bó* 'cow'; Skt. *gauṣ*, acc. *gām*, OAv. nom.sg. *gāuš*, acc.sg. *gąm* 'bull, cow', Myc. *qo-o* (acc.pl.?), Gr. βοῦς, gen.sg. βοός, acc.sg. Dor., H. βῶν, Arm. *kov* (*u*-stem) , Latv. *gùovs* 'cow', Ru. *govjádo* (dial.), Cz. *hovado*, SCr. *gòvedo* 'head of cattle' (< **gʷh₃-eu-* + *-nd-*), OHG *chuo*, ToA *ko*, *ki*, ToB *keu* 'cow'.

From PIt. nom.sg. **gʷous* or **gʷōs*, acc.sg. **gʷōm*, we would expect Latin nom.sg.

*ūs/*vōs, acc. *vōm. Initial b- cannot be the regular reflex in Latin of PIE *gʷ-, and is therefore generally assumed to have been borrowed from Sabellic. The question is whether the remainder of the paradigm also reflects this borrowing. At least two different solutions may be envisaged: (1) All Latin forms represent regular phonetic or analogical developments of Latin, except for initial b-, which was adopted from surrounding Sabellic dialects. The reason would seem to be to resolve the homonymy with vōs 'you'. (2) The Sabellic paradigm was *bōs, *bowes, *bōm, in cp. *bū-, and this was adopted as such in Latin. The stem used in Latin compounds and in some of the older inflectional forms in front of consonant is bū-, in which ū can regularly reflect PIE *ou. The origin of the stem variant būb- is unclear. Lat. bubulcus is regarded as analogical after subulcus 'swine-herd' by WH. The Greek circumflex in βοῦς implies that these forms must once have contained a hiatus, which can only result from the loss of an intervocalic laryngeal. The inflection points to a proterodynamic u-stem; the proterodynamic character is most clearly revealed by Skt. obl. gav- from *gʷh₃-eu-. The long vowel and the loss of the primary suffix in the acc.sg. were accounted for in an attractive way by Schindler 1973: 148ff. who proposes regular assimilation and loss of *u before *m. In his view, however, the PIE stem was *gʷou-.

Bibl.: WH I: 112, 118-121, EM 74, IEW 482, Schrijver 1991: 447, 453f., Sihler 1995: 334ff., Untermann 2000: 147, 152f., 354. → -bulcus

brevis 'short' [adj. i] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: brūma 'the shortest day, winter solstice, mid-winter' (Cato+).

PIt. *mreχ-u(-i-). It. cognates: maybe SPic. brímeidinais [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.

PIE *mrǵʰ-ú- 'short'. IE cognates: Skt. múhuḥ, múhu 'suddenly', muhūrtá- [n.] 'short time, moment' (for *mr̥hú-), Av. mərəzu-, Oss. morz 'short' < PIr. *m(a)rzu- (cf. Cheung 2002: 129), Gr. βραχύς 'short', Go. *maurgus in ga-maurgjan 'shorten', OHG murg(i) 'short', OE myrge 'briefly'.

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, suāvis, 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 *mreǵʰu-i- > *breǵʰui- > 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 *mreǵʰ-is-mHo- introduced *u from the positive, and then regularly developed via *mreu̯isema > *mrou̯isema > *brousema > *brousma > brūma.

Bibl.: WH I: 115f., EM 75f., IEW 750f., Cowgill 1970: 126f., Leumann 1977: 165, 346, 498, Fischer 1982, Sihler 1995: 211, 358, Untermann 2000: 152.

brūtus 'heavy, inert, brute; brutish' [adj. *o/ā*] (Naev+ 'brutish', Lucr.+ 'heavy')
 Derivatives: *obbrūtescō, -ere* 'to become dull, brutish' (Afran.+).
 PIt. **gʷrūto-*.   ∎
 PIE **gʷrh₂-u-to-* 'heavy'. IE cognates: Latv. *grũts* '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
*gʷrH-ú-to- would have regularly metathesised to **gʷruH-to-*; Schrijver suggests that
this was conditioned by the accent (stressed **Hu* yielding *ū*).
 Bibl.: WH I: 117, EM 77, IEW 476f., Schrijver 1991: 249. → *gravis*

būbō 'horned or eagle owl' [m. (f.) *n*] (Varro, Asellio+)
 Derivatives: *būbu/ilāre* '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.+).
 PIt. **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, Bucciō* are Celtic names. Similarly Porzio Gernia 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-*,
*pūk-, **puggō(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.
 Bibl.: WH I: 120, EM 77, IEW 98-102.

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 BSl. words for 'toad'
(OPr. *gabawo*, OCS *žaba*, Ru. *žába*, SCr. *žȁba* 'toad') uncertain. In addition, if

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

Bibl.: WH I: 121, EM 77, Leumann 1977: 169, Rix 2005: 568.

-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 φύλ-, but there is no evidence for a PIE full grade *bʰuel-. Formally, *-bulcus* could be derived from a noun *bʰolk-o-* '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-.

Bibl.: WH I: 119, EM 74, Lindner 2002: 218f., LIV ?*bʰelk-. → *bōs, ovis, sūs*

bustum 'funeral pyre, ruin' [n. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *bustirapus* 'grave-robber' (Pl.), *bustuārius* 'connected with tombs' (Cic.+).

Bustum was derived from compounds of *ūrō* 'to burn'; ppp. *ustum*, by metanalysis: *amb-ūrō* was analyzed as *am-būrō*, leading to a ppp. *am-bustum*. The same metanalysis led to *combūrō* (see *ūrō*).

Bibl.: WH I: 124, EM 79. → *ūrō*

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.

C

caballus 'horse, esp. workhorse' [m. o] (Lucil.+)

IE cognates: Gr. PN Καβαλλᾶς (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 *kāvāl* 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.

cacō, -āre 'to defecate' [v. I] (Pompon.+)

PIt. *kak(k)-.

IE cognates: MIr. *caccaim*, W. *cachu*; Gr. κακκάω 'to shit', κάκκη '(human) faeces', Arm. *k'akor* 'manure', Ru. *kákat'*, 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.

cacūmen, -inis 'peak, top' [n. *n*] (Cato+)

IE cognates: Skt. *kakúbh-* [f.] 'peak, top', *kakubhá-* 'lofty, excelling', *kakuhá-* 'id.'; *kakúd-* [f.] 'peak' (RV+), *kakúd-mant-* 'having a hump' (RV+); *kākúd-* [f.] 'throat, mouth' (RV); Gr. κῦφος [n.] 'hump, hunch', κύπτω 'to bend forward'.

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

Bibl.: WH I: 127, EM 81, IEW 588-592, Schrijver 1991: 426. → *-cumbō, cumulus, cūpa*

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

PIt. *kădo/i-.

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

Bibl.: IEW 517, Untermann 2000: 359, Stüber 2002: 114f., LIV *ḱeh₂d-.

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

Derivatives: *cadūcus* '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+), *stīllicidium* 'a dripping liquid, stillicide' (Varro, Lucr.+).

PIt. *kad-e/o-, *kad-s- [pr.]

PIE *(ke-)kh₂d-? 'to fall'. IE cognates: Skt. *śad-* 'to fall' (pf. *śaśāda*, fut: *śatsyanti*) ; Gr. κεκαδών 'robbing', ὑπὸ ... κεκάδοντο 'they receded'.

The form of *cadāver* 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. κεκαδ- 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-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 127f., EM 81f., IEW 516, Lubotsky 1981, Schrijver 1991: 100, LIV **k̑ad-*.

caecus 'blind, dark, invisible' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

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

Plt. **kaiko-*.

PIE **keh₂i-ko-* / **kh₂ei-ko-* 'one-eyed'. IE cognates: Olr. *cáech* 'one-eyed', *coeg* 'empty', W. *coeg-dall*, OCo. *cuic* 'one-eyed' < PCl. **kaiko-*, Go. *haihs* 'id.' < PGm. **χaiχa-*. 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 **kh₂i-* 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. *caesum*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *caedēs, -is* 'killing, slaughter' (Cato+), *caeduus* '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.+); *caia* 'cudgel' (Isidorus), *caiāre* 'to beat, thresh' (Pl.); *ancaesa* 'caelata' (Paul. *ex F.*), *ancīle* [n.] 'small shield' (Enn.+), *ancīsus* 'cut about' (Lucr.+); *homicīda* 'murderer' (Cic.+), *homicīdium* 'homicide' (VMax.+), *pāricīda/parricīda* [m.] 'murderder of a near relation' (Pl.+); *occillāre* 'to smash up' (Pl.); *incīle* [n.] 'channel, ditch' (Cato+), *incīlis* [adj.] 'id.' (Cato), *incīlāre* 'to revile, abuse' (Pac.+); *abscīdere* 'to cut away' (Pl.+; ppp. *-cīsus*), *circumcīdere* 'to prune off, curtail' (Varro+), *circumcīdāneus* 'kind of must' (Cato), *concīdere* 'to cut up, kill' (Pl.+), *dēcīdere* '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.+), *praecīdere* 'to cut off, sever' (Naev.+), *recīdere* 'to cut back' (Cato+), *succīdere* 'to cut from below' (Enn.+), *succīdāneus* 'killed as a substitute' (Pl.+), *trānscīdere* 'to strike across the whole body' (Pl.).

Plt. **kaid-e/o-*. It. cognates: possibly Hernician **kait[**.

PIE **keh₂id-* / **kh₂eid-* '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. **χajjan* < **kh₂ei-(i)e/o-* or **kHoi-*.

Lat. *caelum* < Plt. **kaid(s)lo-*, whence *caelāre, ancīle* < **ambi-kaid-sli-*; *incīlis* [adj.] < **en-kaid-sli-* 'cut in, hewn out'; Steinbauer (1989: 196) convincingly explains *occillāre* as **occīlāre* < **ob-caelāre*. Similarly, *incīlāre* may be explained as 'to hew in onto, scold'. Lat. *caementum* < Plt. **kaid(s)mento-*. A stem **caes-* was metanalyzed from the ppp. and led to *caestus* << **kaissu-* < **kaid-tu-*, *ancaesa* <

ambi-caesa. The forms *caiāre* and *caia* are not well-attested, but seem to be old, with *i* < **dj*: *cāia* < **kaidjā-, cāiāre* < **kaidjā-* (for the phonetic change, cf. *pēior*).

Bibl.: WH I: 44, 129, 690, EM 82-83, 314, IEW 917, Schrijver 1991: 266,378, Untermann 2000: 364, LIV *kh₂eid-. → *parricīda, trux*

caelebs, -ibis 'unmarried (usually said of men)' [adj. *b*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *caelibātus, -ūs* 'celibacy' (Sen.+).
Plt. **kaili-b/f-i-?*
PIE *keh₂i-lo- 'whole'. IE cognates: OPr. *kails* 'hail!', *kailūstiskan* 'health' [acc.sg.f.], OCS *cělъ*, ORu. *kělъ* (Novg.) 'whole', *cěljǫ* 'to heal' < BSl. **kailo-*, Go. *hails* 'whole, healthy' < PGm. **xaila-*.

The comparison with Skt. *kévala-* 'characteristic, own, secluded' < **kaiu̯elo-* has led to a reconstruction **kaiu̯elo-libʰ-* 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* < Plt. **aiwotāt-s*. More problematic is the fact that the root and formation of the supposed **kaiu̯elo-* 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 **kaili-* '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.] 1x 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.+).
Plt. **kailo-* 'sky'. It. cognates: O. *kaîla* 'kind of building' may belong here as 'vaulted', but may very well be something different.
PIE *keh₂i-lo- 'whole'.

Lat. *caeles* < Plt. **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. *heið* 'clear sky', *heiðr*, OHG *heitar* 'clear' < PGm. **hait-*, Lith. *skaidrùs*, Latv. *skaīdrs* 'clear', Lith. *skáistas, skaistùs* 'id.' < **skoit/d-*. 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/ā-* '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 **χaila-* 'whole' in Germanic, OPr. *kailūstiskan* [acc.sg.] 'health', OCS *cělъ* '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 **keh₂ilo-* / **kh₂eilo-*, or, if originally a non-IE loanword, **kailo-*. If *caelum* is related to **kair/so-* (cf. *caerimōnia*), a PIE stem **keh₂i-* seems more likely.

Bibl.: WH I: 130-131, EM 84-84, IEW 916f., Schrijver 1991: 267f., Untermann 2000: 363. → *caelebs, sincērus*

caenum 'mud, filth, slime' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

The relationship of *caenum* with *cūnīre* '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. *svīnît* 'to soil oneself' is invalidated by the same objections: the Latin form does not point to **k(u)oinom. Obscaēnus* is probably unrelated, see s.v.

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

caerimōnia 'sacredness; reverence' [f. *ā*] (Cic.+)

   Plt. **kair/so-mon-?*

   PIE **keh₂i-r/so-* 'whole'?

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

Bibl.: WH I: 132, EM 84, IEW 520?, Hiltbrunner 1958: 146-154. → *sincērus*

caesariēs '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-kseh₂-es-* 'having a combing of the hair' > **kaikerksās-* > **kairksās-* > **kairsās-* > *caesār-*. Especially the alleged haplology from **kaikerksās-* to **kairksās-* is hard to believe, since it would involve a structurally different haplology from the one seen in non-initial syllable in e.g. *mediālis, fastīdium, sēmodius*. Semantically, the meaning 'who has combed hair' is not necessarily the same as 'having long hair'. A direct connection with Skt. *kéśa-* 'hair on the head' is impossible if this derives from Ilr. **kaiĉa-*. Skt. *kéśara-* 'hair (of the brow)', *kéśaravant-* 'having manes' (of a horse) are uncertain: these may belong

to *késa-*, with an occasional dissimilation of *s̆* to *s* in some traditions. The appurtenance of Lith. *kaĩsti, -siù* 'to plane, to polish' is uncertain too, cf. Fraenkel 1955-1965 s.v.

   Bibl.: WH I: 133, EM 85, IEW 520, Schrijver 1991: 268, Pinault 1998. → *sarriō*

caesius 'grey-eyed, grey' [adj. *o/ā*] (Ter.+)

   IE cognates: Lith. *skaidrùs, skáidrus* 'clear, bright, *skáistas, skaistùs* 'bright' < *skoid-; Go. *haidus* 'way, manner', OHG *heitar* 'bright, clear' < PGm. *haiþ-/-t-* < PIE *koit-/-d-*.

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 916f., LIV ?*keit- (?). → *caelum*

caespes, -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.

   Bibl.: WH I: 134, EM 85, Untermann 2000: 364.

calamitās 'disaster, ruin' [f. *t*] (Pl.+)

   Derivatives: *calamitōsus* 'liable to damage or disaster' (Cato+); *incolumis* [adj.] 'unharmed, safe' (Pl.+).
   PIt. *kalamo/i-* 'damaged', *n-kalami-* 'safe'.
   PIE *klh₂-em-o/i-* 'beaten, damaged'. IE cognates: see s.v. *-cellō*.

The sequence *calam-* may reflect PIE *klh₂-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. *incolumis* 'unharmed, safe' < *enkalamis* < *n-klh₂emi-*.

   Bibl.: WH I: 135, EM 85, IEW 545-547, Leumann 1977: 374, Schrijver 1991: 194, 205f., 426, LIV *kelh₂-* 'to beat'. → *clādēs, -cellō* (2)

calendae 'first day of the month' [f.pl. *ā*] (Pl.+; *kalendae*, usually abbreviated as *Kal.*, *K.* or *Kalend.*)
   PIt. *kalā-dno-*.
   PIE *kelh₁-/*klh₁-* 'to call'. IE cognates: see *calō*.

A substantivized gerundive, meaning '(the days which are) called out'. Initial *kal-* must reflect *klh₁-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).

   Bibl.: WH I: 136f., EM 86, IEW 548-50, Leumann 1977: 107, Meiser 1986: 207, Steinbauer 1989: 175, Schrijver 1991: 206, Untermann 2000: 360, LIV *kleh₁-*. → *calō*

caleō 'to be warm' [v. II; pf. *caluī*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *calēscere* 'to grow warm' (Cato+); *calidus* (*caldus*) 'hot, warm' (Pl.+); *calor* 'heat' [m.] (Pl.+); *cal(e)facere* 'to make hot' (Pl.+), *calefactāre* 'to heat' (Pl.+).
PIt. *kalē-*.
PIE *k̑lh₁-eh₁- 'to be hot'. IE cognates: W. *clyd*, Lith. *šiltas*, Latv. *silts* 'warm' < *k̑ltó-*.

Lat. *caleō* represents a stative verb *klH-eh₁- 'to be hot'; *calidus* may be directly from *klH-i-dʰo-* (cf. Nussbaum 1999a).

Bibl.: WH I: 137, EM 86, IEW 551f., Schrijver 1991: 206f., LIV *k̑el-.

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

It. cognates: U. **kaleřuf**, *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. *καλαδ- 'spotted' (cf. Gr. κηλίς, Dor. κᾱλίς '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. *karkí-* 'white cow', MoP *čarma* 'grey horse', Lith. *kalýbas, kalývas* 'having a white neck'. Yet the Latin sound change *kel- > kal-* which he assumes must probably be dismissed, cf. Meiser 1998: 82f.

Bibl.: WH I: 139, EM 86, IEW 547f., Leumann 1977: 330, Schrijver 1991: 427, Nussbaum 1999a: 381f., Untermann 2000: 365.

caliga 'boot (esp. of soldiers)' [f. *ā*] (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'?
Bibl.: WH I: 138, EM 87.

cālīgō, -inis 'darkness, obscurity' [f. *n*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *cālīgāre* 'to be dark' (maybe Pac.+ 'to make dark' (uncertain attestation), otherwise Cic.+).
PIt. *kāl-i-* 'dark'(?).
IE cognates: Gr. κηλάς, -άδος [f.] 'mottled, windy' (epithet of clouds), κηλίς, -ῖδος (Dor. κᾱλίς) 'stain, spot', κηλήνη '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. κηλίς, and reconstructs PIE *keh₂l-.
Bibl.: WH I: 138, EM 87, IEW 547f., Schrijver 1991: 141, 426.

calix, -icis 'vessel for food or drink' [m. *k*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *caliculus* 'small cup' (Cato+).

PIt. *(s)kalik-. It. cognates: U. skalçeta, scalseto [abl.sg. + postpost. -ta] , scalsie [loc.sg. + postpos. -en] 'sacrificial vessel' < *skalik-.

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 *kʷlH-ik- regularly yielded the Greek form (with u-colouring of the anaptyctic vowel to the left of *l) 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. kaláśa- '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 138f., EM 87, IEW 550f., Untermann 2000: 683f.

callis 'rough track, path' [m.f. i] (Varro+; inscr.)
PIt *kaln/si-?

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.

Bibl.: WH I: 140, EM 87, IEW 524, Schrijver 1991: 100, 427.

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

Derivatives: callēre 'to be or grow hard; to know (how)' (Pl.+), obcallēscere 'to acquire a thick skin' (Pl.+); callidus 'experienced, clever' (Pl.+).
PIt. *kaln/so- [adj.] 'hard'.

IE cognates: Olr. calath, calad, W. caled 'hard' < *kal-eto-, maybe Gaul. Caleti, Caletes; Ru. kalit' 'to heat, roast', SCr. káliti '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 cālīgō (but this might be a loanword). Schrijver (1995: 86) connects W. caled to Lith. šálti 'to freeze', which has a PIE palato-velar, and which may have the same root *ḱlh₁- as caleō. But in that case, the -a- of callum is difficult to account for.

Bibl.: WH I: 140-141, EM 87, IEW 523f., Schrijver 1991: 100, 427.

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.+), calātiō 'convoking' (Varro), intercalāre 'to insert into the calender' (Cato+); concilium 'debate; popular assembly, council' ('debate' Pl. Lucil.; the other meanings Lucr.+ and inscr.), conciliāre

'to bring together, win over, obtain' (Pl.+), *conciliātrix* 'intermediary' (Pl.+), *conciliābulum* 'meeting-place' (Pl.+), *reconciliāre* 'to restore, reconcile' (Naev.+).

PIt. **kela-* / **kal-* [pr.]. It. cognates: U. **karetu, karitu**, *carsitu* [3s.ipv.II] 'he must call' < **kalē-tōd* < **kaleie-*.

PIE **kelh₁-/klh₁-* 'to call'. IE cognates: Gr. καλέω 'to call', καλήτωρ (adj.) 'caller', ἐκέκλετο 'called', κικλήσκω 'invoke', OHG *hellan* 'to resound', OE *hlōwan* 'to roar'.

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, -ī 'to deceive' [v. III] (Lex XII, Pl.+; also 'to be deceived' Pac.+)
Derivatives: *calumnia* [f.] 'false accusation' (CIL I, Cjc.+).
PIt. **kalwe/o-* [pr.].
PIE **k̂h₂l-u-* (Schrijver) or **k̂lh₁-u-* (LIV). IE cognates: Gr. κηλέω 'to cast a spell', Go. *(af)holon* 'to slander', OIc. *hœla* 'to praise', OE *hōlian, hēlan* 'to betray', OHG *huolen* 'to deceive' < **keh₂l-* (if cognate).

LIV derives *calvor* from PIE 'to call', which is semantically attractive. Lat. *calumnia* < **kalwomnia* to **kalwomno-* 'deceiving, accusing'. The absence of the development **lu̯* > Lat. *ll* suggests either an early variant **kalu-* or **kalVw-*. If derived from 'to call', this could point to a preform **klh₁-u-* > **kalu-*, thematized to **kalu-e-* > *calvor*.

Bibl.: WH I: 143, EM 88, IEW 551, Schrijver 1991: 95, 113, LIV **k̂elh₁-*.

calvus 'bald' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pompon.+)
Derivatives: *calva* 'bald head' (Pompon.+), *calvāria* 'skull' (Gel.+), *recalvus* 'having receding hair' (Pl.).
PIt. **kale/owo-*. It. cognates: O. PN **kaiúvieis** [gen.sg.], **kalaviis** [nom.sg.] 'Calvius'.
PIE **klH-e/ou̯o-* 'bald'. IE cognates: Skt. *áti-kulva-* 'exceedingly thin-haired', *kulva-* 'bald, thin-haired', YAv. *kauruua-* 'thin-haired' < **klH-uo-*.

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

Bibl.: WH I: 143-144, EM 88, IEW 554, Schrijver 1991: 294f.

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

Derivatives: *calcāre* 'to trample, tread' (Cato+), *conculcāre* 'to tread underfoot' (Pl.+); *calcitrō* 'who kicks with the heels' (Pl.+); *calcar, -āris* 'spur' (Pl.+); *calceus* 'shoe' (Pl.+), *calceāmentum* 'id.' (Cato+), *calceolārius* 'shoemaker' (Pl.+).

IE cognates: OPr. *culczi* 'hip', Lith. *kulkšnìs* 'ankle(-bone)' [f.], Latv. *kulksnis* 'tarsal joint, hough' [m.]; Ru. *kolk* (dial.) 'bony stump underneath a horn of a cow or bull', Bulg. *kalka*, SCr. *kûk* 'hip, thigh' < BSl. **kulʔk-* [f.] < PIE **klHk̑ʷ)-(n-)?*

The connection with BSl. **kulʔk-* '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 144, EM 88f., IEW 928, Schrijver 1991: 207.

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

Derivatives: *calcārius* [m. / adj.] 'lime-burner; for burning lime' (Cato+), *calicāre* 'to coat with lime' (Paul. *ex F.*, CIL 1.1529, between 134 and 90 BC).

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

Bibl.: WH I: 145, EM 89, Biville 1990 II: 144f.

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

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

PIt. **kampo-* 'field'.

IE cognates: Gr. κάμπτω 'to bend, curve', καμπή 'bow, curvature', Lith. *kam̃pas* 'corner', *kum̃pti* 'to bend (intr.)', *kum̃pas* 'curved', OCS *kǫtъ* '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, -rī '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: *cancellī, -ōrum* '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. *carcer*) > **kankros*. Since the pincers of a crab form a *circle*, this may have been the cause of its denomination. The

appurtenance of Cl.Skt. *karkaṭa-* 'lobster' (theoretically from **karkṛta-*) is rejected by EWAia III: 64. Greek καρκίνος 'crab' might be from **kr-kr-ino-*, according to Schrijver, which would come close to the Latin word.

Bibl.: WH I: 151, EM 91f., IEW 531f., Schrijver 1991: 428, 435. → *carcer*

candeō 'to shine, gleam' [v. II; pf. *canduī*] (Enn.+)

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

PIt. **kand-ē-* 'to shine'.

PIE **knd-ro-*, *-no-* 'shining'. IE cognates: W. *cann* 'brilliant', MBret. *cann* 'full moon' < **knd-*; Skt. *chándas-* [n.] 'hymn of praise' < **skend-os-*, *candrá-* 'brilliant' < **kend-ro-*; Alb. *hēnë* 'moon' < *skondhā.

Lat. *candeō*, 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. *hēnë*).

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

canēs, -is 'dog' [m.f. *n*] (Pl.+; nom.sg. 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.+).

PIt. *kō, *kwanem, *kunos.

PIE *ḱuōn [nom.sg.], *ḱuon-m [acc.sg.], *ḱun-os [gen.sg.] 'dog'. IE cognates: OIr. *cú* (gen.sg. *con*) , W. *ci*, pl. *cwn* 'dog'; Hit. *kuuan/kun-* [c.] 'dog-man', HLuw. *swan(i)-* 'dog'; Skt. *śvā* [nom.sg.], *śvánam* [acc.sg.], *śúnas* [gen.sg.] 'dog', *śunī-* [f.] 'bitch', YAv. *span-* [m.] 'dog', *sūnīš* [f.pl.] 'bitch', *spaka-* 'dog-like', Gr. κύων, κυνός, κύνα [m./f.]; Arm. *šown*, OPr. *sunis*, Lith. *šuõ*, Latv. *suns*, Go. *hunds*, OIc. *hundr*, OE *hund*, OHG *hunt*, Toch. *ku* [m.] (obl. ToA *koṃ*, ToB *kweṃ*) 'dog'.

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*.

Bibl.: WH I: 152f., EM 92, IEW 632f., Schrijver 1991: 374, 461.

canō, -ere 'to sing' [v. III; pf. *cecinī*, 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'

(Ter.+); *carmen, -inis* 'song' (Lex XII+); *vāticinārī* 'to prophesy, rave' (Pl.+); Lat. *-cen, -cinis* [m.] 'instrument, singer', in: *cornicen* 'trumpeter' (Var., Cic.+), *fidicen* 'lyre-player' (Cic.+), *fidicina* 'female lyre-player' (Pl.+), *fidicinius* 'for lyre-playing' (Pl.), *liticen* 'trumpeter' (Cato+), *oscen* 'a bird that gives omens by its cry, song-bird' (Cic.+), *siticen* 'player on some kind of musical instrument' (Cato apud Gell.), *tībīcen* 'piper' (Pl.+), *tībīcina* 'female piper' (Pl.+), *tubicen* 'trumpeter' (Cato+).

PIt. **kan-e(je)-* [pr.], **kekan-* [pf.]. It. cognates: U. **kanetu** [3s.ipv.II] 'he must (make) sing' (< **kan-ē-*), *procanurent* [3p.fut.pf.]; U. **ařkani** [acc.sg.] '(ritual) song' < **ad-kan-iom*.

PIE **kh₂n-e-* [pr.] 'to sing', **kh₂on-eie-* [caus.]. IE cognates: OIr. *cainid, ·cain*, pf. *cechain*, W. *canu*, Bret. *cana* 'to sing', W. *g(w)o-gawn, gogoniant* 'famous' < **kān-/*kōn-*; Gr. ἠι-κανός 'singing early' = 'cock', maybe κανᾰχή 'noise'; Go. *hana*, OHG *hano* 'cock', OIc. *hœna*, OHG *huon* 'hen' < PGm. **χan- / *χōn-*.

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 **cantilēla* (to an unattested **cantilāre*) by Leumann 1977: 323. Following Ernout, Leumann 1977: 551 argues that the compounds in *-cinor* stem from *vāticinor*, built on a noun **vāti-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 **χan-* 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, tibīcen* < **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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 154f., II: 226, EM 93f., 470, IEW 525, Leumann 1977: 393, 551, Benedetti 1988: 53-60, Schrijver 1991: 95, 219, Untermann 2000: 50f., 366, Lindner 2002: 219f., LIV **(k)an-*.

cānus 'white (esp. of hair)' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)
    Derivatives: *canūtus* 'grey' (Pl.; uncertain attestation).
    PIt. **kasno-* 'grey'. It. cognates: Pael. *casnar* [nom.sg.] 'old man' (also in Paul. *ex F.*) < **kasnāri-*.
    PIE **ḱh₁s-no-* 'grey'. IE cognates: W. *ceinach* 'hare'; Skt. *śaśá-* [m.] (< **śasa-* < **ḱh₁-es-*), Khot. *saha-*, OPr. *sasins* [m.], OHG *haso*, OE *hara*, OIc. *heri* 'hare', OHG *hasan* 'grey, shining', OIc. *hǫss* (**χas-ua-*), OE *hasu* 'grey-brown', MHG *heswe* 'bleak' (< PIE **ḱh₁-(o)s-*).

Together with *cascus, cānus* < **kasnos* points to PIt. **kasno-* 'grey' < PIE **ḱh₁s-no-*, which is cognate with the word for 'hare' in other IE languages. Lubotsky 1989 connects several other words in initial **ḱ-* meaning 'grey': OIr. *ciar* 'dark-brown' < **ḱh₁-ei-ro-*, OIc. *hárr*, OE *hār* 'grey, old' < PGm. **χaira-*, RuCS *sěrъ*, OCz. *šěrý*, Po.

szary 'grey' < PSl. **xoiro-* < **k̑h₁-oi-ro-*. Thus, the root ultimately was **k̑h₁-*.

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.), *caprīnus* 'of goats' (Cato+); *caprificus* [f. *o*] 'wild fig-tree' (Ter.+).

PIt. **kapro-* 'he-goat', **kaprīno-* 'of a goat'. It. cognates: U. **kaprum, kapru, kabru** [acc.sg.], **kapres** [gen.sg.] 'he-goat', U. *cabriner* [gen.sg.m/n.] < **kaprīno-* 'of the goat'. IE cognates: W. *caer-iwrch* 'roebuck', Ir. *caera* 'sheep' < **kapero-*; Gr. κάπρος 'wild boar', OIc. *hafr* 'he-goat'.

Schrijver argues that the suffix may have had ablaut **-ro-/-ero-*, 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. *gafr* [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 **capullus*. 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*, ppp. *captus*; fut. *capsō, -is* Pl., Enn.)] (VOLat.+: Foruminscr. *kapia(d)* [3s.pr.sb.])

Derivatives: *capulus* '(sword-)handle; bier' (Pl.+), *capulāris* 'ready for the bier' (Pl.+), *mūscipulum* '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+), *reciperātor* 'assessor' (Pl.+); *capessō, -ere* 'to grasp, seize' (pf. *-īvī*, ptc.fut.act. *-ītūrus*) (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'.

PIt. *kap-i-.   ‹

PIE *kh₂p-i- / non-IE *kap-i- 'to seize'. IE cognates: Gr. κάπτω 'to gulp down',
κωπή 'grip'; Go. haban 'to have' < *kap-eh₁-ie/o-, Go. hafjan 'to heave, lift', OHG
heffen < *kap-ie/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 mūs-cipulum. Lat. captāre is
based on the ppp. captus, while captīvus may have been derived from *kap-ti- (as
may be continued in captiō). The verbs anticipāre and occupāre are originally
denominal, e.g. to a noun in -ceps, cf. Steinbauer 1989: 136. Nuncupāre <
*nōmo-capāre 'to take the name' is denominal 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 -kupā- which is found in
compounds, beside the simplex in *-kapi-. 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 (fthc.) 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 OIr. 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 159-163, II: 188, 424, EM 95-97, IEW 527f., Giacomelli 1963: 241,
Schrijver 1991: 96, 411; 2003, LIV *keh₂p-. → -ceps

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.

Bibl.: WH I: 160, EM 97, Untermann 2000: 367f.

capsa 'case, box' [f. ā] (Cic.+)

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

PIt. *kap-s-o-.

Probably derived as *kapso- 'container' from capiō, or built directly on a PIt. s-pr.
*kap-s(-e/o)-.
Bibl.: WH I: 162f., EM 97, IEW 527f., LIV *keh₂p-. → capiō

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 skopьcь '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. t] (Lex XII, Andr.+)

Derivatives: capitālis 'punishable by death, fatal' (Naev.+), capitō '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.); occipitium 'the back of the head' (Pl.+); sinciput, -itis 'half-head, cheek' (Pl.+).
   PIt. *kaput [n.] 'head', *prai-kaput-i-.
   IE cognates: OIr. cúach, W. çawg 'cup' < *kapuko-; Go. haubiþ 'head', OIc. hǫfuð,
OIc. haufuð, OE hēafod, OFr. haved, OHG houbit, 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' (auceps, -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 >
*praekepets > 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-i/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-.
   Bibl.: WH I: 163f., EM 98f., IEW 529f., Schrijver 1991: 100f., 1997: 294ff., Beekes
1996, Boutkan-Siebinga 2005, LIV *keh₂p-. → capiō

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. *kùrti* is simply 'to make'). The meaning of *carbō* 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. *carbō* may go back to pre-syncope forms **kar(a)b*$^{(h)}$*ō* or **kar(a)d*^{h}*ō*.

Bibl.: WH I: 165, EM 100, IEW 571f., Schrijver 1991: 194, 207f. → *cremō*

carcer, -is 'jail, prison' [m. *r*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *carcerārius* 'of a prison' (Pl.+).

Plt. **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. *hringr*, 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 *cancrī, 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 99. → *cancer*

cardō, -inis 'pivot, axis' [m. *n*] (Pl.+)

Uncertain etymology. We find semantically comparable forms in Germanic, OE *heorr(a)*, OIc. *hjarri* 'hinge' < **χerzan-* < IE **ker-s-n-*, OHG *scerdo* 'hinge' < **sker-t-ōn*, OIc. *hrata*, OE *hratian* '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 166, EM 99f., IEW 933-935, Schrijver 1991: 429.

careō 'to lack, be without' [v. II; pf. *caruī*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *castus* 'free from, pure, chaste' (Pl.+), *castus, -ūs* 'state of abstinence' (Naev.+), *castīgāre* 'to correct, reprimand, chasten' (Pl.+), *castīgātor* 'one who reproves' (Pl.+); *cassus* 'devoid of, lacking' (Pl.+).

Plt. **kas-ē-* 'to lack', **kas-so-*. It. cognates: Fal. **carefo** 'I will lack' [1s.fut.] < **kas-ē-*; 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 *-sī*), 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-eh₁-* (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 **kHs-ti-h₂ǵ-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'.
   Bibl.: WH I: 167,178, EM 100, IEW 586, Schrijver 1991: 101, Untermann 2000:
373, LIV **ḱes-. → *cariēs*

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.

cariēs 'decaying, rot' [f. *ē*] (Varro+; sg.tantum)
   Derivatives: *cariōsus* 'decayed, rotten' (Cato+).
   PIt. **kas-* 'to lack, be missing' (*cariēs* probably post-PIt.).

The suffix *-iēs* to derive verbal abstracts is not productive anymore in Latin. The
isolated formation *cariēs* points to an earlier verb **kar-* or **kas-*. Earlier dictionaries
have derived *cariēs* from PIE **ḱrh₂-* 'to break', as in Skt. *śṛṇā́ti* 'breaks', Av. *asarəta-*
'unbroken', *sari-* [m.] 'piece, sherd'; Gr. κεραΐζω 'to ravage'. Yet, semantically,
cariēs may just as well belong to *careō* 'to lack' as 'defect, state of defectiveness';
since *careō* is attested in Latin (cf. *aceō* > *aciēs*) while no other derivatives of **ḱrh₂-*
'to break' are known, the derivation from *careō* is more straightforward.
   Bibl.: WH I: 167f., EM 100, IEW 578, Leumann 1977: 285, Schrijver 1991: 292f.,
LIV **ḱes-. → *careō*

carīna 'keel or hull of a ship; the half of a walnut shell' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)
   PIt. **ker-* or **kar-*.
   IE cognates: W. *ceri* 'stone of a fruit' (< **ka/e/orī*), Gr. κάρυον 'nut', Myc. *ka-ru-pi*
ins.pl., Gr. καρώινος '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 καρώινος
*'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.
   Bibl.: WH I: 168, EM 100, IEW 531, Schrijver 1991: 208.

carīnō, -āre 'to use abusive language' [v. I] (Enn.)
   PIt. **karīno-* [adj.] 'insulting'.
   IE cognates: OIr. *caire* [f.], W. *caredd*, MBret. *carez* 'blame, disapproval' <
*kr-ieh₂-; Gr. κάρνη 'penalty', αὐτόκαρνος 'self-punishing' (Hsch.); Lith. *káirinti* 'to

provoke', Latv. *karinât* 'to pester', CS *korъ* 'contumely', SCr. *kôr* (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 hanc carinantibus edere cartis* and 576 (563) *contra carinantes verba atque obscena profatus*. Skutsch 1985 argues quite convincingly that 576 contains a long *ī*, which was therefore the original vowel, which was shortened to *carīnantibus* 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. **karih₁* to an *i*-stem noun **kari-* 'abuse, insult', To this, we can connect PCl. **kṛjā-* 'blame'. There appear to be several IE forms of the type **kor-*, **kr-n-*, but these do not yield a clear etymology for *carīnāre*.

Bibl.: WH I: 168f., EM 100, IEW 530, Leumann 1977: 551, Skutsch 1985: 60, 616, 716f., Schrijver 1991: 429, Vine 1999c. → *festīnō*

carō, carnis 'flesh, meat' [f. *n*] (Andr.+; *carnēs* [pl.] 'pieces of meat'. A new nom.sg. *carnis* in Andr., abl.sg. *carni* 1x in Plautus)

Derivatives: *carnārium* 'meat-rack' (Pl.+), *caruncula* 'small piece of flesh' (Varro+); *carnu/ifex, -ficis* 'executioner; scoundrel' (Naev.+), *carnu/ificīna* 'the work of an executioner, execution' (Pl.+), *carnu/ificius* [adj.] 'of a hangman'.

PIt. **kerō(n)* [nom.], **kar-(V)n-* [acc.] 'piece of meat'. It. cognates: U. **karu** [nom.sg.], **karne** [dat.sg.], **karne** [abl.sg.], **karnus** [abl.pl.], O. *carneis* [gen.sg.], *carnom* [acc.sg.] 'part' (of the assembly); U. **kartu** [3s.ipv.II] 'to lay apart' vel sim. Uncertain: O. **karanter** [3p.pr.ps.] 'they feed themselves'.

PIE **k(e)rH-n-* 'piece'. IE cognates: OIr. *scaraid**, *·scara*, MW *yscar* 'to separate', MBret. *discar* 'to sever' < PCl. **skara-*, Lith. *skìrti*, Is. *skiriù* 'to separate, distinguish'.

According to EM, the Italic noun would be an *n*-stem built on a root noun; yet 1 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 PIt. **kerō*, **karonem*; apparently, the stem form of the acc.sg. was generalized.

Bibl.: WH I: 170, EM 101, IEW 938-947, Schrijver 1991: 208, 429, Untermann 2000: 370-373, Schumacher 2004: 576f., LIV **(s)kerH-* 'to separate, divide'. → *corium, curtus*

carpinus 'hornbeam' [m. *o*] (Cato+)

PIt. **karp-i/eno-*.

IE cognates: maybe Hit. *karpina-* 'kind of fruit tree' < **(s)kerp-ino-*; OPr. *skerptus*, Lith. *skìrpstas* 'elm', *skìrpstùs* 'beech'.

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*.

Bibl.: WH I: 171, EM 101, IEW 938-947, Schrijver 1991: 430, LIV *(s)kerp-. →
carpō

carpō, -ere 'to pluck, gather' [v. III; *carpsī, 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(ije/a)-zi* 'to take (away), lift,
pluck', Lyd. *fa-korfid* 'to undertake' (vel sim.) < *krp-ié/ó-, *k(é)rp-; Gr. καρπός
'fruit', Myc. *ka-po*, Lith. *kerpù, kìrpti* 'to chop, cut', Latv. *cìrpt* 'to shave', OCS
počrěti 'to scoop, draw' < *(s)k(e)rp-; OHG *herbist*, OE *hærfest* 'autumn' ('time of.
reaping' <*karpistos*) , Olc. *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 *krp-*
in front of another consonant (Schrijver 1991; 495f.), e.g. in the ppp. *krp-to-* or aor.
krp-s-. The Greek noun might point to a non-IE word because of its *a*, but since both
Latin and BSl. have verbs, non-IE origin is unattractive. Therefore, one may
conjecture that Greek *κρατος was remade into καρπος on the analogy of the verb
*kerp-.
Bibl.: WH I: 172-173, EM 102, IEW 938-947, Kloekhorst 2008: 452, LIV *(s)kerp-.
→ *scirpus*

carrō, -ere 'to card (wool)' [v. III] (Naev., Pl.)
Derivatives: *carmen* 'iron comb for wool' (Claudianus+), *carminäre* 'to card wool'
(Varro+), *carduus* 'thistle' (Verg.+).
PIt. *kars-e-.
PIE *(s)ker-s- 'to comb (wool)'. IE cognates: Lith. *kařšti, karšiù*, Latv. *kàrst* 'to
card, comb' <*kors-; OHG *skerran* 'to scratch' < *skers-.
EM explicitly point out that *carrō* is not attested in the texts: Varro has *carō*, the
Plautus mss. *carp-*, the glosses *cariō* or *carriō*. Thus, *carrō* is a correction by modern
editors. WH derive *carduus* from *carridus* 'scratching', which seems less likely (the
-*idus* adj. are predominantly formed to verbs in -*ēre*, 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+).
PIt. *kāro- 'dear'. It. cognates: Ven. **kanei** [dat.sg.f.] 'dear' (*kā-ni-?*), **karis**
[nom.sg.] 'caritās' (*kā-ri-?*); Fal. **karai** [dat.sg.f.] 'dear'.
PIE *keh₂-ro- 'desired / desirable'. IE cognates: Gaulish PN in *Caro-, -carus*, Latv.
kârs 'lustful', Go. *hors* 'adulterer' < PIE *keh₂-ro-; Olr. *carae* 'friend' < *kh₂r-ent-

(denom. OIr. *caraid* 'to love', W. *caru*) ; Skt. pr. *kā́yamāna-*, pf. *cakḗ* 'to wish, love, desire', Av. pr. *kaiia-* '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 **kanei**, it might belong to a different root, viz. IIr. **kan(H)-*, LIV ?**k$^{(u)}$enH-*. The Venetic form would show that this root did not contain a labiovelar.

Bibl.: WH I: 175, EM 102, IEW 515, Lejeune 1974: 331, Leumann 1977: 347, Schrijver 1991: 112, Sihler 1995: 628, LIV *keh₂-.

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. *kata-* 'chamber', CS *kotьcь* 'cell, nest', OCz. *kot* 'booth, stall (market)', SCr. *kôt* (dial.) 'sty for domestic animals', OE *heaðor* [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/ā*] (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*

cāseus 'a cheese' [m. *o*] (Pl.+; *cāseum* 'cheese')

 PIt. **kās(s)ejo-?*

 IE cognates: Latv. *kûsât* 'to boil', OCS *kvasъ* 'leaven, fermented drink', SCr. *kvâs* 'sour milk', OCS *vъ(s)-kysnǫti, -kysěti* 'to turn sour', *kysělъ* 'sour', Cz. *kysati* 'to turn sour, rot' < BSl. **kuʔs-*.

This word has mostly been reconstructed as **kwāt-so-* and connected with the root **kuathr-* 'to boil, bubble' (LIV); cf. Go. *ƕaþō* 'foam', Skt. *kváthant-* 'fuming'. Yet **u* 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 **kHu-*, to which an *s*-stem **ku(a)H-s-* would have been formed. Latin *cās-* would go back to a nom.sg. **kHu-ōs* > **kauōs*; yet the subsequent contraction to **kās-* seems uncertain to

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.

Bibl.: WH I: 176, EM 103, IEW 627, Schrijver 1991: 251f.

cassis, -idis 'metal helmet' [f. *d*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *casilam* 'metal helmet' (Paul. *ex F.*).

IE cognates: OIc. *hǫttr, hattr*, OE *hætt*, MoE *hat* (< **χad-tu-*), OIc. *hetta* 'cap'; OHG *huota* [f.] 'guard', OE *hōd*, OFr. *hōde* 'guard, watch', OHG *huot* [m.] 'hat, helmet', OE *hōd* [m.] 'cap'.

Only the Gm. words for 'hat' in **χōd-* and **χad-* would be semantically credible cognates of *cassis*, but a PIE root **kadʰ-* 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*.

Bibl.: WH I: 177, EM 103, IEW 516, Schrijver 1991: 101.

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 **kates-na*, a preform **kat-s-i-* is more likely. The basič 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, -āre 'to castrate; to thin out (plants)' [v. II] (Pl.+)

PIt. **kastro-*.

PIE **ḱs-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. *thadër* '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 **ḱes-* 'to cut'. If connected with Skt. *śāstrá-* < **ḱe/os-tro-*, Latin *castr-* must reflect **ḱs-tro-* with a vocalization **CCCC- > *CaCCC-* (Schrijver 1991: 496).

Bibl.: WH I: 179, EM 104, IEW 586, Schrijver 1991: 488, Weiss 1993: 104f., Untermann 2000: 374f., LIV **ḱes-*.

castrum 'fortified post or settlement' [n. *o*] (Pl.+; mostly pl. *castra, -ōrum* 'id.' Pl.+)

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

PIt. **kastro-* 'part, share'. It. cognates: O. *castrous* [gen.sg.], *castrid* [abl.sg.], U. **kastruvuf**, *castruo* [acc.pl.] < **kastru-* 'field, possession?'.

PIE **ḱs-tro-*.

WH and EM interpret *castrum* as 'cut-off part', whence 'fenced area, property' >

'camp'. The root could be PIE *kers- 'to cut off' or *k̂es- 'to cut'. The latter seems more likely since it has provided the basis PIt. *kastro- 'knife' for the derivation of castrāre. Lat. prōcestria is a hypostasis from prō castrīs.

Bibl.: WH I: 180, II: 367, EM 104, IEW 586, Untermann 2000: 374f., LIV *k̂es-.

catēna 'chain' [f. ā] (Pl.+)
    Derivatives: catēlla 'light chain' (Cato+).
    PIt. *kates-nā-?

Catēna 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.+).
    PIt. *kates-wā-. It. cognates: maybe U. **kateramu**, caterahamo [2p.ipv.II.ps.] '?' < denom. *katerrā- 'to form a band' to a noun *kates-wa (e.g. Meiser 1986: 184).
    IE cognates: OE heaðor [n.] 'enclosure, prison'?

Semantically, a connection with cassis 'net' and catēna '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.
    Bibl.: WH I: 181, EM 105, IEW 534, Leumann 1977: 303, Schrijver 1991: 430, Untermann 2000: 376.

catīnus 'deep vessel, bowl, dish' [m. (n. in Cato) o] (Cato+)
    Derivatives: catillus/-um 'bowl, dish' (Cato+), catillāre 'to lick plates' (Pl.).
    PIt. *katīno-.

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 catīnus too.
    Bibl.: WH I: 182, EM 105, IEW 587.

catulus 'young of an animal, puppy' [m. o] (Pl.+)
    Derivatives: catellus 'puppy' (Pl.+).
    PIt. *kat-elo-. It. cognates: U. **katel** [nom.sg.], **katlu** [acc.sg.], **katles** [gen.sg.], **katle** [gen. or dat.sg.] < *katlo- 'certain sacrificial animal'.
    IE cognates: MHG hatele 'goat', OIc. haðna 'young goat', SCr. kȏt '(time of) having young, litter, breed', Po. kót (dial.) '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/oT- 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 183, EM 106, IEW 534, Untermann 2000: 375f.

catus 'clever, shrewd' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *Catō* [cogn.] (Fasti Consulares Capitolini+).
PIt. **kato-*.
PIE **ḱh₃-to-* 'sharpened'. IE cognates: OIr. *cath* 'wise, able', Skt. *śitá-* '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 PIt. reconstruction.
Bibl.: WH I: 183f., EM 106, IEW 542, Schrijver 1991: 91, LIV **ḱeh₃-*. → *cōs*

cauda 'tail' [f. *ā*] (Acc.+; also *cōda*)
Derivatives: *caudeus* (Pl., Paul. *ex F.*) in *cistella caudea* 'small boxes made from *cauda*', *cōdētum* (Suet., Paul. *ex F.*) 'piece of land at Rome with certain trees on it'.
PIt. **kaud-ā-* 'part, tail'.
PIE **keh₂u-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 **keh₂u-d-* > **kaud-*. Incidentally, this would prove that the dental involved was **d* and not **dʰ*, since the latter would yield Latin **kauba*.
Bibl.: WH I: 185, EM 106, IEW 535, LIV 2.**keh₂u-*. → *caudex, cūdō*

caudex, -icis 'tree-trunk; wooden tablets forming a book' [m. *k*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *caudicālis* 'dealing with tree-trunks' (Pl.), *cōdicillus* 'small log, set of writing-tablets' (Cato+).
PIt. **kaud-ek-*.
PIE **keh₂u-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'.
Bibl.: WH I: 186, EM 130, IEW 535, Schrijver 1991: 285f., LIV **keh₂u-*. → *cauda, cūdō*

caulae 'railing or lattice barrier; pores (of the skin)' [f.pl. *ā*] (Lex Cornelia (81 BC)+; Lucr.)
PIt. **kaχ-ela* 'little hole, juncture'. It. cognates: maybe O. **kaíla** [acc.sg.] 'a certain sacral building' < **kaχi/elā-*.

A connection with *cōlum* 'sieve' is not very likely, since there are no spelling variants

cōlae, 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' < **kaχ-ela* (thus IEW). See *cohum*₄for the further etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 187f., EM 107, IEW 518, Untermann 2000: 363. → *cohum*

caulis 'stem, stalk, penis' [m. *i*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *cauliculus* 'small stalk, sprout' (Cato+); *cōleī, -ōrum* 'testicles' (Lab.+), *cōleātus* 'provided with testicles' (Pomponius).

Plt. **kauli-* 'stalk'.

PIE **(s)keh₂u-l-i-* 'stem of a plant, stalk'. IE cognates: OIr. *cúal* 'faggot, bundle of sticks' < **kaulā*, Gr. καυλός 'stem, stalk, pole', Arm. *c'awl* 'stalk, straw' < **sk-*, OPr. *kaulan*, Lith. *káulas* 'bone', Latv. *kaûls* '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 188f., EM 107, IEW 537, Schrijver 1991: 268f.

caupō 'shopkeeper, innkeeper' [m. *n*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *caupōnārī* '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 **ḱh₁u-er-o-* 'northern (wind?)'. IE cognates: Lith. *šiáurė* 'north' < **keh₁ur-*, *šiūras, šiūrùs* 'cold, northern' << **kuHr-* < **ḱh₁ur-*; OCS *sěverъ* 'north', SCr. *sěvēr*, Sln. *sẹ́ver* < **keh₁uer-o-*.

If the Latin and BSl. forms are cognate, *caurus* can derive from **ḱh₁u-er-o-* with vocalization of the laryngeal. The ablaut **-r-/-er-* shows that **-(u)r-* is a suffix, the root being **ḱh₁u-(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 OIr. *cúa*, which is a ghost word) is confirmed by Schrijver 1995: 337, who reconstructs PIE **ḱ(e/o)uH-Vt-* > PCl. **kouVt-* or **kuuVt-*. This would confirm that **-r-* in Latin and BSl. belongs to the suffix.

Bibl.: WH I: 190, EM 107f., IEW 597, Schrijver 1991: 252, 1995: 337f.

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.+); *accūsāre* 'to blame, charge' (Pl.+), *accūsātor* 'prosecutor' (Mancia+), *excūsāre* 'to excuse, justify' (Pl.+), *incūsāre* 'to

make answerable for, reproach' (Pl.+), *rēcūsāre* 'to object, reject' (Pl.+); *causidicus* 'advocate' (Lucr.+), *causificārī* 'to allege a reason' (Pl.+).

PIt. **kaud-ta?*

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.+), *cautēla* 'caution' (Pl.+); *praecaveō* 'to be on one's guard' (Pl.+).

PIt. **kawē-*. It. cognates: U. **kutef** [ptc.pr., nom.sg.m.] 'in silence' vel sim. < **kau̯etēns*.

PIE **kouh₁-éie-* 'to perceive'. IE cognates: Skt. *ā-kuvāte* 'intends', *ā-kūta-* 'intention'; Skt. *kaví-*, Av. *kauui-* [m.] 'seer, poet, wise man' < **kouH-i-*; Gr. κοέω 'to perceive, understand', Gr. θυο-σκόος '(priest) who observes the sacrifice', SCr. *čūti* 'to hear', OHG *scouwōn* 'to watch' < **(s)kouh₁-*.

The pr. **kaw-ē-* can be explained from pre-PIt. **kou̯(H)-éie-* by means of Thurneysen-Havet-Vine's unrounding of PIE **ou̯* in PIE pretonic position (Vine 2006a: 225). The pf. *cāvī* can be phonetically regular from **kawe-wai*, ppp. *cautus* < **kawitos* < **kouH-e-to-*. The U. form **kawetē-* must be derived from a nominal form **kawe-to-* (a PIt. innovation) which also yielded Lat. *cautus*.

Bibl.: WH I: 186, EM 107, IEW 587f., Schrijver 439f., Meiser 1998: 206, Untermann 2000: 422, Vine 2006a, LIV **(s)keu̯h₁-*.

cavus 'hollow, excavated, concave, deep (of water)' [adj. *o/ā*] (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.), *cavillātiō* 'banter, sophistry' (Pl.+), *cavillātor* 'jester, banterer' (Pl.+).

PIt. **kawo-* < **kowó-*.

PIE **kouH-ó-* 'hollow'. IE cognates: OIr. *cúa* 'hollow', Bret. *keo*, *kev* 'cave' < PIE **kouio-*; Gr. pl. κόοι 'hollows, excavations, gaps, crevices, gorges' (Hsch.) < **kóu̯o-*, Gr. κοῖλος 'hollow' < **kóϝιλος*; Arm. *soyl* 'cavity' < **keulo-*; maybe Alb. *thellë* 'deep'.

If *cavus* belongs to Av. *sūra-* 'hollow', Skt. *śūna-* 'emptiness', Gr. κύαρ 'hole, eye of a needle' < PIE **k̂uH-* 'to swell', we must reconstruct **kouH-o-* for the Latin form. Vine 2006a: 235f. posits a PIE oxytone adj. **k̂ouH-ó-*, since he reformulates Thurneysen-Havet's Law in the sense that unrounding of **ou̯* > **au̯* only occurred in pretonic position (with regard to the PIE place of the accent). Greek κόοι, in his view, would have retracted the stress due to substantivization. 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 *calvor* 'to deceive', *calumnia* 'deceit'), but has little to recommend itself. Since

jokes are 'unserious' speech, *cavilla* may well derive from *cavus* 'hollow'. The etymology as **keuh₂i-dʰh₁-(s)leh₂-* 'striking joke' by Hackstein 2002a: 18 is impossible: this would yield **kewiba(s)la-*, and the change of pre-Latin **ou* > **au* chronologically precedes that of PIE **eu* > **ou* (Schrijver 1991: 454).

Bibl.: WH I: 187f., 191f., EM 106-108, IEW 593, Schrijver 1991: 109, 440f., LIV **k̑ueh₁-*. → *cumulus, inciens*

-ce 'here, there' [ptcle.]. Lat. *-ce* or *-c* in: *ecce* 'look!' (s.v.), *hic(c), hicine, hoce* [pron.adj.] 'this', *hinc(e)* 'hence', *hūc, hūcine* 'hither' (s.v. *hic*), *illic* [pron.adj.] 'that', *illīc* 'there', *illūc* 'thither' (s.v. *ille*), *istic* [pron.adj.] 'that (of yours)', *istinc* 'from there', *istūc* 'to there' (s.v. *iste*), *sīc* 'thus' *(sīcine), nunc* 'now', *tunc* 'then'. Archaic forms are *ipsiusce* [gen.sg. to *ipse*], *cuiusce* [gen.sg. to *quī*]. According to Watkins 1973b: 205, Marsian Latin *ceip* 'here' reflects **k̑e+i-p(e)*.

PIt. **ke*. It. cognates: Pael. *ecuc*, O. **ek(úk)** , U. *eso* [nom.sg.f.], O. **ekík**, Pael. *ecic* [nom.acc.sg.n.], O. **ekúk** [acc.sg.m.], Marr. *ecan*, O. **ekak** [acc.sg.f.] 'this' < PSab. **eko, *ekā* [nom.acc.]. Oblique case-forms: O. **eksuk**, U. *essu, esu*, **esu-ku** [abl.sg.m.n.], O. *exeic* [loc.sg.n.], O. *exac*, U. *esa* [abl.sg.f.], O. **ekas, ekask** [nom.pl.f.], O. **ekass, eka** [acc.pl.f.], Marr. *esuc* [gen.pl.m.], U. **esumek**, *esome* [gen.pl.n.], O. *exaisc-en* [abl.pl.f.], U. *esir, isir, esis-co* [abl.pl.n.] 'this' < PSab. **eke/oso-, -ā-*. Pael. Marr. *ecuf* 'here' [adv.] < **-dʰi*.

Adverbs from case-forms: O. **ekss**, *ex* 'thus' < **ekso* (+ *-s*?); U. **esuk, esu**, *esoc, eso* 'thus' < **eksodke* [nom.acc.sg.n.] or **eksāke* [pl.]; U. **isek**, *isec* [adv. / cj.] 'then' vel sim. < **eksei-k(e)* [loc.sg.]; U. **isunt** 'in the same way' < **ekso* + ptc. *-hont*. O. **ekkum** 'similarly' (**ed-ke-om*?). A suffix *-k* also in: O. *izic*, U. **erek** 'this' (s.v. *is*). Initial *ce-*: O. *cebnust* 'he will have come over' < **ke-ben-us-* (to *ben-* 'come').

PIE **ke* / **ki* 'this, here'. IE cognates: Hit. *ki* 'this', *ki-nun* 'now'; Gr. **κε* in κεῖνος, ἐκεῖνος, Dor. Lesb. κῆνος 'that one' < **(ε)κε-ενος*; Arm. *ays* 'this', *sa* 'he', *soyn* 'the same', OPr. *schis*, Lith. *šis*, Latv. *šis*, OCS *sъ* 'this', Gm. **χi-, *χe-* 'this'.

Theoretically, *-ce* might come from **-ki*, but *cedō* points to **-ke*. Closely related is the stem **ki*, found in *cis, citrā*. 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 **ke* is found in word-initial position in *cedo, cette* and in *cēterus* (s.v.). PIE **ke* / **ki* displays the rare ablaut **e/i*. The Sab. pronoun **eko, *ekā* [nom.acc.] was built from PIE **e-* + *-ke*, which became inflected as a pronoun. The variants O. *ekso-*, U. *eso-* found in the oblique cases reflects the addition of the pronoun **so / *sā* to this stem: PSab. **e-ke/o-so*.

Bibl.: WH I: 192, EM 109, IEW 609f., Leumann 1977: 468, Kortlandt 1983b, Klingenschmitt 1987, Sihler 1995: 391, Untermann 2000: 214-218, 238, 346, 348f., 378. → *cis, ecce, hic, ille, iste, sīc, num, tum*

cedo 'give, tell' [v. ipv.] (Naev.+)
  Derivatives: *cette* 'give, tell' [pl.] (Naev.+).
  PIt. **ke-dō, *ke-date* 'give here!'.

PIE sg. *deh₃, pl. *dh₃-te [ipv.aor.]. IE cognates: see s.v. *dare*.

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 *cette* 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 193, EM 109, IEW 609f., Leumann 1977: 528, Sihler 1995: 68, 79, 544, Meiser 1998: 185, 2003: 62, LIV *deh₃-. → -dere

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.+), *accessiō* 'approaching; addition' (Pl.+), *accessitāre* 'to approach repeatedly' (Cato), *antecēdere* 'to surpass, precede' (Pl.+), *concēdere* 'to go (away), give way' (Pl.+), *concessāre* 'to desist' (Pl.+), *dēcēdere* 'to go away, yield' (Pl.+), *excēdere* 'to retire, depart' (Pl.+), *incēdere* 'to arrive, walk' (Andr.+), *intercēdere* 'to intervene' (Pl.+), *intercessiō* '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.+).

PIt. *kesd-e/o- 'to go away, avoid'.

PIE *ḱiesdʰ- 'to drive away; (intr.) go away'. IE cognates: Skt. *sedhati* (< *śiazdʰ-) 'to drive, chase away', OAv. *siiazdaṱ* [3s.aor.sb.] 'will chase away', *siiōzdūm* [2p.aor.ipv.] 'banish', *sīzdiiamna-* 'withdrawing', YAv. ⁺(*fra*)*siiazdaiia-* 'to chase away' < IIr. *śiazdʰ- / *śižd̲ʰ-.

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. *siiazd-*, Skt. *sedh-* (< *śiazdʰ-) 'to chase away, (intr.) withdraw' from PIE *ḱiesdʰ-, possibly an original cp. *ḱies-dʰh₁-. 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 *necesse* 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).

Bibl.: WH I: 193f., II: 152f., EM 109f., 434, IEW 887, Leumann 1977: 345, Sihler 1995: 583, Meiser 2003: 111.

celeber, -bris, -bre 'frequent(ed); famed, loud, clear' [adj. i] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: concelebrāre 'to celebrate' (Pl.+), celebrēscere 'to become famous' (Acc.), celebrāre 'to celebrate, praise' (Acc.+).

Plt. *kelisri-?

The etymology of celeber is unknown, cf. Nussbaum 1999a and Bader 1983. Phonetically, *kelesri-, *kelisri-, maybe *kelVdʰli- are possible. The earlier date of attestation and the morphology (con- -āre) show that concelebrāre is the oldest derivative of celeber, from which celebrāre 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 (cf. Leumann 1977: 348f.); phonetically, *kelH-bli- should yield *kelabri- > *koliber. Thus, Nussbaum 1999a: 388 is probably right in positing *kelisris which yielded a non-velarized *l, and with lowering of *izr > *-ezr-.

Bibl.: WH I: 194, EM 110, IEW 548, Bader 1983: 43f., Nussbaum 1999a: 388, 411, 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-i- 'speeding'. IE cognates: Gr. κέλομαι, aor. (ἐ)κέκλετο 'to spur on', κέλλω (< *kel-ie/o-) 'to drive on', κέλης, -ητ- 'racehorse', Go. haldan 'to tend cattle'.

Certainly an old i-stem, cf. Nussbaum 1999a: 411. Since PIE -ri- usually makes nouns, and in view of the regular dissimilation of -ālis and *-þlis in Latin to -āris and *-þris 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. *kēli/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 *ḱel- 'hiding'? IE cognates: Skt. śālā- '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-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 195f., EM 110f., IEW 553f., Rix 1993: 329, Untermann 2000: 382, LIV 1. **kel-* 'to hide'. → *cēlō, occulō*

-cellō, -ere 1 'to raise oneself' [v. III; (*excelluī*), *-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+), *praecellere* 'to be superior, surpass' (Pl.+).

PIt. **kelne/o-* [pr.], **k(e)lto-* [ppp.]. It. cognates: SPic. **eśelsit** [3p.pr.?] 'they have erected'?

PIE **kel-n-H-* (thus Schrijver) << **kl-né/n-H-* (thus LIV) 'to rise'. IE cognates: Lith. *kélti*, 1s. *keliù* 'to lift', *kìlti*, 1s. *kylù* 'to stand up'.

The pr.ind. is sometimes attested with *-ē-* (2nd cj.): Pl. *praecellet* 1x, Cic.+ *excellet*, *-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?).

Bibl.: WH I: 197, EM 111, IEW 544, Schrijver 1991: 406, Eichner 1993b, Rix 1999: 403, Untermann 2000: 234, LIV **kelH-*. → *collis, columen*

-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' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **kelne/o-* [pr.].

PIE **-kel-n-h₂-e/o-* 'to beat'. IE cognates: Gr. ἀπο-κλᾶς 'breaking', κλάω 'to break' < **kla(s)je/o-*, Lith. *kálti*, 1s. *kalù* 'to beat', Latv. *kalt* 'id.', maybe Lith. *kélmas* 'tree trunk'; OCS *klati*, 1s. *koljǫ* 'to kill', Ru. *kolót'* 'to prick, stab' < BSl. **kol?-* 'to beat'.

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. *-culī* 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 fefellī 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-e/o-.

PIE *ḱel- 'hiding-place'? IE cognates: ₐ Skt. *śárman-* 'shelter, cover', *śaraṇá-* 'protecting, defending' (RV+), *ā-śára-* [m.] 'shed, shelter' (AV); OHG *hāla* 'the hiding', MHG *hǣle* 'concealment', Olc. *hǣli* [n.] 'hide-out', OHG *hāli* 'concealing' < PGm. *χēl-.

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 *ḱel-e- is continued in Latin *occulere*.

Bibl.: WH I: 196, EM 111, IEW 553f., Steinbauer 1989: 142, Schrijver 1991: 124, LIV 1. *ḱel- 'to hide'. → *cella, occulō, clam, color*

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.+).

Plt. *kert(e)snā- 'meal'. It. cognates: O. **kersnu** [nom.sg.], **kerssnais** [abl.pl.], U. *śesna* [acc.sg.] 'meal'; O. **kerssnasias, kersna<t>ias** [nom.pl.f.] 'connected with a meal (?)' < *kersnā + -āsio-; U. **çersnatur furent** [3p.fut.pf.ps.] 'cēnātī erunt', denom. verb to U. *śesna*.

PIE *kert-s-nh₂- 'portion'. IE cognates: Skt. *kṛntáti* 'to cut', Arm. *k'ert'em* 'to skin', Lith. *kérti* 'to cut off'; maybe Alb. *qeth* 'to cut', OHG *scrintan* '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 *kr-, which lies at the basis of Latin *carō* 'meat'. Schrijver, however, regards the semantics as unlikely, and proposes an alternative connection with *Cerēs*, reconstructing *ker-s-inā-*, from a derived adj. to *kerH- 'fruit, grain'. Semantically, this does not seem better than the traditional etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 198, EM 112, IEW 941f., Leumann 1977: 209, Schrijver 1991: 432, Sihler 1995: 221, Untermann 2000: 392ff., LIV *(s)kert-. → *cortex, scortum*

-cendō, -ere 'to ignite, set to fire' [v. III; pf. *-cendī*, ppp. *-cēnsum*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *accendere* 'to set on fire' (Andr.+), *incendere* 'id.' (Pl.+), *incendium* 'destructive fire' (Pl.+), *succendere* 'to set alight' (Lucr.+).

Plt. *-kend-e/o-.

PIE *(s)kend- [aor.] 'to shine, appear'. IE cognates: Skt. *chadáyati*, Av. *saδaiia-* < *sknd-eie-, aor. Skt. *achān* 'to appear, please' < *skend-s-, pf. Skt. *śāśad-*, 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 IIr. 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 IIr. strongly suggests that *candeō* and *-cendō* 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: *cēnsus, -ūs* 'registration; wealth' (Pl.+); *cēnsor* 'magistrate' (Elog.Scip.+), *cēnsōrius* '(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.+).

PIt. *knsē-* 'to estimate'. It cognates: Fal. **censor** [nom.sg.] may be a loan from Latin; O. *ancensto* [nom.sg.f.] 'unestimated'; O. *censaum* [inf.pr.], *censazet* [3p.fut.], *censamur* [3s.ipv.pr.ps.], *censas fust* [3s.fut.pf.ps.] (all Tabula Bantina) 'to pass the census on' < *kens-ā-. O. *censtomen* [acc.sg. + -en] 'census'; O. **keenzstur, censtur** [nom.sg.], **kenzsur, censtur** [nom.pl.] 'censor', borrowed from Latin. O. **kenssurineís** [gen.sg.m.] 'Cēnsōrīnus', honorary cognomen; O. κενσορτατηι [loc.sg.] 'the office of censor', inner-Oscan derivative of *kensor-.

PIE *kns-ehı- / *kns-eie- to announce'. IE cognates: Skt. *śaṁs-*, Av. *sǝh-* 'to speak sollemnly', OAv. pr. *sǝ̄ngha-*.

According to García-Ramón 1993b: 124, the *ē*-conjugation of Latin *censēre* results from a transitive pr. *kns-eie-* 'estimates' or from a stative *kns-ehı-* 'to be estimated', or both. Later, a diathesis opposition would have been created by opposing *cēnsē + -tur* to *cēnsē-t*.

Bibl.: WH I: 198ff., EM 112f., IEW 566, García-Ramón 1993b, Untermann 2000: 102, 382-386, LIV *keNs-.

centō 'blanket, patched cloth' [n. *n*] (Pl.+)

PIt. *k(e)nt-n-.

PIE *k(e)ntH-n-. IE cognates: Skt. *kanthā-* [f.] 'rag, patched cloth'.

If Skt. *kanthā-* continues an original *n*-stem, *centō* and *kanthā-* 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. *kanthā-*.

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+), *centiē(n)s* 'a hundred times' (Pl.+); *centuria* 'unit of a hundred men' (Cincius+), *centuriō* 'centurion' (Lucil.+); *ducentī* '200' [adj.] (Pl.+), *trecentī* '300' (Pl.), *quadringentī* '400' (Pl.+), *quīngentī* '500' (Pl.+; Paul. *ex F.* cites *quincent-*), *sescentī* '600' (Pl.+), *octingentī* '800' (Pl.+), *nōngentī* '900' (Cic.+); *centumplex* 'hundredfold' (Pl.).

PIt. *kntom.

PIE *dḱmtom 'hundred'. IE cognates: OIr. cét, MW cant, Skt. śatá-, Av. satəm 'hundred', Lyc. sñta 'unit of ten or hundred', Gr. ἑκατόν, Lith. šim̃tas, OCS sъto, Go. hund, OHG hund, ToB kante, ToA känt '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 *dḱmtom but already *ḱmtom. PIE *dḱmto- 'hundred' probably derives from PIE *deḱm̥ 'ten' as the ordinal 'tenth'. Hence, 'hundred' was the 'tenth ten'.

Bibl.: WH I: 200f., EM 113f., IEW 192, Coleman 1992: 403-406, Sihler 1995: 222-224, Untermann 2000: 394. → decem, -gintā

cēpa 'onion' [f. ā] (Naev.+; also caepa)
   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.

-ceps, -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 < *manu-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.). Vesticeps < *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. κᾱρός 'wax', Gr. κηριόν 'honeycomb', Lith. *korỹs* 'honeycomb', Latv. *kãres* 'id.'.

Probably a loanword from an unknown language, or a direct borrowing into Latin from Greek. If the Doric form in *ā* 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. *ā*]: *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' < **skerd-(i)e/o-*; Gr. κείρω, Arm. *k'erem*, OIc. *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, enraged' (Lucil.+). Plt. **kerasro-*.

PIE **kerh₂-s-ro-* [n.] 'brain' ('thing in the head'). IE cognates: Skt. *śiras*, obl. *śīrṣán-* 'head, top', YAv. *sarah-* 'head', Gr. κάρᾱ [n.], gen.sg. κρᾱᾱτος 'id.', κάρηνα [pl.n.] 'head, top'; Gr. κέρας 'horn'; OHG *hirn(i)* < **kerh₂snio-*, MDu. *hersene* 'brain'.

Nussbaum 1986: 243 explains *cerebrum* as a substantivization of an adj. **krh₂sro-* 'in the head', itself an adj. made to a loc.sg. **krh₂-s-er* 'in the head' (to PIE **kerh₂-s-*, **krh₂-es-* 'head').

Bibl.: WH I: 203, EM 114f., IEW 574-577, Nussbaum 1986, Schrijver 1991: 96. → *cernuus, cervīx, cornū*

Cerēs, -eris 'goddess of grain and fruits' [f. *r*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *Cerus manus* 'creator bonus' (Paul. *ex F.*), Varro *duonus Cerus* 'good Cerus'; *Ceriālis* 'of Ceres, of wheat' (Pl.+); Oscan *caria* 'panis', *carēnsēs* 'pistores' (gloss.).

Plt. **kerēs*, **keres-* [f.] 'with grain, Ceres'; **kereso-* [m.] 'with grain'; adj. **keresjo-* 'belonging to Ceres'; **kare/o-* 'to feed'. It. cognates: Fal. **ceres** [nom.]. O. **kerrí, keri** [dat.sg.] 'Cererī' < **ker-s-ēi* < dat.sg. **ker-es-ēi*; U. **çerfe, śerfer, serfer** [gen.sg.], **çerfe, śerfe** [dat.sg.], **serfe** [voc.sg.] of the god's name 'Cerrus' < **keres-o-*, male counterpart of Ceres; O. **kerríiúí, kerriiúí** [dat.sg.m.], **kerríiaí** [dat.sg.f.], **kerríiín** [loc.sg. + *-en*] , **kerríiúís** [dat.pl.m.], **kerríiaís** [dat.pl.f.], Pael. *ceria, cerria* [nom.sg.f.], Marr. *cerria* [nom.sg.f.], *cerie* [dat.sg.f.?] 'belonging to Ceres', U. *śerfiar* [gen.sg.f.], **çerfie, śerfie** [dat.sg.f.], **çe[ ]fi, śerfi** [dat.sg.m.?], *śerfia* [voc.sg.f.]

'belonging to Cerrus', all < Plt. *keres-jo-. The stem of Pael. cerfum [gen.pl.] 'Cererum' is uncertain. Maybe O. **karanter** [3p.pr.ps.] 'they feed themselves', unless to carō, carnis.

PIE *ḱerh₁/₃-os [n.] 'nourishment' (> 'grain'); adj. *-ḱerh₁/₃-ēs 'with nourishment'. IE cognates: Gr. κορέννυμι 'to satiate, feed', Lith. šérti, 1s. šeriù 'to feed'; OHG hirso, OS hirsi [m.] 'millet' < PGm. *χersja- < *ḱerh₁/₃-s-io- 'like grain'.

The spelling Cerus might reflect Cerrus, which would better match the Sabellic forms. Eichner (1993b: 84f.) reconstructs *ḱerh₁-ēs, *ḱerh₁esos, a poss.adj. of the type ψευδής, to a noun *ḱerh₁os '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 *ḱerh₁/₃- 'to feed' with *k⁽ʷ⁾reh₁- 'to grow' is difficult because of the schwebeablaut and the different semantics. Thus, Cerēs derives from *ḱerh₁/₃- 'to feed', while crēscō belongs to a different IE root.

Bibl.: WH I: 204, EM 116f., IEW 577, Schrijver 1991: 124, 432, Untermann 2000: 370, 386-390, Stüber 2002: 117, Hill 2006: 197-200, LIV *ḱerh₃-.

cernō, -ere 'to sift, distinguish, decide' [v. III; pf. crēvī, ppp. crētum] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: dēcernere 'to decide, determine' (Pl.+), dēcrētum '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' (Enn.+), sēcrētus 'separate, withdrawn, secret' (Pl.+); crīmen, -inis 'indictment, accusation' (Pl.+), crīmināre/ī 'to accuse' (Pl.+), crīminātor 'accuser' (Pl.+), discrīmen 'separating line, distinction' (Varro, Lucr.+), discrīmināre 'to divide up' (Varro+).

Plt. *krin-e/o-, ppp. *kritos.
PIE pr. *kr-n-i-, aor.(?) *krei- 'to sift, separate', ppp. *kri-to-; *(-)krei-mn [n.]. IE cognates: OIr. ar-a·chrin 'to perish' (< *'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. krijât 'skin', Ru. kroit', SCr. kròjiti 'to cut into pieces' < *kroih₁-.

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 crēvī, which he explains as analogical to lēvī, the pf. to linō. The ppp. crētus would be analogical to crēvī.

Bibl.: WH I: 205f., EM 115, IEW 938-947, Serbat 1975: 165f., Rasmussen 1989: 276f., Schrijver 1991: 407f., Seldeslachts 2001: 59-66, Schumacher 2004: 420f., LIV *kreh₁(i)-. → certus, crībrum

cernuus 'head foremost' [adj. o/ā] (Lucil.+)
Derivatives: cernuāre 'to fall head first' (Varro+).

Plt. *kēro-nowo-.

PIE *kerh₂-o- 'skull, head'. IE cognates: see s.v. *cerebrum*.

Explained by Nussbaum 1986 as *kerh₂o-noyo- 'inclining the head' > *kēronoyo- > *kērnoyo- > *cernuus*. The first member would be identical to YAv. *sāra-* 'head'.

Bibl.: WH I: 206, EM 116, IEW 574-577, Leumann 1977: 210, Nussbaum 1986: 111-114. → *cerebrum, -nuō*

certus 'fixed, certain' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *certāre* 'to contend for superiority' (Pl.+), *certāmen, -inis* 'competition, contest' (Pl.+), *certātim* 'with rivalry' (Pl.+), *certātiō* '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 *cernō*. 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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 205, EM 116, IEW 938-947, Leumann 1977: 548, Schrijver 1991: 407f., Meiser 1998: 80, LIV *kreh₁(i)-. → *cernō, cribrum*

cervīx, -īcis 'neck' [f. *k*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *incurvicervīcus* 'having the neck arched' (Pac.).

WH suggest original *kers-yeik-s 'head band' to *vincīre*, 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).

Bibl.: WH I: 207, EM 116, IEW 576.

cervus 'stag, deer' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *cerva* 'hind, doe' (Pl.+), *cervīnus* 'of a deer' (Varro+).

Plt. *ker(a)wo- 'horned animal, stag'.

PIE *ker(h₂)-uo- 'having horns'. IE cognates: W. *carw*, Bret. *karo* 'stag, deer' < *kr(h₂)uo-; CLuw. *zaryani(ia)-* [adj.] 'of a horn' < *kr-uen-, Hit. ⁽ˢᴵ⁾*karāyar / karaun-* 'horn, antlers'; Av. *sruuā-* 'horn, nail', Gr. κεραός 'horned'; OPr. *sirwis* 'roebuck' < *kr(H)u-, *curwis* 'ox', Lith. *kárvė* 'cow', OCS *krava* 'cow' < *korh₂-uh₂-.

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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 208, EM 117, IEW 576, Nussbaum 1986, Schrijver 1995: 73f. → *cerebrum, cernuus, cornu*

cēterus 'the rest, the other' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **etero-* 'other'. It. cognates: U. **etrama** [acc.sg. + *ad*] , *etru* [abl.sg.m.], **etre** [loc.sg.m/n.], **etraf** [acc.pl.f.], **etres** [abl.pl.ɲ/n.] 'second, other' < **etero-*.

PIE **h₁e-tero-* 'the other (of two)'. IE cognates: Av. *atāra-* 'this one (of two)', Alb. *jetër, tjetër* 'other', OCS *eterъ, jeterъ* '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 **h₁e-* 'this, here'.

Bibl.: WH I: 208f., EM 117, IEW 281-286, Untermann 2000: 242f. → *-ce, iterum*

ceu 'as, like' [ptcle.] (Enn.+)

PIt. **keiwe.*

PIE **ke* 'here' + **(h₁)i-ue* 'as'. IE cognates: Skt. *iva* 'like, as'.

WH assume **kei* 'here' + **ue* '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-ue* 'as'. With Watkins, we can posit a development **keiwe* > **keiw* > **kēw* > *ceu*. The development **-eiwV-* > **-īwV-* did not take place because of the early apocope of **-e*; compare *seu* next to *sīve*.

Bibl.: WH I: 209, EM 117, IEW 73-75, Watkins 1973b: 202-206, Leumann 1977: 64, Meiser 1998: 86. → *-ce, -ve*

cēveō 'to shake the hips' [v. II] (Mart.+)

PIE **keh₁u-eie/o-* 'to throw, shake'. IE cognates: OCS *kyvati*, Cz. *kývati*, Sln. *kívati* '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 209f., EM 117, IEW 595, Schrijver 1991: 288f., 449, LIV ?**keh₁u-*.

cibus 'food' [m. *o*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *cibārius* 'of food' (Pl.+), *cibātus, -ūs* 'food, fodder' (Pl.+).

A root structure **k-bʰ* is not allowed in PIE, whereas **b* is an exceedingly rare phoneme. Hence, a PIE etymology would have to start from a root **ki-*, with a suffix **-bʰ-*. No good match was found. It may very well be a loanword, for instance, from Gr. κίβος, κίβισις 'box, chest', as proposed by Thurneysen 1907 (cf. WH).

Bibl.: WH I: 210f., EM 118, Untermann 2000: 379.

cicāda 'cicada, cricket' [f. *ā*] (Lucr.+)

Probably an onomatopoeic formation, with reduplication. Compare *cicōnia* 'stork', a bird also characterized by its clappering sound. Maybe, but not necessarily, a loanword.

Bibl.: WH I: 211, EM 119. → *cicōnia*

cicātrīx, -īcis 'scar-tissue, cicatrice' [f. *k*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *cicātricōsus* 'scarred' (Pl.+).

Etymology unknown.
Bibl.: WH I: 211, EM 119, IEW 565, Leumann 1977: 377.

cicer, -eris 'chick-pea' [n. *r*] (Pl.+)
PIt. **kiker-*.
IE cognates: Gr. κίκερροι 'pale' (Hsch.); Arm. *sisern* 'chick-pea', Alb. *thjer* 'lentil'.
Alb. *thjer* might reflect **kikér-* (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. *sisern* 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.
Bibl.: WH I: 212, EM 119, IEW 598, Sihler 1995: 293.

cicōnia 'stork' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *cōnea* 'stork' (Pl. *Truc.* : 'Praenestinis *cōnea* est *cicōnia*').

Cannot be connected with *canere* 'to sing', unless via **kₒh₂n-*. 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. *śakura-* '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*, ppp. *citum*] (Pl.+; variant *ciō, -ere*)
Derivatives: *accīre* 'to summon' (Pl.+), *conciēre* 'to stir up' (Pl.+), *exciēre* '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.+), *sollicitātiō* 'vexation' (Ter.+).
PIt. pr. **ki-eje-?* aor. **kei-?* ppp. **kito-* 'stirred'.
PIE aor. **ḱ⁽ʰ⁾ei(h₂)-* 'to start to move', ppp. **ḱ⁽ʰ⁾i(h₂)-to-*. IE cognates: Gr. aor. ἔκιε 'started to move', κίατο 'they moved' (Hsch.), pr. κίνυμαι 'to be moved' < **ḱ⁽ʰ⁾ih₂-*.

The verb *-ciēre* 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 -*ī*- 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-ē-*.

   Bibl.: Sommer 1914: 509, 561, WH I: 213f., EM 119f., IEW 538f., Leumann 1977: 544, Schrijver 1991: 237f., Untermann 2000: 396, Meiser 2003: 228, LIV *k̑eih₂-.
→ *concinnō, cunctus*

cilium 'the eyelid' [n. *o*] (Plin.+)
   Derivatives: *supercilium* 'eyebrow' (Pl.+).
   PIt. *kel-jo-* [n.] 'eyelid'.
   PIE *k̑el-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*'.

   Bibl.: WH I: 214f., EM 120, IEW 553f., Leumann 1977: 294, LIV 1. *k̑el-* 'to hide'.
→ *cēlō, clam*

cīmex, -icis 'bed-bug' [m. *k*] (Andr.+)

For the suffix, cf. *culex, pūlex*. The etymological connection with IE words for 'black, dark-coloured' such as Skt. *śyává-* 'dark, black' < *k̑i̯eh₁-u̯ó-* (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.+), *cincticulus* '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. *śihitu anśihitu, sihitu ansihitu* [acc.pl.m.], *śihitir anśihitir, sihitir ansihitir, śitir anśihitir* [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. *káñcate* 'he ties', *kañcuka-* 'armour' do not help much, cf. EWAia III: 42-45: the words are attested at a late date, and present formal irregularities.
   Bibl.: WH I: 216f., EM 121, IEW 565, Sihler 1995: 534, Meiser 1998: 83.

cinis, -eris 'residue of fire, ashes, ashes of a dead person' [m. *r*] (Pl.+; sometimes f.)
Derivatives: *cinerārius* [m.] 'hair-dresser' (Lucil.+).
PIt. **kenis-* 'ashes'.
PIE **k̑/kon(H)-i-, *k̑/ken(H)-i-* 'residue of fire, ashes, dust'. IE cognates: Gr. κόνις, gen. -ιος, -εως (-εος) [f.] 'ashes, dust', κονίσαλος 'cloud of dust', κονίω '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.
Bibl.: WH I: 217f., EM 121, IEW 559f., Leumann 1977: 101, Sihler 1995: 308.

cippus 'boundary stone' [m. *o*] (Lucil.+; Mars., CIL 5: *Cei/p.apur( )finem*)
PIt. **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 *scīpiō* 'stick', later *cippus* is an instance of the *littera*-rule (see s.v. *cella*). Together with the *s*-variants, discussed under *scīpiō*, PIt. **keip̑-* can then go back to a noun **ke/oip-o-* 'pole, stick'.
Bibl.: WH I: 219, EM 122, IEW 543, Leumann 1977: 183. → *scīpiō*

circus 'circle; circus' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *circum* [prep.] 'round about, near' (Pl.+), *circā* [prep.] 'round, about' (Lex Repetund.), *circiter* [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. κρίκος 'ring', also κίρκος (Hell.), κιρκόω '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.
Bibl.: WH I: 220f., EM 122, IEW 935-938, Untermann 2000: 419.

cis 'before, within; on this side of' [prep.] (+ acc.) (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *citer* 'nearer' (Cato), *citerior* 'nearer, earlier' (Cic.+), *citimus* 'nearest' (Cic.+), *citrā* [prep. + acc.] 'on this side of' (Lucr.+), *citrō* [adv.] 'to this side; on both sides' (Cato+).
PIt. **ki* 'here, by', **ki-tero-*. It. cognates: U. *çimu, śimo* [adv.] 'back' < **ki-mo-* 'on this side', U. *çive* 'outside, in front' < loc.sg. of **ki̯o-*. Theoretically, a preform **keim/i̯o-* is also possible.

PIE *ḱi 'this here'. IE cognates: Hit. kā- / kū- / ki-, Pal. kā- 'this', kijat 'here', CLuw. zā- /zi- 'this' < PIE *ḱo-, *ḱi-, OPr. schis, Lith. šìs, OCS sь 'this'; Go. himma 'to this', hina 'this' [acc.], Go. hidrē 'hitheṛ'.

The older system is cis – citer (citrō) – 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 *ḱi is a variant of *ḱe 'here, this', as represented in Latin by -ce. For the IE background, see Kortlandt 1983b.

Bibl.: WH I: 222, EM 123, IEW 609f., Leumann 1977: 317f., Untermann 2000: 397ff. → -ce, ceu, cedō

citrus 'citron-tree (citrus medica cedra); African tree (thuia articulata)' [f. o] (Varro+)

Derivatives: citrum 'the wood of the citron-tree' (Cato+), citrōsus '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 223, EM 124, Leumann 1977: 198.

cīvis 'citizen' [m., f. i] (Lex XII+ (ceivis), Pl.+)

Derivatives: cīvicus 'of one's town; civil' (Pl.+), cīvīlis 'of the citizens, civil' (Lucr.+), cīvitās 'an organized community, state' (Pl.+).

PIt. *keiwi- 'society'. It. cognates: O. ceus [nom.sg.] 'citizen'.

PIE *ḱei-uo- 'friendly, intimate, dear'. IE cognates: Skt. śivá- 'favourable', Latv. sìeva 'wife', Go. heiwa-frauja 'master of the household', OE hīwan [pl.] 'members of the household', OHG hīwo 'husband', OIc. hýski 'household, family'.

O. ceus was probably borrowed from Latin *cēvis before this became cīvis; 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. *ḱei-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. cīvis resulted from the singulative use of the abstract, as in optiō [f.] 'choice' > [m.] 'assistant'. The IE root behind this formation is often assumed to be *ḱei- 'to lie', but this is semantically difficult. Vine 2006b: 148 embroiders on an earlier suggestion by Bader: he proposes a derivative in *-uo- from the pronominal stem *ḱi- 'this (here)' (> Skt. śivá-), with full grade *ḱeiuo- 'close'.

Bibl.: WH I: 224, EM 124, IEW 540, Untermann 2000: 395, LIV *ḱei-.

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. *śraddhā́-* 'trust, belief' < **kred-dʰeh₁-*. In view of the circumflex accentuation of Lithuanian nouns in *-dė̃*, 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-*. → *-cellō* (2), *calamitās*

clam 'secretly' [adv.] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *clandestīnus* 'done in secret' (Pl.+), *clanculum* 'secretly' (Pl.+).

PIt. **klām*.

PIE **kl-eh₂-* 'concealment'.

For the suffix, cf. *palam, cōram. Clanculum* is a dim. in *-culum* directly built on *clam* (cf. *plūsculum*). *Clandestīnus* 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 **kelh₁-*, 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-*. → *cella, cēlāre, color, occulō*

clāmō, -āre 'to shout' [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *clāmor* 'shout, cry' (Pl.+, *clamōs* Enn. Lucr.); *clāmitāre* 'to shout repeatedly' (Pl.+), *clāmitātiō* 'shouting' (Pl.); *exclāmāre* 'to cry out' (Pl.+), *inclāmāre* 'to call out to' (Pl.+), *reclāmāre* 'to call out in response' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **klām-o/ā-* 'shout(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-*. → *calendae; calō; clārus*

clārus 'loud, sonorous; bright, shining, clear' [adj. *o/ā*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *clārēre* 'to shine brightly' (Enn.+), *clārēscere* 'to become loud or clear'

(Lucr.+); *clāritūdō* 'fame; brightness' (Cato+); *clārāre* 'to make clear' (Enn.+), *dēclārāre* 'to make known' (Lucr.+); *praeclārus* 'outstandingly bright' (Lucil.+).

PIt. **klāro-* 'loud' > 'clear'.

PIE **klh₁-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 **kleh₁-*. → *calendae; calō; clāmō*

classis '(social) class; levy; fleet' [f. *i*] (Andr.+)
Derivatives: *classicus* 'of the highest class; of the fleet' (Cato+).
PIt. **klāssi-* 'call-out, appeal'.
PIE **klh₁-d⁽ʰ⁾-ti-* 'a call'

EM regard 'roll-call, appeal' as the oldest meaning. The word has been connected with Gr. κέλαδος '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 **clāssis* > *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 **kelh₁-*. → *calō*

claudō, -ere 'to close' [v. III; 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.+), *exclūsiō* 'debarring' (Ter.+), *inclūdere* 'to insert, shut up' (Varro+), *interclūdere* 'to block, cut off' (Pl.+), *occlūdere* 'to block access, to stop' (Pl.+), *reclūdere* 'to open' (Pl.+).
PIt. **klaud-e/o-*.
PIE **kleh₂u-d-* 'to shut'. IE cognates: see *clāvis*.

Note that the simplex does not yet occur in Plautus, but some compounds do. Lat. *claustrum* < **klaud-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 **klāw-*. But *claudere* may also reflect **klaud-* < **kleh₂u-d-*, in which case it would be rather close to OHG *sliozan* 'to shut' < **skleud-*. Obviously, the Gm. verb must have a secondary *e*-grade. I prefer the second, verbal solution for *claudere*.

Bibl.: WH I: 229f., EM 126, IEW 604, Leumann 1977: 97, Schrijver 1991: 175, LIV ?**kleu̯H-*. → *clāvis, clāvus*

claudus 'lame, limping' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+ also *clōdus*)
Derivatives: *claudēre* 'to limp' (Caecil.+), *claudicāre* 'to be lame' (Pl.+).

The etymology is uncertain. Many scholars have tried to connect *claudus* with *clāvis*

'bar' and *clāva* 'club, staff', as 'he who goes with a staff' or 'he who has a hook, is hampered'. In that case, *claudus* may reflect **klāwidos* < **klāw-* + *-ibo-*. Yet adj. in *-idus* are usually derived from verbs (which is unlikely here), or from nouns, in which case they indicate that someone or something is (like) the basic word. But a 'lame' person is not 'stick-like', at most, he 'walks with a stick'.

Bibl.: WH I: 231, EM 126, IEW 604, Nussbaum 1999a.

clāvis 'door-key, bar' [f. *i*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *conclāve* [n.] 'a room' (Pl.+).
PIt. **klāwi-* 'bar, bolt'.
PIE **kleh₂u-* 'to close'. IE cognates: Myc. *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* /κλαϝι-φόρος/, Gr. ep. Ion. κλῄς, -ῖδος 'bar, bolt', Dor. κλᾱΐς, Att. κλείς, κλειδός < PGr. **klāϝī-* based on a noun **klāu(o)-*. Denominative pr. κλείω, Old Attic κλῄω, Hdt. κλῃΐω 'to shut' < **κλᾱϝ-ie-*. SCr. *kljúč* 'hook, seedling, key', gen.sg. *kljúča* [m.], Ru. *kljúč'* 'key', SCr. *kljúka* 'hook, door-knob' [f.], Ru. *kljuká* 'walking-stick' < **kleh₂u-k-*; Lith. *kliúti*, 3s. *kliū̃va* 'to brush against, be caught in, obstruct' < klh₂u-; OHG *sliozan* 'to shut', *sluzzil* 'key', *sloz* 'lock' < **skleu-d-*. Maybe here also OIc. *hljóta*, OE *hlēotan* 'to ballot for, toss', Go. *hlauts* 'fate, inheritance' < **kleud-*, **kloud-*.

The oldest reconstructible form in Greek is **klāu-*; if we assume that this was the basic form in Italic too, we can explain why Latin derived both an *i*-stem (*clāvis*) and an *o*-stem (*clāvus*) from it. The **ā* of Latin and Greek, together with the acute accent of the Slavic forms, points to **kleh₂u-*. In Germanic, if the forms are cognate, we find a root enlargement **-d-*, as well as *s*-mobile. The *e*-grade in *sliozan* must be secondary if the root was **klh₂d-*, and the same goes for Slavic (**kleuh₂-k-* << **kluh₂-* < **klh₂u-*). The Gm. *d*-enlargement would match Latin *claudere*.

Bibl.: WH I: 229f., EM 125, IEW 604, Schrijver 1991: 175, LIV ?*kleuH-. → *claudō*, *clāvus*

clāvus 'nail, peg' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *clāva* 'wooden club, staff' (Pl.+), *clāvātor* 'one who fights with a club' (Pl.+), *clāvula* 'graft, cutting' (Varro), *clāvulus* 'small nail' (Cato+).
PIt. **klāwo-* 'closing, barring'. It. cognates: possibly U. **klavlaf** [acc.pl.], **klavles** [abl.pl.] 'sacrificial instrument' < **klauVlā-*.
PIE **kleh₂u-* 'to close'. IE cognates: see *clāvis*.

Clāvus derives from the same nominal basis as *clāvis*. Since we also find Lat. *clāva* 'wooden club', the PIt. form **klāwo-* may have been an adj. 'which closes off'.
Bibl.: WH I: 229f., EM 125, IEW 604, Schrijver 1991: 175, Untermann 2000: 399f., LIV ?*kleuH-. → *claudō*, *clāvis*

clēmēns, -tis 'mild, lenient' [adj. *nt*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *clēmentia* 'clemency' (Ter.+), *inclēmenter* 'rudely' (Pl.+).
WH adopt an earlier suggestion by Bréal and Osthoff, positing **klejomenos* 'leaning' > **klēmenos* > **klēmens*, with analogical shift to *nt*-inflection. Yet the contraction in initial syllable of **ejo* > *ē* 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 **kloi-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 *ī* (as in *clīvus*), but in front of **-wo-*, it remained at a stage **ē*, cf. *deus* < **dēos* < **dēwos* < **deiu̯os* 'god'. Thus also *oleum*, *balneum*. But the examples of shortening of **ę̄* > *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 **klę̄woment* > **klę̄wiment* > **klīwiment-* > **clīment-*. An ad hoc solution to our problem might be an analogical remodelling of **clīment-* into *clēment-* on the example of *vēment-*. If the reduction of medial vowels occurred after *w*-loss, the result might have been **klę̄woment-* > **klę̄oment-*. The outcome of the latter is uncertain, but contraction to *ē* in the first syllable seems possible (cf. *dēgō* < **dē-agō*).

Bibl.: WH I: 231f., 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.

PIt. **klep-e/o-* 'to steal', **kolpo-* 'thief'. It. cognates: O. **kulupu** [gen.pl.] < **kolpo-* 'thief' (Rix 2002b: 424ff.).

PIE **klep-e/o-*, **kolp-o-* 'thief'. IE cognates: MIr. *cluain* 'deceit', Gr. κλέπτω 'to steal', κλέπος [n.], κλέπτης [m.] 'thief', κλοπή 'theft, secret act', ἐπί-κλοπος 'deceitful', κλοπός, κλώψ 'thief', OPr. *auklipts* 'hidden', Go. *hlifan* 'steal', ToB sb. *kälypi-* 'steal'.

· Bibl.: WH I: 232, EM 127, IEW 604, LIV **klep-.

cliēns, -tis 'client, vassal' [m., f. *nt*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *clienta* [f.] 'female dependant' (Pl.+), *clientēla* 'clientship' (Ter.+).

PIt. **klient-* 'who supports' or 'who depends'.

PIE **ḱli-ent-* 'who leans'. IE cognates: Skt. aor. *áśret* 'leaned', YAv. *ni-srīta* 'is handed over', Skt. *śrayate* 'to lean', Alb. *fle* 'to sleep' (< **ḱloi-eie-?*), Lith. *šlieti*, 3s. *šlieja* 'to lean, rest (against)', *šliẽti*, 3s. *šliẽja* 'id.', Latv. *sliet*, 1s. *slienu* 'to support, erect, (-tiês) lean' < **ḱlei-*.

PIE **ḱli-ent-* is in origin an act. ptc. of the root aorist **ḱlei-/*ḱli-* 'to lean'.

Bibl.: WH I: 233, EM 127, IEW 600ff., Meiser 1998: 183, LIV **ḱlei̯-. → *-clīnō*, *clītella*, *clīvus*

clingō, -ere 'to gird / close' [v. III?] (hapax legomenon: Paul. *ex F.* 'clingere, cingere, a Graeco κυκλοῦν dici manifestum est')

PIt. **kleng-e/o-?*

IE cognates: Lith. *klénkti* 'to walk with difficulty', Latv. *klencêt* 'to hobble', OCS *klęčęšta* [nom.du.] 'kneeling', SCr. *kléčati* 'to kneel' < **klenk-*; OHG *lenk**, *lenc**

'left' < *kleng-o-, OE hlanc [adj.] 'slim' < *klong-o-, Olc. hlekkr [m. i] 'chain, ring', OE hlénce [f. n] 'armour' < *klong-i-, OHG lanka*, lanca, hlanka* 'kidney, loin, hip', OE flanc [m.] 'flank'.

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-tro- 'girdle' (?) is cognate.

Bibl.: WH I: 233f., EM 127, IEW 603. → U. krenkatrum

-clīnō, -āre 'bend' [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: dēclīnāre 'to deflect, divert' (Pl.+), inclīnāre 'to cause to lean, bend downwards' (Pl.+), reclīnāre 'to cause to lie back' (Varro+); triclīnium 'dining-room' (Naev.+); clīnāmen 'a turning aside' (Lucr.).

PIt. *kl(e)in-e/o-.

PIE *ḱl-n(e)-i- 'to lean to, bend' (often replaced by *kli-n-). IE cognates: YAv. -sirinaoiti 'leans', Gr. κλίνω, Lesb. κλίννω 'to cause to lean' < PGr. *klin-i-e/o-, OHG hlinēn, OE hlinian 'to lean'.

Lat. triclīnium is a calque on Gr. τρίκλῑνον 'dining-room with three couches' (thus WH). Lat. -clīnāre can be derived from the PIE nasal present *kli-n- 'to lean'; cp. -nāre next to a simplex in *-nere corresponds to a pattern found in other verbs too, e.g. spernere – aspernārī. The long vowel in -clīn- may have been introduced from the root aorist *klei- / *kli- (cf. cliēns).

Bibl.: WH I: 234f., EM 127f., IEW 600ff., Seldeslachts 2001: 67-74, Praust 2004, LIV *klei-. → cliēns, clītella, clīvus

clipeus 'round shield' [m., n. o] (Pl.+; also clupeus)

Derivatives: cli/upeātus 'armed with a shield' (Pl.+), cli/upeāre '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 clipeus, however, remains unknown.

Bibl.: WH I: 235f., EM 128, Leumann 1977: 89.

clītellae 'pack-saddle' [f.pl. ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: clītellārius 'used for carrying a pack-saddle' (Pl.+).

PIt. *kleitrā- 'support'. It. cognates: U. kletram [acc.sg.], kletra [abl.sg.] 'portable litter, seat' for the icons of the divinities (M. Weiss, fthc.b).

PIE *ḱlei-tro/h₂- 'instrument for leaning, supporting'. IE cognates: MIr. clithar 'shelter', Go. hleiþra 'tent' < *-tro-; OHG (h)leitara, OE hlǣd(d)er 'ladder' < *-dʰro-.

Lat. clītella < *klei-tre-la, the Latin diminutive of PIt. *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.

Bibl.: WH I: 236, EM 128, IEW 600ff., Leumann 1977: 313, Untermann 2000: 400f., LIV *klei-. → cliēns, -clīnō, clīvus

clīvus 'hill, slope, declivity' [m. *o*] (Pl.+; *clīva* [n.pl.] Cato)

Derivatives: *clīvius* 'bad, ominous' (Paul. *ex F.*, Plin.); *acclīvis* 'sloping upwards' (Lucil.+); *prōclīve* [n.] 'downward slope'‚ (Naev.+), *prōclīvis* 'sloping down' (Pl.+), *prōclīvus* 'sloping down' (Naev.+).

PIt. **kle/oiwo-*.

PIE **k̑loi-uo-* 'slope, hill' or **k̑lei-u̯o-* 'sloping'. IE cognates: Lith. *šleĩvas* 'bow-legged', Go. *hlaiw*, Old Norse *hlaiwa*, OHG OS *hlēo* 'grave mound'.

Lat. *clīvius* was used in the religious practice of auspicies (*auguria clīvia* Paul. *ex F.*) and referred to birds (*avis clīvia* 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 127f., IEW 600ff., LIV **k̑lei̯-*. → *cliēns, -clīnō, clītella*

cloāca 'sewer, underground drainage' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+; *clouāca* Varro, inscr.)

Derivatives: *Cloācīna* 'cult-title of Venus' ('the Purifier?) (Pl.+), *cluere* 'to purify' (1x Plin.), *cloāre* 'purify' (Ix Serv.).

PIt. **klowā-*.

PIE **k̑leuH-o-* 'clean'. IE cognates: W. *clir* 'clean' < **k̑luH-ro-*, Gr. κλύζω 'to wash' < **k̑lu-d-*, Lith. *šlúoti* 'to sweep', *šlúota* 'broom' < **k̑leh₃u-tei* or **(ke-)kloH-tei*, Go. *hlūtrs* 'clean' < **k̑luH-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-eh₂-ie/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 **clowā-*, the noun *cloāca* 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 **cluwere* < **klowere* < **k̑leuH-e/o-*. For the root, Derksen (fthc.) reconstructs **k̑lh₃-u-*, whereas Rasmussen posits **k̑leh₁-u-*. 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 **kluH-* < **klHu-C-*. The short vowel of Greek κλύζω remains unexplained under any account.

Bibl.: WH I: 237, 239f., EM 128, IEW 607, Leumann 1977: 99, Rasmussen 1989: 71, Schrijver 1991: 394, 447f., Rix 1999: 519, LIV **k̑leu̯H-*.

clueō 'to be known' [v. II] (Pl.+; *cluere* only Sen.)

Derivatives: *inclitus, inclutus* 'famous, renowned' (Naev.+).

PIt. **klu-ē-* 'to be known', **klu-to-* 'known'. It. cognates: SPic. **kduíú** [1s.pr.] '1 am called' < **k̑lu-ē-ō*.

PIE **k̑l(é)u-* [aor.] 'to hear', **klu-to-* 'known'. IE cognates: Skt. aor. *ásrot* 'heard', OAv. *sraotū* 'must hear', Gr. aor. κλῦτε 'hear!', them. ἔκλυον, Latv. *sluv, sluvêt* 'to become known', OCS *sluti, 1s. slovǫ* 'to count as, be called'; nasal pr. OIr. *ro·cluinethar*, Skt. *śṛṇóti* 'hears', YAv. *surunaoiti*, ToB *kalnem*, ToA *kälniñc* 'to resound'. Ppp. OIr. *cloth* [n.] 'fame', Skt. *śrutá-*, Av. *srūta-*, Gr. κλυτός 'known, famed', Arm. *low* 'known', OHG *Hlot-* in names.

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 *-ē*-present, but this is probably an independent innovation. The use of *in-* in *inclutus* probably indicates intensification of the sound, as in *increpāre* and *insonāre*.

Bibl.: WH I: 237ff., EM 129, IEW 605ff., Leumann 1977: 80, Untermann 2000: 378, LIV *kleu̯-.

clūnis 'buttocks, haunch (of animals)' [m.f. *i*] (Pl.+)

PIt. *klouni-.

PIE *klou-ni- 'hip, buttock'. IE cognates: W. *clun* 'haunch', Skt. *śróni-* 'buttock, hip, loin', Av. *sraoni-* 'id.', Lith. *šlaunìs* 'haunch, hip', OIc. *hlaun* 'buttocks, loin'. Maybe Gr. κλόνις 'haunch'; it cannot continue *kloun-, but is often assumed to have undergone contamination with κλόνος 'excitement'. This is an imaginative hypothesis, but rather gratuitous.

The morphological formation of *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*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *cohortārī* 'to exhort, encourage' (Cato+).

PIt. *kom + *ɣorti-.

PIE *ǵʰr-ti- 'enclosure' or 'bundle'. IE cognates: Skt. *hárati* 'takes, brings'.

Cohors looks like a *ti*-derivative to a verbal root, possibly to PIE *ǵʰer- 'to take, grab', maybe even a compound *kom-ǵʰer-.

Bibl.: WH I: 242f., EM 131, IEW 442f., Leumann 1977: 345, LIV ?2.*ǵʰer-. → *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: *cohum* 'vault of the sky' (Enn.); *incohāre* 'to start making' (Enn.+), *incohātus* 'unfinished, only begun' (Pl.+).

PIt. *koɣo- 'hole' or 'tie, juncture'. It. cognates: O. **kahad** [3s.pr.cj.], κακας [2s.pr.cj.?] maybe 'to take' < *kagʰ-? U. *cehefi* [inf.ps.], **kukehes** [com + 2 or 3s.fut.] 'to take/get' < *kaɣ-je- (M. Weiss, p.c.).

IE cognates: Gaul. *caii* 'fence', OBret. *caiou* [pl.] 'stockade', W. *cae* 'fence, collar, Co. *kē* 'fence'; OHG *hag* 'hedge, fence', OE *haga* 'fence, garden'.

The word *cohum, 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 *cohibēre*. It has been derived from *coyom* '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 *kaχ- 'to take', only *khₐgʰ- 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 243f., EM 131, 314, IEW 518, Rix 1976, Schrijver 1991: 441, Untermann 2000: 362, 380f., LIV *⁽ḱ⁾agʰ-. → *caulae*

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 *instīgō*; 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 heave 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: *collīnus* 'belonging to hills' (Varro+).

PIt. *kolni-.

PIE *kolH-n- 'hill'. IE cognates: Gr. κολώνη 'hill', also κολωνός (*Hymn to Ceres*+) < *kolH-ōn-o/hₓ-, Lith. *kálnas* 'hill', Latv. *kaĩns* 'mountain' < *kolHno-, Lith. *kalvà* [f.] 'small hill', Latv. *kalva* 'hill, island in a river'; Go. *hallus* 'rock' < *kolH-nu-, OE *hyll* 'hill' < *klH-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 *kolH-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, *kolHni- 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 *kol(H)u̯-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 *kolH-u̯-) render the traditional etymology more likely.

Bibl.: WH I: 245, EM 132, IEW 544, Schrijver 1991: 326, Nussbaum 1997: 195, LIV *kelH- 'to tower'. → -*cellō 1*, *columen*

collus 'neck (of men and animals)' [m. *o*] (Naev.+; *collum* Cic.+)
Derivatives: *collāre* [n.] 'neck-band, collar' (Pl.+).
PIE *k^(w)ol(H)s/no- 'neck'. IE cognates: Go. *hals* 'neck', OHG *hals*, OIc. *hals*.

The word for 'neck' may derive from 'wheel', as is shown by Lith. *kãklas* 'neck', Latv. *kakls* 'neck, throat' < PIE *k^wo-k^wl-o- 'wheel' to the PIE root *k^wel(H)- 'to turn'. Since Latin -*ll*- may reflect *-*ls*-, *collus* could go back to a thematized derivative *k^we/ol-s-o- of the *s*-stem for 'wheel' attested in Slavic: OCS *kolo* [n.], gen.sg. *kolese*, Ru. *koleso* 'wheel' < PIE *k^wol(H)-es-. Go. *hals* is also often derived from PIE *k^wel(H)- 'to move, turn', but it is uncertain whether *k^wo- was regularly unrounded to *ha- in Germanic; it seems safer to reconstruct only *kolso-. The Gm. word could still be related to Lat. *collus*, but in that case the derivation of *collus* from *k^wel(H)- must be given up. MIr. *coll* 'head, chief' could simply be an abridged form of Lat. *collus* (LEIA C-158).
Bibl.: WH I: 245, EM 132, IEW 639f., Meiser 1998: 116.

colō, -ere 'to live in, inhabit; to take care of, honour' [v. III; pf. *coluī*, ppp. *cultum*] (Naev.+)
Derivatives: *colōnus* 'cultivator, farmer; colonist' (Cato+), *colōnia* 'settlement, colony' (Pl.+), *colōnicus* 'of a colony' (Varro+); *incultus* 'not cultivated' (Pl.+); *cultor* 'inhabitant, cultivator' (Pl.+), *cultus, -ūs* 'habitation; cultivation' (Pl.+), *cultūra* 'cultivation, care' (Cato+); *accolere* '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.+); *inquilīnus* 'inmate, lodger' (Cic.+). Maybe *Exquiliae* 'one of the hills of Rome' (Varro+).
Plt. *k^wele/o- [pr.], *k^wolō-no-? It. cognates: U. **ařpeltu** [3s.ipv.II]?
PIE *k^welh₁-e/o- 'to go round'. IE cognates: Skt. *cárati*, Av. *cara-* 'to move, walk', Gr. πέλομαι 'to move (intr.)', Cret. τέλομαι 'I will be', ἀμφιπέλομαι 'to surround', Alb. *sjell* 'turn, bring' < *k^wel-e/o-; Gr. τέλος [n.] 'goal', Lith. *kelỹs* 'knee' < *k^wel-; OCS *kolěno* 'knee, descent', OCS *kolo*, gen.sg. *kolese* 'wheel' < *k^wol-es- [n.].

The change of *e to *o was conditioned by initial *k^w- 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 -*lC*-. If *inquilīnus* (which is not attested before Cicero) is to be trusted, it probably shows the developement *-k^we- > *-k^wi- (no change to *-k^wo- 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 antonymical 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. *k^wolh₁-oh₁ 'with cultivation', i.e. from an earlier action noun *k^wólh₁-o- 'going round'. The agent noun *k^wolh₁-ó- is represented in Latin *anculus*.
Bibl.: WH I: 245ff., EM 132f., IEW 639f., Leumann 1977: 86f., 323, Untermann 2000: 52f., LIV *k^welh₁- 'turn'. → *anculus*

color 'colour' [m. *r*] (Pl.+; nom.sg. *colōs* Pl.+)
Derivatives: *colōrāre* 'to give colour' (Cato+).
PIt. **kelōs-* [m.] 'outside, aspect'.　₁
PIE **k̑el-ōs*, acc.sg. -os-m 'cover, covering'. IE cognates: Skt. *śáras-* 'skin on milk', OHG *hulis(a)* 'hull, shell', MHG *hulst* 'cover'.

Latin **kelōs* is an animate collective, built to an *s*-stem PIE **k̑el-os-* 'cover'. This might be directly preserved in Skt. *śáras-*, although this is semantically not compelling (cf. Stüber). Germ. **χulisjō-* has also been derived from the PIE *s*-stem. In Latin, the word shifted its semantics from 'covering' to 'colour' (cf. Skt. *várṇa-*).
Bibl.: WH I: 247, EM 133, IEW 553f., Nussbaum 1999a: 387, Stüber 2002: 116, LIV 1.**k̑el-*. → *cēlāre, cella, occulere, clam*

colubra 'snake, serpent' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *colubrīnus* 'snake-like' (Pl.+), *coluber, -brī* 'snake' (Verg.+).
PIt. **kolos-ro-*?

WH and IEW propose a preform **(s)kelo-dʰro-* 'winding itself', whereas EM consider *colubra* a possible loanword from Gr. χέλυδρος 'amphibious serpent' (Nicander, *Th.*411). The etymology with the suffix **-dʰro-* 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' < **k̑ʷelh₁-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 **k̑ʷelh₁-os-* existed beside it, which is unwarranted – but not impossible, cf. Slavic *kolo* 'wheel' (<< **k̑ʷolh₁-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, *ō* would be a non-urban monophthongization of *au*, but it seems strange that *au* is not once attested in *cōlum*. Since Lat. *quālum* '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. *gelumbė* 'cloth', OCS *golǫbь* 'pigeon,

dove', Ru. *gólub'* 'id.'; Ru. *golubój* 'pale blue'. Further removed in meaning is Gr. κόλυμβος 'small diver'.

The BSl. 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 **palēs* (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.+).

PIt. **kelamen-*.

PIE **kelH-men-* 'top, summit'. IE cognates: OS *holm* 'hill', NHG *Holm*, OE *holm* 'island', OIc. *holmr, holmi* 'small island' < **χulma-* < **klH-mo-*.

Lat. *culmen* arose in the foursyllabic oblique case-forms: nom. **kelamen*, gen. **kelamenos* > **kolamen*, **kolamenos* > **koləmen*, **kolmenos* > *columen, *culminis*. On the basis of the oblique forms, a new nom.sg. *culmen* was then created. But it seems difficult to derive *columna* from *columen* by any normal process. WH reconstruct '**kel-o-meno-* '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 **kʷelH-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).

Bibl.: WH I: 249f., EM 134, IEW 544, Schrijver 1991: 326f., LIV **kelH-*. → *-cellō 1, collis*

colus, -ī/-ūs 'distaff' [m./f. *o/u*] (Pl.+)

It. cognates: **kʷelu-*.

PIE **kʷelh₁-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.

Bibl.: WH I: 250, EM 134f., IEW 639f., Schrijver 1991: 469, LIV **kʷelh₁-* 'turn'. → *colō, colubra*

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 *color* '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/j/f/v*-, *con-* [*koŋ*-] before *c/qu/g*-, *cor-* before *r*-, *col-* before *l*-, *co*- before vowels and *h*-.

    Plt. **kom*. It. cognates: U. **kum-, ku-,** *com-, co-*, O. **kúm-,** *com-*, Vol. *co-* 'to, together, with'; prepos. O. *com, con*, U. *com* + abl. 'with', postpos. U. **-kum, -ku,** -*com, -co* 'at'.

    PIE **ḱom* 'with' (+ ins.). IE cognates: OIr. *con-* 'with', pref. Gaul. *com-*, OIr. *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 **ḱom*, 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 *sъ-* 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*.

    Bibl.: WH I: 251f., EM 156, IEW 612f., Leumann 1977: 137, 226, 559, Schrijver 1991: 82, Rosén 1992, Untermann 2000: 409ff. → *contrā, cūria*

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 MoIr. *cuinneog*, Gael. *contrán* 'Angelica silvestris', Lith. pl. *šveñdrai* 'reed, reed-mace, Typha latifolia', MoDan. *quander* 'Angelica silvestris', OIc. *hvǫnn* '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.

    Bibl.: WH I: 253, EM 135, IEW 631, Heiermeier 1980.

comes, -itis 'companion' [m. *t*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *comitium* (Lex XII+), pl. *comitia* 'people's assembly' (Pl.+), *comitārī* 'to accompany, attend' (Lucr.+), *comitiālis* 'of the comitia' (Pl.+), *comitiātus, -ūs* 'an assembly of the people' (Lex XII+), *incomitiāre* 'to revile, abuse' (Pl.+).

PIt. **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 *t*-stem nouns.

Bibl.: WH I: 253, EM 135, IEW 293ff., Leumann 1977: 94, 275, Lindner 2002: 225, LIV **h₁ei-*. → *eō, pedes*

cōmis 'kind' [adj. *i*] (Naev.+; Duenos inscription *cosmis*)

Derivatives: *cōmitās* 'friendliness' (Pl.+).

PIt. **kom-smi-?*

PIE **smi-* 'smile'? IE cognates: Skt. *smáyate* 'smiles', Gr. φιλο-μμειδής 'who likes to laugh', Latv. *smiêt* 'to laugh', OCS *smijati sę*, ToB *smiyäṃ* '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. *cosmis* from a verb **ko-smei-* '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 254, EM 135, IEW 967f., Meiser 1998: 4, 112, LIV **smei-*.

concinnus 'set in order, neat' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *concinnāre* 'to make ready, make into' (Naev.+), *exconcinnāre* 'to embellish' (Pl.+), *rēconcinnāre* 'to refurbish' (Pl.+), *cinnus/m* 'grimace' (Sen.).

PIt. **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-kīnno-* > *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)eih₂-. → caedō, cieō

condiō, -īre 'to season, flavour (food)' [v. IV] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *condīmentum* (Pl.+) 'seasoning, condiment', *condītiō* 'method of preserving (food)' (Varro+), *condītīvus* 'suitable for preserving' (Cato+).

Probably a derivation from *condere* 'to put; store up (e.g. food)' (see s.v. -*dō*, -*dere*) by analogy with another verb in -*īre* (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, -ūs* 'a wink' (Caecil.+).

PIt. *kneiχʷ-ē-* 'to blink', or 'to draw together (the eyes)', *knikto-*. It. cognates: uncertain U. **kunikaz**, *conegos* [ppp., nom.sg.m.] '?' ('kneeling'?) < *kom-nigā-tos*.

IE cognates: Go. *hneiwan*, OHG *nīgan* 'to bow, be inclined', caus. Go. *hnaiwjan* 'to humiliate', OHG *neigen*.

Cōnīvēre shows a phonetic development *kom-kn-* > *koŋχn-* > *koχn-* > *cōn-*, cf. Leumann 1977: 218. *Nictāre* is a frequentative built on the ppp. *nikto-*. 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'.

Bibl.: Sommer 1914: 265, WH I: 260, II: 166, EM 137f., 440, IEW 608, Leumann 1977: 188, 218, Meiser 1986: 88, Sihler 1995: 163, de Vaan 1999: 12, 21, Untermann 2000: 417, LIV *Kneigᵘʰ-. → *nītor*

cōnor, -ārī 'to make an effort, attempt' [v. I; ppp. *conātum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *cōnātus, -ūs* 'effort, attempt' (Ter.+), *cōnāmen* 'effort' (Lucr.+).

PIt. *kōnāje/o-* 'to attempt'.

PIE *kōn-* 'ascent'? IE cognates: MW *di-gawn, di-chawn* 'works; is able', Av. *āsənaoiti* 'ascends', *sanat* 'ascended', Gr. ἐγ-κονέω 'to be quick and active', διάκονος 'servant', Arm. med. *snaw* 'was raised', SCr. *kániti* 'to intend'.

LIV reconstructs PIE *kónh₁-ie-*, adopting a specific type of presents posited by Klingenschmitt 1978. In my view, the existence of this type is unwarranted. Isebaert reconstructs *kōn-eh₂ie-*, 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, *kon-o-* >> *kōn-o-* [adj.] >> *kōn-eh₂-ie-* [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 *k̑ōn- 'ascent' > 'effort, attempt', with regular development of a long vowel in the monosyllabic nom.sg.

Bibl.: WH I: 262, EM 138, IEW 564, Tucker 1990: 226ff., Sihler 1995: 528, Tremblay 1998, Isebaert 1992: 205, LIV *kenh₁-, *k̑en-.

conquinīscō, -ere 'to crouch down' [v. III; pf. conquēxī] (Pl., Pompon.)
Derivatives: ocquinīscere 'to bend over before someone' (Pompon.).

The pf. -quēx- contains an original long vowel, since short *kʷeks- would yield *-cox-. From a stem *kʷeg-, we can explain the present via *-kʷeg-no- > *-kʷigno- > *-quīno-, remade into -quinīscō. That is, if -quī- has long ī, 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 *k̑u̯eit-, *k̑u̯enk-.

cōnsulō, -ere 'to consult' [v. III; pf. cōnsuluī, ppp. cōnsultum; SCBac. co[n.]soleretur, consoluerunt] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: cōnsul, -is 'consul, magistrate' (Naev.+, Elog.Scip. consol); cōnsilium 'debate, advice' (Pl.+), cōnsiliārius [adj.] 'advising' (Pl.+), cōnsiliōsus 'instructive' (Cato apud Gell.+); cōnsultum, 'decision, decree' (Pl.+), incōnsultus 'thoughtless, rash' (Pl.+), incōnsultus, -ūs 'lack of consultation' (Pl.); cōnsultāre 'to deliberate, consult' (Pl.+), cōnsultātiō 'deliberation consultation' (Pl.+).

PIt. *kom-se/ol-e/o- 'to consult', *kom-sel- [m.] 'advisor'.

PIE *s(e)lh₁-e/o- 'to take'. IE cognates: OIr. ad·roilli, do·sli 'to earn', MW dyrllid 'id.', MCo. deleth 'to be appropriate', MBret. dellit 'to earn' (< *tu-ari/ro-) < PCl. *-slii̯e/o- (<< *s(e)lh₁-e/o-), Gr. εἷλον 'took' < *selh₁-, Go. saljan 'to sacrifice', OIc. selja 'to sell, hand over' < *solh₁-eie-.

The oldest inscriptional evidence predates the change *-ol- > -ul-. The noun cōnsilium < *kom-sel-io- was derived from cōnsul. Since consulere does not look like a derivative of cōnsul (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 cōnsul 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 264f., EM 138f., IEW 899, Leumann 1977: 293, 393, Sihler 1995: 151, 304, Meiser 1998: 82, Schumacher 2004: 588-590, LIV *selh₁-.

contāminō, -āre 'to pollute, spoil' [v. I] (Ter.+)
Derivatives: incontāminātus 'uncorrupted' (Varro+).
PIt. *tag(s)men 'contact'.

PIE *th₂g-men-.

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-agsmen, 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 *teh₂⁽ǵ⁾-. → tangō

contiō 'meeting, assembly' [f. n] (Pl.+; coventionid [abl.sg.] SCBac.)

PIt. *ko(m)-wentiōn-.

PIE *gʷm-ti- 'the coming'. IE cognates: Skt. gáti- [f.], Av. gati- 'motion', Gr. βάσις 'step', Go. ga-qumþs 'meeting', OHG chumft 'coming, motion', OIc. samkund 'meeting'.

The PIE ti-stem was remade into an ōn-stem in Latin, and prefixed with sociative *kom-. Lat. contiō and cūria (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 *kowent- (with unsyncopated *e in a closed syllable) yielded -ō-.

Bibl.: WH I: 267, EM 140, IEW 464, Leumann 1977: 133, Schrijver 1991: 277, Sihler 1995: 57, LIV *gʷem-. → veniō

contrā 'in front of, against' [prep. + acc., adv.] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: contrārius 'opposite' (Varro, Lucr.+).

PIt. *kom-tero- 'the other of two who meet' > 'opposite'. It. cognates: O. contrud prep. + loc. 'against', abl.sg.m./n. *kom-terōd.

PIE *ḱom- '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 PIt. adj. *kom-tero-. 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 251f., EM 140, IEW 612f., Untermann 2000: 417. → com, vertō

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.+).
   PIt. **tum-ē-*.

Probably a substantivization of an adj. **contumēlis* 'insulting', which suggests a derivational basis **contumē-* 'to insult'. This would formally be easiest to derive from the present *tum-ē-* 'to be swollen', via 'boasting' > 'insulting'. Possibly, the prefix *com-* was added in analogy with *contemnō* 'to scorn, despise', which is semantically very close.

Bibl.: WH I: 267f., EM 140, Leumann 1977: 350. → *contumāx, tumeō*

convexus 'curving outwards, arching' [adj. *o/ā*] (Cic.+)
   Derivatives: *dēvexus* 'sloping downward, inclined' (CIL 1.583+), *subvexus* 'sloping upwards from below' (Liv.).
   PIt. **wex̂so-?*
   PIE **ueĝʰ-* 'to carry'.

Lat. *-vexus* may contain **-veK-* or **-vaK-*. The connection, made by WH, with Skt. *váñcati* 'staggers, sways', *vakrá-* '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, vacuus* seems difficult semantically. Nussbaum 2007b connects OIr. *fán* 'a slope, a hollow' < **uāgno-*, OW *guoin*, W. *gwaun* [f.] 'lowland, meadow' < **uāgnā-*. 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), *dēvexus* '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 **ueĝʰ-so-*, derived from a PIE *s*-present.

Bibl.: WH I: 268f., EM 141, IEW 1134f., Leumann 1977: 617, LIV **ueĝʰ-*. → *vehō, vexō*

convīcium 'angry noise; mockery' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)
   Derivatives: *convīciārī* 'to scold' (Varro+).

Etymology disputed. The older suggestion that it represents **uēkʷ-* to *vōx* 'voice' is untenable for morphological reasons. Leumann suggests a denominal origin to a noun **convīcī* 'house-mates', but this is far-fetched. Semantically, I find a connection with *vinciō* 'to tie' much more attractive: mockery and scolding can be described as

'encircling' someone. In that case, *kom-ɥoik-io-?
   Bibl.: WH I: 269, EM 141, Leumann 1977: 54, 293, Sihler 1995: 48. → vinciō

coquō, -ere 'to boil, bake' [v. III; pf. *coxī*, ppp. *coctum*] (Pl.+)

   Derivatives: *coquus, cocus* 'cook' (Naev.+); *coquināre* 'to cook' (Pl.); *coquīnus* [adj.] 'of cooks' (Pl.), *conquīnāris* 'belonging to a kitchen' (Varro); *coculum* 'cooking vessel' (Pl.+); *coctilis* 'baked' (Varro+); *praecox, -ocis/-oquis* 'early ripening, premature' (Enn.+); *concoquere* 'to cook down, digest, ripen' (Pl.+), *dēcoquere* '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, 3^d c. BC, dat.abl.pl. *auliquoquibus*, Paul. *ex F. aulicocia exta*); *culīna* 'kitchen' (Pl.+).
   PIt. *k^wek^we/o-* 'to cook', *k^wok^wo-* [m.] 'a cook'.
   PIE *pek^w-e/o- 'to cook'. IE cognates: MW *pobi*, MBret. *pibi, poba*, Co. *pobas* 'to bake, cook' < PCl. *k^wok^wo- < *k^wek^wo-, MW *poeth*, MBret. *poaz* 'hot' < *k^wok-to-; Skt. *pácanti* 'they cook', YAv. *pacaiti* 'bakes', Skt. *pácyate* 'ripens'; Gr. πέσσω, Att. πέττω < *pek^w-ie-, Myc. *a-to-po-qo*, Gr. ἀρτο-κόπος 'bread-baker', Alb. *pjek*, Lith. *kèpti*, OCS *pešti*, 1s. *pekǫ* 'to bake', ToAB *päk-* 'to cook, ripen'.

   The oldest forms are probably *coquere* (< *pek^w-e/o-), the noun *coquus* (< *pok^{w}os), and maybe the ppp. *coctus* (< *pe/ok^{w}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 *-pok^w-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 *-k^wek^w- yielded *-k^wok^w- 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 *-ō, -ōnis*), from which the verb was derived as *k^wok^we/on-ā-* 'to be a cook'. The noun *popīna* must reflect *k^wok^wīna*, 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 *k^wok^wīna* under the influence of *cūlus* 'arse', "les latrines étant le plus souvent attenantes à la cuisine." This explanation is not credible.
   Bibl.: WH I: 270f., 303, II: 338, EM 141, 155, 521, IEW 798, Leumann 1977: 551, Steinbauer 1989: 165ff., Schrijver 1991: 467, Sihler 1995: 41, 145, Meiser 1998: 82, Lindner 2002: 222, Schumacher 2004: 429f., LIV 1.*pek^u-.

cor, cordis 'heart' [n. *d*] (Andr.+; long scansion /cōr/ < /corr/ in Pl. is uncertain)
   Derivatives: *corculum* 'little heart, sweetheart' (Pl.+), *cordātus* 'sensible, judicious' (Pl.+); *cordolium* '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' (Lucr.+), *discordia* 'discord' (Pl.+), *discordābilis* 'disagreeing' (Pl.), *discorditās*

'disagreement' (Pac.), *discordāre* 'to disagree' (Pl.+); *excors* 'senseless' (Pl.+), *misericors* 'tender-hearted' (Pl.+), *misericordia* 'compassion' (Pl.+), *socors* 'inert, inactive' (Pl.+), *socordia* 'lack of energy' (Pl.+), *vēcors* 'mad, demented' (Andr.+), *vēcordia* 'frenzy' (Ter.+); *praecordia, -ōrum* 'lower part of the chest, body-parts in that area' (Pl.+); *recordārī* 'to call to mind' (Pl.+).

PIt. **kord, *kordo/es*.

PIE nom.sg. **k̑ērd*, gen.sg. **kr̥d-o/es* 'heart'. IE cognates: OIr. *cride* 'heart', W. *craidd* (< PCl. **kred-i̯o-*); Hit. (UZU)*ker / kard(i)-* [n.] 'heart, center', Pal. *kārt-*, CLuw. *zārt-*, HLuw. *zart(i)-* < **k̑ēr*, gen. **kr̥dios*, Skt. *hr̥d-* 'heart', nom.sg. *hā́rdi*, Gr. κῆρ, καρδίᾱ (Att.), κραδίη (H.), Arm. *sirt*, Lith. *širdìs*, Go. *hairto*, OHG *herza*, OIc. *hjarta* 'heart', ToA *kri* 'will', ToB pl. *kāryāñ* 'hearts'.

The Latin paradigm of *cor* was built on the oblique case forms in **kr̥d-* 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-kord-* or **sēd-kord-*, see s.v. *sē-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 271f., EM 142, IEW 579f., Leumann 1977: 217, 221, Schrijver 1991: 484. → *crēdō*

cōram 'face to face' [adv.] (Pl.+); also prep. 'in the presence of' (Cic.+)

A compound of *co-* 'with' + *ōs, ōris* 'mouth, face'. WH explain *cōram* from an adj. **co-ōs-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-ōs-om* >> **ko-ōs-ām* > *cōram*.

Bibl.: WH I: 272, EM 142, IEW 612f., Leumann 1977: 119. → *ōs*

corbis 'basket' [f., m. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *corbīta* 'ship-load; cargo ship' (Pl.+), *corbula* '(small) basket' (Pl.+).

PIt. **k(o)rfi-* 'basket'.

PIE **k(o)rbʰ-i-* 'basket, wickerwork'? IE cognates: Lith. *kar̃bas* 'basket', Latv. *kârba* 'bag made from alder or birch bark', Ru. *kórob* 'box, basket', Sln. *kraba* 'box' < PSl. **korbъ, *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 **bʰ*. The root structure **k-bʰ* was irregular in PIE, and would point either to a loanword, or to an original root **skrbʰ-*. But many scholars argue that the BSl. 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.

cordus 'produced late in the season (crops, hay, lambs)' [adj. *o/ā*] (Cato+)

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)ker-* '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)

    PIt. **korjo-*.

    PIE **k(o)r-io-* 'torn off'. IE cognates: Skt. *cárman-*, Av. *carəman-* 'hide, skin', OCS *kora*, Cz. *kůra*, SCr. *kȍra* 'bark, crust' < PIE **(s)kor-h₂-*.

Probably a derivative of PIE **kor-o-* 'which is torn off, peeled off' > 'bark, skin'.

    Bibl.: WH I: 274, EM 143, IEW 938ff., LIV 2.*(s)ker-. → *carō, cortex, curtus, scortum*

cornīx, -īcis 'crow' [f. *k*] (Pl.+)

    Derivatives: *Cornīscae* [f.pl.] 'local deities' (Paul. *ex F.*).

    PIt. **kornīk-*, **kornāk-* 'crow'. It. cognates: U. *curnaco* [acc.sg.], *curnase* [abl.sg.] 'crow' < **kornāko-*.

    PIE **kor-n-* 'crow, raven'. IE cognates: Gr. κορώνη 'crow; shearwater', κόραξ, -ακος 'raven', OPr. *sarke*, Lith. *šárka* 'magpie', CS *svraka*, Ru. *soróka* < PSl. **s(v)òrka* 'magpie' < **korH-k-*.

The suffix *-īk-* occurs in f. agent nouns, and in f. individuals, as here in 'crow'. The alternation between Lat. *-īk-* and U. *-āk-* points to a recent date of these formations (although U. may have suffix substitution for *-*īk-*). 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 *cornīx*.

    Bibl.: WH I: 275, EM 143, IEW 567, Leumann 1977: 377. → *corvus, crōciō*

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.+).

    PIt. **kornu-*, **korno-* 'horn'.

    PIE **k̂r̥n-o-* >> **k̂r̥n-u-* 'horn'. IE cognates: Galat. κάρνον 'trumpet', Gaul. καρνυξ 'trumpet', Gallo-Lat. *carnuātus* 'horned', W. *carn* 'hoof' < **kr-no-*, W. *asgwrn*, Bret. *askorn* 'bone' < **ast-kor-n-* 'bone-horn'; Skt. *śr̥ŋga-* 'horn' < **k̂r̥n-g^(w)-*; Lith. *stìrna* 'roe', Latv. pl. *sirnas*, RuCS *srъna* 'id.' < k̂r̥H₂-nh₂-; Go. *haurn* 'horn', OHG Olc. *horn* < PGm. **χurna-*; OHG *(h)rind*, OE *hrīðer* [n.] 'horned animal' < **k̂r-én-to-*, OE *hrȳðer*, Dutch *rund* 'cow' < **k̂r-n-to*.

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 *cornŭ*, word-final *-u* instead of *-e* might be due to restoration of *-u* on the basis of the acc.sg. If *ū* is original, *cornū* may reflect the nom.acc.dual ending *-u-h₁*; especially for *cornū* *'pair of horns' > 'horn' and *genū* *'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 *ḱr-* 'horn', but only Celtic and Gm. seem to share *ḱr-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 *pecu*, or of a derivative *ḱr-n-(o)u-o-*, which may be regarded as the source of W. *Cernyw*, Co. *Kernow*, Bret. *Kernev* < *kor-ou-(i)ī*, 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 *ḱr-* is usually regarded as the derivational basis for *ḱrh₂-* 'head, skull', from which Latin *cerebrum* is derived. This presupposes that *ḱr-* indicates the material ('bone, horn'), with *ker-h₂-* indicating a collective 'head' or 'made of bone' (or 'top'?), and *ḱr-n-* an individual 'horn'.

Bibl.: WH I: 276, EM 143, IEW 576, Leumann 1977: 441f., Nussbaum 1986, Beekes 1989: 55ff., Schrijver 1991: 83, Klingenschmitt 1992: 121ff., Schrijver 1995: 54, Sihler 1995: 67, 323, Meiser 1998: 146. → *cerebrum, cermuus, cervīx, cervus; cornix*

cornus 'cornel cherry-tree' [f. *o*] (Varro+; variants *cornus, -ūs* [f.], *cornum* Varro+)

Derivatives: *corneus* 'of cornel-trees' (Cato+), *cornētum* 'plantation of cornel-cherries' (Varro).

PIt. *korno-* 'cornel cherry, cherry'.

IE cognates: Gr. κράνον 'cornel cherry tree', κράνεια 'id.', Lith. *Kirnis* 'divine protector of the cherry'; Gr. κέρασος 'bird-cherry'.

The Lithuanian form *Kirnis* might also derive from *ḱ'rno-*, but the comparison is rather isolated. The Latin *u*-stem may be secondary after *quercus, -ūs* 'oak'. It is likely that the Greek-Latin correspondence between *cornus* and κράνον represents a loanword from a third language. Gr. κέρασος may be related, and would then point more strongly to a loanword, probably from an eastern language, from where the cherry was introduced into Europe.

Bibl.: WH I: 276f., EM 143f., IEW 572f.

corpus, -oris '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.+).

PIt. *korp-os-*.

PIE *ḱrp-os-, *ḱrp-* 'body'. IE cognates: MIr. *crí* 'body' < *ḱrp-?; Skt. *kṛp-ā́* [RV; ins.sg.f.] 'appearance', OAv. *kəhrpə̄m* [acc.sg.], YAv. *kəhrp-* [f.] 'figure, appearance,

body'; OE *hrif* 'belly, womb', OHG *href* 'lap', OFr. *rif, ref* 'belly, abdomen' < *χref-a/es-*.
Italo-Celtic and Germanic point to a PIE (palato)velar, and to an ablaut *-r-* vs. *-re-*.
Since palatovelars were depalatalized in. IIr. in front of PIE *r* (unless this was
followed by *i* or *H* – Weise's Law), the IIr. noun can also go back to *krp-*.
  Bibl.: WH I: 277f., EM 144, IEW 620, Schrijver 1991: 466ff., Meiser 1998: 82.

corrigia 'shoe-lace' [f. *ā*] (Varro+)
  PIt. **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' (< **uo-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 *reiǵ-. → *rigeō*

cortex, -icis 'bark of a tree' [m. (f.) *k*] (Cato+)
  Derivatives: *corticeus* 'made of bark' (Varro+).
  PIt. **k(o)rt-ek-*.
  PIE **k(o)rt-* 'a cutting'. IE cognates: Skt. *kṛntáti*, YAv. *karanta-* 'to cut', Arm.
k'ert'em 'to peel off the skin', Lith. *kirsti (kertù)* '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-h₂-* 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. **kṛ-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: *colurnus* 'of hazel' (Verg., Paul. *ex F.*).

PIt. *koso/ulo- 'hazel'.

IE cognates: OIr. *coll*, OW *coll* 'hazel' < *koslo-, OLith. *kasùlas* 'hunter's spear, stick, bush', OHG *hasal*, OIc. *hasl* 'hazel'.

Lat. *colurnus* < *kolo/urinos with metathesis from *koro/ulinos < *koso/ulinos. Celtic and Gm. continue *koslo-, whereas Lithuanian reflects *kosulo-. The diverging suffixes, the restriction to Europe, and the fact that it concerns a tree-name, could point to non-IE origin (cf. EIEC for an additional paleobotanic argument).

Bibl.: WH I: 280, EM 145, IEW 616, Schrijver 1995: 433, Sihler 1995: 70; EIEC 260.

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)ǵʰer-. This seems a long shot. There may be a connection with *queror*, *questus sum* 'to lament', if initial *coru-* reflects *kʷeru-. 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 *$h_2$eis-os-ko-.

Bibl.: WH I: 280, EM 145.

corvus 'raven' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

PIt. *korwo-.

PIE *kor(h_2)-uo- 'crow, raven'. IE cognates: see s.v. *cornīx*.

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 MIr. *crú*, glossed as 'raven', but this word is only found twice in the expression *crú fechto* .i. *badb* 'raven of battle?' This expresson may just as well mean 'blood of battle', in which case it would be identical with *crú*, 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 *ō* until Vergil, then *cautēs* with hypercorrect *au*; *dēcōtes* [pl.] 'togae detritae' (Paul. *ex F.*).

PIt. *kōt- 'whetstone'; *kōti- 'sharp point, rock'.

PIE *ǵe/oh$_3$-t- 'sharpening'. IE cognates: Skt. *śā-* 'to sharpen', Arm. *sowr* 'sharp' < *ǵe/oh$_3$-ro-. Av. *saēni-* 'pointed', OE *hān* 'whetstone' < *ǵe/oh$_3$-i-ni-.

EM suggest that *cō/autēs* might have been the old plural to *cōs*, hence 'sharp points, promontories'; 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 184, 190f., EM 108, 145, IEW 542, Leumann 1977: 275, Schrijver 1991: 91, 148, LIV *ǵeh$_3$-. → *catus*

costa 'rib' [f. ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *costātus* 'having ribs' (Varro+).

PIt. **ko(n/r)stā-*.

Costa has been compared with Slavic **kost-i-* 'bone', yet it is unlikely that it is cognate. In Slavic, *kostъ* 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. ā] (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).

PIt. **koksā-* 'hip'; **koksednī-k-* 'hip'.

PIE **koks-h₂-* 'limb, joint'; **kokse-dn-iH-*. IE cognates: OIr. *coss* 'foot', Skt. *kákṣa-*, Av. *kaša-* 'armpit', ToB *kakse* 'midriff loins'.

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 *kapśañi*, ToB *kektseñe* 'body' < PIE **koksedon-*. The Latin word may then represent a feminine derivative **kokse-dn-ih₂*.

Bibl.: WH I: 283, EM 146, IEW 611, Leumann 1977: 377.

crābrō 'hornet' [m. n] (Pl.+)

PIt. **krāsrōn-*.

PIE **k̑rH-s-r-on-* 'the one with antennae, hornet'. IE cognates: OPr. *sirsilis*, OLith. *širšuõ*, Latv. *sìrsuonis*, CS *sъršenъ*, SCr. *sȑšljēnj*; OHG *hornuz*, NHG *Hornisse*, MoE *hornet*; MoDu. *horzel*, all 'hornet'.

PIE **k̑r-h₂-s-* meant 'head', whence **k̑r-h₂-s-ró-* 'what is in/on the head' > 'antennae, horns'. Lat. *crābrō* and the cognates here given (**k̑rHs-r-en-* with dissimilation of the second **r* in Balto-Slavic) indicate 'the one with antennae, hornet'.

Bibl.: WH I: 283, EM 147, IEW 576, Leumann 1977: 206, Nussbaum 1986, Schrijver 1991: 176. → *cerebrum, cornū*

crās 'tomorrow' [adv.] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *crastinus* 'of tomorrow' (Pl.+).

PIt. **krās*? It. cognates: Fal. **cra** [adv.] 'tomorrow'.

PIE **k̑er-h₂* [nom.], **k̑r-h₂-os* [gen.], **k̑r-éh₂* [loc.], **k̑r-éh₂* [coll.] 'head'? IE

cognates: Hit. *ketkar* [adv.] 'at the head (of), on top' < PIE *ḱed- + *ḱr(h₂), Gr. ἐπὶ κάρ 'head down', ἀνὰ κάρ 'upwards' < *ḱr; κάρα [n.], κάρη (ep.) 'head' < *ḱr-eh₂-.

There is no way in which *crās* can be formally connected with Av. *sūrəm* 'early in the morning', *sūirīm* '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* < *ḱreh₂-(e)s, gen.sg. (maybe replacing earlier *ḱrh₂ós) of the PIE stem *ḱer-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 *ḱr-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. *ruwan-* 'formerly', and is therefore reconstructed with initial *ǵʰr- by Kloekhorst 2008: 458.

Bibl.: WH I: 285, EM 147, Nussbaum 1986, Beekes 1989: 56.

crassus 'thick' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *crassitūdō* '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 *crāsus*. This, however, does not clarify the etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 285, EM 147, IEW 584, Leumann 1977: 182f.

crātis, -is 'construction of wickerwork, hurdle' [f. *ī*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *crāticula* 'grid-iron' (Cato+), *crātīre* 'to bush-harrow' (Plin.).

PIt. *krāti- '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 285f., EM 147, IEW 584f., Schrijver 1991: 176.

crēdō, -ere 'to entrust, give credence' [v. III; pf. *crēdidī*, ppp. *crēditum*; pr.sub. *crēduam, -s, -t*, pr.sub. *crēduīs, -t* (Pl.)] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *crēdibilis* 'credible' (Pl.+), *incrēdibilis* 'unbelievable' (Pl.+); *accrēdere* 'to believe' (Pl.+), *concrēdere* 'to entrust' (Pl.+; pf. *concrēduī*).

PIt. *krezde/o-.

PIE *ḱred-dʰeh₁- 'to place (in?) the heart' > 'believe'. IE cognates: OIr. *creitid*, ·*creiti*, W. *credu*, Co. *krysi, cregy*, OBret. *critim*, Bret. *crediff* < PCl. *kred-dī-

'believe'; Skt. *śraddhā́-* [f.] 'confidence, devotion', Av. *zrazdāiti-* [f.] 'trust, confidence, belief', OAv. *zrazdā-* [adj.] 'affectionate, trusting, believing'; YAv. *zras-ca dāt̰* '[and] may she believe'.

In view of Avestan *-zd-* (< *d^hd) and Celtic unlenited *-d-*, we may well assume that *-ddʰ-* yielded pre-Latin *-dzd-*, whence *zd*. Hence, we can reconstruct *ḱred-dʰh₁-e/o-* (pace Schrijver 1991: 134f.). It cannot be excluded that the second part of the compound was replaced by *-deh₃-* 'to give', in view of the pr.sub. stem *-du-* found in Plautus. The root form *ḱred-* of 'heart', with *-e-* between the second and third consonant, is unexpected next to Gr. κῆρ, Arm. *sirt*, and Go. *hairto* 'heart', all of which continue *ḱērd-*. Tremblay 2004: 581-585 explains *ḱred-* as an original loc.sg. *ḱr-ed* of a *d*-stem, which is worth considering.

Bibl.: WH I: 286f., EM 148, IEW 579f., Leumann 1977: 168, 527, Sihler 1995: 203, 625, Hill 2003: 250, Schumacher 2004: 278-280.

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, krematruf** [acc.pl.] '?' < *krema-tro-*?

IE cognates: Gaul. *curmi*, κόρμα, κοῦρμι, OIr. *cuirm*, W. *cwrwf*, OCo. *coref, coruf* 'beer' < PCl. *kormi-*.

Probably a denominative present. The connection with *carbō* is possible in theory (*krbn-* > *karbn-*, *krebm-* > *crem-*), but neither *krb-* nor *krbʰ-* 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 'beer' from PCl. *kormi-* (to which compare Lat. *cervēsia* 'beer' borrowed from a Celtic form *kerβ-* < *kerm-*), but the alternation Latin *krem-* / Celtic *korm-* is in need of an explanation.

Bibl.: WH I: 287, EM 148f., IEW 571f., Schrijver 1991: 207f., Untermann 2000: 403, LIV ?*(k̑)remH-. → *carbō*

U. **krenkatrum, krikatru,** *cringatro* [acc.sg.] 'an object which the priest wears across his shoulder', maybe 'belt, girdle'.

Plt. *kreng/kā-tro-* [n.].

PIE *krengʰ-o-* 'round, curved'. IE cognates: OCS *krǫgъ*, Cz. *kruh*, SCr. *krȗg* 'circle' < *krongʰ-o-*, OIc. *hringr*, OHG OS OE *hring* 'ring', Go. *hrugga* 'staff', OE *hrung* [f.] 'rung (of a ladder), spoke'.

The U. noun could be derived from a verb in *-āje/o-* which in its turn was derived from a PIE adj. *krengʰo-* 'round'.

Bibl.: IEW 935-938, Meiser 1986: 75, Untermann 2000: 404, LIV ?*(s)krengᵘ-. →

creō, -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: *aliud stercus herbas creat* (Cato) 'another dung makes the grasses grow'. According to WH, *creāre* is a denominative to a noun **krējā*. Hill (2006: 190f.) 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 286, 288f., EM 149, IEW 577, Leumann 1977: 106. → *Cerēs, crēscō, ;procērus*

creper 'obscure, uncertain' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pac.+)
  Derivatives: *crepusculum* 'twilight, dusk' (Pl.+).
  PIt. **krepos, -es-* [n.] 'twilight'; **krepeso-* [adj.]?

According to Leumann 1977, **kreperos* 'uncertain' was derived from abl.sg. **krepere* '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 289, EM 149, Leumann 1977: 278.

crepō, -āre 'to make a sharp loud noise' [v. I; pf. *crepuī*, ppp. *crepitum*] (Pl.+; Varro Ix *percrepis*)
  Derivatives: *crepundia, -ōrum* 'child's rattle' (Pl.+); *crepitus, -ūs* 'short sharp sound' (Naev.+), *crepitācillum* 'child's rattle' (Lucr.+), *crepitāre* 'to rattle, crackle' (Andr.+); *perterricrepus* '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.+).
  PIt. **krepa-; *kropaje-*.
  PIE **krep-/*kr̥p-* [aor.] 'to rattle, crackle', **kr(o)p-(e)ie/o-* [pr.]. IE cognates: Hit. *karp(ije/a)-^tta(ri)* 'to be angry, rage', *karpi-* [c.] 'anger', Skt. *kr̥pate* 'to wean, mourn', s-aor.med. *akrapiṣṭa*, Ru. *kropotá* 'fight'.

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*.

Bibl.: WH I: 290, EM 149, IEW 569, Leumann 1977: 544, Rix 1999: 519, LIV ?*k^(ʷ)RepH-, ?*KrepH-.

crĕscō, -ere 'to be born; increase' [v. III; pf. *crēvī*, ppp. *crētum*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *crēber* [adj. *o/ā*] 'at frequent intervals, numerous' (Pl.+), *crēmentum* 'increase' (Varro+); *accrēscere* 'to increaṣe, grow larger' (Pl.+), *concrēscere* 'to harden, congeal' (Cato+), *concrētus* '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.+).

PIt. **krē-* 'to grow, increase', **krē-þro-* 'growing, in large numbers'.

PIE **k⁽ʷ⁾reh₁-* [pr./aor.] 'to become bigger, stronger'. IE cognates: SeCS *okrijati* 'to recover', OCz. *křati*, pr. *krĕji*, Ru.dial. *kreját'* 'to heal', Ukr. *krijáty* 'to become healthy', Bulg. *krĕja* 'to become weak, be ill' < PSl. **krĕjǫ* '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 *ske/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 **ḱerh₃-* 'to feed', but the position of the ablaut vowel is problematic; cf. s.v. *Cerēs*. Hill 2006: 196 derives *crēber* from **ḱ⁽ʷ⁾rēsro-*, a *ro*-adj. built to an earlier *s*-stem **k⁽ʷ⁾reh₁-e/os-* [n.] 'growth'.

Bibl.: WH I: 288f., EM 150, IEW 577, Schrijver 1991: 124, Hill 2006, LIV **ḱerh₃-*. → *Cerēs, creō, prōcērus*

crēta 'fine clay' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *crētātus* 'whitened with chalk' (Lucil.+), *crēteus* 'made of clay' (Lucr.), *crētōsus* 'abounding in clay' (Cato+).

PIt. **krēt-? *krējVt-?* 'clay'.

IE cognates: OIr. *cré*, gen.sg. *criad*, W. *pridd*, Co. *pry*, Bret. *pri* 'mud, clay' < PCl. nom.sg. **kʷrụat-s*.

The word has formerly been regarded as a possible substantivization of *(terra) crēta* 'sifted (earth)', ppp. of *cernere*. This is phonetically possible but semantically uncompelling, 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 **kʷr-*. Celtic and Latin can jointly go back to a PIE stem **kʷreh₁-i-e/ot-*, 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 **ī* in PCl. or in Lepontic. As suggested by Pedersen, the Italo-Celtic correspondence might be a loanword from an unknown third party.

Bibl.: WH I: 290f., EM 150, Schrijver 1991: 282f., 1995: 292.

crībrum 'sieve' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **kreiþro-*.

PIE **krei-dʰro-* 'sieve'. IE cognates: OIr. *criathar*, W. *crwydr*, MBret. *croezr* 'sieve' < **krei-tro-*, OE *hrīdder*, OHG *rītera* 'id.'.

Bibl.: WH I: 205, EM 150, IEW 938-947, Rasmussen 1989: 277, Sihler 1995: 148, 534, Schrijver 1995: 224, LIV **kreh₁(i)-*. → *cernō, certus*

crīnis 'hair of the head' [f. *i*] (Pl.+, m. Pac.+; usually pi.)
  Derivatives: *crīnītus* 'having hair' (Enn.+).
  PIt. **krisni-*.
  PIE **kris-ni-*. IE cognates: Go. *af-, us-hrisjan* 'to shake off, out', OE OS *hrissan* 'to shake, shiver'; OIc. *hris* 'shrubs', OE *hrūs* '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-* which mean '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, crista*

crīsō, -āre 'to move the haunches as in coitus' [v. I] (Lucil.+)
  IEW proposes **kreits-e/o-* or **krūtse/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/ā*] (Pl.+)
  PIt. **krispo-* 'curly, crumpled, twisted'.
  Many scholars (e.g. IEW, Meiser 1998) assume PIt. **kripso-* on account of the cognate Celtic forms: W. *crych*, Bret. *crec'h* 'curly; wrinkled' (< **kripso-* or **krispo-*). 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 *crista*, it seems more likely that the original form was Italo-Celtic **kris-po-*.
  Bibl.: WH I: 293, EM 151, IEW 938, Schrijver 1995: 374, Meiser 1998: 127. → *crīnis*

crista 'crest on the head of a bird or beast, plume' [f. *ā*] (Lucr.+)
  PIt. **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*

crōciō, -īre 'to croak' [v. IV] (Pl.+; variant *crocciō*)
  PIt. **kro-k-*.
  IE cognates: Skt. *krós-* 'to call', Av. *xraos-* 'cry' < **kreu-k-*, Skt. *kŗkara-, krakara-, kŗkaṇa-* [m.] 'kind of partridge', Av. *kahrkatāt-* 'cock'; Lith. *krokti*, ORu. *krakati* 'to croak', OPr. *kracto* 'black woodpecker', Lith. *kr(i)ōkti* 'to rattle, grunt', OCS *krъknǫti* 'to squeak'.
  Most IE languages contain words in *(*)k(V)r-* indicating a creaking, croaking sound, but the formations are largely independent and are constantly renewed. In *crōciō*, 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. →₁ *cornīx, corvus*

crūdus 'raw, bloody, rough, cruel' [adj. *o/a*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *crūdítās* 'indigestion' (Varro+); *crūdēlis* 'cruel' (Enn.+), *crūdēlitās* 'cruelty' (Acc.+).

PIt. **krowoþo-*.

PIE **kreuh₂-odʰ-o-* (?) 'raw'. IE cognates: MIr. *cruaid* 'hardy, harsh, stern'.

If the root had zero grade, *crūdus* can reflect a dissimilation of **kruh₇-ro-* > **krūro-* > **krūdo-* (cf. Av. *xrūra-* 'bloody' < **kruh₇-ro-*); thus EIEC 71. However, the assumed dissimilation is unusual and cannot be accepted without further support. In view of *cruor*, and the frequent connection of nouns in **-ōs* with adj. in *-idus* (Nussbaum 1999a), *crūdus* might reflect **kreuh₇-idʰo-*, but this would only work via **krewiþo-* > **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 *nūdus* 'naked' is (and has usually been) **ne/ogʷ-odʰo-*, which would lead to a reconstruction **kreuh₇-odʰ-o-* for *crūdus*; note the semantic relationship between 'naked' and 'raw'. For MIr. *cruaid*, Driessen (p.c.) suggests the loss of **u* between two identical rounded vowels with resulting vowel contraction: **kreuh₇-odʰ-i-* > PCl. **krouod-i-* > **krōd'i-* > *cruaid*.

Bibl.: WH I: 294, EM 152, IEW 621f., Leumann 1977: 330, Schrijver 1991: 232, Nussbaum 1999a: 404. → *cruentus, cruor*

cruentus 'bloody, blood-thirsty, cruel' [adj. *o/ā*] (Enn.+)
˙ Derivatives: *cruentāre* 'to cause to bleed; stain with blood' (Enn.+).

PIt. **kruwnto-* [adj.].

PIE **kruh₂-(e/o)nt-* 'bloody, raw'.

The closest comparandum in form and meaning is YAv. *xruuaṇt-* 'bloody, gory', which may be a derivative in possessive **-e/ont-* to PIE **kruh₂-* 'blood, gore' (OIr. *crú*, OCS *kry* [f. *ū*]). According to Nussbaum (p.c.), the neuter **kruh₂-nt-* of this adj. could have functioned as a collective 'blood, goriness', whence with thematization a new adj. **kruh₇-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. *hemantá-* *'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.+)

PIt. **kruwōs* [m.] 'blood'.

PIE **kruh₂-ōs* 'blood'. IE cognates: OIr. *crú* 'id.', W. *crau*, MIr. *cruaid* 'hardy, harsh, stern', Skt. *kravíṣ-* 'raw meat', Gr. κρέας 'id.', OPr. *krawian; crauyo*, Lith. *kraūjas*,

OCS *kry*, Ru. *krov'* 'blood' < BSl. **kruHs*, **krouio-*; OE *hrēaw* 'raw', OHG *hrō*.

The fact that we find a PIE *s*-stem **kreuH-s* continued in IIr. and Gr. lends credibility to a reconstruction **kruhr-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.).

PIt. **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 *clūnis*, but this requires too many unwarranted assumptions.

Bibl.: WH I: 295, EM 153, IEW 624.

crusta 'crust, shell; thin slab, leaf' [f. *ā*] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: *crustulum* 'small cake or pastry' (Pl.+), *crustum* 'cake, pastry' (Verg.+).

PIt. **krusto-* 'hardened'. It. cognates: possibly O. **krustatar** '?' (a denominative verb?) belongs here.

PIE **krus-to-* 'crushed, pounded'. IE cognates: Av. *xrūždra-* 'hard', *xrūždisma-* '(made from) hard soil', *xrūždā-* 'hardship'; Gr. κρούω 'to strike, smite' < **krous(i)e/o-*; Lith. *krùšti* 'to crush', OCS *sъ-krušǫ*, *-krušiti* 'to break into pieces', Lith. *krušà* 'hail', CS *krъxa* 'grain', Ru. *kroxá* 'crumb' < **krus-ā-*. Uncertain: Gr. κρύος 'frost', κρύσταλλος 'ice', κρυσταίνομαι 'to be congealed with cold'; Latv. *kruvesis* 'frozen dirt on a field'; OHG *hrusa* 'ice, crust', OE *hrūse* 'earth, soil, ground'; ToB *krośce* 'cold' (adj.).

In spite of WH, I think that *crusta* is best connected with PIE **krus-* '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 IIr. **krusd-* 'hard', as reflected in the Avestan words in *xrūžd-*, although the origin of *-d-* would remain unclear.

Bibl.: WH I: 295f., EM 153, IEW 622, Untermann 2000: 404.

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, -ūs* 'the act of tormenting, pain' (Pl.+); *excruciāre* 'to torture' (Pl.+), *excruciābilis* 'deserving torture' (Pl.); *crucius* [adj.] 'cross, bad' (Lucil. apud Paul. *ex F.*).

PIt. **kruk(-i)-*?

IE cognates: Ir. *crúach* [f.] 'heap, hill', Gaul. **krouka* 'summit', whence **krōkka*, *krūk(k)a* 'id.', W. *crug* 'cippus, tumulus', Co. OBret. *cruc* 'hill', Bret. *crug*; OIc. *hryggr* 'backbone', OE *hrycg*, OS *hruggi*, OHG *(h)rukki* 'back'; OIc. *hrúga*, *hraukr*

'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.

Bibl.: WH I: 296, EM 153, IEW 935-938, Leumann 1977: 546, Sihler 1995: 283.

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. κύβος '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-*, **kub^h-* or **kud^h-* 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 *cubitāre* '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*

cucūlus 'cuckoo; fool' [m. *o*] (Pl.+; variant *cucullus*)IE cognates: MIr. *cūach*, W. *cog* 'cuckoo'; Skt. *kokilá-*, *kóka-* [m.] 'id.' < **kouk-*; Gr. κόκκυξ, -υγος [m.] 'id.' (dissimilated from **κυκκυ-*), κόκκυ 'cry of the cuckoo'; Lith. *kukúoti*, Iett. *kūkuôt* '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 *cuccubīre* '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. κύκυον and σίκυον 'fig'.

Bibl.: WH I: 299f., EM 154, Leumann 1977: 382.

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. *cūdī*, ppp. *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.+).

PIt. **kūd-e/o-*.

PIE **kuh₂-d-e/o-* 'to hit'. IE cognates: Gr. κέασσαι 'to cleave', Lith. *káuti*, *káuju*, Latv. *kaût* 'to hit', OCS *kovati*, 1s. *kovǫ* 'to forge' < **kouH-*, OIc. *hǫggva*, OHG *houwan* 'to hew, beat' < **kouH-*; ToA *ko-*, ToB *kau-* 'to kill' < **keh₂u-*; ToA *kot-*, ToB *kaut-* 'to split' < **keh₂u-dʰe-*.

In non-initial syllable, a change **au > ū* took place in Latin. It is often surmised that this happened in the compounds in *-cūdō*, from which *ū* 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 **keuh₂-dʰō > *keu̯adʰō > *kou̯adʰō > *koudō > cūdō*, whereas *caudex* would reflect **kouh₂-dʰ-ek- > *kou̯adʰek- > *kau̯adek- > kaudek-* (if **u* and **dʰ* were contiguous, **dʰ* would yield *b* (cf. *iubeō*). Since the unrounding of **ou̯V > *au̯V* must be placed in the relative chronology before the PIt. 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 **kouh₂-* attested by other IE languages; but it does make the reconstruction less certain. Hackstein 2002a: 15 gives the alternative etymology **ke/ouh₂-dʰh₁-o-* 'placing a strike' > with laryngeal loss **ke/ou-dʰh₁-o-*, from which (when verbalized) *cūdō* would derive; yet in **dʰ* was in direct contact with **u*, we would expect a Latin outcome **cūbō*. Hackstein and LIV assume a PIE root enlargement **-dʰ-* 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 300f., EM 154, IEW 535, Benedetti 1988: 76f., Schrijver 1991: 285-288, LIV **keh₂u-* 'to hit, cleave'. → *cauda, caudex*

cūius 'whose' [adj. *o/ā*; OLat. *quoius*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *cūiās, -ātis* [adj.] 'of what country, from which place?', *cūiusnam* 'of whatever person?' (Pl.).

PIt. **kʷosjo-* 'whose'. It. cognates: O. **púiiu** [nom.sg.f.], **púiieh** [gen.sg.m.], PalU. **poiei** [dat.sg.m.] 'whose'.

PIE **kʷosio* [gen.sg.]. IE cognates: Gr. ποῖος [adj.] 'what kind of'.

Built on the gen.sg. *cūius* of *quī* '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. ποῖος < *k^wosios is probaby the result of an independent development in Greek on the basis of PIE gen.sg. *k^wosio 'of whom?'.

Bibl.: WH I: 301, EM 560, IEW 644₊648, Sihler 1995: 387, Meiser 1998: 166, Untermann 2000: 597. → quī

culcita 'cushion' [f. ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: culcitula 'small mattress' (Pl.+).

No etymology. The Skt. word kūrcá- 'bunch, bundle (of grass)' is unrelated (cf. EWAia I: 386).

Bibl.: WH I: 302, EM 155, IEW 630.

culex, -icis 'gnat, midge' [m. k] (Pl.+)

PIt. *kul-i-k-?

PIE *kuH-ló- 'sharp'. IE cognates: OIr. cuil [f.] 'fly', W. cylionen 'midges' < *kŭli-; Skt. śŭla- [m. / n.] 'spear'.

Due to Dybo's shortening of long pretonic vowels in front of resonants (cf. Schrijver 1991: 343), Italic-Celtic *kūlV̆- would yield Latin culV-. Of course, the place of the accent is uncertain: Skt. would point to initial accent, but since śŭla- is a noun, it may have secondarily acquired initial accentuation.

Bibl.: WH I: 302, EM 155, IEW 626, Schrijver 1991: 239, 527. → cīmex, pūlex

culleus 'leather sack' [m. o] (Pl.+; Cato n.pl. cullea, gen.pl. culleum)

Derivatives: culleāris [adj.] 'holding a culleus' (Cato+); cōleī, -ōrum 'the testicles' (Lab.+).

IE cognates: Gr. κολεόν 'sheath of a sword' (possibly < *κολεϝ-όν).

.Probably a loanword from a non-IE language, independently into Latin and Greek. Lat. cōleī 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-.

PIE *kolh₂-mo- 'stalk, stem, straw'. IE cognates: Gr. κάλαμος 'reed, straw', καλάμη 'stubble' < *klh₂-em-, Latv. salms, OPr. salme, CS slama, Ru. solóma, SCr. slãma 'straw' < *kolH-m-eh₂; OHG hal(a)m 'stalk, straw'.

Greek requires *klh₂-em-h₂-, whereas BSl. and Gm. agree on *kolh₂-m-. In Latin, this would yield *kolamos, which Nussbaum argues may have given *kolmos > 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 *klH- 'to rise' is impossible if the latter really has a pure velar; but semantically, it would be attractive.

Bibl.: WH I: 303f., EM 155, IEW 612, Schrijver 1991: 327, Nussbaum 1997: 196f.

culpa 'blame, guilt' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+; older *colpa*, Prisc.)

Derivatives: *culpāre* 'to blame' (Pl.+), *culpitāre* 'to censure' (Pl.).

PIt. **k(w)e/ol(V)pā-* '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+).

PIt. **k(e/o)l-tro-* 'knife'.

PIE **(s)kolh₂/₃-tro-* 'instrument for cleaving'. IE cognates: Hit. *iškalla-ⁱ* / *iškall-* 'to slit, split, tear' < **skólh₂/₃-* / **sklh₂/₃-*; Gr. σκάλλω 'to stir up, hoe' (if from **sklh₂/₃-ie/o-* > **sklie/o-*), Arm. *c'elaw* 'split, tore' [pret.], Lith. *skìlti* 'to strike fire', *skélti* 'to cleave, strike fire'.

If connected with a root in *-l*, *culter* might belong to the root PIE **(s)kelh₂/₃-* '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 **ke/ortro-*, in which case it may have been derived from the root **(s)ker-* 'to shear, cut off' (Gr. κείρω '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-*.

cūlus 'anus, arse' [m. *o*] (Catullus+)

PIt. **kūlo-* 'back'.

PIE **kuH-lo-* 'backside, rear'. IE cognates: OIr. *cúl* 'back', OCo. *chil*, W. *cil* 'corner, angle' < PCl. **kūlo-*.

The original accentuation of Italo-Celtic **kuHlo-* 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' (**hūð-*), 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 **kHú-lo-* with barytonesis, with (by Kortlandt's rule) subsequent laryngeal metathesis to **kuHlo-*. This implies that the PIE root may have had the form **kHu-*. This might be identified as the root PIE **keh₂u-* 'to cleave', from which I also derive *cauda* 'tail' and *caudex* 'tree-trunk'.

Bibl.: WH I: 305, EM 156, IEW 951ff., Schrijver 1991: 232, 1995: 193.

cum 'when' [adv.] (Lex XII+; older form *quom*, before Cicero)

Derivatives: *-cumque* '-ever, -soever'; *quondam* 'formerly' (Naev.+), *quoniam* 'as soon as; because' (Andr.+).

PIt. **kʷom* 'when'. It. cognates: U. **pumpe** 'whenever' < *kʷom-kʷe; O. **pún, pun,** *pon,* U. **pune, puni,** *ponne, pone* 'when' < *kʷom-de; O. **punum** 'id.' < *kʷom-de + *-um*.

PIE *kʷom [acc.sg.m.]. IE cognates: OPr. *kan*, Lith. (dial.) *kᶐ* 'when'; OCS *ko-gda* < **ko-g(o)da*; Go. *ƕan* 'when'.

Lat. *quoniam* < *quom iam.

Bibl.: EM 561, WH II: 411f., IEW 644ff., Leumann 1977: 137, Sihler 1995: 66, Meiser 1998: 166, Untermann 2000: 601f., 604-606, 609. → *quī, umquam*

-cumbō, -ere; cubō, -āre 'to lie down, recline; be lying' [v. III; I; pf. *cubuī*, ppp. *cubitum* (for both)] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *cubiculum* 'bedroom' (Pl.+), *cubiculāris* 'of a bedroom' (Varro+); *cubīle* [n.] 'bed, couch; den' (Pl.+); *cubitāre* 'to recline; have intercourse with' (Pl.+), *cubitus, -ūs* 'reclining, resting' (Cato+), *cubitūra* 'reclining' (Pl.); *accubāre* 'to lie, recline' (Pl.+), *accumbere* 'to lie down' (Pl.+), *concumbere* 'to lie together' (Ter.+), *concubīna* 'concubine' (Pl.+), *concubinātus, -ūs* 'concubinage' (Pl.+), *concubitus, -ūs* 'sexual intercourse' (Pl.+), *concubius* [adj.] 'of the bed, of lying down' (Pl.+), *dēcumbere* 'to lie down' (Pl.+), *discumbere* 'to lie down' (Pl.+), *excubiae* [f.pl.] 'the keeping of a watch, vigil' (Pl.+), *incubāre* 'to lie or recline on' (Pl.), *incubitāre* 'to lie on, sit' (Pl.+), *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'.

PIt. **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' < PCl. **kuφ-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 **(k̑)ubhₓ-éhₗ-ie-* > **kubā(i)e-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 298, EM 153f., IEW 590, Leumann 1977: 350, 564, Steinbauer 1989: 61f., Rix 1999: 520f., Untermann 2000: 418, Schumacher 2004: 424f., LIV ?**(k̑)eubh₂-*. → *cacūmen, cubitus*

cumulus 'heap, pile' [m. *o*] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: *cumulāre* 'to gather, pile up' (Pl.+), *accumulāre* 'to pile up' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **kumo-*.

PIE *ḱuh₁-mo- 'heap'. IE cognates: Gr. κῦμα, -ατος '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 *ḱuH- '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 *kūmós would phonetically yield *kumos. Another possible explanation for cumulus, if it does reflect *kūmos, is analogy with tumulus 'heap, mound', which must have had a short vowel from the outset.

Bibl.: WH I: 306, EM 157, IEW 592ff., Schrijver 1991: 235, LIV *ki̯eh₁-. → cavus, inciens

cūnae 'cradle' [f.pl. ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: incūnābula, -ōrum '(apparatus for the) cradle' (Pl.+).

PIt. *koina- 'cradle'.

PIE *ḱoi-no- 'lair, cradle' (vel sim.). IE cognates: Hit. ki-ⁿᵃ⁽ʳⁱ⁾ , Pal. kī-, CLuw. zī-, Lyc. si- 'to lie' < *ḱei-(t)o; Skt. śáye, śere, Av. saēte, sōire; Gr. κεῖται 'to lie', κοῖτος [m.], κοίτη 'lair', ἄκοιτις 'spouse', OIc. hið, híði [n.] 'a bear's lair' (< *ḱei-to-); PIE *ḱoi-mo- in OIr. cóim, cóem 'dear'; Latv. sàime 'family', OCS sěmьja 'household, slaves'; Go. haims 'village', OIc. 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 *ḱei- '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 -nh₂-derivative with o-grade in the root.

Bibl.: WH I: 306f., EM 157, IEW 539f., Leumann 1977: 314, 320, LIV 1.*ḱei̯-.

cūnctor, -ārī 'to be slow, hesitate' [v. I] (Pl.+; Pl., Enn., Acc. also active cūnctāre)

Derivatives: cūnctātiō '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. śáṅkate 'is afraid, fears' (<*ḱénk-to), Go. hāhan 'to leave in uncertainty', OE hōn 'to hang (tr.)' (< *konk-), OIc. hengja 'to hang, suspend' (<ː*konk-eie-).

Usually, a cluster *-nkt- develops into -nt- (quīntus), unless the velar was restored. Since there was no model for restoration in the case of cūnctor, 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 *cuncitā-. This is in line with the standard etymology, viz. a frequentative in -itāre to a stem *konk-e/o- '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 307, EM 157, IEW 566, Leumann 1977: 96, 217, 547f., Sihler 1995: 221, LIV *ḱenk-.

cunctus 'whole, all' [adj. *o/ā*] (Carmen Arvale (acc.pl.m. *conctos*), Pl.+)
  PIt. **kom-kito-* 'collected'.
  PIE **ḱi-to-* 'stirred up'.

The traditional etymology is **kon-kitos*, ppp. to *con-ciēre*, 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 *-nct-*, we must assume earlier **-nkVto-* (see s.v. *cūnctor*). Since syncope in medial syllable is unusual in *o*-stems, it may be proposed that the frequent use of *cunctus* as a plural *cunctī*, *-ōrum*, 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. *pankauas*, and is more likely to be cognate with Skt. *bahú-* 'many, much'.

  Bibl.: WH I: 307f., EM 157, IEW 538f., Polomé 1966, Leumann 1977: 96, 217, Sihler 1995: 145, 300, LIV **(ḱ)eih₂-*. → *cieō*, esp. *conciēre* 'to stir up' (Pl.+)

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 **ḱuH-* 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 *-ιος*. 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, -īre 'to shit' [v. IV] (Paul. *ex F.* '*cunire* est stercus facere')

The length of *u* is unknown. WH and IEW assume long *ū*, and by means of an ingenuous (but not impossible) hypothesis connect *cūnīre* with *caenum* 'mud, filth' and Gm. words continuing **kuoin-*. Schrijver rejects this as too speculative. Indeed, nothing is certain. For all we know, *cuniō* is a derivative of (the stem of) *cunnus* 'vagina'; for the semantics, cf. Dutch *kont* 'arse', Eng. *cunt* 'vagina'.
  Bibl.: WH I: 131f., EM 158, IEW 628, Schrijver 1991: 265. → *caenum*, *inquinō*

cunnus 'vagina' [m. *o*] (Cat.+)

PIE **kut-no-* 'scrotum, vagina'. IE cognates: W. *cwd* 'bag, scrotum'; Gr. κυσός 'vagina, buttocks, bladder' (< **kut-so-?*), maybe κύτος [n.] 'hollow, vessel'; Lith. *kutỹs* '(money)bag'; OHG *hodo*, OFr. *hotha* 'testicles' < **χuþ-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).

Bibl.: WH I: 309, EM 158, IEW 951-953, Schrijver 1991: 239.

cūpa 'cask, tub, barrel' [f. *ā*] (Cato+; variant <*cuppa*>)
PIt. *kúp-.
IE cognates: Skt. *kū́pa-* [m.] 'pit, hole' (EWAia I: 385); Gr. κύπη 'gap, hole' (Hsch.) (ū?), κύπελλον 'beaker', κύπρος [m.] 'corn measure'; OIc. *húfr* 'ship's hull', OE *hȳf* 'beehive' < PGm. *χūfa-*.

Probably a non-IE loanword *kúp- which was borrowed by and from many languages. This explains, among others, the vacillating length of the *ū*.
Bibl.: WH I: 310f., EM 158, IEW 588-592, Schrijver 1991: 245f.

cupiō, -ere 'to desire' [v. III; pf. *cupī(v)ī*, ppp. *cupītum*] (Naev.+)
Derivatives: *cupienter* 'eagerly' (Pl.+), *cupidus* 'longing, eager' (Pl.+), *cupiditās* '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.+).
PIt. pr. *kup-i-, *kup-ei-; aor. *kup-ē-; adj. *koup-o- 'desiring', *koup-ēd-. It. cognates: maybe U. *cubrar*, **cupras**, **cupr[as** [gen.sg.f.]', SPic. **kuprí, qupírih** [adv.]: an adj. *kup-ro- used as an attribute to 'mother' in U., and often identified as Sabinian *ciprus* 'bonus' in Varro, and with *dea Cupra* in Picenum (inscr.).
PIE *kup-(e)i- [pr.], *kup-eh₁- [aor.] 'to tremble, desire', *kup-ro- 'desirable'? IE cognates: OIr. *ad-cobra* 'wants', *accobor* [vn.] 'desire' (denomin. to *kupro-?); Skt. *ákupyant-* [neg.ptc.act.], *kupyati* [3s.act.] (ep.+), caus. *kopáyati* 'to make quake (RV); to make angry (ep.)'; *prá-kupita-* 'trembling, quaking'; Lith. *kūpéti*, 3s. *kūpa*, OCS *kypěti* 'to simmer, to boil' < BSl. *kup-; OIc. *hjúfa* 'to lament' < *keup-e/o-?
Whereas the 3rd conjugation with zero-grade root suggests a present *kup-i-, the pf. in -*īv-*, the inchoat. in -*īscere* and *cupīdō* point to a stem *kup-ī-, 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-eh₁-. Double -*pp-* in *cuppēs* can be explained from *cūpēd- < PIt. *koup-ēd- 'gluttonous' by means of the *littera*-rule (see s.v. *cella*).
Bibl.: WH I: 312, EM 158, IEW 596f., Leumann 1977: 367, Schrijver 1991: 211, 260, Sihler 1995: 224, Untermann 2000: 405f., Schrijver 2003: 74, 78, Nussbaum 1999a, LIV *keup-.

cūr 'why?; why' [adv.; rel.] (Naev.+; *quōr* 12x Pl., Varro, Lucr., Cic., mss. variants *qūr, quūr*)
PIt. *kʷōr.
PIE *kʷōr < *kʷor 'where?'. IE cognates: Skt. *kár-hi* 'when?', Go. *hvar*, OIc. *hvar* 'where' < *kʷor, OE *hwær*, OS OHG *hwār* 'where' < *kʷēr. From the stem *kʷu-,

compare Alb. *kur* 'when', Lith. *kur̃* 'where'.

For the phonetics, cf. *fūr* 'thief' < *$b^h\bar{o}r$. Apparently, the raising to -*ūr* only took place in stressed syllables, since the final -*ōr* of *auctōr*, *uxōr* etc. (shortened to -*or* around 200 BC) did not take part in it. PIE *$k^w\bar{o}r$ can be explained from a PIE adverb in *-*r* 'where' to the interr. pronoun *k^wo-, with lengthening in a monosyllable [and] in front of word-final resonant. The original meaning 'where?' has developed via 'whence?' to 'why?'.

Bibl.: WH I: 313, EM 159, IEW 644ff., Schrijver 1991: 122, Sihler 1995: 399.

cūra 'anxiety, care' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *cūrāre* 'to watch over, care for, take care of' (VOLat.+) [*coira-* and *coera-* in inscr. from the 2nd and 1st c. BC; *courare* 2x; *cūra-* not before 1st c. BC], *cūrātiō* '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.+), *prōcūrātiō* 'car, responsibility' (Varro+).

PIt. *k^wois-ā-* 'care, watch'. It. cognates: Pael. *coisatens* [3p.pf.], U. **kuraia** [3s.pr.sb.] , **kuratu si** [3s.pf.sb.ps.] , **kuratu eru** [inf.pf.ps.] 'to provide', denom. of a noun *koisā-*. Untermann assumes that the verb was borrowed from Latin into Sabellic in pre-rhotacism times.

PIE *k^wei-s- [pr.] 'to heed'. IE cognates: Gaul. *ad-pis-e/o-* 'to see', *pissiiumi* 'I will see', OIr. *ad·cí** 'to see', *do·écei** 'to regard' (< *de-en-*) < PCl. pr. *$k^w$is-e/o-*; OIr. sb. ·*ce-* (dep.) < *k^weis-se/o-*; OAv. *cōišt*, 2p. *cǝuuīštā*, YAv. *cōišta* 'to grant, allot', OAv. *cinas*, *cīšmahī*, YAv. *cinahmi*, *cinasti*, *cīšmaide* 'to decide, allot' < *k^w(e)is-*, *k^wins-*; Av. *ṭkaēša-* [m.] 'teacher; teachings' < *k^wois-o-*.

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 PIt. *kois-* and *k^wois-* (if *k^wo- > *co-* preceded *μoi- > *μei-*) 'care'. Semantically, *cūra* would fit the meaning of the PIE root *k^wei-* 'to take notice, heed', and the *o*-grade would be fitting for a noun in *-h_2. The *s*-present *k^wei-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 *k^wois-* is also found in Iranian: Av. *ṭkaēša-*.

Bibl.: WH 1: 314, EM 159, IEW 611, Sihler 1995: 171, Untermann 2000: 407, LIV *k^uei̯s-.

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, coniugium, consortium,* etc. Since the usual reflex of *cum* in front of *v-* is *con-* (*convivium, convenīre*), the development in *cūria* must be older.

Bibl.: WH I: 315, EM 160, IEW 612f., Leumann 1977: 134, Schrijver 1991: 273, Untermann 2000: 422f. → *vir*

currō, -ere 'to run' [v. III; pf. *cucurrī* (*oc-cecurrī* Gel., *cecurrit* 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.+), *cursiō* 'the running' (Varro), *cursor* 'runner' (Pl.), *cursitāre* 'to run about' (Ter.+), *cursūra* 'running' (Pl.+); *accurrere* 'to run up to, help' (Pl.+), *concurrere* 'to hurry together, rally' (Enn.+), *concursāre* 'to run together' (Acc.+), *concursus, -ūs* 'running to and fro; concourse' (Pl.+), *dēcurrere* 'to run down; travel' (Lucr.+), *dēcursus* 'downrush, course' (Lucr.+), *excurrere* 'to run out' (Pl.+), *incurrere* 'to rush in, meet', *incursim* 'precipitately' (Caecil.+), *incursāre* 'to charge at' (Pl.+), *incursus* 'attack' (Lucr.+), *intercurrere* 'to run, hasten' (Lucr.+), *intercursāre* 'to run in between' (Lucr.+), *intrōcurrere* 'to run inside' (Naev.+), *occurrere* 'to hurry to meet, meet' (Pl.+), *occursāre* 'to run up repeatedly' (Pl.+), *percurrere* 'to run through' (Ter.+), *praecurrere* 'to run ahead, precede' (Pl.+), *prōcurrere* 'to run forward' (Lucr.+), *recurrere* 'to run back' (Pl.), *recursāre* 'to keep running back' (Pl.+), *succurrere* 'to run to the rescue of' (Ter.+), *transcurrere* 'to hurry across' (Pl.).

PIt. **korse/o-* [pr.] 'to run'; **korso-* 'chariot'.

PIE **krs-e/o-* 'to run'; **krs-o-* 'running > chariot'. IE cognates: Gaul. **karros* (> Lat. *carrus*) , OIr. *carr* 'vehicle', W. *car* < PCl. **krso-*; Gr. ἐπίκουρος 'helper; helping' < **epi* + **korso-* 'running towards'; OHG *hros*, OIc. *hross*, OE *hors* 'horse' belong here too, if from PGm. **hursa-* (not **hrusa-*) < **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* < **trs-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). PIt. *-or- is reflect both as or. and as ur. in Latin; no phonetic conditioning has been found. We may therefore accept the traditional etymology *kr̥s- > *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-.

Bibl.: WH I: 315f., EM 160, IEW 583f., Leumann 1977: 57, Schrijver 1991: 495, Meiser 1998: 63, 2003: 194, Driessen 2001: 61f., LIV 1.*ˈḱ)ers-. → arcessō, equirria?

curtus 'mutilated, circumcised; imperfect' [adj. o/ā] (Lucil.+)
  PIt. *korto-.
  PIE *kr̥-to- 'cut off'. IE cognates: Hit. karš(iie/a)-ʲⁱ 'to cut off, separate, stop', CLuw. karš- 'to cut' < pr. *kers-; Gr. κείρω 'to cut off, shave', καρτός 'cut off, shorn', Arm. k'erem 'to scratch, scrape off'; Alb. shqerr 'tears'; Lith. skìrti 'to separate'; OHG sceran 'to shave, cut off', OIc. skera 'to cut off'.

Lat. curtus seems to reflect *kr̥-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 *kʷer- 'to cut', on the basis of Hit. kuerzi. The verbal forms of *kʷer- mainly mean 'to cut' (Hit. kuerzi) or 'to make' (in IIr., Skt. kr̥ṇóti), 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-.

Bibl.: WH I: 316f., EM 160f., IEW 938ff., Meiser 1998: 63, Driessen 2001: 61, LIV *(s)ker- 'to shave, scratch' and *(s)kerH- 'to separate, divide'. → carō, corium

curvus 'curved, bent' [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)
  Derivatives: curvor 'curvature' (Varro); concurvāre 'to bend down' (Lab.); incurvēscere 'to become curved' (Enn.), incurvus 'crooked' (Ter.+).
  PIt. *ku/orwo-.
  PIE *kur-u̯o-? 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 *kr̥-u̯o-. 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-.

Bibl.: WH I: 317, EM 161, IEW 935ff., Meiser 1998: 64, Schrijver 1997a: 297. → carcer?

O. kúru, SPic. qora [nom.sg.], **koram** [acc.sg.], **O. kúrass, SPic. qoras** [acc.pl.] 'stone object'.
  PIt. *korā-.

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: 420f., LIV 2.*(s)ker-.

cuspis, -dis 'sharp point, spear' [f. *d*] (Varro+)
    Derivatives: *curis* 'spear' (Ov., Paul. *ex F.*).

Szemerényi 1989: 26 etymologizes *cuspis* as *kuri-spid-*, a compound of *curis* 'spear' and a PIt. 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 315, 318, EM 160f., IEW 981f.

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-* < *kudʰ-to-* 'hidden' as in Go. *huzd*, OHG *hort* and Gr. κεύθω 'to hide'. Apart from the difficulty of a development *-dʰt- > -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. *-sēds*, 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' > *nīdus*. 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 319, EM 161, IEW 951ff., Leumann 1977: 168, Nowicki 1978, Meiser 1998: 119.

cutis 'skin' [f. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *intercus, -tis* [adj.] 'subcutaneous' (Pl.+).

PIt. **kuti-*.

PIE **kHu-t-i-* 'skin, hide'. IE cognates: MW *eskit*, Co. *eskit, esgis* 'shoe' (< **ped-skūt-*); Gr. σκῦτος [n.] 'leather, skin', Gr. εγκυτί 'onto the skin' < **kHut-*; OPr. *keuto* 'skin', Lith. *kiáutas* 'shell, rind' < **keHu-to-*; Olc. *húð*, OE *hȳd*, OHG *hūt* , ToA *kāc* 'skin' (< **kwāc*) < **(s)kuHt-(i-/-es-)*.

Latin *cutis* exactly matches the Germanic forms and ToA *kāc* 'skin'; it is an *i*-stem based on a *t*-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. εγκυτί, 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).

Bibl.: WH I: 320, 709, EM 161, IEW 952, Schrijver 1991: 239f.

D

-dam -dē -dō -dum [suffix, prep., pref.]: 1. *quīdam, quaedam, quoddam* [adj.; declension like *quī*] 'a particular, a certain' (Pl.+); *quīdam, quaedam, quiddam* 'a certain' (old nom. or acc.sg. *quesdam* 1x Acc.) (Pl.+); *quondam* 'formerly, once' (Naev.+); 2. *dē* [prep. + abl., pref.] 'from, off; without; about' (Lex XII, Andr.+); *dēnique* 'finally, at last' (Pl.+). 3. *dōnec* [cj.] 'until, while' (Lex XII+), *dōnicum* 'until' (Andr.+), *quandō* 'when' (Andr.+). 4. *dum* [adv.; cj.] 'in the meantime; as long as' (Pl.+), (-)*dum* enclitic particle of stress.

Derivatives: (2) *dehinc* [adv.] 'from now on, next' (Pl.+), *dein, deinde* 'then, next' (Lex XII+), *dēmum* '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.+), *nequedum* or *necdum* 'and not yet' (Pl.+), *nōndum* 'not yet' (Pl.+), *primumdum* 'in the first place' (Pl.+), *quīdum* 'why?' (Pl., Ter.), *vixdum* 'scarcely' (Ter.+).

PIt. **do-/dā-* this', **dē* 'with this'. It. cognates: Fal. *de* 'from' (possibly Latin, see Giacomelli 1963: 242). O. *dat* [prep. + abl.] 'from', prev. *da-*, U. *da-*, probably < **dād* [abl.sg.f.] to **do-/dā-*; U. *nersa* 'as long as not, ere' < **ne-dām*.

PIE **de, *do* 'here'. IE cognates: Olr. *di, de, di-*, OW *di*, W. *di-*; Bret. *di*; Olr. *dí* 'from' < **dē*; Olr. *do, du* < PCl. **do* 'to' [prep.]; Gr. δή 'even, indeed, right'; OCS *do* 'to' < PSl. **do*; OE OS *tō*, OHG *zuo*, NHG *zu* 'to' < PGm. **tō*.

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. dēmum/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. dōne/ique 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, *h₂eu, *ǵʰe/*ǵʰo), it acquired (pro)nominal inflection in some of the daughter languages. In Italic, we find traces of an ins.sg. *doh₁, and *deh₁, 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 *-eh₁. 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 325f., 339, EM 164, 168, 183f., 187, IEW 181-183, Kortlandt 1983b, Untermann 2000: 120, 155f., 491. → -de; -dem; endo, indu-, indi-

damnum 'loss, expense' [n. o] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: damnōsus (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'.
PIt. *dapno-.
PIE *dh₂p-no- 'expense, investment'.
Bibl.: WH I: 322, EM 163f., IEW 176f., LIV *deh₂p-. → daps

daps, -is 'sacrificial meal, feast' [f. ip] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: dapsālis 'sacrificial' (Cato+), dapsilis 'plentiful, abundant' (Naev.+).
PIt. *dap-.
PIE *dh₂p-s 'sacrificial meal, portion'. IE cognates: Hit. tappala- 'person responsible for court cooking'; Gr. δάπτω (*δαπϳω) 'to tear to pieces, slaughter', Gr. δαπάνη 'loss, expense', Arm. tawn 'feast', OIc. tafn 'sacrificial animal, sacrificial meal'.

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).

PIt. *dawetio- 'gift'.

PIE *douH-ó- 'giving, bestowing'. IE cognates: Olr. dúas 'gift, reward, recompense given to poets'; Skt. dúvas- [n.] 'gift, sacrifice, hommage' < *duH-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' > *dauo-, 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 324f., EM 346, Driessen 2003b: 354f., Vine 2006a: 238, LIV ?*deh₃u-. → duim

-de 'there' [ptcle.]: quamde, quande 'than' (Andr.+), inde 'thence' (Pl.+), deinde 'afterwards' (Lex XII+), exim, exin, exinde 'thereafter' (Pl.+), unde 'whence?' (Pl.+), undique 'from every side' (Pl.+)

PIt. *-de. It. cognates: O. pún, pun, pon, U. pune, puni, ponne, pone 'when' < *kʷom-de; O. punum 'when' < *kʷom-de + -um.

PIE *de 'here, there'. IE cognates: MW hwnn, Olr. sund < PCl. *so-de 'this', Olr. suide, n. sodain < *so-de-so 'that', *sin-de (anaphoric pronoun) > article *sindos, f. sindā, Olr. féin, fadéin 'own, self' < *sue-de-sin, Olr. céin, cadéin, cadesin < *ke-de-sin 'even, namely'; Gr. -δε 'towards; this', δέ '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 ubī 'where' was probably modelled on inde next to ibī 'there', although unde might also have been formed directly to the interrogative (post-PIE) stem *kʷu-. 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. dēhibuistī), ppp. dēbitum] (Pl.+)

Contracted from *dē-habeō 'I hold away from someone, I withhold'.
Bibl.: WH I: 326, EM 165, IEW 407ff., Leumann 1977: 118, Sihler 1995: 83. → habeō

dēbilis 'weak; crippled' [adj. i] (Pl.+; dēbil [nom.sg.m.] Enn.)
Derivatives: dēbilitāre 'to weaken' (Varro+).
PIt. *dē-be/oli- 'without strength'.

PIE *bel-o- 'strength, power'. IE cognates: Skt. *bála-* [n.] 'strength, power', Gr. βέλτερος 'better' (post-H. βελτίων) , βέλτατος, βέλτιστος 'best'; OCS *boljii* 'bigger, better', f. *boļьši*, n. *bolje*, SCr. *bȍljī* 'better' < *bol-(i)is-io-.

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, *dē-bilis* may contain an old *i*-stem abstract. While Skt. *bála-* 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 326f., EM 165, IEW 96, Leumann 1977: 449, Meiser 1998: 99, Nussbaum 2007a.

decem 'ten' [num. indecl.] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *ūndecim* 'eleven' (Pl.+), *duodecim* 'twelve' (Pl.), *trēdecim* 'thirteen' (Liv.+), *quattuordecim* 'fourteen', *quīndecim* 'fifteen', *sēdecin* 'sixteen', *septem/ndecim* 'seventeen'; *decu/imus* 'tenth' (Naev.+), *decu/ima* 'a tenth part, tithe' (Pl.+), *decumānus* [adj.] 'related to the tenth' (Lucil.+); *deciē(n)s* [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.+).

PIt. *dekm̥ 'ten'; *dekamo- 'tenth'; the ordinal *dekm̥to- may be preserved in O. *dekmtāsio-; *dekuria 'group of ten', *oinos/m-dekm̥ 'eleven'. It. cognates: U. *desenduf* [acc.pl.f.] 'twelve' < *desen 'ten' + *duf < *duōns 'two' [acc.pl.mf.]; O. δεκμας 'a tithe' < *dekm̥-o-; O. dekmanniúis [dat.abl. or loc.pl.] '?' probably < *dekemānjo- 'who guards the tithes'; maybe O. degetasis [nom.sg.m.], degetasiús [nom.pl.m.], deketasiúi [dat.sg.m.] '?' (attr. to meddíss) , probably *dekm̥-to- 'tenth' + *-āsios 'who is responsible for a tenth'. U. tekuries, dequrier [dat.abl.pl.] '?'; also U. tekvias [nom.pl. or gen.sg.] '?'?

PIE *dekm̥ 'ten', *dekm̥-to- 'tenth'. IE cognates: OIr. *deich*, W. *deg*, Skt. *dáśa*, YAv. *dasa*, Gr. δέκα, Arm. *tasn*, Go. *taihun*, ToA *śäk*, ToB *śak* 'ten'; Gaul. *decametos*, Celtib. *tekametam*, Skt. *daśamá-*, Av. *dasəma-*, Gr. δέκατος 'tenth'.

Lat. *decem*, U. *desen* < PIt. *dekm̥. 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 *dekamo- 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 *k^wet-ur-* 'four'.

Bibl.: WH I: 327-329, EM 165-166, IEW 191, Leumann 1977: 292, Coleman 1992: 396, Sihler 1995: 416ff., Untermann 2000:157f., 165-167, 169, 740f. → *vīgintī*, *-gintā, centum*

decet 'to add grace; be right' [v. II; pf. *decuit*; only in 3s. and 3p.] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *decus, -oris* [n.] 'high esteem, dignity' (Pl.+), *decor* [m.] 'beauty' (Naev.+), *decorāre* 'to embellish, honour' (Naev.+), *decōrus* 'handsome, decent' (Pl.+), *condecorāre* 'to embellish' (Pl.+); *dīgnus* 'appropriate, worthy' (Pl.+), *dignāre* 'to consider worthy' (Pac.+), *dignitās* 'dignity, excellence' (Pl.+); *dēdecus, -oris* 'discredit' (Pl.); *condecet* 'it is fitting for' (Pl.+).

PIt. *dek-ē-* 'fits, is right', *dek-no-* 'worthy', *dek-o/es-* 'dignity'. It. cognates: U. **tiçit** [3s.pr.] 'ought to' < *dek-ē-ti*; U. *dersecor* [nom.pl.n.] maybe 'required' < *de-dek-o-*. In the second syllable, *e* would have been restored.

PIE *dek̑-eh₁-, *dek̑-es-* 'which is received' > 'decoration' > 'dignity', *dek̑-no-*. IE cognates: OIr. *dech* 'best' < *dek̑-os*: Skt. pr. *dāṣṭi, dāśat-* [ptc.act.]; pr. *dāśati* [3s.act.]; pr. *dāśnóti* [3s.act.]; *dāś-* [f.] 'worship', *daśasyati* 'to render service' < *dek̑es-ie/o-*; Gr. pr. δέχομαι / δέκομαι, aor. δέξασθαι, 3p. δέχαται, ep. aor. ptc. δέγμενος, ind. ἐδέγμην 'to take, accept', Myc. *de-ka-sa-to* /deksato/ [3s.aor.med.], Arm. *etes* 'saw'.

Lat. *decōr-* 'beauty' may have been formed productively to *decet*. 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, *indecōrus* (Cic.+) was the starting point for *decōrus*; but the more recent date of *indecōrus* does not support this scenario.

Bibl.: WH I: 330, EM 166f., IEW 189-191, Untermann 2000: 168, 754f., Stüber 2002: 77, LIV *dek̑-. → *dexter, discō, doceō*

dēcrepitus 'worn out (with age), decrepit' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

PIt. *krep-eto-* 'strong / quick'.

PIE *krep-eto-* 'strong'. IE cognates: MIr. *crim* 'quick', W. *cryf*, Bret. *kreñv* 'strong' < PCl. *krimo-* < *krp-mo-* (cf. Hamp 1960-61); OCS *krěpъ* 'strong' < PBSl. *kreʔp-*, OIc. *hrǽfa* 'to endure' < *krēp-*.

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. *krepVt(o)-*. 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.

dĕfrutum 'grape juice boiled down into a syrup' [n. *o*] (Pl.+; once *dēfritum* Nonius 551.7 15)

Derivatives: *dēfrutāre* 'to boil down into a syrup' (Cato+).
Plt. **fruto-*.
PIE **bʰru-to-* 'boiled'. IE cognates: W. *brwd*, f. *brod*, Bret. *brout* 'warm, fervent' < **bʰruto-*, OIr. *bruth* [n.] < **-tu-*, *bruithe* 'boiled, broth' < **-tio-*; OHG *prod*, OE *broð*, OIc. *broð* [n.] 'broth' < **bʰruto-*.

Lat. *f* is the reflex of **bʰ-* in anlaut, hence the compound of *dē* and **fruto-* is not very old. In *dēfritum* we find regular vowel reduction in medial syllable. Lat. *-frutum* reflects the ppp. of the same root 'to boil' from which *ferveō* derives. In contrast to earlier treatments, Schrijver 1991: 252-256 separates IE reflexes of a root **bʰr(e)h₁u-/*bʰruh₁-* 'to whirl, seethe' from a root **bʰru-* 'to boil', even if these may be cognate at a deeper level (p. 256). After all, the meanings are quite similar.

Bibl.: WH I: 333f., EM 167, IEW 144f., Schrijver 1991: 254f., LIV **bʰeru-*. → *fermentum*, *ferveō*

dĕleō 'to remove, efface' [v. II; pf. *dēlēvī*, ppp. *dēlētum*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *dēlētilis* [adj.] 'that erases' (Varro), *dēlētiō* 'destruction' (Lucil.).
Plt. **ol-eje/o-*.
PIE **h₃elh₁-eie/o-* 'to destroy'. IE cognates: Hit. *hallanna/i-* 'to trample down, to flatten (fields and plants)', Gr. ὄλλυμι, -μαι 'to wreck, destroy, lose', intr. 'to go to waste, be ruined, be lost'.

WH and IEW assume that *dēlēre* is a back-formation to pf. *dē-lēvī* to **dēlinere* 'to wipe off', because of the long vowel *ē* in the pf. The model would have been the antonym *implēre* – *implēvī*. In the oldest attestations, the main meaning is 'to wipe out' rather than 'to destroy'. Yet in view of the persistance of *linō*, *lēvī*, the alleged disappearance of **dēlinō* would be conspicuous (a new *dēlinō* exists since Varro). Schrijver hesitatingly suggests that *dēleō* may stem from **-h₃leh₁-ti* or **-h₃leh₁-ie-ti*. Meiser 2003 simply assumes that *dēleō* derives from a causative **dē-oleō*; according to him, the pf. and ppp. have been influenced by *fleō* and *com-pleō*. If Hit. *hallanna-* is indeed cognate, it might continue the original PIE meaning, which shifted to 'destroy' elsewhere (Kloekhorst 2008: 271f.).

Bibl.: WH I: 335f., EM 167f., IEW 662ff., Schrijver 1991: 403, Meiser 1998: 190, 2003: 139, Seldeslachts 2001: 84f., LIV **h₃elh₁-*. → *aboleō*, *linō*, *ulcīscor*

dĕlicus 'weaned' [adj. *o/ā*] (Varro, *Rust.* 2.4.16: *cum porci depulsi sunt a mamma, a quibusdam deli<c>i appellantur neque iam lactantes dicuntur* [mss.: *deliti, delicti*]; Cato, *Agr.* 2.7: *boves vetulos, armenta delicula, oves deliculas, lanam, pellem, ... vendat.*)

Derivatives: *dēlicuus* 'lacking, missing' (Pl.+), *dēliculus* '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 *dēlinquō* 'to be lacking, fail' (Pl.+) does not explain the form *dēliculus*, 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.+)

PIt. **-im*. It. cognates: see s.v. *īdem* 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 *eō, eā* < **eōd, *eād*. 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. **ísidum, 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. **ídik, ídik**, *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*; *īdem*; *ita*; *-nem, quis, quid*; *tam*

dĕns, -tis 'tooth' [f. *ī*] (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.+).

PIt. **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. *dét* 'tooth', W. *dant* < **h₃dnt-*; Skt. *dánt-* (nom.sg. *dán*, acc.sg. *dántam*, gen.sg. *datás*) , Av. *daitika-* [m.] 'wild, undomesticated animal', YAv. *vīmītō.dantan-* [adj.] 'with shapeless teeth', MoP *dandān* 'tooth'; Gr. Ionic ὀδών, later ὀδούς 'tooth', νωδός 'toothless' < **n-h₃d-o-*; Aeol.Gr. ἔδοντες 'teeth' (only in a 12th-c. AD gloss which states that "the Aeolians say *édontas* for *ódontas*, and *edúnas* for *odúnas*") , Arm. *atamn* 'tooth'; OPr. *dantis*, Lith. *dantis* 'tooth', gen.pl. *dantų̃*, Ru. *desná* 'gum', Go. *tunþus*, OHG *zand*. From the same root: Lith. *úodas*, Latv. *uôds* 'gnat' < **ōdas* < **ódos* < **h₃e/odos*, Gr. ὀδυνή '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 ἔδω 'to eat'. In Armenian, *at-* can reflect *h₂d- or *h₃d-, which confirms that Gr. *odont-* is original.

Bibl.: WH I: 340, EM 169, IEW 289, Beekes 1969: 55, Leumann 1977: 343, Schrijver 1991: 23, 416, Sihler 1995: 85, 89, Beekes 1995: 179, Meiser 1998: 99, Untermann 2000: 189f.

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(e̯)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 *denseō* 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)ns-o-* or **dns-uo-* (since from **d(e)ns-u-* one would expect **dēnsuis*). The connection with δασύς can only be upheld if PIE **s* was indeed retained after **n̥* in Greek, which is disputed.

Bibl.: WH I: 341f., EM 169f., IEW 202f.

deus 'god, deity' [m. *o*] (VOLat.+: nom.sg. *deiuos* (Duenos inscr.), *deiva* (Pisaurum, 3ᵈ c.); CLat. *deus*, nom.pl. *dī, deī, diī*, gen.pl. *deōrum, deum*, dat.abl.pl. *dīs, deīs, diīs, dibus*)

Derivatives: *dea* 'goddess' (Pl.+); *dīvus* [m./adj.] 'a god; godlike' (CIL, Andr.+), *dīus* [adj.] 'divine' (Enn.+); *dīvīnus* 'id.' (inscr., Pl.+) (variants: *deinus, dīnus* CIL, Pl.), *dīvīnitus* [adv.] 'by divine inspiration' (Pl.+).

PIt. **deiwo-*. It. cognates: Ven. **deivos** [acc.pl.] 'god'; O. **deívaí** [dat.sg.f.], **deívas** [gen.sg.f.?], Vol. *deue* [dat.sg.m. or f.] 'goddess' or 'godlike'; O. *deiuatud* [3s.ipv.II], *deiuaid* [3s.pr.sb.], *deiuast* [3s.fut.], *deiuatu<n>s* [ppp., nom.pl.m.] 'to swear', denom. verb to **deiwo-*. Probably O. **deivinais** [dat.abl.pl.f.] 'of the Deiva' < **deiwo- + -īno-*.

PIE **dei-u-o-* 'god, divinity (god of the clear sky)'. IE cognates: OIr. *dia* 'god', OW *duiutit* 'divinity'; Skt. *devá-*, Av. *daēuua-* [m.] 'god', OPr. *deywis*, Lith. *diēvas*, Latv. *dievs* 'god'; OIc. *Týr* 'name of a wargod', pl. *tívar* 'gods', OE *Tīw*, OHG *Zīo* 'wargod'.

PIt. **deiw-* 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 *ī* where **u̯* had remained: gen.sg., nom.pl. **dēwī* > **dīwī*, dat.abl.pl. **dīwīs*. Eventually, the two different reflexes were semantically differentiated: *deus, deī* '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. *dīwī > diī, dat.abl.pl. dīs, which formed the basis for the creation of a new adj. dīus, with basically the same meaning as dīvus. Note that, under this analysis, the adj. dīus 'divine' is not the same word as dīus 'daylit' (see s.v. diū).

PIE *deiuo- is a derivation from PIE *di-u- 'God of the sky, divine sky', with introduction of e-grade in the root, and o-suffixation.

Bibl.: WH I: 345f., EM 170f., IEW 185f., Lejeune 1974: 332, Meiser 1998: 86, Untermann 2000: 161-163. → diēs, diū, Iūpiter

dexter, -(e)ra, -(e)rum 'right (opposite of left)' [adj. o/ā] (Andr.+; comp. *dexterior*, sup. *dextimus*;)

Derivatives: *dext(e)ra* [f.] 'right hand' (Pl.), *dext(e)rā* 'on the right-hand side' (Pl.+), *dextrorsum, dextrōuorsum* (Pl.+) [adv.] 'toward the right-hand side'.

PIt. *dekstero-; *deks(i)wo-. It. cognates: U. *destrame* [acc.sg.f. + -en] , **testru** [abl.sg.m/n.], **testruku**, *destruco* [abl.sg.m. + -com] , **testre e**, *destre* [loc.sg.m. + -en] , O. **destrst** [nom.sg.f. + **íst**] 'right'; U. *desua, dersua*, **tesvam** [acc.sg.f.], *dersua* [abl.sg.f.] 'right' [adj.] (o/ā) < *deksuo- or *deksiuo-.

PIE *deḱs-tero- 'right, right-hand side', *deḱs-(i)uo- 'what is proper, right'. IE cognates: OIr. *dess* 'right, south' (< *deks-uo-), MW *deheu*, W. *deau*, MCo. *dehow*, Bret. *dehou* 'right, south' < LPBr. *deχou < *deksouiā 'right (side)' << *deks(i)uo-'right'; Skt. *dákṣina-*, Gr. δεξιτερός, δεξιός '(to the) right (side)', Myc. PN *de-ki-si-wo /deksiwos/*, Gr. δεξιϝος, δεξιότης 'dexterity, cleverness' (Pamphyl.), Alb. *djathtë* 'right', Lith. *dešinas*, OCS *desnъ*, Go. *taihswa*, OHG *zeso* 'id.'.

On the basis of syncopated forms such as *dextrum* (in which *-ter- > -tr-), Beekes 1994: 88 assumes that the preform had no *i, hence was *deksteros in Latin; this is in agreement with the Sabellic forms, cf. Meiser 1986: 41, 169. The stem *deks(i)wo- found in Umbrian can be connected with PCl. *deks-wo- and with Germanic *teχswō(n)-. For PIE, Beekes assumes doublets *deḱs and *deḱs-i 'right(-hand side)', from which *tero*-derivatives could be derived. Stüber (2002: 77) suggests that *deḱs might contain the s-stem noun *deḱos 'what is fitting, proper' (see s.v. *decet*). In Stüber 2006, she proposes to regard *deks-iuo- as analogical to the word for 'left' < *skeh₂iuo- and *leh₂iuo- (see s.v. *scaevus, laevus*). PIE *deḱsitero- would be a more recent derivative in *-tero- on the basis of *deḱsiuo-.

Bibl.: WH I: 331, EM 171, IEW 189-191, Beekes 1994, Schrijver 1995: 330f., Untermann 2000: 169-171.

Diāna 'goddess' [f. ā] (Naev.+; insc. also *Deana, Deuiana*. In older scansion *Dīāna*, with long ī)

Probably derived from *dīus* 'godly'. Explained from *diwjā-na* by Solmsen, as 'the one who belongs to the moon goddess *Divia* (the Shiner)'. Leumann 1977 explains the name as a derivation from *sub diū* 'in the open air'.

Bibl.: WH I: 347, EM 172, IEW 183ff., Leumann 1977: 106, 325. → *deus, diēs, diū*

dīcō, -ere 'to talk, speak; declare' [v. III; pf. *dīxī*, ppp. *dictum*; gdve. also *dīcundus* (Pl.+)] (Naev.+; inscr. *deicere* SCBac., *deixsistis* CIL 586)

Derivatives: (1) *indīcens* 'without (my) speaking' (Ter.+), *indictus* 'not said' (Cato+); *addīcere* 'to assign, award' (Lex XII+), *addictus* 'enslaved person', *condīcere* 'to engage oneself. in, fix by contract' (Pl.+), *condictor* 'one who fixes' (Pl.), *ēdīcere* 'to proclaim' (Naev.+), *ēdictiō* 'decree' (Pl.), *ēdictāre* 'to declare' (Pl.), *indīcere* 'to proclaim' (Pl.+), *indictīvus* 'publicly proclaimed' (Varro+), *interdīcere* 'to forbid' (Pl.+), *praedīcere* 'to prescribe; say beforehand' (Naev.+), *praecō* 'crier, announcer' (Andr.+), *praecōnium* 'declaration, auctioneer's function' (Pl.+), *prōdīcere* 'to give notice' (CIL 583, Varro+); *benedīcere* 'to speak well of' (Pl.+), *maledīcere* 'to insult' (Pl.+), *maledicāx* 'slanderous' (Pl.); (2) *dicāre* 'to assign, dedicate; indicate' (Pl.+), *abdicāre* 'to deny, renounce' (Pac.+), *dēdicāre* 'to declare, dedicate' (Cato+), *indicāre* 'to make known, reveal' (Pl.+), *indicātiō* 'valuation' (Pl.+), *praedicāre* 'to make known' (Pl.+), *praedicātiō* 'special mention, statement' (Pl.+); (3) *dicāx* 'having a ready tongue' (Pl.+), *dicāculus* 'talkative' (Pl.+); (4) *diciō* 'dominion, power' (Pl.+), *condiciō* 'contract, term' (Pl.+); (5) *dicis causā* 'for the sake of. appearance' (Varro+); (6) *-dicus* 'one who says': *benedicē* 'with friendly words' (Pl.), *causidicus* 'advocate' (Lucr.+), *maledicus* 'evil-speaking' (Pl.+); (7) *-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.+), *iūdicāre* 'to judge, try' (Pl.+), *iūdicātum* 'judgement debt' (Lex XII+), *iūdicātiō* 'juridical power' (CIL 1.583+), *vindex* 'surety, defender' (Lex XII, Pl.+), *vindiciae* [f.pl.] 'interim possession' (Lex XII,'Cato+), *vindicta* 'the claiming of. liberty' (Pl.+), *vindicāre* 'to lay claim to' (Lex XII, Pl.+); (8) *dictātor* 'dictator' (Naev.+), *dictātrix* 'f. dictator' (Pl.); *dictiō* 'speaking, utterance' (Ter.+); *dictitāre* 'to repeat' (Pl.+); *dictus, -ūs* 'the saying' (Ter.+); *dictāre* 'to indicate, dictate' (Cic.+).

PIt. pr. **deik-e/o-* 'to say', aor. **deik-s-*; pf. **de-dik-[us-]*, ppp. **dik-to-*; root noun **-dik-s* 'saying'. The meanings of. Lat. *iūdex* and PSab. **med(es)-dik-* are so similar that they suggest a common origin or mutual influence. It. cognates: (1) O. **deikum**, *deicum* [inf.pr.], *deicans* [3p.pr.sb.], U. **teitu**, *deitu* [3s.ipv.II] < pr. **deik-e/o-*; O. *dicust*, U. *dersicust* [3s.fut.pf.], *dersicurent* [3p.fut.pf.] 'to say' < pf. **de-dik-us-*; (2) O. **dadíkatted** [3s.pf.] is probably a calque on *dēdicāre*. Very uncertain is U. **tikamne** [dat.sg.], a theonym, which has been explained as **dik-ā-men-(o-)*; (7) O. **meddiss, meddís**, *meddis* [nom.sg.], μεδεκον [acc.sg.], **medikeís** [gen.sg.], **medikeí** [dat.sg.], **medikid** [abl.sg.], **medd[i]ks**, μεδδειξ [nom.pl.], Marr. *medix*, Mars. *medis*, *meddiss* [nom.sg.], Pael. *medix*, Vol. *medix* [nom.pl.] 'judge' (vel sim.) < PSab. **med-dik-* or **medes-dik-* 'who speaks law', O. μεδεκαν [acc.sg.] to f. **med-de/ikā-* 'female judge', O. **meddikkiaí, medikkiaí**, μεδικιαι [loc.sg.] < **med-dik-jā-* 'the office of. a meddix', O. *medicim* [acc.sg.] , *meddixud* [abl.sg.], μεδδικεν [loc.sg. + -en] < **med-dik-jo-* 'place of the tribunal, office of. the magistrate', O. *medicatud* [ppp., abl.sg.m.] 'judged' < **med-dik-ā-to-*, O. *medicatinom* [acc.sg.] 'judgement'. This points to a PSab. verb **med-dikā-*.

PIE pr. **deik̂-e/o-* 'to show', aor. **deik̂-s-*, root noun **-dik̂-s*. IE cognates: Skt. *diś-* 'to show': *diśánt-* [ptc.act.], *diśámāna-* [ptc.med.]; *dideś-* [pr.]; *diṣṭá-* 'shown

(direction)'; *diš-* [f.] 'direction, point of the compass'; OAv. *daēdōišt* [3s.inj.act.], aor. *dāiš* [2s.inj.act.], *dōišā* [1s.sb.act.], *dōišī* [2s.ipv.act.] 'to show'; Gr. δείκνῡμι 'to show'; δίκη 'manner, custom'; Go. *ga-teihan* 'to indicate, proclaim', OHG *zīhan* 'to show; incriminate'.

The relative chronology shows that *dictātor* and *dictātrīx* (8) are independent of the verb *dictāre*, which was formed later. The verb *dicāre* may well have been backformed from compounds in *-dicāre*. 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 *-spiciō*) and *-fex* (to *-ficiō*). Lat. *iūdex* < **ious-dik-*, *vindex* from *vindicit* (Lex XII) < **vim dīcit*, and *index* analogical to *indicāre*. *Praecō* shows syncope from **praidikō* > **praedkō* > *praecō*.

Bibl.: WH I: 348f., EM 172f., 320, IEW 188f., Benveniste 1969 II: 107ff., Leumann 1977: 94, 267, 549, Schrijver 1991: 164, 216, Untermann 2000: 154, 159f., 455ff., 753, LIV 1.*deiḱ-*.

dīēs, diēī 'day, daytime' [m. (f.) *ē*] (Lex XII, Andr.+)

Derivatives: *diēcula* 'brief day' (Pl.+); *hodiē* 'today' (Naev.+), *merīdiē* 'midday' (Pl.+), *cottīdiē* 'daily' (Pl.+), *perendiē* 'on the day after tomorrow' (Pl.+), *postrīdiē* '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.+).

PIt. **diē-*. It. cognates: O. *iúklei* [loc.sg.] 'day' < **dio-kelo-* << **diou-kelo-*; O. *zicolom* [acc.sg.], *ziculud* [abl.sg.], *zicel[ei]* [loc.sg.], *zicolom* [gen.pl.] 'day' < **djē-kelo-* 'little day'. Disputed: U. *tiçel* [nom.sg.], *tiçlu* [abl.sg.] 'day'(?).

PIE **di-eu-* 'God of the clear sky, Clear Sky'. IE cognates: see s.v. *Iūpiter*.

Lat. *dīēs* is based on the disyllabic PIt. acc.sg. **dijēm* (Lat. *diem*) < PIE **di(j)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 **djē-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 *iúklei* << **djou-kelo-* may have been built on the Italic stem **djou-* from loc.sg. **djeu* 'in the sky', see s.v. *diū*.

Bibl.: WH I: 350, EM 174f., IEW 184f., Sihler 1995: 339, Untermann 2000: 352, 754, 868f. → *Iūpiter, peren[diē*

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 *dicō* 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 351, EM 175, IEW 188f., Leumann 1977: 232, Meiser 1998: 126.

-dinus 'day' [adj. *o/ā*]: *diēs perendinus* 'the day after tomorrow' (Pl.+), *nūndinae* [f.pl.] 'a market-day, occurring every ninth day' (Lex XII, Cic.+), *nūndinālis* 'of market-days' (Pl.+), *nūndinum* [n.] 'the period from one market-day to the next' (Cic.+) *noundinum* [gen.pl.] (SCBac.)

PIt. *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: OIr. *denus* 'period of time', *trēdenus* 'period of three days'; Skt. *madhyamdina-* [m.] 'midday, noon', *su-dina-* [n.] 'dawning beautifully, light of the day'; OPr. *deinan* [acc.sg.], Lith. *dienà*, Latv. *diena*, OCS *dьnь* 'day' [m.], *dьne* [gen.sg.], Ru. *den'* [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 BSl. forms show that this was probably a PIE *n*-stem, whereas the widespread *o*-stem must have arisen in compounds.

Bibl.: WH II: 188, 287, EM 175, 447, 498, IEW 183-187, Leumann 1977: 134, Schrijver 1991: 275. → *diēs, diu, heri, peren/diē*

dīrus 'awful, dreadful' [adj. *o/ā*] (Cic.+) .

Derivatives: *dīrae* [f.pl.] 'bad omens' (Cic.+), *Dīrae* 'the Furies' (Verg.+).

PIE *duei-ro- 'fearful' / *dueis-o- 'hated'. IE cognates: Skt. *dviṣ-* 'hate, enmity, enemy', 'enemy', *-dviṣ-* 'hating' (RV+), OAv. *daibiš-uuant-* 'enemy'; Skt. *dveṣ-* 'to hate', *dveṣas-* 'hate, enmity, hater, enemy', *a-dveṣá-* 'not hostile'; Gr. δείδω 'to fear' < pf. *δέ-δϝοι-α; Att. δέδοικα < *δέ-δϝοι-κα, aor. δεῖσαι (Il.) < *δϝεῖ-σαι.

A religious term. Mostly reconstructed as *dwei-ro-, in which case initial *d-* instead of *b-* < *dw- is unexpected. *Dīrus* is therefore explained as a dialectal form (EM, IEW), which seems to be confirmed by Serv. auct. Aen. 3, 235 *Sabīnī et Umbrī, 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 obscuro. 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 *duei̯-.

dis- 'away, apart' [pref.] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *dī-* (in front of *b,d,g,l,m,n,v,r*; *dismota* SCBac.), *dir-* (in front of vowels), *dif-* (in front of *f*).

PIt. *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. διά 'in two, apart,

through' [adv.], 'through' [prep.] < *διϭ-α; also δα- 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 < *διϭ-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 of *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 *dui-* 'into two, apart'. Another possibility is a dissimilation *dwis- > *dis-* in front of verbs starting in *w-, especially in the compounds *dīvidere* 'to divide' and *dīvertere* 'to divert'. Yet a separation of *dis-* from δια- is unattractive; and in Greek, δυϭ- has remained alive as a prefix – but meaning 'bad'. Hence, Proto-Greek may have had all three forms: *dus- 'bad', *dui- 'two' and *dis-(a-) '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*

discipulus 'pupil' [m. *o*] (Pl.)
Derivatives: *disciplīna* 'teaching, discipline' (Pl.+), *disciplīnōsus* 'well-trained' (Cato). PIt. *kapelo-* 'who takes'.

WH derive *discipulus* from *dis-capiō* 'to assume mentally, interpret' (cf. *disceptāre* '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*

discō, -ere 'to learn' [v. III; pf. *didicī*] (Pl.+)
PIt. *dikske/o-* [pr.], *de-dok-* [pf.] (>> *di-dok-* after the present, Leumann 1977: 586).
PIE *di-dk-sk-e/o-, pf. *de-dok-* '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.
Bibl.: WH I: 331, EM 176, IEW 189-191, Sihler 1995: 115, 507, Meiser 1998: 210, LIV *dek-. → *decet, doceō*

diū, diu 'by day; for a long time' [adv.] (Naev.+)
Derivatives: (1) *nūdiūstertius* '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. *diŭtius*, *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.+); *bīduum* 'period of two days' (Cato+), *trīduum* 'period of three days' (Pl.+), *quadrīduum* 'period of four days' (Pl.+); (5) *dīus* [adj.] 'daylit' (Enn.+).

Plt. nom. **di(j)ous*, gen. **diwos*, loc. **di(j)ou / *djowi* 'day'; ad. **-dīwo-* 'of the day'.

PIE **di-eu-* 'day; sky'. IE cognates: see s.v. *Iūpiter*; Skt. *divyá-* [adj.] 'heavenly, divine' (RV+), Gr. δῖος [adj.] 'heavenly' (Il.), also 'belonging to Zeus' (trag.).

(1) The form *diŭs*, which is suspected to be attested in *nudiustertius* and *mediusfidius*, might be the old nom.sg. **dijēus* > **dijeus* (syllabic **di-* analogically from the gen.sg.), with monophthongization of **eu* > *ū*. (2) The adverb *dius* can directly represent the PIE gen.sg. **diuos* 'of the day'; maybe *noctū* also replaces an older gen.sg. **nox* used as a temporal adverb. (3) The disyllabic form *diū*, with iambic shortening *diu*, can represent the loc.sg. **dijeu* > **dijū* > **diū*. It also occurs as *dīū*, with long *ī* imported from *dīvus*. Nussbaum analyzes *interdiū* as a sequence of two originally independent adverbs, 'in the meantime by day'. The comp. *diutius* might have its *t* from *diutinus* (thus Leumann 1977: 322; this would be unique); WH I: 358 assume that the suffix was taken from *sētius*, *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. *vernus*, Gr. εἰαρινός 'in the spring'). The adj. in *-duum* are from **-diuom*, n. of the adj. **-diu-o-*. WH I: 104 explain *ī* from analogy with ¦*postrīdiē*, but the model is not perfect, since **bīduus* is an adj. One might consider analogy with *bīmus* 'lasting two years' < **bi-him-o-*. (5) The adj. *dīus* (often substantivized to *dīum* 'the open sky') may be compared to Sab. **djouwjo-* 'of Jupiter'; it may thus reflect **diu-jo-* (cf. Gr. δῖος; and *Gāius* < OLat. *kavios*), unless it is identical with *dīus* 'god-like' after all.

Bibl.: WH I: 104, 357-360, II: 740, EM 174-177, IEW 183-187, Leumann 1977: 357, Sihler 1995: 339. → *deus*, *diēs*, *Iūpiter*, *-dinus*

O. diuvil(ú) , iụvilu, iúvil(ú) [nom.sg.], diuvilam, iúvilam [acc.sg.], iúvilas, iuvilas [nom.pl.] 'kind of stele, image' < **djowjelā-*?

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-e/ilā-* would undergo syncope in open second syllable, the suffix -ila- could be explained from **-ī/ēlā-*, 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. → *Iūpiter*

dīves, -itis 'wealthy, rich' [adj. *t*] (Pl.+; contracted *dīs* Ter., *dītis*, comp. *dītior* Naev.+)

Derivatives: *dīvitiae* [f.pl.] (Pl. Ter. also *dītiae*) 'abundance, riches' (Pl.+), *dīvitāre* 'to enrich' (Acc.+), *dītēscere* 'to grow rich' (Lucr.+); *Dīs, Dītis* [m.] 'ruler of the underworld' (Cic.+).

Lat. *dīves* is an adj. which was probably derived from *dīvus* as **deiu-(o/e)t-* 'who is

like / protected by the gods'. The older paradigm was nom. *dīves*, gen. *dītis*, which contraction *-īwi-* > *ī*. This led to the creation of two new, full paradigms, one in *dīvit-*, one in *dīt-* (with nom.sg. *dīs*). The occurrence of the deity *Dīs* together with *pater* may be due to association with *Di(e)spiter*.

Bibl.: WH I: 358f., EM 177, IEW 183-187, Leumann 1977: 373, Untermann 2000: 168. → *deus*

dīvidō, -ere 'to separate, divide' [v. III; pf. *dīvīsī*, ppp. *dīvīsum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *dīvidia* 'vexation' (Naev.+), *dīvidus* 'separated' (Acc.+), *dīviduus* 'divided into two or more parts' (Pl.+).

PIt. **dis-wi-þ-e/o-*.

PIE **(d)ui-dʰh₁-* 'to separate, distinguish'. IE cognates: Skt. *ávidhat* [3s.aor.act.] 'allotted', OAv. *vīda-* 'to devote oneself to'; ToAB *wātk-* 'to separate, distinguish' < **uidʰ(h₁)-sk-e/o-*.

The original PIE verb **dui-dʰh₁-* (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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 359, EM 177f., IEW 1127f., Lubotsky 1994, LIV **dʰeh₁-*. → *viduus*

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*; *danunt* 'dant' (CIL 1.1531.7, Naev., Pl. Paul. *ex F.*); pf. *dedī*, ppp. *datum*, fut. *dabō*, ipv. *dā*, *date*.

Derivatives: *datāre* 'to be in the habit of giving' (Pl.+), *datātim* 'from hand to hand' (Naev.+); *datiō* 'the act of giving' (Varro+), *datum* 'present; debit' (Pl.+), *dator* 'a giver' (Pl.+), *datus*, *-ūs* 'the act of giving' (Pl.); *dōs*, *-tis* [f.] 'dowry, endowment' (Pl.+), *dōtālis* 'forming part of a dowry' (Pl.+), *dōtātus* 'provided with a dowry' (Pl.+); *circumdare* 'to place round' (Pl.+), *dēdere* 'to surrender' (Naev.+), *dīdere* 'to distribute' (Pl.+), *ēdere* 'to eject, emit' (Pl.+), *interdare* 'to place between' (Pl.+), *prōdere* 'to project, betray' (Pl.+), *prōditor* 'traitor' (Pl.+), *reddere* 'to give back' (Naev.+), *trādere* 'to hand over, deliver' (Naev.+), *trāditiō* 'delivery' (Varro+), *vendere* 'to sell' (Naev.+), *venditāre* 'to offer for sale' (Pl.+); Forum inscr. *dotaue[re?]* 'he gave/they gave (as a privilege)'.

PIt. red.pr. **di-d-e-ti* < **didati* [Sab. pres, Latin cp. in *-dere*], aor. **dō-/da-*, pf. **deda-*, ppp. **datos*; **dōt-* [f.] 'endowment'. It. cognates: Ven. *doto* [3s.pret.] 'gave' < **d(e)h₃-to*; Vest. *didet* [3s.pr.], Pael. *dida*, U. *teřa*, *dirsa*, *dersa* [3s.pr.sb.], *dirsans*, *dirsas* [3p.pr.sb.], **titu, tetu**, *ditu*, **teřtu, tertu**, *dirstu* [3s.ipv.II], **teřte** [3s.pr.ps.], O. *didest* [3s.fut.], **deded**, δεδετ, Mars. *ded.*, Presam. **tetet**, U. **dede** [3s.pf.], O. **dedens**, δεδενς [3p.pf.], U. **teřust**, *dirsust* [3s.fut.pf.], O. δατας, Pael. *datas*, Vest. *data* [ppp., gen.sg.f.]; with prev. *dād-* O. **dadid** [3s.pf.sb.] , **da[da]d?** [3s.pr.sb.]?; with preverb *am-* 'around' U. **ateřafust**, *andersafust*, *andirsafust* [3s.fut.pf.], all 'to give'. Ven. **[?d]idor** [3s.pr.med.] of 'to give', if *d-* is correctly restored.

PIE pr. **di-d(e)h₃-* 'to give', pf. **de-dh₃-*, pf.sb. **de-dh₃-ih₁-*; root aor. **deh₃-m*,

*dh₃-me (whence Latin *dare*); ppp. *dh₃-to-; noun *dĕ/ŏh₃-t-. IE cognates: OIr. *do·rata** < **tu-ro-ad-dā-* 'be able to give', *íadaid* 'to close' < *epi-dā-* < PCl. *dā-* 'give'; Hit. *dā-ⁱ* / *d-* 'to take, wed, decide', CLuw. *lā-* 'to take', *lalā-* 'id.' < **dohₓ-/dhₓ-*, Skt. pr. *dádāti*, aor. *ádāt*, OAv. pr. *dadā-*, YAv. *daδāiti*, Gr. δίδωμι 'to give', aor. ἔδωκα, ἔδομεν, δώς 'gift', Arm. *tam* 'I give', *etow* 'I gave', OAlb. *dhae* 'gave', Lith. *dúoti* 'give', OCS *dati* 'give'.

The form *danunt* 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 *danunt*. But Sihler 1995: 544f. 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 **(di)dare* and **dʰidʰare* 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 **-dʰere*, 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 aorist. Possibly, the loss of the reduplication syllable in compounds led to the analogical loss of **di-* in the present stem. The root aorist was preserved in Venetic.

Bibl.: WH I: 360-363, EM 178-180, IEW 223-226, Giacomelli 1963: 242f., Lejeune 1974: 332f., Leumann 1977: 527, 560, Schrijver 1991: 147, 402, Sihler 1995: 520, 544ff., Meiser 1998: 185, 188, 216, Untermann 2000: 173-179, 613-615, Untermann 2002: 494, LIV *deh₃- 'give'. → *cedo, dōnum, duim; sacerdōs*

-dō, -dere 'to put' [v. III; pf. *-didī*, 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: *additiō* 'addition' (Varro); *condīre* 'to season, flavour' (Pl.+), *condīmentum* 'seasoning, spice' (Pl.+), *condītiō* 'method of preserving food' (Varro+), *condītāneus* 'suitable for preserving' (Varro), *condītīvus* 'suitable for preserving' (Cato+); *perditus, -ūs* 'ruination' (Pl.); *subditīvus* 'spurious' (Pl.+).

Plt. pr. **-þō*, **-þas*, etc.; pf. **-þeþai*, ppp. **-þato-*. It. cognates: O. **prúffed** [3s.pf.], **prúftúset** [3p.pf.ps.n.], **prúftas sú[nt** [3p.pf.ps.f.] 'to erect' < **profefet*, **profato-* < pf. **pro-dʰe-dʰhₗ-e-*, ppp. **pro-dʰhₗ-to-*; O. **manafum** [1s.pf.?], **aamanaffed, aamanafed, amanafed** [*ā-* + 3s.pf.], **emanafed** [*ē-* + 3s.pf.] 'to commission, order' < pf. **man-fe-f-* < **man-* 'hand' + **dʰe-dʰhₗ-*.

PIE pr. **dʰʰi-dʰhₗ-* 'to put', aor. **dʰ(é)hₗ-*. IE cognates: PCl. **-dī-* 'to put' in OIr. *creitid* 'to believe' (see s.v. *crēdō*) ; Hit. *dāi-* / *ti-* 'to lay, put, place', Lyc. *ta-* 'to put' < **dʰhₗ-oi-*, Hit. *titta-ⁱ/titti-* 'to install, assign' < **dʰi-dʰhₗ-oi-*, Skt. *dhā-*, Av. *dā-* 'to put, make', Gr. τίθημι, aor. ἔθηκα, pl. ἔθεμεν, Lith. *dė́ti* 'to lay, put', OCS *děti* 'do, say', Toch. *tā-* 'place, set'.

Verbal compounds in *-dō* can represent either PIE *deh₃- 'to give' or *dʰehₗ- '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 *dʰeh₁-. The Latin reflex -*d*- is regular only after certain consonants, but not in absolute anlaut, where *f*- results from *dʰ-. 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. *-þiþames > *-þþames.

Bibl.: WH I: 362f., EM 178f., IEW 235ff., Schrijver 1991: 402, Klingenschmitt 1992: 111, Untermann 2000: 448f., 585, LIV *dʰeh₁-. → *crēdō, dō, dare*

doceō 'to tell, inform; teach' [v. II; *docuī, doctum*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *docilis* 'ready to learn' (Cic.+), *doctor, -ōris* 'teacher' (Lucr.+), *doctrīna* '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-eie/o- 'to have someone accept sth.'. IE cognates: Hit. *dākki, takkanzi* 'to seem, be similar' < *dokh₁-/*dkh₁-, Gr. δοκεῖ 'it seems'.

All nominal derivatives are productive formations. Leumann 1977: 96 assumes *doctus* < *dok-i-tos*.

Bibl.: WH I: 331, EM 180f., 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'.

PIE *dolh₁-eie- 'to split'. IE cognates: MW *e-thyl* 'chooses' < *(do-)eks-dolī- < *-dol-ē- < *-dol-eie- 'to split out'.

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 *dolium*' (Pl.).

IE cognates: maybe Ir. *delb* 'form' [f.], OCS *dьly* 'barrel' [f. *ū*] , *dьlъve* [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.

Bibl.: WH I: 364, EM 181, IEW 194-196, Schrijver 1991: 123.

dolō, -āre 'to hew or chop into shape' [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *dolābra* 'a pick or similar tool' (Liv.+).

PIt. *dolaje-.

PIE *dolh₁-ie/o- 'to cut repeatedly' or *d(e)lh₁-ie/o- 'to cut'. IE cognates: Lith. *dílti*, 1s. *delù* 'to wear off, disappear' (Žem.), Latv. *dìlt*, 1s. *dęlu* 'to decrease' < pr. *delh₁-e-.

Lat. *dolā-* may reflect *delā- or *dolā-. LIV posits a pr. *delh₁-ie/o-, whereas Rix 1999 considers a zero grade of the root possible. Rix also regards the instrument noun *dolābra* (for *dolābra < *delh₁-dʰreh₂-) as evidence for a primary verb, since a denominative verb would have us expect a noun **dolāmentum. Schrijver 1991: 215 reconstructs an *o*-grade, which he derives from the basic noun (if *dolāre* is a denominal verb), but which may as well stem from an iterative verb in PIE. The PIE root *delgʰ- 'to cut, hew' (OIr. *as-dloing* 'splits', OIc. *telgja* 'to cut up') has a very similar meaning, but the root forms cannot be reconciled.

Bibl.: WH I: 364-365, EM 181, IEW 194ff., Schrijver 1991: 215f., 400, Rix 1999: 527-28, LIV *delh₁-. → *doleō*

dolus 'unlawful intention, malice' [m. *o*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *dolōsus* 'sly, deceitful' (Pl.+); *subdolus* 'id.' (Pl.+); *sēdulō* 'sincerely; diligently' (Pl.+), *sēdulitās* 'painstaking attention' (Varro+).

PIt. *dolo- 'trick'. It. cognates: O. *dolom, dolum* [acc.sg.], *dolud* [abl.sg.] 'intention, ruse'. Probably a loanword from Latin.

PIE *dolh₁-o- [m.] 'pain'? IE cognates: Gr. δόλος 'bait, trick', OIc. *tal* [n.] 'account, number'.

For *sē- 'apart, away' < *sēd-; in *sēdulō* < *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 *dolh₁-o- 'pain/which pains' > 'deceit, malice' cannot be dismissed.

Bibl.: WH I: 366, II 509, EM 182, IEW 193, Untermann 2000: 189. → *doleō*

dominus '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-o/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. *dámūnas- '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*).

Bibl.: IEW 198f., Meid 1956-57, 1957, 1958, Peters 1980: 172, Pinault 2000, LIV 1.*demh₂-. → *domus*

domō, -āre 'to subdue' [v. I; pf. *domuī*, ppp. *domitum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *domitāre* 'to subdue by taming' (Verg.+), *domitor* 'a trainer (of animals); conqueror' (Cic.+).

PIt. **domaje-.*

PIE **domh₂-eie/o-* 'to tame'. IE cognates: OIr. *daimid**, ·*daim* 'to allow, give in', MW *adef* 'to confess' (< **ad-*), MCo. *godhaff*, MBret. *gouzaff* 'to suffer' < PCl. **dam-je/o-*, OIr. *damnaid**, ·*damna** 'to bind, subdue' < PCl. **dam-na-*; Hit. *tamāšš-/tame/išš-* 'to (op)press' < PIE **dméh₂-s-* / **dmh₂-s-*, Skt. *dam^i* 'to control', caus. *damáyati* (RV+), *damitár-* [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 ppp. *domitus* as a denominal verb. Theoretically, Lat. *domāre* might reflect **demā-*, but the absence of a nasal present or *s*-suffix, and the suffix *-ā-*, suggest an original causative. The perfect *domuī* < **doma-wai* was built secondarily on the basis of the present, which was reanalyzed as **doma-je-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 367f., EM 182, IEW 199f., Isebaert 1988, Schrijver 1991: 400, Sihler 1995: 505, Meiser 1998: 186, 2003: 137f., LIV **demh₂-*. → *redimiō*

domus, -ī / -ūs 'house, home; household' [f. *o/u*] (Andr.+); sg.nom. *-us*, voc. *-us*, acc. *-um*, gen. *-ī* (usually in Pl.) >> *-ūs*, dat. *-uī*, also *-ō*, abl. *-ō*, 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.+).

PIt. **domo-* [f.] 'house'.

PIE **dōm*, **dem-* 'house'; **dom-o-?* IE cognates: Skt. *dám-* [n.], Av. *dam-*, Skt. *dáma-* [m.] 'house', Gr. δόμος 'house, layer of bricks', Lith. *nãmas* 'house' < **dom-o-*; Gr. δμώς, -ωός [m.] 'slave, servant' < **dmou-*, OCS *domъ* [m. *u/o*] 'house', Ru. *dom*, loc.sg. *na domú* 'at home' < **dom-u-*, Ru. *domóvyj, domovój* [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. δμώς 'slave' < **dm-ou-*). There are *o*-stems in Lithuanian and IIr., 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. *domī* does not warrant an original loc. **dem-ei* of a root noun, but can represent a genuine *o*-stem form **domoi*. PIt. **-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 PIt. **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.

Leumann 1977: 339. For *domicilium*, WH suggest an abstract **domo-kol-io-* 'house-dwelling' from **domo-* + **kʷel-* + *-ium*. Phonologically more regular would be **-kʷol-io-*, since **-kʷel-io-* would yield Lat. **-quilium*. 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 **domicolium*. 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 *cēlāre* '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-*: *demī* 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 *dēmum* 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 benigne, lepide et lepidis victibus*.

Bibl.: Sommer 1914: 65,ː,404f., WH I: 367-370, EM 182f., IEW 198f., Meier-Brügger 1977, Meiser 1998: 83, 150, Pinault 2000: 89, Gerschner 2002: 172f., LIV *demh₂- 'to build'. → *dominus*   !

dōnum 'gift, present' [n. *o*] (Pl.+; VOLat. *donom* [acc.])

Derivatives: *dōnāre* 'to present, give' (Pl.+), *dōnābilis* 'worthy to be the recipient of' (Pl.), *dōnāticus* 'formally presented' (Cato+).

PIt. **dōno-* [n.] 'gift'. It cognates: Ven. **donom** [nom.acc.] 'gift'; **donasto, tonasto** [3s.pret.] 'gave' < **donā-s-to*, **donasan** [3p.pret.] < **donā-s-nt*; O. **dunúm, dúnúm, dunum**, U. **dunum, dunu, dun.**, Mars. *dunom, donom*, Vol. *duno*, Pael. *donom* [acc.sg.], O. **duneís** [gen.sg.] n. 'gift'; O. δουνακλομ [nom.acc.] 'gift' or 'act of giving' < **donātlom*; O. **dunat** [3s.pr.], **duunated** [3s.pf.] to **dōnā-* 'to bestow'.

PIE **doh₃-no- or **deh₃-no- 'gift'. IE cognates: OIr. *dán* 'poem, gift' < **dōno-*, OIr. *dán*, W. *dawn* 'gift, talent' < **dōnu-*; Skt. *dāna-* 'gift, present' (< **déh₃-eno-*, Lubotsky 1988: 84), Lith. *duõnis* 'gift', OCS *danь* 'tax, tribute'.

The verb *dōnāre* is derived from *dōnum*. In view of the Oscan and Venetic verb forms, this derivation may go back to PIt.; but it cannot be excluded that these are separate innovations of the different languages (thus Untermann 2000: 195).

Bibl.: WH I: 371f., EM 179, IEW 225, Lejeune 1974: 333, Untermann 2000: 190, 194f., LIV *deh₃-. → *dō, dare; duim*

dormiō, -īre 'to sleep' [v. IV] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *dormītāre* 'to feel sleepy' (Pl.+), *dormītātor* 'one who sleeps all day' (Pl.); *obdormīre* 'to fall asleep' (Pl.+).

PIt. *dormje/o-.

PIE *drm-ie- 'to sleep'. IE cognates: CS *drěmati*, Ru. *dremát'*, SCr. *drijèmati* 'to doze, slumber' < *drēm-, Gr. δαρθάνω '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 *drēm-; this may be regarded as an inner-Slavic formation with lengthened vowel (Klingenschmitt 1989: 81, Derksen 2008: 117).

Bibl.: WH I: 372, EM 184, IEW 226, LIV 2. *drem.

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: *dorsuārius* 'that carries a load on its back' (Varro).

A compound of *dē-* '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' < *sē-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 inscriptional 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 372, EM 184, Leumann 1977: 211, Sihler 1995: 83, 178, 221. → *vertō*

dubius 'hesitant, in doubt' [adj. *o/ā*] (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.*).

PIt. *du(i)-fwo-.

PIE *dui-b^{h}h$_2$u-o- 'double'.

These forms presuppose an adj. *dubos* 'in doubt', from which a denom. verb *dubāre* and a new adj. *dubius* were derived. The origin may have been *du-b^{h}Hu-o- 'of two forms, double'. Leumann 1977 suggests an original ins.pl. *du-b^{h}i 'on two sides', remade into an adjective; yet in view of Gr. διφυής 'with two shapes', a connection with *b^{h}h$_2$u- 'to be(come)' seems more likely. The formans may be the same as in *probus* and *superbus*. The form *du-* must represent an inner-Italic abstraction from *duō*, *dui-* (as in *ducentī*, *duplex*); the older form of 'two' in possessive compounds was *dui-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 375f., EM 185, IEW 146ff., Leumann 1977: 278, Untermann 2000: 179. → *probus*, *superbus*

dūcō, -ere 'to lead, conduct' [v. III; pf. *dūxī*, ppp. *ductum*] (Lex XII+; Elog.Scip. 3s. *abdoucit*)

Derivatives: *dux, -cis* 'leader, guide' (Pl.+); *ductāre* 'to conduct, lead' (Pl.+), *ductus, -ūs* 'military leadership; motion' (Pl.+), *ductābilitās* 'gullibility' (Acc.), *ductim* 'in draughts' (Pl.+), *ductitāre* 'to regularly lead off' (Pl.); *abdūcere* 'to lead away' (Elog.Scip.+), *addūcere* 'to lead, bring' (Pl.+), *condūcere* 'to bring together' (Pl.+), *conductīcius* 'hired' (Pl.+), *conductor* 'hirer' (Pl.+), *dēdūcere* 'to lead away' (Andr.+), *dīdūcere* 'to divide' (Cato+), *ēdūcere* 'to lead out' (Pl.+), *ēducāre* 'to bring up, rear' (Pl.+), *ēductiō* 'the leading out (of troops)' (Cato), *indūcere* 'to lead, bring' (Pl.+; *indouc-* CIL 586), *intrōdūcere* 'to introduce' (Pl.+), *obdūcere* 'to lead towards' (Pl.+), *obductāre* 'to introduce before' (Pl.), *perdūcere* 'to conduct, bring' (Pl.+), *perductāre* 'to conduct' (Pl.), *perductor* 'who conducts' (Pl.+), *prōdūcere* 'to bring forth' (Pl.+), *prōductāre* 'to prolong' (Ter.), *redūcere* 'to lead back' (Pl.+), *redux, -ucis* 'leading back home, returning' (Naev.+), *sēdūcere* 'to draw aside' (Pl.+), *trādūcere* 'to bring across, convert' (Pl.+), *trādux, -ucis* [m./f.] 'side-branch of a vine' (Varro+).

Plt. **douk-e-, *(-)duk-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-/doc-* 'to milk', Gr. δα-δύσσομαι 'to be distracted', ἐνδυκέως 'kindly, greedily', Alb. *n-duk* 'to pull', Go. *tiuhan* 'to draw'.

All forms in *duct-* (except *dūctor*) 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 *ē-dūcāre* probably also goes back to such nominal forms.

Bibl.: WH I: 377f., EM 185f., IEW 220f., Leumann 1977: 549, Schrijver 1991: 164, Schumacher 2004: 286-288, LIV *deuk-.

dūdum 'some time ago' [adv.] (Pl.+)

Plt. **dū*? [adv.].

PIE **duh₂-* (ace. **dueh₂m*, gen. **duh₂os*?) 'far, long'. IE cognates: Hit. *tūuan* 'to this side', *tūuaz* 'from afar' < PIE **dueh₂-m*, Skt. *dávīyas-* 'further, more distant', sup. *daviṣṭhá-*, OP *duvaištam* [adv.] 'very long, very far', Gr. δήν 'long, far' (< **δράν*), Dor. δάν, δοάν < **dueh₂-m*; Arm. *tev* 'duration' < **deuh₂-*; Ru. *dáve* (dial.) 'recently, yesterday' [adv.] < PSl. **davě* < PIE **douh₂-*, Ru. *davnó* 'long ago', SCr. *dávan* 'ancient'.

Consists of the root *dū* 'long (time)' (see *dūrus*) plus enclitic *-dum*. Latin *dū-* might represent the zero grade of the root noun which is also reflected in Gr. δήν and in the Hit. adverbs. This root is homonymous with the verbal root **deuh₂-* 'to fit together'. It seems to show schwebe-ablaut: **dueh₂m* and **dueh₂-ro-* (cf. *dūrus*) next to **deuh₂-* and **douh₂-*. Indo-Iranian (Old Persian) suggests that **dueh₂-* is the older variant.

Bibl.: WH I: 378f., EM 186, IEW 219f., Schrijver 1991: 232. → *dūrus*; *-dam – dē – dō – dum*

duim 'that I give' [pr.sb.]: Lex XII *duuit*, Pl. *duim*, *duis*, *duit*, *duint* 'dem, des, det, dent'; *duas* 'des'; *duīs* 'dederīs' (Paul. *ex F.*), *prōduit* 'porrō dederit' (Fest.)

Derivatives: Pl. *concrēduō* 'concrēdiderō' is a secondary form, based on the (secondary) pf. *concrēduī*; Pl. *interduō* from *interdare* 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.

Plt. pr. **dowje/o-*, aor.opt. **dū-ī-*, ppp. **dū-to-*. It cognates: Fal. **douiad** [3s.sb.] < **dowjā-* (Giacomelli 1963: 242f., Untermann 2000: 174); U. **purtuvitu, purtuviđu, purtuvetu, purtuetu**, *purdouitu* [3s.ipv.II], **purtuvies** [2s.fut.], **purtiius, purtitius, purtinçus**, *purdinśiust, purdinśus, purdinsust* [3s.fut.pf.], **purtitu futu** [3s.ipv.II.ps.], *purditom fust, purdito fust*, **purtitu fust** [3s.fut.pf.ps.], **purtitaf**, *purdita* [ppp., acc.pl.f.] 'to proffer, offer'; pf. **di-nki-* vs. **dī-* < **dū-* < **duH-*, ppp. **dīto-*. Maybe U. *dia* [3s.sb.ps.?] 'one can'? < **dīāt/r* < **duh₃-i-eh₂-t/r* (Untermann 2000: 174).

PIE aor. **d(e)uh₃-* to **dh₃-u-* 'to give'. IE cognates: CLuw. *tūya-*, HLuw. *tu(va)-* , Lyc. *tuwe-* 'to put, place', Skt. *dúvas-* [n.] 'gift, oblation, favour' < **duH-as-*, Lith. *daviaũ, dãvė* 'I, he gave', *dovanà* 'gift', Latv. *dâvana* 'gift', OCS *-davati*, Ru. *davát'* 'to give' < BSl. **doʔuaʔ-*.

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-* > **duH-C-* of **dh₃-u-*, that is, the root 'to give' plus a *u*-extension. The present stem **dowje-* of Sabellic and Faliscan may reflect a secondary present **deh₃-u-ie-* > **douie-*, cf. LIV.

Bibl.: WH I: 362f., EM 178, IEW 223-226, Meiser 1998: 184, Sihler 1995: 544f., Meiser 1998: 184, 2003: 182f., Untermann 2000: 173f., 613-615, LIV ?*deh₃u-. →
dautia; *dō, dare; dōnum*

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. γλυκύς [adj.] 'sweet', Myc. *de-re-u-ko* perhaps /dleukos/, Gr. γλεῦκος [n.] 'sweet wine' (Arist.; recent); ἀγλευκής 'sour' (Epich.).

Since Latin *i*-stem adj. are often formed from *u*-stems, it is often assumed that *dulcis* represents **dulku-i-*; yet the disappearance of the second **u* is unexpected: **dulquis* would be unproblematic. Greek γλυκύς is explained as an assimilation from **dlkus*, while Lat. could show **dlk-* > **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. *dūmī* Cic.+; *dusmo* [adj.] Andr. apud Paul. *ex. F.*)
Derivatives: *dūmētum* 'thicket' (Cic.+).

PIt. *dŭsmo-.

IE cognates: OIr. *dos* 'shrub' (< *dus-o?*). The appurtenance of Gm. forms in *tus-*, *tūs-* 'to spread, tear' is uncertain: Norw. *tos* 'ravel, fuzz', *tossa* 'to strew', ME *tōtūsen* 'to ruffle', MLG *tōsen* 'to tear', OHG *zirzūsōn* 'to ruffle', MHG *zūsach* 'brushwood', *zūse* 'brushwood, frizzle'.

A Latin-OIr. correspondence *dus-*, without further connections.

Bibl.: WH I: 381, EM 187, IEW 175ff., Leumann 1977: 205, Schrijver 1991: 246.

duo, duae, duo 'two' [adj. num.] (VOLat., Naev.+). Forms: nom.m. *duo* (Pl.+), acc.m. *duōs*, nom.acc.n. *duo* (also *dua* in inscr.), gen.m.n. *duom* (Garigliano Bowl), *duum* (Naev.+), *duōrum* (Pl.+), dat.abl.m.n. *duōbus*, nom.f. *duae*, acc.f. *duās*, gen.f. *duārum*, dat.abl.f. *duābus*. The form *duo* is also used case-indifferent, e.g. *duo verbīs* (Nov.), acc. *duo vilicōs* (Pl.), *inter nōs duo*).

Derivatives: *duodecim* 'twelve' (Pl.+), *ducentī* 'two hundred' (Pl.+), *duumvirī* 'board of two men' (CIL, Cic.+).

PIt. nom.m. *duō*. It. cognates: U. *dur* [nom.m.], **tuf** [acc.f.?], **tuva** [nom.acc.n.], **tuves**, *duir* [dat.m., n.], **tuvere** [loc.-abl.f. + -*en*] 'two'. U. *desenduf* [acc.pl.f.] 'twelve' < *dekm* + *duōns*; U. *dupursus* [dat.pl.] 'biped' < *du-pōd-*.

PIE *du-o-h₁ (nom.du.m.) 'two', *du-o-ih₁ (nom.du.n.f.). IE cognates: OIr. *dáu, dóu, dó*; OW *dou*, MW *deu* < PC]. *duu̯o*; Hit. *tān* 'for the second time' < *du̯oióm*, HLuw. *twa/i-* 'two', *twisu* 'twice', Lyc. *kbi-* '(an)other' < *du̯i-*; Skt. *dváu / duváu / dvā́* [nom.acc.d.m.], *dvé / duvé* [nom.acc.d.f.n.], YAv. *duua* [nom.d.m.], *duuaē-ca* [n.], *duiie* [acc.d.f.]; Gr. δύο, δύω, Arm. *erku* 'two', *erkotasan* 'twelve', Alb. *dy*, Lith. m. *dù*, OCS *dъva* 'two' < PIE *duo-h₁, Lith. *dvì*, OCS *dъvě* < PIE *duo-ih₁; Go. *twai*, OE m. *tū*, OIc. m. *tveir* 'two'; ToA m. *wu*, f. *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 *du̯i-pod-* by *du-pod-* or *duō-pod-*. Latin has replaced *du̯i-* by *du-* in a number of transparent possessive compounds containing 'two': *dubius, duplex, duplus, dupondium, ducentī*.

Greek δύο beside the dual δύω must be old, and the existence of a form with final short vowel is confirmed by Arm. *erko-tasan* 'twelve' and Skt. *dva-ká-* 'joined as a pair'. The vacillation between PIE *du̯o* and *duu̯o* seems also to have been of PIE age, at least, it appears in Rigvedic, in Greek (δώδεκα 'twelve') and in Latin (*bis* but *duō*). Different solutions are conceivable. Lindeman 1965 has posited a phonetic origin, and this was accepted by Schindler 1977.

Bibl.: WH I: 381f., EM 187f., IEW 228f., Leumann 1977: 485f., 488, Cowgill 1985, Coleman 1992: 390-392, Kortlandt 1993: 253, Schrijver 1995: 331, Sihler 1995: 407f., Meiser 1998: 170, Untermann 2000: 192-194. → *bi-, bis, dis, dubius*; U. *duti*

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+), *dūrāmen* '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.+).
  PIt. **dūro-*.

PIE **du(e)h₂-ro-* 'far, long'. IE cognates: Skt. *dūrá-* 'far, distant', Av. *dūrāt* 'from afar', *dūirē* 'far', OP *dūraiy* 'far and wide', *duvaištam* 'very long, very far'; Gr. δηρός 'long, too long', Dor. δᾱρός, mostly δηρόν, δᾱρόν [adv.] 'long' < **dueh₂ro-*, Arm. *erkar* 'long (in time)' < **dueh₂ro-*.

The meaning of *dūrāre* must have evolved from 'be hard' to 'endure, last'. The difference in root ablaut between PIE **duh₂-ro-* (IIr., Latin) and **dueh₂-ro-* (Greek, Arm.) is explained by Vine 2002 from the original substantival value of the latter. He adduces textual evidence from Homer to show that δηρός was actually a noun δηρόν 'extent, duration', and this seems convincing.
  Bibl.: WH I: 384-386, EM 188f., IEW 219f., Schrijver 1991: 232, Vine 2002: 340-342. → *dūdum*

U. **duti** [adv.] 'for the second time'.
  PIt. **du-tjo-m*.

IE cognates: Skt. *dvitī́ya-* 'second', OAv. *daibitiia-*, YAv. *bitiia-* 'second', *āδbitīm* [adv.] 'two times' < PIIr. **dwi-t(i)ja-*; ToA *wät*, ToB *wate* 'second' < **du̯i-to-*.

PIt. **du-tjo-* probably replaces PIE **du̯i-tio-*, cf. U. *dupursus* 'biped' for **du̯i-pod-*. The suffix was probably adopted from **tri-tio-* 'third', shown by U. **tertio-** and Latin *tertius*. A similar formation arose independently in IIr.
  Bibl.: WH I: 376, EM 188, IEW 228ff., Untermann 2000: 193f. → Lat. *duō*

E

ēbrius 'drunk' [adj. *o/ā*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *ebriācus* 'intoxicated' (Lab.), *ebriolus* 'tipsy' (Pl.), *ebriolātus* 'id.' (Lab.).
  PIt. **ēχʷrio-*.

PIE **h₁ĕgʷʰ-ro-* or **h₁eh₁gʷʰ-ro-* (or **h₁(o)gʷʰ-r-o-*) 'drinking'. IE cognates: Hit. *eku-ᶻⁱ/aku- ʔeg*ʷ-, ʔgʷ-/ 'to drink, drink to, toast', Pal. *ahu-* 'drink', CLuw. *ū-*, 2s.pr.act. *ūttis* 'drink(?)', HLuw. inf.gen. BIBERE-*u-na-sa* 'drink'; Gr. νήφω 'to be sober', Dor. νᾶφε (νᾱ- is of secondary origin, cf. Weiss 1994: 97) < **nēgʷʰō* < **ne-h₁(e)h₁gʷʰ-e/o-* 'not-drink'; ToAB *yok-* 'to drink', *yokiye ~ yoko* [n. f.] 'thirst; desire' < PTo. **yok-* < **yekʷ-* < PIE **h₁e-h₁gʷʰ-*.

Ebrius can be derived from PIE **h₁eg*ʷʰ- 'to drink'. The phonetic development of

*-g^{wh}r- to Latin *-br-* is also attested in *febris*. Weiss (1994) posits *h₁ēg^{wh}-r-io- <<
*h₁ēg^{wh}-r-o-, derived from a PIE *r/n*-stem which would also be continued in Greek
νῆφων, -ονος (whence the verb νήφειν). Long **ē* 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:
*h₁eh₁g^{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. **eblo-*.
  PIE *h₁ed^{h}-l(o)- 'kind of tree'. IE cognates: OPr. *addle*, Lith. *ēglė* 'spruce, fir'; Ru.
  el', OCz. *jedl* 'spruce, fir' [f. *i*] , OPo. *jedl* [f.], *jedla* < BSl. **edli-* < PIE h₁ed^{h}-li-
  'pine'; maybe with root ablaut Gaul. *odocos* 'elder' (borrowed into Gm. > OHG
  attuh, attah 'dwarf-elder, danewort').
    Bibl.: WH I: 388f., EM 190, IEW 289f.

ecce 'look!' [interj.] (Pl.+)
  Derivatives: *eccum, eccōs, ecca, eccam, eccās* 'here he/she/they (is/are)' (Pl., Ter.);
  ecquī 'any?' (Pl.+), *ecquid* 'is it true that? whether' (Pl.+), *ecquis* 'is there anyone
  who?' (Pl.+).
    PIt. *ek + *ke. It. cognates: Sabellic **ek(e)-* in Pael. *ecuc*, O. **ek(úk)** , U. *eso*
  [nom.sg.f.] 'this' < *eko, *ekā [nom.acc.], **ekso, -ā* [obl.].
  A combination of PIE *h₁e- 'he' (see s.v. *is, ea, id*) extended by means of *k, plus
  **-ke* (see s.v. *-ce*). Originally, the Italic combination **ek(e)* was uninflected; it
  became an inflected pronoun in Sabellic. In Latin, it was reinforced with **-ke*, and
  originally remained uninflected. The gendered forms *eccum* etc. are explained from
  *ecce + *hom etc. by WH, but it cannot be excluded that these are simply inflected
  forms of what was originally an uninflected demonstrative; cf. the same process in
  iste and *ipse*. The older etymology of *ecce* as *ed-ke is unlikely, since Latin and PIE
  had no n. pronoun *ed, only *id.
    Bibl.: WH I: 390, EM 190f., IEW 281ff., Schrijver 1991: 33, Untermann 2000: 217f.
  → *-ce; is, ea, id*

edō, ēsse 'to eat' [v. irr.: *edō, ēs, ēst, edimus, ēstis, edunt; ēstur*; inf. *ēsse*, pf. *ēdī*, ppp.
ēsum] (Andr.+)
  Derivatives: *edāx* 'voracious' (Pl.+), *edācitās* 'voracity' (Pl.+), *edō* 'glutton'
  (Varro), *edūlia, -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.+), *ēsuriō* 'a hungry man' (Pl.), *ēsurīgō* 'hunger' (Varro), *ēsuriālis* 'of famine'
  (Pl.+); *inedia* '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'

(Lucr.), *obēsus* 'fat, thick' (Laev. apud Gell.+), *perēsse* 'to eat up' (Pl.+), *subēsse* 'to eat away below' (Pl.+); *vēscus* 'thin, attenuated' (Lucil.+).

PIt. **ed-* 'to eat'. It. cognates: O. **edum** [inf.] 'to eat'; maybe also U. **ezariaf** [acc.pl.] 'certain oblation' < **ed-es-āsio-?*

PIE **h₁éd-mi*, **h₁d-énti* [pr.] 'to eat', pf. **h₁e-h₁d-*. IE cognates: Olr. *ithid*, *·ith* 'eats', *ethait* 'they eat' < **ed-*, sb. *estir* < **ed-*; MW *ys* 'eats' (denominal); Hit. *ed-ᶻⁱ* / *ad-*, Pal. *ad-*, CLuw. *ād-/ad-* 'to eat', HLuw. *ád-*, Skt. *ádmi, átti, adánti* 'id.', Gr. ἔδω 'to eat, devour', inf. ἔδμεναι (H.), fut. ἔδομαι, Arm. *owtem*, OLith. *edmi* 'to eat', Lith. *ésti* 'feeds' (of animals), *èskà* 'food', OCS *jasti* 'to eat', 1s. *jamь*, 3s. *jastъ* < *h₁ed-tei*, *jadъ* 'poison' < **h₁ed-o-*, Go. *itan*, OHG *ezzan*, OIc. *eta* < **ed-e/o-*, ToB *mātsts-* 'to starve', ToA *nätsw-* < PTo. **nätsw-* < PIE **n-h₁d-tu-ie/o-*, ToB *yesti* 'food, meal'.

Long *ē* in the present paradigm and in *ēsus* is due to Lachmann's law in the sequences **edt-* (> *ēss-*) and **eds-*. Lat. *ellum* < **edlo-*, *ēsca* < **ed-sk-a*. The derivational basis for *edūlis* is unknown. According to Risch 1954, *ēsurīre* was formed as an antonymous formation to **satur-īre* 'to be satisfied', giving rise to the class of desideratives in *-urīre*. 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 *vēsānus*, *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 **īd-* : **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).

Bibl.: WH I: 392f., EM 191f., IEW 287ff., Leumann 1977: 350, 528f., 557, Schrijver 1991: 35, 135, Sihler 1995: 543, Meiser 1998: 99, 223, Untermann 2000: 197, 245, LIV **h₁ed-*. → *prandium*

egeō 'to need, want' [v. II] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *egēnus* 'lacking, in need of' (Pl.+), *egestās* 'extreme poverty' (Pl.+); *indigēre* 'to need, lack' (Pl.+), *indigem* [acc.sg. of **indigis*] 'bereft' (Pac. apud Cic.), *indigus* 'needy' (Lucr.).

PIt. **egos, -es-* 'need, necessity'; **egē-* 'to lack'. It. cognates: O. *egmo* [nom.sg.], *egm[as]* [gen.sg.], *egmad* [abl.sg.], *egmazum* [gen.pl.] 'case, question' < **eg-mā-*.

PIE **h₁eǵ-es-* 'lack, need'. IE cognates: OIc. *ekla* 'lack', OHG *eko-rōdo* 'only'; ToAB *yāk-* 'to neglect, be careless about', ToB sb. *yäknāntär* 'they must neglect'.

The noun *eges-tās* and the adj. *egēnus* < **egesno-* betray an old *s*-stem **egos, -es-*. The compounds **indigis* and *indigus* < **end-ego-* 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 *egēre* : **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. *āk-ⁱ/ akk-* 'to die, be

killed' is reconstructed as *Hó'ʰ̑-ei, *H'ʰ̑-énti to a root *h₁ɾeʰ̑- by Kloekhorst (2008: 167f.), and must thus be separated. Latin also continues a (probable) root *h₁eǵ- in aiō 'to say'; it is possible to derive the meaning 'case, question' (O. *eg-mā-) 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 ?*h₁e'ǵ'H-. → aiō

egō 'I' [pron. pers. Is. nom.] (VOLat.+; Ardea, vase inscr. (CIL 474) eqo; egṓ Pl.+)

PIt. *egō. It. cognates: Ven. ego, Fal. eqo, eko, eco 'I', SPic. ekú 'I' (?).

PIE *h₁eǵ, *h₁eǵ-(o)H, *h₁eǵ-H-om 'I'. IE cognates: Hit. ūk; Skt. ahám, OAv. azãm, as-cīt, YAv. azəm, OP adam < h₁eǵHom; Gr. ἐγώ, Lesb. ep. Dor. also ἐγών, Lac. Tarent. ἐγώνη < *h₁eg- + -e/oH; Arm. es; OPr. es, as, Lith. àš, OLith. eš, Latv. es, OCS azъ, Ru. ja, ORu. (j)azъ < BSl. *eʔź(-um); Go. ik, OHG ih, OS ic, Runic ek, ik, OIc. ek, encl. -ika < PGm. *ékaⁿ; ToA ñäṣ [m.], ñuk [f.], ToB ñaś 'I'.

The stem *h₁eǵ- without enlargements is found once in OAv. as, in Baltic, and maybe in Hittite. Elsewhere, either a suffix yielding long -ō was added (Latin, Greek), or a suffix yielding aspiration of the velar in Sanskrit and an ending *-om in IIr., Sl. and Gm. Probably, several variants of this pronoun existed side by side in PIE.

Bibl.: WH I: 395, EM 192f., IEW 291, Giacomelli 1963: 244, Lejeune 1974: 333f., Schrijver 1991: 36, van der Staaij 1995: 140, Sihler 1995: 368f., Beekes 1995: 207, Meiser 1998: 156, Untermann 2000: 340, Kloekhorst 2008:111-115. → mē

U. eikvasatis [abl.pl.], eikvasese [abl.pl. + postpos. -en] 'gathering, meeting'.

May reflect an adj. /eikwǎssāti-/, while eikvases- may represent a noun /eikwǎssi-/. The forms probably go back to a compound with a second element *wassi- and *wasso- (> *wassāto-). Meiser 1986 interprets eikvasatis as 'containing a formula', and etymologizes eik- as *agiko- 'speech, formula' and vasi-< *wassi- < *h₂u(e)d-ti- 'speaking' (to Skt. vádati). Yet this does not explain the -a-, and is furthermore tautological. Weiss 2007a: 367-369 suggests that the second elements *-wǎssi- and *-wǎssāti- derive from a ti-abstract *wǎssi- < *ueh₂dʰ-ti- and a to-verbal adjective *wǎsso- < *ueh₂dʰ-to- to the root of vādō 'to go', cf. Lat. con-ven-tiō, con-ven-tus, con-gressus for the semantics. The first element eik- could reflect, according to Weiss, *V[-back]Ke/iKV-, but he finds no good candidates for etymologizing this part. The sequence -KV- could reflect *ko- 'together', as in cōntiō and maybe cūria, U. ko-, kom-. This would leave initial *V[-back]Ke/i- to be explained: it could be etymologized as *h₁/₂eǵ-io- 'speech', as in U. aiu [nom.pl.] (Meiser 1986: 205). The cp. would then reflect PIt. *ajjo- + *ko-wǎssi-.

Bibl.: Meiser 1986: 250f., Untermann 2000: 204-206. → aiō, 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 *h₁ei- 'to go': 'that which goes' > 'livestock' > 'money' (cf. pecūnia). Semantically, a connection with Lat. ūtor < *oit- would be

attractive, but if this root indeed goes back to PIE *h₃eit-, there is no way in which Sab. *eit- could be justified.

Bibl.: Untermann 2000: 211-213.   ▪

emō, -ere 'to take (Paul. *ex F.*), buy (Pl.+)' [v. Ill; pf. *ēmī*, ppp. *ēmptum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: (1) *em* particle 'here you are', *emāx* 'fond of buying' (Cato+), *emptīcius* 'obtained by purchase' (Varro+), *emptor* 'buyer' (Pl.+), *empturīre* 'to hanker after buying things' (Varro), *emptus, -ūs* 'the purchasing' (Varro); maybe *ellum* 'there he is!' (Pl., Ter.) and *ellam* 'there she is!' (Pl.) is from *em-illu/am*; (2) Compounds based on the meaning 'to take': *adimere* 'to remove, take away' (Naev.+), *cōmere* (pf. *cōmpsī*) 'to adorn, arrange' (Pl.+), *comptus, -ūs* 'adornment' (Lucr.+), *dēmere*, pf. *dēmpsī* 'to remove' (Pl.+), *dēmptiō* 'removal' (Varro), *vindēmia* 'vintage' (Pl.+), *vindēmitor* 'grape-picker' (Naev.), *vindēmiātor* 'grape-picker' (Varro+), *virgidēmia* 'a harvest of rods' (Pl.+), *dirimere* 'to pull apart, separate' (Lucr.+), *eximere* 'to take out, omit' (Pl.+), *eximius* 'excepted; exceptional' (Pl.+), *exemptiō* 'removal' (Varro+), *exemplum* 'example' (Pl.+), *exemplar, -āris* 'typical instance' (Lucr.+), *interimere* 'to kill, destroy' (Pl.+), *perimere* 'to destroy' (Cato+), *praemium* 'payment, reward, booty' (Pl.+), *praemiōsus* 'profitable' (Cato+), *praemiātor* 'who collects rewards' (Naev.), *prōmere*, pf. *prōmpsī* 'to bring out, forward' (Pl.+), *promptus, -ūs* 'the action of maming available' (Lucr.+), *prōmus* 'steward' (Pl.+), *supprōmus* 'assistant steward' (Pl.), *promptāre* 'to be in charge, be steward' (Pl.), *promptārius* 'that serves for storing' (Pl.+), *exprōmere* 'to bring out, reveal', *sūmere*, pf. *surēmī, surēmpsit* (Andr. apud Paul. *ex F.*) and *sūmpsī* 'to take up, seize' (Andr.+), *sumptiō* 'the taking' (Cato+), *sumptuōsus* 'expensive, lavish' (Pl.+), *sumptus, -ūs* 'spending, expense' (Pl.+); *absūmere* 'to use up' (Pl.+), *absūmēdō* 'act of squandering' (Pl.), *assūmere* 'to take, add' (Varro+), *consūmere* 'to consume, destroy' (Cato+), *rēsūmere* 'to pick up again, put on again' (Enn.+); (3) Compounds based on the meaning 'to buy': *coemere* 'to buy' (Ter.+), *comptiōnālis* 'suitable for purchase in batches' (Pl.+); *redimere* 'to buy back; make good' (Pl.+), *redemptitāre* 'to redeem' (Cato), *redemptor* 'contractor' (Cato+).

Plt. pr. *eme/o-*, pf. *ēm-* 'to take'. It. cognates: U. **emantur, emantu** [3p.pr.sb.ps.], *emps (est)* [3s.pf.ps.], O. **emmens** [3p.pf.act.] 'to buy, take'; O. *peremust* [3s.fut.pf.] 'to receive', *pertumum* [inf.], *pertemest* [3s.fut.], *pertemust* [3s.fut.pf.] 'to prevent', U. **sumtu** [3s.ipv.II] 'to grab' < *em-e/o-*.

PIE pr. *h₁em-e/o-* 'to take', pf. *h₁e-*h₁m-*. IE cognates: OIr. *ar·foim* 'to receive, allow' < *ari-wo-em-*, 3s.sb.rel. *ar-a·foíma* < *ari-wo-em-*, pret. *ar·fóet* < PCl. *em-o-*; OPr. *īmt*, Lith. *imti*, 3s.pr. *ima*, 3s.pret. *ēmė*, Latv. *jemt* 'to take', OCS *jęti*, 1s. *imǫ*, Ru. *jat'* (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 *emere* anymore, such as *dēmere*. The pf. *suremit* 'sumpsit' and *surempsit* '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 *iūnctus*), but there is no other example;

in theory, *ē* may stem from the perfect. Lat. *praemium* < **prai-em-io-*, *vindēmia* < **wīno-dē-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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 400f., 426, II: 354, 630, EM 195, 205, 531, 666f., IEW 301f., Leumann 1977: 209, Sihler 1995: 75, 205, Untermann 2000: 219-221, LIV **h₁em-*. → *pōmus*

ēn 'ever?; behold!' [interj.] (Pl.+; in OLat. *ēn* only occurs in *ēn umquam* 'ever')
PIE **h₁ēn*? IE cognates: Gr. ἤν, ἠήν [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 ἤν. 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 ἤν; hence, it remains possible that Latin inherited a particle **ēn*.

Bibl.: WH I: 403f., EM 196, IEW 314, Leumann 1977: 93, 209.

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.+); *indotuētur* 'watches' (Enn.); *induere* 'to put on' (Pl.+); *indugredior* 'ingredior' (Lucr.); *indupedīre* 'to hinder' (Lucr.); *induperātor* 'imperātor' (Enn., Lucr., Juv.), *induperāre* 'imperāre' (Enn.); *industrius* 'diligent' (Pl.+); *induvolāre* 'involāre' (Enn.); *indigena* [f.] 'native' (Verg.+); *indigēre* 'to need, require' (Pl.+), **indigis* 'bereft of' (Pac.), *indigus* 'needy' (Lucr.); *indiges* 'native (deity)' (Verg.+); *indipiscō/or* 'to overtake, acquire' (Pl.+).

Plt. **(e)ndo* '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. *ñte* 'inside' < **h₁ndo(m)*; Gr. ἔνδον '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 ἔνδον). Leumann (1977: 562) assumes that *endo* altogether was borrowed from Greek, first into *indigena* as a calque on Gr. ἐνδογενής, 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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 694, EM 312, IEW 181ff., Sommer 1914: 145, Leumann 1977: 561, Schrijver 1991: 58f., Sihler 1995: 40. → *-de, egeō, in, indiges, apīscor, -olēs, parō*

enim 'well!; for' [ptcle.] (Naev.+)

PIt. *eno- 'that one', *enim [acc.sg.]. It. cognates: O. ínim, inim, inim, ini, εινειμ, inim, Pael. inim /i(:)ni(:)m/, U. ene, eiɲe, enem 'and' /éneml/ < *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-dō(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. ἐκεῖνος 'that' < *e-ke-eno-.

IEW derives enim from the stem of Lith. anàs 'that', OCS onъ 'he'. Yet I reconstruct this pronoun as *h₂en-. Since Gr. ἐκεῖνος seems to contain a stem *en(i/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 PIt. *eno-. This is reminiscent of Skt. anā́ [adv.] 'thus', OAv. anā, YAv. ana [ins.sg.] 'with this' (Fischer-Ritter 1991: 10). Since Sabellic also shows evidence for a stem *eno-, this may have been the PIt. stem. The isolated PIt. 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: 220f.). If interpreted as an accusative of direction, *eni-m can be explained from a semantic shift 'to that' > 'in addition' > 'and'.

Bibl.: WH I: 404f., EM 96, IEW 319ff., Meiser 1986: 110f., Klingenschmitt 1987: 175, Schrijver 1991: 36, Untermann 2000: 225f., 343f. → nam, nunc

ēnsis 'sword' [m. i] (Cato+; almost only in poetry)
Derivatives: ēnsiculus 'toy sword' (Pl.).
PIt. *ensi- 'sword'.
PIE *(h₁e)ns-i- 'sword, large knife'?

All the alleged IE cognates are uncertain: the connection with Skt. asi- [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. ἄορ 'sword', allegedly an Aeolic reflex of *ns-r̥, is also disputed. Morphologically, *ns-(o)r in Greek vs. *ns-i in Latin would be difficult to account for.
Bibl.: WH I: 406, EM 197, IEW 771, Schrijver 1991: 63.

enubrō 'restraining, prohibitive (in augury)' [adj., dat.sg. o/ā] (Paul. ex F. 76)
Derivatives: in glossaries OLat. eniber [nom.sg.m.], enibra [nom.sg.f.], enibrum [acc.sg.m.]; inebrae [nom.pl.f.] (Paul. ex F. 109) 'aves, quae in auguriis aliquid fieri prohibent', inebra [nom.pl.n.] 'omnia, quae tardant vel morantur agentem'.
PIt. *n-χafro- 'inhibiting'.

The meaning suggests a derivation from (the same preform as) inhibeō 'to hold back, prevent'. We find once <enubro> and several times <enibr-> (gloss.) and <inebr-> (Paul. ex F.). These point to a stem *enu/ibro-, nom.sg.m. *enu/iber. The forms in unraised en- are the oldest, while the vowel quality -u- is determined by the following

labial. If cognate with *en-habēre, the source form was *n̥-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, īre 'to go' [v. irr.] (Lex XII, Pl.+). Forms: pr. eō, īs, it, īmus, ītis, eunt; ptc. iēns, euntis; 3p.pr.ind. obīnunt, prōdīnunt, redīnunt (Enn.); pf. IV: iī / īvī (both Pl.+), ppp. itum.

Derivatives: itus, -ūs 'the going' (Lucr.+); abīre 'to go away' (Naev.+), abitiō 'a departing' (Pl.+), abitus, -ūs 'departure' (Pl.+), adīre 'to approach' (Pl.+), aditiō 'the act of approaching' (Pl.+), aditāre 'to approach often' (Enn.), aditus, -ūs 'approach, access' (Pl.+), ambīre 'to solicit (for); go round' (Pl.+), ambitiō 'soliciting, candidature' (Pl.+), ambitus, -ūs 'circuit, cycle' (Varro+), ant(e)īre 'to surpass; precede' (Pl.+), antidīre 'to surpass' (Pl.), circumīre 'to go round' (Pl.+), circu(m)itiō 'circumlocution, rotation' (Ter.+), circu(m)itus, -ūs 'cycle' (Varro+), coīre 'to come together, have sexual intercourse' (Pl.+), coetus, -ūs 'encounter, assembly' (Pl.+), coitiō 'meeting, partnership' (Ter.+), exīre 'to come out' (Naev.+), exitiō 'the going out' (Pl.), exitus, -ūs 'departure, conclusion' (Lucil.+), exitium 'destruction, death' (Pl.+), exitiābilis 'causing death' (Pl.+), exitiālis 'causing death' (Lucr.), inīre 'to go into; begin' (Pl.+), initāre '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+), praetūra 'the office of praetor' (Pl.+), praeterīre 'to go past, pass' (Pl.+), praeteritus [adj.] 'past' (Lucr.+), prōdīre 'to come forward, advance' (Pl.+), redīre 'to come back, return' (Andr.+), reditiō 'return' (Pl.+), reditus, -ūs 'return' (Lucil.+), sēditiō 'violent discord, rebellion' (Pl.+), sēditiōsus 'factious' (Varro+), subīre 'to go underneath, undergo' (Lex XII+), subitus 'sudden' (Pl.+), subitō 'suddenly' (Pl.+), subitārius 'requiring prompt action' (Pl.+), trānsīre 'to cross over, transfer, pass' (Naev.+), trānsitiō 'the passing' (Varro+); simītū [adv.] 'at the same time, together' (Pl.+).

Plt. *ei- / *i- 'to go', *ito- 'gone', *eitu- / *itu- 'the going'. It. cognates: Pael. eite [2p.ipv.], U. ef [2s.ipv.], etu, etu, eetu [3s.ipv.II], etuta, etutu, etuto [3p.ipv.II], est, eest [3s.fut.], iust [3s.fut.pf.], ier [3s.ps.?] 'to go'. With preverbs: U. amprehtu, apretu [3s.ipv.II], ambretuto [3p.ipv.II], amprefu<u>s [3s.fut.pf.], ambrefurent [3p.fut.pf.] 'to lead the way' (< *ambi-prai-); U. enetu, enetu [3s.ipv.II], SPic. enet [3s.pr.?] 'to start' (*en-); U. daetom est, peretom est [3s.pf.ps.] 'is neglected'. From *ei- [pr.], *eise- [fut.], *i-us-e- [fut.pf.], *fu- [fut.pf. of 'to be'].

PIE pr. *h₁ei-/*h₁i- 'to go'. IE cognates: ?Celtib. (ne-)ito 'must not go', OIr. ethae*, ·eth 'someone went', do·eth 'someone came' < *i-to-; Hit. i-ᶻⁱ, CLuw. HLuw. i- 'to go' < *h₁ei-/*h₁i-, Hit. iianna-' / iianni- 'to march', Hit. ie/a-ⁿᵃ⁽ʳ⁾ 'to go, come, walk'

< *h₁i-ie/o-, *paii-ⁿ 'to go, pass', HLuw. *pa-* 'to go' < *h₁pói + *h₁(e)i-, *we-ⁿ / *uwa-* 'to come' < *h₂ou + *h₁(e)i-; Skt. pr.3s. *éti*, 3p. *yánti* 'to go', pf. *iyáya*, YAv. *aēiti* 'id.'; Gr. εἶμι; OPr. 3s *ēit*, OLith. *eimì*, OGS *iti*, Is. *idǫ* 'to go'; Go. *iddja* 'went'; ToB *yaṃ* 'goes', ToA *yiñc* '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 *īvī* is recent. Whether the pf. *ii* 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 *-īnunt* are also recent, probably on the model of *danunt* 'they give'. Lat. *praetor* < **prai-itōr*; *simītū* < **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-mōn* '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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 406ff., EM 26, 197ff., IEW 293ff., Leumann 1977: 521, Beekes 1985: 67f., Sihler 1995: 542, Meiser 1998: 222f., Untermann 2000: 207-210, Schumacher 2004: 375f., LIV **h₁ei-*. → *iter*; *queō*; *comes*

epulum 'public feast' [n. *o*] (Naev.+)
   Derivatives: *epulae* [f.pl.] 'sumptuous meal, banquet' (Pl.+), *epulōnus* 'banqueter' (Paul. *ex F.*), *epulārī* 'to dine sumptuously' (Acc.+), *coepulōnus* 'table-companion' (Pl.).
   Plt. **ep(V)lo-* 'ritual'?
   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 **h₃ep-* for *ops*.
   Bibl.: WH I: 410, EM 199, Schrijver 1991: 36. → *apīscor, sollus*

equus 'horse' [m. *o*] (Andr.+)
   Derivatives: *equa* 'mare' (Pl.+), *equola* 'young mare' (Pl.+), *eculeus* 'foal, pony' (Varro+); *equīle* 'stable for horses' (Cato+), *equīnus* 'of horses' (Acc.+); *equīsō* 'horse groom' (Varro+); *equāria* 'herd of horses' (Varro), *Equirria/Ecurria*, *-ōrum* [n.pl.] 'annual horse races' (Varro+); *eques, -itis* [m.] 'horse rider; knight' (Pl.+); *equitāre* 'to ride a horse' (Lucil.+), *equitātus, -ūs* 'cavalry' (Cato+).
   Plt. **ekwo-* 'horse'. It. cognates: Ven. **ekvon** [acc.sg.] 'horse', **ekvopetaris, ekvopetars,**

equpetars, *ecupetaris*, **ekupetaris**, **eppetaris**, **epetaris** [nom.sg.m.] 'of a horse-rider' < **ekwo-pet-āri-*, presupposing **ekwo-pet-o-* 'horse-rider' or 'charioteer'.

PIE **h₁ek-u-* 'horse'. IE cognates: Gaul. *epo-*, OIr. *ech* 'horse'; Hit. **ekku-* [c.], CLuw. *áššu-* or *azzu-* [c.], HLuw. *ásu-*, Lyc. *esb-* 'horse' < PAnat. **Hek-u-*; Skt. *áśva-* 'horse', Av. *aspa-*; Myc. *i-qo*, Gr. ἵππος 'horse', ἱππότης 'horse rider', Arm. *ēš* 'horse'; OPr. *aswinan* 'horse milk', Lith. *ašvíenis* 'stallion'; OE *eoh*, OIc. *jór*, ToB *yakwe*, ToA *yuk* 'horse'.

The original Latin paradigm must have been **ekos*, acc.sg. **ekom*, gen.sg. **ekʷī*; the stem *equ-* was generalized from the oblique cases. The noun *eques* < **ekʷ(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 **h₁ekuo-* in the other branches of IE.

Bibl.: WH I: 412, EM 199f., IEW 301, Lejeune 1974: 334, Pulgram 1976, Leumann 1977: 86, 372, Schrijver 1991: 36.

ēr, -is 'hedgehog' [m. *r*] (Pl.+; <*irim*> Capt. 184; <*erem*> Nemes. *Cyn.* 57)
Derivatives: *ērīcius* 'hedgehog; spiked barrier' (Varro+).
PIt. **χēr-*.
PIE **ǵʰēr-* 'hedgehog'. IE cognates: Gr. χήρ 'hedgehog' (only attested in Hesych), χοῖρος 'porcupine' < **ǵʰorio-*, Alb. *derr* 'pig, swine'.

The form *ērīcius* suggests that Pl. *irim* 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* < **ǵʰēr(-)*. This may reflect a PIE root noun nom.sg. **ǵʰēr-s* to the root **ǵʰer-* 'to be excited, be bristly' found in *horior* and others.

Bibl.: WH I: 413f., EM 200, IEW 445, LIV **ǵʰers-. → *hircus, hirsutus, hordeum, horior, horreō*

erciscō, -ere 'to divide (an inheritance)' [v. III] (Cic.+; usually only in gdve. *erciscundus*. Sometimes spelled *herc-*, probably under the influence of *hērēs*)
Derivatives: *erctum (ciēre)* 'inheritance, inherited part' (Cic.+), *inercta* 'indivisa' (Paul. *ex F.*), *disertiōnes* 'divisiones patrimoniorum inter consortes' (Paul. *ex F.* 72) (if **dis-erctiōnes*).
PIt. **erk-i-*.
PIE **h₁rk-i-* 'to divide'? IE cognates: Hit. *ārk-ⁱ* / *ark-* 'to cut off, divide' < PIE **h₁or{k}-* / **h₁r{k}-*.

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 **h₁-*. He suggests original **orc-* for Latin, which was analogically changed to *erc-*. LIV, on the other hand, reconstructs a preform **h₁rk-ie-* which would phonetically yield *arc-* (thus Schrijver 1991: 72f.); in view of existing *arceō*, it seems unlikely that **arcīre* would have been changed to **erc-*. 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. *aršýti* '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.*).

PIt. **re/ogo-* 'direction'.   •

PIE **h₃re/og̑-o-*. IE cognates: see s.v. *regō*.

In the collocation **ē re/ogō* 'from the direction of', the middle vowel was syncopated, whence *ergō*. Lat. *corgō* < **com re/ogō* 'with the direction'. Since no other IE language shows a thematic noun **h₃rog̑-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 **h₃reg̑-*.
→ *regō*

errō, -āre 'to roam; waver' [v. I] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *errantia* 'misguided condition' (Acc.), *errābundus* 'wandering' (Lucr.+), *errāticus* 'wandering, wild' (Cato+), *errātiō* 'the roaming' (Pl.+); *error* 'doubt; mistake' (Pl.+); *aberrāre* 'to wander away, stray' (Pl.+), *dēerrāre* 'to wander off' (Pl.+).

PIt. **ers-āje-*.

PIE **h₁ers-o/h₂-* 'erring, error'. IE cognates: Arm. *eram* 'to boil; be restless' < **ersā-*; Go. *airzeis* 'mistaken', *airzjan*, 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. *árṣati*). 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 **h₁er-* 'to arrive, reach', and compare the *sk*-present **h₁r-ske/o-* (Skt. *ṛcchάti*, Gr. ἔρχομαι).

Bibl.: WH I: 416f., EM 201, IEW 336f., Klingenschmitt 1982: 96, Schrijver 1991: 36, LIV **h₁ers-*.

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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 417, EM 201, Leumann 1977: 340. → *ēr*

erus 'master, lord' [m. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *era* 'woman, mistress' (Pl.+), *erīlis* 'of a master' (Pl.+).

PIt. **eso-* 'master'.

PIE **h₁esh₂-ó-* 'master'. IE cognates: Gaul. *Esus, Aesus* 'important god of the Gauls'; Hit. *išḫā-* '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. ἐύς 'good, noble' < *h₁su-. If Ilr. *ásu- '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 419, EM 201f., IEW 342, Schrijver 1991: 36.

ervum 'a kind of cultivated vetch' [n. o] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *ervilia* 'cultivated vetch' (Varro+).
PIt. *erVgʷ-o-?
IE cognates: MIr. *orbaind* 'grains'; Gr. ὄροβος, Gr. ἐρέβινθος 'chick-pea'; OHG *araweiz*, OS *erwit* 'peas' < PGm. *arwait-.

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. -ινθος, 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 419, EM 202, IEW 335, Schrijver 1991: 36.

et 'and what is more, too; and' [cj., adv.] (Lex XII, Andr.+)
Derivatives: *etiam* 'still, also, even' (Andr.+), *etenim* 'and indeed' (Pl.+), *etsī* 'even if' (Pl.+).
PIt. *eti. It. cognates: U. et, et, Pael. et 'and' < *eti. In U., et connects syntagms, not sentences.

PIE *h₁eti 'still, also'. IE cognates: Gaul. *eti* 'yet, still, equally', *etic* 'and' < *eti-kʷe; Skt. *áti*, Av. *aiti* 'beyond, over, to', Gr. ἔτι 'still, also, further', NPhr. ετι- 'and'; Go. *iþ* 'but', *id-weit* [n.] 'reproach', OIc. *iðja-grœnn* 'green again', OHG *it(i)-wīz* [n.], OE *ed-wīt* [n.] 'disgrace' < PGm. *iþ(i), OHG *it-māli* 'festive, 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').

Bibl.: WH I: 421, EM 202, IEW 344, Schrijver 1991: 37, Untermann 200: 240.

ex, ē, ec- 'out of, away' [prep., prev.] (Lex XII, Andr.+). In composition, we find *ex-* in front of vowels, c-, qu-, t- and s-; in front of p-, ex- is normal except for *ēpāscere* and *ēpōtāre*. 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+); *exterior* 'outer, outward' (Varro+), *externus* 'on the outside, extraneous' (Lucr.+); *extimus* 'outermost, farthest' (Pl.+), *extrēmus* 'situated at the end, last' (Cato+).

PIt. **eχ*, **eks* 'out'. It. cognates: O. *eh*, U. *ehe, eh, e*, SPic. **eh-** [prep. + abl.] 'out', As a preverb: O. **eh-, ee-**, U. *e-, eh-, ehe-*, **e-, eh-** /ē-/ < **eχ-*. O. **ehtrad** [prep. + acc.] 'outside', U. **apehtre** 'from outside' < *ap-* + **ekterē(d)*.

PIE **h₁eǵʰ*, **h₁éǵʰs* 'out'. IE cognates: OIr. *ess-*, W. *eh-* 'out', OIr. *echtar*, MW *eithyr* 'outside'; Gr. ἐξ 'from, out of', ἔσχατος 'outmost, last' (< **ekʰs-katos*); OPr. *is, assa, assae*, Lith. *iš*, Latv. *iz* 'from, out of', OCS *iz* 'out' < BSl. **iź* (**iš*) < **h₁eǵʰ(s)* [**i-* of BSl. is unexplained].

The original sup. *extimus* < **ekstamo-* was eventually replaced by *extrēmus* < **eksterezemo-* < **ekster-isamo-*. The cp. *extrīnsecus* was built from **exterim* '(to) the outside' and *-secus*. Sabellic continues the *s*-less variant of the PIE preposition **h₁eǵʰ* which is also found in Gr. ἔσχατος and in Balto-Slavic (cf. Weiss 2002: 356).

Bibl.: WH I: 423f., 433f., EM 203f., IEW 292f., Leumann 1977: 558f., Schrijver 1991: 37, Meiser 1998: 117, 152, Untermann 2000: 114, 199, 202, Derksen 2008: 217.

exprētus 'extinguished (vel sim.)' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl. 1x *Bac.*446, Paul. *ex F.*)
    PIt. **eks-prēto-* or **eks-sprēto-*.

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. This is conceivable. Yet a derivation from *spernere, sprētus* '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 431, EM 206, Klingenschmitt 1989 (= 2005: 269-283), LIV **preh₁-?* **spʰerH-?* → *spernere*

ex(s)ul, -is 'banished person' {m. *l*] (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. ἐλαύνω 'to drive': *ex-ul* 'who is driven

out' (cf. *proelium*).
Bibl.: WH I: 432, EM 207, Benedetti 1988: 164-169. → *ambulō*

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+).

PIt. **fafā-* 'bean'. It. cognates: Fal. *haba* 'bean' [Velius Longus, 2nd c. AD].

IE cognates: OPr. *babo* 'bean', Ru. *bob*; OIc. *baun*, OHG *bōna*, OE *bean* 'bean' < PGm. **baunō* < **bab-nō*? Farther removed are Gr. φακός 'lentil' and Alb. *bathë* 'horse-bean' < **b⁽ʰ⁾aḱ-*.

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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 436, EM 208, IEW 106, Schrijver 1991: 488, Kuiper 1995: 79f.

faber, -brī 'craftsman, artisan' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *fabrē* 'skilfully' (Pl.+), *infabrē* 'unskilfully' (Pac.+), *fabrīlis* 'of a workman' (Varro+); *fabrica* 'workshop; craft; plan' (Pl.+), *fabricāre/ī* 'to fashion, build; devise' (Pl.+), *perfabricāre* 'to fashion completely' (Pl.), *fabricātor* 'maker' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **fafro-*. It. cognates: Pael. *faber* [nom.sg.?] is probably a loan from Latin.

PIE **dʰHbʰ-ro-* 'craftsman'? IE cognates: Arm. *darbin* 'smith' (< **dabr-īno-*); Lith. *dabà* 'nature, habit, character', *dabar̃* 'now', *dabnùs* 'smart, well-dressed, elegant', OCS *podoba* 'ornamentation, decency', Ru. *dóba* (dial.) 'time, measure', OCS *dobrъ* 'good, beautiful', Ru. *dóbryj* 'good'; Go. *ga-daban* 'to happen', pf. *gadob* 'it fits', *gadof ist* 'it is fitting', OE *gedēfe* 'fitting'.

The noun *fabrica* suggests the earlier existence of a feminine noun to which an adj. **fabriko-* referred; maybe *ars* 'art, craft'. According to Leumann 1977: 337, *fabrica* was formed after a Greek example, e.g. ναυτική (τέχνη). The closest cognate is Armenian *darbin*; together with *faber*, it could reflect PIE **dʰHbʰ-*. The BSl. words meaning 'nature' and 'good' (with short vowel in front of *b* < **bʰ*) and the Gm. words **dab-*, **dōb-* could go back to PIE **dʰobʰ-*. 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-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 436f., EM 208, IEW 233f., Schrijver 1991: 102, Untermann 2000: 254, LIV **dʰeHbʰ-* 'to fit'.

facio, -ere 'to make' [v. III; pf. *fēcī*; ppp. *factum*. sb. *faxō, faxim, faxīs*, pr.ipv. *fac*] (VOLat.+: Duenos inscr. *feced* /*feked*/ 'fēcit', Praeneste (315BC) *fecid*, Corchiano (4th c. BC) *feced*, Lacus Fucinius *fecront*, Paestum *fecere* 'fēcerunt'; 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.), *factiō* 'the making; group, party' (Pl.+), *factiōsus* 'busy; factious' (Pl.+);

prōficīscor '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, -ficis '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.+), *afficticius* '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.), *perfector* 'who brings to completion' (Ter.+), *praeficere* 'to put in charge' (Pl.+), *praefica* 'woman who leads the funeral mourning' (Naev.+), *praefectiō* 'appointing as leader' (Varro), *praefectūra* 'command; rank or duty of a praefectus' (Pl.+), *praefectus* 'person in charge; praetor' (Pl.+), *prōficere* 'to make progress' (Lucil.+), *prōfectiō* 'departure' (Pac.+), *reficere* 'to restore, repair' (Lucr.+), *sufficere* 'to supply, provide; be sufficient' (Lucr.+).

Plt. **fak-i-* [pr.], **fēk-* / **fak-* [aor.]. It. cognates: Ven. **vhagsto, hvagsto, vhasto** [3s.pret.] 'made' < **fak-s-to*; Fal. **faced** (Berenguer Sanchéz – Luján Martínez 2004), **facet** (Wallace 2005) [3s.pf.]; O. **fakiiad** [3s.pr.sb.], *factud* [3s.ipv.II], *fe<f>acid* [3s.pf.sb.], *fefacust* [3s.fut.II], *facus estud* [3s.ipv.II.ps.m.], Mars. *fecront* [3p.pf.], Marr. *fec(ed?)* [3s.pf.], Vol. *façia*, U. **façia, feia** [3s.pr.sb.], U. **fetu, feitu,** *fetu, feitu* [3s.ipv.II], PalU. **face** [3s.pf.], U. **fakust** [3s.fut.pf.], **fakurent,** *facurent* [3p.fut.pf.], **façiu, façu** [inf.], **fetu** [3s.pf.ps.n.?], **feta** [ppp. acc.sg.f.] 'to do, act, sacrifice, make'; O. ανα:fακετ [3s.pf.] 'has erected'. O. **fakinss** [acc.pl.] 'deeds' < **fak-jon-*. U. **façefe<l>e** [acc.sg.f.] 'fit to be sacrificed' < **faki-fli-* < **-dʰli-*. Maybe U. **anfehtaf** [acc.pl.f.]. O. *praefucus* [nom.sg.] 'praefect' (calque on the Latin term). For Fal. *fifiked* and *f[if]iqod*, see s.v. *fingō*.

PIE **dʰeh₁-* 'to put' [aor.]; **dʰh₁-k-* 'to make', **dʰh₁-k-i-* [pr.]. IE cognates: Gr. aor. ἔθηκα 'I put, placed', Phryg. αδ-δακετ 'afficit', middle αδ-δακετορ.

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. *-κ-* in the aor./pf. of these verbs, and with Phrygian αδδακετ(ορ). In Italic, the

stem *fak-, in the pf. also *fēk-, was generalized in the whole paradigm. For *difficilis* see s.v. *dis-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 439-444, EM 209-212, IEW 235ff., Lejeune 1974: 334, Schrijver 1991: 92, Untermann 1993, Untermann 2000: 255-261, Marinetti 2004: 426, LIV *dʰh₁k-. → *-dō, -dere; fēcundus; fēriae; fētiālis*

faex, -cis 'wine-lees, dregs' [f. *k*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *faecārius* 'used for lees' (Cato), *faecātus* 'made from lees' (Cato), *faeceus* 'resembling dregs, foul' (Pl.), *faecula* 'dried lees of wine' (Lucr.+); *dēfae/īcāre* 'to remove the dregs' (Pl.+).

No etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 444, EM 213.

fāgus 'beech' [f. *o*] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *fāgineus* 'beech-' (Cato+), *fāgūtālis* 'of the beech-grove' (Varro+).
PIt. *fāgo-.

PIE *bʰeh₂g-o- 'oak' / 'beech'. IE cognates: Gaul. *bāgos* 'beech' (in French place names), Gr. φηγός, Dor. φᾱγός [f.] 'kind of oak, acorn', OHG *buoh* 'written document, book', OHG *buohstap* 'letter' < *'piece of beech for writing', OIc. *bók*, OE *bōc, bēce* (< *bōkjōn-), OHG *buohha* 'beech', Go. *boka* 'letter'. Unrelated: Alb. *bung* 'kind of oak' and Slav. *bъzъ* 'elder'.

The adj. *fāgūtālis* presupposes a derivative *fāgūtum* '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 445, EM 213, IEW 107f., Leumann 1977: 276, Schrijver 1991: 142, Demiraj 1997: 112f., EIEC 58f. → *fraxinus*

fallō, -ere 'to deceive' [v. III; pf. *fefellī*; ppp. *falsum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *fallācia* 'deceptive behaviour, trick' (Pl.+), *fallāx* 'deceitful' (Lucil.+); *falsus* 'erroneous, untrue' (Lex XII+), *falsārius* 'a forger' (Cato+); *falsidicus* 'lying' (Pl.), *falsificus* 'acting deceitfully' (Pl.), *falsiiūrius* 'swearing falsely' (Pl.), *falsiloquus* 'speaking deceitfully', *falsimōnia* 'deception' (Pl.); *refellere* 'to refute' (Ter.+).

PIt. *fal-s-e/o- [pr.], *fal-s- [pf.].

PIE *sgʷʰh₂(e)l-n- 'to stumble'. IE cognates: Skt. (Br.+) *skhalate* [3s.pr.med.] 'to stumble, fail', MP *škarwīdan* 'to stumble, stagger'; Gr. σφάλλω 'to bring down', σφάλλομαι 'to fall', aor. ἐσφάλην 'I fell down', Arm. *sxalem* 'to stumble, fail'.

The pr. may represent either *fal-d-, *fal-n- or *fal-s-. The pf. *fe-fellī* is a recent formation *fe-fall- on the basis of the pr., as shown by word-internal -*f*- and by -*ellī* (instead of -*ulī* < *-Vl-ai, cf. *pellō – pepulī*). 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 IIr., 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).

Bibl.: WH I: 447ff., EM 213f., IEW 489f., Leumann 1977: 169, Meiser 1998: 211, 2003: 176f., LIV *(s)gᵘʰh₂el-.

falx, -cis 'hook, scythe, sickle' [f. *k*; gen.pl. *-ium*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *falcula* 'pruning-knife, bill-hook' (Cato+).

IE cognates: OIr. *delg* [m.] 'thorn, pin', W. *dala* 'sting' < PCl. **delgo-* 'pin, needle'; Lith. *dílgė* 'nettle', Lith. *dilgùs* 'stinging, smarting', OIc. *dálkr* 'pin, spine, dagger, knife' [m.], OE *delg* 'clasp', *dalc* 'bracelet'.

The suggested connection with Sicilian Ζάγκλη, Δανκλε̄ '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 OIr. *delg*, OIc. *dálkr* seems acceptable, but Latin *-al-* cannot be derived from a root **dʰlg-*, nor can word-final *k*. So at most, *falx* is a borrowing from a non-Latin IE language of Italy.

Bibl.: WH I: 449f., EM 214, IEW 247.

famēs, -is 'hunger' [f. *ē* >> *i* (gen.sg. *famī* 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*, OIr. *ded-* 'to vanish', and OIc. *dāsi* 'slow', MiE *dasen* 'to deafen, daze'. Yet this comparison is too vague, both semantically and formally. The formation of *fam-ē-* might point to a root **fam-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 451, EM 215, IEW 239, Leumann 1977: 444ff., Schrijver 1991: 381, Sihler 1995: 342. → *fatīgō*

fămex/-ix, -icis 'swelling, abcess' [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. *famulum* 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.+).

PIt. *famelos* 'slave', *famelia* 'household'. It. cognates: Pael. *famel*, O. **fml** [nom.sg.] 'slave' < *famelos*, O. *famelo* [nom.sg.], U. **famerias** [nom.pl.?] 'household' < *fameliā-*.

PIE *dʰh₁-m-elo- 'fundament'. IE cognates: Gr. θεμείλια [n.pl.] 'fundaments' (from metrical lengthening of θεμέλια) , θεμέλιος 'belonging to the fundaments', θεμούς 'expositions, admonitions' (Hsch.), θέμις 'justice, law'.

Rix 1994a interprets PIt. *famelo-* 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. *dhā́man-* 'law; dwelling-place'.

Bibl.: WH I: 452f., EM 215, IEW 235ff., Benveniste 1969 II: 102-105, Rix 1994a: 35ff., Untermann 2000: 262-264, LIV *dʰeh₁-.

fānum 'shrine, temple, consecrated place' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *hānula* (Paul. *ex F.*) 'small temples', *fānāre* 'to dedicate' (Varro+), *fānāticus* 'of a temple; enthusiastic' (Cic.+); *profānus* 'secular, not religious' (Pl.+), *profānāre* 'to offer in front of a temple; to desecrate' (Cato+).

PIt. *fasno-* 'temple'. It. cognates: O. **fíísnú** [nom.sg.], **fíísnam**, **fisnam**, Pael. *fesn(am)* [acc.sg.], U. **fesnafe** [acc.pl. + -*en*] , *fesnere* [abl.pl. + -*en*] 'temple' < PSab. *fēsna-*.

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) *dʰeh₁s-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-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 453f., EM 215f., IEW 259, Schrijver 1991: 92, Untermann 2000: 281-283, LIV *dʰeh₁-. → *fērālis, fēriae*

far, -rris 'husked wheat, emmer; grain, flour' [n. *r*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *farīna* 'flour' (Pl.+) (< *farrīna*), *farinārius* 'of flour' (Cato+), *farrāceus* 'of emmer' (Varro+), *farrāgō, -inis* 'mixed crop of inferior grains' (Varro+), *farrārius, farreārius* 'for grain' (Cato).

PIt. *fars*, gen.sg.*fars-Vs* 'flour'. It. cognates: O. **far**, U. *far* [acc.sg.], *farer* [gen.sg.] 'flour'; U. **farariur** [nom.pl.m.] 'of the grain' < *-āsio-*; U. **fasiu**, *farsio*, *fasio* [acc.pl.n.] 'of flour' < *farseio-*. Maybe Fal. **farme(n)tom** [acc.n.] < *fars-mentom*, if correctly restored.

IE cognates: Olr. *bairgen* 'bread, loaf', W. Co. Bret. *bara* 'bread'; OCS *brašьno* 'food', ORu. *borošьno* '(farinaceous) food', SCr. *brašno* 'flour, food' < *bʰarsinom*; Latv. *barība* 'food'; Go. *barizeins* 'from barley', OIc. *barr* 'grain', OE *bere* 'barley' < PGm. *bar(e/a)z-*.

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.

Bibl.: WH I: 455f., EM 216, IEW 111, Giacomelli 1963: 244f., Leumann 1977: 180,
184, Meiser 1986: 174, Schrijver 1991: 113f., Sihler 1995: 211, 306, Untermann
2000: 265f.

farciō, -īre 'to fill completely, stuff' [v. IV; *farsī, 'fartum*] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *farcīmen* '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+); *confercīre* 'to pack
closely together' (Varro+), *confertus* 'thronging' (Enn.+), *effercīre* 'to cram' (Pl.+),
suffarcināre 'to stuff a person by padding out his clothes' (Pl.+).

PIt. **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.

Bibl.: WH I: 456f., EM 216f., IEW 110f., Steinbauer 1989: 165ff., Schrijver 1991:
488f., 495f., LIV **bʰrekᵘ-*. →*fer(c)tum, frequēns*

-fāriam 'in n parts' [adv.]: *bifāriam* 'in two parts or places, in two ways' (Pl.+),
quadrifāriam 'in four ways' (Varro+), *multifāriam* 'in many places' (Cato+)

PIt. **X-þo-* 'having X parts' >> **X-þasjo-* '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 PIt. or PIE adj. **tri-dʰh₁-o-*
'having a tripartite division' to explain *tribus* (see s.v.), and from the same adj., Latin
could have derived an adj. in *-ārius*, cf. *prīmus* beside *primārius*. Since Lat. *-f-* would
not arise from PIt. **þ* after *ā* and before *i*, the *-f-* must be explained differently. Weiss
adopts the solution which has been generally accepted for *īnferus*, viz., that **-þasio-*
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 *bʰrHǵ- '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 458, EM 217, IEW 139f., Schrijver 1991: 106, 186f., 489, Rasmussen 1993: 182. → *fraxinus*

fās 'what is right by divine law, morally right' [n. (indecl.) *s*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *nefāstus* '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.+).
PIt. **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, -ον '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.
Bibl.: WH I: 459, EM 218, IEW 91f., Leumann 1977: 167, Schrijver 1991: 102.

fascis 'bundle, faggot; (symbol of) power' [m. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *fascia* 'ribbon, band' (Varro+), *fasciculus* 'bundle, bunch' (Cato+), *fascina* 'bundle' (Cato), *fasciola* 'ribbon, band' (Varro).
PIt. **faski-* 'bundle'.
IE cognates: OIr. *basc* 'necklace', W. *beich* 'burden', Bret. *bec'h* 'load' < PCl. **bʰ⁽ʰ⁾aski̯o-*.

An Italo-Celtic correspondence **bʰaski(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-)*.
Bibl.: WH I: 459f., EM 218, IEW 111, Schrijver 1991: 102f.

fastīgō, -āre 'to make pointed, taper' [v. I] (Caes.+)

Derivatives: *fastīgium* 'sharp point, tip, roof; height, depth' (Varro+).
PIt. **farstīg- / *farsti-ag-*.
PIE **bʰrs-ti-* 'top, point'. IE cognates: OHG *burst, borst*, OE *byrst* 'bristle' < **bʰr̥s-ti-*; Skt. *bhr̥ṣṭí-* 'point', YAv. *vouru.barašti-* 'name of a part of the earth which

lies in the northwest' are derived from a root *bhṛś 'to whet' by EWAia II: 273, 277, but this does not seem certain.

EM suppose that *fastīgāre* was backformèd from *fastīgātus* 'pointed', but this would presuppose a noun *fastīgum*, for which there is no evidence. Still, *fastīgium* is older than *fastīgāre*, which induced Leumann to suggest that the verb was derived from the noun in *-ium*. The PIE form *bʰrs-ti- would yield pre-Latin *bʰarsti- by means of Schrijver's rule that *ṛ > ar in front of CCC. The (nominal) root *bʰrs- is found without suffix in Celtic: Ir. *barr*, W. *bar*, Bret. *barr* 'top' < *bʰrs-o-.

Bibl.: WH I: 461f., EM 218, IEW 109f., Leumann 1977: 294, Schrijver 1991: 490, Dunkel 2000a: 94f. → *fastus*

fastus, -ūs 'pride' [m. *u*] (Cat.+)

Derivatives: *fastīdium* 'disdain, aversion' (Pl.+), *fastīdiōsus* 'critical, squeamish' (Pl.+), *fastīdīre* 'to show aversion to, scorn' (Pl.+), *fastīdiliter* 'in the manner of one who is hard to please' (Varro).
Plt. *fars-tu-?
PIE *bʰrs-tu- 'top, point'?

Lat. *fastīdium* 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, *fastīdium* would be a tautology.

Bibl.: WH I: 460ff., EM 218f., IEW 109f., Leumann 1977: 556, Schrijver 1991: 490. → *fastīgō, taedet*

fateor 'to acknowledge, admit' [v. II; ppp. *fassum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *confitērī* 'to admit' (Lex XII+), *īnfitiās īre* 'to deny; disown' (Pl.+), *prōfitērī* 'to declare, promise' (Pl.+).
Plt. *fat-ē-. It. cognates: O. **fatíum** [inf.] 'to speak'.
PIE *bʰh₂-to- 'spoken' and/or *-bʰh₂-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 *confitērī* and *prōfitērī* 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 *latēri*. The noun *īnfitiae* 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 462f., EM 219, IEW 105f., Leumann 1977: 555, Schrijver 1991: 96, Untermann 2000: 266f., LIV 2.*bʰeh₂-. → *for, fās*

fatīgō, -āre 'to tire out, harass' [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *affatim, ad fatim* 'amply, sufficiently' (Andr.+), *fatīscere/-scī* 'to split open; become weary' (Pac.+), *dēfe/atīgāre* 'to exhaust, tire out' (Pl.+), *dēfetīscī* (ppp. *dēfessus*) 'to suffer exhaustion, become worn out' (Pl.+), *fessus* 'tired, exhausted' (Varro+).

PIt. *fati- 'exhaustion', *fasso- 'exhausted'.

All based on a noun *fatis 'exhaustion, fill', preserved in *affatim*. The verb *fatīgāre* is explained by Dunkel 2000a from *fati-h₂ǵ- to *agere*. The verb *fatīscor* was probably built on the cp. *dēfetīscor*. In the latter, the reduction to *e* is irregular, since we expect *dēfitīscor* 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 *fassa* as 'tired, exhausted', and as the only preserved instance of *fat-to- > *fassus*, which was replaced by *fessus* (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.

Bibl.: WH I: 463, EM 219f., IEW 239, Leumann 1977: 83, 536, Keller 1992: 260-265, Sihler 1995: 67, Dunkel 2000a: 94.

fatuus 'silly, foolish' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)
  Derivatives: *Fatuus* (Varro) an oracular god.
  PIt. *fatowo- 'of speech'. It. cognates: O. **fatuveís** [gen.sg.], fατοFε [voc.sg.] maybe = *Fatuus*.
  PIE *bʰh₂-tu- 'speech'.

Lat. *fatuus* 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 *Fatuus* 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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 464, EM 220, IEW 111f., Untermann 2000: 268, LIV 2.*bʰeh₂-. → *fās*, *for*

Faunus 'mythical king; (pl.) deities of the countryside' [m. *o*] (Enn.+)
  Derivatives: *Fauna* 'a rustic goddess' (Var.); *Favōnius* 'the west wind, Zephyr' (Pl.+).
  PIt. *fawelono-; *fawōn(-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. *búan* 'good, favourable; firm', MW *bun* 'maiden, sweetheart'.

Formerly, there was no good comparison for *Faunus*. Since Lat. *faveō* 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. *fauVno- < *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

favō, -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 favouŗable. *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 *fovēre* 'to warm up, heat', supported by WH, is not compelling, and yields insurmountable phonetic difficulties in explaining the *-a-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 468f., EM 221, IEW 146ff., 235, 240f., Leumann 1977: 167, Schrijver 1991: 442, 444. → *faveō*

faveō 'to be favourably inclined, to approve' [v. II; pf. *fāvī*, ppp. *fautum*] (Naev.+; *fove* CIL I² 573)

Derivatives: *faventia* 'auspicious behaviour' (Acc.), *fautor* 'supporter, partisan' (also *favitor*) (Pl.+), *fautrix, -īcis* 'female supporter' (Ter.+); *faustus* 'fortunate; favourable' (Pl.+); maybe *favea* 'maidservant' (Pl.).

PIt. **faw-ē-*.

PIE **bʰh₂u-ehı-* 'to be favourable to'. IE cognates: OIr. *báe* 'profit, benefit' < **bʰeh₂u-io-*, Skt. *bhūṣ-* 'to exert oneself for someone'.

Because of the rule **-oṷV- > -avV-*, *faveō* might reflect **foṷeō*, but the hapax *fove* is unreliable (see also Vine 2006a: 225f.). Lat. *faustus* << **foustus* < **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 *-ēre* 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 **bʰh₂u-*, from which OIr. *báe* 'profit, benefit' can be derived as **bʰeh₂u-io-*. 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 **bʰh₂u-ehı-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 464ff., 468, EM 220f., IEW 453, Schrijver 1991: 441f., Lubotsky 1995: 225, Untermann 2000: 302, LIV **dʰeu-* 'run'. → *Faunus, fīō, fuī*

favĭlla 'ashes' [f. *ā*] (Ter.+)

PIt. **fawV-*.

PIE **dʰouH-V́-* 'smoke / smoking'.

WH and EM do not doubt the appurtenance of *favilla* to *foveō* 'make warm' < 'burn'; WH reconstruct **foṷilla*, 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), *favīlla* must reflect a stem form *dʰouH-V- with unaccented first syllable. Of the various possible scenarios to arrive at such a form, Vine's first proposal is the following: PIE *dʰóuh₂-i- 'smoke, soot', ins.sg. *dʰóuh₂-ih₁ 'with smoke, with soot' > deriv. PIt. *poụī-nó- 'smoky, sooty' > *paụīnó- > deriv. *faụīn(e)lā- '(small) smoky stuff' = 'ashes'. Another possible starting point would be a PIE o-stem *dʰouh₂-ó- '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 *dʰegʷʰ-, *dʰ ụeh₂-. → *foveō, fūmus*

favus 'honeycomb' [m. *o*] (Varro+)

Etymology unknown. One might follow WH and derive *favus* from PIE *bʰuH- / *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-ó-, 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- > *fụaụo-'being' > *faụo- 'building', but this reconstruction is unsupported by other evidence.

Bibl.: WH I: 469, EM 222, Schrijver 1991: 444.

faux, -cis 'pharynx, throat' [f. *ī*] (Pl.+; usually pl. *fauces̩, -ium̩*; only sg. case form abl. *fauce̩*)

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.+).

PIt. *fwakʰ⁽ʷ⁾-(ē-).

IE cognates: Lith. *žvãkė* 'candle'; Gr. φώψ 'light'?

The derivation of *facētus* from *fakē-* (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 *fakē-* must be regarded as the oldest nominal stem in Latin – it is hard to decide. The appurtenance of Gr. φώψ is uncertain, since it is a hapax from Hesych. Schrijver (p. 461) conjectures that it represents a remake of. Gr. φώς 'light' on the model of ὤψ 'eye', in which case it would not belong here. Since the Lith. form, might reflect PIE *ǵʰuok-, this removes the need to reconstruct a root-final labiovelar, though it is still a possibility. In Latin, *fụo-* would have been unrounded to *fụa-* 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 *-$ok^{(w)}$- after a root *$\acute{g}^h u$- (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.

Bibl.: WH I: 438, 471, EM 209, 222, IEW 495, Leumann 1977: 165, Schrijver 1991: 371, 374f., 461, 465.

febris 'fever' [f. i] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *febriculōsus* 'fever-ridden' (Pl.+).

Plt. *$fe\chi^{w}ri$-.

PIE *$d^h eg^{wh}$-ro- 'burning' > *$d^h eg^{wh}$-ri- 'burn, fever'. IE cognates: Gr. τέφρα 'ashes'.

Bibl.: WH I: 471, EM 222, IEW 240f., Leumann 1977: 166, Schrijver 1991: 186, Sihler 1995: 165, Vine 2002: 336, LIV *$d^h eg^{uh}$-. → *foveō*

februum 'means of purification, expiatory offerings' [n. o] (Varro+; *februm* Varro, pl. *februa, -ōrum* Ov., Paul. *ex F.*)

Derivatives: *februāre* 'to purify' (Varro, Paul. *ex F.*), *februālis* 'concerned with purification' (said of *Iuno*, Paul. *ex F.*), *Februārius* [adj.] '(the month) February; of February' (Varro, Cic.+), *februātiō* 'ceremony of. purification' (Varro), *februātus* 'concerned with purification' (Varro, Paul. *ex F.*).

Plt. *$f(w)esro$- or *$fe\chi^{w}ro$-.

PIE *$d^h ues$-ro- 'the smoking' or *$d^h eg^{wh}$-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 *$d^h ues$-ro- 'smoking' more or less: we would only need to assume a semantic shift from 'the smoking' to 'the purifying'. The development *$d^h ue$- > *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 *$d^h eg^{wh}$-ri-. That is, *febro- might have meant 'a burning, offering', whence *febrowo- 'belonging to an offering, means of purification'.

Bibl.: WH I: 472f., EM 222f., IEW 268-271, Pisani 1979.

fēcundus 'fertile' [adj. $o/ā$] (Pl.+)

Plt. *fek-odno-?

PIE *$d^h eh_1$-k-? IE cognates: see *fēmina*.

Latin has seven gerunds in *-cundus*: *secundus* (< *sek^w-omeno-?), *fācundus, fēcundus, īrācundus, 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 *$d^h eh_1$-(i-) 'to suck', but this verb is homophonous to *$d^h eh_1$- '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 *fēlīx* 'fortunate', *fēnum* and *fēnus*, it seems that *fē(k)- had developed from 'suckling' to 'bringing forth, giving birth to' (maybe already in PIE), hence *fēc-undus*

'characterized by producing, suckling' > 'fertile'.

Bibl.: WH I: 473, EM 223, IEW 242, Leumann 1977: 332, Schrijver 1991: 139, Meiser 1998: 228, LIV *dʰeh₁(i)-. → fēlīx, fēlō, fēmina, fēnus, fētus, fīlius

fel, fellis 'bile, gall' [n.] (Pl.+)

IE cognates: Gr. χόλος 'gall, wrath', χολή 'bile'; Lith. tulžìs, Latv. žul̃(k)ts 'bile' < ǵʰlh₃-; OCS zlьčь 'bile' [f.], Ru. žëlč', SCr. žûč, gen.sg. žúči; OIc. 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. (*felō?), and then -ll was simplified to -l. The gen.sg. 'fellis might reflect *fel-n-os. But intervocalic -ll- can also stem from *-lw-. Alternatively, fel 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 *ǵʰ-, but if fel is from from *ǵʰelH- 'yellow', initial f- instead of *h- must be a dialectal feature. If the root was *bʰl(H)-, it is possible to derive fel from a Latin root for colour terms (flāvus) For the meaning of the Greek forms, see Driessen 2003a: 287ff.

Bibl.: WH I: 473f., EM 223, IEW 429ff., Sihler 1995: 298. → flāvus, flōrus, helvus

fēlēs, -is 'small carnivora, such as 'marten', 'wild cat'' [f.] (Pl.+)

IE cognates: W. bele 'marten' < *bʰelego-?

The connection with W. bele is possible, but fēlēs can go back to other preforms than *bʰel-. The inflection may represent an earlier ē-stem, but also an n-stem with nom.sg. *-ēn, or maybe a root noun. The ē-stem inflection may have been productive in wild animal names, cf. mēlēs, volpēs, verrēs. No etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 474, EM 223f., IEW 118ff., Schrijver 1991: 123, 375.

fēlīx, -īcis 'fruitful; fortunate' [adj. k] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: fēlīcitās 'luck' (Ter.+), īnfēlīx 'unlucky, unhappy' (Pl.+), īnfēlīcitās 'misfortune' (Ter.+), īnfēlīcāre 'to bring bad luck' (Pl.+).
Plt. *fēl(w)ī- 'suckling'.
PIE *dʰeh₁-l(u)-i-. IE cognates: OIr. deil 'female pig', dela, delech 'having udders, milch cow' < *dʰeh₁-l-o/h₂; Skt. dhārú- [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. dėlė̃ 'id.' < *dʰeh₁-lo-/-lh₂.

Lat. fēlīx 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 fēlīx may be a very old f. of an l-stem adj., or a relatively early (hyper)femininization to *dʰeh₁-li- or *dʰeh₁-lu- to *dʰeh₁-l(u)-iH. The fem. suffix *-ī- was extended by means of *-k- in Latin, cf. Schrijver 1991: 148-154. The development *-lwī- > *-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, fēlāre, fēmina, fēnus, fētus, fīlius

fēlō, -āre 'to suck (milk)' [v. I] (Varro+)
   Derivatives: *fellāre* 'to suck (sexually)' (Cat.+).
   Plt. **fēlo-*. It. cognates: U. **feliuf,** *filiu* [ącc.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-*.
   Bibl.: WH I: 475f., EM 224, IEW 242, Schrijver 1991: 139, 344, Untermann 2000: 271f., LIV **dʰeh₁(i̯)-*. → *fēcundus, fēlīx, fēmina, fēnus, fētus, fīlius*

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. *dadhúr* 'they have sucked', caus. *dhāpáya-*, inf. *dhātave* 'to drink', *(payo)-dhā-* [adj.] 'sucking (milk)'; Gr. pr.inf. ϑῆσϑαι, aor. ϑήσατο 'he sucked', Latv. *dêt, dêju* 'to suck', OCS *dĕva* 'virgin, maiden', CS *dĕtь*, Ru. *dĕti* 'children'. PIE **dʰeh₁-i-* in Skt. pr. *dháyati* 'sucks, drinks mother's milk', *dhénā-* [f.] 'stream of. milk', Oss. *dæjyn / dæjun* 'to suck', Arm. *diem* 'id.', OCS *doiti*, Is. *dojǫ* 'to breast-feed, nurse' (< **dʰoih₁-* or *dʰoh₁i-*), Go. *daddjan*, OHG *tāju* 'to suck'; Olr. *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(i̯)-*. → *fēcundus, fēlīx, fēlāre, fēnus, fētus, fīlius*

femur, -inis 'thigh' [n. *n*] (Pl.+; secondary forms: nom.sg. *femen* Ampellius, *femus* 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 **nu̯* yielded *(n)m* in Latin.
   Bibl.: WH I: 477, EM 224, Janda 1998.

-fendō, -ere 'to hit, strike' [v. III; *-fendī, -fēnsum*]: *dēfendere* 'to ward off, defend' (Lex XII+), *offendere* 'to strike against; encounter' (Pl.+), *īnfēnsus* [adj.] 'aggressive, hostile' (Pl.+)
   Derivatives: *dēfensāre* 'to protect' (Pl.), *dēfensor* 'protector, defender' (Ter.+), *offensiō* 'obstacle, offence' (Varro+), *offensāre* 'to collide with' (Varro+), *offensus, -ūs* 'collision' (Lucr.+).
   Plt. **χʷ(e)nd-*.
   PIE **gʷʰen-dʰ-* 'to hit, strike' or ipv.sg. **gʷʰndʰi*. IE cognates: Olr. *gonaid, ·goin*

'wounds, kills', W. *gwan* 'to thrust, hit', MCo. *gwana* 'to sting', OBret. *goanaff* 'to punish, sting' < *g^wan-e/o-*; Hit. *kue(n)-^{zi}/ kun- / kuua(n)-* 'to kill', Lyc. 3p *qãñti* 'they destroy'; Skt. pr. 3s. *hánti*, 3p. *ghnánti* 'to kill'; Gr. θείνω, Arm. *jnem* 'to strike'; Lith. *gìnti* 'to protect, defend', 3s. *gìna* (the acute is unclear), OCS *gъnati* 'chase, persecute' < BSl. *g^{wh}n-*.

This inherited verb is only preserved in compounds. The adj. *īnfēnsus* presupposes an earlier verb **in-fendere* 'to strike into, attack'. PIE had a root present *$^*g^{wh}$en-/$^*g^w$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 < $^*g^{wh}$nd^{h}i* 'strike!' (thus LIV).

Bibl.: WH I: 332f., EM 224f., IEW 491ff., Leumann 1977: 166, 603, Sihler 1995: 510, LIV *$^*g^{uh}$en-*.

fēnum / faenum 'hay' [n. *o*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *faenārius* 'of hay' (Cato+); *faenisex, -cis* 'a mower' (CIL, Varro+), *faenisicia* 'the mowing' (Cato+); *faeniculum* 'fennel' (Pl.+).

Plt. **fēno-* [n.].

PIE **d^{h}eh$_1$-no-* 'yield'.

Because of an inscriptional form *faenisicei* in 117 BC, TLL and Leumann 1977 assume that *fae-* is the oldest spelling. If so, the etymology is unknown. Others, e.g. WH, assume that *fae-* is a hypercorrect spelling for original *fē-*. In that case, we can reconstruct **fē-no- < *d^{h}eh$_1$-no-* 'the yield' to the root **d^{h}eh$_1$-*. 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}eh$_1$(i)-*. → *-dō, -dere, fēcundus, fēlīx, fēmina, fīlius*

fēnus / faenus, -oris 'interest (on capital)' [n. *r*] (Pl.+; the spelling *fae-* seems to be prevalent, TLL; it occurs beside *fē-* and *foe-*; abl.sg. *-ori*)

Derivatives: *fae/ēnerāre* 'to lend money at interest' (Cato+), *fae/ēneratō* [adv.] 'with interest' (Pl.), *fae/ēnerātor* 'money-lender' (Cato+); *fae/ēnusculum* 'a small sum of interest' (Pl.).

Plt. **fēnos-* [n.].

PIE **d^{h}eh$_1$-ne/os-* [n.] 'yield'.

If *fē-* is the original form, we can assume the same semantic origin as a noun 'yield' as in *fēnum* 'hay'.

Bibl.: WH I: 479, EM 225, IEW 242, Manessy-Guitton 1964, LIV **d^{h}eh$_1$(i)-*. → *fēnum*

fērālis 'of the dead, funerary' [adj. *i*] (Verg.+)

Derivatives: *Fērālia, -ium* [n.pl.] 'festival of the dead (21 Feb.)' (Varro+).

Plt. **fēs-āli-* 'religious'.

PIE **d^{h}eh$_1$-s-o-* 'divine, holy'. IE cognates: see s.v. *fēriae*.

WH and Leumann 1977 assume that *ferālis* is without a derivational basis in Latin, but a connection with *fēriae* '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. *fēriae* 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 *ferālis*. WH connect *ferālis* with words for 'to breathe, rage', and reconstruct **dʰu̯ēs-o/ā-* 'soul, ghost', but the lengthened grade remains unaccounted for.

    Bibl.: WH I: 479f., EM 226, IEW 268-271. → *fēriae*

ferē, fermē 'approximately, nearly' [adv.] Naev.+)
    Plt. **fero-* 'close by', sup. **feramo-* 'very close by, near'.
    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 *ferē*, hence it is preferable to regard *fermē* as an abl.sg. in *-ē* to the superlative **ferimo-* of *ferē*, 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+)
    Plt. **ferkto-*.
    PIE **bʰerǵ-to-* 'roasted'? IE cognates: Skt. pr. *bhr̥jjáti* 'to fry' (Middle Indic for **bhr̥jyáti*?), *bhr̥jjana-* [n.], *bhrā́ṣṭra-* 'frying-pan' [n.] (metathesized from **bharṣṭra-*?); Khot. *brīys-*, MP *brištan* 'to fry, roast'; Lith. *bir̃gelas* 'kind of beer'.

The cluster *rct* can be regarded as a case of archaic spelling; but in view of *-fertus*, it may also carry restored *-c-*. Skt. and Baltic may reflect **bʰr̥-ǵ-* (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-ǵ-* 'to roast' (Vine 1986). This root might be an enlarged variant of PIE **bʰr̥-* '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-to-* 'stuffed' > 'cake'.

    Bibl.: WH I: 486f., EM 230, IEW 137, Leumann 1977: 217, Schrijver 1991: 255, LIV **bʰerǵ-*. → *farciō, ferveō*?

fēriae 'religious festival' [f.pl. *ā*] (Pl.+; Paul. *ex F. fesiae*)
    Derivatives: *fēriātus* 'keeping holiday' (Pl.+); *festus* [adj.] 'holiday' (Pl.+), *festīvus* 'festal, excellent' (Pl.+), *festīvitās* 'festivity, charm' (Pl.+), *prōfestus* 'ordinary, working' (Pl.+).
    Plt. **fēs-io-* 'holiday', **fēs-to-* 'holiday'. It. cognates: O. **fíísíaís, fíísíaís, físíaís** [dat.abl.pl.] '(religious) holidays' < **fēsja-*.
    PIE **dʰehₗ-s-io-, *dʰehₗ-s-to-* 'divine, holy'. IE cognates: Skt. *dhiṣā* 'approximately: with impetuosity'; Gr. ϑεός 'god', ϑεσφατός 'decreed by a god' < **dʰhₗ-s-o-*, Arm. pl.

dik' 'gods' < *d^heh_1-s-.

These words seem to be derived from a PIE *s*-stem *d^heh_1-s- 'religious gift' or 'rite' (cf. Av. *dāh- /daʔah-/* 'gift' < IIr. *d^haH-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.

Bibl.: WH I: 454f., 481, 489, EM 226f., IEW 259, Schrijver 1991: 139, Meiser 1998: 107, Untermann 2000: 281, LIV *d^heh_1-. → *fānum, fērālis*

ferio, -īre 'to strike' [v. IV; no pf. or ppp.; Paul. *ex F.* 3p. *ferīnunt*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *referīre* 'to strike in return' (Pl.+).

PIt. *fer-je/o-.

PIE *b^herH- 'to pierce, strike'. IE cognates: Alb. *bie, bjerrē* 'to fall, get through' < *ber(-ie)-.

The etymology is based on the assumption that *ferio* belongs to the root for 'to pierce', attested with *o*-grade in *forāre* and several BSl. and Gm. cognates. Since this was a laryngeal-final root, *ferio* cannot go back directly to a PIE *e*-grade, since *b^herH-ie- would yield Latin *feraie- > *ferā- (as per Rix 1999, Meiser 1998: 186f.). Also, since most languages continue the *o*-grade of *b^herH-, the *e*-grade of Latin and Albanian is diverging. Possibly, the root-final laryngeal was lost in prevocalic position, and the resulting form *b^her- was recharacterized with *-ie/o-.

Bibl.: WH I: 481f., EM 227, IEW 133ff., Schrijver 1991: 216, LIV *b^herH-. → *forō*

fermentum 'ferment; yeast' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *fermentāre* 'to cause fermentation' (Varro+).

PIt. *$fer(a)mentom$.

PIE *$b^her(H)$-mn [n.] 'ferment'. IE cognates: OE *beorma*, MLG *barme*, NHG *Burme* 'barm'.

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 *$b^hr(H)$- underlying the extended root *b^hrH-u- or or *b^hr-u- 'to boil' reflected in *ferveō* and *dēfrutum*.

Bibl.: WH I: 482f., EM 227, IEW 132f., Schrijver 1991: 255, LIV *b^heru-. → *ferveō, dēfrutum*

ferō, ferre 'to carry, take' [v. irr.] (VOLat.+: CIL 560 (Praeneste) *asom fero*). Forms: pr. *ferō, fers, fert, ferimus, fertis, ferunt*, ipv. *fer! ferte!*, pf. *(ta)tulī*, ppp. *lātus*; OLat. sb. *abstulās, attulās* (Nov.) *attolat* (Pac.).

Derivatives: *ferāx* 'bearing rich crops, productive' (Pl.+); *ferentārius* '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.+), *dēferre* 'to bring down, transfer' (Pl.+), *differre* 'to carry away, spread, put off' (Pl.+), *efferre* 'to carry out, bring forth' (Pl.+), *inferre* 'to carry into, bring forward' (Pl.+), *īnferius* 'used in offerings' (Cato+), *īnferiae* [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' (Aedituus+), *prōferre* 'to bring forth, display, utter' (Naev.+), *referre* 'to bring back, withdraw, return; record' (Naev.+), *rēfert* 'it makes a difference, is important' (Pl.+), *sufferre* 'to offer; submit to' (Pl.+), *trānsferre* 'to transport, transfer' (Pl.+).

PIt. pr. **fere/o-*, pf. **(te)tol-*, ppp. **tlāto-*. It. cognates: Vol. *ferom* [inf.], Marr. *feret* [3p.pr.], *ferenter* [3p.pr.ps.], U. *f<e>rar* [3s.sb.ps.?], **fertu**, *fertu* [3s.ipv.II], **fertuta** [3p.ipv.II], **ferest** [3s.fut.], O. f]err**ins** [3p.sb.] 'to carry, bring'; with prev. *am-*: U. **aferum**, *afero* [inf.], O. **amfret** [3p.pr.], U. *anferener* [gdve., gen.sg.m.] 'to surround'. U. **ařfertur**, *arsfertur*, *arfertur* [nom.sg.], **ařferture**, *arsferture* [dat.sg.], *arsferturo* [dat.sg.] 'leading priest' < **ad-fertor-*. Maybe Pael. *fertlid* [abl.sg.?] '?'.

PIE pr. **bʰer-e/o-* 'to carry', ppp. **tlh₂-to-* 'lifted'. IE cognates: OIr. *beirid*, ·*beir* 'to carry', OW *beryt* [3s.], MBret. *beraff* 'to flow' < PCl. **bere/o-*, Skt. *bhára-*, Av. *bara-*, Gr. φέρω, Phryg. αβ-βερετ, Arm. *berem*, Alb. *bie* 'to bear, carry', Lith. *beřti*, *beriù* 'to scatter', OCS *bьrati*, 1s. *berǫ* 'to gather, select', Go. *bairan*, ToB act. *paräṃ*, ToA med. *pärtär*; see *tollō* for the cognates of *tulī*, *lātus*.

Pres. *fers* < **feres*, *fert* < **feret*, *fertis* < **feretis*, inf. *ferre* < **feresi*, ipv. *fer* < **fere*. The cp. *rēfert* contains a case form of *rēs* 'case, thing' in the first member, most likely the abl.sg. *rē*. 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. *baraϑrī-* 'giving birth', i.e. **bʰer-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.

Bibl.: WH I: 483ff., II: 426, EM 227ff., 567, IEW 128ff., 1060f., Leumann 1977: 347f., 530, Schrijver 1991: 181, Sihler 1995: 541f., Meiser 1998: 224, Untermann 2000: 48f., 275-278, Schumacher 2004: 218-223, LIV **bʰer-*, **telh₂-*. → *forceps*, *forda*, *fors*, *fūr*, *tollō*

ferrum 'iron, steel' [n. *o*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *ferreus* 'made of iron' (Pl.+), *ferrāmentum* 'iron implement' (Pl.+), *ferrātus* 'bound or covered with iron' (Pl.+), *ferrārius* 'iron-' (Pl.+), *ferrāria* 'iron-mine' (Cato+), *ferrātilis* 'connected with iron-working' (Pl.); *ferrūgineus* 'having a dark purplish colour' (Pl.+), *ferrūginus* 'id.' (Lucr.), *ferrūgō* 'iron-rust' (Cat.+).

Loanword from an unidentified source. Possibly, from a Phoenician dialect: *ferrum* < **fer-s-o-*, cf. Phoenician *barzel*, Syriac *parzlā* 'iron'.

Bibl.: WH I: 485f., EM 229f.

ferula 'giant fennel' [f. *ā*] (Varro+)

Under the assumption that the 'giant fennel' was named for its long stalks, *ferula* may be connected with *festūca*, showing a stem **fes-* in both words. Without further etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 487, EM 230. → *festūca*

ferūmen, -inis 'cement, glue' [n. *n*] (Petr.+; most texts and mss. have *ferrumen*)
Derivatives: *offerrūmenta* 'seam, joint' (Pl.).

If the spelling *ferrumen* was influenced by *ferrum* (another building material), the form *ferūmen* can be regarded as the oldest. The suffix *-ūmen* may contain the stem *ḇʰer-u-* 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 *-ūmen* also occurs *bitūmen* 'pitch' and *alūmen* 'alum'. In its use, *ferūmen* is not unlike *bitūmen*, hence it may have been influenced by it. But *ferūmen* can also be regarded as a semantic neighbour of *fermentum* 'yeast', in which case both nouns could continue **fermen*. Thus, the precise origin is unclear. The form *offerrūmenta* in Pl. is probably a nonce-formation.
Bibl.: WH I: 486, EM 230, 459. → *fermentum, ferveō*

ferus 'wild, savage, brutal' [adj. *o/ā*] (Carmen Arvale, Naev.+)
Derivatives: *fera* 'wild animal' (Pac.+), *ferīnus* 'of wild beasts' (Lucr.+), *ferōx* 'fierce, arrogant' (Pl.+), *ferōcia* 'fierceness, arrogance' (Cato+); *efferus* 'untamed, wild' (Lucr.+), *perferus* 'completely wild' (Varro).
Plt. **χwero-*.
PIE ǵʰueh₁(-)r- 'wild animal' (> **ǵʰueh₁ro-*). IE cognates: Gr. θήρ, -ός, OPr. [acc.pl.] *swīrins*, Lith. *žvėris*, Latv. *zvêrs*, OCS *zvěrь*, SCr. *zvȋjer* [i], Bulg. *zvjar* 'wild animal' < BSl. **źu̯eʔri-*; ToB *śerwe* 'hunter' (< **gʰuēr-uo-*).

The retention of *-rus* (as opposed to *vir* < **viros*) must be due to the influence of f. *fera*, n.pl. *fera*. The adj. *fer-ōx* may be (one of) the source(s) of the suffix *-ōx*, if from **[f.]ēro-h₃kʷ-* '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).
Bibl.: WH I: 487f., EM 230, IEW 493, Leumann 1977: 377, Schrijver 1991: 337, Sihler 1995: 159, Meiser 1998: 111,. → *serēnus, vir*

ferveō 'to be intensely hot, boil' [v. II; pf. *ferbuī* (Hor.+)] (Varro+). Also pr. *ferv-ere*, pf. *fervī* (Naev.+).
Derivatives: *fervēscere* 'to become hot' (Pl.+), *fervēfacere* 'to make very hot' (Pl.+), *fervidus* 'hot' (Acc.+), *fervor* 'heat, ardor' (Varro+); *confervēfacere* 'to make thoroughly hot' (Lucr.+), *dēfervēfacere* 'to boil thoroughly' (Cato+), *dēfervēscere* 'to come to a full boil; cool off' (Cato+), *efferv(e)ō* 'to boil up/over' (Lucr.+), *effervēscere* 'to boil up or over' (Cato+), *infervēfacere* 'to bring to the boil' (Cato+), *infervēre* 'to come to the boil' (Cato+), *infervēscere* 'id.' (Cato+), *perfervēfierī* 'to become very hot' (Varro+), *praefervidus* 'exceedingly hot' (Acc.+).
Plt. **ferwe/o-*.
PIE pr. **bʰeru-e/o-* 'to be hot, boil'. IE cognates: OIr. *berbaid*, W. *berw* 'to boil' < **bʰer-u-*.

Fervere occurs mainly from Pl. to Verg., whereas *fervēre* occurs mainly from Verg. onward (with the exception of *infervēre*). This suggests that *fervere* was replaced by *fervēre* in the course of time. Still, it is likely that *fervēre* had been around longer,

since we find *infervēre* in Cato, and since *fervēscere* (whence *fervēfacere*) 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 *fervēre* goes back to **forvēre* from a caus. **bʰor-u̯-eie-*; the *e*-grade would then have been adopted from *fervere*. Yet there is no discernable difference in meaning between *fervō* and *ferveō*, 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 *fervēre* before the time of Plautus. The rise of *fervēre* can be ascribed to the stative meaning 'to be hot, be boiling'.

Bibl.: WH I: 487, EM 230, IEW 143ff., Schrijver 1991: 252-256, Meiser 1998: 214, LIV **bʰeru̯-*. → *dēfrutum, fermentum*

festīnō, -āre 'to make haste, hurry' [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *festīnus* 'quick, in a hurry' (Sall.+), *praefestīnāre* 'to make great haste' (Pl.+), *praefestinātim* 'in great haste' (Sis.); *confestim* 'immediately' (Naev.+).

PIt. **fristi-* 'haste'.

PIE **bʰristi-*. IE cognates: W. *brys* 'haste; speedy', MBret. *bresic, brezec* 'swift, hurried' < **bʰris(s)ti-*.

The form *confestim* points to an earlier noun **festi-*. Schrijver 1990 reconstructs a noun **festi-* 'hurry' from a root **bʰris-* which he also finds in Celtic, and compares it with Skt. *bhrī-*. Vine 1999c assumes that *festīnus* is older than *festīnāre*, in spite of its more recent attestation. In that case, there would have been an ins.sg. **fris-tī* 'with haste' from which **fristī-no-* was derived. Even if the actually attested *festīnus* is regarded as a more recent creation, Vine argues, *festīnāre* may have been built on an earlier adj. **festīno-*. Vine's explanation is attractive semantically, since the earlier explanation of *festīnāre* as a denominative to an alleged noun **festi-on-* 'haste' does not explain the meaning 'to haste' (one would expect 'to be a haste', which is nonsense). Italo-Celtic **bʰristi-* might be connected with **bʰriH-* 'to cut' (Skt. *bhrīnánti* 'they wound', YAv. *pairi.brīnaŋha* 'you have cut', RuCS *brijǫ, briti* 'to shave'). The bare root would be **bʰri-*, with a suffix **-s-*. But the semantic connection with 'haste' is hardly compelling, so this etymology remains gratuitous.

Bibl.: WH I: 259, 488, EM 231, IEW 143, Leumann 1977: 327, Schrijver 1990, 1995: 410, Vine 1999c. → *infestus*

festūca 'stalk, straw; ram, pile-driver' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+; in CLat. 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 *(sambūcus, 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. *i*] (Varro+)

PIt. **fēti-āli-*.

PIE **dʰehₐ-ti-* 'the putting, making'. IE cognates: Skt. *-dhiti-* [f.] 'id.', Av. *ni-ðāiti-*

'concealment', Gr. ϑέσις [f.] 'setting, position', Lith. *détis* 'load', OCS *blago-dětъ* 'benediction', Go. *gadeds* 'adoption', *missadeps* 'crime', OIc. *dáð*, OHG *tāt* 'deed'.

A substantivized adjective meaning 'of the (religious) congregation'. Thus, the inherited noun **fēti-* < **dʰehₗ-ti-* 'putting, placement' came to mean 'prescription, law', and eventually 'body of priests'.

Bibl.: WH I: 489f., EM 231, Leumann 1977: 344f., Untermann 2000: 260, LIV **dʰehₗ-.* → *-dō, -dere*

fētus 'having recently given birth; fertile' [adj. *o/ā*] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *fēta* 'a female animal which has just given birth' (Pl.+), *fētūra* 'breeding, parturition' (Var.+), *fētus, -ūs* [m.] 'parturition, breeding, offspring' (Pl.+); *effētus* 'that has borne fruit; exhausted' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **fēto-*.

PIE **dʰehₗ-to-* 'having given birth'.

Risch 1984: 189-191 has shown that the earliest meaning attested for *fētus* 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 *fēnum*. Probably, *fētus* is an inner-Italic formation, as is *fēcundus*.

Bibl.: WH I: 490, EM 231, IEW 242, LIV **dʰehₗ(i)-.* → *fēcundus, fēlīx, fēlāre, fēnus, fētus, fīlius*

fiber, -brī 'beaver' [m. *o*] (Pl.+; also *feber* Varro+)

PIt. **fifro- / *fefro-* 'beaver'.

PIE **bʰe-bʰr-ú-, *bʰe-bʰr-o-* (or **bʰi-bʰr-o-*) 'brown; brown animal, beaver'. IE cognates: Gaul. *bebru-* (in PN); Skt. *babhrú-* 'red-brown; brown horse', Av. *baβra-* 'beaver', OPr. *bebrus*, Lith. *bẽbras, bèbras, bebrùs, bē̃brus*, Latv. *bȩbrs*, CS *bebrъ, bobrъ*, Ru. *bobr*, gen.sg. *bobrá*, SCr. *dȁbar*, Sln. *bóbər, bébər* 'beaver' < BSl. **bebrus, *bobros*; OHG *bibar*, OS *bibar, bever*, OE *beofor, bebr, bebir* < WGm. **bebru-*, OIc. *bjórr*, ONorw. *bifr-*, OSwe. *biūr*, ODan. *biæver* < North-Germanic **bebru-*.

It is not clear whether the few attestations of *feber, febr-* in glosses and in Varro represent a linguistically real, older form. In any case, the IE cognates all continue **bʰebʰr-*, so that *fiber* 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 BSl., *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. *dadru-* 'skin disease', *-ta-tn-u-* 'spanning'); but the *o-*stem was probably PIE too.

Bibl.: WH I: 490f., EM 231, IEW 136f., Kümmel 2004a.

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 **g^whiH-lo-*. PIE **g^whiH-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^huensriā-* '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.), *ficulneus, ficulnus* [adj.] 'of figs' (Cato+), *ficēdula* 'small bird feeding on figs, beccafico' (Lucil.+), *ficēdulensēs, -ium* [pl.] 'beccafico-men' (Pl.), *ficētum* 'fig-orchard' (Varro+).

IE cognates: Gr. σῦκον, Boeot. τῦκον, Arm. *t'owz* 'fig'.

Loanword from another language in the Mediterranean. The word may have been adopted into pre-Latin in the form **ðūko-* or **ðīko-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 492, EM 232.

fīdō, -ere 'to trust' [v. III; ppp. *fīsum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *fīdus* 'faithful, reliable' (Pl.+), *infīdus* 'faithless, treacherous' (Pl.+); *fīdūcia* 'guarantee, confidence' (Pl.+); *fidēs* 'trust, guarantee' (Pl.+), *fidēlis* 'faithful, loyal' (Naev.+), *fidēlitās* 'faithfulness' (Pl.+), *infidēlis* 'disloyal' (Pl.+); (*Dius*) *Fidius* 'a god sworn by in oaths, maybe Jupiter' (Pl.+); *foedus, -eris* [n.] 'treaty, agreement' (Pl.+; *fidus* Enn. apud Varronem), *foederātus* 'bound by treaty' (SCBac. *foideratei* +), *cōnfoedustī, -ōrum* [m.pl.] 'allies' (Paul. *ex F.*), *fidusta* 'trustworthy' (Paul. *ex F.*); *perfidia* 'faithlessness' (Pl.+), *perfidiōsus* 'treacherous' (Pl.+); *cōnfīdere* 'to put one's trust in, be sure' (Pl.+), *cōnfīdentia* 'self-confidence' (Naev.+), *cōnfīdentiloquus* 'speaking audaciously' (Pl.), *diffīdere* 'to have no confidence in' (Pl.+).

PIt. **feiþe-* [v.], **feiþo-* [adj.], **fiþ-ē-* [f.], **foiþo-* [m.], **feiþ-os-* [n.] 'trust'. It. cognates: U. **kumpifiatu, kupifiatu,** *combifiatu* [3s.ipv.II], **kupifiaia** [3s.pr.sb.], *combifiansi* [3s.pf.cj.], *combifiansiust, combifiansust, combifiansiust* [3s.fut.pf.] 'to announce, communicate', denom. verb to a noun **kombifiom* < **kom-b^heid^h-io-*. U. **fise,** *'fiso* [dat.sg.] probably a deity 'Trust' < **b^hidto-* and **b^hidtu-*; U. *fisim, fisi, fisei* [acc.sg.m.], *fisier, fisie* [gen.sg.m.], *fisie, fisi, fisei* [dat.sg.m.], **fisiu,** *fissiu, fisiu* [abl.sg.m.], *fisie* [loc.sg.m.], *fisiem* [loc.sg.m. + -*en*] < **fis-io-* 'belonging to Fiso-'; U. *fisouie* [gen.sg.], **fi<s>uvi,** *fisoui* [dat.sg.] , *fisouie, fisoui* [voc.sg.] 'Fiso-' < adj. **fisou-io-*, deriv. to **fisu-*; U. *fisouina* [abl.sg.f.] 'belonging to Fiso-', deriv. from *fisu-* or from *fisouio-*.

PIE **b^heid^h-e/o-* [pr.] 'to trust', **b^heid^h-o-* [adj.] 'faithful', **b^hid^h-eh₁-* [f.] 'faith'. IE cognates: Gr. πείθομαι 'to be convinced, obey', aor. ἐπιθόμην, pf. πέποιθα 'trust'; act. (sec.) πείθω, aor. ἔπεισα 'to convince'; Alb. *bē* 'oath', *besë* 'faith', *bindem* 'to be convinced, believe'; OCS *běda* 'distress, necessity' < **b^hoid^h-eh₂*, *běditi* 'to force, persuade', Is. *běždǫ* < **b^hoid^h-eie-*. Maybe also Go. *beidan* 'to wait', *baidjan* 'to force', OE *bædan*, OHG *beitten* 'to demand'.

The oldest forms are *fidere* < pr. **b^heid^h-e-*, the adj. *fīdus* < **b^heid^h-o-* and the noun

fidēs < **bʰidʰ-eh₁-*. The adj. *fidē-lis* was derived from *fidēs*. This noun was interpreted by Meillet as a remake of PIE **ḱred-dʰeh₁-* '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. πειθώ 'persuasion' < **-ō(i)* and proposes a stem **bʰidʰ-Hi-*, with different paradigmatic ablaut: **-Hō, -Hoi-m, *-Hei-s* in Greek, **-Hēi-s, *-Héi-m, *i-ós* in Latin. I do not see the need to reconstruct a laryngeal: nom.sg. **bʰidʰ-ēi*, 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 **bʰoidʰ-o-*, the f. of which is preserved in Alb. *bē* and Slav. *běda*.

Bibl.: WH I: 493ff., EM 233, 243, IEW 117, Schrijver 1991: 380, Hamp 1999, Untermann 2000: 285-288, 413, Stüber 2002: 64, LIV **bʰeidʰ-*.

figō, -ere 'to drive in, insert; to fasten' [v. III; *fixī, fictum*] (SCBac., Pl.+; *fivere* Paul. *ex F.*)

Derivatives: *offīvēbant* 'they shut with bars' (gloss); *affīgere* 'to fix, attach' (Pl.+), *cōnfīgere* 'to fasten together; pierce' (Pl.+), *dēfīgere* 'to plant, stick' (Pl.+), *īnfīgere* 'to drive, implant' (Lucil.+), *offīgere* 'to drive in, fasten' (Pl.+), *suffīgere* 'to fix beneath' (Pl.+); *fīxus* [secondary ppp.] 'set, established' (Lucr.+); *fībula* 'bolt, peg, pin' (Cato+). It. cognates: possibly O. **fifikus** [2s.fut.pf.] 'to make(?)' < **fi-fig-us-s* (Kortlandt 2007: 153); reluctantly Untermann 2000 for U. **fiktu, afikta** [3s.ipv.II] '?'.

PIE **dʰeigʷ-e/o-* or **dʰiHgʷ-e/o-*. IE cognates: Lith. *diegti* 'to plant, sting'; maybe ToB 3s.sb. *tsākaṃ* 'bites'.

The forms *fivere* and *offīvēbant* retain the regular intervocalic reflex of **gʷ*. The *g* was later introduced analogically from the perfect. *Fībula* < **fiwibula* < **fiue-dʰla*. LIV explains *fīvō* from the thematization of the weak stem **dʰiHgʷ-* 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. *dýgti* 'to sprout' can be explained from Winter's Law. For Baltic and Latin, a root **dʰeigʷ-* would suffice.

Bibl.: WH I: 492, 495f., EM 232, 234, IEW 243f., Sihler 1995: 583, Untermann 2000: 279, LIV **dʰeiHgʷ-*.

filius 'son' [m. *o*] (Lex XII, Andr.+)

Derivatives: *filia* 'daughter' (Andr.+), *filiolus* 'little son' (Pl.+).

PIt. **filio/ā-* 'son, daughter'. It. cognates: Ven. *filia* [nom.sg.] 'daughter', Fal. **fileo, hileo, fio, fi.**, f. [nom.sg.m.] 'son', **filea** [nomsg.f.], **file(ai)** [dat.sg.f.] 'daughter'; U. *fel* (abbreviated) probably a loan from Latin.

PIE **dʰ(e)h₁i-l-* 'suckling, child'. IE cognates: see s.v. *fēlīx* and *fēmina*.

A PIE *l*-adj. meaning 'suckling' can be reconstructed both from the PIE root **dʰeh₁-* and from its extended variant **dʰh₁-i-*. The U. suffix **-io-* after **dʰeh₁-l-* is matched in Latin by *fīl-ius* after **dʰh₁-i-*. Although Latin *fīl-* can reflect **feil-*, Faliscan **fileai** shows PIt. **fīl-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 496, EM 234, IEW 241f., Schrijver 1991: 242, Giacomelli 1963: 245f., Lejeune 1974: 335, Meiser 1998: 85, Untermann 2000: 270f., Wallace 2005, LIV *dʰeh₁(-i)-. → *fēcundus, fēlīx, fēlō, fēmina, fēnus, fētus*

filix, -cis 'large fern, bracken' [f. *k*] (Vitr.+; var. *felix*)
Derivatives: *filicula* 'small kind of fern' (Cato+).
PIt. *fel-e/ik-.
PIE *bʰel-e/ik- 'henbane'. IE cognates: W. *bele, bela* 'henbane' < MW *beleu* [pl.] < LPBr. *bel-* 'henbane'; Gaul. deity *Belenos*, Brit. *Belinos* in PN; RuCS *belenъ*, MoRu. *belená*, Cz. *blén, blín* 'henbane' < *belno-*, SCr. *bûn* < *blno-*; OHG *bilisa, bilesa, bilsa*, MDutch *bilse* 'henbane' < *belos-*; OE *beolone, belene*, OS *bilene* < *belun-ōn-*, 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', *cārex, rumex*), and can have been added secondarily. The stem *fel-* has been identified with PIE *bʰel-* '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.
Bibl.: WH 1: 497, EM 234, IEW 120, Schrijver 1991: 37f.

filum 'thread, line; build (of a person)' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *filātim* 'thread by thread' (Lucr.).
PIt. *fī(s)lo-.
PIE *gʷʰiH-(s-)lo- 'sinew, sinew thread'. IE cognates: MW *gieu*, W. *gïau* 'sinew, nerves', OCo. *goiuen*, MCo. (lenited) *ieyw* < *gii- < *gi- < PIE *gʷiH-; Skt. *jyā́-* 'tendon, bow-string', Av. *jiiā-* 'bow-string' < IIr. *jiHaH-*, Gr. βιός 'bow; bow-string' < *gʷiH-o-; Arm. *jil* 'sinew, cord' < *gʷʰiH-sl-; OPr. *pettegislo* 'back vein', Lith. *gýsla*, Latv. *dzī(k)sla* 'vein, sinew' < Proto-Baltic *giHla*; OCS *žila*, Ru. *žíla*, SCr. *žȋla*, Sln. *žíla* 'vein' < PSl. *žȋla*.

The unenlarged root is shown by IIr. and Greek, but they also have initial *gʷ-* instead of *gʷʰ-*. In BSl. and Celtic, the velar is uncertain, whereas Arm. needs *gʷ* like Latin. Some languages show the suffix *-sleh₂-* (Baltic, Armenian), some do not (Slavic). In Latin, this is impossible to determine.
Bibl.: WH I: 497f., EM 235, IEW 489, Schrijver 1991: 242, 1995: 286f. → *fūnis*

fimum '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 *fūmus* and *suffiō* 'to smoke', Lat. *fimus* 'stinking' was probably derived from the verb *-fiō* at a stage when this had already acquired the form *fi-*.
Bibl.: WH I: 499, EM 235, IEW 261-267. → *suffiō*

findō, -ere 'to split, cleave' [v. III; pf. *fidī*, ppp. *fissum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *fissum* 'cleft, split' (Pl.+), *fissilis* 'split' (Pl.+); *diffindere* 'to divide, split off' (Lex XII+), *īnfindere* 'to cleave' (Acc.+).

Pit. **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.sb.] < PCl. **bid-e/o-*, **bid-se-*; Skt. pr. *bhinátti*, aor. *abhedam*, pf. *bibhéda* 'to split', *bhinná-* 'split', *bhid-* [f.] 'splitting', *pūr-bhid-* 'breaking the walls', YAv. *astō.bid-* 'who breaks a bone'; Gr. φείδομαι 'to spare', Go. *beitan*, OE *bītan*, NHG *beißen* 'to bite'.

WH and EM suspect that the pf. was **fifidī*. *Fissilis* was derived productively from the ppp.

Bibl.: WH I: 500f., EM 235, IEW 116f., Untermann 2000: 278, Schumacher 2004: 224, LIV **bʰejd-*.

fingō, -ere 'to form, fashion' [v. III; pf. *finxī*, ppp. *fictum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *figulus* 'potter' (Varro+), *fig(i)linae* [f.pl.] 'potter's workshop' (Varro+), *figulāris* 'of a potter' (Pl.); *figūra* 'form, appearance' (Ter.+), *figūrāre* 'to shape, fashion' (Varro.+), *figūrātor* 'who shapes' (Varro); *fictor* 'id.' (Pl.+), *fictrix* 'deceiver' (Lucil.), *fictilis* 'made of pottery' (Cato+), *fictūra* 'formation' (Pl.); *affingere* 'to add, attach' (Varro+), *cōnfingere* 'to form; invent, fabricate' (Pl.+), *effigia* (Pl.+) / *effigiēs* (Cic.+) 'statue, portrait', *effingere* 'to wipe clean (Cato+), to shape, reproduce (Cic.+)'; *fitilla* 'kind of cake offered in sacrifices' (Sen., Plin.).

Pit. **finge/o-* [pr.], **fe-fig-* [pf.] 'to knead, form', **fiχlo-* 'who forms', **fiχ-tlo-* 'cake, offering', **feiχo-* [m.] 'wall'. It. cognates: Fal. **fifiked** [3s.pf.], **f(if)iqod** [3p.pf.], **fita** [nom.sg.f. of ppp.] 'to produce'; Presam. (Tortora A2) **fefikeδ** 'has made' [3s.pf.], O. **feihúss** [acc.pl.], **feihúis** [abl.pl.] 'wall' [m. *o*] . Uncertain U. **fikla**, *ficlam*, *ficla* [acc.sg.], **fiklas** [gen.sg.] 'certain sacrificial substance' < **fig-klā-* < **dʰigʰ-tl-hₓ-*? O. **fifikus** [2s.fut.pf.] < **fi-fig-us-s*? Maybe also U. **fiktu, afikta** [3s.ipv.II] '?'.

PIE pr. **dʰi-n-ǵʰ-*, aor. **dʰ(e)iǵʰ-*; noun **dʰeiǵʰ-(o-?)* 'wall'. IE cognates: Verb: Celtib. inf. *ambi-tinkoṇei* 'to build', OIr. *dingid**, *·ding* 'to oppress' < PCl. **dinge/o-* 'to press, form'; Skt. *deh-* 'to smear, to anoint, to plaster' [pr.], YAv. *pairi.daēzaiia-* 'to embank', *uz-dišta-* 'piled up'; Arm. *dizanem*, aor. *edēz* 'to pile up'; Lith. *žiẽsti*, *žiedžiù* 'to mould (from clay)', OCS *zьdati*, *ziždǫ* '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', Bac. λιζα / λιζο 'id.'; Gr. τεῖχος [n.], τοῖχος [m.] 'wall', OPr. *seydis* 'id.', Cz. *zed'*, gen.sg. *zdi*, SCr. *zȋd* 'stone wall'; Go. *daigs* '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-tla-*, cf. Vine 1986, who explains *fitilla* for **fictilla* as a dialectal form. The O. noun **feiho-* 'wall' matches nouns in **dʰeiǵʰ-(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 *finxī* only, which clearly is secondary to *fingō*. Hence, the original

forms may be a root aorist and a nasal present.

Bibl.: WH I: 501f., EM 235f., IEW 244f., Giacomelli 1963: 246, Leumann 1977: 165, 316, Untermann 2000: 269f., 279, 283f., Lazzarini-Poccetti 2001, LIV *dʰeig̑ʰ-.

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.+); *finīre* 'to draw boundaries, limit' (Varro+), *finītor* 'one who marks out boundaries' (Pl.+); *affinis* 'bordering on, connected' (Pl.+), *affinis* [m.] 'a relation by marriage; neighbour' (Pl.+), *affinitās* 'relationship (by marriage)' (Pl.+), *confinis* 'adjacent, akin' (Varro+), *confinium* 'common boundary' (Pl.+), *dēfinīre* 'to fix, settle, define' (Pl.+), *dēfinitiō* 'definition, marking' (Varro+), *infinītus* 'indefinite, unlimited' (Varro+), *praefinīre* 'to prescribe, determine' (Ter.+); *perfinēs* 'perfringās' (Fest.).

PIt. **fini-? *fi/eigʷsni-?*

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 **bʰiH-ni-* to **bʰiH-* 'to hit, strike', especially in view of *perfines* '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 **bʰoiH-n-o-*, Lat. *finis* could reflect **bʰiH-n-i-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 502f., EM 236f., IEW 243f., Leumann 1977: 343. → *figō, perfines*

fiō, fierī 'to happen, become' [v. IV] (Andr.+). Forms: pr. *fiō, fis, fit, fimus, fitis, fiunt*, ipv. *fi, fite, fitō*, ps. *fitur, fitum est*; inf. *fiere* (Enn.), *fierī* (elsewhere), sb. *fiam*, ipf. *fiēbam*.

Derivatives: *dēfierī* 'to be lacking' (Pl.+), *infit* 'begins' (Pl.+), *superfierī* 'to be superfluous'. As pr. to -*faciō*: *cōnfierī* 'to be done, happen' (Ter.+), *interfierī* 'to be destroyed' (Pl.+).

PIt. **fwije/o-*. It. cognates: O. **fiiet, fiiet** [3p.pr.], U. **fuia** [3s.pr.sb.], **fuiest** [3s.fut.], *fito* [ppp., acc.sg.n.] 'to take place, happen' < **fu-ie/o-*. The vowel *ī* can be directly from **ū*, or from the *pius*-rule. The U. ppp. *fito-* may reflect **fu-to-*.

PIE **bʰh₂u-ie/o-* 'to become'. IE cognates: Gaul. *biiete* 'you are/must be', OIr. *biuu* 'I am', *biid, biith, ·bí* 'is', MW *byðaf* 'I am', *byð, byt*, OW *-bid* 'is' (cj.), MBret. *bezaff, bezaf* 'I am', *bez*, MCo. *bethaf, bythaf* 'I am', *beth, byth*, OBret. *-bid* 'is' < **bije/o-* < PCl. **buije/o-*; ?Gr. Att. φύομαι 'to grow, become'.

Originally an active verb with a stem **fī-*, the inf. of which (*fiere*) acquired a ps. ending -*ī*. Used as an intransitive counterpart to *facere* 'to make'. To explain the stem *fī-*, Schrijver mentions two possible scenarios: 1. Thurneysen's rule **-ūiV-* > **-ūV-*, or 2. a development (e.g.) 3s. **bʰHu-ie-ti* > **bʰuieti* > **fuiieti* > **fuīt* > *fit*. See also Schrijver 2003: 77, for Celtic. Kortlandt 2007: 136 now opts for the second possibility, especially in view of the Celtic cognates. **fī-* 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 *fītum* in Andr. must be a nonce-formation, cf. Meiser 1986.

Bibl.: WH I: 504f., EM 231, 317, IEW 146ff., Leumann 1977: 106, 530, Meiser 1986: 53, Schrijver 1991: 322ff., Sihler 1995: 545f., Untermann 2000: 279f., Schumacher 2004: 241ff., LIV *bʰueh₂-. → *fuī*

firmus 'firm, stable, strong, reliable' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *firmitās* 'strength, stability' (Pl.+), *firmiter* 'firmly' (Pl.+), *firmitūdō* 'firmness' (Pl.+); *firmāre* 'to confirm, make strong' (Ter.+), *firmāmentum* 'support, prop' (Afran.+); *affirmāre* 'to add strength, confirm' (Pl.+), *cōnfirmāre* 'to strengthen, encourage' (Pl.+), *īnfirmus* 'weak' (Ter.+), *īnfirmitās* 'weakness' (Ter.+), *īnfirmāre* 'to weaken' (Acc.+), *offirmāre* 'to make obdurate' (Pl.+).

PIt. **fermo-*.

PIE *dʰer-mo- 'holding'. IE cognates: Skt. *dhar-* 'to hold, keep, bear, support', *dhárman-* [n.] 'support, firm hold, fixed order, law', Av. *dar-* 'to hold'. Lith. *darýti* 'to do' < *dʰor-, *deréti*, 3s. *dẽra* 'to bargain, bet'.

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 *Mirqurios* 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. → *ferē, 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-sko-* 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: *flaccēre* '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.

   Bibl.: WH I: 507f., EM 238, IEW 124, Leumann 1977: 182.

flāgitō, -āre 'to beset with demands, summon' [v. I] (Pl.+)

   Derivatives: *flāgitium* 'demonstration of disapproval; disgrace' (Pl.+), *flāgitātor* 'one who makes importunate demands' (Pl.+); *difflāgitāre* 'to importune on all sides' (Pl.).
   Plt. *flāg-e/o-* 'to whip'.
   PIE *bʰl(e)h₍₂₎g-e/o-? IE cognates: OIc. *blaka, blakra* 'to hit back and forth', *blak* 'a blow', *blekkja* (< *blakjan*) 'to hit'; Lith. *blokšti, blaškiù* '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 > CRaCC* as opposed to *CRHC > *CRāC*. 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 ?*bʰleh₂g-. → *flagrum*

flagrō, -āre 'to be ablaze, burn' [v. I] (Cic.+)

   Derivatives: *flagrantia* 'blaze, passionate glow' (Pl.+); *dēflagrāre* 'to burn down' (Enn.+); *flamma* 'flame' (Naev.+), *flammārius* 'one who dyes garments flame-coloured' (Pl.+), *flammēscere* 'to become fiery' (Lucr.), *flammeum* 'flame-coloured veil' (Caecil.+), *flammeus* 'flaming, fiery' (Enn.+), *flammāns* 'flaming' (Lucr.+), *īnflammāre* 'to set on fire' (Enn.+); *flammifer* 'carrying flames' (Enn.+).
   Plt. *flagro-*, *flagma*. It. cognates: O. **flagiuí, flagiúí** [dat.sg.] of *flagio-*, an epithet of Iuppiter.
   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 *ṚDC > 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 *bʰlog-mo- > Gr. φλογμός 'flame'.

   Bibl.: WH I: 510f., 513, EM 238f., IEW 124f., Schrijver 1991: 477ff., Meiser 1998: 64, Untermann 2000: 289f., LIV *bʰleʲǵ-. → *fulgō*

flagrum 'whip' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

   Derivatives: *flagellum* 'whip, lash' (Cato+); *flagritriba* 'one who wears out whips by being flogged' (Pl.).
   Plt. *flagro-* 'whip'.
   PIE *bʰlHg-ro-.

See s.v. *flāgitō*.
   Bibl.: WH I: 511f., EM 238, IEW 154, Schrijver 1991: 185, 191, LIV ?*bʰleh₂g-.

flāmen, -inis 'certain kind of priest, flamen' [m. *n*] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *Flāminius* 'a Roman gentilicium' (Varro+).

PIt. **flā(d)men-?* **flagsmen-?* 'sacrificial act'.

PIE **bʰleh₂(d)-mn* 'sacrifice'? **bʰlg-s-mn* 'burnt offering'? IE cognates: Go. *blotan* 'to honour through sacrifice', OHG *bluozan* 'to sacrifice', OIc. *blóta* 'to sacrifice' < **bʰleh₂/₃d-*.

The old connection of *flāmen* 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. *augeō*. The only viable comparanda are found in Gm., but they show root-final (or suffixal) **-d-*. In Latin, it is impossible to decide whether *flāmen* reflects **flā-men*, **flād-men*, **flag-smen*, 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' > **flagsmen* as a possible preform.

Bibl.: WH I: 512, EM 239, IEW 154, Leumann 1977: 208, Schrijver 1991: 176, Sihler 1995: 198.

flāvus 'yellow, blonde' [adj. *o/ā*] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *flavēscere* 'to turn yellow' (Cato+).

PIt. **flāwo-*.

PIE **bʰleh₃-uo-* 'yellow'? IE cognates: MIr. *blá* 'yellow'; OHG *blāo*, OE *blāw*, OIc. *blár* 'blue' < PGm. **blēua-*.

Schrijver derives *flāvus* from a root **bʰlh₃-* which he also sees reflected in *flōs* and *flōrus*. The only way to connect *flāvus* and the Germanic words for 'blue' (if they are cognate) is to posit a development **bʰleh₃-uo-* > **bʰleh₁/₂-uo-* (loss of labialization in **h₃*) for both Gm. and Latin, as Schrijver does (p. 300). This seems a hazardous assumption, but there is no better alternative, unless one separates *flāvus* from the Gm. words. In that case, one could posit PIE **bʰlh₁-uo-* > *flāvus*. Of course, it is uncertain whether *flāvus* is related to *flōrus* to start with.

Bibl.: WH I: 513f., EM 239, IEW 160, Leumann 1977: 55, Schrijver 1991: 147, 177, 298, 301, LIV **bʰleh₃-*. → *flōrus, flōs*

flectō, -ere 'to bend, curve; modify, soften' [v. III; pf. *flexī*, ppp. *flexum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *flexāre* 'to bend' (Cato), *flexibilis* 'easily bent, flexible' (Lab.+), *flexus, -ūs* 'the bending, turn' (Andr.+), *flexuōsus* 'winding' (Cato+), *flexūra* 'curve; inflexion' (Varro+); *īnflectere* 'to bend (inwards), turn' (Pl.+), *īnflexus, -ūs* 'winding' (Naev.+), *reflectere* 'to bend back, turn around' (Ter.+); *flexanimus* 'persuasive; distracted' (Pac.+).

PIt. **flek-t-*.

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-*, **gʷʰleK-*, none of which has obvious IE comparanda.

Bibl.: WH I: 514f., EM 239, Leumann 1977: 539, Sihler 1995: 535. → *nectō, plectō*

fleō 'to weep, cry' [v. II; pf. *flēvī*, ppp. *flētum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *flēbilis* 'worthy of tears; causing tears' (Lucil.+), *flētus, -ūs* 'weeping' (Enn.+); *afflēre* 'to weep at' (Pl.), *dēflēre* 'to mourn the loss of' (Pl.+).

Plt. **flē(je/o-)*.

PIE pr. **bʰleh₁-/*bʰlh₁-* or **bʰleh₁-ie/o-* 'to bleat, cry'. IE cognates: Hit. *palu̯ae-ᶻⁱ* 'to cry out, shout for joy' (< **bʰlh₁-uo-i̯é-?*; cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 623); RuCS *blějati*, Ru. *blějat'* 'to bleat, (dial.) 'speak, chatter, cry', Cz. *bleti* (arch.), Latv. *blêt* 'to bleat' < **bʰleh₁-*; MHG *blæjen* 'to bleat' < **blē-*; OHG *blāzzen*, OE *blǣtan*, MDu. *blāten* < **blē-t-* < PIE **-d-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 515f., EM 240, IEW 154f., Schrijver 1991: 403, Meiser 1998: 188, LIV **bʰleh₁-*. → *flō*

flīgō, -ere 'to strike down' [v. III; pf. *flīxī*, ppp. *flīctum*] (Andr., Acc.)

Derivatives: *flīctus, -ūs* 'collision' (Pac.+); *afflīgere* 'to strike, cause destruction' (Pl.+), *afflīctāre* 'to strike repeatedly, vex' (Pl.+), *cōnflīgere* 'to collide, argue' (Lucil.+), *cōnflīctāre* 'to contend; harass' (Ter.+), *efflīgere* 'to strike dead' (Pl.+), *efflīctāre* 'id.' (Pl.), *afflictim* (Naev.), *efflīctim* 'passionately' (Pl.+), *prōflīgāre* 'to crush, overwhelm' (Pl.+).

Plt. **flīg-* or **fleig-*.

PIE **bʰleiǵ-e/o-* or **bʰliH-ǵ-e/o-* 'to hit, crush'. IE cognates: Gr. φλίβω 'to rub, crush'; Lith. *bláižyti* 'to tear off', Latv. *blaîzît* 'to squeeze, beat, rub', *bliêzt* 'to beat, hew' < **bʰloiǵ-*, CS *blizъ* 'near, close', Ru. *blízyj* (dial.) 'short-sighted', Ru. *blízkij* 'near, close' < **bʰliǵ-*. Less certain: Go. *bliggwan*, OHG *bliuwan* 'to hit' < PGm. **bliwwan-* < **bʰliH-u̯-?*

The meaning of *flīgere*, 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 **ǵ*, 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 **bʰli-* with different enlargements in different branches.

Bibl.: WH I: 517, EM 240, IEW 160f., Schrijver 1991: 230f., LIV **bʰleiǵ-*.

flō, flāre 'to blow' [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *flābellum* 'fan' (Ter.+), *flābellifera* 'maid holding a fan' (Pl.), *flābellulum* 'small fan' (Ter.); *flābrum* 'gust of wind' (Lucr.+), *flāmen* 'gust, wind' (Enn.+), *flātus, -ūs* 'blowing, blast, breath'; *afflāre* 'to breathe, blow' (Varro+), *afflātus, -ūs* 'breath, breeze' (Varro+), *cōnflāre* 'to blow on, bring about' (Pl.+), *dēflāre* 'to blow away' (Varro+), *difflāre* 'to disperse by blowing' (Pl.+), *efflāre* 'to emit, breathe out' (Pl.+), *īnflāre* 'to fill with air, blow on' (Pl.+), *perflāre* 'to blow through' (Varro+), *reflāre* 'to blow back, blow out again' (Acc.+), *sufflāre* 'to puff up' (Pl.+).

PIE pr. **bʰleh₁-/*bʰlh₁-* 'to blow'? IE cognates: see *fleō*.

It is possible to derive *sufflāmen* '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-. The ppp. might directly reflect *bʰlh₁-to-, as Schrijver posits, but of course it can be secondary. The pr. is explained by Schrijver (1991: 402) from *bʰlh₁-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 *bʰlh₁-ie-, 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 *bʰlh₂- for *flāre*; yet this would leave PGm. *ē in OHG *blāen*, Go. *blesan* 'to blow' unexplained.

Bibl.: WH I: 517, II: 625, EM 240f., IEW 120ff., Schrijver 1991: 177, 402f., Meiser 1998: 124, LIV *bʰleh₁-. → *fleō*

floccus 'tuft of wool' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *floccēs* [pl.] 'lees of wine' (Caecil.+); *dēfloccāre* 'to rub the nap of clothes, strip of possessions' (Pl.).

The appurtenance of *floccēs* to *floccus* seems reasonably certain. There is no etymology. The connection with OHG *blaha* 'coarse linnen cloth' is much too imprecise to inspire confidence.

Bibl.: WH I: 517f., EM 241, IEW 161.

flōrus 'light coloured, fair' [adj. *o/ā*] (Naev.+)

PIt. *flōro-.

PIE *bʰloh₁/₃-ro- or *bʰleh₃-ro- 'blossoming'. IE cognates: OIr. *blár*, W. *blawr* 'grey'; MIr. *bláth*, W. *blawd* 'flower'; Alb. *blertë*, dial. *blerë* 'green', OHG *bluojan* 'to blossom'.

If *flōrus* is related to *flāvus*, there might be reason to posit a root *bʰₕlh₃-, in the vein of Schrijver 1991 (see s.v. *flāvus*), but for *flōrus* itself, a root *bʰₕlh₁- would also do.

Bibl.: WH I: 513, EM 241, IEW 160, Schrijver 1991: 177, 298, 301, LIV *bʰleh₃-. → *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, -ntis* 'prosperous' (Pl.+), *flōrēscere* 'to begin to flower' (Varro+), *flōridus* 'flowery' (Varro+); *flōrifer* 'producing flowers' (Lucr.+).

PIt. *flōs(-) 'flower', *flōs-ā- 'goddess of flowers'. It. cognates: Vest. *flusare* [abl.sg.m.] month name, from *flōs-āri- 'of Flōra'; O. *fluusaí* [dat.sg.] the goddess 'Flōra'; O. f<l>uusasiaís [dat.abl.pl.] 'Flōrālia', feast of Flōra < *flōs-āsio-.

PIE *bʰleh₃-ōs 'blossoming' > 'flower'. IE cognates: OIr. *bláth*, W. *blawd* 'flower, bloom', OCo. *blodon*, LCo. *bledzhan* 'flower' < *blātu- < PIE *bʰleh₃-tu-, MBret. *blezu*, Bret. *bleuñv* 'flowers' < *blātmV-; OHG *bluowen*, OE *blōwan* 'to bloom' < *blōjan-, Go. *bloma*, NHG *Blume* < *blō-m- 'flower'.

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

peoples. The ablaut grade of the root in the PIE *s*-stem cannot be determined with certainty.

Bibl.: WH I: 518f., EM 241, IEW 160, Schrijver 1991: 131, 1995: 179, Sihler 1995: 310, Untermann 2000: 290-293, Stüber 2002: 76, LIV *bʰleh₃-. → *flāvus, flōrus*

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.+), *flūctuōsus* 'agitated' (Pl.+); *flūctifragus* 'that breaks the waves' (Lucr.); *flūmen* 'river, stream' (Enn.+); *fluvius* '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.+), *cōnfluvium* 'place where streams meet' (Varro), *cōnflūgēs* 'meeting place of rivers' (Andr.; *conflāgēs* in Paul. *ex F.* may be a mistake for **conflūgēs*), *dēfluere* 'to flow down, away' (Cato+), *diffluere* 'to flow away in all directions, dissolve' (Ter.+), *effluere* 'to flow out, escape' (Cato+), *īnfluere* 'to flow in' (Varro+), *perfluere* 'to stream' (Ter.+), *perflūctuāre* 'to flood over' (Lucr.+), *prōfluere* 'to flow forth, overflow' (Naev.+), *prōfluvius* 'fluctuating' (Caecil.), *prōfluvium* 'a discharge' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **flow-e/o-*.

PIE **bʰleuH-(e/o-)* 'to flow (over)'. IE cognates: Gr. Att. φλέω 'to abound', φλύω 'to seethe, boil over'; Lith. *bliáuti*, 3s. *bliáuna* 'to bleat, sob, weep', Latv. *bļaût* 'to bleat, bellow', OCS *blьvati*, 1s. *bljujǫ* 'to vomit', Ru. *blevát'* (vulg.) < PIE **bʰleuH-*.

Leumann regards the spelling *flu-* as irregular for **flou-*, having been introduced from compounds where **-flou-* was in non-initial syllable. Leumann 1977: 279, 436 explains *fluentum* as a singularized form of a n.pl. *fluenta* to *fluens, -ntis*. The verb form *conflouont* points to a pr.stem **fluu-* < **flou-*, but *cōnflūgēs* and the pf. *flūxī* seem to require a stem **flūg-*. Hence, Meiser reconstructs **bʰleugʷ-*. Yet, as EM have already pointed out, PIE labiovelars lost their labiality after **-u-*. Weiss 1994 shows that both *flūxī* and the noun *cōnflūgēs* can easily be explained as secondary creations by means of proportional analogy, cf. *contāmen : contāgēs* for *cōnflūgēs*, and *struō : strūxī* for *flūxī*. The same goes for *flūctus*.

Bibl.: WH I: 519f., EM 241f., IEW 158f., Leumann 1977: 135, Sihler 1995: 214, 583, Weiss 1994: 139f., Meiser 1998: 194, 208, LIV 1.*bʰleuH-.

focus 'hearth, fireplace' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *foculus* 'small stove' (Cato+).

A connection with Lat. *fax* 'torch' and Lith. *žvãkė* '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-* < **dʰgʷʰ-e-tlo-* 'hearth'. Yet this is chronologically difficult: initial **gʷʰ* > PIt. **χʷe-* is expected to yield **fe-*, and could only yield **fo-* if the simplification of **χʷ- > f-* were dated after **-we- >*

*-wo-, which happened in the fifth c. BC. But that is rather late for the change *χ^w- > f-.
Bibl.: WH I: 521, EM 243, IEW 495, Hamp 1992.

fodiō, -ere 'to pierce; to dig' [v. III; pf. *fōdī*, ppp. *fossum*; *fodīrī* Cato 1x] (Pl.+)
  Derivatives: *fodicāre* 'to stab, prick' (Pl.+); *fossa* 'ditch, trench' (Cato+), *fossula* 'small trench' (Cato+), *fossīcius* 'obtained by digging' (Varro+), *fossilis* 'obtained by digging' (Varro+); *circumfodere* 'to dig round' (Cato+), *cōnfodere* 'to dig up; pierce' (Pl.+), *dēfodere* 'to bury, insert in the ground' (Pl.+), *effodere/ecfodīrī* 'to dig up, gouge out' (Pl.+), *īnfodere* 'to place in the earth' (Cato+), *interfodere* 'to pierce' (Lucr.), *perfodere* 'to make a hole through' (Pl.+), *perfossor* 'burglar' (Pl.+).
  Plt. *fod-i-.
  PIE *bʰodʰ-i- 'to poke, dig'. IE cognates: Hit. *padda-ⁱ* / *padd-* 'to dig (the ground)' < *bʰodʰh₂-; OPr. *boadis* 'stab' [m.], *embaddusisi* 'they stick', Lith. *bèsti*, 3s. *bẽda* 'to stick, drive (into), dig', Latv. *best* 'dig, bury', Lith. *badýti*, Latv. *badît* 'to butt, prick'; OCS *bosti*, 1s. *bodǫ*, 1s.aor. *basъ* 'to stab', SCr. *bòsti*, *bòdēm* < BSl. *bed-, *bod-; ToA *pātar* 'they ploughed' < *bʰodʰ-.
  The long -ō- in the pf. is probably analogical to pr. *fod-*, for instance on the model of *veniō : vēnī*. Since all languages show verb formations with *o*-grade (Hit., Latin, BSl., Toch.), the original formation may have been iterative or intransitive: *bʰodʰ-(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.
  Bibl.: WH I: 521, EM 243, IEW 113f., Leumann 1977: 568, Schrijver 1991: 411, Meiser 1998: 212, LIV *bʰedʰh₂-.

foedus 'foul, unclean; fearful, repugnant' [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)
  Derivatives: *foedāre* 'to wound, dishonour, make unclean' (Pl.+).
  Plt. *fo(j)ipo- 'afraid'.
  PIE (*bʰe-)bʰoiH-/bʰiH- [pf.] or *bʰoH-i- [pr.] 'to be afraid'. IE cognates: Skt. *bibháya* 'is afraid', ptc. *bibhīvāṃs-, YAv. *biβiuuā̊* 'afraid'; OPr. *biātwei*, Lith. *bijóti(s)*, Latv. *bîtiês* 'to fear, be scared', OCS *bojati sę* 'id.' < BSl. *b(o)i(?)-a?-; OHG *bibēt* (< PGm *bi-baj-) [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 *bʰiH- 'to be afraid'. Since there is no productive adjectival suffix *-d⁽ʰ⁾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. *(bʰe-)bʰoiH- (preserved in Skt. and Slavic) 'to be afraid', or from an *o*-grade *i*-present *bʰoH-i- (cf. Hamp 1985b).
  Bibl.: WH I: 522f., EM 244, IEW 161f., Nussbaum 1999a: 390f., LIV *bʰeih₂-.

foeteō 'to stink' [v. II] (Pl.+; variants *faet-, *fēt-)
  Derivatives: *foetidus* 'stinking' (Pl.+).
  Plt. *fwoit- / *fwōje/ot- 'smoking, smelly'.
  PIE *dʰuoh₂-i- 'to smoke'. IE cognates: OIr. *dé* [f.], gen. *díad* 'smoke', MIr. *dethach*

'id.' < *dui̯ot- < *dʰuh₂-i-ot- (see s.v. *suffiō* for the phonetics); Hit. *tuhhuu̯ai-* / *tuhhui-* [c.] 'smoke' < PIE nom. *dʰuéh₂-u-ōi-s, acc. *dʰuh₂-u-ói-m, gen. *dʰuh₂-u-i-ós.

EM suggest that *faeteō* 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 *foetē-* is more original, we can posit earlier *f(w)oit-* or *f(w)ojVt-*, 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 *dʰuoh₂-i-t- (> *fwoit-) or *dʰuoh₂-i-e/ot- (> *fwōje/ot-) for the verb *foetēre*. The *i*-stem derivative which forms the basis of Italo-Celtic *dʰuoh₂-i-t-, *dʰuh₂-i-ot- may be attested in Hit. *tuhhuu̯ai-* / *tuhhui-* 'smoke'.

Bibl.: WH I: 499f., EM 244, IEW 261-67, Leumann 1977: 65, Schrijver 1995: 292, Kloekhorst 2008: 895. → *fimum, suffiō, fūmus, fūlīgō*

folium 'leaf' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)
PIt. *folio-*.
PIE *dʰolH-io- 'leaf'. IE cognates: W. *dail* 'foliage' < *dʰlH-ih₂-; Gr. aor. ἔθαλον, pr. θάλλω 'to flourish, grow', θάλος [n.] 'sprout', *θαλύς, -ύ [n.] (only in gen.pl. θαλέων) , θαλερός 'flourishing', θαλέθω 'to flourish', θύλλα 'leaves' (Hsch.); Arm. *dalar* 'green, fresh', Alb. *dal* [Is.], *del* [23s.] 'to come out'.

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 θαλερός, but this might be a recent formation to the stem *θαλύ-. Possibly, the *o*-grade and the suffix of *folium* are also preserved in Gr. θύλλα 'foliage', although this is a hapax from Hsch.

Bibl.: WH I: 523f., EM 244, IEW 122, 234, Klingenschmitt 1982: 172, Sihler 1995: 43, LIV *dʰalh₁-. → *fulvus*

follis 'bag, sack; ball, testicles' [m. *i*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *follītus* 'enclosed in a sack' (Pl.), *folliculus* 'bag, skin, husk' (Lucil.+).

The meaning suggests a connection with PCl. *bol- as in Olr. *ball* [m.] 'member, body part', W. *balleg* 'sack, purse'; W. *dyrn-fol* 'glove', *arfolli* 'to become pregnant' (*LEIA* B-12). No further etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 524, EM 244, IEW 120ff., Schrijver 1991: 177.

fōns, fontis 'spring, well' [m. *i*] (Naev.+)
Derivatives: *Fontānālia, -ium* [n.pl.] 'the festival of Fons' (Varro).

PIt. *fonti-*. It. cognates: possibly U. **funtlere**, *fondlire* [abl.pl. + -en] '?', a certain locality; maybe *fontelo-*.

PIE *dʰonh₂-ti- 'flowing'. IE cognates: Skt. *dhani* 'to run, to flow', pr. *dhánva*

[2s.ipv.act.], OP *danu*[...] [3s.pr.] 'flows' < IE *d^hénh$_x$-u-*; maybe Av. *dānu-* 'river', Oss. *don* 'water, river' < PIr. **dānā-*, ToB *tsnamo** 'flowing', ToA sb. *tsnāntär*, ptc.pf. *tsno* 'to flow' < **tsän-* < PIE **d^h en-*.

Semantically, the connection with words for 'to run, flow' are unproblematic. Formally, WH suggest a contamination of **fontos* and **fentis*, whereas EM argue that the *o*-grade betrays an old root noun. Since we now reconstruct the root as **dʰenh₂-* with a final laryngeal, neither hypothesis is very attractive: the zero grade **dʰnh₂-ti-* would yield Lat. **fnātis*, whereas an old root noun would yield **dʰonh₂* > **fona*. One might instead posit a *ti*-stem **dʰonh₂-ti-* with loss of the laryngeal due to the de Saussure effect. For the formation type, cf. *mōns*.

Bibl.: WH I: 525, EM 244f., IEW 249, Untermann 2000: 301, LIV **dʰenh₂-* 'to run'.

for, fārī 'to speak, say' [v. II; occurs mainly in 3s. and 3p.; ppa. *fāns*, gdve. *fandus*, ppp. *fātum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *fātum* 'prophecy, destiny' (Pl.+); *fāma* 'news, rumour, public opinion, reputation, fame' (Naev.+), *īnfāmia* 'disgrace, bad reputation' (Pl.+), *īnfāmis* 'of ill repute' (Pl.+), *fāmigerābilis* 'famous' (Varro), *fāmigerātiō* 'gossip' (Pl.), *fāmigerātor* 'a gossip' (Pl.), *fāmōsus* 'infamour, notorious' (Pl.+); *fābula* 'talk, rumour; story, tale' (Naev.+), *fābulīnus* 'the god of speech' (Varro), *fābulārī* 'to talk' (Pl.+), *cōnfābulārī* 'to converse' (Pl.+); *?fācundus* 'eloquent' (Pl.+), *fācunditās* 'eloquence' (Pl.+), *fācundia* 'the ability to speak eloquently' (Ter.+); *affābilis* 'easy to talk to' (Ter.+), *affārī* 'to speak to' (Acc.+), *effārī* 'to utter, say' (Enn.+), *īnfāns, -ntis* 'unable to speak; infant' (Pl.+), *īnfantia* 'muteness; childhood' (Lucr.+), *īnfandus* 'unspeakable, monstruous' (Ter.+), *nefāns, -ntis* 'wicked' (Lucil.), *praefārī* 'to recite; say beforehand' (Cato+), *prōfārī* 'to give warning, speak out' (Andr.+).

PIt. **fā-* 'to speak', **fato-* 'said', **fāmo/a-* 'tale', **fā-þlo-* 'story'. It. cognates: U. *fato* [ppp., nom.acc.sg.n.] 'said' < **fāto-*; O. **faamat** [3s.pr.], **faammant** [3p.pr.]; **famatted, faamated** [3s.pf.]; with preverb *ā-* or *ad-*: αfααματεδ, αfαματεδ [3s.pf.], unclear ατfαματτεν[ς [3p.pf.] 'to order', denom. to a noun **fāma-*; O. **fatuveís** [gen.sg.], fατοfε:[voc.sg.] maybe 'Fatuus' < **fatowo-*.

PIE pr. **bʰeh₂-/*bʰʰh₂-* 'to speak', **bʰeh₂-mo/h₂-* 'speech'. IE cognates: Gr. φημί, Dor. φᾱμί, Aeol. φᾱμι 'I say'; Gr. φήμη, Dor. Aeol. φᾱμα 'speech', φάτις, φάσις [f.] 'speech, rumour', ἄφατος 'unknown; ineffable', παλαί-φατος 'long said', φωνή 'voice, sound'; Arm. *bay* 'says'; RuCS *bajati* 'to tell fables', SCr. *bȁjati* 'to practise sorcery, exorcize'; ?OE *bō(ia)n* 'to brag'.

The origin of the suffix in *fā-cundus* is uncertain; see s.v. *fēcundus* for a possible explanation. In this verb, Latin (or already Italic?) has generalized the full grade of the root in all derivatives except *fateor* and *fatuus*, which show the original ppp. **fato-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 437f., 444, 450, 525f., EM 245, IEW 105f., Schrijver 1991: 142, 405, Untermann 2000: 253f., 267f., LIV 2.*bʰeh₂-*. → *fās, fateor, fatuus*

forceps, -ipis 'tongs, pincers' [f. *p(i)*] (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 *ferō.* 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 526, EM 246, Leumann 1977: 393, Sihler 1995: 68. → *ferō,* *'ferrum, forfex, formus*

forda 'carrying, pregnant (of cows)' [adj. *ā*] (Varro+; also *horda*)

Derivatives: *'fordicīdia, -ōrum* [n.pl.] 'festival at which pregnant cows were sacrificed' (Varro+).

PIt. **for(i)dā-.*

PIE **bʰori-d-* 'giving birth'? IE cognates: Lith. *beř(g)ždžias* 'barren (of a cow)', *ber(g)ždẽ* 'barren cow', RuCS *brězda, brěž(d)a* 'pregnant', Ru. *berězaja* (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 **bʰori-* '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-.* → *ferō*

forfex, -icis 'tongs, pincers; shears, scissors' [f. (m.) *k*] (Celsus+; also *forpex*)

PIt. **forþo-* 'shearing', **forþāje/o-* 'to shear'. It. cognates: U. **furfaθ**, *furfant* [3p.pr.], *efurfatu* [3s.ipv.II + *e-* 'out'] certain action with 'sheep' as direct object, 'to shear'?

PIE **bʰrdʰ-o-* [adj.]. IE cognates: Gr. πέρθω 'to capture, take in', πτολίπορθος 'capturing cities', πορθέω '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. πέρθω 'to capture, take in', πτολίπορθος 'capturing cities' (Janda 2000: 230-240), in which case the U. verb could be denominal to an adj. **bʰrdʰ-o-* 'capturing, harvesting, shearing'.

Bibl.: WH I: 526, EM 247, IEW 138, Untermann 2000: 302f., LIV ?**bʰerdʰ-.* → *'forceps*

foria 'diarrhoea' [f. *ā*] (Varro)

Derivatives: *foriolus* 'suffering from diarrhoea' (Lab.); *cōnforīre* '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. *derkti* 'to make dirty' < **dʰer-k-*, OIc. *drita* (*dreit*), OHG *trīzan* 'cacāre' (maybe a Gm. rhyming formation to **skīta-* 'to shit'), Ru. dial. *dristátь* 'to suffer from diarrhoea', Bulg. *driskam, drištь*. 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-ie-* '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. → *ferō, forō*

foris 'door' [f. *i*] (Pl.+; rarely sg., usually pl. *forēs, -ium* ('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 **dʰuŏr-, *dʰur-* 'door'. IE cognates: OIr. *dorus* [m.*ʾu*] , *Dor, Duir* [toponyms], W. *dor*; Bret. *dor* < PCl. **duŏrā, *duro-* 'door'; Hit. *andurza* [adv.] 'inside, indoors' < **hᵢn-dʰur-*, Skt. *dvār-* [f. (du.pl.)] 'door, gate', YAv. *duuar-*, OP *duvar(a)-* 'gate', Gr. θύρα 'door', Myc. *o-pi-tu-ra-jo /opithuraiōi/* 'door-keeper', Arm. *dowr-kʿ* [pl.] 'door', Alb. *derë* < **d(u)ōr-om/ā*, Lith. pl. *dùrys*, OCS *dvьrь* < BSl. **dvir-, *dur-*; Go. *daur* [n.], OHG *turi*, OIc. *dyrr* < **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 **dʰuŏr, *dʰuor-, *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 **dʰuor-* (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. *fore* < **fuse* has lowering in front of *r* < **z* < **s*). Also, the sg. *foris* is attested in the oldest literature (Plautus).

Bibl.: WH 1: 529f., EM 246, IEW 278f., Schrijver 1991: 471f, Sihler 1995: 148. → *forum*

fōrma 'form, contour, appearance; beauty' [f. *ā*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *formāre* 'to mould, fashion' (Lucr.+), *formāmentum* 'arrangement' (Lucr.), *formaster, -trī* 'kind of pastry' (Titin.), *formātūra* 'the shaping' (Lucr.), *formōsus* 'beautiful' (Ter.+), *formula* 'pretty appearance; register, formula, document' (Pl.+); *dēformis* '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*.

Bibl.: WH I: 530, EM 247, Leumann 1977: 21, 114, 319, Sihler 1995: 76.

formīca 'ant' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

   Derivatives: *formīcīnus* 'ant-like, crawling' (Pl.).

   PIt. **mormīkā-*.

   PIE **moru̯-o/ī-(?)*. IE cognates: OIr. *moirb*, W. *myr*, Bret. *merien* 'ant' < **moru̯i-*; Skt. *vamrá-* 'ant', *valmī́ka-* [m.] 'ant-hill'; Av. *maoiri-*, Oss. *mælzyg/mulzug*, Pašto *mežay*, Sogd. *ym'wrc* < PIr. **maru̯i(ka)-*, Sogd. *zm'wr'k*, Khwar. *zmwrk*, MP, MoP *mōr* < **maru̯aka-*; Gr. μύρμηξ, -ηκος 'ant', μύρμος, βύρμαξ βόρμαξ, ὅρμικας (with β- and zero < **ɸ-*); RuCS *mravьjь*, ORu. *morovej*, Po. *mrówka*, SCr. *mrâv* 'ant' < **moru-iH-*; OIc. *maurr* < **mour-o-*, Far. *meyra* < **maurōn-*, Dan. *myre*, OE *mȳre*, ME *mire*, MDu. *miere*, Crimean Go. *miera* < **meur(j)ōn-* [f.] 'ant'; ToB *warme**, nom.pl. *warmi* 'ant' < **u̯rmo-*.

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 **[ƀ]* (voiced labial fricative), which he regards as an argument for the view that all PIE **bʰ* changed to **ƀ* before yielding Latin *f*-. In the IE branches, we find the stem structures **moru̯-o/ī-* (Celtic, Iranian, Slavic, Gm.), **mormo/i-* (Greek) and **uormo/i-* (Skt., Toch., Greek?). Since the latter is quite similar to PIE **u(o)rmo/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.

   Bibl.: WH I: 531, EM 247f., IEW 749, Leumann 1977: 191.

formīdō, -inis 'fear, alarm, awe; bogy' [f. *n*] (Pl.+)

   Derivatives: *formīdāre* 'to fear, dread' (Naev.+), *formīdo/ulōsus* 'alarming; frightened' (Naev.+).

   PIt. **morm-īdo/en-?*

   PIE **mor-mo-* 'fear'? IE cognates: Gr. μορμώ, -οῦς 'bogey, monster', μορμύσσομαι 'to frighten', μόρμορος, 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-(ī-)* 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 532, EM 248, IEW 749, Leumann 1977: 191, 367.

formus 'warm' [adj. o/ā] (Paul. ex F.)

Derivatives: *formidus* 'warm' (Cato apud Paul. ex F.).

PIt. *χ^wormo-.

PIE *g^{wh}o/er-mo- 'warm'. IE cognates: Skt. gharmá- 'heat, glow', Av. garəma- 'warm; heat', OP garma-pada- 'the fourth month (June-July)' < *g^{wh}or-mó-; Gr. θερμός, Arm. jerm 'warm' < *g^{wh}er-mó-; maybe Alb. zjarm 'heat' < *g^{wh}ermo- (cf. de Vaan 2004b: 82); OPr. gorme 'heat', Latv. gar̂me 'warmth' *g^{wh}or-mó-.

The adj. *formidus* can be explained as modelled on its antonym *frigidus*. Theoretically, *formus* may reflect *g^{wh}ormos or *g^{wh}r̥mos; but since no other language shows a zero grade, *g^{wh}ormo- seems more likely. The PIE vacillation in the root vowel between *g^{wh}ermo- and *g^{wh}ormo- may be due to the different verbal formations of the root, of which we find bot *g^{wh}er-e/o- 'to heat' and *g^{wh}or-i- 'to be hot', cf. LIV.

Bibl.: WH I: 532f., EM 248, IEW 493ff., Leumann 1977: 329, Schrijver 1991: 420, Meiser 1998: 103, Nussbaum 1999a: 405, LIV *g^{uh}er-. → forceps, fornus

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. *χ^worno-.

PIE *g^{wh}r-no- 'heat' or 'oven'. IE cognates: OIr. gorn 'fire' < *g^{wh}or-no-; Skt. ghr̥ṇā- 'heat, glow' [n.], ghr̥ṇi- 'hot time, heat' [f.], Alb. zjarrë 'fire' < *g^{wh}er-no- [n.] or *g^{wh}er-os- [n.] (de Vaan 2004b: 82), RuCS grъno 'cauldron, pot, oven' [n.], Ru. gorn 'blacksmith's hearth' [n.], gen.sg. górna; gornó 'blacksmith's hearth, clay-oven' < *g^{wh}r̥no-.

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 *g^{wh}r-no-, this is also the most likely reconstruction for *fornus*. 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 *g^{wh}or-no- > *fornus*.

Bibl.: WH I: 533f., EM 248, IEW 493ff., Leumann 1977: 48, Sihler 1995: 43, Meiser 1998: 64, LIV *g^{uh}er-. → 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. *foraje/o-.

PIE *b^horH-ie/o- 'to pierce, strike'? Or a noun *b^horH-h_2- 'hole'? IE cognates: Lith.

bárti, 3s. *bára* 'to scold, accuse, forbid', Latv. *bārti* 'to scold, blame', OCS *brati (sę)*, 1s. *borjǫ* 'to fight', Ru. *borót'* 'to overpower' < *bʰorH-, OIc. *berja* 'to beat, hit', OHG *berjan* 'to hit, pound, knead' < PGm. *barjan-.

Regarded as a denominal verb by WH and IEW. 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 *bʰorHi̯e- > *foraje- > forā-.

Bibl.: WH I: 481f., EM 248, IEW 133ff., Schrijver 1991: 216, LIV *bʰerH-. → *feriō*

fors, -tis 'chance, luck' [f. *i*] (Pl.+; only nom. *fors* and abl. *forte* 'by chance')
Derivatives: *forsitan* 'perhaps' (Ter.+); *fortasse* (Pl.+), *fortassīs* 'id.' (Pl.+); *fortuītus* 'by chance, random' (Pl.+), *fortūna* 'fortune, favourable outcome' (Naev.+), *fortūnātus* 'fortunate, lucky' (Naev.+), *fortūnātim* 'prosperously' (Enn.), *fortūnāre* 'to make fortunate' (Pl.+), *īnfortūnātus* 'unfortunate' (Pl.+), *īnfortūnium* 'misfortune' (Pl.+).

PIt. *forti-* [f.] 'luck', *fortu-* 'luck'. It. cognates: Pael. *forte* [gen.sg.?] *forteis*, maybe borrowed from Latin.

PIE *bʰr̥-ti- 'bearing, case'? IE cognates: see s.v. *ferō*.

The adv. *forsitan* derives from *fors sīt an* 'perchance it be that'. The origin of *fortasse* seems to be *forte an sīt/s*, but the phonetics (especially the short final vowel) are unclear. The noun *fortūna* and the adj. *fortu-ītus* presuppose a *u*-stem *fortu-* 'chance, luck', whence an adj. *fortūno-* 'lucky'. The precise origin of *-ītus* in *fortu-ītus* and in its semantic neighbour *gratu-ītus* '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 *tu*-stems seems old, and there are many ways in which a meaning 'chance, luck' can originate.

Bibl.: WH I: 534f., EM 249, IEW 128ff., Leumann 1977: 323, Untermann 2000: 304, LIV *bʰer-. → *ferō*

fortis 'strong, robust' [adj. *i*] (Lex XII+; variant *horctus, forctus, forctis* 'good' Festus 348, Paul. *ex F.* 84, 102)
Derivatives: *fortitūdō* 'strength, courage' (Ter.+).

PIt. *forkti/o-*. It. cognates: O. *fortis* [comp., nom.acc.sg.n., adv.] 'stronger'; maybe borrowed from Latin.

PIE *bʰorg-to- 'stuffed'? *dʰ(o)rǵʰ-to- 'strong, robust'? IE cognates: Skt. caus: *ní barhayati* 'to lay low', pr. *br̥mha-*, aor. *barh-* 'to make strong', *pári-br̥dha-* [ppp.] 'firm, strong', *dvibárhas-* [adj.] 'with double strength', *br̥hánt-* 'great, large', YAv. *us .. . barəzaiia-* 'to make strong /. big', *barəzah-* [n.] 'height', *barəšna* [ins.sg.)] 'elevated place, height', YAv. *barəzant-* 'rising high, high, loud' < bʰ(e)rǵʰ-, OIr. *brí* 'hill', *Brigit* (woman's name), Arm. *barjr* 'high', ToA *pärkär* 'long' // Skt. *dr̥mha-* 'to make firm', pf. *dādr̥hāṇá-* [ptc.med.] 'holding fast', ptc. *dr̥ḍhá-* (< *dr̥zdhá-) 'fixed, firm, solid', OAv. *dīdərəžō* [2s.desid.inj.act.] 'to desire to fasten', *dərəz-* 'fetter', YAv. *darəzaiia-* 'to fasten', *darəzra-* 'strong, firm'; Lith. *dir̃žti* 'to become hard'.

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 *bʰ/dʰ/gʷʰ + (o)r + K-. Within Latin, *farciō* 'to stuff' seems the best semantic match which would also satisfy the phonetics: PIE *bʰorg-to- would yield *forcto-. A connection with PIE *bʰergʰ- 'high, elevated' (WH) does not explain the meaning of *fortis*. Alternatively, one might connection *fortis* with the Ilr. and Baltic forms for 'to make firm, become hard'; but only if these continue PIE *dʰ-, not if they continue PIE *d- (as LIV suspect). Semantically, this would be satisfactory.

Bibl.: WH I: 535f., EM 249f., IEW 140f., Untermann 2000: 304f., LIV *bʰergʰ- / *dʰergʰ-. → *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.+), *forēnsis* 'of the forum, public' .(Varro+).

PIt. *fworo- '(room) near the door'. It. cognates: U. **furu**, *furo* [acc.sg.] 'forum'.

PIE *dʰuor-o- '(room near the) door'. IE cognates: Skt. *dvāram* [n.] 'door, gate, passage', Lith. *dvāras* [m.] 'estate; court', OCS *dvorъ* 'court', PTo. *twere '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 *dʰuor-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*.

Bibl.: WH I: 537f., EM 250, IEW 278f., Meiser 1986: 116, Schrijver 1991: 471f., Sihler 1995: 180, Untermann 2000: 305. → *foris*

fovea 'pit' [f. ā] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *favīsae/favissae* [f.pl.] 'vaults, subterranean chambers' (Gel.+).

The connection with Gr. χειά, H. χειή 'serpent's den' must be dismissed. It is uncertain that *fovea* and *favīsae* belong together, as their etymology is unknown.
Bibl.: WH I: 538, EM 250, IEW 451, Schrijver 1991: 448.

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.).

PIt. *foχʷeje/o-.

PIE *dʰogʷʰ-eie- 'to burn'. IE cognates: MIr. *daig*, gen.sg. *dega* 'fire, pain'; Skt. *dáhati*, caus. *dāháyati*, YAv. *dažaiti* 'burns', Gr. τέφρα 'ashes', Alb. *djeg* 'to burn', *n-dez* 'to ignite'; Lith. *dègti* 'to burn', OCS *žěšti*, 1s. *žegǫ*, Toch. *tsäk-* 'to burn up, consume by fire', *tsāk-* 'to illuminate'.

Schrijver 1991: 278 concludes that *fō-* probably reflects unsyncopated *fowi- < *fowe-. Thus, *fōculum* < *fowe-culum, fomentum* < *fowe-mentum. Apart from

fŏculum, all derivatives appear quite late. The pf. *fōvī* has developed by contraction from **fowe-wai*. *Foveō* escaped the delabialization of **oṷ* > **aṷ* because **gʷʰ* had not changed into **ṷ* at that time (Schrijver 1991, Vine 2006a: 212).

   Bibl.: WH I: 466f., EM 250, IEW 240f., Schrijver 1991: 277ff., 448, Meiser 1998: 206, LIV **dʰegʷʰ*. → *favīlla, febris*

fracēs, -um 'fragments of olive pulp left after pressing' [f.pl. *k*] (Cato+; sg. *frax* (gloss.), pl. also *flacēs*)

   Derivatives: *fracidus* 'soft, pulpy' (Cato), *fracēscere* 'to become soft' (Cato+), *cōnfracēscere* 'to putrify, rot' (Varro).

   PIt. **frak-*.

   IE cognates: OPr. *dragios* 'yeast', Lith. *drãgės*, Latv. *dradži*, OCS *droždьje* 'dregs' < BSl. **dro(z)gi(?)a?*; OIc. *dregg* 'yeast, dregs'. Alb. *dra* 'dregs, sediment' (maybe to *dregë* 'scab, sore', Demiraj 1997) may have **drag-*, but **drab-* also seems possible. With **-b-*: MIr. *drab* 'dredgs', Ru. *drob* 'yeast', OHG pl. *trebir* 'husks (of grapes)' < **dʰrabʰ-*. PGm. **drōsna-* in OE *drōsne*, OHG *truosana*, MoDu. *droesem* 'dregs'.

   The spelling *fracc-* may have been influenced by *flacceō* 'to decline in strength', *flaccus* 'drooping, floopy', which are semantically quite close. *Flacēs* 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 **dʰreh₂gʰ-* 'to soil' yielded a form **dʰragʰ-* 'dredges of wine, oil, fat'.

   Bibl.: WH I: 538f., EM 251, IEW 251, Schrijver 1991: 486.

fragrō, -āre 'to smell strongly' [v. I] (Cat.+)

   PIt. **fragro-*.

   PIE **bʰrh₁g-ro-* 'smelling'. IE cognates: MIr. *brén* 'putrid, foul', MW *braen*, B *brein* 'putrid, corrupt' < PCl. **bragno-* < **bʰrh₁g-no-*; OIr. *braig(a)id**, ·*braig* 'to fart, break wind' < **brag-ie-*, OIr. *broimm*, W. *bram*, Co. Bret. *bramm* 'fart' < **brag-smn*; MHG *bræhen* < **brēkjan* 'to smell' < **bʰreh₁g-*; 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 *bræhen*, and reconstructs the root as **bʰrHg-*.

   Bibl.: WH I: 540, EM 251, IEW 163, Leumann 1977: 166, Schrijver 1991: 185f., 1995: 170f., Schumacher 2004: 232.

fräga, -õrum 'strawberry' [n.pl. *o*] (Vergilius+)

Plt. *frägo-*.

IE cognates: Alb. (Eastern Geg) *drathe*, (Tosk) *dredhë* 'strawberry'.

The meaning of *fräga* closely matches that of Alb. *dredhë*, and the two may reflect *dʰrHǵ-o-*. It seems unlikely that the word indicated 'strawberry' in PIE, however, and it may well be a loanword. An alternative connection of *fräga* with Gr. ῥάξ, ῥαγός 'grape', ῥώξ 'grape' is possible if one starts from *sräg-*; 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 540, EM 251, Schrijver 1991: 177, Demiraj 1997: 144.

frangõ, -ere 'to break' [v. III; pf. *frēgī*, ppp. *fräctum*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *fragēscere* 'to become subdued' (Acc.), *fragilis* 'fragile, crackling' (Lucr.+), *fragmen* 'a piece broken off' (Sis.+), *fragmentum* 'fragment' (Lucil.+), *fragor* 'the breaking, crash, roar' (Lucr.+), *fragōsus* 'brittle, rugged' (Lucr.+); *cõnfringere* 'to destroy, ruin' (Andr.+), *cõnfragōsus* '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 *-fragium* 'the breaking', *-fragus* 'who breaks'.

Plt. **frang-* [pr.], **fragto-* [ppp.].

PIE **bʰr-n-ǵ-* [pr.] 'to break', **bʰrǵ-to-* [ppp.]. IE cognates: Go. *brikan*, OHG *brehhan* 'to break' < **bʰreg/ǵ-*.

The long vowel of *fräctus* is due to Lachmann's Law. Schrijver 1991 argues that Latin and Irish have continued a PIE root present **bʰreǵ-/*bʰrǵ-* 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 *fragräre*, 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(ǵ)-*. → *suffrägium*

fräter, -tris 'brother; member of a fraternity, friend' [m. *r*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *fräterculus* 'little brother' (Pl.+), *fräterculäre* 'to swell up (of a boy's breasts at puberty)' (Pl.); *fräternus* 'of a brother' (Pac.+).

Plt. **fräter-*. It cognates: Ven. [f.]**hraterei** [dat.sg.], U. **frater**, *frater* [nom.pl.], O. **fratrúm**, U. **fratrum, fratru,** *fratrom* [gen.pl.], *fratrus* [dat.pl.], **fratruspe(r)** [abl.pl. + *-per*] 'brother'; U. **fratreks,** *fratrexs* [nom.sg.m.], *fratreci* [dat.sg.m.] , *fratreca* [abl.sg.f.] 'belonging to the brotherhood' **frätr-iko-*; U. *fratrecate* [loc.sg.?] 'the office of a *fratrex*' < **frätrikäto-*.

PIE **bʰréh₂-tr-* 'brother'. IE cognates: OIr. *bráthair*, W. *brawd*; Skt. *bhrätar-*, Av. OP *brätar-* 'brother', Gr. φράτηρ [m.] 'member of a brotherhood', ἀφρήτωρ 'not

bound by social ties', Phryg. βρατερε 'brothers', Arm. *elbayr* 'brother', OPr. *brāti,
brote,* Lith. *brólis,* Latv. *brālis,* OCS *bratrъ, bratъ,* Go. *broþar,* OHG *bruoder,* OIc.
bróðir, ToB *procer,* ToA *prācar* 'brother'ₐ

For PIE 'brother', Pinault (2007: 276f.) assumes an etymology *b^hr-éh$_2$- 'group of
males borne by the same mother' > *b^hréh$_2$-tr 'belonging to the *b^hréh$_2$'. 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.*

Bibl.: WH I: 541f., EM 252, IEW 163f., Lejeune 1974: 335, Schrijver 1991: 178,
Untermann 2000: 293-295.

fraus, -dis 'harm, danger; deceit' [f. *d*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *fraudāre* 'to cheat, swindle' (Pl.+) (pf. *fraudāvī* and *frausus sum*),
fraudātiō 'cheating' (Pl.+), *dēfrau/ūdāre* 'to cheat' (Pl.+); *fraudulentus* 'dishonest'
(Pl.+), *fraudulentia* 'dishonesty' (Pl.); *frūstra* 'in vain' (later *frūstrā*) (Pl.+), *frūstrārī*
'to delude; frustrate' (Pl.+), *frūstrātiō* 'deception, trick' (Pl.+), *frūstrātus, -ūs*
'deception' (Pl.), *frūstrāmen* 'id.' (Lucr.), *dēfrūstrārī* 'to foil completely' (Pl.).

PIt. *frawV-.* It. cognates: U. *frosetom est* [3s.pf.ps.] 'is not valid (?)' < *frauss-ito-
< intensive formation on the basis of *fraud-to-? (Meiser 1986: 242).

PIE *d^hrou-V-$d^{(h)}$-? IE cognates: Skt. *dhrúti-* 'deception, error', *-dhrút-* 'deceiving',
YAv. *drāuuaiiāt̰* 'will deceive', Parth. *dr'w-* 'to seduce' < *d^hr(o)u-.

Lat. *frūstra* is pl. of *frūstrum* < *fraud-tro-.* Szemerényi 1989: 33ff. and Schrijver
1991: 444, independently of one another, derive *fraus* from PIE *d^hreug^h- 'to
deceive', but not in the same way. Szemerényi posits an abstract *d^hreug^h-os, which
would have yielded a paradigm *frōs, *frōris, whence with diss. *frōdis, and with
hypercorrect *au* for urban *ō* finally *fraus.* These assumptions (*eu > *ō, the
dissimilation and the hypercorrection) are ad hoc and render the solution unlikely.
Schrijver postulates that *fraus* derives from a PIE root *d^hru- as reflected in Skt.
dhrúti- 'deception', *varuṇa-dhrút-* 'deceiving Varuna', Parth. *dr'w* 'to deceive'. He
then posits *d^hrou-V-$d^{(h)}$- whence *frowVd- and with unrounding of *ow > *frawVd-
> fraud-.* For *frūstra,* Schrijver reconstructs *d^hrou-C- or *d^hreu-(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: *froṷ-.

Bibl.: WH I: 543, EM 252, 257, IEW 277, Szemerényi 1989: 33ff., Schrijver 1991:
444, Untermann 2000: 301, LIV 2.*d^hreṷ-.

fraxinus 'ash-tree' [f. *o*] (Enn.+)

PIt. *frakse/ino-.

PIE *b^hrHǵ-s-e/ino-. IE cognates: Skt. *bhūrjá-* 'kind of birch', Oss. *bærz / bærzæ*
'birch', OPr. *berse,* Lith. *béržas,* Latv. *bḛrzs,* CS *brěza,* Ru. *beréza,* OIc. *bjǫrk,* OHG
birihha 'birch'.

The quantity of the *a* is unknown, but Schrijver convincingly argues that short *ă* 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 *bʰerHǵ-/*bʰrHǵ- 'birch' acquired the meaning 'ash-tree', and became formally influenced by the PIE paradigm of *Heh₃-s- 'ash' (Lat. *ornus*). The new *s*-stem *bʰerHǵ-(ō)s, gen.sg. *bʰrHǵ-s-os 'ash' was extended by means of the suffix *-eno-* or *-ino-* (cf. *alnus, farnus, ornus, quernus*). The resulting *bʰrHǵ-s-e/ino- yielded **frak-s-e/ino-* by means of Schrijver's vocalization rule of **CRHDC* > **CraCC*. If PIE 'birch' is indeed derived from the root *bʰreh₁ǵ- 'to shine', it probably refers to the white barch of the birch. But the full grade in the word for 'birch' (in BSl. and Gm.) would have schwebe-ablaut with regard to the verbal forms Skt. *bhrā́ja-*, YAv. *brāza-* 'shines'.

Bibl.: WH I: 544, EM 252, IEW 139f., Schrijver 1991: 186ff., LIV *bʰreh₁ǵ-. → *farnus, ornus*

fremō, -ere 'to utter a deep dull continuous sound' [v. III; *fremuī, fremitum*] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *fremitus, -ūs* 'roar, rumble' (Pl.+), *fremibundus* 'roaring, growling' (Acc.+); *perfremere* 'to fill a place with roaring' (Acc.).

PIt. *freme/o-.

PIE *bʰrem-e/o- 'to hum, rumble'. IE cognates: W. *brefu* 'to bleat, roar', Parth. *brm-*, MP *brām-* 'to cry' < IIr. *brama-*, Po. *brzmieć* 'to hum, sound', OHG *pram* [pret.], MHG *brimmen* 'to roar'.

The reconstruction of the PIE root is not completely certain: especially from the point of view of Latin morphology, a *set* root is also conceivable (Meiser 2003).

Bibl.: WH I: 544f., EM 252f., IEW 142f., Meiser 2003: 125, LIV *bʰrem-.

frendō, -ere 'to grind one's teeth' [v. III; ppp. *frēsum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *nefrēns, -ndis* 'not able to chew yet, infant' (Andr.+).

PIt. *χʷrend-.

PIE *gʷʰrend⁽ʰ⁾-e/o-. IE cognates: Lith. *grę́sti*, 1s. *gréndžiu* 'to plane, scour' < *-nd-, OE *grindan* 'to grind', Go. *grinds* 'ground, crushed', OHG *grint*, MoDu. *grind* 'gravel', OIc. *grandi* 'sandbank', OIc. *grunnr*, Go. *grundu-* 'ground, base' < *-ndʰ-.

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 *dēprāns* '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 *gʷʰren-?

Bibl.: WH I: 545, EM 253, IEW 459, Schrijver 1991: 186, Sihler 1995: 163f., LIV *g⁽ʷ⁾ʰrend-.

frēnum 'horse's bridle or harness' [n. *o*; nom.acc.pl. usually *frēnī, frēnōs*] (Acc.+)

Derivatives: *infrēnāre* 'to curb, restrain' (Acc.+), *effrēnātus* 'unrestrained' (Acc.+), *refrēnāre* 'to hold back, restrain' (Varro+).

PIt. *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 *frendō*) '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. *frendō*). 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.+), *īnfrequens* 'not crowded, absent' (Pl.+); *fraxāre* 'to go the watchman's rounds' (Paul. *ex F.*), *flaxāre* 'id.' (gloss.).

Nussbaum 2007b connects *frequēns* with *fraxāre*. Semantically, this is quite attractive. Formally, the forms could go back to a root *bʰrkʷ-: *frequens* < *bʰrekʷ-*, 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 *frekʷ-*. Note that a *bʰrekʷ-* would have an unusual PIE root structure *Dʰ-T. Alternatively, *frequens* has been connected with *farciō* (WH, Eichner 1982: 19), which is semantically less straightforward. See s.v. *farciō* for further considerations.

Bibl.: WH I: 456, EM 253, IEW 110f., LIV *bʰrekʷ-. → *farciō*

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 *bʰrt-.

Bibl.: WH I: 546f., EM 253, IEW 132f., Schrijver 1991: 255.

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 *acētum* 'vinegar' to *acēre* 'to be sour'. The basic verb might be *dʰer- 'to hold', unattested as a verb but continued in *firmus* and *ferē*, 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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 505, EM 253f., IEW 253, Untermann 2000: 298, LIV *dʰer-. → ferē, firmus, frēnum

frīgō, -ere 'to roast' [v. III]; *frīxī* [not in CLat.], *frīctum* (Pl.+)

It cognates: maybe U. **frehtef** [acc.pl.]'?', **frehtu** '?' (object).

IE cognates: Gr. φρΰγω 'to roast'.

Since the Greek verb is very close in form and meaning, but cannot be matched by means of sound laws, the verb might be a loanword from a third party, or from Greek into Latin in an indirect way. Giacomelli 1994: 36 assumes a Greek loanword, of which *ph-* >> Lat. *f-* and *u* >> Lat. *i* show that it does not belong to the oldest layer of Greek loanwords. MMP *bryz* 'to roast' < PIr. *bra(i)j-* has secondary *i*-vowels, cf. Cheung 2007. The absence of a pfi in CLat. (*frīxī* only attested in grammarians) could also point to a loanword (M. Weiss, p.c.).

Bibl.: WH I: 548, EM 254, IEW 137, Schrijver 1991: 256, Untermann 2000: 296.

frīgus, -oris 'cold, frost' [n. *r*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *frīgēre* 'to be cold, lack vigour' (Andr.+; pf. *frīxī*), *frīgēfactāre* 'to make cold' (Pl.), *frīgēscere* 'to become cool' (Cato+), *frīgidus* 'cold' (Pl.+), *frīgidārium* 'cold room' (Lucil.+), *frīgēdō* 'cold' (Varro); *perfrīgēfacere* 'to make very cold' (Pl.), *perfrīgēscere* 'to become very cold' (Varro+), *refrīgerāre* 'to cool down (tr.)' (Cato+), *refrīgēscere* 'to cool down (intr.)' (Cato+).

PIt. *srīgos-* [n.], *srīgēd-n-*.

PIE *sriHg̑-o/es- 'frost, bitter cold'. IE cognates: Gr. ῥῖγος 'cold, frost', ῥῑγιον 'colder', pf. ἔρρῑγα 'to be cold', pr. ῥῑγέω (Pi.+), ῥιγεδανός 'ghastly, terrible'.

In view of the zero grade in the root, which is unusual for *s*-stems, Schrijver considers the possibility that Gr. ῥῖγος and Latin *frīgus* are independent formations. In his view, *frīgus* might be derived from *frīgēre*, a stative verb with regular zero grade. However, the productive process in Latin usually yields *s*-stems in *-ōr, -ōris* from verbs in *-ēre*; hence *frīgus* seems older than this process. It seems more likely that the root had zero grade throughout in PIE, or in the derivative from which Gr. and Lat. took their reflexes. According to Nussbaum 2004a, Latin *frīgēdō* and Gr. ῥιγεδανός jointly point to an apparent *n*-stem *srīgēd-(ŏ)n-*, from earlier *srīge-(e)d-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 547, EM 254, IEW 1004, Schrijver 1991: 231, Stüber 2002: 152, LIV ?*sreiHg̑-.

friō, -āre 'to pulverize, crumble' [v. 1] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *īnfriāre* 'to crumble ingredients in or on' (Cato+); *fricāre* 'to rub, chafe' (Pl.+; pf. *fricuī* >> *fricāvī*, ppp. *fric(ā)tum*), *circumfricāre* 'to rub round about' (Cato), *cōnfricāre* 'to rub, massage' (Pl.+), *dēfricātē* [adv.] 'sharply, keenly' (Naev.), *perfricāre* 'to rub all over' (Cato+), *refricāre* 'to rub again' (Cato+); *frīvolus* [adj.] 'worthless, insignificant' (Phaedrus+), *frīvolāria* 'a play about trifles' (Pl. apud Varronem), *frīvusculum* 'slight quarrel' (Ulp.), *refrīvus* 'shredded' (Fest., Plin.).

PIt. *frī-ā-, *fri-k-, *frī-wo-.

PIE *bʰriH-o-, *bʰriH-uo- 'cut'. IE cognates: OIr. *brieid*, *·bria* 'to hurt, damage' <

*brei-ase/o- [pr.sb.], Skt. pr. bhṛṇánti, YAv. pairi.brīna- 'to cut (around)', brōiðra- 'blade'; OCS briti, Cz. břiti (arch.) 'to shave'.

The verb friāre can be denominal to ąn adj. *frio- < *bʰriH-o-, while re-frīvus and frīvolus continue an adj. *bʰriH-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 *bʰreiH-.

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 *bʰrm- for 'brim, bud', whereas EM regard the etymology as unsure. Solmsen (ZVS 35, 474ff.) compared Ru. dёrn 'lawn, grass', Gr. θρόνα '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 *bʰer-, the nom.sg. of which would have been *bʰ(e)rōn. 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, -ontis '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 *bʰrVnT- meaning 'side' or 'steep', but their meaning is not specific enough. Semantically, it is tempting to compare frōns with PIE *h₃bʰruH- 'eyebrow', but a putative formation *h₃bʰróuH-nt- > *frówant- 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 *gʷʰren-, front- might reflect *gʷʰron-t- 'the side where the mouth is, front', vel sim. But this is very speculative, of course.
    Bibl.: WH I: 551, EM 255, IEW 167.

fruor, fruī 'to enjoy (the produce of)' [v. III; ppp. frūctum] (Pl.+)
    Derivatives: frūctus, -ūs 'enjoyment, revenue; fruit, produce' (Lex XII+), frūctuārius 'fruit-bearing, usufructuary' (Varro+), frūctuōsus 'fruitful, profitable' (Varro+); frūx, -ūgis [f.] 'crop, yield (sg.), fruit(s) (pl.)' (Lex XII+; esp. pl. frūgēs), frūgī [*dat.sg. of frūx] 'having merit, good, valuable'; frūgāliter 'economically' (Pl.+), frūgālior 'having more merit, more honest' (Pl.+); frūmentum 'fruit of plants, corn, grain' (Pl.+), frūmentārius 'of corn' (Cato+), frūmentārius [m.] 'a dealer in corn' (Pl.+); frūnīscere, frūnītus sum 'to enjoy' (Pl.+); frūgifer 'fruitful, productive' (Enn.), frūgiferēns 'fruitful' (Lucr.), frūgiparus 'giving birth to fruits' (Lucr.).
    PIt. pr. *frūg-je/o-, root noun *frūg-. It. cognates: U. frif, fri [acc.pl.] 'fruits' < *bʰrūg-; O. fruktatiuf [nom.sg.] 'usufruct' < *frūgtātiōn- built to *frūg-i-tā- < *bʰrūg-ito-, ppp. of *bʰrūg-io- 'to use'.

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 *brȳce* 'useful'.

Fruor reflects a development *frūg-ie- > *frūje- > *frūwe- > *frūe-. The stem *frūg- appears in the root noun *frūx* (from PIt. date, as U. *fri(f)* shows), and in *frūmentum* < *frūg-men- and *frūnīscere* < *frūg-n-. The latter can reflect an earlier nasal present stem *frūg-n-e/o-, which may be compared with Go. *us-bruknan* '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 551ff., EM 256f., IEW 173, Schrijver 1991: 232f., Untermann 2000: 297-299, LIV ?*bʰreuH⁽ǵ⁾-.

frustum 'crumb, fragment' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *frustulentus* 'full of crumbs' (Pl.), *frustātim* 'in little pieces' (Pompon.+), *frustillātim* 'id.' (Pl.+).

PIt. *frusto-.

PIE *bʰrus-to- 'broken'. IE cognates: OIr. *bruïd* 'to break, smash', Old French *bruiser* 'to break' < PCl. *brus-ie-, OIr. *bronnaid* 'to injure' < *brus-na-ti, MW *breu*, W. *brau* 'brittle, fragile', MCo. *brew*, Bret. *brev* 'broken' < *bruso-, OE *briesan*, *brȳsan* 'to break, bruise' < *brausija-; maybe Alb. *breshër* 'hail' < *bʰreus-n-.

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. *druskà* 'salt', Latv. *druska* 'crumb, scrap, bit', Go. *drauhsos* '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 *bʰreus-.

frutex, -icis 'shrub, bush; shoot, 'blockhead'' [f. *k*] (Pl.+)
PIt. *frut-.

Since the root of OE *breowan* 'to brew' is now reconstructed as *bʰréuH- '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 554, EM 257, IEW 169, Schrijver 1991: 254.

fūcus 'drone, gadfly, hornet' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)
PIE *bʰoi-ko-? *bʰou-ko-? IE cognates: OIr. *bech* 'bee' [m.] < *bʰeko-; OPr. *bitte*, Lith. *bitė*, Latv. *bite* < *bʰi-t-, OCS *bъčela*, *bъčela* 'bee' < *bʰi-kel-eh₂; OIc. *bȳ* [n.], MoDu. *bij*, OHG *bini* [n.], OHG *bīa* [f.], OE *bēo* 'bee' [f.] < *bʰi-ōn-, *bʰi-ni-. OE *bēaw* 'gadfly', MoFr. *bau* 'hornet'?

If. from *foiko-, fūcus can be cognate with the Celtic, Gm. and BSl. words for 'bee'. But the ablaut grade *bʰoi- does not occur elsewhere. Since Celtic has *bʰe- in OIr. *bech*, it might be the case that we are dealing with an onomatopoeic word *bʰe/i-; Latin *bʰoi- can be a separate ablaut variant. There is another possibility, which was favoured by WH: a connection with Gm. *bau-a-* (?) 'hornet, gadfly'. In fact, *fūcus* 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 *bʰoukʷo-, which is unlikely (cf. Weiss 1995), *bʰou-ko-* would do.

Bibl.: WH I: 555, EM 258, IEW 163.

fugiō, -ere 'to run away, flee' [v. III; *fūgī, 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.), *fugitīvus* 'runaway, fugitive' (Pl.+), *fugitivārius* 'who recaptures runaway slaves' (Varro+); *aufugere* 'to run away' (Pl.+), *cōnfugere* 'to flee for protection' (Pl.+), *dēfugere* '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.).

PIt. pr. *fug-i-*, pf. *foug-*, subst. *fug-(ā-)*.

PIE pr. *bʰug-i-* 'to flee', pf. *(bʰe-)bʰoug-* (or root aorist *bʰeug-). IE cognates: Gr. φεύγω, aor. φυγεῖν, pf. πέφευγα 'to flee', φύγα-δε 'on the flight', φύζα [f.] 'flight, panic', φυγή 'flight, exile'; Av. *būj(i)-* [f.] 'penance, atonement', *būjaṯ* 'frees', ·*buṇjaiṇti* 'they free', *būjaiiamna-*, MP *bōz-* 'to free, release'.

Bibl.: WH I: 556f., EM 258, IEW 152, Schrijver 2003: 66, LIV 1.*bʰeug-.

fuī 'to be(come)' [v. pf.] ind. *fūī, fuistī, fūit, fūimus, fuistis, fūērunt*; sb. *fuā, fuat*; ptc.fut. *futūrus*, inf.fut. *fore* (Lex XII, Andr.+)

Derivatives: *futāre* 'saepius fuisse' (Cato apud. Paul. *ex F.*); for the preverbial cp., see s.v. *sum*.

PIt. aor. *fu-*, ipv. *fu-tōd*, pf. *fuf-* (whence plq.pf. *fufā-* > ipf.), fut. *(fe-)fu-s-*. It. cognates: U. *futu*, **futu** [2s.ipv.II], U. *fututo* [2p.ipv.II], Presam. *fufṛoδ* [3p.pf.], O. **fufans** [3p.ipf.], **fusíd** [3s.ipf.sb.], **fufens** [3p.pf.], *fuid* [3s.pf.sb.], O. *fust*, **adfust**, U. **fust**, *fust*, *fus*, **ateřafust**, *andersafust*, *andirsafust*, **amprefu<u>s** [3s.fut.pf.] , **furent**, **fefure**, *ambrefurent* [3p.fut.pf.] 'to be'.

PIE aor. *bʰ(e)h₂u-* 'to become', pf. *bʰe-bʰh₂(o)u-, -ppp. *bʰʰh₂u-tó- (> *futūrus*). IE cognates: OIr. 3s. *boí* 'was', 3p. ·*bátar*, MW *bu*, MCo. *bue*, OBret. *a-bu* 'was' < pf. *bu-b(u)-*; Skt. *ábhūt* 'has become' [3s.aor.]; Gr. ἔφυν 'grew, became'; OLith. *bit(i)* 'he was', Lith. *būti* 'to be', OCS 23s. *bystъ* 'was, became', OCS *byti* '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*

represent an old aor.sb. in -ā-.

Bibl.: WH I: 557f., EM 257f., IEW 146ff., Leumann 1977: 524, Kortlandt 1986 (= 2007: 75-79), Schrijver 1991: 240, Sihler 1995: 552, Untermann 2000: 245-252, Lazzarini-Poccetti 2001, Meiser 2003: 201, LIV *bʰu̯eh₂-. → fīō; probus, superbus; sum

fulciō, -īre 'to support' [v. IV; pf. fulsī, ppp. fultum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: fulcrum 'head- or back-support of a couch' (Varro+), fulmenta 'prop, support' (Pl.+), fulmentum 'support' (Varro+); cōnfulcīre 'to press together' (Lucr.), praefulcīre 'to place as a support, prop up' (Pl.+), suffulcīre 'to prop from below' (Pl.+). PIt. *dʰ/bʰ-(o)l-k-.

Lat. fulcrum < *fulk-(t)lo-, fulmentum < *fulk-men-to-, pf. fulsī < *fulk-s-ai. The etymology is unclear. It is often assumed that Latin fulk- is cognate with Gr. φάλκης [m.] 'rib (of a ship)', φάλαγξ, -γγος 'beam' and OIc. bjalki [m.], OHG balko 'beam' (< PIE *bʰelg-?). These are connected with the verbal root *bʰelǵʰ- 'to swell', from which words for 'beam' seem to be derived in Baltic: Lith. balžiena 'longbeam', Latv. bàlžiêns, bèlziêns '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, -ere 'to shine brightly' [v. III; pf. fulsī] (Pac.+)

Derivatives: fulgēre (Lucil.+), refulgēre 'to shine brightly' (Lucr.+), fulgens 'flashing, gleaming' (Enn.+), fulgetrum 'lightning' (Varro+), fulgidus 'shining' (Lucr.), fulgor 'brightness; flash' (Lucr.+); fulgur, -uris [n.] 'flash of lightning' (nom.sg. fulgus Paul. ex F.; also -eris Lucr.), fulgurātor 'one who interprets omens from lightning' (Cato+), fulgurīre 'to send lightning' (Naev.+; Naev. fulgorivit); fulmen, -inis 'lightning, thunderbolt' (Naev.+), fulmineus 'of/like lightning' (Lucr.+). PIt. *folg-e/o- 'to shine', *folg-os- [n.] 'brightness'.

PIE *bʰl̥g-e/o- 'to shine'. IE cognates: Skt. bhárgas- 'radiance, splendour' (appurtenance uncertain; schwebe-ablaut?); Gr. φλέγω 'to burn', Gr. φλόξ, -γός 'flame', φλογμός 'flame'; OHG blecchen 'to make visible' < PGm. *blakjan; ToAB pälk- 'to shine', ToB pälketär 'burns' < *bʰl̥g-.

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 fulgere at an earlier stage; for fulmen < *fulgmen, the deverbal origin is certain, since the sound laws would have us expect **flagmen as the outcome of PIE *bʰl̥g-men-. If fulgēre is indeed more recent than fulgere, 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 511, EM 259, IEW 124f., Schrijver 1991: 477, 483f., Stüber 2002: 75, LIV *bʰleǵ-. → flagrō

fulica 'a water-bird (the coot?)' [f. *ā*] (Afran.+)

Derivatives: *fulix, -icis* 'heron' (Cic.).

The suffix *-ik-* is found in other bird-namés 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/olH-* 'white' (Lith. *bãlas*, OCS *bělъ* '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: 559f., EM 259, IEW 118ff.

fūlīgō, -inis 'soot' [f. *n*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **fūli-* 'smoke'.

PIE **dʰuh₂-li-* 'smoke, dust'. IE cognates: MIr. *dúil* 'desire'; Skt. *dhūli-, dhūlī* [f.] 'dust', *dhūlikā* 'fog', Lith. *dū́lis*, Latv. *dũlis* 'smoke used in bee-culture'.

Latin derivation to an original *i*-stem **dʰuH-li-* 'dust', which may be derived from an adj. **dʰuh₂-lo-* 'smoking, dusty'.

Bibl.: WH I: 560, EM 259, IEW 261-67, Leumann 1977: 368, Schrijver 1991: 233, 342, LIV **dʰueh₂-*. → *fūmus, suffiō*

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. **fu-*. 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 560, EM 260.

fulvus 'brown, sandy, gold-coloured' [adj. *o/ā*] (Enn.+)

PIt. **fe/olawo-*?

PIE **dʰe/olH-uo-* 'yellow'?

The theoretical preforms for *fulvus* were listed by Driessen 2005: **bʰ/dʰ/gʷʰ/ǵʰu̯* + **-e/o-* + **-lHVu-/*-lHu-* + *-os*. Unless, of course, **-wo-* (which is also found in other colour adjectives) was a recent addition. The often cited connection with Lith. *geĩtas* 'yellow' < PIE **ǵʰelh₃-* is not possible, see s.v. *helvus*. Driessen connects *fulvus* with EMoDu. *dēluw*, MoDu *del* 'yellow(ish)', which could, among other forms, go back to **t/dʰelH-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', *delin* 'yellow', *delb* 'yellow, blond', which could point to a root **dʰlH-*, **dʰelH-* for 'yellow'.

Bibl.: WH I: 561, EM 260, IEW 160, Schrijver 1991: 469, Nussbaum 1999a: 386f., Driessen 2005.

fūmus 'smoke, fumes' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *fūmāre* 'to emit smoke or steam' (Pl.+), *fūmōsus* 'smoky' (Cato+), *fūmidus* 'smoking, smoky' (Lucr.+); *fūmigāre* 'to treat with smoke' (Var.+); *fūmificāre* 'to make smoke; (Pl.+), *fūmificus* 'making smoke' (Pl.+).

PIt. **fūmo-*.

PIE **dʰuh₂-mó-* 'smoke, fume'. IE cognates: Skt. *dhūmá-* 'smoke, fume', Gr. θῡμός 'spirit', OPr. *dumis* 'smoke', Lith. pl. *dū́mai* 'smoke', OCS *dymъ* 'smoke'; OHG *toum* 'steam'.

In a preform **dʰuHmó-* we would expect Dybo's shortening (of pretonic shortening of long vowels in front of resonants in Proto-Italo-Celto-Germanic) to have taken place. The long vowel of *fūmus* is explained by Schrijver 1991 from (possible) analogy with the (*)*ū* in *fūlīgō* and *suffiō*. The reconstruction of root-final **-h₂* is based on Hit. *antuwahhaš* 'human' and *tuhhae-* 'to cough'.

Bibl.: WH I: 561f., EM 260, IEW 261, Schrijver 1991: 233, 342, 357, LIV **dʰueh₂-* 'to smoke' (intr.). → *fimum, foeteō, fūlīgō, furō, suffiō*

funda 'leather strap, sling' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *fundulum* 'the blind gut, caecum' (Varro), *fundula* 'blind alley' (Varro).

Theoretically, *funda* may go back to **bʰondʰ-h₂-* 'tie, strap', a derivative of the verbal root **bʰendʰ-* 'to bind' attested ᵻn Gm. and Ilr. Alternatively, it might be a loanword from an unknown language; the Gr. noun σφενδόνη 'sling' might come from the same source.

Bibl.: WH I: 562, EM 260, Leumann 1977: 162.

fundō, -ere 'to pour, let go, emit' [v. III; pf. *fūdī*, ppp. *fūsum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *fūsus, -ūs* 'a pouring' (Varro), *fūsus* 'spindle' (Lucr.+), *funditāre* 'to pour out continuously; shoot at with slings' (Pl.+); *affundere* 'to pour onto' (Varro+), *circumfundere* 'to pour round, distribute' (Cato+), *cōnfundere* 'to pour together, mix, confuse' (Pl.+), *confūsīcius* (Pl.) 'confused', *confūsim* 'confusedly' (Varro), *dēfundere* 'to pour out' (Cato+), *diffundere* 'to spread widely, diffuse' (Cato+), *diffunditāre* 'to dissipate' (Pl.), *diffūsilis* 'diffusive' (Lucr.), *effundere* 'to pour out, shed, utter' (Pl.+), *infundere* 'to pour in' (Pl.+), *infundibulum* 'funnel, hopper' (Cato+), *offundere* 'to pour, extend' (Pl.+), *prōfundere* 'to pour forth' (Naev.+); *fūtis, -is* 'water-vessel' (Varro), *exfūtī* '*effūsī*' (Paul. *ex F.*).

PIt. **χund-(e/o-)*. It. cognates: maybe Fal. **huti[c]ilom** [acc.n.?] '?'; uncertain U. *hondu* [3s.ipv.II] 'throw down!'(?).

PIE pr. **ǵʰu-n-d-* 'to pour', pf. **(ǵʰe-)*ǵʰ(o)u-*; noun **ǵʰe/ou-ti-?* IE cognates: Hit. *kūtt-, kutt-* [c.] 'wall' < **ǵʰeut-, *ǵʰut-*; Skt. *juhóti* 'pours; sacrifices' < **ǵʰi-ǵʰ(e)u-*, *ā-huti-* [f.] 'offering', Av. *ā-zūiti-* [f.] 'clarified butter, sacrificial fat' < **-ǵʰuti-*, Gr. χέω < pr. **ǵʰéu-e-*, aor.intr. ἔχυτο 'to pour', χυτός 'spilled', πάγχυ [adv.] 'completely'; Go. *giutan*, ToB. *ku-* 'to pour'.

See Kümmel 2004b: 357 on *confūsīcius*. Initial *f-* < PIE **ǵʰ-* 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* < *ǵʰeu-ti-*. Note, however, that the semantics are not perfect (*fūtis* is not an abstract) and that the noun appears only in Varro.

Bibl.: WH I: 563f., EM 260f., IEW 447f., Giacomelli 1963: 248, Meiser 1986: 168, Untermann 2000: 331, Vine 2004: 373, LIV *ǵʰeu-, ?*ǵʰeud-.

fundus 'bottom' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *funditus* [adv.] 'completely; from the bottom' (Pl.+), *fundāre* 'to lay the foundations' (Pl.+), *fundāmentum* 'foundation, basis' (Pl.+); *profundus* 'very deep, boundless' (Pl.+).

PIt. *fundo-.

PIE *bʰudʰ-n-ó- 'bottom', probably < *bʰudʰ-mn-ós, gen.sg. of *bʰudʰ-men-. IE cognates: MIr. *bond* 'foot sole', Skt. *budhná-* 'bottom, foot, root', Av. *būna-*, Gr. πυθμήν 'bottom, depth, root', OIc. *botn*, OHG *bodam*, OS *bothme* [dat.sg.], OE *botem*, OE *bodan*, OFr. *bodem*, MDu. *bodem* 'bottom' < PGm. *budmē/ōn* [nom.], *buttaz* [gen.] < *bʰudʰ-mē/ōn, *bʰudʰ-(m)n-ós (thus Kroonen 2006: 21-23).

The Latin form is due to metathesis of PIE *bʰudʰnó- to Italo-Celtic *bʰundʰó-.

Bibl.: WH I: 564, EM 261, IEW 174, Schrijver 1991: 501.

fungor, -ī 'to perform; go through, enjoy; die; function' [v. III; *fūnctus sum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *dēfungī* 'to be quit, settle; come to an end; [pf.] die' (Ter.+), *perfungī* 'to carry through one's part, be done' (Ter.+).

PIt. *fung-e/o-.

PIE pr. *bʰu-n-g- 'to be of use, be used'. IE cognates: OIr. *bongaid*, *boing* 'to break, harvest', pf. *bobaig*, MW *difyngaf* 'to rush forward' (< *dī-bunge-) < PCl. *bunge/o-*; Skt. pr. *bhuñjaté*, *bhuñjáte* [3p.], *-bhuñjant-* [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*.

Bibl.: WH I: 565, EM 262, IEW 153, Schumacher 2004: 238f., LIV 2.*bʰeug-.

fungus 'fungus, mushroom' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *fungīnus* '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.

fūnis 'rope, cable' [m. (f.) *i*] (Cato+; gen.pl. *fūnium*, abl.sg. *fūne*, acc.sg. *fūnem*, abl.sg. *fūnī* 1x Cato)

Derivatives: *fūniculus* 'thin rope, cord' (Cato+); *fūnambulus* 'tightrope walker' (Ter.+); *sēmifūnium* 'half-length of rope' (Cato).

PIt. *χʷoini-.

PIE *gʷʰoiH-ni- or *gʷʰoHi-ni- 'rope'. IE cognates: see s.v. *fīlum*.

Since the meaning is very close to *fīlum*, *fūnis* might represent an *o*-grade derivative

of the root *gʷʰiH- or *gʷʰHi- which can be reconstructed for *filum*.
Bibl.: WH I: 567, EM 262, IEW 272, Schrijver 1991: 242. → *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 *fonus* 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 *bʰoih₂-nos-* [n.] 'fear' > 'mourning'. But this is not very compelling, of course. If the spelling *fonus* 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. *tuhhuš-ᶻⁱ* 'to end', *tuhhu(i)šta* 'has ended' < PIE **Teuh₂-* or **Tueh₂-* (Kloekhorst 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.+), *fūrīnus* 'of thieves' (Pl.), *fūrārī* 'to steal' (Cato+), *furtificus* 'thievish' (Pl.), *furtim* 'secretly' (Pl.+), *fūrtum* 'theft, deception' (Lex XII+), *furtīvus* 'stolen, stealthy' (Pl.+); *suffūrārī* 'to steal unobtrusively' (Pl.).
PIt. **fōr-*.
PIE **bʰōr* 'thief' [m.]. IE cognates: Gr. φώρ '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 **-ōr* 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 *fūrtum* can hardly be explained as a derivative from *fūr*. According to Forssman 1992: 309, *furtum* originally had a short vowel and reflects **bʰr̥tom*, with the zero-grade of the root of *fūr*. Lat. *furtīvus* would have been formed on the basis of **bʰr̥tos* > **furtos*.
Bibl.: WH I: 569, EM 262f., IEW 128-39, Schrijver 1991: 120, Forssman 1992: 309, LIV **bʰer-.* → *ferre*

furca 'fork or similarly shaped instrument' [f. *ā*] (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 **ǵʰ-*, 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. *žeñgti* 'to spread the legs', *žirklės* 'scissors' presuppose a root **ǵʰ(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 *ǵʰorka > *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 *ǵʰur- (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.+), *furiōsus* 'mad' (Lex XII, Cic.+), *furor* '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+)
  PIt. *fuswo-.
  PIE *dʰus-uo- 'dark, black, brown'. IE cognates: OIr. *donn* 'dun, light brown', MW *dwnn* 'dun. dusky', OE *dox* 'dark-haired, dusky', MoE *dusk*, OE *dosen* 'dun, dingy-brown, dark coloured'.

For *furvus*, Leumann 1977 assumes *fusouos*. More satisfactory is Rix 1981: 199 (= 2001: 287) who posits *dʰus-u̯o- > *furu̯o-, with the suffix *-u̯o- 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 suffixs that are abundant in colour adjectives. It might be connected with PIE *dʰues- 'to fume, breathe; dust', hence 'dusty, mirky colour'.
  Bibl.: Sommer 1914: 70, WH I: 572, EM 263, IEW 268-271, Leumann 1977: 50, 206. → *furō, fuscus*

fuscus 'dark-coloured, dusky; (of persons) dark-skinned' [adj. *o/ā*] (Varro+)
  Derivatives: *infuscāre* 'to darken; contaminate' (Pl.+).
  PIt. *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*

fūstis 'stick, rod' [m. *i*] (Lex XII+; abl.sg. *fūstī* Lex XII, Pl.)
Derivatives: *fūstitudīnus* [adj.] 'stick-beating' (Pl.).
PIt. **fūsti- / *feusti- / *fousti-*.

The most obvious connection would be with Latin *-fūtāre*. Since the usual outcome of PIE **-TT-* in Latin is *-ss-* (cf. Hill 2003: 221ff.), *fūstis* would be an exception. Latin *fūstis* might reflect **fūt-ti- > *fūssi-* 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 **bʰeHud-*, 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 **būd-sk-*. Hill needs a dissyllabic base **boūd-* 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*.
Bibl.: WH I: 573, EM 264, IEW 112, Hill 2003: 229ff., LIV ?**bʰeud-*. → *-fūtō*

O. **futír** [nom.sg.], **fuutreí, futreí** [dat.sg.] , **futreís** [gen.sg.?] 'daughter'.
PIt. **fuχtēr, *fuχtros*.

PIE **dʰugh₂-tēr*, *-tr-os* 'daughter'. IE cognates: Gaul. *duχtir*, Celtib. *tuater*; Hit. ᴹᵁᴺᵁˢ*duttarriiata/i-* [c.] a female functionary, HLuw. *tuwatra/i-*, Lyc. *kbatra-* 'daughter' < PAnat. **duegtr-*, **dugtr-* (Kloekhorst 2008: 902ff.), Skt. *duhitár-*, OAv. *dugədar-*, YAv. *duɣδar-*, Gr. θυγάτηρ, -τρός, Arm. *dowśtr*, OPr. *duckti*, Lith. *duktě̃*, OCS *dъšti*, gen.sg. *dъštere*, Ru. *doč'*, gen.sg. *dóčeri*; Go. *dauhtar*, OIc. *dóttir*, OHG *tohter*, ToB *tkācer* 'daughter'.

The Oscan forms point to */fūtr-/ < *fuχtr-*. 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.
Bibl.: IEW 277, Schrijver 1991: 105, 331f., Untermann 2000: 306f.

-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.+), *effūtīre* 'to utter foolishly, babble' (Ter.+)
PIt. **fūt-?*

IE cognates: OE *bēatan*, OHG *bōzzan* 'to strike' < Gm. **bautan-*, OIc. *beysta* < **baustjan-*, MHG *būsch* 'stick', MDu. *buuschen* 'to strike' < **būska-* 'blunt end of a stick'.

The meaning of the forms renders it attractive to connect Gm. **baud-* 'to hit', but Latin has final **-t-*. Root identity could be saved by assuming a PIE root **bʰu(H)-* '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 *effūtīre* 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*.
Bibl.: WH I: 259f., EM 137, 264, IEW 112, Vine 2004, LIV ?**bʰeud-*. → *fūstis, futuō*

futuō, -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' < **ǵʰu-tu-* to the root **ǵʰeu-* '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. → *-fūtō*

G

gallus 'farmyard cock' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *gallīna* 'hen' (Pl.+), *gallīnāceus* 'of poulty' (Pl.+), *gallīnārius* 'one who looks after poultry' (Varro+).

IE cognates: W. *galw* 'to call' < PCl. **galu̯o-*; OCS *glasъ*, Ru. *gólos* 'voice' < **ga/olso-*, OCS *glagolъ* '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. καλαῖς, -ῖδος '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 **glH-* '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, Gm. and Italo-Celtic, it might reflect an onomatopoeia **gal-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 580f., EM 266, IEW 350f., Schrijver 1991: 208.

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*.

Bibl.: WH I: 582, EM 267, Masson 1967: 74, Leumann 1977: 361.

ganniō, -īre 'to whimper, snarl' [v. IV] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *oggannīre* 'to speak menacingly, growl' (Pl.+), *gannītus, -ūs* 'whimpering, snarling' (Lucr.+).

IE cognates: RuCS *gugnati* 'to whisper, grumble', Ru. *gugniti* 'to tell, speak', OCS

gǫgъnívъ 'murmuring', Ru. *gugnívyj*, Bulg. *găgnív* 'speaking through the nose'.

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 PIt. **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, -īre 'to chatter, jabber' [v. IV] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *garrulus* 'talkative' (Pl.+).

PIt. **gārje/o-*?

PIE **ǵ(e)h₂r-ie/o-* 'to shout'? IE cognates: OIr. *gairid**, ·*gair*, MW *garðu* 'to shout' < PCl. **gar-ie/o-* < PIE **ǵeh₂r-*, OIr. *gáir*, W. *gawr* 'shout' < PCl. **gāri-* 'shout, call', OIr. *gairm* 'shouting, calling', W. Bret. *garm* < PCl. **garsman-* 'cry, shout'; Khot. *ysār-* 'to sing', Sogd. *z'ry*, *z'r'k*, *z'r'y* 'compassionate; pitiful', Khwar. *zrȳ-* 'to announce, reveal, speak about (sorrow)', Oss. Iron *zælyn/zæld* 'to sound', (caus.-iter.) Iron *zaryn/zard*, Digoron *zarun/zard* 'to sing' < PIr. **zaHr-* (**zarH-*?) 'to bewail the deceased'; Gr. γῆρυς f. 'voice, speech', Dor. γᾶρυς, -υος < **ǵeh₂ru-*; OHG *chara* 'mourning, complaint', Go. *kara*, OE *cearu* 'worry, care' < PGm. **karō-*, OS *karm*, OE *cearm, cierm* 'shouting' < **karma-*.

Latin *garriō* might reflect earlier **gāriō* by means of the *littera*-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 **ā*. In Gm., we find a short **a*. An alternation between **ǵeh₂r-* and **ǵh₂r-* could explain all the forms, but we may equally well be dealing with independent onomatopoeic formations in /gằr-/ of the individual languages.

Bibl.: WH I: 583, EM 267, IEW 352, Schrijver 1991: 178, Sihler 1995: 49, Schumacher 2004: 331-333, LIV **ǵar-*. → *grāculus, grundiō, grūs*

gaudeō 'to be glad, rejoice' [v. II; ppp. *gāvīsus* (pf. *gāvīsī* in Andr. and Hem.)] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *gaudium* 'joy, delight' (Pl.+).

PIt. **gāweþ-ē-* [v.] or **gāwiþo-* [adj.].

PIE **ǵeh₂u-edʰ-* 'to rejoice' or **ǵeh₂u-i-dʰh₁-o-* 'rejoicing'. IE cognates: Gr. γάνυμαι 'to brighten up, be glad' < **gh₂-n-u-*, γαίω 'to take pride in' < **ǵāṛ-jō*; γηθέω 'rejoice', Dor. γᾱθέω, pf. γέγηθα < **ǵeh₂dʰ-*; Toch. *kātk-* 'to rejoice'.

Gaudeō was contracted from **gāwVd-* with a short second vowel. Since a disyllabic base **gāwVd⁽ʰ⁾-* was probably denominative, or contains the present suffix **-(e)dʰ-*, the participle *gavīsus* is probably a secondary formation. Its *ī* may continue an earlier short vowel which was analogically lengthened (after the verb *videō* : *vīsus*). Forssman 1972: 668 suggests an original adj. **gāvidus* 'rejoicing' on which **gāvidēre* was built (like *ārdēre* 'to burn' to *āridus*), 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 *⁽ǵ⁾eh₂u̯-.

gāvia 'sea-bird, possibly a tern' [f. ā] (Plin., Apul.)

PIE *gouh₂-i- 'shouter'? IE cognates: Skt. pr.int. jóguve [3s.med.(stat.)], jóguvāna- [ptc.med.] 'to call, invoke, praise', jógu- [adj.] 'singing loudly'; Gr. γοάω 'to groan, weep', γόης, -ητος [m.] 'sorcerer' (Ion.-Att.); OCS govorъ [m.] 'noise, shout, rumour, murmur' < *gou(H)-; maybe OHG gikewen 'to call', OE cīegan 'shout' (< PGm. *kaujan).

The length of the a is uncertain. Lat. gāius 'jay' is close in form and meaning, which would point to a (onomatopoeic?) root *gā-. If one assumes a short vowel in gavia, it can be derived from *gou̯-i-éh₂-, and connected with a PIE root *guh₂-. This remains uncertain.

Bibl.: WH I: 584, EM 268, IEW 403, LIV *geu̯h₂-.

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 *ǵel-u- [m.] 'cold, frost, ice'. IE cognates: Go. kalds 'cold', OE calan 'to freeze', OIc. kala 'to freeze' < PIE *ǵol-to-; Gr. γελανδρόν 'cold' (Hsch.) is uncertain. OCS xladъ 'coolness, cool breeze', Ru. xólod 'cold' < PSl. *xōldъ '(the) cold' << PIE *ǵoldʰo-?

.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.

Bibl.: WH I: 585f., EM 268, IEW 366, Leumann 1977: 151, Schrijver 1991: 433, Sihler 1995: 41. → glaciēs

geminus 'born at the same time, twin-born' [adj. o] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: gemināre 'to repeat, double' (Ter.+), congemināre 'to double' (Pl.+), congeminātiō 'doubling' (Pl.), geminitūdō 'likeness' (Pac.); trigeminus 'threefold' (Pl.+), quadrigeminus 'fourfold' (Naev.+).

PIt. *jemno- 'paired'.

PIE *iemH-no- 'paired, connected'. IE cognates: OIr. emon 'twin' < *emno- < *iemno-; Skt. yamá- 'twin', yamī- [f.] 'twin sister', OAv. yə̄ma- [m.] 'twin' < IIr. *iamHa- < *imHo-; Latv. jùmis 'pair'.

Traditionally, geminus is connected with IIr. *iamá- 'twin' because of the meaning; this is supported by the OIr. cognate, which still shows ie-. If correct, Latin has analogically introduced g- from elsewhere, probably from gignō 'to give birth to', genus 'offspring'.

Bibl.: WH I: 586f., EM 269, IEW 505, Steinbauer 1989: 256, Schrijver 1991: 94.

gemma 'bud or eye (in trees); jewel' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *gemmāre* 'to come into bud' (Varro+), *gemmāns* 'decorated with gems' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **gebmā-* 'bud, sprout'.

PIE **ǵeb-m-* 'sprout, bud'. IE cognates: Lith. *žémbėti* 'to germinate, sprout', 3s. *žémbi*, OCS *prozębnǫti* 'to germinate'.

The meaning 'bud, sprout' is primary. There are two competing traditional etymologies. WH and IEW prefer a derivation **ǵembʰ-nā* to the root **ǵembʰ-* '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. *žémbti* (colloq.) 'to cut slantwise, sharpen', 3s. *žémbia*, OCS *zębomi* 'to pull out' on the one hand, and Lith. *žémbėti* 'to germinate, sprout', 3s. *žémbi*, OCS *prozębnǫti* '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. *žémbėti*. 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 **ǵembʰ-* for the circumflex root 'to cut', and **ǵemb-* 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, flammā*). Whether Germanic words can be connected (OIc. *keppr* 'stick', OE *cipp* 'beam, ploughshear' < **PGm. *kippa-*) is uncertain.

Bibl.: WH I: 587f., EM 269, IEW 369, Schrijver 1991: 434.

gemō, -ere 'to groan, moan' [v. III] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *gemitus, -ūs* 'groaning, moaning' (Pl.+); *ingemere* 'to moan' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **gene/o-?*

PIE **Gen(H)-* 'to call'? IE cognates: Gr. γέγωνα [pf.] 'to shout so as to make onself 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-)ǵon-*. 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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 588f., EM 269, IEW 368f., Meiser 1998: 83, Vine 2007.

gena 'cheek, side of the face' [f. *ā*] (Lex XII+; usually pl. *genae*)

Derivatives: *genuīnus (dēns)* [m./adj.] 'back tooth, molar' (Cic.+).

PIt. **genu-*.

PIE **ǵen-u-* [f.] 'jaw'. IE cognates: OIr. *gin* [m. *u*] 'mouth', W. *gen* 'cheek', pl. *geneu* < PCl. **genu-*; Skt. *hánu-* [f.], YAv. *zanauua* [du.], Khot. *ysanuva* 'jaw' < IIr.

*ƒ^(h)anu- (with unclear aspirate in Skt.); Gr. γένυς, -υος [f.] 'jaw', γένειον (<
*γενεϝ-ιον) 'chin, beard'; Arm. cnawt 'jaw, chin'; Lith. žándas [m.] 'cheek, jaw',
Latv. zuôds < *ǵonH-d'o- or *ǵon-d-o-; Go. kinnus [f.] 'cheek', OIc. kinn [f.] 'slope'
< PGm. *kinnu- (< *ǵenu-/*ǵenuo-); ToA śanwem [du.f.] 'jaws' < PIE *ǵēnu- (root
vocalism after ToA kanwem 'knees'?).

Originally the same word *ǵenu- as 'knee', meaning 'curve'? The adj. genu-īnus
'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.+)
   PIt. *g(e)mro-.
   PIE *ǵ(e)m-ro- 'son-in-law'. IE cognates: Skt. jā́mātar- [m.] 'son-in-law', YAv.
zāmātar- [m.] 'id.', zāmaoiia- 'id.' < IIr. *jāma(Htar)-; YAv. zəmanā- [f.] 'reward,
payment, wages', Khot. ysamtha 'payment for use', Sogd. 'wz'm- 'to repay, requite,
condemn', Bactr. ωζ- 'to be liable' < PIr. *zam- 'to repay, reward'; Gr. γαμβρός
'son-in-law' < *ǵm-ro-, denom. γαμέω 'to marry'; Alb. dhëndër, dhândër
'son-in-law, bridegroom'. From a different preform: Lith. žéntas [m.] 'son-in-law,
brother-in-law', Latv. znuôts 'id.', OCS zętь 'bridegroom', Ru. zját' 'son-in-law,
brother-in-law' < *ǵenh₃-to/i- (Derksen 2008: 543).

The m of IIr. and Greek cannot go back to n, and the Greek form can hardly reflect a
set root. If the root was *ǵm-, we can explain gener from *gṃros > *gemros >
*genros > gener.
   Bibl.: WH I: 590f., EM 270, IEW 369f., Schrijver 1991: 218, EIEC 332-335, 532f.,
Viredaz 2002.

gēns, -ntis 'race, nation, people' [f. i] (Naev.+)
   Derivatives: gentīlis [m.] 'a member of the same gens' (Lex XII+), gentīlitās
'members of a gens' (Varro+), gentīlicius 'of a gens' (Varro+).
   PIt. *genti-.
   PIE *ǵénh₁-ti- 'child'. IE cognates: Skt. prá-jāti- [f.] 'birth, production', Av.
frazainti- 'offspring, posterity'; Gr. γένεσις 'birth'; OIc. kind 'kind, race' < *kenði-,
OE gecynd, OHG gikunt 'origin, race' < *kunði-.

The original meaning is 'clan', that is, 'people of the same descent'. Schrijver argues
that Lat. *genti- is a relatively recent formation, since PIE *ǵnh₁-ti- is continued in
Latin by nātiō. A different approach is chosen by Beekes 1969, and, for instance,
Schaffner 2001. They argue that the PIE paradigm had ablaut, and that gēns reflects
the full grade case forms, whereas nātiō 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, *ǵénh₁-ti- 'child' and *ǵnh₁-tí- '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.
   Bibl.: WH I: 592, EM 271, IEW 373ff., Beekes 1969: 228, Schrijver 1991: 330,
Schaffner 2001: 93, de Vaan 2004a: 596f., LIV *ǵenh₁-. → gignō, nāscor

genu, -ūs 'knee' [n. *u*] (Andr.+); mainly pl. *genua* in the oldest sources; also sg. *genus* (Lucil.+) and maybe *genum* (Fronto). Nom.sg. also *genū* in Verg., Ov. (before caesura).

Derivatives: *geniculum* 'small knee; joint' (Varro+), *congenuclāre* 'to fall on one's knees' (Sis.+).

PIt. **genŭ.*

PIE **ǵen-u(-h₁* dual), **ǵen-u-* (obl.) 'both knees'. IE cognates: OIr. *glún* [n.], W. *pen-(g)lin*, Co. *penglin*, Bret. *penn-glin* 'knee' < **glūn-*; Hit. ^(UZU)^*genu- / ganu-* [n. > c.] 'knee' < **ǵén-u- / *ǵn-eu-*; Skt. *jā́nu-*, in cp. *jñu-*, Av. *zānu-, fra-šnu-* 'holding the knee forward'; Gr. γόνυ 'knee', γνύξ [adv.] 'with bent knee' (Il.), πρόχνυ 'kneeling', Arm. *cownr* < **ǵonu-*, with an *r*-addition to older *u*-stem; Alb. *gju / gjū* [m.] 'knee', Buzuku pl. *glunj* < PAlb. **glun-*; Go. *kniu*, OHG *chniu*, OIc. *kné* < PGm. **knewa-*; ToA *kanwem* [m.du.], ToB *keni** [m.du.] 'knees' < PTo. **kenw-* < PIE **ǵonu-*.

The PIE paradigm seems to have been nom.acc.sg. **ǵon-u*, gen.sg. **ǵen-u-s*, but **ǵn-eu-s* also occurred; probably, **-ǵn-u-* was the form in several compounds. The dual ending **-uh₁* may also be seen in PCl. **gl-ū-n-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 592f., EM 273, IEW 380f., Leumann 1977: 441, Klingenschmitt 1992: 121-125, Meiser 1998: 146. → *gena*

gerō, -ere 'to bear, carry' [v. III; *gessī, gestum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *gestāre* 'to carry'; (Pl.+), *gestitāre* '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.+); *salūtigerulus* 'employed to carry salutations' (Pl.), *scūtigerulus* 'shield-bearer' (Pl.); *gerulifigulus* 'accessory, hodman vel sim.' (Pl.); *aggerere* 'to bring; pile up' (Pl.+), *agger, -is* [m.] (Lucil.+) 'pile of earth, ramp', *congerere* 'to bring together, collect' (Pl.+), *congestus, -ūs* 'heap, pile' (Lucr.+), *dīgerere* 'to carry away, distribute' (Cato+), *ēgerere* 'to carry away, remove; bring forth' (Cato+), *ingerere* '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 **h₂ǵ-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 **h₂ǵ-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.

Bibl.: WH I: 22, 595, EM 15, 273f., Schrijver 1991: 18f., LIV 1.**h₂eǵ-*. → *agō*

gibber, -is 'hump' [m./n. r] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: *gibber* [adj.] 'hump-backed' (Varro+); *gibbus* 'hump' (Juv.+), *gibbus* [adj.] 'bulging' (Cels.).

PIt. **gīfri-* 'hump', **gīfro-* 'hump-backed'.

PIE *geibʰ-? IE cognates: Lith. *geibùs* 'gawky, plump', *geibstù, geĩbti* 'to become weak'; Norw. dial. *keiv* 'slanted, wrong', *keiva* 'left hand'.

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, *gīber* and the Baltic forms could reflect *geibʰ-*, but the meanings are not identical. The distribution of these forms is very restricted, and the etymology therefore remains very uncertain. The Gm. forms in *k-* also occur with *sk-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 597, EM 274, IEW 354f., Leumann 1977: 182, Sihler 1995: 224.

gignō, -ere 'to create, engender; to be born' [v. III; pf. *genuī*, ppp. *genitum*] (Pl.+; OLat. pr. also *genō, -ere* until Varro)

Derivatives: *genitor* 'father, creator' (Enn.+), *genetrīx* 'mother' (Enn.+), *genetīvus* 'of birth, acquired at birth' (Varro+), *genitālis* 'of (pro)creation' (Enn.+), *genitābilis* 'having the power of creation' (Varro+); *ēgignere* 'to bring forth' (Lucr.), *prōgignere* 'to bring into being, come into existence' (Pl.+), *prōgeniēs* 'offspring, descent' (Enn.+), *prōgenitor* 'ancestor' (Acc.+), *regignere* 'to bear again' (Lucr.); *ingenuus* '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.), *generātim* 'by classes' (Varro+), *congenerāre* '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/ā*] 'hybrid' (Varro, Paul. *ex F.*), *multigener, -is* 'of many different sorts' (Pl.+); *-gena* 'born person' in *indigena* 'native, indigenous' (Ov.+), *aliēnigena* '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.+), *bīgnae* 'twins' (Paul. *ex F.*), *malīgnus* 'ungenerous, grudging' (Pl.+), *prīvīgnus* 'stepson' (CIL 1.583.22+).

It. cognates: O. **genetai** [dat.sg.] 'daughter' (?) < *ǵenh₁-to-. Second *-e-* is problematic: because of the general Sabellic syncope of word-internal vowels, one would expect *genatā- > *gentā-.

PIE pr. *ǵi-ǵnh₁-e/o- 'to engender', aor. *ǵenh₁-; *ǵenh₁-tor- [m.]; in cp. *-ǵnh₁-o- > PIE *-ǵn-o-; *ǵenh₁-o/es- 'race, offspring', *ǵenh₁-mn- 'germ, seed'. IE cognates: OIr. *gainidir*, *gainedar*, W. *geni*, Co. *genys* [ppp.], Bret. *guenell* 'to be born' < PCl. *gan-i̯o-; OIr. *gniid*, *gni* 'to do', MW *gweini* 'to serve', MCo. *gonis* 'to work', MBret. *go(u)nit* 'to earn' < PCl. *(u̯o-)gn-i̯o- (remade within Celtic); OIr. *Éo-gan*, OW *Mor-gen* [PN]; OBret. *gen* 'ethnicus'; Gaul. *Ad-genus, Cintu-genus* [PN] < PCl. *genos-* 'race'; W. *geneth*, Gaul. *geneta, genata, gnata* 'girl' < PCl. *genetā;* Hit. ᵁᶻᵁ*genzu-* [n.] 'abdomen, lap' < *ǵenh₁-s-u-; PIIr. *janH- > Skt. *jan* 'to be born, produce, create', pr. *jána-*, pr. *jáya-* 'be born', s-aor. *ájaniṣṭa*, red.aor. *ájījanat* 'has produced, has created'; ta-ptc. *jātá-; já-* [m./f.] 'child, creature, family, descendance';

jána- 'man', *jánas-* (1x RV) 'race'. YAv. *zīzana-* 'to bear', *zaiia-* 'to be born', *zāta-* 'born'; *ā-sna-* (< IE *-ǵnh₁-o- 'born') 'inherent'; Khot. *ysan-* 'to give birth', Sogd. *zn-* 'to bring forth'. PIIr. *janHtar-* 'progenitor'> Skt. *janitár-* [m.], *jánitar-* [m.] (in the RV only with *jajána*), *jánitrī-* [f.] 'mother'; Skt. *jániman-* [n.] 'birth, origin, creature, kind', *jánman-* [n.] 'birth, origin'; PIIr. *jaHtu-* 'birth' > Skt. *jātu* [adv.] 'from birth, by nature', *devá-jātu-* [adj.] 'having his birth from the gods', *jātú-bharman-* 'protector by birth', OP *dātú-vahya-* [m.] PN; PIIr. *janH-tu-* 'tribe' > Skt. *jantú-* [m.] 'creature, tribe', OAv. *hu-zǝ̄ntu-* 'of good lineage, noble', YAv. *zaṇtu-* [m.] 'region'. Gr. γίγνομαι 'to become', aor. ἐγένετο; γένος, -εος [n.] 'race, kind', γενετή 'birth' (H.); γενέτωρ (Ion. Dor.) and γενετήρ (Arist.) 'begetter', γενέτειρα [f.] 'mother'; νεογνός 'newborn', ὁμόγνιος 'of the same origin'; Arm. *cnawl* 'parent' < *ǵenH₁-tlo-, pr. *cnanim*, aor. *cnay* 'is born; engenders'; Arm. *cin* 'birth' < *ǵenH-os-; Go. *niu-kla-hs* 'minor' < *niu-kna-?, *aina-kla-* 'unique' < *-kna-?; ToAB *kän-* 'come to pass [of a wish]; be realized'.

The pr. *genere* seems secondary, built on the aor. *gen-*. The ppp. *genitus* is relatively recent, replacing *gnātos* on the model of the aor. *genuī*. The truth of this view is confirmed by the pair *prōgignō : 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 *genatos*. The adj. *genetīvus* also preserves medial *-e-* from the stage *gene-tos* of the ppp.; according to Leumann, its preservation in *genetīvus* 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* < *ǵenh₁-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. *Malīgnus* was created as an antonym to *benīgnus*, as the exclusive meaning 'ungenerous' (not: 'unkind') indicates; thus Nussbaum 2003. *Prīvīgnus* < *preiu̯o-gno-* 'born separately' > 'stepson'; the reflex *-ignus* instead of expected *prīvognus* is explained by Nussbaum from analogy with *bigno-* 'twin'.

Bibl.: WH I: 597ff., EM 270ff., IEW 373ff., Leumann 1977: 84, 358, Schrijver 1991: 92, 329f., Meiser 1998: 110, 142, Untermann 2000: 308, Lindner 2002: 224, Stüber 2002: 82, Schumacher 2004: 327, LIV *ǵenh₁-. → *gēns, nāscor*

gingīva 'flesh around the teeth, the gum' [f. ā] (Cat.+)

Etymology unknown. IEW compares words such as Gr. γογγύλος 'round', Lith. *gùnga* 'hunch, lump' and Germanic worðs meaning 'ball' and 'winding': OIc. *kǫkkr* '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. *salīva*.

Bibl.: WH I: 601, EM 275, IEW 379f., Meiser 1998: 83.

-gintā 'decade' [num. indecl.]: *trīgintā* 'thirty' (Pl.+), *quadrāgintā* 'forty' (Pl.+), *quīnquāgintā* 'fifty' (Pl.+), *sexāgintā* 'sixty' (Cato+), *septuāgintā* 'seventy' (Varro+), *octōgintā* 'eighty' (Cic.+), *nōnāgintā* 'ninety' (Varro+)

Derivatives: *trīcēnī* [pl.adj.] 'thirty apiece' (Varro+), *trīcē(n)simus* 'thirtieth' (Cato+); *quadrāgēnārius* 'of, containing forty' (Cato+), *quadrāgēnī* [pl.adj.] 'forty at a time' (Cato+), *quadrāgēsimus* 'fortieth' (Varro+), *quadrāgiē(n)s* 'forty times' (Varro+); *quīnquāgēnārius* 'of, containing fifty' (Cato+), *quīnquāgēsiēs* 'fifty times' (Pl.), *quīnquāgiē(n)s* 'fifty times' (Varro+); *sexāgēnārius* 'of, containing sixty' (Varro+), *sexāgēnī* 'sixty apiece' (Pl.+), *sexāgē(n)simus* 'sixtieth' (Ter.+); *septuāgēnī* 'seventy apiece' (Varro+); *octōgēnī* 'eighty apiece' (Lucil.+); *nōnāgēsimus* 'ninetieth' (Varro+).
   PIt. **trīgmta* 'thirty', **kʷadrāgmta* 'forty'.
   PIE **tri-/*kʷtr-/* etc. + -dkmt-h₂ > **tridkmth₂*, **kʷdradkmth₂* > **triʔkmth₂*, **kʷdraʔkmth₂* > **triʔgmth₂*, **kʷdraʔgmth₂* > **trīgmta*, **kʷadrāgmta*.

The ordinal *-c/gēsimus* reflects < **-gēssamo-* < **-gentˢtamo-* < **-gm̥t-tamo-*. Distributive *-ēnī* spread analogically from the lower numerals, e.g. *septēnī* and *novēnī*; 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 **d-* 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 **kʷtr-dkmt-* was lenited (voiced) in the consonant cluster, as was the **k* in the second member in all forms. Final *-ā* for expected **-ă* is explained by Klingenschmitt (1992: 92) as analogical to final *-ī* in *vīgintī* 'twenty'. The higher decades have adopted *-āgintā* 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 **nūnagintā* < **h₁neun-dkmt-*. The number *septuāgintā* is explained by Meiser from remodelling of **septmāgintā* < **septm̥-h₁kmt-h₂*, in other words, he assumes a prior development to **septma-h₁kmt-a*. Others have assumed that *-uāgintā* was taken from 'eighty', which would then have had an earlier form **octuāgintā* < **oktowā-* 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-.

Bibl.: WH II: 179, 200, 394, 407f., 518, 528, 703, EM passim, IEW 191f., Leumann 1977: 490, Kortlandt 1983a, Schrijver 1991: 81, 182, Sihler 1995: 418ff., Meiser 1998: 173. → *centum, decem, vīgintī*

glaber, -bra, -brum 'without hair, smooth, bald' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **χlaþro-*.

PIE **gʰlh₂dʰ-ro-* 'smooth'. IE cognates: Lith. *glodùs*, Latv. *gluoss* 'smooth', OCS *gladъkъ*, Ru. *gládkij*, SCr. *glȁdak* 'smooth, even' < PIE **gʰleh₂dʰ-*; OHG *glat* 'smooth, shiny', OIc. *glaðr* 'shiny' < PIE **gʰlh₂dʰ-*.

Schrijver regards *glaber* as the phonetic outcome of the PIE preform, by a vocalization rule **CRHTC* > **CRaTC*. Since the usual reflex of **CRHC* is **CRāC*, 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 603, EM 275, IEW 431f., Schrijver 1991: 188, Meiser 1998: 103.

glaciēs 'ice' [f. *ē*] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *conglaciāre* 'to freeze' (Cic.+).

The meaning is the same as that of *gelus*, but *glaciēs* cannot be derived from a root **ǵl-* '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. *clezeff* 'sword' < **kladimo-* (OIr. *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.

glāns, -andis 'acorn' [f. *nd*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *glandium* 'delicate kernel (in meat)' (Naev.); *glandifer* 'acorn-bearing' (Lucr.); *iūglāns* 'walnut' (Varro+).

PIt. **gʷland(i)-* < **gʷlānd-*.

PIE **gʷlh₂-n-d⁽ʰ⁾-(i)-* 'acorn'. IE cognates: Skt. *gula-* 'acorn, penis, clitoris' (uncertain); Gr. βάλανος 'acorn' < **gʷlh₁-eno-*, Arm. *kalin*, gen. *kalnoy* 'acorn' (but **gʷlh₁-eno-* would give *-an-* in Arm.); maybe Alb. *lênd*, Tosk *lëndë* 'acorn'; OPr. *gile* 'acorn, oak', Lith. *gilė* 'acorn', *gylė* (dial.), Latv. *zīle* < **gʷlh₁-ehₗ*; RuCS *želudъ*, Ru. *želud'*, SCr. *žèlūd* 'acorn' < PSl. **želǫdъ* < **gʷelh₁-on-d(ʰ)-i-*.

Beside Latin, only Slavic shows a dental stop in the suffix. In view of *mēns, mentis* < **mn-ti-*, *glāns* 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. *iūglāns* is probably a calque on Greek Διὸς βάλανος 'chestnut', with

the gen.sg. *djowes (> Iovis), or with iū- taken from Iūpiter.

Bibl.: WH I: 604f., 727, EM 276, 326, IEW 472f., Leumann 1977: 134, Schrijver 1991: 223, 273, Sihler 1995: 96.   •

glārea 'gravel' [f. ā] (Cato+)

Might be derived from the same root as grānum via a dissimilation: PIE *ǵrH-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

glēba 'lump of earth, clod' [f. ā] (Cato+; <glaeb-> mainly in Pliny)

Derivatives: glēbārius 'who cuts off lumps' (Varro).

IE cognates: Lith. glébti, 3s. glébia 'to embrace, clasp, (dial.) take care of', Lith. glėbys 'embrace, armful', Latv. glêbt 'to guard, protect' < *glēbʰ-.

If glēba is older than glaeba, one might posit a root noun *glēb- vs. an o-stem *globo-. The Gm. forms which are often compared (OHG klāftra) 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 *gleb⁽ʰ⁾-, *glob⁽ʰ⁾-; yet because of the restricted distribution, and the existence of deviant vocalism within Baltic, a PIE origin is not very likely.

Bibl.: WH I: 606, EM 276, IEW 359f., Schrijver 1991: 125. → globus

glīs, -ris 'dormouse' [m. r] (Pl.+)

PIt. *glīs.

· PIE *ǵlh₂-i- 'husband's sister, aunt' > 'weasel'. IE cognates: Skt. giri- [f.] 'sister-in-law', Gr. γαλέη, γαλῆ (Ar.+) 'weasel, marten' (the word originally indicated the skin), γαληόψις 'weasel-eyed', γαλιάγκων 'with an arm like a weasel', γαλιδεύς 'young weasel' (Crat.), γαλιάω '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. glīs 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 glīs. The semantic distance between 'dormouse' and 'weasel' also mars the comparison with Skt. giri- 'sister-in-law' < *ǵlh₂-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-í- 'sister-in-law', and, since 'aunt' is often used metaphorically for 'weasel', Latin glīs 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 607, EM 276f., IEW 367, Schrijver 1991: 242f. → glōs

glīscō, -ere 'to swell, increase' [v. III] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *conglīscere* 'to blaze up' (Pl.), *reglīscere* 'to grow' (Pl.).

No certain cognates.

Bibl.: WH I: 607, EM 277.

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: *glomerāre* 'to form into a ball, collect' (Varro+), *glomerāmen* 'aggregation' (Lucr.+); *conglomerāre* 'to concentrate, heap up' (Enn.+).

Plt. **glemos, -es-*.

PIE **glem-o/es-* [n.]. IE cognates: OIr. *glomar* 'gag, curb'; Lith. *glomóti* '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 609, EM 277, IEW 359f., Schrijver 1991: 468, Meiser 1998: 83. → *globus*

glōria 'praise, glory' [f. ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *glōriārī* 'to pride oneself, boast' (Ter.+), *glōriōsus* 'glorious, boastful' (Naev.+).

Plt. **gnōsia / *gnōria* 'knowledge, fame'.

PIE **ǵneh₃-s-* 'to recognize, know' or **ǵne/oh₃-ri-* 'knowledge'.

The etymology as **gnōria* 'knowledge, fame' to *gnārus* 'known' and *i-gnōrāre* 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 *gnōr- (> *grōr-?) > *glōr- is contradicted by gnārus and ignōrāre. On the other hand, gnārus kept its gn- on the model of ignārus, so that the retention of gn-r- in gnārus and ignōrāre may be due to non-initial (= VOLat. unstressed) position of the syllables in question. In *gnōria, the stress may have played a part in the dissimilation. It may be assumed that the semantic connection of glōria to 'to know' was no longer perceived, hence no restoration of gn- took place. Glōria could be a derivative of PIt. *gnōs- 'to know' (see s.v. ignōrō) or of PIE *ǵne/oh₃-ri- 'knowledge', cf. Gr. γνώριμος 'well-known, familiar'.

Bibl.: WH I: 609f., EM 277. → gnārus, ignōrō

glōs, -ris 'husband's sister, brother's wife' [f. r] (Pl.+)
PIt. *glōs-.
PIE *ǵloh₂-u- 'husband's sister'. IE cognates: Skt. giri- [f.] 'sister-in-law', Gr. γάλως, -ω 'husbands's sister, brother's wife', γάλις 'γαλαός' (Hsch.) < PGr. *γαλ-αϝ-ο-; Arm. tal 'husband's sister'; OCS zъlъva 'id.' < *ǵlH-uH-.

As Schrijver points out, it is impossible to derive glōs directly from a form *ǵlH-V-. His own tentative solution of a preform *ǵlH-ōu- 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 *ǵlh₂-, or a u-adj. *ǵlh₂-u-. Latin may then reflect *ǵloh₂-(u-).

Bibl.: WH I: 610, EM 277, IEW 367f., Schrijver 1991: 131, 199, Sihler 1995: 332, Nepokupnyj 2002. → glīs

glūbō, -ere 'to peel, strip the bark from' [v. III; pf. glūpsī, ppp. glūptum] (Cato+)
Derivatives: glūma 'husk, chaff' (Enn.+); dēglūbere 'to skin, strip' (Pl.+); glūbēre 'to shed its bark' (Cato).
PIt. *gloufe/o- [v.], *glouf(s)ma-.
PIE *gleubʰ-e/o- 'to split', *gle/oubʰ-(s)mh₂-. IE cognates: Gr. γλύφω 'to carve out', OHG klioban, OE clēofan, OIc. kljúfa 'to cleave' < *gleubʰ-e/o-.

The noun glūma can continue e- or o-grade. It may contain *-s-, but not necessarily. If the connection with glūbō is correct, its meaning would be 'skin, hull' of the corn. The intr. verb glūbēre can be interpreted as 'to be in a state of peeling, losing its bark'.

Bibl.: WH I: 610f., EM 277f., IEW 401f., Sihler 1995: 209, Meiser 1998: 121, LIV *(ǵ)leubʰ-.

glūten, -inis 'glue, paste' [n. n] (Varro, Lucr.+)
Derivatives: glūtinum 'glue, paste' (Lucil.+), glūtinātor 'person who glues papyri' (Lucil.+); agglūtināre 'to glue together, attach' (Pl.+), conglūtināre 'to stick together' (Pl.+); glittus 'sticky, cohesive' (Cato, Paul. ex F.).
PIt. *gloiten- 'glue'; *glūtos?
PIE *gloh₁i-t- 'slime, glue'. IE cognates: OIr. glenaid, ·glen; glieid*, ·glia* [sb.], W. glynu, MCo. glena, Bret. englenaff 'to stick, glue' < *(en-)gli-na- [pr.], *glei-ase/o-

[sb.]; Gr. γλοιός [m.] 'glutinous substance, gum', γλία 'glue', γλίνη, γλίον 'flexible, strong' (Hsch.), γλίττον 'gum' (Hsch.); Lith. *gléinė* 'moist clay', *gliẽti* 'to putty', *gléima* 'slime', Latv. *gleĩmas* 'sticky liquid', Lith. *gliemežȳs* 'snail' < PIE *glehₗi-m-; Ru. *glej* (dial.) 'clay, loam', SCr. *glêj* (dial.) 'kind of clay' < PSl. *glьjь* < PIE *glhₗi-; RuCS *glěnъ*, Ru. *glen'* 'moisture, juice', Bulg. *glen* (dial.) 'waterplant, duckweed', Sln. *glên* (dial.) 'mucus, sediment, clay, waterplant' < PIE *gloHₗi-n-; Ru. *hlína*, Cz. *hlína*, Bulg. *glína* 'clay' < PSl. *glina* < PIE *gleHₗi-n-; OE *clǣg*, MLG *klei* 'clay' < PGm. *klaiia-*.

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 *glītus < *glhₗi-to-, with laryngeal metathesis, or < *glehₗi-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 γλίττον is conspicuously similar to *glittus*, maybe it is based on the Latin form or was taken from another Italic language.

Bibl.: WH I: 611f., EM 277f., IEW 356-364, Schumacher 2004: 337f., LIV *gleiH-.

gluttō, -nis 'glutton, gourmand' [m. *n*] (Paul. *ex F*.)
Derivatives: *gluttīre* 'to swallow' (Pl.+); *ingluviēs* 'gullet, crop, throat' (Varro apud Serv.+); *singultus, -ūs* 'sobbing; hiccough' (Lucr.+).

In theory, Latin might contain the same stem *glut- as found in PSl. *glъtъ* 'gullet' < *gul-to-, see s.v. *gula*. But in *ingluviēs*, the *t* is absent. We seem to be dealing with an onomatopoeic formation of the form *gul- / *glu-.

Bibl.: WH I: 612f., EM 277, IEW 365, Leumann 1977: 183, 354. → *gula*

gnārus 'knowing, experienced' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+; *nārus* Varro)
Derivatives: *ignārus* 'having no knowledge, ignorant' (Pl.+), *prōgnāriter* 'with full knowledge' (Pl., Enn.); *gnāruris* [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.).

PIt. *gnāro- 'knowing', *gnārāje- 'to make knowing, tell'. It. cognates: U. **naratu**, *naratu* [3s.ipv.II] 'to speak, recite' < *gnārā-; U. **naraklum** [nom.acc.sg.] 'oral statement' < *gnārā-tlo-.

PIE *ǵnh₃-ro- 'knowing'. IE cognates: Gr. γνώριμος 'well-known', γνωρίζω 'to make known' (< *ǵne/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 PIt., judging by the U. forms; it is denominal to the adj. *gnāro-. Leumann 1977: 550 interprets *gnār-igāre* as a rhyming formation to *clārigāre* to *clārus*.

Bibl.: WH I: 613f., EM 278, IEW 376ff., Leumann 1977: 188, 546, 550, Schrijver 1991: 178, Meiser 1998: 77, Untermann 2000: 486f., LIV *ǵneh₃-. → *nōscō*

(g)nāvus 'busy, diligent, assiduous, active' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+; in Pl. only adv. *nāvē*; CLat. *nāvus*)

Derivatives: *īgnāvus* 'lazy, indolent' (Pl+), *īgnāvia* 'idleness' (Naev.+), *īgnāvāre* 'to dispirit' (Acc.).

PIt. **gnāwo-*.

PIE **ǵn(e)h₃-uo-* 'knowing'. IE cognates: Ir. *gnó* 'business', W. *go-gnaw* 'active, persistent', MBret. *gnou* 'obviously', OBret. *bodo-cnous*, MIr. *gnou* 'excellent'; uncertain: OIc. *knár* 'hardy, vigorous', Crimean Go. *knawen* 'good'.

If a development **-ōw- > -āw-* is acknowledged, *gnāvus* can reflect **gnōwo-* or **gnāwo- < PIE **ǵneh₃-uo-* or **ǵnh₃-uo-* 'knowing'. The semantic shift from 'knowing' > 'experienced' > 'busy' is unremarkable. It is also possible that **gnāwo-* was formed on the model of *gnārus*.

Bibl.: WH II: 851, EM 432, IEW 387, Schrijver 1991: 298ff., Meiser 1998: 86, LIV **ǵneh₃-*. → *nātinor*

gracilis 'slender, slight' [adj. *i*] (Ter.+; f. *gracila* in Ter.)

Derivatives: *gracilentus* 'slender' (Enn.+), *gracilēns* 'id.' (Laev.), *gracilitās* 'slenderness' (Varro+), *gracilitūdō* 'id.' (Acc.); *cracēns, -ntis* 'slender' (Enn.).

It. cognates: possibly U. **kurçlasiu** [abl.sg.m.], attr. of 'moon': **k(o)rkelāsio-* 'waning' (M. Weiss, p.c.).

Leumann holds that *gracilentus* was created as an antonym to *corpulentus*. The form *cracens* 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 **kr̥k-* and be cognate with Skt. *kr̥śá-*, Av. *karəsa-* 'lean, meagre', OIc. *horr* (**hurha-*) 'leanness', Lith. *karšéti, káršti* 'to grow old'. Yet PIE **kr̥k-i-* would normally yield Latin ***corci-*, and the alleged dissimilation of velars is unwarranted.

Bibl.: WH I: 284, EM 279, IEW 581, Leumann 1977: 284, 336.

grāculus 'jackdaw' [m. *o*] (Varro+)

IE cognates: RuCS, ORu. *grakati*, 1s. *graču* 'to caw, croak' < PSl. **grakati*; RuCS, ORu. *gъrkati* 'to coo', Ru. (dial.) *górkat'* < PSl. **gъrkati*; OIc. *kráka* 'crow', *krákr* '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. *gróti* 'to caw, croak', PSl. **grajati* 'to caw, croak', but the same objection applies.

Bibl.: WH I: 615, EM 279, IEW 383-385, Schrijver 1991: 178. → *crōciō*

gradior, gradī 'to step, walk, proceed' [v. III; ppp. *gressus*] (Pl.+). Forms of the 4th cj.: *adgredīmur* (Pl.), *aggredītur* (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.); *grallae* [f.pl.] 'stilts' (Varro), *grallātor* 'who walks on stilts' (Pl.+); *grassārī* 'to press on, march, proceed' (Pl.+), *grassātor* 'vagabond, highway robber' (Cato+);

gressiō 'stepping' (Pac.), *gressus, -ūs* 'step, walk' (Acc.+); *aggredī, -gressus* 'to advance, approach' (Pl.+), *congredī* 'to meet, join battle' (Pl.+), *congressus, -ūs* 'meeting, encounter' (Lucr.+), *dēgredī* 'to depart, go down' (Pl.+), *dīgredī* 'to go away' (Ter.+), *ingredī* 'to enter, begin' (Pl.+), *indugredī* 'to enter' (Lucr.), *prōgredī* 'to advance, proceed' (Pl.+), *regredī* 'to go back' (Pl.+); *aggretus* 'departure', *ēgretus* 'surge'? (Paul. *ex F.*).

PIt. **grad-(e)i-*.

PIE **g^{(h)}rd^{(h)}-(e)i-*. IE cognates: OIr. *in·greinn** 'to chase', *do·greinn** 'to chase, drive', MW *grynnyaw* 'to press, thrust' < PCl. **grinde/o-* (BrCl. **grindie/o-*), OIr. sb. *do·grē* < **greid-se/o-*.

All based on a stem **grad-*, yielding the noun *gradus* (whence *gradātim, praegradāre*), the noun *grallae* < **grad-(s)la-*, and the verb *gradī/gradīrī*. 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 -*gredior* in the cp. instead of **-gridior* may also be due to analogy with *gressus*. The iterative verb *grassārī* 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 – experīrī*. The noun *grallae*, precludes a preform **grad^h-lā-* (which would yield **grabulae*), unless the noun was derived from **grad-* after PIE **-d^hl-* had become **-fl-* (> Lat. -*bul-*).

IEW and other earlier reference works assume that *grad-* derives from a PIE root **g^hred^h-* attested, among others, in Go. *grid* 'step', OIr. *ad·greinn* 'to track, follow' and OCS *grędǫ, gręsti* 'to come'. Yet the Gm. and BSl. forms are now unanimously derived from a PIE root **g^hrid^h-*, 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 **g^{(h)}rd^{(h)}-*, from which Celtic would have a nasal present, and Latin an *i*-present. The forms *aggrĕtus* 'departure' and *ēgrĕtus* '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 430, 615, EM 279f., IEW 456f., Leumann 1977: 83, 166, 208, 548, Schrijver 1991: 478f., Sihler 1995: 67, Meiser 1998: 194f., Schumacher 2004: 353f.

grāmen, -inis 'grass' [n. *n*] (Cato+)

PIt. **grā(s)men- / *grasmen-*.

PIE **ǵ^hrh₁-(s-)mn-* 'grass'. IE cognates: Go. *gras*, OHG *gras*, OIc. *gras* 'grass'; OE *grōwan*, OIc. *gróa*, OHG *gruoen* 'to grow' < **ǵ^hroh₁-ie/o-*; OS *grōni*, OHG *gruoni* 'green' < **ǵ^hroh₁-ni-*.

Latin *grāmen* can be from **ǵ^hrh₁-mn-*, but the connection with Gm. **grasa-* point to **ǵ^hrh₁-s-mn-* as another possibility. PGm. **grasa-* 'grass' cannot be derived by

regular rules from *ǵʰrh₁-s-, but it might contain a secondary full grade which was made to the lengthened grade of the verb *ǵʰrohₗ-ie-. The restricted distribution (Latin and Gm.) and the difficult *a* of Gm. *grasaₜ render a substratum origin conceivable.

Bibl.: WH I: 616, EM 280, IEW 404, Schrijver 1991: 487.

grāmiae 'rheum in the eye' [f.pl. *ā*] (Pl.+; Pl. *grāmae*)
   Derivatives: *grammōsus* 'rheumy' (Caecil.).

IE cognates: RuCS *grъměždъ* 'pus in the eyes', SCr. *krmēlj*, *krmélj* 'fester in the corners of the eyes'; OIc. *kramr* [adj.] 'damp', Go. *qrammiþa* 'moisture' (if for *krammiþa*).

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.*).

Bibl.: WH I: 617, EM 280, IEW 405, Schrijver 1991: 487f.

grandis 'grown up, big, tall' [adj. *i*] (Pl.+)
   Derivatives: *grandiculus* 'fair-sized' (Pl.+), *grandīre* 'to make large' (Pl.+), *grandēscere* 'to increase in size' (Lucr.+), *granditās* 'advanced condition' (Sis.+); *grandaevitās* 'agedness' (Pac., Acc.), *grandaevus* '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. βρένθος 'pride' and OCS *grǫdь* 'breast' < *gra/ond-i-. Yet Latin *grand-* cannot be explained from a root *gʷʰmdʰ-, 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.+).
   Plt. *grand- / *gradn-?
   PIE *ǵʰreh₃-d-ōn, *ǵʰrh₃-d-n- 'hail'. IE cognates: Skt. (RV+) *hrādúni-* 'hail', Sogd. *žyδn* 'hail'; Arm. *karkowt*, gen.dat.sg. *karkti*, ins. *karktiw* 'hail'; OCS *gradъ*, Ru. *grad*, SCr. *grâd*, gen.sg. *grâda* 'hail' < BSl. *groʔd-o-.

Rasmussen 1984 explains the BSl. cognates from nom.sg. *gróHd-ōn, remade into an *o*-stem; I would prefer *gréh₃d-ōn. Latin would have metathesized e.g. the gen.sg. *grHd-n- > *grādn- into *grānd- (cf. *unda* < *ud-n-); paradigmatic leveling then yielded a paradigm *grand-ō, *grand-in-. Rasmussen explains Armenian *karkut* from *karkrut < *gr-gród-i- < *gr-gróHd-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 *grh₃-. 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 *r̥); but they may also belong to Skt. hrād- 'to resound'.

Bibl.: WH I: 618, EM 281, IEW 406, Rasmussen 1984 = 1999: 152-154, Schrijver 1991: 223.

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).

PIt. *grāno-.

PIE *ǵrh₂-no- 'which has ripened, fruit, grain'. IE cognates: OIr. grán [n.], W. grawn, Co. gronen, Bret. greun 'grain' < PCl. *grāno-; Pashto zanai, zarai 'kernel, seed', OPr. syrne 'grain', Lith. žirnis [m.], Latv. zirnis [m.] 'pea', OCS zrъno [n.], Ru. zernó [n.], SCr. zŕno [n.] 'grain' < BSl. *źirn-; Go. kaurn, OHG korn 'grain' < PGm. *kurna-.

There are two possible root etymologies: either *ǵrH-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.

Bibl.: WH I: 618f., EM 281, IEW 390f., Schrijver 1991: 178, LIV *ǵerh₂-.

grātus 'thankful, grateful; pleasant, charming' [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: grātārī 'to congratulate' (Pac.+), grātēs, -ium [f.pl.] 'thanks' (Pl.+), grātia 'favour, goodwill' (Pl.+); ingrātus 'ungrateful' (Pl.+), ingrātiīs 'against the wishes of' (Pl.+), ingrātificus 'ungrateful' (Acc.); grātulārī 'to give thanks, congratulate' (Naev.+), congrātulārī 'to congratulate' (Pl.+); grātuītus 'free of charge' (Pl.+).

PIt. *gʷrāto- 'grateful', *gʷrāt- 'mercy, grace', *gʷrāti- 'mercy'; *gʷrātu- 'grace'? It. cognates: O. brateis, brateís, βρατηις, β[ρα]τηισ, Vest. brat., Pael. brat., brais [gen.sg.], O. βρατωμ, Pael. bratom [acc.sg.] to brāta- or brāti- 'grace, mercy' < *gʷrā-t-.

PIE *gʷrH-to- 'praised (in a song)'. IE cognates: W. barnu, MBret. barn 'to judge' < PIE *gʷer-n-H-; OIr. bráth [m.], W. brawd 'judgement', Gaul. βρατου 'out of gratitude' < PIE *gʷrH-tu- 'proclamation'; Skt. pr. gṛṇāti, gṛṇīté 'to praise, honour, welcome', gūrtá- 'welcome'; gūrti- [f.] 'praising, song of praise'; OAv. aibī.jarətar- [m.] 'who welcomes'; YAv. auui gərənte 'welcomes'; Skt. gir- [f.] 'song of praise, invocation'; Alb. grah 'to rouse' < *gʷrH-sk-; OPr. girtwei 'to praise', Lith. girtas 'praised', girti, Latv. dzir̃t 'to praise, boast' < PIE *gʷrH-; Lit. gēras 'good', if < PIE *gʷerH-o-. OCS žrъcь [m.] 'priest', Ru. žrec [m.] < PSl. *žьrcь; OCS žrъti / žrěti, 1s. žъrǫ, ORu. žereti, žreti, žrъti 'to sacrifice' < PIE *gʷrH-; OCS gramъ, grano 'verse, line' < *gʷorH-no-.

Most forms are built on the inherited adj. *grātus* and the noun *grātēs*. According to Leumann 1977: 551, *grātārī* was backformed to *grātulārī*, but I see no compelling reason to assume this. Leumann also assumes that *grātia* is secondary from *ingrātia*, replacing *grātēs*. The adj. *grātu-ītus* seems to presuppose a *u*-stem **grātu-*, which is attested in Celtic. For *grātulārī*, an intermediate stage **grātti-tulārī* is assumed (Leumann), but this is unnecessary: a derivation *grātus* > *grātulārī* is unproblematical. Maybe there was an intermediate adj. **grātulus*, as EM propose.

Bibl.: WH I: 619f., EM 281f., IEW 478, Leumann 1977: 292, 429, 551, 613, Schrijver 1991: 178f., Demiraj 1997 s.v. *grish*, Meiser 1998: 108, Untermann 2000: 149f., Schumacher 2004: 213, LIV **gⁱⁱerH-*.

gravis 'heavy; serious, weighty' [adj. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *gravāre* 'to make heavy, oppress' (Pl.+), *gravātim* 'grudgingly' (Lucr.), *gravē/īdō, -inis* 'a cold in the head' (Pl.+), *gravēscere* 'to become stronger; be weighed down' (Lucr.+), *gravidus* 'pregnant, laden' (Pl.+), *gravidāre* 'to make pregnant' (Caecil.+), *gravitās* 'heaviness' (Lucil.+), *graviter* 'heavily' (Pl.+); *aggravēscere* 'to become heavy' (Ter.+).

PIt. **gʷra(w)u-*. It. cognates: maybe O. **bravús[** 'heavy?' < **gʷreh₂-u-o-*.

PIE **gʷreh₂-u-* 'heavy'. IE cognates: Skt. *gurú-* 'heavy', Khot. *ggarka-* 'heavy, respectable', Gr. βαρύς 'heavy', Latv. *grūts* 'heavy, pregnant' (< **gʷrh₂-u-to-*), Go. f.pl. *kaurjos* 'weighty, oppressive', ToB *krāmär* 'weight, heaviness', ToA *krāmärts* 'heavy'.

As with other PIE *u*-stem adjectives, PIt. **gʷrau-* < PIE **gʷreh₂-u-* 'heavy' was remade into an *i*-stem within Italic. In view of the *o*-stem O. **bravús** < **gʷrauo-* << **gʷrau-*, this development must post-date the split of Sabellic and Latino-Faliscan.

Bibl.: WH I: 620f., EM 282, IEW 476, Fischer 1982, Rix 1995b: 85ff., Schrijver 1991: 269, Fischer 1991, Untermann 2000: 151. → *brūtus*

gremium 'lap or bosom; interior' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **grem-o-*.

PIE **h₂gr-em-* 'to gather'? IE cognates: Skt. *grā́ma-* [m.] 'train, troop', *grām(iy)á-* 'relating to a village', Sogd. *γr'm'k* 'riches', MP *grāmag* 'wealth, property', Khwar. *γr'm* 'weight, burden' < IIr. **(H)grāma-*; Gr. ἀγείρω 'to gather'; Lith. *grùmulas* 'lump', OCS *gramada* 'heap, pile', SCr. *gramáda* 'clod, pile of firewood' < PSl. **gramada* < PIE **h₂gr-ōm-*; 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 **-ijo-*; alternatively, *gremium* could be a more recent derivative of **gremo-* postdating the change **-mj-* > **-nj-*. 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: 216f., LIV ?**h₂ˈgⁱer-*.

grex, -gis 'flock, herd, troop' [m. (f.) *g*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *gregālis* 'of a flock' (Varro+), *gregātim* 'in a flock' (Varro+); *ēgregius* 'outstanding, excellent' (Enn.+), *congregāre* 'to bring together' (Lucr.+), *sēgregāre* 'to separate' (Pl.+).

PIt. *$*g^w reg$-.

PIE *$*g^w reg$- 'group, herd'. IE cognates: Khot. *haṃ-grīs-*, (caus.) *haṃga'j-* (*haṃggalj-*) 'to gather, assemble', Gr. γάργαρα [n.pl.] 'heaps, lots (of people', γέργερα 'heaps' (Hsch.), γαργαίρω 'to swarm', Lith. *gùrguolė* 'heap'. Probable loanwords from Latin are OIr. *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 unreduplicated variant of the stem *$*g^{(w)}rg^{(w)}$- found reduplicated in Baltic and Greek. Khot. *ggalj-* can be reconstructed as a denominative verb based on the root noun reflected by *grex*: *$*g^w rg$-je/o- > Pllr. *$*gr̥j$-ya- >> *$*gr̥j$-aya- > Khot. *ggalj-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 622, EM 283, IEW 382f., Leumann 1977: 290, 564, Schrijver 1991: 19, 1995: 60, 69, 140.

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.

Bibl.: WH I: 623, EM 283, IEW 485.

grūmus 'heap of earth, hillock' [m. *o*] (Acc.+)

Derivatives: *dēgrūmāre* 'to level off' (Enn.+).

PIt. *$*grōmo$- 'heap'.

PIE *$*h_2ĝr$-ōm-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* > *ūm* might also found in *hūmānus* (see s.v. *homō*). 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 syllabe 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.).

PIt. *χronda-.

PIE *gʰrondʰ-h₂- 'beam, bar, bolt'. IE cognates: Lith. *grindà* (dial.) 'flooring of a bridge, (pl.) wooden floor in a barn', Ru. *grjadá* 'ridge, bed (of flowers)', SCr. *gréda* 'garden bed, ridge' < *gʰr̥ndʰ-h₂-, Olc. *grind* '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 *gʰrondʰ-o-.

Bibl.: WH I: 623f., EM 283f., IEW 459f.

grundiō, -īre 'to grunt' [v. IV] (Caecil.+; the more recent variant is *grunnīre*)

IE cognates: Gr. γρῦ 'certain sound, among others, the grunting of swine', γρύζω 'to grunt', γρύλλος 'piglet'; OE *grun(n)ian*, OHG *grunzian*, NHG *grunzen*, OE *grunnettan*, MoE *to grunt* < PGm. *grunnatjan-.

The suffix -*īre* also occurs in other verbs of sound, such as *glōcīre* and *hinnīre*. Probably, an onomatopoeic formation *g⁽ʰ⁾ru(n)- which may or may not be cognate with the similar words in Greek and Gm.

Bibl.: WH I: 624, EM 284, IEW 406, Leumann 1977: 216.

-gruō, -ere 'to rush' [v. III] (only in one gloss)

Derivatives: *congruere*, pf. -*uī* 'to unite, correspond, agree' (Pl.+), *congruus* 'according' (Pl.+), *ingruere*, pf. -*uī* 'to attack, make an onslaught upon' (Pl.+).

PIt. *χruwe/o-.

PIE *-gʰr(e)uh₁-e/o- 'to rush in'. IE cognates: Gr. ἔχραον 'attacked', ζα-χρηής 'furious' if from *χράϝ-; Lith. *griáuti*, 1s. *griáuju* 'to destroy', *griūti*, 1s. *gri<i>u</i>và* '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 *gʰreh₁u-. → *ruō*

grūs, -uis 'crane' [f. u] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: *gruere* 'to crunkle' (Suet., Paul. *ex F.*).

PIt. *grū-.

PIE *gérh₂-ōu-s, *ǵrh₂-eu-, *ǵrh₂-u-os 'crane'; also *g(e)rh₂-n-. IE cognates: W. Co. Bret. *garan* 'crane', Gaul. *tri-garanos* 'with three cranes' < PIE *ǵerh₂no-; Gr. γέρανος [f.(m.)] 'crane', maybe Myc. *ke-re-na-i* dat.pl. /kerenāhi/ < *ǵerh₂-n-; Gr. γέρην (or γερήν) < *ǵerh₂-ēn; Arm. *kʿownkʿ*, Lith. *gérvė*, Latv. *dzērve* < *ǵerH-ueh₁-, Ru. *žurávl'* [m.], ORu. *žeravlь* [m.], SCr. *žèrāv* 'crane' < PIE *ǵerh₂-ōu-; Olc. *trani* [m.], OLG *crano*, OE *cran* [m.] 'crane' < PGm. *krana(n)- < *ǵreh₂-(u)n-?; OHG *chranuh* [m.], OE *cranoc, cornuc* [m.] 'id.' < *kranaka-.

The PIE cognates point to a u-stem *ǵrh₂-u- 'crane'. Lat. *grūs* can be the phonetic result of metathesised *ǵruh₂- in a nom.sg. *ǵrh₂-u-s, which introduced the zero grade

from the oblique case forms.

Bibl.: WH I: 624, EM 284, IEW 383f., Schrijver 1991: 246, Kortlandt 1997b: 162.

gula 'throat, gullet' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **gula.*

IE cognates: Arm. *ekowl* 'devoured' (pr. *klanem* secondary?); OCS *glъtati*, Ru. *glotát'*
'to swallow', Ru. *glot, glotók* 'gulp, mouthfull', Cz. *hlt*, maybe < PBSl. **gul-to-.*

The traditional etymology **g*ʷl-h₂- > *gula* is morphologically unlikely, and will
phonetically not work: such a preform would yield **gla, *gala, *guala* or **vala*,
maybe **vola*; cf. *glāns, 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.

Bibl.: WH: 625f., EM 284f., IEW 365, Leumann 1977: 138, Klingenschmitt 1982:
211f., LIV 1.**guel-.* → *gluttō*

gumia 'glutton' [f. *ā*] (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. γέντο 'he took' (H.), γέμω 'to be full (of)', γόμος 'freight, cargo';
Arm. *čim, čem* 'bridle', *čmlem* 'to compress'; Latv. *gùmt* 'to seize', SeCS *žẹti*, Is.
žъmǫ 'press, squeeze', Ru. *žat'*, 3s. *žmět* 'press, squeeze' < PSl. **žẹti* < BSl. **gem-,*
*gm-ti; Lith. *gãmalas, gãmulas* 'lump, chunk'; RuCS *gomola, gomula*, ORu. *gomola*
'lump', Cz. *homole* 'cone', SCr. *gòmoḷa* 'pile (of cheese)' < BSl. **gomo/ulo-, -ā-*; 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. **gʷord-o-* 'heavy, stubborn'.

PIE **gʷrd-o-.* IE cognates: Gr. βραδύς 'slow', Lith. *gurdùs* 'id.', Latv. *gur̃ds* 'tired',
OCS *grъdъ*, Ru. *górdyj* 'proud, haughty' < BSl. **gur?du-.*

Quintilian calls *gurdus* of Spanish origin; while this might of course be true, there is
no proof of. this. Latin sometimes shows *-ur-* < **-r̥-* after a labiovelar (Meiser 1998:
63), so that **gʷrd-o-* 'slow' > 'heavy' could have given *gurdus.* This would imply
two different adj. in PIE, however: a *u*-stem and an *o*-stem.

Bibl.: WH I: 627, EM 285.

gurges, -itis 'swirling mass of waters' [m. *i*] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: *ēgurgitāre* 'to pour forth in floods' (Pl.), *ingurgitāre* 'to pour in by

streams, drench' (Naev.+); *gurguliō* 'gullet, throat' (Pl.+).

PIE *g^wr[h₃]*g^w[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 *curculiō*.

Bibl.: WH I: 627f., EM 285, IEW 474ff., Meiser 1998: 63, LIV *g^uerh₃-. → *vorō*

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.*).

PIt. *gustu-* [m.], *gusto-* [adj.], *gus-n-* [v.].

PIE *ǵ(e)us- [aor.] 'to taste', *ǵus-tu- 'taste', *ǵusto- 'tasted'. IE cognates: Olr. *do·goa** 'to choose' << *tu-gus-o-, sb. *do·gó* < *-geus-se/o-, Olr. *guss* 'exellence'; Hit. *kūša-* 'daughter-in-law, bride', ^LÚ*kūša-* 'son-in-law' < *ǵeus-o- 'the chosen one' (Rieken 1999: 258), *kukuš-^zi 'to taste'; Skt. *jóṣati* 'to enjoy', ppp. *juṣṭá-*, *júṣṭa-* 'welcome, wished, agreeable', *júṣṭi-* [f.] 'favour', *jóṣa-* [m.] 'satisfaction', Av. *zaoša-* [m.] 'pleasure', YAv. *āzūzušte* [3s.pr.med.] 'to like', OP *dauštar-* 'friend', Gr. γεύομαι 'to taste', ἄγευστος 'not tasting, inexperienced', Alb. *desha* 'I loved', Go. *kiusan* 'to test', OIc. *kjósa* 'to choose', OHG OS *kiosan* < *ǵeus-e/o-; Go. *kausjan* 'to test, taste'; Go. *ga-kusts* [f.] 'test', OFr. *kest*, OE *cyst* [m.] 'choice' < *ǵus-ti-; Go. *kustus* 'test', OE *cost* 'choice, exellence', OIc. *kostr* 'selection' < *ǵus-tu-.

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.

Bibl.: WH I: 628f., EM 285f., IEW 399f., Sihler 1995: 623, Schumacher 2004: 356f., LIV *ǵeus-.

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 *uer/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 *gūtur. Note that *gula*, *glut-* and *gurguliō* also refer to the 'throat' and 'swallowing', and also contain g(l)u-. *Guttur* may belong to this same family, which has no PIE etymology. IEW connects Hit. ^(UZU)*kuttar-* [(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 *gud^h-.
  Bibl.: WH I: 629, EM 286, IEW 393ff., Leumann 1977: 379.

H

habeō 'to have, hold' [v. II; pf. *habuī*, ppp. *habitum*] (Lex XII, Andr.+)
  Derivatives: *habēna* 'rein, strap' (Varro+), *habilis* 'easy to handle' (Enn.+),
habitāre 'to live in, dwell' (Pl.+), *habitātiō* 'residence' (Pl.+), *habitūdō* 'physical
condition' (Ter.+), *habiturīre* 'to be eager to have' (Pl.), *habitus* [adj.] 'in a good
physical condition' (Pl.+), *habitus, -ūs* 'condition, character, dress' (Lucr.+); *abhibēre*
'to hold at a distance' (Pl.), *adhibēre* 'to apply, bring into play, consult' (Pl.+),
cohibēre 'to hold together, contain, restrain' (Pl.+), *diribēre* 'to distribute' (Varro+),
exhibēre 'to produce, exhibit' (Pl.+), *inhibēre* 'to exert; restrain, check' (Pl.+),
perhibēre 'to bestow; regard as, call' (Pl.+), *posthibēre* 'to treat as less important'
(Ter.+), *praebēre* 'to put forward, present, provide' (Pl.+), *praebia, -ōrum*
'prophylactic charms, amulets' (Naev.+), *praebitiō* 'the supplying' (Varro+),
praehibēre 'to provide' (Pl.),*prōhibēre* (also *prōbēre* Lucr.) 'to keep off, prevent,
forbid' (Pl.+), *redhibēre* 'to return; take back' (Pl.+); *manubiae* [f.pl.] 'prize-money,
gain' (Naev.+), *manubiārius* 'concerned with booty' (Pl.); *manubrium* 'handle, haft'
(Pl.+).
  PIt. pr. *χab/f-ē-* 'has taken > has, holds' (> Latin *habēre*, U. *habē-*), *χab/f-(e)i-* (>
Oscan) (semantics as per Schrijver 2003: 80). It. cognates: U. **habia** [3s.pr.sb.],
habetu, *habitu* [3s.ipv.II], **habetutu**, *habituto* [3p.ipv.II], **habiest** [3s.fut.], *habus*
[3s.fut.pf.], *haburent* [3p.fut.pf.], **habe**, *habe* [3s.pr.act/ps.] 'to have, hold'; with
negation and *ař-*: **neiřhabas** [pr.sb.]; with *pre-*: **prehabia, prehubia** [3s.pr.sb.] 'to
furnish, achieve' < *χab/f-ē-*. O. *hafie<i>st* [3s.fut.], *hipid* [3s.pf.sb.], *hipust*
[3s.fut.pf.] 'to organize, hold', *pruhipid* [3s.pf.sb.], *pruhipust* [3s.fut.pf.] 'to prevent'
< pr. *χab/f-i-*, pf. *χēp-*; without a suffix U. **hahtu, hatu**, *hatu* [3s.ipv.II], **hatutu**,
hatuto [3p.ipv.II] 'to grab'.
  PIE pr. *g^hh₁b^(h)-(e)i- 'to take', aor. *g^hh₁b^(h)-eh₁-. IE cognates: Gaul. *gabi* [2s.]
'take!', OIr. *gaibid*, *·gaib* 'to take' < PCl. *gab-i-; MW *caffael* 'to get', MCo. *kavoes*,
MBret. *caffout* < *kab- << *gab-ei-tu (Schrijver 2003: 74); Skt. *gábhasti-* [m.] 'hand,
fore-arm', YAv. *gauua-* [m.] 'hand (of daēvic beings)', *asaŋgō.gauua-* 'with hands
made of stone', Khot. *ggośtā* 'hand', Wa. *gawust* 'fist' < PIIr. *gab^ha-; Lith. (dial.)
gābana [f.], Latv. *gabana* 'armful (of hay)', Lith. *gabénti*, 3s. *gabéna* 'to transport,
remove', *gabùs* 'gifted, clever, skilful, (dial.) greedy', *gebéti*, 3s. *gēba* 'be able, be
capable', *gobùs, gobšùs* 'greedy'; Belorussian *habác*, Cz. *habati* 'to seize', Sln.
gábati 'to be in need, starve, die'.
  The pr. *habitāre* is a frequentative of *habēre*. The noun *manubiae* < *manabiai <
*manu-habiai 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 *habēre* is uncertain; but in view of *enubrō*, *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 *ē* in the Oscan pf., Schrijver reconstructs the root as *gʰ(e)h₁bʰ-. Yet long *ē* 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 *gʰab⁽ʰ⁾- and BSl. *gab-, *gē/āb- point to a PIE root *gʰHbʰ- or a non-IE loanword *gʰab⁽ʰ⁾-; Ilr. *gabʰ- could only be cognate if reflecting *gʰHe/obʰ-.

Bibl.: WH I: 630f., EM 287f., IEW 407ff., Leumann 1977: 285, 292, Meiser 1986: 126, Schrijver 1991: 92f., Sihler 1995: 497, Untermann 2000: 311-316, Schrijver 2003: 68-85, Schumacher 2004: 318ff., LIV *⁽g⁾ʰeHb. → *dēbeō*, *enubrō*

haedus 'young goat-buck, kid' [m. o] (Pl.+; variants *ēdus*, *fēdus* (Varro), *aedus*, *faedus*)

Derivatives: *haedillus* 'kid' (Pl.), *haedīnus* 'of a kid' (Varro+).
PIt. *χaido-.
IE cognates: Go. *gaits* [m.], OHG *geiz*, OS *gēt*, OIc. *geit* 'goat' < PGm. *gait-s [nom.].

The restricted distrubtion, together with the impossibility to derive this word from a known IE root, suggest a loanword *gʰaid- 'goat'.

Bibl.: WH I: 632, EM 288, IEW 409f., Schrijver 1991: 269; de Tollenaere 1983.

haereō 'to adhere, stick' [v. II; pf. *haesī*, 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*, *-ūs* 'adhesion' (Lucr.), *cohaerēre* 'to stick, adhere, be consistent' (Ter.+), *obhaerēscere* 'to become stuck' (Lucr.+).
PIt. pr. *χais-ē-, aor. *χais-s-.

The pf. and the ppp. show that -r- goes back to *-s-. The connection with Lith. *gaĩšti* '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 632, EM 288, IEW 410.

(h)allus/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.

Bibl.: WH I: 633, EM 288.

hālō, -āre 'to emit, be fragrant' [v. I] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: *hālitāre* 'to exhale' (Enn.+), *hālitus, -ūs* (m.) 'an exhalation, vapour' (Lucr.+); *exhālāre* 'to exhale' (Pac.+), *redhalāre* 'to breathe back' (Lucr.).

PIt. **anaslo-* 'breath' > **anaslāje-* 'to breathe'.

PIE **h₂enh₁-slo-* 'a breathing'. IE cognates: OIr. *anaid, ·ana* 'to wait, remain', MW *kynhanu* to pronounce', MBret. *ehanaff* 'to dwell' < PCl. **ana-*; Skt. pr. *ániti* [3s.act.], *ánīt* [3s.ipf.act.] 'to breathe', YAv. *ąṇtiiā parąṇtiiā* [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-* > **anslā-* > **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*.

Bibl.: WH I: 633, EM 288f., IEW 38ff., Schrijver 1991: 44f., Schumacher 2004: 196, LIV **h₂enh₁-*. → *anhēlus, animus*

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 **ǵʰr-h₂-* (morphologically difficult) to the root **ǵʰer-* '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: *harēnātus* 'sandy' (Cato+), *(h)arēnōsus* 'sandy' (Cato+).

The suffix might reflect a derived adj. in **-es-no-* (cf. *aēnus, terrēnus*), 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+).

PIt. **χarund-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.+), *hariolātiō* 'prophecy' (Enn.+).

Plt. **χaruspek-* 'diviner', **χario-*. It. cognates: Fal. **harasp[ex]** , **harisp[ex]** [nom.sg.] 'haruspex'.

PIE **ǵʰrH-u-* 'intestines'. IE cognates: Skt. *hirā̆-* 'vein', Lith. *žarnà* 'intestine, hose', OIc. *gǫrn* 'intestines' < **ǵʰorH-nh₂-*.

There is vacillation between *haruspex* and *(h)arispex*, but *-u-* is earlier and better attested; also, Hellenistic Greek has borrowed the word as ἀροὺσπικα. *Haru/ispex* 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 **ǵʰrH-* '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-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 635, EM 289f., IEW 443, Giacomelli 1963: 247, Benedetti 1988: 157ff., Schrijver 1991: 208, Lindner 2002: 230. → *aruīna, speciō*

hasta 'spear, staff' [f. *ā*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *hastātus* 'spearman, soldier', *hastīle* '(shaft of a) spear' (Pl.+).

Plt. **χastā-*. 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*.

IE cognates: MIr. *gat* 'osier, withe', MIr. *gass* 'twig, branch'; Go. *gazds* 'sting', OHG *gart*, OIc. *gaddr* 'goad' < PGm. **gazda-*, OHG *gerta*, OS *gerdia* < **gazdjō*.

Probably not of Indo-European origin, cf. Lubotsky 2004: 329f. Latin *-st-*, MIr. *-t* and PGm. **zd* point to a cluster **-sT-* in this loanword.

Bibl.: WH I: 636, EM 290, IEW 412f., Schrijver 1991: 134, Meiser 1998: 119, Untermann 2000: 336f., Hill 2003: 244.

haud 'not' [ptcle.] (Andr.+; variants *hau* before consonant, *haut* Andr., Naev.)

IE cognates: OIr. *gáu, gó*, acc. *goí* 'falsehood', ME *geu*, W. *gau* 'lie, deceit' < **goṷā-*.

According to Leumann 1977: 229, *haud* was used proclitically and was subject to word-internal sandhi: *haud aliter* but *haut 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 *haud*. 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 **gʰoṷ-i-dʰó-* 'false', which could be compared with PCl. **gowā-* 'lie, deceit' (as

Eichner does). The root could be identified as *gʰeu- 'to hide', which we find with different enlargements in Ilr. *g⁽ʰ⁾aufʰ- (Skt. gúhā [adv.] 'in secret', gúhate, YAv. guza-, OP apa-gaudaya- 'to hide') and Gr. κεύθω 'to hide' if from PIE *gʰeudʰ-. 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⁽ṷ⁾heu̯gʰ-.

hauriō, -īre 'to draw, scoop up' [v. IV; hausī, haustum] (Cato+)

Derivatives: haustrum 'a scoop on a water-wheel' (Lucr.), haustus, -ūs 'the drawing, scooping' (Lucr.+); dēōriō 'to drain off' (Cato), exhauriō 'to draw off, exhaust' (Pl.+).

PIt. pr. *aus-je-, pf./aor. *aus-s-.

PIE *h₂eus-ie/o- 'to scoop'. IE cognates: Gr. αὔω 'to get a light, light a fire' < *αὔσω or *αὔσjω (with secondary limitation of 'to scoop' to 'fire'), OIc. ausa 'to scoop' < *ausanan.

Since initial h- may be hypercorrect, the original form may be *ausje- or *hausje-. LIV assumes that hauriō and Gr. αὔω 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. i] (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 requiem, requiē (Cic.+) to requiēs, -ētis. 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 dīves 'rich'. The -e- in -et- (instead of regular -it-) will be due to vowel assimilation to the first syllable. No etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 637f., EM 291, Leumann 1977: 285, 373.

hedera 'ivy' [f. ā] (Lab.+)

Derivatives: hederāceus 'of ivy' (Cato+).

IEW and Meiser explain hedera from the root *gʰed- 'to grab' of prae-hendō. Whereas IEW assumes a thematized s-stem *hedes-o-, Leumann posits PIE *-er-o-. The connection with -hendō 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 638, EM 291, IEW 437f., Leumann 1977: 315, Meiser 1998: 83. → prehendō

(h)el(l)uō 'squanderer, glutton' [m. *n*] (Ter.+; the oldest texts have *hell-*)
   Derivatives: *(h)elluārī* 'to spend immoderately on eating and other luxuries' (Cic.+).
   PIt. **χelsVwo-*.

In spite of its earlier attestation, *helluō* is probably a derivative to *helluor*. This verb suggests an earlier noun or adj. **helluus* or **hellua* 'luxury, spendthrift' vel sim. This would require a preform **χelsVwo-*, 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 **bʰ*, **dʰ* or **gʷʰ*, not **gʰ*.
   Bibl.: WH I: 638f., EM 291.

helvus 'yellow, dun' [adj. *o/ā*] (Varro+)
   Derivatives: *helvolus* [adj.] 'a variety of wine and grape' (Cato+), *helvius* 'id.' (Varro), *helvella* 'a pot-herb' (Titin.+).
   PIt. **χeliwo-*.
   PIE **ǵʰelh₃-i-uo-* 'yellow, green'. IE cognates: Skt. *hári-*, Av. *zairi-* 'yellow, greenish' < PIE **ǵʰel(h₃)i-* or **ǵʰolh₃i-*, Skt. *híri-* 'yellow' (in cp.) < **ǵʰlh₃i-*; Gr. χλωρός 'pale green, greenish yellow' < **ǵʰlh₃-ró-*; Lith. *žélvas* 'greenish' < **ǵʰelh₃-uo-*, *žélti* 'to grow, flourish', Latv. *zelt*, OCS *zelenъ* 'green', Ru. *zelënyj* < **ǵʰelh₃-en-*; OHG *gelo* < PGm. **gelwa-*, OIc. *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 **gʰelswo-* > **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 (*rūfus*, *callidus*) are also suspect of borrowing.
   Bibl.: WH I: 639, EM 291, IEW 429f., Leumann 1977: 141, Cowgill 1978: 42, Schrijver 1991: 110, 433, Sihler 1995: 41, 181, Meiser 1998: 82, Nussbaum 1999a: 386f., 410. → *holus*

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 **gʰer-dʰ-* posited by WH and IEW is impossible if the root of *grāmen* is **ǵʰrh₁-*. No viable alternative is available.
   Bibl.: WH I: 639f., EM 291f., IEW 454.

hērēs, -ēdis 'heir' [m. *d*] (Lex XII+; Naev. acc.sg. *herem*)
   Derivatives: *hērēditās* 'inheritance' (Pl.+), *hērēdium* 'hereditary estate' (Lex XII apud Plin., Varro+); *exhērēs, -dis* 'disinherited' (Pl.+).
   PIt. **χērēd-*.
   PIE **ǵʰehₓ₁ro-* 'derelict' + *-ēd-*. IE cognates: Gr. χῆρος 'orphaned, empty', χήρα

'widow', χηρωσταί 'who divide the property of somebody who died without sons, usurpors'.

The form *hērem* is analogical to the fifth declination. See Dunkel 1987 for an overview of earlier etymologies. If *hērēs* is indeed cognate with χηρωσταί, a derivation from the root *g^hed- 'to take', Lat. -*hendō*, is impossible. Beekes 1975 suggests a *d*-stem *$\acute{g}^h$eHr-ōd-, -ed-m, -d-ós, to which Dunkel objects that the meaning of the suffix remains unclear (in itself not a strong argument) and that *d*-suffixes are extremely rare in PIE. This stance may be modified if one accepts Nussbaum's explanation (2004a) of the Latin type in -*ēdō*, Gr. -ηδών, -εδών, as inherited. Nussbaum explains *hērēd-* as a substantivization in *-o/ed-* of an adj. *$\acute{g}^h$eh₁ro-'derelict' identical to Gr. χῆρος. Long *-ēd-* would be due to a suffix conglomerate *-e-ed-*. While one may question the last point, it seems to me that Nussbaum's explanation is the most likely one. Dunkel himself returns to Prellwitz' explanation of *hērēs* as a compound of (in my reconstruction) *$\acute{g}^h$eh₁ro- plus the root *h₁ed- 'to eat'. The original meaning would have been 'who eats what has been abandoned'. Although conceivable in theory, this is not very convincing, since no collocation of *$\acute{g}^h$eh₁ro- and *h₁ed- is actually attested elsewhere.

Bibl.: WH I: 641f., EM 292, IEW 418f., Beekes 1975: 9f., Leumann 1977: 393, 450, Dunkel 1987, Schrijver 1991: 139, LIV *$\acute{g}^h$eh₁-.

heri 'yesterday' [adv.] (Naev.+, also *here* Ter.+, 1x *herī* Ter.)
  Derivatives: *hesternus* 'of yesterday' (Pl.+).
  PIt. *χes-i.
  PIE *$\acute{g}^h$-di-es 'yesterday', *$\acute{g}^h$di-es-tro- 'of yesterday'. IE cognates: OIr. *indé*, MW *doe*, OCo. *doy* 'yesterday' < PCl. *γdes(i?)*; Skt. *hyás*, Bal. *zī, zīk*, Oss. *znon/œzinœ* < IIr. *$\acute{j}^h$ias*, Gr. χθές, Alb. *dje*, OIc. *í gœr* 'yesterday', Go. *gistra-dagis* 'tomorrow', OE *giestron*, OHG *gesteron* 'yesterday' < *$\acute{g}^h$es-t(e)ra-*.

The form *herī* in Ter. is generally explained as analogical from other adverbial expression (*domī, rūrī*). Since PIE word-final *-i usually appears as Lat. -*e* (*ante*, OLat. *poste*) or is lost altogether, the form *here* must reflect PIt. *-si*. This means that *heri* must be understood as the result of iambic shortening from *herī. Lat. *hesternus* from *hes-tr-ino- shows the same adj. stem *$\acute{g}^h$es-tro- as attested in Germanic. It is uncertain whether word-internal *-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 *$\acute{g}^h$-di-es 'at that day' with the pronominal stem *$\acute{g}^h$e/o- and the gen.sg. of *di- 'day', the stem possibly reflected in Skt. *sadyáḥ* 'within one day'. The zero-grade of the pronoun *$\acute{g}^h$e/o- would then be a very archaic trait of the compounds. In simplifying the initial cluster *$\acute{g}^h$di-, most languages have ousted one of the two stops.

Bibl.: WH I: 642f., EM 292, IEW 416, Sihler 1995: 225f., Schrijver 1995: 390, Meiser 1998: 97. → -*dimus, hic*

hic, haec, hoc 'this' [pron.adj.] (Lex XII, Andr.+); *ho[n/dce]* 'this' (Forum cippus), *hoi* 'here' (Tiburbasis), *honc* [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* < *hocc* < **hod-ce*. Without *-c(e)*: nom.pl.m. *hī*, nom.pl.f. *hae* (and paradigm). Petrified forms: *hāc* 'by this way, in this manner' (Pl.+) **[abl.sg.f.], *hīc, hīcine, hīcin* '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.).

PIt. **χo*, **χa(-ī)*, **χod*. It. cognates: Fal. **hac** [acc. or abl.sg.f.] 'this', **hec, he, fe** [adv.] 'here' < **gʰei-ke*; possibly U. *-hont, -ont, -font*, **-hunt, -unt, -hu** as second element of.pron. *eri/era-hunt* 'the same' (cf. *is, ĭdem*).

PIE **g/ǵʰe/o-* 'this' * *-ḱe* 'here'. IE cognates: Skt. *gha, ghā* [ptcle.] 'certainly, at least', OCS *že* 'now, and, even'; or Skt. *hi*, Av. *zī* 'then, well, indeed', Gr. ναί-χι 'surely, indeed, well' < PIE **ǵʰi*.

The forms are mostly adopted from the *o/ā*-stem adj., nom.sg.f. *haec* from f. *quae*. Nom.sg.m. *hic, hec* < **hi-ke* with nom.sg. **hi* < PIt. **χo* as in *ille, ipse, iste*. The form *hec* in CIL I²9 is interpreted by Hamp (1993: 157f.) as *hēc* < **heic* < **ǵʰei-ke*. Pl. *hīcine* < **hī-ce-ne*. If U. *-hont*, **-hu** is indeed a petrified form of the same stem, a PIt. origin would be proven. It is explained as a m.sg. **χom*, to which **-t* was added for unclear reasons (van der Staaij 1995: 137). The stem **g/ǵʰ-* seems to be one of the many deictic elements of PIE, which could become pronominal stems in the daughter languages (cf. Kortlandt 1983b).

Bibl.: WH I: 644f., EM 293, IEW 418, Giacomelli 1963: 246f., Leumann 1977: 468f., Sihler 1995: 393, Meiser 1998: 161f., Untermann 2000: 229f. → *-ce, hodiē*

hiems, -mis 'winter, storm' [f. *m*] (Pl.+; Also nom.sg. *hiemps*)
Derivatives: *hiemālis* 'wintry' (Varro+), *hiemātiō* 'passing the winter' (Varro); *hībernus* 'of winter' (Pl.+), *hībernāre* '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.).

PIt. **χiem-* 'winter', **χeim-r-ino-* 'wintry', **-χim-o-* '*n* winters old'.

PIE **ǵʰéiōm, **ǵʰiém-m, **ǵʰim-ós* 'winter'; loc.sg. **ǵʰeim-en*? IE cognates: OIr. *gaim*, Gaul. *giamoni, giamon, giamo, giam, gia* (Coligny), OW *gaem*, MW *gaeaf*, OCo. *goyf*, OBret. *g(u)oiam*, Bret. *goañv* 'winter' < PCl. **giem-i-*, OIr. *gaimred*, W. *gaeafrawd* 'winter' < **giemi-rāto-*; Hit. *gimm-* [c.], *gimmant-* [c.] 'winter' < **ǵʰim-n-(ent-)*, *gimannije/a-ᶻⁱ* 'to spend the winter'; Skt. *himá-* 'cold, frost', *hímā-* [f.] 'winter' (RV+), *héman* [loc.sg.] 'in winter', *hemantá-* (RV+) [m.] 'winter', OAv. *zimō* [gen.sg.], YAv. *ziiā̊* [nom.sg.m.], acc.sg. *ziiąm(ca)* , gen.sg. *zəmō, zəmahe* 'winter', Skt. *hāyaná-* 'year', YAv. *zaiiana-* [adj.] 'wintry', [n.] 'wintertime' < **ǵʰeimn-o-*; Gr. χιών 'snow', δύσ-χιμος [adj.] 'storming, horrible', χεῖμα [n.] 'winter', χειμών [m.] 'winter, winterstorm'; Arm. *jiown*, gen.sg. *jean* 'snow'; Alb. (Geg) *dimën* 'winter'; Lith. *žiemà*, OCS *zima* 'id.' < **ǵʰéim-*; Germ. **-gim(ro)-* in animal names,

e.g. Lex Salica *aingim- 'one year old'; ToA śarme 'winter' < *ǵʰi̯-em-ro- <<
*ǵʰi̯-em-, ToB *śiñc- 'winter' < *śimäñc-.

Lat. hībernus < *heībrinos < *heimrinos. The solution given by Sihler 1995: 211
(*hiemērnos) 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 *ǵʰi-em-
of the acc.sg., but retains full grade of the root in the derivation *heimrino- 'wintry'.
The double zero grade *ǵʰi-m- is preserved in the compounds with numerals.

Bibl.: WH I: 645, EM 293f., IEW 425, Leumann 1977: 165, Schrijver 1995:
108-110, Sihler 1995: 211, 304, Beekes 1995: 178.

hīlum 'a minimal quantity' [n. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: nihilum, nīlum 'nothing, by no degree' (Pl.+), nihil, nīl 'nothing' (Pl.+).

Usually employed with a negation. The form nihil must have developed in unstressed
position from nihilum < *ne hīlom 'not a bit'. The short second vowel in nihil can be
due to shortening of long *ī 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: hīscere 'to open (the mouth)' (Pl.+); hietāre 'to open the mouth wide'
(Pl.+); hiāscere 'to open out' (Cato), hiātus, -ūs 'opening, gaping' (Varro+); hiulcus
'having the mouth wide open'.(Pl.+); inhiāre 'to open one's mouth, be avid' (Pl.+).

Plt. *χi-ā- [v.]. It. cognates: U. erom ehiato [inf.fut.ps.] maybe 'to procure' <
*en-hiā- 'to crave for' or *eks-hiā- 'to spit out'.

PIE *ǵʰh₁i-eh₂-; *ǵʰih₁-sḱé- 'to gape, be wide open'. IE cognates: OCS zinǫti 'to
open (one's mouth)', Ru. razinut', SCr. zȋnuti 'to yawn'; Lith. žióti, OCS zijati, Is.
zėjǫ / zijajǫ 'to open (one's mouth)', Ru. ziját' 'to yawn', SCr. zijati 'id.' < BSl.
*zia?-a?-; OIc. gína 'yap, yawn', gine, OHG ginēn 'to be wide open'; OHG giwēn,
giwōn 'to yawn', OE giwian, giowian, giwan 'to request'.

The verb hietāre is probably based on a stem *hieto- < *hiato-, which may have been
formed to pr. hiāre (instead of *hīto-) on analogy with stare, status, cf. Steinbauer
1989: 127 and Schrijver. The noun hiulcus 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 *ǵʰh₁i- plus *-eh₂-, like Lithuanian žióti.
Since PIE *ǵʰeh₁- means 'to leave, allow', it is conceivable that *ǵʰh₁i- represents an
earlier i-present *ǵʰh₁-i-.

Bibl.: WH I: 647f., EM 295, IEW 419ff., Schrijver 1991: 243, LIV *ǵʰehᵢi̯-.

hīra 'intestine' [f. ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: hīllae [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.

Bibl.: WH I: 649, EM 295, IEW 443, Schrijver 1991: 208. → haruspex, hirūdō

hircus 'he-goat' [m. *o*] (Pl.+; variants *ircus*, Sabine *fircus* Varro)

Derivatives: *hircīnus* 'like a goat, of a goat' (Pl.+), *hircōsus* 'smelling like a goat' (Pl.+); *hirquitallus* '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 *herkʷ-*, 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.+).

PIt. *χe/irk-to-*, *χe/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 *ǵhers-*, it is unclear how *-s-* could be lost from a preform *ǵhers-to-* > *hersto-*. Alternatively, *herto-* might belong to the s-less variant of the root, *ǵher-* (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 *pultāre*). 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*, *crassus*, *grossus*.

Bibl.: WH I: 650, EM 296, IEW 445f., LIV *ǵhers-. → *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 *hīr-*, 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: *hirundinīnus* '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 suggests earlier/standard *herundō*,

which he connects with *harundō* 'reed'; he compares Go. *wandus*, OIc. *vǫndr* 'rod, stick' which are derived from Gm. **wend*- '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.+)

Derivatives: *hodiernus* 'of today' (Lucr.+). It. cognates: Fal. **foied** 'today'.

A compound of *hic* '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 **hoiē* by **hodiē*. The interpretation of the first member *ho-* is disputed. It is reconstructed as **ho* (the bare stem), **hōd* (abl.sg.) or **hoï* (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 **hŏdiēd* in the syntagm. The adj. *hodiernus* is analogical after *hesternus*.

Bibl.: WH I: 653f., EM 297, Giacomelli 1963: 247f., Leumann 1977: 110, 126, 468, Sihler 1995: 189, Meiser 1998: 78. → *diēs, hic, hōrnus*

(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)olerāre* 'to plant with vegetables' (Cn. Matius).

PIt. **χelos-* [n.].

PIE **ǵʰelh₃-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*).

Bibl.: WH I: 654, EM 297, IEW 439f., Leumann 1977: 47, 168, Schrijver 1991: 110, Meiser 1998: 103, Nussbaum 1999a: 389f., Stüber 2002: 174. → *helvus*

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.+), *homunciō* 'id.' (Ter.+); *hūmānus* 'of a human being, human' (Andr.+; Paul. *ex F. hemonem*), *hūmānitus* [adv.] 'in the manner of human beings' (Enn.+), *inhūmānus* 'inhuman, uncultured' (Ter.+).

PIt. **χem-ō, *χe/om-on-m.* It. cognates: O. **humuns** [nom.pl.], U. *homonus* [dat.pl.] 'man'; maybe SPic. **nemúneí** [dat.sg.] if 'nobody'.

PIE **dʰǵʰ(e)m-ōn* [nom.sg.], **dʰǵʰm-on-m* [acc.sg.] 'earthling, human'. IE cognates: OIr. *duine*, W. *dyn*, Co. Bret. *den* 'man' < PCl. **donjo-*; OPr. *smunents, smūnets* 'man', OLith. *žmuõ* 'person', Lith. *žmogùs* 'man', *žmónės* 'people', Go. *guma* 'man',

OHG *gomo*, OIc. *gume*.

The suffix *-ōn-* is the older variant, which was replaced by *-ōn-* in some forms on the analogy with the type *sermō, -ōnis*. Lat! *hemōnem* seems to show that original **χem-* developed into **χom-* 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-homō*. Sabellic, however, shows **χom-*, which could match PCl. **don-jo-* 'man' if from **dʰg̑ʰ-om-io-*. Thus, we arrive at a PIt. stem **χe/om-on-* 'man', which may with Nussbaum 1986: 187fff. be explained as PIE **dʰg̑ʰ(e)m-ōn* [nom.sg.], **dʰg̑ʰm-on-m* [acc.sg.] 'earthling', derived from a loc.sg. in *-én* to the word **dʰeg̑ʰ-m-* 'earth' (see s.v. *humus*). In view of the cognate Baltic and Germanic words for 'man' which also require a structure **dʰg̑ʰm-on-*, this *n*-stem derivative seems to be of pre-Italo-Celtic date.

The explanation of *hūmānus* is unknown. Neither **-oi-* nor **-eu-*, **-ou-* nor **-uH-* yield an acceptable etymology. Leumann 1977: 117 conjectures a nom.sg. **hūm* 'earth' < **hōm* (Gr. χϑών), with a development similar to *fūr* < **fōr*. Yet the word-final nasal is always dropped afer long **ō*, so that it would have to have been restored from the oblique cases, in particular the acc.sg. **hōm* >> **hōmem*. Also, in *fūr* and *cūr*, the labial consonant may have determined the vowel shift. Since the meaning is now 'human', **hūm-āno-* 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 OIr. *doini* 'persons' (the pl. of *duine*), *hūm-ānus* would go back to a stem **g̑ʰdʰoim-*. But where, then, does *-oi-* come from?

Bibl.: WH I: 654f., EM 297f., IEW 414f., Schrijver 1991: 468, Sihler 1995: 295, Meiser 1998: 83, Untermann 2000: 329-330, 490, Livingston 2004: 31-36. → *humus*

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.+), *honestitūdō* '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 **g̑ʰon-* or **gʰon-*, but no further etymology is known.
Bibl.: WH I: 655f., EM 298, Leumann 1977: 179, 379.

hordeum 'barley' [n. *o*] (Pl.+; dial. *fordeum*)
Derivatives: *hordeāceus* 'of barley' (Cato+).
PIt. **χor(s)d-ejo-* 'barley'.
IE cognates: Hit. *karaš-* [n.] 'wheat, emmer-wheat' (< **g̑ʰersd-*), Gr. κριϑή, ep. nom.acc.sg. κρῖ 'barley', Arm. *gari*, gen. *garwoy* 'wheat' < **gʰr̥io-*; Alb. *drithë* 'cereal, grain' < **g̑ʰr(i)sD-*; 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'.

Yet it is difficult to derive them all from one common preform: Latin and Gm. can go back to *gʰ(e/o)rsd-, but Greek has no -s-and the vowel can hardly reflect PIE *e or *r̥. Greek and Albanian could reflect *ǵʰriT- (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.

Bibl.: WH I: 656f., EM 299, IEW 446, Demiraj 1997, EIEC 51, Kloekhorst 2008: 444f.

horior 'to encourage, urge' [v. III] (Enn. *horitur*)

Derivatives: *hortārī* 'to incite, urge on' (Pl.+; Enn. 1x *horitātur*); *hortāmentum* 'encouragement' (Pl.+), *hortātor* 'inciter, encourager' (Pl.+), *hortātrīx* 'female inciter' (Pac.+); *adhortārī* 'to urge, exhort' (Pl.+), *cohortārī* 'to exhort, rouse' (Pl.+), *dēhortārī* 'to discourage, dissuade' (Pl.+).

PIt. pr. *χerj-/χ(o)r-ei-, aor. *χr-ē-, ppp. *χorto-. It. cognates: Ven. ⁺*horeionte* 'glad' (for <*horvionte*> [nom.du.m.]; Lejeune 1974: 82, 246, Meiser 2003: 66). U. **heri** [3s.pr.?], O. **heriiad**, U. **heriiei** [3s.pr.sb.], O. *herest*, U. **heries**, *heriest* [3s.fut.], *heries* [2/3s.fut.], **herter, herte,** *herti, hertei* [3s.ps.], **herifi** [inf.ps.], **eretu,** *heritu, hereitu* [ppp., abl.sg.n.?] 'to wish, want', PalU. **herusei** [ppa., dat.sg.] 'to want' < *χer-je-; Pael. *herentas* [nom.sg.], O. **herentateis, herettates** [gen.sg.], **herentatei, heretatei** [dat.sg.] 'name of a goddess', probably *χerent-tāt-; Marr. *herentatia* [nom.sg.f.] 'of the goddess Herentas'; probably U. **herinties, herintie** '?'; U. **heris – heris, heris – heri, heri – heri,** *heri – heri, herie – herie, heriei – heriei* 'either – or' < *χer-je-s (for **heris, heri**) , < *χer-jē-s/d (for *herie, heriei*) . U. *pisher* 'whoever' < *χer-V-s. Opinions differ on the reconstruction of the suffix; Schrijver 2003 conjectures pr. *χer-i- beside aor. *χer-ē-.

PIE pr. *ǵʰer-i-, aor. *ǵʰr-eh₁- 'to enjoy' < 'to be excited' < 'to stick out'(?) IE cognates: Skt. *háryati* 'to enjoy', *haryatá-* 'enjoyable', OAv. *zara-* 'aim, goal' < IIr. *jʰar(H)-; Gr. χαίρω 'to be glad', aor. ἐχάρην, χάρις [f.] 'enjoying, favour, pleasure' < *ǵʰr̥H-i-; OHG ger < *gera- 'eager, zealous', OHG *gerno* 'eager, readily', OIr. *gor* 'pious' < *gʰor-ó-.

The frequentative *hortārī* 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 *ē 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 657f., EM 299, IEW 440f., Nussbaum 1976, Meiser 1998: 194, Rieken 1999: 63-65, Untermann 2000: 319ff., Schrijver 2003: 81ff., LIV 1.*ǵʰer-. → *horreō*

hōrnus 'grown, produced in this year' [adj. *o*] (Hor.+)

Derivatives: *hōrnō* [adv.] 'this year' (Pl.+), *hōrnōtinus* 'of this year's growth' (Cato+).

Most scholars assume that *hōrnus* is a derivative in *-ino- of *ho-jōr(o)- 'this year', from PIE *(H)ie/oH-r 'year'. Yet the uninflected state of *ho- is strang: maybe one

could posit a loc.sg. *hoi jōroi > *hojōroi > *hōrī, whence *hōrino- was derived; but why with a short suffix vowel? Szemerenyi (1960a: 114) has suggested that "hōr(i)nus is from a Gr. *ὡρινός, or transformed in Latin from the attested ὥριμος '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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 658f., EM 299, IEW 293ff.

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.+), horrificus 'dreadful' (Lucr.+), horrificābilis 'frightful' (Acc.+), horrisonus 'making a dreadful noise' (Lucr.+); abhorrēre 'to shrink back from' (Pl.+), inhorrēscere 'to become restless, become stiff' (Pac.+).

PIt. *χors-ē- 'to be stiff'.

PIE *ǵʰrs-ehₗ- 'to be stiff, surprised'. IE cognates: Skt. hárṣate, hṛṣyati 'to be delighted', pf. jāhṛṣāṇá- [ptc.med.], caus. harṣáyati; hṛṣitá- 'glad, excited', ghṛṣu- 'lively, agile', YAv. zarašiiamna- 'excited', Sogd. wyš- '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 *ǵʰrs- may be an s-extended variant of PIE *ǵʰr- 'to stick out; be excited' which is found in horior. The palatovelar was depalatalized in IIr. in the zero-grade *ǵʰrs-.

Bibl.: WH I: 659, EM 299f., IEW 445f., Schrijver 1991: 495, LIV *ǵʰers-. → horior

horreum 'storehouse for grain' [n. o] (Pl.+)

No agreed etymology. It is tempting to compare the preforms *gʰ(o)r-to- and *gʰor-dʰo- (> Lat. hortus) and *gʰrti- (> cohors) from a root *ǵʰer- '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 *gʰr-so- > PIt. *χor-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.*ǵʰer-.

hortus 'garden' [m. o] (Lex XII+; in OLat. probably also 'villa', Pliny)

PIt. *χorto-. It. cognates: O. húrz [nom.sg.], húrtúí [dat.sg.], húrtúm [acc.sg.], húrtin [loc.sg. + -en] 'enclosure'.

PIE *gʰ(o)r-to- and *gʰor-dʰo- '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 garto 'garden'; Skt. gṛhá- 'house', YAv. gərəδa- 'dwelling-place of the daevas' < PIE *gʰrdʰo-; Go. gards 'house', OIc. garðr 'fence, yard', OE geard, OHG gart [m.] 'circle'; Go. garda 'fence, cattle-yrad', OFr. garda 'garden', OS gardo, OHG garto < *PIE *gʰordʰo- / *gʰortó-; Lith. gar̃das 'pen, enclosure', gardis 'fence'; OCS gradъ 'town, garden', Ru. górod 'town' < PIE

*gʰordʰos.

For PIE, we can reconstruct two nouns, *gʰ(o)rto- and *gʰ(o)rdʰo-, 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?).

Bibl.: WH I: 242f., EM 300, IEW 442f., Untermann 2000: 334f., LIV ?2.*gʰer-. → *cohors*

hospes, -itis 'guest, visitor; host, entertainer' [m. *i*] (Naev.+; gen.pl. *hospitum*)
Derivatives: *hospita* 'female guest, stranger; landlady' (Pl.+), *hospitālis* 'of hospitality; hospitable' (Pl.+), *hospitium* 'hospitality; guest accomodation' (Pl.+).

Plt. *χostipot-. It. cognates: Pael. *hospus* [nom.sg.] 'stranger' (< *-pot-(i)s*). IE cognates: OCS *gospodь*, Ru. *gospód'* 'the Lord, god' < *gʰost(i)-pot-* (Slav. -*d*- from the voc.sg. *-pot?*).

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, *compotīre* shows that the latter may still contain an *i*-stem.

Bibl.: WH I: 660, EM 300f., IEW 453, 842, Leumann 1977: 398, Parker 1988: 233f., Sihler 1995: 65, 68, Forssman 1998: 121-124, Untermann 2000: 335f. → *hostis, potis*

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. *χosti-.

PIE *gʰosti- 'stranger, guest'. IE cognates: OCS *gostь*, Ru. *gost'*, SCr. *gôst*, gen. *gôsta*, Go. *gasts*, OHG *gast*, OIc. *gestr* 'guest'.

In theory, 'guest' could be derived from the root *g⁽ʷ⁾ʰes- (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 *gʰo-sth₂-i- 'standing apart', from the stem *gʰe/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 *ǵʰes '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.*g⁽ʷ⁾ʰes-. → *hospes*

hostus 'the yield of olive from a single pressing' [m. *o*] (Cato, Varro)

Derivatives: *hostīre* 'to recompense, requite' (Pl.+), *hostīmentum* 'recompense, requital' (Pl.+), *redhostīre* 'to requite'ₐ(Naev.+); *hostia* 'sacrificial animal' (Pl.+) [*fostia* in Paul. *ex F.*], *hostiātus* 'provided with a sacrificial victim' (Pl.).

PIt. **χosto-*.

PIE **ǵʰosto-* 'yield'?

See Eichner 2002 for a discussion of the attestations of *hostus*. He suggests that *hostīre* was derived directly from *hostus*, and explains *hostia* as the substantivized f. of an adj. **hostius* 'subsitute' (e.g. in **hostia ovis*), which was formed on the basis of *hostus*. Maybe the gloss *hostōrium* '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 **ǵʰes* 'to take, give in exchange', with which he connects the word for 'hand' PIE **ǵʰes-r*, and Greek ξένος 'foreign; guest' < **ǵʰs-en-uo-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 661, EM 301f., Eichner 2002, LIV ?1.**g^{(u)ʰ}es-*.

humus 'earth, ground' [f. (m.) *o*] (Pl.+; loc.sg. *humī*)

Derivatives: *humāre* 'to bury' (Varro+), *inhumātus* 'unburied' (Pac.+), *humilis* 'low, humble' (Ter.+), *humilitās* 'lowness, humbleness' (Acc.+).

PIt. **χomo-*. It. cognates: O. **húnttram** [acc.sg.f.], **huntrus** [nom. or acc.pl.m.], **huntras** [gen.sg., nom. or acc.pl.f.], **huntruis** [dat.pl.m.] 'who is below' < **ǵʰom(i)-tero-*; U. **hutra**, *hondra* 'underneath' [prep. + acc.], petrified case-form of **hom-tero-*; U. *hondomu* [abl.sg.m.] 'who is most below' < **ǵʰom-tmHo-*. Possibly the deity U. **hunte**, *honde* [dat.sg.] < **ǵʰom-to-* 'who is below'.

PIE **dʰǵʰ-ōm* [nom.sg.], **dʰǵʰ-em-m* [acc.sg.], **dʰǵʰ-m-os* [gen.sg.] 'earth'. IE cognates: OIr. *dú* 'place, spot', Hit. *tēkan / takn-* [n.], CLuw. *tiiamm(i)-* , HLuw. *takam-* 'earth', Skt. *kṣáh̥*, gen.sg. *jmás*, Av. *zā̊*, acc.sg. *zạm*, Gr. χθών, Alb. *dhe*, Lith. *žēmė*, OCS *zemlja*, ToB *kem*, ToA *tkaṃ* 'earth'.

Italic must have introduced the *o*-grade into the acc.sg. (> **(δ)χom-em*). The Latin *o*-stem is probably based on an ambiguous locative singular **χom-ei* (Lat. *humī*) << **χom-i*. The same locative lies at the basis of (some of) the Sabellic derivatives. The resemblance of *humilis* to Gr. χθαμαλός 'near the ground, humble' seems accidental; in any case, *humilis* presupposes the Italic introduction of the *o*-grade into the root.

Bibl.: WH I: 664f., EM 302, IEW 414f., Untermann 2000: 330-334. → *homō*

I

iaciō, -ere 'to throw' [v. III; pf. *iēcī*, ppp. *iactum*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *iactus, -ūs* 'throw, cast' (Pl.+), *iaculus* [adj.] 'used for throwing' (Pl.), *iaculum* 'throwing-spear' (Sis.+), *iaculārī* 'to throw, shoot' (Lucr.+); *iacēre* 'to lie'

(iacuī, iacitum) (Pl.+), *adiacēns* 'neighbouring' (Caecil.+), *obiacēre* 'to lie nearby, obstruct' (Enn.+); *abicere (abiēcī, abiectum)* 'to throw away' (Naev.+), *ad(i)icere* 'to throw at, add, attach' (Pl.+), *amicīre (amicuī/amixī, amictum)* 'to cover, clothe' (Naev.+), *amictus, -ūs* 'garment' (Titin.+), *amiculum* 'cloak' (Pl.+), *circumicere* 'to put round' (Varro+), *circumiectus, -ūs* 'wrap' (Varro+), *co(n)icere* 'to throw, dispatch, form' (Pl.+), *coniector* 'soothsayer' (Pl.+), *coniectrīx* 'female interpreter' (Pl.), *coniectūra* 'inferring, reasoning' (Pl.+), *coniectus, -ūs* 'te throwing' (Lucr.+), *dēicere* 'to throw down' (Pl.+), *disicere* 'to break up, disperse' (Enn.+), *disiectus, -ūs* 'dispersal' (Lucr.), *ēicere* 'to throw out, remove' (Pl.+), *ēiectus, -ūs* 'expulsion' (Lucr.), *in(i)icere* 'to throw in, put on' (Pl.+), *intericere* 'to throw between' (Varro+), *obicere* 'to throw in the way, put before' (Pl.+), *obiectus, -ūs* 'interposition' (Lucr.+), *porricere* 'to offer as a sacrifice' (Pl.+), *prōicere* 'to throw forth, fling' (Naev.+), *prōiectīcius* 'abandoned' (Pl.), *prōiectus, -ūs* 'projection' (Lucr.), *rēicere* 'to throw back, reject' (Pl.+), *rēiculus* 'discarded' (Varro+), *subicere* 'to throw from below, make subject' (Lucil.+), *trāicere* 'to thrust, transport' (Cato+), *trāiectus, -ūs* 'crossing' (Acc.+); *iactāre* 'to throw, toss, brag' (Pl.+), *coniectāre* 'to infer' (Ter.+), *disiectāre* 'to scatter' (Lucr.+), *obiectāre* 'to object' (Pl.+), *prōiectāre* 'to banish' (Enn.), *rēiectāre* 'to repulse' (Lucr.+), *subiectāre* 'to throw up from below' (Pac.+); *ōbex, -icis* [m.] 'bolt, barrier' (Verg.+), *subicēs, -um* [f.pl.] 'underlying parts' (Enn.+).

Plt. **jak-i-* 'to throw', **jak-ē̦-* 'to lie down'.

PIE aor. **(H)iehₗ-*, pr. **(H)ihₗ-k-(i-)* 'to throw, let go'. IE cognates: Hit. *peie-ᶻⁱ/pei-* (>> *peiie/a-*) 'to send') < PIE **h₁poi +*h₁/₃ieh₁-ti, ·*h₁/₃ih₁-enti*; Gr. ἵημι 'to send (away), let go, throw, hurl' < pr. **(H)i-(H)iehₗ-*, aor. ἑ̄ηκα, ἡ̄κα, inf. ἕμεναι, εἵναι, fut. ἥσω, Myc. *(io-)i-je-si* [3p.pr.].

In Schrijver's view (1991: 411, 2003), *amicīre* may show thematization 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, -iak-os*. It is possible that *iac-* is the phonetic outcome of PIE **(H)ihₗk-* (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 *faciō – fēcī : *īciō – iēcī*.

Bibl.: WH I: 666f., EM 303f., IEW 502, Leumann 1977: 128, 553, Schrijver 1991: 163, Meiser 1998: 212, Untermann 2000: 158f., LIV **Hiehₗ-*.

iam 'now, already' [adv.] (Lex XII, Andr.+)

PIE **h₁i-h₂-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. **īm* '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*

ianitrīcēs, -um 'wives of brothers' [f.pl. *k*] (only in LLat. glosses. The vowel length in the initial syllable is therefore unknown.)

PIt. *jenater-?

PIE *ienh₂-ter- 'wife of husband's brother'. IE cognates: Skt. *yātar-* [f.] 'husband's brother's wife' (AVP+), MoP *yār-* 'id.' < *yaϑrī-, Isfahānī dial. *yād*, Pash. *yor* 'id.' < Ilr. *jātā (or *jantā), gen. *jātras; Gr. εἰνατέρες, -έρων [f. (pl.)] 'wife of the husbands brother', voc. εἴνατερ, gen. -τερος (Hdn.), sg. ἐνατηρ, -τρι, -τερα (in late Anat. inscr.); Arm. *nēr*, gen. *niri* (*ienH- > *Hin- > ən- > n-, cf. Kortlandt 1997a); OLith. *jentė*, Lith. *intė* 'husband brother's wife, wife's sister, daughter-in-law', Latv. *ietere, iẽtaĮa* 'id.'; CS *jętry* 'husband's brother's wife', *jętrъve* [gen.sg.], Ru. *játrov'* (dial.), ORu. *jatry*, OCz. *jatrev*, SCr. *jȅtrva, jȅtrva, jétrva* < PSl. *jętry (uH-stem in analogy to *svekry).

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 -īk- may be recent, and *ienitrīk- may have adopted -i- from an earlier form *ie/aniter-. Alternatively, the f. *iānitrix* 'portress, gate-keepster' (Pl.+) may have influenced our noun, but this seems far-fetched. In view of the changes from *iānuārius* > *iēnuārius* and *iāiūnus* > *iēiūnus* in Imperial Latin, *ianitrīces* (which does not seem to have been a commonly used word anymore) may be a hypercorrection for *ienitrīces*. 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 668, EM 304f., IEW 505f., Schrijver 1991: 107f., 219, 490, Kortlandt 1997a, Beekes 2003: 163.

iānus 'arched passage, doorway; god of gates and doors' [m. *o*] (Pl.+; *u*-stem only in Fest.; VLat. *iēnuārius*, PRom. *iēnua*)

Derivatives: *iānua* 'door, entrance' (Pl.+), *iānuālis* 'of Janus' (Varro), *iānuārius* [adj.] '(month) ofi Janus' (Varro+), *iānitor* 'doorkeeper' (Pl.+), *iānitrīx* 'female doorkeeper' (Pl.+).

PIt. *jānu- 'door'.

PIE *ieh₂-n-u- 'passage'. IE cognates: OIr. *áth* 'ford, passage' < PCl. *jātu-; Skt. *yāti* 'to go, travel', *yayí-* 'hastening, running', *yātar-* [m.] 'charioteer', *yéṣṭha-* 'going the fastest'; Lith. *jóti* 'to go, ride', Latv. *jât* 'to drive, to go'; CS *jaxati* 'ride', Ru. *éxat'*, SCr. *jȁhati* 'to go' < PSl. *jěxati. ToAB *yā-* 'to go, travel', ToB *yoñiya* 'path, way, course'.

Although all old attestations show *iānus* as an *o*-stem, the derivative *iānua* suggests that the earlier noun was a *u*-stem. *Iānua* 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 of Italic and Tocharian.

Bibl.: WH I: 668f., EM 305, IEW 296, Schrijver 1991: 142, LIV 1.*ieh₂-.

ibī 'there' [adv.] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *ibīdem* 'in that very place, in the same place' (Naev.+), *inibi* 'there' (Pl.+).

PIt. **ipei* / **ifei* 'there'. It. cognates: U. **ife**, *ife* [adv.] 'there' < **ibʰei*; U. *ifont* [adv.] 'at the same place' = *ife* + particle *-hont*.

PIE **h₁i-dʰei* or **h₁i-bʰei*. IE cognates: Skt. *ihá*, *idha* 'here', OAv. *idā*, YAv. *iδa* 'here, in the same way' < PIE **h₁i-dʰe*; possibly Gr. ἰθα(ι)γενής 'born from a lawful marriage, indigenous'; OCS *kъde* 'where' < **kʷu-dʰe*.

Theoretically, *ibī* can directly reflect **ibʰei*, 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. *ihá*, I have a slight preference for a preform in **-dʰei*.

Bibl.: WH I: 669, EM 305, IEW 281ff., Leumann 1977: 168, Untermann 2000: 339. → *-de*, *is*

Īcō, -ere 'to strike, smite' [v. III; pf. *īcī*, ppp. *ictum*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *ictus, -ūs* 'stroke, blow' (Pl.+).

PIt. **īke/o-* [pr.].

PIE pr. **h₂i-h₂ik-e/o-* 'to hit, pierce', ?pf. **h₂i-h₂ik-*, ppp. **h₂ik-to-*. IE cognates: Gr. αἰχμή 'point of a spear, spear', Myc. *ai-ka-sa-ma* /aiksma/; OPr. *aysmis* 'spit', Lith. *iešmas* 'spit, bayonet' < **h₂eik(s)mo-*; OPr. *ayculo* 'needle', Ru. *iglá*, SCr. *ìgla* 'id.' < PSl. **jьgъlà* < **h₂eik-tlo-* (?). ·

Bibl.: WH I: 670, EM 305, IEW 15, Peters 1980: 108, Schrijver 1991: 37, Meiser 2003: 215, LIV **h₂eik-*.

īdem, eadem, idem 'the same' [pron., adj.] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *identidem* 'repeatedly' (Pl.+).

It. cognates: comparable formations are O. **ísídum, ísídu, esídum, esídu[m**, εισειδομ, ειζιδομ [nom.sg.m.], **íússu, íúsu, iusúm** [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 *īdim*. The element *-dem* was metanalysed from n. **id-em*, analysed as /id-dem/. In other case forms with *s* (*eōsdem* etc.), *s* has been restored.

Bibl.: WH I: 671, EM 306, IEW 181ff., Leumann 1977: 467f., Sihler 1995: 392, Meiser 1998: 161, Untermann 2000: 347f. → *-dem*, *is*

īdōneus 'suitable, appropriate' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

No etymology. The morphology can be interpreted as an adj. in *-neus* to **idō* ('there'?) or **ido-*, or as an adj. in *-eus* to **idōn*. But neither form yields a probable etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 671f., EM 306.

īdūs, -uum '15ᵗʰ or 13ᵗʰ day of the month (depending on the month)' [f.pl. *u*] (Cato+)

It. cognates: O. **eiduis, eídúís**, [abl.pl.] probably the 13ᵗʰ or 15ᵗʰ day of each month.

No Latin etymology. According to Varro, the word was borrowed from Etruscan, and that may well be true.

Bibl.: WH I: 672, EM 306f., Untermann 2000: 203f.

iecur 'liver' [n. *r/n*] (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.), *iocinore* (VMax.), *iecinore* (Larg.), dat.sg. *iecorī*, nom.acc.voc.pl. *iocinera* (passim), dat.abl.pl. *iocineribus* (passim), gen.pl. *iecorum* (Cic. 1x), *iocinerum* (Plin. 1x)

PIt. **jekʷor* [n.], **jekʷen-*.

PIE **iekʷ-r/n-* [n.] 'liver'. IE cognates: Skt. *yákr̥t*, gen.abl.sg. *yaknás* 'liver' (RV+), loc.sg. *yakani* (AV), Av. *yakarə* (see de Vaan 2003: 68f.), Khot. *gyagarrä* (< **iakr̥na-*), MP *jagar*, MoP *jigar*, Oss. *igær* 'liver'; Gr. ἧπαρ, gen.sg. ἧπατος 'liver', OCS *ikra* 'roe', Ru. *ikrá* 'roe, spawn, caviar, calf (of the leg)', *ikró* (dial.) < PSl. *jьkrà, jьkro* < PIE **ikʷ-r-eh₂*; OPr. *yccroy* '(anat.) calf', Lith. *ìkras* [m.] 'fish-egg, (anat.) calf, [pl.] roe, spawn, caviar'; OPr. *lagno* [iagno], Lith. *jěknos* (dial.) [m.], *jekanas* (Bretkūnas) 'liver' [m.], Latv. *aknas* [nom.pl.f.] < PIE **iekʷ-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: *iecinore* 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 **iecinoris* 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 673, EM 307, IEW 504, Rix 1965, Klingenschmitt 1992: 118, Sihler 1995: 300, Meiser 1998: 142, Weiss (fthc.a).

ieiūnus 'fasting, hungry' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+; phonologically /ieii-/)

Derivatives: *ieiūnitās* 'soberness, hunger' (Pl.+), *ieiūnium* 'fasting' (Pl.+), *ieiūniōsus* 'hungry' (Pl.+); *ieientāre* 'to have breakfast' (Afran.+), *ieientāculum* 'breakfast' (Pl.+).

Plt. **jagje/o-, *jagju-, *jagjūno-*.

PIE **Hieh₂ǵ-ie/o-* [v.] 'to sacrifice', **Hieh₂ǵ-iu-* [adj.]. IE cognates: PIIr. **iaj-* > Skt. pr. *yájati*, ppp. *iṣṭá-* 'to honour, worship, sacrifice', *su-yáj-* 'sacrificing well', *yájus-* [n.] 'worshipping, act of sacrifice', *yáṣṭar-, yaṣṭár-* [m.] 'sacrificer', *yájyu-* 'praiseworthy', Av. *yaza-* 'to worship', *išta-, yašta-* [ppp.], *yaštar-* 'worshipper', OP *yada-* 'to worship', *ā-yadana-* [n.] 'sacrificial place'; Gr. ἅγιος (Hdt.), ἁγνός (H.) 'holy', ἅζομαι (< **ἅγjομαι) 'to honour'.

In the oldest layer of Plautus mss., Skutsch 1892 has found *iai-*, a spelling which also

appears in Pliny. This must be the older form, which underwent assimilation to *iei-*. The two oldest words are then *iaiūnus* and *iaientāre*, phonologically /*iaii-*/. Forssman 1993 explains them from PIt. **iagi-*, to the root PIE **ih₂ǵ-* 'to sacrifice'. He reconstructs an adj. **iagiu-* 'opferfreudig' (to Skt. *yajyú-*), which was remade into **iagiūno-* in Latin, and a present **iag-ie/o-* 'to sacrifice' (to Gr. ἄζομαι). The verb *iaientāre* would have been built on an *nt*-stem **iaiient-* < **iag-ient-*. These words would be based on the habit to perform the first sacrifice of the day on an empty stomach.

Bibl.: WH I: 674f., EM 307, IEW 501f., Leumann 1977: 54, Meiser 1998: 80, LIV **Hiaǵ-*.

igitur 'in that case, then' [cj.] (Lex XII, Andr.+)

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.+).
PIt. **ŋgʷni-* 'fire'.
PIE **h₁ngʷ-ni-* '(a) fire'. IE cognates: Hit. *akniš* 'a deity' (borrowed from IIr.), Skt. *agni-* 'fire', Lith. *ugnìs*, OCS *ògnjь*, Ru. *ogón'*, SCr. *òganj* 'fire' [m.] < Late-BSl. **ugni-* < Early-BSl. **ungni-* < PIE **h₁ngʷ-ni-*; Skt. *áṅgāra-* 'coal', Sogd. *'nk'yr* 'hearth' < **angāriiā̆-*, Arm. *acowl* 'coal', Lith. *anglìs* [m.], Latv. *ùogle*, OCS *ǫglь* [m.], Ru. *úgol'* 'coal' < BSl. **onʔglis* < PIE **h₁ongʷ-l-*.

Lat. *ignis* shows a development from PIE **Hŋgʷni-* > **Hǝngni-* > **engni-* > with dissimilation **egni-* (or > **ingni-* > *igni-*).
Bibl.: WH I: 676, EM 307f., IEW 293, Schrijver 1991; 63f., 416, 484.

ignōro, -āre 'to have no knowledge, be ignorant' [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *ignōrantia* 'ignorance' (Lucr.+).
PIt. **gnōs-(e/o-)*.
PIE **ǵneh₃-s-* 'to recognize, know'. IE cognates: Hit. *kane/išš-ᶻⁱ* 'to recognize, acknowledge' < **ǵneh₃-s-ti*, **ǵnh₃-s-énti*; Skt. *s*-aor. *ajñāsam*, *ajñāsthās* 'to recognize', ToA *knasāṣt* 'you recognized'.

The verb *ignōrare* has been regarded as a denominal verb to *ignārus*; 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. *gnārus* 'knowing' itself was left unchanged. Nussbaum (2007b) has proposed a more likely solution: *ignōrāre* reflects a *sā*-present **gnō-sā-* 'to know' of the once productive Latin type, derived from a noun **gnō-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 **ǵneh₃-*. → *glōria, gnārus, nōscō*

īlex, -icis 'holm-oak, ilex' [f. *k*] (Enn.+)
Derivatives: *īlignus* 'of the holm-oak' (Ter.+), *īligneus* 'of the holm-oak' (Cato+).
No etymology. The adj. *īlignus* reflects **īliknos* < pre-syncope **īlik-ino-s.*
Bibl.: WH I: 678, EM 308, Leumann 1977: 287, 321.

īlia, -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* 'callus', OIc. *il* 'footsole') have short **i-*. Gr. ἴλια [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/ā] (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.*
Bibl.: WH I: 679f., EM 309, IEW 24-26, Leumann 1977: 470, Meiser 1991: 163, Sihler 1995: 394. → *olle / ollus*

imāgō, -inis 'picture, image' [f. *n*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *imitāre* (Andr., Var.), *imitārī* 'to copy, imitate' (Pl.+).
PIt. **imā(je-).*
PIE **h₂i-m-h₂-* 'image'. IE cognates: Hit. *himma-* 'imitation, substitute'.
Both the frequentative *imitāre/ī* and *īmāgō* 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. *yamá-*, OAv. *yǝma-* 'twin'; but no verbal forms which could be cognate have been discovered.
Bibl.: WH I: 680, EM 309, Leumann 1977: 369, Schrijver 1991: 38, 74, Meiser 1998: 106. → *aemulus*

imbēcillus 'physically weak, fragile' [adj. o/ā] (Afran.+; also *i*-stem)
The word has been etymologized as **n-bak(t)lelo-* 'without a (walking) stick' > 'weak' because of a Juvenal scholia: *imbecillis: 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, *imbēcillus* has long *ē* in Lucr. and Horace.

EM suggest original *imbeccillus, which would have arisen on the model of vaccillō vs. vacillō. 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, -icis 'semi-cylindrical tile, placed over the joints between roof-tiles' (Pl.+), 'a curved plate' (Cato), imbricus 'rainy' (Pl.+), imbricitor 'who causes rain' (Enn.+).

PIt. *n̥fr-i- 'cloud'. It. cognates: O. **anafríss** 'to the rain deities [dat.pl.].

PIE *nbʰ-r-o- '(rain) cloud'. IE cognates: Skt. abhrá- 'cloud', Av. aβra- 'rain, rain-cloud', Khot. ora- 'sky'; Gr. ἀφρός [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, -icis are non-IE, and in the technical sphere we also find, e.g., pūmex, apex, irpex, silex, calix, fornix. Especially fornex 'vault, arch' (Enn.+) and apex 'top, crown' (Lucil.+, Varro) are close to imbrex. For PIE we can reconstruct an o-stem *nbʰro- 'cloudy, misty', from which an i-stem noun was derived.

Bibl.: WH I: 680f., EM 310, IEW 315f., Schrijver 1991: 64, Meiser 1998: 106, Untermann 2000: 95f. → ambricēs, nebula

imbuō, -ere 'to drench, wet; to fill' [v. III; pf. imbuī, ppp. imbūtum] (Pl.+)
  PIt. *enbu-.
  PIE *hₐen-dʰhₐ-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-dʰhₐuhₐ-to- 'having in-placement' to a u-stem *en-dʰhₐ-u- 'in-placement'; the latter noun Weiss regards as a substantivization of an earlier adj. compound *en-dʰhₐ-o- 'placed/placing in'. The verb imbuō, then, continues an etymon made up of *hₐen 'in' and *dʰehₐ- '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 imbuere 'to fill with', Panagl-Lindner posit *en-bʰuhₐ-ie/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.

immō 'rather, on the contrary' [ptcle. introducing the correction of a preceding statement, giving a negative answer to a question] (Naev.+)

PIt. *immō(C).

PIE *im-moH? IE cognates: Hit. *imma* 'truly, indeed', CLuw. *imma*, HLuw. *ima* [adv.] 'indeed'.

Etymology uncertain. Semantically, an abl.sg. *īmō to *īmus* '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 *imma* 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. → *īmus, inde*

īmus 'lowest, deepest, innermost' [adj. o/ā] (Naev.+)

It. cognates: perhaps O. **imad** [abl.sg.f.] '?' (if 'down below').

PIE *ndʰ-mHo-?

The explanation is disputed. WH and Meiser assume that *īmus* somehow represents a remodelling of *īnfimus* (synonym with *īmus*, and the more usual word) after *summus*. In view of *summus* < *supemo- < *sup-mHo-, one could envisage a phonetic development *infimos > *infmos > *immos > *īmus. The co-occurring form *īnfimus* 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. *infmī. Cowgill 1970: 130 proposes a proportion *su-perior : su-mmus = īn-ferior : X, X = *īn-mmus, but this morphological analysis is too artificial.

Bibl.: WH I: 685f., EM 311, Meiser 1998: 152, Untermann 2000: 341f. → *īnferus*

in 'into, in' [prep., prev.] (VOLat.+; Duenos inscr. *en*, Lex XII+ *in*)

Derivatives: *intus* [adv.] 'inside, within' (Pl.+).

PIt. *en 'in', *entos 'inside'. It. cognates: Ven. *es* 'unto' < *ens, **entol** 'inside' < *entos + l- of the next word; O. *en* [prep. + gen.], Pael. *i* [prep. + acc.]; postpos. + acc.: O. -en, Pael. -e, U. -em, -en, -e, -e; postpos. + abl.: O. -en, -en; postpos. + loc.: O. -ín, Vest. -(e)n, U. -en, -em, -eme, SPic. -ín, -en 'in, at (loc.), into (acc.), for (gen.)'. As preverb: O. em-, Pael. em-, in-, U. en-.

PIE *h₁(e)n 'in', *h₁entos '(from) inside'. IE cognates: OIr. *in-, en-, īⁿ, OW, OBret. *en, in* 'in', W. *yn-*; Skt. *ánīka-*, YAv. *ainika-* [m.] 'face' < *h₁eni-h₃kʷ-o-; Gr. ἔν, ἔνι, Arm. *i*, OPr. *en*, Latv. *ie-* 'in', Lith. *į* 'in(to)' [prep. / pref.], OCS *vъ(n)* , Ru. *v(o)* , SCr. *u* 'in(to)' < BSl. *in-; Go. *in*, OHG OS OE *in*, OIc. *i*; ToAB *y-, yn-*, 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 *h₁n.

Bibl.: WH I: 687f., EM 312f., IEW 311ff., Lejeune 1974: 334, Schrijver 1991: 37, Sihler 1995: 439f., Untermann 2000: 223-225. → *endo, inter, intestīnus*

in- 'not, un-' [pref.] (Lex XII+); assimilates to following consonant: *im-* in front of *b-/p-/m-*, *il-* before *l-*, *ir-* before *r-*, *ī-* before *g-*.

PIt. **n-*. It. cognates: O. *an-, am-*, U. *a-, an-, a-*. Only before adj. and *to*-participles.

PIE **n-* 'not, un-'. IE cognates: OIr. *in-, ē-, an-*, W. Co. Bret. *an-* 'not, un-'; Skt. Av. OP *a-*, in front of vowels *an-* 'un-, -less', Gr. ἀ-, in front of vowels ἀν-; also νη-, νᾱ-, νω- < **n-h₁/₂/₃C-*; Go. OHG OS *un-*, OIc. *ó-, ú-*; ToAB *a(n)-* , *am-, e(n)-* , *em-, on-*.

The form *in-* has regularly developed in front of consonants; from there, it replaced antevocalic **en-*. PIE **n-* is the zero grade of the negative ptcle. **ne* 'not'.

Bibl.: WH I: 686f., EM 311f., IEW 756ff., Leumann 1977: 386f., Untermann 2000: 93f. → *ne-, nē, nī*

inānis 'empty, hollow' [adj. *i*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *ināniae* [f.pl.] 'nothingness' (Pl.), *inānīre* 'to make empty' (Lucr.+); *inānilogista* [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.

inciēns 'big with young (of a female)' [adj. *nt*] (Varro+)

On the strength of the comparison with Gr. κυέω 'to be pregnant', *inciēns* is mostly analysed as a derivative of the PIE root **ḱuH-* 'to swell'. The formal aspects of this etymology are disputed. According to Thurneysen's rule (cf. Meiser 1998: 86 and Schrijver 1991: 322-324), **ū* became *ī* before **i*, yielding a phonetic change **ḱuH-ie-* > **kūie-* > **kīie-*. Yet according to Schrijver 2003 and 2006: 50, the sequence **ḱuH-ie-* would undergo a development to **kwīie-* in Proto-Italo-Celtic, whence we expect Lat. **quī-*. This problem is absent from the other examples for Schrijver's rule (*pius, suffīre, fierī*) since **w* might have disappeared after the labial obstruent. An alternative etymology is the following. The attestations show that *inciēns* meant a woman 'at the verge of parting' (Paul. *ex F. inciens propinqua partui*) as opposed to *gravida* and *praegnāns*, which were more general terms for 'pregnant'. Of course, this might be a recent semantic specialization. Nevertheless, if *inciēns* derives from a verb **inciēre* 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*.

Bibl.: WH I: 690, EM 314, IEW 592ff., Meiser 1998: 86, Schrijver 1991: 322ff., 2003: 77f., LIV **ḱueh₁-*. → *cavus, cieō, cumulus*

indiges, -etis 'epithet of certain gods' [m., adj. *t*] (Verg.+)

Derivatives: *indigitāre* 'to invoke (deities) by certain formulas' (Varro+), *indigitāmenta* [n.pl.] 'certain formulas used in invoking deities' (Paul. *ex F.*).

PIt. **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', *prae-stes, -stit-* 'witness'. The

verb *indigitāre* will then be a recent derivative from the noun, meaning 'to turn to the *indigitēs*'.

Bibl.: WH I: 693, EM 315. → *agō*, *endǫ*

indulgeō 'to be indulgent' [v. II; pf. *indulsī*, ppp. *indultum*] (Ter.+)

Derivatives: *indulgitās* 'leniency' (Caelius, Sisenna).

PIt. *-dolχ-ē-.

PIE *dlǵʰ-eh₁- 'to be(come) fixed'? IE cognates: Gaul. *delgu* [1s.pr.] (?) 'to hold' < PCl. *delge/o-*, MW *daly, dala* 'to hold', OBret. *delgim* 'to hold' < *dalge/o-* (< PIE *dlǵ-ske/o-*); Skt. *dr̥ṃha-* [pr.], *dr̥hya* [2s.ipv.act.] 'to fix, make firm', OAv. *dīdarəžō* [2s.desid.inj.act.] 'to desire to fasten', *dərəz-* 'fetter', YAv. *darəzaiia-* 'to fasten, tie', *dərəzra-* 'firm, strong'; Go. *tulgjan* 'to fasten'.

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)lVg-*. *Indulgēre* 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 *slh₂g-. LIV connects the root *delǵʰ- 'to be hard, get fixed'. If the verb was a causative *dolǵʰ-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 *-ehₗ-*, *indulgeō* might be derived from a negated form of an adj. *n-dlǵʰ-ro- 'not hard'. Thus *n-dlǵʰ-ehₗ- 'not to be hard toward' = 'to be lenient toward, indulge'.

Bibl.: WH I: 694f., EM 315, IEW 196f., Schumacher 2004: 271f., LIV *delǵʰ-.

indūtiae 'armistice, truce' [f.pl. *ā*] (Pl.+)

· The noun suggests an adjectival base *dūto-. Michael Weiss suggests to me a possible connection with PIE *duh₂- 'to be able, arrange', hence *n-duh₂-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.

īnferus 'lower' [adj. *o/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.); *infernus* 'of the underworld; further down' (Pac.+); *infrā* [adv.; prep.] 'below' (Pl.+).

PIt. *enþero- 'lower'. It. cognates: Fal. **ifra** 'beneath' [adv.].

PIE *ndʰero- 'lower', *ndʰmHo- 'lowest'. IE cognates: Gaul. *anderon* [gen.pl.] 'gods of the underworld'(?); Skt. *ádhara-*, YAv. *aδara-* 'lower', ms <'dl> *ēr* 'low', YAv. *aδairi* 'below'; Go. *undar*, OHG *untar, untari* 'under'.

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-fiō* (where the primary status of the simplex is clear) and maybe *-fāriam*, where *f* < *-d*ʰ- also occurs word-internally.

Bibl.: WH I: 698, EM 317, IEW 771, Giacomelli 1963: 248f., Leumann 1977: 169, 423, Sihler 1995: 69, Meiser 1998: 105. → *īmus*

Infestus 'hostile, aggressive' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *manu/ifestus* 'caught in the act, plainly guilty; obvious' (Lex XII+), *manifestārius* 'caught in the act' (Pl.+).

PIt. **en-fristo-* 'rushing in'?

According to Leumann 1977: 390, *manu/ifestus* derives from **manū festus* 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 **d*ʰers- 'to be bold' is not very compelling. Latin *-fest-* may stem from **fast-*, *-st-* may be from *-Rst-*, *-RTst-* or *-Tst-*. Closest in form would be *fastīgium* 'top, summit', *fastus* 'pride' < **b*ʰ*rst-*, but this yields no sense. The etymology of *īnfestus* as 'implacable' < **n-g*ʷʰ*ed*ʰ*-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 *festīnāre*, *confestim* contain a noun **festi-* 'hurry' < **fristi-*, this would match *īnfestus* ('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.+)

PIt. **mgǎnt-*.

PIE **mǵ-(e)h₂-(e)nt-*. IE cognates: Skt. *mahāntam* [acc.sg.f.], *mahatī* [f.] 'great, big', YAv. *mazā̊nt-* 'id.' < IIr. **maj(a)H-ant-* < PIE **meǵ-h₂-nt-*.

WH's explanation as *in-gēns* 'wovon es kein Entstehen gibt' is incomprehensible to me: it cannot be compared with Skt. *ábhva-*, since the latter is endocentric, whereas *ingēns* would have to be exocentric. Muller's proposal (1926) of a derivative in **-nt-* to PIE **mǵ-* is more promising. Since a theoretical preform **mǵ-nt-* 'great' would yield Lat. **magent-* (cf. *magnus* < **mǵ-no-*), we may derive *ingēns* from PIE **mǵ-h₂-ént-* (> **ingant-* > *ingent-*) or **mǵ-éh₂-(e)nt-* (> **ingānt-* > **ingant* > **ingent-*). Thus, the Latin form would have the same two suffixes as IIr.

Bibl.: WH I: 700, EM 317, IEW 373ff., Schrijver 1991: 484. → *magnus*

inguen, -inis 'swelling on the groin, bubo; groin' [n. *n*] (Lucil.+)

PIt. **ŋgʷen-*.

PIE **ngʷ-ēn, -n-os* 'the nude one'. IE cognates: Gr. ἀδήν, -ένος [f., m.] 'gland'.

Schrijver 1991 and Beekes (fthc.) separate the Greek word from Latin and North-Germanic (OIc. *økkvenn* 'thick, clodded', MoIc. *økkr* [m.] 'glans, gland, tumour' < PGm. **enkua-* < IE **eng*ʷ*o-*), 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 *neg^w- (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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 701, EM 317f., IEW 319, Schrijver 1991: 59, Sihler 1995: 162. → *nūdus*

inquinō, -āre 'to make dirty' [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *coinquināre* 'to pollute' (Acc.+); *cūnīre* 'to defecate' (Paul. *ex F.*); *ancunulentae* 'women having their period' (Paul. *ex F.*).

PIt. *k^winā-je/o-, *k^woin-je/o-?

The word cannot be connected with *caenum*; see s.v.

Bibl.: WH 1: 131, EM 318, Schrijver 1991: 265. → *caenum, cuniō*

Insece / inquam 'to say' [v. irr.] (Andr.+); pr.ipv. *īnsece, īnseque* (Andr., Enn.), pf. *insexit* (Enn.) 'to tell'; pr.ind. *inquam* (Pl.+) 'I say; of course', *inquis, -it, -imus, -itis, -iunt* 'says' > 'said', ipv. *inque, inquitō* 'say!'; other moods and tenses follow conjugation III^b (Pl.+).

Derivatives: *insectiō* 'story' (Gel.).

PIt. pr. *en-sek^w-e/o- (?), aor. *en-sk^w-e/o-.

PIE aor. *sk^w-e/o- 'to follow'. IE cognates: OIr. *insce* 'discourse' < *en(i)-sk^w-iā, OIr. *seichid*, ·*seich* 'to say', OW MW *hebu* 'to say', MCo. *gorthybi* 'to answer', OBret. *hep* 'says' < PCl. *sek^w-e/o-; Gr. pr. ἐν(ν)έπω < *en-sek^w-; aor. ἐνισπεῖν, ipv. ἔσπετε < *ἔν-σπ-ετε; ἐνίσσω < *si-sék^w-/sk^w-; Lith. (dial.) *sèkti*, 3s. *sēka* 'to tell'; OIc. *segja*, OS *seggian* 'to say' < IE *sok^{w}éi̯e-.

The shift from 'follow' to 'tell' can be explained via 'repeat, relate'. The forms *īnsece* and *īnseque* occur in texts modelled on Greek epic, and might be calques on ἐννέπω, using Latin *in-sequō. But they can also be regarded as inherited from the PIE present; the delabialized velar would have been generalized (*inseque >> insece). Latin *inquam* < *en-sk^w-ā- (original 1s.sb. 'I will say') and *inquit* < *en-sk^w-e-t, probably from the PIE (thematized) aorist. To *inquit*, a complete verbal paradigm was then built. The disappearance of *s* in *en-sk^w- 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-sk^w-e- (Hackstein 1997: 37-42), since this would in addition require syncope in a closed syllable.

Bibl.: WH 1: 702f., EM 318, IEW 897f., Leumann 1977: 212, 531, Sihler 1995: 546f., Meiser 1998: 117, 214, Meiser 2003: 147, Schumacher 2004: 565f., LIV 2.*sek^u-. → *sequor*

īnsolēscō, -ere 'to become overbearing' [v. III] (Sall.+)

Derivatives: *īnsolēns, -ntis* 'unaccustomed, unfamiliar' (Ter.+), 'immoderate, haughty' (Cic.+), *īnsolentia* 'unfamiliarity' (Turp.+), 'extravagance, arrogance' (Cic.+).

The older etymology says that these words are derived from *soleō* 'to be accustomed', via a semantic shift from 'to be unaccustomed' to 'be out of the ordinary, exaggerated'. This is actually supported by the chronology of the meanings of *īnsolēns* and *īnsolentia*. The pr. *īnsolēscō* would then be a more recent derivative

from *īnsolēns* (Sall.+). Another etymology, first proposed by Prokrovskii in 1898, separates *īnsolēscō* 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 *īnsolēscō* with Hit. *šulle-/šulla-* 'to become arrogant', *šullatar* 'swollenness; wantonness' < PIE **su̯lH-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 ?*su̯elH-. → *soleō*

īnstar 'counterpart, the equivalent' [n. only as nom. or acc.] (Varro+)

It is tempting to see in *īnstar* 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: *īnstar* + gen. simply means 'the equivalent of' whereas *īnstāre* 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. **(h₁e)n-steh₂-os* 'the standing in' > **in-stās* 'the cost' vel sim. Compare *iubar* for the phonetics of *-ar*.

Bibl.: WH I: 705, EM 319. → *stō*

īnstaurō, -āre 'to repeat, restore' [v. I] (Cic.+)
  Derivatives: *restaurāre* 'to restore, rebuild' (Tac.+).
  PIt. **stauro-* 'big, strong'.
  PIE **sth₂u-ro-* (>> **steh₂u-ro-*) 'big, strong'. IE cognates: Skt. *sthūrá-*, YAv. °*stūra-* [part of names] 'big, strong', Oss. *styr/(i)stur* ' id.'; OSw. *stūr*, MLG *stūr* 'big, strong, coarse'.

If the word is inherited, the composition of *in* + *staurāre* must be recent, otherwise we would expect **īnstūrāre*. According to EM, *restaurāre* replaced *īnstaurāre* because the meaning 're-' is unusual for *in-*. A nominal form **stauro-* could reflect PIE **steh₂u-ro-*, which reminds us of Skt. *sthūrá-* 'big, strong' < **stuh₂-ró-* < **sth₂-u-ro-*, to the root **steh₂-* '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, OIc. *staurr*). The full grade can be due to influence from the verb.

Bibl.: WH I: 705f., EM 319, IEW 1004ff. → *stō*

īnstīgāre 'to incite, provoke' [v. I] (Ter.+)
  PIt. **steig-(e/o-)*.
  PIE **steig-* 'to prick, sting'. IE cognates: Skt. *áti stigh-* 'to overcome', *ā-stig-* 'to harm, penetrate, assail', *stegá-* [m.] 'which stings / cane', YAv. *stija* [ins.sg.] 'with the tip (of the tusk)', Skt. *tejate* [pr.med.], *tétikte* [3s.med.int.] 'to sharpen', *tīkṣṇá-* [adj.] 'sharp, keen-eyed', *téjas-* [n.] 'sharp edge (of knife), sharpness', YAv. *bi-taēγa-* 'having two sharp edges', *brōiθrō.taēža-* 'sharp due to the blade', *tiγra-* 'cutting, pointed, sharp' (in cp. *tiži-*), Gr. στίζω 'to sting, tattoo', στίγμα [n.] 'stab, brand'; NHG *stechen* 'to sting', *Distel* 'thistle' (< PGm. **þīhstila-*).

Probably a denominal verb to *steig-(o-) 'sharp point', or a Latin compound verb in -āre derived from an earlier present *sīge/o- < *steig-(e/o-).

Bibl.: WH I: 706f., EM 649, IEW 1016f., Cheung 2007: 361f., Lubotsky (fthc.), LIV *(s)teig-. → stinguō

Insula 'island' [f. ā] (Naev.+)

IE cognates: OIr. inis, W. ynys 'island' < *ine/issī-; Gr. νῆσος [f.] 'island', Dor. νᾶσος, Rhod. νᾶσσος.

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-h₂- 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.+); intrāre 'to enter' (Pl.+); interātim 'interim' (Pl.+), intereā(d) 'in the meantime' (Andr.+), interim 'meanwhile' (Pl.+); intimus 'inmost, closest' (Pl.+).

PIt. *nter 'between', *ntero- 'interior', *ntamo-. It. cognates: Ven. a(n)tra 'within'; O. anter prep. + acc. 'between', + abl. 'within'; as preverb O. anter-, ander-, U. anter-; *nter 'between'.

PIE *h₁(e)nter [adv.] 'between', *h₁(e)n-tero- 'situated within', *h₁(e)n-tmHo- 'innermost'. IE cognates: OIr. eter, OW ithr, Co. ynter, yntre, Bret. etre 'between' < PCl. *enter; Skt. antár, OAv. aṇtarə̄, YAv. aṇtarə 'between, within' < *enter, Skt. ántara-, YAv. aṇtara- 'interior' < *entero-; Skt. ántama-, YAv. aṇtəma-'most intimate'; Gr. ἔντερα [pl.] 'intestines', Arm. ənderk'; RuCS jatro 'liver, (pl.) entrails', SCr. jȅtra 'liver' < PSl. *jętrò < *h₁en-tr-om; OIc. iðrar [pl.] 'intestines' < PGm. *énþerōz, Go. undaurni-mat 'midday meal', OIc. undorn 'before midday', OHG untorn 'midday' < *nþurná- < *ntrnó-, OE OS undern 'before midday' < *nternó-; Go. undar, OHG untar 'between' < PGm. *undér < *ntér; OPr. instran 'fat' < *n-s-tro-, Lith. įsčios [f.pl.] 'womb, entrails, interior', Latv. iekšas 'entrails' < *n-s-tio-.

Lat. inter continues the PIE locatival 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 708-712, EM 312f., IEW 311-314, Lejeune 1974: 331, Leumann 1977: 316, Meiser 1986: 69, Schrijver 1991: 59, Untermann 2000: 108f., Schaffner 2006b: 157f. → in, intestīnus

interpres, -tis 'intermediary, agent' [m. *t*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *interpretārī* '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', ἄπορος 'with no way out, impassable'; see s.v. *portō*.

WH propose that *interpres* is a backformation to *interpretārī*, which would mean 'to determine the mutual value' to *pretium*. Yet in that case, one would expect **interpretiārī*. A root **pret-* has been proposed for Go. *fraþjan* and Lith. *prãsti* 'to understand', but 'understanding' is a secondary meaning of the Latin forms. Forms such as *super-stes* 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. **enterpŏress* > **enterpress* > *interpres*. A thematized compound **enter-pr-o-* may also be envisaged.

Bibl.: WH I: 710f., EM 320, LIV 1.**per-*. → *portō, pretium*

intestīnus 'internal, civic, domestic' [adj. *o/ā*] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *intestīnum* 'intestines, guts' (Pl.+), 'alimentary canal' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **ṇter-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-stīno-* 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 **-stīno-*, which Forssman regards as the noun **-sth₂-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 **-īno-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 712, EM 313f., IEW 311-314, Leumann 1977: 327. → *inter, stō*

invītō, -āre 'to entertain, invite' [v. I] (Pl.+)

PIt. **wītā-je/o-* 'to pursue'.

PIE **uihₗ-to-* 'pursued'. IE cognates: see *invītus*.

We may posit a derived verb **wītāje-* 'to pursue', prefixed with *in-* 'in'. Job 1999 proposes to derive *invītāre* from **in-wiwitāre* < **en-uegʷʰ-i/etā-*, a frequentative of the root of *voveō*. Yet the frequentatives are normally built on the ppp., but *vōtus* < **ṷoṷeto-* shows *o*-vocalism.

Bibl.: WH I: 713f., EM 321, IEW 1123f., Schrijver 1991: 231, LIV **ṷeiₕₗ-*. → *invītus*

invītus 'unwilling' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **ṇ-wīto-* 'unwilling'.

PIE **n-uihₗ-to-* 'not turned to, not pursuing'. IE cognates: Skt. *viyánti* [3p.act.] 'they pursue', *vītá-* 'turned to', YAv. *viia-* 'to pursue', *vītar-* [m.] 'pursuer'; Gr. ἵεμαι 'to

strive after, wish'; Lith. *výti* 'to drive, pursue'.

Bibl.: WH I: 713f., EM 321, IEW 1123f., Schrijver 1991: 231, Sihler 1995: 540, LIV *ueih₁-. → *invītō, via, vīs*

iocus 'joke, jest' [m. *o*] (Pl.+; also *ioca, -ōrum* [n.pl.])

Derivatives: *iocārī* 'to jest, joke' (Pl.+), *iocōsus* 'fond of jokes, funny' (Varro+), *ioculāris* [adj.] 'laughable' (Ter.+), *ioculārius* 'id.' (Ter.), *ioculus* 'joke' (Pl.).

PIt. **joko-*. It. cognates: U. **iuka, iuku** [acc.pl.] 'words' or 'prayers' < **iok-o-*, Pael. *iocatin* [3p.pf.] maybe 'to order, command', denom. to **ioko-*.

PIE **iok-o-* 'word, utterance'. IE cognates: MW *ieith*, W. *iaith*, Bret. *yezh* 'language', MIr., MoIr. *icht* 'people' < PCl. **iextV-*; OHG *jehan*, OS *gehan* 'to express, utter', OHG *jiht* 'confession'. Lith. *juõkas* 'laugh, laughter, (pl.) joke(s)', Latv. *juõks* 'joke' are probably borrowings from German.

Bibl.: WH I: 715f., EM 322, IEW 503f., Schrijver 1995: 106f., Untermann 2000: 350f., LIV **iek-*.

ipse, ipsa, ipsum 'himself, herself, itself' [pron. adj.] (Lex XII, Andr.+; nom.sg.m. *ipsus* Andr. to Cato)

Derivatives: *ipsissimus* 'the very same' (Pl.+).

PIt. **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* + *-pse*, probably < **-pe-so*, with the PIE pronoun **so: eapse, eumpse, eampse, 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, eōpse*. There are also a few isolated forms with **so-* in both members: nom.sg.f. *sapsa* (Enn.Pac.), acc.sg.m. *sumpse* (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 PIt. by **so-pe-so* (> Lat. *sapsa*) and **e(s)-pe-so* (> **ispse, 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*.

Bibl.: WH I: 716f., EM 322f., IEW 281-286, Leumann 1977: 471, Jiménez Zamudio 1989, Sihler 1995: 394f., Meiser 1998: 163f., Untermann 2000: 235f. → *is, -pe, -so*

īra 'anger, rage' [f. *ā*] (Naev.+; Pl. *<eira>*)

Derivatives: *īrācundus* 'irascible' (Pl.+), *īrācundia* 'hot temper, passion' (Pl.+);

īrāscī 'to be(come) angry' (Pl.+), *īrātus* 'angry' (Pl.+).

PIt. **eis/ra-*.

PIE **h₁eis-h₂-* 'anger'. IE cognates: Av. *aešma-* 'wrath', Gr. οἷμα 'spring, rush' < **h₁ois-mo-*; Skt. *iṣ-* 'refreshment, strength', ToB *aise* 'power'.

The spelling *eira* is found in a word-play with *ēra* 'mistress', which might point to an (archaic) pronunciation [eːra] of the word 'anger'. In that case, the word must contain PIt. **ei*. The suffix *-cundus* is rare, but cannot be original in *īrācundus*; it must have been adopted from other adj. in *-cundus*. The adj. *īrātus* was formed directly from *īrā*; the verb *īrāscī*, on the other hand, cannot be derived from the noun, and must be a back-formation to *īrātus*. It is uncertain that *īra* contains intervocalic **-s-*, and also the semantic connection between the surmised PIE root **h₁is-* 'to urge' and words for 'anger' is hardly compelling. Thus, I accept this etymology in the absence of a better one.

Bibl.: WH I: 717f., EM 323, IEW 299-301, Leumann 1977: 63f., 333, Schrijver 1991: 37, Meiser 1998: 58, LIV **h₁eish₂-*.

irrītō, -āre 'to provoke, annoy, excite' [v. I] (Pl.+)

PIt. **rīto-* 'stirred'.

PIE **h₃riH-to-* 'whirled, stirred'. IE cognates: MIr. *rían* 'river, sea'; Skt. *ríyate* 'to flow (producing whirlpools), whirl', *riṇā́ti* 'to make flow, make run'; Gr. ὀρίνω, Lesb. ὀρίννω 'to whirl'; Ru. *réjat'* 'to stream fast, flow', *rínut'* 'to stream, flow'; OE *rīd* 'stream, brook', OHG *rinnan* 'to drip'.

Probably, a denominal verb from **rīto-* 'stirred'. A frequentative would be possible only if we assume haplology from **rītitāre*.

Bibl.: WH I: 718f., EM 323, IEW 326-332, Schrijver 1991: 24, LIV **h₃reiH-*. → *rīvus*

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* (= *eiius*), dat.m.n. **eiiei* > *ēī* > *ei*, abl.m.n. *eōd* > *eō*, nom.f. *ea*, acc.f. *eam*, dat.fi *eae* >> *ei*, abl.f. *eād* > *eā*; pl. nom.m. *eeis* (CIL), *eī, eīs* (Pl.) > *iī, īs*, acc.m. *eōs*, nom.acc.n. *ea*, gen.m.n. *eum* (Paul. ex F., CIL) >> *eōrum*, dat.abl.m.n. *eieis* (CIL) > *iīs*, >> *ībus* (Pl.+), nom.fi *eae*, acc.f. *eās*, gen.f. *eārum*, dat.abl.f. *eīs* (Pl.) > *iīs*, >> *eābus* (Cato)

Derivatives: *eā* 'along that path' (Cato+), *eō* 'thither' (Cato+), 'therefore' (Pl.+), *ideō* 'for the reason (that)' (Pl.+).

PIt. nom.sg.m. **is*, acc.sg.m. **im*, nom.acc.sg.n. **id*; f. **ejo/ā-* in nom.sg.f., acc.sg.f, **esm-* in dat.loc.sg.m.n. It. cognates: O. *izic*, U. *erek, ere, erec, ere* [nom.sg.m.], O. *iúk, iiuk, ioc* [nom.sg.f.], *ionc*, U. *eu* [acc.sg.m.], O. *Iak*, U. *eam* [acc.sg.f.], O. *idik, idik, idic*, U. *eřek* [nom.acc.sg.n.], O. *eiseis, eIseis, eizeis*, U. *ererek, erer, irer* [gen.sg.m.n.], *erar* [gen.sg.f.], esmik, SPic. esmik [dat.sg.m.n.], O. *eisúd, eis[ud]* , *eizuc, eizucen*, U. *eruku, erucom* (+ *-com*)   [abl.sg.m.n.], O. *eisak*, U. *erak* [abl.sg.f.], O. *eIsei, esei, eizeic* [loc.sg.m.n.], SPic. esmen, esmin [idem + *-en*] , O. *e]isaí* [loc.sg.f.], *iusc* [nom.pl.m.], *eisiuss* [acc.pl.m.?], U. *eaf, eaf*, Marr. *iafc* [acc.pl.f.], O. *ioc*, U. *eu, eo* [nom.acc.pl.n.], O. *eisunc*, Marr. *esuc*, U. *eru, erom, ero* [gen.pl.m.n.], O. *eizazunc* [gen.pl.f.], *eizois* [dat.abl.pl.m.n.], *eizasc* [dat.abl.pl.f.]

'this' < stems *i-, *eio-, *eiso-, *esmo- with or withour 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.acc.sg.n. *id-id-k(e), the second syllable of which spread to the nom.sg.m. and sometimes gen.sg.

PIE *(h₁)i- [nom.acc.sg. m.f.n.], *h₁e-sm-/-si-/-i- (elsewhere) 'he, she, it'. IE cognates: OIr. é (hé) 'he' < *e(i)s or *em, ed (hed) 'it', sí '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)jā-; Hit. aši / uni / ini 'that (one)' < *h₁os + -i, *h₁om + i (h₁o- << *h₁e- according to Kloekhorst 2008), *h₁i-, dat.loc.sg. edi < *h₁e-; Skt. iyām [nom.sg.f.], idám [nom.acc.sg.n.], imám [acc.sg.m.] 'this here, he', OAv. īt [nom.acc.sg.n.], YAv. īm [nom.sg.f.], imǝm [acc.sg.m.], OP iyam [nom.sg.m.f.] < *h₁i-; Skt. ayám [nom.sg.m.], ásmai [dat.sg.m./n.], asmāt [abl.sg.m./n.], ásya [gen.sg.m./n.] 'this here, he', Av. aēm [nom.sg.m.], OAv. aiiām [nom.sg.m.], ahmāi [dat.sg.m.], ahmāt [abl.sg.m.]; ahiiā, axiiācā [gen.sg.m./n.], YAv. ahe [gen.sg.m./n.] < PIE *h₁e-; Gr. (Cypr.) ἴν 'eum, eam', Gr. μίν, νίν; Lith. jìs 'he', jì 'she', OCS i 'that, he, who', ja 'she', je 'it' < PIE *(h₁)i-(o)-; Go. is 'he', acc.sg. ina, n. ita, acc.sg.f. ija, 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. Beekes (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. eiius 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-.

Bibl.: Sommer 1914: 417-420, WH I: 399f., 720f., EM 323f., IEW 281-286, Leumann 1977: 466f., Sihler 1995: 391f., van der Staaij 1995: 112-123, Schrijver 1997b: 51-70, Meiser 1998: 159-161, Untermann 2000: 355-358. → -ce, -de, -dem, ibī, īdem, ipse, iste, ita

iste, ista, istud 'that of yours' [pron., pron. adj.] (Naev.+); gen.sg. istīus, dat.sg. istī, but Pl.Cato also gen.sg.m. istī, dat.sg.f. istae

Derivatives: istic, -aec, -uc [pron. adj.] 'that of yours' (Pl.+); istīc 'over there' (Pl.+), istinc 'from over there' (Pl.+), istō (Pl.+), istōc (Pl.+), istūc (Pl.+) 'to where you are', istorsum 'in your direction' (Ter.).

Plt. *es-to-. It. cognates: U. estu [acc.sg.m.], Presam. estam [acc.sg.f.], U. este, este [acc.sg.n.], SPic. estas [nom.pl.f.?], U. estu, esto, estac [acc.pl.n.] 'this' < *i/es-to-; n. *es-ti-d.

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 identied 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 721ff, EM 324, IEW 281-286, Leumann 1977: 470, van der Staaij 1995: 137, Sihler 1995: 394, Meiser 1998: 163, Untermann 2000: 236f. → *is, so-*

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.+).

PIt. **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. *iti* 'in this manner', Lith. *it* [adv.] 'just like, in a manner of speaking' < **h₁iti* (?), Skt. *itthā́, itthā́d* 'here, there', Av. *iþā́* 'thus', Lat. *ita* could reflect PIE **h₁ith₂*. 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 neuters, 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 **h₁i* 'it' and **to-* 'that'.

Bibl.: WH I: 722ff, EM 324, IEW 281-286, Leumann 1977: 92, Schrijver 1991: 80, Untermann 2000: 349f. → *is, iste*

iter, itineris 'journey, route, road' [n. *r/n*] (Naev.+; variants: nom.acc.sg. *itiner* Pl.+, gen.sg. *iteris* Naev.+, abl.sg. *iterę* Acc.+)

PIt. **eitor, *iten(o)s*?

PIE **h₁éi-tr*, gen.sg. **h₁i-tén-s*, loc.sg. **h₁i-tén* 'way, journey'. IE cognates: Hit. *itar* [n.] 'way' (< **h₁éi-tr, *h₁i-tén-s*? cf. Rieken 1999: 374-377); YAv. *pairiϑna-* 'due lifetime' (< PIIr. **pari-itna-* < PIE **h₁it-n-o-*); ToB *ytārye* 'road, way', ToA *ytār* 'road, way' < **h₁i-tōr*.

The nom.sg. in *-er* seems to point to **-ēr*, which would be unique. Lat. **/aser/* '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 **itur* < **itor* << **h₁éi-tr*. Klingenschmitt and Meiser assume a paradigm with nom.sg. **h₁i-tér*, gen.sg. **h₁i-tn-és*, which would be unique for a n. noun. The loc.sg. **h₁i-tén* 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 *-nus, -neris* such as *facinus* 'crime'. Obviously, there is no perfect model for such a replacement, but it seems the best explanation for *itineris* so far.

Bibl.: WH I: 408, EM 197, IEW 294f., Klingenschmitt 1992: 18, Meiser 1998: 142, LIV **h₁ei-*. → *eō*

iterum 'again, for the second time' [adv.] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *iterāre* 'to repeat' (Pl.+).

PIt. *itero- 'the other'.

PIE *(h₁)i-tero-. IE cognates: Skt. ítara- 'the other (of the two), another'.

Bibl.: WH I: 723f., EM 325, IEW 281ᵣ286, Sihler 1995: 429. → cēterus, is

iuba 'mane; plume' [f. ā] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: iubātus 'having a mane' (Naev.+).

PIt. *jupā-.

PIE *(H)iudʰ-h₂- 'that moves, moveables'.

WH assume that iuba was derived from the root of iubēre as 'moving to and fro', Leumann 1977 'shaking'. This is rejected by EM, but since a better etymology is absent, we may accept it for the time being: *iub-a 'that moves (to and fro)' > 'mane, plume'.

Bibl.: WH I: 724, EM 325, IEW 511f., Leumann 1977: 279, LIV *Hi̯eu̯dʰ-. → iubeō

iubar, -aris 'the first light of day; brightness' [n. r] (Enn.+; 1x iubār Enn.)

PIt. *dju-faos, dju-fās-.

PIE *diu-bʰeh₂-es- 'having/bringing the light of daytime'. IE cognates: Olr. bán 'white'; Skt. bhā́s- [n.] 'light, radiance, gleam, glow' < *bʰeh₂-s-, bhā́sas- [n.] 'splendour', maybe HLuw. pihas- 'splendor, might' < *bʰéh₂-o-; Skt. bhā́ti, YAv. fra-uuāiti '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 *bʰeh₂-, 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 724, EM 325, IEW 104, 184-87, Leumann 1977: 84, Dunkel 1997, LIV 1.*bʰeh₂-. → deus, Iūpiter

iubeō 'to order' [v. II; pf. iussī, ppp. iussum; SCBac. ioub-, ious-] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: iussus, -ūs 'bidding, command' (Pl.+), iniussū [adv.] 'without orders' (Cato+).

PIt. *joup-eje/o-.

PIE *Hioudʰ-eie/o- 'to cause to move'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. yúdhya- 'to fight', yodha- 'to rebel', caus. yodháyati, ppp. yuddhá- 'conquered', yúdh- [f.] 'fight', YAv. yūiδiia- 'to fight', aspāiiaoδa- [m.] 'horse warrior'; Gr. ὑσμίνη (< Gr. *husmó-) [f.] 'battle, fight'; Lith. judùs 'belligerent'; Lith. judéti 'to move (intr.)'; ToA yutk- 'to care for' < *i̯eudʰ-ske-.

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 *iup-s-, the expected s-perfect to a secondary verb stem. The Latin meaning has developed from 'to cause to move' > 'order'.

Bibl.: WH I: 724f., EM 325, IEW 511f., Meiser 1998: 209, LIV *Hi̯eu̯dʰ-.

iūbilō, -āre 'to let out whoops' [v. I] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *iūgere* 'to utter its natural cry': *milvi dicuntur cum vocem emittunt* (Paul. *ex F.*).

PIt. **iū.

PIE **iū.* IE cognates: Gr. ἰύ 'interjection of amazement', ἰυγή, ἰυγμός 'crying', ἰύζω (fut. ἰύξω) 'to cry aloud'; MHG *jū, jūch* 'exclamation of joy' whence MHG *jūwen, jūwezen* 'ju rufen, jubeln', *jūchezen*, MoDu. *juichen* < **jū(χ)an*, OIc. *ýla*, 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.+)

PIt. **j(o)u-gī-.*

PIE **h₂iu-gʷih₃-* 'having eternal life, living forever'. IE cognates: Av. *yauuaējī-* 'living forever'; Gr. ὑγιής 'sound, healthy'; Go. *ajukdups* 'eternity' < **ajuki-dūpi-,* OE *ēce, æce* 'eternal' < **aiuki-.*

Usually used of waters ('everflowing'). 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 **h₂iu-gʷih₃-.* Weiss assumes that **gʷ* was delabialized in PIE after **u* (which is conceivable), and that the final **-ī* which should have resulted from **-iH-* was reintegrated as a short *i*-stem, since Latin had no long *ī*-stems. The long *ū* instead of *u* he explains from the introduction of the full grade **(H)ieu-* 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. *āiiu,* gen. *yaoš* < **Hoi-u-*, gen.sg. **Hi-eu-s.*

Bibl.: WH I: 727, EM 327, IEW 508-510, Weiss 1995. → *iūs, iuvenis*

iuncus 'reed, rush' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *iunceus* 'of/like rushes' (Pl.+), *iuncētum* 'bed of rushes' (Varro); *ēiuncidus* 'soft like a rush' (Varro+); *iūnipe/irus, -ī* [f.] 'juniper-berry; juniper-tree' (Cato+).

PIt. **joiniko-.*

IE cognates: MIr. *ain* 'reeds, rushes' (< OIr. **oín* < **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-* > **ioinko-* > **iūnko-* > *iuncus.* The stem **ioi-ni-* gives the impression of being non-IE. If *iūniperus* was derived from the same stem, we must explain why syncope took place in *iuncus* but not in *iūniperus.* One would expect the reverse, if anything: retention in **ioiniko-*, syncope in **ioini-pVro-.*

Bibl.: WH I: 729f., EM 328, IEW 513.

iungō, -ere 'to put in the yoke, join' [v. III] (Pl.+; *iūnxī, iūnctum*)

Derivatives: (1) *adiungere* 'to join, combine, attach' (Pl.+), *coniungere* 'to connect' (Pl.+), *coniunctiō* 'joining, union' (Varro+), *coniugulus* [adj.] 'name of a species of myrtle' (Cato+), *dēiungere* 'to unyoke' (Varro+), *di(s)iungere* 'to separate, unyoke' (Pl.+), *sēiungere* 'to separate, exclude' (Lucr.+), *subiungere* 'to harness, attach' (Varro+); *iunctus, -ūs* 'the joining' (Varro); (2) *coniu(n)x, -gis* 'husband, wife' (Pl.+), *coniugium* 'marriage' (Ter.+), *coniugālis* 'marital' (Varro+); *sēiugis* [adj.] 'separate' (Paul. *ex F.*); *iniugēs* 'bovēs quī sub iugō non fuerint' (Paul. *ex F.*); (3) *iugus* [adj.] 'combined together' (Cato+), *bīgae* [f.pl.] 'pair of horses' (Enn.+), *biiugus* 'yoked in pairs' (Lucr.+), *quadriiugus* 'drawn by four horses' (Enn.+), *quadrīga* 'a chariot with its team of four horses' (Pl.+), *quadrīgārius* 'charioteer' (Varro+); (4) *iūgera, -um* [n.pl.] 'a measure of land' (Cato+; sg. *iūgerum* Varro+); (5) *iugum* 'yoke' (Pl.+), *lora subiugia* 'yoke-straps' (Cato+); *iugāre* 'to fasten' (Laev.+), *iugātiō* 'the training of vines along crossbeams' (Varro+), *abiugāre* 'to separate' (Pac.), *adiugāre* 'to attach' (Pac.+), *dēiugāre* 'to disconnect' (Pac.); (6) *iugulum* (also *-us*) 'throat' (Pl.+), *iugulae* [f.pl.] 'name for part of the constellation of Orion' (Pl.+), *iugulāre* 'to kill by cutting the throat' (Pl.+); (7) *iuges, -etis* [adj.] 'relating to yoked animals' (said of *auspicium*) (Cic., Paul. *ex F.*); (8) *iūmentum* 'beast of burden' (Pl.+; Forum cippus *iouxmenta*), *adiūmentum* 'assistance' (Pl.+); (9) *iug(u)mentum* 'lintel' (Cato+).

Plt. **jung-e/o-, *-jug-, *jug-o-, *joug-es-, *joug-s-mn-to-*.

PIE **(H)iunégti, *(H)iungénti* 'to yoke'; **(H)iugo-* [n.] 'yoke', **(H)ieug-os-* [n.] 'yoked animals, team'. IE cognates: (1) Skt. pr. *yunájmi* [1s.], *yuṅkté* [3s.med.] 'to yoke', YAv. *yuṅjinti* [3p.pr.], Gr. ζεύγνυμι, Lith. *jùngti*, 3s. *jùngia* 'to tie, join, yoke', Latv. *jûgt*. (2) Hit. *iūk-*, ⁽ᴳᴵˢ⁾*iuka-* [n.] 'yoke, pair' < **iéug-, *iugo-*, Hit. *iuga-* 'yearling', *tāiuga-* 'two-year-old' < **iugos*, gen.sg. of *iūk-*. Since Hit. *iūk-* was only thematized to *iuka-* within the Hittite period, the other IE words that reflect **iugom* might be due to a post-IE thematization (Rieken 1999: 61f.). Skt. *yúj-* [m.] 'yoke-fellow, ally, associate', Gr. ἄζυξ 'not yoked' (4) Gr. ζεῦγος [n.] 'team', ἄζυγής 'unbound', MHG *jiuch* [n.] 'a morgen of land', OHG *jūhhart* 'a measure of land', Go. *jukuzi* [f.] 'yoke, servitude', OE *gycer* 'yoke' (< **jukizi-*) (5) Olr. *cuing* [f.] 'yoke' (< **kom-jung-i*); OW *iou* 'yoke', MW *iau, yeu*, Co. *ieu*, Bret. *yeu, ieo* < PCl. **jugo-*; Skt. *yugá-* [n.] 'yoke, team, race, tribe', *prá-ūga-* (< **prá-yuga-*) [n.] 'the fore part of the shafts of a chariot', YAv. *yuiiō.samī* (< **yugō.s-*) [nom.du.] 'yoke and (wooden) pin', MP *juγ*, MoP *juγ*, Gr. ζυγόν, Arm. *lowc*, Lith. *jùngas*, Latv. *jûgs*, OCS *igo*, Ru. *ígo* 'yoke' < PSl. **jьgo*; Go. *juk* 'pair', OHG *joh*, OIc. *ok* 'yoke'; (8) Gr. ζεῦγμα 'what is used for joining, bridge of boats, canal-lock'.

(1): PIE nasal present **iu-n-g-*, thematicized in Latin; (2) prepositional compounds with the root **iug-*; (3) *o*-stem derivative **iug-o-* 'yoked', with numerals **dui-iug-o-* etc.; (4) *s*-stem PIE **ieug-e/os-* 'yoked animals, team'; in Latin, it shifted to indicate the amount of land which a team of oxen could plough in a day; (5) PIE n. *o*-stem 'yoke', with derived verbs; (6) probably 'small yoke', 'connecting part' > 'throat'; (7) the *t*-stem is uncertain; the attested form *iuges* might also belong to the adj. *iugis* (cf. 2); (8) Probably, **ieug-s-mn-to-* is the earlier remake of PIE **ieug-mn* 'yoking'; (9) is the more recent, productive deverbal derivative in *-mentum*.

Bibl.: WH I: 726-730, EM 326-328, IEW 508-510, Stüber 2002: 113f., LIV *i̯eu̯g-.
→ iūxtā

Iūpiter, Iovis 'Jupiter' [m.] (VOLat., Naev.+); nom. *Iūpiter*, later *Iuppiter*, also *Iouis* (Enn., Acc.+); acc.sg. *Diouem* [Praeneste], *Iouem*; gen. *Diouos*; *Iovos*, *Diovo* [Praeneste, Norba], *Diouis*, *Iouis*; dat. *Diovei* [Falerii, Mesagne], *Iovei* [Praeneste, Spoleto], *Iouī*, abl. *Ioue*; nom.pl. *Iouēs* (Cic.)

Derivatives: *Diesptr* [nom. Praeneste], *Diespiter*, *-tris* (Pl., Var.+), *Dispiter* (Paul. *ex F.*) 'father Jupiter'; *Vēdiovis*, *Vēiovis* 'an ancient deity, considered to be an underworld counterpart of Jupiter', *Vēdius* 'name of a Roman gens' (Sen.+).

PIt. nom. *djous*, acc. *d(i)jēm*, gen. *diwos*, dat. *djowei* >> PIt. (1) nom. *dijēs*, acc. *dijēm*, (2) nom. *djous*, acc. *djowem*, gen. *djowes*, dat. *djowei*. Sab. adj. *djow-jo-* 'of Jupiter'. It. cognates: (1) O. διωϝηις, lúveis, *zoves* [gen.], Mars. *ioue*, O. διουϝει, ζωϝηι, ιουϝηι, **diúvei, iúvei, iuvei**, U. **iuve**, *iuue* [dat.], U. **di, dei** [voc.] 'Zeus' < gen. *djoweis*, dat. *djowei*, voc. *dijē* (and *djou* in **iupater**) . O. **dipatir** [nom.], Presam. διποτερες, Marr. *ioues ːpatres*, u. ·**iuvip(atres?)** [gen.], U. **iuvepatre, iuve patre** [dat.], **iupater** [voc.] 'Iuppiter'. Possibly Presam. ιιοϝιοι ǁ*Iowijōi* (in Tortora AI), but the ending does not fit. (2) U. **iuvie, iuvl**, *ioui, iouie*, Vol. *iouio*, O. δ]ιοϝιοι [dat.sg.m.], U. *ioui* [acc.sg.m.], U. **iuviu**, *iouiu* [abl.sg.m.], *iouie*, *iiouie* [voc.sg.m.], Pael. *iouiois*, Mars. *iouies* [dat.pl.m.], Marr. *iouia* [nom.sg.f.?], O. διωϝιιας, Marr. *iouias* [gen.sg.f.], U. **iuvie**, *iouie* [dat.sg.f.], O. **iúviia** [acc.sg.f.], U. *iouia* [voc.sg.f.], O. **diuvia**[s [nom.pl.f.], **iúviais** [acc.pl.f.] 'belonging to Iuppiter' < *djou-io-*, from the obl. stem of *Iuppiter, Iovis*; O. **diíviiai** [dat.sg.f.] 'of Iuppiter' (? for *diúviiai?*).

PIE nom. *di̯ēus*, voc. *di̯eu*, acc. *di̯ēm* (< *di̯eum*), gen. *di̯u̯os* (>> PIt. *di̯eu̯os*), dat. *di̯u̯ei*. IE cognates: OIr. *die* (*día*) , OW *did* [m.] 'day'; Hit. (d)*šīu̯-*, (d)*šīuna-*, Pal. *tiuna-*, Lyd. *ciw-* 'god' < *di̯ēu-*, Skt. *dyáv-* [m.f.] 'heaven, god of the sky, Father Sky, day' (*dyáuḥ* [nom.sg.], *dyàuḥ* [voc.sg.], *dyā́m* / *divam* [acc.sg.], *dívā* [instr.sg.], *divé* [dat.sg.], *divás* / *dyóḥ* [gen.abl.sg.], *dyávi* / *diví* [loc.sg.]), YAv. *diiaoš* 'of the hell', Myc. dat. *di-we* /*diwei*/, Gr. nom. Ζεύς, voc. Ζεῦ, gen. Δι(ϝ)ός, dat. (loc.) Δι(ϝ)ι, dat. also ːΔιϝεί (e. g. Διϝεί-φιλος) , acc. Ζῆν, since H. also Δί-α, Ζῆν-α; Arm. *tiw* 'day(-time)'ː; OCS *dъždь* 'rain' < PIE *dus-diu-* 'bad weather, rainstorm'. In combination with PIE *ph₂tēr: Gr. Ζεὺς πατήρ, Skt. *dyáuḥ ːpitā́*.

The Latin forms *Diespiter, Dispiter*, U. *di, dei* together with the word *diēs* 'day' point to the generalization of a stem *dijē-*, whereas *Iūpiter, Iovis* reflect PIt. *djow-*. These can be derived from a single PIE paradigm for '(god of the) sky, day-light', which phonetically split in two in PIt. and yielded two new stems with semantic specialization. Syllabic *dij-* in the nom.acc.sg. can stem from the oblique cases (gen.sg. *diwos*, etc.), in which syllabic *di-* occurred. The acc.sg. *dijēm* led to the creation of a new nom.sg. *dijēs* and a separate paradigm meaning 'day' (see Lat. *diēs*); some traces of 'sky(-god)' remain in Lat. *Diespiter*, U. *di, dei*. The acc.sg. of 'Zeus' was restored as *diewm* > *diowem* in PIt., on which the attested paradigm in Latin (*Iouis* etc.) and Sab. (*dioueis* etc.) was built. The word *dieu-* also occurred as a fixed combination with PIE *ph₂ter- 'father', meaning 'Zeus'. Both members were

originally declined, and the voc.sg. *diéu pater yielded Lat. Iūpiter, U. **iupater.** In Sab., this combination is still declined for case forms. Other case forms of *dieu- have been petrified in Latin diū and -djus-, see s.v.

Bibl.: WH I: 732, EM 329, IEW 183-187, Leumann 1977: 357, Sihler 1995: 339, Meiser 1998: 143f., Nussbaum 1999b, Untermann 2000: 163, 179, 182-187, Rix 2004. → *deus, diēs, diū, iūglans, pater*

iūs, -ris 'broth, sauce' [n. *r*] (Pl.+)
    Derivatives: *iūsculum* 'broth, soup' (Cato).
    Plt. *jowas- or *jūs-.
    PIE *i(e/o)uH-s- 'broth, soup'. IE cognates: Skt. *yūṣ-* 'soup, broth', Khot. *yūṣ* 'id.', Gr. ζύμη 'leaven, beer-yeast' < *iuHs-meh₂- (more difficult to connect: Gr. ζωμός [m.] 'sauce, soup'); OPr. *juse* [f.], Lith. *jūšė* 'broth, soup'; CS *juxa* 'broth', Ru. *uxá* 'fish-soup', Cz. *jicha* 'liquid, sauce, (arch.) soup' < PSl. *jūxà < PIE *ie/ouH-s-.

Whereas Skt. and Lith. point to *iuH-s-, Slavic requires *ious- < *ieuH-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. ζύμη is not completely certain because of the deviant meaning. The root is often analysed as *ieu- 'to hold tight, fasten', as attested in Skt. *yauti*, Lith. *jaũti*, but the semantics are remote, and the root does not contain a final laryngeal (unless, of course, 'soup' would be analysed as *iu-H-).
    Bibl.: WH I: 734, EM 330, IEW 507, Schrijver 1991: 233.

iūs, -ris 'law' [n. *r*] (Lex XII+; in VOLat. inscr. *ious*)
    Derivatives: *iūstus* 'lawful, just' (*iouestod* 'iūstō' Forum inscr.+, *iouistē* Paul. *ex F.*), *iūstitia* 'justice' (Ter.+); *iūrāre* 'to take an oath, swear' (Pl.+) (3s. *iouvesat* 'swears', Duenos inscr.), *iūrātor* 'certain official' (Pl.+); *abiūrāre* 'to deny knowledge of' (Pl.+), *adiūrāre* 'to swear' (Pl.+), *dēie/ūrāre* 'to swear' (Pl.+), *ēiū/erāre* 'to reject under oath', *pēiie/urāre* 'to swear falsely' (Pl.+), *pēiiūriōsus* 'addicted to perjury' (Pl.), *pēiūrium* '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 reprove' (Pl.+), *iūrgium* 'quarrel, dispute' (Pl.+); *iūdex* 'judge' (Lex XII, Pl.+), *iūdicium* 'legal process, trial; decision' (Pl.+), *iūdicāre* 'to judge, try' (Pl.+), *iūdicātum* 'judgement debt' (Lex XII+), *iūdicātiō* 'juridical power' (CIL 1.583+).
    Pit. *jowos, *jowes- 'oath, law', *jowesto- 'just', *jowes-ā-je- 'to swear', *jowesago- 'dispute', *jowes-dik- 'judge'.
    PIE *h₂oi-u, gen.sg. *h₂i-eu-s 'vital force, eternity' >> *s*-stem *h₂ieu-os, -es-. IE cognates: OIr. *uisse* 'just, right, fitting' (< *iu-s-t-io-); Skt. *yóṣ(-)* 'of life', Av.*yaož-dā-* [adj.] 'possesing power (of life)'; OAv. *yaoš* 'life, health'; Skt. *ā́yuṣ-* 'life, life span', Av. *āiiu-* [n.] 'life, lifetime, time' (gen.sg. OAv. *yaoš*, dat.sg. OAv. *yauuōi, yauuē*, YAv. *yauue*) , *yauuaē-sū-* 'thriving forever', OAv. *yauuaē-jī-* 'living forever' < PIE *h₂oiu- (gen.sg. *h₂éius / *h₂iéus; in compounds *-h₂iu-); Gr. οὐ, Arm. *oč'*, Alb. *as* 'not' < *h₂oiu(-kʷe).

The noun *iūs* probably reflects an *s*-stem *ieu̯os > *iou̯os > iūs, with *iūstus* as a

to-derivative. The verb *iūrāre* reflects a denominative verb PIt. **jowes-ā-je-*. The verb *(ob)iūrgāre*, with spellings *(ob)iūrigāre* in Pl., and *iūrgium*, seem to be based on a noun **iūrago-* < **ious-ago-* < **ieuos-h₂ǵ-o-* 'bringing the oath' vel sim. According to Leumann 1977: 546, the alternation between *-ierāre* and *-iūrāre* in *dē-*, *ē-*, *pē/per-ie/ūrāre* is due to contamination of *per-iūrāre* with *peierāre* 'to worsen' to *peius*. The noun *iūdex* has analogical *-ex* instead of *-ix*; it probably reflects **ieuos-dik-*, or it has been formed from *iūs* plus **dik-* after the contraction of **iowos* > *iūs*. 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. *āiu-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 733, EM 329, IEW 512, Leumann 1977: 96, 391, 546, Schrijver 1991: 273f., Sihler 1995: 213, 306, Dunkel 2000a: 94. → *aevum, iūgis, iuvenis*

iuvencus 'young bull' [m. *o*] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: *iuvenca* 'young cow, heifer' (Varro+).

PIt. **juwnko-*. It. cognates: U. *iuengar* [nom.pl.], **iveka**, *iuenga* [acc.pl.] 'young cow'.

PIE **h₂iu-h₁n-ko-* 'young one, young animal'. IE cognates: OIr. *óac*, W. *ieuanc* 'youth' < PCl. **juuanko-*, Skt. *yuvaśá-* 'young', Go. *jugga-laúps* 'youth', OHG *jung*, OIc. *ungr* 'young'.

A derivative in **-ko-* of the PIE word reflected in *iuvenis*. The sequence *-enc-* instead of *-inc-* is unexpected. *Iuvencus* can be explained as a Sabellism, or as influenced by *iuvenis* and *iuventus*.

Bibl.: WH I: 735, EM 330, IEW 510f., Schrijver 1991: 321f., Meiser 1998: 81, 91, Untermann 2000: 354. → *iuvenis*

iuvenis 'young man' [m. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *iuventūs* 'youth' (Pl.+), *iuventa* 'youth' (Lab.+), *iuventās* 'youth' (Lucr.+); *iūnior* 'younger' (Pl.+); *iūnīx, -īcis* 'young cow, heifer' (Persius Flaccus, hapax), *Iūnius* [adj.] 'the month of June' (Enn.+), *Iūnō* 'the goddess Juno' (Pl.+).

PIt. **juwen-* 'young', **jūniōs* 'younger'. It. cognates: maybe U. *iouies* [dat.pl.], *iouie* [acc.pl.] '?', party of able-bodied men: **ieu-iē-*?

PIE **h₂iu-h₁en-* 'who possesses vital force' > 'young'; comp. **h₂iu-h₁n-iōs*. IE cognates: Skt. *yúvan-* 'young; young man', YAv. *yuuānəm* [acc.sg.], *yūnąm* [gen.pl.] 'youth', *yōišta-* 'youngest'; *yauua* [m.] 'youth'; Lith. *jáunas* 'young', OCS *junъ* < PIE **h₂iou-Hn-o-*; Go. *jund-* [f.] 'youth' < **h₂iu-h₁n-ti-*.

The original n-stem **iuwen-* was made into an *i*-stem. The *e* instead of *i* in the second syllable of *iuvenis* is probably due to *iuventūs*, where *-e-* was phonetically retained. The comparative *iūnior* occurs beside *iuuenior*, suggesting that it represents a contraction of the latter. The abstract *iuventūs* is clearly more original than *iuventa* and *iuventās*. Lat. *iūnīx* is derived from **h₂iu-Hn-ih₂-* by Rix 1981: although *iūnīx* 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. *Iūnō* reflects a borrowing from Latin **iūnī* before the suffix **-k-* was added. The goddess *Iūnō* will then represent a different extension of the stem **iun-* 'young'. The month name *Iūnius* might be a derivative of f. **iūnī-*, as Rix p. 279 proposes. Fortson 2002 connects the family name

Iūnius as from **iou-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 735f., EM 331, IEW 510f., Leumann 1977: 83, Rix 1981: 274-279, Schrijver 1991: 152, 322, Meiser 199ß: 155, Untermann 2000: 353. → *aevum, iūgis, iūs, iuvencus*

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.); *adiūtāre* 'to help' (Pl.+), *adiūtābilis* 'helpful' (Pl.+), *adiūtor* 'helper' (Pl.+), *adiūtrīx* 'female helper' (Pl.+).

PIt. **ijow-*.

PIE **h₁i-h₁euH-(e/o-)* [pr.] 'to help'. IE cognates: OIr. *con·oí, ·oat* 'to protect'; Skt. pr. *ávati*, pf. *āva* [3s.act.], *ta*-ptc. *ūta-* 'to help, protect', OAv. *auuāmī* [1s.pr.] 'to help, care', *uz-ūiϑiiōi* [inf.] 'to protect'.

Pf. *iūvī* < **iuwa-wī, iūtus* < **iuwatos*. This suggests an earlier stem **iuwa-*, as is preserved in some forms of the verb *iuvere* < PIt. **i(j)ewa-*. Lat. *iuvere* has replaced **iovere* 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 PIt. reduplicated *s*-present **Hi-HieuH-es-* (as O. *didest* 'will give'; cf. also *monerint < *-es-*).

Bibl.: WH I: 736f., EM 331, IEW 77-78, Leumann 1977: 596, García Ramón 1996, Meiser 1998: 184, 188, 206, Rix 1999: 520, LIV **h₁euH-*.

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.

Bibl.: WH I: 737, EM 328, IEW 508-510, Cowgill 1970: 125, LIV **ieug-*. → *iungō*

L

labium 'lip' [n. *o*] (Pl.+; mostly pl. *labia*)

Derivatives: *labia* / *labea* 'lip' (Pl.+), *labeōsus* 'thick-lipped' (Lucr.); *labrum* 'lip, brim' (Naev.+), *labellum* 'lip' (Pl.+), *collabellāre* 'to make by putting lips together' (Lab.).

Plt. **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* < **mǵ-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.

Bibl.: WH I: 738, EM 333f., IEW 655-657, Schrijver 1991: 479, Sihler 1995: 146.
→ *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.+), *collabefierī* 'to collapse' (Lucr.+); *lābī*, pf. *lāpsus* 'to glide, slip' (Pl.+); *lābēs, -is* 'fall (of earth), landslip; disaster' (Pl.+), *lābōsus* 'slippery' (Lucil.), *lābundus* 'gliding' (Acc.), *lapsus, -ūs* 'the gliding, falling' (Andr.+); *collābī* 'to slip, collapse' (Pl.+), *dēlābī* 'to slip down, drop' (Varro+), *dīlābī* '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 *slabъ*, Ru. *slábyj*, SCr. *slȁb* 'weak' < PIE **slob-(n)o-* (according to Derksen 1996: 83, Latv. *slābs*, *slābens* 'weak', and Lith. *slābnas* (Žem.) 'weak' were borrowed from Slavic); OHG *slaf*, 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: **sleh₁b-*. With some additional assumptions, this would explain all the cognates, but it cannot explain the Latin ablaut *lab- : lāb-*. Even if *lab- < *lHb-* 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

words for 'weak'; *lābī* then remains isolated.

Bibl.: WH I: 739, EM 333f., IEW 655-657, Schrijver 1991: 163f., 179, 378f., LIV ?*sleh₁b-.

labor 'work, labour' [m. *r*] (Naev.+; nom.sg. *labos* Pl.+)

Derivatives: *laborāre* 'to toil, labour, be worried' (Pl.+), *labōriōsus* '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: 739f., EM 334, IEW 655-657.

lac, -tis 'milk' [n. *t*] (Pl.+; nom.acc.sg. also *lacte* Pl.+, *lact* Varro, Plin.)

Derivatives: *lactēs, -ium* 'the small intestines; chitterlings' (Pl.+), *lacteus* 'of milk' (Andr.+), *lactārius* 'suckling' (Varro+), *lactāns* 'unweaned, sucking; full of milk' (Andr.+), *lactēns* 'unweaned, sucking; full of milk' (Cato+), *lactūca* 'lettuce' (Varro+).

PIt. **(g)lagt-*.

PIE **glg-t-* 'milk'. IE cognates: Gr. γάλα, γάλακτος/γλάγος [n.] 'milk' < **glg-(t-)*, γαλαθηνός 'sucking milk', Arm. *kaxc'* (dial.) < **glg-t-s*, *kat'n* 'milk' < acc.sg. **glg-t-m*. The semantics of Hit. *kala(n)k-* 'to soothe, satisfy' (3s.ipv.act. *kalankaddu*, ptc. *kalankant-*) are too far removed to warrant a connection.

The *a* of **lakt-* can be explained by Schrijver's rule of a development **CRDC* > **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-* > **glagt-*, and initial **g-* has been lost in Latin through dissimilation.

Bibl.: WH I: 741, EM 335, IEW 400f., Leumann 1977: 187, Schrijver 1991: 479f., Sihler 1995: 96, Meiser 1998: 114. → *dēlicus*

lacer 'mutilated' [adj. *o/ā*] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: *lacerāre* 'to tear, torment, ruin' (Pl.+), *dīlacerāre* 'to tear to pieces' (Pl.+); *lacinia* 'the edge of a garment' (Pl.+); *lancināre* 'to tear in pieces' (Cat.+).

PIt. **lak(V)-ro-* 'torn, ragged', **lank-* 'to tear'.

PIE pr. **lh₂-n-k-* 'to tear', adj. **lh₂k-(V-)ro-*. IE cognates: Gr. [aor.] ἀπέληκα 'I have torn off' among the Cyprians (Hsch.; for **ἀπέλāκα*); λακίς, -ίδος 'rent, rending; tatters of clothes', λακίζω 'to tear', λάκη 'rags' among the Cretans (Hsch.), λάκημα 'rent, piece, fragment' (pap.); Po. *łach*, Ru. *lachón* 'rag'?

(Dī)lacerāre is denominal to *lacer*, even if *lacer* is attested much later. The pr. *lancināre* 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-ero-*, Melchert 2007a: 257 suggests

that λακίς was made from an earlier noun *Ih₂ki- 'tearing', and that *lacer* represents a derived adj. *laki-ro-* 'torn'.

Bibl.: WH I: 742f., EM 335, IEW 674, Schrijver 1991: 164f., Meiser 1998: 107.

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-, lær-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*), *dēlicere* 'to lure' (Titin.), *dēlicātus* 'luxurious, self-indulgent' (Pl.+), *dēliciae* [f.pl.] 'pleasure, luxuries' (Pl.), *ēlicere* 'to coax, draw forth' (Pl.+; pf. *ēlicuī*), *inlicīre* (Naev.), *illicere* 'to entice' (Pl.+; pf. *illexī*), *illicium* 'lure' (Varro+), *pellicere* 'to win over, seduce' (Lex XII+), *prōlicere* 'to lure forward' (Pl.+); *lactāre* 'to entice' (Pl.+), *dēlectāre* 'to charm, entice' (Pl.+), *delectāmentum* 'instrument of pleasure' (Ter.+), *dēlectātiō* 'source of delight' (Ter.+), *ēlectāre* 'to worm out (information)' (Pl.+), *oblectāre* 'to delight' (Pl.+), *prōlectāre* 'to induce to do' (Pl.+), *sublectāre* 'to coax' (Pl.); *lacessere* 'to challenge, provoke' (Pl.+; pf. *-īvī*, ppp. *-ītum*); *lax* 'deceit' (Paul. *ex F.*), *illex* 'who attracts' (Pl.+); *ēlecebra* 'a means of wheedling something out of a person' (Pl.+), *illecebra* 'enticement' (Pl.+), *illecebrōsus* 'enticing' (Pl.), *pellecebra* 'decoy' (Pl.); *pellācia* 'seductiveness' (Lucr.+); (2) *colliciae* [f.pl.] 'gutter' (Vitr.+; *-qu-* Col.), *colliciāris* 'designed for making gulleys' (Cato), *dēlicia* 'corner beam supporting a roof' (Vitr.+); *ēlix, -cis* [m.] 'furrow in a corn field for draining off water' (Ov.+); *sublica* 'wooden stake or pile' (Naev.+), *sublicius* 'supported on wooden piles' (esp. of bridges) (Varro+).

PIt. *lak-i-*, aor. *lak-s-*, ppp. *lak-to-* 'to draw, pull'. It. cognates: maybe Ven. **lag[sto]** [3s.pret.] '?offered'; O. **kellaked** as 3s.pf. *ke-le-lak-ed* in the analysis of Untermann 2002: 492f.

WH connect *lak-* to the root *lakʷ-* of *laqueus* 'loop, rope'. Whereas *kʷt > ct* and *kʷs > x* are unproblematic, the supposed development *kʷi > ci* (in *lacit, dēliciae*) is uncertain; one would rather expect *-qui-*, as in *reliquium*. Similarly, one would expect *laquessere* and *-lequebra*. Therefore, we must assume a PIt. stem *lak-*. It is possible to connect this with *lacer* 'torn, tearing' if *lacio* 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-, dēlic-* and *ēlix* 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 *ēlicius*. It

seems uncertain to me that they derive from *liqu-* at all: they may also be derived from *lacio*. Formally this is easier because of *-c-*, and semantically it is more straightforward: gutters, corner-beams and furrows are not made for 'making something liquid', but for 'draining', thus 'drawing away', rain and other liquids.

Bibl.: WH I: 336, 744f., EM 168, 346f., IEW 673f., Lejeune 1974: 335, Leumann 1977: 148, 592, Schrijver 1991: 411, Meiser 2003: 115. → *dēlicus, laqueus, liqueō*

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*.

PIt. **d(r)(k)akrunā-?*

PIE **drk-h₂(e)kru-* 'eye-bitter'. IE cognates: OIr. *dér*, W. *deigr* 'tear', Hit. *išhahru-* [n.] 'tear(s), weeping' < **s* + **h₂ekru-?*, Skt. *áśru-*, YAv. *asrū* [pl.], Gr. δάκρυ, Arm. *artasuk'* [pl.], Lith. *ãšara*, OHG *zahar*, ToB *akrūna* [obl.pl.] 'tear'.

Many investigators regard the word as a loanword from Greek δάκρῦμα / δάκρυμα 'tear'. EM give the following arguments for this view: if the form were genetically related to the Greek form, i.e., PIt. **dakru-mn*, one would expect Latin **dacrumen*. The suffix *-ma* is not productive in Latin, and there are no examples of a suffixation *-u-ma* 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. φλογμός). But Hamp 1972 points out that Greek δάκρῦμα / 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. **dlakruna*, in which **n* assimilated to *u* to give **dlakruma*. To me, this assimilation and initial **dl-* seem unlikely. A good alternative would be to suppose a distant dissimilation of **d-n* to **d-m*, thus **dakruna* > **dakruma*; compare the reverse in **temabrae* > *tenebrae*. Obviously, this solution is speculative. For the IE words in initial **d-*, 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. *ākrunt*, ToB obl.pl. *akrūna* and Lat. *dacruma*.

Bibl.: WH I: 746, EM 336, IEW 179, Hamp 1972: 292, Kortlandt 1985b, Schrijver 1991: 98, Sihler 1995: 150, Meiser 1998: 100, LIV **derk-*.

lacus, -ūs 'lake' [m. *u*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *lacūna* 'hollow, pit, pond', *lacūnar, -āris* [n.] 'a panel in a panelled ceiling' (Cic.+).

PIt. **laku-*.

PIE **lok-u-* 'lake'. IE cognates: OIr. *loch* < PIE **lok-u-*; Bret. *lagen* 'small lake'; Gr. λάκκος 'pond' < **lk-u-o-*, OCS *loky*, gen.sg. *lokъve* 'puddle, pool, reservoir' [f. *ū*], SCr. *lȍkva* < **lok-uH-*; OE *lagu* < **loku-*.

Lat. *lacūnar* apparently means 'which contains hollows'. Its meaning renders it comparable to *laqueātus*, but this will be a coincidence. The *a* in *lacus* can be

understood as the product of unrounding after a velarized [ɫ], cf. Schrijver 1991: 475 and *lanius*.

Bibl.: WH I: 747f., EM 337, IEW 653, Schrijver 1991: 475, Meiser 1998: 84. → *laqueus*

laedō, -ere 'to injure, damage' [v. III; *laesī, laesum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *ēlīdere* '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*, 1s. *līdu* 'to clear (land)', Lith. *lýdymas, lýdimas* '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.+), *laetitūdō* 'joy' (Acc.+), *laetīscere* '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)dus* '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 **leh₂i-uo-* or **lh₂ei-uo-* 'left'. IE cognates: Gr. λαι(F)óς 'left', OCS *lěvъ*, Ru. *lévyj*, SCr. *lîjevī* 'id.', ToB *laiwo* 'lassitude' (< **-ṷeh₁-*).

The original meaning may have been 'curved', although this can hardly be considered proven by the quotation from Servius: *laevī* (sc. *boves*) *quōrum cornua ad terram spectant*. Steinbauer (apud Stüber 2006: 68) proposes to derive **leh₂iuo-* (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 **lh₂(-i)-* that fits this meaning, but none is immediately convincing. LIV has a root **leih₂-* 'to stop, stop doing', and also **leh₂-* 'to hide'. The PIE preform of *laevus* is reconstructed as **lh₂eiuo-* by Schrijver 1991 on account of the accentuation of the Slavic forms (thus also Derksen 2008: 275); but for Latin, Greek and Toch., **leh₂i-uo-* would also work.

Bibl.: WH I: 750f., EM 338, IEW 652, Schrijver 1991: 203. → *lateō, scaevus*

lallō, -āre 'to sing a lullaby' [v. I] (Persius Flaccus+)

PIt. **lala* (vel sim.).

IE cognates: Gr. λαλέω 'to talk, chat, prattle', λάλος 'chattering', λαλιά 'talk'; Lith.

laluóti 'to babble', NHG *lallen*.

Onomatopoeic, reduplicated imitation of a baby's sound.
   Bibl.: WH I: 752, EM 338, IEW 650f., Leumann 1977: 182.

lāma 'marshy place, bog' [f. *ā*] (Enn.+)
   IE cognates: Lith. *lomà* 'hollow, valley, plot, lump', Latv. *lāma* 'hollow, pool', SCr. *lȁm* (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.
   Bibl.: WH I: 753, EM 338, IEW 653f., Schrijver 1991: 142.

lambō, -ere 'to lick' [v. III; pf. *lambī?*, ppp. *lambitum*] (Lucil.+)
   Derivatives: *lamberāre* 'to beat, defeat' (Pl., Paul. *ex F.*)?
   PIt. *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. *lapènti* '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 Gm., *p in Alb., BSl. and probably Greek, *p'* in Arm.), these words probably were onomatopoeic..
   Bibl.: WH I: 753f., EM 338, IEW 651, Leumann 1977: 551, Schrijver 1991: 222, Meiser 1998: 214. → *labium*

lāmenta, -ōrum 'wailing, groans' [n. *o*] (Lucr.+)
   Derivatives: *lāmenta* 'wailing' (Pac.), *lāmentārī* '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.).
   PIt. *lāmnto- 'howling', *lātro- 'barking'.
   PIE *leh₂-mn-to- 'howling, crying', *leh₂-tro- 'barking'. IE cognates: Skt. *rāyati* 'barks', YAv. *gaϑrō.raiiaṇt-* 'shouting songs' (if from PIE *l-); Arm. *lam* 'to weep, bewail'; Lith. *lóti*, 1s. *lóju*, OCS *lajati*, 1s. *lajǫ* 'to bark, scold'; Go. *lailoun* 'they scolded'. Uncertain is Gr. λαίειν 'to resound' (Hsch.).

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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 754f., EM 339, 344, IEW 650f., Schrijver 1991: 142, 170f., LIV 1.*leh₂-.

lāmina 'thin sheet of metal' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+; also *lammina, lamna*)
PIt. *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.+).
PIt. *wlānā-.

PIE *h₂ulh₁-neh₂- 'wool' (lit. 'plucked material'). IE cognates: OIr. *olann*, W. *gwlan*, Hit. *hulana-*, CLuw. *hulana/i-* [c.], Hit. *hulija-* 'wool'; Skt. *ūrṇā-*, Av. *varənā-* 'wool', Gr. λῆνος [n.] (<< *h₂ulh₁-neh₂-, or < *h₂ulh₁-no-), OPr. *wilna* 'skirt', Lith. *vilna* 'wool', OCS *vlьna*, Ru. *vólna* (dial.) / *volná* (dial.), SCr. *vȕna*, Go. *wulla*, OHG *wolla*, OIc. *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: 357f., the appurtenance of the Hittite words is uncertain.

Bibl.: WH I: 756f., EM 339, IEW 1139, Schrijver 1991: 179-181, Sihler 1995: 103, Meiser 1998: 111. → *vellō*

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.+).
PIt. *(s)lăng-u-.

PIE *sl-n-ǵ-u- 'weak, faint'? IE cognates: Skt. *ślakṣṇá-* 'slippery, meagre, thin' (if from *slakṣ-); Gr. λαγαίω 'to release', λαγαρός 'slack, emaciated, thin', λάγανον 'thin cake', λάγνος 'lascivious, voluptuous', *λαγος (*λάξ) 'slack, thin' in λαγόνες pl. f. (m.) 'the hollows on the side, the flanks', λαγώς 'hare' (< *λαγ(o)-ω[υσ]-ός 'with slack ears'); λαγγάζω 'to slacken'; OIc. *slakr*, OS *slac*, OE *slæc* 'weak, floppy', MLG *lak*; ToA *slākkär* 'sad', ToB *slakkare* 'darting, tremulous'.

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 *slh₂g- (by Schrijver 1991). Latin *lag- can be explained via Schrijver's rule *RDC > *RaDC in *laxus* < *lagso- < *slǵ-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 *o-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.

Bibl.: WH I: 758f., EM 340, IEW 959f., Schrijver 1991: 165, LIV *sleⁱǵ-. → *laxus*

lanius 'butcher' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *laniārium* 'butcher's shop' (Varro), *laniēna* 'id.' (Pl.+), *laniēnus* 'of a butcher' (Varro), *laniāre* 'to wound savagely, cut up' (Quad.+); *lanista* 'trainer of gladiators' (Cic.+).

PIt. **lanio-* 'breaker'.

PIE **h₃lomH-io-*. IE cognates: OIr. *ro·laimethar* 'to dare' < **lamje/o-* < **lmH-i̯e-*, W. *llafasu* 'id.', Co. *lauasos* 'to be allowed'; Gr. νωλεμές 'without pause' < **h₃lem-?*; Lith. *lémti* '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 **lonio-* before the unrounding took place.

Bibl.: WH I: 759f., EM 340, Leumann 1977: 54, Stüber 1998: 135, Schumacher 2004: 446f., LIV *lemH-.

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 [n.], λέκις, 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 761, EM 340, IEW 307-309.

lapis, -dis 'stone, pebble' [m. *d*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *lapideus* 'of stone, stony' (Pl.+), *lapidārius* 'of stone-cutting' (Pl.+), *lapidōsus* 'stony' (Varro+), *lapillus* 'small stone' (Varro+); *lapicīda* 'stone-cutter' (Varro+), *lapicīdīnae* [f.pl.] (Cato+), *lapidicīnae* [f.pl.] (Varro+) 'stone-quarries'.

PIt. **la/eped-*. It. cognates: U. **vapeře** [loc.sg.], **vapefem**, *uapefe* [acc.pl. + *-en*] , *uapersus* [abl.pl.], *uapersusto* [abl.pl. + *-to*] 'stone seat'. Uncertain: SPic. **vepetí, γepetín, vepeten, iepeten, γepetin** [loc.sg. + *-en*] 'monument?' < **-eto-*.

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 **lVpVd-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 761, EM 340f., IEW 678, Schrijver 1991: 486, Untermann 2000: 823f., 838.

lapit 'affects' [v. III/IV] (Pac. 1x: *lapit cor cura, aerumna 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.

Lār, Lāris '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 *Lār*. The ablaut *lār : lăr-* 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 *lascīvus* is theoretically possible, but not very likely. Lat. *lārua* 'evil spirit' (< **lār/s-(V)u-*) may be a derivative of *Lār*.

Bibl.: WH I: 762f., EM 341, IEW 654. → *lārua*

lārgus 'generous, bountiful' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *largīrī* 'to give generously' (Pl.+), *largiter* 'abundantly' (Pl.+), *largitās* 'generosity' (Caecil.+); *largiloquus* 'talkative' (Pl.), *largificus* 'bountiful' (Pac.+), *largifluus* 'flowing copiously' (Lucr.); *dīlargīrī* '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. *ōrbus* 'blind' for *orbus*), it is not certain that the *ā* was original in Latin. This compromizes 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 **lāsV-*, it is furthermore uncertain that Gr. λᾱρῑνός contains **laie(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 **laeridus* (cf. Meiser 1998: 88). The Attic adj. λᾱρῑνός 'fatted, fat' may well be derived from λᾱρός

(II.) 'delicious, sweet', sup. λᾰρώτατος. Beekes (fthc.) proposes a base *λα(ϝ)αρος or *λα(ϝ)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. → *lārgus*

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.

   Bibl.: WH I: 765, EM 342, IEW 214-217, Leumann 1977: 375.

lārua 'evil spirit, demon' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)
   Derivatives: *lāruātus* 'possessed by evil spirits' (Pl.+).
   PIt. *lās-Vwa?*

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 *lās-* could be connected with *Lār, Laris* 'tutelary god', which is quite attractive semantically.

   Bibl.: WH I: 766, EM 342, IEW 654, Schrijver 1991: 294. → *Lār*

lascīvus 'playful, unrestrained' [adj. *o/ā*] (Andr.+)
   Derivatives: *lascīvia* 'play, fun, wantonness' (Pl.+), *lascīvibundus* 'frisky' (Pl.), *lascīvīre* 'to frisk, play' (Lucil.+), *lascīvolus* 'playful' (Laev.).
   PIt. *lasko-*.
   PIE *lh₂s-ko-* 'desirous'. IE cognates: OIr. *lainn* 'eager' < *lasni-* < *lh₂s-n-*; Gr. λιλαίομαι 'to desire strongly' < *li-las-ie-*, ληνίς 'a Bacchante'; Lith. *lokšnùs* 'sensitive' < *leh₂s-n-*, Ru. *lásyj* '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'.

   Bibl.: WH I: 766f., EM 342, IEW 654, Leumann 1977: 190, 341, Schrijver 1991: 165f., LIV ?*las-.

lassus 'tired, weary' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)
   Derivatives: *lassitūdō* 'tiredness' (Pl.+); *dēlassāre* 'to tire out' (Pl.+).
   PIt. *lasso-*.
   PIE *lh₁d-to-* 'tired'. IE cognates: Gr. ληδεῖν 'to get/be tired' (Hsch.), Alb. *lodhem* 'to be tired' (< *lēd-*), Go. *letan* 'to let' < *leh₁d-*, *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 *lHC-* > *laC-* or from *RHDC-* > *RaDC-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 767f., EM 342, IEW 666, Schrijver 1991: 137, 166, LIV *leh₁d-. →
lēnis, lētum

lateō 'to hide, shelter, be hidden' [v. II; pf. *latuī*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *latēbra* 'hiding-place, lair' (Pl.+), *latēbricola* [m.] 'one who skulks in concealment' (Pl.), *latēbrōsus* 'secret, hidden' (Pl.+); *latibulāre* 'to lie in hiding' (Laev.+); *latitāre* 'to be/remain in hiding' (Pl.+); *dēlitī/ēscere* 'to go into hiding' (Pl.+), *oblitēscere* 'to become hidden' (Varro+).

PIt. *latē-.

PIE *lh₂-to- 'hidden'. IE cognates: Gr. λανθάνω, λῆθω, aor. λαθεῖν 'to be hidden', λάθρη, -α 'secretly' < *l(e)h₂-dʰ-; λῆτο□/ λῆιτο 'he forgot' (Hsch.) < *leh₂-; OCS *lajati*, OCz. *lákati*, USorb. *łakać* 'to lie in wait for'.

Latēre 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 768f., EM 343, IEW 651, Schrijver 1991: 166, LIV 3.*leh₂-. → *laevus*

later, -is 'brick, block' [m. *r*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *laterculus* '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, -αγος [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.

lātus 'broad, wide' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *lātitūdō* 'breadth, broadness' (Cato+); *dīlātāre* 'to make wider, spread' (Varro+); *stlatta* 'large cargo-boat' (Gel., Paul. *ex F.*), *stlātārius* 'conveyed by a stlatta' (Enn.+).

PIt. *slāto-.

IE cognates: OIr. *con·slá** 'to go away'.

WH and Meiser 1998 posit a form *stlH-to- 'spread' to Gr. στέλλω 'to prepare, dispatch', OCS *stьlati* 'to spread', but this root is now reconstructed without a final laryngeal (LIV: *stel- 'to place'). Alternatively, one could connect *lātus* 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 *sl- yielded l- but was retained as stl- in archaisms. Latin *slāto- would have developed from 'going apart, spreading' to 'wide'.

Bibl.: WH I: 772, EM 344, IEW 1018f.; Meiser 1998: 112, Schumacher 2004: 587f.
→ latus

latus, -eris 'side, flank' [n. r] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: laterālis 'of the side of the body' (Lucil.+), latusculum 'a side' (Lucr.+), laterāmen 'pottery' (Lucr.).

An original s-stem to a root *lat-. No good etymology available. Semantically, it is attractive to connect Olr. sliss, W. ystlys 'side' (< *s(t)lissu-), maybe also W. llys-, 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 < *lo-), but this would still be an irregular ablaut form next to PCl. *stlt-. Another alternative is to derive latus from lateō '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).

Bibl.: WH I: 772, EM 344, IEW 1018f., Schrijver 1991: 486, Untermann 2000: 827.
→ later

laus, -dis 'praise' [f. d] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: laudāre 'to praise' (Naev.+); allaudāre 'id.' (Pl.), allaudābilis 'praiseworthy' (Pl.+), collaudāre 'to eulogize' (Naev.+).

Plt. *lau(V)d-.

IE cognates: Go. awiliuþ 'song of praise', OHG liod, OE lēoþ [n.] 'song', OIc. ljóð 'strophe, song' < PIE *leu-t-?; Go. liuþon 'to sing', awiliudon 'to sing praise', OHG liudōn, OE lēoþian, OIc. ljóða 'to sing'.

The only connection put forward is with Gm. *leuþ-a- 'song' < *leu-t-. If cognate at all, laus must reflect *lou-Vd⁽ʰ⁾-, cf. Schrijver. Vine 2006a: 238, who assumes *oṷ > *aṷ 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 *lóu-ed- to *lawed-).

Bibl.: WH I: 776, EM 346, IEW 683, Schrijver 1991: 444.

lavō, -āre 'to wash, bathe' [v. I; pf. lāvī, ppp. lautus, 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.), lābellum 'bowl, basin' (Cato+); lōtium 'urine' (Cato+), lōtiolentus 'defiled with urine' (Titin.); abluere (abluī, ablūtum) 'to wash off, cleanse' (Pac.+), abluvium 'inundation' (Lab.+), dēlūbrum 'temple, shrine' (Pl.+), dīluere 'to dissolve, dilute' (Pl.+), dīluviēs 'flood' (Lucr.), dīluviāre 'to flood' (Lucr.), ēluere 'to wash out,

wash clean' (Pl.+), *ēluācrum* 'wash-tub' (Cato), *ēlūtriāre* 'to put into a vat or bath' (Lab.+), *ēluviēs* 'the washing away' (Lucil.+), *illō/ūtus* 'unwashed, dirty' (Pl.+), *illuviēs* 'dirtiness, filth' (Pl.+), *interluere* 'to flow between; wash during' (Pl.+), *malluviae* [f.pl.] 'water in which the hands have been washed' (Fest., Paul. *ex F.*), *pelluviae* [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.+).

PIt. pr. **lowa-*, intr.pr. **lowa-ē-*. It. cognates: U. **vutu** [3s.ipv.II], *anderuomu* [*anter* + 3s.ipv.II.ps.] 'to wash' < **louatōd*, **louamnōd*.

PIE **(le-)louh₃-* 'to wash' [pr.], **louh₃-tro-* 'wash-basin'. IE cognates: OIr. *lóathar*, Bret. *laouer* 'basin' < PCl. **louatro-*, Gr. λοέω, λούω 'I wash', H. λοετρόν, Att. λουτρόν, Dor. λωτρόν 'bath' (Hsch.); Arm. *loganam* 'to bathe', *lowanam* 'wash', aor. *logac'e-* / *lowac'e-*; OAlb. sb. *laa* 'to wash', OIc. *lauðr* [n.] 'lye, foam', OE *lēaþor* 'soap-foam'.

The pr. *lavere* shows PIE **louH-C-* > PIt. **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 differently than from **-ajē-*. Also, Meiser's explanation of *lavāre* as an intensive **louh₃-éie/o-* does not explain the intr. semantics. Vine 2006a: 239 suggests that *lautus* may reflect the verbal adj. **louh₃-etó-* > **laweto-*. 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-e/o-* > **x-lawe/o-*. This would then be the main source of the *-a-* in *lavere* and *lavāre*. The instr. noun *lābrum* < **lawáþro-* and *-lŭbrum* < **-lowaþro-* can have been formed independently in Italic or Proto-Latin; in view of **louh₁-tro-* in Celtic, Gr. and Gm., Italic probably replaced the original suffix by **-dʰro-*. The ppp. *lautus* changed to *-lūtus* in non-initial syllable; at a more recent date, *lautus* > *lōtus*, whence e.g. *lōtium*. Here maybe also Andr. *aureo eclutro* as /ē-lūtrō/ 'bath'. See Serbat 1975: 276 for a possible analogical origin of the *-ā-* in *ēluācrum*.

Bibl.: WH I: 338, 773f., EM 168, 344f., IEW 692, Schrijver 1991: 396-398, 444-446, Meiser 1998: 85, 187, 192, Rix 1999: 519, Untermann 2000: 866f., LIV **leuh₃-*.

laxus 'spacious, wide, loose' [adj. *o/ā*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *laxāre* 'to make larger; undo, relax' (Lucr.+), *collaxāre* 'to make loose' (Lucr.+), *dīlaxāre* 'to stretch apart' (Lucil.), *rēlaxāre* 'to loosen, relax' (Varro+).

PIt. **(s)lakso-*.

PIE **slǵ-so-* 'weak, faint'. IE cognates: see *langueō*.

Schrijver's rule **RDC* > **RaDC* can explain *laxus* < **lagso-* < **slǵ-so-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 758, EM 348, IEW 959f., Schrijver 136f., 165, LIV **sle⁽ǵ⁾-*. → *langueō*

lectus 'bed, couch' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *lectulus* 'couch, bed' (Pl.+), *lectīca* 'litter' (Semp. Gracchus+); *lectisterniātor* 'one who spreads couches' (Pl.), *lectisternium* 'festival with couches for the gods' (Liv.+).

PIt. **leχe/o-* 'to lie down', **lekto/u-* bed'. It. cognates: Fal. **lecet** [3s.pr.] 'lies' (with a stop, of analogical origin?). SPic. **veiat** 'lies' < **leχjā-*.

PIE **legʰ-e/o-* [pr.] 'to lie', **legʰ-tu-*. IE cognates: Olr. *laigid*, *·laig* 'to lie down' < PCl. **leg-e/o-*, Gr. λέχεται□ 'sleeps' (Hsch.), aor. λέκτο, λέξο, -λέχθαι, -λέγμενος 'to lie down', λέχος [n.] 'lair, bed', λέκτρον 'lair, (nuptial) bed'; OCS *-leže*, *-legǫ* 'laid down', Go. *ligan*, OIc. *liggja* 'to lie', ToB *lyaśäṃ* 'lies'.

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.

Bibl.: WH I: 777f., EM 348, IEW 658f., Giacomelli 1963: 249, Schumacher 2004: 448, LIV **legʰ-*.

legō, -ere 'to gather, collect; to read' [v. III; pf. *lēgī*, ppp. *lēctum*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *lēctor* 'reader' (Sis.+); *legiō* 'legion, group of supporters' (Naev.+); *legulus* 'a picker' (Cato+); *dentilegus* 'who collects teeth' (Pl.), *sacrilegus* 'who robs sacred property, sacrilegious person' (Pl.+), *sortilegus* 'soothsayer' (Varro+); *legūmen* 'leguminous plant, pulse' (Varro+); *ablegmina* 'partes extōrum quae dīs immolābant' (Paul. *ex F.*); *colligere* 'to gather, collect' (Naev.+), *dēligere* 'to pick off, pick out' (Pl.+), *dīligere* 'to love, hold dear' (Pl.+), *dīligenter* 'carefully' (Pl.+), *dīligentia* 'carefulness' (Pl.+), *dīlectus, -ūs* 'recruitment, selection' (Varro+), *ēligere* 'to select' (Pl.+), *ēlectilis* 'of special quality' (Pl.+), *ēlegāns* 'careful, delicate' (Pl.+), *ēlegantia* '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+), *praeligāneus* 'made from fruit picked before the crop' (Cato), *relegere* 'to pick up again' (Cato+), *sēligere* 'to weed out, select' (Enn.+), *sublegere* 'to steal away, appoint' (Pl.+), *trānslegere* 'to read out to so. else' (Pl.),.

PIt. **leg-e-*, aor. **lēg-*, ppp. **leg-to-*, **(-)leg-ā-*. It. cognates: Pael. *lexe*, Marr. *leexe* /*lēxe*/ [2p.pr.], *pelegie[* [2s.ipv.?] 'to read?', but the endings remain unexplained. Possibly O. **leginum** [acc.sg.], **leginei** [dat.sg.] maybe 'host'.

PIE pr. **leǵ-e/o-* 'to collect', ppp. **leǵ-to-*. IE cognates: Gr. λέγω, aor. ἔλεξα 'to collect, count; speak', λόγος [m.] 'account, word'; Alb. *mb-ledh* 'to collect'. Possibly, also Olr. *legaid*, *·lega** 'to melt (tr. and intr.), destroy, extinguish' < **leg-ā-*, MW *dilein* 'to destroy, chase away' < **dī-leg-nā-*, *·go-leith* 'to fear, avoid' < **uo-leg-tV-*; MW *lleith* '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

'fear' on the other.

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 *ē* in *lēctus* is probably the result of Lachmann's Law. All compounded verbs contain *-legere* except for *ēlegāns* 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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 351-353, 397, 780, EM 348-350, IEW 658, Schrijver 1991: 22, Untermann 2000: 429f., Rix 2002a: 78, Schumacher 2004: 449, LIV *leg̑-. → *lēx*, *lignum*

lemurēs, -um 'evil spirits of the dead' [m.pl. *r*] (Hor.+)

Derivatives: *lemuriī* (Varro apud Non.) 'lemurēs', *Lemūria, -ōrum* [n.pl.] 'festival to appease the spirits of the dead' (Ov.).

The long *ū* 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', λάμια [f.] 'name of a man-eating monster, of a shark', λάμια 'crevices' (Hsch.) is formally impossible, unless Latin has *lem-* and Gr. *lm-*. The further connection with Baltic and Celtic forms made by IEW (Lith. *lemóti* '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 781, EM 351, IEW 675, Schrijver 1991: 218.

lēnis 'soft, mild, easy, calm, moderate' [adj. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *lēnīre* 'to appease, mitigate' (Pl.+), *lēnitās* 'mildness' (Ter.+), *lēnitūdō* 'id.' (Pac.+); *dēlēnīre* 'to soothe down, bewitch' (Pl.+), *dēlēnīmentum* 'blandishment, consolation' (Afran.+), *dēlēnificus* 'soothing' (Pl.+).

Plt. *lēni-.

PIE *leh₁-n(o/i)- 'lazy, slow'. IE cognates: Lith. *lénas*, Latv. *lę̃ns, lȩ̃ns* 'lazy', OCS *lěnъ*, Ru. *ljánoj* (dial.) / *lenój* (dial.), OCz. *lený*, SCr. *líjen* 'lazy, slow' < BSl. *leʔnos / *lēnos < PIE *leh₁-(e)no-.

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.

Bibl.: WH I: 782f., EM 351, IEW 666, Leumann 1977: 347, Schrijver 1991: 125, Derksen 1996: 227f., LIV *leh₁-. → *lassus, lētum*

lēnō 'brothel-keeper' [m. *n*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *lēna* [f.] 'brothel-keeper' (Pl.+); *lēnōnius* 'of a pander' (Pl.+), *lēnullus* 'pander' (Pl.), *lēnunculus* 'id.' (Pl.), *lēnōᶜinium* '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' < **leh₁-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+)
PIt. **dlind-?*
PIE **dk̑(o)n-i-d-* 'nit'. IE cognates: OIr. *sned* [f.], W. *nedd, nedden*, Co. *nedhen* [sing.], Bret. *nez, nezenn* < PCl. **snidā-* 'nit'; Gr. κονίδες 'eggs of lice, nits' [f.pl.], Arm. *anic* 'louse' < **Hnid-* < **k̑nid-?*; Alb. (Geg) *thënï* < **k̑on-id-*; Lith. *glinda*, Latv. *gnĩda*, Ru. *gnída*, SCr. *gnjȉda*, Sln. *gnída* 'nit' < BSl. **gni?dá?* < **knid-* < PIE **k̑nid-*; OE *hnitu* [f.], OHG *(h)niz* 'nit' < **k̑nid-*.

The IE cognates differ in anlaut to such an extent that the reconstruction of one PIE preform is very difficult. Gr. and Alb. reflect **k̑onid-*, while Gm., Slavic, and, with some special pleading, also Armenian, reflect **k̑nid-*. 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 obstruent 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 **k̑nid-*, 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. **dk̑nid-*, this could have been dissimilated in various ways: Italic **dk̑ni-n-d-* > **dk̑lind-* > **dlind-* > regular **lind-*; Celtic **dk̑nid-* > **dnid-* > **snid-*. Armenian *anic*, with irregular *an-* < **k̑n-*, may then reflect **dk̑nid-* > **dnid-* > **h₁nid-* > **anid-* (but one would expect **enid-*). The noun may be related with PIE **k̑nid-* 'to scratch' as reflected in Gr. κνίζω 'to prick, irritate', OIc. *hníta* 'to thrust'.

Bibl.: WH I: 783, EM 351, IEW 436f., 608, LIV **kneid-*. → *nīdor*

lēns, -tis 'lentil plant, lentil' [f. (m.) *i*] (Cato+; acc.sg. *lentim*, abl.sg. *lentī*, nom.pl. *lentīs*)

IE cognates: Gr. λάθυρος 'pulse, chickling', OCS *lęšta*, 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/ā*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *lentēre* 'to proceed slowly' (Lucil.).
PIt. **lento-* 'soft'.
PIE **lent-o-* 'soft, smooth, pliant'. IE cognates: Lith. *lentà* 'board, plank' < **lent-*; Ru. *lut* (dial.) 'bast, bark of a linden', Ru. *lutá* (dial.) 'linden', Cz. *lut* (dial.) 'bast', Po. *lęt* (dial.) 'twig, switch' < PSl. **lъtъ* < **lont-*; OHG *lindi*, ODan. *lind* 'soft, mild', OIc. *linnr* 'snake' < PGm. **lenþa-*; OIc. *lind* f. 'linden, linden-wood', OE *lind(e)* , OHG *linta, lintea, linda* (because of the soft wood of this tree).
Bibl.: WH I: 784, EM 351f., IEW 677.

lepōs, -ōris 'charm, grace' [m. *r*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *lepidus* 'charming' (Pl.+), *illepidus* 'lacking grace' (Pl.+), *perlepidē* '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', λεπίς, λοπίς 'rind, peel', λοπός [m.] 'scale, rind', λεπρός 'scaly, coarse'; Alb. *lapë* 'rag, leaf'; Lith. *lãpas* 'leaf', Latv. *lapa* 'leaf', Ru. *lépest* 'petal'; Lith. *lepùs* 'weak, soft'.
These words disappear from usage after Cicero. Whether *lepōs* was the derivational basis for *lepidus*, or vice versa, is uncertain. Stüber 2002: 67 opts for the second solution because of the meanings. The rare form *lapit* could only belong here if from **lapit* (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, Stüber 2002: 67, LIV **lep-*.

lepus, -oris 'hare' [m. *r*] (Andr.+)
Derivatives: *leporīnus* 'of/like a hare' (Varro+), *leporārium* 'game-preserve for hares' (Varro), *lepusculus* 'small hare' (Varro+).
According to Pliny, Gr. λεβηρίς '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 **leh₁-to-* [n.]. IE cognates: OCS *lětъ* 'it is possible, allowed' [f.], Ru. *let'* (arch.) 'it is possible, allowed' < **leh₁-ti-*; OCS *lěto* 'summer, year', Ru. *léto* 'summer, (pl.)

age, years' < PIE *leh₁-tóm; OIc. *láð*, OE *lǽð* 'land', Go. *unleds* 'poor' (Schaffner 2001: 241).

May be derived from a ppp. *leh₁-to- 'let, let go', substantivized as *leh₁-to- 'letting go' > 'death'. It would then be identical in origin to Slavic *lěto- 'summer, year' (from 'going').

Bibl.: WH I: 787, EM 352, IEW 666, Neri 2007: 32, LIV *leh₁-. → *lassus*, *lēnis*

lēvir/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 *lēvir*, with monophthongization of *ae*.

PIt. *daiwēr.

PIE *deh₂i-uer- 'husband's brother'. IE cognates: Skt. *devár-*, Pashto *lēvar*, Gr. δαήρ, Arm. *taygr*, Lith. *dieveris / dieveris*, Latv. *diēveris*, Ru. *déver'*, SCr. *djěvēr* < BSl. *daʔiu̯er-*; OHG *zeihhur*, OE *tācor* 'husband's brother' < PGm. *taikura-*(?).

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.

Bibl.: WH I: 787f., EM 352, IEW 179, Leumann 1977: 68, 155, Schrijver 1991: 269.

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+); *levifidus* 'untrustworthy' (Pl.), *levipēs* 'light-footed' (Var.+), *levisomnus* 'sleeping lightly' (Lucr.).

PIt. *leχu- >> *leχwī-.

PIE *h₁leg^{wh}-u- > *h₁leg^h-u- 'light'. IE cognates: OIr. *laigiu* 'lighter, poorer', MW *llei* 'less', Skt. *raghú-* 'fleet, fast', YAv. *rǝuuī-* [adj.f.] 'agile, fast, quick', sup. *rǝnjišta-*, Gr. ἐλαχύς 'small, little', Alb. *lehtë*, Lith. *leñgvas* 'light', OCS *lъgъkъ*, Ru. *lëgkij*, Go. *leihts*, OHG *līht*, OIc. *léttr*, ToB *laṅk₍ᵤ₎tse* 'light' < PIE *h₁leng^{wh}-to-; Gr. ἐλαφρός 'light, dexterous, fast, little', OHG *lungar* 'fast, cheerful' < *h₁lng^{wh}-ro-.

There appear to be two PIE forms of the root, *h₁l(e)ng^{wh}- and *h₁leg^h-; 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 *g^{wh} to *g^h 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 *h₁leng^{wh}- 'to move fast, easily' (Skt. *rámhate* 'hastens', OIr. ·*ling* 'to leap'). Like most *u*-stem adjectives, *levis* was remade into an *i*-stem in Latin.

Bibl.: WH I: 788, EM 353, IEW 660f., Sihler 1995: 163, Meiser 1998: 120.

lēvis 'smooth' [adj. *i*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *lēvāre* 'to polish' (Varro+), *lēvāmentum* 'a means of obtaining a smooth

surface' (Varro), *lēvigāre* 'to make smooth' (Varro+), *lēvitās* 'smoothness' (Varro+), *lēvor* 'id.' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **lēju-* >> **lēiw-i-*.

PIE **leh₁i-u-* 'smooth'. IE cognates: Gr. λεῖος [adj.] 'level, smooth' < **leh₁i-u-o-*, λίς, gen. λῑτός [adj.] 'smooth', [m.] 'smooth linen' < **liH-t-*.

Following Schrijver, we may assume that *lēvis* is an old *u*-stem adj. From a preform PIE **leh₁i-u-*, we can explain the result **lēju-* >> **lēiw-i-* > *lēvis* by normal syllabification rules. Most of the other connections within Latin which were proposed (especially with *linō* and with *līmus*) must then be discarded; but *ob-līvīscor* 'to forget' may still be cognate.

Bibl.: WH I: 789, WM 353, IEW 662-664, Schrijver 1991: 283f. → *oblīvīscor*

lēx, lēgis 'law' [f. g] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *lēgāre* 'to send as an envoy, bequeath' (Lex XII+), *lēgātus* 'envoy, deputy' (Pl.+); *lēgitimus* 'legal, legitimate' (Varro+); *collēga* [m.] 'colleague, fellow' (Pl.+), *collēgium* 'guild, board' (Pl.+); *ablēgāre* 'to send away on a mission' (Pl.+), *allēgāre* 'to send as a representative, employ' (Pl.+), *allēgātus, -ūs* 'instigation' (Pl.+), *dēlēgāre* 'to appoint, assign a task to', *relēgāre* 'to banish' (Cic.+); *lēgerupa* [m.] 'law-breaker' (Pl.), *lēgerupiō* 'law-breaking' (Pl.).

PIt. **lēg-*. It. cognates: Marr. *lixs* [nom.sg.], O. *ligud* [abl.sg.], *ligis* [abl.pl.] 'law' < **lēg-*; maybe O. **legú** '?' if ;laws' (Weiss 1993: 22f.); maybe O. **llganakdikei** [dat.sg.] name of a goddess; O. **ligatús** [nom.pl.], **ligatúís** [dat.pl.] 'envoy', probably a loanword from Latin.

PIE **lēǵ-* 'collection'?

The verb *lēgāre* and its compounds all have a meaning which involves a 'task, assignment', and can therefore be interpreted as derivatives of *lēx* 'law'. The PIt. root noun **lēg-* 'law' can be interpreted as a 'collection' of rules. Whether the root noun existed already in PIE is uncertain for lack of precise cognates.

Bibl.: WH I: 779f., 789f., EM 350, 353f., IEW 658, Schrijver 1991: 120, Untermann 2000: 427-435; LIV **leǵ-*. → *legō*

liber, -brī 'bark of a tree; book' [m. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *libellus* 'document, pamphlet' (Pl.+), *libelliō* 'bookseller' (Varro+); maybe Paul. *ex F. 73 dēlibrātum, hoc est dēcorticātum.*

PIt. **lufro-*.

PIE **lubʰ-ro-* 'leaf, rind'. IE cognates: OIr. *luib*, MIr. *luibh* f. 'herb', *lub-gort* 'garden', Alb. *labë* 'rind, cork' (< **loub-*), OPr. *lubbo* 'bast, plank, shelf', Lith. *lubà*, Latv. *luba* 'plank, board', Ru. *lob* 'forehead, brow', gen.sg. *lba*, Cz. *leb* 'skull' < BSl. **lub-*, Lith. *lúobas* 'bast', Latv. *luobas* 'peel', Ru. *lub* 'bast' < BSl. **loub-o-*; Go. *lubja-leis* 'who knows poisons', Olc. *lýf* [f.] 'medicinal herbs', OE *lybb* [n.] 'poison, magic' < **lubʰ-*; Go. *laufs* [m.], *lauf* [n.] 'leaf, foliage', OE *leaf*, OHG *loub* [n.] < PIE **loubʰ-*.

Since several IE languages show forms in **lubʰ-* meaning 'bast, leaf', *liber* has been reconstructed as **lubro-*, and compared with the vacillation in Latin between *lubet*

and *libet*, *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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 790, EM 354, IEW 690f., Schrijver 1991: 23, LIV ?*leup-.

līber 'free' [adj. *o/ā*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *līberāre* 'to free, release' (Pl.+), *līberālis* 'of free men, generous' (Naev.+), *līberālitās* 'generosity' (Ter.+), *līberātor* 'one who sets free' (Pl.+); *lībertās* 'freedom' (Naev.+), *lībertus* [m.] 'freedman' (Pl.+), *līberta* 'freedwoman' (Pl.+), *lībertīna* 'freedwoman' (Pl.+), *lībertīnus* 'freedman' (Pl.+); *līberī, -(ōr)um* [m.pl.] 'children' (Pl.+); *Līber, -erī* 'Italian god of vegetation' (Andr.+).

PIt. **leup-ero-*. It. cognates: Ven. **louderobos** [dat.pl.m.] 'for the children', **louderai** [dat.sg.f.] 'for a daughter' (if not a PN); Fal. **loferta, loifirta** [nom.sg.f.] 'free woman' (substantivized adj.), **loifirtato** [gen.sg.] 'freedom'; Pael. *loufir* [nom.sg.] 'free man'; O. **lúvfreis** [gen.sg.] epithet of Iuppiter; maybe U. **vufiune, uofione** [dat.sg.] a deity, often explained as **leudʰ-i-ōno-* 'he of the people'.

PIE **h₁leudʰ-ero-*. IE cognates: Gr. ἐλεύθερος 'free'; Lith. *liáudis* 'lower people', CS Ru. *ljud* 'people', OCS *ljudьje*, Ru. *ljúdi* [pl.] 'men, people' < IE **h₁leudʰ-o-, -i-*, OHG *liut*, pl. *liuti*, OE *lēod* 'people'.

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-* > **loiβ-*. This can be explained as a dissimilation of *u* to *i* in front of the bilabial fricative. Leumann explains *libertus* as a backformation to *lībertās* on the model of *honestus* vs. *honestās*. The BSl. and Gm. noun **h₁leudʰ-* 'people' derives from a verb **h₁leudʰ-* 'to grow'; the deity *Līber* 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 *līber* and Gr. ἐλεύθερος. The change of the pl. *līberī* 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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 791-793, EM 355, IEW 684f., Giacomelli 1963: 236, 249f., Benveniste 1969 I: 321-325, Lejeune 1974: 336, Leumann 1977: 61, 335, Meiser 1998: 87, Untermann 2000: 438f., 862f., LIV **h₁leudʰ-.

libet 'it is pleasing' [v. II (impers.), pf. *libuit / li/ubitum est*] (Pl.+; the older variant is *lubet*)

Derivatives: *libēre* 'to be willing' (Pl.), *lu/ibēns* 'pleased, willing' (Andr.+; *lub*- mainly in inscr. from outside Rome), *lu/ibentia* 'pleasure' (Pl.+), *Libentīna* 'title of Venus' (Varro+), *lu/ibīdō* [f.] 'desire, lust' (Pl.+), *libīdinitās* 'lustfulness' (Lab.); *prōlubium* 'desire' (Naev.+); *allubēscit* 'is pleasing' (Pl.+); Lat. -*libet* 'any, whichever' in *quīlibet* 'whoever/whatever you please', etc.

PIt. **luf-ē-* 'to desire'. It. cognates: O. *loufir* 'or' [pr.sb.impers.] < **loubʰ-ē/ī-r*.

PIE **lubʰ-eh₁-* 'to please'. IE cognates: Skt. *lobháya-* 'to make crazy', pf. *lulobha* 'is in disorder', MoP *āluftan* 'to be tangled, be hit down, be in love' < IIr. **l(a)ubʰ-*; OCS

ljubъ 'sweet, pleasant', Ru. *ljubój* 'any, either' < *leubʰ-o-, CS *ljuby* [f.], gen.sg. *ljubovъ* 'love' < *leubʰ-uH, OCS *ljubo*, Ru. *lǐbo* 'or'; OCS *ljubiti*, Ru. *ljubít'* 'to love' < *leubʰ-; Go. *liufs*, OHG *liob* [adj.] 'dear, sweet'.

Original *u has been unrounded between velarized *l* and *b*. The suffix of the derived noun probably was *-ēdōn (from the v. *lub-ē-) but it was influenced by *cupīdō*. 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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 793, EM 367, IEW 683f., Leumann 1977: 367, Meiser 1998: 80, Untermann 2000: 437, LIV *Ieubʰ-.

lĭbō, -āre 'to pour a libation' [v. I] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *lĭbāmentum* 'sacrifiacial offering, taste' (Varro+), *lĭbum* 'sacrificial cake' (Enn.+); *dēlĭbāre* 'to remove, take a small piece from' (Enn.+), *dēlĭbūtus* 'thickly smeared, imbued' (Pl.+).

PIt. *leifo- / *loifo- 'sacrificial cake', *lifu- 'greasy'.

PIE *h₂le/oibʰ-o- [n.], *h₂libʰ-u- [adj.]. IE cognates: Gr. ἀλείφω 'to anoint', ἄλειφαρ 'unguent'.

Steinbauer 1989: 120-122 regards *lĭbāre* as an original denominal verb 'to make a sacrificial cake' to *lĭbum*. It is uncertain, then, whether the noun continues *leib- or *loib-, with the change of *oi > ī between velar *l* and a labial. The ppp. *dēlĭbūtus* has short *i*; it indirectly points to a denominal verb *dēlibuere to an adj. *libu- 'greasy, dripping'. Gr. λείβω 'to pour' and λοιβή 'offering' are not cognate, but have undergone the same semantic shift(s). The root *h₂libʰ- which *lĭbum* and Gr. ἀλείφω share might be an enlarged variant of *h₂li- 'to anoint', which is found as *h₂liH- in Lat. *linō*.

Bibl.: WH I: 336, 794-796, EM 356, Steinbauer 1989: 120-122, Schrijver 1991: 243, Sihler 1995: 53. → *linō*

lĭbra 'pound (measure of weight) (Lex XII, Pl.+); pair of scales (Varro+)' [f. ā] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *lĭbrāre* 'to make level, balance' (Cato+), *lĭbrārius* [adj.] 'of a pound's weight' (Cato+), *lĭbella* 'small silver coin; plumb-line' (Pl.+); *sēlĭbra* 'half a libra' (Cato+), *simbella* 'a coin worth half a libella' (Varro); *collĭbrāre* 'to measure' (Cato), *dēlĭberāre* 'to consider carefully, consult' (Pl.+); *lĭbripēns, -ndis* 'one who holds the balance' (Lex XII+).

PIt. *leiþra- 'pound'.

Dēlĭberāre must be due to influence of *lĭberāre* 'to free' on *dē-lĭbrāre* 'to weigh'. The weight *sēlĭbra* was probably derived from *lĭbra* on the model of *sēmodius* 'half a modius' < *sēmi-modius*. *Lĭbella* < *lĭbrala*. *Simbella* < *sembella* < *sēmbella* < *sēmibella*, with haplology < *sēmilĭbella*. The Greek coin λίτρα 'name of a Sicilian coin' was probably borrowed from an Italic language at the stage containing *-ϑr-. In theory, an etymon with the PIE suffix *-dʰro- is possible, but the root is unidentified. Of course, a coin may well be a loanword.

Bibl.: WH I: 336, 795f., EM 168, 356, Sihler 1995: 139, Untermann 2000: 828.

licet, licēre 'it is permitted' [v. II; *licitum est*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *licēre* 'to fetch (a price)' (Pl.+), *licērī, licitus sum* 'to make a bid' (Pl.+), *licitārī* 'to make a bid, compete' (Pl.+), *licentia* 'freedom, licence' (Pl.+), *licentiātus, -ūs* 'permission' (Lab.); *pollicērī* 'to promise; offer' (Pl.+), *pollicitārī* 'to promise (assiduously)' (Pl.+), *pollicitātiō* 'promise' (Pl.+); *īlicet* 'you may go; that's the end!' (Pl.+), *scīlicet* 'obviously, to be sure' (Pl.+), *vidēlicet* 'evidently, of course' (Pl.+).

PIt. **lik-ē-* 'to be available, have the value of'. It. cognates: O. **líkítud**, *licitud* [3s.ipv.II] 'it is permitted' (borrowed from or calqued on Latin); maybe O. λεικειτ [3s.pr.?] < **lik-ē-ti*.

The verb *licitārī* is the frequentative to *licet*. The form *īlicet* < *īre 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 679, 797, EM 356f., IEW 669, Nussbaum 1994, Untermann 2000: 434, LIV ?**leik̂-*. → *pollūceō*

līcium 'thread, cord' [n. *o*] (Lex XII, Lucil.+)

Derivatives: *bilīx, -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, IEW 307-309. → *oblīquus*

liēn, -ēnis 'spleen' [m. *n*] (Pl.+; nom.sg. *liēn* (Prisc.); nom.sg. *liĕn, -ēnis* (Pl.) with iambic shortening)

Derivatives: *liēnōsus* 'affected by a disorder of the spleen' (Pl.+).

PIt. **liχēn-*.

PIE **splĝʰ-ēn, -en-* 'spleen'. IE cognates: OIr. *selg*, MBret. *felch*, Skt. *plīhán-*, Av. *spərəzan-*, Khot. *spuljei* 'spleen' < IIr. **spĵʰán-*, Gr. σπλήν 'spleen', σπλάγχνα 'intestines', Arm. *p'aycaɫn* spleen', Lith. *blužnis*, Latv. *liêsa* 'id.' < **lielsa*, OCS *slězena*.

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 *lien(-)* can be read either as two shorts or as a long syllable with synizesis (M. Weiss, p.c.). In Italic, PIE **splĝʰ-* was apparently replaced by **(s)liĝʰ-*, maybe for reasons of taboo; but the model for introducing *-i-* is unknown.

Bibl.: Soomer 1914: 366, WH I: 799, EM 357f., IEW 987.

lignum 'wood' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *ligneus* 'wooden' (Pl.+), *ligneolus* 'id.' (Lucil.+), *lignārī* 'to collect firewood' (Pl.+).

PIt. **legno-*.

PIE **leĝ(ʰ)-no-*.

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- [eŋn] > -ign- is regular. Ritter 2004 prefers to derive lignum from *legʰ- 'to lie', as 'stray wood'. Both etymologies seem equally possible.

Bibl.: WH I: 799, EM 358, IEW 658, Sihler 1995: 208, Ritter 2004, LIV *leǵ-. → legō

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+), subligāculum 'sort of loin-cloth' (Varro+); lictor 'attendant to a magistrate' (Pl.+); religiō 'taboo, impediment, sanction; religious practice' (Pl.+), religiōsus 'scrupulous, devote, religious' (Pl.+).

PIt. *-lig-ā-.

PIE *liǵ- 'to tie'? IE cognates: Alb. lidh 'to tie'.

The appurtenance of lictor 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 *leiǵ-.

līlium 'lily' [n. o] (Varro+)

Probably a borrowing from an (eastern) Mediterranean language, compare in the first place Gr. λείριον 'lily, narciss'. A similar designation is Coptic hrēri, hlēli 'lily'.

Bibl.: WH I: 801, EM 358.

līma '(carpenter's) file' [f. ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: līmāre 'to rub smooth, polish' (Andr.+).

The etymology accepted by WH and IEW connects līma with lēvis 'smooth' and OHG slīm 'mud, slime', slīmen 'to polish, rub smooth', from a root *slei-. Alternatively, it could belong to linō < *h₂li-n-, hence *h₂le/oi-mh₂- (Seldeslachts 2001: 91). But a 'file' itself is not 'smooth', at most it 'makes smooth', which does not fit the morphology of līma < *-ma-.

Bibl.: WH I: 801f., EM 358f., IEW 662-664.

limbus 'ornamental border, fringe' [m. o] (Var.+; Varro also lembus)

Derivatives: limbulārius 'concerned with making fringes' (Pl.).

PIE *lemb-o-. IE cognates: Skt. rámbate (RV), lámbate 'to hang down limply'; OE (ge)limpan 'to happen, succeed', Eng. limp [adj.] 'limp', MHG lampen, slampen 'to hang down limply'; ToB lyama, ToA lyām '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-.

līmen, -inis 'beam in a doorframe, threshold, lintel' [n. *n*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *ēlīmināre* 'to go outdoors, let out' (Enn.+); *līmes, -itis* [m.] 'boundary strip of land, boundary; road' (Varro+), *līmitāre* 'to define, line off' (Varro+), *līmitāris* 'of a boundary' (Varro+).

PIt. *līm-en-* [n.] 'crossbar', *līm-et-* 'boundary'. It. cognates: O. **líímitú[m** [acc.sg. or gen.pl.] 'boundary path, limit', probably borrowed from Latin.

Derived from (the base of) the adj. *līmus* 'transverse, oblique', possibly *līm-en-* 'crossbar'. *Līmes* can be from *līm(o)-it-* 'going transverse' (thus WH), but more likely seems a derivational analysis as *līmo-* 'oblique' >> *līm-et-* 'the oblique one, boundary'.

Bibl.: WH I: 803f., EM 359, IEW 307-309. → *līmus 2*

limpidus 'clear, transparent' [adj. *o/ā*] (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-ē-* 'to be liquid' < *li-n-kʷ-ē-* (which Solta regards as identical with the root of *linquō* 'to leave', rather than from *u̯linkʷ-*). The nasal present of 'to be moist' can be recognized in *pol-lingō* (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 *ē*-present which Latin retains unchanged in *liqueō*, since *limp-or* is easier to derive from a pr. in -*ē*- than from a nasal present such as *pol-lingō*.

Bibl.: WH I: 804, EM 359, Untermann 2000: 182, Solta 1967.

līmus 1 'mud, slime' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *līmāx, -ācis* 'slug, snail' [f. (m.)] (Pl.+).

PIt. *(s)le/oimo-*.

PIE *loimo-* 'loam' or *sle/ohₗi-mo-* 'slime, slimy'. IE cognates: OS *lēmo*, OE *lām*, OHG *leim* 'loam' < PGm. *laima/ōn-*; OPr. *slayx*, Lith. *sliekas*, Latv. *sliêka* 'earth-worm' < *sloiH-k-*; Latv. *sliēnas*, OCS *sliny* [nom.pl.], Ru. dial. *slina*, SCr. *slīna* 'saliva' < *slehₗi-n-h₂*; Ru. *slimák* (dial.) 'snail, slug' < *slehₗi-m-*; OIc. OE MHG *slīm* 'slime'. Gr. λείμαξ 'snail' (Hsch.) is probably (borrowed from) Latin.

Lat. *līmus* could belong to PGm. *laima/ōn-* 'loam' < PIE *loimo-* (to PIE *h₂li-* 'to smear') or to BSl. *sloiH-/*sleHi-*, PGm. *slīma-* 'slime, saliva'.

Bibl.: WH I: 802-805, EM 359, IEW 662-664, Schrijver 1991: 243, Sihler 1995: 214.

līmus 2 'transverse, oblique' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *līmulus* 'oblique' (Pl.); *sublīmen* [adv.] 'in a lofty position' (Naev.+),

sublīmis 'high, elevated' (Naev.+; also *sublīmus* Enn.+), *sublīmāre* 'to raise, send up' (Enn.+).

PIt. **(s)līmo-?*

Latin continues **līmo-* 'transverse' and a compound **sub-līm-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. **sublīmem* of the adj. None of the cognates adduced for *līmus* in IEW is convincing by its semantics, nor does the vowel always fit: Gr. λειμών '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, lituus*

lingō, -ere 'to lick' [v. III; pf. *līnxī*, ppp. *līnctum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *dēlingere* 'to lick up, off' (Pl.+), *sublingulō* 'under-dish-licker' (Pl.); *ligurrīre* 'to lick, sponge' (Pl.+).

PIt. **ling(-e/o)-*.

PIE **li-n-ǵʰ-* [pr.] 'to lick'. IE cognates: OIr. *ligid**, *·lig**, MW *llyu*, MBret. *leat* 'to lick' < PCl. **lige/o-*; Skt. *rédhi/ledhi* [3s.pr.], ppa. *ririhvā́ṃs-*, Gr. λείχω, Arm. *lizanem*, Lith. *liễžti*, OCS *lizati*, 1s. *ližǫ* 'to lick' < BSl. **leiž-*, OE *liccian*, OHG *leckōn* < **ligʰ-n-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 806, EM 360, IEW 668, Schumacher 2004: 450, LIV **leiǵʰ-*.

lingua 'tongue' [f. *ā*] (Lex XII+; *dingua* Mar. Victorinus VI 26.2)

Derivatives: *li(n)gula* '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.).

PIt. **dn̥χ(u)wā-*. It. cognates: O. **fangvam** [acc.sg.], *fancua* [nom.pl.] 'tongue' < **fǝnχuā- < *dʰ-*.

PIE **dnǵʰ-uh₂* 'tongue'. IE cognates: OIr. *tengae*, MW *tafawt* 'tongue' < **tngʰ-*, Skt. *jihvā́-* 'id.', Av. *hizuuā-*, Arm. *lezow*, OPr. *insuwis*, Lith. *liežuvìs*, OCS *językъ*, Go. *tuggo*, OHG *zunga*, OIc. *tunga* < **dnǵʰ-*, ToA *käntu*, ToB *kantwo* 'tongue' << **tänkwo*.

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 **dʰ-*, which must be due to association with another word in **dʰ-* (but which?), cf. van der Staaij 1995: 23. The absence of the development **gʷ* > *b* in Oscan suggests that 'tongue' had the structure **-gʰuH-V-* 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. **dnǵʰ-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.

Bibl.: WH I: 806f., EM 360, IEW 223, Sihler 1995: 39, 151, Untermann 2000: 264.

linō, -ere 'to smear, seal, rub' [v. III; pf. *lēvī*, ppp. *litum*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *circumlinere* 'to smear round, decorate' (Cato+), *ēlinere* 'to smear all over' (Lucil.+), *oblinere* 'to smear over, close' (Pl.+).

PIt. **lina-* 'to smear'.

PIE **h₂li-n-H-* [pr.], **h₂li-to-* [ppp.]. IE cognates: OIr. *lenaid, ·len* 'to stay, glue, follow', W. *llynu* 'to besmear' < PCl. **lina-*; Hit. *halīna-* 'clay(?)' < **h₂liH-no-*; Gr. ἀλίνειν '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 > *līv-*), 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 PCl. cognate **lina-* suggests a laryngeal-final stem.

Bibl.: WH I: 807f., EM 360f., IEW 662-664, Leumann 1977: 534, Schrijver 1991: 19f., 283, Sihler 1995: 534, Seldeslachts 2001: 74-91, Schumacher 2004: 453f., LIV **h₂leiH-*.

linquō, -ere 'to leave' [v. III; pf. *līquī*, ppp. *-lictum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *dēlinquere* 'to be lacking, err' (Pl.+), *dēliquiō* 'failure; eclipse' (Pl.+), *dēlictum* 'misdeed, offence' (Pl.+), *dēlicuus* 'lacking' (Pl.+), *dērelinquere* 'to abandon' (Varro+), *relinquere* 'to leave' (Pl.+), *reliquiae* [f.pl.] 'remnants, remains' (Pl.+), *reliquus* 'left, remaining' (Pl.+).

PIt. **linkʷ-(e/o-), *(le-)loikʷ-, *likʷto-* 'to leave'; **-likʷ-e/ow-o-* 'remaining'.

PIE pr. **li-n-kʷ-*, pf. **(le-)loikʷ-*, ppp. **likʷto-*. IE cognates: OIr. *léicid*, ·léici** 'to let (go), leave' < PCl. **linkʷe/o-*; Skt. *riṇákti*, pf. *riréca*, YAv. pr. *irinaxti* 'to leave'; Gr. λιμπάνω, λείπω [pr.] 'to let, leave'; Arm. *lkᶜanem* 'id.', OPr. *po-līnka* 'stays', Latv. *likt*, Is. *lieku* 'to leave, put', Go. *leihvan* 'to lend'.

The verb forms are inherited from PIE. The older form of *reliquus* was **relikuwos*, as in *dēlicuus*. Similarly, *reliquiae* < **relikuwia*. These, then, reflect **-likʷ-e/ow-o-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 808f., EM 361, IEW 669f., Leumann 1977: 136, Meiser 1998: 98, LIV **leikʷ-*.

līnum 'flax plant, linseed; linen' [n. o] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *līnea* 'string, cord; line' (Pl.+), *līneāre* 'to make straight' (Pl.+); *linteum* 'piece of linen cloth, towel, sail' (Pl.+), *linteolum* 'piece of linen' (Pl.+), *linteō* 'weaver of linen' (Pl.).

PIt. **līno-* [n.].

IE cognates: Gr. λίνον 'linen', OPr. *lynno* 'flax', Lith. *linas* 'flax (plant)', [pl.] *linaī* 'flax (fibres)', Latv. *lini* 'flax' [pl.], CS *lьnъ*, Ru. *lën*, gen.sg. *l'na* 'id.' < BSl. **linos*.

The noun *līnea* can be understood as a substantivization of the adj. *līneus* 'made of flax or linen', which itself is not attested before Verg. The alternative adj. **linteus* is somewhat surprising, and suggests an unattested noun **linto-* 'linen' as its basis. The variation between **līno-* and **linto-* in Latin, to which **lino-* from Greek and BSl.

can be compared, makes it impossible to reconstruct a common PIE protoform. Probably, it was a loanword meaning 'flax'.

Bibl.: WH I: 810, EM 361, IEW 691, Schrijver 991: 243.

lippus 'having watery or inflamed eyes' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *lippīre* 'to have watery or inflamed eyes' (Pl.+), *lippitūdō* 'imflammation or watering of the eyes' (Pl.+).

PIt. **l(e)ipo-*?

PIE **l(e)ip-o-* 'sticky, fat'? IE cognates: Gr. λίπος [n.] '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.+), *liquidiusculus* 'milder' (Pl.), *liquēscere* 'to become liquid, melt' (Naev.+); *līquī* 'to become liquid, dissolve' (Pl.+); *colliquēscere* 'to melt, liquefy' (Varro+), *ēliquēscere* 'to become liquid' (Varro+), *liquefacere* 'to melt' (Lucr.+), *colliquefacere* 'id.' (Varro+), *dēliquāre* 'to make clear, strain' (Pl.+), *ēliquāre* 'to purify by straining' (Varro+), *liquāre* 'to make liquid or clear' (Hor.+).

PIt. **(w)leik^w-e/o-* 'to make/become liquid', **(w)lik^w-ē-* 'to be liquid'.

PIE **uleik^w-* 'to make moist'? IE cognates: OIr. *fliuch* 'moist', W. *gwlith* [m.] 'dew'; ToA [inf.] *lyīktsi* 'to wash', ToB [pr.] *laikanatra* 'washes', *likṣan-* 'washes', [pf.] *laikāte* 'washed'.

The verbs in *-āre* are compounded factitives to the stative *ē*-verb. The set *liqueō – liquor – liquidus* is of a productive type; beside *līquī* < **uleik^w-*, *liquē-* is probably the old stative. The old nasal present changed to *-lingō*, see s.v. *pollingō*.

Bibl.: WH I: 244f., 812, II: 618, EM 131f., 362, 661, Leumann 1977: 117, LIV **uleik^y-. → *lixa, pollingō*

līra 'furrow' [f. *ā*] (Columella+)

Derivatives: *dēlīrus* 'insane' (Lucr.+), *dēlīrāre* 'to be mad; deviate from the balks (in ploughing' (Pl.+), *dēlīritās* 'insanity' (Lab.), *dēlīrāmentum* 'nonsense' (Pl.+).

PIt. **loisā-*. It. cognates: possibly O. **luisarifs** [abl.pl.f.] month-name ('in which the furrows are drawn'?).

PIE **lois-h₂-* 'furrow, track'. IE cognates: OPr. *lyso* 'field bed', OCS *lěxa* '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.ivd₁ = stlitibus iudicandis*)

Derivatives: *lītigāre* 'to go to law, dispute' (Pl.+), *lītigium* 'quarrel, lawsuit' (Pl.+).

PIt. **slī-ti-* 'accusation, dispute'.

PIE *sliH-ti-? IE cognates: OIr. *liid**, *·lí** 'to accuse', MW *lliw* 'proof, accusation' < PCl. *liie/o-* < *sliH-e/o-, OIr. *lithech* 'accused person' < *līti-ko-.

Joseph 1986 connects *stlīs* with OIr. *lithech* 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. *slīs*, as found in one inscription from the 2nd c. BC, might be older than *stlīs*. 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. *lithech* would contain the same nominal *ti-*stem as Latin. Gusmani 2002 connects Lat. *līs* with PGm. *sleitan* 'to split', OHG *hari-sliz* '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. *sleiþa-* or *slīþa-* 'bad' in Go. *sleiþs* or *sleideis* 'pernicious, fierce, dangerous', *gasleiþjan* 'to damage', so that, if at all related, we may posit PGm. *sliH-* with different dental enlargements.

Bibl.: WH I: 813, EM 363, Leumann 1977: 189, Schumacher 2004: 452.

lītō, -āre 'to obtain or give favourable omens' [v. I] (Andr.+)
    Derivatives: *litātiō* 'obtaining favourable omens' (Pl.+).

Denominative to a noun *lita*, which was probably borrowed from Gr. λιτή 'request' < *λιτᾱ, 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 *linō* 'to smear': the semantics would be 'smeared sign' > 'letter'. Yet morphologically, this scenario is completely unconvincing. The ppp. of *linō* is *litus* 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.

lītus, -oris 'sea-shore, coast' [n. *r*] (Pl.+)
    PIt. *lei/ītos* [n.].
    PIE *leit-os- 'going'? IE cognates: Av. *iriðiia-* 'to die', ppa. *irīriðuš-* 'dead', Go. *ga-leiþan* 'to go', ToB *lita*, ToA *līt* [pret.], ToB *laitaṃ*, ToA *letaṣ* [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. *-līyate* '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-.

lituus 'curved trumpet, curved staff' [m. *o*] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *liticen* 'trumpeter' (Cato+).

Etymology unknown. If the meaning 'curved' is original, one could connectd Go. *liþus*, OIc. *liðr* 'member, part, lid' (thus IEW) and posit **litu-* 'curve(d)'.

Bibl.: WH I: 815f., EM 364, IEW 307-309. → *līmus 2, oblīquus*

līvidus 'of a dull or greyish-blue colour; envious' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *līvēscere* 'to become dull blue' (Lucr.+), *līvor* 'bluish discoloration, envy' (Pl.+).

PIt. **(s)le/oiwo-* or **(s)līwo-*.

PIE **(s)l(e/o)iH-uo-* 'plum-coloured, blueish'. IE cognates: OIr. *lí*, W. *lliw* 'colour' < **(s)liH-ṷ-*; Ru. *sliva* 'plum', SCr. *šljiva* 'id.' < **sliH-ueh₂-*, OHG *slēha*, OE *slāh*, MoDu. (dial.) *sleeuw* 'sloe' < PGm. **slaiχ(u)a/ō-*.

Since the other IE languages point to a derivative in **-uo-*, the Latin word family must be based on *līvēre* (only attested after Cic.) or on *līvidus*, which replaced **līuos*. The original ablaut grade of Latin *līv-* cannot be determined.

Bibl.: WH I: 816, EM 364, IEW 965, Schrijver 1991: 231. → *lūridus*

lixa 'water, lye' [f. *ā*] (Nonius)

Derivatives: *lixīvus* '(probably) liquid, flowing' (Cato+); *ēlixus* 'boiled' (Pl.+), *prōlixus* 'having extensive growth, extended, long' (Ter.+), *prōlixitūdō* 'great length' (Pac.); maybe *lixula* 'kind of cheese pancake' (Varro).

PIt. **wl(e)ikʷso-* 'fluid, flowing'.

PIE **ul(e)ikʷ-s-*.

The noun *lixa* 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 **uleikʷ-*. → *liqueō*

locus 'place' [m. *o*] (Andr.+; *stlocus* (Quint., Paul. *ex F.*); pl. *locī/loca*)

Derivatives: *īlicō* '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.), *loculus* '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. *līs*), one might also consider a preform **slok-o-*. The further etymology remains unclear.

Bibl.: WH I: 679, 817f., EM 309, 364f., IEW 1019f., Untermann 2000: 686f.

locusta 'locust; lobster' [f. *ā*] (Naev.+)

The quantity of the first syllable is not completely certain: we also find *luc-* 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. → *lacertus*

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/ā*] (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.), *longitūdō* 'length' (Cato+), *longulē* [adv.] 'at a distance' (Pl.+); *perlongus* 'very long' (Pl.+).
PIt. **(d)longo-*.
PIE **dlong^h-o-*. IE cognates: PIE **dólug^h-* in Hit. **taluki- / talugai-* [adj.] 'long'; Hit. *zaluknu-^{zi}* 'to lengthen' < **dlug^h-n(e)u-*; PIE **dlh₁g^h-o-* in Skt. *dīrghá-*, OAv. *darəga-*, OCS *dlъgъ*, SCr. *dȕg*, Lith. *ìlgas*, Alb. *gjatë* 'long' (+ **-tā-*); Gr. δολιχός (< **dolh₁-i-g^h-o-?*), ἐνδελεχής 'lasting long, uninterrupted' < **delh₁g^h-*; PIE **dlong^h-o-* in Go. *laggs*, OHG *lang*, OIc. *langr*, MP *drang* 'long'. Gr. λόγχη 'spear' would theoretically go back to **dlong^h-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)lug^h-* (Hit.), **dolig^h-*, **delg^h-* (Gr.), **dlong^h-* (Lat., Gm.) and **dlh₁g^h-* (IIr., BSl., Alb.) are different variants of what was originally a compound petrified in the meaning 'long' (Kloekhorst 2008: 819f. compares cases such as MoE *high and dry, safe and sound*). The first member could be **de/ol(h₁)-*, compare Cz. *dél* (poet.) [f. *i*] 'length' < PSl. **dьlь*, OCS *prodъljǫ* 'I prolong', Ru. *dlit'sja*, Cz. *dliti* 'to last', Ru. *dliná* 'length'; the second member containing **-g^h-*.
Bibl.: WH I: 820, EM 366, IEW 197.

loquor, loquī 'to talk, speak' [v. III; ppp. *locūtum*] (Naev.+)
Derivatives: *loquitārī* 'to talk constantly' (Pl.+), *loquāx* 'talkative' (Pl.+), *loquāculus* 'gossiping' (Lucr.), *loquēla* 'speech, utterance' (Pl.+); *alloquī* 'to speak to, invoke' (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.).
PIt. **(t)lokʷ-e/o-*.
PIE **tlokʷ-* 'to talk'. IE cognates: OIr. *ad·tluchedar* 'gives thanks', *do·tluchedar*

'demands'; Ru. *tolk* 'meaning'.

The ppp. *locūtus* must be analogical after e.g. *soluī* : *solūtus*.
Bibl.: WH I: 821, EM 366, IEW 1088, Schrijver 1991: 476, Sihler 1995: 210, 624.

lōra 'drink made from watered grapeskins' [f. *ā*] (Cato+; variant *lōrea* Gell.)

A derivation from *lavō* as **lowerā*, as proposed by WH, is unlikely for phonetic reasons, since **lowera* would normally yield Lat. **lūra*. For a form *lōra* to emerge, a sequence **low-* would have to be restored, which is unlikely in view of the PIt. unrounding in *lavō*. Morphologically, **louH-ro-* is not very convincing. Semantically, *lōra* could be many things; there is no obvious connection to 'washing'.
Bibl.: WH I: 821, EM 366.

lōrum 'leather strap, thong' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *lōreus* 'made of strips or thongs' (Pl.+), *lōrīca* 'corselet or cuirass' (Pl.+), *lōrīcāre* 'to cover with a cuirass' (Varro+); *lōripēs, -dis* 'having deformed feet' (Pl.+).

IE cognates: Gr. εὔληρα, Dor. αὔληρα [pl.], Hsch. ἄβληρα 'reins' (< **ā-ϝλη̄ρο-?*), Arm. *lar* 'cord'.

Beekes (fthc.) regards the alternation ε-/α- within Greek as inexplicable; he therefore suspects Pre-Greek origin. If εὔληρα reflects **ηυληρᾱ* (which would not fit the hexameter), Proto-Greek may have had **āu̯lēra*. Theoretically, this might reflect a PIE form **h₂e-h₂ul-ēr-*, 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 *lōrīca*, a separate loanword etymology is often proposed, viz. from Gr. θώραξ 'cuirass', Ion. θώρηξ, or both could be from an unknown Mediterranean language. Yet WH reject this solution, arguing that *lōrīca* was originally made from leather, and hence belongs to *lōrum*.
Bibl.: WH I: 822, EM 366f., IEW 1140-1144, Schrijver 1991: 122f.

lūbricus 'slippery' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)
PIt. **(s)loufre/o-ko-*.
PIE **sle/oub^h-ro-* 'gliding'. IE cognates: Go. *sliupan* 'to creep, slide' (with *p* < **pp* < **-bn-*), OE *slūpan* (with secondary *ū*) ; OE *slīefe* [f.] 'sleeve'.
Bibl.: WH I: 822f., EM 367, IEW 963f., Meiser 1998: 87, LIV **sleub^h-*.

lucrum 'material gain, profit' [n. *o*] (Pl.+; *lucrī facere* 'to make a profit' Pl.+)

Derivatives: *lucrifer* 'bringing gain' (Pl.), *lucrificābilis* 'profitable' (Pl.), *lucrifuga* [m.] 'spendthrift' (Pl.), *lucripeta* [adj.m.] 'avaricious'.
PIt. **luklo-* > dissim. **lukro-*.

PIE **lh₂u-tló-* 'seizure, gain'. IE cognates: Gr. ἀπολαύω 'to enjoy', λεία, Dor. λᾱία (< **λᾱϝ-ίᾱ*) '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 **l(e)h₂u-* found in *lucrum*, as well as in Gr. 'to enjoy', Go. 'reward', could formally be connected with Hit. *lāhu-/lahu-* 'to pour, cast' <

*l(ó)h₂u-, *lahhu-* 'container' < *leh₂u-; but the semantics are difficult. Alternatively, the non-Anatolian forms in *l(e/o)h₂u- could be compared with Hit. *lāhh-* 'military campaign, journey', CLuw. *lahhi(ia)ᵃ* 'to travel, campaign' < *lóh₂-/*léh₂-, Gr. λα(ϝ)óς 'men, army', Olr. *láech* 'warrior' < *leh₂u-. The original meaning of *leh₂- could have been 'to fight', that of *leh₂u- 'to acquire by fighting'.

Bibl.: WH I: 826, EM 367f., IEW 655, Schrijver 1991: 240f.

luctor, -ārī 'to wrestle, struggle' [v. I] (Pl.+; active *luctāre* in OLat., dep. *luctārī* in CLat.)
Derivatives: *luctātor* 'wrestler' (Pl.+); *dēluctārī* 'to fight it out with' (Pl.).
PIt. **lukto-*.
PIE *lug-to- 'bent'. IE cognates: Olr. *fo·loing* 'supports', *in·loing* 'connects', MW *ellwng-* 'to set free' < PCl. *-lunge/o- 'to place', Gr. λύγος [f.] 'withy, twigs', Go. *ga-lūkan* 'to shut', *us-lūkan* '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 826f., EM 368, IEW 685f., Schumacher 2004: 460f., LIV 2.*leu̯(ǵ)-. →
luxus

lūcus 'sacred grove, wood' [m. *o*] (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.+).
PIt. **louko-* 'sacred grove'. It. cognates: Ven. **louki** [gen.sg.] 'sacred grove', O. **lúvkeí** [loc.sg.], U. **vukum-en**, **vuku** [acc.sg.], **vukes** [gen.sg.], **vuku-kum**, **uocu-com** [abl.sg. + *-com*] , **vuke** [loc.sg.] '(sacred) enclosure'.
PIE *louk-o- [m.] 'light place'. IE cognates: Skt. *loká-* [m.] 'free space, world', Lith. *laũkas* 'field, land', Latv. *laũks* 'field, clearing in the woods', OHG *lōh* 'clearing'.
For the derivation of *Lūcīna* from *lūcus* 'sacred grove', cf. Leumann 1960.
Bibl.: WH I: 828, EM 368, IEW 687-690, Lejeune 1974: 336, Untermann 2000: 439f., LIV *leu̯k-. → *lūna, lūx*

lūdō, -ere 'to play, sport' [v. III; pf. *lūsī*, ppp. *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, -ūs* 'the teasing' (Pl.), *lūdificābilis* 'suitable to play with' (Pl.); *lūsiō* 'play, sport' (Varro+), *lūsitāre* 'to amuse oneself' (Pl.+), *lūsor* 'player' (Pl.+); *allūdiāre* '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

of' (Pl.), ēlūdere 'to deceive, dodge' (Ter.+), ēlūdificārī 'to fool completely' (Pl.), illūdere 'to make game of' (Ter.+), oblūdiāre 'to play the fool' (Pl.).

PIt. *loid-e/o- 'to play', *loido- 'play'.

PIE *loid- 'to let go frequently, play'. IE cognates: MIr. laídid 'impels', Gr. λίνδεσθαι 'to contend' (Hsch.), λίζει 'plays' (Hsch.), Alb. lindi 'gives birth', lindet 'is born' < *li-n-d-; OLith. léidmi 'I let', Lith. léisti, Is. léidžiu 'to let' < pr. *leid-; Lith. láidyti 'to throw', Latv. laîst 'let, publish, set in motion' < *loid-.

The o-grade found in Irish, Baltic and Latin could point to an original causative present, but the suffix of Latin does not fit. We seem instead to be dealing with an o-grade present of frequentative meaning. The noun lūdus is probably deverbal, since no equivalents are found elsewhere.

Bibl.: WH I: 829, EM 368f., IEW 666, LIV *leid-.

lūgeō 'to mourn, grieve' [v. II; pf. lūxī, ppp. lūctum] (Pl.+)
   Derivatives: lūgubris 'mourning, sad' (Pl.+).
   PIt. *loug-eje- [v.], *loug-os-ri-?
   PIE *loug-eie- 'to swallow, gasp'. IE cognates: OIr. loingid 'to eat' < *(s)lu-n-g-; Gr. λυγγανώμενον 'sobbing' (Hsch.), λύζω 'to have the hiccup, sob' < *(s)lug-ie-, λυγμός 'the hiccup(s)'.

WH suggest that lūgubris more probably reflects *lūgos-ri- (with an s-stem *lūgos-belonging to the ē-present lūgēre) than *lūge-bli- (with regular dissimilation to -bri-after the l-containing stem). It is disputed to which root lūgēre belongs. It is often connected with PIE *lug- 'to break', and indeed a semantic connection between 'breaking' and 'mourning' can often be found in etymology, due to the intensity of the acts of mourning. Lat. lūgēre would fit the morphology of the causative, but semantically a stative (*lug-ēh₁-, in which case the zero grade of the root is striking) or a frequentative (*(le-)loug-ie-) of 'to break' are more likely. Kölligan 2005 objects that there is no evidence for the assumed shift in meaning from 'break' to 'mourn' in Latin, and also, that lūgeō is normally used as an active, transitive verb. He therefore proposes the alternative connection with PIE *(s)leug- 'to swallow', which would have developed via 'to gasp' to 'wail, mourn'. The causative *loug-eie- could be understood as 'to bemourn (someone)'. This solution seems more straightforward to me than the connection with 'to break'.

Bibl.: WH I: 830f., EM 369, IEW 686, Kölligan 2005, LIV *(s)leug-.

lumbrīcus '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 lumbrīcus is translated as 'intestinal worm' by OLD refers to the form of the worm: Ad tormina 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 umbilīcus (also

situated in the lower belly) and *formīca* 'ant' (also an insect). WH assume that *lumbr-* reflects **londʰr-*, and derive the word from a root **lndʰ-*, 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.), **londʰr-* would yield Latin **lundr-*. As Latin does not possess a productive suffix *-rīcus*, the origin of *lumbrīcus* remains unclear.

Bibl.: WH I: 831, EM 369, IEW 960f.

lumbus 'hips, loins' [m. *o*] (Pl.+; usually pl.)
  Derivatives: *lumbifragium* 'loin-wreckage' (Pl.).
  PIt. **londwo-* 'loins'.
  PIE **londʰ-u-o-*. IE cognates: HLuw. *la-tara/i- /landri(ya)-/* 'to expand (a country)', Skt. *rándhra-* 'loin (of animals); weak spot on the body; cavity' < **londʰ-ro-*; OCS *lędviję* [f.pl.] 'loins, insides, kidneys', Ru. *ljádveja* (arch.) 'thigh' < **lendʰ-u-*; OIc. *lend*, OHG *lentin* 'kidneys', OE *lendenu* 'loins' < **londʰ-io-*; OIr. *land* 'free space', MW *llan* 'area', Co. *lan*, Bret. *lann* 'heath' < **lndʰ-h₂-*; OPr. acc.sg. *lindan* 'valley'; Ru. *ljádá*, Cz. *lada*, *lado* 'fallow land' < **léndʰ-o-*; Go. OIc. OS OE *land*, OHG *lant* 'land' < **londʰ-o-*; Lith. *lendù* 'to creep, sneak (into)'.

Gotō 1985 has argued that Skt. *rándhra-* can be connected with *lumbus* and with Gm. **landa-* 'land', under the assumption of a PIE verb **lendʰ-e-* 'to sink, go down' (Lith. *lendù* '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. *latara/i-* 'to expand (a country)' to the dossier, he posits an original meaning 'to enter, penetrate' for PIE **lendʰ-*. This would be continued (in a specific usage) in Lith. *lendù*, 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-* < **londʰro-* '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-*. → *lumbrīcus*

lūna 'moon' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+; Praeneste *losna*)
  Derivatives: *lūnula* 'crescent-shaped ornament' (Pl.).
  PIt. **louksnā-*.
  PIE **le/ouk-s-nh₂-* 'shiny, bright, gleaming'. IE cognates: OIr. *dia lúain* 'Monday', Av. *raoxšna-* [adj./n.] 'light', Gr. λύχνος [m.] 'lamp', OPr. *lauxnos* [pl.] 'stars', MHG *liehsen* 'bright'.

The base **le/uk-s-* is also found in *lūmen* and *lūstrum* (see s.v. *lūx*). It might be derived from the *s*-stem **leuk-os-*. The word **le/ouk-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-*. → *lūcus*, *lūx*

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. Ill; pf. *huī* (*lūī* Varro)] (Acc.+)

Derivatives: *luella* 'expiation' (Lucr.), *luēs*, -*is* 'plague, affliction' (Cic.+); *reluere* 'to redeem' (Caecil.).

PIt. **huwelo-*.

PIE aor. **l(é)uH-* 'to cut loose', pf. **louH-?* IE cognates: Olr. *as·loí** 'to flee' < PCl. **eks-luue/o-*; Skt. *lunấti* 'cuts off', *ālūna-* 'not shaved'; Gr. λύω 'to loosen, liberate', aor. midd. λύμην, λύ(ν)το; OE *lē* [m.] 'sickle'; ToB *lyuwa*, ToA *lyu* 'sent'. If Lith. *liáuti* 'to stop', PSl. **lěviti* 'to diminish, weaken' are cognate, the root was **lh₁u-*.

The thematic pr. of Italo-Celtic and Greek is probably secondary to the root aorist (LIV). The Latin form *lūī* might preserve a trace of earlier **lou-w-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 338, EM 168, IEW 681f., Schrijver 1991: 246, Meiser 1998: 206, Schumacher 2004: 463, LIV **leuH-*. → *lūstrum*, *soluō*

lupus 'wolf' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *lupa* 'whore' (Pl.+), 'she-wolf' (Prop.+), *lupānar* 'brothel' (Pl.+), *lupārī* 'to prostitute oneself' (Lucil.+), *lupīmus* 'of a wolf' (Pl.+), *lupīnum* 'the lupin (plant)' (Cato+), *lupīnārius* 'of lupins' (Cato), *lupillum/s* 'lupin-seed' (Pl.).

PIt. **lukʷo-?* **lupo-?*

PIE **ulkʷo-* 'wolf'. IE cognates: Skt. *vŕ̥ka-*, YAv. *vəhrka-* [m.], MP *gurg*, Gr. λύκος [m.], Lith. *vil̃kas*, Latv. *vìlks*, ORu. *vьlkъ* [m.] < **ulkʷo-*, Go. *wulfs* [m.], ToB *walkwe* [m.] 'wolf'.

The earlier derivation of *lupus* from PIE **ulkʷo-* 'wolf' requires two ad hoc assumptions: metathesis to **lukʷo-* 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 835-837, EM 370, IEW 1178f., Leumann 1977: 101, Sihler 1995: 161. → *volpēs*

lurcō 'glutton, gourmand' [m. *n*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *lurcāre/ī* '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 **lurgiko-*, 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/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *lūror* 'sickly yellow colour' (Lucr.+); *ēlūrēscere* 'to become pale' (Varro apud Non.); *lūtum* 'yellow dye, colour' (Verg.+), *lūteus* 'pink, pale-red' (Pl.+).

PIt. *(s)lous-? *(s)loiro-? *(s)loito-?

The exact source and etymology are very uncertain. Schrijver 1995: 332 suggests that *lūridus* belongs to MW *lleu* 'light', MW *lloer* 'moon' < *le/ous-*, while Nussbaum 1997: 199f. connects it with Lat. *līvidus* (see s.v. for IE cognates). In the latter case, Lat. *lū-* 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/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *lusciōsus* 'suffering from night-blindness' (Var.+), *luscītiōsus* 'suffering from night-blindness' (Pl.+), *lusciniola* 'nightingale' (Pl.+), *luscinia* 'id.' (Hor.+).

PIt. *luk-sko-* 'with partial sight, visually handicapped'.

PIE *luk-(e/o-) 'to see'.

The derivatives suggest the previous existence of a v. *luscīre* 'to be night-blind'. The nightingale might be explained with haplology 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. *nuscitiōsus* is a variant of *luscitiōsus*, 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 *adolwyn* 'to beseech', *gorlhwyn* '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.+); *armilūstrium* 'ceremony of purifying the arms' (Varro+), *tubilūstrium* 'festival at which the sacred trumpets were purified' (Varro+).

PIt. *lūstro-* 'expiation'.

According to WH and IEW, *lūstrum* 'purification' is based on an earlier meaning 'illumination' < *l(e/o)uk-s-tro-*, to Lat. *lūx*. Yet there is no good evidence for 'enlightening' in the meaning of the *lūstrum*. One might connect it with *lavō* 'to

wash' – but still, no clear passages exist which link the *lūstrum* with washing. Thus, I find Serbat's conclusion (1975: 312) most likely, viz. that *lūstrum* was derived from **luH-* 'to set free', Lat. *luō*. The suffix **-stro-* is also found e.g. in *mōnstrum*, cf. Leumann 1977: 313.

Bibl.: IEW 687-690, Serbat 1975: 310-312. → *luō*

lutra 'otter' [f. *ā*] (Varro, Plin.+)

PIt. **udrā-*.

PIE **ud-ro-* [adj.] 'of the water' > 'water animal, otter' [m.]. IE cognates: Skt. *udrá-*, YAv. *udra-* 'otter', Gr. ὕδρος, ὕδρα 'water-snake', OPr. *wudro*, Lith. *ūdra*, Ru. *výdra* 'otter' < PSl. **vydra* < BSl. **uʔdraʔ*, OHG *ottar*, OIc. *otr* [m.] 'otter'.

The change of PIE **dr* to Latin *tr* is regular. At some stage, initial *l-* was added, maybe taken from the verb *lavō* '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 *lūdere* '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.

Bibl.: WH I: 840, EM 372, IEW 78-81.

lutum 'mud, dirt, clay' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *lutāre* 'to cover with mud' (Cato+), *lutāmentum* 'coating of mud' (Cato), *luteus* 'worthless, dirty' (Pl.+), *lutitāre* 'to drag in the mud' (Pl.+), *lutōsus* 'very muddy' (Enn.+); *lustrum* / *lustra* [n.pl.] 'muddy place, den of vice' (Pl.+), *lustrō* 'a frequenter of brothels' (Naev.+), *lustrārī* 'to haunt brothels' (Pl.+).

PIt. **luto-*, **lustro-*.

PIE **l(H)u-to-* 'dirt', **l(H)u-(s)tro-* 'dirty place'. IE cognates: OIr. *loth* 'dirt' < **lutā*; Gr. λύθρον 'gore, clotted blood', λῦμα 'dirty water, moral filth', λύμη 'maltreatment, damage'; Alb. *lum* 'slime, mud'; Lith. *liutýnas* 'loam pit'.

Bibl.: WH I: 839f., EM 371, IEW 681, Schrijver 1991: 241, LIV **leu̯-*. → *polluō*

lūx, -cis 'light' [f. *k*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *lūcēre* 'to emit light, dawn; to ignite, cause to shine' (Pl.+), *lūcidus* '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.+), *lūculentitās* 'splendour' (Caecil.+), *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.+), *dīlūcēre* 'to be clear' (Varro+), *dīlūcēscere* 'to dawn' (Lucr.+), *dīlūcidus* 'clear, lucid' (Ter.+), *dīlūculum* 'daybreak' (Pl.+), *illūcēre* 'to shine (on)' (Pl.+), *illūcēscere* 'to begin to shine' (Pl.+), *perlūcēre* 'to transmit light' (Pl.+), *perlūcidus* 'transparent, clear' (Pl.+), *relūcēre* 'to shine out' (Varro+), *lūcifer* 'light-bringing; the morning star [m.]' (Acc.+), *lūcifugus* 'avoiding the light of day, skulking' (Lucil.+); *illūstris* 'bright, famous' (Pl.+), *illūstrāre* 'to illuminate' (Lucr.+).

PIt. *louk- 'light', *loukeje- 'to make shine', *l(o)ukē- 'to be light'.

PIE *leuk- 'light', *louk-eie- 'to make light', *luk-eh₁- 'to be light', *le/ouk-s-mn 'light'. IE cognates: Hit. lukk-ᵗᵗᵃ 'to get light, dawn' < *léuk-/*luk-, lukkatt- [c.] 'dawn, next morning' < *l(e)uk-ot-; Skt. rócate 'to shine', rúc- [f.] 'light, splendour, lustre, appearance', Av. raocah- [n.] 'light', YAv. raocaiia- 'to make shine', raoca- 'to shine', raoxšna- [adj./n.] 'light'; raocana- [adj.] 'shining, light', OP raucah- [n.] 'day'; Gr. λευκός 'clear, light', λεύσσω 'to see'; OPr. luckis 'torch, log', RuCS lučь 'ray, light, shining', Cz. louč 'torch' < *louki-, OCS lučiti sę 'to happen', Go. liuhaþ 'light'; Toch. luk- 'to shine'.

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-δro-. Lat. lūmen < *lousmen < *le/ouk-s-mn. Lucerna seems to have the suffix of lanterna, but its short -u- is unexplained.

Bibl.: WH I: 823-833, 839, II: 333, EM 368, 372-374, IEW 687-690, Nussbaum 1994, Meiser 2003: 141, LIV *leuk-. → lūcus, lūna

luxus 'dislocated, sprained' [m. o/ā] (Cato+)

Derivatives: luxāre 'to sprain, 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.+).

PIt. *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.*leuǵ-. → luctor

M

macer, -a, -um 'thin, lean' [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: macellus 'rather thin' (Lucil.+), macēre 'to be thin' (Pl.), macēscere 'to become thin, shrivel' (Pl.+), maciēs 'thinness' (Lucr.+), macilentus 'thin' (Pl.+), macor 'thinness' (Pac.), macritūdō 'thinness' (Pl.); permacer 'very lean' (Cato+).

PIt. *makro- 'long, lean'.

PIE *mh₂ḱ-ro- 'long'. IE cognates: OIr. do·formaig 'to add, increase', MW magu,

MCo. *maga*, MBret. *maezur*, *maguaff* 'to raise, feed' < PCl. **make/o-* 'to nourish' (<
*'to make long'?), OW MCo. MBret. *map* 'son' < **makµo-*, Olr. *macc* < **makkµo-*;
Hit. *maklant-* 'thin, meagre' < *m(e)h₂ḱ-lo-nt-, Av. *masah-* 'size', Gr. μακρός 'long',
μῆκος [n.] 'length', OHG *magar*, OIc. *magr* 'meagre'.
  Bibl.: WH II: 2, EM 375, IEW 699, Schrijver 1991: 167, Meiser 1998: 107,
Schumacher 2004: 466-468. → *mactus*

mācerō, -āre 'to make wet, soak; to worry' [v. I] (Andr.+)
  Derivatives: *māceria* 'wall of brick or stone' (Pl.+; also *māceriēs* Varro+),
mācerēscere 'to become soaked' (Cato).
  Plt. **mākero-* 'soaked / kneaded'.
  PIE *meh₂ǵ-? IE cognates: Gr. μάσσω, Att. μάττω 'to knead' (for *μάζω on the
basis of the aor. ἔμαξα) , aor.ps. μαγῆναι, Gr. μάγμα [n.] 'kneaded mass, smear';
Arm. *macanim* 'to thicken, stick together'; OCS *mazati* 'to anoint', CS *mazъ*
'unction' [f.]; MoIc. *maka* 'to smear', OHG *mahhōn*, OS *makōn* 'to make'.
  The attested words presuppose an adj. **mākerō-* 'soaked' or 'kneaded'. The verb
mācerāre can be interpreted as 'to soaken, soften by soakening', and *māceria* as 'wall
(of kneaded material, clay)'. This meaning would fit PIE **mh₂ǵ-* 'to knead' well, but
Latin -*k*- does not correspond.
  Bibl.: WH II: 2-4, EM 375, IEW 698, Schrijver 1991: 142, 384, LIV *maǵ-.

mactus 'honoured; smitten' [adj. *o/ā*] (Cato+)
  Derivatives: *macte* [indecl.] 'honoured, blessed, bravo' (Cato+); *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+).
  Plt. **makto-* 'honoured, blessed', **mak-mn(-to)-* 'offering, sacrifice'.
  PIE *mh₂ḱ-(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 estō* '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 > *māctus. The noun *magmentum* could also have been
derived from a verbal stem **mak(e/o)-* 'to honour'. Risch 1979 explains *macte estō*
from a contamination of *mactus estō* 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 **magʰto-*. 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.+).

PIt. *smatlo-.

PIE *smh₁-tlo- 'wiping'? IE cognates: Gr. σμάω 'to cleanse, wipe clean', σμῆμα 'ointment' < *sméh₂-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 -α- 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. *maduī*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *madidus* 'sodden, soaked, drunk' (Naev.+), *madulsa* 'state of drunkenness' (Pl.+); *madefacere* 'to make wet, soak' (Cato+), *madefactāre* 'to soak' (Pl.), *permadefacere* 'to soak thoroughly' (Pl.); *commadēre* 'to become tender' (Cato).
PIt. *mad-ē-.

PIE *mh₂d-eh₁- 'to be wet'. IE cognates: Skt. *mádati* 'to rejoice, get intoxicated', OAv. *mada-* 'intoxication', YAv. *maδaite* 'gets intoxicated', MoP *mast* 'intoxicated'; Gr. μαδάω 'to be moist', μαδαρός 'watery'.

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. *maidid* 'breaks, bursts' is unconvincing. The IIr. and Gr. words can be connected under the assumption that IIr. *mad-* reflects PIE *meh₂d- (cf. Lubotsky 1981) and Gr. and Latin *mad-* are the regular outcome of *mh₂d-.

Bibl.: WH II: 6-8, EM 377, IEW 694f., Schrijver 1991: 167, 171, LIV *mad-.

maereō 'to be sad, mourn' [v. II] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *maeror* 'grief' (Pl.+), *maestus* 'sad, mournful' (Pl.+), *maestiter* 'sadly' (Pl.), *maestitia* 'sadness' (Pl.+), *maestitūdō* 'id.' (Pl.+), *maestāre* 'to make sad' (Acc.+).
PIt. *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* < *mh₂i-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 *manoti* 'to beckon', Gr. μηνύω, Dor. μᾱνύω 'to indicate, make known', and for OCS *namajati* 'to nod, beckon', Lith. *móti* '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/ā*] (Lex XII, Andr.+)

Derivatives: (1) *magnitās* 'size' (Acc.), *magnitūdō* 'size, extent' (Varro+), *magnu/ificus* 'splendid, proud' (Pl.+), *magnificāre* 'to prize' (Pl.+), *magnificentia* 'boastfulness, majesty' (Ter.+), *magnanimus* 'brave, generous' (Pl.+), *magnidicus*

'boastful' (Pl.); *permagnus* 'very large' (Ter.+); (2) *magis* 'more' (Lex XII+), *dēmagis* 'furthermore' (Lucil.+); *maior* [*maiior* Pl.], *-ōris* 'greater, older' (Lex XII+), *māiestās* 'dignity, majesty' (Andr.+), *māiusculus* 'somewhat older' (Pl.+); *maxu/imus* 'greatest, biggest' (Pl.+), *maximitās* 'hugeness' (Lucr.); *magister* 'commander, teacher' (Pl.+), *magistra* 'female teacher' (Pl.+), *magisterium* 'instruction, control' (Pl.+), *magistrātus, -ūs* '(the office of a) magistrate' (Pl.+); (3) *Māius* [adj.] 'name of the fifth month, May' (Varro+).

PIt. **magno/ā-* 'great', **magjōs-, -jo/es-, -is* 'greater', **magisamo-* 'greatest'. It. cognates: Ven. **magetlon** 'offering' (?); **maisteratorbos** [dat.pl.] 'to the **magisterātors*' (cf. Marinetti 2004: 395-399); O. *mais* 'more', U. **mestru** [nom.sg.f.] 'bigger' < **ma(g)is-tero-*; O. *maimas* 'biggest' < **maᵣ-i-mo-*.

PIE **mǵ-no-* 'great', **mǵ-i(V)s-* 'greater'. IE cognates: OIr. *maige* 'large' < **magio-*, *magdae* 'vast', *mál* 'prince' < **mag-lo-*; OIr. *moigid* or *mogaid* 'to add', MW *moi* 'to give birth to a foal' < **mog-*; Hit. *mekk-, mekki- / mekkai-* 'much, many, numerous', CLuw. *maia-* 'much, many' (?) < nom.acc.sg.n. **meǵh₂-*; Hit. *makkeš-ᶻⁱ* 'to become numerous', *maknu-ᶻⁱ* 'to multiply' < **mǵh₂-*; Skt. *máhi-* 'large', *mahánt-* 'great', Av. *maziiah-* 'bigger, more', *maziš̌ta-* 'biggest', OAv. *mazōi* [dat.sg.], *mazbīš* [ins.pl.], YAv. *mazā̊nt-* 'big', Gr. μέγας, Arm. *mec*, Alb. *madh* large', Go. *mikils*, OE *micel*, Olc. *mikill* 'large, great, many', ToB *māka*, ToA *māk* 'many'.

For *maximus* < **magisVmo-*, see Cowgill 1970: 125. The reflex *magnus* < **mǵno-* 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 **magjes*, pace Meiser 1998: 195; cf. Schrijver 2003: 61, 65. The noun *māiestās* retains the suffix variant **-jes-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 10-12, EM 377-379, IEW 708f., Lejeune 1974: 336, Schrijver 1991: 480, Sihler 1995: 359, Meiser 1998: 65, Untermann 2000: 442f., 475, Schumacher 2004: 469. → *ingēns*

māiālis 'gelded boar' [m. *i*] (Titin.+)

The Roman etymology (in Varro etc.) which states that *māiālis* 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-āli-* by Schrijver 1991 connects OIr. *mát, máta* 'pig', but the morphology remains unclear. Also, it is uncertain that **-sdi-* would really yield Latin *-i-* (or [*-ii-*]).

Bibl.: WH II: 13, EM 379, Schrijver 1991: 143.

māla 'cheeks, jaws' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+; usually pl.)

Derivatives: *maxilla* 'lower part of the face, jaws' (Cic.+).

PIt. **smaksla-*.

PIE **smk-slo/h₂-* 'beard, chin'. IE cognates: OIr. *smech* 'chin', Hit. *zamakur, zamankur* 'beard' < **smok-ur* (with secondary nasalization, and *z-* for **š-*); Hit. *šamankuruant-* [adj.] 'bearded'; Skt. *śmáśru-* [n.] 'beard', Arm. *mawrow-k'* 'beard', Alb. *mjekrē* 'chin, beard' [f.], Lith. *smãkras, smakrà* 'chin', Latv. *smakrs* 'chin'< **smok-ro-*.

Māla reflects **smaks(V)la*, whereas *maxilla* can be from **smakslela*, or has the productive suffix *-illa*. PIt. **smaksla-* 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 *rC*. 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).

Bibl.: WH II: 15, EM 379, IEW 968, Leumann 1977: 208, Schrijver 1991: 490, 496.

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.+).

PIt. **molalo-* 'hammer', **molklo-* 'hammer'.

PIE **molH-lo-*, **molH-tlo-* 'crushing instrument'. IE cognates: OCS *mlatъ*, 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-* < **mola-lo-* (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 **-ko-*. 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-* > **mallokelo-* > **malkelo-*. Yet these explanations are all rather cumbersome. Seldeslachts-Swiggers 1995 propose PIE **molh₁-tlo-* > **moltlo-* > **molklo-* > **morklo-* > *marculus*. The dissimilation of the first **l* 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 **molh₁-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/ā*] (Duenos inscr., Andr.+)

Derivatives: *malignus* 'mean, unkind' (Pl.+), *malignitās* 'meanness' (Pl.+), *malitia* 'wicked character, vice' (Pl.+), *malefacere* 'to do wrong, harm' (Pl.+), *malevolus* 'ill-disposed' (Pl.+), other cps. in *male-*.

PIt. **malo-*. It. cognates: O. *mallom*, *malom* [acc.sg.], *mallud*, *malud* [abl.sg.] 'bad, evil' < O. **maluo-* or **maljo-*, or a borrowing from Latin.

PIE **mol-o-* 'bad'? IE cognates: OIr. *mell* 'destruction', Gr. μέλεος 'idle; unhappy', maybe βλασφημέω 'to slander'; Arm. *mel* 'sin', Lith. *mẽlas* 'lie', Latv. *mãlds* 'mistake'.

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.

Bibl.: WH II: 19f., EM 380, IEW 724, Schrijver 1991: 457, Untermann 2000: 445.

mālus 'pole, mast' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

PIt. *masdo-.

PIE *mh₂sdo- 'pole, mast'? IE cognates: MIr. *maide* 'stick' < *mazdio-; OIr. *mátán* 'club, stick?'; OHG *mast* 'pole, mast', OE *mæst*.

If cognate with the Gm. 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 *masd- remains. It may be a non-IE loanword from the technical vocabulary.

Bibl.: WH II: 19, EM 381, IEW 701f., Schrijver 1991: 167. → *mās*

malva 'mallow-plant' [f. *ā*] (Varro+)

Probably a borrowing from a Mediterranean language, maybe Semitic: Hebr. *mallūah* 'name of a plant'. See also the vacillation in the vocalism of Gr. μαλάχη (also attested as μαλόχη, μολόχα) 'mallow'.

Bibl.: WH II: 17f., EM 380.

mamma 'breast, udder; mother' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+; Varro+)

Derivatives: *mammia* 'breast' (Pl.), *mammeātus* 'full-breasted' (Pl.), *mammōsus* 'large-breasted' (Lab.+), *mammula* 'nipple' (Varro+), *mamilla* 'nipple, spout' (Varro+).

PIt. *mam(m)a.

PIE *mama. IE cognates: Ir. W. *mam* 'mother' ; Skt. *māma-* [m.] 'uncle', MoP *mām*, *māmā, māmī* 'mother'; Gr. μάμμα, Ion. Att. μάμμη 'mother', Arm. *mam* 'grandmother', Alb. *mëmë*, Lith. *mamà, momà*, Latv. *māma*, Ru. *máma*, NHG Alemannic *Mamme*.

Nursery word, reduplication of labial nasal plus *a.

Bibl.: WH II: 21, EM 381, IEW 694. → *anus, māter, nonnus*

mancus 'maimed, crippled (at the hand)' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

PIt. *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, peccō*

mandō, -ere 'to chew, bite' [v. III; pf. *mandī*, ppp. *mānsum*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *mandō* 'glutton' (Lucil.+); *mandūcus* 'masked figure with champing jaws' (Pl.+), *manducāre* 'to chew, eat' (Lucil.+), *mandūcō* 'glutton' (Pompon.+), *commandūcāre* 'to chew up' (Lucil.+); *māsūcius* 'voracious' (Paul. *ex F.*).

PIt. *mand-n- 'to stir > chew'.

PIE *mt-n(é)-h₂- [pr.] 'to stir, whirl'. IE cognates: Skt. *mánthanti* [3pl.act.], aor. *ámanthiṣ-*, pr.ps. *mathyá-* 'to whirl round, rub, rotate stick to produce fire, shake',

mathitá- 'rubbed out', *manthá-* [m.] 'stirred drink', Oss. *yzmœntyn / (œ)zmœntun* 'to shake, stir around'; Lith. *mẽsti*, 3s. *meñčia* 'to mix', OCS *męsti*, Is. *mętǫ*, Ru. *mjastí* (obs.) 'to trouble, disturb' < BSl. **ment-*.

The adj. *māsūcius* (vowel length unproven) can be interpreted as **mānsūcius*, remade from *mand-ūcus* on the basis of the ppp. *mānsum* and/or the frequentative *mānsāre* (Nonius). WH, IEW and LIV assume that *mandō* belongs to the root of Skt. *math-* 'to rob, snatch away', Toch. *mānt-* 'to hurt, separate' < PIE **menth₂-*. Meiser justifies the semantic difference by positing a shift from 'to tear away' → 'grab (loot)' → 'shred' → 'eat greedily' → 'chew', assuming that 'shred' can still be read in some of the older attestations in Latin. I do not share this view: even in a passage like Andr. 39 *cum socios nostros mandisset impius Ciclops*, *mandisset* simply means 'had eaten', literally 'had chewed'. We cannot go beyound 'to chew' for the synchronic state of affairs in Latin. It seems more likely that *mandō* belongs to the root **menth₂-* 'to stir, whirl', with a phonetic development as in *pandō* (see s.v.).

Bibl.: WH II: 24, EM 382, IEW 732f., Schrijver 1991: 222, Meiser 1998: 213, 2003: 212f., LIV **menth₂-*. → *māla*

maneō 'to remain in the same place' [v. II; pf. *mānsī*, ppp. *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.+).

PIt. **m(o)n-ē-*.

PIE **mn-eh₁-* 'to remain'. IE cognates: Skt. *ámaman* [3s.ipf./aor.act.] 'has waited', *mamandhi* [2s.ipv.act.] 'wait!', *pári .. . mamanyāt* [3s.opt.act.] 'if he would miss / neglect', YAv. *upa.mǫnaiia-* 'to wait', OP *mānaya-* 'to expect'; Gr. μένω 'to remain, stay', μίμνω 'id.', μονή 'staying, detention', Arm. *mnam* 'stay, expect'.

The ppp. *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-ē- > 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*, *sedeō* with *e*-vocalism. There is one other conceivable solution, viz. that *maneō* does reflect **mn-ē-*, and that the regular vocalization of this sequence was **monē-* in PIt., 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 26, EM 383, IEW 729, Schrijver 1991: 457f., Sihler 1995: 98, Meiser 2003: 139, LIV 2.**men-*.

mānō, -āre 'to flow, pour, run, spread' [v. I] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *permānāre* '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+).

PIt. *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.

Bibl.: WH II: 30f., EM 384, IEW 699f., Schrijver 1991: 143.

manus, -ūs 'hand' [f. *u*] (Lex XII, Andr.+)

Derivatives: *manicae* [f.pl.] 'handcuffs, sleeve' (Pl.+), *manicula* 'small hand' (Pl.+), *manuālis* 'held in the hand' (Sis.+), *manuārī* 'to steal' (Lab. apud Gell.), *manuārius* 'thief' (Lab. apud Gell.), *manuleus* 'a long sleeve' (Pl.+), *manuleātus* 'having long sleeves' (Pl.+), *manuleārius* '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.+), *mancu/ipium* 'confiscation, ownership, slave' (Lex XII+), *mancu/ipāre* 'to transfer, sell' (Pl.+), *ēmancipāre* 'to release, make subservient' (Pl.+); *manu/ip(u)lus* 'handful, bundle, unit' (Pl.+), *manu/ip(u)lāris* [m.] 'common soldier', *manip(u)lātim* 'in companies' (Pl.+); *malluviae* [f.pl.] 'water in which the hands have been washed' (Fest., Paul. *ex F.*); *mantēlum* '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/ifestus* 'caught in the act, evident' (Lex XII+), *manifestārius* 'caught in the act' (Pl.+); *manūmittere* 'to free' (Varro+).

PIt. *man-u- 'hand'. It. cognates: O. *manim* [acc.sg.] 'hand', U. **manuve** [loc.sg. + -en], **mani**, *manī*-[abl.sg.], **manf** [acc.pl.], SPic. **manus** [abl.pl.] 'hand' < *manu-; O. **manafum** [1s.pf.?] 'to give', **aamanaffed, aamanafed, amanafed** [3s.pf.] 'to commission', **emanafed** [3s.pf.] 'id.' < *man-fe-f- 'to put at hands' (+ prev. *ā-, ē-*) < *-dʰe-dʰₕ₁-; U. **mantrahklu, mantraklu**, *mandraclo* [acc.sg.] '?'.

PIE *mon-u- 'hand'. IE cognates: OIr. *muin* 'protection, patronage', Hit. *maniiahh-ⁱ* 'to distribute, entrust' < *mn-ieh₂-, OHG *munt*, OIc. *mund* 'hand', OIc. *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 *-manus. The verb *mandāre* corresponds with Oscan *manfef- from *manu- + *(dʰe-)dʰₕ₁- 'to put' = 'to put at hand, commit'. *Manceps* belongs to *capiō* 'take', and *manip(u)lus* might be from *manu-plo- < *-plh₁-o- 'a hand-ful' (see *pleō*). For *malluviae*, see *lavō*, for *manubiae* etc. see *habeō*. Lat. *mantēlum* probably reflects

*man-tergslo-. It is disputed whether the PIt. 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-ns > *man-Vns > *manVf > **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 OIr. *muin* 'protection' < *moni- and Hit. *maniiahh-* '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 OIc. *mund*, OE *mund*, OHG *munt* 'hand' < *mn-tó-. The morphology is strange: is PIt. *monu- an original adjective?

Bibl.: WH II: 23-25, 29, 32, 34f., EM 381-386, IEW 740f., Schrijver 1991: 458, Untermann 2000: 448-451. → *suēscō, tergeō*

mānus 'good' [adj. o/ā] (Carmen Saliare+; maybe Duenos inscr. acc.sg. *manom*). Variant: *mānis*.

Derivatives: *mānī* (Pl., Lucil.), *māne* (Pl.+) 'early in the day, morning', *Mānēs, -ium* [m.pl.] 'the spirits of the dead' (Lucr.+), *Mānia* 'the mother of the Lares; (pl.) bogies' (Varro+); *immānis* 'savage, brutal (Pl.+), enormous (Varro+)'.

PIt. *māno-.

PIE *meh₂-no- 'good'. IE cognates: OIr. *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 *meh₂- 'to give a sign, wink', which might have developed into 'be favourable'. But this is very speculative.

Bibl.: WH II: 25-28, EM 383f., IEW 693, Schrijver 1991: 143. → *mātūrus*

marceō 'to be withered, droop' [v. II] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: *marcēscere* 'to wither' (Varro+); *permarcēre* 'to be very weak' (Enn.+); *murcidus* 'lazy' (Pompon.), *muricidus* 'faint-hearted' (Pl.+).

PIt. *mark-ē- [v.], *morko- [adj.].

PIE *mrk-eh₁- 'to be soaked, be weak', *mork-o- 'weak'. IE cognates: Hit. *markiie/a-ᶻⁱ* 'to disapprove of, refuse' < *mrk-ie/o-; Skt. pr. *pra-mṛcyati*, caus. *marcáyati*, aor. *mṛkṣiṣṭa* 'to damage, hurt', *mṛktá-* 'hurt', *marká-* [m.] 'destruction, death', *mṛc-* 'the injuring, injure', OAv. *mərəṇc- / mərəng-* [pr.], *marəxšaitē* [3s.aor.sb.med.] 'to destroy', *marəka-* 'ruin', YAv. *mahrka-* [m.] 'death', *ahu-mərəxš* [nom.sg.] 'destroying life', Oss. *marg* 'poison'; Lith. *mir̃kti* 'to become weak, soaked', *mer̃kti* 'to soak', Ukr. *morokvá* (dial.) 'quagmire, swamp', MHG *meren* 'to dip bread into water or wine' < *merχen < *merk-. Maybe here MIr. *brén*, W. *braen*, Bret. *brein* 'rotten, foul' < *mrekno-, *mrakn(i)o-; but these may also contain *bʰr-, and belong to OHG *braccho* 'hound', Lat. *fragrō*.

If *marceō* belongs here it must reflect PIE *mork- with unrounding of *mo- > *ma-, or PIE *mṛk- with vocalization to *mark- in front of another consonant, or as a secondary full grade (thus Rix 1996: 61). Since *murcidus* and *muricidus* (maybe a corruption of *murcidus*) are semantically very close to *marceō* (see Meiser 1998: 84), and since they probably reflect *mork-, it is preferable to assume *mrk- for the verb.

Bibl.: WH II: 36f., EM 386f., IEW 739f., Schrijver 1991: 458f., 1995: 171f.

mare 'sea; sea-water' [n. *i*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *marīnus* 'of the sea' (Pl.+), *sēmimarīnus* 'half belonging to the sea' (Lucr.), *trānsmarīnus* 'of overseas' (Varro+), *maritimus* 'of the sea, nautical' (Pl.+), *mariscus* 'rush' (Plin.+), *marisca* 'large and inferior kind of fig' (Cato+).

PIt. **mari-* 'sea, lake', **marisko-* [adj.].

PIE **mor-i-* [n.] 'sea, lake'. IE cognates: OIr. *muir* [m.], W. *mor* 'sea' < **mori*, Oss. *mal* 'stagnant water', OPr. *mary*, Lith. *mãrės* < **moriā*, OCS *morje*, Ru. *móre* [n.], *morjá* [nom.pl.] < **morio-*, Go. *mari-saihws*, OIc. *marr* 'sea', OHG *mari*, *meri* 'sea, lake'.

Mare has resulted from unrounding of **mo-* in open syllable. The adj. *mariscus* is considerd 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 38-40, EM 387, IEW 748, Schrijver 1991: 459.

margō, -inis 'retaining wall, border, margin' [m. *n*] (Varro+)

PIt. **marg-en-*.

PIE **mrǵ-n-* 'border'. IE cognates: OIr. *mruig* 'territory, area', W. *bro* 'country, land', Gaul. PN *Brogi-māros*, ethnonym *Allobroges* 'Foreigners' < PCl. **mrog-i-*; Hit. *mārk-ⁱ* / *mark-* 'to divide, separate' < **m(o)rǵ-*; MoP *marz* 'region' < **morǵ-*; Go. *marka* 'area, border'. The different vocalization in Celtic is unexplained.

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-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 39f., EM 387, IEW 738, Schrijver 1991: 459.

marītus 'married, marital; husband' [adj.; m.] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *marītāre* 'to mate, provide with a husband or wife' (Varro+), *commarītus* 'fellow husband' (Pl.).

PIt. **mareito-* / **marīto-* 'having a young woman'.

PIE **mor-(e)i-* or **mor-ih₂-* 'young woman'. IE cognates: W. *morwyn*, OCo. *moroin* 'girl, maiden' < PCl. **moreinā-*, MW *merch* 'daughter' < **mer-k-*; Skt. *márya-* 'young man', YAv. *mairiia-* [m.] 'scoundrel, villain', Bac. μαρηγο 'servant', Gr. μεῖραξ [m./f.] 'girl, boy' < **mer-i̯o-*; OPr. *mergo, -u, -a* 'maiden', Lith. *martì* 'girl, bride (without children)' < **mor-t-iH-*, Lith. *mergà* 'girl' < **mergʰ-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.

Bibl.: WH II: 40f., EM 387, IEW 738f., Thieme 1963: 238-241, Leumann 1977: 334, Schrijver 1991: 459f., 1995: 248.

Mārs 'the god Mars; martial prowess, warfare' [m. *ī*] (VOLat.+; Lapis Satricanus *mamartei* [dat.sg.], CIL 49 (Tusculum) *maurte* [dat.sg.])

Derivatives: *Mārspiter* 'Father Mars' [only 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+).

It. cognates: O. μαμερτει, **mam(e)rt(ei)** [dat.sg.] 'Mars', μαμερτινο [nom.sg.f.], μαμερτινουμ [gen.pl.m.] 'of Mars' (suffix *-īno-*), μαμερτιοι [dat.sg.m.], **mamerttiais, mamertiais** [abl.pl.f.] 'of Mars' (*-io-*); U. **marte, martI, marti** [dat.sg.] 'Mars', **marties,** *martier* [gen.sg.m.], **marti,** *martie* [dat.sg.m.], *martie* [voc.sg.m.], Mars. *martses* [abl.pl.f.] 'of Mars' (*-io-*).

The forms *Marmar* 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 *māu̯o/ert-* (*Māvort-, maurte*) to *Mārt-*. The latter change would be regular if interpreted as *mā́warts > 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 41-45, EM 388, Leumann 1977: 121, Meiser 1998: 127, Untermann 2000: 446-448, 452f.

mās, maris 'male, masculine; a male' [adj.; m. *ī*] (Pl.+; gen.pl. *marium* Cic.)

Derivatives: *masculus* [adj.] 'male' (Varro+), *masculus* [m.] 'a male' (Pl.+), *masculīnus* 'of the male sex' (Varro+); *sēmimās* 'half-male' (Varro+).

Plt. *mās- / *mas-.

PIE *meh₂-(ŏ)s / *mh₂-ḗs, *mh₂-es-m, *mh₂-s-os?

The ablaut *mās* vs. *maris* is explained by Schrijver from an ablauting 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. *matejā-.

PIE *mot-(i-?) 'club, hoe'. IE cognates: Skt. *matyà-* 'club, harrow, roller', *matī-kar*

'to harrow, level the earth', OCS *motyka*, Ru. *motýga* 'hoe', OHG *medela* 'plough'.

Diminutive of a noun *matea* 'hoe' vel sim., which could be from pre-Italic *mot-*. This noun might be derived from PIE *met-* 'to measure' > 'throw / reap', which is attested in the verb *metō*. Since *mot-* denotes an instrument to work the land in all languages, this would imply that the verb already had this connotation in PIE.

Bibl.: WH II: 49, EM 389, IEW 700, Schrijver 1991: 460. → *metō*

māter, mātrís 'mother' [f. *r*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *māternus* 'maternal, motherly' (Enn.+), *mātercula* 'little mother' (Pl.+), *mātrōna* 'married woman, wife' (Pl.+), *mātrōnālis* 'of a married woman' (Lab.+), *mātrimōnium* 'marriage' (Pl.+), *mātrālia, -ōrum* [n.pl.] 'the festival of Mater Matuta' (Varro+), *mātrēscere* 'to become like one's mother' (Pac.), *mātrīx* 'female animal kept for breeding' (Varro+), *mātertera* 'mother's sister' (Pl.+); *māteria / māteriēs* [f.] 'material, substance, wood' (Pl.+), *māteriārius* [m.] 'timber-merchant' (Pl.+), *māterīnus* 'rough, unused' (Cato).

PIt. *mātēr, *mātr-*. It. cognates: Fal. **mate** [nom.sg.], O. **maatreís**, U. **matres**, **matrer** [gen.sg.], SPic. **matereíh** [dat.sg.?] 'mother'.

PIE *méh₂-tr-* 'mother'. IE cognates: Skt. *mātár-*, Av. *mātar-*, MoP *mādar*, Gr. μήτηρ, Arm. *mayr* 'mother', Alb. *motёr* 'sister', Lith. *mótė*, OCS *mati*, OHG *muoter*, OIr. *máithir*, ToB *mācer*, ToA *mācar* 'mother'.

The noun *mātertera* contains the comparative suffix *-tero-*: 'who is like a mother', 'the aunt on mother's side'. The PIE root etymology is uncertain. 'Mother' might be a derivative in *-ter-* to the nursery form *ma(ma)* 'mum' (cf. Dor. μᾶ 'mother'), but phonologically it was apparently realized as *méh₂-*, yielding a long vowel.

Bibl.: WH II: 49-52, EM 389f., IEW 700f., Giacomelli 1963: 251, Schrijver 1991: 384, Beekes 1995: 188, Untermann 2000: 441.

mātūrus 'ripe, full-grown' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *mātūrāre* 'to make haste, speed, ripen', *mātūrēscere* 'to mature, ripen' (Varro+); *immātūrus* 'unripe, not mature' (Pl.+), *praemātūrus* 'very early, prompt'; *Mātūta* 'the goddess of Dawn' (Lucr.+), *mātūtīnus* 'of early morning' (Acc.+).

PIt. *mātu-* 'ripeness'. It. cognates: maybe O. **maatúís** [dat.pl.] name of a god.

PIE *meh₂-tu-* 'ripeness'.

Both *mātūro-* 'ripe' and *mātūto-* 'of early morning' presuppose a noun *mātu-* 'ripeness, early moment'. The root is probably the same as in *mānus* 'good'. Long *-ū-* can be analogical after the adj. of the type *acūtus*, from a full-grade suffix *-tēou-* (less likely), or from an ins.sg. *meh₂-tuh₁* 'with ripeness' (whence *meh₂-tuh₁-t-*, and thematization).

Bibl.: WH II: 53f., EM 391, IEW 693, Leumann 1977: 316, Untermann 2000: 442. → *mānus*

mē 'me' [pron. pers. 1s. oblique] (VOLat.+): acc.abl. *mēd, mē* (*med* Duenos inscr., Garigliano Bowl, Tibur base, Pl., Enn.), dat. *mihei, mihī, mī*, gen.sg. *meī*.

Derivatives: poss. adj. *meus* 'my' (VOLat.+: Garigliano Bowl *meois* [abl.pl.m.]).

PIt. acc. *mē (stressed), *me (unstressed), dat. *meχei, abl. *med, gen. *me/oi; poss. *mejo-. It. cognates: Ven. mego, mego, meu [acc.]; Fal. med, met [acc.], [me]d [?abl.]; PalU. miom [acc.sg.], U. mehe [dat.sg.] 'I, me' < acc. *mē-om, dat. *me-hei.

PIE acc. *h₁mé,*h₁me, dat. *h₁megʰio, abl. *h₁med, gen.loc. *h₁moi 'me'; *h₁mo-[adj.] 'my'. IE cognates: Skt. mām [acc.], māyā [ins.], máhyam [dat.], mát [abl.], máma [gen.], máyi [loc.], mā [acc.], me [gen.dat.encl.]; Gr. ἐμέ [acc.], με [acc.encl.], μοι [dat.]; OCS mę '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 *meχei as shown by Umbrian mehe. The gen.sg. meī is really the gen. of the poss. meus 'my' < *meio-, a thematization of *mei, which may be a remake of PIE *h₁moi [gen. loc.].

Bibl.: WH II: 84f., EM 391, IEW 703, Giacomelli 1963: 251, Lejeune 1974: 336, Leumann 1977: 461f., Schrijver 1991: 17, Beekes 1995: 207f., Sihler 1995: 371-379, Meiser 1998: 156-158, Untermann 2000: 479f., Marinetti 1999: 426, Wallace 2005 → egō

medeor 'to heal, cure' [v. II] (Cato+)
Derivatives: medicus 'doctor' (Pl.+), medicāre 'to cure, heal', medicārī 'to cure' (Pl.+), medicīna 'surgery, remedy, healing' (Pl.+), medicīnus 'of. healing' (Varro+), medicāmentum 'medicament, drug' (Pl.+); remedium 'remedy' (Cato+).
PIt. *med-ē-.
PIE *med- 'to measure'. IE cognates: OIr. midithir 'to measure, judge', MW meðu 'to think, possess, distribute', MCo. medhes 'to say' < PCl. *mede/o-, OIr. mess 'judgement' < *med-tu-, air-med 'measure'; YAv. vī-māδaiianta 'they must measure', vī-mad- 'healer, physician'; Gr. μέδω 'to rule', μέδομαι 'to care for, think of', μήδομαι '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 within Italic.

Bibl.: WH II: 54f., EM 392, IEW 705f., Schumacher 2004: 478ff., LIV 1.*med-. → meditor, modus

meditor, -ārī 'to think about constantly, contemplate, exercise' [v. I] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: permeditātus '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-itāje/o- meant 'to judge constantly, contemplate'.

Bibl.: WH II: 55f., EM 392f., IEW 705f., Leumann 1977: 548, LIV 1.*med-. → medeor, modus

medius 'central, middle' [adj. *o/ā*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *mediast(r)īnus* 'servant employed on general duties' (Cato+); *dīmidius* 'half, divided medially' (Pl.+), *dīmidiātus* 'halved' (Pl.+); *medioxu/imus* 'middle' (Pl.+); *merīdiēs* 'midday, noon' (Pl.+), *merīdiānus* 'of midday, southern' (Varro+).

PIt. **meþio-*. It. cognates: O. **mefiaí** [loc.sg.f.], **mefi[ú** [nom.sg.f.], SPic. **mefiín** [loc.sg. + *-en*] 'middle'; maybe SPic. **mefistruí** [dat.sg.m/n.] '?' if from **mef-istero-*.

PIE **medʰi-o-* 'middle'. IE cognates: Gaul. *Medio-lānum*, *-mātrici*, OIr. *mid-* (**medhu-*) 'mid-', MIr. *mide* 'middle', OIr. *i-mmedōn* 'in medio', Skt. *mádhya-*, OAv. *maidiia-*, YAv. *maiδiia-* 'middle', Gr. μέσος, μέσσος [adj.] 'middle', OIc. *miðr*, OHG *mitti* [adj.] 'located in the middle'.

Lat. *dīmidius* < **dis-medius*. Wachter 2004: 377 explains *medioxumus* as **medio-* + **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 mediō* (thus Leumann). Since **-dʰi* occurs as a recognizable suffix in some adverbs of place (Skt. *ádhi* 'on', Gr. -θι), it might be hidden in *medius*. A meaning 'middle' for **me* can be supported by Gr. μέτα 'with', Go. *miþ* < **me-t-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 57f., EM 393, IEW 706f., Leumann 1977: 498, Schrijver 1991: 133, Beekes 1995: 220, Sihler 1995: 441, Meiser 1998: 91, Untermann 2000: 464f.

medulla 'marrow, pith, interior' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *medullitus* [adv.] 'inwardly, from the marrow' (Pl.+).

PIt. **(s)meru-lo-?*

PIE **smer-u-* 'marrow'. IE cognates: OIr. *smiur* (u), W. *mer*, Bret. *mel* 'marrow' < PCl. **smeru-*, OIc. *smjǫr* [n.], OE *smeoro*, 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 *merīdiēs* (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.).

PIt. **meiχ(j)e-*, **(-)ming-e/o-*.

PIE pr. **h₃meiǵʰ-(i)e-*, pr. **h₃mi-n-ǵʰ-* 'to urinate'. IE cognates: Skt. *áva mehanti* [3p.act.] 'they piss', *amíham* [1s.aor.], *mehayati* [caus.], *míhé* [inf.], Av. *maēza-*, Gr. ὀμείχω, Lith. *mỹžti*, Latv. *mizt*, SCr. *mižati* 'to urinate', Sln. *m(ə)zéti* '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 **h₃meiǵʰ-*.

mel, mellis 'honey' [n. *l̥*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *melculum* 'sweetheart' (Pl.), *mella* 'hydromel' (Pl.+), *mellārius* [m.] 'bee-keeper' (Varro+), *mellārium* 'apiary' (Varro), *mellītus* 'honey-sweet' (Varro+), *mellīna* 'sweetness' (Pl.)', *mellilla* 'sweetheart' (Pl.); *mulsus* 'mixed with honey' (Pl.+), *mulsum* 'drink made from honey and wine' (Pl.+).

PIt. **meli*.

PIE **mel-i(-t)* [nom.acc.] 'honey'. IE cognates: OIr. *mil*, W. Co. Bret. *mel* 'honey'; Hit. *militt-* / *malitt-* [n.], CLuw. *mallit-* 'honey', Pal. *malitanna-* 'having honey', HLuw. *malidima/i-* 'honey-sweet' < **mélit*, **ml-it-ós*, Gr. μέλι, -τος [n.] 'honey', μέλισσα, Att. -ττα 'bee'; Arm. *melr*, gen.sg. *melow* 'honey', *melow*, gen.sg. *melowi* 'bee'; Alb. *mjal*, *mjaltë* 'honey' < **mel(i)tom*; Go. *miliþ* [n.] 'honey', OE *meledēaw* 'nectar', OS *mili-dou* 'mildew', OE *milisc* 'honey-sweet'.

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* > **meld*, **melites* >> **meld*, **meldes* > **mell*, *melles*. It is uncertain whether **i* in **melid* 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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 61f., 123, EM 394, IEW 723f., Sihler 1995: 230, Meiser 1998: 114.

melior, -ōris 'better' [adj. *r*] (Naev.+; acc.sg. *meliōsem* (Varro); n. *melius*)

Derivatives: *melius* [adv.] 'better' (Pl.+), *meliusculus* 'somewhat better' (Pl.+).

PIE **mel-iōs*, *-ios-*. IE cognates: Gr. μάλα 'very, quite', μᾶλλον '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. **memsro-*.

PIE **mēms-ro-* 'body-part, meaty part'. IE cognates: OIr. *mir* 'portion' [n.] < **mēms-ro-*; Skt. *māṃsá-* 'meat', *māṃs-pácanī-* [adj.f.] 'used for cooking meat', *mā́s* [acc.sg.n.] 'meat'; Gr. μῆρα [pl.] 'body-parts', μηρός [n.] 'thigh' < **mēs-ro-*; Arm. *mis*, Alb. *mish*, OPr. *mensā, menso*, Lith. *mėsà, mensà* Žem., Latv. *mìesa*, OCS *mę̧so*, Ru. *mjáso* 'meat' < **mēms-om*; CS *męzdra* 'inner side of a rind', Ru. *mezdrá* 'inner side (of hide)', OPo. *miqzdra, miȩzdra* 'membrane' < **mēms-ro-*; Go. *mimz* 'meat',

ToB *mīsa* [pl.] 'meat'.

Most IE forms for 'meat' can go back to a n. **mēmso-*, 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. μῆρα 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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 64f., EM 395, IEW 725, Schrijver 1995: 452, Meiser 1998: 119. → *mēnsa*

memini 'to remember' [v. pf.] (Naev.+; ipv. *memento*)

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.+), *commentārī* 'to think about, prepare' (Pl.+), *commentārius/m* 'notebook, record' (Varro+), *recommentārī* 'to recollect' (Pl.); *memor, -oris* 'mindful' (Pl.+), *memorāre* 'to say, tell' (Pl.+), *memorātus, -ūs* '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.+), *memoriter* 'accurately' (Pl.+). Lat. *minīscī*, and *mentus* (Paul. *ex F.*) are not trustworthy.

PIt. 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-tlo-*; maybe O. **memnim** [acc.sg.] '?' < **me-m(e)n-i(H)o-*.

PIE pf. **me-mon-*, **me-mn-*, pr. **men-i-* or **mn-ie-*, ppp. **mn-to-*. IE cognates: OIr. *muinithir** 'to intend', *do·muinethar** 'to think, believe' < PCl. **manie/o-*; Skt. *mányate* [pr.] 'to think, believe, consider', *ámata* [3s.aor.med.], *-mamnāte* [3d.pf.med.], *matá-* 'thought, regarded as'; Av. *mainiia-* 'to invent, think'; Gr. μαίνομαι 'to rage', pf. μέμονα, pl. μέμαμεν 'to intend to', Gr. -ματος 'thought'; Lith. *miñti* 'to recall', *minėti*, 3s. *mini* 'to mention', OCS *mьněti* 'to think', 1s. *mьnjǫ*, 3s. *mьnit* < **mn-eh₁-*; Go. *man* 'I think, I believe'.

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.

Bibl.: WH II: 65-67, EM 395-397, IEW 726-728, 969f., Lejeune 1974: 336, Schrijver 1991: 468, Sihler 1995: 619, Meiser 1998: 215, Untermann 2000: 469, Schumacher 2004: 473, LIV 1.*men-. → *mēns, moneō*

mendum 'physical blemish or fault; error' [n. *o*] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *menda* 'fault; blemish' (Lucil.+), *mendāx* 'untruthful, lying' (Pl.+), *mendācium* 'a lie' (Pl.+), *mendāciloquus* 'lying' (Pl.); *mendīcus* 'beggarly, destitute' (Pl.+), *mendīcus* [m.] 'beggar' (Pl.+), *mendīcimōnium* 'beggary' (Lab.), *mendīcitās* 'destitution' (Pl.+), *mendīcāre* 'to beg, be a begger' (Pl.+), *mendicābulum* 'a beggar's instrument' (Pl.+), *mendīculus* 'beggarly' (Pl.).

Plt. **m(e)ndo-/ā-*.

IE cognates: OIr. *mennar* 'blemish' (< **mend-rā-*), *mind* 'sign, mark' (< **mṇdu*?), W. *mann* 'place', *mann geni* 'birthmark'; Hit. *mant-* 'something harming', Lyd. *mẽtli-* (something negative), Lyc. *mẽte-* '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)nd⁽ʰ⁾-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-dʰh₁-* 'to set the mind, be attentive'. Obviously, these are just theoretical possibilities.

Bibl.: WH II: 68f., EM 396, IEW 729f., Rieken 1999: 42f., Kloekhorst 2008: 555.

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.+), *mentiō* 'mention' (Andr.+); *mentīrī* 'to lie' (Pl.+), *ēmentīrī* 'to falsify, invent' (Pl.+).

Plt. **mṇti-*.

PIE **mn-ti-* [f.] 'thought, mind'. IE cognates: Skt. *mati-* [f.] 'thought, mind', Av. *ʾmaiti-*, Lith. *mintis* 'thought, idea', OCS *pamętь* 'memory, monument' < **mn-ti-*; Go. *ana-minds* 'suspicion', Go. *ga-minþi* [n.] 'memory', OHG *gi-munt* 'recollection, memory'.

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-. → *meminī, moneō*

mēnsa 'table (for sacred offerings, for meals)' [f. *ā*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *mēnsula* 'small table' (Pl.+).

Plt. **menssā-* 'measured'. It. cognates: U. **mefa**, *mefa* [acc.sg.], *mefa* [abl.sg.], **mefe** [loc.sg.] 'a certain sacrificial object, maybe cake'.

The Latin noun is probably the feminine of the ppp. *mēnsus* 'measured' to *mētior*, which was formed by analogy with *pēnsus* 'weighed' < **pend-to-*. If U. **mefa** < Plt. **menssa-* (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. → *mētior*

mēnsis 'month' [m. *s*; abl.sg. *mēnse*, gen.pl. *mēnsum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *menstruus* 'of a month, monthly' (Varro+), *menstruum* 'menstrual discharge; monthly payment' (Lucr.+), *mēnstruālis* 'lasting for a month' (Pl.); *bimē(n)stris* 'of two months' (Varro+), *intermēstris* 'interlunar' (Cato+), *quadrimē(n)stris* 'lasting four months' (Varro+), *sēmē(n)stris* 'of six months' (Varro+), *trimē(n)stris* 'of three months' (Cato+).

PIt. **mēns-* 'month, moon' (> Sab. **mēns-en-*, Lat. >> *mēns-is*). It. cognates: U. **menzne** [abl.sg.] 'moon', Mars. *mesene* [loc. or abl.sg.] 'month' < **mēns-(e)n-(e)i*; U. **anter:menzaru** [gen.pl.] 'new moon' < **anter-mens-o/ā-* 'between-moon/month'.

PIE **meh₁-n-s-* (nom.sg. maybe **meh₁-n-ōt*) . IE cognates: OIr. *mí* [m.] 'month', Skt. *mā́s-* [m.] 'moon, month', OAv. *mā̊* [nom.sg.] /maHah/, YAv. *māh-* 'moon', *mā̊ŋha-* [m.] 'moon, month', °*māhiia-* 'monthly', OP *māh-* 'month'; Gr. (Att.) μήν [m.], gen.sg. μηνός 'moon', Ion. μείς [m.], Lesb. μῆννος [gen.sg.]; Lith. *ménuo* (gen.sg. *ménesio*) , Lith. *ménesis* 'moon, month', Latv. *mēness* 'moon' < **meh₁n-es-*; OCS *měsęcь* 'moon, month'; Go. *mena*, OHG *māno* 'moon'; ToA *mañ*, ToB *meñe* 'moon, month'.

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 IIr., Greek and Italic. It was probably derived from the root PIE **meh₁-* 'to measure'.

Bibl.: WH II: 71, EM 398, IEW 731f., Leumann 1977: 352, Schrijver 1991: 159, Sihler 1995: 295, Untermann 2000: 109f., 472, LIV **meh₁-*. → *mētior, mōs*

mentum 'chin' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **mnto-*.

PIE **mn-to-* 'chin, mouth'. IE cognates: W. *mant* 'mouth, jaw, beak', Hit. *mēni-* [n.], *mēna-* 'face, cheek' < **mén-ih₁*, **mén-eh₂*, Go. *munþs* [m.], OIc. *munnr*, OE *mūð*, OHG *mund* 'mouth'; OHG *mindel*, OIc. *mél* [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. **genu-* [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 ?3.*men-*. → *minae, mōns*

meδ, -āre 'to proceed, traverse' [v. I] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *meātus, -ūs* 'movement, course' (Lucr.+); *commeāre* 'to go regularly, travel' (Pl.+), *commeātus, -ūs* 'passage, supplies' (Pl.+), *praetermeāre* 'to move past' (Lucr.+), *remeāre* 'to return, recede' (Pl.+); *commētāre* 'to go constantly' (Pl.+); *sēmita* [f.]' side-path, track, pavement' (Pl.+), *sēmitātim* 'by side-roads' (Titin.+), *trāmes, -itis* [m.] 'footpath, track, course' (Pl.+).

Plt. *mejo-.

PIE *h₂mei-o- 'to (ex)change'. IE cognates: MW *tre-myn-* 'to go past'; Skt. *ví mayante* 'they alternate', *ápa mayeta₄* 'he should loan', *máyas-* 'refreshment, enjoyment', YAv. *fra-mita-* 'changed', *maiiah-* [n.] 'satisfaction, pleasure'; Gr. ἀμείβω (< *h₂mei-gʷ-) 'to exchange, change'; Lith. *mìt* 'to exchange'; Lith. *maĩnas* 'exchange'; OCS *měna* 'exchange, change'; OCS *minǫti*, Ru. *minút'* 'to pass', OCS *mimo* 'by, past', Cz. *mijeti*, Po. *mijać* 'to pass'.

The verb *-meāre* might be denominal to a noun 'movement, passage'; a deverbal verb of the type *occupāre* is less likely, since *-meāre* 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. ἀμείβω has to be separated.

Bibl.: WH I: 254, II: 73, EM 135, 398, IEW 710, Leumann 1977: 548, Schrijver 1991: 20, Lindner 2002: 234f., Schumacher 2004: 486, LIV 2.*mei̯-. → *moenia*, *mūnus*

merda 'dung, excrement' [f. *ā*] (Hor.+)
Plt. *(s)merd-ā-.
PIE *smerd-h₂- 'stench'. IE cognates: Lith. *smirdéti*, 3s. *smìrdi / smìrda* 'to stink' < **smrd-*, *smardas*, Latv. *smar̂ds* 'smell, odour' < **smord-o-*, Ru. *smórod* (dial.), 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. *meritus 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.+), *immeritō* 'unjustly' (Pl.+), *immerēns* 'undeserving' (Pl.+), *prōmerēre* 'to merit, deserve' (Pl.+); *Morta* 'Fate' (Andr.).
Plt. *mer-ē- 'to earn', *mor-to- 'earned'.
PIE *(s)mr-eh₁- 'to earn'? IE cognates: OIr., MIr. *mart* [o], *mairt* [i] 'death fate', MW *marth* 'untimely death', OW *marth* 'wonder', Co. *marth*, Bret. *marzh* 'miracle' < *mr-sto, -sti-; Gr. μείρομαι 'receive one's share', pf. Aeol. ἔμμορε 'participate' < *sé-smor-e, Ion. εἵμαρται < *sé-smr-tai, μέρος [n.] 'part, share', μόρος [m.] 'fate, violent death'.

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 *mr̥-to-* 'received as one's share'; this would be a close match to the Celtic words *mr̥-sto/i-* discussed by Schrijver 2004. A derivation from 1. *(s)mer- 'to remember' seems unlikely for semantic reasons.

Bibl.: WH II: 75f., EM 399, IEW 969f., Schrijver 2004, LIV 2.*smer-.

mergae 'reaping-board' [f.pl. *ā*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *merges, -itis* 'sheaf of corn (Verg.+).

Merges can be understood as 'what one can take with the *mergae*'. Leumann 1977: 372 has turned the meanings around (*merges* 'Heugabel', *merga* '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 *h₂ₐmer/lg̑- 'to wipe' (Skt. *marj-*, Av. *marz-*, Gr. ὀμόργνῡμι '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 *h₂merg̑-, or they might go back to a non-IE loanword of agricultural terminology.

Bibl.: WH II: 76, EM 399, IEW 738, Schrijver 1991: 20.

mergō, -ere 'to plunge, immerse' [v. III; pf. *mersī*, ppp. *mersum*] (Cic.+)
Derivatives: *mergus* 'certain sea-bird' (Lucil.+); *mertāre* 'to submerge, overwhelm' (Acc.+), *mersāre* 'to dip, submerge' (Lucr.+); *ēmergere* 'to come out of, emerge' (Ter.+), *immergere* 'to dip, plunge into' (Pl.+), *submergere* 'to cause to sink' (Lucr.+).
Plt. *mezge/o-.
PIE *mesg-e/o- 'to sink, wash'. IE cognates: Skt. *májjanti* [3p.pr.] 'to sink, plunge under'; Lith. *mazgóti*, Latv. *mazgât* 'to wash' < *mozg-.

Probably, *mergus* is deverbal to *mergō*: the bird which 'dives into' the water.
Bibl.: WH II: 76f., EM 399, IEW 745f., Meiser 1998: 119, LIV *mesg-.

merula 'blackbird' [f. *ā*] (Naev.+)
Derivatives: *meruleus* 'coloured like a blackbird' (Pl.).
Plt. *mesVlā- 'blackbird'.
IE cognates: W. *mwyalch* 'blackbird', Bret. *moualc'h* < PBrit. *mii̯alx < *me/isal-(s)kā; OIr. *stmolach*, EMOIr. *smólach*, MOIr. *smól* 'blackbird', MOIr. *smaol* 'thrush' < OIr. *smóelach*, gen. *smólchae*, < *(s)moilax borrowed from Old British *moialx; OHG *amsla*, *ama/i/usla*, OE *ōsle* 'blackbird' < WGm. *amslōn-, *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 *amsl-, *amsVl-. Schrijver 1997a argues that this points to a loanword from a non-IE substratum language in Europe.

Bibl.: WH II: 77f., EM 400, IEW 35f., Lloyd-Springer 1988: 211, Schrijver 1997a: 307-311.

merus 'pure' [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *merāculus* 'undiluted' (Pl.+); *merobibus* [adj.] 'that drinks unmixed wine' (Pl.); *submerus* 'nearly undiluted' (Pl.).

PIt. *mero-.

PIE *merH-o- 'remaining, pure'. IE cognates: Hit. *marri* [adv.] 'just so, gratuitously'.

The word has been compared with Gr. μαρμαίρω '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-h₂- '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, -ūs* 'market' (Pl.+), *mercātor* 'merchant' (Pl.+), *mercātōrius* 'mercantile' (Pl.), *mercātūra* 'trade' (Pl.+); *mercimōnium* '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.+), *mercēdimerus* 'working for hire' (Lucil.); *Mercurius* 'the god Mercury' (Andr.+); *Mercuriālis* 'of M/mercury' (Cato+).

PIt. *merk- 'trade, exchange'. It. cognates: Fal. **mercui** [dat.] 'deity Merk-', O. **mirikui** [dat.sg.] probably a deity like Mercurius < *merk-o/u-; O. **amirikum** [acc.sg.] 'commerce' < ā- or ad- + *merk-, O. *amiricatud* [ppp., abl.sg.] 'sold' vel sim., denom. verb. According to Untermann, O. *mirk-* was borrowed from Latin.

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 '!' [ptcle. of emphasis] (Pl.+: *egomet* 'I', *nōsmet* 'we', *vōsmet* 'you', *sēmet* 'themselves', *ipsemet* 'he himself')

PIt. *-metī?

PIE *-me-ti 'with'?

Uncertain. One might think of PIE *me 'with' plus an added *-ti (as in Latin aut), or of PIE *sme, as in Skt. sma, smā 'just, really', smát 'together', Av. mat 'with', Gr. μήν (Dor. Aeol. μάν), μέν 'certainly, true'.

Bibl.: WH II: 80, EM 400f., Beekes 1995: 223.

mēta 'cone; cone-shaped turning point; limit' [f. ā] (Cato+)

Derivatives: mētārī 'to measure off, lay out' (Caes.+).

PIt. *mētā-.

PIE *meh₁-to- 'measure, measurement'.

Mētārī is a denominal verb to mēta: 'use turn-posts to mark off the land'. WH and IEW 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+), commētīrī '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.+).

PIt. *mēti-.

PIE *meh₁-ti- 'measurement'. IE cognates: Gr. -μῆτις 'wisdom, skill', OE mǣd f. 'measure' < *meh₁-ti- 'measuring'; Skt. mimīte [3s.med.], mimīhi [2s.ipv.act.] < pr. *mi-m(e)h₁-, s-aor. ámāsi [1s.med.], pf. -mamur [3p.act.], mamé [3s.med.] 'to measure', ppp. mita- 'measured', OAv. fra-mīmaϑā [2p.act.] 'to determine', YAv. maiia- 'to measure', māta- 'formed'; Ru. méra, Sln. mẹ́ra 'measure' *meh₁-r-; Go. mel 'time, hour', OHG māl 'moment' < *meh₁-lo-.

Denominal to a noun *mēti- '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+).

PIt. *met-e- 'to reap'.

PIE *met-e- 'to measure'. IE cognates: W. medi 'to mow, harvest', MBret. midiff 'to harvest' < PCl. *met-e/o-; Lith. mèsti, 1s. metù 'to throw', Lith. mētas 'year, time', mãtas 'measure'; CS mesti 'to throw, sweep' (1sg. metǫ) , Ru. mestí 'to sweep'. Unrelated: Hit. ānš-, hane/išš-ⁱ 'to wipe', CLuw. am(ma)šša- / am(ma)šši(ia)- 'to wipe' < *h₂(o)mh₁-s-, hamešha- 'spring, time of harvest' < *h₂meh₁-sh₂o-, Gr. ἄμη

'shovel', ἀμάω 'to mow, cut' (< *h₂mh₁-eh₂-je/o-), ἄμητος [m.] 'harvest'; OE *māwan*, OHG *māen* 'to mow', MHG *māt*, OE *mæd* 'reaping'.

According to Sommer 1914: 568, *messᴂī* replaced *messī* on the model of its antonym *:seruī* 'I sowed'. The root etymology is disputed. Schrijver hesitantly posits a root *h₂m- with different suffixes: *h₂m-et- in *metō* and PCl. *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 *h₂mh₁-. 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-.

Bibl.: WH II: 82f., EM 401, IEW 703, Schrijver 1991: 20, Schumacher 2004: 483, Kloekhorst 2008: 182f., 279f., 285f., LIV ?1.*met-, ?2. *met-. → *mateola*

metus, -ūs 'fear, alarm' [m. *u*] (Naev.+)
   Derivatives: *metuere* (*metuī, metūtum*) 'to be afraid of, fear' (Pl.+), *praemetuere* 'to dread in advance' (Lucr.+); *metū/īculōsus* 'apprehensive, awful' (Pl.+).
   Plt. *met-u-.

Lat. *metūculōsus* 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. *mothaigedar* '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, ll* 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 Plt. *metus.

Bibl.: WH II: 83f., EM 402, Leumann 1977: 341, Meiser 1998: 82.

mīca 'grain, crumb' [f. *ā*] (Cato+)
   Plt. *meik-ā-.
   PIE *meik-h₂- '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)μῑκρός 'small'. Semantically, I see no objections.
   Bibl.: WH II: 85, EM 402, IEW 966f. → *micō*

micō, -āre 'to quiver, dart, flash' [v. I; pf. *micuī*] (Enn.+)
   Derivatives: *dīmicāre* 'to fight, contend' (Sis.+), *ēmicāre* 'to dash out, jump forth' (Pl.+), *prōmicāre* 'to sprout, shoot forth' (Naev.+).
   Plt. *mikaje-.
   PIE *mikH-(e)ie- 'to blink'. IE cognates: OIr. *de·meccim* 'despise', W. *ed-mygaf* 'I admire'; Ru. *mikat'* (dial.) 'to stuff (a bag)', Cz. *mikati* 'to move abruptly', USorb. *mikać* 'to blink' < PIE *meik-, CS *mьčьta* 'vision, apparition', Ru. *mečtá* 'dream,

day-dream' < *mik-.

The pf. *micuī* 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 ?*mei̯ḱʰ₂-.

migrō, -āre '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.+).
   Plt. *migro-.
   PIE *h₂mi-gʷ-ro- 'changing'. IE cognates: Gr. ἀμείβω 'to change', ἀμοιβός 'changing', ἀμοιβή 'change'.

Probably a denominal verb to *migro-*, which can be a ro-adj. to the same stem *h₂migʷ- as reflected in Gr. ἀμείβω. A labiovelar suffix is rare in PIE.
   Bibl.: WH II: 86, EM 402, IEW 713, Schrijver 1991: 20, LIV *h₂meig̑ᵘ-. → meō

miles, -itis 'soldier' [m. i] (Pl.+; /mīless/ Pl. *Aul.*528)
   Derivatives: *mīlitāre* 'to serve as a soldier' (Pl.+), *mīlitāris* 'of the army, of soldiers' (Pl.+), *mīlitārius* 'soldierlike' (Pl.); *mīlitia* 'military service' (Pl.+).

Miles was the common foot-soldier. The semantic sphere recalls *pedes* 'pedestrian' and *eques* 'rider' (*-it- < *h₁i-t- 'who goes'), but the first element *mīl-* is unclear. It is tempting to connect *mīlia* [pl.] 'thousand(s)', hence *mīli-it-* 'who goes with/by the thousand' (with simplification of *mīlīt- 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. → mīlle

milium 'millet' [n. o] (Cato+)
   Derivatives: *miliāria* 'bird fattened for eating, ortolan; dodder' (Varro+).
   Plt. *meljo-?
   PIE *mélh₂-i [n.]? IE cognates: Gr. μελίνη [f.] 'millet', Lith. *málnos* fi pl. 'kind of millet'.

If from *meliom with *i*-mutation (of the type *nihil, similis*), *milium* can be cognate with Gr. μελίνη. The Latin, Gr. and Lith. words could be independent derivatives of *melh₂- '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. *mélh₂-i, maybe gen.sg. *mlh₂-n-ós / *mélh₂-n-s.
   Bibl.: WH II: 87f., EM 403, IEW 716-719, Leumann 1977: 109, EIEC 383.

mīlle 'thousand' [n.; adj. i; sg. indecl., pl. *mīllia, mīlia*, gen. *mīlium*] (Pl.+)
   Derivatives: *mīliārium* 'milestone, column, vessel' (Cato+), *mīliārius* 'of a thousand, belonging to the thousands' (Varro+), *mīliē(n)s* [adv.] 'a thousand times' (Pl.+).

PIt. *smīχeslī.

PIE *sm-ih₂-ǵʰes-l-ih₂ 'having one thousand'. IE cognates: Skt. sahásra-, Av. hazaŋra- < Ilr. *sajʰasra- < PIE *sm̥-ǵʰéslo- 'having one thousand'; Gr. χῑλιοι, Ion. χεῑλιοι, Aeol. χέλλιοι 'thousand' < PGr *kʰehlijo- < PIE *ǵʰesli(H)o- 'of a thousand'.

Double -ll- in mīlle can be interpreted as indicating palatal l, not necessarily double *-ll-. The mostly accepted etymology as *sm-ih₂-ǵʰes-l-ih₂ 'one thousand' is based on the comparison with the Ilr. forms for 'thousand' which reflect *sm-ǵʰes-lo-, and with the Greek form. Adjectival *ǵʰes-lo- 'heap' was substantivised to f. ǵʰeslih₂-, and 'one' consequently acquired the f. form. Meiser 1998 posits a phonetic development from *sm-ih₂-ǵʰes-l-ih₂ > PIt. *smīχeslī > *mīhēli > *mīhīle > mīlle. 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 ā-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).

Bibl.: WH II: 88f., EM 403, IEW 446, Leumann 1977: 141, 491, Coleman 1992: 407, Sihler 1995: 424f., Meiser 1998: 174. → hostus, mīles, sem-

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 threaten' (Pl.+), ēminārī 'to issue threats' (Pl.), ēminātiō 'the act of threatening' (Pl.), interminārī 'to utter threats' (Pl.+); minitāre/ī 'to threaten' (Andr.+), minitābiliter 'menacingly' (Pac.+); (2) ēminēre 'to stick out, protrude' [pf. ēminuī] (Pl.+), ēminulus 'projecting' (Lucil.+), minēre 'to lean forward, project' (Lucr.).

PIt. *(eks-)men-ē- 'to stick out', *men-ā- 'part which sticks out' > 'threat'.
PIE *m(e)n-eh₁-.

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. (menrva, 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.).

PIt. *menes-wo- 'intelligent, understanding'. It. cognates: Fal. **menerua** [nom.], **menerua** [gen. or dat.], **meneruai** [dat.], Pael. minerua [dat.sg.?], mineruai [dat.sg.],

O. menere(vas) [gen.sg.].

PIE *men-os, -es- [n.] 'thought'. IE cognates: Skt. *mánas-* [n.], Av. *manah-* 'mind, spirit', Gr. μένος [n.] 'spirit, passion, might, force', εὐμενής 'well-disposed (towards)', Myc. *e-u-me-ne*.

Meiser 1998: 117 adopts the etymology *menes-ųehₓ-* 'provided with a mind, intelligent'. It was proposed by Rix 1981: 117ff., who posited a sound law *-sų- > 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 *sų > rv*. The raising of *men- to *min- is regarded as irregular, but in view of the same problem found in *minae, 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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 90f., EM 404, Leumann 1977: 179, Untermann 2000: 470. → *mēns, meminī, moneō*

minor, -or, -us 'smaller, less, inferior' [adj. *r*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *minus, -ōris* [n.] 'smaller number, less' (Pl.+), *minus* [adv.] 'less', *minusculus* 'somewhat smaller' (Pl.+), *minu/imus* '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+), *ministrāre* 'to wait on, provide' (Pl.+), *ministra* 'provider, female servant' (Varro+), *ministerium* 'service, attendance' (Varro+), *ministrātor* 'attendant' (Naev.+); *administrāre* 'to assist, perform' (Pl.+), *administer* 'helper' (Varro+), *administra* 'female helper' (Varro+); (2) *minuere* [*minuī, minūtum*] 'to reduce in size, lessen' (Pl.+), *minūtus* 'small, short' (Pl.+), *minūtulus* 'very small' (Pl.+), *minūtim* 'gradually' (Cato+), *minūtātim* 'id.' (Varro+); *comminuere* 'to break into pieces, smash' (Pl.+), *dēminuere* 'to diminish, deduct' (Pl.+), *dēminūtiō* 'reduction, deduction' (Varro+), *imminuere* '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 *moih₁-ųo- 'small, little', comp. *meih₁-iōs-, -is- 'less', *mi-n(e)-h₁- 'to make less' >> *mi-n(e)-u-. IE cognates: Skt. *mināti, minánti* 'to damage, diminish', Gr. μείων 'smaller', μινύθω 'to disappear, to lessen'; OCS *mьnjii* 'smaller, lesser, younger', *mьnjьši* [f.], *mьnje* [n.], Ru. *mén'šij* [m.] 'smaller, lesser, younger' < *mi-n-i(e/o)s-jo-, Go. *mins* 'less', *minniza* 'smaller, lesser' < *minųiza-; ToB *maiwe* 'small, young'.

Lat. *minimus, minister* (< *minos-tero-) are derived from *minōs, -os- by means of productive processes. Lat. *miscellus* < *minuscellus*, dim. to *minusculus*. 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 *u*-stem. The Gm. and BSl. adj. meaning 'less' are built on a form **minu-is-*, which also looks quite secondary. Hence, the original comp. **meih₁-iōs-* was apparently influenced by the nasal present **miṇu-(ie-)* in Italic, yielding **mi-n-ōs, -es-, -os-* 'smaller'.

   Bibl.: WH II: 91-93, 95, EM 404f., IEW 711, Leumann 1959: 47-49 (for *mīscellus*), Meiser 1998: 154, Untermann 2000: 471, 477f., LIV 1.*meiH-. → *nimis*

mīrus 'remarkable, astonishing' [adj. *o/ā*] (Andr.+; usually predicative *mīrum est*)
   Derivatives: *mīrārī* 'to be amazed' (Pl.+), *mīrāculus* [adj.] 'freakish' (Pl.+), *mīrāculum* 'wonder, marvel' (Cato+), *mīrābilis* 'marvellous' (Pl.+); *admīrārī* 'to be surprised, admire' (Pl.+), *dēmīrārī* 'to wonder, be utterly astonished' (Pl.+); *permīrus* 'very remarkable' (Pl.+); *mīrificus* 'amazing' (Ter.+); *mīriō* 'an ugly mask' (Acc. apud Varronem).
   PIt. **smeiro-*.
   PIE **sméi-ro-* [n.] 'laughter'. IE cognates: Skt. *á-smera-* 'without smiling', OE *smǣr(e)* 'lips', *gāl-smǣr(e)* 'inclined to laughter' < PGm. **smairja-*, OE *smēran* 'to mock'; Skt. *smáyate* 'smiles', Gr. φιλο-μμειδής 'who likes to laugh', Latv. *smiêt* 'to laugh', OCS *smijati sę*, ToB *smiyäṃ* 'smiles'.
   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 **sméi-ro-* 'laughter, smiling'.
   Bibl.: WH II: 94f., EM 406, IEW 967f., Sihler 1995: 214, Meiser 1998: 112. → *cōmis*

misceō 'to mix, blend' [v. II; pf. *miscuī*, ppp. *mixtum*] (Pl.+; CIL 560 Praeneste *misc* [2s.ipv.act.])
   Derivatives: *mixtūra* 'the mixing, combining' (Lucr.+), *mixtim* 'in an intermingled manner' (Lucr.), *mixtārius* 'mixing-vessel' (Lucil.); *admiscēre* 'to add, include' (Pl.+), *admixtiō* 'admixture' (Varro+), *commiscēre* 'to mix together, combine' (Pl.+), *commixtūra* 'mixture' (Cato), *immiscēre* 'to mix in, merge' (Lucr.+), *impermixtus* 'unmixed' (Lucil.), *permiscēre* 'to mix well, combine' (Cato+), *prōmiscuē* [adv.] 'without distinction, commonly' (Varro+), *prōmiscam* [adv.] 'without distinction' (Pl.+).
   PIt. **mik-sk-e/o-* 'to mix'.
   PIE **mik̂-sk-e/o-*. IE cognates: OIr. *mescaid* 'mixed, confuses', W. *(cy-)mysgaf* 'I mix'; Skt. *micchamāna-* [ptc.med.] 'vivid', *mekṣáyati* 'to mingle, stir', *mimikṣú-* 'desiring for mixing [with milk] (of Soma)', *miśrá-* 'mixed, blended'; Gr. μείγνυμι 'to mingle, mix', μίσγω 'id.', aor.ps. μιγῆναι, Lith. *mišras* 'mixed, blended', *maišýti*, 3s. *maišo* 'to mix', OCS *měsiti* 'to mingle, mix' < **moik̂-*; OE *miscian*, OHG *miscen* '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 **misce/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, which Meiser 2003 attributes to euphonic reasons, *miscuī* replacing an earlier *s*-pf. **misxī* < **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 **mei̯k-.

miser, -a, -um 'poor, unfortunate' [adj. *o/ā*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *miseriter* 'pathetically' (Lab.), *miseritūdō* 'pity' (Acc.), *miserēre/ī* 'to feel or show compassion' (Pl.+), *mē miserēscit* 'I feel sorry' (Pl.+), *miserārī* 'to feel sorry for' (Pl.+), *miseria* 'woe, distress' (Pl.+), *miserulus* 'somewhat unfortunate' (Laev.+); *misericordia* 'compassion' (Pl.+), *misericors* 'merciful' (Pl.+), *miserimōnium* 'misery' (Lab.).

PIt. **misro-*.

PIE **mh₂isro-?* IE cognates: ToA *msār* '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 inscr., Tibur base)

PIt. **mīto-* 'exchanged'.

PIE **(h₂)mi(H)-to-*.

Lat. *mitat* /mĭt(t)āt/ 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.

mītis 'sweet and juicy, soft, gentle' [adj. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *mītēscere* 'to become soft, grow mild' (Pac.+); *commītigāre* 'to soften' (Ter.).

PIt. **mīti-*.

PIE **m(e)h₁i-ti-* 'soft'. IE cognates: W. *mwydion* 'soft parts' < **meit-* < **meh₁i-ti-*, OIr. *mín* 'soft' < **miHni-* < **mh₁i-ni-*, W. *mwyn* 'tender, mild', Bret. *moan* 'thin, fine' < PCl. **meino/ā/i-* < **meh₁i-n-*; Skt. *máyas-* 'refreshment, enjoyment', YAv. *maiiah-* [n.] 'satisfaction, pleasure' < **meiH-os-*, OPr. *mijls*, Lith. *miélas*, Latv. *mīļš* 'nice, sweet, dear', OCS *milъ* 'pitiable', Ru. *milyj* 'sweet, dear' < **m(e)iH-lo-*.

Possibly, PIt. **mīti-* and the other nominal forms in IE languages are derived from a (verbal) derivative **mh₁-i-* to **mh₁-* 'to measure'.

Bibl.: WH II: 96f., EM 407, IEW 711f., Schrijver 1991: 244.

mittō, -ere 'to release, let go; send, throw' [v. III; pf. *mīsī*, 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'

(Lucr.+); *admittere* 'to admit, allow' (Pl.+), *admissārius* [m. / adj.] 'stallion, ass; kept for breeding' (Pl.+), *admissiō* 'controlled mating' (Varro), *admissum* 'crime' (Laev.+), *admissūra* 'copulation, breeding' (Varro+), *āmittere* 'to send away, release, lose' (Naev.+), *committere* 'to entrust to, bring about, commit, join' (Pl.+), *commissum* 'crime' (Pl.+), *commissūra* 'joint, juncture' (Cato+), *dēmittere* 'to drop, shed, send down' (Naev.+), *dēmissīcius* 'reaching to the ground' (Pl.), *dīmittere* 'to send away, dismiss, give up' (Pl.+), *ēmittere* 'to send out, release' (Pl.+), *ēmissīcius* 'sent out as a spy' (Pl.), *ēmissus, -ūs* 'emission' (Lucr.), *immittere* 'to cause to go, send, let in', *intermittere* 'to interrupt, leave open' (Pl.+), *omittere* 'to release, abandon, omit' (Pl.+), *permittere* 'to allow, cede, leave to' (Pl.+), *praetermittere* 'to overlook, neglect' (Ter.+), *prōmittere* 'to send forth, promise, guarantee' (Pl.+), *remittere* 'to send back, release, relax' (Pl.+), *remissārius* 'that can be slid back easily' (Cato), *remissiō* 'sending back, cancellation' (Varro+), *reprōmittere* 'to promise, guarantee' (Pl.+), *trā(ns)mittere* 'to send over, let through', *trānsmissus, -ūs* 'bequest, crossing' (Pac.+); *cosmittere* (Paul. *ex F.*).

Plt. **meit-e/o-*, ppp. **mit-to-*. It. cognates: SPic. **meitims** [nom.sg.], **meitimúm** [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.aibī.mōist* 'joins', *mōiθat* 'robs', YAv. pr. *paiti-miθnāiti* '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 **mītō*.

Bibl.: WH II: 97-99, EM 407f., IEW 715, Sihler 1995: 584, Meiser 2003: 110, LIV **meith₂-*. → *meō, mitat, mūtuus*

modus 'measured amount, size, limit' [m. *o*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: (1) *modŏ* 'just, only' (Pl.+), *admodum* 'to a great extent, completely' (Naev.+), *commodum* 'even now, just' (Pl.+), *praemodum* 'exceedingly' (Andr.+), *quōmodŏ* 'how' (Pl.+), *modulus* 'unit of measurement' (Varro+), *modicus* 'moderate, limited' (Pl.+); *commodus* 'convenient, favourable' (Pl.+), *commodāre* 'to provide, put at the disposal' (Pl.+), *commoditās* 'opportuneness, advantage' (Pl.+), *commodulum, -ē* [adv.] 'fairly suitably' (Pl.+), *accomodāre* '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.+), *moderātrīx* 'who restrains, female manager' (Pl.+), *moderātim* 'gradually' (Lucr.), *moderanter* 'in a controlling manner' (Lucr.), *admoderārī* 'to control' (Pl.); (3) *modius* 'measuring-vessel' (Pl.+), *modiolus* 'bucket, vessel' (Cato+), *trimodia* 'vessel with the capacity of three modii' (Varro+), *trimodius* 'the measure of three modii' (Pl.), *modiālis* 'holding a modius' (Pl.), *sēmodius* 'half a

modius' (Cato+).

PIt. *medo- 'measure, judgement', *medos- 'id.'; *med-? It. cognates: (1) U. meřs, mers [nom.sg.], mersei, mersi [nom.sg. + si] 'law' < *medos; U. mersto [acc.sg.m.], mersta, meersta [acc.sg.f.], merstu [abl.sg.m.], merstaf, mersta [acc.pl.f.] '?' (a characteristic of augural birds) < *mede/osto-; U. mersus [nom.sg.m.], mersuva [abl.sg.f.], mersuva [acc.pl.n.] 'according to prescription' < *medesu̯o-; (2) O. meddiss, meddis, meddís [nom.sg.], μεδεκον [acc.sg.], medikeis [gen.sg.], medikei [dat.sg.], medikid [abl.sg.], meddiks, μεδδειξ [nom.pl.], Marr. medix, Mars. medis, meddíss [nom.sg.], Pael. medix, Vol. medix [nom.pl.] 'local official, magistrate, judge' < *med(-V(s))-dik- 'saying law'; O. μεδεκαν [acc.sg.] 'female meddíx'; O. meddíkkiai, meddikiai, medikkiai, μεδικιαι [loc.sg.] 'the office of meddíx' < *meddik-iā-; O. medicim [acc.sg.], meddixud [abl.sg.], μεδδικεν [loc.sg. + en] 'office and/or place of the meddíx' < *meddik-io-; O. medicatud [abl.sg.m. of ppp.] 'to sentence', denom. *meddik-ā-; O. medicatinom [acc.sg.] 'judgement' < *meddik-ā-ti-n-o-.

PIE *med-o- 'measure', *med-o/es- 'measure'. IE cognates: Gr. μήδεα 'counsels, plans', Arm. mit 'thought' < *mēd-os-.

Schrijver rejects the earlier explanation of modus < *mod-o- on the strength of O. meddíss < *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. meddíss 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 moderāre < *medes-ā-. The ē-grade in Greco-Armenian *mēd-os- can stem from the verb, cf. Gr. μήδομαι. This is uncertain, but it is irrelevant for Italic, unless Sabell. *med-dik- represents *mēd-dik-.

Bibl.: WH II: 99f., EM 408f., IEW 705f., Leumann 1977: 378, Schrijver 1991: 466-470, Untermann 2000: 455-462, 473f., Stüber 2002: 126, LIV 1.*med-. → medeor, meditor

moenia, -ium 'defensive walls' [n.pl. i] (Naev.+; sg. moene in Naev.)

Derivatives: moenīre, mūnīre 'to fortify, safeguard' (Lex XII+; moen- in Pl.), mūnītiō 'defence work, fortification' (Sis.+); admoenīre 'to besiege' (Pl.+), circummoe/ūnīre 'to surround with a wall' (Pl.+), commoe/ūnīre 'to surround with fortifications' (Pl.+).

PIt. *moini- 'protective wall'.

PIE *(H)moi-ni- 'construction'? IE cognates: OIr. do·dímen* 'to fix, tie' < PCl. *mi-nu-, Skt. pr. minotu [3s.ipv.act.], aor. amesta [3s.med.], pf. ví mimāya, ta-ptc. mitá- 'to fix, establish, build', YAv. barazi-mita- 'highly built'; Latv. mìet 'to drive piles'.

The retention of oe in moenia (as opposed to the usual change to ū) is ascribed to fear of polysemy with regard to mūnia 'achievements'. A connection with mūnus 'charge, duty' < *moin-os- cannot be rejected with certainty: a wall has defensive duties.

Bibl.: WH II: 100f., EM 409f., IEW 709, Meiser 1998: 87, Schumacher 2004: 484, LIV 1.*mei̯-. → *mūnus, mūrus*

mōlēs, -is 'large mass, heap' [f. *i*] (Acc.+)

Derivatives: *mōlīrī* 'to labour, build up, strive' (Pl.+), *mōlītus, -ūs* '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.+).

PIt. **mōlo-* 'labour, effort', **mōl-i-i̯e-* '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 introducted 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 PIt. **mel-*. Schrijver argues that *mōlēs* has replaced a root noun, the nom.sg. of which may have been **mōl*. However, the later attestation of *mōlēs* 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. μῶλος [m.] 'battle' ← ***'trouble', μῶλυς 'enervated, weak', μόλις [adv.] 'hardly'? Or to Gr. βλώσκω (< **μλώ-σκω), aor. μολεῖν 'to go, come' < PIE **mlh₃-? Or to Gr. μέλω 'to be anxious, care for'?

Bibl.: WH II: 101f., EM 410, IEW 746, Schrijver 1991: 120f., 338, 342, 469f., Isebaert 1992: 201, LIV *meh₃-.

mollis 'soft, gentle' [adj. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *mollitia* 'softness, luxury' (Pl.+), *molliculus* 'soft, tender' (Pl.+), *mollīre* 'to make soft' (Ter.+), *mollitūdō* 'softness' (Pac.+), *mollēscere* 'to become soft' (Lucr.+); *molluscus* 'having a thin shell' (Pl.+).

PIt. **moldu-(i-)*.

PIE **mld-u-* 'soft'. IE cognates: W. *blydd* 'soft', Skt. *mṛdú-* 'delicate, soft', Gr. **βλαδύς* 'powerless' (in βλαδεῖς Hsch.) The appurtenance of the Gr. forms is uncertain.

Mollis < **molwi-* < **mollwi-* < **moldu̯i-* < **mḷdu-i-*. 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-sko-* > **moldusko-* > *molluscus*.

Bibl.: WH II: 103f., EM 410f., IEW 716-719, Schrijver 1991: 20f., Meiser 1998: 64, LIV *meld-.

molō, -ere 'to grind in a mill' [v. III; pf. *moluī*, ppp. *molitum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *mola* 'millstone; cake of ground barley and salt' (Naev.+), *molārius* 'of a mill' (Cato+), *moletrīna* 'milling-place' (Cato), *molīle* 'component of a mill' (Cato), *molitum* [n.] 'flour' (Pl.); *immolāre* 'to sacrifice, sprinkle with flour' (Naev.+).

PIt. sg. **mela-*, pl. **mal-enti*. It. cognates: U. **kumaltu, kumultu,** *comoltu*

[3s.ipv.II], **kumates, kumate,** *comatir* [ppp., abl.pl.n.] < **kom-m(o)lH-e/o-*, **kom-mlH-to-* '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. *malu,* 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. *málti,* Latv. *malt* 'to grind, mill' < **molH-,* OCS *mlěti,* Ru. *molót',* Is. *meljú* 'to grind, mill' < **mlH-, *melH-,* Go. *malan* < **molH-.* Skt. *mṛṇáti, mṛnáti* 'to crush, grind' < **ml̥/r-n-H-.*

Immolāre is a denominative to *mola.* In the athematic paradigm of the PIE verb, **melh₁-ti* gave PIt. **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*-lH-.* LIV reconstructs final **-h₂* on the strength of CLuw. *mālhūta* 'broke' and other forms, in which case the second *e* in Myc. */mele-/* would be secondary.

Bibl.: WH II: 104f., EM 411, IEW 716-719, Schrijver 1991: 103, 216, 394, 473, Harðarson apud Rix 1995a: 406, Rix 1999: 517, Untermann 2000: 410-411, 444, Schumacher 2004: 470ff., LIV **melh₂-.* → *malleus*

moneō 'to remind, tell (of)'.[v. II] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *monētrīx* [f.] 'adviser' (Pl.), *monitor* 'adviser' (Ter.+), *monu/imentum* 'statue, memorial, tomb' (Pl.+); *admonēre* 'to advise, warn', *commonēre* 'to remind' (Pl.+), *commonēfacere* 'id.' (Pl.+), *prōmonēre* 'to warn openly' (Pl.+), *submonēre* 'to advise privately' (Ter.+); *mōnstrum* 'prodigy, sign, monster' (Pl.+), *mōstellāria* 'a play about ghosts' (Pl.+), *mōnstrāre* 'to point out, reveal' (Pl.+), *mōnstrātiō* 'showing' (Ter.+), *mōnstrificābilis* 'strange' (Lucil.); *commōnstrāre* 'to point out, reveal' (Pl.+), *dēmōnstrāre* 'to indicate, describe' (Pl.+), *praemōnstrāre* 'to show beforehand, foretell' (Pl.+), *praemōnstrātor* 'guide' (Ter.); *monēr/dula* 'jack-daw' (Pl.+); *Monēia* 'title of Juno; temple where money was coined' (Andr.+).

PIt. **moneje-.* It. cognates: maybe SPic. **múfqlúm** [nom.sg.?] if 'monument'.

PIE **mon-eie-* 'to make think of, remind'. IE cognates: Skt. *mānáyati* 'to honour, respect', OAv. *mānaiia-,* YAv. *mąnaiiən* [caus.ptc.act.] 'making think'; ?OBret. *guo-monim* 'to promise'.

Lat. *mōnstrum* < **mone-stro-.* In regular **mōstro-, n* was reintroduced. *Mōstellāria* < **mone-stro-lāri-* has the regular outcome. The name *Monēta* 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 107-110, EM 412f., IEW 726-728, Schrijver 1991: 472, Meiser 1998: 117, Untermann 2000: 480, LIV 1.*men-. → *meminī, mēns*

monīle 'necklace, collar' [n. *i*] (Afran.+)

PIt. **monjo-* 'neck'.

PIE **mon-i-* 'neck'. IE cognates: OIr. *muin* [f.] 'upper part of the back between shoulders and neck', MW *mwn*, OBret. *mun* 'neck' < PCl. **moni-*, OIr. *muinēl*, MW *mwnwgyl* 'neck' < **moni-klo-*; Skt. *mányā-* [f.] 'neck', *maṇi-* [m.] 'ornament carried around the neck', YAv. *zaranu-maini-* 'with a golden neck-ornament' (an epithet of a vulture), *pairi-māniia-* 'neck-protection', *manaoθrī-* [f.] 'neck'; OCS *monisto* 'necklace'; OHG *mana*, OE *manu* 'mane' < **mon-*; OIc. *men*, OE *mene* 'necklace' < **mon-i-*.

Since there existed a productive pattern of deriving *-lī-*adj. with a preceding long vowel from short-vowel *i-* and *u-*stems (Leumann 1977: 350), *monīle* 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 PIt. **monje/o-*, the first syllable was closed, and **mo-* would be retained.

Bibl.: WH II: 108, EM 412, IEW 747f., Schrijver 1991: 473.

mōns, -tis 'mountain' [m. *i*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *montānus* 'of the mountains, mountainous' (Lucil.+), *montivagus* 'mountain-ranging' (Lucr.+); *prōmuntū̆/ōrium* 'headland, promontory, spur' (Pac.+).

PIt. **monti-*.

PIE **mon-ti-* 'protrusion, height'. IE cognates: W. *mynydd*, OCo. *menit*, OBret. *monid* 'mountain' < **mon-io-*; Av. *maiti-* 'mountain, height' < **mn-ti-*; OIc. *mønir* 'ridge of a roof' < **mōni-*, *mœna* 'to tower'.

The meaning of *prōmuntū̆/ōrium* 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 *moneō*), and regard a promontory as a clear 'signpost' in the landscape. This would require syncope of medial **-e-* in *prōmonetōriom. 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: *morāre/ī* [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.+).

PIt. **morH-ā-* 'delay'.

PIE **morh₂-*. IE cognates: OIr. *maraid*, ·*mair* 'lasts, remains' < PCl. **mare/o-* < **mrH-e-*; OIr. *mer* 'senseless' < **merH-o-* (appurtenance uncertain); Skt. *āmūrchat* (AV) [3s.ipf.], *mūrtá-* [ppp.] 'to congeal, become solid' < **mrH-sk-*, Gr. μωρός 'stupid, foolish'.

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 PIt. – but see section 4.2, note 2, of the introduction.

Bibl.: WH II: 110, EM 413, IEW 969f., Schrijver 1991: 110, Schumacher 2004: 476.

morbus 'disease, illness' [m. o] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *morbidus* 'sick' (Varro+), *morbōsus* 'sickly' (Cato+); *remorbēscere* 'to fall ill again' (Enn. apud Paul. *ex F.*).

PIt. *mor-fo-?
PIE *mor-bʰo-?

Morbus cannot continue an adj. in *-idʰo-, such as *acerbus* 'sour', since *moripo- would normally yield *moridus. Thus, the suffix is more likely to be PIE *-bʰo-, 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 *mr- of *mors* and *morīrī*. Morphologically, however, a PIE formation *m(o)r-bʰo- is somewhat strange. An alternative basis would be *mor-, *mōr-, the (non-IE?) root of 'bramble' (Gr. μόρον 'black mulberry', W. *merwydden*).

Bibl.: WH II: 110f., EM 414, IEW 735-737, Leumann 1977: 330.

mordeō 'to bite' [v. II; pf. *memordī, momordī*, ppp. *morsum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *mordicus* 'with the teeth, by biting' (Naev.+), *morsus, -ūs* 'bite, wounding' (Cato+), *mordāx* 'prone to bite, biting, sharp' (Pl.+), *morsiuncula* 'a little bite' (Pl.+); *admordēre* 'to bite, extract money from' (Pl.+), *praemordēre* 'to bite at/from the end' (Pl.+), *remordēre* 'to bite back, gnaw' (Lucr.+).

Plt. *mord-eje-.
PIE pr. *h₂mord-(e)ie- 'to crush, bite', pf. *h₂me-h₂mord-, ptc. *h₂mrd-to-. IE cognates: Skt. *sám-marditoḥ* [inf.] 'to crush', *mr̥ditá-* 'smashed, crushed', OAv. *mōrandat* (< *mr̥-n-d-) [3s.pr.inj.act.] 'to ruin, crush', OP *vimardatiy* [pr.], *viyamarda* [ipf.] 'to crush'; Gr. ἀμέρδω 'to deprive of', ἀμείρω (Pi.) 'to bereave', OE *smeortan* 'to hurt'.

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. ἀμείρω is old (but it might be secondary after the aor. ἤμερσα).

Bibl.: WH II: 111f., EM 414, IEW 735-737, Leumann 1977: 604, LIV *h₂merd-.

morior, morī 'to die' [v. III; ppp. *mortuum*] (Lex XII+; also *(ē)morīrī* Pl. Enn. Ter.)

Derivatives: *commorī* 'to die together with' (Pl.+), *dēmorī* 'to die' (Pl.+), *ēmorī* 'to perish, die out' (Pl.+), *intermorī* 'to perish, die off', *praemorī* '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.+), *morticīnus* '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.).

PIt. *morje- 'to die', *morto- 'dead', *mortwo- 'dead', *morti- 'death'. It. cognates: Ven. **murtuvoi** [dat.sg.] 'dead'.

PIE *mr-ie/o- 'to die', *mr-to- 'dead', *mr-uo- 'dead', *mr-ti- 'death'. IE cognates: OIr. *marb*, W. *marw* 'dead' < *$mr̥uo$-; Hit. *mer-^{zi}*/ 'to disappear, vanish' < *mer-/*mr-, *marnu-^{zi}* 'to make disappear'; Skt. pr. *mriyáte* (< *mr-ie-), aor. *mar-/mr̥-*, pf. *mamā́ra*, caus. *māráyati* 'to kill', *martave* [inf.] 'to die', *mr̥tá-* 'died, dead', *a-mŕ̥ta-* (< *n̥-mr̥to-) 'immortal'; YAv. *miriia-* 'to die', *mərəta-* 'died', *aməša-* 'immortal'; Gr. (Hsch.) ἔμορτεν [3s.ipf.act.] 'died', ἄμβροτος 'immortal'; Arm. *merani-* 'to die'; Go. *maurþr* 'murder'; Lith. *mir̃ti* 'to die', OCS *mrěti* 'to die', *mьrtvъ*, Ru. *mërtvyj*, SCr. *mȑtav* 'dead'.

Morticīnus might be based on an earlier adj. *mortiko-. The change of PIE *mr̥t̯uo- to *mr̥tu̯uo- (conditioned by *t*?) was PIt. judging by Ven. **murtuvo-**. The formation of *mrtu̯o- 'dead' for PIE *mr̥to- (as in Slavic) may be due to a contamination with *mr̥u̯o- as attested in Celtic. Lat. *(im)mortālis* might be based on earlier *morto- 'dead' rather than on *mors* 'death'.

Bibl.: WH II: 112f., EM 414f., IEW 735, Lejeune 1974: 337, Sihler 1995: 536, Meiser 1998: 93, Livingston 2004: 10, LIV *mer-.

mortārium 'bowl, mortar' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

PIt. *morto-?

PIE *mr-to- 'crushed'? IE cognates: Hit. *marriie/a-$^{tta(ri)}$* , *marra$^{tta(ri)}$*- 'to melt (down), dissolve, boil' < *me/orH-i̯e-; Skt. pr. *prá ni mr̥ṇīhi* [2s.ipv.act.], *mr̥ṇa-* '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' < *mr̥to-, 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/ī* 'to be compliant' (Pl.+), *morigerātiō* 'indulgence' (Afran.); *mōrōsus* 'hard to please' (Pl.+).

PIt. *mōs-.

PIE *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', *mūs* 'mouse').

Bibl.: WH II: 113-115, EM 415f., IEW 704f., Schrijver 1991: 203. → *mēnsis*, *mētior, mītis*

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.+).

PIt. **mow(a)-* [aor.]. It. cognates: maybe U. *comohota* [ppp., abl.sg.f.] */kom(m)ōta/* '?' < **kom-mow-e/i-to-* 'moved'.

PIE **m(i̯)euh₁-* [aor.] 'to move'. IE cognates: Hit. *mau-ⁱ* / *mu-*, *maušš-* 'to fall' < **mouh₁-* / **muh₁-*, *mum(m)ii̯a/e-ᶻⁱ* < **mumai-ⁱ* < **mh₁u-oi-*; Skt. pr. *-mī́vantī-* [ptc.act.f.] 'pushing down', ps. *-mīvyamāna-* [ptc.] (< PIE **mih₁-u-*), *° mūta-* (< **muh₁-tó-* < **mi̯uh₁-tó-*) in *kā́ma-mūta-* 'impelled by love', Av. *a-muii̯amna-* 'motionless', YAv. *auua.mīuua-* 'to clear away', Khot. *mvīr-* 'to move'; Lith. *máudyti* 'to bathe', Latv. *maût* 'submerge, swim', *maudât* 'bathe' < **mouH-*, OCS *myti* 'to wash' < **muH-*; ToB *miw-*, ToA *mew-* 'to shake'.

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 **-owV-* > *-ū-* seen in *rūrsus, nūndinae*. In *movēre, mo-* must be more recent than the change of **-ow-* > **-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. **maweie-* < PIE **mouH-eie* (cf. Vine 2006a), or from other stative presents in **-ē-i̯e-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 106, 116, EM 416f., IEW 743, Rasmussen 1989: 117, Schrijver 1991: 278-281, 448f., Meiser 1998: 85, Untermann 2000: 416, Vine 2006a: 218-221, LIV **mi̯euh₁-*. → *suō*

mox 'soon' [adv.] (Pl.+)
PIt. **moks(u)-*
PIE **moK(-)s(-)* 'soon'. IE cognates: OIr. *mó* [adv.], *mos-* [prev.] 'soon', MW *moch* 'soon'; Skt. *makṣū́* 'quickly', OAv. *mošuca* 'and soon', YAv. *mošu* 'soon'.

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 **moǵ-s(-)*, *o*-grade of the root **mǵ-* '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.+)
PIt. **m(e/o)uk-ro-?*
PIE **(h₂)muk-ro-*. IE cognates: Gr. ἀμύσσω 'to scratch, tear', ἀμυχή 'rent, wound', ἄμυγμα 'rending'; ἀμυκάλαι 'arrow-tips', ἀμύσχεσθαι 'to scratch the flesh with one's nails' (Hsch.); Lith. *mùšti*, 3s. *mùša* '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. *mušti* 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 *mū-* has a long vowel, the Latin form would reflect **melouk-ro-.*

Bibl.: WH II: 117, EM 417, IEW 745, Schrijver 1991: 21.

mūcus 'mucus, snot' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *mūcēre* 'to be mouldy' (Cato), *mūcidus* 'snotty, mouldy' (Pl.+); *ēmungere* (*ēmūnxī, ēmūnctum*) 'to wipe one's nose; trick' (Pl.+); *mūgil(is)* [m.] 'sea-fish, grey mullet' (Varro+).

PIt. **mung-* 'to wipe'.

PIE **(s)mu-n-k-* 'to brush off', **(s)me/ouk-o-* 'snot'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *muñcāmi, múcyate,* aor. *ámugdhvam* [2p.med.ath.], *ámucat* [3s.act.them.] 'to release, set free', YAv. *fra-muxti-* [f.] 'binding loose (shoes)', *paiti.smuxta-* [adj.] 'wearing shoes', Gr. μύσσομαι 'to blow one's nose', μυκτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'nostril', μύξα 'slime, mucus', μύξων [m.] 'kind of mullet'; Lith. *maũkti* 'to pull, peel, skin', *mùkti,* 3s. *mùnka* 'to walk away', *smùkti* 'to glide (off)', Po. *smukać* 'to brush', Ru. (dial.) *smýkat'* 'to milk'; Cz. *mknouti* 'to move', SCr. *màknuti* 'move' < PSl. **mъknǫti.*

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': MIr. *mocht* 'weak' < **muk-to-*; OIc. *mjúkr,* Latv. *mukls* 'marshy'.

Bibl.: WH I: 402f., EM 417, 421, IEW 744f., LIV **meu̯k-*.

mūgiō, -īre 'to low, moo, bellow' [v. IV] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *mūgīnārī* 'to roar, hum and haw' (Lucil.+), *mūgītus, -ūs* 'lowing, roaring' (Varro+).

PIt. **mūg-*. It. cognates: maybe U. *mugatu* [3s.ipv.II], *muieto fust* [3s.fut.pf.ps.] '?': *muie-* < **mug-je-?*

PIE **mūg-*. IE cognates: Hit. *mūgae-[zi]* 'to invoke, entreat', denom. to **mūga-* 'invocation of the gods through noise' < **moug-o-*, [OIS]*mūkar- / mukn-* 'noisy instrument, rattle' < **meug-r, *mugnos*; Gr. μῡκάομαι 'to low, bellow', μύζω 'to mutter, moan', Lith. *mūkiù, mū̃kti* 'bellow', Ru. *mycát',* Ukr. *múkaty,* MHG *mūhen* 'to low, bellow', OHG *muckazzen* 'to talk slowly'.

Onomatopoeic form, imitation of a cow's lowing.

Bibl.: WH II: 119f., EM 417f., IEW 751f., Untermann 2000: 480f. → *mūtus*

mulceō 'to stroke, caress' [v. II; pf. *mulsī*] (Pl.+; in Pl. only *mulsus*)

Derivatives: *dēmulcēre* 'to stroke, entrance' (Ter.+), *permulcēre* 'to rub gently, soothe' (Pac.+); *mulcāre* 'to handle roughly, damage' (Pl.+).

PIt. **molk-eje-* 'to stroke, rub', **molk-ā-* 'stroke'?

PIE *m(o)lk̂-eie- 'to touch repeatedly'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. mr̥śáse [2s.med.], s-aor. mr̥kṣata, pf. māmr̥śúr, caus. marśaya-; Sogd. mrws- '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 *h₂melĝ- 'to milk' (then *h₂ml-ĝ/k-). This is possible, but unproven.

Bibl.: WH II: 120f., EM 418, IEW 724, Untermann 2000: 484, LIV *Hmelk̂-.

mulgeō 'to milk' [v. II; pf. mulsī, ppp. mulctum] (Cato+)

Derivatives: immulgēre 'to milk (into)' (Andr.+); prōmulgāre 'to make widely known' (Cic.+); mulctra / -um [f./n.] 'milking-pail' (Verg.+).

PIt. *molgeje-.

PIE *h₂mlĝ-eie- 'to milk'. IE cognates: OIr. mligid* 'to milk' < PCl. *mlige/o- < *h₂mlĝ-; Gr. ἀμέλγω 'to milk', Alb. mjel, Lith. mélžu < *h₂melĝ-, OCS mlъzǫ < *h₂mlĝ-, OHG melchan, OE melcan, ToA mālkant (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. mulctra was not based on the pr., but seems to continue an earlier *m(e/o)lg-tro- (cf. Serbat 1975: 313).

Bibl.: WH II: 121, 370, EM 418, 538, IEW 722f., Schrijver 1991: 21, Schumacher 2004: 486, LIV *h₂melĝ-.

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 >> *muliḗr > mulier. The older etymology (Sommer 1914: 454, WH, IEW) interprets mulier as an original comparative to the stem of mollis 'soft, weak', namely as *ml̥-ies-ī; more correct would be *ml̥d-ies-ī, but this would yield *mollierī > *mullier with a palatal l. Klingenschmitt 1992: 130 proposes a comparative to the stem of melior 'better': *ml̥-iés-iH 'the better one, chief spouse' > *moliesī >> 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 122, EM 418f., IEW 716-719, Sihler 1995: 309f., Meiser 1998: 152.
→ melior, multus

mulleus 'red-coloured (said of shoes)' [adj. o/ā] (Cato+; mullōs [acc.pl.] Vopiscus)
PIt. *molwo-.
PIE *ml-uo-? IE cognates: Lith. mulvas '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. *mełns* 'black') since PIt. *melano-* would not yield Lat. *mullus*; he proposes *ml-yo-* instead.

    Bibl.: WH II: 122f., EM 419, IEW 720f.

multus 'numerous, many' [adj. *o/ā*] (Andr.+)

    Derivatives: *multēsimus* 'infinitesimal' (Lucr.), *molta* (CIL), *multa* 'penalty' (Pl.+), *multāre* (CIL *moltāre*) 'to fine' (Naev.+), *multitāre* 'to fine habitually' (Cato), *multitūdō* 'abundance, (large) number' (Varro+).

    PIt. *molto-*. It. cognates: O. *molto* [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. **múltasíkad** [abl.sg.f.], **moltas(ikud)** [abl.sg.n.] 'cashed as a fine', derivative in *-iko-* of a form *moltāsio-* 'fine-like'; O. *moltaum* [inf.] 'to fine'.

    PIE *m(o)l-to-* 'good, big'? IE cognates: Gr. μάλα 'very, quite', μᾶλλον 'more, rather' (for *μέλλον?), μάλιστα 'mostly, quite especially'; Latv. *milns* '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*

mūlus 'mule' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

    Derivatives: *mūla* 'she-mule' (Pl.+), *mūliō* 'mule-driver' (Pl.+), *muscella* 'young she-mule' (CIL 4.2016).

    PIt. *musklo-* / *mukslo-*.

    IE cognates: Gr. μύκλος 'lascivious; pack-mule', μυχλός 'Phocaean name of a breeder-ass' (Hsch.) < *μυκολός, Alb. *mushk*, ORu. *mъskъ*, RuCS *mesk* 'mule'.

Probably a loanword which entered Europe from Asia Minor in the form *musk-* or *muks-*.

    Bibl.: WH II: 125f., EM 420, Leumann 1977: 207.

mundus 'clean, elegant' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

    Derivatives: *munditia* 'cleanliness, elegance' (Pl.+), *mundulus* 'elegant' (Pl.); *immundus* 'unclean, squalid' (Pl.+), *immunditia* 'dirtiness' (Pl.+), *permundus* 'very clean' (Varro).

    PIt. *mudno-?*

    PIE *mud-no-* 'happy'? IE cognates: Skt. *múd-* [f.] 'joy, delight', *móda-* [m.] 'joy, delight', *módate* 'to be happy', Lith. *mudrùs*, Latv. *mudrs* '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.

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 *munθ-* 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/ūnia, -ōrum* 'duties, functions' (Pl.+); *commūnis* 'common, general' (Naev.+; OLat. *comoin-*), *moe/ūnis* 'obliged, indebted' (Pl.+), *commūnitus* [adv.] 'jointly' (Varro), *commūnicāre* 'to share, communicate' (Pl.+); *mūniceps, -ipis* 'native, citizin of a *municipium*' (Lucil.+), *mūnicipium* 'community, municipality' (CIL+), *mūnificus* 'dutiful, generous' (Pl.+), *mūnificāre* 'to enrich' (Lucr.); *immūnis* 'not paying a share, exempt' (Pl.+).

PIt. **moini-*, **moi-nos-* [n.] 'duty, obligation, task'. It. cognates: O. **múiníkú, múinik.** [nom.sg.f.], **muinikam** [acc.sg.f.], **múiníkad** [abl.sg.f.], **múiní[kúm]** [nom.acc.sg.n.], **múiníkeí** [loc.sg.n.] 'common' < **mǫin-iko-*; U. **muneklu** [acc.sg.n.] 'contribution' < **moin-ī-tlo-*.

PIE **h₂moi-no-* [m. / adj.], **h₂moi-ni-* 'exchange'? IE cognates: MW *tramwy*, *tremynu*, MCo. *tremena*, MBret. *tremen* 'to cross, pass' < PCl. **tras-mi-nV-*; OIr. *móin* 'value, treasure', W. *mwyn* 'value', Skt. *mení-* 'revenge', YAv. *maēini-* [f.] 'punishment, castigation', OP *yāu-maini-* 'power of revenge', Lith. *maĩnas* 'exchange', OCS *měna* 'exchange, substitution', Go. *gamains* 'common', OHG *gimeins* 'id.' < PIE **moino/h₁-*.

All words are based on two stems, **mūnos-* and **mūni-* 'function, obligation'. A *mūniceps* 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 *fēnus* [n.] beside *fēnum*. 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 254f., II: 128, EM 421f., IEW 710, Schrijver 1991: 20, Meiser 1998: 59, Untermann 2000: 481ff., Schumacher 2004: 485, LIV 2.*mei-. → *meō, migrō, moenia, mūtuus*

murmur, -is 'low, continuous noise' [n. *r*] (Pac.+)

Derivatives: *murmurāre* 'to rumble, mutter, grumble' (Pl.+), *commurmurāre* 'to mutter, murmur' (Varro+), *murmurillāre* 'to mutter faintly' (Pl.), *murmurillum* 'a

faint mutter' (Pl.).

PIt. *mo/ur-mo/ur-ā-.

PIE *mr-mr-. IE cognates: Skt. múrmura- [m.] 'crackling fire', -ā [f.] name of a river, marmara- 'roaring', Gr. μορμύρω 'roar and boil', Arm. mŕmŕ-am, -im (< *muŕmuŕ-), Lith. murméti, murm(l)énti 'to grumble, murmur', Cz. mrmrati, SCr. mŕmrati, Bulg. mărmórja 'id.' < PSl. *mъrm(ъ)rati, Ru. mormúlit' (dial.) 'grumble, chatter', SCr. mrmljiti 'to mumble, grumble' < PSl. *mъrm-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-.

Bibl.: WH II: 130f., EM 423, IEW 748f., Meiser 1998: 63f.

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+).

PIt. *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 ī in non-initial syllable; hence, it may be an archaism.

Bibl.: WH II: 131f., 334, EM 423f., IEW 709, Meiser 1998: 71, 87, LIV 1.*meį-. → moenia

mūs, mūris 'mouse' [m. r] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: mūscipulum 'mousetrap' (Lucil.+), mūsculus 'mussel, small fish, small rodent; muscle' (Pl.+), mūrīnus 'of a mouse' (Varro+), mūscerdae [f.pl.] 'mouse droppings' (Plin.); possibly mūrex, -icis 'shellfish yielding purple dye; its shell' (Lucil.+); mūstēla / mūstella 'weasel; certain fish (prop. burbot)' (Pl.+), mustēlīnus 'of a weasel' (Ter.+), mustricula 'a shoemaker's last' (Afran. apud Paul. ex F.).

PIt. *mūs 'mouse', *mūs-trā- 'mouse-like animal'.

PIE *muHs 'mouse'. IE cognates: Skt. mū́ṣ- 'mouse, rat', YAv. mūš- [f.] 'name of a Pairikā', Gr. μῦς 'mouse', OHG mūs; OCS myšь, Sln. mìš 'mouse' < PSl. *myšь; ToB maścītse* 'mouse, rat' < PTo. *māst'ə́tse < *m(w)asti- <*muHs-ti-.

Since musculus also means 'mussel', it is conceivable that mūrex belongs here. It may also be a loanword, cognate with Gr. μύαξ '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. μύαξ 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. *-mūstrō-, mūstro 'bat' < *mūstran-. The preform *mūstro- is also found in Lat. mustricula < *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).

Bibl.: WH II: 129, 132-135, EM 424f., IEW 752f., Leumann 1977: 307, Schrijver 1991: 234, Meiser 1998: 57, Schaffner 2006a. → -cerda

musca 'fly' [f. ā] (Pl.+)

PIt. *musko/ā-.

PIE *mu-s-. IE cognates: Gr. μυῖα < *μυσja 'fly'; Arm. mown, Gen. mnoy 'mosquito', Alb. myzë, mizë; OPr. muso, Lith. musē, muso, Latv. mūsa, muša 'fly'; OCS muxa, Ru. múxa, Cz. moucha 'fly' <*mousā, OCS mъšica 'mosquito, locust', Ru. (dial.) mšíca 'midge, gnats, small insects'; OIc. mý [n.] < *mūja- 'mosquito', OE mycg, OS muggja, 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.

mūscus 'moss' [m. o] (Cato+)

Derivatives: muscōsus 'mossy' (Varro+).

PIt. *mūsko-.

PIE *mūs-ko- 'moor, moss'. IE cognates: Lith. mūsaĩ [m.] / mùsos [f.] 'mould', Ru. mox 'moss' [m.], ORu. mъxъ, moxъ 'marsh overgrown with moss', SCr. māh 'moss, mould, bloom' [m.], māha [gen.sg.] < BSl. *mus-o-; OIc. mosi 'moss, moorland' [m.], OHG mos 'moss, marsh' [n.] < *mus-, OHG mios, OE mēos 'moor, marshland', OIc. mýrr [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/ā] (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.

Bibl.: WH II: 136, EM 425, IEW 741-743.

mutilus 'mutilated, truncated' [adj. o/ā] (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: *mūtō/ūnium* 'penis' (Lucil.+), *mū/oetīnus* 'phallic' (Lucil.).

PIt. **mūto-*.

PIE *mHú-to- 'strong one'. IE cognates: OIr. *moth* 'male organ'; Hit. *mūya-* [c.] an awe-inspiring quality (loanword from Luw.), CLuw. *mūya-* 'to overpower (vel sim.)' (3sg.pr.act. *mu-u-ya-i*) (< *mouH-?), HLuw. *muwa-* 'to dominate(?), to attack(?)', *462*muwita-* [c.] 'seed'(?), *nimuwinza-* [c.] 'child', Lyc. *muwēte-* 'descendance?'; Hit. *mūri-* 'bunch'; Gr. μῦρίος [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-tó- while *mūtō* would be based on a form *mHú-to-. Weiss 1996a: 207-209 connects *mūtō* with Hit. *mūri-* 'bunch' and *mūwa-* 'awe-inspiring quality', positing a PIE root *muh$_{1/3}$- 'reproductive power'. In view of the meaning of CLuw. *mūya-* 'to overpower (vel sim.)' and Gr. μῦρίος '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 HLuw. *muwita-* means 'seed' and belongs here.

Bibl.: WH II: 138, EM 426.

mūtus 'inarticulate, dumb' [adj. *o/ā*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *obmūtēscere* 'to become dumb, silent' (Ter.+); *muttīre* 'to mutter' (Pl.+), *muttītiō* 'muttering' (Pl.).

PIt. **mūto-*.

PIE *mū-to-. IE cognates: Skt. *mūka-* 'dumb', *mūni-* [m.] 'ascetic, hermit', Gr. μῦκός, 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 *muttīre* as a direct derivative of **mūto-* (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/ā*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *mūtuāre/ī* 'to borrow' (Cato+), *mūtuitārī* 'to try to borrow' (Pl.), *mūtuiter* 'reciprocally' (Varro); *mūtāre* 'to exchange, replace' (Pl.+), *mūtātiō* 'exchange, change' (Pl.+), *mūtābilitās* 'liability to change' (Lucr.+), *commūtāre* 'to change, alter' (Pl.+), *commūtābilis* 'variable' (Varro+), *commūtātiō* 'change, reversal' (Acc.+), *commūtātus, -ūs* '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.+).

PIt. *moito-.
PIE *h₂moi-to- '(object of) change'. IE cognates: see s.v. *mūnus*.

Both *mūtuus* and *mūtāre* presuppose a nominal stem *mūto- '(object of) change' [m.].
Several etymologies are possible for PIt. *moito-. It may be *moith₂-o- from the root
*mith₂- 'to exchange', or *h₂moi-to- 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* < *h₂mi- is.

Bibl.: WH II: 137f., 140, EM 426, IEW 715, Schrijver 1991: 20, LIV *meith₂-. →
meõ, mittō, mūnus

N

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.+).
PIt. *no/e- 'that'.
IE cognates: If to PIE *h₂n-: Skt. *anā* [adv.], *anéna* [instr.sg.m.], *anáyā* [instr.sg.f.],
anáyoṣ [gen.loc.du.] 'through this', OAv. *anā* [instr.sg.], *anāiš* [instr.pl.], YAv. *ana*
[instr.sg.], Arm. *ayn* 'ille', *na* 'is', *noyn* 'idem', Lith. *anàs* 'that', OCS *onъ* '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*

nancĩscor, -ĩ 'to acquire, get' [v. III; ppp. *nactum* >> *nānctum*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *nanciō, -ere / nancor, -ĩ* 'to acquire' (Lex XII, Gracch., Fest.).
PIt. pr. *nank-(i-), ppp. *nak-to-.
PIE pr. *h₂n-n-k̂- 'to reach', pf. *h₂ne-h₂no(n)k̂-, ppp. *h₂nk̂-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. *-ānonk-. Skt. pr. *aśnóti*, aor. *ānaṭ, naṭ, prá ṇak* [3s.inj.] (< IE
*h₁é-h₂nek̂-t), Skt. pf. *ānáṃśa* (< IE *h₂e-h₂no(n)k̂-e) 'to reach, attain', Skt. ppp.
á-sam-aṣṭa- 'not yet reached'; OAv. *frąštā* [3s.aor.med.], *frōsiiāṭ /fra asjāt/*
[3s.aor.opt.act.], *nāšāmā* [1p.s-aor.sb.] 'to reach', *aštа-* 'arrived', YAv. *auua.aśnaoiti*
[pr.] 'to reach, hit'; Gr. ποδ-ηνεκής 'reaching down to the feet', διηνεκής, Att.
διᾱνεκής 'continuous'; Arm. *hasanem* 'to arrive'; Lith. *nókti*, 3s. *nóksta* 'to grow ripe,
(dial.) grow weak, wither', dial. 'to pursue, chase', Latv. *nākt* 'to come' (with

elimination of the second *n*) .

The pr. *nancīscor* 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)ḱ-*. The Italo-Celtic nasal present **h₂n-n-ḱ-* may have phonetically yielded PIt. **nank-* (Schrijver has a phonetic rule for this, cf. p. 491ff.), and if a concurring form pr. **h₂n-ne-ḱ- > **anek-* ever existed, it was ousted with the support of the perfect **ānonk-*. The *a*-vocalism of the pr. PIt. **nank-* was then imported into the ppp. **ankto- >> *nakto-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 141f., EM 428f., IEW 316-318, Schrijver 1991: 491, Meiser 1998: 193, Kümmel 2000: 284-287, Schumacher 2004: 200-204, LIV **h₂neḱ-*.

nāris 'nose; pl. nostrils, nose' [f. *i*; pl. *nārēs, -ium*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *nāsus/m* [m./n.] 'nose' (Naev.+), *nāsūtus* 'having a long nose; witty' (Lucil.+), *Nāsō* 'Roman cognomen' (Ov.+).

PIt. **nās-* [f.], **nāsi-, *nāso-* 'nose'.

PIE **Hneh₂-s-, *Hnh₂-es-, *Hnh₂-s-* 'nose'. IE cognates: Skt. *nas-* [f.] 'nose' (*nā́sā* [nom.du.], *nasós* [gen.du.], *nasi°* [loc.sg.]) , *nā́sā-* [f.] 'nose', *nā́sikā-* [f.] 'nose', *urūnasá-* 'with a broad nose', *pavīnasá-* 'with a nose like a rim', YAv. *nā́ŋha* [nom.acc.du.?], *nā́ŋhanaṯ* [abl.sg.] 'nose' (secondary *n*-stem) , OP *nāham* [acc.sg.] 'nose'; Lith. *nósis*, Latv. *nāss < *(H)neh₂s-*, RuCS *nosъ*, Ru. *nos' < *nh₂-es-*; OHG *nasa*, OE *nasu* 'nose', OE *nōse* [f.] 'promontory', OFr. *nōsi* 'moustache'; MoDu. *neus < *nus-i-*.

Latin has two derivatives of the (pre-)PIt. 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. **-h₁e >* PIt. **-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 *anhēlus* and *animus* (as proposed by Fritz 1996), which I reconstruct as **h₂nh₁-* 'to breathe, blow'.

Bibl.: WH II: 143-146, EM 429, IEW 755, Kortlandt 1985a: 119, Schrijver 1991: 143.

nāscor, nāscī 'to be born' [v. III; ppp. *(g)nātum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *(g)nātus* 'son', pl. 'children' (Naev.+), *(g)nāta* 'daughter' (Andr.+), *nātālis* 'of birth' (Pl.+), *nātiō* 'people, race' (Pl.+), 'birth of a child' (CIL 1.60 *nationu gratia* 'nationis gratia', Varro+), *nātīvus* 'original' (Varro+); *nātū* [abl.sg.m.] 'of age, by birth' (Pl.+), *nātūra* 'conditions of birth, character' (Pl.+), *nātūrālis* 'natural' (Varro+); *agnāscī* 'to be born in addition' (< **ad-gn-*) (Varro+), *agnātiō*

'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.+), *cognātiō* '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.+), *praegnātiō* 'pregnancy' (Varro+).

PIt. **gnāsk-e/o-* 'to be born', **gnāto-* 'born; son', **gnātu-* 'birth', **gnāti-* 'birth', **gnāti(j)on-* 'family'. It. cognates: Pael. *cnatois* [dat.pl.] 'son'; U. **natine** [abl.sg.] 'patrician family' < **ǵnh₁-ti-(H)on-*.

PIE **ǵnh₁-sk-e/o-* 'to be born', **ǵnh₁-to-* 'born', **ǵnh₁-ti-* 'birth'. IE cognates: Gaul. *Cintu-gnātus* 'first-born', f. *gnātha* 'daughter', MW *gnawt* 'relative'; Skt. *jātá-* [m.] 'born man, son, living being', Av. *zāta-* 'born'; Gr. κασίγνητος [m.] 'brother, sister (of the same mother), cousin' < **ǵnh₁-tos* + **ḱm̥t-i* 'born with (from the same mother)'; Go. *-kunds* 'originating from', OIc. *kundr* 'son', OE *heofon-kund*, OIc. *ās-kunnr* 'of divine descent'.

The basic formations are the pr. **gnāske/o-*, the ppp. **gnātos* 'born', probably the *tu*-abstracts **gnātu-* and **gnāti-*, and the extended *ti*-stem **gnātiōn-*. 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*.

Bibl.: WH I: 598, II: 354, EM 272, 429f., 531, IEW 373ff., Leumann 1977: 146, 398, Schrijver 1991: 178, 330, Sihler 1995: 296, Meiser 1998: 108, Untermann 2000: 402, 487f., LIV **ǵenh₁-*. → *nătĭnor*

nassa 'fish-trap made of wickerwork' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)
    PIt. **nasso-*.
    PIE **nHd-to-* 'tied, knotted'. IE cognates: OIr. *nascaid**, MBret. *naska* 'to bind' < PCl. **nad-sk-*, OIr. *nassae* 'bound' < **nad-to-*, Go. *nati*, OHG *nezzi*, OE, OIc. *net* 'net' < **nad-i-*.

If the root etymology given here is correct, Skt. *náhya-* 'to tie together' must be explained differently. However, it is disputed which forms belong together. If Lat. *nōdus* is cognate, it must reflect **noHd-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 **nod-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-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 144f., EM 430, IEW 758f., Schrijver 1991: 125, 481, Schumacher 2004: 489f., LIV **Hnedʰ-*. → *nōdus*

nătĭnor, -ārī 'to be busy' [v. I] (Cato apud Fest.)
    Derivatives: *natinatio dicebatur negotiatio et natinatores ex eo seditiosa negotia gerentes* (ibidem).
    PIt. **gnāti-*.

PIE *ǵnh₁-ti- 'birth, production'.

A possible origin from *nău̯ātīnor 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 *ǵnh₃-ti- 'knowledge' or *ǵnh₁-ti- 'production' (the latter one suggested by Michael Weiss) > PIt. *gnāti-, from which an adj. *gnātīno- 'energetic, busy' was derived (maybe still attested in the gloss *natina* 'discordia'). From this adj. the verb *nātīnārī* would then derive. For the basic root, *ǵnh₁- seems semantically more straightforward.

Bibl.: WH II: 146, EM 431, Leumann 1977: 551, Vine 1999c. → (g)nāvus, nāscor

natis 'buttock' [f. *i*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: mostly pl. *natēs, -ium*.
PIt. *(g/s)nati-*.
PIE *nHt-? IE cognates: Gr. νῶτον [n.] 'back; wide surface'.

The connection between *natis* and Gr. νῶτον, two isolated words, is certainly possible from the semantic side, but remains formally uncertain. Schrijver reconstructs a root noun *n(e)h₃t- from which Latin would have derived an *i*-stem *nh₃t-i- and Greek an *o*-stem *ne/oh₃t-o-. Another possibility is a root *nh₂t- (Greek *noh₂t-o-) or *nh₂- (Latin *nh₂-ti- and Greek *noh₂-to-). But the etymology remains very uncertain.

Bibl.: WH II: 146, EM 431, IEW 770, Schrijver 1991: 169.

natrix, -icis 'water-snake; penis' [f. *k*] (Lucil.+)
PIt. *(s)natriks*.

PIE *(s)nh₁-tr-ih₂- 'who spins round [f.], snake'. IE cognates: OIr. *nathir*, gen.sg. *nathrach* 'adder, snake' < *natri-i/ek-, W. *neidr* 'snake' < *natrī, Co. *nader*, MBret. *azr*, Bret. *aer*; Go. *nadre* [gen.pl.], OIc. *naðr* [m.], *naðra* [f.] 'adder' < *nh₁-tr-; OE *næddre*, OS *nādra*, OHG *nātara*, *nātra* [f.] 'adder' <*neh₁-tr-.

Derived from the root *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 *sneh₁-. → neō

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 -*au*- in *naucum*.

Bibl.: WH II: 147f., EM 431, Strunk 1993. → nux

nāvis 'ship' [f. *i*] (Andr.+)
Derivatives: *nāvicula* 'small ship' (Afran.+), *nāviculārius* 'ship-owner' (Varro+), *nāvālis* 'of a ship, naval' (Pl.+), *nāvigāre* 'to go by ship, sail' (Pl.+), *nāvigium* 'vessel, boat' (Lucr.+); *naufragus* 'shipwrecked' (Varro+), *naufragium* 'shipwreck' (Pac.+), *nāviger* 'navigable' (Lucr.+).
PIt. *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/nawœ* 'boat' < IIr. *naHu-*, Skt. *nāvyà-*, YAv. *nāuu(a)iia-*, OP *nāviyā* [adj.f.] 'to be crossed only by boat' < IIr. *naHu-iHa-*; Gr. ναῦς, Ion. νηῦς, 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 *nāwV-, 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 148f., EM 431f., IEW 755f., Schrijver 1991: 269, Sihler 1995: 340, LIV *(s)neh₂-. → *nō*

ne- 'not, un-' [pref.] (Foruminscr.+)

Derivatives: *nōn* 'not' (Naev.+; Pl. *noenum*, Lucil. *noenu*); *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. *ná* 'not', *naca* 'and not', Lith. *nè*, Latv. *ne*, OCS *ne* 'not', Go. *ni* 'not' < *ne, *nih* '(strongly) not' < *ne-kʷe.

Neque < *ne-kʷe 'and not', *nōn* < *ne-oinom '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-oino- > *nōino- > 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*.

Bibl.: WH II: 152, 174f., EM 432f., 439, IEW 756-758, Leumann 1977: 67, Untermann 2000: 494. → *in-, nē, nī*

-ne 'then? or, whether' [ptcle.] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: Is sometimes apocopated to *-n*: *ain, satin, viden, audīn*.

PIt. *-ne.

PIE *-ne. IE cognates: Skt. *ná* 'as, like', Av. *yaϑ-na* 'namely', Gr. Thess. ὄνε, τόνε, τάνε, OLith. *ne* 'as', Lith. *nè, nègi, nègu* 'than' (after comp.), *néi* 'as', Latv. *ne* 'than'; OCS, SCr. *neže* 'than' < *ne-g(ʷ)ʰe.

May ultimately be the same word as PIE *ne 'not'. The scepticism towards this view uttered in WH and EM is excessive.

Bibl.: WH II: 150, EM 434, IEW 319-231, Beekes 1995: 222.

nē 'not, that not' [ptcle., cj.] (Duenos inscr., Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *neu, nēve* 'nor, and not' (Pl.+).

PIt. *nē. It. cognates: O. *ni*, Marr. *ni*, Hern. **ni**, O. **neip, nip, nep**, U. **ne**, *neip* 'not' < *nē, *nē-kʷe; Marr. *nipis* [nom.sg.], O. *ne.phim* [acc.sg.] 'nobody' < *nē *kʷis.

PIE *nḗ. IE cognates: OIr. *nó*, W. *neu*, OBret. *nou* 'or' < *ne-u̯e; Skt. *návā* 'or not', Av. *nauuā*.

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 PIt. *nē-we* can be compared with Celtic *ne-u̯e* < PIE *ne-u̯e*, it appears that Latin has introduced the variant *nē* into original *ne-we*. This, in turn, suggests that *nē* is a stressed variant of *ne*, rather than a continuation of *meh₁*.

Bibl.: WH II: 150, 165, EM 432f., IEW 756-758, Schrijver 1991: 121f., van der Staaij 1995: 38, Untermann 2000: 494f., 498, 504. → *ne-, nī*

nebula 'mist, fog' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)
   Derivatives: *nebulōsus* 'foggy' (Cato+), *nebulō* 'worthless person, scoundrel' (Ter.+). PIt. *nefelā-*.
   PIE *nebʰ-e-lo-* 'small cloud'. IE cognates: MW *nyfel* 'clouds', Gr. νεφέλη 'cloud', OIc. *nifl* 'darkness, haze', *njól* 'night', OHG *nebul*, OS *nebal* 'darkness, haze'.
   Bibl.: WH II: 151, EM 434, IEW 315, Meiser 1998: 103, LIV 1.*nebʰ-. → *imber, nimbus*

nectō, -ere 'to weave, twine together' [v. III; pf. *nex(u)ī*, 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 *nōdus* 'knot', and may be connected with Skt. *náhyanti* 'to bind together', *sám-naddha-* 'bound together' (RV+), *upānáh-* [f.] 'shoe, sandal', YAv. *naska-* 'collection of texts', *naδa-* 'headgear' < IIr. *Hnadʰ-*. This remains a remote possibility since there is no evidence for *-dʰ-* in Latin. An alternatively etymology would be to connect *nectō* with the root *h₂nḱ-* 'to reach' (see s.v. *nancīscor*), for which LIV reconstructs a root aorist *h₂neḱ-*.
   Bibl.: WH II: 155f., EM 435, IEW 758f. → *flectō, plectō*

nefrōnēs, nefrundinēs 'kidneys, testicles' [m.pl. *n(d)*] (Paul. *ex F.*)
   Derivatives: *nefrundinēs, nebrundinēs* (Lānuvīnī), *nefrōnēs* (in Praeneste); Paul. *ex F. nefrendēs* is probably due to confusion with *nefrēns* 'toothless'.
   PIt. *neχʷron-*.
   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: *nefron(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' < *dʰegʷʰ-ri-*, the cluster *-gʷʰr-* > PIt. *-χʷr-* 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 156, EM 436, IEW 319, Leumann 1977: 166.

nem- 'of course, certainly' [ptcle.] (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*.

Bibl.: WH II: 158, EM 437, IEW 320, Beekes 1995: 202. → *nam*

nemus, -oris 'wood, forest' [n. *r*] (Enn.+)

Plt. **nem-os-*.

PIE **nem-o/es-* [n.] 'what is distributed, sacrifice'. IE cognates: OIr. *nemed* 'sanctuary, holy place', MBret. *neved* 'sacellum', W. Bret. *nant* 'vallis', Skt. *námas-* [n.] 'worship, honour', Av. *nəmah-* 'homage; interest on a loan', Gr. νέμος 'forest', Gal. νεμητον 'holy place', Alb. *nëmë* 'curse, imprecation', ORu. (Novg.) *namъ* 'interest'.

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-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 158f., EM 437, IEW 764, Benveniste 1931: 79ff, EWAia II: 16, Sylvain Patri 2001, Stüber 2002: 132f., LIV 1.*nem-. → *numerus*

neō 'to spin' [v. II; pf. *nēvī*, ppp. *nētum*] (Pl.+)

Plt. **(s)nē(ie)-*.

PIE **(s)neb₁-/*(s)nh₁-* [pr.] 'to spin'. IE cognates: Mir. *sniid, -sni* 'spins, restores', W. *nyddu*, MCo. *nedha*, MBret. *nezaff* 'to spin' < PCl. **snije/o-*; Gr. 3s. νῇ, 3p. νῶσι, ipf. ἔννη (Aeol.), inf. νῆν 'to spin', beside νήθω; 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 **-ie/o-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 159f., EM 437, IEW 973, Schrijver 1991: 403, Schumacher 2004: 598f., LIV **sneh₁-*. → *natrix, nervus*

nepōs, -ōtis 'grandson, -daughter; descendant; playboy' [m. (f.) *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *nepōtulus* 'grandson' (Pl.), *neptis, -is* [f.] 'granddaughter, female descendant' (Afran.+).

Plt. **nepōt-* [m.], **neptī-* [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.: OIr. *nía*, gen. *niad* 'cousin', W. *nei*, *nai* 'cousin', Skt. *nápāt* [nom.sg.], *nápātam* [acc.sg.], *náptuḥ* [gen.abl.sg.] 'descendant, grandson', OAv. *nafšu* [loc.pl.m.] (< PIIr. *napt-su*), YAv. *napā*, *napāsa (t-)* [nom.sg.], *napātam* [acc.sg.], *naptāram* [acc.sg.] *nafaðrō* [gen.sg.] (< *naptras*), OP *napā* 'grandson' < IIr. *nápāt-*; Alb. *nip* 'grandson, nephew'; OLith. *nepuotis* 'grandson, granddaughter', *neptis* 'grandson' [m.], OE *nefa*, OHG *nevo* 'nephew' (2) f.: OIr. *necht* 'niece'; Skt. *naptī̆-* 'daughter, granddaughter', YAv. *napti* [f.] 'granddaughter' < IIr. *(H)napt-iH-*, Alb. *mbesë* 'niece', OLith. *neptė* 'granddaughter', RuCS *nestera* 'niece', OHG *nift(a)* 'niece'; (3) adj.: Skt. *naptríya-* 'belonging to the grandson', OAv. *naptiia-* 'belonging to the offspring?', YAv. *nauua.naptiia-* [n.] 'the kinsmen of the nine degrees of kinship of a family'; Gr. ἀνεψιός 'cousin, son of sister', CS ORu. *netii* 'nephew', SCr. *nèćāk* '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 -*īk*-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. ἀνεψιός.

Bibl.: WH II: 161, EM 437f., IEW 764, Schrijver 1991: 21, 150-153, 363-366, Meiser 1998: 142.

Neptūnus 'Neptune; the sea' [m. *o*] (Naev.+)
  Derivatives: *Neptūnālia, -ōrum* [n.pl.] 'the festival of Neptune' (Varro+).
  PIt. *neptūno-?*
  PIE *nebʰ-tu-* 'moisture'? IE cognates: YAv. *napta-* [adj.] 'moist', *aiβi.naptīm* [absol.] 'moistening'.

Rix 1981: 123 (= 2001: 291) supports the derivation from an abstract *nebʰ-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 *nebʰtuhₗ-n-* 'who is with moisture' in the vein of Nussbaum 1996. The Etruscan form *Neθuns* 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 I.*nebʰ-. → *nimbus*

Nerō 'Nero' [m. *n*] (Liv.+)
  Derivatives: *Neriō / Neria / Nerienis* 'Roman goddess, wife of Mars' (Pl.+), *neriōsus* 'strong, resistant' (gloss.); Suet. *nero* 'lingua Sabina fortis ac strenuus', Lydus (*de mensibus*): νερίκη – ἀνδρία, νέρωνας – ἀνδρείους ... οἱ Σαβῖνοι; Suet. *nerio* 'Sabinum verbum est eoque significatur virtus et fortitudo'.

  PIt. *nēr*, *ner-* 'man', *ner-o- / -ōn-* 'strong'. It. cognates: O. niir, SPic. nir [nom.sg.], O. ner(eís) [gen.sg.], ner. [acc.sg. or gen.pl.?], nerum [gen.pl.], U. nerf, SPic. nerf [acc.pl.], U. nerus [dat.pl.] 'man'.

  PIE *h₂nēr [nom.sg.], *h₂ner-, *h₂nr- 'man'. IE cognates: W. *ner* 'hero', CLuw. *annara/i-* 'virile', Skt. *nar-* 'man, hero' (*náram* [acc.sg.], *náras* [nom.pl.], *nṛ́n*

[acc.pl.]), Av. *nar-* (OAv. *nā* [nom.sg.], *narām* [acc.sg.], *narəš* [gen.sg.]), Gr. ἀνήρ, NPhryg. αναρ, Arm. *ayr*.

If derived from PIE *h₂ner- 'man', the PN *Nerō* originally meant 'the manly, strong one'. Sab. */nēr/* 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 164, EM 438f., IEW 765, Schrijver 1991: 21, Untermann 2000: 495-497, Kloekhorst 2008: 386f.

nervus 'sinew, muscle, nerve' [m. *o*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *nerviae* [f.pl.] 'strings of a musical instrument' (Varro+), *nervia, -ōrum* [n.pl.] 'sinews or tendons' (Varro+), *Nervolāria* title of a lost play ascribed to Plautus (Varro+).

Plt. **(s)nēuro-*.

PIE *snéh₁-ur [nom.acc.], *snh₁-uén- [obl.] [n.] 'sinew'. IE cognates: Skt. *snāvan* [n.] 'sinew', YAv. *snāuuarə.bāzura-* [adj.] 'having arms like sinews', Gr. νεῦρον [n.], νευρά [f.] 'string, sinew'; Arm. *neard* 'sinew'; ToB *ṣñaura* [pl.] 'sinews'. Hit. *išhunauṷar* is a ghost word, see Kloekhorst 2008: 396.

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)neh₁ur*.

Bibl.: WH II: 165, EM 439, IEW 977, Schrijver 1991: 269, LIV *sneh₁-. → *natrix*, *neō*

O. **nessimas** [nom.pl.f.], **nessimass** [acc.pl.f.], *nesimum* [gen.pl.n.], *nesimois* [abl.pl.n.], U. *nesimei* [loc.sg.n.] 'next'.

Plt. **ness-* 'next'

PIE *nesd-is- 'nearer'? IE cognates: OIr. *nessa* [comp.], OW *nes*, MCo. *nes*, MBret. *nes* 'nearer', Bret. *nes* 'near' < PCl. **nessa-* (<< **nedda-*, Jasanoff 1988-90: 185); Gaul. *neDDamon* [gen.pl.], OIr. *nessam* 'nearest, next', W. *nessaf*, OCo. *nesheuin*, Co. *nessa*, Bret. *nessaff* 'nearer' < PCl. **nessamo-* (< **nezd-isamo-*? Jasanoff 1988-90: 172); Skt. *nédīyas-* 'closer, very close', *nédiṣṭha-* 'closest, next', Av. *asna-* [adj.] 'close' (< **nzd-no-*), YAv. *nazdiiō* [adv.] 'closer', *nazdišta-* 'closest, next', OP *ašna-* [adj.] 'close'.

Since the Ilr. forms in **n(e)zd-* are the closest in form and meaning, it seems preferable to derive *nessimo-* 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-mo-* or **-iH-mo-*, but refrains from a further explanation.

Bibl.: IEW 758f., Meiser 1986: 242, van der Staaij 1995: 106, Untermann 2000: 493.

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.+), *ēni/ecāre* (ppp. *ēnectus*) 'to kill' (Pl.+),

internecāre 'to exterminate' (Pl.+), *interneciō* 'extermination' (Lucil.+), *perniciēs* 'destruction, ruin' (Pl.+).

PIt. **nek-*. It. cognates: maybe U. *ŋinctu* [3s.ipv.II] '?' (prayer for hurting the opponent).

PIE **neḱ-s* [f.] 'death'. IE cognates: Skt. *nāśyati* [3s.act.] 'to perish, disappear', aor. *néśat* [3s.inj.act.], pf. *nanāśa* [3s.act.], ppp. *naṣṭá-*, OAv. *anqṣaṭ* [3s.aor.act.], *nqṣaṭ* [3s.aor.inj.act.] 'to disappear', Av. *nasiia-* 'to stray from', *našta-* 'having missed', Av. *nas-* 'distress, misfortune', *nasu-* 'corpse', Gr. νεκρός [m.] 'body, dead person', νέκυς 'corpse'; Toch. *nāk-* 'to ruin'.

The meaning of *nex* 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 **neḱ-u-*. The ppp. *ē-nectus* could imply that *necāre* arose in compound verbs, esp. *ē-necāre*, and substitutes an earlier verb **necere*. But *necāre* could also be denominal in origin. For *perniciēs*, see *permitiēs*.

Bibl.: WH I: 339, II: 153-155, EM 439f., IEW 762, Sihler 1995: 532, Untermann 2000: 497f., LIV **neḱ-*. → *noceō*, *permitiēs*

nī '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.+).

PIt. **nei*. It. cognates: O. *nei* 'except' < **ne* + *ī*; O. **neip**, *neip, nei*, U. **neip**, *neip* 'not' maybe < **ne-ī-kʷid* 'nothing'.

PIE **nei*. IE cognates: OAv. *naē-* 'not' in Av. *naē-čiš* 'none', OP *naiy, nai-* 'not', Lith. *neĩ* 'nor, than', OCS *ni*, Ru. *ni* 'and not, nor', Go. *nei* 'not', OHG *nī*.

A combination of *ne* 'not' and a deictic particle **-i*.

Bibl.: WH II: 166, EM 433, IEW 756-758, Beekes 1995: 222, Untermann 2000: 489.

nīdor 'strong smell, fumes' [m. *r*] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: *nīdōricupius* 'who loves the smell of cooking' (Pl.+).

PIt. **knei/īd-os-*.

PIE **knei(H)d-os-* 'itch'? IE cognates: Gr. Att. κνῖσα, Hom κνίση 'smell, fume', Gr. κνίδη 'nettle' < **knīd-*, κνίζω 'scratch, irritate (skin)' < **knid-i̯e-*, Latv. *kniest* 'to itch', Lith. *kniedénti* 'to clinch', OIc. *hniss* (< **knid-to*) 'cooking odour', OE *hnītan* 'to sting', OIc. *hnita* 'strong odour', OIc. *knita* 'wound'.

Under the assumption that Gr. κνῖσ- continues **knīds-*, 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 **knīd-* and **knid-* in κνίζω.

Bibl.: WH II: 166, EM 441, IEW 562f., Meiser 1998: 112, LIV **kneid-*. → *lēns*

nīdus 'nest' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *nīdāmenta, -ōrum* [n.pl.] 'nesting materials' (Pl.), *nīdulārī* 'to build a nest' (Varro apud Non.+).

PIt. *nizdo-.

PIE *nisdo- 'nest'. IE cognates: MIr. *net*, W. *nyth* 'nest, dwelling', Skt. *nīḍā-* [m.] 'nest, lair', Arm. *nist* 'residence, settlement', Lith. *lizdas*, Latv. *ligzds* 'nest', OCS *gnězdo*, Ru. *gnezdó*, SCr. *gnijèzdo* '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, sīdō*

niger 'black, dark' [adj. o/ā] (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.+), *nigricolus* 'a little dark' (Varro); *dēnigrāre* '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.).

PIt. *nefos-?

PIE *nébʰ-os [n.], gen. -és-os 'cloud'. IE cognates: Hit. *nēpiš* [n. > c.], CLuw. *tappaš-* [n.], HLuw. *tipas-*[n.] 'sky, heaven', Skt. *nábhah* [n.] 'cloud, sky', Av. *nabah-* 'sky', Gr. νέφος [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)bʰ-. One might explain the -m- in *nimbus* by assuming that *nimbus* continues *nebʰ-os-* but was reshaped under the influence of *imber*, which has a similar meaning to *nimbus*. This is possible, but gratuitous.

Bibl.: WH II: 168f., EM 441, IEW 315f., Meiser 1998: 81. → *imber, nebula*

nimis 'too much' [adv.] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *nimium/s* [adj.] 'excessive, too much' (Naev.+).

PIt. *ne *meïjis (or *ne *mīs) 'not too little, quite a lot'.

PIE *m(e)ih₁-is- 'less'. IE cognates: see s.v. *minor*.

Nimius must be a recent adjectivization of *nimis*. In the account of Meiser 1998, *nimis* < *nimīs (iambic shortening) continues *ne meis 'not too little', with adverbial *meiH-is of the adj. *meihᵢ- '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.+; *nīvit* 'it snows' Pac.)

Derivatives: *nix, nivis* [f.] 'snow' (Pl.+), *ninguis* [f.] 'snow' (Lucr.+), *niveus* 'of snow, snow-white' (Naev.+).

PIt. *sneiwe/o- 'to snow' [pr.], *sningʷ-- 'to snow', *sn(e)iw- 'snow' [m.].

PIE pr. *sneigʷʰ-e/o- 'to snow', *sn(e)igʷʰ- [m.] 'snow'. IE cognates: OIr. *snigid,*

·*snig* 'to snow' < *snigʷe/o-* or *snigie/o-*, OIr. *snechtae*, MW *nyf* [m.] 'snow', Skt. aor. *asnihat* [3s.act.], caus. *snehdyat* (RV) [3s.act.] 'to lie down; lay down', YAv. *snaēžana-* [adj.] 'slavering', *snaēža-* 'to snow' (IIr. *snaiǰʰ-ja-*), Sogd. *šnyš-*, Gr. νείφει 'it is snowing', νίφα [acc.sg.], Lith. *sniñga* 'it snows', *isnaigas* 'snow', Latv. *sniegs*, OCS *snégъ*, Go. *snaiws*, OHG *snēo* 'snow'.

Lat. *nix* < nom. *sniks*, gen. *nivis* < gen. *sniχʷos*. The nasal present is probably secondary.
Bibl.: WH II: 169f., EM 442, IEW 974, Meiser 1998: 104, 125, Sihler 1995: 163; Schumacher 2004: 597f., LIV *sneigʰ-*.

nītēlā 'kind of rodent' [f. *ā*] (Plin.+)
Derivatives: *nītēdula* '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 *nītēla* 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.

niteō 'to be radiant, shine' [v. II; pf. *nituī*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *nitor* [m.] 'brightness, elegance' (Pl.+), *nitidus* 'bright, elegant' (Pl.+), *nitidāre* 'to make bright' (Enn.+), *nitidiusculus* 'a little bit more shiny' (Pl.), *nitiditās* 'elegance' (Acc.), *nitēscere* 'to become bright' (Enn.+); *ēnitēre* 'to shine forth' (Acc.+).

The Latin words are easiest understood as building on a ppp. *nitos* '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 *neit-*, *noit-*, *nit-*. The appurtenance of Skt. *nīla-* 'dark-coloured' < *nei(H)-?* is very uncertain.
Bibl.: WH II: 171, EM 442, IEW 760. → *renīdeō*

nītor, -ī 'to lean on, support oneself; strive, strain' [v. III; ppp. *nīxus, nīsus*; Paul. *ex F. gnitor, gnixum*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *nīsus, -ūs* 'advance, pressure' (Pac.+), *nixārī* 'to support oneself' (Lucr.+), *nixus, -ūs* 'straining, travail' (Lucr.+); *adnītī* 'to exert oneself, lean' (Pl.+), *conītī* 'to strain, strive' (Pl.+), *ēnītī* 'to struggle out, give birth' (Pl.+), *ēnīxim* 'strenuously' (Sis.), *obnītī* 'to thrust, make a stand' (Enn.+), *obnīxe* 'strenuously' (Pl.+), *subnīxus* 'propped up, assisted' (Pl.+).
Plt. *kniχʷ-et-* [pr.], *kniχʷ-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 *nictus*, 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, *gn-* 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)ig^{wh}-e-t-; but the origin of *-t-* remains unclear.

Bibl.: WH II: 171, EM 442, IEW 608, Sihler 1995: 163, 208, LIV *ǐet-. → *cōnīveō*

nō, 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.+).

PIt. *(s)nāje/o-* 'to swim', *(s)nato-* 'bathed'. It. cognates: ? U. **snata, snatu** [acc.pl.n.], **snates, snate** [abl.pl.n.] 'cleansed', **asnata, asnatu** [acc.pl.n.], **asnates, asnate** [abl.pl.n.] 'uncleansed'?

PIE pr. *(s)neh₂-(ie/o-)* 'to swim, float', ppp. *(s)nh₂-to-*. IE cognates: OIr. *snaíd*, *-sná** 'to swim' < PCl. *snā(-ie/o)-*, Skt. pr. *snātas* [3d.act.], *snāti-* [ptc.act.f.], caus. *snāpáya-*, ta-ptc. *snātá-* 'to bathe, wash', YAv. *us...snaiia-* 'to wash out', *fra-snaiia-* 'to wash clean', *fra-snāta-* 'washed', *usnāiti-* [f.] 'washing off', Gr. νήχω, Dor. νάχω 'to swim', Gr. νέω, ipf. ἔννεον, aor. νεῦσαι 'to swim' < *snā-*; ToB *nāsk-* 'to bathe'.

Natāre was built to a ppp. *nātos*. 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 *-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.

Bibl.: WH II: 146f., 172, EM 442f., IEW 971f., Schrijver 1991: 168f., 403, Sihler 1995: 529, Meiser 1998: 112, Untermann 2000: 687f., Schumacher 2004: 596, LIV *(s)neh₂-. → *nāvis*

noceō 'to hurt, damage' [v. II; pf. *nocuī*, ppp. *nocitum*; s-sb. *noxit* (Lex XII, Lucil.)] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *innocēns* 'not guilty, virtuous' (Naev.+), *innocentia* 'innocence' (Caecil.+); *noxa* '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.+), *obnoxiōsus* 'subject, subordinate' (Pl.+).

PIt. *nokeje-* 'to cause death'.

PIE *nok-eie-* 'to make disappear, cause death'. IE cognates: Skt. *nāśáya-* 'to make disappear, destroy', OP *vināϑayatiy* [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*

nōdus 'knot, node' [m. *o*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *nōdāre* 'to furnish with joints, tie in a knot' (Cato+); *ēnōdāre* 'to prune surplus nodes from, unravel' (Cato+), *inēnōdābilis* 'that cannot be disentangled' (Acc.+), *internōdium* 'internode' (Varro+).

PIE *nōdo- / *noHdo- / *neh₃do- 'knot'. IE cognates: OIc. *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.+), *nōminitāre* 'to call' (Lucr.+), *nōminālis* 'of nouns' (Varro), *nōminātim* '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.+), *praenōmen* 'personal name' (Varro+), *praenōmināre* 'to name with the prenomen' (Varro), *prōnōmen* 'pronoun' (Varro+); *nuncupāre* 'to declare, pronounce, appoint' (Lex XII+).

Plt. *nōm-n-. It. cognates: O. **numneís** [gen.sg.], **num(nud)** [abl.sg.], U. **numem**, *nome* [nom.acc.sg.], *nomner* [gen.sg.], *nomne* [dat.sg.], *nomne* [abl.sg.], *nomneper* [+ -*per*] 'name' [n.].

PIE *h₃neh₃-mn, *h₃nh₃-men- [n.] 'name'. IE cognates: OIr. *ainm* (pl. *anmann*) , OW *anu* 'name', Hit. *lāman- / lamn-* [n.], HLuw. *álaman-* [n.], Lyc. *alāman-* 'name', Skt. *nā́man-*, Av. *nāman-* [n.], *nāma, nāmā* [adv.] 'named, by name', Gr. ὄνομα 'name', νώνυμ(ν)ος 'without a name', Phryg. *onoman*, Arm. *anown*, Alb. *emër* (< *emēn*); ToA *ñom*, ToB *ñem*, OPr. *emmens*, OCS *imę* [n.] < BSl. *in?men-, Go. *namo*, OE *nama*, OIc. *nafn*.

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 > *nōmcupāre > *nomcupāre > *nuncupāre*. The reconstruction of the root is disputed. Originally, PIE *(H)nom- was posited, thus still by Sihler. Yet this does not explain Latin and Germanic unless by an unmotivated ō-grade. Thus, the root structure was *HnH-. 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. *hanna-ⁱ / hann-* 'to judge, sue' (< *h₃ne-h₃noh₃-) and Gr. ὄνομαι '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 'Ενυμα-κρατίδας and 'Ενυμαντιάδας 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*.

Bibl.: WH II: 173f., EM 443f., 451, IEW 321, Leumann 1977: 371, Schrijver 1991:

24, Beekes 1987a, Sihler 1995: 85, 97, Stüber 1997, Untermann 2000: 500f., LIV
*h₂neh₃-.

nonnus 'monk, nun' [m. f. *o, ā*] (Ecclesiastical Lat.)

PIE *nVnV. IE cognates: W. *nain* 'grandmother', Skt. *nanā́*, MoP *nana* 'mother',
Gr. νάννας [m./f.] 'uncle, aunt', νέννος 'uncle', Alb. *nёnё* 'mother', Ru. *njánja* 'child
maid' (dial. also 'older sister'), Bulg. *neni* 'the elder'.

Nursery word meaning 'daddy, nanny', reduplication of dental nasal plus (mostly) /a/.
   Bibl.: WH II: 175, EM 444, IEW 754. → *anus, mamma*

nōs 'we' [pron. pers. 1p.] (Naev.+; nom.acc. *nōs*, dat.abl. *nōbīs*; gen. *nostrum, nostrī*;
nostrōrum [m.], *nostrārum* [f.])

Derivatives: *noster* 'our' (Andr.+), *nostrās, -tis* 'native, of our country' (Cato+),
nostrātim 'in our manner' (Varro).

PIt. *nōs* 'we, us', *nōfei* 'us', *nos-tero-* 'our'.

PIE acc. *nōs, gen. *no/es, adj.poss. *ns-tero-? IE cognates: OIr. *sní* 'we' (<
*snēs? *snoi?), -*nn* 'us' < *(s)nos?, *náthar* 'ours' < *nōstrom, ar *n-* < *nstrom; Hit.
anz- 'us' [acc. *an-za-as* (OS), *an-za-a-as*, gen.sg. *an-ze-el* (OS)], Luw. *ānza* 'we, us',
HLuw. *anz-* 'we, us' < PIE *ns-V, enclitic Hit. *=nnas* '(to) us, our', HLuw. =*nz* 'us' <
*-nos; Skt. *nās* [acc.], *nas* [gen.dat.] 'us', OAv. *nå* [acc.] < *nās, nə̄* [gen.dat.] < *nas,
YAv. *nō* [acc.gen.dat.] < *nās; Av. *ahma* 'us' < *ns-me; Gr. nom. ἡμεῖς, acc. ἡμᾶς,
Ion. ἡμέας, Dor. nom. ᾱμές; acc. ᾱμέ, Aeol. nom. ἄμμες, acc. ἄμμε < PGr. *ασμε <
PIE *ns-me; Alb. *na* < *nōs; OCS nom.pl. *my, ny*, gen.pl. *nasъ*, Go. *uns* < *ns-, ToA
nās.

The original nom. *uei(s) was replaced by the stressed acc. form *nōs, apparently
already in PIt. 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.
   Bibl.: WH II: 175f., EM 444f., IEW 758, Leumann 1977: 463f., Schrijver 1991: 122,
Sihler 1995: 381, Beekes 1995: 208f., Meiser 1998: 158.

nōscō, -ere 'to get to know' [v. III; pf. *nōvī*, ppp. *nōtum*] (VOLat.+; SCBac. *gnoscier*,
Pl., Caecil. also *gn-*)

Derivatives: *īgnōtus* 'ignorant; unknown' (Naev.+); *nōscitāre* 'to investigate,
recognize' (Pl.+); *nōtiō* 'acquaintance, examination' (Pl.+), *nōtitia / nōtitiēs*
'acquaintance, knowledge' (Ter.+; -*iēs* Lucr.+), *(g)nōbilis* 'familiar, famous, noble'
(Andr.+), *nōbilitās* 'renown, nobility' (Pl.+), *nōbilitāre* 'to make noted' (Ter.+),
ignōbilis 'unknown; of low birth' (Andr.+), *ignōbilitās* 'humble origin; obscurity'
(Lucil.+); *agnōscere* 'to recognize, acknowledge' (Pl.+), *cognōscere* 'to get to know'
(Pl.+), *cognōbilis* 'understandable' (Cato+), *cognitus* 'known (from experience)'
(Pac.+), *incognitus* 'unheard, uninvestigated' (Cic.+), *īgnōscere* 'to forgive' (Pl.+),
internōscere 'to know apart' (Pl.+), *pernōscere* 'to get to know well' (Pl.+).

PIt. *gnāske- / *gnōske-.

PIE pr. *ǵnh₃-sḱé-, aor. *ǵnéh₃-/ǵnh₃- 'to know', pf. *ǵe-ǵnóh₃/ǵnh₃-; ppp.

ǵnh₃-to-. IE cognates: OIr. ad·gnin 'to recognize' < *ati-gni-na-, W. atnabot (3s. atwaen) , Co. aswonvos 'to know' (3s. aswon) < *ati-wo-gn-; Hit. kane/išš-ᶻⁱ 'to recognize, acknowledge' < *ǵnh₃-s-;ₐSkt. pr. jānā́ti, pf. jajñivā́ṃs-, jānúṣ- [ptc.], aor. ájñāyi 'to know, recognize', ppp. á-jñāta- 'unknown', jñātá- 'known, recognized'; YAv. paiti.zana- 'to acknowledge, comprehend', žnā́tar- [m.] 'knower', žnōišta- 'who knows the best'; OP dān- [ipf.], xšnāsa- [pr.sb.] 'to learn, know', Khot. paysān- 'to recognize'; Gr. γιγνώσκω 'id.', aor. ἔγνων, ppp. -γνωτός 'known', often γνωστός; γνώμων 'knower', γνῶσις 'inquiry, knowledge'; Arm. čanač'em < *ǵnH₃-sk-i̯- (assimilated from *canač'em), Alb. njoh, 23s.pr. njeh < *gnV-sk-, Lith. žinóti 'to know', OPr. posinnat, Latv. zinât 'to confess'; OCS znati, 1s. znajǫ, Ru. znat' 'to know'; Go. kunnan, OHG kunnan 'to know, be able'; ToA āknats, ToB aknātsa 'foolish, stupid; fool' < PTo. *āknātsā- < *n̥-ǵneh₃-to-.

Originally, gnōscere meant 'to get to know', and nōvī 'to know'. The adj. gnōbilis is explained by Leumann 1977 as a backformation to ignōbilis, a negated derivative of *gnō-bulum 'landmark, recognition sign'. The verb īgnōscere contains the preverb *en- 'in'. By regular sound change, the pr. *ǵnh₃-ské- and the adj. *ǵnh₃-to- would have become *gnāscō, *gnātus, 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': *ǵneh₃-ské- > gnōscō, *ǵneh₃-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 *-ǵnh₃-to-. Schrijver concludes that it may reflect *-genotos < *-ǵnh₃-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, *-ǵnh₃-eto- 'which is to be known' > *-genoto-. The second one, proposed by Schrijver loc.cit., starts from a PIE t-stem *-ǵneh₃-t-, found in compounds such as Gr. αγνώς, ἀριγνώς, ἀλλογνώς, the acc.sg. of which would be *-ǵnh₃-et-m. By means of thematization, this stem would have yielded an adj. *-ǵnh₃-et-o-.

Bibl.: WH I: 677, II: 176f., EM 445f., IEW 376ff., Leumann 1977: 349, Schrijver 1991: 147, 184, 199ff., Meiser 1998: 78f., Schumacher 2004: 347-349, LIV *ǵneh₃-. → gnārus, ignōrō, nōmen, nota

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 *ǵnh₃- 'to know' or from the root of Gr. aor. ὀνόσ(σ)ασθαι '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 *sent-.

novācula 'razor' [f. ā] (Cic.+)
PIt. *(ks)nowātlo-.

PIE *ks-n(e)-u- [pr.] 'to scrape'. IE cognates: Skt. *áva kṣṇaumi* [pr.], *kṣṇuvāná-* [ptc.med.] 'to whet, sharpen', *°kṣṇút-* [adj.] '-sharpened', *kṣṇótra-* [n.] 'whetstone'; *kṣurá-* 'razor, sharp knife'; OAv. *xšnāuš* [3s.aor.act.], *xšnəuuīšā* [2s.pr./aor.opt.med.] 'to hear', YAv. *hu-xšnuta-* 'well-sharpened', OP *ā-xšnauvaiy/ā-xšnūmiy.* 'I hear', *ā-xšnūdiy* 'hear!'.

Instrument noun **sneu̯āklo-* < **ksneu̯āklo-* based on a verb stem **(ks)neu̯ā-*, which is itself derived from a PIE stem **ksneu-* 'to scrape (so as to make smooth), sharpen'. The retention of *-ov-* proves PIE **-eu̯V-* rather than **-ou̯V-*, which would have yielded **-aw-* (at least, in pretonic position). Vine (2006: 214-216) posits an original deverbal adj. **ksnéu̯-o-* '(scraped) smooth' whence a factitive 'to make smooth' or denominative present **ksneu-ehₓ-ie/o-* would have been formed in Italic. In view of the meaning, IIr. 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 **k̑es-* 'to cut off' (Lat. *castrāre, careō*). The latter two roots may in origin be identical.

Bibl.: WH II: 178, EM 446, IEW 585f., Schrijver 1991: 449, Meiser 1998: 112, LIV **ksneu̯-, *kseu̯-. → *saucius*

novem 'nine' [num. indecl.].(Naev.+)

Derivatives: *november, -bris,*[adj.] 'the ninth month' (Cato+), *novēnārius* 'ninefold' (Varro+), *novēnī* [pl.adj.] 'nine each, nine at a time*,* (Varro+), *noviē(n)s* [adv.] 'nine times' (Varro+); *nōnus* 'ninth' (Cato+), *Nōnae* [f.pl.] 'the ninth day before the Ides' (Enn.+), *nōnālis* 'of the Nones' (Varro), *nōnāgintā* 'ninety' (Varro+), *nōnāgēsimus* 'ninetieth' (Varro+), *nōnussis* 'the sum of nine *asses*' (Varro+); *nūndinae* [f.pl.] 'market day (held every ninth day)' (Lex XII+), *nūndinālis* 'of market-days' (Pl.+), *internūndinum* (Lucil.+) 'period of nine days'.

PIt. **newn̥* 'nine'.

PIE **h₁neun̥* 'nine', **h₁neun-o-* 'ninth'. IE cognates: OIr. *nói n-*, W. Co. *naw*, Skt. *náva*, Av. *nauua*, Gr. ἐννέα, Arm. *inn*, Alb. *nëndë*, Lith. *devynì*, OCS *devętъ*, Go. OHG *niun*, Toch. *ñu* 'nine'.

Nūndino- goes back to **noweno-dino-* 'of the ninth day', with **di-n-* 'day' (cf. *diēs*). *Internūndinum* must be explained as an univerbation of *inter nūndinās* 'between market-days' (Risch 1985: 333). The existence of a sg. *nūndinum* 'the period from one market day to the next' (SCBac.+; *nound-* SCBac.) has been refuted by Risch 1985, who shows that all old attestations of *trīnum nūndinum* (in laws, in Cicero) 'period comprising three market-days' must be understood as gen. of pl. *nūndinae*. In *nōnus* 'ninth', **-owe-* was restored after regular syncope of **noweno- > *nouno-* 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 *nōnus*.

Bibl.: WH II: 179f., 188, EM 446f., IEW 318f., Schrijver 1991: 17, 275, 278-281, Meiser 1998: 172, van der Staaij 1995: 111, Coleman 1992: 396, 412f.

novus 'new' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *dēnuō* [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.+), *novīcius* 'newly imported, recently discovered' (Pl.+); *renovāre* 'to restore, renew' (Acc.+); *novēnsidēs* 'title of an obscure set of deities' (Varro+).

Plt. **nowo-*, **nowjo-*. It. cognates: U. **nuvis** [nom.sg.], **nuvime** [acc.sg. + *-en*] 'new' < **nouio-*.

PIE **neuo-* 'new, young', **neuio-* 'new'. IE cognates: Hit. *nēu̯a-* 'new, fresh', *nēu̯ahh-ⁱ* 'to renew', CLuw. *nāu̯a/i-* 'new', Skt. *náva-*, YAv. *nauua-* 'new, young', Gr. νέος, Myc. *ne-wo*, Cypr. νεϝό-στατος 'new, young'; OCS *novъ*, Ru. *nóvyj*, ToA *ñu*, ToB *ñuwe* 'new, young' < **neuo-*; Gaul. *Nevio-*, *Novio-*, OIr. *nuë*, W. *newydd*, OBret. *nouuid*, *neuued*, Bret. *neuez*, Skt. *návya-*, Lith. *naũjas*, Go. *niujis* 'new' < **neuio-*; Gr. νεάω 'to work fallow land', νεανίας 'youth, young man' (< **neu̯ā-n-*), νεαρός 'young, fresh', νηρός 'fresh' < **neu̯a-r-*; Arm. *nor* 'new' < **neu-ro-*.

The adv. *dēnuō* goes back to abl. **dē *nowō* 'a-new' > **dēnuwō*. 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 **neur-* would yield Latin **nūr-* (or **nerv-*), and so would **neu̯Vr-*. 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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 180f., EM 447f., IEW 769, Schrijver 1991: 449, Meiser 1998: 68, Untermann 2000: 505f., Beekes 2003: 165. → *nunc, nūper*

nox 'night' [f. *t*] (abl.sg. *nocte*, gen.pl. *noctium*) (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *nox* 'by night' (Lex XII+); *noctū* 'at night' (Naev.+), *noctua* 'night bird, little owl' (Pl.+), *noctuīnus* '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.), *nocticolor* 'night-coloured' (Laev. apud Gell.), *noctilūca* 'that shines by night' (Laev.+), *noctipuga* 'the female genitals' (Lucil.), *noctivagus* 'roaming by night' (Lucr.+).

Plt. **nokʷ⁽ʷ⁾-t-*.

PIE **nógʷʰ-t-s* [nom.sg.], **négʷʰt-s* [gen.sg.] 'night'. IE cognates: OIr. *innocht* 'tonight', Hit. *neku-ᶻⁱ* 'to become night' (< **négʷʰ-ti*), *nekuz* [adv.] 'in the evening' (= gen.sg.); Skt. *nákt-* 'night' (nom.sg. *nák*, acc.sg. *náktam*) , Av. *upa.naxturušu* [adj.loc.pl.] 'bordering on the night' for *·naxtərə-?*, Waxī *nayd* 'night', Gr. νύξ (νύκτ-) 'night' (< **nokʷts*), νύκτωρ [adv.] 'at night', νύκτερος 'nightly', νυκτερίς, -ίδος [f.] 'bat', νυκτερινός 'nightly'; -νυχ- e.g. ἔν-νυχ-ος, ἐν-νύχ-ιος 'nightly, in the night', νύχιος 'nightly', νυχεύω 'to wake through the night'; Lith. *naktìs* 'night' (gen.pl. *nakt-ų̃*) , OCS *noštь* 'night'; Go. *nahts* 'night'.

The form *nox* 'at night' is regarded as the remainder of an old gen.sg. **nokʷ-t-es* (Leumann 1977: 431), but phonetically more likely is a gen.sg. **nokʷ-t-s*, as Meiser assumes. Pinault 2006a explains *nox* 'at night' from an old loc.sg. **nokʷt* > **nok*, which was remade into *nox* by analogy wih *dius* 'by day'. He also assumes that *noctū*

and *noctúrnus* presuppose a loc.sg. **nok^wt-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 **g^w* or **g^wh*) and Greek *-νυχ-*, Kloekhorst 2008: 602 reconstructs the root as **ng^wh-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 181-183, EM 448, IEW 762f., Meiser 1998: 139, Pinault 2006a: 228, LIV **neg^u-*.

nūbēs, -is 'cloud' [f. (m.) *i*] (Andr.+; *nūbs* [nom.sg.] in Andr.)

Derivatives: *nūbilus* 'cloudy, hazy, dark' (Pl.+), *nūbilāre/ī* 'to become cloudy, overcast' (Cato+), *innūbilus* 'cloudless' (Lucr.), *nūbilārium* 'shelter from the rain' (Varro+); *obnūbere* 'to veil, cover' (usually the head, but also other objects) (Varro+).

PIt. **(s)noup-(i-)*.

PIE **(s)ne/oud^h-*. IE cognates: W. *nudd* 'haze'; YAv. *snaoδa-* 'clouds', *snaoδant-* 'weeping' (vel sim.), Bal. *nod* '(rain-)cloud'.

If *nubs, -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)ne/oud^h-*. 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- + *-d^-*, to be compared with Skt. *prá-snauti* 'drips, drops', *prá-snuta-* 'releasing mother's milk', see s.v. *nūtrīx*.

Bibl.: WH II: 183, EM 448f., IEW 978, Schrijver 1991: 375.

nūbō, -ere 'to get married' [v. III; pf. *nūpsī*, ppp. *nuptum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *nuptiae* [f.pl.] 'marriage, wedding' (Pl.+), *nuptiālis* 'of a marriage or wedding' (Pl.+), *nupta* 'bride' (Pl.+), *nuptula* 'young bride' (Varro); *cōnūbium* 'intermarriage, marriage' (Lucr.+), *innuba* 'unmarried' (Varro+).

PIt. **(s)nū/ouf-e/o- / *(s)nū/oup-é/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 **-d^h* 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 **sneub^h-*.

nūdus 'naked' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *nūdāre* 'to make naked, strip' (Enn.+), *dēnūdāre* 'to lay bare, strip'

(Pac.+).

PIt. **nowo/eþo-* 'naked'.

PIE **nog*ʷs [nom.], **neg*ʷs [gen.] 'naked'; >> Lat.Gm. **nog*ʷod*ʰo-*. IE cognates: OIr. *nocht*, W. *noeth* (< **nog*ʷ*-to-*), Hit. *nekumanza*, Skt. *nagná-*, YAv. *mayna-*, Khot. *būnaa-* (< PIr.**bagnaka-*) 'naked', Gr. γυμνός (< **gog*ʷ*no-* < **nog*ʷ*no-*), Arm. *merk* (< **meg*ʷ*ro-* < **neg*ʷ*-ro-*), OPr. *nognan* 'leather', Lith. *núogas* 'naked', OCS *nagъ* 'naked' (< PIE **nog*ʷ*-o-*); Go. *naqaþs*, OE *nacod*, MoDu. *naakt* (< **nog*ʷot/dʰ-o-), OIc. *nakinn*, OFr. *naken* (< **nog*ʷ*no-*?).

The adj. can be explained via a phonetic development **nog*ʷ*oþo-* > **nowodo-* > **noodo-* > **nǫdo-* > *nūdus* (Schrijver 1991). The PIt. form is based on a PIE root adj. which acquired different extensions in different IE languages (cf. Beekes 1994).

Bibl.: WH II: 185, EM 449f., IEW 769, Schrijver 1991: 274-281, Beekes 1994: 91-94.

nūgae 'worthless things, nonsense' [f.pl. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *nūgārī* 'to speak without seriousness, tell stories' (Pl.+), *nūgātor* 'one who trifles, romancer' (Pl.+), *nūgāx* 'incompetent, farcical' (Pl.+), *nūgātōrius* [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. *nux* is quite likely. In view of the difference in vowel length (*ū* vs. *u*) and in the velar (*g* vs. *k*) between *nūgae* and *nux*, this might be a foreign loanword in Latin.

Bibl.: WH II: 185, EM 450. → *nux*

num 'I suppose, whether' [ptcle.] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *nunc* 'now' (Naev.+), *nunciam* 'here and now' (Pl.+); *nūper* [adv.] 'recently' (Pl.+), *nūperus* 'fresh' (Pl.+).

PIt. *num 'now', *nū 'now'.

PIE *nu 'now', **nu-n(-ŏ/oi)* . IE cognates: Hit. *nu* [ptcle.] 'and, but', Pal. *nu*, *nū*, Hit. *ki-nun* 'now', CLuw. *nānun* 'now', Skt. *nūnám* 'now, indeed', OAv. *nūrąm*, YAv. *nūrəm*, *nūrąm*, OP *nūram* 'now', MP *nūn* 'now', Gr. νυ, νῦν, νῡν 'now', Lith. *nū̃n*, *nūnaĩ* 'now, today', OCS *nyně*, CS *nъně*, Ru. *nýne* 'now, today', *nóne* (dial.) 'now, today', Go. *nu*, OHG *nŭ*, late MHG *nū̃n* 'now'.

Like some other languages, Latin preserves traces of the PIE adv. *nŭ (in *nūper*) and of extended **nŭ-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 *nun 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 186-188, 190, EM 450, 452, IEW 770, Leumann 1977: 401. → *-ce*, *novus*, *-per* .

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.+).

PIt. **nomeso-*.

PIE **nem-e/os-* [n.] 'apportioning, sacrifice', **nom-o-*. IE cognates: Hit. *lammar /* *lamn-* [n.] 'moment', HLuw. *lam(i)ni* 'at the time' < **nóm-r̥*, **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 thematized form of the PIE *s*-stem **nem-os* seen in *nemus*. The *o*-grade in *numerus* 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. **nomes-os* must have been reinterpreted as the new nom.acc.sg. **nomeso-s*, yielding a thematic paradigm.

Bibl.: WH II: 186f., EM 450f., IEW 763f., Meiser 1998: 83, LIV 1.*nem-. → *nemus*

nūntius 'messenger; message' [m. *o*] (Naev.+; grammarians *nountius*, CIL *nontius*)

Derivatives: *nūntiāre* 'to bring word of, deliver a message' (Pl.+), *nūntium* 'message' (Varro+); *ēnūntiāre* 'to make known, express' (Pl.+), *internūntius* 'messenger' (Pl.+), *internūntia* 'female messenger' (Pl.+), *obnūntiāre* 'to announce' (Ter.+), *praenūntius* [adj./m.] 'heralding; herald' (Lucr.+), *renūntius* 'reporter' (Pl.), *renūntiāre* 'to report, announce, renounce'.

Probably **nountio-*, 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 188f., EM 451f., IEW 767, Schrijver 1991: 275.

-nuō, -ere 'to nod' [v. III; pf. *-nūī*, ppp. *-nūtum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *nūmen* 'motion of the head, nod; divinity' (Acc.+); *abnuere* 'to refuse, deny, forbid' (Pl.+), *abnuēre* 'id.' (Enn.), *adnuere* 'to nod, permit' (Pl.+), *innuere* 'to nod, beckon' (Pl.+); *nūtāre* 'to nod with the head, bend forward, sway' (Pl.+), *nūtus, -ūs* 'nod' (Lucr.+), *abnūtāre* 'to disapprove' (Pl.+), *adnūtāre* 'to nod, assent' (Naev.+), *renūtāre* 'to refuse' (Lucr.).

PIt. **nowe/o-*.

PIE **neu-e/o-* 'to nod'. IE cognates: OIr. *as·noí** 'to promise' (< **eks-nou̯-*), *ad·nói** 'to entrust', MW *dineu*, MBret. *dinou* 'to pour forth, flow' < PCl. **neu̯e/o-*; Gr. νεύω [pr.] 'to nod, beckon' (< **neu-s-* or < **νέω* with introduction of νευ- from the aorist). Less clearly: Skt. *-nauti* [3s.act.pr.], caus. *áti-nāvayet* [3s.opt.act.] 'to move', Sogd. *nw-* 'to go slowly', *n'w-* 'to shake', MoP *navīdan/nav-* 'to shake, tremble; move (esp. when rising from a place)', Lith. *niaūsti* 'to bend'.

Nūmen and *nūtus* can have **ne/oṷ-* and *-nuō* can be from **-neṷō*. The thematic present is also found outside Italic, while the Lat. noun and the ppp. were derived from the pr.

Bibl.: WH II: 189, EM 452, IEW 767, Meiser 2003: 235, Schumacher 2004: 491, LIV **neṷ-. → *cernuus*

nurus, -ūs 'daughter-in-law' [f. *u*] (Lex Reg., Ter.+)

PIt. **snuso- >> *snusū-*.

PIE **snusó-* [f.] 'daughter-in-law'. IE cognates: Skt. *snuṣā́-*, Sogd. *šwnšh*, Oss. *nostæ*, MoP *suna, sun(h)ār* 'daughter-in-law', Gr. νυός [f.] 'daughter-in-law'; Arm. *now*, gen.sg. *nowoy* [f.], SeCS *snъxa*, Ru. *snoxá*, SCr. *snàha* < BSl. **snus-ehₓ-*, OE *snoru* [f.], OFr. *snore* 'daughter-in-law'.

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 **sneu-* 'to drip, nurse' from which *nūtrīx* is often derived.

Bibl.: WH II: 190, EM 452, IEW 978, LIV **sneṷ- (?). → *nūtrīx*

nūtrīx 'child's nurse' [f. *k*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *nūtrīre* 'to suckle, nourish' (Cat.+); *nūtrīcula* 'child's nurse' (Lucil.+), *nūtrīcāre* 'to suckle, nourish' (Pl.+), *nūtrīcātus, -ūs* 'nurturing' (Pl.+), *nūtrīcātiō* 'suckling, rearing' (Varro+), *nūtrīcius* 'foster-father, guardian' (Var.+).

PIt. **(s)noutrī*.

PIE **sneu-tr-ihₐ-* 'female nurser'. IE cognates: Skt. *prá-snauti* [3s.act.] 'to drip, release liquids', *prá-snuta-* 'releasing mother's milk'. Appurtenance of Gr. νάω 'to flow, stream' (< **νάϝ-jω) is difficult and requires special pleading.

The verb *nūtrīre* was derived from **noutrī* before this acquired the suffix **-k-*. Afterwards, from **nūtrik-* the verb *nūtrīcāre* was derived (thus Steinbauer 1989). It has been proposed that the PIE root **sneu-* is cognate to **snehₐ-* 'to bathe, swim', pointing to an analysis **sn-u-* and **sn-hₓ-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 190f., EM 453, IEW 971f., Leumann 1977: 376, Steinbauer 1989: 76f., Schrijver 1991: 152f., LIV **sneṷ-. → *nūbēs, nurus*

nux, -cis 'nut' [f. *k*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *nuceus* 'of a nut-tree' (Cato), *nuc(u)leus* 'kernel, stone (of fruit)' (Pl.+); *nucifrangibulum* 'nutcracker' (Pl.).

PIt. **knuk-*.

IE cognates: OIr. *cnú* [f.], gen. *cnáo, cnó*, acc. *cnoí*, MW *cneu* 'nuts', LCo. *knyfan* 'a nut', MBret. *cnou*, Bret. *kraoñ* 'nuts' < PCl. nom. **knūs*, obl. **knuṷ-* (< **knu-H-?*); OIc. *hnot*, OE *hnutu* 'nut' < **knu-d-*.

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 **kneu-*, 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 191f., EM 453, IEW 558f., Leumann 1977: 287, Strunk 1993, Schrijver 1995: 329f. → *nūgae*

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-*).

Derivatives: *optu/imus* 'best' (Naev.+), *optu/imās, -tis* [adj.] 'aristocratic' (Enn.+).

PIt. **op(i)*. Lejeune 1974 assumes Ven. *op* < **opi*, but this is uncertain. It. cognates: Ven. *op* 'because of, for', O. *úp*, *op* + abl. 'at'. Fal. *opidque* 'ob idque'. Maybe in U. **ustentu**, *ostendu* [3s.ipv.II] (meaning uncertain).

PIE **h₁opi* 'at, by'. IE cognates: Lith. *ap(i)-* 'around' < **h₁ópi*; Skt. *ápi*, Av. *aipi*, OP *apiy* 'also; by, in', Gr. ἔπι, ἐπί 'on, at', Arm. *ew* '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 *oportet* 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 **h₁epi* as seen in Ilr., Gr. and Arm. Kloekhorst 2008: 194 argues on semantic grounds that Hit. *āppa*, CLuw. *āppa* 'back, again' probably reflect **h₂op-*, and go together with Gr. ὄπι-σθεν '(from) behind', Myc. *o-pi*, ὀψέ 'afterwards', ὀψι(-) (Aeol. and in cp.).

Bibl.: EM 454, Lejeune 1974: 337, IEW 323ff., Leumann 1977: 157f., Hamp 1981a, Schrijver 1991: 50f., Sihler 1995: 203fi, 368, 440, Meiser 1998: 153, Untermann 2000: 799f., 812f., 816fi

oblīquus 'slanting, transverse' [adj. *o/ā*] (Cato+)

The etymology is unknown. Closest in form and meaning are *līmus* 'transverse' and *sublīmis* 'transverse from below upward', and the latter would be morphologically similar to *oblīquus*. Yet a root **lī-* with different suffixes **-mo-* and **-kʷo-* does not immediately make sense, and has no clear connections outside Italic.

Bibl.: WH II: 194f., EM 455, IEW 307-309. → *līmus 2*

oblīvīscor, -ī 'to forget' [v. III; pf. *oblītus sum*] (Andr.+; pr. also *oblīscī* Pl., Acc.)

Derivatives: *oblīvium* 'forgetfulness' (Lucr.+), *oblīvius* 'lost in oblivion' (Varro), *oblīviōsus* 'forgetful' (Pl.+), *oblīviō* 'forgetting, oblivion' (Varro+).

Schrijver follows Sommer 1914: 602 in assuming an original verb **ob-līvēre* 'to be smoothe' < **ob-leiwē-* < **-leh₁i-u̯-eh₁-*, a stative verb derived from the adj. **leh₁i-u̯-i-* 'smooth' which yielded Lat. *lēvis*. Yet a semantic shift from 'to be smooth' to 'to forget' is not very convincing. Keller 1992: 254 connects *ob-lītus* with Gr. λίναμαι 'to dodge', Gm. **linnan* 'to stop', Skt. *-lī́yate* '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. *lēvis*, and proposes to regard *oblīvīscor* 'to start being erased' as an inchoative deponent to a denominative verb **oblīvīre* 'to make smooth, erase' < **ob-lēvi-i̯e/o-*. The ptc. *oblītus* would stem from **ob-litus*, the ptc. of *ob-linere* 'to smear, stop', taking its *-ī-* from the pf. *ob-līvī* of that same verb. The second part of the hypothesis is weak: why would the ptc. of *oblinere* have been applied to *oblīvīscor*?

Bibl.: WH II: 195, EM 455, IEW 661f., Schrijver 1991: 284, Meiser 1998: 92. → *lēvis*

obscaenus 'unpropitious, ill-omened; indecent' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+; the second vowel vacillates between *ae* and *ē*)

PIt. **skai-no-* 'left, unpropitious'.

PIE **skeh₂-i-no-* 'shaded; left'. IE cognates: see s.v. *scaevus*.

Since *ē* can be a phonetic development for *ae* in second syllable (**ai > *ē > ī*) whereas *ae* cannot be explained if the original vowel was *ē*, *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 PIt. formation **skaino-* would be quite close to Balto-Slavic **skeh₂i-n(-i)-* 'shadow'.

Bibl.: WH I: 131, EM 456, IEW 628, LIV **skeH(i)-*. → *scaevus*

obscūrus 'dark, gloomy' [adj. *o/ā*] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *obscūrāre* 'to obscure (heavenly bodies or sources of light), darken' (Pl.+), *obscūridicus* 'speaking obscurely' (Acc.), *obscūritās* 'darkness, obscurity' (Varro+).

PIt. **skoi-ro-*.

PIE **skoh₂-i-ro-* 'dark, shady'? IE cognates: Gr. σκῖρον [n.] (description of a white parasol or canopy); Go. *skeirs*, OIc. *skírr*, NHG *schier* 'clear, bright' < **skīro-*.

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 **skūro-* 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 *obscūrus* 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-kʷois-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 *osc-. If the etymology of scaevus < *skeh₂iuo- and obscaenus < *op-skeh₂ino- 'shaded, left' is accepted, one might posit an ablaut variant *skoiro- < *skoh₂i-ro- 'dark, shaded'. Semantically this would be fine; morphologically, there is no exact cognate in the other IE languages.

Bibl.: WH II: 196, EM 456, IEW 951-953, Schrijver 1991: 246f., LIV *(s)keuh₁-.

obtūrō, -āre 'to block, stop up' [v. I] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: retūrāre 'to unplug' (Varro).

The stem -tūrā- seems to presuppose a PIt. nominal form *tūro-, *tVu(V)ro-, or *toiro-. WH and IEW connect -tūrō with PIE *tuh₂- '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. → turgeō

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.).

PIt. *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. ecê(k)šas 'harrow', Ru. osét' 'granary, rack for drying grain' [f.], Pl. jesieć (dial.) 'grain sieve' < BSl. *eś-et-i-, OHG egida, OE egeðe < PGm. *aɣeþō-.

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.

Bibl.: WH II: 197f., EM 456f., IEW 18-22, Hirt 1916-17: 230, Schrijver 1991: 52. → aceō, acu-, ocris

occulō, -ere 'to hide, conceal' [v. III; occuluī, occultum] (Pl.+; SCBac. [o]quoltod)
Derivatives: occultāre 'to conceal' (Pl.+).
PIt. *kele/o-.

PIE *ḱel-e/o- 'to hide'. IE cognates: OIr. *ceilid**, ·ceil, OW *kelu*, MBret. *keles* 'to hide' < PCl. *kel-e/o-*, OE *helan* 'to hide'; Go. *huljan* 'to shroud' < *ḱl̥-i̯e-.

Present from *ob* + *kele-*. The spelling *-quol-* in SCBac. is hypercorrect for *-cul-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 198, EM 111, IEW 553f., Schumacher 2004: 394f., LIV *ḱel-. → *cella, cēlāre, clam, color*

ōcior 'faster, swifter' [adj.comp. *r*] (Andr.+)
Derivatives: sup. *ōcissimus* (Ter.+) / *ōximē* (Paul. *ex F.*).
PIt. *ōk-.

PIE *h₁oh₁ḱ-u- 'quick', *h₁oh₁ḱ-ios- 'quicker'. IE cognates: OW *diauc*, MW *diawg*, Co. *dioc*, OBret. *diochi*, Bret. *diek* 'lazy' < PCl. *dī-ākV-* 'lazy', lit. 'un-swift'; Skt. *āśú-* 'quick', comp. *āśī́yas-*, sup. *āśiṣṭha-*, Av. *āsu-* 'quick, fast', comp. *āsiiah-*, sup. *āsišta-*, Gr. ὠκύς 'fast, swift', ὤκιστος 'fastest'; Ru. *jástreb*, ORu. *jastrjabъ, jastrebъ*, Po. *jastrząb* 'hawk', SCr. *jâstrijeb* 'kite' < PSl. *jastrębъ.

The etymology *h₁ḱ- rests on the identification with PIE *h₁eḱu(-o)- 'horse'. If this is abandoned, *h₃ḱ- 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.+).
PIt. *okri- [m.] 'hilltop'. It. cognates: U. **ukar**, *ocar* [nom.sg.], *ocrem*, *ocre* [acc.sg.], *ocrer* [gen.sg.], **ukre**, *ocre* [dat.sg.], *ocre*, *ocrem* [loc.sg.], **ukripe**, **ukriper**, *ocriper*, *ocreper* [abl.sg.]; Marr. *ocres* [gen.sg.]; SPic. *okreí* [loc.sg.?] 'castle, upper town'.

PIE *h₂oḱ-r-i- 'sharp edge'. IE cognates: MIr. *ochair* 'edge', W. *ochr*, Skt. *cátur-aśri-* [adj.] 'four-angled' (RV); *áśri-* [f.] 'sharp edge, angle' (Br.+); Gr. ὄκρις [m.] 'point, sharp edge', ἄκρις [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 *h₂eḱ-ro- 'sharp'.

Bibl.: WH II: 199, EM 457, IEW 18-22, Leumann 1977: 403, Schrijver 1991: 51, Untermann 2000: 791ff. → *ācer* 'sharp', *acu-*

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+), *octingentī* 'eight hundred' (Pl.+), *octingēnārius* 'consisting of 800 each' (Varro).
PIt. *oktō 'eight', *oktāwo- 'eighth'.

PIE *h₃(e)ḱtéh₃ 'eight', *h₃ḱt(e)h₃-uó- 'eighth'. IE cognates: OIr. *ocht n-*, W. *wyth*, Bret. *eiz* '8', OIr. *ochtmad* '8th'; Skt. *aṣṭā́, aṣṭáu* [nom.acc.] '8', *aṣṭamá-* '8th', *aśītí-* '80', YAv. *ašta* '8', *aštəma-* '8th', *aštāiti-* '80', Gr. ὀκτώ '8', ὄγδοϝος, ὄγδοος '8th', ὀγδοήκοντα '80', OPhryg. *otuvoi vetei* 'in the eighth year', Alb. *tetë* '8'; Lith. *aštuonì*

'8', Go. *ahtau*; ToB *okt*, ToA *okät* '8'.

The ordinal seems to show a change of *-ŏ*yos > *-ā*yos, 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*-.

Bibl.: WH II: 199f., EM 457f., IEW 775, Schrijver 1991: 49, 300, Coleman 1992: 396, 412, Beekes 1995: 213-216, Sihler 1995: 414, 432, Meiser 1998: 56, 86, 175, Beekes 2003: 184.

oculus 'eye' [m. *o*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *ocellus* 'little eye' (Pl.+), *ocellātum* 'a stone with small spots' (Varro+), *oculātus* 'having sight' (Pl.+), *oculitus* [adv.] 'as dearly as one's eyes', *oculissimus* 'dearest apple of my eye' (Pl.), *oculeus* 'made of eyes' (Pl.+); *ūnoculus* 'that has one eye' (Pl.+); *exoculāre* 'to deprive of eyes' (Pl.+).

PIt. *ok(e)lo-.

PIE *h₃e/ok^w-(e)lo- 'eye'. IE cognates: Skt. *akṣnás* [gen.sg.], *akṣ-í* [nom.acc.du.] 'eye', *an-ákṣ-* 'without eyes, blind' < *h₃e/ok^w-s-, YAv. *aši* [nom.acc.du.n.] 'eye', Gr. ὤψ [f.], gen. ὠπός 'eye, face', ὄσσε [nom.acc.du.n.] 'eyes' < *h₃k^w-i-, OPr. *ackis* 'eyes' [nom.p.], *ackins* [acc.pl.], Lith. *akìs*, Latv. *acs* 'eye', OCS *oko* [nom.sg.], *oči* [nom.acc.du.n.] 'eye' < *h₃ek^w-.

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 (*h₃e/ok^w-), from a PIE thematic noun (probably *h₃ok^w-o-) or from an earlier verb 'to see'.

Bibl.: WH II: 200-202, EM 458, IEW 775-777, Schrijver 1991: 49, Sihler 1995: 120, LIV *h₃ek^u-.

ōdī 'to hate' [v. pf. only, ppp. *ōsum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *ōdibilis* 'odious' (Acc.), *odium* 'hatred, boredom' (Pl.+), *odiōsus* 'offensive, boring' (Pl.+), *odiossicus* 'disagreeable' (Pl.).

PIt. *ōd-* 'to hate', *odio-* 'hatred'.

PIE pf. *h₃e-h₃(o)d- 'to hate', *h₃e/od-io- 'hatred'. IE cognates: Gr. aor. ὀδύσ(σ)ασθαι 'to be angry, grumble', pr. ὀδύεται 'contends' (Hsch.) (pr. *ὀδύομαι from a noun *ὀδ-υ- 'angriness'?), Arm. *ateam* 'to hate' < *h₃(o)d-, OIc. *etja* 'hetzen, treiben', OE *atol, eatol* [n.] 'evil'.

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.

Bibl.: WH II: 202f., EM 458f., IEW 773, Schrijver 1991: 49f., Beekes 2003: 157, 184, LIV 2.*h₃ed-.

odor 'smell, odour' [m. *r*] (Pl.+; nom.sg. *odōs* Pl.)

Derivatives: *odorārī* 'to smell, scent' (Pl.+), *odōrus* 'having a smell' (Varro+), *odōrisequus* 'following the scent' (Andr. [uncertain]); *olēre* [pf. *oluī*] 'to smell' (Pl.+), *olere* [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)factāre* 'to smell at, sniff' (Pl.+), *ol(e)factus, -ūs* 'th smelling' (Pl.+); *inolēns* 'odourless' (Lucr.), *obolēre* 'to smell, stink' (Pl.+), *perolēre* 'to emit a penetrating smell' (Lucil.+), *praeolēre* 'to send out an odour ahead' (Pl.+), *subolēre* 'to smell faintly' (Pl.+).

PIt. **ode/o-* 'to smell', **odōs* 'odour'.

PIE pr. **h₃ed-/*h₃d-* 'to smell'. IE cognates: Gr. ὄζω (Ion. Att.) 'to smell', plqpf. ὀδώδει, Gr. ὀδμή, ὀσμή 'odour, scent', Arm. *hot* 'smell' < **h₃ed-*, Lith. *úosti*, 3s. *úodžia*, Latv. *uôst* 'to smell, sniff', OCz. *jadati* 'to investigate, explore'.

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 *olēre* (cf. Leumann).

Bibl.: WH II: 203, 206, EM 459f., IEW 772f., Leumann 1977: 544, Schrijver 1991: 50, Meiser 1998: 100, LIV 1.*h₃ed-.

-olēs, -is 'feeding, nursling' [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 *alere* 'to feed'. The vowel was weakened in non-initial syllable to *o*, 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 694, II: 369, 619, EM 23, IEW 26f., Schrijver 1991: 42, LIV 262. → *alō*

olle / ollus 'that; he, she, it' [pron., pron. adj. o/ā] (Andr.+. Forms: dat.sg. *ollī*, dat.pl. *ollīs*, nom.pl.m. *ollī*, nom.acc.pl.n. *olla*)

Derivatives: *ōlim* [adv.] 'formerly, once; one day, in future' (Pl.+).

PIt. **olno- > *ollo-*. It. cognates: O. **úlleís** [gen.sg.m.], **ulum** [acc.sg.m.], **úlam** [acc.sg.f.], **ulas** [gen.sg.f.], *olu* [gen.pl.m.] 'that one' < **ol-*; U. **ulu**, *ulo* 'thither' < **ōlō, *ōlā* or **ōlom*.

PIE **h₂ol-no-* 'that, yonder'. IE cognates: Gaulish *ollo-*, OIr. *ol* 'beyond'; OCS *lani*, Cz. *loni* 'last year' < PSl. **olni*.

The oldest Latin form was *ollus* [o/ā] 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 **ollo-* with the suffix *-im* (productive in VOLat.) for adverbs of time and place. For the PIt. preform, both **olno-* or **olso-* are conceivable; but the Celtic and Slavic

evidence points to *olno-. For ōlim, Schrijver 1991 (passim) reconstructs *h₂ōl- for the root; although this seems highly irregular from a morphological point of view, note that U. also requires *ō.

Bibl.: WH II: 206f., EM 461, IEW 24-26, Schrijver 1991: 68, Sihler 1995: 393, Kortlandt 1996: 143, Meiser 1998: 163, Untermann 2000: 793-795. → alius, ille, uls

olor 'swan' [m. r] (Verg.+)
PIt. *elōr.
IE cognates: OIr. elu, MIr. elae [f.] < PCl. *eljā?, W. alarch, pl. eleirch 'swan' < *alarko- << *elar-sko- < *el-r̥-sko-; Ru. lébed' [m.], Cz. labut', SCr. lȁbūd 'swan' < *h₂elbʰ-ond-i- (?); Olc. elptr, ǫlpt [f.], OHG albiz, elbiz, OE ælbitu, ielfetu [f.] 'swan' < *albit-.

The preform was probably *elōr (with regular e > o before velarised l), but *olōr cannot be completely ruled out, since the evidence for the development of *olV- is scarce: the loanword Ulixes has u-, the verb volvō < *u̯oluō has o, but in a special phonetic surrounding. The nom.sg. may have regularly been *elōr < *elr̥, after which an -ōr-stem was created. Together with OIr. elu and W. alarch, olor goes back to an Italo-Celtic word for 'swan'. The closest connection in form and meaning is with Ru. lébed', 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 *-bʰ- 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. ἐλέα [f.] kind of singing-bird, perhaps reed-warbler' is very uncertain.

Bibl.: WH II: 207, EM 461, IEW 302-304, Schrijver 1991: 37, 1995: 76, EIEC 538.

ōmen, -inis 'omen, augury' [n. n] (Pl.+; older osmen according to Varro)
Derivatives: ōminārī 'to know or tell from omens, predict' (Pl.+), ōminātor 'one who makes prognostications' (Pl.).
PIt. *okʷs-mn- 'sighting, omen'?
PIE *h₃ekʷs- '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-ⁱ / h- 'to believe, trust' < *h₂n₃eH. Oettinger 1979: 361 reconstructs *h₂e/oh₃-s-mn 'trust'. Yet semantically I am not convinced by this etymology. Others have reconstructed *h₃ekʷ-s-mn 'a sighting', the meaning of which seems closer to 'omen'. Note Gr. ὄμμα, -ατος 'eye' < *ὄπμα < *h₃ékʷ-mn; Latin would have added an *s, as it often does in front of the suffix *-mn. 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. aiβii-āxšaiia- 'to watch', Gr. fut. ὄψομαι 'to see'). Thus, ōmen could be formed from a PIE s-present. Meier-Brügger 1992 derives ōmen from *h₁n₂og-smen 'speech, what was predicted' to aiō < *h₁n₂eǵ-. This is semantically

attractive, but no other evidence for an *o*-grade of this verb exists in Latin, and one can hardly assume a *smen*-derivative to have been built on the PIE perfect *He-Hoĝ-.

Bibl.: WH II: 208, EM 461, Meier-Brügger 1992, LIV ?*h₂eh₃-. → *oculus*

ōmentum 'fatty membrane of caul, covering the intestines' [n. *o*] (Cat.+)

It. cognates: U. **umen** [acc.sg.], **umne** [abl.sg.] 'ointment' < *omben* < *ongʷen-.

I see no semantic support for WH's hypothesis that *ōmentum* is derived from the verb -*uō* 'to put on/off'. Also, *owe-mento-* would phonetically yield *ūmentum*, whence *ō*- 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.+).

PIt. *op-ni-?

PIE *h₁/₃e/op-ni- 'working'.

Omnīnō is a petrified case-form of *omn-īno-* '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 *h₃ep- '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 *h₃ep- 'to work' > 'possess'. The former seems slightly more likely for semantic reasons.

Bibl.: WH II: 209f., EM 461, IEW 780, Leumann 1977: 347, Sihler 1995: 43, LIV 1.*h₃ep-. → *ops, opus*

onus, -eris 'burden, load' [n. *r*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *onerāre* 'to load with goods' (Pl.+), *onerārius* 'for carrying loads' (Naev.+); *exonerāre* 'to discharge, unload' (Pl.+); *onustus* 'loaded, laden' (Naev.+).

PIt. *ones- [n.].

PIE *h₃en-os, -es- [n.] 'load'. IE cognates: Hit. *aniie/a-ᶻⁱ* 'to work; to carry out, to produce, to treat', Pal. *aniie/a-* 'to work', CLuw. *ānni-* 'to carry out' < *h₃n-ie/o-; Skt. *ánas-* 'heavy cart', *anaḍváh-* [m.] 'ox, draught animal' < *anas-vah-* 'pulling a cart'.

The adj. *onustus* is a *to*-derivative of the *s*-stem: *onos-to-*. If the Hittite verb belongs here (semantically this is not compelling), the root must rather be *h₁enH-, according to Melchert 1994: 85. This is adopted by Janda 1999 and Stüber 2002: 88, who reconstruct *h₁enh₃-. The reconstruction with final -h₃ is based on a comparison with Gr. Ἐνοσίχθων, 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-ie/ó-.

Bibl.: WH II: 210, EM 462, IEW 321f., Lubotsky 1990: 132, Schrijver 1991: 50.

opācus 'sheltered, shady' [adj. *o/ā*] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: *opācāre* 'to make shady; darken' (Pac.+).

Opācus has since long been compared with Skt. *ápāka-* 'turned away from' and OCS *opaky* 'the other way round, behind one's back', Ru. *ópak(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 *ūndecim* s.v. *decem*. It seems more promising to compare the root **(h₁)ueh₂-* 'to abandon, leave empty' found in *vānus, vāstus, vacuus*, maybe also in *vāgīnā* 'sheath': **op-wāko-* 'situated towards the empty side' > **opāko-*. Obviously, this is just a theorical possibility.

Bibl.: WH 210, EM 703, IEW 53-55, Leumann 1977: 340, Schrijver 1991: 146, 308, Klingenschmitt 2004: 249 = 2005: 540. → *vacuus, vānus*

operiō, -īre 'to shut, close, cover' [v. IV; pf. *operuī*, ppp. *opertum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *opertāre* 'to cover habitually' (Enn.+), *operculum* 'lid, cap' (Cato+), *operīmentum* 'covering, cover' (Cato+); *cōperīre/cooperīre* 'to cover completely' (Pl.+), *adaperīre* 'to open wide, uncover' (Varro+).

PIt. **op-wer-i(e)-* 'to cover up'.

PIE **h₂uer-i(e)-* [pr.] 'to cover'. IE cognates: see s.v. *aperiō*.

Bibl.: WH II: 211, EM 38, IEW 1160-1162, Sihler 1995: 503, Meiser 1998: 116, 195, LIV **Hu̯er-*. → *aperīre, ob*

ōpiliō 'herdsman; kind of bird' [m. *n*] (Pl.+; also *ūpiliō* Verg., Serv.+)

Derivatives: *opilius, opilia* (Praeneste).

PIt. **owi-pol-o-* 'sheep-driver'.

PIE **h₃eui-* 'sheep' + **polh₂-o-* 'driver'. IE cognates: see *ovis* resp. *pellō*.

The distribution of *ū-* (Verg. et al.) and *ō-* (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 *ōpiliō* as a possible 'rustic' Roman reflex of *aupoliō << **awi-polo-* < **ou̯i-polh₂ó-* 'sheep-driver' (or **ou̯i-pʰₗ-ló-* 'sheep-protector'), with **ou-* > **au-* due to Thurneysen-Havet's unrounding of *ou in pretonic syllable.

Bibl.: WH II: 211, EM 462, IEW 801f., Leumann 1977: 134, Schrijver 1991: 277, LIV **pelh₂-*. → *ovis, pellō*

opīmus 'which is taken as trophy, glorious; rich, sumptuous' [adj. *o/ā*] (Lex Reg., Pl.+)

Derivatives: *opīmitās* 'prosperity' (Pl.).

PIt. *opī [ins.sg.]?

The older etymological connection with *pinguis*, Skt. *pívan-* 'fat' must be dismissed. Form and meaning suggest that *opīmus* was derived from Lat. *ops* 'power, resources' which almost certainly continues a PIt. *i*-stem **op-i-*. We must assume suffixation of

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 *-h₁. 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

opīnor, -ārī 'to think, believe, suppose' [v. I] (Naev.+; also opīnāre in Pl. to Caecil.)

Derivatives: opīnātus, -ūs 'supposition' (Lucr.+), adopīnārī 'to conjecture' (Lucr.),
opīniō 'opinion, imagination' (Pl.+).

Steinbauer 1989 proposes a derivative *op-einā- '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 *opiōn-/*opion- from which opīn-ā- could have been derived, as
others had proposed. He argues that the Praenestine spelling opeinor in a
third-century inscription proves that the word contains PIt. *-ei- and not even *-ī-,
which reduces the chances of finding a PIE etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 212f., EM 462, IEW 781, Steinbauer 1989: 188f., Schrijver 1991: 52,
Vine 1999a, LIV ?2.*h₃ep-.

oportet 'it is proper, right' [v. II; pf. oportuit] (Naev.+)
   PIt. *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 *u̯ert- 'to turn'. WH assume an
original causative *u̯ort-eie-, yet a transitive form does not fit the meaning. Therefore,
*op-u̯ort-ē- (> *oport-ē-, with a sound change dated to PIt. 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-.

Bibl.: WH II: 214, EM 463, IEW 323-325, Leumann 1977: 553, Schrijver 1991:
472, LIV *u̯ert-. → vertō

oppidum '(fortified) town; barriers' [n. o] (Naev.+)
   Derivatives: oppidō 'utterly, entirely' (Pl.+).
   PIt. *op-pe/od-o- 'obstructing'. It. cognates: U. peřum, peřu, perso [acc.sg.],
peřume, persome [acc.sg. + -en] 'ground' or 'place' < *pedom.
   PIE *ped-o- [n.] 'stepped' > 'place, step'. IE cognates: Hit. peda- [n.] 'place',
HLuw. LOCUS-ta- [n.] 'place', Skt. padá- [n.] 'footstep, piece of ground', OAv.
pada-, YAv. pada- [n.] 'footstep', OP pati-padam kar- 'to retreat', Gr. πέδον 'ground,
earth', Arm. het 'footprint', OPr. pedan 'ploughshare', Lith. pėdà, (dial.) pėdas
'footprint', Latv. pêda 'foot-sole, footstep' < *ped-o-; OIc. fet 'step'.

U. *pedom 'ground' can be interpreted as *pedó- [n.], nominalization of *ped-ó-
'stepped, trodden', or *péd-o- [n.], with accent retraction of the adj. *ped-ó-; thus
Nussbaum, who assumes that the derivational basis was the verb *ped- 'to step' rather
than the noun *ped- 'foot'. Latin oppidō 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: 214f., EM 463, IEW 790-792, Untermann 2000: 524f., LIV *ped-. →
ob, pēs

ops, 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(i)s, cōpis 'rich,
wealthy' (Pl.+), cōpia 'abundance' (Pl.+); inops 'poor, powerless' (Pl.+), inopiōsus
'destitute' (Pl.+); opulentus 'wealthy, rich' (PL+), opulentitās 'richness' (Pl.+),
opulenter 'richly' (Pl.+); officium 'service, duty' (Pl.+), officiōsus 'dutiful, attentive'
(Afran.+); opitulāre/ī '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+), opificīna 'performance'
(Pl.).

Plt. *opi-.

PIE *h₃e/op-(i-) 'ability, force'. IE cognates: Hit. happina- 'rich', happinant- 'rich
(person)' < *h₃ep-en-o-; Skt. ápnas- 'possession, property' [n.], YAv. afnaŋʰhant-
'rich in property' < *h₃ep-nos-, Gr. ὄμπνη [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 -uus to those in -ulus.

Bibl.: WH I: 270, II: 204f., 215f., EM 459f., 463f., IEW 780, Schrijver 1991: 50,
LIV 1.*h₃ep-. → omnis, opīmus, opus

optō, -āre 'to desire, pray for' [v. I] (Andr.+)
Derivatives: optiō 'choice, option; junior officer' (Pl.+), optiōnātus, -ūs 'the rank of
optio' (Cato+), optābilis 'desirable' (Andr.+); adoptāre 'to associate, adopt' (Pl.+),
adoptātīcius 'adopted' (Pl.+), exoptāre 'to long for' (Pl.+), exoptābilis 'desirable'
(Pl.+), praeoptāre 'to prefer' (Pl.+).

Plt. *opeje- 'to choose, grab'. It. cognates: U. upetu [3s.ipv.II], upetuta [3p.ipv.II],
opeter [ppp., gen.sg.n.] 'to select'; O. ufteis [gen.sg.], uhftis [nom.pl.] '?' < *op-ti-
'help/wish'?

PIE *h₁op-eie- 'to choose, grab'. IE cognates: Hit. epp-ᶻⁱ / app- 'to take, grab' (< PIE
root pr. *h₁ep-/*h₁p-), Hit. pai-ⁱ / pi- 'to give', CLuw., HLuw. piịa-, Lyc. ịpije- 'to
give', Skt. āpa, YAv. āpa 'has reached' (< IE pf. *h₁e-h₁(o)p-); maybe Alb. (j)ep
'gives', 1s. (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 *opīnor* 'to suspect' is difficult for semantic reasons; EM regard it with scepsis. 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 *opet /opēt/* is contained in the Duenos inscr. sequence *noisiopetoitesiai*, which is merely a guess. The original form of the hapax *praedotiont* in Festus, glosses with 'praeoptant', is too uncertain to be taken into consideration; Vine 1999a: 522f. suggests that the original form may have been **praeponont* 'they prefer'.

Bibl.: WH II: 217, EM 464, IEW 781, Schrijver 1991: 52, Untermann 2000: 210, 786, Meiser 2003: 65, LIV ?2.*h₃ep-. → *apīscor, opīnor*

opulus 'kind of maple' [f. *o*] (Varro+)

Since Pliny assigns this tree name to the *Mediolanenses* 'Milanese', it might be a Celtic word.

Bibl.: WH II: 217, EM 465, IEW 18-22.

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.+), *operārī* 'to be at work' (Plin.+).

PIt. **opes-* [n.] 'work'. It cognates: SPic. **opesaúom** [inf.], U. *osatu* [3s.ipv.II], Pael. *upsaseter* [3s/p.ipf.sb.ps.], O. **úpsannúm, úp]sannu** [gdve.acc.sg.m.n.], **úpsannam, úpsan(am)** [gdve.acc.sg.f.], *opσανω* [gdve.acc.pl.n.]; O. **úpsed, upsed,** SPic. **opsút, o]psúq** [3s.pf.], O. **uupsens, upsens,** ουπσενς, Vest. *osens* [3p.pf.], U. *opset(a est)* , *oseto (est)* [3s.pf.ps.f.], O. **upsatuh sent** [3p.pf.ps.n.?] 'to erect': pr., ppp. **op-es-ā-*, denom. to **opes-* 'work', pf. O.U. **ōps-*, SPic. **ops-*.

PIE **h₃ep-os, -es-* [n.] 'work'. IE cognates: Skt. *ápas-* [n.] 'work, action', *apás-* [adj.] 'active, skilful, working', Av. *huuāpah-* 'doing good work, masterly', OAv. *hauuapaŋha-* [n.] 'creativity', MoP *xūb* 'good'; OE *efnen* 'to perform' (< PGm. **abnjan*), OHG *uoben* 'to start to work, practice, worship'.

Postgate 1899 has shown that *operātus* must be a derived adj. 'full of *opera*, absorbed in' to *opera*, whereas *operārī* was back-formed to *operātus* more recently. This means that PSab. **opesā-* 'to erect' was an independent creation of Sabellic.

Bibl.: WH II: 217f., EM 465f., IEW 780, Schrijver 1991: 50, Untermann 2000: 801-803, LIV 1.*h₃ep-. → *omnis, ops*

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.+), *orbītus* 'circular' (Varro); *orbīle* 'rim' (Varro).

PIt. *orfi- 'wheel', *orfi/etā- 'wheel-like, disc'. It. cognates: U. **urfeta** [acc.sg.] '?' (an object which the priest holds in his hands).

PIE *h₃orbʰ-i- 'turning thing'. IE cognates: Hit. *harp-*ᵗᵗᵃ⁽ʳⁱ⁾ / *harp-*ᶻⁱ 'to change allegiance, join' < *h₃erbʰ-to, ⁽ᴳᴵˢ⁾*harpa/i-* [c.] 'pile, heap'; Gr. ἀρφύτνον 'disk (in Lydian) (Weiss 2006: 261); ToAB *yerpe* 'disc / surface / image' (vel sim. = Skt. *bimba*) < *h₃ērbʰo-.

The etymology of *orbis* is much disputed, see Untermann 2000. Klingenschmitt 1980: 214ff. reconstructs *h₂(o)r-dʰh₁-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 *hₜōrbʰ-(i-) for Latin, with shortening by Osthoff's law. But it may also be *hₜorbʰ-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 *h₃erbʰ- '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/etā-, with vowel restoration in the second syllable in Umbrian. Weiss 2006: 252f., 261 analyzes this as a fem. of an original *t*-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.

Bibl.: WH II: 219, EM 466, Untermann 2000: 805, Klingenschmitt 1980: 214ff., Driessen 2001: 53f., 57f., Weiss 2006. → *urbs*

orbus 'deprived of, childless, orphaned' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *orbitās* 'childlessness' (Pl.+), *orbitūdō* 'bereavement' (Pac.+), *orbāre* 'to deprive of, rob' (Pac.+); *orbificāre* 'to bereave of children' (Acc.+).

PIt. *orfo- 'heir, orphan'.

PIE *h₃orbʰ-o- 'turning, what/who is turned over' > 'inheritance / heir'. IE cognates: OIr. *orb* [m.] 'heir; inheritance' < *orbo-, *orb(b)e*, *orpe* [n.] 'inheritance' < *orbiio-, Hit. *harp-*ᵗᵗᵃ⁽ʳⁱ⁾ , *harp-*ᶻⁱ 'to change allegiance, join' < *h₃erbʰ-to [med.], *harpa/i-* 'pile, mound', Gr. ὀρφανός 'orphaned', ὀρφοβόται 'orphan's guardian' (Hsch.), ὤρφωσεν 'made into an orphan' (Hsch.), Arm. *orb, -oy* 'orphan', OCS *rabъ*, ORu. *robъ*, Cz. *rob* 'servant, slave' [m.] < *orbo-, OIc. *arfr* 'heir' < *arbaz, OIc. *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-.

Bibl.: WH II: 219f., EM 466, IEW 781f., Schrijver 1991: 52, Weiss 2006.

ōrdior, -īrī 'to lay the warp (of a web); begin to speak or write; begin' [v. III; pf. *ōrsus sum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *exōrdior* 'to lay the warp; begin' (Pl.+), *exōrdium* 'the warp set up on a loom before the web is started; the beginning' (Enn.+), *redōrdior* 'to unweave'

(Plin.), *prīmōrdium* 'beginnings, source' (Pac.+) (*ōrdia prīma* Lucr.), *ōrsa, -ōrum* 'undertakings; words' (Verg.+); *ōrsus, -ūs* 'web; beginning' (Cic.+).

PIt. **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-ie-*. Lat. *exordium* must be derived from *exordīrī*, cf. Leumann 1977: 294, unless there was an original stem **ord-*, from which *exordium* and *ōrdō* were independently derived. The forms *ōrsa* and *ōrsus* 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: *ōrdināre* 'to place in rows, arrange' (Cic.+), *ōrdinārius* 'regular, normal' (Cato apud Fest., Liv.+); *ōrnāre* 'to prepare, equip, adorn' (Pl.+), *ōrnātus* 'well-equipped' (Ter.+), *ōrnātus, -ūs* 'equipment, adornment' (Pl.+), *ōrnāmentum* 'equipment, ornament' (Andr.+); *adōrnāre* 'to prepare (tr./intr.); adorn' (Pl.+), *exōrnāre* 'to equip, prepare; adorn' (Pl.+), *subōrnāre* 'to supply, equip' (Cic.+).

PIt. **ord-n-* 'row, order'.

PIE **h₂or-d-?*

The lenght of the initial *ō-* is probably secondary, as in other words with **VrC-*; cf. Leumann 1977: 114. The original denom. to *ōrdō* was *ōrnāre* < **ōrd-n-āre* < **orde/on-ā-* (cf. type *nomināre*); this has retained the specialized meaning of 'to adorn'. The more recently attested *ōrdināre* was made as a denominative to *ōrdō* when the link between the latter and *ōrnāre* 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-eio-*, but this should yield **ordēre*.

Bibl.: WH II: 222-223, EM 467-469, IEW 55-61, Leumann 1977: 114, Sihler 1995: 76 → *ordior*

orior, -īrī 'to appear above the horizon, rise' [v. IV; pr. *orītur*, ppp. *ortum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *orīgō, -inis* [f.] 'beginning, source' (Cato+), *aborīginēs, -um* [pl.] 'race of pre-Roman people' (Cato+); *aborīrī* 'to pass away, be aborted' (Varro+), *abortiō* 'miscarriage' (Pl.+), *abortus, -ūs* 'failure to fertilize, miscarriage' (Lucr.+), *abortāre* 'to cast its young' (Varro), *aborīscere* 'to fade away' (Lucr.+), *adorīrī* 'to attack, assail' (Naev.+), *coorīrī* 'to spring forth, be born' (Pl.+), *exorīrī* 'to appear, arise' (Pl.+), *exortus, -ūs* 'rising, emergence' (Pac.+), *oborīrī* 'to rise up, occur' (Pl.+), *suborīrī* 'to come into being' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **or-i-* 'to rise', **orto-* 'risen'. It. cognates: U. *ortom est, orto est* [3s.pf.], **urtu fefure** [3s.fut.pf.?], **urtas** [ptc.pf., nom.pl.f.], **urtes** [ptc.pf., abl.pl.f.] 'to arise, occur'

< *orto-. U. **urnasier** [abl.pl.], **urnasiaru** [gen.pl.f.] name of an early spring month <
< *orn-āsio- to a stem *ŗ-no- 'shoot' (M. Weiss, p.c.).

PIE *h₃r-i- 'to rise'. IE cognates: Hit. *arai-ⁱ* / *ari-* 'to (a)rise, to lift; raise', CLuw.
ari(ia)- 'to raise', Lyc. *erije-* 'to raise, levy' < PIE *h₃r-oi- / *h₃r-i-*, Hit. *hardu-* [n.],
CLuw. *hardu-* 'brood, descendance' < *h₃er-tu-; Skt. *iyarti* [3s.pr.act.], *írte*
[3s.pr.med.] (< PIIr. *Hi-Har-, *Hi-Hr-*), *ŗnóti* [3s.pr.act.], aor. *(úd) ārta* [3s.med.],
(sám) ārata [3p.med.], pf. (*vy*) *āra* [3s.act.] 'to set in motion, move', OAv. pr. *īra-*,
aor. *(uz)ārəšuuā* [2s.ipv.med.], YAv. *ərənao*˚'to set in motion'; Gr. ὄρνυμι 'to urge,
incite' (< *h₃r-n(e)u-), ὦρτο [3s.aor.med.] 'to rise, rush on', Arm. *y-aṙnem* 'to rise'.

The length of the stem vowel is fluctuating: *orīrī*, *adorītur* but *oritur*. Meiser
interprets this in such a way that *adorītur* has a regular Sievers variant *-je- > *-ije-
after two syllables, whereas *oritur* has retained *-je-. Yet even *-je- would be
expected to yield *-ī-, 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 222f., EM 468, IEW 326-332, Schrijver 1991: 69, Meiser 1998: 63,
195, Untermann 2000: 806-808, LIV *h₃er-.

ornus 'kind of ash-tree' [f. o] (Verg.+)

Plt. *osVno-.

PIE *Hh₃-o/es-. IE cognates: OIr. *(h)uinnius* 'ash' < *onnistu-, MW coll. *onn*, sing.
onnen, OCo. *onnen*, Bret. coll. *onn*, *ounn* 'ash-tree' < *osnā/-os*; OPr. *woasis* (<
*ōsi-s), Lith. *úosis* [m.], Latv. *uôsis* [m.], Ru. *jásen'*, Cz. *jasan*, SCr. *jāsēn* 'ash-tree'
< BSl. *o?s-en- (> Slav.), *o?s-i-o- (> Balt.) < PIE *Heh₃-s-; Arm. *hac'i* 'ash-tree',
Alb. *ah* 'beech' [m.], OIc. *askr*, OHG *asc* 'ash-tree' < *Hh₃-o/es-ko-, Gr. ὀξύα
'beech' << *osk-.

The vowel difference between BSl. and the other languages is understandable if BSl.
has the full grade of a root *Hh₃-, followed by *-s-, whereas the other languages have
the zero grade followed by *-e/os-. This would imply that the original noun was an
s-stem. Latin has suffixed *-Vno- (as in other tree names, cf. *fraxinus*) whereas Celtic
added *-no-.

Bibl.: WH II: 223, WH 469, IEW 782, Schrijver 1991: 77.

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.+), *ōrātrīx* 'female suppliant' (Pl.+),
ōrātus, -ūs 'request' (Pl.+); *adōrāre* 'to plead with, address, pray to' (Lex XII+),
exōrāre 'to persuade' (Pl.+), *exōrābula, -ōrum* 'means of winning over' (Pl.+),
exōrātor 'succesful suppliant' (Ter.), *perōrāre* 'to plead, argue' (Lex XII+), *inōrātus*
'not pleaded' (Enn.+), *inexōrābilis* 'relentless' (Ter.+).

Plt. *ōs- 'mouth'. It. cognates: maybe O. *urust* [3s.fut.pf.] 'to prosecute (orally)' <
*ōr-us-t.

The chronology of the attestations shows that 'to plead, speak openly' is the original meaning of *ōrāre*; see also Gavoille 2001 on the difference between *orāre* and *dīcere* in OLat. A denominative verb to *ōs* 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. *ā́-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 *ōrāre* is from **ōsā-*, it would have to be separated from O. *urust*. 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 **h₂ōr-*; 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-*. → *ōs*

ōs, ōris 'mouth' [n. *r*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *ōreae* [f.pl.] 'mouthpiece, bit' (Naev.+), *ōsculum* 'kiss' (Pl.+), *ōsculārī* 'to kiss' (Pl.+), *osculentia* 'kissing' (Pl.), *dēōsculārī* 'to kiss warmly' (Pl.+), *Ostia* 'port at the mouth of the Tiber' (Enn.+), *ōstium* 'door, entrance; aperture, mouth' (Pl.+), *ōstiārius* 'janitor' (Varro+), *ōscitāre/ī* 'to gape, yawn' (Pl.+).

PIt. **ōs-*.

PIE **h₃ehₗ-os*, *-es-* [n.] 'mouth'. IE cognates: OIr. *á* 'mouth', Hit. *aiš / išš-* [n.] 'mouth' (< **h₃ehₗ-os*, gen. **h₃hₗ-s-os?*), CLuw. *āaš-* [n.] 'mouth', Skt. *ā́s-* [n.] 'mouth', *ās-ā́* [instr.sg.] 'with the mouth, before one's eyes, present, visible', Av. *āh-*.

Ostium presupposes an adj. **ōs-to-* 'having a mouth/like a mouth' (cf. *iūs-tus*, etc.), from which a n. noun in **-io-* was derived

Bibl.: WH I: 272, II: 224-228, EM 142, 469-471, IEW 784f., Schrijver 1991: 55, Stüber 2002: 194-197. → *cōram*

os, ossis 'bone' [n. *ss*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *ossum* 'bone' (Acc.+), *ossua, -uum* [n.pl.] 'bones' (Pac.+), *osseus* 'of bone' (Pl.+), *ossiculātim* 'bone by bone' (Lucil.); *ossifraga* 'kind of vulture' (Lucr.+), *exos* 'boneless' (Lucr.+), *exossāre* 'to remove the bones from' (Pl.+).

PIt. nom.acc. **ost*, gen. **ostos*. It. cognates: Ven. *ostinobos* [dat.pl.] 'bones' < **ostino-* << **ost-n-*.

PIE **h₃o/est-* [n.] 'bone'. IE cognates: MW *ascurn, ascwrn*, OCo. *ascorn* 'bone' < **ast-k-*, MW *assen* [f.], OCo. *asen*, MIr. *asna* 'rib' < **astVn-* (appurtenance uncertain, see below); Hit. *haštāi / hašti-* [n.] 'bone(s), strength', CLuw. *hāš-* 'bone' < **h₃esthₗ-ōi, -i-*; Skt. *ásthi-* [n.] 'bone' (ins.pl. *asthábhiṣ*, gen.sg. *asthnás*, gen.pl. *asnā́m* < **asthnā́m*), *asthanvánt-* 'having bones', OAv. *astaṇtāt-* [f.] 'materialness', YAv. *ast-* 'bone, body with bones' (gen.sg. *astō*, *astasca*, nom.pl. *asti*, gen.pl. *astąm*, instr.pl. *azdabīš-ca*) , Av. *astuuaṇt-* 'having a body with bones', Sogd. *'stk-* 'bone' < IIr. **ast-H/n-*; Gr. ὀστέον [n.] 'bone', Arm. *oskr* < **ost-u-*; OAlb. *ashtë* [n.] 'bone' < **ost-*.

According to the theories of Steinbauer and Schrijver, the nom.sg. **osta* < **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. PIt. *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-, which in any case we need for Pac. ossuum. The u-stem can be due to analogy with artua 'limbs' or maybe cornua 'horns'. Armenian o- can be from *h₂o- or *h₃(o)-. Only in the former case can the Celtic forms be cognate, viz. from *h₂e- (Schrijver 1995: 53). This is surprising, since o- seems to be prevailing in the other languages (although we cannot tell for IIr.). 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 IIr., Celtic and Venetic. If the hypothetical PIE root noun was an acrostatic n. noun one may reconstruct nom.acc. *h₂óst, gen. *h₂ést-s > PIt. *ōst, *ass, from which with leveling maybe Lat. oss may be explained. This is very speculative, of course.

Bibl.: WH II: 225f., EM 470, Lejeune 1974: 337, IEW 783, Leumann 1977: 452, Steinbauer 1989: 236f., Schrijver 1991: 50, 80f., 110f., 1995: 53, Klingenschmitt 1992: 124.

ōtium 'spare time, relaxation' [n. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: ōtiōsus 'at leisure, inactive' (Pl.+); negōtium 'work, business, difficulty' (Pl.+), negōtiolum 'little business, slight difficulty' (Pl.+), negōtiōsus 'occupied, busy' (Pl.+).

For ōtium, an etymology involving *au- is unattractive, since there is no evidence for *au-. Benveniste 1951 argues that negōtium 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: ovīle [n.] 'sheepfold' (Cato+), ovillus [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).

PIt. *owi-. It. cognates: U. uvem, uve [acc.sg.], uvikum abl.sg. (+ -kum) , uvef, oui [acc.pl.] 'sheep'.

PIE *h₃eu-i- 'sheep'. IE cognates: OIr. ói, Hit. or CLuw. hāu̯i-, Lyc. χawa- 'sheep'; Skt. ávi- [m./f.]'sheep, ram', gen.sg. ávyas, Skt. avikā- [f.] 'little sheep', ávya- 'from sheep', Gr. ὄϊς, ὄϝις 'sheep', gen.sg. ὄϊος, Gr. οἶεος 'from sheep'; Arm. hoviw 'shepherd'; Lith. avis, Latv. avs 'sheep'; OCS ovьca, Ru. ovcá < PSl. *oṷi-k-jā-; Go.

awistr, OHG *ewist* 'sheepfold' < **oṷi-stH-*; ToB *awi* [nom.pl.f.] 'ewe'.

Ovis can reflect PIt. **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 **oṷi-* '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.

Bibl.: WH II: 229, EM 471f., IEW 784, Schrijver 1991: 50, 439, 449-454, Sihler 1995: 178, Meiser 1998: 56, Untermann 2000: 818, Kloekhorst 2006b: 92f. → *ōpiliō*

ovō, -āre 'to celebrate a minor triumph, rejoice' [v. I] (Pl.+)
   PIt. **owā-*.

The Gr. verb εὐάζω 'to cry for joy' is probably denominal to cries such as εὖα (H.), εὐαί (-αῖ) (Ar.), εὐᾶν (E.). Yet the Latin word cannot be a borrowing, since it requires the PIt. change of **eṷ > *oṷ*.

Bibl.: WH II: 229f., EM 472, IEW 347, Schrijver 1991: 37, 449.

ōvum 'egg' [n. *o*] (Enn.+)
   PIt. **ōw(j)om*.

PIE **h₂ōuiom* 'egg'. IE cognates: OW *ui*, MW *wy* [m.], OCo. *uy*, Co. *oy*, Bret. *uy, vi* 'egg' < PCl. **āṷjo-*; Av. *aēm* (acc.sg.), Khot. *āhaa-*, MP *xāyag*, Khwar. *y'k* < PIr. **āṷia(-ka)-*; Gr. ᾠόν (Ion.-Att.), ὤόν (Hell.), ὤϊον (Sappho); Arm. *jow*, gen. *jowoy* < **iōio- << *ōio-*; Po. *jajo; jaje* (obs.), SCr. *jáje* 'egg' < PSl. **âje*, OCS *ajce*, Ru. *jajcó*, Cz. *vejce* 'egg' < PSl. **ajьce*; Alb. *ve, voe*; Crimean Go. *ada*, OIc. *egg*, OHG *ei*, OE *ǣg* 'egg' < PGm.**ajjaz-*.

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*.

Bibl.: WH II: 230, EM 472, IEW 783f., Schindler 1969, Schrijver 1991: 30, 126, 300. → *avis*

P

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', πάλλαξ 'young woman', Av. *pairikā-* 'witch'. But Irish has *-r-*, Av. has **parikā-*, and Gr. has *a* and *ll*, 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 *plgš /pi(y)leyeš/* 'concubine'.

Bibl.: WH II: 233f., EM 474, Leumann 1977: 69.

paene 'almost, practically' [adv.] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *paenitēre* (pf. *-ui*)'to cause dissatisfaction, cause to regret' (Pl.+), *paenitūdō* 'regret' (Pac.), *pae/ēnūria* '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 **h₁ai* 'to give, take'. A PIE phoneme sequence **h₁ai-* is in my view not possible, however, and the existence of a PIE preverb **peḱs* 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 **plh₂-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 **plh₂-em-i* 'in the flat (hand)' to *palma*; this might have yielded **palem*, however; or a loc. **plh₂-ēm* > **p(a)lām*; (3) an adverbialised acc.sg. of a *h₂*-stem of the same root: **plh₂-eh₂-m* > **palām* > *palam*. Since *palma* and its cognates provide evidence for a PIE *m*-stem, hypothesis (2) is slightly more likely.

Bibl.: WH II: 237, EM 475, IEW 805-807, Schrijver 1991: 209f. → *clam, palma, plānus*

palātum 'roof of the mouth; dome, vault' [n. *o*] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *Palātium* 'the Palatine' (Naev.+), *Palātīnus* 'Palatine' (Varro+), *Palātua* 'tutelary goddess of the Palatine' (Varro), *Palātuālis* 'of Palātua' (Varro+).

PIt. **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. *palhi-* 'broad' < **plh₂-i-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 237, EM 475f. → *plānus*

palea 'chaff, husk' [f. *ā*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: uncertain are *palea* 'the wattles of a cock' (Varro+), *palear, -āris* [n.] 'dewlap' (Varro+).

PIt. **palejā-* [f.].

PIE **p(e)lh₁-* 'chaff'. IE cognates: Skt. *palā́va-* 'chaff, husk' < **pelH-ŏu(-)*, OPr. *pelwo*, Lith. *pēlūs*, Latv. *pęlus* [pl.] 'chaff', OCS *plěvy* [nom.pl.f.], Ru. *polóva*, SCr. *pljěva* 'chaff' < PIE **pelH-u-(eh₂)*; Gr. πάλλω 'to swing, sway' < **plh₁-n-*, aor. πάλτο (ἀν-, κατ-έπαλτο), redupl. ἀμ-πεπαλών, πάλος [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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 238, EM 476, IEW 802, Schrijver 1991: 210, 256f., Nussbaum 1997: 197.

palla 'mantle' [f. *ā*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *pallula* 'little mantle' (Pl.+), *pallium* 'mantle, garment' (Naev.+), *palliātus* 'wearing a pallium' (Pl.+), *palliolum* 'small pallium' (Pl.+), *palliolātim* 'in/with a pallium' (Pl.+).

No etymology. A PIE preform could for instance be **pHl-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.+).

PIt. **palwo-* 'pale, grey'.

IE cognates: Lith. *palvas* 'light yellow, straw-coloured', RuCS *plavъ* 'white', Ru. *polóvyj* 'pale yellow, sandy', SCr. *plâv* 'pale blue, with light hair' < BSl. **poluo-*, OIc. *fǫlr*, 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 *pol*u*o-, but this would not explain Latin -*a*-. One might posit *ph₂el-, but that would be ad hoc. Alternatively, we are dealing with a loanword *pal*u*o- 'pale, grey' into the European languages.

Bibl.: WH II: 239f., EM 476, IEW 804f., Nussbaum 1997: 191. → *pullus*

palma 'front part of the hand; palm-tree' [f. *ā*] (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+).

PIt. *palamā-.

PIE *plh₂-em-h₂- 'flat, wide'. IE cognates: OIr. *lám*, W. *llaw* < PCl. *φlāmā-, Gr. παλάμη 'palm of the hand', OHG *folma* 'hand', OE *folm* 'flat hand'.

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 *ClHC-. 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 240f., EM 476f., IEW 805-807, Schrijver 1991: 210, Sihler 1995: 96, 111, Nussbaum 1997: 186. → *palam*

pālor, -ārī 'to wander, stray' [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *dispālārī* 'to stray off' (Sis.+), *dispālēscere* 'to be spread about' (Pl.).

PIt. *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 *(h₁)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.+); *suppalpārī* '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. πέλεια, πελειάς 'wild pigeon' to πελι- '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-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *palvala-* [n.] 'pond, pool'; OPr. *pelky* 'marsh', Lith. *pélkė* 'marsh, Žem. puddle', Latv. *pelce* 'puddle' < *pelHk-iH-h₂.

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 uncompelling.

Bibl.: WH II: 243, EM 478, IEW 798-801, Schrijver 1991: 210f.

pandō, -ere 'to spread out, extend' [v. III; ppp. *passum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *pandiculārī* '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, -ūs* 'step, pace' (Pl.+), *pandus* 'arched, bowed' (Enn.+), *Panda* 'a Roman goddess' (Varro+); *dispandere* 'to open out' [Pl. *dispennite*, ppp. *dispessum*] (Pl.+), *expandere* 'to spread out' (Caecil.+), *praepandere* 'to spread in front, reveal' (Laev.+), *repandus* 'flattened back' (Lucil.+), *repandirōstrus* 'having a flattened snout' (Pac.).

Plt. **pand-n-*, **pat-*. It. cognates: O. **patanai** [dat.sg.] '?', name of a deity; O. **patensíns** [3p.ipf.sb.] 'to open' < **pt-n-s-*; U. *padellar* [gen.sg.] name of a deity, 'Patella'.

PIE **pt-n(é)-h₂-* [pr.] 'to spread'. IE cognates: Gr. πίτνημι 'to spread out, open', aor. ἐπέτασ(σ)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. **pandiculum* 'little bending > grimace' is behind *pandiculārī*. 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. *dispennite* < **dis-pat-n-*, and O. **patensíns** (Kortlandt 1999: 248).

Bibl.: WH II: 241, 244f., EM 477f., IEW 788, 824f., Schrijver 1991: 332, 498-504, Meiser 1993: 263, 1998: 122, Untermann 2000: 516-518, LIV 1.*peth₂-. → *pateō*

pangō, -ere 'to insert firmly, fix' [v. III; pf. *pepigī*, ppp. *pāctum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: (1) *compingere* 'to shut up, fix, build' (Pl.+), *dēpangere* '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.+),

prōpagmen 'prolongation' (Enn.), *prōpāgāre* 'to reproduce, prolong' (Cato+), *prōpāgātiō* 'reproduction' (Cato+), *prōpāgō, -inis* 'offspring, space for planting' (Cato+), *repāgula, -ōrum* [n.pl.] 'door-bars' (Pl.+); (3) *pāgus* 'country district or community' (Pl.+), *pāgānicus* 'of the village people' (Varro), *pāgānālia* [pl.] 'the village festival of the *pagi*' (Varro); (4) *pāgina* 'column or page of writing' (Cic.+); (5) *pāla* 'long-handed spade' (Pl.+), *pālus* 'wooden post, stake, peg' (Pl.+), *tripālis* 'having three stakes' (Varro), *paxillus* 'wooden pin' (Varro+).

PIt. **pang-, *pagto-* 'to attach'; **pāg-o-* 'district', **pāg-ē-* 'joint', **pāg-e/on-* 'space, column', **pāg-slo-* 'spade, pole'. It. cognates: O. **prupukid** [abl.sg.] '?' < **prō-pak-iom* 'previous agreement'?

PIE **ph₂-n-ǵ-* [pr.] 'to attach', **ph₂ǵ-to-* [ppp.], **peh₂ǵ-os* [n.]. IE cognates: Skt. *pajrá-* 'solid, firm', *pájas-* [n.] 'surface, face', YAv. *pāzaɲʰhant-* [adj.] (meaning unknown), Khot. *pāysa-* 'surface', Gr. πήγνυμι 'to attach, to join', Gr. εὐ-πηγής 'well-built'.

The nominal forms *-pāgēs, pāgus, pāgina, -pāgin-* are derived from a full grade **pāg-*, whereas the verb forms reflect **pag-*. The nouns *pālus* and *pāla* are derived from an inst. noun **pāg-slo-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 235f., 245f., 371, EM 474f., 479, IEW 787f., Schrijver 1991: 97, Untermann 2000: 587, Stüber 2002: 133f., LIV **peh₂ǵ-*. → *pāx, pignus*

pānis '(loaf of) bread' [m. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *pānārium* 'bread-basket, bread-store' (Varro+), *pāstillum* 'kind of sacrificial cake' (Fest.), *pāstillus* 'pastilie' (Hor.+), *pānicī* [pl.] 'bakers' (Pl.), *pānicum* 'Italian millet' (Cato+); *pānificium* 'the making of bread' (Varro+).

PIt. **pāst-ni-* 'loaf, cake', **pāstlelo-* or **pastnelo-* 'small cake'.

The connection with *pāstillus, -m* suggests that *pānis* derives from **pāst-ni-*. The latter is connected to the root **peh₂-s-* 'to graze' (Lat. ppp. *pāstum*) by scholars from WH to Schrijver, although only hesitantly by the latter. In fact, I do not see how the change from 'graze' to 'bread' can be made with only the suffix **-ni-*. The meaning 'cake, pastille' of *pāstillus/m* suggests that the meaning 'loaf' may be older than 'bread', but this is of course uncertain. I have no alternative etymology to offer. EIEC 383 connects *pānicum* with Iranian **pana-* 'millet' as in Shughni *pīnǰ*, Yazghulami *xar-ban*, but this does not explain the long vowel in Latin. Within Latin, *pānicum* could be connected with *pānis* 'bread', but 'millet' is not normally processed as bread. The appurtenance of *pānicum* to *pānus* seems less certain to me than to WH and EM.

Bibl.: WH II: 246f., EM 479, IEW 787, Leumann 1977: 209, Schrijver 1991: 144. → *pānus*

pannus 'piece of cloth, rag' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

IE cognates: Gr. πῆνος [n.], πήνη [f.] 'woven cloth' (Hsch.) < **pān-*, 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.

pānus 'spool with thread; abcess; main stalk of a panicle' [m. *o*] (Lucil+; Afran.+; Plin.)

Derivatives: *pāni/ucula* 'the feathery head of certain reeds and grasses, tuft; kind of wart' (Plin.+).

In the meaning 'spool with thread', *pānus* may well be a loanword from Doric Greek *πᾶνος*, cf. Att. πήνη, πῆνος 'yarn'. In the meaning 'abcess', *pānus* is compared with Ru. *puk* 'bunch, bundel', OCS *pǫčiti sę* 'be inflated', Ru. *púčit'* 'become swollen' < *ponHk-*; a root *pnHk-* is reconstructed from which Schrijver phonetically derives *pānus*. This is conceivable, but it is just as likely that the word for 'spool' was metaphorically used for 'abcess', and certainly for 'tuft' of reed (*pānicula*); cf. the range of meanings of German *Kloß*.

Bibl.: WH II: 248, EM 480, IEW 789, Schrijver 1991: 491.

pāpiliō 'moth, butterfly' [m. *n*] (Ov.+)

PIt. *pV(l)pVl-*.

IE cognates: OPr. *penpalo* 'quail', OPr. *pepelis*, [pl.] *pippalins* 'bird', Lith. *piepala*, Latv. *paîpala*, Ru. *pérepel*, Cz. *přepel*, *křepel* 'quail', Olc. *fīfrildi*, OE *fīfealde*, OHG *fīfaltra*, MHG *fīfalter* 'butterfly' < PGm. *fīfalðrōn-*.

Pā-piliō 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', *plehₗ-* 'to swim, float', *pelhₗ-* 'to swing'.

Bibl.: WH II: 249f., EM 480, IEW 798-801.

pār, paris 'equal, matching' [adj. *i*] (Pl.+; sup. *parisuma* Elog.Scip.)

Derivatives: *parilis* 'equal, similar' (Lucil.+); *compār* 'fellow, similar, equal' (Pl.+), *comparāre* 'to align, match, evaluate' (Pl.+), *dispār* 'unequal, different' (Acc.+), *disparāre* 'to be different' (Pl.+), *disparilis* 'different' (Varro+), *disparilitās* 'difference' (Varro+), *impār* 'unequal' (Cato+); *aequiperāre* 'to compare, become equal' (Pl.+), *aequiperābilis* 'comparable' (Pl.+).

PIt. *parVs? *pās-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 *parVs > *pars > *parr*. 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. *parVs* may stem from PIE *prH-V-*, but no good etymology is available. WH connect *perhₗ-* 'to sell', but 'selling' does not mean 'matching'. Alternatively, Latin may be separated from U. *pars* and go back to *pās-*, *pas-* < PIE *pHs-*; see *pāreō* for a possible candidate.

Bibl.: WH II: 250f., EM 481, Leumann 1977: 220, Untermann 2000: 514. → *pāreō*, *parricīda*

parcō, -ere 'to act sparingly, refrain from' [v. III; pf. *peperci* (*parcuīt*, *parsī*)] (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 **h₂erḱ-(e/o-)* 'to hold'.

LIV's connection of *parcō* with Skt. *pṛk-* '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- > parcō* 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-ske/o-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 256f., II: 252, EM 482, IEW 820, Keller 1992: 162-165, Untermann 2000: 415f., 530f., Meiser 2003: 184, Neri 2007: 77f., LIV **h₂erḱ-*. → *arceō*

pāreō 'to submit, obey' [v. II; pf. *pārui*, ppp. *paritum*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *pāret* 'appears, seems' (Cic.+); *appārēre* 'to be visible, appear' (Naev.+), *appāritor* 'attendant',(Cato+), *compārēre* 'to be seen, appear' (Pl.+).

PIt. **pās-ē-*.

PIE **peh₂-s-* [pr.] 'to watch, see'?. IE cognates: Arm. *hayim* 'to see', Alb. aor. *pashë* '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. *pashë* '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 **peh₂-s-* '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*

pariēs, -etis 'wall' [m. *ī*] (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.

Bibl.: WH II: 254, EM 483, IEW 990f., Leumann 1977: 373, Schrijver 1991: 293.

pariō, -ere 'to give birth to, bear' [v. III; pf. *peperī*, ppp. *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'

(Pl.), *parentātiō* 'celebration of the family dead' (Cato+); *partus, -ūs* 'the giving birth, birth, progeny' (Pl.+), *partiō* 'the giving birth' (Pl.+), *partitūdō* 'the giving birth' (Pl.+), *partūra* 'the giving birth' (Varro), *parturīre* 'to be in labour, give birth' (Pl.+); (2) *perīculum* 'trial, danger' (Pl.+), *perīculārī* 'to try out, risk' (Cato), *perīclitārī* 'to try out, risk; be in danger' (Pl.+), *perīculōsus* 'dangerous' (Cato+); *perītus* 'experienced, expert' (Pl.+), *imperītus* 'unexperienced' (Pl.+); *comperīrī* 'to find out, discover' (Ter.+), *experīrī* (pf. *expertus sum*) 'to put to the test, attempt' (Naev.+), *experientia* 'trial' (Varro+), *experīmentum* 'test, trial' (Varro+), *opperīrī* 'to wait, await' (Pl.+), *reperīre* 'to recover, discover' (Pl.+) [pf. *repperī*, ppp. *repertum*].

PIt. **per(e)i-*, **par-(e)i-*, aor.ptc. **par-(e)nt-* 'to bear; find, experience'; **per-ei-tlo-* 'experience'. It. cognates: Fal. **pe:para[i]** [1s.pf.] 'I have procured'; U. **amparitu** [3s.ipv.II.], **amparihmu** [3s.ipv.II.ps.] 'to erect?' < *an-* 'on' + **parē/ī/-ie-*.

PIE pr. **pérh₃-i-* 'to provide', **prh₃-éi-*, aor. **p(é)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. *parturīre* 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 *pariō* 'to bear, produce' and *-perīre/ī* '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 **-ie/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 **perei-tlo-* 'experience' > 'trial, danger', although, in theory, *ī* in *perīclum* can also be due to a Sievers-like development from **perio-tlo-*. But since *ī* can be linked to the *-i-* in *pariō*, the word family of *pariō* and *-perīre/ī* provides support for the reconstruction of an **i/ei*-present. Of course, for the compounds in *-perīre/ī* we cannot be sure whether they contain **par-* or **per-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 255, 288f., EM 483f., 498f., IEW 816-18, Giacomelli 1963: 252, Schrijver 1991: 211, Panagl-Lindner 1995: 173f., Sihler 1995: 538, Rix 1999: 525, Untermann 2000: 88, Schrijver 2003: 74-79, Meiser 2003: 185, LIV **perh₃-*. → *parō, pars, pauper, prātum*

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.+), *disparāre* 'to divide' (Pl.+), *imparātus* 'not ready, unprepared', *imperāre* 'to demand the production or payment of, order, command' (Naev.+), *imperātor* 'who gives orders, ruler' (Pl.+), *imperium* 'supreme power, authority, dominion' (Pl.+), *imperiōsus* 'commanding' (Pl.+), *praeparāre* 'to furnish beforehand, prepare' (Varro+), *sēparāre* 'to divide, separate' (Cato+); (2) *properus* 'quick' (Cato+),

properiter 'quickly' (Pac.+), *properāre* 'to incite; to hurry' (Pl.+), *properātim* 'hastily' (Caecil.+); *puerpera* 'woman in labour or who has delivered' (Pl.+), *puerperium* 'childbirth' (Pl.+), *opiparus* 'sumptuous, rich' (Pl.+).

PIt. *parāje/o-*. It. cognates: possibly Pael. *empratois* [dat.abl.pl.] '?' if to Lat. *imperāre*; O. **embratur** [nom.sg.] borrowed from Latin.

PIE *prh₃-o- 'providing'. IE cognates: OIr. *ernaid**, ·*ern** 'to grant' << PCl. ** φarna-* (-*e-* from the sb.), OIr. *rath* [n.], MW *rat* 'mercy' < **φrato-*; Skt. *pṛṇāti* [3s.act.], aor. *pūrdhi* [2s.ipv.act.], pf. ·*pupūryās* [2s.opt.act.] 'to give, grant', *sadā-pṛṇā-* [adj.] 'granting continually' < *prH-; Gr. aor. ἔπορον 'provided, gave', pf.med. πέπρωται 'it has been fated'.

Mostly explained as a denominal verb to a noun **paro-* < **prH-o/h₂-* (cf. *puer-pera*), but Rix has proposed that it continues **prHie-* > **paraje-*. This is accepted by LIV. This will not work with our phonetic rules: **prHie-* 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 *properāre* 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*.

Bibl.: WH II: 256, EM 484, IEW 816-18, Schrijver 1991: 401, Rix 1999: 525, Untermann 2000: 222, Schumacher 2004: 508f., LIV **perh₃-*. → *pariō, pauper*

parra 'kind of bird (of ill omen)' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **parVsā-*. It. cognates: U. **parfam**, *parfa* [acc.sg.], *parfa* [abl.sg.] 'certain bird' < *paresā.

PIE *sprH-e/os-? IE cognates: Co. *frau*, Bret. *frao* 'crow' < **sprau̯a-* < **spreh₂-u-?*; Gr. σπoργίλoς 'sparrow', OPr. *spurglis* 'sparrow' (< **sprg-*), MHG *sperke*, Go. *sparwa*, OE *spearwa*, OHG *sparo* < **spor(H)u̯-en-*, OIc. *spǫrr* < **spor(H)u̯o-*.

PIt. **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.

Bibl.: WH II: 257, EM 484f., IEW 991, Meiser 1986: 174, Schrijver 1991: 211f., Meiser 1998: 116, Untermann 2000: 513.

parricīda 'murderer of a near relation' [m. *ā*] (Pl.+; also *pāricīda*; nom.sg. *paricidas* Lex reg. apud Fest.)

Derivatives: *parricīdium* 'murder of a near relation' (Pl.+).

The original word may have been *pāri-kaida, with the same development to *parr-* as in *Iūpiter*, etc. The connection with Gr. πηός, Dor. πᾱός 'kinsman by marriage' < **pāso-* is not convincing, since the etymology of the Gr. word is unknown, and since a word **pāso-* 'relative' is otherwise unknown in Latin. Still, the absence of syncope to *pārkaida suggests that *parricīda* is a relatively recent compound. For a recent

formation, *pār* 'equal' is the most obvious candidate: **pāri-kaid-a* 'who kills an equal'.
Bibl.: WH II: 253, EM 483, IEW 789, Leumann 1977: 281, Schrijver 1991: 153. →
caedō, pār   •

pars, -tis 'part, piece' [f. *i*] (Lex XII, Andr.+)

Derivatives: *partim* [adv.] 'partly' (Andr.+), *partīre/ī* 'to share, divide up' (Andr.+),
particula 'small part' (Varro+), *particulātim* 'bit by bit', *particulō* 'a coheir'
(Pompon.+); *expers* 'having no share, free' (Pl.+); *particeps* 'participant' (Andr.+),
participāre 'to share' (Pl.+), *participium* 'participle' (Varro+), *participālis*
'participial' (Varro+); *dispertīre* 'to separate, divide up' (Pl.+), *impertīre* 'to give a
share, present with' (Pl.+), *bipertītus* 'bipartite' (Varro+), *tripertītus* '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 **partiō* 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(tī)tiōne*. Since *partītiō* is not attested before Cicero, whereas *ratiō* is
fully present from Plautus onwards, the former etymology seems more likely.
Bibl.: WH II: 257-259, EM 485, 524, IEW 817, Leumann 1977: 366, Schrijver
1991: 195-197. → *pariō*

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 **peh₂u-ro-* (or **ph₂eu-ro-*). IE cognates: Gr. παῦρος 'little', Go. *fawai* [nom.pl.]
'few', OIc. *fár* 'little', OE *fēa* < PGm. **fawa-* < **ph₂(e)u-o-*.

With regular metathesis of **-ur-* 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*.
Bibl.: WH II: 259, EM 485, IEW 842f., Schrijver 1991: 269. → *paucus, pauper*

pāscō, -ere 'to feed, pasture' [v. III; pf. *pāvī*, ppp. *pāstum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *pāscuus* 'used for pasture' (Pl.+), *pastus, -ūs* 'feeding' (Varro+), *pāstiō*
'feeding, pasturing' (Varro+), *pāstor* 'shepherd' (Pl.+), *pāstōricius* 'of herdsmen'
(Varro+), *pāstōrālis* 'of animal husbandry' (Varro+), *pāscālis* 'pasturing, grazing'
(Cato+); *dēpāscere* 'to eat up, graze down' (Lucr.+); *pābulum* 'fodder, food' (Pl.+),
pābulārī 'to graze, forage' (Varro+), *pābulātiō* 'pasture; collecting fodder' (Varro+).
PIt. pr. **pāske/o-*, pr. **pās-*, **pāþlo-* [n.].

PIE pr. *peh₂-s- 'to protect, herd', pr. *p(e)h₂-sk-e/o-; *peh₂-dʰlo- [n.]. IE cognates: Hit. *pahš-ᵃ⁽ʳⁱ⁾ , pahš̌ 'to protect, observe', pahšnu-ᶻⁱ 'to protect' < *péh₂s-o, *póh₂s-, *ph₂s-neu-; Skt. páti [3s.act.], s-aor. pāsati [3s.sb.act.] 'to protect, keep', Av. pā- 'to protect', pātar- [m.] 'protector', hu-pāta- [adj.] 'well-protected', Gr. πῶμα [n.] 'lid, cover' < *poh₂-mn, OCS pasti, 1s. pasǫ 'to pasture', Ru. pasti 'to pasture, herd', SCr. pȁsti 'to pasture, look after' < *peh₂s-; Gr. ποιμήν [m.] 'shepherd', Lith. piemuõ [m.] '(shep)herd, shepherd's boy'; Finnish paimen 'shepherd' (loanword from Baltic) < *poh₂i-men-; ToA pās- 'to look after, watch'.

Latin pāstum, 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 pābulum continues the unenlarged variant of the root.

Bibl.: WH II: 260, EM 486, IEW 787, Schrijver 1991: 144, Meiser 2003: 124, LIV *peh₂(i)-. → pāreō

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 > *passr̥s, *pazrī > *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.

Bibl.: WH II: 261, EM 486, Schrijver 1991: 212, 495, LIV 1/2. *peth₂-. → accipiter, penna

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: patrāre 'to accomplish' (Pl.+), patrius [adj.] 'of a father, ancestral' (Pl.+), patria 'native land, city' (Naev.+), paternus 'of a father' (Pl.+), patricē [adv.] 'in a patrician manner' (Pl.), patricius [adj.] 'patrician', patrītus 'of one's father'

(Varro+), *patrimōnium* 'private possessions, estate' (Lab.+); *patruus* 'father's brother' (Pl.+), *patruēlis* 'of a paternal uncle, cousin' (Naev.+); *patrōnus* 'patron, guardian' (Lex XII+), *patrōna* 'protectress, patroness' (Pl.+), *patrōcinārī* 'to act as a protector or advocate' (Ter.+); *opiter* 'a person whose father is dead while his grandfather still lives' (Paul. *ex F.*), *impetrāre* 'to obtain by request, succeed' (Pl.+), *impetrābilis* 'effective, succesful' (Pl.+), *impetrīre* 'to seek a favourable omen' (Pl.+), *perpetrāre* 'to complete, carry out' (Pl.+).

PIt. **pater-*, **patrijo-*, **patre/ow-*. It. cognates: Ven. *pater* [nom.], O. **patir** [nom.sg.], **pateref**, Mars. *patre*, SPic. **patereíh** [dat.sg.] 'father'.

PIE **ph₂tér*, -tér-m, **-tr-ós* 'father', **ph₂tr-iHo-* 'of a father', **ph₂tr-u-* 'father's brother'. IE cognates: Skt. *pitár-*, OAv. *ptā* [nom.], *patarām /ptāram/* [acc.], *piϑrē* [dat.], *fəδrōi /fδrai/* [dat.], YAv. *pitar-*, *ptərəbiiō* [dat.pl.] 'father', *pitarə* [acc.du.] 'parents', OP *pitā* [nom.], *piça* [gen.], Gr. πατήρ, Arm. *hayr*, OHG *fater* [m.] 'father'. Skt. *pitrya-* 'of the father, ancestral' < **pHtriHa-*, Gr. πάτριος 'paternal, hereditary'; Skt. *piṭrvya-* (Br+), YAv. *tūiriia-* [m.] 'father's brother', Khwar. *(')fcwr* (< PIr. **ftūriia-*), Pash. *trə* 'uncle' (< **pṭr̥(u)iia-*) < **ph₂tr-uio-*, Gr. πάτρως 'male relative, esp. father's brother' < **ph₂tr-ōu-s*, OHG *fatureo, fetiro* 'id.' (< PGm. **fadur(u)i-ōn*).

The adj. *patruēlis* may be dissimilated from **patruīlis* < **patr-u-ī-* 'of a father's brother', cf. Leumann 1977. The verbs *im-* and *perpetrāre* contain *patrāre*, a denominative to *pater*. *Paternus* was probably formed after *māternus*. The root etymology is disputed: it might be a derivative of **ph₂-* 'to protect', but it has also been analysed as a (productive) derivative in **-ter-* to a nursery form **pa*, phonologically **/ph₂/*.

Bibl.: WH II: 262-265, EM 487f., IEW 829, Lejeune 1974: 337, Leumann 1977: 54, 350, Schrijver 1991: 97, Untermann 2000: 518f. → *Iūpiter*

patior, patī 'to undergo, experience' [v. III; ppp. *passum*] (Naev.+)
Derivatives: *patientia* 'endurance, tolerance' (Pl.+), *passiō* 'passion' (Varro+); *perpetī* 'to undergo to the full, put up with' (Pl.+).
PIt. **pat-i-*.

It has been suggested that *patior* belongs to Gr. πῆμα 'suffering' < **peh₁-mn*, which would point to a basis **ph₁-t-* > **pat-*. Yet *patior* cannot be a denominative to a ppp. **ph₁-to-* or an *i*-stem **ph₁-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)t-i-* 'to befall', intr. 'it befalls me' > 'I experience'.

Bibl.: WH II: 264, EM 488, IEW 792f., Schrijver 1991: 93, LIV **peth₁-*. → *petō*

paucus 'few, small in number' [adj. *o/ā*] (Andr.+)
Derivatives: *pauciēns* 'rarely' (Titin.+), *pauculus* [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.+), *paulātim* 'little by little' (Pl.+), *paul(l)isper* 'for a brief while' (Pl.+), *paullulus* 'little, small' (Pl.+), *paullulum* [n./adv.] 'a little; to a small extent' (Pl.+), *pauxillus* 'little, small' (Naev.+), *pauxillulus* 'tiny' (Naev.+), *pauxillātim* 'by slow degrees' (Pl.+), *pauxillisper* 'bit by bit' (Pl.); *perpaucī* [adj.pl.]

'extremely few' (Ter.+), *perpauxillum* 'an excessively tiny amount' (Pl.); *pauciloquium* 'the fact of saying little' (Pl.).

PIt. **pauko-* 'few', **paurelo-* 'a little bit'.

PIE **peh₂u-*. IE cognates: see s.v. *parvus*.

The coocurrence 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 *pauxillus* would be an analogical form made to *paullus*, and *paullus* itself a *lo*-derivative **pau-re-lo-* of *parvus* < **pauro-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 265f., EM 489, IEW 842f., Leumann 1977: 208, Schrijver 1991: 269, Sihler 1995: 222. → *parvus, pauper, puer*

pauper 'poor' [adj. *r*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *pauperiēs* 'poverty' (Lex XII+), *pauperium* 'id.' (Caecil.), *paupertās* 'id.' (Pl.+), *pauperculus* 'poor' (Pl.+), *paupertīnus* 'poverty-stricken' (Varro+), *pauperāre* 'to impoverish, despoil' (Pl.+); *perpauper* 'very poor' (Afran.+).

PIt. **pau(o)-pa/oro-*.

PIE **peh₂u-(o-)p(o)rh₃-o-* 'providing little'. IE cognates: see s.v. *parvus*.

Originally a thematic adj., which probably switched to the third declension by analogy with its antonym *dīves*. The PIE form may have contained final **-prh₃-o-* > **-paro-* or **porh₃-o-* > **-poro-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 267f., EM 490, IEW 842f., Schrijver 1991: 269. → *parvus, paucus*

paveō 'to be frightened' [v. II; pf. *pāvī*] (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.).

PIt. **paw-ē-* 'to be frightened'.

PIE **pou-eh₁-* 'to fear'. IE cognates: Olr. *omun*, MW *ouyn*, MCo. *own*, Bret. *oun* 'fear' < PCl. **ofno-* < **pouno-* (McCone 1992b), Olr. *úath* 'fear' < **pou-to-*, W. *uthr* 'terrible' < **pou-tro-*.

WH and EM regard *pavēre* as the stative counterpart 'to be struck' > 'to fear' of *pavīre* '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 PIt. change of **ow* > **aw*, this would yield Lat. *pav-* – at least, in pretonic position. The pf. *pāvī* 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, -īre 'to thump, pound, strike' [v. IV] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *pavīmentum* 'pavement' (Cato+), *pavīcula* 'rammer' (Cato+); *dēpuvīre* 'to beat thoroughly' (Naev.+).

PIt. *pawje/o-. It. cognates: O. **pavmentúm** borrowed from Latin.

PIE *ph₂u-ie/o- 'to hit'. IE cognates: Gr. παίω 'to strike, hit' < *ph₂u-ie/o-, Lith. *pjáuti*, 3s. *pjáuna* 'to cut', Latv. *pļaũ̯* 'to mow, harvest' < *peh₁u- (or *pi̯eh₂-u-). Maybe ToB 3p. *pyakar* 'they struck down', Gr. πταίω 'to hit', ToAB *putk-* 'to divide'.

LIV follows Hackstein 1993: 161 in reconstructing a pr. *pi(e)h₂-u-ie/o- which would have lost the first *i̯ in PIt. due to dissimilation (LIV) or simple phonetic loss (Hackstein). Root-initial *pi̯- 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- > *mi̯uh₁-C- > *muHC-. A similar development may account for *pih₂u-i̯- > *ph₂u-i̯-; the absence of laryngeal metathesis may be due to the following *i̯ instead of a stop. Janda 2000: 42-46 separates *paviō* from *pih₂u-*, and posits *peh₂u-ie/o- 'to strike'; see also s.v. *pūrus*.

Bibl.: WH II: 256, 267, EM 490, IEW 827, Schrijver 1991: 446, Untermann 2000: 519, LIV *pi̯eh₂-, 1.*peu̯H-. → *pūr(i)gō, pūrus, putō*

pāx, pācis 'peace' [f. *k*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *pacere* 'to come to an agreement (Lex XII+), *pactum* 'agreement, means' (Lex XII+), *pactiō* 'agreement, settlement' (Pl.+), *pācāre* '?' (Duenos inscr.+?), 'to impose a settlement' (Cic.+), *pācātus* 'peaceful, settled' (Pl.+), *pacīscere* 'to arrange by negotiation, betroth', pf. *pactum* (Naev.+), *compacīscī* 'to make an agreement' (Pl.), *compa/ectum* 'agreement' (Pl.+), *dēpecīscī* 'to come to terms, agree' (Ter.+), *pācificārī* 'to be reconciled' (Pl.); *paciō* 'pactiō' (Fest.).

PIt. *pāk- 'agreement, peace', *pak-e/o- 'to make an agreement', *pakto- 'agreed', *pākri- 'id.'. It. cognates: U. *paca* [postpos. + gen.] 'because of'; U. *pase* [abl.sg.] 'peace' f. < *pāk-; U. *pacer* [nom.sg.], Marr. *pacrsi* [nom.sg. + -si] , Mars. *pacre* [nom.sg.n.?], Pael. *pacrid* [abl.sg.], U. *pacrer*, Pael. *pacris*, Marr. *pacris* [nom.pl.m.] 'merciful, auspicious' < *pākri-.

PIE *peh₂k̂- 'agreement', *ph₂k̂-(e/o-) 'to make an agreement'. IE cognates: Skt. *pā́śa-* [m.] 'snare, noose', Khot. *pāsa-* 'fastening, cord', Go. *fāhan*, 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. *pāšk-ⁱ* / *pašk-* 'to stick in, plant, set up' < *PósK- (Kloekhorst 2008: 651) from the IE cognates.

Bibl.: WH II: 231f., EM 473, IEW 787f., Schrijver 1991: 97, Untermann 2000: 508-510, Meiser 2003: 184, LIV *peh₂k̂-. → *pangō*

-pe [ptc. encl.]

Derivatives: *nempe* 'of course, to be sure' (Pl.+), *quippe* 'for, indeed' (Pl.+), *quispiam* 'some, someone' (Naev.+), *uspiam* 'somewhere, anywhere' (Pl.+).

PIt. *-pe.

PIE *pe. IE cognates: CLuw. HLuw. *pa-/-ppa* [encl. advers.], Lith. *kaĩp* 'how?'.

Lat. *-pe* can be connected with Lith. *-p*, and will reflect a discourse particle; *-piam*

'any at all' < *-pe iam. Maybe PIE *kʷid-pe is reflected in Lat. quippe and HLuvian /kwipa/ 'indeed', Lycian, Milyan tibe=kibe 'or' (Melchert 2002). The theoretical possibility that -pe is the Sabellic form of -que < *-kʷe is unlikely.

Bibl.: WH II: 269, EM 491, Beekes 1995: 223, Melchert 2002, Dunkel 2005: 175f.
→ nem-

peccō, -āre 'to make a mistake, commit a fault' [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: peccātum 'error, misdemeanour' (Pl.+).

It. cognates: maybe U. pesetom est '?' (an act rendering a ritual unvalid).

WH and EM consider an etymology *ped-ko- 'having a fault at the foot', cf. mancus, caecus. Yet there is no reference to feet in the meaning of peccāre. And to 'make a faux pas' (thus EM) would hardly be rendered by the word for 'foot', but rather by 'walking' vel sim. Leumann 1977 connects the root *pet- 'to fall', hence *pet-ko- 'a fall, error'. This is better semantically, but the addition of *-ko- to the bare root seems strange. Also, this root is unattested in Latin except maybe in patior.

Bibl.: WH II: 269, EM 491, IEW 790-792, Leumann 1977: 196, Untermann 2000: 547.

pectō, -ere 'to comb (hair)' [v. III; pf. pexī, ppp. pexum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: pecten, -inis [m.] 'comb (for the hair)' (Pl.+), pectunculus 'small scallop' (Varro+); dēpectere 'to comb out' (Ter.+), oppectere 'to apply a comb to' (Pl.); impexus 'uncombed' (Pac.+).

PIt. *petke/o- 'to comb', *petken- 'comb'. It. cognates: U. petenata '?'.

PIE *p(e)tḱ- < *pe-pḱ- [v.], *p(e)tḱ-en- [m.]. IE cognates: Gr. πέκω 'to comb, shear', Lith. pèšti 'to pluck', Gr. πέκτω 'to comb, shear', OHG fehtan 'to fight'; Gr. κτείς, κτενός 'comb < *πκτεν-; Skt. pákṣman- [n.], Av. pašna- 'eyelash(es)' < *pek-s-.

Lat. has a pr. *pekte/o- and a noun pecten, with unknown quantity of the final vowel in the nom.sg. (Sommer 1914: 366) because it is only attested twice in verse, both times before a consonant or consonant cluster. Traditionally, the pr. is reconstructed with a suffix *-t-e/o-, but this is very rare in IE. The alternative reconstruction by Pinault 2006b is therefore quite attractive. He proposes a reduplicated verb form *pe-pḱ- to have dissimilated to *petḱ-, whence was derived the n-stem *petḱ-n- / *ptḱ-én- 'comb'. A reduplicated present fits the repetitive meaning of 'to comb, pluck' very well.

Bibl.: WH II: 269f., EM 491, IEW 797, Sihler 1995: 296-298, 535, Untermann 2000: 549, Meiser 2003: 114, Pinault 2006b: 136-140, LIV 1.*peḱ-.

pectus, -oris 'breast, chest' [n. r] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: pectorālis 'of the breast' (Varro+).

PIt. *pektos-.

IE cognates: OIr. ucht 'breast, chest' [n., m. u] < *puktu-.

OIr. ucht < *puktu- provides a likely cognate, if it reflects earlier *pektu-. The earlier connection with Toch. pässäm must be given up, since this belongs to PIE *psten- 'breast'. Skt. pákṣa- '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: *pecuārius* 'of cattle or sheep' (Pl.+), *pecuīnus* 'of sheep, cattle' (Cato+), *pecus, -udis* 'any animal of a farm' (Pl.+), *pecus, -oris* [n.] 'farm animals, livestock' (Andr.+), *pecūlium* 'money or property in possession' (Pl.+), *pecūliāris* 'personal, private' (Pl.+), *pecūliōsus* 'well provided with peculium' (Pl.), *pecūliāre* 'to provide with peculium' (Pl.), *pecūlātus, -ūs* 'embezzlement of public money or property' (Pl.+), *dēpecūlātus, -ūs* 'the act of defrauding' (Pl.+), *pecūnia* 'property, money' (Lex XII+), *pecūniōsus* 'well provided with money' (Varro+).

PIt. **peku-*, **pekos-*. It. cognates: U. *pequo* [acc.pl.] 'cattle' < **pekuā*.

PIE **peḱ-u-* [n.] 'cattle', **peḱ-os, -es-* [n.] 'what is being fleeced' > 'cattle/wool'. IE cognates: Skt. *paśú-* [m.] 'cattle, animal', *páśu-* [n.] 'id.', *paśumánt-* 'equipped with cattle, rich in cattle', Av. *pasu-* [m.] 'cattle', OAv. *kamnafšuuā* 'due to a small stock of cattle', YAv. *fšūmaṇt-* 'raising cattle', OPr. *pecku* 'cattle', Lith. *pẽkus* 'id.', Go. *faihu* [n.] 'property, money', OHG *fihu* [n.] 'cattle' < PGm. **fehu*; Gr. πέκος [n.] 'fleece, wool'.

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 **peḱ-u-*. Pinault 1997 suggests that *-ū* may phonetically derive from **-ēu* in a collective **pḱēu/*pḱu-* 'small cattle' (for which he sees evidence in Tocharian **śā* (ToB *śanta*) and ToA *śoś* 'id.'). He compares Latin *diūs* < **diēus*, but this has a following *-s* (and hence the long vowel occurred in front of two consonants) and may actually reflect short **dieus*. *Pecūlium* probably hides an adj. **pecū-li-s* 'of cattle', whereas *pecūnia* was probably built on an adj. **pecūnus* 'having cattle'. *Peculātus* may have been derived directly from a dim. **peculum* 'little money' > 'embezzled money'.

Bibl.: WH II: 270-272, EM 491f., IEW 797, Leumann 1977: 323, 350, 441, Untermann 2000: 527, LIV 1.**peḱ-*. → *pectō*

pēdis 'louse' [m. *i*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *pēdicōsus* 'full of lice' (Titin.+).

PIt. **pezd-*.

PIE **pesd-* 'annoying insect'. IE cognates: Skt. *pedú-* PN (of a man, protected by the Aśvins, by whom he was presented with white snake-killing honey), *paidvá-* [m.] 'the snake-killing horse of Pedu', 'an insect harming horses', YAv. *pazdu-* [m.] 'beetle, maggot'.

Lat. *pēdicōsus* shows an original basis **pēdi/ek-*, which implies that *pēdis* might be a remake of **pēdex*. The etymology as **pe-h₁ed-i-* 'who eats away' (Weiss 1993: 53-56, Neri 2007: 71) is unspecific and unconvincing; more likely, *pēdis* is cognate with IIr. **pazdu-* 'beetle, maggot'.

Bibl.: WH II: 272f., EM 493, IEW 829.

pēdō, -ere 'to fart' [v. III; pf. *pepēdī*, ppp. *pēditum*] (Hor., Mart.)

Derivatives: *pōdex, -icis* 'the anus' (Lucil.+).

PIt. **pezd-e/o-*.

PIE *pesd-e/o- 'to fart'. IE cognates: Gr. βδέω 'to fart' < *βzδέω < *psd-e-, Lith. *bezdéti*, 3s. *bēzda*, Latv. *bezdêt*, Ru. *bzdét'*, SCr. *bàzdjeti* 'to fart'.

The structure of the root suggests an onomatopoeic formation. There is no guarantee that *pōdex* 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-.

peiior 'worse' [comp.] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *pessimus* 'worst' (Naev.+).

PIt. **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 inscriptional 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 *ē* 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 *peiior* and *pessimus* were grafted.

Bibl.: WH II: 275, EM 493, IEW 790-792, Sihler 1995: 368, Meiser 1998: 153f., LIV *ped-. → *pessum*

pellis 'skin, hide' [f. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *pellicula* 'skin, hide' (Lucil.+), *pellītus* 'covered with skins' (Varro+), *pelliō* 'tanner' (Pl.+); *pellesuīna* 'shop for skins and hides' (Varro); *tentipellium* 'device for stretching skins' (Titin.+), *versipellis* 'one who can metamorphose himself' (Pl.+).

PIt. **pelni-.*

PIE **pel-ni-* 'skin, hide'. IE cognates: Lith. *plėnė* 'membrane', Ru. *plená* 'membrane' < **pl-ēn-(i)ā-*; OCS *pelena* 'band for swathing children', Ru. *pelená* 'shroud, (dial.) nappy', Sln. *plęna* 'bandage' < **pel-en-h₂-*, OHG *fel, -lles*, OE *fell*, Olc. *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.

Bibl.: WH II: 275f., EM 493f., IEW 803f., Leumann 1977: 213, LIV ?*pelk-.

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.+), *dēpellere* '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 strike against, impel' (Pl.+), *impulsor* 'instigator' (Pl.+), *impulsus, -ūs*

'shock, incitement' (Pl.+), *perpellere* 'to prevail on, constrain' (Pl.+), *prōpellere* 'to push forward, drive on' (Pl.+), *repellere* 'to push away, drive back' (Pl.+), *repulsāre* 'to drive back' (Lucr.), *repulsus, -ūs* 'coûnterpressure' (Lucr.+); (2) *pultāre* 'to knock at' (Pl.+), *pultātiō* 'knocking' (Pl.); *pulsāre* 'to strike, beat' (Pl.+), *pulsātiō* 'striking, knocking' (Pl.+), *dēpulsāre* 'to push away' (Pl.), *prōpulsāre* 'to beat off, repel' (Ter.+); (3) *appellāre* 'to speak to, appeal' (Naev.+), *appellātiō* 'designation, term' (Cato+), *compellāre* 'to address, call upon' (Naev.+), *interpellāre* 'to interrupt, obstruct' (Pl.+), *interpellātiō* 'interruption, lawsuit' (Pl.+).

PIt. pr. **pelna-C-*, **-pelna-je/o-* 'to approach', ppp. **polto-*. It. cognates: Ven. *poltos* [nom.sg.m.] 'commōtus'; U. **ampentu, apentu, ampetu** [3s.ipv.II], **anpenes** [3s.fut.], **apelust, apelus** [3s.fut.pf.] 'to bring near' or 'touch' (first main act at the animal sacrifice) < **an-* + pr. **pel-n-h₂-e/o-*.

PIE **pl-n(e)-h₂-* [pr.] 'to approach', **plh₂-to-*. IE cognates: OIr. *ad·ella** 'to visit' < **-elna-* << **φalna-*, OIr. fut. *eblaid** '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', πλῆτο '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 *pultāre* (2) and Ven. *poltos* point to an original ppp. **pultos* < **poltos*, which was replaced by *pulsus*. PIt. **poltos* must replace an earlier **plātos* (Steinbauer 1989: 149, 249) since the root had a final laryngeal. *Pultāre* was later replaced by the new frequentative *pulsāre*. The present *pellere* (1) 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 *-pellāre* (3) are explained by Schrijver from thematization of **-pelna-* to **pelna-je-*. Meiser (1998: 187) gives a less attractive explanation: *-pellāre* would preserve the full grade preforms in **-neh₂-*, which would have been confined to compound verbs by analogy with the *i/ī*-presents of the type *oritur : adorītur*. Yet these are not nasal presents. The meaning of the pr. in *-pellāre* 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 *pellō* is the result of a merger of two different present stems, PIt. **pelnā-* (ppp. **pelto-* << **plāto-*) and PIt. **peld-e/o-* (ppp. **polsso-*). The main reason for this scenario is the fact that he finds *pulsus* hard to conceive of as a secondary formation.

Bibl.: WH I: 59, II: 276f., EM 494, IEW 801f., Lejeune 1974: 337, Schrijver 1991: 407-411, Untermann 2000: 89f., Meiser 2003: 185, Schumacher 2004: 503f., LIV *pelh₂-.

pēluis 'shallow bowl or basin' [f. *i*] (Cato+; trisyllabic *pēlui-* in the oldest attestations)

IE cognates: Skt. *palvala-* 'pool, small tank', Gr. πελίκη 'cup', πέλλα 'milk pail'?

Pace Schrijver, *pēlui-* probably reflects **pēlVwi-* rather than **pēlwi-* (Nussbaum 1997: 190f.). No convincing etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 278, EM 494, IEW 804, Schrijver 1991: 124, 294.

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.+), *dispendere* '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.+), *compendiārius* 'short' (Varro+), *dispendium* 'expense, cost' (Pl.+), *impendium* 'cost, payment' (Varro+), *impendiōsus* 'spendthrift' (Pl.), *stīpendium* 'regular payment, military service' (Pl.+), *suspendium* 'hanging oneself' (Pl.+); *compēnsāre* 'to counterbalance, make up' (Varro+), *dispēnsāre* 'to pay, administer' (Pl.+), *dispēnsātor* 'administrator' (Varro+); *appendix, -icis* 'anything subordinate' (Varro+); *lībripens, -ndis* 'one who holds the balance, paying salary' (Lex XII+); (2) *pendēre* 'to be suspended, hang' (Pl.+), *pēnsilis* 'hanging down, suspensible' (Pl.+); *dēpendēre* 'to hang down' (Pl.+), *impendēre* 'to be suspended, lour' (Pl.+), *prōpendēre* 'to hang down, incline' (Pl.+); (3) *pondō* 'in weight, by weight' (Lex XII+), *pondus, -eris* 'weight, mass' (Pl.), *ponderāre* 'to weigh, form an opinion' (Pl.+), *ponderōsus* 'weighty' (Pl.+), *ponderitās* 'weightiness' (Acc.); *praeponderāre* 'to incline towards, outweigh' (Varro+); *dupondius* 'the sum or weight of two *asses*' (Lucil.+), *assipondium* 'the sum or weight of one *as*' (Varro+).

PIt. **pend-e/o-* 'to hang' > 'weigh', **pondo-* 'weight', **pendos-* [n.] 'weight', **pend-ē-* 'to be hanging'. It. cognates: maybe U. **nuřpener** [abl.pl.] if < **pendio-*.

PIE **(s)pend-e/-o-* 'to spin', **(s)pond-o-* // **ped-/*pd-* [aor.] 'to fall'. IE cognates: if to PIE **(s)pnd-*: Lith. *spęsti*, 3s. *spéndžia* 'to set a trap', OCS *pędь*, Ru. *pjad'* 'span' [f.] < **p(e)nd-i-*, CS *pǫditi* 'to push, chase', Ru. *púdit'* / *pudit'* 'to scare, chase', Po. *pędzić* 'to chase' < **pond-*; 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 **pondos-* (<<**pendos-*) 'weight'. The ppp. *pēnsum* can be from **pend-to-*, hence has been formed secondarily to the present, as has the pf. The root is regarded as a variant of **(s)penh₁-* '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⁽ʰ⁾-*. 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. *pádyate*, 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 278-280, EM 494f., IEW 988, Untermann 2000: 499f., Meiser 2003: 185f., LIV ?2.*(s)pend- // *ped-. → *sponda*

pēnis 'tail, penis' [m. *i*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *pēnītus* 'furnished with a tail' (Naev. apud Fest.), *pēniculus* 'brush, sponge' (Pl.+), *pēniculāmentum* 'train (of a garment)' (Enn.).

PIt. **petsni-* 'tail'.

It is generally assumed that *pēnis* directly reflects PIE **pes-ni-* 'penis', as attested in Hit. **pešan- / pešn- / pišen-* 'man, male' [c.] < **pés-ōn, *pes-(e)n-*; Skt. *pásas-* [n.], Gr. πέος [n.] 'penis' < **pes-os-*; maybe also OHG *fasel* 'seed, fruit, descendant', OE *fæsl*. However, the meaning of *pēnītus* 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 *pēnis*, because 'tail' (Naev.+) is older than 'penis' (Catul.+). One might consider the following alternative: *pēnis* 'tail' derives from **pesnis* 'feather', cognate with OLat. *pesna*, allegdly '*penna*'. In addition, this would solve the origin of *penna* (see below): *penna* goes back to **petna*, whereas *pēnis*, and its OLat. precursors *pesnas* and *pesnis*, goes back to **petsna/i-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 281, EM 496, IEW 824. → *penna*

penna 'wing, feather' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+; *pesnas* 'petnās', *pesnis* 'pennīs' 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/n-*; Hit. *pattar / pattan-* or *pettar / pettan-* [n.] 'wing' < **póthₜ-r, *pthₜ-én-s* or **pethₜ-(ō)r, *pethₜ-én-*; Skt. *pátra-* [n.] 'wing (of a bird), feather', *patangá-* [adj.] 'flying', [m.] 'bird', Av. *patarə-ta-* '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 **petsno-* would have become **pēno-*. Therefore, I assume that the attested forms in -*sn-* belong to *pēnis*, while *penna* reflects **petn-*. Lat. *pinna* can be regarded as a dialect form of *penna*.

Bibl.: WH II: 282f., 306f., EM 496, 508, IEW 825f., Leumann 1977: 209, Schrijver 1991: 501, Sihler 1995: 209, LIV 2.*peth₂-. → *passer, pēnis, petō*

penus, -ūs / -oris 'food, provisions' [f. (m.) / n. *u / r*] (Pl.+; also *penus* Lucil+, *penum* 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.+).

PIt. *penos, loc.sg. -es? m. *pen-o-?

PIE *pen-os, -es- [n.] 'food', *pen-o-? IE cognates: Lith. penéti, 1s. penù '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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 280-283, EM 496, IEW 807, Leumann 1977: 551, Sihler 1995: 306, Stüber 2002: 135f., LIV *pen-.

per 'through, across' [prep. + acc.] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: per- + adj. 'very'; -per [suffix] 'number of times or duration' (Andr.+): aliquantīsper 'for some time' (Pl.+), nūper 'recently' (Pl.+), parumper 'for a short while' (Pl.+), paulīsper 'id.' (Pl.+), pauxillīsper 'bit by bit' (Pl.+), quantīsper 'for how long?' (Caecil.+), semper 'always' (Naev.+), tantīsper 'for such time' (Pl.+), topper 'quickly' (Andr.+).

PIt. *peri 'through, across', *pero- 'on the other side'. It. cognates: Ven. per [prep. + acc.] 'for', U. -per, -pe, -peṛ [postpos. + abl.] 'for', O. per-, Pael. pe-, U. per-, per-, SPic. per- 'before, past' < *pers < *per + -s; O. pẹrum 'without' < *pero- 'on the other side'; O. pert, U. pert [prep. + acc.] 'until, near', O. pert-, -pert, U. -per, -per 'until' or 'near(ly)' < *per-ti.

PIE *péri 'across'. IE cognates: Skt. pári [adv.] '(a)round, about, away from, because of, according to', OAv. pairī, YAv. pairi, OP pariy 'over, about, concerning', Gr. πέρι, περι 'round about, around, extremely, with regard to', Lith. peř 'over, around, through', OCS prě-, Ru. pére- 'over, through, very, exceedingly' < *per; OCS prědъ 'in front', Ru. péred(o) 'before, in front of' < *per-dʰ₁h₁-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, pertrīstis, 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', percoquō '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, ὅς περ. Yet his analysis as *pe + *-r does not explain the specific semantics of Latin -per.

Bibl.: WH II: 283-286, EM 497, IEW 810-816, Lejeune 1974: 337, Leumann 1977:

401, Sihler 1995: 440, Untermann 2000: 531-533, 545-547, Livingston 2004: 18f., LIV 1.*per-. → *perendiē, perperus, por-, porta, portō, prae, prī-, prō*

perendiē 'on the day after tomorrow' [adv.] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *perendinus* [adj.] 'the day after tomorrow' (Pl.+).

PIt. **perno-* 'foremost'. It. cognates: U. *perne* [dat.sg.n.?] 'what comes before' < **pernōi* to **perno-*; O. **pernaí** [dat.sg.] name of a deity, probably 'the foremost'; U. **pernaiaf** [acc.pl.f.], **pernaies** [abl.pl.f.] < **pernaio-* 'placed in front'.

PIE **per(H)no-* 'past, last'. IE cognates: Lith. *pérnai* 'last year', Go. *fairneis* 'far'.

From a preform **perno-diē(d)*, syncope to **pern̩diē* and subsequent syllabification as *-en-* explain the outcome *perendiē*.

Bibl.: WH II: 287, EM 498, IEW 810-816, Untermann 2000: 537f. → *diēs, -dinus*

*perfinare 'to break' [v. I] (*perfines* 'perfringas' Fest.)

PIt. **fina-*.

PIE **bʰi-n-H-* 'to hit'. IE cognates: OIr. *benaid*, *·ben* 'to strike', MW *edfynaf* 'to tear apart' (**ati-*), MBret. *benaff* 'to cut' < PCl. **bina-*; OCS *biti* 'to beat', SCr. *bȉti* 'to beat, kill'.

Especially in view of the OIr. nasal present, it seems likely that this hapax continues a nasal pr. 'to break'. Possibly the noun *finis* 'border' also belongs here.

Bibl.: WH I: 503, EM 498, IEW 117f., Schrijver 1991: 407, Schumacher 2004: 226ff., LIV **bʰeiH-*. → *finis*

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 BSl. and OIc. words: Lith. *pérgas* '(fishing) canoe' < **perg-o-*, OCS *pragъ*, Ru. *poróg* '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.

permitiēs 'deadly harm, ruin' [f. ē] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *permitiālis* 'destructive' (Lucr.+).

Forssman 1999 assumes an original adj. **per-em-o-* 'destroying', to which an abstract **perem-itiē-* was formed. Syncope yielded *permitiēs*. 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 *permitiēs* 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.+), *pernōnida* [m.] 'son-of-a-ham' (Pl.); *compernis* 'having the thighs close together' (Pl.+).

PIt. *persnā-.

PIE *tspērsn-h₂- 'heel'. IE cognates: Hit. paršna- [c.] 'unknown body-part, heel?' < *p(e)rsno-, paršnae-ⁱ 'to squat down, crouch (?)' (denom. to paršna-), Skt. pā́rṣṇi-[f.], YAv. pāšna- [n.], Khot. pārrā-, Gr. πτέρνη [f.]; Go. fairzna [f.], OS fersna 'heel' < PGm. *fersnō-, OE fiers(i)n < *fersnī-.

Instead of pernīx one would rather expect *pernāx, but there is no other candidate for the etymology of pernīx. The word for 'heel' underwent a shift to 'haunch, upper leg' in Latin. See Lubotsky 2006 for the PIE etymology. He connects 'heel' with *TsperH- 'to kick with the heel' (cf. spernō); in *tspērsn- '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.

Bibl.: WH II: 289f., EM 499, IEW 823, Leumann 1977: 377, Meiser 1998: 118, Lubotsky 2006. → spernō

perperus 'perverse, wrong-headed' [adj. o/ā] (Acc.)

Derivatives: perperitūdō 'wrong-headedness' (Acc.), perperam [adv.] 'incorrectly' (Pl.+).

PIt. *pero- 'on the other side'.

PIE *per-o-.

Possibly an adv. in *-ām 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.ipv.II], peperscust, pepescus [3s.fut.pf.] 'to put'.

PIt. *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 larygeal reflex from PIE *perh₃sk- > *perask-.

Bibl.: Untermann 2000: 542f., LIV *perk-.

pertica 'long straight shoot of a tree, rod, wand' [f. ā] (Pl.+)

PIt. *pertikā-? It. cognates: O. **perek, 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. kápṛth- 'penis', but neither of these etymologies is even remotely convincing.

Bibl.: WH II: 292f., EM 500, IEW 823, Untermann 2000: 534-536.

pēs, pedis 'foot' [m. *d*] (Lex XII, Andr.+)

Derivatives: *pedica* 'fetter, shackle' (Pl.+), *pedicinus* 'ground-anchor of a press' (Cato), *pediculus* 'footstalk' (Cato+), *peciolus* 'little foot' (Afran.+), *peda* 'footprint' (Fest.), *pedālis* 'measuring a foot' (Cato+), *pedāmentum* 'prop, stake' (Varro+), *pedātus* 'having feet' (Varro+), *pedātus, -ūs / pedātum* 'stage, step' (Pl.+), *pedes, -itis* 'foot-soldier; pedestrian' (Cato+), *peditātus, -ūs* 'infantry' (Cato+), *peditāstellus* 'infantrymen' (Pl.+), *pedārius* 'of lower standing' (Lab.+); *repedāre* 'to go back' (Pac.+); *compedēs, -ium* 'fetters' (Lex XII+), *compedīre* 'to shackle' (Pl.+), *expedīre* 'to release, make ready, achieve' (Pl+), *expedītiō* 'military operation, raid' (Naev.+), *impedīre* 'to restrict, obstruct' (Pl.+), *impedīmentum* 'obstacle' (Pl.+), *indupedīre* 'to obstruct' (Lucr.), *praepedīre* 'to bind, hinder' (Pl.+), *praepedīmentum* '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.+); *tripudiāre* 'to perform a *tripudium*' (Carmen Arvale *tripodāre*, Acc.+), *tripudium* 'ritual dance in triple time; ominous noise' (Cic.+); *pedisequus* 'male attendant' (Pl.+), *pedisequa* 'female attendant' (Pl.+); *pedetemptim* 'step by step' (Pl.+).

PIt. **pōd-*, **ped-* 'foot'; **tri-podo-* 'three-step dance'. It. cognates: U. **peři, persi** [abl.sg.] 'foot' < **ped-*; O. **pedú** [acc.pl.?] 'foot' (measure): nom.acc.pl.n. to *ped-*, or acc.pl. to **pedom*; U. **dupursus** [dat.pl.] 'biped' < **du-pōd-*, U. **peturpursus** 'quadruped' [dat.pl.] < **kʷetur-pōd-*; U. **ahtrepuřatu, atrepuřatu,** *ahatripursatu, atripursatu, atropusatu* [3s.ipv.II] 'to dance the *tripudium*'.

PIE nom.sg. **pōd-s*, acc.sg. **po/ed-m*, acc.sg. **pd-os*, loc.sg. **ped-i* [m.] 'foot'. IE cognates: OIr. *is* 'under' (< **pēd-su*?), *ed* 'space, interval' (< **pedo-*), Hit. *pāt- /ˌpat-*, *pata-* [c.], CLuw. *pāta/i-*, HLuw. *pada/i-*, Lyc. *pede/i-* 'foot, leg' < **pod-/*pd-*, Skt. *pā́t* [nom.sg.], *padā́* [instr.sg.] [m.] 'foot', Skt. *dvi-pád- cátuṣ-pad-* 'bipeds and quadrupeds', YAv. *pad-* [m.], OP *pāda-* 'foot', YAv. *aɣmō.paiδī-* [f.] 'wearing sandal straps on the feet'; Gr. (Dor.) πώς, Ion.Att. πούς [m.], ποδός [gen.sg.] 'foot', Myc. *po-de* [dat.sg.]; Gr. ἀργυρό-πεζα [f.] 'with silver feet' < **ped-ih₂-*; Arm. *otn* 'foot'; Alb. *për-posh* 'below' (< **pēd-su*?), OE *fēt* (< PGm **fōt-iz*) [nom.pl.] 'feet'. Deriv. **pēd-ó-* 'at the bottom' > Gr. πηδόν [n.] 'blade of an oar'.

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 *-pursus* prove that the ablaut grade **pōd-* was preserved into PIt. Most other derivatives are transparent. *Peciolus* is probably from **pediciolus*. The meaning of *-pedīre* 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 PIt. form **pedo-*, if O. **pedú** goes back to such a stem.

Bibl.: WH I: 428f., II: 269, 293-295, 705, EM 500-502, 703, IEW 790-792, Schrijver 1991: 135, Sihler 1995: 117f., 281, Untermann 2000: 62f., 522f., LIV *ped-. → *acu-, oppidum, pessum*

pessum 'to the bottom, to destruction' [adv.]: *pessum īre* 'to go down, be destroyed', *pessum dāre* 'to destroy' (Pl.+)

PIt. **ped-tu-* or **pet-tu-*.

PIE **ped-tu-* or **pet-tu-* 'falling'. IE cognates: (1) Skt. *pádyate* 'moves, falls', aor. *pad-*, *niṣ-pád-* [f.] 'excrement', YAv. *paiδiia-* 'to go in', *nī .. . paiδiia-* 'to lie down, copulate', OP *ni-padiy* 'in ambush', OCS *pasti*, Is. *padǫ* 'to fall' < **pod-*, OE *ge-fetan* 'to fall'; (2) for **pet-*, see s.v. *petō*.

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 **pēsum* would have been remade into *pessum* to avoid homonymy with *pēsum* '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-iōs*, chances are higher that *pessum* reflects **pedtum*.

Bibl.: WH II: 296, EM 502, IEW 790-792, Schrijver 1991: 135, LIV **ped-* or **peth₁-*. → *pēior*

pestis 'death, plague, pestilence' [f. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *pestilentus* 'unhealthy' (Laev.), *pestilēns* 'unhealthy, insalubrious' (Cato+), *pestilentia* 'pestilence, insalubrity' (Varro+), *pestilitās* 'pestilence' (Lucr.).

The suggestion that *pestis* continues **perstis* < **per-sitis* 'very thirst(y)' (see e.g. WH) does not carry conviction. YAv. *kapastiš* [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/ā*] (Pl.+)

WH and IEW 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, IEW 824f.

petō, -ere 'to make for, reach out for, move towards' [v. III; pf. *petīvī*, ppp. *petītum*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *petessere* 'to strive, reach' (Lucr.+), *petītus, -ūs* 'moving forward, request' (Lucr.+), *petulāns* 'aggressive, insolent' (Pl.+), *petulantia* 'aggressiveness, immodesty' (Pl.+), *petulcus* '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.+), *perpetuītus* '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.+), *expetessere* 'to seek

earnestly' (Pl.+), *oppetere* 'to encounter' (Pl.+), *praepetere* 'to seek' (Lucr.+), *repetere* 'to get back, demand in return, repeat' (Pl.+), *suppetere* 'to be available, give backing' (Pl.+), *suppetiae* [f.pl.] 'assistance' (Pl.+).

PIt. **pet-e/o-*. It. cognates: Ven. *-pet-* 'to ride' in *ekvopetaris* 'of a horse-rider'.

PIE **pt-(e)i-* 'to fly'. IE cognates: MW *ehedec* 'to fly' < PCl. **-ɸet-e/o-*, OIr. *én*, W. *edn* 'bird' < **ɸetno-* [m.]; Hit. *pattaí-/patti-* 'to run, fly, flee', ᴸᵁ*pattejant-* 'fugitive', Skt. *pátati* 'to fly, fall', Av. *auuapasti-* 'falling', *pata-* 'to fly', *ham.pata-* 'to fall down', OP *ud-pata-* 'to fall down, become unfaithful', Gr. πέτομαι 'to fly', ποτή [f.] 'flying'.

The etymology of the verb as 'to fly' is not self-evident, but may be defended by assuming a shift 'to fly' > 'fly up towards' > 'make for, try to get'. Unceta Gomez 2002 explains the semantic shift via the metaphor 'trying to reach a goal' = 'flying'. It is generally assumed that the root is laryngeal-final, but a simple thematization of **pet-* would also yield the attested Lat. present (see Hackstein 2002b: 140-143, who argues that Greek, too, points to a mere root **pet-*). There seems to be agreement on the assumption that the *ī*-pf. was formed by analogy with *cupiō*, *cupīvī*, which is semantically close. Yet the pf. *cupīvī* was inexistent before the first century BC, or, in any case, it is unattested before Catullus. Kloekhorst 2008: 655ff. has argued that the Hit. verb *pattai-/patti-* goes back to an *i*-pr. **pthₗ-ói-/*pthₗ-i-* (or: **pt-ói-/*pt-i-*) and the noun *pattejant-* to **pthₗ-ei-ent-*. Hence, the vowel *-ī-* in the Latin forms could also be interpreted as the remains of a PIE *i*-pr. **pt-éi-* (with introduction of *e*-grade in the heavy consonant cluster). The zero grade **-i-* might then be reflected in *ex-petessere*.

Bibl.: WH I: 684, II: 291, 297f., EM 499, 503f., IEW 825f., Lejeune 1974: 337, Leumann 1977: 594, Schrijver 1991: 397, Meiser 2003: 237, Schumacher 2004: 515, LIV 2.*peth₂-. → *patior*

pīcus 'woodpecker' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *pīca* 'jay, magpie' (Varro+).

PIt. **piko-*, **peikā-*. It. cognates: U. *peico* [acc.sg.], *peiqu* [abl.sg.] < **piko-*; U. *peica* [acc.sg.], *peica* [abl.sg.] < **pīkā-*; U. *piquier* [gen.sg.] name of a deity in *piquier martier*, compared with Lat. *Picus Martius*.

PIE **(s)piko-?* IE cognates: Skt. *piká-* 'cuckoo', OPr. *picle* 'fieldfare', OHG *speh(t)*, OIc. *spœtr*, Swed. *spett*, Dan. *spœtte*.

The f. form can be interpreted as a vṛddhi derivative of m. **(s)piko-* 'woodpecker' (Meiser 1986). In its turn, the long vowel of *pīcus* may have been adopted from f. *pīca*. 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. *piká-* is uncertain in view of the different meaning.

Bibl.: WH II: 299f., EM 505, IEW 999, Meiser 1986: 47f., Untermann 2000: 526, 556.

piger, -gra, -grum 'torpid, inactive' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *pigrēre* 'to be reluctant' (Acc.), *pigror, -ōris* 'sluggishness' (Lucil.), *pigrāre* 'to hesitate' (Acc.+), *pigritia* 'sluggishness, laziness' (Pl.+), *impiger* 'active, brisk' (Pl.+); *piget* 'affects with revulsion, irks' [pf. *piguit*, ppp. *pigitum*] (Pl.+),

pigret 'affects with revulsion' (Enn.).

PIt. **pig-ē-* 'to fill with revulsion', **pig-ro-* 'inactive'.

The root etymology is unknown. Since OIc. *feikn* 'crime', OE *fācen*, OS *fēcan* [n.] 'treason, anger' probably belong to PGm. **faix-* 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.*peiǵ-.

pignus, -eris/ -oris 'pledge, surety, hostage' [n. *r*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **peg-nos-*.

PIE **peh₂ǵ-n-? IE cognates: Skt. *pajrá-* '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-Guitton 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 **peh₂ǵ-no-* > **peǵno-*, which is not generally accepted. De Lamberterie proposes an original *r/n*-stem from which *pignus* was derived.

Bibl.: WH II: 301, EM 506, IEW 794f., LIV **peh₂ǵ-. → *pangō*

pīla 'squared pillar or column' [f. *ā*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *pīlāre* 'to fix firmly' (Enn.+). It. cognates: O. **ehpeílatasset** [3p.pf.ps.] 'to erect (a stele)' < **ē-* 'out' + a denom. verb to **pīla-*.

Etymology unknown.

Bibl.: WH II: 302, EM 506f., Untermann 2000: 201f.

pilleus (-m) 'felt cap' [m. (n.) *o*] (Pl.+)

IE cognates: Ru. *polst'*, Po. *pilść*, SCr. *pȕst* (dial.) 'felt' < PSl. **pьlstь*, OHG *filz* 'felt' [m.].

Driessen 2004: 30 considers *pilleus* to be unrelated to Gr. πῖλος 'felt' (< **pis-lo-*), and etymologically obscure.

Bibl.: WH II: 303f., EM 507, IEW 830.

pilus 'hair' [m. *o*] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *pila* 'ball' (Pl.+), *pilōsus* 'hairy' (Varro+); *dēpilātus* 'having one's hair plucked' (Lucil.+); *compilāre* 'to rob, steal' (Pl.+).

The appurtenance of *pila* 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: *pictor* 'painter' (Pl.+), *pictūra* 'paiting, picture' (Pl.+), *pigmentum* 'paint, tint' (Pl.+); *appingere* 'to paint on, add' (Varro+), *dēpingere* 'to paint, describe' (Pl.+).

PIt. *ping-e/o- 'to paint', *pikto- 'painted'.

PIE *pi-n-k̑- 'to paint, adorn'. IE cognates: MW goruc [3s.], MCo. gruk 'made' [suppl. pret. to 'make'] < *u̯or-ūk- < PCl. *-φi-φoik- [pf.]; Skt. piṃśati [3s.act.] 'to adorn, carve out', aor. piśāná- 'adorning', piṣṭá- 'adorned', YAv. fra-pixšta- 'id.', pis- 'adornment', YAv. aṇku.paēsəmna- 'adorning herself with hooks', OP apinϑa [3p.ipf.act.] 'to adorn', ni-pišta- 'written down', Gr. ποικίλος 'multicoloured, coloured, stitched with many colours', Lith. piẽšti 'to draw lines, adorn', OCS pьsati 'to write', OHG fēh 'multicoloured' < PGm. *faiχ-; ToB piṅkem̥, ToB A pikiñc 'they paint, write'.

Most IE forms show a root *pik̑-; Latin seems to require *pi(g̑)-, but can also go back to a nasal present *pi-n-k̑-n- (cf. pandō, mungō). A nasal present is also attested in Skt. and Toch.

Bibl.: WH II: 305f., EM 508, IEW 794f., Leumann 1977: 151, Schrijver 1991: 499f., Meiser 2003: 114, Schumacher 2004: 519f., LIV 1.*pei̯g-, *pei̯k̑-.

pinguis 'fat, greasy' [adj. i] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: pinguēdō 'fatness' (Varro+), pinguitūdō 'fatness, greasiness' (Cato+), pinguēscere 'to grow fat' (Lucr.+).

PIt. *pingu-?

PIE *piH-n- 'fat'? IE cognates: Skt. pī́van- 'fat, swollen' [adj.], páyas- [n.] 'milk', Av. paēman- 'mother's milk' [n.], MoP pīnu 'sour milk', Gr. πῑαρ [n.] 'fat, tallow' (< *piH-u̯r̥), Lith. pienas, Latv. piẽns 'milk' (< *po/eiH-no-).

Since adj. in -ui- 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. *pīmo- in Latin (cf. opīmus s.v. ops), nor can a contamination of *piHu̯o- 'fat' with *finguis < *bʰngʰ-u-i- (Gr. παχύς 'thick') seriously be considered (WH). Pinguis can only continue PIE *bʰngʰ-u- if we assume that a version of Grassmann's Law also operated in a prestage of Latin (*fnχu- > *pnχu-), 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 306, EM 508, IEW 127f., 793f., Leumann 1977: 165.

pīnsō, -ere 'to pound, crush' [v. III; ppp. *pistum] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: pīnsitāre 'to pound continually' (Pl.), pīla 'mortar' (Cato+), pīlum 'pestle, pounder' (Pl.+), pīlum 'javelin, pike' (Pl.+), pistillum/s 'pestle' (Pl.+), pistor 'pounder, miller, baker' (Pl.+), pistrīx 'female pounder' (Lucil.), pistrīnum 'mill / bakery' (Pl.+), pistrīna 'id.' (Lucil.+), pistrīlla 'id.' (Ter.).

PIt. *pins- 'to grind', *pistlo- 'pounder, mortar'.

PIE *pi-n-s- 'to grind' [pr.]. IE cognates: Skt. pinášṭi [3s.act.], piṃṣánti [3p.act.] 'to crush, grind', piṣṭá- 'ground', YAv. pišaṇt- 'crushing, bruising', pištra- [m.] 'bruise, injury', MP pist 'flour', Gr. πτίσσω 'to winnow grain, bray', ἄπτιστος 'unground',

πτίσμα 'peeled or winnowed grain', πῖλος [m.] 'felt', πῖλέω 'to make felt' < *pis-lo-;
Lith. *paisýti* 'to cut off the beards of chaff, to peel', *pìsti* 'to mate', RuCS *pьchati* 'to
thrust, sprout', OCS *pьšeno* 'millet' < *pis-en-om.

Lat. *pīlum* probably reflects *pis-tlo-, as shown by *pist-illum*. Whether *pīlum* 'javelin'
is really the same word is uncertain, but can be defended: 'javelin' would be a
secondary development from 'pestle'.

Bibl.: WH II: 302, 307f., EM 508f., IEW 796, Leumann 1977: 208, Meiser 1998:
119, LIV *peis-.

pīnus 'pine-tree, pine-wood' [f. *u/o*] (Enn.+)
    Derivatives: *pīneus* '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. *pishë*.
This may well be a non-IE tree name. Lat. -*īn*- 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 308, EM 509, IEW 793f., Schrijver 1991: 231.

pīpō, -āre 'to chirp, cheep (of birds)' [v. I] (Lucil.+)
    Derivatives: *pīpātus, -ūs* '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. πιπ(π)ίζειν 'to squeak, peep'; Lith.
    piēpti 'to squeak, peep', NHG *piepen* 'to squeak, peep'.

An onomatopoeic formation, imitating the sound of young birds.
    Bibl.: WH II: 309, EM 509, IEW 830.

pirum 'pear' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)
    Derivatives: *pirus* [f.] 'pear-tree' (Cato+).
    IE cognates: Gr. ἄπιον 'pear', ἄπιος [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.

Bibl.: WH II: 309f., EM 510, Leumann 1977: 51.

piscis 'fish' [m. *i*] (Pl.+)
    Derivatives: *piscārī* 'to fish' (Pl.+), *piscārius* 'of fish' (Pl.+), *piscātor* 'fisherman'
    (Pl.+), *piscātōrius* 'of catching and selling fish' (Pl.+), *piscātus, -ūs* 'the fishing'

(Pl.+), *pisciculus* 'little fish' (Ter.+), *piscīna* 'fishpond, pool' (Pl.+), *piscīnārius* 'of fishponds' (Pl.+), *piscīnēnsis* 'haunting swimming-baths' (Lucil.), *pisculentus* 'teeming with fish' (Pl.+).   •

PIt. **piski-* 'fish'.

PIE **pisk-* 'fish'. IE cognates: OIr. *īasc* < **peisko-*, gen.sg. *ēisc* 'fish'; Go. *fisks* [m.], OIc. *fiskr*, OHG OE *fisk* 'fish' < **pisko-*.

The apparent ablaut between Italic and Gm. **pisk-* and Celtic **peisk-* 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. *pìskor* 'muray' < PSl. **peis-(s)k-*. Yet these could also be derived from the verb 'to squeak' (OCS *piskati*, Ru. *piščát'*), cf. Lith. *pyplỹs* 'loach, gudgeon' vs. *pỹpti* 'squeak' or Pl. *sykawiec* 'loach' vs. *sykać* 'hiss' (Vasmer 1950-58 s.v. *piskár'*).

Bibl.: WH II: 310, EM 510, IEW 796.

pītuīta 'mucus, phlegm, purulous discharge' [f. *ā*] (Cato+)

WH and EM connect Skt. *pītu-dāru* 'kind of tree' (ŚBr.+), which is just a wild guess (cf. Schrijver). Lat. *pītu-* 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.+); *pietās* '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+).

PIt. **pwijo-*. It. cognates: Pael. *pes* [nom.sg.m.], Vol. *pihom* [nom.sg.n.], O. **piihiúí** [dat.sg.m.], Marr. *peai* [dat.sg.f.], O. πεhεδ [adv.] 'pious, correct' < **pī-jo-*; U. *pihatu*, **pehatu** [3s.ipv.II], *pihafi, pihafei* [inf.], **pihaz**, *pihos* [ppp. nom.sg.m.], *pihaner, pehaner, peihaner* [gdve., gen.sg.m.], **prupehast** [*prō* + 3s.fut.] 'to reconcile' < **piā-*, denom. to **pījo-*; U. *pihaclu* [abl.sg.], *pihaclo*, **pihaklu** [gen.pl.] 'peace-offering' < **piā-tlo-*.

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 **pūjo-* was umlauted to **pījo-*. Yet Schrijver 2003: 77 objects that this seems unlikely, since short **u* does not undergo umlaut by a following **i*. Alternatively, a preform **pwijo-* has been proposed, cf. Leumann 1977: 187. Schrijver 2003: 77f. and 2006: 50 proposes a sound law **(C)RHjV > *(C)Rī(j)V* which would fit the sequence of **puH-io-* (*u* standing for *R*), hence > **puHiio- > *pwiHjo- > *pwijo- > *pījo-*. See the discussion s.v. *fīō*.

Bibl.: WH II: 311f., EM 510f., Schrijver 1991: 322-324, Meiser 1998: 86, Untermann 2000: 552-555, LIV 1.*peuH-. → *pūrus*

pix, picis 'pitch' [f. *k*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *picāre* 'to smear with pitch, tar' (Cato+).

PIt. *pik-.

PIE *pik- 'pitch'. IE cognates: Gr. πίσσα, Att. πίττα f. 'pitch' < *pik-ia, πιττάκιον 'writing tablet', Lith. *pikis*, Latv. *piķis* 'pitch', OCS *pьcьlъ* 'pitch' [m.], Ru. *péklo* 'scorching heat, (coll.) hell', SCr. *pàkao* 'pitch, hell' < *pik-.

Bibl.: WH II: 312, EM 511, IEW 793f.

placeō 'to be pleasing' [v. II; *placuī, placitum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: (1) *placidus* 'quiet, peaceful' (Naev.+), *placiditās* 'quietness' (Varro+), *placitāre* 'to be very pleasing' (Pl.); *complacēre* 'to capture the affections of, be agreed' (Pl.+), *displicēre* 'to displease, be dissatisfied' (Pl.+), *perpli/acēre* 'to be thoroughly pleasing' (Pl.+); (2) *plācāre* 'to make favourably disposed, appease' (Pl.+), *plācābilis* 'quick to forgive, placatory' (Ter.+).

PIt. *plak-ē-, *plāk-ā-.

PIE *pl(e)h₂/₃k- 'to agree/be pleasant'. IE cognates: ToAB *plāk-* 'to agree', ToA *plākäm*, ToB *plāki* 'permission'.

The only direct comparandum are the Tocharian words in *plāk-*. *Plācāre* is probably a denominal verb, the basis of which may have been a noun *plHk- or *pleh₂k-. The verb *placēre* is regarded as having a secondary full grade *ā* made to original *-ā-* because of the *ē*-stative (Schrijver 1991, LIV). If the root was *plh₂k-, it might be identical with *plh₂k- 'to hit' as attested in Gr. πλήσσω 'to strike, smite', Lith. *plàkti* 'to whip', Slav. *plakati* 'to weep'. But semantically, this connection is far from easy.

Bibl.: WH II: 313, EM 511, IEW 831f., Steinbauer 1989: 142, Schrijver 1991: 181f., LIV ?*pleh₃k-.

plaga 'open expanse, territory; counterpane; net, web' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *plagula* 'piece of material; coverlet, veil' (Afran.+).

Semantically, we find Gr. and Gm. forms which are close to *plaga*: Gr. πλάγιος 'athwart, sideways', πλάγια [n.] 'sides, flanks'; OHG *flah* 'flat', OS *flaka* 'sole of the foot'. Yet formally this is not evident: we find only nominal forms, and no verbs; to explain Latin *plag-*, we would need a secondary full grade *ā* next to an original ablaut variant *plāg-*, as with *placeo*. There is no evidence for the variant *plāg-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 314, EM 511, IEW 831f.

plangō, -ere 'to beat, strike; mourn, bewail' [v. III; pf. *plānxī*, ppp. *plānctum*] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: *plāga* 'blow, stroke, wound' (Pl.+); *plāgiger* 'much-beaten' (Pl.).

PIt. *plāng-e/o- > *plang-e/o- 'to hit', *plāg-ā-.

PIE *plh₂-n-g- [pr.] 'to hit', *pl(e)h₂g-h₂- [f.]. IE cognates: Gr. πλάζω 'to drive off course', aor. ἐπλήγην, ps. πλάγχθη 'was beaten', Go. *faiflokun* 'to hit, flog', OS

flōkan 'to curse'.

Plangō 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 *pleh₂g-.

planta 'sole of the foot' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *dēplantāre* 'to break off, sever' (Varro+), *supplantāre* 'to trip up, cause to stumble' (Cic.+); *planta* 'young, shoot (of a plant)' (Cato+).

PIt. **plānt-ā-*.

PIE **pl(e)h₂-nt-h₂-* 'the flat one' or 'the approaching one'. IE cognates: see s.v. *plānus* 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 PIt. **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.

Bibl.: WH II: 316f., EM 512, IEW 833f., Leumann 1977: 201, Schrijver 1991: 487, Sihler 1995: 111, LIV *pelh₂- (?). → *palma*, *pellō*, *plānus*

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.+).

PIt. **plāno-*.

PIE **pl(e)h₂-nó-* 'flattened'. IE cognates: Hit. *palhi- / palhai-* 'wide, broad' < **plh₂-i-*, *palhatar- / palhann-* [n.] 'width', OPr. *plonis* 'threshing floor', Lith. *plónas* 'thin', Latv. *plãns* 'flat, even, thin', *plãns* 'threshing floor' < **pleh₂-no-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 318, EM 512f., IEW 805-807, Schrijver 1991: 182. → *palma*, *planta*

plaudō, -ere 'to clap, pat' [v. III; *plausī, plausum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *plausus, -ūs* 'clapping of hands, approval' (Naev.+); *applau/ōdere* 'to clap the hands, strike' (Pl.+), *displō/ūdere* 'to spread out, burst apart' (Varro+), *explōdere* 'to reject off the stage by clapping, reject' (Afran.+); *ap(p)lūda* 'chaff' (Naev.+).

PIt. **plau-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 *plautus*, it

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. *paḫuae-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 PIt. **plauto-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 319, EM 513, IEW 838, Leumann 1977: 72, Oettinger 1979: 372, Meiser 1998: 193. → *plautus*

plautus 'flat, with flat feet' [adj. *o/ā*] (Paul. *ex F.*; var. *plōtus*)
Derivatives: *Plautus* PN (Pl.+).
PIt. **plauto-* 'flattened, with flat feet'. It. cognates: O. **plavtad** [abl.sg.] 'sole of the foot or of a shoe' < **plautā-*, U. *preplotatu, preplohotatu* [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. *plaūksta* 'flat of the hand, palm', Ru. *pljusná* 'metatarsus', *pljusk* 'flattened spot' < *pleh₂-u-k-? The vowels do not fit completely.
Bibl.: WH II: 320, EM 513, IEW 838, Untermann 2000: 563, 573f. → *plaudō*

plēbēs, plēbēī 'citizens, the common people' [f. *ē*] (Pl.+; the var. *plēbs, -is* is somewhat more recent)
Derivatives: *plēbēius* 'of. the common people' (Pl.+), *plēbitās* 'the rank of a plebeian' (Cato+), *plēbīscītum* 'resolution of the *plebs*' (Pl.+).
PIt. **plēpū-, *plēpw-* [f.], **plēpro-* [adj.]. It. cognates: O. **plífriks** [nom.sg.] 'plēbicus'.
PIE *pléh₁-dʰ-uh₁ [nom.], -uh₁-m [acc.], *-ueh₁-s [gen.] 'fullness'. IE cognates: Gr. πληθύς, -ύος [f.] 'crowd'.

Schrijver 1991 reconstructs a PIt. hysterodynamic paradigm nom. **plēfūs*, acc. **plēfēm*, 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-* < **-þw-* can hardly be explained from a HD paradigm, and instead proposes a proterodynamic inflection. The Oscan adj. goes back to **plēþriko-* 'of the people', which suggests an earlier adj. *pleh₁-dʰ-ro-. The noun may have been formed on the basis of the present stem *pleh₁-dʰ- 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 320f., EM 513f., IEW 798-801, Schrijver 1991: 380f., Meiser 1998: 149, Adiego 2001, LIV *pleh₁-. → *-pleō*

plectō, -ere 'to plait, twine' [v. III; *plexī, plexum*] (Laev.+)
Derivatives: (1) *plectilis* 'plaited' (Pl.+); *amplectī* [pr.ptc. *amploctēns* Andr.] 'to hold in the arms, grasp, embrace' (Andr.+), *amplexus, -ūs* 'clasping, embrace' (Lucr.+), *amplexārī* 'to clasp, welcome' (Pl.+), *complectī/-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.+), *perplexābilis* '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.+), *displicāre* 'to scatter' (Varro), *explicāre* 'to unfold, disentangle, extend' (Pl.+), *implicāre* 'to entwine, enfold, involve' (Pl.+), *implicīscere* '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, entreaty' (Pl.+).

Plt. **plekt-, *-plek-ā-*.

PIE **plek̑-t-e/o-* 'to plait, twine'. IE cognates: Skt. *praśna-* [m.] 'turban', YAv. *ərəzatō.frašna-* [adj.] 'having a golden helmet/coat of mail' < **ple/ok̑-no-*, Gr. πλέκω 'to braid, wind, twine', πλόκος [m.] 'twine, wreath', πλοχμοί [m.pl.] 'locks of hair', OCS *plesti*, 1s. *pletǫ* 'to plait', Ru. *plestí*, SCr. *plèsti* < **plekt-*; OIc. *flétta*, OHG *flehtan* 'to plait'.

Lat. *plectere* represents an inherited verb **plek̑-t-*, also attested in Gm. and BSl. *Amplectī* 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 *-plicāre*, 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. **fliχ-* or **fleχ-*, as reflected in Go. *ga-þlaihan* 'to entreat', OHG *flehon, flehe* 'desire' [f.], but this would render *supplex* isolated within Latin.

Bibl.: WH II: 321, EM 514f., IEW 834f., Leumann 1977: 539, LIV **plek̑-*. → *-plex*

plector 'to be punished, be beaten' [v. III] (Pl.+)

IE cognates: Lith. *plė́kti* 'to beat', *plàkti* '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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 321f., EM 515, IEW 832f., Leumann 1977: 539.

-pleō 'to fill' [v. II]: *complēre* 'to fill, complete' (Naev.+), *dēplēre* 'to drain, empty' (Cato+), *explēre* 'to fill up, satisfy, achieve' (Pl.+), *implēre* 'to fill out, cover' (Pl.+), *explēnunt* (Paul. *ex F.*), *plentur* (Paul. *ex F.*), *replēre* 'to fill (up), stuff' (Pl.+), *supplēre* '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.+), *plērumque* [adv.] 'mostly, often'; *explēmentum* 'filling' (Pl.+); *locuplēs, -ētis* 'wealthy' (Pl.+), *locuplētāre* 'to make wealthy' (Acc.+), *collocuplētāre* 'to enrich' (Ter.+).

Plt. **plē(-je/o)-* [pr.], **plēno-* 'full', **plēro-* 'most of', **-plē-t-*. It. cognates: U. *pleno* [nom.acc.pl.n.?], *plener* [abl.pl.n.] 'full'; U. **plenasier** [dat.abl.pl.] 'the Ides'.

PIE **pleh₁-* [aor.] 'to fill', **plh₁-nó-* 'full', **pl(e)h₁-ro-* 'full', **-pleh₁-t-*. IE

cognates: OIr. *do·lin* 'to (over)flow' < PCl. *-φlini-*, OIr. *lín* 'number' (< *φlēnu-*), Skt. pr. *pṛnā́ti* [3s.act.], s-aor. *aprās* [23s.act.], root aor. *aprāt* [3s.act.] 'to fill', *pūrṇá-* 'full', *prātá-* 'filled', OAv. *pərənā* [2s.pr.ipv.act.] 'to fulfil, grant', *zastō.frānō.masah-* 'whose size fills the hand'; Gr. πίμπλησι [3s.pr.act.], ἔπλησε [3s.aor.act.] 'to fill', πλῆτο 'became full', πλήρης 'full', πληρότης f. 'fullness', Arm. *lnow-* 'to fill', *lir* 'fullness', Lith. *pilnas*, Latv. *pilns*, OCS *plъnъ*, Ru. *pólnyj* 'full' < plh₁-nó-.

The pr. *plēre* may reflect PIt. *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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 322f., EM 515, IEW 798-801, Schrijver 1991: 139f., 184, Meiser 1998: 57, Untermann 2000: 563-565, Schumacher 2004: 524, LIV *pleh₁-. → *plēbēs*, *-plus*, *polleō*

-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+), *decemplicāre* 'to multiply by ten' (Varro), *centu(m)plex* 'hundredfold' (Pl.), *multiplex* 'many together, consisting of many' (Pl.+).

PIt. *-plek-s*. It. cognates: maybe U. **tuplak** [acc.sg.n.] '?'.

PIE *dui-plk̑-* twofold'. IE cognates: Gr. δίπλαξ, -κος 'in two layers, double'; subst. 'mantle', τρίπλαξ 'threefold' < *-plk-s.

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-plk̑-* in Greek. The appurtenance of the U. form -**plak**, the meaning of which is unknown, is difficult from a root *plk-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 383, II: 540, EM 514, IEW 802f., Untermann 2000: 775, Lindner 2002: 228, LIV *plek-. → *plectō*, *-plus*

plōrō, -āre 'to cry, weep' [v. IV] (Lex XII, Pl.+)

Derivatives: *plōrātillus* 'inclined to weep' (Pl.), *plōrātus, -ūs* 'wailing, crying' (Lucr.+); *implōrāre* 'to make supplication for, invoke' (Pl.+), *explōrāre* 'to inspect, inquire' (Pl.+), *explōrātor* 'investigator, spy' (Pl.+).

No etymology. WH and EM regard the ancient explanation as not unlikely, viz. that the verb *explōrāre* originally meant 'to scout the hunting area for game by means of shouting'. Leumann follows Szemerényi in suggesting a dissimilation from *prōrāre* (< *prō ōrāre?*). This seems less likely: the type of compound is strange, and one

might just as well expect *prōlāre.

Bibl.: WH 1: 430f., II: 323f., EM 206, 516, IEW 831, Leumann 1977: 231.

plūma 'feather' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *plūmātilis* 'feathered' (Pl.), *plūmeus* 'resembling a feather, feathery' (Pl.+), *plūmārius* 'with'of feathers' (Varro+), *plūmula* 'little feather; protecting structure' (Varro+).

PIt. *plou(k)-smo-?

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 *ple/ou-smo- 'flying instrument', or to *ple/ouk-smo-. In view of OPr. *plauxdine* 'featherbed', Lith. *plùnksna* 'feather' (< *plunHk-sneh₂-), WH and EM seem to favour a derivative in *-smo-.

Bibl.: WH II: 324f., EM 516, IEW 838, LIV *pleu̯-, ?*pleu̯k-. → *pluō*

plumbum 'lead' [n. *o*] (Pac.+)

Derivatives: *plumbeus* 'made of lead' (Pl.+), *plumbāre* 'to fasten with lead' (Cato+).

IE cognates: OIr. *lúaide* 'lead'.

Beekes 1999 has persuasively shown that *plumbum* can hardly be related to Mycenaean *mo-ri-wo-do*, Gr. μόλιβδος 'lead', but more probably to Celtic *pl(o)ud'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-d'-* 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 (*βāldūn/m*, *būldūn*), which they consider a loanword into Berber. This, then, may have been the same word which eventually entered into Latin as *plumbum*.

Bibl.: WH II: 325f., EM 516, EIEC 347, Beekes 1999.

pluō, pluit 'to rain' [v. III; pf. *pluī*] (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+), *compluviātus* 'shaped like a compluvium' (Varro+), *impluere* 'to rain (upon, into)' (Pl.+), *impluvium* 'basin in the atrium, rain-opening in the roof' (Pl.+), *impluviātus* 'like an impluvium' (Pl.), *perpluere* 'to rain through, leak' (Pl.+).

PIt. *plow-e/o-* 'to rain'.

PIE *pleu-e/o-* [pr.] 'to swim, float'. IE cognates: OIr. *luithir*, *fo·luathar* 'to fly, move' (< *plou-éie-*), *luid*, *-lú* 'to drink' < *plus-e/o-* (?) 'to drench' < *pleu-s-*, OIr. *loimm*, MW *llymeit*, MBret. *mo(u)mm* 'a swallow, a drink' (< *plus-mn); Skt. *plava-* 'to swim, float', *plutá-* 'flooded, swimming', *plavá-* [m.] 'light raft, float', YAv. *fra-frāuuaiia-* 'to make sth. float away', *dunmō.frut-* 'flying with the clouds', Gr. πλέω 'to sail, to swim', πλόος [m.] 'shipping', πλύνω 'to wash'; Lith. *pláuti* 'to rinse, wash off', OCS *pluti* 'to flow, sail'; OHG *flouwen* 'to rinse, to wash'.

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.

Bibl.: WH II: 326f., EM 516f., IEW 835-837, Meiser 1998: 194, Meiser 2003: 126, 234, Schumacher 2004: 463, 525f., LIV *pleu̯-. → *plūma*

-plus 'times' [adj. *o/ā*]

Derivatives: *simplus* [adj.] 'the simple amount' (Pl.+), *duplus* [adj.] 'double, twofold' (Pl.+), *dupliō* [f.] 'twice as much' (Lex XII+), *quadruplus* 'four times as much' (Lex XII+), *quadruplāre* 'to quadruple' (Pl.+), *quadruplātor* 'bringer of a criminal accusation, multiplier' (Pl.+).

Plt. **dwiplo-* >> **duplo-*. It. cognates: U. **tupler** [dat.abl.pl.m.], *dupla* [acc.pl.f.] 'two at a time, bīnī', **tripler** [abl.pl.m.] 'three at a time'.

PIE **-pl(H)-o-*. IE cognates: OIr. *diabul* 'double', Gr. ἁπλόος, ἁπλοῦς 'single, simple', διπλόος, διπλοῦς 'double, twofold', Lyc. *tbiplẽ* 'two times (?)'; possibly Av. *bifra-* 'comparison', Go. *tweifls* 'doubt'.

Lat. *manip(u)lus* might be from **manu-plo-* < **-plh₁-o-* 'a hand-ful' (see *pleō*). For 'double', the other IE languages and the general usage in compounds point to **dui-pl(H)-o-*; hence, Italic has replaced **dui-* by **du-*, as it has in other possessive compounds containing 'two' (*duplex, ducentī*). The identity of the root is uncertain. Whereas **plh₁-* '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 **dui-plh₂-o-* 'in two goes' > 'double'. This remains speculative.

Bibl.: WH I: 383, EM 517, IEW 802f., Untermann 2000: 191, 767, Lindner 2002: 228. → *duo*, *-pleō*, *-plex*

plūs, -ris 'more' [n. *ī*?] (Lex XII+; *plous* SCBac.,)

Derivatives: *plūrēs* [adj. pl.] (Carmen Arvale *pleoris* [acc.pl.], Cic. 1x *ploeres*) 'more (in number)' (Pl.+), *plūrimus* (*ploirume* CIL 9, ca. 230 AD, *plouruma* CIL 1861, *plūsima* Varro, *plīsima* Carmen Saliare 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' (Pl.+); *complūrēs* 'a fair number, several' (Pl.+), *complūsculī* 'several, more than one' (Pl.+), *complūriē(n)s* 'several times' (Pl.+).

Plt. **ple/o(H)is* [comp. n.] >> **plow-is*, sup. **ple(H)isamo-* >> **ploisamo-*.

PIE **plh₁-u-* 'much, many', comp. **pleh₁-ios-*, sup. **pleh₁-ist(h₂)o-*. IE cognates: OIr. *lia* 'more' (<< **lēs* < **pleh₁-is*, cf. Jasanoff 1988-90); Skt. *prāyaḥ, prāyeṇa* [adv. < comp.] 'for the most part', Av. *frāiiah-* 'more, too much', *fraēšta-* 'most'; Gr. πλέων 'more', πλεῖστος 'most, biggest' < **pleh₁-is-, -istHo-*; OIc. *fleiri* 'more', *fleistr* 'most' < **ploh₁-is-, -istHo-*.

It is uncertain whether *plūs* and *plūrimus* reflect **plous-* or **plois-*. The texts contain several archaic or pseudo-archaic spellings (*plous, pleor-, ploer-, ploir-, plour-, plūs-*,

plīs-) which cannot all be regular. There seems to be agreement on the fact that *plīsima* must be a very archaic form, directly reflecting the *e*-grade in *pleh₁-ismHo-. Similarly, *pleōres* in Carmen Arvale might continue the PIE comp. *pleh₁-iōs, 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 *plūrimus* from *ploh₁-ismh₂o-. In that case, we would have to assume a development *plois > *plūs*. The spellings *plous* and *plour-* would be hypercorrections, whereas *ploirume* would have to be very archaic. Weiss (fthc.a), 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 *plēnus*?), and then got the *i*-stem extension which all Latin *u*-adj. show: *pleh₁-u-i-. For the n. of the comp. he posits *pleu̯-is, which would mean a stem *pleu̯- plus the suffix *-is. Thus: *pleh₁-u- > *pleu̯- > comp. *pleu̯-is. Via *plou̯is > *plous this would yield *plūs*. For the superlative *ploir-* > *plūrimus*, one could assume a contamination of *pleisamo- with the comp. *plous, yielding *ploisamo-.

Bibl.: WH II: 327f., EM 517, IEW 798-801, Leumann 1977: 496f., Sihler 1995: 360, Meiser 1998: 153f., LIV *pleh₁-. → *-pleō*

pluteus 'movable screen of wood or wickerwork, parapet' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)
   Plt. *pluto-?
   IE cognates: Lith. *plaũtas* 'sweating shelf, bath shelf, sideboard', Latv. *plàuts* 'shelf', Slovincian *plůto*, SCr. *plůtȍ* (Prčanj), *plůto* (Dubrovnik) 'flotsam' [n.] < BSl. *ploʔutó- or *ploutó-; Olc. *fleyðr* 'cross-beam'.

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, porcet* < *po-arcēt (see s.v. *arceō*). According to Leumann, *polīre* is a back-formation from the pf. *po-līvī*.
   Plt. *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*.
   Bibl.: WH II: 329, EM 518, IEW 53ff., Leumann 1977: 158, Schrijver 1991: 21, Beekes 1995: 220. → *ab*

poliō, -īre 'to polish' [v. IV] (Lex XII+)
   Derivatives: *polītiō* 'glossy surface; the weeding of cornfields' (Cato+), *polītor* 'polisher, weeder' (Cato+); *dēpolītiō* 'careful cultivation' (Varro), *expolīre* 'to smooth

down, finish off, adorn' (Pl.+), *perpolīre* 'to polish up' (Varro+); *interpolis* [adj.; also -*us*] 'made as new, refurbished' (Pl.+), *interpolāre* 'to make as new, touch up' (Pl.+).

Plt. **pol-(e)i-* 'to swing'? **pol-ije/o-* 'to make flat'?

Interpolis with velar -*ol-* in front of -*is* is suspect, and the adj. might be a recent transfer from o-stem *interpolus*. *Interpolāre* can be a denominal verb to that adj. Vendryes 1929 assumes that *polīre* belonged to the jargon of the fullers, and that *interpolāre* meant 'to repair' a piece of clothing. The old explanation that *polīre* 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' to 'smoothe, 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, *poliō* could be derived from **pelh₁-* '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 *polīre* is denominal to an adj. **poli-* < **polh₂-i-* 'flat' (adopting Schrijver's 2003 interpretation of the presents in -*ī-* < **-iie/o-*), if the original meaning was 'to make flat, make smooth'.

Bibl.: WH I: 710, II: 330f., EM 320, 518f., Vendryes 1929, Leumann 1977: 158, LIV **pelh₁-*. → *plānus, pulcher*

pollen, -inis 'flour, powder' [m./n. n] (Ter.+; nom.sg. *pollis* grammarians)

Derivatives: *pollinārius* 'of flour' (Pl.+), *pol(l)enta* 'hulled and crushed grain, barley-meal' (Pl.+), *polentārius* 'of polenta' (Pl.).

Plt. **pol-ēn*, **pol-n-*?

PIE **pol(H)-n-?* **pol(H)-u-?* IE cognates: Gr. πάλη 'fine flour, dust', πόλτος [m.] 'thick pap of flour'.

The noun *pol(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 *palea* '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.

Bibl.: WH II: 331f., EM 519, IEW 802, Schrijver 1991: 257, Nussbaum 1997: 197f. → *puls*

polleō 'to be strong, potent' [v. II] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *pollentia* 'power, domination' (Pl.+).

Plt. **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 *pollē-* from **polnē-* <

*pḷ-n-eh₁-, the full grade of the nasal present of the root 'to be full'. Phonetically, this is impeccable; morphologically, the Lat. verb would continue the same Italo-Celtic formation as OIr. *do·lin* 'to (over)flɔw' < PCl. *-φlini-; and semantically, 'be full' > 'be strong' is defendable. Other laryngeal-final nasal presents have ended up in the third conjugation (*sternere*, *tollere*). Since the PIE nasal present had a factitive meaning 'to fill', or, in the middle, meant 'to fill oneself, become full', we must assume that *pollēre* does not immediately go back to the PIE nasal present. There might have been a (thematicised) form *polne/o- 'to fill', beside which a stative *poln-ē- 'to be full' was created within Italic. The present *polne/o- was then ousted by *plē-(ie/o-) > *pleō*, which continues the PIE root aorist.

Bibl.: WH II: 332, EM 519, IEW 840f., LIV *pleh₁-. → *-pleō*

pollex, -icis 'thumb, big toe' [m. *k*] (Cato+)
PIt. *-liχ-s*.

The alleged connection with CS *palьcь*, Ru. *pálec* 'finger', SCr. *pàlac* 'thumb, big toe' < PSl. *palьcь* < *pōl- 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 *leigʰ-. → *lingō*

pollingō, -ere 'to prepare for the funeral, lay out' [v. III; *pollīnxī, pollīctum*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *pollinctor* 'who prepares a corpse for the funeral' (Pl.+).
PIt. *(por-)(w)li-n-kʷ-e/o-*.
PIE *uleikʷ- [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- > *polling-, the etymology as *por-wlinkʷ- '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-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 333, EM 519, Leumann 1977: 213, Meiser 2003: 113, LIV *uleikʷ-. → *liqueō*, *lixa*

pollūceō 'to offer as a sacrifice' [v. II; pf. *pollūxī* (Naev.), ppp. *(pol)lūctum* 'served up'] (Naev.+)
Derivatives: *pollūcibiliter* '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 I² 1531) in an inscription from Sora from around 150 BC as a hypercorrect spelling for a monophthong /ọ̄/ or /ū/.

Bibl.: WH II: 333, EM 519f., Nussbaum 1994: 175ff. → *licet*

polluō, -ere 'to make dirty, infect' [v. III; *polluī, pollūtum*] (Cic.+)

Plt. **lowe/o-* or **lawe/o-*.

PIE **leu-e/o-* or **lHu-e/o-* 'to soil'. IE cognates: see s.v. *lutum*.

Compound of **por-* plus **lo/awō*. Long *ū* in the ppp. may be secondary, following a productive pattern of inf. in *-ŭere*, ppp. in *-ūtum*. Apart from *polluō*, the IE languages contain only nominal derivatives of the root **l(H)u-* 'to soil'.

Bibl.: WH II: 334, EM 520, IEW 681, Schrijver 1991: 241, LIV **leu̯-*. → *lutum*

pōmus / pōmum '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 **h₁e/om-o-* 'what is (to be) taken'.

Possibly from **po-emo-* 'taken off, picked'; **po-omo-* or **pe-omo-* are also conceivable. U. **puemun-** probably does not belong here, cf. s.v. *eō*.

Bibl.: WH II: 334f., EM 520, Meiser 1998: 88, Untermann 2000: 593, Neri 2007: 71. → *emō*

pōnō, -ere 'to place, set, put' [v. III; pf. *posīvī / posuī*, 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+), *compositīcius* 'compound' (Varro), *dēpōnere* 'to put down, lay down' (Pl.+), *dispōnere* 'to arrange, distribute' (Cato+), *dispositūra* 'arrangement' (Lucr.), *expōnere* 'to put out, expose' (Pl.+), *expositīcius* 'foundling' (Pl.), *impōnere* 'to place in or over' (Pl.+), *impositīcius* 'arbitrarily bestowed' (Varro+), *impositiō* 'arbitrary bestowing' (Varro+), *impositor* 'who assigns' (Varro), *oppōnere* 'to place in front, interpose, deposit' (Pl.+), *praepōnere* 'to prefer, place in front' (Pl.+), *repōnere* 'to put back, down, replace' (Pl.+), *suppōnere* 'to place under, substitute, smuggle in' (Pl.+); *positūra* 'position, arrangement' (Lucr.+).

Plt. **po-sine/o-*.

PIE **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 **tkei̯-*. → *po-, sinō*

pōns, -tis 'bridge, plank' [m. i] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *dēpontāre* 'to throw from a bridge' (Varro); *pontu/ifex, -ficis* 'one of the college of priests of Rome' (Pl.+), *pontificālis* 'of a pontifex' (Varro+), *pontificius* 'of a pontifex' (Cato+).

Plt. **pont-*.

PIE **pónt-h₁-s, *pnt-éh₁-m, *pnt-h₁-ós* 'road'. IE cognates: Skt. *pánthā-* [m.] 'road, path, course' (*pánthās* [nom.sg.], *pánthām* [acc.sg.], *pathás* [gen.abl.sg.], *pathí* [loc.sg.]),

OAv. *paϑō* [abl.sg.], *paiϑī* [loc.sg.], *paϑō* [acc.pl.], *padabīš* [instr.pl.], YAv. *paṇtā̊* [nom.sg.], *paṇtąm* [acc.sg.], *paϑa* [instr.sg.] (secondary *paṇtānəm* [acc.sg.], *paṇtānō* [nom.pl.]), OP *paϑim* [acc.sg.], Oss. *fændæg* 'path, road'; Gr. πάτος [m.] 'path', πόντος [m.] 'sea', Arm. *hown* 'ford', OPr. *pintis*, OCS *pǫtь* [m.] 'road'.

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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 336f., EM 521, IEW 808f., Schrijver 1991: 372, 379, Meiser 1998: 68, Lindner 2002: 223.

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. *kãklas* 'neck, throat', Skt. *cakrá-* 'wheel') but there is no support for viewing *poples* as a loanword in Latin.

Bibl.: WH II: 338, EM 521, Leumann 1977: 382.

populus 'human community, people' [m. *o*] (Naev.+; Carmen Saliare *poploe* [nom.pl.], *poplois* [dat.abl.pl.] (apud Fest.), CIL *]popl[, populo, poplo, poplus*)

Derivatives: *populārī* '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.+); *dēpopulārī* 'to sack, plunder' (Enn.+), *dēpopulātor* 'who sacks' (Caecil.+); *Poplifugia, -ōrum* 'annual festival in Rome' (Varro+); *Publius* PN (gen.sg. *popliosio* Lapis Satricanus, Cic.+).

PIt. **poplo-* 'army'. It cognates: U. **puplum, puplu,** *poplom, poplo* [acc.sg.], *popler* [gen.sg.], *pople* [dat.sg.], *pople* [loc.sg.], *poplu* [abl.sg.], **pupluper,** *popluper* [abl.sg. + *-per*] 'able-bodied citizens'; U. **pupřikes, pupřiçes, pupřçes** [gen.sg.], **pupřike, pupřiçe** [dat.sg.] epithet of the deity **puemune**, probably = lat. *poplicus*.

The meaning 'to devastate' for the deponent probably developed through the usage 'to have an army pass through'. The derived adj. *pūblicus* has a long *-ū-* that cannot belong to the same stem as **poplo-*; see s.v. *pūbēs*. 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 *pupluna*, but this gives little grip on the matter.

Bibl.: WH II: 339, EM 521f., Untermann 2000: 609-611. → *pūbēs*

pōpulus 'poplar-tree' [f. *o*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *pōpuleus* 'of a poplar-tree' (Enn.+), *pōpulneus* 'derived from poplar' (Cato+), *pōpulnus* '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.

Bibl.: WH II: 340, EM 522, Leumann 1977: 287.

por- 'forth, forward' [pref.]

Derivatives: *porrō* [adv.] 'straight on, forward, further' (Pl.+; *porod* Praeneste, CIL 560).

Plt. **por-*. It. cognates: Fal. **por-** in **ported**, 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(o)rsō(d)*. The Praenestine form is not an ablative. Nussbaum (1994: 173) tentatively suggests a preform **pr-s* (with adverbal **-s*) >> **pr̥s-ō* (cf. *contrō(versus)*, *intrō, retrō, ultrō*) > **porsō* > *porrō*.

Bibl.: WH II: 343, EM 523, IEW 810-816, Giacomelli 1963: 252, Leumann 1977: 426, 561, Untermann 2000: 612, LIV 1.**per-*. → *per*

porca 'ridge of soil between furrows' [f. *ā*] (Cato+)

Plt. **pork-ā-* 'furrow'.

PIE **prk-h₂-* 'furrow'. IE cognates: W. *rhych* 'furrow', maybe Bret. *rec'h* 'sorrow', OBret. *rec* 'sulco', *ro-ricse[n.]ti* 'sulcavissent', Gaul, *rica* 'furrow' > Fr. *raie* 'stripe' < PCl. **φrikā-*; OHG *furuh*, OE *furh* 'furrow', OIc. *for* [f.] 'canal, ditch' < PGm. **furχō-*; maybe Lith. *peršéti* 'to ache'.

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+), *porcīnus* 'of a pig' (Naev.+), *porcīnārius* 'pork-butcher' (Pl.), *porculātiō* 'pig-rearing' (Varro+), *porcetra* 'a sow which had young once' (Pompon. apud Gell.).

Plt. **pork-o-*. It. cognates: U. **purka**, *porca* [acc.pl.] 'sow'.

PIE **pórk-o-* 'digger, pig'. IE cognates: Av. *parəsa-*, Khot. *pāsa* (< **parsa*), Kurd. *purs*, OPr. *prastian*, Lith. *paršas*, CS *prasę* [n. *nt*] , gen.sg. *prasęte*, Ru. *porosja, porosënok* [m.], *porosjáta* [nom.pl.], SCr. *prâse*, gen.sg. *prâseta* 'piglet' < PSl. **pŏrs-nt-*, OHG *far(a)h* [n.], OE *fearh* [m./n.] 'pig' < PGm. **farχa-*.

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*, OIr. *torc* 'boar' < **turk-o-* to the root **tuerk-* 'to cut', cf. McCone 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+).

Plt. **porso-*.

PIE *prso-. IE cognates: Gr. πράσον [n.] 'leek'; also Skt. *parṣá- 'sheaf, bundle', YAv. *parša-* [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 *porrum* with PIE *perso-* 'ear of grain' or 'sheath', as attested in IIr. 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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 343, EM 523, IEW 846, Wachter 2006: 143.

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.+), *Portūnus* 'deity of harbours' (Cic.+), *Portūnālis* 'of Portunus' (Varro+), *Portūnium* 'temple of Portunus' (Varro+), *importūnus* 'unfavourable, troublesome' (Andr.+), *importūnitās* 'unreasonableness' (Pl.+), *opportūnus* 'favourable, convenient' (Pl.+), *opportūnitās* 'opportuneness, chance' (Pl.+); *angiportum/s, -ūs* 'narrow passage, lane' (Pl.+).

PIt. *portā- 'gate, door', *portu- 'harbour'. It. cognates: O. **púrtam** [acc.sg.] 'gate, door'; possibly U. *pertome* [acc.sg. + *-en*] '?' a certain location < *per-tu-?

PIE *pr-to- 'crossed', *pr-tu- 'crossing, ford, bridge'. IE cognates: Gaul. *ritu-*, OW *rit*, W. *rhyd*, Co. *rit* 'ford' < PCl. *φritu-*; Av. *pərətu-* [m.] 'crossing, bridge', MP *puhl* 'bridge'; OHG *furt*, OE *ford* < PGm. *furðu-*, OIc. *fjǫrðr* 'bay, fjord' < *ferð/þu-*.

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 *pṛtuh₁-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.+).

PIt. *porto/ā-. It. cognates: U. **purtatu**, *portatu* [2/3s.ipv.II], *portaia* [3s.pr.sb.], *portust* [3s.fut.pf.] 'to bring, carry' < *portā-ie-.

PIE *prto- 'passed, crossed' or *port-o- 'passage, crossing'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *píparti* [3s.act.], aor. *párṣ-* 'to bring across', Av. *(fra)frā* [1s.sb.aor.act.] 'to cross',

YAv. *pāraiia-* 'to bring, lead'; Gr. πείρω 'to pierce, penetrate'.

Probably denominal 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-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 345, EM 524f., IEW 816f., Leumann 1977: 548, Untermann 2000: 616f., LIV 1.*per-.

poscō, -ere 'to ask for, demand' [v. III; pf. *poposcī*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *exposcere* 'to ask for, demand' (Pl.+), *reposcere* 'to demand back' (Pl.+); *postulāre* 'to ask for, demand, claim' (Lex XII+), *postulātiō* 'demand, protest' (Pl.+), *postiliō* 'sacrifice demanded by the gods' (Varro+), *expostulāre* 'to remonstrate, complain about' (Pl.+).

PIt. pr. **pork-ske/o-* (>> Sab. **perk-ske-*), aor. **prek-* >> **perk-* (>> PIt. pf. **pe-pork-* >> Lat. **pe-pork-ske-*). It. cognates: U. **pepurkurent** [3p.fut.pf.], O. **comparascuster** [3s.fut.pf.ps.] 'to demand/decide'; O. **kú]mparakineís** [gen.sg. *n*] 'city council' vel sim. < **kom-prk-iōn-*. U. **persnimu, persnihmu, pesnimu, prepesnimu**, *persnimu, persnihimu, pesnimu* [3s.ipv.II], *persnimumo, persnihimumo, pesnimumo* [3p.ipv.II], *persnis fust, pesnis fus(t)* [3s.fut.pf.] 'to pray' < **perk-sk-(i)n-ie/ī-*, denom. to a noun **perk-sk-(i)ōn-*; U. **persklum**, *persclo* [acc.sg.], **persklum-ař** [acc.sg. + *-ad*] , *perscler, pescler* [gen.sg.], **persklu**, *persclu, pesclu* [abl.sg.] 'prayer' < **perk-sk-elo-*.

PIE **prk-sk-e/o-* [pr.], **pr(e)k-* [aor.] 'to ask'. IE cognates: OIr. *arcaid**, *-airc* 'to ask' < PCl. **φarske/o-* < **prske-*, OW MW *erchi*, MCo. *erghi* 'to order', MBret. *archaff* 'to ask, beg' < PBr. **ark-ī-* << PCl. **φarske/o-*, Skt. pr. *prchāmi*, Av. *parasa-* 'to ask', OP *pati-prsa-* 'to read', *prsa-* 'to interrogate, punish', Arm. *(e-)harc* [aor.] 'asked', Lith. *prašýti*, 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 **r* > *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 *postul-āre* and *postil-iō*, it would be attractive to assume a preform **post-elo-* 'asking', from which both forms can be explained.

Bibl.: WH II: 346f., EM 525f., IEW 821f., Sihler 1995: 535, Untermann 2000: 415f., 530f., 539-541, Meiser 2003: 187-189, Schumacher 2004: 511-514, LIV *prek-. → *prex, procus*

post 'in the rear, behind, after' [adv.; prep. + acc.] (Lex XII+; var. *poste* Pl. Enn. Ter.)

Derivatives: *pōne* 'from behind, in the rear of' (Pl.+), *postīcus* [adj.] 'at the back' (Pl.+), *postīculum* 'small back shed' (Pl.), *posterus* 'later, next' (Sis.+), *posterī* [m.pl.] 'descendants, successors' (Pl.+), *posterior* 'later, younger, inferior' (Pl.+), *postrēmus*

'last, final' (Pl.+), *postumus* 'last-born, final' (Cic.+), *Postumus* PN (Pl.+).

PIt. *posti* 'behind, after', *post-ero-* 'later'. It. cognates: O. **púst**, *post*, **pust**, U. **pus**, *post*, *pos* [prep. + abl.] 'after, behind' ≪ *posti*; O. **púſtin**, 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.], **pusnaes** [abl.pl.f.] < *postinaio-* 'which is behind'; O. **púſtreí, púſtr.** [loc.sg.m.], U. *postra* [acc.pl.f.] 'later', maybe 'second' < *postero-*; U. **pustra, pustru,** *postro* [adv.] 'back, backwards' < nom.acc.pl.n. *posterā*; O. **púſtiris** [adv.] 'later' < nom.acc.sg.n. *posterios*; O. *posmom* [acc.sg.n.], **pustm[as** [nom.pl.f.] 'last' < *pos(ti?)tmHo-*.

PIE *pos(ti) '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)* < *po(s)-skʷ-ehₗ* 'following'; Gr. (dial.) πός 'at, to'; Lith. *pàs* 'at, on'; OCS *pozdě* 'late', Ru. *pózdyj* (dial.) < *pos(t)-dʰhₗ-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. **púſtiris.** Lat. *postrēmus* reflects *poster-isamo-*, while *pōne* was formed from *post-ne.* Lat. *postīcus* reflects PIE *posti-h₃kʷ-o-* 'facing the back', cf. *antīcus.* The primary PIE form seems to have been *pos*, extended by means of *-ti in PIE or in PIt. The model probably was the antonym *h₂énti 'in front of'.

Bibl.: WH II: 335, 347-349, EM 520, 526f., IEW 841f., Leumann 1977: 320, Sihler 1995: 368, Beekes 1995: 221, Untermann 2000: 618-624, Lubotsky 2001: 42.

postis 'door-post, stile' [m. *i*] (Pl.+; mostly pl.)
  PIt. *po(r)sti-*.

PIE *pr-sth₂-i- 'standing forth' or *po-sth₂-i- 'standing upright'. IE cognates: (1) Skt. *pṛṣṭhá-* 'back, mountain-ridge, top', YAv. *paršta-* [m.] 'back, spine, support in the back', Lith. *pirštas*, OCS *prъstъ* 'finger' < *pr-sth₂-o-*; (2) OIc. *fastr*, OHG *fast*, OE *fæst* '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. *potuī*; *utpote* [adv.] 'as one might expect, as is natural' (Pl.+) (2) *potior, potius* 'better, more powerful' (Naev.+), *potissimus* 'most powerful' (Pl.+), *potīre* 'to put under the power of' (Pl.+), *potī(rī)* '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-ē-* 'to be master'. It. cognates: O. **púṭíad,**

putiiad [3s.pr.sb.], **pútíans, putiians** [3p.pr.sb.] 'to be able' < *pot-ē-.

PIE *pót-i-. IE cognates: Skt. *páti-* [m.] 'lord, master', Av. *paiti-* [m.] 'lord, husband', OP *daϑa-pati-* 'commander of ten soldiers'; Gr. πόσις [m.] 'husband'; OLith. *patis*, Lith. *pàts* [m.] 'id.', Go. *brup-faps* [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-* > *potīre* was derived from it. *Potēns* probably derives from a PIt. 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. *potuī* 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*.

Bibl.: WH II: 347, 350, EM 526, 528, IEW 842, Leumann 1977: 524f., Meiser 1998: 73, 222, Sihler 1995: 538f., Untermann 2000: 625f., Meiser 2003: 65. → *hospes, -pte*

pōtus 'drunk' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *pōtus, -ūs* (m.; Varro+) 'drinking, drink, draught', *pōtiō* (Lex XII+) 'id.', *pōtāre* (Pl.+) 'to drink', *pōtātiǭ* 'drinking party' (Pl.+), *pōtātor* 'drinker' (Pl.+), *pōtitāre* 'to drink habitually' (Pl.+); *ēpōtāre* 'to swallow, drink down' (Pl.+), *perpōtāre* 'to drink heavily' (Pl.+); *pōsca* (Pl.+) 'acid drink of vinegar and water', *pōculum* (Pl.+) 'drinking vessel', *pōcillum* 'little cup' (Cato+), *dēpōculāre* 'to ruin by expenditure on cups' (Lucil.), *compōtrīx* 'female drinking companion' (Ter.).

PIt. *pōto-* 'drunk', *pō-tlo-* 'cup'. It. cognates: maybe U. **punes** [gen.sg.], **pune** [acc.sg.], **puni**, *pone, poni* [abl.sg.] 'sacrificial drink' < *pō-ni-*.

PIE *peh₃-/*ph₃- [aor.] 'to drink', *ph₃-to- 'drunk'. IE cognates: Hit. *pāš-ⁱ / paš-* 'to swallow, gulp down', CLuw. *pašš-* 'to swallow' < *poh₃-s-; Skt. aor. *apāt* [3s.act.], *pānti* [3p.sb.] 'to drink', *pītá-* 'drunk', *pātar-, pātár-* [m.] 'drinker', Gr. (Aeol.) πῶθι 'drink!', ἐπόθην [1s.aor.] 'to drink'; OPr. *poūt* 'to drink', Lith. *puotà* 'drinking-bout'.

The full grade of *pōtus* 'drunk' must have been introduced from the root aorist. *Pōtus* and *pō-culum* have caused the spread of *pō-* in the other derivatives. The noun *pōsca* was probably formed on the model of *ēsca*.

Bibl.: WH I: 103f., EM 529, IEW 839f., Schrijver 1991: 147, Meiser 1998: 123, Untermann 2000: 606f., LIV *peh₃(i)-. → *bibō*

prae 'in front of, before' [adv., prep. + abl.] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *praeter* [prep. + acc.] 'past, beyond, besides' (Naev.+); *praestō* [adv.] 'available, ready' (Pl.+).

PIt. *prai*. It. cognates: O. **prai**, U. **pre**, *pre* [prep. + abl.] 'before, in front of'; O. *prae-*, U. **pre-**, *pre-*, SPic. **prai-**, maybe Pael. *prai-* [prev.] 'in front, fore, at hand'; U. *pretra* [acc.pl.f.?] 'the first' < *prai-tero-*.

PIE *preh₂i 'before' (loc.sg. *préh₂-i?) . IE cognates: Gr. πάρα 'besides, by, from,

next to, against', also παρά, epic also παραί, outside Ion.-Att. mostly πάρ, Myc. *pa-ro* < *prh₂-* 'by'.

The adv. *praestō* is probably an old abl.sg. *praistōd* of an adj. *praisto-* 'ready, available', the analysis of which is uncertain. It might be from < *prai-sth₂-o-* 'standing in front', or *prai-si-to-* 'placed in front'.

Bibl.: WH II: 351, 356f., EM 529f., 532, IEW 810-816, Schrijver 1991: 302, Sihler 1995: 428, Beekes 1995: 221, García-Ramón 1997, Untermann 2000: 568f., 575f. → *prior*

praestōlō/or, -āre/-ārī 'to wait for, expect' [v. I] (Andr.+)

PIt. *stōlo-?*

PIE *stōl-o-* 'being ready, waiting'? IE cognates: Gr. στέλλω 'to put in order, make ready', στόλος 'equipment (of a campaign), troop', στολή 'armor, dress', στολμός [m.] 'equipment, clothing', Arm. *stelcanem* 'to create', Alb. *shtiell* 'to wind up, reel up, collect' (< *stel-n-*); OPr. *stallīt* 'to stand', OCS *postъlati*, Is. *posteljǫ*, Ru. *stlat'* 'to spread'; PGm. *stalla-* 'place, stable' (whence *stall-ija-* 'to place') < *stol-no-* or *sth₂-dʰlo-?*

IEW explains the verb as *praestōd-ārī*, built directly on the abl.sg. *praistōd* > *praestō* [adv.] 'ready, available'; thus also Steinbauer 1989: 255. This is ingenuous, 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' > *prai-stōl-āje-* '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.+; *prandī*, *pransum*), *pransor* 'who takes lunch' (Pl.+); *impransus* 'not having had breakfast' (Pl.+), *dēprans, -ndis* 'fasting' (Naev.).

PIt. *prāmo-* 'first'. It. cognates: Fal. **pramom** [nom.n.?], **pramod, pramed** [adv.] 'first (?)', maybe < *prāmos*.

PIE *prh₃-mo-* 'first'. IE cognates: OPr. *pirmas*, Lith. *pirmas* 'first', Go. *fruma*, OS *formo*, OE *forma* 'first'.

Prandium < *prāmo-ed-io-* 'first meal'. Livingston 2004: 68 explains *dēprans* from an agent noun *prans* < *pram-ed-s* 'eating first'. The resulting stem *prand-* could have formed the basis for the formation of *prandēre*.

Bibl.: WH II: 357f., EM 533, IEW 810-816, Giacomelli 1963: 252f., Sihler 1995: 428. → *edō, prīmus*

prātum 'meadow' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

PIt. *prāto-.

PIE *prh₃-to- 'allotted'?

WH and IEW connect OIr. *ráith*, *ráth* 'earthen wall' < *(p)rāt-, but this is semantically uncompelling. Steinbauer 1989: 252, note 14, has suggested PIE *prh₃-to- 'what has been allotted', which is more attractive from the semantic side (cf. the etymology of Eng. *meadow*).

Bibl.: WH II: 358, EM 533, IEW 843f., Schrijver 1991: 182, LIV *perh₃- (?). → *pariō*

prāvus 'crooked, awry' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *prāvitās* '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, -ūs* '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.+), *dēpre(he)ndere* 'to intercept, come upon' (Pl.+), *repre(he)ndere* 'to grasp, hold back, censure' (Pl.+).

PIt. *(prai-)χend- 'to seize' [pr.], *(prai-)χod-ā- 'booty'.

PIE *gʰ-n(e)-d- [pr.] 'to grab' >> *gʰ(e)nd-, *gʰod-h₂- [f.]. IE cognates: OIr. *ro·geinn*, MW *genni* 'to be situated' < PCl. *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-χed-ā- 'what one acquires', but Livingston 2004: 52 convincingly argues that the compound may rather contain an *o*-grade noun, thus *prai-χod-ā-. She explains *prehendō* as follows: *prai-χend- regularly contracted to *praind-, and further developed to *-prēnd- after preverbs: *kom-prēnd-. For the vowel development, cf. *obscaenus*, maybe *aliēnus*. From *-prēnd-, a new simplex *prēndere 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 352f., 359, EM 530f., IEW 437f., Leumann 1977: 199, Meiser 1998: 62, 83, 2003: 210f., Livingston 2004: 47-56, Schumacher 2004: 330, LIV *gʰed-. → *hedera*

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, -ūs* '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.+), *oppressiō* 'taking by surprise, overpowering' (Ter.+), *oppressiuncula* 'a light squeeze' (Pl.), *oppressus, -ūs* 'crushing' (Lucr.), *reprimere* 'to check, repress' (Pl.+), *supprimere* 'to hold back, withhold' (Pl.+).

PIt. **pres-*.

PIE **pr-es-* 'to press'. IE cognates: Skt. *pŕt-*, YAv. *pərət-* [f.] 'battle, strife, fight' < **pr̥-t-*, Lith. *peřti*, Latv. *pèrt* 'to beat, lash', Ru. *perét'*, 3s. *prět* 'to go, make one's way, drag', Cz. *přti* 'to quarrel'.

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* : **tress-* (>> *tremuī*). *Prēlum* cannot reflect **prem(V)lo-*, so it must reflect **preslo-*. Leumann's proposal **premslo-* is not very likely, since one would expect **premV-slo-*. Thus, the orignal 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 359f., EM 533f., IEW 818f., Leumann 1977: 208, 212, 591, Sihler 1995: 213, 583, Meiser 1998: 209, Meiser 2003: 116, LIV 3.*per-.

pretium 'reward, prize; penalty' [n. *o*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *pretiōsus* 'expensive, precious' (Pl.+).

PIt. **preti-o-* 'exchange value'.

PIE **preti* 'against'. IE cognates: Skt. *práti*, Av. *paiti*, Gr. πρότι, προτί, πρός, OCS *protivъ*, *protivǫ* 'against, towards', Ru. *proti* (dial.), *protъ* (dial.) 'against' < PIE **p(r)oti*; Gr. περτ' (Pamph.), πρές (Aeol.) < **preti*?

WH and IEW derive *pretium* from a preposition **preti*, with *e*-ablaut for **proti*. There is no viable alternative; see s.v. *interpres, -tis* 'intermediary' for the difficulties involved in the connection via a common preform.

Bibl.: WH II: 360f., EM 534, IEW 810-816, Beekes 1995: 221.

prex, -cis 'prayer, supplication' [f. *k*] (Pl.+; usually pl. *precēs*)

Derivatives: *precārī* 'to ask, pray' (Andr.+), *precāriō* [adv.] 'as a suppliant, asking a favour' (Pl.+), *precātor* 'suppliant' (Pl.+); *comprecārī* 'to pray to, invoke' (Pl.+), *dēprecārī* 'to beg the removal of, beg mercy' (Pl.+), *dēprecātiō* 'entreaty, plea' (Pl.+).

PIt. **prek-*.

PIE **prek̑-* [f.] 'question'. IE cognates: W. *rheg* 'gift; curse' < PCl. **φrek-* (Hamp 1977); Skt. *práś-* [f.] 'dispute, questioning, statement or assertion in a debate or lawsuit', OAv. *f(ə)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 **prek̑-.* → *poscō*, *procus*

prior 'in front, ahead, earlier' [adj.comp. *r*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: (1) *priusquam* [cj.] 'earlier then, before', *prīdem* [adv.] 'formerly, long

ago' (Pl.+), *prīdiē* [adv.] 'the day before, in the time preceding' (Pl.+); (2) *prīmus* 'furthest in front, foremost' (Naev.+), *adprīmus* 'the very first' (Andr.+), *prīmānus* 'belonging to the first legion' (Cato+), *prīmārius* 'leading, excelling' (Pl.+), *prīmātus*, -*ūs* 'supremacy' (Varro+), *prīmitus* [adv.] 'at first' (Lucil.+), *prīmulus* 'first' (Naev.+), *prīmōris* [adj.] 'first member or part, nearest' (Cato+), *princeps, -cipis* 'fist, earliest, leading' (Pl.+), *prīncipium* 'start, origin' (Pl.+), *apprīmus* 'very first, most excellent' (Andr.+); (3) *prīscus* 'ancient, of old' (Enn.+), *prīstinus* 'antique, ancient, previous' (Pl.+).

PIt. comp. **prī-jos-* 'earlier, former', n. **prī-is*, sup. **prī-isamo-* 'first'. It. cognates: Pael. *pri-* 'in front of', maybe U. pri-, pri- in prinuvatu- < **pri-*; Pael. *prismu* [nom.sg.f.] fem. praenomen; Pael. *pritrome* [acc.sg. + -*en*] 'further' < **prī-tero-*.

PIE **pr(e)i* 'before'. IE cognates: Gr. πρίν 'before, previously'; OPr. *prei* 'at, with, to', Lith. *priē, prie-* 'at, with, to', OCS *pri* 'at, with, by' < PIE **prei*.

All seem to be built on an adv. **pri* 'before', which is attested by Paul. *ex F.* as *pri* '*prae*'. It might also be phonologically **prī*. The PIE ancestry of *prī* is uncertain: it can hardly continue **prh₂i* (zero grade of **preh₂i* > *prae*) since this would yield Lat. **pari*. It might be connected with BSl. **prei* 'at, with' The sup. contains the suffix **-isamo-*, cf. Pael. *prismu*; it is used in *prīnceps* < **prīmo-kap-*. The sup. *prior* reflects **prī-iōs*, and its zero grade **prī-is* seems to have been used as *prīs-* in *prīdem* < **prīs-dem* 'long ago' and in the adj. **prīs-ko-* > *prīscus* and *prīs-tinus*. The suffix -*tinus* also appears e.g. in *diūtinus* 'daily' and *crastinus* 'of tomorrow', where it seems more original; see s.v. *diū*.

Bibl.: WH II: 361-363, EM 534f., IEW 810-816, Cowgill 1970: 125, Leumann 1977: 317, 321, Sihler 1995: 360, 428, Meiser 1998: 174, Untermann 2000: 577, 579. → *prae, prīvus*

prīvus 'peculiar, individual' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *prīvāre* 'to deprive of, rob' (Pl.+), *prīvātus* 'private, of a citizen' (Lex XII+), *prīvātim* 'privately, separately' (Pl.+); *prīvīgna* 'step-daughter' (Titin.+).

PIt. **prei-wo-* 'separate, individual'. It. cognates: U. **prever** [abl.pl.m.], **preve** [adv.] 'one at a time, separately'; O. *preiuatud* [abl.sg.] 'the defendant', probably a loan from Latin.

PIE **prei-uo-*.

Probably a derivative in **-uo-* from the stem **prei-* 'in front of, before' seen in *prior* etc. Thus, a semantic shift from 'being in front' to 'being separate'.

Bibl.: WH II: 363f., EM 536, IEW 810-816, Untermann 2000: 572f., 576. → *prior*

prō 'in front of, before; for' [prep. + abl., prev.] (Tiburbasis+, Andr.+; var. *prōd-C*, *prŏ-V*)

Derivatives: *pro-* (prefix) 'before, previous' (in *proavus* 'great-grandfather' etc.), *prōnus* 'leaning forward, bending down, inclined' (Naev.+), *protinus* [adv.] 'forward, straight away' (Pl.+), *protinam* [adv.] 'directly' (Naev.+).

PIt. **prō, *pro(-)* 'before'. It. cognates: O. *pru*, pr., *pr.* [prep. + abl.], O. **prú-, pru-**, U. **pru-**, *pro-* [prev.] 'for, before' < **prō, pro*; U. *promom*, **prumum, prumu** [adv.]

'at first' < *pro-mom 'prīmum'; O. pruter [adv.] 'before' < *prō-ter.

PIE *pro 'in front of, before', *proH (?); *pro-mó- 'further, up front'. IE cognates: OIr. ro° [pref.] (perfectivizing); Skt. prá [adv.] 'before, forward', Av. fra- 'for, before', Khot. ha-; Gr. πρό 'before, forwards, forth', Lith. pra- 'by, through', OCS pro- 'through', Go. fra- [pref.] < PIE *pro-; Skt. prātár [adv.] 'early, in the morning, the next day', Gr. πρωΐ 'early, in the morning', Latv. pruōjãm 'away, off', Lith. pró- 'pre-, fore-, between', prō 'through, along, past', OCS pra- 'through', OHG fruo [adj.] 'early'; Gr. πρόμος 'protagonist, commander', OIc. framr, OE fram 'excellent'.

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-oh₁?) beside *pro; Untermann 2000: 582 also assumes an ins.sg. Alternatively, one might suggest that *proH arose when *pro- stood before roots in *HC-.

Bibl.: WH II: 364f., EM 536, IEW 810-816, Leumann 1977: 560f., Schrijver 1991: 81, Beekes 1995: 221, Sihler 1995: 427, 439, Schaffner 1996: 155, Untermann 2000: 581f., 586, 590. → per, por, prope, re-

probrum 'abuse, reproach, insult' [n. o] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: probra [adj. nom.acc.pl.n.] 'degraded' (Gell.); exprobrāre 'to bring up as a reproach' (Pl.+), exprobrātiō 'reproach(ing)' (Ter.+), opprobrāre 'to bring up as a reproach' (Pl.+), opprobrāmentum 'scandal' (Pl.), opprobrium 'reproach, insult' (Lucr.+).

PIt. *pro-fr-o-.

PIE *bʰr- '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 *bʰer-. → ferō

probus 'excellent, good' [adj. o/ā] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: (1) probitās 'honesty, integrity' (Pac.+); approbus 'excellent' (Caecil.+), improbus 'of poor quality, improper, greedy' (Lex XII+); probāre 'to approve of, commend, prove' (Naev.+), probātiō 'approval, proof' (Varro+), probābilis 'commendable, plausible' (Afran.+); approbāre 'to commend, endorse' (Pl.+), comprobāre 'to confirm, justify' (Pl.+), improbāre 'to reject, repudiate'; (2) superbus 'proud, haughty' (Naev.+), superbia 'pride, disdain' (Pl.+).

PIt. *pro-f(w)-o- 'favourable'. It. cognates: Pael. pros [nom.sg.m.] 'righteous', U. prufe [adv.] 'correct', O. amprufid [adv.] 'incorrect' < *pro-bʰṷ-o-; O. prúfatted, prúfated, πρωφατεδ [3s.pf.], prúfattens [3p.pf.] 'to approve of', denom. verb to *profo-, in its meaning influenced by Lat. probāre.

PIE *pro-*bʰ(h₂)u-o-. IE cognates: Skt. pra-bhú- [adj.] 'excelling, excellent'; Gr. ὑπέρφευ [adv.] 'excessively' (Att.), ὑπερφυής 'excessive', ὑπερφίαλος 'arrogant' (if

< *-phuwalos with de Lamberterie), ὑφέαρ 'mistletoe' (< *h₂iu-bʰeh₂u-r or *h₂iu-bʰēu-r (?) 'ever-growing').

The Sab. forms show that there was a PIt. form *profo-; hence, we must start from a thematized form in *-bʰu-o- < *-bʰHu-o-, with loss of the PIE laryngeal in the compound. In or after PIt., *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. ὑπέρφευ 'excessively' represent the same formation as superbus.

Bibl.: WH II: 366, EM 537, IEW 146-150, Meiser 1998: 121, Untermann 2000: 583-585, LIV *bʰueh₂-. → fuī

proceres, -um 'leaders, society' [m.pl. r] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: procī, -um [pl.] 'class of leading citizens in the Servian constitution' (Cic., Fest.).

PIt. *proko- 'who is at the front, leader'?

PIE *pro-k(o)- . IE cognates: Gr. πρόκα 'immediately', OCS prokъ 'remaining', pročь 'remaining' [adj.]; proče 'further, then' [adv.], Ru. prok 'use, benefit' [m.], próčij 'other' [adj.]; proč' 'away' [adv.] < PIE *pro-k-(i)o̯-.

Unclear formation. According to WH, the gen.pl. procum shows that the stem was *prok(o)-, to which -er-ēs 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

prōcērus 'tall, lofty' [adj. o/ā] (Enn.+)

PIt. *k(r)ēro-. :

PIE *krehₗ-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. *kérhₗo- 'growing' which she recognizes in HLuw. zi+ra/i-la-mi-i 'fruitful, thriving' < *zīra- 'growth' < *kéro-. 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 367, EM 537, IEW 577, Leumann 1977: 315, Schrijver 1991: 124, Rieken 2003. → crēscō, sincērus

procul 'some distance away, (far) away, apart' [adv.] (Pl.+)

PIt. *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. **niχuula-* 'down, directed downwards' < **ni-kue-lo-* and Skt. *viśva-* 'all, whole' < **ui-kuo-*, and posits **proculo-* < **prokuolo-* < PIE **pro-kue-lo-* 'somewhat to the front'. The only problem is the zero ending of *procul*: n. **prokulom* 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.: WH II: 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. **procīre*.

Bibl.: WH II: 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* > **oili* > *-oeli-*, for which only the PN *Cloelius, Coelius* and *Boelius* are adduced as evidence. *Proelium* would continue a form **pro-gᵂe/ol-io-*, with cognate forms such as MW *ryvel*, W. *rhyfel* 'war' < PCl. **ro-bel-, bel* 'hits, strikes', *erdifel* 'smites' (< **ari-dī-bel-*), Lith. *gélti*, 3s. *gẽlia* 'ache, sting, bite', and OHG *quelan* 'to be in pain', OE *cwelan* 'to die'. Yet in the relative chronology, the Plt. lenition of **gᵂ* to **w* precedes the Latin development of **-owe/oCV-* > **-ouCV-* > *-ūC-*, so that one would expect **pro-gᵂelio-* to yield **prūlium* or, like *mōtus*, **prōlium*. Klingenschmitts 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 *proe-* from an earlier disyllabic sequence, the syllable boundary must have been present until quite recently. An alternative candidate would be a preform **pro-χel-io-*, but there is no PIE root **gʰel(H)-* that comes to mind as a likely root.

Bibl.: WH II: 369, EM 538, Klingenschmitt 1980: 221, Meiser 1998: 87, Brachet 1999, Schumacher 2004: 218.

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.).

PIE *própro 'on and on, ever further'. IE cognates: Skt. *prá-pra* [adv.] 'on and on', Gr. πρό-προ 'before; on and on'.

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.: WH II: 371-373, EM 538f, IEW 810-816, Dunkel 1979, 1980. → *prō, re-*

proprius 'one's own, peculiar, specific' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)
 Derivatives: *proprītim* 'particularly' (Lucr.), *propriāssit* 'proprium fecerit' (Fest. 229M).
 PIt. **prijo-* 'own, dear', **prijāje/o-* 'to make one's own'.
 PIE **priH-o-* 'own, dear'. IE cognates: MW *rhydd* 'free', Skt. *priyá-*, Av. *friia-* 'dear, own', Skt. *préṣṭha-*, Av. *fraēšta-* 'dearest', Gō. *freis*, OHG *frī* 'free' < PGm. **frija-* 'free, dear, own'; Skt. pr. *priṇanti* [3p.act.], *aprīyamāṇa-* [neg.ptc.med.], aor. *préṣat* [3s.sb.act.] 'to please', *prītá-* 'pleased, satisfied', OAv. *friiąnmahī* (for **frinmahi*) [1p.pr.act.] 'to satisfy', *frīnāi* [1s.pr.sub.med.] 'to please', YAv. *frīnāmahi* [1p.pr.act.] 'to satisfy', *huuā-frīta-* 'very much loved', *friθa-* 'dear, loved', OE *frīd-hengest* 'horse that is well-cared for', OHG *frīten* 'to look after', OCS *prijati* 'to take care of', *prijatelь* 'friend, beloved', Go. *frijon* 'to love', Go. *frijonds*, OIc. *frœndi*, OHG *friunt* 'friend'.

Forssman 2004 has elaborated the connection with **priH-* 'to be dear', Skt. *priyá-*, which seems the most likely etymology. Since *pro-* can hardly be explained as a nominal prefix, he argues that it was prefixed to **prius* from the verb **pro-priāre*, of which the hapax *propriāssit* in Festus (belonging to the *s*-pr. in *-āss-* which was unproductive in CLat.) would be a remnant. The adv. *proprītim* might conceal an old *ti*-stem **priH-ti-*, which is also continued in Ilr.

Bibl.: WH II: 373f., EM 539f., IEW 829, Forssman 2004, LIV **preiH-*.

prosperus 'prosperous, successful' [adj. *o/ā*] (Naev.+)
 Derivatives: *prosperāre* 'to succeed, further' (Pl.+).
 PIt. **pro-sparo-*.
 PIE **sph₁-ro-* 'thriving'. IE cognates: Hit. *išpai-ⁱ* / *išpi-* 'to get full, be satiated' < **sph₁-ói-* / **sph₁-i-*; Skt. *sphirá-* 'fat', *sphāya-* 'to become fat, increase', OCS *spěti* 'to succeed', Ru. *spet'* 'to ripen' < PIE **speh₁-*, OE *spōwan* 'to prosper'.

A combination of *pro* plus PIE **sph₁-ro-* 'thriving', or a *ro*-derivative of a PIE compound verb **pro-speh₁-* 'to thrive'.

Bibl.: WH II: 375f., EM 540, IEW 983f., Schrijver 1991: 93, LIV **spʰeh₁-*. → *spēs*

prōtervus 'bold, violent; impudent' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+; var. *proptervus* (Pl., Pac.) is older)

Derivatives: *prōtervitās* 'boldness' (Ter.+).

Plt. **propetes-wo-*.

PIE **pet-os*, *-es-* [n.] 'impetus, haste'. IE cognates: Gr. -πέτης 'flying'; see s.v. *petō*.

The older etymologies with **pet-r/n-* 'wing' are semantically unsatisfactory. Rix 1981: 118 (= 2001: 286) proposes a preform **propetes-u̯o-* with regular change of **su̯* to *rv*. The preform would be a contamination of **pro-petēs* 'inclined, hasty' (Gr. προπετής 'falling down, precipitate') and **petes-u̯o-* 'provided with impetus'. This seems at least better than other solutions.

Bibl.: WH II: 377, EM 541, IEW 825f., LIV 2.*peth₂-. → *petō*

pruīna 'hoar-frost, rime' [f. *ā*] (Pac.+)

Plt. **prus-wo-* 'freezing'.

PIE **prus-u̯o-* 'sprinkling, drop'. IE cognates: Skt. *pruṣvá / prúṣvā* 'drop of dew, cool drop' (cf. Gerow 1973).

Hamp 1973 discusses the etymology at length, and concludes that the most likely development is the following: **prusu̯īna > *prurwīna > *pruwīna* (dissimilation of *r*) > **prūīna > pruīna*. Skt. *pruṣvá* may preserve the nominal basis, derived from the verb which is still attested in Germanic (see *prūriō*); from this nominal basis, an adj. in **-īno-* was derived in Latin.

Bibl.: WH II: 378f., EM 541, IEW 846, Hamp 1973, Leumann 1977: 328, LIV **preu̯s-*. → *prūriō*

prūriō, -īre 'to itch, tingle' [v. IV] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *prūna* 'glowing charcoal' (Cato+).

Plt. **prous-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. pr. *pruṣṇuvánti* [3p.act.], *pruṣṇute* [3s.med.], aor. *pruṣā* [1s.sb.act.], ppp. *pruṣitá-* 'to (be)sprinkle, wet'; maybe Lith. *praũsti* 'to wash', SCr. *pŕskati*, Sln. *pŕskati* 'to splash' < **prus-sk-*; Go. *frius* [m./n.] 'frost', OIc. *frjósa* 'to freeze' < PGm. **freus-*, OIc. OHG OE *frost* < PGm. **frusta-* 'frost'.

The meaning 'to be wet, itch' was metaphorically also applied to high temperatures, hence 'burning' in *prūna*.

Bibl.: WH II: 379, EM 541, IEW 846, Hamp 1973, LIV **preu̯s-*. → *pruīna*

-pte 'emphasis' [ptcle.] (Naev.+: *meāpte, meāpte, tuōpte, tuāpte,* etc.)

Plt. **-pe/o-te*.

PIE **-pe/o + *-te*. IE cognates: Lith. *-pàt*.

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* < **-poti* '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" ποτε (which Dunkel separates from interrogative/indefinite ποτε̄), Hit. *-pat* < **pat(V)* (not **-i*), Lith. *-pàt* 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 **-bʰod*. The British forms on which Klingenschmitts reconstruction is based (nom.sg.m. MW *hunnoid*, Bret. *hennezh* 'that') have received a different explanation by Schrijver 1997b: 66-70. That Gr. ποτε 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 379f., EM 542, IEW 842, Leumann 1977: 466, Meiser 1998: 169. → *-pe*

pūbēs, -is 'adult population, company; puberty; private parts' [f. *ē*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *pūbēs, -eris* 'grown-up, adult' (Cic.+), *impūbēs, -eris/-is* [adj.] 'who has not reached puberty' (Lucr.+), *pūbēscere* 'to come to maturity, ripen; grow to manhood' (Enn.+); *pūbertās* 'puberty, virility' (Cic.+); *pūblicus* 'of the people, public, state-' (Naev.+), *pūblicānus* [adj.] 'contractor, publican' (Pl.+), *pūblicitus* 'publicly, at public expense' (Pl.+), *pūblicāre* 'to make public property, exhibit' (Naev.+).

IE cognates: Skt. *púmāṃs-* 'male, man' (nom.sg. *púmān*, acc. *púmāṃsam* (< **pu-mos-m*), loc.pl. *puṃsú*) , Shughnī *pūm* 'down' (< PIr. **paumāh* < IE **péumōs?*).

The adj. *pūblicus* has adopted *ū* from *pūbēs*, with which it was secondarily associated. Originally it was **popliko-*, as shown by the OLat. spellings *poplicod, poblicai* (CIL), and was derived from *populus*. Since *pūbēs, -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 *impūbēs* was the older form, from which *pūbēs* was back-formed. Adams 1985a has proposed to connect *pūbēs* with Skt. *púmāṃs-* 'man, male', deriving both from a root **pum-* 'pubic hair'. The meaning 'man' could then be explained from 'having pubic hair'. Latin *-b-* would have arisen from the PIE adj. **pumró-*, replaced by full grade **peumró-* whence phonetically Lat. **peubro-* > *pūber-* arose. The *-b-* was then introduced into **(im)pūmēs*. The main inner-Latin drawback of this explanation is the chronology of attestations: *pūbēscere* and *pūblicus* are attested in OLat., whereas *(im)pūbēs* 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. *púmān?*) and **dʰehₗ-* 'to put' (for the formation, cf. *plēbēs*), e.g. **pe/ou-dʰehₗ-*; but the analysis of the first element remains unclear.

Bibl.: WH II: 338f., EM 522, Leumann 1977: 117, Schrijver 1991: 375f., EWAia II: 144, Sihler 1995: 310, Stüber 2002: 43. → *populus, pūmilus*

pudeō 'to be ashamed' [v. II; pf. *puduī*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *pudor, -ōris* 'shame, decency' (Pl.+), *pudīcus* 'sexually pure, chaste' (Pl.+), *pudīcitia* 'chastity, virtue' (Pl.+), *impudēns* 'shameless' (Andr.+), *impudentia* 'shamelessness, immodesty' (Pl.+), *impudīcus* 'unchaste, immoral' (Pl.+), *impudīcitia* 'unchastity' (Pl.+); *dēpudicāre* '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.).

PIt. **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 frighthened'. 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), *puellitārī* 'to act like a girl' (Lab.), *puellus* 'young boy' (Pl.+); *repuerāscere* 'to become a boy again' (Pl. 1x).

PIt. **puwero-*.

PIE **ph₂u-ero-* 'smaller'.

Lat. *puella* < **puere-la* 'little girl'. Since PIE **ph₂u-ero-* would possibly yield pre-Lat. **pawero-*, *puer* may have been built more recently to the PIt. root **pau-*, **pū-* '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/ā*] (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 **perk̑-* '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.

Bibl.: WH II: 384, EM 543f., IEW 820f., Sihler 1995: 142.

pūlex, -icis 'flea' [m. *k*] (Andr.+)

PIt. **pusl-?*

PIE **plus-* 'flea'? IE cognates: Skt. *plúṣi-*, Sogd. *'βš'h* < PIr. **fršā-*, Yidgha *friyo* < PIr. **fruši-kā-*, Gr. ψύλλα (< **psul-*), Arm. *low* (< PIE **plus*); Alb. *pleshti* [m.]; Lith.

blusà, RuCS *blъcha*, Cz. *blecha*; OHG *flōh* < **plauχ-*, all 'flea'.

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 *pūl-* might reflect **pusl-*, with metathesis from **plus-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 385, EM 544, IEW 102.

pullus 'drab-coloured, sombre' [adj. *o/ā*] (Andr.+)

PIt. **polwo-*.

PIE **p(o)l-u-o-* 'gray'. IE cognates: Skt. *paruṣá-* 'grey, grey-brown', YAv. *pouruša-* 'grey (of hair)' < **pe/ol(H)-u-so-*, Gr. πολιός 'grey, grizzled' (< **πολι-(ϝ)ό-*).

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 *pall-*. IEW states that (expected) **pol-* < **pḷ-* was changed into *pul-* under the influence of *p-*, but this is an ad hoc assumption which is furthermore contradicted by *pollūceō* and *polluō* (to mention only the examples of **poll-* plus a back vowel). Nussbaum 1997 proposes to connect *pullus* with PIE **pe/ol-(i/u-)* 'gray, dark colour' found in other languages; this seems the best solution proposed so far. Similarly, Driessen 2005: 46f.

Bibl.: WH II: 386, EM 544, IEW 804f., Nussbaum 1997: 191. → *palleō*

pulmō 'lungs' [m. *n*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *pulmōneus* 'consisting of the lung' (Pl.+).

PIt. **plu-mōn?*

PIE **plu-mon-?* [adj.] 'floating > lung'. IE cognates: Skt. *klomán-* (< **ploman-* < **pleu-mon-*) 'the right lung; [pl.] the lungs', Gr. πλεύμων 'lung', Lith. *plaũčiai* [pl.], OCS *pljušta* [pl.] 'lungs' < BSl. **plou-tio-*, **pleu-tio-* [n.].

Two etymologies are mostly found in the handbooks. It has been suggested that *pulmō* goes back with metathesis to **plumō*, and was borrowed from Gr. πλεύμων. 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 *pulmō* continues an inherited adj. **pléu-mon* 'the floating one' (since lungs float on water); we would then still expect an outcome **plūmō*, maybe with metathesis **pūlmō*. Alternatively, one could posit **plu-mon* with the zero grade of **pleu-*; still, a metathesis to **pulmōn* would have to be assumed.

Bibl.: WH II: 386, EM 545, IEW 837f., Leumann 1977: 101, 371, Biville 1990 I: 353, LIV **pleu-*. → *pluit*

pulpa 'fleshy parts of a body, best part of the meat' [f. *ā*] (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+).

PIt. **pelp-ā-* 'meat', **pelp-m(e)n-* 'meat'. It. cognates: U. *pelmner* [gen.sg.] n. 'meat' < **pelp-men-*.

U. shows that the vowel in the first syllable was *e, hence *pulpa* < **pelpā-* and *pulmentum* < **pelp-mento-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 386f., EM 545, Untermann 2000: 528.

puis, -ltis 'kind of porridge' [f. *t*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *pultiphagus* 'eating porridge' (Pl.).

Plt. **polt-i-*.

IE cognates: Gr. πόλτος 'porridge'.

Since *pult-* can reflect **polt-*, *puls* 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 *puls*. 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 **polti-*. 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 an as yet unknown PIE root.

Bibl.: WH II: 387f., EM 545, IEW 802. → *pollen*

pulvis, -eris 'dust' [m. *r*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *pulvisculus* 'dust' (Pl.+), *pulverāre* 'to be dusty; pulverize' (Pl.+), *pulverulentus* 'dusty' (Varro+), *pulvīnus* 'cushion, pillow' (Pl.+), *pulvīnār* [n.] 'support for a beached ship; cushioned couch' (Pl.+), *pulvīnāris* 'of a cushion' (Varro+); *dispulverāre* 'to pulverize' (Naev.).

Plt. **pelolaw(-is)-* 'dust'.

PIE **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 **pelH-u-(h₂)* 'chaff' seen in Skt. *palāva-* 'chaff, husk', OPr. *pelwo*, Lith. *pēlūs* 'chaff', Ru. *polóva* (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/olaw-*), but not from **polHu-* > PIE **polu-* (Saussure's effect), since **polw-* would yield Lat. **poll-*. The noun *pulvīnus* can stem from **poluis-no-*: a pillow used to be filled with straw or chaff.

Bibl.: WH II: 388, EM 545, IEW 802, Leumann 1977: 321, Schrijver 1991: 256f. → *palea*

pūmex, -icis 'pumice' [m. *k*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *pūmiceus* 'of pumice' (Pl.+), *pūmicāre* 'to rub smooth with pumice' (Lucil.+).

Plt. **poim-Vk-*.

PIE **(s)poHi-m-* 'foam'.

EM argue that the close similarity of pumice with a sponge explains why **(s)poim-* '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

pūmilus 'dwarf, pygmy' [adj. o/ā] (Mart.+)

Derivatives: pūmiliō 'dwarf, midget' (Lucr.+; CIL poum-).

IE cognates: Gr. πυγμαῖος '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 pūmilus 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- > -ūm-. 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 *πυγμιλος. 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. III; pf. pupugī, ppp. pūnctum] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: pūnctāriola 'skirmish' (Cato apud Fest.), expungere 'to prick thoroughly; cancel a debt' (Pl.+); pūgiō 'dagger, poniard' (Cic.+); pugil, -is [m.] 'boxer' (Ter.+), pugilicē 'like a boxer' (Pl.), pugilātus, -ūs 'boxing' (Pl.+), pugilātōrius '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.+), dēpūgnātiō '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.+).

PIt. *pung- 'to pierce, sting', *puk/g-n(o)- 'fist'.

PIE *pu-n(e)-ǵ/k-. IE cognates: Gr. πύξ 'with the fist', πύγμη [f.] 'fist, fist-fight', πυγών, -όνος [m.] 'certain measure, distance from the elbow to the first finger-joint'; ἐχε-πευκής '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 pūgiō 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 *peuǵ-.

pūpa 'girl; doll' [f. *ā*] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *pūpus* 'boy' (Varro+), *pūpula* 'little girl, pupil of the eye' (Lucr.+), *pūpulus* 'little boy' (Cat.+), *pūpilla* 'little girl; pupil of the eye' (Lucr.+), *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 *pūpa/-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 'stern of a boat, poop' [f. *i*] (Pl.+)

No etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 389, EM 546, IEW 53-55.

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* 'cleansing, excuse' (Pl.+), *perpūrgāre* 'to clean thoroughly, purge' (Pl.+; Pl. *perpūrigāre*).

PIt. **pūr, *pun-* [n.] 'fire'. It. cognates: U. **pir**, *pir* [nom.acc.sg.], **pure** [abl.sg.], *pureto* [abl.sg. + *-to*] n. 'fire' < **pūr*, abl. **pūred*.

PIE **péh₂-ur* [nom.acc.], *ph₂-uén-s* [gen.] 'fire'. IE cognates: Hit. *pahhur / pahhuen-* [n.] 'fire, embers, fever', CLuw. *pāhūr-* [n.] 'fire'(?) < **péh₂-ur*, **ph₂-uén-*; Gr. πῦρ, gen. πυρός, Arm. *howr*, Go. *fon*, gen. *funins*, OIc. *funi* [m.] OIc. *fúrr, fȳrr, fȳri*, OHG OS OFr. *fiur*, OHG also *fuir* 'fire'; ToA *por*, ToB *puwăr, 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 **peh₂ur* '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 **pi̯eh₂-*. → *paviō, pūrus*

pūrus 'clean, pure' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *impūrus* 'dirty, foul' (Pl.+), *impūritia* 'impurity' (Pl.+), *impūrātus* 'filthy' (Pl.+).

PIt. **pūro-* 'pure'.

PIE **ph₂ú-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. *pūitika-* 'serving for purification', OHG *fouwen, fewen* 'to sieve, to sift'; Lith. *pūras*, *pūraī* 'winter corn', Latv. *pūrs* 'grain measure', RuCS *pyro* 'spelt', Ru. *pyréj* 'couch-grass', Gr. πυρός, Dor. σπυρός 'wheat' [m.] < **puHro-* 'wheat' (< **'clean'?).

Latin and Celtic show a stem *pūro- 'clean' which is cognate with IIr. *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. *salaputim* '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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 390f., EM 546f., IEW 827, Schrijver 1991: 247, Untermann 2000: 557f., LIV 1.*peu̯H-. → *paviō, pīus, pūr(i)gō*

pūs, pūris 'pus' [n. *r*] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: *pūrulentus* 'with much pus' (Cato+); *suppūrāre* 'to fester under the surface' (Cato+); *pūtēre* 'to rot, stink' (Pl.+), *pūtidus* 'rotting, rotten' (Pl.+), *pūtēscere* 'to begin to rot' (Cato+), *expūtēscere* 'to rot away' (Pl.+), *pūtor* 'rottenness' (Cato+); *puter, -tris* [adj.] 'rotten, foul, crumbly' (Andr.+), *putrēre* 'to be in a state of decay' (Pac.+), *putrēscere* 'to decay, disintegrate' (Varro+), *pūtrefacere* 'to cause to rot' (Varro+), *putridus* 'rotten' (Caecil.+).

PIt. *pūs- 'pus', *pūto- 'rotten', *putri- 'rotten'.

PIE *puH-o/es- [n.] 'pus', *puH-to-, *puH-tro- 'rotten'. IE cognates: OIr. *othar* 'sickness, sick man' < *putro-; Skt. *puvas-* [n.] 'pus' < *puH-os, *pū́yati 'to rot, stink', *pū́ti-* 'foul, stinking', YAv. *puiia-* 'to decay', *pūiti-* [f.] 'becoming foul, decay'; Gr. πύον [n.], πύος [n.] 'pus', πῦός [m.] 'animal milk', πύθομαι 'to rot, decay'; Lith. *puvė̃sis* 'piece of mouldered wood, (pl.) rotten stuff', Latv. *puvesis* 'pus' < *puH-es-io-, Lith. *pū́ti* 'to rot, decay'; OIc. *fúinn* [adj.] 'rotten'.

Nom.acc.sg. *pū̃s* may be due to generalization of *puH-s- from the gen.sg., or to a phonetic development *puos > *puus > pūs in the nom.sg. The forms *pūtēre* etc. are probably based on a ppp. *pūto- to the root *puH-. For *puter* and its possible OIr. cognate *othar*, Schrijver 1991 is hesitant to choose between *pHu-tro/i- and *puH-tro/i-. In either case, the short vowel resulting in Italo-Celtic is surprising.

Bibl.: WH II: 391f., EM 547, IEW 848f., Leumann 1977: 380. Schrijver 1991: 234f., 339, 341, 534, Stüber 2002: 136f., LIV 2.*peu̯H-.

pustula 'blister, pustule, bubble' [f. *ā*] (Tibullus+; variants *pūsula, pussula*)

Derivatives: *praepūtium* 'foreskin of the penis' (Varro+).

IE cognates: PIE *pus-: Skt. *púṣyati* 'thrive, flourish', Lith. *pūslė̃* 'blister, bladder', Ru. *púxlyj* 'chubby', *púxnut'* 'to swell', Norw. *føysa* 'swell'; PIE *put-: Lith. *pùsti*, 3s.pr. *puñta*, pret. *pùto* 'to swell', Lith. *pūsti*, 3s. *pùčia* '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.+), *puticulī* [m.pl.] 'a pauper's graveyard' (Varro+), *Puteolī* [m.pl.] 'town near Naples' (Varro+), *Puteolānus* 'of Puteolī' (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.

putō, -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.), *supputāre* 'to prune below, reckon' (Cato+).

PIt. **puto-* 'cut off, clean'.

PIE **pHu-tó-*.

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. *pjáuti* goes back to **peut-*, the root must be **ph₁u-*; but LIV posits **pih₂u-* on account of Gr. πταίω 'to thrust', ToB *pyakar* '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.+), *pullitra* 'young chicken' (Varro), *pullārius* 'of chickens' (Pl.+); *pūsus* 'boy' (Varro+), *pūsa* 'girl' (Varro+), *pusillus* 'very small, tiny' (Naev.+).

PIt. **put-o-* 'boy', **put-lo-* 'little boy, young of an animal'. It. cognates: Fal. **putellio** [nom.sg.] 'little son'; O. **puklum, puklu** [acc.sg.], **puklui** [dat.sg.], **puk.** [nom.sg.], **pukeleı** [gen.sg.?], Mars. *puclefs*, Pael. *puclois* [dat.pl.], SPic. **puqloh** [dat.sg.?] 'son' < **pu-tlo-*.

PIE *put-lo- 'son'. IE cognates: Skt. *putrá-* 'son, child, young of an animal', Av. *puϑra-* 'son'; Latv. *putns* 'bird'; OCS *pьtica* 'bird', Ru. *pótka* 'bird', Cz. *pták* 'bird', all < BSl. *put-* 'bird'.

Lat. *pullus* < *put-slo-*, as shown by the dim. *pusillus* < *pussíllo-* < *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 *pūttus* with the characteristic geminate consonant of expressive words. A connection of the stem *put-* with *puer* is difficult to establish.

Bibl.: WH II: 385f., 392-394, EM 544-549, IEW 842f., Giacomelli 1963: 253f., Hamp 1983, Meiser 1998: 119, 125, Untermann 2000: 599. → *puer*

Q

quaerō, quaesō 'to seek, request' [v. III; pf. *quaesīvī*, ppp. *quaesītum*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *quaeritāre* 'to keep looking for, seek' (Pl.+); *quaesitiō* 'searching' (Pl.+), *quaestiō* 'examination, inquiry' (Pl.+), *quaestor* 'magistrate, quaestor' (Pl.+), *quaestus, -ī/-ūs* 'the gaining or pursuit of income' (Pl.+), *quaestuōsus* 'lucrative, successful' (Pl.+), *quaesticulus* 'petty profit' (Lucil.+); *quaesere* [pr. tantum] 'to seek, request' (Naev.+); *conquīrere* 'to collect, hunt down' (Varro+), *conquīsītor* 'inspector' (Pl.+), *exquīrere* 'to ask about, inquire' (Pl.+), *exquīsītim* 'with diligence' (Varro), *inquīrere* 'to investigate' (Pac.+), *inquīsītus* 'unexamined' (Naev.+), *perquīrere* 'to search everywhere' (Pl.+), *perquīsītor* 'one who hunts out' (Pl.), *requīrere* 'to seek, inquire' (Pl.+), *requīritāre* 'to seek repeatedly' (Pl.).

Plt. *kwai-s-e/o-* [pr.]. It. cognates: O. **kvaísstur**, ϙαιστορ [nom.sg.], **kvaísturei**, **kvaízstur**, Mars. **qestur** [nom.pl.], U. **kvestur** [nom.sg.], **cvestur** [nom.pl.] 'quaestor', a loanword from Latin. U. **kvestretie** [loc.sg.f.] 'the office of quaestor', derived with *-etio-* or *-etiā-* from **kvestur**.

PIE *kueh₂-i- [pr.] 'to acquire'. IE cognates: Gr. πέπᾱμαι (Dor. Argos), fut. πᾱσομαι 'to get, acquire'; OPr. *quoi* 'I, you want', *quāits* 'desire', Lith. *kviẽsti* 'to invite'; Possibly also OAlb. 3s. *kaa* 'he has' < PIE *kuoh₂-e [pf.] 'has got' (thus Matzinger 2003).

The etymology as *kuois-* to *kueis-* 'to see' is deemed uncertain by Schrijver 1991. LIV adopts the etymology proposed by Szemerényi 1960b: 232, viz. as *ko-ais-(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 *se/o*-pr. to an *i*-pr. *kuehₓ-i-* to a root *kuehₓ-* 'to acquire'. For this root, he compares Gr. πέπᾱμαι (Dor. Argos), fut. πᾱσομαι 'to possess, to acquire' < *kueh₂-*. The pr. *quaesō* can be interpreted as a recharacterized, new desiderative *kuais-s-e/o-*. This seems to

me the best proposal to date. Leumann 1977: 591 suggests that the suffix -ī- in *quaesīvī*, -*ītus* would have been analogically adopted from semantic neighbours such as *cupīre* and *petere*, -*īvī*. But the *ī*-pf. is well-established in Plautus for *quaesīvī*, 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 *ī*-pf. in *petō* and *cupiō*. The -*s*- in *quaesīvī* can then continue an *s*-aorist **kṷais-s-*. The original ppp. must have been **kwaistos*.

Bibl.: WH II: 396f., EM 551, Schrijver 1991: 461f., Untermann 2000: 423-425, Meiser 2003: 126, LIV ?**ꝁʷ̯ueh₂-*.

quālus/m 'wicker basket' [m./n. o] (Pl.+; pl. *quāla* Cato)
　Derivatives: *quasillum/s* 'small wicker basket' (Cato+).
　PIt. **kwat-slo-* 'sieve, filter'?
　PIE **kuot-i-?*

Lat. *quasillum* < **quats-l-elo-* (for the phonetics, cf. *pullus* vs. *pusillus*; Leumann 1977: 208). Lat. *quālus* has often been compared with OCS *košь* 'big basket of wickerwork' < **kʷos-i̯o-*. 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 **quat-slo-* 'sieve', which would have been formed after PIE **kuot-i-* 'to shake' became PIt. **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 **kuot*- before the sound change to **kwat*-, and another one after this sound change. Thus: **kuot-slo-* > **kṷosslo-* > **kṷōlo-* > *cōlum*; and **kṷat-slo-* > **kṷasslo-* > *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)kṷeh₁t-*. → *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.+).
　PIt. **kwat-i-*.
　PIE **(s)kuot-i-?* IE cognates: Lith. *kùsti*, 3s. *kuñta* 'to recover', *kutéti*, 3s. *kùta* 'to thrive, prosper' < **kut-*; OS *scuddian*, OHG *scutten* 'to shake' < **skut-*, OIc. *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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 399f., EM 552f., IEW 632, Schrijver 1991: 260, 462f., Meiser 2003: 115, LIV *(s)kueh₁t-. → quālus

quattuor 'four' [num. indecl.] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: quattuordecim '14'; quater [adv.] 'four times, on four occasions' (Pl.+), quaternī 'four at a time' (Cato+); quadru/i- 'four' (in compounds) (Naev.+), quadrāns, -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+), quadringentī '400' (Pl.+), quadrīnī (Cato) 'four at a time' (Cato+); quārtus 'fourth' (Pl.+; Quorta Praeneste, CIL 1.328), quārtārius 'a quarter of a sextarius' (Cato+), quārtātō 'for the fourth time' (Cato).

Plt. nom.n. *kʷetwōr (>> Lat. *kʷatwōr), nom.m.f. *kʷe/atwores, n. *kʷetwora; *kʷatworto-. It. cognates: maybe the Ven. theonym **trumusiiati-** contains *kʷtru- 'four'; O. **pettiur** 'four' (< *kʷetur), petiropert, petirupert [acc.pl.n. + -pert] 'four times' (< *kʷetūr-), Festus 226 petoritum Gallicum vehiculum: alii Osce quod hi quoque pitora quattuor vocent. U. peturpursus 'quadruped' [dat.pl.] < *kʷetur-pōd-.

PIE *kʷétuōr [nom.n.], *kʷétuores [nom.m/f.], *kʷtuérns [acc.m/f.], *kʷturom [gen.] 'four', *kʷturó- (>> *kʷtr̥-tó-) 'fourth', *kʷturs 'four times'; *kʷtur- in compounds; *kʷt(u)r-dk̂mt- 'forty'. IE cognates: OIr. ceth(a)ir [m.], cetheoir [f.], MW pedair [f.] 'four'; Skt. catvā́ras [nom.m.], catúras [acc.m.], catvā́ri [nom.acc.n.], cátasras [nom.acc.f.] 'four', catúr [adv.] 'four times', YAv. caθβārō [nom.m.], caturā̌ [acc.m.], caturąm [gen.], cataŋrō [acc.f.] 'four', caθβarasat- 'forty', caθru-dasa- 'fourteenth', caθruš [adv.] 'four times'; Gr. τέτορες 'four' (Dor.), πίσυρες (H.) [nom.pl.], τέτρασι [dat.pl.], τέτρατος 'fourth', τρυ- 'four'; Arm. čʿorkʿ, Lith. keturi, OCS četyre, Go. fidwor, ToA śtwar, ToB śtwer 'four'.

Lat. quattuor as opposed to Sab. pet- has introduced *kʷat- with secondary -a- from the oblique case forms with PIE *kʷt-, and from the other usages of 'four' with a zero-grade root, such as in compounds *kʷtru-. The ending -or can directly reflect PIE *-ōr, but maybe also *-or-es. The form quadr- found in '40' and in compounds is explained by Schrijver from voicing of *t between *C and *CCC, e.g. in *kʷtr-dk̂mt- '40' and in the ordinal 'fourth'. The same element quadr- was then used in other compounds. For 'fourth', Schrijver posits *kʷturto- > *kʷdurto- > *kʷaduorto-, and then loss of *d in front of *u, as in suāvis, hence *kʷauorto- > quārtus. The long ā in quadrāginta must be phonetic, and can be explained from *kʷtr-dk̂mt- > *kwadr-Hk̂mt- (Kortlandt 1983a), and subsequent *-drHk- > *drāk. In quadringentī, medial -n- must be analogical to quingentī. Most of the secure quadru- spellings occur in front of a labial, cf. Coleman 1992: 424. For quater, Coleman suggests PIE

*kʷturs (Skt. *catúḥ*) > *quaturs > *quatrus > *quatrs > *quater*.
    Bibl.: WH II:394f., 399-401, EM 553f., IEW 643f., Lejeune 1974: 330, Leumann 1977: 486, 488, 492, Schrijver 199]: 182, 491f., Coleman 1992: 393ff., 417, Sihler 1995: 411f., 430, Beekes 1995: 212-216, Meiser 1998: 171, Untermann 2000: 550f.
→ *triquetrus*

-que 'and' [cj. postpos.] (VOLat. (Madonnetta-inscr.)+)
    Derivatives: *quisque, quaeque, quidque* [pron.] 'every', *quodque* [adj.] 'every'.
    PIt. **-kʷe*. It. cognates: Ven. *-kve*, Fal. *-cue* 'and', O.U. *-p, -p*, O. *-p]e* 'and'.
    PIE **-kʷe* '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. *-τε* 'and', Myc. *-qe* 'and'; Go. *-uh* 'and, also', *nih* 'if not'.
    After pronouns and adverbs, *-que* can also have a generalizing meaning.
    Bibl.: WH II: 401f., EM 555, IEW 635f., Giacomelli 1963: 241, Lejeune 1974: 338, Dunkel 1979, 1980, Untermann 2000: 520. → *quī*

queō, quīre '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. *nequīnont*), ptc. *nequiens, -euntis*.
    IE cognates: see s.v. *eō*.
    The alternation between 1s. *-eō*, 3p. *-eunt* and the *ī*-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' > *nequīt/nequītur*. By removing the negative element *ne-*, reanalysis led to a new verb *queō, quīre* 'to be able'.
    Bibl.: WH II: 402, EM 555, Leumann 1977: 521, Meiser 1998: 223, LIV *h₁ei̯-. → *eō*

quercus 'oak-tree' [f. *u*] (Enn.+)
    Derivatives: *querneus* 'of oak' (Cato+), *querquētum* 'a wood of oaks' (Varro+).
    PIt. **kʷerkʷu/o-*.
    PIE **perkʷ-o/u-* '(kind of) oak'. IE cognates: OHG *fereheih*, Langob. *fereha* 'kind of oak', Olc. *fjǫrr* [m.] 'tree, man' < PGm. **ferχu-*; OHG *forha*, MHG *vorhe*, OE *furh*, Olc. *fura* [f.] 'fir-tree' < **furχō-*; Olc. *fýri* [n.] 'fir forest', NHG *Föhre*, MoDu. *vuur-hout* < **furχ-īn-*. 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. *fairhus* '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 fairguni [n.] 'mountain' must also be separated; Schaffner 2001: 193 connects
Av. pauruuatā- 'mountains', Gr. πεῖραρ '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. perkúnas, Lith. perkúnas 'thunder', perkúnija f.
'thunderstorm', Latv. pę̄rkuôns 'thunder, god of thunder', ORu. Perunъ 'god of
thunder', Ru. perún 'thunder, lightning'. This means that only Latin and Gm. contain
certain reflexes of a stem *perkʷ-u/o- 'oak'.
    Bibl.: WH II: 402f., EM 555, IEW 822f., Schaffner 2001: 190-194.

queror, -ī 'to complain, protest' [v. III; ppp. questum] (Pl.+)
    Derivatives: querēla 'complaint, lament' (Pl.+), querimōnia 'complaint, protest'
(Pl.+); conquerī 'to utter a complaint, bewail' (Pl.+).
    Plt. *kʷes-e/o- / *kwes-e/o-.
    IE cognates: Skt. śvásiti 'to hiss, snort', śúṣma- [m.] 'hissing, roaring', YAv. suši
[du.f.] 'the lungs'; OIc. hvæsa 'to hiss, to snort', OE hwōsan 'to cough'.
    WH, IEW and LIV derive Lat. queror from a PIE root *kues- '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 *kʷeh₂s- 'to cough' which is reflected in Gm. (OHG huosto, OE hwōsta
'cough'), BSl. (kóséti 'to cough', Ru. kášljat' '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 *kues-.

quī, quae, quod 'what, which? who, that' [pron. relat., indef.] (VOLat.+: Forum
cippus quoi 'quī' (sg. and pl.), quos 'quōs'. Paradigm: nom.sg.m. quī, nom.sg.f. quae,
indef. quā, nom.acc.sg.n. quod; gen.sg. quoius (Elog.Scip.) > cuius (/cuiius/), dat.sg.
quoiei > cui, acc.sg.m. quem, acc.sg.f. quam, abl.sg.m.n. quōd > quō, abl.sg.f. quā;
abl.sg. quī; 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.+),
quāquā '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+), quōquō '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.+), quantusquantus 'however great' (Pl.+),
quantillus [adj.] 'how little?', quantisper 'for how long?' (Caecil.+), quantulus 'how
small' (Lucr.+); quandō 'when' (Andr.+); quisquam, quicquam 'any, anyone'
(Naev.+); (4) A number of compound indefinite pronouns is discussed s.v. their

second member: -cumque, -libet, -nam, -vīs.

PIt. m.sg. nom. *k^woi, gen. *k^wojjos (see s.v. cūius), dat. *k^wosmoi // *k^wojjei, acc. *k^wom, abl. *k^wōd, f.sg. nom. *k^wāi, acc. ᵛk^wām, abl. *k^wād, n.sg. nom.acc. *k^wod; nom.pl. m. *k^woi // *k^wōs, f. *k^wās (>> *k^wāi in Lat.), n. *k^wa // *k^wai, gen. m.n. *k^wosom, f. *k^wāsom, dat.abl. *k^wois (< *k^wōis), acc. m. *k^wōns, f. *k^wāns. It. cognates: (1) U. poi, poei, poe [nom.sg.m.], O. paí, pai, paei, pae [nom.sg.f.], púd, pod [nom.acc.sg.n.], O. pui, U. pusme [dat.sg.m.], O. paam, pam, Pael. pam [acc.sg.f.], O. poizad, U. pora [abl.sg.f.], O. pús, Pael. ꞏpuus, U. pure, puri [nom.pl.m.], O. pas, pas [nom.pl.f.], O. paí, pai [nom.acc.pl.n.], U. pafe [acc.pl.f.]; U. svepu, suepo < *suai 'if' + [nom.acc.sg.n.] 'that which, who'. In U., *-ī was added in the nom.acc. Other forms: O. pod [cj.] 'that' < *k^wod; O. pod, U. puře, porsi, porsei, porse [indecl. relat. pron.] < *k^wod, U. *k^wod-ī; U. pue, pue 'whereto' probably *k^wō+ī; O. púkkapid, pJocapid, pocapit 'whenever' < *k^wod-ka-k^wid. The origin of *-ka- is unknown. O. adpúd [cj.] 'as long as' < *ad-k^wod; (3) O. pam 'than' (after comp.); maybe SPic. panivú if from *k^wām-diꞙou; O. pantes [gen.sg.n.], U. panta [nom.sg.f.] 'how big'; U. pane, pane 'when' < *k^wām-de, panupei [adv.] 'whenever' < *k^wām-dō-k^wei/-id.

PIE sg. nom.m. *k^wo+i, f. *k^weh₂, n. *k^wod, acc.m. *k^wod, gen.m.n. *k^woso, dat.loc. *k^wosm-, ins. *k^wōi; pl. nom.m. *k^woi, n. *k^w(e)h₂. IE cognates: Skt. ká-, Av. ka- 'who, which, someone', OP kaš-ciy 'someone', Gr. τέο [gen.sg.] 'whose', πό-θι 'where'; Lith. kàs 'who', OCS kъ-to 'who', česo [gen.sg.] 'whose'; Go. hvas 'who'.

The paradigm of the relat. and indef. pronoun in Latin is a mixture of reflexes of *k^wo- and *k^wi-; for the forms of the latter (in the paradigm of Latin quī, these are quem, quēs, quibus, abl.sg. quī), see s.v. quis. The acc.sgm. *k^wom has been preserved as quom > cum in the conjunction. The gen.sg. cuius must be from *k^wosio + *-s. The dat.sg. *k^woiiei 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 -sī and -que, and then shortening of the final long vowel through iambic shortening. Lat. quālis < *k^weh₂-li-, quantus < *k^wānto- < *k^weh₂-nt-.

Bibl.: WH II: 394, 397, 404f., EM 551, 556, IEW 644-648, Leumann 1977: 472-475, van der Staaij 1995: 124-135, Beekes 1995: 206, Meiser 1998: 165-167, Untermann 2000: 53, 510-513, 591-599. → cūius, cum, quis, qot, ubi, ut, uter

quiēs, -ētis 'sleep, rest, repose' [f. t] (Pl.+; abl. quiē Laev.)

Derivatives: quiēs, -tis [adj.] 'quiet, peaceful' (Naev.+), quiētus 'at rest, peaceful, quiet' (Pl.+); quiēscere 'to repose, rest, sleep' (pf. quiēvī, 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.+).

PIt. *k^wiē-ti- [f.], *k^wiē- [aor.].

PIE *k^wieh₁-ti- 'rest, peace', aor. *k^wi(e)h₁- 'to rest'. IE cognates: Av. š(ii)ā́- [pr.] 'to be calm, glad, rest', OP š(i)yāta- 'peaceful, happy (on earth)', š(i)yāti- 'welfare, peace

(on earth), happiness (after death)', Khot. *tsāta-* 'rich, happy'; Arm. *han-geaw* 'rested', OCS *počiti*, Is. *počijǫ* 'to rest', Ru. *pokój* 'rest, (obs.) chamber'.

The *ē*-inflexion of *requiēs* must be recent, built on the nom.sg., as is shown by its late appearance (Meiser 1998: 150). The Latin pf. *quiē-vī* probably continues the PIE root aorist; on the model of *gnōscere : gnōvī, crēscere : crēvī*, a new pr. *quiēscere* was built.

Bibl.: WH II: 406, EM 557, IEW 638, Schrijver 1991: 140, Meiser 1998: 150, 205, LIV *k^{u}ieh₁-.

quīnque 'five' [num. indecl.] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *quīndecim* 'fifteen' (Lex XII+), *quinquāgintā* 'fifty' (Pl.+), *quinquāgēnārius* 'containing fifty of anything' (Cato+), *quinquāgēsiēs* 'fifty times' (Pl.), *quīngentī* 'five hundred' (Pl.+); *quīnquātrūs, -uum* [f.pl.] 'festival of Minerva, lasting five days in March' (Pl.+), *quinquertiō* 'one who competes in the pentathlon' (Andr.); *quīnī* 'five at a time' (Pl.+), *quīnārius* 'containing five each; coin worth five *asses*' (Varro+), *quīnavīcēnārius* 'relating to twenty-five' (Pl.), *quīncunx, -ncis* 'a pattern of five, five-twelfths' (Varro+); *quīn(c)tus* 'fifth' (Pl.+), *quintānus* 'of the fifth' (Varro+), *Quinūlis* 'name of the fifth month' (Varro+).

PIt. **k^{w}enk^{w}e* 'five', **k^w(e)nk^{w}to-* 'fifth'. It. cognates: O. **pumperlas, púmperias** [nom.pl.] , **púmperiais** [dat.abl.pl.], U. **pumpeřias** [nom.pl.] in O. probably 'fifth day', in U. unclear meaning, < **pompe* '5' + **-(e)ro·*+ *jo-* (*er.* probably from **peteria-* << **peturia-* '4'); O. *pomtis* 'five times' < **pompe-tis*, suffix **-is* (Lat. *-iēs*) >> **-tis* by analogy with *sept-, oct- cent-*. U. **puntes** [nom.pl.], **puntis** [dat.abl.pl.] '?' < **pomp-ti-* 'group of five'?

PIE **penk^{w}e* 'five', **pnk^w-(t)o-* 'fifth'. IE cognates: OIr. *cóic*, W. *pymp*, Skt. *páñca* 'five', *pañcamá-* 'fifth', *pakthá-* PN, *paṅktí-* [f.] 'set of five', YAv. *paṇca* 'five', *puxδa-* 'fifth', Gr. πέντε, Thess., Lesb. πέμπε 'five', πέμπτος 'fifth', Arm. *hing* 'five'; Alb. *pesë*, OCS *pętь*, Ru. *pjat'* 'five', OCS *pętъ*, Ru. *pjátyj* 'fifth', Lith. *penki* 'five', *peñktas* 'fifth', Go. *fimf* 'five', OHG *fimfto* 'fifth', ToA *päñ*, ToB *piś* ' five'.

PIt. **k^{w}enk^{w}e* yielded **k^{w}ink^{w}e* by regular sound change. Subsequently, the **k* in the ordinal **k^{w}inkto-* was spirantized and the preceding vowel phonetically lengthened: **k^{w}īnχto-*. Finally, the spirant was lost, yielding *quīntus*. From the ordinal, *ī* was analogically introduced into the cardinal **quinque* >> *quīnque*. Lat. *quīnī* < **k^{w}enk^w-(s)no-*, *quīncunx* < **quīnqu-* + *uncia*. The *-ā-* in *quinquāgintā* for **quinquēgintā* was drawn from 'forty'. In Sabellic, the surrounding stops **k^w* apparently had a rounding effect on the vowel, yielding **pompe*, which is attested indirectly through its derivatives.

Bibl.: WH II: 407f., EM 558, IEW 808, Coleman 1992: 395, 411, Beekes 1995: 214-216, Sihler 1995: 413, Meiser 1998: 78, 171, 175, Untermann 2000: 601-604, 608.

quirīs, -ītis 'name for Rome's citizens in their peacetime functions' [m. *i*] (Enn.+; usually pl.)

Derivatives: *quirītāre* 'to make a public outcry' (Lucil.+); *Quirīnus* a god worshipped on the Quirinal hill (Lex Reg., Lucil.+), *Quirīnālis* 'of Quirinus'

(Varro+); *prōquirītāta* 'publicly announced' (Lex XII).

The etymology as **ko-wir-* to *vir* 'man' is not credible phonetically (cf. *cūria*) and not very compelling semantically. Most likeley, *qȟirīti-* is derived from a basis **quiri-*. In view of the sporadic assilation of **e* to an *i* in the following syllable, an etymology as **queri-* cannot be excluded. One may thus think of **kʷes-*, **kʷis-*, **kʷer-*, **kʷir-*. Also **kuHi-s-*, zero-grade to *quaerō*, is theoretically possible. But since Roman legend has it that *Quirīs* and *Quirīnus* are connected with Sabellic immigrants into Rome, it may also be a loanword.

Bibl.: WH II: 409, EM 559, Leumann 1977: 133.

quis, quae, quid 'who? what?' [pron. interr.] (Lex XII, Andr.+; forms: sg. m.nom. *quis*, acc. *quem*, abl. *quī*, 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*, *-vīs*; for *aliquis* 'someone', see s.v. *alius*.

PIt. interrog.: m.f.sg. nom. **kʷis*, acc. **kʷim*, ins. **kʷī*, n.sg. nom.acc. **kʷid*; nom.pl. m.f. **kʷēs*, acc. **kʷins*, n. nom.acc. **kʷī* (>> **kʷia*), dat.abl. **kʷifos*; indef.: **kʷiskʷis* 'whoever', **kʷidkʷid* 'whatever'. It. cognates: Presam. νεπις [nom.sg.], νεπιες [gen.sg.?] 'nobody', O. **pis**, *pis*, Vol. *pis*, U. **pisi**, U. *pisi* [nom.sg.m.f.], O. **pid**, Pael. *pid*, SPic. **pid**, U. **piři**, **piře**, **peře**, *pirse* [nom.acc.sg.n.], SPic. **pim** [acc.sg.m.f.], O. *piei* [dat.sg.], **piis**, Marr. *peis* [nom.pl.m.f.], U. *pifi* [acc.pl.m.f.]; enclitic after svai 'if' O. *suaepis*, *suae.pis*, SPic. **suaipis**, U. **svepis** [nom.sg.m.f.], O. **svaipid**, **svaí.píd** [nom.sg.n.] 'who? what?', 'every'; U. **piři** < +-*ī*; U. **peře**, *persi*, *persei*, *perse*, *pirsi*, *pirse* 'if' < **pid-ī*; O. **pidum**, **pidum** [nom.acc.sg.n.], *pieisum* [gen.sg.m.] 'someone, something' < **pis** + -*um*; U. *pisher* 'whoever wants'; O. **pis.pis** [nom.sg.m.f.], SPic. **pimpíh** [acc.sg.m.f.], O. *poizeipid* [loc.sg.n.] 'every' or 'whichever'; Marr. *nipis* [nom.sg.], O. *ne.phim* (mistake for **ne.pim*) [acc.sg.] 'nobody'.

PIE m.f.sg. nom. **kʷe* // **kʷis*, acc. **kʷim*, gen. **kʷeso*, dat.loc. **kʷesm-*, ins. **kʷih₁*, n. nom.acc. **kʷid*; nom.pl. m.f. **kʷeies*, acc. **kʷins*, n. nom.acc. **kʷih₂* 'who, what; someone, something'. IE cognates: OIr. *cia*, W. *pwy*, Co. *pyw*, Bret. *piou* 'who' < **kʷei*; Hit. *kui-* / *kue-* / *kuua-* 'who, what' < **kʷi-*, **kʷe-*, **kʷo-*, Pal. *kui-*, CLuw. *kui-*, HLuw. *kwi-*, Lyd. *qi-*, Lyc. *ti-* 'who, what', Skt. *kim* 'what, which; why, what for', *ná-kiḥ* 'nullus', *mā-kiḥ* 'ne quis', *kídṛś-* 'what sort of', *cid* [enc.ptcle.] 'even, indeed', Av. *mā ciš* 'no one', YAv. *cim* 'because', Av. *-cīt̰*, OP *-ciy* [encl.] 'indeed; -ever'; Gr. τίς [m. f.], τί [n.] 'who? which?', τις, τι 'someone, something', OCS *čь-to* 'what'.

The paradigm of the indef. pronoun is a mixture of reflexes of **kʷo-* and **kʷi-*; for the forms reflecting **kʷo-* (among others, all fem.sg. forms, and the m.n. gen.dat.sg.) see s.v. *quī*. The abl.sg. form and adv. *quī* 'how' probably reflects an old ins.sg. **kʷī* < **kʷih₁*. It is also found in some compound adverbs, such as *nēquīquam*. The cj. *quia* continues the PIE nom.acc.pl. n. **kʷih₂*.

Bibl.: WH II: 405, 410, EM 559, IEW 644-648, Leumann 1977: 472-475, Schrijver 1991: 81f., van der Staaij 1995: 124-135, Beekes 1995: 206, Meiser 1998: 164-167, Untermann 2000: 498, 521f., 558-561, Lazzarini-Poccetti 2001. → *quī*

quot 'how many?, as many as' [adj. indecl.] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *cottīdiē* 'every day, daily' (Pl.+), *cottīdiānus* 'normal, regular, daily' (Pl.+), *quotannīs* [adv.] 'annually' (Pl.+), *quotiēns* 'how many times?, as often as' (Pl.+), *quotquot* 'however many' (Varro+), *quotumus* [adj.] 'the howmanieth?', *quotus* [adj.] 'howmanieth, in what proportion?' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **kʷoti*.

PIE **kʷe/o-ti* 'how many'. IE cognates: Skt. *káti* 'how many', YAv. *caiti* 'how much, how many times?' < IIr. **čati* < PIE **kʷeti?*; Gr. πόσος 'how great, how many' < **kʷótjo-*, Bret. *pet* 'how many'.

Cottīdiē from **kʷoti 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-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 412, EM 561, IEW 644-648, Leumann 1977: 270, 277. → *quī*

R

rabiō, -ere 'to be frenzied, rave' [v. III] (Caecil.+)

Derivatives: *rabiēs* 'savageness, passion' (Ter.+), *rabidus* 'raging, mad' (Lucr.+), *rabiōsus* 'rabid, mad' (Pl.+).

PIt. **rab- / *raf-*.

Schrijver 1991 rejects the connection with Skt. *rabh-* 'to grab' and proposes to connect ToA *rapurñe* 'desire' and maybe Gr. ἔραμαι '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' (+ **ā-*), *bärāh-* (*brāh-*) 'to soar up' and in other Iranian languages. In theory, Iranian could reflect **(H)reb⁽ʰ⁾-* while Latin would have a secondary full grade **rab- << *e/a/orb-* (< **Hrb⁽ʰ⁾-*). 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. ῥάξ, ῥαγός 'grape', ῥώξ, ῥωγός 'id.', Alb. *rrush* 'resin'.

Probably a loanword from a Mediterranean language.

Bibl.: WH II: 414, EM 562, Schrijver 1991: 306.

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 *rādīx* 'root', as WH and IEW suggest: the meaning is completely different. Initial *rad-* may reflect a root *(H)rHd^(h)-*, for which there is no clear candidate. The element *-d^(h)-* might be a root enlargement.

Bibl.: WH II: 414f., EM 562, IEW 1167, Schrijver 1991: 182.

rādīx, -īcis 'root' [f. *k*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *rādīcitus* [adv.] 'by the roots, completely' (Pl.+), *rādīcula* 'a little root' (Laev.+), *ērādīcāre* 'to tear by the roots, exterminate' (Pl.+).

PIt. *wrād-ī-*.

PIE *ur(e)h₂-d-iH-* 'root'. IE cognates: W. *gwraidd* 'roots', OCo. *grueiten*, Bret. *gwrizienn* 'root' < *uradio-* < *urh₂d-io-*, Gr. ῥάδιξ, -ικος 'branch, twig', Go. *waurts*, OE *wyrt*, MHG *wurz* < *urh₂d-i-*, OIc. *rót* < *ureh₂d-*; Alb. *rrëzë*, Geg *rrãzë* 'root'.

In view of the ablaut, it seems likely that PIE *-d-* was a suffix, but this cannot be ascertained.

Bibl.: WH II: 415, EM 562f., IEW 1167, Schrijver 1991: 182f., 1995: 173-175, Sihler 1995: 179, Vine 1999b. → *rāmus*

rādō, -ere 'to scrape, scratch, shave' [v. III; pf. *rāsī*, ppp. *rāsum*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *rāstrum* 'drag-hoe' (Pl.+), *rāstellus* 'wooden rake' (Varro+), *rāmentum* 'shaving' (Pl.+), *rāmenta* 'shaving' (Pl.+), *rāsus, -ūs* 'shaving, scraping' (Varro), *rāllum* 'a scraper' (Plin.); *abrādere* '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'.

PIt. *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 'smoothely 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 *răstrum* 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-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 415, EM 563, IEW 854, Leumann 1977: 307, Schrijver 1991: 309f., Meiser 2003: 120, Schumacher 2004: 528, LIV ?*rasd-*.

raia 'a sea-fish, ray' [f. *ā*] (Plin.)

PIt. *ragjā-* or *rajjā-*.

IE cognates: MDu. *rogghe, rochghe*, MoDu. *rog*, MLG *rugge* 'ray' < PGm. *rugg-*,

OE *reohhe* (once in a gloss), ME *rezge, reyhhe* 'ray' < **reχχe* (or **raχχja-*?).

Raia must be interpreted as /rajja/. Whether the English words for 'ray' can go back to **raχχ-* 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 /jj/ can reflect **gj*, 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, -itis* [f.] >> *rāmex, -icis* '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. ῥάδιξ, -ῑκος 'branch, twig', showing that **ur(e)h₂d-* could mean either 'branch' or 'root'. Gr. ῥάδαμνος [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 *ramitēs* 'branches' due to the similarity of their form with the branches of a tree.
  Bibl.: WH II: 416, EM 564, IEW 1167, Schrijver 1991: 182, Sihler 1995: 209. → *rādīx*

rāna 'frog' [f. *ā*] (Varro+)
  PIt. **rā-nā-?*

Onomatopoeic form, probably from a sound "*rā*". In theory, the root could be ?**reh₂(i)-* 'to roar' as reconstructed by LIV for BSl. 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. *rapuī*, ppp. *raptum*] (Naev.; *surrepsit* [*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, -trī* '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.+), *dīripere* 'to tear to pieces, run after' (Pl.+), *ēru/ipere* 'to seize away' (Pl.+), *prōripere* 'to snatch forth, rush forth' (Pl.+), *surru/ipere, surpere* 'to steal' (Pl.+), *subreptīcius* 'stolen' (Pl.+); *rapsāre* 'to hurry along' (Caes.+).

PIt. **rap-i-* 'to seize'.

PIE **h₁rp-i-* [pr.] 'to seize'. IE cognates: Gr. ἐρέπτομαι 'to devour, snatch away' < **rep-ie/o-*, aor. 3. pl. ἀν-ηρέψαντο, Alb. *rjep* 'tear of, away, rob', Lith. *ap-répti* 'to take, catch' (< **(H)reh₁p-*).

If to a PIE root **h₁rep-*, *rapiō* could reflect the zero grade **h₁rp-* > **erp-*, then with a secondary zero grade **rap-* (to full grade **rep-*). Differently Schrijver 1991, who posits a separate root **h₁rh₁p-* for *rapiō* and Lith. *répti*; yet both roots would have an identical meaning.

Bibl.: WH II: 417, EM 564, IEW 865, Schrijver 1991: 17, 306, Rasmussen 1993: 193, Meiser 2003: 250, LIV **(h₁)rep-*. → *repēns, ūtor*

rāpum 'turnip' [n. *o*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *rāpicius* 'of turnips' (Cato+), *rāpa* 'turnip' (Varro+), *rāpīna* 'turnip-crop, turnip-field' (Cato+), *rāpula* 'small turnip' (Titin.+).

PIt. **rāpo-*.

IE cognates: Gr. ῥάπυς, ῥάφυς [f.] 'turnip', ῥάφανος, ῥαφάνη 'radish', Lith. *rópė* 'turnip', RuCS *rěpa*, OHG *ruoba, ruoppa* 'turnip'.

This cannot be a regular PIE word: Latin, Baltic and OHG *ruoba* require **aH*, Slavic has /ě/, and Greek single *-a-*. There is no prothetic vowel in Greek, and the vacillation between π and φ also suggests a loanword.

Bibl.: WH II: 418, EM 564, IEW 852, Schrijver 1991: 310.

rārus 'of loose structure, sparse, rare' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *rārō* 'seldom' (Pl.+), *rāre* 'seldom; sparsely, loosely' (Pl.; Col.), *rārenter* 'seldom' (Andr.+), *rāritūdō* 'looseness, openness' (Lucr.+), *rārēscere* 'to thin out, open out' (Lucr.+), *rārefacere* 'to make less solid' (Lucr.+).

Antonym of *dēnsus*. EM state that Lat. *rārenter* was formed on the example of *frequenter*. *Rārus* has been connected with PIE **h₂erH-* 'to disappear, perish' by EM, but this is not obvious semantically. Others connect Gr. ἐρῆμος 'lonely'. Schrijver is critical of all proposals: "The connection of *rēte* and *rārus* must be given up on formal grounds, and that of *rēte* and ἐρῆμος on semantic grounds."

Bibl.: WH II: 418, EM 564, IEW 332f., Beekes 1969: 36, Schrijver 1991: 17, 310f.

ratis 'collection of wooden beams, raft; boat, ship' [f. *i*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *ratītus* 'bearing the figure of a raft' (Lucil.+).

PIt. **rati-*.

PIE **h₁rh₁-ti-* [f.] 'rowing'?

Uncertain. *Ratis* has been connected with Lat. *rētae* 'trees in the bed of a stream' and/or with OHG *ruota*, OIc. *róða* '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 *h₁rh₁- (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: 306f., LIV 2.*h₁reh₁-. → rēmus

raudus, -eris 'rough piece, lump; bronze coin' [n. r] (Lucil.+; var. rōdus, rūdus, roudus Paul. ex F.)

Derivatives: raudusculum 'bronze coin' (Varro+).

IE cognates: Skt. lohá- [m.] 'reddish metal', MP rōy 'copper, brass' < PIE *h₁roudʰ-o-, OCS ruda, Ru. rudá, Scr. rúda 'ore' < PIE *h₁roudʰ-h₂-, OIc. rauði 'red iron ore'.

Because of -au- and intervocalic -d-, raudus cannot be an inherited word from PIE *h₁r(e/o)udʰ-os 'red'; we would expect Lat. *rūbus. Raudus is probably a loanword from another IE language, in which *-dʰ- became -d-. The other IE languages show that the colour 'red' was used to refer to reddish ore, whether copper or iron or another metal.

Bibl.: WH II: 420f., EM 565, IEW 872f., Schrijver 1991: 265. → rōbur, ruber, rūfus

ravus 'hoarse' [adj. o/ā] (Paul. ex F.)

Derivatives: raucus 'hoarse, harsh-sounding' (Pl.+), ravis [f.] 'hoarseness' (Pl.+), rãviāre 'to be hoarse' (Pl.+), rausūrus 'about to become hoarse' (Lucil.).

Plt. *rawo-.

PIE *h₃rouH-ó- 'roaring'. IE cognates: Skt. ruváti [pr.], rauti [pr.], rava- [pr.] 'to roar', aor. árāvīt; ráva- [m.] 'roaring, howling, noise', YAv. uruuatō [gen.sg.] 'roaring', Khwar. rw- 'to grunt', Gr. ὠρύομαι 'to howl, roar, complain', OCS rjuti 'to howl'.

If raucus reflects *rawVko-, all forms can go back to Plt. *rawo- or *rowo-. Schrijver dismisses rãviāre (or rāvīre?) 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 *Hreh₁- 'to !shout, sound' (Skt. rayati 'barks', OIc. rámr 'hoarse') as *Hrh₁-uo-, or to a root *Hreu- 'to roar' (Skt. ráuti, ruváti 'to roar', OE rēon 'to wail') as *Hrou-o-. The latter form yields a better connection with forms outside Italic, and a better explanation for -a-. Vine 2006a: 237 therefore reconstructs *h₃rouH-ó- 'roaring' > *rawo-, whence the abstract *rawi- would be derived. Raucus could then reflect *rawi-ko-.

Bibl.: WH II: 420f., EM 565, IEW 867f., Leumann 1977: 340, Schrijver 1991: 257f., 446, LIV *h₃reuH-.

rāvus 'tawny, grey' [adj. o/ā] (Varro+)

Derivatives: (g)rāvāstellus 'old man' (Pl.).

IE cognates: OIc. grár, OE grǣg, MoE gray, OFr. grē, OS grā, grē, OHG grāo 'grey' < *grē-uo-.

The form (g)rāvāstellus (mss. rāvistellus and grāvāstellus) presupposes *(g)rāvāster.

With van der Staaij 1995: 57, I assume that PIE *ǵʰr- became Latin gr-. Hence, the variant grāvāstellus retains the original Latin reflex of the colour adj., whereas rāvus could be explained as a loanword from Sabellic – although the reflex in Sab. is also uncertain. We could posit *ǵʰrh₁-uo- for Italic beside *ǵʰreh₁-uo- for Germanic, but the ablaut would be disturbing. If a full grade, Schrijver suggests that original *ǵʰreh₃-uo- may have been delabialized to *ǵʰreh₂-uo- in Latin and to *ǵʰreh₁-uo- in Germanic. This is hazardous, and quite ad hoc. There may have been influence on ablaut and suffix from other colour terms, cf. flāvus.

Bibl.: WH I: 620, II: 421f., EM 282, 565, IEW 853, Leumann 1977: 166, 302, Schrijver 1991: 298f., 301, 311, Sihler 1995: 158, Meiser 1998: 103.

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. *wre. It. cognates: U. re- 'again' in restatu, revestu.

PIE *ure 'back'. IE cognates: Alb. rrë- [prev.] 'back'; Ru. rak, gen.sg. ráka, SCr. râk, Sln. ràk < PSl. *rȃkъ 'crayfish, lobster' < *ure-h₃kʷo- '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-kʷe *pro-kʷe 'both backwards and forwards', and connects it with other Skt. and Gr. instances of two semantically opposed preverbs coordinated by *-kʷe 'and'. The first labiovelar was apparently delabialised in front of the following p and *kʷ; if Klingenschmitt's etymology of re as *ure is correct, there would even have been a fourth labial consonant in the word *ure-kʷe *pro-kʷe. The resulting *(u)reke-prokʷo- 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).

Bibl.: WH II: 422, 424, EM 565f., Leumann 1977: 340, 559f., Dunkel 1979, Klingenschmitt 2004: 247-252. → procul

recēns, -ntis 'of recent origin, new, fresh' [adj. nt] (Pl.+)

Plt. *wre-kent(i)-.

PIE *ken-t- 'young, new'. IE cognates: MIr. cana, cano 'wolf cub'; Gaul. Cintu-gnatus, OIr. cét- 'first', MW cynt, MCo. kens, Bret. kent 'earlier' < PCl. *kento/u-; Skt. kanyā-, Av. kaine, kainīn- 'girl' < kaniHn- < PIE *ken-i-Hn- (or *keniH-n-?), Skt. kanīna- 'young', Gr. καινός 'new, unheard of' < *kn-io-; ORu. konъ [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.

redimiō, -īre '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 *redimiō*, 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 *-ī-* 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 *redimiō* 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.: WH II: 424, EM 567, IEW 505. → *domō*

regō, -ere 'to direct, guide, govern' [v. III; pf. *rēxī*, ppp. *rēctum*] (Pl.+; **rected** [adv.] in a Faliscan inscr.)

Derivatives: *rēgillus* 'upright, vertical' (Varro+), *regimen* [n.] 'control, steering' (Enn.+), *regiō* '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* (> *dīrigere* 4th c. AD) 'to align, steer, direct' (Andr.+), *ērigere* 'to raise, erect' (Lucil.+), *pergere* 'to move on, proceed' (Naev.+), *por(ri)gere* '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.+; *-ī*, *-itus*), *expergīscor, -scī* 'to wake up, become awake' (Pl.+; III; ppp. *-perrēctus* and *-pergitus sum*), *expergēfacere* 'to stir up, arouse' (Pl.+).

PIt. *reg-e/o-*. It. cognates: Marr. *regen[ai* [dat.sg.] 'queen' (suffix vowel unclear), O. ρεγο '?' maybe gen.pl. *rēgom*; U. **rehte** [adv.] 'right'.

PIE *h₃reǵ-e/o-* 'to stretch, direct'. IE cognates: OIr. *a-t·raig* 'to stand up', MW *reaf*, 3s. *re* 'to stand up' < PCl. *rege/o-*, MCo. *gorre* 'to put', MBret. *go(u)rren* 'to raise, rise' < *uor-rege/o-*; Skt. *raj-* 'to stretch, direct (oneself)' (pr. *r̥ñjánti* [3p.act.], *r̥ñjate* [3p.med.]), *rájī-* [f.] 'direction', YAv. *ʳrāzaiia-* 'to draw a line; lead', *hąm.rāzaiia-* 'to rise, become erect', OP *rāsta-* 'straight, right, true; [n.] 'justice'; Gr. ὀρέγω 'to stretch'; Go. *-rakjan*, OHG *re(c)chan* 'to stretch'.

The ppp. has *-ē-* due to Lachmann's law. The pf. *rēxī* continues a PIE *s*-aorist *h₃rēǵ-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. *expergīscor* is still disputed. Its ppp. *experrēctus* contains the ppp. *-rēctus* of *regō*, and there is a cp. *pergere* 'to move on', which is why some regard it as a compound **ex-per-reg-* 'to move on up, wake up'. On the other hand, YAv. *frayrisəmna-* 'waking up' seems to continue the root PIE **h₁ǵer-* 'to wake up' with a suffix **-iske/o-*, which is why some have regarded *expergīscor* as a reflex of PIE **h₁ǵr-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 *expergīscor* 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 *expergīscor* must contain a PIE sequence **-i(H)sk-*, i.e. **eks-per/pro-h₁ǵr-iske/o-* (**eks-pro-* would match the Av. form better). Yet since the verb 'to wake up' is not otherwise attested with a suffix **-ĭ-*, 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* > *calēfaciō*, etc. All these verbs conform to the same pattern, except *expergēfaciō*, attested from Pl. onward, which is built on a verb in *-īscor*. Leumann 1977: 258 has noted the irregularity, and notes "*expergef-* (statt **expergīf-*)". But there is no indication that **expergīfaciō* ever existed. The question is now: do we assume that **expergīfaciō* was changed to *expergēfaciō* because of. the pressure from the group in *-ēfaciō*? Or do we assume that *expergīscor* has replaced **expergēscor* on the model of the group in *-īscō*? In view of the ppp. *experrēctus*, I favour the latter explanation.

Bibl.: WH I: 273, 415, 429f., II: 426f., EM 201, 206, 567-569, IEW 854-857, Giacomelli 1963: 254, Klingenschmitt 1982: 73-77, Schrijver 1991: 127, Sihler 1995: 77, Untermann 2000: 631-634, Meiser 2003: 111, Schumacher 2004: 530-533, LIV **h₃reǵ-*. → *rēx, rogō, rogus*

rēmus 'oar' [m. *o*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *rēmex, -igis* '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', *[quinqueresm]os* 'ship with oars arranged in five' (CIL 1.25), *septer[esmom* 'ship with oars arranged in seven' (CIL 1.25).

Plt. **rē(s)mo-* 'oar'.

PIE **h₁reh₁-(s)mo-* 'oar'. IE cognates: OIr. *raïd*, *·rá* 'to row' < **rā-i̯e-* < **h₁roh₁-ie/o-*; Skt. *aritár-* 'rower, ferryman', *aritra-* [n.] 'oar' < **h₁erh₁-ter-, -tro-*, Gr. ἐρέτης [m.] 'rower', ἐρέσσω 'to row', ἐρετμόν 'oar', Lith. *irti* 'to row', *irklas* 'oar'; OIc. *róa*, OE *rōwan*, MHG *rüejen* 'to row', OHG *ruodar*, OE *rōdor* 'rudder' < **h₁roh₁-*.

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 **rĕsmo-*. 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 **h₁reh₁-smo-* 'oar' (thus Schrijver 1991: 19). This has the disadvantage of schwebe-ablaut when compared to Skt. *aritár-*, 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 **h₁reh₁-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 **-smo-* in Latin, since this is more typically an instrumental suffix. Lat. *rēmex, rēmigium* contain (the root of) *agō* 'to do'.

Bibl.: WH II: 428, EM 569, IEW 338, Leumann 1977: 7, 209, Schumacher 2004: 529, LIV 2.*h₁reh₁-. → *ratis*

rēnēs, -ium 'kidneys' [m.pl. *i*] (Pl.+)

Plt. **rēn-*.

PIE **h₂r-ēn*, -en- 'kidney'? **srēn-* 'loins'? IE cognates: Olr. *áru* [f. *n*] 'kidney, gland', W. *arenn* [f.] 'kidney, testicle' < PCl. **āron-*; Hit. ⁽ᵁᶻᵁ⁾*hah(ha)ri-* [c./n.] 'lung(s), midriff' [nom.sg.c. *hahriš*, nom.sg.n. *hahri, hahhari*, dat.-loc.sg. *hahrišni*] ; ToB *arañce* 'heart' (both the physical heart and the seat of the emotions), ToA *āriñc* 'id.' < PTo. **ārañce* < PIE **h₂eh₂(e)ri-* (EIEC 329).

Mastrelli 1979 connects *rēnēs* with OPr. *straunay*, Lith. *strénos* [f.pl.] 'loins', dial. also *srénos*, Latv. *striena* 'loins' < Proto-Baltic **srĕn-?*, Av. *rāna-* 'thigh' < **srāna-?* < **srēn-* 'hip, loins' (IEW 1002). The semantic shift from 'loins' to 'kidneys' is quite conceivable. Less certain seems the connection with Gr. ῥάχις 'spine', since there is evidence for a PGr. anlaut cluster **u̯r-*. Alternatively, one could connect the Celtic words for 'kidney'. The etymology as unreduplicated **h₂r-en-* next to PCl. **āron-* from reduplicated **h₂e-h₂r-en-* is possible in theory, but the difference in reduplication remains unexplained.

Bibl.: WH II: 428f., EM 569f., Driessen 2003b: 358.

renīdeō 'to shine, reflect' [v. II] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: *renīdēscere* 'to grow bright' (Lucr.).

Could be cognate with *niteō* if the root was **(H)ni(H)-*, with different suffixes *-t-* and *-dⁿ-*. 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*

reor, rērī '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-(je/o-)* 'to think', **rato-* 'thought, counted'.

PIE **Hreh₁-* [aor.?], **Hrh₁-to-* [ppp.]. IE cognates: Go. *raþjo* 'number, account',

ga-raþana 'counted', OS *rethia*, OHG *radja, redea* 'accountability'.

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 **Hreh₁*- might also be the basis of PIE **(H)reh₁dʰ*- 'to bring in order, arrange'. Schrijver ascribes the root to PIE **h₂r*- 'to fix'; another candidate would be **h₁réh₁*- 'to ask, investigate' (Hit. *ar(ii̯e/a)-ᶻⁱ* 'to consult an oracle' < **h₁rh₁-i̯é/ó-*), for which LIV reconstructs a root aorist.

Bibl.: WH II: 419, 429, EM 570, IEW 59, Leumann 1977: 366, Schrijver 1991: 140, 307, LIV 2.**reh₁*-.

repēns, -ntis 'sudden, unexpected' [adj. *nt*] (Turp.+)

Derivatives: *repente* 'suddenly, at once' (Pl.+), *dērepente* 'suddenly' (Pl.+), *repentīnus* 'sudden, without warning' (Pl.+).

PIt. **rep-nt-*.

PIE **h₁rep-nt*- [aor.ptc.] 'seizing'.

WH, IEW and Leumann assume **u̯rep*- 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-t*- 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*

rēpō, -ere 'to crawl, creep' [v. III; pf. *rēpsī*, ppp. *rēptum*] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *rēptāre* 'to crawl, move furtively'; *adrēpere* 'to creep up to' (Varro+), *conrēpere* 'to move stealthily' (Pl.+), *dērēpere* 'to crawl down' (Varro+), *ērēpere* 'to creep out' (Pl.+), *obrēpere* 'to creep up, sneak in' (Pl.+), *obrēptāre* 'to creep up' (Pl.+).

PIt. **rēp-e/o-*.

PIE **h₁reh₁p*- or **h₁rēp*- 'to creep'. IE cognates: Lith. *rẽplióti* 'to creep', *roplóti*, Latv. *rãpât, rãpt* 'to creep'; OHG *rebo, reba, repa*, MHG *rebe* 'offshoot, bud', MLG *wīnrave* 'vine'.

Bibl.: WH II: 430, EM 570f., IEW 865, Schrijver 1991: 140, Meiser 2003: 120, LIV ?**reh₁p*-.

rēs, reī 'property, goods, thing, affair' [f. *ē*] (Lex XII+; acc.sg. *rem*)

Derivatives: *rēcula* 'small amount' (Pl.+).

PIt. **rē-*. It. cognates: U. ri [dat.sg.], ri [abl.sg.], *reper* [abl.sg. + *-per*] 'thing, interest'.

PIE **Hreh₁-i*- 'wealth, goods' (nom.sg. **reh₁-i-s*, acc.sg. **reh₁-i-m*, dat.sg. **reh₁-i-ei*) . IE cognates: Skt. *rayí*- [m. (rarely f.)] 'property, goods' (*rayím* [acc.sg.], *rāyáḥ* [gen.abl.sg.]), Av. *raii-i*- 'wealth' (OAv. *rāiiō* [gen.abl.sg.], YAv. *raēm* [acc.sg.]).

The nom.sg. *reh₁ís would have become Lat. *reis > *rīs, the acc.sg. *reh₁-i-m > *rim. The dat.sg. *reh₁iei > *rējei > 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-ī. 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. *rā-s- 'to bestow'.

Bibl.: WH II: 430f., EM 571, IEW 860, Schrijver 1991: 140, 379, Sihler 1995: 341, Meiser 1998: 148, Untermann 2000: 635, LIV 1.*reh₁-. → reus

restis 'rope, cord' [f. i] (Pl.+)
   Derivatives: restiō 'dealer in rope' (Pl.+), resticula 'small cord' (Cato+).
   PIt. *reskti- 'rope'.
   PIE *Hresg-ti- 'rope, cord'. IE cognates: Skt. rájju- [f.] 'rope, string', Sogd. ryzγ (/rayzi/) '(woollen?) cloth' < Ilr. *Hrazgu- / *Hrazju-, Lith. rezgù, rezgiù '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: rēticulum 'small net' (Varro), rēticulātus 'covered with a net, like a net' (Varro+).
   PIt. *rēti-.

Maybe original m. *rētis, pl.n. *rētia; thus Niedermann 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', rèsti, Is. rentù 'to become rare', Latv. rę̃ns 'standing apart', OCS rědъkъ 'rare' (< BSl. *rēto-, *ret-, *re?d-) are cognate, we would posit a root *ret-, not *reh₁t- (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 rešet 'net (for fishing and bird-catching)', Ugaritic rϑt '(probably) id.'.
   Bibl.: WH II: 431, EM 572, IEW 332f., Schrijver 1991: 17f.

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 *-uo-, whence *reh₁i-uo- > *reiwo- > *rēwo- > reus, with the same phonotactics as in deus 'god' < *deiwos. Since *-uo- does not appear to function as a productive denominal suffix in Latin, *reh₁i-uo- might be a remake of *reh₁i-uent- as attested in Skt. rayi-vánt- and Av. raēuuant- '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 *recei* 'rēgī', *re[x]* '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*); *rēgificus* 'royal, sumptuous' (Enn.+); *regnum* 'kingship, reign, kingdom' (Naev.+), *regnāre* 'to rule as a king' (Pl.+), *regnātor* 'who rules as a king' (Naev.+).

PIt. **rēg-* 'king'. It. cognates: maybe Fal. *rex* [nom.sg.] (uncertain reading).

PIE **h₃rḗǵ-s, *h₃reǵ-m* [m.] 'ruler, king'. IE cognates: OIr. *rí* (gen.sg. *ríg*) [m.] 'king', *rige* 'kingdom' (= Skt. *rājyá-* [n.] 'rule, reign'); Skt. *ráj-* 'king' (nom.sg. *rā́ṭ*), OAv. *rāzar- / rāzan-* [n.] 'rule, direction' (YAv. only *rāzar-*); YAv. *bərəzi-rāz-* 'reigning in the height'.

Nowicki 2002: 337ff. argues that *rēgīna* is based on an adi. **reg-īno-* 'regal, meant for the king'. The adj. *rēgillus* would be a derivative of *rēgīna*.

> Bibl.: WH II: 432, EM 572, IEW 854-857, Schrijver 1991: 121, Meiser 1998: 57, LIV *h₃reǵ-.

rīca 'garment to cover the head' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *rī/ēcīnium* 'kind of shawl' (Lex XII+), *rīcīnus* 'made from a *rica*' (Varro+).

PIt. **wreikā-*.

PIE **ureik-h₂-*. IE cognates: Av. *uruuisiia-* 'to rotate, revolve' < **urik-ie/o-*, Gr. ῥοικός 'fluid, flabby' < **uroik̂-o-*; Lith. *rišti*, 3s. *riša* 'to tie, bind', OHG *rīho* [m.] 'knee-bend', MDu. *wrīghe* 'instep of the foot' < **uréik̂-ō*, gen.sg. **-k̂-n-ós*; ME *wrāh* 'wrong' < **uroik̂-ó-*.

> Bibl.: WH II: 433, EM 573, IEW 1158f., Schaffner 2001: 573f., LIV *ureik̂-.

ridica 'wooden stake for supporting vines' [f. *ā*] (Cato+)

The connection with Gr. ἐρείδω 'to prop, support' is very uncertain.

> Bibl.: WH II: 434, EM 573, IEW 860.

rīdeō 'to laugh' [v. II; pf. *rīsī*, ppp. *rīsum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *rīdibundus* 'in a state of laughter' (Pl.+), *rīsiō* 'laughing' (Pl.), *rīsus, -ūs* 'laughter' (Pl.+), *rīdiculus* 'funny, absurd' (Pl.+), *rīdiculārius* 'concerned with jokes' (Pl.+), *rīsitāre* 'to laugh repeatedly at' (Laev.); *adrīdēre* 'to smile at' (Pl.+), *dērīdēre* 'to laugh at' (Pl.+), *dērīdiculum* 'a ridiculous thing' (Pl.+), *irrīdēre* 'to make fun of' (Pl.+), *irrīdiculum* 'laughing-stock' (Pl.+), *conrīdēre* 'to laugh together' (Pl.+), *subrīdēre* 'to smile' (Varro+).

The old connection with Skt. *vrīḍate* 'is shy' is semantically gratuitous, and this word has no good PIE etymology, cf. EWAia III: 482f.

> Bibl.: WH II: 433f., EM 573, IEW 1158, Leumann 1977: 190.

rigeō 'to be stiff' [v. II] (Cic.+)

Derivatives: *rigor* 'stiffness, cold' (Lucr.+), *rigidus* 'stiff, inflexible' (Enn.+).

PIt. **rig-ē-*.

PIE **Hriǵ-eh₁-* 'to be stretched, be stiff'. IE cognates: OIr. *rigid*, *·rig** 'to stretch, rule', OBret. *diren* 'to lead' < **rige/o-* 'to stretch', OIr. *do·rig** 'to lay bare', MW *gwarwy* 'to play', MBret. *aeren* 'to tie' < PCl. **rig-e/o-* 'to tie', OIr. *ringid** 'to torture' < **ringe/o-*; OHG *reihhōn, reihhen*, OE *rǣc(e)an* 'to reach, achieve' < **roiǵ-eie-*.

IEW derives *rigeō* 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 *rigeō* and *rigor*. WH derived *rigeō* from **(s)rig-*, the root that also yields *frīgus* 'cold': the original meaning would have been 'stiff from the cold'. But since its root is reconstructed as **sriHǵ-*, this would leave short *rig-* 'stiff' unexplained. LIV connects two verbs **reiǵ-* '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 **rig-ē-* 'to be stretched, be stiff'.

Bibl.: WH II: 434, EM 573, IEW 854-857, Schumacher 2004: 543-548, LIV **reiǵ-*, **rei̯ǵ-*.

rigō 'to irrigate, make wet' [v. I] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: *irrigāre* 'to make wet, irrigate' (Pl.+), *irriguus* 'flooded, drenched' (Pl.+), *irrigīvus* 'well-watered' (Cato), *irrigātiō* 'irrigation' (Varro+).

PIt. **rig-ā-* 'to lead toward'. It. cognates: maybe O. **regaturei** [dat.sg.] m. epithet of Iuppiter, **regā-tor-*?

PIE **Hriǵ-* 'to stretch'. IE cognates: see s.v. *rigeō*.

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 denominal to a noun **in-re/ogo-* '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 **reǵ-* 'to flow', as LIV does; but this does not change the problem of Latin *-i-*. Finally, it is conceivable that *ir-rigāre* belongs to the root **rig-* 'to stretch' reflected in *rigeō*. 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 *-i-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 435, EM 573f., IEW 857, Sihler 1995: 211, Untermann 2000: 631, LIV ?**reǵ-*. → *regō, rigeō*

rīma 'narrow cleft, crack' [f. ā] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *rīmāre/ī* 'to examine, scrutinize' (Pac.+).

Several etymologies are theoretically possible. To the root **h₁reik-* 'to tear, break' (see s.v. *rixa*), a preform **h₁reik-sm-h₂-* 'breach, fissure' would yield *rīma*; but also **reiPmā-*, **reidmā-*, and roots in **wr-* would lead to the same Latin form. For

*wreid-, cf. Gm. *wrītanan 'to write'. Thus, the etymology remains unclear.
Bibl.: WH II: 435, EM 574, IEW 857-859. → rixa

ringor, -ī 'to show the teeth' [v. III; ppp. *rictum*] (Ter.+)
Derivatives: *rictus, -ūs* 'the open mouth' (Pompon.+).
PIt. *wreng-e/o-.
PIE *ureng- 'to turn, curve'. IE cognates: OE *wrencan* 'to turn', OHG *bi-renken* 'to sprain' < *urong-eie-.
If *ringor* is from *rengor*, it can be connected with Gm. forms continuing a root *ur(e)ng-. The ppp. *rictus* 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 *ureng-.

rīpa 'river bank' [f. ā] (Pl.+)
PIt. *reipā-.
PIE *h₁reip-h₂- 'steep slope'. IE cognates: Gr. ἐρείπω 'to throw down, fall down', ἐρίπνη 'slope', OIc. *rífa* 'to demolish, tear down', ONorw. *rīp* 'upper side of a boat', East Frisian *rip(e)* 'shore'.
Bibl.: WH II: 436, EM 574, IEW 857-859, Schrijver 1991: 18.

rītus, -ūs 'religious observances, rites' [m. u] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *rīte* 'with the proper rites, duly' (Pl.+).
PIt. *reitu-, *reiti- 'rite'.
PIE *h₂r-(e)i- 'to count, observe carefully'. IE cognates: OIr. *renaid*, ·ren 'to sell, exchange' < PCl. *rina- < *h₂ri-n-H-; OIr. *rīm*, W. *rhif* 'number' (maybe borrowed from Gm. according to Schrijver 1991); Gr. ἀριθμός 'number, payment', νήριτος 'countless'; Old Norwegian *rīm* [n.] 'account', OHG *rīm* [m.] 'row, number'.
According to EM, final -e of *rīte* 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 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, *rītu-* may be cognate with *artus* 'limb, member'.
Bibl.: WH II: 437, EM 574, IEW 60, Schrijver 1991: 22, Rasmussen 1989: 102, Schumacher 2004: 551f., LIV I.*h₂er-. → *artus*

rīvus 'small stream, brook, channel' [m. o] (CIL 4, Enn.+; abl.pl. *riuois* Duenos inscr.)
Derivatives: *rīvālis* 'who shares the use of a stream; rival' (Naev.+), *rīvulus* 'small stream' (Varro+); *dērīvāre* 'to divert, pass on' (Ter.+).
PIt. *rīwo- 'stream'.
PIE *h₃riH-uo- 'whirling'. IE cognates: MIr. *rīan* 'river, sea' < *reino-; Skt. pr. *ríyate* 'to flow (producing whirlpools), whirl', *riṇắti* 'to make flow, make run', *rīt-*

'flowing, dripping', *rīti-* [f.] 'stream, motion', YAv. *aiβi.iritīm ah-* 'to defile with dirt'; *auui...iriti* 'crapped on', *airiti-* [f.] 'crapping on'; Gr. ὁρίνω, Lesb. ὀρίννω 'to whirl, stir', Ru. *réjat'* 'to stream fast, flow' < PIE **h₃roiH-*, Ru. *rínut'*, Cz. *řinouti se* 'to stream, flow' < PIE **h₃r(e)iH-*; OE *rīð* 'stream, brook', OHG *rinnan* 'to drip'.

Steinbauer (1989: 35) interprets the sequence *riuois* at the end of the second line in the Duenos inscription as '*rivīs*' = 'with streams'. If this is correct (Eichner 1993a: 211, 214 slightly differently translates 'Duftströme'), long *ī* was original and does not go back to a PIt. diphthong.

Bibl.: WH II: 437f., EM 574, IEW 326-332, Schrijver 1991: 24, Meiser 1998: 4, LIV **h₃reiH-*.

rixa 'noisy quarrel, brawl' [f. *ā*] (Cic.+)
  Derivatives: *rixārī* 'to quarrel violently, struggle' (Varro+).
  PIt. **rik-s-hr̥-*.
  PIE **h₁rik-s-* 'to break, fight'? IE cognates: MW *rwygaw*, MBret. *roegaff* 'to tear apart' < PCl. **reike/o-*; Skt. pr. *riśāmahe* [1p.med.], vi *liśate* [3s.med.] 'to tear off, pluck', *riṣṭá-* 'jerked, torn, broken' < **h₁rik-*; *ā rikha* [2s.ipv.], *likhá-* (AV+) 'to scratch', *rekhā-* [f.] 'streak, line'; Gr. ἐρείκω 'to break (up), tear (up)'; OHG *riga*, MHG *rīhe* 'row'.

The v. *rixārī* is probably denominal to *rixa*, which itself may have been derived from an *s*-present PIE **h₁r(e)ik-s-*.
  Bibl.: WH II: 438, EM 574f., IEW 857-859, Schumacher 2004: 535f. → *rīma*

röbur, -oris 'oak-tree; strength' [n. *r*] (Cato+; nom.acc.sg. *röbus* Cato, *röbor* Varro)
  Derivatives: *röbustus* 'made of oak; strong' (Cato+), *röborāre* 'to give strength to' (Varro+); *robōsem* [acc.sg.] (Paul. *ex F.*).
  PIt. *roupos [n.] 'red substance'.
  PIE *h₁reudʰ-os, *-es-* [n.]. IE cognates: Gr. ἔρευθος '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 *-ōs-*; or is it a pseudo-archaism?
  Bibl.: WH II: 439, EM 575, IEW 872f., Stüber 2002: 140f. → *röbus, ruber*

röbus 'kind of red' [adj. *o/ā*] (Juv.+)
  Derivatives: *röbus* 'kind of wheat' (Col.), *röbīgō* 'rust, rust-like coating' (Pl.+), *röbīginōsus* 'rusty' (Pl.+), *Röbīgus* 'deity supposed to avert rust from crops' (Varro), *Röbīgālia* [n.pl.] 'festival in honour of Röbīgus' (Varro+).
  PIt. **roupo-* 'red'.
  PIE **h₁re/oudʰ-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. *rōsī*, ppp. *rōsum*] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: *rōstrum* 'snout, beak; speakers' platform in Rome' (Pl.+), *rōstrātus* 'having a beak, beak-shaped' (Enn.+); *abrōdere* 'to gnaw off' (Varro+), *obrōdere* 'to gnaw at, chew' (Pl.), *praerōdere* 'to bite away the end' (Pl.+).

Plt. **(w)rōde/o-*.

PIE **Hreh₃d-e/o-* or **ureh₃d-e/o-* 'to gnaw, furrow'. IE cognates: Hit. *ardu-* 'to saw' < **Hrh₃d-u-?*, *ardāl(a)-* [n.] 'a saw' (< **-dъol-*); Skt. *rádati* [pr.], *rarāda* [3s.pf.] 'to dig, furrow, open the way', *raditá-* 'gnawed, bitten', YAv. *rāδaiti* 'to prepare (the way)', Khot. *varrad-* (< **ava-rad-a-*) 'to scratch'; or OE *wrōtan* 'to dig, rummage', OIc. *róta* 'to stir, upset', OHG *ruozen* 'to rummage', OE *wrōt*, MHG *ruozel, rüezel* 'trunk'.

The root etymology is uncertain. Schrijver connects Skt. *rádati*, 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 **urōt-* 'to dig, rummage' < PIE **ure/oHd-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 439f., EM 575, IEW 854, Leumann 1977: 190, Schrijver 1991: 309f., Meiser 2003: 119, LIV ?*Red-, ?*ured-. → *rādix*

rogō, -āre 'to ask' [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *rogātiō* 'request' (Varro+), *rogātor* 'beggar, proposer' (Lucil.+), *rogātus, -ūs* 'request' (Pl.+), *rogitāre* '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.+), *ērogitāre* '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 **h₃roǵ-o-* [n./adj.] 'stretching'. IE cognates: OIc. *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 **h₃reǵ-*. → *regō, rogus*

rogus 'funeral pyre' [m. *o*] (Lex Reg., Lex XII+)

Plt. **rog-o-* 'what is erected, pile'.

PIE **h₃roǵ-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.+).

Plt. *rōs.

PIE *h₁rōs, *h₁ros- 'dew, juice'. IE cognates: Skt. rása- [m.] 'juice, liquid', YAv. raŋhā- [f.] 'name of a mythical stream', Sogd. r'k 'vein, blood vessel' (< PIr. *raha-ka-), Lith. rasà, OCS rosa 'dew'; Hit. ārš-ᶻⁱ / arš- 'to flow', aršanu-ⁿ 'to let flow', CLuw. ārššiia- 'to flow' < *h₁(e)rs-, Skt. árṣati '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.: WH II: 442, EM 577, IEW 336f., LIV *h₁ers-.

rota 'wheel' [f. ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: rotula 'small wheel' (Pl.+), rotundus 'round' (Cato+).

Plt. *rot-ā- 'wheel', *re/ot-e/o- 'to run, roll'.

PIE *Hrot-o/h₂- [adj.] 'revolving' > 'wheel'; *Hret-e/o- 'to run, roll'. IE cognates: OIr. reithid*, ·reith, OW OBret. redec, MCo. resek 'to run, flow' < PCl. *rete/o-; Lith. rãtas 'wheel, circle, ring, (pl.) cart', Latv. rats 'wheel, (pl.) cart', OHG rad 'wheel' [n.]; Skt. rátha-, YAv. raθa- [m.] 'chariot' < *(H)rot-h₂-o-.

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 pr̥. *(re-)rot- 'to roll', which disappeared from the language afterwards.

Bibl.: WH II: 443f., EM 577f., IEW 866, Leumann 1977: 331, Sihler 1995: 625, Meiser 1998: 228, Schumacher 2004: 538-541, LIV *ret-.

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.+), rubrīca 'red ochre, red clay' (Pl.+), rubrīcōsus 'rich in red clay' (Cato+); russus 'red, red-haired' (Enn.+), russēscere 'to turn red' (Enn.); rutilus 'of a warm or glowing red colour, ruddy' (Pl.+), rutilāre 'to glow with a red colour' (Acc.+).

Plt. *rupro- 'red', *rufto- 'red'. It. cognates: U. rufru [acc.pl.m.], rufra [acc.pl.f.], rufrer [gen.sg.m.] 'red'.

PIE *h₁rudʰ-ró- [adj.] 'red'. IE cognates: Skt. rudhirá- 'red, bloody', Gr. ἐρυθρός, RuCS rodrъ, ToB rätre 'red'; OIr. rondaid*, ·roind* 'to paint red' < PCl. *runde/o-.

Hill 2003: 224f. explains russus 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 444f., 455, EM 578, IEW 872f., Leumann 1977: 171, Schrijver 1991: 18, Untermann 2000: 637f., Schumacher 2004: 553. → rōbur, rōbus, rūfus

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. *grúdas* 'corn' would presuppose the disappearance of initial *g^h- 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. *h_1rud^h-i- taken from compounds. Yet there is not a shimmer of a meaning 'red' in *rudis* or in *rūdus* 'rubble', so that the supposed shift from 'crude (meat)' > 'crude' rests in the air.

Bibl.: WH II: 447f., EM 579, IEW 868-871, Leumann 1977: 73, Risch 1979: 713, Sihler 1995: 158. → *raudus, ruber, rūfus*

rŭdō, -ere 'to roar, bellow' [v. III; pf. *rudīvī*] (Varro+)
    PIt. **roud-/*rud-.*

PIE **$h_3r(e)ud$-H- [pr.] 'to weep, roar'. IE cognates: Skt. *rudanti* [3p.act.], *rodiṣi* [2s.act.] 'to weep, bewail', OAv. *raostā* [aor.], *urūdōiiatā* [pr.] 'laments'; OLith. *rausti* 'weeps', Lith. *raudà* 'lamentation', *raudóti* 'to weep, lament', OE *rēotan* 'to complain, weep'.

The reconstruction of the (suffix?) *-H- is based on Skt. *rodiṣi*. In view of Skt. *ruváti* 'roar', Gr. ὠρύομαι 'to howl, roar', Lat. *rūmor* < **h_3ru-, final *-d- may have been a suffix, and the initial laryngeal may be *h_3-.

Bibl.: WH II: 447, EM 579, IEW 867f., LIV **reudH-. → *ravus, rūmor*

rūfus 'red, tawny, red-haired' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)
    Derivatives: *rūfulus* 'reddish' (Pl.+).
    PIt. **roupo-* 'red'. It. cognates: U. *rofu* [acc.pl.m.], *rofa* [acc.pl.f.] 'red'.

PIE **h_1roud^h-o- 'red'. IE cognates: OIr. *rúad*, OW *rud*, MW *rhudd*, Co. *rud*, OBret. *rud*, Bret. *ruz* 'red' < PCl. **roudo-*; Lith. *raūdas*, Latv. *raūds* 'reddish brown, bay, reddish', Ru. *rúdyj* (dial.) 'blood-red', *rudój* (dial.) 'red, red-haired, dirty', Go. *raups* '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.+).
    PIt. **roug-ā-.*
    PIE **h_1roug-h_2- 'wrinkle'. IE cognates: see s.v. *-rūgō*.

A connection with *runcāre* and Lith. *raūkas* '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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 448f., EM 579, IEW 868-871, Schrijver 1991: 24. → *-rūgō*

rūgiō, -īre 'to bellow, roar (e.g. of lions or deer)' [v. IV] (Suet.)
    IE cognates: Gr. ἐρεύγομαι 'to roar', aor. ἤρυγεν (H.), ὀρυμαγδός [m.] 'noise', ὠρῡγή 'noise, roaring', ὠρύομαι '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 ὠρῦγή, but there is also ἐρεύγομαι '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 579f., IEW 867f., Schrijver 1991: 18, LIV *h₃reuH-. → *mūgiō, rūdō*

-rūgō, -ere 'to belch' [v. III; ppp. *-ructum*]: *ērūgere* 'to belch' (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *ructāre/ī* '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.*).

PIt. **roug-e/o-*.

PIE **h₁reuǵ-e/o-* 'to belch'. IE cognates: MoP *ā-rōy* 'belch', Gr. ἐρεύγομαι 'to belch out, vomit', also ἐρυγγάνω, Arm. *orcam* < **orucam* < **erucam*, Lith. *ráugėti* 'to belch', *ráugas* 'leaven, tannine' < **h₁roug-o-*, *ráugti* 'to leaven, pickle', OHG *ita-rucken* 'to ruminate', OE *rocettan* < PGm. **rukatjan* 'to belch'.

The noun *rūmen* can reflect **rūg-mn* or **rūg-smn*.
Bibl.: WH I: 418, II: 446, 450, EM 580f., IEW 871ff., Schrijver 1991: 18, LIV *(h₁)reug-.

rūmis 'teat, nipple' [f. *i*] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *rūma* 'teat, nipple' (Varro+), *Rūmīna* '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: 449f., EM 580, IEW 873.

rūmor 'noise, rumour' [m. *r*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *rūmitāre* 'to gossip' (Naev.); *rūmiferāre* 'to carry reports of' (Pl.).
PIt. **roumōs-*.

PIE **h₃re/ouH-mo-* 'roaring'? IE cognates: Skt. *ruváti* 'to roar', *ráva-* [m.] 'roaring, howling, noise', YAv. *uruuant-* 'roaring', Gr. ὠρύομαι 'to howl', OCS *rjuti*, 1s. *rovǫ* 'to roar'.

WH and IEW derive *rūmor* from the root of Skt. *ruváti* 'to roar'. If correct, the etymology would imply **re/ou-mo-* 'shouting' > PIt. **reu-m-ōs* [coll.] 'shouting, rumour'.
Bibl.: WH II: 450f., EM 581, IEW 867f., LIV *h₃reuH-. → *ravus*

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.+), *dīrumpere* 'to break

apart' (Pl.+), *ērumpere* 'to burst out, sprout' (Cato+), *ēruptiō* 'sudden rush, discharge' (Sis.+), *irruptiō* 'violent entry, assault' (Pl.+), *interrumpere* 'to break up, interrupt' (Pl.+); *rūpēs, -is* 'cliff, crag' (Acc.+), *rupex₄ -icis* 'uncivilized person' (Lucil.+).

Plt. **ru-n₄p-*, **roup-* 'to break', **roup-(e)h₁-* 'cliff', **rup-to-* 'broken'.

PIE **Hru-n-p-* [pr.] 'to break', **Hreup-* [aor.]. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *rupya-*, caus. *ropáya-* 'to suffer from stomach ache', red.aor. *arūrupas* [2s.act.] 'to rack', *rópi-* [f.] 'racking pain', OAv. *urūpaiia-* 'to cause racking pain', MP *rubūdan* 'to rob, grab', OE *rēofan* 'to break, tear', *bi-rēafian* 'to rob'.

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-*.

runcō, -āre 'to grub up (plants), weed' [v. I] (Cato+)

Plt. **runk-ā-*.

PIE **h₃ru-n-k-* 'to dig out'. IE cognates: Skt. *luñcati* 'to pluck' (ep.), Gr. ὀρύσσω, Att. ὀρύττω '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. ῥυκάνη 'plane' influenced by *runcāre* 'to grub up'.

Bibl.: WH II: 452, EM 582, IEW 868-871, Steinbauer 1989: 254, LIV **h₃reuk-*.

ruō, -ere 1 'to rush, hurry on; tumble down, collapse' [v. III; pf. *ruī*, ppp. *rŭtum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *ruīna* 'headlong rush, collapse, remains' (Lucr.+), *rūna* 'kind of weapon' (Naev.); *corruere* 'to collapse' (Andr.+), *obruere* 'to cover, overwhelm' (Enn.+), *prōruere* 'to hurl forward, overthrow' (Varro+).

Plt. **rowe/o-*.

PIE **h₃reu-e/o-* 'to run, hurry'. IE cognates: OIr. *rúathar* 'assault'; Gr. ὀροὐω 'to hurry', Alb. *ra* [3s.aor.] 'to fall (down); strike, hit' (< PAlb. **(a)rau-?*); Bel., Ukr. *rux* 'movement, bustle', gen.sg. *rúxu*, Cz. *ruch* 'movement' < **(H)rous-o-*.

Meiser 2003 considers the possibility that the root **h₃reu-* 'to run, hurry' was ultimately derived from **h₃r-* 'to set in motion'.

Bibl.: WH II: 453, EM 582f., Schrijver 1991: 24, Meiser 2003: 236. → *-gruō*

ruō, -ere 2 'to churn or plough up, dig out' [v. III; ppp. *rūtum*] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *rutus, -ūs* 'digging, rushing' (Cato+), *rutābulum* 'long stick with a flattened end' (Naev.+), *rutellum* 'small shovel' (Lucil.+), *rutrum* 'shovel' (Cato+); *arruere* 'to heap up (earth)' (Varro+), *dīruere* 'to pull down' (Ter.+), *ēruere* 'to dig up, tear out' (Cato+); *rūta 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-*.

PIE **(H)reuH-e/o-*. IE cognates: Skt. aor. *rāviṣam* [1s.sb.act.], *rávat* [3s.sb.act.] 'to wound, hurt', ppp. *rutá-*, Lith. *ráuti* 'to tear out, pull', Lith. *ravéti* 'to weed', Ru. *ryt'*, Is. *róju* 'to dig', SCr. *rȉti* 'dig', OCS *rȳlo* 'spade', Ru. *rȳlo* 'snout, mug', SeCS *rъvati*,

ORu. *rъvati*, Ru. *rvat'* 'to tear', OIc. *rýja* 'to tear out wool'; ToB *ru-* 'to pull out (from under a surface [with violence])', pr. V /ruwā-/ < PTo. *ruwā- < PIE *ru(H)-eh₋.

It seems that the derivatives of *ruō* 'to rush' and *ruō* 'to dig' have become mixed up: we find short-vowel forms meaning 'dig', in spite of the PIE root etymology *(H)ruH-.

Bibl.: WH II: 453f., EM 582f., IEW 868-871, Schrijver 1991: 234, Meiser 2003: 124, LIV *reṷH-.

rūs, rūris 'country, land' [n. *r*] (Pl.+; loc.sg. *rūrī*)

Derivatives: *rūsticus* 'of a farm, rural' (Naev.+), *rūsticātim* 'in a countrified fashion' (Pompon.+), *rūrāre/ī* 'to occupy oneself on one's country estate' (Pl.+).

PIt. *rowos- [n.] 'open space, land', *rowes-tiko- [adj.].

PIE *Hreu-os [n.] 'open space, field'. IE cognates: OIr. *róe* 'flat field' < *roṷesiā-, Av. *rauuah-* [n.] 'open space', *rauuas-carāt-* 'moving freely'.

Nom.acc.sg. *rowos > *rūos > *rūs*; the *-ū-* may also be regular in *rūrī* if from dat.sg. *rowesei. The *ū* (or its antecedent, closed *ō) then spread through the paradigm.

Bibl.: WH II: 454f., EM 583, IEW 874, Schrijver 1991: 276, 280.

rūscus 'butcher's broom' [f. *o*] (Verg.+)

Derivatives: *rūsceus* 'coloured like the berries of butcher's broom' (Cato+).

Bibl.: WH II: 454f., EM 583.

rūspor, -ārī 'to explore' [v. I] (Acc.+)

Derivatives: *corrūspārī* 'to search for' (Pl.+).

Possibly to PIE *Hreus- 'to dig around' as in Lith. *raũsti* 'to toss, dig', OCS *rušiti* 'to destroy'; yet this would not explain Lat. *-p-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 455, EM 583, LIV *reṷs-.

S

sabulum 'coarse sand, gravel' [n. *o*] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *sabulōsus* 'gravelly' (Varro+), *sabulō* 'sand' (Varro+); *saburra* 'gravel' (Verg.+), *saburrāre* 'to fill with ballast' (Pl.+).

PIt. *(p)saplo- / *(p)saflo- / *(p)sablo-.

IE cognates: Gr. ψάμμος [f.], (ψ)άμαθος, Aeol. ψόμμος; OIc. *sandr*, OHG *sant*, MHG *samt* 'sand'.

A substrate word *(p)sam- or *sab^(h)-.

Bibl.: WH II: 458, EM 585, IEW 145f., Leumann 1977: 186, Schrijver 1991: 103, Meiser 1998: 113.

sacer 'sacred, votive, holy' [adj. *o/ā*] (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.+), *resecrāre* 'to implore again' (Pl.+); *sacrificāre* 'to perform or offer a sacrifice' (Pl.+) *sacrificium* 'sacrifice' (Varro+), *sacrificulus* 'sacrificial priest' (Varro+), *sacrilegus* 'sacrilegious, impious' (Pl.+); (2) *sācer, -cris* 'worthy to be sacrificed' [*sācrem* Cato, *sācres* Pl., Varro]; (3) *sancīre* [pf. *sānxī*, pf. *sānctum*] 'to confirm, ratify solemnly' (Andr.+), *sānctēscere* 'to acquire sanctity' (Acc.), *sānctitūdō* 'sanctity' (Acc.+); *Sancus, -ūs* 'deity of contracts' (Cic.+); (4) *sagmen* 'sacrificial bundle of grass' (Naev.+).

PIt. **sakro-* 'sacred'; **sakrāje-* 'to dedicate, sacrifice'; **sakrāsio-* 'dedicatory'; **sākri-* [adj.] 'worthy to be sacrificed; sacrificial animal'; **sa-n-k-je-*, **sa-n-k-to-* 'to sanctify, solemnly dedicate'. It. cognates: 1. Fal. **sacra** [nom.sg.f.], **sacru** [nom.sg.n.], U. **sacru** [nom.sg.f.], O. σακορο [nom.sg.f. or nom.pl.n.], U. *sacr* [nom.sg.n.?], **sakra, sacra, sakref** [acc.pl.f.], *sacre* [adv.] 'holy, sacred'; 2. O. **sakrasias** [nom.pl.f.] 'sanctifying'; O. **sakruvist, sakruvit** [3s.pf.] 'has been sanctified'; O. **sakarater** [3p.pr.ps.], **sakraitír, sak<r>ahiter** [3s.pr.sb.ps.], **sakrafír** [inf.pr.ps.], **sakrannas** [gdve. nom.pl.f.], **sakrann.** [nom.sg.f.] 'to sanctify, dedicate'; O. **sakaraklúm** [nom.acc.sg.], **sakarakleis** [gen.sg.], **sakaraklúd** [abl.sg.] 'sanctuary' < **sakrā-klo-*; Pael. **sacaracirix**, Marr. **sacracrix** [nom.sg.] title of a priestess < **sakrā-trīx*; O. σακαρακιδιμαι [loc.sg.?] 'kind of priest?'; 3. O. **sakrim** [acc.sg.], **sakrid** [abl.sg.], **sakriss** [abl.pl.] [m./f.], U. **sakre** [acc.sg.], **sakreu** [acc.pl.], *sacris* [abl.pl.] [n.] 'sacrificial animal' < **sākri-* [adj.]; 4. O. **saahtúm** [nom.acc.sg.n.] 'sanctified, holy' < **sank-to-*; U. **sahta**, *sahatam, sahata* [acc.sg.], **satame** [acc.sg. + *-en*] , **sate**, *sahate* [loc.sg.] f. *ā*-stem, locality in the procession around town, maybe **sanktā-*; 5. U. **saçe, saçi** [dat.sg.], **saçe** [voc.sg.] epithet of Iuppiter and of **vestiçe** < **sak-*; U. *sanśie, sanśi, sansi* [voc.sg.], **saçi**, *sansie, sansii, sansi* [dat.sg.] 'of the god Sancus' < **sankio-*.

PIE **sh₂k-ro-* 'sacred', **seh₂k-r-i-*, **sh₂-n-k-* 'to make sacred, sanctify'. IE cognates: Hit. *šāklāi-* [c.] 'custom, rites' (< **seh₂k-lōi-*), *zankila^i-* / *zankil-* 'to fine, punish' (< **sh₂nk-i + *l(o)h₁-?*); Celtib. *sancilistara* '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 **sanχto- > *sā(n)χto-*, after which Latin restored *-nk-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 459f., EM 585f., 592f., IEW 878, Giacomelli 1963: 254, Schrijver 1991: 97, 144, Untermann 2000: 640-652, 656, Meiser 2003: 121. → *ācer*

sacerdōs, -ōtis '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 *d^{h}oh$_1$-t- 'who places/performs 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 *deh$_3$- '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 **deh$_3$-(u-)* 'to give' was known in Italic; compare Cato *(exta 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 460, EM 586, IEW 235-239, Leumann 1977: 275, Strunk 1994, Sihler 1995: 49, 122, Nussbaum 1999a: 396-398, Lindner 2002: 44, LIV *deh$_3$-. → *dō*, *sacer*

saeculum 'generation, breed, lifetime' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **sai-tlo-*.

PIE **seh$_2$i-tlo- [n.] (or **sh$_2$éi-tlo-) 'lifespan'. IE cognates: W. *hoedl*, Bret. *hoazl* > *hoal* 'lifespan, age' < PCl. **sáitlo-*; Hit. *išhai-^{i}* / *išhi-* 'to bind', CLuw. *hišhiia-*, HLuw. *hishi-* 'to bind' < **sh$_2$-ói- / **sh$_2$-i-; Skt. pr. °*syáti, sináti* [3s.act.], pf. *á sisáya* [3s.act.] 'to bind'.

Bibl.: WH II: 460f., EM 587f., IEW 889-891, Rasmussen 1989: 59, Schrijver 1991: 269, LIV *sh$_2$ei-. → *saeta*

saepēs, -is 'hedge, fence' [f. *i*] (Varro+; *saeps* [nom.sg.] Varro, Cic.)

Derivatives: *saepīre* [pf. *saepsī*, ppp. *saeptum*] 'to surround, enclose' (Pl.+), *saepīmentum* 'enclosure' (Varro+), *saeptuōsus* '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.+).

PIt. **saip-i-*. It. cognates: possibly U. **seples** [dat.abl.pl.] 'nail'.

PIE **seh$_2$-i- 'to tie'. IE cognates: Gr. αἰπύς, also αἰπός 'steep'? αἶψα [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 **sh$_2$i-, it is tempting to derive **saepi-* 'packed, fenced' from PIE **seh$_2$i-p-, but a (productive) suffix **-p- is unknown.

Bibl.: WH II: 461f., EM 588, IEW 878, Schrijver 1991: 278, Untermann 2000: 668, LIV *sh$_2$ei-.

saeta 'hair of an animal; fishing-rod' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *saetiger* 'bristly' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **saitā-*.

PIE *séh₂i-to- or *sh₂éi-to- 'cord'. IE cognates: Skt. *sétu-* [m.] 'band, fetter, bridge', YAv. *haētu-* [m.] 'dam', OPr. *saytan* 'strap, belt', Lith. *siẽtas, saĩtas* 'tie', OCS *sětъ* 'snare, trap', Cz. *sít'* 'net', OIc. *seiðr* [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 *sh₂ei-. → *saeculum*

saevus 'harsh, savage, ferocious' [adj. *o/ā*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *saevīre* 'to rage, be violent' (Pl.+), *saeviter* 'savagely' (Pl.+), *saevitia* 'savageness' (Ter.+), *saevitūdō* 'savageness' (Pl.).

PIt. *saiwo-* 'savage'.

PIE *seh₂i-uo- 'savage'. IE cognates: OIr. *sáeth*, W. *hoed* 'sorrow' < *saitu-; Hit. *šāi-ᶻⁱ* 'to become sullen, angry', Gr. αἰανής 'irritating' < *saiu̯o-, 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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 462f., EM 588, IEW 877, Rasmussen 1989: 57, Schrijver 1991: 270, Untermann 2000: 658, LIV ?2.*seh₂(i)-.

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+), *sagātus* '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/ā*] (Statius+)

Derivatives: *sāga* 'witch, wise woman' (Lucil.+), *sāgīre* 'to perceive' (Cic.+), *sagāx* 'keen-scented, perceptive' (Pl.+); *praesāgīre* 'to foresee, portend' (Pl.+).

PIt. *sag-āk-* 'perceptive', *sāg-ije/o-* 'to seek, perceive'.

PIE *seh₂ǵ-i- [m./f.] 'tracking'? IE cognates: OIr. *saigid*, ·*saig* 'to try to reach' < PCl. *sag-(i)e/o-*, MW *haeðu* 'to strive, earn', denom. to a PCl. noun *sag-iiā* [f.]; Hit. *šāgāi-* 'omen', *šākii̯e/a-ᶻⁱ* 'to give a sign, reveal'; Gr. ἡγέομαι 'to direct, lead', Go. *sokjan*, MoE *seek* 'to search' < *seh₂g-, Go. *sakan*, pret. *sok*, OHG *sahhan* 'to quarrel' < *sh₂ǵ-.

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-sāgīre* has no obvious derivational basis within Latin, and may reflect a Plt. verb in *-je-*. Kloekhorst 2008: 697 assumes that *šākije/a-* is denominal to *šāgāi-*; for the noun, he posits a PIE paradigm *séh₂g-ōi-s*, *sh₂g-ói-m*, *sh₂g-i-ós* 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 *seh₂g-(o)i-*. This might also explain why the IE cognates show an ablaut *seh₂ǵ-* / *sh₂ǵ-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 464f., EM 589, IEW 876f., Schrijver 1991: 97, 338, Schumacher 2004: 555-557, LIV *seh₂⁽ǵ⁾-.

sāl, salis 'salt' [m. (n.) *l*] (Pl.+; nom.acc.sg. *sale* Enn., Cato)

Derivatives: *salīnum* 'salt-cellar' (Pl.+), *salīnator* 'operator of a salt-works' (Cato+), *salillum* 'little salt-cellar' (Pl.+), *salārius* 'of salt' (Varro+); *sallere* [ppp. *salsum*] 'to salt' (Lucil.+), *sallīre* 'to salt' (Cato+), *salsus* 'salted, salty' (Pl.+), *salsāmentum* 'salted food, esp. fish' (Ter.+), *salsūra* 'salting, pickling' (Pl.+); *salum* 'sea' (Enn.+), *Salacia* 'name of a sea-goddess' (Pac.+).

Plt. **sāls*, **salos* 'salt', **sald-e/o-* 'to salt', **salsso-* 'salted'. It. cognates: U. **šalu** [acc.sg.] 'salt'. For a possible indirect attestation of O. **sal-*, see s.v. *pūrus*.

PIE **séh₂-l-s* [nom.], **sh₂-él-m* [acc.], **sh₂-l-ós* 'salt'; **sh₂l-d-* (or **sh₂el-d-* or **seh₂l-d-*) 'salt'. IE cognates: Olr. *salann* 'salt' [n.], W. *halen*; Gr. ἅλς 'salt' [m.]; Latv. *sàls* 'salt' [f.], Lith. Žem. *sólymas* [m.] 'saltpan' ⁔< nom.sg. **séh₂l-s*, OPr. *sal*, OCS *solь*, Ru. *sol'* 'salt' [f.] < **sh₂el-*; Lith. *saldùs* 'sweet', OCS *sladъkъ*, Ru. *solódkij* (dial.) 'sweet' < **sh₂el-d-u-*, Go. *salt*, OHG *salz* 'salt' [n.].

The PIE ablaut was retained into Latin. The stem **sal-d-e/o-* yielded *sallere*, and the ppp. **saldto-* 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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 465f., 471, EM 589, 591, IEW 878f., Schrijver 1991: 98, 111, 114, Meiser 1998: 55, Untermann 2000: 654f.

saliō, -īre 'to jump, leap' [v. IV; pf. *saluī/saliī*, ppp. *saltum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *saltus, -ūs* 'jump, leap; narrow passage, woodland' (Naev.+); *absilīre* 'to rush away' (Lucr.+), *dēsilīre* '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.+), *saltātiō* 'dancing' (Pl.+), *dēsultūra* 'jumping down' (Pl.), *dissultāre* 'to spring apart' (Lucr.+), *exsultāre* 'to spring up, run riot' (Lucr.+), *insultāre* 'to leap in; mock' (Enn.+), *persultāre* 'to leap over' (Lucr.+), *resultāre* 'to jump away, echo' (Lucil.+), *subsultāre* 'to keep jumping up' (Pl.+); *praesul* [m.] 'dancer at the head of a religious procession' (Lucil.+).

Plt. **sal-je-* 'to jump', **salto-* 'jumped'.

PIE **sh₂l-ie/o-* 'to jump', **sh₂l-to-*. IE cognates: Olr. *saltraid* 'to trample', MW *sathar* 'trampling' < **sal-tro-*, W. *sathru*, Bret. *saotrañ* 'to soil'; Skt. pr. *sisarṣi* [2s.act.], *sisrate* [3p.med.] 'to flow, run, hurry' < PIE **sel-*; Gr. ἅλλομαι 'to jump' < **sl-ie/o-*, aor. ἅλτο, red.pr. ἰάλλω 'to stretch out, send out' < **si-sl-*, ToB pret.med.

salāte 'jumped', ToB *salamo*, ToA *salat* 'flying' < **sl̥-*, **sel-*, **sol-*.

It is assumed e.g. by LIV that Latin *sal-* arose from **sl̥-* in front of *-i-* or **-i̯-*. Yet in view of *horior* and *morior* < **-ri̯e/o-*; it seems that **sl̥i̯-* would phonetically yield **soli̯-*; similarly, for Celtic, **sl̥tro-* 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 468, EM 590, IEW 899, Schrijver 1991: 98, 114, 1995: 377, Sihler 1995: 304, Meiser 1998: 195f., LIV 1.**sel-*.

salīva 'salive, spittle' [f. *ā*] (Varro+)
    Derivatives: *salebra* 'unevenness' (Cic.+).
    PIt. **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. *salowis*, Ru. *solovéj*, SCr. *slȁvūj* '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', OIc. *sǫlr* 'dirty yellow' < PIE **solH-u̯-*.

If *salīva* is indeed cognate with BSl. and Gm. **solH-u̯-* 'grey', it may be built on an earlier adj. *saluus, compare Lat. *-īvus* in *irrigīvus* to *irriguus*, *vocīvus* to *vacuus*.
    Bibl.: WH II: 468f., EM 590, IEW 879, Schrijver 1991: 212f.

salix, -icis 'willow, osier' [f. *k*] (Pl.+)
    Derivatives: *salictum* 'group of willows, osier-bed' (Pl.+), *salictārius* 'of osier-beds' (Cato+), *salignus* 'made of willow-wood' (Cato+), *saligneus* 'of willows' (Cato+).
    PIt. **salik-*.
    IE cognates: OIr. *sail*, gen. *sailech*, W. *helyg* 'willow' < **salik-*, Myc. *e-ri-ka*, Gr. Arc. ἐλίκη 'willow' (Boeot. ϝελικών does not certainly contain the same word); OHG *salaha*, OIc. *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 **helikā-* 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.
    Bibl.: WH II: 469, EM 590f., IEW 879, Schrijver 1991: 103f.

saltem 'at least, anyhow' [adv.] (Pl.+; var. *saltim* Ov.+)
WH accept the etymology *sī alitem 'if otherwise', but the shortening and disappearance of initial *-ī-* would be strange, and so would syncope (cf. *aliter*). Syntactically, *saltem* is often followed by a clause in *sī* 'if', so the presence of *sī in *saltem* is the opposite of what we expect: if containing a hypothetical form *alitem 'otherwise', we expect *sī non alitem 'if not otherwise', 'at least'. Mechanically, one

could reconstruct an *i*-stem *sal-ti-* 'jump' to *saliō*; 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.

salvus 'safe, secure' [adj. *o/ā*] (Naev.+; *salvē* 'hello! hail! farewell!' Naev.+)

Derivatives: *salvēre* 'to greet' (Naev.+); *salūs, -ūtis* [f.] 'well-being, safety, greeting' (Pl.+), *salūtāris* 'salutary, wholesome' (Pl.+), *salūtāre* 'to greet, hail' (Naev.+), *salūber/-bris*, gen. *-bris* 'healthy, beneficial' (Cato+), *salūbritās* 'wholesomeness, good health' (Cato+).

PIt. *salu-* 'whole, healthy', *salw-ē-* 'to be well'. It. cognates: Fal. **salues** [nom.pl.m.?], **salue** [2s.ipv.pr.], **saluete** [2p.ipv.pr.], **salueto(d)** [3p.ipv.II.] 'to greet'; O. **salavs**, σαλαϝϲ, Marr. *salaus, salas* [nom.sg.m.], U. *saluom, saluuom, saluo* [acc.sg.m.n.], *saluam, salua* [acc.sg.f.], *salua, saluua* [acc.pl.f.] 'whole, healthy'; Pael. praenomen *saluta* < *salūt-*; Pael. *salauatur* [nom.sg.] a certain official < *salwā-tor-* (not borrowed from Latin).

PIE *slH-u-* 'whole'. IE cognates: Hit. *šalli-* 'big, main' < *solH-i-* (Kloekhorst 2008: 709ff.), Skt. *sárva-* 'whole, all', YAv. *hauruua-* 'undamaged, whole', OP *haruva-* 'whole, all together', Gr. ὅλος, Ion., H. οὖλος 'whole, complete', Alb. *gjallë* 'alive', ToA *salu* [adv.] 'wholly, totally'.

Salūs and *salūbris* seem to presuppose a verb *saluere*, ptc. *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)uo-*. Hence, Schrijver 1991 assumes that PIt. had *salu-* and *solwo-*, 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 *saluwo-* 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. *solwo-* can be interpreted as deriving from a n. noun *sólH-u-* / *slH-u-* 'wholeness', with an ins.sg. *slH-u-h₁* from which *salū-t-* and *salū-þli-* were derived (Pike 2007).

Bibl.: WH II: 471f., EM 591f., IEW 979f., Giacomelli 1963: 255, Leumann 1977: 349, 554, Schrijver 1991: 295-297, Nussbaum 1997: 186f., 1999: 386, 410, Untermann 2000: 651-654. → *solidus, sollus*

sanguīs, -inis 'blood' [m. *n*] (Pl.+; nom.acc.sg. *sanguen* Enn.+)

Derivatives: *sanguinolentus* 'bloody' (Varro+).

PIt. *sang^wen-/*sanguen-*.

PIE *h₁ésh₂-r* [nom.acc.], *h₁sh₂-én-s* [gen.] 'blood' [n.]. IE cognates: Hit. *ešhar / išhan-* 'blood; bloodshed' [n.] (< *h₁ésh₂r, *h₁esh₂enós*), CLuw. *āšhar-* 'blood', Skt. *ásr̥j- (ásr̥k* nom.sg., *asnás* gen.sg.), Gr. ἔαρ, 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 *h₁sh₂-n-h₁g^w-o/i-* 'shining like blood' by Balles 1999 is too far-fetched. The element *san-* may well go back to PIE

*h₁sh₂-(e)n-, the oblique form of the word for 'blood'. The element -*guen* or -*guin* is less certain. According to Kloekhorst 2008: 256-260, Hittite shows that the gen.sg. originally ended in *-*én-s*, which would be in accordance with the reconstruction *h₁sh₂-en- for *sanguis*.

Bibl.: WH II: 474f., EM 593, Sihler 1995: 300, Balles 1999. → *assyr*, *sanies*

sanies 'ulcer, wound matter' [f. *ē*] (Enn.+)

Sanies might be a derivative in -*iēs* to the stem **san-* of the word for 'blood' *sanguis*; but the formation type rather points to a deverbal abstract. Klingenschmitt (1992: 128) reconstructs *h₁sh₂en-ih₂- 'blood-like matter'.

Bibl.: WH II: 475, EM 593. → *sanguis*

sānus 'healthy' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *sānitās* 'health, good sense' (Pl.+), *sānāre* 'to cure' (Caecil.+); *insānus* 'mad' (Pl.+), *insānīre* 'to be mad, rave' (Pl.+), *insānia* 'madness' (Pl.+).

PIt. **sāno-*. It. cognates: maybe U. **sanes** [abl.pl.f.?] '?', attribute of certain sacrificial objects.

PIE *seh₂-no-. IE cognates: Skt. *ava-sātár-* [m.] 'liberator', *ava-sāna-*, OAv. *auuaŋhāna-* [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. *sotùs* 'satisfied'.

Bibl.: WH II: 476, EM 593f., IEW 880, Untermann 2000: 655.

sapa 'new wine boiled down to a proportion of its original volume' [f. *ā*] (Cato+)

IE cognates: Skt. *sabardúh-* [epithet, esp. of a dairy-cow], OAv. *hābuuaṇt-* [adj.] 'juicy?' < **sab-u̯ant-*, Arm. *ham*, OIc. *safe*, OHG *saf* 'sap' < **sap-* (OE *sæp*, MoDu. *sap* < Lat. *sapa*) .

It seems unlikely that *sapa* is derived from *sapiō* 'to taste, know', as advocated by IEW and EM: the Gm. and Arm. cognates also mean 'sap'. If the IIr. forms belong here too, there is an interchange between **sap-* and **sab-* pointing to a loanword. If IIr. is excluded, we have **sap-* (Latin, Arm.?) against **sab-* (Germ.) which still points to a non-IE loanword.

Bibl.: WH II: 476, EM 594, IEW 880, Schrijver 1991: 104.

sapiō, -ere 'to taste, be intelligent, know' [v. III; pf. *sapī(v)ī* (>> *sapuī*)] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *sapor* 'flavour, taste' (Varro+); *dēsipere* 'to lose one's reason' (Pl.+), *insipientia* 'folly' (Pl.+), *insipiens* 'unwise, foolish' (Pl.+), *resipere* 'to recall the flavour of' (Varro+), *resipiscere* 'to regain consciousness, come to one's senses' (Pl.+).

PIt. **sap-i-*; pf. **sēp-*? It. cognates: O. *sipus* [nom.sg.m.], Vol. *sepu* [abl.sg.] 'knowing' < ptc.pf.act. *sēp-wos < **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-*.

PIE *sh₁p-i- 'to notice'. IE cognates: OS *an-sebbian* 'to remark, notice', OHG *int-seffen* 'to remark, taste', OIc. *sefi* 'thought' < *saf-i- < PGm. *saf-, *sab-.

Root-internal *h₁ is uncertain: it hinges on Sabell. *sēp-, but this may be analogical. In that case, the root must be left at *sHp-. Latin pf. *sapīvī* and Sabell. *sēp-* might (very speculatively) be interpreted as proof for earlier ablaut *seh₁p-i- / *sh₁p-ei-.

Bibl.: WH II: 477, EM 594, IEW 880, Schrijver 1991: 93f., Untermann 2000: 677, Meiser 2003: 244, LIV *seh₁p-. → *sībus*

sarciō, -īre 'to mend, repair' [v. IV; pf. *sarsī*, ppp. *sartum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *exsarcīre* 'to patch up' (Ter.+), *resarcīre* 'to mend, restore' (Cato+); *sarcina* 'bundle, pack' (Pl.+), *sarcinātus* 'loaded with a pack' (Pl.+), *sarcinātor* 'mender of clothes' (Pl.+), *sarcinātrīx* 'woman who mends clothes' (Varro+); *sarcta tecta* 'mended roofs' (Paul. *ex F.*).

PIt. *sark-je/o-. It. cognates: U. *sarsite* '?'.

PIE *srk-ie/o- 'to make good, emend'. IE cognates: Hit. *šarni(n)k-ᶻⁱ* 'to compensate, replace' < *sr-nén-k-, *šarku- / *šargau- 'eminent, powerful' < *s(o)rk-(e)u-, *šarkiške/a-ᶻⁱ* 'to be powerful', Gr. ἕρκος [n.] 'fence, enclosure, net', ὁρκάνη 'fence'; maybe also ὅρκος [m.] 'oath', ToB *ṣärk-* 'to surpass, be better'.

Latin *-ar-* can be the product of a vocalization *Cr̥CC > CarCC-, cf. Schrijver 1991: 498.

Bibl.: WH II: 478f., EM 595, IEW 912, Schrijver 1991: 492f., LIV *ser'k'-.

sāriō, -īre 'to hoe, weed' [v. IV] (Pl.+; *sarr-* Cato)

Derivatives: *sartor* 'a hoer' (Pl.+), *sarculum* 'hoe' (Pl.+).

PIt. *sars-je/o- 'to hoe, weed', ppp. *sarsto-, n. *s(e)rs-tlo-.

PIE *srs-ie/o- 'to cut off, weed'. IE cognates: Skt. *sr̥ṇí-* [f.] 'sickle', Khot. *harraa-* 'saw' (< PIr. *hr̥naka-).

Schrijver (1991: 493) regards *sarr-* as the older variant in view of Romance *re-sarriō and the noun *sarrītor*. If so, *sarrī- would have changed to *sārī-* 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 *sarriō* 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- < *srs-je/o-, *srs-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. *šarhiie/a-ᶻⁱ* 'to attack(?)' and Gr. ῥώομαι '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- < *kseh₂-es- '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 *serh₃-. → *sarp(i)ō, serra*

sarp(i)ō, -ere 'to prune (a vine)' [v. III; ppp. *sarptum*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *sarmentum* 'cut twigs, brushwood' (Pl.+).

PIt. **serp-(j)e/o-?*, **sarp-to-*.   •

PIE **s(e)rp-* 'to cut off'. IE cognates: Gr. ἄρπη 'sickle', Latv. *sìrpis*, OCS *srъpъ*, Ru. *serpъ* 'sickle'.

The *-a-* in the verb may stem from preconsonantal position, e.g. in the ppp., or be analogical to *sarriō*.

Bibl.: WH II: 480, EM 595, IEW 911f., Schrijver 1991: 493, Meiser 1998: 122. →
sāriō

satis, sat 'enough, sufficient' [adv.] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *satiās, -ātis* 'abundance, repleteness' (Pl.+), *satietās* 'satiety, abundance' (Pl.+), *satiāre* 'to satisfy, content' (Lucr.+), *īnsatietās* 'greediness' (Pl.), *īnsatiābilis* 'insatiable' (Lucr.+); *satisfacere* 'to give satisfaction' (Pl.+); *satur* [adj. *o*] 'well-fed' (Pl.+), *saturitās* 'fullness, satiety' (Pl.+), *saturāre* 'to fill, satisfy' (Varro+), *satullus* 'replete' (Varro+), *satullāre* 'to satiate' (Varro+).

PIt. **sati-* 'satiation, satisfaction', **satu-ro-* 'well-fed'.

PIE **sh₂-ti-* 'satisfaction, satiation', **s(e)h₂-tu-* 'satiation'. IE cognates: OIr. *sáith* 'fullness' < **sātis*; Skt. *asinvá-* 'without chewing, without biting, devouring (greedily)' < **n-sh₂-nu-ó-* 'unsatiable' (?); Gr. ἄδην [adv.] 'to one's fill', ἄδος [m./n.] 'satiety' < **sād-*, ἅμεναι (Il.), aor. ἅσαι, ἄσασθαι (ep.) 'to satiate oneself', Arm. *at-okʿ* 'full, full-grown', Lith. *sótus* 'satisfied, full', Latv. *sãts* 'satisfied, copious', OCS *sytъ*, Ru. *sýtyj*, SCr. *sȉt* 'satisfied' (the origin of Sl. **y* is obscure), Go. *saþs* 'satisfied, full' < **sh₂-to-*.

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 **sat-is* 'more satisfied', but there is no indication to be found in the meaning. The adj. **saturo-* 'well-fed' may contain the same *u*-stem as Lith. *sótus*, although this type of adj. is productive in Lithuanian. The Latin form may rather be a *ro*-adj. derived from a *u*-stem noun.

Bibl.: WH II: 481f., EM 596, IEW 876, Schrijver 1991: 98, Meiser 1998: 155, 195, LIV 1.**seh₂(i)-*. → *sānus*

saucius 'wounded' [adj. *o/ā*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *sauciāre* 'to wound, cut into' (Pl.+).

PIt. **(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 **ksou-ó-* 'scraping', **ksou-éie/o-* 'to scrape'. IE cognates: Skt. *kṣurá-* [m.] 'razor, sharp knife', Gr. ξύω 'to plane, scratch', ξυρόν, ξυρός 'razor', Lith. *skùsti* 'to plane'.

Vine 2004: 624 compares U. *sauitu*, and posits and adj. **ksou̯-o-* 'scraping', whence a derivative **ksou-Vk-* 'a scrape, wound' would be derived. With unrounding of **ow* > **aw* in open syllable, and addition of **-io-*, this would yield **sawVkio-* > *saucius*.

Vine 2006a: 237 argues that the unrounding would have applied in pretonic syllable, hence the preform was *ksou-ó-.

Bibl.: WH II: 483, EM 597, IEW 585f., LIV *kseu̯-. → 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 *sh₂k-. However, the Gm. words can also reflect *sok-s-, and there is no other evidence for a root *sh₂k- '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. III; pf. *scābī*] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: *scabiēs* 'roughness of the skin' (Cato+), *scaber* [o/ā] 'rough, scurfy' (Pl.+), *scabrēre* 'to be rough' (Enn.), *scabrēs* [f.sg.] 'roughness' (Pac.+); *scobis* [f.] 'sawdust, peelings' (Varro+), *scobīna* 'tool for scraping, rasp' (Varro+), *dēscobīnāre* '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. *skõbti*, 1s. *skabiù* '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. *skõbti*, 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 (out)', 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).

Bibl.: WH II: 484f., EM 597, IEW 930-933, Schrijver 1991: 431, Meiser 1998: 82f., 2003: 156, LIV *skabʰ-.

scaevus 'left, inauspicious' [adj. o/ā] (Vitr.+)

Derivatives: *scaeva* 'omen; left-hand side' (Pl.+), *scaevola* 'phallus-like charm' (Varro); *obscaevāre* 'to constitute a good or bad omen' (Pl.).

PIt. *skaiwo-.

PIE *skeh₂-i-uo- 'shaded; left'. IE cognates: Gr. σκαιός 'left' < *skaiu̯os; Skt. *chāyā- 'shadow, reflection', YAv. *a-saiia-* [adj.] 'that does not cast a shadow', Gr.

σκιά [f.] 'shadow', Gr. σκηνή, Dor. σκᾱνά 'tent, booth, stage', Alb. *hije* 'shadow', Latv. *seja*, dial. *seĩja* 'face'; OCS *sěnь*, SCr. *sjên* 'shadow', ORu. *stěnь* 'shadow, vision' [f.]; ToB *skiyo* [f.] 'shadow'; Go. *skeinan* 'to shine', OCS *sijati* 'to shine' < *skiH-.

There are a few rhyming formations meaning 'left, sinister' in the IE languages; Latin has *laevus* and *scaevus*. As per Steinbauer 1996 (unpublished presentation, cited in Janda 2000: 118 and Stüber 2006: 68), the root could be identified as PIE *sḱeh₂-(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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 485, EM 597f., Schrijver 1991: 270, Beekes 1994: 89, LIV *sḱeH(i)-. → *laevus, obscaenus, obscūrus*

scalpō, -ere 'to scratch, carve' [v. III; pf. *scalpsī*, ppp. *scalptum*] (Sis.+)

Derivatives: *scalpurrīre* 'to keep scratching' (Pl.), *scalprum* 'tool for scraping' (Cato+), *scalptūra* 'art of carving' (Carmen Arvale+), *sculpōneae* [f.pl.] 'wooden shoes, clogs' (Pl.+); *exsculpere* 'to care out, dig out' (Pl.+).

PIt. *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.

Bibl.: WH II: 486f., EM 598, IEW 923-927, Schrijver 1991: 431.

scamnum 'stool, bench' [n. *o*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *scabiellum* 'low stool; foot-clapper' (Cato+).

PIt. *skambno-.

PIE *skmbʰ-no- 'support'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *skabhnāti*, pf. *cāskámbha* 'to consolidate, prop', *skambhá-* [m.] 'prop, support, pillar', YAv. *fra-scinbaiia-* 'to consolidate', *fra-skəmba-* [m.] 'porch', *fra-scimbana-* [n.] 'prop, support, girder'.

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- > *CáRCC- yielding *skambʰno-, as per Schrijver 1991: 498.

Bibl.: WH II: 487, EM 599, IEW 916, Leumann 1977: 201, Schrijver 1991: 431, LIV ?*skebʰH-.

scandō, -ere 'to ascend, mount' [v. III; pf. *scandī*, ppp. *scānsum*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *scālae* [f.pl.] 'ladder, stairways' (Pl.+), *scānsiō* 'climbing' (Varro+); *ascendere* 'to go up, rise, attain' (Andr.+), *ascensiō* 'ascent' (Pl.+), *cōnscendere* 'to go on board, mount, climb to' (Pl.+), *dēscendere* 'to go down, descend' (Pl.+), *ēscendere* 'to go up, mount' (Pl.+), *īnscendere* 'to climb up, mount' (Pl.+), *īnscēnsiō*

'embarking' (Pl.), *trānscendere* 'to go beyond, cross' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **skand-e/o-* 'to ascend'. It. cognates: maybe O. **esskazsiúm** [acc.sg.m.] < **eks-skand-teio-* 'of ascending'?

PIE aor. **skend-/*sknd-* 'to jump up, ascend', pr. **sknd-e/o-*? IE cognates: OIr. *sceinnid* 'to jump', MW *ysgeinnyaw* 'to splash, strew' < PCl. **skan-n-de/o-*, W. *cy-chwynnu* 'to arise, start' < **kom-skendo-*, Skt. pr. *skándati*, pf. *caskánda*, aor. *skán* 'to leap, spring', *skanná-* 'squirted out, leapt away' < **skend-* (with restored *sk-*).

Lat. *scāla* < **skand-slā-*. 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 488, EM 599, Schrijver 1991: 431f., Untermann 2000: 235, Meiser 2003: 211, Schumacher 2004: 574f., LIV 1.*skend-.

scapulae 'shoulder-blades' [f.pl. *ā*] (Naev.+)

PIt. **skap-elo-*. It. cognates: U. *scapla* [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. *kopati* '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 **-bʰ-*, as the majority of derivatives within Greek indicate. Beekes (fthc.) 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.+; also *scatēre* Pl.+)

Derivatives: *scatebra* 'gush of water, spring' (Acc.+), *scaturrex, -icis* 'gushing stream' (Varro).

PIt. **skat-*

PIE **skt-*. IE cognates: Lith. *skàsti*, 1s. *skantù* 'to jump'.

For the semantic link between 'to jump' and 'gush forth', cf. English *spring*. Schrijver 1991 hestitantly 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 ?*skeHt-.

scaurus 'deformed at the feet; cognomen' [adj. *o/ā*] (Cic.+)

Derivatives: *scauripeda* '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.+).

PIt. **skelos* [n.].

PIE *skel-os, -es- [n.] 'curve, bending'. IE cognates: Gr. σκέλος [n.] 'thigh, leg', σκολιός 'crooked, bent, twisted, unjust', σκελλός 'bow-legged' (Hsch., EM), OHG *scelah*, OE *sceolh* 'oblique, curved, squinting', NHG *scheel*, Olc. *skjalgr* 'oblique, squinting' < PGm. **skél-ha-, -gá-* < IE **skel-ko-*.

Presupposes a semantic shift 'crooked' > 'wicked, bad', for which see Stüber. Since Skt. *skhalate* 'to stumble, trip' belongs to Gr. σφάλλομαι from PIE *skʷh₂el-, there is no need to reconstruct **skh₁el-* with Schrijver 1991. According to Nussbaum 1999a: 390, **-el-* > **ol-* did not take place because the initial cluster *sk-* fronted the *-k-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 492, EM 601, IEW 928, Schrijver 1991: 433, Stüber 2002: 183.

scindō, -ere 'to split, cleave' [v. III; pf. *scicidī*, ppp. *scissum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *cōnscindere* '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.+), *prōscindere* 'to plough, slit' (Pl.+), *rescindere* 'to cancel, remove by hewing' (Ter.+); *scindula* (var. *scandula*) 'wooden slat, shingle' (A. Hirtius+).

PIt. pr. **ski-n-d-e/o-*, aor. **skeid-* >> pf. **ski-skid-*, ppp. **skisso-*.

PIE *ski-n-d- [pr.] 'to split, tear off', *skid-to- [ppp.]. IE cognates: Olr. *sceïd*, ·*scé** 'to vomit, spit' < PCl. **skei-e/o-*; Skt. pr. *chindhi* [2s.ipv.act.], *chinátti* [3s.act.], aor. *chedma* [1p.inj.act.], pf. *cichidũh* [3p.act.], *cichéda* [3s.act.], ta-ptc. *chinná-* 'to break, split up', YAv. *auua.hisiδiia-* 'to split in two', *a-sista-* 'unsplit, unharmed', Gr. σχίζω 'to split, cut through' (with unclear -χ-), Arm. *c'tim* (< **c'it-im*) 'to tear, scratch', Lith. *skíesti*, 1s. *skíedžiu* 'to separate, divide', OCS *cěditi* 'to strain' < BSl. **(s)koiʔd-*, Olc. *skíta* 'to shit'.

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 *excīsātus* in Pl., *Cist.* 383, see Kümmel 2004b: 355.

Bibl.: WH II: 488f., 493f., EM 599, 602, IEW 919-922, Leumann 1977: 294, Schrijver 1991: 500, Sihler 1995: 76, Meiser 1998: 210, 2003: 189, Schumacher 2004: 578, LIV *skʰeid-. → *scūtum*

scintilla 'spark of fire' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *scintillāre* 'to send out sparks, glitter' (Pl.+).

IEW connects *scintilla* with the root **skī-* 'to shine', now **skeH(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, IEW 917f.

sciō, scīre 'to know' [v. IV; pf. *scī(v)ī*, ppp. *scītum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *scītārī* 'to inquire about' (Pl.+), *scītulus* 'nice-looking' (Pl.+), *scīlicet* [v./adv.] 'surely, naturally' (Pl.+), *scītamenta, -ōrum* 'delicacies, refinements' (Pl.+), *scius* 'cognizant, skilled' (Pac.+), *scientia* 'knowledge' (Varro+); *scīscere* (*scīvī, scītum*) 'to get to know, approve' (Pl.+), *scīscitārī* 'to try to get to know, inquire' (Pl.+); *nescius* 'unknown, not knowing' (Pl.+), *nescīre* 'not to know; some-' (Naev.+); *cōnscius* 'sharing knowledge, conscious' (Pl.+), *īnsciēns* 'not knowing, stupid' (Pl.+), *īnscientia* 'ignorance' (Caecil.+), *īnscītus* 'ignorant' (Pl.+), *īnscītia* 'ignorance' (Pl.+), *inscius* 'ignorant, unaware' (Varro+); *cōnscīscere* 'to decree for oneself, ordain' (Pl.+), *praescīscere* 'to get to know beforehand' (Ter.+), *rescīscere* 'to get to know of' (Naev.+).

PIt. **skije/o-* 'to know'.

PIE **skh₁-i(e/o)-* 'to incise'. IE cognates: Skt. *°chyáti* [3s.act.] 'to cut open, skin', *áva-cchita-* 'pulled off (skin)', Bal. *sāyag* 'to shave', Gr. σχάω 'to make an incision, slit open'. ·

Sciō is probably a back-formation on the basis of *nescīre*. If 'to know' developed from 'to distinguish, make a decision', *-scīre* can belong to a root meaning 'to cut off, incise'. LIV derives *-sciō* from **sekH-* (as in *secāre*) which, in view of its meaning, may well be the same root as the one given by LIV as **sk̑h-eh₂(i)-* 'to cut', which is more likely **skh₂-*. Thus, the *ya*-present of Skt. *-chyáti* and Lat. *-sciō* may both go back to the same PIE present. LIV (following Rix 1999) assumes that *-scīre* arose in a compound because a simplex **sekH-i̯e/o-* would yield pre-Latin **sekaje/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., IEW 919-922, Rix 1999: 526, LIV **sekH-, *sk̑h-eh₂(i)-*. → *secō*

scīpiō 'stick' [m. *n*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **skeip-?*

PIE **skeip-o-* 'pole, stick'. IE cognates: Gr. σκίπων 'staff, stick', σκοῖπος probably 'supporting beam on which the tiles rest' (Hsch.).

The appurtenance of Skt. *śepa-* 'penis' is a wild guess. Latin *cippus* and *scīpiō* 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, IEW 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.+).

Plt. **skerpo-?*

No etymology. Formally, it might go back to **skerp-* (cf. *firmus* and inscr. *Mīrqurios*, *stircus*), in which case it can be derived from the root **skerp-* 'to pluck, cut off' as in *carpō*. This leaves the semantics to be explained: **skerp-o-* might mean 'what is picked' or 'to be picked', but I see no compelling connection with the bulrush.

Bibl.: WH II: 496, EM 603. → *carpō*

scōpae 'branches of a plant, broom' [f.pl. *ā*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *scōpiō* 'stalk (of a plant)' (Cato+), *scōpus* 'stalk' (Varro), *scāpus* 'stem, stalk, shaft' (Varro+).

Plt. **skōp-ā-*.

IE cognates: Gr. σκᾶπος 'stick' (Hsch.), σκήπτομαι 'to support oneself' < **skāp-*; Latv. *šķēps* 'spear, javelin', CS *štapъ* 'stick' < **skēp-?*; OHG *skaft* [m.], OWNo. *skapt* [n.] 'shaft'.

Latin *scāpus* might be a borrowing from Gr. σκᾶπος, 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: *scortārī* 'to consort with prostitutes' (Pl.+), *scortātor* 'who consorts with prostitutes' (Pl.+), *scortēs* 'goat-head skins' (Paul. *ex F.*), *scorteus* 'made of hide' (Varro+).

Plt. **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*

scrībō, -ere 'to write' [v. III; *scrīpsī, scrīptum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *scrība* 'writer, secretary' (Pl.+), *scrīptūra* 'writing, text, tax' (Pl.+), *scrīptūrārius* 'of a certain tax' (Lucil.+), *scrīptor* 'writer' (Lucil.+); *a(d)scrībere* 'to add in writing, reckon' (Pl.+), *ascrīptīvus* 'enrolled in addition' (Pl.+), *cōnscrībere* 'to enroll, compose' (Pl.+), *cōnscrībillāre* 'to cover with scribbling' (Varro+), *dēscrībere* 'to draw, mark, describe' (Pl.+), *discrībere* 'to allot, separate' (Ter.+), *exscrībere* 'to write out, transcribe' (Pl.+), *īnscrībere* 'to inscribe, record' (Pl.+), *praescrībere* 'to lay down, prescribe' (Ter.+), *subscrīpere* 'to append, sign, write under' (Pl.+).

Plt. **skreif-e/o-* 'to carve', **skripto-* 'carved'. It. cognates: O. *scriftas* [ppp., nom.pl.f.], U. *screhto* [nom.sg.n.], *screihtor* [nom.pl.n.] 'written' < **skribʰto-*; possibly PalU. **skerfs** '?' [nom.sg.] < **skribʰ-i-*.

PIE *skreibʰ-e/o- 'to carve', *skribʰ-to-? IE cognates: Latv. *skrīpât* 'to scratch, scribble, write down'; OIc. *hrífa* 'scratch, tear' < *krīp/bʰ-*. Unclear: Mlr. *scrīp(a)id* 'scratches', Gr. σκάρῑφος 'outline, sketch', σκαρῑφάομαι '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.

Bibl.: WH II: 499, EM 604f., IEW 938-947, Schrijver 1991: 244, Untermann 2000: 685f., Meiser 2003: 119, LIV ?*sꞏ(ꞏkꞌ)reịbʰ-.

scrīnium '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. *kreĩvas* 'crooked, curved, wrong', Ru. *krivój* 'crooked' < *krei-ṷo-*. Yet there is no indication that *scrīnium* 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+).

PIt. *skrof-i-*.

PIE *skrobʰ-i- 'hollow, pit'. IE cognates: Lith. *skrebéti*, 1s. *skrebù* 'to rattle, crunch', Ru. *skresti*, 1s. *skrebú* 'to scratch, plane'; Latv. *skrabt* 'to scratch, plane', Po. *skrobać*; OE *screpan* 'schaben, kratzen'.

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)kreb-. → *scrōfa*

scrōfa 'sow' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *scrōfipascus* 'that feeds sows' (Pl.).

PIt. *skrof-ā- 'scratcher, digger'.

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 *skrṓf-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 *ō*. 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.+), *scrūpulus* 'worry, precaution' (Ter.+), *scrūpulōsus* 'jagged;

minutely careful' (Varro+); *scrĭp(t)ulum* 'certain small unit of measurement' (Varro+).

It is assumed that *scrĭp(t)ulum* got its *-ĭ-* (and sometimes *-t-*) under the influence of *scrĭptum*. No etymology.
Bibl.: WH II: 501, EM 606, IEW 938-947.

scrūta, -ōrum 'discarded goods, junk' [n.pl. *o*] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: *scrūtillus* 'kind of sausage' (Pl.+), *scrūtārius* 'second-hand dealer' (Lucil.+), *scrūtārī* 'to examine, investigate' (Pl.+); *scrautum* 'skin used for storing arrows, quiver' (Paul. *ex F.*), *scrōtum* 'the scrotum' (Cels.).
PIt. **skrout-?*

IE cognates: Go. *and-hruskan* 'to research' < **krūt-sk-*; OHG *scrōtan* 'to hew, cut; cut clothes', *scrōt* 'cutting', OE *scrēadian* 'to peel, cut off', *skrūd* [n.] 'garment', OIc. *skrúð* [n.] 'valuables, garment', OHG *scrutōn, scrodōn, scrutilōn* 'to investigate'.

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 *scrōt-* in Latium; *scraut-* would then be a hypercorrect form for *scrōt-*. It is not certain, however, that *scrautum* and *scrōtum* semantically belong to *scrūt-* 'discarded goods, trifles'. The further etymology is uncertain: only Germanic contains words matching in form and possibly in meaning.
Bibl.: WH II: 498, 502, EM 604, 606, IEW 938-947, Schrijver 1991: 265f.

scurra 'fashionable city idler' [m. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Whereas WH regard *scurra* as a borrowing from Etruscan, IEW and Meiser 1998 propose an etymology **sk^(w)r̥sa* to a root **skers-* 'to jump'. Yet this is a mere root etymology, without obvious cognates, and semantically uncompelling. Furthermore, m. nouns in *-a*, if inherited, tend to be etymologically transparent (cf. Leumann 1977: 280).
Bibl.: WH II: 502, EM 606, IEW 933-935, Meiser 1998: 63.

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 *ū* 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'.

PIE *skoi-to- 'piece of wood, sheath, shield'. IE cognates: OIr. *sciath* (gen. *scéith*) , W. *ysgwyd*, OBret. *scuit, scoet*, Bret. *scoed* 'shield' < PCl. *skeito- [n.]; OPr. *staytan* [*scaytan*] 'shield', Lith. *skiẽtas*, Latv. *šķiẽts* 'reed (in a loom)' < *skoi-to-; OCS *štitъ*, Ru. *ščit*, gen. *ščitá* [m.] 'shield', Po. *szczyt* 'top, summit' < *skeito-, OE *skǣð, scēað*, OHG *sceida* 'sheath', OIc. *skeið* f. 'loom', pl. 'sheath' < PGm. *skaid-i-; OIc. *skíð* [n.] 'billet, snow-shoe, ski', OE *scīd*, OHG *scīt* 'stick, billet', OIc. *skíði* [n.] 'sheath' < PGm. *skeid-.

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 *scindō*.

Bibl.: WH II: 503, EM 607, IEW 919-922, Schrijver 1995: 194. → *scindō*

sē '(him, her, it, them)self/ves' [pron. reflexive] (Lex XII, Andr.+): acc.abl.sg. *sē* (OLat. inscr. *sed*, Pl. *sēd*), gen.sg. *suī*, dat.sg. *sibi* (inscr. *sibei*)

Derivatives: *suus* [adj.poss.] 'his, her, its, their' (OLat. inscr. *soueis* 'suīs').

PIt. acc. *s(w)ē (stressed), *se (unstressed), dat. *sefei, abl. *sed, poss. *sowo-. It. cognates: O. *siom* [acc.], sifeí, Pael. *sef<e>i*, U. *seso* [dat.] 'him-, herself' < acc. *sē-om, dat. *sebʰei, seso maybe < *soi + (e)psom/d; O. suveís [gen.sg.m.], suvad, súvad [abl.sg.f.], suvam, suva [acc.sg.f.], σουϝεν [loc.sg.n. + -en] , U. svesu, sueso [loc.sg.n./f.], Marr. *suam*, Pael. *sua* [acc.sg.f.], *suois* [dat.pl.m.], SPic. súaís [abl.pl.f.], súhúh [abl.sg.m.] 'his, her' < *swo- (U.), *sowo- (O., SPic.); U. *surur, suror* 'just so' < *swō-swōs, suront, sururont, sururo* 'just so' < *swōs-ont.

PIE *se [acc.], *seue [gen.], *sebʰio [dat.] 'oneself', *suó- 'own'. IE cognates: OIr. *féin, fadéin* < *sue-(de-)sin* 'own, self', OAv. *hōi*, YAv. *hē, šē* 'he, she' [gen.dat.], OP -*šaiy* [gen.dat.] < *so/ei, YAv. *huuāuuōiia* < *suabʰia* 'for himself', Gr. ἒ, ἑ, Pamph. ϝhε 'oneself' < *sue, nom. σφεῖς 'they (themselves)', acc. Ion.H. σφέας, Aeol. H. Dor. σφε, dat. σφίσι(ν) , Aeol. Ion. H. Dor. σφι(ν) < *s-bʰ-, Alb. *vetë* 'self', OPr. dat. *sebbei*, acc. *sien*, OCS dat. *sebě*, acc. *sę*, Go. *sik*, OHG *sih*, OIc. *sik* 'oneself', Go. *sis*, OIc. *sér* [dat.]. Adj.: Skt. *svá-*, OAv. *xᵛa-*, YAv. *hauua-*, Gr. ὅς, ἑός, Lith. *sãvas*, Latv. *savs*, OCS *svojь* 'his, his own'.

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. *suī* 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. *sue, at least in stressed position. The possessive then introduced the first vowel from the gen. *seue: *suós >> *seuós > PIt. *sowós.

Bibl.: WH II: 626f., EM 664, IEW 882-884, Leumann 1977: 461-465, Beekes 1995: 209-211, Sihler 1995: 376-379, Schrijver 197: 72-78, Meiser 1998: 156-159, Untermann 2000: 681f., 724f., Weiss 2002: 356f. → *sē*

sē-, se-, sō-, so- 'away, without' [pref.] (mostly *sē-*; *se-* in *seorsum* (cf. *vertō*), *so-* in *socors, soluō, sō-* in *sōbrius*)

Derivatives: *sed* 'but' (Andr.+; *set* Cato+), *sē, sēd* [prep. + abl.] 'without' (Lex XII+).

PIt.acc. *se, abl. *sed (>> *sēd). It. cognates: U. *seipodruhpei* [adv.] 'to both sides'

< *sē-k"oterōd-k"id.

The abl.sg. (*swēd? >) *sēd originally meant 'per se, for itself', whence 'however, but' as cj. and 'without, away' as prĕp.; 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-worso-.

Bibl.: WH II: 506f., EM 609, IEW 882-884, Leumann 1977: 192, 559, Klingenschmitt 1980: 209f., Schrijver 1991: 122, Meiser 1998: 82, 157f. → cor, sē, sōbrius, soluō, sospes, vē-

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.

Bibl.: WH II: 478, 504, EM 607, IEW 894, Leumann 1977: 68.

secō, -āre 'to cut, sever' [v. I; pf. secuī, ppp. sectum] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: sēcula 'sickel/scythe' (Varro), sectiō 'cutting, castration, buying up' (Varro+), sector 'who cuts, who buys up' (Pl.+), sectūra 'cutting, quarry' (Varro+), secūris [f.] 'axe' (Pl.+), secūricula '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; circumcise' (Cato+), dēse/icāre 'to cut off, mow' (Varro+), disse/icāre 'to cut apart' (Varro+), exse/icāre 'to cut out' (Pl.+), īnsecāre 'to make an incision' (Cato+), īnsicium 'rissole' (Varro+), praese/icāre 'to cut at the end' (Varro+), praesegmen 'a clipping' (Pl.+), prōse/icāre 'to cut off, sever' (Pl.+), prosiciēs 'severed portion' (Lucil.+), rese/icāre 'to cut back, prune' (Cato+), subsecāre 'to cut away' (Varro+), subsicīvus 'left over, spare' (Lucil.+).

PIt. *sekaje/o-. It. cognates: U. prusekatu, prusektu [3s.ipv.II], pruseçetu, proseseto [ppp. acc.pl.n.], proseseto [gen.pl.n.], pruseçete, prosesetir, prosesetir, proseseter [dat.pl.n.] 'to cut out' (the entrails of the sacrificial animal) < *prō-sekā-, sup. *prō-sekē-to-; U. pruseçia [acc.pl.n.] < *prō-sek-jo- '(entrails) which have been cut out'.

PIE *sekh₁-ie/o- 'to cut off'. IE cognates: Hit. šakk-ⁱ / šakk- 'to know, pay attention

to' < *sokh₁-/*skh₁-, OCS *sěšti*, 1s. *sekǫ* 'to cut', Ru. *seč'* 'to cut to pieces, beat', SCr. *sjěči* 'to cut'.

The long *ē* in *sēcula* is striking, and recalls that of *rēgula* and *tēgula*. Varro mentions that *sēcula* is found *in Campania*, which may mean that it is a dialect form, and that its long *ē* in Latin does not prove long *ē* 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. *scían* '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. *śakkīn*, Aram. *sakkīn* 'slaughtering-knife', is attractive. In Rosén's view, both words are probably borrowed from an unknown third source.

Bibl.: WH II: 459, 504f., EM 585, 607f., IEW 895f., Leumann 1977: 311, Schrijver 1991: 127, 487, Rix 1999: 526, Untermann 2000: 587-589, Meiser 2003: 230, LIV *sekH-. → *sciō, sexus, signum*

secus 'otherwise; alongside' [adv., prep. + acc.] (Andr., Naev., Pl.; CIL)
Derivatives: *sequius* [comp.] 'unfavourably, differently' (Afran.+), *sequester* [adj.] 'depositary, intermediary, trustee' (Pl.+), *altrim secus, altrinsecus* [adv.] 'on the other side' (Pl.+), *extrīnsecus* [adv.] 'from without, on the outside', *utrimque( )secus* [adv.] 'on both sides'.

PIt. *sekwos* [nom.sg.m.] 'separate'.

PIE *se-ḱuo- 'for/by oneself, separate'. IE cognates: OIr. *sech* (+ acc.) 'past; without', W. *heb*, Co. *heb*, OBret. *hep* 'without' < PCl. *sekᵘā* '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-ḱuo- 'separate, by itself', with the element *se- 'apart' of Latin *sē-, se-, so-*, and the suffix *-ḱuo- from Skt. *víśva-* 'all'. The suffix *-ester* in *sequester* ('the third party') follows the example of *equester* and others.

Bibl.: WH II: 506, 518f., EM 608f., 615f., IEW 896f., Leumann 1977: 352, Klingenschmitt 1980: 208-214; Meiser 1986: 246ff., LIV 1.*sekʸ-. → *procul, sequor*

sedeō 'to sit, be seated' [v. II; pf. *sēdī*, ppp. *sessum*] (Andr.+)
Derivatives: *sēdēs, -is* [f.] 'seat, dwelling-place' (Andr.+), *sediculum* 'seat' (Varro+), *sedīle* [n.] 'seat, chair' (Varro+), *sedentārius* 'sitting' (Pl.+), *sēdāre* 'to restrain, cause to lie down' (Pl.+), *īnsēdābiliter* 'unassuageably' (Lucr.+), *sella* 'seat, chair' (Pl.+), *sessibulum* 'seat' (Pl.+), *sessiō* 'sitting' (Varro+); *assidēre* 'to sit by, dwell close to' (Pl.+), *assiduus* 'wealthy, constantly present, incessant' (Lex XII+), *cōnsēdāre* 'to check, stop' (Cato+), *cōnsessus, -ūs* 'gathering' (Afran.+), *dēsidēre* 'to remain seated, be idle' (Pl.+), *dēsidia* 'idleness' (Pl.+), *dēsidiābula, -ōrum* 'a life of idleness' (Pl. Ix), *dēsidiōsus* 'idle' (Varro+), *insidiae* [f.pl.] 'ambush, trap' (Pl.+), *insidiārī* 'to lie in wait, lie in ambush' (Pl.+), *obsidēre* 'to occupy, blockade' (Pl.+), *obsidiō* 'siege, blockade' (Pl.+), *obsidium* 'siege, blockade' (Pl.+), *obses, -idis*

'hostage, surety' (Elog.Scip., Naev.+), *obsessor* 'who takes possession; besieger', *possessor* 'occupier, tenant' (Var.+), *possidēre* 'to hold land or property' (Pl.+), *praesidēre* 'to keep watch, govern¹ (Pl.+), *praeses* 'guardian, custodian' (Pl.+), *praesidium* 'protection, garrison' (Pl.+), *residēre* 'to be left over, remain seated' (Pl.+), *reses* [adj.] 'listless, torpid' (Lucil.+), *residuus* 'left over; idle' (Acc.+), *subsidium* 'assistance, support, reinforcement troops' (Pl.+), *supersedēre* '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' < **sed-ē-*.

PIE **sed-eh₁-* 'to be seated' [pr.], **sēd-/*sed-* 'seat'. IE cognates: OIr. *saidid*, ·*said* 'to sit', MCo. *hedhi*, MBret. *hezaff* 'to stop' < **sede/o-*, OIr. *síd* 'peace', W. *hedd* 'peace', Skt. pf. *sasāda* [3s.act.], them.aor. *ásadat* [3s.act.], aor.ps. *ásādi*, ppp. *sattá-* 'to sit down, settle down', OP *niyašādaya-* 'to set down, establish', Gr. ἕζομαι 'to sit down', Lith. *sėdėti*, Latv. *sêdêt*, OCS *sěděti*, Go. *sitan* 'to sit'.

Latin and Sabellic continue a stative pr. **sed-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. *i*-stem?) is probably built to the PIE root noun, but may also continue a PIE *h₁*-stem according to Schrijver. On *dēsidiābula*, see Serbat 1975: 47f.

Bibl.: WH II: 507-509, EM 509-611, IEW 884-887, Steinbauer 1989: 142, Schrijver 1991: 121, 376, Meiser 1998: 142, Untermann 2000: 658-660, Meiser 2003: 203f., Schumacher 2004: 560f., LIV **sed-*. → *solium*

seges, -etis 'field of corn, arable land' [f. *t*] (Lex XII+)

PIt. **seg-et-* 'seed' > 'sown land'.

PIE **seg-e/o-* 'to adhere, fasten'. IE cognates: MW *hëu*, 1s. *heaf* 'to sow, throw on, strew' < PCl. **seg-(i)e/o-*; Skt. pr. *sajāmi*, pf. *sasañja* 'to adhere, hang on', *āsakti-* [f.] 'pursuit, devotion, adhering', *niṣaṅgín-* 'carrying a quiver', OP *frāha⁽ⁿ⁾jam* [1s.ipf.act.] 'to hang out', Lith. *sègti*, 3s. *sėga* 'to fasten, pin', OCS *prisęsti* 'to touch', SIn. *sęči* 'hold out one's hand, try to keep up with' < BSl. **seng-*, Ru. *posjagát'* 'to encroach, infringe', OCz. *sahati* 'to touch, reach for' < PSl. **sęgati*.

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: *sēgnitia/-ēs* [f.] 'inertia, sluggishness' (Pl.+), *sēgnitās* 'sluggishness' (Acc.+).

PIt. **sēk/g-ni-*.

An adj. in **-ni-*, cf. *lēnis*, *omnis*. The root is identified as the root of Gr. ἦκα 'slightly, softly', ἥττων, Ion. ἥσσων 'smaller, weaker', sup. ἥκιστος 'least', which can reflect PGr. **sēk-*. This might derive from PIE **sek-* 'to dry out, coagulate' or from a root

*sehₗk-. Yet the latter is translated as 'to arrive' by LIV, which does not fit *sēgnis* nor Gr. ἧκ- '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.*), *simītū* [adv.] 'at the same time, together' (Pl.+), *simplex, -icis* 'having a single layer, simple' (Pl.+), *simplicitās* 'singleness, ignorance' (Lucr.+), *simplus* [adj.] 'single, simple amount' (Pl.+); *semel* 'once' (Pl.+).

PIt. *sm̥-per* 'once and for all', *sm̥-plak-* 'simple', *sm̥-plo-* 'single', *sm̥-l(i?)-* [n.] 'once; together'.

PIE *sm̥- [in cp.] 'one'. IE cognates: Skt. *sakr̥t*, YAv. *hakərət* [adv.] 'once', Gr. ἅπαξ 'once'.

Bibl.: WH II: 511f., EM 612, IEW 902-905, Schrijver 1991: 218, Coleman 1992: 415f., Meiser 1998: 176f, Untermann 2000: 716. → *mīlle, sēmi-, similis, sincērus, singulī.*

sēmi- 'half' [pref.] (Pl.+; *sēm-* before vowels, sometimes *sē-* before *m-*)

Derivatives: *sēlībra* 'half a libra' (Cato+), *sēmodius* 'half a modius' (Cato+), *sēstertius* 'having the value of two-and-a-half' (Varro+), *simbella* 'coin worth half a libella' (Varro+), *sinciput, -itis* 'a half-head' (Pl.+), *sincipitāmentum* 'a half-head' (Pl.); *sēsque-* 'one and a half' (< *sēmis-que*).

PIt. *sēmi-. It. cognates: U. *sehemu, semu* [abl.sg.n.] 'single, separate?' < *sēm-o-?

PIE *sēm-i [loc.sg.] 'in one'. IE cognates: Skt. *á-sāmi* [adv.] 'not half, completely', Gr. ἥμι- [in cp.] 'half'; OE *sām-*, OHG *sāmi-* 'half'.

The meaning shifted from '(in) one' > 'one of the two' > 'half'.

Bibl.: WH II: 512f., EM 612, IEW 905f., Leumann 1977: 488, Beekes 1995: 190, Meiser 1998: 177, Untermann 2000: 663f. → *lībra, sem-, similis*

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.+), *senīlis* '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+).

PIt. *seno-* 'old; old man', *sen-ek-* 'old man'. It. cognates: O. **senateís, senateis**, σενατηις, σενατηισ [gen.sg.] 'senate', borrowed from Latin *senātus*.

PIE *sen-(o-) 'old'. IE cognates: OIr. *sen*, W. *hen* 'old' < PCl. *seno-*, Skt. *sána-*, Av. *hana-* 'old', Gr. ἕνος 'old, stale, of last year', Arm. *hin*, Lith. *sēnas*, Latv. *sęns*

'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. *senīlis* can also derive from an *o*-stem noun (cf. *erīlis, servīlis, puerīlis; iuvenīlis* not attested before Cic.), as can *senius, senium*. The nom.sg. has introduced a suffix *-ek-.

Bibl.: WH II: 513f., EM 613, IEW 907f., Schrijver 1991: 149-153, Sihler 1995: 319, Untermann 2000: 666.

sentīna 'bilge-water, bilge of a ship; the scum of society' [f. *ā*] (Cic.+)

Derivatives: *sentīnāre* '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.).

Plt. *sem-t-? *s(e)m-e/o- [pr.]?

PIE *semH- 'to scoop'. IE cognates: Olr. *do·essim* 'to pour out' (< *tu-eks-sem-e/o-), MW *gwehynnu* 'to pour out, empty' (< *u̯o-), OBret. *douohinnom* 'to scoop(?)' (< *tu-u̯o-sem-de/o-); Lith. *sémti* '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-elo- to a verb *per-s(e)m-e/o- 'to pour over'.

Bibl.: WH II: 291, 514f., EM 614, IEW 901f., Schumacher 2004: 569, LIV *semH-.
→ *simpu(v)ium*

sentiō, -īre 'to sense, feel' [v. IV; pf. *sensī*, ppp. *sēnsum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *sēnsim* 'slowly, tentatively' (Pl.+), *sensibilis* 'perceptible' (Lucr.+), *sēnsilis* 'capable of sensation' (Lucr.+), *īnsēnsilis* 'incapable of sensing' (Lucr.+), *sēnsus, -ūs* 'sensation, sense' (Varro+); *sententia* 'opinion, intention, decree' (Pl.+), *sentīscere* 'to begin to beware of' (Lucr.+); *assentārī* 'to agree, flatter' (Pl.+), *assentātiō* 'flattering' (Pl.+), *assentātrīx* 'woman who flatters' (Pl.), *assentātiuncula* 'piece of flattering' (Pl.), *assentīre* 'to agree, approve' (Pl.+), *cōnsentāneus* 'fitting, appropriate' (Pl.+), *cōnsentīre* 'to agree, be in harmony' (Lucr.+), *dissentīre* 'to disagree; differ' (Pac.+), *dissēnsiō* 'disagreement' (Varro+), *persentīre* 'to be fully conscious of' (Acc.+), *persentīscere* 'to become fully conscious of' (Pl.+).

Plt. *s(e)nt-ije/o- / *s(e)nt-(e)i-.

PIE *snt-ie/o- or *sént-i-/*snt-éi- 'to notice'. IE cognates: Lith. *sintéti*, 3s. *siñti* 'to think', OCS *sęstъ* 'sensible, wise' < BSl. *s(e)nt- 'think'; *sent- 'go' in Olr. *sét* 'road' < *sentu-, PGm. *sandjan- 'to send', *sinþa- '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 *sentientia*. 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 515f., EM 614, IEW 908, Leumann 1977: 232, Meiser 2003: 121, LIV *sent-. → *nota*

sepeliō, -īre 'to bury' [v. IV; *sepelī(v)ī, sepultum*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *sepelībilis* 'in conditions to be buried' (Pl.+); *sepulcrum* 'tomb, grave' (Pl.+), *sepultūra* 'burial' (Lucr.+).

Plt. **sepel-je/o-* 'to bury', **sepel-to-* 'buried', **sepel-tlo-* 'grave'.

PIE **sepel-ie/o-* 'to honour'. IE cognates: Skt. *saparyáti* 'to honour, worship'; Skt. pr. *sápanti* [3p.act.], pf. *sepur* 'to take care, honour', OAv. *haptī* [3s.pr.act.] 'watches, restrains himself, preserves'; *hafšī* [2s.pr.act.] 'you hold(?)'; Gr. ἕπω '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 *sepelīre* could be a denom. to an adj. **sepelo-*, this cannot be the case for Skt. *saparyáti*; and I find it unlikely that an adj. **sep-elo-* yielded a noun **sepeli-* in PIE already from which, also in PIE, a verb **sepeli-ie/o-* was derived. Hence, the formation **sepel-ie/o-* must be old. Lat. *sepultus* and *sepulcrum* probably have analogical *sepul-* < **sepel-to-*, *-tlo-* (on the model of, e.g., *hauriō – haustus*).

Bibl.: WH II: 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+); *septingentī* '700' (Pl.+), *september, -bris* [adj.] 'of the seventh month' (Afran.+), *septentriōnēs* [m.pl.] 'Ursa Maior; the north' (Pl.+), *septentriōnālis* 'northern' (Varro+), *septunx, -uncis* 'seven-twelfths' (Varro+), *septēnī* [adj.pl.] 'seven apiece' (Pl.+); *septuāgintā* 'seventy' (Varro+), *septuennis* 'seven years old' (Pl.+).

Plt. **septm̥, *septmo-*.

PIE **septm̥* 'seven', **s(e)ptm-ó-* 'seventh'. IE cognates: OIr. *secht n-*, W. *saith*, Hit. *šiptamiia-* [n.] 'liquid from seven substances' < **septm-io-*, *šaptaminzu* [adj?] 'sevenfold?' < **sptm-in-*; Skt. *saptá* 'seven', *saptátha-*, *saptamá-* 'seventh', Av. *hapta-* 'seven', *haptaθa-* 'seventh', Gr. ἑπτά 'seven', Lith. *septynì*, OCS *sedmь*, Go. *sibun* 'id.'.

In *septuāgintā* < **septm-dk(o)mt-*, the *-ā-* stems from the other decads, but *-u-* most likely arose phonetically: **septmā-* > **septumā-* > **septuwā-* (Coleman 1992: 402). A similar antevocalic development is found in *septuennis*. *Septingentī* can be phonetic from **septengentoi* < **septm-dkmt-oi*.

Bibl.: WH II: 517f., EM 615, IEW 909, Coleman 1992: 395f., Sihler 1995: 414, 422, 431, Beekes 1995: 214-216, Meiser 1998: 171-175.

sequor, sequī 'to follow' [v. III; pf. *secūtus sum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *sequāx* 'following closely' (Lucr.+), *secta* 'course, line, system' (Naev.+), *sectārī* 'to pursue, accompany' (Pl.+), *sectārius* 'a wether followed by the flock' (Pl.+), *seetātor* 'follower, attendant' (Lucil.+); *assequī* 'to go after, achieve' (Pl.+), *assecuē* 'attentively' (Pl.), *assectārī* 'to follow closely, escort' (Pl.+), *cōnsequī* 'to follow, overtake, achieve' (Pl.+), *cōnsectārī* 'to seek, pursue' (Pl.+), *cōnsequē* 'consequently' (Lucr.), *exsequī* 'to follow, pursue, carry out' (Pl.+), *exsequiae* [f.pl.] 'funeral procession' (Ter.+), *īnsectārī* 'to chase, harry', *īnsequī* 'to follow closely'

(Lucr.+), *obsequī* 'to comply with, devote oneself' (Pl.+), *obsequium* 'compliance, service' (Pl.+), *obsequella* 'compliance, obedience' (Pl.+), *obsequiōsus* 'compliant' (Pl.), *obsecula* [f.] 'devotee' (Laevı), *pedisequus* 'male attendant' (Pl.+), *pedisequa* 'female attendant' (Pl.+), *persectārī* 'to follow up, investigate' (Pl.+), *persequī* 'to follow persistently, seek out' (Pl.+), *prōsequī* 'to accompany, furnish' (Pl.+), *subsequī* 'to follow close behind' (Pl.+); *secundus* 'following, second' (Pl.+), *secundāre* 'to make favourable for travel, prosper' (Lucil.+), *secundārius* 'of the second grade or size' (Cato+), *īnsecundus* 'next in order' (Pl.), *obsecundāre* 'to act in compliance' (Ter.+).

Plt. *sekʷ-e/o-* 'to follow', *sekʷ-to-* 'followed', *sekʷondo-* 'following'.

PIE *sekʷ-e/o-* [med.] 'to follow, accompany'. IE cognates: OIr. *seichidir** 'to follow' < *sekʷ-ī-* << *sekʷ-e/o-*; Skt. pr. *sácate, sişakti* 'to follow, go after', Av. *haca-* 'to accompany', Gr. ἕπομαι 'to follow'; Lith. *sèkti*, Latv. *sekt* 'to follow, go after'; Go. *saiƕan* 'to see'.

The original ppp. *sekto-* yielded the denominal verb *sectārī* and its derivatives, and was subsequently replaced by *secūtus* on the model of the verbs in *-uō*. 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-. → *īnsece, secus, socius*

serēnus 'clear, unclouded' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)
　　Derivatives: *serēscere* 'to become dry' (Lucr.).
　　Plt. *(k)seró-* 'dry'.
　　PIE *Kseh₁-ró-* 'dry'. IE cognates: Gr. ξηρός 'dry, arid', ξερόν [n.] 'dry land', OHG *serawēn*, MHG NHG *serben* 'to dry out'.

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.

Bibl.: WH II: 520, EM 616f., IEW 625, Schrijver 1991: 338, Meiser 1998: 75.

sērius 'important, serious' [adj. *o/ā*] (Naev.+)
　　Plt. *sēr-jo-*.
　　PIE *seh₁-ro-* 'slow, heavy'.

Schrijver suscribes 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-*: *sewērio-* > *sērio-*. However, according to the established rule (cf. Meiser 1998: 92), the preform accented as *sewério-* 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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 521, EM 617, IEW 1150f., Schrijver 1991: 126. → *sērus*

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.+), *sēminārius* 'of seed' (Cato+), *sēmentis* [f.] 'sowing, crop' (Pl.+), *sēmentīvus* 'of. sowing-time' (Cato+); *sator* 'sower, founder' (Pl.+), *satīvus* 'cultivated' (Varro+), *satiō* 'sowing, planting' (Cato+); *asserere* 'to plant near' (Cato+), *cōnserere* 'to plant, strew thickly' (Pl.+), *disserere* 'to plant at intervals' (Varro+), *īnserere* 'to plant, graft on' (Andr.+), *interserere* 'to plant between' (Lucr.+), *obserere* 'to sow, plant' (Pl.+), *reserere* 'to replant' (Varro+); *Cōnsīvius* 'a god who presided over procreation' (Varro).

PIt. **si-se/o-* 'to sow', aor. **sē-*, ppp. **sato-* 'sown', **sēmn* 'seed'. It. cognates: O. **seemunei** [dat.sg.], Pael. *semunu* [gen.pl.?], a deity; possibly U. **sehmeniar**, *sehemeniar* [gen.sg.], **seme.nies**, *sehmenier* [dat.abl.pl.] '?', kind a feast or gathering.

PIE **si-shₗ-e/o-* [pr.] 'to sow', **sehₗ-/*shₗ-* [aor.], **shₗ-to-*; **sehₗ-mn* [n.] 'seed'. IE cognates: Lith. *sė́ti*, Latv. *sēt* 'to sow', Lith. *sė́menys* 'linseed, flaxseed', OCS *sěti*, SCr. *sijati* 'to sow', OCS *sěmę* 'seed'; Go. *saian* 'to sow'.

According to Leumann 1977: 345, *sēmentis* may have been reshaped from earlier **sēmentom*. The reduplicated present is traditionally reconstructed as **si-s(é)hₗ-*; 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. **sé-sohₗ/shₗ-*; yet such presents usually show the *o*-grade in the daughter languages.

Bibl.: WH II: 512, 522, EM 6]7f., IEW 889-891, Schrijver 1991: 94, 412, Meiser 1998: 192, 205, Untermann 2000: 660, 662f., LIV **sehₗ-*.

serō, -ere 2 'to link, join' [v. III; pf. *seruī*, ppp. *sertum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: (1) *seriēs* 'series, sequence' (Varro+), *serīlia* [n.pl.] 'plaited material' (Pac.+); *asserere* 'to lay claim to' (Pl.+), *cōnserere* 'to join, engage in' (Pl.+), *dēserere* '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.+), *ēdissertāre* 'to relate in detail' (Pl.+), *īnserere* 'to put in, introduce' (Andr.+; Andr. *īnserinuntur*), *trānsserere* 'to insert and pass through' (Cato+), *praesertim* 'above all, especially' (Pl.+); (2) *sera* 'detachable bar, rail' (Pl.+), *obserāre* 'to bolt, fasten' (Ter.+); (3) *sermō* 'speech, talk' (Pl.+), *sermōcinārī* 'to hold a conversation' (Cato+), *sermōnātus, -ūs* 'talk, conversation' (Pl.).

PIt. **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. εἴρω 'to knit together', aor. εἶραι, ἔρσαι, ἔρματα pl. 'earhangers'; OLith. *sėris* 'thread'; OIc. *sørvi* [n.] 'collar' < PGm. **saruija-*, Go. *sarwa* [n.pl.] < PGm. **sarua-?* ToB *ṣarm* [n.], ToA *ṣurm* 'motive, cause; basis, ground' < **s(u)er-mn*.

Sermō cannot be connected with O. **sverrunei** [dat.sg.] because of initial *sv-* (**swermōn* 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

ie-present.

Bibl.: WH I: 356, II: 520-523, EM 616-619, IEW 911, 1049, Barton 1987, Untermann 2000: 127, Meiser 2003: 126, LIV 2.*ser-. → *sors*

serpō, -ere 'to crawl, glide' [v. III; pf. *serpsī*, ppp. *serptum*] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: *serpēns* [f./m.] 'snake, serpent' (Cato+), *serpullum* 'any sort of thyme' (Cato+); *disserpere* 'to spread outwards' (Lucr.+), *prōserpere* 'to creep out' (Pl.+).

PIt. *serpe/o-.

PIE *serp-e/o- 'to creep'. IE cognates: Skt. *sárpati* 'to creep, crawl', *sarpá-* [m.] 'snake, adder', Gr. ἕρπω 'to creep, crawl, go', ἑρπετόν [n.], Aeol. ὄρπετον 'animal that goes on all fours', ἕρπυλλος [m. f.] 'tufted thyme', Alb. *gjarpër* 'snake' (< *sérpe/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+).

PIt. *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.+)

PIt. *sero- [n.] 'liquid'.

PIE *sér-o- [n.] 'flowing, liquid'. IE cognates: Skt. *sará-* 'flowing, liquid' < *séro-, *punaḥ-sara-* [adj.] 'running back', pr. *sisarṣi* 'flows, runs'; Gr. ὀρός [m.] 'the watery part of curdled milk, whey' < *soró-* 'flower, runner'.

Serum could be cognate with Skt. *sará-* 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.+).

PIt. *sēro- '(too) late'.

PIE *seh₁-ro- 'long-lasting; late'. IE cognates: OIr. *sír* 'lasting, eternal', W. Co. Bret. *hir* 'long'.

The root cannot be identified as the root of Skt. *sā-, *sya-* 'to tie', which is *sh₂-.

Bibl.: WH II: 526f., EM 620, IEW 889-891, Schrijver 1991: 140, 527, LIV 1.*seh₁(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.+); *cōnservus* 'fellow slave' (Pl.+), *cōnserva* 'female fellow slave' (Pl.+), *cōnservitium* 'fellowship in slavery' (Pl.); (2) *servīre* 'to serve as a slave, be subject' (Pl.+), *servīlis* 'of a slave' (Lex XII+), *servīliculus* 'mean and cringing' (Pl.); *īnservīre* 'to attach oneself to, take care of' (Pl.+), *praeservīre* 'to be in attendance as a slave' (Pl.+), *subservīre* 'to behave as a servant' (Naev.+); (3) *servāre* 'to watch over, look after; observe' (Pl.+), *servātor* 'saviour, preserver' (Pl.+), *servātrīx* 'protectress' (Ter.+); *asservāre* 'to keep safe, watch' (Pl.+), *cōnservāre* 'to keep from danger, keep unchanged' (Pl.+), *observāre* 'to observe, watch, abide by' (Pl.+), *observātiō* 'surveillance, observance' (Pl.+).

PIt. **serwo-* [m.] 'shepherd', **serwo-* [n.] / **serwā-* [f.] 'observation'. It. cognates: (1) O. **serevkidimaden** [abl.sg.], σερευκιδιμαμ [acc.sg.] < **serwV-* 'watching'?; (2) U. **šeritu**, *seritu, serituu* [3s.ipv.II] 'to observe' < **ser(w)ī-* (cf. Martzloff 2006: 634); U. *anseriaia* [1s.pr.sb.], *aserio* [2s.ipv.], **azeriatu**, *aseriatu* [3s.ipv.II], **anzeriatu**, *anseriato, aseriato* [sup.], **anzeriates**, *aseriater* [ppp. abl.pl.f.] 'to watch (birds)' < **an-seriā-*, denom. verb to **an-ser-iom* '(bird-)watch'; U. *ooserclome* [acc.sg. + *-en*] n. 'watch-tower' vel sim. (not specifically for watching birds), maybe **op-seri-tlo-m*.

PIE **ser-u-o-* 'guardian', **ser-u-o/h₂-* 'protection'. IE cognates: Av. *haraiti* 'heeds, protects', *hauruua-* 'id.', *haūrμua-* 'protecting' (*pasuš-hauruuō spā* 'sheep-dog'), *haratar-* 'guardian', *hāra-* 'guarding'; possibly Gr. οὖρος [m.] 'watcher, guard(ian)' < **sor-μo-*, Gr. ὁράω 'to look, perceive, see', Ion. also ὁρέω (Hdt.), Aeol. ὄρημι, 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 **serwā-* or **serwom* 'observation, heedance'. The stem **ser-u-* would be a *u*-stem to the root **ser-*, which is also found in Avestan.

Bibl.: WH II: 525-527, EM 619-621, IEW 910, Meiser 1986: 192f., Rix 1994a, Untermann 2000: 104f., 669f., 816f., LIV 1.*ser-.

sētius 'later, to a lesser degree' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **sēto-*.

PIE **seh₁-to-* 'late, slow'. IE cognates: OIr. *sith-* 'continuous', *sithithir* 'as long as', W. *hyd*, Co. Bret. *hes* 'length' < **situ/i-* 'length'; OE *sīd* 'long', OHG *sīto* 'lax' < **s(e)h₁-i-to-*, OE *sīð*, 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-* '(too) late'.

Bibl.: WH II: 527, EM 621, IEW 889-891, Schrijver 1991: 140, LIV 1.*seh₁(i)-. → *sērus*

sevĕrus 'stern, strict, severe' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *sevēritās* 'sternness, seriousness' (Ter.+), *sevēritūdō* 'seriousness' (Pl.+), *assevērāre* 'to declare, affirm' (Pl.+).

PIt. **seχwēro-* 'steadfast'.　　　•

PIE **seǵʰ-ur/-un-* 'holding'. IE cognates: Skt. *sáhuri-* 'victorious, strong' (RV) < PIE **soǵʰ-ur*, Skt. *sáhvan-* 'powerful', Gr. ἐχυρός 'strong, secure', ἐνέχυρον 'pledge, security', ὀχυρός 'strong, secure', maybe σϑένος [n.] 'strength, power' < **sǵʰ-u̯en-* (Nussbaum 1998b: 525).

WH and Meiser 1998 explain *sevērus* as a compound of **swe-* 'apart, away' and **wēro-* 'true' < ***'friendly, nice'. However, the semantics are difficult. Lat. *vērus* means 'real, true', and in view of the Celtic, Gm. and BSl. 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 **seǵʰ-u̯er-o-* [adj.] 'steadfast, tough', a possessive *o*-derivative of a hysterokinetic nom.-acc. **seǵʰu̯ēr* 'steadfastness, toughness'". The latter formation can be interpreted as a collective derived from a n. **seǵʰ-ur/-uen-* 'holding'.

Bibl.: WH II: 528, EM 621, IEW 1165f., Meiser 1998: 82, LIV **seǵʰ-*.

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; innumerably many' (Pl.+), *sēmestris* '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+).

PIt. **seks* 'six', **seks-to-* 'sixth'. It. cognates: Ven. **segtos* in PN **segtio[i]** 'Sextiō', U. **sestentasiaru** [gen.pl.f.] '?', maybe name of a day < **seks-to-* 'sixth', cf. O. *deken-t-asio-*; maybe O. **sehsík[** [nom.sg.?] < **seks-* if to Lat. *sextārius* 'measure'.

PIE **(s)ueks* 'six', **uks-ó-* 'sixth'. IE cognates: OIr. *sé*, MW *chwech* 'six', Skt. *ṣáṣ-* 'six', *ṣóḍaśa* 'sixteen', YAv. *xšuuaš* 'six', *xšuuaš.dasa-* 'the sixteenth'; Gr. ἕξ, Dor. ϝέξ, Arm. *vecʿ*, Alb. *gjashtë*, Lith. *šeši*, OCS *šestь*, Po. *sześć*, Go. *saihs* 'six'.

The forms *sēdecim*, *sēnī* and *sēmestris* 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 *quadrāgintā*. The PIt. form **seks* has analogically dropped **-w-* from **sweks* by analogy with **septm* 'seven'.

Bibl.: WH II: 528f., EM 621, IEW 1044, Lejeune 1974: 338, Coleman 1992: 395, Sihler 1995: 413, Beekes 1995: 213-216, Meiser 1998: 171, Untermann 2000: 664, 671f., Lubotsky 2000.

sexus 'gender, sex' [m. *u*] (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 *sectiō* 'division' suggests that *sec/xus* might derive from *secāre* '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. → *secō*

sī, sīc 'if' [cj.] (Lex XII, Andr.+; CIL *sei, nisei*)

Derivatives: *sīc* 'thus, so' (Naev.+), *sīn* 'but if' (Pl.+), *sīve, seu* 'or if, whether' (Pl.+), *nisī* 'except if, unless, but that, but' (Pl.+).

PIt. **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 PIt. **sei* was 'so', which developed into a conditional. The older meaning is preserved in the expression *sī dīs 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 **ę̄* (< **ei*) > *ī*.

Bibl.: WH II: 530, EM 622, IEW 978f., Leumann 1977: 470, Meiser 1998: 59, Untermann 2000: 667, 721f., 725f. → *ipse, so-*

sībilus 'hissing sound' [m. *o*] (Pac.+)

Derivatives: *sībilāre* 'to hiss' (Pl.+), *sūbulō* 'flutist' (Enn.+).

The date of attestation suggests that *sībilāre* is older than *sībilus*. Probably onomatopoeic for a sound *sīb-* (or *sī-*, with a suffix **-blo-*). 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 531f., 620, EM 622, IEW 1040f., Leumann 1977: 550f., Steinbauer 1989: 260, Schrijver 1991: 75.

sībus 'clever' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *persībus* 'very shrewd' (Naev.+).

In view of the meaning, and since a ppa. **sēp-us-* occurs in Sabellic (O. *sipus*), *sībus* 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. → *sapiō*

sīca 'dagger' [f. *ā*] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *sīcārius* 'assassin' (Cic.+); *sicīlis* [f.] 'sickle' (Enn.+), *sicīlicula* 'small sickle' (Pl.), *sicīlīre* 'to go over with a sickle' (Varro+), *sicīlīmenta, -ōrum* 'sickle-cuttings' (Cato+).

There is no way to connect *sīc-* '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/ā*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *siccāre* 'to dry (tr./intr.)' (Cato+), *siccitās* 'dryness' (Pl.+), *siccoculus* 'having dry eyes' (Pl.); *exsiccāre* 'to make dry, drain' (Enn.+).

PIt. **siskwo-?*

PIE **si-sk-u-* 'dry'? IE cognates: MIr. *sesc* 'dry, barren, infertile', MW *hysp* 'dry' < **siskuV-*; Skt. *á-saścuṣī-* 'not drying up', Av. *hišku-* 'dry', Khot. *ṣkala* 'dry places', Gr. ἔσκετο φωνή 'the voice broke down', ἰσχνός 'dry, arid'; Lith. *sèkti* 'to lower oneself, sink, dry out'.

The other IE languages point to a root **sek-* 'to dry up', from which Skt. has, among others, a ppa. **se-sk-us-*, whereas Avestan and Celtic rather point to an adj. **si-sk-u-*. The latter would normally yield **siscus* in Latin, or, if thematized (as happened in Celtic), **siskuwos*. 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 **seik^w-* 'to pour', positing **sik^w-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-.

sīdō, -ere 'to sit down, settle' [v. III; *sēdī/sīdī, sessum*] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: *assīdere* 'to sit down' (Pl.+), *cōnsīdere* 'to sit down, settle' (Varro+), *dēsīdere* 'to sink, settle down' (Cato+), *īnsīdere* 'to sit or settle upon, penetrate' (Naev.+), *obsīdere* 'to besiege' (Lucr.+), *persīdere* 'to sink right in' (Lucr.+), *possīdere* 'to take hold of' (Naev.+), *resīdere* 'to take one's seat, sink back' (Pl.+), *subsīdere* 'to squat, settle down' (Pl.+).

PIt. **sizd-e/o-* 'to sit down'. It. cognates: U. **sistu**, *andersistu* [3s.ipv.II], *sesust*, *andersesus<t>* [3s.fut.pf.] 'to sit down', with *ander-* 'to sit down between'.

PIE **si-sd-e/o-* 'to sit down'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *sīdati*, Av. *hiδa-* 'to sit down', Gr. ἵζω 'id.', Arm. *nsti-* (< **ni-sisde-*) 'to sit'; OPr. *sindants* 'sitting', OCS *sěsti*, 1s. *sędǫ* 'to sit down' < **sind-* << **sizd-*.

The compound verbs are attested earlier than the simplex *sīdō*.

Bibl.: WH II: 509, EM 610f., IEW 884-887, Untermann 2000: 680f., LIV **sed-. → *sedeō*

sīdus, -eris 'heavenly body; star' [n. *r*] (Acc., Varro+)

Derivatives: *cōnsīderāre* 'to examine, contemplate' (Pl.+), *dēsīderāre* 'to miss (Pl.); to desire (younger)', *dēsīderium* 'desire' (Enn.+).

PIt. **sīd/pos-* [n.] 'mark, target'.

The old connection with **sueid-* 'to shine' is not very specific. According to Rix 1985: 345ff., *sīdus* and Gr. ἰθύς 'straight, just' represent a secondary development of the root PIE **seHd^h-* 'to achieve a goal'. The verb *cōnsīderāre* would mean 'to concentrate on

a goal', *dēsīderāre* '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 PIt. noun **sīpos* 'mark, target', and supposes the verbs to stem from hunters' jargon: *con-sīder-āre* 'to direct one's missile', *dē-sīder-āre* he interprets as denominal from a cp. **dē-sīdes-* 'mark-less, missing the mark'. This explanation is semantically satisfactory, but the connections outside Latin are unclear. Rix connects Gr. ἰθύς, but this just means 'straight, just', without a clear connotation of 'mark, target'; furthermore, Cretan f. εἰθεῖα may point to PGr. **εἰθύς* (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 **seHdʰos-* '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 *shₐi-dʰhₐ-o- 'binding' to *shₐ-i- 'to tie, fasten' (cf. *saeculum*), whence a n. *s*-stem *shₐidʰhₐos- 'binding post, pole' > PIt. **sīpos-* 'goal'.

Bibl.: WH II: 534, EM 623f., IEW 1042, LIV *seHdʰ-.

sīgnum 'mark, sign' [n. *o*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *sīgnāre* 'to mark with a sign, indicate, seal' (Pl.+), *sigillum* 'statuette, relief' (Varro+), *sigillātus* 'decorated with figures in relief' (Varro+); *īnsīgnis* 'clearly visible, remarkable' (Ter.+), *īnsigne* [n.] 'personal decoration, mark' (Pl.+), *īnsīgnītus* 'marked, remarkable' (Pl.+); *cōnsīgnāre* 'to seal (a document)' (Pl.+), *dēsīgnāre* 'to mark out, plan' (Pl.+), *dissīgnātor* 'who assigns seats' (Pl.+), *exsīgnāre* 'to certify (by seal) as authentic' (Pl.+), *obsīgnāre* 'to affix a seal to' (Pl.+); *significāre* 'to indicate by signs, mean' (Pl.+), *significātiō* 'meaning, sense' (Varro+).

PIt. **sekno-* 'statue, sign'. It. cognates: Marr. *asignas* [nom.pl.] 'cut meat' < **ā-sek-nā*; O. **segúnú**, σεγονω [acc.pl.], **se[g]únúm** [acc.sg.] 'statue' < **sek-no-* [n.]; O. **seganatted** [3s.pf.] 'signāvit', denom. to O. *segno-*. Possibly also Mars. *seino*, *seinq* [acc.pl.?] 'statue?'.

PIE *sek(h₂)-no- 'cut' [adj./n.]. IE cognates: see s.v. *secō*.

The etymological appurtenance to *secō* '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-* > PIt. **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-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 534f., EM 624, IEW 895f., Meiser 1998: 81, Untermann 2000: 129, 661f., 664f., LIV *sekH-. → *secō*

sileō 'to be silent, be quiet' [v. II; pf. *siluī*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *silēscere* 'to become silent' (Ter.+), *silentium* 'silence, quiet' (Pl.+), *silentus* 'silent' (Laev. apud Gell.), *consilēscere* 'to fall silent' (Pl.+).

PIt. **silo-* 'quiet, silent', **silē-* 'to be quiet, silent'.

PIE *sh₁₂i-ló- 'silent'. IE cognates: Go. *ana-silan* 'to become quiet' (pret.3s. *sa winds anasilaida* 'the wind dropped') < *sil-ē-, OE *sālnès(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 *sh₁i- (or *sh₂i-). This requires a trivial semantic development from 'to let go' > 'to come to rest'. If *sileō* was based on an adj. *silo- 'letting go, quiet', this could be phonetically derived from *sHi-ló- or *siH-ló- (cf. Schrijver 1991: 248f., 343), with a pretonic first syllable. In Gm., we find a root *sil-, *sail- meaning 'quiet, silent', which can be from PIE *sHi- or *siH- if in pretonic position. Hence, Italic and Germanic can both reflect a PIE adj. *sHi-ló-.

Bibl.: WH II: 535f., EM 625, IEW 889-891, LIV 1.*seh₁(i)-.

silex, -icis 'hard rock, flint, lava' [m. *k*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *siliceus* 'of silex' (Cato+), *siliqua* 'pod; carob-tree' (Varro+), *silicula* '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 *skolьka* 'muscle', which rather belongs to Lith. *skalà* 'match, rod', OHG *scala*, Alb. *halë* < *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-īgō* 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.+), *simulātiō* 'pretence' (Ter.+), *similitās* 'resemblance' (Caecil.+), *similitūdō* 'resemblance, image' (Pac.+); *assimilis* 'closely resembling' (Pl.+), *assimu/ilāre* 'to pretend, feign, copy' (Pl.+), *cōnsimilis* 'similar' (Pl.+), *dissimilis* 'unlike' (Pl.+), *dissimu/ilāre* 'to conceal, disguise' (Pl.+), *īnsimulāre* 'to accuse, charge' (Pl.+).

PIt. *semali- 'alike, together'. It. cognates: maybe U. **sumel** [adv.] if 'simultaneously' < *somel (or *sṃli, Livingston 2004: 34).

PIE *smh₂-el-i-. IE cognates: OIr. *samail*, W. *hafal* 'similar, like', Gr. ὁμαλός

'equal, level, smooth', Go. *simle* 'one time, once', OE *simbel*, OHG *simble* 'always'.

Simul and *semul* reflect **semali* [n.], with more recent *sim-* probably stemming from *similis*. *Similis* < **semilis* < **semalis*.

Bibl.: WH II: 538-540, EM 626, IEW 902-905, Schrijver 1991: 218, Meiser 1998: 176. → *sem-*, *sēmi-*, *singulī*

simpu(v)ium 'earthenware ladle used in religious ceremonies' [n. *o*] (Acta Arvalia, Varro+)

Derivatives: *simpulum* 'earthenware ladle' (Plin.+).

IE cognates: Gr. σιπύη (-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. σιπύη 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 540f., EM 627, Leumann 1977: 136, Meiser 1998: 81. → *sentīna*

sincērus '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 *caeri-mōnia* '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 PIt. **kairo-* or **kaiso-*; in either case, we are reminded of **keh₂i-lo-* as attested in PGm. **χaila-* and OCS *cělъ* 'whole', and maybe in Lat. *caelum*.

Bibl.: WH II: 541f., EM 627, Hiltbrunner 1958: 106-154. → *caerimonia*, *caelum*, *sem-*

sine 'without' [prep.] (Pl.+)

PIt. **sn(H)i.*

PIE **snh₁-i* [loc.sg.?]. IE cognates: OIr. *sain-* 'especially, different', W. *han-* 'separate' < PCl. **sani* < **snHi*; Skt. *samutár* [adv.] 'away, aside' < s(e)nH-u-, OAv. *hanarə* 'without', Gr. ἄνευ [adv.] 'far from, without' < **saneu* < **snh₁-eu*; Go. *sundro* 'apart, aside', OHG *suntar* 'without', ToA *sne*, ToB *snai* 'id.' < PTo. **snai* < **snHi.*

Bibl.: WH II: 542f., EM 627f., IEW 907, Schrijver 1991: 218.

singulī '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-gʰ-* 'single'.

The older etymology as **sem-ǵno-* to the root **ǵenh₁-* 'to be born' must be dismissed. Meiser suggests that *singulī* contains a distributive particle **-gʰ-*, and was later suffixed with **-lo-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 544, EM 628, IEW 373-375, Leumann 1977: 494, Sihler 1995: 436, Meiser 1998: 177.

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. *sībilāre*, 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 **sengʷʰ-* '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.

Bibl.: WH II: 542, EM 628, Leumann 1977: 354.

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. *sanóti*, pf. *sasā́na* 'to win, gain', *go-sáni-* [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 **senh₁-* 'to obtain' (Skt. *sanóti*), which would imply something like 'the more favourable (side)' for **senH-is-tero-* > *sinister*. This remains gratuitous, because the semantics are not specific enough.

Bibl.: WH II: 544, EM 628, Leumann 1977: 317, Sihler 1995: 40.

sinō, -ere 'to leave alone, let be, allow' [v. III; pf. *sī(v)ī*, ppp. *situm*] (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', **sito-* 'placed'.

PIE **tkei- / *tki-* 'to build'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *kṣéti* [3s.act.], *kṣiyánti* [3p.act.],

kṣáyat [3s.sb.act.] 'to live, stay', OAv. *šaēiti̅.* 'he lives', *šiieiṇti* 'they are on somebody's side', Myc. *ki-ti-je-si /ktijensi/* 'they live', Gr. κτίζειν, κτίσσαι 'to found, build', (ἐυ)κτίμενος 'well to live'.

Note the difference in meaning between the adj. *situs* 'placed' (which matches that of *pōnō* < **po-sinō*) and the meaning of the verb and its ppp. 'to leave, let'. The pf.sb. *sīr-ī-* is explain by Meiser 2003 from **sei-s-ī-*, whereas Leumann 1977 regards it as a contracted form of the pf.sb. *sīverīs* etc. The root reconstruction is disputed. LIV hesitates between a root **sh₁i-* 'to let go', for which the IE evidence is slim (the IIr. forms rather mean 'to bind', and can be reconstructed as **sh₂i-*), and **tki-* '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' > *pōnere* '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, pōnō*) > '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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 545, EM 628f., IEW 889-891, Leumann 1977: 600, Sihler 1995: 534, Meiser 1998: 184, 2003: 124, LIV 1.*seh₁(i̯)-, *tek-, *tkei-. → *pōnō, sileō*

sinus 'cavity, fold, breast' [m. *u*] (Ter.+)
Derivatives: *īnsimuāre* 'to work oneself into favour, make one's way in' (Pl.+).
Plt. **sinu-*.
PIE **sinu-?* IE cognates: Alb. *gji, -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. *stetī*, 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.+), *īnsistere* 'to stand on, proceed with' (Pl.+), *resistere* 'to pause, offer resistance' (Pl.+), *subsistere* 'to stand firm, stop short' (Pl.+).

Plt. **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. **statús** [ppp nom.pl.m.], Vol. *statom* [nom.acc.sg.n.] 'to place, put, found', maybe 'determine'; Vol. *sistiatiens* [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' < **sistā-* derived from **sista/o-*.

PIE **sti-sth₂-(e/o-)* 'to put up, make to stand'. IE cognates: Celtib. *sistat* 'erects (?)', OIr. *sissidir*, -sissedar* 'to stand strong' < PCl. **sista/o-*, OIr. *sessam* 'standing', MW *gwaessaf* 'support' < **sistamu-* [m.]; Skt. pr. *tíṣṭhati*, YAv. *hištaiti* 'to stand', OP *aištatā* (< **a-hišta-*) [3s.ipf.]; Gr. ἵστημι, Dor. ἵστᾱμι '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.
Bibl.: WH II: 597f., EM 651-654, IEW 1004-1010, Schrijver 1991: 412, Untermann 2000: 672-680, Meiser 2003: 189f., Schumacher 2004: 571f., LIV *steh₂-. → *stō*

sitis 'thirst' [f. *i*] (Pl.+)
   Derivatives: *sitīre* 'to be thirsty' (Pl.+).
   PIt. **(k)siti-.   •
   PIE **dʰgʷʰi-ti-* 'destruction, perishing'. IE cognates: Skt. *kṣay-* 'to destroy, perish',
YAv. *jināiti* 'destroys', *ajiiamna-* 'undiminishing', Gr. hom. φθίνω, Att. φθίνω 'to
vanish, perish', aor. ἔφθιτο.

   Apparently, the PIE cluster **dʰgʷʰ-* metathesized into **gʷʰdʰ-* in a prestage of Italic,
yielding **kþ-* and finally *s-*.
   Bibl.: WH II: 548, EM 629f., IEW 487, Meiser 1998: 96, LIV **dʰgʷʰi-*. → *situs*

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
course very speculative.
   Bibl.: WH II: 549, EM 630, IEW 487, Meiser 1998: 96, LIV **dʰgʷʰi-*. → *sitis*

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. **praistakla-sa** [nom.acc.pl.n.].
   PIE **so* [nom.sg.m.], **seh₂* [nom.sg.f.], **tod* [nom.acc.sg.n.] 'this, that'. IE cognates:
Celtib. *somui* [dat.sg.m.], *somei* [loc.sg.], OIr. *so, -so, -siu* 'this, that' (< PIE **so*), Skt.
sá-/tá-, Av. *hā, ha-/ta-* 'this, he', Gr. ὁ [m.], ὅς [m.], ἡ [f.] 'this, he, she', oblique and n.
τ-; Lith. *tàs, tà*, OCS *tъ, ta* 'this, that'; Go. *sa* [m.], *so* [f.] 'this, he, she', obl. and n. *þ-*;
ToB *se* [m.], *sā* [f.] 'this, the'.

   PIE **s-/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.
   Bibl.: WH II: 550, EM 630, IEW 978f., Leumann 1977: 470, Sihler 1995: 395,
Beekes 1995: 202-204, Schrijver 1997b: 15, Meiser 1998: 164, Untermann 2000:
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*

'drunk'. The *ō* would seem to point to a preform **so-* or **swe-* (cf. Meiser 1986: 247f.), but such a preform is uncertain: the other instances of *sē-* can be explained from PIt. **se(d)-*. Weiss 1994 points to the relationship *terra : extorris*, and suggests that we may reconstruct **swe-obrios* based on **swe-og^{wh}ri-*. The result of contraction **eo* in initial syllable is unknown; if **swe-* became **so-* before the contraction, the result would almost certainly be *sō-*. But in that case, the preform could also be **se-obrio-*, with *seo- > sō-*. In a footnote, LIV refers to the suggestion by Rasmussen and Zeilfelder that *sōbrius* might reflect **se-h₃g^{wh}rio-* with **h₃*. Yet the semantic shift of **s(u̯)e* and/or **sēd* from 'per se, for itself' to 'without, away' is inner-Italic or inner-Latin, from a period when the different laryngeals were not distinguished anymore or had dropped altogether.

Bibl.: WH II: 550, EM 630, Schrijver 1991: 54, Weiss 1994, LIV **h₁eg^{uh}-*. → *ēbrius*

socer, -erī 'father-in-law' [m. *o*] (Naev.+; nom.sg. *socerus* Pl., dat.sg. *socrī* Naev.)
Derivatives: *socrus, -ūs* [f.] 'mother-in-law' (Enn.+; Naev.Acc. m. 'father-in-law').
PIt. **swekuro-* 'father-in-law', **swekrū-* 'mother-in-law'.
PIE **suékuro-* [m.] 'father-in-law', **su̯ekruh₂-* (< **suekurh₂*) [f.] 'mother-in-law'.
IE cognates: Skt. *śváśura-*, YAv. *x^vasura-*, Gr. ἑκυρός, Lith. *šẽšuras* (< **sešuras* by assimilation), OHG *swehur* [m.] 'father-in-law', NHG *Schwager* [m.] 'brother-in-law' (< **su̯ēkuró-* '*belonging to the father-in-law'); Skt. *śvaśrū́-*, Sogd. *'γwšh* , OCS *svekry* [f.], OHG *swigar* [f.] 'mother-in-law'.

The transition of the original *ū*-stem *socrus* to a nom.sg. in *-us* is explained by Leumann from iambic shortening, whereas Schrijver posits laryngeal loss in oblique case forms followed by analogical spread to the nom.sg. The similar change in *neptis* < **nept-iH-* suggests that Schrijver's solution is correct, since *neptis* cannot be explained from iambic shortening.

Bibl.: WH II: 550f., EM 631, IEW 1043f., Schrijver 1991: 259, Meiser 1998: 146.

socius 'companion, comrade' [m. *o*] (VOLat.+: Garigliano Bowl *sokiois* [abl.pl.]); gen.pl. *socium*; in verse and fixed formulas.
Derivatives: *socia* 'female partner' (Pl.+), *sociennus* 'partner' (Pl.), *societās* 'partnership, fellowship' (Enn.+); *cōnsociāre* 'to bring into alliance, associate' (Pl.+), *dissociāre* 'to separate' (Lucr.+).
PIt. **sokjo-*. It. cognates: Fal. **soc[iai]** [dat.sg.f.], **soclai** [voc.pl.f.] 'girlfriend, concubine'.
PIE **sok^w-(h₂)-i-o-* 'companion'. IE cognates: Skt. *sákhāy-* [m.] (*sákhā* [nom.sg.], *sákhāyam* [acc.sg.], *sákhye* [dat.sg.]), Av. *haxi-* (YAv. *haxa* [nom.sg.], *haše* [dat.sg.]) 'friend, companion' < PIE **sok^wh₂-oi-*; OIc. *seggr* 'man, warrior'; OE *secg* 'man, fellow, warrior' < PGm. **sayja-* < **sok^w-io-*.

The suffix of the hapax *sociennus* is unique; it is mostly explained as an Etruscan suffix which was added to the Latin base (Leumann 1977: 321). Whereas IIr. contains an *i*-stem derived from a collective **sok^w-h₂-* '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

o-stem derivatives from a noun *sokʷ-i-* 'comrades' or an adj. *sokʷ-i-* 'following'.

Bibl.: WH II: 551, EM 631, IEW 896f., Giacomelli 1963: 255f.; Schrijver 1991: 249, 259, Sihler 1995: 334, Meiser 1998: 98, LIV 1.*sekʷ-. → *sequor*

sodālis 'member of a fraternity' [m. *i*] (VOLat.+: nom.sg. *suodales* Lapis Satricanus)

Derivatives: *sodālitās* 'association, group' (Pl.+), *sodālicium* 'fraternity, partnership' (Lucil.+).

PIt. *swepāli-.

PIE *sue-dʰh₁- 'custom, to get accustomed'. IE cognates: Skt. *svadhā-* [f.] 'custom, peculiar nature' < *sue-dʰeh₁- (or *sue-dʰh₁-eh₂-?), Gr. ἔθος [n.] 'custom, usage' < (diss.) *héthos < *ϝέθος; Go. *sidus* [m.] 'custom' (< *s(u)e-dʰh₁-u-?).

An Italic derivative in *-āli-* of a stem *swedʰ-* < PIE *sue-dʰh₁- 'custom', a syntagm which is also reflected in Skt. and Gr. With a first member *suē* or *suehₗ*, it is also found in *suēscō* (see s.v.). An alternative etymology would be *swe-d-āli-* to Gr. ἴδιος, Dor. ϝίδιος, Arg. hίδιος 'own, private' < PGr. *ϝhεδιο- < *swedio-.

Bibl.: WH II: 552, EM 631f., IEW 882-884, Sihler 1995: 131, Stüber 2002: 155f. → *suēscō*

sōl, sōlis 'sun' [m. *l*] (Lex XII, Naev.+)

Derivatives: *sōlārium* 'part which is exposed to the sun, sundial' (Pl.+); *sōlstitium* 'solstice' (Cato+), *sōlstitiālis* 'of the summer solstice' (Pl.+).

PIt. *saul?

PIE *séh₂u-l [nom.acc.], *sh₂u-én- [obl.] 'sun' [n.]. IE cognates: W. *haul* 'sun'; OIr. *súil* [f.] 'eye' > *sūl-i-*, Skt. *svàr-* (*súvar-*) [n.] 'sun' (nom.sg. *svàr* (< *súHṛ < *sHur < *sh₂ul), gen.sg. *sūras*, dat.sg. *sūrē*) , OAv. *huuarə* [n.], gen.sg. *xᵛə̄ng* < *huuanh*; YAv. *huuarə*, gen.sg. *hū / hūrō*; Skt. *sūrya-* [m.] 'sun, deity of the sun', Gr. ep. ἠέλιος, Dor. Aeol. Arc. ἀέλιος, Dor. (trag.) also ἅλιος 'sun' < PGr. *σᾱϝέλιος < *seh₂-uel-io-; Lith. *sáulė*, Latv. *saũle*, OCS *slьnьce* [n.], Ru. *sólnce* < BSl. *saʔul-/*sʔul-; Go. *sauil* [n.], OIc. OE *sōl* [f.] < *seh₂-uel-o-, Go. *sunno*, OE *sunne* 'sun'.

The IE languages point to an ablauting n. *l/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 *sōl* continues the old n. nom.acc.sg., which later became m. (because of the gender of *mēnsis?*). It is uncertain, however, how Latin acquired *-ō-*. A preform *seh₂ul > *saul would normally be preserved as *saul* and *sh₂u-l would yield **sūl*. Kortlandt apud Beekes 1984: 6 suggests that *saul would have given *sōl* by sporadic development, conditioned by *-l*. Any form with *seh₂u- > *sāu- would be expected to yield **sāl*.

Bibl.: WH II: 553f., EM 632, IEW 881f., Schrijver 1991: 258, Sihler 1995: 84, Schrijver 1995: 422, Meiser 1998: 88.

soleō 'to be used to, be liable, cohabit with' [v. II; pf. *soluī* (Enn., Cato) / *solitus sum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *assolēre* 'to usually accompany' (Pl.+), *īnsolēns* 'unaccustomed,

unfamiliar' (Ter.+), *obsolēscere* 'to be forgotten about, become tarnished' (Varro+), *obsolētus* 'worn-out' (Cic.).

PIt. **sol-ē-* 'to occupy'.

PIE **sol-eh₁-* 'to occupy, inhabit'. IE cognates: see s.v. *solum*.

The etymology is disputed. The meaning is closest to *suēscō* and *sodālis*, so that WH and IEW prefer **sued^h-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/ā*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **solipo-*.

PIE **solh₂-i-d^hh₁-o-* 'entire'. IE cognates: see s.v. *salvus*.

The difference in semantics renders a derivation from *soleō* 'to be accustomed' unlikely, even though *-idus* adjectives often co-occur with statives in *-ēre*. It seems more likely that *solidus* derives from the same root **slh₂-* 'whole' as *salvus* and *sollus*.

Bibl.: WH II: 472, 555, EM 632f., IEW 979f., Nussbaum 1999a: 380. → *salvus*, *sollus*

solium 'high-backed chair, throne; bath-tub; sarcophagus' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *soliar, -āris* [n.] 'covering for a throne' (Varro+).

PIt. **sod-jo-*.

PIE **sod-io-* [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*.

Bibl.: WH II: 554, EM 633, IEW 884-887, Leumann 1977: 295, LIV *sed-. → *sedeō*

sollus 'unbroken, complete' [adj. *o/ā*] (Lucil., Fest.)

Derivatives: *sollistimum* 'satisfying the rites' (Cic.+), *sollemnis* 'performed in accordance with the prescriptions, solemn, customary' (Cato+), *sollemnitus* [adv.] 'solemnly' (Andr.); *sollers* 'clever, skilled' (Cato+), *sollicurius* '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.+),

sollicitātiō 'vexation, temptation' (Ter.+), *sollicitūdō* 'anxiety, concern' (Pl.+); *sŏlŏx* [adj.] 'coarse, raw' (Lucil.+).

PIt. *solno-* 'whole'. It. cognateš: O. **sullus** [nom.pl.m.], **sullum, sulum,** *solu* [gen.pl.m.], **s]ullas** [acc.pl.f.], Pael. *solois* [dat.pl.m.], O. **s]úllad** [abl.sg.f.], O. **suluh** [adv.] 'each, all, whole'; O. **súll[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' < *slH-no-*.

Nussbaum 1997 has convincingly argued that PIt. *sollo-* can reflect PIE *solh₂uo-; since there is no trace of a form *solauo- 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. *solli-citus* 'wholly anxious' contains *citus* 'stirred', see s.v. *cieō*. In *sollers* we find *ars* 'skill'. For *sollemnis*, 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 *l* would have given *soll-epni-*, whence *sollemnis*. The adj. *sōlŏx* 'coarse' (of wool and sheep) might represent *soll-ōk-* 'whole', in the sense of 'not yet processed'.

Bibl.: WH II: 555-557, EM 633f., IEW 979f., Nussbaum 1997: 187-192, Untermann 2000: 713-715. → *epulum, salvus, solidus*

sōlor, -ārī 'to give solace, comfort' [v. I] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *sōlācium* 'solace, comfort' (Pl.+), *cōnsōlārī* 'to offer consolation, compensation' (Pl.+).
PIt. *sōl-*.
PIE *sōlh₂- 'mercy, comfort'. IE cognates: Gr. ἱλάσκομαι /hīlă-/, ἵλαμαι 'to appease', maybe Arm. *ałač'em* 'to pray'.

Schrijver interprets *sōlor* as denominal to a root noun *sōl-*; although we have no independent evidence for a preform *sōl-*, this is the best way to explain -*ō*- from a known morphological type. *Sōlācium* presupposes an adj. *sōlāx* '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. *salà* '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 *sol-*.
Bibl.: WH II: 554, EM 634, IEW 1046, LIV 2.*sel-. → *soleō*

solvō, -ere 'to loose (an object bound), release, set free' [v. III; pf. *solvī*, ppp. *solūtum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *solūtiō* 'payment, unfastening' (Varro+); *absolvere* 'to pay off, finish, acquit' (Pl.+), *dissolvere* 'to set free, pay, break into pieces' (Pl.+), *exsolvere* 'to release, perform, pay' (Pl.+), *resolvere* '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. *so-lūtus* 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 681f., Schrijver 1991: 246, 469, LIV **leuH-*. → *luō, sē-*

sōlus 'alone' [adj. *o/ā*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *sōlitūdō* 'loneliness, emptiness' (Pl.+), *sōlitās* 'loneliness' (Acc.+), *sōlitārius* 'solitary, single' (Varro+).

The etymological connection with **s(w)e-, *sēd* 'away, apart' which WH, IEW and EM propose is hardly possible. Only an ins.sg. **s(u)oh₁-* would yield *sō-*, but there are no indications that such a form of the reflexive pronoun ever existed. One might connect Go. *sels* 'happy' < **sēl-*, OE *sēlra* 'better' < **sōliza-*, but the semantics are uncompelling and the root is not otherwise attested. Semantically, *sōlus* could be connected with the PIE root **slH-* found in *salvus* and *sollus* 'whole'; it could reflect a thematic derivative **sōlH-o-* with vṛddhi, 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.+), *somniculōsus* 'sleepy' (Pl.+), *somnurnus* 'occurring during sleep' (Varro); *īnsomnis* 'sleepless' (Cato+).

PIt. **swe/opno-* [m.] 'sleep', **swe/opnjo-* 'dream'.

PIE **suépno-* / **suopno-* 'sleep'. IE cognates: OIr. *súan*, W. *hun* 'sleep' < **suopno-*; Hit. *šupp-^(tt)a(ri)* 'to sleep' < **sup-(t)ó*, *šuppariie/a-^zi* 'to sleep' < **sup-r-ie/o-*, *šupparuant-* 'sleepy?'; Skt. *svápna-* [m.] 'sleep, dream', *svápnya-* [n.] 'dream, vision', *duṣvápnyam* 'nightmare', Av. *x^vafna-* [m.] 'sleep, dream', Gr. ὕπνος [m.] 'sleep', ὕπαρ 'reality', Arm. *k'own*, Alb. *gjumë* 'sleep', Lith. *sãpnas*, Latv. *sapnis* 'dream', OCS *sъnъ*, Ru. *son* 'sleep'; OIc. *svefn*, ToA *ṣpäm*, ToB *ṣpane* 'id.'.

PIt. **swepno-* > **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: *tongeō, 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 PIt. **swopno-*. Lat. *somnium* may go back to a PIE *io*-derivative (as proposed by Schindler) or be an inner-Latin formation. PIE **suépno-* 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 IIr. **suapna-*. Other languages show **suopno-* (Baltic,

Celtic) or *supno- (Greek, Albanian, Slavic).

Bibl.: WH II: 557f., EM 634f., IEW 1048f., Schindler 1966, Schrijver 1991: 467-470, Sihler 1995: 299, Meiser 1998: 83, LIV *su̯ep-. → *sopor*

sonō, -āre 'to sound' [v. I; pf. *sonuī*, ppp. *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.+).

Plt. pr. *swena-*, iter. *swon-aje/o-* 'to sound, resound', *sweno-* [m.] 'sound'. It. cognates: possibly (but disputed) U. *sonitu, sunitu* [3s.ipv.II] '?'.

PIE *suenH-(ti) 'sounds', *suonh₂-(e)ie/o- 'to resound'. IE cognates: OIr. *seinnid*, ·*seinn* 'to play (a musical instrument)' < PCl. *su̯anna-*, MW *honni* 'to announce' < PCl. iter. *su̯onn-ī-*; Skt. pr. *svanayan* [3p.], aor. *ásvanīt*, intens. *sani̯vanat* [3s.] 'to sound, hum', YAv. *x̌anaṱ.caxra-* 'with sounding wheels', OKhot. *hvaña-* 'to be spoken'.

The older class III present *sonere* is replaced in the course of Latin by *sonāre*. Schrijver doubts that this could have arisen from athematic *suenH-*, 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 *honni* 'to announce'. The noun *sonus* could be old, or be deverbal to *sonere*.

Bibl.: WH II: 559f., EM 635f., IEW 1046f., Steinbauer 1989: 124f., Schrijver 1991: 103, 395, Meiser 1998: 186, Rix 1999: 518f., Untermann 2000: 717f., Schumacher 2004: 607f., LIV *suenh₂-.

sōns, sontis 'guilty' [adj. *nt*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *sonticus* 'genuine, valid' (Lex XII+); *īnsōns* 'innocent' (Pl.+).

Plt. *sont-* 'being'.

PIE nom. *h₁és-nt-s (>> *h₁s-ont-s), acc. *h₁s-ént-m, gen. *h₁s-nt-ós 'existing, real'. IE cognates: Hit. *ašant- /ʔsant-/* 'true, real', Skt. *sánt-* 'being, real, good', *ásat-* 'not being', *satyá-* 'true, real', Av. *haiϑiia-* 'id.' < *h₁snt-io-, Gr. ὤν, ὄντ-ος 'being', OPr. nom.sg. *sins*, dat.sg. *sentismu*, OLith. acc.sg.m. *santį*, Lith. *sąs, sañčio* (>> *ēsąs, ēsąs* m., *ēsanti* f.), Latv. *esuots* 'being', OCS *sy*, gen.sg.m. *sǫšta*, OIc. *sannr, saðr*, OHG *sand*, OS *sōð* 'true'.

The original meaning 'being, real' of the pr.ptc. *sont-* can still be seen in the derivative *sont-icus* 'real, genuine', said of *morbus* 'disease' and *causa* 'cause' in the oldest attestations.

Bibl.: WH II: 560, EM 636, IEW 340-342, Leumann 1977: 523, Cotticelli Kuras 1993, Sihler 1995: 615f., LIV 1.*h₁es-. → *sum*

sopor, -ōris 'sleepiness, sleep' [m. *r*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *sōpīre* 'to cause to sleep' (Lucr.+), *cōnsōpīre* 'to send to sleep, make unconscious' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **swép-ōs* [m.] 'sleep' / **swōp-* 'sleep' [m.].

PIE **suép-/*sup-* 'to sleep', **suóp-s*, **suop-m*, **suep-s* [m.] 'sleep'; **suo/ep-r*, **sup-n-os* [n.]. IE cognates: OIc. *sœfa* 'to kill' < **suōp-ie/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 **suep-ōs*. The fact that *somnus* 'sleep' goes back to PIE **sue/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-ŗ* which would yield Lat. *sopor*. The consistent *-ōr*-inflexion in the rest of the paradigm could have arisen analogically. Gr. ὕπαρ might be quoted in support (but this could be analogical to ὄναρ 'dream'), as well as Hit. *šupparije/a-ᶻⁱ* 'to sleep' < **sup-r-ie/o-*, *šupparµant-* 'sleepy?'. Yet the fact that all *no*-derivatives are m. may suggest that the base noun was also m. Thus, *sopor* could also be derived from a PIE root noun 'sleep'. Such a root noun could have had a nom.sg. **suōp-s*, explaining why we find *-ō-* 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-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 561, EM 635, IEW 1048f., Klingenschmitt 1978, Bammesberger 1980, Schrijver 1991: 126, LIV **suep-*. → *somnus*

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. **sorfeie-?*

PIE **srobʰ-eie-* [iter.] 'to take various sips, slurp'. IE cognates: Hit. *šarāp-ⁱ* / *šarip-* 'to sip' < **srōbʰ-* / **srbʰ-*, Gr. ῥοφέω 'to slurp, gulp', ῥόφημα 'thick broth, soup', Arm. *arbi* 'he drank', Alb. *gjerp* 'slurp' < **sorb-eie-*, Lith. *surbiù, suřbti* 'to suck', *srėbti*, Is. *srebiù* 'to eat (liquid food) with a spoon', OCS *srъbati*, Ru. *serbátъ* 'to slurp', ORu. *serebl'u*, Sln. *sŗébljem* 'to slurp'.

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 **sŗbʰ-*, 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 **sŗbʰ-*.

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. *sorobalína* 'rose hip, blackberry', Lith. *serbentà, serbeñtas* 'redcurrant, blackcurrant', *sir̃bti* '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/ē*] (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.+).

PIt. **swordi-* 'dirt', and/or **swordo-* 'dirty'.

PIE **suord-o/i-*. IE cognates: Go. *swarts*, OIc. *svart*, OE *sweart*, 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 **sword-* and be compared with PGm. **swart-* 'black'. No further IE etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 562, EM 637, IEW 1052, Leumann 1977: 451, Schrijver 1991: 378, 463. → *suāsum*

sōrex, -icis 'shrew-mouse' [m. *k*] (Ter.+)

Derivatives: *sōricīnus* 'of a shrew-mouse' (Pl.).

Probably related to Gr. ὕραξ '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.

Bibl.: WH II: 563, EM 637, IEW 1049f., Schrijver 1991: 124.

soror, -ōris 'sister' [f. *r*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *sororcula* 'little sister' (Pl.+), *sorōrius* 'of a sister' (Pl.+), *sorōriāre* 'to swell' (of the breasts) (Pl.+); *sobrīnus* 'second cousin, son of a person's first cousin' (Pl.+), *sobrīna* 'female second cousin' (Pl.+), *cōnsobrīnus* 'mother's sister's son, cousin' (Ter.+).

PIt. **swesōr-* [f.] 'sister', **(kom-)swesr-īno-* 'belonging to the sister'.

PIE **sue(-)sr-* 'sister' (nom.sg. **suésōr*, gen.sg. **suesrós*) . IE cognates: OIr. *siur* 'sister' [f.], Skt. *svásar-*, YAv. *x'aŋhar-* [f.], MoP *xwāhar/xwahar* 'sister', Gr. ἔορ 'daughter, nephew' (Hsch.); Arm. *k'oyr* 'sister'; OPr. *swestro*, Lith. *sesuõ*, OCS *sestra*, Ru. *sestrá*, Sln. *séstra*, Go. *swistar* 'sister'; OCS *sestrinъ* 'of the sister', Lith. *seserénas* 'sister's son'.

Latin has generalized the suffix *-ōr-* throughout the paradigm; *sobrīnus* 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, *sobrīnus* 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'.

Bibl.: WH I: 265, II: 550, 563, EM 637, IEW 1051, Schrijver 1991: 469, EIEC 392.

sors, -rtis 'lot, lottery ticket, voting tablet' [f. *i*] (Pl.+; nom.sg. *sortis* Pl., abl.sg. *sortī*)

Derivatives: *sortīre/ī* 'to draw lots, cast votes, acquire' (Pl.+), *sortītiō* 'lottery' (Varro+), *sortītus, -ūs* 'lottery, lot' (Pl.+).

PIt. *sorti-* 'joining, joint'.

PIE *sr-ti- 'joining, joint'. IE cognates: see s.v. *serō*.

Bibl.: WH II: 563f., EM 637f., IEW 911, Leumann 1977: 449, LIV 2.*ser-. → *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/īspit-*.

PIt. *swe-spat-* 'self-prospering'?

PIE *-sph₁-t- 'prospering'. IE cognates: see s.v. *spēs*.

An earlier connection with Skt. *sᵤvasti-* 'welfare, happiness' was rejected by WH, but has been revived by Meier-Brügger 1979, who posits PIE *h₁su-n̥s-ti- 'good return' for both of them. Latin *sospes* would be from a compound *h₁su-n̥s-ti- + *poti- 'lord'. Yet his solution is impossible for various reasons. First of all, he compares *gʰosti-poti-* (> Lat. *hospes, -itis*), but this is a noun, not an adj. Secondly, *su-ns-ti- would normally yield Latin *ṣunsti-. In Skt., the compound could be syllabified as *Hsu-n̥s-ti- because both *Hsu- 'good' and the verb *nas-*, *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 *ṣuensti-pit- and *ṣuinsti-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 ī/ū < *oi. Yet there is no second case of *oi > Lat. ō, so that this remains speculative.

Since the attempts to see a variant of *poti- in the second element have so far been unsuccesful, another possibility may be proposed here. In view of *locu-plēt-* and *antistes*, *praesies*, *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 *speh₁- 'to swell, prosper, ripen' (Lat. *spēs*). A form *-sph₁-t- would have yielded PIt. *-spat-* whence Lat. *-spit-*, as in *-stat- > -stit-* 'standing'. A preform *sue-sph₁-t- 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).

Bibl.: WH II: 564f., EM 638, Meier-Brügger 1979: 100ff., Lindner 2002: 230. → *sē-, spēs*

spargō, -ere 'to scatter, shower' [v. III; pf. *sparsī*, ppp. *sparsum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *a(d)spergere* 'to sprinkle on, scatter' (Pl.+), *aspergō, -inis* 'sprinkling' (Cato+), *cōnspergere* 'to besprinkle, intersperse' (Pl.+), *dispergere* 'to spread about' (Ter.+), *perspergere* 'to cover, sprinkle' (Cato+), *respergere* 'to sprinkle with liquid' (Acc.+).

PIt. **sparg-*.

PIE **sp(e)r-g-* 'to strew'. IE cognates: Hit. *išpār-ⁱ / išpar-* 'to spread out, strew' < **spór- / *spr-*, *išparnu-ᶻⁱ* 'to strew', Gr. σπείρω 'to strew, sow'.

Most handbooks connect *spargō* with Skt. *sphūrjati* 'to roar, thunder', Gr. σφαραγέομαι 'to hiss, crackle', OIc. *spraka* 'to crackle, crash', Lith. *spìrgti* 'to hiss (of roasted meat)', from PIE **spʰ/bʰr̥h₂g-*. 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-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 566f., EM 638, IEW 996-998, Schrijver 1991: 493-495, Meiser 2003: 112, LIV **spʰerh₂g-*, 3.**sper-*.

sparus 'hunting-spear, javelin' [m. *o*] (Lucil.+; also *sparum*)

PIt. **sparo-* 'spear'.

PIE **sprH-o-* 'spear, beam'. IE cognates: Alb. *shparr, shperdhë* 'oak', OIc. *spjǫrr* 'spear', OE *spere* [n.], OFr. *spiri, spere, sper*, OS OHG *sper* < **sperH-u-*; OIc. *spari, sparri*, OHG *sparro* 'roof-beam, pole'.

Only found as a nominal form in Germanic, Latin and Albanian. Possibly a loanword, or an isolated reflex of a lost root.

Bibl.: WH II: 568, EM 638, IEW 990f., Schrijver 1991: 213.

spatium 'racing ground, course, area' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

Theoretically, an etymology **sph₁-to-* '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+), *speculārī* '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.+), *cōnspicere* 'to catch sight of, discern' (Pl.+), *cōnspectus, -ūs* 'sight, view' (Pl.+), *cōnspiciō* 'looking' (Varro+), *cōnspicārī* 'to catch sight of, perceive' (Pl.+), *conspicillum* 'lookout-post' (Pl.), *dēspectus, -ūs* 'view from a height' (Lucr.+), *dēspicere* 'to look down on, despise' (Pl.+), *dēspicārī* 'to despise' (Pl.+), *dēspicātus, -ūs* 'contempt' (Pl.+), *dēspicus* 'looking down' (Naev.), *dispicere* 'to investigate, discern' (Pl.+), *īnspicere* '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.), *suspicere* 'to look up at, admire' (Pl.+), *suspicārī* 'to imagine, suspect' (Pl.+), *suspīciō* 'suspicion' (Pl.+), *suspīciōsus* 'wary, suspicious' (Ter.+); (3) *aspectāre* 'to look at, regard' (Pl.+), *circumspectāre* 'to look round, examine' (Pl.+), *circumspectātrīx* 'female spy' (Pl.+), *exspectāre* 'to wait for, hope for, expect' (Pl.+), *exspectātiō* 'prospect' (Pl.+), *īnspectāre* 'to watch' (Pl.+), *perspectāre* 'to examine carefully' (Pl.+), *suspectāre* 'to gaze up at, be suspicious of' (Ter.+); (4) *specus, -ūs* [m./f.] 'cave, hole' (Enn.+).

PIt. **spekje/o-* [pr.], **speks-* [aor.], **spekto-* [ppp.], **spek-* [m.]. It. cognates: U. **speture** [dat.sg.].

PIE **speḱ-ie/o-* [pr.] 'to look', **speḱ-s-* [aor.], **speḱ-* [m.] 'who sees'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *páśyati*, aor. *áspaṣṭa* [3s.aor.med.], pf. *paspaśé* [3s.med.] 'to look at, guard, notice'; *ánu-spaṣṭa-* 'guarded'; *spáś-* [m.] 'spy'; Av. *spasiia-* 'to discover, perceive', *auui.spašta-* 'threatened', *spas-* [m.] 'spy', *spaštar-* [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-tlo-*. 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*.

Bibl.: WH II: 570f., EM 639f., IEW 984, Untermann 2000: 691f., Meiser 2002: 115, LIV **speḱ-. → *avis, haruspex*

spernō, -ere 'to dissociate, reject, spurn' [v. III; pf. *sprēvī*, ppp. *sprētum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *aspernārī* 'to scorn, reject' (Pl.+), *aspernābilis* 'negligible' (Acc.+).

PIt. **sperne/o-*.

PIE **sp^(h)er-n-h_{2/3}-* [pr.] 'to beat, kick', **sp^(h)(e)rh_{2/3}-* [aor.]. IE cognates: Hit. *išparra-^i / išpar-* 'to trample' < **spórh_{2/3}-*; Skt. pr. *sphuráti*, aor. *spharīḥ* [2s.inj.act.] 'to push away with the foot', YAv. *spara-* 'to tread', *fra-spara-* 'to speed on', *vī-spara-* 'to trample down'; Gr. ἀσπαίρω 'to sprawl, flounder, lie in convulsions', Arm. *sparna-* 'to threaten'; Lith. *spirti* 'to kick out (of horses), defy, sting', Latv. *speṟt* 'to kick out, push'; OIc. *sperna*, OHG *spurnan* 'to kick out with the feet'.

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. *Aspernārī* < *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 *tspērsn- '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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 572f., EM 641, IEW 992f., Schrijver 1991: 22, 140, 184, 407, Meiser 1998: 187, 2003: 227, Lubotsky 2006: 1007-9, LIV *spʰerH-. → *asper, perna*

spēs, spēī 'hope' [f. *ē*] (Pl.+; acc.sg. *spērem*, nom.pl. *spērēs* Enn.)
Derivatives: *spēcula* 'a slight hope' (Pl.+), *spērāre* 'to hope, look forward to' (Naev.+), *spērābilis* 'that may be hoped for' (Pl.), *īnspērātus* 'unexpected' (Pl.+); *exspēs* 'hopeless' (Acc.+).
PIt. *spēs.
PIE *spéh₁-s, *spéh₁-m, *sph₁-ós 'prosperity'. IE cognates: Hit. *išpai-ⁱ / išpi- 'to get full, be satiated' < *sph₁-ói- / *sph₁-i-, Skt. *sphirá- 'fat', *sphāyātai [3s.sb.med.] 'to become fat, increase', Lith. *spéti 'to be in time, be capable', OCS *spěti 'to succeed', Ru. *spet'* 'to ripen' < PIE *speh₁-, 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 573, EM 641, IEW 983f., Schrijver 1991: 380, Meiser 1998: 149, LIV *spʰeh₁-. → *prosperus, sospes, spatium*

spīca 'ear of corn; spike, head (of a plant)' [f. *ā*] (Varro+; also *spīcum*)
Derivatives: *spīcilegium* 'the gathering of ears of corn' (Varro+).
PIt. *speikā-/*spīka-.
PIE *speig-/*spiHg-. IE cognates: Lith. *speigliaī* 'thorns'; OHG *speihha*, OS *spēca* [f.], MDu. *spēke*, OE *spāca* [m.] 'spoke' < *spaikōn-, OIc. *spíkr*, MHG *spicher*, MoDu. *spijker* 'nail' < *spei/īka-.
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. *spīnus* Varro)
Derivatives: *spīnōsus* 'thorny' (Varro+).
PIt. *speinā-/*spīna-. It. cognates: maybe U. **spinia**, **spina** [acc.sg.], **spiniama**, **spinamaŕ** [acc.sg. + -ad] '?'.
PIE *spein-/*spiHn-. IE cognates: Latv. *spina* 'rod', OPo. *spina* 'spine', Ru. *spiná* 'back, spine'; OS OHG *spinela, spenula* 'hairpin', MHG *spenel* 'needle'.

Might be derived from the same basis *sp-i(H)- as spīca.
> Bibl.: WH II: 574, EM 642, IEW 981f., Untermann 2000: 692f.

spīrō, -āre 'to breathe' [v. I] (Pl.+)
> Derivatives: *spīrāmen* 'breathing, exhalation' (Enn.+), *spīritus, -ūs* 'breath, spirit' (Pl.+); *aspīrāre* 'to blow, breathe, approach' (Lucil.+), *cōnspīrāre* 'to agree, conspire' (Acc.+), *exspīrāre* 'to breathe out, die' (Acc.+), *īnspīrāre* 'to breathe deeply, blow in' (Lucr.+), *respīrāre* 'to recover one's breath' (Pl.+), *suspīrāre* 'to sigh' (Pl.+), *suspīritus, -ūs* 'sighing' (Pl.+).
> PIt. *spīr/s-.

Possibly an onomatopoeic formation imitating the sound of breathing. There are no direct cognates. In BSl., we find words of a structure *p(e)is-k- 'to squeak' (Lith. *pyškéti* 'to click, snap, crack', OCS *piskati*, Ru. *piščát'* 'to squeak'); these look somewhat similar, but the meaning is different, and they may just as well have been formed within BSl. The same goes for Germ. *fīs-* 'to fart', adduced by WH and IEW.
> Bibl.: WH II: 575, EM 642, IEW 796.

spissus 'laborious, slow, dense' [adj. o/ā] (Naev.+)
> Derivatives: *spissēscere* 'to thicken' (Lucr.+); *spissigradus* 'slow-paced' (Pl.).
> PIt. *spisso-.   ?   ?
> PIE *spid-to-? IE cognates: Gr. σπίδιος 'extensive, wide', σπιδνόν 'thick, coagulated', σπιδόεν 'black, big' (Hsch.); Lith. *spisti* (< *spit-), Is. *spintù* '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.+).
> PIt. *splnd/þē-.
> PIE *splnd[h]-eh₁- 'to be manifest'. IE cognates: OIr. *sluindid* 'to express, declare, name', OW *istlinnit* 'profatur, loquitur', W. *ystlwn* '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. *ařa-spel* 'legend, proverb', Go. *spill* [n.] 'tale', ToB *pällātär*, ToA *pällāntär* 'to praise'.
> Bibl.: WH II: 576f., EM 643, IEW 987, Schrijver 1995: 435f., LIV ?*splend-.

spolium 'skin, hide; arms, spoils' [n. o] (Pl.+)
> Derivatives: *spoliāre* (Enn. 1x -*rī*) 'to strip of clothing or arms, rob' (Pl.+); *dēspoliāre* 'to plunder, strip of' (Pl.+), *dēspol[i]ātor* 'plunderer' (Pl.), *exspoliāre* 'to

plunder, despoil' (Pl.+).

PIt. *spoli(o)- 'skin, hide'.

PIE *spol(H)-i(o)- 'what is split, stripped off'. IE cognates: Gr. σπολάς, -άδος 'leather garment', σπόλια 'wool from sheep's legs' (Hsch.), Lith. *spãlis* 'beard (= part of the stalk of flax)', pl. *spãliai* 'parts of the stalk', OCS *polъ* '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.: WH II: 577f., EM 643, IEW 985-987, Schrijver 1991: 22, LIV 2.*(s)pelH-.

sponda 'bed or couch, or its frame' [f. *ā*] (Varro+)

PIt. *spondā- 'frame'.

PIE *spond-h₂-. IE cognates: OIr. *sond*, W. *ffon* [f.] 'stick' < *spond-; OCS *pędъ*, Ru. *pjad'* '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 ?2.*(s)pend-. → *pendō*

spondeō 'to pledge, promise, make a contract' [v. II; pf. *spopondī (spe-),* ppp. *spōnsum*] (Pl.+; pf.sb. *spōnsīs* Fest.)

Derivatives: *spōnsiō* 'wager, pledge' (Pl.+), *spōnsus* 'affianced husband' (Titin.+), *spōnsor* 'surety' (Varro+), *spōnsa* 'woman promised in marriage, fiancée' (Naev.+), *spōnsālis* 'of betrothal' (Varro); *cōnspondēre* 'to exchange pledges' (Naev.+), *dēspondēre* 'to promise in marriage, to despair' (Pl.+), *respondēre* 'to reply, react' (Andr.+), *respōnsiō* 'answering' (Pl.+), *respōnsāre* 'to give an answer, satisfy' (Pl.+), *respōnsor* 'who answers' (Pl.).

PIt. *spondeje/o- 'to libate many times' > 'pledge'. It. cognates: U. *spefa* [acc.sg.f, abl.sg.f.] 'offered' (attribute of *mefa* 'sacrificial substance'), O. *spentud* [3s.ipv.II] '?'.

PIE *spond-eie/o- [pr.] 'to libate'; ?*spend-e/o- [pr.]. IE cognates: Hit. *išpānt-ⁱ /* *išpant-* 'to bring a fluid sacrifice, libate' < *spónd-, Gr. σπένδω 'to offer a libation, pour', σπονδή 'libation, offering of wine'.

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 *spepondī, cf. Schrijver 1991: 468; but -o- may also have been analogically introduced into the reduplication syllable.

Bibl.: WH II: 578f., EM 643f., IEW 989, Untermann 2000: 690f., Meiser 2003: 149f., LIV 1.*spend-.

spōns, -ntis 'will, volition' [f. *t(i?)*] (Pl.+; only gen.sg. *spontis*, abl.sg. *sponte* attested)

Spōns has been derived from the root *(s)penh₁- '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. *ā*] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *spūmāre* 'to foam, froth' (Enn.+).

PIt. *spoimā-* 'foam'.

PIE *spoHi-m- / *speh₃i-m- 'foam'. IE cognates: Skt. *phéna-* 'foam' [m./n.], OPr. *spoayno*, Lith. *spáinė*, OCS *pěna*, Ru. *péna*, SCr. *pjěna* 'foam' < *(s)poHi-nh₂- or *(s)peh₃i-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 *speh₃i-; the *-i- may be a present suffix. Alternatively, with Matasović 2004: 126, one may posit a PIE neuter *mn*-stem: nom.acc.sg. *spoHimn, 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. *spui*, ppp. *spūtum*] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *spūtāre* 'to spit out, at' (Pl.+), *spūtātor* 'who habitually spits' (Pl.+), *spūtum* 'spittle' (Lucr.+), *spūtātilicius* 'detestable' (Sis.+); *dēspuere* 'to spit on the ground, spurn' (Naev.+), *exspuere* 'to emit, spit out' (Pl.+), *īnspūtāre* 'to spit upon' (Pl.+), *respuere* 'to reject, repel' (Lucr.+).

PIt. *spŭ-je/o-, *spūto-.

PIE *sp(i)uH-ie/o- 'to spit', *sp(i)Huto- 'spat'. IE cognates: Skt. *ṣṭhīvati*, aor. *aṣṭhaviṣam* 'to spit', Gr. πτύω 'to spit', Arm. *t'owk'* 'spittle', *t'k'anem* 'to spit', Alb. *pshtyj*, Lith. *spiáuti*, Latv. *splaũt*, CS *plьvati*, 1s. *pljujǫ*, Ru. *plevát'*, Go. *speiwan*, OIc. *spýja*, 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 *-uere*.

Bibl.: WH II: 580f., EM 644f., IEW 999f., Schrijver 1991: 247, Meiser 1998: 194, 2003: 235, LIV *sptieuH-.

squālus 'unkempt, dirty' [adj. *o/ā*] (Enn.)

Derivatives: *squālēre* 'to be caked with dirt, covered with a rough layer' (Pl.+), *squālor* 'filth, roughness of surface' (Pl.+), *squālēs, -is* [f.] 'dirt, filth' (Pac.+), *squālitās* 'dirtiness' (Acc.+), *squālitūdō* 'dirtiness' (Acc.+), *squālidus* '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.+).

No etymology. In view of the sequence *squ-*, 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. *hvalr* [m.], OE *hwæl*, OS OHG *hwal*, 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 /*squālus*/ with the stem **squāl-* '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 *-$k^w o$- > -*qua-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 581f., EM 645, IEW 958, Schrijver 1991: 463, 2001: 423.

Ven. sselboisselboi [dat.sg.] 'for oneself'.

PIt. **selfo-* 'self'.

IE cognates: OPr. *sups, subs* 'own' < **su-$b^h o$-*; Go. *silba*, OIc. *sjálfr*, OE *self*, OHG *selb* < PGm. **selba-* 'self' < **s(u)elb^{h}o-*.

The pronoun seems to originate from suffixation of *-$b^h o$-* to the pronoun **s(u)e* 'self', but the origin of *-l-* is unclear. IEW suggests a contamination of **sue* with the pronoun **ol(o)-*, but this seems implausible.

Bibl.: IEW 882-884, Lejeune 1974: 338, Beekes 1995: 210.

(s)tā- 'to steal' [v. (Duenos inscr. <nemed*malostatod*>)

PIt. **(s)ta(je)-tōd* 'must steal'.

PIE **(s)th$_2$-ie/o-* 'to steal'. IE cognates: OIr. *táid* 'thief' [m.], Hit. *tāie/a-^{zi}* 'to steal' < **teh$_2$-ie/o-*, Skt. *stāyát* [adv.] 'secretly', *stāyú* [m.] 'thief, pickpocket', *stená-* [m.] 'thief, robber', *stéya-* [n.] 'theft', OAv. *taiiā* [adv.] 'secretly', YAv. *tāiia-, taiia-* [n.] 'theft'; OCS *tajiti*, 1s. *tajǫ* 'to conceal', *tatь* '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 /*nē mēd malos tātōd*/ or /*nē mēd malo stātōd*/. 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 **stā̆-* 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 statod*/. In the end, the analysis remains uncertain. The verb could be a root present or a verb **(s)th$_2$-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.*teh$_2$-.

stāgnum 'standing water, pool' [n. *o*] (Enn.+)

PIt. **stāgno-?*

PIE **steh₂g-*. IE cognates: OBret. *staer*, Bret. *ster* 'river, brook' (< **stagrā*); Gr. σταγών, -όνος [f.] 'drop', στάζω 'to let drip, shed'.

LIV (hesitatingly) 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 ?*steh₂⁽ᵍ⁾-.

stēlla 'star' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *stēllāns* 'starry' (Lucr.+), *stēllumicāns* 'shining with stars' (Varro), *stēl(l)iō* 'kind of lizard, gecko' (Verg.+).

PIt. **stērlā-*.

PIE **h₂stēr-s*, **h₂ster-* [m.] 'star'. IE cognates: OIr. *ser*, W. *seren* (pl. *ser*) , Co. *sterenn* (pl. *steyr*) , Bret. *sterenn* 'star' < PCl. **ster-*; OIr. *sell* [m.] 'iris' < **stillo-*, MIr. *sellaid* 'to see', MW *syllu* 'to gaze', Bret. *sellout* 'to watch' < PCl. **stīrlo-* 'star' < **h₂stēr-lo-*; Hit. *hašter(a)-* [c.] 'star' (nom.sg. *hašterza* /*Hstert'/*) < **h₂ster-*; Skt. *tárah* [nom.pl.], *stṛbhih* [instr.pl.], Av. *star-* [m.] (YAv. acc.sg. *stārəm*, nom.pl. *stārō*, acc.pl. *strāuš* for **strāš*, gen.pl. *strąm*) , Khot. *stāraa-* 'star'; Gr. ἀστήρ, -έρος, Arm. *astl*, Go. *stairno*, ToB *ścirye* 'star'.

Schrijver 1995 has established that OIr. *sell* 'iris' can go back to PCl. **stīrlo-*; together with Lat. *stēlla*, this points to an Italo-Celtic formation **ster-lo/ā-* 'star'.

Bibl.: WH II: 587f., EM 646, IEW 1027f., Schrijver 1995: 421-423, Meiser 1998: 123.

stercus, -oris 'excrement of animals, dung' [n. *r*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *stercoreus* 'like dung' (Pl.+), *sterco/erāre* 'to supply with dung, manure' (Cato+), *stercorōsus* 'rich in manure' (Cato+), *sterco/erārius* 'of dung, manure' (Cato+), *sterco/erātiō* 'manuring' (Varro), *sterquilīnum* (or *sterculīnum*) 'manure-heap, midden' (Pl.+).

PIt. **sterkos-* [n.].

PIE **sterk-o-* 'befoulment, exrements'. IE cognates: Bret. *stroñk* [m.] 'excrements', W. *trwnc* 'urine' < **(s)tronk-*, W. *troeth*, Bret. *troazh* 'urine' < **trok-tā-*; Hit. *ištar(k)-ᶻⁱ* 'to ail, afflict' < **sterk-ti*, *ištarni(n)k-ᶻⁱ* 'id.', Lith. *teršti* 'to soil'.

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 *stercos* reflects **sterkʷ-*. British Celtic contains words of the structure **(s)tro(n)k-*, which has the vowel on the wrong side; also, Lith. *teršti* 'to soil' has been compared, but there is no guarantee that *š* in this verb reflects PIE **ḱ* rather than **s*. If it does, Lith. has PIE **terḱ-* without *s*-mobile; and Celtic may have a new full grade on the basis of the zero grade PCl. **(s)trik-*. Kloekhorst 2008: 416-418 proposes to connect the Hit. forms mentioned.

Bibl.: WH II: 589, EM 647, IEW 1031f., Leumann 1977: 327, Schrijver 1995: 453f., Stüber 2002: 153, LIV ?*(s)terḱ-.

sterilis 'barren, sterile, without offspring' [adj. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *sterilus* 'sterile' (Lucr., Gell., Paul. *ex F.*).

Plt. **ster-eli-?* **ster-ī-?*

PIE **ster-* 'lacking, sterile'. IE cognates: Skt. *starí-* [f.] 'a cow that does not give milk and is not pregnant', MP *starwan* 'infertile, childless', Gr. στεῖρα [f.] 'infertile (cow, goat, woman)', Arm. *sterj* 'infertile', Alb. *shtjerrë* 'lamb' < **ster-en-*; Go. *stairo* 'infertile', OE *stierc* 'calf', NHG *Sterke* 'heifer'.

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-ī-* was suffixed with **-li-*, and analogically shortened the penultimate syllable. According to Eichner 1974, the root may have been PIE **ster-* (Skt. *stṛṇóti* '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. III; pf. *strāvī*, ppp. *strātum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *strāgēs, -is* [f.] 'devastation, destruction' (Lucr.+), *strāgulum* 'rug, blanket' (Varro+), *strāmentum* 'straw' (Pl.+), *strāmentārius* 'of straw' (Cato+), *strāmentīcius* 'made of straw' (Varro+), *strātus, -ūs* 'spreading' (Varro+); *cōnsternere* 'to cover, bring down' (Enn.+), *īnstrātum* 'saddle-cloth' (Cato), *substernere* 'to underlay, spread under' (Cato+), *substrāmen* 'litter' (Varro+); *cōnsternāre* 'to confound, compel' (Pac.+).

Plt. **sterna-* [pr.], **strāto-* [ppp.].

PIE **st(e)r-n-h₃-* [pr.] 'to spread, strew', **strh₃-to-* [ppp.]. IE cognates: OIr. *sernaid* 'to spread, build', MW *gwassarnu* 'to spread under' < PCl. pr. **starna-*; Skt. *stṛṇāti* 'to spread out, extend, strew', *pra-starā-* [m.] 'straw, sacrificial straw', YAv. *fra-staranāiti* [act.], *fra-staranata* [med.] 'to spread out, extend', *starata-* 'strewn, spread', *stairiš-* [n.] 'straw' < IIr. **starH-*; Gr. στόρνυμι, ἐστόρεσα [aor.] 'to extend, strew out', στρωτός 'extended'.

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 **-nh₂-* (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*.

Bibl.: WH II: 590f., 600, EM 647, IEW 1029-1031, Schrijver 1991: 183, 376, 407-410, Meiser 1998: 187, 2003: 228, Schumacher 2004: 601f., LIV **sterh₃-*.

sternuō, -ere 'to sneeze' [v. III; pf. *sternuī*, ppp. *sternūtum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *stertere* (pf. *stertuī*) 'to snore' (Pl.+).

PIt. **(p)ster-nu-*.

PIE *(p)st-(e)r-nu- 'to sneeze'. IE cognates: MIr. *sreod* 'sneezing', W. *trew, ystrew* 'sneezing', LCo. *striwhi*, Bret. *streviañ* 'to sneeze' < **stṛu-?*, Gr. πταρμός [m.] 'the sneezing', aor. πταρεῖν, pr. πτάρνυμαι 'to sneeze', Arm. *p'ṛngam, p'ṛnem* '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-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 591, EM 648, IEW 846f., Schrijver 1995: 454, Meiser 1998: 113, LIV *pster-.

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 drip down, off' (Varro+), *exstillāre* 'to drip away, water' (Pl.+), *īnstillāre* 'to pour in drop by drop' (Cato+); *stīria* 'icicle' (Verg.+).

PIt. **stī/eir-(lā-)*.

IE cognates: Gr. στίλη 'drop'; Lith. *stýrti* 'to become stiff', Norw. *stīra*, OIc. *stira* 'to be(come) rigid, stiff'.

Stilla can be regarded as a diminutive **stīr-lā-* to *stīria*, 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 *stīria* was based. In view of *stilla* 'drop', *stīria* 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 **sti-*.

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.); *stīva* 'shaft of a plough-handle' (Cato+).

It is uncertain whether Latin *stilus*, *stimulus* and *stīva* all belong together, but one might see a root *sti-* '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. *staēra-, 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; *-stīnxī, stīnctum*] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: *distinguere* 'to keep separate, mark off, distinguish' (Pac.+), *distinctus* 'different' (Acc.+), *exstinguere* 'to extinguish, kill, wipe out' (Pl.+), *interstinguere* 'to extinguish temporarily; mark off' (Lucr.+), *restinguere* 'to extinguish, suppress' (Pl.+).

PIt. **ste-n-g^w-e/o-*, **in-stī/eig-*. It. cognates: U. **anstintu, astintu** [3s.ipv.II] 'to connect, attach' < **an* + *stinge-tōd*.

PIE **steng^w-e/o-* 'to push, thrust'. IE cognates: Go. *stigqan* 'to thrust', caus. *ga-stagqjan*.

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. *stinqan* is attractive: root final **-g^w-* could have brought about the *u*-stem conjugation. It does not appear possible to link *in-stīgāre* with *-stinguere*, since it presupposes root-internal **-i-*. U. **anstintu** may belong here (< **-stimbtu* < **stimbetō*), or to the root **stig-* 'sharp' of *in-stīgāre*.

Bibl.: WH I: 706f., II: 592, EM 649, IEW 1016f., Klingenschmitt 1989: 99f., Untermann 2000: 106, LIV **steng^u-*. → *īnstīgāre*

stīpō, -āre 'to compress, surround' [v. I] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *stīpātor* 'bodyguard, attendant' (Varro+); *obstīpus* 'slanted, inclined' (Enn.+), *īnstīpāre* 'to pack closely' (Cato); *stīpes, -itis* [m.] 'tree trunk, stick' (Cato+). PIt. **stei/īpo-*.

PIE **steip-o-* 'stiff, erect'. IE cognates: Lith. *stipti*, Is. *stimpù* 'to stiffen, grow rigid', *stiprùs* 'strong', *stiêpti* 'to stretch'; OE *stīf*, MHG *stīf* 'stiff, erect' < **steifa-*, MLG *stīvele* 'support', OIc. *stífla* 'to dam'.

Seems to be based on an adj. **stīpo-* 'erect, rigid' < **stéipo-*, on the evidence of the Gm. accent. The noun *stīpet-* can be interpreted as a deadjectival *t*-stem **steip-e/ot-* '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+), *īnstipulārī* 'to stipulate for' (Pl.+); *stipendium* 'regular cash payment, campaign' (Pl.+; *stīpendium* metri causa in Enn.).

PIt. **stip-* 'stalk' > 'payment', **stip-elo-* 'straw'. It. cognates: U. **steplatu**, *stiplatu, anstiplatu* [3s.ipv.II], *stiplo* [2s.ipv.] 'to agree legally'.

PIE **stip-* 'stalk'? IE cognates: see s.v. *stīpō*.

The noun *stipendium* derives by haplology from **stipi-pendium*. *Stipulārī* 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 II: 594, EM 650, IEW 1015f., Untermann 2000: 703f., LIV ?*steip-. →
stīpō

stirps, -pis 'stem, stump, stock, ancestral race' [f. (m.) *p*] (Pl.+; m. archaic)

Has been compared with Lith. *stir̃pti* 'to grow up, grow high', *sterptis* '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-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 595, EM 651, IEW 1022-1027.

stō, stāre 'to stand; to halt' [v. I; pf. *stetī*, ppp. *statum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: (1) *statim* [adv.] 'unyieldingly, immediately' (Pl.+), *statiō* '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.+), *cōnstāre* 'to stand together, remain; cost' (Pl.+), *distāre* 'to be distant, different' (Lucr.+), *exstāre* 'to exist, protrude' (Pl.+), *īnstāre* 'to set foot on, press, be urgent' (Pl.+), *obstāre* 'to meet, stand in the way, obstruct' (Pl.+), *obstetrīx* 'midwife' (Pl.+), *praestāre* 'to be superior, furnish' (Andr.+), *praestābilis* 'outstanding' (Ter.+), *praestō* [adv.] 'ready' (Pl.+), *prōstāre* 'to offer for sale' (Pl.+), *restāre* 'to remain, stand firm' (Pl.+), *restitāre* '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* (*statuī*, *statūtum*)'to set, erect, establish' (Pl.+), *statūra* 'body height, stature' (Pl.+), *statua* 'statue' (Pl.+); *a(d)stituere* 'to place near' (Pl.+), *cōnstituere* 'to place, arrange' (Pl.+), *dēstituere* 'to set up, abandon' (Naev.+), *īnstituere* '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.+), *superstitiōsus* 'ecstatic, full of credulity' (Pl.+), *solstitium* 'solstice' (Cato+), *solstitiālis* 'of the summer solstice' (Pl.+); (4) *stabulum* 'stable, shed' (Pl.+), *stabulāre* 'to house (animals)' (Varro+); *stabilis* 'steady, firm' (Pl.+), *īnstabilis* 'unsteady, inconstant' (Pac.+), *stabilīre* 'to fix, make firm' (Pl.+), *stabilīmen* 'support' (Acc.+), *stabilīmentum* 'which gives stability' (Pl.+); *cōnstabilīre* 'to establish, strengthen' (Pl.+), *cōnstibilis* 'strong' (Cato), *prōstibilis* 'available as a prostitute' (Pl.+), *prōstibulum* 'prostitute' (Pl.+), *restibilis* 'sown or planted every year' (Cato+), *restibilīre* '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+);.

PIt. *sta-ē-je/o- 'to stand, be standing', *sta-n-e/o- 'to place', *stato- 'placed', *statu- 'setting up, erecting', *staplo- [n.] 'place, stable'. It. cognates: Ven. atisteit [3s.pr.] < *ati-staiet, stati [ins.sg.] 'weight'; Fal. sta [3s.pr.] 'stands'; Fal. statuo 'I erect'; U. stahu [1s.pr.], stahitu [3s.ipv.II], stahituto [3p.ipv.II], staheren [3p.fut.], O. stait [3s.pr.], stahint, stahint, staiet [3p.pr.], staieffud [3s.pf.?] 'to stand', SPic. adstaeoms [1p.pr.], adstaiúh [3p.pf.?] 'to erect' or 'to place beside', O. eestínt [3p.pf.] 'to exist', SPic. praistaít [3s.pr.], praistaínt [3p.pr.], pra|istaiúh [3p.pf.?] 'to stand up' < *sta-jē-; U. stakaz est [3s.pf.ps.] 'to establish', denom. to a noun *stā-k-; Mars. state [dat.sg.] name of a deity; O. statif '?' [nom.sg.?]; U. statita [ppp acc.pl.n.] 'erected' < *statūto-, denom. to *statu- 'act of erecting'; U. statitatu [3s.ipv.II] 'must take position', denom. from *statūto-; U. stahmei [loc. or dat.sg.] 'agreement' vel sim. < *stā-mo-; U. stahmito [ppp nom.sg.n.], stahmitei, stahmeitei [loc. or dat.sg.m.] 'agreed/determined', denom. to stahmo-; O. staflatasset [3p.pf.ps.], σταβαλανο [gdve. nom.pl.n.] 'to erect', denom. v. *staflā-o- to *staflo- 'place' < *sthₓ-dʰlo-; U. staflarem [acc.sg.f.], staflare [acc.sg.n.] '?' < *stafl-āri-; U. stafli '?'.

PIE *sth₂-eh₁-ie/o- 'to stand', *st-n(e)-h₂- 'to place', *sth₂-to- 'placed', *sth₂tu- 'placement', *sth₂-dʰlo- 'a place'. IE cognates: OIr. ad·tá 'to be (situated)', OW -tau 'is', MCo. otte, atta 'there is', OBret. to 'it is' < PCl. *tā-je/o-; Arm. stanam [med.] 'to acquire', Alb. shton 'to add', OPr. postāt 'to become', Lith. stóti, Latv. stât 'to stand', OCS stati, 1s. stanǫ 'to stand, become', stojati, 1s. stojǫ, OHG stēn/stān, OFr. stān, Go. standan, OIc. standa, OS OE standan 'to stand'.

The inherited formations are: (1) a stative present *stā- < *stāje- < *sta-eie-, which is also found in Sabellic (U. stahi/e-, O. sta(h)i-), a to-ptc. *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).

Bibl.: WH II: 584, 587, 596-599, 632, EM 651-655, IEW 1004-1010, Giacomelli 1963: 256f., Cowgill 1973, Klingenschmitt 1982: 112, Schrijver 1991: 98, 404f., Meiser 1998: 187, 2003: 71, 189f., Untermann 2000: 693-703, Schumacher 2004: 623ff., LIV *steh₂-. → īnstaurō, sistō

stolidus 'insensible, dull, stupid' [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)
   Derivatives: stultus 'stupid' (Naev.+), stultitia 'stupidity' (Pl.+).

Whereas stolidus might belong to a verb *stolēre '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').
   Bibl.: WH II: 599, EM 655, 658, IEW 1019f., Leumann 1977: 329.

stolō 'shoot, sucker (in plants)' [m. n] (Varro+)
   PIt. *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. *stełn* 'trunk, branch'; OE *stela* [m.] 'stalk of a plant', Norw. *stjøl* 'stalk'.

We find a matching noun in Armenian, and Greek has a few nouns with similar form and semantics. The meaning of Lat. *stolō*, Gr. στέλεχος and OE *stela* can be well understood on the basis of the PIE root *stel- 'to place'.
Bibl.: WH II: 599f., EM 655, IEW 1019f., LIV *stel-.

strēna 'auspicious sign' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *strēnuus* 'active, vigorous' (Naev.+), *strēnuitās* 'activity' (Varro+), *strēnuōsus* 'active' (Pl.), *īnstrēnuus* 'inactive' (Pl.+), *Strēnia* 'goddess of health and luck' (Varro+).
PIt. *stregsno-?
PIE *streg-sno-?

Often compared with Gr. στρηνής 'rough, harsh', στρῆνος [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 *endostruos > industrius (see s.v. *struō*). The Romans regarded *strēna* as a Sabine word. Szemerényi 1989: 23f. connects OIr. *trén* 'strong' < *treg-sno-, and (if cognate) OIc. *þrek(r)*, OE *þracu* 'force' < *treg-, OIc. *sterkr* < *sterg-. There are no good verbal cognates for these nominal forms *(s)terg-, hence the PIE character remains uncertain.
Bibl.: WH II: 601, EM 655, IEW 1022-1027, Schrijver 1991: 140.

strepō, -ere 'to make a loud noise' [v. III; pf. *strepuī*, ppp. *strepitum*] (Sall.+)
Derivatives: *strepitus, -ūs* 'noise' (Pl.+); *perstrepere* 'to make a loud noise' (Ter.+).
PIt. *strepe/o-.
PIE *strep-e/o-. IE cognates: OIc. *þrefa* 'to quarrel', OIc. *þrapt* [n.] 'gossip', OE *þræft*, MLG *drevelinge* 'quarrel'.

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. *strīdī*] (Enn.+; *strīdēre* Luc.+)
Derivatives: *strīdor* 'squeak, shriek' (Pac.+).
IE cognates: Gr. τρίζω 'to squeak', pf. τέτρῑγα, ToA *trisk-* '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' (Lucr.); *adstringere* 'to tie up tightly, commit' (Pl.+), *distringere* '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.+); *strigor* 'brute, man of solid strength' (Pl.+), *obstrigillāre* 'to cause obstruction' (Enn.+), *obstrigillātor* 'who hampers' (Varro+); (2) *strictor* 'a picker' (Cato), *strictīvus* 'picked (of fruit)' (Cato), *strigilis* [f.] 'oil-scraper' (Pl.+), *praest(r)īgiae* [f.pl.] 'trick, deceit' (Pl.+), *praestīgiātor* 'trickster, juggler' (Pl.+), *praesfīgiātrīx* 'female trickster' (Pl.); *stria* 'channel, furrow' (Varro+), *striātus* 'furrowed, grooved' (Pl.+); *striga* 'strip, row' (Paul. *ex F.* et al.), *strigāre* 'to stop, halt' (Verg.+).

Plt. **string-* 'to strip off', **strenge/o-* 'to tie' [pr.], **strig-to-* [ppp.], **strig-ā-* [f.] 'strip, row', **-streig-io-*.

PIE **stri-n-g-* 'to brush, strip', **strengh-e/o-* 'to draw, tie'. IE cognates: OCS *strišti*, 1s. *strigǫ* 'to cut, shave', OHG *strīhhan* 'to brush', OE *strīcan* 'to brush (past), rub, wander' < **strig-*; MIr. *srengim* 'to draw, drag', Khot. *strīs-* (*strīś-, str(r)ī-*) 'to become stiff', *pastraṃj-* 'to repress' < PIr. **stranj-*, Gr. στραγγός 'twisted, crooked', OIc. *strengja* 'to bind together', OE *strengan* 'to attach' < **strengh-*.

The simplex *stringō* has two meanings: (1) 'to tie, tighten', as in all the compounds of *-stringō*; the same meaning may account for *strigor* ('who holds'), *obstrigillāre* and *praest(r)īgiae* (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 below to 'stretch') and *striga* 'strip, row'. It appears that a merger occurred of two different PIE verbs, **strig-* 'to brush, strip' and **strengh-* 'to tie' (> Lat. *string-* by phonetic development). The verb *strigāre* 'to stop' is best interpreted as a denominative to *stria* and *striga*: '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-* (OIc. *strútr* 'top', OE *strūtian* 'to stand still', NHG *strotz* 'stiff', MHG *strūz* '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.+); *cōnstruere* 'to pile up, arrange' (Sis.+), *exstruere* 'to heap up, construct' (Pl.+), *īnstruere* 'to build, arrange, equip' (Pl.+), *īnstrūmentum* 'equipment' (Cato+), *industria* 'diligent activity' (Pl.+), *industrius* 'active' (Pl.+), *industriōsē* 'diligently' (Cato+), *indostruum* 'industrium' (Paul. *ex F.*).

PIt. *strow-e/o-. It. cognates: U. **struhçla, struçla**, *strušla, strusla* [acc.sg.], **struhçlas** [gen.sg.] f. 'kind of sacrificial cake' < *struwi-k-elā?

PIE *streu-e/o- 'to strew'. IE cognates: OIr. *sruïd* 3s. 'to throw', *as·sroither* 'is dispersed', OBret. *strouis* 'strew out' < PIE *strou-eie-, OCS *o-strujǫ, -strujiti* 'to destroy', Go. *straujan* 'to strew' < *strou-eie-.

Lat. *struō* can reflect a PIE thematic pr. *streu-e/o-. The velar in the pf. and ppp. must be analogical to *fluō*, where -g^w- disappeared regularly between vowels. If *industrius* goes back to *endo-struwo-, this was probably directly built to the verb.

Bibl.: WH I: 696, II: 607, EM 316, 658, IEW 1029-1031, Leumann 1977: 591, Meiser 1998: 208, Untermann 2000: 704f., Schumacher 2004: 602, LIV *streu̯-.

studeō 'to devote onself, strive after' [v. II; pf. *studuī*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *studium* 'zeal, enthusiasm, study' (Pl.+), *studiōsus* 'eager, zealous' (Pl.+).
PIt. *stud-ē-.
PIE *stud-eh₁- 'to thrust, hit'. IE cognates: see s.v. *tundō*.

Lat. *studēre* 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)teu̯d-. → *tundō*

stupeō 'to be(come) numb, amazed' [v. II] (Ter.+)
Derivatives: *stupidus* 'dazed, stunned, foolish' (Pl.+), *stupiditās* 'stupidity' (Acc.+); *obstu/ipēscere* 'to be stunned' (Pl.+), *obstupidus* 'astounded' (Pl.+), *obstupefacere* 'to strike dumb, stun' (Ter.+); *stuprum* 'dishonour, illicit sexual intercourse' (Naev.+), *stuprāre* 'to have illicit sexual intercourse with' (Pl.+).
PIt. *stup-ē- 'to be stunned', *stup-ro- 'struck, hit'.
PIE *stup-eh₁- 'to hit, push', *stup-ro-. IE cognates: CLuw. *dūp(a)i-, Lyc. *tub(e)i 'to strike', Gr. τύπτω 'to hit, strike, sting', aor. ἐτύπη 'was hit', τύπος 'stroke, impression'; Alb. *pёrtyp '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: 609f., EM 658f., IEW 1032-1034, LIV *(s)teu̯p-.

sturnus 'starling' [m. *o*] (Plin.+)
PIt. *storno- 'starling'?
PIE *(h₂)st(o)r-no- '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 *stær, dim. *stærling* '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 *h₂str-, but it stands isolated.
Bibl.: WH II: 610, EM 659, IEW 1036, Schrijver 1991: 23, Meiser 1998: 64. → *turdus*

suāsum 'dirty grey colour' [n. *o*] (Pl., Fest.)
  Plt. **swarsso-*?
  PIE **suɾd-to-*? 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 **suɾd-to-* regularly developed into **suarsso-* could *suāsum* result; this would match the rule **RDT* > **RaDT* posited by Schrijver 1991: 485. Without external support for this morphological analysis, this etymology remains uncompelling.
  Bibl.: WH II: 611, EM 659, IEW 1052, Leumann 1977: 211, Schrijver 1991: 463, 494. → *sordēs*

suāvis 'sweet, pleasant' [adj. *i*] (Naev.+)
  Derivatives: *suāvitūdō* 'sweetness' (Pl.+), *suāvitās* 'pleasantness, charm' (Pl.+), *suāvisāviātiō* 'amorous kissing' (Pl.), *suāvisonus* 'sweet-sounding' (Naev.+); *sāvium* 'kiss' (Pl.+), *sāvillum* 'kind of cheesecake' (Cato); *suādēre* [*suāsī*, *suāsum*] 'to recommend, advise' (Pl.+), *cōnsuādēre* '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, -ūs* 'advising' (Ter.+), *suāda* 'persuasiveness' (Enn.+).
  Plt. **swādu-* 'sweet', **swādeje-* 'to render agreeable'.
  PIE **sueh₂d-u-* 'sweet', **su(o)h₂d-eie-* 'to render tasty'. IE cognates: Skt. *svādú-* [m.], *svādvī-* [f.] 'sweet', pr. *svádanti* [3p.act.], caus. *svadáya-* 'to make savoury', *svāttá-* 'made savoury', OAv. *hudəma-* 'sweetness', YAv. *xᵛāsta-* 'cooked, made done', Bal. *wād,* 'salt' (< PIr. **huāda-*); Gr. ἡδύς 'sweet, tasting good, pleasant', OE *swōt* 'sweet', OHG *suozi*, OE *swēte*; ToA *swār.* 'sweet' < **suād-ro-*.

The PIE *u*-stem adj. yielded Plt. **suādu-*, which was then remade 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 **suoh₂d-eie-* would have yielded **sōdē-*. 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.
  Bibl.: WH II: 483, 611f., EM 597, 659, IEW 1039f., Schrijver 1991: 145, 148, Meiser 1998: 120, LIV **sueh₂d-*.

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,qu*, *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 *suspiciō, sublevō, surgō, sublātus*.
  Derivatives: *subter* 'underneath' [adv.]; 'towards/in a position at the base of, under' [prep.] (Varro+), *subtus* 'underneath, below' (Cato+); *supīnus* 'lying face upwards'

(Pl.+), *resupīnāre* 'to tilt back, lay face upwards' (Ter.+), *resupīnus* 'lying face upwards, sloping upwards' (Acc.+).

PIt. *supV* (probably *supo*) 'down, below; upwards', *supīno-* 'upwards'. It. cognates: O. συπ (+ 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. **subahtu**, *subotu* [3s.ipv.II], *subator sent* [3p.pf.ps.] 'to lay aside'.

PIE *(h₁)upo* 'up, from below'. IE cognates: Gaul. *vo-*, OIr. *fo* 'under', OW *guo-*, *gu-*, *gua-*, W. *go-*, *gwa-* < PCl. *uφo-*; Skt. *úpa* 'towards, together with, under, near to, onto, on', OAv. *upā*, YAv. *upa*, OP *upā* 'towards, with, on, in'; Gr. ὕπο, ὑπό 'under, below'; Go. *uf* 'on, under', OHG *oba*, MHG *obe*, *ob* 'over', OIc. *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 *supīnus* contains the root *ei-* 'to go' (Leumann 1977: 328) is unattractive: it will be a simple adjectival derivative in *-īnus*, 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.

Bibl.: WH 612-617, 633, EM 659-661, 668, IEW 1106f., Leumann 1977: 157, Beekes 1995: 222, Schrijver 1005: 116-130, Untermann 2000: 705f., 718f., 723. → *summus, super, suppus*

sūber, -ris 'cork-oak' [n. *r*] (Verg.+)

Derivatives: *sūbernus* 'of the cork-tree' (Varro), *sūberiēs* 'cork-oak' (Lucil.+).

No etymology. A borrowing from Gr. σῦφαρ [n.] 'wrinkled skin', as proposed by WH, is doubtful on account of the deviant meaning. Latin and Greek might have borrowed a word in *sūbʰ-* 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.'.

PIt. *soiko-* 'swearing', *(se-)sik-* 'to swear',.

PIE *se-s(o)ik-* [pf.] 'to reach', *soik-o-* [m./n.]. IE cognates: Gr. ἵκω, ἱκάνω, ἱκνέομαι [pr.], ἱκέσθαι [aor.] 'to come, reach', ἐνεῖκαι 'to carry off' < *en-seik-*; Lith. *siekti*, 3s. *siekia* 'to try to reach, strive for', *saīkas*, *síekas*, Latv. *sieks* 'unit of dry measure'; ToB *siknam*, sb. *saikaṃ* 'to set a foot'.

The older etymology with *sekʷ-* '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-* 'declaration'.

Bibl.: IEW 897f., Meiser 1986: 87f., Untermann 2000: 589f., 712f., LIV *seik̑-*.

sūcus 'juice' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *sūcidus* 'fresh, juicy' (Varro+), *cōnsūcidus* 'fresh, juicy' (Pl.).

PIt. **souko-*.

PIE **souk̑-o-* 'juice' (or **seuk-o-?*). IE cognates: W. *sugno* 'to suck', MBret. *sunaff* 'juice', W. *sugnedydd* 'pump' (< **seuk-n-?*); Latv. *sùkt*, OCS *sъsati*, Is. *sъsǫ*, Ru. *sosát'* 'to suck' < **suk-*; OIc. *súga*, OHG OE *sūgan* 'to suck' < **sūgan*, OE *sūcan*, MDu. *sūcen* < **sūkan* < **suk-n-?*

We find the root for 'to suck' as **suk̑-* 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 **suk̑-* 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) substratum language(s). In its turn, this might have got the word from Uralic, since Proto-Uralic **śoxi* or **śuwe* 'mouth' looks quite similar to IE **sūk̑/g-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 622f., EM 662, IEW 912f., LIV **seuk̑-*. → *sūgō*

sūdor 'sweat' [m. *r*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *sūdāre* 'to sweat' (Naev.+), *sūdātōrius* 'inducing sweat' (Pl.+); *cōnsūdāre* 'to sweat well' (Pl.+), *dēsūdāscere* 'to sweat away' (Pl.).

PIt. **sweloid-ōs-*.

PIE **sueid-s-* 'sweat' (coll.), **suoid-o-* [m.] 'sweat'. IE cognates: W. *chwys*, Co. *whys*, Bret. *chouez* 'sweat' < **suidso-?*, Skt. *svéda-* [m.], YAv. *xᵛaēδa-* 'sweat', *xᵛīsa-* 'to start sweating'; Gr. ἱδρώς, -ῶτος [m.], ep. acc. ἱδρῶ 'sweat' < **suid-r-os-*; ἱδίω 'to sweat', εἶδος (Hsch.), ἶδος [n.] 'sweat' < **sueidos-*; Arm. *k'irtn*, Alb. *dirsë* < **suid-r-*; Latv. *sviêdri* [pl.] 'sweat' < **suoidro-*; OHG *sweiz*, OE *swāt*, ToB *syelme* 'id.'.

Sūdāre was probably formed on the basis of a m. **swoido-* 'sweat', as attested in Ilr. and Germ. The noun *sūdor* 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 *sūd-* (or **swoid-*) into the *s*-stem.

Bibl.: WH II: 623, EM 662f., IEW 1043, Rix 1985: 341-343, Stüber 2002: 156-158, LIV 1.**sueid-*.

sūdus 'clear, bright (weather), dry' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **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. *saũsas*, 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. *svìsti*, 1s. *svindù* 'to dawn', *svidéti*, *svydéti* (Daukša) 'to shine', Latv. *svîst*, 1s. *svîdu* 'to dawn' < PIE **suid-*. The root would thus be homophonous with 'to sweat' (Lat. *sūdāre*).

Bibl.: WH II: 624, EM 663, IEW 880f., Sihler 1995: 57, LIV ?2.**sueid-*.

suēscō, -ere 'to become accustomed to' [v. Ill; 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.+), *dēsuēscere* 'to disaccustom, become disaccustomed' (Titin.+), *dissuēfierī* 'to be disaccustomed' (Varro+), *īnsuēscere* 'to become accustomed' (Pl.+); *mānsuēs, -ētis* 'mild, tame' (Pl.+), *mānsuētus* 'tame, mild' (Ter.+), *mānsuēscere* 'to become tame' (Lucr.+), *mānsuēfacere* 'to tame' (Varro+).

Plt. **swē(p̯)-sk-e/o-*.

PIE **sue(h₁-)dʰh₁-* 'to make one's own, get accustomed'. IE cognates: Gr. εἴωθα 'to be used, use', Lesb. εὔωθα < PGr. **σέ-σϝωθ-α* < **se-suoh₁-dʰ-* (thus Schrijver; or from **se-sueh₁-dʰ-* with analogical *-o-*?), Gr. ἦθος [n.] 'custom, usage' < **sueh₁-dʰh₁-os-*; Go. *swes* 'own; property' [adj./n.], OHG OS *swās*, OE *swǣs*, OIc. *sváss* 'dear' < **su̯ēdʰ-s-o-*.

Suēscere is an inchoative formation in **-ske/o-* based on a PIE syntagm **sue-dʰh₁-* or **sueh₁-dʰh₁-* 'to make into one's own', which may have as its first member the acc.sg. **sue* 'self, own' (> **su̯ē* 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 : inquiētus* (thus WH).

Bibl.: WH II: 32, 624f., EM 663, IEW 882-884, Schrijver 1991: 140f., Sihler 1995: 131, Hackstein 2002a: 12, Stüber 2002: 155f., Meier-Brügger 2004. → *sodālis*

suffiō, -īre 'to fumigate' [v. IV] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *exfir* (Paul. *ex F.*) 'purgamentum unde adhuc manet suffitio'.

Plt. **-pūje/o-?*

PIE **dʰuh₂-ie-*. IE cognates: Hit. *tuhhae-ᶻⁱ* 'to produce smoke' < PIE **dʰuh₂-o-ie/o-* (denominal to a noun **dʰuh₂-o-*), Hit. *antuu̯ahhaš- / antuhš-* 'man' < nom. **h₁n-dʰuéh₂-ōs*, gen.sg. **h₁n-dʰuh₂-s-ós*; Gr. θύω 'to sacrifice', CS *duti* 'to blow', Sln. *díti* 'to smell, blow', ToB *twasastär* 'burns, shines', ToA *twāsiṣ* 'burns'.

Exfir might be a corrupted form or derivation of **exfiō*. The phonetic development leading from PIE **dʰuH-ie/o-* to *-fiō* is disputed. Most scholars seem to assume **dʰuH-ie-* > **dʰūie-* > **fūje-* > *fīje-* (unrounding by means of the '*pius*-Law'); whereas Kortlandt (2007: 136) posits a development **dʰuHie/o-* > **-dʰwīō* > *-fiō*.

Bibl.: WH 1: 499, EM 663, IEW 261-267, Schrijver 1991: 322-325, Kloekhorst 2008: 188, 886, LIV **dʰueh₂-*. → *fimum, foeteō, fūlīgō, fūmus*

suffrāgium 'vote cast in an assembly, voting' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *refrāgāre/ī* 'to oppose' (Pompon.+), *suffrāgāre/ī* 'to express public support' (Sis.+), *suffrāgō, -inis* 'joint in the hind leg of a quadruped; sucker shoot' (Col.+), *suffrāgātor* '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 *fragor* 'noise' is not attested before Lucr.). This view is advocated in detail by Vaahtera 1993, who explains long -ā- analogically on the model of e.g. *tangō – contāgium*. Szemerényi 1989: 31f. derives -*frāgium* from a (substratum?) root *bʰrāg- '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. Vaahtera 1993: 70).

Bibl.: WH II: 625f., EM 663, IEW 165. → *frangō*

sūgō, -ere 'to suck' [v. III; pf. *sūxī*, 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.+).

PIt. *sougelo- 'to suck', *soug(s)mn- 'udder'.

PIE *seug-e/o- 'to suck'. IE cognates: OE *sūcan* 'to suck', *socian* (< *suk-) 'to suck up'.

See s.v. *sūcus*.

Bibl.: WH II: 622f., EM 664, IEW 912f., Schrijver 1991: 234, LIV *seu̯k-. → *sūcus*

sulcus 'furrow' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *sulcāre* 'to plough, draw furrows' (Varro+); *bisulcis / bisulcus* 'divided into two parts, forked' (Pl.+).

PIt. *solko-.

PIE *solk-o- 'furrow'. IE cognates: Gr. ἕλκω 'to draw, drag', ὁλκός [adj., m.] 'attractive, trailing; hauling-engine for ships; furrow', Alb. *helq, heq* 'to draw' (< *solkeie/o-), OE *sulh* [f.] 'plough' < *sl̥k-, ToB *sälk- 'to draw out'.

In theory, *sulcus* can reflect PIE *sl̥k-o- or *solko-. In view of Gr. ὁλκός, 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: *sulpureus* 'containing sulphur' (Enn.+).

PIt. *solpor / *solpur.

PIE *solp-r? 'fat'. IE cognates: Skt. *sarpíṣ- [n.] 'melted butter, lard', *sr̥prá- [adj.] 'greasy, smooth, sleek', Gr. ὄλπη [f.] 'oil-flask', Alb. *gjalpë 'butter', OHG *salba* 'ointment, salve', ToA *ṣālyp*, ToB *ṣalype* 'butter, oil'.

The best spelling is *sulpur*. The Seneca mss. mostly have *sulphur*, those of Pliny have *sulpur* and *sulphur*. Szemerényi (1995: 410) suggests that *sulpur* derives from *sulpos < *solpos, as in *sulcus*. The preform *solpos would ultimately derive from *selpos 'oily substance', with cognates in Greek, Tocharian and Germanic. The development of *selpos to *solpos would be irregular, however, and final -*ur* instead of -*or* is also unexpected. Maybe the PIE preform was *solp-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. *fuam* etc. >> *siēm/sīm*, etc.; pf. *fuī*, fut. *futūrus sum*, inf. *fore*] (VOLat.+: Forum cippus *esed* 'erit', Duenos inscr. *sied*, Garigliano Bowl *esom* 'sum', Elog.Scip. *fuit, fuise, 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'; *absēns, -tis* 'absent' (Pl.+), *cōnsēns, -tis* [adj./noun] (Var., CIL; only in *dī cōnsēntes* 'the twelve major deities'), *praesēns* 'present, ready' (Lex XII+), *praesentārius* 'in ready money' (Pl.+), *praesentia* 'presence' (Ter.+); *abesse* 'to be absent, different', *adesse* 'to be present' (Naev.+), *dēesse* '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.+), *praeesse* 'to be in charge' (Pl.+), *prōdesse, prōsum* 'to be of use' (Naev.+), *subesse* 'to be underneath' (Pl.+), *superesse* 'to be higher, remain'.

PIt. pr.ind. **es-/s-*, pr.sb. **es-e/o-*, inf. **es-*; pf. **fefu-*; fut. *fus-*. It. cognates: O. *ezum*, U. **eru, erom** [inf.], SPic. **esum**, Presam. **sim, esum, sum**, O. **súm, sum**, Hern. **esu**, U. **esu** 'I am', O. **est, íst**, U. **est**, *est* 'is', O. **sent, set, súnt**, U. *sent* 'they are', U. *sir, sei, si* [2s.pr.sb.], U. *si* [3s.pr.sb.], U. **sis**, *sins* [3p.pr.sb.], U. *ffutu* [2s.ipv.II], U. **futu**, O. **estud**, *estud*, Vol. *estu*, [3s.ipv.II], U. *fututo* [2p.ipv.II], O. **fufans** [3p.ipf.], **fusid** [3s.ipf.sb.], O. **fufens** [3p.pf.], *fuid* [3s.pf.sb.], *fust*, U. **fust**, *fust, fus* [3s.fut.pf.], **furent, fefure** [3p.fut.pf.]; in univerbation with ppp,: U. **antervakaze**, *anderuacose* [3s.pr.sb.], O. **teremnatust** [3s.pf.ps.], with ptc.pr.: U. **ateřafust**, *andersafust, andirsafust* [3s.fut.pf.]; with preverbs: O. **adfust** [3s.fut.pf.], U. **amprefu<u>s** [3s.fut.pf.], *ambrefurent* [3p.fut.pf.], SPic. **isiíns** [3p.sb.?] (**en-*), O. *praesentid* [ptc.pr., abl.sg.f.], O. **úpslm** [1s.pr.sb.?], *osins* [3p.pr.sb.] (**op-sī-*).

PIE pr. **h₁es-/*h₁s-* 'to be'. IE cognates: Gaul. *iμμi*, *imi* 'I am', OIr. *is*; W. *ys* [3s.pr.], *oedd* [pret.], Co. *us, vs*, OBret. *is* 'is' < PCl. **es-*; Hit. *eš-ᶻⁱ / aš-* 'to be, be present', Pal. CLuw. *āš- / aš-*, HLuw. *ás- / s-*, Lyc. *es- / ah-* 'to be', Skt. *as* 'to be' [pr. *ásti, sánti*, opt. *syāt*, pf. *āsa*] , Av. *ah-/h-*, OP *amiy* 'I am', *haⁿtiy* 'they are', Gr. Att. *εἰμί* (= *ēmi*, Aeol. *ἔμμι*, Dor. *ἠμί*) , 2s. *εῖ*, 3s. *ἐστί*, 1p. *εἰμέν*, 2p. *ἐστέ*, 3p. *εἰσί* (Dor. *ἐντί*)] 'to be'; Alb. *jam* 'I am', 2s. *je*, 3s. *është / ã(n)shtē*; 2s.sb. *(të) jesh*, 1s.ipf. *jeshë*; OPr. *asmai* [1s.], *ast, est* [3s.], OLith. *esmi*, Lith. *ēsti* OCS *jesmъ, jestъ*; Ru. *est'* , Cz. *jsem, jest*; OPo. *jeśm*; Po. *jest*; Bulg. *e*; SCr. *jèsam, sam, jèst*; Sln. *sàm, jè*; Go. *im, is, ist* [123s.], *sind* [3p.] 'to be'.

In *cōnsēntes*, 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 Dunkel 1998 contradicts this, joined by Schrijver 2006: 58. They explain PIt. **esom* as a reflex of the original thematic subjunctive **es-e/o-* which is also found in Celtic.

Bibl.: WH I: 263, 420, II: 628f., EM 138, 665, IEW 340ff., Leumann 1977: 523, Meiser 1998: 221, Untermann 2000: 245-252, Schumacher 2004: 295-317, LIV 1.*h₁es-. → *fuī, posse, sōns*

summus 'highest' [adj. *o/ā*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *summa* 'total number, amount, whole' (Pl.+), *Summānus* 'the god of high places' (Pl.+), *summātim* 'summarily' (Lucil.+), *summātus, -ūs* 'being chief' (Lucr.+), *summās, -ātis* [adj.] 'of the first rank' (Pl.+).

PIt. **sup(a)mo-* 'highest'. It. cognates: U. **sume** [loc.sg.], *somo* [acc.sg.m.], *somo* [abl.sg.m.] 'upper' < **sup-mo-*.

PIE **(h₁)up-m(H)o-* 'highest'. IE cognates: Skt. *upamá-*, YAv. *upəma-* 'upmost, highest, closest' < IIr. **(H)upmHa-*, Gr. ὕπατος '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.

Bibl.: WH II: 629f., EM 666, IEW 1106f., Meiser 1998: 152, Untermann 2000: 716f. → *sub, super*

suō, -ere 'to sew' [v. III; pf. *suī*, ppp. *sūtum*] (Ter.+)

Derivatives: *sūbula* 'shoemaker's awl' (Sen.+), *sūtor* 'shoemaker' (Pl.+), *sūtōrius* 'of. a shoemaker' (Varro+), *sūtrīnus* 'of. shoemaking' (Varro+), *sūtēla* 'cunning device' (Pl.+); *pellesuīna* 'shop where skins are sold' (Varro); *cōnsuere* 'to sew together, plan' (Pl.+).

PIt. **s(j)ūje/o-, *s(j)ūto-*.

PIE **siuH-ie/o-* 'to sew', **siuH-tó-* 'sewn'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *sī́vya-* 'to sew', *syūtá-* 'sewn up', *syū́man-* [n.] 'band, thong, bridle', *sū́tra-* [n.] 'wire, line, cord', Khot. *hīya* 'sewn stuffs' < **siuHC* < PIE **siHuC-*; Lith. *siūti*, Latv. *šūt*, SCr. *šȉti*; Go. *siujan* 'to sew'.

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 *ī* in front of **i* (cf. *pius, inciēns*) is explained by Meiser from 'dissimilatory retention' of *ū* between two **i*'s (2003: 236; until after the fronting of **ū*), but maybe *ū* was simply restored on the model of the derivatives in **sū-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 620, 631, EM 662, 667, IEW 915f., Schrijver 1991: 247f., Meiser 1998: 227, 2003: 235f., LIV **sieuH-*. → *moveō*

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.+), *īnsuper* [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.+).

PIt. **super(i)* 'above', **supero-* 'upper', **super-jōs-* 'higher', **superisamo-* 'highest'. It. cognates: U. **subra**, *subra* [adv.], *subra* [prep. + acc.] 'above' < **superād*; U. **super** [prep. + loc.] 'on top'; U. *superne* [prep. + acc.] 'over' < **super-noi* [loc.sg.] or adv. **super-nēd* to **super-no-*; O. **supruis** [dat.pl.m.], U.

supru [abl.sg.] 'upper' < *sup-ero-.

PIE *(h₁)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. *upári*, YAv. *upairi* 'above, over', OP *upariy* 'over, on', Skt. *úpara-* [adj.] 'below, under, later', YAv. *upara-* 'upper, higher', Gr. ὑπέρ, ὕπερ 'over, above', Gr. ὕπερος [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.

Bibl.: WH II: 613, 630, EM 660, 667f., IEW 1105f., Leumann 1977: 320, Sihler 1995: 368, 441, Meiser 1998: 152, Untermann 2000: 706f., 720-722. → *probus* (for *superbus*), *sub*, *summus*, *supīnus*

supō, -āre; -sipō, -āre 'to pour, strew' [v. I] (Paul. *ex F. supāre* 'to throw')

Derivatives: *dissu/ipāre* 'to disperse, shatter' (Pl.+), *īnsipere*, *-sipiō* (Cato+), *īnsu/ipāre* (Paul. *ex F.*) 'to throw in', *obsipāre* 'to scatter' (Pl., Paul. *ex F.*).

PIt. *sup-i-*, *-sup-āje-* 'to throw'.

PIE *sup-i-* 'to throw'. IE cognates: Lith. *sùpti*, 3s. *sùpa* 'to rock, cradle'; OCS *suti*, 1s. *supǫ*, Cz. *souti* (obs.), SCr. *sȁsuti* 'to pour, strew' < BSl. *soup-*, ORu. *supъ* '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 *īnsupāre* and *dissupāre*; hence, its *-u-*colour does not prove a PIt. root *sup-*. Lat. *īnsipere* might be showing a simplex *sVpere*, to which *-su/ipāre* may have been made by a productive process. In that case, the oldest reconstructible stem is *sVp-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/ā] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: *suppāre* 'to turn on their back' (Acc.+).

PIt. *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-dunum*, *Uxama* [topon.], OIr. *úasal*, W. *uchel*, Co. *huhel*, Bret. *uhel* 'high' < PCl. *ou(x)selo-* 'high' < PIE *h₁oup-s- 'high', Gaul. *(a) uz*, OIr. *ós* [+dat.], W. *uch*, Co. *(a) ugh* 'above' < PCl. *ouxso-* < PIE *h₁oups-o-; Hit. *ūpp-ᶻⁱ* 'to come up (of the sun)' < *h₁éup-ti*; Gr. ὕψι [adv.] 'on high, above'; Ru. *výše*, SCr. *više*, Sln. *više* 'higher', Ru. *vys'* [f.] 'height' < *úp-s- (Derksen 2008), OCS *vysokъ*, Ru. *vysók* 'high' (anal. *vy-*), Go. *iupa* 'above', *iup* 'upward' < *eup-.

Weiss (fthc.b) discusses earlier etymologies, and argues that Sabellic /sōpa/ can reflect PIt. *soup-, *soip- or *sop-. If Latin suppus stems from *sūpus via the littera-rule, then both may reflect PIt. *soupo- < PIE *seup-o-, an internal derivative to *sup 'below, upwards'. The meaning of PIt. *soupo- 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. ὕπτιος 'supine, upside down' from ὑπό, with the pl. τὰ ὕπτια 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 5, II: 634, EM 4, 669, IEW 1049f., Nussbaum 1999a: 381, LIV 1. *suer-.

sŭrus '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 sŭrus 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 sŭrus, it might be cognate with Skt. svári- '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.+).

PIt. *su-sur(r)-o-, *swer-. It. cognates: O. sverrunei [dat.sg.] name of an official of the town Abella.

PIE *su-sur-? *suer- 'to resound'. IE cognates: Bret. huerniñ 'to quarrel', MW chwyrn 'rapid, whirling', OCo. hwirnores, Bret. c'hwiliores 'hornet' < *suer-n-, MW chwerthin, MCo. hwerthin, MBret. huerzin 'to laugh' < PCl. *suar-je/o-; Skt. svára- 'to make a sound, snort', OAv. xᵛaraiϑiia- [adj.] 'sounding'; OIc. svarra 'to sparkle, rustle', OE swerian 'to swear'.

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 *su̯er- 'to resound'. O. **sverrun-** could meaning 'speaker' < 'resounder'; possible reconstructions are then *su̯er-es-ōn- or *su̯er-jōn-.

Bibl.: WH II: 637, EM 670, IEW 1049f., Schrijver 1995: 57, Untermann 2000: 726f., Schumacher 2004: 608f., LIV I.*su̯er-.

sūs, suīs 'pig, sow' [m., f. ū] (Pl.+; acc. *suem,* acc.pl. *suēs,* dat.abl.pl. *sūbus, sŭbus, suibus*)

Derivatives: *suīle* [n.] 'pigsty' (Varro+), *suillus* 'of pigs, pork' (Pl.+), *sūcula* 'a windlass' (Pl.+); *subulcus* 'swineherd' (Cato+), *sucerda* 'pig's dung' (Lucil.+), *sūcīdia/succīdia* 'joint of pork' (Cato+), *suovetaurīlia, -ium* 'purificatory sacrifice of a boar, a ram and a bull' (Cato+).

Plt. *sūs [nom.], *sūm [acc.], *suwos [gen.]. It. cognates: U. **sim, si** [acc.sg.], **sif,** *sif* [acc.pl.f.], **sif,** *si* [acc.pl.m.] 'pig' < *sŭ-; U. **suřum, suřu,** *sorsom, sorso* [acc.sg.], *sorser* [gen.sg.], *sorsu* [abl.sg.], **suřuf** [acc.pl.] m/n. '?', maybe 'of a pig' in one context, elsewhere unclear; *sōdo- < *soudo-?

PIE *suh₁/₃s [nom.], *suh₁/₃-os [gen.] 'pig, swine' (orig. 'sow'). IE cognates: Skt. *sūkará-* [m.] 'wild boar', YAv. *hū-,* MP *xūg,* Gr. ὗς, gen.sg. ὑός, Alb. *thi* 'pig'; OHG, OE *sū* 'sow', OIc. *sýr* 'sow'.

According to Schrijver, the alternation between nom.acc. *sū-s, -m* and oblique case forms *sŭ-* led to the introduction of *su-* in compounds such as *su-bulcus* (formed after *bubulcus*) and *su-cerda.* The PIE word *suH- probably meant 'sow', since it can be connected with Ilr. *suH- 'to give birth' (Skt. *sūte* 'gives birth', *sū-* [f.] 'mother', *a-sū-* 'barren', 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 *suh₁/₃- 'to be full' which Kloekhorst 2008: 785-798 reconstructs for Hit. *šunna-ⁱ / šunn-* [pr.] 'to fill' (< *su-nó-h₁/₃- / *su-n-h₁/₃-), *šūu- / šūu̯au̯- 'full' (< *souh₁/₃-(o)u-) and Hit. *šuu̯e/a-ᶻⁱ,* HLuw. *suwa-* 'to fill' (< *sHu-ie/o-).

Bibl.: WH II: 621f., 635f., EM 670, IEW 1038f., Schrijver 1991: 533, Untermann 2000: 676f., 709f.

T

tābeō 'to rot away, decay' [v. II] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *tābum* 'gore, putrified fluid matter' (Enn.+), *tābēs, -is* [f.] 'wasting, decay' (Lucr.+), *tābēscere* (pf. *tābuī*) 'to melt away, waste away' (Andr.+); *contābēscere* 'to waste away, pine' (Pl.+), *contābēfacere* 'to make to waste away' (Pl.); *tābificus* 'causing decay' (Lucr.+), *tābificābilis* 'causing decay' (Acc.).

Plt. *tāf-ē- 'to be melting'.

PIE *teh₂-bʰ-eh₁- 'to be melting'. IE cognates: OIr. *taīd*, *·taa* 'to melt, dissolve' < *tā-je/o-, MW *toði,* OBret. *teuziff* 'to melt' < *tā-de/o-, Oss. *taj-* 'to thaw, melt', Gr.

τήκω, Dor. τάκω 'to melt', τᾱκερός 'melting, soft', Arm. *t'anam* 'to make wet', SeCS *tájati* 'to thaw', Ru. *tájat'* 'to melt, thaw, dwindle'.

The original meaning 'to be melting' iš 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 639f., EM 672, IEW 1053f., Schrijver 1991: 145, Schumacher 2004: 627f., LIV 2.*teh₂-.

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.

Bibl.: WH II:639, EM 672, IEW 1090, Leumann 1977: 322, Meiser 1998: 127. → *trabs*

tabula 'board, plank' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+; SCBac. *tabola*)

Derivatives: *tabella* 'wooden tablet, board' (Pl.+), *tabulātum* 'floor made of boards, stage' (Enn.+), *tab(u)līnum* 'room between the atium and the peristyle' (Varro+).

PIt. **taf/blā*- 'board'. It. cognates: U. **tafle e** [loc.sg. + -*en*] [f.] 'instrument for transporting the sacrificial fire'.

PIE *th₂-dʰlo-?

The etymology is uncertain. If the original form was PIt. *tablā-, one may analyze it as a root *ta- plus the instrument suffix PIE *-*dʰlo*-. As proposed by Southern (2000: 97, 128), the root could be *s*-less *teh₂- 'to stand'; we find PIE *steh₂- 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*.

Bibl.: WH II: 640f., EM 672, IEW 1061, Leumann 1977: 103, Untermann 2000: 730f. → *stō*

taceō 'to be silent' [v. II; pf. *tacuī*, ppp. *tacitum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *taciturnus* 'maintaining silence' (Pl.+), *taciturnitās* 'the maintaining of silence' (Pl.+), *tacitulus* '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.+).

PIt. *tak-ē- 'to be silent'. It. cognates: U. **taçez**, *tases*, *tasis* [ppp. nom.sg.m.], *tasetur* [nom.pl.m.] 'tacit' < *takēto-.

PIE *tHk-eh₁- 'to be silent'. IE cognates: Go. *þahan* 'to keep secret', OIc. *þegja*, OS *thagian*, OHG *thagēn* < PGm. *þaχē-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. ἔπτηξα, Dor. ἔπταξα, and Arm. *t'ak'eaw* '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-* < *tspērsn-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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 641f., EM 673, IEW 1055, Schrijver 1991: 104, Untermann 2000: 731f., LIV *pteh₂k-.

taedet 'to be tired of' [v. II; pf. *taeduit*, ppp. *taesum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *taeter* [adj. *o/ā*] 'foul, horrible' (Pl.+), *taetrāre* 'to make loathsome' (Pac.), *taetritūdō* 'loathsome condition' (Acc.); *pertaedēre* 'to fill with digust' [Pompon.+; ppp. *pertīsum* Lucil.+], *pertaedēscere* 'to begin to fill with disgust' (Cato).

PIt. *taid-ē-* [v.], *taid-ro-* [adj.]

Taeter may regularly reflect *taidro-*, but there is no good etymology for PIt. *taid-*.
Bibl.: WH II: 642f., EM 673. → *fastus*

tālea 'cutting, thin piece of wood' [f. *ā*] (Cato+)

Has been connected with Gr. τᾶλις -ιδος '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+).
PIt. *tāli-*.
PIE *teh₂-li-* 'such'. IE cognates: W. *talu* 'to pay', Gr. τηλίκος 'of such an age', Lith. *tõlei* 'until', OCS *toli* 'to such a degree', *tolь* 'so much, many', *toliko* 'id.'.

If *tāliō* is correctly interpreted as *tāli-ōn-* 'compensation with the same' (Leumann 1977: 366), it is derived from *tālis*.
Bibl.: WH II: 643f., EM 674, IEW 1086f., Leumann 1977: 366, 483, Schrijver 1991: 145, Meiser 1998: 167. → *quī*

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.).
PIt. *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 **tăkslo-*. The suggested connection with W. *sawdl*, OIr. *sál* 'heel' < PCl. **statlā-* 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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 619, 645, EM 675, Schrijver 1991: 145.

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.+), *tantīsper* '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-tanto-*; maybe U. **-ta, -tu**, *-to* [postp. + abl.] 'from, away' < **tā*, poss. to PIE **to/tā-*.

PIE **teh₂m*, **teh₂-nt-(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.

Bibl.: WH II: 645f., EM 674f., IEW 1086f., Klingenschmitt 1972: 101, Sims-Williams 1997: 320f., Sihler 1995: 393, Untermann 2000: 72, 241. → *topper*, *tum*

tangō, -ere 'to touch' [v. III; *tetigī, tāctum*; sb. OLat. *tag-a-*, 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.+); *tāctiō* 'touching' (Pl.+), *tāctilis* 'able to be touched' (Lucr.), *tactus, -ūs* 'touch' (Lucr.+); *integer* [o/ā] 'untouched, unused' (Naev.+), *integrāscere* 'to begin anew' (Ter.), *integrātiō* 'renewal' (Ter.), *integrāre* 'to renew' (Pac.+); *attingere* 'to touch, reach' (Pl.+; sb. *attiga-* in OLat.), *contingere* 'to touch, reach' (Pl.+), *obtingere* 'to fall as one's lot' (Pl.+); *contāgēs, -is* 'contact' (Lucr.), *contāgiō* 'contact' (Pl.+), *contāgium* 'contact' (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-t?*; maybe Vol. *atahus* [3s.fut.pf.] '?' < **ad-tah-us-t* or *ā-*. The reflex *h* < **g* is irregular, cf. Untermann.

PIE pr. **th₂-n-g-* 'to touch', ppp. **th₂g-to-*, **-teh₂g-* in cp. IE cognates: Gr. τεταγών 'having seized', Go. *tekan* 'to touch', *taitok* 'touched', OIc. *tók* 'took', ToB *cesäṃ*, 3p *ceken-* 'to touch'.

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. *faxō, faxim* to *faciō*), 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.).

Bibl.: WH II: 647, EM 676, IEW 183, Schrijver 1991: 98, 132ff., 136f., 145, Kortlandt 2000, Untermann 2000: 107f., 131f., 729f., LIV 616f. → *contāminăre*

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. *táruṇa-* '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.+), *taurīnus* 'of a bull, of ox-hide' (Pl.+).

PIt. *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. *taũras*, Latv. *tàurs* [m.] 'aurochs', OCS *turъ* 'bull', Ru. *tur* (gen. *túra*) , SCr. *tûr* 'aurochs'.

It is striking that Latin does not show the change of *-aur- > *-aru- as in *parvum*, and with *-e-* in *nervus*. This might indicate that *taurus* is a loanword post-dating the metathesis *-ur- > *-ru-, 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 650f., EM 677, IEW 1080-1085, Leumann 1977: 101, Schrijver 1991: 266, Untermann 2000: 777f.

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 Mycenaean. 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 *tkʷ-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.

tegō, -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.+), *tēgillum* 'piece of rush matting' (Pl.+); *toga* 'formal outer garment, toga' (Pl.+), *togālis* 'of togas' (Cato), *togātus* 'wearing a toga' (Varro+), *togula* 'a (bad) toga' (Titin.+); *contegere* 'to cover over, conceal' (Ter.+), *circumtēctus* 'covered' (Naev.), *dētegere* 'to remove the roof, uncover' (Pl.+), *integere* 'to cover, roof' (Pl.+), *integumentum* 'shield, wrapping' (Pl.+), *obtel/igere* 'to cover, protect, conceal' (Pl.+), *pertegere* 'to cover completely' (Pl.+).

PIt. *teg-e/o-* 'to cover', *tekto-* 'covered', *tege-t-* 'covering', *togā-* 'cover, cloak'. It cognates: SPic. **tokam** [acc.sg.] 'grave stone' or 'figure' < *togā-*; 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-lo-* [n.]. IE cognates: OIr. *teg*, gen.sg. *tige* 'house' < *tégos-* [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', στεγνός 'covered, waterproof', τέγος [n.] 'roof, house', OPr. *stogis*, Lith. *stógas* [m.], Latv. *stâgs* 'roof' (< PIE *stogo-*); OHG *dah*, OIc. *þak* [n.] 'roof' (< *togo-*), *þekja* 'to cover'.

Latin shows a thematic present, a *t*-stem noun, an *ā*-stem *togā-*, and the noun *tēgula*. Long *ē* in *tēctum* is due to Lachmann's lengthening.

Bibl.: WH II: 654, EM 678f., IEW 1013f., Schrijver 1991: 127, Sihler 1995: 77, 625, Meiser 1998: 227, Untermann 2000: 750, 773, Stüber 2002: 152, LIV *(s)teg-. → *tignum*

tellūs, -ūris 'ground, earth' [f. *r*] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *meditullium* 'the interior of a country, centre' (Cic.+).

PIt. *teln-(ūs-?)*.

PIE *telh₂-o-* 'ground'. IE cognates: OIr. *talam* 'earth' < *telamon-*, Gr. τελαμών 'strap' < *telh₂-mon-*; Skt. *tala-* [n.] 'surface, bottom' (ŚrSū.+), Lith. *tilės* 'bottom of a barge, flooring', OCS *tьla* [pl.], ORu. *tьlo* 'foundation, bottom' < PIE *tlH-o-*; OPr. *talus* 'floor', Lith. *pãtalas* 'bed, (pl.) feather-bed', Ru. *potolók* 'ceiling' < PIE *h₂po-tolH-o-*; maybe OIc. *þil(i)* [n.] 'board', *þilja* [f.] 'deal, plank', *þel* [n.] 'floor', OE *ðille* '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 OIr. *talam* 'earth' can also be derived (cf. Stüber 1998: 150f.). In fact, Sabellic shows a pr. *telne/o-* where Latin has *tollō* 'to bear'; this stem *teln-* may have been the derivational basis for *tellūs* (and *toln-* for *medi-tullium*, unless *-ll-* was taken from *tellūs*), since *tell-* cannot directly reflect PIt. *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., BSl. and Gm. could have the same origin.

Bibl.: WH II: 655, EM 679, IEW 1061, Stüber 1998: 150f. → *tollō*

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.

temere 'blindly, recklessly' [adv.] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *temeriter* 'thoughtlessly' (Acc.), *temeritūdō* 'recklessness' (Pac.), *temeritās* 'recklessness' (Pl.+), *temerārius* 'accidental, reckless' (Pl.+), *temerāre* 'to violate, desecrate' (Verg.+).

Plt. **temesi* [loc.sg.]

PIE *temH-os- [n.] 'darkness'. IE cognates: Skt. *támas-* [n.] 'darkness, blinding', Av. *tamah-* [n.] 'darkness'; Lith. *témti* 'to become dark, to become evening', *tamsà* 'darkness'.

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.

Bibl.: WH II: 656f., EM 679, IEW 1063f., Schrijver 1991: 104f., 415, Stüber 2002: 158f., LIV *temH-. → *tēmētum, tenebrae*

tēmētum 'intoxicating liquor' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *tēmulentus* 'drunken' (Ter.+); *abstēmius* 'refraining from wine, self-restrained' (Lucil.+).

Plt. **tēmo-* 'intoxication' or 'intoxicating substance'.

PIE *tēmH- 'intoxication'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *tāmyati* [3s.act.], aor. *tamat* [3s.sb.act.], *tāmrá-* 'dark red, copper-red', Arm. *t'mrim* 'to become stunned' < **tēm-*; NHG *dämisch, dämlich* < PGm. **þæm-i-*.

Lat. *abstēmius* can be regarded as a hypostasis from **abs tēmō*; together with *tēmulentus* 'containg *tēmo-*', this points to an original *o*-stem **tēmo-* 'intoxication', which may continue a PIE root noun. Long *ē* is confirmed by Armenian and Germanic, but Skt. *tāmyati* probably has secondary *-ā-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 657, EM 679f., IEW 1063, Schrijver 1991: 127, LIV *temH-. → *temere*

temnō, -ere 'to scorn, despise' [v. III] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: *contemnere* 'to despise, scorn' [pf. *contempsī*, ppp. *contemptum*] (Pl.+), *contemptim* 'contemptuously' (Naev.+), *contemptrīx* 'she who despises' (Pl.+), *contemnificus* 'scornful' (Lucil.).

Plt. **(kom-)tmne/o-*.

PIE *tm-n(e)-h₁- 'to cut'. IE cognates: MIr. *tamnaid* 'cuts' (prob denominal), Gr.

τάμνω, Att. τέμνω 'to cut', aor. ἔταμον, Att. ἔτεμον, Lith. *tìnti*, 3s. *tìna* 'to whet, (colloq.) beat', Ru. *tjat'* (arch.), Is. *tnu* 'to beat', Sln. *tẹ́ti*, 1s. *tnèm* 'to chop' < BSl. *tinʔtei*; 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 *temh₁- '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 *temh₁-, of which Greek and Celtic show a nasal present *tm-n-h₁-, 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-temsī, 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: *contempsī*. Latin has made an *s*-pf. to all nasal presents with word-internal nasal (cf. Meiser 2003: 112-114), whence pr. *temnō* > pf. *tem-sī*. The other presents in -*nere* (*cernere, linere, spernere, sternere*) synchronically show a perfect in -*Vvī*.

   Bibl.: WH II: 657f., EM 680, Schrijver 1991: 407, Sihler 1995: 534, Meiser 2003: 113f., LIV *temh₁-. → *contumāx*

tēmō 'pole or yoke-beam of a cart or a plough' [m. *n*] (Enn.+)
   PIt. *ten(k)smōn- 'pole'.
   PIE *ten(K)s(-)m-n- 'to pull'. IE cognates: OHG *dīhsala*, OE *þīxl*, OIc. *þisl* 'pole, thill' (< PGm. *þenχslō-).

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).
   Bibl.: WH II: 658, EM 680, IEW 1067, Eichner 1992: 72, Isebaert–Seldeslachts 1994: 174, Meiser 1998: 118. → *tendō, teneō*

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 *antemna* 'yard of a sailing-ship' (Pl.+).
   PIt. *t(e)mp-lo- [n.].
   PIE *t(e)mp-lo-. IE cognates: Lith. *tem̃pti* 'to pull, stretch', 3s. *tem̃pia*, OIc. *þǫmb* 'bow', ToB *campäṃ*, A *cämpäṣ* '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).

Bibl.: WH I: 54, II: 659, EM 681, IEW 1064f., Meiser 1998: 81, LIV *temp-.

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(e)mp-to- 'touched'.

PIE *t(e)mp-to-. 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*.

Bibl.: WH II: 662, EM 681, IEW 1064f., Leumann 1977: 501, LIV *temp-. →
templum

tempus, -oris 'time, moment' [n. r] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *tempe/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.+), *intemperiae* [f.pl.] / *intemperiēs* '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 *temp-os, -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-tīvus* and the verb *tempes-āie- > *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. *þunn-vangi*, OHG *dunwangi* 'temple', lit. 'thin cheek'.

Bibl.: WH II: 658-661, EM 680-682, IEW 1064f., Schrijver 1991: 384, Stüber 2002: 159f., LIV *temp-.

tendō, -ere 'to extend, stretch' [v. III; pf. *tetendī*, 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.+), *subtendere* 'to stretch out underneath' (Cato+); *extentāre* 'to stretch, exert to the full' (Pl.+), *ostentāre* 'to exhibit, demonstrate' (Pl.+), *ostentātor* 'who displays ostentatiously' (Pl.+); *prōtēlum* 'tandem of draught animals' (Cato+), *prōtēlāre* 'to drive forth, beat back' (Ter.+).

Plt. **tend-* [pr.], **tnto-* [ppp.]. It. cognates: U. **ustentu, ustetu**, *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 *tollō*.

PIE **ten-d^(h)-* [pr.] 'to stretch', **tn-to-* [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. *tetinī* 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 *prōtēlum* probably represents **prō-tend-slo-* 'instrument for pulling forth'; but **-tens-lo-* to the root variant PIE **tens-* is also possible, cf. *tōlēs*.

Bibl.: WH II: 227, 344, 376f., 662f., EM 470f., 524, 540, 682f., IEW 1065f., Sihler 1995: 503, Meiser 1998: 193, 2003: 191f., Untermann 2000: 812-814, LIV **ten-*. → *teneō*

tenebrae 'darkness' [f.pl. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *tenebrōsus* 'dark' (Varro+), *tenebriō* 'who operates in the dark, dishonest person' (Afran.+), *tenebricus* 'shrouded in darkness' (Pac.+), *tenebricōsus* 'dark' (Varro+); *contenebrāscere* 'to become completely dark' (Varro+).

Plt. **temasrā-* 'darkness'.

PIE **temH-s-ro-* [adj.] 'dark'. IE cognates: Skt. *támisrā-* [f.] 'dark night', YAv. *taθra-* [pl.] 'darkness', MP *tār* 'darkness', *tārīg* [adj.] 'dark'; OHG *demar* 'twilight' (< PIE **temH-só-*).

Dissimilated from **temebrai* < **temasro-* < **temHs-rh₂-*, the f. of a *ro*-adjective which is a derivative of the PIE *s*-stem **temH-os-*, reflected in Latin *temere*.

Bibl.: WH II: 664, EM 683, IEW 1063f., Schrijver 1991: 104, Stüber 2002: 158f., LIV **temH-*. → *temere*

teneō 'to hold, grasp' [v. II; pf. *tetinī* (>> *tenuī*), ppp. *tentum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *tenāx* 'holding tight, stubborn' (Pl.+), *tenācia* 'stubbornness' (Enn.), *tenor, -ōris* [m.] 'sustained movement, course' (Varro+), *tēnsa* '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.+),

dētinēre 'to keep, retain' (Pl.+), *obtinēre* 'to maintain, occupy, achieve' (Pl.+), *pertinēre* 'to be concerned with, belong to, reach' (Pl.+), *pertināx* 'stubborn, tenacious' (Pl.+), *pertinācia* 'stubbornness' (Pl.+), *retinēre* 'to detain, retain' (Pl.+), *retināculum* 'rein, rope' (Cato+), *retentāre* 'to keep hold of' (Pl.+), *sustinēre* 'to support, preserve' (Pl.+), *sustentāre* 'to keep from falling, maintain' (Pl.+), *trānstinēre* 'to provide a link' (Pl.).

PIt. **t(e)nē-* [pr.], **tenos-* [n.] 'snare, stretch'. It. cognates: U. *tenitu* [3s.ipv.II] 'to hold' < **ten-ē-*.

PIE **tn-eh₁-* 'to hold', **ten-os-* [n.] 'stretch'. IE cognates: MW *tannu* 'to spread out', MCo. *tan* 'take!' < PCl. **tan-nu-*; Skt. pr. *tanóti* [act.], *tanuté* [med.], root aor. *átan* [3s.act.], pf. *tatāna* 'to stretch, extend', *tatá-* 'extended, skilled, performed', OAv. *us-tāna-* 'stretched out', YAv. *pairi.tanuiia* [1s.opt.med.], *pairi .. . tanauua* [1s.sb.act.] 'to keep away (from)'; Gr. τείνω 'to stretch, pull tight', τάνυται 'to stretch (intr.)', τόνος [m.] 'tension, cord, string, tone, sound', ἁλι-τενής 'extending to the sea'; Go. *uſþanjan* 'to extend', OHG *den(n)en*, NHG *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-uos* 'stretching to', but this seems less likely: the meaning does not point to an original perfect, and reduplication is absent whereas *tetinī* retains it. The *-ā-* in *retināculum* is unexpected: was it influenced by *tenāx* and *tenācia*?

Bibl.: WH I: 267, II: 664-667, EM 683f., IEW 1065f., Stüber 2002: 160f., Meiser 2003: 191f., Schumacher 2004: 618f., LIV **ten-*. → *tendō, tōlēs*

tener, -a, -um 'soft, delicate' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *tenellus* '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. *táruṇa-* 'young, tender, fresh', Av. *tauruna-* 'young'; [m.] 'boy', Oss. *tæryn, tyryn/tærna* 'boy'; Gr. τέρυ 'weak, soft' (Hsch.), τερύνης 'worn-out ass, infirm old man' (Hsch.), Gr. τέρην 'soft, delicate'.

Since IIr. and Gr. show adjectives **teru-*, **ter-n-* 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: *tenuitās* 'scantiness, thinness' (Cato+), *tenuāre* 'to make thin, reduce, narrow' (Lucil.+); *subtenuis* 'rather fine in structure' (Varro); *attenuāre* 'to make slender, weaken' (Lucr.+), *extenuāre* 'to make thin, diminish' (Varro+).

PIt. *tṇ(a)u-.

PIE *tnh₂-(e)u- 'thin'. IE cognates: OIr. *tanae*, W. *teneu*, C. *tanow*, Bret. *tanao* 'delicate, thin' < PCl. *tanaụo- < *tnh₂-eu-o-; Skt. *tanú-* 'thin, slender', MP *tanuk* 'thin, flat', Gr. ταναός 'thin, elongated, expanding far', τανύ- [pref.] 'thin, slender' < *tnHu-; Lith. *tęvas* 'thin, slender, high (of voices)', Latv. *tiêvs* 'thin, slender' < *tenh₂-u-ó-; OCS *tьnъkъ*, Ru. *tónkij*, Sln. *tának* 'delicate, fine' < *tnHu-k-; OHG *dunni*, OIc. *þunnr* 'thin' < *tnHu-.

The PIt. *u*-stem adj. was remade into an *i*-stem, yielding *tṇ(a)ui- > *ten(a)ụi- > *tenuis*. The PIE root form *tnh₂- might be an extended variant of *ten- 'to stretch', but this cannot be certified.

Bibl.: WH II: 666, EM 684, IEW 1069, Schrijver 1991: 219, Meiser 1998: 110.

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'.

PIE *t(e)p-eh₁- 'to be warm', *tep-os- [n.] 'warmth'. IE cognates: OIr. *té* 'hot', *tess* 'heat', W. *tes*, Bret. *tez* 'id.'; Skt. *tápati* 'to heat, be/become hot', *tápas-* [n.] 'heat, glow', YAv. *tafsa-* 'to become hot', *tāpaiia-* 'to make hot, create warmth', *hqm.tapta-* 'hot', MP *tab* 'fever' (< PIr. *tapah-); OCS *teplostь* [f.] 'warmth', Ru. *tëplyj*, Cz. *teplý* 'hot' < *tep-lo-, OCS *tapiti*, Ru. *topit'* 'to heat, melt'.

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 *ftoh* 'to cool down' if from *tpē-sk-.

Bibl.: WH II: 667, EM 685, IEW 1069f., Stüber 2002: 161f., LIV 1.*tep-.

tergeō 'to rub clean, polish' [v. II; pf. *tersī*, ppp. *tersum*] (Pl.+; pr. also *tergō*, *-ere*)

Derivatives: *abstergēre* 'to wipe clean, wipe off' (Pl.+), *circumtergēre* 'to wipe round about' (Cato), *dētergēre* 'to wipe away, trim' (Andr.+), *extergēre* 'to wipe clean' (Pl.+); *mantēlum* 'hand-towel, napkin' (Lucil.+), *mantēlium* (Varro+) 'hand-towel, napkin'.

PIt. *terg-. It. cognates: U. **mantrahklu**, **mantraklu**, *mandraclo* [acc.sg.] 'object which the priest is holding', maybe < *man-trāg-tlo- 'towel' vel sim.

Mantēlum < *manu-terg-slo-. LIV opts for *tergere* as the original verbal formation, but especially the compounds show that *-tergēre* 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. *ištalk-ᶻⁱ* 'to flatten'.

Bibl.: WH II: 670, EM 685f., IEW 1071-74, Meiser 1998: 119, Untermann 2000: 451, LIV ?2.*ter⸢ǵ⸥- or *(s)tergʰ-.

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.

Bibl.: WH II: 670, EM 686, IEW 1022-1027, Leumann 1977: 166.

U. **terkantur** [3p.pr.sb.] 'to check' or 'to confirm'.

PIt. **derk-e/o-* [pr.].

PIE **derk-* 'to look'. IE cognates: OIr. *ad:con-dairc* [pf.] 'saw' << **de-dork-, derc* 'eye'; Skt. *darś-* 'to see', *su-dárśa-* 'easily seen, conspicuous', Av. *daras-* 'to look', *darəsa-* [m./n.] 'looking', Gr. δέρκομαι, pf. δέδορκα 'to look', ὑπό-δρα [adv.] 'looking up from below', Go. *ga-tarhjan* 'to expose, make public', OE *torht* 'clear'.

Bibl.: IEW 213, Untermann 2000: 747f., Schumacher 2004: 271, LIV **derk-.*

termen, -inis 'boundary-stone' [n. *n*] (CIL, Acc.+)

Derivatives: *termimus* '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.+).

PIt. **ter-mn-* [n.] 'boundary stone'. It. cognates: Ven. **termonios** [acc.pl.m.] 'of the boundary' < **ter-mon-io-*; Presam. τερμανι [loc.sg.?], O. **teremenniú** [nom.acc.pl.], **teremniss** [dat.abl.pl.] n. 'boundary stone'< **ter-mn-*; O. **teremnattens** [3p.pf.], **teremnatust** [3s.pf.ps.], U. *termnas (est)* [3s.pf.ps.] 'to delimit' < denom. **termn-ā-*; U. *termnome* [acc.sg. + *-en*] , *termnuco* [abl.sg. + *-kom*] , **termnesku** [abl.pl. + *-kom*] [m.] 'boundary stone' < **ter-mn-o-*.

PIE **ter-mn-* [n.] 'peg, post'. IE cognates: Hit. *tarma-* [c.], CLuw. *tarma/i-* 'peg, nail' < **t(o)r(h₁)-mo-*, Gr. τέρμα [n.] 'goal, end-point', τέρμων [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-tárman-* 'which provides a good passage') is unattractive. The PIE root is unclear: maybe **ter-*, an *anit* variant of **terh₁-* 'to rub'?

Bibl.: WH II: 671, EM 686, IEW 1074f., Lejeune 1974: 339, Leumann 1977: 371, Untermann 2000: 745-748, Lazzarini-Poccetti 2001, Rix 2002a: 70.

termes, -itis 'bough cut from a tree' [m. *t*] (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.+), *trītūra* 'rubbing, threshing' (Varro+), *terebra* [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' (Cato+); *atterere* 'to rub, grind, wear' (Pl.+), *conterere* 'to pound to pieces, wear out, use up' (Naev.+), *dēterere* 'to wear down, rub off' (Naev.+), *dētrīmentum* 'harm, diminishment' (Cato+), *exterere* 'to thresh out, elide' (Varro+), *extermentārium* 'linteum quod teritur corpore' (Varro), *interere* 'to crumble on, up' (Cato+), *intertrīgō* 'sore place caused by rubbing' (Cato+), *intertrīmentum* 'wear and tear' (Ter.+), *obterere* 'to crush, destroy' (Naev.+), *praeterere* 'to rub away the end' (Pl.+), *retrīmentum* 'scrapings' (Varro), *subterere* 'to wear away below' (Pl.+); *tarmes, -itis* [m.] 'woodworm' (Pl.+).

PIt. **tera-* [pr.], **trei-* [pf.], **terasro-* 'drill'.

PIE **terh₁-/*trh₁-* [aor.?], **treh₁-i-* [pr.] 'to rub'. IE cognates: Gr. τείρω 'to oppress, distress, weaken', τέρετρον 'drill', ppp. τρητός 'bored through', Gr. τρίβω 'to rub, wear out'; Lith. *tìrti* 'to investigate', SeCS *trěti*, 1s. *tьrọ*, Ru. *terét'* 'to rub'; OHG *drāen* 'to turn'.

The Latin present is isolated among the other IE languages, who show a *ie/o*-present or, in the case of Greek, the extension *-īb-*. Since Latin also shows *ī* in the preterite, it seems that PIE had an athematic present **térh₁-i-* / **trh₁-éi-*, 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 *-ī-* in the pf. and ppp. could go back to **treh₁-i-*, since **trh₁-ei-* would yield **tarei-*; or *trī-* arose in the ppp. from **trh₁-i-to-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 649, 672f., EM 686f., IEW 1071-72, Schrijver 1991: 244f., 395f., Rix 1999: 517, LIV **terh₁-*, ?**treig̑ᵘ-*. → *trīcae*

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.+).

PIt. **tersā-* 'earth', *terso-* 'area'. It. cognates: O. **teras** [gen.sg. or acc.pl.] 'earth'; O. **teer[úm, terúm** [nom.sg.] , **tereís** [gen.sg.], **tereí** [loc.sg.] [n.] 'area' < **ters-o-*.

PIE **ters-h₂-* 'dry land'. IE cognates: OIr. *tír* 'territory; dry' [n.], OW *tir* < **tērs-o/es-* (or **ters-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. PIt. **ters-o/ā-* is generally derived from the root **ters-* 'to dry out' (s.v. *torreō*): 'dry land'. If.OIr. *tír*, 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.+), *terricula/-um* 'object of terror, bogy' (Lucil.+), *terror* 'terror, extreme fear' (Naev.+); *terrificus* 'terrifying' (Lucr.+), *terrificāre* 'to alarm' (Lucr.+); *absterrēre* 'to frighten away, deter' (Pl.+), *dēterrēre* 'to discourage' (Pl.+), *exterrēre* 'to scare' (Enn.+), *perterrēre* 'to terrify' (Pl.+), *perterrefacere* 'to make extremely frightened' (Ter.+).

PIt. **tros-eje-* 'to scare'. It. cognates: U. **tuse<t>u**, *tursitu* [3s.ipv.II], **tusetutu**, *tursituto* [3p.ipv.II], *tursiandu* [3p.pr.sb.ps.] 'to scare' < **tors-eje-*; U. **turse, tuse**, *turse* [dat.sg.], *tursar* [gen.sg.], *tursa* [voc.sg.] f. name of a goddess, invoked in the curse of foes < **torsā-* 'fright'.

PIE **tros-eie-* 'to make scared'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *trásanti* [3p.act.], caus. *trāsaya-* 'to tremble, be afraid', YAv. *ϑrā̊ŋhaiia-* 'to scare', *tərəsa-* 'to be afraid', *taršta-* 'scared, afraid', OP *trsa-* 'to be scared'; Gr. τρέω 'to be scared, tremble, flee', ἄτρεστος 'fearless'; Lith. *trišéti* '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 **torr-* by **terr-* on the model of *terror*, as assumed by WH and EM). LIV compares *tertius* 'third' < **tritio-* and reconstructs **tros-eie-* > (post-)PIt. **ṭrseje-* > Sab. **tors-eje-*, Lat. **terseje-* by regular phonetic development. This seems to be the best option. ·

Bibl.: WH II: 674, EM 688, IEW 1095, Nussbaum 1999a: 412f., Untermann 2000: 775-777, LIV **tres-*.

tescum 'certain augural term; wild land' [n. *o*] (Acc.+; n.pl. *tesca* Var. / *tesqua* Hor. Luc., dat.abl.pl. *tesquīs*)

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. *tucchyá-* 'empty' is impossible, since the root has ablaut grade I **teus-*. Dunkel 2000b: 21 posits **tues-kʷo-*, which would have yielded **teskʷo-* 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 675, EM 688, IEW 1085, Chanut 1980.

testa 'earthenware vessel, tile, sherd, shell' [f. *ā*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *testātim* 'in fragments' (Pompon.+), *testū, -ūs* [n.], *testum* 'earthenware pot' (Cato+), *testuācium* '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 **tek̑-* 'to build' is unlikely for semantic reasons; also the outcome of PIE **-tk̑-* (if we would reconstruct a reduplicated form **te-tk̑-o-*) in Latin is uncertain (*s* seems most likely, cf. *sitra*); 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+); *antestārī* 'to call as a witness' (Lex XII+), *dētestātum* 'testatione denuntiatum' (Lex XII), *obtestārī* 'to beseech, invoke' (Pl.+).

PIt. **tri-sto/i-*. It. cognates: O. **trístaamentud** [abl.sg.] n. 'proof', loanword from Latin *tristāmentom; O. **trstus** [nom.pl.] 'witness' < **tristo-* 'third'.

PIE **trito-sth₂-o-* 'third standing (by)'. IE cognates: OIr. *triss, 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 676f., EM 689, IEW 1090-92, Coleman 1992: 424, Sihler 1995: 411, Meiser 1998: 80, Untermann 2000: 768-770, LIV **steh₂-*. → *trēs*

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.

Ven. **teuta** [nom.sg.], **teuta**[m?] [acc.sg.?], **[teuta]i?** [dat.sg.] 'civitas'; O. *touto*, τωϝτο [nom.sg.], *tautam* [acc.sg.], *toutad* [abl.sg.], Marr. *toutai, totai* [dat.sg.], U. **tuta**, *totam, tota* [acc.sg.], **tutas**, *totar* [gen.sg.], **tute**, *tote* [dat.sg.], *tote, toteme* [loc.sg.], **tutaper**, *totaper* [abl.sg. + *-per*] , SPic. **toúta** [nom.?], **tutas** [gen.?], **toútaih** [dat.sg./pl.?] 'town, society'; Presam. τοϝτιδ [abl.sg. of **toutio-*]; O. **túvtiks** [nom.sg.m.], τουτικες [gen.sg.m.], **túvtik**[ud] [abl.sg.m.], *[touti]cas* [gen.sg.f.], **túv[tikaí** [loc.sg.f.], **túv[tikad]** [abl.sg.f.], *toutico* [nom.sg.f.], *touticom*, **túv[tikom]** [nom.acc.sg.n.], Vol. *toticu* [abl.sg.n.], U. *totco* [nom.acc.sg.n.?], *todcome* [acc.sg.n. + *-en*] , *totcor* [nom.pl.n.], *todceir* [dat.abl.pl.n.], *toce* [adv.] 'of the *toutā-*' .

PIt. **toutā-* 'town, society', **toutiko/ā-* [adj.].

IE cognates: OIr. *túath* 'people, tribe', W. *tud* 'land', Co. *tus*, MBret. *tut* 'people'; OPr. *tauto*, Lith. *tautà*, Latv. *tàuta*; Go. *þiuda*, OHG *diot(a)* , OS *thiod(a)* , OE *ðeod*, OIc. *þjóð* 'people' < PGm. **þeuþō-*, OE *geþīedan* 'to translate', OIc. *þýða* 'to interpret, mean', Go. *þiudans* 'king', OIc. *þjóðann*, OE *ðeoden*, OS *thiodan* < **teutono-*.

A western IE word (Italo-Celtic, Germanic, Baltic). Gm. and Italic point to **-eu-* and Baltic to **-ou-*, whereas Celtic cannot be decided. Beekes 1998 explains **teutā-* from

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.

Bibl.: IEW 1080-85, Lejeune 1974: 339, Beekes 1998, Untermann 2000: 779-783, Lazzarini-Poccetti 2001.

texō, -ere 'to weave, construct' [v. III; pf. *texuī*, ppp. *textum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *textilis* 'woven, plaited' (Lucr.+), *textor* 'weaver' (Pl.+), *textrīnum* 'place of weaving, of constructing' (Enn.+), *textus, -ūs* 'structure' (Lucr.+), *textūra* 'structure, weaving' (Lucr.+); *tēla* 'cloth on a loom, spider's web, plan' (Pl.+), *subtīlis* [adj.] 'fine in texture, precise' (Lucr.+), *subtēmen* [also *subtegmen*] 'weft, threads in a loom' (Pl.+); *extexere* 'to unweave' (Pl.+), *praetexta* 'toga with a purple border' (Lucil.+).

Plt. **tekse/o-*.

PIE **tek̑-s-* [pr.] 'to fashion'. IE cognates: Hit. *takš-ᶻⁱ* 'to devise, undertake' < **teks-/tks-*, MHG *dehsen* 'to break flax'; Skt. pr. *tákṣati* [3p.act.], *tāḍhi* [3s.ipv.act.], *tāṣṭi* [3s.act.], pf. *tatákṣa* [3s.act.], ppp. *taṣṭá-* 'to hammer, form, fashion', *tā́ṣṭar-* [m.] 'carpenter, master', Av. *tašaṭ* [3s.aor.inj.], OAv. *tāšt* [3s.pr.inj.] 'to fashion', *tašta-* 'created'; YAv. *auui .. . tāšti* [3s.pr.act.].

Lat. *tēla* < **teks-lā-*, *subtīlis* <, **subtēli-*. Meiser 1998 argues that *texō* does not belong to the pr. **te-tk̑-* 'to build' but to a root **tek-s-*, seen in Gr. τέχνη 'skill', OHG *dehsala* 'axe', OIr. *tál* '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-tk̑-* 'to fashion'. For Latin *tex-*, this implies that it can either go back to PIE **tek̑-s-*, or to **te-tk̑-* 'to fashion'. Since the outcome of word-internal **-tk̑-* is uncertain, but might rather be single *-s-* (in *ursus*, where the cluster is preceded by *r*), I have a preference for **tek̑-s-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 619f., 678, EM 662, 690, IEW 1058f., Sihler 1995: 225, Meiser 1998: 96f., 2003: 127, LIV 2.*tek-, *tetk-. → *tīgnum*

tībia 'reed-pipe; shin-bone' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *tībīcen, -inis* [m.] 'piper' (Pl.+), *tībīcina* 'female piper' (Pl.+).

IE cognates: Gr. σίφων, -ωνος [m.] 'tube, siphon'.

The original meaning may have been either 'stalk' or 'shin-bone' (even though the latter meaning is only attested from Pliny onwards: flutes were often made from shin-bones). The compounds represent **tībio-kan-* 'playing on a reed-pipe'. There is no good IE etymology; maybe the word is a loanword from the same source as Gr. σίφων.

Bibl.: WH II: 680, EM 691, IEW 1102.

tīgnum 'piece of timber, building-wood' [n. *o*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *tigillum* 'small plank' (Pl.+).

Plt. **teg/k-no-* 'plank, timber'.

PIE *(s)teg-no- 'covering' or *teḱ-no- 'product'.

Lat. tīgnum probably represents *tegno-. The derived dim. tigillum could phonetically reflect *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 tīgnum from a word *(s)teg- for 'stake', which is unattractive since this root is not otherwise attested in Italic. It seems more likely that tīgnum derives from *(s)teg- 'to cover', which yields other constructional terminology such as tēctum 'roof, ceiling, dwelling' and tēgula 'roof-tile'. However, since tīgnum has no evident connotation of 'cover', one could also connect it with *teḱ- '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. /pterewa/.

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 *telia 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.+), timiditās '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 *stii̯eH- (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. tinxī, ppp. tinctum] (Lucr.+; var. tinguō Varro)

Derivatives: attingere 'to smear on' (Rhet.Her. +), inting(u)ere 'to plunge in, colour' (Pl.+).

PIt. *teng-e/o-.

PIE *teng- 'to make wet' [pr.], maybe *teng-s- [aor.]. IE cognates: Gr. τέγγω 'to make wet', aor. τέγξαι, 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⁽g⁾-.

tītiō 'piece of burning wood' [m. n] (Varro+)

PIt. *tī-ti- 'heating'.

PIE *tihₗ-ti-. IE cognates: OIr. tinaid, ·tin* 'to melt, disappear' < PCl. *ti-ni-, OIr.

úathad [n.] 'small quantity', MW *odit* [m.] 'rarity' < **au-tī-to-* 'melting away'; Hit. *zē-ᵃ⁽ʳⁱ⁾* / *z-* 'to cook (intr.), be cooked' < **tjéh₁-o-*, *zanu-ᶻⁱ* 'to cook (tr.)' < **tih₁-neu-*, *zinni-ᶻⁱ* / *zinn-* 'to end, finish' < **ti-n(e)-h₁-*; OE *ðīnan* 'to wet; become wet', OIc. *þiðr* 'melted, thawed' < **tih₁-tó-*.

Maybe derived from the PIE root **teih₁-* '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-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 685f., EM 693, Schrijver 1995: 195, Schumacher 2004: 640f., LIV **tejh₁-*.

tŏfus 'volcanic rock, tufa' [m. *o*] (Verg.)
PIt. **tauf-o-?* It. cognates: maybe O. **tavffúd** [abl.sg.] if 'tufa'.

Probably a loanword from Sabellic, because of *-f-*
Bibl.: WH II: 687, EM 693, Untermann 2000: 736.

tōlēs, -ium 'goitre' [f.pl. *i*] (Fest.)
Derivatives: *tōnsillae* [f.pl.] 'tonsils' (Cic.+).
PIt. **ton-sli-* 'goitre, tonsil'.
PIE **ton-sl-i-*. IE cognates: see s.v. *teneō*.

Generally, *tōlēs* is explained as the pl. of **tonsli-* 'what is/can be stretched' (vel sim.), and *tonsillae* as its diminutive **tonsli-lā-*. Lat. **tonsli-* can be regarded as *l*-derivative to **tens-* 'to stretch', or as an instrument noun in **-slo/iʲ* 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 **ton-sli-* seems preferable. The *o*-grade of the noun remains unexplained, however.

Bibl.: WH II: 688, EM 693, IEW 1068f., Leumann 1977: 208, Meiser 1998: 119, LIV **ten-*. → *teneō*

tollō, -ere 'to pick up, raise, remove' [v. III; pf. *sustulī*, 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.+), *tolūtilis* '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.*), *opitulārī/e* 'to give help' (Andr.+).

PIt. **tolna/o-* [pr.], **tela-s-* [pr.], **tel(-a)-* [aor.], **tetol-* [pf.], **tlāto-* [ppp.]. It. cognates: Ven. **tolar, toler, tuler** [3s.pr.med.] 'offers' < **tol-e/ar(V?)*; Fal. **tulom** [1s.pf./aor.] 'I offer' (thus Giacomelli); U. *andendu*, **antentu, atentu** [3s.ipv.II] 'to lay onto', *endendu*, **ententu** [3s.ipv.II], *entelust*, **entelus** [3s.fut.pf.] 'to lay into', **pertentu** [3s.ipv.II] 'maybe 'to spread out', **sutentu** [3s.ipv.II] '?' < pr. **telne/o-*, pf. **telh₂-*.

PIE *tl-n(e)-h₂- [pr.] 'to carry', *tel-h₂- [aor.], *te-tolh₂- [pf.], *tlh₂-to- [ppp.]. IE cognates: OIr. *tlenaid**, ·*tlen* 'to lift, take away' < PCl. *tlina-*; Gr. aor. ἔτλην, Dor. ἔτλᾱν 'to endure, endeavour', aor. ἐτάλασσα 'endeavoured', τάλαντα [n.pl.] 'scales', Go. *þulan* 'to endure, bear', ToB *tallaṃ* '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 PIt. The aorist root *tel(a)-* seems to be preserved in U. pf. *entel-*, and is seen in Lat. sb. *-tulās, -tulat* < *tel-ā-*. The pf. *tetulī* (to *ferō*) may reflect the PIE perfect, whereas *lātus* < *tlāto-* continues the PIE *to*-adj. The verb *opitulārī* 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 *sā*-present built to the root *telh₂-, hence *telh₂-s- > *telasā- > tolerā-*. Finally, *tolūtim* can be interpreted as 'lifting its feet' > 'at a trot', and would seem to require a stem *tolu-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 688f., EM 694, IEW 1060f., Giacomelli 1963: 257, Lejeune 1974: 339, Schrijver 1991: 216, 407, 510, Untermann 2000: 742-744, Meiser 2003: 192, Schumacher 2004: 641f., LIV *telh₂-. → *ferō, tellūs*

tōmentum 'flock, stuffing material' [n. *o*] (Varro+)
    PIt. *towamn*?
    PIE *téuh₂-mn [n.] 'swelling'? *touh₂-eie- [pr.caus.]? IE cognates: see s.v. *tueor*.

WH and IEW assume *tōmentum* < *towementom* to the root *teuh₂-* 'to swell, increase' (a caus.pr. *touH-eie-* 'to stuff'?). A preform *teuh₂-mn would yield PIt. *towamṇ > *towamen > *tōmen. A preform *towamentom would yield *tūmentum*, but *towa/i-* could have been restored on the model of still present verb forms (cf. Schrijver 1991: 279-82). Thus, *tōmentum* can be explained on the basis of earlier *tōmen*, 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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 689, EM 694, IEW 1080-85, Meiser 1998: 168. → *tueor, tumeō*

tondeō 'to cut the hair, shear' [v. II; pf. *totondī*, ppp. *tōnsum*] (Pl.+)
    Derivatives: *tōnsilis* 'made smooth by clipping' (Pl.+), *tōnsus, -ūs* 'style of haircut' (Pl.+), *tōnsor* 'barber' (Pl.+), *tōnstrīx* '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.+).
    PIt. *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. τένδω 'to gnaw at'.

The pf. *totondī* can be recent, or continue an old pf. *te-tond-*. It cannot be proven that the root *tend-* was derived from *tem-* (as in *temh₁-* 'to cut'), but the meaning suggests a connection.

Bibl.: WH II: 689f., EM 694f., IEW 1062f., Schumacher 2004: 614, LIV 2.*tend-*.

tongēre 'to know' [v. II] (Paul. *ex F. tongere*, Enn. (apud Paul. *ex F.*) *tongent*)
Derivatives: *tongitiō* 'notio' (Fest.: Praenestinian).

Plt. **tong-eje-* 'to know', **tng-īn-* 'opinion'. It cognates: O. *tanginom* [acc.sg.], *tangineis* [gen.sg.], *tanginud*, **tanginúd**, **tanginud**, ταϝγινοδ, ταϝγινοτ [abl.sg.] 'opinion, decision' < **tng-īn/ion-.*

PIE **tong-ei(e?)-* 'to think, know'. IE cognates: Go. *þagkjan* 'to think' < **tong-(e)ie-*, OIc. *þekkja* 'to understand, know', OHG *denchen*, OE *ðencan* 'to think', Go. *þugkjan* 'to appear, think'.

In view of the meaning which is stative rather than iterative, and in view of Gm. **þunk-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'ǵ-.

tonō, -āre 'to thunder' [v. I; pf. *tonuī*, ppp. *tonitum*] (Pl.+; I p.act. *tonimus* Varro)
Derivatives: *tonitrus, -ūs* [m.] 'thunder' (Pl.+), *tonitr(u)ālis* 'of thunder' (Lucr.+), *tonēscere* 'to begin to thunder' (Varro); *contonat* 'it thunders violently' (Pl.); *Quomne tonas* (Carmen Saliare).

Plt. **tena-* [pr./aor.], **tonaje-* [pr.].
PIE **(s)tenh₂-* [aor.] 'to thunder', **(s)tonh₂-eie/o-* [pr.]. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *stanáya-* (intr. in RV), *tanya-*, aor. *stanihi* [2s.ipv.act.], *stan* [3s.inj.act.] 'to thunder', ta-ptc. *stanita-*, also [n.] 'thunder'; OE *þunor* '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)tonh₁-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)tonh₁-eie/o-*, as Skt. *stanáya-* would suggest. The noun *tonitrus* has an unexpected suffix *-tru-*; Serbat (1975: 331) explains it from an original *tu*-stem **tona-tu-* > **tonitu-* 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. *tith-ᵃ* 'to thunder' cannot be connected with this root in any meaningful way.
Bibl.: WH II: 690f., EM 695, IEW 1021, Steinbauer 1989: 124, Schrijver 1991: 396, Rix 1999: 519, LIV **(s)tenh₂-.*

tōnsa 'oar' [f. *ā*] (Enn.+)
Derivatives: *tōnsilla* 'mooring-stake' (Enn.+).

No good etymology. WH and IEW derive *tōnsa* from *tondeō*, but this does not make any sense semantically.
Bibl.: WH II: 691, EM 695, IEW 1062f.

topper 'quickly' [adv.] (Andr.+)

PIt. *tod? *toti?

Lat. *topper* is generally regarded as a univerbation 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 692, EM 695, IEW 1086f., Leumann 1977: 476, Livingston 2004: 17-22. → *so-, tam, tot, tum*

torpeō 'to be numb, paralysed' [v. II] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *torpor* 'numbness, drowsiness' (Lucil.+), *torpēdō* 'lethargy; black ray (fish)' (Cato+).

PIt. *torp-ē-* 'to be stiff'.

PIE *trp-eh₁- 'to be stiff'. IE cognates: Lith. *tirpti* 'to coagulate, grow stiff', OCS *trъpěti* 'to suffer'; OHG *derb/p*, OE *þeorf*, OIc. *þjarfr* 'unleavened' < PGm. *þerba- 'stiff' < *terp-ó-.

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+), *torculum* 'press' (Varro+), *torculārium* 'pressing-room, press' (Cato+); *tortīvus* 'obtained from pressing' (Cato+), *tortāre* 'to torture, twist' (Pompon.+); *tormina, -orum* [n.pl.] 'griping pains in the bowels' (Cato+), *tormentum* 'rope made of twisted hair, ballista, torture, pain' (Pl.+); *contorquēre* 'to make twisted, turn about' (Enn.+), *contortor* 'a twister' (Ter.+), *contortiplicātus* 'compounded in an involved fashion' (Pl.), *distorquēre* 'to distort, torture' (Ter.+), *extorquēre* 'to wrench away, sprain' (Pl.+), *extortor* 'one who extorts' (Ter.), *pertorquēre* 'to hurl, twist strongly' (Afran.+), *praetorquēre* '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*) .

PIE *torkʷ-eie- 'to twist'. IE cognates: Hit. *tar(k)u-ᶻⁱ 'to dance' (*/tarkʷ-/) < *terkʷ-/*trkʷ-, Skt. *tarkaya-* 'to consider', *niṣ-ṭarkyà-* 'what can be unscrewed', *tarku-* 'spindle', Khot. *hataljs-* 'to flutter' (< PIr. *fra-tark-) < IIr. *tark- 'to move to and fro, turn'; ToB *tärk- 'to turn'.

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. *torstum*] (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-ē- 'to be dry', *tors-to- 'scorched'.

PIE *tors-eie- 'to make dry', *trs-eh₁-, *trs-to-. IE cognates: Hit. *tarš- 'to become dry' or 'to make dry'? < *ters-, Skt. *tŕ̥ṣyant-* [ptc.act.], aor. *tŕ̥ṣa-* 'to be thirsty', root

aor. *tṛṣáṇá-* 'thirsty', caus. *vi-tarṣaya-, tṛṣṭá-* 'sharp, stinging, raw', YAv. *taršu-* 'dry, not fluid'; Gr. τέρσομαι 'to become dry'; OHG *derren* 'to make dry', *durst* 'thirst', Go. *þaursjan** 'to be thirsty'.

As M. Weiss points out to me, Lat. *torrēns* can be explained as a ptc. 'the dry one' to a stative pr. **tṛs-ehₗ-* '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 **terh₂-* '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. **torgʷo-*.

PIE **torgʷ-o-* 'grim, angry'. IE cognates: Hit. *tarkuu̯ant-* 'looking angrily' < **tṛgʷ-ent-, tarkuu̯a* [adv.] 'angrily', Epic Skt. *tarjati* 'to threaten' (EWAia III: 238), Gr. ταρβέω 'to be startled'.

WH connects *torvus* with *trux*, which seems formally difficult.

Bibl.: WH II: 695, EM 697, Kloekhorst 2008: 844.

tot 'that many; as many' [adj. indecl.] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *totidem* 'as many (as)' (Pl.+), *totiē(n)s* [adv.] 'so often' (Pl.+).

Plt. **toti* 'so many'.

PIE **to-ti*. IE cognates: Skt. *táti* [adv.] 'so many', Gr. τόσσος, τόσος [adj.] 'so big, so much' < **toti-ó-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 695, EM 674, IEW 1086f., Meiser 1998: 167. → *quot*

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-ie/ot-ó-* 'sich fest dazu stellend, vollständig' (to PIE **iet-*) 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 695f., EM 697, IEW 1080ff., Zimmer 1985, Meiser 1998: 168, LIV *teuh₂- (?).

trabs, -is 'tree-trunk, beam' [f. *b/ī*] (Pl.+; nom.sg. *trabēs* Enn., Varro)

Derivatives: *trabēcula* 'small wooden beam' (Cato+), *trabica* 'kind of boat' (Pac.+), *trabālis* 'of/for wooden beams' (Enn.†).

PIt. **trab-* 'wooden beam' (> Latin), **treb-* 'to build, dwell' (> U.), **trēb-* 'house' (> Sab.). It. cognates: O. **trííbúm**, τρειβ[ωμ [acc.sg.], **tríbud** [abl.sg.] [f.] 'house' < **trēb-*; O. **tríbarakavúm**, **trííbarakav[úm** [inf.], **tríbarakat.tíns** [3p.pf.sb.], **tríbarakat.tuset** [3p.fut.pf.] 'to build' < **trēb-ark-ā-* 'to be a house-builder'; O. **tríbarakkiuf** [nom.sg.] 'building' < **trēb-ark-iōn-s*. U. *trebeit* [3s.pr.] 'lives, dwells' < **treb-ī/ē/i̯e-*. O. **tríbuf** [nom.sg.] '*tribūnus*' < **trēb-ō/ūn-s*. Maybe also U. *tremnu* [abl.sg.] 'place from where the augur observes the birds' (< **treb-no-?*).

PIE **trb-* 'wooden beam', **treb-* 'to build'? IE cognates: OIr. *treb*, W. *tref* 'hamlet, village', Lith. *trobà* 'cottage, farmhouse', Latv. *trāba* 'Hut, hovel', Go. *þaurp* 'field', OIc. *þorp*, NHG *Dorf* 'village'.

The nom.sg. *trabēs* is an innovation with regard to *trabs*. Sabellic points to a stem **trēb-* 'house, building' but it is uncertain whether **trēb-* 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. **trēbs*, obl. **trb-* > **torb-* may have been replaced by **trēbs* 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. *Trebulānus*, 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. **tríbuf** seems to be built on Sab. **trēb-* 'house', either with the suffix of Lat. *tribūnus*, or with PIE **-ōn-* (cf. Adiego 2001).

Bibl.: WH II: 696f., EM 698, IEW 1090, Schrijver 1991: 376, 481f., Meiser 1998: 99, Untermann 2000: 759-766. → *taberna*

trahō, -ere 'to pull, drag, haul' [v. III; pf. *trāxī*, ppp. *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.+); *dētrahere* 'to pull off, remove' (Pl.+), *distrahere* 'to pull apart' (Pl.+), *intertrahere* 'to draw away' (Pl.); *tractāre* 'to drag along, handle' (Naev.+), *attrectāre* 'to touch, handle' (Pl.+), *attrectātus, -ūs* 'the handling' (Pac.+), *pertra/ectāre* 'to pass the hand over, handle' (Pl.+), *pertractāte* 'in a hackneyed manner' (Pl.); *trāma* 'warp' (Pl.+).

PIt. **traχe/o-*.

IE cognates: OIr. *tethraig** [pret.] 'ran away, receded' < PCl. **te-trāg-*, OIr. *tráig* 'ebb, beach', MW *trei*, OBret. *tre* (< **tragio-*), MW *treul* 'trouble, weakness' (<

*trāglo-).

The form *trahāx* appears to be a nonce-formation of Plautus (thus EM). The *g* in *trāgula* must have been retained in *trag^hla*; 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 *traχ(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. *þragjan* 'to walk' (and cognates) and OIr. *traig*, W. *troëd*, Bret. *troad* 'foot' could be cognate; semantically, they require some special pleading (but a connection is not impossible). This would point to a root *trHg^h- or *trāg^h-, with a non-IE root structure *T–D^h 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', OIc. draga 'to pull, ride') is formally impossible, unless this is another reflex of a European loanword. The connection with Ir. *trog* 'offspring', SCr. *trâg* 'family, race' is dismissed by Schrijver 1991: 349 for semantic reasons.

Bibl.: WH II: 697-699, EM 698f., IEW 257, Schrijver 1991: 188-191, Sihler 1995: 148, Meiser 2003: 116, Schumacher 2004: 635f., LIV *d^hreg^()h-.

tranquillus 'calm, still' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *tranquillitās* 'calmness, quiet condition' (Pl.+), *tranquillāre* 'to make calm' (Pl.+).

The etymology as *trāns 'across' + *k^wīlno- 'quiet' (root *k^wih₁- 'be quiet') is semantically vague (the meaning of *trāns does not fit); phonetically, the assumed development of *-nsk^w- > -nqu- is disputed. Also, the suffix is unclear.

Bibl.: WH II: 700, EM 699, IEW 638, Nyman 1982, Sihler 1995: 547.

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.], *traha, 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' < PCl. *tarie/o- < *trh₂-ié-; Hit. *tarhu-^zi* 'to prevail, be able' < *térh₂-u-ti, *trh₂-u-énti, ^dTarhunna-, CLuw. ^dTarhuuant- / Tarhunt-, HLuw. Tarhunt- / Tarhunza-, Lyc. Trqqñt- 'the Storm-God' < *trh₂-uént-s, *trh₂-unt-ós; Skt. pr. *tára-, -tirá 'to pass, overcome', *tarantá- [m.] PN, *tū́rva- 'to overcome', YAv. *titara-, *tauruuaiia- 'id.', Gr. τρανής *'pervasive' → 'clear, distinct'.

Since U. has /trāf/, the final cluster must have been PIt. *-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' > PIt. *trān(t)s 'across'. Dunkel 2000b: 24 posits *trh₂m-sk^we, an instrumental in his view, but in view of the meaning I would rather expect an acc. – which agrees with the ending *-m.

Bibl.: WH II: 700, EM 699f., IEW 1075f., Steinbauer 1989: 236f., Schrijver 1991: 224, Untermann 2000: 757f., LIV *terh₂-. → intrō

tremō, -ere 'to tremble' [v. III; pf. *tremuī*] (Pl.+; *tremontī* [3p.pr.?] Carmen Saliare)

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. **turumiiad** [3s.pr.sb.] 'may he tremble/suffer' (vel sim.) (but see also s.v. *torqueō*) .

PIE **tr(e)m-* [pr.] 'to tremble'. IE cognates: Gr. τρέμω 'to tremble', Lith. *tremti* 'to shake up', *trimti* 'to tremble', ToA *trämäṣ* [3s.], *tärmiñc* [3p.] 'to tremble'.

Bibl.: WH II: 701, EM 700, IEW 1092f., Untermann 2000: 761, Meiser 2003: 124f., LIV **trem-*. → *trepidus*

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.+); *attrepidāre* 'to bestir oneself' (Pl.+); *trepit* 'turns' (Paul. *ex F.*).

PIt. **trep-*.

PIE **trep-* 'to tremble'. IE cognates: OCS *trepetъ* '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.+), *tertiārius* [adj.] 'one-third' (Cato+), *tertiāre* 'to plough/attempt for the third time' (Cato+); *ter* 'thrice' (Pl.+); *ternī* 'three at a time' (Pl.+), *trīnī* 'three at a time, three' (Cato+), *trīgintā* 'thirty' (Pl.+), *trecentī* [pl.] 'three hundred' (Pl.+), *trecēnī* 'three hundred each' (Varro+), *triēns, -ntis* [m.] 'a third part' (Varro+), *trientābulum* 'property in the value of a third of a debt' (Lex Agraria+); *terruncius* 'coin weighing three unciae' (Pl.+).

PIt. nom.m.f. **trejes*, acc.m.f. **trins*, nom.acc.n. **triā*, dat.abl.pl. **trifos* 'three', **tritio-* 'third', **tris* 'thrice'. It. cognates: maybe the Ven. theonym **tribusiiati-** contains **tri-* 'three'; O. **tris** [nom.pl.f.], **trís** [acc.pl.f.], *trium* [gen.pl.], U. **trif, tref, tre**, *trif, treif* [acc.pl.m.], **tref, tre**, *trif* [acc.pl.f.], triia [acc.pl.n.], **triiuper**, *trioper* [ac.pl.n. + *-per(t)*] , **tris** [abl.pl.] 'three'; U. **terti**, *tertim* [acc.sg.m.n.?], **tertiama** [acc.sg.f. + *-ad*] , *tertiame* [acc.sg.f. + *-en*] , **tertiu**, *tertiu, 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.

tribřiçu [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- (>> *trito- >> *tritio-) [adj.] 'third', *tris 'thrice', *tri- (in compounds), *trih₂dḱomth₂ 'thirty'. IE cognates: OIr. *trí, tri* [m.], *tre* [n.], *teoir* [f.], W. Bret. *tri* [m.], *teir* [f.] 'three'; Skt. *tráyas* [nom.pl.m.], *tisrás* [f.], *trí* [nom.acc.pl.n.] 'three', *triṃśát-* [f.] 'thirty', *tr̥tíya-* 'third', YAv. *ϑrāiiō, ϑraiias-ca* [nom.pl.m.], *tišrō* [nom.pl.f.], *ϑrī* [nom.acc.pl.n.] 'three', *ϑrisant-* [f.] 'thirty', *ϑritiia-* 'third', *ϑrišuua-* [n.] 'one third'; Skt. *triṣ*, YAv. *ϑriš* 'thrice'; Gr. τρεῖς, Cret. τρέες [nom.pl.m.f.], Gr. *τρινς (OAtt. τρῖς) [acc.pl.], τρισί [dat.pl.], τρία [nom.acc.pl.n.]; Lith. *trỹs*, OCS *trьje* [m.], *tri* [f.]; OIc. *þrír* [nom.pl.m.], Go. *þrins* [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 *bīnī*).

Bibl.: WH II: 702f., EM 701, IEW 1090-92, Lejeune 1974: 329f., Coleman 1992: 393, 420, Beekes 1995: 212-217, Meiser 1998: 171, Vine 1998b: 261, Untermann 2000: 749, 763f., 767f. → *tribus*

tribus 'division of the people, tribe' [f. *u*] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *tribuere* 'to divide, bestow' (Acc.+), *tribūnus* 'magistrate, commander' (Pl.+), *tribūtus* 'levy, tax' (Pl.+), *tribūlis* 'fellow tribesman' (Ter.+), *tribūtim* 'by tribes' (Varro+); *attribuere* 'to assign, appoint' (Varro+), *retribuere* 'to hand back duly' (Lucr.+).

Plt. *tribu- 'tripartite entity, trinity'. It. cognates: U. **trifu**, *trifo* [acc.sg.], *trifor* [gen.sg.], *trifo* [dat.sg.], **trefiper** [abl.sg. + -*per*] 'trinity, district'.

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 -*dhā* < *-dʰeh₁- such as *tridhā* 'threefold', and with thematized derivatives of it such as Lith. *índas* 'plate' < *-dʰh₁-o-. The adj. *tridʰh₁o- 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. *vidus* 'middle'). Since we have no other certain evidence for the development of Plt. intervocalic *b 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. *trifu- and Latin *tribu-. Unlike in *tertius* and *ter*, *tri- was not reduced to *ter- because it was supported by other compounds in *tri-.

Bibl.: WH II: 703f., EM 702, IEW 1090-92, Meiser 1998: 194, Untermann 2000: 764f., Weiss 2007a. → *-fāriam, trēs*

trīcae 'complications, tricks; trifles' [f.pl. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *trīcō* 'twister' (Lucil.+), *trīcōsus* 'given to trickery' (Lucil.+); *extrīcāre* 'to set free, solve' (Pl.+), *intrīcāre* 'to entangle, embarass' (Pl.+).

Uncertain etymology. One might compare Toch. *treiK- in ToB aor. *traiksa* 'missed,

did not succeed', sb. *trisāṃ* '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-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 704f., EM 702, IEW 1071-74.

triquetrus '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 **kʷtur-*, so its *-d-* seems relatively recent. Alternatively, *triquetrus* might contain (a form of) *quater* 'four times'. An alternative etymology derives *-quetrus* from the same root as Germ. **χʷat-* '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*

trīstis 'depressed, unhappy' [adj. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *trīstitās* 'gloom' (Pac.+), *trīstitia* 'unhappiness, gloom' (Ter.+).
IE cognates: OHG *drīsti*, OS *thrīsti*, OE *ðrīste* 'audacious'?

Hill 2003: 128 considers the possibility that *trīstis* 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) trūsātilis* [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.+).
PIt. **treude/o-*.
PIE **treud-(e/o-)* 'to push, thrust'. IE cognates: W. *cythrudd* 'to vex', Lith. *triūsas* 'work, effort, pains', OCS *trudъ* 'labour, work', SCr. *trûd* 'effort, labour, work' < **troud-o-*; Go. *us-þriutan* 'to maltreat', OIc. *'þrjóta* 'to lack', OHG *-driozan* 'to cause sorrow'; Alb. *tredh* 'castrates' (uncertain).

The Latin verb can be compared to Gm. **þreutan*, suggesting a thematic verb with *e*-grade.

Bibl.: WH II: 710, EM 704, IEW 1095f., LIV **treud-*.

truncus 'mutilated, maimed, trimmed' [adj. *o/ā*] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *truncus* 'trunk, torso' (Lucil.+); *contruncāre* 'to hack to pieces' (Pl.+),

distruncāre '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/onko-* '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/onko-* with Go. *þreihan* 'to push' or Lith. *triñkti* '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: *truculentus* 'ferocious' (Pl.+), *trucīdāre* 'to slaughter, butcher' (Lucr.+), *trucīdātiō* 'slaughter' (Cato+).

IE cognates: MW *drwg*, MCo. *drok*, MIr. *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 *trucīdāre* has been variously explained as a haplologized form of *truki-kīdāre*, a denominal verb to a compound *truki-kaido-* 'hacking savagely' (to *caedō*); or from *kʷtru-kaidāre* 'hacking in four pieces', with the reduced form of 'four'. Yet a form *kʷtru-* 'four' is unattested elswhere in Latin (in itself not really a counterargument), and the meaning of underlying *kʷtru-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 *trucīdāre* from *truk(o)-kaid-o-*.

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. *tuī*, *tīs* (Pl.) dat. *tibei*, *tibī*] (VOLat.+)

Derivatives: *tuus* 'your' (Andr.+).

PIt. *tū* [nom.], *tē* [acc.], *toi* [gen.], *tefei* [dat.], *ted* [abl.] 'you', *towo-* [adj.] 'you, your'. It. cognates: O. **tiium, tiú** [nom.], U. *tiom*, **tiu**, *tio*, *teio*, SPic. **tiom** [acc.], U. **tefe**, *tefe*, O. **tif[ei]** , **tfei**, SPic. **tefeí**, **tefeh** [dat.] 'you' < nom. *tū-om*, acc. *tē-om*, dat. *tebʰei*; O. **tuvai** [dat.sg.f.], O. **touer**, **tuer** [gen.sg.n.], **tuua**, **tua** [abl.sg.f.] 'your'.

PIE *ti(H) [nom.], *tue [acc.], *toi [gen.dat.], *teue [gen.], *tued [abl.] 'you', *tu-o- 'your'. IE cognates: Hit. *zik* [nom.], *tu-* [obl.], CLuw. *tī*, *tu-* < *tiH*, *tu-*; Skt. *t(u)vám* [nom.], *t(u)vā́m* [acc.], *túbhya(m)* [dat.], *t(u)vā́t* [abl.], *táva* [gen.], *tvā́*, *tuvā́* [acc.encl.], *te* [gen.abl.dat.encl.], OAv. *tuuā̆m* [nom.], *ϑβqm* [acc.], *taibiiō*, *taibiiā*ʾ [dat.] , *tauuā* [gen.], *ϑβa-* [adj.poss.]; OP *tuvam* [nom.], *ϑuvām* [acc.] < IIr. *tuH-am* [nom.], *tuaH-am* [acc.], *taua* [gen.]; Gr. τύ (Dor), τύνη (Dor, Hom), σέ, τϝέ [acc.], τεός, σός [adj.]; Lith. *tù*, OCS *ty* [nom.]; Go. *þu*; ToB *twe*, 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 712, EM 705, IEW 1097f., Leumann 1977: 461-463, Beekes 1995: 207-209, Meiser 1998: 156-159, Untermann 2000: 751-753, 781f.

tuba 'trumpet' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *tubus* 'pipe, tube, trumpet' (Varro+), *tubulus* 'small pipe' (Varro+); *tubicen* 'trumpeter' (Cato+).

Meaning and form recall *tībia* 'reed-pipe; shin-bone', which, if Gr. σίφων 'tube, siphon' is cognate, might reflect *twī-*. These forms point to a non-IE loanword; see s.v. *tībia*.

Bibl.: WH II: 712, EM 705.

tūber, -eris 'swelling, tumour' [n. *r*] (Ter.+)

Derivatives: *tūberōsus* 'covered with lumps or tumours' (Varro+); *tuburcinārī* '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 ū), OIc. *þúfa* '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. *Tūber* might reflect the root *teuH-* 'to swell', but the extension *-ber* is difficult to explain. The verb *tuburcinārī* 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 *tūbVrko-* 'fat person' (thus hesitantly Steinbauer 1989: 254). This is of course very speculative.

Bibl.: WH II: 712f., EM 705, IEW 1080-85.

tueor 'to look at, watch over' [v. II; ppp. *tuitum, tūtum*] (Pl.+; var. *tuor, tuī* Enn., Lucr.)

Derivatives: *tūtor* 'guardian' (Pl.+), *tūtārelī* 'to watch over, protect' (Naev.+), *Tūtānus* 'deity giving protection' (Varro+), *Tūtilīna* 'goddess giving protection' (Varro+), *tūtēla* 'guardianship, protection' (Pl.+); *contuērī* [also *contuī* Pl. to Lucr.] 'to look at, see' (Pl.+), *contuitus, -ūs* 'gaze' (Pl.+), *indotuētur* '?' (Enn. *Ann.* 70), *intuērī* [also *intuī*] 'to look at, consider' (Pl.+), *obtu(ēr)ī* 'to look at' (Pl.+).

Plt. *-tow-ē-* 'to protect'.

PIE *touh₂-eie- [pr.caus.]? *te-touh₂- [pf.]? IE cognates: Skt. pr. *út taviti*, pf. *tūtāva* 'to be strong', *tavás-* 'strong, powerful', OAv. *tauuā* [1s.pr.sb.act.], YAv. *fra-tuiiā* [2s.pr.opt.act.] 'to be able', *tuuant-* 'capable, competent'; *tūtauua* [pf.] 'is possible'; Gr. ταΰς 'great, much' (Hsch.), σῶς, σάος 'safe and sound' (< *tueh₂us, *tuh₂-u-os); Lith. *tùkti* '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 *tū(w)V-*, or *tewV-*, *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 *tuh₂-* 'to be strong' attractive: *teuH-ti* '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 IIr. 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 ?**teuH-*. → *tōmentum*

tum, tunc 'at that moment, then' [adv.]: *tum* (Andr.+), *tunc* (Naev.+)
PIt. **tom*.
PIE **tom* [acc.sg.m.].

Tunc < **tom-ke* was originally more emphatic than *tum* < **tom*.
Bibl.: WH II: 715, EM 675, IEW 1086f., Sihler 1995: 389. → *so-, tam, topper*

tumeō 'to swell, be swollen' [v. II; pf. *tumuī*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *tumor* 'tumour, swollen condition, passion' (Cato+), *tumidus* 'swollen, inflated' (Lucr.+), *tumulus* 'knoll, burial-mound' (Pac.+); *extumēre* 'to swell up' (Pl.+), *extumidus* 'convex' (Varro+); *tumultus, -ūs* 'commotion, uproar' (Naev.+), *tumultuōsus* 'disturbed and noisy' (Pl.+), *tumultuārī* 'to make uproar' (Pl.+).
PIt. **tum-ē-*.
PIE **tum-eh₁-* 'to be swelling'. IE cognates: MW *tyfu*, MCo. *tevi*, Bret. *teñviñ* 'to grow' < PCl. **tum-ī-* < **tum-eh₁-*, Skt. *túmra-* 'strong, thick', *tūtumá-* 'strong, effective', YAv. *tumāspana-* [PN]; Lith. *tumėti* 'to become thick', OIc. *þumal-fingr* 'thumb'.

The noun *tumultus* is explained by Leumann 1977: 354 from **tumulitus* to a verb **tumulāre*, which seems unwarranted. WH II: 716 suggest imitation of *singultus* 'sighing', but a clear-cut proportion cannot be set up, since there is no verb **singeō*. Nevertheless, the meaning of *tumultus* 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 IIr., 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 **tu-h₂-* and **tu-m-* are two different suffixations of one and the same root **tu-* (cf. **gʷʰm-* and **gʷʰh₂-* 'to come').
Bibl.: WH II: 715f., EM 707, IEW 1080-85, Schrijver 1991: 340, 530, Schumacher 2004: 646, LIV **tuem-*. → *contumāx, contumēlia*

tundō, -ere 'to strike, beat' [v. III; pf. *tutudī*, ppp. *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.+).
PIt. **(s)tund-(e/o-)* 'to thrust'. It. cognates: maybe U. *tuder* [acc.sg.], *tuderor*

[nom.pl.], *tudero* [acc.pl.], *tuderus* [abl.pl.] [n.] 'border' < **tud-es-*.

PIE **(s)tu-n-d-* [pr.] 'to thrust'. IE cognates: OIr. *do·tuit*, arch. *di·tuitt* 'to crumble, fall' < PCl. **-tud-e/o-*, MW *kystuð* ;fate'; Skt. pr. *tudáti*; pr. *tundate*, *tundāná-* [ptc.med.], pf. *(-)tutóda* 'to thrust, crush', *tunná-* 'crushed, ground', Sogd. *twnt* /tund/ 'violent', MP *tund* 'sharp, violent'; Arm. *t'ndam* 'I am shattered', Go. *stautan* 'to thrust' (?).

With Schumacher 2004: 645, we can interpret U. *tuder* as the place where two areas 'hit' each other, that is, border on each other.

Bibl.: WH II: 716f., EM 707, IEW 1032-34, Untermann 2000: 771f., Meiser 2003: 192f., Schumacher 2004: 642-645, LIV 1.**(s)teud-*. → *studeō*

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.+), *turbidus* '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+), *turmātim* '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 (**b*? **bʰ*?) would have been added to the bare root, of which no other forms occur in Italic. There is also no known PIE root **(s)terbʰ-* with the appropriate meaning. One might think of Gr. στρέφω 'to turn': a zero-grade form **(s)tr̥bʰ-h₂-* 'turmoil' > PIt. **tr̥f-ā-* > 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', σύρβā, Att. τύρβᾰ [adv.] 'confused' (< PGr. **kjurb-*? **tuorb-*?), 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 *turba*. 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. *þruma*, *þrymr* 'noise, racket', OE *ðrymm* 'troop, crowd', OS *heru-thrum* 'sword-violence', which does not explain the different order of *r* and *u*.

Bibl.: WH II: 718f., EM 707f., IEW 1100f., Biville 1990 II: 271, Meiser 1998: 63.

turdus 'thrush (or similar bird)' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *turdārium* 'enclosure for thrushes' (Varro), *turdēlīce* 'magpie (?)' (Varro).

PIt. **torzdo-*.

PIE **(s)tr(o)sdʰo-* 'thrush'. IE cognates: OIr. *truit, -d* 'thrush' [f.] < **trozdi-*, W.

tresglen; Arm. *tordik*, OPr. *tresde* 'thrush', Lith. *strāzdas*, Latv. *strazds* 'thrush, blackbird, (dial.) starling', Ru. *drozd*, gen.sg. *drozdá* 'thrush', *čërnyj drozd* 'blackbird' < BSl. **(s)trozdo-* < PIE **(s)trozdʰo-*; OIc. *þrǫstr* 'thrush' [m.] (< **þrastu-* < **trosdʰ⁽ʰ⁾-*), OHG *drosela*, OS *throsla*, MHG *drostel*, OE *þrostle* (< **þrustlō-*), OE *ōrysce*, MoE *thrush* (< **þruskjōn*).

Since **or* and **r̥* merge in pre-Latin, *turdus* could reflect **torzdo-* or **tr̥zd-*; but since Celtic, BSl. and Gm. have **-ro-*, chances are that *turdus* continues **tr̥zdo-*. The hypothesis by Bracchi (1999: 87) that **t(o)rzdo-* would reflect a compound **trs-sd-* '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.

Bibl.: WH II: 718, EM 708, IEW 1096, Hamp 1978: 188, 1981b: 81, Meiser 1998: 63, Bracchi 1999. → *sturnus*

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 **kʷeh₂s-* 'to cough' also ends in *-s-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 721, EM 709, IEW 1032-34, Meiser 1998: 80.

· U

über, -ris 'breast, udder' [n. *r*] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *über, -eris* [adj.] 'abundant, rich' (Pl.+), *übertās* 'abundance' (Enn.+); *exūberāre* 'to flow copiously, be abundant' (Acc.+).

PIt. **ouþ-r-*.

PIE **h₁ouHdʰ-r* 'udder', **h₁euHdʰ-n-s*? IE cognates: Skt. *ū́dhar* / *ū́dhan-* [n.] 'udder' < IIr. **HuHdʰar-*, Gr. οὖθαρ, -ατος [n.], Ru. *vými̯a*, gen.sg. *vými̯eni* 'udder' < PSl. **výmę*, Ru. *údit'* 'to ripen, fill (with)' < PIE **HouHdʰ-?*; OHG *ūtrin* [dat.sg.], MHG *ūter, iuter*, OS OE *ūder* [n.] 'udder' < **ūdʰ-*, OIc. *ju(g)r*, OE *ieder*, OFr. *iāder* < **eudʰ-*.

According to Schrijver, **HuHdʰ-* would have become **waþ-*, whereas **He/ouHdʰ-* > **owaþ-* 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' < **u̯etos* 'year'), but Sihler posits an *i*-stem **oudʰ-ri-* 'abundant'.

Bibl.: WH II: 738f., EM 715, IEW 347, Schrijver 1991: 327f., Sihler 1995: 301, 353.

ubī 'where' [adv.] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *alicubi* 'somewhere' (Pl.+), *nuncubi* 'whether...anywhere' (Varro+), *nēcubi* 'that nowhere' (Varro+), *sīcubi* 'if anywhere' (Cato+); *ubīcumque* 'wherever' (Pl.+), *ubinam* 'where in the world?' (Pl.+), *ubiquāque* 'everywhere' (Pl.+), *ubīque* 'anywhere' (Lucil.+), *ubivīs* 'whenever, anywhere' (Ter.+).

PIt. **kʷu-þ/fei* 'where'. It. cognates: O. **puf**, U. **pufe**, *pufe* [adv.] 'where' < **kʷu-b/dʰei*.

PIE **kʷu-dʰi/-bʰi* 'where'. IE cognates: Skt. *kúha*, OAv. *kudā* 'where', YAv. *kuδat* 'where from', OCS *kъde* 'where, when' < **kʷu-dʰe*.

Theoretically, *ubī* can reflect **kʷubʰei* or **kʷudʰei*. The suffix **-bʰi* would be the PIE ins. ending, whereas **-dʰei* could be an Italic innovation for **kʷu-dʰe* 'where' as encountered in IIr. and Slavic. In view of the latter correspondence, a preform PIt. **kʷuþei* seems slightly more likely. Hit. *ku-wa-pi* 'where, when' reflects **kʷó-bʰi*, cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 490.

Bibl.: WH II: 739, EM 715f., IEW 644-648, Leumann 1977: 149f., Schrijver 1991: 262, Sihler 1995: 399, Meiser 1998: 99, Untermann 2000: 594. → *-de* (for *unde*), *ut*

ulcīscor, -scī 'to take revenge' [v. III; ppp. *ultum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *ultor* 'avenger; person avenged' (Acc.+), *inultus* 'unpunished, unavenged' (Pl.+); *ullō* 'I will have avenged' (Acc.).

PIt. *ol-k- 'to destroy, take revenge'.

PIE *h₃elh₁- [aor.] 'to perish'. IE cognates: see s.v. dēleō.

The form ullō is generally reconstructed as *ulsō < *ulk-s-ō; 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 k-enlargement to the root *h₃lh₁-; but semantically, this seems the best option. PIE *h₃lh₁-k- would yield Lat. *lak- according to Schrijver's rules (1991: 304ff.), but *h₃olh₁-k- > *h₃olk- (with de Saussure's effect) would yield ulc-. Since a PIE o-grade is not easy to justify in a preform *h₃olh₁-k-, one could assume *h₃elh₁- > *-ol- with a more recent addition of *-k-.

Bibl.: WH II: 810f., 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+).

PIt. *elkos.

PIE *h₁elk-os 'ulcer'. IE cognates: Skt. árśas- [n.] 'hemorrhoids', Khot. āsī 'itch', Sogd. ''rsx', 'rs'nx' 'hemorrhoids', Gr. ἕλκος [n.] 'wound, ulcer'. Less certain: OIr. olc 'bad' < *h₁olk-o-, OIc. illr 'bad' < PGm. *elh-ila-.

PIt. *elkos regularly developed into *olkos and then ulcus.

Bibl.: WH II: 811, EM 743f., IEW 310, Schrijver 1991: 37, Stüber 2002: 190f., LIV ?*h₁elk-.

ulmus 'elm-tree, elm-wood' [f. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: ulmeus 'of elms, of elm-woord' (Pl.+); ulmitriba [m.] 'one who wears out elms' (Pl.). ˙

PIt. *e/olmo-. ˙

IE cognates: OIr. lem 'elm' < PCl. *limo-, Gaul. Lemo-uices [ethnonym] > Limoges, W. llwyfen '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. *jьlьmъ < PIE *h₁l-mo- (?); OHG ëlmboum, MoE elm, OIc. almr (NHG Ulme, MoDu. olm borrowed from Latin and Old French).

Ulmus can reflect PIt. *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 *lVm- (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 *h₁elmo-, *h₁olmo-, *h₁lmo-, which is hardly credible.

Bibl.: WH II: 811f., EM 744, IEW 302-304, Schrijver 1991: 66, 1997: 311.

ulna 'forearm' [f. $\bar{a}$] (Catullus+)

PIt. *olenā- 'forearm'.

PIE *Heh₃l-én- (or *HoHl-én-) or *Hh₃-el-en- (or *HHol-en-) 'elbow'. IE cognates: OIr. *uilen* 'angle', W. *elin*, Bret. *ilin* < PCl. *olēn-; Skt. *aratni-* [m.] 'elbow, ell', YAv. *frārāθni.drājah-* [n.] 'length of an ell', *araθnā̊* [du.] 'two elbows', OP *arašnīs* [acc.pl.] 'ell', Gr. ὠλένη [f.], ὠλήν, -ένος [f.] 'elbow, underarm', ὠλλόν 'elbow' (Hsch.) (< *ōl-n-om), OPr. *woaltis* 'ell', *woltis* 'forearm', Lith. *úolektis*; Latv. *uôlekts* 'ell' < *HoHl-ek-ti-, OPr. *alkunis*, Lith. *alkúnė*, *elkúnė* (arch., dial.) 'elbow', Latv. *ȩlkuonis* 'elbow' < *HHol-k-, OCS *lakъtь* [m. i], Ru. *lókot'* 'id.' < *HHolkuti-; OHG *el(i)na* [f.] 'ell', Go. *aleina* < *ol-en-; ToB *alyiye* 'palm' < PTo. *alen-*.

Many languages show an *n*-stem, but IIr. and BSl. have different suffixes. Also, there is ablaut *ōl- (acute) vs. *al- (circumflex) within BSl. Hence, the word may have been a PIE *l*-stem *Heh₃-l- (or *HoH-l-), *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-ĕn- shared by Italo-Celtic and Gm. could have been built on a stem *Hh₃-el- (or *HH-ol-), or be explained from pretonic shortening of a long vowel in front of a resonant (Dybo's shortening: *ōlén- > *olén-).

Bibl.: WH II: 812, EM 744, IEW 307-309, Lubotsky 1990: 131f., Schrijver 1991: 78, 352.

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.+).

PIt. *ol-tero-, *ol-tamo-. It. cognates: O. *últiumam* [acc.sg.f.] 'last'.

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*.

Bibl.: WH II: 813, EM 744, IEW 24-26, Schrijver 1991: 68, Untermann 2000: 794f. → *olle / ollus*

ululō, -āre 'to howl' [v. I] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *ulula* 'the tawny owl' (Varro+).

IE cognates: Skt. *úlūka-* [m.] 'owl', Gr. ὑλάω, ὑλακτέω 'to bark', Lith. *ulula bañgos* '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.

umbilīcus 'navel, centre' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **omb-(e/o)l-* >> **omb-elo-* (or **ombi-* >> **ombi-lo-*).

PIE **h₃nbʰ-(e/o)l-* 'navel'. IE cognates: OIr. *imbliu* 'navel' < PCl. **embli-ion-* < PIE **h₃nbʰ-li-*; Skt. *nábhya-* [n.] 'hub (of wheel)', *nā́bhi-* [f.] 'hub, centre, navel (of the body or the world), origin, relationship, family', YAv. *nabānazdišta-* 'next-of-kin', *nāfa-* [m.] 'navel, origin, blood relationship', MP *nāfag* 'navel', *nāf* 'family' < PIIr. **Hnābʰ-*, **Hnabʰia-*; Gr. ὀμφαλός [m.] 'navel, navel string; knob, center'; OPr. *nabis* 'hub, navel', Latv. *naba* 'navel', OHG *naba*, OE *nafu*, OIc. *nǫf* 'hub', OHG *nabalo*, *nabulo*, *napulo*, OE *nabula*, *nafela*, OIc. *nafli* 'navel' < PGm. **nabulōn-*.

Latin *umbilīcus* 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 *umbilīcus* too contains an original *l*-stem. This was then thematized to **-(e)lo-*, after which the suffix **-īko-* was added.

Bibl.: WH II: 814, EM 745, IEW 314f., Schrijver 1991: 61f., Meiser 1998: 107. → *umbō*

umbō 'boss (of a shield); protuberance' [m. *n*] (Enn.)

PIt. **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.

Bibl.: WH II: 814, EM 745, IEW 314f., Schrijver 1991: 61f. → *umbilīcus*

umbra 'shadow, shade' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *umbrāticus* 'that lives in the shade' (Pl.+), *umbrāticulus* 'lazy-bones' (Pl.), *umbrāculum* 'shelter, shade' (Varro+), *umbrāre* 'to cast a shadow' (Varro+); *umbrifer* 'shady' (Varro+).

IE cognates: Lith. *unksmė̃*, *paùnksmė* 'shade', *uñksnė* = *paùnksnė*, *ùnksna* 'shade', maybe Latv. *ūksme* 'hiding-place'.

Generally connected with Lith. *ùnksna* 'shade', and reconstructed as **unksrā-*. This is the only word for which a cluster **-nksr-* is reconstructed, but in view of *tēmō* < **tensm-* < **tenksmōn*, it is conceivable that **unksrā-* would have yielded > **unsrā-* > **unfrā-* > *umbra*. This etymology suggests that the root was **(H)unk-* (full grade **(H)uenk-*), 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.+), *inūmigāre* 'to make wet' (Andr.), *ūmectus* 'moist, wet' (Cato+), *ūmectāre* 'to make wet' (Lucr.+); *ūlīgō* 'waterlogged ground, marsh' (Cato+), *ūlīginōsus* 'ill-drained' (Varro+).

PIt. **ūmo-* 'wet'.

PIE **uh₁-mo-* 'wet'. IE cognates: see s.v. *ūrīna-*.

WH and EM derive *ūm-* 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. *vǫkr* '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 *ūlīgō* is uncertain: according to Weiss (p. 145), *ūlīgō* was probably created analogically to *ūmidus* and **ūmo-* on the model of *fūlīgō*. Yet we cannot exclude that *ūlīgō* was grafted on **uwidus* > *ūdus*, with a change of intervocalic **-d-* > *-l-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 815, EM 745, IEW 1118, Weiss 1995: 143f. → *uvidus*

umerus 'shoulder' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **omes-o-*. It. cognates: U. **uze**, **onse** [loc.sg.] */ontse/* 'shoulder' < **omes(e)i*.

PIE **h₂om-es-* 'shoulder'. IE cognates: Skt. *áṃsa-* [m.] 'shoulder', Oss. (Iron) *on* 'shoulder-blade' < PIr. **anha-*, Gr. ὦμος [m.] 'shoulder, armpit' < **omso-*; Arm. *ows*, Go. *amsans* [acc.pl.], ToA *es* [m.], ToB *āntse* [m.] 'shoulder'.

Hit. *anašš(a)-* 'lower part of the back' cannot be connected with this reconstructed word for 'shoulder' (Kloekhorst 2008: 178).

Bibl.: WH II: 815, EM 746, IEW 778, Schrijver 1991: 51, Meiser 1998: 83, Untermann 2000: 798.

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. **onko-*.

PIE **h₂onk-o-* 'hook'. IE cognates: Skt. *aṅká-* [m.] 'hook, clamp', Gr. ὄγκος 'barb of an arrow', ὄγκη 'angle, corner' (Hsch.), Lith. (dial.) *ánka* [f.] 'loop, noose, ring', Latv. (dial.) *añka* 'line used to fasten a sail to the mast' (connection uncertain on accentological and semantic grounds), SeCS *ǫkotь* [f.] 'hook', ORu. *ukotь* [f.] 'claw, anchor' < PSl. **ǫkotь*.

Bibl.: WH II: 816, EM 746, IEW 45-47, Schrijver 1991: 51, LIV **h₂enk-*. → *ancus*

unda 'wave, sea (Pl.+), river, running water (Acc.+)' [f. *ā*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *undāre* 'to rise in waves, gush' (Pl.+); *abundāre* 'to overflow, be plentiful' (Pl.+).

PIt. **udōr, *udn-*. It. cognates: U. **utur** [acc.sg.], **une** [abl.sg.] 'water' < **udōr, *udn-*.

PIE **ud-ōr, *ud-n-* 'water'. IE cognates: OIr. *uisce* [m.] 'water' < PCl. **uden-sk-io-*, Hit. *u̯ātar / u̯itēn-* [n.] 'water' < **uód-r, *ud-én-*, Skt. *udán-* [n.], Gr. ὕδωρ, -ατος [n.], Alb. *ujë*, Lith. *vanduõ, -eñs*, OCS *voda*, Go. *wato* [n.] (dat.pl. *watnam*) , OIc. *vatn*, OS *watar*, OHG *wazzar* 'water', ToA *wär*, ToB *war* < PTo. **wär* (probably < PIE **udrom*).

The *r*-stem nom.acc.n. has survived in U. **utur**. The *n*-stem from the oblique cases survives in **une** and has probably been anticipated in Latin **ud-n- > *und-n-*. The *a*-stem inflection and the diverging meaning 'wave' may point to an original collective **ud-n-om* 'body of water', pl. **udna*, which was reinterpreted as an individualized singular 'wave'.

Bibl.: WH II: 816-818, EM 746, IEW 78-81, Meiser 1986: 94, Schrijver 1991: 501, Untermann 2000: 815f.

unguis 'finger-nail, claw' [m. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *unguiculus* 'finger- or toenail, tip' (Pl.+), *ungula* 'hoof, claw' (Pl.+).

PIt. **ongu(-i)-, *onglā-*.

PIE **h₃ngʰ-u- 'nail', *h₃ngʰ-l-h₂- 'nail'. IE cognates: OIr. *ingen* [f.], MW *ewin*, Bret. *ivin* 'nail' < **h₃ngʰ-u-*, Gr. ὄνυξ, -υχος 'nail, claw, hoof' [m.], Arm. *ełowngn* 'nail', OPr. *nage* 'foot', Lith. *nãgas* 'nail, claw', *nagà* 'hoof', OCS *noga*, Ru. *nogá* 'foot, leg' < h₃nogʰ-h₂-; OHG *nagal*, OE *nægel* 'nail', Go. *ganagljan* 'to nail on'.

The PIE *u*-stem was remade into an *i*-stem in Latin.

Bibl.: WH II: 818f., EM 747, IEW 780, Schrijver 1991: 62f., Sihler 1995: 97.

ungulus 'ring (on the finger)' [m. *o*] (Pac. Plin. Paul. *ex F.*)

Derivatives: *ungustus* '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 *ungulus* 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*) *ungulum*, whereas Festus calls it an Oscan word. Alternatively, *ungulus* could represent a preform **ongelo-* ablauting with *angulus*. The noun *ungustus* recalls the adjectives in -*us-tus*, but we have no noun **o/ungos-* 'corner'.

Bibl.: WH II: 819, EM 747, IEW 47, Schrijver 1991: 51. → *angulus*

unguō, -ere 'to smear, grease' [v. III; pf. *ūnxī*, ppp. *unctum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *unguen* [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.+), *unctiō*

'anointing' (Pl.+), *unctulus* 'anointed' (Varro+), *unctiusculus* 'a little oilier' (Pl.), *unctitāre* 'to anoint habitually' (Pl.+); *exunguī* 'to anoint away' (Pl.).

PIt. **ongʷ-e-* 'to anoint', **ongʷ-en-* 'ointment'. It. cognates: U. **umtu** [3s.ipv.II] 'to anoint' < **ombetōd*, U. **umen** [acc.sg.], **umne** [abl.sg.] 'ointment' < **omben* < **ongʷen*.

PIE **h₃engʷ-e/o-* [pr.] 'to anoint', **h₃éngʷ-n* [nom.acc.], **h₃ngʷ-én-s* [gen.] 'fat, butter' [n.]. IE cognates: OIr. *imb*, MW *ymen-yn*, Bret. *amann* 'butter' < **h₃ngʷ-n*; Skt. pr. *anákti*, *añjánti* [act.], *aṅkté*, *añjaté* [med.] 'to anoint, smear', *áñjas-* [n.] 'anointment', YAv. *viiāxti-* [f.] 'adornment, make-up'; Arm. *awcanem* 'I anoint'; OPr. *anctan*, OHG *ancho* 'butter'.

The thematic present of PIt. may directly reflect a PIE thematic present, but it might also be built on an earlier nasal present **h₃n-né-gʷ-ti* / **h₃n-n-gʷ-énti*, with simplification of the zero grade to **h₃ngʷ-*. The n. noun shows full grade of the root in Gm., and zero grade in Italo-Celtic.

Bibl.: WH II: 819f., EM 747, IEW 779, Klingenschmitt 1982: 180f., Schrijver 1991: 50, 62, 1995: 351, Meiser 1998: 100, 2003: 119, Untermann 2000: 796-98, LIV **h₂engᵘ-*. → *ōmentum*

ūnus 'one' [adj. num. *o*] (Lex XII+, Elog.Scip. *oino* [acc.sg.m.], SCBac. *oiniuorsei* '*ūniversī*'; gen. *ūnīus*, dat. *ūnī*; n. *ūnum*)

Derivatives: *ūnā* [adv.] 'together, at the same time' (Pl.+), *ūllus* 'any' (Pl.+), *nūllus* 'not any, no' (Andr.+), *nōnnūllus* 'a little, a few' (Pl.+), *ūnicus* 'sole, unique' (Pl.+), *ūnōsē* [adv.] 'all together' (Pac.), *uncia* 'one twelfth' (Pl.+), *unciātim* 'in amounts of one twelfth' (Ter.+), *deunx, -ncis* [m.] 'eleven-twelfths' (Varro+).

PIt. **oino-*.

PIE **Hoi-no-* 'one'. IE cognates: OIr. *óen*, W. *un*, Gr. οἰνή 'one (at dice)', OPr. *ainan* [acc.s.], Lith. *vienas*, Latv. *viêns* 'one' < **HoiHno-*, OCS *inъ* 'some(one), other', Ru. *inój* 'different, other' < **HiHno-*; Go. *ains* < PIE **Hoi-no-*; Skt. *éka-* < **Hoi-ko-*, Av. *aēuua-*, OP *aiva-* 'one' < **Hoi-u̯o-*.

Lat. *ūllus* < **oinlo-* < **oinolo-*, *nūllus* < **ne-oino-lo-*. Most IE forms can go back to **Hoi-no-* 'one', but the acute intonation in Slavic points to **H(o)iH-no-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 815f., 821-823, EM 746, 748f., IEW 281-286, Schrijver 1991: 52, Coleman 1992: 389f., Meiser 1998: 168.

-uō, -uere 'to put on/off' [v. III; pf. *-uī*, ppp. *-ūtum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *exuere* 'to take off, strip (a garment, skin), to set free' (Pl.+), *induere* 'to put on, clothe; adopt' (Pl.+); *exuviae* [f.pl.] 'spoils, stripped skin' (Pl.+), *induviae* [f.pl.] 'garment' (Pl., Gel.), *reduvia* 'a loose piece of cuticle round the nail' (Cic.+), *reduviōsus* 'full of hangnails' (Laev.+), *redivīvus* 'second-hand' (Cic.+); *indūtus, -ūs* [m.] 'the putting on' (Var.+); *indūtilis* 'that can be put on, detachable' (Cato); *indūmentum* 'garment' (Gauius Bassus+); *indūcula* 'woman's garment' (Pl.), *subūcula* 'under-tunic' (Varro+).

PIt. pr. **ow-e/o-*. 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. *aoϑra-* 'shoes', Arm. *haganim* 'to put on', Lith. *aũti*, 3s. *aũna*, 3s.pret. *ãvė*, OCS *obuti* 'to put on footwear' < PSl. **obuti* < BSl. **(-)outei*.

Compounds of preverbs plus the verb *-uō* 'to put on'. The ppp. *-ūtus* 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 *-uō* (for **-oviae* or **-iviae*). The formation of *ind-, ex-uviae* next to *-uō* is conspicuous, since we would hardly expect an adjective **(ex)owios*. But nouns in *-iēs* are usually formed from verbs, and Leumann 1977: 285 indeed (but for metrical reasons) surmises that *exuviae* goes back to a stem **exuviēs*. But it could also reflect a paradigm with a vacillation *-ia-* / *-iē-* (cf. *effigiēs/effigiae*). The form *exdutae* (Paul. *ex F.*) 'exuviae' is the result of metanalysis of *ind-uō* as *in-duō*. See WH 1: 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.

Bibl.: WH I: 434-435, 695, II: 425, 620, EM 207, 567, 662, IEW 346, Schrijver 1991: 159, Untermann 2000: 112, LIV 276 *h₂euH-. → *ōmentum*

upupa 'hoopoe; kind of pickaxe' [f. *ā*] (Varro+; Pl.)

IE cognates: Gr. ἐποποῖ ποπ̞ρπό 'cry of the hoopoe', ἔποψ, -οπος 'hoopoe', Arm. *ʹpopop*, Po. *hupek*, LG *Hupphupp*, OHG *wituhopfo*, OŞ *widohoppa* 'hoopoe'.

Onomatopoeic word, found in many languages in a similar form.

Bibl.: WH II: 837, EM 754, IEW 325.

urbs 'city' [f. *i*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *urbānus* 'of the city' (Pl.+).

PIt. **worf-(i-)* (> *urbs*), **werf-ā-* (> *uerfale*). It. cognates: U. *uerfale* 'area for taking auspices' [loc. or abl.sg.?] < **werf-āli-* [n.].

PIE **u(o)rbʰ-(i-)* 'enclosure'. IE cognates: Hit. *u̯arpa-* [n.] 'enclosure', *u̯arpae-ᶻⁱ* 'to suppress, conquer' < **u̯orP-o-*; ToA *warpi*, ToB *werwiye* 'garden' < **u̯orP-o-*, ToA *wärp-* 'to surround', ToB *wārp-* 'to enclose'.

The three most frequent pre-2000 etymologies (connecting *urbs* with PIE **gʰordʰ-o-* 'enclosure', Latin *orbis* 'circle', and PIE **bʰr̥gʰ-* '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 phonogically reflect PIE **u(o)rbʰ/dʰ-(i-)*, whereas U. *uerfale* can continue **uerbʰ/dʰ-hₓ-*. Since Hittite and Tocharian contain words of the form **u̯VrP-* meaning 'to enclose', 'garden', Driessen decides that *urbs* is from a root **u(e/o)rbʰ-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 838, EM 754, Meiser 1998: 64, Untermann 1000: 843f., Driessen 2001: 60-66.

urgeō 'to press, push' [v. II; pf. *ursī*] (Pl.+)
    Derivatives: *exurgēre* 'to squeeze out' (Pl.+).
    PIt. **worg-eje/o-*.   ■
    PIE **u(o)rǵ^h-eie-?* IE cognates: Lith. *verž́ti*, 3s. *verž́ia* 'to string, tighten, squeeze', CS *otъvrěsti*, 1s. *otъvrъzǫ* 'to untie', Ru. *otvérzt'* (poet.) 'to open', OHG *wurgen* 'to strangle', OS *wurgill*, OIc. *virgill* 'noose'.

LIV assumes that *urgeō* 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 *urgeō* 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 *urgeō* 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 **-rǵ^h-* yields Latin *-rg-*.
    Bibl.: WH II: 839, EM 754f., IEW 1181, Schrijver 1991: 76, LIV **ureg-*, **uerǵ^h-*.

ūrīna 'urine' [f. *ā*] (Varro, Cat.+)
    Derivatives: *ūrīnārī* 'to plunge under water, dive' (Varro, Cic.+), *ūrīnātor* 'a diver' (Varro, Liv.+).
    PIt. **ūr-īno-* 'watery'.
    PIE **u(e/o)h₁-r* [n.] 'water'. IE cognates: OIr. *fír* 'milk', OW *gwir(-awt)* 'strong drink' < **ueh₁r-ó-* 'milky', CLuw. *uār* 'water', Skt. *vā́r-* [n.] 'water' (often disyllabic in RV), YAv. *vāra-* 'rain' (m.) < Pllr. **uaHr-* < PIE **ue/oh₁-r*; OIc. *úr* [n.] 'drizzle' → *ýra* [w.v.1] 'drizzle' < PGm. **ūra-*; OIc. *úrigr*, OE *ūrig* < PGm. **ūraga-* 'dewy'; OIc. *aurr* '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 *meiiō*, *mingō*, apart from onomatopoeia like **pissō*. According to WH, the meaning 'urine' of *ūrīna* may have been influenced by Gr. οὖρον 'urine'. The original meaning must then have been 'water' vel sim. Leumann 1977: 552 and 328 regards *ūrīna* as a back-formation to the verb, which would be a latinization of Gr. οὐρεῖν '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 'diver' of *ūrīnātor*. In that case, 'urine' is indeed the oldest meaning of *ūrīna*. 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 *ūrīna* 'water' is old, it presupposes an adj. **ūr-īno-* 'watery' formed from a noun **ūr(o)-* 'water'. Similarly Vine 1999c. If the root of *ūrīna* was indeed **uh₁-* (not **uh₁r-*), we find two PIE *r*-stem neuters meaning 'water', viz. **uod-r* and **ue/oh₁-r*. These look very similar, and we know that **h₁* can result from **d* in anteconsonantal position, as in **dkmtom* 'hundred', **-dkomth₂* '-ty' and **dui-d^{h}h₁-* 'to divide'.
    Bibl.: WH II: 840, EM 755, IEW 78-81, Oleson 1976.

ūrō, -ere 'to burn, scorch' [v. Ill; pf. ussī, ppp. ustum] (Lex XII, Naev.+)

Derivatives: adūrere 'to scorch, burn' (Cato+), ambūrere '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. oṣati 'to burn, scorch', uṣṇá- 'hot', Gr. εὕω 'to singe' (< *εὐhω); OIc. usli [m.], OE ysle [f.] 'hot ashes', OIc. ysja [f.] 'fire'.

Combūrere arose secondarily through metanalysis of ambūrere 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: OIr. art [m.] 'bear, hero, warrior', W. arth, OBret. Ard-, Arth-, Bret. arz, Gaul. Artio [Theonym] < PCl. *arto- 'bear', Hit. hartakka- [c.] 'bear', Skt. ŕkṣa- [m.], YAv. arša-, Khot. arrä, MoP xirs 'bear' < IIr. *Hrtća-, Gr. ἄρκτος 'bear', also 'Ursa maior', Arm. arj, Alb. ari [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: *h₂rC- 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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 842, EM 755, IEW 875, Schrijver 1991: 68-72, Beekes 1995: 134, Sihler 1995: 225, Meiser 1998: 106.

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. uruvú [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.], οὖρος (Il.), ορϝος (Core.), ὦρος (Cret., Arg.), ὅρος (Herakl.), Myc. wo-wo /worwos/ 'boundary, term, limit' < PGr. *ϝορϝο-, 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. uruvú is uncertain because its meaning is unclear; if 'broad', if could belong to PIE *h₁urH-ú- 'broad'.

Bibl.: WH II: 843, EM 755, Schrijver 1991: 76, Meiser 1998: 63, Untermann 2000: 810, Driessen 2001: 62-64.

usquam 'anywhere, in any situation' [adv.] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *nusquam* '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.+).
PIt. **ŭskʷe*. It. cognates: Ven. **u** [prep.] *< *ŭd* 'out, for'.
PIE **(H)ŭd(s)* 'up, out'. IE cognates: PCl. **ud-, *uss-* 'out' < PIE **ud-, *uds-*; Skt. *uccá* 'from above, upwards', YAv. *usca* [adv.] 'above', *uskāt* [adj.] 'high, high up' < **(H)ud-(s)kʷe*; Skt. *úd*, Av. *us, uz*, OP *ud-* 'up, out'; OCS Ru. Cz. *vy- < PSl. *vy- < *(H)ud-*; Go. *ut*, OE *ūt*, OHG *ūz*, NHG *aus* 'out' < PGm. **ūd*, Go. *us (uz-, ur-)*, OIc. *ór, ór-, or-, ør-*, 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 vowel. Since shortening is in this position more understandable than lengthening, this speaks for *ūsque*. Long *ū* 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 **ud-skʷe* for *ūsque* and Av. *usca*, which was secondarily remade into instrumentals or ablatives in IIr. Skt. *uccá* is in Dunkel's view from **ud-kʷe*, with lengthening of IIr. **-a* by analogy with the instr. in *-cá* of adj. in *-(y)añc*. For *ūsque*, the analysis may also be **uds-kʷe*, in view of PCl. **uss-* 'out' < **ud-s*.
 Bibl.: WH II: 844, EM 756, IEW 1103f., Russell 1988. → *uterus*

ut, utī 'how, as, so that' [adv., cj.] (*utī* Lex XII+, *ut* Andr.+)

Derivatives: *utinam* 'if only' (Pl.+), *utique* 'absolutely, certainly' (Varro+), *utpote* 'as one might expect' (Pl.+), *utut* 'however' (Pl.+).
PIt. **kʷutV(s)* 'how'. It. cognates: O. **puz**, *pus, pous*, U. **puze**, *puse, pusi, pusei* 'that' [+ sb.], 'as' *< *kʷuti-s* (O.), **kʷuti-s-ī*.
PIE **kʷu-* 'where, how'.

Whereas Sabellic points to **kʷutVs* (Untermann probably posits **-i-* because of Lat. *utī*), Latin *utī* may reflect **kʷutei* or **kʷutī*. The latter form might have *-ī* in analogy to *quī* 'how' (see s.v. *quī, quae, quod*). The original stem may then have been **kʷu-tos*, with **-tos* 'from' as in *intus* and Skt. *kútas* 'where from?'; the semantic shift from interrogative to relative is trivial. But other options are conceivable, e.g. **kʷu-ti* 'how?' with **-ti* as in *et < *eti* and *aut < *auti*.
 Bibl.: WH II: 846, EM 756f., IEW 644-648, Sihler 1995: 399, Untermann 2000: 627f. → *ubī, usquam, uter*

uter, utra, utrum 'which of the two' [adj. *o/ā*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *uterque* 'each of the two' (Naev.+), *utrimque* [adv.] 'on both sides' (Enn.+), *utrimquesecus* 'on both sides' (Cato+), *utrinde* 'from either side' (Cato),

utervīs 'whichever of the two you please' (Ter.+), *utrubī* 'in which of two places?' (Naev.+), *utrubīque* 'in both places, on both sides' (Pl.+), *neuter* 'not one nor the other, neither' (Pl.+), *neutrubī* 'in neither place' (Pl.).

PIt. **kʷotero-* (>> Lat. **kʷutero-*). It. cognates: O. **púterelpíd** [loc.sg.m.], **pútúrúspíd** [nom.pl.m.], **pútúrú[mpid** [gen.pl.m.], U. **putrespe** [gen.sg.?] 'both' < **potero-kʷid*.

PIE **kʷo-tero-* 'which (of two)'. IE cognates: Skt. *katará-*, Av. *katāra-* 'which of two', YAv. *kataras-cit̰* 'each of the two', Gr. πότερος, Lith. *katràs* 'which', OCS *kotorъ(i)* , *koterъi* 'which, what', Ru. *kotóryj*, Go. *ƕaþar* 'which', OHG *hwedar* 'who, which from two', MoE *whether*.

Inherited PIE **kʷo-tero-* 'which of two' is regularly reflected in Sab. **potero-*, but has been replaced by **kʷutero-* in Latin on the model of the interrogative stem **kʷu-* in *ubī, unde, ut*.

Bibl.: WH II: 845, EM 757, IEW 644-648, Untermann 2000: 625.

uter, utris 'leather bag' [m. *i*] (Varro+; nom.pl.n. *utria* in Lucil.)
PIt. **ud-ri-*.
PIE **ud-r-i-* 'water vessel'. IE cognates: OIr. *otre* 'goatskin bottle', Gr. ὑδρία '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 **udri-* 'water vessel'.

Bibl.: WH II: 845, EM 757, IEW 78-81, Sommer 1914: 226, Sihler 1995: 212, Hilmarsson 1993. → *unda, vitrum*

uterus 'belly, womb' [m. *o*] (Pl.+; n. *uterum* Pl.+)
PIt. **udero-*.
PIE **(H)ud-ér-o-* 'outer, sticking out'. IE cognates: Skt. *udára-* [n.] 'belly, womb', YAv. *udarō.ϑrqsa-* 'crawling on the belly (of snakes)', Khot. *ura-, ūra-* 'stomach', Gr. ὅδερος 'dropsy', Hsch. ὅδερος 'stomach' [with *ho-* for **hu-*], ὑστέρα [f.] 'womb'; OPr. *weders* 'stomach, belly', Lith. *véderas, védaras* [m.] 'sausage; intestines, stomach, lower abdomen', Latv. [m.] *vēdars* 'belly', OCS *vědro* 'barrel', Ru. *vedró* < PSl. **vědrò* [n.] 'bucket' < **(H)uéd-ero-* 'belonging to the belly'.

WH suggest that **uderos* may have analogically become **uteros* when **udris* became **utris* 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 846, EM 757, IEW 1104f., Lejeune 1974: 339, Hamp 1978: 190, Hilmarsson 1993: 214f. → *usque, vē(n)sica, venter*

ūtor, utī 'to use' [v. III; ppp. *ūsum*] (Pl.+; *oitile* CIL 586, *oeti* (2x) 'ūtī' CIL I² 756, Furfo, *oesus* 'ūsus' Cic.)
Derivatives: *ūtilis* 'useful' (Pl.+), *inūtilis* 'useless' (Pl.+), *ūtibilis* 'serviceable' (Pl.+),

ūtilitās 'quality of being useful' (Pl.+), *ūtēnsilis* 'that can be made use of' (Varro+); *ūsus, -ūs* 'use, need, value' (Pl.+), *ūsūra* 'use, enjoyment; interest' (Pl.+), *ūsūrārius* 'provided on loan' (Pl.+), *ūsurpāre* 'to carry out, make use of, take possession of' (Pl.+), *inūsitātus* 'unusual' (Lucil.+); *abūtī* 'to use up, exploit, abuse' (Pl.+).

PIt. **oit-e/o-* 'to use', **oisso-* 'used'. It. cognates: Pael. *oisa* [ppp. abl.sg.f.] 'used' < **oisso-*; O. **úíttiuf** [nom.sg.] f. 'use' < **oit-iōn-s*.

PIE **h₃eit-* 'to take along'? IE cognates: CLuw. *hizza(i)-* 'to fetch' < **h₃eit-s-e/o-*; Gr. οἴσω, -ομαι 'I will fetch, take along', οἰστός 'bearable'.

Tichy 2002 argues that PIt. **oit-* 'to use' may have developed from 'fetch (in one's own interest)' to 'use'. In that case, it might be cognate to Gr. οἰσ- < **oiss-*, which Tichy explains as a possible *s*-present **oit-s-*. This theory is attractive. Melchert 2007b adds Luwian *hizza(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.+)
  PIt. **oiwā-*.
  PIE **h₁oiH-uh₂-* 'kind of tree, probably with berries'? IE cognates: Gr. οἴη, ὄη, ὄα 'elderberry tree' < **oiuā*; Arm. *aygi* 'vine'; Gaul. *ivo-*, Lith. *ievà*, Latv. *iẽva* 'bird-cherry'; Ru. *íva* 'willow' < PSl. **jьva*; PGm. **īwa-* '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.
  Bibl.: WH II: 849, EM 758, IEW 297f., Mallory-Adams 1997: 654.

ūvidus 'wet, soaked' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)
  Derivatives: *ūvor* 'moisture' (Varro), *uvēscere* 'to become wet' (Lucr.+), *ūdus* 'liquid, wet, drunken' (Varro+), *ūdor* 'moisture' (Varro).
  IE cognates: Gr. ὑγρός 'wet' < **ugro-* < **ugʷ-ró-*, OIc. *vǫkr* 'wet' < **uogʷ-o-*.

The order of attestation suggests that *ūdus* is a recent contraction of *ūvidus*, although Weiss 1995 reckons with the possibility that *ūdus* was older, and that *ūvidus* was back-formed to it as a hyperarchaism. Lat. *ūdus* might reflect **welogʷ-ipo-*, **ugʷ-ipo-* or **uh₁-ipo-*. Alternatively, Weiss suggests that *ūvidus* acquired *ū-* from its close semantic cognate *ūmidus*, thus hiding an earlier stage **uwidos*. In any case, *ūvor* (hapax) and *uvēscere* (rare) were formed secondarily to *ūvidus*.
  Bibl.: WH II: 849, EM 758, IEW 1118, Leumann 1977: 330, Weiss 1995: 141ff., LIV **uegʷ-*. → *ūmidus*

uxor, -ōris 'wife' [f. *r*] (Naev.+)
  Derivatives: *uxōrius* 'of a wife' (Pl.+), *uxorcula* 'little wife' (Pl.+), *uxorculāre* 'to play the part of a wife' (Pl.).
  PIt. **uksor-*. It. cognates: Fal. **uxor, uxo** [nom.sg.] 'wife'.

WH explain *uxor* as **uks-or-* 'who is being inseminated' to Skt. *ukṣán-* 'bull', which we can safely dismiss. Moussy 1980 assumes **ug̑ʰ-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.

Bibl.: WH II: 849f., EM 758f., IEW 1118, Giacomelli 1963: 259, Moussy 1980, van Windekens 1984.

V

vacca 'cow' [f. *ā*] (Varro+)

Has been connected with Skt. *vaśā́* 'cow' < **uek-eh₂* (if PIE), but Latin would require *o*-grade, and Schrijver has established that **o* > *a* only occurred in open syllables. Thus, the connection cannot be maintained unless one is prepared to reconstruct PIt. **waka-* which somehow acquired geminate **-kk-*. Muller 1926 suggests a preform **vākā* and connects Skt. *vā́śati* 'roars' and Lat. *vāgiō*. If we posit the (onomatopoeic?) root as **ueh₂r-*, *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: *vacuus* 'empty, hollow' (Pl.; *vocuus* inscr.), *vocīvus* 'vacant, free' (Pl., Ter.) (*vacīvus* Gell.), *vacīvitās* 'state of being empty' (Pl.), *supervacāneus* 'additional, extra' (Cato+), *vacātiō* 'exemption' (Cic.+; *vocātiō* inscr. 123 BC+); *vacēfierī* 'to become empty' (Lucr.).

PIt. **wako-* 'empty'. It. cognates: U. **anter.vakaze**, *ander.uacose* [3s.pr.sb.ps.?] 'to interrupt' < **-vakāto-*; U. *uaśetom est, uasetom est, uaseto est* [3s.pf.ps.n.], **vaçetumise** [supin. + 'to go'], *uasetome fust* [supin. + *-en* + 'to go'] probably 'to omit, err' < **uakēto-?*; maybe U. *uas* [nom.sg.] 'mistake' < **uakos, *uātis, *uaktis* vel sim.

PIE **h₁uh₂-ko-*.

The forms in *voc-* are due to a change *vac-* > *voc-* in pretonic syllable (Sommer 1914: 110). For PIt., 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-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 723, EM 710, IEW 345f., Leumann 1977: 50, Schrijver 1991: 307f., Untermann 2000: 111f., 820f., 825, LIV *h₁ueh₂-. → *vānus*, *vāstus*

vādō, -ere 'to advance, proceed' [v. III, ppp. -*vāsum*] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *ēvādere* 'to escape, end up, pass' (Pl.+); *vadum* 'shallow water, ford' (Pl.+) (*vadus* Varro et al.).

PIt. **wāþe/o-* [v.], **waþo-* [n.].

PIE **ueh₂dʰ-* [v.] 'to advance', **uh₂dʰ-o-* [n.]. IE cognates: W. *go-di-wawd* 'overtook' < **ueh₂dʰ-*, OHG *watan*, OFr. *wada*, OIc. *vaða* 'to wade' < **uh₂dʰ-*, OIc. *vað*, OE *wæd* [n.] 'water, lake', OE *gewæd*, OHG *wat* 'ford' < **waða-*.

Since *vādāre* is rare and evidently denominal to *vadum*, we must concentrate on *vadum* and *vādere*. The short vowel of *vadum* matches that of the Germanic verbs, whereas the long *ā* of *vādere* corresponds with Welsh -*aw-*. This suggests a PIE root present with ablaut *e : zero*, and possibly the presence of a derivative **uh₂dʰ-o-* in PIE already.

Bibl.: WH II: 723f., EM 710f., IEW 1109, Schrijver 1991: 170, 339, Meiser 2003: 120, LIV **ueh₂dʰ-*.

vae 'alas!' [interj.] (Pl.+)

PIt. **wai*.

IE cognates: MIr. *fáe*, W. *gwae* 'alas!'; Av. *vaiiōi, auuōi, āuuōiia* 'alas!', *voiia-* 'cry of distress' < **uai*, **ă-uai(-ā)*, Go. *wai*, OIc. *vei, væ*, OHG OS *wē*, OE *wā* 'woe!', Go. *wajamerjan* 'to slander', *waidedja* 'criminal', OHG *wēwo, wēwa* 'woe, pain', OS *wē*, gen. *wēwes*, OIc. *væ, vé* 'woe, pain'.

Probably all independent onomatopoeic forms, although shared inheritance cannot be excluded.

Bibl.: WH II: 724, EM 711, IEW 1110f.

vafer, -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. *būfō*). Lat. **vaber* could regularly reflect PIt. **wasro-* 'versatile', cognate with *varius* 'variegated' which could reflect **was-io-*. Another possible etymology would be **waþ-ro-* 'moving along' to *vadō* 'to proceed'.

Bibl.: WH II: 724f., EM 711.

vāgīna 'sheath, scabbard' [f. *ā*] (Varro+)

PIt. **wāg-īnā-?*

If cognate with Lith. *vóžti* '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 **ueh₂ǵ-*.

vāgiō, -īre 'to cry' [v. IV] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *vāgor* 'loud crying' (Enn.+), *vāgītus, -ūs* 'cry of distress' (Lucr.+), *vāgulātiō* 'questiō cum convīciō' (Fest.), *vāgulus* 'wandering' (or 'crying'?) (Hadrianus); *obvagīre* '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. *vagnú-* 'sound, call', *vagvaná-* 'talkative' may have **-g-*, but are connected with the root **uek^w-* by EWAia (II: 491). There is also Lith. *vógrauti* 'to weep, cry'. Greek ἴαχε [aor.] 'shouted', ἠχή, Dor. ἀχά '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.: WH II: 726f., EM 711, IEW 1110, Schrijver 1991: 146, LIV ?**ueh₂(g)h-*.

vagus 'roaming, wandering' [adj. *o/ā*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *vagāre/ī* 'to wander, roam' (Pl.+) (act. until Varro), *vagātrīx* 'female wanderer' (Sis.).

Plt. **wago-*.

PIE **Huog-o-?* IE cognates: OIc. *vakka*, OHG *wankon* '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-ó-* with **wo-* > **wa-* in open syllable. The Celtic forms adduced by WH (OIr. *fán* 'slope, declivity, hollow', OW *guoun* [f.], MW *gwawn, gweun*, OCo. *guen*, OBret. *goen*, MBret. *gueun* 'meadow' < PCl. **wāgno/ā-* 'slope, hollow') are not easy to connect semantically.

Bibl.: WH II: 726, EM 711, IEW 1120, Schrijver 1991: 463f., LIV ?**ueng-*.

valeō 'to be strong, healthy' [v. II; pf. *valuī*, ppp. *valitum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *valentia* 'power' (Naev.+), *valentulus* 'sturdy' (Pl.+), *valēscere* 'to become sound in health' (Lucr.+), *validus* 'strong, vigorous' (Pl.+), *val(i)dē* 'greatly, extremely' (Pl.+), *valētūdō* 'soundness, good health' (Pl.+), *valētūdinārius* 'incapacitated' (Varro+); *convalēscere* 'to grow strong, recover' (Cato+); *volae/ēmum* 'large kind of pear' (Cato+).

Plt. **wal-ē-*. It. cognates: O. ϝαλε, Marr. *uali*, Pael. *ualf* [2s.ipv.] 'farewell' < **ualē* (or loanword from Latin); maybe O. *ualaemom* [nom.acc.sg.n.], **valaimas** [gen.sg.f.], SPic. **velaimes** [gen.sg.m.?] 'best' < **ua/elaimo-* (< **ua/elaisVmo-?*). The appurtenance of Presam. ϝολος [adj?] and ϝολαιουμος [sup.?] is unclear.

PIE **h₂ulh₁-eh₁-* 'to be strong'. IE cognates: OIr. *fallnaithir** 'to rule' < PCl. **ualna-*, W. *gwaladr* 'ruler' < **ulh₇-etro-*, OIr. *flaith* 'rule', OW *gulat* [f.], MW *gwlad* 'country', Co. *gulat*, OBret. *guletic* < PCl. **ulati-* 'sovereignty' < **ulHti-*, OIr. *fal* 'rule', *Conall* [PN], OW *Con-gual* [PN], Bret. *Conuual* [PN] < **kuno-walo-* < PCl. **ualo-* 'prince, chief'; Hit. *hulle-ᶻⁱ / hull-* 'to smash, defeat' < **h₂ul-né-h₁-ti, *h₂ul-n-h₁-énti*; OPr. *weldīsnan* 'inheritance' [acc.sg.], Lith. *veldéti*, 3s. *véldi* 'to

inherit, (OLith., dial.) acquire, attain, rule' < *uelH-d^h-; Lith. *valdýti*, 3s. *valdo* 'to rule, govern, wield', Latv. *vàldît*, CS *vladěti* 'to rule', Ru. *vladét'* and *volodét'* (dial.) 'to own, control, wield' < *uol(H)-d^h*, OCS *vlasti*, Is. *vladǫ* 'to rule' < PIE *uolH-d^h-; Go. *waldan* 'to rule', OHG *walten* 'to dominate' < *uol(H)-t/d^h-; ToA *wäl*, gen.sg. *länt*, ToB *walo*, gen. *länte* 'king' < PIE *$\underline{u}$lH-nt-.

PIE *(H)ulh$_1$-eh$_1$-* would directly yield *wale-* by phonetic development; for the reflex of *(H)ul- in Latin, cf. Schrijver 1991: 76. The root can be reconstructed with final *-h$_1$ on the strength of Hit. *hull-*, cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 358ff.

Bibl.: WH II: 727f., EM 711f., IEW 1111f., Schrijver 1991: 213-215, Untermann 2000: 821-823, Lazzarini-Poccetti 2001, Schumacher 2004: 655, LIV 1.*$\underline{u}$elH-. → *polleō, volō*

valgus 'bow-legged, with x-formed legs' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Has been connected with Skt. *válgati* (AV+) 'to move up and down', Khot. *valj-* 'to go astray, be deceived', OE *wealcan* 'to roll, move to and fro' < *$\underline{u}$ol(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 *wolg-.

Bibl.: WH II: 728, EM 712, IEW 1140-44, Schrijver 1991: 464, LIV 1.*$\underline{u}$elg-.

vallēs, -is 'valley' [f. *i*] (Varro+; nom.sg. also *vallis*)
Derivatives: *vallēcula* 'small valley' (Paul. *ex F.*).

No certain etymology. The connection with Gr. Ἦλις, -δος region in the western Peloponnese, Elis ϝαλεῖος 'Elean, Elans' < *ϝάλις '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. *walus* 'stick', Lith. *apvalùs* 'round', Ru. *óblyj* 'rounded'); if Gm. and Baltic continue *$\underline{u}$ol-, Latin *val-* would have originated from unrounding in an open syllable, but *vallis* < *wals/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 *ulH- 'to turn' (see *volvō*). From such a root, it is even more difficult to explain *vallis*.

Bibl.: WH II: 729, EM 712, IEW 1140-44, Schrijver 1991: 460. → −

vallum 'palisade' [n. *o*] (Cato+; also *vallus* Caes.+)
Derivatives: *vallus* 'stake' (Caes.+), *vallāre* 'to surround with a palisade' (Caecil.+); *circumvallāre* 'to form a blockade, surround' (Ter.+), *intervallum* 'distance, gap, break' (Pl.+).
Plt. *walso-?
PIE *uh$_2$lso-? IE cognates: Gr. ἦλος, Dor. ἇλος 'nail', Aeol. γάλλοι (Hsch.) < *$\underline{u}$als/no-?

Schrijver favours the connection with Greek words for 'nail', which is possible but not compelling.

Bibl.: WH II: 730, EM 712, IEW 1140-44, Schrijver 1991: 170.

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. **wolVwā-* 'leaf of a door'.
PIE **uol-eu-o-* 'turning'.

Since the root is reconstructed as **u̯el-*, *valvae* could go back to unrounding of **wo-* in open syllable, hence **wolVwā-* 'folding'; this could represent an adj. **u̯ol-eu̯-o-* derived from the *u*-present **u̯el-u-* (see s.v. *volvō*).
Bibl.: WH 730, EM 712, IEW 1140-44, Schrijver 1991: 297f., 464, LIV 2.*u̯el-. →
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 **h₂uh₂-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* < **wantno-* would be that the diminutive becomes easier to explain: **wantnelo-* > **wannelo-* > **wannlo-* > **wanlo-* > **wallo-*.
Bibl.: WH II: 731, EM 713, IEW 81-84, Schrijver 1991: 308f.

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.), *vāniloquus* 'speaking idle words' (Pl.+); *ēvānēscere* 'to disappear, vanish' (Ter.+).
PIt. **wāno-* or **wăsno-*.
PIE **h₁ueh₂-no-*, **h₁ueh₂-sno-* or **h₁uh₂-sno-*. IE cognates: Skt. *váyati* 'to disappear', *nir-vāṇa-* 'extinguished, soothed', YAv. *frāuuaiia-* 'to make disappear', Skt. *ūná-* 'empty', YAv. *ūna-* 'deficient', *uiiamna-* 'being deficient', Gr. ἐάω 'to let, permit', Go. *wans* 'missing'.

If cognate with *vāstus* 'empty, desolate', *vānus* could go back to **wās-no-*; other theoretical options are **wāno-* and **wasno-*.
Bibl.: WH II: 731f., EM 713, IEW 345, Schrijver 1991: 146, 308, Nussbaum 1998a, LIV **h₁ueh₂-*. → *vāstus*

vapor 'vapour, steam' [m. *r*] (Pac.+; nom.sg. *vapōs* Acc.)

Derivatives: *vapōrāre* 'to cover with a vapour, be hot' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **kwap-ōs* 'vapour'.

PIE **kʷuh₂ep-s-* 'smoke'. IE cognates: Gr. καπνός 'smoke' [m.] < **κϝαπνός*, ἀπὸ ... ἐκάπυσσεν 'breathed forth', καπύσσων 'breathing out', κάπυς 'breath'; Lith. *kvãpas* 'smoke' < **kʷh₂uop-o-*, Ru. *kópot'* 'soot, (dial.) smoke, dust, hoarfrost', Ukr. *kópit* 'dust (in the air)', Pl. *kopieć* 'soot, fumes' [m.]; Lith. *kvėpti*, 3s. *kvẽpia* 'to inhale, breathe in', Latv. *kvêpt* 'smoke, smell < PIE **kʷh₂uep-*; Go. *af-ƕapjan* 'to suffocate, extinguish', *af-ƕapnan* 'to extinguish' < **χʷap-n-*.

Schrijver revives the comparison with BSl. words for 'to smoke' and Gr. καπνός 'smoke' by means of a PIE root **k⁽ʷ⁾uh₂ep-* > PIt. **kʷuap-* > **wap-* > Lat. *vap-*. The first part of the root may ultimately be the same as PIE **kʷeh₂-s-* 'to cough'. Beekes (fthc.) rejects PIE origin: the root structure is unusual, and Greek does not prove **ku-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 732, EM 713, IEW 546f., 1149f., Schrijver 1991: 260-263.

vāpulō, -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.

Bibl.: WH II: 733, EM 713, IEW 1112f., Schrijver 1991: 146.

varius 'having two or more colours, variegated' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *variāre* 'to variegate, diversify' (Varro+), *varietās* '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.)

PIt. **waro-*.

PIE **u(o)rH-o-?* IE cognates: MIr. *ferbb* [f.] 'heat rash, pimple'?; OPr. *warsus* 'lip'; Lith. *viras* 'tapeworm larva, pimple', *vìris* [m.] 'tapeworm larva' < **urH-o-*, Go. *wairilom* [dat.pl.], OE *weleras* 'lips', OHG *werra* 'varicose' < **uerzō(n)-*, OHG *werna* 'varicose' < **uerznōn-*; OIc. *vǫrr* [f.] 'lip' < **warzō-*, OE *wear* [m.] 'wart, callus < **warza-*; ToB *yoro** 'pustule, boil (?)', ToB *weru* 'blister (?)' (< **uerehₓ-?*).

Possible protoforms (if inherited from PIE) are **urHo-* 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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 734, EM 714, IEW 1151f., Schrijver 1991: 215.

vārus 'bent outwards, bow-legged' [adj. *o/ā*] (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+).

PIt. *wā-ro-?

PIE *h₁ueh₂-ro-?

If the original meaning was 'with the legs opened', *vārus* might be compared with *vānus* and *vāstus*, and reflect *wā-ro-* 'going apart, letting go'. In any case, none of the other etymologies proposed seems plausible.

Bibl.: WH II: 734f., EM 714, IEW 1108f. → *vānus*

vas, vadis '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.+).

PIt. *woss*, gen. *wapos*.

PIE *uodʰ-s [root noun] 'who leads the defendant to court'. IE cognates: Lith. *vādas* 'guarantee, surety', *vadúoti* 'to redeem', *užvadas* 'hostage'; Go. *wadi* [n.] 'surety', *wadjabokos* 'letter of of surety', *gawadjon* 'to engage', OIc. *veð* [n.] 'surety', OFr. *wed*, OE *wedd* < PGm. *ṷadia-* [n.].

Leumann explains *praes* from the acc.sg. *praedem* < *?prai-widem* < *prae-wad-em*; similarly Szemerényi 1989: 72: *praeuides* < *prae-uades* 'bondsman' (in public trial).

Bibl.: WH II: 353, 355, EM 532, IEW 1109, Leumann 1977: 136, Schrijver 1991: 75, 464, LIV *ṷedʰ-.

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.+).

PIt. *wāss-*. It. cognates: U. **vasus** [abl.pl.], *uasor* [nom.pl.], *uaso* [acc.pl.] 'container'.

No good etymology beyond the PIt. (or common Sabello-Latin) preform *wāss-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 736, EM 714, Untermann 2000: 826.

vāstus 'empty, desolate' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *vāstāre* 'to make desolate, lay waste' (Naev.+), *vāstitās* 'desolation' (Acc.+), *vāstitiēs* 'desolate condition' (Pl.), *vāstitūdō* 'ravaged condition' (Cato+), *vāstēscere* 'to become desolate' (Acc.).

PIt. *wāsto-*.

PIE *h₁u(e)h₂-sto-. IE cognates: OIr. *fás* 'empty', OHG *wuosti*, OE *wōsti*, OE *wēste* 'empty, barren' < PGm. *ṷōsti-*.

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] / *wašt-* 'to sin, offend', which Kloekhorst 2008: 985f₁ etymologizes as *$*uosTh_{2/3}$-* / *$*usTh_{2/3}$-*. 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 *h_1ueh_2-*. → *vānus*

vatāx 'having a deformity of the feet' [adj. *k*] (Lucil.)
Derivatives: *vatius* 'knock-kneed' (Varro+).
PIt. **wat-?*
IE cognates: OIc. *vǫðvi* [m.] 'muscles', OHG *wado* [m.] 'sura, suffrago', MHG *wade* 'calf (of the leg)', OS *wathan* 'calves' < PGm. **waþwan-* 'curve, bend' > 'calf of the leg, knee'.

A stem *vat-* can be connected with PGm. **yaþ-* 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 *vānus* and *vārus* from a root PIt. **wā-*.
Bibl.: WH II: 737, EM 715, IEW 1113.

vātēs, -is 'prophet, seer' [m. *ē*] (Pl.+; nom.sg. *vātis* Pl., acc.sg. *vātem*, dat. *vātī*, gen. *vātis*, gen.pl. *vātum*)
Derivatives: *vāticinārī* 'to foretell, rage' (Pl.+).
PIt. **wāt-(ē)i-*.
PIE **(H)ueh_2t-i-* 'seer'. IE cognates: Gaul. pl. ούάτεις /watīs/ (Strabo), OIr. *fáith* [m.] 'soothsayer, prophet' < PCl. **wāti-*, OIr. *fáth* [m.] 'prophesy', W. *gwawd* 'poem, satire' < PCl. **wātu-*; Go. *wods*, OIc. *óðr*, OE *wōd*, OHG *wuot* 'raging' < **wōda-* 'raging' < **-tó-*, OIc. *óðr* [m.] 'poetry' < **wōdu-*, OE *wōþ* 'singing, sound, poetry' < **wōþō-*, OHG *wuot* 'rage' < PGm. **wōd-i/īn-*; OIc. *Óðinn*, OE *Wōden*, OHG *Wuotan* < **wōd-una-*.
Bibl.: WH II: 737f., EM 715, IEW 1113, Schrijver 1991: 371, 376, 387, 389, Schaffner 2001: 321-327.

-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 **-ue* 'or'. IE cognates: OIr. *nó* [cj.] 'or', W. *neu*, *nou* 'id.' < **ne-ye*, Skt. *vā*, Av. *vā* [encl.] 'or'; Gr. ἤ 'or', 'as' < ἠέ, ἦε (ep.) < **ἤ-ϝέ, **ἦ-ϝε.
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.+), *vēsānus* 'mad' (Pl.+), *vēscus* 'thin, attenuated' (Lucil.+), maybe *Vē(d)iouis* 'certain deity of the underworld' (Varro+)

It. cognates: maybe U. **ve(n)persuntra** 'without *persondro*'.

It is striking that *vēcors* and *vēsānus* 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 **svē-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*.

Bibl.: WH II: 740, EM 716, IEW 72f., Guiraud 1975, Keller 1982: 88f., Schrijver 1991: 122, Untermann 2000: 828. → *aut, edō, sē-, vehō*

vegeō 'to enliven' [v. II] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *vegetus* 'vigorous, lively' (Var.+), *vegetāre* 'to invigorate' (Sen.+).

PIt. **weg-eje/o-*.

PIE **ụeg-o-* 'active, awake'?, **ụog-eie/o-* 'to awaken'. IE cognates: Skt. *vāja-* 'contest, reward', *vājáyati* 'impels', Go. *-wakjan* 'to waken', OHG *wahhēn* 'to be awake'.

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 *sepelīre*), *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 *monitus* (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 *vegeō* 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 *vegeō*. LIV reconstructs **ụeǵ-*, 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 **ụog-eie-* > **wogeō* > *uegeō*, 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-* > **waCV-* posited by Schrijver 1991: 460-475; this would have us expect a development **wog-eie-* > **wag-eie-*, which would not lead to *vegeō*. Hence, original **u̯eg-* is still the most likely option.

Bibl.: WH II: 741, EM 716, IEW 1117f., Watkins 1973b: 195ff., Schrijver 1991: 75, Sihler 1995: 44,497, EWAia II: 492, 541, LIV **u̯eǵ-*. → *vigeō*

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+); *vectis* [m.] 'wooden or metal bar, lever' (Cato+), *vectīgal, -ālis* [n.] 'tax, revenue' (Cato+); *vehemēns* 'violent' (Pl.+; *vēmēns* Cic.+); *advehere* 'to convey, travel' (Pl.+), *advectus, -ūs* 'importation' (Varro+), *circumvectārī* '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.+), *pervehere* 'to transport' (Naev.+), *prōvehere* 'to convey out to sea, carry forward' (Pl.+), *subvehere* 'to convey upwards' (Lucr.+), *subvectāre* 'to convey upwards' (Pl.+).

PIt. **weχ-e/o-* [v.], **wekti-* [f.]. It. cognates: U. **ařveitu, arveitu, aveitu,** *arsueitu, arueitu* [3s.ipv.II] 'to add', **kuveitu** [3s.ipv.II] 'to put together' < **-u̯eǵʰetōd*.

PIE **ueǵʰ-e/o-* 'to carry'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *váhati*, s-aor. *vakṣ-*, *ávāṭ* [3s.act.], root aor. *voḷhám* [2du.ipv.act.], pf. *uvāha* [3s.act.], ppp. *ūḍhá-* 'to carry, convey', OAv. *vaziia-* [med.] 'to marry, be led to the wedding', *važdra-* 'conveyor', YAv. *vaza-* 'to pull. ride', *vaštar-* [m.] 'draught-animal', Oss. *wæz/wæzœ* 'weight, load'; Gr. (Pamph.). Ϝεχέτω [3s.ipv.] 'to bring', ὄχος [m.] 'cart', Lith. *vèžti*, 1s. *vežù*, OCS *vesti*, 1s. *vezǫ* 'to convey', *vozъ* 'cart'; Go. *ga-wigan*, OHG *wegan* 'to move', OHG *wagan* 'cart'.

The noun *vectīgal* presupposes a compound **vectīgo-* '(fee for) vehicle-driving' < **u̯ekti-h₂ǵ-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.ptc.med. **u̯eǵʰemenos* 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* < **weχ-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, Untermann 2000: 830f., LIV **u̯eǵʰ-*. → *convexus, vēna*

vēles, -itis 'foot-soldier' [m. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *vēlitātiō* 'the method of fighting of a *veles*' (Pl.+), *vēlitārī* '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 *ueg^h-slo-* 'driving'. If *vēles* is at all derived from *ueg^h-* 'to convey', it seems more likely that *ueg^h-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.+), *vellicātim* 'by picking out here and there' (Sis.); *āvellere* 'to tear away, pluck out' (Ter.+), *convellere* 'to dislodge, shake' (Cato+), *dēvellere* 'to pluck bare' (Pl.+), *ēvellere* 'to uproot' (Pl.+), *pervellere* 'to pinch' (Pl.+), *praevellere* (meaning indeterminable) (Lab.), *revellere* 'to tear down, remove' (Enn.+), *subvellere* 'to pluck hair from the under-parts' (Lucil.).

PIt. *$*weln$-e/o-, $*wel$-*. It. cognates: SPic. **ehueli** [3s.pr.sb.] 'tears down' < *$*e\chi$-wel-ēd* (Weiss 2002: 359f.).

PIE *$*ul$-n(e)-h_3-, aor. *$*uelh_3$-* 'to strike'. IE cognates: Hit. *ualh-^{zi}* 'to hit, strike' < *$*u(e)lh_3$-*, Gr. ἁλίσκομαι 'to be caught', Thess. ϝαλίσσκεται, Gr.aor. ἑάλων < *$*\acute{\eta}$-ϝαλω-* (*ϝλω-* before consonant and *ϝαλ-* before vowel), ToA *wällāṣtär* 'dies'.

According to Schrijver, *vell-* reflects *$*ueld^{(h)}$-* because this does not meet with any definite obstacles, as do in Schrijver's view the reconstructions *$*ueln$-* and *$*uels$-*. Yet the argument against a nasal present (*$*Huel$-n-h_1-*) is uncompelling. 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 (*pepulī, tetulī, -culī*). 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.

Bibl.: WH II: 744f., EM 718, IEW 1144f., Schrijver 1991: 180f., Meiser 2003: 214, LIV *$*uelh_3$-*. → *lāna, volnus*

vēlōx 'swift, speedy' [adj. *k*] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *vēlōcitās* 'speed' (Sis.+).

PIt. *$*wēlo$-* 'wind' (?).

PIE *$*h_2ueh_1$-lo-* 'wind'. IE cognates: Hit. *huuai-^{i}* / *hui-* 'to run, hurry', CLuw. *hui(ia)-* 'to run' (< *$*h_2uh_1$-ói-ei*, *$*h_2uh_1$-i-énti*); Skt. *vāti*, YAv. *vāiti*, Gr. ἄησι, OCS *vějati*, Ru. *véjat'*, Go. *waian*, OHG *wāen* 'to blow (of wind)' < *$*h_2ueh_1$-*.

Lat. *vēlōx* could be 'wind-like', derived from a noun *$*vē$-lo-* 'wind' to the PIE root *$*h_2ueh_1$-* 'to blow (of the wind)' (cf. *ventus*). Several IE languages continue a PIE root

660   vēlum

present from 'to blow', but Italic does not. Hence, *vē-lo- would have to be a very old derivative.

Bibl.: WH II: 744, EM 718, IEW 1118-20, Kloekhorst 2008: 366, LIV *h₂ueh₁-. →
vēles, ventus

vēlum 'sail; sheet, cloth' [n. *o*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *vēlāre* 'to cover, clothe' (Pl.+), *vēlāmentum* 'cover' (Varro+), *Vēlābrum* 'a low-lying district in Rome' (Pl.+), *vēlābra* [pl.n.] 'instruments used for ventilating the corn' (Paul. *ex F.*); *vexillum* 'miltary standard, banner' (Pl.+).

PIt. *wekslo-*.

PIE *ueg-slo-? IE cognates: OIr. *figid**, *fig**, W. *gwëu*, LCo. *gwîa*, Bret. *gueaff* 'to weave' < PCl. *ueg-io-* 'to weave, compose'; OE *wice* [m.] 'wick', *wōcig* [f.] 'trap'.

The dim. shows that at least part of the input for *vēlum* 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 *vēlum* may have merged two different preforms, *ueKslo-* and *ueslo-* 'sail, cloth', to *ues-* 'to clothe'.

Bibl.: WH II: 745f., EM 718f., IEW 1117, Schumacher 2004: 660f., LIV ?*ueg-.

vēna 'blood-vessel' [f. *ā*] (Cato+)

PIt. *wes-no/ā-* [adj./f.] 'blood-vessel'.

PIE *ues-no-* 'of blood'. IE cognates: Av. *vaŋhu-tāt-* 'blood', *vaŋhuϑβa-* [n.] 'bloodshed', *vohuna-* [m.] 'blood' < *ues-u-*; Skt. *vásā, vasā́* 'fat, lard' (hesitantly EWAia II: 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 'to convey', for instance PIE *uedʰ-* '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.+), *trivenēfica* 'treble-dyed witch' (Pl.+).

PIt. *wenes-no-*.

IE cognates: see s.v. *venus*.

The form suggests PIt. *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.

venia 'favour, permission' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Plt. *wen(i)jā-.

PIE *uenh₁-ih₂- 'desire'. IE cognates: OIr. *fine* [f.] 'family, kindred', OBret. *coguenou* 'indigena', Gaul. *Ueni-carus* [PN] < PCl. *ụinịā* 'family, kindred'; OHG *wini* 'friend' < *wen-i-; Go. *winja* 'pasture, food', OHG MLG *winne*, OIc. *vin* f. 'pasture' < PGm. *ụenjō-, OHG *wunnia, wunna, wunnī* 'pleasure, lust', OS *wunnia*, OE *wynn*.

A derivative of the root *ụenH- 'to desire'.

Bibl.: WH II: 747, EM 719, LIV *ụenH-. → *vēnor, venus*

venio, -īre 'to come' [v. IV; pf. *vēnī*, ppp. *ventum*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *ventiō* 'the coming' (Pl.+); *advenīre* 'to arrive, reach' (Andr.+), *adventāre* 'to approach' (Pl.+), *adventor* 'stranger, customer' (Pl.+), *advena* [m.] 'immigrant, foreigner' (Pl.+), *adventus, -ūs* 'arrival' (Pl.+), *adventīcius* 'casual, external' (Varro+), *antevenīre* 'to arrive first, anticipate' (Pl.+), *circumvenīre* 'to cheat, surround' (Naev.+), *convenīre* 'to meet, visit, agree' (Naev.+), *conventus, -ūs* 'assembly' (Andr.+), *conventīcius* '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.+), *invenīre* '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.+), *pervenīre* 'to get to, reach' (Pl.+), *praevenīre* '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.).

Plt. *gʷn-je/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.], *benust* [3s.fut.pf.], **benurent**, *benurent* [3p.fut.pf.], *benuso* [?], O. **kúmbened** [*kom-* + 3s.pf.], O. *cebnust* [*ke-* + 3s.fut.pf.] 'to come' < *ben- < *gʷen-. Note pf. /ben-/, not /bēn-/. O. **kúmbennieis** [gen.sg.] 'certain town council' < *kom-ben-io- ≤ *kom-gʷm-io- 'gathering'.

PIE *gʷm-ie/o- 'to come', *gʷm-to-, *gʷm-ti- [f.], *gʷem-tu- [m.] 'coming'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *gácchati*, aor. *ágan* [3s.act.], pf. *jagā́ma* [3s.act.] 'to move, come', *gatá-* [ppp.], *gáti-* [f.] 'going, motion', *gántu-* [m.] 'walk, road', YAv. *jasa-* [pr.], OAv. aor. *jən* [3s.ind.act.], *gəmən* [3p.ind.act.], YAv. *gata-* [ppp.], *aiβi.gaiti-* [f.] 'coming towards', Gr. βαίνω 'to go' (< PGr. *βαμ-ị-ω), βάσκε [2s.ipv.act.] 'go!', Go. *qiman* 'to come' (< PIE sb. *gʷem-e-), ToB *śman-*, ToA *śmäṣ* [sb.] 'will come'.

The present and the ppp. are inherited; the same could be true for the nouns *-ventus* [u] and *-ventiō* (<< *-venti-), but these could also be recent formations following the productive pattern. Lat. *advena* and *convena* cannot be recent derivatives from *veniō*, but their *-n-* does betray them as are secondary creations of the type *incola*. Apparently, the phonetic rise of Plt. *gʷn-je/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.

Bibl.: WH II: 747f., EM 720, IEW 463-465, Untermann 2000: 143-145, 412, LIV *gʷem-. → *cōntiō*

vēnor, -ārī 'to hunt' [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *vēnātor* 'hunter' (Pl.+), *vēnātus, -ūs* 'hunt' (Naev.+), *vēnātūra* 'hunting game' (Pl.+), *vēnābulum* 'hunting-spear' (Varro+), *vēnāticus* 'used in hunting' (Pl.+), *vēnātiō* 'hunting, hunt' (Varro+).

PIt. **wēn-o/ā-* 'hunting' >> **wēnā-je/o-* 'to hunt'.

PIE **(H)u̯ēnh₁- / *(H)unh₁-* 'desire'. IE cognates: Hit. *u̯en-^zi / u̯u̯an-* 'to copulate' < **h₁/₃uenh₁-*; Skt. *vánate* (RV) [3s.med.], *vañchati* [3s.act.], aor. *vanáti* 'to love, desire', *vāmá-* 'sweet, precious, noble, beautiful', YAv. *vaṇtā-* [f.] 'beloved one, wife'; (?) Alb. *û(n)* [m.] (Geg), *uri* [f.] (Tosk) 'hunger' < **un-*; Go. *wēns* 'hope' [i] , OIc. *ván*, OE *wān* 'supposition, opinion' < **u̯enH-*; OHG *wunscen* 'to wish'; Go. *winnan* 'to suffer', OIc. *vinna* 'to labour, overcome' < **u̯enh₁-*; ToA *wañi*, ToB *wīna* 'joy' < PIE **u̯ēnh₁-, *unh₁-*.

Probably a denominative 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 *ú-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 749f., EM 720f., IEW 1146f., Schrijver 1991: 127f., LIV **u̯enH-*. → *venus*

venter, -tris 'belly, abdomen' [m. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *ventriōsus* 'pot-bellied' (Pl.+).

PIt. **we(n)d-ri-?*

PIE **(H)ued-ro-* 'belonging to the belly'.

Possible preforms include **wentri-* and **wendri-*. Hamp 1978: 190 suggests that it is originally the same word as *uterus* < PIE **(H)u(e)d-ér-o-* 'sticking out, belly'. Semantically, this is of course attractive; and formally, especially BSl. **(?)u̯éd-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. → *uterus*

ventus 'wind' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *ventōsus* 'windy' (Cato+), *ventulus* 'light breeze' (Pl., Ter.), *ventilāre* 'to expose to a draught, ventilate' (Var.+), *ventilābrum* 'winnowing-shovel' (Var.+).

PIt. **wĕnto-*.

PIE **h₂ueh₁-nt-o-* 'wind'. IE cognates: W. *gwynt* 'wind', Hit. *huu̯ant-* [c.] 'wind' < **h₂uh₁-ent-*, Skt. *vāta-* [m.] 'wind, god of wind' (several times disyllabic in the RV), OAv. *vāta- /va?ata-/* [m.] 'wind', YAv. *vāta-*, Gr. ἄησι 'to blow', Go. *winds*, OHG *wint*, ToB *yente* [n.f.], ToA *want* (~ *wänt*) 'wind'.

A derivative of the original pr.ptc.act. of **h₂ueh₁-* 'to blow (of the wind)' (nom.sg. **h₂ueh₁-nt-s*, acc.sg. **h₂uh₁-ent-m*, gen.sg. **h₂uh₁-nt-os*). PIE **h₂ueh₁-nt-o-* has first yielded pre-Italic **u̯ĕnto-*, whence with Osthoff's shortening **wento-*. According to Schrijver, the development might also have been of PIE **h₂ueh₁-nt-o-* to pre-Italic

*Hu̯eHento-, with syllabification of the nasal, and then contraction of *-eHe- > *-ē-. This would match the IIr. 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 *h₂u̯eh₁- '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 (vendidī, venditum) 'to sell' (Naev.+), venditiō 'sale' (Varro+), venditor 'vendor' (Varro+), vendibilis 'that can be sold' (Varro+), vendāx 'addicted to selling' (Cato+), venditāre 'to offer for sale' (Pl.+); vēneō (vēniī, vēnībō) 'to be sold' (Pl.+).

PIt. *wesno-. It. cognates: Marr. uenalinam [acc.sg.f.] maybe 'of the sale', deriv. to *u̯ēno- 'sale'.

PIE *ues-no- 'price'. IE cognates: Hit. ušnii̯e/a- 'to put up for sale' < *us-n-ie/o-, Skt. vasná- [n.] 'price, value', MP wahāg 'trade', Gr. ὦνος [n.] 'price' (denom. ὠνέομαι 'I buy') < *ϝόσνος, Arm. gin 'bride-price?' (< *u̯esno-).

The verb vēnīre 'to be sold' reflects earlier *vēnum īre 'to go on sale', whereas vendere is a syncopated variant of *vēnum dare 'to give for sale'. Kloekhorst (2008: 930f.) assumes that Hit. *usn-i̯e/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-. → vīlis

venus, -eris 'goddess Venus, love, charm' [f. r] (Naev.+; nom.sg. CIL venos)

Derivatives: venustus 'attractive, charming' (Pl.+), venustulus 'charming' (Pl.), invenustus 'unattractive' (Pl.+), venustās 'charm, grace' (Pl.+), venerius 'of Venus, erotic', venerārī/e 'to worship, pay homage' (Naev.+), venerātiō 'adoration' (Varro+).

PIt. *wenos- [n.]. It. cognates: O. ϝενζηι [dat.sg.] f., borrowed from Latin.

PIE *uenh₁-os [n.] 'desire'. IE cognates: see s.v. vēnor.

Bibl.: WH II: 752f., EM 722, IEW 1146f., Schrijver 1991: 111, Untermann 2000: 837, Stüber 2002: 170f., LIV *uenH-. → venia, vēnor

vēr 'spring' [n. r] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: vernus '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.+).

PIt. *wes-or [nom.acc.], *wes-n- [gen.].

PIE *ues-r/n- [n.] 'spring'. IE cognates: Skt. vasantá-, Av. vaŋri [loc.sg.], Gr. ἔαρ [n.] 'spring', εἰαρινός 'belonging to spring', Arm. garown 'spring', Lith. vãsara, vasarà 'summer', OCS vesna 'spring', OIc. vár 'spring'.

An original paradigm *u̯esr, *u̯esnos 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 *ē* has been introduced into the nom.sg. and final *-or* was analogically removed. Schrijver, differently, reconstructs nom.sg. **u̯ēsr*, but an ablaut **ē* : **e* in a n. word seems unlikely. Lat. *vernus* may reflect **u̯esinos*, or, with Nussbaum, be delocatival from **u̯ėri-no-*. Not to PIE **h₂ues-* 'to spend the night; dawn' because of the initial laryngeal. Skt. *vasar-hā́* (RV), of the wind (meaning uncertain), and *vāsará-* 'of the morning' may belong here too, their meaning having been influenced by *usra-* 'matutinal', *u̯ṣar* 'at dawn' (Alexander Lubotsky, p.c.).

Bibl.: WH II: 755, EM 722, IEW 1174, Leumann 1977: 206, Schrijver 1991: 129.

verbera 'twigs for flogging, whip, lashes' [n.pl. *r*] (Pl.+; sg. in quotations, and nom.sg. *uerber* 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.), *verberitāre* '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'.

PIE **uerb⁽ʰ⁾-es-?* IE cognates: Lith. *vir̃bas* 'stick, twig', *vir̃balas* 'small staff, needle', *virbinis* 'snare', Latv. *virbs* 'small stick', *virba* 'pole', Ru. *vérba* 'willow twig' (Ru. dial. *verbá*) , *voróba* 'cord', *voróby* 'spool'.

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.

verbum 'word' [n. *o*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *verbōsus* 'containing many words' (Varro+); *praeverbium* 'prefix' (Varro+); *verbificātiō* 'speechifying' (Caecil.), *verbivēlitātiō* 'verbal skirmish' (Pl.).

Plt. **werþo-* [n.] 'word'.

PIE **uerh₁-dʰh₁-o-* 'making a statement'. IE cognates: Hit. *u̯erite-ᶻⁱ*, *u̯erit-* 'to fear, be frightened' < **u̯(e)rh₁-i-* + **dʰeh₁-* 'to place a call' (?; Kloekhorst 2008: 1003f.); OPr. *wirds*, Lith. *var̃das*, Latv. *vā̀rds*; Go. *waurd*, OHG *wort* 'word' < **u̯r̥-dʰo-*; Hit. *u̯eriie/a-* 'to call, name, summon', ptc. *u̯erant-* < **uerh₁-(ie/o-)*, Hit. *-u̯a(r)-* (particle of direct speech), Pal. *-u̯ar-*, CLuw. *-u̯a-* (sentence initial particle), HLuw. *-wa-*, Lyc. *-we-* < PAnat. **u̯or*, Skt. *vratá-* [n.] 'vow, religious observance, commandment', OAv. *uruuata-* [n.] 'rule, order, indication', YAv. *uruuatạṭnara-* [m.] MoP, Oss. *iræd/ærwæd* 'bride-money' < PIIr. **urata-*, Gr. εἴρω, ἐρέω 'to say' (< **u̯erh₁-*), ῥητός 'appointed' (<**u̯r̥h₁-to-*).

Lat. *verbum* and the Baltic and Gm. words point to **u̯(e)rdʰo-*, which Hackstein 2002a: 14 analyses as an original compound of **uerh₁-* 'to say' and **-dʰh₁-o-* 'putting'; the first laryngeal would have been lost already in PIE between *-r-* and **-dʰh₁-*. 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-dʰh₁-o- as Germanic and OPr. The Hit. verb *ųerite-* '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 *ųerh₁-.

vereor 'to show respect, fear' [v. II; pf. *veritus sum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *verēcundus* 'restrained, modest' (Pl.+), *verēcundia* 'shame, modesty' (Pl.+); *reverērī* 'to have regard for' (Pl.+), *reverēcunditer* 'reverentially' (Enn.+).

Plt. **wer-ē-* 'to be wary'.

PIE **u(e)r-eh₁-* 'to note, sense'. IE cognates: OIr. *cöïr, coair* [adj. *i*] 'just, rightful', W. *cyweir* 'ready, equipped' < PCl. **ko(m)-wari-*; Go. *wars*, OIc. *varr*, OE *wær* 'careful, attent' (< PGm. **wara-*), Go. *warei* 'cunning, trick', OE *waru*, OHG *wara* 'attention'; ToB *wär-sk-* 'to smell', ToA *wär-* < PTo. **wär-* < PIE **wer-*; ToA *wras-*, ToB *wärs-* 'to pity' < PT. **wärs-* or **wräs-* < **wer-s-*; ToB *were*, ToA *war* 'smell' < PIE **wóro-*. Disputed: Gr. ὁράω 'to look, perceive, see', οὖρος [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.**ųer-*.

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.+).

Plt. **werg-e/o-*.

PIE **h₂uerg-* 'to turn'. IE cognates: Hit. *hurki-* 'wheel' < **h₂urg-i-*; Skt. *vṛṇákti* '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 **h₂ųerg-*.

vermis 'worm, maggot' [m. *i*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *vermiculus* 'larva, maggot' (Lucil.+), *vermiculātus* 'arranged to give a wavy effect' (Lucil.+).

Plt. **wormi-* 'snake, worm'.

PIE **ųrmi-* 'snake, worm'. IE cognates: Go. *waurms* [m.] 'snake', OIc. *ormr*, OE *wyrm*, OFr. *wirm* 'snake', OS *wormo*, OHG *wurm* [m.] 'worm' < PGm. **wurmali-*.

It is striking that other branches of IE continue a form **kʷrmi-* 'worm': OIr. *cruim*, MW *pryf*, Bret. *pryf* 'worm'; Skt. *kṛ́mi-* 'worm, maggot', Sogd. *kyrm-* 'snake', MP *klm /kirm/* 'worm, dragon, snake', MoP *kirm*, Lith. *kirmìs* 'worm, snake', OCS *črъvь* 'worm', Alb. *krim(b)* 'worm, maggot, catterpiller'. This distribution might be the result of a development of **kʷrmi-* > **wrmi-* in Latin and Germanic.

Bibl.: WH II: 760, EM 724, IEW 1152.

verrēs, -is 'boar' [m. *i*] (Pl.+)

PIt. *wors-en-*.

PIE *h₂uŕs-en-* 'male'. IE cognates: Skt. *vŕṣan-* [adj./m.] 'manly, powerful; male animal (bull, stallion)', *vŕṣabhá-* [adj./m.] 'manly, powerful; bull, boar, husband, ruler', YAv. *varəšna-* 'manly', *varšna-* [m. PN], *varšni-* [m. PN] 'ram'; Gr. ἄρσην [adj.] 'manly'; Lith. *veřšis* 'bull, ox, ox calf'.

Verrēs must be a recharacterization of **verrē*, the expected(?) outcome of a nom.sg. **werrēn*. The PIE root might be **uers-* 'to rise', cf. Kümmel 2000: 476f., unless the word for 'male' had an initial laryngeal.

Bibl.: WH II: 761, EM 724, IEW 78-81, Schrijver 1991: 377.

ve/orrō, -ere 'to sweep clean' [v. III; ppp. *vo/ersum*] (Pl.+; Pl. *vor-*, pf. *-vorrī*, 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.).

PIt. *wors-e/o-*.

PIE *urs-e/o-* 'to wipe'. IE cognates: Hit. *warš-ⁱ* 'to reap, harvest, wipe' < **uors-*, RuCS *vъrxu* '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.*uers-*. → *vestīgium*

verrūca 'wart; hillock' [f. *ā*] (Cato+)

PIt. *we/ors-u-* 'hill, top'.

PIE *u(e/o)rs-u-* 'height, top'. IE cognates: OIr. *ferr* 'better' < PCl. **werro-* 'high' < **uerso-* 'peak', Skt. *várṣman-* [n.] 'height, top' < **uers-mn-*, *várṣiṣṭha-* 'highest. most excellent'; Lith. *viršùs* [m.], Latv. *vìrsus*, OCS *vrъxъ*, Ru. *verx*, loc.sg. *verxú* 'top, upper part' < **urs-u-*; OE *wearr* 'sill'. Uncertain: Go. *wairsiza*, OHG *wirsiro* 'worse' < **uérsizon-*.

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 **ue/ors-* and **urs-* would all yield OLat. *verr-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 762, EM 725, IEW 1151f., Leumann 1977: 340, LIV 2.*uers-*.

ve/ortō, -ere 'to turn' [v. III; pf. *vo/ertī*, ppp. *vo/ersum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *vo/ertex, -icis* [m.] 'whirlpool, peak, summit' (Pac.+), *vertebra* 'joint, vertebra' (Lucil.+), *verticula/-us* 'joint, pivot' (Lucil.+), *vertīgō* 'whirling movement' (Afran.+), *vo/ersus, -ūs* [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'

(Pl.+), *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/ersus/m* [adv., prep.] 'opposite, facing' [*advorsus* Andr.+; *arvorsum* SCBac., Lex Sacra CIL 401, *adversus* Lex XII], *contrōversia* 'dispute, quarrel' (Pl.+), *contrōversus* [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.+), *prōrsus* 'following a straight line; prose' (Pl.+), *retrōrsus/m* [adv.] 'backwards' (Lucr.+), *rursus/m*, *rūs(s)us/m* [adv.] 'backwards, again, besides' (Naev.+), *s(e)orsum/s* [adv.] 'separately' (Pl.+; Acc. *seuorsum*), *seorsus* 'separate' (Cato+), *sū(r)sum/s* [adv.] 'upwards, above' (Naev.+), *ūnivo/ersus* 'whole, entire' (Pl+; *oinovorso-* SCBac.);

advertere 'to turn towards, pay attention' (Naev.+), *advo/ersārī* 'to oppose, resist' (Naev.+), *adversāre* 'to direct' (Pl.), *adversātrīx* 'female opponent' (Pl.+), *advo/ersārius* [adj./m.] 'opposed, rival' (Pl.+), *adversābilis* 'prone to opposition' (Acc.), *antevertere* 'to give or take priority' (Pl.+), *āvertere* 'to turn away, divert' (Pl.+), *āvo/ersārī* 'to turn away' (Pl.+), · *āversābilis* 'repulsive' (Lucr.+), *circumvertere* 'to turn round' (Pl.+), *circumversārī* '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.+), *dīvorsum* [adv.] 'in different ways' (Cato), *ēvertere* 'to overturn, expel' (Pl.+), *iṇvertere* '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.+).

PIt. **wert-e/o-*, **worsso-*. It. cognates: O. ϝερσορει [dat.sg.] epithet of Iuppiter, probably 'who averts' < **uert-tor-*; U. *trahuorfi* [adv.] probably 'placed across' < **trāns-ṷorssēd* [abl.sg.]; U. **vurtus** [3s.fut.pf.], **kuvertu**, **couertu** [3s.ipv.], **kuvurtus**, **couortus**, **courtust** [3s.fut.pf.], **couortuso** [3s.fut.II.ps.?] 'to turn' < **ṷert-e-*, **urt-us-*.

PIE **uert-e/o-*,'to turn'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *vártate* [med.], aor. *avart*, pf. *āvárta*, intens. *(ā) varīvarti*, caus. *vartáyati* 'to turn (around), roll', *vṛttá-* 'turned, turning around', YAv. *varəta-* 'to turn', *varətō.raϑa-* 'with a rolling car', *vāṣa-* [m.] 'car', OPr. *wīrst* 'to become', Lith. *viřsti* 'to turn (around), fall over, become', OCS *vrъtěti*, Ru. *vertét'* 'to turn (around)' < **ṷṛt-*, Go. *wairþan*, OHG *werdan* 'to become', OHG *fra-wartan* 'to hurt', OIc. *norðan-verðr* 'turned northward'.

The Italic cognates and the cp. verbs of Latin show that pr. originally was **wert-*, whereas the ppp. was **worsso-*. 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 *dīvortium*, it is possible that the pr. had taken over the root variant *vort-* (from the pf.?) before this was regularly unrounded to *vert-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 763-765, EM 725f., IEW 1156-58, Leumann 1977: 48, Untermann 2000: 758, 844f., 864f., LIV **ṷert-*. → *dorsum, oportet*

veru, -ūs 'spit (for roasting)' [n. *u*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *verūtum* 'short throwing spear' (Enn.+), *vervīna* 'spit (or similar pointed instrument)' (Pl.+).

PIt. **gʷeru-* 'spit'. It. cognates: U. **berva** [acc.pl.], **berus** [abl.pl.] n. 'utensil used during the sacrifice' < **gʷeru-*.

PIE **gʷer(H)-u-* 'spit'. IE cognates: OIr. *bi(u)r* [n. > f.], W. Co. Bret. *ber* [f., m.] 'spear, spit' < **gʷeru-*.

In theory, Italo-Celtic **gʷeru-* could reflect PIE **gʷerh₂-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 *qairu* n. 'pole, sting' must be read as *pairu* (see Ebbinghaus 1977: 188f.) and does not belong here.

Bibl.: WH II: 766, EM 727, IEW 479, Untermann 2000: 145.

O. **veru** [acc.pl.], **veruis** [loc.pl.], U. **vera** [acc.pl.], **verufe**, *verofe* [acc.pl. + *-en*] , **veres**, *uerir* [abl.pl.], *uerisco* [abl.pl. + *-com*] 'city gate'.

PIt. **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. *òbor* 'courtyard' < *ob* + **Huor-h₂-*.

Bibl.: IEW 1160-62, Untermann 2000: 845f., LIV 1.**uer-*, **Huer-*. → *aperiō, operiō*

vērus 'real, true' [adj. *o/ā*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *vērāx* 'truthful' (Pl.+), *vērāre* 'to speak the truth' (Enn.+), *vērātrum* 'poisonous or medicinal plant, hellebore' (Cato+).

PIt. **wēro-*.

PIE **ueh₁-ro-* 'true'. IE cognates: OIr. *fír*, W. *gwir* < PCl. **wīro-*; OCS *věra*, Ru. *véra*, Po. *wiara* 'faith, belief' < PSl. **vèra* [f.], OHG *wār* 'true'. Possibly also Gr. ἦρα in (ἐπὶ) ἦρα φέρειν 'to please somebody' [acc. sg. (pl. n.?)] if from **uer-*.

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 Isidor's 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.+)

PIt. **werw-ē-*.

PIE **ueru-?* IE cognates: Gr. εἶρος [n.] 'wool' < **ueruos-*, Myc. /werwes-ieia/ 'women who work the wool', Att. εὔ-ερος 'with beautiful wool', ἔπ-ερος 'sheep'.

Has been connected with PIE **urh₁-en-* 'lamb' (to Skt. *úran-* [m.] 'lamb' < IIr. **urH-an-*, Sogd. *wr'n* 'lamb' < PIr. **varān-am*, Gr. ἀρήν [m.], Kret. ϝαρην 'lamb', Gr. πολύ-ρρην-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-* > **ueru-* + **-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', *vervēx* might be

connected with Gr. εἶρος [n.] 'wool' < *ueruos-, which is semantically less attractive, but possible. We could assume *ueru-ē- '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.

Bibl.: WH II: 767f., EM 727, IEW 1170.

vēscor, vēscī 'to make use of, enjoy' [v. III] (Pac.+)

PIt. *wēs-(s)ke/o- 'to feed, pasture'. It. cognates: Ven. vesces [nom.sg.], vesketel [dat.sg.] 'pupil' (male and female reference) < *wesk-et-; possibly U. veskla, vesklu [acc.pl.], veskles, uesclir, Vol. uesclis [abl.pl.] < *wesk(V)lo- [n.] 'kind of vessel'.

PIE *uēs- 'pasture, food'. IE cognates: OIr. fess 'food' < *ues-th₂-, Hit. uesi- / uešai- [c.] 'pasture' (< *ues-(e)i-), Skt. svásara- 'pasture, meadow' (< *su-uas-ra-), Av. vāstra- [n.] 'pasture', vāstar- 'herd', OIc. fist 'nourishment' < *uesti-, ToA wāsri 'pasture' < *uesri-.

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 *ues- '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 *ues-. Latin could reflect *ues-ske/o-, with introduction of ē as (possibly) in Av. vāstra-, vāstar-. In view of the absence of verbal derivatives of the root outside Latin, this -ē- would probably have a nominal origin (e.g. from a root noun *uēs, *uesos). The suffix -sk- would be a Latin addition, or an earlier Italic one, if U. vesklo- 'vessel' is cognate, or an even older one (maybe only a suffix *-k-) if Ven. vesket- is cognate.

Bibl.: WH II: 769, EM 727f., IEW 72f., Lejeune 1974: 340, Untermann 2000: 846f., LIV 3.*ues-. → edō, vestibulum

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 -ēs- and -ēns- started to merge in VLat. 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 *vī/ēs(s)- as onomatopoeic; the sound of a deflating bladder would thus have 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 *vē/īs(s)- is comprehensible in the light of the development *pesd- > pēd-, which obscured the sound symbolism originally present in that word.

Bibl.: WH II: 750f., EM 728, IEW 1104f., André 1984.

vespa 'wasp' [f. *ā*] (Varro+)

PIt. **welop-s-h₂-* 'wasp'.

PIE **(h₁)uobʰ-s-h₂-* 'wasp'. IE cognates: OCo. *guhi-en* 'a wasp', MW *gw(y)chi*, OBret. *guohi* 'wasps'; Av. *vaβžaka-* 'scorpion', MP *vaβz*, Bal. *gwabz* 'wasp' < PIr. **wabža-*; OPr. *wobse*, Lith. *vapsvà*, *vapsà* (dial.), Latv. *vapsene* 'wasp', RuCS *osa*, Ru. *osá*, SCr. *òsa* (< BSl. **u̯apsā*); OE *wæfs, wæps, wæsp* OHG *wefsa, wafsa, waspa*, 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.: WH II: 770, EM 728, IEW 1179.

vesper, -erī 'evening' [m. *o*] (Pl.+; also *vespera*)

Derivatives: *vesperna* 'the evening meal' (Pl.+), *vesperāscere, advesperāscere* 'to become evening' (Ter.+), *vespertīnus* 'of the evening' (Varro+), *vesperūgō* 'the Evening Star' (Pl.+), *vespertīliō* 'bat' (Varro+).

PIt. **we(k)spero-*.

PIE **ue-k(ʷ)sp-er-o-* 'evening'. IE cognates: W. *ucher* 'evening', Hit. *išpant-* [c.] 'night', Skt. *kṣáp-* [f.], Av. *xšapan- / xšafn-*, YAv. *xšap-* [f.], *xšapar-*, OP *xšap-* [f.] 'night' < PIE **k(ʷ)sep(-r-/-n-)*; Gr. ἕσπερος [m.] 'evening' (< **u̯ekʷsp-ero-*); Arm. *gišer* 'night' (< **uekʷšero-*), Lith. *vãkaras*, Latv. *vakars*, OCS *večerъ*, Ru. *véčer* 'evening' < **uekspero-*.

The PIE word for 'evening' is clearly a compound of an element **ue-* and a word for 'night' **k(ʷ)sep-*. The zero grade of the root brought about a consonant cluster **-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. αὖ 'again', but PIE **h₂ue-* would leave other traces in Greek than ἕ-. Of course, one might assume that the initial laryngeal was dropped in the compound. It is possible that **ue-* in **ue-k(ʷ)sp-ero-* has a completely different origin, e.g. the reduction of an earlier noun or adjective.

Bibl.: WH II: 770f., EM 728, IEW 1173f. → *vē-*

ve/ispillō [m. *n*] 'one employed to bury those too poor to afford a funeral' (Mart.+)

PIt. **wospo-* 'clothing'?

PIE **uos-p-?* IE cognates: Hit. ⁽ᵀᵁᴳ⁾*u̯ašpa-* [c.] 'clothing', CLuw. *u̯ašpant-* 'wearing shrouds (?)' < PIE **uos-bʰo-?*

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. ὄσπριον 'pulse,

legume' (*'in a pod'), suggesting an original r/n-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. *ā*] (Enn.+; Pocula Deorum *Vestai* dat.sg.)
    Derivatives: *vestālis* 'of Vesta or her cult' (Varro+).

The closest cognate seems to be Gr. ἑστία 'hearth, fireplace', Ion. ἱστίη, which has *ṷ- in ϝιστιαυ (PN, Mantineia), γιστία 'hearth' (Hsch.). This cannot be derived from PIE *h₂ues- 'to spend the night, stay', since *h₂- would have yielded a-. Possibly a loanword.
    Bibl.: WH II: 772f., EM 729, IEW 1170, LIV 2.*h₂ues-.

vestibulum 'fore-court' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)
    Plt. *westV-þlo- '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-.

vestīgium 'footprint, track' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)
    Derivatives: *vestīgāre* 'to follow the trail, search out' (Pl.+), *vestīgātor* '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 *vestīgium* was primary and *vestīgāre* secondary, but this is uncertain. Since a connection with *vestis* 'clothes' does not make much sense, the suggestion that *vestīgium* continues *verstīgium, which was defended by Muller 1926: 539 but rejected outright by WH, seems attractive. If connected with *verrō* 'to sweep' < *ṷrs-, *vestīgium* may originally have meant a 'track' or 'furrow'. The verb *vestīgāre* can reflect *w(e)rsti-Hg- 'to draw a furrow', from a noun *urs-ti- (or *uers-ti-) 'furrow'.
    Bibl.: WH II: 774f., EM 729, Dunkel 2000a: 95, LIV 1.*uers-. → *vo/errō*

vestis 'clothes' [f. *i*] (Andr.+)
    Derivatives: *vestīre* 'to clothe, dress' (Pl.+), *vestītus, -ūs* 'dress, clothes' (Pl.+), *vestīmentum* 'clothes, blanket' (Pl.+), *vestiārius* 'of or concerning clothes' (Cato+); *convestīre* 'to clothe, cover' (Enn.+), *investīre* 'to clothe, cover' (Enn.+).
    Plt. *wes-ti- 'clothes'.

PIE *ues-ti-. IE cognates: Hit. ụešš-*ᵗᵗᵃ* / ụašše/a-*ᶻⁱ* 'to be dressed, wear, put on', CLuw. ụašš- 'to wear' < *ụés-to and *us-ié-ti-; Skt. váste 'to wear', vásana- [n.] 'garment, cloth', vasti-varṇa- 'colour of the garment', OAv. vastē, YAv. vaste 'is clothed', vaṇhana- [n.] 'clothing', vastra- [n.] 'garment, cloth', Gr. ἔννυμι 'to clothe, put on' < *ụes-n(e)u-, aor. ἕσ(σ)αι, pf.med. εἷμαι, εἱμένος < *ụes-; εἵματα [pl.] 'clothes' (< *ụes-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 wäs- 'to wear; put on'.

Probably an independent formation of Latin, since Skt. vasti- is only attested in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.
    Bibl.: WH II: 774f., EM 729, IEW 1172f., LIV 1.*ụes-.

ve/otō, -āre 'to forbid' [v. I; pf. vetuī, ppp. vetitum] (Pl.+; votō in Nonius)
    Plt. *we/ot-ā(je)- / *wotaje-.
    PIE *uet(h₂)- / *uoth₂-eie/o- / *ue/ot-eh₂- 'to say'. IE cognates: OW guetid 'says', MW dy-wedaf 'I say' < PCl. *ụete/o-; MW gwadu 'to deny', gwad [m.], OBret. guad 'denial' < *ụot-.

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' < *ụot-. 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 aniṭ root *ụet-.
    Bibl.: WH I: 776, EM 730, Schrijver 1991: 472f., Rix 1999: 520, Schumacher 2004: 679f., LIV *ụeth₂-.

U. **vetu**, ahauendu, preuendu [3s.ipv.II, + ā-, + *prai-] 'to turn'.
    Plt. *wende/o-.
    PIE *(H)uendʰ-e/o- 'to wind'. IE cognates: Skt. vandhúr- [m.] 'seat of carriage, frame-work of carriage' (< 'plaited thing'?), Go. -windan, OE windan, NHG winden 'to twist, wind', ToB wäntră 'disguises himself (?)'.
    Bibl.: IEW 1148, Meiser 1986: 180-183, Untermann 2000: 835f., LIV *uendʰ-.

vetus, -eris 'old' [adj. r] (Pl.+; Enn. nom.sg. veter)
    Derivatives: vetulus 'elderly, ageing' (Pl.+), veterānus 'mature, experienced' (Varro+), vetustus 'ancient' (Pl.+), vetustās 'being old, age, antiquity' (Pl.+), veternus 'torpor, lassitude' (Pl.+), veternōsus 'lethargic' (Cato+), veterātor 'an experienced practitioner' (Ter.+); inveterāscere 'to grow old' (Ter.+); veterīnus [adj.] 'used for draught, draught-animals' (Cato+).

Plt. *wetos- 'year', *wetes-ino- 'old', *wetso- 'of the year'. It cognates: U. vesune, Mars. uesune [dat.sg.] 'the goddess *wetsōna 'lady of the year'; maybe O. vezkeí [dat.sg.] 'a certain deity'.

PIE *uet-os- 'year' [n.], *uet-s-o- 'of the year'. IE cognates: Hit. u̯itt- (< u̯et-) [c.] 'year', CLuw. ušša/i-, HLuw. usa/i- 'year' (< *ut-s-o-), Hit. šaudišt- / šău̯itišt- 'weanling, young calf' (< *so-ut-es-t- / *so-u̯et-es-t- 'the one of this year'), Skt. vatsará- [m.] 'year', Gr. ἔτος [n.], dial. Ϝέτος 'year', Myc. we-to, we-te-i (/u̯etos, u̯eteh-i/) [n.] 'year', Alb. vit, pl. (also sg.) vjet 'year'; Lith. vẽtušas, OCS vetъchъ 'old', Ru. vétxij 'old, ancient, decrepit' < PIE *u̯etus-o-. Go. wiþrus 'year-old lamb', Olc. veðr, OHG widar 'wether'.

Adams 1992 observes that veterīnus 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'.

Bibl.: WH II: 776f., EM 729f., IEW 1175, Untermann 2000: 851-4, Weiss 2007b. → vitulus

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.+), viāticus 'of/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.), veiar(i)ī 'stipites in plaustro', veiatura 'vectura' (ibidem).

Plt. *wijā- 'road'. It cognates: O. viú, víu [nom.sg.], víam, vía [acc.sg.], víaí [loc.sg.], víass [acc.pl.], U. via, vea, uia [abl.sg.], SPic. víam [acc.sg.] f. 'road' < *u̯iiā; O. amvíannud, amvíanud '?' probably < *am- or an-viā-ndo-, denom. verb to *viā- 'road'.

PIE *uihₗ-eh₂- 'pursuit'. IE cognates: Skt. viyánti [3p.act.] 'they pursue', vītá- 'turned to', YAv. viia- 'to pursue', vītar- [m.] 'pursuer'; Gr. ἵεμαι 'to strive after, wish'; Lith. výti 'to drive, pursue'.

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 *u̯egʰiā

can be discarded, and we may rather posit PIt. *wijā-. 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 vīs 'you want' and invītus 'unwilling'.

Bibl.: WH II: 778f., EM 731, IEW 1123f., Untermann 2000: 93, 860f., LIV *ueih₁-. → invītus, violō, vītō

vībīcēs, -um 'weal, scar' [f. k] (Cato+; only pl.)
   PIt. *weib-ī- 'the swinging / trembling (one)'.
   PIE *ueib-. IE cognates: see s.v. vibrō.

If the original meaning was 'whiplash' or 'wound', vībīk- 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.).
   PIt. *wib-ro- 'trembling'.
   PIE *uip/b-ro-. IE cognates: Skt. vípra- [m. / adj.] 'trembling, seer', YAv. vifra- [adj.] 'ecstatic'; Skt. pr. vépate 'to tremble', vipáya- 'to become inspired', aor. vipāná- [ptc.med.], pf. vívipre [3p.med.] 'they have become excited', vip- [f.] 'inspired speech', OAv. vaēpiia- 'catamite, pathic', YAv. apa vaēpa- 'to yield, give off', vaēpaiia- 'to be homosexual', Go. weipan 'to crown', faur-waipjan 'to bind', OIc. veifa 'to swing'; ToB wəyp- 'to shake, swing', 3s. wīpā(ṣṣäṃ) , ToB waipe* [m.sg.] 'banner', obl.sg. waipe, ToB waipalau '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^h/p- 'to swing' in Skt. kṣipáti 'to hurl', Av. xšuuaēβaiiaṯ.aštra- 'swinging the whip', Skt. kṣiprá- 'quick, fast', YAv. xšuuiβra- 'quick', xšuuiβi-išu- 'with fast arrows'. The IIr. root *kš(u)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.+).
   PIt. *wik- 'turn'.
   PIE *uik- 'a turn'. IE cognates: see s.v. vinciō.

As to the PIE root, this may well have been *uik- '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 <

*-*dh₁-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.

Bibl.: WH II: 781f., EM 732, IEW 1130f., Schrijver 1991: 330, LIV **u̯iek^u-*. → *vinciō, vix*

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 **u̯ikti-* 'exchange' + **-mo-*. But there are other options. *Victima* may also be connected with PIE **u̯eik-* 'to select, sift', as in Skt. *vec-* 'to sift, to separate, to winnow', *prá-vikta-* 'selected', *vivici-* 'separating', YAv. *hąm.visˇiia* 'to separate completely', YAv. ^x*vaēcaiia-* [caus.], MP *wēxtan/wēztan* 'to sift, select, winnow', Khwar. *prwycy̌-* 'to sift'. One could connect Go. *weihs*, OHG *wīh* 'holy', in the same field of religious terminology as *victima*.

Bibl.: WH II: 782, EM 732, IEW 1128, LIV ?1.**u̯eik-*.

vīcus 'village, block of houses'.[m. *o*] (Pl.+; OLat. *ueicus, uecus, uecos* CIL)

Derivatives: *vīcātim* 'street by street' (Sis.+), *vīcīnus* [adj./m.] 'neighbour, neighbouring' (Naev.+), *vīcīnia* 'adjoining land, neighbourhood' (Pl.+), *vīcīnitās* 'proximity, neighbourhood' (Cato+), *vīlla* 'rural dwelling, farm' (Pl.+), *vīllāticus* '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+).

Plt. **weik-o-* 'settlement', **weik-slā-* 'farm'.

PIE **ueik-* / **uik-* 'settlement'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *veśa-* 'to sit down, go in', Av. *vīsa-* 'to get ready', Skt. *veśá-* 'inhabitant', YAv. *vaēsa-* [m.] 'servant (who lives in the master's house)', Skt. *víś-* [f.] 'settlement, dwelling-place, people', YAv. *vīs-* [f.] 'homestead, community', OP *viϑ-* [f.] 'royal house, palace, house, farm' < Ilr. **u̯ić-* < PIE **uik-*; Gr. ϝοῖκος, οἶκος [m.] 'house, household', Myc. *wo-i-ko-de* /*woikon-de*/ 'home', Lith. *viẽšpats* 'lord', OPr. *waispattin* 'mistress' [acc.sg.] < **u̯oik-poti-*; OCS *vьsь* [f.], Ru. *ves'* (obs.) 'village' < PIE **uik-*, Go. *weihs* [n.] (gen. *weihsis*) 'village, settlement'.

It is generally assumed that **woik-* yielded *vīc-* instead of ***vūc-* 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 **u̯eik-* 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 *vīlla* < **weik-slā-* was probably derived from the verb **ueik-* 'to settle' or from the root noun; from *vīlla* was then derived *vīlicus*, with simplification of the geminate *-ll-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 782f., 790f., EM 732f., IEW 1131, LIV **u̯eik-*.

video 'to see' [v. II; pf. *vīdī*, ppp. *vīsum*] (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.+), *invidus* 'malevolent, envious' (Pl.+), *invidia* 'dislike, jealousy' (Pl.+), *invidiōsus* 'unpopular, enviable' (Cato+), *pervidēre* 'to discern, see fully' (Varro+), *prōvidēre* 'to foresee, see to it' (Pl.+), *improvīsus* 'unexpected' (Pl.+), *revidēre* 'to pay another visit' (Pl.+); *vīsō, -ere* 'to go and look, visit' (Pl.+), *vīsus, -ūs* 'sight, vision' (Lucr.+), *vīsitāre* 'to see frequently, visit' (Pl.+), *circumvīsere* 'to look round at' (Pl.+), *convīsere* 'to watch, visit' (Acc.+), *intervīsere* 'to go and see' (Pl.+), *prōvīsere* 'to be on the look-out' (Pl.+), *revīsere* 'to pay another visit' (Pl.+).

PIt. **wid-ē-* 'to see', **weid-s-* 'to see (in future)'. It. cognates: U. *uirseto auirseto* [ppp. nom.sg.] 'seen unseen', SPic. **videtas** [2p.pr.?] 'to see' < **u̯id-ē-*; U. **revestu** [3s.ipv.1I] 'to check' < **re-u̯eid-s-e-tōd*.

PIE **uid-eh₁-* 'to see'. IE cognates: OIr. *ro·finnadar** 'to find out' < PCl. **wind-e/o-*, W. *gwybot*, 1s. *gwnn*, Co. *godhvos*, Bret. *gouz(o)ut*, 1s. *goun, gonn* 'to know' < **wind-nu-* << **wind-e/o-*; OIr. *ro·fitir* 'to know', MW *gwyr*, MBret. *goar*, MCorn. *gor* 'knows' < PCl. **u̯id-* << PIE **u̯oid-/*u̯id-* [pf.]; MW *gwyδyat*, MCo. *gozye*, OBret. *goyzye* [3s.ipf.] 'knew' < **u̯eid-ī-* < **ueid-eh₁-*; OIr. *ad·fét* < **ad-weid-e/o-* 'to tell, relate' (<< **u̯inde/o-*); Skt. *ved-* '1. to find, discover, desire, 2. to know, be acquainted with' [pr. *vindáti*, aor. *vidát*; pf. *véda*, ppa. *vidvā́ṃs-*, ppp. *vittá-*]; OAv. *vīnastī* 'finds', *vīdaṱ* 'finds', *vista-* 'found', *vaēdā* [pf.] 'I know, he knows', ppa. *vīduuah-* 'knowing, capable'; *ā-uuaēdaiiamahī* 'we announce'; YAv. *vinda-* 'to find' [3s. *vīnastī*] ; OP *vindafarnā* [PN], MP *windādan/wind-* 'to find, desire', Parth. *wynd-* 'to find'; Gr. οἶδα 'I know' [pl. ἴδμεν (Att. ἴσμεν) , ipv. ἴσθι, ptc. εἰδώς] , ἰδυῖοι [m.pl.] 'witnesses', aor. ἰδεῖν 'to behold, recognise', εἴδομαι 'to seem, appear', εἶδος 'species, appearance'; Arm. *egit* 'he found', 3s.aor. *gt-i*, pr. *gtanem* < **h₁e-uid-et*, *gitem* 'to know' < **uoid-*; Lith. *veizdėti*, 3s. *véizdi* 'to look (for)' < BSl. **u̯ei?d-*; OCS *viděti*, Ru. *videt'*, SCr. *vȉdjeti* 'to see' < PSl. **viděti*; OPr. *waist* 'know', OCS *věděti*, 1s. *věmь*, 3s. *věstъ* 'to know', Ru. *védat'* 'to manage, (obs.) know', Cz. *věděti* 'to know' < PSl. **věděti* < BSl. **u̯oi?d-*; Go. *wait, witum* 'I know, we know', *weitwoþs* 'witness', *fraweitan* 'to take revenge', *in-weitan* 'to worship', OE *gewītan* 'to die', Go. *fairweitjan* 'to observe, heed'; Go. *witan, -aida* 'to heed'.

Prūdens regularly reflects **prowidēns*, **prowident-* > **proud-* > *prūd-*. The pr. *vīsō* reflects an *s*-desiderative **weid-s-ō*. The pf. *vīdī* could formally reflect a root aorist **ueid-* or a pf. **uoid-*; in view of the perfective meaning ('I saw'), LIV opts for a root aorist. The stative pr. **uidē-* is confirmed by Umbrian and South Picene; we also find it in Gothic and in Lith. *pavydėti*, 1s. *-vydžiù* 'to envy', but these can easily be independent formations.

Bibl.: WH II: 378, 784f., EM 541, 733f., IEW 1125-27, Schrijver 1991: 276, Untermann 2000: 634f., 854f., Schumacher 2004: 664f., 690-695, LIV **u̯ei̯d-*.

viduus 'deprived of husband or wife' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *vidua* [f.] 'widow' (Naev.+), *viduitās* 'state of being deprived, widowhood' (Pl.+), *vidertās* 'dearth' (Cato+), *viduāre* 'to deprive of' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **wiþowo-* [adj.].

PIE **h₁ui-dʰh₁-eu-o-* 'separated'. IE cognates: OIr. *fedb*, Skt. *vidhávā-* [f.] 'widow', *a-vidhavā́-* [f.] 'not a widow', YAv. *viδauua* [nom.sg.f.], MP *wēwag*, MoP *bēwa*, Oss. *idæz* 'widow' (< PIr. **uidauačī*) < PIIr. **HuidʰauaH-* 'widow, deprived of a partner'; Gr. ἠΐθεος [m.] 'unmarried young man'; OPr. *widdewū*, OCS *vьdova*, *vьdova* [f.], Ru. *vdová* (acc. *vdovú*) < PSl. **vьdovà*; Go. *widuwo*, OHG *wituwa* '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 **-dʰ-*; cf. Lubotsky 1994.

Bibl.: WH II: 785f., EM 734, IEW 1127f., Beekes 1992, Lubotsky 1994. → *dīvidō*

vieō 'to plait, weave' [v. II] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *viētor/vītor* 'basket-maker' (Pl.+), *vīmen* [n.] 'flexible branch, used for wickerwork' (Cato+), *vīmineus* 'made of wickerwork' (Pl.+), *vīminālis* 'of/for withies; hill of Rome' (Varro+), *vīminētum* 'osier-bed' (Varro), *vīdulus* 'kind of carrying-bag' (Pl.); *viēscere·* [ppp. *viētus* Ter.+] 'to shrivel' (Col.+); *vitta* 'linen headband, woollen band' (Pl.+).

PIt. **wijeje/o-* 'to plait', **weimn-* 'branch for plaiting'.

PIE **uh₁i-éie-* 'to plait', **ueh₁i-mn* 'plaiting'. IE cognates: OIr. *ar·fen* 'to close off', *imm·fen* 'to enclose' < PCl. **-wi-na-*; Skt. *vyáyati* 'to wind, wrap', ppp. *vītá-*, Gr. ἴτυς, -υος, Aeol. ϝίτυς 'felloe, rim of a shield', Lith. *výti*, Latv. *vît*, OCS *viti*, SCr. *viti* 'to twist, wind' < **uHi-*, Lith. *vytìs* 'twig', SCr. *pàvit* 'vine' < **uHi-ti-*; OCS *věja*, Skt. *vayā́-* 'branch, twig' < **uoHi-eh₂-;* Av. *vaēiti-* 'willow', Go. *waddjus* < **uoiH-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 **vīta*, may continue an older *to*-ptc. **uiH-to-* of the root. For *vīdulus*, we must assume an extended root **uiH-d-.*

Bibl.: WH II: 785-787, 806f., EM 734f., IEW 1120-22, Schrijver 1991: 245, 335, Schumacher 2004: 688, LIV **uieh₁-.* → *vīnum*, *vītis*

vigeō 'to be active, flourish' [v. II; pf. *viguī*, 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.+), *vigilia* '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.+).

PIt. **weg-ē-*, **wegli-.*

PIE **ueǵ-eh₁-* 'to be strong', **ueǵ-l-i-* 'strong'. IE cognates: Skt. *vā́ja-* 'contest, reward', *vājáyati* 'impels', Go. *-wakjan* 'to waken', OHG *wahhēn* 'to be awake'.

The PIE etymology with *ueǵ- is adopted by all scholars. The *i* in *vigeō* may be explained as analogically adopted from the *vigil* (LIV adduces "Homonymenflucht von *vegēre*" 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 *vigeō* 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 *vectīgal, 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 *vigilāre* 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, *veglī*), where *l* was *exilis*, yielding a stem **vegili-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 788, EM 735, IEW 1117f., Sihler 1995: 40, 497, Niedermann 1945: 69, LIV *ueǵ-. → *vegeō*

vīgintī 'twenty' [num. indecl.] (Lex XII, Pl.+)

Derivatives: *vīcē(n)simus* 'twentieth' (Pl.+; <*vīg-* > Sall., Col.), *vīciē(n)s* 'twenty times' (Cic.+), *vīcēnī* 'twenty at a time' (Varro, Cic.+); *duodēvīgintī* 'eighteen' (Pl.+), *ūndēvīgintī* 'nineteen' (Cic.+).

Plt. **wīkentī* (>> **wīgentī*), **wīkenssamo-*.

PIE **dui-dkmt-ih₁* 'twenty'. IE cognates: OIr. *fiche, fichit* [dat./acc.], OW *uceint*, MW *figgit*; Skt. *viṃśati-* [f.], YAv. *vīsaiti*, Khot. *bistä*, MP *wīst*, Oss. *yssæz/insæj*, Gr. εἴκοσι, H. also ἐείκοσι, Dor. ϝίκατι, Arm. *kʻsan*, Alb. *zet*, ToB *ikäṃ*, ToA *wiki* 'twenty'.

The unexpected voiced *g* in Latin *vīgintī* 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 *ī*'s of the surrounding syllables (thus Coleman). Lat. *vīcēsimus* from *vīkēnsumo-* (CIL 6.7872) shows the same PIE suffix **-tmHo-* as Indo-Iranian. Originally, 'twenty' was formed as a dual form meaning 'two teens'. PIE **dui-dkmt-ih₁* is redundantly marked as a pair by **dui-* 'two' and the dual ending.

Bibl.: WH II: 788f., EM 735, IEW 1177, Kortlandt 1983a, Schrijver 1991: 83, 182, Coleman 1992: 397f., 414, Sihler 1995: 418ff., Meiser 1998: 172f. → *centum, decem, -gintā*

vīlis 'cheap, worthless' [adj. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *vīlitās* 'cheapness' (Pl.+).

Plt. **wesli-*.

PIE **ues-li-* [adj.]. IE cognates: Hit. *u̯ās-ⁱ* 'to buy' (< **uos- / *us-*).

A deverbal adj. in **-li-* with passive meaning: **ues-li-* 'what can be bought'. The expected outcome **vēlis* was raised to *vīlis*, possibly under the influence of the the preceding labial (thus Watkins 1973b: 196).

Bibl.: WH II: 789f., EM 736, IEW 1173, LIV 2.*ṷes-. → vēnus/m

vinciō, -īre 'to tie up, bind' [v. IV; pf. vīnxī, ppp. vinctum] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: vicia 'vetch' (Cato+), vinc(u)lum 'bond, chain' (Pl.+), vinctiō 'binding together' (Varro+), vinctūra 'which binds' (Varro+), vinctus, -ūs 'tie' (Varro+); circumvincīre 'to bind round' (Pl.+), dēvincīre '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. preuiślatu, preuilatu [3s.ipv.II] 'to tie' < *prai-ṷinkelā-tōd, denom. to *ṷi(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 *ṷink- (either with *-(e)lo- or with *-tlo-). The nasal spread from the present to the pf. and ppp., whereas vinciō itself can be a derivative of the earlier pr. *ṷink- (cf. vincō), or from a nominal derivative *ṷink-i(o)-; Meiser 2003: 122 explains it as a back-formation to the pf. vīnxī. 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. lᴠov 'ivy; prison' here; but Lat. vicis, U. preuiślatu (thus Meiser 2003: 122) and the Gm. forms cited s.v. vincō point to a non-labialized velar.

Bibl.: WH II: 781, 791, EM 732, 736, IEW 1130f./Untermann 2000: 576f., Meiser 2003: 122, LIV *ṷiekᵘ-, ?1.*ṷeik-. → vicis, vinciō, vix

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+), victrīx '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. uicturei [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: OIr. fichid* 'to battle' < PCl. *ṷike/o-, OIr. fecht [f. ā] , MW gweith [f.], OBret. gueth 'battle' < *ṷik-tā-; Skt. pr. viviktás [3du.act.], pf. vivyāca [3s.act.] 'to contain, embrace', vyácas- [n.] 'extent, content', MP winǰ-, ps. winǰīh- 'to be contained' < IIr. *ṷik/č-, *ṷiak/č-; Gr. εἴκω 'to give way, yield' < *ṷeik-; Lith. veĩkti, 1s. veikiù 'to work; overcome', Latv. vīkstu, vīkt 'to give way, bend', vīksts 'yielding, soft', Lith. vikrùs 'agile, swift, skilful', véikus / veikùs 'quick, strong, firm', Latv. vèiks 'diligent, agile, skilful, limited', OIc. vega 'to battle, kill', Go. -waih, OIc. vá 'battled', Go. wigana [dat.sg.] 'battle'; Go. waihsta 'corner', MHG weigen 'to waver', OE wicga 'beetle', OFr. OE

wāg, OE *wēg* 'wall' (< **ụoiko-*); OIc. *gjafa-vixl* 'gift-exchange', OE *wehsāl* 'commerce, money', OHG *wëhsal, wehsil* 'exchange, commerce'; OHG *wehha, wohha*, OS *wika*, OE *wucu, wicu*, OIc. *vĺka* 'week' (< *'change') < **ụik-n-*.

Probably from the same root as *vinciō*, 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 **ụeik-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 791f., EM 736, IEW 1128f., Schrijver 1991: 528f., Untermann 2000: 855-857, Meiser 2003: 206, Schumacher 2004:683-686, LIV 2.**ụeịk-*. → *vinciō, vix*

vīnum 'wine' [n. *o*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *vīnea* 'vines in a vineyard; moveable penthouse' (Lex XII, Pl.+), *vīneāticus* 'connected with vine-growing' (Cato+), *vīnētum* 'vineyard' (Varro+), *vīnāceus* 'the refuse from wine-pressing' (Cato+), *vīnālia, -ium* 'the name of two wine festivals' (Varro+), *vīnārius* 'for/of producing wine' (Pl.+), *vīnolentus* 'of immoderate wine consumption' (Pl.+), *vīnōsus* 'immoderately fond of wine' (Pl.+), *vīllum* 'small quantity of wine' (Ter.); *vīnibua* 'female tippler of wine' (Lucil.).

PIt. **wīno-*. It. cognates: Fal. **uinom, uino** [acc.sg.], U. **vinu** [acc.sg.], **vinu,** *uinu,* Vol. *uinu* [abl.sg.] 'wine'.

PIE **ueih₁-(ō)n*, **uih₁-e/on-m*, **uih₁-n-* [m./f.] 'vine; wine'. IE cognates: Hit. *ụịian-* [c.] 'wine' < **uih₁-on-*, [(d)]*Uịnịịant-* 'wine (deified)', CLuw. *ụinịịa-* 'of wine', HLuw. *wịịana/i-* 'vine'; Gr. οἶνος, dial. ϝοῖνος [m.], Arm. *gini* (< **ụoinịịo-*), Alb. Tosk *verë*, Geg *venë* 'wine' < **uoih₁no-*.

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 'vine' 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 **ụoih₁no-* > **ụoino-* > **ụēno-* > **ụịyana-*, with diphthongization of *ē, but the Italic forms would remain unexplained in his scenario.

Bibl.: WH II: 792f., EM 737f., IEW 1120-22, Giacomelli 1963: 258, Beekes 1987b, Untermann 2000: 857. → *emō, vieō, vītis*

violō, -āre 'to violate, disturb' [v. I] (Lex Sacra CIL 1.366, Pl.+)

Derivatives: *violentus* 'violent' (Pl.+), *violēnter.* 'violently' (Ter.+), *violentia* 'violence' (Pl.+), *inviolābilis* 'indestructible' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **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 *vīs* '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 *vīs*, since derivatives in *-(u)lentus* are characteristically made from nouns (cf. *opulentus*).

Bibl.: WH II: 801, EM 740, IEW 1123f., LIV *u̯eih₁-. → *via, vīs*

vīpera 'poisonous snake' [f. *ā*] (Cic.+)
Derivatives: *vīperīnus* 'of a viper' (Acc.+).
PIt. *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 parit*). Formally, since the stress would be on the penultimate syllable, *wīwó-para* would not contract (cf. Meiser 1998: 92); the loss of *-wo-* could be due to haplology, 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 *u̯eip-. → *vibrō*

vir 'man' [m. *o*] (Andr.+)
Derivatives: *virīlis* 'of a man, male' (Pl.+), *virāgō, -inis* [f.] 'strong or warlike woman' (Pl.+), *virācius* 'manly' (Varro), *virītim* [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+).
PIt. *wiro-*. It. cognates: U. *uiro, ueiro* [acc.pl.] 'company of men, troops' [n.] < *wiro-*.

PIE *uiH-ró-* 'man, young man, warrior'. IE cognates: OIr. *fer*, Skt. *vīrá-* 'man, hero', Av. *vīra-* 'man, human', Lith. *výras* 'man, husband', Latv. *vir̃s*, Go. *wair* 'man' < *u̯iro-* < *u̯īró-*, ToA *wir* 'youthful, young, fresh'.

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 *vira* '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. *virī*; thence was formed *virī-tim*.

Bibl.: WH II: 796f., EM 738f., IEW 1177f., Schrijver 1991: 235, 340, Untermann 2000: 858f. → *vīs*

vireō 'to be green' [v. II; pf. *viruī*] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: *virēscere* 'to turn green' (Lucr.+), *viridis* [adj.] 'green' (Cato+), *viridāre* 'to be green' (Acc.+), *viridulus* 'young and tender' (Naev.); *praeviridāns* 'very green' (Lab.).

PIt. **w(e)is-?*

IE cognates: OPr. *weisin* 'fruit' [acc.sg.], Lith. *veĩsti*, 3s. *veĩsia* 'to breed, rear', *vìsti*, 3s. *výsta* 'to multiply, breed', *vaĩsius* 'fruit'; OIc. *vísir* 'sprout' [?]; OE *wīse* 'sprout, stem' [f.]; OHG *wīsa* '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.**u̯ei̯s-*.

virga 'shoot, twig, rod' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *virgeus* 'made of twigs' (Cato+), *virgātor* 'who wields a rod' (Pl.+), *virgulta, -ōrum* 'brushwood' (Cato+); *virgidēmia* 'a harvest of rods' (Pl.+).

PIt. **wizg-?*

PIE **uis-g-?* IE cognates: OIc. *visk* 'wisp', Swed. *viska* 'small broom', OHG *wisc* 'wisp', OE *wiscian, weoskian* (< **wiskōn*) 'to plait a hurdle'.

Virga has been derived from **wizg-ā-* and connected with other IE words of the form **u̯is-K-* 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. *vizgù, vizgéti* 'to tremble', *vizgóti* 'to waver') is too far off. Only the Germanic forms in **u̯isk-* are close enough to inspire some confidence in their connection with *virga*. The adj. *virgultus*, attested as a noun from Cato onwards, presupposes 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.+), *virgineus* '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-gʷōn-* 'young woman', with an unacceptable formal and semantic analysis of the word for 'man' (recte PIE **uiHro-*) and formally of PIE 'woman'.

Bibl.: WH II: 799, EM 739f., IEW 1133f.

vīrus 'venom, poison' [n. *o*] (Lucil.+; almost restricted to nom.acc.sg.)

Derivatives: *vīrōsus* 'with an unpleasant smell or taste' (Cato+).

PIt. **weis-o-(s-)* [n.] 'poison'.

PIE **ueis* [nom.], **uis-os* [gen.] [n.] 'poison'. IE cognates: MIr. *fí* [gender and stem unknown], W. *gwy* 'poison' < PCl. **u̯iso-* 'poison', Skt. *viṣá-* [n.], YAv. *vīša-* [n.] 'venom, poison'; YAv. *vīš* [n.] 'poison, poisonous juice'; Gr. ἰός [m.]'poison', ToA *wäs*, ToB *wase* 'poison, venom' (< **uisó-*).

The restriction to nom.acc.sg. may mean that *vīrus* is an original n. s-stem **uīros-*; the origin of the *s*-stem inflection is unclear. Szemerényi reconstructs **u̯eisos* for Latin, and argues that the Greek word (Pindar+) has secondary lengthening in hiatus. Matasović argues that the length of *-ī-* is best accounted for by positing an original root-noun **u̯eis* / **u̯is-os*; Lat. preserved the stem of the nominative, whereas the other languages generalized the stem of the oblique cases.

Bibl.: WH II: 800, EM 740, IEW 1134, Szemerényi 1989: 91, Schrijver 1991: 232, Matasović 2004: 130.

vīs, vis 'strength, force' [f.] (Andr.+; acc.sg. *vim*, nom.pl. *vīrēs*, gen.pl. *vīrium*)
Derivatives: For *vindex*, see s.v. *dīcō*.
PIt. **wīs.*
PIE **uiH-s* 'strength'. IE cognates: Skt. *váyas-* [n.] 'power, food', Gr. ἴς [f.] 'power, strength', acc. ἶν(α) , instr. ἶφι, Hsch. γἴς (= ϝἴς) □ 'strength' < **uiH-s, -m.*

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 **ueih₁-* 'to hunt, pursue' is uncertain.

Bibl.: WH II: 793f., 800f., EM 737, 740, IEW 1123f., Untermann 2000: 146. →
dīcō, 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.+).
PIt. **wisko-?*
IE cognates: Gr. ἰξός [m.] 'mistletoe, -berry, the bird-lime prepared from it', OHG *wīhsela* '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.

vīscus, -eris 'fleshy parts; entrails' [n. *r*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *vīscerātim* 'piecemeal' (Enn.); *ēvīscerāre* 'to disembowel' (Enn.+).

No clear etymology.
Bibl.: WH II: 802, EM 741, IEW 1133f.

vītis 'grape-vine' [f. *i*] (Enn.+)
Derivatives: *vītilis* 'made of wickerwork' (Cato+), *vīteus* 'of a vine' (Varro+), *vītigineus* 'of a vine or its wood' (Cato+), *vītiārium* 'nursery for vines' (Cato+).
PIt. **wīti-.*
PIE **uh₁i-ti-.* IE cognates: see s.v. *vieō.*

Derivative in *-*ti*- from the root *uh₁-i- 'to weave, wrap', hence 'weaving'. Compare the PIE etymology of *vīnum*.

Bibl.: WH II: 804, EM 741, IEW 1120-22, Schrijver 1991: 245, LIV *u̯ieh₁-. → *vieō, vīnum*

vitium 'defect, fault' [n. *o*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *vitiāre* 'to spoil, invalidate' (Ter.+), *vitiōsus* 'faulty, defective' (Pl.+), *vitilīgō, -inis* 'a form of skin eruption, psoriasis' (Lucil.+), *vituperāre* 'to declare invalid, find fault with' (Pl.+).

PIt. *witio-* 'deviation, fault'.

PIE *(d)ui-tio- 'apart, wrong'. IE cognates: see s.v. *duo*.

WH reconstruct a PIE adj. *u̯i-ti-om* 'separation, deviation' to *(d)u̯i- 'apart', comparing Skt. *nitya-* 'down'. This would amount to a similar dissimilation of two dentals as in PIE *du̯i-tero-* > Ilr., Gm., Slav. *(H)u̯i-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 *vituperāre* presupposes an adj. *viti-paro-* (with regular simplification of the *io*-stem in the first member to -*i*-) or *vito-paro-* 'bringing up a fault'. *Vitilīgō* belongs to the names of diseases in -*īgō*, but cannot be directly derived from *vitium* since -*l*- would remain unexplained.

Bibl.: WH II: 803f., 808, EM 741f., IEW 1175f., Leumann 1977: 296, 369, 390, Lindner 2002: 129. → *duo*

vītō, -āre 'to move out of the way, avoid' [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *dēvītāre* 'to avoid' (Pl.+), *ēvītāre* 'to avoid' (Varro+); *Vītula* 'goddess of joy' (Varro).

PIt. *wīto-* 'wanted'.

PIE *uih₁-to- 'wished for'. IE cognates: see s.v. *via*.

WH assume *vi-itō 'to go out of the way', with a preverb *vi- 'apart' < *du̯i- as in Ilr. Yet frequentative verbs in -*itāre* are generally recent, which excludes an early dissimilation *du̯i-itā- > *u̯i-itā-. The alternative connection with Lat. *invītus* 'unwilling' (< *n-uiH-to-), *vīs* 'you want' seems formally more probable to me. Semantically, we must then assume that *vītus was back-formed to *dē-vītus 'avoiding'. Whether *vītulārī* 'to utter a cry of joy' (Naev.+) also belongs here is uncertain.

Bibl.: WH II: 805, 807, EM 742, LIV *u̯eih₁-.

vītricus 'stepfather' [m. *o*] (CIL 1.583, Cic.+)

WH and IEW derive *vītricus* from PIE *(d)u̯i-tero- 'second, other' (as attested in Ilr., Germanic, Slavic), but this does not explain long *ī*. I have no other solution.

Bibl.: WH II: 805, EM 742, IEW 1175f., Fruyt 1986: 232f.

vitrum 'glass; the plant 'woad' (*isatis tinctoria*), from whose leaves blue dye was produced' [n. *o*] (Lucr.+)

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+), *vitulīnus* 'of a calf' (Pl.+).

Plt. *wet-elo-* 'yearling, calf'. It. cognates: U. **vitlu** [acc.sg.m.], **vitluf**, *uitlu* [acc.pl.m.], **vitlaf**, *uitla* [acc.pl.f.] < *uetelo-, -ā-* 'calf'.

PIE *uet- 'year'. IE cognates: see s.v. *vetus*.

Bibl.: WH II: 807, EM 742, IEW 1175, Untermann 2000: 859f. → *vetus*

vīverra 'ferret (or similar animal)' [f. *ā*] (Plin.+)

PIE *ue(r)-uer- (vel sim.). IE cognates: MoIr. *iora rúa* 'squirrel', Scottish Gaelic *feorag* 'squirrel', OPr. *weware* 'squirrel', Lith. *vaiverìs* (*vaivaras*, *vaivarys*) 'male polecat or marten', *vaiverê*, *voverê*, Latv. *vāvere*, *vāveris*, ORu. *věverica*, Sln. *vęverica*, Cz. *veverka*, Bulg. *ververica*, OE *āc-weorna*, OHG *eihhurnō*, OIc. *íkorni* 'squirrel'.

Irish, BSl. and Gm. point to a word *(we(r))-wer-* 'squirrel', and Lith. *vaiverìs* 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.

vīvō, -ere 'to live' [v. III; pf. *vīxī*, ppp. *vīctum*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *vīvus* 'alive' (Naev.+), *vīvēscere* 'to come to life' (Lucr.+), *vīvāx* 'long-lived, energetic' (Afran.+), *vīvidus* 'full of vital force' (Lucr.+), *vīctus, -ūs* 'food, way of life' (Pl.+), *vīctitāre* 'to keep oneself alive' (Pl.+); *convīva* [m.] 'guest' (Pl.+), *convīvium* 'dinner-party' (Pl.+), *convīvārī* 'to feast' (Enn.+), *revīvēscere* 'to come to life again' (Ter.+); *vīta* 'life' (Pl.+), *vītālis* 'of life, life-giving' (Pl.+), *ēvītāre* 'to kill' (Enn.+).

Plt. *gʷīwe/o- 'to live', *gʷīwo- 'alive', *gʷītā- 'life'. It. cognates: Ven. **vivoi** [dat.sg.] 'alive', O. bivus [nom.pl.m.] 'alive' < *gʷīwo-, O. biitam [acc.sg.] 'life'.

PIE *gʷih₃-ue/o- 'to live', *gʷih₃-uó- 'alive'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *jīvati*, aor. *jīvīt* [3s.inj.act.], pf. *jijīva* [3s.act.] 'to live', *jīvitá-* 'living', also [n.] 'living being, life', *jīvá-* 'alive, living person', Av. *juua-* 'to live', *juua-* [adj.] 'alive', YAv. *juuaiiaṇt-*

'making alive', OP *jīva-* 'to live', *jīva-* 'alive'; Gr. ἐβίων, βιῶναι [aor.] 'to live' (<
g^wih_3-eh_1-), βίος 'life' (< *g^wiH-o-), βιοτή 'life', βίοτος [m.] 'id.' (< *g^wih_3-eto-);
OPr. *gijwans* [acc.pl.] 'alive', *gīwasi* [2s.pr.] 'you live', Lith. *gývas*, Latv. *dzîvs*
'alive', Latv. *dzîvu* [1s.pr.act.] 'to live', OCS *živъ*, Ru. *živój* 'alive'; Lith. *gyvatà*
'life', OCS *životъ* [m.] 'life'; Lith. *gýti*, 3s. *gȳja* 'to recover, heal (intr.)', Latv. *dzît* 'to
heal (intr.)', OCS *žiti*, 1s. *živǫ*, Ru. *žit'* 'to live' < *g^wHi-.

The adj. *vīvus* and the pr. *vīvere* are both inherited. The pf. and ppp.-stem *vic-* is
analogical after verbs in which *-eug^w-* 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 *$w\acute{\imath}wita$* < *g^wiH-yo-t-ā-*, cf. Lith. *gyvatà* 'life'; thus
Meiser 1998: 92. But *vīta* could also directly reflect *g^wiH-t-h_2-*, which would enable
us to derive O. **biítam** from the same PIt. noun (Leumann 1977: 335).

Bibl.: WH II: 808-810, EM 743, IEW 467-69, Lejeune 1974: 340, Schrijver 1991:
245, 526, Untermann 2000: 146-149, LIV *$g^{ṷ}\underset{.}{\imath}eh_3$-.

vix 'hardly' [adv.] (Pl.+)
   PIt. **wiks* [nom.sg.] / **wiksu* [loc.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 *mox* 'soon' < PIE *mok̄su* for the
loss of the final short vowel.

Bibl.: WH II: 810, EM 743, IEW 1128f. → *vicis, vinciō, vincō*

vola 'hollow in the palm of the hand or the sole of the foot' [f. *ā*] (Varro+)
   PIt. **welā-?
   PIE *uel-h_2- 'round'? IE cognates: OIc. *valr* 'round' < **uol-o-.

Semantically, a connection with *volvō* 'to turn' < PIE *uel-u- is attractive. Lat. *vola*
can go back to **uelā-*, not to **uolā-* (which would yield **vala*). The connection
preferred by IEW, viz. with Gr. γύαλον 'a hollow', is improbable.

Bibl.: WH II: 825, EM 749, IEW 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.+); *dīvulgāre* 'to make public'
(Lucr.+), *pervulgāre* 'to make generally available' (Pl.+).

May go back to PIt. **wolgo-* and/or **welgos-*. No further etymology.
   Bibl.: WH II: 826f., EM 749, IEW 1138, Leumann 1977: 450.

volnus, -eris 'wound' [n. *r*] (Pl.+; CLat. *vulnus*)

Derivatives: *vulnerāre* 'to wound' (Enn.+).

PIt. **welanos-*.

PIE **uelh₃-nos-* [n.] 'wound'. IE cognates: see s.v. *vellō*.

Bibl.: WH II: 827, EM 749f., IEW 1144f., Schrijver 1991: 104, 180, Meiser 1998: 122, LIV **uelh₃-*. → *vellō*

volō, velle 'to want' [v. irr.; pf. *voluī*; pr. forms: *volō, vīs, volt, volumus, voltis, volunt*; sb. *velim*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *voluntās* 'will, choice' (Andr.+); *benevolēns, malevolēns* 'kind; ill-disposed' (Pl.+), *benevolus, malevolus* 'kind; ill-disposed' (Pl.+); *nōlle* [*nōlō, nevīs, nevolt, nōluī*] 'not to want' (Naev.+); *mālle* [*māvolō/mālō, māluī*] 'to prefer' (Naev.+); *vel* 'if you wish; or' (Naev.+), *velut(ī)* 'for instance, just as, as if' (Pl.+).

PIt. **wel-mi, -si, -ti* [pr.], **wel-e/o-* [sb.], **wel-ī-* [opt.]. It. cognates: Ven. **leno** [ins.sg.] 'volunary act' < **wlē-no-*; **voltiio** [ins.sg.n.] 'voluntary' < **wol-ti-(i)o-* 'of the will', **volterkon** [acc.sg.n.] 'voluntary' < **wol-tr-iko-* to a noun **wol-tro-*. Maybe O. **velliam** [acc.sg.] 'legal demand' < **wel-jā-*; U. **veltu**, *ehueltu* [3s.ipv.II] 'to order', **ehvelklu** [acc.sg.] 'vote'.

PIE **uelh₁-* [aor.], **ueih₁-* 'to strive after, pursue'. IE cognates: Skt. *vṛṇīté* [3s.med.], aor. *vṛta* [3s.inj.med.], pf. *vavṛṣé* 'to choose, prefer', *vṛtá-* 'chosen, picked, picking', *vára-* [m.] 'wish, desire', OAv. *var-* [pr.] 'to choose', Av. *-vairiia-* 'preferable', *vāra-* [n.] 'wish, desire', *frauuaṣi-* 'tutelary spirit', OP *avrnavatā* [3s.ipf.med.] 'to choose' < PIIr. **uarH-*; Gr. λῶ, λῇς, λῇ, λῶμες 'to want, wish', λῆμα [n.] 'will, courage, insolence', λῆσις (also λῆς Dor.) 'will, choice' (if related, the Greek root reflects earlier **ϝλη-* which probably originated in the root-aorist); Lith. *vélti* 'to wish, prefer' (1s. OLith. *velmi*) , OCS *velěti*, 1s. *veljǫ*, Ru. *velét'* 'to command, order', Sln. *veléti* 'to want, order, say', 1s. *velím* < PSl. **velěti*, OCS *voliti* 'to want, wish', Cz. *voliti* 'to choose' < PSl. **voliti*, OCS *volja*, Ru. *vólja* '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. *vīs* is explained from **ueiH-s* 'you wish' to the root **uiH-* 'to strive after' by Meiser 1998: 224; Cowgill 1978 derives *vīs* by phonetic development from **wels*, but this involves a lot of special pleading. The negated verb *nolō* is contracted from **ne + volō, vīs, volt*, while *mālō* 'I prefer' and its older counterpart *māvolō* reflect **mags-welō* < **magis-welo* 'I want more'.

Bibl.: WH II: 743, 828-830, EM 717f., 750, IEW 1137f., Lejeune 1974: 336, 340f., Cowgill 1978, Untermann 2000: 203, 833f., Weiss 2002: 358f., LIV **uelh₁-*. → *valeō, volup*

volō, -āre 'to fly' [v. I] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *volāticus* 'flying' (Pl.+), *volātūra* 'flight' (Varro+), *volitāre* 'to fly about, move swiftly' (Enn.+), *volucer, -cris* 'able to fly, swift' (Naev.+), *volucris* [f.] 'winged creature' (Pac.+); *vēlivolus* 'speeding along under sail' (Enn.+), *ēvolāre* 'to

fly up or out, escape' (Pl.+), *trānsvolāre* 'to fly across' (Pl.+), *trānsvolitāre* 'to fly across' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **gʷela-je/o-*.

PIE **gʷelh₁-ie/o-* 'to raise the arm, throw'. IE cognates: OIr. *a-t·baill* 'to die' < **eks-bal-ni-*, MW *ballaf* 'to die' < PCl. **balni-* 'dies' < ***'throws it'? (the appurtenance to PIE **gʷelh₁-* is not certain); Skt. *gar* 'to raise the arm (for striking), to raise a weapon' (*ud-gurámāṇa-* [ptc.pr.med.], *apa-járgurāṇa-* [ptc.int.med.]), Gr. βάλλω 'to throw, to hit', βλῆμα [n.] 'throw, hit'.

Muller 1926: 213 derives *volāre* from the root **gʷelh₁-* '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 **gʷelh₁-ie/o-* > **welaje-* > **welā-* (cf. *arāre*), or maybe an originally reduplicated intensive **gʷe(l)-gʷolh₁-ie/o-*. WH regard *volucer* as an old *l*-stem **voluclis*, but the vowel *-u-* remains unexplained.

Bibl.: WH II: 828, EM 751, Schrijver 1991: 470, Schumacher 2004: 211f., LIV **gᵘelh₁-*.

volpēs, -is 'fox' [m. *i*] (Pl.+; CLat. *vulpēs*)
Derivatives: *volpīnārī* 'to behave like a fox' (Varro+).

PIt. **wolp-i-* 'fox'.

PIE **(H)ulp-i-* 'marten, cat, vel sim.'. IE cognates: Av. *raopi-* 'fox' < IIr. **laupi-*, Av. *urupi-* 'marten' (vel sim.) < IIr. **lupi-*, MP *gurbag*, MoP *gurba* 'cat' < **ulpaka-*; Lith. *vilpišys* 'wild cat' < **ulp-i-*; Skt. *lopāśá-* 'jackal', Khot. *rrūvāsa-* 'jackal', MP *rāpās*, Oss. *ruvas/robas* 'fox' < IIr. **laupāca-* (< **h₂loup-ěk-?*). Probably unrelated: Gr. ἀλώπηξ, -εκος [f.] 'fox', Arm. *alowēs*, gen. *-esow* 'fox', Lith. *lāpė*, Latv. *lapsa* 'fox', W. *llywarn*, MCo. *lowarn*, Bret. *louarn* < PCl. **lop-erno-* < **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 IIr., metathesis to **lup-i-* took place (> Av. *urupi-*), whence **laupi-* was derived.

Bibl.: WH II: 830, EM 751, IEW 1179, Clackson 1994: 95, Schrijver 1998, de Vaan 2000. → *lupus*

voltur, -ris 'vulture' [m. *r*] (Enn.+; CLat. *vultur*)
Derivatives: *vulturius* [m.] 'vulture' (Pl.+), *subvulturius* '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 **uelH-tor-* 'tearer'. While conceivable, this does not appeal much to me.

Bibl.: WH II: 830f., EM 751, IEW 482. → **welolt(o)r-*

voltus, -ūs 'facial expression, face' [m. *u*] (Pl.+; CLat. *vultus*)
Derivatives: *volta, -ōrum* [n.pl.] 'face, look' (Enn., Lucr.).

PIt. **weloltu-*.

PIE **u(e)l-tu-* 'gaze, view'. IE cognates: OIr. *·fil*, *·feil/·fail* 'there is', MW *gwelet*,

MCo. *gweles*, OBret. *guelet* 'to see' < PCl. **u̯el-e/o-*; OIr. *fili, filed* 'seer' < **u̯el-ēt-* (Irslinger 2002: 56); Go. *wulþus* [m.] 'wealth' < **u̯l̥-tu-* 'respect'.

Probably from **wel-tu-* 'gaze, view' > 'look' > 'face', thus Hamp 1984a: 149.

Bibl.: WH II: 831, EM 751, IEW 1136f., Schumacher 2004: 669-675, LIV 3.*u̯el-.

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+).
Plt. **welolpi*.

PIE **u(e/o)lp-i* [n.] 'hope, pleasure'. IE cognates: Gr. ἔλπομαι 'to expect, hope, think', pf. ἔολπα, ἐλπωρή 'hope' (for **ἐλπωλη?*□), ἐλπίς, -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)lpi* 'hopefully', which could continue the n. of a PIE *i*-stem 'hope' (which also Gr. ἐλπίδ- could reflect). An apocopated Proto-Latin form **welolp* 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 **uel-h₁p-* '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* **h₁esti* '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 **uelh₁-* plus **h₁p-*, of a root noun **uelh₁-*, and of the forced semantics, this etymology does not seem likely.

Bibl.: WH II: 834, EM 752, IEW 1137f., LIV **uelp-.

volva 'womb' [f. *ā*] (Varro+; CLat. *vulva*)
Derivatives: *volvula* 'small womb' (Naev.).
Plt. **welolwā-*.
PIE **u(e/o)l-u-h₂-*. IE cognates: see s.v. *volvō*.

The connection with PIE **gʷelbʰ-* '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.**uel-. → *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+), *volūcra / -is* 'caterpillar on vines' (Col.+), *involūcre/-um* [n.] 'cover, wrap' (Pl.+), *volūtāre* 'to think over, roll' (Pl.+); *convolvulus* '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.+).
Plt. **welu-e/o-*.

PIE *uel-u- 'to wind'. IE cognates: OIr. *fillid* < PCl. *uel-n-o-* 'bend', Bret. *goalenn* 'green twig' < *uel-*, Gr. εἰλύω 'to wind round', pf. εἴλῡμαι < *ϝέ-ϝλῡ-μαι, ἔλῡ-τρον 'envelop, shell, container' (< PGr. *ϝέλυ-τρον), ἔλῡμα 'plough-beam', ἅλυσις 'chain', εἰλέω 'to rull, revolve' < *uel-n-; Arm. *egel* 'he turned', Go. *walwjan*, OE *wealwian* 'revolve (onself)', ToB *wäl-* 'to curl (intr./tr.)'.

Volūmen, involūcre and *volūbilis* have the productive lengthening of the stem vowel *-u-* in derivatives. Short *-u-* appears to be preserved in *volucra / -is* with its specialized meaning 'caterpillar' < *'wrapping itself up'.

Bibl.: WH II: 832-834, EM 752, IEW 1140-44, Schrijver 1991: 296, LIV 2.*uel-. →
volva

vōmer 'ploughshare' [m. *r*] (Cato+; also nom.sg. *vōmis* Verg. Col., *vōmeris* Cato)
PIt. *woy^w smi-?

PIE *uog^wh-ni- 'coulter, ploughshare'? IE cognates: Gr. ὀφνίς 'plough(share)' (Hsch.), OPr. *wagnis* 'coulter', OIc. *vangsni*, OHG *waganso* 'ploughshare'.

Greek and Old Prussian point to a possible preform *uog^wh ni-; one could then posit *uog^wh mi- for Latin. Yet the latter would probably yield *uoumi- > *uūmi- (unless there was a phonological constraint on *uū-, and *uoumi- regularly yielded *vōmi-). Alternatively, one might posit a suffix *-smi-, hence *uog^wh-smi- > *uogzmi- > *uozmi- > vōmi-. We more often find an *s*-stem for an earlier *i*-stem, cf. *cinis*. The nom.sg. *vōmis* seems to retain the old nom.

Bibl.: WH II: 835, EM 752, IEW 1179f.

vomō, -ere 'to vomit' [v. III; *vomuī, vomitum*] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *vomitus, -ūs* 'vomiting' (Pl.+), *vomica* 'gathering of pus, abscess' (Pl.+); *ēvomere* 'to vomit out' (Pl.+).
PIt. *weme/o-.

PIE *uemh₁- [pr.] 'to vomit'. IE cognates: Skt. *vámiti* 'to vomit, spit out', YAv. *auui...vaṇti* 'spits upon', Gr. ἐμέω, Lith. *vémti*, 3s. *vémia*, Latv. *vemî* 'to vomit'.

The PIE root present has been thematized in Latin.
Bibl.: WH II: 835, EM 752f., IEW 1146, Schrijver 1991: 396, LIV *uemh₁-.

vorō, -āre 'to swallow, devour' [v. I] (Pl.+)
Derivatives: *vorāx* 'devouring' (Acc.+); *dēvorāre* 'to swallow up' (Pl.+).
PIt. *g^w o/erā-.

PIE *g^w o/erh₃-o/h₂- 'devouring, devoured'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *giráti* 'devours, swallows', aor. *garan* [3p.inj.act.], aor. *gārīt* [3s.inj.act.], pf. *jagāra* [3s.act.], int. *jalgulas* [2s.sb.act.], *galgalīti* [3s.act.], ppp. *gīrṇá-*, YAv. *aspō.gar-* 'devouring horses', *narə.gar-* 'devouring men'; Gr. βιβρώσκω 'to eat, digest' < *g^w i-g^w rh₃-sk-, βρωτός 'edible', βορά [f.] 'fodder'; Arm. *e-ker* [3s.act.] 'ate'; Lith. *gérti* 'to drink', *gìrtas* 'drunk', OCS *po-žrěti* 'to eat (of animals), to devour' < BSl. *ger?-.

Probably a denominative verb to a noun/adj. *g^w orā- 'food' or 'devouring', cf. Gr. βορά. In theory, a preform *g^w erā- is also possible.

Bibl.: WH II: 836, EM 753, IEW 474-476, Steinbauer 1989: 216, Schrijver 1991: 217, Meiser 1998: 100, LIV *gʷerh₃-.

vōs 'you (pl.)' [pron. pers. 2p.] (Lex XII, Andr.+; nom.acc. *vōs*, dat.abl. *vōbīs*; gen. *vestrum* Pl.+, *vestrī* Ter.+, *vostrōrum* [m.], *vostrārum* [f.])

Derivatives: *voster* (before 150 BC) / *vester* (after 150 BC) 'your' [pron. poss. 2p.] (Naev.+).

Plt. **wōs, *wō-f-, *wos-tero-*. It. cognates: Fal. **ues** 'you'; Pael. *uus* [nom.], *uus* [dat.] 'you' (pl.) < **wōs* [nom.], **wō-fos* [dat.]; U. *uestra* [abl.sg.f.] 'your' (pl.) < **wes-tero-*.

PIE acc. **uōs*, gen. **uo/es*, adj.poss. **us-tero-?* IE cognates: Skt. *vas* 'you' [acc.pl., gen.pl., dat.pl.], OAv. *və̄* [gen.dat.pl.], YAv. *vō* (< **u̯as*); OAv. *vā̊* [acc.pl.] (< **u̯ās*) 'you', OCS *vy* [nom.], *vasъ* [gen.acc.loc.], *vamъ* [dat.].

The original nom. **iuH(s)* was replaced by the stressed acc. form **wōs*, apparently already in Plt. The gen. *vestrum* is originally the gen.pl. of *vester*; it was replaced by *vestrī*. The *e* of U. *uestra* probably shows Plt. **westero-*, while Latin has analogical *voster* after *noster*. In Faliscan, the *e* spread to the accented personal pronoun.

Bibl.: WH II: 836f., EM 753, IEW 513f., Giacomelli 1963: 257f., Leumann 1977: 463-466, Sihler 1995: 379-383, Beekes 1995: 208, Meiser 1998: 156-159, Untermann 2000: 851, 865.

voveō 'to promise, vow' [v. II; pf. *vōvī*, ppp. *vōtum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *vōtum* [*vootum* in a Fal. inscr.] 'vow, prayer' (Naev.+); *convōvēre* 'to join in taking a vow' (SCBac.), *dēvōtāre* 'to put a spell on' (Pl.+).

Plt. **wow-eje/o-* 'to promise'. It. cognates: maybe U. **vufru** [acc.sg.m.] 'fulfilling an oath' < **u̯ogʷʰ-ro-*; also U. **vufetes** [dat.abl.pl.n.] 'votive?' < **u̯ogʷʰeto-?*

PIE **h₁uogʷʰ-eie-* 'to promise'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *ōhate* [3p.med.], *ōhāna-* [ptc.med.] 'to praise, announce', *ōha-* [m.] 'praising', *ōhas-* [n.] 'praise', OAv. *aogədā* [3s.inj.med.], *pairiiaoγžā* [2s.inj.pr.med.], YAv. *aoxta* [3s.inj.med.], *aojana-* [ptc.med.] 'to say, announce' < IIr. **Ha(H)ugʰ-* < PIE **h₁eh₁u̯g⁽ʷ⁾ʰ-* [pr.red.]; Skt. *vāghát-* [m.] 'singer, priest' < PIE **h₁uogʷʰ-et-/-nt-*; Gr. εὔχομαι 'to pray, vow, boast' < **h₁eugʷʰ-e-*, Myc. *e-u-ke-to* 'εὔχεται' 'to declare', Gr. pret. εὖκτο; Gr. εὖχος 'glory'; Arm. *gog* 'say!'.

The causative *voveō* < **u̯ogʷʰ-eie-* shows that the lenition of medial **-gʷʰ- > *-w-* postdates the change of PIE **-ow- > *-aw-*. Since PIE **u̯o-* generally developed into *va-* in open syllable, *voveō* must have restored the *o*-vowel after this sound change took place, on the model of other causative verbs. The ppp. *vōtum* was contracted from **wowito-*, in which *-i-* is the unsyncopated reduced medial vowel.

Bibl.: WH II: 837, EM 753, IEW 348, Giacomelli 1963: 258f., Schrijver 1991: 76, 279, 472, Untermann 2000: 861-63, LIV *h₁u̯egʷʰ-.

vōx, vōcis 'voice' [f. k] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *vōcula* 'soft voice' (Titin.+), *vōcālis* 'able to speak, with a voice' (Varro+), *vocāre* 'to call, summon' (Lex XII+), *vocābulum* 'name, noun' (Pl.+),

vocāmen 'designation' (Lucr.+), *vocitāre* 'to call' (Pl.+); *vōciferāre/ī* 'to shout, cry' (Varro+), *vōciferātiō* 'clamour' (Afran.+), *vōcificāre* 'to utter loud sounds' (Varro+); *advocāre* 'to call upon, summon' (Pl.+), *arvocitat* 'summons often' (Paul. *ex F.*), *convocāre* 'to convoke' (Pl.+), *ēvocāre* '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.+).

PIt. **wōkʷs*, **wokʷ-*. It. cognates: U. *suboco* [acc.sg. or pl.] 'invocation' < **sub-wok-(o-)*; U. *subocauu, subocau* 'I invoke' < **sub-wok-ā-je-*.

PIE **uōkʷ-s*, **uokʷ-m* [f.] 'voice'. IE cognates: Skt. *vā́k* [nom.sg.], *vā́cam* [acc.], *vācás* [gen.] [f.] 'voice, speech', *vāgvín-* 'eloquent', OAv. *vāxš* [nom.sg.], *vācam* [acc.], *vacō* [gen.], YAv. *vāxš* [nom.sg.], *vācim* [acc.], *vaca* [ins.], *vacqm* [gen.pl.] 'voice', Gr. ὄπ- [f.] 'voice, sound, word': ὄπα [acc.sg.], ὀπός [gen.], ὀπί [dat.]; ToB *wek* [m.sg.], ToA *wak* 'voice, noise'.

The verb *vocāre* must be a denominative from the oblique stem **u̯okʷ-* of *vōx*. Possibly, it went through an intermediate derivative **u̯okʷ-ā-* 'voices, call'.

Bibl.: WH II: 823f., EM 753f., IEW 1135f., Schrijver 1991: 472, Untermann 2000: 707f., LIV **u̯ekʷ-*.

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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 verborum*
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.
IJDLLR = International Journal of Diachronic Linguistics and Linguistic Reconstruction.
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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